
INTERCOURSE BETWEEN BURMA AND SIAM AS

RECORDED IN HMANNAN YAZAWINDAWGYI.

PREFACE.

In offering now the continuation of the translation of such portions of the Hmannan Yazawindawgyi which have reference to the intercourse between Siam and Burma, I feel that I must apologise for the long delay in getting the translation ready for publication.

The subject matter contained in this number of the Journal is what is given in the third volume of the Hmannan history, and it closes with the account of the temporary rise of the Talaings in power, immediately before a new dynasty was founded by Alaungpra, who, subsequently, overthrew the Talaings and brought Burma proper and Hanthawadi under one united rule.

The intercourse, between Siam and Burma, continued in the reign of Alaungpra and of his successors, and it did not come to end till the close of reign of King Bodawpaya. It will probably take another number of the Journal to publish the translation of the record of such intercourse, as given in the remainder of the Hmannan history, which has been edited with additional matter bringing the Burmese history up to the British annexation of Upper Burma, and published under the name of "Kônbaungzet Maha Yazawindawgyi." I hope to be able to get the translation ready for publication by about this time next year.

I desire to express my thanks to Mr. B. O. Cartwright, B. A., for his kindness in looking over the proofs and making such corrections as were necessary.

Bangkok

February 29th 1912.

NAI THIEN.

CONTENTS.

	Page.
I. King Kyawdin Nawrata's unsuccessful attempt to put Uparit on the throne of Linzin	1
Sir A. P. Phayre's account of the same events ...	8
II. King Kyawdin Nawrata marched to Linzin and put Uparit on the throne	9
Sir A. P. Phayre's account of the same narrative ...	19
III. King Kyawdin Nawrata appoints his son Nawratazaw as tributary king of Zinmè	21
Sir A. P. Phayre's account of the same narrative ...	28
IV. Trouble in Linzin and assistance sent from Hantha- wadi. King Kyawdin Nawrata's preparations to invade Arakan, and his sudden death	30
Sir A. P. Phayre's account of the same narrative ...	34
V. King Kyawdin Nawrata's son ascended the throne. King Bra Narit of Yodaya regained indepen- dence. Two unsuccessful invasions of Siam by the Burmese	36
Sir A. P. Phayre's account of the same narrative ...	45
VI. Two unsuccessful invasions of Siam by the Burmese. Break up of the Burmese Empire. King Bra Narit invaded Hanthawadi twice. Death of the supreme king	47
Sir A. P. Phayre's account of the same narrative ...	59
VII. Burmese Empire again consolidated by Nyaung-yan Min and his son. Career of the Portuguese adven- turer, Philip de Brito	61
Sir A. P. Phayre's account of the same narrative ...	78
VIII. Decline of the power of Burmese kings. Feeble attempts to invade Siam. Rise in power of the Talaings	88
Sir A. P. Phayre's account of the same narrative ...	104

APPENDIX.

Traditional account of the humble origin of Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata	117
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CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA.

- Page 2, line 20 from top, insert figure 1 within bracket after 'position.'
- Page 4, line 20 from bottom, for 2000 read 20,000.
- Page 13, line 9 from bottom, for (A.D. 1564-164) read (A. D. 1564-1565.).
- Page 24, line 11 from top, for 'governor' read 'governor.'
- Page 32, line 3 from top, insert 'made' after 'copies' and delete 'made' in next line.
- Page 32, line 10 from top, for 'Nyang-ywe' read 'Nyaung-ywe.'
- Page 32, line 11 from top, for 'harekittara' read 'Tharekittara.'
- Page 36, lines 11 and 12 from bottom, insert 'father's' between words 'his' and 'half.'
- Page 37, line 4 from top, for 'myspathiser' read 'sympathiser.'
- Page 37, line 19 from bottom, for 'desgn' read 'design.'
- Page 41, line 2 from top, insert comma after 'Binnya Paran.'
- Page 42, line 12 from bottom, insert 'the' before 'King.'
- Page 61, line 7 from top, insert full stop after 'Toungoo.'
- Page 62, top line, for 'Naung-yan' read 'Nyaung-yan.'
- Page 65, top line, insert 'two' between 'the' and 'sovereigns.'
- Page 66, line 8 from top, for 'be fallen' read 'befallen.'
- Page 67, line 14 from bottom, delete 'as' before 'authority.'
- Page 68, line 8 from top, delete comma after 'next,' and insert comma after 'year.'
- Page 71, line 18 from bottom, for 'againg' read 'Sagaing.'
- Page 71, line 17 from bottom, for 'hinking' read 'thinking.'
- Page 76, line 16 from top, for 'rebeled' read 'rebelled.'
- Page 81, line 11 from bottom, from 'dant' delete 't' and insert hyphen.
- Page 101, lines 5 and 17 from top, for 'Ne-ko' read 'Nè-ko.'
- Page 107, line 5 from top, for 'rome' read 'l'rome.'
- Page 118, line 13 from bottom, for 'tprecepts' read 'precepts.'
- Page 119, line 12 from bottom, for 'his' read 'this.'

INTRODUCTION.

The last of a series of translations from the Hmannan-Yazawindawgyi ended with an account of a fruitless expedition undertaken by King Kyawdin Nawrata, immediately after his capture of Yodaya, against the King of Linzin with the object of crushing his power and reducing him to vassalage in order to prevent him from entertaining any aggressive designs against the new King of Yodaya whom King Kyawdin Nawrata had only recently placed on the throne, after having deposed King Bra Mahein. Fruitless was the expedition in that the objects aimed at were not realized, and His Burman Majesty had to return to Hanthawadi after his army had suffered most miserably by reason of sickness, starvation and wearisome marches. He reached Hanthawadi in Wazo of Chula Sakkaraj 932, and for two years there was a lull in his martial activity. Some time in the year 934 (A. D. 1570) his attention was directed to Linzin owing to the King of Linzin having died, and the throne having been seized by one of the nobles. The following is an account of his interference in the affairs of Linzin.

About a year after King Kyawdin Nawrata had left Linzin territory, the country must have sufficiently recovered from the effects of the devastation caused by the presence of the Burmese forces, to enable King Bra-Sè-Zit of Linzin to invade Lawaik. The invasion proved disastrous to the invader, for he was killed in the fight and part of his army captured by the King of Lawaik.

Then one of Linzin's nobles, Binnya Thane by name or rather title, seized the opportunity to place himself on the throne, by assuming command of the

remaining forces and killing those of the nobles who would not acquiesce in his assumption of sovereign authority. He not only usurped the throne but also appointed his son as heir-apparent, with the title of Binnya Lagun.

News of the events in Linzin must have reached King Kyawdin Nawrata during the early part of Chula Sakkaraj 934 (A. D. 1570). He lost no time in summoning his sons, brothers and ministers, and telling them that Linzin was an established and recognized kingdom, and the custom with all kingdoms was that on the demise of a king, the deceased's son succeeded to the throne, and in the absence of a son, the deceased's next younger brother became the rightful heir. He then pointed out that on the death of King Bra-Sè-Zit of Linzin, his younger brother Uparit (Uparaja), who was then in Hanthawadi having been taken there a captive, but whom His Burman Majesty very nobly maintained in honour and dignity, befitting his birth and position () was the rightful heir to succeed to the throne of Linzin. He said that he looked upon Uparit as one of his own sons and that while Uparit was still alive, the usurpation of the throne by Binnya Thane was not right.

Binnya Dala, who was generally the first speaker in King Kyawdin Nawrata's councils, said that as Binnya Thane did not belong to the royal house of Linzin, it was very likely that the nobility would not acquiesce so readily in the usurpation, and if such should be the case it would not be necessary to send an army, but a royal message should be sufficient: if a message failed to accomplish the desired end, then it might be time for an armed expedition. King Kyawdin Nawrata approved of Binnya Dala's suggestion and ordered him to carry it out to the best of

(1) See previous translation paper IV, pages 40 & 43 of Siam Society Journal Vol. V. part I.

his discretion. After consulting with the other nobles, Binnya Dala had the message worded to the following effect :—

That Linzin was a kingdom, and the ancient usage with the Kings of Linzin was that on the demise of a King, his son should succeed him ; that Uparit a son of the old King of Linzin and a younger brother of the deceased Bra-Sè-Zit, the King who last occupied the throne of Linzin, was still alive at Hanthawadi being treated by His Burman Majesty as his own son ; that while a rightful heir to the throne was still living it was not right for Binnya Thane to usurp it ; that Binnya Thane should make over the Kingdom to the rightful heir, and that he would not be degraded from his former position and rank as a noble of the realm.

Two nobles Thamandarar and Turin Kyawthu were chosen as envoys and entrusted with the mission to Linzin. It proved a complete failure, for not only were the envoys received with indignity but an attempt was made to murder them ; and murdered they would have been, had not Binnya Thane's spiritual preceptor Maharat interposed by timely counsel that there never had been heard among kings of old, of any instance in which envoys were murdered or injured. Maharat also reminded Binnya Thane that his Majesty of Hanthawadi was not a usurper with no following but a mighty sovereign surrounded by sons, sons-in-law, brothers, and nobles, and possessed of a vast army of well-equipped forces of elephants, horse and men ; and that every time he had marched into Linzin, no resistance could be offered him, and the country had been invariably laid waste by him.

The two envoys returned with more haste than would be in keeping with the dignity of their office, by retracing their steps day and night. On arrival at Hanthawadi they reported the result of their

mission. King Kyawdin Nawrata was highly incensed but he controlled his temper and simply reproached his sons, brothers and nobles for their ingratitude, saying that not one of them would come forward to render self-sacrificing service, even though they knew that the young usurper of Linzin had the audacity to treat his message with scant ceremony and show a defiant attitude, and the young governors of Mogaung and Mo-hnyin were in open rebellion. Binnya Dala then told his sovereign that he would proceed to Thanug-yet a town on the frontier of Linzin and try to reason with Binnya Thane to make him see the futility of his attempt to go against the wishes of His Majesty, and only when measures on a small scale such as the one proposed by him failed, should organized invasion by all the generals be resorted to. This suggestion met with His Majesty's approval and Binnya Dala was accordingly ordered to go.

Binnya Dala took from the capital 200 elephants, 2,000 horse and 20,000 men; 100 elephants, 1,000 horse and 10,000 men under his own personal command, and the remainder under the command of Thamein (Sming) Paik-nyè. They made their way direct to Thaung-yet. Orders were at the same time sent to Zimmè for Binnya Thane Lôn and Binnya Than-lan to march to Thaung-yet with a force of 100 elephants, 1,000 horse and 10,000 men between them, and to assist Binnya Dala; and also to Yodaya for Oya Peikthalauk, Oya Thuwunnalauk, Oya Peiksè to proceed to Thaung-yet with 300 elephants, 1,500 horse and 30,000 men and to co-operate with Binnya Dala. The Burmese general hastened to Thaung-yet without waiting on the way to pick up his auxiliaries. After arrival at his destination he found the usurper took no steps whatever either to parley or to fight. He consequently sent a message worded to the following effect:—that owing to Binnya Thane's failure to go to Hanthawadi and report to King Kyawdin Nawrata of the events that had happened

in Linzin, he, the chief minister (lit: Agga Mahā Senapati) of his mighty sovereign, lord of crowned kings and master of many white elephants, was ordered to come out and bring about a settlement; if peaceable means failed to do that, His Majesty himself would invade the country with his mighty army; and Binnya Thane was asked to take advice to see that a settlement was effected. The governors of Linpate and Zapan were sent from Thaung-yet, and on arrival at Linzin they delivered their message. They narrowly escaped being murdered, because Binnya Thane's attempt to kill them was not carried into execution on account of the counsel of his spiritual adviser Maharat who said that an attempt to kill envoys was not a kingly conduct, and that on the previous occasion when an attempt had been made to kill the envoys of King Kyawdin Nawrata, his counsel had prevailed, and so had been the means of saving the situation. The messengers were shown a military display of the best elephants and horse, and then dismissed with the following words of defiance from Binnya Thane:—"In coming to fight me, Binnya Dala is out of consideration. Even if King Kyawdin Nawrata were to come himself, he can conquer me only when he has broken the tusks of my elephant."

The messengers told Binnya Dala what Binnya Thane had said to them. Binnya Dala, moved more by hasty anger than by sound judgment, said he would march immediately and fight the army of Linzin. But he was soon brought round to his better reason when his lieutenants pointed to him the inadequacy of the forces under him; and they also told him that they thought his decision to fight then was rash, because the auxiliaries from Zinmè and Yodaya had not yet arrived, and during the two months they had been staying at Thaung-yet, they had exhausted their provisions and the men were hard put to obtain fresh provisions, many of them being

already weak from starvation. Therefore, with the object first of finding provisions and secondly of effecting a union with the auxiliaries from Yodaya who were coming up by water, they thought it better to leave Thaung-yet and march by land towards the direction in which the auxiliaries were expected to be coming; and when they had obtained sufficient provisions and joined hands with those who were to co-operate with them, then only to make a general march against Linzin both by land and by water. Binnya Dala being fully aware of the condition of his army readily yielded to the general opinion and marched back in the direction of Yodaya, with the hope of meeting the forces from there.

Oya Peikthalauk and his brother commanders who were marching up by water received information that Binnya Dala had returned from Thaung-yet. They thought that the gallant general must have gained the object of his mission, and without waiting to obtain more definite and detailed information, they returned to their respective towns. The same thing happened with the auxiliaries from Zimmè, Binnya Thane Lôn and Binnya Thanlan returning to Zimmè, as soon as they heard that Binnya Dala was on the return march. They even sent on the news in advance to Hanthawadi. One cannot help suspecting the good faith of the three Oyas from Yodaya and the two Binnyas from Zimmè, considering how slow they were in coming and how quick were they in jumping to a conclusion which gave them a ready excuse to return. However, the Burmese historian of the time had no such suspicions whatever.

King Kyawdin Nawrata was very angry with Binnya Dala. He was not even permitted to return to Hanthawadi but was given five attendants and made to reside at a place called Zanet in Siamese territory, probably not very far from Kaman-paik (Kamphengpet). All his lieutenants were put in the

cangue and taken to Hanthawadi in that condition. After an enquiry they were deprived of their rank, slaves, and attendants. When Binnya Dala had resided at Zanet about five months, the King of Yodaya took pity on him and removed him to Kaman-paik, as Zanet was a very unhealthy place. The removal was reported to Hanthawadi and no objection was made. Poor Binnya Dala did not long survive to enjoy the kindly interest taken in him by the King of Yodaya, as he died about a month after his arrival at Kaman-paik.

The Burmese historian then narrates how, on three occasions, Binnya Dala treacherously attempted to take the life of King Kyawdin Nawrata and how on each occasion the guilt was brought home to him. Yet, he says, with rare forbearance His Burman Majesty spared the life of Binnya Dala, recognizing his skill in diplomacy and in warfare, as well as his bravery. But when Binnya Dala failed to achieve anything in an expedition entrusted to him, His Burman Majesty could find no room for mercy or lenient treatment, as much as to say that he prized success in warfare more than his own life.

With the death in exile of Binnya Dala, King Kyawdin Nawrata's first and unsuccessful attempt to put his protégé on the throne of Linzin was brought to an end.

Sir A. P. Phayre's account of the same events.

In the year following the return of Bureng Naung there was a disturbance in the territories of Mogaung and Monyin, but it was suppressed without difficulty. Soon after, the king's great enemy, the king of Lengzeng, was killed in an attack he made on a town belonging to Cambodia. One of the prisoners who had been brought from Laos was Ubarit, brother to the deceased king. He consented, if placed on the throne of his native country, to be tributary to the Burmese monarch. An expedition was therefore sent under Binnya Dala. It was unsuccessful, and Bureng Naung, who never forgave a failure, either put to death the unfortunate general, hitherto a special favourite, or sent him into exile to a sickly place, where he soon died.

II.

INTRODUCTION.

One characteristic of King Kyawdin Nawrata is that failure very seldom affected his resolve to do anything. He was bent on putting Uparit on the throne of Linzin, and though Binnya Dala's expedition made especially for that purpose entirely failed, he did not abandon the idea of giving effect to his desire. Only two years elapsed from the time of Binnya Dala's death to that of an expedition to Linzin personally conducted by him. During those two years no events of real historical importance were recorded in the Hmannan history; but mention here may be made of two events, simply because they had reference to Siam: one is the arrival at Hanthawadi of a white elephant from Anan (Muang Nan) on Wednesday the 7th. of waning Thadingyut, Chula Sakkaraj 935, (October A. D. 1573), and the other is King Kyawdin Nawrata's donation of three hundred ticals for the repairs of Mahazedi pagoda at Zinmè in Nadaw (December) of the same year.

Almost simultaneously with the invasion of Linzin an expedition under the command of the King of Ava had to be sent to Mogaung and Mohnyin, two small Shan States which had given no end of trouble to King Kyawdin Nawrata. This expedition which consisted of fifteen regiments with a total force of 800 elephants 8,000 horse and 60,000 men started, most probably from Ava, on Thursday the 1st. of waning Thadingyut 936 (A. D. 1574); and it accounts for the absence of the King of Ava among the forces invading Linzin.

Towards the close of the rains in the year 936 King Kyawdin Nawrata summoned his sons, brothers, and nobles and re-opened the question of putting

Uparit on the throne of Linzin, saying that he himself would conduct the operations. No opinions were asked of anybody and orders were at once issued to mobilize an army. Considering how they had always fared in their operations against Linzin, a country hundreds of miles away from Hanthawadi, probably very sparsely populated and very unhealthy, and how her King invariably refused to come to close quarters and played the waiting game, the generals, in spite of their martial a flour, must have greatly demurred on that occasion, but they dared not breathe a word of dissent. Accordingly, the army was mobilized and was composed of the following forces:—one division consisting of 10 brigades with a total force of 600 elephants, 6,000 horse, 110,000 men under the command of the King of Toungoo; a similar force under the King of Prome formed another division; and a third under Maha Upayaza contained the same strength, but only five brigades belonged to Hanthawadi, the remaining five being made up of two brigades from Zimmè under the leadership of Binnya Thane-Lôn and Binnya Thanlan, and three from Yodaya under Oya Peikthalauk, Oya Thuwun-nalauk and Oya Peiksè. These auxiliary forces from Zimmè and Yodaya, must have joined the main army when it had reached Zimmè. His Majesty's body-guard consisted of 4000 foot lancers carrying shields, 4000 Mussulman fusiliers, and 400 Baringyi (Feringi) gunners, 4000 horsemen, and 400 war elephants ridden by noblemen's sons skilled in elephant riding. These units were distributed equally on the right and left and in front and rear. The start from Hanthawadi was made on Wednesday the 7th of waning Thadingyut 936 (October A. D. 1574).

When Binnya Thane heard that King Kyawdin Nawrata was approaching with a vast army, he sent away the best of his elephants and horses to be concealed in the dense forests, and made preparations to leave the city with his army. His son whom he

had appointed Uparaja appeared to be more patriotic, for he asked his father to face the danger boldly, saying that having usurped the throne and defied a powerful sovereign it would be highly reprehensible if a bold front were not shown and a stout resistance offered to the coming enemy, who would be sure to plunder and pillage the city if left to its fate and to lay waste the country as well. The father, however, would not listen to him, pointing out that it would be hopeless to fight the Burmans then, but by keeping himself out of the way for some time the enemy would be worn down and weakened by starvation and sickness in their attempt to find him, and that they could then be fought with better chance of success. The young patriot persisted, saying that in all their previous encounters with the forces from Hanthawadi, only the patriotic few dared face their foes in battle, while the rest took to flight at the very sight of them, thus causing panic and rout in their ranks and demoralising the whole army, at the same time giving encouragement to their enemy. He offered to fight King Kyawdin Nawrata's forces with about 100 of the best elephants and 8000 men chosen from among those who were related to themselves, and who would be willing to sacrifice their lives. The King of Linzin said it was useless to resist, with such an insignificant force, an enemy whom even Bra-Sè-Zit's vastly superior forces had always found irresistible. He found the nobles were divided in opinion, and such was his fear of conspiracy among them, (a fear engendered no doubt by his not being a descendant of the royal house of Linzin and by the insecurity of his position as King without a unanimous support of the nobility), that he surrounded over thirty dissentient and probably disaffected nobles with forty elephants and some troops, and killed them with shot and shell from an artillery fire. After this deed of heartless execution he left the town of Linzin.

King Kyawdin Nawrata thus occupied Linzin

without any opposition, but he was far from satisfied with such easy success, because he knew that as long as Binnya Thane was at large and would not relinquish his pretensions to the throne, there would be no enduring peace. His dissatisfaction found expression in continual reproach to his generals and commanders probably without sufficient reason for it. From his personal experience of Linzin territory and the tactics of her kings, he knew very well that to go in pursuit of Binnya Thane would simply mean toilsome marches with death from starvation and sickness among the pursuers. Therefore, with the intention of returning to Hanthawadi he had Maing-San fortified very strongly and stationed four brigades to garrison the town. He also built many granaries and, collecting all the available grain in the neighbourhood, had them filled with it. He sent off Uparit to Maing-San to stay there, while he himself remained in Linzin.

Then at every crossing of roads His Burman Majesty had written proclamations posted up. In the proclamations he declared that the object of his invasion of Linzin was, not to destroy Linzin and lay waste the country, but to put Uparit on the throne, who was a lineal descendant of the royal house of Linzin, and who moreover was the rightful heir in the line of succession after the death of King Bra-Sè-Zit; that a peaceful mission sent to Binnya Thane having failed to achieve the object, owing to the usurper's having shown a defiant attitude, he had come to depose Binnya Thane and raise Uparit to the throne; that it was not his intention to leave Linzin without having seen Binnya Thane. The proclamation concluded with an injunction that those who wished to avoid death and save their property and privileges from confiscation were to surrender themselves to Uparit at Maing-San. Uparit then prostrated himself three times before his august benefactor and said that such kindness as that he could not possibly repay fully even if he were to try and

do so during all his future existences before his attainment of nirvana. He expressed his anxiety about the trouble and hardship His Majesty, the generals and the army would be put to in the pursuit of the fugitive King. His Majesty assured Uparit that in coming to Linzin he had no other object than that of putting his protégé on the throne, and that he would not return to Hanthawadi until he had captured Binnya Thane and placed Uparit securely on the throne. Forthwith he issued orders to send out several columns in different directions to go in search of the fugitive.

Some of the officials and the wealthy people who had left the town and taken refuge in the woods, finding escape from the searching columns impossible, surrendered themselves to His Burman Majesty at Linzin. There were also many who, having seen the proclamations posted at the crossings of the roads, surrendered themselves to Uparit at Maing-San. Those who so surrendered themselves were not harmed in any way, nor were their property and privileges confiscated. But it was a hard lot for those who were hunted down in their places of hiding, for they were stripped of all their possessions and led captives to His Burman Majesty.

It will be remembered that when King Kyawdin Nawrata led his punitive expedition to Chiangmai in Chula Sakkaraj 926-927 (A. D. 1564-1 64),¹ the governors of Zinthane, Lagun, Anan or Nan and Turaing fled to Linzin disliking to be subject to Burman supremacy. Of these four, the governor of Zinthane was captured during the flight and taken away to Hanthawadi on the return of His Burman Majesty. The governor of Nan, or Binnya Nan as styled by the Burmese historian, was killed in the battle at Naungghan. Binnya Lagun, who was also

1, Paper IV, page 31. of Siam Society Journal. Vol. V., part 1.

present in the same engagement, escaped on horseback ; he, however, met his death in the expedition led by King Bra-Sè-Zit of Linzin against Lawaik. Therefore, there remained only the governor of Turaing or Binnya. Turaing who had since attached himself to Binnya Thane ; and he in common with others left Linzin, on the approach of the invading forces, for a place of safety in the forest. Unfortunately for him, he was found by one of the searching parties, captured and taken into the presence of King Kyawdin Nawrata, who, however, had him released of the bonds on his person, and bathed and dressed in a new suit of clothes. After which he was permitted to attend on His Burman Majesty in the same manner as the other nobles and officials, and treated as if His Burman Majesty were not in the least angry with him. Binnya Lagun must have been very much surprised at the kind treatment he received from his dreaded enemy, contrary to what he had probably anticipated ; he prostrated himself three times before His Majesty and extolled the Burmese monarch for the great forbearance shewn, saying that such compassion and mercy as was extended to him could only have come from an embryo Buddha ; he went even further by comparing the Burmese King with Buddha himself, when he said that the crime committed by him against His Burman Majesty might be compared to that committed by Devadatta against Buddha, and then with a touch extremely human, said that were he to be executed then he would certainly be born in one of the four apāyas (states of suffering) to undergo punishment. His Burman Majesty replied saying that he certainly was angry with the Binnya for his conduct, but remembering how difficult it was for anyone to be born in the human world, he tried to appease his anger to save a human life ; being flattered with the possession of divine virtues he could not but play the part of a divine being, if for no other reason than simply that of consistency.

One day an infantry man was able to capture nearly 40 refugees, both men and women. They were brought into the presence of King Kyawdin Nawrata, the men with wooden collars round their necks, and the women with ropes tied round their waists. Among them His Burman Majesty saw a man who would make a good soldier. He redeemed the man by paying the captor ten silver tical pieces. The man gave his name as Maing-Nan, and after having taken the oath of allegiance, he was employed to gather in the refugees and keep them in his village Maing Pai; not to be molested by the Burmese soldiery, he was given a sort of passport which would exempt him and his captives from seizure. In a short time he was able to gather in about 400 refugees whom he took to His Burman Majesty, who was very highly pleased with his own recruit and rewarded him. Maing-Nan was subsequently ordered to call in his relatives, rewarded with the governorship of Maing-Paw and given the insignia and privileges appertaining to such an appointment. The headmen of the villages neighbouring Linzin were called in, and they took the oath of allegiance. They were suitably rewarded and ordered to gather in the villagers who also took the oath, and who were permitted to return to their homes to pursue their usual vocations in peace.

Towards the close of the rains, King Kyawdin Nawrata thought that as long as he was present in Linzin territory, Binnya Thane would not dare expose himself, and that there would be a better chance of capturing him when he ventured out of his hiding place on his knowing that the enemy had left the country. Therefore he left Linzin and went to Maing-San via Naunghan. On arrival he administered the oath of allegiance to the nobles who had surrendered to Uparit. They were given suitable appointments according to their merits. Then Uparit took the oath to remain loyal and faithful to King Kyawdin Nawrata, his sons and grandsons, after which he was offered

the insignia of royalty and formally declared King of Linzin. His Burman Majesty then admonished the new King saying, " Because I look upon you, Uparit, as one of my own sons, I have come here myself to place you on the throne of Linzin. If you love me, you should love your subjects; and if you would promote my interests, you should have at heart the welfare and prosperity of your subjects." Knowing full well that Uparit's position was still insecure, he placed four brigades, under Binnya Gyan, Binnya Paran, Binnya Brè, and Binnya Thane Lôn, at Uparit's disposal.

Before leaving, King Kyawdin Nawrata fixed the weights and measures and made them the same as those in use in Hanthawadi. He gave Uparit ticals one hundred for the repair of pagodas, sîmas, monasteries, and salas. He left Maing-San on the 7th. of waning Kasôn 937 (May, A. D. 1575), and went to Zimmè, taking with him Binnya Turaing and the Zimmè nobles with the exception of Binnya Thane Lôn who, with his brigades, was left at Maing-San. After a short stay at Zimmè he left for Hanthawadi arriving at his capital on the 12th. of waning Wazo 937 (July, A. D. 1575).

King Kyawdin Nawrata must have been an exceedingly active and energetic man, for he allowed himself only three months' rest after the long march back from Linzin. He arrived in Hanthawadi during the early part of the rainy season, and at the close of it he was again on the move. Only a week before he himself started for Linzin, the King of Ava was despatched on an expedition to suppress the Sawbwas of Mogaung and Mo-hnyin. The result of the operations could not have been to King Kyawdin Nawrata's satisfaction, because he found it necessary to proceed to the two troublesome little States himself. He started from Hanthawadi on Saturday the 7th. of waning Thadingyut 937 (October, A. D. 1575).

In the meantime Binnya Thane, the usurper, having heard of the return of his great enemy, ventured out from his hiding place to try conclusions with Uparit and the four Binnyas who were left at Maing-San to assist the newly enthroned King. However, he and his son were captured by a stratagem. In all probability, he had made himself odious to his own followers by his suspicious and cruel nature, and the stratagem which the Burmese historian spoke of was nothing but the betrayal by some of his followers. Then a difference arose between Binnya Thane-Lôn and Uparit as to how Binnya Thane and his son were to be dealt with. The Zimmè noble wanted to send them to Hanthawadi while Uparit desired to keep them in Maing-San. Binnya Thane-Lôn appealed to the other three Binnyas, and being supported by them, they decided to take the two captives to Hanthawadi. The usurper and his son having been secured, the four Binnyas returned to Zimmè. The new King of Linzin presented each of them with an elephant complete with trappings and ten cloaks, and each of the four lieutenants with a pony complete with saddle and bridle and five viss of silver. From Zimmè, Binnya Gyan, Binnya Paran and Binnya Brè went to Hanthawadi with the unfortunate Binnya Thane and his son under a strong escort. As his Burman Majesty was still in Mogaung the two captives were sent up to where he was, and on arrival they were released from custody and allowed to remain in His Majesty's camp with comparative liberty and freedom.

The Maha Upayaza and the King of Ava who had been ordered to go in pursuit of the Sawbwa of Mogaung were recalled, as it was found impossible for the pursuers to proceed without very great hardship in a mountainous country where the passes were blocked with snow drifts and the mists and fog did not clear up till noon. King Kyawdin Nawrata left Mogaung with his whole army on Saturday the 3rd. of waning

Kasôn 938 (May, A. D. 1576), arriving at Ava on Saturday the 9th. of waning Nayôn (June). After staying only two days at Ava he came down by river and arrived at Hanthawadi on Wednesday the 12th of waning Wazo 938 (July, A. D. 1576). About ten days after his return to the capital he assigned a place of residence for Binnya Thane and his son, who were maintained in a manner befitting their rank.

The three Binnyas who brought Binnya Thane and his son safely to Hanthawadi were duly rewarded. They then told their sovereign about the altercation between Binnya Thane Lôn and Uparit concerning the treatment of the usurper and his son. His Burman Majesty was highly pleased with the Zimmè nobleman's conduct in the matter, and to show that he appreciated the loyalty and devotion evinced by Binnya Thane Lôn, presents consisting of costly silk, woollen and cotton cloths were sent to him.

Sir A. P. Phayre's account of the same.

A. D. 1574.

The levy of another army to carry out this project⁽¹⁾ was commenced, but the people, and even those in high office, murmured loudly, and the expedition was postponed. But the king of kings was not to be entirely thwarted in his grand designs. After the rainy season he himself led an army, with Ubarit in his retinue, to Maingzan. From that post he issued a proclamation that he had come to place the rightful heir on the throne. He then departed, leaving some troops with the tributary king. The object of the expedition was attained. The nobleman who had usurped the throne of Laos had become hated, and was delivered up, together with his son, by his own officers. Ubarit was received by the people as king; and the Burmese commanders, rejoicing to quit a country where they gained neither fame nor riches, returned with their prisoners to Zimmè.

**Revolt of the
northern Shans.**

While affairs in Laos were prospering, another march to Monyin and Mogaung had become imperative. These restive states had refused to join the last expedition to Lengzeng, and were in open revolt. Bureng Naung proceeded from Maingzan to Ava, from whence he marched north against the rebellious chiefs. The prince of Monyin was killed, but the ruler of Mogaung fled; and though the royal troops followed in rapid pursuit to a tract of country where there was only snow for water, he was not captured. Bureng Naung, while still engaged in that northern region,

(1) Placing Ubarit on the throne of Linzin. Thien.

had the usurper from Laos and his family forwarded to him as an exhibition to the northern Shans of his success and power. But the desired effect was not attained, and the king of kings, recalling his son and the other officers from the pursuit, returned to his capital.

III.

INTRODUCTION.

Soon after King Kyawdin Nawrata's return from Mogaung and Mo-hnyin, there arrived at the port of Patheingyi (Eng. Bassein) on Monday the 3rd of waning second Wazo 938 (A. D. 1576), two vessels despatched by King Dhammapala of Theingyi island (Ceylon), one conveying the tooth relic of Buddha, and the other, presents for the King of Burma. The sacred relic was accorded a reception befitting the veneration and esteem in which it was held by a Buddhist monarch. The object of King Dhammapala's mission was to secure the aid of the Burmese sovereign to subdue three other Kings, namely, Kuti, Khanti, and Thidawet, among whom and King Dhammapala, the island of Ceylon was divided into four independent states. King Dhammapala's argument was that his contemporaries upheld paganism and persecuted the religion of Buddha. Acting on the advice of his ministers His Burman Majesty ordered the despatch, under competent and discreet commanders, of a force of 2500 men chosen for their valour, daring, fierceness and invulnerability from such weapons as swords, spears, and arrows. It may be interesting here to note how this small force was made up, to show its composite nature. It contained 100 men each of the natives of the following places viz, Yodaya (Ayuthia), Tanintharyi (Tenassarim), Linzin, Kyaingto, Kathè (Manipur), Dawè (Tavoy), Maing-maw, Sikwin, Tayok (China) and 500 each of Shan Salons, Talaings (Mons) and Burmans. (1) This small force sailed in five vessels and simply overawed the people of Ceylon by simulating great ferocity by

(1) The total of these comes to only 2400, but such inaccuracies are of very frequent occurrence in the Hmannan History.

devouring raw meat and displaying feats of skill with the weapons of war. The expedition was a complete success, the three heretical kings undertaking to support Buddhism.

In the year 938, one Binnya Bat, governor of Patalipôt, a town within the territories of Linzin, arrived at Hanthawadi together with his family and retainers, forsaking his governorship and deserting the town. This same nobleman had once before, during the lifetime of King Bra-sè-zit of Linzin, forsaken his post and gone to Hanthawadi, on which occasion King Kyawdin Nawrata made him governor of Zagyo, a town within the territory of Yodaya. He then accompanied His Burman Majesty when the latter marched to Linzin to place Uparit on the throne. At the close of the expedition he was given the governorship of his old town of Patalipôt which apparently he did not think worth his while, or secure enough to hold for long, because, as mentioned above, he again left for Hanthawadi. The reasons he gave His Burman Majesty for his forsaking the town is worthy of a diplomat of those days. He said he did not value his position, power and prosperity in an outlying insignificant place, because were he to die there, his dying thoughts would be demeritorious and he would be born in one of the four "apāyas"; whereas were he to breathe his last in such a magnificent capital as Hanthawadi where Buddhism was well established and in full splendour, and under the beneficent protection of a most powerful king, he would be lifted to the world of the gods. How widely different are the reasons given above from those which he gave to his own friends, and which most probably were the real ones, may be seen when, on one occasion, he answered their question as to why he left Patalipôt, by saying that when Bra-sè-zit was alive he left it although he was not on bad terms with the King of Linzin, because he had a sort of premonition that further residence there

would cause his ruin ; that he had been wise in being guided by that warning, and deserting the place in time and seeking shelter in Hanthawadi, became evident when not long afterward Linzin was overrun by the Burmese troops, and destruction and desolation reigned supreme everywhere ; that he and Uparit had grown up together and therefore knew each other well, and he found further that the family of Uparit as a whole was devoid of any sense of gratitude ; that Uparit was only a dependent and tributary King, and being such must possess virtues necessary for good government, otherwise he was sure to bring ruin on him and on all those connected with him. The discerning nobleman presaged disaster to Linzin and her King within the next two or three years.

It will be remembered that at the close of the punitive expedition to Chiengmai in the year 927 (A. D. 1565) King Kyawdin Nawrata requested the King of Chiengmai to accompany him to Hanthawadi, leaving the government in the hands of Maha-dewi the queen.⁽¹⁾ She must have continued to reign till the year 940 (A. D. 1578, when on Wednesday the 5th of waxing Tabodwè (February) she died. The two chief nobles of Chiengmai Binnya Thane-lôn and Binnya Thanlan, arrived soon after in Hanthawadi to report of the death of the queen, bringing with them the regalia used by the deceased queen, and two good elephants as a present.

King Kyawdin Nawrata assembled his sons and nobles, and having explained to them the importance of the kingdom of Zinmè (Chiengmai) asked them as to who, among his sons and brothers, would be most fit to ascend the throne of Zinmè. The

(1) Vide page 37 Siam Society Journal Vol. V. part 1.

Maha Upayaza, who on this occasion acted as spokesman, said that the Kings of Prome, Toungoo, and Ava were the right men in the right places and they could not be taken away from their respective positions, without detriment to the general peace and welfare of the whole empire which was maintained by the wholesome fear instilled by them in their neighbours, the Arakanese on the west and the Shans on the north and east. The Maha Upayaza suggested that His Majesty's son Nawratazaw, who was then governor of Tharrawaddy, should be offered the throne of Zimmè, pointing out that the governorship of a town was wholly inadequate for his ability and sterling qualities; that as the territory of Zimmè was contiguous with those of Yodaya, Linzin, Kyaing-rôn, Kyaing-tôn and other Shan states a strong hand was necessary to govern it, and Nawratazaw was the right man, as he would be able to instil fear in the Kings of Yodaya and Linzin, and thus keep them faithful and loyal to His Supreme Majesty of Hanthawadi for generations to come. King Kyawdin Nawrata, who was well aware of the fact that among persons of royal descent, ties of relationship, whether of blood or of marriage, counted for nothing, when they tried to attain their ambition for personal aggrandisement and territorial extension, then said that Nawratazaw would not long enjoy the favour conferred by him, if Maha Upayaza also was not willing to show favour equally.

On Wednesday the 5th of waxing Tabaung (March) 940 (A. D. 1578) while giving audience to the assembled ministers and nobles including the Maha Upayaza, in the grand hall of justice in the royal palace, His Majesty of Hanthawadi publicly announced to them that he conferred the kingdom of Zimmè on Nawratazaw. On the same day His Majesty called Nawratazaw to

the council chamber of the palace and advised him saying that the country of Haribônza (Pāli-Haribhūṇca) with its capital Zimmè was acquired by him through his might and power; the country of the Burmans, Talaings, or Shans could not be compared with it; the territories over which the Kings of Prome Toungoo, and Ava ruled fell short of that of Zimmè, both in extent and in the number of towns and provinces; the kingdom possessed good ministers and an efficient army, and it was very improbable it would be easily overcome by a foreign foe in the future; even such a kingdom he had conferred on Nawratazaw at the solicitation of Aaha Upayaza, the crown prince, who should therefore be regarded by Nawratazaw as master, father, and brother; that if in disregard of this injunction, and acting on the evil advice of mischievous persons, were he to bring about an estrangement and discord between himself and his brother, the people of Yodaya, and Linzin, and the dark-skinned Kôn⁽¹⁾ people would give trouble; should peace be thus destroyed the splendour of Buddha's religion would fade, the people both priests and laymen would suffer, welfare both temporal and spiritual would be destroyed, and he would find his future existence cast in one of the four "apāyas"; if on the other hand, were he to remember the injunction and abide by it, continued prosperity, long life and happy future state would be his reward. Having finished with his advice on policy, His Burman Majesty went on to that of personal conduct, and requested Nawratazaw to support and maintain such of His Majesty's favourite servants both men and women as might seek his protection, and not to show them the cold shoulder when he was no more; he instructed the young man to address Binnya Zapan, Binnya Lauk, and Binnya Nan of Zimmè as paternal elder

(1) Probably the Cambodians, the Khom or Khamen of the Siamese.

uncles (uncle who is the elder brother of the father), Binnya Thane-lôn as paternal younger uncle (uncle who is the younger brother of the father), and to call Binnya Lagun, Binnya Kyaing-thane, Binnya Kwin, and Binnya Turaing elder brothers; he told Nawratazaw not to covet ponies and elephants belonging to them, to prohibit his relatives and personal servants from extorting the people, and to collect crown dues, royalties, assessments, taxes, tolls, and duty etc. only in accordance with prevailing custom.

Three days before Nawratazaw took his departure from Hanthawadi to assume charge of his new appointment as tributary King, His Majesty of Hanthawadi invited eleven learned head priests to a "sala" on the west side of Maha-Zedi pagoda erected by him, and in their presence gave the following injunction to his two sons, Maha Upaya and Nawratazaw. He asked Maha Upayaza to look upon Nawratazaw as a servant and a brother, and the latter to regard his brother as master, brother, and father; for he said that it was only when they two loved and regarded each other in the manner enjoined by him, could the empire which he had consolidated after many years of arduous labour and hard fighting, remain whole and undivided; then only could the meritorious and religious foundations instituted by him after many years of patient work continue to flourish, and the welfare of Buddha's religion and the prosperity of the people go on increasing; otherwise, the disintegration of the empire was inevitable, and the decline of his patient work in the cause of Buddhism was certain, and thereupon the peace, prosperity and well-being of the people would be destroyed. His Majesty then took off two rings from his finger and gave one each to his two sons, enjoining them to wear them always as mementoes, and saying that in future when external foes or internal enemies threatened them, or tried to sow discord between

them, to look at the ring and recollect the injunction he had given on that occasion, and thereby try and appease any feeling of enmity or hostility that might have arisen in them. He asked the priests assembled there to make note of what he then said. He advised Nawratazaw not to be too free in speech in the presence of the Zimmè nobles thinking they were only "Lawas" by race, because if he were too outspoken he might unwittingly hurt their feelings.

On Thursday the 9th of waning Kasôn 941 (May A. D. 1579) Nawratazaw left Hanthawadi for Zimmè together with his retinue. At Tulaung on the way, his wife gave birth to a son who was therefore named Tulaung Prince. He was detained in consequence about ten days. On Thursday the 10th of waxing second Wazo (August) he arrived at Zimmè and ascended the throne.

Thus, according to the Burmese chronicles a prince of Hanthawadi ruled at Chiengmai as tributary King to His Majesty of Hanthawadi.

Sir A. P. Phayre's account of the same narrative.

**A pseudo-relic
received from
Ceylon.**

At the very moment of his return to Pegu, Bureng Naung received intelligence which gratified his religious aspirations, and enhanced his glory as a Buddhist king throughout Indo-China. He had long been in communication with a Buddhist ruler in Ceylon, apparently Dharmapala who reigned at Colombo, and professed to be a Christian, having the baptismal name of Don Juan.⁽¹⁾ Two years before, a Sinhalese princess had arrived, and had been received with high honour, though the Portuguese historian asserts, that the lady sent was only a daughter of the chamberlain. Now, at an auspicious moment, when the king of kings returned triumphant from war, a ship arrived from Ceylon at Bassein, with the holy tooth of Goadama Buddha. As the season was unfavourable for the ship to sail into the gulf of Martaban, a deputation of the highest nobles in the land was sent to receive the precious relic. They bore a golden vase, adorned with the richest gems, the spoil of vanquished kings, in which it was deposited, and brought to the royal presence. A letter was also received from Dhamapala, in which he announced that he was the only orthodox king of four, who ruled in the island. It may be doubted whether Bureng Naung really believed in the genuineness of the relic, but the possession of a pseudo-tooth which

(1) His authority was confined to Colombo, his grand-uncles having possession of the rest of his dominions. He died A. D. 1581, and by will, left the King of Portugal heir to his kingdom. Tennent's Ceylon, vol. ii p. 13.

his many millions of subjects believed in, was of the highest importance. Indeed, the first and immediate good result was the surrender of the young chief of Mogaung, which was attributed to the occult influence of the holy tooth, in favour of its royal custodian and worshipper. So munificently did he reward the King of Colombo, that according to the Portuguese historian, the king of Kandy offered him a true daughter and tooth. The real tooth, which had been taken at Jaffna in 1560, had been destroyed by Don Constantine, the Viceroy of India, although Bureng Naung had then offered a sum equivalent of £41,000 sterling to ransom it. But, as stated by Fariay Sousa, two teeth were sent up instead of that one, and the king of Pegu was now content with that he had secured.

**Bureng Naung
appoints his son
to be tributary
king of Zimme,
March,
A. D. 1578.**

In order to strengthen his position towards Lengzeng Bureng Naung appointed his son, Tharawadi Meng, who had shown great ability, tributary king of Zimmè. When he had left for his kingdom, the king his father, as if foreseeing future troubles, enjoined him to remember that he would owe allegiance to his elder brother, the Yuva Râjâ. He received the title of Noaraktâ Zoa.

IV.

About the time that Nawratazaw was appointed tributary King of Zinnè, affairs in Linzin had not been running smoothly. What Binnya Bat, governor of Patalipôt, had foreseen and foretold some three years ago was about to come true. The relations between Uparit and his chief nobles were getting more and more strained owing to his undue partiality for those of his own kith and kin, until at last they broke out in open rebellion. They gave out that Bra-Sè-Zit, who had been killed in the attack on Lawaik, was still alive and had come back to take possession of the throne. All the disaffected nobles and wealthy people left the capital and assembled in camp in a dense forest. Uparit was probably powerless to compel them to submission with the few who were mostly his relatives that had remained with him. A report of the state of affairs was sent to Hantawadi. King Kyawdin Nawrata assembled his sons and nobles and asked them what they thought of the affairs in Linzin. Binnya Law said that Uparit had disregarded His Majesty's advice to govern the country with justice and impartiality, and had consequently given offence to the principal nobles of the state; that if an expedition were to be despatched under the command of His Majesty's brothers and sons, the disaffected nobles would not dare to resist, the only apprehension was that operations might be prolonged by their taking advantage of the vast tract of wild and inhospitable country to keep themselves out of sight. His Majesty then asked the Maha Upayaza to take the command of the expedition so as to bring the trouble to a speedy end. The Maha Upayaza replied that even if His Majesty were to order him to invade China, he would not hesitate a moment, to which King Kyawdin Nawrata responded that he was getting old and any expedition undertaken by the Maha Upayaza would be only for his own benefit.

There were twenty-four brigades, with a total force of 1,200 elephants, 12,000 horse and 220,000 men, engaged in this expedition. The auxiliaries from Yodaya were a brigade each under Oya Thaukatè, Oya Peikthalauk, Oya Thuwunnalauk, Oya Peiksè and Oya Kamanpaik; those from Zinnè were seven brigades under Binnya Thane-lôn, Binnya Thanlan Binnya Turaing, Binnya Lagun, Binnya Nan, Binnya Pri and Binnya Kwin. The forces from the capital started on 12th of waning Thadingyut (Chula Sakkaraj 941 (October, A. D. 1579), and the auxiliaries from Yodaya and Zinnè must have joined the Burmese forces at convenient places on the line of march. On arrival at Maing-san, Uparit came with his forces and met the Maha Upayaza. Having learnt from Uparit the full details of what had occurred, the Maha Upayaza accompanied by Uparit proceeded to Maing-kaung and Maing-Paing where the rebellious nobles were then assembled. Not daring to make a stand against such a strong army, some of the nobles fled and some surrendered to the Maha Upayaza. Those who surrendered took the oath of allegiance and were permitted to resume possession of their estates and charge of their offices. Those who fled were pursued by several columns in different directions, but owing to the extent of the country the pursuit was attended with very little success. The Maha Upayaza very wisely decided not to press the pursuit; and so having administered the oath of allegiance to all the nobles in Linzin, including those who had come in and surrendered there, he returned to Hanthawadi taking with him over fifty nobles who were captured in the pursuit, and Bra Kyaw, daughter of Bra-Sè-Zit. The expeditionary force arrived at Hanthawadi on Sunday the 8th of waxing Tagu 942 (April, A. D. 1580). The captives were presented to His Majesty who was highly pleased with the success which attended the expedition. The Maha Upayaza

and his lieutenants were suitably rewarded.

Towards the close of the same year King Kyawdin Nawrata had several copies of the "Tripitaka," and the commentaries, made by priests learned in the Buddhist Scriptures, and a copy each was sent to the following places, viz. Yodaya, Thaukkatè, Peikthalaung, Taninthari (Tenzaungmye), Dawè (Tavoy), Amyawadi, Linzin Akyaw, Lawaik, Zinmè, Kyaingrôn, Kyaingtôn, Kyaingthane, Monè, Nyang-ywe, Thibaw, Onbaung, Theinni, Momeik Mogaung, Mohnyin Sagaing, Pagan, harekittara, Ketunadi, and Thayawadi. A copy of the "Tripitaka" together with the commentaries was also sent to Ceylon.

King Kyawdin Nawrata's ambition must have been limitless or his energy inexhaustible, for as soon as affairs in Linzin quieted down, he conceived the idea of the conquest of Arakan (Ra-kaing). On the pretext of encroachment into Burmese territory by the King of Arakan, which probably was no more than a border raid so very common in tracts inhabited by wild tribes, His Burman Majesty found a ready excuse to invade Arakan. On the 5th of waning Tazaungmôn 942 (November, A. D. 1580) he despatched a flotilla of 800 sailing vessels and 200 small boats, with a force of 80,000 men to go and occupy Thandwè. Then on Monday the 1st of waxing Thadingyut of the following year, one column consisting of eleven brigades containing in all 600 elephants, 8,000 horse, 120,000 men under the command of his son Thiri Thudamayaza (Siri Sudhammarāja) governor of Môttama (Martaban) was sent in one direction, and another column of the same number of brigades and the same number of forces under the command of his son-in law Minyè Kyawdin was despatched in another direction, both making their way to Thandwè. There, while preparations were being made for a combined march on the capital

of Arakan by land and by water, news of the sudden death of King Kyawdin Nawrata was received. The project was immediately abandoned, and the two generals returned with their army, the forces which had gone by water returning by the same route.

King Kyawdin Nawrata, who bore the regal title of *Siri Taribhavanādityā Pavara Paṇḍita Sudhammarājā Mahādhipati*, was born on Wednesday the 12th. of waxing Tabodwè Chula Sakkaraj 877 (February, A. D. 1515). At the age of nineteen he was given in marriage to a sister of Mintara Shweti his predecessor, and the title of Kyawdin Nawrata was then conferred on him. Three years later, the title of Bayin Naung (elder brother of the King) was added to his former title. In the year 911, and at the age of 34 years he assumed sovereign authority at Ketumadi (Toungoo), and two years later, was crowned Supreme King at Hauthawadi having, in the meantime, subdued rival claimants to the supreme sway in succession to Mintara Shweti. His reign lasted thirty-two years, two at Ketumadi and thirty at Hauthawadi. After a sudden illness, he entered the city of the "Nats" (devas) on Tuesday the full moon day of Tazaungmôn Chula Sakkaraj 943 (November, A. D. 1581). When he was about to die, the Mahazedi pagoda, built by him, and the Kyaikko pagoda sent out an effulgence, so great a flood arose that boats could be used within the city, a rain of precious stones fell at a place called Depathwè, the mountains gave off vapour and dew fell heavily.

King Kyawdin Nawrata had a numerous progeny, by his three chief queens he had three sons and three daughters, and by his lesser queens thirty-five sons and fifty-six daughters; among these lesser queens, mention is made of two daughters of the Chief of Zinrôn, three ladies who were natives of Linzin, one who was a native of Zinmè, and a younger sister of Bra Narit, King of Yodaya.

Sir A. P. Phayre's account of the same narrative.

In the following year it was necessary once more to send aid to Ubarit in Lengzeng. The heir apparent was sent to support the King of Zimmè, and the expedition was successful. From this time Laos as a tributary state is not mentioned in Burmese history.

**Preparation to
invade Arakan.**

The great king of kings had now subdued all the countries which had occupied his attention during many years. Instead of resting and giving relief to his subjects, he turned his glance on Arakan. He determined that the king of that country should be reduced to the position his ancestors had held towards the ancient kings of Burma. A large fleet of vessels of various sizes was collected, in which an army amounting, with the crews, to eighty thousand men, was embarked. The fleet happened to be met by some Portuguese ships which were cruising near Cape Negrais. The Viceroy being then at war with Pegu, probably on account of the king's interference in the affairs of Ceylon, the ships attacked the Peguan or Burmese fleet, which they estimated at thirteen hundred sail. The Portuguese took some of the enemy, but were obliged to withdraw on account of the great number opposed to them. The Burmese fleet then continued its course, and the army disembarked at a point on the southern coast of Arakan, where the men were landed and marched to Sandoway. There the Burmese army remained inactive for twelve months. Probably Bureng Naung intended to lead the march on the capital,

**November, A. D.
1580.**

but found his health unequal to the exertion. To the last, he had not abandoned his design against Arakan, for reinforcements were sent on. The Burmese history states that he deputed ambassadors to the Emperor Akbar. This may possibly refer to the governor of Bengal after that province had been conquered by Akbar's general in 1576, and the object probably was to ascertain whether his occupation of Arakan would be viewed as an act of hostility to the Mogul emperor. But the plan of conquest of Arakan was suddenly frustrated by the death of Bureng Naung, after he had reigned for thirty years.

October, A. D. 1581,

**Death of Bureng
Naung, Novem-
ber, A. D. 1581.**

V.

On Sunday the 5th of waning Tazaungmôn 943 (November, A. D. 1581), five days after the death of King Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata, his son Maha Upayaza ascended the throne of Hanthawadi. On the same day the King appointed his son Minkyi-zwa, crown prince with the title of Vaha Upayaza. As usual on such occasions, honours, titles, rewards of offices with their concomitant insignia and gifts for the enjoyment of the tithes or revenues of certain villages and towns were showered on such as had gained the goodwill and favour of the new Sovereign. He is known by the name of Ngazu Dayaka but he will be more often referred to as King of Hanthawadi.

The vassal kings were probably called upon to come and pay homage as evidence for their loyalty, because in Nayôn 944 (June, A. D. 1582) Bra Narit King of Yodaya, arrived in Hanthawadi and paid homage

Matters though apparently very trifling have often resulted in serious and far-reaching consequences ; and this is exemplified by what is chronicled in the Hmannan History. The new Upayaza had two principal wives, one was his cousin the daughter of the King of Ava, and the other was his half sister who was full sister of Nawratazaw the King of Zinmè and also of Thiri Thudamayaza (Siri Sudhammarāja) governor of Môttama. He must have been somewhat partial in his favours to the latter, and this no doubt roused the jealousy of the former. The Upayaza and his fair cousin probably had a quarrel over this matter, and in the scuffle that ensued the lady's forehead collided with the edge of the couch, drawing blood. She took the incident to heart, carefully packed and sealed the cloth with which she wiped away the blood and sent

it to her father at Ava, together with a letter saying that the Upayaza bestowed undue favour on Nawratzaw's sister, while she herself was ignored, slighted, and ill-treated. She found a ready misplayer in her mother who gradually worked on her husband's mind and finally succeeded in making him take steps to be independent of his suzerain and brother-in law. He asked the Shan chiefs whether they would side with him or with His Majesty of Hanthawadi. These petty chiefs, at no time truly loyal to the authority at Hanthawadi declared they would throw in their lot with Ava.

Having already secured the support of the Shan chiefs, the King of Ava thought of weakening the power of Hanthawadi by inducing the Kings of Toungoo, Prome, and Zimmè either to join him or to declare themselves independent. Accordingly, in Wazo 945 (July A. D. 1583) he sent messengers to the three kings openly declaring his intention, and asking what would be their attitude toward him and his design. The three kings proved faithful to their suzerain, and each sent the messenger that was sent him, to His Majesty of Hanthawadi, who thus came to know for certain that his brother-in-law was actively hostile to him. He lost no time in taking the necessary steps to march on to Ava. On the advice of one of his nobles who thought that the co-operation of the Kings of Toungoo and Prome only might not be sufficient to effect the subjugation of the misguided King of Ava, especially as it was rightly surmised that the Shan chiefs and the governors of the towns in the north would be on the side of Ava, he sent orders to Yodaya, Linzin, and Zimmè to come with their forces as quickly as possible and co-operate in the expedition. The forces from Zimmè and Linzin were ordered to march straight on to Ava via Monè. He left Hanthawadi on the full-moon day of Tagu 945 (April A. D. 1584) leaving the Maha Upayaza in

charge of the capital.

The details of the fight between the suzerain and his vassal, described at great length in the Hmannan history, need not be given here, suffice it to say that there was no battle between the opposing armies, but a personal encounter between His Majesty of Hanthawadi and the King of Ava, in which the latter was worsted, and obliged to flee to Chinese territory with a following of about 2,000 men. The unfortunate king fell ill on the way and died at a place called Kanti.

Bra Narit, King of Yodaya, did not show much promptitude in obeying the orders of His Majesty of Hanthawadi. He came with an army of twelve brigades consisting of 300 elephants, 3,000 horse and 60,000 men, and arrived at Sittaung long after the King of Hanthawadi had marched to Ava. Then, instead of proceeding in the direction of Ava, he veered round towards Hanthawadi. The Maha Upayaza sent word to him to march on to Ava, but he persisted in his march on to Hanthawadi. This action of King Bra Narit must have frightened the Maha Upayaza, and he accordingly took the precaution of repairing the defences of the city, mounting additional guns and maintaining a strong guard, and keeping a vigilant watch over the movements of the Siamese King. Bra Narit encamped very near the city, and most probably intended to make an assault, when he received news of the return of the King of Hanthawadi. He broke up camp and returned by way of Môtama, capturing and taking away with him many men from the towns to the East of Hanthawadi.

When news of the suspicious conduct of Bra Narit reached His Burman Majesty he immediately despatched from Ava four brigades with a force of 400 elephants, 4,000 horse and 50,000 men to go in quick pursuit of the Siamese Monarch. He then returned

to his capital, and on his arrival, a reinforcement of seven brigades with a force of 500 elephants, 5000 horse and 70,000 men was sent under the command of Maha Upayaza. The two forces united near Yodaya and encamped at a place called Sôtkali to the north of the Siamese capital. King Bra Narit came out from the city, fought and defeated the Burmese army which was forced to retire. News of the defeat reached Hanthawadi, and His Majesty recalled his son, giving as reasons for the recall, that the forces were insufficient, that Yodaya was a city very difficult to capture, and that the rains were approaching.

To retrieve the defeat thus suffered by the Burmese at the hands of the Siamese, the King of Hanthawadi sent another expedition under the command of his son the Maha Upayaza, in Tagu 947 (April A. D. 1586). The invading army on that occasion consisted of nineteen brigades with a total force of 1000 elephants, 10,000 horse and 120,000 men. Zimmè must have continued to support Hanthawadi, for mention is made of the presence, among the nineteen brigades, of those under Binnya Thane-lôn, Binnya Thanlan, Binnya Nan and Binnya Turaing. When the Burmese army reached a place called Lagun, King Bra Narit of Yodaya came out with an army of fifteen brigades to oppose the enemy in their march. His vanguard, composed of five brigades, was attacked by four brigades of the Burmese which probably were also the vanguard of the Burmese army. The Siamese were forced to retire, and they fell back on Sôtkali which had been strongly fortified. The Burmese followed up their conquest to the stronghold of the Siamese. At this first encounter and the subsequent pursuit the Burmese captured over thirty elephants and over 200 men. The Burmese attempted twice to storm the fort but failed to make any impression on the stronghold or its defenders ; in fact they must have been worsted in their attempt, for they ascribed the reason of their failure to take it to the very great number of guns

effectively employed in the defence. Having failed to capture it by storm there was no other alternative for the Burmese but to encamp and wait further developments. After about a month, the Maha Upayaza called a council and said that they were unable to take the fort by storm and the Siamese refused to attack them; that if matters went on in that way they would get the worst of it, because provisions would be exhausted in time, the army would be starved, and it would then be very difficult even to get the army out of the country in safety. The Maha Upayaza suggested to send a message to the enemy asking them to come out and measure strength in open battle. To this Binnya Thane-lôn replied that it was impossible to attack and defeat them, first, because the fort was very strong, secondly, the moats were very wide, thirdly, the enemy's weapons of offence and defence were numerous, and fourthly, King Bra Narit's nobles and officers feared him more than death itself. As regards the question of asking them to give battle, it was highly improbable they would do so, considering they would lose nothing by waiting; whereas further delay meant starvation to the Burmese. The Zinmè noble asked whether it would not be advisable to feign retreat, and thus draw the enemy out of their stronghold. The Maha Upayaza approved of the idea and accordingly withdrew his forces as if to retreat. It is surprising that such an idea had not occurred to the Maha Upayaza before; judging from this he could not have been a very resourceful general of an invading army, though he might have been a brave man. King Bra Narit followed with all his forces. On the approach of the Siamese, the Burmese forces were arrayed in the following battle order:—six brigades containing 300 elephants, 4,000 horse and 60,000 men were placed on the right. These brigades were under the command of Baya-Kamani, Nanda-Kyawdin, Binnya Gyandaw, Thamein (Sming) Rethinran, Thamein Lagun-ein, and Binnya Thane-lôn. Another

six brigades of the same number of forces under the commanders, Binnya Paran Nanda Thuriya, Thamein Thangyè, Thiri Damathawka, Binnya Nan, and Binnya Law, were on the left. In the centre was the Maha Upayaza himself, with a force of seven brigades containing 400 elephants, 4000 horse, and 60,000 men.⁽¹⁾ Besides him there were six other brigade commanders—Thetshi Kyawdin, Binnya Pyi, Thiri Zeya Kyawdin, Binnya Bat, Binnya Thalan and Binnya Turaing.

King Bra Narit must have been no ordinary general, for he discerned in an instant that the position of the right wing of the enemy was strong, and that of the left, weak. Like a skilful general and an experienced fighter, he concentrated his attack first on the weak point of the Burmese, the left wing, which was entirely put to rout. Having disposed of the left wing beyond any chance of rallying, he turned his attention to the centre, where also he succeeded in forcing the Maha Upayaza and his six commanders to retire. Lastly, he attacked the right wing, but finding the position unassailable, he retired taking with him the prisoners of war he had secured from the left and the centre of the Burmese. The Burmese right, though able to maintain its ground, had not the spirit and energy to retrieve the honours of the day, such must have been the moral effect of the defeat of the left and the centre. When the Siamese forces retired, the Burmese commanders gathered in their scattered forces and asked the Maha Upayaza to return, though not recalled by his father. He readily assented, and arrived at Hanthawadi in Wagaung 948 (August A. D. 1586).

The King of Hanthawadi must have felt great anxiety about the rising power of Yodaya, and must have

(1) The total of the infantry given here is 180,000, whereas it is stated above that it consisted of 120,000 men only. But inaccuracies of this kind are very common in the Hmannan history.

been greatly troubled in mind also, owing to the repeated failure to subdue her king and retain her in her former position of a tributary kingdom. Only about three months after the arrival, at Hanthawadi, of the Maha Upayaza who had suffered a signal defeat at the hands of King Bra Narit of Yodaya, the Burmese King assembled his ministers and nobles and asked them to suggest the best means to subdue Yodaya. Binnya Gyandaw replied that it was of paramount importance to humble Yodaya, otherwise the kingdoms of Linzin, Maingsan, Akyaw, and Lawaik would also strive to throw off the Burman supremacy; that only in the subjugation of Yodaya lay the hope of keeping the empire, which his august father had consolidated, whole and entire; and that therefore it behoved His Burman Majesty to conduct the invasion in person. Having approved of the idea of leading an army himself, the King of Hanthawadi mobilised a vast army composed of twenty four brigades, containing 3200 elephants, 12,000 horse, and 252,000 men, and left Hanthawadi on Sunday the 9th of waxing Tazaungmôn 948 (November A. D. 1586), leaving his son the Maha Upayaza in charge of the capital. Among the twenty four brigades there were four from Zimmè under Binnya Thane-lôn, Binnya Nan, Binnya Brè, and Binnya Turaing.

As soon as King Bra Narit of Yodaya heard of the coming of King of Hanthawadi with a vast army, he gathered in all available provisions from the provinces, and summoned all the efficient and good fighting men to his capital, to be fully prepared to withstand a siege. His Burman Majesty arrived and made several assaults, but was repulsed every time with considerable casualties, owing to the numerous guns and other weapons of offence effectively employed by the Siamese. He then settled down to besiege the city by surrounding it with his vast army. The siege was ineffectual owing to the great width of the rivers and streams, and to the

fact that the besieged could easily communicate with the people outside the city, and thereby obtain what they needed. After a siege of about five months, instead of the besieged being compelled to surrender for want of provisions, the besiegers found they had run short of provisions. Moreover, sickness, more dreadful than any human foe, visited the Burmese army and claimed many victims. Having found out the weakened state of the besiegers, the King of Yodaya made several sorties and night-attacks, always inflicting severe losses. When the losses suffered by the Burmese in these attacks became more and more numerous, and when their provisions were almost exhausted, the King of Hanthawadi called a council of war and said that repeated assault had only resulted in increasing casualties on their side, and the siege had failed in its object in that, owing to the great width of the rivers and streams, communication between the besieged and their friends outside could not be effectually stopped, and consequently provisions and other necessities could be got into the city; that in warfare a strong force would naturally defeat a weak one, but that they could not be considered strong, owing to the prevalence of sickness in the army. He asked as to what would be the best thing to do in the circumstances. Thetshi Kyawdin, one of the brigade commanders, then told his Sovereign that although they had invested the city for about seven months there was no chance of capturing it, owing to its being very strongly built, and to the great width of the rivers and streams that surrounded it. He begged His Majesty to return, especially as the forces were in a very weakened condition due to want of provisions, and to make another attempt at the close of the rains, when the men and animals would have had sufficient rest, and when the co-operation of all the tributary kings could be requisitioned as well. His Burman Majesty yielded to the nobleman's request and better judgment, and with kind

consideration for the sick and wounded of his army, sent them ahead under the escort of Binnya Paran and his brigade, four days before he himself left Yodaya. On the 14th of waxing Kasôn 949 (May A. D. 1587) he raised the siege and started on his return journey, keeping the brigades under the King of Toungoo and his son Nat Shin Naung in the rear to cover the retreat, King Bra Narit of Yodaya would not allow his enemy to depart unmolested. He took out a force of fifteen brigades and followed harassing the retreating Burmans, until he arrived at Taraw Maingdet Indaw (Royal Lake), where he was fought and checked by the rear guard under the King of Toungoo and his son. The King of Yodaya returned from Indaw, and His Majesty of Hanthawadi proceeded thence unmolested, arriving at his capital on Tuesday the 4th. of waxing Wazo 949 (July A. D. 1587)

Sir A. P. Phayre's account of the same.

**Successor of
Bureng Nuang.**

On the death of Bureng Nuang, his eldest son, the Yuva Raja, succeeded to the throne without dispute. (1) He at once recalled the army from Sadoway. His uncles, the Kings of Prome and Taungu, came to Pegu and did homage, as also did the King of Siam. His uncle the King of Ava, Thadomengsoa, made excuses, and communicated with the kings of Prome and Taungu, endeavouring to draw them into a league for becoming independent of the supreme king. They disclosed the intrigue, and the supreme king suspecting that many of his officers had joined in a conspiracy against him, caused them, their wives, and children, to be burnt to death. This dreadful scene was witnessed by Gasparo Balbi, a Venetian merchant, who was in Pegu, and feelingly mentions his "great compassion and grief that little children, without any fault, should suffer such martyrdom."

A. D. 1583.

**Establishes his
authority in
Burman proper.**

The supreme king now marched on Ava, being joined with their forces by the kings of Prome and Taungu. Advancing up the valley of the Sittoung river, the army encamped near Panwa. A battle was fought, in which the uncle and nephew, each on his elephant, with a small body of followers, engaged in fierce combat. Though the elephant which the supreme king rode, fell exhausted, the rider instantly mounted another and gained the victory. The King of Ava fled from the field, and escaped over

May A. D. 1584.

(1) In the Talaing chronicle this king is called Nanda Bureng. In the Maha Raja Weng he is styled Gna su Daraga, and is surnamed Taungu Yauk Meng, from having been carried as prisoner to Taungu

the Chinese border, where he died soon after. The supreme king at first appointed a governor to Ava, but before long his son, Mengre Kyoaswa, was made tributary king.

Failure of Invasion of Siam.

During this war the conduct of Byanarit, King of Siam, was first suspicious, and then openly hostile. He had been summoned as a vassal to attend his superior with his army. He appeared on the frontier near Sittaung, and the Yuva Râjâ, who was regent during his father's absence, directed him to march on Ava. Instead of obeying this order, he came near the capital of Pegu and hovering about, menaced an attack. Hearing, however, of the victory of the supreme king, he retired to Martaban, and carried off from thence a number of the inhabitants into Siam.

(1) A force under the Yuva Râjâ was sent to avenge this insult. The expedition was hastily planned and badly conducted. In marching down the banks of the Me Nam the Yuva Râjâ was attacked by Byanarit, and forced to retreat with heavy loss. To retrieve this disaster the supreme king himself led an army, which invested Yuthia. But the son, though brave, lacked the great administrative qualities which had distinguished his father. The arrangements for the army were utterly defective. Thousands died from want and exposure. No hope of success remained and a disastrous retreat was made. The king reached his capital with a small escort.

A. D. 1587.

June A. D. 1587.

(1) These events appear to be referred to in the history of Siam as having occurred A. D. 1564. Bowring's Siam, vol. i p. 52.

VI.

In Thadingyut 950 (October A. D. 1588) King Uparit of Linzin died. The news reached the King of Hanthawadi in due course, and he made preparations to appoint one of his younger sons as King of Linzin. But in the Nadaw (December) following, before he had despatched his son, the King of Prome died ; and the king-elect of Linzin was offered the kingdom of Prome. It is not mentioned who was raised to the throne of Linzin in succession to Uparit.

About three years after the disastrous retreat of the King of Hanthawadi from Yodaya, the Sawbwa of Mogaung rebelled, and a council was called to discuss the manner of dealing with the rebellion. The question of the rebellious conduct of King Bra Narit of Yodaya was also raised, and Thirizeya Nawrata said that unless Yodaya was humbled and brought to subjection, there was great fear of the country of the Shans and Yuns rising in revolt. According to his advice, two expeditions were organized, one to Mogaung under the leadership of his son the King of Prome, consisting of thirteen brigades with a force of 500 elephants, 6000 horse, and 100,000 men ; and the other to Yodaya under the Maha Upayaza, consisting of twenty-four brigades with 1000 elephants, 10,000 horse, and 200,000 men.

The expedition to Yodaya left Hanthawadi on the 12th of waning Tazaungmôh 952 (November A. D. 1590), and that to Mogaung twenty-three days earlier. King Bra Narit of Yodaya went out and opposed the Burmese at Lagun. He placed the weak portion of his army on the road to Lagun to act as a decoy, while he himself with sixty nobles and sixty of his best elephants lay in ambush in the forest close by. The Maha Upayaza and his commanders, seeing the Siamese forces, advanced in battle order and fought bravely on. The Siamese forces which acted as

decoy retreated followed by the unsuspecting Burmese, when at the right moment, Bra Narit came out from the ambushade and fought the enemy fiercely. The Burmese were put to utter rout, with a very heavy loss in killed and wounded. The governors of Pagan and Pathsin (Bassein) fell into the hands of the Siamese. It was with difficulty that Maha Upayaza gathered in his scattered forces. He returned to Hanthawadi in haste and arrived in the month of Tagu (April 1591). He was reprimanded by his father, and his lieutenants were severely punished. The expedition to Mogaung was attended with better results, the Sawbwa being captured and brought to Hanthawadi.

Encouraged by the repeated defeat of the Burmese, King Bra Narit of Yodaya thought of taking a force to Hanthawadi. Accordingly, in the year 953 (A. D, 1591) he sent four brigades under Oya Win, Oya Thuwunnalauk, Oya Peiksè, and Oya Peikthalauk with a force of 400 elephants, 4000 horse, and 50,000 men. When they arrived at a place called Win-yaw, news of the arrival was conveyed to Hanthawadi by outposts. His Majesty of Hanthawadi at once issued orders to the governor of Môttama to attack and intercept the Siamese. In compliance with this order, the governor of Môttama took out a force to Winyaw, where the Siamese had thrown up a rampart; and having found out that the Siamese forces were not numerous he made a vigorous assault. The Siamese could not hold the place, so they evacuated it in the night and beat a hasty retreat. The Burmese followed up the enemy for about three marches, but failing to overtake them, they returned. His Burman Majesty was highly pleased with the governor of Môttama who was suitably rewarded.

In the same year the King of Hanthawadi ordered all the gates, battlements, and towers of the city to be

demolished, and to be rebuilt on the model of those round the city of Yodaya.

In Nadaw of 954 (December, A. D. 1592), he called the Maha Upayaza, his other sons, nobles, and ministers to a council, and soundly reproached them saying that they all enjoyed his regal bounty without rendering strenuous service in return; their want of zeal was the cause of the repeated failure to humble the young King of Yodaya; had they been zealous and self-sacrificing, Bra Narit would have been in custody long ago. He exhorted them to make a supreme effort once more, even to the extent of sacrificing their lives. Binnya Law replied that the fighting strength of Yodaya was not even a quarter of that of Hanthawadi, but with all that, they had found it very hard to defeat the Siamese, for the reason that the authority of Bra Narit over his nobles was so great that when they came face to face with the enemy, they would rather sacrifice their lives than think of yielding ground; that in war, success did not depend solely on numerical strength, the principal factors were valour and tactical skill. He then told his sovereign that His Majesty's two sons, the Maha Upayaza and the King of Prome, and Nat Shin Naung, son of the King of Toungoo, were possessed of both valour and tactical skill, and that if a large army were despatched under their command, there was hope of success.

Accordingly, a vast army was mobilized. It consisted of twenty-six brigades, and contained the following forces,—1500 elephants, 20,000 horse, and 240,000 men. From Zinnè came one brigade led by the King of Zinnè himself with Binnya Thanelôn, Binnya Nan, Binnya Brè and Binnya Turaing as assistants; the King of Toungoo and his son led one brigade, and so did the King of Prome. The army left Hanthawadi on Wednesday the 7th, of waxing Nadaw 954 (December A. D. 1592) and arrived at

Yodaya on the 8th. of waxing Tabodwè (February A. D. 1593).

A battle was fought just outside the city. The Maha Upayaza was mounted on his elephant Sin-yè-pônzôn; on his right was his brother the King of Prome with his forces, and on his left was Nat-Shin-Naung with his forces. At a short distance on the right was the governor of Zaparo, mounted on an elephant named Paukkyaw Zeya, in full "musth" at the time, and it was necessary to have its face covered with a piece of cloth. King Bra Narit of Yodaya came out of the city with his army. He was mounted on the elephant called Bra Labôn, and directly he caught sight of the Maha Upayaza, he led his elephant forward to the place where the Maha Upayaza was. The governor of Zaparo seeing the Siamese King coming forward, removed the cloth off his elephant's eyes, intending to intercept the Siamese Monarch, but the elephant, instead of charging the enemy, turned round on the elephant ridden by the Maha Upayaza and charged it so vigorously that the Maha Upayaza had to fight very hard to resist the onslaught of the almost maddened animal. The Maha Upayaza's elephant was severely wounded and disabled. At the same time, a shot from one of the guns of the enemy killed the Maha Upayaza, but he was held up by the rider behind him, while the elephant was made to lean against a tree, and it was thus prevented from falling down. King Bra Narit, not knowing that the Maha Upayaza was killed, hesitated to attack him. Then, Nat-Shin-Naung advanced on his elephant Upawthata, and attacked King Bra Narit who was forced to yield ground. When the Kings of Prome and Toungoo saw that Bra Narit was being forced back, they both bore down on him. The Siamese King hastily retreated and entered the city. The Burmese generals followed right up to the moat, two of them, the governors of Tônbo and Win-yaw, who were over-eager in their pursuit, were cap-

tured by the Siamese. Oya Bat and Oya Setki (Cakki) fell into the hands of the men under Nat-Shin-Naung. The Burmese then retreated to a distance of about two miles from the city, where a consultation was made among the Kings of Prome, Toungoo, and Zinnè, and other commanders, as to the advisability or otherwise of burying the Maha Upayaza then and there, and renewing the attack on Yodaya. The King of Prome said that as they had lost their chief it was unadvisable to return and attack Yodaya; besides, His Majesty of Hanthawadi would probably reprimand them for burying his son so unceremoniously. He recommended return to Hanthawadi, especially as they had not fared well at the outset. The Kings of Toungoo and Zinnè, as well as the other commanders, were of the same opinion. Accordingly, a quantity of quick-silver was poured into the dead body of the Maha Upayaza which was then put into a coffin made of the wood of the mango tree. The whole army returned carrying the corpse of their commander-in-chief, and arrived at Hanthawadi in Tabaung of the same year (March, A. D. 1593.) His Majesty of Hanthawadi and the chief queen, the mother of deceased, received the corpse in state, and a grand funeral was accorded to it.

In Nadaw of the year 955 (December 1593) the Talaing (Mon) governor of Mawbi rebelled, but he was speedily put down. Many Talaings suffered death, and many others ran away to Rakaing (Arakan), Prome, and Toungoo. His Majesty's suspicions and fears being aroused against all the Talaings, he caused many of them to be arrested and put to death. There was a regular scare among them, and many migrated to Rakaing, Yodaya, and Zinnè.

The position of Crown Prince which had been vacant since the death of the Maha Upayaza, was offered by His Majesty of Hanthawadi to his son Min-yè Kyawzwa, King of Ava, in Tabodwè 955 (February 1594).

In Tazaungmôn 956 (November A. D. 1594) the governor of Mawlamyaing (Moulmein) rebelled, and to put him down, a force of 400 elephants, 4000 horse, and 80,000 men was despatched in eight brigades under the command of the King of Toungoo. This force was defeated by the Talaings who were supported by the Siamese, and was obliged to retreat. The King of Toungoo was severely reprimanded, while Thiri Damathawka, one of the brigade commanders, was so severely punished that he died in consequence. There could be no doubt that the rebellion was instigated by the Siamese King. Only about two months later, King Bra Narit of Yodaya, in league with the governor of Mawlamyaing, led an army of twenty-four brigades, containing 600 elephants, 6,000 horse, and 120,000 men to Hanthawadi and invested the city. During the siege, the governor of Tõnbo who fell into the hands of the Siamese in the battle in which the Maha Upayaza was killed, escaped from his captors and entered the city. The King of Hanthawadi was very pleased with the governor and rewarded him. After a siege of about four months, the King of Yodaya heard that the Kings of Zinmè, Toungoo, and Prome were coming to assist their suzerain. He thought that he would be greatly out-numbered when these auxiliaries arrived, and therefore raised the siege on the day of Thingyan (Songkran) in the month of Tagu (April) and returned by way of Môttama, taking away with him many Talaings (Mons) from the districts lying on the east of the Burmese capital.

About this time, internal strife became more frequent in Hanthawadi. The inevitable disintegration of the Burmese empire was near at hand. When news of the investment of the capital by the Siamese reached the King of Prome, he left Prome with an army to go to the assistance of his father. But learning that the King of Toungoo had left Toungoo, also with

the same object, he marched his army to Toungoo and tried to capture it. Nat-Shin-Naung, son of the King of Toungoo, however, defended the town successfully. After about a fortnight, the King of Prome received information that the King of Toungoo was returning because the Siamese had returned. He withdrew his army and returned to Prome. He then seized the towns to the north of Prome as far as Pakangyi, and declared himself independent of his father and suzerain.

In the beginning of the year 958 (A. D. 1586) Hanthawadi was visited by an immense number of rats that came over from the west. Minyè-Kyawzwa got his men to kill them, but it was beyond their power to destroy them all, and the rodents that escaped destruction caused such a devastation among the granaries and stores of grain that, within a month, food stuff became very scarce, and the price of rice rose to one hundred pieces of copper per basket. Owing to this scarcity, over 1000 levies from Linzin deserted, and tried to get back to their country, but they were pursued, and such as were caught were executed.

The King of Hanthawadi became suspicious of everybody under him, owing to the action of his younger son, the King of Prome, who declared himself independent, and on account of the daring aggression of the King of Yodaya. He summoned to the capital the fighting men from the towns to the North of Toungoo. As hostage or pledge of loyalty, he demanded of the King of Toungoo, his son Nat-Shin-Naung and the fighting elephant Upawthata; of the King of Zinmè, his son Prince Tulaung and the elephant Zabukyetthaye; and of his brother the governor of Nyaung-yan, his elder son Thakin Kyilat and the elephant Zabu-tazeik. The Kings of Toungoo and Zinmè resented this demand which showed, on the part of their brother and suzerain, want of confidence

in their loyalty, and lack of appreciation of their good behaviour. When even his own son had fallen away from him and declared independent, there was no reason, they said, why they should not do likewise, and they, accordingly, threw up the suzerainty of Hanthawadi. The governor of Nyaung-yan did not disavow the supremacy of his brother, but for his own safety, he found it necessary to fortify his town and garrison it strongly. Among the priests he was in the habit of supporting, there was one learned in astrological lore, and this priest predicted that the governor of Nyaung-yan would certainly become supreme king.

The King of Toungoo got information of the prediction regarding the governor of Nyaung-yan, and hoping to forestall him, sent envoys to the King of Rakaing (Arakan) with a letter asking the Arakanese King to assist him, and promising presents of elephants, horses, and a daughter in return, should he succeed in placing himself on the throne of Hanthawadi. The King of Rakaing at first doubted the possibility of overthrowing the supreme king, but when assured by the envoys of the fact that the supreme power at Hanthawadi was not the same as in the days of King Kyawdin Nawrata, but was really very weak owing to the defection of the vassal kings and governors, the King of Rakaing consented to co-operate. Accordingly, in Tabaung 958 (March A. D. 1597) the eldest son of the King of Rakaing arrived at Than-lyin (Syriam) with over 500 war-vessels. Than-lyin was captured and occupied by the Arakanese army. In Tagu 959 (April A. D. 1597) the King of Toungoo came down with a force of 300 elephants, 5000 horse, and 50,000 men, and took up his station at a place called Kawliya. In the year 960 (A. D. 1598), Hanthawadi was closely invested, the Arakanese were on the south side of the city, the King of Toungoo was on the east, and his

son, Nat-Shin-Naung, on the north. When the provisions of His Majesty of Hanthawadi in the city ran short, many of his relatives left him and publicly entered the camps of the King of Toungoo and the Arakanese. Ten well-known captains of Minyè Kyawzwa, the Crown Prince, deserted with their men, and went off to Ava. Minyè-Kyawzwa himself, finding further resistance hopeless, offered to give himself up, provided his life was spared and he was treated with due consideration of his rank. The King of Toungoo asked Minyè Kyawzwa to surrender, promising him to give his daughter in marriage. On this, Minyè-Kyawzwa went over to the King of Toungoo without his father's knowledge, and he was sent away to Toungoo, where he was murdered at the instigation of Nat-Shin-Naung and his mother. When the King of Hanthawadi came to know that his son and heir had abandoned him and gone over to the side of his enemy, he offered to abdicate the throne, asking only that he might be permitted to live in peace, observing religious practices and duties. The King of Toungoo accordingly took possession of the throne of Hanthawadi, and ascended it as supreme king, on Sunday the 4th of waxing Pyatho 961 (January A. D. 1600). The deposed king with the chief queen and about twenty attendants were sent under escort to Toungoo; for having been sent practically a prisoner to Toungoo he is also called "Toungoo-yauk-min." As presents for the King of Rakaing, one white elephant, and a daughter of the deposed king, together with the insignia of a principal queen and the necessary personal attendants, were sent in state to the camp of the Arakanese.

As soon as King Bra Narit of Yodaya received information of the internal struggle in Hanthawadi, he marched, as quickly as he could, an army of twenty-four brigades. When news of the coming of the Siamese King reached the King of Toungoo, he called a council of his ministers and nobles to consider whether to

remain in Hanthawadi and resist the King of Yodaya, or to return to Toungoo and take his stand there. The nobles were divided in opinion, some thought it better to make a stand in Hanthawadi, where they could rely on the co-operation of the Arakanese army. One Nanda Kyawdin was of a different opinion saying it was unadvisable to resist the King of Yodaya in Hanthawadi, because the majority of the Talaings were in favour of the Siamese Monarch; another reason was, the Arakanese army could be made to stay in Hanthawadi and attack the Siamese as opportunity offered. On the advice of this nobleman, the King of Toungoo hastily marched back to his capital, taking with him all the fighting men from Hanthawadi. He also took the precaution of taking away valuable images of Buddha, the tooth relic of Buddha presented by King Dhammapala of Ceylon to King Kyawdin Nawrata, and the Tripitaka. He left Hanthawadi on the 2nd of waxing Tabaung 961 (March A. D. 1600), and arrived at Toungoo on the 5th of waning Tabaung. He immediately put the defences of the city in thorough repair, strengthened the weak points and mounted many guns on the city walls to be fully prepared for an attack. King Bra Narit of Yodaya went to Toungoo, and encampel at a place called Kywè-magu-kyun-gyaung. From this place he sent a message to the King of Toungoo, saying that he had come, not with the intention of fighting His Majesty of Toungoo, but with the object of asking for the person of His Majesty the late King of Hanthawadi, as he was desirous of worshipping him like a Buddha. The King of Toungoo sent a reply very much in the same style, saying that it was not only His Majesty of Yodaya who was desirous of worshipping His Majesty of Hanthawadi like a Buddha, but that he also was equally desirous of paying the same sort of homage to his brother, and for that reason he had brought him to Toungoo. The King of Yodaya said that he would secure the person of His

late Majesty of Hanthawadi by force, and moved up his army to the very edge of the moats surrounding the city. He cut a channel from the moat and drained the water in it, into the Paung-laung river. The Burmese historians said that the channel was known as the Yodaya channel, up to the time of their compiling the history. The Siamese then mounted guns on ramparts built by them, and shelled the city every day; they were unable to capture it by storm, as the defences were very strong and the defenders very vigilant and numerous.

The Arakanese forces were not idle; on the approach of the Siamese, they consigned to the flames all the big and splendid buildings, edifices and monasteries, starting with the golden palace itself. They then kept themselves under cover in the forest, and attacked transport boats conveying provisions to the main army, and thus successfully stopped supplies to the Siamese at Toungoo. Having failed to obtain provisions for about a month, King Bra Narit of Yodaya found he could not continue the siege any longer. He therefore raised the siege on Saturday the 10th. of waning Kasôn 962 (May, A. D. 1600), and retreated. On arrival at Môttama, he gave the oath of allegiance to all the Talaings, and appointed the nephew of the governor of Winyaw, as governor of Môttama, with the title of Binnya Dala. He gave the governorship of Dawè to Bra Thabaik; and having thus made the necessary appointments, and put the country to the east of Môttama well under his control, returned to Yodaya.

The Burmese historian added, that it was said, that the King of Yodaya came to Hanthawadi with the object of helping the King of Hanthawadi, but finding him already a prisoner in the hands of the King of Toungoo, he asked His Majesty of Toungoo to give up the prisoner; that failing to obtain him by peaceful means, he tried to do so by force; that it was the

intention of His Siamese Majesty to replace the King of Hanthawadi on the throne, repress all rebellion, and re-establish his authority over all the vassal kings and governors. Such might or might not have been the honest intention of King Bra Narit, the Burmese historian having recorded it only as hearsay ; but one thing is certain, Bra Narit would never consent to play the role of vassal, rather would he assume the position of suzerain. The army from Arakan returned after the King of Yodaya had left the country.

The unfortunate King of Hanthawadi, the son of King Kyawdin Nawrata, a mighty sovereign, did not long survive his fall and abdication, being secretly put to death by the machinations of Nat-Shin-Naung, on the 10th. of waning Tazaungmôn 962 (November A. D. 1600).

Sir A. D. Phayre's account of the same.

**February
A. D. 1593.**

**Desolation of
Pegu.**

With unreasoning obstinacy, he, three years later, sent an invading army into Siam under the Yuva Raja. This force was destroyed by incessant attacks from the Siamese under the valiant Byanarit. The supreme king, with blind fury, once more dispatched an army under his son, with orders to take the Siamese capital. The Yuva Raja penetrated near to Yuthia, but was defeated and killed in battle. The supreme king put many of his most loyal officers to death, and trusted none. The tributary king of Ava was appointed Yuva Raja, but was unable to moderate the cruelty of his father, who even slew many Buddhist monks of Talaing race. Thousands of people abandoned their country and fled, and the delta—the richest part of the kingdom—became depopulated from war, famine, and migration. The king of Siam advanced with an army to Martaban. He was moving on the capital; but hearing that a force was on the way from Taungu to attack him, he retired to his own country. A number of Talaings went with him.

**The tributary
King's revolt.**

The king of Prome now rebelled against his father, and marched to take possession of Taungu during the absence of his brother, who had gone to defend the capital. He failed to enter the city, but carried off many head of cattle. The supreme king was abandoned by all who might have supported him. He had alienated his whole family except his younger brother Ngyoung Ram Meng, who had succeeded Mengrè Kyoaswâ as tributary king of Ava, and still remained faithful. But though he professed allegiance to the supreme

A. D. 1596.

The city of Pegu besieged. Supreme king taken prisoner and put to death, December A. D. 1599.

monarch, he rendered no active support. The king of Zimmè no longer abided by the injunctions of his father. The king of Taungu leagued with the king of Arakan, who possessed a powerful fleet, and the son of the latter, Meng Khamaung, brought a large force and took possession of Syriam, near to Dagon, and then the principal seaport of the delta. The nominally supreme king had no means of resistance to this aggression, The king of Taungu sent an army down the valley of Sittaung, under his son Nat Sheng-naung, and, with the Arakanese fleet, Hansáwadi, the capital of Pegu, was invested. the city was surrendered, and the supreme king, the son and successor of the great Bureng Naung, was ignominiously sent prisoner to Taungu, where not long afterwards, he was secretly put to death. The King of Taungu returned to his own dominion with the principal part of the plunder. The prince of Arakan received a portion of the treasure, with a white elephant, and one of the princesses of the family of the supreme king. He returned to his own country, leaving a garrison to hold Syriam; and the capital of Pegu, on the buildings of which Bureng Naung had lavished the gold and silver reft from the conquered countries, was left a heap of ruins.

The warlike king of Siam again appeared in Pegu. He desired to gain possession of the person of the supreme king; but this being impossible, he retreated to Martaban. He made a Talaing chief king of that province, with the old title of Binya Dala; and Byathabaik was made tributary king of Tavoy. Thus the great empire of united Pegu and Burma, which a generation before had excited the wonder of European travellers, was utterly broken up; and the wide delta of the Irawadi, with a soil fertile as Egypt, and in a geographical position commanding the outlet of a great natural highway, was abandoned by those who might claim to represent the ancient rulers, and left to be parcelled out by petty local chiefs, and European adventurers.

VII.

The Burmese empire consolidated by King Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata had been gradually disintegrating during the reign of his son and successor; the Toungoo-Yauk-Min; and on the deposition of the latter, and the assumption of supreme authority by the King of Toungoo, the territory of the supreme King comprised only Hanthawadi and Toungoo Prome and Ava, two other Kingdoms which formed part of the Burmese Empire, were independent, and in fact, every governor of an important town or province was, more or less, a king unto himself. The territory to the east of Hanthawadi was practically under the Siamese, that to the north of Toungoo was taken possession of by the governor of Nyaung-yan whose career it is necessary for us to trace briefly, as he and his son played important parts at that period of Burmese history.

At the time the King of Toungoo was concentrating his energies on Hanthawadi, the governor of Nyaung-yan soon made himself master of the towns in the neighbourhood of Nyaung-yan, and with power thus gradually increased by the acquisition of new towns and the reinforcement of fresh levies, he marched on Pagan, and subsequently on to Ava which had been left in the care of two officers, with a force of about 3,000 men; the King, Minyè Kyawzwa, had gone down to Hanthawadi to assume the position of Maha Upayaza which had been vacant by the death of his elder brother in the campaign against Yodaya. The two officers tendered their submission to Nyaung-yan Min who thus became master of Ava, without any opposition. After a short and successful expedition against the Sawbwas of Mo-hnyin and Mo-gaung, he formally ascended the throne of Ava on Friday the 12th of waxing Tabaung 961 (March 1599 A. D.), assuming the title of Thiha-thura-damayaza (Sīhasūra Dhammarāja).

While the governor of Nauug-yau was endeavouring to work his way to the throne of Ava, the King of Prome foresaw the danger that must inevitably arise, should the governor succeed in his efforts. He therefore sent a message to the King of Toungoo, explaining the threatened danger, and asking for co-operation to put down the rising power of the ambitious governor, and frustrate, before it was too late, his schemes to sovereign authority. The King of Toungoo readily approved of the idea, seeing it was a common danger. Accordingly, it was agreed that he was to send an army by land, while the King of Prome was to despatch an army up the river. The land forces from Toungoo consisted of 40 elephants, 300 horse and 80,000 men under the command of the King's second son Min-yè Kyawzwa. The King of Prome sent by land, ahead of him, a force of 50 elephants, 500 horses, and 8,000 men under the command of Min-yè Uzana, governor of Salin, with orders to wait at Salin. He himself was to follow later, with a force of about 20,000 men, in 200 war vessels and 100 transport boats. But the stars of the governor of Nyaung-yau were in the ascendant, and the efforts of his enemies to frustrate him came to nothing. An attempt to assassinate the King of Prome was made by one of his personal attendants, while he was about to start for Ava, and in trying to get away from his assassins, he jumped from his royal barge into the the river and was drowned. The treacherous attendant, known as Yannaing-za, then usurped the throne of Prome. On hearing what had happened to the King of Prome, the King of Toungoo promptly issued orders to his son, countermanding the march to Ava, and directing him to go and capture Prome. The son obeyed and laid siege, but Prome held out. Failing in their object, the besiegers tried to capture Myedè, a town not far above Prome, where they met with failure also. At

fast the forces were recalled to Toungoo.

Finding himself fairly secure on the throne of Ava, King Thiha-thura-damayaza turned his attention to the subjugation of the Shan States, formerly subject to Ava. It was his intention to bring Prome and Toungoo under his rule, and on the fall of the latter, he would nominally be the supreme king over united Burma, because at that time Hanthawadi formed part of Toungoo. He, however, was destined not to accomplish his object, as he fell ill and died, on Friday the 11th of waning Tabaung 967 (March 1605 A. D.), while returning from an expedition against Theinni Sawbwa.

In enumerating the incidents of his life, which went to show his power and glory, the Burmese historian mentioned casually, that in the year 966 (A. D. 1604), King Bra Narit of Yodaya marched an army of twenty brigades, via Zinmè, to invade Ava; but owing to the power of the Burmese Monarch, the King of Yodaya fell ill suddenly, and died at Maing-Hin, a provincial town of Zinmè.

On the death of Nyaung-yan Min or King Thiha-thura-damayaza of Ava, his eldest son ascended the throne, assuming the title of King Maha Damayaza (Mahā Dhammarājā).

After the break-up of the Burmese empire, on the deposition and death of Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata's son and successor, the relations between Burma and Siam were interrupted, owing chiefly to the struggle for supremacy among the petty kings, none of whom was strong enough singly to think of an invasion of Yodaya. The King of Yodaya, on his part, must have thought it advisable to let his enemies fight one another, till they became so exhausted and weakened as to fall an easy prey to his arms, when he would pounce upon them, and realize his great ambition of bringing Burma under his rule.

To add to the state of confusion and anarchy that prevailed then, a foreign adventurer arose, whose ambition it was to convert the Kingdom of Hanthawadi into a far eastern possession of the King of Portugal; and he would probably have attained his ambition, had he not been overcome by his lust for gold, which brought about his own ruin, and warded off, for two centuries and a half, the fate of Hanthawadi coming under the sway of a European power. The events narrated here concern Burma more than Siam, but it is necessary to know the state in which Burma then was, to understand the principal cause of the cessation, for the time being, of the incessant wars between the two countries.

Apparently the King of Toungoo, who became the nominal supreme king by successfully rising against the King of Hanthawadi and deposing him, established his seat of government at Toungoo. In fact, he could not possibly reside in Hanthawadi, without rebuilding for himself costly palaces and other official residences, because the old buildings, on which King Kyawdin Nawrata lavished his great wealth, had been set fire to and destroyed by the Arakanese, on the approach of the Siamese to Hanthawadi. He built a new palace at Toungoo in the year 964 (A. D 1602), and having occupied it, assumed the title of Maha Damayza (Mahā Dhammarājā). He appointed his son, Nat-Shin-Naung, as Maha Upayaza.

The King of Arakan continued to remain on very friendly terms with the King of Toungoo, and there was frequent interchange of compliments and presents by means of royal messengers to and fro. In those days, the methods of administration were probably very defective, and the authority of the central government could not have extended very far from its seat;

for the royal messengers of the sovereigns were often molested and robbed on the way. At last, the King of Arakan proposed that he should keep a small force at Than-lyin (Syriam), to ensure the safety of the royal messengers, as well as traders. Consent was readily given by the King of Toungoo, and the King of Arakan, unfortunately, chose and sent a "Kala Baringyi" by name Nga-zin-ga, with three ships, one hundred small vessels, and 2000 men to occupy Than-lyin. This foreign adventurer very soon repaired the moats, walls, and defences of the town of Than-lyin, made it in fact a fairly strong fortress. He then commenced trading on his own account. At first he kept himself in favour with the two kings by sending presents regularly. He also tried to be on friendly terms with Binnya Dala, the governor of Môttama; and subsequently succeeded in forming a matrimonial alliance, by marrying his daughter to Binnya Dala's son, Binnya Nwè. Relying on the support of Binnya Dala, he soon threw up his former masters the Kings of Arakan and Toungoo, and tried to assert his independence, by disobeying their orders and ceasing to send them the usual presents. He also intercepted the royal messengers and traders going to and fro between Arakan and Toungoo. So in the year 965 (A. D. 1603), the King of Arakan proposed to the King of Toungoo that they should take joint action, by the former sending a fleet, and the latter despatching an army by land. The King of Toungoo readily agreed to assist, and sent an army consisting of 300 elephants, 3000 horse, and 50,000 men under command of his eldest son, the Upayaza. The King of Arakan, on his part, sent his eldest son, the Upayaza, with 100 war vessels and over 100 transport boats. Kala Nga-zin-ga, at first, thought he would be no match to the combined forces, and tried to escape with the ships he had in hand, having fully armed them with guns and ammunition. The

Arakanese Upayaza, in trying to intercept the escape of the Kala, was himself worsted in the fight, and fell a prisoner into the hands of Nga-zin-ga. The forces from Toungoo were still at a place called Ma-kaw, some distance from Than-lyin, and were therefore unable to be of any assistance to the Arakanese. When news of what had befallen the Arakanese flotilla and its commander reached the Upayaza of Toungoo, he stopped where he was and waited further developments. The King of Arakan learnt the fate of his son from those who escaped and got back to Arakan. He lost no time in coming to Than-lyin, with a flotilla of over 300 war vessels, and in consultation with the Upayaza of Toungoo, laid siege to the Kala's fortress. The foreign adventurer, encouraged by his recent success over a host, compared with which his small band of adventurers in three ships was a mere handful, decided to stand the siege. All attempts to storm the fort failed, and the Kala refused to capitulate. The besiegers were therefore obliged to parley, asking for the release of the Arakanese Upayaza, on the condition of raising the siege. In his message, the King of Arakan addressed Nga-zin-ga as his subject (lit: slave), and this was objected to by the foreigner who demanded to be addressed as an independent king, and made the compliance of his demand as the condition of the release of his prisoner. The King of Arakan and the Upayaza of Toungoo were obliged to comply with the adventurer's demand, though it must certainly be against the grain and conscience of the King of Arakan to address his once menial servant as his equal in rank. They reasoned, probably to appease their conscience, that the King of Yodaya was hand and glove with Binnya Dala of Môttama, and Nga-zin-ga had formed an alliance with the latter by the marriage of his daughter with the latter's son. Therefore, he might, in all probability, get assistance from Môttama and

Yodaya. The Arakanese Upayaza was restored to his father, only after the Kala had exacted a promise from the besiegers that, in future, they were not to attack Than-lyin at all. The siege was raised, and, the forces returned to their respective capitals. After this, the authority of the King of Toungoo was further curtailed, by Nga-zin-ga setting up a sort of petty kingdom, controlling the ports of Dala and Patheia (Bassein), and completely stopping supplies of foreign goods to Toungoo and the interior, except perhaps, only when it was to his benefit to allow them to be passed on,

Increased prosperity and power must have aroused the cupidity of Nga-Zin-ga; for as soon as he found himself able to do what he pleased, he started ransacking the pagodas and shrines round about Hanthawadi, and despoiling the gold and silver images of Buddha enshrined in them. He removed the precious stones with which the images were adorned, melted down the gold and the silver, and beat them into leaves which he sold to traders calling at the ports. Thus, he waxed very rich by this nefarious trade, and with riches came power and as authority.

The new King of Ava was not idle in the meantime. In the year 969 (A. D. 1607), he got together his auxiliary forces and levies from the Shan States and marched on to Prome, sending his forces both by land and water. After a siege of eight months, Prome surrendered in Wagaung 970 (August 1608). After appointing his brother Minyè Thinkathu as governor of the town, he returned to Ava.

The fall of Prome must have caused some apprehension in the minds of the Kings of Toungoo and Zinmè, for they both offered the King of Ava to form alliances by marriage. His Majesty of Ava however declined both, and took his own sister as his

chief queen. But towards the close of the year 972 (A. D. 1610.), the King of Zinmè sent one of his daughters by a concubine, to the King of Ava.

On Tuesday the 15th of waxing Wagaung 971 (August 1609.), the King of Toungoo died, and six days after, his son Nat-Shin-Naung ascended the throne, assuming the title of King Thilha-thura (Siha-nūra). The very next year the King of Ava invaded Toungoo with a force of 500 elephants, 10,000 horses, and 120,000 men. After a siege of some months, the King of Toungoo tendered his submission on Friday the 2nd of waning Tawthalin 972 (September 1610.), but he was permitted to rule as a tributary king. About three months after, the King of Ava returned to his capital, taking with him a great many of the inhabitants of Toungoo.

In Wagaung of the year 974 (August 1612), Kala Nga-zin-ga of Than-lyin together with Binnya Dala of Môttama invaded Toungoo, the former coming up by water, and the latter marching by land. The garrison at Kyauk-Maw under the command of one of the king's brothers was taken by surprise and obliged to fall back on Toungoo. Crippled and depopulated only two years ago, Toungoo was not in a position to offer any resistance, and fell almost immediately. The Queen Mother succeeded in effecting her escape to Ava. Of the inhabitants, some fled to Ava, some were taken prisoners to Than-lyin and Môttama. The "kalas" stayed about ten days in Toungoo, during which time they plundered and pillaged to their hearts' content, and reduced to ashes the palaces and many other buildings. They then returned to Than-lyin with their booty, taking with them the unfortunate King of Toungoo.

The King of Ava sent a force of 100 elephants, 300 horse, and 20,000 men to go and assist Toungoo, but they had reached only as far as Yamèthin when they heard that Toungoo had fallen, and the king already

taken away. They were therefore recalled to Ava, and preparations on a very grand scale were made for the invasion of Than-lyin. A very noticeable feature in the invading forces on this occasion is the very large number of war boats which were not fewer than 800, and there were 300 transport boats besides. These were laden with a great many battering cannons and scaling ladders, and manned by 30,000 men. The land forces comprised of 600 elephants, 700 horse, and 130,000 men. Both divisions of the army left Ava in Pyatho 974 (January 1612). Kala Nga zin-ga must have had a very great confidence in himself to think of resisting a siege, or very probably, he expected foreign assistance from Goa. The King of Ava took the necessary precaution not to let the Kala escape, by having his war boats stationed at such waterways as would offer the Kala a passage out. It is somewhat interesting to know the details of the attack on Than-lyin, as described in the Hmannan Yazawin. Repeated attempts were made to storm the fort by scaling the walls, but the storming parties were always foiled in their attempts by the defenders pouring down red-pepper water and (boiling) wax of the dammer bee, in addition to using fire arms. Every such attempt was attended with heavy losses. But the King of Ava was not to be easily baffled. A mine was dug from the besieger's camp till it struck the base of the wooden palisades of the town. Then, after midnight on the night of the 7th. of waxing Tagu (April), a general assault on the fort was made. But the assaulting parties were, as before, foiled in their attempt, owing to the shower of red-pepper water, boiling dammer bees-wax, and pots of live coal (charcoal). At this stage, however, men were sent into the mine to haul the base of the wooden palisades by ropes, and by this means three posts were laid low, and a breach effected. Through the breach, the besiegers poured in and overpowered the

defenders. The town was given up to pillage, and it is said that there was not a single soldier who did not get some sort of booty.

Kala Nga-zin-ga was secured, and on being questioned why he had the audacity to encroach on Toungoo, he replied that he only availed himself of the offer of the King of Toungoo to hand over the kingdom to him. Evidence was adduced that the King of Toungoo did send a letter to the Kala, but what its contents were, was not proved. On this flimsy evidence, the unfortunate King of Toungoo was condemned to an ignominious death in the centre of the town. A worse fate awaited Nga-zin-ga, who was ordered to be impaled in front of his own house, and to be exposed to the view of the public. The principal reason given for his execution and the mode of carrying it out, was that he was heretic and a sacrilegious despoiler of pagodas. The order was carried out to the very letter, ten days after the capture of the town; thus ended the career of this foreign adventurer who, from a very low position, rose to be practically a petty king in Hanthawadi, though short-lived was the power to which he was not born. Between four and five hundred Kala Baringyi men and women of Nga-zin-ga's nationality, including his own kith and kin, were sent up to Ava and made to reside there.

About a month after, the King of Ava left Than-lyin to go to Hanthawadi, but before he had reached his destination, news was received of the arrival of five ships laden with about 3000 Kalapathi mercenaries, who had been sent for by Nga-zin-ga. Of these five ships, only one managed to escape; the rest were captured. The Burmese chronicler mentions that Nga-zin-ga knew well that his capture of Toungoo would not be overlooked by the King of Ava, and even if overlooked, the mercenaries would come in handy, as it was his inten-

tion to take Prome with their aid, and on the fall of Prome, to march on to Ava itself. Not long after, another ship laden with treasure and merchandise arrived from the town of Asi (Acheen), having been sent there by Nga-zin-ga to trade in his wife's name. This was also captured.

On arrival at Hanthawadi, the King of Ava, who was practically the supreme king of Burma proper and Hanthawadi, resided in a temporary palace; and thither went, early in 975 (A. D. 1613), Binnya Dala, governor of Môttama, to tender his submission. He had to take the oath of allegiance and the title of Binnya Damayaza was conferred on him. Binnya Paran, governor of Ye, was ordered to reside in Hanthawadi, and one of the king's brothers, the Sagaing Min, was sent there with a force to garrison the town. The King of Yodaya ordered the governor of Dawè (Tavoy) to go and capture the Burmese king's brother at Ye, and to send him up to the capital. The governor of Dawè marched on Ye and surprised the garrison, as the Sagaing Min apprehended no danger from that quarter, thinking that Dawè was loyal to the supreme king. The Sagaing Min was taken away to Dawè, and while he was being conveyed by boat to Yodaya, the savage Lawas rescued him with the intention of restoring him to the supreme king. He was, however, retaken by the governor of Dawè.

After the capture of Than-lyin, the supreme king appeared to have fixed his residence in Hanthawadi, though residing only in a temporary palace. In Nadaw 975 (December 1613), he went to Môttama and there learnt what had happened in Ye. He immediately despatched a force of 80 elephants, 1000 horse, and 40,000 men to Dawè, and himself went on to Ye. The governor of Dawè met the Burmese forces outside the town, but he was killed in the fight, and the town was captured by the

Burmese. The forces then returned to Ye, after leaving a small detachment to garrison the town. Almost immediately after their arrival in Ye, a force of 120 elephants, 1200 horse, and 40,000 men was despatched to Taninthari (Tenasserim). The Burmese could not get to the town of Taninthari, as they were separated from it by a river, and they had no boats to cross the river. The King of Yodaya tried to cut off the communication of the Burmese army with their King by felling big trees and bamboo groves, and blocking the way. His Majesty of Yodaya also sent a force consisting of eight brigades, under the command of Oya Win and Binnya U. An engagement took place, in which Oya Peiksi and Oya Thu-wunna-lauk were the first to be forced to retire, and subsequently the whole eight brigades were defeated. The Siamese army returned to Yodaya and the Burmese forces to Mottama, whither the supreme king had returned from Ye. No mention is made in Hmannan history as to whether Taninthari was taken and occupied by the Burmese, on this occasion.

While the supreme king was still staying at Mottama, he learnt of the following affairs in Zimmè (Chiangmai). Nawrata Minsaw, a son of King Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata, who had been King of Zimmè since the year 941 (A. D. 1579.) died; by his chief queen he had one daughter who had been given in marriage to the King of Yodaya, and three sons, the eldest of whom, Tulaung Prince, married a daughter of His Siamese Majesty and resided at the Siamese capital; the two others, Minyè Deikba and Thado Kyaw, lived in Zimmè. On the death of Nawrata Minsaw, the ministers, Thane-lôn and Than-lan, invited Tulaung Prince to come over and assume sovereignty. The prince came with a small force, but before he could get to Zimmè, the two ministers changed their minds and supported Minyè Deikba

in his claim to the throne. When he arrived in Zinmè, he became aware of the change of front in the two ministers, and therefore encamped outside the town. But before the two brothers came face to face, the elder got some affection of the throat accompanied by mumps, which soon grew worse and proved fatal. The Siamese forces who accompanied him then returned to Yodaya. Not very long after, the two fickle ministers deposed Minyè Deikba and made him a monk, at the same time raising his younger brother, Thado-kyaw, to the throne. The Burmese Monarch thought it a fitting opportunity to go and take possession of Zinmè, and accordingly he left Mòttama in Kasôn 976 (May 1614). His march was so slow on account of big trees and bamboos felled across the way to impede his advance, that he had to enlist the services of the hill Lawas to show him the way. When eventually he reached Labôn, the governor of Lawin, hearing of the advance of the Burmese forces, gathered in men and provisions into the town. The Burmese went on to Zinmè, where they were asked to go and attack Lawin, as there was no one in Zinmè to fight against them. His Burman Majesty went to Lawin, and encamped near the town. It was reported to him that the army was very short of provisions, and there was no means of replenishing their store. His Majesty said that in that case, they should try and capture the town as quickly as possible, and with this object he ordered the camps to be removed to within a "Ta" (7 cubits about 153 English inches) of the moat. On inspection of the camps, that of Monè Sawbwa was found to be farther removed from the moat than the prescribed limit. The Sawbwa fearing punishment, which might probably mean death, fled from the camp with all his men. An attempt was made to capture him, but he made good his escape. In the meantime, about a third of the investing forces were starving, and the generals, except one Minyè

Thihathu, solicited the King to raise the siege and return. Minyè-Thihathu, on the other hand, begged the King to persevere for about half a month, as he expected to be able to make an entry at a place near his camp. He said, the sick, the starving, and the disabled could be sent back ahead to go by slow marches. His advice, coupled with the hope of success prevailed on His Majesty. Fortunately for the starving army, the governor of Anan arrived a few days later to tender his submission, bringing with him sixty bullock loads of rice.

Thado-kyaw, King of Zinmè, had from the very beginning, appealed to Linzin for help, and on the arrival of the allies from Linzin, they were taken into the city. He could not, however, avail himself of their assistance as he died not long after. On his death, the ministers took his elephant and his regalia and presented them to the Burmese King, in his camp at Lawin. His Majesty sent the same ministers to go and inform the chief of Lawin of the fact of their master's death. The chief lost heart on hearing the sad news, and surrendered about a fortnight later. The Burmese Monarch was highly pleased with this unexpected turn of affairs. He rewarded Minyè-Thihathu by giving him Anan, and the governor of Anan was given Zinmè, in recognition of his valuable and timely help. He left Zinmè in Kasôn 977 (May 1615.), and arrived at Hanthawadi in Wazo (July) following.

The supreme king did not forget the desertion of Monè Sawbwa during the siege of Lawin, and was bent on punishing him. So in Nayôn 983 (June 1621), he sent his younger brother Minyè Kyawzwa with a force of 150 elephants, 1000 horse, and 40,000 men to go to Kyaing-tôn, whither the Sawbwa had fled. The Shan chief had appealed to Linzin for help and he was encamped on the east bank of Mè Pein (Me Ping), with a small force of

Linzin allies. The Burmese advance forces arrived near the river about 3 A. M. One of the brigade commanders, Minyè-Kyawdin proposed an immediate attack, as he doubted whether the Linzin forces would ever give battle the next morning. Minyè Kyawzwa thought it better to wait till next morning, first, because all the forces had not yet arrived, and secondly, they had no information as to the strength of the enemy. During the night the Linzin forces retreated leaving the Sawbwa quite helpless. He had no alternative but to throw himself on the mercy of the Burmese commanders. He explained that it was not disaffection or disloyalty that had prompted him to leave his post, but the fear of what might have befallen him had actuated his flight. A report of the surrender was sent to Hanthawadi, when an order from His Majesty came that Minyè-Kyawdin and Thibaw Sawbwa, two brigade commanders, and Baya-kamani, a lieutenant commander, were to bring Monè Sawbwa to Hanthawadi. On arrival, they were asked why they had allowed the Linzin forces to escape, and they replied that they could offer no reason, instead of rightly throwing the blame on Minyè-Kyawzwa. His Majesty was so displeased with their conduct that he exiled Thibaw Sawbwa to Ye, and Baya-kamani to Dawè, while Minyè Kyawdin was ordered to be confined for seven days, but before the end of the week, he died.

Early in 984 (A. D. 1622), an expedition was despatched against Kyaingrôn, in which Minyè-Kyawzwa's forces, who still remained in the Shan States, also co-operated. Owing, it is said, to the long distance, and the proximity of the area of operations to Chinese territory, the supreme king thought it necessary to send a reinforcement under his other brother Thado-Damayaza, in Nadaw 985 (December 1623). The Sawbwa of Kyaingrôn surrendered and a report to that effect was sent to the capital. His Majesty sent orders that the

Sawbwa should be reinstated in his principality, after the oath of allegiance had been administered to him, and that his children and brothers were to be sent to Hanthawadi as hostages. Further, he ordered his two brothers to remain in Kyaingrôn, making preparations for an expedition against Linzin, as it was his intention to invade Linzin the next year.

In the meantime, the Sawbwa of Kyaing-kaung rebelled, and made himself secure in the town of Anan. To suppress this rebellion, only a small force was despatched from the capital, the forces under his two brothers being ordered to co-operate with it. They attacked Anan and subsequently Kyaing-kaung, and captured both in 986 (A. D. 1624.). The Sawbwa of Kyaing-rôn and his brother, who was Sawbwa of Maing-si, again rebelled, but they were soon captured and executed in 988 (A. D. 1626.) without reference to the capital.

Towards the close of the year 988, the royal astrologers foresaw some danger to His Majesty, and to avert it they advised him to go and stay on the west of the (Pegu) river. While residing there he was assassinated, on Thursday the 8th of waxing first Wazo 990 (July 1628.), by Minyè Deikba, one of his sons by a concubine. It appeared that Minyè Deikba was in constant attendance on his father, and being permitted to stay within the temporary palace building, obtained opportunities to form an undue intimacy with one of his father's concubines, who was the daughter of the Sawbwa of Kyaing-tôn. When the matter could no longer be concealed, it was reported to the King, to whom the guilty parties confessed their guilt. The father was not so greatly incensed as the nature of the crime and the parties concerned should have made him, but he simply frightened his son by threatening that he would be fried alive. The terrified prince thought his father really meant what he said, and consequently planned

the assassination to escape a dreadful death. Thus closed the career of King Maha Damayaza who, though less illustrious than Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata, was, nevertheless, a distinguished and powerful monarch in the history of Burma. He had succeeded in bringing Burma proper and Hanthawadi under one rule, in fact, in recovering King Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata's empire, except the foreign tributary kingdoms like Yodaya, Linzin, and Lawaik, which it was his intention to recover also, had he not met his death at the hands of his son. He is also known in Burmese history as Anaukpet-lun-Mintaya (the King who passed away on the west side), because he met an unnatural death on the west side of the town of Hanthawadi.

Sir A. P. Phayre's account
of the same narrative.

CHAPTER XV.

PEGU AND BURMA AGAIN UNITED.

**The King of
Arakan occupies
Syriam.**

The fate of Pegu was for the moment decided by the presence of Portuguese adventurers, who swarmed in Arakan and the neighbouring countries.¹ The King of Arakan at this time was Meng Rájágyi, who had taken the Muhammadan name of Salim Shah.² His son, Meng Khamaung, had commanded the fleet and army which co-operated with the King of Taungu in the siege of the capital of Pegu. The prince, when leaving to return home with the booty he had acquired, placed a garrison in the port of Thanhlyin, called by Europeans Syriam. It was at that time the principal seaport of the kingdom, and remained so until superseded by Rangoon. The King of Arakan determined to retain Syriam, but saw that as the Portuguese had command of the sea, he could not safely do so without their concurrence. Too proud openly to ask for their assistance, he sought to obtain it by means of one of their own countrymen who was in his service. For some years there had been in Arakan a young Portuguese, originally a shipboy, who had served as a menial in the palace, and was trusted by the king as a faithful servant. His name

1. See chapter XVIII.

2. That this King was known by this name to foreigners is evident from the Portuguese historian, who has written it *Xilinixa*.

Philip de Brito was Philip de Brito and Nicote.¹ He was sent by the king of Arakan to have charge of the custom-house at Syriam, and to represent the king with his own countrymen. The commandant of the garrison was an Arakanese. He had no authority over the Portuguese inhabitants, who were guaranteed the enjoyment of their own laws. De Brito appears gradually to have formed the plan of becoming master of the town and port. He got permission to build a custom-house of brick; a fort was afterwards constructed as a protection to the custom-house; and by the boldness of a Portuguese officer, Salvador Ribeyro, the Arakanese commander was expelled from the settlement. De Brito was now supreme as governor. He went to Goa to seek from the viceroy authority to hold the town under him. During his absence the king of Arakan sent an army across the mountains under the expelled commandant, who was also joined by some troops sent by the king of Prome. They came down the Irâwadi and invested Syriam, and being joined by a large body of the Talaing population, continued the siege for eight months. Ribeyro was acting governor, and determined not to surrender. To prevent his countrymen from thinking of escape while suffering from hunger, he burnt three ships he had in the port. At length, relief was sent by the viceroy, and the investing force withdrew. Ribeyro took prudent measures to conciliate the Talaing chiefs, who now offered to accept de Brito as king of Pegu. He, in the meantime, had married the viceroy's niece and returned to Pegu with the title of captain-general. He had with him six ships, and proclaimed his reception of the kingdom in the name of his sovereign. He put the fortifications in

De Brito seizes the port.

Is supported by the Portuguese Viceroy of India.

1. The story of this adventurer is told in De Sousa's History, vol. iii., and in the native histories of Arakan and Burma. He is mentioned in the narrative of the Hollander traveller Floris, and in the letters of the Jesuit Fathers Boves and Fernandez. One of these Fathers states that he went from Arakan to Pegu with De Brito in A. D. 1600 (Purchas' Pilgrims, vol. ii. p. 1746).

**The King of
Arakan attacks
Syriam and is
defeated.**

order, built a church, and marked out the limits of the city, which, with prudent management, might become the capital of a great province under the crown of Portugal. The king of Arakan was not disposed to allow his former servant to remain quietly in his usurped position ; but knowing that de Brito was now supported by the viceroy, he temporised, and sent him a complimentary message. De Brito forwarded a rich present to his former master. But this false courtesy on both sides, was soon changed to open war. The King of Arakan entered into a league with the king of Taungu, and sent a force to Pegu under his son Meng Khamaung. The army, embarked in several hundred vessels, approached Syriam, and the Arakanese flotilla was at once attacked by a few Portuguese ships commanded by Pinnero. The Arakanese were defeated, and the prince was taken prisoner and carried to Syriam. De Brito had the good feeling to treat the son of his former master with great respect. Nevertheless, he demanded a ransom of fifty thousand crowns for his release. The king of Arakan, sooner than submit to these terms, determined to make another attempt to take the port. Leagued with the king of Taungu, they brought a more formidable host to the attack by land and sea. Pinnero gallantly went out to fight the assailing vessels, but failed and perished by blowing up his own ship rather than be taken prisoner. The allied force was unable to capture the town, and the king of Arakan having paid the ransom demanded, the young prince was released.

A. D. 1604.

**De Brito offends
the Talaings by
his evil deeds.**

De Brito was now secure. The Talaing chiefs sought his friendship, and even the king of Taungu entered into alliance with him. Bassein and all the western side of the delta was independent. But de Brito's son, Simon, married a daughter of Binya Dâla, the king of Martaban, who was tributary to Siam, and the Portuguese interests were thereby secured in that important province. The captain-

general, however, instead of endeavouring to conciliate the native population, from prudent self-interest, if not from a sense of justice, by showing respect to their religious feelings, wantonly outraged them. The native historians, Burmese and Talaing, record with intense bitterness that the pagodas round the city of Pegu were dug into and plundered of the golden images, and precious stones, which Bureng Naung had enshrined in those fabrics. The people, deeply moved at this sacrilege, murmured among themselves that their race and religion would be brought to an end. The perpetrator of these outrages vainly sought to strengthen his government by pressing Buddhists to become nominal Christians; for the Portuguese historian speaks of a hundred thousand converts to Christianity. While the foreign intruder, by his arrogance and oppression, was digging a pit for his own fall, a power was rising in the country of the upper Irâwadi which was destined to avenge his deeds of injustice.

**Ngyaung Ram
Meng, King of
Burma, son of
Bureng Naung.**

After the destruction of the capital of Pegu, and when the supreme king had been carried as a captive to Taungu, his younger brother, Ngyaung Ram Meng, refrained from interfering in the affairs of the lower country, and sought to establish his own authority in the ancient kingdom of Burma. The country in the valley of the Irâwadi to the north of Pagan submitted to him. His nephew, the king of Prome, seeing danger to himself in this consolidation of power, determined to invade Ava, but was assassinated by one of his own officers, who then declared himself king of Prome. Ngyaung Ram Meng having strengthened the defences of his capital, marched against the chiefs of Mogaung and Monyin, who had refused to pay tribute. He was unsuccessful in this expedition, but punished the chief of Bamoa, and extended his authority along the Upper Sittaung to Ramêthen. The next three or four years were occupied in subduing

the Shan states, including the two strongest, which before had repulsed him, and while so employed the king died.

A. D. 1605.

**His son, Maha
Dhamma Raja
destroys Syriam
and reigns in
Pegu.**

He was succeeded by his son, who took the title of Mahâ Dhammâ Râjâ. His father, when on his death-bed, had solemnly charged him to re-establish the empire of Bureng Naung, and to recover Prome without delay. The northern and eastern Shan states

A. D. 1608.

had at this time been brought under control, but it was not until three years later that Prome was taken, after an investment of eight months. The usurper's life was spared, and the king appointed his own brother governor of the town. He then returned to Ava, and received friendly messages from the kings of Arakan, Taungu, and Zimmè, who saw that he was likely to become master of all

A. D. 1610.

He next marched against Taungu. The king of that state, named Natsheng, was the son of him who had taken the capital of Pegu. He agreed to become tributary to his cousin, and yielded some of his family as hostages of his fidelity. By this act he broke faith with de Brito, who, with the king of Martaban, led an army to Taungu and made Natsheng prisoner.

A. D. 1612.

They plundered the city, burnt the palace, and then retired.

The Burmese king determined to punish this insult to his authority, and at once prepared to attack de Brito in his stronghold. His arrangements were made with great care, as he knew the enterprise would be one of difficulty; but he would allow of no delay, and sending forward all his forces by land and river on their way to Pegu, he himself left his capital early in December of the same year. Before the close of the year the Burmese hosts had gathered round Syriam by land and water. The king was chiefly anxious that the hated de Brito should not escape, and all the outlets on the sea-coast were vigi-

lantly watched. The Portuguese governor, though he had been so recklessly aggressive, was utterly unprepared to resist attack. He was short of powder ; he had lately allowed many of his Europeans to go to India ; and had only one hundred Portuguese in the garrison. (1) The plan of the Burmese king, who had no guns to batter the fort, was by strict blockade to starve the inhabitants ; and so effectually was this performed, that after thirty-four days de Brito sent to beg mercy. No answer was given. The king of Arakan sent a fleet of fifty boats, hoping yet to recover his authority in the port, but these were all taken by the besiegers. At length a Talaing chief in the town, opened one of the gates, and the besiegers entered at night during the first week of April. De Brito, the sacrilegious wretch who destroyed pagodas, as is remarked in the Burmese history when his punishment is related, was impaled on a high stake before his own house, and so lived for three days in dreadful agony. Most of the leading Portuguese were executed, and the remainder, as well as de Brito's wife, and many of mixed race, were sent as slaves to Ava. Their descendants are still to be found there, and are known as native Christians. The Burmese king took care that de Brito's son Simon, who was at Martaban, should not escape, and he was put to death. The king of Taungu, no doubt, was similarly disposed of, though it is said he died a natural death. A few days after the surrender, five ships laden with arms and powder, sent by the viceroy from Goa, arrived to relieve Syriam. Somewhat later a ship belonging to de Brito's wife came in from Achin laden with provisions. All but one of these were taken by the victors, and the fortune of Mahâ Dhammâ Râjâ pre-

A. D. 1613.

1. The siege of Syriam is described in detail by Paris de Sousa, who condemns the evil conduct of de Brito as well as his neglect to provide against an attack.

vailed on every side. The king of Martaban submitted, and for the present was allowed to continue as tributary king. The king of Siam had sent a force to watch events, which advanced to Ye. But that kingdom could no longer contend with Burma. The warrior-king Byanarit had died at Zimmè, when he was believed to be on his march to attack Ava. His brother, who succeeded him, reigned only five years, after which a disputed succession and civil war, kept the Siamese employed at home for some years.

A. D. 1605.

CHAPTER XVI.

PEGU AND BURMA—STRUGGLE FOR
SUPREMACY—BRIEF SUCCESS
OF PEGU.

**Maha Dhamma
Raja recovers
the empire of
Bureng Naung.**

A. D. 1615.

After the capture of Syriam the king of Burma established himself in a camp near the city of Hantsawadi. He was determined to recover the whole dominion which had been ruled by his grandfather. Towards the end of the year he marched to Martaban, from whence he sent a body of troops under his brother, which occupied Tavoy, and a detachment was sent to the town of Tenasserim. The latter place was defended by some Portuguese in the service of the king of Siam. They had four galliots, from the fire of which the Burmese suffered considerable loss, before they could enter the town.

A. D. 1578

The king next turned his attention to Zimmè. The great Bureng Naung had made one of his sons tributary king of that state. On the death of Tharawadi Meng, his three sons disputed the throne, and the youngest, Thadogyoa, apparently by acknowledging the supremacy of Siam, was successful. The king, in pursuance of his plan to restore the empire, marched on Zimmè from Martaban, and reached that city in the summer. Thadogyoa

A. D. 1615.

made but a feeble resistance, was taken prisoner, and being a traitor, is no more mentioned. Most of the leading officers of the state were sent prisoners to Pegu, and the king remained there for a year, settling the country, and devising measures for further operations. He prudently abstained from interfering with Laos, and returned to Pegu, leaving one of his sons as governor with the title of Mengrè Dippa. ¹ He

A. D. 1616.

1. In Purchas' "Pilgrims," vol. v. p. 1006, is the story of an Englishman, named Thomas Samuel, who had been sent to Zimmè from Siam, "to discover the

again took up his abode in camp, and when the city had been thoroughly put in order, entered it towards the end of the year. He diligently attended to the affairs of the kingdom, appointed Burmese, Shans, and Talaings to administer the districts. Burma proper, Prome, Taungu, and Zimmè, were governed by tributary kings or viceroys; Martaban and Tenasserim by governors; and Pegu was under the direct government of the supreme king himself.

* * * * *

During the remainder of this king's reign no great public events are recorded. He continued to hold his court at the ancient capital of Pegu. His younger brother, Mengrè Kyoaswâ, was tributary king in Ava. Another brother, Thado Dammâ Râjâ was tributary king in Prome. The supreme king himself occasionally held his court in Ava. Some of the Shan states at intervals gave trouble, and an expedition against Kyaing Hung or Yun was made, the chief of which state had withheld payment of tribute. The king sincerely desired to do justice to all. A handsome bell was cast and hung at the palace gate, on which was an inscription in the Burmese and Talaing languages, exhorting complainants to strike the bell and the king would hear their cry.² Yet this beneficent king met his death in consequence of a palace scandal in which his own son was concerned, and who, in the words

trade of that country." Being there when the city was captured, he with all other strangers was carried to Pegu. He died; but in a letter from one William Methold, it appears that his property was given up by order of the king, who signified his desire that the English should trade with his country. An order to that effect, "written on a palmitto leaf," was brought to Masulipatam in April 1619 by two Englishmen from Pegu.

2. For the curious subsequent history of this bell, see note at the end of this chapter.

of the Burmese chronicler, "committed an unutterable crime." The deed was perpetrated at a temporary palace on the west bank of the river of Pegu, from whence this king is now best known as Anaukphet Lwun Meng, or the king who passed away on the west side.

VIII.

On the death of King Maha Damayaza or Anauk-pet-lun Mintaya, his son and assassin Minye Deikba ascended the throne. Thado Damayaza and Minye Kyawzwa, the brothers of the deceased monarch, were in the Shan states of Kyaing-rôn and Kyaing-thin, trying to subdue the rebellious chiefs of those states. An attempt was made by Minye Deikba to play one brother off the other, by sending messengers to each individually, asking one to try and kill the other. But Thado Damayaza was forewarned by the arrival of an express mounted messenger from Hanthawadi, twelve days after the death of his brother, he having made arrangements to have news in the capital conveyed to him in that manner. The two brothers made their way to Ava, and while still endeavouring to enter the northern capital, the principal attendants of Minye Deikba seized and placed him in the custody of Minye Nawrata. A deputation was then sent to Thado Damayaza, inviting him to come to Hanthawadi and assume sovereign authority. The forces opposing him tendered their submission on becoming aware of the deposition and captivity of Minye Deikba. He went to Hanthawadi, and on arrival, ordered the execution of Minye Deikba, saying that a parricide deserved no considerate treatment.

Following the example of his brother, he deferred the celebration of his coronation, and marched against Zimmè with a force of thirty-two brigades, on the 5th. of waning Nadaw 992 (December 1630. A. D.). Zimmè was not captured till Tagu 994 (April 1632. A. D.), and on the fall of Zimmè, the Sawbwas of Kyaing-rôn and Kyaing-tôn came and tendered their submission. The Sawbwa of Maing-kwin however, held out, and a force of 100 elephants, 1000 horse, and 40.000 men was sent

against him, under the command of the King's brother, Minyè Kyawzwa. Repeated assaults on the town having failed, the Burmese force was obliged to lay siege which lasted eight months. The inhabitants were practically starved out; and one night, when the defenders were too enfeebled to offer any resistance, the Burmese forces entered the town. After this, Minyè Kyawzwa returned to Zimmè to join the King. Leaving a force of to occupy Zimmè, His Burman Majesty left for Hantawadi in Tabodwè 994 (February 1633 A. D.), and arrived at his capital the following Tagu (April).

Soon after his arrival, grand preparations were made for his coronation; and on Friday the 9th of waning Nadaw 995 (December 1633. A. D.), he was formally crowned, assuming the title of Thiri Thudamayaza Maha Dibadi (Siri Sudhammarāja Mahādhipati).

On Friday the 8th. of waning Pyatho 995 (January 1634 A. D.), a mission was sent to Yodaya, with a letter from His Burman Majesty to the King of Yodaya; but what the contents of the letter were, are not mentioned in the Hmannan history.

In Pyatho 996 (January 1635 A. D.), the King went to Ava to go through a second coronation ceremony, which was performed in Nayôn 997 (June 1635 A.D.). He then appointed his brother Minyè Kyawzwa, as Upayaza. In accordance with a solemn resolve made while he was still a prince, he started building a pagoda which he called Yazamanisula (Kājamaṇicūlā), and enshrined in it an image of Buddha cast in pure gold, equal to his own weight. It was predicted that he would not live to finish the pagoda, and the prediction proved true, as he died on Thursday the 10th of waxing Tawthalin 1010

(September 1648 A. D.), before the "ti" (umbrella) was put on the pagoda. He is also known as "Thalun Mintaya." His brother whom he had appointed Upayaza pre-deceased him, having died on the 12th of waning second Wazo 1009 (August 1647 A. D.).

Minyè Yandameik the son of the deceased King, ascended the throne, assuming the title of Thiri Nanda Thudamayaza Pawara Dibadi (Siri Nanda Sudhammarājā Pavarādhpati). He appointed the eldest of his three brothers, as Upayza, with the title of Minyè Thihathu; the second brother was made governor of Toungoo, and the third, governor of Prome. The Upayaza, however, died about five years later, and his son was given the rank instead.

The greater part of this King's reign was occupied in repelling the incursions of the Chinese. On Monday the 1st of waxing Wagaung 1022 (August 1660 A.D.), a force of two brigades was sent to Zimmè, but for what purpose it is not stated, most probably to relieve the garrison there.

A scarcity of food followed as a consequence of the frequent incursions of the Chinese, who plundered and pillaged the country and robbed the people, during the time they were round about Ava. The unpaid levies from the outlying provinces, summoned to Ava for the defence of the capital, found it impossible to maintain themselves, when rice was sold at exorbitant rates by the King's concubines. Many were actually starving, and it is not surprising that the army should, in the circumstances, become disaffected and disloyal. They went to the governor of Prome who had been summoned to the capital to defend it against the Chinese, and asked him to depose his brother and assume sovereignty. On Friday the 7th. of waxing Nayôn 1023 (June 1661 A. D.), the governor of

Prome availed himself of the opportunity, entered the palace with a force, and surprised the King who surrendered himself to the mercy of his brother. At first, the deposed King and his family, consisting of his chief queen and son and grandson, were provided with a suitable residence and maintained properly by the new Sovereign, but not for very long. On the advice of his ministers, the King sanctioned the execution of his deposed brother, his chief queen, son and grandson, by drowning them in the Chindwin river.

On Wednesday the full-moon day of Tawthalin 1023 (September 1661 A. D.), he was formally crowned King, assuming the title of Maha Pawara Damayaza Lawkadibadi (Mahā Pavara Dhammarāja Lokādhipati).

Reports having been received that the people of Môtama were plotting a revolt, relying on the support of Yodaya, a force was sent to Pegu in Tabaung 1023 (March 1662), to be in readiness in case of need. And in Tazaungmôn 1024 (November 1662.), forces by land and water were sent to Môtama. At the same time, a force was despatched to Zinmè, as it was reported that an army from Yodaya was going up to attack Zinmè. But before the Burmese forces could reach Zinmè, the forces from Yodaya had already occupied the town, having captured it on Monday the 4th of waxing Tabaung 1024 (March 1663.). The Burmese were unable to enter the city; moreover, they were attacked by the Siamese from inside the city, as well as by some of the Siamese forces who were outside it. It was only with hard fighting that the Burmese were able to withdraw in good order.

In Kasôn 1025 (May 1663), reinforcements had to be sent to Môtama, on account of the

threatened invasion of Yodaya. The King of Yodaya sent his son, Binnya Win, the Crown Prince, with a large force to capture Môttama. The Burmese, most probably, tried to intercept the Siamese army on the way before it could reach Môttama. Their van-guard came upon the camp of the Talaing troops from Yodaya, and a battle was fought in which the Talaings were defeated and routed, with about two-thirds of their number slain. Binnya Win advanced, notwithstanding the defeat of his Talaing advance troops, and met the Burmese. He was killed in the fight, and the elephant on which he met his death was captured, together with its golden trappings. Many Siamese were killed, many were taken prisoners, and a number of elephants, horses, and arms fell into the hands of the Burmese.

About the same time, two Siamese nobles marched with a force to Dawè, but they were successfully resisted by the people of Dawè, one of the nobles being killed in the fight, and the other taken prisoner and sent to the Burmese King. A similar attempt was made by the Siamese on Mawlamyaing (Moulmein), with like disastrous results. Both the two nobles who were in command were captured; one was executed, for what reason it is not stated, and the other was sent a prisoner to the capital. When that part of the territory was rid of the Siamese forces, one Minyè Zeya was left in charge of Môttama, with a strong garrison.

In Nayón 1026 (June 1664), the King appointed his son Narawara as crown prince.

In the meantime, the Siamese forces continued to occupy Zimmè. The inhabitants did not attempt to regain the city, but remained in camp out in the jungle. They, however, kept on harassing foraging parties of the Siamese, and killing whosoever fell into their hands. These frequent losses of small parties of

men considerably reduced the strength of the Siamese, in time. They therefore returned to Yodaya, taking away whatever was valuable, found in the city. Then only, the King of Burma chose one Minyè Hlakyaw, for his administrative qualities, and appointed him as governor of Zinmè. The new governor left for his post in Nadaw 1026 (December 1664). In Kasôn 1029 (May 1667), it was reported that he was trying to be disloyal and to betray his trust. An enquiry was made, and it was proved that the report was true. He was sent in exile to Mo-hnyin, and the Sawbwa of that place was appointed to succeed him as governor of Zinmè. About four years later, the Sawbwa was superseded by one Minyè Yanta, appointed from the Burmese capital.

In Nadaw 1029 (December 1667), the King's elder brother, who had been tributary king of Toungoo died; one Minyè Yaza was sent to Toungoo in Wagaung 1030 (August 1668), but with the rank of governor only.

On Thursday the 2nd. of waning Tagu 1034 (April 1672). King Maha Pawara Damayaza Lawkadibadi died. He was succeeded by his son, Narawara, who formally ascended the throne, seventeen days after his father's death, assuming the title of Maha Thihathura Thudamayaza (Mahā Sihasūra Sudhammarājā). The new King reigned only about a year, as he died on Monday the 12th. of waning Tabaung 1034 (March 1673.), leaving no issue of his own. By a court intrigue, one Minyè Kyawdin, a cousin of the last deceased King, was raised to the throne. He assumed the title of Thiri Parawa Maha Damayaza (Siri Pawara Mahā Dhammarājā), which he kept on changing and amplifying, till at last it took the form of Thiri Pawara Tibawana Thihathura Itga Pandita Yazadibadi Maha Damayaza (Siri Parawa Tibhavana Sihasūra Agga Pandita Rājādhipati Mahā Dhammarājā.).

In Tagu 1036 (April 1675), the governor of Môtama reported that a Siamese army was marching towards the frontier. A force of two brigades was despatched to Yodaya via Môtama early in Kasôn 1037 (May 1675.), followed by another force of four brigades, seventeen days later. In Tazaungmôn (November) of the same year, the levies from the Shan states, with the Sawbwa of Thibaw in command, were ordered to march to Yodaya via Zinmè. These two columns must have effected a junction at Tayaw Maingdet,⁽¹⁾ where they were opposed and defeated by the Siamese. The Burmese history makes no mention of their movements after the defeat; most probably they made no attempt to rally and marched back straight home.

A number of Siamese had been made to settle down in the town of Salin. In Tabaung 1041 (March 1680), they rose in revolt and a force had to be sent from the capital to suppress the rising.

In Tawthalin 1050 (September 1688), Dabayamin, the eldest son of the second queen was appointed Crown Prince, the chief queen being childless. The prince assumed the title of Thiri Maha Thihathura (Siri Mahā Sīhasūra).

A Siamese nobleman of the name of Thalawut, together with about one hundred men and five elephants, arrived at the Burmese capital in Wagaung 1057 (August 1695.), and requested to be taken into the service of the Burmese King.

King Thiri Pawara Tibawana Thihathura Etga Pandita Maha Damayaza died on Sunday the 11th of of waning Kasôn 1060 (May 1698), and was succeeded by his son Thiri Maha Thihathura, the Crown Prince, who, on accession to the throne, assumed the regal title of Thiri Maha Thihathura Thudamayaza (Siri Mahā Sīhasūra Sudhammarāja).

(1) Probably Raheng, i. e. Muang Tark

During the early part of the rains in the year 1061 (A. D. 1699), preparations were made to invade Yodaya. In Thadingyut (October) of the same year, a force of six brigades was sent via Zinnè, and another of the same strength was despatched by way of Mòttama. Both these columns must have met with reverses; the Burmese historian did not mention the details of what befell the Burmese arms, he contented himself by simply saying that affairs did not go well with them. Reinforcements were sent via Mòttama, but what became, ultimately, of the Burmese forces in Siamese territory is not mentioned in the Hmannan history; most probably, they were beaten and obliged to return home. Mention is also made of the despatch of two brigades to Anan via Zinnè, but for what purpose, and with what result, it is not stated.

In Kasôn 1065 (May 1703), again in Wazo 1066 (July 1704), immigrants from Yodaya arrived at Ava. In Pyatho 1071 (Jan. 1709), a nobleman from Linzin arrived at Ava with about 1000 men and 20 elephants, and requested to enter the service of the Burmese King. During the whole of his reign, Zinnè and Mòttama were firmly held by the Burmese; reliefs of the Burmese garrisons in these two places were sent at intervals of about three years.

In Tazaungmôn 1072 (November 1710), the King appointed his brother as governor of Pagan, with the title of Thiri Thudamayaza, but the insignia of a tributary king was conferred on him. A year later, he appointed his son as Crown Prince.

After an illness of about five or six months, King Thiri Maha Thihathura Damayaza died on Wednesday the 14th. of waxing Tawthalin 1076 (September 1714.). He was succeeded by his son, the Crown Prince, who assumed the title of King Thiri Pawara Maha Damayazadibadi (Siri Pavara Mahā Dhammarājādhipati). The governor of Pagan

who was brother of the late king, made a feeble attempt to become king, but was soon compelled to take to flight. In Kasôn 1089 (May 1725), the King appointed Singu prince, his son by the chief queen, as Crown Prince.

In the same year, the people of Zimmè rose in rebellion, and killed the Burmese governor and officers of the garrison, on account of the oppressive taxes and tolls levied by these officials; they elected a man by the name of Kanan Deikba as their King. News of this having reached Ava, a force of 50 elephants, 2000 horse, and 20,000 men under the command of Minyè Yandathu was sent to Zimmè in October, via Monè. The Burmese recaptured Zimmè, but the commander and his officers were bribed to evacuate the town. Subsequently, the people of Zimmè attacked and defeated the Burmese. Information of the misconduct of his officers reached His Burman Majesty, and he sent a small force to punish the offenders, by pouring molten silver down their throats. The officers became aware of their fate, and they committed suicide by taking poison. Another attempt to regain possession of Zimmè was made in 1093 (A. D. 1731.), but the attempt proved an utter failure, the Burmese army being entirely defeated and put to rout, when attacked, in a narrow defile, by the forces from Zimmé. The Burmese Monarch was highly incensed and ordered the wholesale execution of all the officers. This order was, however, commuted, on the intercession of Buddhist priests, to one of degradation and banishment to an unhealthy place.

A curious incident of the occult power believed to be possessed by Siamese doctors is mentioned in the Hmannan history. It is said that the north-east corner of the city of Ava had been gradually wearing away by the erosion of the river. By the employment of cabalistic squares and "mantras", a Siamese doctor caused a sandbank to appear opposite the place where

the bank of the river was being encroached upon, and thereby diverted the current, and prevented further erosion.

On Saturday the 9th of waxing Nadaw 1095 (December 1733.), King Thiri Pawara Maha Damayazadibadi died. He was succeeded by his son, the Crown Prince, who assumed the title of Maha Damayazadibadi (Māhā Dhammarājādhipati). The new King continued to hold his court in Ava, while the government of Hanthawadi was left in the hands of a Burman governor, named Maung Tha Aung, appointed from Ava.

From the year 1099 (A. D. 1737), the Kathès (i. e. the Manipuris) began to make several inroads into Burma, coming sometimes as far as Sagaing which is only a few miles from Ava. Several expeditions were sent to punish them, but all without success.

News of the coming of the Kathès as far as Sagaing reached Hanthawadi, and the governor there thought it a very opportune moment to throw off his allegiance to the King of Burma. So in the early part of the year 1101 (May 1739.), he got some of the principal Talaings to support him, and on the pretence of giving a feast in honour of the ear-boring ceremony of his daughter, he assembled a number of officials and non-officials. He then compelled the assembled people, to take the oath of allegiance to him, and those who refused to take the oath were put to death. The rebel governor then began to take aggressive measures, and ordered that the town of Than-lyin, under another governor, should be attacked and captured. But when, on the way, the officers showed disinclination to march to Than-lyin, he caused their wives and children to be confined in the compound of his house, threatening to put them to death, if the officers should prove disobedient and disaffected. The officers could not tolerate such high-handed treatment from a man who, erstwhile, was

only a governor, and they rebelled and killed him. The supreme king, having received information of the unsettled state of affairs in Hanthawadi, sent Minyè Kyawgaung, in Wagaung 1102 (August 1740), with a force of about 5000 men, to put matters right. The principal officers of Hanthawadi welcomed Minyè Kyawgaung, handing over to him the deceased rebel governor's wife and children who were all put to death. Minyè Kyawgaung appointed the governor of Than-lyin, whose name was Minyè Aung Naing, as governor of Hanthawadi, and returned to Ava.

The new governor did not long enjoy his promotion to a higher post. He ordered many persons to be executed for alleged complicity in the ambitious schemes of his predecessor; and as he exercised no discretion whatever to find out those who were really guilty, many innocent persons suffered death on this account. The people rose against him on account of his severity, and killed him.

Then, the Gwe Karens in the village of Awaing desired to proclaim king, and to put on the throne of Hanthawadi, a man, who, they believed was destined to become the future King of Hanthawadi. They assembled in large numbers to carry out their object. The Talaing officials went and met the Gwe Karens, and on enquiry they found, at least to their own satisfaction, that the man was no other than the son, by a concubine, of Pagan Min, who was brother of King Thiri Maha Thihathura Damayaza, and who, on the death of his brother and the accession to the throne by his nephew, had tried to rebel, but was obliged to take to flight and was not heard of subsequently. (1) This man, whose original name was Tha Hla, was elected King of Hanthawadi and called Gwe Min; but subsequently, he assumed the title of Thamein

(1) Vide ante page 95, last para.

Taw. He is surnamed Sin-gya Shin in Burmese history, owing to the circumstance of having a piebald elephant (Burmese=Sin-gya) in his possession, though the manner in which he obtained possession of it, was not very creditable to him, having stolen it from the Siamese Lawas. According to another account, he was called so, because he got an elephant (Burmese="Sin") and a tiger (Burmese="Kya" pronounced "gya" when combined with the word "Sin"), soon after he was elected king. The king of Zinmè sent a daughter of his, to be the queen of the new King of Hanthawadi.

Owing to the unsettled condition of Hantha wadi the Burmese governor of Môttama, Minyè Zeyathu, found it impossible to communicate with Ava. Most probably, he felt insecure to continue to hold his charge, and he therefore migrated to Yodaya, with his family and followers.

The supreme king sent an army down by river to crush the rising of the Talaings. But the power of the Burmese was on the wane, and a desultory struggle between the Talaings and the Burmese followed, with varying success on either side; at one time, the Talaings penetrated as far as the outskirts of Ava, the Burmese capital, and at another, the Burmese attacked Than-lyin, a sea-port town held by the Talaings, and occupied it, but only for a short time.

In the year 1108 (A. D. 1746.), an embassy from Yodaya arrived at Ava, bringing many presents from the King of Yodaya. A detailed description is given in the Hmannan history, as to how His Siamese Majesty's letter and the ambassadors were received at the Burmese capital, but nothing is mentioned of the contents of the letter, the objects of the embassy, and the effect it had on the relations of the two countries. Many presents, in return for those received, were sent with the Siamese envoys.

The new King of Hanthawadi was very fond of hunting elephants. In 1109 (A. D. 1747.), he went to Sittaung, for this purpose, with a few of his ministers and about 2000 men. After some considerable time spent in his favourite pastime, the ministers solicited him to return to Hanthawadi to attend to affairs of the state, but he refused to do so, and even ordered that his queens and concubines be brought to Sittaung. He was requested several times to return to the capital, but he invariably refused. At last, the ministers in Hanthawadi went to Sittaung, accompanied by a force of about 3000 men, with the object of begging the King to return. Sin-gya Shin Thamein Taw mistook that they were coming to seize him, and so he ordered the ministers and the men who were with him, to oppose those who were coming. The ministers from the capital explained that their motives in coming were entirely peaceful, but that as they had met with opposition, they would return and take their revenge on their opponents' wives and children in Hanthawadi. This threat brought the nobles with the King to their senses, and they asked the nobles from Hanthawadi to desist from carrying out their threat, saying that they would try their utmost to induce the king to return. On this mutual understanding, the men who had come from Hanthawadi returned. Suspicion had, however, taken hold of Thamein Taw, and he thought that if he were to return to the capital, he would be "like a fish caught in a net." The nobles begged and implored him to return, but he stood firm. At last, taking with him about 300 men, 100 horse, and 10 elephants, he went away to Zimmè. There, he was not hospitably received, and he went on to Yodaya, only to meet a worse treatment. He was put in chains and sent away to China. The Chinese authorities sent him back to Anan. Thence, he was driven, successively, to Sanpa, Pathet, Lawaik, Buggy, Buggy, Thalôn Nawbwa, and finally back to Zimmè, where his

unpleasant itinerary came to an end, and he was permitted, at last, to reside in peace.

When the nobles in Hanthawadi heard of the flight of Singya Shin to Zimmè, they elected one Ne-Ko, an ex-monk, to be their king. The nobles left behind at Sittaung, on the other hand, elected Binnya Dala, from among themselves, to be their king. Binnya Dala, at first, refused to accept the high honour conferred on him by his companions, and it was only on the threat of forfeit of his life, that he consented to be king. They all returned to Hanthawadi, with Binnya Dala at the head. On arrival at the capital, Binnya Dala was received in a friendly way by the king whom the home party had already elected. After some discussion as to who would be most qualified to direct the destinies of the Talaings, the nobles unanimously deposed Ne-ko, and raised Binnya Dala to the throne of Hanthawadi.

The Hmannan history mentions that this Binnya Dala had come from Zimmè, as an elephant keeper, with the elephants taken away thence to Ava. He evidently possessed some natural abilities, as he was afterwards made chief of the elephant keepers, and transferred to Hanthawadi. At the commencement of the reign of the Gwe King, Thamein Taw, his abilities were further recognised, by being created a minister of state, with the title of Binnya Dala, his original name, or perhaps the name given him by the Burmese King, being Maung Aung Hla.

The new King of Hanthawadi appointed one of his younger brothers as Upayaza, and conferred the title of Binnya Dala on another younger brother.

For some time past, the whole country, that is both Burma proper and Hanthawadi, had been in a very disturbed state, and the power of the King of Burma, who had his seat of government in Ava, was fast declining. The colony of Gwe people living at a

place called Ok-po to the east of Nga-Singaing rose in open revolt, and at their persuasion, the colony of Talaings at Madaya joined them. They appealed to Hanthawadi to come up with an army, saying that all the Talaings in the upper country had rebelled. From that time, the struggle between the Burmans and the Talaings began, but the fighting of the opposing parties was neither properly planned nor skilfully conducted, until the year 1113 (A. D. 1751.). At the close of the rains in that year, the King of Hanthawadi despatched an army both by land and by water, to attack Ava. The land forces, which consisted of 20,000 men, were led by the King's brother Binnya Dala, while the forces by water, also consisting of 20,000 men, were under the command of the Upayaza. The Talaing army overcame every attempt, made by the Burmese, to check their progress, and before long, they encamped very close to Ava. They were joined by the Gwe Talaings from Ok-po and Madaya. The city was closely invested by the Talaings. For the last ten years or so, there had been no peace and quiet in upper Burma; the cultivation of food grains had, in consequence, been interrupted, and the granaries of the King and of the people had been almost empty, when the investment began; the city was, therefore, in the worst position to withstand a siege. The inhabitants offered a stout resistance, subsisting on roots and leaves, when grain and other provisions were exhausted. At one time, the besiegers were on the point of raising the siege and returning to Hanthawadi, when they learned, from some of the besieged, whom hunger had driven from the city to seek relief outside, that the besieged would not be able to hold out long. The Talaings continued the siege, and eventually succeeded in entering the outer city on Monday the 6th. of waxing Tagu 1113 (April 1752), and the inner city, two days later. The defenders were so feeble and weak, owing to starvation, that many of them were not able even to keep

hold of their weapons. The Burmese king and his family were captured, and the town was given up to plunder.

The Talaings administered the oath of allegiance to all the officials of the principal provinces, towns, and villages lying round about Ava, except to those of the village of Môtsobo. The Upayaza and Binnya Dala decided to return to Hanthawadi, without waiting to see to the submission of Môtsobo, giving as reasons for their decision, that the towns to the east of Môttama, Dawè, Myeik (Eng: Mergui), and Taninthari still required their attention, and that should these towns, which were contiguous with the territory of Yodaya, appeal to Yodaya for help and obtain it, there might be some difficulty to subjugate them. This decision of the two chief officers of the Talaing army was a death blow to the continued independence of the Talaings; because it was from Môtsobo that the future vanquisher of the Talaings arose. They left in Ava a force of fifteen brigades, 45,000 strong, with Thalabhan as commander-in-chief, to carry on the work of pacification. They then returned by water with a force of thirty brigades, taking with them the Burmese King and his family, many Burmese high officials, and notable persons. The unfortunate King survived his fall for about three years; in the year 1116 (A. D. 1754), on the pretext that he had planned a conspiracy, in company with some of his old Burmese officials and attendants, he and some of his children were drowned in the river.

With the death of this king, who is also known as "Hanthawadi-Yauk-Min", from the fact of his being taken a prisoner to Hanthawadi, the dynasty, of which Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata was the most illustrious and capable member, came to an end. Then a new Burmese hero arose in the person of Maung Aung Zeya, subsequently known as Alaung Mintayagyi, who founded a dynasty which ended, with the deposition of King Thibaw by the British, in November 1885.

Sir A. P. Phayre's account of the same narrative.

**Thado Dhamma
Raja succeeds.**

At the time of his (1) death his two brothers, Thado Dhammâ Râjâ and Mengrè Kyoaswâ, were employed in settling affairs with the chief of Kyaing Yun. The son, styled Mengrè Dippa, was born of an inferior woman, and the nobles were averse to acknowledge him as king. As great delay was likely to occur in the arrival of the brothers, to prevent disturbance he was consecrated. The two tributary kings, on learning the death of their brother, marched rapidly to Ava. Though deeply suspicious of each other, they joined their forces together. They reached Pânyâ, and found that a son of Ngyaung Ram Meng had already been appointed governor of Ava. Thado Dhammâ Râjâ now took post at Tarukmyu, while the other brother proceeded to meet an army which was marching up from Pegu to fight them, but with the leaders of which Mengrè Kyoaswâ was in communication. The soldiers of this army were Burmese of the upper country; their families were in the power of the two brothers; and they were not well disposed towards the parricide king. The king of Arakan had marched an army cross the hills in support of Mengrè Dippa, but effected nothing. Thado Dhammâ Râjâ overcame all opposition at Ava, and entered that city. His brother loyally supported him, and he, as acknowledged successor, then marched south. Before he could reach the city of Pegu, Mengrè Dippa had been seized by the commander of the palace guard.

**September, A. D.
1629.**

(1) King Mahâ Dhammâ Râjâ also known as Anaukphet Lwun Meng. (Thien).

Thado Dhammā Rājā at once assumed the government, but would not then be consecrated. He proceeded to Zimmè, and was absent for two years.

April, A. D. 1632. On his return he was solemnly consecrated king according to the ancient ceremonies, in the presence of Burmese, Talaing, and Shân nobles. This ceremony took place in a grand pavilion put up for the purpose, for the palace had not been rebuilt since the destruction of the city more than thirty years before. Although the king sought to conciliate his Talaing subjects, a conspiracy among them was discovered. Many were put to death and many fled to Siam and Arakan. **A. D. 1634.** After two years the king proceeded to Ava, and was consecrated there also. His brother Mengrè Kyoaswâ was declared heir-apparent.

**Ava again made
the capital.**

He now decided on making Ava the capital of his dominions. In celebration of this event he founded a great pagoda in the ancient hemispherical form, copied from the shape of the dagobas in Ceylon. It is known as the Kaungmhudoa, and is on the right bank of the Irāwadi, about five miles from Sagaing. **A. D. 1636.** The king's weight of gold was devoted to cast an image of Buddha, which was enshrined in the lower relic-chamber.⁽¹⁾ It is also obscurely hinted that a heavenly messenger descended at Taungu and gave a relic of Buddha to a holy man, which was enshrined in a second or upper relic-chamber. It is not stated what the relic was; but Taungu was probably mentioned in the scene of this miracle, as being the city from whence the royal family had sprung, and partly because the tooth-relic received by Bureng Naung from Ceylon, was believed to have been carried there from the city of Pegu, by the king of Taungu, when he returned with the plunder of that place, A. D. 1599.

(1) For particulars as to this pagoda, see Crawford's Embassy to Ava, vol i. p. 346, and Yule's Mission, Appendix B. The work was not finished when the king died. The official name of the pagoda is Rājā Muni Sula.

The conduct of the Thado Dhammā Rājā appears to have been irreproachable. Nevertheless his life was endangered from a conspiracy the leading features of which have been repeated in recent times. The heir-apparent having died, his son was discontented that he was not appointed to succeed to that office. He suddenly assembled a band of armed desperate men, and forced his way into the palace. The king fled by the western gate, and took refuge in a monastery. He then crossed the river and entered a stockade near Sagaing, which was guarded by soldiers. The rebel prince having no influence in the country, a large body of men rallied round their sovereign. The prince came out of the city and was killed fighting. The king then returned to his palace, and all the men of rank who had been forced to join the rebels were with their wives and children burnt as traitors. Thado Dhammā Rājā died after a reign of nineteen years. He is called in the Burmese history Sālwun, because he increased the territory he had received from his father; but this was in the outlying Shān states rather than in the provinces constituting the wealth and strength of the empire.

A. D. 1648.

Bengtalé
succeeds.

He was succeeded by his son Bengtalé, surnamed Gnāhtāp daragā, who completed the great pagoda begun by his father. Not long after this pious duty had been performed, alarming reports reached the capital from the Chinese frontier, where armed bodies of men appeared to threaten an incursion into Burma. To understand this hostile movement it is necessary to refer to events in China. (1)

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The occupation of the country by these bands interfered with agriculture, and a scarcity of rice

(1) Du Halde's China, vol. i. p. 226, London, 1638; Modern Universal History (China), p. 299; History of the two Tartar Conquerors of China, by Père L. T. d'Orleans (Hakluyt Society, 1854)

May A. D. 1661. existing in the city, the people accused the king of indifference to their sufferings and of allowing the inmates of the palace to profit by the sale of rice which was stored therein. The king's brother, the prince of Prome, headed the insurrection, took possession of the palace, and the king and his family were sent away and drowned in the Hkyengdweng river. The prince followed up the Chinese, and by the end of the year they had been driven out of the country.

**Maha Pawara
Dhama Raja
succeeds to the
throne.**

The prince of Prome was consecrated king, with the title of Mahâ Pawara Dhammâ Râjâ. He appointed new governors to all the districts of Pegu, where, during the troubles in the north, there had been signs of rebellion.

* * * * *

While the king of Burma was harassed by his Chinese enemies, the southern provinces had become disturbed. The Siamese had many adherents in Martaban, and that city was for a time in the hands of Talaing insurgents. Towards the close of 1662 a Burmese force reoccupied the place, and also Tavoy, but Zimmè fell to the Siamese. Two years later the people of Zimmè forced the Siamese garrison to retire, and the Burmese once more entered.

A. D. 1672.

The king having survived through a period which threatened the downfall of the throne, left the kingdom at his death in a better position than it had been since the death of his father.

**A junior member
of the royal
family made king,
Maha Dhamma.
Raja.**

His son Narawara succeeded him, but died within the year. The nobles then consulted as to his successor, and, passing over several elder princes, selected the youngest son of the prince of Prome, who was proclaimed king, with the title of Sri Pawara Mahâ Dhammâ Râjâ. His elder brothers and other members of the royal family showed signs of active opposition to the young king, and many of them were secretly put to death by the party in power.

**Decline of the
empire.****A. D. 1698.****A. D. 1733.**

The king reigned for twenty-six years. From the absence of powerful enemies internal and external, the kingdom, under vigorous rule might have been restored to the position it had under Ngyaung Ram Meng and his son. But the young king, as years passed, showed no qualities fitted to rule an empire. Though the monarchy suffered no great disaster, its power gradually declined. The chief of Manipur occupied the Kubo valley without any real effort being made to check the encroachment. Other outlying districts were lost. The king, devoid of energy, failed to assert the power of the kingdom, and dying was succeeded by his son, who did nothing to retrieve the losses which had occurred. The reign of the next king, Hsenghpyu Sheng, lasted thirty-five years and is only remarkable for the further decline of the monarchy. A Burmese army was defeated on the frontier of Manipur, and a force which had been sent to occupy Zimmé was driven out. An uncle of the king Pugân Meng, indignant that his nephew should be under the control of a palace faction, raised a rebellion, but was overpowered and fled to Pegu. He passed a wandering life among the Karens and other border tribes; and his son, nurtured in hardy mountain life, was destined to achieve for a short time a high position, while his career had a mysterious ending.

**Reign of Maha
Dhamma Raja
Dibati.**

The son of Hsenghpyu Sheng took the title of Mahâ Dhammâ Râjâ Dibati. The Manipuri people advanced into Burmese territory, destroying villages and pagodas in the district of Tabayin. They retired rather to carry off their plunder than to avoid meeting a Burmese force. Two years later they again invaded Burma in great strength, and defeated an army sent against them. So threatening was the danger, that a strong stockade was built at Sagaing, and one to defend the Kaungmhudoa

pagoda, as all Buddhist buildings were destroyed by these Hindoo invaders. They marched down by the route between the Mu and Irâwadi rivers, and took by assault the stockade at the pagoda, but could make no impression on that at Sagaing. After four or five days they retired to their own country. It is probable that they retreated because they were unable to cross the great river; but in the Burmese history it is stated that they had come to fulfil a prophecy of their great Brahman, that if their chiefs bathed in the Irâwadi at Sagaing, all evil would cease in their country. Their object apparently was plunder, and not permanent conquest.

Rebellion in Pegu.

The long-continued degradation of the Burmese monarchy prompted a rising in Pegu. The immediate result of this revolt was surprising by its unexpected success; but the final consequence was a revival of Burmese power under a new dynasty. It will be interesting briefly to review the condition of Pegu at this period. After the removal of the seat of government from Hansâwadi to Ava by Thado Dhammâ Râjâ. A. D. 1634, the Talaing chronicle seldom mentions events occurring beyond the limit of Pegu. The successive appointments of Burmese governors are noted with sullen monotony, and the only interest shown in passing events, is in the record of damage to the national pagodas from storm or lightning, which appeared to show the displeasure of the powers of nature, or tutelary genii, with foreign rulers. There was a deep conviction among the Talaings that the guardian angel of their ancient city demanded the residence of the king within the walls; and Hsenghpyu Sheng had been persuaded to try and restore prosperity to the land by living there. But he was soon wearied with life in a ruined city, and returned to Ava. The people of Pegu in this reign sank to the depth of misery. Nothing escaped taxation. Even the women's looms were not free. The same rigid exactions were

A. D. 1740.

continued in the next reign. The governor, Maung Thâ Aung, was intensely hated; yet he sought to make himself independent, and seeing his opportunity in the confusion during the incursion of the Manipuris, he proclaimed himself king of Pegu.

he leading men among the Talaings longed for the ascendancy of their own race, and determined to be rid of him. The hated governor was killed; but the leaders seeing as yet no chance of establishing the independence of their country, petitioned the king, professing their loyalty, and attributing the murder of the governor to a sudden rising against his tyranny. The king of Burma, waiving punishment for the present, appointed as governor his father's brother, Mengrè Aung Naing. He was deemed an honest man, but was received with haughty reserve by the Talaing nobles; and after a few days all his followers were massacred. An insurrection commenced among the people of the Shân colony, whose ancestors had been brought from their own country during the wars of Bureng Naung, and had been settled to the north of the capital of Pegu. They are called by the Burmese, Gwè Shân. Towards the close of the year they marched to the city, and being supported by the Talaing chiefs, seized the governor and put him to death.

A. D. 1740.

Mengtara Buddha
Kethi elected
king of Pegu.

There was at this time in the city a man who had been a Buddhist monk, and is said, in the Talaing history, to have been by race a Gwè Shân. He joined the men of his tribe in the city, and was declared king of Pegu, with the title of Mengtarâ Buddha Kêthi. He was supposed by some to be a son of Pugân Meng, who had rebelled in the reign of his nephew, Hsenghpyu Sheng and had fled to Pegu. The son had been brought up among the Karens and Gwè Shâns, and had made himself popular among the Talaings, whose language he spoke. Whatever may have been his origin, he was soon firmly established in power, and

by his devotion to the people and kindliness of disposition satisfied the expectations formed of him. An army had been dispatched from Ava to suppress the rebellion. It was commanded by Mengrè Kyoa-gaung, but before he could reach the delta he was recalled to defend the north-western frontier against the Manipuris. The Gwè Shân king entered into communication with the chief of Zimmè, whose daughter he married. The Talaings soon forced their king, against his own judgment to march against Prome, and the king of Burma, alarmed at the preparations against him, made his brother joint king, with his palace and court at Sagaing. The Talaing army, unable to take Prome, marched up by the eastern bank of the river, and ravaged the country nearly to the gates of Ava. In this rash expedition it was attacked by the Burmese from the north and south, and had to retreat with great loss. A force sent up the Sittaung river was, however, successful in occupying Taungu.

A. D. 1733-44.

It would have been well for the cause of Talaing independence had the leaders of the nation been content with making preparations for defence. The occupation of Taungu rather weakened their resources, and the governor of Prome, Thado Meng Khaung, suddenly went down the river and took Syriam by surprise. (1) The place was quickly recovered, but great loss had been sustained, and the country along the river-banks ravaged. The Talaings, however, followed up the Burmese in their retreat, and succeeded in entering Prome. The war was now carried on in the valley of the Irâwadi, and in that of the Sittaung, with varying fortune; and at the close of the next year the Talaings still held the towns of Prome and Taungu.

Prome taken by
the Talaings.

A. D. 1745.

(1) At this time there was a British factory at Syriam, which had been re-established about twenty years before. It was destroyed on this occasion, it is said, by the Peguans. See Syme's Embassy to Ava, p. 5, and Dalrymple's Oriental Repertory.

A. D. 1746.

In the following year a Siamese ambassador arrived at Ava, nominally to express the friendship of his master for his brother king, but really to report, from appearances, what might be the issue of the struggle, and so to enable the former to decide what part Siam should take. The Talaings, probably advised from Siam, made a third advance up the Irâwadi, but sustained such heavy losses that they were compelled to retreat to Prome. Soon after an unlooked-for event occurred, more strange than any in the changing fortune of this war. The Gwè Shân king suddenly left his capital, attended by ten leading nobles, with an escort of two thousand men, and proceeded to the town of Sittaung, ostensibly to hunt elephants in the neighbouring forests. Shortly after he sent for the queen and her attendants. He remained at Sittaung for some months, and then announced to the Talaing nobles that he had determined to retire from the kingdom. They entreated him to remain, for he was beloved by the people, but he left for Zimmè, accompanied by his queen and a strong guard. His after history may at once be told. Not allowed then to remain in Zimmè, he wandered through Laos and Cochin-China, and entered China. He returned after some years, and was permitted to settle in Zimmè. The only explanation of this conduct is given in the Talaing chronicles. It is there stated that the Gwè king was a proficient in astrology; that casting his own horoscope, the result portended disaster; and that in a self-sacrificing spirit he resigned the throne, hoping that the destiny of the Talaing people might be linked with one whose good fortune was assured.

**Abdication of
the elected
king of Pegu.**

**Binya Dala
elected king of
Pegu.**

As soon as his departure was known at the capital of Pegu the usual intrigues commenced, and a scribe in the palace played for a few days the part of king. But among the officers who had accompanied the Gwè Meng to Sittaung one was pre-eminent in ability. He bore the title of Binya Dâla, a designation famous in Talaing history. His colleagues

A. D. 1746.

unanimously saluted him as king. He at once made for the capital, where no resistance was made, and the presumptuous scribe was put to death. This event occurred in the spring of the year. The elected king was probably of Shân race. The Burmese history states that he had originally come to Pegu from Zimmè with elephants; was made master of the elephants under the Gwè king, and gradually acquired great influence. The Talaing chronicle is silent as to his race and early life, but, referring to the legend of the founding of the city of Hansâwadi, records that he was chosen king in fulfilment of the divine prediction regarding native rulers. He was consecrated with great solemnity, and proclaimed with the title of Phrâmindî Râjâ Narabidati. Among the people, however, he is now known by his first title of nobility. His younger brother was created Yuva Râjâ. After the ceremony of consecration, he made a stirring address to the assembled court. He spoke of the former prosperity and grandeur of the country; of the high renown of his predecessors; of the divine prediction at the founding of the city, that it was to be sacred and free for ever from the ownership and rule of foreigners; of the subordination of the kings of Ava and of other kings to the sovereign of Pegu; and announced that the empire of Bureng Naung would again be established with its ancient magnificence, and an army be raised, of which Talabân would be commander-in-chief. This is the first mention of a name to this day famous in Pegu.

Such an open declaration of plans by the king was unusual in the countries of Indo-China, but was probably considered necessary by Binya Dalâ, in order to show his devotion to the interest of the kingdom to which he had been elected. He must have known, that a larger and better appointed army than had yet been embodied, would be required to accomplish the desired end; yet for three years a desultory warfare were carried on, from which no decisive result

**War carried on
languidly.**

could be gained. The conquest in view could only be achieved by the capture of Ava, and to effect that, a large army and flotilla were essential, as well as a stock of provisions to supply the besieging army for at least six months. These requirements the Talaings appear to have been unable to fulfil. But having possession of the frontier towns of Prome and Taungu, mixed bodies of Talaings and Gwè Shâns made incursions, which, for the most part, the Burmese were unable effectually to resist. At one time they penetrated beyond Ava, apparently with the design of forming a league with the Shâns of the Upper Irâwadi. Some of the Gwè tribe had long been settled at Madarâ, a few miles from the eastern bank of the river above Ava. A party of the invaders, finding themselves isolated from their main body, entrenched themselves at that place, and were supported by the Gwè Shâns. They soon found themselves in dire extremity from scarcity of food, and sent messengers to Pegu imploring help.

A. D. 1750.

The king of Burma had sent envoys to the Emperor of China, representing the great danger which threatened his kingdom, and asking for support. In reply to this appeal two Chinese or Manchu officers arrived at the capital, with an escort of one hundred horsemen and a thousand foot. They suggested that an attack should be made on the Talaing stockade at Madarâ. This was done, and as it failed, the Chinese officers retired without making any promise of assistance.

**Grand Invasion
of Burma.**

At length the king of Pegu had assembled an army, which, including all followers, numbered sixty thousand men. A numerous flotilla of war-boats kept command of the river, and was necessary to protect the hundreds of boats laden with provisions and other stores, essential to the success of the expedition. Symes, who gathered his information some forty-five years later from persons who had witnessed the operations of this war, states, that the

Peguans procured firearms from European traders, and had in their service renegade Dutch and native Portuguese. The Talaing army would, therefore, have a considerable advantage over its enemies. The first move was made when the rainy season had somewhat abated. Yuva Râjâ nominally commanded the invading army, but the real leader was Talabân. The advance was made by the line of the Irawâdi only ; and the Yuva Râjâ, passing Prome, proceeded with his army by land and water to Malwun. From thence the army, one division having been left with the flotilla, marched by the western bank of the river, where the districts had escaped occupation in the previous years and could now yield supplies. The invaders encountered no opposition, but at the Mu river met a body of Manipuris, which had come to observe events, and retreated without showing hostility. Early in the year the great Talaing army appeared at Sagaing, and the flotilla having arrived, crossed the river and invested Ava. The Talaing and Gwè Shân garrison of Madarâ came down, and joined the invading army. In the city the king, the court, and the citizens were in despair. No adequate defensive preparations had been made, and food soon became scarce. The soldiers of the garrison began to desert whenever they had the opportunity. In the latter days of March the besiegers entered the outer city. It was set on fire. The inner city, where was the palace, was surrounded by a wall, high and strong. But the soldiers who should have defended it, were disheartened by the neglect of their superiors, and weakened by hunger. After two days the besiegers were unopposed, and they forced the gates. The foremost soldiers rushed to the palace. The king of Burma, the last who could claim descent from the dynasty of Pugân, was found in a large hall, surrounded by his queens and their women attendants. He made no resistance, and the Burmese history admits that the invaders behaved gently. When the Yuva Râjâ arrived, orders were given for the accommodation of the royal captives, and they were put on

A. D. 1751.

A. D. 1752.

Ava cap red.

board boats to be sent to Pegu. The king lived there, a prisoner but well treated, for two years, when he was put to death on suspicion of having conspired against Binya Dâla.

The city of Ava was burnt to the ground. The Yuva Râjâ, not foreseeing that any further resistance would be made by the Burmese people, returned after a few weeks to Pegu. He took with him the greater part of the army, and left Talabân in command, with orders to establish the rule of the Talaing king in the upper country.

APPENDIX.

After the publication, in the Siam Society Journal, Volume V part 1., of the translation of portions of the Hmannan Yazawindawgyi which have reference to Siam, Mr. Taw Sein Ko, M.R.A.S., F.R.A.I., M.R.S.A., Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Burma, a corresponding member of the Siam Society, very kindly pointed out to me, certain errors into which I had inadvertently fallen. In the last line but one, on page 7 of the Journal, I said that Bayin Naung was of royal blood ; and again in lines 10 and 11 from the bottom on page 36, I said that Toungoo was the birth-place of Mintara Shweti and Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata. Both these statements, with reference to Bayin Naung, are wrong. The origin of the man, so famous in Burmese history for his many successful invasions of Siam, is best told by quoting below, the written account of him, so kindly given me by Mr. Taw Sein Ko, to whom I desire to express my deep sense of gratitude, and sincere thanks for his kindness in pointing out the errors. It is my earnest wish that these errors should not be perpetuated, by allowing them to stand as they are.

NAI THIEN.

“ Branginoco or Hanthawadi Sinbyuyin.”

“ In Burma, traditional history is somewhat different from recorded history, because historiographers are anxious to hide the humble origin of their royal patrons. The following is the traditional history of Hanthawadi Sinbyuyin, the Branginoco of the Portuguese writers, who flourished in the 16th century A. D. :—There was a toddy-climber at Ngathayauk, a village in the Pagan Township. He had a son born to him, and the child was named Maung Cha Det because a number of white ants swarmed round him during the early days of his birth. As Pagan

was, as it is now, an arid locality, often subjected to drought and scarcity, the family migrated south to Taungdwingyi, where both food and work were plentiful. One day, while the father was climbing a toddy tree in order to tap its juice, the mother laid the infant on the ground and went elsewhere. During her absence, a big serpent came and coiled itself round the child without doing any harm to it. When the mother returned to the spot, she saw the reptile gently gliding away. The father and mother put their heads together and as they were unable to interpret the omen, they appealed to a learned Buddhist monk, who was well versed in astrological and other mystic lore. They handed the child's horoscope to the recluse and explained to him their own poor circumstances, where they came from originally, and the incidents connected with the white ants and the harmless snake. On learning the direction, in which the serpent had glided away, the monk said: "Go to Toungoo, where a monarchy has been established under Mingyi Nyo. The child certainly possesses signs of greatness and prosperity. His horoscope is an excellent one. If you wish to benefit yourselves by the good fortune of your son, you must forthwith remove to a place, which is 'patirūpadesa,' 'an appropriate abode' according to the precepts laid down in the *Mangalasutta*." Following his advice, the family went to Toungoo and put up under a monastery, whose *sadaw* or abbot happened to be the preceptor of the king. Just then, a son had been born in the palace who was eventually known as Tabin-shwe-ti, and orders had gone forth to search for a strong and healthy wet nurse, who was free from moral and physical blemish. The abbot introduced the toddy climber's wife into the Palace, and she was immediately accepted by the queen. The king also had a daughter, and the three children grew up together. The queen noticed the unpardonable intimacy between the Princess and Maung Cha Det, and report-

ed the matter to the king. Owing to the intervention of the *Sadaws*, his offence was condoned, and a subordinate post in the palace was assigned to him. He was so strenuous and assiduous in the discharge of his duties, that he received promotion, step by step, till he became a military officer of high rank. When Mingyi Nyō died, Tabin-shwe-ti succeeded his father. For his great services in the wars between Toungoo and Pegu, the title of 'Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata'—'Kyawdin Nawrata, the elder brother of the King'—was conferred on him. He eventually succeeded Tabin-shwe-ti as king of Toungoo and Pegu, and was one of the greatest figures in Burmese history. Two of his brothers served him as Governors of Toungoo and Prome, and his son, the Nyaungyan Prince, founded a dynasty at Ava, which ruled united Burma from 1599 to 1751 A. D., when it was subverted by the Talaings. It will thus be seen that Hanthawadi Sinbyuyin had not a drop of royal blood in his veins, and that he was the son-in-law of Mingyi Nyo, King of Toungoo, and the brother-in-law of the celebrated Tabin-shwe-ti."

