

INTERCOURSE BETWEEN BURMA AND SIAM.

As recorded in Hmannan Yazawindawgyi.

The following is the conclusion of the translation by Luang Phraison Salarak (Thien Subindu) of the history of the intercourse between Siam and Burma, as given in the Hmannan Yazawindawgyi of the Burmese. The previous instalment was given in Vol. XII, Part 2.

PREFACE.

The series of translations of such portions of the Hmannan Yazawindawgyi as relate to the intercourse between Burma and Siam come to an end with this number of the Society's Journal. The previous instalments are contained in Vol. V., Part 1.; Vol. VIII., Part 2; Vol. XI, Part 3; and Vol, XII, Part 2.

The translator hopes that he has, by these translations, rendered some service, however small, to those who aspire to reconstruct Siamese history, by supplementing what is already contained in the Phra Raj Phonsawadan, with information gathered from the records of neighbouring countries. If his hopes are realized, he will feel amply rewarded for the trouble he has taken in making the translation.

Mr. W. H. Mundie, M. A., has, with his usual kindness, looked over the proofs of this number as well as those of Vol. XII, Part 2, and made corrections where necessary; the translator begs to tender his sincere thanks to him.

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CORRIGENDA.

Page 13, the first word in the last line but one should be "probably".

Page 17, line 18, strike out one "to " in "to to give".

Page 33, line 9 from the bottom of text, for "Maya" read "Maha".

I.

TRANSLATION.

After having dethroned his two nephews and having put them to death without compunction, Badôn Min or Prince of Badôn, the fourth son of Alaung Mintayagyi, ascended the throne of Burma on Monday the 4th of waning Tabodwè 1143 (February A. D. 1782). He assumed many titles, the first that he took was Thiri Pawara Tilawka Pandita Maha Damayaza (Siri pavara tiloka paṇḍita mahā dhammarājā). This title he subsequently amplified into Thiri Pawara Wizayanantayatha Tribawanaditayapati Pandita Maha Damayazadiyaza (Siri pavara vijayānantayasa tribhavanādityādhipati paṇḍita mahā dhammarājādhirājā). When he had obtained his second white elephant, he took also the title of Sinbyumyashin, meaning master of many white elephants, and by this title he is usually called in the Hmannan history. On his demise, he was succeeded by his grandson, and in any reference made of him thereafter, he is generally called Bodaw Sinbyumyashin or Bodawpaya.* In ordinary conversation he is generally known as Bodawpaya, and Sir Arthur Phayre called him Bodoahprā. For the sake of brevity it is better to call him Bodawpaya in this paper.

Before he came to the throne, Bodawpaya was practically a state prisoner, every movement, and even every word of his being closely watched and noted. Such a condition of life might have soured his temper somewhat and made him more distrustful than he would otherwise have been under more favourable conditions. Only twelve days after his accession to the throne, he executed his brother, Sitha Prince, for alleged conspiracy against him. Many nobles and officials were also put to death as being accomplices, and among them were the famous Wungyi Maha Thihathura and some of his sons.

Another conspiracy was started by one Nga Pôn¹ originally known as Nga Shun, who represented that he was a son of Hanthawadi-yauk-min by a minor queen. He got a following of about 200 Shans and Burmans. On the night of the 13th of waning Thadingyut 1144 (October A.D. 1782), a few of his men

1 ดุพรวราชพงษาวดารเดิม ๓ หน้า ๓๗๕ แดคำให้การชาวกรุงเวรนา ๑๗.

* Means Royal Grandfather.

scaled one of the gates on the southern wall of the city by means of ladders and opened the gate. The party got inside and they did the same with the inner gates leading to the palace enclosure. There was a sharp fight between the conspirators and the palace guards, but towards dawn the guards were reinforced by fresh arrivals, and the conspirators were overpowered. Nga Pôn made his escape, but was captured the same evening. Many of his men were killed in the fight and a few were captured alive. The dead bodies were thrown into the river, while Nga Pôn and the rest of his followers were forthwith executed. The head gate-keeper of the gate by which the rebels got in was punished with death for his default. A few military officers were also punished likewise for failure to turn up in time and render assistance. Mention may be made here about the execution of a corporal and seven of his men, all foreigners, probably Portuguese or of Portuguese descent. They were gunners on duty in the palace enclosure on the night in question. Being overpowered and overawed by the conspirators, they were forced to train the guns on the palace and fire them. The reason given for their execution was that they aided the rebels.

The events immediately preceding his accession were those of strife and bloodshed, and soon after his accession there came the conspiracies. These facts might have preyed on the mind of King Bodawpaya and influenced him to think of making a move to a place where there would be more peace and quiet. Kings of Burma were also naturally inclined to build new cities, new palaces, new pagodas and monasteries, on coming to the throne. At any rate, King Bodawpaya decided to build a new city and a new palace. A site was soon selected higher up the Irawadi, and building operations commenced in Pyatho 1144 (January A. D. 1783). The new city was ready for the reception of the King by Nayôn 1145 (June A. D. 1783), when he moved to it with great ceremony. It was named Amarapura² by him.

On the 12th of waning second Wazo 1145 (July A. D. 1783),

² จุฬพระราชพงษาจารย์เพิ่มเติม ๓ หน้า ๓๗๕ แต่คำให้การชาวอังกะ

King Bodawpaya celebrated the marriage of his daughter, Thiri Maha Tilawka Yadanadewi (Siri mahā tiloka ratana mahādevī), Princess of Taungdwingyi, who was the second daughter of the Chief Queen, with his son Thado Damayaza, Prince of Shwedaung, who was the son of the Queen of the Northern Palace, next in order of precedence to the Chief Queen. The Prince was at the same time created "Einshe-min,"³ that is heir apparent or Crown Prince. This action of King Bodawpaya was very inconsistent. Before he became King, he was very insistent on giving effect to the dying injunction of Alaung Mintayagyi that the latter's sons should succeed to the throne one after another in order of their seniority. Only a year and a half after he was raised to the throne, he appointed his son Crown Prince, in spite of the fact that his younger brother, Pindalè Min, was still alive.

On the 7th of waxing Wagaung 1146 (August A. D. 1784) a son was born to the Crown Prince and Princess. Being the eldest of his grand-children and, by the rank of his parents, having a right of precedence to succeed to the throne, King Bodawpaya was greatly overjoyed at the event and made much of this infant prospective heir to the throne. Sons and grandsons of ministers and nobles were chosen and assigned to the royal infant to be his playmates. The town of Sagaing was given to him to supply his pocket-money for sweetmeats, and from this fact he is subsequently known as Sagaing Min. It may be mentioned here that it was this grandson of Bodawpaya who succeeded him, his son the Crown Prince predeceasing him.

³ "Ainsh'meng (Einshe-min) is the modern title in Burma of the heir-apparent to the throne, and means literally "Lord of the eastern house." The office is similar to and is derived from that of the Yuva Rājā in the ancient Hindu kingdoms. In Burma, the heir-apparent to the throne, like Rāma in the kingdom of his father, Dasaratha, is in some degree associated with the king in the government, and is *ex officio* commander-in-chief. The son or younger brother of the king generally fills this post, according to the pleasure of the sovereign. A somewhat similar position is held by the second or junior king in Siam, and also in Cambodia; and there are traces of the same arrangement in some of the Shān states. It is possible that the office of Shiogoon or Tycoon, in Japan, may have originated from the same model, but considerably altered by time and circumstances from the original."—Phayre's History of Burma, page 9, foot-note.

Without assigning any cause whatever, King Bodawpaya ordered the invasion of Yakaing or Arakan.⁴ The army of invasion was composed of three divisions. Two of these, each consisting of 60 elephants, 600 horse, and 6,000 men, were commanded by two of his sons, while the main division consisting of 210 elephants, 2,100 horse, and 21,000 men, was commanded by the Maha Upayaza, who was also the commander-in-chief. It is not necessary to give here a full account of this invasion, but a few incidents may be mentioned. When all the outlying provinces had been captured, and the Burmese forces surrounded the capital, the Arakanese Upayaza, the King's brother-in-law, the ministers, and the nobles besought the King to present his daughter by the Chief Queen to His Majesty of Burma and ask to be allowed to reign as a tributary King. The King of Arakan replied that there never was a precedent, in the history of Arakan, of any of his predecessors having presented his children to the Kings of Burma, but that in the time of King Yazagyi of Arakan, the King of Taung-ngu (Toungoo) presented his daughter to King Yazagyi, together with 1,000 guns and the bronze figures cast in Yodaya and brought over from there as spoils of war. The descendants of that Burmese princess, the 1,000 guns, and the bronze figures were still in existence as evidence of the fact. If he were to present his daughter and submit to the sway of the Burmese Sovereign, the fact would be an everlasting record in the national history and it would be a blot on his name and a reproach to his illustrious ancestors. Further, he said that it was recorded in the Arakan chronicles that during the reign of Saw Mun Gyi, the Burmese invaded Arakan; and when it was found impossible to repel the invaders or defend the capital, King Saw Mun Gyi left Arakan, and went and resided in the town of Pasa in a foreign country to the west of Arakan. After twelve years of exile, he returned and again assumed sovereign authority. The King said he would rather follow the example of Saw Mun Gyi than be a disgrace to future generations. Accordingly he left the city in the middle of the night accompanied by his queens, his children, and a few attendants.

⁴ ๔ ๔ พระราชพงษาวดารเดิม ๓ หน้า ๑๗๕, ๑๗๖ แต่คำให้การชาว
 ๑๖๖๖ หน้า ๑๘.

On the 8th of waning Pyatho 1146 (January A.D. 1785), the Burmese entered the capital and occupied it; and about eighteen days after, the King of Arakan and his family, who had been resting at a place about two days' journey from the capital, were captured and brought to the Burmese Upayaza.

News was sent by the Maha Upayaza to his father that Arakan had been conquered and the King and the royal family captured, and on the receipt of it, King Bcdawpaya sent from the capital Mingyi Mingaung Kyaw to assume control of the conquered country, and recalled his son. Leaving behind an armed force of about 10,000 men with Mingyi Mingaung Kyaw to govern the country, the Maha Upayaza left the Arakanese capital on the 7th of waning Tabodwè (February).

He brought away the whole of the Arakanese royal family and the principal ministers, nobles, and military officers, and also many families of Brahman astrologers. Hmannan history says in one place that over 30,000 prisoners of war were brought over, and in another place 20,000; among them mention is made of 30 eunuchs. The most important spoil of war was the celebrated image of Buddha called Mahamuni.⁵

⁵ The celebrated Mahāmuni Image, the Palladium of the Arakanese race. The image was removed to Amarapura from Mrohaung in Arakan in 1784 as a spoil of war, after the conquest of that country by the Burmese. At pages 44-45 of Phayre's History of Burma, the following description is given of it:—"In the year A. D. 146, a king called Chanda-Surya succeeded to the throne (of Arakan). In his reign, a metal image of Buddha was cast, and so famous did it become, that miraculous powers were attributed to it for ages afterwards. This image was carried away by the Burmese when they conquered Arakan in 1784. It is now in a temple to the north of Amarapura, and is an object of fervent devotion. It is probable that, in the reign of Chanda-Surya, Buddhism was more distinctly established than heretofore, and images of Buddha may then have been introduced for the first time."

The image is in the usual sitting posture, that is to say, with the legs folded under the body, and is placed on a masonry pedestal six feet ten inches in height. Its dimensions are:—

					Ft.	In.
Height	...	...	...	...	12	7
Round the waist	...	...	...	...	9	6
Round the arms	...	...	...	...	4	11
Breadth from shoulder to shoulder	...	...	...	...	6	1
Breadth at base	...	...	...	...	9	0

(Archæological Notes on Mandalay by Taw Sein Ko. pp. 17-18, See also appendix 1.)

Over thirty Siamese bronze figures referred to in the speech of the King of Arakan also formed part of the spoils. The Buddha image is now enshrined in the Arakan Pagoda near Mandalay, and six of the bronze figures⁶ are still to be seen within the precincts of the pagoda. A big gun said to measure twenty cubits long and six cubits in circumference was also taken away. It is very probable that this huge gun was of Siamese origin and had migrated to Arakan in company with the bronze figures.

In Tabodwè 1146 (February A. D. 1785), King Bodawpaya obtained his second white elephant, the first one having been obtained in Nayôn 1146 (June A. D. 1784). He then assumed the title of Sinbyumyashin. Subsequently he got four more of these elephants held in high esteem by all the monarchs of India and Indo-China. The last one that was captured in Hanthawadi district was a particularly white animal, the whole body said to be as white as cotton wool, and it was believed to be the same as the "Chaddanta" species of mythical lore. Subsequent to this auspicious event he is often addressed or referred to as "Satdan Sinmin Thakin Sinbyumyashin" meaning "Lord of the chaddanta elephant and Master of many white elephants."

On the 13th of waxing first Wazo 1147 (July A. D. 1785) he executed Pindalè Min,⁷ the youngest of his own brothers, for conspiracy against him. No mention is made of any evidence of the conspiracy justifying this execution, though Sir Arthur Phayre gives a very plausible one in his history of Burma. In fact, the record of this event occupies only two lines of print in the Hmannan history, whereas the capture of the particularly white elephant, its reception in the capital, and the ceremonies and festivities connected with conferring a name on it and its installation among His Majesty's royal possessions run into eleven pages. This shows how very little importance is attached to executions, even those of the members of the royal family.

⁶ For an account of them see Appendix II.

⁷ ดุพระราชนิพนธ์พงษาวดาร เต็ม ๓ หน้า ๓๘๖ แดคำให้การชาวอังวะ หน้า ๒๑.

King Bodawpaya must have been elated with the conquest of Arakan which was so very easily and quickly effected, on account of the distracted condition of the country, owing to the frequent struggles for the throne by those who had royal blood in their veins as well as by those who had not. Probably he thought that Siam could be invaded and conquered quite as easily. It is very likely also that he wanted to add to his glory by further conquests, because he suddenly decided to invade Yodaya, for which no reason whatever is given in the Hmannan history.⁸

Ten regiments consisting of 1,000 horse and 10,000 men under the command of Mingyi Mingaung Kyaw⁹ were despatched by water on the 13th of waning Wazo 1147 (July A.D. 1785). The Mingyi was specially ordered to despatch from Hanthawadi to Byeik a flotilla of fifteen ships laden with munitions of war. Then he was to go on to Môtama, where he was to collect provisions and have everything necessary for the campaign in readiness for the march of His Majesty by way of Tayaik. Having made all these arrangements he was to go on with his forces to Byeik.

On the 15th of the following waning Tawthalin (September), another batch of ten regiments consisting also of 1,000 horse and 10,000 men under the command of Nemyo Nawrata was sent to Dawè. Then a week later, a column of 29 regiments, consisting of 3,000 horse and 30,000 men under the command of Wungyi Thado Thiri Maha Uzana, was ordered to march to Yodaya by way of Zinmè. In this column the following Shan Chiefs had to supply contingents of a regiment each, namely—the Sawbwaw of Theinni, Monè, Kyaing-tôn, and Kyaing-chaing, and the Governors of Maingnyaung, Maing-seik, and Kyaing-taung. These Shan contingents were probably levied and picked up on the way.

One of King Bodawpaya's sons, Thado Minsaw, was ordered to take the command of 11 regiments containing 1,100 horse and

๘ ศักราชพงษาวดาร เต็ม ๓ หน้า ๑๘๗ ถึง ๒๑๐ แต่คำให้การ
ชาวกรุงฯ หน้า ๒๐ ถึง ๒๒.

⁹ This Mingyi Mingaung Kyaw was probably the same man who was sent to Arakan to assume the administration of it. If he had been recalled, it must have been after a stay there of only about five months; but his recall is not mentioned in the Hmannan history.

11,000 men and proceed to Môtama. A regiment of Shans was supplied by the Sawbwa of Ban-maw. He left the capital on the 5th of waxing Thadingyut. Nine days later, Thiri Damayaza another son of the King, took the command of 12 regiments containing 1,200 horse and 12,000 men, and left the capital also bound for Môtama. The Sawbwas of Mogaung and Thibaw supplied the Shan contingents. On the 2nd of waxing Tazaungmôn, 11 regiments consisting of 1,100 horse and 11,000 men were despatched also to Môtama under the command of Myin Wun (Minister of cavalry force) Mingyi Maha Mingaung.

Then on the 10th of waxing Tazaungmôn 1147 (November A.D. 1785), King Bodawpaya left the capital with an army of 40 regiments containing 500 elephants, 5,000 horse, and 50,000 men, under his own command, with Mingyi Maha Thettawshe as "Tat-hmu" or chief staff officer, and Mingyi Nanda Kyawdin and Wundauk Nemyo Kyawzwa as "Sitkè" or assistants. In this column the Shan Chiefs who had to supply contingents of a regiment each were:—the Sawbwas of Momeik and Nyaung-ywe, and the Governors of Legya, Yauk-sauk, Maing-kaing, and Saga, and the Kyamaing (heir-apparent) of Legya. The Maha Upayaza was left in charge of the capital.

He travelled by land and passed through Taung-ngu, Shwegyin, and Sittaung. Wherever the army camped His Majesty was entertained with music and theatrical performances. In thirty-eight marches he reached Môtama, on the 4th of waning Nadaw (December). He found that sufficient provisions had not been collected and stored up at the different stages along the route he was to march to Yodaya. Mingyi Mingaung Kyaw who had been ordered to do this and who had gone on to Byeik, was ordered to be brought back to him under arrest. His Majesty sent Wungyi Maha Thiri Thihathu from his army to take over the command of Mingyi Mingaung Kyaw. He then dispatched a detachment of six regiments with Nawrata Kyawgaung in command to march to Yodaya via Ywahaing.

King Bodawpaya had been four days in Môtama, but the transfer of the elephants, horses, and men to the east bank of the Thanlwin river had not been completed yet. Annoyed at the delay he

summoned all his commanders and officers and asked them whether they thought their necks were protected with plates of steel to resist being beheaded for such dilatoriness. He said he would burn them alive, if the whole of the forces were not across the river that very day. All were so afraid that none dared offer any excuse and every one remained silent with their hands joined in the attitude of adoration. Then the Governor of Kaw-thanti, who was only a junior officer, mustered sufficient courage to tell His Majesty that in warfare certain operations had to be done with great despatch, and certain others with much caution and deliberation. If operations which required deliberation were carried out in a hurry, they might be miscarried, and if those that called for immediate action were delayed, success might not be attained. In this invasion of Siam by His Majesty by way of Tayaik, it had been arranged that four other columns should co-operate, from four different directions, namely, Zinmè, Ywahaing, Dawè, and Byeik. The King of Siam would no doubt have received information which way His Majesty would march, and he would certainly place his main army under his own command in the direction of Tayaik, to oppose the main invading army. Along the twenty or more marches in that direction, towns and villages from which provisions could be commandeered, were few and far between. Therefore, if the march via Tayaik were hastened, the provisioning of such a big army as His Majesty's would be a matter of great difficulty. All the provision they had then was what each man carried on his shoulders. If owing to want of provisions on the way they could neither go forward nor turn backward, the campaign would fail to achieve its object, as then the effect of the co-operation of the other four columns would not be felt and any success in those directions would be of no avail. It was very important that His Majesty should station himself at Mòttama until a suitable occasion and an opportune moment had arrived. Four bases were to be formed, the foremost was to be stationed at Bilauk, and at this post of honour, the forces under Minhla Kyawdin would be quartered; the next base farther back was to be at Alan, where the forces under Myin Wun Mingyi Maha Mingaung would be stationed; the base next to Alan was to be at Mitakit where Prince Thiri Damayaza would have his forces; and

the fourth base was to be at Paya-thônzu (three pagodas), where Prince Thado Minsaw would station himself with his forces. The advance bases should send out raiding parties of 500 to 600 men all over the neighbourhood, and these men should lay hold of anything useful for the Burmese army and destroy everything that would be of any use to the enemy. As for provisions, all that were available would be sent up by boats from Môtama to Mitakit base by the men in His Majesty's forces. From that base they would be sent on from one base to another, until they reached the foremost at Bilauk. The forces at Bilauk would then throw out an advance post at Daung Thabôn, whither the provisions would be carried and collected. The forces with His Majesty were to maintain themselves on the resources of Môtama and Pegu districts. If the plan described above were carried out under the personal direction of His Majesty, the Siamese Monarch would concentrate the greater portion of his army in the direction of Tayaik and would not dare divide his army for operations elsewhere. Should it turn out as was believed it would, the main Siamese army would be held up at Tayaik, and the columns marching through Zinnè, Ywahaing, Dawè, and Byeik, meeting little or no opposition on the way and being able to obtain provisions easily, would certainly be successful in forcing their way to the Siamese capital. When information had been received that the other four columns were already approaching the capital, and as by that time provisions would have been adequately collected, His Majesty could make a forced march by covering two days' march in one, break down the resistance sure to be offered at Tayaik, and go straight on to the Siamese capital. The capture of it together with the King and the royal family would then be an easy affair, because all the other columns would have arrived also and would be able to co-operate fully.

For such a junior officer in the army, the plan of campaign mapped out by the Governor of Kaw-thanti must be considered very creditable, as it showed much foresight and comprehensiveness of view. He must have been an officer of no mean ability as is evidenced by the very able manner in which he had thought out his plan and laid it so clearly before His Majesty ; and also of con-

siderable courage to be bold enough to speak when all the rest were silenced by the anger of their Sovereign.

Having listened to what the Governor of Kaw-thanti had to say, King Bodawpaya severely reprimanded his commanders and officers, saying that although he had honoured and rewarded them with high and responsible posts, such as charge of districts and towns, and commands of divisions and regiments, they failed him signally in the hour of need by having nothing to offer in the way of counsel or opinion and remaining quite silent. He asked them, perhaps sarcastically, whether they had not heard what the Governor of Kaw-thanti, a mere subaltern, had said what he thought should be done in the circumstances. If he had stopped with merely reprimanding them, it would have been well; but he was unable to control his anger and himself, and he let fly the spear he had in his hand into the midst of the crouching assembly of officers and courtiers. The spear struck and wounded Mingyi Nanda Kyawdin, the Sitkè-gyi or the first assistant staff officer in his own army. He then said he would march the very next day.

The anger of their Sovereign and the consequent flight of His Majesty's spear to find its lodgement in the body of a staff officer must have infused more life and energy into the commanders and officers. The transportation of the elephants, horses, and men, across the river was completed that very evening. The next day, His Majesty crossed over and joined the army. He started on his march to Yodaya the following day. In six marches he reached Mitakit, which, according to the Governor of Kaw-thanti, was to be the first base. He went on another march and encamped at a place called Kyunbin (teak tree), and stopped there for about a fortnight making arrangements for the commencement of the campaign. He ordered the making of many carts for the transport of provisions, and sent back Nemyo Zeya Kyawdin to Môtama to fetch all the provisions available there. He asked Mingyi Maha Mingaung who was in command of eleven regiments, and Minhla Kyawdin who led a regiment in the King's own forces, what provisions they had with them. These officers were aware how angry His Majesty was with Mingyi Mingaung Kyaw for failure to have a full supply of provisions and what sort of punishment awaited

him. Fearing another outburst of anger in His Majesty, and the flying spear launched from his royal hand still reminiscent in their minds, they told him that they had quite a month's supply, which must have been a distinct falsehood. They were then put in command of 21¹⁰ regiments to which were added picked elephants, horses, and men drawn from His Majesty's own forces, and ordered to proceed in advance, the King saying he would have fresh supplies of provisions sent up before what they already had were exhausted.

The Governor of Kaw-thanti was appointed chief scouting officer, a fit reward for his ability. He was given a squadron of 100 horse and 200 infantry men, and ordered to go out scouting till he found where the Siamese army was encamped. Mingyi Nanda Kyawdin, who was wounded with His Majesty's spear, was ordered to station himself at Kyunbin and see that provisions sent up from below were duly and promptly forwarded to the front. Having made these arrangements, His Burman Majesty continued his march, on the 5th of waning Pyatho (January). At the next stage from Kyunbin, Mingyi Mingaung Kyaw, who had been ordered to be brought back from Byeik under arrest, arrived. He was then and there executed. In another march the King reached Paya-thônzu (three pagodas). Here he rested for a day, and then made two more marches, reaching a place called Alantè. He stopped here, and making many bamboo rafts, he had them laden with paddy and taken down Alantè stream.

The King of Siam requested his ministers to find out among the Burmans captured by the Siamese in some of the previous wars between the two nations, and held by them as prisoners of war, some one who was an adherent or retainer of the Monarch now invading Siam. A man by the name of

¹⁰ The statement about 21 regiments in the original is not very clear. Mingyi Maha Mingaung commanded 11 regiments right enough; but Miahla Kyawdin had only one regiment under him. Therefore there ought to be only 12 regiments between them. Very probably 10 regiments including Miahla Kyawdin's were detached from the King's army and Miahla Kyawdin put in command of them. It is not expressly stated so in the original, but the statement that additions of picked elephants, horses, and men drawn from His Majesty's army were made, probably means that 10 regiments were detached and formed into a separate command.

Nga Kan, who was formerly one of Bodawpaya's own retainers, was found. He was captured by the Siamese during the invasion led by Athi Wungyi Maha Thihathura in the year 1136 (A.D. 1764). Nga Kan was taken to the presence of His Siamese Majesty and questioned whether it was true that the Burmese King now invading Yodaya was his royal master. On Nga Kan replying that it was true, His Siamese Majesty gave him a letter to be carried to His Burman Majesty. In due course Nga Kan arrived at Alantè camp with the Siamese missive. It was translated into Burmese and found to convey His Siamese Majesty's request that there should be no enmity and no war between the two nations and that trade and commerce should continue between the two countries, thereby conferring peace and prosperity on the two peoples. His Burman Majesty said nothing on the contents of the letter, but questioned Nga Kan as to what arrangements the Siamese Monarch, his ministers, and nobles were making to defend their country. Nga Kan told His Majesty the following story:—That since the time His Burman Majesty arrived at Mòttama, three Burmans were captured by the Karens of Kyaukkaung, and sent on to the capital. These men were questioned closely and they stated that Pakan Mingyi, referring to Wungyi Thado Thiri Maha Uzana, was coming down through Zimmè with over 30,000 men; Kinwun Mingyi, referring to Mingyi Mingaung Kyaw, was marching from Byeik with over 30,000 men; Anaukpet Taik Wun, referring to Nemyo Nawrata Kyawdin, was to attack from Dawè also with over 30,000; and Nawrata Kyawgaung was sent to Ywahaung with the same number of men; that His Burman Majesty was marching with over 100,000 men by way of Tayaik. They said they belonged to the forces under the Prince of Sagu, referring to Prince Thiri Damayaza, who had twelve regiments under him. They were detailed to transport paddy by water from Mòttama to the river lading at Zami. They went ashore for a while, and were captured by the Karens in the jungle to the east of Zami. It will be noticed that these men considerably exaggerated the numbers of the men which composed the several columns. They might have done this purposely, probably to boast of the power and might of their Sovereign or perhaps to frighten the Siamese not to offer any resistance,

Further, Nga Kan told His Burman Majesty that when the Siamese Monarch received the above information from the three Burmans, he summoned the princes, ministers, and nobles and held a council to discuss what measures should be taken to repel this invasion of the Burmese, in five different directions with an army of over 200,000 men. The princes, ministers, and nobles were of opinion that this invasion was on a much larger scale than any of the previous ones, being conducted by the King himself, with forces almost amounting to 300,000 men; moreover, the invasion was from five different directions, and not only were the forces large in numbers in the direction of Tayaik by which way the Burmese King was marching, but the forces in the other four directions also exceeded 30,000 men each. They were in favour of diplomatic negotiation, instead of relying on their fighting strength and contending in arms. The King held a different opinion, saying their opinion was based solely on the numerical strength of the Burmese army. It was necessary to repel only the forces coming by way of Tayaik, because if they were repulsed and defeated there, the other four columns would have to withdraw. He did not think it was necessary to despatch forces to oppose those four other columns. He said he would himself march to Myitsôn (junction of two rivers), build a big and strong fort there, and repel the attack of the Burmese King. If the fight were favourable to the Siamese arms, the initial success would be pressed home till victory was obtained. If on the other hand, fortune favoured the Burmese, it would then be time to parley. The capital should be prepared for attack by mounting guns on the ramparts of the city. Even if the four columns forced their way to the capital, they would not be strong enough to capture it. Accordingly, he had a big fort built at Myitsôn, complete with moats, ramparts, barbican, and other contrivances for the discomfiture and destruction of assaulting forces. Guns were mounted on the walls of the fort, and obstacles to prevent the approach of elephants, horses, and men, such as hurdles, bars, breast-works of earth, spikes, thorns, &c., were laid outside the walls. Then to the west of this fort, at a distance of about 2,000 "tas,"¹¹ he had smaller forts built over an area of 4,000 to 5,000

11 One "ta" is seven cubits, and a cubit is about 20 English inches.

“tas” square. All the able-bodied and good fighting men in the whole country were called up; some were detailed to guard the capital and the rest sent to the forts at Myitsôn. The forces collected there to try conclusions with the main invading army numbered between 50,000 and 60,000 men. A force of about 20,000 or 30,000 men was also sent to Kanpuri to oppose any enemy forces that might turn up there. A fleet of eighty two-masted and three-masted ships¹² manned by “Kala Panthes” were kept in readiness near the sea to the south of the capital. His Siamese Majesty together with his queens and children left the capital and took up his quarters in the fort at Myitsôn.

The above information supplied by Nga Kan must have been very useful to the Burmese Monarch. King Bodawpaya now knew the strength of the Siamese forces at Myitsôn and at Kanpuri. He found that the 21 regiments which he had sent in advance, and which, according to the usual formation of Burmese regiments, would contain only 2,100 horse and 21,000 men, were insufficient to attack or to defend against a force 50,000 strong. So, apparently acting on Nga Kan's information, he immediately despatched a reinforcement of twelve regiments, six under Prince Thiri Damayaza with Nemyo Thinkaya as Sitkè, and six under Prince Thado Minsaw with Nemyo Nawrata as Sitkè. They were ordered to march as quickly as possible and catch up the forces under Mingyi Maha Mingaung and Minhla Kyawdin. The strength of these twelve regiments is not given, probably because it is to be understood that they were of the usual formation and contained 1,200 horse and 12,000 men. Before this reinforcement came up, the advance force had come in contact with a Siamese force of about twenty regiments, at a small range of hills to the west of Sagatan river, three days' march from Tayaik. After fighting two days, the Siamese retreated leaving some of their provisions and water poisoned. Some of the men in the Burmese forces, not suspecting any foul

12 It was probably with these ships that the King's brother came to Chumpon with a force of about 20,000 men to fight the Burmese who had attacked and captured the towns on the west coast. ดพรวรราชพงษาวดาร

play, partook of the poisoned food and water, and about 400 men died in consequence.

The Burmese forces followed up the retreating Siamese, keeping close to the Sagatan river, Mingyi Maha Mingaung marching on the north bank and Minhla Kyawdin on the south bank. In one march from Sagatan, they reached Kanpuri where they found 20,000 to 30,000 Siamese. The forces marching on the south bank then crossed over to the north bank. The twelve regiments sent to reinforce them came up at the same time. The combined Burmese forces attacked the Siamese, but they had the worst of the fight, a whole regiment together with its commander, the Kala Wun,¹³ was captured by the Siamese. After this, it is very likely that the Siamese assumed the offensive, as the Burmese history says that the thirty-four¹⁴ Burmese regiments pitched camps and remained on the defensive, probably waiting for further reinforcements. Provisions soon ran out and the Burmese forces, including even the officers, had to subsist on edible yams and roots found in the forest. Sixty elephants and 500 men with Lambu Yantathu in charge were sent back to the base behind to fetch provisions. But before they could get to Sagatan, they were ambushed by a force of about 3,000 Siamese who had followed them without their being aware of it. All the 60 elephants and about 300 men fell into the hands of the Siamese. Lambu Yantathu and about 200 men escaped and got back to Kanpuri camp.

King Bodawpaya, who was still at Alantè camp, sent two officers to find out news of the advance forces. On the 2nd of waxing Tabodwè (February), he left Alantè camp, and went to Bilauk in two marches, where he halted for a day. Continuing his march thence, he camped the next day at Daung Thabôn. On the following day he camped in a thatch grass plain at Tayaik. Here the two officers sent to obtain news of the advance

¹³ "Kala" means foreigner and "Wun" means minister; "Kala Wun" may mean a minister who had charge of foreigners or a minister who was a foreigner or of foreign extraction.

¹⁴ This number is evidently wrong. The forces under Mingyi Maha Mingaung consisted of 21 regiments; the reinforcements sent under the command of the King's two sons consisted of 12 regiments. The total of these forces is only 33, and as one whole regiment under Kala Wun had been lost there ought to remain only 32 regiments.

forces returned and met him. They informed him of what had happened, namely, the loss of a whole regiment together with the commander; the fate of the party sent back to fetch provisions; and the condition of the forces at Kanpuri, who were so weak for want of food that they had not sufficient strength even to search for edible yams and roots or to dig them when found. They had to kill and eat their transport bullocks and ponies, and had even to live on the leather of the saddle flaps, shields, and helmets.

His Burman Majesty enquired what provisions there were in the forces encamped at Alantè. He found that they themselves were short of provisions, to say nothing of being able to spare some to be sent forward. Without food it was impossible he said to attain success; the route he had come by was such that it was exceedingly hard to get provisions, owing to the existence of very few towns and villages. He decided to give up the campaign, in fact, there was no other way open. Having sent despatch riders to the advance forces at Kanpuri, as well as to the columns operating via Zinnè, Ywahaing, Dawè, and Byeik, with orders to give up the expedition, he himself retreated from his camp at Tayaik on the 8th of waxing Tabodwè (February).

Mingyi Maha Mingaung received the orders and withdrew from Kanpuri after having arranged two rear guards of 5,000 men each, with two Sitkès in command. The Siamese followed the retreating Burmese, but did not engage them in fight. The rear guards came up with the main retreating forces at a place about three marches from Kanpuri. In this retreat about 6,000 men fell out from the ranks on the way, from sheer weakness caused by starvation, and were left behind. Many died also from the same cause.

The forces sent to Ywahaing under Nawrata Kyawgaung reached the town in due course. The Governor tendered submission without any resistance, and he and his family together with about 500 men were sent to His Burman Majesty in the charge of Shwedaung Pyanchi. The Burmese continued to march in the direction of Yodaya, but they were attacked in force by the Siamese and held up. Just then orders recalling them arrived and they withdrew.

The Zinmè column captured Zinmè. The commander-in-chief, Mingyi Thado Thiri Maha Uzana, then took twenty regiments with him and invested Lagun. He sent Sitkè Nemyo Sithu with the remaining nine regiments to march on towards Yodaya. The latter force seemed to have carried everything before it, capturing the towns of Laling, Peiksè, Thuwunkalauk, Bantet, Thaukkatè, and Peikthalôk, probably because there were no Siamese forces yet to arrest their progress. But when this force tried to proceed further towards Yodaya, it was attacked by the Siamese forces which had rushed up hurriedly. Orders recalling the Burmese forces arrived about this time, and news was also received that the Ywahaing column had retreated. Sitkè Nemyo Sithu then withdrew his forces from Peikthalôk and joined Wungyi Thado Thiri Maha Uzana at Zinmè, the Wungyi apparently having raised the siege of Lagun and returned to Zinmè. The Burmese forces then retreated to Kyaing-Thin.

The Dawè column, under Nemyo Kyawdin Nawrata, went in the direction of Ratbi. In fifteen marches, it reached that town attacked and captured it. It then attacked Pyatbi and captured it also. While preparing to march to Yodaya, it was attacked by a fairly large force of Siamese. Just then the Burmese received orders to retreat and they fell back on Dawè.

Wungyi Maha Thiri Thihathu who was sent to Byeik apparently had no difficulty in capturing the town. Thence he proceeded in sailing ships along the sea-coast. A force of fourteen regiments under the command of Sitkè-gyi Nemyo Gônarrat marched by land keeping close to the sea-shore. In time both the land and sea forces arrived at a place called Sanwa,¹⁵ at a distance of ten marches from Byeik. Here the Wungyi established his head-

¹⁵ This expedition under Wungyi Maha Thiri Thihathu to Byeik and thence to Sanwa was evidently the one described by Sir Arthur Phayre in his history of Burma as having reached Junk Seylon and taken possession of it. I do not know the Burmese name for Junk Seylon which is called

“Talang=တလံ” in Siamese. Sanwa mentioned here was very probably the Burmese name for Junk Seylon or Talang. At any rate, no other expedition going beyond Byeik in the direction of Talang or Junk Seylon is mentioned in Hmannan history.—Thien.

quarters. The Sawbwa of Malaka ¹⁶ then came and tendered submission with presents of guns, fire-arms, and various kinds of cloth. The fourteen regiments under Sitkè-gyi Nemyo Gônarrat attacked the Siamese forces encamped at Wutkyi, two marches from Sanwa, and were successful. In one march from Wutkyi they got to the town of Sunpyôn, ¹⁷ attacked and captured it. In two marches from Sunpyôn, they reached Sayagyi ¹⁸ which they attacked and captured. The town of Lôkkun ¹⁹ was reached in another four marches, and it was attacked and captured also. The Burmese obtained a large quantity of loot and prisoners from these towns. Here they were surrounded by a large force of Siamese and were obliged to break through the cordon and fall back on Sayagyi. At this place they received orders to retreat and they withdrew to Byeik. The Wungyi also returned to Byeik with the ships.

When King Bodawpaya reached Môttama, after his retreat from Tayaik, he sent for his chief queen, his other queens, and his children, to come down by river to worship the famous Dagôn pagoda. Leaving behind Minlha Sithu with a force of 20,000 men at Môttama, he went on to Hanthawadi. There he found the famous Mawdaw pagoda in a bad state of preservation. He said he would undertake to repair it, and caused such of the material as had fallen into ruin and as required removal, to be removed from the pagoda. He then proceeded by water to the town of Yangôn (Rangoon) where his queens and children had arrived. After having worshipped the Dagôn pagoda in company with his family, he returned by water to the capital. Soon after his arrival, Wungyi Maha Thihathura was entrusted with necessary funds for the repair of the Mawdaw pagoda and sent to Hanthawadi to superintend the work.

King Bodawpaya must have been sorely disappointed that his first attempt to conquer Yodaya should have met with such a signal failure. Moreover, as the campaign was personally directed by him, his belief in his might and power and his conceit that he was a great general, must have received a severe shock. Had he

¹⁶ Probably the Raja of Malacca.

¹⁷ မုံပျံ

¹⁸ ဟဲယ

¹⁹ မန္တလေး

condescended to act on the advice of the Governor of Kaw-thanti, the result would not have been so disastrous. It will be noticed that what the Siamese Monarch said at the council of war corresponded very nearly with what the Governor had conjectured in his plan of campaign as regards the Siamese measures of defence. Apparently King Bodawpaya could not brook this humiliation for long, and was determined to retrieve this severe reverse to his arms as quickly as possible. Only about seven months after the dismal retreat of the Burmese forces from Kanpuri, and before the memory of what they had suffered on that occasion could have faded away, he again ordered the invasion of Yodaya²⁰. An army of 85 regiments, consisting of 55,000 men under the supreme command of Mingyi Nanda Kyawdin²¹ with Wundauk Nemyo Kyawzwa and Maniset as Sitkès, was ordered to march by way of Mòttama on the 15th of waxing Tawthalin 1148 (Sept. A. D. 1786). This time, Bodawpaya took great precautions that want of provisions should not be a cause of failure. Orders were sent as far as the four principal towns of Arakan to send provisions to Mòttama by sea. The towns and villages on the principal rivers of Burma were ordered to contribute their quota of provisions by sending them to Mòttama by boats. In those days when communications by land were very defective, water was the best means of transport in Burma, and her many good rivers, especially the Irawadi, afforded great facilities for the transport of almost everything. Probably it was for this reason that Arakan and towns on the rivers were called upon to provide food for the army of invasion. Accordingly food stuffs came pouring in to Mòttama by sea and by river.

When Bogyôk (commander-in-chief) Mingyi Nanda Kyawdin arrived at Mòttama, he placed 20 regiments consisting of 10,000 men under the command of Minhla Sithu, and ordered him to cross over to Moulmein and march on to Bilauk. It will be remembered that this officer was left at Mòttama with a force of 20,000 men.

²⁰ ดุพรวราชพงษาวดาร เดิม ๓ หน้า ๒๑๓ ถึง ๒๑๖

²¹ According to Siamese history the Crown Prince (อินทมหาดุปราช), was in supreme command.

after the retreat of King Bodawpaya from Tayaik. Very probably Minhla Sithu and the 20,000 men were not recalled to the capital but had to remain at Môtta all the time, waiting for orders to march again to Yodaya. The Mingyi with the remaining 65 regiments containing 45,000 men then crossed the Thanlwin river and marched along the same route taken by King Bodawpaya in his previous attempt to invade Siam. The provisions that were sent from Arakan and the riverine towns and villages, as well as those that were obtainable in Môtta district were all conveyed to Kyunbin camp, and from there again to Alantè camp.

The Karens of Kyaukkaung sent information to the Siamese capital that a large Burmese force fully provided with provisions had again appeared. The King of Siam sent Einshe (Crown Prince) Paya Peikthalók, with picked forces of elephants, horses, and men, to repel the Burmese. Einshe Paya Peikthalók divided his army into two columns and marched by two routes, concealing the movements of his forces in the jungle, evidently with the intention of making a surprise attack on the Burmese. In this he seemed to have been successful, because when the Siamese attacked the Burmese forces at Alantè camp, the numerical strength of the Burmese had been reduced by detachments having been sent back to Kyunbin camp to fetch provisions. The Burmese commander-in-chief apparently did not know that the Siamese were approaching very close to him, otherwise he would certainly not have reduced the strength of his forces. However, Mingyi Nanda Kyawdin himself commanded his forces in defending the offensive of the Siamese. But under the repeated onslaught of the two Siamese columns the Burmese were obliged to retreat to Môtta. The strength of the Siamese forces despatched from the capital and engaged in this fight is not mentioned in the Hmannan history. Thus King Bodawpaya's second attempt to conquer Yodaya also resulted in complete failure. It is noticeable that the military skill and efficiency of the Siamese had greatly improved, and they had become more than a match for the Burmese.

SIR ARTHUR P. PHAYRE'S ACCOUNT OF
THE SAME NARRATIVE.

- Badun Meng was forthwith proclaimed king.
- March, A. D. 1782. He assumed various titles afterwards, especially that of Hsengbyu Mya Sheng, but is now usually known as Bodoahprâ. The unfortunate Singgusâ, and those who remained with him, were sent to the city as prisoners, and all, including children and attendants, were ruthlessly burnt to death.
- Plots against Bodoahprâ. Bodoahprâ, still pretending ignorance of the conspiracy by which he had profited, put to death those who had gained the palace for Maung Maung. The disclosure of his perfidious nature, seems to have surprised many who had supported him. Plots began to be formed against him.¹ One, said to have been supported by Mahâ Thihathura, had for its object to place on the throne an illegitimate son of Alaunghprâ. The old general, who, though unsuccessful in his last campaign, had long led the Burmese armies to victory, was executed. Another conspiracy was headed by Myatpun, said to be a son of the last king of Burma of the ancient race, who had been carried away as prisoner by the Talaing king. This youth, after a life of adventure among the Shans and Red Karens, found a few desperadoes ready to support him. They boldly scaled the wall of the palace in the dead of night, and cried aloud that "the true branch of the royal stock" had appeared. The palace guards were panic-stricken by the suddenness of the attack. The conspirators gained possession of the guns and powder in the palace-yard, but finding no balls, could not use the cannons. They

December, A. D.
1782.

¹ These plots are briefly hinted at in the Mahâ Rajaweng. Details are given by Father San Germano, pp. 51, 52, and by Colonel Symes, pp. 99, 102.

might have fired the palace, but did not. As soon as it was day-light, and the small number of the assailants was seen, they were seized and put to death. Myatpun for the time escaped, but was speedily taken. Bodoahprâ now gave full rein to his fury. Hundreds of both sexes, and even some Buddhist monks, on vague suspicion that they have been privy to the conspiracy, were burnt alive upon an immense pile of wood. The village where the plot had been formed was razed to the ground; the fruit-trees were cut down, and the fields left to grow wild. In Pegu an insurrection broke out, having for its object to restore the Talaing monarchy; but this was easily suppressed.

Bodoahprâ, having sated his rage, commenced Site for a new building a pagoda at Sagaing, where he had lived capital selecte:l. for some years. He poured vast treasures into the relic-chamber, and made suitable offering to the monks. Having thus, as he believed, expiated the bloodshed he had caused, he thought to escape the evil influences which clung to a palace that had been the scene of so much slaughter, by changing the capital to another position. After careful search, the site selected was on a plain about six miles north-east from Ava, and bordered to the west by a branch of the great river. The new city was laid out as a square of about two thousand five hundred yards, according to the traditionary rules for the capital of a Burmese king. It was named Amarapura. The palace was in the centre of the city. The king, with his whole court, came in grand procession to occupy the new palace, which a few days afterwards was consecrated.

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Bodoahprâ, however, was too firmly seated on his throne to give heed to any murmurings. All dangerous men of influence had been got rid of; but he allowed no adverse remark on his measures to pass unpunished. Having created his eldest son Ainshêmeng, or heir-apparent, one of his younger brothers was said to have quoted his own reply, as to the declaration on succession to the throne of the great founder of the dynasty. He was at once executed.

Distracted state
of Arakan.

Bodoahprâ was now entire master of the country included in the basin of the Irâwadi. The chiefs in the districts east of the Salwîn as far as the Mekong acknowledged his supremacy. The sea-coast, as far south as the port of Tenasserim, was subject to his government. Fortune laid open to him a kingdom which had been subject to Burma some centuries before, but afterwards had recovered independence, and had not been subdued by Alaunghprâ. The distracted state of Arakan at this period has already been narrated.¹ For many years past, discontented nobles from that country had flocked to Ava, beseeching aid to restore order. Singgusâ had no ambition for warlike expeditions, and paid no attention to these applications. So terrible, from the tyranny of faction and the desolation of civil strife, was the state of that country, that even foreign interference,—the last resource of despair to lovers of their country,—was accepted as promising relief from greater evil.

After the destructive earthquakes which seemed to portend the overthrow of the kingdom, Sanda Parama was dethroned by his brother-in-law, who ascended the palace, and took the title of Apaya Mahâ Râjâ. He in his turn was put to death by one of his officers, who then reigned as Sanda

¹ See chapter xvii.

Thumanâ. Bodoahprâ sent emissaries to inquire as to the state of the country, and the king not daring to resent this act of interference by his powerful neighbour, humbly represented by letter that all disturbance had subsided. But resistance to the nominal king soon broke out once more, and Sanda Thumanâ fled from his capital. He became a Rahân, but this did not save his life. One of the rebel chiefs seized the palace. Immediately there was a combination of faction leaders against him, and he fled. A chief in Ramri, Aungzun, a man of resolute character, was called by a majority to occupy the throne. He took the title of Sanda Thaditha Dhammarît Râjâ. Some chiefs still persisted in resistance to his authority, and as he pursued them into the mountains with untiring determination, they fled across the border into Burma. One of them, Hari, the son of Apaya Mahâ Râjâ, invited Bodoahprâ to take the country. The time did not appear suitable, and nothing was done. In the meantime, Dhammarît Râjâ honestly endeavoured to quiet the kingdom. His efforts were in vain. Village fought against village, and robbers plundered everywhere. In the midst of this confusion the king suddenly died. The husband of his niece succeeded, and took the pompous title of Mahâ Thamadâ, the name of the first king, the Nimrod of the Buddhist world. Bodoahprâ saw that the time had come. His scouts kept him well informed, and he knew that Arakan would be an easy prey.

A. D. 1781.

A. D. 1782.

The conquest having been determined on, Bodoahprâ made ample preparations to ensure success. An army of twenty thousand men, two thousand five hundred horses, and over two hundred elephants, was assembled at and near Amarapura. It was composed of four divisions, three of which were to march to Arakan by land. The fourth, still incomplete in

Conquest of
Arakan.

numbers, would, when joined by boatmen and landmen drawn from the lower country, proceed by sea. The three divisions which formed the land columns were under the command of the king's three sons, the Ainshêmeng, who was also commander-in-chief, Thado Mengzoa, and Kâma Meng. The army having moved in advance, the Ainshêmeng left the capital and proceeded down the river. The division
 October, A. D. under Thado Mengzoa disembarked at Menbu, with
 1784. orders to cross the mountains by the Talâk pass. The two other divisions continued on, passing Prome to Padaung. The plan was, so to arrange the march of the three land columns, that the flotilla should have time to come round by sea, and enable the land columns to occupy Sandoway, Ramri, and Cheduba; after which a general advance would be made on the capital in Arakan proper. The division under Kâma Meng went down the river as far as Kyan-kheng, from whence it marched to cross the mountains, and debouch on the plain of Sandoway. The flotilla of armed vessels under Nê Myu Kyohteng and Tarabyâ, a Talaing officer, went on to Bassein. Joined there by more vessels, and men raised in the delta, it passed Pagoda Point and Cape Negrais, and began to work up the coast towards Sandoway and Ramri.

The Ainshêmeng halted at Padaung for twelve days, and then commenced his march leisurely, by the pass which led to Taungup on the sea-coast. Thado Mengzoa reached Talâk after some opposition
 About 2nd December, A. D. from an Arakanese force. The flotilla made extra-
 1784. ordinary exertions, and a few days after the Ainshêmeng had arrived at Taungup, it was reported to be at the mouth of the Sandoway river, and in communication with the column of Kâma Meng. The town of Sandoway was occupied without opposition, and the whole force was combined under the com-

mander-in-chief at Tanlwai. He proceeded against Ramri. The island was held by a son of Dhammarit Râjâ, who was defeated without difficulty. The Ainsâmeng then proceeded northwards, and mustered his forces at the mouth of the Talâk river. Moving his army, chiefly by means of his flotilla, into the great river of Arakan, two chiefs with their followers made submission. At Laungkrek the Arakenese fleet was defeated, and there being no adequate means for the defence of the capital, the chiefs and Râhâns entreated Mahâ Thamadâ to submit. He fled to the jangal, and the Ainsâmeng entered the city. The fugitive king was brought in a prisoner a month afterwards.

About 28th
December, A. D.
1784.

Bodoahprâ recalled his sons, and sending Meng Khaung Gyô as governor of the conquered province, directed that ten thousand men should remain as garrison, and the rest of the army return home. The great national image of Arakan, called Mahâmuni, was sent across the mountains by the Taungup pass; was received by the king with great honour; and was set up in a building specially erected for it to the north of the city. The king of Arakan, his queens, and his whole family; the chief officers, the Brahman astrologers and soothsayers with their families, and numerous prisoners, were sent by the same route. All the arms and muskets, with the great guns, one nearly thirty feet long, which had been found in the city, were sent by sea.

The conquest of Arakan had been achieved so easily that Bodoahprâ, ambitious of military glory, determined himself to lead an army to subdue Siam. The pretended cause of war was to exact tribute asserted to be due, and to avenge the defeats inflicted by the valiant Phaya Tâk. A preliminary expedition was sent by sea, which took possession

Invasion of
Siam.

Early in
A.D. 1785.

of Junk Seylon, but after a few weeks the force was driven out by the Siamese, and obliged to return to Mergui. The advantage to be derived from this isolated attack is not apparent. Success could have had little effect on the main object, which was to occupy the capital. Junk Seylon could not be made the base for operations against Bangkok, and the only benefit to be derived from the occupation of that island by the Burmese, would be to intercept the supply of firearms coming from Indian ports, of which traffic however there is no evidence. The expedition was a very expensive one, and caused a great loss in men.

Plan of
operations.

Bodoahprà determined to throw an overwhelming invading force into Siam, at several points simultaneously. Meng Khaung Gyo was sent to Martaban to collect boats, cattle, and provisions, and to explore the road for a march by the route known as that of the three pagodas. An army of one hundred thousand men was assembled and divided into six corps. It was composed of men drawn from Mogaung and the northern Shân states; from the eastern states; and from other parts of the empire. One

September, A. D.
1785.

corps was dispatched in advance from Martaban to Tavoy to be in readiness to act from that quarter. One was assembled at Zimmà, and three at Martaban. One body of choice troops was headed by the king himself. Leaving his eldest son in charge of the palace, he marched from the capital to Taungu, and reached Martaban after thirty-nine days. There he

Middle of
October A. D.
1785.

combined four corps into a grand army under his own command, to move by the route of the three pagodas, but detached a division to create a diversion towards Rahaing. His own projected line of march was to cross the Salwin from Martaban; to proceed up the valley of the Attarân river by the branch which leads to the three pagodas, at the summit of the

mountain range which separates the two countries; from whence, crossing the Siamese border, the route would be pursued down the course of the Menam or Khwaynauey to the town of Kanburi, from whence the march to Bangkok would be easy. The grand army, commanded by Bodoahprâ, consisted of not less than fifty thousand men. It soon appeared that the provisions and transport collected, were utterly inadequate for the wants of such an army. The king, in his self-sufficient ignorance and impatience, had issued orders without allowing sufficient time for due arrangements to be made. In his rage he now threatened with death the whole of his principal officers, or, in his own words, "to burn them all in one fiery furnace." The unfortunate Meng Khaung Gyo, who was chiefly responsible, had gone in command of the corps of Tavoy. He was ordered to be sent back in chains. The king persevered in his march. When near the three pagodas, the prisoner arrived and was forthwith executed. The army, now in a difficult mountainous country, was repeatedly attacked and severely handled by the Siamese, and already thousands of the invaders were dying for want of food,

March to the
frontier.

Phaya Tàk had been succeeded on the throne of Siam by Phaya Chakkri, the ancestor of the present king of that country. For greater security against Burmese attack, he removed the inhabitants of Bangkok from the west to the east bank of the river. Being a man of ability and courage, he had led the Siamese armies in many actions since the fall of Ayuthia in A.D. 1767, and had revived the spirit of the people, which, after the conquest by Bureng Naung, had been cowed under the superior force of the Burmese. The confidence thus infused into the Siamese was manifested by the vigorous attacks made on the invading army. By the middle

Heroic defence
by the King
of Siam.

A. D. 1786. of January, news reached Bodoahprâ that the column marching from Tavoy had been almost annihilated beyond Mergui. His own advance met with the same fate, and those who escaped fell back in disorder on the main body. The king, terrified for his own safety, was only anxious to escape. He issued orders for all the invading columns to retreat. That which was advancing from Zimmè had met with some success, but all the others had suffered from the enemy and from hunger. Bodoahprâ fearing lest his own retreat should be cut off in the difficult country in which he was entangled, fled back to Martaban, leaving the scattered remains of his army to escape as they could. Ordering his queens and children to meet him at Rangoon, that all might worship together at the great pagoda, he proceeded to the ancient capital of Pegu. From thence he came by river to Rangoon and returned to his own capital. The following year the Siamese in revenge laid siege to Tavoy, but were unsuccessful.

II.

INTRODUCTION.

The successes gained by the Siamese in the last two Burmese invasions of Siam, had the effect of making them more confident of their fighting power and tactical skill. These successes had also the effect of inclining the Lao chiefs of northern Siam, who were never truly loyal to the Burmese Sovereign, to sever their undesirable connection with Burma and throw in their lot with Siam. Moreover, the Siamese Monarch himself began to adopt a more aggressive policy towards these chiefs with a view to bringing them all under subjection to him. The consequence was that, about a year after the Burmese had suffered two severe defeats from the growing power of the Siamese, there arose considerable unrest and opposition to Burmese authority in Chiangmai and the provinces lying to the east of the Salween, hitherto subject to Burma. It was to put down this unrest and bring these provinces and their chiefs completely under subjection and control, that King Bodawpaya despatched an expedition to northern Siam.

The account of this expedition as given in the Hmannan history is quite different from that given in the Siamese history¹ and in the "Statement or deposition of a native of Ava,"² at least in so far as the incidents of the fighting are concerned. It is quite possible that the compilers of the Hmannan history were at fault. They might have mixed up this expedition with some other expeditions to northern Siam, and the reason for this supposition is the absence of Shan contingents in the expeditionary force in question. It will be noticed in the narrative given below, that none of the Sawbwas or Shan Chiefs, except the Governor of Maing-That and the Sawbwa of Tilin, supplied contingents; this is very unusual, as in most other expeditions to northern Siam, the Sawbwas and Governors of the Shan country, especially that portion of it

1 พระราชพงษาวดาร เดิม ๓ หน้า ๒๓๗ แต่หน้าต่อไป

2 คำให้การชาวอังวะ ฉบับ พิมพ์ พ. ศ. ๒๔๕๘ หน้า ๒๓

lying to the east and south-east of the Burmese capital, had to supply contingents of a regiment each, as that part of the country lies on the line of march of an army starting from the Burmese capital and proceeding in the direction of Chiengmai and other provinces to the east of the Salween. It is also noticeable that Sir Arthur Phayre did not mention this expedition in his history of Burma.

TRANSLATION.

In the year 1149 (A. D. 1787) King Bodawpaya ordered an expedition to northern Siam to repress a great deal of disaffection and disloyalty prevailing in the fifty-seven provinces which comprise the Kingdom of Zimmè and the other towns and provinces lying on the east of the Thanlwin (Salween) river. An army composed of 66 regiments, containing 4000 horse and 45,000 men, under the supreme command of Wungyi Maha Zeyathura with Thitsein Bo Nemyo Kyawdin Thinkaya and Wandauk Nemyo Kyawdin as assistants left the capital on the 2nd of waning Tawthalin 1149 (September A. D. 1787), to go to Zimmè via Monè. The Governor of Maing That who enjoyed the title of Yangwinkyaw, and the Sawbwa of Tilin supplied contingents of a regiment each to this column.

Another column composed of 46 regiments, containing 35,000 men under the supreme command of Kin-u Bo Letya Thiha Thingyan with Thamandayè and Shwedaungthu as assistants, was sent by river to Môttama with orders to go and attack Pathin. On arrival at Môttama, the 46 regiments were divided into three divisions; one containing 15 regiments was placed on the right, another containing the same number of regiments was placed on the left, and the third containing 16 regiments with the Bogyôk (commander-in-chief) in command was in the centre. They all crossed the Thanlwin from Môttama and marched straight to Pathin.

When Wungyi Maha Zeyathura reached Monè, he despatched Yangyaw Pyitsi and Yazathiha Kyawdin to march on ahead with their regiments, probably on reconnoitring or scouting duty. He then split up his army into several divisions to march in

different directions. A division of twelve regiments under the command of Thitsein Bo Nemyo Kyawdin Thinkaya was ordered to cross the Thanlwin river at Kyaingkan Ta,³ and march through Maing Pu, Maing That, and Kyaing Thin. Another division of ten regiments under the command of Letya Winhmu Nemyo Kyawgaung Nawrata was sent to cross the Thanlwin at Thin Nyut, Thin Maung Ta, and proceed by way of Kyaingtôn, Kyaing Chaing, and Maing Nyaung. A third containing twenty-nine regiments under Nemyo Thura Kyawdin with Set-yèthu as assistant crossed the Thanlwin at Tasin ferry and marched via Maing Thwin and Kyaing-rè.

Wungyi Maha Zeyathura with the remaining thirteen regiments crossed the Thanlwin also at Tasin ferry and marched along the same route as that taken by Nemyo Thura Kyawdin, keeping himself in touch with that officer. When the Wungyi arrived at Maing Thwin, he received a report from Thitsein Bo Nemyo Kyawdin Thinkaya that Kyaing Thin was offering a strong resistance. On receipt of this report, instead of following, as he at first intended, the division under Nemyo Thura Kyawdin which had gone on to Kyaing-rè, he diverted his course, took his thirteen regiments to Kyaing Thin and joined the ten regiments under Thitsein Bo Nemyo Kyawdin Thinkaya. The combined forces then approached the town of Kyaing Thin to attack it. The inhabitants of the town, seeing that the Burmese forces had been greatly reinforced, dared not offer further resistance; they therefore left the town and remained in hiding out in the jungles and forests. Wungyi Maya Zeyathura entered the town, and induced the refugees from the town to return. He himself stayed at Kyaing Thin for about a month; but the Thitsein Bo and his division probably did not stay there so long and went on ahead, though it is not expressly stated thus in the Hmannan history.

Nemyo Thura Kyawdin and his twenty-nine regiments overcame all resistance on the way offered by the people of the fifty-seven provinces of Zimmè, and went on as far as Lagun where they found the town strongly defended. They therefore encamped on the

³ Evidently a Siamese word=၇၇

south and west sides of the town waiting for reinforcements. In due course the expected reinforcements arrived, namely, the two regiments under Yangyaw Pyitsi and Thiha Kyawdin which were sent on ahead from Monè, the ten regiments under Nemyo Kyawgaung Nawrata which came through Kyaingtôn, and the twelve regiments under Nemyo Kyawdin Thinkaya which came over from Kyaing Thin. The strength of the Burmese forces was brought up to fifty-three regiments, and with the whole of these the town was completely surrounded and closely invested. Wungyi Maha Zeyathura, having rested at Kyaing Thin for a month, left it and went to Kyaing-rè and thence to Lagun where all the rest of the Burmese forces of the northern column had assembled and were investing the town. On arrival there, he and his thirteen regiments encamped at a place called Thattiwa, about 500 "tas" (just over a mile) to the west of the town. The besiegers made several attempts to storm the town and capture it, but they were always repulsed with heavy losses owing to the strong defence made by Kawila's⁴ father Sèkyaw and brother Nwè-tat.

On the 10th of waxing Tabaung (March) a Siamese force of between 50,000 and 60,000 men arrived and encamped at a distance of 700 "tas" from Wungyi Maha Zeyathura's camp. The name of the commander of the Siamese forces is not given in the Hmannan history, as is very frequently the case when the Burmese got the worst of any fight; but whoever he might be, there can be no doubt that he was a clever tactician. He saw at once the mistake made by the Burmese commander-in-chief in having his camp with his thirteen regiments about 500 "tas" away from the investing forces. The Siamese commander by his superior numbers effectually prevented any communication between the investing forces and the thirteen regiments under the Burmese commander-in-chief, thus dividing the Burmese army into two portions, and thereby weakening the fighting strength of each. The Siamese attacked the investing forces fiercely, while the defenders of the town, emboldened by the presence of the Siamese, came out of the town and met the Burmese in the open. After fighting continuously for four days and three nights, the

⁴ พระยาการบัตร

besiegers were obliged to raise the siege and fall back on Kyaing Thin. The Wungyi had, perforce, to retire to Kyaing Thin also.

The column of forty-six regiments under Letya Thiha Thingyan marched from Môttama, and overcoming all resistance on the way, reached the town of Pathin, their first objective. The Burmese forces assailed the town on all its four sides repeatedly, but owing to the strong and effective defence made by the famous Lao Chief, Kawila, the assailants were hurled back every time, suffering severe losses. The Burmese then settled down to play the siege game. The Siamese army which had successfully attacked the Burmese investing forces at Lagun and compelled them to retire to Kyaing Thin came to Pathin and attacked the Burmese. Here also the Siamese were completely successful, the Burmese being obliged to raise the siege and retire.

Wungyi Maha Zeya Thura was recalled. He left Yaza Thiha Kyawdin with a force of 3000 men at Kyaing Thin; and doing what he could to suppress the disaffection and disloyalty of the Sawbwa of Kyaing-yôn and the chiefs and governors in the "twelve pannas,"⁵ the country of the Lu people, he returned to the capital with the rest of his army.

The Hmannan history does not say any more about the Môttama column under Letya Thiha Thingyan, after stating that it had to raise the siege and retire. In all probability it was also recalled. So King Bodawpaya's attempt to bring the Lao chiefs of northern Siam more completely under his sway met, like his attempt to invade and capture Yodaya, with utter failure.

III.

TRANSLATION.

Although King Bodawpaya's military expeditions to southern and northern Siam had met with severe reverses, and the suzerainty over the chiefs in northern Siam was gradually passing from his hands into those of the new King of Siam, the founder of the present dynasty, His Burman Majesty seemed still to enjoy the fame of a great monarch. Even the Emperor of China deemed it advisable to court King Bodawpaya's alliance. Only about five months before the last mentioned unsuccessful expedition to northern Siam was despatched, an embassy from the Chinese Emperor arrived at the court of Amarapura. The Chinese ambassador and his suite were received with a great display of magnificence and splendour; all the princes, nobles, ministers, and officials were in full dress at the audience accorded, and even the King and the Chief Queen appeared on the principal throne wearing crowns, bedecked and surrounded with all the insignia of royalty. A return embassy was sent, the Burmese envoy and his suite accompanying the Chinese ambassador on his return. The friendly relations continued throughout Bodawpaya's reign; in fact, the Emperor of China appeared to be very favourably disposed towards him. In Kasón 1151 (May, A. D. 1789), a Buddha image and an exact imitation of Buddha's tooth which the Emperor of China was reputed to possess, arrived at the Burmese capital, having been sent as presents by the Chinese Emperor, who is usually styled as the elder brother in the Burmese history.

About eighteen months later, the Chinese Emperor again showed his good will towards the Burmese Monarch by presenting the latter with three Chinese princesses. They were accompanied by seven Chinese officials and an escort of about one thousand soldiers. When the party arrived at the town of Mowun, the Chinese officials sent information of their mission to the Sawbwa of Bannaw, who in turn submitted a report of it to His Burman Majesty. Orders were sent back by those who brought the report that the Sawbwa of Bannaw was to go and receive the mission suitably. The Sawbwa did as ordered, and when the party including the Sawbwa

reached a place called Lwèlun, three of the Chinese officials took leave and returned, the remaining four accompanying the princesses to the Burmese capital. On arrival at Banmaw, the Sawbwa submitted a report of their safe arrival, and His Majesty of Burma ordered that a party of Burmese officials must go up the river to Banmaw to welcome the princesses in a manner befitting the great and powerful country which had presented them. A flotilla of royal barges and boats was taken up. The barge intended to convey the princesses to the capital was gilded at the prow and stern; it had a three tiered roof and was veiled with white cloth; it was towed by four state boats and six canoes all painted red. Six other barges formed the complement of the flotilla; one of these was for the use of the attendants on the princesses, one to convey the presents sent by the Emperor, two for the use of the Chinese officials, and one to convey the presents made by His Burman Majesty to the three princesses. A big temporary building was put up at Yan-aung, a river landing to the west of the city, for the party to rest after landing from the barges. For the residence of the princesses one building with three-tiered roof and two buildings with two-tiered roof were built in the palace enclosure. The princesses with their suite and the welcome party arrived at the Yan-aung landing on the 8th of waxing Tazaungmôn 1152 (November, A.D. 1790), where they rested for three days. Thence they were conveyed to the palace in royal palanquins escorted by the King's aunt in full dress decked out with orders and insignia conferred on her, and accompanied by wives of officials in full dress, all in state conveyances permitted them according to their rank. The princesses were presented to His Burman Majesty and afterwards accommodated in the buildings specially built for them. Two days afterwards, the four Chinese officials were admitted into His Majesty's presence together with the presents sent by the Chinese Emperor, among which mention is made of one hundred and eight priceless pearls. The audience accorded to these Chinese officials was with the same show of magnificence and splendour as in the case of the reception of the Chinese ambassador and his suite. After the audience the following titles were conferred on the three Chinese princesses. The eldest whose name was Taku-

nyin was given the title of Thiri Maha Gandara Dewi (Sīri mahā gandhāra devī); the second whose name was Eku-nyin was given the title of Thiri Maha Pyinsala Dewi (Siri mahā pañcāla devī); and the youngest whose name Thanku-nyin, the title of Thiri Maha Ganda Sanda Dewi (Sīri mahā gandhā candā devī). The Chinese officials were given suitable presents and permitted to return.

King Bodawpaya showed great religious zeal, which was considered a very commendable trait in a King professing Buddhism. He sent learned Buddhist priests with the Buddhist sacred books to all the principal towns in his kingdom, to preach Buddha's Law of Righteousness. He also built many monasteries and pagodas, and repaired many old and dilapidated ones. But his zeal in the matter of building pagodas overstepped the bounds of reason. He was ambitious of outdoing all his predecessors, in fact of surpassing all Buddhist kings known to ancient and modern history of his time, by building a pagoda which would excel in size any of the then existing pagodas and of those known to history. A place called Min-ywa, about fifteen miles to the north of the capital on the opposite bank of the river, was chosen for the site of this pagoda. On the 15th of waxing Nadaw 1152 (December, A.D. 1790) he proceeded to the site chosen, apparently to superintend the preliminary operations. The foundation bricks of silver and gold were laid by himself on the 5th of waxing Tabodwè (February, A.D. 1791). The name of the place was, at the same time, changed from Min-ywa to Min-gun. After this he spent most of his time at Min-gun where he had a temporary palace built. The capital was left in the charge of the Maha Upayaza, and when the prince was away conducting military expeditions, one of the principal ministers took charge of it. Even foreign ambassadors were often received at Min-gun. King Bodawpaya did not finish the building of his pagoda, ¹ having abandoned it when it had risen to about a third of its intended height. A small pagoda called

¹ See appendix III for an account of this pagoda.

Pōdawpaya¹ was built not far from the big pagoda; it was to serve as a model in the building of the great edifice, and a comparison of the two would show how ambitious had been the King's project.

In Tabaung 1153 (March, A.D. 1792), a quarrel arose between Myinzaingza² Nemyo Kyawdin, the Wun or Governor of Dawè, and Minhla Sithu, the Wun or Governor of Mòttama. The former apparently sought the assistance of the Siamese. This fact came to the knowledge of King Bodawpaya from one Nga Myat Tha who had arrived from Dawè; this man was probably one of

1 " Pōdawpaya at Mingun.

" Before undertaking to build a pagoda of huge dimensions, it is customary among Burmans to construct a model, whose architectural features are simply enlarged on the bigger edifice. In accordance with this custom, Bodawpaya, who reigned from 1781 to 1819 A.D., built the Pōdawpaya, a structure about 15 feet high, to serve as the model of the Mingun Pagoda, on which he spent much treasure and more than 20 years of his long reign. His great idea was to "beat the record" in building pagodas among all Buddhist Kings known to history, but he was prevented from completing his project by foreign wars and domestic troubles. The exact height of the unfinished shrine is not known. In spite of the earthquake, which shattered it in 1838, its height is still about 165 feet, and its probable dimensions, if completed, could be inferred from the Pōdawpaya. This little structure consists of a bell-shaped dome surmounted by a *Sikkhara* and resting on a square plinth of solid masonry, and appears to be a hybrid between the Shwezigōn and Ananda Pagodas of Pagan, which afford so many prototypes of Buddhist religious edifices throughout the country. It is adorned with all the appurtenances of a finished place of worship, namely, circuit walls, stair-cases, leogryphs, ornamented arches, etc. The remains of this interesting model Pagoda were conserved, and care was taken to perpetuate its existing features. In order to prevent the intrusion of cattle and the erosion by floods, it has been proposed to erect a fencing and an earthen rampart enclosing the entire site."

(Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma, for the year ending 31st of March 1908.) See also appendix III.

2 Literally "eater of Myinzaing town." In one place in the history of Siam, he is called Mengenza, son of Metkara Bo (เมงเฑาะว์ บุตรเมษวราโอบ. ต. พระราชพงษาวดารเดิม ๓ หน้า ๒๒๑), and in another place, Menchancha, i.e., Myinzaingza (เมงจันจา. ต. พระราชพงษาวดารเดิม ๓ หน้า ๒๕๒), which latter is in accordance with Hmannan history. There is a town in Burma by the name of Mingin, but Nemyo Kyawdin was not the "eater" of it.

the spies employed by the Burmese court to watch the conduct of provincial governors. The King who was then staying at Min-gun superintending the building of the great pagoda, at once ordered Wungyi Nemyo Thinkaya to proceed to Môtta to watch affairs there, as a firm and resourceful officer was necessary to keep the Talaing population under control and to be on the alert for the appearance of the Siamese in that direction. A force of 8 regiments containing 10,000 men was despatched at the same time, under the supreme command of the Atwin Wun Mingyi Maha Thettawshe, and it left the capital on the 12th of waxing Tabaung (March). It was ordered to march to Dawè as quickly as possible. Thamein Thanlaik, a Talaing nobleman who held the office of Taungbet Myin Wun (minister of southern cavalry forces) commanded one of the regiments. About six weeks after the departure of this force, the King returned to the capital and made arrangements to send the Maha Upayaza to conduct the expedition to Dawè. The forces sent then were:—one division of 7 regiments containing 3,500 men under the command of Thitsein Bo Mingyi Thinkaya formed the van-guard; two divisions, each of the same formation and strength as the vanguard, one under the command of Nemyo Pônnyaw and the other under Nemyo Kamani Thingyan, formed the right and left wings respectively; and a fourth division, of the same formation and strength as the others, under Kin-u Bo Letya Thiha Thingyan formed the rear-guard. The Maha Upayaza himself had a regiment under his direct command, but the strength of it was not mentioned. He had as "Sitkès" (chief staff officers) Athi Wungyi Maha Zeyathura and Einshe Wun (minister attached to the Crown Prince) Nemyo Kyawdin Thihathu. In addition to a personal body-guard of 50 or 60 young men chosen from among the sons of nobles and ministers, he had a special body-guard of 4,000 men armed with spears, 1,000 men armed with bows, and 1,000 musketeers. He left the capital on the 5th of waxing Nayôn 1154 (June, A.D. 1792) by river. The 50 or 60 sons of noble families, who were armed with swords, travelled in the same royal barge, which conveyed the Maha Upayaza, while the special body-guard of spearmen, archers, and musketeers were all in boats, disposed around him, in the

front and rear, on the right and left. The forces of the four divisions apparently accompanied him in transport boats down the river. Besides the forces mentioned above, the cavalry and elephant corps were sent by land via Taung-ngu (Toungoo). Of the cavalry, special mention is made of four squadrons which, by their names, appeared to be the cavalry force formed entirely of Kathès (Manipuris) who were reputed to be good horsemen. By the same route went fourteen regiments of all arms, that is infantry, cavalry and elephants. The strength of these forces is not given in the history, but according to the usual formation of the Burmese army, they would probably contain 150 elephants and 1,500 horses 15,000 men.

On the first day of the march the Maha Upayaza encamped at the ferry landing of Aungmye Lawka pagoda at Sagaing. He had brought with him under arrest Metkaya Bo,¹ a military officer of the rank of regimental commander, and father of the rebel governor of Dawè, Nemyo Kyawdin, whose personal name was Nga Myat Pyu. In the old regime, the relations, especially the parents, wife, and children, of a person accused of a criminal offence, were held jointly and severally responsible for the offence; and in the case of the most serious offences against the state, such as treason, rebellion, &c., it was said that the responsibility extended to seven generations preceding and seven generations succeeding the delinquent. According to this barbarous law of joint responsibility, the unfortunate Metkaya Bo, the father of the rebel governor, was publicly executed in the front of the vanguard, on the first camping ground of the expeditionary force. What appears to be more inhuman at the present day was the execution, according to custom, of the wife and children of the misguided governor. This execution was carried out at the capital, and the history simply says that they were "sentenced according to custom". But when one remembers that in those days, the heaviest punishment for treason and rebellion, a

¹ เมฆราโบ (ดูพระราชพงษาวดาร เต็ม ๓ หน้า ๒๒๓) หรือ มักราโบ (หน้า ๒๕๓) แต่ ชื่อเมืองเป็น "มักรา" ไม่ใช่ "มักราโบ" "โบ" แปลว่า "นายทหารผู้บังคับกอง"

punishment often imposed in Bodawpaya's reign, was to shut in the condemned in an enclosure of bamboo and matting and blow them up with gun-powder or burn them alive, one shudders with horror at the extreme barbarity of sacrificing innocent lives and inflicting intolerable suffering on guiltless persons, were they indeed condemned to pay the forfeit of their lives by this form of punishment.

The Maha Upayaza stayed three days at his first camping place, making adorations to the Aungmye Lawka pagoda. He then continued his journey down the river, calling at Pagan and Pyi (Prome) and staying a day at each place to make his adorations to the famous pagodas there. He arrived at the town of Yangôn (Rangoon) on the 9th of waning Nayôn, that is, on the twentieth day since he left the capital. He built a temporary wooden stockade about 600 "tas" to the north-west of the town and took up his quarters there.

Wungyi Nemyc Thinkaya and Atwin Wun Mingyi Maha Thettawshe arrived at Môttama in due course. They discussed as to what steps they should take and came to the conclusion that immediate action was necessary. Mingyi Maha Thettawshe had a force of 10,000 men formed originally into 8 regiments. Subsequently these regiments were apparently reformed, each containing 500 men. Fifteen of these reformed regiments, containing 7,500 men, under the chief command of Man-gyidôn Bo were despatched to Dawè on the 1st of waxing Kasôn (May).

There were large Siamese forces already assembled at Dawè. The Yodaya Einshe (Siamese heir apparent) Paya Peikthalôk ¹ with 40,000 men was encamped at Kyaukmawgôn, and the Siamese Monarch's father-in-law, Paya Run Parat, ² and Binnya Sein ³ with 15,000 men were at a place called Thitkanet about twenty miles to the east of the town. The Man-gyidôn Bo and his fifteen regiments met with the Siamese forces at Thitkanet and a battle was fought. The Burmese suffered a defeat, the Governor of Kawliya and Yêgaung Kyawdîn Kyaw, both regimental comman-

¹ พระยาพิศณุโลก

² พระยาบมราช

³ พระยาแจ้ง

ders, were killed in the fight. The Burmese forces then returned to Mottama, as it was plain that they were greatly outnumbered. Wungyi Nemyo Thinkaya and Mingyi Maha Thettawshe submitted a report of this defeat to the Maha Upayaza at Rangoon. The Prince said that the two deceased officers very nobly sacrificed their lives in the field of battle, mindful of the gratitude they owed to their Sovereign and in faithful observance of the oath of allegiance they had taken to discharge their duties truly and fearlessly, that their death was due to the failure of the remaining thirteen officers to do their duty and to co-operate and assist one another. He sent back orders that the thirteen officers should be executed, so as to serve as a deterrent example to all that saw or heard of the punishment.

The rainy season had just begun, and during the rains, all military operations generally had to be stopped owing to the heavy rainfall, especially in places like Mottama, Dawè, and Myeik. Wungyi Maha Zeyathura therefore asked the Maha Upayaza to rest in Rangoon during the rains, and to take to the field again at the close of the season, when Dawè could be retaken easily, with less trouble and hardship to the troops. The Einshe Wun Nemyo Kyawdin Thihathu said that the opinion expressed by the Wungyi was quite true, but 40,000 Siamese with Einshe Paya Peikthalôk were already in Dawè, and information had been received that the King of Siam himself was coming down with an army. The Siamese armies sent to oppose King Bodawpaya's invasion of Siam had not been so large as on this occasion. Using the town of Dawè, already in the hands of the Siamese, as his base, the Siamese Monarch, in taking to the field himself, evidently meant to conquer and annex Burmese territory. The Einshe Wun therefore suggested the posting to all the towns to the east and south of Mottama, of officers who were capable militarily and possessed of sound sense to be able to take immediate and suitable action in case of any emergency. This wise suggestion was approved of by Mingyi Thinkaya and all the regimental commanders. The Maha Upayaza then said that his august father ordered this expedition, knowing full well that the time was inopportune for military operations, because he feared that Ng^o Myat Pyu, the

rebel governor, would, in co-operation with the Siamese, cause serious trouble in the territories inhabited by the Talaings. If without taking immediate action, they were to rest during the rains, the enemy would gather strength and obtain a strong foothold, in which case their own operations would be more difficult, multifarious, and prolonged. He forthwith issued orders that Wungyi Maha Zeyathura was to station himself at Môttama and Einshe Wun Nemyo Kyawdin Thihathu was to fix his headquarters at the town of Ye and direct the operations from there, sending Mingyi Thinkaya, Nemyo Gônna Kyawthu, and Letya Thiha Thingyan to assume commands in the field forces at the front. Wungyi Nemyo Thinkaya was deprived of his post at Môttama, and Atwin Wun Mingyi Maha Thettawshe relieved of his command, and both were ordered to return to the capital, very probably because the Prince considered them inefficient on account of the defeat suffered by the Burmese in their first encounter with the Siamese.

The following forces by land and sea were organized and sent to Dawè. A division of 6 regiments containing 3,000 musketeers was despatched in six big ships laden with big guns and munitions of war. It was under the command of Akauk Wun (Minister of Customs) Thiri Yaza Damarat. The forces sent by sea were conveyed by means of sea-going transport boats, and three flotillas of such boats were despatched. One flotilla of 100 boats carrying 10,000 men was under the command of Nemyo Gônna Kyawthu, a second flotilla of 100 boats with 10,000 men was under Mingyi Thinkaya, and a third flotilla of the same number of boats and men was under Balayanta Kyawdin. The forces ordered to march to Dawè by land consisted of 41 regiments containing 1,000 horse and 10,000 men under the command of Nemyo Kyawdin Thihathu with Kin-U Bo Letya Thiha Thingyan and Sitkaung Thiri as assistants. Wungyi Maha Zeyathura was stationed at Môttama with a force of 10 regiments containing 200 horse and 5,000 men.

When Wungyi Maha Zeyathura and Nemyo Kyawdin Thihathu arrived at Môttama, the latter said that if they were

to execute the Man-gyidôn Bo and twelve other regimental commanders, as ordered by the Maha Upayaza they would be greatly handicapped owing to the shortage of field-officers, and it would be like helping the enemy. He suggested that they should petition the Prince to pardon the thirteen officers in question, who would be sent to the fore-front of the battle. Wungyi Maha Zeyathura and all the regimental commanders approved of the suggestion and a petition was sent accordingly to the Prince at Rangoon. But the Maha Upayaza was unrelenting; and saying that he could forgive other offences but not remissness in the conduct of war, he sent the messengers back without rescinding his previous order and without pardoning the thirteen condemned officers. When Wungyi Maha Zeyathura and Nemyo Kyawdin Thihathu learnt that their attempt to save the lives of these unfortunate men was a failure, they decided to execute only five officers out of the thirteen, whose conduct they considered as most reprehensible, so that they could not be said that they disobeyed the Prince's order, and at the same time they were able to save as many lives as they could. In doing this they took the whole responsibility on themselves, not without the risk of losing their own lives. The five officers chosen for execution were, Man-gyidôn Bo, Pagan Bo, Pyilôn Nyein, Thamein Thanlaik, and Sakya Min-yè. The first three officers were chosen, because they were the principal officers, and as such they should have shown more energy, perseverance, and determination in the fight; the reason for choosing Thamein Thanlaik was that, although he was Talaing by birth, His Majesty trusted that he would render valuable service and therefore appointed him Wun of the nine southern cavalry districts, and created him a noble on the same footing as the Burmese ministers of state; but this high trust he betrayed by his want of devotion to duty and lack of self-sacrifice. The last officer was chosen, for the reason that he had once committed a serious offence for which His Majesty condemned him to death, but his life was saved by the intercession of the Maha Upayaza; moreover, he was again appointed by the Prince to responsible position, but instead of showing great self-sacrifice and rendering conspicuous service to atone for his past misdeed and to be deser-

ving of the great consideration shown him, he failed to perform even his ordinary duty, by not leading his men energetically in the fight. The executions were carried out at Môtama. The remaining eight were spared their lives, and exhorted to show their mettle in the coming campaign and prove themselves worthy of the consideration shown them.

In the meanwhile the King of Siam himself marched with an army to Dawè and encamped at Thitkanet where the Siamese had scored their initial success. From that place he directed the operations. He sent Wungyi Paya Kalahôn¹ with 10,000 men to encamp at Kyaukmaw-kôn about a hundred "tas" to the east of the town; Wungyi Paya Rôn Palat with 10,000 men to fix his camp at Kyetthandaing pagoda, also about a hundred "tas" to the north-east of the town; Pya Disho² with 5,000 men was stationed at Sankyè In³ to the north of the town; the Governors of Pyatbi⁴ and Kanpuri⁵ with 10,000 men were quartered at Kyet-sabyin to the south of the town. The King's father-in-law Paya Run Parat and Binnya Sein with 15,000 men were inside the town, all the gates of which were guarded by the Siamese. There must have been some Burmese forces in the town, probably doing garrison duty, at the time when the Burmese governor turned traitor. These forces who had willingly or unwillingly turned against their King were divided into small groups and distributed among the Siamese forces outside. Thus 1,700 men with Nga Ba U at their head were with the Governors of Pyatbi and Kanpuri; 1,000 men with Nga Te and Awlênat as leaders were with Paya Kalahôn; and 500 men led by the Kyaukmawza were with Paya Rôn Palat. A force by water was also organized by means of a number of sea-going boats manned by Siamese, Talaings, and Tavoyans (people of Tavoy or Dawè). Paya Peikthalôk, the Siamese heir apparent, was despatched with a force of 20,000 men to invest Byeik (Mergui).

¹ พระยากระดาศโหม ² พระยาเดโช หรือ พระยาดั้หวราชเดโช

³ Literally means "wonderful lake"

⁴ เพชรบุรี ⁵ กาญจนบุรี

The Burmese flotilla under Nemyo Gônarat Kyawthu arrived at Dawè. They met the Siamese flotilla and engaged them in fight. The Siamese were defeated, losing many boats and men. The Burmese then anchored round Hinthā¹ Island to the south-west of the town. The other two Burmese flotillas arrived at a place called Maungmagan, where the forces landed safely and encamped at Kinmya to the north-west of the town. The land forces under Einshe Wun Nemyo Kyawdin Thihathu also arrived about the same time, and the commander-in-chief stationed himself at Kanyaw, from which place he directed the operations. He sent a portion of his forces with Kin-U Bo Letya Thiha Thingyan in command to encamp at Kyauktaung to the north of the town. A detachment of 7 regiments containing about 3000 men was sent from this camp to cross over to the east bank of the (Dawè) river to obtain a foothold there, but this step was opposed by the Siamese who attacked the Burmese with a force of about 10,000 men directed by twenty officers whose rank entitled them to the use of a red umbrella, and commanded by the Governor of Kanpuri. The Burmese showed fight in spite of the disparity in numbers. But before there could have been any serious fighting, the Siamese were unfortunate in getting their commander, the Governor of Kanpuri, disabled by a musket shot from the Burmese; about four or five Siamese officers fell about the same time. On this, the Siamese withdrew, enabling the Burmese to effect what they wanted to do. Then Binnya Sein in company with Nga Myat Pyu, the rebel governor, built an earthen redoubt on one side of Zaya stream and took up their position with a force of 10,000 men composed of Siamese, Talaiings, Tavoyans, and Burmese. The Burmese organized a storming party of 6000 muskets, supported by 200 horse of Kathè cavalry. A bridge was thrown across the stream and the redoubt was stormed with such success that Binnya Sein's composite forces were put to rout. The Burmese secured many prisoners and there were many killed also. They followed up their success by attacking Paya Disho's camp at Sankyè In, where there were about thirty regiments² of Siamese. Here also, the Burmese

¹ Means "Hansa bird."

² It is stated above that Paya Disho had 5000 men.

were quite successful, the Siamese being again put to rout. It was only after these two successes that the Burmese were able to encamp close to the town on the north side. The Burmese flotilla of boats anchored at Hintha Island tried to approach the town, probably to effect a landing, but the Siamese successfully resisted the approach by heavy guns from the bank of the river and the walls of the town on its western face. The Burmese flotilla then went farther south and effected a landing, probably out of reach of the guns. They attacked the Siamese at Kyetsabyin, but were repulsed and had to retire to their boats and return to their old anchorage. About three days later another attempt was made with a picked force of over 5000 musketeers. They were successful in dislodging the enemy from their position, but owing to the fact that the Siamese had reserves within easy reach which could be summoned to render assistance, whereas they themselves had to employ their boats as their base, they could not maintain the position gained and it was re-occupied by the Siamese.

On the 13th of waning Nadaw (December) a Tavoyan brought a letter to the camp of Kin-U Bo Letya Thiha Thingyan to the effect that Nga Ba Tun, Nga Ba San, Nga Ba Hla and four others would rise against the Siamese, and they invited the Burmese to storm the town simultaneously; that on the day the Burmese would assail the town, they were to hoist a flag from the Luthaza¹ Island, and the conspirators in the town would show a light at night in response, if the plans went well, and as soon as the light was seen the attack was to be launched at once. The matter was reported to Einshe Wun Nemyo Kyawdin Thihathu, the commander-in-chief on the spot, who ordered that the flag should be hoisted the very next day and the town stormed that night. On the 14th of waning Nadaw a flag was hoisted from Luthaza Island, but the Burmese failed to see any light that night from the town according to their preconcerted arrangement. Though fully prepared for it the attack was not made. The next morning the Burmese made a ghastly discovery of the cause of the miscarriage of their plans, for with the flood tide, there floated up-stream a raft made of trunks

¹ Means "to eat human flesh." The island in question was probably inhabited by cannibal savage tribes.

of plantain trees; on it were the corpses of seven men and a placard on which were written the words: "Behold your conspirators whom we have done to death". Apparently the Siamese in the town found out the plot to start a rising in the town simultaneously with the storming from outside. The ring-leaders were surprised while preparing to show the preconceived light and forthwith executed.

For about three months, from Tazaungmôn (November) to Pyatho (January), the Burmese had been sending shells into the town, causing many casualties among the Siamese and the civil population. To do this, they had to construct raised platforms and mount guns on them. After three or four heavy bombardments, His Siamese Majesty said that it was very likely that the Burmese Crown Prince would not return until he had succeeded in retaking the town: that reinforcements would certainly be sent to attain that object: and moreover, the Siamese forces on the north, the south, and the west sides of the town had been obliged to withdraw. He therefore decided to give up the campaign and return, but in doing so, he would take with him all the inhabitants of the town both men and women. Knowing human nature too well, he resorted to an artifice to get hold of the inhabitants. He knew that it was against human nature for people to leave their native land with a light heart, and also, that family ties and love for one's wife and children, mother and sisters, could overcome this natural reluctance to leave the land of one's birth. Further, His Siamese Majesty apprehended the danger of a union between the Burmese forces and the native population, if any coercive measures were adopted. Therefore his plan was to secure first all the women by an artifice. He accordingly ordered his father-in-law Paya Run Parat and Binnya Sein that all the women both inside and outside the town should be summoned to go to the landing place at Thitkanet, ostensibly for the purpose of carrying rice into the town. However, the leading Tavoyans and some Burmese, Talaing, and Shan military and civil officers were not to be outwitted; they knew or suspected the real intentions of the Siamese. Having made a compact among themselves, they sent one Nga Zeya to the Burmese camp, requesting the Burmese to make a vigorous assault that very

night, promising that they would fall upon the Siamese in the town at the same time. Nga Zeya swam across the river and arrived at a Burmese encampment under the command of Natnilin.¹ He was taken to the camp of Nemyo Kyawdin Thihathu, who, having learned the contents of the letter, issued orders that the town must be taken that night at any cost, and those who did not succeed in getting into the town would be executed. These orders were conveyed to every regiment. Thus on the night of the 1st of waning Pyatho (January) Dawè town was vigorously assailed by all the Burmese forces from outside; while inside it, the Tavoyans, Burmans, Talaings, and Shans who were in the plot fell upon the Siamese and opened all the gates of the town. There was a severe hand to hand fight, and the Siamese lost heavily in this mêlée. The commanders Paya Run Parat and Binnya Sein succeeded in making their escape with a portion of their forces. When Paya Kalahôn, Paya Rôn Palat, Paya Disho, and the Governor of Kanpuri knew that very night that the Siamese forces inside the town had been obliged to leave it with all haste, they withdrew their forces before dawn. With the first rays of dawn, the Burmese went in pursuit of the retreating Siamese, and they succeeded in securing the heads of Paya Kalahôn,² and the Ye Wun (Minister of Water-Ways), and the Thenat Wun (Minister of Fire-arms). His Siamese Majesty, who was at Thitkanet, also made a hasty retreat. The Siamese losses both in killed and captured were said to be very heavy. Nga Myat Pyu, the rebel governor of Dawè, also escaped and probably accompanied the Siamese forces. It was well that he managed to escape, otherwise he could not have possibly escaped the fate of being burned alive. The Burmese pursued the retreating Siamese only as far as Thitkanet camp, and then returned with the prisoners they captured during the pursuit.

The town of Byeik had been invested by the Siamese Crown Prince Paya Peikthalôk who shelled the town day and

¹ Siamese “นัตมิลิน” ดูพระราชพงษาวดาร เดิม ๓ หน้า ๒๒๓

² Probably เจ้าพระยามหาเดชะ ดูพระราชพงษาวดาร เดิม ๓

night from a small hill called Shinpatit. The Burmese Governor Setya-u-chi was, however, able to hold on. After the retreat of the Siamese from Dawè, a land column under Nemyo Gônna Kyawthu and Upagaung, and a fleet of six ships under Akauk Wun Thiri Yaza Damarat, were sent to relieve Byeik. On their arrival, they attacked the investing forces vigorously. The Siamese Crown Prince then learnt that the Siamese had retreated from Dawè, and there was no other course open for him but to make a hasty retreat.

The Maha Upayaza, who was apparently comfortably quartered at Yangôn, hundreds of miles away from the actual scene of operations, took the whole credit of the success. He appointed a new governor to Dawè and detailed a force of 3000 musketeers to garrison the town and support the control of the civil authorities. After having made due arrangements for the proper administration of the towns of Byeik, Dawè, Ye, and other towns and villages in this eastern part of His Burman Majesty's territories, he started on his homeward journey on the 8th of waning Pyatho 1154 (January, A. D. 1793).



SIR ARTHUR P. PHAYRE'S ACCOUNT
OF THE SAME NARRATIVE.

- Bodoahprâ com- After this disgraceful campaign, the king was
mences religious consoled by an embassy from the Emperor of China.
buildings. A Burmese envoy accompanied the Chinese ambas-
sador on his return; and this was considered the
first establishment of friendly relations with the
elder brother, since the succession of the house
of Alaungprâ. For some years there was a lull
in warfare. Bodoahprâ's martial ardour had re-
ceived a severe check. He now determined to show
his religious zeal by raising a pagoda which should
surpass in bulk, if not in beauty of design, all
that had hitherto been accomplished in the build-
ings of the world of Buddhism. The site of this
huge fabric of brick and mortar was selected at a
spot, since called Mengun, a few miles above the
capital, on the western bank of the river. The
foundation was laid by the king himself with great
ceremony. He had a temporary palace erected in
the vicinity, in order that he might see to the
work, and acquire the more religious merit by
personally assisting therein. He made his eldest
son his deputy for the transaction of ordinary af-
fairs, and lived for some years in the temporary
palace, but returned to the capital on some occa-
sions. He came into Amarapura to grant audience
to Colonel M. Symes, envoy from the Governor-
General of India; but he received Captain H. Cox
at Mengun. The lower storey of the pagoda had
several chambers for containing holy relics, and
objects of value or supposed rarity, the offering of
which would be esteemed an act of devotion. The
principal chamber had an area of ten cubits square
and seven cubits in height. It was lined with lead,
and was filled with a number of articles, valuable
- November, A.D. 1790.
- September, A.D. 1795.
- February, A.D. 1797.

and paltry, after which a metal lid, covering all, was sealed up. It is probable that from the main chamber and the others, which formed large cavities in the structure, not having been built with arched ceilings, and the masonry being of inferior quality, was the cause of the collapse of the building during a severe earthquake some years later. After this great pile had occupied the work of many years it was abandoned, although it had been carried up only to about one-third of the intended height, which was to have been about five hundred feet. The bell which was cast to match this immense fabric still exists, and weighs about eighty tons. It is supposed that the great discontent throughout the country, consequent on the vast number of men pressed to labour on the work, was the reason why it was abandoned. The warning conveyed by the fate of the last king of Pugnân in the thirteenth century, of whose proceedings in a similar undertaking a saying arose, "The pagoda is finished and the country is ruined," made even Bodoahprâ pause. He enjoys the dubious fame of having left a ruin which is pronounced by Colonel Yule to be one of the hugest masses of brick and mortar in the world.

The work at Mengun, peaceful in name, but hateful to the people, was interrupted by the news from Pegu that the governors of Martaban and Tavoy had rebelled, and that the latter had delivered up the town to the Siamese. A force of ten thousand men was hurriedly sent off from the city with Nêmyu Thengkharrâ, who was appointed governor of Martaban, and Thetdoashê, commander-in-chief. Arrived at Martaban, a part of the force was sent on to Tavoy under the command of Mankyidun. He found the town occupied by the Siamese, while outside, and strongly entrenched, were several corps

March, A.D.
1792.

commanded by the king's son and other members of the royal family. Mankyidun, anxious to fulfil the expectations of his superiors, rashly made an attack on one of the entrenched positions, and failed. He was compelled to retreat, and returned with the remnant of his force to Martaban. He and four of his officers were afterwards executed. By this time large reinforcements under the Ainsâmeng, who fixed his headquarters at Rangun, had reached Martaban. They were sent on to the south by sea and
 December, A.D. land under Gunnerâp Kyoathu. With his superior
 1792. force he retook Tavoy, and then marched on and relieved Mergui, which the Burmese governor had successfully held. The Siamese invaders having been expelled, the Ainsâmeng returned to the capital, a portion of the troops being left to guard the districts on the south-eastern frontier.

IV.

King Bodawpaya was at Min-gun, superintending the building of the pagoda, when his son arrived on his return from the expedition to Dawè. The King was overjoyed at the success achieved, and as a reward, he assigned to the Maha Upayaza the power to appoint Chiefs of dependent states, Sawbwaz, Governors, and other principal officers of state. Such a power was jealously held by the reigning sovereign and very rarely entrusted to any other person, not even to the heir apparent himself. The administration of the affairs of the kingdom, secular and ecclesiastical, local and foreign, was also entrusted to the Maha Upayaza, while His Majesty devoted the whole of his attention to the raising of the huge pile of brick and mortar.

The Burmese are, from olden days, very fond of decorating the entrances to their pagodas with figures of leogryphs. In pursuance of this national fondness, King Bodawpaya erected two colossal leogryhs¹ in brick, overlooking the river, on the eastern face of the pagoda. He had to make their size sufficiently great to be in keeping with the intended size of the pagoda. According to Hmannan history they were sixty cubits high, (about one hundred feet).

The Min-gun pagoda had been gradually rising in height, and twenty-one chambers had been constructed for the reception of relics. In addition to these twenty-one relic chambers built by human hands, Hmannan history records that two other chambers were mysteriously fashioned by the "nats" (spiritual beings). As a preliminary to the enshrining of relics in these chambers, offerings of the eight requisites of a monk were made to two thousand Buddhist monks daily, for a period of forty days. Then on the 15th of waxing Tabaung 1158 (March A. D. 1797), these relic chambers were filled with a miscellaneous collection of relics, images of Buddhas, miniature pagodas, statuettes of kings, queens, princes, princesses, etc.² A complete inventory of the articles deposited in the chambers is

¹ See Appendix III.

² See Appendix III. A summary of the articles deposited is given in Sir George Scott's *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and Shan States*, Part II, Vol. II, page 316.

given in the Hmannan history and occupies thirteen pages of print. Mention may be made here of three of the relics deposited, namely:—two gold images of Buddha Dibingaya (Dīpaṅkarā), one weighing 780 ticals, and the other 425 ticals, brought from Yodaya, and one gold image of Buddha weighing 1485 ticals, brought from Zinmè. The gold of these images is said to be of the Zabuyit (Jambūraj) kind,¹ the finest gold.

In the year 1159 (A. D. 1797) about ten years after his first unsuccessful expedition to Chiengmai, King Bodawpaya again directed his attention to Chiengmai. Kawila, who had successfully defended the town of Pa-thin against the Burmese some ten years ago, had made himself master of Zinmè. A feeling of injured pride must probably have been rankling in His Burman Majesty's breast against Kawila for having balked his plan of conquest and defied his might. Therefore he ordered an expedition against Zinmè,² and the following were the forces despatched:—11 regiments containing 5,500 men under the command of Nemyo Kyawgaung; 11 regiments of the same strength under Nemyo Yègaung Nawrata; 11 regiments under Upagaung, 11 regiments under Nemyo Kyawdinthiha, 11 regiments under Mingyi Thinkaya, and 14 regiments under Mingyi Nanda Kyawdin; the strength of these regiments was 500 men each. The commander-in-chief (Burmese Bo-gyôk) was Nemyo Kyawdin Thihathu who had 27 regiments containing 15,000 men under his direct command. Among the 27 regiments under him were 16 Shan contingents from the following Shan Chiefs and Governors, namely the Sawbwas of (1) Theinni,³ (2) Thibaw,⁴ (3) Nyaung Ywe, (4) Kyaing Tàn, (5) Kyaing Chaing; the governors of (6) Kyaing Taung, (7) Maing Seik, (8) Nan Kôt, (9) Maing Kaing, (10) Tabet, (11) Naung Mun (12) Maing Pun, (13) Baw Hnin, (14) Maing Nyaung, (15) Maing Pu, and (16) Kyaing Thin Nakwa. There were altogether 96 regi-

¹ For an account of this kind of gold see Hardy's "Manual of Buddhism," page 19, (edition 1853).

² ดู พระราชพงษาวดาร เต็ม ๓ หน้า ๒๗๖

³ แฉ่นหัว ⁴ ดัปอ

ments with a total 55,000 men. In addition to the infantry force, the presence of cavalry 5,000 strong, is also mentioned. Very probably the Shan contingents were picked up on the way. This army left the Burmese capital on the 10th of waxing Tazaungmôn 1159 (November A.D. 1797), to march to Zinmè via Monè. When it reached Monè the following four commanders, viz Nemyo Kyawgaung, Nemyo Yègaung Nawrata, Upagaung, and Nemyo Kyawdin Thiha, each with their charge of 11 regiments, were despatched ahead to secure all the provisions available round about Zinmè. Mingyi Nanda Kyawdin with the 14 regiments under his command was detailed to march to Zinmè via Maing Hin; and Mingyi Thinkaya with his 11 regiments had to march through Maing Pan. The commander-in-chief himself marched to Maing Thwin with his 27 regiments. On arrival at this place he received a report from the detachment of 44 regiments sent to secure provisions, that all the available provisions from Takan Banthan, Ban Naung Winpaw, Labôn, Pa-thin, Maing Yungyi and other towns and villages round Zinmè had been seized. He then hurried his march to Zinmè and awaited the arrival of all the different detachments sent out. When all had arrived, Zinmè was completely surrounded by the Burmese troops. On the 7th of waxing Tabodwè (February) five Burmese regiments attacked and captured the small town called Pye situated on the southern face of the town of Zinmè; it was probably an outpost of the defenders. But the very next day Kawila, who was defending the town, came out by the eastern gate of it and drove the Burmese out of their captured position. About three or four days later the Burmese again attacked and captured it.

With a view of arresting any troops which the Siamese might send up to assist the northern provinces a force of 11 regiments containing 10,000 men under Nemyo Kyawgaung was stationed at Pa-thin. From that place a detachment of 5 regiments containing 3,000 men was sent to reconnoitre as far as Maing Thin, with orders to seize everything possible on the way. At Maing Thin they were met by a Siamese army of 40,000 or 50,000 men under the command of the Siamese Crown Prince. There was an engagement in which the Burmese were defeated and forced to retire. A report of this defeat was sent to Bo-gyók Nemyo

Kyawdin Thihathu, and he at once despatched a force of over 10,000 men to Labôn to stop the Siamese army from further advance. The Siamese Crown Prince did not march to Pa-thin but turning to the east went on to Labôn and attacked the Burmese there. Nemyo Kyawgaung withdrew his 10,000 men from Pa-thin and joined the forces at Labôn. A force of 4 regiments containing 3,000 men was withdrawn from the forces investing Zinnè and sent to reinforce the force at Labôn. The Siamese were also reinforced by many fresh arrivals of troops. The Burmese at Labôn could not withstand the attack of the Siamese and were forced to retire to Zinnè. On the way from Labôn to Zinnè they kept 2,000 men concealed on either side of the the road to ambush the Siamese army. About eight days after the Burmese had withdrawn from Labôn, the Siamese Crown Prince left the town, but instead of marching by the ordinary road, he went farther east making a new road for himself by using his elephant corps to trample down the "Kaing" or elephant grass in front of his infantry. Then after crossing the Mè Kaung river,¹ he encamped in a forest grove near a big monastery about two miles to the south of Zinnè town. The Burmese tempted the Siamese to come out to the open, but for seven days the Siamese would not show fight, and remained where they were, making preparations. The Burmese, in the meantime, threw up earth-works and held the line of march of the Siamese to Zinnè. On the 15th of waxing Tagu (April) the whole of the Siamese army left their camp, carried all the earth-works on the way, and after breaking through the investing forces on the south side entered the town. Then the combined Siamese and Chieng-mai forces attacked the Burmese so vigorously that they were practically put to rout, one column retreating by way of Maing Pan and another column by way of Maing Thwin. Bo-gyôk Nemyo Kyawdin Thihathu, who went through Maing Thwin, halted at Kyaing Thin and re-assembled his scattered forces. Mingyi Nanda Kyawdin halted at Maing Hin to re-assemble his scattered men and retired to Maing Pan. During this retreat commander Nemyo Kyawdinthiha was killed by a musket shot from the enemy.

¹ แม่นกุง ?

With the intention of attacking the Siamese in the rear while they were still resting in the wood, commander Upagaung¹ took with him a small force of 1000 men and 100 horse through a wood to the rear of the Siamese. He and his men were cut off from the rest when the Burmese forces retreated, apparently in precipitate haste, and this small band of Burmese was captured by the Siamese. The defeat of the Burmese must have been a signal and crushing one, as His Burman Majesty thought fit to recall his army to the capital. Thus Bodawpaya's second attempt to bring Zinmè under his sway fared even worse than the first. It is noticeable that the military skill of the Siamese had greatly improved and they had by that time gained a decided ascendancy in the Lao provinces.

A record is found in the Hmannan history that on the 7th of waxing Tabodwè 1168 (February A.D. 1807) there arrived at the Court of Burma, ambassadors from Yodaya with many valuable presents and a royal letter. The ambassadors were received at the temporary palace at Min-gun. The names of the ambassadors or the contents of the royal letter were not given in the Hmannan history. Neither was it stated that the compliment was returned by the despatch of a Burmese embassy to the Court of Siam. Very probably the Siamese embassy was treated with scant ceremony, in much the same way as the envoys from the Governor-General of India were treated by King Bodawpaya.

On the 14th of waxing Tagu 1170 (April A.D. 1808) the Crown Prince who enjoyed the title of Thiri Maha Damañizaya Thihathura (Sīri mahā dhammābhijaya sihasūra) died. He was born on Monday the 9th of waning Nayôn 1124 (June A. D. 1762); at the age of 20 years and 5 months he was married to his half sister, Thiri Tilawka Maha Badda Thuratana Dewi (Sīri tiloka mahābhadda suratana devī), and at the same time created Einshemin or Crown Prince. Seven days after the death of the Crown Prince, his son, the Prince of Sagaing, was appointed Einshemin.

To match his great pagoda King Bodawpaya cast a big bell²

¹ The capture of this commander by the Siamese is mentioned in the Siamese history (พระเจ้ากรุงธนบุรี ได้จับ ๓ ทัพ ๒๗๖)

² See Appendix III.

on the 5th of waxing Kasôn 1170 (May A.D. 1808); the dimensions of it as given in the history are:—diameter at the mouth eleven and one-sixth cubits; circumference thirty-three cubits and a half; depth thirteen cubits and a half. Fifty-five thousand five hundred and fifty-five viss of bronze is said to have been used in casting it. The casting was done on an island in the river opposite Min-gun where His Majesty had built his temporary residence. No little ingenuity was displayed in the way in which the huge bell was conveyed from the place where it was cast to the place where it was to be put up on the north side of the pagoda. The earth under the bell was excavated to allow of the building abreast of two big barges twenty fathoms in length; when the two barges were completed a platform was laid across them. Then a canal of sufficient width to allow the free passage of the two barges, was dug from under the barges to the river, and another similar canal from the bank of the river to where the bell was to be hung. During the rains when the river was quite full, the water level was high enough to fill the canals. The bell was then lowered on to the platform on the barges, the buoyancy of which was sufficient to maintain the weight of the bell. The barges were towed to the destination of the bell which was afterwards hung up.

On the 13th of waxing Nayôn 1181 (June A. D. 1819) King Bodawpaya died, at the age of seventy-five years and two months, having reigned thirty-seven years and four months, the longest reign among the eleven kings of the dynasty of Alaungpaya. The character ascribed to him by Father Sangermano¹ erred on the

¹ "Although despotism in its worst form constitutes, as it were, the very essence of the Burmese monarchy, so that to be called its king is equivalent to being called a tyrant; still has Badonsachen, (that is "Badôn Thakin" or Badôn Prince, the name by which King Bodawpaya was known when still a prince), the despot who for the last twenty-seven years has governed this kingdom, so far outstripped his predecessors in barbarity and pride, that whoso but hears it must shudder with horror. His very countenance is the index of a mind ferocious and inhuman in the highest degree, and what has above been related of him, as well as some more facts to be brought forward, will show that it does not deceive. Immense is the number of those whom he has sacrificed to his ambition

side of severity. In spite of his many faults, he was, on the whole, a good administrator, and carried out many works of public utility, such as the improvement of existing irrigation works. He was a patron of learning and literature, and during his reign many learned Brahmans from India were invited to come to Burma and were offered appointments in his Court; by their aid many Sanskrit works were translated into Burmese.

King Bodawpaya had a numerous family, 61 sons and 61 daughters being born to him; he had 102 grandsons, 106 grand-daughters, 30 great grandsons, and 51 great grand-daughters.

King Bodawpaya was succeeded by his grandson, the Prince of Sagaing, who, on ascending the throne, assumed the title of Thiri Pawara Thudama Mahayazadiyaza (Siri pawara sudhamma mahā-rājadhīrājā), but he is generally known as King Bagyidaw.

During his reign, the policy of his grandfather was followed, namely, that of aggression towards the west and extending the Burmese rule into the provinces of Manipur, Assam, Kachar, and Chittagong, with the natural consequence that the Burmese Government came into conflict with the British Indian Government, culminating in the first Anglo-Burmese war in A.D. 1824, by which the Burmese lost the provinces of Arakan on the west and of Ye, Moulmein, Tavoy, Mergui, and Tenasserim on the east.

Although greater attention was paid to making conquests of provinces in the west, King Bagyidaw did not forget Siam altogether. In the year 1183 (A.D. 1821), the thought of invading

upon the most trivial offences; and it would not be an exaggeration to assert that, during his reign, more victims have fallen by the hand of the executioner than by the sword of the common enemy. To this atrocious cruelty he has united a pride at once intolerable and impious. The good fortune which has attended him in discovering and defeating the numerous conspiracies which have been formed against him, has inspired him with the idea that he is something more than mortal, and that this privilege has been granted him on account of his numerous good works." ("The Burmese Empire, a hundred years ago." By Father Sangermano. Page 74. edition 1893.)

Yodaya entered King Bagyidaw's mind. His sole reason for the invasion was that Yodaya had once been completely conquered by King Sinbyushin, the city destroyed; and the royal family captured. Since then a new dynasty had sprung up and the state declared its independence; and that the king had not been reigning justly, whereby the population, both monks and laymen, found no peace and happiness. He said that whenever a king intended to invade another's territory, it was usual to get provisions ready and to mobilize as big an army of elephants, horses, and men as possible. Therefore he ordered Wungyi Maha Thenapadi with Mingyi Nawrata as his assistant to mobilize men from all the towns along the Eyawadi (Irrawady) river below the town of Pyi (Prome), and in the southern provinces. The Wungyi was also ordered to requisition provisions and get them collected at convenient stations. He and his staff arrived at Môtama in due course, and they sent out spies to get information of the affairs in Siam. Provisions were collected at convenient places on the lines of march. A report of the preparations made was sent to the capital, but notwithstanding what had already been done towards the intended invasion, the Wungyi and his staff were recalled, and they arrived at the capital in Pyatho 1183 (January A.D. 1822). It is very probable that the Burmese found out that the Siamese were quite on the alert and fully prepared not only to meet them but also to give them a crushing defeat. Moreover, the relations between the Burmese and the British Governments were getting more and more strained and King Bagyidaw must have foreseen war with the British.

On the return of Wungyi Maha Thenapadi from Môtama, he was accompanied by the envoys sent by the Yungyi Min Mashakat Min,¹ who had arrived at Môtama on a mission to the Court of Burma. A party of ministers and nobles was sent as far as Sagaing to welcome the envoys. On the 12th of waning Pyatho

¹ Mashakat is probably the name of the chief city of the country inhabited by people whom the Burmese called Yungyi. If so, the envoys came from the Ruler or Governor of Mashakat, Chief of the Yungyi people.

The affix "gyi" in "Yungyi" means great. Therefore "Yungyi" means great Yun. I am at a loss to know to which country and people the Burmese historians were referring.—Thien.

(January) these envoys were accorded an audience by His Burman Majesty, when the presents sent by the Mashakat Min were formally presented. Subsequently they were given an opportunity of viewing His Majesty's state procession on the river. After they had been entertained with the spectacular effect of the procession, they were taken on to one of the state canoes in the procession, which then proceeded up the Myitngè river. When it reached a royal garden called Maha Thiri Nandawun, they were sent back on elephants to their temporary residence.

In the meanwhile the Burmese officials must have become suspicious that the envoys were, in reality, spies sent by the Siamese. The two principal officers of the embassy, whose names were Katwelan and Duhatpyein, were subjected to close examination. The statement made by them was as follows :—Before the death of the father of the present Yungyi Chief, information was received that His Burman Majesty was sending an expedition to their country, and consequently, the deceased Chief left instructions before he died that his son should acknowledge the Burmese Monarch as suzerain. About a year after the present Chief had succeeded his father, the ministers, in pursuance of the deceased Chief's instructions, selected men who would be able to travel to the Burmese Court. These men were attached to them as guides and they were sent on this mission which was a preliminary one to the formal submission of the letter from the Chief acknowledging the suzerainty of Burma. They were given a ship and an escort of twenty men. The mission set sail on the 7th of waning Pyatho 1182 (January A.D. 1821) and after calling at the towns of Radônnaing and Kyaukpyu, and the island of Malaka (Malacca), it reached Palawpinan (Penang) in forty-three days. At Palawpinan, they met a Chinaman who was in charge of the birds-nest islands and whose Burmese official title was Thiwa Kyawthu Nawrata. This man showed them the royal letters-patent conferring on him the title and appointing him to the charge of the islands, and also other insignia of his rank and office. On being told the object of the mission, he offered to accompany it as far as Mòttama. This town was reached after seventeen days' sailing. The statement made by these two principal envoys seemed to have satisfied the

Burmese officials and allayed their suspicions: the members of the embassy were again accorded an audience on the 9th of waning Kasôn 1184 (May A.D. 1822), being the time of the festivities in connection with the new year ceremony of paying homage to the King. After the audience the two principal envoys were very handsomely rewarded by His Burman Majesty: the other members of the embassy also received suitable rewards.

A return embassy was sent to the Yungyi country, the members of the embassy being composed of Nemyo Tazaung as chief, and Thiri Seinta Nawrata, Theikdi Nawrata, and Seinta Thiri Harat. Thiwa Kyawthu Nawrata, the Chinese superintendent of birds-nest islands, was ordered to accompany Nemyo Tazaung as joint ambassador. Wungyi Thado Minhla Nawrata who was at Hanthawadi, probably as governor, and the Ye Wun (Commissioner of Waterways) and the Akauk Wun (Commissioner of Customs) were ordered to furnish the embassy with two ships, arms and ammunition for protection on the way, as well as provisions and money sufficient for the journey to and fro. Many valuable presents in the form of ruby and sapphire rings and other articles made in Burma and also some produce of Burma such as jade stone and earth-oil were sent for the Yungyi Min. The embassy left the Burmese capital by boat on the 3rd of waning Tawthalin 1184 (September A. D. 1822). Nothing is mentioned again in the history about this mission, not even that it actually left the shores of Burma.

About this time, Burmese influence in the small states adjoining Burma on the west was very great and they were practically masters of Manipur and Assam. Not content with this they wanted to conquer Cachar also, and their ambition to extend their dominions towards the frontier of Bengal was the cause of the declaration of war by the British on the 5th of March 1824. The Burmese offered a stout resistance, but superior skill and far superior military weapons prevailed, and they were at last obliged to cede to the British the provinces of Arakan, Ye, Martaban, Tavoy, Mergui, and Tenasserim. The treaty of peace signed at a place called Yandabo on the 24th of February 1826, contained eleven conditions, the tenth condition of which was "That the good

and faithful ally of the British, the King of Siam, should, to the fullest extent, be included in this treaty."¹

After the British had taken possession of the Burmese provinces bordering on Siam, the intercourse, mostly warlike, between Burma and Siam was put a stop to, because the principal routes for the irruption of the Burmese into Siam were all in the hands of the British who were on very friendly relations with the Siamese. One other principal route still remained open, namely that through the Shan States, via Monè and Chiengmai. But by about the time of the first Anglo-Burmese war the Burmese monarchy was beginning to decline, while that of the Siamese had risen greatly in power and efficiency, so that Siamese influence over the northern provinces of the Laos was almost paramount. Any Burmese invasion from the north would have met with a stout resistance from the local people and the Siamese would have been able to send up a fairly large force to repel any invading army. Moreover, Burma was, during the sixty years succeeding the first Anglo-Burmese war, so much troubled with internal affairs, and disputes with the British authorities, that it had no time to think of conquests elsewhere.

¹ The literal translation of this condition given in the Hmannan history is : "The King of Yodaya who has formed a friendly alliance with the British Government, and who has rendered military assistance on the side of the British, should be regarded as being included in this treaty of friendship now being executed."

APPENDIX I.

(EXTRACTED FROM THE JOURNAL OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY, VOL. VI, PART III., PAGES 225-229).

THE STORY OF MAHAMUNI.

The great outstanding feature in the history of Arakan is the account of Buddha's sojourn in this country and of his supervision over the casting of his image. The story of His seven days' visit with five hundred Rahandas—His lengthy discourse pregnant with prophesy delivered on the top of the hill opposite the town of Kyauktaw—His journey into the city of Dynnyawaddi at the request of king Sanda Thurya—the casting of the image by men and gods, have been very clearly set forth by the able researches of the late Dr. Forchammer and need hardly be mentioned again in the present sketch. The Mahamuni Tradition is the oldest of the kind we have. It permeates the whole religious history of Arakan and the images that at present sanctify a thousand temples and pagodas in this country are the replicas of the first great and only faithful copy of the Master.

Interesting as all these facts may appear there is however one great flaw which defies any attempt at reasonable explanation. King Sanda Thurya ascended the throne of Arakan in 146 A.D.—all available records are pretty well clear on this point. If we take 483 B.C. as the date of Buddha's death there is a very large gap of over six hundred years between the two events, viz:—his sojourn in Arakan and his death at Kusinara. This is a very big thing to explain away and, judging from the extreme paucity of documents that treat of those far-away days, I am inclined to think that the problem is one likely to be added to the long list of unsolved riddles of the universe. It is true books belonging to this country have a fatal defect, that they represent facts and beliefs at the time they were written, or acquired the form in which we now find them, without much reference to facts at the time at which they are supposed to have happened. Besides this, Burmese books especially

bear unmistakable signs of being treated, that is to say, they often take up an important event, enlarge upon it, and then relate how it was prophesied—generally by Buddha—many centuries before.

In spite of these adverse peculiarities of the East I entirely agree with the learned Doctor that the Mahamuni Tradition is not an after-thought. It is genuinely old and was implicitly believed in by successive generations that came after it. Kings of Arakan, even after they had shifted their capitals to various other places, always recognised it as a sacred duty to visit it from time to time and generally made it the occasion for great religious feasts of charity. In such cases they invariably left some votive offering, may be a small shrine or an image, as a memento of their distinguished visit. On the other hand it is not my purpose here to try and reconcile this great discrepancy in time as I am convinced of the utter futility of the task. The very fact that neither Buddha nor any of his five hundred Rahandas who accompanied him into Arakan ever made mention of this unique event in the many subsequent discourses delivered in India is sufficient to tempt one to lay down the pen so far as this point is concerned.

My scheme in the present work is simply to trace the history of this famous image from the time of its installation on a small hill close to the ancient city of Dynnyawaddi till it was finally carried away to Mandalay by Bodawpaya of Burma. So this is really a continuation of the story begun by Forchhammer but in which I propose dealing with principal events only. After the sacred image was finished and suitably installed it was allowed to remain undisturbed for a period of over nine centuries. During that time it became the religious centre of the kingdom and all its neighbouring states. Its fame spread far and wide and it so worked on the envy of the Burmans that much of the early wars between these two peoples were actuated by the sole desire on the part of Burmese kings to remove the image into their country.*

* As an instance of this it may here be mentioned that in the early years of the 11th century Anoratha-minzaw of Pagan or Pagan invaded Arakan with the intention of carrying away this image. Luckily then through some mysterious cause he was compelled to abandon the project.

In 1078 A. D. Min Bhi-lu of Arakan was killed by a noble who usurped the throne. Min Re-baya the heir apparent fled with his family and took shelter at the court of Kyansit-tha of Pagan. The fugitive princes remained in exile for twenty-five years during which time a son was born to Min Re-baya and is known in history as Let-ya-min-nan. It is true that Kyansit-tha promised to restore the royal fugitive to the Arakanese throne but the lack of suitable opportunity prevented that monarch from redeeming his promise. On the death of Min Re-baya, Alaung-si-thu, who had already succeeded his grandfather, determined to place Let-ya-min-nan on the throne of Arakan. To carry out this object he sent 100,000 Pyus and an equal number of Talaings both by land and sea into Arakan. There was some show of stubborn resistance at first, which the more disciplined troops of Burma gradually but surely overcame. Thus Let-ya-min-nan came unto his own in 1103 A. D. and as the Pyus were instrumental in bringing this about he is also known to the Arakanese as Pyu Tathein-min (the king created by the 100,000 Pyus). When these soldiers had accomplished their task and just on the eve of their departure for Burma they visited the shrine of Mahamuni. There they found it so richly stored with gems and gold that, overcoming all religious scruples, they began to despoil the temple of all its vast wealth. From the image itself the Pyus scooped out the greater portion of the back, the Talaings cut off the whole right leg and carried away these treasures into their country—a distinct fulfilment of Gotama's dicta.

When Let-ya-min-nan came to Arakan the capital was Ping-tsa. On his astrologers advising him that the city was no longer fit for occupation because all its good fortune had departed, he founded the new city of Parin. Fifty years after this, Da-tha-raza ascended the throne. The new king was powerful and just and the country enjoyed general peace and prosperity. Following the example of all pious kings who went before him he decided to visit Mahamuni. His ministers were sent in advance to make the necessary preparations for his stay there. But they returned with the information that the temple could not be found. He then entrusted these men with his personal jewels and instructed them

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to give (these) away as reward to any person or persons who could direct them to the sacred spot. After much trouble and by the assistance of two Mros they found the place—the men being rewarded as ordered by the king. When the news of the discovery reached the royal ears he immediately set out for the place with his entire court. The image was found in the ground buried up to the neck. The right leg and the greater part of the back were missing. The shrine was completely destroyed by fire. The king at once saw the exposed nature of the place. He knew that its general isolation among the hills was the too frequent cause of the shrine being desecrated by the wild hill tribes who made periodic visits of plunder into these parts. He therefore conveyed the image by water into the ancient city of Dinnyawaddy. The chronicles tell us that invitations were then issued to all the neighbouring kings and princes to visit Arakan and share with him the supreme merit to be acquired by undertaking the entire repairs of the most sacred image and shrine. The gathering of ruling princes was a representative one. First they repaired the image itself by supplying the missing parts. Then they erected the shrine on which were lavished all the skill, energy, and resources they could command. In the building of the surrounding walls the work was proportionately divided between the different races that were present. Thus some were asked to carry out the work on the east of the shrine, some to the south, and so on. The temple and the walls were decorated with exquisite carving. The latter contained human figures representing all the races of the earth. There is no doubt about it that this second building of Mahamuni was a great historic event. What little is left of it at the present day amply proves it. The spot selected was a small hill at the north-east corner of the city. The nine kutis of treasure left buried by king Sanda Thurya was also unearthed, removed and buried again at the northern end of this hill. The stone slab placed on the mouth of the pit was so immense that a thousand men, say the chronicles, would not even be sufficient to shift it from the place. The whole thing was finished in seventy-one days.

Several races undertook to visit the temple once in every three months for the purpose of carrying out such minor repairs

as were considered necessary from time to time. But some of the tributary tribes were given definite work to perform and were required to always leave behind certain persons to guard the place. The details of the allotment of such specific duties were also recorded in stone tablets at the four cardinal points. These records no longer exist in their usual places though I am told they were there until quite recently, by an authority of no mean repute.

In the closing scene of its variegated history, Bodawpaya of Burma comes in—a fit character for a fit occasion. After his final conquest and so-called pacification—“*solitudinem faciunt pacem appellant*”—he directed the famous image to be conveyed into Burma. This was accomplished in the year 1785 A.D. The excess of patriotic fervour led some people a few years ago to declare that the real image was lost in the creek close to the site, in the course of its removal and that the soldiers fearing the king's wrath took away a substitute. Attractive as this version may appear to us Arakanese, everything that has any bearing on the history of this country proclaims the image that now adorns the Arakan pagoda at Mandalay to be the genuine one.

It will be seen that the present account deals with the principal events only. But it must not be supposed that during the long interval between these epochs the image and the shrine were allowed to remain in peace. The frontier tribes such as the Chins, the Mros, and the Saks periodically descended from their mountain homes and harassed the kingdom whenever it was known that the ruler of the country was weak or incapable. On such occasions they always made it a point to visit the shrine and after taking away all the riches it contained they invariably set fire to it. Whenever this happened the then reigning king would forthwith rebuild it and make good the loss. In the chronicles this occurs with painful regularity.

What seems to me to be rather a curious fact is that even at the time of Da-tha-raza, towards the middle of the 12th century, this well-known temple and image could not be easily found. At the present day none of us have any idea of the original site

though the chronicles describe the place pretty clearly. I think there are two reasons to account for this. In the first, the names of hills and creeks in familiar use in those days are no longer employed now; and the daily occupation of all our time in western education and pursuits has so alienated our interests that it has become almost impossible for us to identify the old names with the present ones. Secondly, the abundant rainfall so favours the rapid growth of vegetation that a few years of neglect is sufficient to entirely cover up any structure with dense jungle. But whatever the true reason may be, it would be tremendously worth our while to discover this spot, as there is no knowing what interesting archaeological finds we may come across.

SAN SHWE BU.

APPENDIX II.

(EXTRACTED FROM THE JOURNAL OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY,
VOL. VI, PART I., PAGES 19-20).

THE BRONZE FIGURES IN THE ARAKAN PAGODA,
MANDALAY.

These consist of two figures of men, three of lions, and one of a three-headed elephant. The human figures are anatomically perfect in expression, proportion, and in the representation of the muscles of the body and limbs. They wear necklets, armlets, and anklets and a scanty loin-cloth. The navel is deep and well-developed, and pilgrims afflicted with dyspepsia or other stomachic ailments insert their fingers into it and turn them about in a rotatory movement, so as to be cured of their affliction. Tradition says that, originally, the number of the human figures was thirty-three, corresponding to the number of *devas* in the Tāvātimsa heaven. The heads of the three lions have disappeared, and attempts, somewhat unsuccessful, have been made by the Pagoda Trustees to restore them. The most interesting figure in the collection is that of the three-headed elephant called “Erāvaṇṇa” or “Erāvata,” the *vāhana* or riding animal of Indra or Thagyamin, the god of rain and the Lord of Tāvātimsa. The river Irrawaddy (Erāvātī), the noble waterway of Burma, is so called because it is supposed to flow out of one of the trunks of Indra’s elephant.

These figures were brought over from Arakan in 1784 together with the Mahāmuni Image, when that country was conquered and annexed to the Burmese dominions by the Einyemingyi, the Heir-Apparent of King Bodawpaya (1781-1819). Only a year before, that is, in 1783, Amarapura, the “City of the Immortals,” had been founded by the King, and he was supremely delighted to secure the sacred Image, which was the Palladium of the Arakanese race, to adorn as well as to protect his new capital. Exactly a century later, in 1884, during the reign of King Thibaw, the Arakan

VIII

Pagoda was burnt, presaging a national calamity, and the sacred Image as well as these bronze figures were consumed by fire. In November 1885, King Thibaw, the 11th of the Alompra dynasty, was dethroned by the British and his kingdom was incorporated in the British Empire.

A melancholy interest attaches to the history of this collection of figures, which are a silent witness to dynastic changes and futile ambitions of impotent Kings. In 1581, Bayin Naung, the Branginoco of European writers, who held his Court at Pegu, and whose power and magnificence have often been extolled, and who was the greatest of Burmese Rulers, died, leaving his throne to Nanda Bayin, who is known to Burmese Chroniclers as Ngāzudāyakā. He was a weakling compared with his father, and the Burmese Empire, the most extensive in Burmese Annals, fell to wreck and ruin, thereby nullifying the unification of the Burmese and Talaings under one Sovereign. The Kings of Toungoo and Arakan conspired to attack Pegu, which had been embellished and adorned by Branginoco in a most lavish manner. The city fell in 1596, and the spoils were shared by the conquerors, these bronze figures falling to the lot of Rāzāgyi, King of Arakan.

These figures were not cast at Pegu, but were brought away from Ayuthia, the capital of Siam, in 1564, by Branginoco, who had waged a successful war against that country. At the same time, the King of Siam and his queens and one son were taken captive to Ava, together with three of the white elephants, the demand for one of which by Branginoco had been the *casus belli* between the two countries of Pegu and Siam.

As Ayuthia was carved out of the Cambodian Empire in 1350, it is just possible that the Siamese received these bronze figures as an heirloom from the Cambodians, whose civilization, religion, and art were based on Indian systems.

It would thus appear that these bronze figures, during, at least, six centuries, have been the silent witnesses of the strange vicissitudes, and the kaleidoscopic turns of fortune of five races of mankind, namely, the Cambodians, Siamese, Talaings, Arakanese, and the Burmese, that they are the connecting links between the

present and a historic past, and like the Pyramids of Egypt, they still continue to look down on the ages still to come.

TAW SEIN KO.

APPENDIX III.

EXTRACTED FROM THE NARRATIVE OF THE MISSION TO THE COURT
OF AVA IN 1855. BY CAPTAIN HENRY YULE. EDITION 1858.

PP. 169—172.

Ten miles above the capital (Amarapura) we landed, at Mengoon, to visit the extraordinary *Folly* of the King Men-tara-gyi, or Bodau Phya (the "Grandfather King"), as he is commonly called by the Burmese, the great grandfather of the reigning prince, and founder of Amarapoora.

This King, who died in 1819, after a rule of nearly forty years, spent twenty years of the earlier part of his reign in piling together this monstrous mass of bricks and mortar, employing on it the unpaid services of a vast number of his subjects, and an expenditure besides, it is said, of 10,000 viss of silver. Some say that it had been foretold to him that when the temple was finished his life would come to an end. But, in any case, he left it incomplete,¹ and the great earthquake of 1839 shattered it to the foundations.

¹ In fact during the latter years of his reign the old King was, if not a disbeliever in Buddhist doctrine, at least most hostile to the priesthood, and the order had for some time scarcely any ostensible existence. He is said to have made the filthy suggestiveness of the numerous prohibitions in the Wini (Sansk. Vinaya), the book which regulates the life and conversation of the monks, a pretext for the suppression of the order.

It appears, however, from Padre Sangermano, that about the beginning of the century he abandoned his Palace and its fair inmates, retiring to Mengoon, with some idea of adopting the ascetic life, and getting himself acknowledged as the new Buddha. But the orthodoxy of the Poongyis was proof against all his arguments; he threw up his pretensions to Buddhahood, returned to his seraglio, and cherished a lasting hostility to the ecclesiastics. On his death the yellow robes rapidly effloresced again all over the country. (See Judson's Life, i. pp. 173, 191, etc. Sangermano's Burmese Empire, pp. 59, 90, etc.)

This ruin is doubtless one of the hugest masses of solid brickwork in the world. It stands on a basement of five successive terraces of little height, the lower terrace forming a square of about 450 feet. From the upper terrace starts up the vast cubical pile of the pagoda, a square of about 230 feet in plan, and rising to a height of more than 100 feet, with slightly sloping walls. Above this, it contracts in successive terraces, three of which had been completed, or nearly so, at the time the work was abandoned.

In one of the neighbouring groves is a miniature¹ of the structure (fig. 34), as it was intended to be. From this we see that the completed pile would have been little less than 500 feet high. The whole height of the ruin as it stands is about 165 feet from the ground, and the solid content must be between 6,000,000 and 7,000,000 of cubic feet of brickwork.

The fracture that has taken place is tremendous, and the effects of the earthquake are seen on a scale that rarely occurs. The whole mass is shattered, torn, and split. Masses of wall 100 feet in height, and from 10 to 20 in thickness, appear as if they had been bodily lifted from their bases, and heaved forward several feet. The angles have chiefly suffered, and these are fallen in a vast pile of ruin; blocks of coherent brickwork, as big as small houses, lying heaped in hideous confusion on one another.

Up among the loose bricks and fallen masses at the north-east angle, there is a practicable though not easy ascent. Reaching the top, you find the whole surface rent into prisms by yawning crevasses, like those (as my companion aptly suggested) of an Alpine glacier. A square projection, which rises in the centre above all, appears to be a detached pier descending, unconnected with the rest of the pile, the whole way to the ground. This, too, is thrown much off its perpendicular.

The whole thing is a perfect geological phenomenon.

Strange to say, many stacks of bricks still stand in place on the top, as they were left by the bricklayers, probably thirty years before the earthquake; part of the scaffolding which formed an

¹ This is the Pôndawpaya referred to in the Journal. Thien.

ascent in the middle of each of the four sides still makes a staggering attempt to hold on to the wall, tall teak masts, with fragmentary gangways attached, which kick their heels in empty air; and on the basement terraces great heaps of lime, ready for the work, have hardened into anomalous rocks, which will puzzle future geologists.

There is a doorway on each face, pedimented and pilastered in the Pagan style of architecture; but the cavity does not penetrate more than 14 or 15 feet.

This pagoda was in progress when Captain Hiram Cox was here as Envoy, 1797; and he gives a curious account of the manner in which the interior of the basement was formed for the reception of the dedicated treasures. A number of quadrangular pits or cells were formed in the brickwork for this purpose. These were all lined with plates of lead, and were roofed with *beams of lead* about five inches square. This precious engineering device for the support of a spire 500 feet high was one of his majesty's own conception, and perhaps may have given rise to various patched cracks in the brickwork, which are evidently of older date than the earthquake.¹ Rumours of the greatness of the deposited treasures are common among the Burmese;² but what Captain Cox tells us of them from personal observation is not confirmatory of these rumours. He speaks of plated models of kyoungs and pagodas; of others, said to be of solid gold, but which on examination proved "to be less valuable;" of marble images, trumpery gems, slabs of coloured glass, white umbrellas, and, last of all, of a *soda-water*

¹ These cracks are mentioned by Colonel Burney, who says the natives ascribed them to an earthquake which had taken place about fifteen years before his visit, i.e., about 1816. He also mentions what escaped our observation that the walls of the great cubical plinth appeared to have been banded by lines of iron or copper chain. (MS. Journal).

² The common tale goes, that 197 images of solid gold and silver, of Mentaragyi, his women, children, and relatives, each image being cast exactly of the weight of the person represented, were here deposited. (The same).

machine,¹ as among the consecrated valuables.

Overlooking the river, in front of the eastern face of the temple, stood two colossal leogryphs in brick. The heads and shoulders lie in shapeless masses round about, and only the huge haunches and tails remain in position, gigantically ludicrous. These figures were originally 95 feet high, as Cox tells us, and each of the white marble eyeballs, intended for the monsters, measured 13 feet in circumference.²

North of the temple, on a low circular terrace, stands the biggest bell in Burma; the biggest in the world probably, Russia apart. It is slung on a triple beam of great size, cased and hooped with metal; this beam resting on two piers of brickwork, enclosing massive frames of teak. The bell does not now swing free. The supports were so much shaken by the earthquake, that it was found necessary to put props under the bell, consisting of blocks of wood carved into grotesque figures. Of course no tone can now be got out of it. But at any time it must have required a battering-ram to elicit its music.

Small ingots of silver (and some say pieces of gold) may still be traced, unmelted, in the mass, and from the inside one sees the curious way in which the makers tried to strengthen the part which suspend it by dropping into the upper part of the mould iron chains, round which the metal was run.

The Burmese report the bell to contain 555,555 viss of metal (about 900 tons). Its principal dimensions are as follows:—

1 "One of Dr. Priestley's machines for impregnating water with fixed air." (Cox's *Journal of a Residence in the Burmah Empire*, p. 110).

2 "The sockets for the eyeballs are left vacant, and to place the eyeballs in them will require some exertion of mechanical ingenuity, which I should like to see." (Cox, p. 105.) The enterprise was actually too much for the Burmese, as we learn from Col. Burney, who saw the figures in 1831, some years before their destruction. The eyeballs had never been inserted.

			ft.	in.
External diameter at the lip	...	...	16	3
Internal diameter, 4ft. 8in. above the lip	...	...	10	—
Interior height	...	...	11	6
Exterior ditto	...	...	12	—
Interior diameter at top	...	...	8	6

The thickness of metal varies from six inches to twelve and the actual weight of the whole bell is, by a rough calculation, about eighty tons, or one-eleventh of the popular estimate. According to Mr. Howard Malcolm, whose authority was probably Colonel Burney, the weight is stated in the Royal Chronicle at 55,500 viss, or about ninety tons. This statement¹ is probably therefore genuine, and the popular fable merely a multiplication of it by ten

¹ This monster Burmese bell is therefore fourteen times as heavy as the great bell of St. Paul's, but only one-third of that given by the Empress Anne to the Cathedral of Moscow. (See Pen. Cyc., Art. Bell).