# THE ROYAL ORDERS OF BURMA, A.D. 1598-1885 

PART THREE, A. D. 1751-1781

Edited with Introduction, Notes and Summary in English of Each Order

by<br>THAN TUN, M.A., B.L., Ph.D. (London)<br>Professor of History, Mandalay University

## III

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List of colleagues who helped in collecting the Royal Orders
Aung Kyaw (Chaung U)
Aung Myin
Chit So Myint
Htun Yee
Khin Htwe Yi
Khin Khin
Khin Khin Gyi
Khin Khin Sein
Khin Lay
Khin Maung Htay
Khin Myo Aye
Khin Nyun (Mrs Thein Than Tun)
Khin Yi (Mrs Than Tun)
Kyaw
Kyaw Win
Mya Mya
Myine Myine Myint
Myint Myint Htek
Myint Myint Than
Myo Myint
Ni Ni Myint
Ni Toot
Nyunt Nyunt Way
Ohn Kyi (Chaung U)
Ohn Myint
Oo
Pannajota
Sai Kham Mong
San Myint (Candamala)
San Nyein
San San Aye
Saw Lwin
Sein Myint
Than Than
Thant Zin (Mawlike)
Thaung KO
Thein Hlaing
Thein Naing
Thein Than Tun
Thoung Thoung
Tin Maung Yin
Tin Tin Win
Toe Hla
Tun Nwe
Tun Thein
Win Maung
Yi Yi
Yi Yi Aung
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## INTRODUCTION

THE INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY (London) has a palm-leave manuscript with the title Ratanasingha Kun: bhon Mrui. tann Man: tara: kri: Aminto (Orders by the Just King who founded the City of Yadana Theinga Konbaung). There are forty eight leaves ( 4 anga) and each leaf contains nine lines of writing ( 9 kron: re:). Seventy one orders recorded in it are of the period 28 February 1750-25 March 1760. U Lat (Wetmasut Myoza Wundauk) had another collection of twenty eight orders of the same king copied on twenty seven laves ( 2 anga 3 khyap) of eleven lines ( 11 kron: re:) of writing on each leaf. The orders are of the period 4 November 1755 to 19 August 1758. These two collections had been edited and published by the Burma History Commission in 1964. All ninety nine orders are edited and published hre again. Because notes and summaries would be of some use to scholars who do not read Burmese.

Alaungmintaya made himself king early in 1752 and he died in 1760. In all these eighty years he was busy fighting and building an empire. Nevertheless, in Burma in those days, there was no Fighting in the four rainy months of June, July, August and September in each year (Kon., I, 1967, pp. 69\& 101). So quite contrary to the common belief, he had time, for at least four months every yera during his short reign to pay attention to the administration in his ever growing territories. His orders bear testimony to this fact.

The king had at his new court some of the former ministers of the last king of the Ava dynasty who was taken prisoner to Hanthawaddy and drowned to death on (3) November 1755 (Thiri Uzana: Lokabyuha, 1962, p.7). In fact they were taken together with their king to Hanthawaddy though some escaped and came to serve Alaungmintaya chiefly as advisers
in the ways of "the Golden Palace" which Alaungmintaya was trying to establish. They arrived at Shwebo in this order:

Thado Mingyi
Thado Minnge
Thirt Zayya Kyaw Zwa
Nay Myo Shwe Daung and Thiri Uzana.
It seems that Alaungmintaya asked them what a king is supposed to do, apart from establishing himself firmly in authority, when he ascends the throne and they were to answer him with concrete examples of what the ancient kings had done in a similar situation with special reference to Ava from the last quarter of the 17th century. Consequently they compiled a chronology starting with King Tuesday's ascendency at Ava on 19 April 1673. But long before he received their counsel, Alaungmintay realized that he should have a capital of his own built. He had had the constructions begun on 21 June 1753 simultaneously in and around his native village of Moksobo, on the following seven sites.

```
city
palace
moat
Mahananda lake
Shwe Chet Tho pagoda
shrine of guardian spirits and
clock tower (Kon., I 1967, p.68).
```

The city was supposed to have been constructed like Kapilavatthu (Kon., I 1967, p.67) near the Himalayas where the Buddha had lived before the Great Renunciation, and like the cities of Kapilavatthu and Rajagaha, (according to the memorial submitted by ex-ministers), the tower to announce the time would be located right in the centre of the city as Mt Meru is said to be in the centre of the universe (ROB 3 November 1755). Or it could be taken that with the clock tower in the palace yard to represent Mt Meru, the palace itself becomes the centre of the universe.

The palace was built like that of Tagaung (Kon., I 1967, p.104; though we now know that Tagaung being a city founded by the Sakyans of India and Alaungmintaya's descent from Mahasamada, the first king on earth, are all imaginary). It was completed on 12 September 1754. The ceremony of occupying it was held on 28 October 1754 (Kon., I 1967, p.108).

While the city was built, arrangements were carefully made to make it invulnerable to any attack by enemies both human and spirit. To ward off evil spirits, images of various guardian gods were made and put in shrines. Rituals with offerings were carried out at these shrines regularly. Mantras were recited at all the city gates and magic symbols were drawn on city walls, city gate door panels, city gate arch ceilings and inside the striking surface of the city gate drums (ROB 3 November 1755). Buddhist priests would also be requested to recite paritta at the city gate and they would be given alms there. These would safeguard the city and its inhabitants from attacks supernatural. On the other hand, city defences would take care of any attack by human beings. The city walls were made very strong.. The moat around it was dug deep and wide (ROB 13 January 1758). Guard duties were much more intensified than before. Guard were to do no other work like digging the moat or building the city wall which were given top priority at that time (ROB 13 January 1758). After each victorius campaing, the city population would increase considerably and to avoid congestion, the building of Greater Yadana Theinga was begun on 24 October 1757 (Kon., I 1967, p. 265). The hinterland of the city was made more productive (ROB 24 January 1756) by improving areas of land were granted for homesteads in order than more land
would be brought under cultivation (ROB 29 October 1759). War captives were not turned into salves as usual. They were given land and necessary aids to settle into homesteads (Kon. , I 1967, p. 58). Some of them were employed again in the war effort (ROB 7 January 1760) and some foreigner captured in war were made king's own guards (Kon., I 1967, pp.185-6). To ensure security of life and property in the urban area, special care was taken to prevent fire (ROB 13 January 1758, 22 September 1759, 6 March 1760 and 13 March 1760) and crime (ROB 13 January 1759). Selling and consumption of intoxicant drinks was also prohibited (ROB 1 January 1760) Due to the ravages of war many villages were destroyed and many families were broken up and many fields had relapsed into jungle. Programmes of reconstruction, rehabilitation and repatriation were made with some efficiency (ROB 20 March 1759, 15 January 1760 and 20 February 1760). Trade routes between the city and provinces were kept open safe. A provincial officer must be in a constant state of preparedness for any emergency but his main duty was to restore peace and force in his area only as a last resort (ROB 23 December 1759). The would promote peaceful relations within the kingdom. Toll stations where the dues were collected should never exact more than the customary dues (ROB 4 January 1758, 16 May 1758). In the city, for all buying and selling standard weights, measures and quality of silver to be used as the medium of exchange, were prescribed and regular checks were made so that the standards were respected at all business transactions within the city limits (ROB 4 November 1755) as well as in the areas where Alaungmintaya's suzerainty was accepted (19 December 1756). Local chieftainship was almost always hereditary (ROB 26 July 1756) but some veterans were
rewarded with the chieftainship in some areas (ROB 26 July 1756).
After having built the palace, the next concern of the king was to have the regalia made according to the usuage (ROB 3 November 1755). The Thihathana (Lion) throne was placed in the centre in the west end of the Myay Nan (Earth Palace) so that the king and queen would be sitting facing east. On the right of the throne were displayed:

1. Than Lyet - A Double-edged Sword, with gold handle
2. Tha Myi Yat-A Fly-whisk, with gold handle
3. Yadana Shwe Pan Daung - A Relic Casket of Bejewelled Gold
4. Shit Hmyaung Kun Gwet- An Octagonical Gold Betel Receptacle on Lions
5. Salin Kya - A Chandelier of Gold
6. Kun Gwet Kyi - A Big Betel Receptacle of Gold
7. Kun Hte- A Betel Receptacle of Gold on Lions
8. Kun Chat - A Betel Cup of Gold
(9. Kyat - A Gold Conical Basket)
9. Kaya - A Gold Jar with Spout
10. Tagaung - A Gold Water Bottle
11. Myuta - A Gold Pot and
12. Myuta - A Gold Pot.

On the left were:

1. Hpa Nut - A Pair of Gold Slippers
2. Taung Way - A Gold Staff
3. Let Tin Kya - A Gold Lotus Arm Rest
4. Kun Gwet - A Gold Betel Receptacle on Serpants
5. Thalat - A Gold Bowl with Cover
6. Kun Long Gyi - A Gold Big Betel Receptacle
7. Kun Long Nge - A Gold Small Betel Receptacle
8. Hpa La - A Gold Bowl
9. Kaya - A Gold Jar with Spout
10. Tha Lin Hmyaunt - A Crystal Pumpkin Bowl
11. Thit Taing - A Bejewelled Big Cup with Cover
12. Myuta - A Gold Pot and
13. Myuta - A Gold Pot.

Although it was claimed that the regalia was made and displayed as in the ancient times, changes were mage without admission. Because the display of regalia in 1784 (Zayya Thin Khaya : Rhwe Bum Nidan : Description on Golden Palace, written on 21 February 1784, Rangoon, Hanthawaddy, 1963, pp.96-7) and the display of regalia in 1884 (Shay Haung

Sayay Thutaythi Ta U : Nan: 쓴 - Palace Patent, IV, King Thibaw's Display of Regalia on 15 May 1884) were each in its own way different from the display mentioned above. Each one a these objects, it is said, was either a gift from a friendly king or a captured thing from an enemy king or an heirloom handed down from Mahasamada the first king on earth. Thus the Lotus Arm Rest called Let Tin Kya, Bejewelled Big Cup called Thit Taing, Betel Receptacle called Kun Hti, Chandeliers called Salin Kya and Crystal Pumpkin Bowl called Tha Lin Hmyaunt are traced to Thailand, Cheienmai, Arakan, Bengladesh and Viengchang respectively. The rest are said to be from India, Tagaung, Thayayhkittaya, Pagan and Thaton.

Ceremonial robes of courtiers were also marks of status. A proper use of them ahould be maintained (ROB 4 November 1755, 29 December 1757) so that there would be no confusion. In fact anyone who used a robe above his rank would be punished. Some robes were supplied by the state though there were some robes and uniforms made by each individual officer for his own use (ROB 16 May 1758). These must be checked so that they were properly made. Those that were not in good condition were supplied new. Correct use of insignias of rank was also insisted and any discrepency would be punished (ROB 3 November 1755). On the other hand, the king did not like people of high position taking undue advantage of their status. His cousins who became somewhat unruly were seriously warned to beheve (ROB 19 October 1757). Queens were once warned not to talk too much (ROB 16 December 1759). A senior monk who asked the life of a rebel leader was refused (ROB 14 December 1759). A minister who was rude to his subordinate was to apologize publicly by a Shihko - obeisance (ROB 4 November 1755). When an officer of a toll gate checked the barge of a minister, the minister was rude to the officer. The king said that no one shall hinder
an officer from carrying out his duty (ROB 7 February 1758). While the king was away on a military campaign, he left administration in the hands of his eldest son. In this way he expected that his son would learn the kingly art from experience (ROB 22 September 1759). As he took all good men in his campaign, he knew that some of the officers he left in his son's council were hopeless (ROB 21 September 1759). For instance, he admitted that he made one of his servants to take charge of moat construction though that man had no engineering skill (ROB 22 September 1759). But with the instructions that he gave, he believed that moat construction as part of the project to make the city defenses stronger would come out all right. The king would not, however, tolerate dishonesty. When the master maker of gold foils was found to be dishonest, he was dismissed from office (ROB 4 February 1758). As regards the commonfolks, the king was of the opinion that every one of them must be called upon to do a public work and anyone who failed to do so should not live in a society. He would be considered a social outcast (ROB 13 January 1759). By public works, he meant the work to improve the city moat and wall. They must be finished as quickly as possible (ROB 6 March 1760). These people were of course cultivators and cultivation should never be neglected. Three quarter of them would be sent back to the fields to start growing when the rains came (ROB 6 March 1760).

Alaungmintaya expected that his eldest son Sirisudhammaraja (Prince Dabayin) might be able to cope the administration in his absence, with the help of his mother the Chief Queen (ROB 1 January 1760). As a young man the was not asked to do much. He shall have to do only the following five things well.

1. In any dealing with a vassal lord, he must be careful not to
hurt the felling of that lord in any way (ROB 21 September 1759)
2. Give the best possible training to all recruits and send them batch by batch to the front (ROB 22 September 1759).
3. Keep the city safe from fire (ROB 22 September 1759)
4. Keep the irrigation works in a constant state of repairs so that agriculture would not suffer (ROB 1 January 1760.
5. Suppress animism (ROB 1 January 1760).

On general administration, Alaungmintaya wanted to fix the court procedures first (ROB 4 November 1755). In writing Royal Orders on either (1) an appointment of an officer, or (2) conferring insignias if rank, or (3) giving a decision, or (4) giving an instruction, a uniform style should be adopted in each case and the spelling must be correct (ROB 4 November 1755, 29 October 1757, 28 December 1757, 29 December 1757). An officer must check them and when they were found correct, another officer must fix a seal to each order. Language style in writing an official correspondence should be prescribed too (ROB 14 April 1757). All taxes collected at Seik-Port, Ti-Shop, Pwe-Brokerage, Kin-Toll Station, and Gado-Ferry, were to be fixed at ten percent of the value of the thing assessed (ROB 16 May 1758). On things sold, tax should be collected only from two third of the quantity sold. On things bought, only three quarter of the commodity bought was liable to be taxed (ROB 4 January 1758). Apaw WunCourt Fee from the Plaintiff, was also fixed (ROB 16 May 1758). There shall be no misappropriation of public funds (ROB 20 November 1757). Alaungmintaya wanted to keep himself informed with the general state of affairs and therefore each minister or a judge had to write a monthly repoort and to hand it over to an officer appointed by the king to summarise them. That officer shall submit th summarise
to the king on every second day of the month (ROB 29 November 1757). He also wanted a manual of Nagan-Heralds, compiled so that there was uniformity in all court procedures. On administration of justice, he directed all judges to study various Dhammathats (Law Books) thoroughly and to make neither a biased or a hasty decision. It would be good to wait one to six weeks to pass any important judgement (ROB 19 August 1758). When a monk was required to appear in a witness box, he shall not be summoned without the prior sanction of the primate (ROB 5 September 757). Law suits to realize debts, however, shall wait until the Ayedaw-(Ayutia) Campaign, was over (ROB 1 January 1760).

On religion Alaungmintaya allowed only one Buddhist sect in his eralm (Kon. , I 1867, p.70). Members of the sects like Gamavasi-Village Dweller, Ok Htoke Lon-Round Hat, Ok Htoke Pya-Cap, Mo Gyo Thwa-Tall Hat with Top pressed like a blade of an Axe, Talapat Ni-Red Forehead Band, and Talapat Hpyu-White forehead Band, were ordered to abandon their ways and adopt the way of atin-Robe on Left Shoulder leaving Right Shoulder bare, and Ayon-Robe covering Both Shoulder, the king decided in favour of the Atin. Atulayasamahadhammarajadhirajaguru was appointed Thathanabuy-Head of the Mission to propagate Buddhism. He ordered that there shall be no killing of cattle for meat nor consuming any kind of intoxicant drinks or drugs, in his kingdom. Animal sacrifice at the time of harvest was strictly prohibited (ROB 1 January 1760). Any laxity in the observation of the Vinaya among the Buddhist monks was not allowed and Mahadan Wun and his men were to check it. All these measure pivoted on one consideration that Alaungmintaya could not wait until the were over, to carry out his destined role
of the defender of the faith. He had to do everything in his power to promote Buddhism as it was believed in Burma or to be more precise, as it was believed by his religious preceptor called Atulayasamahadhammarajadhirajaguru.

The religious preceptor on the other hand also tried to help the king by issuing a very interesting notification to all provincial chief $s$ of the former Ava Kingdom. In that notification, he alluded to a prophecy that there will be much trouble in the east and anyone who wanted to escape destruction should take refuge in Burma or Shwebo where Alaungmintaya was king. When a chief was wise to make the good decision to accept Alaungmintaya's suzerainty, he could save not only himself but also his followers from death. etc. Then he gave a list of provinces that had already accepted the overlorship of Alaungmintaya. The list included the place of Ingye (Gadu), Kachin, Kayin, Khanti (Shan) and Lawa who were once said to be impossible to subdue. He concluded the notification by saying:

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 (ROB 19 December 1756).

Thus the king and monk helped each other to build an empire and to bring prosperity to Buddhism in that empire.

The fall of was attributed to three factors, viz.

1. the weakness of the king,
2. the corruptibleness of the ministers and
3. the treachery of Mons (ROB 4 March 1755).

Alaungmintaya considered that the king's weakness was due to his disregard of the ten kingly virtues. Perhaps Mahadhammarajadhipati was not innately bad. Yjere were so many odds against him that he eventually
lost his throne and was drowned to death on (3) November 1755. To his own success, Alaungmintaya attributed to his destiny. He seemed to have an infinite faith that he was to become king of kings. A lot of propaganda had been worked on it (ROB 2 January 1755, 20 June 1755, 15 January 1756). Another piece of propaganda that worked well was an enticement to all would-be defectors with a promise that if they deserted Pegu, Alaungmintaya would welcome them without any degradation in rank. The phrase used to denote it was:

Can :cim ma pyak asak ma se ne ra ma nim
(that he would be allowed to live without being alienated from the ownership of his former property nor he would be denied of his official rank and statue) (ROB 18 January 1756).

At a later stage, Alaungmintaya even suggested this king of arrangement to the Pegu King (ROB 28 September 1756). Some leaflets of propaganda were written in some European languages (probably French) with the hope that mercenaries in Pegu might defect (ROB 9 April 1756). There were quite a considerable number of mercenaries in the Mon fighting forces and it was recorded that in Kyaik Hkauk battle on 15 April 1756, the Burmese forces succeeded in killing 300 foreigners (Kon., I 1967, p.166). Some were taken prisoner and on 29 July 1756, 550 foreigners who had been taken in battle were organized into a gun group called Ko Yan Thay Nat Su - King's Own Guards (Kon., I 1967, pp.185-6). Foreigners so employed were Ferengi, Pathi (Muslim), Kappali (Negro) and Tamil. Using God Indra's name as the author, a letter was sent to people of Pegu with a suggestion that the Pegu King should send his daughter as a bride to Alaungmintaya and the hostilities should be ended with a marriage union (ROB 9 April 1756). Jataka stories were used to negotiate terms of peace (ROB 28 June 1756, 19 October 1756). The stories referred to are:

No. 51 Mahasilava Jataka - a good king met evil with good. Refusing to sanction war, he was captured but he eventually regained his sovereignty.
No. 371Dightikosala Jataka - a prince spared the life of the king who had slain his father and thereby he succeeded to make that king repent.
No. 462Samvara Jataka - a prince made friends with all kinds of people and in this way he was able to avert a war.

No. 543Bhuridatta Jataka - a marriage union proved to be the best form of alliance between two kingdoms.

To the monks who came from Pegu to negotiate peace, Alaungmintaya promised that there would be no massacre after Pegu was taken if everything turned out well as he had suggested (ROB 19 October 1756). He also said that if the Pegu King was really earnest to stop the war, he was to take the initiative and stop all hostilities first (ROB 19 December 1756). Taking the cue from the Bhuridatta Jataka (No. 543) the Pegu. King sent his daughter as a bride to Alaungmintaya on 22 December 1756 (ROB 13 December 1756: Kon. I 1967, p.224).

From the few records that we have on Alaungmintaya's relationship with the Europeans, we find that he was more eager to get the British friendship and trade was an only excuse to procure arms and ammunition. He sent a letter to the British saying that there always was a good trade and friendly relationship between Burma and British and due to a Mon rebellion, that relationship was terminated for a while. Now that an almost normal conditions had been restored, he wanted the friendship renewed (ROB 4 March 1755). Obviously it was a request for the supply of weapons just like what the French were doing for the Mons (ROB 6 June 1755). To show that he was in real earnest to get the British help, he gave them a piece of land for a factory site in Bassein (ROB 8 May 1756). He sent letters to Negrais, Madras and London. There was no reply. We find one Pali verse that might refer to this situation. The Pali
composition is so faulty that it is very difficult to know what it really means though we could make a guess as follows:
(You Englishmen1)You do well in trading,
But you are no good in fighting.
What about your literary attaiment?
Find out what this Pali is meant.
(ROB 29 October 1757)
The hopelessness of the situation culminated in the massacre at Negrais on 6 October 1759. The causes of the tragedy were summed up as:

1. Help given by Jackson and Whitehill to Mons when they attacked Rangoon on 13 May 1755 was taken as a British treachery.
2. Receiving no reply to Alaungmintaya's letter dated 8 May 1756 to king George II was considered an affront that could not be forgiven.
3. Gregory (an Armenian in the service of the Burmese) told the Burmese that the British came to India as merchants but they built an empire there; the Burmese took it as a warning.
4. Larine, a French Eurasian, who came with the Burmese to Negrais to seize military stores and to capture men for ransom, over did the work because of his hatred on the British; he could easily explain that he had been forced to take extreme measures.

The English considered that revenge was out of question at that time and an irreconciliable breach with Burma was also not advisable. In the meanwhile Alaungmintaya planned to invade Thailand. Hoping to get guns, etc. he sent a letter of friendship to the French at Pondicherry on 20 December 1759. Mergui and Tenasserim were under Thai in those days and he took these towns on (7 March 1760) and ( 9 March 1760) respectively. That started the war with Thailand.

The fighting men were organized as IO Laknak Kaing (armed men) under

1 Kyat (leader), 10 Kyats (leaders) under I Tat Hmu (chief) and 10 Tat Hmus (chiefs) under I Bo (commander) with 2 Sitke (officer), 2 Nagan (herald) and 2 Sayay (clerk) (Kon., I 1967, p.57). Alaungmintaya had his men organized into fighting units from the time that Ava fell on II March 1752 (Kon., I 1967, p.19). Occasionally he had the strength of some units increased and they were reorganized before a major campaign was started. One unit of armed men was called one Thwethauk and the approximate strength was fifty. The whole fighting force under Alaungmintaya would be around 100 Thwethauks or 5,000 men. The following is the list of fighting men and the date that they were organized as mentioned in the chronicle (Kon., I 1967).

17 April1752 $68 \quad$ Myin Yi Det (Best Horsemen) (p.27)
(I) May $\begin{array}{lll}1752 & 120 & \text { Ko Yan Daw Thet Taw Saunt Shwe Nan Daw Thay Nat }\end{array}$ (Golden Palace and Body Guard Gunmen) (pp.32-3)
(I) May 1752140 Thon Thwethauk Su (Three Thwethauk Groups) (p.33)
(30) May1752 $190 \quad$ Thay Nat Su (Gun Group) (pp.42-3)

26 July 175693 Myo Tet Lu Kyun Daw Yin Thu Ye (Commandoes selected from the Most Loyal Servants of the king to raid Syriam) (p.182)
28 July 1756550 Ko Yan Thay Nat Su (Foreigners called Kala comprising Ferengi, Pathi or Muslim Indians,Kappali or Negros, and Kale or Tamils)(pp.185-6)
24 Oct1756 $100 \quad$ Shwe Lhan Ye Zu (Braves of the Golden Lance; Commandoes to raid Pegu) (p.194).
24 Oct 1756106 Ywe Zu That Bat (Selected Gunmen, Commandoes to raid Pegu) (p.200)
(20) Dec $1756410 \quad$ Nga Thwethauk (Five Thwethauk Groups) (p.290)

24 July 1758 I,848 Letwe Thon Ze Thon Thwethauk (Thirty Three Thwethuk Groups of the Right) (p.290)
I Sept 1758 I, 302 Letya Thon Ze Thon Thwethauk (Thirty Three Thwethauk Groups of the Right) (p.290)
I Sept 1758 I, 980 Ywe Letwe Thay Nat Su (Selected Gunmen Group of the Right) (p.291)
The King went on a campaign against Manipura on 12 November 1758 and he was again at his capital on 22 January 1759. The forces that he mustered on the Manipuri campaign seemed to be all that he could get. It comprised of I, 848 men of Letwe Thon Ze Thon, I,302 men of Letya Thon Ze Thon and I, 980 men of Ywe Letwe Thay Nat Su - a total of 5, 130 men or 100 Thwethauk

Groups. But in the Ayut'ia campaign, we are told that Alaungmintaya had mustered over 10,000 men at Tavoy before he started the invasion (Kon., I 1967, p.306). With Min Gaung Nawyatha in the command, there were 300 Horsemen and 3,000 Gunmen; with Min Hla Nawyatha there were 300 Horsemen and 3,000 Gunmen and with Siridhammaraja (Prince Myedu) there were 500 Horsemen and 5,000 Gunmen. That made a total of 510 Horsemen and 11,000 Gunmen. That was slightly over double the strength that he used against Manipura and with a lightning assault, he expected a quick victory. He would have been successful if he were not wounded. (Accounts other than Burmese mention that Alaungmintaya was wounded when a cannon that he managed to fire bursted. See Q.A.R.Wood, A History of Siam, London, Fisher Unwin, 1926, p.242). But there were three reasons that could explain his failure. Firstly, he made the invasion against the advice of his generals (Kon., I 1967, pp.305, 315). Secondly he started it too late. We know that in Southeast Asia, the fighting season is from November to February. It would be too hot to be fighting in March and April and the rains made it impossible in May. Thirdly he could not have the required military supplies without the European aid and we know that there were no such aids at that time. As a good general he knew when to retreat.

We have very few Royal Orders of the next three reigns of King Dabayin (Naungdawgyi 1760-1763), King Myedu (Sinbyushin 1763-1776), and King Singu (1776-1782). There were many remarkable events, especially during the time of King Myedu when wars were fought against Chinese, Manipura and Thailand. It is impossible that there were no Royal Orders with reference to anyone of these important episodes though we failed so far to trace them.

## CHRONOLOGY 1752-1782

| 27 | January | 1752 | Sagaing fell into the hands of Mon |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 9 | March | 1752 | Ava's first fortification broken |
| 11 | March | 1752 | Ava's second and last fortification broken; the King was taken prisoner |
| 9 | April | 1752 | Mon envoys came to Moksobo to administer cath of allegiance to Alaungmintaya; Kwe envoys also arrived on the same purpose |
| 13 | April | 1752 | Another Mon envoy came to Moksobo; it was ambushed |
| 17 | April | 1752 | A contingent of Mon troops sent against Moksobo; Alaungmintaya organized 68 selected horsemen |
| 24 | April | 1752 | Mon attack on Moksobo repulsed |
| (1) | May | 1752 | Alaungmintaya organized 120 gunmen <br> 140 armed men <br> 46 town guards |
| (30) | May | 1752 | Alaungmintaya organized 190 gunmen |
| 3 | June | 1752 | Another contingent of Mon troops left Ava to attack Moksobo |
| 8 | June | 1752 | Myaung Wun battle; Mons defeated |
| 29 | June | 1752 | Thomas Taylor came to Diamond island |
| 23 | September | 1752 | Khin Lat battle; Mons defeated |
| 29 | September | 1752 | English got a factory site at Syriam |
| 11 | October | 1752 | Alaungmintaya attacked Khin U |
| 14 | October | 1752 | Another attack on Khin U; Khin U taken |
| 4 | November | 1752 | aungmintaya attacked Zin Ywa;Zin Ywa taken |
| 6 | November | $\begin{aligned} & 1752 \\ & \text { organ } \end{aligned}$ | Alaungmintaya attacked Ye U ; fighting forces zed;war captives given land for homesteads |
| 13 | November | 1752 | Alaungmintaya attacked Te Daw |


| (4) | January | 1753 | Alaungmintaya made a tour of recruiting men in his fighting forces |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 6 | April | 1753 | Alaungmintaya attacked Kyi Daw Gyi |
| 11 | April | 1753 | Alaungmintaya took Min Gin |
| 26 | April | 1753 | David Hunter seized Negrais |
| 21 | June | 1753 | Constructions begun at Moksobo to turn it into a capital |
|  |  | 1753 | Buddhist sects other than "Left Shoulder" were declared illegal; animal sacrifices at harvest time prohibited |
| 9 | September | 1753 | Thomas Taylor came to Bassein with a permission for a factory site |
| 30 | November | $\begin{aligned} & 1753 \\ & \text { Taun } \end{aligned}$ | Alaungmintaya sent troopd against Kwe at Thon Sint;Alaungmintaya took Laung Tha |
| 17 | December | 1753 | Alaungmintaya's land forces held fort at Shwe Kyek Yet and Tat Kyi and water forces at Sin De getting ready to attack Ava |
| 24 | December | 1753 Thom | David Hunter died of fever at Negrais; Henry Brooke succeeded him as Chief of Negrais; as Taylor became second in command there |
| 29 | December | 1753 | Alaungmintaya's attack on Ava begun |
| 3 | January | 1754 | Sagaing taken; Ava taken |
| 8 | January | 1754 | Pagodas destroyed in war were repaired |
| 15 | February | 1754 | Alaungmintaya marched to Anya Sin Bo Min Gin |
| 19 | February | 1754 | Alaungmintaya came back to Kyauk Myaung |
| 11 | March | 1754 | Alaungmintaya in Katha; sent troopd to |
|  |  |  | Mchnyin and Mogaung |

17 March 1754 Alaungmintaya at Shwe Baw Gyun; administered oath of allegiance to Sawbwas of Mong Mit and Bhamo

21 March 1754 Alaungmintaya won over Shans and Kachins in a battle on a ridge near Tha Mine village; he proceeded to Sin Bo Min Gin where he reached after twenty two stages from Ava

31 March 1754 Alaungmintaya at Shwe Baw Gyun
6 April 1754 Alaungmintaya Tagaung
8 April 1754 Alaungmintaya at Kyauk Myaung
9 April 1754 Alaungmintaya at Shwebo (former Moksobo)
29 April 1754 Mons troops came north and arrived at Taloke Myo
24 May 1754 First major engagement between Mon forces and Alaungmintaya's forces in the river; Mons were good in fighting from boats but they lost the battle

27 May 1754 Mons retreated from upper Burma
2 June 1754 Alaungmintaya left Ava for Pin Me Hti by Sekya Taing Min village route

26 June 1754 Constructions in Shwebo resumed
27 June 1754 Alaungmintaya arrived at Shwebo
25 August 1754 Alaungmintaya sent troops against Nge Kyan in Hti Lin
29 August 1754 Alaungmintaya received reports on success of anti-Mon activities in Burmese towns under Mons

12 September 1754 A gold finial was fixed above the palace in Shwebo

|  |  |  | to mark the completion of palace construction |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 21 <br> (15) | September <br> October | $\begin{aligned} & 1754 \\ & 1754 \end{aligned}$ | Thit Chauk Tut where Nge Kyan stood, fell Kyaw Htin Thet Shay escaped from Hanthawaddy; he came to Kyan Gin to start anti-Mon activities there; Prome succeeded in expelling Mons from it |
| 28 | October | 1754 | Ceremony of occupying the new palace held in Shwebo |
| 30 | October | 1754 | Finial fixed above Shwe Chet Tho pagoda |
| 25 | November | 1754 | Alaungmintaya went to Kyauk Myaung to sent troops to lower Burma |
| 27 | November | 1754 | Troops sent to Prome |
| 29 | November | 1754 | Ceremony of sitting on a new throne held in Shwebo |
| 24 | December | 1754 | Name plates fixed at the twelve gates of Shwebo; it was a kind of proclamation that city building was over |
| 2 | January | 1754 | Alaungmintaya left Shwebo to march south |
| 13 | January | 1754 | Alaungmintaya left Kyauk Myaung |
| 16 | January | 1754 | Alaungmintaya in Ava |
| 18 | January | 1754 | Alaungmintaya left Ava |
| 30 | January | 1754 | Troops under La Goon Ain were defeated at Shwe Bon Tha Letkya |
| 6 | February | 1755 | Attack on San Daw Shin fort where Banya Jala made a stand |
| 7 | February | 1755 | San Daw Shin fort taken; Alaungmintaya in Prome |
| 9 | February | 1755 | All Mon attacks on Prome repulsed |
| 23 | February | 1755 | Bassein fell into Burmese hands |


| 3 | March | 1755 | Campaign against Hanthawaddy begun |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 4 | March | 1755 | Loon Hsay renamed Myan Aung |
| 13 | March | 1755 | A Burmese envoy came to the English factory (trade depot ) in Bassein; Captain George Baker from the factory accompanied the envoy to Negrais; henry Brooke, Chief of Negrais , received him well; the Burmese wanted military supplies but he had very little of them to spare |
| 8 | April | 1755 | Alaungmintaya left Myan Aung; arrived at Kanaung |
| 10 | April | 1755 | Burmese envoy left Negrais; Bassein fell into the hands of Mon; envoy was sent back to Nagrais |
| 14 | April | 1755 | Alaungmintaya stopped at Hsa Ma Lauk |
| 16 | April | 1755 | Dagon taken; built a fort there |
| 2 | May | 1755 | Dagon renamed Rangoon |
| 2 | May | 1755 | Burmese got back Bassein |
| 13 | May | 1755 | Mon attack on Rangoon |
| 18 | May | 1755 | Mon stockade of Tamwe fell; from the arms seized at Tamwe, Alaungmintaya was convinced that Henery Brooke was double-crossing him |
| 22 | May | 1755 | Mons made a stand in Hpaung Nin Ma Lit |
| 27 | May | 1755 | Hpaung Nin Ma Lit taken |
| 30 | May | 1755 | Burmese attack on Syriam begun; they failed badly |
| 1 | June | 1755 | Dala taken (not the present Dala; it is now a ruined site outside Twante) |
| 6 | June | 1755 | John Whitehill arrived at Rangoon |
| (7) | June | 1755 | Second Burmese envoy went to Nagrais |
| 27 | June | 1755 | Alaungmintaya left Rangoon |


| 13 | July | 1755 | Alaungmintaya left Prome |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 29 | July | 1755 | Alaungmintaya left Ava |
| 31 | July | 1755 | Alaungmintaya in Shwebo <br> Mon attack on Rangoon <br> Chinese envoys in Keng Tung <br> Another Mon attack on Rangoon |
| 16 | September | 1755 | George Baker in Shwebo; North died on the way |
| 28 | September | 1755 | Baker left Shwebo |
| 28 | September | 1755 | Baker in Negrais |
| 4 | February | 1755 | Alaungmintaya left Shwebo |
| 7 | February | 1755 | Alaungmintaya left Kyauk Myaung |
| 13 | February | 1756 | Alaungmintaya left Nyaung U |
| 3 | March | 1756 | Alaungmintaya left Prome |
| 5 | March | 1756 | Alaungmintaya left Myan Aung |
| 15 | March | 1756 | Alaungmintaya in Rangoon; Kala <br> ByoThiridamarut Thwethauk - Young Foreign <br> Mercenary Platoon called Damayut, organized |
| 17 | March | 1756 | Collected provisions as much as possible |
| 9 | April | 1756 | Alaungmintaya had a stockade built close to Syriam |
| 15 | April | 1756 | Kyaik Htauk battle; over 300 mercanaries from Mon side were reported to have been killed in that battle |
| 25 | April | 1756 | troops sent to Hanthawaddy to hang a propaganda letter outside one of its gates |
| 4 | May | 1756 | Alaungmintaya sent by Ensign Lester and Dr William Anderson letters to King George II, |


|  |  |  | Directors of East Company in London, Governor of madras and Chief of Negrais |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 8 | May | 1756 | English envoys left Rangoon; attack on Dawbon |
| 19 | May | 1756 | Dawbon taken; a series of attack on Syriam begun |
| 13 | July | 1756 | The Yay Nan Set Kya used in an attack against Syriam; Mahasenapati (Alaungmintaya's Chief of Guns) was seriously wounded in battle and died that very day |
| 26 | July | 1756 | 93 Commandoes led the attack; Syriam fell |
| 29 | July | 1756 | Foreigners taken as prisoners were organized into Ko Yan Daw Thay Nat Su-group of Body Guards with Guns |
| 13 | September | 1756 | Do Zwe Ya Zet defected; Mons made a stand at Kamapi |
| 28 | September | 1756 | Kamapi taken |
| 3 | October | 1756 | Major assault on Hanthawaddy begun |
| 4 | October | 1756 | Alaungmintaya in Kamapi |
| 13 | October | 1756 | Alaungmintaya in Kyaik Pa Kit |
| 15 | October | 1756 | Kyaik Pha Tine taken |
| 24 | October | 1756 | 100 Commandoes organized to attack Nyaung Bin |
| 26 | October | 1756 | Nyaung Bin taken; peace mission led by mnoks from Hanthawaddy came |
| 30 | October | 1756 | Alaungmintaya in Yan Gin Si Tun |
| 26 | November | 1756 | Alaungmintaya in Pan Say |
| 29 | November | 1756 | Son Gon taken |
| 7 | December | 1756 | Mons came to build a very strong stsckade at some distance outside their city; it was taken |



| 29 | June | 1757 | Rewards given to all soldiers of distinguished service in battles |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | July | 1757 | Titles conferred upon brave soldiers |
| 2 | July | 1757 | Alaungmintaya left Hanthawaddy |
| 5 | July | 1757 | Alaungmintaya at Rangoon; titles conferred upon more soldiers |
| 8 | July | 1757 | Alaungmintaya visited Shwedagon |
| 12 | July | 1757 | Alaungmintaya left Rangoon |
| 22 | July | 1757 | Ensign Robert Lester came to Alaungmintaya with presents from Captain Thomas Newton, Chief of Negrais |
| 29 | July | 1757 | Celebration to mark the completion of constructions at Myan Aung Shwe Bon Tha pagoda; treaty with English ratified; Robert Lester allowed to return to Negrais |
| 1 | August | 1757 | Alaungmintaya in Prome |
| 4 | August | 1757 | Alaungmintaya left Prome |
| 21 | August | 1757 | Alaungmintaya in Ava |
| 22 | August | 1757 | Lester took formal possession of a site in Bassein |
| 26 | August | 1757 | Alaungmintaya left Ava; Lester arrived at Negrais |
| 28 | August | 1757 | Alaungmintaya at Kyauk Myaung |
| 7 | September | 1757 | Alaungmintaya left Kyauk Myaung |
| 24 | October | 1757 | Constructions of Greater Shwebo begun |
| 4 | December | 1757 | Mong Mit chief confirmed in his office; 180 gunmen organized |


| 22 | December | 1757 | Miniature of Hanthawaddy Shwe Daw pagoda built in Shwebo |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2 | January | 1758 | Envoys from Negapatam (Madras coast) arrived |
| 9 | January | 1758 | Envoys from Manipura arrived |
| 16 | January | 1758 | Negapatam envoys returned; troops sent against Kwe Lawa |
| 24 | January | 1758 | More troopd sent against Kwe Lawa |
| 24 | July | 1758 | Fighting forces reorganized |
| 1 | September | 1758 | Fighting forces reorganized |
| 12 | November | 1758 | Alaungmintaya went to attack Manipura |
| 22 | January | 1758 | Alaungmintaya came back from Manipura |
| 7 | February | 1758 | Alaungmintaya in Shwebo |
| 15 | February | 1759 | Troops sent to Bhamo |
|  |  | 1759 | Robert Lester died in Negrais |
|  | April | 1759 | Negrais main garrison ready to withdraw |
| 13 | May | 1759 | Newton arrived at Ft William (Calcutta) bringing back men and stores from Negrais; 35 Europeans and 70 Indians and 4,000 timber were left at Negrais |
| 19 | July | 1759 | Alaungmintaya left Kyauk Myaung for Rangoon |
| 1 | September | 1759 | Captain William Henry Southby left Calcutta for Negrais to take charge of Negrais from Lt Hope and to carry out the task of removing timber from there as mush as possible |
| 21 | September | 1759 | Alaungmintaya left Prome |
| 4 | October | 1759 | Southby in Negrais; took over the charge of the station from Lt Hope; Antonio (Portuguese |


|  |  |  | Governor of Bassein) and Lavine (French |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | Eurasian in the service of the Burmese King) arrived at Negrais in about the same time with Southby |
| 6 | October | 1759 | Massacre at Negrais; 60 men, 4 women and child escaped |
| 16 | October | 1759 | Negrais settlement burnt |
| 10 | November | 1759 | Captain Alves who escaped the massacre at Negrais arrived at Calcutta |
| 21 | December | 1759 | Alaungmintaya left Rangoon on a campaign against Ayut'ia |
| (25 | December | 1759) | Tavoy rebellion suppressed; its former Governor executed |
| (30 | December | 1759) | Alaungmintaya in Martaban |
| (7 | February | 1760) | Alaungmintaya in Moulmein |
| (14 | February | 1760) | Alaungmintaya in Ye |
| (19 | February | 1760) | Alaungmintaya in Tavoy |
| (27 | February | 1760) | Alaungmintaya left Tavoy |
| (7 | March | 1760) | Alaungmintaya in Mergui |
| (9 | March | 1760) | Alaungmintaya in Tenasserim |
| (16 | March | 1760) | Alaungmintaya in Kwe |
| (22 | March | 1760) | Alaungmintaya in Phetburi |
| (26 | March | 1760) | Alaungmintaya in Ratburi |
| (9 | April | 1760) | Alaungmintaya in Suphanburi |
| 11 | April | 1760 | Alaungmintaya laid siege to Ayut'ia |
| 17 | April | 1760 | Alaungmintaya raised the siege of Ayut'ia and hastened back to rangoon via Rahaeng, Mas <br> Sot, Myawadi route |


| 29 | November | 1763 | Prince Myedu ascended the throne |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 24 | August | 1763 | Abayagamani and Min Hla Thiri conquered Chiengmai; Sin Mya Shin was found there and taken prisoner |
| 15 | January | 1764 | Triumphant generals of Chiengmai campaign in Shwebo |
| 6 | February | 1764 | Ayut'ia campaign begun |
| 3 | March | 1764 | Order to rebuild Ava as capital passed |
| 16 | May | 1764 | Coronation |
| 15 | September | 1764 | Men in the King's service were of (1) high mental capacity as well as physical prowess, (2) high mental capacity only and (3) physical prowess alone; the King wanted to have them adjusted in the services according to their own capabilities |
| 31 | October | 1764 | Troops sent against Mong Ton,. Nong La, Hkapin, Annam, Viengcheng |
| 30 | November | 1764 | Troops sent against Ayut'ia Troops sent against Manipura |
| 15 | January | 1765 | King marched against Manipura |
| 25 | March | 1765 | Viengcheng taken |
| 7 | April | 1765 | King left Manipura; on arrival at the capital he built Neikban Hseik U pagoda |
| 23 | June | 1765 | Palace built in Ava |
| 22 | August | 1765 | Troops from Chiengmai sent against Ayutia |
| 22 | October | 1765 | Troops from Tavoy sent agaunst Ayut'ia |
| 27 | December | 1765 | Chinese came to attack Keng Tung |


| 14 | January | 1766 | Burmese forces were camped at a distance of about $400 \mathrm{ta} / .75$ mile / 1.25 k from Ayut'ia |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 8 | February | 1766 | Report of success at Keng Tung reached the capital |
| 20 | March | 1766 | King in Ava; city area extended west |
| 8 | April | 1766 | Triumphant army from Keng Tung arrived at the capital; Bala Min Htin sent to Kaung Ton |
| (4) | October | 1766 | Troops sent to Twelve Pannas of Lu and Chiengmai |
| (31) | December | 1766 | Chinese attacked Bhamo |
| 9 | January | 1767 | Ava extension completed; Ayut'ia offered terms of peace |
| 30 | January | 1767 | Troops sent against Chinese invaders |
| 3 | February | 1767 | King agreed to conclude peace with Ayut'ia |
| 5 | February | 1767 | Troops sent by river to Bhamo |
| 9 | April | 1767 | Ayut'ia fell |
| 21 | May | 1767 | Triumphant army returned from Bhamo |
| 5 | June | 1767 | Triumphant army returned from Ayut'ia |
| (19) | December | 1767 | Another Chinese invasion |
| 24 | December | 1767 | Troops sent against Chinese invaders |
| 16 | March | 1768 | Troops returned to the capital |
| 31 | March | 1768 | Pagan Shwezigon finial fell |
| 30 | April | 1768 | King went to Pagan |
| 30 | May | 1768 | Shwezigon finial fixed |
| 6 | June | 1768 | King left Pagan |
| 12 | June | 1768 | Great earthquake; Rangoon Shwedagon finial fell |
| 23 | August | 1769 | Bride from Candapuri / Viengchang / Lin Zin |
| 26 | August | 1769 | Bride accepted |
| 20 | October | 1769 | Troops sent against Chinese invaders |


| 29 | November | 1769 | Chinese offered terms of peace |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 15 | December | 1769 | Peace concluded with Chinese |
| 18 | December | 1769 | Chinese withdrew |
| 1 | January | 1770 | King was angry for allowing the Chinese go; |
|  |  |  | troops went to Manipura on their own to please |
|  |  |  | the King |
| 23 | March | 1770 | Troops returned from Manipura; they were not |
|  |  |  | allowed to enter the city |
| 18 | June | 1770 | Received a white elephant |
| 28 | June | 1770 | King assumed the title of Hsinbyushin- Master |
|  |  |  | of White Elephant |
| 26 | July | 1770 | Great earthquake |
| 11 | August | 1770 | Dowager Queen Mother died |
| 13 | August | 1770 | Remains of the queen cremated |
| $(7)$ | January | 1772 | Campa Thet sent a bride |
| 9 | January | 1772 | Bride accepted |
| $(10)$ | February | 1772 | Troops sent against Thai |
| 7 | March | 1772 | Troops sent against Candapuri / Viengohang |
| 15 | December | 1773 | King moved to a temporary palace |
| 14 | May | 1774 | Coronation |
| 7 | November | 1774 | Troops sent against Thai; leaders of a Manipuri |
| 11 | January | 1775 | King in Pagan |
| 13 | January | 1775 | King left Pagan |
| 20 | January | 1775 | King in Prome' erected Po U Taung inscription |
| 21 | February | 1775 | King left Prome |
|  |  |  |  |


| 1 | March | 1775 | King in Rangoon |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 15 | March | 1775 | Shwedagon finial fixed; ex-lord of Pegu and her executed |
| 3 | May | 1775 | King left Rangoon |
| 31 | July | 1775 | King in Ava |
| 22 | February | 1776 | Shwepyi Seik U pagoda construction completed |
| 9 | June | 1776 | King moved to a new palace |
| 10 | June | 1776 | King died; Prince Singu ascended the throne |
| 11 | June | 1776 | Remains of the King cremated |
| 16 | June | 1776 | Prince Salin executed ; all troops in various campaigns recalled; Princes Amyint, Badon, Pakhan Pindale (uncles of the King as rival claimants to throne) were under house arrest |
| 23 | December | 1776 | Coronation |
| 4 | June | $1776$ <br> North | Mahathihathura dismissed from office; Queen executed |
| 26 | September | 1776 | Prince Amyint executed |
| (25) | May | 1778 | Prince Badon confined in Sagaing, Prince <br> Pakhan in Pinya and Prince Pindale in Ywa Thit Gyi |
| (4) | March | 1780 | Schism among Buddhist monks over; Manle <br> Sayadaw Gunamuninda given charge of the <br> Religion; Prince Maung Maung sent to Hpaungga |
| 20 | October | 1782 | Pinya Shwezigon fell |
| 2 | February | 1782 | King went to Anya Thiha Daw |
| 5 | February | 1782 | Prince Maung Maung seized the throne |
| 10 | February | 1782 | King in Kyauk Myaung |
| 11 | February | 1782 | Prince Badon killed Maung Maung and took over |

the throne; ex-King Singu fled north and on arrival at Sanpanago, he found that all soldiers had deserted him.

14 February
1782 Ex-King Singu captured and executed

# THE ROYAL ORDER OF BURMA, AD 1598-1885; PART III, AD 1751-1781 

## 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 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 thought in 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 (Mahadhammarajadhipati 1733-1752) in the Nyaung Yan dynawty of Ava, a 'Friday born' would became king there. According 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 Ramannadesa were treacherous. They rebelled. Consequently there was much bloodshed. They succeeded to revive a Mon kingdom. Only the saupid 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 Pyusatha to solve them. Frightful monsters ravaged Pagan until Pyusawhti conquered them. With all the virtues of a Bonhisattva and a good king, Alaungmintaya had been able establish the capital city at Ratanasingha and bring the chiefs of following places under his control.

Kale<br>Kathe<br>Kawlin<br>Hsawnghsup<br>Hsipaw<br>Hsumhsai<br>Leihka<br>Lawksawk<br>Moda<br>Mogagung<br>Mohnyin<br>Wuntho<br>Yinge

People who would trust his leadership would have peace of both mind and body. Once Mon rebels overan many of places mentioned above and the chiefs of these places were forced to take an oatha 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 campaing south).
Note: Alaungmintaya used some diplomancy 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 Ratanasingha, begun on 21 June 1753. But they were syopped for a while when the fighting seasons 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 a coronation that required more elaborated 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 small and constructions on Greater Ratanasingha begun on 24 October 1757.

## (4 March 1755)

As there had been friendship and commerace between Burma and (British now at) Minjjhimadesa (Central India), the present monarch of Burma wants to extend this good relationship as it had 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 Thagalat Ok Myo Hti Myo-Cannon, Gun, Scarlet or Bales of Various Texitles. It was of some considrable profit to both parties concerned. In the meanwhile, the people of Ramannadesa had rebelled and destroyed Ava. It seemed that Ava 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 the yield his palace to a better man who is Alaungmintaya himself. The disasters that the Burmese suffered, however, were temporary. King Alaungmintaya, with his capital city at Ratanasingha (Shwebo) had (with the exception of Mons) conquered all provincial chiefs like Dana, 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 succeed (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 again 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 Thenga 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 cales, shall be resumed.

A gift of two resceptcles made of gold rubies, in the likeness 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) Nanngambhi of Htaw Ma village in Atwin Shell shallbe 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 Mahaatulayasadhammarajaguru (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 Nanngambhi, native of Pakhgngyi, now living in Htaw Ma, Atwin Shell;
(2) Shin Tejodipa, former Maung Shan of the Cavalary, native of Taung Dwin Gyi,, now living in Htaw Ma;
(3) Shin Gunasara, 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 Dhammasara, former Maung Nay Dun, an Athi 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 Sunaparanta, Tampadipa 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 Syream, 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 relations; 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 (Shewdagon). 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, Alaugmintaya 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 Panna Dippa who was brought to Rangoon
from Hmaw Wun 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 recongnise this and he was wise. The Hanthawaddy campaingns 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 Haenwi shall 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 biginning 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, Catulokapala, Mahesara, Canni, Paramisva, Genesa, Visnu, Asura, 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.
3. 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.
4. Five big drums were made according to specification (a) to announce time and (b) to terrify the enemies who came to attack the city, by striking them.
5. Coronation was essential. It bound the King and his people in a mutual pledge to work together for peace and prosperity in the kingdom.
6. Regalia would add magesty to the Audience Hall.
7. Giving suitable rewards to men in the King's service either for their bravery in the battlefield or for their wisdom in counselling.
Note: Mahadhammarajadhipati, 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. Manhadhammarajadhipati was drowned in Thadingyut S 1117 (6 October 1755-3 November 1755) (Siri Ujana, Lokabyuha 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 so as the Crown Prince. The Investiture of the Crown Prince consested 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 actendants, 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 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Atulasirimahacandadevi |
| 19 January | 1675 | Bon Gyaw monastery was built |
| 8 October | 1675 | Nat Set Yaung monk was given the title of Sirisaddhammaghosamaharajaguru and Bon Gyaw monastry was given to him. |
| (13) May | 1679 | Queen Monther Dowager founded the U Min Daw |
|  | 1680 | 51 families were dedicated at the U Min Daw as servants of the Religion <br> Candadevi 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 | Final was fixed on the Man Aung Yadana pagoda |
|  | 1700 | Wabaung Kyaung was built for Pitakat Taik Shin Asabha |
|  | 1701 | Sagaing Tilokaguru Kyaung and Loka Hman Gin Kyaung were built |
|  | 1702 | Image at Mahabodhi collapsed; tow monasteries and two alms houses were added at the establishement |
|  | 1703 | Min Wun Lay Dub Kyaung Ponnya Zedi Zayat, Shin Hpyu Shin Hla Zayat, Bon Kyaung, Shwe Taw Gadaw Kyaung, |



| 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 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 Gyat village |
|  | 1736 | Loka Thara Hpu finial fell; Shin Hla image lest |
|  | 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 forestell the prophesy that the kingdom would be divided into many petty kingdoms

## (3 November 1755)

On insignia 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 Kampat
3 Yinhti
4 U Yu
5 Kya Ngan
Four White Umbrellas displayed on the left of the throne

| Kanetdadan | 1 |
| :--- | :--- |
| Kampat | 1 |
| Yinhte | 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 Kampat 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 Rajamanicula 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 Saphas, etc. are also described in detail.

Insigias of rank for all officers are also given in ditail. 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 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 dicorate their boats, the type of houses that 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 in Hluttaw.

## 4 November 1755

Order: (1) Nanda Bahu is given the duty to check any irregularities or discrepencies in ceremonial robes and official uniforms used by courtiers and officers while they are attinding 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 BreezeApartment, Baung Daw-Crawns 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 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 ricent 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<br>Min Hla Min Gaung<br>Min Kyaw Sithu<br>Zaya Nanda<br>Bala Nanda Sithu<br>Bala Gamani and<br>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 Sirisudhammaraja (King Dabay in $1760=1763$ ), Prince Siridhammaraja (King Myedu 1763-1780) and Prince Sudhammaraja 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 edfected 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 guranteed Can: cim ma pyak asak mase ne ra ma nim- that he would be allowed to live without being alienated from the ownership of hes 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 is clear. Pegu had now lost almost all its territories. It should acknowledge defeat and send the king's 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 riveve the Talaing kingdom.
3. Ava was taken and its king was captured. This is not the be-all and endall 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 lost 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.
like myself the Thagya, this king of upper Burmese 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 20 th century Burma. It came to be known as Thagya Shwe Pe Hlwa-the Gold Leaf Note from Sakka. Similarly airdropped propaganda leaflets of the Allies during the Second World War were called Lay Nat Tha-Air God's Communique.

## 9 April 1756

Prince Sirisudhammaraja (King Dabayin 1760-1763), Prince Siridhammaraja (King Myedu 1763-1780) and Prince Sudhammaraja 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 get s with he wanted. If your city has two wings to fly, you could escape capture. It 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 challange
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 sent to Pegu with to send defectors as messengers to the place from where they had escaped.

## 25 April 1756

Prince Sirisudhammaraja (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 while, 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 Ayujjhapura (Ratanasingha 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 <br> Sadhusamma dhammonatthi <br> Vane bhavatiti sunnam <br> Tikappagata cora maha 

This Notice is dated 25 April 1756.
Note : The beginning words of these four lines of Pali together made Hasavati.
The meaning of the whole stanza is :
Unscrupulous characters! That is what you Talaings are.
You are thiefs 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 sunaparanta, Tampadipa, 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 Ratanapura Ava and Ayujjhapura Ratanasingha, 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 scuth 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 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 thay 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 Sunaparanta, Tampadipa, Kampoca 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 Ayujjhapura Ratanasingha Kon Baung Shwe Pyi Gyi, made this address to the Covernor of Chenapatam (Fort St. George, Madras)

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

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 Gyun 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 Sunaparanta, Tampadipa, Kampoca 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 Ayujjhapure 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 benifits;
2 that this trade was terminated due to a Talaing rebellion;
3 that in the menawhile 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 ta ( $37.5 \mathrm{ft} / 11.43$ metres) square. A leaf of very good gold called Nayaka Shwe measuring $1.5 \mathrm{ft} / 45 \mathrm{~cm} \times .25 \mathrm{ft} / 8 \mathrm{~cm}$ and weighing 5 ticals ( $.73 \mathrm{lb} / 331 \mathrm{~g})$ is used to inscribe the letter to the King of England. Each end of this gold leaf is fashioned like a Jata- 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 twinty five lines of illuminated writing on a red paper. It also bears a crest and it is sealed with red wax. There is and 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 marner as the letter to the Directors in London.

## 8 May 1756

King Alaungmintaya, the Most Excellent Lord of Sunaparanta, Tampacipa, 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 Ratanapura Ava Shwe Pyi and Ayujjhapura Ratanasingha Kon Baung Shwe Pyi Gyi with most magnificient mansions, makes this friendly intimation to the King of England, Liege of Chenapatam, of Bengal, of Ft St David and of DeveCotah 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 sgipyard in Bassein and he and 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 ton $4 \mathrm{sac}(49.5 \mathrm{~cm})-5 \mathrm{sac}(5 \mathrm{~cm})$ and weighing 300 g is made like a leaf to inscribe this litter. 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 Hintha 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 evories.

## 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 nirvava. 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. Prehaps 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 benifit from having a discussion on religion with him.

This letter from the Pegu King brought to Alaungmintaya by Shin Gunamanju, Sayadaw of Ava Taung Bilu and Shin Pasamsa, Saydaw 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 15 th century. (Mhannan, 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 Ayujjhapura Ratanasingha 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 anythinf either good of 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 Hanthawaddt).

## 28 June 1756

King of Hanthawaddy, who rules Ramannadesa according to the Buddha's prophency and who had acquired enough merit (to be taken as one of the Bodhisattvas, made this address to Alaungmintaya, King of Ratanasingha 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 last long. When upper Burma and lower Burma are united into a close alliance, all other countries in Jamcudipa would respect our two countries immensely. The two capital cities of Hanthawaddy and Ratanasingha 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 brought from Hanthawaddy by Silapannavimalacara.

## 28 June 1756

Alaungmintaya, the Most Excellent King of Sunaparanta, Tampadipa, Kampoca 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 impermenance 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 Bhuridhatta Jataka (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 forWazo ( 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 | 3,030 |

Among these 3,030, there were

| Da Gyaung Yay Sa Gyun- One Line Order |  | 75 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Akhant Ahtha Sa Gyun - Posting Order |  | 100 |
|  | Total | 175 |
|  |  |  |
| 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 Taza 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, Ramannadesa, Thayaykhittays, Paukkanyama, Ketumadi Toungoo, Makkhaya, Myin Zaing, Pinya, Pinle, Sagaing, Ava, Ayujjhapura Ratanasingha, 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 Bhuridatta cataka. Perhaps 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 escont, 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 Can: cim ma pyak Asak ma se Nera me nim,- being allewed 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 Arannavasi and Gamavasi 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

Dighavu (Dighitikosala-Jataka, No.371)
Mahasilava (Mahasilava-Jataka, No. 51) and
Samvara (Samvara-Jataka, No. 462)
in which they will find some examples of how hostilities among nations could be averted by peaceful means. In Burmese history, King Rajadhiraj invaded upper Burma and reached up to Yay Wun of sagaing in 1404 (Mhannan, I 1967, p. 446) and taking the advice of Monk Zagyo 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 Pannadipa, Sirisaddhamma, Vimalacara, Candasiri, Varapanna 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 175621 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 Sunaparanta, Tampadipa, Kampoca, Ramanna, Liege of Various Vassals in Jambudipa, Possessor of Arincama Lance, Master of White Elephant, Descendant of the Race of Sun, founder of Ayujjhapura, 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 suzerainay is spreading. It has been accepted by Chins, Europeans, Indians, Kachins, Kathes and Ehans. 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 Pannadipa, 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 (date 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 betwiin Kapilavetthu 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 Pen Zay stockade by Nga U, a Burmese of Ava now called Banya Yaza Satu Daywun, Do Gonna Daywa Ain, a Talaing, and Pannadipa, 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 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 aman 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 Bhuridatta-Jakaka (No. 543) as it was mentioned in Alaungmintaya's letter (dated 28 June 1756). This letter was brought to Mungala Tattaw where Alaungmintaya camped, by Ship Htaung Kyanung 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 nirvans unless he becomes a man first in Jambudipa. On the other hand, the sharp point of a needle that was dropped from high beaven 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 Bhuridatta 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, tan san, ra tan Chan san, ra 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.

These is a prophecy which says:

Arhe, ta lhyan: ton can pyak man
Arhe, ta lhva: thva: thva: nak man
Ma ne ap kun
Mranma pran sui, rhan 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, safe hundreds of his people from misery.

The following places had already paid their homage to Alaungmintaya.

> Awpanlet
> Bassein
> Dagon
> Dala
> Hpaunglin
> Hsawnghsup
> Hsenwi
> Hsipaw
> Htilin
> Kale
> Lai Hka
> Lawksawk
> Lekai
> Martaban
> Mingin
> Mogaung
> Mohnyin
> Mong Mit
> Myaung Mya
> Mat 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 heings, 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 recuits to the King. Hence this important notice was circulated to various local chiefs in vorthern 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, Sariyadhatu-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 pagcda. 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 Pitaka 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 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 1756)

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 the Hluttaw

Min Ye Nandathu led a contingent of forces against Chiengmai

1733 King Sunday died; King Thursday took over the realm with the regnal title of Siripavarasudhammaraja

Lokasaraphu image completed
Prince Taloke became Mun Ye Kyaw Zwa
Prince Thayet became Mun 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 Zwa was given the title of
Dhammaraja and Nanda Mate Kyaw Htin was given the title of Bayin Naung; Prince Thayet or Min Ye Thihayit became Tahdo Dhammaraja; Prince Taloke or Min Ye Kyaw Zwa or Dhammaraja became Min Pyine - Parallel King

U Ka was given the title of Min Ye Kyaw Khaung and

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { he was made the Commander - in - Chief of Manipura } \\
& \text { campaign } \\
& \text { Min Ye Kyaw Khaung was sent to Hanthawaddy to } \\
& \text { suppress a rebellion led by Nga Tha Aung; he was made } \\
& \text { King Toungoo and married to the King's sister } \\
& \text { Shwe Hpyo or Nanda Mate Kyaw Htin or Bayin Naung } \\
& \text { was made King Sagaing } \\
& \text { Many princes were given titles with a prefix Min Ye to } \\
& \text { each title }
\end{aligned}
$$

## 2 April 1757

It has been a bad period during which a kingdom was destroyed, many families were broke up and quite a number of people were acptured 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 befor 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 correspondance, 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, Mahaatulayasadhammarajaguru 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: (1) 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 King-fields for cultivation of maize, peas, vegetables, etc. after the yearly innundation 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 today palm leaf that has a tappering 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 Thayana, 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 konw whether Min Hla Kyaw deposited it in the Royal Treasury or not.

Order: Baya Thayna shall interrogate Min Hla Kyaw Htin's cleark 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 princess 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 tappering 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 of the 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 lingth ( 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 tadk assigned to them by the authorities.
(3) Min 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 ( $5.00 \mathrm{am}-7.00 \mathrm{am}$ and $3.30 \mathrm{pm}-5.30$ $\mathrm{pm})$.
e Use a feather to check the fire place at non-cooking time and punish the housewife if the feather singes.
f Seize the smoking pipe when a man is found smoking it when he comes along the road.

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 hehalf 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 TheikdiBahu 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 $71 / 2$ 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 Mun 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) Mahaatulayasadhemmarajaguru 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 huilding 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 chief 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 Ghun Daung (near Hti Gyaint) these men had brought (down the river in rafts) a total of 789 timber of circumferences 30 mm to 50 mm 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 Jambudipa, 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 trubute is :

$$
\begin{aligned}
& 10 \text { viss of gold } \\
& 100 \text { horses } \\
& 500 \text { bows } \\
& 5,000 \text { arrows with poisoned iron tips and } \\
& 1,000 \text { viss of tree gun }
\end{aligned}
$$

In times of war, he has to join the imperial army with a force of 2,000 men (1,000 Horsemen and 1,000Archers). He shall be allowed to rule Manipur so long as he accepts Burma's suzerainty. But in case he becomes disloyal 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, epedemic, 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 be obtain the bliss of nirvana. This record was incribed 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 hel, his duties of looking after the good behaviour of monks in he locality as a Gaing Gyoke Daya shall devolve obviously on ejodipa.
(2) In view of the fact that it was bard to lead a good way of life during the present bad times, the local leader of the Religion shall enlist the hilp of Atwin Shil 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 Mahaatulayasadhammarajaguru (Sonda Thathanabyu Sayadaw) on 12 April 1759.

## 10 September 1759

Order : (Chief Queen Mahamargalaratanadhipatisiriraja) candadevi 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 Sirisudhammaraja has been given charge of the capital city and state administration with the belief that he could do it with effeciency. 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 nd 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 Sirisudhammaraja (the Crown Prince at Shwebo).

The Campaign against Ayutia (Dvaravati), Lamphun and Chiengmai is scheduled as follow :

18 November 1759 Min Hla Yaza, Leading 100 horsemen and 1, 000 urmen shall leave Rangoon for Tayoy

28 November 1759 Sithu Nawyatha (Pakhan Gyi) and Two Han Ewa (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 tevoy
8 December 17591 big ship, 1 small ship, 100 war boats and 31 barges are to convey 1,000 men and connons to Tavoy The return from the east would be through the Shan area Whenever the King was on an expedition, his eldest 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 ry weather, the most dreadful danger is fire.
(2) Take special precautions against fire (ROB 13 January 1758). he irrigation system is now working well. Give priority to aking the city defenses stronger. Nga Tha Tun Aung of Singu as been given an official status as a reward for his loyalty. aking charge of improving the moat, it was reported that he had laid logs below stones along the banks of the moat. It is the absurd thing to do.
(3) Stop using logs in making most 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. Taise 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 Thedingyut (6 October 1759) is traditionally takin 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 ccarse cloth; gauge thesize 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 (cook) 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 obhect comes within a striking distance and pull the trigger; never let the shot wasted.
Every bearer of a gun shall follew 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 then 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 Babya 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 as Madama on 30 Decimber 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 thecauses 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 : Banya 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: $\quad$ 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 : $\underline{\text { An Account of }}$ An Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava sent by the Governor-General of India in the Year 1759, 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 thewest with Burma for quite a long time though it was disrupted for a whil 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 : $\quad$ 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 oppression.
(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 provision 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 Jambudipasaddhammamaharajaguru upon Jinabhirama 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 Excellent King, Possessor of Arindame Lence, Master of White Elephant, Liege Lord of Various Kings, sent this Order to Sirisudhammaraja the Crown Prince.

Order: (1) Stop all law suits for realizing the loans, etc. on any
member of the families bolonging 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 Sirisudhammaraja 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.

Everthing 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, Alaugminthaya'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 opptessive 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 partices 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 Thihi 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. : $\underline{\text { A History }}$ 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 promese 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 :
It 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 surrounding 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 meters) length side by side, covering them with bamboo mats and spreading earth on them so that they would be strong enough to stand the weigh 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, Kanda Yawda, Aka Bohmu and all other commanders of various fighting units shall take orders from Mun 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 menwhile, 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 Yawds 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 oppressinons 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 withhokd 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 abserve this rule and we also expect that you 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 willage were captured and now they were used as messengers.

Order : $\quad$ Send back all people, not excepting one, from Tavoy if you do not want to severe 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 NgeDaw 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 Dvaravati, 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 follewed them and he is now approaching Dvaravati. Alaungmintaya expects to meat the Thai King before he reaches Dvaravati.
This letter was dated 20 February 1760.

## (20 February 1760)

Dvaravati King does not observe the ten virtues of a king. He had done many things wrong in his dealing with both his dealing with both his relatives and his ministers. (Alaungmintaya) who is a Bodhisattva, has no equal in this Jambuddpa. He had decided to teach Dvarayati 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 froward 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 Daurg 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 vews 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 soliders.

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 croops 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, irrecpective 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 Sirisudhammaraja shall take special precautions against theft and fire in the city.
(2) Get the city moat and walldone 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 againstAyut'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) Whin 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 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) Sirisudhammaraja 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).

6 March 1760
Order : (1) Min Hla Hawyatha, Shwe Daung Letya Paw, Shwe Daung Letwe Kyaw, Tain Gya Min Gyi, Lubyodaw Regimental. Chiefs who are already noted for their lravery and their men shall fight with atmost 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 reconnitre 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 simltaneous attack on Pheburi. 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.
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 Nawyaths, 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 Letay 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. U Dain Ponnya and U Dain Yanda Mate shall select 250 horsemen from Lu Byo Daw and Thu Nge Daw group 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 (Kuinua) or if there is no resistence, occupy it.
f Thin Gya Min Gyi witg stay at a close range to help the 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 (Kuinua) 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 given 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 successess 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 Banya 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 Phetbure; 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; mimbers 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 lost 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 Zaw (in his mission to Phetburi).
This Order was sent with Letya Min Nge Kyaw Zaw 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 Sunaparanta, Tambadipa, Kampoca, Ramanna, Manipura, Sarekhettara and several others, made this intimation to King of Dvaravati, members of his family and all his subjects:
The ascendency of Alaungmintaya happened in accordance with the Buddha's propgesy.

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 Phetpure shall be distributed among the Thai people after the fall of Ayut'ia.
(2) It was reported that some food stores had been stclen or robbed; let it be known to all inhabitants of Pheopuri that
if there were any more occurance 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 rules at Ava where five rivers meet, condescends to give this warning to the leaders of theforces 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 <br> 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 th 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 Haralds.

## 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 Thinha 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 King $U$ 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 Commonfolds of Met Mon and Pa Ke have the oblgation to build HawResidence 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, MetMon and Pa Ke were under Lawksawk. Due to some disturbances by Karens, Lawksawk's control over them was not tangible. Then Alaungmintaya suppressed the Kerens 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 ta / 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 Zayet and debate.

This Order was passed on 24 February 1780 and proclaimed by Nay Myo Nawyatha 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. Gunamunindadhipatipavarasamimahadhammarajadhirajaguru the Manli Sayadaw was made the Superme 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 Mawyatha 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 style 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.


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(av mifteliflifllog 52-3)

























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lav miftalif f3? pg 12-13)
















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(av mi fpkr \& f6? pg 230)
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lav miftelifilf fopg 19)
























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(av mifitelial f6?pg 21-2)











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(av miftelifil flepg 25.6)














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(av mifideriflllepg 38.9)

























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(av mifidelr fllf?pm56)
























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(av mifiteforif16?pm58.9)















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(av miftefiry fl8? pm62)




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19 October 1756
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(av mifrefor fl21?pm204.5?usf?yxr?1968?pm204.5)



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 (av mifiteprif f22?pm83-4)
















ou dmzt 1118ck we eqq miftefv q ef 3\&u f ZaeV (25 October 1756)
(av miftelpil f23? pm85)




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(av mifref?riflit?pmga)














 oudmzt 1118ckew aw mi jy n 自u git 7\&u deل (13 December



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(av miftefirifl25?pm90)
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(av mifiteforifl26?pm95.6)






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(av mifplr\&fl?pm219-20)



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（av mifpliq19？pm265）




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(avmifpriq f21?pm269)












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(av mifplrif f2? pm 271)




(av mifplr\& f4? pm 227)



(av mifplif f5? pm 229)



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(avmifplifl20?pm267)










(avmifprig f23?pm273)






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(av mifpli』f17?pm260)




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(av mifpler 126?pm280)



 (av míppry f27?pm282)


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(av mifplifil25?pm278)








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 (av míporil f24?pm275)




 (av mípoli』f12? pm245)







































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(av mi fpliøf11?pm242)








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ou dmzfl119cku ay gifv a efldu beU (7 February 1758)
(avmíprig f14?pm252)





oudmzf1119ckw ay gifv qef5\&u deU(11 February 1758)
(av mífpli』f2? pm 223)











 ou dm2f1119ckw et|va ef 126 w 的U(20 March 1758)
(av mifplisf15?pm255)








loudmz 1120 jy n b, ef a eflo\&u deU( 16 May 1758 )
(av mi foprid f8? pm 236)



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(av mifplifl3?pm225)

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(av mifpli』f18?pm262)

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(av mifplrafl6?pm258)














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O U \&mzt 1120 jy mo jy n du gnt \&u deU (19 January 1759)
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(av miffatily f30?pm110)




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September 1759)
(av mifitel il f32? pm115)
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lo u dmZf ll11ck owifu RW fi q efl\&u bell 122 September 1759)
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(av mifitel il f35? pm 125)







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1759) ab míaw mid fiyef
(av mifitel il f36? pm 127)























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(av miftaderif f39? pm135)









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(av mifite eprif f0? pm 137)


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 (av mifite © il f43? pm 146)










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 (av mifite © il f45? pm 154)







(av miffefriff46?pm156)









(av miffedriffll?pm158)
( 7 January 1760)





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 (av mi frat?r 8 f48? pm160)





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 (avmiftederyf44?pm149-50)


















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 (av mifraf? plf52?pm168)


















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(av mifrat?r』f55?pm176)







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(av miftederif f56? pm171)


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(av mifieflif f59? pm 183.4)


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(av mifiderifl63? pm192)
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lav miffeforif67? pm204)











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(av mifteder f69? pm209)







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 (av miftaderaflolspm 212-13)









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