

Burmese Sources for Lan Na Thai History

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Thailand, in Burma, is known as Yodaya which certainly comes from the name of Ayutthaya. Chiang Mai which means "new city" is known in Burma as Zimmay. In fact the name of Chiang Mai is associated with other similar names such as Chiang Rung or Chiang Hung (in Burmese Kyaingyongyi), Chiang Tung (Kengtung), Chiang Rai and Chiang Saen, which is mentioned in the *Sāsanalankāra Catan* (History of Buddhism)¹ as deriving from the term, *cicmay* which was so given to that place in the Shan-Yuan language as a son, seven years old, of a Lawa who lived on the bank of the Mae Ping, attained *arahat*-ship at the time when the Buddha made the aerial journey to the region. Hariphunchai, the centre of early Buddhism in Lan Na Thai, that rose to prosperity from about seventh century to the twelfth century, is called in Burmese Haribunja-tuin — a combination of two Pali words and one Burmese word — hari = chebula fruit (*Terminalia chedula*), bunja = eat and *tuin* = kingdom or state. The name, Haribunja was given to that place when the Buddha ate the chebula fruit dedicated by a hunter and the seed of which, when thrown away, stayed in the air without falling down onto the ground.

In this context, the history of Lan Na Thai is incomplete without the use of Burmese sources. With the same *raison d'être*, the history of Burma is incomplete without utilizing Thai sources. In Burma, Thai sources have not yet been much used although Chinese historical documents have been exploited to some extent. In Thailand also, it seems Burmese sources have not yet been employed in reconstructing her history. Therefore, this short article was written to shed some light on Burmese sources for Lan Na Thai history in particular and

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1. Rangoon, Hanthawaddy Press, 1956

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Thailand in general and will hopefully evoke interest from among both Burmese and Thai scholars.

As a matter of fact the Lan Na Thai states were related to the Shan States and Sip Song Panna in the north, the states of Lao in the east, Sukhothai, Ayutthaya and Bangkok in the south and Burma in the west. In the course of their history, therefore, the Lan Na Thai states were a nerve centre, important both politically and culturally. The structure and dynamics of Lan Na Thai social and political life must be understood in terms of the traditional society which had been passed and by-passed through by different traits of political swings as well as by the diverse characteristics of cultural blends, out of which modern Lan Na Thai or Northern Thailand emerged and the particular manner in which the transition to modernity developed.

In studying Burmese and Thai documents, one is often confused by the spellings of certain terms or the names of certain places. To mention a few for instance, in the Burmese chronicles, Sukhothai is spelled as Thaukkate, Kamphaeng Phet as Kamapeik and Phisanulok as Pitthalauk. In the same way, Thai spellings for *Atwinwun* (Secretary of the Burmese *Hluttaw*) and for *Athiwun* (Chief of a group of people called *athi*) are not clear. This difficulty can be overcome only when we are able to check both Burmese and Thai chronicles.

As regards the region of Sip Song Panna, there is only one M.A. thesis in English written by a Shan scholar in Burma — U Sai Sam Tip from Kengtung. His thesis — “The Lu in Sip Song Panna From the Earliest Times Down to A.D. 1644”² which exploits both Burmese and Chinese documents besides local chronicle of the Lu, is one of the best amongst the M.A. theses in Burma. His knowledge of Chinese and the invaluable assistance rendered by U Yi Sein, the Chinese expert at the Burma Historical Commission make his thesis a unique contribution to the history of Burma as well as to the history of the Lan Na Thai states. In fact the region of Sip Song Panna, variously known in Burmese sources as *Lu say nhac panna*, *Lu say nhac mre* or *Lu say nhac panna mre*. It seems, however, that the Burmese names, the connotations of which are equated with the Thai name, Sip Song Panna the twelve districts or regions — centering at Chiang Rung or Keng Hung as its chief town, first appear in the *Jambudipa ū sonkyam* (Leading Treatise on the Zambudipa).³

2. M.A. Thesis, Department of History, Arts and Science University, Rangoon, 1976.

3. J.S. Furnivall, ed., Rangoon, Burma Research Society, 1960.

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The twelve Pannas or the Sip Song Panna, as mentioned in the local history of the Lu comprise : (1) The region of Chiang Rung (Keng Hung) and Mong Ham; (2) The region of Mong Se, Chiang Lu and Mong Ong; (3) The region of Mong Long; (4) The region of Mong Hun and Mong Pan; (5) The region of Chiang-cheng, Mong Hai and Mong Ngat; (6) The region of Chiang-law (Keng-law) Mong Mang, Mong Ngam, Mong Hkang and Lang Nhe; (7) The region of Mong La and Mong Bang; (8) The region of Mong Hing (p'u-t' eng) and Mong Pang; (9) The region of Mong La (Ssu-mao) and Mong Wang; (10) The region of Mong Hpaung, Mong Mang and Mong Yun; (11) The region of Mong Hu No and Mong Hu Haii and (12) The region of Kengtung, Po-La and I-wu.⁴ The importance of these regions especially the township of Chiang Rung was testified to by the visits of two foreign missions in the early colonial period to Chiang Rung — one led by Lt. MacLeod in 1837 and the other by a French Commission in 1868.⁵

Coming down from the township of Chiang Rung to the south, we find the Shan States, known under British rule after 1922 as the Federated Shan States. The conception of the Shan States, of course, with the demarcated boundaries as it is now, perhaps emerged after the annexation of Burma by the British in 1886. Before that time, the Shan States was a conglomerate of different states with classical names. And in Burmese tradition there were nine Cis-Salween Shan States and nine Trans-Salween Yuan States. In 1791 King Bodawpaya (1782-1819) sent Buddhist missions, each with one set of the Tripitaka to forty-two towns. In his royal order, this region is simply mentioned as Shan Pye (Pye = state), Yuan Pye, Lyan Pye and Linzin Pye.⁶

As a matter of fact the Shan States is dominated by various ethnic groups.

4. Sai Sam Tip, pp. xxv-vi; according to Lt. H. Daly the twelve Pannas are :- Seven west of the Mekong — (1) Mong Long, (2) Mong Se, (3) Mong Hun and Mong Pan, (4) Keng Law, Mong Mang, Mong Lang Neu, Mong Khang, (5) Keng Seung, Mong Hai, Mong Ngat, Mong Yang, Mong Khawm and Mong Wi, (6) Mong Hpong, Mong Yan, Mong Man, (7) Chieng Hung, Mong Ham, Mong Nun; five east of the Mekong — (1) Mong La and Mong Wang, (2) Mong Heng and Mong Pang, (3) Mong Keng Tawng and Mong Nawn Teu, (4) Mong Ou Neu and Mong Ou Teau, (5) Mong La and Mong Num Man. Major R. Fulton, *Report and Notes on the Country Traversed by the Kyaington-Chieng Mai Mission in 1890-91*, Simla, The Govt. Central Printing Office, 1893, p. 78.

5. Major R. Fulton, p. 78.

6. Moug Htaung (Thathanabaing), *Ametoau Aphre* (Answers to the Royal Questions), Mandalay, Padetha Pitaka Press, 1961, pp. 457-59.

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They are politically less sensitive, culturally diverse, ethnically numerous and linguistically affiliated or different, national groups in the Shan States. Many Shans believe the origin of the name Shan to be derived from Asama (unrivaled), a name given to the Thai invaders by the natives of Old Assam.⁷ Besides the Shans living the length and width of the Shan States, there are other groups in the northern part, inter alia, Palaung, Kachin, Mingtha, Lisu, Myaungzu, Wa and Lahu; in the central part, Pa-o, Taung-yoe and Danu and in the southern part Intha, Danu, Taung-yoe, Pa-o, Padaung, Mussay, Yin-net, Yin-kya and Burmans. For the study of these ethnic groups, U Min Naing's *Tui Tuin Ran Bwa: Pranthoncusa: (Our Indigenous Peoples of the Union)*⁸ and Burma Socialist Program Party's *Pranthoncu Mranma Nuinnam Tuinransa: Yankyemhu Rora Dhale Thumcammya: (Shan) (Traditional Customs and Cultures of the Peoples of the Union of Burma, The Shan)*⁹ are important.

In the colonial period, the Shan States was not only divided itself into different states but also separated from Burma Proper. The eventual reign of peace and order after the annexation of the Shan States by the British stabilized the foundation of the Sawbwas whose families, relatives and officials enjoyed a greater share of profits derived from the British rule. "Certainly the star of feudalism shone brighter during the colonial rule," said a Shan scholar.¹⁰ But the common peoples — poor peasants, cultivators, traders and artisans nevertheless were generally poor, although a few from among them, who knew how to butter their bread better, became better off. In this context, Daw Saw Khin Gyi portrays in her thesis — "History of the Cis-Salween Shan States (1886-1900)"¹¹ — how the British maintained the upper echelon of the natives — the Sawbwas, while the common peoples thus were subject to changeless change. Contrarily, Sao Saimong Mangrai depicts in his book — *The Shan States and the British Annexation*¹² — how the British made the ruling class happier than ever before. These two works by Shan scholars are re-enforced by another Shan scholar's thesis — U Ba Thann Win : Administration of Shan States from the Panglong Conference to the Cessation of the Powers of the Saophas, 1949-1959,"¹³

7. Sai Sam Tip, p. xxiv.

8. Burma, Ministry of Union Culture, 1959.

9. Burma Socialist Program Party, 1968.

10. Saw Khin Gyi, "History of the Cis-Salween Shan States (1886-1900)", M.A. Thesis, Arts and Science University, Mandalay, 1973, p. 68.

11. *ibid.*,

12. Data Paper 52, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, August 1965.

13. M.A. Thesis, Arts and Science University, Rangoon, n.d.

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providing a better understanding of the post-independence period of the Shan States.

In fact Kengtung was the largest and Kyong the smallest of the Shan States. Kengtung situated on the Kengtung plains in between two great rivers — the Salween and the Mekong as well as being halfway between Chiang Rung and Chiang Mai was regarded in Burmese tradition as *alan ū kin* (flag and watchpost) and is inhabited mostly by two Thai sub-groups — the Khun and the Lu — both closely related to the northern Thai. Kengtung, therefore, was important strategically to both Burma and China as Chiang Mai was to both Burma and Thailand. Economically Kengtung was a link of no less importance in a network of overland trade routes. These spread from the mouth of the Salween where Martaban was one of the most important seaports in the Mon Kingdom of Lower Burma, to the full length of the middle reaches of the Mekong into Yunnan. Important as it was, the history of Kengtung was inseparable from Burma and Lan Na Thai and, in this regard, Professor Dr Than Tun's *Nay Lhai Rajawan* (Travelogue) Vol. 1¹⁴ and Sao Saimong Mangrai's *The Padaeng Chronicle and the Jengtung State Chronicle Translated*¹⁵ are equally important.

Regarding Buddhism in the Lan Na Thai states, there are two important works — Maha Dhamma Thingyan's *Sāsanalankāra Catan* and Mede Sayadaw's *Vamsadipani* (History of Theravada Lineages).¹⁶ The author of the former was a Buddhist patriarch in Burma as well as an official after he was forced to leave monkhood during the reign of King Bodawpaya. The *Sāsanalankāra Catan* is one of his more than fifty works. His fame as the most learned patriarch and his life as a lay official together make the *Sāsanalankāra Catan* an authoritative history of Buddhism in Burma then. And as has been briefly indicated, the aerial journey made by the Buddha to the region of Yonaka, according to the *Sāsanalankāra Catan*, was the first and also the earliest phase in the spread of Buddhism to Lan Na Thai.

Buddhist missionaries were sent at the conclusion of the Third Buddhist Council in the 17th year of King Asoka's reign (246 B.C.). According to the *Sāsanalankāra Catan*, Maharakkhitathera together with five senior monks was sent to the country of Yonaka, which has been identified by some as the Lan Na Thai states. The author, drawing heavily from the canonical evidence, argues that the country of Yonaka included not only Haribunja *tuin* but the Shan States as well, as it is

14. Rangoon, Natha Taik, 1968.

15. Michigan Papers on South and Southeast Asia, The University of Michigan, Number 19, 1981.

16. Rangoon, Hanthawaddy Press, 1966.

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mentioned in the *Parajikam Athakatha* not as “Maharakkhitatheram yonakaratham,” but as “Maharakkhitatheram yonakalokam.” Although there are different opinions concerning the location of this country, the works, to mention a few for instance, such as the *Sankhya Pakasaka Original* by Zimmay (Chiang Mai) Shin Nyanawilasa, the *Sankhya Pakasakadika* by Siri Mingala Saya and the *Visuddhi Magga Dipani* by Zimmay Than Nyunt Kyaung Shin Ottamaradha are worth noting.

The *Vamsadipani* is more interesting, and by its own *raison d’etre* it is a *sine qua non* for the study of Buddhist sects in Burma and to some extent for those in Thailand. The vast territories taken by Tabinshwehti (1531–50) and Bayinnaung (1551–81) (Burengnong in Thai) were, among others, the main causes for the proliferation of sects in both Burma and Thailand. During this period there was a close relationship between Burma and Thailand and travel on the overland routes encountered less difficulty. Those who traded between the two countries or those who wanted to study either in Burma or in Thailand did not insulate themselves from the dissemination of knowledge or of new ideas within Burmese and Thai societies. Many Thai monks studied Buddhist scriptures at the capital of Burma — Hanthawaddy — as it was the centre of learning then. According to the *Vamsadipani*, a sect — *Rancanguim* — originally founded in Thailand spread into Burma.

As a matter of fact Buddhism originated in India, spread out dove-tail like to Ceylon and Southeast Asia. Native elites demonstrate in their Pali-oriented or vernacular works that the native kingdom, whether it be Pagan, Chiang Mai or Ayutthaya, was linked with the original home of Buddhist tradition and an established continuity, thereby, of the growth and spread of Buddhism in their respective kingdom was advocated. With such a *raison d’etre* both the Burmese and the Thai were not hesitant to see themselves as part of the larger world of Buddhism. In this context, the primary concern that the Buddha made aerial sojourns to some places in Burma Proper, Kengtung, Hariphunchai and Ayutthaya, was a source of pride and prestige, conformable with the notion that “native” Buddhism introduced by the Buddha Himself when He was alive was “pure” par excellence in content and greater in character. Buddhism, thus, was bound to take root in the kingdoms in Burma and Thailand.

With such indigenous justification of how the seeds of “pure” Buddhism were sown in the native kingdoms, the *Sāsanalankāra Catan* and the *Vamsadipani*

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are comparable with Lan Na Thai local works¹⁷ such as the *Jinakalamalipakaranam* (Sheaf of Garlands of the Epochs of the Conqueror)¹⁸ by Phra Ratanapanna of Chiang Mai, the *Tamnan Munlasatsana* (History of the Origin of the Religion)¹⁹ by Phra Phutthaphunkam and Phra Phutthayan and the *Camadevivamsa* (History of Camadevi)²⁰ by Phra Bodhiransi of Chiang Mai. The non-local works such as the *Phongsawadan Nua* (Chronicle of the North)²¹ by Phra Wichianpricha (Noi) and the *Phongsawadan Yonok* (History of the North)²² by Phraya Prachakit Korachak (Chaem Bunnag) re-enforced the former works in reconstructing the history of early Buddhism in the Lan Na Thai states.

As regards Burma's relations with Thailand, there are two important theses : U San Nyein's "Yodaya Mranma Saksamre Samuin, 1500-1700 (History of Thai-Burmese Relations, 1500-1700)"²³ covering 200 years of Thai-Burmese relations and U Kyaw Win's "Tonnu Khat Mranma Nuinnam Samuin, 1500-1600 (History of the Toungoo Dynasty 1500-1600)."²⁴ In addition to these works, U Aung Thein (His Thai name is Luang Phraison Salarak) who lived in Thailand for many years, translated Prince Damrong's *Thai Rop Phama* (Thai-Burmese Wars)²⁵ into English. His works were published in the *Journal of the Burma Research Society* and the

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17. For an analysis of early Lan Na Thai Historiography, see Anan Ganjanapan, "Early Lan Na Thai Historiography: An Analysis of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Chronicles," M.A. Thesis, Cornell University, January 1976.
 18. Written in 1516-17 in Pali. The first translation into the Thai language was made in 1794 by the order of King Rama I. It was first published in 1908 and later was translated into French by George Coedes, who published it in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient*, tome xxv (1925). A new Thai version by Saeng Monwithun was first published in 1958. In 1960 a romanized edition was published by the Pali Text Society in London. Finally, in 1968 the English translation by N.A. Jayawickrama was published under the title of *The Sheaf of Garlands of the Epochs of the Conqueror*: being a translation of *Jinakalamalipakaranam* of Ratanaphanna Thera.
 19. Written in the 1420s in the Thai Yuan Language. It was translated into central Thai and first published in 1939.
 20. Written in c. 1570 in Pali. It was first translated into modern Thai and published in Bangkok in 1920.
 21. Written in 1807. Krom Sinlapakon, *Prachum phongsawadan phak thi I* (Collected Chronicles, Part I), Bangkok, 1956. A French translation by C. Notton is published as *Legendes sur le Siam et le Cambodge*, Bangkok, 1939.
 22. Written in 1906 in a very scholarly way. Bangkok, 1955.
 23. M.A. Thesis, Arts and Science University, Mandalay, 1968.
 24. M.A. Thesis, Arts and Science University, Rangoon, 1970.
 25. Bangkok, Klang Withaya, 1962.

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relevant portions from the *Mhannan Rajawantoaukri* (The Glass Palace Chronicle) under the title of "Intercourse between Burma and Siam, as recorded in Hmannan Yazawindawgyi" were published in the *Journal of the Siam Society*. The last part of the *Thai Rop Phama* however still remains untranslated into English.

The relationships between Burma and Thailand became very important with the rise of the Toungoo dynasty. After the fall of Pagan in 1287, Burma was characterised by internal wars between different petty states. It was only with the rise of the Toungoo dynasty that all the petty states were integrated into a vast kingdom which not only touched Arakan in the west but comprised the Lan Na Thai states, some of the Lao states in the east and for a while, Ayutthaya as well. The location of Toungoo, though the same latitude as Prome, enjoyed a happier position than Prome. Toungoo, away and free from the war-torn routes, had good time to gather strength for its future development as the most important city in the valley of the Sittang. In addition, Toungoo is almost halfway between the Irrawaddy Delta and Upper Burma and close as well to the Kyaukse irrigation area. Favoured by these conditions and unlike any other towns on the direct route between Ava and the Delta which were generally either to be conquerors or to be conquered, Toungoo eventually became a haven of refuge for those who ran away from the war-frequented towns.

In the olden days, the crucial twin factors of control of land and manpower were the *sine qua non* for any one, either from among blood royal or from among commoners, to grip political power. In this context, the growing population at and in the neighbourhood of Toungoo, the charismatic ruler, Minkyinyo (1486-1531), and Toungoo's acquisition of land such as the Kyaukse region were the main causes for Toungoo's rise to power. The real turning point, of course, in the history of Toungoo took place when Minkyinyo founded the Toungoo dynasty in 1510. In this regard, there are two useful works — Professor U Chan Mya's *Tonnu Rajawan Akyinkhup nhan Rhwe Samtoau Bhura:samuin* (A Concise History of Toungoo and History of the Shwe San Daw Pagoda)²⁶ and Lecturer U Sein Lwin Lay's *Mantara: Rhwethi nhan Bhurannon Ketumati Tonnu Rajawan Aca Acum* (A Complete History of Toungoo)²⁷ The latter is more comprehensive than the former.

Toungoo was so great and so vast that the Thai expression — *Nung thi*

26. Toungoo, Zeya Press, 1961.

27. Rangoon, Sepanthaya Press, 1968.

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Toungoo (The one at Toungoo) — is quite fitting when referred to a person who was the greatest genius. This idiomatic expression, though is hardly known in Burma. Ya Khop's eight volume work — *Phu Chana Sip Thit* (Conqueror of the Ten Directions)²⁸ — is one of the longest historical novels in Southeast Asia and deals with Bayinnaung. This novel, because of its fine plot and its high literary standard, is well known in Thailand but is less known in Burma. Its popularity was reenforced by a film and some popular songs about Bayinnaung. There is no comparable Burmese novel in Burma but U Thein Maung's *Bhurannon Atthuppatti* (Biography of Bayinnaung)²⁹ is useful for research on Bayinnaung. And Ledi Pandita U Maung Gyi's four volume historical novel — *Tapinrhwethi* (On Tabinshwehti)³⁰ which has no Thai counterpart; is of importance to the study of the Toungoo dynasty.

It will be of interest here to give a short account on Bayinnaung whose life was indeed, as Harvey puts it, "the greatest explosion of human energy ever seen in Burma."³¹ Bayinnaung was the son of a toddy-climber at Ngathayuak, a village in the Pagan township. He was named Maung Cha Tat because, during the early days of his birth, a number of white ants swarmed around him. His parents migrated south to Taungdwingyi. One day while his father was climbing a toddy tree in order to tap its juice, the mother laid the infant on the ground and went elsewhere. In her absence, a big serpent coiled itself around the child without doing any harm to him. On the return of his mother to the child, the reptile gently glided away. His parents consulted with a learned monk regarding the unusual omen. He asked them to go to Toungoo where the child would possess greatness and prosperity. As instructed by the monk, they went to Toungoo where they stayed at a monastery the abbot of which happened to be preceptor of King Minkyinyo. It was through the influence of the monk that Maung Cha Tat's mother got a job at the palace and, accordingly, Maung Cha Tat grew up at the palace with the son and daughter of the reigning king. He got married to the princess and eventually became one of the greatest figures in Burmese history even though he had not a drop of royal blood in his veins.

In his vast kingdom, Bayinnaung introduced a standardized monetary system, standardized weights and measurements and standardized taxation. Notably also, he forbade all animal sacrifices yearly performed in honour of the Mahagiri Nat at

28. Bangkok, Amonkanphim, 1971.

29. Rangoon, Burma Yokshin Press, 1933.

30. Rangoon, Kayathukha Press, n.d.; second edition, Rangoon, Sittamon Sape, 1971.

31. Cited in D.G.E. Hall, *Burma*, London, Hutchinson's University Library, 1956, p. 42.

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Mount Popa by those who lived at Pagan, Ywatha, Pakhan Nge, Nga Thayuak, Tuywin Taing and Kyaukpadaung. After the yearly animal sacrifices, the heads of the sacrificed buffaloes, cows, pigs and chickens were tied up with ropes and hung up at the front posts of the houses. In addition to this, he also forbade Shan funeral sacrifices in which, if a Shan Sawbwa passed away, his elephants and horses and his nearest and dearest including his slaves were forced to be burnt or buried together with their Sawbwa.

During this period, the art of horsemanship was popular with members of the royal family. There was a game known in Burmese as *kulikaca:ne* play among men riding horses. Among the women dice play was a popular indoor game. Tattooing among the men was important as they regarded it as essential to have a manly appearance and courage. One Burmese source mentions that a girl asked her lover to have his thighs "blackened" before they got married. And an oral tradition has it that tattooing was usually undertaken at the monastery. One's horoscopic destiny was calculated to be harmonious with the astronomical time and space and after having been tattooed the person thus tattooed had to lie down on banana leaves for about five days. In addition to tattooing, occultism and magic were very popular among the people. Also in literature the Sukhothai, Lan Na Thai and Shan scripts were actively encouraged to develop.

It was during this period that a young Thai prince by the name of Naresuan was forced to live at the Burmese Court for more than fifteen years. He learnt Burmese and perhaps Mon too and became well versed in the art of Burmese warfare. Apart from this, did he fall in love with "a beautiful skinned, Indian-eyed Burmese princess with long smooth hair," after living there for such a long period? The answer is unclear. However, a young Burmese prince known as Nat Shin Naung, son of the founder of Toungoo, fell in love with the younger sister of the king of Chiang Mai. The princess, called Dhatukalaya, was so beautiful that, according to his poems, she was the only one who owned all fine characteristics of beauty. Perhaps there would be some oral traditions about her either in the Lan Na Thai states or at the capital of Burma. A student of Burmese literature cannot ignore the excellence, beauty and importance of Nat Shin Naung's poems. For the study of the biographies of poets and men of letters who were involved in wars and administration of such a vast kingdom, there are two important works — U Pe Maung Tin's *Mranma Cape Samuin* (History of Burmese Literature)³² and Captain Ba Thoung's *Casotoaumya:*

32. Rangoon, Aungse Sape Taik, 1971.

Atthupatti (Biographies of Poets).³³

To understand the system of Burmese administration, a student of Burmese history cannot avoid U Tin's five volume work — *Mranma Man Aupkhuppum Catam* (Treatise on Administration of Burmese King)³⁴ — which is as much important to the research of Burmese administration as Prince Damrong's works — *Laksana Kanpokkhong Prathet Sayam tae Boran* (Ancient Administration of Siam)³⁵ and *Thesaphiban* (On Provincial Government)³⁶ to that of Thai administration. U Tin's work is reliable and there is no comparable work in Burma. It contains many primary sources such as royal orders, although it is influenced by imperial ideas predominant in British policy towards Burma in the 1920s. U Tin was appointed government compiler in January 1921 and his assigned duty was to sort out the Burmese records and write the *Mranma Man Aupkhuppum Catam*. By virtue of his position and due to his knowledge of the Burmese government, he had access to some twenty thousand *purapuik* (folded books).

His first volume deals with the concepts and foundation of Burmese kingship; the second is a continuation of the first in terms of discussing kingship and mentioning the social divisions of Burmese society and the demarcation of the provinces during the Pagan and Konbaung dynasties; the third one describes the social organization, particularly the *amhutham* (servicemen) and the institution of central statecraft; the fourth one narrates the duties and functions of the *Hlutyon Ngayat* (Five Central Courts), the relationship among them, the provincial administration, the method of appointing the officials, the departments of religious affairs, army, judiciary and finance; the fifth one deals with the kinds of land, the salaries of officials, the department of public works and is appended by Bodawpaya's *Rajasatkri Amintoau* (Bodawpaya's Proclamation). In them also can be found some information regarding Lan Na Thai history and administration.

One Burmese dictionary — U Maung Maung Tin's *Rhwenansum Wohara Abhidhan* (A Dictionary of Royal Usages)³⁷ is also an important source. It deals with words and phrases in use at the palace and also defines various posts in the royal service in 420 sections. In fact most of the sections are compilations of appoint-

33. Rangoon, Shumawa Press, 1955.

34. Rangoon, Central Press, Vol. I, 1963, Vol. II, 1965; Vol. III, 1970, Vols. IV and V, 1933.

35. Bangkok, Rongphim Thanakhanomsin, 1959.

36. Bangkok, Rong Ruang Tham, 1967.

37. Rangoon, Buddha Sasana Council Press, 1975.

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ment orders of officials, but some nevertheless provide information about the Thai musical groups at the Burmese Courts and the Chiang Mai cavalry. Thai songs (*Yodaya: Sikhyan*) and Thai dance (*Yodaya: Aka*) are well known in Burma and are interwoven with Burmese culture.³⁸ We have mentioned much about Burmese influence on Thai society but Thai influence upon Burmese society is also profound.

There are many unpublished royal decrees housed in different libraries in Burma which have information on Lan Na Thai history. Among the published royal orders, three works — Daw Khin Khin Sein's *Alonmantara: Amintoau Mya: (Royal Decrees of Alaungpaya)*,³⁹ Thathanabaing MOUNG HTAUNG SAYADAW'S *Ametoau Aphre (Answers to the Royal Questions)* and Taw Sein Ko's *Hluttaw Mhattam (Records of the Hluttaw)*⁴⁰ — are important. Daw Khin Khin Sein's work mainly deals with the royal orders, but MOUNG HTAUNG SAYADAW'S work is a veritable encyclopedia of religion, astronomy, politics and court etiquette. Bodawpaya asked the Thathanabaing many varied and delicate questions and the Thathanabaing answered all of them with great erudition. The *Hluttaw Mhattam* (contains royal edicts, laws and regulations, instructions to *Myothugyi* (Town headman : Chao Muang in Thai) and *Ywathugyi* (Village headman: Phuyaiban in Thai), instructions to provincial governors, rules for levying tax, civil proceedings, judgements in civil suits, criminal proceedings, letters between the *Hluttaw* and the provincial governors, papers relating to the Shan States, correspondence between the Burmese government and the Thathanabaing and memoranda. Some information concerning the Shan States, the Lan Na Thai states and Thailand in general can be found in these works.

And the *rajawan*, identical with the *phongsawadan*, comes from two Pali words — *raja* and *vamsa*; the Thai term, also derived from two Pali words — *bansa* and *avatara*, conveys the same connotation as of the *rajawan* which means annals of members of a line, dynasty or kingdom. Therefore, the *rajawan* or the *phongsawadan* are generally dynastic chronicles. The oldest chronicle extant in Burma is the *Rajawan Kyoau (The Celebrated Chronicle)*⁴¹ by Shin Thilawuntha, the great monk poet who lived in the fifteenth century. Perhaps the oldest *phongsawadan* in Thailand is the

38. Burmese classical dance style is far closer to that of Siam than to that of India and a principal type Burmese classical song, the *yodaya*: takes its name from Ayutthaya. See U Khin Zaw, "Burmese Music, A Partnership in Melodic Patterns," *Perspective of Burma, An Atlantic Monthly Supplement*, 1958, pp. 67-71.

39. Rangoon, Burma Historical Commission, 1964.

40. Rangoon, Govt. Press, 1960.

41. Rangoon, Hanthawaddy Press, 1965.

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Phraratchaphongsawadan Krung Si Ayudhya chabap Luang Prasoet (The Luang Prasoet Chronicle of Ayudhya)⁴² of the seventeenth century. Comparatively speaking, the growth of this new type of history in Thailand occurred about two centuries later. As such, whether the new tradition in Thai historiography happened because of Burmese influence, which was high during the Toungoo dynasty, or due to the impact of Europeans who were present in Ayutthaya by then, is a matter for further research. In the Burmese case the presence of foreigners at Hanthawaddy had no effect on the concept and tradition of Burmese historiography.

Last but not least are the Burmese chronicles. In Burmese there are four terms, important and related to history — *thamaing* (*samuin*), *rajawan*, *mhattam* and *aretoaupum*. In Thai too, there are four important terms — *tamnan*, *phongsawadan*, *chotmai het* and *prawatsat*. The term, *thamaing* perhaps deriving from Pali, *thamuti* (*samuti*) is associated with the Buddha; hence with the Dhamma as well. It has two shades of meaning — one which can be equated with the Thai term — *tamnan* and the other with the term — *prawatsat*. The literature of the *thamaing* in Burma as with that of the *tamnan* in Thailand, forms a mine of curious information, legendary or authentic, on history. And as with the *tamnan*, the *thamaing*, generally governed by the religious nature of their contents, were mainly devoted to particular Buddhist monuments and incidentally include something about the doings of a king or kings. The use of *thamaing* as synonymous with *prawatsat* — a new modern term for history coined during the reign of King Rama VI (1910–25), was first used in Burma just before the second world war. The Burmese simply use an old term with new connotations whereas the Thai invented a new term to convey the same meaning.

Besides the *rajawan*, the Burmese terms, *mhattam*⁴³ and *aretoaupum*⁴⁴ are synonymous with the Thai terms, *chotmai het* or *kotmai het* and they deal with account or report on particular events. In particular, the *aretoaupum* are concerned with the short histories of particular wars or uprisings. Be that as it may, as with the *phongsawadan* in Thailand, the *rajawan* are by far the most important in Burma. From among the *rajawan*, the *Mhannan Rajawan* is by no means unimportant. Professor

42. *Prachum phongsawadon phak thi I* (Collected Chronicles, part I), Bangkok, 1956.

43. See for example, U Chein, *Putake Capain Italyam Swa Mhattam*, (Diary of the Mission to Portugal, Spain and Italy), Mandalay, Ludu Press, 1959; Pe Maung Tin, ed., *Kinwun Mingyi London Swa Mhattam*, (Kinwun Mingyi's London Diary), Rangoon, Govt. Printing and Stationary, 1953.

44. See for example, Nai Pan Hla, ed., *Rajadirit Aretoaupumkyam*, (Account on Rajadirit War), Rangoon, Thein Than Oo Press, 1977.

Aye Kyaw

G.H. Luce and Pe Maung Tin have translated parts, III, IV and V of the *Mhannan Rajawan*; this work — the *Glass Palace Chronicle of the Burmese Kings*, is generally known as the *Glass Palace Chronicle*.⁴⁵ As a matter of fact, the compilation of the official history of Burma from the earliest time to 1821 was ordered by Bagyidaw (1819–37) a contemporary of Rama II (1809–24). A commission⁴⁶ was appointed for this purpose and it took three years to finish the work.

This chronicle, known as the *Mhannan Rajawan* is of great importance but also of course an improvement on U Kala's *Maharajawan* (The Great Chronicle).⁴⁷ To bring the official history up to date, King Mindon (1853–78), a contemporary of King Mongkut (1851–68) appointed a commission⁴⁸ in 1867. This commission compiled the *Dutiya Mhannan* (The Second Glass Palace Chronicle)⁴⁹ which goes down to the beginning of Mindon's reign, 1853. These two *Mhannan Rajawan* are reliable and thorough, for the commissions sifted through all the available Records then compiled the chronicles. The sponsors agreed on the guideline that "a chronicle of kings should be the standard, a balance, so to speak, for all duties of kings, for all affairs of state, for all matters of religion and not a thing of conflicting and false statements."⁵⁰

U Maung Maung Tin continued the *Dutiya Mhannan* until 1885 through the reigns of King Mindon and King Thibaw (1878–85). Then, combining the *Mhannan Rajawan* from the rise of Alaungpaya in 1752 to the end of Pagan's reign in 1853 with his own work from 1853 to 1885, he published a chronicle named the *Kunbhon Rajawantoaukri* (The Konbaung Chronicle)⁵¹ which is also known as *Kunbhonsat*

45. First published in 1923 by Oxford University Press and reprinted in 1960 by the Burma Research Society.

46. This commission comprised: (1) Monrwe Sayadaw Shin Adiccavamsa Adiccaransi, (2) Thawkapin Sayadaw, (3) Mahadhammasankran (ex-Moung Htaung Thathanabaing), (4) Myinsuwungyi U Rauk, (5) Thandawsint U Chein, (6) Sayedawgyi U Phyaw, (7) Bisikpunna Jeyadeva, (8) Bisikpunna Kumudra, (9) Byedaik Thansint U Rwe, (10) Saye U Lu Gyi, (11) Saye U Aung Tha, (12) Atwinwun Sawmyosa Mingyi Sirimahanandasankran and (13) Singumyosa Atwinwun Athiwun

47. Rangoon, Hanthawaddy Press, Vols. I and II, 1960, Vol. III, 1961.

48. This commission consisted of: (1) Kani Atwinwun Mingyi Mahamankhonsankhaya, (2) Khanmamanwun Muinkhuin Myosa Pitakataup Mahasirijeyasu, (3) Aimrhe Atwinwun Mahamanhasankhaya, (4) Sayegy Manihajeyasu and (5) Sayetoaukhon Nemyocansuraja

49. Mandalay, Mandalay Times Press, 1919.

50. The Glass Palace Chronicle, p. ix

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Maharajawantoaukri. As this chronicle covers the whole period of the Konbaung dynasty (1752–1885), it is of great importance to the study of both Thai and Burmese history. Comparatively speaking, the *Kunbhonsat Maharajawantoaukri* is as important to the study of the Konbaung dynasty as Thiphakorawong's *Phraratchaphongsawadan Krung Rattanakosin* (Royal Chronicle of the Bangkok Era)⁵² and Prince Damrong's *Phrarachaphongsawadan Krung Rattanakosin Ratchakan Thi 2* (Royal Chronicle of the Second Reign of the Bangkok Era)⁵³ to that of the Chakri dynasty.

If we can use all mentioned Burmese documents for research on Lan Na Thai history, the result of that research, undertaken in the light of both Thai and Burmese sources, will be a unique contribution to the wealth of Thai studies.

51. Mandalay, Mandalay Times Press, 1905; Reprinted in 1968 by Lede Mandaing Press, Rangoon.

52. 5 Vols. Bangkok, Khrusapha, 1961.

53. 2 Vols. Bangkok, Sigsaphannid, 1962.