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STATES OF HOSTILITIES IN AVA PERIOD
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ABSTRACT

Ava is located at the Ayeyarwady-Myitnge river confluence, the territory and influence of Ava was extended since the time of King Thado Minphya. From the reigns of King Mingyi Swasawkè and Mingaung to that of Shwenan Kyawtshin, Ava faced with the attacks Mons from Lower Myanmar and hilly region. In addition Ava had to deal with the invasion of China. Since the Shans enabled to occupy Myaydu and Dipèyin, the rice growing regions of Mu valley had fallen into the hands of Shans. The first Ava period was declined by the invasions of Shans.

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Introduction

This research paper deals with the instability of politics brought about by regionalized warfares, attempts for mastery and conflicts of warring states in first Ava period. This discussion is made by exploring royal orders and chronicles. The wars which relied on the extension of territories by small principalities had never been emerged as the racial conflicts. This paper also discusses the remote causes led to the outbreak of wars in this period. The purpose of the research is to investigate the conflicts between regional authorities, and to analyze the conditions of politics of first Ava period.

Discussion

Ava period is divided into First Ava period and Second Ava period. The First Ava period has lasted from 1364 into 1555 AD. It was founded by King Thado Minphya (1364-1367). The First Ava dynasty was comprised of twenty kings and lasted for 191 years. The king built his royal

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capital Ava, also known in classical name as Radanapura-the City of Gems¹, on 26 January 1365.²

As his capital Ava is located on the confluence of Ayeyawady and Myitnge (Dokhtawaddy) Rivers, it was commonly known as *Akhawa-zon* junction or confluence. The swamps were drained, pagodas were built, and the city wall marked out.³ After Three years of consecutive warfares Thado Minphyia enabled to extent his territory. Ava was comprised of Yamèthin, Nyaung-yan, Wadee, Tagaung, Taungbyongyi, Wayindok, Bagan, Makkhaya (Mandalay Division), Sagaing, Dipèyin, Talok, Myaydu (Sagaing Division), Sa-gu, Pakhangyi, Pauk, Myaing, Ye-hlwè Nga Khayaing (Minywa, Htilin, Saw, Yaw, Laungshay), Taungdwingyi, (Magway Division), Taungoo and Pyay (Bago Division).⁴

When he launched his expedition to Nga New-gon (Pyinmana), Taungdwin, Sa-gu, and Bagan in 1365, Thado Minphyia could annex all regions expect Sa-gu. Thus he attacked Sa-gu again in 1367. This second attack also being an abortive one. The king himself died at age 24, of small pox on his way back to Ava.⁵ Thado Minphyia, young and militant king, was born of Soe Min Princess, daughter of Athinkhya Sawyun, by Thado Hseindein. He was allotted Taungoo as fief at the age of sixteen. When Thohanbwa and Thochibwa invaded lowland to attack Narathihapate of Sagaing on request of Pinya Narathu in 1363, Thado Minphyia attempted to halt the Shans invaders from Tagaung. Soon, he was deported to Kyakhatwara (Taungoo District) for his failure in defend against the Shan invasion. Thado Minphyia, three months after accession to throne, killed Uzanapyang of Pinya in 1365.⁶

¹ Phayre, Sir Arthur P. History of Burma, Second Edition, London, Susil gupta, 1967, p.63 (Henceforth: Phayre, 1967)

² (a) U Tun Nyo, Twinthin Taikwun Maha Sithu, *Twinthin Myanmar Yazawinthat* (Twinthin New Chronicle), Yangon, Yabyay Publishing House, 2012 (second Impression), 2012, p 37 (Henceforth; U Tun Nyo, 2012)

(b) U Kala, *Maha Yazawingyi* (The Great chronicle), Vol.I, Yangon, Yabyay Publishing House, 2006, p 273 (Henceforth; U Kala, 2006 a)

(c) *Hman-nan Maha Yazawindawgyi*, (Glass Place Chronicle), U Sein Hlaing (MA) and U Aye Cho (MA) Ed under supervision of Daw Kyan, Yangon, Sa Thu Gyi Press, 2008 ((Reprint in Three Volumes) p 240 (Henceforth; *Hman-nan*, 2008)

³ Phayre, 1967, 63

⁴ Dr. Than Tun, *Ameindawdèka Thamaing* (Myanmar History through Royal Orders), Yangon, Seikku Cho Publishing House, 2011, pp 5-6 (Henceforth; Than Tun, 2011)

⁵ (a) U Tun Nyo, 2012, 182-3

(b) U Kala, 2006 a, 278

(c) *Hman-nan*, 2008, 242

⁶ (a) U Tun Nyo, 2012, 176-7

(b) U Kala, 2006 a, 272-3

(c) *Hman-nan*, 2008, 238

During the reign of Mingyi Swasawkè (1367-1400), also known as Tayaphya, first Ava territory stretched to Kyaukpadaung, Bagan, Nga Singu, Pin-le, Tagaung, Singu, Mekkhaya, Pindalè, Pyisi, Nyaung-yan, Yindaw, Yamèthin, Hlaingdet, Wadi, Myinzaing (Mandalay Division), Sagaing, Kanni, Ngaranè, Dipèyin, Talok, Myaydu, Sipoktaya, Amyint, Bangyi Hse-taik, Sitha, Chundaung, Myadaung (Sagaing Division), Sa-gu, Sa-le, Pakhangyi, Pakhan-nge, Natmauk, Pahtanagore, Mindat, Mindon, Yena-gyaung, Ywatha, Legaing, Htilin, Yaw, Laungshay, Taungdwin (Magway Division), Taungoo, Pyay, Myadè, Thayet, Thagara, Thayawadi (Bago division) and 50 places.⁷

Outbreak of war between Hanthawaddy and Ava

After the decline of Bagan, southern Mon states under Nga Pa Mon, chief of Bago, assumed the title of Taraphya as well as Wareru, Lord of Mottama 32 towns, emerged as the rival states of Lower Myanmar.⁸ In 1287, Wareru, was a Shan (Magadu)⁹, ascended the throne of Mottama and entered into an alliance with Bago.¹⁰ Meanwhile, Upper Myanmar was fallen under chaotic situations. In 1302 Mongol troops, over 12,000 men, besieged Myinzaing which was ruled by Yazathingyan. As the besieged Myinzaing had lasted for three months, Three Shan Brothers paid 88 pounds of gold and 182 pounds of silver to Mongol as tribute. After the withdrawal of Mongol, a power vacuum still existed in Central Myanmar. Various Shan *sawbwas* and Mon chiefs vied each other for overlordship of Central Myanmar.¹¹ While Banya Oo (1348-1383) ruled Bago as the eight successor of Wareru dynasty, Mingyi Swasawkè (1367-1400) ruled Ava.¹² They agreed to form an alliance between two authorities.

When Banya Oo died in 1383, Razadirit (1383-1422) became the king of Bago. At the same time, Laukphya, chief of Myaungmya ruled over Myaungmya and Pathein.¹³ The hostilities between Ava and Hanthawaddy began in 1385 by the request of Laukphya who was also being a vassal lord of Hanthawaddy, to Ava King to attack Hanthawaddy. In 1385 Mingyi Swasawkè sends expedition to Hanthawaddy. It was comprised of Taungoo Column, made up of nine regiments, led by heir apparent, advanced by the valley of the Paunglaung River to Taungoo and

⁷ Than Tun, 2011, 6

⁸ U Kala, 2006 a, 253

⁹ Phayre, 1967, 65

¹⁰ *Myanmar Minmya Ayedawpon*, *Ayedawpon Chauksaungtwè* (Achievements of Myanmar King in six Volumes), Yangon, Yabyay Publishing House, 2005, p 119 (Henceforth; *Ayedawpon*, 2005)

¹¹ U Kala, 2006 a, 257-8

¹² *Ayedawpon*, 2005, 129

¹³ (a) U Tun Nyo, 2012, 195

(b) U Kala, 2006 a, 290

Tharawaddy column led by Pyinsi Prince (Mingaung).It accompanied by a flotilla, marched down the Ayarawaddy River¹⁴ . These two commanders were too young and even the eldest heir apparent was only eighteen. Under immature command Ava forces were in stalemate and five months after their expedition, Ava forces withdraw to evade hostile monsoon of Lower Myanmar. However in1386 the Hanthawaddy expedition was resumed. Heir apparent led the land route and Mingyi Swesawkè himself led naval expedition to Hanthawaddy. The distance between Ava and Bago is about 310.35 miles by land route; the same journey along the riverine is about 517.7 miles through the Bago and Ayarawaddy Rivers. Pyisi Prince was assigned to take care of royal capital. It is interesting to note that Myaungmyasa Laukphya who asked assistance of Mingyi Swesawkè did not help the Ava forces. In the first expedition, Ava forces finally retreated from Hanthawaddy under the threat of sickness and rain. When Razadirit seized Myaungmya, he arrested Laukphya. Thus son and son-in-law of Laukphya took refuge under Mingyi Swesawkè was allotted the title “Nawratha” and Sa-lin to the son of Laukphya. Son-in-law of Laukphya was allotted the title “Letya Pyinchi” and Pyay as fieftown.¹⁵

By 1401, Prince Pyinsi, also known as Min Swe, ascended the throne of Ava under the title of Mingaung (1401-1423).¹⁶ Three years after his accession in 1404,¹⁷Razadirit marched up stream to Ava.¹⁸Mingaung managed to defend the towns located on the either banks of Ayayawaddy River. After penetrating strong defence of Ava forces at Pyay, Razadirit advanced Myaydè from thence to Bagan where he stopped by for pilgrimage. It is interesting to note that Razadirit did not attack Ava. Instead, he proceeded to Ma-le and from thence to Tagaung. Three days after his staying in Tagaung, Razadirit marched down stream to Sagaing where he built a stronghold to watch the situation of Ava.¹⁹As King Mingaung noticed the plan of Razadirit, he begged Sagyo Thumyat (Venerable monk from Yasagyo) to admonish Mon king. Razadirit

¹⁴ Phayre,1967,68

¹⁵ (a)U Tun Nyo ,2012,198-201

(b) U Kala,2006 a, 299

(c) *Hman-nan*,2008,257

¹⁶ (a)U Tun Nyo ,2012,209-10

(b) U Kala,2006 a, 306

(c) *Hman-nan*,2008,264

¹⁷ *Hman-nan*,2008,268

¹⁸ U Tun Nyo mentions the date of Razadirit invasion as in 1402, U Tun Nyo, 2012,213-7

¹⁹ *Hman-nan* does not mention the trip of Razadirit to Tagaung and Ava. It mentions that Razadiritdid not attack Ava and encamped at Ye-wun Quarter, Sagaing, *Hman-nan*,2008,268

(a)U Tun Nyo ,2012,213

(b) U Kala,2006 a, 311

explained the monk that he marched to Upper Myanmar to show his military might and also for pilgrimage.²⁰ The real objective of Razadirit seemed to be waging war against Ava if he found Myanmar King's defense seemly poor. As he found King Mingaung prepared think defence to Ava, Razadirit finally withdrew from Sagaing to Lower Myanmar.

At the end of raining season in 1405, (24 January 1406, *Ayedawponkyan* palmleaf manuscript), Razadirit attacked Alwè (near Pyay), Kuhtut (Myanaung), Hlaing (Taikkyi), Tayokmaw and Pyay with land and naval forces. He besieged Pyay for two months. Myanmar-Mon border located in nearly Pyay. Mingaung summoned the levies from Shan *sawbwas* and organized elephants and horses for the defense of Pyay. He took the lead in the expedition of Pyay. Although Mon troops defended the advancing Ava troops from Nawin stockade, Ava forces enabled to defeat the Mons. Consequently Mons burnt Myaydè, Thayet, Magwe, Malon to cut off the provision of food and other necessities to Ava troops. Ten days later, the royal capital Ava could not provide provision to Mingaung' troops in Pyay.²¹ Finally Mingaung and Razadirit met for ceasefire. They demarcated the territories and boundary between the two kingdoms. The ceasefire was marked by the taking oath on the platform of Pyay Shwesandaw stupa.²² The outbreak of war between Ava and Hanthawaddy lasted to 1442. With the exception of interval in 1405, both sides used economic and human resources to destroy each other. Consequent, the economic resources such as paddy fields and irrigation systems were devastated by the consecutive wars. Meanwhile Shans from Mohnyin and its environs strengthened themselves to invade Central Myanmar.

In 1407 another source of hostility was brought about by the officers of Razadirit who arrested daughter of Mingaung, queen of Nawratha, who was living in Rakhine. When they sent daughter and her husband, Razadirit killed Nawratha and installed daughter of Mingaung as his queen. Mingaung therefore advanced to Bago.²³ However, the attack in this time was stalemate one.

²⁰ (a) U Tun Nyo ,2012,213-7

(b) U Kala ,2006 a,319

²¹ (a) U Tun Nyo mentions that Pyay battle fought in 1402. U Tun Nyo ,2012,218-221

(b) U Kala,2006 a, 319-322

(c) *Hman-nan*,2008,274-6

²² (a) U Kala ,2006 a,326

(b) Than Tun 2011,6

²³ (a) U Tun Nyo ,2012,228-9

(b) U Kala,2006 a, 332

(c) *Hman-nan*,2008,257

After the withdrawal of 1407 expedition, the warfare of Ava put on the shoulders of young warlord- Minyè Kyawswa, Crown prince of Ava. In 1410 he asked his father allowed him to do so, Minyè Kyawswa led the expedition to Hanthawaddy. However, as an inexperienced young leader Minyè Kyawswa committed an error, that is the division of his strength into two fronts; one had to attack Myaungmya and Patheingyi and the other had to attack to Rakhine. Although he enabled to seize Thandwè, Minyè Kyawswa soon lost his stronghold due to Mon offensive.²⁴ Finally Minyè Kyawswa quitted Lower Myanmar with empty hands.

In 1412 Minyè Kyawswa led an expedition to Theinni. Razadirit took opportunity on the absence of Minyè Kyawswa and attack Payay. While the lord of Pyay facing with Mon armies, Ayudhaya forces invaded Mottama and Mawlamyine. Thus Razadirit withdrew his forces to advance to Mottama. Meanwhile Mingaung marched from Ava to Pyay. He was reinforced by Minyè Kyawswa who quitted troops from Theinni. The attacks of Ava forces this time showed desirable result. Minyè Kyawswa killed Mon able commander Lagun Ein in dual fight. After the death of Lagun Ein, Ava forces occupied Dagon, Dala, and Thanlyin.²⁵

The last venture of Minyè Kyawswa began on 13 March 1415 when Razadirit mobilized his army of 53,000 men, Minyè Kyawswa prepared counter offensive by summoning over 1000 Shans from Kalay, over 1000 men from Mohnyin, over 10,000 men, elephants and horses from Kalay-sa – town eater of Kalay and over 2000 men, elephants and horses from the king of Rakhine. The strength of Minyè Kyawswa was about 29,000 men, horses and elephants.²⁶ When the two armies fought in the area near Dala, Minyè Kyawswa who was supposed to have been intoxicated died in action. The young and arrogant warrior died at the age of twenty-six.

The demise of Minyè Kyawswa strengthens the desire of Razadirit to extend his power to Upper Myanmar. In 1416 he led an army through Taungoo route. However his army was detained by Pyay-sa Thihathu who enabled to disrupt Mon forces and seized 30 elephants, 500

²⁴ (a) U Tun Nyo, 2012, 237-8

(b) U Kala, 2006 a, 299

(c) *Hman-nan*, 2008, 257

²⁵ (a) U Tun Nyo, 2012, 239-244

(b) U Kala, *Maha Yazawingyi* (The Great chronicle), Vol. II, Yangon, Yabyay Publishing House, 2006, p 31 (Henceforth; U Kala, 2006 b)

(c) *Hman-nan*, 2008, 296-300

²⁶ (a) U Tun Nyo, 2012, 258-260 The strength of armies from both sides was differently mentioned by some chronicles. For instance *Myanmar Minmya Ayedawpon*, *Ayedawpon Chauksaungtwè*, mentions the strange of Razadirit was only 10,000 while *Hman-nan* describes 36800 men, as well as U Kala, II shows 7800 men.

(b) U Kala, 2006 b, 46-8

(c) *Hman-nan*, 2008, 316-8

horses and 3000 men. King Mingaung was so pleased with the conquest of Thihathu that he appointed latter Crown Prince of Ava. In 1418, Thihathu attacked Dala, as he failed to take the city, he seized Dagon and Mawbi. About 3000 Mons, including some officials, was captured by Ava troops. Razadirit fled to Mottama.²⁷ Indeed, there broke out eight times of Ava – Hanthawaddy war in King Mingaung’s reign. Although no one could defeat other decisively, the wars brought about the devastation of economic and human resources.

In the year of ascending the throne of Ava by Thihathu(1422-25), Banya Kyan son of Razadirit asked help from Ava to occupy Dala. Although Dala was taken by the assistance of two commandants of Ava, Banya Kyan drove out the Ava troops due to the atrocities and robbery of elephants, horses, women etc. Thihathu therefore marched onto Hanthawaddy in November 1423. He returned to Ava after taking Shin Saw Pu as bride from Banya Kyan of Dagon.²⁸ The cause of attacking to Hanthawaddy was not so different from that of the wars between Razadirt and Mingyi Swesawkè, i e the expansion of territory or influence by the kings of both sides. The wars were not depended upon the racial hatred.

When Mohnyin Thado(1426-1439) ascended the throne, Mon king Banya Yan invaded into Pyay in 1436. He encamped at the southern outskirt of Pyay while Banya Yan married niece of Mohnyin Thado and return from Pyay.²⁹

During Pyayzon Min Mahathiha Thura (1468-1488), Lord of Pyay revolted against Ava by taking assistance from Mon King Dammaceti when Mahathiha Thura launched an attack against the lord of Pyay in 1472, Ava troops defeated Pyay and Mon troops.³⁰ It is apparent that although his sporadic war broke out after demise of King Mingaung, the wars were not as fierce as the previous wars.

The wars of Ava against Shan *Sawbwas*

The hostility of Shan descended kings of Ava and Shan *sawbwas* originated from the asking military assistance to Kothein Thakhin Thohanbwa and his brother Thochibwa by Pinya

²⁷ (a) U Tun Nyo,2012,263-4

(b) U Kala ,2006 b,54-5

(c) *Hman-nan* mentions the date 1417, *Hman-nan*,2008, 321

²⁸ (a) U Tun Nyo,2012,267

(b) U Kala ,2006 b,57-8

(c) *Hman-nan*,2008, 324-5

²⁹ (a)U Tun Nyo,2012,279-280

(b) U Kala ,2006 b,67-8

(c) *Hman-nan*,2008, 334-5

³⁰ U Tun Nyo,2012,298

Narathu (1359-1364)³¹. The purpose of Pinya Narathu was to depose King Narathihapate(1352-1364)³² of Sagaing. Shan troops, with the help of elephants and horses, besieged and attacked Sagaing from three directions. After the occupation of Sagaing by Thochibwa in May 1364, he continued to seize three white elephants and King of Pinya in June 1364.³³The victory of Thochibwa in Sagaing and Pinya marked the beginning of Shan domination in Central Myanmar.

When a skirmish broke out between the powerful Shan chiefs of the north; Mohnyin *Sawbwa* Khonming and Kalay *Sawbwa* Thochibwa in 1370, both side asked help from Mingyi Swesawkè of Ava. As the strength of troops from both side was not surpass each other, Mingyi Swesawkè watched the situations and seized both Mohnyin and Kalay after their fighting. Khonming was allotted Tagaung and Kyein Khangyi, son of Mohnyin *sawbwa*, was given Mohnyin as fief.³⁴ However, as Mohnyin *sawbwa* throw of the yoke of Ava in 1371 and attacked Myaydu in 1372, Mingyi Swesawkè led an army, comprising horses, elephants and drove out Mohnyin Shans.³⁵ After this event, shans took part in the military expeditions of Mingyi Swesawkè in 1386³⁶ and 1387³⁷.

³¹ He was also known as Maw Pa Narathu. As the Maw was marked by Myanmar as Shan States, the name literally means the king who was taken to Shan States.

³² He was also known as Min Byauk

³³(a)*Rajainda Rajawara Mandani Myi-tho Monywei Maha Yazawinkyaw*, Volume I, Yangon, Pan Shwe Pyi Press, 2013, 256-7 (Henceforth: *Monywe*, 2013a)

(b)U Tun Nyo,2012,170

(c) U Kala ,2006 a,272-3

(d) *Hman-nan*,2008, 238

³⁴ (a)Shin Sanda Linka, *Mani Radanabonkyan* (Treaties on the compilation of learned men to the King) Yangon, Yabyay Publishing House,2009, (Fifth Impression), p 224 (Henceforth; Sanda Linka, 2009)

(b)*Thu-thaw-di-ta Maha Yazawingyi*, Six Volumes, Volume I, Yangon, Seikku Cho Cho Book Stall, 2015, p. 237 (Henceforth: *Thu-thaw-di-ta Pahtama-ok*, 2015)

(b)U Tun Nyo,2012,199-200

(c) U Kala ,2006 a,284

(d) *Hman-nan*,2008, 247

³⁵ (a) *Thu-thaw-di-ta Pahtama-ok*, 2015,243

(b)U Tun Nyo,2012,189

(c) U Kala ,2006 a,284-5

(d) *Hman-nan*,2008, 247

³⁶ (a) *Monywe*, 2013a,273

(b)U Tun Nyo,2012,198

(c)U Kala ,2006 a,291

(d) *Hman-nan*,2008, 252

³⁷(a) *Monywe*, 2013a,277

(b)U Tun Nyo,2012,199

(c)U Kala ,2006 a,295

(d) *Hman-nan*,2008, 255

In 1392, the attack of Mohnyin Shans resumed. Mohnyin *sawbwa* Thochibwa and his brother-in law Thohanbwa plundered Sagaing, destroyed pagodas and monasteries and attacked Myadu with horses and elephants. Mingyi Swesawkè led a naval expedition and Yamèthinsa Thilawa led an army to encircle Myaydu.³⁸ As the Ava enabled to defeat Mohnyin invaders, it can say that Mingyi Swesawkè could defeat all invasion of Mohnyin in his reign.

During the reign of Mingaung in 1404, Ohnbaung (Thibaw) *sawbwa* invaded into Htundon-Putet, the village located on the southeast of Mandalay. In this time Mingaung did not drive out Thokyaungbwa. Instead, he had given his niece to Thokyaungbwa as bride. Thokyaungbwa became closest ally of Ava and part in the warfares of Mingaung. By taking example of this event, Nyaung Shwe *sawbwa* also entered into alliance with Ava.³⁹ When Theinni *sawbwa* invaded to Ava, Ohnbaung *sawbwa* informed Mingaung who sent an army led by Minyè Kyawswa to Hsingaung-Wetwun. Minyè Kyawswa defeated Theinni troops, seized captives, horses and elephants for Ava, followed the invaders and besieged Theinni.⁴⁰ In 1413, chiefs of Mawton and Mawke invaded Myaydu. They were driven out by Minyè Kyawswa. As the intruders fled to China, Minyè Kyawswa brought captives, elephants and horses.⁴¹

The arrest of Mawton-Mawkezaz by Myanmar officials resulted by the Chinese invasion to Ava. The Chinese invaders asked for the surrender of the family members of Mawton-Mawkezaz. However they drove out by a Mon hero Thamein Bayan who engaged in a duel against Gamani- a Chinese hero.⁴² Indeed the distress of Ava was eased by a Mon hero. Hsinbyushin Thihathu was killed in 1426 by Ohnbaung *Sawbwa* and his accomplice Queen Bo-me.⁴³

³⁸ (a) *Monywe*, 2013a,282

(b) U Tun Nyo,2012,204

(c) U Kala ,2006 a,303-4

(d) *Hman-nan*,2008,260

(e) Sanda Linka, 2009, 65

³⁹ (a) *Monywe*, 2013a,292

(b)U Tun Nyo,2012,224

(c) U Kala ,2006 a,310

(d) *Hman-nan*,2008,267

(e) Sanda Linka, 2009, 96

⁴⁰(a) *Monywe*, 2013a,328

(b) U Tun Nyo,2012,239

(c) U Kala ,2006 b,31

⁴¹(a) *Monywe*, 2013a,339

(b) U Tun Nyo,2012,246-7

(c) U Kala ,2006 b,34

(d) *Hmanan*, 2008, 304

⁴²(a) *Monywe*, 2013a,343

Although Mohnyin Thado made attempt to occupy Ava in 1428, Ava enabled to withstand the Mohnyin's attack with the assistance of Ohbaung *Sawbwa*. In other words, Mohnyin Thado entered into alliance with Yatsauk *Sawbwa*, Ohbaung *Sawbwa* and Naung Mon *Sawbwa*.⁴⁴

During the reign of Minyè Kyawswa in 1439, the conflict took place between Mohnyin and Kalay for second time. Myanmar army, comprising nine levies with 90,000 men, horses and elephants under Thihapate advanced to Kalay. When they have arrived Myedu, Mohnyin *Sawbwa* took refuge under protection of Minyè Kyawswa. Kalay *Sawbwa* also submits himself to Myanmar army. Minyè Kyawswa let the Thihapate to rule Mohnyin and Pakhan.⁴⁵

During the reign of Narapati (1442-1458), in 1444, Chinese invaded again to get Thoganbwa and arrived at Kaung Tong. Thus Ava sent armies to defeat Chinese. After securing victory, Mongaung *Sawbwa* was assigned to take care of the security of Bhamo and the armies returned to Ava. When Chinese invaded in 1445, Thoganbwa committed suicide. As Myanmar authority surrendered the body of Thoganbwa, Chinese withdrew from Myanmar.⁴⁶

When Mohnyin King Thiha Pati died in A.D. 1450, Mohnyin prince Min Oo Ti revolted in consultation with Tho Kyein Bwa and Tho Poke Bwa of Mogaung. King Narapati himself led the naval force with the Crown Prince who led the land force and marched to Mohnyin. On hearing the advance of Narapati, Tho Kyein Bwa and Tho Poke Bwa, the two brothers came to take an oath of allegiance under King Narapati. Min Oo Ti and Ngu Sot were executed and

(b)U Tun Nyo, 2012,252

(c) U Kala ,2006 b,37

(d) *Hmanan*, 2008, 359

⁴³ (a) *Monywe*, 2013a,

(b) U Tun Nyo,2012,270

(c) U Kala ,2006 b,

(d) *Hmanan*, 2008,

⁴⁴ (a) *Monywe*, 2013a,372

(b) U Tun Nyo,2012,276-7

(c) U Kala ,2006 b,65

(d) *Hmanan*, 2008, 331

⁴⁵ (a) *Monywe*, 2013a,380

(b) U Tun Nyo,2012,283

(c) U Kala ,2006 b,73

(d) *Hmanan*, 2008, 338

⁴⁶ (a) *Monywe*, 2013a,385

(b) U Tun Nyo,2012,286-8

(c) U Kala ,2006 b,77-8

(d) *Hmanan*, 2008, 346-7

Mohnyin was given to Tho Poke Bwa as fief.⁴⁷ It is found that in the monarchical period, although they were close relatives, they would not be hesitant to kill one another for kingship.

In 1476 the war broke out between Mohnyin and Mogaung. *Sawbwas* of both sides asked assistance from Mahathihathura- King of Ava. Military expedition of Ava, comprising two columns; one was led by Crown Prince Minyè Kyawswa to be marked through land route and the other was led by the King of Ava to be advanced through waterway. King continued to march along the land route when after his army have arrived Katha, both *Sawbwas* took refuge under King of Ava. The King gave Tagaung to Mohnyin *Sawbwa* and allowed younger brother of Mogaung to rule Mohnyin.⁴⁸ During the reign of Mingaung II (1482-1501) Mohnyin shans invaded Ava in 1482. Ava had to face with the enemy with strong defence.⁴⁹

During the reign of Shwenan Kyawshin Narapati (1501-27), Mohnyin Salon *Sawbwa* (?-1532)⁵⁰ seized Myedu (Ngaranè). When Narapati knew the invasion of Mohnyin Salon into Dipèyin, he sent Bagan Thado to Dipèyin. The king asked whether Mohnyin Salon to give up Dipèyin or to fight each other. As Mohnyin Salon replied that he would not afraid to face with enemy, the officers of Narapati negotiated with the former. They recognized that the territories up to Myedu were owned by Shans *sawbwas* and remaining territories were owned by the king of Ava.⁵¹

⁴⁷(a) *Monywe*, 2013a,388

(b) U Tun Nyo, 2012, 290-291

(b) *Thuthawdita*, 2015a, 301

(c) U Kula, 2006b, 81

(d) *Hman Nan*, 2008, 349

⁴⁸ (a) *Monywe*, 2013a,401

(b) U Tun Nyo, 2012, 301

(c) U Kula, 2006b,90

(d) *Hman Nan*, 2008, 358

⁴⁹ (a) *Monywe*, 2013a,413

(b) U Tun Nyo, 2012, 305

(c) U Kula, 2006b,97

(d) *Hman Nan*, 2008, 363

⁵⁰ Old town of Mohnyin was called Salon . Thus the name of Mohnyin Salon was referred to both old and new town of Mohnyin. Dr. Than Tun , *Ludwe Yè Akyoko Sheshupyi Yedè Myanmar Thamaing* (Myanmar History for the Benefit of People), Yangon, Seikku ChoCho Publishing House, 2011, p.27

⁵¹ (a) *Monywe*, 2013a,415

(b) U Tun Nyo, 2012, 315

(c) U Kula, 2006b,104

(d) *Hman Nan*, 2008, 369

Although Mohnyin agreed the territorial demarcation between Ava and Mohnyin, he invaded into Myedu and its environs in 1517. As the Ava's troops from Ngaranè withdrew, Narapati sent reinforcement to Myedu. After the battle, Ava forces reoccupied Ngaranè. In 1520 Narapati fortified Mingin town with the battlement, moat, etc to defend the town from the frequent attack of Mohnyin. However in 1523 Mohnyin Salon *sawbwa* enabled to occupy Mingin and thence to Myedu, Sipoktra, Dipèyin. Sums of captives and cattles were seized by Mohnyin Salon *sawbwa*. He stayed in Myedu in rainy season and in 1524 he advanced to Sagaing. He occupied the towns of Kani, Kanè, Nattaung, Badon, Amyint, Pakhan and Thayet. Even Thado Minsaw, lord of Pyay, offered his allegiance to Mohnyin Salon if the latter put him on throne of Ava. Then Thado Minsaw advanced upstream to Ava while Mohnyin Salon marched to Ava along the land route. He seized elephants, horses and cattles on his way to Ava.⁵² In 1524 he plundered Ava and became the lord of Ava. Lords of Amyint, Wadi, Pinle, Pinya, Shanpikè Taung submitted themselves as the vassals of Mohnyin Salon.⁵³ Helpless Narapati asked assistance to Ohnbaung Khon Hmaing who marched Mohnyin to attack Mohnyin Salon.⁵⁴ In 1525 Mohnyin Salon *sawbwa* invaded Ava and encamped at Tada-u, Kudo Seik, Gaung-Khwè and Ta-be Htaukyit. Five days later, he attacked Ava. As the Mohnyin Salon *sawbwa* defeated Ava, Narapati and Ohnbaung Khonhmaing fled to Hsingaung Wetwun. Mohnyin *sawbwa* took elephants and horses as booties and returned to Mohnyin. Meanwhile, the lord of Taungoo Maha Thiri Zeya Thura heard the news of desperate situation of Ava and then invaded southern subordinate towns and villages of Ava. Thus Narapati and Ohnbaung Khonhmaing fought against the new enemy. While the southern expedition was in state of stalemate, Ohnbaung Khonhmaing asked Narapati to return to his hometown before rainy season. Narapati inevitably allowed Khonhmaing to return Ohnbaung .⁵⁵

Helpless Ava was seemed to be waiting for another invasion of Mohnyin Salon *sawbwa*. However in 1525 the army led by the Crown Prince of Ava attack the Shans encamping at Amyint, Alom and Kanè by taking stronghold at Pakhan . Although Ava forces reoccupied three

⁵² (a) *Monywe*, 2013a,417-20

(d) *Hman Nan*, 2008, 371-2

⁵³ *Hmanan*, 2008,402

⁵⁴ U Tun Nyo, 2012,317-8

⁵⁵ (a) *Monywe*, 2013a,423

(b) U Tun Nyo, 2012, 318

(c) U Kula, 2006b,113

towns, the Crown Prince died of fever in the field. At the beginning of March 1527, Mohnyin Salon *sawbwa*'s army invaded again to Sagaing from thence he besieged Ava with a fleet of barges. Narapati who was waiting for reinforcement from Ohnbaung could not attack the enemies and prepared his last defense with his forces. While he was defending his city from the top of battlement, Mohnyin forces plundered the town outside the palace as their own will. On 13 March 1527 Narapati went out of town on the back of an elephant to face with the enemy. However he was killed by Thohanbwa.⁵⁶The first Ava Period was eliminated with the death of Narapati II (1501-1527).⁵⁷The people and monks from Ava and its environs fled to the other safe places. Even Shin Maha Rahtas ra, celebrated monk scholar, fled to Pyay as refugee.⁵⁸

The war of Ava against Rakhine

While Min Shin saw, father of Mingyi Swesawke, ruled Thayet, Rakhine King Minhti attacked Thayet and all family members were brought to Rakhine as captives. Thus when he became King, Mingyi Swesawke appointed Saw Monnit, his uncle, as the King of Rakhine when the latter was in state of interregnum.⁵⁹

In 1403 Rakhine King Htawgyagi (Laungyet Theingathu) plundered Yaw, Saw and Laungshe. Minye Kyawzwa led an army to Rakhine to retaliate the invasion. When a dual fight on horseback was arranged between the King of Rakhine and *Myin-hmu*-cavalary officer Saw Nit (Nara Meikhla), brother of Theingathu and son of Yazathu on throne and appointed Nawrahta as the chief of town garrison.⁶⁰However the hostility had ceased for a while after forming alliance between Narapati and Ali Khan (1433-1458), King of Rakhine in 1454.⁶¹

The wars of Ava against its subordinate states

When Kalay Kyaytaungnyo (1425-26) ascended the throne of Ava, Mohnyin Thado, accompanied by his sons lord of Mo-shwe and lord of Wuntho, marched to Ava. He marched along the land route and his son advanced downstream along Ayeyawady River. As they were able to defeat the royal fleet of Ava, they seized 80 canoes and 1000 captives. Ten days later,

⁵⁶ U Kala, 2006 b,113

⁵⁷ Than Tun, 2011,6

⁵⁸ U Kala, 2006 b,110

⁵⁹ U Tun Nyo, 2012,190

⁶⁰ (a) *Monywe*, 2013a,291

(b)U Tun Nyo, 2012,224

(c) U Kula, 2006a,309

⁶¹ (a)U Tun Nyo, 2012,292

(b)U Kula, 2006b,82

they were reinforced by the arrival of their father Mohnyin Thado and besieged Ava with both land and naval troops. After the fierce fighting, Mohnyin Thado obtained 300 canoes and over 2000 captives. Desperate Kalay Kyaytaungnyo fled from Ava to take the help of Rakhine King. However he had never arrived to his destination. He died on his way to Rakhine near Man Settawya Pagoda in Minbu district. He reigned only seven months.⁶²

Soon after his accession to the throne of Ava, Mohnyin Thado aimed to expand his territory and attacked Pakhangyi. He could occupy the town within seven days. Two years later, he made attempt to seize Pinle, but it ended with failure. In 1430, the advanced downstream to Pyay. However the expedition was ended with peace became Lord of Pyay submitted his niece to Mohnyin Thado as bride.⁶³ In 1433 he made his final attempt to annex Pin-le, Taungdwingyi and Yamèthin. Again, he met with failure. These three towns, captured along with Taungoo, by Minyè Kyawzwa in 1440. He took captives, cattles and elephants to Ava.⁶⁴

Conclusion

In brief, the collapse of Bagan dynasty was followed by the domination of Shans who enabled to fill up the power vacuum existed in Ayeyawady basin of Central Myanmar. Although the descendants of Three Shans Brothers established a one hundred and ninety year-long dynasty, the peaceful reign is hardly seen the first Ava Period. Ava, Bago and northern Shan principalities of Mohnyin vied each other for the overlordship of Central Myanmar and princely states. When traced, the longest war of monarchical history broke out between Ava and Bago Bago in this period. It is also noticeable that almost all of the 20 kings of Ava and those of the rival states of Bago and Mohnyin are young. It is attributed that inexperienced and arrogant rulers and jingoistic commandants were regardless of the consequences of war. It is interesting to note that the kings of Ava did not want to take permanent stronghold at the territories they conquered. Instead, the kinsmen of loser were put on the throne as the subordinate chiefs. They took captives, booties, elephants, horses and returned home. In addition, both the kings of Ava and those of Bago considered that the charisma of a king had depended on the number of vassals he conquered, not on the achievements for the well-being of subject people. As a result, the

⁶² (a)U Tun Nyo, 2012,271-2

(b)U Kula, 2006b,61

⁶³ (a)*Hmanan*, 2008,334-5

(b)U Kula, 2006b,68

⁶⁴(a) U Tun Nyo, 2012,283

(b)U Kula, 2006b,73

cultural heritages, human and economic resources were devastated by the chronic warfares and court rebellions.

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