

## **STUDIES ON HANTHAWADY AND ITS THIRTY-TWO SATELLITES**

Nan Hlaing\* , Aye Myat Thu, Toe Toe Kyaw\*\*

### **Abstract**

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, King Tha Lun formed ten divisions including Rāmaññadesa: three *maṇḍala*(subdivisions), i.e. Kusimā, Hanthawaddy and Mottama. Some of sub divisions were founded by Mon kings. Some subdivisions were built by ministers of the kingdom. Each has 32 satellites. The three *maṇḍala* exist the important seaports and frontiers. Each had demarcations by showing with location of pagodas in Mon. Strategically and economically, the three *maṇḍala* are vital. Nevertheless, it was peculiarly that Than Lyin and Dagon (Yangon) were not enlisted in the satellites of Hanthawaddy. Among the three *maṇḍala*, Hanthawaddy was a center of Mon kingdom. These satellites are located on the bank of three rivers: the Hlaing, the Sittaung and the Bago. Some were on the Hlaing River, some were on the Bago River, and on the Sittaung River. It is rich in forestry and agricultural resources. Hence, the most important one is Hanthawaddy.

**Key Words:** Rāmaññadesa, *maṇḍala*, Hanthawaddy, thirty-two satellites, boundaries

**Aim and Objective:** Fulfilment to Old Myanmar History and to know the old Mon geo-politic setting

**Results:** the three *maṇḍala* are located in Mon areas but it is made by Myanmar kings. 32 satellites providing Hanthawaddy against the enemies from the north.

**Research Methods:** Qualitative, Field Experiment and Literature Review

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\*. Dr, Lecturer, History Department, Yangon University

\*\*.. Dr, Lecturers, History Department, East Yangon University

## Introduction

The Kaung Hmu Daw Payah Inscription of 1636 mentions territories of Myanmar. In the text of this inscription, territories of Myanmar mention ten *Tuin*: (Provinces) including the three provinces of Mon.<sup>1</sup> Each province equally formed 32 satellites: it was a mere intention towards an easy memorization akin to Nine *kyain*, and Nine *main* in the Shan Highland. J.S Furnivall lists seventeen of the total thirty-two satellites of Hanthawaddy. Not all these seventeen towns can now be identified.

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, a text of geo-politics, *Cambhūdhīpa Uchoṅ*:<sup>2</sup> firstly appeared and deliberately describes the territories of Myanmar. However, *maṇḍala* and its thirty-two satellites does not include in Mon. Perhaps, the three *maṇḍala* were made basing on ex-Mon administrative territories.

### Three *Maṇḍala* (Provinces) of Rāmaññadesa

*Maṇḍala* is an administrative word of India meaning subdivision. Sometime, it means territory or kingdom<sup>3</sup> and circle in Pali.<sup>4</sup> The Kaung Hmu Daw Payah Inscription of 1636 A.D is the earliest mention of three *maṇḍala* (Provinces) of Rāmaññadesa. Also, it was *nagara* (town)—Hamsāvatinagara, Kusimmānagara and Muttimanagara—which describes in the Kalyāṇī Inscription of 1479 A.D erected by King Dhammaceti in Mon and Pāli.<sup>5</sup> On 2 February 1638 the *Cambhūdhīpa U Choṅ*: mentions that Rāmaññadesa—

<sup>1</sup> Than Tun, (1983), *the Royal Orders of Burma, A.D. 1598-1885*, Vol. I, Kyoto: Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, p. 325. Hereafter cited as Than Tun, *ROB*, I.

<sup>2</sup> J.S Furnivell, and U Pe Maung Tin, ed., (1960), *Cabhūdhīpa Uchoṅ*., (in Myanmar), Yangon: Burma Research Society.

(b) Than Tun, ed., (2005), *Jambudīpa Ok Saung*, (Geopolitics of Myanmar, A.D. 17<sup>th</sup> century), (in Myanmar and English), Yangon: Myanmar Historical Commission. Hereafter cited as Than Tun: 2005.

<sup>3</sup> D.C. Sircar, (1966), *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, p. 195.

<sup>4</sup> T.W. Rhys Davids, and William Stead, (1905), *The Pali-English Dictionary*, New Delhi: Asian Education Service, p. 516.

<sup>5</sup> C.O Blagden (1928), *Epi. Bir.* Vol. III, part II, p. 238. See also Kaylāṇī Inscription in Mon, trans. Lu Pe Win, Yangon: Ministry of Union Culture, p.80.

Kuthein, Ussā Bago and Madama—is one of *Alam U: Kin: Phyā:*, Outposts at the Furthest Points flying the flag of nation<sup>6</sup>.

Thirty-two satellites of Hanthawaddy are geographically located on the bank of three rivers: the Hlaing, the Sittaung and the Bago. The two satellites—Hlaing, and Hmawbi—were on the Hlaing River. Also, the three satellites—Akharein, Hanthazainganaing, and Baung Lin—are located on the Bago River, and Dunzarit, Kawliya, Sittaung, Atha (Kyaikkatha) on the Sittaung River. The thirty-two satellites are also situated on the east of Bago Mountainous Range. As these lie on the north of Bago, Centre of Hanthawaddy *maṇḍala*, Hanthawaddy and its satellites has an easy link for inland water transportation. It is rich in forestry and agricultural resources. Hence, the most important *maṇḍala* is Hanthawaddy province.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Maṇḍala (Provinces)</i>		<i>Centre</i>	<i>Its 32 Town Location</i>
1	Kusimā Maṇḍala	Mon Nya <sup>7</sup>	Pathein (Basein)	Ayeyarwady Delta
2	Mottama Maṇḍala	Mon Ti	Mottama (Madama)	Gulf of Martaban
3	Hanthawady Maṇḍala	Mon Sa	Bago (Pegu)	Yangon and East of Bago Regions

Mostly, pagodas of these satellites are named in Mon with prefix *Kyaik* which are still in exist today. The name of pagoda was also traced for the toponym where the pagoda is located. Similarly, the Old Mons demarcated their town by basing the location of their pagodas: it was different from Myanmar culture and showed intangible culture of Mon Buddhists. Moreover, numerous Mon toponym—villages and towns which are situated in the Ayeyarwady Delta, Sittaung valley, Gulf of Mottam and Yangon area—are still in remain, i.e. Kamayut, Insein, Mingaladon, Thingangyun, Dabein,

<sup>6</sup> Than Tun: 2005: 218.

<sup>7</sup> U Tin, Myanmar Min Okok Choke Pon Sadan, Five Volumes, Yangon: Seikkoo Cho Cho Books, 2012 Reprinted, 159

Dawai, Tanintharyi, Dedaye, Nyaung Don etc.<sup>8</sup> In Bago area, Buddhist monuments are closely resemble with Dvāravatī and ancient Khmer style. However, only Mottama *maṇḍala* is now majority of the Mon settlement. In Mon animism, three house spirits (*kalok sñi* in Mon)—coconut spirit in Bago, dress spirit in Pathein, and sticky rice-enshrined bamboo spirit in Mottama—are divided into three territories.<sup>9</sup>

Of three provinces, two centres—Pathein and Mottama—are economically and strategically vital sea ports in Lower Myanmar. Myanmar kings appointed *Ye Wun* (Port Authority Officer).<sup>10</sup> Also, Hanthawady (Bago) was not only royal capital of Old Mon kingdom but also capital of second Myanmar empire founded by Hanthawady Hsinbyumyashin. Oversea trade and fertile soil provides Rāmaññadesa to earn great revenues from its sea ports and to be prosperous. Rainfall is highly obtained in Rāmaññadesa.<sup>11</sup> However, Rāmaññadesa was suffered with armed-struggled disasters for several times during the outbreak of Mon-Myanmar conflict of 1760, Thai-Myanmar Wars and Anglo-Myanmar Wars. These war disasters brought about the great migration of the Mons into Thailand.<sup>12</sup>

### Hanthawaddy (Bago)

Hanthawaddy is a classical name of Bago. It is a Pāli name “Hamsāvati” which some of the *therīs*—Dhammadinnā and Ubbiriyā—were born in the city. Old Myanmar called it *Paykū* or *Upāy Khiu*. Hamsāvatinagara is written in the Kalyāṇī Inscription of 1479 A.D.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>8</sup> May Oung, (1917), “Some Mon Place-Names”, *Journal of Burma Research Society*, Vol. VII, (143-145).

<sup>9</sup> R. Halliday, (1917), *The Talaing*, Yangon: Government Printing, p. 95 ff. Mawlamyine: Bhadradevī Books, p. 70.

<sup>10</sup> U Maung Maung Tin, (1942), *Shwe Nan Thone Wawhara Abhidhan*, (Dictionary of Royal Myanmar Terms), Yangon: Yarpay Books, 2005, Reprinted, p. 201.

<sup>11</sup> U Tin (1924), *Myanmar Min Oke Choke Pon Sardan*, (Royal Myanmar Administration), (in Myanmar), Yangon, Seikkoo Cho Cho Publishing, 2012 Reprinted, p. 213.

<sup>12</sup> Robert Harliday, (1913), “Immigration of the Mons into Siam”, *Journal of the Siamese Society*, Vol. V, Part III, b, (1-15), pp.6.

<sup>13</sup> May Oung: 1917:144. See also Blagden: 1928: 238.

A similar mention of Hanthawaddy and its territories also mentions in the *Hanthawaddy and its 32 Towns* as follows:

1. Mouth of Thittamaw, Kyauk Gyi, Htein Chaung In Pin [Kyauk Maw<sup>14</sup>] bordering with Taunggu in the northeast,
2. The Bhumimudaw pagoda, near the Phyu creek, Zeyyawaddy bordering with Taunggu [Thayawaddy]<sup>15</sup> on the north,
3. Kun Khaung Yoma (the Bago Range), Thayawaddy Yoma and the Thone Hsey creek bordering with territory of Thayawaddy Myo on the north west,
4. The mouth of Kakkutin creek meeting with the Ayeyarwaddy River bordering with the territory of Danuphyu and Zarun [Za Lun] on the west.
5. The Bagelagiri Hill, Indapura bordering with Barana Sea on the south west,
6. Ingawaddy, Tarirangagutta bordering with the sea on the south,
7. At the mouth of Katat creek bordering with Muttama, Taikkala in the southeast.<sup>16</sup>

In 1853, Bago is mentioned its old wall (about a mile and a half long and 50 feet high) all ruins, and covered with jungle. The moat is swampy, about 150 yards wide.<sup>17</sup> British Government demarcated Bago district on 3 January 1883 in which it is bounded with Kyauk tan, Paunglin (now Hlegu), Bago and Pagandaung (subsequently called Thabyegan). In 1895, the Bgo district formed subdivisions, i.e. Pyuntaza, and Shwegyin. In 1900s, Dabain and Nyaunglebin took part of Bago district.<sup>18</sup> Some names of satellites—Don Zayit in Nyaunglaybin, Hmaw Lun, Kyaukzayit in Kyaukdaga, Tandawgyi,

<sup>14</sup> Hanthawaddy Thone Hse Hni Myo, (list of 32 Satellites of Hanthawaddy), palm-leaf manuscript no. 82, U Tin's Collection. Hereafter cited as Tin-82.

<sup>15</sup> Tin-82.

<sup>16</sup> *Hanthawaddy Thone Hsey Hni Myo 1146 ME Sittan Payah*, (Hanthawaddy and its 32 Satellites: its Inquest of 1748 A.D.), (in Myanmar), parabaik manuscript no. 740, National Library, Yangon.

<sup>17</sup> William F.B. Laurie, (1854), *Pegu: being a narrative of events during the Second Burmese War*, London: Smith Elder & Co., p.466.

<sup>18</sup> A.J Page (1917), *Burma Gazetteer: Pegu District*, Yangon: Government Printing Press, pp.1f. Hereafter cited as Page: 1917.

Zainganaing and Zaungtu—are also village names in the Bago township.<sup>19</sup> Also, Dinme, Dapain, Ma U, and Yenwe are namely situated in Hlegu and Taik Gyi and Thon Gwa townships, northern and southern Yangon.<sup>20</sup>

Ussā is another name of Bago because it was occupied by the Telagu who came from Orissa on the east coast of India.<sup>21</sup> Therefore, the Orissans and Telugus migrated into Rāmaññadesa. The Orissans named the country Ukkalapa stretching from Yangon to Dala (Twante). The Great Chronicle mentions Ussā Pago or Ussā Talaing.<sup>22</sup>

In 1892, Major R.C Temple and F.O. Oertel made a short inspection of the cultural heritages in Rāmaññadesa. They found some artifacts in Bago, i.e. terracotta votive tablets, a pagoda which is entirely ruined in the Zainganaing Quarter, a large tank which is built of laterite, a prominent platform of squared laterite blocks which had been plastered, green glazing plaques, some inscriptions, the Kyaikpun which is a huge mass of brick 90 feet high and is influenced f the Cambodian style of architecture and Bago jars.<sup>23</sup> In 1913 and 1914, J. A Stewart made attempts to excavate and found some artifacts, i.e. thirteen inscriptions in Mon, headless Buddha, some broken pottery, a large circular piece of laterite stone (3 ft. in diameter, one ft. thick with a hole in the centre, Shiva temple, figures of Hindu deities, axe-edge stone, plaque with 28 Buddha on one side and a Pāli inscription, a small copper casket of sacred relics, 2 heads of Buddha in stone, 2 heads of Buddha in cement, several fragment of Buddha, 3 large iron nails. According to J.A. Stewart's suggestion, artifacts which he collected belonged to an archaic

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<sup>19</sup> *Bago Division: its villages, quarters, townships*, (in Myanmar), Yangon: Ministry of Home Affairs, pp. 4,7.

<sup>20</sup> *Yangon Division: its villages, quarters, townships* (in Myanmar), Yangon: Ministry of Home Affairs, pp. 24 f, 41, 81..

<sup>21</sup> G.H Luce, (1953), "Mons of the Pagan Dynasty", *Journal of Burma Research Society*, Vol. XXXVI, (1-19),p. 7.

<sup>22</sup> U Kala, *Mahayazawundawgyi*, (the Great Chronicle of Myanmar), Vol. I, Yangon: Yar Pyae Books, 2006, pp. 174,175,176. .

<sup>23</sup> Major R.C. Temple, (1894), *Notes on Antiquities in Rmannadesa*, Bombay: Education Society's Steam Press, pp. 14, 15, 21,27.

Southern Indian school of art and about the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D.<sup>24</sup>

### **Thirty-Two Satellites of Hanthawaddy**

King Wimala was the founder of Hanthawaddy in 1155 A.D with its four satellites: Kyauk Maw, Dunzarit, Kyi Kuu, and Ban. However, some of Mon kings who founded these satellites are hard to be reliable because of no primary sources, i.e. stone inscriptions and others. J.A Stewart, I.C.S. drew the map of thirty-two satellites of Hanthawaddy<sup>25</sup>. (See Appendix I) In regarding with thirty-two satellites, their toponyms are getting differences among palm-leaf and *parabaik* manuscripts, e.g. Mingaladon which is not mentioned in the *Hanthawaddy Sayin*.<sup>26</sup>

### **Ajeṭha, Akharein Athar, Baingda and Ban**

Ajeṭha is bordered with the Kyaik Thatan Thalatt pagoda on the east, the Kyaik Paing Kyun Zwe Pa<sup>27</sup> pagoda on the west, the Kyaik Thala pagoda on the south, and the Kyaik Ma Thwam pagoda on the north.<sup>28</sup>

Ar Kharein is a satellite of Hanthawaddy Province which is located between southern Yangon and near Bago. It was founded by King Mahissarāja and his minister Binnyar Pit in 1185 A.D.<sup>29</sup> This satellite is bordering with the areas and pagodas: the Kyaik Zwe Laing and Mahurā on the north, the Kyaik Mu Nye pagoda and the Phaung Lin creek on the west, the Lagun Pyin creek and the Lagun Pyin pagoda on the east and the Taung Pan pagoda, [Ma U] on the south.<sup>30</sup> At the British occupation, Akharein included two circles Kayagyun and Mahura<sup>31</sup>. In 1883, Pegu district—Bago,

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<sup>24</sup> J. A. Stewart, (1917), "Excavation and Exploration in Pegu", *Journal of Burma Research Society*, Vol. VII, Pr. I, (13-28), pp. 13-19, 24.

<sup>25</sup> J.A Page: 1917: 43-44.

<sup>26</sup> *Parabaik* manuscript no. 741, National Library, Yangon. See also Yi Yi: 1979: 83-4.

<sup>27</sup> Kyun Zwe is a village, Kawa Township, Bago Region.

<sup>28</sup> Tin-82, kū/verso, ll.7-8.

<sup>29</sup> Tin-82, Ti/verso, l. 5.

<sup>30</sup> Tin-82. See also Yi Yi: 1979: 87-8.

<sup>31</sup> Furnivall, *Insein*, 1914, p. 172. Mahuya is a reserve (91 square miles) cover the Bago Yoma Range.

Akharein, Zainganaing, Paunglin and Zwebon—included townships of Yangon District. According to Map of Rangoon District, Akharein is located on the south and west of Zainganaing, on the east of Paunglin (now Hlegu), and on the north of Zwebon.<sup>32</sup>

Athar or Assakumār is a name of Mon prince in the Mon Chronicle and later became a king of Hanthawaddy who reigned for 20 years. The prince used stratagem (*upāya* in Pali loanword in Myanmar) when he fought against the Kular (the Indians) during the reign of Wimala, his grand uncle. He won the Indians who invaded Hanthawaddy. Hereafter, Bago was also called Upay Khui (stratagem).<sup>33</sup> In 1171 A.D., Atharkumar came to the throne of Hanthawaddy. In 1279A.D.,<sup>34</sup> Unfortunately, it has no source.<sup>35</sup>

During the reign of Rajadhirit, his minister Devabala Thinyan founded the satellite bordering with the Kyaik Ezinkappat pagoda on the east, the Kyaik Aungkaru pagoda on the west, the Kyaik Pyar Tut Zarat pagoda on the south, and the Kyaik De Palonson pagoda on the north.<sup>36</sup> two of the satellites are still in existence. It lies between Min Ye Hla and Kawliya. Possibly, we guess that it may lie along the Baingda creek. During the reign of King Candalarāja (r.1251-1264), minister Binnyar Tejagossa founded Bann.<sup>37</sup> It is in the Shwegyin district and is bonded on the south by the Mottama river. Most of inhabitants are the Kayins.<sup>38</sup> Further historical records do not mention this satellite of Hanthawaddy.

### **Baung Lin (Paunglin), Bhah Aing Dônzarit, Hinthazaingganain and Dinmè**

King Tiensa founded Baung Lin in 1328 A.D. Baung Lin is geographically situated on the west of the Nga Moe Yeik Creek on the foot of

<sup>32</sup> J.S. Furnivall and W.S. Morrison, (1914), *Burma Gazetteer: Insein District*, Vol. A, Yangon: Government Printing, pp. 172.

<sup>33</sup> *Mon Yazawun*:2014:38-9. See also Tun Aung Chain: 2010: 26.

<sup>34</sup> *Hanthawaddy Thone Hse Hni Myo Cayin*, (Thirty-Two Satellites of Hanthawaddy), palm-leaf manuscript no. 82, U Tin's Collection, National Library, Yangon, ki/ recto, ll.6-7.

<sup>35</sup> Tin-82. kī/verso, ll.7-8.

<sup>36</sup> Tin-82, ke/verso, 9-10.

<sup>37</sup> Tin-82., kī/verso, ll.2-3.

<sup>38</sup> *BBG*, Vol.II,p.121.



Bago Yoma Range. In this satellite, there were 1302 Kayin people who paid tax to Myanmar. It is bordered with Hlaing on the north and north east, Tantabin, Dawpun, the Balar creek on the south, the Kyaik De Prat pagoda and Hinthazaingganaing on the east, Hmaw Bi on the west and south west, Ma U on the south east, Tan Daw Gyi on the north east.<sup>39</sup> Paunglin continued to have a separate existence as a township and included the circles of Paunggyi (North of Hlegu)<sup>40</sup>, Kyungale (on the Htauk Kyant-Hlegu road, West of Hlegu) and Yetho (now Tabu Yetho in Taik Gyi, Northern Yangon District).<sup>41</sup> Baunglin is now situated in Wanak Chaung village, 9.5 miles from southeast Pu Gyi. In 1868, it was Paung-lin-zane-ga-nine township, the most northern township of the township including in the Rangoon district.<sup>42</sup>

In 1348, Jeyyasīharājā, a minister of Binnyar Oo, founded Bhah Aing bordering with the Kyaik Tahozar pagoda on the east, the Kyaik Malae pagoda on the south, the Kyaik Tha Rwai on the west.<sup>43</sup> During the reign of Hanthawaddy Hsinbyushin, Bhah Aing, Baung Lin, Maw Bi, Ta Nga Baung and Moe Sunt were established again.<sup>44</sup>

King Anumaraja also founded Dinmè<sup>45</sup> (1504.188 sq. meter), a satellite of Hanthawaddy province, bordering with the areas: Kyaik Dagh, Paing Kyun<sup>46</sup>, the Kyaik Paing Gun pagoda on the north, Kyun Tita on the south east, the Kyaik Htawpalaw on the south, and the Kyaik Alaylahar pagoda in south west, Zwè Bon, one of the satellite, on the west and south, and Kyaikkathar and the Sittaung River on the east.<sup>47</sup> Dinme is also a village which contains in the 8 villages of Kankalay, Taik Gyi township, northern Yangon district.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>39</sup> *Hanthawaddy Thone Hse Hni Myo Sittan of 1146 ME.* pp. 18-21. See also Yi Yi: 1979: 79-80.

<sup>40</sup> Page, *Pegu*, 1917, p.1.

<sup>41</sup> Furnivall, *Insein*, 1914, 175.

<sup>42</sup> Malcolm B.S. Lloyd, (1868), *Gazetteer of the District of Rangoon: Pegu Province*, Yangon: the Central Goal Press, p. 119.

<sup>43</sup> Tin-82, ke/recto, ll.2-3.

<sup>44</sup> Tin-82, ko/verso, ll.2-3.

<sup>45</sup> Tin-82, kī/verso, ll.8-9.

<sup>46</sup> Kawa in Bago Region

<sup>47</sup> Tin-82. See also Yi Yi: 1979: 93-4.

<sup>48</sup> *Yangon Division: its villages*, 2001, p. 41.

During the reign of Mikkādippa, his minister Inda Kyaw Htin founded Dônzarit<sup>49</sup>, a satellite of Hanthawaddy Province. It is located on the west bank of the Sittaung River, and not near the north of Kawliya, one of the satellite of Hanthawaddy. This satellite is bordering with Mt. Kyaik Htee Yoe on the east, Kyun Pa Taw on the north and Pan Kyun on the west.<sup>50</sup> Don Zayit is now a village on the east bank of Sittaung river. From aerial photograph, Don Zayit is a 3 number in shape enjoining with two parts: rectangular and circle. As it is far from habitations, the old town escape from vandalism.<sup>51</sup>

Hinthazaingganain was founded by King Shintakaywetpi, the last king of Hanthawaddy kingdom of the Mons. Zaing Ganaing is derived from *juin*<sup>52</sup>(foot) and *gnin*<sup>53</sup> (jungle) in Mon. It is also called Yathe Myo (town founded by Hermit)<sup>54</sup> which is built of laterite and located in Kyauktainkan village, Bago.<sup>55</sup> At Yathae Myo, King Dhammazeti erected his stone inscription which mentions his dedication to Buddhism including seven pagodas and Mahārāmahāvihāra monastery.<sup>56</sup> Many numbers of pagodas and other sacred edifices remain there. In 1880, these were still in existence.<sup>57</sup> This satellite of people was appointed garrison during the reign of king Thalun. It was Lan Oo Kin Byah (an outpost of Hanthawaddy) to carry out land and order under the Hanthawaddy Myo Wun (Lord of Hanthawaddy). It has seven *kin*: (toll stations): Kaw Win *kin*, Maing Kyun *kin*, Mee Pya *kin*, Danut *kin*, Kyi Myin Dai *kin*, Pan Lu Lin *kin*, and Yan Kin San Yar *kin*. It was bordered with Hanthawaddy on east, 15.90 miles from Htan Taw Gyi on the north; (9.94 miles) from Hmawbi on the south and south east; (1.98 miles) from the Kyaik Dai Pya pagoda of La Gun Byi on the south west; (13.92 miles) from Ti Tut

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid, kī/recto, l.5.

<sup>50</sup> Tin-82

<sup>51</sup> U Aung Myint, (1998), *Myanmar Shey Haung Myodaw Myah*, (Old Towns in Aerial Photograph), (in Myanmar), Yangon: Gangaw Wutyee Books, p.175, 2012 Reprinted.

<sup>52</sup> May Oung: 144.

<sup>53</sup> Dr. Hla Pe (1967), "A Tentative List of Mon Loan Words in Burmese", *Journal of Burma Research Journal*, Vol. L, Part I, June, (71-93), p. 75.

<sup>54</sup> Malcolm B.S. Lloyd, (1868), *Gazetteer of the District of Rangoon: Pegu Province*, Yangon: the Central Gaol Press, p. 110.

<sup>55</sup> *British Burma Gazetteer*, Vol. II, Yangon: Government Printing, 1880, p. 854.

<sup>56</sup> C.O Blagden, (1934), *Epigraphia Burmanica*, Vol. IV, Part I, U Mya (ed.), Yangon: Govt. Printing, p. 44.

<sup>57</sup> *British Burma Gazetteer*, Vol. II, 1880, p. 854.

on north west.<sup>58</sup> Ten villages—Akhwun, Kyaikdeyon, Kawbyin, Mazin Chaung (south and north), Maubin, Okebo, Thara, Thèbyu, Uyingyi—took part in the area of Hantha Zaingganaing. It was an inhabitation of ethnics including the Kayins, Mons, Myanmar and Indians.<sup>59</sup>

### **Hlaing, Hmawbi, Htan Taw Gyi and Kawliya**

King Puṅṅarika founded four satellites—Rammawaddy, Rammanago, Hmawbi, and Hlaing—in 1327 A.D.<sup>60</sup> It was famous town when the struggle between Rājadhirit, Mon king of Hantha waddy and King Min Khaung broke out. The Kalyāṇī Inscription of 1479 mentions that Hlaing is Luiṅ in Mon. The king built two *sīmā* (Buddhist ordination hall)<sup>61</sup> Hlaing is geographically located on the east bank of Hlaing river. Hlaing is demarcated with the Kyaik De Palwè pagoda on the south, the Kyaik Pakaw Maw pagoda on the north, the Kyaik Ranmwan pagoda on the east, and the Kyaik pathanpyan pagoda on the west.<sup>62</sup> Over five hundreds men lived in Hlaing. It was a stockade against the inroads of Inwa during the reign of King Razadirit. However, Hlaing was occupied by Myanmar army during the reign of his son Dhammaraja.<sup>63</sup> Now, Hlaing is in the Myaung Ta Ga village tract, Taik Kyee Township. Hlaing remains ruins, i.e. brick walled town which is 656 yards from north-south and 465 yards from east to west, three pagodas only which had been repaired so that they lost their original style.<sup>64</sup> The bricks are 15 feet high and 30 feet broad. Hlaing was occupied without any resistance of Myanmar governor.<sup>65</sup>

Two satellites—Hmawbi, and Mingaladon—lie between the Hlaing River and the Bago Yoma Range.<sup>66</sup> The Kalyāṇī Inscription of 1476 mentions that Maw Bi is Muh Ḃī<sup>67</sup>. In 1327, È Mon Tara founded Maw Bi bordering

<sup>58</sup> Yi Yi: 1978: See also *Hanthawaddy 1146 ME Sittan*.

<sup>59</sup> *Hanthawaddy thone ze hnic myo sittan*, 740, p.29f.

<sup>60</sup> Tin-82, ku/recto, ll.6-7.

<sup>61</sup> Blagden:1928:272.

<sup>62</sup> Tin-82, ku/verso, 3-4.

<sup>63</sup> Furnivall, *Insein*, 1917, p. 30.

<sup>64</sup> Than Tun:2014: 204.

<sup>65</sup> *British Burma Gazetteer*, Vol. II, Yangon: Government Press, 1880, p.198.

<sup>66</sup> May Oung, “Some Mon Place-Names”, *Journal of Burma Research Journal*, Vol. , Part , (143-145).

<sup>67</sup> Blagden: 1928: 269.

with Za Rwun Mi on the east, the Kyaik Inn Wun pagoda on the south, the river on the west and the Htat Gyee Pagoda on the north.<sup>68</sup>

Remains still indicate within recent years the existence of walled cities of the Myanmar regime at Hlaing, Tabu, Hmawbi and Mingaladon.<sup>69</sup> Also, the walls of the old town of Hmawbi remains in the Hmawbi village circle.<sup>70</sup> It is situated on the south of Nan Oo Kyaung monastery in no. 12 Hmawbi Myoma quarter, Hmawbi township. Inhabitation ruined the old town and its moat. According to some villagers, the walled-town is about twenty feet in height. The moat was used for transportation: a wharf existed at the south of Nan Oo Kyaung. It is built of soil, laterite and clay-baked bricks. Some fragments of bricks and laterite blocks remain at the back side of Nan Oo Kyaung.

During the reign of King Binnyar Oo, minister Binnyar Gona founded Htan Taw Gyi in 1348. It was bordered with May In Kappa, the Pay Kwam Athan Chaung creek on the south, the Baung Lin Chaung creek on the west, and May Tarun on the north.<sup>71</sup> Now, Htan Taw Gyi is located about 20 miles from northwest of Bago, about 10 miles from the south of Zaungtu and on the west bank of Bago river.

Kawliya was the City of the Kawliya tribe in India and the name of fruit of the jujube tree in Pāli (*zee thee* in Myanmar).<sup>72</sup> Kawliya is situated three miles from the north west of Daik Oo. During the reign of Binnyar Ran, his minister Binnyar Kamanywak founded Kawliya.<sup>73</sup> King Dhammazeti built five Buddhist ordination buildings at Kawliya, i.e. the Joñ Kyāk Smiñ Lokatrā *sīmā*, Joñ Kyāk Mah Sgaar *sīmā*, the Dap Chu *sīmā*, the Tar Mañ *sīmā*. It is also a settlement of the 40 Zayein families, 60 Kayin families, who live along

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<sup>68</sup> Tin-82, *ku*/verso, ll. 2-3.

<sup>69</sup> J.S. Furnivall, and W.S. Morrison, (1914), *Burma Gazetteer: Insein District*, Vol. A, Yangon: Government Printing, p. 39. Hereafter cited as Furnivall, *Insein*.

<sup>70</sup> *Amended List of Ancient Monuments in Burma*, Yangon: Government Printing, p. 32. See also *BGG*, Vol. II, 1883, p. 192.

<sup>71</sup> Tin-82, *kū*/verso, 3-4.

<sup>72</sup> H.L. Shorto (1971), *A Dictionary of Mon Inscriptions*, London: Oxford University Press, p. 54.

(b) Blagden:1928: 274.

(c) Divids: 1905:229.

<sup>73</sup> Tin-82, *Kai*/ recto, l. 5.

the bank of the creeks, i.e. the Kawliya, Paing Tar, Bwut Kyar, Hsap, Kyar, Bawni, and Pwe Tamaw where they made fishing by putting up weirs. It is called *in*: in Myanmar. They were also called Zabaing. Although the Zayeins and Kayins were wild hill tribe, they were Buddhists.<sup>74</sup> However, the Kayin families at Kawliya left from Kawliya as Communist persecution in the early post-independent period.<sup>75</sup>

This satellite was bordering with the following areas: 1.98 miles Banphyo Balakhwar, till to the Kyaik Balakhwa pagoda [Kyaik Aung Kappat pagoda] on the east, the Talanwup canal, the land of Sittaung as far as Kahatapaw [c. village] in the south eastern part of Hlaing, 19.88 miles, territory of Hanthawaddy City till to the land of Kyaik Sakawbo [c. Kyaik Sakaw village in Daik U] and Kyaik Lapo pagoda [Kyaik Pra Tut Zarat] [Waw Payah] on the south, Htan Taw Gyi, a satellite of Hanthawaddy in the southwest, 29.82 miles from Zaung Tu, one of the satellites, till to the land of Kyaik Depaw pagoda [Kyaik Aung Karu] on the west, Ye Nwe, a satellite of Hanthawaddy, in the northwest, 11.36 miles Wardawgyi, Ton Khan, Ye Nwe, and Ye Hla, [Tun Gan] till to the Kyaik Taw Oo pagoda on the north, Shwe Gyin [Kyaik De Palunsun] and Naung Ley Pin on the north east.<sup>76</sup>

Kawliya remain an ruined-rectangular wall stretching 750 meters (820.5 yards) from east to west and 360 meter (390 yards) from north to south.<sup>77</sup> Kawliya is a rectangular in shape on the plain. It is enclosed by brick-walls and now Myo Yoe village inhabited along the brick wall of Kawliya. It makes vandalism. Ruined brickworks of town wall obviously remain on the village street and in the yard of houses. At Daw Htay Myint's house, there is a ruined stupa built of bricks with significant remains, i.e. clay bricks, two heads of Buddha in sand stone, two statues of earth-touching Buddha of sand stone missing torso. Kawliya-remained bricks and statue type and style

<sup>74</sup> Lloyd, *Rangoon*, 1868, p. 96.

<sup>75</sup> Interviewed with Daw Hsar U, a teacher at Basic Education Primary and Middle School, Myo Yoe village on 9 December 10, 2017.

<sup>76</sup> *Hanthawaddy Thone Hse Hni Myo: 1146 ME Sittan*, parabaik manuscript no. 741, National Library, Yangon. Hereafter cited as *1146 ME Sittan*. pp. 11 ff. (b) Yi Yi: 1979: 76-7. (c) Page: *Pegu*, 1917: 44.

<sup>77</sup> Than Tun: 2014: 178.

indicate that their origins belong to the Mon style during the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries A.D.

### **Kyaung bya Yaw-mindat, Kyauk Sarit and Kyauk Maw**

Kyaung bya Yaw mindat borders with Ayodaunggyi and Zimme land on the east, Katkye land on south east, Kyauksayit land on the south, Zeyawaddy on the west, the Mekwa chaung creek on the north and Ok-pyat and Kyettaik on the north west.<sup>78</sup> Definite location of the town is hard to find. Now, it can be done study-guess where its location is. As *parabaik* record mentions that Kyaungbya lies on the north west for about 16 miles so far as Ok-pyat, it can be in Tantabin circle, south of Taunggu. The remains of Kyaungbya are commonly attributed to Philip de Brito, the Portuguese at Kyaung bya in the Kyaukkyi township.<sup>79</sup>

Three satellites of Hanthawaddy—Kyauk Sarit, Tone Kan and Min Ye Hla—are located on the east bank of Kun creek, one of the tributary of the Sittaung River. It is bordered with Zeyyawaddy on the north, Min Ye Hla on the south, Kyauk Maw on the east and Toon Gan on the west.<sup>80</sup> The same name of town is also situated in the Kyaikkhami District, Mottama province.<sup>81</sup>

Kyauk Maw is a satellite of Hanthawaddy Province bordering with 10000 *tā* Zinme [Zeyyawaddy, Ma Koo and Kyauk Talon] on the east, Shwe Gyin, Kyaukkyin Kon, Peinkaw Maezaung, in the southeast and on the south, Naungbintha on the south west, Ton Kin (one of the satellite), Oun Hnie Pin, Nyaungbintha, Thayet Kaingchoe in the southwest, the Zahaphanlaung Chreek, Taunggu on the west, Shwe Ingyin, Dunzarit, and Payah Thone Hsu.<sup>82</sup>

During the Konbaung period, Kyauk Maw, one of the Taunggu administration, was a habitation of the Kayins who annually paid Myanmar

<sup>78</sup> Furnivall, (1919), "Some Historical Documents", *Journal of Burma Research Society*, Vol. IX, Pt. I, (34-52), p. 44.

<sup>79</sup> B. W. Swithinbank, (1914), *British Gazetteer: Taunggu District*, Vol. A, Yangon: Government Printing, p.15.

<sup>80</sup> Yi Yi : 1979: 69.

<sup>81</sup> Page, *Pegu*, Vol. II, 1917, p. 319.

<sup>82</sup> Yi Yi: 1929:66, 94-5. *Hanthawaddy Thone Hse Hni Myo: 1146 ME Sittan*. See also *BG, II*, p. 316.

king betel nuts as their taxes. According to British Burma Gazetteer, Kyauk Maw is located in Kyaukgyi circle which was a fortified town and traces of the old stockade still remain. In 1809, it was attacked and destroyed by the Zimme Shans.<sup>83</sup>

### La Gun Byin and Mau

The word La Gun Byin is derived from *lagow* (creek) and *brī* (Brahmā) in Mon.<sup>84</sup> In the *Hanthawaddy Sittan*, La Gun Byin is bordered with the areas: the Than Tha Nge creek, Maw Lun, one of the satellites of Hanthawaddy, on the east, the La Gun Byin creek, opposite side of the Ba Toe River and Zwè Bon, a satellite of Hanthawaddy on the south east, the Arkharein creek and Ma U, a satellite of Hanthawaddy on the south, the Aree creek, the Arkharein Creek and Ma U on the west, Mahura<sup>85</sup> on the northwest, Hintha Zaing Ganaing on the north and north east.<sup>86</sup>

La Gun Byin is situated 150 meters from the north of Min Lwin Gon village, Hlegu Township, Yangon Region. La Gun Byin remains ruined walled-town (3 miles in diameter) which is located on the north of La Gun Byin Creek. This walled-town was built of bricks which is based on laterite blocks and is surrounded with water-moat. At La Gun Byin, the Nan Oo pagoda is an octagonal basement which is built with three layers of laterite blocks.<sup>87</sup> The Kyaik Salun pagoda is also built of laterite which is encased and renewed in 1984. Beside the pagoda, three votive tablets and glazed pots were also found.<sup>88</sup> Than Tun guessed that it seems older than Bago. It became a ghost town probably before the outbreak of the First Anglo-Myanmar War.<sup>89</sup> At La Gun Byin, the Kayins was the most inhabitant but the Bamars

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<sup>83</sup> *BBG*, Vol. II, 1883, p. 295.

<sup>84</sup> Nai Bi Htaw, (2014), *About the Pyu and the Mon*, Mawlamyine: Bhadradevi Books, p. 134.

<sup>85</sup> Mahura is a long, narrow circle in the Paunglin township of the Yangon district. *BBG*, Vol. II, 1883, p. 346.

<sup>86</sup> *Hanthawaddy Thone Hse Hni Myo: 1146 ME Sittan*. See also Yi Yi: 1979:97-8.

<sup>87</sup> U Aye Ko, and et. al., *Study on La Gun Byin Old Walled Town and its vicinity*, (in Myanmar), Type writing manuscript (9 March 1990), pp. 4 f. Hereafter cited as Aye Ko, *La Gun Byin* .1999.

<sup>88</sup> Aye Ko, *La Gun Byin* .1999, p. 5 f.

<sup>89</sup> Than Tun: 2014: 156.

are now most inhabitant. The third inhabitant are the Mons.<sup>90</sup> Peculiarly, La Gun Byin also exists in northeast Bin Hlaing, one of thirty-two satellites of Muttama.

Ma U was founded in 1202 A.D.<sup>91</sup> It was a satellite of Hanthawaddy province bordering with the areas: the Bago river on the east, the Akawat creek till to the Zwe Bun, one of the satellites of Hanthawaddy, on the east, the Tarkoo Creek on the opposite site of Bago river on south east, Than Lyin on the south, the religious land of Shwedagon pagoda on the south west, the Ma Lit Creek and Baung Lin on the west, Kyan bin village and Ar Kharein, one of the satellites, on the north west, Ar Kharein on the north, Taw Zun pagoda till to La Gun Byin, one of the satellites.<sup>92</sup> Ma U is one of the villages in Dabein on the bank of the Bago river, east of Dabein. It is a village of Mons, Kayins and Shans.<sup>93</sup>

#### **Maw Lôn, Meyenzaya (Merañcara) and Mingaladon**<sup>94</sup>

Maw Lôn is situated on the south west of Bago river. It is surrounded by Hinthazainganaing on the north, La Gun Byin on the south and west, and Zwè Bon on the east.<sup>95</sup> Maw Lôn included Kawchè and other four villages which is located between Htone Gyi and Indakaw.<sup>96</sup>

Merañcara is located 10 miles from the north west of Pyin Bun Gyi. Than Tun suggests that it might be a stockade.<sup>97</sup> In 1348, Maya Dhammayaza, Thwey Thauk Gyi, and his followers founded Merañcara bordering with Dhekaci on the east, the Kyaik Ceti and the Kyaik Moe Nat on the south, Za Ywè Ingamut on the west and the Kyaik Lakpun pagoda on the north.<sup>98</sup> The

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<sup>90</sup> BG, Vol. II, p. 325.

<sup>91</sup> Tin-82, kī/recto, l.1.

<sup>92</sup> *Hanthawaddy 1164 ME Sittan*. See also Yi Yi: 1929:77-8.

<sup>93</sup> Furnivall, *Insein*, 1914, p.183.

<sup>94</sup> J.A. Stewart in his map mentions Maw.

<sup>95</sup> Yi Yi: 1979: 84.

<sup>96</sup> Page, *Pegu District*, 1917, p.43. See also *Bago Division: its villages*, p.5.

<sup>97</sup> Than Tun: 2014: 172.

<sup>98</sup> Tin-82, ke/recto, l.10.



*British Burma Gazetteer* mentions that it circles in the Yangon district extending to the eastward the Bago Yoma.<sup>99</sup>

Mingaladon is bordered with Baung Lin on the east, the River Ayeyarwaddy on the west, Hmawbi on the north and the Kamaywut Chaung creek on the south.<sup>100</sup>

### **Min Ye Hla and Moe Sunt**

In 1348, minister Binnyar Kam Paik founded Min Ye Hla. It is bordered with the Kyaik Punnak pagoda on the east, the Kyaik Pakam pagoda on the west, the Kyaik Htaw pagoda on the north.<sup>101</sup> It is situated in five furlongs from southeast Htaw Wi, north of Nyaunglaybin. It is a rectangular in shape which is seen on aerial photograph. Although this old town is obviously found from aerial photograph (google earth), rarely does the walled-town remain at village. Only one brick (13ft.×6 ft.) remains on northwest walled-town. Nothing remains brickwork of walled-town at Min Ye Hla. On its corners, each pagoda was possibly built but renewal have been replaced. Its walled-town is 20 feet in height.

In 1703, King Min Ye Kyaw Khaung ordered his minister Sitthu Kyaw Swar to build Mo Sun bordering with a river on the east, the Ba Ye creek on the west, the Ataik creek on the south, and the Waw Chaung creek on the north.<sup>102</sup> Mo Sun which we guess is located in the Waw circle, northeast Bago. Unfortunately, the names of the creeks cannot be find and perhaps, their names had been renamed.

### **Sittaung, Ta Nga Paung, Titut and Tôñ Kan**

The Kalyāṇī Inscription of 1476 mentions that Sittaung is Satoñ in Mon<sup>103</sup>. Sittaung is bordered with the Kyaik Htee Yoe Pagoda Hill and Yun Salin, one of the satellite of Hanthawaddy on the east, the Lagunpitha rein creek, till to sea on the south, Bindathiri village on the west, the Kyun Paku

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<sup>99</sup> *British Burma Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 370.

<sup>100</sup> Yi Yi: 1979: 83-4. (b) *British Burma Gazetteer*, Vol. II, Yangon: Government Press, 1880, p. 376.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid*, ke/recto, ll.7-8. See also Yi Yi: 1979: 93.

<sup>102</sup> Tin-82, kaw/verso, l.8.

<sup>103</sup> Bladen:1928: 275.

Creek and Bago on the north.<sup>104</sup> Sittaung has an old walled-town ( 800 meters from east-west and 500 meters from north-south in length) where the Yangon-Mawlamyine railway road is built crossing the old town. It is possible to a stockade.<sup>105</sup>

In 1348, his minister Welu Pacca of Binnya Elaw (1330-1353) founded Ta Nga Paung bordering with Za Ywai on the east, the Kyaik Rat Kyi Pagoda on the south, the Kyaik Mwun Narait pagoda and the Kyaik Wepya pagoda on the north.<sup>106</sup>

Ti Tut (Ti Dut) was also founded during the reign of Binnyar Ran (r. 1492-1526). He appointed his minister Theingadatta to administrate it.<sup>107</sup> The *Hanthawaddy Sittan* mentions the location of Titu: the Kyaikdelyin pagoda and the Mahura creek on the east and bordering with Hanthazainganaing, 9.94 miles from the Kyaiktelaung pagoda and Hlaing on the west, 13.92 miles from the Kyaikdawprak and bordering with Baunglin, the Kyaiktaku pagoda and Tharawaddy on the north, 1.98 miles Mahura creek, Hanthazainganaing, Tandawgyi in the northeast, 1.98 miles Yoma Range and Tharawaddy in the northwest, 1.59 miles from Baunglin and Hmawbi in the southwest, 11.93 miles from Mahura creek, Sarbutaung, Hantha Zaingga Naing, Akharein, and Baunglin in the southeast.

This satellite is populated by the Zayein Kayins under the Kayin Sawkè, chief of the Kayins and no Buddhist monuments in this area.<sup>108</sup> According this document, Titut is geographically situated near Hmabi at present.

In 1348, Binnyar Thuriya, a minister of King Binnya Elaw, founded Tôn Kan bordering with the Kyaik Mwun pagoda on the east, the Kyaik Tha Lwè pagoda on the west, the Kyaik Bhaung pagoda on the south, and the

<sup>104</sup> *Hanthawaddy Thone Hse Hni Myo: 1146 ME Sittan*. See also Yi Yi:1979:64.

<sup>105</sup> Than Tun: 2014: 196.

<sup>106</sup> Tin-82, ke/verso, l.2.

<sup>107</sup> Tin-82, kû/verso, ll. 4-5.

<sup>108</sup> *Hanthawaddy Thonze Hnic Myo Sittan*, (Inquest of Hanthawaddy and Its Thirty-Two Satellites), (in Myanmar), no. 740 *parabaik* manuscript, National Library, Yangon, p. 23 f.

Kyaik Dhepa Taung Pun pagoda on the north.<sup>109</sup> Tòn Kan lies on the foot of Bago Yoma Range and on its north, the Kun creek flows to southeast

### **Win Pyaing, Yè Nwè, Yun Sa Lin Zwè Bon and Zaungtu**

In 1484, Welu Nanda, a minister of King Dhammazeti (1472-1492) founded Win Pyaing<sup>110</sup> which is bordered with the Kyaik Peyap pagoda on the east, the Kyaik Melawaw pagoda on the south, the Kyaik Mepa Chaung creek on the north.<sup>111</sup>

Baing Da, Yè Nwè and Dôn Zarit lie on the west bank of Yè Nwè creek meeting with the Sittaung near Shwe Gyin. Yè Nwè is bordered with Zarunpi on the east, the Kyaik De Nag Kin pagoda on the west, the Kyaik Rwè Nwè pagoda on the south, and the Kyaik Naw Daw pagoda on the north.<sup>112</sup> Dhammazeti founded Yun Sa Lin in 1493 and appointed his minister Bhramasāra to govern this satellite. It lies on the Kyaik La Mon pagoda on the east, the Kyaik the Moe Nyak pagoda on the south, the Demarat pagoda on the west, and the Kyaik Than Khan pagoda on the north.<sup>113</sup>

Zwè Bon is bordered with the Tha Byu creek till to the land of Dinmae [Maing Thapyu] on the east, the Winle creek opposing side of Than Lyin [the Pawak Chaung creek] on the south, the Desap Asaing creek [the Abhey River] in the south west, La Gun Byin and the Bago river on the west, [Kyaik Mayaw] in southeast,<sup>114</sup> the Delasin pagoda and Hanthawaddy on the north.<sup>115</sup> Furnivall points out that Zwè Bon lies between Bago and Then Lyin and included two circles—Nyaungbin on the north of River Bago and on the south of Thongwa), Southern Yangon District), and Bago in 1864.<sup>116</sup>

Zaung Tu lies on the near the origin of Bago river. Bago depended on timber trading of Zaung Tu.<sup>117</sup> During the reign of Binnyar Ran, his officers

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid, ke/recto, ii.3-5.

<sup>110</sup> Win Me Myaing in *Hanthawaddy 32 myo 1146 ME Sittan*

<sup>111</sup> Ibid, kai/verso, ll.4-5.

<sup>112</sup> Tin-82, ke/verso, ll.6-7.

<sup>113</sup> Tin-82, kai/verso, ll. 7-8.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid, kã/recto, l.10.

<sup>115</sup> *Hanthawaddy Thone Hse Hni Myo: 1146 ME Sittan.*

<sup>116</sup> Furnivall, *Insein*, p. 176. See also Page, *Pegu*, 1917, p. 17.

<sup>117</sup> Page, *Pegu*, 1917, 122.

and staff appointed there to administrate.<sup>118</sup> It is bordered with the Kyaik Thaywetalo pagoda on the east, Kyaik Pyar Tan on the south, Zarwunbi on the west, the Kyaik Wetalo pagoda on the north.<sup>119</sup> About 1750, it was a big jungle living together with elephants and tigers.<sup>120</sup> In the early British occupation period, this satellite was in the reserved forests of the Bago Forest Division.<sup>121</sup>

### **Conclusion**

The satellites are situated between the east and south of Bago Yoma and west bank of the Sittaung River. Some satellites—Sittaung, Donsarit, Kyaikkatha and Kyauksarit<sup>122</sup>—lie on the bank of the river. In this territory, the three rivers—the Sittaung, the Bago and the Hlaing—and their creeks start at the foot of Bago Yoma. Their settlements naturally defend with mountainous barriers and rivers which serve as water moat and are called a river state basing on the method of surmounting river obstacles. Furthermore, the satellites are also located on the river valleys which helps water supply for native cultivation, communication and transportation. As the Bago Yoma stands on their west frontier, forestry products are rich in this province. Moreover, the satellites had a good link by using in-land water transport. Bago made a core area surrounding with its satellites. It shows a seat of administration and culture basing on physical boundaries.

Place and pagoda of Satellites of Hanthawaddy names are in Mon. Perhaps, it was a mere sacredness of the Mons on Buddhism. Ethnic coexistence developed there. Especially, the Mons live together with the Kayins. Remains—ruined walled-stockades and artifacts of laterite, favourate rock of the Mons, have been found their vicinity. As the Kalyāṇī Inscriptions of 1476 mentions some names of satellites, Also, Myanmar manuscript records—palm leaf and parabaik books—mention in detail Hanthawaddy and its satellites which founded by Mon dynasty of Hanthawaddy kingdom. Peculiarly, the three important towns—Dala, Dagon and Than Lyin—were excluded these satellites although these were historically prominent.

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<sup>118</sup> Tin-82, kai/recto, l. 8.

<sup>119</sup> Tin-82, kū/verso, l.10.

<sup>120</sup> *Hanthawaddy Thone Hse Hni Myo: 1146 ME Sittan*, p. 22 f.

<sup>121</sup> Page, *Pegu*, 1907, p. 70.

<sup>122</sup> It is a satellite of Hanthawaddy in different version.

### Appendix I



### References (Palm-leaf and *Parabaik* Manuscripts)

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