

Texts and Contexts in Southeast Asia

**Shan-Myanmar Relations As Found
in the Hsipaw Chronicle**

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As an introduction to my paper entitled, "Shan-Myanmar Relations as found in the Hsipaw Chronicle," I would like to briefly give the location of Hsipaw

Hsipaw is in fact an ancient capital of the northern Shan State where the Shan feudal Chief kept his Haw, that is his residence. Hsipaw lies between longitude 97° 20" East and 22° 26" North. Its altitude is about 7,750 feet above sea level. It has an area of 4,524 square miles with a population of 100,000. It was sub-divided into four States during the British colonial rule: Hsipaw proper, Mong Long, Mong Tung and Hsum Hsai. Hsipaw had 91 circles, 1,260 villages and 19,4360 households. These figures were valid up to the end of the colonial administration of the Shan State. Hsipaw is situated on the right bank of the Nam Tu river. This river is called Myit Ngé in Myanmar and its classical name is Dokehtawaddy.

Hsipaw is bounded by Mong Kut (Ruby Mine District) and Mong Mit in the northwest; by Tawng Peng Loi Long (Namsan) and north Hsenwi in the north and northeast; by Hsenwi and Mong Yai in the east; by Mong Kung in the south-east; by Lauk Sauk in the South and by Mandalay Division in the west. A railway line from Mandalay to Lashio passes through this town. It is about 135 miles from Mandalay and about 44 miles from Lashio. Shipway also has a good network of motor-roads to Tawng Peng Namsan (the tea growing State of the Palaung ethnic group) and Nam Tu town, where there is a silver mine known as Bawdwin in the north; to Lashio, Hsenwi, Muse, Namkham and to the Chinese border in the north-east; to Mong Yai and Naung Hpa in the east; to Keshiman-Sam, Mong Kung, Lai Hka, Pang Long, Loi Lem and Taunggyi in the south; to Pyin Oo Lwin and Mandalay in the west; to Mong Long, Mong Kut and Mong Mit in the north-west.

Hsipaw was called Ong Pawng in the old days. In Myanmar it is called Thi Paw and its classical name is Kambawza Rahta. Ong Pawng-Hsipaw has a long history of more than 2000 years of ups and downs as indicated in the Hsipaw Chronicle.

The Chronicle

It was an ancient tradition for the Shan ruler to keep a chronicle of events in his Haw or Residence. All important events were compiled in the form of chronicle by his Chief Minister or local Shan scholar who was assigned by the Chief of State. As to the reliability of the chronicle it depends upon the scholarship of the compiler and his general knowledge of the affairs of the State. Such a scholar would compile according to his own version of events. He also might make mistake in compiling daily events. Moreover, he may add his own opinion and interpretation so that sometimes the chronicle may not represent the truth. Inspite

of the criticism mentioned above the chronicle does form the basis upon which historical data may be considered valuable and useful. The chronicles were generally written on Shan paper parabaiks using locally made pen and ink; where paper parabaiks were not available palm leaves were used to inscribe chronicles. Chronicles were regarded as sacred writings and were kept on a higher shelf next to the altar where the Buddha image was placed and these chronicle were inaccessible to anyone except the members of the royal family.

Unlike Bagyidaw who ordered the chronicles to be re-examined and re-edited by scholars so as to make them more authentic, the Shan Saohpas failed to carry out a reassessment and re-editing of the old chronicles.

The reason for the failure to bring forth an authentic chronicle was due to the fact that the Shan chiefs had never had the opportunity to unite among themselves. This explains the failure to re-examine and re-edit the chronicles. The Shan chiefs were so divided that they could not unite as was the case when Nan-Chao and Mong Mao Long were strong and united. After the destruction of these two empires by the Mongols and the Chinese, The Shan ethnic people were disunited and spread out in the directions of South, South-east Asia, adopting new local names wherever they established their new settlements. Those who entered Myanmar at different periods came to be known as Shangyi (Tai Long), Maw Shan (Tai Mao), Chinese-Shan (Tai Nu), Shan Myanmar (Tai Leng), Hkamti-Shan (Tai Hkamti), Gon-Shan (Tai Khun), Lu-Shan (Tai Lu), Yun-Shan (Tai Yun). There are many other ethnic names for the Shans living outside Myanmar, such as those living in Lao, Thailand, Vietnam and Assam.

The date or period when these Shans migrated into Myanmar, is uncertain. But some scholars including Dr. J.N.Cushing pointed out as follows:

...the migration of the Tai into Burma (Myanmar) probably began about two thousand years ago although Shan and Burma (Myanmar) tradition place the irruption several centuries earlier. What we can gather from Chinese history would seem to point to the same date (J.George Scott, 1900 Vol I. Pt. 9, P 194).

It is common practice for Shans to establish a Mong or City State in any place where there is sufficient land for cultivation and where there is forest and sufficient water as well as wild fruits, vegetables and roots which can be used as food.

These Mongs were found scattered in north and eastern Myanmar. Each of these Mongs was administered by a chief called Saohpa assisted by a crown prince, (Kyem Mong) second crown prince, (Naw Mong), and high officials like Htaut Mongs, Paw Mongs, Pu Hmon, Pu Kang, Pu Heng and Pu Kye.

Each ethnic Shan group possessed its own script and written form. In compiling their chronicles they also used the Myanmar script. To be able to read and understand all the Shan chronicles a scholar must be well versed in many types of Shan scripts. Only a few clerics are now capable of reading all these scripts.

Today only a few chronicles are available since the majority have been lost and destroyed due to conflicts among the Saohpas and the outbreak of World War II while others were destroyed by insects.

When Sir George Scott wrote his *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and Shan States* in 1900, shan chronicles from various parts of the Shan States were collected and sent to his office for translation and the writing of the Gazetteer. After the appearance of the Gazetteer no one

could state with certainty the whereabouts of the remaining Shan chronicles. It has been pointed out that some of these chronicles can be found in the Scott Collection at Cambridge University. If this is true then it is for a new generation of scholars to study these chronicles and to write a history of the Shan State.

Hsipaw Chronicles

Recently two sets of Hsipaw chronicles were discovered in Hsipaw. One is written in Shan and in prose form and it is a Shan parabaik chronicle. Its original author is unknown, but the first writer who copied this chronicle was the late Pu Kham Leng and the second compiler was the late U Kaleinda, a high school Shan teacher of Hsipaw. It is now in the possession of Long Lu-Pa Nang Hmwe Sar of Hsipaw. It is very well preserved and kept on the shelf next to the altar of Buddha. The owner of the chronicle is very reluctant to allow anyone to look at it. According to the Hsipaw Chronicle, it was Sao Hkun Hkam Saw who built the city of Ong Pawng on the day of the full moon of the fourth month (Tabaung) of the year 485 of the Sasana Era (the Year of Religion) or 37 B.C.

The Hsipaw Chronicle also states that at the time when Sao Hkun Hkam Saw was the Chief, Ong Pawng Hsipaw had become the most influential state and its political power spread far and wide throughout the Shan State. At that time, in central Myanmar, there was another kingdom called Sriksetra which was inhabited by the Pyu. Sriksetra was also quite an influential kingdom and its political power reached the borders of Ong Pawng Hsipaw. Since the border was not clearly defined, all sort of problems cropped up, like looting, dacoits and murder and border-crossing by criminals was also frequent. At one time the situation at the border got so bad that the Ong Pawng ruler had to dispatch his son Sao Hkun Hkam Pan with a large army to restore peace and order. After the situation returned to normal, Sao Hkun Hkam Pan took measures to demarcate the border. The country from the foothill of the Shan plateau near Mandalay to eastward the hilly portions was to be recognized as belonging to the Shans and composed of 99 states. It was the first boundary demarcation ever made by the Ong Pawng ruler in S.E. 506.

A second occurrence of the border problem took place during the reign of Sao Hkun Hkam Kio (A.D 165-201). There was a political upheaval in Sriksetra and many people fled to the north to take refuge along the Myanmar. Ong Pawng border, creating all manners of disturbances, making it impossible to live in peace. The effect was felt up to the On Pawng Kingdom. The Ong Pawng chief reflected upon the situation, consulted his chief ministers and finally came to the conclusion to create a buffer zone between the Myanmar and Shan kingdoms. He then assigned his chief minister Sing Kwang to construct a city called Madaya near Mandalay. The chief minister was to choose 100 Assistant Administrators and each Assistant Administrator was ordered to take 100 households each with him to settle in the new city. The new city was established and kept as an outpost between Myanmar and Shan. The fortified city was called Amat-ta-ya city and later it came to be known as Madaya, situated on the north-east of Mandalay on the way to Mong Kut which was the Ruby mine district.

Establishment of Friendship between Myanmar and Shans

It was during the reign of Paw Aik Phyao, the 9th ruler of Ong Pawng Hsipaw that an alliance was formed between Myanmar and Shans.

In 752 S.E. in Sriksetra King Hsu Pyinnya Nagarasinna died and left no heir to the throne. The Kingdom was then ruled by the minister for 13 years. During this period the Pyu and Kanyan people continuously caused trouble and brought about destruction to the kingdom. The people of Sriksetra after consultation among themselves left Sriksetra to find a place to set up a new kingdom and thereby to escape from the Pyu and the Kanyan disturbances.

There were only 19 villages around the region that could be united to establish a new city. But the threat of the Pyu and Kanyan still remained. The Bagan ruler began to seek the strong and powerful alliance of the Ong Pawng king. After consultation with the chief ministers and representatives of the people, a mission headed by the ministers Baddha Tena and Baddha Wunna, together with gifts was sent to the Ong Pawng ruler, Paw Aik Phyao to request his assistance and alliance.

The Saohpa of Ong Pawng-Hsipaw, Paw Aik Phyao at first refused the request saying that there never had been any relationship between Shans and Myanmar in the past and moreover, the languages of the two races were also entirely different from one another. The Myanmar head of the delegation insisted on forming an alliance citing many legendary stories about animals of different kinds making an alliance to assist each other in time of trouble and danger. Therefore, it was quite possible for human beings like the Myanmar and the Shans to make friends with each other. If Thamudarit king of Myanmar and Paw Aik Phyao, Saohpa of Shan could become allies the two kingdoms would be very strong and be able to confront any danger or threat.

Paw Aik Phyao, Saohpa of Ong Pawng Hsipaw said that before an alliance could be formed Shans and Myanmar must get to know about each other well. So, he dispatched a delegation headed by his brother Paw Aik Pan to accompany the Myanmar delegation back to Bagan to study the nature of the Myanmar people and their sincere desire to form an alliance. On arrival at Bagan Paw Aik Pan and his delegation were well received by the Bagan ministers and officials with great pomp and splendour, Paw Aik Pan was greatly impressed by the Myanmar hospitality and grand treatment given to him. Moreover, gifts such as hundred silver bars, two hundred male and female buffaloes, one hundred female cattle, silk, velvet as well as high quality cotton cloth were given to Paw Aik Pan. The Myanmar King Thamudarit repeatedly requested Paw Aik Pan to inform his brother, Paw Aik Phyao the desire and sincerity of forming an alliance with Ong Pawng to defend themselves against the enemies. On reaching Ong Pawng, Paw Aik Pan presented a full report of his experiences with the Myanmar in Bagan and their genuine desire for friendship with Ong Pawng. A military alliance between Bagan and Ong Pawng was formed and Paw Aik Phyao ordered a large army, commanded by his able Commander Garmani to march down to Bagan and help the Myanmar king to defeat his enemies. The victorious Ong Pawng army was honoured, the alliance was further cemented by mutual compliments on the victory and the army then returned to Ong Pawng. From then onward the Shans and Myanmar became good friends and there was constant good relations between the two people. It became a historical landmark of friendship between Ong Pawng and Bagan.

Another phase of Shan-Myanmar relations came about during the reign of Sao Hso Kawng Hpa, the 52th of king of Ong Pawng. He was an enlightened ruler who possessed great

courage as well as wisdom. He gave encouragement to all who showed bravery and courage. He gave to those who served him well monthly wages and rations as well as grants of paddy lands. In religious matters he gave assistance to the clergy. He governed the people without prejudice, be they rich or poor and administered the law in a fair and just manner. As he administered in accordance with the rule of law his power increased and Ong Pawng expanded and flourished. From far and near peoples such as Yun, Lu, Hkun and Thai from Keng Rom and Keng Tung sought his protection and sent him tributes and gifts as tokens of their homage. Ong Pawng was indeed a kingdom of prosperity, influence and power with farsighted advisers to help its ruler in state affairs. On the other hand, in central Myanmar, the rival kingdom of Inwa also became prosperous, influential and powerful like Ong Pawng. The king of Inwa Min Khaung I also had qualifications of kingship like Sao Hso Kawng Hpa of Ong Pawng and, like Sao Hso Kawng Hpa, was surrounded by farsighted ministers who were skillful in statecraft. Sao Hso Kawng Hpa and Min Khaung I became involved in a struggle to dominate upper Myanmar. It was the ruler of Ong Pawng Sao Hso Kawng Hpa who initiated their struggle. He organized a large army consisting of eighty elephants, one thousand horsemen and eighty thousand soldiers. He marched to Inwa on the 12th waxing day of Tabaung, the fourth month in the year of 776 M.E. As the army left the city of Ong Pawng a fire broke out behind the army and Sao Hso Kawng Hpa, who was very superstitious, asked his chief minister, Sing Long U Mong, whether it was a good sign for the campaign against Inwa. The minister said it was a good omen and a sign of the arrival of an emissary bearing a great amount of gifts and a young maiden. He also said that he was very sure everything would go well and that nothing ill would happen. If the army continued its march only good would result from such action.

On hearing this Sao Hso Kawng Hpa was very pleased and he bestowed on his chief minister Sing U Mong plenty of rewards. Sao Hso Kawng Hpa felt sure that Inwa would fall into his hands soon. On arrival at Htuntaya Htun Tone near Inwa the Ong Pawng army made camp, erected defence bulwarks of stone erected and dug trenches around the camp. Then the Ong Pawng King sent his minister Sing Long U Mong to deliver a message to the Inwa King, Min Khaung I, asking whether he would surrender the kingdom peacefully or opt for combat with his army. Min Khaung sought the advice of his learned minister Po Yar Zar who advised the king to avoid a combat with the Ong Pawng army because it was too strong and casualties would be very high even if the battle was won. The best way was to use peaceful means by sending a peace message with gifts and an offer of Min Khaung's niece, Princess Min Sandar, as bride to Sao Hso Kawng Hpa. Min Khaung was pleased with the suggestion and asked Minister Po Yar Zar write to royal message to the king of Ong Pawng. Po Yar Zar wrote the royal peace message, choosing the best language of diplomacy which he thought would please Sao Hso Kawng Hpa.

Sithu Kyaw Htin, a good royal orator, who would be able to present and explain the royal message well, was chosen and sent to the king of Ong Pawng. On arrival, the minister Sithu Kyaw Htin, as instructed, told the Ong Pawng King.

The King of Inwa Min Khaung I realizes that Inwa is surrounded by the Ong Pawng army against Inwa, but the king has no desire to fight against your forces, because if there is a battle there will be trouble and it will be the responsibility of the king. Both sides suffer enormous casualties even if the battle were won by either side. Moreover, Your Majesty, summer is approaching. Imagine how the heat will cause suffering among your elephant force, cavalry and soldiers. I have been sent with royal gifts together with the royal princess, niece of King Min Khaung, to be offered to you to become your consort or even queen and thereby to preserve friendship and alliance

which would endure for the future. I entreat you to accept the niece and gifts since you are the future Badhisatta having splendour associated with power. Also you are a great king who has consideration for the prosperity and happiness of all people.

The Ong Pawng king studied the message carefully and finally agreed to the proposal. He then instructed his minister Sing Long U Mong to prepare all that was necessary to implement the supplication made by the Inwa minister Sithu Kyaw Htin, without delay. The Myanmar minister went back to Inwa and reported the royal acceptance of the Ong Pawng king of the royal proposal of the Myanmar king Min Khaung I then instructed minister Po Yar Zar to build a great pavilion and to prepare a wedding ceremony in accordance with royally custom. Princess Min Sandar was adorned with nine kinds of jewels (Nawarat dressed in a befitting manner and taken her on elephant back escorted by a royal guard of honour to the pavilion. She and her entourage was well received by the King of Ong Pawng. A grand wedding ceremony was performed according to the rites and customs of royalty. Following the ceremony minister Po Yar Zar addressed the ministers of both kingdoms and the two kings stating that the kings of the two kingdoms, Min Khaung I and Sao Hso Kawng Hpa had become royal relatives. It was necessary that in the future the two kingdoms should be considered as a single kingdom and that in time of need each kingdom should assist the other. To give help to each other in times of emergency was something to be remembered by the two kings for all time. The two kings readily accepted the advice given by Po Yar Zar.

The minister Po Yar Zar, by order of Min Khaung I, also proposed a demarcation of the boundary between the two kingdoms. Sao Hso Kawng Hpa gave his agreement and a boundary was demarcated. At the place where Ong Pawng troops had encamped a pillar was erected to mark the boundary between the two kingdoms. Moreover, three pagodas were also constructed by Sao Hso Kawng Hpa to clearly identify the demarcation line of the two kingdoms: the first on the peak of Kyauk Mi Taung, the second on the peak of Okké twin Taung, and the third on the mountain range forming the boundary of Ong Pawng and Inwa. After that Sao Hso Kawng Hpa returned with his army to Ong Pawng. His new queen was renamed Nang Kya Yone and elevated to the status of MahaDevi.

Another story of Shan-Myanmar relations in the Shipway chronicle relates to the reign of Sao Loi (Hso) Hsam Hpa, 53rd King of Ong Pawng. At that time His Ha Hsu or Thihathu was the king of Inwa and spent his time mostly with the lesser queens ignoring the chief queen. The chief queen hatched a plot to oust him with the help of Sao Loi Hsam Hpa, the King of Ong Pawng. The chief queen, Bo-me wrote a letter to Sao Loi Hsam Hpa requesting him to come with his army to assassinate Thihathu and after that to marry her and jointly rule Inwa. Sao Loi Hsam Hpa who once was in love with her accepted the request and marched down to Inwa with his army consisting of 80 elephants, 10,000 horsemen and 80,000 soldiers. He made camp at Tat Gyi and his troops surrounded the city. Thihathu, on hearing the coming of Ong Pawng troops, requested the ruler of Kalekyetaungnyo for help and a large contingent was sent to fight against the Ong Pawng's army. After a fierce battle lasting several days, the Ong Pawng army was victorious. Thihathu was captured and executed. Queen Bo-me, instead of marrying Sao Loi Hsam Hpa, played a trick against him. She called upon Minhlang to help oust Sao Hso Hpa from Inwa and promised again to marry him after the victory. While Sao Hso Hsam Hpa, sure of gaining the hands of queen Bo-me, was much intoxicated over his victory, Minhlang with his selected commandos secretly entered Inwa. He made a surprise attack, and caused the Ong Pawng army to withdraw in disorder back to Hsipaw. Minhlang married queen Bo-me and became king of Inwa.

The ruler of Kalekyetaungnyo, once an ally of Thihathu, was given favour to come in and out of the palace at his own will. He plotted against Minhlange, because he was secretly in love with queen Bo-me. After the death of Minhlange he married queen Bo-me and became king of Inwa. A conciliatory letter was sent to Ong Pawng to reestablish friendship and an alliance between the two kingdoms.

During this time another Shan kingdom appeared on the scene, the kingdom of Mong Yang in the north of Myanmar. Its ruler was Thado Yar Zar who became powerful and challenged the power of Inwa. He was a bitter rival of Kalekyetaungnyo and accused the latter of being traitor in the politics of Inwa. He planned to attack Kalekyetaungnyo, the king of Inwa, but knowing Ong Pawng was behind Inwa, would not risk invading Inwa. The Mong Yang King realized that should the Ong Pawng king come to aid Inwa, he would not win the fight against Inwa. He then sent a message and gifts informing the Ong Pawng king that Kalekyetaungnyo was a king without conscience and morality and had tricked and killed Minhlange. Convinced, the Ong Pawng king withdrew from giving military assistance to Kalekyetaungnyo. The Mong Yang King, Thado Yar Zar easily conquered Sagaing and crossed over to attack Inwa. Inwa fell and Kalekyetaungnyo was captured and executed. Thado Yar Zar took Bo-me as his queen and ruled over Inwa as Mong Yang Mintaragyi. A friendly relationship was reestablished between Inwa and Ong Pawng and the two kingdoms peacefully coexisted for some time.

Upper Myanmar entered a new political phase when Shwenankyawshin Narapati was king of Inwa. More kingdoms appeared to participate in the struggle to control Inwa with Mong Kawng, Mong Yang, Sagain, Pyi, Taunggoo and Hanthawaddy as the principal participants. Ong Pawng did not get much involved in this struggle; in most of issues it stood by the side of Inwa and in many cases it pursued a policy of neutrality and played the role of mediator. Mong Yang took an aggressive stand and came to confront Inwa. A long drawn out struggle took place between the two kingdoms, in shifting alliance with other kingdoms. Finally Inwa fell into the hands of the Mong Yang King, and Shwenankyawshin Narapati was captured and executed. After the victory, the Mong Yang King, put his son Sao Hso Home Hpa on the throne of Inwa and went back to Mong Yang. Sao Hso Home Hpa did not prove himself to be a good king in Inwa. He did not possess the qualifications befitting a good king. He allowed himself to be influenced by rogues and illiterate advisers and governed the people in rough and brutal manner. Both laymen and clergy were equally oppressed and tormented. The people were much alarmed and started to rebel against him. Finally, he was murdered. The chief minister, Mingyiyanang was requested to assume the kingship. But he refused the request saying that he was too old to take on the duty of the king and, was not of royal blood. Looking around he saw the ruler of Ong Pawng Sao Hkun Mong who possessed the necessary qualifications befitting a good ruler and was endowed with wisdom, knowledge of worldly affairs and courage, and was capable of defending Inwa against the enmity of Mong Yang Chief Sao Long, who could make another formidable strike against Inwa. Moreover, he was sure that Sao Hkun Mong would be able to rule the kingdom in a good and just manner in accordance with the wishes of the people.

A special delegation was formed as suggested by Mingyiyanang, composed of ministers, high ranking officials, elderly men of high integrity and also astrologers. All members of this official delegation were dressed in their official robes according to their rank and status. They were accompanied by special troops wearing special dress with the five regalia and five musical instrument and with guards both front and rear followed by skillful drummers. Some of them bore gifts of all kinds. On arriving at Ong Pawng the whole

entourage was well-received by the king of Ong Pawng. The leader of the delegation then presented the royal message of request to go to Inwa and assume the kingship of Kingdom.

At that time Sao Khun Mong (A.D. 1532-1557), was the king of Ong Pawng. When he was young he had been trained by his father in statecraft and the art of administration. In military, he also had experience and once led the Ong Pawng army to help the Inwa King defeat the combined armies of Pyi and Taunggoo and capture the Pyi and Taunggoo kings. Hearing how Sao Home Hpa had lost the throne, Sao Hkun Mong knew very well that he would need both wisdom and courage to rule not only Myanmar but also the whole of the Shan State. Moreover, it was quite essential that he secured the strong support of all his relatives in times of emergency. The first thing he did before leaving for Inwa was to assign all his sons, nephews and relatives to take charge of different parts of the Shan State.

He sent his first son, Sao Hso Kaw Hpa, to Mong Pai, his second son, Sao Hso Pik Hpa, to Mong Nai, his third son, Sao Hso Kyen Hpa, to Yawngghwe, his fourth son, Sao Hso Naw Hpa, to Laikha, and his younger brother, Sao Hso Saw Hpa, to Kengtung to rule on his behalf. They were also briefed to rule over the respective States in good manner and with justice. They were provided with white umbrellas and royal regalia as well as suitable titles, advised to establish courts of justice and offices of public assembly for administration and judicial purposes, and given power to collect revenues and carry out administrative duties. Finally Sao Hkun Mong issued a royal order to all Saohpas under him to come to him in Inwa and pay homage to him twice a year, on a New Year day and, at the end of the Buddhist lent. The annual obeisance was to be accompanied with tributes, gifts of gold and silver in the form of stems of flowers. The annual delegation to Inwa was to be headed by Sao Hom Hpa, the ruler of Ong Pawng. As Kengtung was too far from Inwa and as communications were too difficult, the ruler was permitted to carry out this ceremony only once in every three years. The Hsipaw Chronicle said that the ceremony of giving homage and presenting gifts resulted from an order issued by Sao Hkun Mong, the king of Inwa and hence it became a fixed custom for future Myanmar kings. During the reign of Sao Hkun Mong there was peace and prosperity in Inwa and in the Shan State. Shan-Myanmar relations were at its peak and inter-state wars which had been going on for some years came to a temporary stop.

Sao Hkun Mong's reign over Inwa was very short-lived, he died after six years as king in Inwa. His plan to consolidate Shan and Myanmar as a single kingdom still incomplete, Inwa was in need of another good king who would be able to unite Shan and Myanmar as good neighbours. The Myanmar minister Yan Naing Say and the Shan minister Gone Mong Hpa Hseng in Inwa consulted with their junior ministers and other officials on the choice of a successor and agreed to refer to Ong Pawng Saohpa, Sao Hso Home Hpa as to who should be the next king of Inwa. The Saohpa said that he himself was too old to take the duties in Inwa and directed the delegation to Mong Pai to ask the Saohpa there to become the king of Inwa. Sao Hso Hpa of Mong Pai consented to the offer and in Inwa he took the title of Mong Pai Narapati (Moby Narapati, A.D. 1546-1552) and ruled the country. However, he did not possess the qualifications of a good king; he lacked knowledge of state affairs and was unable to choose farsighted advisers and ministers to assist him in state affairs. He ignored the precedents, traditions and customs laid down by his predecessor Sao Hkun Mong. He also forgot to communicate regularly with his brothers, cousins and relatives in the Shan State who traditionally paid tributes and homage to Inwa. All the Shan Chiefs in the Shan State took an indifferent attitude toward him and he lost their moral and military support, even in times of threat and danger. There were also many other rivals who would like to dethrone him and take his place. Many faithful Shan guards and followers went back to Shan State. He also lost interest in administration. Knowing his incapabilities and weaknesses, Sithu Kyaw

Htin of Sagaing formed an alliance with the ruler of Mong Yang and plotted his downfall. Inwa was attacked by Sithu Kyaw Hin and unable to withstand the invading force, Mong Pai Narapati fled to Hanthawaddy to take refuge under the protection of Hsin Phyu Mya Shin, the king of Hanthawaddy. He appealed to Hsin Phyu Mya Shin to help him regain the throne. Hsin Phyu Mya Shin promised and kept him in a temporary house or residence. Hsin Phyu Mya Shin marched to Inwa with his army and defeated Sithu Kyaw Htin and put his brother Thado Min Saw on the throne breaking his promise to Mong Pai Narapati. Narapati sensing the danger that might befall him fled from Hanthawaddy to Ong Pawng. The Ong Pawng Sao Hpa sent him back to Mong Pai. Hsin Phyu Mya Shin led a punitive expedition against Ong Pawng for helping Mong Pai Narapati. The Ong Pawng Sao Hpa, realizing the damage and destruction that threatened the country, sued for peace and agreed to send annual tributes to Inwa as he had done to Sao Hkun Mong in the past. Hsin Phyu Mya Shin agreed and returned to Hanthawaddy.

The involvement of Ong Pawng in Inwa-Hanthawaddy Affairs

Thado Min Saw of Inwa married his daughter Nat Shin May to Thado Maha U Pa Yaza of Hanthawaddy. But the Hanthawaddy king did not pay her much attention, instead his devotion went to Dhatu-Kalyar, sister of the king of Zinmai. No longer an attraction for the king, Nat Shin May was physically assaulted by him and not able to bear longer such torture she reported the matter to her father in Inwa. Thado Min Saw organized an army to attack Hanthawaddy and Ong Pawng was asked to join. When the Ong Pawng army arrived in Inwa, Thado Min Saw had already fled and Inwa fell into the hands of U Pa Yaza. U Pa Yaza marched up to fight Ong Pawng. Ong Pawng sued for peace and agreed to send annual tributes to Inwa.

Ong Pawng in the role of mediator

Hanthawaddy Thado Mahayaza took the title of Nyaung Yan Min and started his campaigns against Taunggoo, Rakhine and Shan States. His army plundered Rakhine and Taunggoo causing them much damage and destruction. At that time, in the southern Shan State, Sao Hpa Mong Nai had become powerful and was seeking revenge for the hurt done by the Hanthawaddy king to his uncle Mong Pai Narapati. All the Shan Saohpas from the southern Shan States were asked to join his expedition against the Nyaung Yan king. He assembled all the Shan forces at Bawrithat Paya near Yawngghwe waiting for the day to march down to Inwa. On hearing the news Nyaung Yan king immediately dispatched a messenger to the Ong Pawng Sao Hpa requesting him to step in and prevent the Sao Hpa of Mong Nai and his allies from attacking Inwa. Ong Pawng Sao Hpa asked the Mong Nai Sao Hpa and the others to cancel their plan to attack, because such attack would cause the loss of many lives and properties to the Shans and Myanmars. Mong Nai Sao Hpa did not heed the advice and the Ong Pawng Sao Hpa marched with his army to stop the Mong Nai Sao Hpa. Unable to withstand Ong Pawng's assault the Mong Nai Sao Hpa fled to Chaing Mai. Ong Pawng Sao Hpa asked the Chaing Mai ruler to arrest and extradite Mong Nai Sao Hpa. Mong Nai Sao Hpa was sent back to Ong Pawng, and the Ong Pawng king pardoned him and reinstated him as Sao Hpa of Mong Nai. The invasion of the Shans into Inwa territories was thus avoided and Ong Pawng Sao Hpa received credit for being able to prevent war between the Shans and the Myanmars.

The Chinese invasion of the Shan-Myanmar Alliance

The Chinese invasion up to Aung Pin Le near Inwa caused great concern to Thalun Min (1629-1648) and to avoid another invasion in the future a firm alliance with Ong Pawng became a necessity. If Ong Pawng Saohpa and his armed forces stood firm against the Chinese, the Chinese would not have been able to reach Aung Pin Le. King Thalun consulted with his minister Sithu Nawrahta as to how an alliance with Ong Pawng Saohpa should be formed. The minister suggested that an alliance be made through the royal marriage of the Inwa king with the daughter of the Saohpa of Ong Pawng. A royal proposal of marriage between king Thalun and the Shan princess Sao Nang Hsu Tar was made to the Ong Pawng Saohpa, Sao Hso Wai Hpa(?). The Saohpa accepted the proposal and the royal princess Sao Nang Hsu Tar was sent to Inwa for the royal marriage, accompanied by the Ong Pawng army and her two brothers, Sao Okka Zaya and Sao Hkun Sam Mya. After the royal marriage ceremony was over, Sao Nang Hsu Tar became the Queen of the Western Palace. Her elder brother Okka Zaya was appointed chief of Myo Gyi Ywa and Nyaung Hla Ywa whereas her young Sao Hkun Sam Mya became chief of Ya Naung Myo. This alliance through a royal marriage as recounted in the Ong Pawng Chronicle became a security pact between Inwa and Ong Pawng.

The Deterioration of Relations between Ong Pawng and Inwa

Relations between Ong Pawng and Inwa were not always cordial but were sometimes troubled, especially when the two rulers pursued policies of expansion and interference in each other's internal affairs and lost faith in their common alliance. There was a deterioration of relationship, when Sao Hkun Neng (A.D 1743-1763), a weak and incompetent Saohpa, came to power in Ong Pawng and Mahadhammayaza Dipati became king in Inwa. The latter lost interest in state affairs, imposed heavy taxes on the people, and was unable to defend against himself the invasion of the Manipuris from the north-west and the attack of the Mons from the south. Moreover, he sent troops with aggressive commanders to suppress the Shan chiefs of Shan state to be invaded by the troops of Mahadhammayaza Dipati. The invasion adversely affected the relationship between Ong Pawng and Inwa and Mahadhammyaza Dipati lost the effective support of the Ong Pawng ruler when the Mons launched a formidable attack against Inwa. Inwa was captured and burnt to the ground and the Inwa king was taken to Bago as a prisoner of war, and later he was known as the king taken to Hanthawaddy in Myanmar History.

The Renewal of Friendship between Inwa and Ong Pawng in the Konbaung Period

The friendship between Inwa and Ong Pawng was renewed when Alaungpaya came to the throne of Inwa. Alaungpaya in trying to consolidate Inwa needed to clear off the Gwe rebellion in the north-east in Madaya and drive out the Mons out from upper Myanmar. The Saohpa of Ong Pawng sent his troops to suppress the Gwe rebellion and then accompanied Alaungpaya in his campaign against the Mons. When Alaungpaya marched to attack Ayuthia, Ong Pawng Saohpa Sao Sawra Yawta also sent his troops along with Alaungpaya.

The Combined Shan-Myanmar Forces against the Chinese

When Sao Myat Thande (A.D. 1777-1800) the 77th ruler became Saohpa of Shipway, he was confronted with the invasion of the Chinese forces led by Gyi Tar Law Wan. All the chiefs of the other States came to assist Ong Pawng Saohpa in his against the Chinese. The Chinese were unable to break through the Shan forces to invade Inwa. The Ong Pawng ruler sent a message of the invasion to the king of Inwa and Myanmar troops led by Mingyi Maha thihathu were dispatched to help the Shans. The combined Sha-Myanmar forces applied "The Strategy like Pincer Movement" in fighting against the Chinese. The Chinese forces suffered heavy casualties, a peace settlement was made and the Chinese returned to China in M.E. 1140. This victory was achieved through cooperation between Shans and Myanmar.

Further Consolidation of Shan-Myanmar Friendship through more Marriage

To further consolidate the friendship and alliance between Shan and Myanmar another marriage was arranged between the daughter of Sao Myat Thande (Hsante) the Sao Hpa of Ong Pawng and the king of Amarapura, Badon Min. The Shan princess Sao Nang Sri Ang Bon was beautiful, literate and possessed every qualification befitting a good queen. She was sent to Amarapura for the royal marriage accompanied by a Shan army headed by commander Sing Gom Mong. After the royal marriage she was promoted to be the chief queen by Badon Min. A son named Htait Tin Hpe was born to them.

Not long after this royal marriage, another royal marriage was arranged in M.E. 1144 between the crown prince of Amarapura and Sao Nang Myat Sanda, second daughter of Sao Myat Thande (Hsante), the Ong Pawng Saohpa. She was also sent to Amarapura for the royal marriage with a large troop of escorts. A grand marriage ceremony was held and Sao Nang Myat Sanda became the royal princess of the crown prince and a son, named Htaik Tin Hmwe was born to them.

The First Anglo-Myanmar War and the Participation of Ong Pawng Troops

Shan-Myanmar relations became closer as common enemies appeared. Border conflicts occurred between Myanmar and the British during the reign of Sagaing Min called Bagyidaw. Being made closer relatives by marriages the Ong Pawng king felt obliged to assist the Myanmar in time of troubles. When the first Anglo-Myanmar war broke out and at the request of Bagyidaw, Ong Pawng Saohpa Sao Hkun Shwe Kya sent a large army commanded by his son Sao Hkun Kwe to join the Myanmar fight against the British.

Some time after the Anglo-Myanmar war, Shwe Bo Min, brother of Bagyidaw organized a rebellion in Inwa and Bagyidaw sent a request to help him quell the uprising of his brother. Ong Pawng Saohpa Sao Hkun Kwe sent troops commanded by his two sons Hkun Myat Hpone and Hkun Kwe Phyu to the aid of Bagyidaw.

Again when Shwe Bo Min became king of Amarapura, he sent a message to the Sao Hpa of Ong Pawng Sao Hkun Paw to uphold the tradition of friendly and close alliance

between the two States. Another royal marriage between Shwe Bo Min and princess Sao Nang Hseng Kye, daughter of the Ong Pawng Saohpa, Sao Hkun Paw was proposed. The proposal was accepted and princess Sao Nang Hseng Kye was sent to Amarapura with a troop of escorts for a grand royal marriage ceremony to cement the existing friendship.

When prince Mindon rebelled against his brother, Bagan Min, who was the king of Inwa, the Ong Pawng ruler Maharaja Sao Hkun Paw sided with prince Mindon. He sent a large army commanded by his son Sao Kya Htun to help prince Mindon. Bagan Min was dethroned and prince Mindon took his place. From then on king Mindon took a great liking towards the young general Sao Kya Htun who became Mindon's favourite. He kept the young general near him and regarded him on his own Kitt and Kin.

When his uncle Maharaja Sao Hkun Paw passed away Sao Hkun Kya Htun was sent back to Ong Pawng to become Saohpa (1219 M.E.). Mindon and Sao Kya Htun became really good friends and whenever assistance was needed Hkun Kya Htun always hurried to help Mindon. Sao Hkun Kya Htun also sent his son Sao Kya Hkaing and later known as Hkun Hseng to be educated in Mandalay. He learned all the details of civil administration as conducted at Mandalay as well as statecraft.

In 1866, the Myingun prince, the eldest son of king Mindon, dissatisfied over the question of succession, rebelled against his own father. In the uprising the crown prince Einshemin was killed. King Mindon urgently sent a message to his loyal friend Sao Kya Htun, Saohpa of Ong Pawng, for help. Sao Kya Htun, without hesitation, quickly sent reinforcements to help Mindon restore his authority.

After the death of king Mindon, Sao Hkun Hseng who became Saohpa of Ong Pawng after the death of his father, did not receive the same favour from King Thibaw that he has received from King Mindon. The relationship between him and king Thibaw did not improve and in 1882 Sao Hkun Hseng incurred the displeasure of king Thibaw and fled to escape from his vengeance. He went to Thailand and then came back to lower Myanmar and settled down in Yangon under the British rule. He was haunted by fear of being assassinated by Thibaw's agents, and doubting the fidelity of his two followers he shot them dead. He was arrested and tried for murder before the Recorder of Yangon and condemned to death. His death sentence was later commuted and he was jailed as political prisoner. He was finally released and expelled from the British territory. He then went to Kayah State and lived under the protection of the Kayah Chief Sao Lawpaw. At that time the whole of the Shan State was in a chaotic situation. The Myinzaing Prince who was imprisoned by king Thibaw was released on the British occupation of Mandalay. He escaped to the Shan State and endeavoured to organize some Saohpas to oppose the British. A confederacy was formed among the Shan Chiefs to help the Myinzaing Prince. The plan was to attack those who opposed the confederacy. Ong Pawng Hsipaw was the first to be attacked by the Myinzaing group and the town was completely wrecked. Such was the condition when Sao Hkun Hseng made his way back to Hsipaw from Kayah. On arrival at Hsipaw, he collected a few of his faithful followers and after some opposition made himself master of Hsipaw in July, 1886. He allied with the Chief of Hsenwi, Hkun Sang Ton Hung and opposed the Myinzaing group. Hearing the news of the British occupation of Mandalay, and seeing no possibility of opposing the British in a chaotic situation, he went down to Mandalay to acknowledge the supremacy of the British in 1887. The long link of Shan-Myanmar relationship that had existed for a long time between Inwa and Ong Pawng came to an end with the British occupation of upper Myanmar.

Conclusion

Most of the facts of the events recorded in the Hsipaw Chronicles can be found in the Hmannan Yazawin, but there are a lot of other historical information which does not appear in the Hmannan Yazawin. The names of all the Ong Pawng rulers from the first founder to the last Saohpas were chronologically listed and dates of their ascendancy were given in Sasana Era in the early part and in Myanmar Era in the later part. The names of their children were also mentioned. Some of the Shan princes and princesses intermarried with the Myanmar's; some Shan princesses became Myanmar queens and some Myanmar princesses became the Mahadevi of the Saohpas. The rulers of Ong Pawng kept prominent advisers to assist them in their civil and military affairs as did the Myanmar kings. Shan and Myanmar often fought each other, this being a feature of the feudal age. But when they faced common foes they were united as they did during their wars with the Manipuris, the Chinese, the Thais and the British. Both Shans and Myanmar sacrificed many lives in the wars with the foreign enemies. In all the wars with foreign enemies Ong Pawng's participation was quite important, because it possessed a rather well-organized feudal army, with elephants with war-experience and skillful horse-men. In other words, Ong Pawng was a resource centre with an accumulation of soldiers, elephants, horses and horse-men to be employed in internal conflicts as well as for external wars against foreign invaders.

A series of alliances was formed off and on with Hsare-Hkettara (Sriksetra), Bagan and Inwa. Ong Pawng was prominent state which always tried to establish closer and firmer Shan-Myanmar relations throughout the long course of its history of more than two thousand years.

This paper is based upon available data from the Hsipaw chronicle but there may be other chronicles which may be discovered by future scholars. It is to be hoped that more information can be gained from other chronicles discovered in the future.

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Chronicles

1. Hsipaw Chronicles in Myanmar and in Shan.
2. Hsenwi Chronicle in Shan.
3. Mong Mit Chronicle in Myanmar.
4. Mong Kung Chronicle in Shan.
5. Keng Tung Chronicle in Khun.

Appendix: List of Rulers of Hsipaw

	Name	Sasana Era	Sasana Era	Myanmar Era	Myanmar Era	B.C	B.C	A.D	A.D	Years	Lienage
1	Sao Hkun Hkam Saw(Naw)	485	520	-	-	59	24	-	-	35	
2	Sao Hkun Hkam Kaw	520	553	-	-	-	24	-	9	33	Son
3	Sao Hkun Hkam Kawt	553	579	-	-	-	-	9	35	26	Son
4	Sao Hkun Hkam Htawt	579	615	-	-	-	-	35	71	36	Brother
5	Sao Hkun Hkam Hmon	615	648	-	-	-	-	71	104	33	Son
6	Sao Hkun Hkam Ung	648	665	-	-	-	-	104	121	17	Brother
7	Sao Hkun Hkam Sung	665	709	-	-	-	-	121	165	44	Brother
8	Sao Hkun Hkam Kio	709	745	-	-	-	-	165	201	36	Son
9	Paw Aik Pyao	745	775	-	-	-	-	201	231	30	Chief Minister
10	Paw Yung	775	801	-	-	-	-	231	257	26	Chief Minister
11	Paw Pan	801	805	-	-	-	-	257	261	4	Son of Sao Hso Home Hpa of Mong Mao
12	Sao Hso Pan Hpa	805	857	-	-	-	-	261	313	52	Son
13	Sao Hso Wai Hpa	857	895	-	-	-	-	313	351	38	Uncle
14	Sao Hso Nge Hpa	895	929	-	-	-	-	351	385	34	Son

15	Sao Hso Kyem Hpa	929	968	-	-	-	-	385	424	39	Brother
16	Sao Hso Home Hpa	968	1013	-	-	-	-	424	469	45	Brother
17	Sao Hso Pat Hpa	1013	1048	-	-	-	-	469	504	35	Brother
18	Sao Hso Pik Hpa	1048	1065	-	-	-	-	504	521	17	Son
19	Sao Hso Paw Hpa	1065	1100	-	-	-	-	521	556	35	Brother
20	Sao Hso Kaw Hpa	1100	1122	-	-	-	-	556	578	22	Nephew
21	Sao Hso Peing Hpa	1122	1156	-	-	-	-	578	612	34	Brother
22	Sao Hso Kyem Hpa	1156	1181	-	-	-	-	612	637	25	Son
23	Sao Hso Harn Hpa	1181	1203	-	21	-	-	637	659	22	Son
24	Sao Hso Peim Hpa	1203	1236	21	54	-	-	659	692	33	Brother
25	Sao Hso Haep(Hip)Hpa	1236	1260	54	78	-	-	692	716	24	Son
26	Sao Hso Saw Hpa	1260	1287	78	105	-	-	716	743	27	Brother
27	Sao Hso Haw Hpa	1287	1309	105	127	-	-	743	765	22	Son
28	Sao Hso Hom Hpa	1309	1345	127	163	-	-	765	801	36	Son
29	Sao Hso Oom Hpa	1345	1363	163	181	-	-	801	819	18	Brother
30	Sao Hso Hurt Hpa	1363	1409	181	227	-	-	819	865	46	Son
31	Sao Hso Kat Hpa	1409	1446	227	264	-	-	865	902	37	Brother
32	Sao Hso Htam Hpa	1446	1461	264	279	-	-	902	917	15	Son
33	Sao Hso Wai Hpa	1461	1496	279	314	-	-	917	952	35	Brother
34	Sao Hso Hkan Hpa	1496	1513	314	331	-	-	952	969	17	Son
35	Sao Hso Mauk Hpa	1513	1527	331	345	-	-	969	983	14	Brother
36	Sao Hso Som Hpa	1527	1555	345	373	-	-	983	1011	28	Son
37	Sao Hso Zoom Hpa	1555	1587	373	405	-	-	1011	1043	32	Son
38	Sao Hso Oom Hpa	1587	1623	405	441	-	-	1043	1079	36	Son
39	Sao Hso Yeap Hpa	1623	1645	441	463	-	-	1079	1101	22	Nephew
40	Sao Hso Hom Hpa	1645	1678	463	496	-	-	1101	1134	33	Son
41	Sao Hso Sam Hpa	1678	1696	496	514	-	-	1134	1152	18	Son
42	Sao Hso Hsaung Hpa	1696	1722	514	540	-	-	1152	1178	26	Brother
43	Sao Hkun Hso	1722	1754	540	572	-	-	1178	1210	32	Son
44	Sao Maha Gok Sar	1754	1777	572	595	-	-	1210	1233	23	Brother
45	Sao Maha Hso Hom Hpa	1777	1809	595	627	-	-	1233	1265	32	Son
46	Sao Hkun Hkam Kot	1809	1818	627	636	-	-	1265	1274	9	Uncle
47	Sao Hkun Hpé	1818	1836	636	654	-	-	1274	1292	18	Son
48	Sao Hkun Hkam Kyaw	1836	1869	654	687	-	-	1292	1325	33	Son
49	Sao Hkun Hkam Shwe	1869	1887	687	705	-	-	1325	1343	18	Brother
50	Sao Hkun Kyaw Awng	1887	1920	705	738	-	-	1343	1376	33	Son
51	Sao Hkun Kyaw Hmwe	1920	1950	738	768	-	-	1376	1406	30	Brother
52	Sao Hso Kawng Hpa	1950	1972	768	790	-	-	1406	1428	22	Son
53	Sao Hso Hsam Hpa	1972	1997	790	815	-	-	1428	1453	25	Brother
54	Sao Hso Wai Hpa	1997	2007	815	825	-	-	1453	1463	10	Son
55	Sao Hso Hom Hpa	2007	2013	825	831	-	-	1463	1469	6	Son
56	Sao Hso Harn Hpa	2013	2020	831	838	-	-	1469	1476	7	Brother
57	Sao Hso Peim Hpa	2020	2030	838	848	-	-	1476	1486	10	Brother
58	Sao Hso Pik Hpa	2030	2038	848	856	-	-	1486	1494	8	Son
59	Sao Hso Naw Hpa	2038	2046	856	864	-	-	1494	1502	8	Brother
60	Sao Hso Som Hpa	2046	2076	864	894	-	-	1502	1532	30	Brother
61	Sao Hkun Mong	2076	2101	894	919	-	-	1532	1557	25	Son
62	Sao Hso Hom Hpa	2101	2107	919	925	-	-	1557	1563	6	Brother
63	Sao Hso Paw Hpa	2107	2116	925	934	-	-	1563	1572	9	Brother
64	Sao Hso Saw Hpa	2116	2126	934	944	-	-	1572	1582	10	Brother
65	Sao Hso Home Hpa	2126	2141	944	959	-	-	1582	1597	15	Son
66	Sao Hso Hkai Hpa	2141	2154	959	972	-	-	1597	1610	13	Brother
67	Sao Hkun Hkam Leng	2154	2193	972	1011	-	-	1610	1649	39	Brother
68	Sao Shwe Hkaing	2193	2212	1011	1030	-	-	1649	1668	19	Brother
69	Sao Hso Sam Hpa	2212	2218	1030	1036	-	-	1668	1674	6	Son
70	Sao Hso Wai Hpa	2218	2256	1036	1074	-	-	1674	1712	38	Son
71	Sao Okka Wara	2256	2279	1074	1097	-	-	1712	1735	23	Son
72	Sao Okka Seya	2279	2283	1097	1101	-	-	1735	1739	4	Brother
73	Sao Sam Mya	2283	2287	1101	1105	-	-	1739	1743	4	Brother
74	Sao Hkun Neng	2287	2307	1105	1125	-	-	1743	1763	20	Brother
75	Amat Long	2307	2308	1125	1126	-	-	1764	1764	1	Chief Minister
76	Sao Sawra Yawta	2308	2321	1126	1139	-	-	1764	1777	13	Uncle, Son of Okka Wara
77	Sao Myat HsanTe	2321	2344	1139	1162	-	-	1777	1800	23	Son
78	Sao Hkun Shwe Kya	2344	2350	1162	1168	-	-	1800	1806	6	Son
79	Sao Hkun Kway Phyu	2350	2356	1168	1124	-	-	1806	1812	6	Brother
80	Sao Htaik Tin Hmwe	2356	2373	1124	1191	-	-	1812	1829	17	From Amarapura
81	Sao Shwe Kya	2373	2378	1191	1196	-	-	1829	1834	5	Uncle

82	Sao Hkun Khway	2378	2382	1196	1200	-	-	1834	1838	4	Son
83	Sao Hkun Myat Hpone	2382	2387	1200	1205	-	-	1838	1843	5	Son
84	Sao Hkun Hpaw	2387	2401	1205	1219	-	-	1843	1857	14	Uncle
85	Sao Hkun Kya Htun	2401	2410	1219	1228	-	-	1857	1866	9	Son
86	Sao Kya Khaing (or) Sao Hkun Hseng	2410	2446	1228	1264	-	-	1866	1902	36	Son
87	Sao Hkun Che	2446	2472	1264	1290	-	-	1902	1928	26	Son
88	Sao Ohn Kya	2472	2482	1290	1300	-	-	1928	1938	10	Son
89	Mr. Bazett	2482	2486	1300	1304	-	-	1938	1942	4	British officer
90	Sao Oh	2486	2489	1304	1307	-	-	1942	1945	3	Uncle
91	Mr. Tur Bull Mr. Simpsin	2489	2490	1307	1308	-	-	1945	1946	1	British Officer
92	Sao Hkun Mong	2490	2491	1308	1309	-	-	1946	1947	1	Chief Minister
93	Hkun Kya Pu	2491	2492	1309	1310	-	-	1947	1948	1	Chief Minister
94	Hkun Leik	2492	2496	1310	1314	-	-	1948	1952	4	Chief Minister
95	Sao Kya Seng	2496	2504	1314	1322	-	-	1952	1960	8	Son of Sao Oh

Appendix II

List of Childrens of the Ong Pawng Saohpas

1. Sao Hkun Lu, Saohpa of Mong Mao Long had four sons
 - 1.Sao Hkun Lai
 - 2.Sao Hkun Htun
 - 3.Sao Hkam Pong
 - 4.Sao Hkam Naw (Saw)
2. Sao Hkun Hkam Naw(Saw), Saohpa of Ong Pawng Hsipaw had two sons.(1st Saohpa)
 - 1.Sao Hkun Hkam Kaw
 - 2.Sao Hkam Pan
3. Sao Hkun Hkam Kaw had two sons.(2nd Saohpa)
 - 1.Sao Hkun Hkam Kawt
 - 2.Sao Hkun Hkam Htawt
4. Sao Hkun Hkam Htawt had three sons.(4th Saohpa)
 - 1.Sao Hkun Hkam Hmon
 - 2.Sao Hkun Hkam Ong
 - 3.Sao Hkun Hkam Sung
5. Sao Hkun Hkam Sung had two sons (7th)
 - 1.Sao Hkun Hkam Kio
 - 2.Sao Hkun Hkam Sung
6. Sao Hso Pan Hpa had one son (12th)
 - 1.Sao Hso Wai Hpa

7. Sao Hso Nge Hpa had three sons (14th)
 - 1.Sao Hso Kyem Hpa
 - 2.Sao Hso Hom Hpa
 - 3.Sao Hso Pat Hpa
8. Sao Hso Pat Hpa had two sons (17th)
 - 1.Sao Hso Pik Hpa
 - 2.Sao Hso Paw Hpa
9. Sao Hso Pik Hpa had two sons(18th)
 - 1.Sao Hso Kaw Hpa
 - 2.Sao Hso Peim Hpa
10. Sao Hso Peim Hpa had one son (21st)
 - 1.Sao Hso Kyem Hpa
11. Sao Hso Kyem Hpa had two sons(22nd)
 - 1.Sao Hso Harm Hpa
 - 2.Sao Hso Peng Hpa
12. Sao Hso Peim Hpa had two sons (24th)
 - 1.Sao Hso Hit Hpa
 - 2.Sao Hso Saw Hpa
13. Sao Hso Saw Hpa had one son (26th)
 - 1.Sao Hso Haw Hpa
14. Sao Hso Haw Hpa had two sons (27th)
 - 1.Sao Hso Hom Hpa
 - 2.Sao Hso Oom Hpa
15. Sao Hso Hpa had two sons (29th)
 - 1.Sao Hso Hart Hpa
 - 2.Sao Hso Kat Hpa
16. Sao Hso Kat Hpa had two sons (31th)
 - 1.Sao Hso Htam Hpa
 - 2.Sao Hso Wai Hpa

17. Sao Hso Wai Hpa had two sons (33rd)
 - 1.Sao Hso Kan Hpa
 - 2.Sao Hso Mauk Hpa
18. Sao Hso Mauk Hpa had one son (35th)
 - 1.Sao Hso Som Hpa
19. Sao Hso Som Hpa had one son (36th)
 - 1.Sao Hso Zoom Hpa
20. Sao Hso Zoom Hpa had one son (37th)
 - 1.Sao Hso Oom Hpa
21. Sao Hso Yeap Hpa had one son (39th)
 - 1.Sao Hso Hom Hpa
22. Sao Hso Hom Hpa had two sons (40th)
 - 1.Sao Hso Hsam Hpa
 - 2.Sao Hso Hsaung Hpa
23. Sao Hso Hsaung Hpa had three sons (42nd)
 - 1.Sao Hkun Hso
 - 2.Sao Maha Gok Sar
 - 3.Sao Hkam Kot
24. Maha Gok Sar had one son (44th)
 - 1.Maha Sao Home Hpa
25. Sao Hkun Hkam Kot had one son (46th)
 - 1.Sao Hkun Hpè
26. Sao Hkun Hpè had two sons (47th)
 - 1.Sao Hkun Hkam Kyaw
 - 2.Sao Hkun Hkam Shwe
27. Sao Hkun Hkam Shwe had two sons (49th)
 - 1.Sao Hkun Kyaw Awang
 - 2.Sao Hkun Kyaw Hmwe
28. Sao Hkun Kyaw Hmwe had two sons (51st)

- 1.Sao Hso Kwang Hpa
- 2.Sao Hso Hsam Hpa
29. Sao Hso Wai Hpa had three sons (54th)
 - 1.Sao Hso Hom Hpa
 - 2.Sao Hso Harn Hpa
 - 3.Sao Hso Peim Hpa
31. Sao Hso Peim Hpa had three sons (57th)
 - 1.Sao Hso Pik Hpa
 - 2.Sao Hso Haw Hpa
 - 3.Sao Hso Som Hpa
32. Sao Hso Som Hpa had three sons (60th)
 - 1.Sao Hkun Mong
 - 2.Sao Hso Hom Hpa
 - 3.Sao Hso Paw Hpa
33. Sao Hkun Mong had four sons (61st)
 - 1.Sao Hso Kaw Hpa
 - 2.Sao Hso Peik Hpa
 - 3.Sao Hso Saw Hpa
 - 4.Sao Hso Naw Hpa
34. Sao Hso Saw Hpa had four sons (64th)
 - 1.Sao Hso Home Hpa
 - 2.Sao Hso Hkai Hpa
 - 3.Sao Hkun Hkam Leng
 - 4.Sao Hso Shwe Khaing
35. Sao Hso Shwe Hkaing had one son (68th)
 - 1.Sao Hso Sam Hpa
36. Sao Hso Sam Hpa had one son (69th)
 - 1.Sao Hso Wai Hpa
37. Sao Hso Wai Hpa had seven children (70th)

- 1.Nang Hsu Sar (daughter)
- 2.Okka Wara (son)
- 3.Okka Zeya (son)
- 4.Sao Sam Mya(son)
- 5.Sao Sam Myé(son)
- 6.Sao Hsu Deva(son)
- 7.Sao Hkun Neng(son)
38. Sao Okka Wara had one son (71st)
 - 1.Sawra Yawta
39. Sawra Yawta had one son (76th)
 - 1.Sao Myat Thande (Hsante)
40. Sao Myat Thande (Hsante) had ten children with the first wife Nang Gam Kaw(77th)
 - 1.Sao Hkun Shwe Kya (son)
 - 2.Sao Hkun Awang Got (son)
 - 3.Sao Hkun Pang (son)
 - 4.Sao Hkun Kway Phyu (son)
 - 5.Sao Hkun Hpaw
 - 6.Nang Sri Ang Sung (daughter)
 - 7.Nang Hseng Myat Nu (daughter)
 - 8.Nang Hseng Mon (daughter)
 - 9.Nang Hseng Awng (daughter)
 - 10.Nang Hseng Htwe (daughter)

By the second wife with Nang Mya Sanda, he had eleven children

- 1.Sao Hkun Naw Hpa (son)
- 2.Sao Hkun Sam Htun(son)
- 3.Sao Hkun Kyaung (son)
- 4.Soa Hkun Sam U (son)
- 5.Sao Hkun Shwe Khaing (son)
- 6.Sao Hkun Kyaw Waing (son)

- 7.Nang Hmwe Hkam (daughter)
- 8.Nang Hseng Mong (daughter)
- 9.Nang Hseng Sam (daughter)
- 10.Nang Hseng U (daughter)
- 11.Nang Hseng Gon (daughter)
41. Badon Min and Sri Ang Sung had one son
 - 1.Sao Hkun Hpé
42. Sao Hkun Hpé had one son
 - 1.Sao Yan Pyi
43. Sao Hkun Shwe Kya had seven sons (78th)
 - 1.Sao Hkun Awe (aka) Sao Htaik Tin Hmwe
 - 2.Sao Hkun Myat (aka) Sao Hkun Shwe kya
 - 3.Sao Hkun Kway (aka) Sao Myat Awang
 - 4.Sao Myat Hpone (aka) Sao Myat Waing
 - 5.Sao Hkun Hmon (aka) Sao Hkun Hpaw
 - 6.Sao Hkun Htun
 - 7.Sao Kya Htun
44. Sao Hkun Kway Phyu had three sons (79th)
 - 1.Sao Hkun Myat Hpone
 - 2.Sao Hkun Myat Ne
 - 3.Nang Hseng Pao
45. Sao Hkun Paw had seven children (84th)
 - 1.Sao Hkun Sar Ti (son)
 - 2.Sao Hkun Hpone (son)
 - 3.Nang Hseng Hsu Sar (daughter)
 - 4.Nang Hseng Kye Hsar (daughter)
 - 5.Nang Hseng Nilar (daughter)
 - 6.Nang Hseng Mying Aung (daughter)
 - 7.Nang Hseng Htwe (daughter)

46. Sao Kya Htun had one son (85th)
 - 1.Sao Kya Khaing (aka) Sao Hkun Hseng
47. Sao Kya Khaing (aka) Sao Hkun Hseng had six children (86th)
 - 1.Sao Kala (son)
 2. Sao Che (son)
 - 3.Sao Li (son)
 - 4.Sao Oh (son)
 - 5.Sao Hkam Leng (daughter)
 - 6.Nang Sao Yone (daughter)
48. Sao Che had four children (87th)
 - 1.Sao Ohn Kya (son)
 - 2.Sao Kya Nyunt (daughter)
 - 3.Sao Sri Ohnmar (daughter)
 - 4.Sao Sri Malar (daughter)
49. Sao Oh had five children (90th)
 - 1.Sao Kya Zone (son)
 - 2.Sao Kya Seng (son)
 - 3.Sao Einda Ma Ma (Sao Wunna) (daughter)
 - 4.Sao Kyi Su (daughter)
 - 5.Sao Yin Nu (daughter)
50. Sao Kya Hseng had two daughters (95th)
 - 1.Mayari (daughter)
 - 2.Kennari (daughter)

MAP I. SHOWING THE LOCATIONS OF OLD KINGDOMS IN MYANMAR.



