

SUMMARY

28 February 1750

From the Emperor in the East

To the Emperor in the West

It was a very sad thing that there had been no relationship between our two empires for the past 120 years.

Now the Lord of the East has sent his Envoy to extend his love and affection to his brother the Lord of the West.

It is hoped that the two monarchs shall revive the ancient friendship that existed between the two lords from many generations of the past.

If this proposal is accepted, please allow the Envoy to return as quickly as possible.

The two lords have common ancestors. To make this point more clear, the portraits of the ancestors are sent with the Envoy.

The territories under the Lord of the West are quite extensive. If there ever were any enemies to molest the peace and tranquility of these territories, the Lord of the East deems it his responsibility to help in quelling them.

Note : In all probability, this Burmese version of the address from China is quite different from its original though it is the one acceptable to the Burmese king who admits no other monarch as his superior.

(2 January) 1755

Between 1723 and 1753, according to astrology, it was expected that there would be a great trouble at Ava. Usually calamities visited Ava on every other one hundred year of its existence. There was also a

prophesy that after the tenth king (Mahādhammarājadhpati 1733-1752) in the Nyaung Yan dynasty of Ava, a 'Friday born' would become king there. Accordingly the tenth king had no scruples to be guided himself with the ten kingly virtues, etc. His officers were corrupt. These were reasons enough for the fall of the dynasty. In addition to these, the Mons of the Ramaññadesa were treacherous. They rebelled. Consequently there was much bloodshed. They succeeded to revive a Mon kingdom. Only the stupid, however, believed that this revival would last long. It was clear that their success would be only temporary. Because when a person destined to be most supreme appears, somehow or other, people of less importance faded away. History has many parallels in this respect. There was trouble in Videhara awaiting Mahosatha to solve them. Frightful monsters ravaged Pagan until Pyusawhti conquered them. With all the virtues of a Bodhisattva and a good king, Alaungmintaya had been able establish the capital city at Ratanāsīṅha and to bring the chiefs of following places under his control.

Kale
Kathe
Kawlin
Hsawngsup
Hsipaw
Hsumhsai
Leihka
Lawksawk
Moda
Mogaung
Mohnyin
Wuntho
Yinge

People who would trust his leadership would have peace of both mind and body. Once Mon rebels overran many of the places mentioned above and the chiefs of these places were forced to take an oath of allegiance to these Mons. Now they changed their allegiance to Alaungmintaya. Even Mons

should do that. In case Mons should pledge their allegiance to Alaungmintaya, he certainly would have pardoned them with magnanimity.

Order: All Burmese shall (pledge their allegiance to King Alaungmintaya) by bowing low until their heads touch the Golden Feet.

This Order was proclaimed on (2 January) 1755 (when the King left his capital city on a campaign south).

Note : Alaungmintaya used some diplomacy to evade taking the oath of allegiance to the Mons on 9 April 1752 and it is assumed that he considered himself a king since then. He decided to have a capital city built for himself and constructions at Moksobo which was his native village and was later renamed Ratanāsingha, begun on 21 June 1753. But they were stopped for a while when the fighting season came, i.e. between November and February before it becomes too hot in March or before the rains in May. Constructions were resumed on 26 June 1754. The palace was completed on 12 September 1754 and the King occupied it on 28 October 1754. The ceremony of taking the throne was held on 29 November 1754 and it was made in lieu of a coronation that required more elaborate preparations. Name plates were hung up at the twelve city gates on 24 December 1754 and it marked the end of city construction. Later Alaungmintaya found that the city as originally designed was too small and constructions on Greater Ratanāsingha begun on 24 October 1757.

(4 March 1755)

As there had been friendship and commerce between Burma and (British now at) Mijjhimadesa (Central India), the present monarch of Burma wants to extend this good relationship as it had ever been in existence before. Formerly there had been an exchange of precious gems of Burma called in

a general term of Badamya Kyauk Than with things of western produce known generally a Amyauk Thay Nat Thagalat Ok Myo Hti Myo - Cannon, Gun, Scarlet or Bales of Various Textiles. It was of some considerable profit to both parties concerned. In the meanwhile, the people of Ramaññadesa had rebelled and destroyed Ava. It seemed that Ava was subjected to such a catastrophe on or about every one hundredth year since its establishment in 1365. This time, the calamity was due firstly to the weakness of the ex-king and secondly to the fact that he was to yield his place to a better man who is Alaungmintaya himself. The disasters that the Burmese suffered, however, were temporary. King Alaungmintaya, with his capital city at Ratanāsingha (Shwebo) had (with the exception of Mons) conquered all provincial chiefs like Danu, Kachin, Kathe, Kayin and Shan who were formerly under the Ava king. He had virtually restored peace and prosperity in (the central and northern territories of the former Kingdom of Ava). The Burmese at Prome succeeded (on 15 October 1754) in driving away the Mons from their town and they had invited Alaungmintaya to take possession of their town. Alaungmintaya left his capital city (on 2 January 1755) and on arriving at Prome, he managed to destroy a Mon fort close to the town of Prome (on 7 February 1755). Then he started (on 3 March 1755) a campaign against Hanthawaddy which was the centre of Mon rebellion. (After having taken Lun Hsay on 4 March 1755, he renamed it Myan Aung). Then he sent a letter by an envoy headed by Thiri Theinga Thet Shay Nawyatha) to Henry Brooke, the English Chief at Negrais. He said :

Following the former practise, an exchange of things like amber, copper, gold, iron, ruby and silver (of Burma) with guns and a variety of textiles (of Europe) like scarlet in bales, shall be resumed.

A gift of two resceptcles made of gold and rubies, in the likeness of Hamsa birds, has been sent. The two birds shall remind us of our trade relations.

This letter was written on (4 March) 1755.

29 May 1755

Order: (1) Nanagambhi of Htaw Ma village in Atwin Shell shall be held responsible for the good observation of the Vinaya by the monks living on the west of Pon Daung Pon Nya divide.

(2) Monks living in the aforesaid area shall obey Nanagambhi who would report me if there were any disobedience to his remonstrations.

This Order was passed by Mahāatulayasadhammarājaguru (Hson Da Thathanabyu Sayadaw) on 29 May 1755 and given to Nga Pu in the service of Mahadan Wun.

29 May 1755

Order: Appoint the following monks Gaing Ok (Local Leaders) in the places located on the east of the Yakhaing Yoma and the Chin Hills.

- (1) Shin Nanagambhi, native of Pakhangyi, now living in Htaw Ma, Atwin Shell;
- (2) Shin Tejodīpa, former Maung Shan of the Cavalry, native of Taung Dwin Gyi, now living in Htaw Ma;
- (3) Shin Guṇasāra, former Maung Paw San, an Athi Gyi, native of Seik Zay in thirty villages of the Range under Pakhan, now living in Htaw Ma; and
- (4) Shin Dhammasāra, former Maung Nay Dun, an Athi Gyi of Min Ywa, living in Min Ywa.

This Order by the Thathanabyu Sayadaw was passed on (29 May 1755).

(6 June 1755)

Alaungmintaya, King of Sunāparanta, Tampadīpa and several other kingdoms, Defender of the Buddhist Religion, Possessor of Sakra weapon, Lord of the Golden Palace, Owner of Mines producing various precious gems, Master of Elephants White, Red and Spotted, wants to intimate the (English) at Maw Tin Ga Yit (Negrais) and (Madras) under Governor Thomas Saunders, that Pegu is in fact part of the Burmese territory though it had rebelled recently and set up a separate kingdom from about 1740; that the Burmese are very quickly regaining the lost territories so that at present Prome, Toungoo, Tharawaddy, Okkan, Thonze, Lun Hsay (Myan Aung), Kyan Gin. Danubyu, Henzada, Bassein, Myaungmya, Hke Baung, Dagon (Rangoon), Dala, etc. are now under the Burmese securely and that the Burmese had recently acquired Syriam, Pan Hlaing and Kyaikkhami with the result that Pegu alone is left without any support; that Dagon is now rebuilt with a new name of Rangoon and Alaungmintaya has it made a capital for (lower Burma); that Burma and Mijjhimadesa (now under the English) had trade relations for quite a long time in the past and it is indeed good to know that the (English East India) Company wants to revive this good relationship; that Pegu does only the defensive war now and we want more cannons to be used in the siege of Pegu and we know for sure that the Company has many; that we want 12 big cannons of shots weighing 5 viss (18.25 lbs), 4 viss (14.6 lbs), 3 viss (10.95 lbs) and 1 viss (3.65 lbs) and that we hope the Company shall give them to us for the sake of amity; that the French are helping Pegu with 60 cannons and 300 guns with all the necessary munitions and that a Frenchman called Bruno once came to Rangoon to make overtures of friendship with us but we did not believe him and he was sent away from Syriam and is now at sea; that while the French goes to Pegu, you

English should come to us at Dagon with double the amount of supplies that the French are giving to Pegu because we Burmese and English are now to be considered as Kan Sat - partners of the same fate; that the Company's agent Whitehill came to Rangoon on 5 June (1755) as his ship was caught in a storm and it needs some repairs and he and his crew have been our honoured guests since then; and that our envoys are visiting you with the purpose of buying arma and ammunition.

This letter was sent on (6 June 1755)

Note : Since the letter mentions the arrival of John Whitehill at Rangoon, it would have been sent sometime after his arrival. Probably it was sent on the next day.

10 June 1755

By the stroke of some extraordinary good luck, a slave would become a master himself and could use his former master for a slave. The lucky man was the Pegu king. Alaungmintaya on the other hand was destined to build a new dynasty when the old one fell. Even though he had been very lucky before, the Pegu king should not try his luck against Alaungmintaya who was to become the most supreme lord. Alaungmintaya came south in a pilgrimage to the pagoda of Thein Gottaya Kon (Shwedagon). He would, of course, condescend to become a friend with the Pegu king. He would like to extend this cordiality also to all local chiefs at their respective places. He would not feel averse to such a political expediency of taking the Pegu king in subordinate alliance. With these things in mind, Alaungmintaya was at Dagon (since 16 April 1755). Pegu king should have wise and learned advisers or ministers who would give him a good counsel to start the overtures of peace.

Order: Send the monk called Pañña Dipa who was brought to Rangoon

from Hmaw Wun by some members of the group collecting grass for horses, with the above letter to Pegu.

This Order was passed on 10 June 1755.

Note : Monks from Pegu came to talk peace only on 26 October 1756. From the time Prome was taken by Alaungmintaya on 7 February 1755 it took nearly two years to reduce Mons to a situation to ask for terms of peace. Even then one group of Mons continue to fight till the last when Pegu was taken on 12 May 1757.

20 June 1755

Like a fallen fruit, there was no one to look after the kingdom of Ava and it was Alaungmintaya who took upon himself the responsibility of caring it. The last king of Ava had great wealth and power bequeathed upon him by his predecessors. In spite of that he lost everything. Why? His disappearance was due to the fact that a very much better man was coming to take his place. In the name of the Religion, that great king would have no difficulty to conquer Ava, Bassein, Mawdin, Myaungmya, Pagan and Prome. He would be respected even in those far off lands like China, India and Thai. Acknowledging his leadership would give the various chiefs of different lands peace and prosperity. Saopha of Hsenwi was among the first to recognise this and he was wise. The Hanthawaddy campaigns would be soon over. Hsenwi is in the empire's one point of extremity in its territories and it should therefore watch carefully against any invader.

Order: Saopha of Hsenwi shall send one of his ministers (Paw Mine) or one of his subordinate chief, with suitable tributes to the King in Rangoon in case he needs the King's help.

This Order was passed on 20 June 1755.

Note : The King left Rangoon for Shwebo on 27 June 1755 but he was there again on 15 March 1756 until 12 July 1757.

(3 November 1755)

Alaungmintaya had his own capital built (on 21 June 1753) but he wanted to know how ancient capitals were founded and what the king is supposed to do at the beginning of a reign. Taking Rajagaha, capital of Magadha, built by Mahagovinda, for an example, the following suggestions were made (probably by the former ministers of the Ava kings).

- 1 Astrological considerations came first; it is believed that some arrangements made after some astrological calculations would make the city invulnerable to any attack by enemies either human or spirit.
- 2 Mantras were also very important. They were recited at all strategic points and they were written either in words or in symbols on walls, ceilings, gates, etc. That would also ward off evils, etc.
- 3 Figures of Sakka, Catulokapāla, Mahesara, Canni, Paramisva, Geṇeṣa, Viṣṇu, Asūra, Sun God, Moon God, etc. in groups of 108 gods, 124 gods and 550 gods were painted on the doors or their statues were put in niches made in the walls at the entrances to the city, palace or temples.
- 4 After the description in the cosmography of the universe, the city was so built that it was a miniature universe and the clock tower would be in the centre of the city as Mt Meru is in the centre of universe.
- 5 Five big drums were made according to specifications (a) to announce time and (b) to terrify the enemies who came to attack the city, by striking them.

- 6 Coronation was essential. It bound the King and his people in a mutual pledge to work together for peace and prosperity in the kingdom.
- 7 Regalia would add magesty to the Audience Hall.
8. Giving suitable rewards to men in the King's service either for their bravery in the battlefield or for their wisdom in counselling.

Note : Mahādhammarājadhipati, ex-King of Ava and his family together with many of his faithful followers were executed. Some of his former ministers who were not executed at that time, escaped from Hanthawaddy and came to Alaungmintaya who was in great need of information regarding kingly practices and duties and court customs. Mahādhammarājadhipati was drowned in Thadingyut S 1117 (6 October 1755 - 3 November 1755) (Siri Ujanā, Lokabyuhā Kyam:, Rangoon, Government Publications, 1962, p.5). Thiri Zayya Kyaw Zwa and Thiri U-zana came to serve Alaungmintaya in Pyatho S 1118 (21 December 1756 - 19 January 1757). When the day of the month is not given, we take the last day of the month as the date of the event.

Thus the king was drowned on (3) November 1755 and two of the ex-ministers came to serve Alaungmintaya on (19) January 1757.

(3 November 1755)

A king usually appointed his eldest son as the Crown Prince. The Investiture of the Crown Prince consisted of the following.

- 1 The Crown Prince shall have his own office with advisers, officers and secretarial staff.
- 2 The Crown Prince shall have his own guards and regiments.
- 3 The Crown Prince shall have his own house for residence with attendants, servants, etc.
- 4 The Crown Prince shall have no Brahman astrologers and no execution men in his service.

(3 November 1755)

The King wanted to have some information on various episodes of importance during the last four reigns of the former dynasty. The following chronology was submitted.

- 19 April 1673 King Tuesday ascended the throne with Queen
Atulasīrimahācandādevī
- 19 January 1675 Bon Gyaw monastery was built
- 8 October 1675 Nat Set Yaung monk was given the title of
Sirīsaddhammaghosamahārājaguru and Bon Gyaw
monastery was given to him.
- (13)May 1679 Queen Mother Dowager founded the U Min Daw
1680 51 families were dedicated at the U Min Daw as
servants of the Religion
Candādevī built Bon Gyaw Tu Loot which was much
more better than Bon Gyaw
- 28 January 1696 Great earthquake; one quarter of the city was
destroyed
- 14 July 1698 King Saturday ascended the throne; he founded the
Man Aung Yadana pagoda
- 18 January 1700 Finial was fixed on the Man Aung Yadana pagoda
1700 Wabaung Kyaung was built for Pitakat Taik Shin Āsabha
1701 Sagaing Tilokaguru Kyaung and Loka Hman Gin Kyaung
were built
1702 Image at Mahābodhi collapsed; two monasteries and
two alms houses were added at the establishment
1703 Min Wun Lay Dub Kyaung Ponnya Zedi Zayat, Shin Hpyu
Shin Hla Zayat, Bon Kyaung, Shwe Taw Gadaw Kyaung,

- Kyak Yon Hpa Gadaw Kyaung and Pyin Daung U Gadaw
Kyaung were built
- 1704 Way Za Yan Da Kyaung was built
- 1705 Princess Manipuri came to reside in the village of
Wa Gyet
Five Bodhi trees from Srilanka planted
- 18 December 1708 Thakin Hla marched to Keng Tung
- 11 November 1709 Prince Myaydu went to Pagan
1709 Thakin Hla was reprimanded
- 22 October 1711 Investiture of the Crown Prince
- 30 December 1711 Prince Singu was administered an oath of allegiance,
married to the eldest daughter of the King and was
sent to Pagan
- 1712 Kyauk San Gadaw built a monastery at Loka Man Aung
pagoda
- 1713 Monks were given many hutments
- 8 August 1714 Great earthquake; water gushed into the front part of
the palace
- 11 August 1714 King Saturday died; succeeded by King Sunday
- 12 August 1714 Dead king cremated
- 22 August 1714 Thakin Hla marched against Pagan
1715 Thabin Palace built
1716 Min Ye Thiha marched against Manipuri; crossed over
the Irrawaddy with a pontoon bridge at Sagaing
1717 Hman Zi Kyaung built at Tada U
- 14 February 1720 Palace burnt
- May 1721 Mo Di Kyaung built

- July 1722 Min Ye Thiha Kyaw led a contingent of forces against Manipuri
- 1723 Min Ye Kyaw led a contingent of forces against Manipuri
- 16 April 1724 Troops sent to Mohnyin
- 22 November 1724 New throne used
- 1725 Sagaing Lay Gyun Man Aung pagoda built
- 1726 Yan Dibba rebelled and killed
- 23 April 1727 Prince Singu made the Crown Prince; value of copper became lower and lower since then
- 28 December 1728 Thadoe Min Saw died
- 1730 A contingent of forces sent against Chiengmai
- 1731 Dhammadevi, daughter of Twin Thin Min Gyi died; wife of Twin Thin Min Gyi died
- 24 May 1732 White elephant from Choon Daung arrived
- 27 May 1732 King assumed the title of Sinbyushin (Master of White Elephant)
- 1733 Twin Thin Min Gyi died
- 3 November 1733 King Sunday died; King Thursday succeeded the throne; there were rejoicings for one whole month
- 1734 Sin De Palace built
- 8 January 1736 Thaynapati and Min Kyaw brothers were executed at Wa Gyet village
- 1736 Loka Thara Hpu finial fell; Shin Hla image lost
- 1737 Sitkes of provinces changed
- 1738 101 men were ordained in the Buddhist order of monks
- 1739 Min Ye Kyaw Gaung marched against Manipuri
- 1740 Nga Tha Aung rebelled in Hanthawaddy

- 1741 Famine; people had to eat dogs and even human flesh
- 1742 Famine conditions continued
- 1743 Famine conditions continued
- 1744 Bayin Naung was made king at Sagaing to forestall the prophesy that the kingdom would be divided into many petty kingdoms

(3 November 1755)

On insignia of a king, the following information is given.

Five Insignias of a King

- 1 Five White Umbrellas
- 2 A Double-edged Sword
- 3 A Pair of Sandals
- 4 A Fly-whisk
- 5 A Forehead Band

Five White Umbrellas

- 1 Kanetkadan
- 2 Kambat
- 3 Yinhti
- 4 U Yu
- 5 Kya Ngan

Four White Umbrellas displayed on the left of the throne

Kanetkadan	1
Kambat	1
Yinhti	2

There are three big fans called Yat Ma, one between two umbrellas. Another set of four umbrellas and three fans are displayed on the right of the throne. When the King visits a pagoda or a monastery, two Kambat umbrellas and four Yinhti umbrellas are used. In the palace, U Yu umbrella is placed at the U Yu (southeasternmost) pillar of the main building of the palace and Kya Ngan umbrella at the Kya Ngan (northeasternmost) pillar. The umbrellas were used in the like manner given above until the time when the King was taken prisoner to Hanthawaddy.

(3 November 1755)

A king's musical troupe called Si Daw Zon, uses the following instruments.

- 7 drums called Hmyauk Si (to announce the King's appearance or the beginning of an important event)
- 4 big horns called Dabo Gyi
- 4 short wind instruments called Tan Hmwa
- 4 long wind instruments called Tan Shay
- 2 conches called Hkayuthin
- 2 pairs of clappers called Lak Khat
- 2 horns called Dabo
- 4 round drums called Si Wun
- 4 oboes of silver called Ngwe Hne
- 5 long drums called Si Byaw
- 1 short drum called Pon Tha
- 1 little drum called Si Poke
- 1 pair of clappers called Lin Gwin
- 4 big oboes called Hne Gyi
- 4 (small) silver oboes called Ngwe Hne
- 5 drums used at the close of a ceremony called Win Si
- 3 oboes of Mon people called Talaing Hne
- 1 little drum called Si Poke

In Ava the following drums were made new when a king ascended the throne.

- Drums at each of the four city gates
- Drum called Ain Shin Si that announces the king's departure from or arrival at the palace
- Drum called Baho Si used to announce time
- Drum of good omen called Mingala Si
- A set of drums called Si Daw Zon

Old drums were sent to the Rājamaṇicūlā pagoda. The description of other sets of musical instruments for :

- 1 the Crown Prince,
- 2 the King's own brother and
- 3 Shan Saopha

are also given. When a king of Ava left his palace, various things that would be of some use during the trip were packed in red and carried by servants dressed in red. The whole entourage is therefore called an Ahsaung Ni. The things so packed are :

- Guns in 7 red sacks
- Lances in 3 red sacks

A rain hat with a stand wrapped in red cloth and put in
a net
A lamp called Nan Ka Wine
A lamp with handle
Drinking water in two Myuta pots covered with red cloth
A box for things used in cleaning guns
One role of gun wick and
One mat with special trimmings

Similar sets for the Crown Prince, other senior princes, Shan Saophas,
etc. are also described in detail.

Insignias of rank for all officers are also given in detail. It
is imperative that a consort of a prince must have the royal recognition.
Otherwise she is not the wife of the prince or her children would be
taken as legitimate. A prince good in horsemanship would be made a Myin Hmu
Mintha - Prince Chief of Cavalry, in the following horse groups.

Gadu
Hket Lone
Hpaung Ga
Lanbu
Let Yway Nge
Myay Ne
Myin Thi
Pe Ku Gyi
Pin Si
Pyin Si
Saw Pa O
Tabayin Gwe
Tanin Pyi
Tanin Tha Yi
Thayet Inn
Thin Gaung and
Ya Haing

The palanquins that they were entitled to use, the set of harnesses for
their horses and their elephants, the ornaments to decorate their boats,
the type of houses that they built for residence, etc. are also prescribed.

Sons of ministers and senior officers would be grouped in Lubyo Zu -
Bachelors Group, as reserves for a Thway Thauk Zu - Group of Fifty Armed
Men. Selection for both membership and leadership in any Thway Thauk Zu

was made by ministers in Hluttaw.

4 November 1755

Order: (1) Nanda Bahu is given the duty to check any irregularities or discrepancies in ceremonial robes and official uniforms used by courtiers and officers while they are attending a ceremony or attending to their own official duties around the palace at Samut - Night Guards on north, east and south of palace, Dawe - Tea Rooms on north and south, Hlaung Daw U - the Porch of a Palace building, Lay Tha - Balmy Breeze Apartment, Baung Daw - Crowns Apartment, Bye Dike - Court of the Interior, Myay Nan - the Earth Palace, Pyat That - Palace of Multiple roofs, and Hluttaw - Administrative Centre, and he is also to check the seats so that all dignitaries are seated in the places befitting their rank and status in the Audience Hall, etc.

(2) Nanda Bahu shall also fix the official seal on various weights and baskets after having them checked by the standards prescribed for use in the palace enclosure.

(3) Weights and measures for use in the city must be checked at the Office of Myo Wun - Officer in charge of the City, before use.

This Order was passed on 4 November 1755.

(4 November 1755)

Thet Shay Nawyatha sent his clerk and contestants with a copy of a Royal Order to Baya Thayna. It was just routine. Baya Thayna used strong words in blaming the clerk and in the course of his talk with the clerk, he said something to the effect that he seriously doubted the ability of Thet Shay Nawyatha as a minister. Thet Shay Nawyatha reported this

to the King with a humble request for redress.

Baya Thayna checked the Royal Order sent by Thet Shay Nawyatha as he usually do with all other orders for style and spelling before a seal is fixed to it. To his surprise, the order was written like a personal letter. Assuming that it was the fault of the clerk, he reprimanded him. He went further to say that it was impossible to fix a seal to such an order and the minister concerned should be more careful in wording an order.

The King called the minister and officer and heard what each of them had to say. Suddenly Thet Shay Nawyatha gave Baya Thayna a box on his head. The King said : "Thet Shay Nawyatha, no one surpasses you in madness and wildness".

Order:(1) Thet Shay Nawyatha shall Shi Hko - make an act of obeisance, to Baya Thayna in the King's presence.

(2) Baya Thayna shall receive the Shi Hko of Thet Shay Nawyatha and forgive him.

By status, Thet Shay Nawyatha is of Taw seats while Baya Thayna is of Right Du seats only.

This Order was passed on (4 November 1755).

15 January 1756

Saopha of Bhamo pleaded on behalf of Saopha of Mong Mit, his two sons Hkam Long and Hkam Line and all officers and men under them, that they shall be condoned of their recent misdemeanour. It was true that Nga Kyi Nge, known as Saopha of Mong Mit had rebelled. Even if they had succeeded and their area was lost to the King, he would not consider it a serious lost. The King believed that because of his cumulative merits that he had done in his former existences, he was invulnerable.

Anyone who tried to do any harm to the King would soon find that it was he who became the looser ultimately. It was well and good that these people wanted to atone their past misdemeanour by owning their mistakes and by volunteering to join a military expedition to prove their loyalty to the King.

Order:(1) Saopha of Mong Mit and his followers were pardoned of their former misdeeds.

(2) They shall participate in the Hanthawaddy campaign.

(3) They shall be rewarded for all their valour and fighting prowess during the campaign.

This Order was passed on 15 January 1756 and sent to the Saopha of Bhamo.

18 January 1756

When the King left Rangoon for Shwebo (on 27 June 1755), he had

Mahathenapati
Min Hla Min Gaung
Min Kyaw Sithu
Zaya Nanda
Bala Nanda Sithu
Bala Gamani and
Min Gyaw Dazaung

given the duty of Rangoon defenses. The King, however, felt that there was nothing to worry about. All his enemies would be destroyed sooner or later. Hanthawaddy was like a fruit broiled. It was there ready to be eaten though one should wait a few moments to get it lest he would burn his hands in getting it out of the fire.

Order:(1) Everyone of the fighting forces, including officers, must get himself prepared for the final onslaught against the enemies, even at the risk of his life.

(2) Major attacks shall wait until the King gets back to Rangoon.

This Order was sent to officers and men at Rangoon on 18 January 1756.

Note : The King arrived at Rangoon on 15 March 1756. The first thing he did was to collect food provisions as much as possible. He waited until 3 October 1756 when the campaign against Hanthawaddy was launched.

18 January 1756

Prince Sīrisudhammarāja (King Dabayin 1760=1763), Prince Sīridhammarāja (King Myedu 1763-1780) and Prince Sudhammarāja made a direct address to the people of Hanthawaddy.

1 It is understandable that a subject people have had no choice but to serve the lord who was ruling over them.

2 Now they have a chance to compare the Pegu King their lord with Alaungmintaya and it goes without saying that Alaungmintaya is far more superior to him.

3 At this moment it is a matter of life and death to everyone of them. Obviously this Pegu King is doomed to destruction. Forsake allegiance to him. Whoever attached to him would finally be destroyed with him.

Order: Anyone who has defected Pegu shall be pardoned and shall be given his former position in the service or his status in the hierarchy.

This Order was passed on 18 January 1756.

Note : The person who chooses to defect is guaranteed Cañ: cim ma pyak asak mase ne rā ma nim - that he would be allowed to live without being alienated from the ownership of his former properties nor he would be denied of his former official rank and status.

9 April 1756

Thagya (Sakka - King of Devas) sent this notice to all men.

1 There shall be a great calamity in Pegu soon. To forewarn this, the children are inspired to say a ditty :

When the Gwe is gone, send the Gon -
Stop the fight and send a bride.

The meaning of the ditty is clear. Pegu had now lost almost all its territories. It should acknowledge defeat and send the king's daughter as a bride to Alaungmintaya in order to avoid annihilation of the city and its people. This king of upper Burma is a very unusual man of great past merits. He is destined to become the supreme lord of Chinese, Indians, Shans, Talaings, Thais, etc. That is the Buddha's prophecy.

2 When King Tabinshwehti was beheaded (on 21 April 1551) in a place near Pegu, people found the eyes of the severed head winking for nearly twelve hours. This winking eye episode was my making to let people know that although this Burmese king was removed, the Burmese rule shall continue. Those who failed to take notice of this warning were killed in their futile attempt to revive the Talaing kingdom.

3 Ava was taken and its king was captured. This is not the be-all and end-all of the story. It was only a prelude. Alaungmintaya appeared on the scene. Punishment came somehow or other to all and sundry who had the audacity to refuse his suzerainty. Families were divided. A man might lose his wife and children or the children their parents. A woman would be left all alone without her beloved family. Only those who fled and hide in a deep forest would have some chance to survive this catastrophe. Anyone who had read this notice must take it his responsibility to copy it and circulate it among friends so that they too have a chance of survival. The worst moment would come sometime between next April and May. Wait and see. The dangers of war, epidemic and famine are all coming one in the wake of another. Ava would prosper for 300 years and Pegu for 80. The time allotments, so given, were now over.

4 Like myself the Thagya, this king of upper Burma is a champion of the Buddhist Religion. In this way we are allies. I have to support him. I had already given him a mighty lance. I also sent to him a white elephant. Talaings have no alternative except to beg for mercy.

This notice was dated 9 April 1756.

Note : The ruse of making Thagya the author of this kind of notice was found to be an effective propaganda even in the early 20th century Burma. It came to be known as Thagya Shwe Pe Hlwa - the Gold Leaf Note from Sakka. Similarly air-dropped propaganda leaflets of the Allies during the Second World War were called Lay Nat Tha - Air God's Communique.

9 April 1756

Prince Sīrisudhammarāja (King Dabayin 1760-1763), Prince Sīridhammarāja (King Myedu 1763-1780) and Prince Sudhammarāja made a direct address to officers and men in the service of the Pegu King.

1 King Alaungmintaya received from Thagya (Sakka - King of Devas) the gifts of an unusual lance and some red and spotted elephants. These proved that he is far superior to your king. The contest between your king and ours had lasted well over a year or two and by now you would be quite aware of the fact that your king has no chance to win.

2 It is time that Pegu King should surrender. Syriam would fell soon. Alaungmintaya always gets what he wanted. If your city has two wings to fly, you could escape capture. If it were made of iron, it would be invulnerable to attacks. If your king were a naga, ours would be a garuda that always destroy all nagas.

3 When a war was fought, men were killed by hundreds and thousands. Human life is too precious to be wasted like this. If we can settle a dispute with a dual between a few persons, it would be good. We challenge

you for single combats between your King and ours, your Crown Prince and ours, and so on. We give you the choice of weapon and prescription of the terms of combat. The plain outside Syriam is most suitable for such a contest between champions. Let us meet there. Or if you all possess the intelligence, which we believe you have, defect.

Nga Tun Aung and Juan Caine the European who had defected the Mons recently, were sent to Pegu with this letter written in Burmese, Mon and one European language.

Note : It is amazing to send defectors as messengers to the place from where they had escaped.

25 April 1756

Prince Sīrisudhammarāja (King Dabayin 1760-1763) sent 1,000 men to reconnoitre around Pegu. They are to erect a hoarding just outside the Pan Daing Gate on the river bank on the west of Pegu city wall and then to fix the following notice on that hoarding.

NOTICE

Our King Alaungmintaya is an extremely powerful king. He is the Defender of the Buddhist Religion. He has a wonderful weapon called Arindama. He is the master of white, spotted and red elephants. As all the rivers have their sources at the Anotatta Lake, so the power to rule has its origin in our King. He has the strength of a garuda. He has the courage of a kesara. He rules like Yama. He is the King of Kings. He is the Lord of Ayujjhapūra (Ratanāsīṅgha Kon Baung Shwe Pyi Gyi). In comparison he is the full moon while other dignitaries are mere little stars. Like the sun, he provides strength to grow. Now read this Pali stanza that describes you and your king.

Hamratiyo sabbadhanam
Sādhusamma dhammonatthi
Vane bhavatiti suññam
Tikappagata cora maha.

This Notice is dated 25 April 1756.

Note : The beginning words of these four lines of Pali together made Hamsavati. The meaning of the whole stanza is :

Unscrupulous characters! That is what you Talaings are. You are thieves and robbers. You have no decency. As a result of your ruthlessness, you are accelerating your own destruction. There would be massacres, epidemics and famines in your place. Eventually this city of yours will relapse into a jungle. Your chief, whom you now call your King, would also perish.

Min Hla Min Gaung led the reconnoitering group. There was a skirmish before the group could leave the notice as directed (Kon., I 1967, pp. 166-7).

8 May 1756

King Alaungmintaya, the Most Excellent Lord of Sunāparanta, Tampadīpa, Kampoca and other countries, Owner of Mines producing Rubies, Gold, Silver, Copper, Iron, etc., Master of Elephants White, Red and Spotted, Possessor of Arindama Lance, Descendant of the Race of Sun, King of Ratanāpūra Ava and Ayujjhapūra Ratanāsiṅgha, informs the (Directors of) the English (East India) Company

1 that there was trade with mutual benefits between our two countries from the time of our ancestors, though it was discontinued for some time because of the Talaing rebellion;

2 that (when your agent) Henry Brooke, Chief of Negrais at the south end of our land, came with a humble request for a factory site, we had given him a plot of land in Bassein, in consideration of the fact that we want to resume friendly relations with both your King and your Company and we also agreed to let your imports and exports free from any

taxation in our country if you are prepared to continue the ancient practice of giving us a certain amount of arms and ammunition as gifts;

3 that other merchants would also be allowed to trade provided they pay the taxes at Bassein; and

4 that we hope this amicable association would last for many generations to come.

This letter was dated 8 May 1756 and was given to Henry Brooke by the Burmese Governor of Bassein.

8 May 1756

King Alaungmintaya, the Most Excellent Lord of Sunāparanta, Tampadīpa, Kamposa and other countries that have kings of their own, Owner of Mines producing Rubies, Gold, Silver, Copper, Iron, etc., Master of White, Red and Spotted Elephants, Possessor of Arindama Lance, Founder of Ayujjhapūra Ratanāsīngha Kon Baung Shwe Pyi Gyi, made this address to the Governor of Chenapatam (Fort St. George, Madras)

1 that there had been trade between you and our country with mutual benefits;

2 that this trade was discontinued due to a Talaing rebellion;

3 that we know you have your agent Henry Brooke stationed at Negrais on the extreme south of our country and that you want to have a trading depot opened at Bassein;

4 that there should be a friendship between the two countries and the Governor of Chenapatam should have the favour requested, a site has already been chosen in Bassein and given to Henry Brooke;

5 that the Company's trade would be allowed free of taxes provided it gives us the usual gifts of military stores;

6 that other merchants would also be allowed to trade provided they pay

the taxes in Bassein;

7 that these conditions has been written in the Da Zeik Sa Gyuñ Daw - Letters Patent, and given to Henry Brooke; and

8 that the friendship would last for many generations to come.

This letter to the Governor of Chenapatam was dated 8 May 1756 and was given to Ensign John Dyer and Dr (William Anderson).

8 May 1756

King Alaungmintaya, the Most Excellent Lord of Sunāparanta, Tampadīpa, Kamposa and other countries that have Kings of their own, Owner of Mines producing Rubies, Gold, Silver, Copper, Iron, etc., Master of White, Red Spotted Elephants, Possessor of Arindama Lance, Founder of Ayujjhapūra Kon Baung Pyi Gyi, made this address to Governor John Howe, Esq., Chief of Merchants at Negrais

1 that there has been trade between our two countries to our mutual benefits;

2 that this trade was terminated due to a Talaing rebellion;

3 that in the meanwhile the rebellion was suppressed, Dagon had been renamed Rangoon, and Henry Brooke , after having settled in Negrais at the extreme end of our country, had in the name of your King, made a request to have a trading depot in Bassein so that there should be a revival of friendliness between the two nations, we had given to Governor John Howe a site in Bassein;

4 that the Company's trade would be allowed free of taxes provided it gives the usual tribute of military stores;

5 that other merchants would also be allowed to trade provided they pay the taxes in Bassein;

6 that we want cannons, guns, gun powder, etc. as much as possible

because our campaign against Pegu is not yet over; and

7 that we would like to have this friendship extended for several generations to come.

This letter to Governor John Howe, Merchant Chief in Negrais, was dated 8 May 1756 and given to Ensign John Dyer and Dr (William Anderson). The land in Bassein given for a factory site (to the English East India Company) is a 25 tā (37.5 ft / 11.43 metres) square. A leaf of very good gold called Nayaka Shwe measuring 1.5 ft/45cm x .25 ft / 8cm and weighing 5 ticals (.73 lb / 331 g) is used to inscribe the letter to the King of England. Each end of this gold leaf is fashioned like a Jātā - Horoscope, ornamented with twelve rubies. The letter is in ten lines and the letter head has a Hintha bird crest. The leaf is rolled up in a red paper and the roll is put in an ivory casket. A brocade bag holds the ivory casket. A box of lacquered gold holds this brocade bag. The address is written in English. This lacquer box with the address is put in a gunny bag and sealed. The letter to (the Directors of the English East India) Company is written in Burmese in twenty five lines of illuminated writing on a red paper. It also bears a crest and it is sealed with red wax. There is an English version of the letter and it is also sealed. The letters are put in a gunny bag and the bag is sealed too. The letters to the Governor of Chenapatam (Madras) and the Chief of Negrais are also written, sealed and put in bags in the same manner as the letter to the Directors in London.

8 May 1756

King Alaungmintaya, the Most Excellent Lord of Sunāparanta, Tampadīpa, Kampoca and other countries known as Myanma, Shan, Yoon, Kathe, Talaing, etc. which have their own kings, Owner of Mines producing Rubies, Gold,

Silver, Copper, Iron, Amber and other precious gems, Master of White, Red and Spotted Wlephants, Possessor of Arindama Lance, Descendant of the Race of Sun, Founder of Ratanāpūra Ava Shwe Pyi and Ayujjhapūra Ratanāsiᅅgha Kon Baung Shwe Pyi Gyi with most magnificent mansions, makes this friendly intimation to the King of England, Liege of Chenapatam, of Bengal, of Ft St David and of Deve Cotah which are like various stars in the constallation that surround the full moon,

1 that there was trade between our two countries in the time of our ancestors with a certain freedom of movement;

2 that this trade was terminated for some time because of a Talaing rebellion;

3 that in the opportune moment while we want to have this trade renewed, your agent in the person of Henry Brooke, who came to settle at one of the extreme ends of our land, appeared at our court and it was through him that we know you are also in favour of resuming the trade as before,

4 that to be definite, Henry Brooke petitioned that he would like to have a site for a shipyard in Bassein and he had had your permission to petition us;

5 that in the name of friendship between our two nations, we have instructed our Governor of Bassein to allow Henry Brooke to make his own choice of land in Bassein for the said shipyard and to have the land given for an immediate use; and

6 that we hope this friendship would last for many generations to come. This letter to the King of England is dated 8 May 1756. A leaf of very good gold called Nayaka Shwe measuring 1 toñ 4 sac (49.5cm)x 5 sac(5cm) and weighing 300g is made like a leaf to inscribe this letter. The left and right and ends has each two lines of rubies. There are ten lines of

writing and Letwe Thondara was the author of it. The gold leaf was put in an ivory casket, the casket in a brocade bag, the bag in a gold lacquered box, the box in a gunny bag and the bag was sealed with a Hinthia bird seal. With the envoys, four fine horses were sent for the King of England and the Governor of Chenapatam. The envoys Ensign John Dyers and Dr (William Anderson) were each given a horse and six ivories.

13 June 1756

The Lord Buddha who was most supreme over all the beings of the Thirty One Divisions of the Universe had prophesied that by AB 2(2)90 / AD 1746 which was well neigh the middle of the 5,000 years of the Religion, there would appear a Bodhisattva in the Royal Centre of Hanthawaddy. This Bodhisattva who is also the Lord of the White Elephant, would uphold the Buddhist Religion greatly. Accordingly, I have had the good fortune to become king at Hanthawaddy in that year and I certainly have done much in support of the Religion. I helped people as much as possible by looking after their welfare and recently I had a pagoda built enshrining the Buddha's relics. I want you, my royal friend, to share the merits that I have acquired so far. Evidently you have had the accumulation of much merit done in your former lives and accordingly you become a king in this life too. Your duty as well as mine is to help people including ourselves to obtain the ultimate bliss of nirvana. You know that the Five Buddhas of our Kappa must have worked close enough before so that they realised their goal one after another in the same Kappa. Perhaps we two are like them. At the present moment, people are at great enmity with each other and that leads to many deaths and destructions. I believe it is within our power to stop such an undesirable situation. With this fact in mind, I have requested my religious preceptor

to call at your place so that you might also benefit from having a discussion on religion with him.

This letter from the Pegu King was brought to Alaungmintaya by Shin Guṇamañjū, Sayadaw of Ava Taung Bilu and Shin Pāsaṃsa, Sayadaw of Kyet Thun Gin.

Note : After the fall of Daw Bon stockade on 19 May 1756, the Burmese started a series of attack on Syriam and probably Pegu King then realised that he should start negotiations for peace. As it was done before during a Burmese Mon struggle of early 15th century. (Mhannān, I 1967, pp.446-53) he sent monks to do that.

16 June 1756

Alaungmintaya, the Most Excellent King, Possessor of the Arindama Lance, Master of the White Elephant, Owner of Mines of Various Precious Gems, Founder of Ayujjhapūra Ratanāsiṅgha Konbaung Shwe Pyi Gyi, made this reply to the King of Hanthawaddy.

Dagon, the town of Flying Elephant, had been given a new name of Yangon - the End of Strife, and Alaungmintaya has been there for nearly two years. He or anybody else for that matter, would notice the fact that his counterpart simply ignores his presence there. Then, all of a sudden, he received a letter from the King of Hanthawaddy. It seems that the King was badly shaken to wake up from a dreadful dream and did something which he would never think of doing it before. Nevertheless, Alaungmintaya considers it as a good gesture of the King of Hanthawaddy. Among friends one could say anything either good or bad without reservation. When two kingdoms become one like water that cannot be cut into two halves, it would be good in the name of love and compassion on all beings.

Deliberating on the welfare of fellow creatures is the way of wise and

good men. It is not unusual that two enemies who had tried to kill each other at one time would turn into two friends at another time. The three things that people revere most are the Lord, the Law and the Order of Buddhist Monks and since the King of Hanthawaddy had requested a learned person in the Order to visit Alaungmintaya, Alaungmintaya would deem it the best of gestures that one king could show on another king. He would like to say that he appreciated it very much. Entering into alliance is one happy thing that the two kings should do now and it is nice of the King of Hanthawaddy to have initiated it.

This reply was sent back on 16 June 1756 with the two monks, five novices and ten men who came (with a letter from the King of Hanthawaddy).

28 June 1756

King of Hanthawaddy, who rules Ramaññadesa according to the Buddha's prophecy and who had acquired enough merit (to be taken as one of the Bodhisattvas, made this address to Alaungmintaya, King of Ratanāsiṅgha Konbaung. Since the two reverend monks had returned from the young brother, bringing the tidings that the young brother was not averse to the idea of friendship, the elder brother was very happy because that would stop all hostilities between the two countries. We would all be saved from being killed now and punished in hell hereafter. This friendship should not be taken as a matter of this moment only. It should last long. When upper Burma and lower Burma are united into a close alliance, all other countries in Jambūdīpa would respect our two countries immensely. The two capital cities of Hanthawaddy and Ratanāsiṅgha would prosper and the Buddha's Religion would also grow like a waxing moon. All these would certainly pave the way for the two Bodhisattvas to become two Buddhas. As a prelude to the said peace and friendship, the religious preceptors

(from Hanthawaddy) are again visiting (Rangoon).

This letter dated 28 June 1756 was brought from Hanthawaddy by
Sīlapaññāvimalācāra.

28 June 1756

Alaungmintaya, the Most Excellent King of Sunāparanta, Tampadīpa, Kampoça and several other kingdoms, made this reply. There is no denying of the fact that friendship would be the antidote of all our former differences. A war was fought by the Burmese only in self-defence. Definitely it was not fought for bloodthirstiness. Alaungmintaya has enough wealth so that he would not certainly covet another person's property. Talking good is easy but to do good is not easy. The law of impermanence is also a thing much talked of though it is not properly understood. On friendship or alliance, the King of Hanthawaddy should take the cue from Bhūridhatta Jātaka (No.543).

The monks who brought the letter from Hanthawaddy were given this reply on 28 June 1756, the same day they come and were sent back to the King of Hamthawaddy.

(26 July 1756)

Nanda Bahu has been assigned to report monthly on how many Sa Gyun - Royal Orders on appointment, had been given and who were the clerks responsible in issuing them. Consequently, the report for Wazo (27 June 1756 - 26 July 1756) is :

Letwe Thondara	150
Shwe Daung Sithu	150
Waylu Yaza	750
Bala Sithu	60
Letya Waylu	550
Others	1,370
Total	<u>3,030</u>

Among these 3,030, there were

Da Gyaung Yay Sa Gyun - One Line Order	75
Akhant Ahtha Sa Gyun - Posting Order	100
	<u>175</u>
Charges for the Seal (each 1 pe of gold)	9 ticals

This report was made by Nanda Bahu on (26 July 1756).

(26 July 1756)

Order: Though he is not a descendant of a local chief, Nga Ka Lay, son of Nga Kauk living in Tha Myin Ton, is appointed Myo Thagyi - Headman of the town, in Tha Myin Ton. It is in recognition of his service as one of the thirty braves who took quite a distinguished part in the capture of Syriam (26 July 1736).

Clerk Waylu Yaza wrote the appointment order on a sealed toddy palm leaf. It seemed somewhat irregular and when asked Waylu Yaza replied that there was nothing unusual to write an appointment on a sealed leaf. But when Nga Ka Lay was questioned, he said that as gifts, he gave Waylu Yaza

Silver cut from a bar by chisel	350 ticals
Silver of Ywet Ni quality	5 ticals
Sugar	25 ticals
Hand Painted Pa Soe	5

Hearing this, the King made no remarks.

This Order was passed on (26 July 1756).

28 September 1756

Alaungmintaya, the Most Excellent King of Shans, Yoons, Burmese, Ramaññadesa, Thayaykhittaya, Paukkanyama, Ketumadi Toungoo, Makhaya, Myin Zaing, Pinya, Pinle, Sagaing, Ava, Ayujjhapūra Ratanāsīṅgha, etc., Possessor of Arindama Lance, Master of White Elephant, made this address to the King of Hanthawaddy to remind him of certain things that he failed to take note before. Firstly, he should know that he is fighting a losing battle. Secondly, he failed to take the cue of Bhūridatta Jātaka. Perhaps the the King of Hanthawaddy has no messengers who have the courage to

come through the Burmese troops. We are therefore sending Nga Aung Nge, who was captured in Hle Zeik battle, with this letter. As an escort, he shall have 60 Burmese war boats. Men of these boats, however, do not request a safe passage. Talaings might try and stop them if they dare. In case they were destroyed or captured by Talaings, Alaungmintaya would acknowledge defeat and go back to upper Burma. If not, the King of Hanthawaddy shall have to think seriously on surrender so that he could have the favoured treatment of Cañ:cim ma pyak Asak ma se Nerā ma nim, - being allowed to live without his property confiscated and his position lowered.

Nga Aung Nge was given this letter with one umbrella as a gift to the King of Hanthawaddy on 28 September 1756.

19 October 1756

Reverend Araññavāsī and Gāmvāsī Monks of Burmese, Mon and Shan nationalities bless both the kings of upper and lower Burma. It is believed that these kings are Bodhisattvas and accordingly they are devoted to do good for all creatures. But sometimes forgetfulness could even stop these men from being kind and helpful. In such a case, these monks take the liberty of referring them to the Jataka stories of

Dīghavu (Dīghitikosala-Jātaka, No.371)
Mahāsīlava (Mahāsīlava-Jātaka, No.51) and
Samvara (Samvara-Jātaka, No.462)

in which they will find some examples of how hostilities among nations could be averted by peaceful means. In Burmese history, King Rājādhirāj invaded upper Burma and reached up to Yay Wun of Sagaing in 1404 (Mhannan, I 1967, p.446) and taking the advice of Monk Zagyō Thu Myat, he withdrew his forces (Mhannan, I 1967, p.452). Through the intercession of holy men, two warring kings could become affectionate brothers.

This letter was brought to the Pan Zay stockade by monks Paññādīpa, Sirīsaddhamma, Vimalācāra, Candasirī, Varapañña and three novices from Hanthawaddy on 19 October 1756.

Note : This Peace Mission of Monks from Hanthawaddy is mentioned to have visited Alaungmintaya in the month of Tazaungmon S 1118 (23 October 1756-21 November 1756, Kon., I 1967, p.201). Now we know the date was 19 October 1756.

19 October 1756

Alaungmintaya, the Most Excellent King of Sunāparanta, Tampadīpa, Kampoca, Ramañña, Liege of Various Vassals in Jambūdīpa, Possessor of Arindama Lance, Master of White Elephant, Descendant of the Race of Sun, founder of Ayujjhapūra, Defender of the Buddhist Religion, made this reply to the monks of all nationalities who had preached compassion. The sweet smell of a flower is perceptible only at places down the wind. Kingly appurtenances could strike awe and obedience only on those who behold them. But a king who observes the virtues as prescribed by the Buddha's Religion would be respected everywhere. Perhaps the monks were afraid that there would be a ruthless massacre (following the fall of Hanthawaddy). They should not nurse this misapprehension. In Burmese history, one could find many episodes where a champion appeared to remove a tyrant and bring prosperity and happiness to all people. Burmese suzerainty is spreading. It has been accepted by Chins, Europeans, Indians, Kachins, Kathes and Shans. And they prospered under the Burmese rule. The King of Hanthawaddy could not escape the Burmese suzerainty. Meet the inevitable with a good grace and be happy.

This letter was sent back to Hanthawaddy with those monks who came on 19 October 1756. There were Paññādīpa, five Burmese monks, three Burmese

novices, two Shan monks and two Shan novices.

25 October 1756

The King of Hanthawaddy considered that it would not be difficult to settle the disputes between Alaungmintaya and himself by peaceful means. Because both of them are innately good as both aspire to become Buddhas in future. By Alaungmintaya's reply (dated 19 October 1756) he was of the impression that Alaungmintaya was amenable to terms of peace. Perhaps their present discord is similar to the one that happened between Kapilavatthu and Koliya (over their sharing the water of Rohini). By the intervention of the Buddha, the Sakyans of Kapilavatthu and Koliyans became friends again. So in the same way, peoples of two different places of Shwebo and Hanthawaddy would soon become friends again. If there is any message to be sent, instead of a prisoner of war, we expect that a specially appointed envoy would come. To represent the King of Hanthawaddy, the envoys are Banya Yaza Satu Daywun and Do Gonna Daywa Ain. By the reply letter, the King of Hanthawaddy expects that Alaungmintaya could say more explicitly what he wants.

The letter, written in an illuminated paper, was brought to Pan Zay stockade by Nga U, a Burmese of Ava now called Banya Yaza Satu Daywun, Do Gonna Daywa Ain, a Talaing, and Paññādīpa, a monk, on 25 October 1756.

Note : This letter from Hanthawaddy came when the Burmese had started a major offensive against Hanthawaddy after the fall of Syriam on 26 July 1756.

25 October 1756

Alaungmintaya, the Most Excellent King, Defender of the Buddha's Religion, Possessor of Arindama Lance, Master of White Elephant, made this reply

to the King of Hanthawaddy. The campaign south is not exactly a military expedition. It is a kind of tour to find out how the propagation and extension of the Buddha's Religion could be made more effective in a land where normal conditions were much disturbed recently due to war. Wherever he went, local rulers readily accepted his suzerainty and his teachings to live a Buddhist way of life in peace. Unfortunately he was confronted by hostilities in the land under a man who claimed to be a Bodhisattva. All he wanted to do was to bestow peace on the people and talk religion with their king as he had done with the rulers that he had mentioned above.

This reply was dated 25 October 1756.

9 December 1756

Order: Send messengers to Zayya Kyaw Zwa sayadaw asking him his opinion on removing the Hair Relics found in the relic chamber of Kyaik Ko pagoda on the west of Hanthawaddy.

This Order was passed at the Rangoon Palace on 9 December 1756.

Note : The reply came on 19 December 1756 saying that it is most suitable to remove the relics as they would be enshrined again in a pagoda at the capital.

13 December 1756

The King of Hanthawaddy admitted the fact that he had done his best to repulse the invader first and when it failed, he tried again to put up a stout defense from within his city. Now it seems that he has no alternative except "to take the cue from Bhūridatta-Jātaka (No.543) as it was mentioned in Alaungmintaya's letter (dated 28 June 1756).

This letter was brought to Mingala Tattaw where Alaungmintaya camped, by Shit Htaung Kyaung Sayadaw with six monks and ex-officer called Min

Yaza with twenty four men on 13 December 1756; the letter was written on Parabike in a brocade bag. The brocade bag was put in a white bag sealed with the King of Hanthawaddy's Emblem of the Hamsa bird.

19 December 1756

Alaungmintaya made this reply. No one could attain the bliss of nirvana unless he becomes a man first in Jambūdīpa. On the other hand, the sharp point of a needle that was dropped from high heaven might probably meet right on the point of another needle on earth, but there is less chance for a soul to be born a man on this earth. With this illustration in mind, we all are quite aware that human life is very precious. In another words, we do not want to kill. There is also another point which both kings should not forget. Mighty kings did not live for ever. Even this earth might perish when its time comes. Friendship is not easy when one party continues to be hostile. The ending in the Bhūridatta story gives us the best solution though it is up to the King of Hanthawaddy to decide. We shall not say otherwise after a word had been spoken.

This reply was given to Shit Htaung Kyaung Sayadaw and Min Yaza with a bouquet of orchids. The red bag to hold the letter written in Parabike was not sealed.

Note : Of the flowers given, tañ sañ, rā tañ Chan sañ, rā chan - some are to be offered (at the shrine) and some to beautify (the bride). (See Kon., I 1967, p.221.)

(19 December 1756)

The religious preceptor of Alaungmintaya made this address to various local chiefs.

There is a prophecy which says :

Arhe, ta lhyañ: ton cañ pyak mañ
Arhe, ta hvā: thvā: thvā: ñak mañ
Ma ne ap kun
Mranmā prañ sui, rhañ le kun

All places on the eastern plateau shall be destroyed,
Everything in the east would be annihilated.
Leave there
And take refuge in Burma.

Anyone who is determined to follow this advice shall have to come to Shwebo.
He needs information as to where to go and whom he should meet before he
gets the recognition of being a subject of the liege here. Come to me
for the information. If he is a chief, he would by this wise decision,
save hundreds of his people from misery.

The following places had already paid their homage to Alaungmintaya.

Awanlet
Bassein
Dagon
Dala
Hpaunglin
Hsawngsup
Hsenwi
Hsipaw
Htilin
Kale
Kani
Lai Hka
Lawksawk
Lekai
Martaban
Mingin
Mogaung
Mohnyin
Mong Mit
Myaung Mya
Nat Mauk
Pin
Prome
Sagu
Salin
Saw
Taung Dwin
Tharawaddy
Wuntho
Yaw
Yaunghwe

The following people who were once said to be impossible to subdue, had already submitted to Alaungmintaya.

 Ingye (Gadu)
 Kachin
 Kayin (Karen)
 Khanti (Shan)
 Lawa

It is wise "to cry before the lashes fall on one's back or stand up to welcome before the dignitary appears"; you play safe in this way. In another words, come to pay homage before you are called upon to do so. To the bad and wicked, Alaungmintaya is as fierce as an ogre; to the good and docile, he is as gentle as Thagya (Sakka - King of Devas). You might do well to join the forces of Alaungmintaya in his campaign south.

As a monk, I take no part in political affairs but if you have any difficulty in your endeavour to mitigate the miseries of human beings, it is my duty to give you all possible help.

Note : No date and name are attached to this notice. But it seems that while the King was in the south, people at Shwebo, including the Chief Monk, felt that they should do as much as possible to send recruits to the King. Hence this important notice was circulated to various local chiefs in northern and eastern Burma for sending armed men to the King.

19 December (1756)

(Zayya Kyaw Zwa Sayadaw) made this reply to the King's message (of 9 December 1756).

It is correct and proper to have the relics removed to Shwebo. The following facts are submitted in support of this statement that relics had been moved from one place to another with or without the consent of the original person who had put them in a certain repository.

When the Buddha died, Sariyadhātu - the bodily relics, were distributed among the Buddhist kings, etc. After some time, there were cases where the faithfuls became heretics and lost respect in these relics.

Ajatasattu collected these relics and stored them in a stone pagoda.

Later Asoka took all the relics from that pagoda and had them enshrined in pagodas built in all the places where he sent missioneries to propagate the Buddha's Religion.

When King Anawratha requested a few copies of the Piṭaka and some of the Buddha's relics from the King of Thaton, the request was ignored. Anawratha went with an army to get them.

When there were troubles in Sri Lanka, a Srilankan king sent his daughter with a replica of the Buddha's Tooth Relic to King Hanthawaddy Hsinbyushin for help.

When King Alaungmintaya started to build a new state in 1752, he declared that he would not wait to do the religious affairs until the political affairs get settled. Then he subdued the people who were in their best elements in the hills. Now he is subduing the people who excell in fighting from boats in the river. That would soon be over. Relics found in many ruined pagodas around Hanthawaddy should be removed to the relic chambers of new pagodas instead of leaving them in the ruins.

This reply was dated 19 December 1756.

(19 January 1757)

Another part of the chronology of the former dynasty was submitted.

1732 Prince Taloke was made the Commander of Nanda Thu
Thwethauk

Prince Thayet was made the Commander of Zayya Yawda
(Thwethauk)

Both Princes Taloke and Thayet were assigned to duty at the Hluttaw
Min Ye Nandathu led a contingent of forces against Chiengmai

3 November 1733 King Sunday died; King Thursday took over the realm with the regnal title of Siripavarasudhammarāja
Lokasaraphu image completed
Prince Taloke became Min Ye Kyaw Zwa
Prince Thayet became Min Ye Thihayit
Shwe Hpyo, the King's Ahteindaw - former nurse, became Nanda Mate Kyaw Htin and he was married to Thirivimala; he was enlisted in Nanda Thiri Thwethauk; his two sons were given the status of senior princes
1738 Min Ye Kyaw Zwa was given additional insignias of rank
Nanda Mate Kyaw Htin was given insignias similar to those of Min Ye Kyaw Zwa and was attached to the office of the Crown Prince
The Crown Prince was given more officers and men
At U Gin Tha - New King on New Throne for the First Time, Min Ye Kyaw Zwā was given the title of Dhammarāja and Nanda Mate Kyaw Htin was given the title of Bayin Naung; Prince Thayet or Min Ye Thihayit became Thado Dhammarāja; Prince Taloke or Min Ye Kyaw Zwa or Dhammarāja became Min Pyine - Parallel King
U Ka was given the title of Min Ye Kyaw Khaung and

he was made the Commander-in-Chief of Manipura
campaign

1740 Min Ye Kyaw Khaung was sent to Hanthawaddy to suppress
a rebellion led by Nga Tha Aung; he was made King
Toungoo and married to the King's sister

1746 Shwe Hpyo or Nanda Mate Kyaw Htin or Bayin Náung was
made King Sagaing

Many princes were given titles with a prefix Min Ye
to each title

(11) March 1752 When Ava fell, the King and his family were taken
as prisoners to Hanthawaddy

(3) November 1755 Ex-King and family were drowned
Ex-Ministers Thado Min Gyi, Thado Min Nge , Thiri
Zayya Kyaw Zwa, Nay Myo Shwe Daung and Thiri U Zana
came to serve Alaungmintaya; their history of
service was also submitted to the King

Note : Thiri Zayya Kyaw Zwa came to Alaungmintaya in Pyatho S 1118 (21
December 1756-19 January 1757) and assuming that it was he or other
ex-Ministers of the former dynasty who gave the King the necessary
information on administration under the Ava kings, we give 19 January
1757 as the date of these notes, etc. Sīri U Janā : Lokabyuhā Catam:
(Rangoon, Government Publications, 1962) is the best known of the accounts
submitted by these ex-Ministers.

2 April 1757

It had been a bad period during which a kingdom was destroyed, many
families were broken up and quite a number of people were captured and
sold as slaves by the Talaings. There were, however, slaves born of slave

parents before the advent of these troubles.

Order:(1) If a slave escaped from a master who is a rebel (that invariably applies to a Talaing of lower Burma) and if he happens to be serving Alaungmintaya now, he shall become free even if his former master is serving Alaungmintaya some time before him or at the same time with him or after him.

(2) If a debtor slave and his master came to serve Alaungmintaya in the same time, the debtor slave shall pay the price of redemption to become free.

(3) A debtor slave who came to serve Alaungmintaya before his master, shall go free without paying anything.

This Order was passed on 2 April 1757 when the King was at Jetuvati about 1.5 miles / 2.5 kilometres on the south of Hanthawaddy.

14 April 1757

Order:(1) Baya Thayna shall not have the toddy palm leaf used in correspondence, made into a tapering point at one end of it.

(2) Fix the seal with the permission of Kin Wun - Officer of the Tolls, and Ta Zeik Wun - Officer of the Seals.

(3) One of the seals that has been in use during the day at the Hluttaw must be locked up by Baya Thayna at the end of the day.

This Order was passed on 14 April 1757.

5 September 1757

Order:(1) Baya Thayna shall interrogate Zayya Theiddi, Zayya Yan Aung, Dipa Guna Kyaw Thu, Kaytu Mala and clerk Nge Hpyo Htwe who were sent by Mahadan Wun - Officer of Religious Affairs, to collect some of their things of daily use from the monks.

(2) In case a monk or a novice or a man who is living a religious life at a monastery is required to appear at a law court, Mahāatulayasadhammarājaguru Sayadaw shall summon him with a letter that bears his seal. Mahadan Wun should not do the summoning by sending his subordinates with a letter from the Sayadaw.

(3) This Order should be written in a suitable style and sent to all administrative chiefs at various stations of the kingdom.

This Order was passed on 5 September 1757.

19 October 1757

At a marriage ceremony at Din De, there was a fight because someone said that Thado Theinga Thu and his family who were Alaungmintaya's relatives living at that village, were not truly related to the King.

Order:(1) Din De relatives of the King shall not be punished for the fight.

(2) If a relative of the King takes an undue advantage of his kinship with the King and if he does something unjust, he shall be punished like any other subject of the King.

(3) Nay Myo Thiri Zayya Nawyatha, Zayya Yanda Thu (Officer in charge of the Town) and other officers in various fighting units who are the King's cousins shall see to the fact that this Order is respected.

(4) To say in boast "I'm the King's So and So", even if it is true, shall be punished. Cut off his mouth.

This Order was given on 19 October 1757.

29 October 1757

Order: While in the service Gonna Ye and Setka Kyaw Htin shall work

and enjoy the produce of Le - fields for wet cultivation of rice, and Kaing - fields for cultivation of maize, peas, vegetables, etc. after the yearly inundation of the river, in lands under Thiri E Karat Kyaw, located at Kado Zeik Gaung Gwe (in the Tada U area).

This Order was sealed by Waylu Yaza on 29 October 1757.

(29 October 1757)

(You Englishmen!) You do well in trading,
But you are no good in fighting.
What about your literary attainment?
Find out what this Pali is meant.

This is what Da Zeik Taw Wun - Officer of the Seals, wrote.

29 October 1757

Order:(1) Write an order that deals with one of the various petitions, first in a Parabike, and then copy it on a long toddy palm leaf that has a tapering end on one side called Sa Gyun, in the usual way of writing an order.

(2) Put up the Sa Gyun to Naymyo Thiri Zayya Nawyatha for checking.

(3) Naymyo Thiri Zayya Nawyatha shall write a note that he has checked it.

(4) Baya Thayna, after making sure that the Sa Gyun has a note by Naymyo Thiri Zayya Nawyatha that he had it checked, shall fix the seal to it.

This Order was given on 29 October 1757.

20 November 1757

Hereditary chiefs at Sanpanago and Tamowa reported that from S 1109 / AD 1747 to S 1119 / AD 1757, the tolls collected was Ks 4438. After deducting the share of (Kin) Wun - Officer of the Tolls, there was Ks 555.1 left. From Tamo and Sanpanago Toll Stations, the tolls collected

was Ks 490.1. The collection was given to Min Hla Kyaw Htin. They were not in a position to know whether Min Hla Kyaw Htin deposited it in the Royal Treasury or not.

Order: Baya Thayna shall interrogate Min Hla Kyaw Htin's clerk as well as those who had weighed the money and witnesses who had seen it being handed over.

This Order was given on 20 November 1757.

29 November 1757

Order:(1) Baya Thayna shall report in writing anything that the King should know on the second day of every month.

(2) All cases that had been tried at the Hluttaw, Shay Yon, Nauk Yon, Win Yon and at the residence of ministers and princes during the last month together with the gifts received by officers and pleaders and the court fees exacted, are also to be included in the report by Baya Thayna.

This Order was passed on 29 November 1757.

28 December 1757

Order:(1) Only Letwe Nawyatha, Letya Nawyatha, Shwe Daung Nawyatha, Letwe Shwe Daung and Letya Shwe Daung shall have to write the Sa Gyun (on a long toddy palm leaf with one end tapering to a point).

(2) Write the Sa Gyun only in the Palace or Hluttaw.

(3) Cut the hand of anyone else who write the Sa Gyun.

This Order was given on 28 December 1757 and given to Baya Thayna.

29 December 1757

Order: Daywa Nawyatha, Zayya Nawyatha and Kyaw Htin Nawyatha shall have to write the Sa Gyun.

This Order was passed on 29 December 1757 and given to Baya Thayna.

29 December 1757

Order: Officers shall not use robes with silk brocade edgings. The use of such borders is reserved for special awards. Baya Thayna shall make a check.

This Order was given on 29 December 1757.

4 January 1758

The customary due exacted at the Toll Station like those at Tamowa and Sanpanago is 10 percent on the value of the commodity. That is too high.

Order: (1) From the boat that brings commodities for sale, collect the due only from two-third of the commodities brought.

(2) From the boat that brings commodities that had been bought, collect the due only from three quarters of the commodities that had been bought.

(3) Give a note to any Chinese merchant: who had passed a certain Toll Station that he had passed it.

(4) Take no gifts (something like giving one quarter kyat of silver or one sixteenth basket of rice or one length (20 cubits / 10 yards / 9.144 metres) of cloth from the Chinese.

(5) On arriving at the capital, the Chinese shall report his arrival to the Kin Wun - Officer of the Tolls, and pay the dues to the clerks in the presence of the Kin Wun who shall keep a proper account of the money received from him.

This Order was passed on 4 January 1758.

13 January 1758

Order: (1) Nga San and members of five families are appointed guards in Kon village.

(2) The old man Nga San and his group shall be exempted from all other duties.

(3) Officers at Prome shall take note of these points.

This Order was given on 13 January 1758 in Shwebo Palace.

(13 January 1758)

Order:(1) Nga Pon is appointed Mi Zaw (Fire Fighter) over 169 houses in the administrative unit under Daywa Bala Kyaw at Moksogyon.

(2) Men living in one locality and irrespective of belonging to any group of service men, shall join in doing any particular task assigned to them by the authorities.

(3) Men of boat groups or gun groups shall be exempted from a task assignment when they are required elsewhere on a state duty.

(4) When a man is away on a military expedition, members of his family shall contribute work only in important projects.

Otherwise they are to be exempted from doing any of the minor duties.

(5) For contribution of money, a local chief could use his discretion to exempt men mentioned in No.4 above, from giving any money.

(6) Follow these instructions on "fire fighting".

- a People should be told to check the fire place several times in the day and a few more times at night.
- b A house must keep 5 to 10 bambocs with one end sharpened in each bamboo, ready on a rack.
- c Pots with full water must be kept on a shelf on the roof.
- d Cook food in a pit 4.5 feet / 1.3716 metres square only in the given time (5.00 am - 7.00 am and 3.30 pm - 5.30 pm).
- e Use a feather to check the fire place at non-cooking time and punish the housewife if the feather sings.
- f Seize the smoking pipe when a man is found smoking it when he comes along the road.

- g Men on fire duty must go around to check various points where fire could have started, at least five times in a day.
- h Allow no one to wander from one place to another after 9 pm or if he has some important business to attend to after the forbidden hour, let him go by carrying a lamp.

(7) Everyone hearing a shout "thief" must turn up to help in catching the thief; failing to do so is punishable with five lashes or a fine of 50 ticals of copper.

(8) Everyone who fails to turn up to help in a public work shall be given five lashes of punishment or a fine of (50) ticals of copper. When a man is unable to come and join the work gang himself, he should send some one on his behalf or he should come and ask leave of absence from the group leader.

(9) A man who fails to cooperate in any public work is not fit to live in society. He shall become a social outcast.

This Order was given to Daywa Bala Kyaw, Chief of Moksogyon on (13 January 1758).

Note : This Order concerns more on social welfare activities than on administrative affairs.

24 January 1758

Order: Yaza Thahtay shall take possession of the southern sector of Ledwin.

(4 February 1758)

For making gold foils to be used at Kaung Hmu Daw pagoda, the King asked Theikdi Bahu how much foils one could get from 1 tical of gold, and the answer was 6 packages of foils exactly. On the contrary, Mi Kyaing said 8. Each of the two groups (one led by Theikdi Bahu and another by Mi Kyaing) was given 1 tical of gold and it started making the foils in the palace on 22 January 1758. On 25 January 1758 the work was over and each

group produced 8 packages. There was even a little gold left. The King blamed Theikdi Bahu for being a bad servant. He was dishonest. He should be punished with a fine worth ten times the gold he had cheated so far, but the King pardoned him.

Order:(1) Give Mi Kyaing the title of Theikdi Bahu.

- (2) Mi Kyaing shall give $7\frac{1}{2}$ packages of gold foils for 1 tical of gold given to her to make gold foils.

This Order was given on (4 February 1758).

7 February 1758

Order:(1) Baya Thayna, as a Kin Wun (Officer of the Tolls), shall check any barge that passes through a toll station.

- (2) No one should hinder an officer from carrying out his official duties; it was reported that Min Gaung Nawyatha was very rude to Baya Thayna when he came to check the barge of Min Gaung Nawyatha; it was not correct.

- (3) Never hinder an officer while he is at work in his official capacity.

- (4) Baya Thayna is very loyal and very precise; his decision shall be respected.

This Order was passed on 7 February 1758.

11 February 1758

Order:(1) Mahāatulasadhammarājaguru is allowed to have

four gates
five stariways
two pediments each with a Hman Gin top
door panel opening on hinges and
canopy over the Buddha's throne,

in the monastery that he is building at South Lain Lu in Ok

Shit area.

- (2) He is allowed to gilt the building with as much gold as he could afford.

This Order was (written by Letwe Nawyatha) on 11 February 1758.

20 March 1758

Order:(1) Baya Thayna has reported that the general condition of the people is bad; in order to mitigate this, all officers shall carry out their duties with justice as well as kindness and understanding.

- (2) No one shall be put in bondage or in prison unless he is guilty of treason.

- (3) This order shall be sent to all provincial chiefs and the chiefs must explain it carefully to all their subordinates.

This Order was passed on 20 March 1758.

16 May 1758

Nagans - officers who receive orders from a higher authority to be transmitted to people concerned, are posted to :

Hsenwi
Mindon
Mong Mit
Mong Nai
Prome
Rangoon
Sagu
Tharawaddy
Toungoo and
Yay Gin

on 16 May 1758; it is not unlikely that some of them are not familiar with the work they are supposed to do.

Order:(1) Dama Min Rai, Chief Nagan of the Palace, shall write a manual of Nagan and send it to all Nagans.

(2) Dama Min Rai is appointed Chief of All Nagans.

This Order was given on 16 May 1758.

16 May 1758

Order:(1) Baya Thayna shall have the right to use certain insignias of rank.

(2) He shall made them at his own expense.

This Order was given on 16 May 1758.

16 May 1758

With reference to ROB 9 September 1757, fiftyseven men under Ainda Wayya Kyaw, who are the crew of Yadana Shwe Hpaung Daw, have been exempted from taxes known as Hseik - Port, Ti - Shop, Pwe - Brokerage, Kin - Toll, Gado - Ferry, and Apaw Wun - Court Fee payable by Plaintiff. From Chun Daung (near Hti Gyaint) these men had brought (down the river in rafts) a total of 789 timber of circumferences 30mm to 50mm and Kin Wun - Officer of the Tolls, asked 10 ticals of silver for the timber, another 10 for the raft, 1.5 for the toll keeper and 20 for the expences to bring them down to the court. They wanted to have these silver (a total of 41.5 ticals) refunded.

Order: Pay the tax as exacted by the Kin Wun.

This Order was passed on 16 May 1758.

19 August 1758

In the law suit in the Hluttaw between Lawksawk Sawbwa and Hla Chit who was a former slave, the Sawbwa maintained that Hla Chit was a born slave though Hla Chit denied it. He said that he was a debtor slave and he had served more time than he should for a debt he owed and therefore he should now become free.

Order:(1) Study various Damathats for a similar case.

(2) Do not make a hasty or a biased judgement.

(3) Take time from one to six weeks before a decision is made.

This Order was passed on 19 August 1758.

19 January 1759

Alaungmintaya, the Most Excellent King, Defender of the Buddha's Religion, Possessor of Arindama Lance, Master of White, Red and Spotted Elephants, Lord of the Golden Palace, Liege of Various Kingdoms in Jambūdīpa, proclaimed that all land known as Manipur is annexed to his empire from this day of 12 January 1759 and to make it a lasting record for all generations to come, this proclamation is inscribed on stone. Any ruler over this land of Manipur shall send either his sister or his daughter as a bride to his liege lord in Burma once in every three years. The yearly tribute is :

10 viss of gold
100 horses
500 bows
5,000 arrows with poisoned iron tips and
1,000 viss of tree gum

In times of war, he has to join the imperial army with a force of 2,000 men (1,000 Horsemen and 1,000 Archers). He shall be allowed to rule Manipur so long as he accepts Burma's suzerainty. But in case he becomes disloyal to the Burmese king, may he suffer all the great miseries enumerated below.

The curse of all the guardian spirits of the Buddha's Religion
The curse of all the guardian spirits of the Burmese King
The curse of all the Hindu gods
The horrible death of being eaten alive by leopards, lions, tigers
and ogres on land or crocodiles and sharks in water
The horrible death of being struck by a thunderbolt
The horrible death of being burnt alive
The affliction of all the ninety six kinds of illnesses
The affliction of the loathsome disease of leprosy

The inexplicable failures in all trade ventures
The lost of property like water in an ebb tide
The horrors of war, epidemic, famine and plunder
The disintegration like salt in a sunken boat

On the other hand if he remains loyal, may he be healthy and prosperous in this life and in all the lives to come and ultimately may he obtain the bliss of nirvana.

This record was inscribed on stone by Thet Shay Nawyatha and the inscription stone was erected right in front of the Manipur palace on 19 January 1759.

Note : Alaungmintaya started the Manipur campaign on 12 November 1758. He took the town of Manipur on 2 January 1759 and left it on 22 January 1759.

12 April 1759

Order: (1) After the demise of Nanagambhi of Htaw Ma village in Atwin Shel, his duties of looking after the good behaviour of monks in the locality as a Gaing Gyoke Saya shall devolve obviously on Tejudipa.

(2) In view of the fact that it was hard to lead a good way of life during the present bad times, the local Leader of the Religion shall enlist the help of Atwin Shel Headman in having a good control over the monks so that they would desist from wandering about at will and devote more time on learning the religious scriptures.

This Order was passed by Mahāatulayasadhammarājaguru (Sonda Thathanabyu Sayadaw) on 12 April 1759.

10 September 1759

Order: (Chief Queen Mahāmaṅgalaratanādhīpatisīrirāja)candādevī is

allowed to fix Mhangin - a top ornament, on Dayin - pediment at each of the four corners of the roof, at the Zayat - rest house, that she built at Mann Settaw Ya (in Minbu area).

This Order was passed on 10 September 1759.

(21 September 1759)

Prince Sīrisudhammarāja has been given charge of the capital city and state administration with the belief that he could do it with efficiency. Ministers are also expected to advise him well on all affairs of people, religion and state. (Unfortunately good officers come with the King and only) hopeless ones are left at the capital.

Order: (1) If there is anything to do with a place on the outskirts of the kingdom, choose carefully the person to be sent there.

(2) Let the order (or instructions of the Crown Prince) be clearly and precisely written by an officer who could do it properly.

(3) If necessary send for the chief of that place.

This Order was passed on (21 September 1759) and sent to (Shwebo) by U Dain Sithu.

(22 September 1759)

Alaungmintaya, the Most Excellent King, Defender of the Buddhist Religion, Possessor of Wonder Weapons and Master of White Elephant, send this intimation to Sīrisudhammarāja (the Crown Prince at Shwebo).

The Campaign against Ayut'ia (Dvāravati), Lamphun and Chiangmai is scheduled as follow :

18 November 1759 Min Hla Yaza, leading 100 horsemen and 1,000 gunmen shall leave Rangoon for Tavoy

28 November 1759 Sithu Nawyatha (Pakhan Gyi) and Tho Han Bwa (Yaw) leading jointly 100 horsemen, 400 gunmen and 1,000

lancers shall leave Rangoon for Tavoy

7 December 1759 The King goes on board a ship to Tavoy

8 December 1759 1 big ship, 1 small ship, 100 war boats and 31 barges
are to convey 1,000 men and cannons to Tavoy

The return from the east would be through the Shan area

Whenever the King was on an expedition, his eldest son was left at the capital. The King believed that his son would then have a good chance to learn the statecraft.

Order:(1) Learn from experience.

The rainy season would soon be over. With the coming of the dry weather, the most dreadful danger is fire.

(2) Take special precautions against fire (ROB 13 January 1758).

The irrigation system is now working well. Give priority to making the city defenses stronger. Nga Tha Tun Aung of Singu has been given an official status as a reward for his loyalty. Taking charge of improving the moat, it was reported that he had laid logs below stones along the banks of the moat. It is the most absurd thing to do.

(3) Stop using logs in making moat banks; stamp down the earth hard and lay the stones.

There are about 15,000 viss of gunpowder at Rangoon. We need some more, say about 7,000 or 8,000 viss.

(4) Collect gunpowder and sent it as quickly as possible to Rangoon so that it would be in time to ship it to Tavoy.

Raise a contingent of about 5,000 men and some horses.

(4) Commandeer all good horses and press men into service and send

them to Rangoon by Toungoo route.

There are about 400 men under training in the use of guns. The training should be over by now.

(5) Send the new gunmen along with the horsemen to Rangoon.

This Order was given to U Dain Ain Da on (22 September 1759).

Note : Order 1 mentions that "rains would soon be over" and 15 Thadingyut (6 October 1759) is traditionally taken as the last day of the rainy season. Probably it was 1 Thadingyut (22 September 1759) when the King said that.

6 December 1759

Alaungmintaya, the Most Excellent King, Possessor of Arindama Lance, Master of White Elephant, Liege Lord over Many Kings, gave these instructions on the use of a flintlock.

- 1 Pass the cleaning rod three to four times through the gun barrel.
- 2 Put the gun butt close to the level ground and bump it gently on the ground two to three times.
- 3 Use a coarse cloth once or twice to wipe the muzzle.
- 4 Put the priming powder from the muzzle, push it down the barrel to the far end by the rod and press it gently but firmly by the head of the rod two or three times.
- 5 Put in a shot and press upon it or cover it with a piece of coarse cloth; gauge the size of the piece of cloth so that it is neither too small nor too big.
- 6 Open the priming pan and set the piece of steel (frizzen) ready for the flint (pyrite) attached to the hammer (cock) to strike it causing a shower of sparks and firing the charge inside the barrel. Now the

gun is ready.

7 Bend the head slightly either to the left or right in taking the aim.

8 Hold the gun tight against the right shoulder, make sure the aim is true, wait until the object comes within a striking distance and pull the trigger; never let the shot wasted.

Every bearer of a gun shall follow these instructions strictly.

These instructions were made on 6 December 1756.

Note : A flintlock came into use from about 1580 and it was in use until about 1840. Until then the guns were hand made. ("Firearms", Modern Reference Encyclopaedia, VIII, 1965, pp.308-10)

9 December 1759

Order:(1) Men posted as guards of the port of Madama (Martaban) shall take proper care in storing the provisions sent to them now for the use of troops in the Ayut'ia campaign.

(2) They shall also construct a suitable camp for the King's use when he arrives at Madama.

(3) Collect some provisions from Dalaban.

(4) Cammandeer all boats in the creeks and made them ready for use when the troops passes through Madama.

This Order was sent to Banya Dala's men at Madama on 9 December 1759.

Note : It means that the King would soon arrived at Madama. He scheduled departure from Rangoon on 7 December 1759 (ROB 22 September 1759) though he could not make it until 21 December 1759 and he arrived at Madama on 30 December 1759. Preparations of the invasion took much longer than expectation and he could not leave Madama until 7 February 1760. This delay was one of the causes of his failure in this campaign.. Do Zwe Ya Zet, after defection, became Banya Dala. Dalaban also defected from

Hanthawaddy and came to live at Kawgun (about 50 km on the north of Madama.

14 (December 1759)

Let alone kings on land, even those sailor kings living on islands in the ocean are afraid that Alaungmintaya might one day send his men to destroy them (like what had happened to the English in Negrais on 6 October 1759). On the other hand, men in his service owe everything to him and therefore they should be loyal to him. If anyone of them is found to be doing anything detrimental to the interest of the King, he should be punished accordingly. There cannot be any clemency. That is to cover a misshapen pot with a similar cover. Otherwise, it would be impossible to control them. The King, however, does not mean that he disapproves a monk's interference in this case. He regrets that he could not grant the amnesty requested.

Order: Amnesty requested by Sayadaw is refused.

This Order was given on 14 (December 1759).

Note : Banyan Dala, formerly known as Do Zwe Yazet, was suspected of a conspiracy together with Dalaban and Alaungmintaya had him executed on his arrival at Madama (Martaban). (Kon., I 1967, p.306) Perhaps this Order is the refusal to pardon him as requested by a chief monk (unknown), though Alaungmintaya would be still at Rangoon when this Order was passed.

16 December 1759

Order: Cut both ends of the mouth well into the cheeks if anyone of the women say anything against the King's decision.

The barge was stopped to pass this Order on 16 December 1759.

Note : This suggests that the King and his women entourage were on a journey by water. Queens, concubines and children of the King were with

him up to Tavoy during his Ayut'ia campaign (Symes, Michael: An Account of An Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava sent by the Governor-General of India in the Year 1795, London, W. Bulmer & Co., 1800; pp.49-50).

20 December 1759

Alaungmintaya, the Most Excellent King, Possessor of Arindama Lance, Lord of White Elephant, Liege Lord of Several Kings, made this address to the Governor of Pondicherry.

There had been some considerable trade between those mercantile nations of the west with Burma for quite a long time though it was disrupted for a while due to a Talaing rebellion. Monsieur Bourno acted on his own and sided with the rebels and accordingly he was punished (Symes 1800, p.32). Bourno incident, however, should not in any way effect the friendship and trade between Pondicherry and Burma.

Order: Trade between Pondicherry and Burma shall be continued (as before).

This Order was written on a gold illuminated paper (29 lines) and sent to Pondicherry.

Note : After the destruction of an English settlement in Negrais (on 6 October 1759), Alaungmintaya felt that he should turn to the French for the supply of guns, etc. (See Hall, D.G.E.: Europe and Burma, London, Oxford University Press, 1945, pp.62-7; Harvey, G.E.: History of Burma, London, Frank Cass, 1967 Reprint, pp.230-1; Phayre, A.P.: History of Burma, London, Susil Gupta, 1967 Reprint, pp.161-2)

23 December 1759

Order: (1) Min Ye Aung Naing with Sitke, Nagan and Sayay Gyi under him, shall restore peace and order in the Shan and Yoon areas under their control as there had been serious disturbances in these

areas recently.

- (2) Min Ye Aung Naing, etc. shall be extremely righteous in the discharge of their duties so that there would be no oppressions.
- (3) In cases where the use of force is necessary, great care should be taken as it would ensue political grievances of lasting effect.
- (4) They shall be in a constant state of preparedness for any emergency.
- (5) Store provisions as much as possible.

This Order was passed on 23 December 1759 and given to Min Ye Aung Naing.
1 January 1760

Order:(1) Confer the title of Jambūdīpasaddhammahārājaguru upon
Jinābhirāma the Laungshe Sayadaw.

(2) Made four lacquer images (Man Hpaya) of the Buddha using the ashes of the King's cloths and place them at the four gates of the Shwe Hsan Daw of Dagon (Shwedagon).

(3) The image on the east shall be named Yay Natha, south Thwoot Natha, west Zabu Tha and north Paung Natha.

This Order was given on 1 January 1760.

Note : See Than Tun : "Lacquer Image of the Buddha (Mam Bhura:)", Shiroku, XIII, November 1980, pp.21-36, for the technique and the history of the lacquer Buddha industry in Burma.

(1 January 1760)

Alaungmintaya, the Most Excellent King, Possessor of Arindama Lance, Master of White Elephant, Liege Lord of Various Kings, sent this Order to Sīrisudhammarāja the Crown Prince.

Order:(1) Stop all law suits for realizing the loans, etc. on any

member of the families belonging to men in the fighting forces against Ayut'ia.

- (2) Postpone all such law suits for loans, etc. until the said campaign is over.
- (3) For other loans, a demand for repayment is prohibited until a period of ten months is over.
- (4) Prohibit strictly the consumption of any intoxicant drinks.
- (5) Stop all practices of animism. Proclaim the Order by displaying the execution blade and solemnly announcing the fact that the punishment for disobedience would be an execution with that blade.

This Order was passed on (1 January 1760).

Note : The King allowed the offer of liquor and meat to the spirit of Yan Bon Khwin cannon at the Shwe Hsan Daw battle near Prome on 7 February 1755 (Kon., I 1967, p. 133).

(1 January 1760)

Order: Permission granted to Sīrisudhammarāja the Crown Prince to build a monastery with five stairways, elephant approach (veranda) all around the building, four gates each with Mhangin fixed on top of the decoration over the gate.

This Order was passed on (1 January 1760).

(1 January 1760)

Alaungmintaya, the Most Excellent King, Defender of the Buddha's Religion, Possessor of Arindama Lance, Master of White Elephant, Liege Lord of Various Kings, sent this intimation to his Chief Queen.

Everything in the campaign goes well due to the fact that the King and his men have an infinite faith in the Religion.

(1 January 1760)

Unlike any other king, Alaungmintaya is destined to live long and do his duty in helping the Religion prosper.

Unlike any other woman, Alaungmintaya's Chief Queen would be extremely kind and generous. These are indeed the good qualities of a good administrator and she is expected to help her son in the government so that there would be nothing like an oppressive rule.

Order:(1) The subject people should not suffer from any kind of oppression done inadvertently by the Crown Prince who is now ruling the kingdom during the absence of the King.

(2) A judgement should be made only after hearing what each of the contending parties has to say.

(3) Take care to prevent fire. As a young man, the Crown Prince might have some remissions in the discharge of his duties. Remind him often of the dangers of fire, etc.

(4) Give priority to constructions of the moat though workers shall never be pressed to work too hard.

(5) Repair the Royal Lake. It is only half a day's work to do.

(6) Dam the Mu but choose carefully the right place and time to do it.

This Order was passed in (1 January 1760).

4 January 1760

Min Hla Yaza (Shwe Dike Wun), Sithu Nawyatha (Lord of Pakhan Gyi) and Tain Gya Min Gyi (Sawbwa of Yaw) were sent with horsemen and gunmen to suppress a rebellion at Tavoy. Theinga Set and Thiha Pyan Tin of the gunmen group came to report that the rebellion is now over. The King is very much pleased with this information.

Order:(1) Execute those who led the rebellion.

(2) Be magnanimous on others who surrendered.

(3) Choose one from those who surrendered in Tavoy as our envoy to Tenasserim to get back our ship that was seized at Rangoon and taken to Tenasserim by some Europeans during a rebellion there.

(4) Send the envoy to Tenasserim by a "speed" boat.

This Order was passed on 4 January 1760.

Note : ROB 22 September 1759 mentions that Min Hla Yaza was sent with 100 horsemen and 1,000 gunmen to Tavoy on 18 November 1759 and another contingent of 100 horsemen, 400 gunmen and 1,000 lancers under Sithu Nawyatha and Sawbwa of Yaw was sent there too on 28 November 1759. Messengers with the news of victory arrived at Madama where the King was busy preparing to march south, probably on this day when the Order was passed, i.e. 4 January 1760. Allowing ten days for the horseman to negotiate the journey from Tavoy to Madama, we could say that Tavoy fell on 25 December 1759. About the ship "stolen" from Rangoon, one account says:

Early in 1759 some Peguan rebels, who had made a raid on Syraim, escaped by a French ship. Bad weather compelled this vessel to put in at the Siamese port of Tenasserim. The Burmese demanded the surrender of the ship. The Siamese refused and permitted it to proceed on its voyage . (Wood,W.A.R.:A History of Siam, London , Fisher Unwin,1926,p.240)

5 January 1760

On Saturday 5 January 1760, Alaungmintaya, the Most Excellent King, Defender of the Buddhist Religion, Possessor of Arindama Lance, Master of White Elephant, invested the Lord of Bhummagiri with the Arrow Symbol of Vassalage.

Lord of Bhummagiri took this oath of allegiance :

From today onwards I promise to do nothing detrimental to the interest of the King. I am ready forever even to risk my life for the King. Should I become a traitor, may the Arindama Lance destroy me.

The King said :

If you are true in allegiance like the straightness of this arrow, you shall be free from all illnesses and you shall enjoy happiness of both physic and mind. You shall have prosperity in this life and in all the lives hereafter.

This investiture of the arrow was made at a place in front of the Arindama Lance on stand.

Note : This way to administer the oath of allegiance is not Burmese. Bhummagiri is unknown.

7 January 1760

Order:(1) Troops under Min Gyi Nawyatha shall select camp sites where water and grass are easily available along the route of march into the territories of Thai.

(2) They shall construct tents of bamboo and thatch for troopers and made the tents as good as possible according to the available supply of material for constructions.

(3) They shall construct the Royal Pavilion at each site and made its surroundings clean and good for a royal residence.

(4) Men under Sitke Nanda Sithu and Maha Bo of Min Gyi Nawyatha's command shall do these constructions.

This Order was passed on 7 January 1760.

7 January 1760

Order:(1) Troops under U Dain Nandathu, Bala Ye Htoot and Daywa Thura shall build a temporary road from Moulmein to Tavay.

(2) The road should be wide enough for elephants and horses to

pass through without congestion.

- (3) Construct causeways in swampy areas by laying logs of each 10 to 15 cubits (15-22.5 feet / 4.5-6.85 metres) length side by side, covering them with bamboo mats and spreading earth on them so that they would be strong enough to stand the weight of elephants walking on them.
- (4) Wherever the constructions are faulty, responsible persons shall be punished.

This Order was passed on 7 January 1760.

(7 January 1760)

- Order:(1) Irrespective of whoever their former commanders were, Min Hla Yaza (Shwe Dike Wun) shall take the sole command of all the fighting forces coming either by land or sea on arrival at Tavoy.
- (2) Sithu Nawyatha (Lord of Pakhan Gyi), Sawbwa of Yaw, Nanda Yawda, Aka Bohmu and all other commanders of various fighting units shall take orders from Min Hla Yaza.
 - (3) Since Mergui and Tenasserim belong to the other kingdom, attack against them shall wait until the arrival of the King at Tavoy.
 - (4) In the meanwhile, collect provisions.
 - (5) Give provisions to Theinga Set as much as his Talaing boat can carry.

This Order was passed on (7 January 1760).

(7 January 1760)

Order:(1) Min Hla Yaza, Sithu Nawyatha, Thohanbwa, Nanda Yawda and Aka

Bohmu shall send 1,000 baskets of rice that had been sent from Rangoon by ships to Tavoy, to Ye and Wagaru after providing enough men, boats and escorts.

- (2) Get half of the boat men required from the prisoners captured in Tavoy and another half from the fighting forces.

This Order was passed on (7 January 1760).

(15 January 1760)

In the name of the Burmese King, his generals in Tavoy send this Order to the authorities now in charge of Tenasserim.

Order:(1) During the Alaungmintaya's Manipur campaign (12 November 1758- 7 February 1759), due to oppressions by the Burmese officers, there was a Talaing rebellion at Rangoon, some Europeans seized a Burmese ship at Rangoon and took it away to Mergui and Tenasserim at that time. On demand to have it returned, a reply was given that Thai king's permission is necessary to do that. One king would not withhold another king's property. Return the ship as quickly as possible.

- (2) When people from one kingdom fled to another, they shall be repatriated as soon as possible. We observe this rule and we also expect that you also observe it. Otherwise, declare that the refugees from Tavoy shall not be repatriated.

This Order was dated (15 January 1760) and Theinga Set and Thiha Yan Tin were sent with it to Tenasserim.

Note : Merchants of Tavoy carried their property on ships and took refuge in Tenasserim and the Burmese officers now wanted them repatriated.

(See Wood 1926, p.240; JBRS, XI, ii, p.299)

19 January 1760

From the Generals of the Fighting Forces of Alaungmintaya

To the Officers in Charge of Mergui and Tenasserim

We came to subdue a rebellion in Tavoy. Some people there took fright and fled into the territories of the neighbouring kingdom. We followed them in an attempt to stop them. At Sin Doe some people fought against us. Nga Tha Byaung, Nga Pyan Yan and his wife of that village were captured and now they were used as messengers.

Order: Send back all people, not excepting one, from Tavoy if you do not want to sever friendship with us.

This Order was dated 19 January 1760 and sent to Mergui by boat men said to be of Mergui and captured by Bohmu Nanda Yawda at Tike Bataw Gyaung and Taung Gyaung.

(7 February 1760)

Theinga Set brought the report that Min Hla Yaza, Mani Set, Thamanta Thura and men of Thu Nge Daw and Thay Nat had conquered the port of Mergui. The King was immensely pleased with their services.

Order:(1) Collect provisions and prepare for the advance further.

(2) Min Hla Yaza is given the entire command.

This Order was given on (7 February 1760).

20 February 1760

Order:(1) Nanda Yawda is given the supreme command.

(2) For reasons of being very close friends, no one shall disobey him or leave the camp site without his permission.

(3) Everyone shall do his best to bring success to the whole campaign soon.

This Order was given to Nanda Yawda on 20 February 1760.

Note : The King was in Tavoy from 19 February 1760 to 27 February (ROB 6 March 1760).
20 February 1760

King of Dvāravati, the original reason of Alaungmintaya's visit to Rangoon was to do some meritorious deeds on the Thein Gottaya Hill.

A casual check at the port was made and the King was reported that one of the ships was stolen and taken to Mergui. Men were sent to bring it back. But they failed to do so because officers at Mergui would not return without a specific order from the Thai King. In the meanwhile there was a rebellion in Tavoy. It was suppressed and the leader of rebellion was executed. Many people of Tavoy took fright and fled to Mergui and Tenasserim. A demand was made that they should be repatriated. Officers there simply ignored this demand. The King's men went to Mergui and Tenasserim. The stolen ship was not found there. The King also followed them and he is now approaching Dvāravati. Alaungmintaya expects to meet the Thai King before he reaches Dvāravati.

This letter was dated 20 February 1760.

(20 February 1760)

Dvāravati King does not observe the ten virtues of a king. He had done many things wrong in his dealing with both his relatives and his ministers. (Alaungmintaya) who is a Bodhisattva, has no equal in this Jambūdīpa. He had decided to teach Dvāravati King to become a good king. He must come and sit at the foot of the Bodhisattva to learn his lessons. Otherwise he shall be punished severely.

This was written in Pali on (20 February 1760).

Note : The Burmese had used a similar ruse upon the Mons before (ROB 25 April 1756).

3 March 1760

Order:(1) Min Gaung Nawyatha, Nay Myo Nawyatha and all the commanders who lead the vanguards shall clear the way only good enough to let themselves get through and they should move forward on the double in order to pass the difficult terrain and reach the plains as quickly as possible.

(2) Troops , though moving quickly, shall not get divided into several groups.

(3) Collect provisions along the way.

This Order of 3 March 1760 was given to Tuyin Hla Gyaw for sending it to the commanders concerned.

Note : After having taken Tenasserim, the Burmese forces crossed the peninsula over to the Gulf of Siam side and in marching north on that side, they went "for several days with the sea to the right and a high range of mountains to the left" (Wood 1926, p.241).

(3 March 1760)

Order:(1) Sithu Nawyatha (Lord of Pakhan) and Min Gyi Nawyatha must send 500 gunmen under Nanda Pyanchi and 400 gunmen under Naya Pyanchi by the water route as quickly as possible to support the forces that had marched ahead comprising 1,000 horsemen and 100 gunmen of the Shwe Daung Letyapaw under Shwe Daung Kyaw Zwa Htin.

(2) Min Gyi Nawyatha, Lord of Pakhan and their men shall follow the advance forces while they construct the road and wait for the news of the advancing forces.

(3) Thura Pyanchi and 25 horsemen from the Amyint forces shall march with Ainda Pyanchi.

- (4) Report immediately, irrespective of time, the information from interrogating captured enemy soldiers.

This Order was given to Tutta Pyitsi on (3 March 1760).

(3 March 1760)

- Order:(1) Believing that they are dependable, Shwe Daung Kyaw Htin and Shwe Daung Letwe Paw shall lead the vanguard.
- (2) They shall get all horsemen of various groups to move in unison as under one command.
- (3) 300 gunmen under Ainda Pyanchi and Naya Pyanchi shall join them.
- (4) They shall fight and conquer when there are any enemy troops that come to stop them. Otherwise, they shall not fight against either a stockade or a fortified town.
- (5) They shall have to report immediately when they encounter any enemy making a stand in a stockade, etc.
- (6) Send also 25 horsemen under Thuya Pyanchi from the Amyint forces, together with Ainda Pyanchi.
- (7) Report immediately, irrespective of time, the information from interrogating any captured enemy soldier.

This Order was given to Tutta Pyitsi on (3 March 1760).

6 March 1760

- Order:(1) Chief Queen and Crown Prince Sīrisudhammarāja shall take special precautions against theft and fire in the city.
- (2) Get the city moat and wall done quickly and properly.
- (3) Inspect the administration of local chiefs and learn the statecraft.
- (4) On 27 February 1760, the King left Tavoy on a campaign against Ayut'ia and the Chief Queen and Crown Prince should not have

any anxiety about the safety of the King.

- (5) Get the Wet Toe Dam ready before the rainy season comes.
- (6) When the rains come, send back three fourth of the people who are now working on the moat and wall construction to their villages to cultivate.
- (7) Invite (forty six) monks to a feast in the Hlaung Daw U of the palace on the King's birthday (25 August 1760 as he was born on Friday 15 Tawthalin S 1076 - 12 August 1714).
- (8) Made offering to the guardian spirits on the King's birthday.
- (9) Chief Queen, Queens and Concubines shall offer flower, food, light and water to the Buddha everyday without fail and observe the Atṭhaṅga Sīla on every Uposatha day and wish for the King's health and success of the Ayut'ia campaign.

This Order was given to Daywa Yanthu on 6 March 1760.

(6 March 1760)

Order:(1) Sīrisudhammarāja shall send men to fetch the collection of arms at Rangoon to Shwebo.

- (2) Men who go to fetch these arms shall not disturb the people along the route by asking provisions or labourers or money in lieu of food and labour.

This Order was given to (Daywa Yanthu on 6 March 1760).

8 March 1760

Order:(1) Min Hla Nawyatha, Shwe Daung Letya Paw, Shwe Daung Letwe Kyaw, Tain Gya Min Gyi, Lubyodaw Regimental Chiefs who are already noted for their bravery and their men shall fight with utmost valour in a synchronized effort when they encounter with Shan or Thai enemies.

- (2) The results of a battle shall be reported, irrespective of time.

This Order was given on 8 March 1760 and sent Dippa Yanda with it to various commanders of the advance forces.

(8 March 1760)

Order:(1) Shwe Daung Letya Paw, Shwe Daung Kyaw Zwa Htin and Lubyodaw

Regimental Chiefs who are already noted for their bravery , shall seize provisions at any place they take after a fight.

- (2) They shall send horsemen to reconnoitre before they move from one place to another.

- (3) If Phetburi has any kind of fortifications, wait the arrival of the main forces to attack it. Cannons are essential to attack a fort.

- (4) Min Gaung Nawyatha and Nay Myo Nawyatha shall also abide by the Order.

This Order was given on (8 March 1760) and Shwe Daung Pyan Htin and Nanda Thuriya were sent with it (to various commanders concerned).

Note : This Order was passed to warn the advance forces to wait for the arrival of the main forces for a united and simultaneous attack on Phetburi. It seems that while some forces were attacking Kwe (Kuinua) some forces went further north to attack Phetburi.

8 March 1760

Order:(1) Min Gyi Nawyatha, Shwe Daung Letya Paw, Min Hla Nawyatha, Shwe Daung Kyaw Zwa Htin and men of various units shall bear in mind that death and destruction would be the result of any wrong movement in war and as the King is also coming in the rear closely with the marching troops, they shall wait

for the King's signal to march forward from Hsa Lin.

- (2) In spite of the fact that Min Gaung Nawyatha, Nay Myo Nawyatha, Do To, Shwe Daung Nge, U Dain Zayya, etc. are chiefs in their own units and in spite of the zeal that each leader would like to go in front of others and win the battle by his unit alone, he and his unit shall wait for the word to fight from the supreme command.

This Order was given on 8 March 1760 and sent it with Headman of Yay Poke to various leaders of the fighting forces.

8 March 1760

Order: One would not know the colour of the chick before it is hatched. So is a battle. That is one point to remember. Next, if several men try to kill one enemy by spearing him, none of them could have achieved his purpose because one's effort would nullify the effort of others. Remember this too. Then follow this battle plan.

- a Min Gaung Nawyatha, Naymyo Nawyatha, Min Gyi Nawyatha and Shwe Daung Kyaw Zwa Htin shall keep the main force in some strategic point ready for an immediate advance.
- b Shwe Daung Letya Paw with 75 horsemen and Shwe Daung Letwe Kyaw with 75 horsemen, with the forces under Shwe Daung Letya Kyaw, Shwe Daung Kyaw Zwa Htin and Thiha Nanda shall charge the enemy first.
- c U Dain Ponnya and U Dain Yanda Mate shall select 250 horsemen from Lu Byo Daw and Thu Nge Daw groups and made the supporting charge.
- d Min Hla Nawyatha with a select group of 300 gunmen shall

stay at a close range to help the charging men.

e Fight and conquer Kwe (Kuinoa) or if there is no resistance, occupy it.

f Tain Gya Min Gyi with another select group of 300 gunmen from 2,000 gunmen shall stay at a close range to help the charging men from the left flank.

g Failures shall not be tolerated.

This Order was given on 8 March 1760 in Panan.

Note : Kwe (Kuinoa) was not taken on that day (8 March 1760). According to the chronicles, it took seventeen days after Alaungmintaya had left Tavoy to take Kwe; therefore the day when Kwe fell would be 16 March 1760.

11 March 1760

Order:(1) Min Gyi Nawyatha, Min Gaung Nawyatha, Nay Myo Nawyatha, Shwe Daung Kyaw Zwa Htin and commanders of cavalry and infantry who had been already noted for their bravery, shall organize the march of the fighting forces as follows :

a Shwe Daung Letya Paw shall lead with 75 horsemen with guns; any infantry men who want to serve in this first group shall give their names to Min Hla Yaza.

b The rest of the cavalry shall be divided into left, centre and right groups and they are to follow the first group from a distance that could not be reached by enemy guns or cannons.

c The rest of the fighting men shall march in a given order; they should not get crazy of a few successes before; there shall be no confusion during the march.

This Order was passed on 11 March 1760 and it was given to Min Hla Yaza.

(11 March 1760)

Order:(1) Min Hla Yaza (Shwe Dike Wun) and fighting men of various groups including horse and elephant groups shall carry out the duty assigned to each of them with efficiency.

(2) While the fighting is going on man in the rear must quickly decide either the centre or the left flank is winning and push forward in the direction where reinforcement is urgently needed.

This Order was sent with Shwe Daung Kyaw Htin on (11 March 1760).

11 March 1760

Order:(1) Min Gyi Nawyatha, Min Gaung Nawyatha, Nay Myo Nawyatha, Shwe Daung Kyaw Htin and members of the fighting forces of Thu Nge Daw, Shwe Hlan, Phone Daw Byit and groups of horse, elephant and gun should not get crazy with a few initial successes.

(2) Ordnance should be most carefully looked after.

(3) Camp sites should be chosen with the usual care.

(4) Troopers shall not , while the main force is at rest in camp, wander in groups of ten or twenty.

This Order was passed on 11 March 1760 and given to Banyu Dala and Aka Htin for circulation.

13 March 1760

Order:(1) Min Hla Yaza, Shwe Daung Letya Paw, Shwe Daung Letwe Kyaw who was first given command of the advance forces, and Nay Myo Nawyatha and Tain Gya Min Gyi who had been given command of the advance forces later, failed to report daily all the events of each day including the condition of supplies, etc. and the position of the enemy; they shall report these

immediately.

- (2) Report the condition in Phetburi; if there is no opposition, occupy the town and take care that there is no danger of fire as in other places where fire broke out as soon as the fighting forces had passed through them.
- (3) After having taken possession of the town of Phetburi, the main army shall camp outside it; members of the fighting forces shall not be allowed to come and go freely in the newly occupied town.
- (4) Collect food provisions at Phetburi as much as possible and store them at one single place only so that proper care could be taken against loss or destruction through theft or negligence.

This Order was sent with Shwe Daung Thiri Kyaw Htin on 13 March 1760.

21 March 1760

- Order:(1) Min Hla Yaza and 300 gunmen and 150 horsemen shall follow the retreating enemy from a distance of one lance throw and Tain Gya Min Gyi shall go at a little distance from Min Hla Yaza so that he could help the former when necessary.. But Tain Gya Min Gyi is stupid and slow and he is like a blind man at a dance performance. What he should do is to chase the enemy who had escaped so that they would not have a chance to reorganize.
- (2) To find out the situation at Phetburi, the King sent Letya Min Nge Kyaw Zwa; when he passes through the advance forces, he shall give this Order to them; on receiving the Order, all troops shall stop and wait for the arrival of the King, except

Shwe Daung Thiri Kyaw Htin and his men who shall accompany

Letya Min Nge Kyaw Zwa (in his mission to Phetburi).

This Order was sent with Letya Min Nge Kyaw Zwa on 21 March 1760.

25 March 1760

Alaungmintaya, the Most Excellent King, Possessor of Arindama, Master of White Elephant, Defender of the Buddhist Religion, Liege Lord of Various Kings, Terror to Kings who have the audacity to refuse his suzerainty, Descendant of the Race of Sun, Lord of Sunāparanta, Tambadīpa, Kampoca, Rāmañña, Manipura, Sarekhettarā and several others, made this intimation to King of Dvāravati, members of his family and all his subjects :

The ascendancy of Alaungmintaya happened in accordance with the Buddha's prophesy.

Anyone who does not want to suffer the lost of his position, life and property shall submit himself to Alaungmintaya.

Opposition to Alaungmintaya who is destined to become supreme, is hopeless. This intimation was written on paper in Burmese as well as in Thai and given to a young monk called Nga Mun and seven others of Phetburi and they were sent to (Ayut'ia) on 25 March 1760. The letters were put in two white bags. The bags were then put in a casket. The casket was put in a gunny bag.

Note : Phetpuri fell into the Burmese hands in about 22 March 1760.

(25 March 1760)

Order:(1) Provisions now stored at Phetpuri shall be distributed among the Thai people after the fall of Ayut'ia.

(2) It was reported that some food stores had been stolen or robbed; let it be known to all inhabitants of Phetpuri that

if there were any more occurrence of theft or robbery at these food stores, everyone of them shall be put to death.

This Order was passed on (25 March 1760).

12 September 1760

Min Gaung Gyi who rules at Ava where five rivers meet, condescends to give this warning to the leaders of the forces sent from Moksobo to attack Ava, that (1) their effort is futile and that (2) they would suffer greatly if they continued to fight.

This warning was dated 12 November 1760 and it was given by King Min Gaung Nawyatha to the forces that were camping at Paya Hla.

Note : Min Gaung Nawyatha was the best of Alaungmintaya's generals and as soon as he knew the death of Alaungmintaya, he raised the standard of rebellion.

27 June	1760	Min Gaung Nawyatha took Ava
22 July	1760	King Dabayin sent troops to take back Ava
6 December	1760	Min Gaung Nawyatha escaped from Ava and was soon murdered

14 September 1760

Leader of the forces sent by the King against Min Gaung Nawyatha made this reply to Min Gaung Nawyatha (1) that he has no chance of a success, (2) that he was misled to assume that he is destined to become a king, (3) that he too is misleading hundreds and thousands of people to destruction, and (4) that he would soon be destroyed.

This letter was dated 14 September 1760 and sent from the forces at Paya Hla to Min Gaung Nawyatha in Ava.

29 April 1769

Order:(1) The nine pleaders shall take the oath :

We will never allow ourselves to be influenced by the

high or low status of a client; we will always try to be free from four unhealthy considerations due to greed, anger, ignorance or love; we will for ever take care not to become biased due to the fact that a person is one of our blood relatives or he is a very close friend of ours or he has given us a bribe; and we will confine our arguments within the framework of Dhammathat. If we break anyone of the promises given here, may we suffer the calamities mentioned in this book of oaths.

(2) The oath shall be administered at the East Court in the presence
one Wundauk - Deputy Minister, and one Sayay Gyi - Senior Clerk.

This Order was passed on 29 April 1769 and proclaimed by the Chief of
Heralds.

28 April 1770

Nga Pan	+ 10 of Thiha Daw
Nga Myat Yin	+ 10 of Yay Myet
Nga Nyo	+ 10 of Ma Gyi Don
Nga Kaung Gyi, Nga Kya	+ 10 of Tha Bye Ak

The above mentioned men were put under the charge of Thado Thiha Kyaw
by (Alaungmintaya) and after the death of Thado Thiha Kyaw, they were
employed in the service of the Dowager Queen Mother and this was formally
informed to the Chief of Artillery. In spite of that, Letya Bala Kyaw Htin
of Khin U is exacting dues from them.

Order:(1) Letya Bala Kyaw Htin shall not exact dues from the men
mentioned above.

(2) These men shall remain in the service of the Queen Mother.

This Order was passed on 28 April 1770 and proclaimed by the Herald.

4 September 1773

Commonfolks of Taung Hswe Lay have the same obligations as those of
He Pu

Commonfolks of Met Mon and Pa Ke have the obligation to build Haw -
Residence of the Local Chief, to prepare the compound of that
residence and to give in each year 30 viss of cotton, bee wax,
oil, saffron and cloth.

Lwe Me and Aung Ban had settled their dues as usual on 4 September 1773.

There was a dispute for the ownership of Met Mon and Pa Ke between the Chiefs of Mong Nai and Lawksawk. The officer from Lawksawk contended that from the time of the grandfather and father of the King who was taken as a prisoner to Hanthawaddy, Met Mon and Pa Ke were under Lawksawk. Due to some disturbances by Karens, Lawksawk's control over them was not tangible. Then Alaungmintaya suppressed the Karens and restored them under the charge of Lawksawk. In the time of King Dabayin, Mong Nai forcibly took over Met Mon and Pa Ke. Sawbwa of Mong Nai also claimed that Met Mon and Pa Ke were under Mong Nai right from the time of the grandfather and father of the King who was taken to Hanthawaddy. A water ordeal was prescribed to settle the dispute.

Note : Unfortunately we do not know the results of the ordeal.

31 July 1775

Order:(1) Find out the distance between one stage and another where stops for the night were made along the river Irrawaddy from Rangoon to Ava.

(2) Write a verse on the distances between stages on the Irrawaddy.

This Order was passed (when the King arrived at Ava on 31 July 1775).

Note : There were 38 stages and the distance in total was 180,000 tā / 357.95 miles / 576 kilometres.

24 February 1780

Order:(1) It is meet that the monks observe the same principle in wearing the robes on approaching an area where lay people live; one monk should not leave the right shoulder bare while another covers all shoulders and vice versa.

(2) Let the two groups of opposing ideas meet at the Thudama Zayat and debate.

This Order was passed on 24 February 1780 and proclaimed by Nay Myo Nawayatha the Atwin Wun, at the Thudama Zayat in the Man Aung Yadana pagoda precincts.

Note : Hsonda Sayadaw, Bagaya Sayadaw and Gadoe Sayadaw represented the

Cover Both Shoulders Group while Yadana San Loot Sayadaw, Pyo Gan Sayadaw and Taung Bilu Sayadaw represented the Leave Right Shoulder Bare Group in the debate. The group for Leave Right Shoulder Bare was defeated. Guṇamunindādhīpatipavarasāmimahādhammarājādhīrājaguru the Manli Sayadaw was made the Supreme Leader of the Religion who had to make all monks follow the single convention to cover both shoulders with the robe on entering the premises of lay people (Kon., I 1967, p.517).

25 February 1780

Order:(1) In the ensuing debate for or against covering only one shoulder with the robe and using the breast band, no long speeches would not be allowed.

(2) Arguments must have full scriptural support.

This Order was passed on 25 February 1780 and proclaimed by Kyaw Htin Nanda Mate Hlawga Thon Daung Hmu at Thudama Zayat in Man Aung Yadana pagoda precincts.

26 February 1780

Order:(1) At the debate between monks for and against robe on left shoulder alone, San Gyaung Sayadaw shall support the group for robe on left shoulder alone.

(2) Kyaw Aung San Hta Sayadaw, Min Ywa Sayadaw, Gadoe Zeik Sayadaw Nyaung Gan Sayadaw shall support the group against robe on left shoulder alone.

This Order was passed on 26 February 1780 and proclaimed by Nay Myo Nawayatha the Atwin Wun at the Thudama Zayat in the Man Aung Yadana pagoda precincts.

15 November 1780

Order; The Buddha would not have allowed two different styles in the way of monks wearing their robes. Decide which one is in conformity with the scriptures.

This Order was passed on 15 November 1780 and proclaimed by Nay Myo Nanthe the Chief of Heralds.

23 November 1780

Order:(1) There is no scriptural support on Left Shoulder; both shoulders should be covered.

(2) But before the final decision, state clearly the facts in favour of Both Shoulders.

This Order was passed on 23 November 1780 and proclaimed by Sithu Shwe Daung Nawyatha the Herald.