

Burmese Invasions of Siam, Translated from the Hmannan Yazawin Dawgyi.

I.

Preface.

The materials for the subject of this paper were drawn almost entirely from the Hmannan Yazawin Dawgyi, a History of Burma in Burmese compiled by order of King Bagyidaw of Burma in the year 1191 Burmese era, A. D. 1829.

The native work has been closely adhered to in this paper, so much so that it may be considered a free translation of the original covering the period treated of. A resumé of the whole of what is contained here will be found in Sir Arthur Phayre's History of Burma. In his history Sir Arthur Phayre has also followed the Hmannan Yazawin fairly closely, and he has utilized all the information which the native work can offer that is worthy of a place in a history written on European lines and arranged it, at least as regards the pre-Alaungpric period, almost in the order it is given in the original. But what a wide difference there is between history written according to native ideas and that written on European principles, and how far Sir Arthur Phayre has sifted and condensed the information contained in the original may be imagined when fifteen pages, each containing twenty eight lines of print in the native history are worked into thirty one lines in Sir Arthur Phayre's.

So as not to make the subject of this paper appear isolated, it is deemed proper to give a short introduction on the state of affairs in Burma for a period of about 30 years preceding the date on which the subject treated of here opened; in fact commencing with the birth of the first invader of Siam, describing in bare outline his career, and leading up to the invasion itself.

Introduction.

The political condition of Burma in the old days before the rise of the last dynasty was much the same as that of Siam about the same period. The whole country was divided into small principalities, at one time independent and prosperous, and even holding neighbouring states in subjection, while at another, overthrown, dependent, or subject to a more powerful neighbour. As in Siam in those days there was no recognized rule of succession, and on the demise of a king or a chief, whoever of the kith and kin of the deceased could intrigue most and gather a large number of adherents secured the succession. Therefore, the overthrow of a powerful or suzerain state was brought about quite as much, if not more, by this internal struggle for succession as by the rise in power of a neighbour which had enjoyed a short term of rest, and been able to recoup its exhausted energy.

Though the whole country was honeycombed with "towns" each under a governor, a chief, or a ruler who in some cases, depending on territorial extent as well as in power, was dignified under the name of a king, yet the principal states or kingdoms about half a century before the subject of this paper, viz. the first organized invasion of Siam by the Burmese, took place, were the kingdom of Ava under a Burmese king, that of Hanthawaddy under a Mon or Talaing King, that of Dinnyawaddy or Arakan under an Arakanese King, and those of Toungoo and Prome. The last two being situated almost midway between two powerful rival kingdoms, the Burmese at Ava and the Mon at Hanthawaddy, enjoyed an unenviable position of having to submit to frequent political changes; now under a Viceroy who was sometimes raised to the dignity of tributary King, appointed from Ava, and a little while after, under another from Hanthawaddy; occasionally asserting their independence when the two rival kingdoms had exhausted their power by mutual struggle for supremacy or by internecine strife for succession to the throne.

About thirty years before the first invasion of Siam by the Burmese, there was born to the King of Toungoo, Maha Thirizeya Thura, then enjoying fairly independent position, a son who subsequently rose to great power, overthrew his more powerful southern neighbour, brought Arakan under nominal subjection, threatened

the King of Ava with overthrow, and led a well organized army into Siam.

As usual with all native chronicles, a great deal of myth and story surrounds the personality of any king of eminence. In the case of the first invader of Siam, who was regarded as one of three national heroes, the very conception was forewarned by a dream to his august mother that the very sun descended from the heavens, cleaved her womb and took abode there. His birth was as usual, attended by thunder and lightning and heavy showers, and what was stranger than all was that a thick shower of hail about the size of a moderate-sized pumelo also fell.

According to the chronology of the Hmannan Yazawin, he was born on Wednesday the 1st of waning Kasôn,¹ Sakkaraj 878, (A. D. 1516.), and was named Tabin Shweti. He ascended the throne on the death of his father on Thursday 5th of waxing Nadaw² 892 (A. D. 1530.); thus he was barely fifteen when raised to kingly dignity and power, and thenceforth the native chronicler styles him Mintara Shweti.

He traced his origin to the Burmese Kings of Ava and took a pride in his Burmese ancestry.

He made repeated attempts to subjugate Hanthawaddy and finally succeeded in the year 899 (A. D. 1537.), when the King of Hanthawaddy fled to his brother-in-law the King of Prome. Then, he captured Martaban which offered a stout resistance; and on the fall of Martaban, Moulmein submitted. Having conquered the whole of the Mon territory, he transferred his seat of government to Hanthawaddy. That is the reason why he is known as King of Hanthawaddy in Siamese History, but he was not a Mon by birth though subsequently he took to some Mon manners and customs, such as cropping the hair and wearing the Mon head-dress.

In the year 904 (A. D. 1542.), Prome fell to him after a protracted siege, the King of Prome surrendering, only asking that he and his relatives might be spared.

In the year 908 (A. D. 1546.), the King of Arakan having died, his son succeeded to the throne, but the succession was

1. May.

2. December.

contested by the deceased King's brother who was governor of Sandoway. He sought the assistance of Mintara Shweti who was only too willing to render it, and who accordingly marched an army to Arakan. After laying siege to the capital for some time an agreement was come to by which the new King of Arakan was to cede Sandoway and certain other territory to his uncle who was to be recognised as king independent of Arakan, and both to be nominally subject to Mintra Shweti.

Thus Mintara Shweti was actually King of Toungoo, Prome, and the whole of the Mon country, and the nominal suzerain of Arakan and Sandoway when the era of his warlike relations with Siam opened.

—)o(—

Taking advantage of Mintara Shweti's absence in Arakan, the King of Siam sent Thamein Kanburi and Thamein Dawtaka with 200 elephants, 1,000 horse, and 60,000 men to capture Tavoy. On the arrival of the Siamese troops, the Governor showed only a shadow of resistance and then fled to Ye.

News of the capture having been brought to the capital, Mintara Shweti sent 40,000 men by water with a flotilla of 100 big and 300 small sailing vessels, and 200 elephants, 2,000 horse and 80,000 men by land to expel the Siamese from Tavoy and beyond the frontier. The expedition was quite successful, the Burmese following the Siamese forces well into Siamese territory.

In 910 (1548 A. D.), Mintara Shweti, probably in a spirit of retaliation but more likely prompted by a desire for conquest, made extensive preparations for the invasion of Siam. An order of mobilisation was issued to all viceroys and governors to come forward with their contingent of elephants, horse and men. The governors of the towns to the east of the capital lying on the line of march were ordered to get stores and provisions ready. Then on the 13th waxing Tazaungmôn³ 910 (1548 A. D.), Mintara Shweti began his march from Hauthawaddy. The vanguard division consisted of 4 regiments of horse each 2,000 strong and 8 regiments of infantry composed of 5,000 men, each under their respective provincial governors; and also a corps of 200 elephants distributed

among the infantry. The principal commanders in this division were, Mintara Shweti's brother-in-law as well as chief adviser called Bayin Naung⁴ who was governor of Hlaing, and the governors of Martaban, Sittaung and Ye.

The central division in which Mintara [Shweti himself marched consisted of 80 elephants, 800 horse and 40,000 men under the command of Yaza Thingyan, with Nanda Kyawthu second in command. The rear-guard division consisted of the same strength as the vanguard and the principal commanders were the Kings of Toungoo and Prome and the governors of Tharrawaddy and Bassein.

At Martaban a bridge of boats was constructed from Martaban to Moulmein and the whole army of horse and men crossed over it. The elephants were taken higher up the river where it was narrow and fordable for them, with the exception of the happy creature that conveyed His Majesty, which was carried across by means of a big raft.

From Moulmein march was made to Taungpabôn the Burmese frontier town, and thence to Kanburi, and thence again in the direction of Yodaya (Ayuthia). Amusements and entertainments were held at every encampment on the way.

The King of Siam hearing of the invasion, was not slow in getting an army ready and came out to meet the invader on the way. News of the march of the Siamese was brought in to Mintara Shweti by the Lawas, and orders were issued to make preparations to give battle.

The three divisions were spread out, the King of Prome was in the centre with 100 elephants, 1,000 horse and 50,000 men; Bayin Naung with a like force was on the left; and the rest of the army with Mintara Shweti on the right. The left division was ordered to lie in ambush in the forest while the cavalry of the central division was ordered to advance. The Siamese army seeing the cavalry of the enemy advance charged with their elephants. The cavalry pretended a retreat so as to entice the defenders to

4. Lit: elder brother of the King. We shall hear more of this Bayin Naung in the subsequent papers for it was he who successfully overran almost the whole of central and northern Siam.

follow up and fall into a snare. The plan succeeded entirely, and the whole of those who were too eager in their pursuit fell into the hands of Bayin Naung who closed in from the left. The main Siamese army came up to the rescue, but by that time the right wing with Mintara Shweti also came up, and in the battle which ensued the Siamese army was defeated and forced to retreat. Among those captured were the son and the brother of the King of Siam, and the forces surrounded and caught in the ambushade. The King himself made a hasty retreat withdrawing all his army for the defence of the capital Ayuthia. The invading army then followed up but was unable to take the city owing to its commanding position, surrounded as it was by water, and also to the strong defence made, in which the artillery served by Kala Panthays (foreigners) played an important part in keeping the invaders off at a safe distance.

After investing the city for about a month without any appreciable effect on the defenders, Mintara Shweti called a council and proposed that the outlying provinces of Kamanpaik,⁵ Thaukkatè,⁶ and Peikthalauk⁷ should be first captured; this was approved of by Bayin Naung and others, and the following morning the forces were withdrawn and advance was made in the direction of Kamanpaik.

The King of Siam on learning of the retreat arranged to follow up the enemy in three different routes:—one force under the command of his brother Oya Peikthalauk and Aukbya Setki, another under the command of his son-in-law Oya Lagun Einma and Oya Ram, and a third under his own command.

Within three marches from Kamanpaik Mintara Shweti became aware of the pursuit, and he immediately ordered a halt and disposed of his army to meet the pursuers. The triple divisional formation was again ordered; Bayin Naung and four others were placed in the centre, the governor of Martaban and four others on the right, and the governor of Sittaung and four others on the left. A general march of the three divisions was ordered to meet the

5. Kamphengphet.
6. Sukhothai.
7. Phisnulök.

pursuers on the way, while Mintara Shweti himself brought up the rear. He was mounted on his richly caparisoned elephant and immediately surrounding and guarding him were various descriptions of armed men among whom mention is made of the presence of 300 Kala (foreigners) foot lancers and 300 Kala Panthay (foreigners) musketeers. With him were the tributary Kings of Toungoo and Prome on the left and the right respectively, and the governor of Bassein in the rear.

After marching about two miles, Mintara Shweti sent a mounted messenger to Bayin Naung who was some distance ahead, ordering him not to give battle until he himself came up with the rear. The order was explicitly addressed only to Bayin Naung, but Mintara Shweti must have meant it to be a general one for all the three divisions. At any rate, the order was conveyed only to Bayin Naung, while the left and right wings were left uninformed of it.

While the three divisions were resting near a lake, a reconnoitring party of 300 horse was sent out and it came in contact with the advance horse of the Siamese. After a skirmish the reconnoitring party retreated and informed the main divisions of the approach of the Siamese. Orders were issued to be prepared for the attack.

The Siamese army also advanced in three divisions, and this form of battle order appears to be the most favoured one in those days. On the approach of the Siamese the Burmese right under the governor of Martaban and four other leaders advanced and came in contact with the Siamese left under Oya Peikthalauk, Auk-tè-nan and Oya Thenna. The Burmese left under the governor of Sittaung and four others also advanced and engaged in conflict with the Siamese right under Aukbya Setki, Oya Tizi and Oya Ram.

Bayin Naung was at first in a great dilemma as to whether he should obey Mintara Shweti's order and await his arrival, in which case he would be mistaken for a coward by his brother generals on the right and left who were ignorant of the order, and moreover robbed of the honour and glory of success by those who were barely his equal in ability or in birth, for he was of royal blood; or, should he enter into the general conflict in defiance of

the order and thus incur His Majesty's displeasure, and run the risk of having to sacrifice his head in atonement. However, he was not long in coming to a decision ; he chose the latter and took the risk of losing his head rather than be looked upon as a coward and robbed of the honours of the day. This decision of his was strictly in keeping with his character and temperament as we shall learn in the subsequent papers which will treat of his entry into Siam, not as on this occasion under the orders of a King, but as King himself issuing orders more stringent and peremptory than he was then receiving. His division was met by the Siamese under Oya Lagun Einma, the son-in-law of the King of Siam, who was assisted by Oya Yokarat.

Success favoured the Burmese arms and the Siamese army was defeated with great loss. On the left of the Siamese army, commander Auk-tè-nan was captured, Oya Thenna was killed in the fight, while Oya Peikthalauk made a precipitate retreat leaving behind the elephant he rode on. On the right Aukbya Setki was killed on the field and Oya Tizi and Oya Ram made a hasty retreat. In the centre Oya Lagun Einma and Oya Yokarat were also worsted and made a quick retreat ; the latter abandoned his elephant and took to horse in the flight ; the former fled with his elephant, but on the way the animal took to a lake from which it was found impossible to get it away. The Burmese in hot pursuit found the retreating general in that sorry plight and so surrounded the lake. Oya Lagun Einma got off the obstinate beast and tried to escape on foot but was captured together with the animal which was responsible for the final disaster. The rout of the Siamese army was complete, and the Burmese were so eager in their pursuit of the flying army that it was late in the evening when Bayin Naung was able to gather in his horse-men. The native chronicler is very reticent of the casualties on the Burmese side ; in the whole narrative of the incidents of the battle not one casualty to Burmese arms is mentioned.

Special notice is made of the bravery displayed by Bayin Naung's son Zeya Thiha, then only a boy of 13, who fought by the side of his father. Under the name of Maha Upayaza, he plays a fairly important part when his father invaded Siam, but he was far behind his father in ability.

When Mintara Shweti, who was some distance behind, heard the report of guns, he knew that fighting had commenced, and so came up with all speed. He arrived on the scene of battle towards the afternoon but did not take part in the fight, for even at that hour, it was plain that the success of the day would be his.

Notwithstanding that his army had secured a complete victory, he was still greatly displeased at the way his order was disobeyed. When all the generals presented themselves before him in the course of the evening, and each in turn reported how he and his men had fought, bringing forward whatever prisoners and spoils of war he had been able to secure, Mintara Shweti asked them how they had dared to disobey his order, and thus rob him of the honours of the day. Bayin Naung explained how the divisions on the right and left which did not receive the order advanced on the approach of the Siamese, and how he also advanced to the attack as he could not bear the idea of being thought a coward. Mintara Shweti, mollified by the success which attended his army, said he was not inclined to be captious and fastidious in-as-much as the apparent disobedience of his command had not resulted in a reverse to the arms. He not only forgave his generals but most royally rewarded them as well as those who distinguished themselves in the field, by offers of valuable presents and promotions in rank and title.

As regards the spoils seized in the battle only elephants, horses, arms and ammunition were held as state property, while the rest including men, cattle, gold, silver, wearing apparel and food stuffs were made over to the persons who captured or obtained them. From this mode of disposal of the loot, one can imagine what amount of looting and plunder there would be in the Burmese army of those days.

When each had been rewarded as he deserved Mintara Shweti consulted his generals as to the next step to be taken. One of them Maha-Gyi by name suggested that they should march on to the capital, saying that the taking of it would be an easy matter as the Siamese had suffered two signal defeats, first at Yazathein when the son and the brother of the Siamese Monarch were made prisoners, and secondly in the recently concluded battle when the son-in-law was captured; and since in both these battles the loss of the Siamese in elephants,

horse, men and arms was very considerable and the morale of the men had been shattered, the defence of the capital could not possibly be strong. The King of Prome on the other hand suggested return to Hanthawaddy; he said the Siamese capital was unlike others: it was surrounded by rivers, streams and other water courses rendering the approach difficult, very strongly built and well mounted with a large number of heavy guns and cannons, and well defended also by a strong force. The river approach was defended by ships manned by Kala Panthays. It had never before been taken by any invading force, and to take it then would mean a slow siege necessitating the throwing up of forts, ramparts, and trenches. The investing army would suffer for want of provisions, as none were procurable in the neighbourhood, and foraging would not be permitted unmolested. His idea was to return to Hanthawaddy, conquer Ava and the Shan states, and then invade Siam again with the auxiliaries obtained from the conquered kingdoms and states. A third suggestion was put forward by one Nanda Thingyan. He said the Siamese had already suffered two defeats with heavy losses, and the son, the brother, and the son-in-law of their Sovereign were held as prisoners. In the circumstances he believed that the Siamese King would sue for peace; even if he did not, there was time enough for further operations which might be directed against Kamanpaik, Thaukkatè and Peikthalauk. The taking of these towns, he said, would present no difficulty. Then during the rains, part of the army not required to hold the towns would be employed in cultivating the surrounding land, and another party stationed at Kamanpaik to build a flotilla of boats for the transport of the grain and other provisions gathered during the recess in the rains. When thus fully provided, to make another attempt at reducing the capital. This suggestion obtained the support of Bayin Nauang and was accepted by Mintara Shweti.

Accordingly the whole Burmese army marched to Kamanpaik which was taken without struggle, the governor running away on the approach of the Burmese.

While preparations were being made for the march to Thaukkatè, a written message from His Majesty Byathadi Yaza, King of Siam, arrived together with presents of green and red woollen cloths, panungs (lit: single breadth "paso" or Burmese

loin cloth) red and white pieces of foreign cloth and sweet smelling woods. The message was to the effect that on condition of his son, brother and son-in-law being released he would take the oath of allegiance and pay yearly 30 war elephants, 300 ticals of silver, and the customs revenue⁸ of Tenasserim. If the conditions were accepted, two white elephants named Byat-Kyi and Byat-Ngè would be presented also. Mintara Shweti praised Nanda Thingyan for his foresight, as things turned out just as he had expected, and rewarded him. Preparations for further march were at once countermanded and the Siamese envoys were sent back with the understanding that the Burmese Sovereign would accept the offers made by their King. His Siamese Majesty then sent Oya Peikthalauk and Oya Thawunkalauk⁹ as his representatives to take the oath of allegiance in his stead, and to convey, as promised, the two white elephants which were sent adorned with gold trappings, and accompanied by two other faultless elephants saddled with sumptuously fitted howdahs.

After accepting the presents and administering the oath, Mintara Shweti released all the prisoners of war, allowed them to resume their former rank and dignity, and conferred further honours on the three royal captives and also on Oya Peikthalauk and Oya Thawunkalauk and allowed them to return.

Two days after the departure of the Siamese, His Majesty of Burma ordered a march homewards via Dalaung. Such of his army as were unable to keep up with the rather forced marches were left behind in charge of the governor of Moulmein. He himself arrived at Hanthawaddy on the 3rd of waxing Tagu¹⁰ 910 (A. D. 1548.), the expedition lasting nearly five months.

Thus ended the first organized invasion of Siam by the Burmese.

The sequel to Mintara Shweti's career was a distressing one. Falling into the hands of a Portugese adventurer, he took to drink and became incapable of attending to state affairs. He was subsequently assassinated in his bed by a Mon nobleman who acted as his chamberlain.

8. Lit : tax on shipping.

9. Swankhalók.

10. April.

SIR ARTHUR PHAYRE'S ACCOUNT OF
THE SAME INVASION.

Provoked by the attack from the King of Siam, Tabeng Shweti determined to invade that country. His preparations were on a great scale, and occupied him during the greater part of the year. Near the close of the year, when the country is dry after the rainy season, the whole army was assembled at Martaban.¹ The arrangements for the campaign were, as on all previous occasions, under the orders of Buring Naung. A small body of Portugese, probably employed only as gunners, formed a part of the army. They were commanded by James Soarez, who afterwards rose to high office. The army crossed the Salween river, and marching in an easterly direction, reached the Menam river in its upper course. From thence it marched down the river-banks in three columns. When nearing Yuthia or Yodaya, the then capital, the invaders met with a spirited resistance, but after severe fighting forced their way to the vicinity of the city. The King of Pegu, as had happened to him in Arakan, found the defences so strong, and by reason of the channels of the river so difficult to approach by an army, that, on the advice of Buring Naung, he determined to retreat. The difficulty of feeding his large army also contributed to this resolution. The Siamese incessantly attacked the retreating invaders, thousands of whom were slain or died of hunger and disease. Fortunately for the Burmese King, the son-in-law of the King of Siam was taken prisoner in a skirmish. This led to negotiations, and the Burmo-Talaing army was allowed to continue its retreat without further attack. The expedition occupied five months.

1. In the history of Siam, this first invasion by the King of Pagu is stated to have occurred A. D. 1543. See Bowring's Siam Vol 1. p. 46.

II.

Introduction.

The last paper closed with the assassination of Mintara Shweti which took place at about 3 a. m. on Wednesday the 1st. of waxing Kasôn¹ 912 (A. D. 1550.) while he was on his way to capture a white elephant, the finding of which was falsely reported to him as an artifice to allure him away from the capital and from those who were faithful to him. The assassin's brother, Thamein Sawtut, a Mon nobleman, who was governor of Sittaung and who was the leader of the plot and the instigator of the foul murder, gathered his partisans, fortified Sittaung and proclaimed himself King under the name of Thamein Setkawaw.

At that time Bayin Naung, or to give his full name Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata, was at Dala trying to suppress a rebellion headed by another Mon nobleman named Thamein Tawrama. Bayin Naung's brother Thihathu who was viceroy of Toungoo was at Hanthawaddy, being called over from Toungoo to look after the affairs in Hanthawaddy. When news of the death of Mintara Shweti reached Hanthawaddy, Thihathu and his followers marched as quickly as they could to Toungoo, and after making the defences of the city strong, he proclaimed himself independent assuming the name of Min Gaung. So did the viceroy of Prome, Thado Dama Yaza who assumed the name of Thado Thu. Many of the provincial governors also tried to be as independent as they could. Thus, the kingdom consolidated by Mintara Shweti only about ten or fifteen years ago was again broken up into small states.

Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata had, as we have seen in the account of Mintara Shweti's invasion of Siam, proved himself the most capable man both in council chamber and in the field of battle. It is no wonder then that he was looked upon as the most suitable successor to Mintara Shweti by such of the right minded patriots who desired to see a united Burma. In fact, when Mintara Shweti became so addicted to drink that he very often committed acts of manifest injustice and capriciousness, the nobles requested Bayin

1. May.

Naung to depose his brother-in-law and make himself King. But with a fidelity very rare in those days, Bayin Naung very politely refused the offer of the crown, saying he could not be ungrateful. However, after the death of Mintara Shweti he aspired to sovereign authority not only over a small state or kingdom but over the whole of Burma proper and Hanthawaddy. His ambition was more than fulfilled, for when his thoughts turned to conquest abroad he was King of Hanthawaddy, Toungoo and Prome, as well as of Ava, and the suzerain of the whole of the Shan States with the exception of Theinni (Shan, Hsen-wi).

As early as the beginning of Sakkaraj 915 when he had reconquered the territories held by his predecessor and made his position secure, he consulted his nobles as to the invasion of Siam, saying that it was tributary to Burma after the conquest of Mintara Shweti, but that it had again asserted independence. He was, however, advised by them to first conquer Ava and the Shan States, pointing out that the conquest of Siam was not an easy matter, and the reason why it submitted to Mintara Shweti was because the son, the brother, and the son-in-law of the Siamese King were unfortunate enough to fall into the hands of the Burmese. This advice he followed. His first attempt to subdue Ava was a failure, but his second attempt was successful and he extended his conquests right into the Shan territory to the north and north-west of Ava.

In the year 915 (A.D. 1553.) he assumed the title of King Thiri Thudama Yaza (Siri Sudhamma Rājā), but he is better known as Bayin Naung or as Kyawdin Nawrata, and in this paper he will be called by the latter although Sir Arthur Phayre and others prefer the former.

: o : —————

On Wednesday the 5th. of waxing Tazaungmôn² Sakkaraj 919 (A.D. 1557.) an expedition started from Hanthawaddy to punish the Sawbwa of Monè for his encroachment into Thibaw (Shan, Hsipaw). The expedition also led to the submission of the Shan Sawbwas of Nyaunggywe, Yauksauk, Mobyè and Naungmun. At its close a consultation was held as to whether to attack and take Theinni another Shan State on the borders of China, or to march south to

Zinnè (Chiengmai), the capital of the country known as Haribônza (Haribhunja). The majority were in favour of marching south and the reasons put forward were:— that as all the other Shan States had fallen, Theinni must, as a matter of course, submit whenever attacked; that Chiengmai with its fifty seven provinces was well armed, and had never been attacked and taken before; that it was contiguous with the Mon territory; and that when it had been taken, it could be used as a base for operations against Kyaingrôn the capital of the country of Mahanagara, Kyaingtôn the capital of Kemawara, and against other towns on the east, the territories of the Yun and the Gôn.

Having thus decided, the march southwards began. King Kyawdin Nawrata's son Maha Upayaza with two regiments of cavalry and ten regiments of infantry marched in the van; then came the King's own division consisting of four regiments of cavalry and twelve regiments of infantry, and the rear was under the King of Toungoo with a like force as the van. The auxiliaries consisted of Shan contingents under the sons and the brother-in-law of the Sawbwa of Monè, who was excused, owing to illness, from following the expedition. In twenty four marches from Monè Dasin ferry on the banks of the Thaulwin (Salween) was reached, where a bridge was constructed and the whole army crossed over. A new disposition of the forces was then made, with Maha Uçayaza on the right, the King of Prome in the centre and King Kyawdin Nawrata's son-in-law the King of Ava on the left. Then came King Kyawdin Nawrata's own forces behind the three advance divisions, and lastly the forces under the King of Toungoo. From Dasin ferry, it took twenty one marches to reach Chiengmai.

Bra Than, King of Chiengmai, hearing of the approach of the Burmese made preparations to intercept them on the way, but young Binnya Thane Lôn one of his nobles told him that there was no chance of success in a pitched battle owing to the superior number of the Burmese forces, and that it would be very much better to put the defences in thorough repair and defend the city from assault; and if there was no likelihood of standing the siege successfully, submission would be a wiser course than to have the city sacked and destroyed. The King

of Chiengmai replied "Is it possible to seize my city as a kite would a small chick?" He then withdrew his forces into the city and remained on the defensive.

On account of their large number, the Burmese were able to completely surround the city. The nobles and ministers of the King of Chiengmai advised him to submit but he replied "Is my city only a piece of mat so that they can simply roll it up and take it? The auxiliaries from my fifty seven provinces have not yet arrived, and as soon as they are here I shall give the enemy a battle outside the city". King Kyawdin Nawrata one day commanded a combined attack on all sides, with strict orders that anyone found to have failed in his duty would be executed. The combined attack was a success; a breach was effected at one point of the city, and the enemy entered by it, overpowered the defenders and occupied the city. When half the city fell, the King of Chiengmai left it and went to the invader with presents of silks, satins, laces, musk, amber etc. and asked to be spared his life. The Burmese Sovereign had it proclaimed by beat of gong that no one must be captured and taken as prisoners of war, and those already taken should be set at liberty at once, giving as his reason for this act of mercy that Chiengmai was a place where Buddhism had already been established.

The King of Chiengmai and his ministers Thane Lôn and Thane Lan were then administered the oath of allegiance to remain faithful to King Kyawdin Nawrata and his descendants down to his great grandchildren. The governors of the fifty seven provinces were called in and made to take the oath of allegiance to the same effect. The annual tribute was fixed at ten elephants, ten ponies, one hundred ticals of silver, and also laces, silks, satins, embroidered cloths, amber, musk etc.

The Burmese King then established outposts on the frontiers adjoining Yodaya (Ayuthia), Linzin and Zinrôn; and after leaving a force of 100 elephants, 10,000 horse and 50,000 men under the command of Binnya Dala and Binnya Set to guard Chiengmai from attack by its neighbours, he returned to Ava along the route he had come, and arrived at the northern capital on 12th. of waxing Wagaung³ 920 (A. D. 1558). The return was somewhat

delayed by having again to punish the Sawbwas of Monè, Nyaunggywe, and Yauksauk who, disregarding the allegiance they had sworn, very promptly murdered a small force of 300 men left at Monè and demolished the bridge across the Salween almost as soon as their suzerain was across the river, and who were ever thinking of throwing off the yoke of the Burmese.

Mention is made, in the Hmannan Yazawin, of King Kyawdin Nawrata having sent whole families of skilled artisans and handicraftsmen, such as painters, lathe workers, gold and silversmiths, blacksmiths, bronze workers, masous, lacquer workers, dyers, embroiderers, perfumers and also men skilled in the training and care of elephants and ponies, as well as those skilled in the culinary art, to Hanthawaddy and made them settle down there. It is also mentioned that he sent learned Buddhist priests from Hanthawaddy with portions of the Tripitaka which were found wanting in the collections at Chiengmai.

Within two or three months of his arrival in Ava, report came from Chiengmai of the preparations made by Bra-Sè-Zit, King of Linzin, to attack Chiengmai. The report further said that the chiefs of Brè,⁴ Anan,⁵ Lagun,⁶ Turaing,⁷ and Zinkaung⁸ had joined the King of Linzin. King Kyawdin Nawrata summoned his councillors and asked their advice. The Maha Upayaza was of opinion that a large force need not be sent, as there was already a fairly good force under Binnya Dala and Binnya Set at Chiengmai, and the King of Chiengmai also had a fairly good force of all arms of his own. He thought if orders were sent to the Sawbwas of Monè and Nyaunggywe to go and assist Chiengmai, the combined forces would be sufficient to repel an attack. The King of Prome, on the other hand, was of different opinion and took a more serious view of the situation, saying that Linzin was a kingdom sufficiently strong in itself, and it had been further reinforced by the coöperation of the chiefs of Brè and Anan; and then again, it was not many months

-
4. Muang Phrè.
 5. Muang Nan.
 6. Nakhon Lampang.
 7. Chiengrai?
 8. Chiengkhang.

since that Chiengmai was conquered, and the faithfulness of the nobles in Chiengmai had as yet no test or proof. He recommended sending an army under the command of one or the other of the King's sons or brothers. The latter suggestion was approved of by King Kyawdin Nawrata, and accordingly an army composed of five regiments of cavalry 6000 strong, and seventeen regiments of infantry consisting of 500 elephants and 140,000 men was sent under the supreme command of his son-in-law the King of Ava who was appointed commander-in-chief of the whole expedition. The start from Ava was made on Wednesday the 7th. of waxing Nadaw⁹ 920 (A.D. 1558.) in the direction of Nyaungywe and Monè, where the contingents from the two Shan States joined the main army. From Monè the route taken was exactly the same as in the first expedition. On arrival at Chiengmai, the commander-in-chief, in consultation with Binnya Dala, Binnya Set, Thane Lôn and Thane Lan, marched against Turaing. The King of Linzin remained at Zinthane¹⁰, while the governor of Turaing was made to hold Turaing with a strong force. The town was, however, stormed and taken and the governor himself and the King of Linzin's general Binnya Kin and his two lieutenants Thane Sôt and Thane Win were all taken prisoners. The King of Linzin, hearing of the fall of Turaing fled to Linzin. The chiefs of Brè, Anan, Zinthane, and Zinkaung also fled from their towns to Linzin, taking their families with them. The success of the expedition was reported to the capital, when His Majesty of Burma issued orders giving Anan to Binnya Thane Lôn, Zinthane, to Binnya Than Baik, Brè to Binnya Thè, and Turaing to Binnya Thane. When all these appointments had been made and the above had been duly installed, the whole expeditionary army was recalled.

Thus ended Bayin Naung's or Bayin Naung Kaywdin Nawrata's invasion of Northern Siam: and it was but a prelude to his far more important invasion of Southern Siam resulting in the fall of Ayuthia which will be dealt with in the following paper.

9. December.

10. Chieng-Sen?

The Hmannan Yazawin gives a chronological list of eighteen Kings of Chiengmai, from Sakkaraj 656 (A.D. 1294.) to 924 (A. D. 1558.) the year in which Chiengmai became a dependence of Burma. The list is given as an appendix to this paper and it may be of interest to compare it with the chronicles of Chiengmai.

SIR ARTHUR P. PHAYRE'S
ACCOUNT OF THE NARRATIVE CONTAINED
IN THE SECOND PAPER.

Subdues
Zimmè.

Bureng Naung returned to Pegu, but the following year had to punish the states of Thiboa and Monè. From the latter he marched on to Zimmè, the Chief of which had assisted that state. The country presented grave difficulties, but the city was reached after forty-five days of arduous march. The King was compelled to surrender his capital and swore allegiance to the invader. He agreed to pay an annual tribute of elephants, horses, silk and other products of his country. An army of occupation was placed at Zimmè to enforce the treaty and watch the frontiers of Siam and Lengzeng or Laos.¹ The conqueror then returned to Ava. He at once commenced to settle the taxation payable by the people of Burma, and received the homage of the Chiefs of the country East of Bamao up to the frontier of China. They were excused from paying tribute, probably from dread of offending the Emperor of that country. While thus employed, news was brought that the King of Laos (Lengzeng) was gathering a force to attack the Burmese army in Zimmè. The King of Ava was at once sent with reinforcement and the attack having been repelled, he was recalled. Bureng Naung then proceeded to Pegu, where he arrived at the beginning of the rainy season.

August A. D.
1558.

May A. D.
1559.

1. Lengzeng is the Burmese name for what was the chief city of Laos, situated on or near to the Mekong river, a considerable distance below Kiang Kheng. The seat of government appears at different periods to have been Luang Phrabang, Viengchang, and Lantchiang. See Captain W. C. M'Leod's Journal, p. 39; Travels by Louis de Carne, p. 125; Travels by Mouhot, vol. II. p. 141; and Bowring's Siam, vol. I. p. 8. note.

APPENDIX.

List of Kings of Chiengmai as given
in the Hmannan Yazawin.

In the year 388 King Anawrata of Arimaddanā Pugarāma (Pagan) conquered Haribōnza with its capital Zimmè (Chiengmai) and it became a tributary kingdom to Pagan, and remained so till the year 656, when in the reign of King Kyaw-zwa of Pagan, Chiengmai became again independent under its then King Binnya Saw Maing Rè.

Serial No.	Name of Kings	Relationship to one another	Date of accession to throne	Number years reigned	Date of death or of deposition
1	Binnya Saw Maing Rè		656	37	693
2	Thane (Sen) Pu Chun Kran	son of No. 1	693	2	695
3	Chun Tarôn	son of Binnya Ram	695	3	698
4	Naw Sôn Tarôn	son of No. 3	698	4	702
5	Thane Bu	„ „ No. 4	702	5	707
6	Kè Byu	„ „ No. 5	707	12	719
7	Saw Ba Yu	„ „ No. 6	719	13	732
8	Saw Kasô	„ „ No. 7	732	7	739
9	Thane Maing	son-in-law of No. 8	739	3	742
10	Than Bi	son of No. 9	742	40	782
11	Saw Lôn	„ „ No. 10	782	35	817
12	Saw Nyat	„ „ No. 11	817	8	825
13	Binnya Gyan	„ „ No. 12	825	40	865
14	Maing È	„ „ No. 13	865	34	899
15	Binnya Sè	„ „ No. 14	899	5	904
16	Saw Maing	„ „ No. 15	904	2	906
17	Queen Zalanpa Thiri Thudama Maha-dewi (Jalampa Siri Sudhammā Mahā-Devī) and King Bra-Sè-Zit of Linzin.	Queen of No. 16 and the King of Linzin	906	7	913*
18	Bra-Than	son of Binnya Gyan No. 13.	913	7	920†

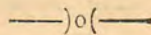
* In 913 the King of Linzin returned to Linzin and the Queen raised No. 18 to the throne

† In 920 Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata conquered Chiengmai, and Bra Than reigned as tributary King.

III

Introduction.

The second paper closed with Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata's conquest of Chiengmai and the little States to the east and north-east of it. Some four or five years elapsed from the time of his return from Chiengmai to that of his invasion of Southern Siam. During that interval he was occupied in the conquest of the country of the Kathè (Manipur) and in bringing to subjection the Shan-Chinese Sawbwas of Maingmaw Sikwin, Hotha, and Latha, on the borders of China. He himself did not accompany these expeditions as they were carried out by his tributary kings and generals.



In the year 925 (A. D. 1563) King Kyawdin Nawrata must have heard that the King of Siam had acquired four new white elephants. He evidently expected to be presented with one of them, but as there was no sign of his expectation being fulfilled, he sent a message asking for one white elephant. His Siamese Majesty sent an evasive and somewhat sarcastic reply to the effect that if the King of Burma practised the ten kingly virtues, a white elephant would be given. The reply offended King Kyawdin Nawrata and he made up his mind to invade and conquer Siam. He cited instances in which the Kings of Siam had to present white elephants to the Kings of Hanthawaddy, saying that in the time of King Wayu (Wareru or Waru of Martaban²) the then King of Siam had to give him a white elephant: that during the reign of Yazadayit,¹ a white elephant called Gandayaw was presented by Siam to that powerful King of Hanthawaddy: and that not many years ago the Siamese King had to present two white elephants, Byat-Kyi and Byat-Ngè, to Mintara Shweti. It is said that he sent a reply threatening with invasion, but it is very unlikely that he would thus forewarn his enemy.

He summoned his councillors and asked them to suggest the best plan to effect the conquest of Siam. One Thirizeya Kyawdin said that of the kingdoms to the east of Burma and

1. Rājādhirāj.

Hanthawaddy, those of Yodaya, Linzin, and Lawaik were the most powerful, and an army like the one employed to conquer the country of the Shans and Yuns would not be sufficient to subdue a powerful kingdom like Yodaya, and that therefore preparations on a much grander scale than hitherto must be made so as to ensure success. One Binnya Dala said that if all the tributary kings and chiefs were made to follow the expedition with their quota of forces there could be no doubt about the object being attained.

Accordingly orders were issued to all the tributary kings and chiefs for preparations on a very extensive scale to be made, and an order was also despatched at once to Chiengmai to repair all the war boats and transport vessels and bring them down, the King of Chiengmai being requested to come down with his army and co-operate in the invasion.

The vast army mobilised on this occasion consisted of the following:— The advance column under the command of King Kyawdin Nawrata's son-in-law, the King of Ava, was composed of 4 regiments of cavalry 5000 strong, and 10 regiments of infantry containing 400 elephants and 140,000 men. The Shan levies in this column were the regiments supplied and led by the Sawbwas of Momeik and Thibaw. The second column was under the command of his brother the King of Toungoo with a like force as the advance column. The Shan levies were those under the leadership of the Sawbwas of Mohnyin and Mogaung. The third column under his brother the King of Prome also contained the same number of elephants, horse and men. The Shan contingents were those under the Sawbwas of Onbaung and Monè. His son Maha Upayaza took the command of the fourth column composed of 4 regiments of cavalry 1000 strong and 10 regiments of infantry with 400 elephants and 140,000 men. The Sawbwas of Nyaungywe and Theinni led the Shan contingents in this column. Lastly came the column in which King Kyawdin Nawrata himself marched. In addition to his body-guard of 400 elephants, 4000 horse and 40,000 men distributed equally around him in the front and rear, on the right and left, there were with him and immediately ahead of him 4 regiments of cavalry and 5 regiments of infantry.

On Monday the 12th of waning Tazaungmôn² Chula Sakkaraj̄ 925 (A. D. 1563.) this great army of over half a million men made its start from Hanthawaddy in the direction of the town of Kamanpaik which was reached after thirty two marches. Its governor tried to resist, but with such odds against him there was absolutely no hope of success, and the Burmese took it with very little struggle, the governor and his family being made prisoners.

The King of Chiengmai, on receipt of the order from his suzerain, very promptly carried out the repair of the boats placing the governors of Einda-giri and Bônma-giri in charge of the work. Subsequently, probably mistrusting the result of the invasion and fearing the King of Siam as much as his Burman suzerain, he did not come down as requested. However, over 300 boats laden with provisions were brought down by the governors of Einda-giri and Bônma-giri before he could take any active steps to prevent the boats going down.

After the capture of Kamanpaik, Binnya Dala advised King Kyawdin Nawrata to send columns to capture Thaukkatè,³ Peikthalauk,⁴ Thuwannalauk,⁵ Pitsè,⁶ and Taninthari,⁷ for then, he said, the Siamese King would be "like a bird clipped of its wings." The Burmese King liked the idea, and accordingly the two columns under the King of Toungoo and his son Maha Upayaza were sent to operate against Thaukkatè; those under the Kings of Ava and Prome against Peikthalauk, while he himself marched towards Thuwannalauk.

The governor of Thaukkatè met the invading forces outside the city, but was compelled to retire; and in the subsequent assault by the Burmese, the city was taken and the governor captured and removed to Thuwannalauk. The governor of Peikthalauk made the defences strong and remained on the defensive. The invading forces surrounded the city and for five

-
2. Novem̄ er.
 3. Sukhothai.
 4. Phisnulók.
 5. Swankhalók ?
 6. Phichai.
 7. Tenasserim.

days no action was taken in order to give rest to the men and animals, so necessary after a long march. On the sixth day a general assault was made on the city which fell into the hands of the invaders and the governor was captured and taken to Thuwannalauk. The governor of Thuwannalauk made no resistance, but greeted King Kyawdin Nawrata on the way with presents, offering submission. The Burmese King went on to Thuwannalauk and there waited for the arrival of the forces directed against Thaukkatè and Peikthalauk. While so waiting the governor of Pitsè came to Thuwannalauk and formally tendered submission.

When all were assembled at Thuwannalauk a general move southwards was again made, and Oya Damayaza, Oya Thuwannalauk and Oya Pitsè were ordered to follow the expedition.

On arrival at Thawunkalauk⁷ a new disposition of the forces was made. The King of Prome with his men was ordered to take to boats and proceed by water. Of the forces marching by land, the column under the Maha Upayaza was placed on the right and that under the King of Ava on the left; in the centre was the division under the King of Toungoo, while King Kyawdin Nawrata's own column formed the rear.

At the first encampment after the march from Thawunkalauk Oya Damayaza asked permission of King Kyawdin Nawrata to send a message to the King of Siam to the effect that submission would be the wisest course, because to offer resistance would be futile against such a vastly superior army as the one then brought by the invader. Permission being accorded, the message was sent; but His Siamese Majesty must have greatly resented the unduly low estimate of his power and resources conveyed in it, for those who brought it were forthwith sent to prison, and orders were at once issued to his son Bra Mahein, the Crown Prince, to intercept the Burmese on the way. He was ordered to take with him 300 war boats armed with artillery and other munitions of war, and the force of Kala⁹ Brin-gyi¹⁰ (Feringi.)

7 Swankhalók.

9 Foreigner.

10 A term generally applied to Roman Catholics; Portuguese ?

On information reaching King Kyawdin Nawrata of this first attempt from the Siamese capital to stop him in his march, he despatched three officers each with four squadrons of cavalry to reconnoitre. This party came in contact with the Siamese forces under the Crown Prince who landed his artillery and the "Kala" force and shelled the enemy's cavalry with good effect. The Burmese loss in this skirmish must have been very heavy indeed, because the Burmese historian admitted that the casualties were great. However, while the Siamese artillery handled by the "Kalas" were doing great destruction in the Burmese cavalry, the forces under the Maha Upayaza and the King of Toungoo arrived, in time to save the situation and to drive the Siamese forces back to their boats. Just at this critical moment, as if fortune specially favoured the Burmese, the boats under the King of Prome appeared on the scene. Attacked by land as well as by water, the Siamese boats could not maintain their position long and were defeated and scattered. Over a hundred war boats with all their armaments and about 200 men were captured; and there were also many killed. The Crown Prince made his escape in a specially fast canoe and returned to the capital.

Nothing daunted, His Majesty of Siam immediately despatched again his son and brother with a force of 500 elephants, 6000 horse and 60,000 men in advance; while he himself marched out afterwards with 300 elephants, 8000 horse and 80,000 men. He encamped at a place called Lônkali¹¹ which he fortified strongly and sent his son and brother to march on and meet the enemy on the way, it being his intention to drive the enemy off the Siamese soil before they could approach the capital.

The Siamese forces under the Crown Prince and the King's brother again met the Burmese cavalry who were always ahead of the main army, and forced them to retire. Following up the retreating cavalry they came upon the forces under the Maha Upayaza and the Kings of Toungoo and Ava, and a battle was fought in which the Siamese forces were defeated and compelled to fall back on the fortified camp at Lônkali. The Burmese followed up their

success and reached Lônkali, where they awaited the arrival of their King. As soon as he arrived, he decided not to delay but to attack the camp at once. The assault was successful and the camp fell into the hands of the Burmese on Monday the 11th. of waning Tabodwè¹² 925 (A. D. 1564.) The King of Siam and his son and brother took to horse and quickly retreated to the capital. It is said that three ships were captured on the fall of Lônkali; from this it is evident that Lônkali must have been either on the bank or in the vicinity of a river.

King Kyawdin Nawrata occupied Lônkali and remained there, sending the forces under his son and brothers to invest the capital. From this also it appears that Lônkali could not be far from Ayuthia. With their heavy artillery the investing forces caused a shower of shot and shell to fall into the city, and this bombardment greatly terrified the inhabitants who then appealed to their Sovereign to submit. The King, after consulting the royal family, sent his nobles and high priests with the present of a white elephant to sue for peace, offering to abdicate the throne and follow the Burmese Sovereign to Hanthawaddy as a hostage, and to take the oath of allegiance, but soliciting that his son Bra Mahein be permitted to reign in his stead subject to the King of Burma, so that there would be no interruption in the dynasty. His Majesty of Burma consulted his brothers and nobles signifying his intention of bringing further hostility and fighting to an end; he assigned as his reason for this decision that since the investment, the priests had been suffering great hardships, and he was unwilling to cause greater hardship to the holy brotherhood by continuing the fight.

Binnya Dala advised his Sovereign that the only way by which the suzerainty could be maintained with security for any length of time would be to demand the abdication of the throne by the King, and require his residence in the Burmese capital; also that the surrender of the four white elephants should be a condition of peace.

Guided by Binnya Dala's advice King Kyawdin Nawrata told the Siamese nobles and high priests that peace would be concluded on the conditions offered by their Sovereign, and the

surrender of the four white elephants, but requested a personal interview with their King who should be accompanied by his son, the Crown Prince. He desired His Siamese Majesty and the Crown Prince to come out in their royal robes of office and dignity and meet him in his camp.

On Friday the 8th of waxing Tabaung¹³ 925 (A. D. 1564.) the King of Siam and his son Bra Mahein, the Crown Prince, proceeded on elephants from the city to interview King Kyawdin Nawrata in his camp. Three white elephants, two male and one female, were also taken as presents in addition to the usual presents of cloths of silk, wool, satin, and sweet smelling woods, unguents, liquids etc. The Siamese Sovereign, on alighting from the elephant at the entrance to the camp, was received by two chief nobles on the personal staff of the Burmese Sovereign and was carried in a royal sedan chair to the place assigned. The same honour was not accorded to the Crown Prince who was received by two other Burmese nobles, he having to walk up to his place. The personal attendants of the Siamese King and Crown Prince were replaced by Burmese attendants. No form of obeisance was exacted from the Siamese Sovereign, and if the discourtesy of his not being received personally by the Burmese King were ignored, the meeting of the two Monarchs was on equal terms. Places were also assigned for the Burmese tributary kings and nobles to be present at the meeting. Then when all were seated in their places, King Kyawdin Nawrata came out from an inner apartment. The meeting between the two Sovereigns could not have been long judging from the conversation recorded in the Hmannan History, which on the part of the Burmese Sovereign consisted of an egotistic and vainglorious proclamation of his might and power, and on the part of the Siamese Sovereign of a humble admission of his inability to contend in arms.

Then the oath of allegiance was administered to the Siamese King, his sons and all their relatives and nobles. The Crown Prince Bra Mahein was proclaimed and installed as King of Siam. The old King's son-in-law, the governor of Peikthalauk was reinstated in his former position, rank and dignity, and so were the governors of Thaukkatè and Pitsè given back their towns

with all privileges and honours enjoyed by them formerly. The old King, his second son Bra Ramathun and Aukbya Setki were requested to accompany the Burmese King to Hanthawaddy with their families. The four white elephants which apparently offered a cause for the commencement of hostilities were also taken away. The annual tribute was fixed at 30 war elephants, 300 ticals of silver, and the shipping revenue of Tenasserim.

It is mentioned that the old King of Siam gave King Kyawdin Nawrata one of his daughters in marriage, together with presents of a complete paraphernalia of gold weighing one hundred catties, one hundred ticals of silver, and ten chosen elephants.

It is also mentioned that King Kyawdin Nawrata took away on this occasion, as he did when he conquered Chiengmai, whole families of skilled handicraftsmen and persons proficient in other professions to Hanthawaddy and made them settle down there; and that before he left Ayuthia, he entrusted the new King with 100 ticals of silver for the repair of old ruined pagodas, monasteries, salas, etc., assisted in the ordination as priests of as many men as he counted years in his age, invited one hundred priests and fed them, and presented each with the eight priestly utensils.

On Tuesday the 2nd of waning Tagu¹⁴ 926 (A. D. 1564.) the march homeward began, and Hanthawaddy was reached on Wednesday the 6th of waxing Nayôn¹⁵ 926 (A. D. 1564.). Thus closed the Burmese version of the first fall of Ayuthia.

Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata's relations with Siam did not end here. For some time subsequent to the conquest of Ayuthia or Southern Siam, the scene of his and his son's activity was transferred to Northern Siam from Phisnulôk up to Chiengmai and Linzin and the towns round about. He again invaded lower Siam and again captured Ayuthia, this time giving up the capital to sack and plunder. His subsequent operations leading up to this second fall of Ayuthia will be given in subsequent papers.

14. April.

15. June.

SIR ARTHUR P. PHAYRE'S ACCOUNT OF THE
NARRATIVE CONTAINED IN THE THIRD PAPER.

— : o : —

**Invasion of
Siam and
capture of
the capital.**

A. D. 1563.

**March
A. D. 1564.**

The Kings of Kings, notwithstanding his power and glory, felt keenly the want of one distinctive mark in popular estimation of a great Buddhist Sovereign in Indo-China, the possession of a white elephant. The King of Siam was known to have four of these venerated animals, and an opportunity was taken of some cause for dissatisfaction with that ruler, arising from events on the frontier, to send a demand that one of them should be given up. An ambiguous reply was returned, which the haughty monarch resented as a refusal, and determined to punish as an insult. An immense army of Burmese, Shans, and Talaings was collected, and divided into four great corps, under the command of the heir-apparent and the three tributary Kings. Instead of marching from Martaban, as in the invasion of 1548, the several corps assembled at Taungu and the other places on the Sittaung after the rainy season. ¹ The army marched on Zimmè, and from thence down the valley of the Menam to the capital, Yuthia. The city was invested. Three Portuguese ships, which were moored near shore and supported by batteries, were taken, and the King of Siam, disheartened at this loss, surrendered. The defeated King, his Queen, and his younger son were carried away as captives, while the elder son, styled Bramahin, was made tributary King.



1. In the history of Siam this invasion is stated to have occurred in 1547. The Burmese army is said to have numbered 900,000 men. Bowring's Siam, Vol. I. p. 49.

APPENDIX.

List of Kings of Ayuthia as given in the Hmannan History.

No.	Name of Kings	Date of Commencement of reign.	No. of years reigned	Date of death or deposition.	REMARKS.
1	Bra Yazadibadi	710	20	730	
2	Bra Yaza Mathun	730	10	740	Son of No. 1
3	Parama Yaza	740	9	749	„ „ No. 2
4	Maha Damayaza	749	19	768	„ „ No. 3
5	Bra Setkabat	768	6	774	„ „ No. 4
6	Pawra Hantha	774	37	811	„ „ No. 5
7	Parama Yazadiyaza	811	38	849	„ „ No. 6
8	Parama Tilawka	849	4	853	„ „ No. 7
9	Bra Ramadibadi	853	17	870	„ „ No. 8
10	Bra Thadiyaza	870	33	903	„ „ No. 9
11	Bra Thiri Duraman	903	1	904	„ „ No. 10
12	Mother of No. 11	904	1	905	Queen of No. 11
13	Bra Thadiyaza *	905	20	925	Son of No. 10

* In 910 Ayuthia was conquered by Mintara Shweti, but again became independent the following year on the death of Mintara Shweti. In 925 Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata again conquered and took Ayuthia.

IV.

Introduction.

In the last preceding paper the narrative closed with the return of King Kyawdin Nawrata to Hanthawaddy after his successful invasion of Southern Siam and the capitulation of Ayuthia. He was accompanied by the old King of Siam who abdicated the throne, and his second son. Hanthawaddy was reached just at the beginning of the rains which in those days seem to have put a stop to all military operations. The respite in King Kyawdin Nawrata's martial energy and activity was short and temporary, for as soon as the rainy season was over warlike preparations were again made.

We have seen that when King Kyawdin Nawrata invaded Southern Siam, the King of Chiengmai was requested, as a tributary King, to co-operate in person. This the King of Chiengmai failed to do, most probably mistrusting the result of the invasion and fearing to offend the King of Siam by his presence among the hostile forces. His Majesty of Burma being very much offended at this failure, was bent upon punishing the delinquent.

———— :)o(: ————

At the close of the rains which set in immediately after King Kyawdin Nawrata's arrival in his capital, he called a council, consisting of his son Maha Upayaza and the nobles, to deliberate on the question of the punitive expedition to Chiengmai. The Maha Upayaza expressed the opinion that the King of Chiengmai thought Ayuthia could not be conquered, and that if such was the case his presence in the invading army would be a cause for offence and reprisal on the part of his neighbour and kinsman, the King of Siam. Now that Ayuthia had been reduced to a dependent kingdom, a mere show of force would be sufficient to bring the King of Chiengmai to his senses as well as submission. One of the councillors Sôkkate by name differed from the Maha Upayaza and said that the King of Chiengmai was, from the beginning, ever thinking of throwing off the Burman suzerainty, and was always more friendly disposed towards his Siamese neighbour. The conquest of Ayuthia would have little or no effect in instilling fear in him and teaching him to respect

his suzerain, as he was in league with the Kings of Linzin and Lawaik, both which kingdoms were powerful enough not to be thought lightly of. To send an army based on a low estimate of the enemy's strength would be unwise, and that an army similar to that employed against Ayuthia should be sent for success to be certain. King Kyawdin Nawrata approved of the latter suggestion and in accordance with it the following preparations were made.

The King of Ava was ordered to call on the Sawbwas of Mogaung, Mohnyin, Momeik, Onbaung, Thibaw, Nyaunggywe and Monè to accompany the expedition with their contingents, and himself to take the command and march to Chiengmai via Monè, with a total force, made up of seven Shan and three Burmese regiments, consisting 500 elephants, 6000 horse and 120,000 men. The forces from the capital Hanthawaddy were:— Five regiments of cavalry and ten regiments of infantry under the command of Maha Upayaza consisting of 500 elephants, 6000 horse, and 120,000 men, on the right; the same number of regiments and the same number of elephants, horse and men under the command of the King of Prome in the centre; and a like force under the King of Toungoo on the left. In the rear was the column in which King Kyawdin Nawrata marched. It was composed of 5 regiments of cavalry and 10 regiments of infantry including the regiments of the King's body-guard, the units in this column consisted of 700 elephants, 5000 horse, and 150,000 men. A special feature of the body-guard regiment was that it contained 1000 "Kala ¹" musketeers and 400 "Kala Brin-gyi ²" artillery men. In addition to the above there was another column under the command of King Kyawdin Nawrata's nephew, the governor of Tharrawaddy composed of 5 regiments of cavalry and 10 regiments of infantry containing 500 elephants, 6000 horse, and 120,000 men; these 10 infantry regiments included those of Oya Damayaza, the son-in-law of the old King of Siam, Oya Thuwannalauk, Oya Thaukkatè and Oya Fitsè. This column probably started from Hanthawaddy with only 5 cavalry and 6 infantry regiments, and was reinforced by the four Siamese governors named above, the place of rendezvous being Eindagiri (Indagiri); because it is said in the Hmannan History that this column marched via Eindagiri to Chiengmai.

1. Foreigner, Indian ?

2. Foreigner, European probably Portuguese ?

On Monday the 4th of waning Tazaungmôn ³ Chula Sakkarāḥ 926 (A. D. 1564.) this vast army started from Hanthawaddy, and in eleven marches Yōnzalin, a Burmese frontier town, was reached. Thence the route taken was in the direction of Labôn ⁴ which was reached after twenty two marches.

On news of the advent of the Burmese army spreading in the country round about, Thane Lôn governor of Zinthane, ⁵ Thane Lan governor of Lagun, the governor of Anan, and the governor of Turaing fled to Chiengmai with their families. The King of Chiengmai having grown wiser from past experience of Burmese arms and fearing punishment at the hands of his suzerain decided to submit and greet the invader on the way; while the four governors resolved not to submit to Burman supremacy, and so fled to Linzin to seek shelter there. The King of Chiengmai accordingly went and met King Kyawdin Nawrata before he reached Labôn, offering as presents four of his best elephants, Chinese silks, and musk. At the interview he denied any duplicity in his past remissness, protested his innocence of any schemes against his suzerain, and declared that his loyalty to and respect for his liege-lord were never shaken. The same, he insinuated, could not be said of the governors of Zinthane, Lagun, Anan, and Turaing who, on hearing of the advance of their suzerain, fled to Linzin, forgetful of the allegiance they had sworn.

King Kyawdin Nawrata, though not quite disposed to believe these professions of loyalty and fidelity, was nevertheless not inclined to express his opinions freely; nor was he at that moment so hard-hearted and vindictive as to punish the King of Chiengmai, although the sole purpose of the expedition was to teach him a lesson that orders from a suzerain could not be disregarded with impunity. He refrained from saying anything and by this silence made the defaulting King know that his professions of good faith would be taken for what they were worth, but that he would not be punished as he deserved.

The march was then continued to Labôn where a halt was made to await the arrival of the column under the King of Ava.

-
3. November.
 4. Lampun.
 5. Chieng-Sen.

which come via Monè. After five days waiting the column arrived. In this column the number of Shan regiments exceeded those of the Burmese, there being seven of the former and three of the latter. King Kyawdin Nawrata ordered the contingents led by the Sawbwas of Momeik, Mogaung, and Mohnyin to join his column, and three of his regiments were given in exchange to keep the strength of the column still up to ten regiments. He did this probably because he had a poor opinion of the efficiency of the Shan troops, but more likely because he did not trust them much, and their preponderance in a division would be bad policy and a danger to the Burmese troops.

The invader then ordered three columns to march in three different directions in pursuit of the governors of Zinthane, Lagun, Anan, and Turaing. The King of Ava with his 10 regiments, in which the proportion of the Burmese and the Shan units had been reapportioned as explained above, in one direction; the governor of Tharrawaddy with his 15 regiments of which 4 were Siamese under Oya Damayaza, Oya Thuwannalauk, Oya Thaukkatè and Oya Pitsè, in another; the Maha Upayaza with his 15 regiments, in a third. The instructions to them were that they were to demand of the King of Linzin the surrender of the four fugitive governors who had taken refuge with him, and on his refusing to give up the refugees to attack and capture Linzin. The remaining three columns then marched towards Chiengmai, The King of Prome was on the right, the King of Toungoo on the left, and King Kyawdin Nawrata in the centre.

The governor of Zinthane, on getting to Mo-Lôn forest in his flight, found he was unable to reach Linzin in time. He and his family and followers therefore lay in hiding in the forest; but unfortunately for him, spies went and informed the Burmese King, then on his way to Chiengmai, of the fugitive governor's place of hiding. The King of Toungoo was at once despatched to effect the capture of the whole party. The unfortunate governor seeing escape impossible calmly surrendered, and when taken to the presence of King Kyawdin Nawrata, offered one of his daughters and two of his best elephants, and prayed for clemency, saying that it was not from feelings of disloyalty or from any sinister designs against the authority of his suzerain that he took to flight, but

simply through fear of facing the ire of His Burman Majesty that he hid himself in the forest. King Kyawdin Nawrata, in exercise of mercy, the prerogative of kings, very nobly spared the lives of the captives; moreover he said one of the ten kingly virtues enjoined on him to control his anger and to be patient and forgiving. The governor and his family were again given the oath of allegiance, and his adherents were divided into batches and kept apart from each other among the forces. Then the whole three columns marched to Zinthane.

After arrival there the King of Prome was ordered to march his column against Zinrôn.⁶ After five marches, the commander sent a written ultimatum to the governor of Zinrôn either to surrender or to fight. In the free and easy manner of showing defiance in those days, the governor very promptly put to death the unfortunate carrier of the ultimatum. This angered the King of Prome and he marched day and night to Zinrôn, and on arrival there immediately attacked and took the town. The governor escaped with his family, and it was a good thing that he managed to do so, otherwise he would receive little or no quarter. The successful commander captured and seized whatever was worth the trouble, and returned with his booty to Zinthane. His Majesty of Burma was highly pleased with the result of the operations and suitably rewarded all those who took part in them.

While staying at Zinthane the Sawbwa of Theinni arrived with a force of 100 elephants, 1000 horse, and 10,000 men, and offered to co-operate saying that he, as a vassal, should, like the other Sawbwas, do his duty by his liege-lord. The Sawbwa of Kyaingtôn,⁷ hearing of the action of his neighbour of Theinni, thought he would be in bad grace with his suzerain if he did not do the same. Accordingly he also came to Zinthane with a force of 100 elephants, 1,000 horse, and 10,000 men, and offered to take part in the operations. King Kyawdin Nawrata was very much gratified with this proof of loyalty and faithfulness, and told both the Sawbwas that their conduct was highly appreciated; that their services were not requisitioned from the first start because their territories were on the frontier of China; and that as the King of

6. Chieng-Rung.

7. Chieng-Tung.

Chiengmai and the governor of Zinthane had already surrendered, and as the army he had was more than sufficient to bring the remaining recalcitrant governors to their senses again, he would not detain them, but would ask them to return to their territories and keep the frontier in peace and order. He suitably rewarded them to show that he was not ungrateful for their offer of service and that he fully appreciated their loyalty as evidenced by their coming unasked. After the departure of the two Sawbwas he moved on to Chiengmai, and there made arrangements for the future administration of the whole of the Yun country.

[What follows here has no direct reference to Siam but to omit it from this narrative would be leaving out a link in the chain of events directly referring to Siam, and thereby make the account appear disjointed and desultory. Therefore it is thought advisable to give as briefly as possible certain events which took place in Hanthawaddy that necessitated the return in haste of Siam's great enemy.]

During the absence of King Kyawdin Nawrata all the Shan prisoners of war brought over from their native land and made to settle down in the country round about Hanthawaddy rose in rebellion and chose one among them as leader. They gradually increased, numbering between twenty and thirty thousand, and plundered and pillaged the villages and helpless people as is the way with rebels. They marched on to the capital and threatened it with attack. The nobles left in charge of the affairs at home were at their wit's end. One of them suggested to remove the queens, the royal children and the concubines to Toungoo for safety and then return to defend the capital; Toungoo, the birth-place of Mintara Shweti and Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata was, during their reign as well as during that of their successors, always regarded as a place of refuge in time of danger. Another suggested to seek the advice of Narabadi Sithu, the deposed king of Ava who was made to reside at Hanthawaddy in honourable retirement befitting his position. This latter suggestion was adopted and the deposed king was invited to the council. He disapproved of the proposal to send the royal family to Toungoo, and said that there was no cause for fear, since the people who created the disturbance were not rebels but simply freebooters. Under his direction and

by his prompt action the rebels, who suffered several reverses in encounters with the regular forces led by Narabadi Sithu in person, were held in check ; but the forces at the capital were insufficient to suppress them altogether.

News of the troubles at home reached King Kyawdin Nawrata through the wife of the governor of Myaing, she having fled to Chiengmai territory for fear of the rebels. His Burman Majesty sent post-haste one of his nobles with six elephants and 800 men to ascertain the truth. This handful of men together with their leader was overpowered and captured by the rebels at the town of Taikkala, then in their hands, and the leader was killed. Receiving no further news from the capital, His Majesty of Burma sent the governor of Thanlyin (Syriam), this time with 300 elephants, and 50,000 men. This force, in attempting to break through the cordon of rebels, was attacked by the main rebel forces, who were worsted and whose leader was also slain ; but the revolt was far from being suppressed. Information of the state of affairs was at once sent to King Kyawdin Nawrata and he lost no time in hastening back to his capital. Before he left, he administered the oath of allegiance to all the nobles in Chiengmai, offered the reins of government to the Maha-dewi, promoted Binnya Than-Lan to Binnya Thane-Lôn, Binnya Brè to Binnya Than-Lan and appointed one of his own officers Zwèra-Thinran to be BinnyaPan. Oya Damayaza was allowed to return to Peikthalaik.⁸

The King of Chiengmai and the governor of Zinthane with their families were requested to accompany King Kyawdin Nawrata to Hanthawaddy. He left Chiengmai with the three columns then with him, on Tuesday the 12th of waxing Kasôn⁹ Chula Sakkaraj 927, (A. D. 1565.) and arrived at Hanthawaddy on Tuesday the 10th of waxing Nayôn,¹⁰ thus taking only one lunar month less one day from Chiengmai to Hanthawaddy.

8. This last statement is somewhat inconsistent, because the four Oyas went with one of the columns operating against Linzin and the recall of Oya Damayaza is not mentioned anywhere. The only way to reconcile the inconsistency is to suppose that orders were sent to where Oya Damayaza was, though the wording of the Burmesé is not to that effect.

9. May.

10. June.

After arrival in Hanthawaddy, and on seeing the handiwork of the rebels in the charred remains of many splendid and costly temples, monasteries, salas, and other religious edifices built by himself and by the former Mon rulers, Damasedi (Dhammaceti) for instance, as well as in the burnt and dilapidated condition of the royal pavilion in which he used to reside during the time of sports and festivities on the river, he became so angry that he did not even enter the city but went straight to Dala where the rebels were then assembled, and personally directed the operations. The native chronicler thought it worth while and took the trouble to record that on this occasion, His Burman Majesty discarded all forms of conveyance and actually walked about on foot with a bejewelled pair of sandals on.

In the fight at Dala the rebels were utterly routed, over 700 being killed and over 7000 captured. This number subsequently rose to over 10,000 men, probably on account of arrests made afterwards. It was King Kyawdin Nawrata's intention to burn the whole lot alive together with their wives who were also arrested after enquiry. He was however dissuaded from this dreadful deed of wholesale slaughter by the intercession of Burmese, Mon, and Yun learned priests, and only about 70 of the ringleaders were executed.

Those who rendered good service in quelling this rebellion were suitably rewarded, special mention being made of the services of the King of Prome and the deposed king of Ava on whom high honours were conferred. The Sawbwas of Momeik, Mogaung, and Mohnyin were permitted to return.

When order was re-established, King Kyawdin Nawrata set about repairing and restoring the edifices and buildings on which the rebels had left their mark of wanton destruction and vandalism, and erecting new ones surpassing far in splendour and magnificence those built previously. We shall, however, leave him for the present with his peaceful occupation of renovating and decorating his capital, and turn our attention again to Northern Siam and follow the fortunes of the three columns told off to pursue the four fugitive governors, and left behind, when King Kyawdin Nawrata returned from Chiengmai, to prosecute their purpose to the end.

Of the four governors, we have seen that the governor of Zinthane had already been captured and taken away to Hanthawaddy. The remaining three on reaching Linzin swore fealty to Bra-Sè-Zit, King of Linzin. The King with the three governors then fortified Maing-San¹¹ and with a force of 100 elephants, 8,000 horse, and 20,000 men awaited to make a stand against the pursuers. It took 32 marches for the three columns to reach Maing-San, and soon after arrival, the Maha Upayaza asked his colleagues as to the steps to be taken, whether to parley or to attack. Binnya Dala advised to defer the attack in order to give rest to the wearied troops, to survey and get to know the country round, and to gain intelligence of the enemy's strength. The King of Ava was of a different opinion, saying that delay meant disappointment and no fighting; because from his past experience of the King of Linzin, he felt sure that the slippery King would steal away during the night: he cited the instance in which he, on a former occasion at Zinthane, was left utterly disappointed by the King of Linzin leaving so unceremoniously the town which he was then holding. He said that there still was time for an assault, being only 3 p. m.; and without affording opportunity for further argument, issued orders to his officers to advance to the assault, himself setting the example by promptly leading his own elephant forward to charge. The other two commanders, could not but join in the assault, although they would have much preferred to have rested for a space.

The town was actually stormed and taken just before sundown. The native historian mentions that while the King of Ava was forcing a breach in a wooden stockade with his elephant, a well directed spear hurled (evidently with great force) from the ramparts of the town struck him in the right thigh. The spear pierced through the thigh and penetrated three inches into the elephant's side. Yet so eager was he in his work that he did not even trouble to pull the spear out, but simply cut the handle off and left the spear-head in the wound; but as to whether the thigh remained nailed to the side of the elephant or not, is not stated.

Though thus wounded he was able with his elephant to fell two or three posts of the stockade and a breach was thus effected.

11. Muang-Chan ?

Through this breach the storming forces entered and before long overpowered the defenders. As soon as the Burmese forces managed to get into the town, King Bra-Sè-Zit of Linzin escaped with such troops as he was able to save. Important personages captured included the brother of the King of Linzin who was governor of Maing-San, and who held the position of Upayaza, together with thirty nobles; three queens of the King, namely Bra-Kyi, Manura who was daughter of the King of Siam, and Thirima who was daughter of the Sawbwa of Kyaingtôn, together with twenty concubines; also the King's niece Thiri-Luta. There were also captured over 400 elephants, 1000 horse, and 5000 persons including men and women; these last must have been the inhabitants of the town. The troops were permitted to loot without let or hindrance, and they were so overjoyed with what they got in the way of booty that amusements, music and dancing were indulged in the whole night through. When all fighting was over, then only the King of Ava turned to his wound, had the spear-head extracted and the wound dressed. It is worthy of note that the King of Linzin is spoken of with the epithet "Possessor of 100,000 elephants," in the account of this fight, and occasionally in subsequent references to him.

The Maha Upayaza then called his officers and asked them what steps they would propose taking. One Thiri Zeya Kyawdin replied that the King of Linzin had made a stand because he thought much of his own forces; now that he knew that they were no match for the Burmese, he would lose heart and certainly surrender the three governors; he proposed a rest of about a week or so to enable the men and animals to recuperate, a proposal welcomed by others and adopted. After this necessary rest the pursuit was again continued in two directions; the sick and the wounded were, however, left at Maing-San under the care of Binnya Gyan and his regiment. After twelve marches from Maing-San a halt was made at a place called Naunghan, to ascertain the whereabouts of the King of Linzin.

The three governors, or Binnyas as they were styled by the Burmese historian, then told the King of Linzin that both they and the King of Chiengmai had all agreed and plotted to throw off the Burman suzerainty, but at the last moment the King of Chiengmai's courage had failed, and he again submitted; they, on the other hand, had held to their purpose and fled to Linzin for safety; and, thanks to

the protection so kindly offered them, their lives had been saved. They further said that owing to their taking refuge in Linzin, the territory had been overrun by the Burmese army, and it was unlikely that the enemy would leave the country unless and until they were given up. In the circumstances they asked to be supplied with troops, and undertook to fight to the bitter end. The King of Linzin supplied them with 200 elephants, and 40,000 men, and on the King's enquiry they told him that first they would attack the King of Ava's column encamped at Naunghan. Accordingly the three Binnyas marched to Naunghan and were received on the way by the King of Ava with his five regiments of cavalry and thirteen regiments of infantry. In the fight, Binnya Nan's elephant fell, and he took to horse, but while doing so, a spear hurled at close quarters by a foot soldier, struck him about the waist, and so he met his death on the field. Binnya Lagun was also worsted but managed to escape on horseback. Linzin's forces were routed and put to flight, and there were captured 60 elephants and 3,000 men, and many more were killed. The victorious forces returned to camp again at Naunghan. The Maha Upayaza who was about four miles away heard the firing of guns and so sent a mounted messenger to make enquiries. He was informed that there had been a fight which had resulted in complete success and that Binnya Nan had been killed in the fight.

Yet another attempt to drive away these undesirable visitors was made, this time by one of Linzin's patriots. The King's Prime Minister (lit: Agga Maha Senapati) who held the title of Thane-Lôn Yazawut, said to his Sovereign "It is a great disgrace that our country should be overrun and plundered at pleasure by these strangers. Are we to submit calmly to this? Are we not men? We shall sacrifice our life's blood in the defence of our country and let Destiny decide our fate." The King of Linzin replied that all of the enemy were also ready to sacrifice themselves and thought nothing of losing their lives; that the losses already suffered were not small, and that in his opinion success at that stage was impossible, and it would be better to wait till famine and sickness should have worked their ravages among the invaders. Thane-Lôn Yazawut however persisted, and only asked that he be permitted to choose the nobles, officers, and men and animals as he liked. He asked the King to keep himself about two miles behind the forces,

and, if fortune favoured them, to join in the fight, but if otherwise, to retreat. Accordingly Thane-Lôn Yazawut marched ahead with 400 elephants and 70,000 men, followed by King Bra-Sè-Zit at a safe distance with 400 elephants and 10,000 men.

Scouts brought in the information to the King of Ava that Linzin's forces were approaching. He at once ordered a general advance of his five cavalry and thirteen infantry regiments. The opposing forces met, and their respective leaders were engaged in single combat. Unfortunately for Linzin, the elephant on which her commander was mounted proved to be no match for the Burmese general's superior animal, and it turned round and fled. The victor followed up, and when sufficiently close behind, his mahout let fly a spear which struck and killed Linzin's patriot then and there. The elephant which caused this disaster to its master was then secured. True to his word, Thane-Lôn Yazawut very nobly sacrificed his life in the cause of his country and king, but he was unable infuse his patriotism into the rank and file of his forces who took to flight as soon as he had fallen. The King of Ava followed up his success for about two miles but not finding the King of Linzin, returned to camp late in the evening. In addition to the many killed, twelve nobles were made prisoners, and 2000 men and 50 elephants were captured.

After this engagement the Burmese forces remained at Naunghan for about a month practically idling. The King of Linzin played a waiting game and tried to avoid an encounter. When tired of this inaction the Maha Upayaza proposed to return to Maing-San for recess during the rains, and to try and replenish their stores and provisions by cultivating the fields round the town. This proposal was unanimously agreed to and acted upon.

On arrival at Maing-San, the sick and the wounded of the Burmese, Mon, and Shan troops were sent back to Hanthawaddy with an escort of 50 elephants, 1000 horse, and 10,000 men under the charge of Binnya Gyan. When the King of Linzin heard of it he said, "It was not through fear of the Maha Upayaza that I did not fight him, but I was simply waiting to let famine and disease do their work first. Now is our turn to strike the blow." He accordingly sent Binnya Thane with 1000 elephants and 20,000 men to attack the escort on the way. The two forces met in a forest and came to an engagement in which Linzin's forces were again

defeated. Binnya Thane was killed, his lieutenant Binnya Thena was captured together with his elephant. Besides those killed, about 30 elephants and 500 men were captured. The return then continued without further molestation, and by slow marches they arrived at Hanthawaddy in due course.

The Maha Upayaza at first intended to quarter at Maing-San during the approaching rains, but he subsequently changed his mind and consulted his colleagues as to the advisability of returning to Hanthawaddy. All were agreed to get back again, giving as their reason that as long as they were there King Bra-Sè-Zit would not leave his hiding place. Accordingly a letter was sent to King Kyawdin Nawrata, mentioning in detail the engagements they had had, the successes they had obtained, and the prisoners they held, and closing the account of their exploits by saying that after his third defeat the King of Linzin had kept himself in hiding, and although the country had been scoured through and through by the picked troops, the whereabouts of the King could not be traced. At last the expected order of recall came and the whole of the forces left Maing-San on the 5th of waxing Wagaung¹² Chula Sakkaraj 927 (A. D. 1565.) and arrived at Hanthawaddy on the 11th of waxing Thadingyut¹³, taking two lunar months and six days to do the journey. The troops must have suffered greatly on the way as it was then the middle of the rains.

On the very day of arrival, the three queens and the twenty concubines, and the brother and the niece of the King of Linzin, as well as the nobles and other prisoners of war who had been brought away from Maing-San were presented to King Kyawdin Nawrata. The fair captives were ordered to be removed to the women's apartments and there maintained according to their rank. The brother who was then only sixteen years of age was not degraded in any way but allowed to reside in Hanthawaddy in a style befitting his rank; the nobles and other prisoners were given lands and afforded other facilities to settle down in Hanthawaddy.

Thus closed the punitive expedition to Chiengmai resulting in the King of Chiengmai being taken away to Hanthawaddy, and the government left in the hands of the Maha-dewi.

12. August.

13. October.

SIR ARTHUR PHAYRE'S ACCOUNT OF THE NARRATIVE
CONTAINED IN THE FOURTH PAPER.

— : 0 : —

The conqueror then set out on his return, and determined to punish the King of Zimmè, who had failed to present himself on the arrival of the invading army. But hearing that a rebellion had broken out at Pegu, Bureng Naung hastened back, leaving his son in command. On reaching his capital, he found that many of the fine buildings he had erected had been burnt by the rebels. These were rebuilt, and a new palace, surpassing the former one in magnificence, was commenced, but not finished until three years later. This palace is mentioned by European travellers as composed of an extensive group of grand pavilions "as big as an ordinary city," having the roofs of some apartments covered with plates of solid gold. No doubt the three white elephants brought from Siam were housed in some of these pavilions.

In the meanwhile, the heir-apparent had not acted with vigour against the King of Zimmè, who had fled eastward, and was sheltered by the King of Lengzeng. Bureng Naung determined to proceed himself to direct operations. He left the capital, and proceeded to Labong, near Zimmè. A large force marched with him, which included many Indians and four hundred Portuguese as gunners. The petty chiefs of the Yun tribe were ready to continue the struggle for independence, but the King of Zimmè voluntarily submitted, saying he did not wish to reign longer. Detachments of troops were sent through the country to put down opposition.

While the king of kings was thus engaged, a rebellion broke out in Pegu, headed by a Shan captive named Binya Kyan, in which thousands of Talaings joined. They marched on the capital, where the officers in command became panic-stricken. The deposed King of Burma, Narabadi, who was in the city, pointed out that the rebels were a mere unarmed rabble. He was intrusted with a force, at the head of which he issued from the city and defeated the mob of peasants. Bureng Naung on hearing of this outbreak hastened back to his capital. On seeing that many of his fine buildings outside the city walls had been burnt, he was so enraged, that, without entering the city he went on to Dala to hunt down the

operation
Zimme.

November
D. 1564.

rebellion
in Pegu.

remnant of the rebel body. Thousands were taken prisoners, and the King intended to enclose them all in a vast temporary building of bamboo, and burn them and their families alive according to Burmese law. On the intercession of the Buddhist monks he pardoned all except the leaders.

The Yuva Raja after the departure of his father continued operations against the Yun chiefs in the country east of Zimmè. He followed them in pursuit across the Mekong river, and at length the chiefs, or those who still held out, were driven to shut themselves up in the town of Maingzan, by which name the Burmese probably mean a fort near the Laos city Viengchang. The King of Lengzeng was in the stronghold with his family. The place was captured, but the King escaped in the confusion. Bureng Naung ordered the army to return leaving a strong garrison in Zimmè, and the Yuva Raja reached the capital of Pegu in October. The queen of Lengzeng and many prisoners of high rank were brought in.

Expec
to L
The Q
tak
prisc

A. D.



V.

Introduction.

The fourth paper deals with the account of King Kyawdin Nawrata's punitive expedition to Chiengmai, resulting in the King of Chiengmai being taken away to Hanthawaddy and the government left in the hands of the Maha-dewi. The governor of Zinthane, who also had made a bid for freedom from Burman supremacy, but who had not been active enough like the three others, the governors of Lagun, Turaing, and Nan to get beyond reach of his Burman pursuers, was captured and also taken away to Hanthawaddy. The account ends with a narrative of the operations carried on by the Maha Upayaza against Linzin whither the three rebellious governors had fled for refuge; operations which were a partial failure inasmuch as the King of Linzin and two of the three refugees still remained at large when the forces were recalled to Hanthawaddy.

For about three years after the withdrawal of the Burmese forces from Northern Siam, King Kyawdin Nawrata remained in Hanthawaddy occupying himself in the peaceful pursuits of building a new city, erecting pagodas, salas and other religious edifices, casting huge images of Buddhas and performing charitable works. During this period of rest, the intercourse between Burma and Siam though not interrupted was unimportant; but as the aim of these papers is to give in detail the Burmese version of the relationship, warlike and otherwise, between the two countries, every incident recorded in the Hmannan History having reference to Siam will be recounted here, but those incidents of minor importance will, as a matter of convenience, be relegated to the introductory portion of the main subject.

This paper will treat of King Kyawdin Nawrata's second invasion of Southern Siam and the second fall of Ayuthia. Prior to this invasion, the Hmannan History records certain incidents relating to Siam and references to some personages who figured in her history, which, being of secondary importance, will be given in this introduction. Some of these are important in that they support or corroborate certain statements made by the Burmese historian of which the Siamese history makes no mention at all.

On Monday the 13th. of waxing Tabodwè ¹ Chula Sakkaraj 928 (A. D. 1567) there arrived in Hanthawaddy envoys from Oya Damayaza, governor of Peikthalauk, who presented his daughter Bra Einda-dewi to King Kyawdin Nawrata. On the same day the daughters of the Sawbwas of Theinni and Zinrôn ² were also presented to him.

In the same year the son-in-law of the King of Linzin who was governor of Maing-Pat came to Hanthawaddy with 100 elephants, and 2000 followers, and requested to be enlisted into the service of the Burmese King who, granting the request, administered the oath of allegiance to him; then after conferring rank and honours on him, made grants of land to his followers for them to settle down in Hanthawaddy.

During the latter half of Chula Sakkaraj 929, (A. D. 1567.) the governor of Peikthalauk sent a message to Hanthawaddy saying that the King of Linzin was on his way to attack Peikthalauk. His Burman Majesty ordered the Sawbwas of Mohuyin, Mogaung, Momeik, Onbaung, Nyaungywe, and Monè to go via Monè and Chiengmai to the assistance of the governor of Peikthalauk, each with a force of 100 elephants, 1000 horse, and 10,000 men. When the Shan troops arrived at Maing-Hane in Chiengmai territory, the King of Linzin became aware of their coming, and wisely abandoning his object, very quickly retreated. On the fact of the retreat being reported to the capital, orders were issued for the troops to return home; but when the six Sawbwas reached Eindagiri the Sawbwas of Mogaung, Momeik, and Mohuyin were summoned to the capital, while the other three were permitted to return direct to their homes. All the six Sawbwas were rewarded for their prompt compliance with the orders from their suzerain.

The new city and the new palace commenced about two years ago having been completed, His Majesty entered the new city in state and assumed possession of the new palace on Monday the 4th of waxing Tagu ³ Chula Sakkaraj 929 (A. D. 1568.) The next day a public audience was accorded to the queens, princes, nobles and officials, and sumptuary privileges

-
1. February.
 2. Chieng-Rung.
 3. April.

were conferred on them, as was the custom in those days when going into occupation of a newly built city. Sumptuary laws continued to exist in Upper Burma under the Burmese rule down to the reign of the last Burmese King. In the long list of recipients of such privileges were, Narabadi Sithu the deposed king of Ava, Bra Thadiyaza the King of Siam who abdicated the throne, Narabadi the deposed chief of Mobyè, and Bra Than the deposed king of Chiengmai. These four were accorded the privilege of living in double-roofed houses painted white, a privilege granted only to those of royal descent and to persons closely related to the royalty. Here we have an instance of a record of an incident unconnected with the point at issue, lending support or corroboration to the statement made by the Burmese historian that King Bra Thadiyaza of Siam and his second son were taken away to Hanthawaddy, a point on which the Siamese chronicles are entirely silent: this corroboration deserves due consideration, because the presence of His Siamese Majesty in Hanthawaddy is mentioned in the ordinary course of putting on record a number of persons who received privileges at the time, and moreover he is mentioned in conjunction with three other former crowned heads whose enforced residence at Hanthawaddy about that period is beyond dispute.

Soon after the occupation of the new city a scarcity followed owing to the great influx of people to the capital, and the price of grain went up to 500 ticals weight of copper for a basket of paddy (about eight gallons capacity). King Kyawdin Nawrata despatched a column consisting of 100 elephants 1000 horse and 20,000 men to Linzin territory under the command of the King of Pagan with Maha Yawda as his lieutenant, to fetch the needful grain. Why His Burman Majesty should choose Linzin territory, so much out of the way and so far from the area affected by scarcity, when there were countries and states very much nearer home, is hard to understand, unless it was the principle in those days to obtain what was wanted from hostile territory only. However, the Hmannan History records that this column did go on its errand and met with a complete failure. The Burmese were attacked by Linzin's forces, and owing to the bad generalship of their commander, were entirely routed, the second in command being captured and the commander himself compelled to beat a hasty retreat with a mere remnant of his column. On arrival at Hanthawaddy he would have met a far

worse fate than defeat, had it not been for the great influence the holy brotherhood possessed in those days. King Kyawdin Nawrata was so enraged with the conduct of the commander and his men that he confined them in a big temporary enclosure and set fire to it intending to burn them alive. They were however saved by the united action of the Burmese, Mon and Yun priests who put the fire out, released the bonds, and escorted the whole miserable company to the sacred precincts of their monasteries. His Majesty's temper must have cooled down after the bold action taken by the priests, because he forebore taking any further steps to punish them.

— :) o (: —

About the beginning of the year 930, (A. D. 1568.) the old King of Siam who had been accorded the privilege of living in Hanthawaddy in a double-roofed house painted white, asked permission of King Kyawdin Nawrata to enter the priesthood. The Burmese Sovereign not suspecting any ulterior motives most willingly granted permission, himself supplying the eight priestly utensils and other articles of use allowed to the members of the holy order. Soon after his admission to the holy brotherhood the old Siamese King requested that he might be allowed to go on a pilgrimage to Yodaya (Ayuthia). His Burman Majesty again gave his ready assent to the request, perhaps still unsuspecting that the priest-king might have other missions than that of simple worship in the sacred shrines of his native land.

Bra Ramathun, the second son of the old King, having been required to follow the punitive expedition to Chiengmai, fell ill and died on the way. His widow also requested after the departure of the old King to be allowed to return to her native country. This request was also granted and she, together with her personal property and attendants, was sent back under the escort of a nobleman named Yazamanu, who, being still on the sunny side of life, soon fell a victim to the charms of the young widow, and they were on terms of intimacy long before the party got fairly started on their homeward journey. Her brother-in-law, the reigning King of Siam having come to know of the nobleman's misconduct sent a written report to the King of Burma, who, enraged at the betrayal of his trust,

ordered the execution of the amorous nobleman who thus paid dearly for his gallantry. The Burmese King then sent instead a much older man, Zala Thinran by name to escort the young widow home.

The old King of Siam who had come to Yodaya ostensibly on a pilgrimage, abandoned his yellow robes soon after his arrival in his capital, and again interested himself in the affairs of the state. He practically assumed the direction of the foreign policy of the kingdom, and in consultation with his son, the reigning King, he ordered the murder of Zala Thinran on the way.

Oya Damayaza, governor of Peikthalauk, watching current events with great keenness and hearing what the King of Siam had done, said, "The King of Siam has adopted a line of action which will be his own undoing and ruin. I should not follow his example but should start immediately for Hanthawaddy and throw in my lot with the King of Burma". Accordingly he arrived in Hanthawaddy on Friday the 2nd. of waning Nayôn * 930 (A. D. 1568). His Majesty of Burma was overjoyed to see his faithful vassal, honoured him with the title of Sawbwa Thaugkyi, and conferred on him the privilege of wearing a coronet and using a white umbrella.

When the old King of Siam heard that Oya Peikthalauk had espoused the Burmese cause and gone to Hanthawaddy, he marched a force to Peikthalauk and brought away his daughter, her attendants and many wealthy people to Yodaya. On hearing of this move on the part of the Siamese King, His Burman Majesty said "The King of Siam did thus rise in open rebellion, throwing off the allegiance he had sworn and proving himself ungrateful, because the time is fast approaching for Sawbwa Thaugkyi to be raised to the throne of Yodaya". He then summoned his son the Maha Upayaza and the nobles and consulted them what they thought of an immediate march to Yodaya. Binnya Dala expressed the opinion that in thus taking this bold move Siam did not depend merely on her own strength. The action of the reigning King was influenced by the advice of his father who no doubt expected the co-operation of Linzin and Lawaik. In the circumstances it would be best to march with all the tributary kings and all the forces available, so that in case of need the army could be divided and

separate operations taken against the different enemies or armies coming to Siam's rescue. Another nobleman Oktama Thirizeya Thura (Uttama Sirijeya Sūra) concurred with Binnya Dala's opinion, but suggested that the invasion should be postponed till the rains, which had just begun to set in, were over, pointing out that immediate action was unnecessary, and, from experience gained in the previous invasions, they could very well gauge now their own fighting strength and ability as well as the war footing and capacity of their enemies, the people of Yodaya, Linzin and Lawaik. He said the only thing necessary for them to do then was to hold Peikthalauk with a strong force and prevent its capture till after the rains; and for that purpose Sawbwa Thaungkyi and a few regiments from the capital would be sufficient.

King Kyawdin Nawrata guided by this latter advice ordered Sawbwa Thaungkyi, Binnya Gyandaw, Binnya Law, and Binnya Paran to march post-haste to Peikthalauk, each in command of a regiment. The forces thus sent in advance to hold Peikthalauk consisted of 300 elephants, 34,000 horse, and 60,000 men and left Hanthawaddy on the 5th of waxing Wazo ⁵ 930 (A. D. 1563). On arrival, they repaired the defences of the city and gathered in all the grain and provisions available in the country surrounding.

Hearing that the governor of Peikthalauk was making the defences strong, the King of Siam sent a message to the King of Linzin to come down and assist him in reducing Peikthalauk. The latter responded to the call for assistance and came with an army; the former proceeded up the river with 500 war boats and about 30,000 transport vessels. A report of the coming of the two armies was sent to Hanthawaddy by the governor of Peikthalauk and the three Binnyas, and His Burman Majesty sent a reply that they were to try and capture the two Kings, and that he himself would start as soon as the rains ceased.

When the Siamese flotilla reached Kamanpaik, ⁶ there arrived at that place the governor of Lagun Thima ⁷ with a force of

5. July.

6. The Burmese historian must have made a mistake because Kamanpaik, the Burmese for Kamphengphet, is out of the line of march by water; it is probable that Phichit is the place meant.

7. Nakon Rajasima or Korat.

100 elephants, and 3,000 men. The whole army, including the auxiliaries from Lagun Thima, then continued their advance upwards, and on their arrival at Peikthalauk encamped quite close to the town. Sawbwa Thaugkyi and the three Binnyas organized a sortie, sending out a force of 80 elephants and 20,000 men under the command of Sundarathi nephew of Binnya Gyandaw, and Thamandararat younger brother of Binnya Paran, to attack the forces under Lagun Thima. This sortie proved a great success, the governor of Lagun Thima being killed together with 3,200 men; the remainder fled to join the boats and were hotly pursued by Sundarathi and Thamandararat. When the pursuers reached the river, they were shelled from the Siamese war boats and suffered many casualties. They therefore returned with 30 elephants and about 500 men they had been able to capture.

About five days after this sortie the King of Linzin arrived with his army and encamped so near the town that his camp extended to the very edge of the moat surrounding the city. The governor and the three Binnyas again organised a sortie with a force of 200 elephants and 20,000 men, and Linzin's forces were compelled to withdraw, and their camp was burnt. When the Siamese learnt that their friends on land had been obliged to withdraw they also removed their boats to a distance of about a mile from the town.

Three days after, the two Kings took concerted action and made a joint attack. They had logs cut in the upper reaches of the river, and a raft about 300 fathoms long was made. On it they put a quantity of dried wood and other inflammable material, and just about dawn they set fire to the material, and sent the flaming raft adrift from above the town. At the same time a combined attack both by land and water was made, the King of Siam with over 200 war boats and 50,000 men and the King of Linzin with the greater part of his army. The governor and Binnya Gyandaw went out with a force of 100 elephants and 30,000 men and fought Linzin's forces who were compelled to retire, leaving in addition to those killed in the fight, 70 elephants and 300 men as prisoners in the hands of the defenders. About 1,000 picked men, who were commissioned to put out the fire on the raft and kill the men in charge of it, also did their work well. The attack from the Siamese boats was repulsed by Binnya Law and Binnya Paran who shelled the

enemy's boats from the town, sinking some and disabling many. The remaining boats withdrew, but the two Binnyas could not follow up their success as they had no boats. Thus the combined attack of the besieging forces proved a complete failure.

After this defeat of the besiegers, a challenge was shouted out from their camp calling on Binnya Gyandaw to meet Linzin's general Binnya Lagun in single combat. Binnya Gyandaw ordered a reply to be shouted back that he would fight anyone. Sawbwa Thaugkyi and the other two Binnyas did not approve of the single combat, saying they could not know what deceitful plans or stratagems the enemy might have; so they had a reply shouted again to the enemy's camp saying that Binnya Gyandaw was the servant of a most powerful sovereign who held many crowned kings under his sway, while Binnya Lagun was the servant of the King of Linzin, only a petty monarch, and under such conditions it would be derogatory to the dignity of Binnya Gyandaw to fight Binnya Lagun in single combat, but he would be glad to face the King of Linzin himself. Nothing however resulted from this mutual challenge. The besiegers withdrew to some distance from the city and remained surrounding it during the whole of the rainy season from the month of Wagaung ⁸ to Tazaungmôn. ⁹

King Kyawdin Nawrata had previously issued orders for the mobilization of the invading army to be completed by the end of the rains, and consequently in the month of Thadingyut ¹⁰ everything was ready for the march to Yodaya. The Hmannan History gives full details of the army, mentioning the names of the brigade commander and the second in command of each brigade, and of the commanders of each division of which there were five. The first division under the Maha Upayaza was composed of 11 brigades, each brigade containing 100 elephants, 1,000 horse and 10,000 men; the Shan contingents in this division formed two brigades, one commanded by the Sawbwa of Mogaung and the other by the Sawbwa of Momeik: the second division was under the King of Prome and composed of the same number of brigades and the same number of units, the Shan levies forming also two brigades under the Sawbwas

8. August.

9. November.

10. October.

of Mohnyin and Bamaw: the third division was commanded by the King of Toungoo and the fourth by the King of Ava, the strength of each being the same as that of the first division; the Shan levies in the former were two brigades commanded by the Sawbwas of Thibaw and Theinni, and in the latter three brigades under the Sawbwas of Onbaung, Nyaunggywe, and Monè. The fifth division was under his nephew Min-yè Kyawdin and composed of five brigades, each containing 100 elephants, 1,000 horse and 10,000 men, but four of these were foreign contingents commanded by Binnya Thane Lôn, Binnya Than Lan and Binnya Nan of Chiengmai, and the Sawbwa of Kyaing-Tôn. " In all probability this division formed a complement of the body-guard division which contained 400 elephants 4,000 horse and 56,000 men distributed equally on the right and left and in the front and rear of His Majesty, and the forces composing it did not start from Hanthawaddy but joined it at convenient places after the invading army had entered Siam. The body-guard division also contained 4,000 Kala Brin-gyi (Portuguese?) gunners and 4,000 Kala Pathi (Mohammedan Indian) musketeers. This big army left Hanthawaddy on Sunday the 6th of waning Thadingyut Chula Sakkaraj 930 (A. D. 1568). After 47 marches it reached a place called Indaw (Royal Lake) to the north of Yodaya.

The King of Siam hearing of the invasion and the strength of the invaders dared not intercept the enemy in open country, and therefore decided to withstand the siege. He withdrew to his capital, repaired all the defences round the city, mounted heavy artillery on the ramparts, and took in all available fighting men and provisions into it.

At the summons of the invader Sawbwa Thaungkyi of Peikthalauk and the three Binnyas came down from Peikthalauk with a force of 300 elephants, 4,000 horse and 60,000 men, and on arrival presented their Sovereign with what trophies of war they had been able to secure during the time they had been holding Peikthalauk against the combined forces of Yodaya and Linzin. His Majesty was greatly pleased with the conduct and services of Sawbwa Thaungkyi and Binnya Gyandaw and rewarded them

handsomely; but he was very much dissatisfied with Binnya Law and Binnya Paran for the reason that when the King of Siam attacked Peikthalauk they remained only on the defensive in the city, and that if they had gone out and followed up their success then, the Siamese Sovereign would not have escaped. Binnya Law and Binnya Paran were therefore deprived of their command, and their honours, titles, and attendants were also withdrawn.

King Kyawdin Nawrata sent Sundarathi and Thamandarath two promising young noblemen who distinguished themselves in the first sortie in the defence of Peikthalauk to return to Peikthalauk and bring down all the war boats. They performed their commission most expeditiously bringing down also a lot of provisions and all the boats sent down from Cheingmai in which they brought their sick and wounded. For their services they were rewarded with new titles and honours.

The invader then called a council of war and requested the Maha Upayaza and the other commanders to suggest the best means of taking Yodaya. The Maha Upayaza suggested to make a vigorous assault and reduce the capital at a single effort, giving as his reason that assault on the city was extremely difficult owing to its being surrounded by water, so that it would be best to make one supreme effort rather than a series of assaults; and also that a siege would not be advisable as it would be a matter of great difficulty to maintain an army of nearly a million men during a protracted siege. King Kyawdin Nawrata entertained a different opinion saying that a siege would be better; as regards provisioning he said he would send for all available grain and provisions in Kamanpaik, Thuwannalauk, Thaukkatè and Pitsè and store them in big granaries. During the rains, field crops would be raised for the support of the army. There was of course no gainsaying to His Majesty's opinion and the whole army was accordingly ordered to invest the city. For the purpose of erecting wooden stockades and forts, logs of about 3 or 4 'zôk'¹² and 15 or 16 'taung'¹³ were obtained in the forests above Yodaya and brought down the river. On the east and south sides of the city the river was narrow and the stockades were built on the bank of the river opposite the city,

12. The Burmese word for the Siamese "kam."

13. The Burmese word for the Siamese "sok."

while on the west side, the river being wide, the stockades were erected, after crossing the river, on the bank nearest the city. When the stockades and forts were ready, guns were mounted on them and the town was bombarded causing great damage to the buildings in the city. Several attempts were made to storm the city and scale the walls, but owing to the effective service of the defender's artillery such attempts always proved a failure with heavy losses at each assault.

Finding his attempts fruitless, King Kyawdin Nawrata devised another plan. He caused earth-works to be thrown up equalling in height to the city of Yodaya, to get a commanding position and a vantage-ground. Then mounting his big artillery on them he bombarded the city incessantly, but still to no avail, owing to the strong nature of the defences and the vigilance of the defenders.

His Burman Majesty was fast losing his patience; and one day he reproached all his generals and commanders saying that the repeated failure to take the city was due to their want of energy and self-sacrificing devotion to the attainment of his object, and impressed on them that any remissness in or failure of duty would not be forgiven and the offender would receive, irrespective of rank, more than the full measure of his desert which in those days meant nothing short of decapitation. Exhortation of such a nature could not but make a man exert his utmost. The commanders and their men redoubled their energy in their onslaught on the city but the only result of their renewed vigour appeared to be an increase in their losses by two or three-fold. At each assault on the city, every brigade that took part in it lost at least 300 or 400 men and the Burmese historian says that sometimes the losses were so great that the storming forces used the dead bodies of their comrades as shelter from the fire of the defenders.

The brigade under Binnya Set, commander, and Saw Taing Kan, second in command, was encamped on the very edge of the river. Owing to the short distance of the camp from the city, the Siamese discovered that it was insecurely pitched. A small party of Siamese came out in four or five boats, and finding a

few huts unoccupied and unguarded owing to the men having gone out to collect firewood and vegetables, they secured the firearms kept in a boat moored to the bank and set fire to the huts. Some of the men from the King of Prome's camp seeing what had occurred went at once and drove the Siamese party back, who, however, were able to take away the arms they had secured. What had happened was reported to King Kyawdin Nawrata who personally inspected the scene of the occurrence. The commander and his lieutenant knowing full well what they would have to expect, tried to run away. His Burman Majesty finding no one on whom to vent his anger and wreak his vengeance ordered the execution of the King of Prome under whose supervision the camp in question was. But fortunately for the King of Prome, before the order could be carried out, his adherents were able to capture the runaway commanders who were immediately beheaded, none daring to intercede on their behalf. After this exemplary punishment everyone, from the highest general down to the meanest soldier was in greater terror of decapitation at the hands of his Sovereign's executioners than death from the weapons of the enemy. They all fought harder than ever, facing their foes with unprecedented courage, but the defenders must also have been imbued with feelings of self-sacrificing patriotism to enable them to repel successfully attack after attack of uncommon ferocity.

Some four months passed by without any alteration in the positions of the besiegers and the besieged. Redoubled energy on the part of the besiegers only moved the besieged to greater effort and vigilance. Both sides had suffered heavy losses but the issue of the struggle still remained undecided. At this juncture a truly disastrous event for Siam happened; the old King of Siam who had most probably been the life and spirit of the courageous defence died on Friday the 2nd of waxing Kason ¹⁴ Chula Sakkaraj 931 (A. D. 1569). The Burmese chronicler of the time did not pass this event without comment but said that the death was the result of his breach of the oath of allegiance. There was no time then to perform the usual obsequies, which were therefore kept in abeyance, and the body was embalmed (lit: stuffed with mercury).

After the death of the of the old King, Bra Mahein the reigning King of Siam called his ministers and nobles and said to them thus, "The King of Burma has laid siege to our city for many months; our arms have done countless execution in his army but still his endeavours to take the city seem in no way to abate. The erection of mounds of earth is assiduously continued despite the destruction caused by our shot and shell among those engaged in the work. Nay, the bodies of the dead are used even as stepping stones to carry the earth to the top of the mound. His anger must be very great, his determination must be very firm to continue the siege in such adverse and trying circumstances. It is not very long since that we ascended the throne, and there may be some who love not our person and who like not our rule. Therefore it is impolitic to continue the struggle with a foreign foe fully determined to fight to his utmost, while we are not sure of security from enemies at home. It is best to appease His Burman Majesty's anger and let him betake himself and his army to his country, when we shall have more time to attend to our own affairs". He then consulted the royal family and sent a written message to the following effect:—That His Siamese Majesty had always adhered to his oath of allegiance, but that one of his nobles Oya Ram was entirely responsible for this state of affairs. It was Oya Ram who induced the deceased King when residing as a Buddhist priest in Hanthawaddy to come over to Siam, to leave the priesthood and again assume the reins of government. It was Oya Ram who guaranteed to see that everything turned out well, and in case of invasion to undertake the whole burden of defending the city. Now that the old King had paid the penalty of his breach of faith, His Siamese Majesty had no desire to continue the fight and would therefore beg to reign as a tributary king paying the usual tribute. He desired His Burman Majesty to raise the siege and return to Burma. With the message was sent Oya Ram in heavy chains. On receipt of the message King Kyawdin Nawrata said nothing, but with a knowledge of human nature with which he was endowed to a large measure, he ordered the release of Oya Ram and told him that he would be treated in all respects like one of his own nobles, expecting by this kind treatment to win the Siamese nobleman's good will, confidence and gratitude which he hoped some time later to turn to good account and use them to his advantage.

The King of Linzin whose assistance had been applied for by His Siamese Majesty came with a force of 1,000 elephants, 8,000 horse and 30,000 men. News of the coming of this auxiliary force was brought in by scouts sent out to reconnoitre. His Burman Majesty despatched a force of 100 elephants, 1,000 horse and 40,000 men under the command of the governor of Ye with the governor of Wagaru as second in command to reconnoitre and find out the strength of the force from Linzin. They were ordered to proceed only as far as a place called Nalabo.¹⁵ This force on reaching Nalabo encamped, and being some distance away from the place where they had been kept under very strict discipline for many months, a reaction set in, and both officers and men took their mission more as a holiday than as a serious task imposed upon them. Apparently no precautions were taken to guard against sudden attack; and when five days after their arrival, the King of Linzin and his army appeared on the scene and surprised them, they were entirely defeated, the whole force together with the commander being taken prisoners. The second in command however managed to escape on horseback with only about ten of his personal attendants. On reaching the main army he was publicly disgraced for running away from the enemy and ordered to be executed together with his wife and children. He pleaded disparity of numbers between the two forces, pointing out that if the proportions had been ten to one it would have been commendable bravery and noble sacrifice of life to fight and die, but when the proportions were a thousand to one it was simply reprehensible desparation and reckless throwing away of valuable life which might be put to far nobler use. His Majesty was obdurate at first, intending to make an example of what he regarded to be a disgraceful instance of cowardice; but subsequently on the intercession of Thirizeya Kyawdin, Binnya Dala, and Binnya Gyandaw he gave way and pardoned the offender.

King Kyawdin Nawrata then asked his generals whether it would be advisable to raise the siege and fight the King of Linzin with the whole army or to withdraw only a portion from the investing army and operate against Siam's ally. Binnya Dala, the trusty counsellor, said that the city had been closely invested for the last four or five months and death had overtaken

15. Lopburi ?

the old King of Siam as a consequence of his breach of oath; naturally the besieged must have lost somewhat of their former spirit and enthusiasm, and if such should be the case it would be extremely unwise to raise the siege, because to return and reinvest the city after quelling Linzin's forces would mean throwing away the arduous labour of four or five months that had cost a great many lives, and starting operations afresh. He was of opinion that half the investing army would be sufficient to frighten the King of Linzin not to come face to face, but he would keep himself at a distance harassing foraging parties. To prevent this harassing, his idea was to resort to stratagem by sending Oya Ram to the King of Linzin with a forged message purporting to be from the King of Siam appealing for an immediate march to the capital; and when the unsuspecting King drew near, to surround and surprise him. King Kyawdin Nawrata liked the idea, and having summoned Oya Ram into his presence, told the Siamese nobleman that if he served well, he would be most handsomely rewarded. Oya Ram was profuse in the expression of his gratitude for sparing his life when his own King had given it away as a peace-offering. He even went so far as to say that such a debt of gratitude as he owed His Burman Majesty could not be adequately repaid by services rendered in all his future existences until the attainment of Nirvana. (Such exaggerated and extravagant expressions are not uncommon in Burmese literature). He promised his new master that he would serve most loyally, faithfully and to the best of his ability, sacrificing his life if necessary. Then the letter to be conveyed to the King of Linzin was drafted jointly by Binnya Dala and Oya Ram. The substance of the letter was that the city had been invested by the King of Burma for four or five months; and although a very large number of his forces had died of disease and from the shot and shell of the defenders, he did not, in the least, relax his energies. The defenders dared not go out of the city and attack the besiegers, because the long expected assistance from Linzin had not arrived. The Linzin auxiliary was requested to march on as quickly as possible to the city so that a joint attack could be made, when the defeat of the Burmese would be certain. It may be mentioned here that the King of Linzin was addressed as "uncle" in the letter, not because he stood in that relationship

to the King of Siam, but because it was and still is the etiquette of the Burmese and the Siamese and of almost all oriental peoples to address a man not simply by name but to prefix terms denoting brother, uncle, grandfather, etc., according to the relative ages of the person speaking and the person spoken to.

Oya Ram went on his errand, and on meeting the King of Linzin presented his letter. He was asked a few questions relating to some internal affairs of the city to test the authenticity of the message; these being satisfactorily answered, a matter of no difficulty to one in Oya Ram's position, the King of Linzin was entirely disabused of any suspicions he might have had before, and he sent Oya Ram back, fixing the date on which he would arrive at the city.

King Kyawdin Nawrata then made arrangements to attack Linzin's forces on the way. He withdrew the following brigades and commanders, namely, seven brigades containing 100 elephants, 1,000 horse and 50,000 men under the command of the Maha Upayaza who was placed in the centre; the King of Toungoo with a like force was on the left and the King of Ava with a force similar to the other two on the right. He himself formed the rear, also with seven brigades of the same strength and formation. The King of Prome was left in charge of the besieging forces with supreme authority and control.

The forces withdrawn to operate against Linzin started on their mission on Friday the 9th. of waxing Kasôn ¹⁶ 931 (A.D. 1569), and after marching about fourteen miles encamped for the night. The next morning the King of Linzin started from Nalabo on his march to Yodaya, and in the course of the day, his advance force met the 3,000 horse sent out by the Burmese to reconnoitre the route ahead. From this it appears that the place called Nalabo would be about two days' easy march from Ayuthia. After a slight skirmish the Burmese cavalry retreated and informed their respective columns of the approach of Linzin's forces. The three commanders at once issued orders to be prepared for the attack. Finding there was a curve in the road, the King of Ava disposed of his forces in such a position as to take full advantage of the curve,

and withheld his attack until Linzin's forces had gone round it. Before long, the two opposing armies were engaged in fight. The King of Linzin had with him 1,000 war elephants 100 transport elephants 8,000 horse and 30,000 men and advanced, probably in single column, showing a bold front. He seemed to gain ground and gradually moved onward until he went past the curve, when the King of Ava opened his attack. The result of the King of Ava's manœuvre was that Linzin's forces were divided into two portions, after which one portion was vigorously attacked by the King of Ava himself and the other by the other two commanders. This skilful manœuvre and the subsequent vigorous attack on the divided forces, already crippled by the division, caused their utter discomfiture, and they were put to a disorderly rout, the King of Linzin fleeing with a force of about 20,000 men which he managed to withdraw in the confusion and disorder that ensued. The date of this battle is given as Friday the 8th.¹⁷ of waxing Kasôn 931 (A. D. 1569).

King Kyawdin Nawrata who was in the rear heard the report of guns, and believing that a battle must be going on, ordered a quick march taking a short straight cut to the curve in the road. He then came upon the King of Linzin in full flight, and pursued the flying forces until he was within a distance of about ten miles from them, when they made their way into a bamboo jungle. The King of Linzin thinking escape impossible, ordered a halt and sent a message of submission to the pursuers. In the message he said that when the Burmese King invaded Chiengmai, the Maha Upayaza and the King of Ava marched into Linzin territory and caused great destruction of person and property; at that time he was not in his country having left to go and receive the daughter of the King of Siam. Subsequently when the same two commanders overran his territory, the destructive effects left then were such that the country was still

17. Here the Burmese historian is evidently in error; because he says that the Burmese forces left Ayuthia on Friday the 9th of waxing Kasôn 931 and the battle was fought the next day. So that either the day of starting must be Friday the 8th and the day of battle Saturday the 9th, or the former day was Friday the 9th and the latter Saturday the 10th. Friday the 9th is probably correct; at least it is in accord with the date given for the death of the old King of Siam, which is Friday the 2nd of waxing Kasôn 931 (A. D. 1569), *i. e.* a week previous.

unable to recover from them. At the request of the King of Siam who had sent a written message appealing for assistance he had come, but only to be defeated by His Burman Majesty who must have been aided by powers supernatural, considering that the fireworks that had been prepared by him which were to have been discharged by specially devised machinery and which would have destroyed an army over a million strong, had been all rendered useless by a heavy shower of rain the day previous to the battle. He concluded the message by begging his pursuer not to follow him into his country, promising that he would never thereafter offend His Burman Majesty, and saying that with the intention of taking the oath of allegiance he had halted in his flight, and would appear before his suzerain to take the oath early the next morning, as there was no time that evening to present himself for that purpose.

King Kyawdin Nawrata believed that the King of Linzin really meant what he said in his message, and therefore encamped, as it was getting dark also. Linzin's chief knowing that his pursuer had halted, took advantage of the halt and fled with all haste the whole night. The next morning seeing only crows in Linzin's camp His Burman Majesty gave a hearty laugh and said that he would march to Linzin after the capture of Yodaya. He then returned to the siege taking with him one of the concubines of the King of Linzin, Manuraw Meikta (Manuro Mitta) and about ten of her attendants who had been captured in the pursuit. On arrival, those who had taken part in the fight against Linzin's forces presented him with prisoners taken in the battle consisting of about ten noblemen and 5,000 men, and with also about 300 elephants captured. Of the Burmese forces that had been surprised and taken prisoners by the King of Linzin at Nalabo, a great many escaped from their captors and rejoined their army.

On enquiring who it was that had caused the rout of Linzin's forces, each of the three commanders claimed the honour, but on the evidence of the prisoners it was decided that the honours of the day belonged to the King of Ava who was accordingly very liberally rewarded; others who had distinguished themselves were also suitably rewarded.

After this, the siege was taken in hand with renewed vigour, and with orders more stringent than before for everyone to do his

utmost. During one of the assaults on the city, the officers in the brigade of which Baya Kamani, governor of Thanlyin (Syriam), was the commander, were urging on, with drawn swords, their men who were hesitating to approach the walls of the city. Baya Kamani, probably thinking that the officers were unduly severe on their men, chased the officers with a naked sword in hand. The officers reported their commander's conduct to their Sovereign who ordered the King of Prome to make enquiries and report. The King of Prome dared not conceal the facts from his Suzerain, but to soothe His Burman Majesty's temper and obtain some mitigation in the punishment sure to be meted out to Baya Kamani, told His Majesty that Baya Kamani had the peculiar habit of pointing his sword even against his superiors, the divisional commanders, presuming on the love and indulgence of His Majesty whose oldest and most devoted servant he had been, having shared His Majesty's fortunes good and bad, since the days when His Majesty was fighting for sovereign authority and the throne of Hanthawaddy. The King of Prome prayed forgiveness for an offence committed by a faithful and devoted servant whose main fault had been that he had presumed too much on his master's indulgence. His Burman Majesty would not yield and said that he could forgive other offences in Baya Kamani but not breaches of military discipline, and that if the King of Prome took so much pity on Baya Kamani, he ought to sacrifice his own life instead of the offender. After this none dared breathe a word on behalf of the unfortunate Baya Kamani, and he was ordered to be executed, the execution being carried out in the camp of the King of Prome himself. After this bloody deed of expiation was over, Baya Kamani's son approached his father's corpse and wept. The irate King hearing of it, ruthlessly ordered the execution of the son who paid dearly for the filial tears which he could not possibly have withheld even if he had tried to. Then the slave of Baya Kamani seeing the corpses of his two masters, father and son, lying side by side not only unhonoured and unmourned but even without a covering of some kind to shield them from the gaze of the public, came forward and spread a piece of cloth over them. The enraged Monarch coming to know of the slave's action which exasperated him the more, at once ordered the death of the slave who thus paid very dearly indeed for rendering the last services due from a slave to his master. From this little episode a good estimate of

King Kyawdin Nawrata's character can be obtained, and one can see that he thought very little of the life of a favourite servant compared with the attainment of his object, and could without any feeling or sentiment order away the execution of one who had served him faithfully and well, and whom he certainly loved; one can also see that when his temper was roused, he was insensible to the noble and tender emotions that move a man to pity and forgiveness. The sight of a son bewailing the death of his father, and a faithful slave paying the last respects to his deceased master would, in an ordinary man even in bad temper, have softened his heart and moved him to sympathy and compassion, but in King Kyawdin Nawrata it only had the effect of inflaming his anger which had been kindled and which had as yet no time to cool down.

After this triple execution there was not a single soul in the whole army who was not terror-stricken, for the three corpses remained exposed to public gaze for some time, so that everybody could view them and contemplate what their own fate would be if they failed in their duty even in the slightest degree. The men were driven to perform their tasks with a total disregard of death; they did not leave their posts in the earth-works near the city in spite of the deadly fire directed against them by the defenders; to say that they dared not leave would perhaps be nearer the truth. Moreover, they must have preferred an honourable death by the enemy's bullet to a dishonourable one by the executioner's knife.

King Kyawdin Nawrata had lost over 10,000 men in the siege, but the city still remained as impregnable as at the beginning, and the defenders almost as indomitable as at the first start. He therefore thought of resorting to stratagem to attain his end, since all attempts to accomplish it by mere force of arms had proved unavailing. His plan was to send the Siamese nobleman Aukbya Setki into the city and ask him to open its gates at an appointed time. This Aukbya Setki was the nobleman who had been taken away to Hanthawaddy together with King Bra Thadiyaza and his son Bra Ramathun. Having offended His Burman Majesty he had been kept in chains for about four or five months during the siege. The invader weighed the matter well, saying that if Aukbya Setki proved faithful to him and his

cause there could be not doubt about the fall of the capital. but if otherwise, the only loss he would suffer would be the person of the Siamese nobleman; and coming to the conclusion that the advantages derivable in the event of his plan turning out as he desired and hoped, far outweigh the disadvantages likely to ensue in case the plan proved a failure, he ordered Aukbya Setki to be released from confinement and brought into his presence. His Burman Majesty disclosed the plan to the Siamese nobleman and requested him to assist in the execution of it to the best of his ability, promising him the governorship of Peikthalauk with vice-regal rank, if success attended the venture. Aukbya Setki undertook to be faithful to the Burmese cause and do his utmost; he was then given the oath of allegiance and sent on his mission under cover of darkness in a small boat paddled by only two of his slaves, himself in heavy chains, so as to make it appear to His Siamese Majesty that he had escaped from the custody of the Burmese to rejoin his King and master in the defence of his fatherland and to return to his hearth and home.

Unfortunately for Siam the only man who could have saved her capital from a disgraceful fall proved himself so unpatriotic as to betray his King and country and hand them over to their enemy. The King of Siam greeted his father's trusted nobleman as he would his own deceased father, little suspecting that in the wake of this noble traitor whom he was welcoming most joyfully, would soon follow most undesirable guests whom he would have to welcome with feelings just the very reverse of joyful; he gave his real enemy the entire control of the city, thereby strengthening the hand that was to strike the death-blow to Siam's independence.

Aukbya Setki very soon found means for accomplishing his mission. He stationed patriotic and self-sacrificing commanders at places where access was difficult, and kept his own relatives, who had probably been taken into his confidence, at weak points where entry was easy. When his plans had matured and his arrangements had been completed, he sent a slave at night with a message to King Kyawdin Nawrata giving details of the arrangements, and fixing a night when the attack was to be made. His Burman Majesty was very pleased, and on the night appointed, that part of the city mentioned in the message was assaulted; the defence, of course, was feeble and

the Burmese forces entered the city, and very soon overpowered the other defenders who were not in the plot, probably being taken unexpectedly and unawares. Thus on Tuesday the 4th. of waning Wagaung ¹⁸ Chula Sakkaraj 931 (A. D. 1569.) did the capital of Siam fall into the hands of the Burmese a second time, through the treachery of one of her own sons whom fortune placed in high position and rank, but who turned his good fortune to the ignoble end of betraying his own country.

The city was given up to plunder and the Burmese historian was particular enough to record that there was not a single one in the whole of the fifty four brigades who did not obtain one or two coolie loads of loot in the form of gold, silver, wearing apparel etc. Entertainments were held in every brigade for many days, in celebration of the success achieved and in jubilation of the end of their trials.

King Kyawdin Nawrata then administered the oath of allegiance to Bra Mahein and all his ministers and nobles. Such of the Siamese ministers, nobles and officials whose loyalty and fidelity were above suspicion were permitted to continue to hold their offices and appointments, but those who could not be trusted were removed and new men appointed. It was in the early half of the rains that the city was captured; and during the whole of the rains, His Burman Majesty remained in the Siamese capital settling internal affairs and organizing the future administration of the country. The governors of the towns round about the capital came in with presents and formally acknowledged his authority, taking the oath of allegiance. The Burmese historian records that the river rose very high then, and the country round Yodaya was like a vast sea. If that was true Aukbya Setki's treachery was all the more deplorable, because the Burmese army would have been compelled to raise the siege and put to great difficulties and inconvenience, for there never was a king born yet who could command the rising waters to subside.

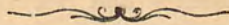
During this period, the King of Lawaik sent a nobleman with presents to King Kyawdin Nawrata and besought His Burman Majesty's assistance in furtherance of works for the support of

Buddhism. The Burmese King made a donation of thirty viss¹⁹ of silver tical pieces (equal to 3000 ticals) for the repairs of old ruined pagodas and phra-chedis in Lagun Lôn.²⁰

On Wednesday the 5th. of waning Thadingyut Chula Sakkaraj 931, (A. D. 1569.) Sawbwa Thaungkyi (*i. e.* Oya Damayaza, governor of Peikthalauk) was formally crowned and installed as King of Yodaya. His Burman Majesty then entrusted the newly crowned King with one hundred ticals of silver and thirteen viss of gold to be devoted to repairing old pagodas and sacred shrines. He also requested the new King to perform the customary obsequies to the body of the deceased King Bra Thadiyaza which had been kept embalmed.

The Burmese history makes no mention of the fate of Bra Mahein the deposed King; Sir Arthur Phayre suggests that either the unfortunate King was put to death or he committed suicide.

On Friday the 6th. of waxing Tazaungmôn 931 (A. D. 1569, that is sixteen days after the coronation of Oya Damayaza, King Kyawdin Nawrata left Yodaya for Peikthalauk on his way to Linzin, and his adventures or rather misadventures in Linzin territory, for his army was decimated by starvation and disease, will form the subject of the next paper.



19. A viss is equal to 3.65 lbs. Avoirdupois. The Burmese word "Peiktha" is generally used in the sense of catty, but it is always 100 ticals and not 80 ticals as in Siam.

20. Nakon Luang; probably Nakon Wat.

MENT OF THE
SIR ARTHUR P. PHAYRE'S ACCOUNT WITH PAPER.
NARRATIVE CONTAINED IN THE FIFTH

: o :
—————

For three years there was a pause in the wars and commotions which had so long disturbed and devastated the country. The king of Lengzeng still gave trouble to the Burmese officers, but his territory of Zimmè, but his son-in-law came in and made his submission. Everything looked promising; the capital of Pegu was a scene of splendour exceeding all known in its past history; and trading ships from Europe, from India, and from Malacca, freely entered the sea ports. With continued peace the country might soon have recovered the terrible loss of population, and the distant decrease of agriculture, which the incessant wars in indulgent countries, rendered lasting peace impossible. An enemy, granted, it may be, from a generous feeling towards a fallen king, hastened the catastrophe, which probably it was hoped of Siam showing confidence, be averted. The deposed king in a country had become a Rahan, and was permitted to go to his own captivity, to worship. His son, who had been his companion in children, died, and his widow was allowed to return home with her stages for Bramahin, the tributary king, when there were no hopes of restoring his loyalty, soon began to take measures for asserting her independence. In this he was supported by his father, who abandoned his monk's habit, and secretly influenced every thing of authority, if he did not openly assume it. Bureng Naung at once made preparations for another invasion of Siam. The brother-in-law of the tributary king, who was governor of Pitsalauk, a stronghold on a branch of the Upper Menam, refused to support the revolt, and held his post for the king of kings. Bureng Naung collected a vast army, which, including followers, may have numbered two hundred thousand men, and marching from Martaban, relieved the fort of Pitsalauk, which had been besieged by the Siamese. He then moved down to attack the capital, after having made arrangements to hold the country of the Upper Menam. The Siamese were determined to make a desperate defence, and the invader could only hope to reduce the city by famine. After four months no effect had been produced, but the old king died. Bramahin made offers of surrender, which, with unusual candour,

Second
invasion of
Siam,
October,
A. D. 1568.

were not accepted, the loss. The king of Naung, leaving Lengzeng approached to relieve the city. Bureng proceeded him his most trusted officer, Binya Dala, in command, was defeated himself with half his force to meet the king of Laos, who Affairs halted. The invader then returned to renew the seige. One of his desert, and Siamese adherents, a noble of high rank, pretending to with joy entered the city with irons on his legs. He was received his treachery Bramahin, and appointed to a high command. Through the besiegerous machinations one of the city gates was opened, and The city was entered in the night, after a siege of seven months. The king made prisoner, and either was put to death or committed suicide. The king of kings remained in Yuthia for two months, and appointed King. King, a member of the Zimmè royal family, tributary

August,
A. D. 1569.
Capital
taken.

1. In the history of Siam the prominent events of this invasion and siege coincide with the account given in the Burmese history; but the date assigned for the capture of the city is 1555. The Venetian traveller Cæsar Fredericke, who was in Pegu and the neighbouring countries apparently from 1567 to 1569, places the "coming home of the king" from this war in 1569. By the Burmese history he arrived home in 1570. See Bowring's Siam, vol. I. p. 51.

VI.

Introduction.

It was with the deposition of King Bra Mahein and the raising of Oya Damayaza, governor of Peikthalauk, to the throne of Yodaya by King Kyawdin Nawrata that the last preceding paper ended. Aukhya Setki to whose treachery the fall of Yodaya was mainly attributable, was, as promised, offered the governorship of Peikthalauk with the rank and insignia of Thenabadi (Senāpati), an offer which he declined to accept, requesting that he might be permitted to serve the Burmese King with residence at Hanthawaddy. In compliance with the wishes of the Siamese nobleman, His Burman Majesty conferred on him the title of Binnya and made him governor of Dagôn. As a further mark of royal favour, he was permitted to succeed to the property and possessions, as well as the retainers of the unfortunate Binnya Set who, in company with his lieutenant Saw Taing Kan, had been executed for having been so neglectful of his duties during the siege of Yodaya as to have made it possible for the Siamese to seize a few firearms and burn a few huts in his camp. In Burma, of old days, the giving of one man's property to another, a perfect stranger, was not uncommon; and in this connection it may be explained that the Burmese King was theoretically and practically the master of the life, person, and property of his subjects, and the owner of every inch of land over which he ruled. Neglect or disobedience of the King's commands was almost as grave an offence as high treason and the punishment for it included confiscation of property. So when Binnya Set was made to pay the penalty of his neglect with the sacrifice of his head, his property was confiscated, that is, it reverted to the King who, as it were, simply resumed what he had graciously permitted Binnya Set to retain possession of during His Majesty's license and pleasure; and such property could again be disposed of just as His Majesty pleased.

Then the question of an expedition to Linzin to bring its King into submission and subjection was mooted, King Kyawdin Nawrata opening the question with a veiled desire in favour, and calling on all his generals to express their opinion. After the trouble and suffering of an arduous and protracted siege lasting nearly eight months, everyone of them would have been glad to

return to their homes from which they had been away quite a year, but knowing in which direction His Majesty's wishes inclined, not only were they unanimous in their opinion in favour of the expedition, but each in turn made most loyal speeches, coming forward to fight to the best of his ability in order to show his gratitude for past royal favours, and undertaking to meet the King of Linzin in single combat. The reason brought forward by the generals was that the King of Linzin had been a principal factor in the Kings of Yodaya lightly throwing off their allegiance to His Burman Majesty and often breaking out in open rebellion, because they had always relied on the assistance of their chief ally of Linzin; and therefore until the King of Linzin had been deprived of his power and influence and reduced to vassalage there could be no lasting peace with Yodaya. King Kyawdin Nawrata adduced his main reason that in raising Sawbwa Thaugkyi to the throne of Yodaya, there might be some of the nobility who secretly disliked their new sovereign, and Sawbwa Thaugkyi had as yet no time to create a sufficiently powerful nobility of his own to stand by him in case of need; therefore if the King of Linzin chose to invade Yodaya, the newly crowned King would fall an easy victim to the intrigue and treachery of the discontented section of the nobility; and moreover, he would be handicapped in the defence of his capital being poorly provided with big guns, as it was the intention of His Burman Majesty to send away all the big artillery to Hanthawaddy. Hence the urgent necessity to render the King of Linzin powerless in order to dispel from his mind any such ambitious designs to conquer lower Siam. Binnya Dala concurred with His Majesty's opinion and extolled the foresight displayed. Having thus unanimously agreed to march to Linzin direct from Yodaya, King Kyawdin Nawrata sent back to Hanthawaddy his queen Sanda Dewi (Candā Devi) and her female attendants, the sick and the disabled men, and also all the big guns seized in the capture of Yodaya. The escort consisted of about 10,000 men under the command of Nanda Kyawdin and Baya Kyawdin, and the big war boats were used as transport probably as far as Kamphengphet.

The new King of Yodaya then presented his young daughter Bra Thawun who was only seventeen years of age, by way of showing his gratitude and indebtedness to his suzerain; and the pros-

pect of obtaining this youthful and most likely a lovely consort was very probably the motive in sending back the old and perhaps a jealous queen. This young queen together with fifteen concubines accompanied His Burman Majesty to Linzin.

—: o:—

On Friday the 6th of waning Tazaungmôn¹ Chula Sakkaraj 931 (A. D. 1569.) King Kyawdin Nawrata left Yodaya for Linzin, via Peikthalauk. He himself travelled in a richly gilded royal barge, and of the army, some by land and some by water. At Peikthalauk the army was divided into two columns, the Maha Upayaza, the King of Prome, and the King of Ava, each with eleven brigades forming one column, were ordered to take the route via Lagun Kalauk; while the King of Toungoo with eleven brigades, the governor of Tharawaddy with five, and Binnya Gyandaw with four all in the van, and King Kyawdin Nawrata in the rear, forming the other column, marched in the direction of Kyauktaung (lit: stone-hill), and thence to Thaungyet, and thence again to Maing-San. It took about three months for the latter column to reach the Mè Kaung² river and encamped on the bank opposite the town of Maing-San. A council of war was then held in which the question discussed was, whether an immediate attack should be made on Maing-San after crossing the river or whether they should throw up fortifications on the bank opposite the town to give shelter and rest to the sick and the disabled, and defer the attack till the fortifications were completed. One Min Maha, a nobleman, said that in all the previous encounters of the King of Linzin with the Burmese, the unfortunate King had never once scored any success; therefore there must be some reason in his making such a bold stand with his forces both by land and by water. The wary nobleman was of opinion that it was not advisable to commence the attack without first making a thorough survey and reconnoissance, especially as the enemy had the advantage of a large force by water, the Burmese having no boats at all. He suggested building war boats, while at the same time waiting for the arrival of the column under the Maha Upayaza and two others which had taken the route through Lagun Kalauk.

-
1. November.
 2. Me Nam Khong.

King Kyawdin Nawrata approved of the suggestion made by Min Maha, and orders were issued to every brigade to fell wood in a forest of "Letpan"³ trees and build boats. The whole army was kept at the work day and night with the result that in three weeks three hundred big war boats and two hundred royal barges were finished. Some of the war boats were painted with vermilion and some of the royal barges were gilded. The corps of royal bargemen then manned the royal barges, and a portion of the army was ordered to take to the war boats, to each of which a commander and a lieutenant were appointed. The whole flotilla was placed under the command of Binnya Gyandaw.

As soon as the arrangements had been completed, to form a force by water in order to equalise the advantage which the King of Linzin might have had before, King Kyawdin Nawrata ordered the flotilla to attack Linzin's war boats which were under the command of Binnya Kwa. The Burmese cavalry 15,000 strong supported the attack of their comrades on the water. In the engagement the Burmese flotilla had the advantage of position, and the current was also in their favour as they were above their enemies on the river. Linzin's forces were defeated, Binnya Kwa and over 3,000 men were killed, and over 200 war boats and 2,000 men captured.

King Kyawdin Nawrata then used the war boats to form a bridge across the Mè Kaung river and crossed over with the whole force he had. The King of Linzin, not daring to oppose the crossing or able to withstand a siege, took to flight with his army, to find shelter in the woods; and His Burman Majesty entered Maing-San and occupied it without resistance. As was usual with the Burmese when a town had been taken, amusements in the way of music and dancing were indulged in.

The Maha Upayaza and the Kings of Ava and Prome who had gone in the direction of Lagun Kalauk could proceed only by slow marches owing to the large number of men and animals and the scarcity of provisions on the way. When approaching Lagun Kalauk they came upon a fairly big stream, on the other side of which was the town of Lagun Kalauk. On sounding the depth of the stream it was found that the surface of the water just touched the backs of

3. The Burmese name for Bobax Malabaricum.

the elephants. Therefore no bridge was constructed and the whole column crossed over, but how, it is not stated, probably some by swimming and some on the backs of the elephants. When they had crossed the river, Linzin's forces garrisoning Lagun Kalauk consisting of over 300 officers and 50,000 men, deserted the town and ran into the forest. The Maha Upayaza thus occupied the town without a struggle.

It was then about three months since they had parted from their Sovereign at Peikthalauk, and during that interval they had not heard any news of him; evidently the two routes chosen must have been a long way apart from each other, if not the two columns would certainly have kept in touch with each other. Neither did they get any information of the whereabouts of the King of Linzin. Therefore the Maha Upayaza and his two brother generals continued their march from Lagun Kalauk in the direction of Maing-San, leaving behind Binnya Paran with his brigade to garrison the town. This Binnya Paran was the same nobleman who, had incurred His Burman Majesty's displeasure and had consequently been deprived of his command, because while defending Peikthalauk against the combined forces of Siam and Linzin, he failed to follow up the King of Siam whose assault on the city he successfully repelled; subsequently, when the expedition against Linzin started he was given back his brigade and permitted to take part in the campaign. They marched along the banks of the Mè Kaung, probably because there were greater facilities for obtaining provisions and water.

King Kyawdin Nawrata stayed at Maing-San for five days, and leaving the King of Toungoo with a force of 50,000 men to hold the town and attend to the sick, the disabled, and the fatigued, he started in pursuit of the King of Linzin. After three marches he came to a big lake, when Binnya Thane Lôn one of Chiengmai's chief nobleman told His Burman Majesty that the King of Linzin had been accustomed to keep a military force on some of the islands in the lake and that it would be advisable to take every possible precaution, because, he said, the King of Linzin who was very resourceful would certainly take full advantage of any careless move. A halt was at once ordered and a search for boats was made to explore the lake but none were to be found. Then rafts were constructed, and

having taken a few guns on them the lake was explored in several directions. In the middle of the lake an island was found inhabited by about 3000 people including men, women, and children; these unfortunate islanders were captured and brought over to the Burmese King. His Burman Majesty then continued his pursuit, and after four marches met the forces under the Maha Upayaza and two others. The King of Linzin had kept himself in hiding in the forest but had been always watching to strike a blow; when he knew that the two columns had joined he gave up hope of facing his enemy and went deeper into the forest.

The whole army again continued the pursuit of the flying King, but as the marches were rather forced and the villages few and far between in a tract sparsely populated, sufficient provisions to feed this large army of men and animals could not be obtained, with the result that they were not only fatigued with continual marching but half starved from want of regular meals. Many died of disease, starvation, and exhaustion but the pursuit was still persisted in, notwithstanding the fact that nobody knew where the King of Linzin was and whether the route chosen brought the pursuers towards or took them away from him. At last while camping at a place called Kabaung, a foot soldier went away from the camp in search of food. He was captured by some men from Linzin's army and taken into the presence of their Sovereign. On being questioned, he told his captors that his army had lost many men from disease and starvation and it was in great difficulties. At this the King of Linzin was very glad and said that it was not through fear that he did not meet his enemy at first, but that he was simply waiting for a favourable opportunity to strike the blow when they had been reduced to straits through hunger and sickness. Therefore making up his mind to face his foe, he constructed a wooden stockade with a moat surrounding it at a place about ten miles from Kabaung and occupied his stronghold with a force of 400 elephants and 80,000 men.

Subsequently, King Kyawdin Nawrata received information that the King of Linzin was in a fortified camp in a forest not far from where he was; therefore he issued orders to his generals to get ready, as he would march at once. But the men had by

this time been reduced to an acute stage of starvation. They had been subsisting on edible fruits, leaves, roots, bulbs etc., in the forest; and even these becoming scarce, there were many who had had nothing substantial to eat for three or four days, and had been obliged to turn to whatever was accessible, and feed on such coarse fare as reeds and water plants, to obtain what relief possible from the pangs of hunger. Still His Majesty's order must be obeyed, and they marched straining what little strength there was left in them, being probably buoyed up also with the hope that if once the object of their search was found and the result decided, there would be an end to their random wandering.

On arrival within a distance of about two miles from the place where the King of Linzin remained fortified, King Kyawdin Nawrata proposed to his generals that he would fight the King of Linzin singly, but in this he was dissuaded by them, saying that while they were yet alive it was not for His Burman Majesty to engage in single combat a petty monarch who was not an equal of His Burman Majesty in rank, wealth, or power. Everyone was eager to face the King of Linzin in single combat.

Then Binnya Dala went to the King of Prome and told him that it would be unadvisable to attack at once as the men had been unable to obtain any food the last three or four days, and were scarcely able to handle their weapons; some stragglers who, owing to starvation, had not been able to keep up with the march were still lagging wearily on. The King of Prome replied that what the Binnya had told him was only too true; nay, he himself could not get his last meal as no rice was to be obtained either for love or for money. Although fifty ticals had been offered for a "salè"⁴ of rice yet no rice was forthcoming. He said, "If we cannot get our meals what more to say of the poor private". He sent one Turin Theikdi (Turing Siddhi) to accompany Binnya Dala to King Kyawdin Nawrata to explain the condition of the army. His Burman Majesty seeing Binnya Dala come, requested his trusty counsellor to come closer to him, and enquired of the cautious nobleman what he thought of the intended immediate attack. Binnya Dala though far-seeing in

4. A Burmese measure of rice equal to $\frac{1}{8}$ of a gallon or about one Kanan.

many respects must, on this occasion, have erred in judgment on account of the misery and suffering which prevailed throughout the rank and file of the whole army, and the unexpected and apparently bold stand made by the King of Linzin who, he thought, had been driven to bay and had therefore resolved to fight wildly to the last. Guided by these considerations he advised his Sovereign, after many prostrations, to postpone the attack till the next morning, as the day was fast approaching its close. While His Burman Majesty was thus engaged in consultation with his faithful counsellor, the King of Prome came and told him that if the King of Linzin would only remain in his stronghold overnight, he would undertake to capture the crafty King without fail. His Burman Majesty was thus prevailed upon to encamp for the night and postpone the attack till the next morning.

The Maha Upayaza who, from past experience of the ways and methods of the King of Linzin, could form a better estimate of the slippery King's courage and war tactics, was averse to this postponement of the attack. He went to his father and told him that if the King of Linzin was to be captured, it must be done that evening, because His Burman Majesty would see no more of him the next day, as he would certainly take to flight in the night. King Kyawdin Nawrata, probably offended at the way his son tried to reason with him on a point he had already made up his mind, silenced further argument by asking the young intruder evasively, and perhaps in a sarcastic tone, whether he was not desirous of the flight of the King of Linzin. The Maha Upayaza had perforce to stop any further discussion, but he could not help giving vent to his discontent and chagrin by grumbling to the officers under him that his father's views and his were quite at variance. He said that as soon as the invading army had reached Yodaya he had suggested to his father to make one supreme effort and reduce the capital in one assault, but His Majesty had thought otherwise and relied only on his mound of earth; and the consequence had been that a very large number of men and animals had been sacrificed and the operations had been protracted to a wearying length of time. Then since leaving Yodaya, they had been praying to get a sight of the King of Linzin; and now that he had been found, the necessary immediate action was not taken; the inevitable result of this delay would be that the King of

Linzin would take to flight in the night, and orders would again be issued for this wild-goose chase, to the great misery, suffering, and disgust of the men.

The Burmese historian, probably to show to what straits the Burmese army had been reduced then, mentions that King Kyawdin Nawrata saw a Shan private, belonging to the picked body-guard regiment, pull out thatch grass and devour it. On His Burman Majesty enquiring the reason of his action, the Shan private told his Sovereign that he had been obliged to eat grass because he had not had any meal for the last three days and the hunger from which he had been suffering had been very great. King Kyawdin Nawrata at once ordered the distribution, to all the men in the body-guard brigades, of the rice which had been cooked, dried, and ground, that was in the possession of officers who had charge of stores and provisions.

Expecting to be attacked early the next morning, the King of Linzin made preparations to give the Burmese a fitting reception; and if he had been guided by no other counsel than his own he would certainly have fought the Burmese with the courage of a man brought to bay; and whatever the result might have been, the battle would at least have saved him from the evil reputation he had enjoyed among the Burmese, of always taking to his heels when brought to close quarters, and from the continual charge of cowardice brought against him. But his chief noble Binnya Thane advised him to give up the idea of fighting the Burmese, saying that their enemies had 5,300 elephants, 53,000 horse, and 550,000 men, whereas they had only 400 elephants and 80,000 men, and the disproportion was such that their defeat would be certain. The King of Linzin said that the strength of the Burmese might have been so at the commencement of the invasion of Yodaya, but in the meantime they had lost a good many of their forces in the siege of the Siamese capital, and subsequently from sickness and hunger in the operations in Linzin territory; and that therefore the time was most opportune to fight the Burmese with a hope of success. But Binnya Thane persisted in saying that success was out of the question and that defeat was beyond doubt. He recounted the reverses which they had suffered at every encounter they had had with the Burmese, namely, at Naung-Han when Binnya Nan had been killed in an engagement, and in another, Thane Lôn Yazawut had very

nobly met his death ; then in the siege of Peikthalauk the combined forces of Yodaya and Linzin had been unable to subdue the comparatively small force commanded by only three Binnyas ; and lastly at Inthagaw, by trusting to the false representations of the Siamese nobleman Oya Ram, their army had suffered a signal defeat. Now only on the strength of the statement made by a solitary captive which might after all turn out to be untrue, to assume that the Burmese had been so reduced in numbers and so weakened by privations that they would not be able to fight as usual was absurd. Binnya Thane further said that Linzin territory was very extensive and there was ample room for Linzin's King and army to wander about and seek shelter till such time as the invaders got wearied and thought fit to leave the territory. The King of Linzin was at last prevailed upon by his chief noble, and he again took to flight under cover of night.

It was only on the next morning that the Burmese King found out that the bird had again flown, no doubt to the great disgust of his son the Maha Upayaza. The King of Linzin must have left his stronghold in a hurry to take full advantage of the whole night, because a quantity of grain and provisions was left behind which formed a welcome prize to the Burmese in the depleted state of their own stores.

King Kyawdin Nawrata then consulted his generals as to the next step to be taken. The Maha Upayaza who must have been very sore that his suggestion had been discarded, was the first to propose the return to Hanthawaddy, saying that they would not see the King of Linzin for many months more ; and that as the rains were approaching and the troops had already suffered much from want, wearying marches, and sickness, it would be best to return home. He was seconded by the King of Prome and supported by others. His Burman Majesty yielded to the general opinion, and the whole army retraced their steps to Maing-San in the month of Tagu. ⁵ On arrival at Maing-San, Binnya Paran died of illness and he was buried with full honours. He had been left by the Maha Upayaza at Lagun Kalauk to garrison the town ; but subsequently Lagun Kalauk must have been abandoned, and Binnya Paran ordered to rejoin the main

army. Binnya Paran's son was permitted to succeed to the command of his father's brigade with the title of Binnya Set. Binnya Law who, together with Binnya Paran, had been degraded and deprived of his command, for want of zeal and energy in defending the siege of Peikthalauk, was given back his former rank and title as well as his command. From Maing-San His Burman Majesty went to Peikthalauk which was reached in the month of Nayôn ⁶; after staying there five days he left it on the 7th of waxing Nayôn and reached Hanthawaddy on Saturday the 10th of waxing Wazo ⁷ Chula Sakkaraj 932 (A. D. 1570).



SIR ARTHUR P. PHAYRE'S ACCOUNT OF THE
NARRATIVE CONTAINED IN THE SIXTH PAPER.

—: o :—

Bureng
Naung
marches
into Laos
without
success.

Bureng Naung sent back by the nearest route to Pegu all sick and disabled men, with the plunder he had reserved and prisoners of importance; but with untiring energy he determined himself to follow up the King of Lengzeng. He proceeded with his hale and unwounded men to Pitsalauk, and from thence directed the march to the north-east of the several divisions of his army. In a few days he followed, and encamped on the right bank of the Mekong opposite Maingzan. Some of the divisions passed the river higher up and moved down the left bank. As Bureng Naung was prepared to cross by a bridge of boats, the enemy evacuated the city. The place was made a depôt for stores and for the sick, the King of Taungu being placed in command, and Bureng Naung himself marched in pursuit of the enemy. The King of Laos was too wary to come to an engagement, and the invaders were soon wearied by long marches in a mountainous country, and by want of food. They returned to Maingzan thoroughly exhausted, and the whole army recrossing the Mekong, marched back to Pitsalauk. Bureng Naung, pushing on to his capital, arrived there a month later. Of the original army which marched against Siam, very few men survived to reach their own country.

June A. D.
1570.

