

## **Chapter IV**

### **Letwe Nawrahta's Yodayar Naing Mawgun**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

Just before the commencement of my third semester, I consulted Ajarn Sunait to select the topic of the thesis. Ajarn advised me that it would be beneficial to both countries if I could find and write about this Mawgun. Accordingly, I searched for the Mawgun (it took many months) in various libraries of Yangon, Mandalay and Napyitaw. I couldn't find it at first mainly because it was overshadowed by another Mawgun bearing the same title by Sale U Pon Nya. Then I found the thesis paper submitted by Daw Ye Ye Khin for the PhD degree in Myanmar Literature at the University of Yangon in 2007, in which the mention was made of the source; Tin-38 at the National Library of Myanmar. In the process of finding the manuscript, I am grateful to Ko Than Htaik (Research) for his help and translating it from verses to prose.

#### **4.2 The Document**

This palm leaf manuscript is not an original one. It is a hand written copy of the original palm-leaf manuscript, made in 1889. This manuscript is part of the U Tin's collection. It can be consulted in the Manuscript section of the National library of Myanmar.

The manuscript is entitled "Nawaddy hso Yodayar Naing Mawgun". The name is supposed to be given by the copyist. "hso" in Myanmar means sing or tell figuratively. "Nawaddy" is meant for any flawless writer. There is no mention of the name of the scribe. However, we can safely assume that this manuscript is a nineteenth century copy made from the original palm-leaf manuscript.

The text began with a very short prayer. At the end of the text, it is stated that the merit gained by writing one word is equivalent to that of sculpting a Buddha image. For the merit accumulated by copying the Mawgun, the scribe wished to attain Nirvana and

the text was fully copied at one o'clock on the 9<sup>th</sup> waxing day of Waso month ME 1251 (1889).

The manuscript is an ordinary palmleaf. It is neither kyan sit or shwe bain or shwe Myin cha all of which were used for the court officials or royalty. Measurement and catalogue number were not noted. The manuscript starts with ka and ends with kar. It is composed of one anga, 12 leaves, each with 11 lines.

### 4.3 Translation

The Mawgun is written in verse. Before the nineteenth century, Myanmar people seem to have preferred poetry to prose. These verses are often difficult to understand if they are not translated into prose. They are full of literary words and expressions. Most of them even contain structures, words and expressions that dated or that are no longer used even in writing. A translator with a sound knowledge of Myanmar literature is essential. I owe a debt of gratitude to U San Lwin (Taungoe), retired Director General and Chairman of the Myanmar Language Commission, who studied the Mawgun and gave invaluable suggestions and advise to me. In translating the Mawgun into English, I used mainly the Mawgun and carefully edited two other translated texts by Ko Than Htaik and Daw Ye Ye Khin. Owing to circumstances, I could not translate the Mawgun word for word. However, assiduous efforts have been made to be as precise as possible. Furthermore, I used Konbounset Yazawindawgyi as a reference book to get an insight into the episodes mentioned in the Mawgun.

There are some confusing words in the Mawgun. Though Dvarawati is the name of the ancient Mon settlement which flourished around Nakhon Pathom, Khubua and U Thong in central Thailand from the 6<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> century AD, Myanmar kings used to refer to the place as Siam (Ayutthaya). It is possible because one of the titles commonly held by the Kings of Ayutthaya was "ruler of Dvarawati". Similarly, despite the fact that the original place of Haripunjaya was Lamphun which was later annexed by King Mangrai of Chaing Mai, Myanmar kings still referred to it as Chaing Mai.



There is mention of many prominent place names such as nine kyangs, nine maings, nine htars, fifty seven districts of Chiang Mai and so on. The country of the eastern Shans of nine fortified cities were called Keng. Maing is also a town. Myanmar called it Mo or Maing whereas Siamese pronounced it Mong. These nine maings were situated in the eastern part of Kamboja Shan state. nine special seats of Shan Sabwas under the Myanmar kings were Mo hnyin, Mo gaung, Mo meik, Mo ne, Thein ni, Nyaung Shwe, Thi baw and Mo bye.<sup>1</sup> Rulers of these towns were given the right to use the five symbols of kingship: white umbrella, royal headdress, yak-hair swish, royal slippers and royal dagger. nine htars happened to be the military outposts located in the eastern frontiers with Siam.

The boundary or geographical demarcation of 57 districts of Chiang Mai included: the frontier with Kyaw Kathe Myetname (Vietnam) on the east, Lan Xang on the Southeast, Siam (Ayutthaya) on the South, Mottama on the Southwest, Moe Bye on the West, Keng Tung on the Northwest, Kyaik Nga The on the north, and the territories of Utibwa (China) on the northeast.

In the Mawgun, the author used the name of the northern column under the command of General Naymyo Thihapati as Zimme column (Myanmar rendering of Chiang Mai) and the southern column led by General Maha Nawrahta as Dawei column.

As described in the Mawgun, Saopha (Sawbwa)\* was chief of the Shan tribes. His brother is designated as Sawkan and Zarpan was the ruler of territories which is larger than the village but smaller than the town.

Regarding the unit of measurement, Tar is used for measuring circumstances and Taung for heights. One taung equals 19.5 inches and one tar is equivalent to 7 taungs.

As I have mentioned earlier, the Mawgun is composed of (5) parts. The author made a clear description of each episode of the whole Mawgun. Letwe Nawrahta finished

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<sup>1</sup> U Tin, *The Royal Administration of Burma VOL. 2*, (Bangkok: Ava Publishing House, 2001), Page 180.

\* Lord of the sky

his work in sakkaraj 1129 which is 1767. I have so far found only two books written around 1770 on this war; "The Chronicle of the Testimony of the Old Inhabitants of Ayutthaya" by the captives of war of 1767 and the French Jesuit priest F. H Turpin's "A History of the Kingdom of Siam up to 1770." Unlike the Mawgun, both of them lack consistency in describing the episodes of the war.

#### **4.4 Conclusion**

By recovering this text, more concrete historical facts have been gathered. Its importance is immeasurable because it is the only manuscript which has survived from ancient times. It is a contemporary account useful to understand the context of Myanmar-Thai relations in the mid 18 century.

This manuscript had been lost until recently. It shows the lack of coordination between historians and scholars of Myanmar literature. As these two disciplines are like head and tail of a coin, a close cooperation between them needs to be further strengthened.



## 4.5 The Translation of the Yodayar Naing Mawgun

### Stz(1)

Praising in the right way, I will open the ears of the people (to clear their conscience and intelligence). In every military campaign, the most renowned and well known Alaungpaya at various times placed our lord Hsinphyushin, second son of Alaungpaya, at the head of the armies or vanguard. It was like sharpening Hsinphyushin's physical prowess and raising the awareness of the people from elsewhere to realize it. The unstable situation in Siam supported to ensure what King Alaungpaya, before his death, enjoined his son Hsinphyushin to spark the invasion of Siam, the inheritance of our forebears, at a later date. Therefore, Hsinphyushin appointed mandarins to march, invest and occupy Dwarrawati that lay adjacent to Khemavara (Keng Tung), Mahanagra and Haribunja (Chiang Mai) in ninety nine Shan states which was difficult to be subdued because the sea, rivers and streams surrounded it.

To long endure these events of overcoming the country and the palace of the king of Siam, continually, until the extinction of the world and to augment auspiciousness, Yodayar Naing Mawgun, the topmost of all poems, is being submitted.

### Stz(2)

The phases of war in investing Yodayar and the conquest of it will be described in a rows as in the making of a string of pearls with selected beads of the same size. Glorious, sacred and well known Alaungpaya conquered the lands of Kyawkathe-Myetname (Viet Nam), Phrae, Nan, Yun/Chiang Mai, and Siam (Ayutthaya) subjugating them as vassal states and compelled them to pay annual tributes. During the reign of king Naungdawgyi, the donor of a golden stupa in Mahananda Lake (The Kandwin Zigon), these lands stopped paying tribute to the king. Furthermore, peace could not prevail because leaders of these regions caused stirs or committed crimes and looting in the outskirts of these eastern regions. Therefore, King Naungdawgyi dispatched an army to search and arrest the leader of those rebels or instigators and to occupy Chiang Mai where few Myanmar royal servants were present or no garrison stationed.

Stz(3)

The four mandarins assigned to march into Chiang Mai were Abaya Garmani, Thiri Raza Thingyan, Taingyar Min Gaung and Minhla Thiri. In overwhelming Chiang Mai with three army columns, many victories had been won because of seven commanders from these columns who forcibly attacked the enemy without cease for rest as a musth elephant. After conquering fifty seven districts of Chiang Mai such as Chiang Mai, Lampang, Nan, Phrae, Maung Thwin, Chiang Saen, Payao; Minye Thiri was left to garrison at Chiang Mai to prevent another recurrence in future. The Myanmar army brought princes and princesses, grandsons of king, chieftains, prisoners, elephants and horses as well as gold, silver and gems from Chiang Mai. They arrived back to the palace of Sagaing in the month of Tabaung , Myanmar era 1124 (on 4<sup>th</sup> March 1762) and presented these booties to the king.

Stz(4)

Not long after the conquest of Chiang Mai, King Naungdawgyi died (on 28<sup>th</sup> November 1763). The acme of the nation and the glorious king Hsinphyushin, in accordance with the auguries and oracles, ascended the throne at the propitious time in Buddhist Era 2307, Kosa era 1125 (on 29<sup>th</sup> November 1763). He ruled Sagaing and Ava.

Stz(5)

In the early reign of Hsinphyushin, Nwemano, ruler of Lamphun destroyed such regions over Chiang Mai as Maing Saen, Maing Hlyin, Maing Nyut, Maing Law, Maing Pin, Maing Hin, Maing Hsat, Maing Sut, Maing Kin, Maing Han, Maing Pan, Naing Maw, Maing Paw, Maing Win, Naung Khwin , Lawin, Maung Long, Maing Htar, Maing Tar, Maing Nin, Chiang Tung, Chiang Kaung, Thalaw, Ph Yao, Chiang Kwon, Phrae, Nan Chiang Won, Maing Thong, Maing Nyaung, Maing Hit, Maing Hae, Chiang Ye, Chiang Saen, Maing Kwat, Chiang Lap, Chiang Wine, Maing Kung, Maing Nyat, Maing Ngaw, Maing Tain, Maing Pawn, Maing Sin, Maing Pu, Maing Khinm Thamat, Maing Pai, Bukwar, Maing Nwe. His rank was not of Sawbwa, Sawkan or Zarpar but of chief thief or rebel only. Only when he was suppressed, the upheavals caused by him and other



chieftains from the Chiang Mai region would cease. As such, Hsinphyushin, as a gesture to show his martial prowess, decided to quell all these rebels.

#### Stz(6)

Rural villages in far flung areas submitted in unison to the King that Nwemano, resembling a filthy moss on the surface of the lakes, should be suppressed with the glory and the power of the king's august royal personage once and for all. Therefore, the king appointed Naymyo Thiha Pati (supreme commander and general of Zimme column), Kyaw Gaung Kyaw Thu, Thiri Nanda Kyaw Htin, and Thiri Yaza Thingyan as commanders to march on Chaing Mai on Tuesday, the 6<sup>th</sup> waxing day of Taboung month 1125 ME (on 6<sup>th</sup> July 1764)\*. The Zimme column marched on approximately nine stations up to Thanlwin jetty and crossed the nine ferries or fords on the Thanlwin River; Htar Saen Nyut, Htar Bar Hlaing, Htar Zagar, Htar Pa, Htar Theh, Htar Hpyant, Htar Wint, Htar Pa Lu and Htar Bar Yu. When they heard the coming of Zimme column, rulers of towns in Chiang Mai region fortified their respective towns. While the Zimme column arrived Keng Tung through Mong Nai, they encountered the messenger who carried the news of the advance of Chiang Mai town guard; Min Ye Thiri's army. They received information about the eastern towns of Thanlwin River such as fifty seven districts of Chiang Mai. General Naymyo Thihapati sent ten armies consisting of Myelatt Sawbwa's seven armies, Kyaw Gaung Kyaw Thu's army, Thiri Yaza Thingyan's army, and second in command Tuyin Yama Kyaw's army to Maing Pu - Maing Tha route. Twenty five armies under the command of Naymyo Thiha Pati and Thiri Nanda Kyaw Htin of the main army took Maing Thwin- Kyaing Ye (Chiang Rai) route.

After sending families to take refuge in the Lwai Lon Mountain ridge, Nge Thu Tit, Nge San Khong and forces from Chiang Mai besieged Payao town with the strength of twenty four armies. Myanmar army seized the families of Nge Thu Tit, Nge San Khong and over three thousand followers from Lwai Lon mountain range. When they heard the marching of Myanmar army heading towards the town of Payao, Nge Thu Tit

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\* (agrees with U Maung Maung Tin's Konbaunghset Yazawin)





and townsmen of Chiang Mai dared not contend with the Myanmar army and accordingly joined their forces with Nwemano's at Lamphun town.

Naymyo Thiha Pati's army continued marching on Lamphun town and Nwemano who could neither take nor conceal his family fled and deserted elephants, horses and weapons. The Zimme column demolished all dangers in the fifty seven districts of Chiang Mai and captured a sum of elephants, horses and prisoners of war.

#### Stz(7)

I will relate the victories over Maing-lon Kha Pin (Luang Prabang) as another episode to take note. Upon receiving the royal order to seize the town of Maing-lon Kha Pin in Lan Xang, the army marched from Nan\* on the 8<sup>th</sup> waxing day of Tazaungmon month 1126 ME ( 31<sup>st</sup> October 1764). Twenty five armies led by Naymyo Thiha Pati went by water route passing thirty nine stations and reached Maing Laik, which lay adjacent to Lan Xang. Ten armies under the command of deputy commander Tuyin Yama Kyaw went by land route passing fifteen stations and arrived at Maing Lon Kha Ping. Maing Lon Kha Ping was the town built between Nam Khan River, eastern side of the city and Mekong River, on the city's backyard. The king of Lan Xang and his mandarins with the forces of one thousand war elephants, two thousand horses, and fifty thousand troops took to the bank of Mekong which lay behind the city and attacked Myanmar troops. The Myanmar army valiantly repulsed the attack of the enemy and forced them to retreat to the city. Many weapons were captured from the battle and over ten thousand corpses were piled up by Myanmar army beside the Lan Xang creek (Mekong River). The Myanmar army crossed the Mekong River and established camp by the river. They erected the fighting towers near the town and placed their big guns on supports and bombarded the city day and night. Half the city lay devastated. Despite defending at best from the remaining portion of the city, the King and the people surrendered in fear of round the clock bombardment of big guns and cannon from the nearby hillocks and knolls.

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\* Zimme column baulked at Nan town during the rainy season.

Stz(8)

An oath of loyalty was given to the King of Lan Xang, court mandarins and the rulers of Nine Maung namely Maing Lon, Maing Pan, Maing Han, Maing Nyin, Maing Thwin, Maing San, Maing Lar, Maing Hnaung and Moe Thayn. When the Lan Xang crisis ended, three princesses, a Minister's daughter, one thousand slaves, gold and silver, five hundred each of cannon, muskets, war elephants, spears, swords, shields, saddleries, and three Lan Xang court mandarins were sent to the royal foot of the king. The army marched from Maing-lon Kha Pin on the 5<sup>th</sup> waxing day of Tagu month 1126 ME (on 25<sup>th</sup> March 1765) and arrived at Lampang on the 10<sup>th</sup> waxing day of Kason month 1127 ME (on 28<sup>th</sup> April 1765). While being stationed at Lampang during the rainy season, difficulties arose for the armies to stay there because of a flood. After brandishing a sword and reading out the royal order at the God of Water who was invited to the scene, the water receded to accommodate the armies.

Stz(9)

The first part from the stanzas 1 to 8 collectively shows the conquest of Myanmar armies over Chiang Mai which lay in the midst of a ring of Nine Kengs and the Kingdom of Lan Xang (Luang Prabang) before investing Siam.

Stz(10)

I will describe the praiseworthy events which will have to be talked about in every dynasty or era in the right way.

Since the times of grandfather and great grandfather of Hsinphyushin, Siamese kings acknowledged Myanmar suzerainty by sending sons, daughters, elephants and horses. In Hsinphyushin's reign, they ceased paying tributes. Therefore, 29 armies and navies of Dawei column (Muttama/Martaban route) led by General Maha Nawrahta, Deputy Commanders Naymyo Gunarat and Tuyin Yan Aung Kyaw were sent to Siam through Htar Raik on the 8<sup>th</sup> waxing day of Nattaw month 1126 ME (on 30<sup>th</sup> November 1764).



When the Zimme column was stationed in Lampang in the months of rain, the king's order which amounts to Saka's, the celestial ruler of Tavatimsa, arrived. The royal order stated that the Zimme column was to march on Yodayar and invest Ayutthaya in combination with the Dawei column which was encamped at Kani village as to attack the city from the two directions.\*

#### Stz(11)

Upholding Hsinphyushin's order on their foreheads, ranks and files from the Zimme column would not fear but gladly march on Mount Meru even if they were given order to do so. Due to Hsinphyushin's order, they choose not to spend the rains and marched from Lampang to Yodayar (Ayutthaya) by land and water routes on the 8<sup>th</sup> waxing day of Tawthalyin month 1127 ME (on 22<sup>nd</sup> August 1765), a day of victory and auspiciousness, foretold by the omen. The strength of the army consisted of nine armies, three hundred war elephants, three hundred horses and twenty thousand troops. They marched along the stations towards the towns of Tak, Yarhai, Kampaeng Phet, Sawankhalok, Sukhothai, Rathama, Phitsanulok, and Phichit (ဘန်တက်၊ ရွာဟိုင်း၊ ကမန်ပိုက်၊ သဝန်ခလောက်၊ သောက်ကတဲ၊ ရသမာ၊ ပိဿလောက်၊ ပိတ်စဲ). On the route during the march, they fought unflinchingly to suppress those towns which did not surrender and resisted the Myanmar army that the Siamese had completely been routed and dispersed. Casualties from the enemy's side were high.

#### Stz(12)

One hundred and fifty cannons, big and small, with the capacity of one viss to 15 viss ball captured along the journey were sent to Chiang Mai. In the month of Tabotwe 1127 ME (on 14<sup>th</sup> January 1766), the Zimme Column established camps at Pa Thoke village (a distance of over 400 tars from the north eastern side of Ayutthaya). Ranks and

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\* They stayed at Tavoy for the rainy season and marched from Tavoy to Ayutthaya on the 10<sup>th</sup> waxing day of Tansaungmon month, 1127 ME (on 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1765). This column, after storming the towns of Phetburi, Ratburi, Suphanburi, Kanchanaburi, Chainorth and Singburi ( ဗြိတိသိ၊ ရပ်ဘီး၊ သမန်းပုံ၊ ကံပူရီ၊ ဆယား၊ ဆွန်ဖြန့် ) were stationed at Kani village, a distance of five stations from the west of Ayutthaya.



files from the Zimme column fought in concert every enemy defending from whether under the base of the wall or outside the town and achieved success in capturing a number of elephants and horses. Their qualifications were much the same as those of celestial warriors. Just as the eagle swoops down on its prey unhaltingly, these fearless warriors fought unhesitatingly when confronted with the enemies.

### Stz(13)

Four officers from the Zimme column were assigned duties to send elephants, horses and cannons back to the royal foot of the king. When news of the coming of Zimme column to Pa Thoke village was heard, the Dawei column under the command of General Maha Nawrahta left Kani village and pitched camp at a place\* with the distance of one thousand tars. When the Siamese king was informed by the court mandarins of the stationing of Zimme column on the northern side of the city and Dawei column on the western side of Ayutthaya, he pronounced that even if they did not go out and fight, Myanmar armies will find difficulties to encamp when the rain lay the city several feet under water. Thus Myanmar armies would have to retreat and we would not be in any danger. Any Myanmar soldier who got near the wall must be captured alive. With a great deal of enthusiasm to attack Myanmar armies, the Siamese king sent forces of great strength by both land and sea routes to give battle.

### Stz(14)

I will vividly describe the significant events and battles among various episodes of how best the Siamese tried to defend the city, how difficult it was to fight with Myanmar armies and how they were defeated. The Zimme column stationed at Pa Thoke village established nine armies on both sides of the Mae Ping River. They stored provision of food and collected elephants, horses and troops. The Siamese king ordered Banya Kuratit to attack Zimme column with a force of one thousand cannons and fifty thousand troops. General Naymyo Thiha Pati sent combined forces of three armies under

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\* It was situated behind the Cedi built by King Bayintnaung, a distance of 5000 tars from the north western side of Ayutthaya.

the command of Deputy Commanders Tuyin Yama Kyaw, Kyaw Gaung Kyaw Thu and Shwe Taung Situ to withstand the attacks. Myanmar forces countered valiantly and as a result, the Siamese armies were worsted and retreated in defeat. Over one thousand war elephants, five hundred cannons and one thousand prisoners of war were captured. On the same day, the king of Siam dispatched two columns each having the strength of fifty thousand troops under the command of Minister Byathan and Banya Tet to attack Dawei column, which stationed at a distance of one thousand tars from the backyard of Ayutthaya. The same thing happened and Siamese armies re-entered the city. Since many troops, elephants and horses were lost in those battles, the strength of Siamese armies was reduced by a great number just as water goes out in the weir. When the rain came and flooded, Myanmar armies found difficulties to hold the ground.

#### Stz(15)

When the water level around Ayutthaya city rose, the Myanmar soldiery laid brick walls and built mounds of earth around their fortifications and built many war boats. Siamese Minister Byathan came out with a force of two hundred war boats, five hundred sampans, mortars and cannons to attack Myanmar armies. When the Myanmar warboats closed in, they used grappling-irons to draw alongside and boarded the Siamese warboats, smashed and hacked off the enemies\*. Though all crew on board died in action, the Minister did not lay down his arms. The boat of the captain of the artillery forces San Tun came side by side with the Minister's boat to capture him alive. The Minister, with a weapon in his grasp, jumped on the boat to arrest Myanmar captain but was taken down by a smash from a ramrod by San Tun. He was captured alive.\* The Siamese armies, not seeing the Minister, assumed that the Minister fell dead in the battle and ran away. In this battle, the Myanmar army seized fifty thousand prisoners of war.

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\* While directing the Siamese war boats, Minister Banya's boat was attacked from all sides by twenty Myanmar war boats.

\* According to Siamese chronicles, Minister Banya died in the battle.



Stz(16)

General Maha Nawrahta pardoned the lives of five thousand prisoners and treated them well. They were provided with food and shelter. He ordered a search for the people who, during the times of the arrival of Myanmar armies, evaded and fled to the sanctuary of forests and mountains. Those who avoided and hid could live again with their families peacefully in villages and towns. The heads of those who took refuge in Myanmar armies were administered to take an oath of allegiance and granted to serve in the royal service.

The Minister Banya Kuratit came out from the city\* to invest Zimme column. While the Siamese stood at Hsin Kyou place, General Naymyo Thiha Pati sent fifty war boats to hide on both sides of Mae Ping River near the U-yin village. Armies under the command of Kyaw Gaung Kyaw Thu, Tuyin Yama Kyaw, Shwe Taung Si Thu, and Banya Yan Tai lured the enemy to the Uyin village from Hsin Kyou place. When the Siamese armies reached the spot where Myanmar army lay in wait, they were ambushed from all three directions. Within the blink of an eye, the Siamese armies were completely routed. The Myanmar army captured five hundred boats and sampans (barges), many weapons and prisoners. The entire country trembled with fear from this debacle.

Stz(17)

When a country was besieged by a great number of land and water forces, elephants and war boats of another country, this town, if they were not in a position to repulse the enemy, could withstand by closing the city gate, supported its inside with full lines of bricks while taking other measures to make the city strong. For coming in and going out of the city, it could be done only by scaling up and climbing down the wall by the use of ropes.

When the water from the rivers round the city subsided and hot dry season arrived, the Siamese king made an attempt to fight again with a total strength of 40000 to

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\* (with a force of one thousand war boats, five hundred Tonkins (cargo barge), fifty thousand troops, mortars and cannons)



50000 troops fully equipped in armours.\* Despite being invested with the two columns, the victory plan of Siamese king over Myanmar armies met with failure and suffered a great loss in one snap of the fingers. The Siamese king, having failed several attempts, built many ships, sampans, boats to strengthen the naval forces. Moreover, he built fifty masonry bastions with the width of five hundred tars between the city walls and the moat encircling the whole city. The provisions of food, elephants, horses, weapons and troops were replenished.

#### Stz(18)

From stanzas 10 to 17 is the description of the second part which collectively stated that despite the Siamese launched a number of offensives, these efforts were all in vain. Even though the Siamese withstood from within the city wall, they were still vulnerable. Therefore, they fortified the city by closing the main gate and guarding the moat with numerous war boats. It shows the difficult task Myanmar army had to undertake in attacking Ayutthya.

#### Stz(19)

Preserve the events which I will reveal now for long. The Siamese strengthened the defense of Ayutthaya by building fifty outlying bastions, replenishing the weapons, elephants, horses and troops, laying the fields of iron spikes, tree stumps, elephant and horse impediments, and digging thorny pits outside the city. The situation was as such, General Maha Nawrahta consulted with the commanders the strategies to overrun the city.

#### Stz(20)

In close consultation, General Maha Nawrahta said that since they were the upholders of royal order on their foreheads which stated that the country must be taken

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\* He dispatched army under the command of Minister BayarTaik to fight General Maha Nawrahta's army and another army under Minister Bayar Byanarit to the army of General Naymyo Thiha Pati, each army having the strength of three hundred elephants, five hundred chariot mounted guns, and thirty thousand troops.

before long, they could not stay idle without calculating and finding the quickest way to overcome the Siamese capital. At a time when the Siamese strengthened their land and water forces to stand against Myanmar armies, they should apply the strategies used by the embryo Buddha, Mohosadha the sage, who built the city and dug the underground tunnel to carry off the king's mother, queen, sons and daughters of Pyinsalayaza. If devised this stratagem, the city could easily be captured. Commanders of the armies unanimously agreed to this plan.

#### Stz(21)

The strategy of Myanmar armies to build the outlying city will remain something to be talked about till the world disappears. At a distance of four hundred tars (x 3.5 yards) from the north eastern side of the city, General Naymyo Thiha Pati built a masonry fort with the circumference of 350 tar (x 3.5 yards) and seven cubits in height. Shwe Taung Sithu established a town with two hundred tars in circumferences and seven taungs in height on the western edge of the north of Ayutthaya. In front of that town, another town with the circumference of one hundred and fifty tars and seven taungs in height was constructed by Ponya Kyaw Htin. On the eastern side of the river before that town which flows into Ayutthaya, Chaung U Bo established a town with the circumference of one hundred and fifty tars and seven taungs in height. In front of that town, Kyaw Gaung Kyaw Thu erected a town, with the circumference of three hundred tars and seven cubits in height. They were the towns built on the northern side of Ayutthaya.

#### Stz(22)

On the south-east of that elephant moat fort, Giri Naya established a fort with the circumference of one hundred and fifty tars and seven taungs in height. The string of towns that run south was constructed by Tuyin Yama Kyaw, Tuyin Yan Kyaw, Thiri Thara Kyawswa, and Thiri Yaza Thingyan. The circumferences and heights of these towns were one hundred and seventy by seven, one hundred and seventy by seven, one hundred and seventy by seven and three hundred by seven. These forts were built on the eastern side of Ayutthaya.

Stz(23)

On the south east of Ayutthaya, Shwe Taung Kyaw Swa erected a fort the circumference of which was one hundred and fifty tars and seven taungs in height. At the back of that fort, another fort was constructed by Taza Bala Kyaw with the ratio of 170 by 7. Behind that city, Thidi Kyaw Thu built a fort with the circumference of two hundred tars and seven taungs in height. At the eastern bank of Bangkok River on the rear side of the town, Mingyi Zayathu established a fort of two hundred tars in circumferences and seven taungs in height. The iron chain was stretched out in a straight line from east to west of the river to obstruct the entry of boats into Bangkok river. These four forts were situated before the Bangkok River on the south of Ayutthaya.

Stz(24)

The forts on the west bank of Bangkok River will be described in serial order. Nanda Udain Kyaw Htin erected a fort on the other side of the river parallel to the fort built by Mingyi Zayathu with the circumference of one hundred and fifty tars and seven taungs in height. The chain of forts that run backyard was built by Bala Nanda Kyaw Htin, Letwe Kyaw Swa, Yan Ngu Thiri Kyaw Htin and Nandamaik Sithu. The proportion of the circumferences and the heights were one hundred and fifty by seven, one hundred and seventy by seven, one hundred and seventy by seven and three hundred by seven according to order\*. On the north of the fort built by Nanda Maik Sithu, Shwe Taung Letwe Nawrahta built a fort with circumferences of one hundred and seventy tars and seven taungs in height. A string of forts that run north was established by Letyar Bala, Thiri Yanamaik Kyaw Htin and Thidi Kyaw Tin . The circumferences and heights of these towns were one hundred and seventy by seven, one hundred and eighty by seven and one hundred and seventy by seven.

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\* These five forts were built behind the Bangkok River to the south of Ayutthaya.



Stz(25)

On the north of the fort built by Thaikdi Kyaw Htin, Thiha Dhammarat constructed a fort with the circumference of two hundred tars and seven taungs in height. In front of it, a fort was erected with the circumference of two hundred tars and seven taungs by Bala Pyan Chi. All of these twenty four forts were constructed by way of approaching from one side of the moat of Ayutthaya.

Satu Gamani built a fort of three hundred tars in circumference and seven taungs in height encircling the pagoda built by Bayintnaung, a distance on five hundred tars from the north eastern side of Ayutthaya. At a distance of one thousand tars on the back side of Ayutthaya, General Maha Nawrahta established a fort of five hundred tars in circumferences and nine taungs in height. By virtue of good administration and control, Commanders and the thirty one armies had been able to build twenty seven forts, as strong as fortresses of iron, by seeing to that their men put their hearts and souls into this project. Such ability to erect these forts was the manifestation of overcoming the enemies.

Stz(26)

As thirty one Myanmar armies built twenty seven forts confronting the fifty outlying bastions of Ayutthaya to lay siege of the city, the people of Ayutthaya felt constrained and suffered hardship. Securing reinforcements, people from nearby villages of Sawankhalok, Sukothai, and Baner with the strength of twenty thousand men and hundreds of elephants marched up to Kut Taw village, a distance of five tars on the north of Ayutthaya and stationed there. When they came to know of it, the two generals sent Thiri Yaza Thingyan from Zimme column with a force of three thousand troops as the eastern route and Thiri Yana Kyaw Htin from Dawei column with equal forces as the western route to stand against them.

Among the Siamese who came into submission, a contingent of selected one thousand best men was exacted under the command of Diva Sakathu to march as a vanguard and give battles. The Siamese were caught unawares merely thinking that they

were people from the reinforcement of other towns and villages. In the battle, the Siamese were totally routed, and ran away like a bundle of bamboos unfurled.

#### Stz(27)

The third part from stanzas 19 to 26 describes the difficulties in investing Ayutthaya which was surrounded by rivers and tributaries. While shutting the gates of the city, it was well fortified with 50 outlying bastions. This memorable episode of erecting 30 forts that confront the Ayutthaya bastions by the Myanmar army is being recorded for the posterity.

#### Stz(28)

Clearly note the description of events I am now about to make. Having been built fifty outlying bastions to defend the city, the Siamese placed big guns and cannon on numerous ships and boats and fired incessantly. They attacked Myanmar armies many times with millions and millions of Indians, Panthay (Chinese Muslims) , Chinese, Malays, and Siamese. Despite these attacks, they suffered reverses several times and were gradually devoid of strength just as water recedes in the weir.

Due to the shortage of provisions, the townspeople became frightened and panicked. The Siamese king in a moment of weakness dispatched a letter through the court ministers to sound out the interest of Myanmar army\* .

#### Stz(29)

Excerpts from letter contained therein will be made. The Siamese Ministers (Byamunari) conveyed the message through Minister Banya who had a shrewd discretion

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\* Minister Banya Kuratit made a suggestion that a letter be sent by a courtier in which the mentioning of sending annual tributes of elephants, horses, gifts, taxes and revenues was made. When Myanmar commanders withdrew their armies from the satellite towns, another plan should be devised. In line with the advice, a letter was conveyed through the Minister Banya who was accompanied by four courtiers to the Myanmar commanders.

in dealing with various matters under the ruler of Dvaravati country in Ayutthaya region and the possessor of white, red and striped elephants, to the generals endowed with diligence, bravery and knowledge who placed the royal order on their forehead of the lord of living things, the ruler of Ava and other white umbrella bearing kings and the possessor of gold, silver, amber and ten gems mines. Since the times of their grand fathers and great grand fathers, the two countries of Siam and Ava were devoid of war, united as one just as foiled gold sheet, peaceful and calm. Tributes of elephants and horses were duly paid while sending envoys continually. However, because of disloyalty of Talaing (Mon) and their revolts, Ayutthaya could not pay tribute or send envoys at the royal foot of the king. Ayutthaya would continue to pay tributes of elephants and horses as was the tradition and custom.

### Stz(30)

The letter written in Shan Language (Siamese) was translated into Myanmar and when the generals, second in commands, the royal listeners\* and commanders had been informed of the contents of the letter, a reply letter was sent to the Siamese ministers in the following manner: information was conveyed by generals and commanders who were servants of the lord of living things and ruler of Ava and a hundred white umbrellas bearing kings to the Siamese Ministers; when we observed the present situation of the war between the two countries, the discrepancy was so wide that it was like weighing one seed of plant or tree equivalent of weight on one hand of the most balanced scale and one viss on the other. If that be true, to send sons, daughters, elephants and horses as was the ancient practice, a pair of cannons from the city of Ayutthaya should be sent to the Myanmar armies first. If discontented and wanted to make war, a thousand men from the Siamese side would be fought with a hundred from the Myanmar side and ten thousand

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\* Officers who receive and pronounce the king's decree ( royal reporter)



with one thousand in similar fashion. Just as our breath blows away cotton, we can easily win over the Siamese\*.

In order to overwhelm the city in the shortest time possible, underground tunnels must be dug to gain access to the base of the wall and to climb over the city wall. In digging five tunnels, the three towns, with a circumference of eighty tars and ten taungs in height, were erected parallel to each other at the edge of the moat on the north of the city leaning against the Mae Ping River for the smooth transportation of the dug up soil to the river so as to conceal the digging.

### Stz(31)

After establishing forts, Myanmar armies fortified these three forts and dug the five underground tunnels which led to base of the city wall. In Mahosadha Jataka, the sage dug a tunnel up to the base of the staircase of king Culani-Brahmadatta's palace as to carry off Princess Pancalacandi. The earth that came out whilst constructing the tunnels had been secretly thrown into Ganges River. Likewise, earth that came out from digging tunnels was transmitted into Mae Ping (Chiang Mai) river. When all the tunnels reached at the base of the wall, Byamunari, the brother in law of the King, came out with a force of 5000 troops to attack the satellite towns situated on the north of the city. Having not a shadow of a doubt about the strategy of the Myanmar army, they were eager to attack Myanmar armies with new vim and vigor. The Siamese armies fired cannons

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\* After five days of sending a reply letter, General Maha Nawrahta passed away on account of ill health. General Naymyo Thiha Pati sent Zaya Naya to inform about the death of Maha Nawrahta, his sway over both armies, the siege of Ayutthaya from land and water routes and the submission of the king of Siam and the whole country to be made in no time. He arrived at the foot of the king on 9-1-1767. When he came to know all these things, the king ordered that he himself would fight and occupy the Chinese country. After taking Ayutthaya to fulfill the desires of the king, the city, the wall and the moat shall be destroyed and carried away shall be the whole of Siamese country and its king. General Maha Nawrahta must be buried according to the funeral rites of the death of senior court ministers. When Zaya Naya returned, Maha Nawrahta was buried with extraordinary honors.

aiming at the newly built forts. However, just as the footprint of a bird in flight does not appear on the ground, not a single cannon ball hit the Myanmar armies. It only resulted in wasting cannon balls and rising heat of the muzzle of a gun.

### Stz(32)

Though Byamunari guaranteed to capture Myanmar forts at the cost of his life to the Siamese king, he could not turn it into reality\*. However hard a city was to overcome, it can be succeeded if one combined his wit with diligence. There's a precedence that by virtue of intelligence and diligence, Prince Wahthu Deva and his dozen brothers can

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\* This is what Byamunari submitted to the king; Now, King of Ava besieged our town with the Zimme and Dawei columns more than two years almost reaching three years. As we had been blocked by land and water routes for nearly three years, all monks, troops and people inside the city went hungry and suffered great hardships due to shortage of provisions. This became not only the affairs of the Majesty the king but the common struggle for all people. As such, all good men, elephants, horses and weapons available should be gathered to capture the satellite forts at the cost of our lives which were now being built near the base of the wall and to set fire on all besiegers. Even if this failed to produce success, let our fate and the people's be in accordance with the wheel of fortunes.

This was unanimously agreed by the king, royalties, court ministers and commanders. Echoes of war cry to attack the satellite towns on the north of the city to the accompaniment of the sounding of oboes, bugles and drums which resounded the whole city, Siamese armies with the force of five hundred selected war elephants and over five thousand troops came out and attack the three newly built towns held respectively by Thado Min Htin, Supyargone Bo and Thit Sant Bo. They bombarded the cities incessantly like a rain of fire with over one thousand mortars and cannons. Approaching the towns on their elephants and horses as the swarming bees, some dug the base of the wall and some scale the wall by planting ladders.

Many perished when they climbed the city wall. In response to this Byamunari's fierce planned attack, Myanmar troops positioned at the top of the wall smacked and hacked off each and every climber. Under the stringent command of Byamunari, Siamese armies determinedly fought and jumped over the corpse to reach the top of the wall. They disregarded the hail of fires and the cutting down. A thousand made a way to enter into the towns and fought Myanmar armies in close quarters.

When the commanders of the eastern and western satellite towns of the river saw the furious assault on the three towns by Byamunari with over fifty thousand troops which veiled the sky with smoke, as the sound of mortars and cannons uninterrupted, and the echoes of battle flooded the ground and sky, the four armies led by Shwe Taung Sithu, Ponya Kyaw, Kyaw Gaung Kyaw Thu and Chaung Oo Bo with the strength of two hundred war elephants, a thousand horses came and attacked the Siamese armies with all out effort/without delay. The Siamese could not withstand, as they were attacked from the two fronts, retreated to the city. Among a thousand Siamese who entered the cities, eight hundred were captured dead and two hundred captured alive. A thousand troops, a hundred elephants and over two hundred horses were captured alive. Byamunari riding on the elephant re-entered the city. He underwent a narrow escape thanks to the swiftness of his elephant.



capture the town of Thantwe which was guarded by ogres\*. Also, Myanmar armies used intelligence and diligence in capturing the town of Ayutthaya; they put fuels such as firewood, bamboo, and dried grass at the end of the tunnels and set fire near the base of the wall. The wall cracked and fell down. A large mass of smoke and tongue of flames went up from the burning of the wall as the world ended up in flames.

The boisterous sound of the collapse of the wall and echoes of elephant's trumpeting, horse's neighing and war cry of troops resounded on the ground and reached the sky. This event is immortal and significant, to be talked about elsewhere till the world is exhausted to its extinction.

### Stz(33)

The city of Ayutthaya was dark with clouds of smoke. The exchange of cannon fires had resounded like the striking sound of thunder. The war cries of Myanmar armies were boisterous as the echoes of a whirlpool. At that time, five thousand Myanmar troops with their swords penetrated through the tunnels or the ruins of the wall. Though they knew the physical prowess and the capabilities of Myanmar armies, Siamese Ministers Banya and Banya Kuratit tried to defend again within the city wall. They reorganized Siamese people by order with the strength of ten thousand troops who were demoralized to fight back. Despite defending at best, they could not hinder the intrusion of Myanmar armies into the city. If stirred by typical winds, grass, litter and silk cotton blossoms could not cling to their place of origin but had to move away. If it was a storm, even a tiny piece of it could not be traced back as it disappeared. The same thing applies to the Siamese armies which, when confronted with Myanmar armies were destroyed and

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\* The Dwarawadi (Sandoway) was the town guarded by Ogres. When the enemy approached, the signal sound of a mule which lived outside the moat of the town was made. By the magical power of ogres, the town flew up the sky and rested at one of the islands in the ocean. When enemies retreated, the town came back to its original site. Wathu deva and his brothers pleaded to the mule as suggested by the hermit.

In conformity with what the mule said, the four princes positioning themselves at each entrance gate of the wall at night which faces the four corners of the world and drove/peg iron stake into the doors. They held four iron rods fixed with iron chains on top of them. When the mule made a warning sound and the town was about to fly, they put iron chains fixed at rods on the stakes at the doors. The town couldn't fly then. After this, they marched into the town, killed the king and occupied the city.



disappeared. The two ministers headed for disaster for they could not rely on their armies as the boatswain of a cracked boat whose bow and stern were in utter destruction.

Just as the Garuda swoops down on the Naga, Ayutthaya and its palace which had various names such as Ayujapura, Dwarawati, and Yuan were overrun by the Myanmar armies on the night of the 10<sup>th</sup> waxing day in the month of Tagu in Myanmar era 1129 (on 8<sup>th</sup> April 1767).

#### Stz(34)

Before the arrival of Myanmar armies, Siamese King Ekathat thought highly of himself. He proclaimed loudly that Saka was the ruler of Tavitimsa and so was he in the realm of human beings. In actual fact, the rank of king Ekathat was of Swabwa only. When he tried to escape, he was hit and killed. Myanmar armies set fire to the palace and the whole city. Ayutthaya suffered as if all things on earth be scorched due to the intense heat of seven suns said to have come out near the extinction of the world. Because of the moat and the river outside the town were teeming with corpses, water was extremely loathsome with the colour and the smell of blood.

Myanmar armies carried away seven hundred elephants fit for the king to ride, one hundred ships, ten thousand gold and silver inlaid guns as well as fuse and flint locked guns, a total of 2550 guns, big and small, made of bronze and iron, such as a pair of big guns, cannon crafted in the very shape of the Makara Sea Monster (mythical sea monster resembling a crocodile), cannon shaped in the similar image of the Nayar (mythical animal like serpent or dragon), chariot mounted cannon, bow mounted cannon, elephant mounted cannon, city destructing cannon, Yan Pyo or Yan Lan cannon (enemy-repulsing cannon) and Thar Thut (Thar Thwin)\* cannon.

One big gun with the length of twenty taungs and two taungs in width, and other big guns with the thirty to forty viss of ball, were either drawn into the sea or demolished.

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\* the name of the cannon

Stz(35)

In the proliferation of muskets, matchlocks, guns and cannons, with barrels short and long, of large and small calibre, big and small in size, that has been seized, four gigantic cannon should be mentioned with a view to keep a record for posterity. Each of these four cannon made of brass and iron measured 6 lan (or 36 feet ) in length fully, the breech required five men joining hands to span it from the outside and being a full cubit wide at the muzzle, the barrel could easily accommodate a man. There was a variety of ordnance, solid cannon balls (complete with power charge) each weighing fifteen, twenty or thirty viss each; some had been manufactured in China, or in the Shan States and some in the West ; canister rounds or case shot designed to split into four parts when launched, chain shot made of spheroids or half-spheres linked together by chain; cannonade shells packed into bags and sheathed with wire; grenades fitted with fuses; and grape shot that scatters into a lethal wedge-shaped pattern, with stocks enough to deter a siege, heaped together. From this great heap of ordnance only a selection of amazing weapons were taken and the rest cast into the river.

Magnificent elephants and horses, gold and silver, boats and barges, princes and princesses and their retinue more than two thousand in number, over 800 queens bearing titles “Bra Om” and “Bra San”, royal regalia like ruby trimmed mirrors, rubies worth a kingdom were carefully inventoried by the commanding generals and presented in due course to his majesty. Such acts of achievement follow this resounding victory.

Stz(36)

The fourth part from stanzas 28 to 35 described the conquest of Ayutthaya and its palace. Ayutthaya was a vast city and means of sustenance were abundant. Its land and water forces were strong with guns aplenty.

Outside the town, fifty outlying bastions and the moat protected the city from danger. In addition, the natural barrier of river, stream and the sea seemed to hinder the enemy from reaching Ayutthaya. During the reigns of older kings, the king himself took the command of a great force of boats, elephants, horses and troops to invest Siam or



where such kind of city lay. To overcome Siam, one invasion was not enough and it took several attempts covering a long period of months and years. In the present Hsinphyushin's reign, mere minister general, second in commands, commanders who were trusted servants of the royalty, were assigned to invest Siam. The three big countries of Chiang Mai, Lan Xang and Siam were conquered within the time span of five years.

### Stz(37)

Taking all the past events into consideration, one should believe that the cause of conquest of Chiang Mai, Lan Xang and Saim with the palaces was only by the power and glory of Hsinphyushin. In Myanmar Era 930, on the 6<sup>th</sup> waxing day in the month of Thidingkyut (11<sup>th</sup> October 1568), the possessor of white and red elephants king Bayintnaung, the ruler of Hanthawaddy, parallel to the six seats of celestial realm, surrounded by thirty two towns of Hanthawaddy such as Dagon, Kyaik Katha, Myaung Tangyar, Hmyaw Pi, Maw Lon, Phaung Lin, Kawliya, Ma Kaw, Kyauk Maw, Dun Zayit, Kyauk Sit, Htan Tawgyi, Za ywe Thon, Yamarnago, Arkayain, La Gon Byee, Byapati, Lonsanu, made a march to Siam.

I will relate and write the marching armies of that time in sequence. Commander and deputy commander of the army deployed in front of the king's armies were Thiri Zeya Kyaw Htin and Letwe Yanathu. Commander and second in command of the army on the right side were Thet Shay Kyaw Htin and Let Yar Yanathu. For the army on the left side, Nanda Kyaw Htin was the commander and deputy commander was Letwe Yanamaik. The commander of the rearguard was Baya Kyaw Htin and second in command was Dharma Thiri. Each army of certain wings had one hundred war elephants, a thousand horses and ten thousand troops. Therefore, the king's armies include four hundred war elephants, four thousand horses and forty thousand troops.

### Stz(38)

General Maha Uparat's column consisted of eleven armies including Maha Uparat's army. The deputy commanders were Letwe Kyaw Thu in Mo Kaung Sawbwa's army, Deva Kummar in Mo Maik Sawbwa's army, Zaya Thura in Banya Dalla's army,





Athawat in Thiri Thawdharma's army, Letyar Khin Mon in Banya Einra's army, Saka Yoda in Yaza Thingyan's army, Yama Yoda in Anawrahta's army, Saw Tai Kan in Banyarsat's army, Zweya Thanran in Nay Myo Kyaw Htin's army, Abaya Zaya in Nanda Yoda's army and Zaya Kyaw Htin in Maha Uparat's army. In each army, a hundred war elephants, one thousand horses and ten thousand troops were included.

#### Stz(39)

Pyi Thado Dharma Yaza's (General) column consisted of eleven armies including Pyi Thado Dharma Yaza's army. The deputy commanders were Zaya Taman in Mo Nyin Sawbwa's army, Letyar Zaya Thaya in Bamaw Sawbwa's army, Yaza Taman in Banya Pat's army, Htaw Maing Ye in Min Maha's army, Nanda Thura in Banya Phru's (Banya Maru) army, Mani Deva in Baya Thingyan's army, Zaya Kyawthu in Emondra's (Emondaryar) army, and Nanda Kamar in Thiri Zaya Nawrahta's army, Letyar Pyit in Thikayar's army and Manipura in Nandapa Kyan's army. With the exception of Pyi Thado Dharma Yaza's army which had two hundred war elephants, each army included one hundred war elephants, one thousand horses, and ten thousand troops.

#### Stz(40)

General Taungoo Min Gaung's column consisted of eleven armies including Taungoo Min Gaung's army. Deputy commanders were Tuyin Yoda in Hsei Baw Sawbwa's army, Thiri Nandarar in Hseni Sawbwa's army, Thiri Manarat in Abaya Garmani's army, Tuyin Shwe Taung in Banya Bye's army, Byon Kamar in Thetawshay's army, Zaya Yodar in Thamain Epaye's army, Paikamar in Baya Kyaw Thu's army, Tuyin Bala in Thamain Ngao Khwin's army, Thiri Gonarat in Nanda Thuriya's army, Thiri Dharmarat in Nanda Thingyan's and Zeya Yanamaik in Taungoo Min Gaung's army. Each army contained one hundred war elephants, one thousand horses and ten thousand troops.

General Innwa Thado Minsaw's column consisted of ten armies including Thado Min Saw's army. Deputy commanders were Tuyin Thiri in Nyaung Shwe Sawbwa's army, Letwe Nanda Thu in Oung Baung Sawbwa's army, Saka Deva in Mo Nai

Sawbwa's army, Tuyin Thidi in Yokayat's army, Sana Yoda in Min Kyaw Htin's army, Thiri Yodar in Thamain Thanlite's army, Ponya Deva in Banya Bayan's army, Ponya Yawdar in Thamain La Gon Eain's army and Thiri Zeya in Nanda Zeya's army.

#### Stz(41)

The total strength of those forty armies, were four thousand and four hundred elephants, forty four thousand horses and four lakh and forty thousand troops. General Min Ye Kyaw Htin commanded five armies. There were Banya Thay Lon's army from Chaing Mai and General Min Ye Kyaw Htin's army. The deputy commanders were Tuyin Yazar in Banya Thay Lon's army, Tuyin Pyitsi in Banya Thanlan's, Bawga Thayna in Banya Nan's army, Swanar Yazar in Keng Tung's army, and Nanda Thiri in General Min Ye Kyaw Htin's army. An aggregate of Hanthawaddy Hsinphyumyashin's four wings, forty armies, and five armies under General Min Ye Kyaw Htin were approximately five lakhs. It took ages to overrun Siam with such strong forces of five lakhs during the reign of Hanthawaddy Hsinphyumyashin. In marching Siam during the present reign of Hsinphyushin, the strength of the forces was less than those of Hanthawaddy Hsinphyumyashin.

Ayutthaya had strong land and water forces and possessed a number of superior weapons. The city was well protected by fifty outlying bastions around the city, moat, rivers and its tributaries. Under these circumstances, this conquest of Ayutthaya and its palace and the capturing of many prisoners of war were parallel to the break up of millions upon millions of Gyuns troops (Khmer) caused by only four warriors namely Kyansittha, Nga Htwe Yu, Nge Lone Let Pe and Nyaung U Phee during King Anawrahta's reign will remain to be recorded in the myraid cycles of worlds.

#### Stz(42)

The abovementioned conquest of Chiang Mai, Lan Xang and Ayutthaya are events and happenings which will remain till the extinction of the world. Praise worthy, brave, active and united Myanmar armies marched to Siam during Hsinphyushin's reign will be described.



In the armies of Zimme column, deputy commanders in General Naymyo Thiha Pati's army were Kyaw Htin Thiha Thu and Tuyin Yama Kyaw while royal listeners were Tuyin Yan Kyaw and Shwe Taung Si Thu. Adjutant was Thway Thout Letwe Sakakyaw. There were one thousand guns in this army. In Kyaw Gaung Kyaw Thu's army, deputy commanders were Thiri Zaya Kyaw and Giri Nayar while royal listener was Wailu Thingyan. Adjutants were Shwe Taung Ye Htin, Taman Kyaw Thu, and Saka Thidi Kyaw. There were five hundred guns in this army. There were 900 guns in Banya Law's army which established its reputation around Anyar region in upper Myanmar. In Thiri Yaza Thingyan's army, deputy commanders were Sada Thiri Kyaw Htin and Eidra Kyaw Swa while royal listeners were Thamana Ponyar and Dipa Yazar. Adjutant was Dipa Nayar. There were five hundred guns in Pyan Chi Kyaw Htin's army and five hundred horses in Ye Gaung Kyaw Swa's army.

#### Stz(43)

Among Yun armies, deputy commander in Thiri Nanda Kyaw Htin's army was Nanda Thiri Kyaw Htin, while royal listeners were Shwe Taung Yanathu, and Udai Saka Kyaw. Adjutants were Tuyin Saka Thu and Pyan Chi Ye Hla. Each army of seven armies of midland Shan sawbwas includes five hundred infantry troops carrying guns and spears. Cavalry units commanded by Nara Shwe Taung, Dipa Ye Htut Kyaw, Nara Pawza, and Khetta Nara were composed of five hundred horses each. Every enemy feared the armies from Zimme column.

#### Stz(44)

In Dawei (Mottama) column which advanced by water route, deputy commanders of General Maha Nawrahta's armies were Naymyo Gonarat and Tuyin Yan Aung Kyaw, while Royal listeners were Deva Kyaw and Letwe Kyaw Swa. Adjutants were Thway Thout Ye Gaung and Shwe Taung Kyaw Swa. In this army, there were one thousand troops carrying either guns or bows. In Thiri Zeya Kyawswa's army, deputy commanders were Shwe Taung Bala and Sanda Garmani, while Royal listener was Thiha Nara Kyaw Gaung. Adjutants were Thara Yazar, Thiri Nara Kyaw Thu and Letyar Thidi Kyaw Thu. In this army, there were five hundred war boats and one thousand gun troops. In



Nawrahta Kyaw Swa's army, deputy commanders were Bala Nanda Kyaw Htin, Tuyin Ye Gaung, and Shwe Taung Letwe Nawrahta. Royal listener was Thidi Kyaw Htin. In this army, there were five hundred each of lance and fire-arm troops.

In Satu Garmani's army, Deputy Commander was Shwe Taung Pyan, and Royal listener was Bala Yan Aung. Adjutant was Thidi. In Thiri Yanamaik Kyaw Htin's army, Deputy Commanders were Nanda Phitsi and Shwe taung Thiri Kyaw Htin while Royal listener was Pyan Chi Zeya Kyaw Swa. There were two adjutants in this army. In marching on Siam by land and water routes, the two generals of the armies were Naymyo Thiha Pati and Maha Nawrahta who can annihilate all enemies and dangers.

#### Stz(45)

The victory over Chiang Mai, Lan Xang and Ayutthaya by Myanmar armies with few land and water forces can be attributed to the abilities of the rank and files of Myanmar armies. Myanmar army carried off a medley of over one lakh nationalities of prisoners of war. They had been doled out as three hundred families each for commanders, fifty families each for Deputy Commanders, Royal listeners and adjutants, and two families each for troops. The Myanmar armies marched from Siam on 3<sup>rd</sup> waxing day of Nayon month ME 1129 (on 30<sup>th</sup> May 1767) and reached Innwa in the months of Waguang (July/ August in the year 1767)

#### Stz(46)

The fifth part is from stanzas 37 to 45. This part shows that owing to the capabilities of second in commands, commanders, deputy commanders, royal listeners, adjutants and Thwe Thouts, the two columns of Myanmar army under the command of General Naymyo Thiha Pati and General Maha Nawrahta conquered Chiang Mai, Lan Xang and Ayutthaya with only forty thousand land and water forces. The enemies were defeated as if they were cut off by the adamant weapon of Saka.



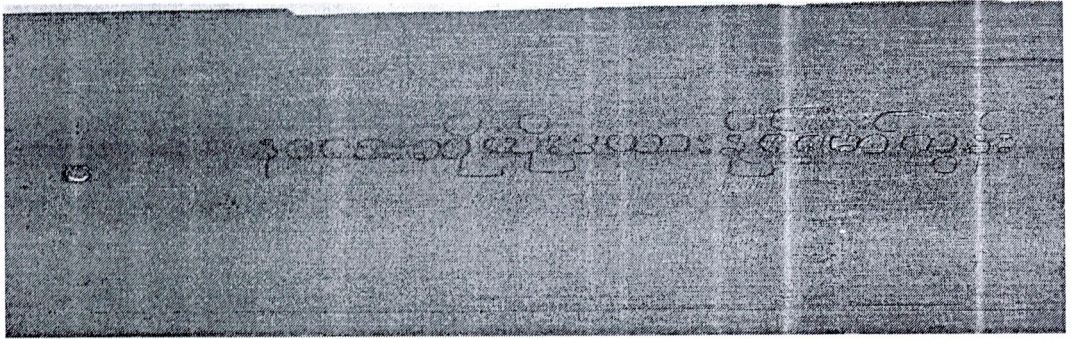


Figure. 4.1. Palm Leaf Manuscript of Yodayar Naing Mawgun by Letwe Nawrahta.

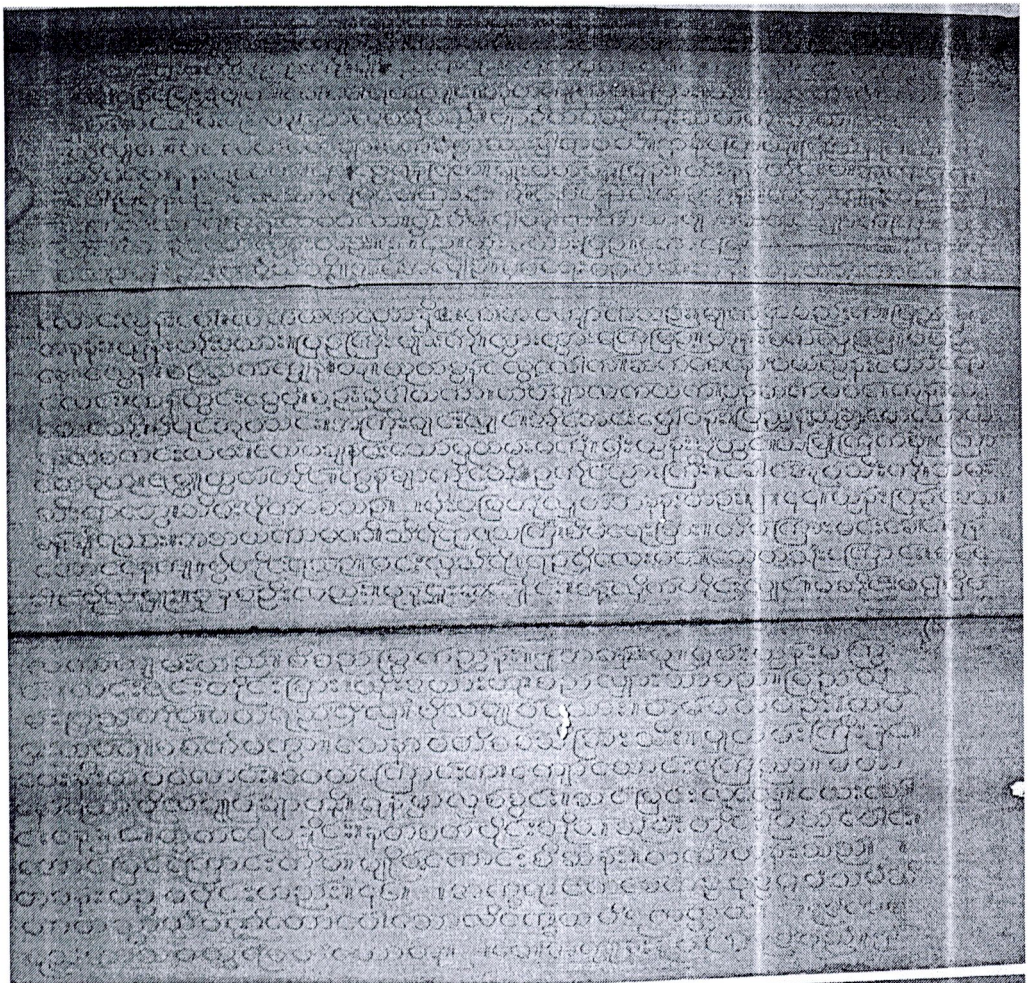






Figure. 4.2 Palm Leaf Manuscripts at the National Library of Myanmar in Yangon.