

A SHORT
HISTORY OF BURMA

S. W. COCKS

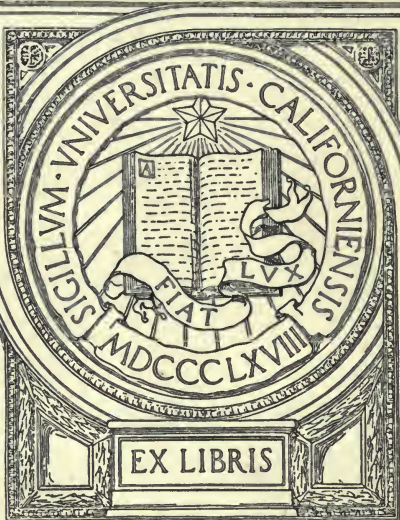
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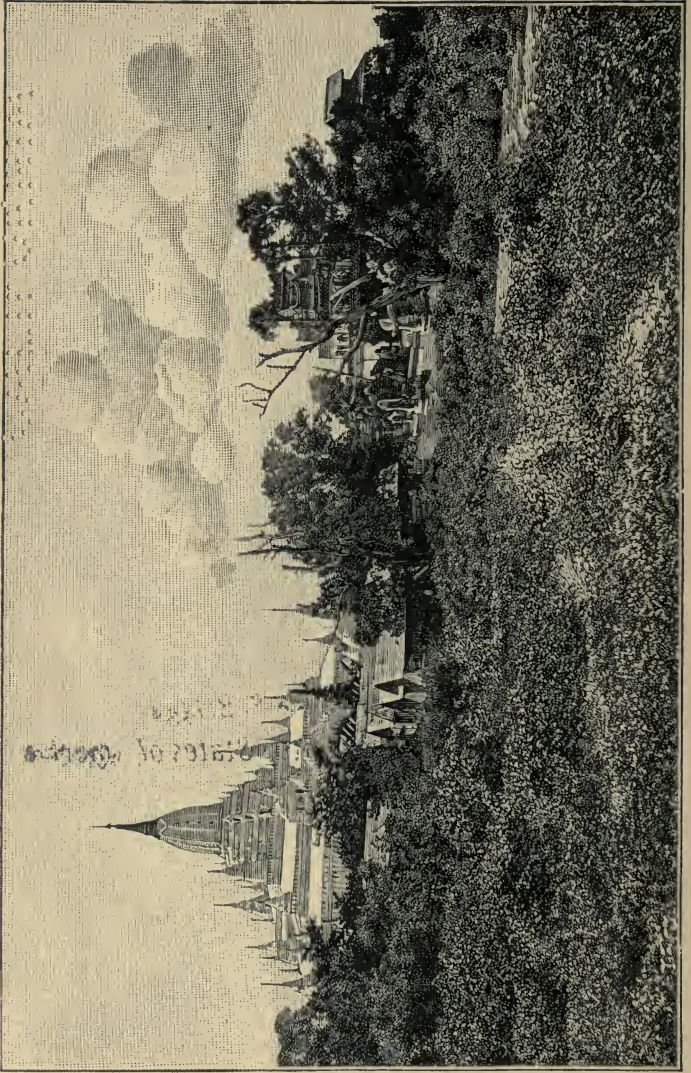
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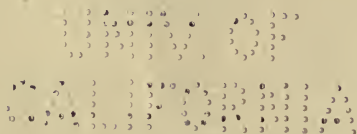
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A SHORT HISTORY OF BURMA



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PREFACE

IN this brief History of Burma I have tried to give a clear account of what is really known of the early period, together with some notice of the traditions which possess historical interest. From the point at which the records become trustworthy I have endeavoured to put clearly and concisely all that the young student should know, without burdening his mind with unnecessary details. I hope that a work dealing with a country which has received so much attention in recent years from the traveller, artist, and *littérateur*, may not be without general interest.

The discussion of disputed points, whether of fact or chronology, has been avoided. Different versions of the Maharazawin, the Burmese Chronicles of the Kings, vary considerably. Generally I have accepted the dates assigned by Sir Arthur Phayre, to whose works I gladly acknowledge my indebtedness. In certain cases, where the Chinese accounts as given by Mr. Parker seem more trustworthy, I have preferred the dates as well as the facts given in the Chinese chronicles. For the later period I have relied mainly on Gray's *Alaungpra Dynasty*, the *Gazetteer of British Burma* (1880), and the *Gazetteer of Upper Burma* (1900). It is worthy of notice that Siamese chronology differs considerably from the Burmese, but the dates of the Burmese chronicle agree very closely with those given by European travellers such as Ralph Fitch and Caesar Fredericke, the former of whom saw the departure of the expedition

against Ayuthia in 1587, while the latter saw the return of the Burmese army from Siam in 1569 or 1570.

The transliteration of Burmese names offers many difficulties, and I lay no claim to consistency in this respect. Modern Burmese almost invariably pronounces *r* as *y*, and I have generally followed the modern practice, while retaining such stereotyped English forms as Rangoon, Ramri, Tharawadi. In proper names of the earlier period, especially those of Sanskrit or Pali derivation, I have generally preserved the *r*. The reader who bears in mind this fact, and the phonetic rule of the Burmese language that the second of two consecutive consonants is assimilated to the first, will have no difficulty in identifying Mintara with Mindaya, Daraka with Dayaka, Min Khaung with Min Gaung, Minkyinyo with Mingyinyo, and so on.

My thanks are due to Mr. Maxwell Laurie, M.V.O., I.C.S., President of the Rangoon Municipality, for permission to copy the old prints in the possession of the Municipal Committee; and to Mr. C. Duroiselle, Professor of Pali in the Rangoon College and Librarian of the Bernard Free Library, for permission to photograph the portrait of Mindon Min from the copy of Yule's *Mission to Ava* in the Library, as well as for other courteous help. Proofs were read by Mr. J. G. Covernton, M.A., F.R.N.S., Director of Public Instruction, Burma, of whose valuable advice and assistance I have gratefully availed myself; and by Mr. Taw Sein Ko, M.R.A.S., Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Burma, who most generously placed at my disposal the results of his own extensive knowledge and researches in Burmese history.

The illustrations are from photographs by Messrs. Watts & Skeen, Rangoon.

S. W. COCKS.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
INTRODUCTION - - - - -	1
I. TO THE FALL OF THE PROME ^x MONARCHY - -	9
II. THATON AND PEGU - - - - -	15
III. THE PAGAN MONARCHY - - - - -	17
IV. THE PAGAN MONARCHY (<i>continued</i>) - - -	22
V. DOWNFALL OF THE PAGAN MONARCHY - - -	28
VI. THE PERIOD OF SHAN DOMINION - - - -	32
VII. PEGU INDEPENDENT - - - - -	39
VIII. THE KINGDOM OF AVA - - - - -	44
IX. WAR BETWEEN AVA AND PEGU - - - -	48
X. ORIGIN OF THE TAUNGU DYNASTY - - - -	53
XI. PERIOD OF THE CHINESE AND SHAN WARS - -	57
XII. THE TAUNGU DYNASTY IN PEGU - - - -	64
XIII. CONQUEST OF BURMA SOUTH OF AVA - - -	69
XIV. THE REIGN OF BAYIN NAUNG - - - -	75
XV. THE REIGN OF BAYIN NAUNG (<i>continued</i>) - -	80
XVI. BREAK-UP OF BAYIN NAUNG'S EMPIRE - - -	86
XVII. RESTORATION OF THE EMPIRE - - - -	94
XVIII. THE EMPIRE AGAIN BREAKS UP - - - -	99
XIX. RISE OF ALAUNGPAYA - - - - -	106
XX. ALAUNGPAYA MASTER OF PEGU - - - -	111
XXI. THE ALAUNGPAYA DYNASTY - - - - -	117

CHAPTER	PAGE
XXII. THE ALAUNGPAYA DYNASTY (<i>continued</i>) - -	129
XXIII. REIGN OF BODAWPAYA - - - - -	134
XXIV. REIGN OF BAGYIDAW - - - - -	147
XXV. FROM THE TREATY OF YANDABO TO THE ACCES- SION OF THARAWADI MIN - - - - -	164
XXVI. THARAWADI MIN AND PAGAN MIN - - - - -	168
XXVII. MINDON MIN - - - - -	178
XXVIII. REIGN OF THIBAW. THE BRITISH ANNEXATION -	187
XXIX. ARAKAN - - - - -	197
XXX. SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT UNDER THE ALAUNG- PAYA DYNASTY - - - - -	205
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF CHIEF EVENTS - - - - -	216
BIBLIOGRAPHY - - - - -	218
GENEALOGICAL TABLE TO ILLUSTRATE CHAPTER VI. - -	38
GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ALAUNGPAYA DYNASTY - -	196
INDEX - - - - -	220
MAP OF BURMA - - - - -	<i>at end of Volume</i>

INTRODUCTION.

BURMA as a British province extends from 10° to 28° of north latitude, and at its widest point from about 92° to 101° of east longitude. It includes the territories known in former times as Burma, Arakan, Pegu, Tenasserim, and the greater part of the Shan States. Geographically Burma Proper is the valley of the middle Irawadi, an area with boundaries well defined on the west, less clearly defined on the north and east, and very vaguely defined to the southward. To the north and east Shan tribes, loosely confederated or at war with one another, maintained generally political independence, becoming occasionally tributary to a strong Burman king, or recognizing the supremacy of China. To the west the Arakan Yoma, or mountain range, formed an almost impassable barrier between Burma and Arakan; and, in spite of their common descent and language, only rarely, and at very long intervals, did the people of the two countries acknowledge the sway of the same king. The delta districts and the Tenasserim coast were inhabited by an entirely different race, the Mun or Talaing people, and the climate differs considerably from the climate of Burma Proper. But the change from the comparatively dry climate of Upper Burma to the heavy rainfall of the delta is gradual; and an intermediate zone with Prome as its centre was from age to age

the battle-ground of the rival Talaing and Burmese kingdoms.

The eastern frontier of the Talaing kingdom was formed by the Salween river and low hills. Further south the Tenasserim Yoma, still the boundary between the British province and Siam, constitutes a more definite dividing line, but is easily crossed at various points. No navigable or fordable river ever formed a satisfactory frontier between warlike nations, and the Salween proved no exception to the rule. When the Burmese warrior kings were bent on conquest their ambition found its easiest outlet to the southward. Stopped by the sea they turned eastward, Siamese territory was violated, and reprisals were made. In the course of five centuries of almost continuous war between the Talaing and Burmese power Siam was repeatedly involved in the struggle. Its capital, unsuccessfully besieged on half a dozen occasions, was sacked three times, and Burmese troops penetrated to the territory of Laos, east of the Mekong.

Arakan, on the other hand, protected by the Yoma, enjoyed almost complete immunity from Burmese aggression. The Arakanese kings, it is true, in the eleventh century acknowledged the supremacy of Anawrahta and his immediate successors, but their dependence on Burma was nominal. Three centuries later the Arakanese, distracted by the strife of rival claimants to the throne, invited Burmese intervention, and the kings of Arakan were for fifty years the puppets of Burma or of Pegu. But the country resisted all attempts at conquest until its disordered state in the eighteenth century opened the way to successful invasion. So, while the troops of Burma overran the territory of alien races a thousand miles from Ava, they were baffled by their neighbours and kinsmen whose capital lay less than a fortnight's journey from Ava across the

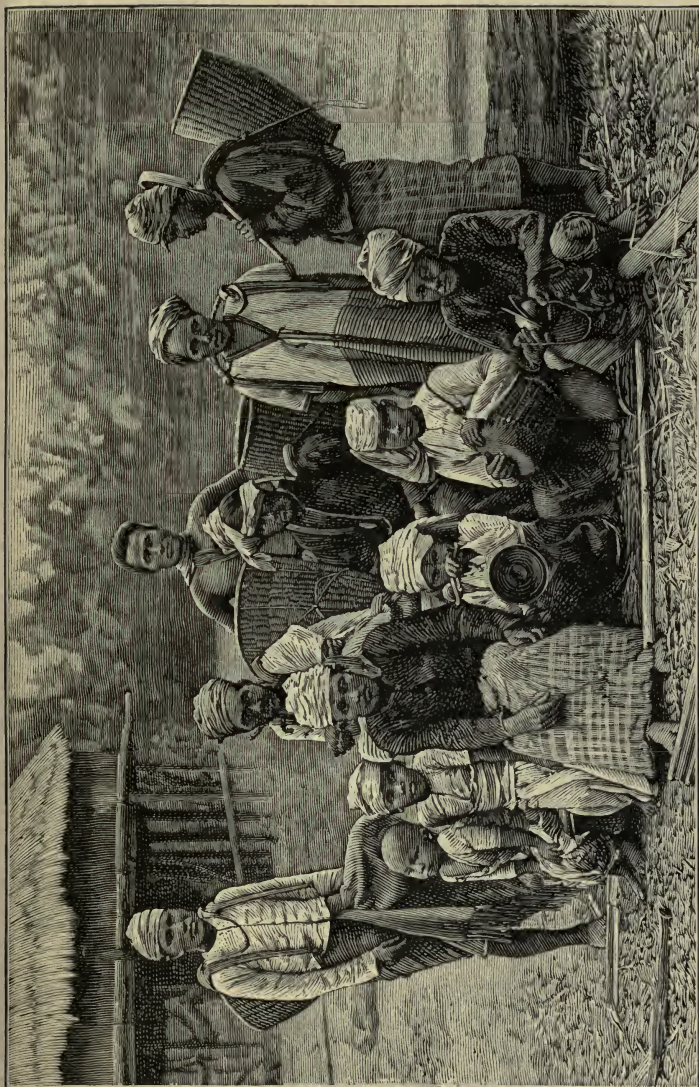
mountains. Yet at no period of its history would Arakan have offered serious resistance to a determined attack by sea.

Another example of the influence of a mountain range in determining the course of history is furnished by the Pegu Yoma. This is a low range of hills, starting a little south of the volcanic Mount Popa, and running nearly due south to Rangoon. It is on the last spur of these hills that the Shwe Dagon pagoda is built. The range separates the valley of the Irawadi from the valley of the Sittang. At no point is it more than 1200 feet high, though the rock-formation makes it difficult to cross. Its flanks can easily be turned at either end by a land army. Yet this low range formed an effectual screen between the main track of the warlike expeditions along the Irawadi, and the peaceful strip of country on the banks of the Sittang. Once in the twelfth century the importance of the little outlying province of Taungu was recognized by the appointment of a Burmese governor (see paragraph 24). Once in the twelfth, and once in the thirteenth century, it was visited by the ruling kings of Burma and of Pegu respectively. In the fourteenth century the heir-apparent of Pagan was appointed governor (paragraph 37). At the end of the fourteenth, and again at the beginning of the fifteenth century, expeditions from Ava against Pegu advanced along the Sittang valley. But for the most part it lay undisturbed, and an independent state grew up owning a nominal allegiance to Ava. This state rapidly developed during the period of mutual exhaustion caused by the wars between Burma and Pegu, and before the middle of the sixteenth century sent forth a king who conquered the whole country and united the rival kingdoms under one monarch of Burmese race.

Prome was in early days the seat of an ancient dynasty which afterwards settled in Pagan. During the period

following the dissolution of the first Burmese empire at the end of the thirteenth century, Prome was again the capital of an independent kingdom. But its position between the two great rival states, Pegu and Burma, was fatal to freedom, and from the middle of the fourteenth century its king or governor was generally tributary to one or the other of the combatants. It occasionally enjoyed a brief period of independence under a governor who maintained himself in successful revolt against his suzerain and allied himself with the rival monarch, when the struggle had left both temporarily exhausted. But such brief independence was enjoyed by many other provinces which have no real claim to be regarded as sovereign states. Yamèthin, Tavoy, Tenasserim, Martaban, and even Myaungmya, supply similar instances. Three of these—Tavoy, Tenasserim, and Martaban—were always loosely held, and fell from time to time under the sway of Siam. It was no mere accident that Tavoy and Tenasserim, with Arakan, were the first provinces to be detached from the Burmese empire when the final dissolution began.

Of the many races inhabiting Burma the Mun or Talaing race is probably the oldest. They are a branch of the Mon-Khmer race and seem to have come down with the first wave of migration from the highlands of China, and settled in the low country about the mouths of the Irawadi, Sittang, and Salween rivers. Their ancient capital, Thaton, at that time a seaport, was colonized in prehistoric days by kings from Telingana, a district on the east coast of India north of Madras. By a not unnatural confusion the whole people came to be known by the name Teleng or Talaing, which was strictly applicable only to their kings, though the Muns themselves are said not to have recognized the name. Chinese records of the year 1604 speak of the Telengs. "Talaing" is the



KAREN VILLAGERS.

nearest possible equivalent in Burmese. The tradition which attributes the invention of the name to Alaungpaya in the eighteenth century, and quotes it as a specimen of his sardonic humour, will not bear examination. He is said to have changed the name to "Talaing," meaning "the downtrodden," from a Mun word "laing" meaning "to tread upon," by a pun on the name Teleng. But they could never have been known to the Burmans as "Teleng," for that form is impossible in Burmese. They must have been known either as Mun or Talaing. Nor does the word "laing" exist in the Mun language except in combination; much less does it mean "to tread upon." This tradition assumes that Alaungpaya knew the word "laing," but was ignorant of its real meaning: a very considerable assumption. Another ingenious explanation connects the word Teleng with the Malay word Kling, the Hindu Kelingana, and so with the Kols or aboriginal inhabitants of India.

The next migration was probably the Tibeto-Burman migration. In very early times tribes moved down from Eastern Tibet along the valley of the Brahmaputra into Assam and Burma, and their descendants became the Chins, Kami, and Burmese. The first entry of the Tai or Shan race is difficult to trace. Soon after the first Tibeto-Burman migration, or, as some think, even before that time, the Tai race passed down from Central Asia along the valleys of the Mekong, Menam, Irawadi, and Brahmaputra, and settled in the country about those rivers. Their first settlements in Burma seem to have been in the valley of the Shweli river. They were probably driven down by the disturbances which followed the great rebellion in Southern China at the beginning of the first century before Christ. A second movement of Shans took place in the sixth century. One branch subsequently passed into Assam, which they



KACHINS.

conquered in the thirteenth century, and founded the Ahom dynasty there in the year 1540 A.D. The main stream settled in the plateau to the east of the Irawadi

and spread down into Siam. It is curious that the Siamese aspirate the name, making it T'ai, which they say means "free."

The latest migration was that of the Kachins, who are one race with the Chingpaw or Singhpo. They appeared about Bhamo in the seventeenth century and spread westward into Assam at the end of the eighteenth century. They are thought to be descendants of people left behind in the high valleys by the first Tibeto-Burman migration of prehistoric times, and so are connected with the Burmans, Chins, and Kami. They are a warlike race, and would possibly have overrun the whole of Upper Burma in time but for the advent of the British power.

Next to the Burmese and Shans the Karens in their various tribes are the most numerous and most widely dispersed race in the country. Their traditions point to an early migration, in the course of which they crossed the desert of Gobi in Central China. At a later period they continued their southward movement, and about the second century A.D. they seem to have been settled in Upper Burma. Three or four centuries later they spread over the mountains between the Irawadi, Salween, and Menam, as far south as the sea. More than any other race in Burma they hold themselves aloof and apart, although their villages are scattered all over the delta interspersed amongst the Burmans, and they rarely intermarry with the latter.

CHAPTER I.

TO THE FALL OF THE PRÔME MONARCHY.

1. **Prehistoric period.** Like many other ancient chronicles the Burmese *Maha-raza-win*, or *Chronicle of the Kings*, opens with an account of the creation. This finished, it proceeds to describe the foundation by kings from India of a monarchy at *Tagaung* in Upper Burma. The aboriginal tribes then in the land were called *Kanran*, *Pru* or *Pyu*, and *Sak* or *Thet*. They afterwards took the name of *Brahma* or *Mramma*, by which the people is still called. This name was never applied to the *Arakanese*, who claim to be the older branch of the race. The *Arakanese* pronunciation is certainly an older form than the *Burmese*, and their claim is probably well founded. The *Burmese* language is closely allied with *Tibetan* and *Nepalese*, and a common origin is certain. The early migrations from *Eastern Tibet* have been already referred to in the *Introduction*.

2. **Early tradition.** In very early times a king from *Kapilavastu* in *Oude*, the home of *Buddha*, was forced by dissensions with neighbouring chiefs to leave his country, and came with an army into *Burma*. There he established a kingdom and built *Tagaung* on the upper *Irawadi* for his capital. At his death his two sons *Kan-raza-gyi* and *Kan-raza-ngè* both claimed the throne. To settle the dispute it

was agreed that he who should build a pagoda the quicker should be made king. Kan-raza-ngè in one night erected a structure of bamboo and lime contrived to look like stone, and was declared the winner. His brother, with his own followers, descended the Irawadi to the mouth of the Chindwin river, which he ascended as far as its confluence with the Myittha. Here he turned westward and occupied the southern portion of the Kale valley. When his rule was established, he left his son to reign over the tribes of his new kingdom, while he himself proceeded south-west into Arakan, and founded another kingdom near Mount Kyaukpadaung. The date assigned to this event is 825 B.C.

3. **Fall of Tagaung.** Kan-raza-ngè and thirty one of his descendants ruled in Tagaung. The Maha-raza-win states that the last of these kings, Beinaka or Bhinnaka by name, was overthrown about the year 700 B.C. by an invasion of Chinese, called in the chronicle Tarok and Taret. The invasion seems to be antedated by about six centuries, and the invaders were probably Shans from the hill-country east of the Irawadi, driven downwards by the pressure of the great rebellion in China in the first century B.C. The king fled south to Male on the Irawadi and died there. His followers at his death split up into three divisions. One followed the track of Kan-raza-gyi and reached Kale, where the descendants of Muddusitta, son of Kan-raza-gyi, were still reigning. Another division took refuge in the Shan country, and the third remained with the queen Naga-hsein.

4. **Old Pagan.** The Shan invaders did not permanently conquer the kingdom of Tagaung, but gave way before a second immigration of Indians from the north-west. A king named Daza-raza entered Burma and settled in Mauriya, located by some authorities in the Chindwin valley, by others east of the Irawadi. From

there he went to Male, married Queen Naga-hsein, and built a new capital at Old Pagan close to Tagaung, which also he shortly afterwards occupied. Here sixteen of his descendants are said to have reigned. The last of these was Thado Maha Raza, who had no son. Accordingly Prince Khepaduta, brother of the queen, was declared Ein-she-min (Lord of the Eastern House) or heir-apparent. Before he succeeded to the throne, however, an invasion took place, probably of Shans from the east, and the royal family fled to the forest. There the queen brought forth twin sons, who were born blind, and concealed them lest they should be put to death. When they grew to manhood, being unfit to rule, they were put on board a raft and sent adrift on the Irawadi. During the journey down their sight was miraculously restored by a female monster (Biluma). The memory of this miracle is said to be preserved in the names of two villages, Mopon and Myedè, close to the town of Allanmyo, the old frontier station of British Burma. These were the first words uttered by the young princes on receiving their sight: Myedè, "the earth is inside," and Mopon, "the sky covers it like a lid."

5. **Prome and Tharekhettara.** Before this invasion the heir-apparent, Prince Khepaduta, pursuing a wild boar in the forest, had lost his way, and being unable to retrace his steps, eventually gave up the attempt to return to the palace. Wandering southwards along the river he came to the place where Prome now stands. There he found a hill with a cave in which he took up his abode and became a hermit. A doe living in the forest close by having miraculously given birth to a human child, the hermit adopted the child as his daughter and called her Bedari. When the two young princes, his nephews, reached Prome on their raft, they met the Princess Bedari drawing water from the river. Learning in the course of conversation with her

that her father was their lost uncle, they decided to settle at Prome with him. The elder prince, Maha Thambawa, married Bedari and founded a kingdom with its capital at Prome. After a reign of six years he was succeeded by his brother, Sulathambawa, who reigned thirty-five years, and was followed by his nephew Dottabaung, son of Maha Thambawa. Dottabaung removed the capital to a site five miles east of Prome, where he built the city of Tharekhettara—"the field of fortune" or "the sacred field." It was known also as Rathemyo, "hermit-town," in memory of the hermit prince. Dottabaung is said to have been a good king; but having on one occasion seized land which belonged to a monastery, he was punished by misfortunes of various kinds, and was finally drowned at sea in the whirlpool of Nagarit, near the mouth of the Bassein river.

6. Burma during the period of the Prome Kingdom. Of the history of Prome or Tharekhettara nothing is really known. The dynasty came to an end early in the second century of the Christian era. The rule of the Prome kings did not extend very far north or south of their capital. Upper Burma was probably occupied chiefly by Shans, who are said to have established a powerful kingdom called Pong, about which nothing can be asserted with certainty. In the south the kingdom of Thaton was flourishing under kings from India. It has already been stated that the Shans were settled along the Shweli river nearly a hundred years before the Christian era. It seems probable that in very early times they settled along the upper Mekong and Salween, and, perhaps under pressure from the Chinese, passed later into the country about Mogaung and the valley of the Shweli. The Chinese annals shew that such a movement took place about the beginning of the first century B.C. and it is likely that the fall of the Pagan or Tagaung kingdom, wrongly

assigned to a much earlier period, was due to this movement. All that can with certainty be said of the early history is that the tribes which called themselves Pyu, Kanran, and Thet were ruled by kings from India, who gave them some degree of civilization, and taught them agriculture and the simple arts. The same process was going on, as will be seen later, amongst the Mun or Talaing people in Lower Burma. The kings of Upper Burma crossed from India by land through Bengal and Manipur. Those who colonized Thaton came by sea from the Madras coast. Communication with India by sea gradually increased while the land routes were less used.

7. End of the Prome Kingdom. Civil war brought the kingdom of Prome to an end. Towards the close of the first century A.D. the last king of Prome, Thupinya, was on the throne. A quarrel is said to have arisen between the tribes Kanran and Pyu in which the Pyu tribe was victorious. This quarrel provided opportunities for attacks by the Talaings from the south and by the Arakanese from the west. King Thupinya died during the war, and the command of the Pyu tribe devolved on his nephew, Thamokdarit, who with his followers was driven from the country east of the Irawadi and crossed the river at Padaung. On the west bank they were attacked by the Arakanese and compelled to retire northwards, leaving the enemy to sack Tharekhettara before they returned to Arakan. After wandering for many years Thamokdarit and his followers finally settled at New Pagan and founded the capital of the great Pagan monarchy. From this time onward the name of the whole people becomes Mramma, and the tribal names Pyu, Kanran, and Thet drop out of use, though the Chinese history continues to use the name Pyu for another 900 years.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I.

A. The names Tarok and Taret have given rise to many conjectures and much discussion. Tarok or Talok is still the Burmese name for the Chinese. Sir Arthur Phayre regards it as equivalent to Turk or Mongol, Taret being equivalent to Manchu. But the Chinese army which invaded Burma about 1280 A.D. is described by the Burmese chronicler as consisting of Tarok and Taret, though that army was entirely an army of Mongols. Moreover, the word Durko, which after all bears little resemblance to Tarok, had disappeared from the current Chinese language, having been in popular use only between 500 and 1000 A.D. And though the use of the names Tarok and Taret with reference to the army which is said to have sacked Tagaung about 700 B.C. proves nothing with regard to the antiquity of these names, yet it seems probable enough that the word Tarok was used of the Chinese before the Mongol conquest in the thirteenth century. In 1795 the governor of Bhamo told Symes that the Chinese spoke two languages, Tarok and Taret, the former being native Chinese, the latter the Tartar tongue of their conquerors (*Embassy to Ava*, p. 349). This is exactly the opposite view to Phayre's, and agrees with modern usage. The *Upper Burma Gazetteer* (p. 193) supports the view that Tarok was the name given to the Shans prior to their dispersal, when they still maintained their independence in the frontier state of Nan-chao, while the "Teru state," spoken of by M. Terrien de Lacouperie, may give a clue to the name Taret. Col. Yule gives the Manipuri words for "six" and "seven" as "taruk" and "taret": a curious coincidence.

B. The extraordinary discrepancies between the various accounts of the first founding of Pagan illustrate the difficulties both of fact and chronology which beset the enquirer into early Burmese history. One account says that Thupinya began to reign in 84 A.D. and died in 95 A.D., the new dynasty being founded in 108 A.D. at New Pagan by Thamokdarit. Another account says that Thupinya died in 82 A.D. and was succeeded by Thamokdarit who re-founded Old Pagan, which remained the capital till about 650 A.D., when a king Pyin-pya (assigned by Phayre to the years 839 to 871 A.D.) transferred his capital to New Pagan. It seems very improbable that a Burmese king

should have been able to re-establish himself in Old Pagan early in the second century A.D. when Shans and Chinese were all-powerful in the northern parts of Burma. Some light may be thrown on this question when New Pagan is fully explored. It is said that there are evidences of four foundations, if not more, on adjacent sites, so that the various authorities who assign the foundation of Pagan to the second, the seventh, and the ninth centuries may eventually all prove to be equally right. The authority for the foundation in the ninth century is Dr. Mason, quoted by Yule (*Mission to Ava*, p. 32). He seems to have followed an edition of the chronicle similar to that used by Phayre, giving Pyin-pya's date as *circa* 850, not 650.

CHAPTER II.

THATON AND PEGU.

8. **Talaings.** The Mun or Talaing people who occupied the delta of the Irawadi and the eastern parts of Lower Burma probably belong to one of the races that spread over South-Eastern Asia even before the period of the great Tibeto-Burman migrations. They called themselves Mun, but they were called Teleng by the Chinese, and Talaing by the Burmans. As in the case of Upper Burma an uncivilized people received rulers from India, who introduced order and founded a kingdom at Thaton, which at that time was a sea-coast town. These kings came in very early times from Telingana on the Coromandel coast, and it is from that name that the word Talaing or Teleng is derived. In the Buddhist chronicles of Ceylon the country was known as Suvanna Bhumi or Golden Land. About 240 B.C. two missionaries, Sona and Uttara by name, came from Ceylon to Thaton, and, though at first violently opposed,

they gradually converted the people to Buddhism. Very little else is known of the early history of the kingdom, though a list of 59 kings who are said to have reigned at Thaton is found in the Talaing chronicles.

9. **Foundation of Pegu.** Buddhist tradition states that Buddha, in one of his early incarnations, beheld, appearing above the surface of the sea, a small patch of sand, on which two golden geese alighted; and the Master thereupon prophesied that on that spot would one day be founded a famous city. This prophecy was fulfilled about the year 573 A.D., when Thamala and Wimala, two sons of the ruling king of Thaton, being excluded from the succession, collected followers and founded on the sacred spot a city which they called Hansawadi or Hanthawadi, from the Sanserit *hansa*, a goose (Burmese, *hintha*). This city, called also by the Talaing name Pegu, became the capital of a great kingdom. The old dynasty still ruled in Thaton, but probably had very little territory outside the city. The ancient books recording the history of the kingdom of Pegu were destroyed when the kingdom was conquered by the Burmans, and only a list of kings remains, ending with the name of King Titha, who ruled from 761 to 781 A.D. But it is known that Buddhagosa brought the Tripitaka or Buddhist Scriptures to Thaton about the year 450 A.D. From that time onward the disputes between Buddhists and Brahmins must have become more acute, and the country was probably much disturbed by their quarrels. Buddhist doctrine finally won the day. About the time of Buddhagosa's visit Talaing was reduced to writing. It was probably some 500 years later that Burmese, like Talaing, borrowed an Indian alphabet. The letters were originally square, but the round form was necessarily used when palm leaves were introduced and the letters engraved with a metal style.

From the reign of King Titha down to the fall of the Burmese monarchy of Pagan, five hundred years later, the Talaing history is a blank.

CHAPTER III.

THE PAGAN MONARCHY.

10. **Foundation of New Pagan.** After thirteen years wandering King Thamokdarit founded New Pagan in the year 108 A.D. He was not directly descended from the old kings of Tagaung. That race had come to an end in Prome two centuries before, and the last king of the dynasty, then ruling in Prome, adopted a son from whom Thamokdarit was descended. There was, however, living at Male on the Upper Irawadi a young man named Sawdi, a direct descendant of a younger brother of the blind twins who had been put on board a raft and sent down the Irawadi to Prome. Thus Sawdi was of the old blood royal. When Pagan was founded he left Male and came down to the new capital, where he lived in the house of a peasant of the Pyu race, and so is sometimes spoken of as Pyu-minti or Pyu Sawdi. He found the people of the new kingdom suffering from a plague of savage animals and flying monsters, which devoured men, women, and children. Without delay he set to work and destroyed them, and the king rewarded him with the hand of his daughter, declaring him at the same time Ein-she-min. On the death of the king, however, he did not at once succeed to the throne, but allowed a hermit called Rathekyauing to rule for fifteen years. Sawdi became king at the death of the hermit.

11. **Reign of Sawdi.** Sawdi was thirty-five years old when he came to the throne, and he ruled seventy-five years. He died in the year 243 A.D. He was a warlike king and reconquered much of the territory that had belonged to the kingdom of Tagaung and Old Pagan. An invasion by the Chinese during his reign was repulsed. For a century and a half after his death no event of importance is recorded. Then in the year 388 Kyaungdarit ascended the throne of Pagan.

12. **Buddhism.** It is stated that in Kyaungdarit's reign the Buddhist scriptures were brought to Thaton by Buddhaghosa, and thence were sent to Pagan. This statement is improbable for two reasons. Firstly, six and a half centuries later King Anawrahta declared war on Pegu nominally in order to obtain a copy of the Tripitaka. This would not have been a valid pretext if a copy had already been sent to Pagan. Secondly, the mission of Buddhaghosa probably took place in the year 450, nearly forty years after the death of Kyaungdarit. But whether Pagan possessed a copy of the Tripitaka or not, no doubt the Buddhist religion was taught and practised, though other worships also were allowed.

13. **The new era.** The next king of importance is Thinga Raza, who had been a monk before he came to the throne. He married the queen of his predecessor and devoted himself to reform. With the aid of the astronomers he corrected the calendar, and inaugurated the new Burmese era, which is still in force. This era began in March, 639, of the Christian era, when the sun entered Aries.

14. **Dragon-worship.** One of the chief worships which went on side by side with the practice of Buddhism, as in China at the present day, was dragon-worship. This worship, introduced from India, had become so popular at

the beginning of the tenth century that it threatened to destroy Buddhism. Saw Rahan, a usurper who seized the throne in the year 924, set up an image of the dragon in a beautiful grove, built temples and monasteries, and supported the priests, who were called Ari. They lived in monasteries, but they indulged in liquor and led dissolute lives. After a reign of thirty-three years Saw Rahan was deposed in 957 by Kun-saw-kyaung-pyu, son of a former king. He, in his turn, was deposed twenty-two years later by a son of Saw Rahan. After a reign of six years the new king was succeeded by his brother in 985. The latter ruled twenty-five years before he was deposed and put to death in the year 1010 by a son of Kun-saw-kyaung-pyu, the great Anawrahta Saw.

15. **Anawrahta king.** Anawrahta is the first great Burmese king. He reformed religion, conquered the Talaing kingdoms of Thaton and Pegu, and recovered much of the territory in Upper Burma that belonged to the old Tagaung monarchy. His queen was the daughter of an Indian prince of Wethali in Arakan. When he sent to demand her hand in marriage she came to Burma under escort through Arakan. From this fact we may infer that Arakan early acknowledged the power of Anawrahta. He hated the dragon-worship which prevailed throughout his kingdom, and desired to restore the pure Buddhist doctrine. This he only imperfectly understood; but a great teacher, Arahan, who had attained the degree of Master (Arahat or Rahanda), hearing of the religious needs of Pagan, came from Thaton as a missionary of Buddhism. He appeared before the king, and preached the law of Buddha with such effect that the priests of the dragon-worship were expelled from their monasteries, and replaced by true Rahans from Thaton, who taught the true religion.

16. **Conquest of Thaton.** Out of the king's zeal for

religion is said to have arisen the war that ended in the downfall of the kingdom to which he owed so much. Though the true religion was established there was no copy of the Tripitaka in Pagan. Anawrahta therefore sent to Manuha, king of Thaton, for a copy of the holy books which had been deposited there by Buddhaghosa. Manuha refused the request, perhaps because he was jealous of the growing power and religious zeal of his neighbour. The refusal stung Anawrahta to fierce anger, and he at once collected an army, sailed down the Irawadi, and crossed to Thaton, to which he laid siege. The king of Thaton had little territory and no army, but the city was well defended by fortifications, and had to be reduced by famine. When it finally yielded it was razed to the ground; all holy relics, books, and images were carried off; King Manuha and his family were made pagoda slaves, and all the nobles and skilled workmen who might be of any service in Pagan were taken captive thither (*circa* 1050 A.D.). It was at this time that the Talaing records were destroyed, so that the history of the Talaings down to the restoration of the Pegu monarchy at the end of the thirteenth century is very meagre. The real cause of the war was probably the weakness of the kingdom of Thaton, which, stricken by internal strife, famine, and disease, invited attack. Hanthawadi was at this time under the domination of the Cholas from Southern India and seems to have escaped.

17. **Mission to China.** Having obtained a copy of the sacred books, Anawrahta was eager to obtain a sacred relic also. Four hundred and eighty years before he came to the throne a tooth of the Buddha had been taken to China by a Persian ambassador. This tooth Anawrahta desired to secure, and he marched with an army into Yunnan. The ruler of Nanchao, an independent Tai kingdom in southern Yunnan, met the Burmese king, and

presented him with a golden image which had touched the sacred tooth. With this he had to be content. On his return journey, Anawrahta met and married a Shan princess. The adventures which ended in his marriage are recounted in a popular zat or drama.

18. Mission to Ceylon. The king persisted in his endeavour to get a relic of the Buddha to deposit in the Shwezigon pagoda which he was then building at Pagan. A bone was said to be enclosed in a pagoda at Tharekhattara, but when the pagoda was opened no relic was found. Finally the king sent to Ceylon for the sacred tooth which is preserved there, but again the mission failed. This time, however, the envoys brought back a piece of ivory which was said to have grown out of the tooth, and this was escorted with great state to Pagan.

19. Arakan and the Shan States. Anawrahta compelled the king of Arakan to acknowledge his supremacy and promise tribute, but it is doubtful whether tribute was actually paid. In the course of his journeyings he is said to have reduced the Shan kingdom of Pong. It is doubtful whether such a kingdom ever existed in the locality to which it is assigned. The name Pong does not occur in the Burmese chronicle, but is preserved in a Shan chronicle in Manipur. The Shan chiefs were independent of one another, uniting occasionally against a strong foe on their borders. No doubt a strong king like Anawrahta forced the tribes immediately on his frontier to own Burmese supremacy for the time being. Similarly those on the Chinese frontier paid tribute when China was strong, and resumed their independence when China was weak. Anawrahta died in 1052, after reigning forty-two years, and was succeeded by his son Sawlu.

NOTE.

It seems probable that in very early times an independent Tai or Shan kingdom was established to the east of the Irawadi. This kingdom, called by the Shans Tali, and by the Chinese Nanchao, *i.e.* Southern Prince, is probably the same as Pong of the Manipur chronicle, or Koshanpyi of the Burmese. The last is evidently a Burmese transliteration of Kawsampi, a classical name given to the Shan kingdom. This state must have varied considerably in extent and power according as Burma and China were weak or powerful. It is inconsistent with the Shan character to suppose that it was ever anything but loosely organized. Anawrahta may have exacted homage from some of the outlying chiefs of the Nanchao state, and this incident was no doubt represented by the chronicler as the overthrow of the Shan dominion.

Another view identifies Pong with the Shan state of Theinni or Hsenwi.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PAGAN MONARCHY (*Continued*).

20. **Sawlu and Kyansittha.** Anawrahta's son, Sawlu, ruled five years in Pagan. No event of importance marked his reign until the Governor of Pegu, Nga Raman Kan, revolted and marched an army against Pagan. In the battle which ensued the king is said to have been assassinated by one of his own generals. The Myinka taung pagoda near Minhla marks the spot where he died. He was succeeded in 1057 by Kyansittha, who is said to have been a son of the Arakanese princess whom Anawrahta married. During his reign an Indian potentate, called the Prince of Pateikkaya, came to Pagan desiring to marry the king's daughter ; but the marriage was prevented

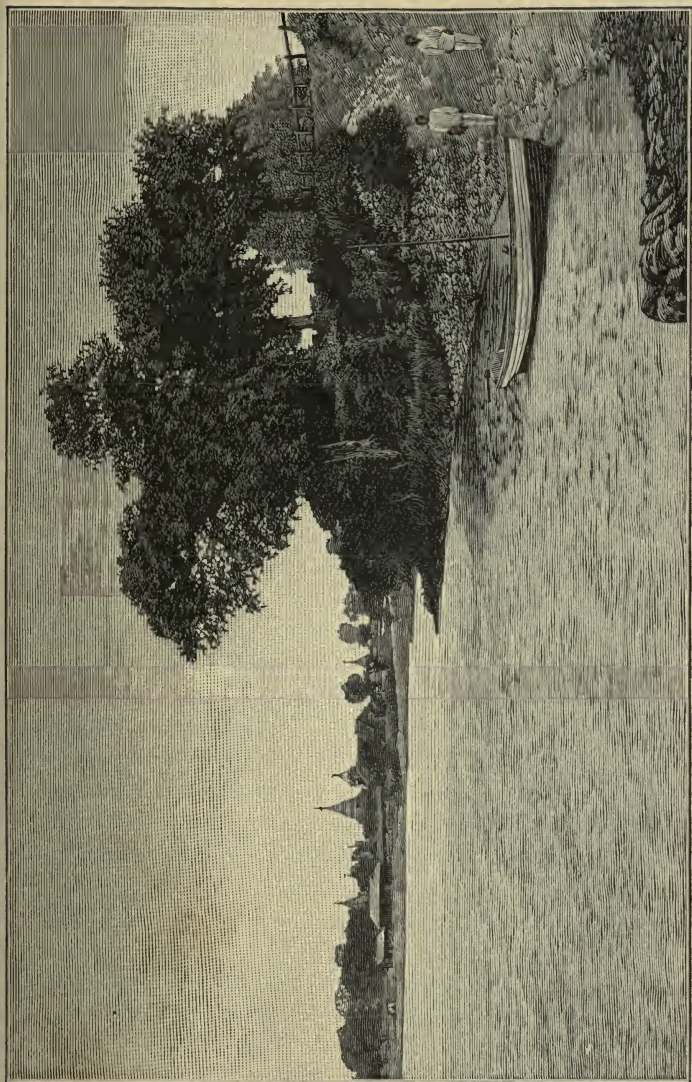
by the king's advisers, who feared that foreign rulers would thus be introduced into the country. Nevertheless the princess gave birth to a son, who was consecrated heir to the throne. An embassy came also from Ceylon to Pegu in connection with the restoration of Buddhism in that island, which under the rule of Indian kings from the west coast had almost entirely lost the religion of Buddha. The foreign power had been expelled from Ceylon in 1071. To the court of Kyansittha came also a prince of Arakan and heir to the throne, whose father, Min Bilu, had been killed by a usurper. He lived at Pagan for many years, and at his death left his son, Letya-min-nan, under the protection of the Burmese king. Kyansittha died in the year 1075.

21. **Alaungsithu king.** Kyansittha was succeeded by his grandson Alaungsithu. The new king devoted himself to reforms, improved the administration of the law, and made regulations in connection with weights and measures. He travelled much, visiting Arakan and Bengal, where he married the daughter of a prince of Pateikkaya. This prince must have been the successor of Alaungsithu's father, who had committed suicide at Pagan because his negotiations for marriage with the Burmese princess failed. Only one war interrupted the long peace of Alaungsithu's reign of 75 years. The Arakanese prince, Letya-min-nan, begged the king to restore him to his kingdom and dethrone the usurper. Accordingly, in the year 1102 a Talaing expedition proceeded by sea to Arakan while a Burmese army marched overland. The total force is said to have amounted to 200,000 men, but no doubt the numbers are greatly exaggerated. The Talaing force was defeated and the Burmese troops retired. The next year, however, the enterprise was successfully carried out, and the Arakanese prince was restored to the throne of his

grandfather. In return for Alaungsithu's assistance he undertook to restore the Buddhist temple at Gaya in Bengal, and fulfilled his promise about two years later, as is shown by an inscription on a stone tablet at Gaya.

22. **Death of Alaungsithu.** As the king grew old his two sons, impatient no doubt to succeed to the throne, gave him much trouble. He appointed the elder, Minshinsaw, governor of the northern part of the kingdom, with headquarters near the site of the modern Amarapura. This prince commenced the construction of the Aungpinlè tank, near Mandalay, which was completed six and a half centuries later by Bodawpaya. Alaungsithu also caused the tank at Meiktila to be repaired. The younger son, Narathu, seeing his opportunity in the absence of his brother, suffocated his father under a pile of clothes and seized the throne 1160 A.D.

23. **Narathu king.** On hearing of the death of his father the elder prince, Minshinsaw, sailed down the river to Pagan in order to establish his claim to the succession. His brother Narathu pretended to welcome him as the rightful heir, and escorted him with his handful of followers to the palace, where he was at once consecrated king, but was put to death by poison during the following night. Narathu then seized the throne without opposition, and caused his father's old servants and followers to be murdered. He went so far as to slay the queen with his own hand. Her father, the Pateikkaya prince, swore to avenge her death, and sent eight of his own men to Pagan disguised as Brahmin priests. Narathu, though he had been guilty of the grossest treachery, does not seem to have been suspicious of treachery in others, and allowed the Indians to enter the palace under the pretence of giving him their blessing. There they fell upon him, and having killed him killed each other. Narathu is therefore known

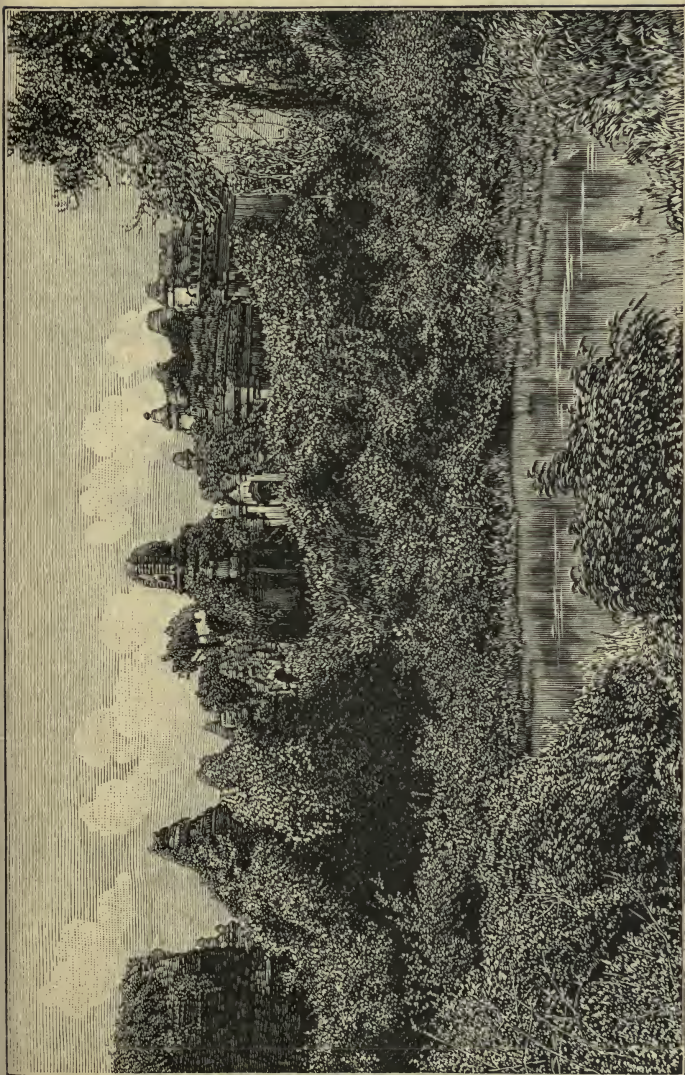


THE LAKE AT MEIKTILA.

as Kula-kya-min, or the king whom the Indians overthrew. His reign had lasted only four years, 1160 to 1164.

24. **Narabadisithu king.** The Kula-kya-min left two sons. One of these, Naratheinkha, after reigning three years, was put to death by his brother, who became king in 1167 with the title Narabadisithu, and ruled for thirty-seven years. During his reign there was much intercourse between Burma and Ceylon, where Buddhism had been restored, and a warlike king, Parakrama Bahu, was on the throne. Four great Rahans or priests came from Ceylon to Burma to teach certain new Buddhist doctrines. This peaceful intercourse was for a short time interrupted by a war which broke out between the two countries. The king of Ceylon was represented at the court of Pegu by an ambassador, whose expenses were, in accordance with Burmese custom, paid by the Burmese king, to whom Pegu was subject. For some reason not assigned, the payment of these charges was discontinued, and certain Sinhalese ships carrying royal envoys were seized by the Burmans. The king of Ceylon thereupon despatched an army, which landed in the delta and took the Governor of Pegu prisoner. The Sinhalese records state that the king of Pagan apologized and promised tribute. The Burmese history makes no mention of the affair, but the omission of events which were not creditable to the Burmans is a not unusual feature of the chronicle. The incident illustrates the declining power of the Pagan kingdom. In this reign the importance of Taungu was first recognized by the appointment of a Burmese governor, and the king himself visited the province.

25. **Pagodas at Pagan.** In the year 1204 Narabadisithu died and was succeeded by his son, Zeyatheinkha, during whose reign of twenty-three years no event of interest is recorded. He was the last of the great pagoda-



RUINS AT PAGAN.

builders. All the most famous pagodas of Pagan were built between the reigns of Anawrahta and Zeyatheinkha except one, the Mingalazedi, built by Tarokpyemin. The Shwezigon pagoda, which was meant to contain the sacred tooth demanded first from China, and afterwards from Ceylon, was commenced by Anawrahta and completed by Kyansittha. The Ananda pagoda, the most beautiful of all the Pagan pagodas, was also built by Kyansittha. His successor, Alaungsithu, built the beautiful Thatpin-nyu pagoda. The Dhamma-yan-kyi pagoda was built by the Kula-kyamin. King Narabadisithu built the Gawdapalin and Sulamani pagodas. Zeyatheinkha built the Bawdi pagoda in imitation of the Buddhist temple at Gaya. All these pagodas are Indian in style, but have certain characteristics of their own which are not found in Indian temples of the period. They remain as evidence of the wealth and power of the Pagan monarchy and the skill of their architects.

CHAPTER V.

DOWNFALL OF THE PAGAN MONARCHY.

26. **Affairs in China.** Two unimportant kings followed Zeyatheinkha, who died in 1227, and in 1248 Narathihapate, great-grandson of Zeyatheinkha, came to the throne. He is usually called Tarokpyemin, or "the king who ran away from the Chinese." During his reign the Mongols, under their great general Kublai Khan, conquered China. The first province to fall under the sway of the Mongols was Yunnan, and having subdued that province Kublai Khan proceeded north to China Proper

leaving in Yunnan a general called Uriang-Kadai (1254 A.D.). When the conquest of China was complete Kublai Khan wrote a letter to Burma (1273 A.D.) suggesting that some prince of the royal blood should be sent to do homage and acknowledge Mongolian supremacy. Two years later a Shan chief, who was tributary to China, having shown the Mongol commander the three roads into Burma which united at Old Bhamo on the Taping river, was seized by the Burmans and punished. Some Mongolian envoys also were detained by the Burmans. But in spite of these affronts two years more elapsed before war broke out.

27. War with China. In the year 1277 the Burmans attacked Kangè between Bhamo and Momein or Tengyueh, but a small Mongol force under the governor of Tali, the Chinese frontier province, defeated the Burmese in a series of engagements on the Taping river. The Burman force is said to have numbered 60,000 men with horses and elephants. A second force of Mongols under Nasruddin came down later in the same year, but retired on account of the excessive heat, and hostilities on any large scale were suspended for several years.

28. Second Chinese invasion. In the year 1283 Nasruddin himself marched into Burma with a Mongolian army in two columns. One column advanced along the river Taping by Manwaing, taking two hundred boats; the other proceeded by land and joined the first column at the Burman stockade of Ngasaungyan, which is identified with Yungchang. The Burmans were defeated and beat a retreat, but took up a second position on the east bank of the Irawadi opposite Male. Here they were again attacked and defeated by the Mongols. The Burmese chronicle says they were overpowered by numbers, but it is more probable that the Mongolian army of ten thousand men was very much smaller than the Burman force.

Envoys were now sent to sue for peace, and in the year 1285 a Mongol embassy was sent to arrange terms. These envoys were put to death for insolent behaviour in the presence of the king, who then, according to the chronicle, fled to Bassein. There he remained for some months, and then returned to Prome, where his son Thihathu, governor of Prome, put him to death.

29. Sack of Pagan. The chronicle relates that before the flight of the king the inhabitants of Pagan by his orders pulled down six thousand temples of various sizes to obtain materials for strengthening the fortifications; but in spite of these measures the Mongols sacked Pagan and pursued the king as far as Tarokmaw, some distance below Prome. This account has all the appearance of being invented to explain the name Tarokmaw or "Chinese promontory." Nothing is said in the Chinese record of their forces having penetrated so far into Burma, nor of the sack of Pagan; and the chronicler is not likely to have omitted events redounding to the credit of the Chinese arms. It is almost certain that the Mongols did not descend the river far below Old Pagan. According to the Chinese account, a Burmese envoy who was sent to offer the king's submission met the Chinese general at Tagaung. If Pagan the capital was indeed sacked, the destruction must have been the work of Shan auxiliaries or of the Burmese troops themselves. At this time the great pagoda built by Tarokpyemin was no doubt plundered for the sake of the numerous golden images which he had deposited in it.

30. End of the dynasty. A further expedition was sent by the Chinese in 1286 to settle the country and arrange for tribute. This expedition seems to have been sent in anticipation of a rebellion on receipt of the news that the envoys had been put to death. Kyawswa, who succeeded Tarokpyemin, had established himself in Pagan;

but the dynasty was at an end, and the various states which had owned the supremacy of the Pagan kings now recovered their independence.

31. Revolt of Pegu. In the year 1273, in which the Mongol conquerors of China demanded the submission of Burma, a Burmese officer in Pegu, known as Akhamwun, revolted and seized the capital, Hanthawadi. He had married a Talaiing wife and had great influence with the people. He defeated the army which Tarokpyemin sent against him, and made himself king of Pegu. But his tyranny soon caused him to be hated, and after two years' rule he was killed by his brother-in-law. The latter was in turn killed by a kinsman, who became king with the name of Tarabya.

32. Martaban. A merchant of Siam, of Shan descent, Magadu by name, had become possessed of a white elephant, with which he purchased the favour of the king of Siam and so rose to a position of great wealth and power. During the absence of the king he eloped with the latter's daughter, and settled in his native city of Dunwun on the Bilin river. Here he became acquainted with the Burmese governor of Martaban, Alimma, whom he treacherously killed. He then proclaimed himself king of Martaban with the name of Wareru, 1282 A.D.

33. Wareru king of Pegu. A Burmese force having been sent against Tarabya, the new king of Pegu, he appealed for help to Wareru. The combined forces of the two kings attacked the Burmese troops in their stockade at Dalla on the Rangoon river and routed them, compelling them to retire to Upper Burma. The allied armies then encamped to the south of the city of Pegu or Hanthawadi. Here Wareru picked a quarrel with Tarabya, and a battle was fought in which Tarabya was beaten and fled. He was captured, however, not long afterwards and brought to

Wareru, who kept him prisoner and declared himself king of Pegu (1287 A.D.) He did not fix his capital at Hanthawadi, but returned to Martaban, where Tarabya was put to death on a charge of conspiracy to kill the king, and Wareru ruled without rival over Pegu till the year 1306 A.D.

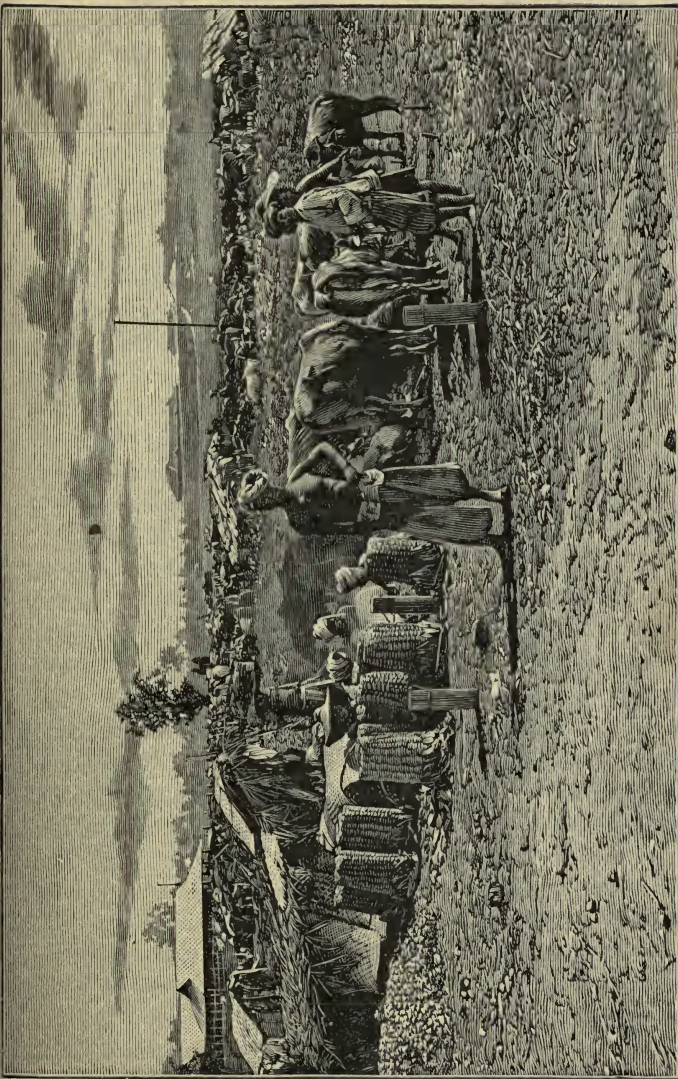
NOTE.

Both the facts and the dates of Tarokpyemin's reign are very confused and obscure. The account given in the text seems in the main the most probably accurate version. For a discussion of many disputed points the interested reader may refer to Phayre's *History of Burma* and Parker's *Burma and her relations with China*. The conclusions reached in paragraph 29 are weakened by the recent discovery at New Pagan of an inscription in Mongolian and Chinese characters referring to a Mongolian victory over the Burmese. But this probably indicates nothing more than the success of a flying column of Mongols and Chinese Shans in an engagement at Pagan of too little importance to deserve mention in the Chinese annals.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PERIOD OF SHAN DOMINION.

34. **The Shan brothers.** During the decline of the Burman power at Pagan the Shans had acquired considerable influence in the country, and on the dissolution of the Pagan kingdom they were ready to seize the chief positions of power. About the year 1250 a Shan chief named Thingkabo, having quarrelled with his elder brother about their inheritance, fled to Burma and settled in Myinsaing to the south of Ava, where there was already a Shan



SHAN TRADERS AT BHAMO.

colony. He had three sons, Athengkharā, Razathingyan, and Thihathu; and one daughter who was married to another Thihathu, son of Tarokpyemin (paragraph 28). The three sons obtained great wealth and authority in Pagan, and were all appointed governors of districts. When the Pagan monarchy was overthrown by the Chinese each of these Shan governors became independent and began to extend his power.

35. Kyawswa, King of Pagan. Although Thihathu had incurred the guilt of his father's murder he did not profit by it. His brother Kyawswa, who had been governor of Dalla, seized the reins of government and ruled in Pagan, but his authority did not extend far beyond the city, nor did it last very many years. In 1298 he was seized by the Shan brothers at Myinsaing, where he had gone to be present at the consecration of a monastery which they had built. The ex-queen Saw, a widow of Tarokpyemin, and the instigator of the plot, now became ruler in Pagan. Kyawswa was forced to enter a monastery, but his son Sawhnit was allowed to live in royal state at Pagan, without however any power to interfere in the government. A younger son of Kyawswa, Min Shin Saw by name, was made governor of Thayetmyo. One of the wives of Kyawswa was his half sister, Min Saw U, a daughter of Tarokpyemin. By her he had a third son, Usana, who was afterwards governor of Taungu. On the death of Kyawswa Min Saw U was married to Thihathu the Shan. The other Thihathu, son of Tarokpyemin, had died from an accident while hunting elephants in Pegu, leaving one daughter by his marriage with the Shan Princess. This daughter was now married to Min Shin Saw (see genealogical table, paragraph 42).

36. Unsuccessful Chinese intervention. Burma being at this time nominally a Chinese dependency a

Chinese army was sent in the year 1300 to restore Kyawswa to the throne. The Shan brothers solved the question of the succession by the simple expedient of putting Kyawswa to death; then, shewing his head to the Chinese generals, they explained that there was now no claimant to the throne, and the object of the expedition had ceased to be possible. The generals accepted bribes and returned to China, where the two officers in charge of the expedition were executed for failure in their duty. Shan rulers were now supreme throughout Burma, except in Arakan, which maintained an independent position. Pegu was governed by Wareru, a Shan adventurer; the middle course of the Irawadi was held by the three brothers; and the country to the north and east as far as the Chinese border was occupied by numerous independent Shan chiefs. Taungu was still dependent on Pagan, but the control exercised from the capital gradually declined, and an independent state grew up under Burmese governors.

37. **Thihathu, King at Panya.** For fourteen years the three Shan brothers governed justly and in peace with one another. But on the death of the second brother in 1312 the other two quarrelled, and the youngest, Thihathu, having poisoned his elder brother Athengkharā, became sole king. He founded a new capital at Panya close to Ava, and adopted as his son and heir to the throne Usana, son of his wife Min Saw U by her half brother Kyawswa the late king. A feud having arisen between Usana and Athengkharā, a son of Thihathu by an earlier marriage with a Shan wife, both son and stepson were appointed to governorships at a safe distance from each other. Usana was sent to Taungu, the growing importance of which at this time apparently received a temporary recognition, while Athengkharā remained near the capital as governor

of Sagaing. Here he was allowed to declare himself an independent king, and for fifty years he and his descendants ruled over an extensive province, reaching north to Manipur. Usana, on the death of Thihathu in 1322, returned to Panya as king.

38. **Usana, King of Panya.** The new king was a man of weak character, and though he assumed the proud title of "Lord of five white elephants," he failed to establish his authority in his own dominions. His attempt to reconquer Sagaing, where Tarabyagi, a stepson of Thihathu, had succeeded Athengkara, ended in failure. The weakness of the government encouraged the Arakanese to invade Lower Burma in 1333, and Min Shin Saw, governor of Thayetmyo, was carried away with his family in captivity to Arakan. Meanwhile Kyawswa the Second, son of Thihathu the Shan and Min Saw U, and so half-brother to the king on the mother's side, was growing to manhood, and began to press his claims to the throne. On his mother's side he was grandson of Tarokpyemin, and on his father's side grandson of Thingkabo the Shan, thus uniting the claims of the original Burmese line and of the Shan usurpers. He intrigued against Usana, until the king, weary of the burden of power and responsibility, abdicated and became a hermit, leaving the throne to Kyawswa, 1342 A.D.

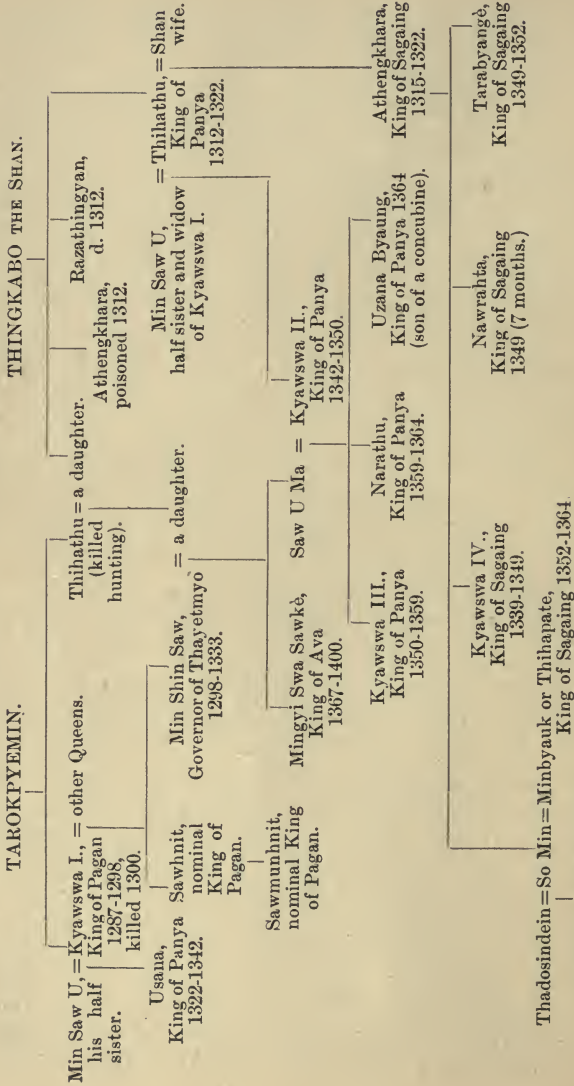
39. **The last three kings of Panya.** Kyawswa the Second reigned in Panya for eight years. Soon after his accession Min Shin Saw was released from Arakan and came to Panya, where the king married his beautiful daughter, Saw-On-Ma. In 1350 the king died and was succeeded by his son, Kyawswa the Third, who died in 1359. His successor was his younger brother Narathu. In the year 1364 Shan invaders from Mogaung carried off Narathu, and his half-brother, Uzana Byaung, was placed

on the throne ; but three months later the new king was dethroned and put to death by Thadominbya, the founder of Ava (see paragraph 41).

40. **The Sagaing kingdom.** The history of the Sagaing kingdom, which lasted from 1315 to 1364, is not very interesting or important. The first king, Athengkara, died in 1322, and was succeeded by his half-brother, Tarabyagyi. In 1336 the latter's son, Shwedaungdet, deposed him, but did not long enjoy the fruits of his crime. In 1339 conspirators put both the king and his father to death, and Athengkara's eldest son, Kyawswa, came to the throne and ruled for ten years. He repelled an attempt made by his uncle and namesake, Kyawswa the Second of Panya, to re-assert the supremacy of Panya over Sagaing. On his death in 1349 his brother Nawrahta ruled for seven months, and was then succeeded by another brother, Tarabyangè, who reigned for three uneventful years. The male line was now extinct, the sole survivor of Athengkara's family being his daughter, So Min.

41. **The end of the Sagaing kingdom.** Princess So Min had been twice married. Her first husband, Thadosindein, was believed to be of the ancient royal line of Tagaung. Their son, Rahula, had therefore a double claim to the vacant throne of Sagaing. But So Min had married, after the death of Thadosindein, a Shan chief named Minbyauk, who now established his claim to the kingdom in virtue of his marriage with Athengkara's daughter, and assumed the title of Thihapate, 1352 A.D. He entrusted his stepson Rahula with the government of the province of Tagaung, hoping that the Shans would soon make an end of him. As governor of Tagaung, Rahula took the title Thadominbya, by which he is generally known. Early in his governorship Thokyinbwa, the Shan chief of Mogaung, acting on the advice of Narathu, king of

42. GENEALOGICAL TABLE TO ILLUSTRATE CHAPTER VI.



Note that Tarabyagi and Shwedaungdet, kings of Sagaing (paragraph 40), are not included in this Table. Note also that seniority of age is not necessarily indicated by position of names to right or left.

Panya, attacked Tagaung, and the governor fled to Sagaing, where his stepfather put him in prison as a punishment for his defeat. The Shans, rapidly pursuing Thadominbya, reached Sagaing with a large army and captured the city, compelling the king to flee southwards. The Shan chief then quarrelled with Narathu, because, although he had urged the attack on Tagaung, he had given no assistance to the Shans. Accordingly the Shans proceeded to attack Panya, which they captured and sacked, carrying Narathu off as a prisoner. The people of Sagaing, angered by Thihapate's cowardly flight, now sided with Thadominbya, who seized his stepfather and put him to death, 1364 A.D. Having established himself on the throne of Sagaing he immediately seized Panya and killed Uzana Byaung, who had succeeded Narathu. He received the homage of Sawmunhnit, son of Sawhnit, who had followed his father as the puppet-king of Pagan (see paragraph 35), but did not otherwise interfere with him. Thadominbya was now sole ruler in the upper and middle course of the Irawadi, and conceived the plan of reconquering the whole of the ancient kingdom of the Pagan dynasty.

CHAPTER VII.

PEGU INDEPENDENT.

43. **Wareru, King of Pegu.** The steps by which Wareru established himself on the throne of Pegu have been described in a preceding chapter. He ruled nineteen years unmolested, except for one unsuccessful attack which was made on him by the Shan brothers. The object of this attack was to gain possession of a white elephant of

which Wareru was the fortunate owner. In the year 1306 two sons of Tarabya, whom he had spared when he put their father to death, killed him and then took refuge in a monastery, whence they were dragged by Wareru's followers and slain.

44. **Reigns of Khunlaw and Zaw-aw.** Khunlaw, the late king's brother, came to the throne and immediately made overtures of friendship to Siam. His advances were favourably received by the king of that country, who acknowledged him king of Pegu. A daughter of the Siamese king was given in marriage to Zaw-aw, son of Khunlaw's brother-in-law, Min Bala. But these arrangements did not prevent hostilities between the two countries. The chief of Zimmè or Chiengmai, a frontier province of Siam under very imperfect control, attacked Wareru's native town of Dunwun on the Bilin river. The king made no attempt to defend the place, and Min Bala, enraged by his indifference, put him to death, and placed Zaw-aw, his own son, on the throne (1310 A.D.). The new king took vengeance on his father-in-law for the raid on Dunwun by conquering Tavoy and Tenasserim, which at that time were subject to Siam. The rest of his reign was peaceful, Burma being for the moment powerless. Zaw-aw died in 1323.

45. **Hanthawadi again the capital.** Zawzip, brother and successor of the late king, took the title Byinnyaranda. He determined to remove his capital to the old town of Hanthawadi or Pegu, leaving a garrison and a governor in Martaban. This change of capital proved an unwise step, for the Siamese took immediate advantage of his departure by recapturing Tavoy and Tenasserim. No attempt was made to drive the Siamese again out of these outlying provinces; but the king tried to compensate himself for their loss by extending his power to the north, and made

an attack with a large army and flotilla on Prome, which, in the break-up of the Pagan kingdom, had become an independent state. The attack failed, and Byinnyaranda was slain (1330 A.D.).

46. **Pegu throws off the yoke of Siam.** An official in the service of the late king, Dibban Min by name, at once proclaimed himself king, and tried to strengthen his position by marrying Byinnyaranda's daughter Sanda-min-hla; but he was put to death after a reign of only a few days. He was followed by Egankan, a son of Zaw-aw and the Siamese princess, his wife. This man's claims might have been recognized, but Sanda-min-hla, who resented the loss of power after so brief an enjoyment of it, plotted against the new king with Byinnyalaw, governor of Hanthawadi. The latter was a son of the former king Khunlaw and nephew of Wareru, so that he represented the new dynasty more truly than Egankan, who was the son of Wareru's wife's nephew. Egankan was poisoned at the instigation of Sanda-min-hla, who became queen once more as the wife of Byinnyalaw. The king of Siam attempted to avenge the murder of his grandson Egankan, but his army was defeated, and the kingdom of Pegu became finally independent of Siam. Byinnyalaw reigned from 1330 to 1348, when he died and was succeeded by Byinnya-u, son of Zawzip, Byinnyalaw's only son having predeceased him.

47. **Reign of Byinnya-u.** Byinnya-u ruled from 1348 to 1385, but during many years he was king only in name and over only part of the kingdom. As the possessor of a white elephant, he took the title Sinbyushin, or "Lord of the White Elephant." In 1351 the Shans of Zimmè, instigated no doubt by their overlord, the king of Siam, again made an attack on Dunwun, but Byinnya-u defeated them in a series of battles and drove them out of his



RANGOON. THE RIVER FRONT.

territory. On his accession he had made Martaban again the capital, and put Pegu in charge of a governor. This man now revolted, and while the rebellion was being subdued the white elephant died. The loss of the elephant was regarded as a matter of the gravest importance, and the king at once set about searching the forests for another. During his absence his cousin, Bya-taba by name, revolted and seized Martaban. The king fled to Dunwun, where for six years he resisted the attacks of the usurper. The town was finally captured by stratagem and the king retired to Hanthawadi (Pegu). Making this his capital, he resumed his authority over the northern part of the kingdom, while Bya-taba ruled undisturbed in Martaban. It was during this civil war that cannon were used for the first time in Burma, Martaban being defended, though unsuccessfully, by cannon against the assault of Bya-taba. Internal strife continued to the end of the reign. The king was persuaded by his favourite queen to set aside his eldest son and declare her son heir to the throne. The elder prince refused his consent to this arrangement and fortified himself in Dagon, opposite the stockade of Dalla. Here, aided by Mahomedans from India with a flotilla of war boats, he resisted the army which the queen sent against him from Pegu. While the struggle was still in progress the king, who had been ailing for some time past, died, and the insubordinate prince became king with the title Razadirit in the year 1385. During his reign began the series of wars between Burma and Pegu which lasted four hundred years and exhausted the whole country.

NOTE.

Dagon or Dagon was the name by which Rangoon was known before the time of Alaungpaya, who changed the name to Rangoon, "end of strife," to commemorate his subjugation of

the Talaings. An older city is said to have been founded on the same site in the year 746 by Ponarika Raza (King Brahmin Heart), the king of Thaton, who was converted from Hinduism to Buddhism by the miracles performed by Deva Badri, the pious daughter of a Peguan merchant. He afterwards made Deva Badri his queen. This older city was called Ramanago.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE KINGDOM OF AVA.

48. **Foundation of Ava.** Thadominbya determined to build for himself a new capital, and selected for its site Ava at the confluence of the Myit-ngè and Irawadi. Here he planned a city adorned with a palace and pagodas, and defended by fortifications. The name given to the new capital in royal proclamations was Ratanapura, or "City of gems." Leaving the completion of the work to his ministers the king marched southward to begin the re-conquest of the old Burmese kingdom. He met with vigorous opposition from a local leader at Sagu, and while reducing him to submission caught smallpox and died before he could reach Ava. To prevent his queen from becoming the wife of his successor he cruelly sent on ahead a servant who slew her. His reign had lasted only three years, 1364 to 1367.

49. **Mingyi Swa Sawkè King.** At the time of Thadominbya's death the district of Amyin, near the confluence of the Chindwin and the Irawadi, was governed by Tarabya Sawkè, a son of Min Shin Saw, and great-grandson of Tarokpyemin (see paragraph 42). He was now chosen by the nobles as king with the title Mingyi Swa Sawkè.

He adopted his predecessor's policy of re-conquering the whole of the old Burmese dominions, and in the course of a few years extended his power over the whole valley of the Irawadi southwards as far as Prome, which had successfully resisted the Talaing attack of 1330, but now fell before the Burmese arms. He sent envoys to the court of Pegu and pretended to be on friendly terms with Byinnya-u, but he was only waiting for an opportunity to attack him. This opportunity was not long delayed.

50. Outbreak of War. The accession of Razadirit to the throne of Pegu in 1385 (see paragraph 47) was not marked by the usual slaughter of opponents. Even the queen, his chief enemy, was forgiven for her opposition. But one member of the royal family, Laukbya, governor of Myaungmya, persisted in his hostility, refused to acknowledge the new king's authority, and entered into communication with the king of Burma. In return for help he promised to acknowledge himself a vassal of the Burmese king, and hold Myaungmya as his tributary. Mingyi Swa Sawkè agreed and preparations were made for war.

51. Attack on Pegu. The plan of campaign was a good one. At the end of the year 1386 an army commanded by the Burmese king's eldest son advanced by way of Taungu to the village of Panyaw, north of Pegu, while a second force under a younger prince descended the river Irawadi and occupied Hlaing, forty miles west of Pegu, which was thus threatened in front and in flank. The governor of Myaungmya, however, did not furnish the help expected by the Burmans, and before the two armies could effect a junction Razadirit defeated the force encamped at Hlaing and forced it to retreat. As the rainy season was now at hand further operations were abandoned and the first army also retired northwards with all speed.

52. **Peace refused.** Razadirit was by no means elated with his success and sent presents to the king of Burma in the hope of making peace. The latter, however, rejected his offers of friendship, and openly declared that the kingdom of Pegu, which his ancestors had governed, must be restored to the Burmese crown. In the autumn of 1387 the war was renewed, but with as little success on the Burmese side as before, though in this year Laukbya took the field and rendered good service. Razadirit had built a strong stockade at Hmawbi, so as to be in the rear of any army attacking his capital from the west. The Burmans spent the whole of the open season in a vain attempt to capture the stockade, and were compelled by the approach of the rains in 1388 to abandon the effort. The Talaing army pursued the retreating force as far as Prome.

53. **Reduction of Martaban.** In order to strengthen himself against future attacks Razadirit determined to consolidate his own kingdom, feeling sure that for the present he was secure from interference at the hands of the Burmese. He first of all attacked Byataba, who was still entrenched either in Dunwun or Martaban (see paragraph 47). Byataba fled, leaving the command of his troops to two Mahomedan officers, who were defeated, and the province of Martaban was restored to Pegu (1388 A.D.).

54. **Myaungmya conquered.** The next year the punishment of Laukbya was taken in hand. Myaungmya, then an important port, was strongly fortified; but Bassein, the city of next importance, was open to attack. There, however, Laukbya's two sons and his son-in-law, aided by foreign ships with guns, repelled the Talaing army, whose general was killed. Encouraged by this success Laukbya rashly attacked the Talaing forces, but was taken prisoner, and his capital surrendered. One of his sons, Byankun, and his son-in-law, Byankyi, fled to Ava, where they

received governorships from Mingyi Swa Sawkè, the former being appointed to Salin, the latter to Prome. The guns which had been used in the defence of Bassein were mounted at Prome where they afterwards rendered great service. A second son of Laukbya fled to Sandoway, but was given up by the king of Arakan, and became a pagoda slave to the Shwedagon pagoda in Dagon (Rangoon).

55. Peace in Pegu. The history of Siam shews that about the year 1358 the Shan power had become firmly established in that country, and Razadirit now received friendly letters from the king of Siam claiming him as a fellow-countryman. The king of Pegu welcomed the offer of friendship, and began to feel himself secure on his throne. The Burmese had occupied a town on the Irawadi below Prome, called Ku-dût, the same as Lûn-hsè (Mya-naung), which was claimed to be part of the kingdom of Pegu, but they were expelled from it without difficulty. In the year 1400 the Burmese king died, and his son Sinbyushin was murdered after reigning seven months. A younger son of Mingyi Swa Sawkè, by name Min Khaung, succeeded to the throne, and four years later the war was renewed.

56. Reincarnation of a Talaing prince. Meanwhile an event had taken place which, according to the chronicle, had a vast influence on the course of events. Razadirit's eldest son was falsely accused of plotting against the king in order to seize the throne for himself. He protested his innocence in vain, and was ordered to be executed. Before he was led out to his death he prayed that if he were innocent he might at once be born again in the Burmese nation and avenge his wrongs on the Talaings who had unjustly slain him. Soon after his death in 1393 the wife of Min Khaung bore a son Min-rè-kyaw-swa, who was believed by all to be the re-incarnation of the Talaing

prince. At the early age of seventeen he commanded a Burmese army which in the course of five years inflicted many heavy defeats on the troops of Pegu.

CHAPTER IX.

WAR BETWEEN AVA AND PEGU.

57. **Arakan intervenes.** The renewal of the war was really caused by the Arakanese. It is related that during the reign of Mingyi Swa Sawkè the Arakanese nobles requested the king of Burma to nominate a successor to their king who had died without male issue. The Burmese nominee was not, however, left to enjoy his power long, and a series of usurpers filled the throne of Arakan. During the war between Pegu and Ava the Arakanese sided with the Talaings, and King Thinsa, who had delivered up to Razadirit that son of Laukbya who fled for refuge to Sandoway, made a raid into Burmese territory. Min Khaung naturally resented this outrage, and during the pause in the war with Pegu invaded Arakan. Razadirit, who in the previous war had fought on the defensive, now thought himself strong enough to carry the war into Burmese territory, and took advantage of the opportunity offered by the invasion of Arakan. At the end of the rainy season in 1404 he advanced up the Irawadi as far as Prome with a large army and a fleet of boats.

58. **Invasion of Burma.** The Talaing troops found Laukbya's son-in-law, Byankyi, in command at Prome, where he had mounted the guns which he carried with him from Bassein. They were not prepared to storm a city so defended, and passed up the river to Sagaing. Min

Khaung, having no fleet wherewith to attack the enemy, was obliged to sit idle behind his fortifications at Ava. Razadirit, on the other hand, had no means of assaulting a fortified city, and was unwilling to undertake a long siege so far within the enemy's frontiers. At this juncture a monk of great learning and piety arrived in the Talaing camp and appealed to the king as a good Buddhist, desiring him to abandon the war and so prevent the suffering and bloodshed which war entails. Razadirit no doubt welcomed the opportunity of retiring without disgrace, so he announced his conversion to the views of the monk, gave up his state barge to be used for building a monastery near Ava, and retired down the river.

59. **Siege of Prome.** It was evident that a strong city like Prome close to the frontier was a danger to Pegu, and Razadirit made a determined effort to capture it in 1406. On the north side of the city he entrenched a strong detachment to cut off communication with Burma, while he commanded the approach from the river with his flotilla. The besieging force on land was destroyed by a Burmese army, but the Talaing fleet remained supreme on the river, and made raids into Burmese territory as far north as Myedè. Both kings soon wearied of this inconclusive warfare, and at a meeting on the platform of the Prome pagoda arranged terms of peace. The boundary line of the Burman and Talaing kindoms was drawn about Tarokmaw, south of Prome, and Razadirit married Min Khaung's sister. Apparently the Burmese queen, who had been captured by the Talaings, was not restored, though it seems impossible that Min Khaung should not have stipulated for her release. Her detention may have been one of the causes of the immediate renewal of the war.

60. **Invasion of Arakan.** Again Arakanese affairs

brought about the opening of hostilities. Min Khaung was not satisfied with the results of the invasion of 1404, and determined on a second invasion at the end of 1406. To prevent interference on the part of Razadirit, whom he had good reason to distrust, he sent envoys to Zimmè to beg the Shan chief of that province to invade the kingdom of Pegu. The Talaings captured and slew the envoys and read their letters. A Talaing force was sent to Bassein prepared to take advantage of any opportunity for action in Arakan. Meanwhile Min Saw Mun, king of Arakan, had fled before the Burmese troops and sought refuge in Bengal, his son escaping to Sandoway and thence to Bassein. Here he was received by Razadirit, who promised him assistance and despatched his army at once to Sandoway. Continuing their advance on Myauk-u, the Arakanese capital, the Talaings captured Kamaru, son-in-law of Min Khaung, whom the king had appointed governor of Arakan. He was put to death, and his wife, Min Khaung's daughter, became one of Razadirit's queens. The refugee prince, son of Saw Mun, was put on the throne of Arakan, and the army returned to Pegu.

61. **Invasions of Pegu.** There were now at the court of Pegu three near relatives of Min Khaung: his queen, his daughter, and his brother. The last had taken up arms against the king because he had been refused the title and position of Ein-she-min or heir-apparent. The rebellion was crushed and the rebel prince, though pardoned and released, had fled to the court of Pegu. The detention of his queen and his daughter, the murder of his son-in-law in Arakan, and the protection afforded to his rebel brother, were insults which moved Min Khaung, against the advice of his ministers, to invade Pegu in 1407. He advanced by way of Taungu along the route taken by the expedition of 1386, and after some successful skirmishes and much

plundering and destruction, found himself confronted by the main Talaing army in position at Pangyaw. Here he was overtaken by the rainy season, food ran short, and he beat a retreat. His retreat was harassed by the Talaing troops, who inflicted on him considerable damage. After an interval of only two years Min Khaung again invaded Pegu in 1409, but was again forced to retreat with great loss, and returned to Ava dispirited and worn out.

62. **Min-re-kyaw-swa in the west.** The command of the army was now given to the prince Min-re-kyaw-swa (see paragraph 56), and preparations were made for a renewal of the attack. In the year 1410 the young prince, now seventeen years old, invaded the Talaing province of Bassein with an army of 20,000 men. On the east arrangements had been made, this time with success, for a diversion by means of a raid from Zimmè, which prevented Razadirit from leaving Martaban. Nevertheless the attack on Bassein failed, and the Burmese prince invaded Arakan, which was governed by Min Saw Mun's son under Talaing protection. He occupied the capital, deposed the king, and appointed one of his own officers governor. On his return journey he found Sandoway occupied by Talaing troops, and, failing to capture the town, retired to Burma. The arrangements he had made in Arakan were promptly upset, and the young Arakanese prince was restored to his throne.

63. **Chinese invade Burma.** During the period which followed the death of Tarokpyemin, the Chinese claimed supremacy over Burma as well as the Shan states on their frontier. For some years, in the reign of Usana, Chinese officers were actually stationed at Sagaing and Panya, and some control was exercised over the affairs of Burmans and Shans until the time of Alaungpaya. Accordingly, when a quarrel arose between Burma and the

Shan state of Theinni, the Chinese sent an army to restore peace and punish the Burmans for the death of the chief of Theinni. The Chinese accounts state that twenty cities of Burma were captured and prisoners were sent to Peking. The young prince Min-re-kyaw-swa met and overthrew this army and completed the conquest of Theinni in 1412. Razadirit saw his opportunity in these disturbances to the north, and once more laid siege to Prome, but again the threat of an invasion of Martaban by the Siamese caused him to hasten back to Pegu. When the danger had been averted he returned to Prome, where he had left his son to carry on the siege. But Min-re-kyaw-swa had returned from the Shan country and now appeared before Prome. He drove the Talaing forces back over their frontier, and following up the pursuit captured Dalla and other places in the Delta. The news of these successes encouraged the old king, Min Khaung, once more to take the field, but, before he got into touch with the enemy, the prince had been defeated, and a Shan chief, at the instigation of Pegu, had attacked Burma from the north. The king therefore returned to Ava.

64. **Chinese again invade Burma.** At this time China again interfered in the affairs of what she considered her vassal states. Two Shan chiefs had combined and attacked the state of Myedu, over which Burma claimed suzerainty. Min Khaung despatched a force to vindicate Burmese rights, and the two chiefs fled, leaving their wives and children to fall into the hands of the Burmans. A Chinese army came down to Ava to demand the surrender of these captives, which was refused. The chronicle states that the decision of the matter was left to the issue of a duel between two champions chosen one on each side. The Burmese champion, a Talaing captive, killed his Chinese opponent, and the invading army withdrew. The only

credible detail of this improbable story is that the Burmans selected a prisoner of war to fight for them.

65. Death of the Burmese prince and the rival kings. Min-re-kyaw-swa once more attempted the conquest of Pegu from the west, and in the year 1416 entered Bassein district, but was killed in battle, and the expedition was abandoned. In the following year his brother Thihathu captured Hmawbi and Dagon, but was repulsed at Syriam and retreated, evacuating Dagon and Hmawbi, but carrying with him Byinnya Set, son of Razadirit, a prisoner to Ava. Both kings now laid aside their arms and devoted their declining years to works of piety. The two peoples were impoverished and exhausted by the long wars, which were destined to continue, with short intervals, for nearly four centuries. Min Khaung died in the year 1422, and in the following year Razadirit met his death from a wound received while hunting elephants.

CHAPTER X.

ORIGIN OF THE TAUNGU DYNASTY.

66. The Province of Taungu. Taungu, situated mainly in the valley of the Sittang, but comprising also a hilly district populated by Karen tribes, lay, roughly speaking, between the same parallels of latitude as the province or kingdom of Prome. But as it was not in the direct line of communication between Burma and Pegu it had not the same importance as Prome, which was constantly an object of contention. On two occasions, however, Burmese armies advanced on Pegu by way of Taungu (paragraphs 51 and 61), so that the ownership of the province could not ultimately

be a matter of indifference to the two rival nations. The population of the valley was mixed, Burmese settlers coming from the north, Talaings from the south ; while the hills were in the possession of the Karens. The province is said to have been twice visited by ruling kings before the days of the Shan monarchy at Pagan ; once by Narabadisithu, king of Pagan, at the end of the twelfth century, when a Burmese governor was appointed, and a second time at the end of the thirteenth century by Wareru of Martaban. Wareru then took the ruling chief captive, but his two sons succeeded to his power, and built a fortress on a spur of the hills which projects into the plain. From the position of this stronghold the name Taungu, or "mountain spur," is derived, and the old name was retained even when the city was moved down into the plain. About the year 1315 Usana, afterwards king of Burma, was deputed by his step-father Thihathu to govern Taungu, which was seen to be of strategic importance when the time should come to reassert the supremacy of Burma over the Talaings.

67. Growing independence of Taungu. But in the exhausting wars which followed neither Burmans nor Talaings were able to retain any hold on Taungu, and although nominally dependent on Ava, its rulers really exercised absolute sovereignty. During the period of the Shan kings many Burmans found a refuge in Taungu, and there was gradually formed the nucleus of a Burmese state whose kings were destined to overthrow the Shan monarchs who had gained possession of the whole country.

68 Burma and Pegu. The war, which had ceased during the last years of Min Khaung and Razadirit, was soon renewed. Thihathu, second son of Min Khaung, ascended the throne of Ava in 1422, and Byinnya Dhamma Raza became king of Pegu in 1423. The latter was much influenced by the advice of court favourites, and his two

brothers, fearing that this advice might suggest the removal of two possible rivals, took the initiative and made war on the king. The elder, Byinnya Ran, before long made peace with the king, and was declared Ein-she-min. The younger, Byinnya Kin, had meanwhile appealed to the king of Burma for aid, and a Burmese army occupied Dalla. When however the Burmese troops began to plunder the inhabitants, the prince broke with his allies and was reconciled to his brother. He received the governorship of Martaban, Byinnya Ran being appointed to Bassein. The latter now began to intrigue with the Burmese king, and Burmese troops again occupied Dalla, while the Peguan prince seized Dagon. To confirm his alliance with Thihathu, Byinnya Ran gave him his sister in marriage. This sister, the famous princess Shin Sawbu, was a widow with one son, Byinnya Waru.

69. Shans occupy Ava. The new alliance was a source of great trouble to Ava. Thihathu's queen Sawpomè was jealous of the new arrival, who had superseded her at the court, and sought to avenge herself by inviting a Shan chief, Onbaungale, to occupy Ava. The king was ambushed by a party of Shans outside the city, and wounded by an arrow, but escaped to Mohnyin, where he died, 1426 A.D. The new queen, Sawbu, married a nobleman named Tarabya. The people of Ava declared Thihathu's infant son, Minhlàngè, king, and expelled the Shan troops from the city, but the old queen called in another chief from Kale, who put Minhlàngè to death and himself governed Ava for a few months. At this time the state of Kale was at war with Mohnyin, and the chief of Mohnyin, Minnansi or Mintara, promptly attacked and deposed the chief of Kale, who fled to the jungle with Sawpomè and died there. Mintara now became king, 1426 A.D., and allowed Sawpomè to return to the palace. His accession was welcomed by

the people of Ava, because he traced his descent from Kyawswa III., king of Panya, who on his mother's side was of the blood of the old Burmese kings (see paragraph 42). He was also recognized by the Chinese as the "Governor of Central Burma." But many of the nobles regarded him as a Shan, and, dissatisfied with their position under a Shan king, joined the emigrants in Taungu.

70. Pegu and Martaban. In the same year, 1426, the king of Pegu was poisoned, and his brother, Byinnya Ran, became king with the title of Byinnya Rankit. Byinnya Kin, the younger brother, was prudently left undisturbed in his province of Martaban, where he and his descendants ruled in virtual independence for many years.

71. Mintara establishes his power. The position of the new king of Burma was not an easy one. The example of the populace of Ava was not followed by all his subjects, and he had some difficulty in maintaining order. He was too weak to interfere in Taungu, and invited Sawlu, the ruling prince or governor, to Ava, where he received him as an equal. He also tried to secure the friendship of Pegu by making an alliance with the king, who appointed Mintara's younger brother governor of Tharawadi. But he had two determined enemies. One was Sawlu of Taungu, who meditated asserting his claim to the throne of Ava. The other was Shin Sawbu, who was discontented with the pardon and honourable treatment accorded to her rival, the old queen Sawpomè, now restored to her royal state in the palace. At last she fled secretly to Pegu, where her brother received her with unusual honour and declared her son, Byinnya Waru, his heir.

72. Burma, Pegu and Taungu. In his relations with Burma Byinnya Rankit played on the whole a prudent part. Sawlu, aided no doubt by the influence of Shin Shawbu, induced him to join in an attack on Burma, on

condition that, if their plans succeeded, Sawlu should govern Burma as the vassal of Pegu, and present tribute of gold and silver every year. At the last moment the king of Pegu remained loyal to his former alliance, deserted Sawlu, and married a niece of the Burmese king as a pledge of the renewal of friendship. The attack, which was, as usual, made by way of Prome, was unsuccessful. Peace now reigned for many years between Pegu and Burma, though they had rival interests in Taungu. On the death of Sawlu in 1437 Byinnya Rankit placed his own son, Min Saw U, on the throne of Taungu. Five years later, however, the Burmese king deposed Min Saw U and appointed a Shan chief, Tarabya, governor in his stead. Byinnya Rankit died in 1446.

NOTE.

There is a curious confusion as to the name of Thihathu's chief queen. Phayre calls her Sawpomè (or, as he spells it, Soapomè), while the *Lower Burma Gazetteer* calls her rival of Pegu Sawpomè down to the time of her flight from Ava, and Shin Sawbu after her return to Pegu from Ava. So in the *Lower Burma Gazetteer* Thihathu's first queen is nameless, while Phayre calls the Talaing princess Shin Sawbu throughout, and does not recognize any earlier name. Phayre is right.

CHAPTER XI.

PERIOD OF THE CHINESE AND SHAN WARS.

73. Conflict with China. Though at peace with her old enemy Pegu, Burma was not allowed to enjoy long repose. In the year 1439 Mintara died and was succeeded by

his son, Min-re-kyaw-swa, called after the valiant son of Min Khaung. He reigned three years, and in the last year of his reign deposed Min Saw U of Taungu (see paragraph 72). In 1442 his brother, Bayin Narabadi, succeeded him. During all these three reigns there was constant trouble with the Shans in the north, especially in the Mogaung state, which at this time seems to have included also Mohnyin. The Sawbwa or chief of Mogaung had come into conflict with both Burma and China, which both claimed suzerainty over the state. This chief, called in the chronicle Sungampha or Thonganbwa, either was captured by the Burmans or fled to Ava rather than fall into the hands of the Chinese. China, considering Burma and Mogaung equally her vassals, promptly demanded the surrender of Thonganbwa; but Narabadi assumed an independent tone, and tried to exact in return for the surrender of the chief a promise that Mohnyin and Mogaung should be transferred to Burma. The reply to this request was the despatch in 1444 of a Chinese expedition, which came down the Taping river and burned many hundreds of Burmese boats. An envoy was then sent to Ava, and a second invasion followed; finally in 1447 the Burmese surrendered the body of Thonganbwa, who had killed himself by taking poison. They also surrendered other prisoners, including Thonganbwa's grandson, who died in China twenty years later. As part of the price of the surrender the Chinese forces are said to have subdued the chief of Yamèthin who had revolted against Narabadi. Perhaps Chinese officers were lent to the Burmans. More probably this detail, like most of the Burmese version of these transactions, is fictitious.

74. **Renewal of the conflict.** Four or five years later another Chinese invasion took place. Two of Thonganbwa's sons were still at large. One of these the

Burmans captured, but refused to surrender to China, and the other they allowed to escape to Mohnyin (1451 A.D.). The Chinese expedition failed in its object of compelling the surrender of the prisoner, but in 1454 certain territory was yielded to Burma, and the Shan prince with all his family was given in exchange. The Chinese records of this period include Burma, under the name of Mien-tien, amongst the eight vassal states in which Chinese officials were stationed. Amongst these were also Theinni, Luang Prabang, and Taikkala south of Taungu. But from the history of the wars, even as given by the Chinese chronicles, it is clear that Chinese control was very lax and hardly justifies the claim of suzerainty.

75. Death of Narabadi. The rest of Narabadi's reign was filled with confused fighting in the Shan states, and vain attempts to conquer Taungu. Finally his son raised a revolt against him, and he fled wounded to Prome, of which place his second son was governor. There he died in 1468 after a reign of twenty-six years, and his rebel son Maha Thihathura succeeded him.

76. Pegu at peace. For half a century Pegu had rest from external wars and for the great part of that period enjoyed domestic peace also. In 1446 Byinnya Rankit was succeeded by his nephew, Byinnya Waru, son of Shin Sawbu, whom he had adopted as his son. Byinnya Kin, son of the late king, feeling himself unjustly deprived of the kingdom, quarrelled with his cousin and fled to Ava, but returned on the death of Byinnya Waru in 1450 and ascended the throne. After a reign of three years he was succeeded by his cousin, a bloodthirsty tyrant named Hmawdaw, who murdered all the living male descendants of Razadirit, and was put to death, after ruling for seven months, by his own infuriated subjects. The princess Shin Sawbu, now an old woman, in response to the entreaties of the people,

consented to become queen (1453 A.D.). To help her in the task of government she took a priest who had accompanied her in her flight from Ava. He became a layman, married the queen's daughter, and was declared Ein-she-min, taking the name Dhammazedì. He succeeded Sawbu on her death in 1460.

77. Reign of Dhammazedì. The long and peaceful reign of thirty-one years which Dhammazedì enjoyed gave Pegu a much needed rest. He made no wars, so that little is recorded of his reign. But his piety and wisdom enabled him, while keeping peace in his kingdom, to extend his power beyond the Salween river. The fame of his virtues spread abroad, and embassies were sent from the neighbouring states, and even from Ceylon, to do him honour. When he died in 1491 a pagoda was built over his bones as over those of a saint, and he was honoured with the funeral rites usual in the case of great emperors. His son, Byinnya Ran, succeeded him, and ruled thirty-five years, during which time the peace was only broken twice.

78. Break-up of Burma. The kingdom of Burma continued to break up with increasing rapidity. In 1480, after a troubled reign of twelve years, Maha Thihathura died. Thirithudhamma Raza, his son, succeeded him. The new king's brothers, governors of Salin and Yamèthin, and his uncle, who even in the previous reign had maintained a position of virtual independence as governor of Prome, declared themselves kings of their respective states, and the Shan chief of Myedu followed their example. The king, fearing that his own son might adopt a similar course, made him joint-king with the title Maha Thihathura. This prince died fifteen years later, and six years before the end of the reign. Even Byinnya Ran, the peaceful king of Pegu, made an attack on Burma during the later years of Thirithudhamma's reign, and subsequently made an incursion

into Taungu. The king of Taungu applied to Burma for aid, but succeeded in repelling the invader before the Burmese troops arrived; whereupon the Burmese king granted him complete independence. No doubt he was glad to abandon his claims to so troublesome a province. Thirithudhamma died in 1501.

79. Events in Taungu. It is necessary here to narrate very briefly the course of events in Taungu. In 1442 Tarabya was governor (paragraph 72). His son Min Kaung-ngè, who succeeded him in 1445, threw off his allegiance to Burma. Some twenty-five years later an attempt was made by Thihathura to recover control of the province and a new governor was sent. But he too soon ceased to pay tribute and solicited aid from Pegu, where the wise and peaceful Dhammazedì was then king. A Burmese army was sent under Sithu Kyawhtin, and the governor, though aided by Talaing troops, was defeated and carried off prisoner to Ava, the general Sithu Kyawhtin taking his place (1470 A.D.). From his cruelty and savage habits this governor was nicknamed "Bilu" or "monster." He governed eleven years, owing no allegiance to Burma, and was succeeded in 1481 by his son Sithungè. Four years later Sithungè was murdered by his nephew Min-kyi-nyo, who assumed the government with the title Maha Thiri Zerathura. This prince claimed descent from Tarokpyemin and from Thihathu the Shan king of Panya. He acknowledged the supremacy of Burma and on his accession sent a message of homage to Thirithudhamma, receiving in return the white umbrella of royalty. When he successfully repelled the attack of Byinnya Ran of Pegu, Thirithudhamma declared him independent and sent him all the other royal insignia.

80. Combined assault on Burma. The state of Mohnyin maintained an attitude of steady hostility to

Burma, and in the year 1472 Burma, complaining that the chief of Mohnyin prevented her free intercourse with China, renewed her request for a grant of territory in that quarter. The Chinese merely admonished the chief, who consequently treasured up a grudge against the Burmese. On the accession of Thirithudhamma's second son, Maha Raza Dibati, in 1501, Salon, chief of Mohnyin, occupied Myedu and Tabayin. At the same time Thadominsaw of Prome and Min-kyi-nyo of Taungu made a combined expedition against Sale on the Irawadi, and were only repulsed with the help of the chief of Onbaung, a Shan state which is identical with Hsipaw. An attempt to recover Myedu was unsuccessful, and some years later Salon resumed his aggression. He captured Sagaing and plundered the riverine towns as far as Thayetmyo (1523 A.D.). Amongst those slain by the Shan troops was the Chinese officer stationed at Ava. At Thayetmyo Salon received envoys from Thadominsaw of Prome, who promised, in return for assistance in occupying Ava, to hold it as a vassal of Mohnyin. His request was granted, and a force from Prome, travelling by water, accompanied the Shan army back to Ava. Some resistance was offered by the chief of Onbaung, but in vain, and Thadominsaw became king in Ava. Salon returned to Mohnyin (1524 A.D.).

81. **Shans capture Ava and Prome.** The new king was unable to maintain his position in Ava, and soon after the departure of his Shan ally he fled back to Prome. Maha Raza Dibati with the help of the chief of Onbaung again became king and ruled for two years. At the end of that time the Shans of Mohnyin returned and stormed the city, the king being killed in the attempt to escape (1526 A.D.). Salon now placed on the throne his own son Saw-han-hpa, called by the Burmans Thohanbwa. The first result of this measure was a further large migration of

Burmese families to Taungu. Amongst the refugees was the son of the Chinese officer who had been killed by Salon's troops in Ava. A Burmese nobleman, Yanaung by name, became chief minister to the king, who did not, however, conceal his dislike for the Burmans and his preference for his own countrymen. He saw clearly the danger of the rising power of Taungu, and determined to crush that state as soon as possible. Meanwhile he proposed to clear the way by subduing Prome, where the son of Thadominsaw, called Bayin Htwe, was now ruling. Thohanbwa received substantial help from his father Salon, who came down the river with a large force. Prome was captured, and its king carried off into captivity. On the march northward, however, certain minor chiefs conspired, slew Salon, and released Bayin Htwe, who returned to Prome; but his son Narabadi, who had become king as vassal of Thohanbwa, refused to admit him into the city and left him to die in the forests (1533, A.D.). Weakened by incessant wars and governed by kings of alien race the kingdom of Ava was ready to fall before the young and vigorous power of Taungu. The position of Pegu remains to be considered.

82. **Pegu under Byinnya Ran.** During the long and peaceful reign of Byinnya Ran from 1491 to 1526 the armies of Pegu moved only twice (paragraph 77). On the first occasion an expedition against Ava ascended the Irawadi, but nothing of importance appears to have been achieved. Indeed the history of Pegu states that the king merely made a pilgrimage to the Shwezigon pagoda at Pagan. On the second occasion the Talaings assaulted a fort of Taungu which Min-kyi-nyo had built to protect his capital. The attack was repulsed without much difficulty before the arrival of the Burmese troops sent to support Min-kyi-nyo (paragraph 79). The only result of this ill-advised aggression was to arouse in the minds of the Taungu

princes a feeling of resentment, which broke into open hostility at the earliest opportunity, and Pegu was selected as the first state to experience the strength of the new dynasty.

CHAPTER XII.

THE TAUNGU DYNASTY IN PEGU.

83. **Reign of Min-kyi-nyo.** Min-kyi-nyo, or Maha Thiri Zeyathura, ruled in Taungu from 1485 to 1530, and devoted his long reign to strengthening the position of his kingdom. His claim to be descended from the Burmese kings of Pagan was generally acknowledged, and the Burmese nobles who emigrated in a continuous stream from Ava looked upon him as the champion of their race against Shan dominion. The flow of emigrants into Taungu was much accelerated by Thohanbwa's cruelty to the Burmese monks. As the power of Taungu increased, the kings of Siam, Prome, and Pegu all sought the alliance Min-kyi-nyo. He supported Prome in an attack on Ava which came to nothing, but his relations with Pegu were unfriendly. In addition to constant friction on the frontier there was the irritation caused by Byinnya Ran's attack, which he was unable to forgive. With a view to future hostilities he defended his capital with a moat and rampart, but before war actually broke out he died, leaving his son Tabin Shwehti, a youth of sixteen years, to succeed him.

84. **Tabin Shwehti conquers Pegu.** In 1526, four years before the death of the king of Taungu, Byinnya Ran had been succeeded by his son Taka-yût-bi, a frivolous youth of fifteen years, who wasted his time with bad

companions and left the work of government to his ministers. Every circumstance seemed favourable to an attack on Pegu, and Tabin Shwehti was urged thereto by his resentment of the unprovoked attack of the Talaings in the previous reign, by his pride in his own position as the representative and champion of the Burmese race, and by his determination to reconquer for himself the old Burmese empire. After four years spent in careful preparation he marched in 1534 on the Peguan capital. The city was, however, so ably defended by the Talaings under leaders of Shan race that the assault failed and the invading army was obliged to retreat. The Talaings now secured the assistance from India of Mahomedans armed with guns, and a second invasion in 1536 again failed to effect the downfall of the capital, though Dagon, Bassein, Myaungmya, and other fortified cities were taken. At the end of the year 1538 a third and successful attempt was made. The Talaings were aided by a Portuguese ship which had arrived from Goa to trade in Pegu; but the Portuguese captain was killed and the Burmese flotilla won the day. Many of the principal officers of the Talaing forces deserted to the side of Taungu, and Pegu was captured, the king taking refuge with his brother-in-law, King Narabadi of Prome.

85. **Attack on Prome.** The pursuit of Taka-yût-bi was entrusted to Kyawhtin Nawrahta, the chief general of the forces of Taungu, foster-brother and brother-in-law of the king. As heir-presumptive he had received the title of Bayin Naung, and he is usually called by that name in the history. He failed to overtake the fugitive, and it became clear that an attack in form on Prome would be necessary. Accordingly the whole army moved on that place, the king being in command of the flotilla, while Bayin Naung led the land forces. But Thohanbwa, fearing

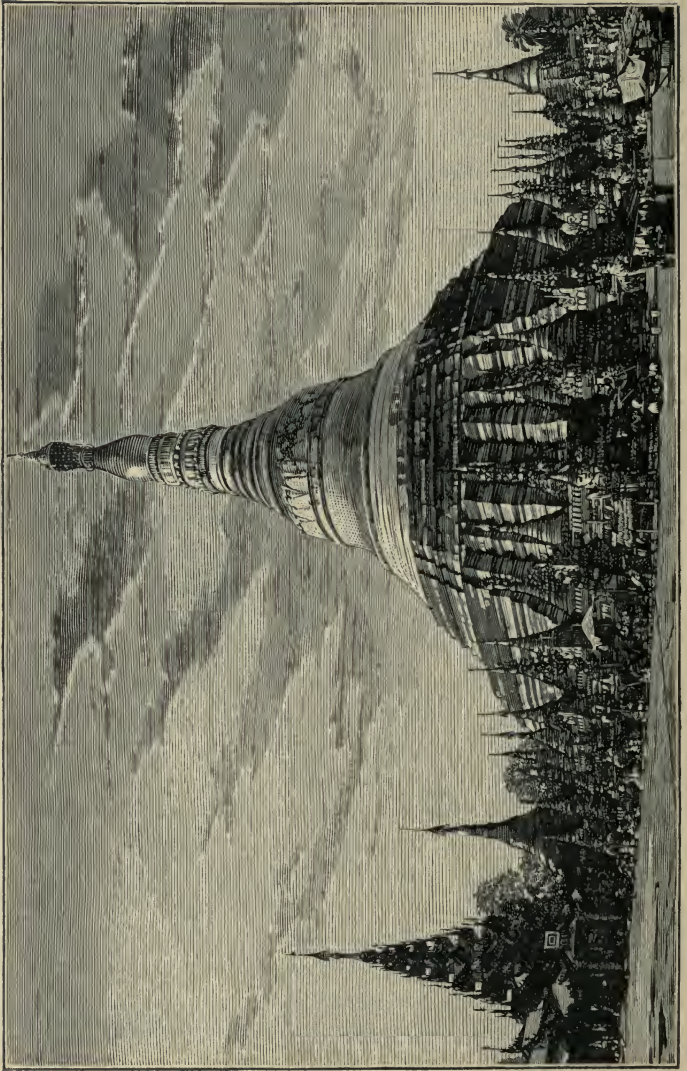
for his own throne if Prome should be captured, came down from Ava with a Shan army to the assistance of his vassal. The flotilla captured Thohanbwa's boats, but before any serious engagement was fought the receipt of alarming news from Martaban caused the hasty withdrawal of the invading army. The king of Pegu, on the refusal of his allies to take any steps to restore him to his throne, having collected a few followers, returned southward and died in the jungle (1540 A.D.). The same year Tabin Shwehti was declared king of Pegu, though he was not formally consecrated until after the capture of Martaban, and Theingathu, father of Bayin Naung, was made vassal king of Taungu.

86. **Attitude of Martaban.** The news that had caused Tabin Shwehti to suspend the attack on Prome was sufficiently serious. Martaban, at that time a very important seaport, was the centre of the Portuguese trade, that is to say, the European trade; for the Portuguese were the only European nation engaged in the Eastern trade. The viceroy of Martaban, Sawbyinnya, brother-in-law of the deposed king Taka-yût-bi, had made a treaty with the Portuguese and allowed them to establish a factory or trading station. So it was to their interest to support the viceroy in his struggle with Tabin Shwehti, and they supplied him with ships, guns, and men. By land Martaban was defended with a moat and a rampart, while the harbour was protected by European ships, heavily armed and manned by Europeans and Indians. On the opposite side of the river was built a stockade which commanded the harbour. Hearing of these preparations Tabin Shwehti lost no time, but, leaving Prome for the present, made instant arrangements for the capture of Martaban. At the same time he attempted to induce the viceroy to surrender the town by promising him high position and rewards, but

his efforts were vain. To diminish the risk of rebellion or hostile action in his rear while he was occupied in Martaban, he provided for the strengthening of the defences of Pegu and tried to conciliate his new subjects by appointing Talaing governors in the various districts. Then he proceeded with Bayin Naung to Martaban.

87. Capture of Martaban. The arrangements made for the defence of the city rendered a direct assault impracticable, and a regular investment was determined upon. Entrenchments cut off the town on the landward side, while the Talaing navy blockaded the harbour. The king had secured the services of a Portuguese naval officer named Cayero and some seven hundred men. He also induced the officer in command of the stockade opposite the city to desert to his side and surrender the stockade. The siege lasted seven months, during which time many assaults were made and repulsed, though the defending ships were set on fire and considerably damaged. The Portuguese troops abandoned the city when they saw that its downfall was imminent through famine. At length the viceroy surrendered on condition that his life should be spared, but the king shamefully violated his promise and put him to death, together with his family and all his household. The city was then given up to plunder and destroyed by fire (1540 A.D.). The cities of Pegu and Martaban excited the admiration of all European travellers who visited the East during the reign of Byinnya Ran. They praise in glowing terms his magnificence, generosity, wealth, and power. From the sack of Martaban the troops of Taungu obtained enormous booty. Pegu, as the capital of Tabin Shwehti's new kingdom, was spared.

88. Preparations for an attack on Burma. Before returning to Pegu, Tabin Shwehti took measures for the protection of his eastern frontier by posting troops along



THE SHWE DAGON PAGODA. (RANGOON.)

the Thaungyin, a tributary of the Salween, which marked the boundary between his dominions and the Shan states of Zimmè and Siam. He then commenced his preparations for the advance on Upper Burma, and placed new *htis* or canopies on the pagodas at Pegu and Dagon, thus publicly asserting his claim to supremacy as overlord of the Talaing kingdom. He was careful at the same time to avoid any cause of offence to the Talaings, for he hoped finally to combine the two nations under a Burmese king as in the days of Anawrahta and his successors. But his achievement was to be far less permanent than that of his great predecessor.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONQUEST OF BURMA SOUTH OF AVA.

89. **Capture of Prome.** Before Tabin Shwehti returned to the attack on Prome a new king, brother to Narabadi, had succeeded to the throne with the proud title of Min Khaung, and had married the daughter of his suzerain Thohanbwa. When in 1541 Tabin Shwehti arrived with an army and a fleet before Prome, which he proposed to reduce by famine as he had reduced Martaban, he found himself opposed by an army of Burmans and Shans under Thohanbwa from the north, and an army of Arakanese from the west. The prudent young king of Arakan, Min Bin, had foreseen that if Prome fell Ava too would fall, and that his own kingdom would be the next to be attacked. He was therefore as eager as the Shan supporters of Thohanbwa to check the conquests of Tabin Shwehti. Bayin Naung, however, employing cannon worked by Portugese, defeated

the northern army, and the Shans abandoned Prome to its fate. The Arakanese army was also defeated and put to utter rout, and Prome was closely invested. In June, 1542, the city surrendered. The cruelty which Tabin Shwehti had shown after the capture of Martaban was exceeded at Prome. The queen was publicly whipped and then done to death with revolting barbarity. The king was tied to her dead body and thrown into the river. Three hundred of his nobles were impaled on stakes and also thrown into the river. Having thus gratified his lust for slaughter, Tabin Shwehti appointed a brother of Bayin Naung tributary king of Prome and returned to Pegu. There he seems to have repented of his ferocity and tried to expiate his guilt by casting an image of Gautama in pure gold.

90. **Death of Thohanbwa.** In this same year 1542 Thohanbwa was put to death by a conspiracy of his own subjects. Shans as well as Burmans resented his persecution of the monks, whom he had practically expelled from the country. Once he planned a wholesale massacre of them, and three hundred and sixty were actually killed, while over a thousand escaped to Taungu and the Shan hills. The share of the Shans in the conspiracy by which he was removed is indicated by the fact that a Shan chief, Khon Hmaingngè, was appointed to succeed him. The new king made an effort to recapture Prome, and led an army there in 1544, but he was defeated and pursued to Ava, and Bayin Naung occupied Pagan. For the moment Tabin Shwehti was unwilling to pursue the war against the northern Shan chiefs. But before he returned to Pegu he was again consecrated king of kings at Pagan, and accepted the homage of the rulers of Prome, Martaban, and Taungu; Bayin Naung was formally declared heir-apparent. The king for a time devoted himself to the internal affairs of Pegu, and amongst other works which he undertook for the

benefit of his subjects he made the road known as the Minlan or "king's road" from Pegu to Taungu.

91. **Invasion of Arakan.** The details of the invasion of Arakan are not certain; there are two conflicting accounts. But it is clear that Tabin Shwehti intended to conquer Arakan, and that Min Bin, expecting an attack, fortified his capital to resist it. The governor of Sandoway, a brother of Min Bin, intrigued with Tabin Shwehti, probably because a rival prince had been declared heir to the throne; and in the year 1544 a Talaing force occupied Sandoway, but could not advance northwards to the attack of the capital owing to the stout opposition offered by the Arakanese. Two years later Tabin Shwehti himself failed in an attack on Myauk-u, though he defeated Arakanese troops in the field. He was recalled to Pegu by the news of a Siamese invasion of Tavoy, and came to terms with Min Bin, who agreed to restore the governor of Sandoway to his province and overlook his treason. The army then withdrew.

92. **Invasion of Siam.** The attack on Tavoy was a mere raid of marauders, and the king would have been wise to content himself with securing his frontiers. But he allowed his anger to determine his plans, and prepared for a regular invasion of Siam. The strain of ferocity and madness which had appeared in his treatment of the conquered cities of Martaban and Prome now became more marked under the influence of a dissolute young Portugese, nephew of James Soarez, a captain of Portugese gunners in his army. At the close of the year 1548 the Talaing forces crossed the Salween near Martaban, and, marching eastward till they reached the Menam, there turned southwards, following the river valley. No serious opposition was met until they approached the capital, Ayuthia, where the Siamese forces awaited them in country difficult for an

invader by reason of the numerous canals which intersect it. By sheer hard fighting the Talaings forced their way to the capital, but found the city too strong to be captured before the rains set in. Food supplies were running short, and Bayin Naung induced the king to retire. The retreat was harassed by incessant attacks, and thousands were killed, or died from hunger and disease. By a lucky chance, the husband of the Siamese king's daughter was captured in a skirmish, and by his surrender the invading army purchased freedom from further molestation. The remnant of the Talaing and Burman troops reached Pegu within six months of their setting out.

93. **Tabin Shwehti's downfall.** Disappointed with the failure of the expedition and perverted by the dissolute young Portuguese whom he made his chief companion, Tabin Shwehti gave himself up to drink and debauchery, and became utterly incapable of ruling. Bayin Naung, whose loyalty and fidelity are unique in the history of Burma, banished the Portuguese youth and himself became regent in the king's name. But deep discontent had already been aroused in the country, and in 1549 a son of Byinnya Ran who had become a monk threw off the yellow robe, and, taking the title of Thameintaw Rama, headed a rebellion. Bayin Naung drove him with his followers into the western part of the delta, and followed in pursuit, leaving the palace and the king in charge of Thameinsawdût, a Talaing noble and governor of the Sittaung province. This man betrayed the trust reposed in him. He induced the king to go out into the jungle to witness the capture of a white elephant, and there had him assassinated (1550 A.D.). He then proclaimed himself king and shut himself up in the town of Sittaung, relying for support on the Talaing population of the district. The people of Pegu rose against the garrison of that city, and a half brother of

Bayin Naung, Thihathu by name, who was in command, withdrew with his troops to Taungu. Thameinsawdût at once marched on Pegu, where he was welcomed as the restorer of Talaing independence.

94. **Tabin Shwehti's failure.** For two hundred and thirty years before the rise of Tabin Shwehti both Burma and Pegu had been governed by kings of Shan race. Many of the kings of Burma were descended also from the Burmese royal family, but their sympathies were Shan and not Burmese. The unwillingness of the Burmans to acquiesce permanently in the domination of an alien race was shown by the eagerness with which they welcomed Thadominbya, who, though of pure Shan blood on his mother's side, claimed descent from the ancient Burmese dynasty of Tagaung. This same unwillingness was evident too in the repeated migrations of Burmese nobles to Taungu when that province came under the rule of princes of Burmese descent. Long before the actual series of conquests began Taungu was regarded as the nursery of a race of future kings of Burmese blood. The subjugation of Pegu by a monarch of the race of its traditional enemy inevitably aroused in the Talaings less fervour than in the Burmans, but the numerous desertions to the Burmese side during the sieges of Pegu and Martaban prove a readiness on the part of many of the leading Talaing nobles to accept a Burman ruler in exchange for the descendants of Wareru. It cannot be doubted that the people also would have accepted without resistance a king more nearly akin to them than their Shan rulers, one who would combine Burma and Pegu under one crown and put an end to the long series of cruel and devastating wars. Had Tabin Shwehti rested content with the conquest of Pegu, Martaban, Prome, and Pagan, he might so have consolidated his power as to secure himself against attack by the Shans

of Siam or the northern states. Aggression on the side of Arakan was not to be feared. His crowning blunder was the inception of wars of conquest in Arakan and Siam, a task quite beyond the resources of the king of a newly conquered realm. These fruitless wars, together with his savage treatment of conquered foes at Martaban and Prome, bred the discontent that showed itself in the revolt from his rule before his death, in his murder, and in the attempt to re-establish a Talaing dynasty. Pegu had to be reconquered, and the endless struggle between Burmese and Talaings was renewed.

95. **The last king of Wareru's line.** Bayin Naung felt that circumstances offered him no opportunity for the moment to establish his claim to the throne. A number of the leading men of all races—Burmans, Shans and Talaings—were on his side, but the mass of the Talaing population clearly favoured a change of dynasty. He therefore abandoned his pursuit of Thameintaw Rama amidst the creeks of the western delta, and made his way with a small body of adherents to Taungu, passing close to Pegu, whose new king had not the courage to attack him. Arrived at Taungu he found his half-brother Thihathu in possession, and was refused admission. So he retired to the neighbouring hills to watch the course of events. In Pegu Thameinsawdût proved himself not merely cowardly, but cruel, and soon made many enemies. These invited Thameintaw to the capital, and in the battle which followed Thameinsawdût was captured and put to death after a brief reign of three months. Thameintaw was consecrated king (1550 A.D.), and Pegu resumed for a brief space its subjection to Shan rule.

96. **The kingdom of Ava.** Khon-hmaing-ngè of Ava died in the year following his defeat by Tabin Shwehti (paragraph 90), and was succeeded by his son Mobyèmin

Narabadi (1545 A.D.). But the mutual jealousy of the Shan chiefs prevented the restoration of the power of Ava under a strong king, and Mobyèmin found his position so difficult that in 1551 he abdicated and fled to Bayin Naung, leaving the throne of Ava to be seized by the Shan chief of Sagaing, who took the title of Si-thu-kyaw-htin Narabadi.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE REIGN OF BAYIN NAUNG.

97. **Bayin Naung conquers Taungu and Prome.** The confidence of the few faithful adherents of Bayin Naung in his ability and good fortune was soon justified. Within the year his opportunity came and he seized it. Many chiefs with their followers joined him in the hills above Taungu, and as soon as he was strong enough he forced his native city to surrender and to acknowledge him king. He displayed his wisdom and generosity by pardoning his half brother Thihathu, but he removed him and appointed his brother Min Khaung tributary king of Taungu. He then proceeded to Prome, where another of his brothers had been made king by Tabin Shwehti (paragraph 89). On the fall of the Taungu dynasty the people of Prome had risen and expelled their ruler, whom Bayin Naung now reinstated as his vassal. The conquest of Burma as far as Pagan offered no difficulty, and at the end of the year 1550 the king returned to Taungu to make ready for the invasion of Pegu.

98. **Conquest of Pegu.** The last of Wareru's line was at least not lacking in courage, and when in the year 1551 Bayin Naung's small but well-disciplined and well-

equipped army marched on Pegu, Thameintaw came out to meet his enemy in the open plain. After a severe struggle he was defeated and fled, and the city surrendered on the following day. Two days later Bayin Naung went off in pursuit of Thameintaw, who made his way down to the sea-coast and reached Martaban in an open canoe. There he was found hiding three months later and put to death. A half-brother of the king was made tributary prince of Martaban. The king himself was formally consecrated at Pegu with the title of Sinbyumyashin or "Lord of many white elephants," and his son took the title of Yuva Raja, the ancient Hindu equivalent of Ein-she-min. A great and magnificent palace was now commenced at Pegu, which surpassed any building ever erected in the country before, and moved European travellers who visited Pegu to fervent expressions of admiration. These preoccupations did not, however, cause the king to postpone the conquest of Ava or to omit any detail that might contribute to his success.

99. **Conquest of Ava.** In the year 1553 an expedition under the command of the heir-apparent was sent to reconnoitre up the Irawadi. It was found that the Shan chiefs, under pressure of their fear of Bayin Naung, had suspended their quarrels and combined their forces. Large bodies of Shan troops had been collected and were stationed as far south as Tarokmyo on the Irawadi, barely fifty miles north of Pagan, beyond which place the advance was not carried out. Bayin Naung realized that he had a heavy task before him and made preparations on a large scale. Before the end of the rains in 1554 a fleet of 1400 war boats and provision-transports set sail up the Irawadi. At the beginning of the dry season the king himself with the main army and a bodyguard of 400 Portuguese musketeers left Pegu and advanced *via* Taungu to Yamèthin. Thence a detachment under Min Khaung, king of Taungu,

proceeded direct to Panya, where entrenchments were thrown up behind which Min Khaung awaited his brother's instructions. The latter marched the main body to Pagan, where he was joined by the flotilla. He then crossed the Irawadi and proceeded by the west bank up the Chindwin, which he crossed at Amyin, and so advanced to Sagaing, where the flotilla again joined him. In conjunction with his brother at Panya he arranged a combined attack in which the Shans were defeated and driven within the walls of the city. Ava was at once invested. It was known that the citizens were weary of Shan rule, and the fight at Panya had shown the Shan troops to be much dispirited. Accordingly after very few days delay a general assault was ordered and the city was captured. The king was sent a prisoner to Pegu, and Thado Minsaw, a brother of the conqueror, was enthroned in Ava (1555 A.D.). Bayin Naung returned to Pegu after a few months spent in Ava. In gratitude for his success in war he sent offerings to the sacred tooth in Ceylon, and regilded the pagoda at Taungu: he also laid the foundations of the great Mahazedi pagoda at Pegu.

100. **Reduction of the Shan states.** A few years later a quarrel arose over the succession in the Shan state of Onbaung (Hsipaw), and the chief of Monè having interfered, an appeal was made to Bayin Naung. Without reference to the dispute in which he had been called upon to arbitrate, the king, having assembled a large army at Ava in 1557, overran the whole of the Shan states along the upper course of the Irawadi, compelled the chiefs of Mohnyin and Mogaung to swear allegiance to him, and made certain regulations in connection with the religious observances of the Shans. He strictly forbade, for example, the Shan custom of sacrificing animals or slaves at the funeral of a chief, as being a violation of Buddhist law.

Lawrence P. Briggs,

Consul of the United States of America

He returned to Pegu, but early in 1558 marched on Hsipaw and Monè, which had rebelled and obtained assistance from Zimmè. Having punished the rebels he reached Zimmè by a march of over six weeks, and reduced the capital. An annual tribute was imposed on the chief, and an army of observation was left there to watch the frontier of Siam. The king reached Ava again in August. Towards the end of the year an attack was made by the chief of Linzin, near the Mekong, on the army of observation at Zimmè, but the king of Ava, sent with reinforcements, successfully repelled it. During these expeditions the state of Theinmi, which was under Chinese protection, was not attacked, but followed the example of other states and sent presents to the king. The Chinese history admits that Mohnyin (including Mogaung), Manmu (Bhamo), and other Shan states to the north-east were from this time onwards subject to Burma, though no annual tribute seems to have been exacted.

101. **Religious reforms.** Except for slight disturbances on the north-east frontier, where the Chinese apparently instigated attacks on the Burmese Shan states in 1562, the empire enjoyed peace for four years. The king devoted this interval to religious affairs. He pressed on the building of his great pagoda, in which he deposited sacred relics, and golden images of Buddha and his disciples and of the royal family. He persuaded a number of foreigners to adopt the Buddhist religion, and prohibited the sacrifice of animals by his Mahomedan subjects and strangers. He also reformed the practice of Buddhism amongst the Shans, over whom he had strengthened his hold in the disturbances of 1562.

102. **Invasion of Siam and rebellion in Pegu.** The disastrous consequences of Tabin Shwehti's invasion of Siam should have taught Bayin Naung the folly of interfering in the affairs of that state. Yet he now proceeded

to pick a quarrel with the Siamese king over some trifling violation of the frontier, which was made the excuse for a demand that one of the four white elephants of Siam should be sent to Pegu by way of compensation. The reply to this demand was considered unsatisfactory and without further parley a huge expedition was equipped. The troops advanced in four columns from different places in the Sittaung Valley to Ayuthia, by way of Zimmè, at the end of 1563. The city was defended with cannon, and three Portuguese ships fought on the Siamese side; but these were captured, and the city surrendered in March, 1564. The king and his queens and one son were taken captive to Ava, together with three of the white elephants. The king's elder son was left in Ayuthia as tributary king. Bayin Naung's return to Pegu was hastened by the news that a rising had taken place in the city. He left the Yuva Raja in command of the army, with instructions to punish the king of Zimmè, who had neglected to meet him on the outward journey, and returned with all speed to the capital. There he found that many of his new buildings had been destroyed by the rebels. He arranged for the restoration of these, and commenced a new palace which took three years to build and was even more magnificent than the first.

103. **Second rebellion in Pegu.** Warned of his danger the king of Zimmè fled for protection to Linzin, and Bayin Naung himself took the field at the end of the year with an army including four hundred Portuguese and many Mahomedans armed with guns and cannon. The king of Zimmè at once gave himself up. Meanwhile the discontent excited by the Siamese campaign had caused another rebellion headed by a Shan captive, Byinnya Kyan. The Talaings cannot have desired another Shan king, and the depth of their discontent with the existing government

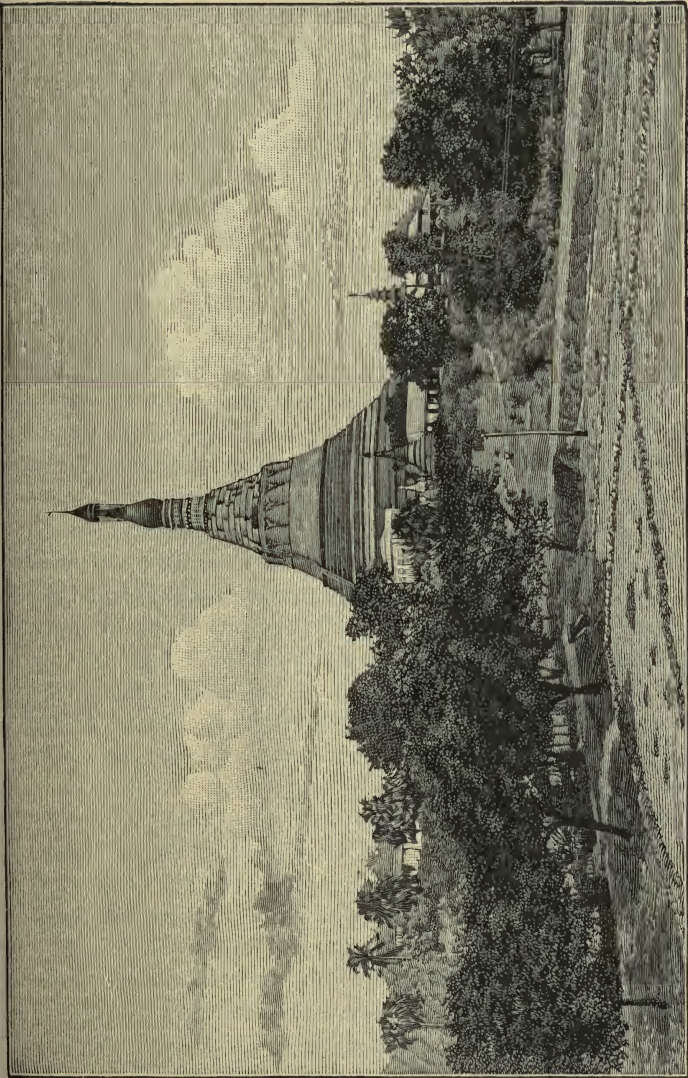
may be measured by the fact that they followed the rebel leader in thousands and advanced on Pegu, where they burnt many buildings outside the city walls. The exiled king of Burma, Narabadi (paragraphs 96 and 99), seeing that the insurgents were a mere mob without arms, offered to disperse them. He was entrusted with a detachment of troops and fulfilled his promise. Bayin Naung, who had returned in haste to Pegu on receipt of the news, followed the rebels up as far as Dalla, where he captured many thousands; and had it not been for the entreaties of the monks would have burnt them alive inside a building of bamboo in revenge for their destruction of his buildings.

104. **The king of Linzin.** The Yuva Raja took command of the army on the departure of his father, and conducted operations with vigour. The king of Linzin and other chiefs who still held out in the country east of Zimmè were pursued across the Mekong, and there surrounded in a stronghold called by the Burmans Maingzan. The king escaped, but his queen and many other prisoners were brought to Pegu in the autumn of 1565. A garrison was left at Zimmè to keep in check the king of Linzin, and for three years there was peace.

CHAPTER XV.

THE REIGN OF BAYIN NAUNG (*Continued*).

105. **State of Pegu.** Portuguese and Venetian travellers who visited Pegu in the reign of Bayin Naung are unanimous in their praise of the splendour of the court and capital and the magnificence of the king. His extravagant display of wealth and lavish expenditure stimulated



THE SHWE-HMAW-DAW PAGODA. (PEGU.)

foreign trade for the time being, and lent a false appearance of power and prosperity to his kingdom. What was not evident to the European traveller was the exhaustion of the country, the loss of population, the decline of agriculture and industry, and the precarious nature of the king's hold on a discontented people. In undertaking the invasion of Siam Bayin Naung had displayed great lack of judgment. The arrangements which he made for governing the country after conquering it shewed even more clearly that, though he might be a great general, he was certainly an incapable administrator. Bramahin, Crown Prince of Siam, was ruling in Ayuthia as his vassal. The deposed king had taken the yellow robe and had been allowed to return to his country. On the death of the second son the queen also, with her remaining children, was allowed to depart to Siam. There was no guarantee whatsoever for the loyalty of the Crown Prince, and he naturally prepared, doubtless with his father's assistance, to vindicate his independence. His countrymen supported him, with the exception of his brother-in-law, the governor of Pitsalauk, who thought more was to be gained by fidelity to Bayin Naung.

106. **Invasion of Siam.** In October, 1568, the Siamese rebelled and laid siege to Pitsalauk. Bayin Naung with a large army entered Siam from Martaban, and after relieving Pitsalauk marched on Ayuthia. At the end of four months the city still held out, and the king of Linzin was approaching with a relieving force. Bayin Naung turned to meet him with half his army, leaving the general Byinnya Dala to maintain the siege. The king of Linzin was beaten off, but it began to be doubtful whether the city would fall before the rains of 1569 made the camps uninhabitable. An old stratagem was therefore tried. A Siamese noble in the Burmese camp pretended to have escaped from his captors and entered the city in fetters.

He was welcomed and shortly afterwards received an important command. By his treachery the enemy was admitted during the night and the city was sacked. The old king had died during the siege, which had lasted seven months, and Bramahin was now put to death. Bayin Naung installed Thaungkyi, a prince of Zimmè, as tributary king of Siam, and at the end of the rains marched against the king of Linzin, (1569 A.D.).

107. **Expedition into Laos.** The expedition which now took place was one of the most disastrous of Bayin Naung's many costly campaigns. He marched with the sound portion of his army to Pitsalauk, and there divided his forces. His own division advanced to the Mekong and encamped on the west bank opposite Maingzan. Other divisions crossed the river at different points above, with the intention of taking the enemy in the rear. But the king of Linzin saw through the plan, and when Bayin Naung was ready to cross the river the city was evacuated. After a long and fruitless pursuit in mountainous country the army returned to Pitsalauk worn out and sadly reduced in numbers. The remnant of the expeditionary force arrived in Pegu about the middle of 1570. There the king made costly offerings to the pagodas in order to escape the consequences of his guilt in causing so great a loss of life.

108. **End of the king of Linzin.** In the following year, 1571, the king of Linzin was killed fighting in Cambodia, and Byinnya Dala was sent to set the late king's brother, who had been captured in the last campaign, on the throne of Linzin. The expedition failed and the unfortunate general died not long afterwards. The king's proposal to send another expedition forthwith aroused such openly expressed disapproval from both ministers and people that he had to postpone it. But in the year 1574 he himself escorted the young prince to Maingzan and proclaimed him

king, leaving with him a body of troops to support him. The people accepted their new ruler and handed over to Bayin Naung a nobleman who had usurped the throne, together with his son. These were afterwards displayed by the Burmese king, on an expedition against the Shans, as proofs of his power. Thus ended the affair with the king of Linzin, which had cost Burma so many lives and so much suffering, and brought so little profit. Four years later the king's son, Tharawadi Min, was appointed tributary king of Zimmè, in order to preserve peace on the eastern frontier.

109. **Trouble with the Shans.** In 1571 and again in 1574 the states of Mohnyin and Mogaung revolted. The second revolt arose out of a demand for troops to join the expedition against Linzin; a demand with which the chiefs refused to comply. On his return from Linzin the king marched against them. The Mohnyin chief was killed, but the ruler of Mogaung escaped to the mountains of the north-east frontier, where pursuit failed. The king withdrew his forces and returned to Pegu in 1576. The Mogaung chief was afterwards given up by his own people and was exhibited as a prisoner in chains of gold at the gates of Pegu; those of his officers who were captured were sold as slaves, some of them being purchased by foreign traders who carried them overseas.

110. **Relations with Ceylon.**—In the year 1555 Bayin Naung had sent offerings to the sacred tooth in Ceylon, and entered into relations with Dharmapala, king of Colombo. In the year 1574 a Sinhalese princess, sent by this same king, arrived at Pegu to be one of Bayin Naung's queens. Two years later, on the return of the king from his long wars in Laos and the Shan states, he was met with the news that a ship had arrived at Bassein conveying the holy tooth of Buddha. A deputation of nobles proceeded

to Bassein with a costly gold casket in which to deposit the relic, and escorted it with great pomp to the court of Pegu. It is a matter of history that sixteen years previously the original tooth had been taken at Jaffna by Constantine, the Portuguese viceroy, who had burned and crushed it to powder as being an object of heathen worship, though the Burmese king had offered to purchase it from him at a cost of four lakhs of rupees. According to the Portuguese account two teeth were now made out of ivory, and one of these was sent to the king of Pegu by the king of Colombo, who knew that it was not genuine. The princess, moreover, was no real princess, but a daughter of an officer of the court. In a letter which the king of Colombo sent together with the relic, he declared himself to be the only orthodox Buddhist ruler in Ceylon, though he had in fact been baptized a Christian by the name of Don Juan. So handsome were the rewards which Bayin Naung now sent to the king of Colombo that the king of Kandy wrote offering him a real tooth and a real princess. It is impossible to verify this curious story. If Bayin Naung had any knowledge of the double imposition he at any rate betrayed no sign of it in his reception either of the tooth or of the princess, but accorded to both the highest honour.

111. Designs on Arakan. Death of the king. The king now prepared for the conquest of Arakan, in order to round off his dominions and bring under his control all the countries that had acknowledged the sway of the great Anawrahta. A fleet of over a thousand ships with 80,000 men set sail for Arakan in the autumn of 1580. They were attacked off Cape Negrais by a squadron of Portuguese ships, which, having captured a few of the Burmese transports, then drew off. It is not clear whether the Portuguese were actually at war with Burma, or, if they were, what was the cause of the war. The remainder of the fleet disembarked

the troops on the southern coast of Arakan, and they encamped at Sandoway. Bayin Naung had intended to proceed overland to lead the expedition in person, but was unable to leave Pegu on account of ill-health, and the army remained in camp a whole year. In November, 1581, the king died, and the troops were recalled by the Yuva Raja, who succeeded to the throne with the title of Nanda Bayin.

CHAPTER XVI.

BREAK-UP OF BAYIN NAUNG'S EMPIRE.

112. **Rebellion at Ava.** The interrupted invasion of Arakan would, if carried to a conclusion, merely have hastened the dissolution of which Bayin Naung had already sown the seeds by his imprudent wars. His death and the accession of his son, who possessed his faults without his great ability, rendered the downfall of his empire only the more certain. Nanda Bayin received the homage of his uncles, the kings of Prome and Taungu, and of the king of Siam, Proa Naret. Thadominsaw, king of Ava, did not come to Pegu with his brothers, and tried to induce them to join him in a plot against his nephew the king. The plot was discovered, and thereby the weakness of the king's character was also disclosed. For, on mere suspicion of being concerned in the conspiracy, a number of his officers with their wives and children were by his orders burnt to death (1583 A.D.). In the following year he marched on Ava by the Sittaung valley route, accompanied by the kings of Taungu and Prome, with their armies. The king of Siam remained with his troops in the neighbourhood of

Pegu meditating an attack on the capital. The king of Ava met the invaders near Panya, and, after a battle remarkable for a combat between the kings of Ava and Pegu mounted on elephants, the rebel king fled into Chinese territory, where he died. His throne was given to Min-re-kyaw-swa, son of Nanda Bayin.

113. Repeated invasions of Siam. The success of the expedition to Ava put an end to the designs of Proa Naret, and he retired to his own country by way of Martaban, taking with him a number of Talaings. For this outrage, and for his disobedience to the orders of the Yuva Raja, the young Min Chit Swa, who had been left in Pegu and had instructed the king of Siam on his arrival to proceed to Ava, the king determined to exact prompt punishment. An army was sent into Siam under the command of the Yuva Raja, but Proa Naret defeated it on the banks of the Menam (1586 A.D.). A second expedition followed in 1587, led by the king himself, and laid siege to Ayuthia. But the commissariat failed, and after thousands had died from hunger and disease the army retreated, and reached Pegu in June. A further expedition under the Yuva Raja in 1590 was cut to pieces by repeated attacks. The last expedition in 1592, again led by the heir-apparent, reached the neighbourhood of Ayuthia, where the young prince was killed in battle. Min-re-kyaw-swa, king of Ava, succeeded him as heir-apparent, and the king's half-brother, Nyaung Yan Min, became king of Ava (1593 A.D.).

114. Madness of the king. Siamese invasion. These successive defeats, culminating in the death of his son, affected the king's reason, and he began to show signs of madness. He suspected even his most faithful officers of treachery, and put many of them to death. He believed, too, that the Talaing monks were stirring up sedition, and persecuted and slew numbers of them. The inhabitants of

the country feared to remain under the rule of a mad king who did not even respect the priesthood, and migrated in thousands, so that what had been the wealthiest part of Burma was now almost depopulated. The king of Siam chose this opportunity to invade Martaban, but had to fall back before the approach of an army from Taungu. Many Talaings accompanied him on his return to Siam, which had become a refuge for the discontented amongst the Talaings as Taungu had been a refuge for the Burmans who fled from Ava nearly a century before. These migrations continued until the British occupation.

115. **Revolt of the tributary kings.** In 1595 Ava was governed by the king's half-brother, Nyaung Yan Min (paragraph 113); Zimmè was still governed by his younger brother, Tharawadi Min (paragraph 108), to whom Bayin Naung had given strict injunctions that he should loyally support Nanda Bayin; in Taungu the king's uncle, Min Khaung (paragraph 97), had been succeeded by his son, the king's nephew; and Prome was governed by the king's son. All except the king of Ava, who, as a bastard son of Bayin Naung, had perhaps less to hope from a successful revolt than the others, rebelled against the king. There was, however, little or no combination amongst them. In fact the king of Prome opened his campaign with a marauding expedition into Taungu. The king of Zimmè seems to have done little or nothing, and the king of Ava offered his half-brother no active assistance against the rebels. The king of Taungu sent a force under his son Natshin to attack Pegu, and formed an alliance with Razagyi, king of Arakan, who, in order to avenge the abortive invasion of Arakan fifteen years before, now sent a fleet under the command of his son, Min Khamaung, to co-operate with the rebel troops. In 1596 this fleet seized Syriam, then the chief port of the delta, and disembarked

troops, who joined the army of Taungu in the siege of the capital. The Yuva Raja, Min-re-kyaw-swa, gave himself up during the siege, and was put to death by the order of the queen of Taungu. On the surrender of the city Nanda Bayin was taken to Taungu, and shortly afterwards put to death at the instigation of the same queen in 1599. The city of Pegu was sacked and destroyed, the plunder being shared between the kings of Taungu and Arakan. Amongst the spoils of the latter were a royal princess and a white elephant. Proa Naret arrived from Siam in the hope of securing his old enemy, Nanda Bayin, but finding this impossible he retired. On his return journey he appointed Talaing chiefs governors of Martaban and Tavoy respectively, and took these two provinces under his protection. Syriam was occupied by an Arakanese garrison, but the kingdom of Pegu was left without ruler and desolate. The famine caused by the ravages of the contending armies is said to have been so terrible that men ate one another. For the third time within sixty years the attempt to unite Burma and Pegu under one sceptre had failed, and on each occasion failure had been brought about by reckless interference in the affairs of Siam and Arakan.

116. **The affairs of Ava.** Throughout these events Nyaung Yan Min had shown more prudence than loyalty in his conduct, and prudence continued to mark his course of action. He avoided interference in the troubles of Lower Burma, but established his authority over the country north of Pagan. His nephew, the king of Prome, was preparing to attack him, when he was murdered by one of his own officers, who usurped the government of Prome; so that for the time being Ava was secure from invasion on the southern frontier. As usual Mohnyin and Mogaung seized the opportunity to revolt, and they

defeated the first expedition sent against them, but before the end of the year 1605, when he died, the king had subdued the Shan states which had owned the suzerainty of Bayin Naung, and established his authority southward as far as Yamèthin. In this same year Proa Naret of Siam died at Zimmè on his way to attack the king of Ava, and for some years civil war kept Siam from interfering in Burmese affairs.

117. **Maha Dhamma Raza.** In Ava Nyaung Yan Min was succeeded by his son Maha Dhamma Raza, pledged to carry out his father's design of recovering the kingdom of Bayin Naung. For a couple of years he was occupied with the completion of his father's work in the Shan states. He then turned his attention to Prome and after a siege of eight months captured the city in 1608. He pardoned the usurper who had, so opportunely for Ava, slain his cousin the late king, and he appointed his own brother governor of the province. On his return he received messages of goodwill from the kings of Arakan, Zimmè, and Taungu, where Natshin (paragraph 115) was now ruling. The fear prompted by his success rather than friendship inspired these messages, and the king of Ava was not to be diverted from his course. Taungu lay nearest to his hand, and he prepared to attack that province.

118. **De Brito in Syriam.** Meanwhile affairs in Syriam had undergone a curious change. In the course of the century preceding the destruction of Pegu the Portuguese had extended their power in the East, and had acquired trading settlements in Cochin, Goa, Martaban, Malacca, and other places. Their ships were found everywhere in Eastern seas, where they made vast profits by trade or sometimes by open piracy. Portuguese troops had taken service under Sawbyinnya, governor of Martaban

(paragraph 86), under Tabin Shwehti, and under Bayin Naung. There were many Portuguese also in the service of the kings of Arakan, and amongst these one Philip de Brito stood high in the favour of Razagyi, whose son, Min Khamaung, had occupied Syriam in 1596 (paragraph 115). De Brito was appointed agent of the king of Arakan in Syriam, in the hope that the presence of a Portuguese officer might prevent the Portuguese from seizing that port (1600 A.D.). But De Brito himself determined to seize the place. He obtained permission to build a custom-house of brick and a fort to protect the custom-house. Then with the help of another Portuguese, Ribeiro by name, he expelled the Arakanese commander of the garrison and made himself governor of Syriam. Leaving Ribeiro in charge he departed to Goa to obtain sanction and assistance for his schemes from the Portuguese viceroy, offering to hold Syriam as a Portuguese settlement under the authority of the viceroy. At Goa he married the viceroy's niece, a half-caste girl, and received the title of captain-general. With a squadron of six ships he returned to Syriam.

119. **De Brito governor of Syriam.** During De Brito's absence the Arakanese commandant returned with fresh troops to Syriam, and being joined by the Talaings in the neighbourhood closely invested the Portuguese. Ribeiro destroyed his few remaining ships so as to make escape impossible for his men, and held out until assistance came from Goa. When the siege was raised he made every effort to conciliate the Talaing chiefs, and induced them to accept De Brito as their king. Accordingly the captain-general was installed in his new kingdom as soon as he returned, and proceeded to repair the fortifications of Syriam, his capital. In order to avoid, or at any rate postpone, a struggle with Arakan, he sent the king a

handsome present. Razagyi responded with a courteous message, but proceeded to ally himself with the king of Taungu for an attack on De Brito, and despatched his son Min Khamaung with a large fleet and army to the assault on Syriam. The fleet was defeated by a Portuguese squadron of far inferior numbers, and Min Khamaung was captured and held to ransom. Meanwhile he received honourable treatment at the hands of his captor. A still larger expedition was now sent against Syriam by the allied kings, and the Arakanese squadron overpowered the Portuguese, but the city held out. Finally the hostile armies were withdrawn, the ransom of the prince was paid, and De Brito was left in peace (1604 A.D.).

120. **De Brito's oppression.** On the withdrawal of the Arakanese troops the king of Taungu sought the alliance of De Brito, the Talaing chiefs acknowledged his power, and his son Simon married a daughter of Byinnya Dala, the Talaing who had been appointed king of Martaban by Proa Naret (paragraph 115). His position in the delta now seemed secure. But the day of Portuguese supremacy in the East was over, and they were being ousted by the English and the Dutch. De Brito himself exemplified in his conduct two of the faults which contributed to the decay of Portuguese influence. He was animated by two desires, a thirst for gold, and a craving to swell the number of converts to his own faith. To gratify these weaknesses he dug into the pagodas built by Bayin Naung and plundered them of their contents, and he forced thousands of his Buddhist subjects to profess their conversion to Christianity. Thus they were prepared to welcome the advent of a Buddhist invader whenever he should appear.

121. **Fall of Syriam.** In 1610 Maha Dhamma Raza continued his conquests and subdued Natshin of Taungu,

who agreed to become his vassal and gave hostages from amongst the members of his own family. De Brito regarded this as a breach of the alliance made between himself and Natshin, and with the aid of the king of Martaban he captured Taungu and took the king prisoner (1612 A.D.). The king of Burma prepared to take immediate vengeance, and acted with such rapidity that before the end of the year he had completely invested Syriam. His swift attack seems to have taken De Brito completely by surprise. Most of his Portuguese troops had been allowed to go to India, leaving only one hundred in Syriam, and his supply of powder had not been renewed. No doubt he had expected several months more in which to prepare his defence. At the end of a month's siege he asked for terms, but no reply was vouchsafed. The Arakanese, who had intervened hoping to snatch Syriam from the grasp of the combatants, were defeated by the Burmese and their ships all captured. Finally, in April 1613, the Talaiings admitted the Burmese army by night. The chief Portuguese leaders, including Simon de Brito, who was taken at Martaban, were executed. De Brito himself, as a punishment for his sacrilege, was transfixed on a pole erected in front of his own house, and lingered for three days in agony. His wife and the remaining Portuguese survivors with other Europeans and half-castes were carried off into slavery. Their descendants still retained the Christian religion in their new homes in Ava. The king of Taungu died. The king of Martaban did homage to Maha Dhanma Raza and was allowed to retain his kingdom. His overlord, the king of Siam, brother and successor to Proa Naret, sent an army which advanced as far as Ye, but their leader, seeing no opportunity to interfere with any hope of success, retired.

CHAPTER XVII.

RESTORATION OF THE EMPIRE.

122. **Empire of Bayin Naung reconquered.** Maha Dhamma Raza now fixed his headquarters at Hanthawadi or Pegu, encamping outside the city until it was made ready for his occupation. This task occupied four years, which he spent in subduing the provinces now included in the Tenasserim division. In 1615 he occupied Tavoy and Tenasserim, although the latter town was defended by four Portuguese ships armed with cannon in the service of the Siamese king. In 1616 he marched on Zimmè where Thadogyaw, a son of Tharawadi Min, had wrested the throne from his elder brothers, and now held it as a vassal of Siam. This arrangement the king of Burma resented as an act of treachery, and on the fall of the city the king was put to death and his chief officers were sent in captivity to Pegu. The king's son, Min-re-deippa, was appointed governor, and the king returned to Pegu. The next year he was able to instal himself in quarters inside the city, and remained at Pegu to administer that province while the government of the other provinces was entrusted to viceroys or governors. His empire included the whole of the territory conquered by Bayin Naung except Siam, which he wisely left alone.

123. **Rule of Maha Dhamma Raza.** The reign of Maha Dhamma Raza is remarkable for its unusually peaceful character. The first eleven years of his rule were taken up with the re-conquest of his grandfather's kingdom, while the last twelve were entirely undisturbed except for occasional trouble with refractory Shan chiefs. He was the first Burmese king for nearly five centuries who had preferred

good government to conquest. He utilized all races, Burmese, Shans, and Talaings, in the administration of his dominions, and himself took an important part in affairs. He had a bell hung at the palace gate with an inscription in Talaing and Burmese inviting all who had any grievance to strike the bell that the king might hear. This bell was carried off some years later to Arakan, and thence taken by a Hindu officer to India in the war of 1825. The fame of the king's power spread abroad, and he received envoys from Bengal, Delhi, and Achin, and from the Portuguese viceroy at Goa, to whom he offered help against Arakan, though he prudently abstained from the attempt to conquer that country. He succeeded in persuading the viceroy to acquiesce in the loss of Syriam. He encouraged trade, and allowed English factories to be established at Syriam, Prome, Ava, and Bhamo, but the misconduct of some Dutch traders, who also had a factory at Bhamo, caused the expulsion of both nations some years later.

124. **Reign of Min-re-deippa.** The good king was murdered in year 1628 "because of an unutterable crime committed by his son." The scene of the murder was a palace on the west bank of the Pegu river, hence the king is known to the Burmans as Anauk-bet-lûn-mindaya, "the king who passed away on the west side." At the time of his death his brothers Min-re-kyaw-swa, king of Ava, and Thado Dhamma Raza, king of Prome, were away in the Shan states punishing the chief of Kyaing-hung state who had refused tribute. To prevent intrigue the king's son Min-re-deippa, governor of Zimmè, was at once consecrated king, though the nobles disliked him because his mother was of low extraction. On the news of Maha Dhamma Raza's death his two brothers hastened down to the Irawadi, and found on reaching Ava that a new governor, their own brother or half-brother, had been appointed

there. Thado Dhamma Raza accordingly took up his position at Tarokmyo, while his brother advanced to meet the forces of Pegu which were marching down upon them. Min-re-deippa was supported by an army from Arakan, but before it could achieve anything his cause was already lost. The leaders of his army were easily induced by Min-re-kyaw-swa to desert, for the king was as unpopular with the troops as he was with the nobles. Thado Dhamma Raza captured Ava and proclaimed himself king, with Min-re-kyaw-swa as heir-apparent, though the consecration was postponed for more than two years. The Ein-she-min marched on Pegu, where Min-re-deippa was handed over by his own guards (1629 A.D.).

125. **Reign of Thado Dhamma Raza.** Following the example of his brother, the new king ruled peacefully for nineteen years. The first two years of his reign he spent in Zimmè and on his return to Pegu early in 1632 he was formally consecrated. A Talaing conspiracy which had been formed in his absence was now discovered and many of those involved were put to death ; others took refuge in Siam or Arakan. Two years later the king went to Ava where he decided to establish his capital. There he was again consecrated and his brother was formally declared heir-apparent. The latter died some years later and his son, disappointed in the expectation of succeeding to his father's title and position as Ein-she-min, raised a rebellion. By a sudden attack he captured the palace, and the king fled across the river where he found shelter in a stockade at Sagaing. The king's supporters soon rallied to his aid, and the prince his nephew was killed. The nobles who had joined in the rebellion, many of them forced to do so against their will, were burnt alive together with their wives and families.

126. **The Kaung-hmu-daw pagoda.** To commemorate

the restoration of Ava as the capital, Thado Dhamma Raza built near Sagaing the Kaung-hmu-daw pagoda on the model of the ancient dagobas of Ceylon. A large golden image of Buddha, weighing as much as the king himself, was placed in the relic chamber, together with a relic which tradition says was brought from Taungu. The king is known sometimes as Thalûn Mindaya because he died a painless death. He died in 1648 and was succeeded by his son Bintale or Nga Dat Daraka.

127. **Chinese Relations with Burma.** During Bintale's reign a succession of Chinese invasions took place—the first for nearly two hundred years. It is uncertain what were the exact relations between Burma and China in the interval. Chinese officers were stationed in Burma, probably in connection with the tribute which the Chinese annals assert to have been paid by Burma. One of these officers was killed in Salon's raid of 1523 (paragraph 80). A Chinese officer was also sent down about the year 1528 to enquire into the usurpation of Thohanbwa (paragraph 81). But even the Chinese annals of 1628 agree that Burma ceased to pay tribute in that year. A later emperor states that tribute was not paid by Burma after the year 1586. Since Bayin Naung had conquered the whole country before 1560 the emperor's statement is probably nearer the truth than the record of the chronicles. It is hardly credible that Bayin Naung or his successors acknowledged Chinese suzerainty. But events in China led to a revival of the Chinese pretensions about the year of Bintale's accession.

128. **Chinese invasions.** The Ming dynasty had been overthrown in China by Manchu conquerors, and the last Ming emperor killed himself in the year 1643. His son Yunhli fled to Yunnan, where he established himself for a few years and attempted to exact taxes from the Shan states on his frontier, which were under Burmese protection.

A Burmese army sent against him in 1651 was defeated ; but in 1658 the Manchu army dislodged Yunhli and he took refuge in Teng-yueh. The Sawbwa of Man-mu (Bhamo) negotiated with the king of Burma on behalf of the refugee, who offered to purchase Burmese protection with one hundred viss of gold. He was given a residence at Sagaing, and there took up his abode with a large number of followers. In 1659 a large Chinese force in two divisions plundered the country as far south as Ava, and attacked the city. By the exertions chiefly of the native Christians who worked the artillery the attack was repulsed. These marauders were merely organized bands of robbers who had left Yunnan under pressure from the Manchu conquerors, but the Burmans suspected Yunhli of having invited them into Burma in the hope of conquering the country and making himself king.

129. **Bintale dethroned.** The immediate result of this incursion was a famine in Upper Burma the following year, for the invaders had destroyed crops and prevented cultivation. Great discontent arose, and the palace officials were accused of storing up large supplies of rice in order to sell at famine prices. The king was blamed for not preventing these oppressive proceedings, and an insurrection took place. The viceroy of Prome, brother to the king, headed the rising and captured the palace (1661 A.D.). He became king with the title of Maha Pawara Dhamma Raza but is popularly known as Pyi Min. Bintale and his family were drowned in the river Chindwin.

130. **Reign of Maha Pawara Dhamma Raza.** The new king shared the popular belief in the designs of Yunhli and determined to take precautions for the safety of his kingdom by separating the Chinese prince from his followers. With this intention he summoned them to meet him at a pagoda and take an oath of loyalty to the Burmese

throne. The suspicions of the Chinese officers were aroused and they attacked the Burmese soldiers. In the conflict which ensued all the Chinese were killed except Yunhli and his family (A.D. 1662.). Very shortly afterwards a Manchu army which had entered the country halted by the Aungpinlè lake, and the general sent in a messenger to demand the surrender of Yunhli, threatening instant war in case of refusal. The Burmese king without a moment's hesitation gave up the prince and his family, in spite of the promise of protection which had been so dearly purchased. Yunhli was taken off to Peking, where he either died or was put to death; his son was executed at Yunnanfu; his wife and family, who had become Christians, were allowed to live unmolested in Peking. During these events in Upper Burma a Talaing revolt, instigated and assisted by the Siamese, occurred in the southern part of the country. Martaban and Tavoy were seized by the rebels, and the Siamese occupied Zimmè. In the year 1662 Martaban and Tavoy were re-occupied, and two years later Zimmè also was recaptured. The remainder of the reign was uneventful; the king died in 1672.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE EMPIRE AGAIN BREAKS UP.

131. **Three uneventful reigns.** The late king's son Narawara succeeded his father, but died shortly after his accession in 1672, and a new king was selected by the nobles. This was Thiri Pawara Maha Dhamma Raza, the youngest brother of Narawara. He is also called Wunbè Inzan or Minrè Kyaw Din. His selection naturally

annoyed his elder brothers and other members of the royal family, and they began to plot against him. Many of them were seized and secretly put to death, and opposition was stifled. The new king reigned in peace for twenty-six years, but his rule was weak and, had the Chinese been aggressive, they might easily have overrun the country. But the Manchus were busy consolidating their conquests, and for nearly a century after the invasion of 1662 they did not interfere in Burma. The weakness of the kingdom was made evident when the chief of Manipur occupied the Kale-Kabaw valley almost without opposition on the part of the Burman king. Following his example other states on the frontiers of the empire made themselves independent. The king died in 1698, and was succeeded by his son Thiri Maha Thihathura Thudhamma Raza, known also as Manaung Ratana Daraka, and Sa-ne Min, "Saturday king," who ruled for sixteen years in Ava but did nothing to check the decline of the Empire. He was succeeded in 1714 by his son, Thiri Pawara Maha Dhamma Raza Dibati, commonly known as Sinbyushin, "lord of the white elephant," or Tanin-ga-nwe Min, "Sunday king."

132. Reign of Sinbyushin. Under the rule of Sinbyushin, which lasted nineteen years, the empire continued to decline. An Arakanese army occupied Prome and advanced as far as Malûn, but retired without achieving anything of importance. The king made an attempt to recover the Kale-Kabaw valley, but his expedition was defeated by the Manipuris. Towards the end of his reign, in the year 1729, he tried to reconquer Zimmè, which had resumed its independence, but failed there also. The king's uncle, viceroy of Pagan, attributed the steady decline of the Burmese power to the bad influence of the royal advisers, and endeavoured to get rid of the ruling faction by raising a rebellion, but without success. He fled to Pegu

and thence took refuge in the Karen hills. Sinbyushin died in 1733.

133. **Manipuri invasions.** His son, who succeeded him, took the title of Maha Dhamma Raza Dibati. In the fourth year of his reign the Manipuris swept down from their hills, crossed the Chindwin, and carried their marauding operations as far as Tabayin, a district in the valley of the Mu river. They retired before the advance of a Burmese force, conveying their plunder with them. Two years later, in 1738, they repeated their incursion, but this time came down in great force. They defeated a Burmese army, crossed the Mu river, and advanced on Sagaing. In their previous raid they had destroyed all the pagodas they came across, being themselves Hindus by religion. To protect the Kaung-hmu-daw pagoda a strong stockade was built, and a similar one was constructed for the defence of Sagaing. The pagoda stockade was captured, but Sagaing held out, and the enemy retreated with their booty to Manipur.

134. **Revolt of Pegu.** These events in Upper Burma and the natural incapacity of successive kings had caused Pegu to be comparatively neglected. The Talaings resented the removal of the capital to Ava in 1634 (paragraph 125), and they had induced Sinbyushin to reside for a short time in Hanthawadi. But except during that brief interval they had been left to the care of Burmese governors who taxed them most unmercifully. The latest governor, Maung Tha Aung, was one of the worst; but though he had earned the hatred of the Talaings he cherished the hope of making himself independent, and chose the opportunity offered by the Manipuri inroad to proclaim himself king. The Talaing nobles, willing enough to separate themselves once more from Burma, were not willing to accept such a ruler, and killed him (1740 A.D.). They then sent a letter to the king

declaring their loyalty and explaining that the governor's oppression had caused his murder in a sudden outbreak. The king's uncle Min-re Aung Naing was sent to replace him. Shortly after the arrival of the new governor the Talaings massacred his followers. A colony of Gwè Shans living to the north of Hanthawadi now revolted and marched on the city. There they were joined by the Talaing chiefs and put the governor to death. A Gwè Shan, Mintara Buddha Kethi, who had been a monk, was now elected king of Pegu. He is supposed by some to have been son of the Pagan prince who fled to the Karen hills after his unsuccessful revolt against Sinbyushin (paragraph 132).

135. **The Gwè Shans.** The origin of the Gwè Shans is uncertain. Two colonies are mentioned; one at Madaya north of Ava, and one to the north of Pegu. They are said by the Burmans to have been descendants of prisoners captured by Bayin Naung nearly two hundred years previously. The Chinese account makes them descendants of the followers of Yunhli (paragraph 128), one of whose titles was Prince of Kwe-i. This explanation would account for the colony at Madaya but not for the one in Pegu. Possibly the two colonies had different origins, and the one in Pegu was peopled by Bayin Naung's captives from the territory of Mōng Kwi, while the other was settled by the captive followers of Yunhli (see note).

136. **Mintara, King of Pegu.** Mintara (Mindaya) appears to have been a popular monarch. He spared no pains to win the affection of his people, and by good government soon made himself secure on the throne. He strengthened his position by marrying the daughter of the chief of Zimmè. Fortune also favoured him, for an army which had been despatched from Ava to suppress the revolt was recalled to repel a Manipuri attack. But the Talaings were not content with mere independence, and against

the advice of their king they foolishly resolved to take the offensive against Burma. The expedition was badly managed. The Talaing forces, having been foiled in an attempt to take Prome, passed up along the left bank of the river, ravaging the country on their way. Before Ava was reached they were confronted by a Burmese army, while another division attacked them from the south. Caught in a trap, they were defeated with great loss and retreated to their own country (1743 A.D.).

137. **Renewed attacks on Burma.** An attack on the province of Taungu was more successful and the capital was occupied. But the withdrawal of troops from the delta left Syriam unprotected, and the governor of Prome, Thado Min Khaung, in a sudden raid captured the port and destroyed much property, including a British factory which had been re-established since the expulsion of the Dutch and British (paragraph 123). The Talaings soon recovered Syriam and pursued the Burmans as far as Prome, which they captured (1744 A.D.) and held until it was retaken, eleven years later, by Alaungpaya's men. For two years the war languished; then in 1746 the Talaings again advanced up the river, but were defeated with great loss and driven back to Prome. At this time, according to the Talaing chronicle, the king, alarmed no doubt by recent defeats, cast his own horoscope—for he was an expert astrologer—and found that he was doomed to great misfortunes. Fearing that, if he remained on the throne, the country would be involved in these disasters, he determined to abdicate. With an escort of two thousand men and ten of his Talaing chiefs he retired to Sittaung on the pretence of hunting elephants. The queen shortly afterwards joined him there, and he announced his intention of abdicating. With a strong escort he proceeded to Zimmè, but was not well received. After wandering for

some years in Laos and China he returned to Zimmè, where he was allowed to end his days.

138. **Byinnya Dala, King of Pegu.** It was necessary to elect a king to succeed Mintara, and the choice fell on one of the nobles who had accompanied the king to Sittaung, by name Byinnya Dala. On his return to Pegu he was consecrated as Payamindi Raza Naradibati (1746, A.D.), but is usually called by his former name. He was not of the Talaing nobility but had come originally from Zimmè. From a humble position he had risen under King Mintara to the dignity of Master of the Elephants, and had by his ability acquired great influence at court. He put to death one of the royal secretaries who, during the absence of the king at Sittaung, had for a few days assumed royal state. At his consecration he openly declared his determination to reconquer the whole of the territory comprised in the empire of Bayin Naung, and appointed Dalaban commander-in-chief of the forces. His younger brother was consecrated Yuva Raja.

139. **Burma appeals to China.** Preparations for an invasion of Burma on a great scale were now begun. In the meantime raids were made into Burmese territory from Prome and Taungu, in which the Gwè Shans took a prominent part. The Burmese king, Dibati, sent missions to China in the years 1750 and 1751 with tribute and presents and requests for help. In the former year two Chinese officers with an escort of a thousand men arrived at Ava. At that time a mixed band of Talaings and Gwè Shans had made their way beyond the capital, and being cut off had entrenched themselves at Madaya, and were joined by the Gwè Shans already settled there. At the suggestion of the Chinese officers an assault was made on the stockade at Madaya; but the defenders, though hard pressed by famine, repulsed their assailants. The Chinese officers departed without giving any hope of assistance

from China. The garrison in the stockade held out till the arrival of the Talaing army in the following year.

140. **Capture of Ava.** After preparations extending over five years the Talaing expedition was ready to advance at the end of the rains in 1751. The Yuva Raja was nominally in command, with Dalaban as the real leader of the enterprise. In the Talaing army were a number of Dutch and Portuguese, and many of the troops were armed with guns which they had obtained from foreign ships trading with Syriam. Talaing war-boats patrolled the river to prevent attacks on the numerous transports which passed up to the rendezvous at Malûn. There the army was broken up into two divisions. One of these advanced by the west bank without opposition to Sagaing. On the banks of the Mu river a band of Manipuris was seen but offered no resistance. The other division ascended the river with the flotilla, and on its arrival at Sagaing the whole army was transported to Ava and invested the city. The gallant little band from Madaya joined in the operations. The capital was unprepared for a siege, though the king had had five years' notice of the enemy's intentions. Disgusted with the neglect and apathy of the court and weakened by famine the garrison soon began to desert, and in March, 1752, after a siege of two months, the first line of fortifications was captured and the outer city set on fire. Two days later the inner fortifications surrounding the palace were carried, and the king, who was found seated amidst his queens and their attendants, was taken prisoner. For once no outrage was offered to the captives and they were carried away to Pegu. The city of Ava was destroyed by fire. It appeared to Byinnya Dala that the power of Pegu was once more established and Burma finally crushed. In reality this was the last effort of the Talaing kingdom before its final extinction.

NOTE.

The suggestion that the Gwè Shans were descended from prisoners captured in Mōng Kwi is made by Sir George J. Scott in his latest book, *Burma*, which should be consulted. See also Parker's *Burma and her relations with China*, page 75.

CHAPTER XIX.

RISE OF ALAUNGPAYA.

141. **Alaungpaya's rebellion.** At a village in the Tabayin district there lived a subordinate Burman official (kyegaing) who declined to accept a king from Pegu and resolved on armed resistance. His enterprise might seem hopeless, but he knew the power of success to beget success, and the might of a small united band of determined men. Such a band of followers he gathered about him. When Dalaban in accordance with his instructions sent out detachments to collect the revenue for the Talaing king a party of fifty men arrived at an adjacent village, and the officer in charge summoned the kyegaing to appear before him. The latter obeyed, but came with a party of armed men equal in number to the Talaings, whom he surprised and destroyed. He then wrote to the governor of Ava expressing his regret for the occurrence, adding that the Burman inhabitants had been moved by a sudden access of fury against their conquerors, and that he had been unable to restrain them. He set to work to fortify his native village in case his explanation was not accepted; and when a larger force was sent against him he ambushed them in the jungle and defeated them. A second detachment suffered the same fate, and refugees from Ava rallied

round the Burmese leader, who bore the name Aungzeya, "the Victorious," but is generally known in history as Alaungpaya or Alaungmindaya, "The Great Pretender." His native village was Moksobomyo, "the town of the hunter chief"; it is now called Shwebo.

142. Alaungpaya's success. Alaungpaya was now joined by large numbers of his countrymen who were impressed with his ability and good fortune. To mark the national character of his rebellion he gave orders that Burman and Shan troops in the army of Pegu were to be spared in the hour of victory, but Talaings were to be slain. In spite of his successes and the growing numbers of his followers the rebellion was not regarded at Ava as a very serious matter, and the Yuva Raja returned to Pegu with the greater part of the army and flotilla on receipt of a report that Siam was threatening invasion. Dalaban, however, thought it advisable to take measures to stamp out the rebellion, and in May, 1752, he advanced on Shwebo in person at the head of a detachment. His attack failed; and having built and garrisoned a stockade to the north of Shwebo, in order to intercept the supplies which Alaungpaya drew from the district of Tabayin, he withdrew. His retirement was harassed by the Burmans, and the stockade was captured by Alaungpaya a few days after his departure. Dalaban was recalled and an officer from Taungu was sent in his place, with one of Dalaban's colleagues as his second in command. But the change did not improve matters and successive defeats gradually weakened the Talaing forces. Their Burman troops deserted, and only the Gwè Shans in their stockade at Madaya remained faithful.

143. Alaungpaya takes Ava. The captive Dibati's son, who was hiding in the mountains, now proposed to take advantage of Alaungpaya's success, and joined him with

a force of several thousand men. But he foolishly assumed the insignia of royalty, and, as Alaungpaya made it clear that he had no intention of fighting merely in order to put the prince on the throne, the latter escaped to the Shan stockade at Madaya. When this was captured by Alaungpaya, the garrison, including the Burmese prince, fled to Momeit. Alaungpaya made his designs clear by building for himself a palace at Shwebo, which he proposed to make his capital with the name of Ratanatheinga. He claimed to be descended from the ancient Burmese royal race, and he was universally accepted as the national sovereign. The expulsion of the Talaings from Ava first claimed his attention. His younger son, Maung Lauk or Thado Minsaw, was put in command of a flotilla, which descended the river to Ava in December, 1753. Before the investment of the capital was complete, the commander of the Talaing troops, being assured that the inhabitants of the city would join the attacking force, withdrew by night and made good his retreat with little loss. The Burmese troops occupied the city, and Alaungpaya with his chief officers came down and took possession. Maung Lauk was appointed governor. A temporary palace was erected outside the walls, and orders were issued for the restoration of pagodas and other sacred buildings injured in the course of the war.

144. **The Talaings again invade Burma.** Within two years from the fall of Ava in 1752 almost the whole effects of the Talaing conquest had disappeared. The only permanent result was the creation of a new dynasty in Burma. It was, however, to be anticipated that Pegu would make an attempt to regain what had been lost through neglect and incompetence; and in order to be free to meet this contingency Alaungpaya lost no time in settling the affairs of the Shan states. He proceeded up the river in his state barge, and summoned the Shan chiefs

to appear and swear allegiance to him. The chiefs of Momeit and Bhamo obeyed the summons, but he had to be content with messages of loyalty and obedience from Mogaung and Mohnyin. To the south Prome was already in the hands of the Burmans, so that the Talaing army which set out early in 1754 was confronted with a more difficult task than that which faced the expedition of 1751. The second expedition was equal in strength to the former one, and was again under the command of the Yuva Raja and Dalaban. The same route as before was taken, the army going by land to Prome, where it met the flotilla. A division was detached to blockade Prome, and the main army proceeded without opposition as far as Tarokmyo. There it encountered and defeated a Burmese force under Alaungpaya's sons Naungdawgyi and Maung Lauk. The elder returned to Shwebo to entreat his father's forgiveness for the reverse, while Maung Lauk entered Ava, and made vows and offerings in order to propitiate the Nats and retrieve his ill-fortune.

145. **Relief of Ava and Prome.** Maung Lauk was now besieged in Ava, but Alaungpaya made no immediate effort to relieve the city, and contented himself with watching from Shwebo the course of events. Once, however, when a flotilla reconnoitred the upper waters of the Irawadi, he left Shwebo and drove the enemy back with heavy loss. Dalaban, following up the reconnaissance, was forced to retreat. This incident made the Talaings cautious, and they were besides hampered by want of supplies. Before the rains arrived to complete their discomfort, Maung Lauk, in May, 1754, sallied from Ava and drove the investing force from its positions. The flight which ensued was only checked at Prome. Here Dalaban collected his scattered forces, while the Yuva Raja, cowardly and incompetent as ever, pushed on to

Pegu. Alaungpaya did not wish to enter Lower Burma in the rainy season, so he merely sent a strong detachment which compelled the Talaing general to relax his grip on Prome and retire to a position near Shwedaung, eight miles further south, and thus relieved the starving Burmese garrison.

146. **Prome again attacked.** The king of Pegu fully realized the importance of recapturing Prome, but his measures were lacking in judgment and vigour. He prepared another army with Dalaban as general and two nominal commanders, who, like the Yuva Raja, might possibly hinder but certainly would not promote the success of the expedition. These were the king's brother, who took the title Byinnya Dala, borne by the king before his accession, and his son-in-law Sawbya. Before the departure of the expedition the captive Burmese king, Dibati, was put to death on the charge of having taken part in a conspiracy against the king of Pegu. At the same time the other Burmese prisoners were slain. These murders alienated the Burmese subjects of Pegu, and in Prome, Dānubyu, and other places where Burmans were numerous, massacres of Talaings followed. When the expedition reached Prome the siege was at once renewed. Detachments were posted on the Nawinchaung and further north to prevent the relief of the city by Alaungpaya, but the assault was not pressed with vigour. Alaungpaya started down the river, and coming into contact with the Peguan outposts at Malūn captured several war-boats; the army on the east bank drove the Talaings out of their entrenchments on the Nawinchaung, and Prome was relieved in January, 1755. The besieging army still held a fortified position south of Prome, defended by a strong garrison armed with guns. The first attacks were repulsed, and some weeks elapsed before a determined assault, directed

by Alaungpaya himself and attended with great slaughter, carried the position. A great store of provisions, ammunition, and guns was captured.

147. **Capture of Rangoon.** In April 1755 Alaungpaya continued his journey down the river. He captured Lûn-hsè, which he renamed Myanaung or "speedy victory," and took Henzada, Danubyu, and Dagon. At the last-named place he marked out a site for a new city, and to shew his confidence of his own success called it Rangoon, "the end of strife." Bassein had been occupied earlier in the year without much difficulty, but Syriam, the chief port, and Pegu, the capital, still remained to be captured. The rains now put a stop to all serious military operations in the delta, and in September Alaungpaya was recalled to Upper Burma by the news of a Shan rising. Shan supporters of the Burmese prince, Dibati's son (paragraph 143), had invaded Burmese territory from Mogaung. Alaungpaya crushed the rebellion, dethroned the Sawbwa, and definitely annexed Mogaung to Burma. Thenceforward the ruler of Mogaung was appointed from Ava.

CHAPTER XX.

ALAUNGPAYA MASTER OF PEGU.

148. **English and French in Burma.** The invasion of Pegu brought Alaungpaya into contact with the English and the French. About the year 1600 the Dutch and English both began to trade in the East, and the Portuguese were gradually driven out. Seventy years later French traders arrived and formed settlements in India. After the capture of Syriam in 1613 by Maha Dhamma Raza

(paragraph 121) English and Dutch traders replaced the Portuguese in Syriam, but were expelled some years later on account of trouble in the trading station at Bhamo (paragraph 123). In 1709 a British resident was appointed in Syriam to look after the interests of British trade. The island of Negrais had been occupied by the British and a factory established at Bassein. When Alaungpaya's troops occupied Bassein British property was respected, and guns and gunpowder were supplied to the Burmans by the British agent there. At Syriam there was a French as well as a British factory, and both French and British ships were in the river when the Burmese attacked that place. The chief British agent, Mr. Brooke, favoured the cause of Alaungpaya while the French supported the Talaings. But since the security of both French and English depended on the favour of the ruling prince both were desirous of being on the side of the final victor, and their conduct was not always free from suspicion. The French began to anticipate the ultimate victory of Alaungpaya, and their chief agent visited Alaungpaya's camp, where he was well received. At the same time Captain Jackson of the "Arcot," a British ship which had recently arrived in the river, received letters from the Yuva Raja of Pegu, then at Syriam, and began to show sympathy for the Talaing cause.

149. **English and French assist the Talaings.** The news of the rising in the Shan states, and Alaungpaya's consequent departure for Upper Burma, made his success appear very doubtful, and both English and French now began to favour the Talaings. In an attack on the Burmese position shortly after Alaungpaya's departure both French and English ships took part. Mr. Brooke disapproved of their action and ordered all the English ships to Negrais except the "Arcot," which was to remain at Syriam for repairs. In spite of these events Alaungpaya granted the

English permission to establish a factory at Rangoon as well as at Bassein, but resolved to destroy Syriam. Even while the British officers were negotiating this matter with Alaungpaya at Shwebo, British and French ships joined in another attack on the Burmese camp. On this occasion, however, the Talaings seized the ships and put troops on board who compelled the crews to fight; though there is little doubt that Captain Jackson of the "Arcot" connived at the plan. When Alaungpaya reached Syriam again at the beginning of 1756 the British ships had all been withdrawn, and only one French ship remained with the French agent on board.

150. Capture of Syriam. After a siege of six months Alaungpaya succeeded in capturing Syriam in July, 1756. The French agent gave himself up early in the siege and was kept a prisoner. The British subordinates of the factory, who had been imprisoned by the Talaings, were released. Soon after the fall of the town a French ship laden with military stores arrived in the river from Pondicherry, and Alaungpaya compelled the French agent to write a letter to the captain ordering him to bring his ship to Syriam. When he found that these stores were intended for the Talaings he put to death the agent as well as the captain and officers of the ship. The stores, together with a large quantity of material found in the fort, he seized for his own use. A number of French and Portuguese who were captured in the ships or in Syriam were sent up country, where their descendants still occupy a number of Christian villages between the lower courses of the Chindwin and the Irawadi, and have always enjoyed the services of a Roman Catholic pastor with the permission of the Burmese government.

151. Siege of Pegu. While Alaungpaya was in Upper Burma settling the country after the suppression of the

Shan rising he had arranged for the despatch of a Shan force to assist in the attack on Pegu. Two months after the fall of Syriam this force was at Sittaung, east of Pegu, and a month later the capital was closely besieged. An appeal to the clemency of Alaungpaya by a deputation of monks, who represented to him the appropriateness of mercy in one destined to be a Buddha, was without effect. In three months the city was starved into submission. By the advice of the council of nobles the king's daughter was offered to Alaungpaya, and an appeal made to his generosity. The princess was betrothed to Dalaban, who, finding himself unable to secure the rejection of this plan, left the city by night with his family and a few followers, broke through the Burmese lines, and escaped to Sittaung. Alaungpaya made an ambiguous reply to the envoys, but the Talaings chose to regard his answer as favourable, and the princess, preceded by the Yuva Raja and many nobles, and accompanied by a hundred attendant maids, was received into the camp of Alaungpaya and conducted to his temporary palace.

152. **Capture of Pegu.** Hostilities were now suspended and many Burmans and some Gwè Shans in the city surrendered to Alaungpaya and were put to death. The surrender of the king's brother and son-in-law, who had held nominal commands in the army at Prome, (paragraph 146) was demanded and refused. The Yuva Raja, who had been detained in the Burmese camp when he accompanied the princess thither, was sent to one of the city gates to summon his relatives to leave the city, but the designs of Alaungpaya were suspected and none accepted the invitation. Finally the city was captured in a night assault and given up to plunder, the king being taken prisoner (May, 1757). Most of the leading citizens, including the monks, were massacred, and thousands were

sold into slavery. Dalaban, who had escaped to Sittaung, was afterwards captured and entered the service of Alaungpaya, with whom he remained until the king's death.

153. Expeditions against Tavoy, the Shans, and Manipur. After the capture and destruction of the Talaing capital, Alaungpaya proceeded southwards and conquered Tavoy and Mergui, which were in the possession of the Siamese. He left Burmese garrisons there, and having appointed Burmese governors in Martaban and all the delta districts, returned to Shwebo. On his way up the river he met near Danubyu an officer from the British settlement at Negrais, to whom he gave a royal order securing the British in the possession of Negrais and granting them a site for a factory at Bassein, though he severely criticized the behaviour of the British ships at Syriam. Shortly after his return to Ava he sent an expedition against the Gwè Shans who had taken refuge in Momeit (paragraph 143). In the following year, 1758, he made an expedition into Manipur. The Raja of that state, who had invaded Burma in 1738 (paragraph 133), had been dethroned eleven years later by his son and had fled to Burma. In 1754 Manipuris had again invaded Burma, and Alaungpaya now announced his intention of settling the succession in Manipur. His army met with no opposition, for all the inhabitants sought refuge in the hills. The fortifications of the capital were destroyed, and after receiving the submission of one or two minor chiefs the king returned to Ava.

154. Rebellion in Pegu. The next year, 1759, a rebellion broke out in Pegu, and Alaungpaya set out for Lower Burma in the middle of the rains, having sent an army on ahead. The governor of Pegu had practically extinguished the rebellion before the king reached Rangoon; but suspicions of British interference were aroused by the

arrival of the "Arcot" in Rangoon during the rebellion. The agent on board, Mr. Whitehill, was arrested and sent to Alaungpaya at Prome, and released only on payment of a heavy ransom. When the king reached Rangoon his suspicions seemed to be confirmed by false reports, spread by an Armenian named Gregory and a French agent, Lavine, from motives of jealousy, to the effect that the British at Negrais had sold arms and ammunition to the rebels. He therefore issued orders that the settlement was to be destroyed. A treacherous massacre was planned in which nearly the whole of the company's servants at Negrais, including ten Europeans and about a hundred Indians, were massacred. A few escaped and reached British ships in the harbour, and others were taken prisoners to Rangoon.

155. Invasion of Siam and death of Alaungpaya. Like several of his predecessors Alaungpaya brought his career to an end by a foolish attack on Siam. This country had since the days of Nanda Bayin been the refuge of conquered and discontented Talaings (paragraph 114) who were at this time raiding Tavoy, which had become a Burmese province. The Burmese governor had declared himself independent and required punishment. Finally the Siamese king had refused to give Alaungpaya one of his daughters in marriage. For all these reasons the king determined on an invasion of Siam by way of Tavoy, and in December 1759 he left for Martaban accompanied by his son Maung Lauk. At Martaban he put to death the Talaing governor, who was suspected of treachery. On the arrival of the army at Tavoy the governor of that place gave himself up and was executed. The Siamese advance guard was met near Tenasserim, but the first serious engagement occurred near Meklong, which Alaungpaya reached by the coast route, having crossed the peninsula

south of Tenasserim. The Siamese were defeated and the Burmese army advanced to Ayuthia and besieged it. It was important that the city should be captured before the rains should set in and bring disaster on the invading force, as on a previous occasion in the reign of Tabin Shwehti. But Alaungpaya was not prepared for a long siege and the city was too strong to be taken by assault. He therefore pretended that he came as a Bodhisatva to preach the law of holiness, but the Siamese ridiculed his claims to the title he had adopted. Within a week of his arrival at Ayuthia the siege was abandoned and the army retreated northwards along the Menam Valley as far as Raheng, then turned westwards and passed by way of Myawadi into Burmese territory. The march was greatly harassed by the Siamese, who inflicted considerable loss on the retreating army. The chief reason for this sudden and rapid retreat was the seizure of the king by mortal sickness. He was borne the whole way in a litter and died at Taikkala before the Salween was reached, in May 1760. His body was carried through Pegu and Rangoon to Shwebo, and there burned with the honours due to an emperor.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE ALAUNGPAYA DYNASTY.

156. **Naungdawgyi king.** It had been the wish of Alaungpaya that his six sons by his first wife should each succeed to the throne in turn according to their seniority. Three of the six did actually rule, but the conflict between Alaungpaya's plan and the ordinary law of succession caused much strife. The eldest son, Naungdawgyi, had remained

in Shwebo as heir-apparent and regent when his father and his younger brother, Maung Lauk or Myedu Min, went on the expedition to Siam. He succeeded to the throne without opposition, though at first Maung Lauk, who seems to have been a man of greater force of character and was more trusted by his father, shewed signs of resistance. But the commander-in-chief of Alaungpaya's army, Minhla Raza or Min Khaung Nawrahta, rebelled and led the forces under his command to Taungu. The governor of that province tried to arrest him, but he evaded capture and marched on Ava, which he occupied without much difficulty. The king sent him a message from Shwebo inviting him to come to the court and to have no fear; but he distrusted the king's sincerity and declined. The king therefore led an army to Sagaing, which he made his temporary capital, and laid siege to Ava. A siege of four months produced a famine in the city, and seeing that surrender was inevitable, the general escaped with a few horsemen to the jungle, where he was shot (December 1760).

157. **British Envoys at Sagaing.** It was while the siege of Ava was in progress that Captain Alves, who had been in command of one of the English ships at Negrais and had witnessed the massacre on the island, arrived with letters from India demanding reparation for the murder of British subjects. The Burmese maintained that the British had been concerned in the rebellion at Pegu and had brought punishment upon themselves. Compensation was refused, and the envoy was treated with that insolence which marked the reception of British missions by the Burman court from this time forward, and hastened the British occupation of Burma. At the same time the king confirmed Alaungpaya's concession of a site for the British factory at Bassein (paragraph 153) and ordered the release

of certain British prisoners who had been taken at Negraïs and incarcerated in Rangoon.

158. **Rebellion in Taungu. Death of the king.** On the death of Alaungpaya the Talaing general Dalaban had taken service with the king of Zimmè, and in the following year, 1761, he invaded Martaban. The king of Burma was at this time engaged in the siege of Taungu, where the governor, his uncle, had shut himself up and declined to appear at court when summoned. Dalaban appeared to meditate an attack on the besieging army, but eventually retired to the country between the Salween and Thaungyin. Taungu having been captured and the governor pardoned the pursuit of Dalaban was undertaken. He was captured together with his wife and children, and the capital of Zimmè was occupied in 1763. The end of Dalaban is uncertain, but the chronicle states that his life was spared. Naungdawgyi died in November 1763.

159. **Sinbyushin king: attacks Siam.** Maung Lauk or Myedu Min, in accordance with Alaungpaya's dispositions, became king with the title of Sinbyushin or "lord of the white elephant." He at once proceeded with great energy to reorganize the kingdom, appointed new officials in all parts of his dominions, and gave orders for the restoration of Ava, which was a more convenient capital than Shwebo. He also made preparations for an attack on Siam to avenge his own and his father's defeat four years before. A large force was stationed in Zimmè under Thihapate and another in Tavoy under Maha Nawrahta. The northern force was first to move in the cold season of 1764. The territory of Zimmè was thoroughly subdued, and an advance made on Linzin. The king of that country marched out to meet the Burmans, but was defeated and submitted. The Shan states in the neighbourhood of Lagun, where Thihapate fixed his head-quarters, were also subdued, and the army

was thus secured against any attack in the rear during the final advance, which began in the rainy season of 1765. The several columns met with considerable resistance from local chiefs before they assembled again at Pitsalauk. Following the valley of the Menam, Thihapate repulsed a Siamese attack with heavy loss, and took up a position to the east of Ayuthia five months after leaving Lagun. Meanwhile Maha Nawrahta remained at Tavoy till the middle of October, then crossing the mountains north of Mergui he followed the coast route taken by Alaungpaya, but from Meklong marched north-west, and advanced on Ayuthia by way of Kamburi. He defeated the Siamese in a severe engagement to the west of Ayuthia and encamped near the city to wait for Thihapate. On the arrival of his colleague he moved his camp to the north of the city and joined forces with him.

160. **Capture of Ayuthia.** The Siamese made another desperate attempt to beat off the Burmese forces, but were again badly defeated. The Burmans now drew a line of entrenchments round the city and prepared to reduce it by famine since it was too strong to be taken by assault. The Siamese hoped that the advent of the rainy season would bring relief as on two previous occasions (paragraphs 92 and 155), and many of the Burmese officers advised Maha Nawrahta to retreat to higher ground before the river should flood his camp. Both generals, however, decided to remain where they were, and made preparations to meet the rise of the river by collecting boats and building embankments, and by occupying such portions of higher ground as were not covered when the floods came. These measures proved successful, and although the Siamese attacked various isolated detachments of the Burmese army they failed to achieve any solid success. When the floods subsided the earthworks were restored

and the investment became even closer than before. Maha Nawrahta died shortly after having refused to grant terms to the king of Siam, but the siege was not relaxed and reinforcements arrived from Ava. In a general assault in April, 1767, the garrison being too enfeebled by famine to resist, the city was captured and destroyed by fire. The queen and royal family were taken prisoners to Ava, and large stores of war material and vast treasures were captured. The fate of the king, Ekdatha Raja, is uncertain. His brother thought he recognized his body amongst the slain, but another account states that he escaped to the hills. The Burmese army was at once ordered back to Ava, where fears were entertained of renewed Chinese invasions. A quarrel had arisen out of a commercial dispute, and two invasions had already been repulsed.

161. Manipuri invasion. Ava again the capital. Sinbyushin himself took no active part in the Siamese war, but busied himself with the punishment of the Manipuris and the removal of his capital to Ava. The Manipuris had planned an invasion of Burma and obtained a promise of help from the East India Company. Six companies of Sepoys were sent from Chittagong in 1763, but sickness and heavy rains forced them to return before they reached Manipur, and the Raja of that state undertook the invasion unaided in the following year. The king determined to punish these incursions in person, leaving the conduct of the Siamese campaign to his generals. In 1764, at the time when the army in Zimmè commenced its operations, the king sent an army to Kani on the Chindwin and travelling by river joined his troops there. He invaded Manipur and captured the Raja and many other prisoners, who were brought down to Ava, which the king reached in April 1765. Exactly a year later the restoration of Ava

was completed and the king moved with his court down to the old capital, which once more became a centre of native industry and foreign trade.

162. **Causes of the Chinese war.** The war with China arose out of two trivial quarrels. A Chinese merchant was arrested by the governor of Bhamo for disrespectful behaviour and sent down to Ava, where he was released. On his return to Bhamo he complained that in his absence his bales had been opened and goods stolen. He failed to obtain compensation, and when he went back to China he laid complaints both in Tengyueh and Yunnan. This was in the year 1765. Not long afterwards another dispute arose in Kengtung over the payment of money for goods sold by a Chinese merchant, and in the fight which followed a Chinaman was killed. In this case also the merchant concerned failed to obtain the compensation which he demanded, the surrender namely of the murderer or of a substitute, but was offered compensation in money. He returned to Yunnan and there lodged a complaint with the governor of the province. The latter, acting on the advice of certain Shan chiefs who were present in Yunnan, having fled there to avoid punishment for offences against the Burmese government, demanded the surrender of the murderer or his substitute for punishment. No reply was received and Kengtung was invaded. The Sawbwa had been at Ava when the trouble first arose and had taken no active part in the dispute. He now under compulsion joined the Chinese. A Burmese force under the general Letwèwinhmu marched to Kengtung in December 1765, and drove the Chinese army across the Mekong with the loss of its commander. The Sawbwa was allowed to return to his capital, and a Burmese garrison was left there. Another garrison under Balamihntin was stationed on the Irawadi at Kaungton below Bhamo.

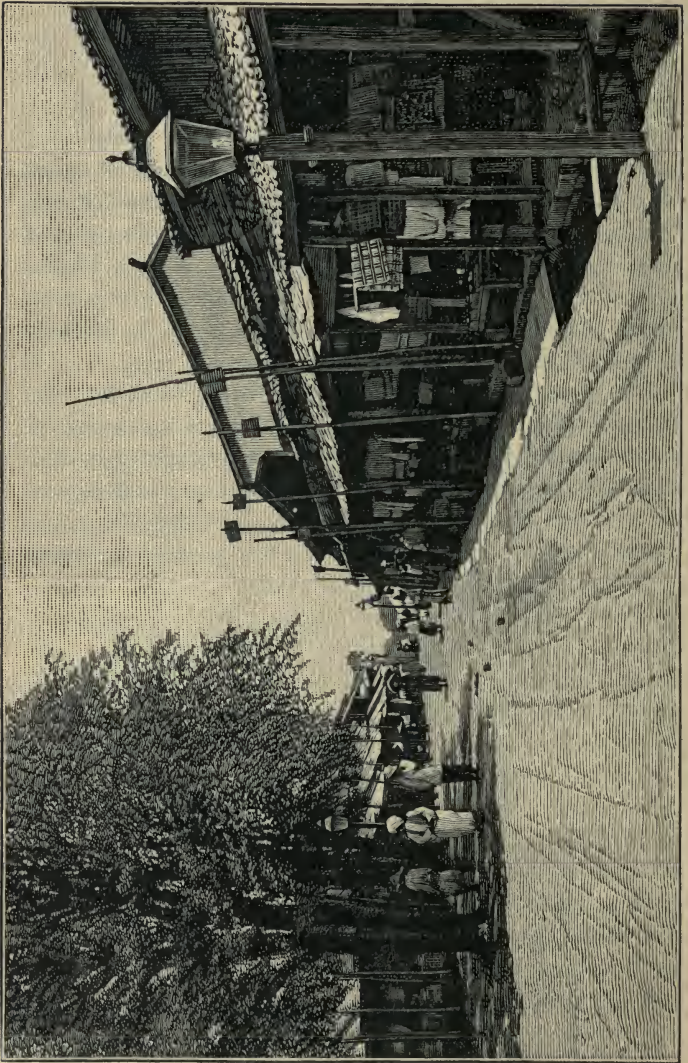
163. **Second Chinese invasion repulsed.** In 1766 a Chinese army advanced into Burma from Tengyueh (Momein), and one division attacked the fortified post at Kaungton; but failing to carry the position by assault the commander entrenched himself and waited for reinforcements from the main army which lay to the north. Meanwhile a Burmese force under Maha Sithu advanced by the west bank of the river on Mogaung, the governor of which seemed to be intriguing with the Chinese, and another detachment under Letwèwinhmu advanced by the river to Bhamo. This general relieved Kaungton, drove the Chinese from their entrenchments there, and dislodged a force which had occupied Bhamo. He followed up the enemy and inflicted other defeats upon them, driving them from all their positions near the river and destroying the boats they had collected for the voyage down to Ava. The other Burmese army under Maha Sithu had been equally successful. He had occupied Mogaung, strengthened the defences, and returned to the Irawadi before the Chinese could cross the river. There he surprised the enemy by a flank movement and cut to pieces one division of their troops; the Burmese musketeers inflicted great loss also on their cavalry. The remnant of the expedition retreated into Chinese territory. A third Chinese column appeared in Burmese territory late in the campaign, marching by way of Theinni. Maha Thihathura, who was in command of a force stationed in Kianghung during the Siamese war just then concluded, advanced from the east while Letwèwinhmu bore down upon the invaders from the north, and the Chinese, taken in both flanks, were driven back with great loss. The victorious Burmese troops arrived in Ava a few weeks after the fall of Ayuthia, and were joined two months later by the troops from Siam (July 1767). Burma resumed control of the Shan states along the Taping

river. The Chinese prisoners were brought down to Ava, where they were given a special quarter of the city to live in and encouraged to marry Burmese wives.

164. **Third Chinese invasion.** The Burmese resistance to the Chinese troops, who greatly outnumbered them, had been most successful, and reflected great credit on both the soldiers and their leaders. Their success was to no small extent due to the artillery, which was served by Christian gunners, descendants of the captives from Syriam (paragraph 121). The Chinese refused to accept their defeat as final, and in the cold season of 1767 another Chinese army invaded Theinni, while smaller columns demonstrated against Bhamo and Momeit. The Sawbwa of Theinni submitted without resistance, and the Chinese built a stockade for the protection of their stores, intending to use Theinni as a base of operations. The Burmese army marched to meet the enemy in three columns; one moved direct on Theinni by way of Hsum Hsai and Hsipaw, another to the east of Theinni in order to cut the enemy's communications, and a third northward to hold in check the invaders advancing along the Shweli on Momeit. The plan was well conceived and proved successful. The first column under Maha Sithu was met by the Chinese who had advanced towards Hsipaw, and was overwhelmed by superior numbers. Maha Sithu retreated along the valley of the Myitngè, followed in a very leisurely fashion by the Chinese. Meanwhile the second column under Maha Thihathura had entered the city of Theinni and blockaded the stockade to which the Sawbwa fled for protection. Detachments of Burmese troops captured another Chinese stockade at Lashio, and seized the Taku ferry on the Salween, thus completely cutting off supplies. The commander of the garrison at Theinni, seeing no chance of escape, committed suicide, and the garrison, reduced by

desertions and weakened by famine, surrendered. Leaving a garrison in Theinni, Maha Thihathura hastened after the Chinese column that had defeated Maha Sithu. The latter had taken up a position at Lonkapyingyi and was holding the Chinese force at bay. While the Chinese general was hesitating whether he should continue his advance or secure his rear by returning to Theinni, Maha Sithu attacked him by night and defeated him. He retreated northward and was joined by the divisions which had marched on Bhamo and Momeit. Maha Thihathura now united forces with Maha Sithu, and before the end of the year the Chinese troops had been driven across the Salween.

165. **Fourth Chinese invasion.** Free for the moment from fear of the Chinese, Burma was alarmed by an earthquake, which badly damaged many pagodas, including the Shwezigon at Pagan and the Shwedagon at Rangoon. To avert the disasters which appeared to be impending new htis or canopies were placed on these two pagodas, and many gold and silver images were deposited in the treasure chambers. The danger took definite shape in a fourth Chinese invasion, this time by the Taping Valley and Bhamo route. One detachment marched on Mogaung, while another set to work to prepare boats for a voyage down the Irawadi; the main body took position in a stockade at Shwenyaungbin, twelve miles east of Kaungton. A determined assault was made on Kaungton by river and by land, but Balamihntin again repulsed the attack and inflicted great loss on the enemy. Meanwhile Thihathu, commander of the king's artillery, had been sent off from Ava before the end of September, 1769, to repel the attack on Mogaung, and a second army under Maha Thihathura followed somewhat slowly by river to Bhamo, the elephants and cavalry accompanying him along the east bank. When he reached Tagaung he received news of the state of affairs



STREET SCENE IN MODERN BHAMO.

at Kaungton, and sent on ahead reinforcements, which inflicted considerable loss on the Chinese flotilla, occupied an island near Kaungton, and built a stockade below it, thus controlling operations on the river. When the main army reached Bhamo, Maha Thihathura made his headquarters on this island; the cavalry and elephants with a division of infantry were placed under the command of Letwèwinhmu, and a detachment was sent off to the north-east to cut the Chinese communications. Letwèwinhmu marching on Kaungton from the east defeated the Chinese, and the northern column also achieved its object. Half the Chinese forces retreated up the Taping Valley; the remainder were compelled to take refuge in the great stockade at Shwenyaungbin, which was carried by assault, large stores of arms and ammunition being captured. The general with the unwounded portion of his troops escaped, and joined the retreating army on the Taping.

166. **The Chinese sue for peace.** The attack on Mogaung had been foiled by Thihathu, and the Chinese generals, seeing no hope of success at any point, proposed terms of peace. They attributed the war to the intrigues of the Sawbwas of Theinni, Bhamo, Mogaung, and Kiang-yong, whom they proposed to yield to the Burmese in exchange for the Chinese officers taken prisoners in the war. The relations of the two countries were to be restored to the footing on which they stood before the war, and the Chinese army was to be allowed to retire unmolested. Maha Thihathura's officers urged him to press his advantage and utterly destroy the invaders, who were at his mercy. The general pointed out that the Chinese, defeated in three successive invasions, had entered upon a fourth, that their resources were far greater than the resources of Burma, and that if he refused terms now the war would certainly be renewed by China with unabated vigour. In defiance of

the wishes of the king, who had ordered the complete destruction of the invaders, the general agreed to a commission of officers, which drew up conditions of peace in very general terms (December, 1769), and the Chinese army was escorted across the frontier. Many died on the homeward journey from fatigue and famine.

167. **Reception of the news at Ava.** The news of the wise arrangement which had been made by Maha Thihathura was received by the king with great anger and disgust. He showed his resentment by sending Maha Thihathura a woman's dress, as befitting a general so devoid of spirit; and the families of the chief officers, including even Maha Thihathura's wife, sister of the principal queen, were made to stand for three days in the street at the western gate of the palace, bearing on their heads the presents which had been sent to Ava by the Chinese generals. The officers on their return to Ava were banished from the royal presence and from the capital for one month. The prudence and wisdom of Maha Thihathura's action in opposition to the king's commands was proved by the course of events. From this time onwards, although disputes occurred with reference to the sending of missions between Ava and Peking, the peace between China and Burma was never broken. In the treaty it was laid down that letters were to be exchanged between the rulers of Ava and Peking every ten years. The Chinese believed, or affected to believe, that the Burmans still accepted Chinese suzerainty and had promised tributary missions. Complimentary missions from Ava were certainly sent at irregular intervals, and Chinese provincial missions came chiefly on commercial business from Yunnan. Perhaps an occasional mission was sent from Peking; one such is said to have reached Ava in 1823, and to have demanded in strong language a white elephant and a royal princess as

tribute. But every provincial mission from Yunnan was represented by Burmese vanity as an embassy from Peking, and every complimentary mission from Ava was represented by Chinese arrogance as a tributary mission from the vassal king of Burma.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE ALAUNGPAYA DYNASTY (*Continued*).

168. **Affairs in Siam.** On the withdrawal of the Burmese forces from Siam in 1767, a Chinaman named Hpaya Tak gathered together a body of guerilla troops and greatly hampered the Burmese retirement. His success attracted other followers, and in the absence of any member of the royal family, who had all been taken in captivity to Ava, he usurped the throne and made his capital at Bangkok. He subdued several of the Shan states which had fallen under Burmese dominion and the Laos state of Vieng Chang. The prince of this state appealed to Burma for protection. Sinbyushin was not indifferent to what was happening in Siam, and, after the Chinese war was concluded, he sent Thihapate in 1771 with a mixed Burmese and Shan army to Zimmè, where Thadominhtin was governor with a Burmese garrison. This man not only refused to acknowledge the authority of Thihapate or to furnish him with assistance, but behaved so outrageously towards the Shan chiefs that three of them withdrew. Meanwhile a force composed chiefly of Talaings under Kamani Sanda, governor of Martaban, which was to co-operate with Thihapate and advance by way of Tavoy and Mergui across the peninsula, mutinied and pursued

their chief with a small Burmese escort as far as Rangoon. There they besieged him in the stockade until he was relieved by the approach of a detachment from Myanaung. The Talaings fled and joined their countrymen who during Alaungpaya's reign had taken refuge in large numbers in Siam.

169. Invasion of Manipur and Kachar. While the king's designs on Siam were thus checked, his attempts at conquest on the north-western frontier were attended with as little success. He sent an army up into Manipur to destroy the fortifications of the capital, which the ruling chief was repairing after their destruction by Alaungpaya (paragraph 153). No serious opposition was encountered, and much plunder and many prisoners were taken. Carried away by their desire for spoil the invading army pushed on into Kachar and Jaintia. In the mountains of Kachar a division of ten thousand men was isolated and cut up in detail or starved to death. After an absence of two years the survivors returned to Ava with their prisoners.

170. Execution of Byinnya Dala, king of Pegu. Meanwhile the king had determined to visit his dominions in Lower Burma and place a new hti on the Shwe Dagon pagoda. He travelled in state down the Irawadi, taking with him the captive king of Pegu (paragraph 152), who had lived a prisoner in Ava for seventeen years. The journey occupied three months, for the king stopped to worship the great pagodas on his way. At Rangoon he adorned the Shwe Dagon pagoda with a magnificent jewelled canopy, but whatever chance he had of thereby conciliating the Talaings must have been destroyed by his next act. He accused the ex-king of Pegu of stirring up the Talaings to revolt, and after the semblance of a trial the wretched captive was publicly executed (1775 A.D.). The king returned to Ava.

171. **Unsuccessful invasion of Siam.** At the end of the rainy season in 1775 Maha Thihathura was ready to march into Siam with an army of Burmans and northern Shans. Starting from Martaban he reached Raheng, where his second in command, a noble named Zeya Kyaw, quarrelled with him over his plan of campaign, and returned with part of the army to Martaban. The general pushed on and occupied Pitsalauk, but being defeated near that place was forced to retreat. The next year Zeya Kyaw returned to the army, but the king, Singu Min, who succeeded Sinbyushin in June 1776, ordered the withdrawal of the Burmese troops from Siamese territory, put several officers to death for cowardice and insubordination, and disgraced Maha Thihathura. This general was restored to his command by Bodawpaya.

172. **End of Sinbyushin's reign.** Sinbyushin survived his return to Ava little more than a year. The end of his reign was disturbed by rebellions. The mutiny of the Talaing troops has already been referred to. It is said to have been caused by the oppressive behaviour of the governor of Martaban towards the wives and families of the soldiers while they were on service. A second insurrection was headed by the king's brother, governor of Amyin, because the king, in defiance of Alaungpaya's will, had declared his own son, Singu Min, heir-apparent, instead of the next brother in order of seniority. The rising was easily suppressed, and the prince's life was spared only on the entreaty of his mother. The third revolt, a rising of Manipuri prisoners in Ava, was quickly crushed. The character of the king deteriorated in the course of his reign. The ability which marked his arrangements and his choice of generals for the successful campaigns against the Siamese and Chinese is singularly absent from the conduct of the later invasions of Siam and Manipur. He

was probably tainted with the melancholy madness which appeared in the later kings of the dynasty, and his execution of the king of Pegu was perhaps an indication of his mental breakdown; but he died before the disease was fully developed.

173. Reign and deposition of Singu Min. On his accession Singu Min at once put an end to warfare, and devoted his time to visiting the various pagodas of importance. To discourage plots against the throne he had his younger brother and his uncle, the fourth son of Alaungpaya, put to death. The fifth son, Badon Min, was kept under observation at Sagaing. But a powerful faction in the capital supported the claims of Naungdawgyi's son, Maung Maung, maintaining that, if the orders of Alaungpaya were not to be carried out, then the son of the eldest of Alaungpaya's six sons had a better claim than Singu Min. The king's habit of leaving and entering the palace with very few attendants and without warning gave the conspirators their opportunity. While Singu Min, with the chief ladies of the court, was on a pilgrimage to the Thihadaw pagoda near Kyaukmyaung, Maung Maung and his followers came one night to the palace and demanded admission in the name of the king. They were admitted and forced their way without much difficulty to the royal apartments. Badon Min, who was no doubt privy to the plot, came to Ava with the other surviving sons of Alaungpaya, and Maha Thihathura assumed command of the troops. While acting in the interests of Badon Min the great general also gratified his private resentment against the king for his unjust dismissal. Maung Maung at once called together all his uncles and offered them the kingship in turn according to the dispositions of Alaungpaya. But they suspected a trap and feared that any one of them who accepted would be at once removed by the prince's supporters. Accordingly

they swore allegiance to him. It soon became evident, however, to the ministers of the palace that Maung Maung, who had been brought up in a monastery, was unfit to rule, and his followers turned to Badon Min. The latter at once declared his right to the throne under the arrangements made by Alaungpaya, entered the palace with an armed force, and put Maung Maung to death after a reign of a week (1781 A.D.). The new king is variously known as Sinbyumyashin, Mindayagyi, or Bodawpaya, but most commonly by the last name.

174. **Death of Singu Min.** On hearing of the usurpation of Maung Maung, Singu Min started down the river; but the news of the usurper's success caused him to hesitate and delay in the neighbourhood of Singu. Most of his followers deserted him, and at last he boldly came down to Ava and entered the palace alone by night. When challenged by the guard he answered, "Singu Min, lawful lord of the palace." The gates were opened, and he was cut down by one of the nobles of the court, the father of his favourite wife, whom he had drowned some time before in a fit of jealousy. According to another account he was made prisoner, and, together with his children and the attendants who remained faithful to him, was burnt to death by the orders of Bodawpaya. The latter also put to death all those who had had a share in the conspiracy which put Maung Maung on the throne, though the plot was one to which he was undoubtedly a consenting party. But cruelty and perfidy were two of the new king's chief characteristics.

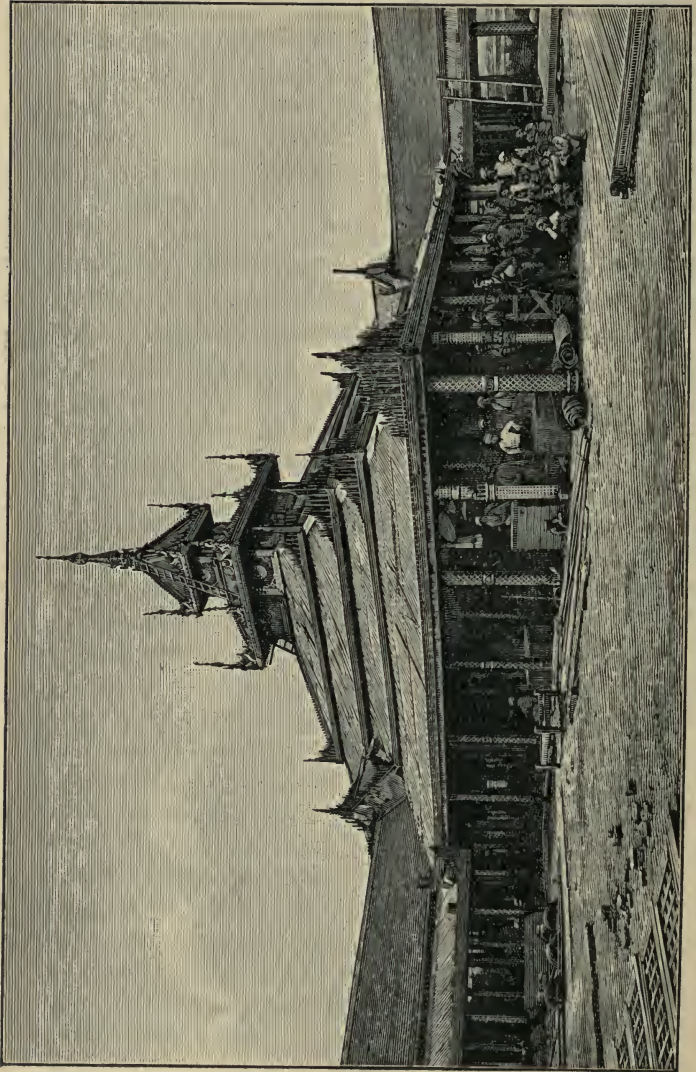
CHAPTER XXIII.

REIGN OF BODAWPAYA.

175. **Plots against Bodawpaya.** Bodawpaya's treatment of the conspirators by whose schemes he had profited was not calculated to promote domestic peace, and other plots were formed with the object of deposing him. Maha Thihathura, whom he had restored to his command of the troops, was concerned in one of these plots and was executed. A second plot in December, 1782, had for its object the restoration of the old dynasty in the person of Myatpon, who was said to be the son of Dibati, the last Burmese king, put to death by Byinnya Dala 28 years previously (paragraph 146). Aided by a small force of Shans and Karens he boldly forced an entrance into the palace yard by night and secured the guns. In order to alarm the occupants of the palace and terrify the guards he compelled the Christian cannoneers to fire blank cartridges. This merely had the effect of arousing the guards, who made huge fires round the palace and kept off the conspirators until daylight, when they were overpowered and put to death together with three of the cannoneers who had fired the shots. Myatpon escaped, but was soon afterwards captured and executed. Bodawpaya burnt alive a large number of people, including some monks, who were suspected of complicity in the plot. Very soon afterwards a rebellion of Talaings occurred in Lower Burma. A fanatic fisherman, who had dreamed that the kingdom of Pegu was to be restored, persuaded large numbers of his countrymen to believe in the fulfilment of his dream, and before the rebellion was suppressed the governor of Rangoon had been murdered.

176. **Removal of the capital to Amarapura.** To expiate his sacrilege in having put to death in his rage monks and other innocent persons, Bodawpaya built the Aungmye-lawka pagoda at Sagaing and put many valuable offerings in the relic-chamber. He also determined to remove his capital from Ava, which had witnessed so much bloodshed in the last eight years, and transfer it to a new site about six miles farther up the river Irawadi. Here he built Amarapura, "the city of the immortals," and entered into possession of his new palace in May 1783. His eldest son was created Ein-she-min. One of his younger brothers remarked on this occasion that Bodawpaya, having succeeded to the throne in virtue of the dispositions of Alaungpaya, now violated them; for this remark he was executed.

177. **Conquest of Arakan.** For six centuries Arakan had been independent of Burma, though it had occasionally been the battleground in some of the struggles between Burma and Pegu. But every powerful Burmese king had nursed the hope of resuming sway over Arakan, and at this time there seemed to be an unusually favourable opportunity. The disturbed state of the country is easily inferred from the fact that in the century preceding Bodawpaya's invasion no less than twenty-five kings ruled in Arakan, of whom eight were usurpers, and in only four cases did the son of the ruling king follow him in direct succession. In the year 1782 Maha Thamada, as he proudly called himself after the first king of the Buddhist tradition, had come to the throne, but his authority over his people was merely nominal, and Bodawpaya prepared for an invasion in force. Three divisions, each commanded by one of the king's sons, were to cross the Yoma by various passes between Salin and Kyangin, and to occupy Ramri, Cheduba, and Sandoway in conjunction with a flotilla which was collected at Bassein and sent round by



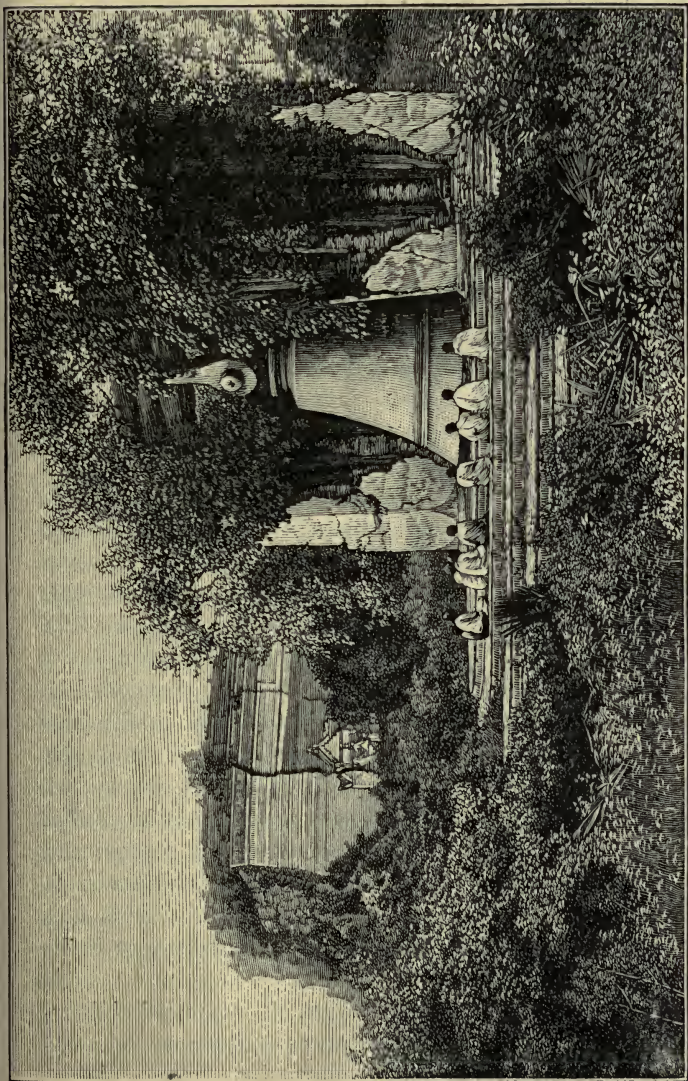
THE ARAKAN PAGODA NEAR MANDALAY.

sea. The plan was carried out in the cold season of 1784, and the opposition of the Arakanese was overpowered. Their fleet was defeated at Laungkyet, and the Burmese forces entered the capital Myauk-u. The Arakanese king was captured a month later in the jungle. The princes and the bulk of the army returned home leaving ten thousand men to garrison the country, and Min Khaung Gyi was appointed governor. Numerous prisoners, including the king and queens and their chief ministers, were taken back to Burma by the Taungup pass. The spoils included a great gun thirty feet long and of eleven inches calibre, which was taken by sea and river to the capital, and now stands in front of the palace at Mandalay. But the most important trophy of all was the great Mahamuni image cast by Chanda Suriya about 150 A.D., and long coveted by the Burmans. The image was deposited in the Arakan pagoda, which was especially built near Amarapura to receive it.

178. **Invasion of Siam.** Early in 1785 an expedition sent by sea occupied the island of Junkseylon (Salang) as a preliminary to an expedition against Siam. But the Siamese drove the Burmese out of the island with great loss, and Bodawpaya prepared an expedition of 100,000 men which was to invade Siam in six columns later in the year. The troops assembled before the end of the rainy season at Tavoy, Zimmè, and Martaban, the main army being stationed at Martaban. The king himself joined the main army, leaving the Ein-she-min as regent. Min Khaung Gyi had been recalled from Arakan to arrange transport and explore the route of the king's proposed march on Kanburi, but before his arrangements were complete he was put in command of the division at Tavoy and the king set out. The transport broke down, and before the army had crossed the watershed near the

source of the Ataran river the men were in great difficulties from want of provisions. In the hill country they were attacked by the Siamese with great vigour. The king vented his wrath on Min Khaung Gyi, who was sent for and executed at the Three Pagodas. The army of Tavoy had in the meantime (January, 1786) been cut to pieces, and on receipt of the news Bodawpaya fled back to Martaban leaving his broken armies to make the best of their way home. After leaving Martaban he halted at Pegu, and again at Rangoon, where his queens met him to worship at the Shwe Dagon pagoda, for his warlike ardour had been succeeded by a fit of religious fervour. Then returning to Amarapura he received a Chinese ambassador in accordance with the treaty of 1769, and sent an envoy to China. A Siamese attack on Tavoy in the following year was unsuccessful, but was not followed by any retaliation on the part of the Burmans. In 1791 the Burmese governor, Myatpon, intrigued with the Siamese and handed over Tavoy to them, but it was recaptured a year later (see paragraph 179).

179. **The Mingun Pagoda.** The king now devoted his time to a stupendous act of piety, the results of which are still to be seen at Mingun on the Irawadi above Mandalay. He determined to build a pagoda bigger than any in existence, and collected materials at Mingun. In November, 1790, he removed his court to Mingun that he might personally superintend operations. Workmen were collected from different parts of the kingdom, and so many villagers were forced to leave their agricultural pursuits to work on the pagoda, at a time when the crops needed all their care, that great scarcity prevailed in many districts. So much discontent was aroused that the enterprise had finally to be abandoned after less than a third of the total height of the pagoda had been reached. A comparison of



THE MINGUN PAGODA AND BELL.

Lawrence P. Briggs,
Consul of the United States of America

the ruins with a small model built near the spot shews that the pagoda when complete was to have been about 500 feet high. It was very badly built, and the lower portion of the structure would probably never have borne the weight which was meant to be imposed upon it. The completed portion was wrecked in the earthquake of 1839. The great bell weighing over eight tons which was cast at this time is still to be seen at Mingun. While Bodawpaya was busy with this enterprise, at the end of the year 1791 Martaban and Tavoy revolted from Burmese rule and Tavoy was occupied by the Siamese. The first attempt to relieve it in the year 1792 failed, and the officer in charge of the relieving force was put to death. It was not until December of that year that the Ein-she-min with a considerable force expelled the Siamese.

180. **Arakan and the British.** The conquest of Arakan brought the Burmese Empire into contact with the British power in India, and ultimately led to the first Burmese war and the annexation of Arakan and Tenasserim. For the time being, however, hostilities were postponed for various reasons. The British East India Company was still mainly a commercial company, and only abandoned its trade partially in the year 1813, completely in the year 1833. Moreover, the Company was engaged in almost constant warfare in India from 1744 onwards, and had no desire to engage in conflict with powers outside India. Finally, England was at war with France in Europe and America, and this struggle, which tried her resources to the utmost, came to an end only in 1815. These facts explain the forbearance of the British government in its dealings with Burma.

181. **Disturbances in Arakan.** It was maladministration that led to the first disturbances in Arakan. The distracted country would have welcomed a strong and just

government. But Bodawpaya forced thousands of the Arakanese to leave their homes and work on the Mingun pagoda and other works of merit, while his officials oppressed those who remained at home. Local chiefs rose in insurrection, and thousands of the inhabitants took refuge in the British territory of Chittagong. Amongst these three rebel chiefs sought British protection, and Burmese troops sent in pursuit crossed the Naaf river and entrenched themselves in British territory. A detachment from Calcutta compelled the Burmese to withdraw, but the three rebel chiefs were afterwards handed over to them (1794 A.D.). In the following year Colonel Symes was sent on a mission to Amarapura to negotiate a treaty with Burma, but he was received with great discourtesy and no treaty was concluded. The only concession granted was the appointment of a British agent in Rangoon to safeguard the interests of British trade. The insolent attitude of the king was encouraged by a report, spread by a French agent, to the effect that the British were being worsted in the war with France, and that a French fleet was on its way to India, while four French ships were already cruising in Indian seas. The following year, 1796, Captain Cox was sent as agent with presents for the king. The latter did not come down to Amarapura, but sent for the agent to Mingun. Captain Cox spent nine months in Amarapura, where the officers of the mission were stoned. He left for Rangoon at the end of the rainy season of 1797 and returned to India at the end of the year, having accomplished nothing and having been subjected to all kinds of indignities.

182. Attitude of the Burmese government. During the years 1797 and 1798 the troubles on the Arakan frontier continued. Burmese troops pursuing fugitive Arakanese again entrenched themselves in British territory, and successfully resisted an attack by the

Chittagonian police. They were withdrawn, however, by the orders of the king, who demanded the expulsion of the fugitives, some 30,000 of whom had settled in Chittagong to escape from Burmese rule. The governor-general merely promised that the refugees should not in future be allowed to raid into Burmese territory. Two years later the governor of Arakan wrote to the governor-general of India again demanding the surrender of the fugitives, and threatening invasion in case of refusal. The insult was overlooked, but in 1802 Colonel Symes was again sent to Burma to demand that the king should withdraw the letter sent by the governor of Arakan, and to negotiate a treaty. The envoy was again outrageously treated. For forty days the court took no notice of his presence and left him on an island near Mingun where corpses were burnt and criminals executed. No treaty was made; and the only disavowal of the Arakan letter was an oral communication in the king's name made by the governor of Pegu. In 1803 Captain Canning was sent to Rangoon as agent, but the insolence of the local officials made his position untenable and he left after a brief stay. He again came to Burma in the year 1809 and remained six months. On this occasion he was better treated, but no reply was given to the governor-general's letter, and nothing was done to settle the various questions outstanding between the two governments.

183. Chinbyan the Arakanese rebel. In the year 1811 an Arakanese chief, Chinbyan by name, driven into British territory, used the hills of Chittagong as his base in a series of raids on Burmese frontier posts. To put matters right the governor-general sent Captain Canning again to Burma to disclaim all previous knowledge of these incursions, which had been secretly carried out. The explanation of the envoy was declared to be satisfactory, but in the meantime Chinbyan again took refuge in the

district of Chittagong, and only tactful negotiations between the governor of the district and the Burmese general sent in pursuit prevented a violation of British territory. The king now became more insistent in his demands for the surrender of Arakanese fugitives, and even went so far as to order the arrest of Captain Canning, who had not proceeded beyond Rangoon, intending to hold him as a hostage for their surrender. But the envoy escaped on board his ship, and the arrival in Rangoon of another British ship with guns put an end to these treacherous proceedings. Captain Canning soon afterwards left the country. Chinbyan again established himself in the hills of Chittagong, and the British authorities, unable to hold him in check, allowed Burmese troops to cross the frontier and attack him in 1814. He died in the following year.

184. **Bodawpaya's intrigues in India.** One of Bodawpaya's weaknesses, which he shared with his father Alaungpaya, was a belief in his own superiority to ordinary mortals, and in this belief he professed a great interest in works of merit and all matters of religion. Between the years 1806 and 1816 a number of missions were sent to India to obtain Sanskrit books, Buddhist relics and images, and plans of Buddha Gaya and the sacred tree. A deputation was also received from Ceylon, and promises of support were given for the Buddhist religion, which was fast being corrupted in the island. It was not until the year 1815 that the British government discovered these missions to be negotiating with the native chiefs with a view to joining the Mahratta confederacy against British rule. Three envoys who arrived in Calcutta in 1817 with the usual demand for the surrender of the Arakanese fugitives, and who asked for permission to travel to Lahore in search of religious books, were detained in Calcutta. In the following year the governor of Ramri demanded in the

name of Bodawpaya the cession of Dacca, Chittagong, and Murshidabad. The overthrow of the Mahratta confederacy by Lord Hastings, 1817 to 1819, put an end to these schemes. But Assam offered another opening for Bodawpaya's ambition.

185. **Bodawpaya interferes in Assam.** In Assam, which was nominally governed by a Raja, the chief power had for many years been really in the hands of three ministers, called Gohains. The ruling Raja in 1793 tried to regain the supreme power for himself, and was driven from the throne; but the British, to whom he appealed, restored him. A later Raja in 1809 made a similar attempt and plotted with one of his provincial governors against the chief minister. This plot being discovered the governor fled to Calcutta and asked for assistance, which the British government was then unable to furnish; so he appealed to Bodawpaya. The king seized the opportunity of interfering in Assam and sent an army of 6000 men. In the meantime the chief minister of Assam had died and the Raja, Chandra Kanta by name, no longer needed help; accordingly he dismissed the troops with presents. A few years later, however, a conspiracy deposed Chandra Kanta, who fled to Bhutan, and a Burmese army under Kyawgaung was sent to restore him in 1816. This done, a detachment under Maha Thilawa was left in Assam. But Chandra Kanta quarrelled with the Burmese, whose designs he began to suspect, and the British government, also becoming suspicious, supported him. While matters were in this position Bodawpaya died, May 1819.

186. **Affairs in Manipur.** Bodawpaya also found an occasion for interference in Manipur, which had been left undisturbed by Burma since Sinbyushin's invasion in 1764. In 1799 a contest for the throne arose between the sons of Jai Sing, the late Raja, and Chorjit Sing became ruler. To

secure the support of the king of Burma he sent presents to Amarapura and one of his daughters also. His brother Marjit also sought the favour of Bodawpaya, and bringing presents in 1806 took up his residence for a time in Amarapura. Seven years later he again appeared at the Burmese capital, and this time found Bodawpaya willing to listen to his complaints. The Raja was summoned to appear at Amarapura to answer his brother's accusations. On his default a Burmese army was sent into Manipur and the Raja was defeated and fled for refuge into Kachar. Marjit was placed upon the throne, recognizing Bodawpaya as his suzerain, and the Kale-Kabaw valley was ceded to Burma as a reward for the king's aid.

187. **Bodawpaya's work and character.** Certain achievements of Bodawpaya deserve notice, though the motives which inspired them were not entirely commendable. In the second year of his reign he ordered a complete list to be made of the villages, circles, townships, and provinces in the kingdom, with their boundaries, the number of families in each village, and the taxes payable by each village. But it does not appear that the list was used, as it might have been, to check extortion and peculation by minor officials. In fact the immediate object of it was to enable the king to levy a special contribution, which caused much murmuring and discontent, for the purpose of repairing pagodas and other sacred buildings. With a view to earning merit for himself he repaired the two artificial lakes at Mandalay and Meiktila. The former, the Aungpinlè, had been commenced by Alaungsithu more than six centuries before. The Meiktila tank was older still, and had been repaired by Alaungsithu. On these two works, as on the Mingun pagoda, thousands of men from all parts of the country were employed. Their service was compulsory, and this forced labour was

one of the chief causes of revolt in Arakan. Arrogant, selfish, and cruel, Bodawpaya was nevertheless a successful king, but his success was largely due to the ability of his generals and his own good fortune. The invasion of Siam, in which he took an active and prominent part, failed through his hasty and ill-considered action. His adventures on the north-west frontier of his empire would probably have been attended with equally disastrous results had not the British power been hampered by wars with the native Indian states and with France. But his good fortune did not fail him, and the disasters which his intrigues should have brought upon himself were reserved for his successor.

NOTE.

The difficulty of ascertaining the truth in regard to even recent events of Burmese history is illustrated by the conflicting accounts of the transportation of the Mahamuni image to Amarapura. Symes, writing about twelve years after the event, says it was carried by water. Crawford, who visited Burma in 1826, little more than forty years after the removal of the image, states that it was taken to pieces and carried overland by the Taungup pass. By this route the river is reached at Padaung and the remainder of the journey is made by water. Phayre follows Crawford's account, but the narrative of Symes is more credible. Arakanese tradition relates that the image was originally cast in three pieces during the lifetime of Buddha, and that the head was found not to fit exactly on to the body. Buddha himself performed a miracle and rectified the error. This story puts the casting of the image six centuries and a half too early, and was invented to support the Arakanese belief that the image is a portrait of the Buddha and was cast in his lifetime; but it suggests the possibility of transporting the image by land in three pieces and so may account for the version which Crawford and Phayre accept. At the same time Crawford and Phayre had access to the official Burmese records, while Symes, being ignorant of Burmese, had to rely on hearsay evidence.

CHAPTER XXIV.

REIGN OF BAGYIDAW.

188. **Bagyidaw king; makes Ava his capital.** Bodawpaya's eldest son, the Ein-she-min, had died about ten years before his father, and his son, the Sagaing Min, had been consecrated heir-apparent in his place. This prince, generally known by the name of Bagyidaw, now succeeded Bodawpaya. His accession was marked by the usual plots or rumours of plots, and two of his father's brothers, who were governing the provinces of Prome and Taungu respectively, were put to death together with many other suspected persons. Shortly after his accession a fire broke out in which a great part of Amarapura, including certain of the palace buildings, was consumed, and the king determined to remove the capital back to Ava. Three years elapsed before the new palace on the old site was completed, and the court moved to Ava early in 1823. It was afterwards pointed out that now, for the first time since the fall of the ancient kingdom of Tagaung and the founding of New Pagan, the capital had been moved down the river, and this reversal of the usual order was held to be the cause of the disasters which befell the kingdom in this reign.

189. **Events in Assam.** The real reason of these misfortunes was the adoption by Bagyidaw of the foolish policy inaugurated by his grandfather. The British in India were bent on consolidating their power and had no desire to extend it, but the Burmese king persisted in forcing a conflict in Assam, Manipur, and Arakan. In Assam, where Chandra Kanta had quarrelled with his Burmese allies, the British supported him in order

to keep the Burmese out of the country. Maha Bandula was sent with reinforcements to Maha Thilawa, who had written to the governor-general warning him not to give any assistance to Chandra Kanta. The latter was defeated and expelled from his country. Assam was declared a Burmese province, and Maha Thilawa was left in charge, while Bandula returned to Burma with a portion of the troops in 1822. The Burmese demanded the surrender of Chandra Kanta, who had taken refuge in British territory, but their demand was refused. Amongst other outrages which they committed by way of revenge at this time, they landed on an island in the Brahmaputra and pulled down the British flag, but evacuated the island soon afterwards.

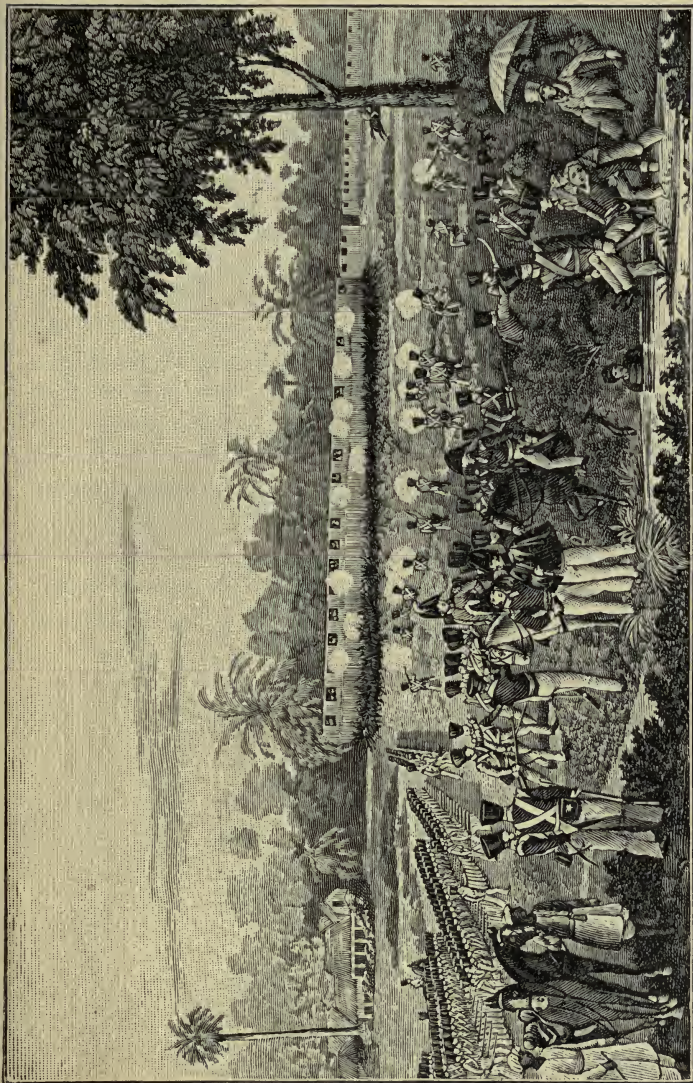
190. **Manipur.** In Manipur Marjit, the tributary king, evaded the homage due to Bagyidaw on his accession, and six months later the Burmese king sent a force to depose him (1819 A.D.). A garrison was stationed in Manipur and many thousands of the inhabitants were carried off in captivity to Burma. In these operations Maha Bandula first distinguished himself, and was therefore chosen three years later to command the expedition to Assam. Marjit fled to Kachar, where his brother and rival Chorjit had already established himself, having expelled the Raja Govind Chandra, who appealed in vain for British aid. Marjit and his other brother Gambhir Sing now expelled Chorjit, while Marjit's son made raids into Manipur and forced the Burmese garrison there to shut themselves up in their stockade and wait until reinforcements arrived to relieve them. The British now decided to support Govind Chandra and aided the exiled chief with subsidies of money and irregular troops. At the beginning of 1824, Burmese columns entered Kachar from Assam and Manipur in defiance of the British, and, though defeated in the

first engagement, managed to hold their own against the native troops opposed to them. They retired, however, in the following year.

191. **Arakan.** The same vexatious policy was pursued in Chittagong. In the years 1821 and 1822 the elephant party employed in the Ramu hills south of Chittagong was twice captured and held to ransom by the Burmese, who also claimed jurisdiction over the small island of Shapuri at the mouth of the Naaf river and annoyed British subjects by searching the boats that entered the river. A small British police guard placed on the island was attacked by the Burmans in 1823, and a regular detachment of Sepoys had to be sent to garrison the place. A gunboat was also stationed at the mouth of the river. The commander of the gunboat was enticed ashore by a deceitful message, seized, and taken prisoner to the city of Arakan or Myauk-u, but was released a few days later. In this year Maha Bandula was despatched at the head of 6000 men to Arakan, with orders to advance on Chittagong, and war was formally declared by the British in March 1824. A British force of 1000 native troops and police with levies of Arakanese fugitives was stationed at Ramu on the Naaf river. In May a Burmese force of 4000 men under the governor of Arakan was despatched by Bandula to attack the British troops, who were driven out of their entrenchments with great slaughter. Of nine officers six were killed and two wounded. A serious war, long inevitable, had already begun in earnest; for on the 11th of May, six days before the engagement at Ramu, the British had occupied Rangoon.

192. **Rangoon captured.** In determining the plan of campaign the British had very little information to guide them. The account written by Colonel Symes of his visit in 1795, and the map of the Irawadi prepared at that time,

was all the trustworthy intelligence available; and no doubt the strength of Burma was very much over-estimated. It was wisely decided that operations in the north and west should be confined to the expulsion of the Burmese from Assam, Manipur, and Chittagong, while the main attack should be directed against Rangoon and the valley of the Irawadi. A force of 11,000 men, native and European, under Sir Archibald Campbell, convoyed by three men-of-war, arrived in the Rangoon river early in May 1824. On the voyage through the Bay of Bengal detachments were sent to occupy Cheduba and Negrais. The governor of Pegu was dead, and the Yewun was left in charge of the province till the arrival of a successor. On the approach of the ships on the 11th of May the Yewun arrested all the European residents of Rangoon, most of whom were dining with an Armenian merchant named Sarkies, and shut all but a few of them in the custom-house. Just as they were being brought out again for execution the British ships opened fire on the Burmese stockade, and the guards fled, leaving their prisoners to their own devices. By the orders of the Yewun all the Burmans left the town, and when the British troops landed in the evening they found it deserted. Four Europeans who had been confined in a dark cell on the platform of the Shwe Dagon pagoda were not discovered till the following morning. Five days later the stockades at Kemmendine were captured, and a fortnight afterwards two stockades at Kyawzaung to the north of Rangoon were carried at the point of the bayonet, rain having wet the powder and made guns and muskets useless. This was the first time the Burmans had met European troops, and the impression made on them in this first fight was such that they rarely again waited to come to close quarters with Europeans. The Kemmendine stockades had not been garrisoned by the British, and the

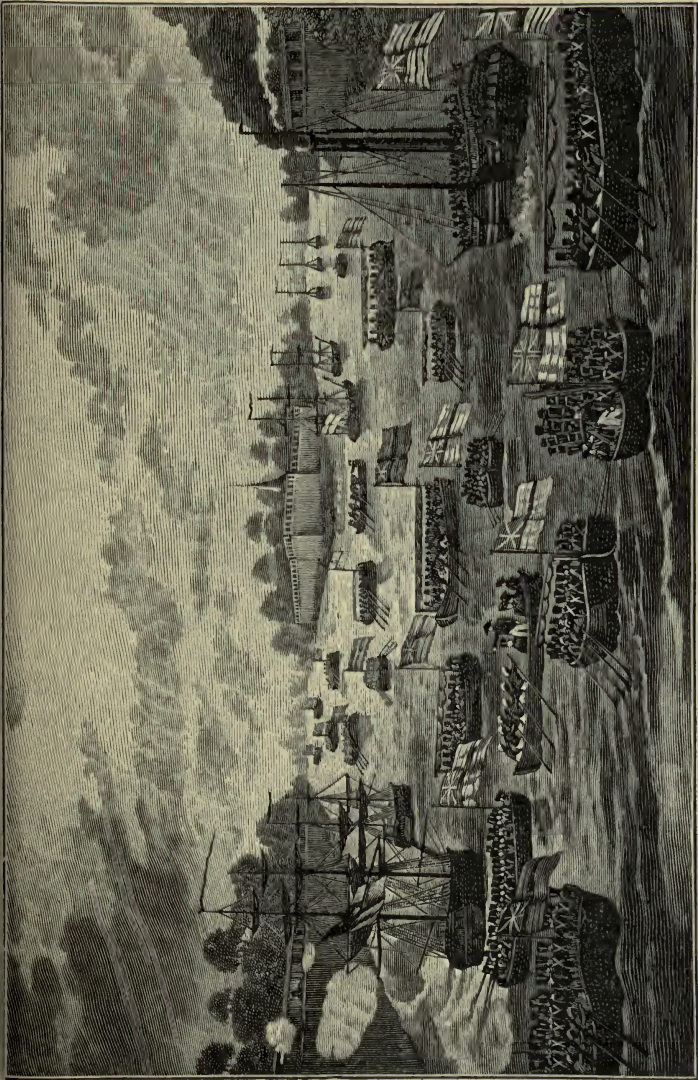


ATTACK ON THE STOCKADES NEAR RANGOON, MAY 25TH, 1824.

Yewun had reoccupied them and increased and strengthened them. An attempt to capture them without the aid of artillery failed, but when the guns were brought up the Burmans abandoned the position after the outworks had been captured, and the British occupied it (June 10th, 1824). The rains had now set in, and dysentery and fever attacked the British troops with such severity that the advance had to be suspended until the arrival of fresh supplies and the recovery of the sick made a renewal of operations possible.

193. Capture of Syriam, Tavoy, Pegu. The Thonba Wungyi now took charge of operations in Rangoon. He built a strong stockade at the junction of the Hlaing and Panhlaing rivers seven miles above Rangoon, and other stockades opposite to the first on the east bank of the river at Kamayut. Before these were complete the British general received information, and successfully stormed them. The Thonba Wungyi and a large number of his troops were slain. Syriam was next captured, and before the end of the rainy season Tavoy and Mergui also fell; Ye, Martaban, and Pegu were occupied before the end of the year.

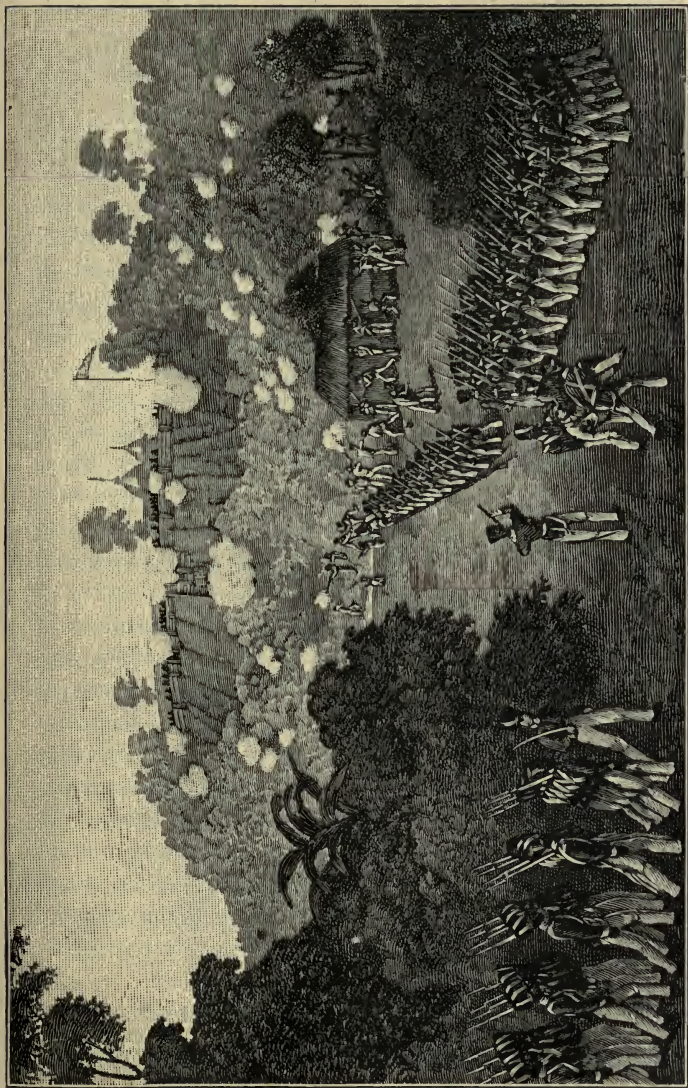
194. Bandula at Rangoon. Meanwhile the serious position of affairs in Rangoon had caused the king to recall Bandula with most of his troops from Arakan. Armies were stationed on the rivers to oppose the British advance; one at Danubyu under Tharawadi Min, the king's brother, another at Htantabin on the Hlaing river under the Kyi Wungyi. The stockade at Htantabin was, however, destroyed by the British in October, though an attack on another stockade at Kyaikkalo, twelve miles from Rangoon, failed. A column sent to make a second attack on Kyaikkalo found it deserted. Bandula, having strengthened his army by the addition of fresh troops raised in Ava, now arrived at Danubyu and superseded Tharawadi Min. The



ATTACK ON THE STOCKADES AT PAGODA POINT, JULY 8TH, 1824.

Kyi Wungyi was removed from his command for his failure at Htantabin, and Bandula remained sole commander. Maha Thilawa had been recalled from Assam and was with the army at Danubyu. Bandula advanced with all his troops at the end of November and took up his position north of Rangoon on the first of December. His army of 60,000 men, only half of whom were armed with muskets, extended from Kemmendine to Pazundaung, and his whole front was protected by earthworks. To this force were opposed 1300 European and 2500 native troops with twenty guns mounted on the pagoda platform. The remainder of the troops were sick or absent with the expeditions in Pegu and Tenasserim. The British troops held the Kemmendine stockade on the west, and the White House, a mile from the great pagoda, on the east of their line. A week's fighting ended in the defeat of the Burmese with great slaughter. The main attack on the pagoda was repulsed with very heavy loss; the left wing of the Burmese force was totally defeated, with the aid of gunboats in the creek, on the open ground between the Royal Lakes and Pazundaung; and the stockade at Kemmendine resisted vigorous assaults which cost the enemy many lives. On December 10th a Burmese force entrenched at Dalla was dislodged, and on the 15th Maha Thilawa, who had occupied a stockade at Kokine, was driven out and fled to Hmawbi. Bandula with 7000 men retreated to Danubyu, and the rest of the army dispersed (December, 1824).

195. **The war in Assam and Manipur.** In the north the British operations had been equally successful. The Burmese force in Gauhati was driven out, before the beginning of the rains, in March 1824, and in October, when the rains were over and military operations became once more possible, they were shut up in Rangpur and compelled to surrender. Two thousand Burmans were



STORMING OF THE FORT OF SYRIAM, AUGUST 5TH, 1824.

allowed to return home. In Manipur and Kachar the task which confronted the British was one of great difficulty. The Burmans were strongly entrenched on the Barak river in considerable numbers, and the British force had to be increased to 7000 men before the enemy withdrew into Manipur. The nature of the country made it impossible for regular troops to follow them, and it was not until June 1825 that an irregular force of Manipuri and Kachari fugitives under Gambhir Sing entered the capital of Manipur. The Burmese garrison had in the meantime been recalled to repel the advance of the British up the Irawadi.

196. **Occupation of Arakan.** The unexpected difficulties which had checked the advance along the line of the Irawadi induced the British to attempt an advance from Arakan over the Pa-aing pass, the most northerly of the routes by which Bodawpaya's troops had invaded Arakan. The withdrawal of Bandula with the bulk of his forces rendered the project more inviting. An army of eleven thousand men, including two European regiments, was assembled in Chittagong under the command of General Morrison, and escorted by gunboats advanced along the coast and crossed the Naaf river. After a two months march the army reached Myauk-u, which was captured on March 29th, 1825, the date of the capture of Danubyu (see next paragraph). The garrison left by Bandula made good their escape. It was found, however, that any advance by the mountain-passes was impracticable. The troops began to suffer much from fever, and had to be cantoned along the coast; the grassy plains where Akyab now stands were thus occupied for the first time.

197. **Capture of Danubyu and death of Bandula.** Shortly after the repulse of Bandula's attack on Rangoon reinforcements arrived from India, and Sir Archibald

Campbell was enabled to begin his advance up the river. His army moved in two columns, one proceeding by river under General Willoughby Cotton, the other by land under Campbell himself. A small flotilla of gunboats accompanied the expedition, and transports with stores, mortars, and heavy guns. But the Burman's power of resistance had been gauged, and the total force did not amount to 5000 men. Cotton advanced without difficulty as far as Danubyu, where Bandula was strongly entrenched; but there, in attempting to carry an outwork of the position at the Danubyu pagoda, he suffered a repulse, and having embarked his troops, retired to an island a few miles down the river. A Burman messenger was despatched to Campbell, who had already reached the Irawadi at Tharawa and had proceeded two days' march beyond that place to Ywathit. He at once turned back, crossed the river at Tharawa, and marched on Danubyu, which he reached seventeen days after leaving Ywathit. After ten days spent in preparation of batteries and trenches, fire was opened on the fort, and Bandula was killed. His brother was offered the command, but refused it and fled to Ava, where he was executed half an hour after his arrival for cowardice and desertion. The garrison evacuated the fort in the night, and a large quantity of guns and ammunition fell into the hands of the British (March 29th, 1825).

198. **Character of Bandula.** By the death of Bandula the Burmans lost their only capable general. He was a man of great energy and ambition, and many tales are told of his severity. He is said to have punished one of his officers for a breach of discipline by having him sawn asunder. No doubt his cruelty was exaggerated, as in the case of many other strong leaders, though cruelty was a Burmese national trait in time of war. The Burman displayed the utmost ferocity towards his foes in order to

discourage a conquered enemy from lightly taking up arms again. In the Manipurian expeditions captive women with children at the breast had their children torn from them, and saw them decapitated and thrown into the river in order that the mothers might be the better able to carry burdens on the march. From the savage treatment of conquered foes to the savage punishment of insubordinate comrades is a short step. It should be noted, too, to the credit of Bandula, that, when he found Burmese prisoners taken in the fighting at Rangoon were well treated and cared for in the British hospitals, he forbade his men the usual practices, such as mutilation of the dead and torture of the wounded, and his orders were obeyed. He was convinced of the invincibility of British arms, and told his men that he had devoted himself to death in order to restore Burmese prestige. His ashes were deposited at Malun, and a pagoda was built over them.

199. Parties at the court of Ava. The king, to use his own phrase, was in the position of a man who had seized a tiger by the tail and was afraid to hold on and afraid to let go. He had adopted the aggressive policy of his predecessor, not from inclination, but because it was difficult to reverse that policy in the teeth of the opposition of the war faction at the court, who were supported by the national vanity and hopes of conquest. The leaders of this faction were the chief queen, Nanmadaw Mè Nu, and her brother the Minthagyi Maung O. This queen, a concubine who had been promoted on the death of the real queen, was the daughter of a police magistrate and was supposed to have attained her high position by witchcraft. She was commonly known as "the Sorceress." Her brother had once been a fish-seller in the bazaar, and was nicknamed "the fish-monger." In virtue of his sister's high estate he took precedence of everybody at court except

the king's brother, Tharawadi Min, and his pride, cruelty, and avarice made him universally hated. The death of Bandula, a keen advocate for war, was a great loss to this party, especially since Tharawadi Min, who had been in command of a division in the delta, now retired to Myedè, where he relinquished his command, and returning to Ava advocated negotiations for peace. But the Minthagyi saw that the rise of Tharawadi Min meant his own downfall, and spared no effort to secure the continuance of the war. The Pakan Wungyi, who was in ill odour, and had been imprisoned for a time together with the European residents at Ava, offered to lead an army against the enemy, and proposed to sacrifice the European prisoners to celebrate his appointment to the command. The prisoners were sent out to the place selected for their execution at the Aungpinlè lake, but were saved by the discovery, in the Pakan Wungyi's house, of royal emblems, which seemed to shew that he aimed at royal power. He was trampled to death by elephants, and the king's half-brother Minmyabu was chosen to succeed him, with the Kyi Wungyi or "lord of the granaries" as his second in command.

200. **Negotiations for peace.** The war had ceased to be popular with the common people, who found the British troops almost irresistible in battle, but well-disposed to non-combatants. The inhabitants of Rangoon had returned to their homes, and the people of Prome, which was occupied without opposition in April soon after the capture of Danubyu, did the same. The governor of Prome had by Minmyabu's instructions ordered the town to be deserted and set on fire; but only about half of it was burned, and the arsenal with stores of gunpowder escaped. The peasants furnished the British army with supplies, and the troops went into cantonments there until the end of the rains. The steady progress of the British troops

and their fair treatment of the inhabitants of the country made it difficult to obtain recruits for the Burmese army. The authority of the king seems on this occasion to have so far broken down that bounties had to be given to induce men to enlist, and even the Shan contingents were paid; while the scum of the streets of the capital was enrolled in the new regiments. A force of some 15,000 men was collected at Myedè during the rains, but in September, before the war was renewed, an armistice of forty days was arranged, and the Kyi Wungyi met Campbell and Cotton in conference at Nyaungbinseit. The British demanded the cession of Arakan, Tavoy, and Mergui, and the payment of two crores of rupees. The Kyi Wungyi asked that the armistice should be prolonged until he received the opinion of the court on this demand, but before the armistice ended he wrote saying that the cession of territory and the payment of indemnities were not in accordance with Burmese custom, and the war was resumed.

201. **Defence of Prome.** During the negotiations the headquarters of the Burmese were at Malun. On the renewal of hostilities their armies, strongly reinforced, took up positions for an attack on Prome. Ten miles to the north was a force of 30,000 men, and Maha Nemyo, with 11,000 men, chiefly Shans, was encamped on the Nawinchaung at Wettigan, twenty miles to the north-east. The Kyi Wungyi guarded the west bank of the river. Maha Nemyo's force threatened the British flank and a night march was made to attack him. The three British columns lost touch with each other in the dark, and having attacked singly were repulsed with considerable loss. The Burmese troops occupied Shwedaung, south of Prome, and Sinbaik, on the Nawinchaung, eleven miles to the north-east of the city, and also attacked a British post

at Padaung. A new detachment on its way from Rangoon drove them out of Shwedaung, and the attack on Padaung failed. A few days later Campbell, with 2500 European troops and 1500 natives, attacked the Burmese main position at Natpadi and carried it by assault. The Kyi Wungyi's force on the west bank was dislodged a few days later. The Shan contingents dispersed to their homes, and the Burmese retreated northward, leaving Myedè to be occupied without opposition. The day before the assault on Natpadi, the stockade at Sinbaik had been captured and Maha Nemyo killed. Amongst the wounded in this action was a young girl in male attire, and another woman was found amongst the slain. These were Shan women, the wives of one of the Sawbwas (chiefs) who were supposed to be expert in magic, and who had been sent down with other women of similar reputation from Ava to put a spell upon the foreigners.

202. **Negotiations at Malun.** It was thought that the Burmans would now be more disposed to listen to proposals of peace, and a letter was sent to the commander-in-chief by the hand of a Brahmin, the Raj Guru, who had been sent by Bagyidaw to India in the first year of his reign to intrigue with the native princes, and had been detained by the Government of Bengal. Robertson, of the Civil Service, had been sent from Calcutta to negotiate a peace, and had brought with him the Raj Guru as interpreter. As might have been expected, this man behaved treacherously throughout the negotiations, gave the Burmans information, and advised them to continue the war. When the British army reached Patanago, opposite Malun, negotiations were opened, and a treaty was signed in January, 1826. A truce of fifteen days was made to enable the king to confirm the treaty. At the end of that time no reply was received, and Minmyabu's

stockade at Malun was stormed. Amongst the documents found there were the letters of the Raj Guru and the signed treaty, which had never been communicated to the king.

203. **Battle at Pagan.** Amongst the prisoners at Ava were Judson and Price, the American missionaries, and some British officers who had been captured in the fighting. Judson had been released and sent down to Minmyabu at Malun as interpreter, and he was now sent with Price and the British officers to meet Campbell and Robertson, and learn what terms they had to offer. The British forces had continued their advance and met Price near Yenangyaung. The king's enquiry was communicated to them, and a reply was sent to the effect that the terms laid down in the signed treaty were the most favourable that could be offered, and that the army would await the ratification of the treaty at Pagan. But the war party at Ava was still obdurate, and the Minthagyi and the queen overcame the recommendations of Tharawadi Min. Another general, calling himself Zeyathura or Newinbayin, offered to lead an army against the foe, and his offer was accepted, Minmyabu and the other generals being superseded. Unfortunately for the new general it was found impossible to raise more than about half the number of troops he demanded, but he nevertheless proceeded to Pagan to await the arrival of the British. Not anticipating a battle there Campbell arrived with only a portion of his force, less than 2000 men in all, but at once attacked and defeated the Burmese. Newinbayin fled to Ava, where he was received in audience by the king, and had the hardihood to ask for fresh troops and make fresh promises of victory. He was ordered out for immediate execution, and was tortured to death before the place of execution was actually reached.

204. **Treaty of Yandabo.** The British forces were collected at Pagan and marched on to Yandabo, some forty miles from Ava, and the presence of the enemy almost at his gates induced the king to accept the treaty as amended at Malun. The terms included the cession of the provinces of Assam, Arakan, Tenasserim, and Martaban east of the Salween river, the payment of an indemnity of one crore of rupees, and a promise to abstain from interference in Kachar, Jaintia, and Manipur. Siam was to be included in the peace as an ally of the British. The Burmese commissioners, who were accompanied by Price and Judson, brought with them the first instalment of the indemnity, twenty-five lakhs of rupees. It was agreed that the remainder should be paid in three instalments, and that the British army should occupy Rangoon until the payment of the second instalment was made in the following year. A commercial treaty was also promised for that year. The treaty of Yandabo having been signed on February 24th, 1826, the British troops withdrew to Rangoon. The capital of the new province of Tenasserim was fixed at Maulmain, on the site of the ancient Hindu city of Ramapura. The Burmese court annals relate how the king, from motives of piety and regard for life, made no effort to oppose the enemy, but allowed them to advance as far as Yandabo. By that time their resources were exhausted, and in great distress they petitioned the king. He in his clemency and generosity, continues the chronicler, sent them money to pay their expenses out of the country, and compassionately allowed them to depart.

CHAPTER XXV.

FROM THE TREATY OF YANDABO TO THE
ACCESSION OF THARAWADI MIN.

205. **Crawfurd's treaty.** Later in the year 1826 Crawfurd was sent from India to negotiate a treaty of commerce in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Yandabo. Throughout the negotiations the behaviour of the Burmese commissioners was characterized by deceit, delay, and perversity, due to their unwillingness to bear any responsibility. They tried to evade their obligations under the Treaty of Yandabo, and endeavoured to secure a remission or postponement of the indemnity in return for the commercial treaty. They went so far as to modify clauses in copying the draft treaty, and even proposed to Judson that they should offer Crawfurd a bribe. The commercial treaty, which was signed on November 23rd, contained no concessions of any importance, except the royal consent to the appointment of a British Resident in Ava. The first Resident, Major Burney, was not sent until 1830. At the end of the year the second instalment of the indemnity was paid, and the British troops were withdrawn from Rangoon to Tenasserim. Mr. Crawfurd as Civil Commissioner took up his residence at Amherst.

206. **Last Talaing insurrection.** The Talaings, who had enjoyed their temporary freedom from Burmese rule, were not disposed to submit again without a struggle, in which the weakness of the Burmese after the war offered hopes of success. A number of Talaings, suspected of attempting to set fire to Rangoon, were buried alive in a well together with their wives and children, and this act of barbarity was the signal for revolt in January, 1827.

The rebellion was headed by Maung Sat, governor of Syriam, and was joined by many Karens. The main body of the rebels attacked Rangoon; Dalla also was occupied, and a detachment was sent against Bassein. The Burmese, who had shut themselves up in their stockade in Rangoon, sallied forth and put the Talaings to flight. Maung Sat took refuge in Dalla, and sent a detachment up the Panhlaing creek to cut off Rangoon from reinforcements coming from Ava, intending to renew his attack. But troops from Ava broke through and defeated the rebels, large numbers of whom escaped with their leader to Tenasserim.

207. **Destruction of Martaban.** The protection given to the rebels who took refuge in British territory may have been the pretext for the raids which were made into Tenasserim. Martaban, directly opposite Maulmain, was the base of operations of armed bands, which constantly crossed the river and plundered and ravaged the newly-acquired British territory. Remonstrances were made to the Burmese authorities, but in vain, and the incursions continued until the British governor took the matter into his own hands. He sent to Martaban a British force which captured the town and burnt it to the ground in November, 1829.

208. **Major Burney, Resident at Ava.** In 1830 Major Burney was sent to Ava as British Resident, with instructions to enquire what the Burmese would offer in exchange for the Tenasserim provinces, which the Indian government, under orders from the East India Company, desired to relinquish because they were not self-supporting. The Burmese claimed that Tenasserim should be given back to them in exchange for the fourth instalment of the indemnity, which was still unpaid. So ridiculous a demand could not be entertained, and the negotiations were dropped, the indemnity being duly paid. A Burmese

mission was sent to India to appeal to the governor-general, and wasted three years following Lord William Bentinck about Northern India.

209. **Manipur and Burma.** Another question which was left to Major Burney for decision was the dispute between Burma and Manipur for the possession of the Kale-Kabaw valley. During the war Gambhir Sing had been subsidized by the British government to maintain troops in Manipur, and had enjoyed the services of two British officers. On the conclusion of peace he was informed that he must carry on the government at his own expense and without assistance. He had, at the end of the war, received the Kale-Kabaw valley as part of his kingdom, but the Burmans were able to prove to Major Burney that Marjit had ceded the valley to Burma in 1813 (paragraph 186), that Burma had never abandoned her claim to the valley, though it had been frequently overrun by the Manipuris, and that in 1745 when, according to the contention of Manipur, the Shan chief of Mogaung had ceded the valley to Manipur, Mogaung was tributary to Burma and had no power to cede territory. The government of India allowed the justice of the Burmese claim, and the Kale-Kabaw valley was recognized as Burmese territory in 1833.

210. **Madness of Bagyidaw.** The loss of the maritime provinces weighed heavily on the mind of the king, who brooded over his troubles and in time developed the insanity which seemed to be hereditary in the family of Alaungpaya. In 1831 he became unfit to take any part in public affairs, and a council of regency was appointed, consisting of his brother, Tharawadi Min, his brother-in-law, Maung O the Minthagyi, and two other ministers. Tharawadi Min soon withdrew from the council in disgust, and the queen and her brother, the Minthagyi, were left

masters of the situation. At the end of the year Major Burney took leave and did not return until the cold weather of 1833.

211. **Rebellion of Tharawadi Min.** The position of Tharawadi Min had become intolerable. Against his advice the war had been pursued when defeat was seen to be inevitable, and the terms of peace had involved much greater loss to Burma than would have been incurred by an arrangement at an earlier stage. The king was unfit to rule, and the prince felt that he should now at any rate himself assume the reins of government. Yet he found himself in a minority on a council of regency controlled by his two enemies, whom he held responsible for the disasters to the country. He therefore began to make preparations for revolt. He gradually assembled a strong bodyguard and collected 8000 muskets. Armed bands of dacoits were in his pay in different parts of the country. His arrangements proceeded undisturbed for four years, but in 1837 the Minthagyi brought matters to a crisis by trying to arrest one of Tharawadi Min's followers in the prince's own palace. The Minthagyi's emissaries were driven off, but Tharawadi Min fled to Sagaing and thence to Shwebo where he gathered together his followers. Major Burney followed him there, and with difficulty made him promise not to sack Ava or put anybody to death if the ministers made their submission. He returned to Ava, which opened its gates to him, and there a few days later he announced that Bagyidaw had abdicated. He then took possession of the palace as king. Bagyidaw was well treated but kept in seclusion. The queen and the Minthagyi were thrown into prison and were executed in 1840. Bagyidaw died in 1845.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THARAWADI MIN AND PAGAN MIN.

212. **Accession of Tharawadi Min.** In 1837, the first year of his reign, Tharawadi Min rid himself of one possible source of danger by putting to death Bagyidaw's son, Sakya Min, on a charge of treason. He made his capital at Amarapura after a brief residence at Kyaukmyaung. During his stay at Kyaukmyaung he left Ava in charge of Maung Taung Bo, the Pakyi Wun, who was a notorious blackguard and dacoit.

213. **British Mission in Ava.** During the seven years of Major Burney's residence in Ava the Burmese government had become reconciled to the conditions of the treaty of Yandabo. The king had written letters and sent envoys to the governor-general, whose authority he had the wisdom to recognize. But Tharawadi Min, on his accession, repudiated the Treaty of Yandabo, and refused to recognize Burney's official position, or the authority of the governor-general. He demanded direct communication with the English sovereign. Burney at once retired to India together with the whole of the mission. In the following year, 1838, however, Colonel Benson was sent as Resident. He was treated on his arrival with the utmost incivility. He was delayed some time in Rangoon for want of boats to take the mission up to Amarapura, and on the journey he was insulted by minor officials. When he arrived in Amarapura his official position was ignored, and a residence was assigned to him on a sandbank, which was covered during the rainy season by the overflow of the Irawadi. He returned to India in the cold weather, leaving Captain M'Leod, the assistant resident, in charge.

As the king refused to allow the removal of the residency to a more suitable site, the mission withdrew in 1840.

214. **Rebellion suppressed.** From the treaty of Yandabo onwards Burma was shut off from intercourse with Arakan and Siam, the wars with which two countries fill so large a place in Burmese history, and the presence of British troops in Tenasserim acted as a check on disorder in Pegu. The Shans for the most part remained quiet, and China was busy with her own affairs ; so that the energies of the royal family, which had often found an outlet in foolish and unnecessary wars, were expended in court intrigues. In 1838 a rebellion in Lower Burma was headed by a pretender, who declared himself to be the Sakya Min who had been drowned a year previously. The rebellion was suppressed with great cruelty. On one occasion forty men, women, and children were burnt alive in a bamboo hut. Two years later, in 1840, a Shan rising supplied the king with a pretext for a further slaughter of his rivals. He pretended that the ex-queen and Minthagyi were concerned in the insurrection, and put both to death together with their followers. The queen was trampled to death by elephants, but that was the least barbarous mode of execution employed against the prisoners.

215. **Insanity of the king.** The hereditary madness of his family began to appear in the king during the year 1841. He developed a taste for a curious form of amusement. He would take a dagger, and, having caused any one of his followers who happened to be at hand to bare his back, he would score a chess board on the unfortunate man's flesh with gashes of the steel. He made a sudden visit to Rangoon in 1841, causing some apprehension in the minds of the British government, and the garrisons of Arakan and Tenasserim were strengthened. On his return from Rangoon he went to live in an isolated palace on the

Made Chaung, where Mandalay now stands. His sons found their opportunity in the king's madness. The Prome prince was the first to act. In the year 1845 he seized the king and kept him in confinement. But the king contrived to escape and the prince fled for safety to the Shan states. The Tarokmaw prince, who next seized his father, was more successful, and kept him a close prisoner till his death in the following year. The Pagan Min, however, became regent, and proceeded to establish himself in the usual way by killing off all possible rivals.

216. **Pagan Min seizes the throne.** In 1846 the Prome prince was captured in the Shan hill-country and brought down to Amarapura. There he was accused of conspiring with one of Tharawadi's queens to usurp the throne. Both were executed together with all their immediate relatives, except the daughter of the queen and Tharawadi Min. The insane king died not long afterwards and Pagan Min became king. Without delay he seized the Tarokmaw prince and all his household and put them to death. He then entered upon seven years of dire misrule, which ended in the loss of the whole of Lower Burma. He was a man without intellect, knowledge, or capacity of any kind. Avaricious, brutal, and degraded, he had no interest in any but the coarsest pleasures and pursuits. For two years his chief counsellors and instruments were two Mahomedans, Maung Baingzat and Maung Bein. With their help and guidance he ordered some six thousand public executions or murders during their two years of power. Then the resentment of the long-suffering people rose to such a pitch that to save himself the king threw the blame on his Mahomedan favourites and handed them over to the popular rage. They were tortured for three days in the most horrible manner before they succumbed (1848 A.D.).

217. **Oppression of British traders.** Incredible as it may seem the war of 1824-26 had made no permanent impression on the minds of the Burmese king and his ministers. Following the example of Tharawadi Min, the governor of Pegu, who had his headquarters in Rangoon, entirely ignored treaty obligations, and recommenced exactions from British trading ships. In the year 1851 a series of outrages roused the British government to action. The governor of Pegu at that time was Maung Ok, appointed by Pagan Min at the commencement of his reign. He arrested Mr. Sheppard, captain of a British ship, on a charge of murder. The captain was tried and acquitted, but fined and promptly re-arrested on a charge of embezzlement. On this charge also he was acquitted but fined again, the total fines exceeding nine hundred rupees. The members of his crew also were thrown into prison, and money was extorted from all of them, one man being beaten as well. Shortly afterwards another captain, Mr. Lewis, was arrested and fined on a frivolous charge laid by two Bengali coolies. When seven of his crew deserted and he appealed to the Burmese authorities, the deserters were arrested, but a sum of two hundred and fifty rupees was demanded before they were handed over; even on payment of that sum only four men were produced. Mr. Lewis was next arrested on a charge of murder, which Maung Ok offered to dismiss on receipt of two hundred rupees. Lewis had the courage to refuse and was released. He was again arrested, however, and fined two hundred and eighty rupees. One of his petty officers was then arrested on a charge of embezzlement, and the ship was detained until a sum of two hundred rupees was paid for his release. Sheppard and Lewis both drew up claims for compensation, and presented them through the British government:

Lawrence P. Briggs,
Consul of the United States of America

218. **The British government interferes.** Lord Dalhousie, the governor-general, supported the claims of the two captains, and despatched Commodore Lambert with a squadron numbering six ships in all. The commodore received two letters, one, addressed to Maung Ok, demanding compensation and pointing out the serious nature of the violations of the treaty; the other, addressed to the king, demanding the removal of Maung Ok and threatening war in the event of a refusal. This second letter was to be sent only if Maung Ok declined to grant redress. The governor proved impracticable. He forbade communication between the ships and the Europeans on shore, and laid a plot to seize the officers when they came ashore to present the British claims, intending to hold them as hostages until the warships were withdrawn. This plot was discovered, and the letter addressed to the king was sent on. The king's reply was friendly in tone. Maung Ok was removed from his governorship, but he was allowed to depart with every mark of honour. His successor, Maung Hmon, brought with him 30,000 troops to Rangoon, while a force of 20,000 men was sent to Bassein under command of Maung Nyo, and another force of 30,000 men under Maung Bwa to Martaban. The new governor confirmed Maung Ok's order prohibiting communication with the ships in the river on pain of death. A deputation of officers, which went ashore to present the letter demanding compensation, was treated with gross discourtesy and kept waiting throughout the heat of the day on the plea that the governor was asleep. Finally they left without seeing him, and he sent a letter to the commodore, stating that the officers were intoxicated and had used violent language. Lambert declared the blockade of the river and seized a royal ship moored off Rangoon. The Burmese batteries which opened fire on the British ships were soon

silenced and the ships dropped down the river, one being detached to blockade Bassein. The commodore went to Calcutta for further instructions (January, 1852).

219. **British ultimatum.** To give the Burmese another chance of avoiding war a second letter was sent by the governor-general demanding an apology and compensation. The ships carrying the letter under a flag of truce were fired on, but silenced the Burmese forts. The reply of the Burmese government was of an evasive nature. On the 18th of February an ultimatum was despatched demanding compensation for the wrongs done to Captains Lewis and Sheppard, an apology to the officers insulted by Maung Hmon, and the payment of ten lakhs of rupees to cover the cost of preparations for war made by the British government. The Burmese had two evil counsellors who both assured them that the first war had exhausted the resources of the British and that they would certainly not undertake a second war. Accordingly the ultimatum was ignored, and in April, 1852, the war began. The first act of hostility was committed by the Burmese, who again fired on a ship carrying a flag of truce, which was sent by General Godwin to ascertain whether the Burmese government meant to yield to the British demands.

220. **Capture of Martaban, Rangoon, and Bassein.** General Godwin pushed on the war with great vigour. A detachment of 1400 men, aided by gunboats, carried Martaban by assault on the 5th of April, and five days later the fleet anchored in the Rangoon river below the Hastings shoal. The following day the squadron proceeded up the river, shelling and storming seven stockades on the way, and anchored off Kemmendine. An attack arranged for the 12th proved abortive, two officers being killed by sunstroke and three incapacitated by the heat before noon; but the White House stockade east of the

pagoda was captured. On the 14th the attack was successfully carried out and the Shwe Dagon pagoda was captured after a severe struggle. Rangoon thus passed finally into the hands of the British. The Burmans fought with great courage and the loss on both sides was heavy. Attempts made by a Burmese force to recover Martaban were repelled by the British garrison, and on hearing the news of the fall of Rangoon the Burmese troops retired. A final attempt on Martaban was made by Maung Shwe Lon on May 19th but failed. Meanwhile four ships, under Commodore Lambert, had been despatched to Bassein, which was captured after forty minutes fighting on the 18th of May.

221. **Pegu captured and lost again.** The war was not popular with the Lower Burmans and Talaings, who sided with the British whenever the Burmese troops were withdrawn. The Shans, too, refused to send their contingents for service. A body of Talaings under Maung Ta rose against the Burmese government, and with the aid of the British occupied Pegu on the 3rd of June. The Talaings were left to garrison the town, but a week later the Burmese recaptured it in a sudden assault and fortified it strongly against a British attack. General Godwin was unable to send troops at once to recover Pegu, and it remained six months longer in the hands of the Burmese.

222. **Prome occupied and abandoned.** At the beginning of the rainy season in 1852, one British steamer reconnoitred the Irawadi nearly as far as Prome, and early in July a flotilla of four ships advanced up the river. A body of 1500 Burmans, stationed at Kanaung, was shelled by the ships, which anchored a few miles higher up at Myanaung. The next morning the British came across the main Burmese army of 7000 men under Maung Gyi, son of Maha Bandula, who had taken his father's

title but did not inherit his courage or skill. The flotilla passed Maung Gyi's force and pushed on to Prome, which was abandoned by the governor, Maung Waing. More than twenty guns were captured, and all except four were sunk in deep water. The British force was too small to occupy Prome and retired down the river. The Burmese troops were encountered crossing the river at Akauktaung, and in the engagement which took place a few war-boats were sunk with a quantity of warlike stores, and five guns were captured. A few days later twenty-eight guns left behind by Maung Gyi were captured at Akauktaung. The squadron reconnoitred again up to Prome and found that Maung Gyi with 2000 men was at Rathemyo, the remainder of his troops having deserted.

223. **The governor-general in Rangoon. Capture of Prome.** In his despatch to England after the capture of Rangoon, Lord Dalhousie discussed various alternative plans for dealing with Burma, and recommended the permanent occupation of the Province of Pegu as the only security for the good behaviour of the Burmese. The Court of Directors of the East India Company and the Queen's government concurred. Lord Dalhousie himself paid a brief visit to Rangoon in July and August 1852, to discuss his policy with General Godwin and to investigate on the spot the details of his course of action. After his departure, preparations were made for an advance in force on Prome, and at the end of September the flotilla set sail. On the 9th of October the troops disembarked at Prome. The Burmans expected the attack to take place on the south and west, and the Shwesandaw pagoda was strongly fortified on those two sides. But the British landed to the north of the town and attacked the pagoda from the east. The Burmans abandoned their positions after a short resistance, only one man being killed on

the British side. Maung Gyi, whose troops at Rathemyo now numbered 18,000, surrendered, and his army dispersed. For a few weeks these troops caused trouble by marauding raids along the river, and had to be broken up by British columns, which captured two stockades the enemy had built opposite Prome. One British officer was killed at Akauktaung.

224. Capture of Pegu. Attention was now turned to Pegu, and before the end of November the British captured the town and the Shwe-hmaw-daw pagoda after two days' fighting. A number of Talaings assembled in Pegu and together with 200 British and 400 native troops were left to garrison the town. The Burmese general, Maung Kyauk Lon, invested the place with an army of 8000 men, and reinforcements of 240 British troops with fresh supplies of ammunition could not force their way through. The garrison was hard pressed when General Godwin with 1200 men proceeded up the Pegu river, sending a column by land along the west bank. The Burmese were driven off without any serious engagement, and imperfect co-operation between the two British columns alone prevented the annihilation of the enemy.

225. Annexation of Pegu. Captain Arthur Phayre was appointed governor of the Province of Pegu, and on December 20th, 1852, he published the proclamation of the governor-general declaring Pegu a British possession, and calling upon the inhabitants to submit peacefully to British rule. The king of Burma was warned that if he resisted, his whole power might be destroyed and himself exiled. In a letter sent to the king the terms of the proclamation were repeated, and a period of one month was allowed for the conclusion of a treaty of peace.

226. Deposition of Pagan Min. The letter which was addressed to Pagan Min was delivered to his successor,

Mindon Min. The latter, a half-brother of the king, was a man of peaceful disposition, religious habits, and enlightened character. His popularity aroused the jealousy of the brutal Pagan Min, and, fearing for his life, Mindon Min fled with his brother to Shwebo on the 17th of December, 1852. The home of the rebel Alaungpaya was traditionally the base of operations for rebels under the Alaungpaya dynasty, and Pagan Min prepared to fight for his throne. He recalled the troops who were still carrying on a desultory warfare round Prome. By the 1st of January, 1853, Mindon Min's troops were in possession of the suburbs of Amarapura. After seven weeks had been spent in intermittent fighting, the Magwe Mingyi seized the king's advisers, and Mindon Min's troops in the confusion secured the city and the palace. When the usual executions were over, Mindon Min, whose strict Buddhist principles could not tolerate bloodshed, came down from Shwebo. Pagan Min was kept in honourable captivity, with a small court of his own. He died of small-pox in 1881.

227. **Subjugation of Pegu.** The pacification of Pegu was not a task of prolonged difficulty. The Martaban land column under General Steel cleared the country of disbanded troops and dacoit bands, from Taungu to the Tenasserim frontier. Another column under Sir John Cheape was sent out against Maung Myat Tun, who with a large force was harassing the west country. This leader, after destroying Zalun and Danubyu, retired to a strong position on the Kyaukzin creek not far from the Pantanaw river. The position was discovered only after a tedious search. The enemy, to the number of 4000 men, were strongly entrenched. After a fight of two hours' duration a storming party, led by Ensign Wolseley (afterwards Lord Wolseley), carried the entrenchments, and the Burmans

fled (March 19th, 1853). There was now an end of organized resistance, and the British were left in undisturbed possession of the Province of Pegu from a line drawn due east and west six miles north of Myedè, which was laid down as the boundary line between Upper Burma and British territory.

CHAPTER XXVII.

MINDON MIN.

228. **Mindon Min king.** The new king had opposed the war, and he strongly resented the tone of the letter which threatened the extinction of his power, though that letter had been addressed to Pagan Min his predecessor. He therefore refused to sign any treaty, especially one which involved the cession of territory, but he forbade any attack on the British ; and peace was formally declared six months after the annexation of Pegu. In 1854 the king made an attempt to secure by means of diplomacy the restoration of Pegu, and in December an embassy was sent to Calcutta with Captain Phayre as interpreter. The embassy was well received and brilliantly entertained, but Lord Dalhousie told the envoys to dismiss from their minds any hope of the restitution of Pegu. This reply was a great disappointment to Mindon Min, but he concealed his chagrin and devoted himself to the task of governing justly what remained to him of the empire of Burma. He regulated the taxes by abolishing the old custom of assigning districts for the maintenance of princes and ministers. Only the Ein-she min, the king's brother, was so provided for. In the remaining districts, except the Shan states,



PORTRAIT OF MINDON MIN.

a tax at the average rate of ten rupees per household was levied, and from the revenue so collected all officials received monthly salaries. The tax-collectors were strictly enjoined to collect the tax justly without oppression. This beneficent measure alone would entitle Mindon Min to the praise which he has won as a just and merciful ruler.

229. **Phayre's mission.** In 1855 Major Phayre proceeded to Amarapura to negotiate a commercial treaty. The mission was met at Minhla by a deputation from the Burmese court, and both English and Burmans were entertained by Mackertich, the Armenian governor of Minhla, who in spite of his foreign extraction won great popularity amongst the Burmese. He accompanied the mission to Amarapura. There nearly six weeks were spent in the exchange of diplomatic courtesies and the amusements customary at the Burmese court, but none of the objects of the mission were achieved. The king could not be persuaded that the proposed treaty conferred any advantage on his own subjects, and he declined to sign a treaty which he thought discreditable to himself as a ruler. We must admire his principle though we cannot confirm his judgment. The treaty was eminently fair and advantageous to both nations. The king's natural good sense was, however, shewn in his advice to Mackertich and Major Allan, the Deputy Commissioner of Thayetmyo. He pointed out the importance of friendship between the frontier officials, and the necessity of judgment and moderation in their administration; for fools might start a quarrel which baffled the wisdom of the wisest to compose. The most important fruit of this mission was Captain Yule's comprehensive work on Burmese natural history, topography, customs, and administration, entitled *Narrative of the Mission to the Court of Ava*.

230. **Mandalay the capital.** In February, 1857, the

building of a new capital at Mandalay was begun in accordance with omens and dreams which had appeared to the king, and the court moved to Mandalay in June, the king and his queens being accommodated in a temporary palace. In April, 1858, a mission from the United States, with a letter from the President expressing a desire for friendly relations with Burma, was received in Mandalay. In this year rebellions against British rule took place in Shwegyin and Bassein districts, headed by men who claimed to be of royal race and proposed to restore Burmese sway, but they were promptly suppressed. Disturbances in the Shan states created by rebellious Sawbwas were quelled without difficulty (1861 A.D.). The transfer of the government to Mandalay was completed in 1860.

231. **The commercial treaty.** Arakan, Pegu, and Tenasserim were combined in 1862 into one province under Major Phayre as Chief Commissioner, and one of the first acts of the new administration was the negotiation of a commercial treaty with Mindon Min. It was agreed that after the expiration of one year frontier duties should be reduced by both parties, that British subjects should be allowed to trade anywhere, and that a British representative should reside in Mandalay. In point of fact the treaty was ineffectual, because the king through his agents had obtained a monopoly not merely of oil, teak, and precious stones, but of all the chief articles of commerce, and private traders were unable to purchase except from the royal agents. Four years later Major Phayre again visited Mandalay in the endeavour to get the frontier duties lowered in accordance with the treaty and to secure the abolition of monopolies and freedom of trade, but his efforts were fruitless.

232. **Rebellion in Mandalay.** At the beginning of the Buddhist Lent in June, 1866, a rebellion broke out in

Mandalay headed by two of the king's sons, the Myingun and Myingondaing princes. The Kanaung Min, brother to the king, was heir-apparent, and the king's sons resented his power and determined to remove him as an obstacle to their own succession. While the king was residing in the temporary palace at the foot of the Mandalay hill, the conspirators in a sudden attack slew the Ein-she-min, but failed to capture the king, who escaped with his own immediate attendants to the palace. The conspirators followed and tried to force their way into the palace. While they were so engaged the Ein-she-min's men came upon them and drove them from the immediate precincts of the palace. Before the next morning the royal troops had assembled and the rebel princes were driven to the river, where they seized a steamer and retired to Myingyan. They spent a month in plundering the riverine villages before they were compelled by the approach of a column of royal troops to take refuge in British territory, where they were seized and sent down to Rangoon. The Myingun prince succeeded in escaping, and for a time made raids on Burmese territory from Karenni. Being expelled by a Burmese force he was again obliged to seek refuge in Rangoon. He was again placed in confinement there and afterwards sent to India.

233. **Rebellion of the Padein Min.** Meanwhile the Ein-she-min's son, Padein Min, had fled on the day of his father's murder to Shwebo. The men of Tabayin, Pyinsala, and Tantabin, in the Crown Prince's territory, joined him, and he acquired very soon a formidable following. Detachments from other places in his father's domain marched on Mandalay from the south, while the prince advanced from the north side. The king's troops were defeated, and the city was almost completely invested. The king took such a despondent view of the affair that he contemplated

abdication in order to avoid bloodshed. The remonstrances of the chief queen overcame his weakness. In a short time the forces of the Padein prince were defeated and dispersed, and the prince himself was captured and confined in Mandalay. A few months later he and all the other prisoners were executed by order of the Hludaw (see Chap. XXX.) without the knowledge of the king, on a charge of again conspiring against the throne. Captain Sladen, the British Resident, who met the princes on the way to execution, rode off to the palace and obtained a reprieve from the king in person, but arrived too late to save most of the victims (May 15th, 1867).

234. Second commercial treaty. In 1867 Colonel Fytche succeeded Major Phayre, whose able administration had brought prosperity and order to Lower Burma. In October, when the rains were over, Fytche arrived in Mandalay and concluded a new treaty with Mindon Min. Frontier dues were fixed at 5 per cent., with the right of revision of rates at the end of ten years. A British Resident was to be maintained at Mandalay. Free trade in gold and silver was permitted. The Burmese government was to be allowed to buy war materials in British territory subject to the approval of the Chief Commissioner. The extradition of criminals was agreed upon. With a view to opening up trade with China, Colonel Sladen surveyed the routes north of Bhamo, but could not penetrate beyond Tengyueh (Momein), owing to the disturbed state of the country. Two years later Captain Stover, the first assistant political agent at Bhamo, was more successful. He established friendly relations with the Shans and Kachins, and with the governor of Tengyueh.

235. Rebellions in Upper and Lower Burma. Bassein was disturbed in 1868 by a rising and an attack on

the local treasury. One Maung Kyaw Tha had received letters which declared him to be the king's nephew and authorized him to assume the governorship of Bassein. The letters were no doubt forgeries which imposed on a credulous fool. The attack on the treasury was for the moment successful, but the Deputy-Commissioner, Mr. Beddy, drove off the rebels and captured the ringleaders. In Upper Burma a conspiracy against the king, planned by the Katha prince and his mother, was discovered before it spread beyond the palace. The guilty persons were forgiven at the intercession of a Buddhist monk (May, 1870).

236. The royal monopolies. Sir Ashley Eden became Chief Commissioner of British Burma in 1871. He at once urged upon the king the necessity of abandoning the royal monopolies, which rendered the treaties of 1862 and 1867 ineffective. As the king was already getting into difficulties through large purchases of goods which he was unable to sell again, he agreed to remove the restrictions on trade. But the promise, if carried out, was afterwards broken; for six years later this question was again the subject of representations by the British authorities, who desired another revision of the treaties.

237. Foreign missions. The year 1872 was made memorable by the arrival at the Burmese court of letters from Queen Victoria, the Prime Minister of England, and the Viceroy of India. These were crossed on their way out by a Burmese mission to the English court, headed by the Kinwun Mingyi. The object of the mission had not been notified to the political agent in Mandalay, and the envoy, afraid that he might not be favourably received in England, visited the courts of Italy and France on his journey. In Paris he negotiated a treaty which the Burmese king afterwards refused to ratify, because it

gave the French the right to mine for precious stones in the Ruby Mines district, though these were a royal monopoly. In spite of the irregularity of the mission it was well received at the English court. Later in the year an Italian envoy visited Mandalay and ratified a commercial treaty with the Burmese government. At the end of December, 1873, a French mission came to Mandalay to obtain a ratification of the treaty concluded by the Kinwun Mingyi. This was refused, as already stated. The Kinwun Mingyi afterwards proceeded to Paris with an amended treaty, but the French government refused to accept a treaty lacking the clause granting to French subjects the right of working the ruby mines. In February, 1875, a mission was sent to India to discuss the question of the Karenni boundary. The Burmans had been in the habit of raiding into that territory, and the chiefs had entreated British protection. Late in the year the matter was settled by Sir Douglas Forsyth, the emissary of the Viceroy, in consultation with the Burmese government at Mandalay, and the Karens were secured against aggression.

238. **Character of Mindon Min.** The remaining years of Mindon Min's reign are not marked by any event of note. He fell ill of dysentery in the rainy season of 1878, and died on the 1st of October after an illness of two months. He is remarkable amongst Burmese kings for a high standard of honour and truthfulness. Except in the matter of monopolies, the evils of which he did not understand, and which were forced upon him by the cost of maintaining the splendour of his court, all his measures were directed towards the advancement of the prosperity of his kingdom and the best interests of his subjects. He abhorred bloodshed; but while he never expressly sanctioned the execution of a criminal, he allowed his

ministers at times to order executions without his express sanction, and refrained from punishing these violations of his principles and his prerogative. His lack of the martial qualities which characterize most of the kings of the dynasty was not a defect of serious moment while the British power guaranteed the external peace of his kingdom. Had his successor followed in his footsteps Burma might have enjoyed a long era of prosperity under Burmese rulers. But the succeeding reign summed up all that was worst in the history of the Alaungpaya dynasty without exemplifying any of the nobler qualities of the race. Mindon Min's toleration and broadmindedness were shown by his patronage of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Mandalay, where he built for the society a church and a school. Some of his sons, including Thibaw Min, attended this school to learn English from the missionary in charge, the Reverend Doctor Marks. His active support of a Christian mission was not found incompatible with a staunch adherence to Buddhism. To secure the continuance of the Buddhist religion he had the text of the Law engraved on 739 marble slabs, and each of these was placed in its own shrine round the Kuthodaw pagoda in Mandalay. He also convened, in 1871, a great meeting of over two thousand monks, who rehearsed the Bidagat Thonbon or Three Baskets of the Law. Accordingly he received the title of Convener of the Fifth Great Synod. No such synod had been convened for nearly two thousand years, the last having met in Ceylon 455 years after Buddha's attainment of Nirvana; that is, about ninety years before Christ.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

REIGN OF THIBAW. THE BRITISH ANNEXATION.

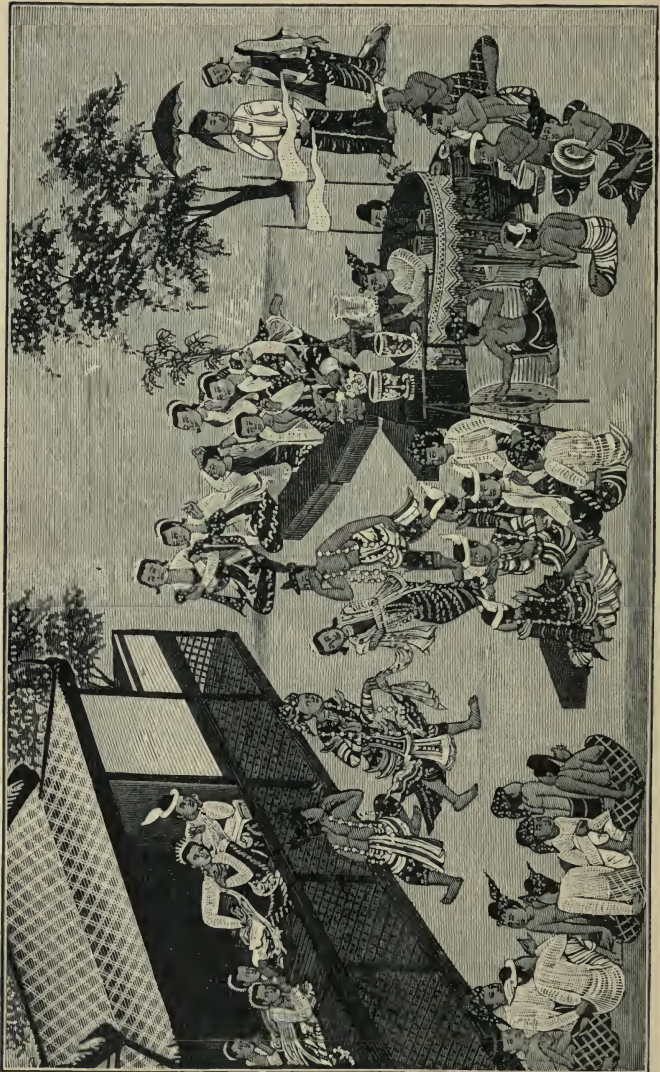
239. **Thibaw's accession.** The difficulties which generally attended the choice of a new king were increased in the case of Mindon Min's successor by the unusual number of the king's sons. Mindon Min foresaw the rivalry of the various claimants, and had not dared to nominate any one of them Ein-she-min, fearing that by so doing he would practically sign the death-warrant of the prince selected. When he fell ill, Sinbyumayin, the Alèmandaw queen (Queen of the Middle Palace), who was the daughter of the notorious Nanmadaw Mè Nu (paragraph 199), and whose influence had become supreme since the death of the chief queen eight months previously, summoned the royal princes in the king's name to the palace. Two of them, the Nyaung Yan prince and the Nyaung Ok prince, suspecting a trap, took refuge at the British Residency, and afterwards in British territory. The others obeyed the order and were put under arrest. The mothers of the unfortunate princes appealed to the king, who ordered their release, and the Metkaya prince was granted an interview. The king now appointed the Nyaung Yan prince, the Thonze prince, and the Metkaya prince viceroys with separate charges, and permitted the younger princes and their relatives to attach themselves to whichever viceroy they chose. But the Alèmandaw queen had other views, and as soon as the princes left the palace they were again arrested, and their female relatives were confined to their apartments. The Kinwun Mingyi and other ministers concerned in the plot prevented the issue



THIBAW AND SUPAYALAT.

of the king's order for a triple regency. To divert suspicion from the real intentions of the conspirators, Thibaw was amongst those arrested, but he was soon released. The Alèmandaw queen had selected him as her nominee to the throne because he was in love with Supayalat, one of her daughters. Aided by the Kinwun Mingyi she secured the unanimous approval of the ministers, who all, like the queen herself, foresaw that Thibaw, a weak and inexperienced youth brought up in a monastery, would be more manageable than any of his elder brothers. He was crowned king on the death of Mindon Min, and the coronation was followed by the arrest of many princesses. The intention of Thibaw was merely to keep the princes and princesses in confinement, but the Alèmandaw queen and her daughter Supayalat obtained his consent to their execution. They were murdered to the number of seventy and buried in a big trench outside the palace enclosure in February, 1879, four months after the king's accession.

240. **Thibaw's Queen.** Supayalat was the second of the three daughters of the Alèmandaw queen. The eldest daughter of Mindon Min, Princess Salin Supaya, who had been selected as queen of Mindon's successor, finding Thibaw enamoured of Supayalat, became a nun. Thibaw married Supayalat and her elder sister Supayagyi. The fierce jealousy and domineering temperament of Supayalat, however, prevented him from entering the apartments of the senior queen and from marrying other wives in accordance with Burmese royal custom. The only inferior wife whom he contrived by much scheming to introduce into the palace during Supayalat's illness was put to death by the orders of Supayalat as soon as she regained her influence over the king. She concocted a charge of conspiracy against the ministers who had lent the king their assistance in deceiving



THIBAW AND SUPAYALAT AT A PWE. (From a Burmese Painting.)

her, and they were thrown into prison, where three of them were executed.

241. Relations with the British. At this time relations between the British and Burmese governments were strained. During Mindon Min's illness there had been a recrudescence of outrages committed upon British subjects. Colonel Wyndham, while preparing for a balloon ascent in Mandalay, was ill-treated in a barbarous fashion, and Captain Doyle of the Flotilla Company was put in the stocks for having walked across a part of the river embankment which was considered sacred. In Doyle's case redress was given by the degradation and imprisonment of the official who put him in the stocks. In Colonel Wyndham's case and some cases of minor importance no redress was obtained. The British Resident, Mr. Shaw, protested without effect against the barbarous massacre of the princes, and in October, 1879, the British mission was recalled from Mandalay. It is possible that the retirement into British territory of the Myingun prince (paragraph 232), the Nyaung Yan prince, and the Nyaung Ok prince, caused Thibaw to suspect the British government of hostile designs and aroused his enmity. There can be little doubt that the insanely jealous temperament of Supayalat suspected such designs, and that she influenced Thibaw, as always, for ill. In their estimate of the king's character the Alèmandaw queen, the Kinwun Mingyi, and the other conspirators had been quite correct. But they had not taken Supayalat into their calculations. She was in their eyes merely an instrument through whom they were to rule the king. After the massacre of the princes the Kinwun Mingyi was dismissed from office and Supayalat became for several years Thibaw's supreme advisor.

242. Plots against Thibaw. The exiled princes made efforts to assert themselves. The Nyaung Ok prince

attempted a rising on the Thayetmyo border in June, 1880, but was obliged to take refuge in British Burma, and was reconveyed to Calcutta, whence he had escaped. Four years later the Myingun prince also escaped from Calcutta to Pondicherry, and began to organize a rising with the help of the Shan chiefs, many of whom were disposed to favour his cause. The French authorities, however, put him under arrest. They were the less inclined to allow the plot to proceed because, since the departure of the British mission, the French agent in Mandalay was working to undermine British influence and to secure concessions from Thibaw.

243. **State of Upper Burma.** The raid of the Nyaung Ok prince had serious consequences. The Burmese government claimed damages to the extent of Rs.55,800, and was referred to the civil courts. The extradition of the prince and his followers on a charge of dacoity was refused, because international law forbade the surrender of political offenders. From this time offences against British subjects in Upper Burma became increasingly frequent, and demands for redress were generally ignored. New royal monopolies were created in violation of the commercial treaties, and trade was thereby hampered and disorganized. The lawlessness of the court and the weakness of the government were reflected in the condition of the whole country. Bands of dacoits roamed at will everywhere, and some of them shared their plunder with the Taingda Mingyi and other ministers. The Sagaing bands invited the royal troops to fight with them at Myinmu. The Shan chiefs were engaged in civil war. The peace of the British frontier was constantly menaced by marauding bands, and the persistent efforts of Burmese missions to enter into alliances with European powers threatened political complications of a serious kind. An attempt to negotiate a

*Ragan
The king died of small-pox, 1881.*

new treaty at Simla in 1882 was ineffectual; the draft treaty approved by the Burmese embassy was rejected by the king.

244. **Causes of the third Burmese War.** A crisis occurred in the year 1884. Certain officials had been sent to gaol in Mandalay for complicity in the intrigues of the Myingun prince. Other guilty officials, fearing that they might be betrayed by the captives, planned their destruction. They treacherously arranged for the secret liberation of certain prisoners, and, coming upon them as they were leaving the prison enclosure, in which they were confined, raised the alarm of a gaol outbreak and fired upon them. Hearing the shots the troops rushed down to the prison and a general massacre took place, the building being set on fire. Similar outrages were perpetrated in the town gaols. In all some three hundred persons were killed, including the few remaining members of the Royal family. Orders were issued that the dead should remain unburied for three days. The heads of some were impaled on bamboos as a warning to traitors, and scattered trunks and limbs were left lying about the cemetery. At the end of three days they were thrown into shallow trenches. While the horror caused by this massacre was fresh in the minds of the British, information was received that a treaty with the French had been signed in Mandalay and sent to Paris or ratification. The terms of the treaty included the building of a railway with French capital from Mandalay to Tong-King, and the establishment of a French bank which was to advance money to the king at twelve per cent. interest per annum, to manage the ruby mines, and to enjoy a monopoly of the trade in pickled tea. The interest on the railway loan was to be secured by the transference to French control of the river customs and earth-oil dues. The British government found an opportunity for

intervention in the oppressive dealings of the Burmese government with the Bombay-Burma Trading Corporation. The enormous sum of twenty-three lakhs of rupees was claimed from the Corporation on account of duty on teak exported, and fines inflicted by the courts without any proper hearing of the Corporation's defence.

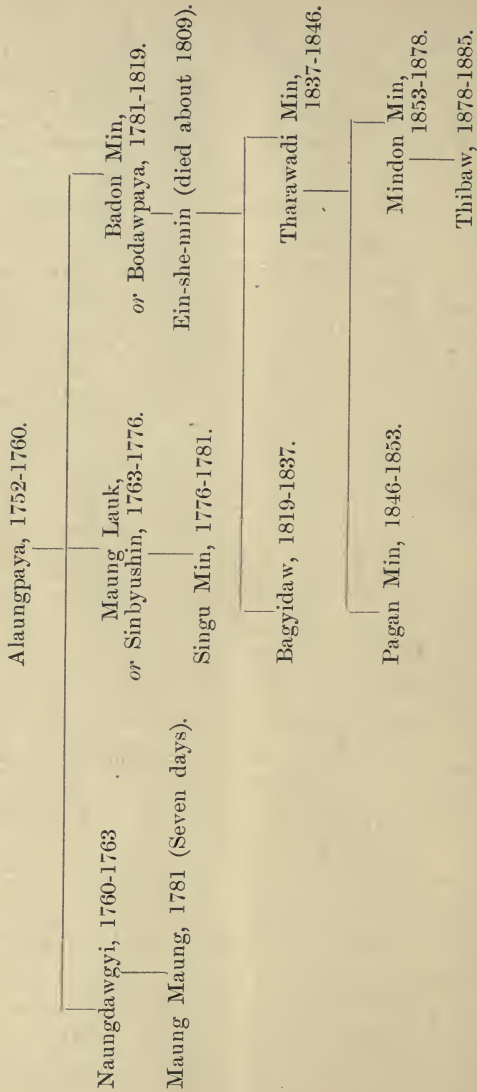
245. **British ultimatum.** The Chief Commissioner, Sir Charles Bernard, having failed in his efforts to get the dispute with the Bombay-Burma Trading Corporation referred to arbitration, an ultimatum was despatched under orders of the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, by special steamer to Mandalay on October 22nd, 1885, and a reply within the space of three weeks was demanded. The ultimatum stipulated (1) That an envoy from the governor-general should be received in Mandalay, and the dispute with the Corporation settled with his assistance. (2) That all action against the Corporation should be suspended until his arrival. (3) That a diplomatic agent from the Viceroy should be received under suitable conditions in Mandalay. It was added that in future the foreign relations of the Burmese government would be controlled by the Government of India. The Kinwun Mingyi, as leader of the opposition, suggested acceptance of these terms; but the king, acting on the advice of the Taingda Mingyi and the majority of the ministers, rejected them, and issued a proclamation defying the British and threatening to drive them into the sea.

246. **Thibaw surrenders.** The British government had made preparations in anticipation of the king's refusal to comply with the ultimatum, and on the 14th of November, five days after the receipt of the Burmese reply, the frontier was crossed by the gunboat *Irawadi*, and the general advance began. The stockade at Sinbaungwè was captured on the 16th, Minhla fort on the 17th, Pagan

was occupied without opposition on the 23rd, and Myingyan on the 25th after a short bombardment. On the 26th a Burmese envoy met the expedition with a letter proposing an armistice. General Prendergast replied that he was prepared to grant a cessation of hostilities if King Thibaw surrendered with his army before four o'clock on the following morning. The advance was continued on the 27th and Ava was reached. A message had been received there from Mandalay forbidding resistance, and the Burmese troops laid down their arms. On the 28th the army landed at Mandalay, and the next evening the king formally surrendered. He left Mandalay with his two queens and the queen mother on December 3rd, and sailed from Rangoon on the 10th. He was first of all removed to Madras, and later to Ratnagiri, on the Bombay coast, where he still resides. The Taingda Mingyi, who was largely responsible for the massacres of the reign and had been distinguished for his hostility to the British, was deported to Cuttack. Upper Burma was formally annexed by proclamation on January 1st, 1886. From that date the history of Burma is merged in the history of the Indian Empire.

247. Pacification of Upper Burma. The rapid march on Mandalay and the complete success of the British plans had one untoward result. The bands of soldiers who had been summoned to fight for their king found themselves without king before they had struck a blow. They formed themselves into companies under the leadership of princes or pretenders, dacoit chiefs, or monks professing miraculous powers, and swelled the number of robber bands which had infested the country during Thibaw's reign. The suppression of these bands and the final pacification of the new province involved five years of continuous and strenuous effort, and the loss of many valuable lives. By the end of 1890 the country was tranquil, the railway was

248. GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ALAUNGPAYA DYNASTY.



opened as far as Mandalay, and the military police battalions had been considerably reduced by the transfer of men to the regular army. Only a few isolated dacoit leaders with few followers still evaded pursuit, but the last of these was not captured till six years later.

CHAPTER XXIX.

ARAKAN.

249. The Arakanese speak a dialect which is mainly Burmese with the old pronunciation in use before the consonant *R* was weakened to *Y* and the syllables *ang*, *ak*, etc., softened to *in*, *ek*, etc. But in the course of centuries the Arakanese dialect has been modified by the addition of words of Indian origin, as the race has been modified by a large admixture of Indian blood. The histories of Arakan and Burma are quite distinct except during the short periods when Burma established a suzerainty over Arakan in the reigns of Anawrahta and some later kings. The country was finally conquered by Bodawpaya at the end of the eighteenth century. During the seven centuries between the reigns of Anawrahta and Bodawpaya, Arakan occupied a far less prominent position in Burmese history than Siam. But community of race and language gives Arakan some claim to be considered part of Burma, and it is proposed in this chapter to give a very brief connected sketch of Arakanese history.

250. The country of Arakan comprises the strip of land along the Bay of Bengal, from the Naaf estuary to Cape Negrais. It is bounded eastward by the Arakan Yoma. The early legendary history of the country bears a strong



ARAKANES IN MODERN DRESS.

resemblance to the early Burmese legends. The Arakanese annals open with the deluge, and describe the foundation

of the first capital at Ramawadi, somewhere in Sandoway district. This city is said to have been founded by the Kanran tribe from Upper Burma. At a later period a king, born miraculously of a doe (compare paragraph 5), founded the city of Dinnyawadi, a name which was afterwards applied to the whole kingdom. Many centuries later Kanrazagyi and his followers came from Upper Burma and established a kingdom with a capital near Kyaukpadaung (paragraph 2). A thousand years later still, in the second century A.D. Chanda Suriya was king. During his reign a famous image of Buddha was cast, to which miraculous powers were attributed. Buddha had attained Nirvana more than six centuries before this time, but the Arakanese place the date of Chanda Suriya's reign much earlier, in order to make it appear that the image was cast during the life-time of Buddha and was an actual likeness. A tradition still survives that when the image, which was cast in three pieces, was put together, the head piece did not fit accurately, and Buddha himself touched it and made the joint perfect. This image, known as the Mahamuni image, was coveted by Anawrahta, who invaded the country in order to obtain it. Bodawpaya ultimately carried it off to Amarapura (paragraph 177).

251. Some sixty years before the reign of Chanda Suriya, when the kingdom of Prome came to an end by civil strife, an invasion of Burmese refugees was repelled by the Arakanese, who in their turn invaded Prome and sacked Tharekhettara (paragraph 7). But from the time of Chanda Suriya down to the year 976 A.D. nothing historically certain or important is recorded. In that year Shan invaders entered Arakan and held the country for eighteen years, during which period they robbed the inhabitants and carried off from the temples everything of value. Anawrahta, who came to the throne of Burma

soon after the retirement of the Shans from Arakan, next invaded the country, compelled the Arakanese to acknowledge his supremacy, and exacted tribute (paragraph 19). During the reign of Kyansittha, son of Anawrahta, in Pagan, Min Bilu of Arakan was deposed by a usurper, and his son took refuge in Burma. This prince's son, Letyaminan, was restored by Alaungsithu, grandson and successor of Kyansittha (paragraphs 20 and 21), and Arakan was again subordinate to Burma for some years, from 1103 onwards.

252. An invasion of Talaings is recorded about the year 1243, which seems to shew that before the revolt of Pegu in 1273 the governors of the delta districts had taken advantage of the weakness of Tarokpyemin and his difficulties with China and had made themselves independent. The Shan kings of Panya invaded the country some fifty years later, according to the Arakanese accounts; but in 1333 the king of Arakan, a son of Min Bilu, carried off Min Shin Saw, the governor of Thayetmyo (paragraph 38). He released him about ten years later. During this period Arakan was in the utmost disorder and usurpations were frequent. In 1373 the Arakanese are said to have asked Mingyi Swa Sawke, king of Burma, to nominate a king for Arakan, and he selected his uncle, Sawmungyi (paragraph 57). The latter was soon driven out, however, and the country again fell into the greatest confusion. In 1389 Arakan became involved in the war between Burma and Pegu and took the side of the Talaings. The son of Laukbya, the rebel king of Myaungmya, having taken refuge in Sandoway, was handed over to Razadirit (paragraph 54), and king Thinsa shortly afterwards made a raid into Burmese territory. Min Khaung, to punish this raid, invaded Arakan in 1404, and again in 1406, and Min Saw Mun, king of Arakan, fled to Bengal in the latter year

(paragraph 60). There he remained under the protection of the king of Bengal for over twenty years. In the interval Arakan became a battle-ground for the armies of Pegu and Burma, and each king in turn placed his own nominee on the throne of Arakan, the last ruler of the series being a Talaing. Nazir Shah, king of Bengal, in 1430 undertook to restore Min Saw Mun, and after one failure succeeded. Min Saw Mun founded a new capital at Myauk-u or Arakan city (Myohaung), and ruled as the vassal of Bengal.

253. The brother and successor of Min Saw Mun, known as Min Khari or Ali Khan, rejected the suzerainty of Bengal and annexed part of the territory of Chittagong. His son, Ba Saw Pyu, who came to the throne in 1459, captured the Chittagonian capital. Then followed a period of murders and usurpations. Min Bin came to the throne in 1531, the year following the accession of Tabin Shwehti to the throne of Taungu. The Arakanese king foresaw the invasion of his own kingdom and made preparations for its defence. The capital was fortified and an army was sent south to oppose the invaders. Another army was sent to help in the defence of Prome in 1541 (paragraph 89), but it was routed by Bayin Naung. In 1544, through the treachery of the governor of Sandoway, Tabin Shwehti's troops occupied that town but could not advance northwards (paragraph 91). Two years later Tabin Shwehti himself appeared in Arakan and drove the enemy before him as far as the walls of Myauk-u, which was too strong to be captured by assault. The two kings came to terms, and the governor of Sandoway was pardoned for his treason. The Burmese army then returned to Pegu in 1546. A Burmese army, sent by sea against Arakan, encamped at Sandoway in 1580, but was withdrawn a year later on the death of Bayin Naung (paragraph 111).

254. To avenge the last invasion, Min Razagyi, king of Arakan, sent a fleet in 1596 under the command of his son, Min Khamaung, to assist the rebels who were destroying the Burmese empire. The Arakanese prince captured Syriam, and left a garrison in the fort (paragraph 115). A Portuguese menial in the royal household, Philip de Brito, whose ability had enabled him to rise to a position of trust, was appointed the king's agent at Syriam, and by treachery secured the fort and held it for a time as a Portuguese factory, but soon conceived the idea of becoming ruler of Pegu. The first attempt to recover Syriam was unsuccessful and Min Khamaung was captured. A very heavy ransom was paid for his release. De Brito was overthrown by the Burmese in 1613 and cruelly put to death (paragraphs 118 to 121).

255. Another Portuguese adventurer, Gonzales by name, became famous at this time as a leader of Portuguese pirates, large numbers of whom lived by plundering the coasts of Bengal, Chittagong, and Arakan, and Asiatic vessels at sea. These pirates had their headquarters at Dianga, twenty miles south of Chittagong. The Arakanese king, Min Razagyi, stormed Dianga in 1607 and slaughtered most of the inhabitants. Gonzales was amongst those who escaped. Two years later he seized several small islands at the mouth of the Megna, and married the sister of the governor of Chittagong, who, having quarrelled with his brother, the king of Arakan, fled to the islands of the pirates for refuge. Gonzales had him poisoned and seized his treasure. Razagyi was now forced to make alliance with Gonzales to repel an attack by the governor of Bengal, who was bent on recovering the territory which the Arakanese had seized. The Mogul troops were driven back and the Arakanese strengthened their hold on Chittagong. Gonzales now treacherously murdered the Arakanese

captains at a conference and seized their ships. The arrival of fresh troops from Bengal forced the king to retreat to Myauk-u. Here Gonzales' nephew, who had been given as a hostage to Razagyi, was put to death, and Gonzales, by way of revenge, made a raid up the Kaladan river. Min Khamaung became king in 1612 and determined to crush Gonzales. The latter made an alliance with the Portuguese viceroy of Goa, who sent a fleet against Arakan in 1615. Gonzales joined it, but the Arakanese, aided by some Dutch ships, repelled the attack. About two years later Min Khamaung attacked the pirate stronghold on the island of Sandeep at the mouth of the Megna and destroyed it. Most of the pirates were killed; Gonzales escaped but was never heard of again. Min Khamaung next invaded Bengal and extended his conquests as far as Dacca. The Arakanese still remember with pride his useless victories in the outlying provinces of the Mogul empire, and regard him as a national hero. He died in 1622.

256. Thiri Thudhamma Raza, son of Min Khamaung, succeeded him and ruled for 16 years. He exacted tribute from Dacca and interfered in the affairs of Burma. In 1629 he sent an army to assist Min-re-deippa, whose uncles had combined to deprive him of his throne, but the assistance arrived too late (paragraph 124). The army carried off to Arakan the bell which Maha Dhamma Raza hung at his palace gate (paragraph 123). When the British conquered Arakan in 1825 this bell was taken to India by a native officer.

257. The succeeding reigns were marked by no event of importance, until Sanda Thudhamma came to the throne in 1652. During his reign Shah Shuja, defeated in the struggle for power by his brother, Aurungzeb, fled to Arakan for protection. The Indian prince, having refused

to give his daughter in marriage to the Arakanese king, was put to death with all his family. Aided by the Portuguese the Arakanese plundered Bengal as far as Dacca, but the governor of Bengal induced the Portuguese by presents of money and land to leave the service of Sanda Thudhamma, and ultimately defeated him. Chittagong, which had been first captured by Ba Saw Pyu in 1459, lost again fifty years later, and again recaptured by Min Bin about 1548, was now besieged by the governor of Bengal and taken in 1666. The Arakanese were thus finally expelled from the country north of Ramu. Sanda Thudhamma died in 1684.

258. Those followers of Shah Shuja who had not fallen in defence of their master were taken into the service of the Arakanese king as a bodyguard of archers. They were increased in number by the addition of recruits from India, and during the period of disorder which followed the death of Sanda Thudhamma they elected and deposed kings at their will. In twenty-two years they appointed ten kings. Then an Arakanese, Maha Danda Bo, gathered a number of adherents and broke their power. In 1710 he made himself king with the title of Sanda Wizaya. During his reign incursions were made into the territory of Bengal, and an army invaded Burma and occupied Prome, but in neither case was any permanent result achieved (paragraph 132).

259. Sanda Wizaya was deposed by his son-in-law after a reign of 21 years. The only events of importance from this time to the conquest of Arakan by Bodawpaya in 1784 (paragraph 177) were the great earthquakes in 1761 and 1762, which were believed to foretell the downfall of the kingdom. The state of the country may be inferred from the list of kings who followed Sanda Thudhamma. In a hundred years twenty-five kings came to the throne, and

of these eight were usurpers (paragraph 177). The country was ripe for conquest and offered no formidable resistance to Bodawpaya; but the substitution of Burmese for Arakanese rule was of little advantage to the kingdom of Arakan, and thousands of Arakanese sought refuge in British territory. Finally, during the war of 1824-1826 Arakan was occupied by the British, and at the close of the war it was transferred to the British crown. Under British rule it has enjoyed nearly a century of peace and prosperity, and during the interval between the first and second Burmese wars many Burmans crossed by the An pass from Upper Burma to escape from the misrule of the Burmese kings.

CHAPTER XXX.

SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT UNDER THE ALAUNGPAYA DYNASTY.

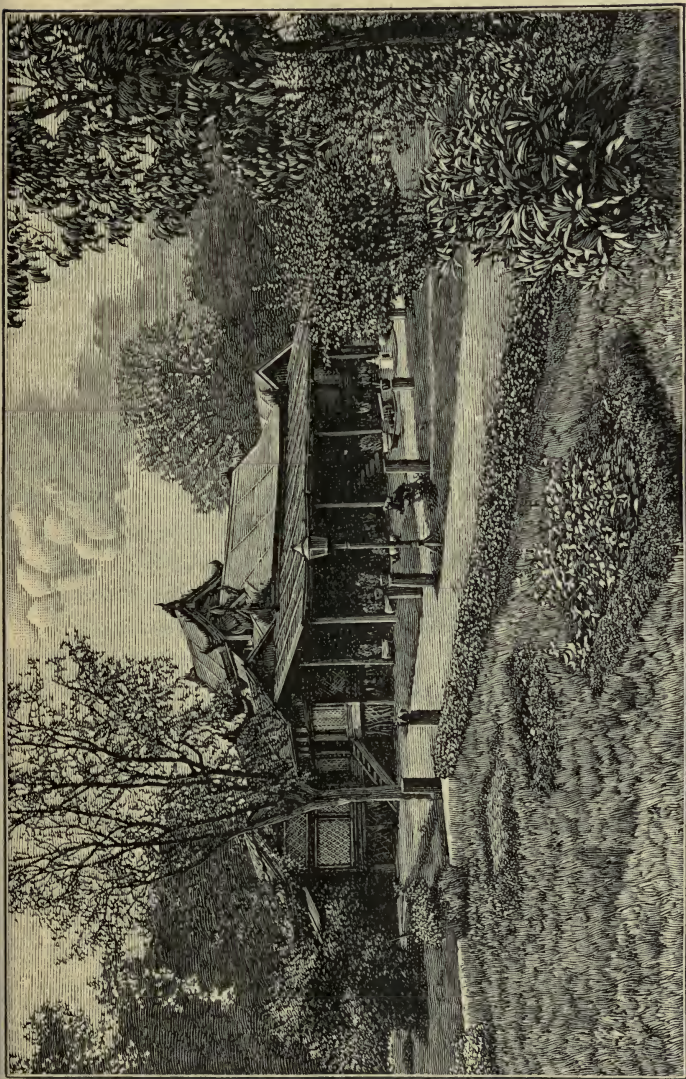
THE basis of the Burmese system of government was the despotic power of the king. Theoretically the land was his property and his subjects were his slaves, obliged to serve him in war, to maintain his court in royal state, and to pay such taxes and special contributions as he might demand. His subjects could not leave the country without his permission, and such permission was given only for a temporary purpose. Women were not allowed to leave the country at all, and this prohibition applied to the daughters of European residents by Burmese mothers.

In the work of government the king was assisted by two councils and numerous officials. The first of these councils was called the HLUTDAW. It consisted usually of four

*wungyi*s, but the number was occasionally raised to five or even six if a *wungyi* had to be despatched on special duty, as governor of a province, for example. This council met in a special building in the palace enclosure. The king was its nominal president and was often present at its meetings. In his absence the Ein-she-min or a specially nominated prince generally presided. Each *wungyi* had an assistant or *wundauk* who sat in the council, and there were eight or more secretaries. Every royal edict was issued through the *hlutdaw*, and required its nominal sanction. Each *wungyi* exercised judicial functions, and the supreme court of appeal was the *hlutdaw* collectively.

The second council was the BYÈDAIK, formed of the four *atwinwuns* or ministers of the palace. Nominally inferior to the *hlutdaw*, they acquired great influence through their constant contact with the king, and advised him on all matters which were submitted to the *hlutdaw*. Like the members of the *hlutdaw*, the *atwinwuns* exercised judicial powers both singly and collectively. They had a large number of secretaries to report the proceedings of the *byèdaik*, note the king's orders, and report on petitions. Certain secretaries also were deputed to attend the meetings of the *hlutdaw* and report to the king.

For purposes of government the country was divided into provinces, called by the name of their chief towns and governed by a *wun*, who was the supreme judicial executive, military, civil, and revenue officer. He corresponded with the *hlutdaw*, to which he was nominally subordinate. The *wun* was very often of the royal house. Under him was the *akunwun* or tax collector, and in the maritime provinces a *yewun* or port officer, and an *akaukwun* or collector of customs. The districts and villages were governed respectively by *myothugyis* or town-headmen, and *ywathugyis* or village-headmen. Before the minor officials



THE HLUDAW OR PRIVY COUNCIL CHAMBER, MANDALAY.

only civil cases were tried; serious criminal cases were tried by the *wun*. In each provincial town was a civil court under a civil judge or *tayathugyi*; in the capital was a *tayamathugyi* or civil chief judge, but much of his power was usurped by the two councils. In each provincial court there was also a *sitkè* or police magistrate, who was responsible for the preservation of order. The *myowun* of the capital had police jurisdiction in the neighbourhood of Amarapura, Ava, and Sagaing. Piracy was so prevalent on the Irawadi that a special *yewun* or *myitsinwun* was appointed in charge of the river police with power of life and death.

In addition to these higher officers there was a host of minor officials in charge of the forests, ordnance, revenue, *et cetera*. Each of the four chief queens had her own ministers and household. When a district was assigned to a royal prince or favourite, or to an official in lieu of salary, the person to whom the district was assigned, called *myosa*, appointed his own subordinates to collect his revenues. Before the reign of Mindon Min officials were paid no salaries, but collected what they could from the taxpayer. Every lawsuit of any kind offered opportunities for the exaction of heavy fees, and taxes largely in excess of the amount required by the government were levied in order to provide for the officials who gathered them. Appointments were revocable at the will of the king, though myothugyiships tended to become hereditary. Every official therefore made the most of his opportunities for plunder. It is not surprising that under this system justice was perverted and police duties were negligently carried out. Robbery and piracy were frequent, and dacoits very often paid toll to high officials in order to secure immunity from punishment. Only monks were exempt from these extortions and from the duties incum-

bent on the rest of the nation. Even the outcastes—pagoda slaves, burners of the dead, lepers, incurables, maimed and mutilated persons, and others—were under the jurisdiction of the *lesowun*, who assessed their villages for taxation, and extorted money from persons of wealth, whom a scar or a patch of leucoderma might bring under suspicion of being leprous and render liable to confinement in the settlements of outcastes.

The army. No regular army was maintained, but troops were levied for an expedition as occasion arose. The number of the levy was fixed by royal mandate, and each governor was ordered to supply his quota. The villages were divided into groups of houses and each group had to supply one or more men. Those were selected for preference who had wives and families to leave behind as security for their good behaviour. Cowardice or insubordination might be punished by the imprisonment or execution of the soldier and his family. Those who were unwilling to serve could purchase exemption by contributions to the war fund. Each soldier received a certain amount of rice and money proportionate to the time which the expedition was expected to last. This was provided by the group of houses to which he belonged. If the expedition was prolonged the villages might be called upon for a fresh contribution; little of that, as a rule, reached the army, and the soldier in the field lived by plunder. Arms and ammunition were provided from the royal treasury, usually on the most meagre scale. Many of the troops were armed only with the spear and the dah which they carried in ordinary civil life. In some districts special customs grew up. Some of these are described by Colonel Yule. Prome is said to have provided 1500 volunteers, who were always ready for service and were maintained at the public expense. When it was found

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Consul of the United States of America

necessary to have a small permanent force at the capital, certain villages were charged with the duty of providing contingents, and were exempt from all other service and taxation. Certain townships along the river were called upon to furnish war-boats as well as men.

Badly armed and badly led the Burman soldier fought bravely and proved himself superior in war to all his immediate neighbours. He acquitted himself creditably against Indian regular troops, but failed, as others have done, to face British bayonets. In the hour of victory and towards prisoners of war he behaved with the utmost savagery. In this course he was encouraged by his officers, whose object was so to impress the conquered that they might never again take up arms against Burma. Although cowardice on the part of the soldier was punishable with death, and an unsuccessful general might be ordered to execution, yet cowardice, even on the part of an officer, was not regarded as disgraceful. When the gallant death of the Thonba Wungyi, who was in command at the Seven Stockades captured in July, 1824 (paragraph 193), was announced to the king, he is said to have exclaimed, "Why did not the fool run away?" But the natural bravery and dash of the Burmese soldier was balanced by that lack of discipline and combination which is the chief defect of the national character. The vanity which attained such inordinate dimensions in the king and his ministers is another national characteristic. But this vanity is not accompanied by the patriotism of which it is usually the excess. At the time when Bandula was making his bold stand against the British power, and performing feats of which the Burman still boasts, evasions of military duty were so frequent that the ordinary methods of conscription broke down, and recruits had to be bribed with bounties of one hundred and fifty rupees

to undertake military service. The recruits so obtained were for the most part rogues and vagabonds from the streets of the capital.

Revenue. The only regular revenues were import and export duties, and the produce of the royal monopolies, namely mines, earth oil, and teak. These were sometimes assigned in part to members of the royal family or ministers. The mines were also sometimes let out on contract, but every ruby or sapphire worth over one hundred rupees had to be deposited in the royal treasury. Under the later kings were added regular taxes on fisheries, fruit trees, ngapi, salt, etc., and the royal monopolies were extended so as to include most of the regular articles of commerce. This extension of monopolies formed one of the chief points of dispute between the British and Burmese governments (paragraphs 231, 236, 243). When an expedition was on foot, a pagoda to be built or repaired, or a canal or tank to be dug, a special cess was levied on the whole country. From this cess the capital and the districts immediately attached to it were exempt. The cess took the form of a house tax, and the amount was fixed according to the object for which it was intended. Each levy was made the occasion of extortion by the district officials. The Karens of Lower Burma enjoyed a special position. Each tribe or village was assessed according to the estimated number of families it contained, and a fixed poll tax was paid annually at a much higher rate than the irregular cess levied from the Burmese. In return the Karens were granted freedom from military service and all forced labour, such as the building of pagodas, or the digging of tanks and canals (paragraph 187). Not until Mindon Min's reign was any attempt made to apply a similar system to the Burmese (paragraph 228). Extortion was nominally prohibited, but the prohibition was rarely enforced. A

governor accused of extortion could generally purchase freedom from punishment by making over his gains to a powerful minister or a favourite queen. Those districts which were assigned to a minister or a member of the royal family paid to him a tithe of their produce over and above the ordinary taxes and cess.

Society. There was no hereditary nobility, no class of hereditary officials in Burma, to check the absolute power of the king. Every official, from the highest to the lowest, was removable at the royal pleasure. And every subject of the king, except a slave or outcaste, might hope to attain the highest position in the state. Even the slave, provided he were not attached to the service of a pagoda, might earn his freedom and share the chance of power. The element of chance lent a zest to life; for the Burman is by instinct as confirmed a gambler as the Chinaman. Besides this the Burman is strongly individualist, and this phase of his character is developed by his religion; he is deficient in sympathy and in power of combination; and a degree of oppression, which in many countries would have provoked a national rising, in Burma produced only brigandage or occasional attempts at usurpation. The usurper had no intention of introducing reforms, but merely hoped to compensate himself and his supporters at the expense of their fellow sufferers. A far greater degree of union and organization was shown by the Talaings, who repeatedly rebelled against Burmese rule. Even the atrocities of Pagan Min in the capital were endured for three years before his subjects rose and demanded the lives of his brutal favourites. The massacres of princes of the blood, which so often followed the accession of a new king, and which reached their culminating point in Thibaw's reign, did not affect the subjects of the king, who felt themselves in no personal danger and lacked the power

of sympathy. The Buddhist prayer for deliverance from "the three calamities, the four states of punishment, and the five enemies," classes officials with fire, water, robbers, and ill-wishers. But in a country where life is maintained with very little effort, and there is little incentive to accumulate wealth, the rapacity of the governor was tolerated by the mass of the population. The restless few hoped to join, and often succeeded in joining, the official class. In the country districts communications were not easy and the population was scattered. An organized rebellion would therefore have been difficult. In the capital and its environs the odious cess was not levied, and the people enjoyed better administration and greater powers of appeal against injustice. So that where a rising on a considerable scale would have been possible the temptation was absent. And there seems to be no doubt that, down to the end of the eighteenth century at any rate, the peasantry of any country in Europe might reasonably have envied the lot of the Burmese cultivator, in spite of all that is said above.

Some writers have emphasized the non-progressive character of the Burmese. Mr. G. H. Parker says: "The history of Europe and even of China exhibits from era to era the progress of art, literature, popular and municipal rights and institutions, maritime and manufacturing enterprise, invention and discovery, court luxury, aristocratic refinement, philosophy, public buildings, histrionic displays, and innumerable other matters of human interest. But the native-ruled Burma of to day was, until we took it, precisely the Burma of the T'ang dynasty (ninth century A.D.) unless perhaps retrograded and more corrupt. . . . The Burmese of the kingdom of Ava, like those of to-day and those of earlier times, did little and left little, if anything, for the benefit of mankind in general." And

Colonel Yule remarks: "It is curious to see how exactly the description of Pegu given by Master Caesar Fredericke as it existed in 1567 corresponds with the present state of Amarapura." The accusation is true in the main. The history of Burma is a recital of incessant wars, not an account of progress. What would have been of absorbing interest, the history of the gradual spread of Buddhism and its victory over rival creeds, has been lost. But the arrested development of civilization is a fact of common remark in all Oriental countries. In Burma there were special reasons for lack of progress. The incentives to exertion which in cold climates rouse even the laziest to some display of energy are in Burma entirely absent. In Europe a certain amount of gear is essential to the mere preservation of life. In Burma the roughest shelter and a shred of clothing suffice. In Europe and even in India crops are obtained by dint of severe labour, and provision must be made against years of scarcity. In Burma the slightest scratching of the soil is sufficient, and famine is unknown. The ambition which prompts the European of ample means "to scorn delights and live laborious days" is alien to the Burmese character and religion, and under the political and social conditions of Burma would have been futile. There was no hereditary aristocracy, so that it was impossible to found a family. By Buddhist law a man may not make a will; his property is divided according to fixed and elaborate rules amongst his surviving relatives. Even the power of accumulated wealth is therefore denied him. A sumptuary law inspired by fear of rebellion forbade the Burmese subjects of the king to build houses of stone or brick, which might be used as fortresses in times of civil disturbance. The Burman was thus prevented from displaying his wealth and taste in magnificent mansions; nor was it prudent to store treasures

of jewelry or art in wooden buildings open to any thief who chose to enter by night, and liable to be consumed in one of the periodic fires that lay waste Burmese towns. Such display too would have marked out a man as a suitable object for spoliation by the king or his officials. It remained therefore for the wealthy Burman to limit his display to some ostentation in dress, and to spend the balance of his fortune in the building of pagodas and in other works of merit, so securing for himself progress towards Nirvana. At least his methods were consistent with the Buddhist doctrine, which he repeated regularly before the image of the Master; "All is vexation, impermanence, unreality."

Under the Burmese kings the accumulation of wealth, except in the royal treasury, was impossible for the reasons given above. The accumulation of wealth in the hands of subjects was limited by the Buddhist law of inheritance to the period of a single life, and restricted in amount by the king's rapacity. Only the king therefore could undertake works for which considerable capital was required. The great pagodas and monasteries, the artificial lakes and irrigation canals, disprove to some extent the accusation of the critic quoted above, who is himself constrained to admit the excellence of Burmese architecture. There are not wanting signs that under the influence of western ideas the Burman is learning to reconcile his religion with progress, and his future may justify the intense interest which he inspires in those Europeans who know him best.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF CHIEF EVENTS.

Foundation of Kyaukpadaung in Arakan,	- - -	B.C. 825
Destruction of Tagaung,	} - - - - between B.C. 600-550	
Foundation of Old Pagan,		
Foundation of Prome,	- - - - -	B.C. 483
Downfall of the kingdom of Prome,	- - - - -	A.D. 95
Foundation of New Pagan,	- - - - -	108
Chanda Suriya king of Arakan,	- - - - -	146
Kyaungdarit king of Pagan,	- - - - -	388
Mission of Buddhaghosa to Thaton,	- - - - -	about 450
Foundation of Pegu (Hansawadi),	- - - - -	573
Burmese Era inaugurated by Thinga Raza,	- - - - -	639
Shan invasion of Arakan,	- - - - -	976
Anawrahta Saw king of Pagan,	- - - - -	1010
Alaungsithu king of Pagan,	- - - - -	1085
Alaungsithu invades Arakan,	- - - - -	1102
Talaing invasion of Arakan,	- - - - -	1243
Tarokpyemin expelled from Pagan by the Chinese,	- - - - -	1285
Ava founded by Thadominbya,	- - - - -	1364
Razadirit king of Pegu,	- - - - -	1385
Min Khaung king of Burma,	- - - - -	1400
Shans sack Ava,	- - - - -	1526
Min Bin king of Arakan,	- - - - -	1531
Tabin Shwehti king of Taungu,	- - - - -	1536
Tabin Shwehti captures Pegu,	- - - - -	1539
Bayin Naung, king of Taungu, conquers Pegu,	- - - - -	1551
Bayin Naung captures Ava,	- - - - -	1554
Bayin Naung captures Ayuthia,	- - - - -	1564
De Brito seizes Syriam,	- - - - -	1600

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF CHIEF EVENTS 217

Thado Dhamma Raza king of all Burma,	-	-	-	-	-	1632
Chinese invade Burma and attack Ava,	-	-	-	-	-	1659
Pegu revolts from Burma,	-	-	-	-	-	1740
Byinnya Dala king of Pegu,	-	-	-	-	-	1746
Talaings capture Ava,	-	-	-	-	-	1752
Alaungpaya seizes Ava,	-	-	-	-	-	1753
Alaungpaya captures Rangoon,	-	-	-	-	-	1755
Alaungpaya captures Pegu,	-	-	-	-	-	1757
Alaungpaya invades Siam,	-	-	-	-	-	1760
Chinese wars,	-	-	-	-	-	1765 to 1769
Bodawpaya conquers Arakan,	-	-	-	-	-	1784
Symes' first embassy,	-	-	-	-	-	1795
British declare war on Burma,	-	-	-	-	-	1824
British capture Rangoon,	-	-	-	-	-	1824
British conquer Arakan,	-	-	-	-	-	1825
Treaty of Yandabo,	-	-	-	-	-	1826
Second Anglo-Burmese war begins,	-	-	-	-	-	April, 1852
Annexation of Pegu,	-	-	-	-	-	December, 1852
Yule's embassy,	-	-	-	-	-	1855
Mandalay made the capital,	-	-	-	-	-	1860
Thibaw king,	-	-	-	-	-	1878
Massacre of the princes,	-	-	-	-	-	1879
Third Anglo-Burmese war,	-	-	-	-	-	1885
Upper Burma annexed,	-	-	-	-	-	Jan. 1st, 1886

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INDEX.

The references are to paragraphs.

A

Akhamwun, 31.
Alaungpaya : revolts against Talaing rule, 141 : defeats Talaban, 142 : captures Ava, 143 : subdues the Shans, 144 : relieves Prome, 146 : captures Rangoon, 147 : annexes Mogaung, 147 : receives British and French agents, 148 : destroys Syriam, 150 : captures Pegu, 152 : captures Tavoy and Mergui, 153 : invades Manipur, 153 : invades Siam, 155 : dies, 155.
Alaungsithu, king of Pagan, 21.
Alèandaw queen, 239, 240.
Alimma, 32.
Amarapura : founded, 176 : destroyed by fire, 188 : capital of Tharawadi Min, 212.
Anauk-bet-lun-min. *See* Maha Dhamma Raza.
Anawrahta, king of Burma, 14, 15 : captures Thaton, 16 : relations with Arakan and Shan states, 19.
Arakan : subject to Anawrahta, 19 : Burmese intervention, 21 : invaded by Burmese, 57, 60, 63 : seeks Talaing intervention, 60 : abortive invasion of, 111, 112 : conquered by Bo-

dawpaya, 177 : revolts, 181 : occupied by British, 196 : annexed by British, 204. [*See* chapter xxix. generally.]
Arakanese : *Introduction* : sack Prome, 7 : invade Burma, 38, 57, 132 : appeal to Burma, 57 : at Prome, 89 : attack Syriam, 114, 119, 121 : take refuge in Chittagong, 181, 182, 183.
Ari, 14.
Athengkharā the Shan, 34, 37.
Athengkharā (2), son of Thihathu, king of Sagaing, 37, 40.
Aungpinlè lake, 22.
Ava : founded, 48 : at war with Pegu, 47, 50, 51, 52, 58 : peace, 59 : war renewed, 61 : [*see* also Pegu] captured by Talaings, 140 : captured by Alaungpaya, 143 : besieged by Talaings, 145 : capital of Sinbyushin, 159 : abandoned by Bodawpaya, 176 : capital of Bagyidaw, 188.
Ayuthia : captured by Bayin Naung, 102, 106 : captured by Thihapate, 160.

B

Badon Min, son of Alaungpaya, 173. *See* Bodawpaya.
Bagyidaw : king of Burma, 188 : interferes in Assam, 189 : in

- Manipur, 190: in Arakan, 191: at war with British, 191: develops insanity, 210: abdicates, 211.
- Baingzat, Maung, 216.
- Balamihntin, Burmese general, 162, 165.
- Bandula: in Assam, 189: in Manipur, 190: in Arakan, 191: before Rangoon, 194: at Danubyu, 194: killed, 197: character, 198.
- Bassein: attacked by Razadirit, 54: invaded by Burmese, 62: captured by British, 220.
- Bayin Htwe, prince of Prome, 81.
- Bayin Narabadi, king of Ava, 73, 75.
- Bayin Naung, general of Taungu, 85: attacks Prome, 85, 89: captures Pagan, 90: declared heir-apparent, 85, 90: in Siam, 92: regent at Pegu, 93: retires to the hills, 95: conquers Taungu and Prome, 97: conquers Pegu, 98: conquers Ava, 99: overruns Shan states, 100: conquers Zimmè, 100: regulates Shan customs, 100; invades Siam and captures Ayuthia, 102, 106: invades Laos, 107: subdues revolt of Mohpyin and Mogaung, 109: mission to Ceylon, 110: prepares to invade Arakan, 111: dies, 111.
- Bedari, princess, 5.
- Bein, Maung, 216.
- Benson, Colonel, British resident at Ava, 213.
- Bheinaka, 3.
- Bintale, king of Ava, 126.
- Bodawpaya: king of Ava, 173: builds Amarapura, 176: conquers Arakan, 177: invades Siam, 178: builds Mingun pagoda, 179: intrigues with Indian princes, 184: interferes in Assam, 185: interferes in Manipur, 186: death, 185: his reforms, 187.
- Bramahin, crown prince of Siam, 105, 106.
- British: settlements in Burma, 123, 137: in Syriam and Bassein, 148: envoys ill-treated, 157; 181, 182, 213, 218: declare war on Burma, 191: occupy Rangoon, 192: capture Syriam, Tavoy, and Pegu, 193: expel Burmese from Assam and Manipur, 195: capture Arakan, 196: traders and subjects ill-treated, 217, 241, 243: second Burmese war, 219: annex Pegu, 225: third Burmese war, 246: annex Upper Burma, 246.
- Buddhaghosa, 9.
- Buddhism, 9, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 24, 100, 101.
- Burmese era, 13.
- Burney, Major, British resident at Ava, 205, 208, 209, 210, 211: retires, 213.
- Byankun, 54.
- Byankyì, 54, 57.
- Byataba, usurper in Martaban, 47.
- Byinnya Dala (1), general of Bayin Naung, 106, 108.
- Byinnya Dala (2), king of Pegu, 138: captures Ava, 140: executed, 170.
- Byinnya Dala (3), Talaing general, 146.
- Byinnya Dhamma Raza, king of Pegu, 68: renews war with Burma, 68: dies, 70.
- Byinnya Kin, a prince of Pegu, intrigues with Burma, 68: governor of Martaban, 70: king of Pegu, 76.
- Byinnya Kyan, 103.
- Byinnyalaw, king of Pegu, 46.
- Byinnya Ran or Rankit, a prince of Pegu, rebels, 68: intrigues with Burma, 68: king of Pegu, 70: attacks Burma, 72: dies, 72.
- Byinnya Ran (2), king of Pegu, 77: attacks Burma, 78, 82.

Byinnyaranda. *See* Zawzip.
 Byinnya-u, king of Pegu, 46.
 Byinnya Waru, son of Shin
 Sawbu, 68, 71: king of Pegu,
 76.

C

Campbell, Sir Archibald, captures
 Rangoon, 192: advances on
 Ava, 197: captures Prome,
 200: negotiates for peace, 202,
 203: defeats Burmese at
 Pagan, 203: concludes treaty
 of Yandabo, 204.
 Canning, British agent in Ran-
 goon, 182, 183.
 Cannon, use of, 47, 54, 86, 89,
 102.
 Ceylon: missions from, 8, 20:
 mission to, 18: under foreign
 rulers, 20: war with, 24:
 mission to Bayin Naung, 110:
 mission to Bodawpaya, 184.
 Chanda Suriya, 250.
 Chandra Kanta, raja of Assam,
 185, 189.
 Cheape, Sir John, 227.
 Chiengmai. *See* Zimmè.
 China: missions to, 17: con-
 quered by Mongols, 26: at
 war with Burma, 26, 27, 28, 30.
 Chinbyan, Arakanese rebel, 183.
 Chinese: invade Burma, 3, 11,
 27, 28, 30, 36, 63, 64, 73, 74,
 127, 128, 130, 160, 162, 163,
 164, 165: claims of suzerainty,
 73, 74, 127, 167: settled in
 Ava, 163: mission to Bodaw-
 paya, 178.
 Chittagong: invaded by Bur-
 mese, 181, 182.
 Chorjit Sing of Manipur, 186,
 190.
 Christians: settled in Ava, 121:
 gunners, 128, 164: put to
 death, 129: villages in Chind-
 win-Irawadi doab, 150.
 Cotton, Sir Willoughby, 197, 200.
 Crawford, British envoy, 205.
 Cox, British envoy, 181.

D

Dagon. *See* Rangoon.
 Dalaban, Talaing general, 138,
 140: captures Ava, 140:
 attacks Alaungpaya, 142: re-
 called, 142: invades Burma,
 144: retreats, 145: takes
 service with Alaungpaya, 152:
 invades Martaban, 158.
 Dalhousie, Lord, governor-
 general of India, supports
 captains' claims for compensa-
 tion, 218: visits Rangoon,
 223: receives Burmese em-
 bassy, 228.
 Daza-raza, 4.
 De Brito, 118: seizes Syriam and
 obtains help from Goa, 118:
 acknowledged ruler of Syriam,
 119, 120: his oppression, 120:
 captures Taungu, 121: de-
 feated and executed, 121.
 Dhammazedì, king of Pegu, 76,
 77.
 Dibban Min, usurper in Pegu, 46.
 Dottaung, 5.
 Dragon worship, 14.
 Dunwun, birthplace of Wareru,
 32: attacked by Shans of
 Zimmè, 44: captured by
 Byataba, 47.
 Dutch: settlements in Burma,
 123, 137: mercenaries in
 Talaing army, 140: in Syriam,
 148.

E

Earthquakes, 165, 179, 259.
 East India Company, 180, 223.
 Eden, Sir Ashley, 236.
 Egankan, king of Pegu, 46.

F

French: in Syriam, 148: in-
 trigues with Mindon Min, 237:
 with Thibaw, 242, 244.
 Fytcbe, Colonel, 234.

G

- Gambhir Sing of Manipur, 190, 209.
 Godwin, General, 219, 220, 221, 224.
 Gonzales, Portuguese adventurer, 255.
 Govind Chandra of Kachar, 190.
 Gwè Shans, 134, 135, 139: at Madaya, 140, 142, 143: in Pegu, 152: in Momeit, 153.
 Gyi, Maung, son of Bandula, 222, 223.

H

- Hanthawadi. *See* Pegu.
 Hmawdaw, king of Pegu, 76.

J

- Jaintia: invaded by Burmese, 169.
 Judson, American missionary, 203, 204, 205.

K

- Kachar: invaded by Burmese, 169.
 Kale-kabaw Valley, 186: assigned to Burma, 209.
 Kanran, 1, 7.
 Kan-raza-gyi, 2, 250.
 Kan-raza-ngè, 2, 3.
 Kapilavastu, kings from, 2.
 Khepaduta, 4.
 Khon-hmaing-ngè, king of Ava, 90, 96.
 Khunlaw, king of Pegu, 44.
 Kinwun Mingyi: envoy to Europe, 237: plots against Mindaon Min, 239: dismissed, 241: advocates submission, 245.
 Kublai Khan: conquers China, 26.
 Kula-kya-min. *See* Narathu.
 Kyansittha, king of Pagan, 20.
 Kyauk Lon, Maung, general, 224.

- Kyaungdarit, king of Pagan, 11.
 Kyawhtin Nawrahta. *See* Bayin Naung.
 Kyawswa (1), king of Pagan, 30: deposed, 35: killed, 36.
 Kyawswa (2), king at Panya, 38, 39.
 Kyawswa (3), king at Panya, 39.
 Kyawswa (4), king of Sagaing, 40.
 Kyi Wungyi, general under Bagyidaw, 194, 199, 200, 201.

L

- Lambert, Commodore, 218.
 Lauk, Maung, son of Alaungpaya, 143: defeated by Talaings, 144: besieged in Ava, 145: king, 159.
 Laukbya, governor of Myaungmya, rebels, 50, 51, 52: subdued, 54.
 Letwèwinhmu, Burmese general, defeats Chinese, 162, 163, 165.
 Letya-min-nan, 20, 21.
 Lewis, 217.
 Linzin, king of, attacks garrison at Zimmè, 100: assists Zimmè, 103: defeated, 104: at Ayuthia, 106: dies, 108.

M

- Mackertich, governor of Minhla, 229.
 Magadu. *See* Wareru.
 Maha Dhamma Raza, king of Ava, 117: captures Prome, 117: conquers Taungu, 121: takes Syriam, 121: reconquers Tenasscriam, 122: makes Pegu his capital, 122: character, 123: death, 124.
 Maha Dhamma Raza Dibati, king of Ava, 133: loses Pegu, 134: appeals to China, 139: captured by Talaings, 140: put to death, 146.
 Mahamuni image, 177, 250.

- Maha Nawrahta, Burmese general, 159, 160.
- Maha Nemyo, Burmese general, 201.
- Maha Pawara Dhamma Raza, king of Ava, 129, 130.
- Maha Raza Dibati, king of Ava, 80 : deposed, 80 : restored, 81.
- Maha Sithu, Burmese general, 163, 164.
- Maha Thambawa, 5.
- Maha Thihathura (1), king of Ava, 75, 78.
- Maha Thihathura (2), joint king of Ava, 78.
- Maha Thihathura (3), Burmese general, 163, 164, 165 : makes peace with China, 166 : degraded, 167 : invades Siam, 171 : disgraced, 171 : restored, 173 : executed, 175.
- Maha Thilawa, general in Assam, 185, 189 : at Danubyu, 194 : at Kokine, 194.
- Mandalay founded, 230.
- Manipuris : attack Burma, 131 : defeat Sinbyushin, 132 : invade Burma, 133, 136, 140, 161 : attacked by Alaungpaya, 153 : conquered by Sinbyushin, 161, 169 : country invaded by Bagyidaw, 190 : dispute with Burma about Kale valley, 209.
- Manuha, 16.
- Marjit Sing of Manipur, 186, 190.
- Marks, Reverend Dr., 238.
- Martaban, 32 : capital of Pegu, 33, 47 : separate kingdom, 47 : conquered by Pegu, 53 : revolts, 86 : conquered, 87 : under Siamese rule, 115 : subject to Burma, 121 : revolts and is subdued, 179 : town destroyed by British, 207 : captured by British, 220.
- Maung Maung, son of Naungdawgyi, king of Ava, 173.
- Meiktila, lake at, 22, 187.
- Metkaya prince, 239.
- Migrations : *Introduction* : 1.
- Min Bala, 44.
- Min Bilu, 20, 251.
- Min Bin, king of Arakan, 89 : repels Tabin Shwehti, 91, 253.
- Minbyauk, husband of So Min, king of Sagaing, 41.
- Min Chit Swa, son of Nanda Bayin, defeated in Siam, 113 : killed, 113.
- Mindon Min : rebels against Pagan Min, 226 : rejects treaty, 228 : his reforms, 228 : crushes rebellions, 230, 233, 235 : treaty with Colonel Fytche, 234 : intrigues with European powers, 237 : dies, 238 : his character, 238.
- Mingyi Swa Sawkè, king of Ava, 49 : conquers Prome, 49 : attacks Pegu, 50, 51, 52.
- Minhla-raza, general under Alaungpaya, revolts, 156.
- Min Kaung-ngè, governor of Taungu, 79.
- Min Khamaung of Arakan, seizes Syriam, 114 : attacks de Brito, 119 : captured and ransomed, 119 : in Bengal, 255.
- Min Khaung (1), king of Burma, 55 : invades Arakan, 57 : at war with Pegu, 58 : peace, 59 : invades Pegu, 61 : at war with China, 64 : dies, 65.
- Min Khaung (2), king of Prome, 89.
- Min Khaung (3), brother of Bayin Naung, vassal king of Taungu, 97, 99, 114.
- Min Khaung-gyi, governor of Arakan, 177 : commands army of invasion in Siam, 178.
- Min Kyinyo, governor of Taungu, 79 : attacks Sale, 80 : repels Talaings, 82 : dies, 83.
- Minmyabu, half-brother of Bagyidaw, general, 199, 200, 202 : superseded, 203.
- Min Nansi, *see* Mintara.
- Min-re-deippa, governor of Zimme, 122 : king of Burma, 124 : deposed, 124.

- Min-re-kyaw-swa (1), prince of Ava, 56 : invades Bassein, 62 : invades Arakan, 62 : defeats Chinese, 63 : relieves Prome, 63 : defeated, 63 : dies, 65.
- Min-re-kyaw-swa (2), king of Ava, 73.
- Min-re-kyaw-swa (3), tributary king of Ava, 112 : heir-apparent, 113 : killed, 115.
- Min-re-kyaw-swa (4), tributary king of Ava, 124 : heir-apparent, 125 : dies, 125.
- Min Saw Mun, king of Arakan, flees to Bengal, 60.
- Min Saw U (1), daughter of Tarokpyemin, 35.
- Min Saw U (2), governor of Taungu, 72 : deposed, 73.
- Minshinsaw (1), 22, 23.
- Minshinsaw (2), governor of Thayetmyo, 35 : captured by Arakanese, 38 : released, 39.
- Mintara, chief of Mohnyin, 69 : king of Ava, 69 : dies, 73.
- Mintara Buddha Kethi, usurper in Pegu, 134, 136 : abdicates, 137.
- Minthagyi, brother-in-law of Bagyidaw, 199, 203, 210 : executed, 211.
- Mobyèmin Narabadi, king of Ava, 96.
- Mogaung and Mohnyin, hostile to Burma, 73, 80, 81 : conquered by Bayin Naung, 100 : revolt, 109, 116 : subject to Alaungpaya, 144 : annexed to Burma, 147.
- Mongols : conquer China, 26 : invade Burma, 27, 28.
- Monopolies, 231, 236, 243.
- Muddusitta, 3.
- Myatpon (1), the pretender, 175.
- Myatpon (2), governor of Tavoy, 178.
- Myat Tun, Maung, guerrilla leader, 227.
- Myaungmya, rebels and is reconquered, 54.
- Myedu Min. *See* Lauk, Maung.
- Myingondaing prince, 232.
- Myingun prince, 232, 241, 242.

N

- Nagahsein, 3, 4.
- Nanchao, 17 : ch. iii. note.
- Nanda Bayin, son of Bayin Naung : on the Irawadi, 99 : in Siam, 102 : in Zimmè and Laos, 104 : king of Burma, 111 : crushes rebellion at Ava, 112 : invades Siam, 113 : goes mad, 114 : deposed and killed, 115.
- Narabadi, king of Prome, 81.
- Narabadisithu, king of Pagan, 24.
- Narathihapate, 26. *See* Tarokpyemin.
- Narathu (1), king of Pagan, 22, 23.
- Narathu (2), king of Panya, 39 : carried off by Shans, 41.
- Narathunka, king of Pagan, 24.
- Narawara, king of Ava, 131.
- Nasruddin, the Mongol, invades Burma, 27.
- Natshin of Taungu, 114, 115 : conquered by Maha Dhamma Raza, 121.
- Naungdawgyi, son of Alaungpaya, 144 : becomes king, 156.
- Nawrahta, king of Sagaing, 40.
- Nazir Shah of Bengal, 252.
- Negrais : British settlement, 148 : massacre at, 154.
- Newinbayin, general, 203.
- Ngaramankan, 20.
- Nyaung Ok prince : rebels, 239 : takes refuge in India, 241 : invades Burma, 242.
- Nyaung Yan Min, tributary king of Ava, 113 : revolts 114 : dies 116.
- Nyaungyan prince : rebels, 239 : takes refuge in India, 241.

O

- O, Maung, *see* Minthagyi.

Ok, Maung, governor of Pegu, 217: ill-treats British subjects, 217: removed, 218.
Onbaungale, Shan chief, 69.

P

Padein Min; rebels, 233: captured and executed, 233.
Pagan (old), foundation of, 4. *See* Tagaung.
Pagan (new), foundation of, 7. Ch. i. note B: 10: sacked, 29.
Pagan Min: regent, 215: seizes throne, 216: deposed, 226: death, 226.
Pagodas: Shwezigon, 18: Myinkataung, 20; at Pagan, 25: Kaunghmudaw, 126.
Panya; founded 37: sacked, 41.
Pegu (Hanthawadi): founded, 9: captured by Anawrahta, 16: revolts from Burma, 31: attacks Prome, 45: attacked by Siam, 46: at war with Burma, 47, 50, 51, 52, 55: invasion of Burma, 58: peace, 59: invaded by Burmese, 61: attacks Burma, 78: conquered by Taungu, 84: sacked, 115: revolts from Burma, 134: attacks Burma, 136, 137: captured by British, 221, 224: annexed by British, 225.
Phayre, Sir Arthur, governor of Pegu, 225: accompanies Burmese mission to Calcutta, 228: envoy to Ava, 229: chief commissioner, 231.
Pong, kingdom of, 6, 19: ch. iii. note.
Portuguese: assist Talaings, 84: in Martaban, 86, 87: at Prome, 89: at the court of Tabin Shwehti, 92, 93: in Bayin Naung's army, 99: in Siam, 102: attack Bayin Naung's fleet, 111: settlements in the East, 118: in Talaing army, 140.

Price, American missionary, 203, 204.

Proa Naret of Siam, 112, 113: invades Martaban, 114: at Pegu, 115: dies, 116.

Prome: foundation of, 5: overthrown, 7: independent, 45: besieged by Talaings, 59, 63: conquered by Taungu, 89: attacked by Talaings, 145, 146: relieved by Alaungpaya, 146: occupied by British, 200: captured by British, 222, 223.

Pru or Pyu, 1, 7.

Pyuminti. *See* Sawdi.

R

Rahula. *See* Thadominbya.

Raj Guru, 202.

Rangoon, ch. vii. note: captured by Alaungpaya, 147: occupied by British, 192: evacuated, 205: finally captured, 220.

Ratanapura. *See* Ava.

Rathekyang, king of Pagan, 10.

Rathemyo, 5.

Razadirit, king of Pegu, 47: repels Burmese attacks, 51, 52: invades Burma, 58: makes peace, 59: besieges Prome, 63: dies, 65.

Razagyi, king of Arakan, 114: relations with de Brito, 118, 119: with Gonzales, 255.

Razathingyan the Shan, 34, 37.

Ribeiro, lieutenant of de Brito, 118, 119.

Robertson, Civil officer with Campbell, 202, 203.

S

Sagaing, kingdom of, 40.

Sak, 1, 7.

Sakya Min, son of Bagyidaw, 212.

Salon, chief of Mohnyin, 80, 81.

Sandaminhla, queen of Pegu, 46.

Sat, Maung, Talaing rebel, 206.

- Sawbyinnya, governor of Martaban, 86, 87.
- Sawdi, king of Pagan, 10, 11.
- Sawhanhpa. *See* Thohanbwa.
- Sawhnit, king of Pagan, 35.
- Sawlu (1), king of Pagan, 20.
- Sawlu (2), governor of Taungu, 71 : attacks Burma, 72 : dies, 72.
- Sawmunhnit, king of Pagan, 41.
- Sawpome, ch. xi. note.
- Sawrahan, king of Pagan, 14.
- Shah Shuja, refugee in Arakan, 257.
- Shans : *Introduction* : invade Burma, 3 : tributary to Anawrahta, 19 : paramount in Burma, ch. vi. : established in Siam, 55 : occupy Ava, 69 : capture Prome and Ava, 80, assist Ava against Bayin Naung, 99 : contingents at Prome, 201 : Shan women in battle, 201.
- Sheppard, 217.
- Shin Sawbu, princess of Pegu, 68 : marries Tarabya, 69 : flees to Pegu, 71 : queen, 76.
- Shwedaungdet, king of Sagaing, 40.
- Shwe Lon, Maung, 220.
- Siam : conquers Tavoy and Tenasserim, 45 : invaded by Tabin Shwehti, 92 : invaded by Bayin Naung, 102, 106 : by Nanda Bayin, 113 : by Alaungpaya, 155 : by Sinbyushin, 159, 160 : independent, 168.
- Sinbyushin (1), king of Ava, 131, 132.
- Sinbyushin (2). *See* Lauk, Maung, king of Ava, 159 : subdues Zimme and Linzin, 159 : his armies invade Siam, 159, 170 : and capture Ayuthia, 160 : invades Manipur, Kachar and Jaintia, 169 : executes Byinnya Dala, 170 : dies, 172.
- Singu Min, king of Ava, 171, 172 : deposed, 173 : killed, 174.
- Sithu Kyawhtin, governor of Taungu, 79.
- Sithu Kyawhtin Narabadi, king of Ava, 96 : deposed, 99 : checks rebellion in Pegu, 103.
- Sithungè, governor of Taungu, 79.
- Sladen, captain, British resident in Amarapura, 203.
- So Min, daughter of Athengkara of Sagaing, 40.
- Sona, 8.
- Supayagyi, wife of Thibaw, 240.
- Supayalat, Thibaw's queen, 240 : her evil influence, 241.
- Steel, general, 227.
- Sulathambawa, 5.
- Symes' mission to Amarapura, 181, 182.

T

- Ta, Maung, 221.
- Tabin Shwehti, king of Taungu, 83 : attacks Pegu, 84 : king of Pegu, 85 : captures Martaban, 87 : captures Prome, 89 : his cruelty, 87, 89 : occupies Pagan, 90 : invades Arakan, 91 : invades Siam, 92 : killed, 93.
- Tagaung, 1, 2 : sacked, 3.
- Tainga Mingyi, 245.
- Takayutbi, king of Pegu, 84 : flees to Prome, 85.
- Talaings : *Introduction* : attack Prome, 7 : language reduced to writing, 9 : records destroyed 16 : migrations to Siam, 113, 114, 125 : capture Ava, 140 : invade Burma, 144 : massacre of, 146 : rebel against Bodawpaya, 175 : last insurrection of, 206.
- Tali. *See* Nanchao.
- Tarabya (1), king of Pegu, 31, 33.
- Tarabya (2), nobleman of Ava, 69.
- Tarabya (3), governor of Taungu, 72, 79.

- Tarabygyi, king of Ságaing, 38, 40.
- Tarabyangè, king of Sagaing, 40.
- Tarabya Sawkè. *See* Mingyi Swa Sawkè.
- Taret, 3: ch. i. note A.
- Tarok, 3: ch. i. note A.
- Tarokpyemin, 26: flees from Pagan, 28: killed, 28.
- Taungu: *Introduction*: Burmese governor appointed, 24, 37: origin of name, 66: becomes independent, 67: repels Peguan attack, 78: migration of Burmans to, 67, 81, 83: attacked by Talaings, 79, 82: conquers Pegu, 84: conquers Prome, 85: rebellion in, 158.
- Tavoy: conquered from Siam, 44: recaptured, 45: captured by Alaungpaya, 153: occupied by Siamese, 179: reconquered, 179.
- Tenasserim: taken from Siam, 44: recaptured, 45: annexed by British, 204.
- Tha Aung, Maung, governor of Pegu, 134.
- Thado Dhamma Raza, king of Prome, 124: king of Burma, 124: rebellion against, 125: capital at Ava, 126: dies, 126.
- Thadogyaw, king of Zimmè, 122.
- Thadominbya, 39: governor of Tagaung, 41: king of Sagaing, 41: founds Ava, 48: dies, 48.
- Thadominkhaung, governor of Prome, 137.
- Thadominsaw (1) of Prome, becomes king of Ava, 80: deposed, 81.
- Thadominsaw (2), brother of Bayin Naung, king of Ava, 99: at Zimmè, 100: revolts, 112: dies, 112.
- Thadominsaw (3). *See* Lauk, Maung.
- Thadosindein, husband of So Min, 41.
- Thameinsawdût, usurper in Pegu, 93: killed, 95.
- Thameintaw Rama; heads a rebellion in Pegu, 93: king of Pegu, 95: conquered by Bayin Naung, 98.
- Thamokdarit, 7: founds new Pagan, 10.
- Tharawadi Min (1), king of Zimmè, 108: revolts, 114.
- Tharawadi Min (2), at Danabyu, 194: at Ava, 199, 203, 210; revolts, 211: becomes king, 212: repudiates treaty of Yandabo, 213: his cruelty, 214: insanity, 215: deposition, 216: death, 217.
- Tharekhettara, 5.
- Thaton, 6: kingdom founded, 8: sacked, 16.
- Thaung Bo, Maung, 212.
- Thaungkyi, prince of Zimmè, king of Siam, 106.
- Theingathu, vassal king of Taungu, 85.
- Thet. *See* Sak.
- Thibaw, accession, 239: plots against, 242: state of Burma under his rule, 243: intrigues with European powers, 243, 244: embassy to Simla, 244: massacre of princes, 244: dispute with Bombay-Burma Trading Corporation, 244: deposed and exiled, 246.
- Thihapate (1), 41. *See* Min-byauk.
- Thihapate (2), Burmese general, 159: captures Ayuthia, 160: invades Zimmè, 168.
- Thihathu (1), governor of Prome, 28, 34, 35.
- Thihathu (2), the Shan, 34, 35: king at Panya, 37.
- Thihathu (3), son of Min Khaung, 65: makes war on Pegu, 68: dies, 69.
- Thihathu (4), brother of Bayin Naung, 93: occupies Taungu, 95: conquered by Bayin Naung, 97.

Thihathu (5), Burmese general, 165, 166.
 Thinga Raza, founder of the Burmese era, 13.
 Thingkabo the Shan, 34.
 Thinsa, king of Arakan : invades Burma, 57.
 Thiri Pawara Maha Dhamma Raza, king of Ava, 131.
 Thiri Pawara Maha Dhamma Raza Dibati. *See* Sinbyushin (1).
 Thirithudhamma Raza, king of Ava, 78.
 Thohanbwa of Mohnyin : becomes king of Ava, 81 : assists Prome, 85, 89 : dies, 90.
 Thonba Wungyi, 193.
 Thonganbwa, chief of Mogaung, 73.
 Thupinya, last king of Prome, 7.
 Titha, king of Pegu, 9.

U

Uriang Kadai, 26.
 Usana, 37 : king at Panya, 38.
 Uttara, 8.
 Uzana Byaung, king at Panya, 39 : killed, 41.

W

Wareru, 32 : king of Pegu, 33 : death, 43.
 White House Stockade, 194, 220.
 Wolseley, Ensign, at Kyaukzin, 227.

Y

Yanaung, 81.
 Yandabo, treaty of, 204 : repudiated by Tharawadi Min, 213.
 Yule, Captain, member of mission to Amarapura, 229.
 Yunhli, prince of the Ming dynasty, 128, 130, 135.

Z

Zawaw, king of Pegu, 44.
 Zawzip, king of Pegu, 45.
 Zeyakyaw, Burmese noble, 171.
 Zeyatheinkha, king of Pagan, 25.
 Zeyathura. *See* Newinbayin.
 Zimmè, chief of, attacks Pegu, 44 : defeated by Byinnya-u, 47 ; raids Martaban, 62 : conquered by Bayin Naung, 100 : revolts, 102, 103 : state invaded and conquered, 168.

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