

University of Mandalay

**ELEPHANT IN MYANMAR SOCIETY (1752-1885)**

Palè Aung

Mandalay, Myanmar  
March 2007



## **ELEPHANT IN MYANMAR SOCIETY (1752-1885)**

University of Mandalay

**ELEPHANT IN MYANMAR SOCIETY (1752-1885)**

A Dissertation Submitted to University of Mandalay  
In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in  
History

Department of History

Pale Aung  
4 Ph.D. / Hist. – 4

Mandalay, Myanmar  
March 2007

University of Mandalay

## ELEPHANT IN MYANMAR SOCIETY (1752-1885)

By  
Palè Aung, B.A. (Hons), M.A.  
4 Ph.D./ Hist. – 4 (2006-2007)

This Dissertation is submitted to the Board of Examiners  
In History, University of Mandalay in Candidature  
For the Degree Doctor of Philosophy

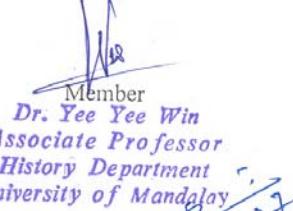
Approved

External Examiner  
  
Saw Khin Gyi  
Deputy Director (Retd)  
Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization  
Centre for History & Tradition

Referee  
  
Dr. Toe Hla  
Member  
Myanmar Historical Commission  
Amara Hall, Yangon University Campus

Supervisor  
  
(Dr. Ba Maung)  
Director General  
Universities Historica Research Centre

Co-supervisor  
  
Ko Ko Naing  
Associate Professor  
Department of History  
Mandalay University

Chairperson  
  
Sal Nor Khay  
Professor-cum-Head  
Department of History  
Mandalay University

Member  
  
U Yaw Han Tun  
Associate Professor  
History Department  
Mandalay University.

Member  
  
Dr. Yee Yee Win  
Associate Professor  
History Department  
University of Mandalay

## ABSTRACT

The Dissertation titled, Elephant in Myanmar Society (1752-1885) is presented by dividing into four chapters, in which Chapter I deals with "Elephant in Myanmar mythology", and Chapter II describes "the Elephant in Myanmar Art and Literature" and Chapter III explains "Elephant in warfare", while the last chapter expounds about the "Elephanteers in Society". It explains the elephant cult and how elephants are related with it. As Myanmar kings accepted the white elephant as the Buddha-to-be, the cult of white elephant was related with the lives of the Buddha. By the acceptance of textual conception that the white elephant brings peace and prosperity, the dissertation goes on mention that, how kings and people of Myanmar firmly believed in the white elephant cult, how they adopted the title of the White Elephant. But Chapter I describes the irony of how the possessor Kings of white elephant faced the imperialist wars. The kings manipulated the literature by incorporating the cult of white elephant into it, in order to expand the aura and the influence of the reigning king, by which made the ruling of the country easy. As the white elephant possessing kings encouraged, art, literature and sculpture that related with the white elephant, came to emerge and piled into a heap. Most literatures, that related with the elephant, eulogized how much the king was glorified. All these are described in Chapter II. In the days of Myanmar Kings, elephants occupied a central role as war fighters. The possession of many elephants, directly related with the power and glory of a king. The dissertation also explains how much the elephant was important in the relation between the king and his vassals and in the relations of the kingdom and other countries. The believed that they could win the wars if there were white elephants in their troops. The Kaleidoscope of the change of the usefulness of the elephant, as war fighters during Bagan Period, down to early Konbaung Period, the as goods producing animal in later Konbaung Period is mentioned in Chapter III. As the elephant has played a major role in feudal Myanmar, the officials and attendants to these elephants also played a crucial role in monarchical Myanmar. Society, socially, these peoples were enjoying many privileges. But their ups and downs was dependent on the attitude of the King and his mood, and how much he valued and regarded the elephant. These are described in Chapter IV. The dissertation ends by examining how the once important and reliable elephant in wars and the elephanteers, declined in when western imperialism predominated the country.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<b>page</b>
List of Appendices	v
List of Maps	vi
List of Photographs	vii
List of Tables	viii
List of Abbreviations	ix
Glossary	xii
Introduction	xiii
Chapters	
1. Elephant in Myanmar Mythology	1
2. Elephant in Myanmar Art and Literature	30
3. Elephant in Warfare	55
4. Elephanteers in Society	84
Conclusion	125
Appendices	141
Bibliography	162

## **List of Appendices**

	Page
1. Proverbs Related with Elephants	141
2. Royal Orders in Relation with Elephants	144
3. Literary Works on Elephants	156

## **List of Maps**

	<b>Page</b>
1. Map showing the elephant inhabited area	139
2. Map showing the village where elephanteers were settled	140

## List of Photographs

	page
1. <i>Chaddanta Jataka</i> , Myingaba Gubyaukkyi Pagoda, Bagan	130
2. <i>Vessantar Jataka</i> , the Depicting the Donation of the White elephant Shinbinsakyo Pagoda , Yele Village, Sale Township	130
3. The Great Renunciation, Shwethalyaung Pagoda Po Win Hill	131
4. <i>Jataka</i> Po Win Hill, Cave No.284	131
5. A Princess on an Elephant Ngasudan Pagoda, Ma U, Yesagyo Township	132
6. The Taming of <i>Nalagiri</i> Pagoda	132
7. A Scene of Military Expedition Shwethalyaung Pagoda, Po Win Hill, Cave No.284	133
8. A Herd of Elephants Kyauktawgyi Pagoda, Amarapura	133
9. A Scene of Military Expedition Ananda Temple, Bagan	134
10. A Royal Procession, <i>Parabaik</i> painting	134
11. The King Observes the White Elephant, <i>Parabaik</i> painting	135
12. A Duel Fight on Elephants, <i>Parabaik</i> painting	135
13. Trainning an Elephant for Military Use, <i>Parabaik</i> painting	136
14. Catching an Elephant by Trained Elephants, <i>Parabaik</i> painting	136
15. Elephant and Insignia Bestowed on Yatsauk Sawbwa, <i>Parabaik</i> painting	137
16. <i>Vessantar Jataka</i> , Lacquerware painting	137

## List of Tables

	<b>Page</b>
1. List of Villages Prefixed or Suffix with the word Sin	15
2. Myanmar Kings who adopted the Title of the Lord of White Elephant	16
3. White Elephant Titles	18
4. White Elephant in the King Badon's Reign	20
5. Gift to <i>Nibbanapaccaya</i> Given by King Badon and Royalty ( <i>in Kyat</i> )	21
6. List of <i>Yatu</i> or Verse	44
7. Elephants Used in Battles During the Reign of Mingyi Nyo	65
8. Elephants Used in Battles During the Reign of Tabinshwehti	66
9. Elephants Used in Battles During the Reign of Myedu	78
10. Elephants Used in Battles During the Reign of Bagyitaw	79
11. List of Gifts and Tributes, Presented by Vassals, <i>Sawbwas</i> and Officials, to the King	85
12. List of <i>Sin Wuns</i> in the Konbaung Period	92
13. Rank, Status and Responsibility of <i>Aukma Ahmudan</i>	94
14. List of <i>Aukma Wuns</i> in Konbaung Period	95
15. List of Land Granted to <i>Aukma Ahmudans</i>	100
16. Rank, Status and Responsibility of <i>Danakpala Ahmudan</i>	105
17. Rank, Status and Responsibility of Elephant Trainers	109
18. Rank, Status and Responsibility of Elephant <i>Ahmudans</i>	111
19. Rank, Status and Responsibility of Elephant Herd <i>Ahmudans</i>	113
20. List of <i>Sin Min Wuns</i> in Konbaung Period	114
21. Rank, Status and Responsibility of <i>Sin Min Wuns Ahmudans</i>	115
22. Elephant Keeping Grounds in Badon's Reign	116
23. List of Cultivated Land Granted to or Elephanteers ( <i>Sugyi</i> )	118
24. List of Land Granted Land including Elephanteers ( <i>Sugyan</i> )	120
25. Titles Granted to Elephant <i>Ahmudans</i> in Konbaung Period	122

## List of Abbreviations

Aldo rice , 1950	<i>The Travels of Marcopolo</i> , London, Rocilleger Kegam Paul Ltd, 1950
<i>Ayedawbon,1967</i>	<i>Military Campaigns of Myanmar Kings</i> , Yangon, Nathataik , 1967
Baretto	<i>Heroes of Burma</i> , Artha Booth Gravely memorial Endowment (Blind School) fund
Charney, 2004	<i>Southeast Asia Warfare: 1300-1900</i> , Brill, Leiden Boston, 2004
Collis , 1959	<i>Marco Polo</i> , Faber and Faber limited, London , 1959
<i>Court Elephant No.3</i>	Myanmar Court Elephant, Dossier No.3, Yangon, Seinbanmyaing Sarpay
Gupta , 1982	<i>Elephant in Indian Art and Mythology</i> , Humanities Press, Inc, 1982
<i>Hmannan,2003</i>	<i>Glass Palace Chronicle</i> , in 3 Vols, Yangon, Ministry of Information, 2003
<i>Sinsu, 1960</i>	<i>Sindaw Mawkun and Pyaunggyi Ngazibwe Yatumya</i> , Mandalay, Kawiletknana Press, 1960
<i>Konbaungzet, 2004</i>	<i>Konbaung Chronicle of the Kings of the Konbaung Dynasty</i> , in 3 Vols., Yangon, Yapyi Book House , 2004
Kala , 1960	<i>The Great Chronicle</i> , Vol.I, Yangon, Hanthawaddy Pitaka Press, 1960



- |                     |  |
|---------------------|--|
| Thuta , 1966        | <i>Biographies of the Great Writer</i> , Yangon, Hanthawaddy Press, 1966   |
| Tin , 1963-1983     | <i>Myanmarmin Okchokpon Sardan Hnit Bodawpaya Ei Yazathat Khaw Ameindawdangyi (A Treatise on Administration under Yanmar Kings Together with an Edit of King Bodawpaya)</i> , in 5 Vols., Yangon, Department of Culture, 1963-1983 |
| Toe Hla , 1971      | <i>Nyaungyan Khit Sinthin Mya, (Elephant Groups in Nyaungyan Period)</i> , Ngwetayi , No.132, June 1971  |
| -----, 2000         | Stupa and temples with elephant base, <i>Diamond Jubilee anniversary magazine at Maha Zotia yama pali Taxila</i> , 2000  |
| Toke Gale, 1974     | <i>Burmese Timber Elephant</i> , Yangon, Trade Corporation-9, 1974   |
| U.C.L               | Universities of Central Library  |
| Viccittasava , 1982 | <i>Maha Buddhavim</i> Vol. II , Mandalay, Religious Affairs Department Press, 1982   |
| 550 Jatakas , 2002  | <i>Full List of 550 Jatakas</i> , Yangon, Phowa Offset August 2002   |

## Glossary

<i>ahmudan</i>	servicemen
<i>aukma</i>	elephant catcher
<i>danakpala</i>	elephant trainer
<i>htoo</i>	a Burmese word for fetters or hobbles
<i>ka</i>	saddle
<i>kumchee or kumkie</i>	highly trained elephant used in capturing wild elephants by lasso or immobilization method
<i>kyoneyantha</i>	elephant trainer
<i>musth</i>	Hindi word for secretion which usually flows from the temporal glands of male elephants
<i>oozi</i>	ruler of an elephant
<i>pamaw, pamawnat,</i>	elephant trainer instructor
<i>pamawu</i>	
<i>pyandamyo</i>	appointment order , junior service
<i>sinkyany</i>	a treatise an elephants
<i>sinbyudaw</i>	a royal white elephant
<i>sinwun</i>	a designation given to an official in charge of elephants in the days of the Myanmar kings: Literality, a commissioner of elephant
<i>sugyi</i>	all armed men both natives and foreigners

## INTRODUCTION

**E**lephant, the largest land mammal on earth, is so intimately connected with man, since the ancient times. No one knows for sure, when man domesticated this beast. But one thing certain is, since its domestication, the animal proved that it is one of the most useful at the disposal of human being. Due to its strength and power, the beast is mostly used in heavy duty works, carrying, transporting and hauling heavy and bulky materials from place to place.

Like other creatures, elephants also were found varied in kinds and colors. When the man encountered and noticed the white elephant, he thought that the white elephant, being different from the mass black ones, must be distinguished with might, power and glory. And so the cult of elephant began to creep in the life of human, with much praying and worshiping, of which occupying a firm seat in the Hindu pantheon and the white elephant as bodhisattva in any sect of Buddhism. In order to be able to posses the white elephant, Southeast Asian courts were found ready to go to war. Elephant could make men both in amity and enmity each other, and so did in mutual relations of countries.

Elephants played a major role in the politics, diplomatic and socio economy of most South and Southeast Asian countries. They were deeply entrenched in the military affairs of Myanmar and neighbouring Southeast Asian countries, crowning all other military arms of these countries. But the power and glory of elephant was eclipsed by the appearance of firearms, leaving the beast to be just a productive tool in the timber extraction.

## CHAPTER ONE

### ELEPHANT IN MYANMAR MYTHOLOGY

**D**ivine elephant and elephant cult, it seems that, came from India, where a range of faiths in elephant had been existed well before the coming of the Lord Buddha. At the beginning of the world, there existed the god *Paramesvara* and his consort *Paramethurein*, who did a lot for the benefit and interest of man. By their cohabitation, the consort *Paramethurein* once conceived, during which she dreamed of being flowered with *hatthilata* creeper. Then when she took birth, the sibling was named *Hathhilata Mahaviralata Mahapeinnè*. *Mahapeinnè* caused to appear a young cow and made her eaten the *hatthilata* creeper, to her a pair of *K* was born, by whom the following kinds of elephants came into existence:

	the black elephant
<i>Gangeya</i>	the elephant with the odour of blue Lotus or musth
<i>Pandara</i>	the white elephant
<i>Tampa</i>	the reddish colored elephant
<i>Peingala</i>	the variegated colored elephant
<i>Ganda</i>	the elephant with the odour of sweet smell
<i>Mingala</i>	the elephant with the colored of copper
<i>Hayma</i>	the elephant with the color of gold
<i>Upasatha</i>	the elephant resembling the conch shell, and
<i>Chhadan</i>	the elephant with the color of silver.

According to the Buddhist mythology and legends, the elephant occupied a key role in some *jatakas* the history of the previous lives of the Buddha. Chief among them was the dream of \_\_\_\_\_, the queen of the King Suddhodhana of *Kapilavastu*, who saw a white elephant in her dream before the conception of *Gautama* the Buddha. Brahmins courteers interpreted the dream as there shall have a son, who would become, if he dwells in the house, a universal monarch, if not, a Buddha, the world renouncer and the world conqueror. By the dream, the baby in the womb was regarded as the *Bodhisattva*<sup>1</sup>. The life of a white elephant could be seen in many of previous lives of the Buddha<sup>2</sup>.

Besides, the elephant was the animal by which the manner and the strength of Buddha, were described in comparison. In his sermons, Buddha used to explain his points by taking the elephant as the parallel. We found the comparative description of Buddha's intelligence and strength by the strength of ten kinds<sup>3</sup> of

<sup>1</sup>Ashin Zanaka bhivamsa, Agga Maha Pandita, *Yokeson Buddha Sasanawam* (The illustrated Buddhavamsa), Y.M.B.A, Yangon, p.4

<sup>2</sup>(a) Myint Swe, M.A (London), *Ngayar Ngase Sayinkwe* (Full list of 550 *Jatakas*), Than Tun (ed), Yangon, Phowa Offset, August, 2002 (Henceforth: 550 *Jatakas*, 2002)

(b)The 550 *Jatakas*, 2002

*Chaddanta Jataka* (514)

*Dummedha Jataka* (122)

*Jataka* (221)

*Jakata* (267)

(357)

*Jataka* (455)

*Jataka* (72)

<sup>3</sup>*Kalàvaka* elephant bore the strength of 10 muscular men. That of *Gangeya* bore the strength of *kalàvaka*. Those of *Pandara*, *Tampa*, *Peingala*, *Ganda*, *Mingala*, *Hayma*, *Upasatha* and *Chaddan* bore the strength of 10 folds more power them each of their precursors, *Chaddan* elephant being the strongest

elephant<sup>4</sup>. Of the 550 *Jatakas*<sup>5</sup>, there were eighteen *Jatakas*, concerning with the elephant. Besides, among the twenty eight Buddhas, some rode the elephant in their renunciation<sup>6</sup>. Elephant was found well concerned with the human in their relation, which we can understand by the Buddhist scriptures. The most famous was the attack of Maya on the Lord Buddha at the moment of enlightenment under the banyan tree. Maya riding *Girimekhala* elephant with myriad followers tried to seize the *Aparazitapalanka* on which the Lord attained Buddhahood<sup>7</sup>. Then Buddha had to subdue the great elephant *Nalagiri* who was being intoxicated and ordered to kill the Lord Buddha<sup>8</sup>. Also in *Jataka*, the *Bodhisattva* and followers were, on account of the suspicion by the king, ordered to be killed by the tread of elephant, but the elephant did not dare to step over them, owing to the influence of affection put on the elephant by the men, whom he had to tread<sup>9</sup>.

By these facts we came to know that the elephant has intelligence, enough to be able to communicate with the man and get involved in the affairs of human

<sup>4</sup>U Viccittasara bhivamsa, *Maha Buddhavi* , Vol-II, Mandalay, Religious Affairs Department Press, 1982, pp.196-197 (Henceforth, Viccittasara, 1982)

<sup>5</sup>(a) 550 *Jatakas* , 2002

<sup>6</sup>(a) Viccittasara, 1982, 576

(b) Buddha of *Dipankara*, *Thumana*, , , *Thikhi, Konagaman*

<sup>7</sup>Viccittasara, 1982, 284

<sup>8</sup>Viccittasara, 1982, 631

<sup>9</sup>Ashin , Pyathatkyauung, *Dhamapada Atthakathanissaya*, Vol I, Mandalay, Pitakattawpyantpwaye Press, July, 1975, p.466 (Henceforth: , 1975)

beings. The intelligence of the elephant is more vividly seen in the God of Hindu mythology, the cult of which definitely arrived Myanmar in Bagan Period, Aniruddha built a pagoda under the name of a God with many elephant heads. But it is popularly known as Shwesandaw.<sup>10</sup>

The origin of the worship of , is indistinct and obscure albeit, it is the only elephant headed god in the Hindu pantheon, symbolizing as the remover of obstacles. also represents the art of writing and understanding of literature.<sup>11</sup> Whether Myanmar worship of carried these appellations of the god as representatives of intelligence and the remover of obstacles or not, is doubtful, but one thing sure is, the god is popular among the Hindu community in Myanmar.

In Myanmar, the elephant cult is found widely spread in the form of the white elephant as the Buddha to be. Naturally it began in India, where Buddhism first flourished. With the advent of Buddhism into Myanmar, it seems that, the white elephant cult arrived Myanmar, not much changed in the form and content. Essentially, the cult of Buddha to be or *Bodhisattva* is a unique contribution of the sect of Buddhism. In their faith, *Bodhisattva* is a symbol of friendliness, piety and help. He is the one who already has attained full perfection of wisdom. The body and the mind of *Bodhisattva* are suffused and penetrated with friendliness for all creatures. He aspires for the attainment of *Bodhi*, for the welfare and happiness of all beings including men and devas. The Buddha to be himself stays in the world of sufferings in order to do good to all creatures. This is, what the believers seem, what the Buddha to be's great sacrifices for others. He is said to have the great vow: "I shall not enter into final unless all beings

---

<sup>10</sup>G.H.Luce, *Old Burma-Early Bagan*, Vol I, Locust Valley, New York, 1969, p.44, (Henceforth: Luce , 1969)

<sup>11</sup>S.K Gupta, *Elephant in Indian Art and Mythology*, Humanities Press Inc,1982, pp.55-60 (Henceforth: Gupta, 1982)

have liberated”. Thus *Bodhisattva* is the embodiment of compassion and love. There are two *Jataka* stories, in which the *Bodhisattva* was born as elephant. In one, he sacrifices himself for the good of his wife (*Saddanta Jataka*) and in another for his mother (*Chandorana Jataka*).<sup>12</sup>

The above mentioned is the cult of *Bodhisattva* as white elephant in *Mahayana* Buddhism. In *Mahayana* Buddhism, the cult of *Bodhisattva* and that of white elephant are deeply interrelated. As a country of *Theravadha* Buddhism, Myanmar people also worshiped the white elephant as a Buddha to be, but it seems, the form and content of white elephant worshiping is quite different from that of *Mahayana* Buddhist. The emphasis put in here in *Theravadha* is the Buddha itself, who was already enlightened, not the *Bodhisattva*, who in fact was still needed to do more to be perfected. With regard to white elephant worshiping, there are some dreams concerning with white elephant. It was all the famous *Mayadevi's Dream*, in which, she saw a white elephant came to her from the north and smote to her right side and entered the womb.<sup>13</sup> Likewise, the great Buddhist King Asoka had once a dream in that he saw a white elephant who touched the great king from head to toe, finally raised the right hand of the king. The dream was interpreted as an omen of the arrival of *Maha Moggaliputta Tissa*, under whose aegis; the great king was able to hold the Third Synod.<sup>14</sup> We have seen that *Theravadin's* worship of the white elephant did not go far beyond of that, in which they recognized him as a Buddha to be, meaning not the object of permanent veneration.

---

<sup>12</sup>Gupta ,1982, 36

<sup>13</sup>Viccittasara, 1982, 16

<sup>14</sup>*Hmanan Yazawin* (The Glass Palace Chronicle) Vol. I, Yangon, Ministry of Information, 2003, p.131 (Henceforth: *Hmanan* , 2003a)

Historically, it can be said that, the elephant cult, was found in association with the Pyu<sup>15</sup>, according to Dr. Than Tun, were the First Myanmar Empire builders in the land of Myanmar<sup>16</sup>. Pyu had left many archeological sites and artifacts, of which votive tablets were one among other things. In these votaries, Pyu had moulded Buddha images seated on the throne which was propped up by a number of elephants. We may interpret these elephant based Buddha images of votive tablets as a symbol of the elephant cult.<sup>17</sup>

The elephant cult was found unmistakably in the old Pyu City of Sriksetra, where the king and the people had sculptured an image of a white elephant, measuring 100 feet in height. Chinese annals recorded that the king and the people usually worshiped the image of white elephant, especially in the settlement of a case, the parties concerned knelt before the image of white elephant and sweared. In times of danger, the king himself came before the great image and worshiped praying all the eminent dangers be went away.<sup>18</sup> Pyu had these kinds of worship, which might be due to the belief in white elephant as the beholder of almighty power.

<sup>15</sup>G.H. Luce, *Manshu* (Book of the Southern Barbarians), Data paper , No.44, Southeast Asia Program, Department of Far Eastern Studies, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, December, 1961, p.90 (Henceforth: Luce , 1961)

<sup>16</sup>Dr. Than Tun, *Myanmar Thamaingnidan (Introduction to Myanmar history)*, Myanmar Heritage, Yangon, 2001, p.31(Henceforth: Than Tun, 2001)

<sup>17</sup>Kyuyadana Maung Mya Kyaing, “Sinkhan Payamya”, (Pagodas with elephant base) *Ngwetayi*, No.300, June, 1985, p.1-22 (Henceforth: Mya Kyaing, 1985)

<sup>18</sup>(a) Dr. Khin Maung Nyunt, “Myanmar Yinkyehmu hnit Thamaing sinlar Sin Phyu taw mya” (Myanmar culture and traditional historical white elephant), *The New Light of Myanmar*, November , 2001 (Henceforth: Khin Maung Nyunt, 2001)

(b) Dr. Margret Wong, “The Sino-Myanmar Relation from the Chinese Sources (AD, 1 to 13)”. Paper reading session on the 76<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Yangon University, held in Diamond Jubilee Hall, on 23, 1, 1997, p.3 (Henceforth: Margreat Wong , 1997)

After the sack of Pyu City by *Nan Chao* in 832 A.D, the first Myanmar King Aniruddha was able to build the Second Myanmar Empire, which in the eyes of conservative historians this is the First Myanmar Empire, in the middle of 11<sup>th</sup> century A.D 1044. The elephant cult went on live through the Bagan Period. The best evidence was a stone inscription, erected by the Bagan Mahathera Mahakassapa, who claimed in his record that in one of his previous lives, he had been an elephant. The inscription read thus:<sup>19</sup>

é

é

With regard to government institution, Myanmar monarchs adopted the model of Indian kingship, of which their favourite role model was that of *Cakravartin*,<sup>20</sup> the Universal monarch, who, by legends, was supposed to own seven “*ratanas*”<sup>21</sup>. With the belief in being a *Cakravartin*, who allegedly commanded the respect and regard of hundred and one monarchs, prevailing over all enemies, Myanmar kings did a lot of meritorious deeds, in order to be able to come to them the seven *ratanas* of *Cakravartin*, such as the white elephant. According to the commentary on *Maha Sudassana Sutta*, to be able to come white elephant, a king had to make a donation, worth about one and half lakh, and then to make a bath by pouring from the head about sixteen pots of perfumed water,

<sup>19</sup>“Zeyakhon Pagoda Inscription, erected by Sithu II, in 1183 AD”, Now at the Mahamuni Inscription Shed, No. 349, line 11,12

<sup>20</sup>(a) Sovereign who reigns all the four islands

(b)Maung Htaung *Sayadaw*, “Characteristics of White Elephant,” Palmleaf, MS, UCL, No.10543, kè-reverse

<sup>21</sup>Cakra, elephant, ruby, queen, horse, the wealthy man, the eldest son

after which needed to take sabbath. After taking reasonable bland diet, attaining the cloak, he had to enter the quiet room, located at the upper tier of the prasada, to ponder one's act of offerings and observance of precepts. If kept the above mentioned observances, the commentary goes on stated that a white elephant, by the line of either *Chaddan* or *Uposahta*, with characteristics of rising sun reddish legs, neck and mouth, white skin, the seven organs of all four legs, two tusks and tail being long enough to touch the ground, able to fly in the sky, like the mountain of silver with the border hued by the color of realgar (red orpiment), would arrive and occupy his place of elephant king.

The scripture clearly indicates that only the ones who was man of morality and devotion, could have a chance to own the white elephant. It also connotes that there was a belief that the owner of white elephant was powerful and glorious. Therefore, every owner of white elephant was found very powerful. In Bagan Period, King Aniruddha had, said in possession of about thirty eight white elephant<sup>22</sup> and that of Alaungsithu about thirty two white elephants.<sup>23</sup> The people of Indo-China believed that more white elephants mean more powerful and successful, which led many sovereigns to assume the title of the Lord of the White elephant. As far as the evidences show, the one who firstly claimed himself the possessor of white elephant was none, other than Alaungsithu (AD 1112-1167).<sup>24</sup> Though Aniruddha had owned more number of white elephant than Alaungsithu, he never claimed such title; due might be the sovereign was caught in the busy business of building a new kingdom or simply disregarding it, as it was the outgrowth of Hinduism, in such a time where the reformation of Buddhism was being carried out.

<sup>22</sup>(a) , *Sayadaw*, “*Gaza vinicchaya*”, Palmleaf MS, UCL, No.11186, kon-reverse,

(b) Baretto, W.L, *Heroes of Burma*, Artha Booth Gravely Memorial Endowment (Blind School) Fund, p.10( Henceforth: Baretto )

<sup>23</sup>“Shwezigon Kyansitha Inscription,” Mahamuni inscription shed 78, line, 1-3

<sup>24</sup>Hmannan, 2003a, 307

As to the regard, special consideration was placed on the skin color of the elephant. Of the principal color of white and black, the former was more esteemed, owing to the Myanmar kings belief of the creature, as one of the seven “*ratanas*” of the universal monarch and as a powerful animal. Accordingly Myanmar kings preferred the white elephant in their royal occasions. Also in the occasions of religious affairs, the holy objects were being carried on the back of white elephant, rather than the black one.

King Aniruddha, the champion of Buddhism in Bagan Burma, had it carried on the back of white elephant, such holy relics of the Sacred Tooth got from China (Gandhara), the Sacred Whorl and Collar Bone acquired from Kanyan Country, and the Sacred Hair from the Town of Dala. Besides, after subduing the Thaton of Mon King Manuha, the victorious King Aniruddha placed the thirty sets of *Tipitaka* on the thirty two white elephants and took it away to Bagan<sup>25</sup>. It was said that King Aniruddha welcomed the Sacred Tooth from Ceylon, by riding a white elephant called *Pal pyon* (the pearly smile). He sent the white elephant with the Sacred Tooth on its back and followed after it. The king contructed pagodas on every site where the white elephant crouched. Pagodas such as Shwezigon, Tankyitaung, Tuywintaung, Lokananda and Pyetkhaywetaung are the ones that the white elephant had crouched. By this fact we can understand that, for the propagation of Buddha's teachings, successive kings, since Aniruddha had used the white elephant reverently.<sup>26</sup> These observation shows that the white elephant was more esteemed than the black one.

The cult of white elephant in Bagan Period can be seen in religious objects such as pagodas, stupa, temple and images, where elephant images are included to

---

<sup>25</sup>(a) *Hmanan*, 2003a, 246

(b)Baretto,10

<sup>26</sup>U Kala, *Maha Razawungyi* (The Great Chronicle) Vol.I, Yangon, Hanthawaddy Pitaka Press, 1960, pp.194-195 (Henceforth: Kala, 1960)

prop up these venerated objects. The custom of venerating the elephant based images is widely known among the populace. Veneration of pagodas with elephant propping is somewhat less known, which might come to Myanmar from Srilanka<sup>27</sup>. There were at least three pagodas with elephant base, in Bagan Period, of which the most famous was that of Sisana<sup>28</sup>, located at the south extreme of Bagan. Among the pagodas with elephant base, it was the largest, built on the square platform in which were row of elephant heads, numbering thirty nine in each side, altogether totalling 156 elephant heads. The inner sanctum of Sisana, now better known Sedanagyи, and its ambulatories were sealed off, for unknown reason. The other stupa with the images of elephant heads was the one known as Htupagyи Pagoda. It was built on the square plinth with three terraces. Each side of the plinth carried about sixteen elephants, totalling sixty four for four cardinal directions<sup>29</sup>. Another temple with elephants locates on the right side of the road, leading to Thiripyissaya Hotel. It is a temple with square plinth, surrounded by double enclosures, carrying twenty seven elephants on each side of the plinth.<sup>30</sup>

It is thought that stupas with elephant might indicate the worship of *Cakravartin*. It is a pagoda, not only as it enshrined the relics of Lord Buddha, but also as it dedicated to the *Cakravartin*. Therefore, Htupagyи, with its elephant base may indicate, the dedication to the *Cakravartin*. The inclusion of elephant as an architectural motif of stupas and temples, might represent a custom in which Buddha and *Cakravartin* are worshiped altogether interchangeably. The connotation from this association of elephant with pagodas might be that, the

<sup>27</sup>Dr.Toe Hla ,“*Hsin Khangu Pahtomya*”, (Stupa and Temples with Elephant Base), *Diamond Jubilee Anniversary Magazine of Maha Zotia YamaPali Taxila*, 2000, pp.83-89 (Henceforth: Toe Hla, 2000)

<sup>28</sup>Toe Hla, 2000, 83-89

<sup>29</sup>Toe Hla, 2000, 83-89

<sup>30</sup>Toe Hla, 2000, 83-89

worshiper, who himself sculptured or built pagoda or image, in fact had been trying to implant the power of *Cakravartin* which in reality is a mean of sorcery.

Concerning with the elephant base in pagodas and images, Myanmar belief had it that as the *Uposahta* and *Chaddan* the white elephant kinds were the mount on which should the *Cakravartin* be carried, by which it deems appropriate to build of sculpture the pagodas and images with the elephant in support. Therefore, one finds so many pagodas and images with elephant support throughout the country. The association of elephant with pagodas and images, can be related with the life story of the Buddha. Aside the *Vessantara* and *Chaddan Jatakas*, one among the eight victories of the Buddha was the subduing of the *Nalagiri* elephant. This fact might be sufficient for the rulers to build and worship the pagodas and images with elephant base, in order to ward off or repel the evil or enemies, or to be able to breakthrough the difficulties of politics, economic and military.

The belief of white elephant as one of seven “*ratanas*” of universal monarch, led so many monarchs to adopt the title of lord of white elephant, which can be found since Bagan Period. Aniruddha was in possession of thirty eight white elephants, while that of Alaungsithu about thirty two white elephants. Accordingly, the latters was attributed as the Lord of White Elephant by later scholars, first by Monywe *Sayadaw* Ashin Ardiccaransi<sup>31</sup>, whom the late historian Dr.Than Tun quoted, in the description of Sithu I in his book on the Political History of Bagan.<sup>32</sup> Evidently, the possession of white elephant for a ruler was a

<sup>31</sup>Ashin

(Monywe *Sayadaw*), *Thamanta Setkhu Dipani*, Yangon, Eksasaya Pitaka Book House, p.216 (Henceforth: Setkhu Dipani)

<sup>32</sup>Dr. Than Tun, *Bagan Khit Naingngaye* (Political History of Bagan), Yangon, Yongyi chet sarpay, 2005, pp.51-59 (Henceforth: Than Tun ,2005)

source of honor, pride and glory, in many Southeast Asian countries. The white elephant had been always the symbol of Buddhism, of prestige, prosperity and political power. It also had been one of the chief causes of invasions and plunder, and drove many courts to go to war.<sup>33</sup> In the court politics, white elephant possessing kings were, it seems, much feared and respected, by other kings who did not own any of white elephants. It was the reigning King Uzana, for being owned no white elephant, who transferred the throne to his younger brother Kyawswa, who possessed five white elephants.<sup>34</sup> The zeal and zest in order to be in possession of white elephant can be vividly seen in the act of King Thithathu, who in the year A.D. 1212 claimed the lord of white elephant, by riding on a dead white elephant which happened to be floating down the *Samon* River.<sup>35</sup> In Taungngu Period, a war broke out for the ownership of the white elephants. It was that the King of Ayutia, Sakka Vattiyaza war in possession of seven white elephant, for which Hanthawaddy *Sinbyushin* made a war in the year 1555 and took Ayutia.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup>(a) Michael .W. Charney, , *Southeast Asian Warfare: 1300-1900*, Brill, Leiden, Boston, 2004, p.136 (Henceforth: Charney , 2004)

(b)Sunait Chutintaranond and Dr. Than Tun, *Cakravartin: Ideology, Reason and Manifestation of Siamese and Burmese Kings in Traditional Warfare (1538-1854)*, on Both sides of the Tenasserim Range: History of Siamese-Burmese Relations, Asian studies Monographs No.050, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, 1995, p.56 (Henceforth: Cakravartin, 1995)

(c)Aye Kyaw , (The Institution of kingship in Burma and Thailand), *Journal of Burma Research Society*, LXII, I&ii, Dec, 1979, p.166 (Henceforth: Aye Kyaw , 1979)

(d)U Toke Gale, *Burmese Timber Elephant*, Trade Corporation(9), Yangon,1974, p.134 (Henceforth: Toke Gale, 1974)

<sup>34</sup>Lebaw Yun Kyaung Sayadaw Zinalankaradaza; “*Gazaviniccaya*”, Palmleaf MS, UCL, No.1186, kon-reverse

<sup>35</sup>Hmannan, 2003a, 371

<sup>36</sup>(a)“History of Siam”, Palmleaf MS, U.C.L, No.11997, khaw-observe

After the advent of Buddhism into Myanmar and Myanmar kings became devout Buddhists, they emulated the universal monarch *Cakravartin*, which was described in the Buddhist Scripture. Accordingly, Myanmar kings adopted such Titles of *Bodhisattva*, and of *Cakravartin*. The adopting of the lord of white elephant, by implication, meant the assuming of *Cakravartin*, for the white elephant was a treasure, entitled only to the *Cakravartin*.<sup>37</sup> The possession of white elephant made many monarchs boasted in their royal orders and their dedication recorded in stone inscriptions, proclaiming thus, “Lord of *Chaddan*”. “Lord of White Elephant”, “Red elephant and Spotted Elephant”.<sup>38</sup>

After Bagan Period, the cult of white elephant went on live, down through the successive ages of Myanmar history. In the post Bagan Period of Sagaing, Pinya and Inwa, every monarch was found endeavored to be able to possess the white elephant, dead or alive, and if not many, but at least one. As have been mentioned aboved, the zeal and zest of Pinya Thihathu to possess the white elephant is extraordinary, as he took out the dead white elephant which floated down the *Samon* River, and after scaffolding the animal, he took possession of it, and claimed the lord of white elephant<sup>39</sup>. Out of six kings of Pinya, all four, except the last two, adopted the title of the lord of white elephant. Also, Kings of Sagaing and Inwa, were found adopted the title of lord of white elephant.

King Mohnyin of Inwa, in A.D. 1430 built a pagoda with a height of 120 cubits, in Sagaing. The king called it *Yadana Zedi*, which was tumbled down to

(b)Baretto, 28

(c)Charney 2004, 136

<sup>37</sup>Dr. Toe Hla, *Kyaucksar Myaga Pyawthaw Baganlun Thamaing* (History of Post Bagan Period As Reflected on the Inscription), 1300-1400 AD, Typescript, December 2002, pp.8-9 (Henceforth: Toe Hla , 2002)

<sup>38</sup>(a) “Myanmar Mission to *Yungyi* (Father Bagan)”, *Parabaik* MS. NL, No.474

(b) Aye Kyaw ,1979, 135

<sup>39</sup>Toe Hla, 2000, 7

the platform, owing the earthquake occurred in A.D. 1485. Mingaung II (1480-1501), in obedience to his Queen mother, repaired the pagoda and its enclosure, adding to them with images of elephant, after which the pagoda came to be known as *Yadana Zedi Sinmyashin* (pagoda of gems and possessor of many elephants).<sup>40</sup> It was said that the bodily relics and images of Buddha were enshrined on the *Aprazitapalanka* which was adorned with images of elephants, made of gold, silver, ruby and the alloy of gold and copper (*mogyo*). Some said that the decoration with elephant images made the pagoda known as *sinmyashin*. The enclosure walls of the pagoda also have many images of elephant. Beside, there also are detached elephant images in front of the pagoda. It is a deviation from the normal inclusion of elephant images at the lowest terrace. In or at every major famous pagoda, we can find images of elephants placed reverely and much cherishly, by the donors.

Not the religious edifices alone, images of elephant are found occupied on various buildings, utilities and utensils. Chief among the use of human utilities is that of Elephant Throne (*Gazathanapalin*), which formed one among the nine thrones of Myanmar kings. It was made with the champak wood (*michelia champaca*)<sup>41</sup> and carved with images of elephants. The elephant throne was placed in the chamber of *Byedaik* (Privy Council), where the king sat, when he made appointments of officers or when officers were formally dismissed.<sup>42</sup> Also the vassals of Myanmar kings, the Shan *Sawwas* had it a chair with the motifs of

<sup>40</sup>Shin , *Ponpyathanga Kyehnak Abeikdan* (Pictorial Medical Dictionary of Birds and Fishes), VI&i, Yangon, Hanthawaddy Press, 1975, p.94 (Henceforth: Nagathein, 1975)

<sup>41</sup>*Attha darsi* became Buddha under the champac tree

<sup>42</sup>(a) Dr Yi Yi, “The Thrones of Burmese Kings”, *Journal of Burma Research Society*, XLIII&ii, Dec, 1960, pp.97-123 (Henceforth: Yi Yi , 1960)

(b) J.G. Scott and Hardiman, J.P.C., *Gazetter of Upper Burma and The Shan States*, II&i, 1900, p.88 (Henceforth: GUBSS , 1900)

three elephants in their resident manor known, as *Haw* or *Hawnan*.<sup>43</sup> Besides, decorative elephant images occupied the important places and parts on the boats and barges.

The overwhelming pervasiveness of elephant in Myanmar society, can be understood by number of villages and towns that carried the name of the elephant in their name of place, full or part. The following table shows the number of place-name with the word elephant in respective states and divisions of Myanmar.<sup>44</sup>

**Table I**  
**List of Villages Prefixed or Suffixied with the word *Sin***

States	Total	Division	Total
Shan	47	Ayeyawaddy	116
Rakhine	44	Bago	98
Mon	9	Mandalay	64
Kachin	8	Magway	55
Chin	4	Sagaing	51
Kayin	2	Yangon	26
Kayah	1	Taninthayi	17

Source: Wards, Villages and Village tracts by Townships in States and Divisions.

---

<sup>43</sup>Maung Maung Tin (M.A), *Myanmar Minnuya Lethtettaw Sandanmya* (Paper on occasions in the reign of Myanmar kings) , Yangon, Bagan Book House , September , 1967, p.163 (Henceforth: Maung Maung Tin,1967)

<sup>44</sup>Wards, *Villages and Village Tracts by Townships in States and Divisions*, Yangon, Union of Burma, Buddha Sasana Press, 28 February, 1974 (Henceforth: States and Division, 1974)

By the table, we come to understand that villages and towns prefixed or suffixed with the word sin, are there more number in States and Divisions where elephanteers lived. They got these names owing to a number of reasons, of which some are

Having white elephants

Being a grazing ground for white elephant

Enjoyment of victory by means of elephant

Semblance to the elephant and so on. All these in fact come out of human regard and affection on the elephant.

Mon kings and Rakhine kings were also found to value and cherish the white elephant. Accordingly some of them adopted the title of lords of white elephant, who were Mon king Wareu (A.D. 1287-1306)<sup>45</sup>, Banya u (A.D. 1353-1385)<sup>46</sup>, Yazadarit (A.D. 1385-1423)<sup>47</sup> and Rakhine King Minyazargyi (A.D. 1593-1613).<sup>48</sup> Kings who adopted the lord of white elephant in Myanmar history are mentioned in the following table.

**Table II**

**Myanmar Kings who adopted the Title of the Lord of White Elephant**

King	Period reigned	Capital
------	----------------	---------

<sup>45</sup>Dr. Khin Maung Nyunt, “Statecraft and Foreign contact of Hanthawaddy” *Guardian* February 1990, pp.19-21 (Henceforth: Khin Maung Nyunt , 1990)

<sup>46</sup>*Myanmarmin mya ayetawpon* (Military Campaign of Myanmar Kings), Yangon, Nathataik, 1967, p. 155 (Henceforth: *Ayetawpon, 1967*)

<sup>47</sup>*Ayetawpon, 1967*,232

(b) G.E. Harvey, *History of Burma* , London, and Edinburg, Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1967, p.114 (Henceforth: Harvey , 1967)

<sup>48</sup>D.G.E Hall, *History of Burma From the earliest time to 10th March 1854*, London,1950, p.48 (Henceforth: Hall, 1950)

Alaungsithu	AD-1112-1167	Bagan (1044-1287)
Thihathu	AD- 1312-1324	Pinya (1312-1364)
Kyawzwa	AD- 1342-1350	
Nawrahta minye	AD- 1350	Sagaing(1315-1364)
Taraphyange	AD- 1350	
Taraphya	AD- 1401	Inwa (1364-1355)
Thihathu	AD- 1422-1426	
Bayinnaung	AD- 1551-1581	Taungngu (1486-1752)
Taniganwe	AD- 1714-1733	
Myedu	AD- 1763-1776	Konbaung (1752-1885)
Singu	AD- 1776-1782	
Badon	AD- 1782-1819	
Sagaing	AD- 1819-1837	
Mindon	AD- 1853-1878	
Thibaw	AD- 1878-1885	

Source: Hmanan, 2003, a,b,c , Konbaungzet, 2004, a,b,c

By the table we come to know that throughout the successive ages of Myanmar history, from Bagan to Konbaung Periods, there were altogether fifteen monarchs who adopted the title of Lords of White Elephants. Among them, some were in possession of only one white elephant but some, many in number. But it is strange that the founder of first Myanmar Empire King Anirudha and the founder of the Third Myanmar Empire King Alaungmintaya, never claimed the title, though the latter in his royal letters described himself as the Lord of White

Elephant, Red Elephant and Spotted Elephant.<sup>49</sup> The table shows that Konbaung kings assumed the title most, indicating their conservative opinion and ideological backwardness and bankruptcy.

The raison d'etre of the adoption of the title of white elephant, may rest in the following reasons: with the belief in

- make it long the span of the reign of a sovereign
- win the respect and trust of the subject people
- being the symbol of power, by implication, help in building one's power and authority, and
- when the recognition of the invisible powerful being

When it had happened to take into possession of a white elephant, kings usually had done so, by conferring bombastic eulogistic titles on the animal. The following table shows the elephant titles, conferred by various Konbaung kings to their cherished white elephants.

**Table III**  
**White Elephant Titles**

<b>King</b>	<b>Title conferred on the elephant</b>
Myedu	<i>Chadan Pyaung Kyaw</i> (1770)
Singu	<i>Chaddan mingala</i>
Badon	<i>U Paw Pyaungmon</i> (8 June 1784) <i>Yadana Pyaungmon</i> (27 Jan 1785) <i>Nagavara</i> (29 April 1785) <i>Yadana kumud</i> (6 Nov 1788) <i>U baw Htutkhaung</i> (1796)

<sup>49</sup> *Alaungmintaya Ameintawmya* (The Royal Order of Alaungmintaya) , Daw Khin Khin Sein, (ed), Yangon, Myanmar Historical Commission, 1964, order 25 (Henceforth: Royal Orders, 1964)

	<i>Vara Theta Giri</i> (1796)
	<i>Baddhawadi</i> (1796)
	<i>Pondarika</i> (1796)
	<i>Thirimanlar maha Subaddha</i> (13 Sept 1804)
Sagaing	<i>Nirvarna Pissaya Naga Yaza</i> (3 Feb 1807) (3 Feb 1807)
	<i>Arunagiri</i> (1821)
	<i>Yadana Pyaungmon</i> (1820)
	<i>Palè Tamu</i> (1820)
	<i>Radana kumud</i> (1820)
	<i>Uposahta</i> (1820)
	<i>Chithnaungyins</i> (1820)
	<i>Bonyaungtauk</i> (1820)
Mindon	<i>Martinpyaungmon</i>
	<i>Lekyunyamaung</i>
	<i>Zabudazaung</i>
	<i>Zabudazeik</i>
	<i>BhaddhInwadi</i>
	<i>Zabukyetthahye</i>
	<i>Bonyaungshunbwint</i>
	<i>Pogaungyinma</i>
	<i>Boyaung shun</i>
	<i>Bontaukpa</i>
	<i>Bonyaungwin</i>
	<i>Mauriya pissara Naga yaza</i> (22 Aug 1858)
Thibaw	<i>Zeya Vaduna Pissaya Nagayaza</i>

---

Source: *Konbaungzet*, 2004,*a,b,c*

Out of a total of eleven kings in Kongaung dynasty, about six kings adopted the title of Lord of White Elephant. Among them, Badon, Sagaing and Mindon possessed many white elephants and accordingly frequently adopted the title. It is noteworthy that the adoption of the title, never occurred in the beginning years of a reign, but only in the time when the kingdom enjoyed relative stability, in order to promote peace and prosperity of the domain and to boast the power of the sovereign. Of the kings who adopted the title of white elephant, King Badon can be regarded the most frenzied, concerning with the white elephant. He assumed the title of Lord and Master of *Chaddan* White Elephant.<sup>50</sup>

In Konbaung Period, King Badon had owned the highest number of white elephants. The following tables shows the white elephants with their titles and where they appeared.

**Table IV**  
**White Elephant in the King Badon's Reign**

Date of occupation of white elephant	Conferred on White Elephant	Habitat
8 June 1784	<i>Upawpyaungmon</i>	appeared in <i>Aukma</i>
27 January 1785	<i>Yadanapyaungmon</i>	Shwekyar Theinthaung forest
31 May 1785	<i>Nagawara</i>	Indauktha forest
6 December 1788	<i>Yadanakumud</i>	Kalay forest
4 February 1790	<i>Upawhtukhaung</i>	Presented by Kalay <i>Sawbwa</i>
18 March 1795	not known	Presented from Tagaung
26 June 1796	<i>Warasetagiri</i> <i>Baddhawadi</i>	Presented from Taunggyi
7 August 1797	<i>Pondarika</i>	Presented from Tagaung
4 September 1804	<i>Thirimanla Maha</i> <i>Thubaddha</i>	Minhla, Hanthawaddy
5 February 1805	<i>Nirvana Pisaya</i> <i>Naga Yaza</i>	Nibban Village, south of Hanthawaddy Town

---

<sup>50</sup>“The order of lord of white elephant”, No.1806, Palmleaf MS, NL, No.285, u-reverse

Source: *Konbaungzet, 2004 b*

King Badon possessed, besides *Thirimanla Maha Thubaddha* and *Nirvana Pisaya Naga Yaza*, a total of well over 120 white and red elephants.<sup>51</sup> The king also conferred the elephant the title of “*Nirvana Pisaya Naga Yaza*” and bestowed on the animal the royal elephant paraphernalia,<sup>52</sup> which were almost the same to that of the king himself. At the ceremony, king, queens, princes and princesses, had given a range of gifts to the white elephant and lists of gifts were as follows:

**Table V**

<b>Gift to</b>	<b>Given by King Badon and Royalty (in Kyat)</b>	
<b>Gifts by King Badon</b>	<b>Value in Gold</b>	<b>Value in Silver</b>
Betel cup with lion relief	1250	21950
Betel cup with dragon relief	1300	22228
Betel cup studded with jewels	600	1536
Gold banana with money figure	475	8780
Gold banner with elephant figure	475	8700
Gold banner with ogre figure	475	8780
<i>Mogyo</i> banner with peacock figure	475	4750
Banner with of garuda figure	475	475
<i>Yadana</i> forehead cover	1349	296283
	457	
<i>Yadana</i> facial gear	193	122195

<sup>51</sup>*Konbaungzet Mahayazawindawgyi* (The Great Chronicle of the king of the Konbaung dynasty), U Maung Maung Tin (ed), Vol.II, Yangon, Yapyi Bookhouse , 2004,p.156 (Henceforth: *Konbaungzet, 2004b*)

<sup>52</sup>“The royal order of Sinbyumyashin”, Palmleaf M.S, NL,No.285, reverse- ca

		22
Pair of <i>yadana</i> tusk belts	110	17735
Pair of <i>yadana</i> earring	710	22326
<i>Yadana</i> necklace	380	9380
14 gold cascabels	780	13560
2 big gold cascables	147	2710
Pair of <i>yadana</i> bracelet	929	52689
Pair of <i>yadana</i> anklet with	690	133830
Gold cup	49	944
Gold cup	120	2340
Gold cup with zodiac figures	495	9158
Plain gold cup	670	1235
Big gold bowl with jewel	470	2985
Gold bowl with jewel	700	4000
Gold bowl	120	2240
Gold basin	1500	27750
Gold basin	575	31500
Gold basin	870	875
Silver basin	910	910
Gold globlet	410	8800
Silver goblet	500	500
Gold tray	340	6359
Gold mash cover	438	8694
Food container with three legs	-	328
Two gold tube containers	835	14782
Two gold tube containers	2040	14780
Two hammer	240	240
Two <i>yadana</i> hafts with dragon coiled	520	9580
<i>Yadana</i> good	Ruby hook	50000

Yadana good	45	23 893
700 various cloth rolls	800000 pure gold worth	
70 villages as appanages		
Gifts by chief queen	Value in Gold	Value in Silver
Pair of gold bracelets	1000	50000
325 various cloth rolls	Equivalent to 5000 pure gold	-
List of gifts of crown prince	Value in Gold	Value in Silver
Gold cup	250	4390
Gold cup	200	3512
Yadana necklace	210	3775
Gold tray	500	10000
Gold bowl	200	1000
500 various cloth rolls		
Gifts by grandson Sagaingmin	Value in Gold	Value in Silver
Yadana white parasol	142 Silver money 542	4935
Long stemmed fan	1040	20880
Yadana yak tailed fly whisk	107 5888	2009
Yadana bw gadaw	Silver money 4820	213450
Yadana goad	139	44322
Gold cup with zodiac signs	500	1500
Silver cup with zodiac signs	500	750
Two gold curtain	-	1675

		24
Two velvet curtain	-	2350
100 cloth rolls	-	-
<b>Gifts by Princess Hinthada myoza</b>	<b>Value in Gold</b>	<b>Value in Silver</b>
Gold cup	120	2160
Gold cascabels	350	6110
Catafalque	25	1250
Gold plate	20	450
Gold mesh cover	-	-
100 cloth rolls	-	-
<b>Gifts by Pyay King</b>	<b>Value in Gold</b>	<b>Value in Silver</b>
Gold cup with jewel	250	4390
Gold cup with jewel	250	4390
Gold tray	250	5000
Pair of earring with jewel	198	3512
32 cloth rolls	-	-
<b>Gifts by Pathein King</b>	<b>Value in Gold</b>	<b>Value in Silver</b>
1000 pure gold	1000	-
100 cloth rolls	-	-
<b>Gifts by Taungngu King</b>	<b>Value in Gold</b>	<b>Value in Silver</b>
Gold cup with jewels	500	8780
500 pure gold	56	996
2000 pieces of ruby	-	-
52 cloth rolls	-	-
<b>Gifts by Bagan King</b>	<b>Value in Gold</b>	<b>Value in Silver</b>

		25
Gold cup with jewels	100	3756
Silver basin	6190	-
Pure gold 400	-	-
Cloth rolls	-	-
<b>Gifts by Pakhan King</b>	<b>Value in Gold</b>	<b>Value in Silver</b>
1720 pieces of ruby	-	-
500 pure gold	-	-
56 cloth rolls	-	-
<b>Gifts by Momeik</b>	<b>Value in Gold</b>	<b>Value in Silver</b>
1720 pieces of ruby	-	-
500 pure gold	-	-
40 cloth rolls	-	-
<b>Gifts by Prince Thibaw</b>		<b>Value</b>
Gold up with jewels	100	2500
150 pure gold	-	-
70 cloth rolls	-	-
<b>Gifts by Prince Syriam</b>	<b>Value in Gold</b>	<b>Value in Silver</b>
gold up	200	5000
50 cloth rolls	-	-
<b>List of gift by Prince Kanaung</b>	<b>Value in Gold</b>	<b>Value in Silver</b>
Gold cup	250	5000
50 cloth rolls	-	-
<b>List of gift by Mekkaya</b>	<b>Value in Gold</b>	<b>Value in Silver</b>
Gold cup	500	10000
10 cloth rolls	-	-

<b>List of gift by Prince Mindon</b>	<b>Value in Gold</b>	<b>Value in Silver</b>
Gold cup	250	5000
10 cloth rolls	-	-
<b>List of gift by Prince Hlaing</b>	<b>Value in Gold</b>	<b>Value in Silver</b>
Gold cup	250	5000
10 cloth rolls	-	-

Source: *Konbaungzet*, 2004b, 117-120

Besides, princes, princesses, royal relatives, *sawbwas*, *myozas*, regimental officers, councillors richmen, all sorts of daing, cavalry, bloodbond brotherhood, headman of villages and towns, also gave gifts to the white elephant. According to the above mentioned lists, the value of gifts given by King Badon alone amounted to 936,800 *kyats*. Of it was exchanged into gold with the then current price of gold, it would get about 520.44 viss of gold. Evidently, the white elephant became very rich. All the gifts given to the while elephant was about 1,372,642 *kyats*, equivalent to 762.8 viss of gold. King, queens, princes and princesses gave away about 808050 ticals of gold (29383.6 Lb), pure silver 2080877 ticals (75668 Lb), 2245 cloth rolls and 500 cudgels lived in Pyawbwe, to the *Nirvana Pissaya Naga Yaza* white elephant. Besides, the king gave such Towns of Bunglin, Salin and Legaing to the white elephant as his appendages.<sup>53</sup> In this way, the white elephant became very rich. With his money, monastery, rest house, bridges and tank were built. Besides, to give the indemnity, according to the terms of Yadanabo treaty, the king had to borrow much money from the white elephant.<sup>54</sup> Badon Min also

---

<sup>53</sup>“The Royal Order of *Sinbyumyasin*”, Palmleaf MS, NL, No.285, reverse-ca

<sup>54</sup>Letw Minnyo, “*Nirvan Pissaya Saddan Sinmin*” (*Nirvana Pissaya Saddan Elephant King*), *National Cultural Journal*, Vol I, 1962, No. date, p.12

held a ceremony to take into possession of the white elephant, by observing a range of rituals<sup>55</sup> which were

- Building a pavilion for the residence of the elephant
- The bestowing of royal elephant paraphernalia
- The harness
- the attendants to the elephant
- The itinerary along which the elephant had to take in
- The consecration ceremony of the elephant
- Presenting the elephant to the king
- Conferring of the title to the elephant and
- Taking possession of the elephant by riding

Much frenzied about the white elephant notwithstanding in Badon's reign, the status of white elephant somewhat degraded from the object of veneration from that of *Bodhisattva*, the treasure of a *Carakravartin* and the animal something powerful to, that of the cherished animal who enjoyed the likeness of royal paraphernalia.

Kings usually regarded the possession of white elephant as the manifestation of their “glory”. This belief might be connected with the *Vessantara Jataka*, in which the people believed that the presence of the white elephant brought good weather and good luck. People in those days had regarded the white elephant as a future godhead, a Buddha to be or as a symbol of prestige and power. In *Vessanatara Jataka*, in the description of the power and strength of white elephant, it was stated that the white elephant was strong enough to do things for which black elephants could not do. It went on said that the white elephant knew where the victorious ground was, and it was capable of defeating

---

<sup>55</sup>Shehaung Sarpay Thutethitau, *Myanmar Nanthonesin* (Myanmar Court Elephant), No.3, Yangon, Seinbanmyaing Sarpay, p.46 (Henceforth: *Court Elephant*, No.3)

all kinds of enemies. Other qualities were making grown the power and glory of the king, winning respect of other countries, bringing peace and prosperity and bringing the welfare and benefit of the people.<sup>56</sup> In *Jataka*, only such monarchs of *Mahasudassana*, *Brahmadattha*, *Vessantara* and *Duthagaman* could possess the white elephant, indicating the rare chance and hard possibility. By such perception, one naturally took the appearance of the white elephant as the hard won privilege. For these reasons, it is thought that Myanmar kings had adopted the title of Lord of White Elephant and consecrated their animal.

Like King Badon, later Kings of Sagaing, Mindon and Thibaw held pompous ceremonies of taking in possession of white elephants with the title of *Arunagiri*<sup>57</sup>, *Mauriya pissaya Nagayaza*<sup>58</sup>, and *Zeya Vaduna Pissaya Naga Yaza*<sup>59</sup>, respectively. Due to perception and belief of being powerful, prestige and glorious by the possession of white elephant, they bestowed the elephant paraphernalia, similar to their imperial one.

The belief of white elephant brought good weather, peace without war, subduing of all enemies, prosperity and glory to the king albeit, modern history of Myanmar show that white elephant possessor Kings of Sagaing, Bagan and Thibaw were the losers in the First, Second and Third Anglo-Myanmar wars respectively. Contrary to the prosperity, there broke out a famine in 1805 in the reign of white elephant possessor King Badon, lasting almost a decade (1805-

<sup>56</sup>Maunghtaung Sayadaw, “The Characteristics of White Elephant *Sardan*”, Palmleaf MS, UCL, No.10543, ku-obverse

<sup>57</sup> *Court Elephant* , No.3, 46

<sup>58</sup>*Konbaungzet Mahayazawindawgyi* (The Great Chronicle of the King of the Konbaung Dynasty), U Maung Maung Tin (ed), Vol.III, Yangon, Yapyi Bookhouse , 2004,p.190 (Henceforth: *Konbaungzet*, 2004c)

<sup>59</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004c, 454

1814) causing a great damage to the country and the people<sup>60</sup>. Also the white elephant possessor Siam King Maha Cakkarpas was defeated by King Bayinnaung.

These are the phenomena of by gone days. True, most of the people of Myanmar in this day and age have ceased to regard the white elephant as the symbol of prestige and power and a Buddha to be but ironically, there are still some people, particularly those in power and those living in the more remote areas of the country, who regard it as a celestial being. In précis, though Myanmar people in olden days believed that the white elephant was a Buddha to be, a celestial being and a treasure of *Carakravartin*, it became equal to that of the man in status, in the reign of King Badon in Konbaung Period, who bestowed the elephant paraphernalia which was same like that of the king. The people in those days also believed that the possession of many white elephant directly related with the great glory of a reigning king, and that the animal brought peace, prosperity and stability to the kingdom. The cult of white elephant was found entangled, with religion, politic, military, art and literature in Myanmar society.

---

<sup>60</sup>Koenig, William, J, *The Burmese Polity: 1752-1819*, Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, The University of Michigan, Michigan Paper on South and Southeast Asia, Number 34, 1990, pp.33-36( Henceforth: Koenig ,1990)

## CHAPTER TWO

### ELEPHANT IN MYANMAR ART AND LITERATURE

Throughout this paper, painting and sculpture would be placed under the focus of research. When a research on the art of making an effigy of elephant, not only painting and sculpture but also the craftsmanship of making an effigy of elephant of bamboo framework shall be dealt with. Painting is portraying and colouring what a person sees and feels about. So the art of making and colouring an effigy of elephant could be supposed to have developed with the progress of the civilization.

Myanmar traditional art has been classified into four kinds of portraying: *kanok*, *nari*, *kapi* and *gaza*.<sup>1</sup> All those four kinds were drawn in one line sketch. The *pali* term “*gaza*” refers to an elephant while the art of *gaza* means drawing the figure of an elephant. This shows an evidence of emphasizing the elephant among the animals. Later, not only the elephant, but also the animal with a large body, high object and still life objects belong to kind of *gaza*. This shows the derivation of meaning from the original meaning.

#### Stone age painting

In Myanmar history, it is assumed that the elephant was found as a common sight in stone age. Thus, the elephant played a role in the art of the earliest times of history. In Myanmar painting, dated back to 20,000 to 10,000 years, was found

---

<sup>1</sup>*Sheyo Myanmar Pachi* (Myanmar Traditional Art), Yangon, Department of Culture, Branch of Archaeology, p.1 (Henceforth: *Myanmar Pachi*)

in Padalin cave.<sup>2</sup> The stone age man painted the picture of hunting and living with animals, reflected the religious beliefs. However, when culture progressed widely, not only the art associated with the elephant but also the beliefs associated with it had spread from India. Myanmar traditional art had spread from India. That is to say, it was because the Myanmar art had been related to the ancient Indian paintings<sup>3</sup> because the paintings on the *Jataka* stories were discovered in Inzanda cave (A.D. 500-700)<sup>4</sup>. When the Myanmar people became the Buddhists, they became more familiar with the subject of the elephant.

### **Mural painting**

The Myanmar paintings were based on religious subjects, or subjects on the Buddhist *Sasana*. Especially, the *Jataka* stories, adornments and style of dress of king, rich men, well to do people and woman people were painted in pagodas, temples and passageway since the Bagan Period. Being based on the *Sasana*, the paintings of Bagan Period were mostly about the *Jataka* stories. There were eighteen *Jataka* stories associated with the elephants<sup>5</sup> were only the *Chaddasinmin* (noble king of the elephants) and the *Vessantara* (“noble king of generosity”). In Bagan Period, the pagodas housing the mural paintings of the *Jataka* stories associated with the elephant were, the Pahtothamya, the Myingaba Gupyaukgyi, the Wetgyiin Gupyaukgyi, the Lawkahteikpan and the Sein Nyet Nyima and the Upalisein. Among them, the Myingaba Gupyaukgyi was dated the earliest. In

<sup>2</sup>Dr. Than Tun, *Myanmarthaipaon* (Myanmar history told on picture), Yangon, Phowa Press, 2004, p.38 (Henceforth: Than Tun,2004)

<sup>3</sup>*Fresco History, Artemis,Production,1990,pp.1-2* (Henceforth: Fresco History,1990)

<sup>4</sup>*Fresco History, 1990,1-2*

<sup>5</sup>(a) 550 *Jatakas*, 2002

(b)

Bagan Period, at Myingaba Gupyaukgyi Pagoda, the paintings on the story of King of the *Chaddan* elephants depict the scene of the hunter receiving exhortations from the noble elephant, the scene showing the noble elephant lying wounded with poisoned arrow all depicted with decorations of the Asoka floral design.<sup>6</sup> Here, the figures of the elephant were found to be proportional or symmetrical.

Concerning the *Vessantara* story, at Shipin Sakyo Pagoda, Yayle Villages, Sale Township, the story was depicted in scenes the style belonging to the Bagan Period: the scene in which King *Vessantara* made donation of the royal white elephant; and the scene in which the Brahmins took away the donation, riding the royal elephant. The figure of the elephant was found to be more natural looking than those of other animals.

In the scene depicting the donation of the royal white elephant, the Brahmins held the bowl in the form of receiving the donation of the elephant while King *Vessantara* held a jar in the form of donating the royal elephant. The scene also depicts the people of the kingdom holding hands in protest.<sup>7</sup> The donation the Brahmins begged for was that the *Pissaya* white elephant, it was believed, would bring with its miraculous power fine weather and prosperity to the kingdom. Such a donation made to another person, therefore, evoked resentment from the people. So this scene highlights the belief of the people of the Bagan Period in the miracle of the white elephant moreover this scene reflects the people's belief in the white elephant, as well as the artistic value of the painting. Moreover, it implies that the people of the kingdom had strong faith in a king who received the title of the *Shinphyushin* ("king whom the white elephant appears in obeisance"). This kind of beliefs is obvious from the study of the figure of elephant from these mural paintings. Thus, the elephant in these stories can be assumed to have closely linked with the people's faith, and religious affairs.

---

<sup>6</sup>See photo (1)

<sup>7</sup>See photo (2)

The study of the figure of the elephant shows that focus was made, not on the dark elephant, but on the white elephant. In Nyaung Yan Period, one noteworthy point about the style of painting of the figure of elephant is that the Buddha to be rode on the back of the royal elephant on his withdrawing from the mundane world, as depicted in Po Win Hill No.478 and Shwe Tha Lyaung Pagoda of Po Win Hill. Since the elephant has been regarded as the noblest creature on earth, on the recluse of Lord *Dipinkaya* Buddha, *Sumana* Buddha, *Sumeda* Buddha and *Phussa* Buddha, the royal elephant was used for the conveyance, as depicted in the *Jataka* stories.<sup>8</sup>

In the scene of the Shwe Tha Lyaung Pagoda, depicting the Buddha to be's retreating into the recluse, He sat on the royal elephant while an attendant was at heel; the *mara* (the satan) stood before the elephant and stopped the Buddha to be, raising his hand. The royal elephant, here, was depicted in all its harness.<sup>9</sup> However, the figure was not as proportional as that of the Myingaba Gupyaukgyi Pagoda. This shows that after the conquest of King Hanthawaddy *Shinphyushin* of Taungoo Period (1550-1581) over the Thai King Sekkavettiraza who owned seven white elephants, the Myanmar king received the title of *Shinpyushin*, and from then on, 'some evidences were discovered over the custom of decorating the royal elephant with harness. Naturally, artists probably began to draw the figure of the royal elephant in its harness. The painting showing the elephant in harness was found more in Nyaungyan Period and Taungoo Period than in Bagan Period.

Moreover, in the mural painting on the Pagoda No.284 (the Shwe Tha Lyaung Pagoda) of Po Win Hill, in the story of King *Vessantara*, one can observe the royal white elephant in full harness and the king in donating the elephant. Moreover, the scene also depicts the people weeping over the deed. Although there were figures of elephant in harness in Taungoo Period and Nyaungyan

<sup>8</sup>Viccittasara, 1982,576

<sup>9</sup>See photo (3)

Period, the scene depicts the use of carrier on the back of the elephant in early Konbaung Period.<sup>10</sup> So the custom of drawing the elephant in harness was found only in Konbaung Period, and emphasis was made on the kings of the Konbaung Period over the elephant.

In Konbaung Period, there were drawings of the *Jataka* stories, as well as the scenes depicting the social customs. At the Nga Su Tan Pagodas of Ma u, Yesagyo Township, one noteworthy, scene depicts a princess on the back of the royal elephant.<sup>11</sup> Although the elephant belonged to no one but the king as his majesty's treasure, if the king desired to show love or admiration to the valiant warrior, his majesty would give permission to the person concerned to have a ride on the back of the royal elephant. This was done with all the conferring of the harness, as well. For instance,

“On 7 December 1885, in the reign of King Mindon, the Yatsauk *Sawbwa* (Shan Lord) Kamawsarahta Sumaha Thiriwuntha Sudhammaraza was awarded three young elephants and one female elephant.”<sup>12</sup>

With the conferring of the royal elephant, the carrier and harness was also included.

“On 7 December 1885, the Yatsauk *Sawbwa* Kamaw Sarahta Sumaha Thiriwuntha Sudhamwayaraza was awarded the royal carrier, its crest having the golden diamond banner, *kataung shwe pye yay ka* (golden harness) *alam kyi swut* (a roll to put the golden banner), *tanet pala khatti* (harness covering) with golden sexquins and embroidery.”<sup>13</sup>

Here, harness of different kinds were awarded according to different ranks. On the ceremony of ear boring of the royal daughters and present awarding,<sup>14</sup> the

<sup>10</sup>See photo (4)

<sup>11</sup>See photo (5)

<sup>12</sup>The *Ningabyuha Kyanhtwat*, Yangon, Sarpaybeikman Press, 1973

<sup>13</sup>See photo (15)

<sup>14</sup>Konbaungzet, 2004a,75

royal elephant was presented as the royal treasure. Thus, the mural paintings show the custom of the princess riding the royal elephant.

Although the drawings of the white elephant were mostly found in religious ceremonies, only the drawings of the black elephant were found in scenes depicting warfares. The latter kind was mostly found in one of the scenes of the eight kinds of the Buddha's conquest, namely, the taming of *Nagagiri* elephant. Such a scene<sup>15</sup> was found on the wall of the Yanaung Hmanaung Pagoda of Po Win Hill. Here, the scene depicts the Buddha's coming in alms round and the wild *Nagagiri* elephant posing threat on the Buddha. Then, another scene depicts the Buddha exhorting the wild creature which later became an *arahat*. This means that although the elephant is a ferocious, wild creature, the Buddha's teaching and *metta* (unbounded love) had transformed the wild *Nagagiri* into a noble creature.

Similarly, at Shwe Tha Lyaung Pagoda, Po Win Hill, Cave No.284, the scene depicts the dark elephant engaged in marching to war.<sup>16</sup> So in the early Konbaung Period, elephants were chiefly used in warfares. The use of carriers on the back of the elephant, as well as its harness, shows the use of the animal not only in warfare, but also in carrying food and for travelling.

In Konbaung Period, the figures of elephant at Kyauk Taw Gyi Pagoda (Taungthaman Lake) were found to be very proportional, in which the elephants were depicted in motion accordingly against the background of mountains and forests a great piece of art.<sup>17</sup>

Moreover, in 1805, at Anana Temple, the style of drawing of the elephant resembled that of the *parabaik*, depicting not only the *jataka* stories, but also the social customs. Among the subject was one depicting the use of elephants in

<sup>15</sup>See photo (6)

<sup>16</sup>See photo (7)

<sup>17</sup>See photo (8)

marching to war.<sup>18</sup> Here, not the white elephant, but the dark elephant was depicted, thus implying from the point of view of the artist that the dark elephant was chiefly used for warfare.

### ***Parabaik* paintings**

The drawings of the figure of elephant were found, not only on the walls, but also on *parabaik* and the lacquer boxes. Berney's *parabaik*, which dated round-about 1800, Konbaung Period, was discovered, so implying that there already existed the art of *parabaik* painting. Similarly, the style of *parabaik* painting depicts mostly the royal ceremonies and warfares. Here, the figure of elephant plays an essential role. The study of *parabaik* painting associated with the elephant

Scene of the king retreating into recluse

Scene throwing spear at targets before the king

Scene of showing material arts on the back of elephants before the king

Scene of elephant fight before the *sinwun* (incharge of the royal elephant")

Training an elephant for military use

Observes the royal white elephant

The royal white elephant with a carrier

Various kinds of the royal white elephant

In the scene portraying the royal procession, the king rode the royal white elephant with a retinue of the queen and the royal daughters.<sup>19</sup> Here, the drawing of the figure of elephant is very proportional, showing its might and grace very vividly and naturally.

In the *parabaik* drawing which assumably belonged to the reign of King Badon, a scene depicts the observing of the white elephant in a grand manner.

<sup>18</sup>See photo (9)

<sup>19</sup>See photo (10)

Here, emphasis was made on the figure of the creature since it was assumed to belong to the king as his majesty's treasure. This drawing also shows the usefulness of the dark elephant in warfare, along with the royal ceremonies.<sup>20</sup>

Similarly, in the elephant in duel fight *parabaik* painting, the elephant was given a prominent role in the military parade. Then, those drawings also show the elephant not only in war but also in entertaining the king.<sup>21</sup> They show the prominent role of the elephant not only in warfare, but also as the king's treasure.

In the *parabaik* painting of *daichauk kyachauk* (training an elephant for military use), concerning the military tactics, the scene depicts the training of the elephant not to be scared by the roar and welter of a war such as gun and cannon, as well as the use of tiger to scare the elephants.<sup>22</sup>

So the Myanmar artists have drawn the figure of the elephant, through successive periods, from religious, political and military points of view. Based on religious beliefs, drawings were made artistically to depict social, political affairs and royal ceremonies and warfares.

In the drawings of the figure of elephant on *parabaik* paintings, the artists *Saya Toe* and *Saya Yauk* could be regarded as the best.<sup>23</sup> These artists could portray the figure of elephant naturally and proportionally. Catching an elephant by trained elephant scene shows how the artist *Saya Yauk* was skilled in drawing various actions of the elephant.<sup>24</sup>

---

<sup>20</sup>See photo (11)

<sup>21</sup>See photo (12)

<sup>22</sup>See photo (13)

<sup>23</sup>Dr. Toe Hla, “*Badonmin Lathat Panchisaya Hnink U*” (Two Artists in the reign of King Badon), *Myawaddy*, No.9, Vol.17, July, 1967, pp.76-80 (Henceforth: Toe Hla, 1967)

<sup>24</sup>See photo (14)

## Lacquerware painting

The wooden box for preserving records, called *sardaikthitta*, of the monastery of Heya Ywama Village is an evidence showing that the figure of elephant was drawn not only on the wall and *parabaik*, but also on the palmleaf manuscript box.<sup>25</sup> The drawing on that box depicting the scene of King *Vessantara* shows not only the religious beliefs, but also the people's deep respect towards the white elephant. Here, on the drawings of *parabaik*, the figure looks more neat and tidy than on that on the wall. So it has been observed from the study of the figure of elephant on mural paintings, *parabaik* painting and the lacquerware painting reveals:

The Myanmar people being familiar with the elephant from the religious point of view

The majority of the Myanmar kings receiving the title of *sinmyashin*  
(king of white elephants)

The elephant were used in Myanmar military tactics

The elephant can be seen as a common creature in Myanmar geographical environment

Therefore, it can be assumed that the drawing of the figure of elephant has been the best among the drawings of animals in the history of Myanmar art.

## Sculptural works

The sculptural works associated with the elephant are found in the image of Lord Buddha with the base of an elephant or elephants. Even in Bagan Period, there existed pagodas and temples with the figure of elephant as the base. In that period, there are at least three pagodas with the figure of elephant as the base. Among them the most famous was the Sisana (now, the Catenagy) Pagoda, built by King Zeya Theinkha alias King Nataungmya, situated to the far south of the

---

<sup>25</sup>See photo (16)

Town of Bagan, since it is the biggest temple of this kind with the largest number of elephants at its base. The sculptural works were made on the polygon platform over the four base platforms altogether the five platforms. At each side of the base platform of the pagoda were thirty nine figures of elephant altogether 156 figures around the pagoda, thus probably implying the base of 156 elephants beneath the pagoda. Another probability is that the number of the figures might have referred to the birthday of the Tuesday born Nadaungmya Min. Moreover, the number of thirty nine on each side probably shows the number of years of the king's reign, or his age at the time of construction the pagoda. Most probably, the years of King Nadaungmya were thirty seven years, and he was thirty nine years old at the time of building the pagoda. So King Nadaungmya Min might have based his age and birthday in building the pagoda with elephant figures, and assumes the title of the sovereign of the four islands of the universe as the donor of this pagoda, evoking the good omen of such a king of glory.

Another pagoda with the figures of elephants at the base is the Kassapa Htupagyи, close to the south of the Sawkyun Pagoda. The foundation based had the square shaped platform, resembling the Sirilinka temple with no cave passageway, built of three layers of platform. To the east, were sixteen figures of elephant, thus having sixty four figures in four directions. The architecture of the pagoda is that of the Htupayon Pagoda<sup>26</sup>.

Another pagoda facing four directions with the base of the figures of elephant is Cave No. 1790/1091, on the right side of the road to the Sapahta Siripissaya Hotel. It had two walls surrounding the pagoda, a temple built on the square shaped brick platform. Inside was the *kusahpone* four corner lake shaped. The design is that of hexagonal shape, with twenty seven elephants based around the pagoda<sup>27</sup>.

---

<sup>26</sup>Toe Hla, 2000, 83-84

<sup>27</sup>Toe Hla, 2000, 83-84

Similarly, in Inwa Period, to the north west of Sagaing, lies the Yadana sinmya shin Pagoda built by King Monying Mintayagyi. Min Khaung II and his royal mother made some maintenance to the wall and the pagoda with decoration of figures of elephant. Thus, the pagoda carries the name “Yadana Zeti Simmyashin Pagoda”. Here, the architecture of the pagoda may be noted that the figure of elephant was not included in the lowest platform, but only in front of the pagoda separately<sup>28</sup>.

The custom of having figures of elephant as the base of temples and pagodas has come into existence because the *Upawthahta* and *Chaddan* noble elephants were regarded as a treasure belonging to the sovereign of the four islands of the universe. Moreover, the stories of Lord Buddha's eight kinds of conquest, the taming of the wild elephant *Nagagiri* was regarded as one of the great conquests of Lord Buddha. So, the rulers built the figures of elephant so as to get out of the predicaments of political, economic and military affairs. That is why the figures of elephant in the form of sculptural works are found in the Buddhists' religious buildings. The figure of elephant is found in there buildings since it is related to the subject in the stories of Lord Buddha.

## **Reliefs**

Concerning the reliefs, the figures of elephant are also found in terra cotta, glazed terra cotta and on rock surface, as well as on the surface of the daily used commodities in detailed figures<sup>29</sup>.

## ***Sat* painting**

Not only in painting and sculpture, but also Myanmar *sat* artists (of decorating pavilions) made an effigy of elephant in entertainment in *Thumingala*

---

<sup>28</sup>Nagathein, 1975, 94

<sup>29</sup>550 Jatakas, 2002

(monk's funeral) ceremonies. So the craftsmanship of making elephant effigy also plays an important role. The earliest finding of this art is as follows:

In Bagan Period, the use of elephant in wars was a sure fact, in which one outstanding evidence was that during the Ngaramam's Rebellion, Sawlu was being decoyed to combat into the false flocks of elephants which in fact were effigies of elephants placed in the quagmire and unable to distinguish and recognize the true or false, when Sawlu charged his elephant Thanhlyinswa into the trap, the king and his elephant were caught.<sup>30</sup>

In the art of making an effigy of elephant, the more it resembles the real elephant, the better craftsmanship. So it is necessary to know the exact measurement of real elephant, and the features such as forehead, ear and limbs are made proportionally.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, there existed the custom of worshipping the god of *Utena* before and after making an effigy of elephant because it was believed that the elephant belonged to the god of *Utena* and only this worship would facilitate the task of making the particular effigy proportionally and realistically. It is noteworthy that this art of making effigy of elephant has exited only in Kyaukse city in Mandalay Division and Paungte in Bago Division in Myanmar. Probably Kyaukse region had been in which wild elephants were caught and tamed during the reign of King Singu, as mentioned in the *Shweminphone Sintaw Mawkun*.

### **Elephant and Myanmar literature**

Since the elephant has been a subject related in some way or other to the Myanmar society, writers have always found the subject of elephant to write about in the form of verse or other forms of literature. So this subject was written and composed in a grand manner in Myanmar literature and treaties. So not only artists

<sup>30</sup>Twinthin Taikwun Mahasithu U Htun Nyo, *Maha Yazawinthit* (New Great Chronicle), Nyaungyan dynasty, Vol.I, Yangon, Khaing Yi Mon Offset, 1968 (Henceforth: Tun Nyo, 1968)

<sup>31</sup>*Shweminphone Sintaw Mawkun*, Palmleaf MS, NL, No.660

but also writers have felt at ease with this subject. In Myanmar treatises, in *Magada* Dictionary, the capabilities of elephant are stated in ten terms, in fifteen terms in *Amarakawsa* Dictionary; seventeen terms in *Abidon Dika*, etc. Moreover, there are ten kinds of elephant.<sup>32</sup> According to the *Gazashattara* Treatise compiled by Kalidasa, there were 120 kinds of elephant.

There are texts describing the characteristics of the royal white elephant, which were written in *Pali* and Sanskrit in *Gazashattara* treatises, and were translated and interpreted by layman sages and scholarly monks. Focus was made on describing the characteristics of the royal white elephant. Those treatises were as follows:

*Gaza Veda Sinkyan*<sup>33</sup>

*Gazadu Gaza Suttara Sinkyan*<sup>34</sup>

*Gazavinissay Sinkyan* (by Kyank Ye Sayadaw)<sup>35</sup>

*Gazavinissaya Sinkyan* (by Lepawkyauung Sayadaw)<sup>36</sup>

*Gazashuttara* (by Kalidasa)<sup>37</sup>

*Sitawmuthi Sinkyan* (by Kyauk Ye Sayadaw)<sup>38</sup>

*Sinphyuto Lekkhana Sartan* (by Maung Htaung Sayadaw)<sup>39</sup>

*Nibbana Pissaya Nagaraza*

(by Maung Htaung Sayadaw)<sup>40</sup>

<sup>32</sup>Monyway Zetawun Sayadaw, *Uteina Pyo*, XXXII, Mandalay, Hanthawaddy Piatka Press, 1927 (Henceforth: Monyway Sayadaw, 1927)

<sup>33</sup>“*Gazaveda Sinkyan*”, Palmleaf MS ,NL, No.329

<sup>34</sup>“*Gazadugazasuttara*”, Palmleaf MS, UCL, No.367721

<sup>35</sup>Kyaukye Sayadaw, “*Gazavinissaya*”, Palmleaf MS, UCL, No. 1189

<sup>36</sup>Shin Zina Linkara dhaza (Lepawyun Kyaung Sayadaw) “*Gazavinissaya* Treatise”, Palmleaf MS, UCL, No.11186

<sup>37</sup>“*Kalidasa Gazasaratta* Treatise”, Palmleaf MS, UCL, No.329

<sup>38</sup>Kyaukye Sayadaw, “*Setawmuthi Sinkyan*”, Palmleaf MS, UCL, No.329

<sup>39</sup>Maung Htaung Sayadaw, “*Sinphyuto Letkhama Sartan*”, Palmleaf MS, UCL, No.10543

<sup>40</sup>Maung-Htaung Sayadaw, “*Nibbana Pissaya Nagarazakahta Nissaya*”, Palmleaf MS, UCL, No.11185

*Pitakatkyanla Sinkyen Sartan* (by Mingyi Thiri Maha Zeyathu)<sup>41</sup>

*Maha Sinkyen Linka* (by Letywaygyi Hmu)<sup>42</sup>

*Yodaya Sinphyu Satan* (by Mingyi Maha Zeyathu)<sup>43</sup>

*Yodayamin Sinkyen* (by Byabon Sonaramon)<sup>44</sup>

*Lawa Sinkyen Sartan* (by Thiri Maha Zeyathu)<sup>45</sup>

*Sanskrit Sinkyen Sartan* (by Shin Pyinnyakami)<sup>46</sup>

*Upawchaddan Sinphyumya to Lekkana* (by Maung Htaung Sayadaw)<sup>47</sup>

The features of elephant include the striking colour, physical features and miracle of the royal white elephant. In *Sinphyu Lekkana Sartan* by Maung Htaung Sayadaw Shin Nyanabiwunsa, twenty five features of the royal white elephant are stated clearly.<sup>48</sup> Similarly, in *Pitaka kyanla Sinkyen Sartan* by Mingyi Thiri Maha Zeyathu, an account was given on the features of the white elephant, habitat, might, miracle, martyr like elephant's episodes, adornments on the white elephant, size and measurement, life span and characteristics.<sup>49</sup>

With the development of Myanmar literature, there existed *yatus* or verses on the royal elephants:

<sup>41</sup>Mingyi Thiri Maha Zeyathu, “*Pittakakyanlasinkyen Sartan*”, Palmleaf MS, UCL, No.291567

<sup>42</sup>Letywaygyi Hmu, “*Mahasinkyen Linka*”, Palmleaf MS, UCL, No.10541

<sup>43</sup>Mingyi Maha Zeyathu, “*Yodaya Sinphyu Satan*”, Palmleaf MS, UCL, No.130

<sup>44</sup>Byabon Soneramon, “*Yodayamintha Sinkyen*”, Palmleaf MS, UCL, No.298918

<sup>45</sup>Mingyi Thiri Mahazeyathu, “*Lawa Sinkyen Sartan*”, Palmleaf MS, UCL, No.11184

<sup>46</sup>Shin Ponnyakami, “*Sanskrit Sinkyen Sartan*”, Palmleaf MS, UCL, No.11188

<sup>47</sup>Maung Htaung Sayadaw, “*Upaw Chaddan Sinphyumya Ttoei Lekkana*”, Palmleaf MS, UCL, No.11182

<sup>48</sup>Maung Htaung Sayadaw, “*Sinphyumya Toei Lekkana Sartan*”, Palmleaf MS, UCL, No.10543

<sup>49</sup>Mingyi Thiri Maha Zeyathu, “*Pitakat Kyanla Sinkyen Sartan*”, Palmleaf MS, UCL, No.291567

**Table VI**  
**List of *Yatus* or Verse**

Title	Author	Period
<i>Hi Nila Yatu</i>	Shin Dhamma Dhaza	Inwa
<i>Sintaw Sawyan Phyat</i>	Shin Dhamma Dhaza	Inwa
<i>Sintawphonetaukpa</i>	Shin Dhamma Dhaza	Inwa
<i>Sinphyutawmashin</i>		
<i>Nin Nwe (Paikson Yatu)</i>	Nawade	Konbaung
<i>Pye Shwe Sintu</i>	Nawade	Konbaung
<i>Sintawphonehtunpa</i>	Min Zeya Nan dameik	Konbaung

Source: *Sinsu*, 1960, Thuta, 1966, *Sintaw ma shin ninnwe paik son yatu*

In Myanmar history, the belief in the elephant is related to the Buddhism. So various forms of literature were composed on the royal white elephant and the elephants. So there are fifteen *mawkuns* on the royal elephant:

*Arusa Giri Sintaw Mawkum* (Amartawye Mg Tha Aung)<sup>50</sup>

*Chaddan Pyaung Kyaw Sintaw Mawkun* (Chaung Oo Hse Ywaswa Ramme Thiri Kyaw Htin)<sup>51</sup>

*Sintaw Thanmyanswa Mawkun* (Hlawka Thone Htaung Hmu)<sup>52</sup>

*Nibbanapyissaya Sintaw Mawkun* (Letwe Thondara)<sup>53</sup>

*Kokko Chaung Sintaw Mawkun* (Kwunyataw kai Mg Ya)<sup>54</sup>

*Phone phone Tunpa Sintaw Mawkun* (Min Zeya Randameik)<sup>55</sup>

---

<sup>50</sup> Amartaw ye Mg Tha Aung, *Agugagirisintaw Mawkun*

<sup>51</sup> Ramma Thiri Kyaw Htin, *Chaddan Phyaung Kyaw Sintaw Mawkun*, U Yan, *Pitakattaw Thamai*. Yangon, Hanthawaddy Press, 1959, p.114 (Henceforth: Yan, 1959)

<sup>52</sup> Hlawka Thone Htaung Hmu, *Sintaw Thanmyanswa Mawkun*, Thuta, 1966, 87

<sup>53</sup> Letwe Thondara, *Nibbanapyisaya Sintaw Mawkun*, Hla Tha Mein, 1961, 89

<sup>54</sup> Kunyatawkyi Mg Ya, *Kokko Chaung Sintaw Mawkun*, U Yaso Èchinmya, U Chan Mya, MA (ed.), Mandalay, Tet Nay Lin Press, 1950, p.215 (Henceforth: Ècinmya, 1950)

<sup>55</sup> Min Zeya Yandameik, *Phone Phone Tunpa Sintaw Mawkun*, Thuta, 1966, 107

*Poppa Dhanna Sintaw Mawkun* (Anonymous)

*Punnarika Sintaw Mawkun* ( Maha Thiri Thura U Yauk)<sup>56</sup>

*Punnarika Sintaw Mawkun* (Twinthintaik wun Maha Sithu)<sup>57</sup>

*Salwetaw Sintaw Mawkun* (Zeya Radameik)<sup>58</sup>

*Shwe Minbhone Sintaw Mawkun* (Atwin Wundauk U Nyo)<sup>59</sup>

*Shwesatai Sintaw Mawgun* (by Sit Hlyin Htaung Hmu Shin Htwe Nyo)

*Varaseta Giri Sintaw Mawkun* (Twinthin Min U Tun Nyo)<sup>60</sup>

*Vilasni Mawkun* (Wutmaswut Nawade)<sup>61</sup>

*Yadanapyaungmon Simtaw Mawkun* (Shin Than Kho)<sup>62</sup>

Most of the *Sintaw mawkuns* were written in Konbaung Period. Those were composed generally on how wild elephants were captured, features of the royal elephant, fearlessness of the royal elephant, and the royal attributes of the king. Among the fifteen *Sintaw mawkun*, in A.D. 1510, in the reign of Shwe Nan Kyawt Shin Narapati of Inwa Period, the *Shwesatai Sintaw Mawkun* submitted by Shwe Htwe Nyo was the earliest one. This *mawkun* describes how the elephant seeks knew the characteristics of a good elephant, how they sough for one up hills and down vale, how the wild elephant was lured, how the king himself welcomes the arrival of a new elephant and how it was lured into a keddah.

<sup>56</sup>Maha Thiri Thura U Yauk, *Punnarika Sintaw Mawkun*, Thuta, 1966,102

<sup>57</sup>Thwinthin Taik Wun Maha Sithu, *Punnarika Sintaw Mawkun*, Yan, 1959, 99

<sup>58</sup>Zeya Yadameik, *Salwetaw Sintaw Mawkun*, Hla Tha Mein, *Gandawun Pokeko Kyaw Mya, Ahtokepatti Paungchoke*, Yangon, Hanthawaddy Press, 1961, p.216 (Henceforth: Hla Tha Mein, 1961)

<sup>59</sup>Atwin Wundauk Maung Nyo, “*Shweminbhone Sintaw Mawkun*”, Palmleaf MS, NL, No.660

<sup>60</sup>Thwinthin Mingyi U Tun Nyo, “*Varasetagiri Sintaw Mawkun*”, Palmleaf MS, NL, No.660

<sup>61</sup>Wutmaswut Nawade, “*Vilasini Mawkun*”, Palmleaf MS, UCL, No.7793

<sup>62</sup>Let Hsaung Yuhmusin tankho, *Yadana Pyaungmon Sintaw Mawkun*, Sinsu 1960

In composing the *Sintaw mawkun*, a record was made on the title of the royal elephant, as well as the name of the region where the royal elephant was captured. In *Varaseta Giri Sintaw Mawkun* and the *Punanarika Sintaw Mawkun*, the titles of the two royal elephants belonging to King Badon were composed. Similarly, the *Sintaw Than myan swa Mawkun* composed the attributes of the Elephant *Sintaw Than myan swa* ridden by Thado Min, younger royal brother of King Bayint Naung, in the battle of Inwa. Similarly, the *Shwe Min Phone Sintaw Mawkun* carries the title, referring to the region where the royal elephant was caught.

In *sintaw mawkuns*, there were altogether fifteen *mawkuns*, nine *mawkuns* being composed in Konbaung Period. In the reign of Bodawpaya, the *Vilasini Mawkun*, composed by Nawade II. The first best *mawkun*, as recorded by scholars. The *Vilasini Mawkun* was about the *Nibbana Village Pyissayanaraza* captured at Tawkwin Thaya, of the east iron gate of south Nibban of Hanthawaddy in A.D.1806, and the *Siri Mala Maha Subbada* female royal elephant, captured at Min Hla forest, Kyehlaing Township, Hanthawaddy, A.D.1804. Here, the *mawkun* composed about the characteristics of the royal elephant, and the arrangements made to lure the elephant into the keddah, as well as the incident recording the capture of the elephant. Moreover, the *mawkun* composed the attributes of Bodawpaya who possessed the royal elephant, so it represent, the masterpiece of the writer.

Most of the *Sintaw mawkuns* were composed on the proceedings of the Myanmar kings and beliefs associated with the elephant under a positive light, but the *mawkuns* recorded the features of the royal elephant.

In history of Myanmar literature, there existed the *pyo*, verse or *linka*, *kyo*, *bwe*, *patpyo*, *thaphyan*, *thachin khan* and *wuttu* associated with the royal elephant.

The famous *pyos* were the *kusa pyo*,<sup>63</sup> the *Wuda Pyo*,<sup>64</sup> the *Vessantara Pyo*<sup>65</sup> and the *Utina Pyo*<sup>66</sup>. The *Kusa Pyo* written by the Monyway *Sayadaw* described the differences, attributes, features and behaviour of the white elephant.

Similarly, concerning the composition of verse, there were two exceptional verses written by the Inwa Hmansi kyaung *Sayadaw* and the Monyway *Sayadaw*.<sup>67</sup>

Most of the literature associated with the royal elephant composed about the powerfulness of the kings with the title of *sinphyushin*, as well as the attributes of the royal elephant and this lays emphasis on the people's strong faith in the royal white elephant. Most of them may be regarded as eulogy to the particular king. However, there were also some works against the favour of the king. One was the Lepawkyauung *Sayadaw* Shin Zina Linkaradaza, who wrote against the king's favour.<sup>68</sup>

The Lepawkyauung *Sayadaw* wrote the *Gazavinnisaya* Treatises, and criticized about the beliefs on the royal white elephant. It was written in A.D 1806, and his attitudes were expressed towards the royal white elephant. The *Sayadaw* wrote the treatise to give exhortations to King Badon, who was very much pleased, and proud of being the king of the white elephant *Nibbana Pissaya*

<sup>63</sup>Shin (Mongway *Sayadaw*), *Kusa Pyo*, Yangon,

Hanthawady Press, 1920 (Henceforth: Monyway *Sayadaw*, 1920)

<sup>64</sup>Shin Monyway *Sayadaw*, *Pyinsawuda Pyo*, Yangon,

Pitakattaw pyantpwaye Press, 1920 (Henceforth : Monyway *Sayadaw*, 1920)

<sup>65</sup>U No, *Vessantara Pyo*, Hla Tha Mein (ed) , Yangon, The Ancient Literature and Culture, 1961 (Henceforth: U No, 1961)

<sup>66</sup>Shin Monyway *Sayadaw*, *Utina Pyo*, Yangon,

Hanthawaddy Press, 1920 (Henceforth: Monyway *Sayadaw*, 1920)

<sup>67</sup>Dr. Khin Maung Nyunt, “*Sinhnint Sinphyu Saira Kyangan Hmattan Hmatyamya*” (Treatises and Notes on the Elephant and the Royal Elephant), *The New Light of Myanmar*, 21.11.2004, p.5 (Henceforth: Khin Maung Nyunt, 2001)

<sup>68</sup>Lepawkyauung *Sayadaw*, “*Gazavinissaya* Treatise”, Palmleaf MS, UCL, No.11186, kaw-back

*Nagaraza* as the *Chaddan sinmin* (king of the *chaddan* noble elephants), which was captured from Nibban Village.

In the *sayadaw's Gazavinissaya* Treatise, since the white elephants of King Badon were not the kind of *Upawsahta* or *Chaddan*, the present one shouldn't be entitled as the *Chaddan sinmin*, and with references to the treaties, the *sayadaw* argued, the white elephant did not mean the conquest of all dangers and opponents.

Moreover, the *sayadaw* argued, the white elephant could not make a king of the universe, nor bring about the prosperity of the kingdom, denying the important role of the white elephant in politics, and accepting the white elephant as a creature. It was through the attributes and capabilities of the king that the fame of the white elephant would spread far and wide; it was through the king who was blessed with the attribute of a good king that he would be powerful, bringing about the good weather and good harvest. The *sayadaw* wrote these with references to the treatises.

Then, in *paukkan yazawuntha*, a reference was cited: King Anawrahta, who was blessed with thirty eight white elephants rode the white elephant named *thanmyinswa*, and defeated the attack of a buffalo running wild in vain, and got killed. Thus, the *sayadaw* exhorted King Badon, who was daydreaming over the belonging of the white elephant as the king of the universe, or King Sekkyavati.<sup>69</sup>

Nevertheless, the *sayadaw* cites references from various *yazawun* treaties associated with the royal elephant, and wrote criticisms in a new analytical light.

### Buddhist literature

In Myanmar literature, there developed *yatu*, *mawkun*, *pyo* and *linka* in Inwa Period while the *zattaw* or the *jataka* stories developed only in Konbaung Period. There existed *yatu*, *mawkun*, *pyo* and *linka* associated with the white elephant, and when the *wuttu* literature came into prominence, the 550 *Jatakas*

---

<sup>69</sup>Lepawkyawng *Sayadaw*, “*Gazavinissaya* Treatise”, pay MS, UCL, No.11186, kaw-back

stories were used as a basis for writing, and the *jataka* stories associated with the elephant were written in a grand manner. The elephant stories, or *zattaw* from the 550 Jatakas stories were as follows:

- (27) The auspicious elephant and the dog
- (156) The auspicious elephant and the young king
- (409) The auspicious elephant and the goolish king
- (105) The elephant which is always scared
- (122) The auspicious elephant and the foolish king
- (227) The elephant and the xxrement
- (161) The young xlephant and the hermit
- (221) King of the elephant and the fake hunter
- (267) The elephant and the crab
- (357) The auspicious king and wren
- (26) The auspicious elephant which imitates
- (455) The white elephant in service of his another
- (514) King of the *Chaddan* elephants
- (182) The elephant and the war
- (164) The auspicious ceremony of the elephant and the youth
- (72) King Silawa and the hunter
- (410) The foolish elephant and the
- (37) The pheasant, the monkey and the elephant

In the late Konbaung Period (A.D. 1819-1885) based on the *Jataka* stories, U Pon Nya wrote the *Chaddan Sinmin* (king of the noble *Chaddan* elephants).<sup>70</sup> In this *wuttu*, the king of the noble *Chaddan* elephants made donation of his ivory tusks with two reasons: to satisfy the rancor of Queen Subadda and to attain enlightenment. The great writer highlighted the noble wish that the king of the

---

<sup>70</sup>U Ponnya, *Wuttu To Paung Choke* (The Anthology of U Ponnya's Short Stories), Yangon, Thudhammawaddy Press, 1950, p.1-25 (Henceforth: Ponnya , 1950)

noble *Chaddan* elephants made so as to satisfy the rancor of his wife of the previous life, and not wishing for the fortunes of the mundane world, prayed for the enlightenment. This emphasizes that we should not pray for something mean, but for noble deeds. This could be assumed to include a moral lesson.

Then, in *Vessantara Zattaw* written by the Minbu Sayadaw<sup>71</sup>, the description was made on the great power of the *Upawsadha* white elephant, and the prosperity of the kingdom due to the attributes of the white elephant. So the Myanmar king had strong beliefs that the rare white elephants brought about the powerfulness. This shows the relationship with the *Vessantara Zattaw* of the *Jataka* stories.

### **Elephant and music**

There have existed records on music associated with elephant, as well. In the *Amyintthabin*, or higher form of entertainment in the form of marionette, there are twenty eight marionettes, and among them are included the figures of the white elephant and the dark elephant. Those *zattaw*, or stories performed at those timer were the *Vesantara Zat*, *Ohmmardhanti Zat*, *Uteinna Zat*, *Maga Lulin Zat*, *Eyar Wun*, King of the Elephant and *Chaddan Sinmin*, which all could not be performed without the use of the figure of elephant.<sup>72</sup>

Similarly, in music of Myanmar, there have existed songs associated with the elephant and the white elephant: one *Sinmin Kyo* by *Wungyi Padetharaza*; the *Chaddan Aitha* of the *Shwetaiksaye U Min Aung*; the *Phonetaw Bwe Patpyo* by *Myawaddy Mingyi U Sa*, Prince Pyinse and Prince Phakhan, as well as their

---

<sup>71</sup>Min bu , *Vessantara Zattaw*

<sup>72</sup>Noel, F. Singer, *Burmese Puppet*, Oxford University Press, 1991, p.17 (Henceforth: Singer, 1991)

*Thachinkham* and *Thaphyan*, etc.<sup>73</sup> Here, eulogies were composed in praise of the king, starting from the subject of the attributers of the king and the white elephant.

### Myanmar proverbs

There are proverbs associated with the elephant, dealing with the social customs, exhortations and what to abstain from doing. There are sixty one kinds of proverbs and sayings of the common people of rural life, associated with the elephant.<sup>74</sup> These tell us what is good and bad in life, and the vicissitudes of life, as well as historical stories.

For instance, in the proverb, “The blind elephant runs amok through the forest,” it is implied that a person of low intelligence would go blind at things without seeing what is right or wrong. The elephant is personified as an object to take about the need of rationality in life.<sup>75</sup>

Again, in the proverb “real task does not get muth eaten,” it is implied that real object would eternally last, and that real values was needed in life. Here, a comparison is made between the human calibre and the invaluable tusk.<sup>76</sup>

In the proverb, “I wish you to ride on the back of the elephant, accompanied by horses,” the elephant and the horse are personified as living treasures, implying that a desire is expressed for the other person to enjoy high status of life.

<sup>73</sup>Dr Khin Maung Nyunt, “*Sinhnint Sinphyu Saiya Kyangan Hmattan Hmatya Mya*” (Treatises and Notes of Elephant and White Elephant), *The New Light of Myanmar*, 21.11.2001 (Henceforth: Khin Maung Nyunt, 2001)

<sup>74</sup>See appendix (1)

<sup>75</sup>Myanmar Literature Department, *Myanmar Sakarpon* (Myanmar Proverbs), Yangon, Universities Press, 1991, p.67 (Henceforth: Myanmar Proverbs, 1991)

<sup>76</sup>Myanmar Proverbs, 1991, 68

A general survey of the proverbs exhorting about the social customs reveal that the elephant is personified as an object for comparison. Intelligence and abilities are essential to a person while the elephant is an object of value in social environ.

### Royal orders

In Konbaung Period, since the reign of King Singu to the reign of King Thibaw, there existed 218 times issuing the royal orders associated with the elephant.<sup>77</sup> There were ninety royal orders associated with the white elephant. These orders were concerned with the royal elephant and the men in service and care of the royal elephant.

Royal orders were carefully issued on the facts from capturing the elephant, the capture of the elephant to the death of the royal elephant. The orders were as follows: Royal order to capture the royal elephant,<sup>78</sup> order to bring the royal elephant,<sup>79</sup> to lure the royal elephant into keddah,<sup>80</sup> to build the keddah and cottage for the royal elephant,<sup>81</sup> to keep the royal elephant at the royal cottage,<sup>82</sup> to give title to the royal elephant,<sup>83</sup> and to give service and care to the royal elephant,<sup>84</sup> as

<sup>77</sup>See appendix (2)

<sup>78</sup>Order of lure the Minbon Tawya white elephant and to give four kinds of military training, dated 9 May 1786

<sup>79</sup>Princess Magway's orders to bring the elephant back from the forest, dated 10 June 1801

<sup>80</sup>Order to lure the Shwesatai elephant into keddah, dated 5 May 1783

<sup>81</sup>(a) To repair the royal elephant cottage, dated 6 July, 1787

(b) To drive the elephant back into keddah

<sup>82</sup>Plans to get the white elephant back, dated 19 December 1806

<sup>83</sup>To give title of *Nibbana Pissayanagaraza* to the white elephant, dated 3 February, 1817

<sup>84</sup>To give harness to the white elephant *Ponnarika*, dated 7 August 1797

well as to give pasture for the royal elephant<sup>85</sup>, and to keep the royal elephant under watch,<sup>86</sup> and give medical treatment to the royal elephant.<sup>87</sup>

There were also orders for men in service and care of the royal elephant: to supply pay and food,<sup>88</sup> to provide revenue,<sup>89</sup> to appoint the *aukmarwun* under the post of the *sinwun*,<sup>90</sup> to give paraphernalia to the men in care of the royal elephant<sup>91</sup> and to care the royal elephant.<sup>92</sup> Thus the royal orders associated with the royal elephant were issued, as well as those associated with men in care of the royal elephant. Thus, this intensified the people's belief in the royal elephant.

Moreover, there were royal orders for the working people to come and worship the white elephant<sup>93</sup> to welcome the arrival of the white elephant<sup>94</sup> and to compose verses on the white elephant.<sup>95</sup>

Among the royal orders associated with the royal elephant, the royal orders were issued 157 times in the reign of King Badon. Especially in A.D. 1806 alone, there were royal orders issued thirty seven times. It was then the time that King Badon was presented with the *Nibbana Pissaya Nagaraza* elephant from *Nibban* Village to Hanthawaddy City. Royal orders were issued so that every measure

<sup>85</sup>To give graze ground to the elephant from Alar forest, dated 11 May 1801

<sup>86</sup>The *myowun* officer to care the white elephant at Bagan, 10 October 1806

<sup>87</sup>Prince to receive medical treatment: 21 July 1795

<sup>88</sup>3 December 1810, to supply pay and food to *sintawsu* and *sintaw oozi naukpei*

<sup>89</sup>2 July 1787, to provide revenue to *Yepadailaythinwin, asuthas*

<sup>90</sup>(a) 26 October 1785, to give appointment to *ywalatwun* Min Hla Min Kyaw

(b) 18 April 1853, to appoint Mahataraphy *aukmarwun*

<sup>91</sup>18 June 1801, to give paraphernalia to men in service and care of the elephant

<sup>92</sup>20 December 1806, to native of Pyawbwe in service of the white elephant

<sup>93</sup>(a) 22 December 1806, to order the headmen of far flung regions to come and worship the white elephant

(b) 6 July 1807, to order the monks from Ceylon to worship of *Chaddan* elephant

<sup>94</sup>30 October 1806, to order the crown prince and the princess with all and every elephants to welcome the arrival of the white elephant in Bagan

<sup>95</sup>(a) 15 September 1804, to order the *sayadaw* to present papers on the white elephant

(b) 24 December 1806, to order to compile a treatise, or verse or *yatu*, on the white elephant

would be taken to keep everything perfect. So in Konbaung Period, King Badon was the king who issued the maximum number of royal orders associated with the royal elephant. So King Badon's belief in the royal elephant was found to be very profound.

To sum up, in Bagan Period, the paintings and sculptural works show the King's possessing of the white elephant as a form of glory. In Inwa Period, *pyo*, literature and *mawkun* had developed, which emphasized the importance of the elephant in military tactics, as well as the people's faith in the royal elephant. As times progressed, paintings and sculptural works reveal the belief in the white elephant, based on religion in Bagan Period. In Inwa Period, *pyo* literature developed in associated with the subject of the elephant while in Konbaung Period, music played a role to reveal the belief in the white elephant. To take an overall view, the influences associated with the belief in the royal elephant in the fields of art, music and literature have made an impact on the Myanmar human society throughout the successive periods.

## CHAPTER THREE

### ELEPHANT IN WARFARE

**M**an has domesticated a range of animals to meet the ends of his interest, chiefly for meat of the animal and secondly to use them in various kinds of activities and purposes. Of the animals domesticated to use, the elephant is the largest and the most powerful one. Elephants and horses have been reared to use in the warfare since time immemorial. In studying the military and warfare of the world, one can find that horses have mostly been used in various campaigns all over the world. But the use of elephant in military has been found to a limited place, owing to the geographical limitations, for not every place all over the world are habitable for the elephant. Besides, number of war elephants are less than that of horse, due to the reproductive nature of the animal. When the difficulty of training is added, the number of war elephant is significantly lower than those of horse. Therefore, we can not find widespread use of elephant in the wars all over the world, but confined only to those elephant grazing grounds of Indian Sub continent and mainland Southeast Asian nations.

As a mainland country of Southeast Asia, the use of elephant in military affairs in Myanmar, has been found since Bagan Period<sup>1</sup>. The elephant was found to occupy the prominent place in the military units as described in various *jatakas* and ancient literatures. As an Indianized country of Southeast Asia, Myanmar got almost every aspect and respect of its culture from India, of which the art of war also was included. Chief among them was the *Arthashastra* by Kautilia of India,

---

<sup>1</sup>Tun Nyo, , 1968, 89

which described that there were four principal military organs of elephant, horse, chariot and foot soldiers. This teaching was changed in Myanmar to suit the prevailing conditions of the country and the four principal military organs became thus elephant, horse, boat and foot soldiers. Like Indian brothers, Myanmar regarded the elephant, as the most important and potent military organ, among the four.

### **Elephant and society**

Myanmar got the concept of kingship from India where a range of elephant cult flourishes until now. As much of Southeast Asia was Indianized, the whole region generally adopted the Indian kingship, in which elephant occupied a central role. Therefore, no animal was more closely identified with kingship in Southeast Asia than the elephant. Courts found various ways to identify the ruler with the elephant as these creatures are large and powerful. In Konbaung Myanmar the elephant occupied the motif of the base of the throne. Konbaung kings were said to have rode the elephants in a saddle which was believed to replicate that which had been given to the legendary King Pyusawhti by his father solar king, which in turn was made in the likeness of Indra's saddle who rode the *Erawun* elephant<sup>2</sup>. In Myanmar, like the rest of Southeast Asian Nations, the elephant was closely connected with the investiture of legitimacy to rule. Myanmar kings often assumed sovereignty on the throne or over captured towns by riding an elephant in a circuit outside the walls<sup>3</sup>. The appointment or recognition of new vassals in periphery areas was often sanctified by the provision of a token supply of elephants. Royal conference of the noble status, or recognition of such, was frequently associated with the gifts of elephants, as in the case of *Yatsauk Sawbwa*, or elephant paraphernalia, such as the red roofed, gilded elephant howdah granted to the

---

<sup>2</sup>Charney , 2004, 133

<sup>3</sup>Charney , 2004, 133

prince to Chiengsem the “white crow”, when these people acknowledged the suzerainty of Myanmar king<sup>4</sup>. When Myanmar kings toured the kingdom, they usually did it by traveling on elephants<sup>5</sup>. The royal elephant also necessitated respect from pedestrians on its path. When ridden by the sovereign, or when taken out on official duties by a minister or official, no one was to be there in the way. If any one failed to move aside, they would be punished, for disrespect for the royal elephant was tantamount to disrespect for the ruler.

### **The usefulness of elephant**

In monarchical Myanmar, elephants took crucial role in politic as well as in the warfares, the elephant being the big weapon, which stood strong till the arrival of firearms of hand guns and artillery, in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

In monarchical Myanmar, there was no regular army, of modern sense. The venerable Moungtaung *Sayadaw*, in his treatise on “the Characteristics of White Elephant” described that “of the four military organs, the elephant corps formed the most noblest.<sup>6</sup> In military terms, the elephant was considered the most important part of the armed forces at the throne's disposal.<sup>7</sup> Besides, the elephants were regarded as the best fighting soldiers. Of the military use of animals, horse and elephant occupied prominent role and between them, elephant was used more in the offensive warfares, than the horse. Elephants played a crucial role in the siege warfares of town and in the battle field where many mortars and cannons

<sup>4</sup>Charney , 2004, 133

<sup>5</sup>Tun Nyo, 1968, 95

<sup>6</sup>Maunghtaung; “The Characteristics of White Elephant’, Palmleaf MS, U.C.L, No.10543, khu-obverse

<sup>7</sup>Charney , 2004, 154

were deployed.<sup>8</sup> It was because, the elephant was more bearable to the hardship of the battle fields than the horse.

European accounts tell us that Southeast Asians saw the elephant as more suitable for war than the horse.<sup>9</sup> It was because the elephantry formed the most important military organ in the royal army. Besides, the psychological effect of the elephant, when deployed them in the battle field, was paramount, which made foreign forces, unknown or unencountered them never before, scared and frightened, rendering the elephantry the leverage in the field. The trumpeting of elephant can also caused a great panic in the enemies mind.<sup>10</sup> The elephant also had great tusks that were an important battle weapon.<sup>11</sup>

Medieval kings of South and Southeast Asia, including Myanmar, were found relying on the elephantry most. Based on the elephantry and cavalry, kings built great empires and to achieve this end, they had built great armies, inclusive of great elephantry.

### **Formation of the elephantry**

According to the traditional Myanmar military strategy, there were nine kinds of army, namely, *Patti*, *Sen mukha*, *Rumba*, *Gana*, *Watini*, *Muban*, *Samu*, *Anitani* and *Akkhawbani*, in an ascending order. The smallest *Patti* army in its formation had twelve men for each elephant,<sup>12</sup> while the largest *Akkhawba* army had as much as 21670 elephants with 262440 men assigned to the elephantry.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>8</sup>*Konbaungzet Maha Yazawindawgyi* (The Great Chronicle of the kings of the Konbaung dynasty, U Maung Maung Tin (ed), Vol.I, 2004, p. 336 (Henceforth: *Konbaungzet*, 2004a)

<sup>9</sup>Charney , 2004, 154

<sup>10</sup>Charney ,2004, 153

<sup>11</sup>Charney ,2004, 157

<sup>12</sup>U Tin, *Myanmarmin Okchokpon Sardan Hnint Bodawpaya Ei Yazathat Khaw Ameindawdangyi* (A Treatise on Administration under Myanmar kings together with an edit of King Bodawpaya), Vol.I, Yangon, Department of Culture, 1963, p.233 (Henceforth: Tin , 1963)

<sup>13</sup>Tin, 1963, 2

The twelve man assigned to an elephant were three soldiers on the back of the elephant and nine soldiers accompanying the elephant on the ground on foot. Three soldiers on the back of the elephant were known as *oozi* (front rider of the elephant), *konlesi* (middle rider of the elephant) and *naukpesi* (rear rider of elephant). nine meant that there were nine soldiers to guard two tusks, two ears, four foots and one tail, totalling nine, each man guarding to each of nine places. Though nine kinds of army were described, in practice, there never existed such armies in monarchical Myanmar. These armies could be found only in the treatises of Indian military doctrine. Myanmar had in its army, the forces of infantry, cavalry, elephantry and boat or navy.

We could not find how much number of elephant had been included in an elephant force. But according to the teaching of *Vinaya Paccit Pali* Text, we come to know that an elephant force had formed with at least three elephants.<sup>14</sup> There also were elephant forces, which included elephants with denary ratio.<sup>15</sup> The change of elephant numbers in the formation of elephant force, might be to suit the necessity of the battle field and in relation to the number of soldier.

According to the Siamese chronicle, Siamese elephantry had divided into elephants with shield bearers, elephant with rectangular shield (*ka*) bearers and ordinary war elephant. According to , mine forces of Siamese army had sixteen elephants each, taking position in the rear of the field<sup>16</sup>.

It can be acceptable that elephant was applied as a big weapon in the field, for it was not only physically suit, but also capable to move long distant journey, passing through every rough terrain. In one of the royal order, the king claimed that “To the king of kings, me, elephant is the big weapon.”<sup>17</sup> Also, the record on

<sup>14</sup>Nagathein, 1975, 84

<sup>15</sup>Konbaungzet, 2004a, 325

<sup>16</sup>Loubere, Simon de la ; *The Kingdom of Siam*, Bangkok, White Lotus, 1986, p.92  
(Henceforth: Loubere, 1986)

<sup>17</sup>“Wungyi Hmugyi Khant Pyantam”, *Parabaik* MS, NL, No.622

the visit of Vietnamese embassy stated that “the big weapon of elephant and horse.”<sup>18</sup> The assumption of elephant as a weapon might be due to the fact that in military campaigns, elephants usually marched along with the infantry and cavalry. Both in offensive and defensive warfares, elephants were found to be used frequently. For these reasons, elephants might have been regarded as big weapon.

### **Field application of elephant**

Myanmar kings used elephants in various campaigns throughout the ages of Myanmar history from Bagan down to Konbaung Periods. Elephants were applied in the field as an elephant combat force or as an logistic force or to use in the duel combat. Southeast Asian armies took careful organization of the elephant forces for battle. As stated above, Siamese army had divisions of their elephants into different categories for battle, including shield, hinder, and ordinary war elephants. Myanmar and Siamese armies allotted specified number of elephants to each force, in the organization of military units to be deployed in a campaign. Southeast Asian kings, in military terms, considered elephant as the most important part of the royal army at the sovereign's disposal. And they saw the elephant as more suitable for war than the horse. Therefore, prudent monarchs always tried to keep an eye on the status of the elephants in the royal precinct. It was the case in Konbaung Myanmar that the royal elephant sheds were specially built, so that, they could be seen easily by the sovereign. Among the war arms, the elephant force was that most intimately connected with elite participation in the fighting. Bayinnaung and Naresuan of Siam were known to ride a horse into battle. But both were found rode elephants more frequently<sup>19</sup>. The principal usefulness of the elephant in the battle field was to carry commanders, princes, councillors and the sovereigns.

---

<sup>18</sup>“Mission to Yungyi (Further Bagan) in 1185 ME”, *Parabaik MS*, NL, No.474

<sup>19</sup>Charney , 2004, 154

Elephants also played a crucial role to duels between elite persons in the battle field. One prince or noble would hunt out his counterpart on the opposing side to engage in personal combat on elephant back. Duelling on elephants, was carried out in the context of an overall battle. Royalty showed their military prowess, by driving their elephant directly towards to their equal, also an elephant. The two warriors would then fight elephant against elephant, and man against man: Myanmar rival kings sometimes determined their conflict by duel, rather than commit their armies to a bloody battle.

### **Elephant in Bagan Period**

It was a well known fact that Aniruddha of Bagan took thirty three sets of *Tipitaka* by putting them on the back of thirty three white elephants<sup>20</sup>, from Thaton to Bagan. The carrying of *Tripitaka* was simply a pretext; The real politic was that Aniruddha invaded Thaton with a formidable force, in which a lot of elephant took part in the campaign, at least thirty three white elephants<sup>21</sup>. It was also said that Aniruddha usually toured the country by riding on the back of a white elephant, accompanied by 730 elephants. Surely all these elephants would be available to take part in the military campaign of any kind.

Aniruddha, in his search of Buddha's relics, had sent a white elephant to the king of Ceylon and he asked the Sacred Tooth Relic in return. Accordingly Ceylonese king presented Aniruddha what he wanted, paving the good relation between the two nations on the way.<sup>22</sup> Aniruddha also sent through the Governor of Manchu to the Chinese emperor, vessels of gold, and later the king sent an elephant.<sup>23</sup> These gifts were accepted and recorded by the Chinese as tribute,

<sup>20</sup>Tun Nyo, 1968, 89

<sup>21</sup>Tun Nyo, 1968, 89

<sup>22</sup>U Kala, *Maha Razawungyi* (The Great Chronicle), Vol.I, Yangon, Hanthawaddy Pitaka Press, 1960, p.192 (Henceforth: Kala, 1960)

<sup>23</sup>Baretto, 38-39

which led to the later bitterly fought battles, on the grounds that Chinese mistakenly took Aniruddha's goodwill gifts as mere tribute. But the presents at the moment put the two countries' relations on good terms. Sometimes, there might be sour relations between the two countries, for merely to conquer the elephant. It was the war fought between Bagan of Myanmar and Ceylon in about AD 1165.<sup>24</sup> Between the two countries of Lanka (Ceylon) and *Rama a* (Myanmar), there had never been disagreement, since both were occupied by people holding the true faith, and the kings of both were good Buddhists. All predecessor kings had felt deeply rooted trust in each other, were wont to exchange precious gifts, and thus had long lived in intercourse and amity. Even the then reigning king, like his precursors, had kept up friendly relations with King Parakramab hu. But at one time, the king of Bagan harkened to the words of slanderers, who sowed the seeds of distrust between the two kings, and the trouble set on.

Trade related charges were made against the king of Bagan, particularly Myanmar king's issuance of an order forbidding the sale of elephants to foreign countries; the great increase of the prices of elephants; and the abolition of the old custom of presenting an elephant to every vessel in which gifts were conveyed. Once Myanmar king took from the king of Lanka's envoys gifts and goods sent for the purchase of elephants, and promised them fourteen elephants and silver money<sup>25</sup>; but the former told mere lies and gave them nothing. The Myanmar king also seized by force a princess sent by the king of Lanka to Kamboza.

Ceylon King Parakramabahu was infuriated and ordered his men to invade the Arimaddana. The invading army captured Papphala, Bassein and Bagan. It was the great crisis in the history of Bagan, with the end result of Myanmar king being killed at the hands of Indians, making to that reigning King Imtawsyan to be

<sup>24</sup>(a)Luce, 1969, 121-125

(b)Dr. Than Tun, *Bagan Khit Luhmuye* (The Social of Bagan), Yangon, Phowa Press, 2005, p.55 (Henceforth: Than Tun, 2005)

<sup>25</sup>Luce, 1969, 122

known “Kalagya” in posterity. These great events occurred on one part due to misdemeanor of Bagan King and on another for the acquisition of the elephant.

In Bagan Period, the use of elephant in wars was a sure fact, in which one outstanding evidence was that during the Ngaramam's Rebellion, Sawlu was being decoyed to combat into the false flocks of elephants which in fact were effigies of elephants placed in the quagmire and unable to distinguish and recognize the true or false, when Sawlu charged his elephant *Thanhlyinswa* into the trap, the king and his elephant were caught.<sup>26</sup>

A famous battle fought between the cavalry archers and the elephantry was that of Ngasaunggyan, fought between Mongol cavalry and Myanmar elephantry.<sup>27</sup> The incident that led the two countries to war was Narathihapate's refusal of Kublai's demand for tribute. Instead of ceding the demand, Narathihapte sent a strong army over the frontier into Yu an. The Myanmar army was mustered at Bhamo, and proceeded to march seventy miles up the Taping Valley and into Yunan. The battle was fought only just inside Yunan, not near Yung chiang. Myanmar army had two thousand war elephants, which wore some kind of light armour, sufficient to protect them against spearmen and the inferior bowmen of their country.<sup>28</sup> The actual battle ground might be the Plain of Nantin in the Taping Valley. Though the Myanmars outnumbered the Mongols five to one, the Mongols had won their first elephant battle. From that time forth, it is said, Kublai himself began to use elephants in his armies. According to the Polo's summation for the

<sup>26</sup>Tun Nyo, 1968, 12

<sup>27</sup>U Tin, *Myanmarmin Okchokpon Sardan Hnint Bodawpaya Ei Yazathat Khaw Ameindawdangyi* (A Treatise on Administration under Myanmar Kings together with an edit of King Bodawpaya), Vol.II, Yangon, Department of Culture, 1965, p.233 (Henceforth: Tin , 1965)

<sup>28</sup>(a)Mauric Collis; Marco Polo, Faber and Faber Limited, London, 1959, pp.104-105 (Henceforth: Collis , 1959)

(b)Aldo Rice; The Travels of Marcopolo, London, Rocillegger Kegam Paul Ltd, 1950, p.200 (Henceforth: Aldo Rice , 1950)

reasons why the Myanmars were defeated, in spite of their superiority in numbers and the novel and superior form of armament. The first reason was that Myanmars were not as well armed as the Mongols, since their bows did not have a long range to go or the same power of penetration. The second was that the elephants were not sufficiently armed; that they been, they could have overrun the Chinese, whose arrows would unable to penetrate. The third reason was the Mongol General efficient deployments in the battlefield, who deployed his troops in the forests and thick woods. Polo went on to say that the Myanmar should never have attacked the Mongol in such a position. Had they forced them, to give battle in an open plain and attacked there with elephants, adequately protected against their arrows, nothing could have stopped the elephants' charge. The Mongols would have been overrun and thrown into confusion. Then, by bringing up his wings of horse and foot, the Myanmar general could have enveloped and wiped the Mongols out.<sup>29</sup> Makopolo's account on the Battle of Ngasaunggyan was an acute piece of military reporting, and vividly showed the advantages and disadvantages of the elephants in the wars.

Likewise, in the rebellions of Mottama and Maccagiri that occurred during Narathihapate's reign, elephants were also the mainstay in the suppression of the rebels. The forces, that marched to quash the rebellion, comprised with two hundred war elephants, two thousand horses and twenty thousand foot soldiers, which were commanded by Yazathingyan and Atwinthinhmu Tharepyitsatè, the former marched to Mottama and the latter to Maccagiri.<sup>30</sup> By these accounts, we come to know that elephants were used not only in diplomatic missions, but also in military campaigns in Bagan Period. It was especially true in the reign of King Aniruddha, the founder of First Myanmar Empire.

---

<sup>29</sup>Collis , 1959, 109-110

<sup>30</sup>Hmannan, 2003a, 341

Elephants were extensively used in wars in succeeding ages of Pinya (A.D.1309-1364), Inwa (A.D.1364-1527), Taungngu (A.D.1486-1600), Nyaungyan (A.D. 1600-1752) and Konbaung (A.D.1752-1885), after Bagan.

### **Elephant in Taungngu Period**

We have observed that every campaign in Taungngu Period had used war elephants. The degree of the use of war elephants had surpassed than that of Bagan in Taungngu Period. This fact can be seen in the following table, which shows the military campaigns waged in the reigns of Mingyinyo and Tabinshwehti.

**Table VII**  
**Elephants Used in Battles During the Reign of Mingyi Nyo (1486-1531)**

Date	Battle field	War Elephants Used
1490	Pyay	80
1495	Yamethin	50
1496	Taungngu	80
1503	Inwa	120
1508	Pakhangyi	200
1509	Magway	300
1512	Myedu	150
1514	Sakut	150
1516	Myedè	300
1518	Myedè	350
1521	Kalay Mongyaung	250
1523	Myedu	300
1524	Inwa	20
1527	Pakhangyi	80

Source: SBBR 3.2 (AUTUMN 2005): 284-395

**Table VIII****Elephants Used in Battles During the Reign of Tabinshwehti (1531-1551)**

Date	Battle field	War Elephants Used
1535	Bago	40
1536	Bago	60
1537	Bago	200
No date	Bago	120
No date	Pyay	200

Source: SBBR 3.2 (AUTUMN 2005): 284-395

The above tables clearly show that war elephants were extensively used almost in every campaign during the early part of Taungngu Period, in reigns of Mingyinyo and Tabinshwehti. The highest number of war elephants used in a single campaign was about 350, deployed in the campaign to Myedè, occurred in 1518. The table also shows the variation in number of war elephants used in each campaign, that suggests elephants were deployed; it seems, depending on the nature of campaign and the number of elephants available for use in each campaign. Whatever the reason may be, these tables indicate that elephants played a crucial role in each battle.

Also in the time of King Bayinnaung, the founder of the Second Myanmar Empire, elephants were found to be the major force in the unification campaigns. In examining about the wars fought during the reign of Bayinnaung, it is found that he employed elephants in every campaign, waged either in local areas or abroad. Though Bayinnaung was known to ride a horse into battle, he rode elephant more frequently. One such battle is that the king himself rode the elephant was the famous Battle of Naungyoe, into which Bayinnaung rode the

elephant, known as *Swelaman*<sup>31</sup>, accompanied by twenty *amats* who also rode elephants and 4000 foot soldiers<sup>32</sup>. The commanders of Mon army, Thushintakayupi, Byinnyadala and Minye Aungnaing, waited for Myanmar advances and were ready to go into action. Bayinnaung Kyawhtin Nawyahta charged his elephant *Swelaman* to the Mon army assemblage of horses and elephants and there he attacked Byinnyadala and his elephant. Byinnyadala changed his mount from elephant to horse and went away. Like Bayinnaung, the *amats* marched along side Bayinnaung in left and right columns, also charged their elephants spontaneously to the Mon army. The Mon army was broken down into four groups and subsequently collapsed. One of their commander Minye Aungnaing was killed on his elephant. Bayinnaung had seized many horses and elephants, and captives<sup>33</sup>. Bayinnaung won the Naungyoe Battle, not only due to good discipline and disposition, plus good strategy, but also by the power of elephant. The prowess of hosemanship and elephantmanship was the perquisite and requisite for every kings and councillors in those days.

In medieval Myanmar, there usually was duelling on elephants, between elite men on the battle field, which was conducted in the context of an overall battle. One such duel, in which Bayinnaung himself took part was the duel with Thameinhtawyama of                king. In the duel, the fight of elephant against elephant, it seems, determined the outcome, for, when Bayinnaung's elephant thrusted his tusk into the side of the elephant of Thameinhtaw, the latter in great pain, went away with his master. And the duel ended like this and Bayinnaung won<sup>34</sup>, in which the fight of man against man, seemed to be small. Other duels, we

<sup>31</sup>Kala, 1960, 173-174

<sup>32</sup>Kala ,1960, 173-174

<sup>33</sup>Kala,1960, 173-174

<sup>34</sup>Ussaro Amatkyi, *Hanthawaddy Sinbyushin Ayedawbon Mawkun Udam* (Military Campaign of Hanthawadi *Sinbyushin*), U Toe Hla (ed),Yangon, Universities Press, 2006, p.26 (Henceforth: *Shinbyushin Ayedawbon* , 2006)

thought , occurred in the campaign to the nine Shan countries in the year 1557. At a point beyond Momeit, Shans staged a formidable resistance , into which Bayinnang's commanders entered the battle by riding their elephants; Eimontaya on *Nwelaman*, Yazathingyan on *Yadanadazaung*, Nandayoda on *Nagawara*, Thaneinbyathanike on *Zeyanubak* and Thameinmawkhwin on *Tayont*<sup>35</sup>.

Elephants were also found useful in the siege warfare, in that the beasts were used to break down city gates and to pull down the stockades. In his campaign to Chiangmai in the year 1557, Bayinnaung sent a horde of elephants to break down the wall of Chaingmai. Also in the campaign on Sriksetra, King Mingaung and Nawrahta marched to Thandaung and then broke down the southern gate of the city by charging the elephant, known as *Yodayasein*. After the city gate was broken down, the troop overrun the Sriksetra<sup>36</sup>.

In Nandabayin's reign in the year 1599, Pyay King Thadodhammayaza staged a rebellion. The king ordered his younger brother Nyaungyan Prince to march to Pakhan where the followers of Pyay King were amassed. Prince Nyaungyan himself took to the elephant *Zabudaseik* and let his son Anaukphetlun to ride at the center on the back of the elephant and entered the battle. Nyaungyan Prince and his son fought the battle, by riding three elephants changing them one after another. Despite of his vigor and valour, the commander of Pyay King could not resist this battle and fled away. Prince Nyaungyan captured Pakhanmyo<sup>37</sup>. The battle shows us how much elephants were useful in seizing and conquering a town.

After King Nyaungyan had ascended to the throne, Taungngu King Minye Thihathu moved to Yamethin and made it his strong hold. King Nyaungyan

<sup>35</sup>*Hmannan Mahayazawindawgyi* (Glass Palace Chronicle), Vol.II, Yangon, Ministry of Information, 2003, p.305 (Henceforth: *Hmannan* , 2003b)

<sup>36</sup>*Shinbyushin Ayedawbon* , 2006, 13

<sup>37</sup>*Hmannan Mahayazawindawgyi* (Glass Palace Chronicle), Vol.III, Yangon, Ministry of Information, 2003, p. 98 (Henceforth: *Hmannan* , 2003c)

ordered son to march to Yamethin, who, in the year 1600, led the campaign by riding the elephant *Thirinaga*. Nyaungyan's son captured the Yamethin City, which in fact was a fortress town with the then seven characteristics of a town. He won the town by riding on the back of an elephant. The capture of the town might be in part due to the military prowess of the man, but in another owing to the ability and capability of the elephants<sup>38</sup>. For the reason, this king bestowed the brave award upon the elephant *Thirinaga* who had a height of six cubits. Anaukphetlun also had fought two battles into which he rode the royal elephant *Bontaukpa*, one was the Monai Battle occurred in October 1604<sup>39</sup> and the other Mogaung Battle fought in October 1605<sup>40</sup>. He won both battles by riding the royal elephant *Bontaukpa*.

We have seen that every battles and campaigns in Taungngu Period was fought with elephant as its principal war arms, showing the increasing use of elephant in wars.

### **Elephant : The heroes of the war**

Throughout the history of Myanmar, elephant war heroes existed along side with that of human war heroes. Of many heroes, three elephants stood out first, viz, Byinwè's mount elephant of *Ngayetnw*<sup>41</sup>, Yazadirit's mount elephant of *Pakamat*<sup>42</sup> and Minyè Kyawswa's mount elephant of *Nga Chit Khaing*<sup>43</sup>.

<sup>38</sup>Twinthin Taikwun Mahasithu U Htun Nyo, *Maha Yazawinthit* (New Great Chronicle) Nyaungyan dynasty, Vol.III, Yangon, Khin Yi Mon Offset, 1997, p.6 (Henceforth: Htun Nyo, 1997)

<sup>39</sup>Htun Nyo, 1997, 13

<sup>40</sup>Htun Nyo, 1997, 16

<sup>41</sup>Tun Nyo, 1968, 284

<sup>42</sup>Hmannan, 2003b,2

<sup>43</sup>Hmannan, 2003b, 5

In the forty years war of Mon Myanmar, Mingaung of Inwa and Yazadarit of Bago sometimes fought in duel. One such duel took place at Barnan, where Mingaung's mount elephant *Yèmyatswa* retreated, as it was no match to Yazadarit's mount elephant *Pakamat*. On seeing this, Ohnbaung Thokyaungbwa charged on his mount elephant *Chitmyatkè*. By observing that, fief holders of Taungdwin and Yamethin, along with well over thirty *amats*, charged on their elephants into the battle. Also *amat* Thamein Byatza rode his mount *Ngayanwè* and charged him into the battle. In this battle, Monyin Thado rode the mount elephant *Thanhlyinswa*<sup>44</sup>. The duel and the battle proved that Yazadarit's mount elephant *Pakamat* was so clever, which was recorded in chronicle forever. Such clever and able elephant were known in elephant characteristic treatises as hero elephant (*arzarni*) and *yadayarya* elephant<sup>45</sup>, the one that can avert impending misfortunes<sup>46</sup>. For what reason such elephants were known as hero elephants and *yadayarya* elephants, were given by Maunghtaung *Sayadaw*, in his *Mahazanaka Jataka*, that explained, that “the one elephant by congenital nature knew what was suitable or not, was known as the hero elephant<sup>47</sup>(*arzarni*). The venerable *sayadaw* also explained in the *Alinacitta Jataka*, that the heroic elephants and horses never defecate and urinate in the water<sup>48</sup>.

Concerning the characteristics of *yadayarya* elephant, the Venerable *sayadaw* went on explained that

<sup>44</sup>Hmannan, 2002a, 3

<sup>45</sup>“Letters on *Yadayarya* Elephant”, *Parabaik* MS, NL, No.146

<sup>46</sup>Myakaytu; *Nandal Hmattan* (Record of Court Custom), Yangon, Hnalonehla Sarpay, 1971, 2<sup>nd</sup> impression, p.112 (Henceforth: Myakaytu, 1971)

<sup>47</sup>Maung Htaung, “The Characteristics of White Elephant”, Palmleaf MS, UCL, No.10543

<sup>48</sup>Maung Htaung, “The Characteristics of White Elephant”, Palmleaf MS, UCL, No.10543

*Yadayarya* elephant is the noble one. *Yadayarya* means that such elephant are clever in movement and battle. In the battle field, *Yadayarya* elephant can endure the wound and shot of sword and spear. He can keep himself and the rider, not to harm, by clever movement<sup>49</sup>.

The characteristics of elephant were very important that there were custom to take the omen of whether the battle or the war could win or lose, by observing the characteristics of war elephants, before taking out to the field. The Letwèkyihmu wrote that

“While taking out to the battle field, if the elephant takes out the banner or the streamer or a fruit or a flower, it indicates the sign of the victory in the battle. If it takes out a piece of bamboo or potsherd, it’s a bad omen for the lose in the battle”<sup>50</sup>.

### Classification of elephants

Elephants were very important in the royal army. We find that the names given to various elephants can explain their purpose or usefulness, and namely.

*Aukmasin*            Elephant used to catch wild elephants<sup>51</sup>.

*Danapalasin*      Elephant used for training wild elephant<sup>52</sup>

*Htansin*            Carrier elephant<sup>53</sup>

*Htusin*            Best young bull elephant<sup>54</sup>

<sup>49</sup>Maung Htaung, “The Characteristics of White Elephant”, Palmleaf MS,UCL, No.10543

<sup>50</sup>Letwègyihmu; “*Sinkyalinka Ahphwint Kyan*” (Explaintory Test on Elephant Characteristics), Palmleaf MS, U Htun Yi collection, ce-reverse

<sup>51</sup>*The Royal Orders of Burma*, Vol.X, (A.D.1598-1885), Dr. Than Tun, (ed), Kyoto: The Centre for Southeast Asian, Kyoto University, 1990, p.70 (Henceforth: Than Tun, 1990)

<sup>52</sup>Than Tun, 1990, 70

<sup>53</sup>Than Tun , 1990, 70

<sup>54</sup>Maung Maung Tin, 2005, 262

<i>Htusinma</i>	Best young cow elephant <sup>55</sup>
<i>Kyinsin</i>	Elephant for funeral processions <sup>56</sup>
<i>Minthitsin</i>	Poor quality elephant , due to too young or too old <sup>57</sup>
<i>Sidawgyi</i>	Big and majestic bull elephant <sup>58</sup>
<i>Sisusinma</i>	Cow elephant chosen for riding short trips <sup>59</sup>
<i>Winsin</i>	Elephant of palace guard <sup>60</sup> , and
<i>Wunyansin</i>	Elephant reserved for officers <sup>61</sup>
<i>Ywesin</i>	Selected fighter elephant <sup>62</sup>

Myanmar elephantry had their elephants categorized into, fighting elephant, helping elephant, artillery elephant and logistic elephant. But in the battle front, those of *Ywesin* (selected fighter elephant) and *Htansin* (carrier elephant) were used. In such occasions of royal procession and taking in possession of a town or a city, *Htusin* (best young bull elephant), *Htusinma* (best young bull elephant), *Sisusinma* (cow elephant for short trip), *Sidawgyi* (big majestic bull elephant) and *Namantabat*<sup>63</sup> use in *Yazabiseka* and *Muddabiseka* as an complementary to the king elephant were used. *Winsin* (palace guard elephant), and *Wunyinsin* (elephant for officers) and *Kyinsin* (elephant for funeral procession) were used in the undertaking of royal services.

As the elephant was such a valuable animal in battles and wars, vassal states usually included elephants and horses in their tribute to the king. In 1821, a

---

<sup>55</sup>Than Tun, 1990, 70

<sup>56</sup>Maung Maung Tin, 2005, 262

<sup>57</sup>Than Tun, 1990 , 70

<sup>58</sup>Mg Mg Tin, 2005, 260

<sup>59</sup>Than Tun, 1990, 70

<sup>60</sup>Maung Maung Tin, 2005, 261

<sup>61</sup>Maung Maung Tin, 2005, 262

<sup>62</sup>Maung Maung Tin, 2005, 261

<sup>63</sup>“Ugamtaawphwint”, Palmleaf MS, NL ,No.1960, ghi-reverse

delegation to Bangkok was sent by Sipsong Panna and Chiangtrung with four ponies and a variety of goods to trade for six male elephants, which would then be sent as tribute by these states to the king of Myanmar. As Myanmar and Siam were no longer at this time, the king of Siam approved the trade and dispatched his ministers to find out six elephants with good characteristics in the area around Nan<sup>64</sup>. In the year A.D. 1554, during the reign of Bayinnaung, King of Chiangmai sent various gifts as tribute to the king, included in the tribute were a lady, nice of the Chiangmai king as gift, various royal paraphernalia, and four “*hatthithara* type elephants and many other elephants<sup>65</sup>. The king of Siam also was required to sent 100 elephants, 500 horses, gold, silver and *paso* as gift and tribute to the Myanmar court<sup>66</sup>.

Besides, we have found, the presenting of tribute to the invading army and its king, could stop the impending danger. In the year A.D. 1565, in the reign of King Bayinnaung, the king sent his army of about ten thousand forces, comprised with fifty war elephants, commanded by Mobyè fief holder and Byannyayenantabaya, 300 horses and other soldiers commanded by Letyaturu and chief of cavalry, to Chiangtrumg. When the King of Chiangtrung heard about the campaign to his country, he sent various gifts of elephants and horses, gold and silver flowers, gold and silver *dazaung*, gold and silver pop corn, silk rolls and royal paraphernalia, plus his own daughter, to the King Bayinnaung as tribute. On receiving the tribute, Bayinnaung turned his army back<sup>67</sup>.

---

<sup>64</sup>Channey ,2004, 142

<sup>65</sup>*Shinbyushin Ayedawbon*,2006, 90

<sup>66</sup>*Shinbyushin Ayedawbon*,2006, 85

<sup>67</sup>*Shinbyushin Ayedawbon*, 2006, 98

## Elephant in Konbaung Period

The elephant which had played a crucial role in politic and military since Bagan Period, went on occupied its important role till the early period of Konbaung. Konbaung kings, who used the elephant in war affairs, were Myedu (A.D. 1763-1776), Badon (A.D.1782-1819) and Bagyidaw (A.D.1819-1837). After the Anglo-Myanmar wars in later Konbaung Period, the use of elephant in warfares gradually dwindled. But the founder king of the Third Myanmar Empire, Alaungmintaya had himself ridden the royal mount elephant *Yadana Htutkhaung*, into the battle<sup>68</sup>.

Elephants were important in politics as well as in military in Konbaung Period. Konbaung kings usually had presented elephants as gift to neighbouring countries in a show of amity. It was a tradition that weak kings usually presented elephants as tribute to stronger kings. Also to win the favour and trust of the reigning king, vassals, nobles and councillors presented elephants as well as their daughters to the king the practice of which became a tradition, that was much founded in Konbaung Period .A list of presents that have been found are

In A.D. 1759 , a bull elephant presented by Kalayaza, fief holder of Kala Village<sup>69</sup>

In A.D. 1764, 100 elephants by Linzin king<sup>70</sup>

In A.D. 1769, 500 elephants by Sandapuri king<sup>71</sup>

In A.D. 1772 , 200 elephants by Sandapuri King Sabaithet<sup>72</sup>

In A.D. 1801, elephant by *Sawbwa* Maha Raja and Zuparaza of Manipur<sup>73</sup>

In A.D. 1816, cow elephant by Tolya *Sawbwa* of Vesali, Vazzi Division<sup>74</sup>

<sup>68</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004a, 229

<sup>69</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004a, 230

<sup>70</sup>*Konbaungzet* ,2004a,376

<sup>71</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004a, 328

<sup>72</sup>*Konbaungzet* ,2004a, 353

<sup>73</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004a, 230

<sup>74</sup>“Mission to Yungyi (Further Bagan) in 1185 ME”, *Parabaik MS*, NL,No.474

In A.D. 1816, 50 fighter elephants by Sandara Gonad Singh of Vesali king<sup>75</sup>

In A.D. 1820, one young bull elephant and two cow elephants by Zayanta king<sup>76</sup>,

In 1820 altogether 6 elephants of young bull elephants and cow elephant by Vesali king<sup>77</sup>

In 1822, one cow elephant by Nine *Sawbwases* of Assam Town<sup>78</sup>

Such winning over of regard and respect of neighbouring countries by Myanmar king, might be due to the military might of the kingdom. Like the vassals and chiefs of neighbouring countries, provincial officers and councillors also presented elephants to the king throughout Konbaung Period, they were

Atwinwun Yaw Fiet holder (A.D. 1878)<sup>79</sup>

Bhamo *Sawbwa* (A.D. 1754)<sup>80</sup>

Chief of Swords (A.D. 1858)<sup>81</sup>

Chief Commander of Mobyè (A.D. 1863)<sup>82</sup>

Governor of Dala (A.D. 1851)<sup>83</sup>

Governor of Taungngu (A.D. 1853)<sup>84</sup>

Headman of Ngabè O (A.D. 1851)<sup>85</sup>

<sup>75</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004b, 148

<sup>76</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004a, 196

<sup>77</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004a, 196

<sup>78</sup>“Majjimadesa Sardan”, Palmleaf MS, UCL, No. 4571

<sup>79</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004c, 325

<sup>80</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004a, 90

<sup>81</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004c, 118

<sup>82</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004c, 217

<sup>83</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004c, 73

<sup>84</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004c, 70

<sup>85</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004c, 73

- Headman of Kyaikpi (A.D. 1851)<sup>86</sup>  
 Headman of Warnwegen (A.D. 1858)<sup>87</sup>  
*Hsemwi Sawbwa* (A.D. 1877)<sup>88</sup>  
*Kalay Sawbwa* (A.D. 1861)<sup>89</sup>  
*Kyebogale Amat* (A.D. 1869)<sup>90</sup>  
*Momeik Sawbwa*, (A.D. 1754)<sup>91</sup>  
*Moenai Sawbwa* (A.D. 1862)<sup>92</sup>  
*Myelat Wun* (A.D. 1863)<sup>93</sup>  
*Sawbwa* (A.D. 1869)<sup>94</sup>  
 Ngwetaung Village Head (A.D. 1863)<sup>95</sup>  
*Nyaungshwe Sawbwa* (A.D. 1869)<sup>96</sup>  
 Regimental Officer of Moenai (A.D. 1853)<sup>97</sup>  
*Thaungthut Sawbwa* (A.D. 1861)<sup>98</sup>  
 Thaton Silver Revenue Officer (A.D. 1879)<sup>99</sup>  
 Village Headman of Maisalin (A.D. 1863)<sup>100</sup>  
 Waterway Minister of Hanthawaddy (A.D. 1847)<sup>101</sup>

<sup>86</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004c, 73

<sup>87</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004c, 189

<sup>88</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004c, 292

<sup>89</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004c, 208

<sup>90</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004c, 254

<sup>91</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004a, 90

<sup>92</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004c, 197

<sup>93</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004c, 217

<sup>94</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004c, 254

<sup>95</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004c, 217

<sup>96</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004c, 254

<sup>97</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004c, 116

<sup>98</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004c, 207

<sup>99</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004c, 335

<sup>100</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004c, 217

<sup>101</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004c, 59

Therefore, we find that in building the aura and the influence of a king and his kingdom, elephant took a central role. The assemblage of elephant in high number meant that the king had a great glory, for every vassal and the loser kings in a war, had to present elephants to the king, as a token of the acceptance of the overlordship. In a war, elephant could be a peace maker or a truce bringer, because wars usually came to a stop, when the defender or a looser presented elephants as gift or tribute to the king. It was the case in 1764, in that the Kingdom of Linzin was escaped from being attacked, when its kings presented 100 elephants to the Myanmar king as tribute and accepted the suzerainty of Myanmar monarch.<sup>102</sup>

Sometimes, elephant was the *raison d'etre* in the break out of the wars. In the reign of King Tabinshwehti (A.D. 1530-1550), the Siamese were made obliged to present annual tribute of thirty elephants to Myanmar king. In Alaungmintaya's reign, Siamese broke this tradition, which forced the former to attack the latter. But it was only in the reign of King Myedu that this tradition of the presentation of annual tribute of thirty elephants was reestablished, the result of Myedu's onslaught of Ayutia.<sup>103</sup>

### **The role of war elephant in Konbaung Period.**

Throughout Konbaung Period, there were so many wars waged for the consolidation of the kingdom. Konbaung kings used many war elephants in their campaigns, especially Meydu and Bagyidaw, of which King Myedu was found to use the highest number of war elephants.

---

<sup>102</sup>*Konbaungzet, 2004a,376*

<sup>103</sup>Tin , 1963, 241

**Table IX**  
**Elephants Used in Battles During the Reign of Myedu**

Date	Battle field	Elephants
6 February 1764	Cheingmai	100
30 November	Thailand	100
15 January	Manipur	300
22 October 1765	Thailand	200
22 August 1765	Thailand	100
22 August 1765	Thailand	400
27 December 1765	Kengtung	200
3 October 1766	Sipsongpanma	200
30 January 1767	Mogaung, Mohnyin	200
24 December 1767	Hsemwi, Thipaw	300
26 December 1767	Nyaungbingyi Bawkyo	100
30 December 1767	Mongmeit	100
30 December 1769	Mogaung	100

Source: *Konbaungzet, 2004 a*

**Table X**  
**Elephants Used in Battles During the Reign of Bagyitaw**

Date	Battle field	War Elephant Used
2 December 1819	Manipur	40
5 December 1819	Manipur	50
5 December 1819	Manipur	70
8 December 1819	Manipur	160
29 October 1820	Manipur	50
17 February 1822	Assam	20
3 April 1824	Cachar	50
2 March 1837	East Column	10
3 March 1838	West Column	50

Source: *Konbaungzet, 2004 b*

In Myedu's reign, elephants were primarily used in various campaigns on Siam and in resistant wars against the Chinese invasions. In Sino-Myanmar Wars, Myanmar elephantry was able to defeat the Chinese cavalry. On 27 December 1765, Chinese staged siege warfare on Kengtung, surrounding it with 50000 men and 100000 horses. To repel the Chinese, Myanmar had formed two columns of right and left. The right column was formed with five forces, 100 fighter elephants, 1000 cavalry and 10000 men commanded by Left Captain of Guards. The left column was also organized with five forces, 100 fighter elephant, 1000 cavalry and 10000 men. To break the Chinese siege, Myanmar attacked the Chinese with these two columns, in that the principal force of Chinese army was the cavalry, which was destined to be crushed by Myanmar elephantry.<sup>104</sup>

---

<sup>104</sup>(a)*Konbaungzet, 2004a*, 311

(b)Ma Kyan, *Konbaung Khit Myanmar Yemet Tawmya* (Konbaung Myanmar Soldiers), Myanmar Yadana Sarpay, Yangon, 2006, p.13 (Henceforth: Kyan, 2006)

One of the reasons that led Myanmar victory in Sino-Myanmar wars was, it seems, the use of war elephants by Myanmar army. By nature, horses do not dare face the elephant in close range. Horses were frightened by the sight of immense beast elephant, which made them uncontrollable. Besides, Myanmar army had war elephants on their back the mortar and cannon, that fired to the enemy from the high point. How the Myanmar elephant had the cannon on their back, in what position is unknown. But Myanmar elephants carried the castles on the back and Myanmar forces had used them against the Mongols in the Battle of Ngazaunggyan in 1277. The elephant castles were made of wood and were bound to the elephants by bands tied under their bellies. The castles could be of varying size and capacity, some castles carrying four, six, eight to ten, and thirteen to fourteen men, in addition to the driver on the neck or rear. Weaponry used by the soldiers in the castles changed over the course of time. According to the records of thirteen, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, we come to know that Myanmar soldiers in the castles used spears, lances, bows and arrows, darts and cross bows to fight. From the sixteenth century, some elephant castles were armed with musketeers as well as small swivel guns. It is found that in both Tabinshwehti's and Bayinnaung's Campaigns, Myanmar soldiers fired over sized muskets, and small bronze cannon from elephant castles. These cannon from elephant castles were used effectively in Tabinshwehti's siege of Ayutia in the year 1548.<sup>105</sup> No doubt, the use of elephant mounted cannon would increase greatly in Konbaung Period. We also find that *Mingyi Maha Bandula* had used mortar mounted elephants in his campaign in Panwar.<sup>106</sup>

Other important factor that led Myanmar victory was means of logistics and supply. While Myanmar army had used elephants for the carrying of men, weapons and supply, Chinese used horse, and mules for logistics and supply.<sup>107</sup>

---

<sup>105</sup>Charney ,2004, 159

<sup>106</sup>Tin, 1963, 241

<sup>107</sup>Konbaungzet, 2004a,473

Evidently, Myanmar elephants in this case were more useful and valuable than that of the Chinese. The other reason that caused Chinese defeat was the pre-emptive attack staged by the East captain of guards at Kunglung ferry, inflicting heavy losses on the part of the Chinese.

In addition to war elephants devoted to fighting, elephants in many expeditions proved their usefulness as baggage animals. The great strength of the elephant allowed it to carry heavy guns that would have been immovable otherwise, as well as smaller arms, cannon balls, and gunpowder. It was said that, in Tabinshwehti's 1546 campaign against Thandwe, sixty percent of elephant forces were devoted to carrying baggage and only the rest were for battle.

King Badon also had used hundreds of war elephants in his campaigns on Dannyawady, Rakhine and Ayutia. The Dannyawady Campaign was started on 16 October 1784 where the king used a total of 210 war elephants<sup>108</sup>. The expedition on Ayutia began on 11 November 1785, where a total of 500 war elephants took part<sup>109</sup>.

We find that the loss of Myanmar expedition on Ayutia in Badon's reign was due to lack of sufficient elephants to carry supply and Siamese counter attack on Myanmar elephants that carried supplies to Myanmar forces.<sup>110</sup> This shows the degree of the importance of carrier elephants in the wars. We have seen that elephants played a major role in wars till the early Konbaung Period. The usefulness of elephants in wars were found to depend on the training. Systematic training made elephants a formidable fighting force in the battle. But poorly trained elephants could not unleash a dire threat to the enemy. It was the case in the battle of Tarlanchaung where Siamese and Myanmar armies fought. Siamese commanders led by Aukbya Lahon went into the battle by riding their elephants of *Awungyi*, *Pakyitkyi*, *Thabyethar*, *Yadanakwesaw* and *Pavayaza*, only to be

<sup>108</sup> *Konbaungzet*, 2004b, 21

<sup>109</sup> *Konbaungzet*, 2004b, 36

<sup>110</sup> *Konbaungzet*, 2004b, 33

defeated by Myanmar forces who captured all the six Siamese forces with their horses and elephants, except the Aukbyalahon who managed to escape by riding a horse.<sup>111</sup> With regard to mobility, although horse was more advantageous than the elephant, Konbaung military proved that elephant took the center stage in every major expeditions and wars.

Elephantry was found not in Myanmar only, but in countries of Siam, Linzin, Assam and Manipur also. In Bayinnaung's expedition on Ayutia, Siamese had used musthing elephants. Their elephants had iron spikes on the tusks and their trunks with the iron chains by which the elephant routed the enemy<sup>112</sup>. The use of musthing elephant in the battle might be regarded as a sign of bravado or possibly a belief that the elephant would be especially damaging to the enemy<sup>113</sup>. Alaungmintaya in one of his campaign on Ayutia, had 13000 soldiers and 130 armoured elephants<sup>114</sup>. In the Battle of Tartanchaung, Siamese commanders had mounted elephants of *Awungyi*, *Pakyitkyi*, *Thabyetha*, *Yadamakumsaw* and *Pavayaza*<sup>115</sup>. In every Battle occurred in Myedu's reign, Siamese had their elephants covered with iron sheets on musth gland, temple and chest. Siamese also had put three cannons on the left and right side of the elephant and at the rear, making it like a tank. Men at the front, middle and rear became acted like the crew of artillery.

By the above mentioned facts, we find that the elephant could fight in the battle like a good soldier, and the elephant itself was a big weapon. It could also carry heavy weapons and supplies. For these reasons, Myanmar and neighbouring countries used the elephant widely, in their building of imperial kingdoms.

<sup>111</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004a, 238

<sup>112</sup>“Siamese History”, Palmleaf MS, U.C.L. No.11997, khe-reverse

<sup>113</sup>Charney, 2004, 152

<sup>114</sup>“Siamese History”, Palmleaf MS, U.C.L. No.11997, khe-reverse

<sup>115</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004a, 238

In précis, the elephant, very useful since Bagan Period in fighting wars and building imperial kingdoms, became obsolete in late Konbaung Period, due to advanced military technology, applied by the British in its imperialist wars against Myanmar. The explosives used by the British made the elephant frightened. Myanmar fighter elephants, even with their iron sheet cover, now become unuseful. In the face of advanced military technology and strategy, Myanmar elephantry was totally defunct. Therefore, beginning in Mindon's reign, war elephants were used in timber extraction. Nevertheless, elephants were still useful in one aspect of war, carrying supplies to the front line and battle fields. In all three wars of Anglo-Myanmar, both sides used elephants to carry and transport supply. In the Second Anglo-Myanmar War, one hundred elephants were gathered or purchased by the British at Taninthayi for use at Yangon, 150 were brought over from Bengal across the Rakhine Yoma, and Lord Dalhousie himself recommended that a force of three hundred elephants should be acquired for the campaign into Upper Myanmar<sup>116</sup>.

We have seen that, the elephant played a major role in every campaigns in Myanmar and in every expedition to neighbouring countries. The elephant's utility in combat, already challenged by archers at Ngasaunggyan, was quickly brought to a close, as quicker and more accurate firearms appeared. But the elephants role in carrying supply and heavy equipment, remained important into the twentieth century.

---

<sup>116</sup> Charnay , 2004, 102

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **ELEPHANTEERS AND SOCIETY**

**E**lephants were found important for the glorification of kings, as well as in military campaigns. Therefore, Konbaung kings always kept an eye on acquisition of elephants for war elephants, royal service elephants and ceremonial elephants. To this end, each and every king issued royal orders. There were a variety of ways to get elephants, chief among them were, receiving elephants as tribute from vassal kings, getting them as capture from the loser kings in the wars and by elephant catching. As elephant was much valued as a kind of tribute, there came into existence a tradition, in which presenting elephant became a vogue in the relation of the reigning king and his vassals and officers. There were a number of cases in that elephants were presented to the king by his vassals, during Konbaung Period. The following table shows such elephant as tribute presenting cases.

**Table XI**  
**List of Gifts and Tributes, Presented by Vassals, *Sawbwas* and Officials, to  
the King**

Date	Vassals and <i>Sawbwas</i>	Number of Elephant
AD. 1760	Linzin king	100 war elephants
AD. 1769	Linzin king	500 war elephants
AD. 1772	Sabaithet	2 elephants
AD. 1813	<i>Sawbwa Mahanan</i>	12 elephants
AD. 1816	Toelya <i>Sawbwa</i>	1 cow elephant
AD. 1816	Vesali King Candra	50 war elephants
	Gandha Singh	
AD. 1819	Zayantamin	2 young bull elephants
		1 cow elephant
AD. 1829	Candapura Linzin King	500 elephants
AD. 1821	Sabaithet	200 elephants

Source: *Konbaungzet*, 2004,*a,b,c*

### Presenting of elephant as tribute

Therefore, provincial officials in Konbaung Period were required not only to carry out their administrative responsibility, but also to do for the acquisition of elephants either by catching or buying. Kings usually got elephants as tribute from vassals and likewise they got it by capturing them in the battle from the loser kings. For instance, after the capture of Ayudhaya on 5 February 1764, *Sinbyushin* took away king, queens, princes, princess, artisans, royal treasures and a total of 700 elephants to Myanmar<sup>272</sup>. Beside such capture in the war, elephant catchers had to go to deep forests where elephants roamed freely, to catch them. Sometime kings themselves took part in elephant hunting or catching. There indeed appears to be some evidence that rulership was associated with skill in elephant hunting. As far as we know, Myanmar kings who themselves took part in elephant hunting

---

<sup>272</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004*a*, 306

were, Alaungsithu<sup>273</sup> (A.D. 1088-1158) and Uzana<sup>274</sup> (A.D. 1250-1254) in Bagan Period, Uzana<sup>275</sup> (A.D.1324-1343) in Pinya Period, and Mingyiswa<sup>276</sup> (A.D. 1368-1401) in Inwa Period. In such hunting, the catcher himself had sometimes died in accident. Nevertheless, kings were found to be taking part in elephant hunting, going out to the far away deep forests where elephants roamed.

### **Elephant grazing ground**

Once, elephants were found roaming in the northern hemisphere and now only two of their descendants were found in the world, being *Elephas Africana*, the one found in Africa, and *Elephas Asiatica*, the one found in Asia. African elephants roam in the deep forest of Africa and the Asian elephants are known as Indian elephant, which can be found not only in India, but also in Myanmar, Srilanka, Sumatra and Malay peninsular<sup>277</sup>.

In Myanmar , elephants are found in areas where deep forests are situated. As elephants are unbearable to the broiling heat and are water liked creatures, they live in areas of thick forest where abundant water can be found. In Konbaung Myanmar, deep forests where elephants roamed, were in Sagaing Division, Indauktha<sup>278</sup>, Zinbin<sup>279</sup>, Panhlaing<sup>280</sup>, ShwelaWun<sup>281</sup>, Hngetkyithaik<sup>282</sup>,

---

<sup>273</sup>Tun Nyo, 1968, 111

<sup>274</sup>Maung Maung Tin, 2005, 180

<sup>275</sup>Maung Maung Tin, 2005, 180

<sup>276</sup>(a) “The Royal Order of King Thalun, proclaimed on 6 waxing of Tabaung, 999 ME”, (7 February 1638)

(b)*Royal Orders of Burma*, Vol.I, (A.D.1598-1648), Dr. Than Tun (ed), Kyoto, The Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1983, p.348 (Henceforth: Than Tun, 1983)

<sup>277</sup>*Encyclopaedia Britanica*, Extracted 8, Society of Gentlemen, Scotland, 1968-78, p.227(Henceforth: Britanica, 1968-78)

<sup>278</sup>Konbaungzet ,2004b, 51

<sup>279</sup>Konbaungzet ,2004b, 396

<sup>280</sup>Konbaungzet ,2004c, 103

<sup>281</sup>Konbaungzet ,2004c, 186

<sup>282</sup>Konbaungzet ,2004c, 342

Thityabin<sup>283</sup>, Kyeainggyi<sup>284</sup>, Kyamaknyo<sup>285</sup>, Mahamyain<sup>286</sup>, Nan Bhyan<sup>287</sup>, Thebawchaung<sup>288</sup>, Satthwapanmyaing<sup>289</sup>, Kywesar Inn<sup>290</sup>, Yemein<sup>291</sup>, Panmyaing<sup>292</sup> in Mandalay Division, Shwekanbyu<sup>293</sup>, Nattaung<sup>294</sup>, Thabyechaung<sup>295</sup>, Kyesi<sup>296</sup>, Panmyaing<sup>297</sup>, Yanmyoaung<sup>298</sup>, Toegyi<sup>299</sup>, Yebe<sup>300</sup>, Nattaung<sup>301</sup>, Myasein Hill<sup>302</sup>, Myaleik Hill<sup>303</sup>, in Bago Division, Yegyamo<sup>304</sup>, Ngwedaung<sup>305</sup> Kaung Inn<sup>306</sup>, Tabaw Chaung<sup>307</sup>, Kannew Chaung<sup>308</sup>, Naga Chaung<sup>309</sup>, Shwekhan<sup>310</sup>, Myebon<sup>311</sup>, Ayelar<sup>312</sup>, Yanaungmyin<sup>313</sup>, Bago District

<sup>283</sup>*Royal Orders of Burma*, Vol.VII, (A.D.1811-1819), Dr. Than Tun (ed), Kyoto, The Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1988, p.442 (Henceforth: Than Tun, 1988)

<sup>284</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004c, 36

<sup>285</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004b, 59

<sup>286</sup>*Court Elephant*, No.3, 32

<sup>287</sup>*Court Elephant*, No.3,1

<sup>288</sup>*Court Elephant*, No.3,62

<sup>289</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004c, 157

<sup>290</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004c, 252

<sup>291</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004b, 369

<sup>292</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004b, 218

<sup>293</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004b, 321

<sup>294</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004c,159

<sup>295</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004c, 163

<sup>296</sup>*Konbaungzet*,2004c, 338

<sup>297</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004c, 218

<sup>298</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004c, 74

<sup>299</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004b, 1821

<sup>300</sup>*Court Elephant*, No.3, 68

<sup>301</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004c, 159

<sup>302</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004c, 193

<sup>303</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004b, 193

<sup>304</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004b, 309

<sup>305</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004c, 67

<sup>306</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004c, 36

<sup>307</sup>Than Tun, 1983 , 352

<sup>308</sup>Than Tun, 1983,352

<sup>309</sup>Than Tun, 1983, 352

<sup>310</sup>Than Tun, 1983,555

forest<sup>314</sup>, Keyni Chaung<sup>315</sup>, Myanlin<sup>316</sup>, Swedein<sup>317</sup>, Sinphyu taung taw<sup>318</sup>, Indaw<sup>319</sup>, in Shan State, Maingkho<sup>320</sup>, Kyungyi<sup>321</sup>, Pannyo<sup>322</sup>, Hsinchay taing<sup>323</sup>, Pannyo<sup>324</sup>, in Magway Division, Kyauksayit Chaung<sup>325</sup>, Yanbe Chaung<sup>326</sup>, Nathadaw<sup>327</sup>, Khanaye<sup>328</sup>, Yeyin<sup>329</sup>, Pyanchaung<sup>330</sup>, Kyaukmagyi<sup>331</sup>, Yinmar<sup>332</sup>, Dwedagun<sup>333</sup>, Aikma<sup>334</sup>, Yehtoo<sup>335</sup>, Kyetyokam<sup>336</sup>, Kunkyin<sup>337</sup>, Mingaung<sup>338</sup>,

<sup>311</sup>Than Tun, 1983, 695

<sup>312</sup>Court Elephant, No.3,1

<sup>313</sup>Konbaungzet, 2004c, 452

<sup>314</sup>Konbaungzet,, 2004c, 59

<sup>315</sup>Konbaungzet, 2004c, 67

<sup>316</sup>Konbaungzet, 2004c, 142

<sup>317</sup>Konbaungzet, 2004c, 43

<sup>318</sup>Court Elephant, No.4, 33

<sup>319</sup>Royal Orders of Burma ,Vol.IV, (A.D.1782-1787), Dr. Than Tun (ed), Kyoto, The Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1986, p.442 (Henceforth: Than Tun, 1986a)

<sup>320</sup>Than Tun, 1987,554

<sup>321</sup>Than Tun,1989, 592

<sup>322</sup>Konbaungzet, 2004, 318

<sup>323</sup>Court Elephant, No.3,68

<sup>324</sup>Konbaungzet, 2004b, 318

<sup>325</sup>Konbaungzet,2004b, 219

<sup>326</sup>Konbaungzet, 2004b, 324

<sup>327</sup>Konbaungzet, 2004b, 396

<sup>328</sup>Konbaungzet,2004c, 229

<sup>329</sup>Konbaungzet,2004c, 251

<sup>330</sup>Royal Orders of Burma, Vol.VI, (A.D.1807-1810), Dr. Than Tun (ed), Kyoto, The Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1987, p.575 (Henceforth: Than Tun, 1987)

<sup>331</sup>Than Tun, 1987,691

<sup>332</sup>Than Tun, 1987, 449

<sup>333</sup>Than Tun, 1987, 944

<sup>334</sup>Than Tun, 1987, 821

<sup>335</sup>Than Tun, 1987, 318

<sup>336</sup>Than Tun, 1987,330

Sabaigyi<sup>339</sup> and Kontha<sup>340</sup>. We have seen that there were many elephant roaming forests in Magway and Bago Division where elephants were frequently caught up. In King Singu's reign, elephant catching ground and elephant roaming forests were Kanni, Kyitaung, Nyaungshwe, Taunggwin, Taungngu, Yamethin and Hlaingtet Areas<sup>341</sup>. In Badon's reign, these areas greatly expanded to Kalay and Thaungthut in Upper Country and Bago in Lower Country<sup>342</sup>.

Elephant catching groups caught wild elephants from various forests. They were one of royal service groups in the Konbaung Period. The set up of elephant catching groups was as follows:

---

<sup>337</sup>*Konbaungzet ,2004b*, 397

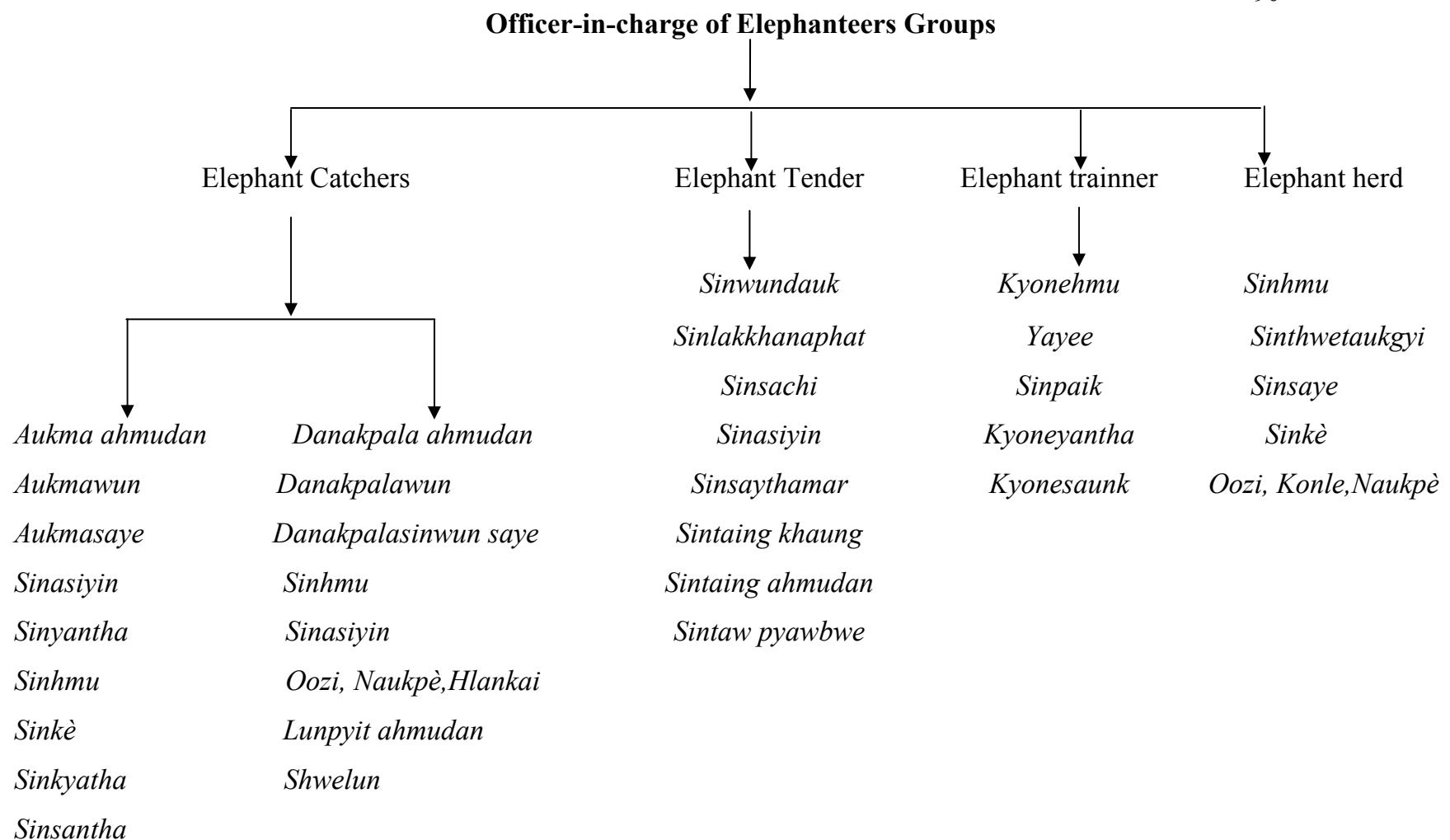
<sup>338</sup>*Konbaungzet,2004c*, 117

<sup>339</sup>*Konbaungzet ,2004c*, 127

<sup>340</sup>*Court Elephant, No.3*,64

<sup>341</sup>*Sinsu, 1960*, 34

<sup>342</sup>*Sinsu, 1960*, 48



*Sinwun* was the administrator of all *ahmudans* related with royal elephant . The responsibility of *sinwun* (elephant minister) was to govern the *aukma ahmudans*, *danakpala ahmudans* and elephant trainner *ahmudans*. He was also responsible for the training of elephants, royal going out and elephanteers. Anyone who aspired to be an elephant minister should have the following qualifications; the knowledge of how to ride and good the elephant, the knowledge on the characteristics of elephant, the knowing of traditional belief in elephant cult and omen concerning with the elephant and the ability to choose the suitable elephant *ahmudans*<sup>343</sup>. The word , *sinwun* seemed to appear in Nyaungyan Period<sup>344</sup> and before that *sinhmu* (chief of elephant), *sinkè* (head of elephant) or *sinhtain* (keeper of elephant) were used<sup>345</sup>. In Konbaung Period, the word minister of bull elephant (*sinpauk wun*) was instead used<sup>346</sup>. Elephant ministers found in Konbaung Period were:

---

<sup>343</sup>Shin Pannasami, *Yazathewaka Dipani*, Yangon, Hanthawaddy Press, 1901, p.344 (Henceforth: Pannasami, 1901)

<sup>344</sup>U Maung Maung, *Konbaung Khit Nanthonsin Mya Ei Akhanganda* (The Role of Royal Elephant in Konbaung Period), M.A. Thesis, 1990, p.85 (Henceforth: Mg Mg,1990)

<sup>345</sup>“*Yazabyuha* Treatise” , Palmleaf MS, UCL, No. 7457, ku-reverse

<sup>346</sup>*Konbaungzet*, 2004b, 115

**Table XII**  
**List of *Sinwuns* in the Konbaung Period**

<b>Year</b>	<b><i>Sinwuns</i></b>
A.D. 1764	Ottama Kyawhtin
A.D. 1784	Zeya Karmani
A.D. 1785	Minhla Minkyaw
A.D. 1806	Naymyo Sithu
A.D. 1813	Theinkha Zeyathu
A.D. 1819	Udein Sithu
A.D. 1823	Minhla Thinkhaya
A.D. 1837	MahaMinkyaw Minhtin
A.D. 1837	Maha Thinkhayar
A.D. 1838	Naymyo Thiri Kyawthu
A.D. 1838	Shwetaung Zeya Yamaung
A.D. 1842	Maha Minkhaung Kyawhtin
A.D. 1852	Min Zeyakyawhtin
A.D. 1870	Maha Mingaung Thiha Thura
A.D. 1879	Maha Minhtin Mingaung
A.D. 1879	Maha Minhla Mingaung

Source: *Konbaungzet*, 2004,*a,b,c*

Under the elephant minister there were elephant catching *ahmudans*, elephant training *ahmudans* and elephant herd *ahmudans*. Elephant catching *ahmudans* were sub divided into *aukmaahmudans* and *danakpala ahmudans*, *aukma ahmudans* catched the wild elephants by trained cow elephants, wooing the

wild ones into elephant enclosure<sup>347</sup>. *Danakpala ahmudans* trained and tamed the wild elephants, caught up by *aukma ahmudans*. The two elephant groups had their *wuns* each, thus, there were *aukmawun* and *danakpala wun*, which were appointed by junior service appointment order<sup>348</sup>.

### **Elephant catching *ahmudans***

The word “*aukma*” means that a female elephant used to woo the wild elephants into the stockade, in elephant catching<sup>349</sup>. Therefore, elephant catchers by means of elephant enclosure were called *aukma ahmudans*. The *ahmudans* were needed to apply a kind of oily wax to the *aukma* cow elephant , for which the wild elephants were found hard to abandon, the *aukma* cow elephant. Such wild elephants were then goaded into the stockade, or by making them frightened and forced then into the stockade<sup>350</sup>. With 100 *aukma* cow elephants, *aukma ahmudan* (elephant catching *ahmudan*) were formed with *aukma wun*, *aukma saye*, *aukma asiayin*, *sinhmu*, *sinkè*, and *sinyan*<sup>351</sup>. The rank and status of *aukma ahmudan* in order of precedence were as follows.

<sup>347</sup>Monywe Sayadaw

, Udeinna Pyo, Mandalay, Hanthawaddy

Pitaka Press, 1927, paragraph.32 (Henceforth: Ardiisaranthi, 1927)

<sup>348</sup>Maung Maung Tin, 1963, 69

<sup>349</sup>U Pho Latt, “*Myanmar Saga Aphwint Kyan*” (Explanatory to Myanmar Words), Yangon, Mahananda Press, 1964, pp.8-11(Henceforth: Pho Latt, 1964)

<sup>350</sup>Daw Thaung Thaung, “*Taungngu Sarpay Hnit Thamaing*” (Taungngu Period Literature and History),*Journal of Literature and Social Science*, Vol.I, No.3, September, 1968 (Henceforth: Thaung Thaung, 1968)

<sup>351</sup>Maung Maung Tin, 2005, 105

**Table XIII****Rank, Status and Responsibility of *Aukma ahmudan***

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Responsibility</b>
<i>Aukmawun</i>	Oversee all works of <i>aukma ahmudans</i>
<i>Aukma saye</i>	Make plans for <i>aukma ahmudans</i> to go to deep forest, and make preparatory study on wild elephants caught.
<i>Sinasiayin</i>	Supervise the work of <i>sinhmu</i> and <i>sinke</i> , and make report on the health of elephants and extraordinary events concerning with elephants
<i>Sinyantha</i>	Under the order of <i>aukma saye</i> and <i>sinasiayin</i> , catch wild elephants in every deep forest
<i>Sinhmu</i>	By the order of this superiors, <i>sinhmu</i> led the 220 elephant riders of front ( <i>oozi</i> ), middle ( <i>konle</i> ) and rear ( <i>naukpè</i> ) in elephant catching
<i>Sinke</i>	Under <i>sinhmu</i> , <i>sinke</i> lead all <i>sinoozies</i>
<i>Sinkyatha and Sinsantha</i>	Find out good quality and god characteristic elephants where elephants roamed

Source: Maung Maung Tin, 2005, 259-264

The word *aukmawun* was found mostly used in Konbaung Period. Before that the chief of *aukma ahmudans* was called *aukmahmu*<sup>352</sup>. *Aukmawun* got 100 *kyats* as salary<sup>353</sup>. But it seems that there did not have the precedence to appoint the *aukmawun* from the rank of *aukma ahmudans*. Any one from other group could become *aukmawun*. For instance, according to the royal order of King

<sup>352</sup>“List of Treasury”, Palmleaf MS,U.C.L, No.131927

<sup>353</sup>Maung Maung Tin, 2005, 177

Badon issued on 11 July 1807, we come to know that *Nankamkyewewun* (minister of royal architect) Shwetaung Naya, took of the vacant post of *aukmawun*<sup>354</sup>. Badon also appointed one of his followers, Twyin Tin hman as the *aukmawun* with the title of Minhla Minkyaw on 25 May 1783<sup>355</sup>. Likewise, Tinbaw appointed his family retainer Nga Tha Aung as *aukmawun*<sup>356</sup>. By these evidences, we may say that the post of *Aukmawun* was the one, who was a yesman. By the royal order of King Badon, issued on 9 July 1801, we also know that *aukmawun* took charge of the duty of *sinchebon* musketeers minister<sup>357</sup>. *Aukmawuns* in Konbaung Period were :

**Table XIV**  
**List of *Aukmawuns* in Konbaung Period**

A.D. 1784	Zaya Shwetaung
A.D. 1807	Shwetaung Naya
A.D. 1810	Thihabala Kyawhtin
A.D. 1824	Mintin Minhla Yaza
A.D. 1826	Maha Minhla Mintin
A.D. 1842	Maha Mingaung Kyawhtin
A.D. 1845	Naymyo Yehla Yegaung

Source: *Konbaungzet, 2004, a,b,c*

---

<sup>354</sup>Than Tun, 1987, 441

<sup>355</sup>“The Royal Order of Bodawpaya , issued on 25 May 1783”, *Parabaik* M.S, U.C.L, No. 140608

<sup>356</sup>“List of Family Retainers”, *Parabaik*, MS, N.L, No. 709

<sup>357</sup>“Royal Orders of King Badon, issued on 18 August 1807”, *Palmleaf* MS, U.C.L, No.360136

## Rules to be followed in catching elephant

*Aukma ahmudans* had to go out elephant catching from Tazaungmon to the time before the Buddhist lent, almost a total of eight months a year. By tradition, the period of Buddhist lent was a retreating season for *aukma ahmudans*. During the lent, *aukma* cow elephants were grazed at the grazing grounds located near or at the cultivation lands or resident lands of *aukma ahmudan* villages. As soon as the Buddhist lent end, heads of *aukma* cow elephants were washed and only after propitiation of thirty seven *nats* such as *Udeinna*, *Mahapeinne*, *Gazanahta Paramethurein* and so on, groups of *aukma ahmudans* were sent out for elephant catching. *Shweminbon Sindaw Mawkun* described about the elephant catching in the reign of King Singu<sup>358</sup>. Concerning with elephant catching, King Badon was found issued royal order to observe the traditional time to go to forest and other plans and arrangements. By the royal order, proclaimed on 14 November 1707, *aukma* cow elephants were to be washed their heads before going out to the forest<sup>359</sup>. When in going out on elephant catching, *aukma ahmudans*<sup>360</sup> themselves and their family members<sup>361</sup> were needed to observe a set of same rules. There

<sup>358</sup>*Sinsu*, 1960, 34

<sup>359</sup>Than Tun, 1986a, 654

<sup>360</sup>(a)Things to be abstained by elephant catchers, *Parabaik* MS, Historical Research Department, No.15

(b)Not to whack with an open palm over the crook of the elbow of the other arm folded across one's chest (Show of Challenge or Jubilation)

- Not to eat the flesh, bitten by tiger;
- Not to eat in the pot;
- Not to put ladle on the pot or put in the pot,
- Not to apply the oil to hair;
- Not to dress shamefully
- Not to urinate from the back of elephant
- Not to utter abusive words

<sup>361</sup>(a) “Things to be abstained by elephant catchers”, *Parabaik* MS, Historical Research Department, No.15

(b)Not to wash head

also were a set of rules to be followed by the villages where *aukma ahmudans* lived<sup>362</sup>.

By the examination of these rules, we may deduce that these rules were set out in order to be polite in their actions and activities of *aukma ahmudans*, for the elephant was regarded as an auspicious animals. These rules represent both superstition and to make *aukma ahmudans* free of anxiety and worry. Other rules to be followed by *aukma ahmudans* were not to catch the cow elephant that brought in the *aukma* group, not to take out elephant tusks by killing wild elephants, to abstain from making rope out of elephant hide, and not to carry the flesh of the elephant on its back. The elephant enclosure should be made clean and within some distance of it, there should not be lives taking of animals. One superstition was the belief that, should there be seen the foot print of buffalo, cow, goat and hog, there the elephant could catch illness or accidentally die. These rules in fact were dos and don'ts of those days, to be followed by *aukma ahmudans* and it, should there be non observance of these, the popular belief was both *aukma ahmudans* and the elephants would perish<sup>363</sup>.

### **Elephant catching groups**

In order that the number of elephants be increased, *aukma ahmudans* and *aukma* groups were formed since King Nyaungyan's reign. Elephant catching groups were organized based on region, dividing them into Inwa elephant catching

- Not to spread and spray the hair
- Not to eat gourd grown in the house and coccinia indica (kinbon)
- Not to ask or give buttermilk and horse gram sauce (Ponyigy)
- Not to go to funeral or housewarming ceremony;
- Not to commit adultery

<sup>362</sup>(1)The fetter was to put on the elephant fetter post since the time of going out into the forest and kept it until the *aukma* group returned. Only after that, the fetter should take down. Before the fetter was pulled down, whatever crimes should the *aukma ahmudans* commit, no one should tough and pull down the fetter and for the *ahmudan*, it should ask to his superior.

<sup>363</sup>U Htun Yi, *Minhmudan Sin* (Elephant the Royal Serviceman), pp.6-7 (Henceforth: Royal Elephant)

group, Salin elephant catching group and Pyay elephant catching group. Each group had small sub divided groups, Inwa that of nine sub divided groups, Salin that of seven small sub divided groups and Pyay those of four small groups. These small groups had their own name each<sup>364</sup>.

The nine small groups of Inwa were *Kanbanithit*, *Kambanihaung*, *Gazathura*, *Zigon*, *Popphanaga*, *Yadanasaè*, *Longshi*, *Thuyehtanlatt* and *Thuyehtanthit*. The seven small groups of Salin were *Pandawya*, *Pyungaza*, *Bayathuya*, *Hmawat*, *Lettawya*, *Wayon Mawgyi* and *Wayon Mawthint*. Those of the four small groups of Pyay were *Maw Teza*, *Mohnyin*, *Lebwethit* and *Lebwehaung*. Besides, there was a *sinkyatha* group, whose locality we did not know for sure. It was learnt that there were a total of twenty one elephant catching groups in the reigns of Nyaungyan Kings. The number of these elephant catching groups grew into twenty eight in the reign of King Sagaing in Konbaung Period. The added elephant catching groups were *Saku*, *Zawtai*, *Taungngu*, *Letya*, *Theinzi*, *Hamti*, *Hamlyet* and *Aukpyi*<sup>365</sup> (Lower Country). In naming these elephant catching groups, the usual practice, we know, was calling them after their locality or after the title of the elephant.

Each *aukma* group had to present the king about three elephants at the end of each elephant catching season. *Aukma ahmudans* had to take great care in keeping *aukma* elephant groups. In catching elephant, each elephant catching group could go on catching trip separately at the same time, or each catching group could go on one after another. *Aukma ahmudans* and their head and chief, usually got reward and gift, bestowed on them by the king, if their captured elephants were of good characteristics. If it was *aukmasaye* (clerk), the reward

<sup>364</sup>Toe Hla, “Nyaungyan Khit Sinthinmya”, (Elephant Groups in Nyaungyan Period) *Ngwetayi*, No.132, June, 1971, pp.48-51 (Henceforth: Toe Hla, 1971)

<sup>365</sup>Than Tun, 1983, 348

usually happened to be one *paso* with dyed broad checkered pattern, the title and a village in fief. *Sinhmu* (elephant chief) would be rewarded with a silver cup of ten ticals and one *paso* with dyed broad checkered pattern, while those of elephant head (*sinkè*) with a cloth of *ywetni* each and *ahmudans* with indigo colored thin silk *paso* each<sup>366</sup>.

### **The privileges of elephant catching *ahmudans***

We find that *aukma ahmudans*, enjoyed special privileges than other *ahmudan* groups, as “they served elephant the big weapon, without regard of their lives, day and night<sup>367</sup>.

*Aukma ahmudans* were also given cultivation land, resident land and land to share, these lands were known as *chunmye*, literally meaning “the land of goad”, and in extended meaning, it implied the land owned by master of goad, i.e, elephantmen. The granting of land to the elephant men was called “land giving by the opening of a goad” or “land giving by the opening of nine goads”. It is learnt

<sup>366</sup>Toe Hla, 1971, 50

<sup>367</sup>(a)The creditor could not ask the debtor *aukma ahmudan* for his debt forcefully, on account of being indebtedness

(b)Should the *aukma ahmudan* be found guilty of any crime, no one shall take him in rope fastened

(c)Enjoyed exemption of tax, porter and hard labour

(d)Exemption from giving leather, cotton, quince, dammer bee product, gun powder and lead

(e)Exemption from corvee, such as digging moat, city construction and army construction

(f)Exemption from giving dues at toll gate, ferry, port, market, seasonal fair, and brokerage and so on

(g)No need to give court fee

(h) No need to take oath in any court case and

(i) Exemption to be taken as slave

that such granting of land to elephant men, began in A.D.1637. The first allotted land was that of Yemadaing and the second was those of Nyaungpuzaw, Pandawbyin and Ngapyawdaw, and those of the third allotted land were Yesagyo, Thaphanbin and Paukpinsauk, and the fourth giving lands were Pakhangyi and Nyaungbinzauk Village<sup>368</sup>. Lands allotted to *aukma ahmudan* groups were as follows.

**Table XV**  
**List of Land Granted to *Aukma Ahmudans***

Name of Aukma	Mother Unit	Residence Area
<i>Wayonmawthit</i>	Salin	Kalamèmyinshit sene
<i>Sinkyathar asu</i>	Salin	Kyankumyint Taik (Amyint)
<i>Gazethura, Thuyehtanthit</i>	Salin	Chaung U
<i>Pandaw, Mawack</i>	Inwa	
<i>Lettawya</i>	Salin	Saku
<i>Chumkozin</i>	Salin	Sadon
<i>Lebwethit, Lebwehaung</i>	Pyay	Daze
<i>Sinkyatha</i>	Pyay	Petpandaw
<i>Bayathura</i>	Salin	Pin
<i>Pyungaza, Wayonmawgyi</i>	Salin	Phaunglin
<i>Bayathura,</i>	Aslin	Maugyi Village
<i>Wayonmawthit</i>		
<i>Kambanithit</i>	Inwa	Yemadaing
<i>Nine groups aukma member</i>	Inwa	Lezi Village
<i>Chunkozin</i>	Inwa	Thetke Chaung
<i>Lebwethit, Lebwehaung</i>	Pyay	Thitseint
<i>Chunkozin</i>	Pyay	Halin

Source: Toe Hla, 1971, 50-51

---

<sup>368</sup>Toe Hla, 1971, 50-51

Lands allotted to *aukma* groups and *aukma ahmudans* were found to be the ones, situated nearest to their localities. Wherever their allotted lands be located, the headquarters of *aukma* groups were those of Inwa, Salin and Pyay. Members of Inwa nine *aukma* groups had to serve at the Inwa elephant enclosure, and likewise, those of seven Salin at the Salin elephant enclosure and the four Pyay at the Pyay elephant enclosure. While in elephant catching trip, chiefs and head at the elephant catching land, had to give every assistance and help they can, to the *aukma ahmudans*. The Provincial Town Governor and Regimental Officers had to give elephant fooder and one basket of rice per mahout (*oozi*) per month. If an elephant was caught, these officers had to reward *aukma ahmudans* with chicken, hog, white coarse cloth and red coarse cloth. They were needed to place men on watch duty on the elephant caught, in order not to run away<sup>369</sup>.

Headman of elephant administered *aukma ahmudan* villages by hereditary right. Sometime, it was found that inefficient headman of elephant had to transfer his post to another person, on account of incompetency to his rank. According to 1145 Inquest, the post of headman of elephant, Nga Kyaw was succeeded by his son Udein Thamanta, who in old age transferred his post to sons Nga Yauk and Nga Tet by a deed of transfer. The transfer of the post was checked with the 45 (1783) Inquest, deposited in the treasury, whether these people were hereditary or not, and only after that, the transfer was approved<sup>370</sup>. In such appointment, Poppagaing Village, elephant headman had to take responsibility. It means that elephant headman did not like the intervention of towns and village headman, in their elephant keeping ground. Sometimes, as other towns and village headmen infringed the work of *aukmawun*, there broke out the administrative dispute.

---

<sup>369</sup>“*Shwedaik Sayin*”, (List of Treasury), Palmleaf MS , U.C.L, No.131927

<sup>370</sup>“The Inquest of Elephant *Ahmudans* in Yaw Area”, *Parabaik* MS, U.C.L , No. 12677

*Aukma ahmudans* obeyed only to the order of *aukmawun*. In the case of the desertion of *aukma ahmudans*, there sometimes, occurred disputes over it. In A.D. 1872 *aukma ahmudans* of Nga Myat San, Nga Shwe Mya and their family members, totaling over twenty persons, run away from their *aukma* group, who were accepted by Laungshi Town Headman. Over it the dispute broke out and the case went to the ear of King Sagaing, who ordered *aukma ahmudans* to return to the *aukmawun*<sup>371</sup>. In April 1824, Laungshi Town Headman demanded about 30 persons for the anti-British resistance. *Aukma ahmudans* did not heed the demand, as it was not the arrangement of *aukmawun*, and *aukmasaye*<sup>372</sup>.

Elephant *ahmudans* did serve, not only to get the elephants, but also in the campaigns when the country faced the internal and external threat. When there waged Manipuri campaign, *aukma ahmudans* with their *aukma* elephants took part in the campaign<sup>373</sup>. When Myingun Myinkondaing Rebellion broke out in A.D. 1866<sup>374</sup>, King Mindon issued a royal order on 28 September 1873, that dictated that elephant *ahmudans* in Poppagaing Village shall obey the order of Wunshindaw Yenangyaung and Ahmyintwun Bohmu Mingyi. When Manipurese revolted in A.D. 1820, Myanmar King had to send an expedition to Manipur, in that *aukma ahmudans* had to serve in the expedition<sup>375</sup>.

Though *aukma ahmudans* had to serve in military campaigns in emergency, as they were important in acquiring elephant the big weapon, kings usually had

<sup>371</sup>“The Inquest of Elephant *Ahmudans* in Yaw Area”, *Parabaik* MS, U.C.L , No. 12677

<sup>372</sup>Maung Maung Hla Myint, “*Hsinsan Tha Toei Sitye Tarwan*” (The Military Duty of Elephant Catchers), *Atweamyin*, Serial No.56, May, 1990, p.63 (Henceforth: Mg Mg Hla Myint, 1990)

<sup>373</sup>“Manipurese Affair”, *Parabaik* Ms, U.C.L, No.139317

<sup>374</sup>Dr. Toe Hla, *Chindwin Myitha Muayar*, Daw Chi, Monywa Offset, Yangon, 1995, p.149 (Henceforth: Toe Hla, 1995)

<sup>375</sup>U Htun Yi (Shehaung Thutethitau) , *Konbaung Khit Sayin Padetha* (Konbaung Period, Miscellaneous Data), Vol.III, Aichi University, Toyohashi, 2003, pp.374-375 (Henceforth: Htun Yi , 2003)

kept an eye on the *aukma* groups, and took care not to decrease the strength of *aukma* groups. Sometimes, they had filled up them. In A.D. 1533 as the *aukma* chiefs Gaza Thirikhwa and Gazathu supplicated to the king that, their nine *aukma* groups had lost the strength of manpower, King Thalun had filled about seventy persons<sup>376</sup> of southern men of Sittaung to Hanthawaddy Nine *aukma* groups, by issuing a royal order on 13 October 1634<sup>377</sup>. Also in 1369, King Thalun filled up Cheingmains and men from Kengrum and Kengthi to *aukma ahmudan* groups, as these groups became dwindled their manpower<sup>378</sup>. All these shows the deep regard took on the part of kings for *aukma ahmudans*.

Dues for toll gate, ferry port, market and so on, were collected by elephant chief, elephant headman and elephant head, in their *aukma* region and the sum was halved, one of which was shared by respective *wun* and chief<sup>379</sup>. *Ya* cultivators had to pay two *kyats* for a plot of *ya* land, as land tax one *kyat* for water tax, one basket of paddy for Land Transfer Officer, and those of *le* cultivator about ten baskets of paddy for a produce of 100 paddy baskets as tax<sup>380</sup>.

### ***Danakpala ahmudans (Elephant catchers)***

Like *aukma ahmudans*, *danakpala ahmudans* were also responsible to catch elephants. Their primary duty was to catch the body elephants, born out of the union of *aukma* cow elephants and the wild elephants. When the baby elephant came of age, they were caught by lassoe method. There were about thirty

<sup>376</sup>Maung Maung Hla Myint, 1990, 63

<sup>377</sup>“List of Treasury”, Palmleaf MS, U.C.L, No.131927

<sup>378</sup>Tin Moe Swe, “Nyaungyan Khit Aukma Ahmudans Ameinttaw Mya” (The Royal Orders on Aukma Ahmudans in Nyaungyan Period), *Atweamyin*, No.63, January 1991, pp.106-110, 120 (Henceforth: Tin Moe Swe, 1991)

<sup>379</sup>Zabudipa Usaungkyan, J.S. Furnival and U Pe Mg Tin (ed), Yangon, Sarpay Beikman, 1960, p.61 (Henceforth: Zabudipa , 1960)

<sup>380</sup>“Aukma Asupay Upade Sardan”, Parabaiks MS, U.C.L, 45194

*danakpala ahmudans*. There were thirty strong tukers with mahouts, rear rider, lancers and lassoe throwers<sup>381</sup>. In these *danakpala ahmudans* were included the rope twisters, who used only hides obtained from seven different kinds of animals, such as, yak, black panther, gaur, sambur, bear, water buffalo and oxen<sup>382</sup>. The hides properly cured, were all plaited together into strands of fine strong ropes.

In actual catching, a small howdah was put on the back of the elephant in which was placed, a coil of *shaw* rope with a noose. In this method, the highly trained tamed cow elephants were used, which were known *kumchee* or *kumkie*, both terms derived from Hindi. One rider sits astride her shoulders, and for balance, hold on the rope that goes under and round the animal's chest. The other sits across the base of the tail. *Danakpala ahmudans* went to the forest at the end monsoon. When they found out a herd of wild elephant, good characteristic elephant was to be forced out from the herd by encircling with *kumchee* elephants. If the wild one went away, the lassoe thrower threw the rope to it, to be caught in the noose. In this way, wild elephants were catched by lassoing<sup>383</sup>.

### The hierarchy of *damakpala ahmudans*

The rank and status hierarchy of *damakpala ahmudans* were as follows:

---

<sup>381</sup>*Court Elephant*, No.4, 13

<sup>382</sup>(a)U Toke Gale, *Burmese Timber Elephant*, Trade Corporation 9, Yangon, 1974, p.98  
(Henceforth: Toke Gale, 1974 )

(b)*Court Elephant*, No.4,15

<sup>383</sup>(a) *Court Elephant*, No.4,13

(b) Toke Gale, 1974,98-103

**Table XVI**  
**Rank, Status and Responsibility of *Danakpala Ahmudan***

Rank	Responsibility
<i>Damakpalawun</i>	To govern and manage all activities of <i>danakpala ahmudans</i>
<i>Danakpalasaye</i>	takes note down and execute the order of <i>danakpala wun</i>
<i>Sinhmu</i>	Do practical elephant catching, each elephant chief had to lead a <i>danakpala</i> group
<i>Oozi, Naukpè, Hlankai</i>	Keeping up the tuskers, by the order of elephant chief and elephant
<i>Lunpyit ahmudan</i>	Catch the wild elephant by lassoing
<i>Shwelun</i>	Make rope to use in lassoing

Source: Maung Maung Tin, 2005, 206-266

### ***Danakpala* elephant groups**

*Danakpala* elephant groups were found being formed in 1369 A.D<sup>384</sup>. But in Konbaung Period, *danakpala* groups that catched elephants by lassoe method were:

Zeyawady and Taungngu *Danakpala* Group<sup>385</sup>

Pyay and Taungngu *Danakpala* Group<sup>386</sup>

Magway and Taungngu *Danakpala* Group<sup>387</sup>

Myitche Village and Taungngu *Danakpala* Group<sup>388</sup>

Myedè and Taungngu *Danakpala* Group<sup>389</sup>

Mottama Town and Taungngu *Danakpala* Group<sup>390</sup>

<sup>384</sup>“Nyaungyan Period Royal Orders”, Palmleaf MS, U.C.L, No.366801

<sup>385</sup>Than Tun, 1986a, 544

<sup>386</sup>Than Tun, 1986b, 708

<sup>387</sup>Than Tun, 1986a, 566

<sup>388</sup>Than Tun, 1986b, 566

<sup>389</sup>Than Tun, 1988, 420

<sup>390</sup>“The 46 Inquest of Mottama”, Parabaik MS, NL, No.473

Yamethin and Taungngu *Danakpala* Group<sup>391</sup>

Shwekyin and Taungngu *Danakpala* Group<sup>392</sup> and

Hanthawaddy and Taungngu *Danakpala* Group<sup>393</sup>.

Though the number of *danakpala* groups and their member were not much, like that of *aukma ahmudans* and groups, they were required to present the tamed elephants of more than four cubits height to the king once a year. There were about fifteen *danakpala* elephants in Magway *Danakpala* Group who were obliged to present about fifteen elephants of good characteristic.

Like *aukma* and *danakpala ahmudans*, *maulawa thonze khumnakyo sinasutha* (elephant *ahmudans* with seven ropes) had to present ten tamed elephants to the king, once three year<sup>394</sup>. As *aukma* and *danakpala ahmudans* were the ones who had to catch the royal service elephant all the year round, they were exempted from dues and twelve kinds of excise. In formation of elephant catching groups, Myanmar were not the only race, but with other races and war captives, who were experts and skilled in the art of elephant, these elephant catching groups were formed, such as the Kayin<sup>395</sup>, Kengyung<sup>396</sup>, Kengthi<sup>397</sup>, Chienmaiams<sup>398</sup>, Mon<sup>399</sup>, Shan and Lawa<sup>400</sup>. Any one who were being put into the elephant catching groups, were found to be skilled in the art of elephant.

<sup>391</sup>“The Royal Order of King Mindon, issued in May 1873”

<sup>392</sup>Than Tun, 1986a, 544

<sup>393</sup>“Sinbyushin Order”, Palmleaf MS, NL, No.285, ka-reverse

<sup>394</sup>“The 46 Inquest of Mottama”, *Parabaik* MS, NL No. 743

<sup>395</sup>Konbaungzet, 2004a, 73

<sup>396</sup>Than Tun, 1983, 348

<sup>397</sup>Than Tun, 1983, 348

<sup>398</sup>Than Tun, 1983, 348

<sup>399</sup>Than Tun, 1986a, 576

<sup>400</sup>Than Tun, 1986b, 742

### **The Privileges of *danakpala ahmudans***

*Danakpala ahmudans* also were granted usual cultivation land, resident land and land to share. They also enjoyed the privileges of being given the provisions and supplies by their respective administrative areas. According to the Inquest of Pyay, it was learnt that Mindon Town had to give canes to make fetter and elephant collars. Likewise, Pogaung boatmen of Pyay had to give *danakpala ahmudans* the canes from West Yoma to make fetters. Shwedaung Town had to give food provisions to elephant *ahmudans*<sup>401</sup>.

Also by the Inquest of Magway *Danakpala Ahmudans*, we come to know that, *danakpala ahmudans* were given cultivation land, resident land and land to share. Towns of Wetmasut, Taunggwin, Myingun and Pahtanago had to provide the shed for elephant, the ride to fasten, the plank, ripe tamarind, palm sugar and canes. Yenangyaung Town had to give a pot of each oil to each elephant, while the granary in Salin had to rig out two baskets of paddy per elephant *ahmudan*<sup>402</sup>. *Danakpala ahmudans* also were exempted from due at toll gate, ferry, port, market, brokerages and so on. If there occurred the death of a *danakpala* elephant, *ahmudans* had to present the tusks of the dead one to the officials, such as elephant minister and elephant clerk<sup>403</sup>.

### **Elephant training by enclosure**

Wild elephants caught by *aukma* and *danakpala ahmudans* were tamed and trained by stockade method. The stockade was built at a place where plenty water could be available all the season, or at a place which was not too far from the capital, or at a place located in a direction which was in conformity with the day and date of the king. At the head of the stockade, leafy big trees should be planted to be

<sup>401</sup>“The Pyay Sittan”, *Parabaik* MS, UHRC, No.3450

<sup>402</sup>*Court Elephant*, No.4, 13

<sup>403</sup>*Court Elephant*, No.4, 13

look like the deep forest<sup>404</sup>. In Shwebo's reign as the stockade built in the north of Amarapura was not in accord with birth day of the king, new stockade was rebuilt in the south of the city according to the advice of the learned persons<sup>405</sup>. Method of capturing elephants varied according to the limitations of the terrain. The most common method was corraling, the capture of small numbers of elephant in stockades. The corral would consist of a fenced cul-de-sac constructed from timber, firmly planted into the ground. When the elephants were close enough, the elephants, driving them into it. The elephant stockade had a door at the end of a pathway flanked by trees, tricking the elephant into thinking that it was still in the woods. After the door was shut and the females were removed, elephant trainers would use canes to prick the elephant and force him into one of several long and narrow halls connected to the stockade. The narrowness of the hall prevented the elephant from turning around. In some cases, the trainers, standing above in the loft would bind the immobilized elephant with rope, or approach it with snares and bind its feet. The elephant was then left in this state with no food or water for four or five days. At the end of this period, food and water would be supplied, a female elephant would be provided, the elephant was united, and in eight days he became tame<sup>406</sup>.

The training of wild elephants caught by *aukma* and *danakpala ahmudans*, was the responsibility of enclosure *ahmudans*. Their rank and status hierarchy could be described as follow:

---

<sup>404</sup> Court Elephant, No.4,24

<sup>405</sup> U Teikkha dhamma lankara and Dr. Than Tun, *Myanma Yetswé Thamaing* (History of Myanmar Chronology Konbaung Period), Yangon, Ingyin U Press, 2005, p.223(Henceforth: Chronology, 2005)

<sup>406</sup> Charney ,2004, 141-142

**Table XVII**  
**Rank, Status and Responsibility of Elephant Trainers**

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Responsibility</b>
<i>Kyonehmu</i>	Responsible to make the wild ones tamed, and governed all enclosure <i>ahmudans</i>
<i>Yayee</i>	<i>Pamaw, Pamawnat, Pamaw U</i> Under the command of enclosure chief and <i>Yayee</i> head, <i>Yayee</i> had to train the elephant to do back and forth, and to lift up and down
<i>Sinpaik</i>	Manage and administer all enclosure <i>ahmudans</i>
<i>Kyoneyantha</i>	When the elephant became jaded due to repeated play off, <i>kyoneyantha</i> drove the wild elephant into one arm of the stockade by luring it with a cow elephant
<i>Kyonesaunk</i>	Enclosure watchmen fastened both legs and hind legs and the animal was held up in an up right position by means of three or four strands of rope that go under and around the stomach, and the ends made fast to a stout beam above the animal. The beam was kept parallel to the spine of the elephant. Then the elephant was lift of from the ground. By doing so, the wild elephant was made tamed

Source: Maung Maung Tin, 2005, 84,256-258

## **Training the elephant**

Cesare Fedrici (Caesar Frederick), the Italian merchant of Venice, who arrived the court of Bago in 16<sup>th</sup> century Myanmar, had recorded the art of corralling and training what observed at Bago. There were an array of phases of selection of a war elephant in the Myanmar army. The selection of war elephant was based on the elephants manner of movement, the abeyance of instruction, the degree of cleverness, field applicability and courage. War elephants were needed to test whether they were easily frightened or not by the roaring of tiger, or by displaying the effigy of tigers, by the noise of musical instruments, war gongs, and war drums, by the shouting of soldiers, by the bang of fire crackers, and by the beat of various shields. Then, the elephant was given additional training of military advance, attack, retreat and fighting the enemies<sup>407</sup>.

In the month of Nadaw, the Equestrian Festival was held, from which heroes of elephant, horse, bow and shields came out. To take part in the festival, respective *ahmudans* had to train their horse and elephant. As to the elephanteers, they needed to train their elephants to be bearable the attack with sword and spear. Therefore, we can understand that the elephant festival was a kind of war game for the elephantry<sup>408</sup>.

## **Elephant *ahmudans***

To keep and manage the tamed elephants, minister of elephants and *ahmudans* for elephant keeping grounds were appointed. The rank and status hierarchy of minister of elephant and elephanteers were as follow:

---

<sup>407</sup>Tin Lay, “*Shay Myanmar Sithsinmya*” (Ancient Myanmar War Elephant), *Ngwetayi*, 256, October 1981, p.4951 (Henceforth: Tin Lay, 1981)

<sup>408</sup>Ma Kyan, *Thamaing Sharpontaw Khare Hnit Acharsartanmya* (Tourde in Search of History and other papers), Yangon, Thukha Press, 2002, p.284 (Henceforth: Kyan, 2002)

**Table XVIII**  
**Rank, Status and Responsibility of Elephant Ahmudans**

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Responsibility</b>
<i>Sinwun</i>	To govern <i>aukma ahmudans</i> , <i>danakpala ahmudans</i> and enclosure <i>ahmudans</i> ; to command the elephantry; to manage elephant training and royal procession
<i>Sinwundauk</i>	On behalf of elephant minister, govern and manage elephanteers in military and in taking possession of the city
<i>Sinlakkhanaphat</i>	By examining the characteristics of the caughted elephant, determined the kind and the usefulness of elephant
<i>Sinsachi</i>	Execute the orders of elephant minister and assistant minister of elephant
<i>Sinasiayin</i>	Checked the health of elephant, such as musth and report it to elephant clerk
<i>Sinsaythamar</i>	Treat the elephant which became ill

Source: Maung Maung , 2005, 258-259

*Court Elephant , No.4, 51*

Fodder grass for elephant was to be given by *sintaing ahmudan* (elephant fodder grass suppliers). There were two fodder grass suppliers, the north fodder grass suppliers and the south fodder grass suppliers<sup>409</sup>. Under the head of fodder grass suppliers, there were fodder grass collectors, who were the lowest in status and rank in the elephantry. Here in the elephantry, we have seen the paradox of social status. To be appointed, the “master of elephants” was a high honour, but some of those under his command were not looked upon favourably. Ironically,

---

<sup>409</sup> Maung Maung Tin, 2005, 256

given the elephant's importance to the court and army, the responsibility of feeding the royal elephants was viewed as an especially degrading task in the elephantry and in the society as a whole. Men not deemed worthy of respect were placed under the grooms in the elephant stables and one who was thus relegated to life in these stables was regarded as being of extremely low status<sup>410</sup>. Men mostly sent to the elephant stables for fodder and head grooms were royally punished culprits<sup>411</sup>, debt slaves<sup>412</sup>, irresponsible persons<sup>413</sup>, adulterers<sup>414</sup> and man of abusive words<sup>415</sup>. Some of them had to do elephant stable groom works<sup>416</sup>. It is thought that when the king did not want someone to be punished with capital punishment, such peoples were sent to the elephant stables. These peoples had to carry out the cleaning works in the elephant stables on a daily basis, removing elephant excreta and food residue<sup>417</sup>.

### **Elephant organization ground *ahmudans***

There also were elephant grazing ground *ahmudans* in provincial areas. Their rank and status in hierarchical order can be described as below:

---

<sup>410</sup>Charney, 2004, 148

<sup>411</sup>Than Tun, 1986b,635

<sup>412</sup>Than Tun, 1986a, 611

<sup>413</sup>“The Royal Orders in Nyaungyan Period”, Palmleaf MS, U.C.L, No.366801, kaw-reverse

<sup>414</sup>“The Royal Order of King Badon, passed on 7 September 1789, The Royal Orders of *Sinbyushin*”, Palmleaf MS, NL.No.285, ke-reverse

<sup>415</sup>“The Royal Order of King Bodawpaya, issued on 3 August 1782, The Royal Orders in the reign of Bodawpaya”, *Parabaik* M.S, U.C.L, No. 140606

<sup>416</sup>“The Royal Order of King Badon, issued on 30 May 1799”, The Royal Order of King Badon, *Parabaik* M.S, U.C.L, No. 140602

<sup>417</sup>Maung Maung Tin, 2005, 266

**Table XIX**  
**Rank, Status and Responsibility of Elephant Herd *Ahmudans***

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Responsibility</b>
<i>Sinhmu</i>	Govern and manage on elephant head, mahout, middle rider, rear rider and lancer
<i>Sinthwethaukgyi</i>	Administer the elephant grazing ground under elephant chief
<i>Sinsaw, Sinsaye</i>	Implement the administration and management works of elephant chief and elephant bloodbond brotherhood concerning the elephant grazing ground
<i>Sinkè</i>	Obeying the order of elephant chief, he lead all the mahouts
<i>Oozi,Konlè,Naukpè</i>	Under elephant clerk, do the works concerning with the elephant grazing ground

Source: Maung Maung Tin, 2005, 259,266

*Court Elephant , No.4,52*

### ***Sinmin wun and ahmudans***

In Konbaung Period, there were *sinminwun* and *ahmudans* for the white elephant. Though Myanmar kings, throughout history, adopted the title of Lord of White Elephant, they did not assign separate peoples to white elephant. This post was created only in the time of King Badon, who held a belief that, white elephant he possessed were more glorious than other white elephants possessed by other kings and what he possessed were genuine white elephant. Therefore, when, in 1805, a cow white elephant called “*Shin Hnin Nwe*” appeared, the king took possession of her by bestowing a title “*Thiri Mala Maha Subaddna*”, to whom to

attend, a *sinminwun* was appointed<sup>418</sup>. There also appeared a bull white elephant in 1806, upon whom; the king conferred the title of “*Nirvana Pissaya Naga Yaza*”. As an act of award to the white elephant, the king appointed a *sinmin wun* and *ahmudans*, which later kings went on keep the tradition.

Masters elephant king, as far as we can find out in Konbaung Period, were

**Table XX**  
**List of *Sinmin Wuns* in Konbaung Period**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Name of master of elephant king</b>
A.D. 1806	Maha Minhla
A.D. 1813	Shwetaung Shwekyaw
A.D. 1818	Nemyo Minhla Sithu
A.D. 1819	Theinkha Zeyathu
A.D. 1819	Nemyo Minkyaw
A.D. 1837	Maha Minhla Thinkhaya
A.D. 1837	Nawyahta Pyanchi
A.D. 1842	Maha Minhla Minkyaw
A.D. 1850	Maha Kyawhtin Tarapya

Source: *Konbaungzet, 2004b*

The rank and status hierarchy of master of elephant king and *ahmudans* were as follow:

---

<sup>418</sup>The Funeral Record of *Shin Hnin Nwe*, Palmleaf MS, NL, No. 2632

**Table XXI**  
**Rank, Status and Responsibility of *Sinmin Wuns Ahmudans***

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Responsibility</b>
<i>Sinminwun</i>	Govern all <i>ahmudans</i> assigned to white elephant, manage all matters concerning with white elephant and keep up slaves, villages, paraphernalia and gold and silver materials awarded to the elephant
<i>Sinminwundauk</i>	Assist the master of elephant king in his work
	Proclaimed the orders of <i>Hluttaw</i> or Privy Council to master of elephant king and assistant master of elephant king
<i>Sinminsayegyi</i>	Execute the orders of master, assistant master and liaison of elephant king
<i>Sinminnauktawhtaing</i>	Expert elephant driver Supply the fresh and lush grass to the white elephants
<i>Sinminpyawbwe</i>	Carry out the cleaning works of elephant stables, removing all kinds of waste and refuse

Source: Maung Maung Tin, 2005, 218,256,264-265

### **Elephant grazing ground**

Elephants were important in the glorification of kings as well as in military campaigns till in the early Konbaung Period. Therefore, elephanteers had enjoyed privileges than other servicemen groups. Elephanteers were given salary, paddy or cultivation lands. Besides, separate grazing grounds were allotted to elephants. In Bodawpaya's reign, the king gave separate grazing grounds to elephant kings and court elephants by building stables in Mingun Areas.

**Table XXII**  
**Elephant Keeping Grounds in Badon's Reign**

Date	Elephant Grazing Ground	Area extent	Remark
10 July 1787	Inwa	Myitnge in east, Myittha in south, Myitthapauk in west, Ayeyarwady in north	
14 December 1787	Arlaung Island	Arlaung	Yamethin and Mottama
16 January 1788	Kyaukse, Thamantalin	Kyaukse	Chiengmai
29 June 1801	Thabyehla Village	Kyawtsitaik, Myenatha Town	

Source: Maung Maung Tin, 2005, 259, 266

*Court Elephant, No.4, 52*

In allotting grazing grounds, these grounds were divided into areas which were provided to each kind of elephant. In Bagyidaw's reign, the king allotted fifty *pè* to each of thirteen best young bull elephants, thirty *pè* to each of seven selected fighter elephants, and twenty nine *pè* to each of three royal house cow elephant and six royal cow elephants, totaling 1084 *pè* of grazing ground<sup>419</sup>. In allotting grazing grounds, it was done only for the white elephant and palace elephants. No other elephants were allotted such separate grazing grounds.

### **Cultivation lands for elephanteers**

Elephanteers were given titles, insignias, salaries and cultivation lands according to their rank. In elephanteers, there were armed *ahmudans* and memial labourers. All elephantrymen were included in armed *ahmudans*. In memial labourers, were included *aukma ahmudans*, *danakpala ahmudans*, elephant fodder suppliers, mahout and rear riders, fodder collectors and elephant stable grooms<sup>420</sup>.

---

<sup>419</sup>*Court Elephant*, No.3, 10

<sup>420</sup>U Tin, *Myanmarmin Okchokpon Sardann Hnit Bodawpaya Ei Yazathat Khaw Ameindawdangyi* (A Treatise on Administration Under Myanmar Kings Together with an Edit of King Bodawpaya), Vol.IV, Yangon, Department of Culture, 1976, p.247 (Henceforth: Tin, 1976)

**Table XXIII**  
**List of Cultivated Land Granted to or Elephanteers (*Sugyi*)**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Crop Cultivated</b>				<b>Total (in Pè)</b>
		<i>Kaukkyi</i>	<i>Mayin</i>	<i>Kaing</i>	<i>Ya</i>	
1838	Tedaw Village					27.5
	Ngapyet Village					38
	Chanthamarnge Village					27
	Chanthamargyi Village					85
	Pyiba Village					15
	Chin Village					35
	Monnge Village					10
	Mekkhaya Village					10
	Sabatheik Village					72
	Saingmalam Village					44
	Myinthi Village					62
	Mathè Village					47.5
	Panthun Village					5
	Yinti two Villages					91
	Theegaung Village					31.5
	Naungsaint Village					20.75
	Khanti					69.5

Date	Location	Crop Cultivated				Total (in Pè)
		Kaukkyi	Mayin	Kaing	Ya	
1859	Kinda Weir					85
	Nganaingthi Weir					472
	Pyaungbya Weir					474.75
	Kyinè Weir					75
	Nadet Weir					211.75
1878	Tawdwins three Villages	20				20
	Tawdwins three Villages	15				15
	Shindawgon North Village	23				23
	Shindawgonywathit Village	15		6		21
	Wagingon Village	24				24
	Shindawgon South Village	20		150		170
	Chaunggyiwa Village	7				7
	Chaunggyiwa Village	13		15		28
	Aungpinle Village	56				56

Source: The List on the Five Districts , Mya Pu Kyaung *Parabaik* MS, U

List of *Thwethauk* in the miscellaneous list of Talok Town, *Parabaik* MS, UCL, No.8993

**Table XXIV****List of Land Granted Land including Elephanteers (*Sugyan*)**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Elephanteers</b>	<b>Region</b>	<b>Total (pè)</b>
6 February 1638	Menial labourers	Nanwingaing Village	335
		Yekyo Village	335
		Kantu Village	55
		Yepadaing Village	250
		Kangyo Village	513
		Myin eighty Village	350
		Malumdin Village	550
		Kalamye Village	80
		Kyaukyit Village	770
		Kinywa Village	135
		Kantu Village	135
		Thit seik Village	260
		Ma U Sindet Village	75
		Wanbyi Village	135
		Chaung U Village	137
		Lezin Village	235
		Ngakhom Village	35
		Aungtha Village	300
		Sincheya kyun Village	250
		Sadom Village	300
		Yawasaingkhe Village	213
		Poppadaing Village	25
		Lebyu Village	40
		Chaungku Village	325
		Pegin Village	75
		Sarpaw Village	4
		Thedaw Village	35
		Arlaungkyun Village	85
		Hangyiphya Village	65
		Singya Village	65
		Taw Village	20
		<b>Total</b>	<b>7000</b>

Source: Toe Hla, 1995, 147

In grant Arlaungkyuning cultivation lands to armed *ahmudans*, bloodbond brotherhoods were given twenty *pè* each, that of elephant rider ten *pè* each, and *ahmudans* five *pè* each<sup>421</sup>. In armed *ahmudans*, the highest land given was about seven *pè* and two *sein*, the middle extent of land about three *pè* and one *sein*, and those of the lowest extent of land given was one *pè* and one *sein*. By these classes of land given to elephanteers, there were a total of over 7000 *pè* of lands granted to all *ahmudans* of elephantry men<sup>422</sup>. Though menial labourers of elephanteers had to do hard work, lands allotted to them were not much about that of armed *ahmudans*. Besides, the class of land also was interior. Armed *ahmudans* were given mainly irrigation lands, which were mostly located near the royal capital, whereas those of elephant catchers were given lands in Sagaing and Magway Division primarily.

### **Titles conferred upon elephantry men**

Not only lands to cultivate, reside and share, elephant *ahmudans* were also given titles and insignias, according to their rank and position. Titles given to elephant *ahmudans* were the title of *Nemyo* to assistant masters of elephant, the title of *Nawrahta* to elephant clerks, the title of *Gaza* to those of elephant chiefs, elephantrymen, mahouts, and rear riders, and the title of *Udein* to expert elephant riders<sup>423</sup>. The titles granted to elephant *ahmudans* in Konbaung Period, as far as we can find out, were described below.

---

<sup>421</sup>U Tun Yi (Shehaungthutethitau), *Konbaung Khit Sayin Padethar* (Konbaung Period, Miscellaneous Data), Vol.III, Aichi University, Toyohashi, 2003, pp.112-113 (Henceforth: Tun Yi, 2003)

<sup>422</sup>Toe Hla, 1995, 147

<sup>423</sup>Mahazaya Thenkhayar, *Wawharalinathadipani*, Yangon, Hanthawaddy Press, p.316 (Henceforth: Thenkhayar)

**Table XXV**  
**Titles Granted to Elephant Ahmudans in Konbaung Period**

<i>Nemyo</i>	<i>Nawrahta</i>	<i>Gaza</i>	<i>Udein</i>
<i>Nemyo Nandameik</i> (1800)	<i>Nawrahta Kyawkhaung</i> (1807)	<i>Gaza Theikdra</i> (1783)	<i>Udein Sithu</i> (1757)
<i>Nemyo Sithu</i> (1806)	<i>Nawrahta Pyanchi</i> (1858)	<i>Gaza Kyawthu</i> (1807)	<i>Udein Setkathu</i> (1817)
<i>Nemyo Minhla Sithu</i> (1807)		<i>Gaza Kyaw</i> (1834)	<i>Udein Nandathu</i> (1817)
<i>Nemyo Min Kyaw</i> (1819)			<i>Udein Thirithu</i> (1817)
<i>Nemyo Zeya Yanaung</i> (1824)			<i>Udein Thrikyaw</i> (1817)
<i>Nemyo Thiri Kyaw thu</i> (1838)			<i>Udein Zeyathu</i> (1817)
<i>Nemyo Yehla Yegaung</i> (1845)			<i>Udein Thiri Sithu</i> (1819)
<i>Nemyo Thari Kyawhtin</i> (1847)			<i>Udein YeHla</i> (1824)
<i>Nemyo Baddha Yaza</i> (1861)			<i>Udein YeHlaKyawzwa</i> (1824)
<i>Nemyo Minhtin Yaza</i> (1868)			<i>Udein Thamanta</i> (1827)
<i>Nemyo Udein Thamanta Thihakyaw</i> (1868)			<i>Udein Zeya Waythaw</i> (1829)
<i>Nemyo Yaza Kyawthu</i> (1878)			<i>Udein Yaza Nawrahta</i>

Source: *Konbaungzet*, 2004 c

In summation, as elephants were important in royal occasions and military affairs, kings had always tried to make elephant stocks grow by every means, such as receiving elephants as tribute, capturing elephant from enemies and simply by catching the wild ones. With the increase in the number of elephants, there also grew the need for elephant catchers and elephant trainers. Therefore, Myanmar kings had formed the elephanteers systematically. Of them, the elephant minister was the highest in rank, under who were elephant catchers, elephant trainers, elephant herd *ahmudans* and elephant tender *ahmudans*. There also was an independent elephant king *ahmudans*.

As the possession of many elephants made crucial in the political and military relation with neighbouring countries till the early Konbaung Period, elephanteers also played a key role in the service of the king up to the early Konbaung Period. Elephanteers also enjoyed privileges, for their service was very dangerous to their lives and they caught what the kings had much treasured animal the elephant. The privileges were providing of provisions and supplies, tax exemptions and dues. Enjoying of such privileges albeit, some elephanteers deserted their groups, which caused the kings to issue a range of royal orders dictating to take care not to decrease the strength of elephant men. As these peoples enjoyed privileges and royally favoured ones, elephanteers might have enjoyed relative socio economic prosperity.

But after First and Second Anglo–Myanmar Wars, Myanmar came to realize that their once formidable elephantry were no longer useful for ever in wars. As the elephant now became a burden as it was no longer useful in both in wars and productive activities, keeping the elephantry and elephanteers costs much money and drained the royal treasury. Therefore, as a consequence to it, the number of elephanteers became decreased. For instance, the number of elephanteer in Badon's reign was about 156 persons and it decreased to sixty one persons in Thibaw's reign. The decrease might be due to the king's less emphasis and interest on elephant.

We have said that elephanteers enjoyed a range of tax exemption, in which *thatthameda* or capitation tax was included. And now, in 1883, elephanteers had to pay this tax again, showing the less enjoyment of privileges and the debasing of their livelihood. The living standard of elephanteers gradually degraded, suffering economic hardship, which could be seen in many of land transaction deeds of mortgage. We have witnessed that once the spectacular and splendid lives of elephants and elephanteers who took part in the nation building tasks of First, Second and Third Myanmar Empire became obsolete and degraded, in the face of colonial imperialism.

## CONCLUSION

**E**lephant was thoroughly related with Myanmar society, in its belief, politics and social condition. The elephant cult could be found in places where Hinduism reached or prevailed, especially in South and Southeast Asia. Though the large numbers of world's elephant were found in Africa, there hardly existed the intimate relation of man and elephant, like those of South and Southeast Asia. As Myanmar kings believed that the white elephant was the Buddha to be, the cult had closely related with the lives of the Buddha. For, most Myanmar are devout Buddhists, we can understand the elephant cult and belief by studying the Buddhist Literature where elephant took the centre stage. The earliest sculpture of elephant could be found in the Pyu culture, which was attested by the Chinese animals. The cult of elephant found in Pyu culture might be, due not to describe the elephant found in their environment, but rather originated in the Hinduism and Buddhism, that led to the sculpturing out of elephant and worshiping of it. It is noteworthy that the belief in the elephant cult is more strong in the court circle, than the community of ordinary peoples. In emulation of *Cakkravatin*, Myanmar kings tried to possess the white elephant, which was one among the seven *ratanas*, owned by a universal monarch. Thus, it becomes a belief, that the possession of white elephant signified the power and glory of a king. In post Bagan Periods, Myanmar kings began to adopt the title of the Lords of White Elephant. In Pinya Period, we find the one Thihathu the Lord of One White Elephant, meaning he possessed a white elephant. But how much crazy and frenzy in the ownership of white elephant for a Myanmar king, could be seen here, that what Thihathu had owned was, not of a living white elephant, but a dead one. Once a dead white elephant floated down a stream and the king ordered to pick it out. For being crazy to be the Lord of White Elephant, he had made some mechanical device to make the dead elephant stand, upon which he rode. Then he conferred himself with the title the Lord of White elephant. More awkward and strange thing concerning white elephant was that, when Kyaw Swa Nge came to posses the five white elephants, his elder brother the reigning king, in fear, had transferred the throne to him. It shows how

deeply rooted the belief in white elephant and the elephant cult in Myanmar court circle, to whom the possession of white elephant means the glorification of the possessor, reigning king or not. Therefore, kings had hoped to find out white elephant, and to own white elephant became their goal. Kings also were found to manipulate the white elephant cult, in order to win the heart and soul of the people.

We can find the elephant myth in many kinds of artistic works- painting, sculpture, architecture, music and drama and also in the literature and the royal orders. Though the murals of elephant were found since Bagan Period, being an amateur in art we can not conceive this kind of art thoroughly. It is a well known fact that some sort of the painting and sculpture of elephant can be found in areas where lithic ages developed, implying that man and elephant were not of recent intimacy, but of age old friendship. In Myanmar, we can find the earliest painting of elephant on the walls of Padalin Cave, which is thought to be a Neolithic Site, from about 10000 years. By observing the Padalin painting of elephants, we have some ideas, that these early men drew it in fear of the beast, or in a way a kind of belief, but surely not of domestication of the animal. It is thought that the domestication of elephant could not be more than 1500 years ago. As the mighty kings came to possess the white elephant, their possession of the animal became the theme in art and literature. The famous ones were pagodas with elephant base, images with elephant base and elephant relief in half and round, all of which can be found in many of Bagan stupas and temples. In the field of the art of sculpture, the most distinguished and best representations of sculpture were those of elephants and horses. The people of Myanmar had a range of medium to paint, such as mural paintings, *parabaik* paintings and lacquerware paintings, where the theme were sometimes religious, sometimes social and sometimes military event and sometimes the nature of elephants. They drew these paintings masterly, which might be owing to the intimate relationship of man and elephant, in term of religious or personal contact. Also the most widely and exquisitely depicted animal in Myanmar literature was that of the elephant. The literature in feudal days glorified the king, by analogously mentioning the elephant in “*pyo*”, poem and prose. Therefore, in monarchical days, treatises on the characteristics of white elephants, “*yadu*”, “*mawgun*”, “*kyo*”, “*bwe*”, “*patpyo*”, “*thaphyan*” and “*thachingan*” appeared having the elephant their theme, eulogizing the animal in various ways. Texts on characteristics of elephant, it seems, made the cult of elephant more deep. Literatures about the elephant were found written to appease and please the king. But

sometimes there appeared the rationalist and the realist who did not accept the popular superstitious belief of white elephant. It was the Lebawkyauung *Sayadaw*, who wrote the *Gaza Viniccaya* text, that criticized the white elephant cult and belief. The royal orders , concerning with the elephant, were found many in numbers in Konbaung Period, in which King Badon had issued most of them, implying his belief in the white elephant was deep and profound. The Lebaw Sayadaws *Gaza Viniccaya* text, could be seen, in part, as an attempt to show the true nature of the elephant, by eliminating the wrong view, concerning the white elephant.

When the domestication of elephant began is uncertain, but might be originated in Indian Subcontinent. The domestication of elephant in Myanmar was found to be interesting, as it was the biggest in land animal, that pose the dire threat to the lives of human. Until now, animals, being domesticated and use for the benefit of man, in fact was a little in number. Among them, scholars thought that dog was the first animal, being domesticated by man. Then came, buffalo, cow, horse, camel and elephant. Out of these animals, domestication of elephant and use of it in warfare and various means, had long been existed since Pyu Period and down to Konbaung Period. In Bagan Period, especially after 12<sup>th</sup> century AD, not only the cult of elephant , but also catching, farming, training, and using of it in production and warfare, had been firmly established. The emphasis put on the value of elephant and horse than the agriculturally valuable animals of cattles, cow, buffalo and their usefulness in the politics and the wars. These animals were used as gifts or tributes in bilateral relation of two countries, or between the king and his vassals, or between the relation of the central and provincial. The possession of many elephant was taken as the manifestation of the glory of a king. Therefore, elephant played a central role in the feudal politics of Myanmar. There were wars which were fought, solely to conquer the elephant, white or black, in Myanmar history. The most famous was the one which Bayinnaung fought Ayudhaya for want of the white elephant. In feudal days, as kings regarded the elephant as a big weapon, kings only were the right to possess the elephant. Therefore, every elephant in Myanmar were owned by the king or his vassals, who enjoyed such privileges an account of the clemency and pity of the king. But the usefulness of elephant in wars had both advantages and disadvantages. In the battle, elephant was found to be a sitting duck, never missed for a good markman, also in the withdrawal, elephant could not retreat quickly like that of horse. In the famous Ngasaunggyan Battle, Myanmar elephantry was defeated under the shower of Mongol

archers, plus fire rockets. Under the volley of arrows and fire rockets, elephants were greatly frightened and turned back, treading own men and army. Nevertheless, after the wars with the imperialist capitalist countries, the role of elephants in the politics and wars gradually dwindled. Therefore, war elephant, which played a key role in every major expedition from Bagan down to Konbaung Period, has now turned themselves into productive animal in timber extraction only.

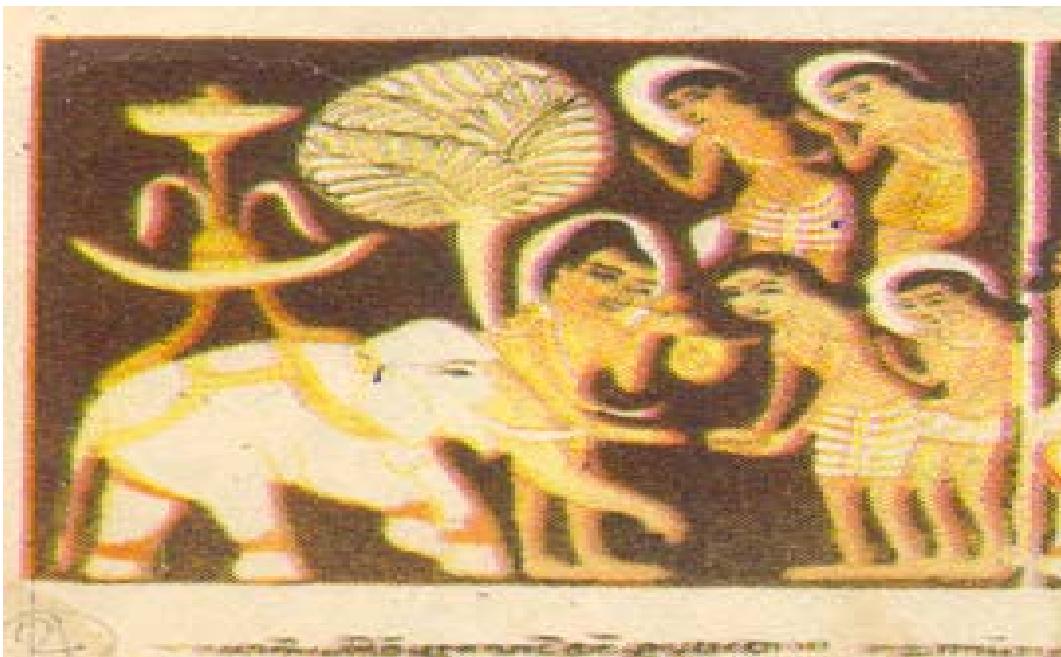
In any discussing about elephant, it would not be adequate and complete, unless we describe the elephanteers. With the formation of elephantry, elephanteers were organized according to the nature of elephantry groups. In the elephantry, there were elephant catching group, elephant training group, and elephant keeping group. These people were to live near the deep forest where elephants could roam freely. Elephanteers were not of Myanmar stock only, but comprised with of Shans, Kayins, Yuns, and Lawas, for whom the king had villages established where he granted these men land to reside, land to cultivate and land to share. Elephanteers enjoyed some privileges, and were given high post in the administrative hierarchy with relevant insignia. Kings usually tried to possess elephants as much as possible, as these beasts were to him big weapon, by sending out catching parties frequently and carrying out training always. As kings put much emphasis on elephant, as an manifestation of the power and glory of the king and the prosperity of the *Sasana*, members of elephantry could enjoy the special right and privileges, leading them to get the high social status. But after the wars with imperialists, the role of elephants in warfares rapidly declined and the living standard of elephanteers also decreased. The lives of elephanteers went ups and downs depending on the mood swing and high or low interest of the king. Though the role of elephant gradually faded out, the cult of white elephant still persists in traces till to day.

Elephant habitants might have existed all over the world. According to ancient record, the early elephant, known as mammoth, once roamed in the northern part of the world upto Siberia. The elephant habitat has now shrieked due to the expansion of human settlements and activities. At present, elephant habitats might exist only on the border areas between Myanmar and India, it is learnt. Therefore, like the mammoth, elephants may even disappear from the world.

## **Photographs**



**Photo (1)**  
*Chaddanta Jataka, Myingaba Gubyaukkyi Pagoda, Bagan*



**Photo (2)**  
*Vessantar Jataka, the Depicting the Donation of the White elephant*  
*Shinbinsakyo Pagoda , Yele Village, Sale Township*



**Photo (3)**

**The Great Renunciation, Shwethalyaung Pagoda , Po Win Hill  
Toe Toe Win Collection**



**Jataka ,Po Win Hill, Cave No.284  
Toe Toe Win Collection**



**Photo (5)**

**A Princess on an Elephant ,Ngasudan Pagoda, Ma U, Yesagyo Township  
Toe Toe Win Collection**



**Photo (6)**

**The Taming of *Nalagiri*,  
Pagoda  
Toe Toe Win Collection**



**Photo (7)**  
**A Scene of Military Expedition Shwethalyaung Pagoda, Po Win Hill,**  
**Cave No.284**  
**Toe Toe Win Collection**



**Photo (8)**  
**A Herd of Elephants Kyauktawgyi Pagoda, Amarapura**  
**Dr. Toe Hla Collection**



**Photo (9)**  
**A scene of Military Expedition Ananda Temple, Bagan**  
**Toe Toe Win Collection**



**Photo (10)**  
**A Royal Procession, *Parabaik* painting**  
**U Maung Maung Thein Collection**



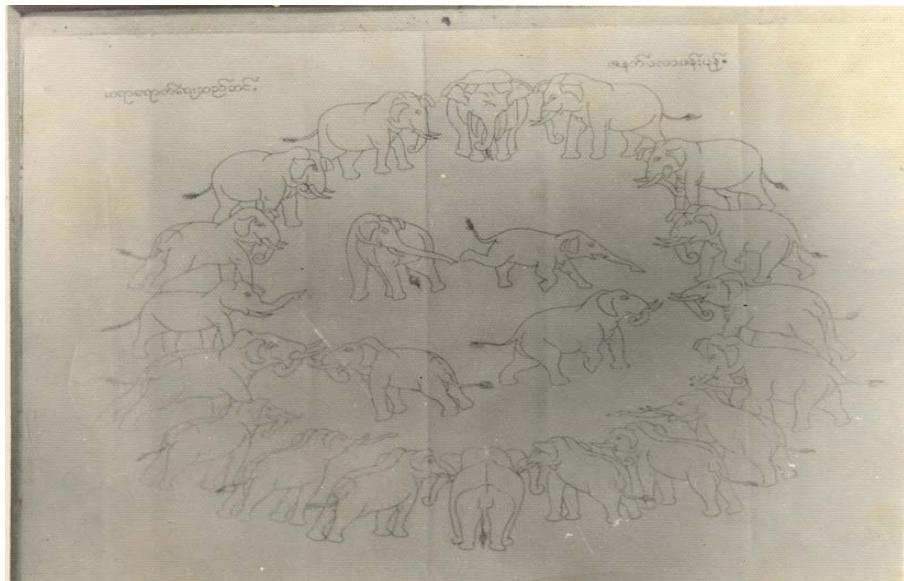
**Photo (11)**  
**The King Observes the White Elephant, *Parabaik* painting**  
**U Maung Maung Thein Collection**



**Photo (12)**  
**A Duel Fight on Elephants, *Parabaik* painting**  
**U Maung Maung Thein Collection**



**Photo (13)**  
**Training an Elephant for Military Use, *Parabaik* painting**  
**U Maung Maung Thein Collection**



**Photo (14)**  
**Catching an Elephant by Trained Elephants, *Parabaik* painting**  
**U Maung Maung Collection**



Photo (15)

**Elephant and Insignia Bestowed on Yatsauk Sawbwa, Parabaik painting  
U Maung Maung Thein Collection**

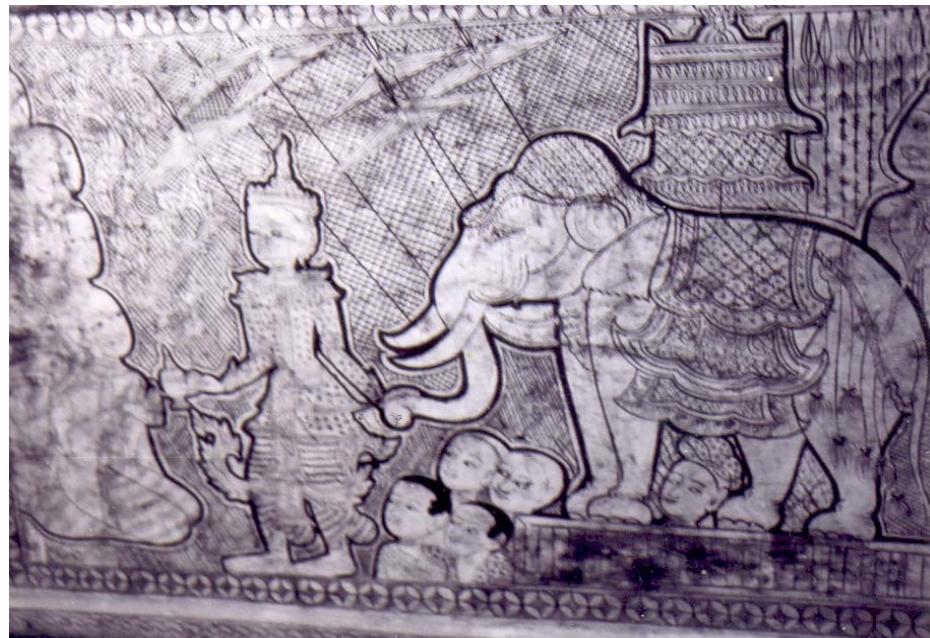
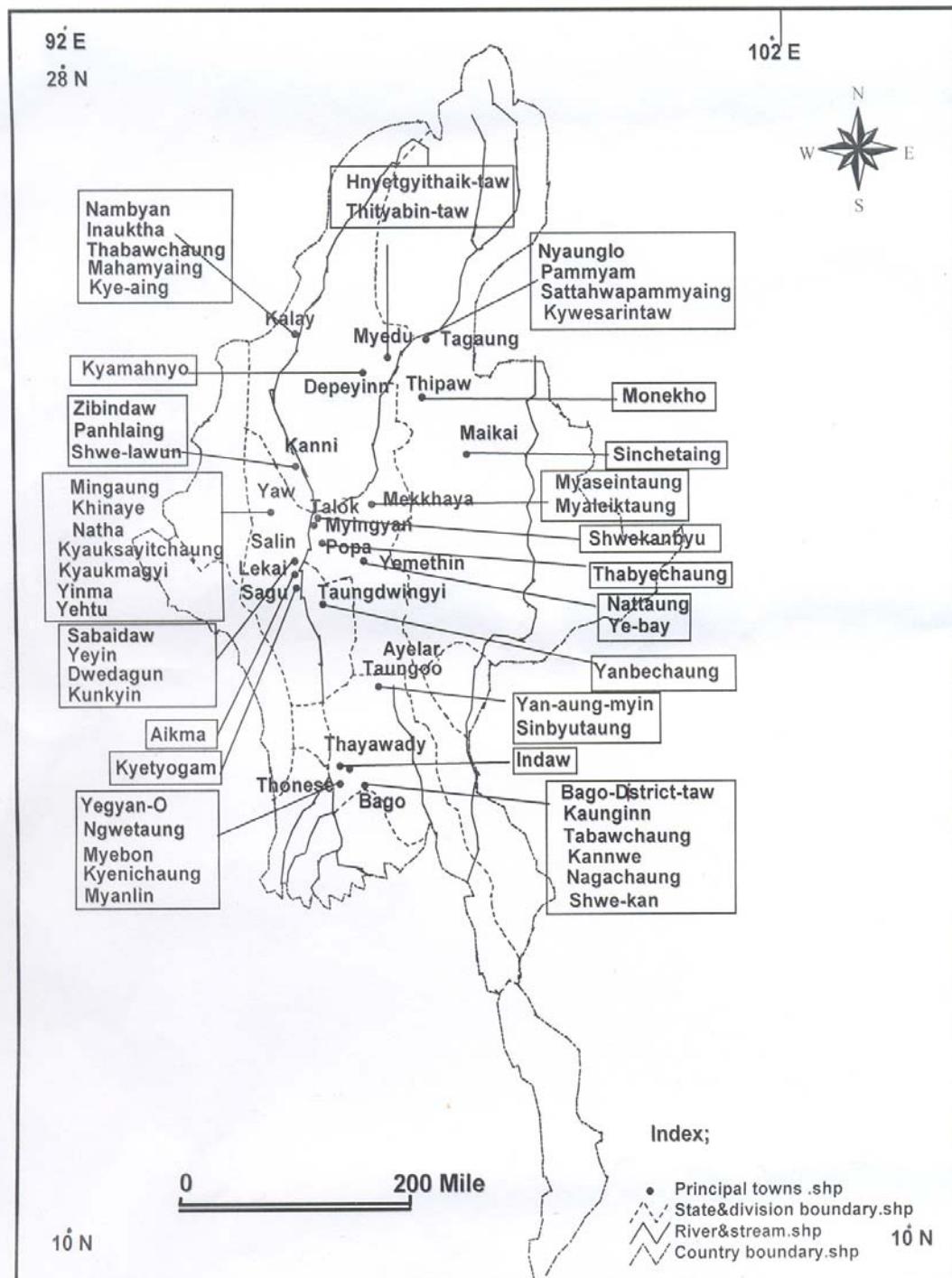


Photo (16)

**Vessantara Jataka, Lacquerware painting  
U Maung Maung Thein Collection**

## **Maps**

**Map (1)**  
**Map showing the elephant inhabited area**

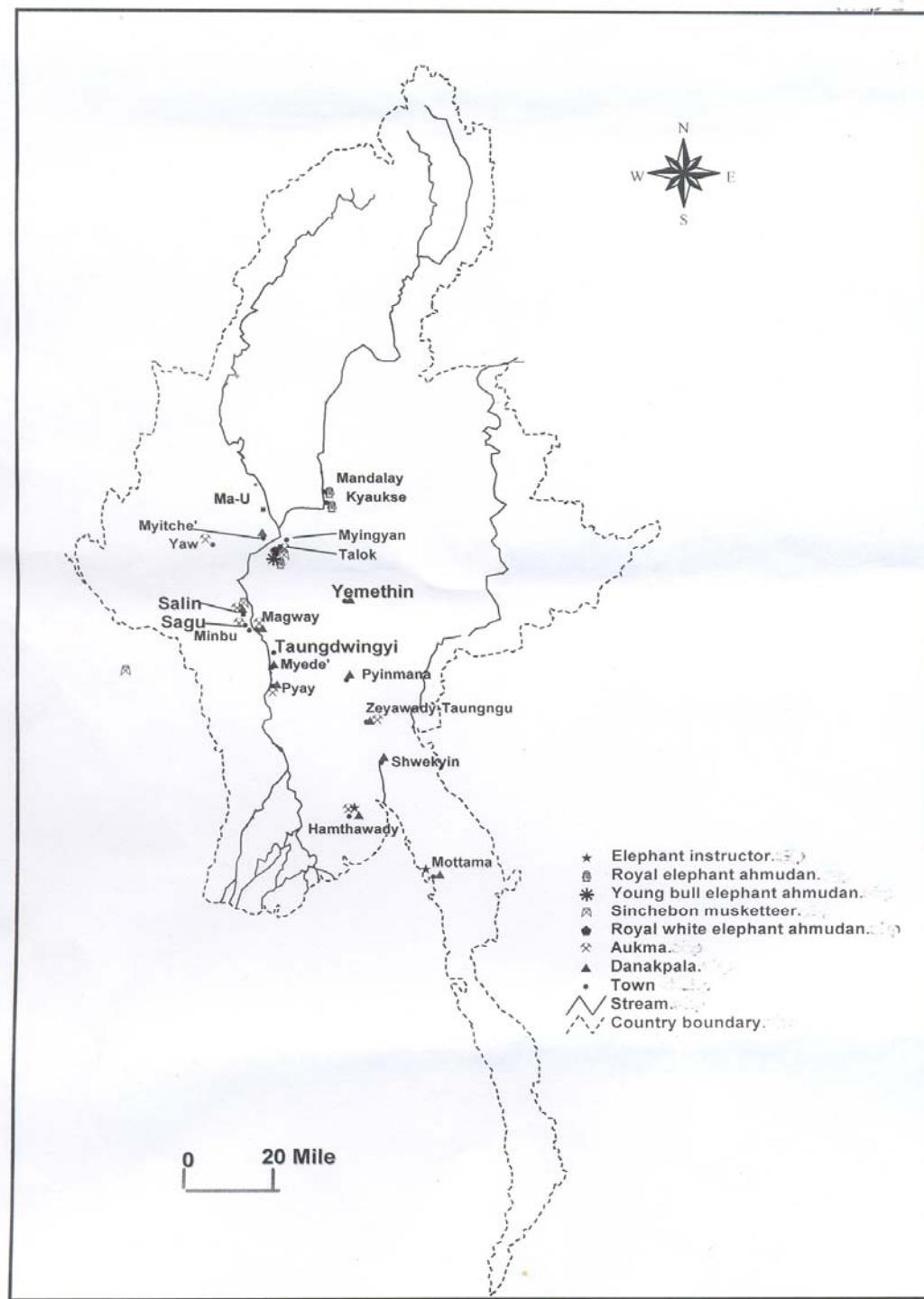


Source: Forest Department , Myanmar

Note: Some Unidentifiable Elephant-Inhabitants are left

## Map (2)

**Map showing the village where elephanteers were settled**



Source: Forest Department ,Myanmar

## Appendix – 1

### Proverbs Related with Elephants

ကောက်သင်းကောက်စပါးဆင်စား၍ကုန်

ကြီးကျယ်လိုက်တာဆင့်ဖင်

ကျားနှင့်ဆင်လယ်ပြင်မှသိမည်

ခြေရာဟူသမျှ ဆင်ခြေရာအကြီးဆုံး

ဆင်ကျင်ငယ်စွန်း ပုဂ္ဂက်ဆိတ်ပင်လယ်ဝေ

ဆင်ကျိုစားရာ ဆိတ်မခံနိုင်

ဆင်ကန်းတောာတိုး

ဆင်ကောင်ကြီးတွေမှ ဆင်ခြေရာရာ

ဆင်ခေါင်းခွေးမချိနိုင်သလို

ဆင်ချေးတစ်တုံး ဆိတ်ချေးတစ်ရာ

ဆင်ခြေရာခွက်ထဲမှ အားသူငယ်လို

ဆင်ခြေကိုဘာမှတ် ဖိနပ်ဖြစ်သွားမည်

ဆင်ချိသောကြီးကြက်ချိသော်မမြို့ ကြက်ချိသောကြီး ဆင်ချဉ်သော်မခိုင်

ဆင်စွယ်မှန်ပိုးမစား

ဆင်စီးလို့မြင်းရံတာမြင်ချင်သည်

ဆင်စာဆင်စား ဆိတ်စာဆိတ်စား

ဆင်တစ်စဲ မြင်းတစ်စဲ

ဆင်တိုင်းဆင်တိုင်းမှာ အမြဲတော့ပလဲမရှိ

ဆင်နောက်ခွေးပါ

ဆင်ပါးစပ်နှမ်းပက်သလို

ဆင်ပြဆန်တောင်း

ဆင်ပိုန်ကျဲလောက်

ဆင်ပြောင်ကြီးအမြီးကြမှတစ်

ဆင်ပေါ်ကလူခွေးရူးမမြောက်

ဆင်ပေါ်ကလူနှင့် ဆင်အောက်ကလူလို

ဆင်ပေါက်ကောက်လှိုင်းခိုး

ဆင်ဖြူတော်ကြီးကောက်ရှိးလှည့်းတပ်

ဆင်ဖြူမျက်နှာဆင်မဲမကြည့်ဗုံး

ဆင်ဖြူတော်ပြတ်စားချင့်ယုံ

ဆင်ဖြူတော်ဝင်မည့်ကိန်း ချည်တစ်နှင့်ကျိန်းကျေ

ဆင်ဖြူရေချာတပါင်းလ

ဆင်ဖြူတော်မှီကြီးစုပ်

ဆင်ဖိုးထက်ချွန်းဖိုးကကြီး

ဆင်မယဉ်သာ

ဆင်မှာလည်း ဆင်အတောင်၊ ပုဂ္ဂက်ဆိတ်မှာလည်းပုဂ္ဂက်ဆိတ်အတောင်

ဆင်မလှမ်းဟန်ဗြိမ္မာသူ့

ဆင်မှာတော့ကျင်းယ်ရော၊ ပုဂ္ဂက်ဆိတ်မှာတော့ပင်လယ်ဝေ

ဆင်ဝန်ကတော်မြောင့်ကြ

ဆင်ရွှေရန်ရှောင်

ဆင်သားကိုခြင်သွေ့မစား  
 ဆင်သေကိုဆိတ်သားရေနှင့်ဖုံးသလို  
 ဆင်သတ်အရပ်ဝေ  
 ဆင်သတ်ပြီးခွေးနာဆေးကု  
 ဆင်သွားသော်လမ်းဖြစ်  
 ဆင်ဟာကိုခွေးမျှော်သလို  
 ဆင်လှူပြီးချွှန်းကျမှန်မျှော်  
 ဆင်လိုက်ရာဝါစဉ်မရွေးဘူး  
 ဆင်လိုက်မှသစ်ပင်ရှာ  
 ဆင်လည်းဆင်အထွာ ဆိတ်လည်းဆိတ်အထွာ  
 ဆင်အိပ်ရာဆိတ်နှီး  
 ဘဝိတရှစ်ဆင်တစ်အစ်  
 မျက်နှာကိုကဆင်းနင်းရက်သလို  
 တောနက်လေဆင်ချေးထူးလေ  
 တောဆင်ခမည်းပေး  
 တိုးမည့်ဆင်နောက်တလုမ်းဆုတ်  
 ထွက်ပြီးသားဆင်စွယ်ဝင်တယ်လို့မရှိ  
 ယပ်တောင်ဆင်နင်းထူးမပြားဘူး  
 အကြွေးရရင်ဆင်တောင်ဝယ်သည်  
 အမြင်မတော်ဆင်တော်နှင့်ခလောက်  
 အတတ်လည်းစုံ စွယ်စုံဆင်သို့

## **Appendix – 2**

### **Royal Orders in Relation with Elephants**

၂၃ ဇြဲ ၁၇၈၁ နဂါးကိုးမော်တော့ရဆင်ကိုကျံးသွင်းရန်ပြန်။

၂၂ အောက်တိုဘာ ၁၇၈၁ အောက်မားဝန်ဟောင်း ငမြတ်ဖြူ၏အိမ်ကို နရာပုံစအားပေးရန်ပြန်။

၁၅ ဖေဖော်ဝါရီ ၁၇၈၂ စော်ကူးစားလက်ထက်ထုတ်ပြန်သည့် ဆင်စားကျက်မြေပေး စာချွန်  
သိမ်းရန်ပြန်။

၃ ဉာဏ် ၁၇၈၂ ကျောင်းကျွန်ဟုတ်ပါးသူအားမဟုတ် မတရားစွပ်စွဲသူငါးအောင်အား  
ဆင်စာရိတ်မှာထည့်ရန်ပြန်။

၅ မေ ၁၇၈၃ ရွှေစာတိုင်ဆင်ကိုကျံးသွင်းရန်ပြန်။

၂၂ မေ ၁၇၈၃ တတိယဉ်ဖွင့်တွင် အောက်မားဝန်ကို မင်းလှမင်းကျော်အမည်ပေးရန်ပြန်။

၁၄ ဇူလိုင် ၁၇၈၃ အိမ်ရှေ့မင်းကိုဆင်စုပေးရန်ပြန်။

သတိုးမဟာသီဟသူကို အိမ်ရှေ့မင်းကဆင်စုပေးရန်ပြန်။

၁၉ ဇူလိုင် ၁၇၈၃ ဆင်သားရောင်းစားသူကို ဒဏ်ထားရန်ပြန်။

၇ ဇန်နဝါရီ ၁၈၇၄ အောက်မားဝန် ၃သာဦးအစား ရေယျရွှေတောင်ကို အောက်မားဝန်ခန့်ရန်ပြန်။

၁၄ မေ ၁၇၈၄ ဆင်ဝန်ထောက် ရေယျကာမဏီကို ဆင်ဝန်ခန့်ရန်ပြန်။

၈ ဇန် ၁၇၈၄ ဥပေါ်ပြောင်မွန် ဆင်ဖြူတော်အဆောင်အရွက်ပေးရန်ပြန်။

၁၆ အောက်တိုဘာ ၁၇၈၄ စစ်လမ်းခရီးတွင် တိုက်ဆင်များမပင်ပန်းအောင်ဆောင်ယူရန်ပြန်။

၂၆ အောက်တိုဘာ ၁၇၈၅ ရွာလပ်ဝန် မင်းလှမင်းကျော်ကို ဆင်ဝန်ခန့်ရန်ပြန်။

၉ မေ ၁၇၈၆ မင်းသုံးတော့ရဆင်ဖြူတော်ကို ကျော့ဖမ်းရန်စစ်အကြိုလေးပါးစီရင်ရန်ပြန်။

၂၆ မေ ၁၇၈၇ တရာတ်သံများနှင့် စကားပြောရမည့်သူများကို ဆင်စီးခွင့်ပြရန်ပြန်။

၂။ ရူပတိင်း၊ သင်းဆင်အစုသားများ စားမြေပေးရန်ပြန်။

၃။ ရူလိုင် ၁၇၈၇ ရက်မပိတ်ဆင်မတော်ဆောင်ယူရန်ပြန်။

၄။ ရူလိုင် ၁၇၈၇ မြို့သစ်တိုင်းတာ တောရဆင်တော်ကို ဆင်စာမျက်ဘိုးပေးရန်ပြန်။

၅။ ရူလိုင် ၁၇၈၇ ဆင်ဖြူတော်ရေပေးသည့် အခင်းအကျင်းဆိုင်ရာပြန်။

၆။ မြေနှစ်းတော်မြောက်ရှိ ဆင်ဖြူတင်းကုပ်ပြင်ဆင်ရန်ပြန်။

၇။ ရူလိုင် ၁၇၈၇ ဆင်စားကျက်မြေသတ်မှတ်ရန်ပြန်။

၈။ ရူလိုင် ၁၇၈၇ မှတ္တာမဆင်တော်ကို ကျော်ဖမ်းရန်အောက်မားအစုနှင့် ဓနက်ပလာအစုခန့်ထားရန်ပြန်။

၉။ ရူလိုင် ၁၇၈၇ ပုဂံဆင်တော် မည်သည့်အရပ်သို့ ရောက်သည်ကို စုစုစီးရန်ပြန်။

၁၀။ အိမ်ရွှေမင်း စကုမင်းသား မိမိရားဝန်၊ ဟင်းသာတမင်းသမီး၊ စစ်ကိုင်း မင်းသားတို့က လျှော့များ ခန့်ထား၍ ဆင်ဖြူတော်ကြံရန်ပြန်။

၁၁။ စက်တင်ဘာ ၁၇၈၇ ဥပေါ်ပြောင်ဆင်နှင့်နာဂုတ်ရဆင်ဖြူတော်ကို ထားမြှော်နှင့်သို့ ကူးပို့ရန်ပြန်။

၁၂။ နိုဝင်ဘာ ၁၇၈၇ အောက်မားဆင်တော်များ ဥက္ခာင်းဆေးရန်ပြန်။

၁၃။ ဆင်ကျိုးတွင်ပရမေသူရှိရန်၊ မဟာပိန္ဒာဥဒိန်မင်းစောနတ်၊ ဗုဒ္ဓဟူးပြုလ်၊ ရာဟုပြုလ်နှင့် မော်နတ်ကြီးများ ပူဇော်ရန်ပြန်။

၁၄။ ဉာဏ် ၁၇၈၇ ကလေးမြို့ရ ဆင်တော်ကိုပုဂံဖြူတွင် ဘောင်လုပ်၍ မြို့ဝန်ကကြီးကြပ်ဆောင်ယူရန်ပြန်။

၁၅။ ဉာဏ် ၁၇၈၇ မြင်းဝန်ဆက်သည့် မွန်အမျိုးသားအချို့ကို ရန်ခေါင်းနင်းဆင်တော်နှင့် ရမည်းသင်းဆင်တော်တာဝန်ထမ်းဆောင်ရန်ပြန်။

၁၆။ စက်တင်ဘာ ၁၇၈၇ သူရဲဝန်မင်းကျော်စွာမယားကိုမှားယဉ်းသည့်ကတလုပ်ကို ဆင်စာရိတ်မှာ ဖြည့်ရန်ပြန်။

၁၇။ ဒီဇင်ဘာ ၁၇၈၇ ဥပေါ်ပြောင်မွန်ဆင်ဖြူတော်ဘောင်နှင့်ဆောင်ယူရန်ပြန်။

၁၄ အန်နဝါရီ ၁၇၈၈ ဆင်ကျံးထွက်တော်မူသည့် အခန်းအနားဆိုင်ရာပြန်။  
 ၁၅ အန်နဝါရီ ၁၇၈၈ ၆၇းမယ်ဆင်တော်ကို အောက်မားနှင့်တိုက်ငင်ရန်ပြန်။  
 ၈ ဖေဖော်ဝါရီ ၁၇၈၈ မိုးနံအိုင်ကြီးတောရဆင်ကို ကျံးသွင်းရန်ပြန်။  
 ၁၅ ဖေဖော်ဝါရီ ၁၇၈၈ အောက်မားတော်အစုသားများ မြို့စွာအကြီးအကဲ၏ အစစ်အဆေးကို  
 ခံယူရန်ပြန်။  
 ၂၁ ဖေဖော်ဝါရီ ၁၇၈၈ မဟာမြိုင်တောရဆင်တော်ကိုကျံးသွင်းရန်ပြန်။  
 ၁၇ မတ် ၁၇၈၈ သရက်မြို့တောရဆင်တော်ကိုကျံးသွင်းရန်ပြန်။  
 ၂၀ စက်တင်ဘာ ၁၇၈၈ ဆင်တော်များအဆင်အယင်ဆိုင်ရာပြန်။  
 ၁၁ ဖေဖော်ဝါရီ ၁၇၉၉ ဆင်ဝန်၊ ဆင်ဝန်ထောက်တို့ ဆင်တင်းကုပ်တွင်စောင့်အိပ်ရန် ပြန်။  
 ၂၇ စက်တင်ဘာ ၁၇၉၉ ရာဇ်ဝတ်သားများဆင်စာရိတ် ဆင်ချေးကျံးတွင်ထည့်ရန်ပြန်။  
 ၅ ဒီဇင်ဘာ ၁၇၉၉ နေရာသို့မရောက်သေးသည့် အကြီးအမှုးတို့၏ သားမယားကို ပစ်မှားသူအား  
 ဆင်စာရိတ်တွင်ထည့်ရန်ပြန်။  
 ၂၂ ဖေဖော်ဝါရီ ၁၇၉၀ တရုတ်သံတို့ကို ဆင်ပေးရန်ပြန်။  
 ၁၅ ဇူလိုင် ၁၇၉၂ ဆင်ဝန်ထောက် ကချမ်းသာပုံကို သစ်တော့ပို့ရန်ပြန်။  
 ၁၇ မေ ၁၇၉၅ မျက်လုံးဖြူဆင်တော်မကွဲရာမင်းသားပေးရန်ပြန်။  
 ၁၉ မေ ၁၇၉၅ အင်တောက်သာနှင့် ကျေးစောက်တောရဆင်ကို မင်းကွန်းဆောင်ယူရန်ပြန်။  
 ၂၁ မေ ၁၇၉၅ ကျည်းတောင်တောရဆင် ကျံးသွင်းရန်ပြန်။  
 ၁၅ ဇွန် ၁၇၉၅ ဆင်ကျံး၌ ပရိတ်ရွတ်ရန်ပြန်။  
 ပင်းသာတောရဆင်ဆောင်ယူရန်ပြန်။  
 ၁၇ ဇွန် ၁၇၉၅ ရတနာကုမှုဒ်အဋ္ဌနဂါရိဆင်တော်များဆောင်ယူရန်ပြန်။  
 ၁၇ ဇွန် ၁၇၉၅ ဆင်ကျံး ဝင်မောင်းထွက်မောင်းပြင်ဆင်ရန်ပြန်။  
 ၁၈ ဇွန် ၁၇၉၅ ဝင်းဆင်၊ ထမ်းဆင်များတင်းကုပ်တွင် အလုညွှေ့ကျချိထားရန်ပြန်။  
 ဝင်းဆင်၊ ထမ်းဆင်များတာဝန်ပေးရန်ပြန်။

၁၉ ဇန် ၁၇၉၅ ပင်းသာတောရဆင်ဆောင်ယူသည့်လမ်း တလျောက်၌ဖွဲ့သဘင်ခံရန်ပြန်။

၂၀ ဇန် ၁၇၉၅ ဆင်ကျိုးထွက်တော်မူသည့် အခန်းအနားဆိုင်ရာပြန်။

ပင်းသာတောရ ဆင်ခွာသင့်သည်ကို ကြည့်ရှုတော်မူမည်ပြန်။

၂၁ ဇန် ၁၇၉၅ ဆင်ကျိုးထွက်တော်မူသည့် အခန်းအနားဆိုင်ရာပြန်။

ပင်းသာတောရဆင် ခွာသင့်သည်ကိုဆေးကုသရန်ပြန်။

ဆင်များကိုခွာနှစ်ယွတ်ရာ ကိုင်းကျွန်းတွင်ကျောင်းထားကျေးမွေးရန်ပြန်။

ဆင်တော်ကိုနှင်းရည်သွန်းရန်ပြန်။

၂၃ ဇန် ၁၇၉၅ အဋ္ဌနဂါရိဆင်ကျောင်းထားကျေးမွေးရန်ပြန်။

၁၆ ဇူလိုင် ၁၇၉၅ ကလေးမြို့ရဆင်များအတွင်းတော်သွင်းရန်ပြန်။

မြေနှစ်းတော်မြောက်ဆင်တင်းကုပ်ပြင်ရန်ပြန်။

၂၆ ဇူလိုင် ၁၇၉၅ ဆင်တင်းကုပ်ပြင်ဆင်ရာတွင် မကောင်းဟောင်းနှစ်များသော အစိတ်အပိုင်းများ

ကိုသာ ပြင်ဆင်ရန်ပြန်။

ဆင်တင်းကုပ်ပြင်ရာတွင် ဆင်ကြန်ထွက်သစ်သားများ အသုံးမပြုရန်ပြန်။

၃ ဉာဏ် ၁၇၉၅ မိုင်းသတ်ဆင်မှုးသီဟနော်ရထာကိုလက်နက်ကိုင်အမှုထမ်းဖြည့် တင်းပေးရန်ပြန်။

၁၁ ဉာဏ် ၁၇၉၅ ရတနာကမှုဒ် (ရတနာကုမှုဒ်) ဆင်ဖြူတော်တင်းကုပ်ပြင်ဆင်ရန်ပြန်။

၉ ဇန် ၁၇၉၇ ဆင်ဖြူတက်ဘုရားကျောက်စာထိုးရန်ပြန်။

၇ ဉာဏ် ၁၇၉၇ ပုလ္လာရိုကဆင်ဖြူတော် အဆောင်အယောင်ပေးရန်ပြန်။

၂၆ မတ ၁၇၉၈ ဟံသာဝတီဓနက်ပလာအမှုထမ်းများဆင်ကျော့ရန်ပြန်။

၄ ဧပြီ ၁၇၉၉ ပုဂံမင်းလူ ငရွဲသတ်ရာတွင် ဝန်းရုံသူတို့ကိုဆင်စာရိတ်သည့်ဒဏ်ထားရန်ပြန်။

၁၀ ဧ ၁၇၉၉ ဆင်ဖြူတော်တောရဆင်ကို ကျော့ဖမ်းရန်နှင့်ကျိုးသွင်းကျော့ဖမ်းရန်ပြန်။

၁၅ ဧ ၁၇၉၉ ငမြတ်ထင်၊ ငတောာ၊ ငဖျော်တို့ကို ဆင်ချေးကျိုးသည့်ဒဏ်ထားရန်ပြန်။

၁၈ ဧ ၁၇၉၉ ပုဂံမင်း၊ ပုခန်းမင်းတို့ကို ဆင်ကြည့်တဲ့ဆောက်ရန်ပြန်။

၃ ဇန် ၁၇၉၉ ၂မြတ်ထင်ကို ဆင်ချေးကျံးမှုချမ်းသာပေးရန်ပြန်။  
 ၂၁ ဇန် ၁၇၉၉ ငညိုကိုဆင်စာရိတ်ရန်ဒဏ်ထားရန်ပြန်။  
 ၂၁ အန်နဝါရီ ၁၈၀၀ အိမ်ရွှေမင်းရှိ ဆင်စုကိုဆင်ဝန် နှင့် ဆင်ဝန်ထောက်တို့အပ်ရန်ပြန်။  
 ၁၁ မေ ၁၈၀၁ ဧလာတောရဆင်ကိုအိမ်ရွှေမင်းကဆောင်ယူရန်ပြန်။  
 ၁၁ မေ ၁၈၀၁ ဧလာတောရဆင်ကို မကွေးမင်းသမီးဝန်ကကြိုယူရန်ပြန်။  
 မြစ်စဉ်တလျောက်ကျေးရွာများနှင့် ဧလာတောရဆင်ကိုဆောင်ယူရန်ပြန်။  
 ဆင်စားကျော်မြေပေးရန်ပြန်။  
 ၂၉ မေ ၁၈၀၁ ပုပ္ပါးနတ်သလုလင်ဆင်ကို အောက်မားတော်နှင့် အောက်ငင်ရန်ပြန်။  
 ၁၀ ဇန် ၁၈၀၁ မကွေးမင်းသမီးဝန်က ဆင်ကိုဆောင်ယူရန်ပြန်။  
 ၁၂ ဇန် ၁၈၀၁ ပုပ္ပါးနတ်သလုလင်ဆင်ကို ဆင်ဝန်ကဓနက်ပလာခန့်၍ကျော့ဘမ်းရန်ပြန်။  
 ၁၈ ဇန် ၁၈၀၁ ဆင်တော်သည်များကိုအဆောင်အယောင်ပေးရန်ပြန်။  
 ၂၁ ဇန် ၁၈၀၁ နန်းပြန်တောရဆင်နှင့်ကိုးသင်းအောက်မားတော်ကမွေးသည့်ဆင်တို့ကို အိမ်ရွှေမင်း  
 ကြည့်ရှုကျံးသွင်းရန်ပြန်။  
 ၂၄ ဇန် ၁၈၀၁ ပုပ္ပါးဒါးဆင်ကို မင်းကွန်းသို့ဆောင်ယူရန်ပြန်။  
 ၂၇ ဇန် ၁၈၀၁ ပြည်မင်းကဓနက်ပလာခန့်၍ သာယာဝတီဆင်ကျော့ဖမ်းရန်ပြန်။  
 ၃ ဇူလိုင် ၁၈၀၁ ဆင်ဖြူတော်ဘောင်လျှဖြင့် ဆောင်ယူရန်ပြန်။  
 ၅ ဇူလိုင် ၁၈၀၁ ဆင်ခြေဘုံးသေနတ်အစုသားများဖြည့်ရန်ပြန်။  
 ၁၅ ဇူလိုင် ၁၈၀၁ ဆင်တင်းကုပ်ပတ်လည်စည်းခြေကာရံခြင်းမပြုရန်ပြန်။  
 ၁၅ စက်တင်ဘာ ၁၈၀၄ ဆရာတော်များ ဆင်ဖြူသိမ်းစာတမ်းတင်သွင်းရန်ပြန်။  
 ၁၈ အောက်တိုဘာ ၁၈၀၅ ကျောက်ဆောက်ဖြူအုပ် သီရိစန္ဒကျော်ထင်အောက်မား ဆင်နှင့်  
 ဆင်ဖြူတော်အောက်ငင်ရန်ပြန်။

- ၁၁ မတ ၁၈၀၆ မာန်နတ်ပူဇော်ပွဲတွင် ခင်းကျင်းပြသရန် ဆင်ဖြူတော်များဆင့်ဆိုရန်ပြန်။
- ၁၂ မတ ၁၈၀၆ ကြောစည်တောရဆင်ကို စစ်ကိုင်းမင်းသားနှင့် ဆင်ဝန်တို့ကျော်များရန်ပြန်။
- ၂၃ မတ ၁၈၀၆ ကြောစည်တောရဆင်ကို ဘောင်နှင့်ဆောင်ယူလာရန်ပြန်။
- ၂၀ ဇူလိုင် ၁၈၀၆ ကျေးကန်ဆည်တောရဆင်ကိုကျံးသွင်းရန်ပြန်။
- ၁၅ ဉာဏ် ၁၈၀၆ ဆင်ဘောင်များပြင်ဆင်လုပ်ဆောင်ရန်ပြန်။
- ၂၉ စက်တင်ဘာ ၁၈၀၆ ဆင်ဝန်ထောက် ဒေဝသိခို့သူသော်သား ၁၆၉ပွင့်ဆင်ဝန်  
ထောက်ခံရန်ပြန်။
- ၁ အောက်တို့ဘာ ၁၈၀၆ နိဗ္ဗာန်တောရဆင်ဖြူတော်ကျော်ဘမ်းရန်ပြန်။
- နိဗ္ဗာန်တောရဆင်ဖြူတော်ကို စစ်ကိုင်းမင်းကလျှေလျင်ခန့်ထား၍ ကြည့်ရှုရန်ပြန်။
- ပုဂံမြို့ရောက်ဆင်ဖြူတော်ကိုမြို့ဝန်အရာရှိတို့စောင့်ရန်နှင့်ပုဂံရောက်လမ်းတလျောက်ကွန်းထောက်နှင့်အောက်တို့ဘာ၏ရန်ပြန်။
- ၂ အောက်တို့ဘာ ၁၈၀၆ ရွှေပန်းတန်နှင့်မင်းစံလှလျော်သားများတော်လျော်ကျွန်းမှာ ဆင်ဖြူတော်  
ကျော်ဘမ်းရန်ပြန်။
- ၃ အောက်တို့ဘာ ၁၈၀၆ ဟံသာဝတီရေဝန်နော်ရထာကျော်ခေါင်လှိုင် မင်းသားအကြီး သီဟဗလ  
ကျော်ထင်နှင့်ဆင်အစုသားများဆင်ဖြူတော်ဆောင်ယူရန်ပြန်။
- ၄ အောက်တို့ဘာ ၁၈၀၆ ဆင်ဖြူတော်အကြောင်းအရာ လျောက်ထားသူများနှင့် ဆင်ဖြူတော်  
ဖမ်းရာပါသူများကို ဆင်ဖြူတော်ဆောင်ယူရာကြပ်မတ်လိုက်ပါရန်ပြန်။
- ၂၇ အောက်တို့ဘာ ၁၈၀၆ ဆင်ဖြူတော်တင်သည့် ဘောင်ပိုးစား၍အသစ်လဲရန်ပြန်။
- ၃၀ အောက်တို့ဘာ ၁၈၀၆ ဆင်ဖြူတော်ပုဂံရောက်ကြိုတော်မူမည့်အစီအစဉ်တွင် အိမ်ရှေ့မင်းနှင့်  
မင်းသားများဆင်တစ်စီးမကျွန်းလိုက်ပါရန်ပြန်။
- ၃၁ အောက်တို့ဘာ ၁၈၀၆ ဆင်ဖြူတော်ပုဂံမြို့စဉ် ပုခန်းမင်းသားနှင့် မိုးမိတ်မင်းသားတို့  
မင်းကွန်းတွင်ဆောင့်နေရန်ပြန်။

- ၃ နိုဝင်ဘာ ၁၈၀၆ ဆင်ဖြူတော်ကြိုရာနောက် ပုခန်းမင်းသားလိုက်ရန်နှင့် မိုးမိတ်မင်းသား မင်းကွန်းမှာစောင့်နေရန်ပြန်။
- ၄ နိုဝင်ဘာ ၁၈၀၆ ဆင်တပ်ကိုမျက်ရေပေါ်များသည့်အရပ်တွင်ချထားရန်ပြန်။
- ၁၂ နိုဝင်ဘာ ၁၈၀၆ ၃၇ မင်းနတ်ဆင်ဖြူတော်အပ်ရန်ပြန်။
- ၁၈ နိုဝင်ဘာ ၁၈၀၆ ဆင်ဖြူတော်ပုဂံရောက်စဉ်ပြည့်သူများ မကြည့်မဖြင့်နိုင်အောင် ပိတ်ဖြူကာရုံးထားရန်ပြန်။
- ၁၉ ဒီဇင်ဘာ ၁၈၀၆ ဆင်ဖြူတော်ထားသည့် ပြဿဒ်တော်တွင် သွေးသောက်များ ကြီးကြပ်၍ စောင့်နေရန်ပြန်။
- ဆင်ဖြူတော်တန်ဆောင်းပတ်လည် တင်းတိမ်ကာရုံးရန်ပြန်။
- ၁၉ နိုဝင်ဘာ ၁၈၀၆ ညောင်ပင်တနောင်းပင်များဆင်စာချိုင်ရန်ပြန်။
- ၂၀ နိုဝင်ဘာ ၁၈၀၆ ဆဒ္ဒန်ဆင်ဖြူ (နိုဗ္ဗာန်တောရဆင်ဖြူ) တွေ့မြင်ရင်းသူနှင့် ကျော့ဖမ်းယူသူများကို စစ်ကိုင်းမင်း၊ ပြည့်မင်း၊ တောင်ငူမင်း၊ ပခန်းမင်းတို့ကစစ်ကြောရန်ပြန်။
- ကျော့ဖမ်းသူများကို စစ်ကိုင်းမင်း၊ ပြည့်မင်း၊ တောင်ငူမင်း၊ ပခန်းမင်း တို့ကစစ်ကြော ရန်ပြန်။
- အခရိန်မြို့တွေ ဆင်ဖြူတော်ကျော့ဖမ်းရန်ပြန်။
- ၂၆ နိုဝင်ဘာ ၁၈၀၆ မင်းညီမင်းသားတို့၏ ဆင်စုများကို ဆင်ဝန်ထောက်အကြီးအ ကြပ်ခန့်၍ အရေ့ကပြင်တောရှိဆင်များဖမ်းရန်ပြန်။
- ၇ ဒီဇင်ဘာ ၁၈၀၆ ဆင်ဖြူတော်စစ်ကိုင်းရောက်က ဖူးမြော်လိုသူများညောင်ရေအိုးပူဇော်ပွဲပန်းပေါက်ပေါက်ယူဆောင်လာရန်ပြန်။
- ၈ ဒီဇင်ဘာ ၁၈၀၆ ဆင်ဖြူတော်စစ်ကိုင်းရောက်စဉ် ဆင်တင်းကုပ်အတွင်းယောကျားမိန်းမ မဝင်နိုင်အောင်ဆီးတားထားရန်ပြန်။
- ၁၀ ဒီဇင်ဘာ ၁၈၀၆ ဆင်ဖြူတော် တန်ဆောင်းအတွက် ဖျင်လိပ်၊ ပိတ်အုပ်များထုတ်ပေးရန်ပြန်။

၁၈ ဒီဇင်ဘာ ၁၈၀၆ ဆင်ဖြူတော်ထားသည့် ပြဿာတော်တွင် သွေးသောက်များကြီးကြပ်၍  
စောင့်နေရန်ပြန်။

၁၉ ဒီဇင်ဘာ ၁၈၀၆ ဆင်ဖြူတော်အလုပ်အကျွေးပြုရန်အတွက် ပျော်ဘွယ်သားများ ပေးရန်ပြန်။

၁၉ ဒီဇင်ဘာ ၁၈၀၆ ဆင်ဖြူတော်သိမ်းအစီအစဉ်များဆောင်ရွက်ရန်ပြန်။

၂၀ ဒီဇင်ဘာ ၁၈၀၆ ဆင်ဖြူတော်အလုပ်အကျွေးအဖြစ်ထမ်းချက်ရန် ပျော်ဘွယ်သားတို့ကိုပြန်။

၂၂ ဒီဇင်ဘာ ၁၈၀၆ မလည်ဆရာတော်ဆင်ဖြူတော်ဖူးရန်ပင့်ဆောင်ရန်ပြန်။

အဝေးမြှုံး၊ အကြီးအကဲများ ဆင်ဖြူတော်လာရောက်ပူဇော်ရန်ပြန်။

ဝရသေတါရိဆင်နှင့်ပုလဲတမူးဆင်များအစွယ်လှရန်ပြန်။

၂၄ ဒီဇင်ဘာ ၁၈၀၆ ဆင်ဖြူတော်ကို ဘွဲ့လက်ားရတုမစပ်ဘဲကျမ်းကန်အဖြစ်စီကုံးရန်နှင့် ဆွဲနှင့်  
ဆင်မင်းဟုခေါ်ရန်ပြန်။

၂၅ ဒီဇင်ဘာ ၁၈၀၆ ရွှေဖြူတော်တွက်စဉ် ဆွဲနှင့်ဆင်မင်း၊ တောင်ငူမင်း၊ ပုဂံမင်း၊ မိုးမိတ်မင်းတို့ကို  
မင်းကွန်းနှင့်တော်စောင့်နေရန်ပြန်။

၂၆ ဒီဇင်ဘာ ၁၈၀၆ အာလောင်မြေတော်အတွင်း ဆွဲနှင့်ဆင်မင်းမြေကိုခိုင်းဝန်ကပုံသွင်းရန်ပြန်။

၂၇ ဇန်နဝါရီ ၁၈၀၇ ဆင်ဝန်ကိုမင်းကွန်းနှင့်တော်အစောင့်တာဝန်ပေးရန်ပြန်။

၂၈ ဇန်နဝါရီ ၁၈၀၇ ဆွဲနှင့်ဆင်မင်းရေဆိပ်ဆင်းရန်ပြန်။

၁၈ ဇန်နဝါရီ ၁၈၀၇ ဆင်ကျံးသွင်းရန်ပြန်။

၁၉ ဇန်နဝါရီ ၁၈၀၇ ဆွဲနှင့်ဆင်မင်းသိမ်းမည့်အစီအစဉ်ဆိုင်ရာပြန်။

၁၉ ဇန်နဝါရီ ၁၈၀၇ ကရင်စော်ဘွား၊ ပပန်းအောင်ကို ဆင်ပေးရန်ပြန်။

၃၀ ဖေဖော်ဝါရီ ၁၈၀၇ ဆင်ဖြူတော်ကို နိုဗ္ဗာနပစ္စာယနာဂရာဘာဘွဲ့ပေးရန်ပြန်။

၂၁ မတ် ၁၈၀၇ ဆွဲနှင့်ဆင်မင်းမြေက်ကျွေးသည့် ဝါးခွက်ဆောက်ရန်ပြန်။

၂၂ ဧပြီ ၁၈၀၇ မင်းကွန်းရှိအမှုထမ်းအိမ်များ ဆင်တော်နှင့်ဖျက်သိမ်းရန်ပြန်။

၂၃ ဧပြီ ၁၈၀၇ ရှုပုရာဘောကို ဆွဲနှင့်ဆင်မင်းဖူးမြော်ရန်ပြန်။

၁၆ မြို့ ၁၈၀၇ မူးမတ်များဗောင်းဝတ်လုံဝတ်ဆင်၍ ဆွဲနှစ်ဆင်မင်းဖူးမြော်ရန်ပြန်။

၆ ရူလိုင် ၁၈၀၇ သီဟို၌မှရောက်သည့် ရဟန်းသာမဏေတို့ ဆွဲနှစ်ဆင်မင်းဖူးမြော်ရန်ပြန်။

၁၁ ရူလိုင် ၁၈၀၇ နှစ်းကံကျွေးဝန်ကို အောက်မှားဝန်ခန့်ရန်ပြန်။

၂၇ ရူလိုင် ၁၈၀၇ ဆင်ကျံးသွင်းကျော့ဖမ်းရန်ပြန်။

၁၇ နိုဝင်ဘာ ၁၈၀၇ ဟံသာဝတီမှဆင်ဖြူ။တော်ကိုကြိုးရန်ပြန်။

၅ ဒီဇင်ဘာ ၁၈၀၇ မိုင်းခိုတောရဆင်တော်ကို စစ်ကိုင်းမင်းကျံးသွင်းကျော့ဖမ်းရန်ပြန်။

၇ ဒီဇင်ဘာ ၁၈၀၇ ရွှေခံတောရဆင်ဖြူ။တော်မ ဆောင်ယူရန်ပြန်။

၁၇ စက်တင်ဘာ ၁၈၀၈ ကျွေးပျော်ရောင်းတော့တွေ့ဆင်ဖြူ။တော်အောင်ငင်ရန်ပြန်။

၂၉ စက်တင်ဘာ ၁၈၀၈ ဆွဲနှစ်ဆင်မင်းအတွက် အကာအမိုးလုပ်ရန်ပြန်။

၂၂ အောက်တို့ဘာ ၁၈၀၈ ဆင်တိုင်များမျက်သွင်းရန်ပြန်။

၃၀ အောက်တို့ဘာ ၁၈၀၈ ဆွဲနှစ်ဆင်မင်းဝန်ကို ကသည်းကုလားကွွန်များပေးအပ်ရန်ပြန်။

၆ မြို့ ၁၈၀၉ အိမ်ရှုံးသင်းပင်းအဖြစ် ဆင်မှုထမ်းအပ်ရန်ပြန်။

၅ မတ် ၁၈၀၁ လိုင်မြို့ရှိအောက်မှားဝန်နှင့် အောက်မှားဆင်၊ ဓနက်ပလာဆင်များခေါ်ယူရန်ပြန်။

၁၄ မတ် ၁၈၀၁ ဆွဲနှစ်ဆင်မင်းပေးသည့်မြောက် ကျောက်မော်မင်းသမီးကပြန်ပေးရန်ပြန်။

၁၅ မတ် ၁၈၀၁ ဆင်ဝန်ထောက်၊ ဆင်စချို့၊ ဆင်လက္ခဏာဘတ်များ ဆင်ကျံးသွင်း တာဝန်ထမ်းဆောင်ရန်ပြန်။

၂၁ မတ် ၁၈၀၁ မြောက်မော်မင်းသမီးကပြန်ပေးရန်ပြန်။

၃၁ မတ် ၁၈၀၁ မီးလောင်ရာပါသည့်ဆင်ဝန်ထမ်းများကို အိမ်ရှုံးမင်းကစပါးလှူဒါန်းရန်ပြန်။

၄ မြို့ ၁၈၀၁ မြောက်မော်မင်းသမီးကပြန်ပေးရန်ပြန်။

၁၁ မြို့ ၁၈၀၁ သရက်မင်းသား ကျော့ဖမ်းရသည့်ဆင်ကိုဆောင်ယူရန်ပြန်။

၈ ဧ ၁၈၀၁ မှတ္တာမဆင်နှင့် ဟံသာဝတီဆင်တို့အတွက် လည်ပေါ်ဆောင်ဆောက်ရန်ပြန်။

၁၄ ဧ ၁၈၀၁ ဆင်ကျံးတွင် ဝင်မောင်းထွက်မောင်းများဆောက်ရန်ပြန်။

- ၇ အောက်တိုဘာ ၁၈၁၀ အစုအင်းအမှုထမ်း(ဆင်စုအပါဝင်) ခန့်ထားရန်ပြန်။
- ၂၇ အောက်တိုဘာ ၁၈၁၀ သီဟာလကျော်ထင်ကို အောက်မားဝန်ခန့်ရန်ပြန်။
- ၁၁ နိုဝင်ဘာ ၁၈၁၀ ဆင်မင်းလူစုကျောက်စမ်း(ကျောက်စိမ်း) တူးဖော်ရန်ပြန်။
- ၂၇ နိုဝင်ဘာ ၁၈၁၀ တရုတ်တို့ထံမှ ဆင်ခေါင်းတို့ဖမ်းဆီးထားသော အရက်ပြန်ပေးရန်ပြန်။
- ၃ ဒီဇင်ဘာ ၁၈၁၀ ဆင်တိုင်အစုနှင့် ဆင်တော်ညီးစီးနောက်ပဲ့များလစာရိကွားပေးရန်ပြန်။
- ၈ ဒီဇင်ဘာ ၁၈၁၀ လှိုင်ဆင်ဖြူတော်ကိုကျော့ဘမ်းရန်ပြန်။
- ၁၁ ဒီဇင်ဘာ ၁၈၁၀ ရွှေမြို့တော်စောင့်ဝန်ကြီး ဝန်ထောက်တို့နှင့်အောက်မားဝန် ဆင်ဝန်ထောက်အိုက်မတော်ရဆင်ကို ကျံ့သွင်းရန်ပြန်။
- ၁၃ ဒီဇင်ဘာ ၁၈၁၀ အောက်မားအစုသားများ မင်းမှုမင်းခင်းကင်းလွတ်ခွင့်ပေးရန်ပြန်။
- ၂၀ အောက်တိုဘာ ၁၈၁၀ ဆင်မင်းစာရေးကိုငွေတော်ဆက်သွင်းရန်ပြန်။
- ၂၂ ဒီဇင်ဘာ ၁၈၁၀ သံလျှင်မြို့၊ ကဝရွာမှရသည့်ဆင်ကို အိမ့်ရှေမင်းဆောင်ယူရန်ပြန်။
- ၂၂ အောက်တိုရို ၁၈၂၂ ဆင်မင်းဝန်ကို မိုးနဲ့စော်ဘွားအား ကန်တော့လက်ဆောင်မတောင်းရန်ပြန်။
- ၂၇ ဗြိဂုံ ၁၈၂၃ သိုံးပေါ်ပေါ်သူကို ဆင်ဝန်နှင့်ရွှေတောင်လှကျော်ကို ဆွဲန်ဆင်မင်းဝန် ခန့်ရန်ပြန်။
- ၂၀ ဗြိဂုံ ၁၈၂၇ ဘောင်လင်းသူကြီးကို ဆင်ဝန်ကစ်ဆေးရန်ပြန်။
- ၂၂ စက်တင်ဘာ ၁၈၂၇ မြေထဲရှိခန်းပလာဆင်သားများကို သိမ်းရုံးရန်ပြန်။
- ၉ စက်တင်ဘာ ၁၈၂၇ သစ်ရာပင်တော်ရဆင်ကိုကျံ့သွင်းရန်ပြန်။
- ၁၀ ဇူလိုင် ၁၈၂၉ နေမျိုးမင်းလှစည်သူ ဆင်မင်းဝန်အရာကန္တ်၍ သိုံးပေါ်သူကို ဆင်မင်းဝန် ခန့်ရန်ပြန်။
- ၂၉ ဗြိဂုံ ၁၈၂၉ ရာဇ်နှုန်းကို သွေးသောက်ကြီးခန့်၍ စော်ဘွားအမတ်များဖြင့် ဆင်တော်သည် ဘွဲ့ရန်ပြန်။
- ၅ ဒီဇင်ဘာ ၁၈၂၉ ဝင်းခိုင်းအစုသားငသာညီဆင်စီး၍၏ဒဏ်ထားသည်ကိုလွတ်ဖြင့်စွင့်ပေးရန်ပြန်။

၃ အောက်တိုဘာ ၁၈၂ လောင်းရည်မြို့သူကြီးက ဆင်ဖမ်းအမှုထမ်းများကိုချည်နောင်သည့်  
ကိစ္စစစ်ဆေးရန်ပြန်။

၁၉ မတ် ၁၈၂၄ ဆင်ဝန်အောက်မားဝန်အဆောင်အရွက်ပေးရန်ပြန်။

၂၀ စက်တင်ဘာ ၁၈၂၄ ဆင်တပ်ဝန်ထမ်းများဆင့်ဆိုရန်ပြန်။

၁၁ မတ် ၁၈၂၆ ဆင်ဝန်မဟာမင်းလှသခံယာကို ၅ မှတ်၊ အောက်မားဝန်ဟောင်းမဟာမင်းလှ  
မင်းထင်နှင့်အောက်မားဝန်မဟာမင်းလှမင်းကျော်(မောင်ရောက်) တို့ကို ၈ မှတ် အဆောင်  
သနားတော်မြှတ်ခံရန်ပြန်။

၁၈ မတ် ၁၈၂၆ ဆင်ဝန်ကိုအဆောင်အရွက်ပေးရန်ပြန်။

၆ ဧပြီ ၁၈၂၇ ဆင်အမှုထမ်းများကို လောင်းရည်မြို့သူကြီးကမနောက်ယူက်ရန်ပြန်။

၁၇ ဧပြီ ၁၈၂၄ သမီးတော်နားထွင်းမဂ်လာတွင် ဆင်လက်ဆောင်ပေးရန်ပြန်။

၂၇ ဧပြီ ၁၈၂၆ ဆိုးသွမ်းသည့် ၁မိုင်း၁ယ်ကို ဆင်နှင့်နင်း၍အဆုံးစီရင်ရန်ပြန်။

၄ ဧပြီ ၁၈၂၇ အနော်ရထာပျုချိကိုဆွဲနှင့်ဆင်မင်းဝန်ခန့်။

ဝန်ထောက်မင်းကြီးမဟာသခံယာကို ဆင်ဝန်ခန့်ရန်ပြန်။

၂၂ ဧပြီ ၁၈၂၈ နေမျိုးသီရိကျော်သူ၊ ရွှေတောင်အောင်တို့ကို ဆင်ဝန်ရွှေလုံး ၁ရွှေပုံကို  
ဆင်စချိခန့်ရန်ပြန်။

၂၆ ဧပြီ ၁၈၂၈ မဟာသူရသီခံယာကို ဆင်မင်းဝန်ခန့်ရန်ပြန်။

ဆင်မင်းဝန်မယားကို နောက်သွယ် နေရာပေးရန်ပြန်။

၅ ဖေဖော်ဝါရီ ၁၈၂၉ အောက်မားအမှုထမ်းများအခွန်လွတ်ပြုမှုများခွင့်ပြန်။

၉ အောက်တိုဘာ၁၈၂၉အောက်မားဝန်နေမျိုးရဲလှဲခေါင်သေလွန်သည်ကိုတော်နေရာတို့သြိုလ်သည့်  
နည်းအတိုင်းဆောင်ရွက်ရန်ပြန်။

၄ အောက်တိုဘာ ၁၈၂၆ စလင်းမြို့ဝန်ကိုဆင်ပေးရန်ပြန်။

၂၀ နိုဝင်ဘာ ၁၈၂၆ လျှိုင်မြို့သူကြီးမဟာမင်းလှသမဏ္ဍာမင်းထင်ကိုဆင်ပေးရန်ပြန်။

၁၁ ဇန်နဝါရီ ၁၈၂၇ ဘော်ဆိုင်းငွေခွန်မှူးနေမျိုးသီရိကျော်ထင်ကိုဆင်ပေးရန်ပြန်။

၃ ဖေဖော်ဝါရီ ၁၈၄၇ ဆင်ဝန်ထောက်နေမျိုးသီရိကျော်ထင် ဆင်ဖမ်းသွားစဉ်ပေးသည့် အဆောင် အရွက်ကိုပြန်။

၃၀ ဇန် ၁၈၅၀ ဆင်မင်းဝန်သမီးသေလွန်သည်ကိုထံးစံနှင့်အညီသြိုလ်ရန်ပြန်။

၁၃ စက်တင်ဘာ ၁၈၅၁ ဆင်ဝယ်ချုပ်ဆက်ရန်ပြန်။

၁၈ ဧပြီ ၁၈၅၃ မဟာတရဖျားအောက်မားဝန်ခန့်ရန်ပြန်။

၁ ဒီဇင်ဘာ ၁၈၅၃ ဆွဲနှင့်ဆင်မင်းကိုအစွယ်လှရန်ပြန်။

၁ ဇန် ၁၈၅၄ ဆင်ဝန်မောင်ဘုံးကြီးကို မင်းရဲဖော်ကျော်ဘွဲ့ပေးရန်ပြန်။

၂၇ ဧပြီ ၁၈၅၄ ပုံပွဲကိုင်အောက်မားဆင်စုအမှုထမ်းများကို ဆင့်ဆိုရန်ပြန်။

၂၆ စက်တင်ဘာ ၁၈၅၅ ပန်းချီဆရာသရှိကို ဆွဲနှင့်ဆင်မင်းပုံကူးယူခြင်းခွင့်ပြရန်ပြန်။

၁၃ ဧပြီ ၁၈၅၆ ဖန်နန်းမဆင်မတော်ကမ္မားသည့်ဆင်ကို ကင်မွန်းတပ်ရန်ပြန်။

၅ ဇန် ၁၈၅၇ နိဗ္ဗာနပစ္စယနာဂရာဓာတ်ဆင်မင်းသြိုလ်ရန်ပြန်။

၂၁ ဧပြီ ၁၈၅၈ မောရိယပစ္စယနာဂရာဓာတ်ဆင်မင်းသိမ်းရန်ပြန်။

၂ ဧ ၁၈၆၆ ဆင်တဲ့ဆရာတော်သုံးသည့်ဆင် ဆင့်ဆိုရန်ပြန်။

၇ ဧ ၁၈၆၆ လောင်းရည်မင်းကြီးဦးစီး၍ဆင်ကျံးပြင်ရန်ပြန်။

၁ ဒီဇင်ဘာ ၁၈၆၇ ဆင်အမှုထမ်းများအခွန်လွတ်ပြုမ်းခွင့်ပြန်။

၁၃ ဇန် ၁၈၇၃ ဓနက်ပလာဆင်ဝန်သေလွန်သည်ကို ထံးစံနှင့်အညီသြိုလ်ရန်ပြန်။

၂၁ ဧပြီ ၁၈၇၄ ဗုဒ္ဓဘိသိတ်တွင် နမန္ဒဘတ်ဆင်များနှင့်စီးလူများဘွဲ့ပေးရန်ပြန်။

၁၁ နိုဝင်ဘာ ၁၈၇၈ ဆင်မူးသွေးသောက်များဆင့်ဆိုရန်ပြန်။

၁၁ ဧ ၁၈၇၉ ဆင်ဝန်ထောက်၊ ဆင်စာချိတို့ကိုဆောင်းထိုးသနားရန်ပြန်။

၃၀ ဇန် ၁၈၇၉ အောက်မားစာရေးတို့ကို နေမျိုးဘွဲ့နှင့်အဆောင်အရွက်ပေးရန်ပြန်။

အစုအပ်သူကြီး၊ ဆင်အစီအရင်၊ အောက်မားဆင်မူး၊ ဆင်ကတို့ကိုဘွဲ့အစီးအနှင့်း အဆောင်အရွက်

ပေးရန်ပြန်။

၂၂ ဧ ၁၈၈၄ ဆွဲနှင့်ဆင်မင်းနှင့်ဆင်ဖြူမသိမ်းရန်ပြန်။

**Appendix – 3**  
**Literary Works on Elephants**  
**550 Jatakas**

- ကာသုဝဇ္ဇာတ် (၂၂၁) ဆင်မင်းနှင့် အရေ့ခြိုမှုဆိုးအကြောင်း  
 ကတ္တုဋ္ဌဘတ် (၂၆၇) ဆင်ပြောင်နှင့် ပုဇွန်လုံးအကြောင်း  
 ဂထပါဏဘတ် (၂၂၇) ဆင်နှင့်မစင်ပုံးအကြောင်း  
 ဆဒ္ဒနဘတ် (၅၁၄) ဆဒ္ဒန်ဆင်မင်းအကြောင်း  
 တတ္တိရဘတ် (၃၇) ခါမြာက်ဆင် သုံးဦးအကြောင်း  
 ဒုဇွဲမွေဘတ် (၄၀၉) မက်လာဆင်နှင့်မင်းမိုက်အကြောင်း  
 ဒုဗ္ဗာလက္ဗာတ် (၁၀၅) အမြိုကြာက်လန့်နေသည့်ဆင်အကြောင်း  
 ဒုဗ္ဗာမွေဘတ် (၁၂၂) မက်လာဆင်နှင့်မင်းမိုက်အကြောင်း  
 မဟိုဇူမှုခေါ်ဘတ် (၂၆) အတုခိုးသည့်မက်လာဆင်အကြောင်း  
 မာတုပေါသထောတ် (၄၅၅) အမိကိုလပ်ကျွေးသောဆင်ဖြူအကြောင်း  
 သက်ဗိုမာဝစရဘတ် (၁၈၂) ဆင်ပြောင်နှင့်စစ်ပွဲအကြောင်း  
 သီလဝနာဂရာဘတ် (၇၂) ဆင်မင်းနှင့်တောမှုဆိုးအကြောင်း  
 သုသီမဘတ် (၁၆၄) ဆင်မက်လာပွဲနှင့်လုလင်အကြောင်း  
 သောမဒတ္တာဘတ် (၄၁၀) ဆင်ငယ်နှင့်ရသေ့အကြောင်း  
 လဇ္ဇကိုကဘတ် (၃၅၇) ဆင်မိုက်နှင့် နံစုတ်င်က်အကြောင်း  
 အလိနစိတ္တာဘတ် (၁၅၆) မက်လာဆင်နှင့် မင်းငယ်အကြောင်း  
 အဘိဏ္ဍာဘတ် (၂၇) မက်လာဆင်နှင့်ခွေးအကြောင်း  
 ကူန္တသမာနဂေါတ္တာဘတ် (၁၆၁) ဆင်ငယ်နှင့်ရသေ့အကြောင်း

## Literacy Works on Elephant in Verse

ကုလိုဏ်ချောင်းဆင်တော်မော်ကွန်း၊ ကွမ်းယာတော်ကိုင် မောင်ယာရေးဖွဲ့သည်။ ရေးပြီးနှစ်မပါ။

ဦးချမ်းမြှု (မဟာဝိဇ္ဇာ)တည်း၊ ဦးယာဆိုအဲချင်းများ၊ မန္တလေး၊ တက်နေ လင်းပံ့နှိပ်တိုက်၊ ၁၉၅၈၊ မျက်-၂၅။

စလွယ်တော်ဆင်တော်မော်ကွန်း၊ အော်ရန္တမိတ်ရေးဖွဲ့သည်။ ရေးပြီးနှစ်မပါ။ လှသမိန်ကန္တဝင်

ပုဂ္ဂိုလ်ကျော်များ၊ အထူးပွဲတို့ပေါင်းချုပ်၊ ရန်ကုန်၊ ဟံသာဝတီပံ့နှိပ်တိုက် ၁၉၆၁၊ မျက်-၂၆။

ဆင်တော်သန်မြန်စွာမော်ကွန်း၊ လျှော်ကားသုံးထောင်မှုးသဏ္ဌာန် ၉၁၆ ခုတွင် ရေးဖွဲ့သည်။

မောင်သုတေ၊ စာဆိုတော်များ၊ အထူးပွဲတို့ရန်ကုန်၊ ဟံသာဝတီ၊ ပံ့နှိပ်တိုက်၊ ၁၉၆၆၊ မျက်-

၈၇။

ဆဒ္ဒန်ပြောင်ကျော်ဆင်တော် မော်ကွန်း၊ ရမ္မာသီရိကျော်ထင်ရေးဖွဲ့သည်။ ရေးပြီးနှစ်မပါ။

ဦးယံ့ပိဋကတ် တော်သမိုင်း၊ ရန်ကုန်၊ ဟံသာဝတီ ပံ့နှိပ်တိုက်၊ ၁၉၅၉၊ မျက်-၁၁၄။

ပုဏ္ဏရိကဆင်တော်မော်ကွန်း၊ တွင်းသင်းမင်းကြီးက သဏ္ဌာန် ၁၁၅၉၉တွင် ရေးဖွဲ့သည်။

ပိဋကတ်တော်သမိုင်း၊ မျက်-၉၉

ပုဏ္ဏရိကဆင်တော်မော်ကွန်း၊ မဟာသီဟသူရ (ဦးရောက်) က စစ်ကိုင်းမင်းလက်ထက်တွင်

ရေးဖွဲ့သည်။ စာဆိုတော်များ၊ အထူးပွဲတို့၊ မျက်-၁၀၂။

ဘုန်းဘုန်းထွန်းပဆင်တော်မော်ကွန်း၊ မင်းယျေရန္တမိတ်ကနာက်ဖက်လွန်မင်းလက်ထက်တွင် ရေးဖွဲ့

သည်။ စာဆိုတော်များ၊ အထူးပွဲတို့၊ မျက်-၁၀၇။

နိဗ္ဗာနပစ္စယဆင်တော်မော်ကွန်း၊ လက်ဝဲသုန္တရ (ဦးမြတ်စံ) က ဗုဒ္ဓမင်းလက်ထက်တွင် ရေးဖွဲ့

သည်။ ဂန္တဝင်ပုဂ္ဂိုလ်ကျော်များ၊ အထူးပွဲတို့၊ မျက်-၈၉။

ရတနာပြောင်မွန်ဆင်တော်မော်ကွန်း၊ လက်ဆောင်ယူမှုးရှင်သံခိုက သဏ္ဌာန် ၉၁၆ တွင် ရေးဖွဲ့

သည်။ ဆင်စု၊ မျက်-၁၉-၂၈။

ဧည့်သတ္တာတို့ဆင်တော်မော်ကွန်း၊ စစ်လျင်ထောင်မှုးရှင်ထွေးညီကသဏ္ဌာန် ၈၇၂ တွင် ရေးဖွဲ့

သည်။ ဆင်စု၊ မျက်-၃-၁၆။

ရွှေမင်းဘုန်းဆင်တော်မော်ကွန်း၊ အတွင်းဝန်ထောက်မောင်ညီက သဏ္ဌာန် ၁၁၄၂ ခုနှစ်တွင်

ရေးဖွဲ့သည်။ ဆင်စု၊ မျက် ၂၉-၄၄

ဝရသေတဂါရိဆင်တော်မော်ကွန်း၊ တွင်းသင်းမင်းကြီးဦးထွန်းညီက သဏ္ဌာန် ၁၁၄၈ တွင် ရေးဖွဲ့

သည်။ ပိဋကတ်တော်သမိုင်း၊ မျက်-၂၅၄

ဝိလာသိနီမော်ကွန်း၊ နဝဒေးဘွဲ့ခံသိရိမဟာစည်သူက သဏ္ဌာန် ၁၁၆၈ တွင် ရေးဖွဲ့သည်။ နဝဒေး၊

ဝိလာသိနီမော်ကွန်း၊ ပေမူ၊ ရန်ကုန်၊ တဏ္ဌာသိုလ်များ ဗဟိုစာကြည့် တိက်၊ ပေအမှတ် ၄၅၁၀၈။

## Treatises on Elephant

ကဇေကာသနိပါ၏၊ ရေးသူမသီ၊ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၂၃၂ ပြီးရန်ကုန်၊ အမျိုးသားစာကြည့်တိုက်၊  
ပေအမှတ် ၁၉၇။

ကဇေဇာဆင်ကြန်၊ ရေးသူမသီ၊ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၂၄၁ ပြီးရန်ကုန်၊ တက္ကသိုလ်များဗဟိုစာကြည့်တိုက်၊  
ပေအမှတ် ၂၉၈၅၂။

ဂဇိနိနှစ်ယာ၊ ကျောက်ရဲဆရာတော်၊ သက္ကရာဇ်၁၂၂၈ပြီး ရန်ကုန်၊ တက္ကသိုလ်များ ဗဟိုစာကြည့်  
တိုက်၊ ပေအမှတ် ၁၁၁၈၉။

ဂဇိနိနှစ်ယာလည်ပေါ်ကျောင်း ဆရာတော် သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၆၈ ပြီး၊ ရန်ကုန်၊ တက္ကသိုလ်များဗဟို  
စာကြည့်တိုက်၊ ပေအမှတ် ၁၁၁၈၆

ကဇေသူဗွာ၊ ဝဏ္ဏမဓာကျော်ထင်၊ ကျမ်းပြီးနှစ်မပါ၊ မန္တလေးတက္ကသိုလ်စာကြည့်တိုက်၊ ပေအမှတ်  
၁၅၀၂။

ကဇေသူဗွာများ၊ ကာလိဒါသ၊ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၂၃၁ ကူး၊ ရန်ကုန်၊ အမျိုးသားစာကြည့်တိုက်၊  
ပေအမှတ် ၁၉၇၃။

စီးတော်မူသည့်ဆင်ကြန်၊ ကျောက်ရဲဆရာတော်၊ ပေကူးပြီးနှစ်မပါ၊ (ရန်ကုန်၊ တက္ကသိုလ်များဗဟို  
စာကြည့်တိုက်)၊ ပေအမှတ် ၃၀၀၃၆၀။

စီးတော်မူသည့်ဆင်ကြန်၊ ကျောက်ရဲဆရာတော်၊ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၂၃၂ ကူး၊ ရန်ကုန်၊ တက္ကသိုလ်များ  
ဗဟိုစာကြည့်တိုက်၊ ပေအမှတ် ၂၉၈၅၂၂။

ဆင်ကြန်၊ ဝဏ္ဏမဓာကျော်ထင်၊ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၅၇ ပြီး၊ ဦးထွန်းရီ၊ ရေးဟောင်းစာပေသုတေသန<sup>၁</sup>  
တစ်ဦး၊ စာစုံ။

ဆင်ကြန်ကျိုး၊ ရေးသူမသီ၊ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၄၉ ကူး၊ ရန်ကုန်၊ တက္ကသိုလ်များ ဗဟိုစာကြည့်တိုက်၊  
ပေအမှတ် ၁၁၁၈၇။

ဆင်ကြန်စာတမ်း၊ ရေးသူမသီ၊ ပြီးကူးနှစ်မပါ။ ရေးဟောင်းစာပေ၊ ရန်ကုန်၊ အမြန်စာကူးဌာန။

ဆင်ကြန်လက်ဗုံးအဖွင့်ကျမ်း၊ လက်ရွေးကြီးများ၊ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၂၀၉ ပြီး၊ ဦးထွန်းရီ၊ ရေးဟောင်း  
စာပေသုတေသနတစ်ဦး၊ စာစုံ။

ဆင်ဖြူတို့လက္ခဏာစာတမ်း၊ မောင်းထောင်ဆရာတော်၊ သဏ္ဌာန် ၁၁၆၈ ပြီး၊ ရန်ကုန်၊  
တဲ့လျှိုလ် များဗဟိုစာကြည့်တိုက်၊ ပေအမှတ် ၁၀၅၄၃။

နိုဗ္ဗာနပစ္စယနာဂရာဇာကထာသိသျော်မောင်းထောင်ဆရာတော်၊ ကျမ်းပြီးကူးနှစ်မပါ၊ ရန်ကုန်၊ တဲ့လျှိုလ် များဗဟိုစာကြည့်တိုက်၊ ပေအမှတ် ၁၁၁၈၅။

ပိဋကတ်ကျမ်းလာဆင်ကြန်စာတမ်း၊ မင်းကြီးမဟာဇာယသူ၊ သဏ္ဌာန် ၁၂၄၁ ပြီး၊ ရန်ကုန်၊  
တဲ့လျှိုလ် များဗဟိုစာကြည့်တိုက်၊ ပေအမှတ် ၂၉၀၈၈။

မဟာဆင်ကြန်တော်လက်ာ၊ လက်ရွေးကြီးမျှူး၊ သဏ္ဌာန် ၁၂၂၉ ကူး၊ ရန်ကုန်၊ တဲ့လျှိုလ် များ  
ဗဟိုစာကြည့်တိုက်၊ ပေအမှတ် ၁၀၅၄၁။

မဟာဆင်ကြန်လက်ာ၊ လက်ရွေးကြီးမျှူး၊ ကျမ်းပြီးကူးနှစ်မပါ။ ရန်ကုန်၊ တဲ့လျှိုလ် များဗဟိုစာကြည့်  
တိုက်၊ ပေအမှတ် ၁၀၅၄၂။

မြင်းကြန်နှင့်ဆင်ကြန်ကျမ်း၊ မောင်းထောင်ဆရာတော်၊ သဏ္ဌာန် ၁၂၀၄ ကူး၊ ရန်ကုန်၊ တဲ့လျှိုလ်  
များဗဟိုစာကြည့်တိုက်၊ ပေအမှတ် ၇၂၇၀။

ယောဂတာဂဇ္ဈားတွေ့ရကျမ်း၊ ကာလီဒါသ၊ သဏ္ဌာန် ၁၂၃၁ ကူး၊ ရန်ကုန်၊ တဲ့လျှိုလ် များ ဗဟိုစာ  
ကြည့်တိုက်၊ ပေအမှတ် ၂၉၈၉၁။

ယိုးဒယားဆင်ဖြူစာတမ်း၊ မင်းကြီးမဟာဇာယသူ၊ သဏ္ဌာန်၁၁၆၆ကူး ရန်ကုန်၊ အမျိုးသား  
စာကြည့်တိုက်၊ ပေမှတ် ၁၃၀။

ယိုးဒယားမင်းသားဆင်ကြန်၊ ဗြိုံးစောနေရမွန်၊ ကျမ်းပြီးကူးနှစ်မပါ။ ရန်ကုန်၊ တဲ့လျှိုလ် များ  
ဗဟိုစာကြည့်တိုက်၊ ပေအမှတ် ၂၉၈၈၈။

လဝ ဆင်ကြန်စာတမ်း၊ မင်းကြီးမဟာဇာယသူ၊ သဏ္ဌာန် ၁၁၉၃ ကူး၊ ရန်ကုန်၊ တဲ့လျှိုလ် များ  
ဗဟိုစာကြည့်တိုက်၊ ပေအမှတ် ၁၁၁၈၄။

လဝဆင်ကြန်စာတမ်း၊ မင်းကြီးမဟာဇာယသူ၊ သဏ္ဌာန် ၁၂၄၁ ကူး၊ ရန်ကုန်၊ တဲ့လျှိုလ် များ  
ဗဟိုစာကြည့်တိုက်၊ ပေအမှတ် ၂၉၀၆၆။

သဏ္ဌာန်ဆင်ကြန်စာတမ်း၊ ရှင်ပုညကာမိုးသဏ္ဌာန် ၁၀၈၄ ပြီး၊ ရန်ကုန်၊ တဲ့လျှိုလ် များဗဟို  
စာကြည့်တိုက်၊ ပေအမှတ် ၁၁၁၈၈။

ဥပေါ်ဆဒ္ဒန်ဆင်ဖြူမျိုးတို့လက္ခဏာ၊ မောင်းထောင်ဆရာတော်၊ ကျမ်းပြီးကူးနှစ်မပါ ရန်ကုန်၊  
တဲ့လျှိုလ် များဗဟိုစာကြည့်တိုက်၊ ပေအမှတ် ၁၁၁၈၂။

### Eulogy on Royal Elephant in *Yadu*-Verse

ရှင်မွေခေ၊ ဆင်တော်စောရန်ဖြတ်ဖွဲ့ရတု၊ ဆင်တော်မော်ကွန်းစုနှင့် ပြောင်ကြီးငါးစီးဘွဲ့ရတုများ၊  
 မန္တလေး၊ ကပိုလက္ခဏာစာအုပ်ဆိုင်၊ ၁၉၆၀၊ မျက် ၆၅-၆၆။  
 ရှင်မွေခေ၊ ဆင်တော်ဘုန်းတောက်ပဖွဲ့ရတု၊ ဆင်တော်မော်ကွန်းစုနှင့် ပြောင်ကြီးငါးစီးဘွဲ့၊  
 ရတုများ၊ မန္တလေး၊ ကပိုလက္ခဏာစာအုပ်ဆိုင်၊ ၁၉၆၀၊ မျက် ၆၆-၆၇။  
 မင်းအော်ရန္တမိတ်၊ ဆင်တော်ဖုန်းထွန်းပဖွဲ့ရတု၊ ဆင်စုမော်ကွန်းစုနှင့် ပြောင်ကြီးငါးစီး ဘွဲ့ရတု  
 များ၊ မန္တလေး၊ ကပိုလက္ခဏာစာအုပ်ဆိုင်၊ ၁၉၆၀၊ မျက်-၆၃-၆၄။  
 ရှင်မွေခေ၊ ဆင်တော်ဟိုင်းနီလာဖွဲ့ရတု၊ ဆင်တော်မော်ကွန်းစုနှင့် ပြောင်ကြီးငါးစီးဘွဲ့ရတုများ၊  
 မန္တလေး၊ ကပိုလက္ခဏာစာအုပ်ဆိုင်၊ ၁၉၆၀၊ မျက်-၅၉-၆၁။  
 နဝဒေး၊ ဝက်မစွတ်၊ ဆင်ဖြူ။ တော်မရှင်နှင်းနွယ်ဘွဲ့ပိုဒ်စုရတု၊ ရန်ကုန်၊ တက္ကသိုလ်များ ဗဟိုစာကြည့်  
 တိုက်၊ ပေအမှတ် ၁၂၃၈၁။  
 နဝဒေး၊ ဝက်မစွတ်၊ ပြည်ခွဲဆင်တုဖွဲ့ရတု၊ ဆင်တော်မော်ကွန်းစုနှင့် ပြောင်ကြီးငါးစီးဘွဲ့ရတုများ၊  
 မန္တလေး၊ ကပိုလက္ခဏာစာအုပ်ဆိုင်၊ ၁၉၆၀၊ မျက်-၆၂-၆၃။

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### **Unpublished Books**

- “Aukmaasupay Upade Sardan”, *Parabaik* MS, UCL, No.45194
- Lebau Sayadaw, “Gaza vinicchaya”, Palmleaf MS, UCL, No.11186
- “Letters on Yadayarya elephant”, *Parabaik* MS, NL, No. 146
- Letwègyihmu ; “Sinkyanlinka Ahphwinst Kyan” (Explaintory Test on Elephant Characteristics), Palmleaf, MS, U Htun Yi Collection
- “List of treasury”, Palmleaf MS, UCL, No.131927
- “Majjimadesa Sardan”, Palmleaf MS, UCL, No.4571
- “Manipurese Affair”, *Parabaik* MS, UCL, No.139317
- Maungtaung Sayadaw, “The Characteristic of White Elephant”, Palmleaf MS, UCL, No.10543
- Maung Maung, U, “Konbaung khit Nanthnsin mya ie akhanganda” (The Role of Royal Elephant in Konbaung Period, M.A. Thesis, 1990
- “Mission to Yungyi (Further Bagan) in 1185 ME”, *Parabaik* MS, NL, No. 474
- “Royal Orders in Nyangyan Period”, Palmleaf MS, UCL, No.366801
- “Royal Orders of King Badon, issued on 18 August 1807”, Palmleaf MS, UCL.No.360136
- “Shinbyushin Order”, Palmleaf, MS, NL. No.285
- “Shwezigon Kyansitha Inscription”, Mahamuni inscription, shed, 78
- “Siamese History”, Palmleaf MS, UCL, No.11997
- “The Inquest of elephants in Yaw Area”, *Parabaik* MS, UCL, No.12677
- “The List on Five District”, Mya Pu Kyaung *Parabaik* MS, U
- “The List on Thwethauk in the Miscellaneous List of Talok Town, *Parabaik* MS, UCL, No. 8993

- “The Pyay Sittan, *Parabaik* MS, UHRC, No. 3450
- “Things to be Abstained by Elephant Catcher”, *Parabaik* MS, Historical Research Department , No.15
- Toe Hla, Dr., “*Kyauksa Myaga Pyawthaw Baganlun Thamaing*” (History of Post Pagan Period As Reflected on the Inscription), 1300-1400 AD, Typescript, December 2002
- “*Ugamta Phwint*”, Palmleaf MS, NL, No.1960
- “*Wungyi Hmugyi Khant Pyantan*”, *Parabaik* MS, NL, No.622
- “Zeyakhon Pagoda Inscription”, erected by Sithu II, in 1183.AD Now at the Mahamuni Inscription shed. No.349
- “The 46 Inquest of Mottama”, *Parabaik* Ms, NL.No.473

### **Books Published in Myanmar**

- Alaungmintaya Ameint Tawmya* (The Royal Order of Alaungmintaya), Daw Khin Khin Sein (ed), Yangon, Myanmar Historical Commission, 1964
- Ardiccaranisi Ashin (Monywe Sayadaw); *Thamanta Setkhu Dipeni* Yangon, Eiksasaya Pitaka Book House.
- , *Udeinna Pyo*, Mandalay, Hanthawaddy Pitaka Press, 1927
- Hla Tha mein, *Gandawun Pokeko Kyaw Mya Ahtokepatti Paung Choke*, Yangon, Hanthawaddy Press, 1961
- Hman Yazawin* (Glass Palace Chronicle), in 3 Vols., Yangon, Ministry of Information, 2003
- Htun Yi, U (Shehaung Thutethitau), *Konbaung Khit Sayin Padethar* (Konbaung Period Miscellaneous Data), Vol.III, Aichi University, Toyohashi, 2003
- Kala , U, *Maha Razawungyi* (The Great Chronicle), Vol.I, Yangon, Hanthawaddy Pitaka Press, 1960
- Konbaungzet Maha Yazawindawgyi* (The Great Chronicle of the Kings of the Konbaung Dynasty, U Maung Maung Tin (comp and ed), in 3 Vols.,

- Yangon, Yapyi Book House, 2004
- Kyan, Ma, *Thamaing Sharpontaw* (Tour de in Search of History and other Paper),  
Yangon, Thuka Press, 2002
- , *Konbaung Khit Myanmar Yemet Tawmya* (Konbaung Myanmar Soldiers)  
Yangon , Myanmar Yadana Sarpay, 2006
- Mahazeya Thenkhayar ,Wawharalinaththa dipani, Yangon, Hanthawaddy Press
- Maung Maung Tin, U, *Myanmar Min Mya Lethtet Taw Sardanmya* (Paper on  
Occasions in the Reign of Myanmar King), Yangon, Bagan Book House,  
September , 1967
- , *Shwenanthon Wawhara Abeikdan* (Dictionary of Words and Names used  
at the Court), Yangon, Yapyi Book House, 2005
- Military Campaigns of Myanmar Kings, Yangon, Nathataik 1967
- Monywe Sayadaw, *Pyinsawuda Pyo*, Yangon, Pitakattawpyantpwaye Myanmar  
Literature Department, Myanmar Proverbs, Yangon Universities Press,  
1991
- Myakaytu, *Nandalè Hmattan* (Record of Court Custom, Yangon, Hnalonehla  
Sarpay, 1971
- Myint Swe, M.A. (London), *Ngayangase Sayinkywe* (Full List of 550 Jatakas),  
Tun Tun (ed), Yangon, Phowa Offset, August, 2002
- Nagathen , Shin, Pictorial Medicinal Dictionary of Birds and Fishes, VI & i  
Yangon, Hanthawaddy Press, 1975
- No U, *Vessantara Pyo*, Hla Tha Mein (ed), Yangon, The Ancient Literature and  
Culture, 1961
- Pannasami, Shin, *Yazathewaka Dipani*, Yangon, Hanthawaddy Press, 1901
- Pho Latt, U, *Myanmarsaga Aphwint Kyan* (Explantary to Myanmar Words),  
Yangon, Mahananda Press, 1964
- Ponnya, U, *U Ponnyaei Wuttutto Paungchok* (The Anthology of U Ponnya's  
Short Stories), Yangon, Thudhammawaddy Press, 1950
- Saradatthi, Ashin, (Pyathat Kyaung), *Dhamapada Atthakatha Nissaya*, Vol.I,

- Mandalay, Pitakattawpyantpwaye Press, July, 1975
- Shehaung Sarpay Thutethi Ta U, *Myanmananthonesin* (Myanmar Court Elephant), No.3, Yangon, Seinbanmyaing Sarpay
- Sheyo Myanmar Pachi* (Myanmar Traditional Art), Yangon Department of Culture Branch of Archaeology
- Sin Daw Mawgun Su and Pyaunggyi Ngazibwe Yadumya*, Mandalay Kawi Letkhana Press, 1960
- Teikkha Dhamma Lankara, U and Dr.Than Tun, *Myanma Yatswe Thamaing* (History of Myanmar Chronology Konbaung period), Yangon, Ingyin U Press , 2005
- Than Tun, Dr., *Bagan Khit Luhmuye* (The Social of Bagan) Yangon, Phowa Press, 2005
- , *Bagan Khit Naingnganye* (Political History of Bagan), Yangon, Yongyichef Sarpay, 2005
- , *Myanma Thamaing Nidan* (Introduction to Myanmar history), Yangon, Myanmar Heritage, 2001
- , *Myanmar Thamaipon* (Myanmar History Told on Picture), Yangon, Monyway Press, 2004
- Toe Hla, Dr., *Chindwin Mitha Mu Ayar*, Yangon, Daw Chi Offset, 1995
- Thuta, Maung, *Sarsotawmya Ahtopatti* (Biographies of the Great Writers), Yangon, Hanthawaddy Press, 1966
- Tin, U, *Myanmar Min Okchokpon Sardan Hnint Bodawpalmleafa Ei Yazathat Khaw Ameindawdangyi* (A Treatise on Administration under Myanmar Kings together with an edit of King Bodawpaya), in 5 vols., Yangon, Department of Culture, 1963-1983
- Twinthin Taikwun Mahasithu U Htun Nyo, *Maha Yazawinthit* (New Great Chronicle) Nyaungyan Dynasty in 3 vols., Yangon, Khin Yi Mon Offset,

1968-1997

Ussoro Amatkyi, *Hanthawaddy Sinbyushin Ayedawbon Mawgun Udan*, (Military Campaign of Hantharwaddy Sinbyushin), U Toe Hla (ed), Yangon, Universities Press, 2006

Viccittasara Bhivamsa, U, *Maha Buddhavin*, Vol.II, Mandalay, Religious Affairs Department Press, 1982

Words, Villages and Village Tracts by Townships in State and Divisions, Yangon, Union of Burma , Buddha Sasana Press, 28 February 1974

Yan,U, *Pitakattaw Thamaing*, Yangon, Hanthawaddy Press , 1959

*Zabudipa Usaungkyan*, Furnival J.S and U Pe Mg Tin (ed),Yangon, Sarpay Beikman, 1960

Zanaka Bhivamsa, Ashin, Agga Maha Pandita, *Yokeson Buddhavamsa* (The Illustrated Buddhavamsa), Yangon, Y.M.B.A

### **Books Published in English**

Baretto, W.L, *Heroes of Burma*, Yangon, Burma Union Press

Channey, Michael W, *Southeast Asian Warfare: 1300-1900*, Brill, Leiden, Boston, 2004

Chutintaranod, *Sunait and Dr. Than Tun,Cakravartin: Ideology Reason and Manifestation of Siamese and Burmese King in Traditional Warfare (1538-1854) on Both sides of the Tenasserin Range: History of Siamese Burmese Relation*, Asian Studies monograph No. 050, Chulalongkorn University Bangkok, 1995

Collis, Maurice, *Marco Polo*, Faber and Faber limited , London, 1959

*Encyclopedias Britanica, Extracted 8*, Society of Gentleman, Scotland, 1968-78

Gupta, S.K, *Elephant in Indian Art and Mythology*, New Delhi: Humanist Press Inc., 1982

Hall, D.G.E, *History of Burma*, London , 1950

- Harvey, G.E, *History of Burma, From the Earliest Time to 10<sup>th</sup> March 1854*, London and Edinburgh, Frankcass and Co.Ltd, 1967
- Luce.G.H., *Old Burma-Early Bagan*, Vol.I, Locust Valley New York,1969
- , *Manshu* (Book of the Southern Barbarians), New York, December 1961
- Rice Aldo, *The Travels of Marcopolo*, London, Routteged Kegan Paul Ltd, 1950
- Scott, J.G. and Hardman. J.P.C, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, III & i, Yangon, Government printing, 1900
- Simon de La, Louberè, *The Kingdom of Siam*, Bangkok, White Lotus, 1986
- Singer: Noel.F, *Burmese Puppet*, Oxford University Press, 1991
- The Royal Orders of Burma*, in 10 Vols., Than Tun Dr. (ed), Kyoto, The Centre for South East Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1983-1988
- Toke Gale, U, *Burmese Timber Elephant*, Yangon, Trade Cooperation (9), 1974
- Willion.J.Koenig, *The Burmese Polity, 1752-1819*, Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, The University of Michigan, Michigan papers on South and Southeast Asia, Number 34

### Articles and Periodicals

- Aye Kyaw, “The Institution of Kingship in Burma and Thailand”, *Journal of Burma Research Society*, LXII, I, ii, December, 1979
- Kyuyadana Maung Mya Kyaing, “*Hsinkhan Gupathomya*” (Pagodas with elephant base) *Ngwetayi* , No.300, June, 1905
- Khin Maung Nyunt,Dr., “*Hsin Hnit Hsinphyu Saiya Hmattan Hmatyamya*” (Notes of Elephant and White Elephant), *the New Light of Myanmar*, November, 2001
- , “*Myanmar Kyanganlar Hsinphyumya*” (Myanmar Culture and Traditional Historical White Elephant), *The New Light of Myanmar*, November, 2001

-----, "Statecraft and Foreign Contact of Hanthawaddy", *Guardian*, February, 1990

Letwè Minnyo, "Nirvana Pissaya Saddan Elephant King", *National Cultural Journal*, Vol.I, 1962

Margret wong, Dr., "The Sino – Myanmar Relation from the Chinese Sources (AD. 1 to 13)", Paper Reading Session on the 76<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Yangon University, held in Diamond Jubilee Hall, on 23 , January 1997

Maung Maung Hla Myint, "Sinsantha Toei Sityetarwan" (The military Duty of Elephant Catchers), *Atweamyin* , No.56, May 1990

Thaung Thaung, Daw, "Taungngukhit Sarpay Hnit Thamaing" (Taungngu Period Literature and History), *Journal of Literature and Socials Science*, Vol.I, No.3, September, 1968

Tin Lay, "Shay Myanma Sithsinmya" (The Ancient Myanmar Elephant), *Ngwetayi*, No.256, October 1981

Tin Moe Swe, "Nyaungyankhit Aukma Ahmudans Amainttawmya" (Royal Orders of Aukmaahmudans in Nyaungyan Period) *Atweamyin*, No.63, January, 1991

Toe Hla, Dr., "Stupa and Temples with Elephant Base", *Diamond Jubilee Anniversary of Maha Zotia Yama Pali Taxila*, 2000

-----, "Badonminlathtat Panchi Saya Hnitoo" (Two Artists in the Reign of King Badon), *Myawaddy*, No.9, Vol. XVII, 1967

-----, "Nyaungyan Khit Hsinthinmya" (Elephant Groups in Nyaungyan Period), *Ngwetayi*, No.123, June, 1971

Yi Yi. Dr., "The Throne of Burmese Kings", *Journal of Burma Research Society*, XLIII & ii, December , 1960