

## APPENDIX

NOTES pp. 307-63

GENEALOGICAL TABLES pp. 364-72

BIBLIOGRAPHY pp. 373-90

## APPENDIX

**Inscriptions the Touchstone.**<sup>1</sup>—The Tali inscriptions at Prome, and the Pyu inscriptions, resemble the Kadamba script used in the fifth to sixth century in north Canara near Goa; the Talaing inscription at Lopburi in Siam resembles the Pallava script used in these centuries (Dharmapala's age) at Conjeveram. See *RSASB* 1919 20, Blagden "Pyu inscriptions" in *Epigraphia Indica* XII and *JBR* 1917, and Tun Nyein "Maunggun gold plates" in *Epigraphia Indica* V.

Such inscriptions contain texts indicating an advanced knowledge of Buddhist scripture; but this does not show the widespread existence of Buddhist civilisation any more than the presence in Burma of eighteenth century Latin inscriptions shows the establishment of Christian civilisation under Alaungpaya.

Writing reached Upper Burma even later. Although its dry climate is so favourable to preservation, the earliest inscriptions so far found there (except perhaps a Pyu fragment at Halin) are in tenth century north Indian script. The earliest in Burmese is dated 1058 (*Inscriptions* 1913 1); the script is a copy of the Talaing, and the crude and variable spelling indicates that the scribes were trying their hand on a new medium; Talaing inscriptions of the same period are more advanced in both spelling and style. There seems to have been a Sanskrit canon at Pagan before the eleventh century, but its possessors probably kept the art of writing to themselves.

The absence of earlier inscriptions largely invalidates the native accounts of Burmese history before the reign of Anawrahta 1044-77. These accounts are as follows:—

Abhiraza with his Sakya clansmen came from Kapilavastu in India, founding Tagaung 850 B.C. and Kyaukpadaung in Arakan 825 B.C. Tagaung was overthrown by the Chinese about 600 B.C., and its people then founded Old Pagan; they went further south also, founding in 443 B.C. Prome, a glorious city which, under the great king Duttapaung 443-373 B.C. contained a splendid court and 3,000 Buddhist monks. Meanwhile Buddha himself had visited Legaing and Shwettaw (in Minbu district), as is borne out by the existence of Kyaungdawya pagoda, and of his two footprints, each three cubits long, at Shwettaw; on his way back he passed by Prome—witness the Po-u-daung pagoda there, and look at the very hill where he stopped, Tankyidaung (to be distinguished from its namesake opposite Pagan). In his lifetime, his disciples had founded

<sup>1</sup> See p. 4.

the Shwedagon and Shwemawdaw pagodas. Later, under Asoka 272-32 B.C., two missionaries, Sona and Uttara, were sent from the Council of Patna and evangelised Thaton where they had 60,000 converts. Prome being overthrown in A.D. 95 through dissension among the tribes, its people migrated, founded Pagan in 105, dropped their separate tribal names, and henceforth are all known as Burmans; their king Pyusawti 168-243 inflicted a sanguinary defeat on the Chinese. In 403 the great apostle Buddhaghosa brought the scriptures from Ceylon to Thaton, whence copies immediately spread to Pagan, Arakan, and the Shans.

Buddha's coming to Burma is on a level with Joseph of Arimathea's planting the Glastonbury Thorn. The Shwesettaw legend is not even original; it comes from the commentary on the Samyutta Nikaya, and the Sanskrit Divyavadana; it refers to the Konkan, and not to Burma, see *Duroiselle* "Notes on the ancient geography of Burma." Other incidents told as historical in the chronicles and thamaings are copies of foreign originals. The Shwedagon legend is found in the Mahavastu, and when first told it has no reference to Burma. The legend of Alaungdaw Kathapa is found in the Sanskrit canon Mula-Sarvastadina as preserved in the Chinese translation. The Tagaung princess Beda is simply the Padmavati and Nalini of the Mahavastu, a Mahayanist work in corrupt Sanskrit; her parthenogenesis from a doe in a hermit's mingeing place is found in Pali Jatakas 523 (Alambusa) and 526 (Nalinika), in the Ramayana, in Chinese jataka collections, in the No plays of Japan, and in one of the Tun-huang tapestries (Stein Collection, British Museum no. 12).

Chinese records make no mention of any direct dealings with Burma before the thirteenth century, still less do they mention a victorious campaign crushing Tagaung about 600 B.C. On the other hand, the Nanchao (Yunnan) chief Kolofêng subjugated the Pyu and the tribes of the upper Irrawaddy shortly after A.D. 754. Perhaps this is the Chinese invasion of 600 B.C., antedated as usual to give Pagan a hoary antiquity. Kolofêng also defeated the Chinese and others; the Nanchao armies used to include levies from subject tribes. Probably Pyusawti furnished a contingent to his overlord Kolofêng and when he returned home his share of the fighting would not lose in the telling: this may be the original of Pyusawti's victory over the Chinese. His name is Chinese Shan. *Saw* is the same word as *saw* in *sawbwa*, as *chao* the Nanchao for king; *ti* is the Chinese for king (*Taw Sein Ko* "Burmese Sketches" 20). Pyusawti is therefore the Chinese Shan for "Pyu prince"; it is also the Nanchao name for a legendary son of Asoka who, the Nanchao possibly thought, was a Pyu (*BEFEO* 1904 Pelliot "Deux itinéraires"). Whereas the stories of other early princes are copied from Indian sources, Pyusawti's story is from Shan sources. He was born of a dragon's egg; it is a common folk-lore motive in Indo-China; the Shans and Palaungs have similar legends, see *Cochrane* I. 58.

There is no *a priori* difficulty in Asoka's sending Sona and Uttara to Thaton which lay so near on a good sea route, but he does not claim to have sent them; their mission is not mentioned till seven hundred years

later, in the Ceylon chronicle Mahavamsa, compiled in the early sixth century Christian era. It is not mentioned in Rock Edicts II., V., XIII., where Asoka 272-32 B.C. catalogues his missions, including missions which he must have known were fruitless, to persons like Ptolemy of Egypt and Antigonus of Macedonia (*Epigraphia Indica* II. Bühler "Asoka's Rock Edicts"); yet we are to believe that he omitted a mission to Thaton which produced sixty thousand converts. If the mission ever went to Thaton, it can have had little result. No trace of Asokan script has been found in Burma. See *IA* 1905 Vincen. Smith "Asoka's alleged mission to Pegu."

There is a considerable literature in the name of Buddhaghosa, and doubtless he existed as a person and wrote some of it, but the accounts of him vary so enormously that this is all we can say; see *IA* 1890 Foulkes "Buddhaghosa." The Kalyani Inscriptions (p. 120) do not mention him. If he brought the scriptures to Thaton in 403 and a few years later they reached Pagan, Pagan in 1057 would not have had to fight Thaton to get them (p. 27).

The glorious king Duttapaung is possibly a composite figure embodying memories of the Pyu dynasty at Prome. Blagden suspects that Duttapaung is not a proper name but a title (*RSASB* 1912 11); the Pyu for *His Majesty* ၵၢၢ ၵၢၢ is practically the same word as Duttapaung; indeed (though this counts for little) Duttapaung happens to be used as a title at *Thatonmyo Shwezayan Thamaing* 19, 56.

The elimination of Prome as the Pyu capital in A.D. 95 is inconsistent with the existence there of Pyu rulers' inscriptions dating from apparently the seventh and eighth centuries. The records of the Chinese Tang dynasty 618-905, the Chinese travellers I-ching 671-95 and Hsüan-chuang 629-45, and the Chinese geographer Chia-tan 785-805, point to Prome as the Pyu capital. They do not mention Pagan, and it was not of sufficient importance to be founded as a town till 849 (*Hmannan* I. 223).

**Ancient sites.**<sup>1</sup>—The principal are, among the Talains—Thaton, Twante, Rangoon, and Pegu which was an offshoot from Thaton formed some time after the sixth century; among the Arakanese—Sandoway, Vesali; among tribes which seem to have been half Shan, half Pyu—Tagaung; among the Pyu—Prome, Halin (in Shwebo district), Nyaunglun (in Yamethin district), Peikthano (in Magwe district), and Powundaung (in Monywa district). See *ARASI* 1909-10 Taw Sein Ko "Excavations at Hmawza," 1911-12 Duroiselle "Excavations at Hmawza," 1914-15 Duroiselle "Rock-cut temples of Powundaung"; *RSASB* 1905 7 Taw Sein Ko's visit to Halin; *JBRs* 1917 Stewart "Excavation and exploration at Pegu"; *Forchammer* "Notes on early history and geography" and "Arakan"; *IA* 1892 Taw Sein Ko "Archæological tour through Ramannadesa" and 1893 Temple "Notes on antiquities in Ramannadesa." Legends are found in *GUB*, e.g. II. i. 115 and II. ii. 92. See also *JBRs* 1911 May Oung "Prome and the Pyus" and 1916 Taw Sein Ko "Derivation of the word Prome."

<sup>1</sup> See p. 7.

**Führer's inscription.**<sup>1</sup>—The idea that the remains at Tagaung are of great antiquity rests largely on Führer's statement in 1894 that he found at Tagaung a stone slab dated A.D. 416 with a Sanskrit inscription telling how Tagaung was founded by immigrant princes from Hastinapura (Old Delhi). His statement is quoted verbatim in *GUB* I. ii. 193 (similar "inscriptions" are mentioned at 186), is accepted in *Gerini* 471, 746, and has passed into popular works, e.g. *Scott O'Connor* 208. Unfortunately this precious slab has never been reproduced, and in view of Führer's service record its production is essential.

**Eastern shipping.**<sup>2</sup>—Although English officers in 1750 noted that Talains were capable of making good seamen (*Dalrymple* I. 130), the Burmese never had any shipping (*Hobson-Jobson* s.v. "Burma") because they had no seamen (*Hakluyt* X. 159), and the Portuguese noted the worthlessness of their coasting craft (*Couto* III. i. 20).

The sea voyages of the Hinduised Malays of Sumatra who, about the time of Christ, colonised Madagascar and East Africa, have not yet been worked out. For Roman trading settlements in southern India, see *Vincent Smith* "Early History of India." Roman shipping never went beyond Ceylon and disappeared in the fifth century. From the first to the ninth century, Chinese junks went as far as the Persian Gulf; thereafter they seldom went west of Malacca. From the eighth century till the arrival of the Portuguese in the fifteenth, Arab seamen, practically monopolised the carrying trade from Egypt and Madagascar to China. See *Radhakumud Mookerji*, *Yule* "Cathay," *Beazley*, *Chau Ju-kua*, *TP* 1914 and 1915 *Rockhill* "Notes on the trade of China with the coast of the Indian Ocean during the fifteenth century," *Mayers* "Chinese explorations of the Indian Ocean during the fifteenth century" in *China Review* III., *Hunter* I. ch. i.

**Golden Land.**<sup>3</sup>—The name would be intelligible if, as is quite possible, Burmese pagodas were gilded in those days. Burma is not a noticeable source of precious metals and there is nothing to show that she ever was. The gold output even in the record years 1914, 1915, was under four thousand ounces, as against the world output of twenty-two million ounces; the producing districts are Myitkyina and to a negligible extent Salween, Shwebo, Katha, Upper Chindwin. The record silver output in Burma, that of 1918, was under two million ounces, all from Bawdwin, as against the world output of two hundred million. Temple half thinks Ἄργυρη (Silver Land), Ptolemy's name for Arakan, to be a corruption of Arkang, the Indian pronunciation of Rahkaing (Arakan); mediæval travellers do not mention silver in Arakan and the name may be due to desire for symmetry—if there is a golden land, there must also be a silver one. Both names may be based on mere travellers' tales. However, since the Middle Age: the annual gold output of the world has grown one hundred times, and the total stock has grown one hundred and sixty times; so perhaps the precious metals of Burma, which hardly attract attention now, were really noticeable for ancient times. Yunnan certainly had plentiful

<sup>1</sup> See p. 9.<sup>2</sup> See pp. 9, 57.<sup>3</sup> See p. 9.

silver, and also seems to have had gold; in mediæval times it used to be said of any very wealthy person in southern China that he must be from Yunnan. Similarly gold was found over the Siamese border at the ancient city of U Thong, which means "the golden"; and in the Malay state of Pahang are the remains of immense gold mines on a scale which has no counterpart in southern Asia. Pahang may have been the original of Ptolemy's Golden Land, though he places it distinctly in Lower Burma. Gold-washing on the Sittang cannot have been sufficiently productive to create the name. Since it is to Sumatra that the name Suvannabhumi is applied *par excellence* (*JBR* 1923 153), one cannot help wondering whether Thaton was not colonised from Sumatra and took its mother's name. See *Coedès*, *JSS* 1916 Prince Damrong "Siamese history prior to the founding of Ayuddhya," *IA* 1894 Taw Sein Ko "Some remarks on the Kalyani inscriptions," *Gerini*, *Hobson-Jobson* s.v. "Arakan."

**Teak.**<sup>1</sup>—Yet the export of teak from India, probably the Malabar coast, existed from ancient times, at least as a luxury article; it was used by Nebuchadnezzar 604-562 B.C., and teak beams, still undecayed, exist in the great palace of the Sassanid kings at Seleucia or Ctesiphon, dating from the middle of the sixth century. The first European mention of Burma teak seems to be in 1597 when the king of Portugal told his viceroy at Goa not to let the Turks export it from Pegu. See 353, *Hobson-Jobson* s.v. "Teak," *Radhakumud Mookerji* 85-7.

**Ancient coastline.**<sup>2</sup>—Hsüan-chuang 629-45 heard of Prome as near a sea harbour; but there is no evidence to support the tradition that she was actually on the sea until the volcano Popa Hill burst into eruption and Lower Burma heaved above the waves. South of Prome the great stretches of alluvial land were doubtless under water, but not the high land, of which there is plenty; there is nothing to show that there has been any volcanic upheaval on the Burma mainland in human times. The occurrence of bracken and other plants of temperate regions on the summit of Popa Hill suggests that the close of the Glacial Age found its surface in a fit stage to support vegetation—i.e. it can hardly have been violently active in human times. See *RSASB* 1910 13, *JASBengal* 1862 Blandford "Account of a visit to Puppa-doung."

At Payagyi, north of Pegu town, at Ayeththima (Taikkala) in Thaton district, and at Thaton town, bolts, cables, and other parts of foreign ships have been unearthed. Rocks on the hills near Shwegyin show traces of sea-erosion. See *Stewart* "Pegu Gazetteer" 4, 32; *Furnivall* "Syriam Gazetteer" 12; *Forchhammer* "Notes on the early history and geography of British Burma (II.)." For some early traditions, see *Shwemawdaw Thamaing*, *Shwe Naw*.

By the time of Anawrahta 1044-77 much of the Delta had long been mainland. When he overthrew Thaton 1057 she was doubtless ceasing to be a seaport. Pegu continued to be a seaport till about 1600 but the Sittang river was silting up in 1569 when the Venetian Cæsar Frederick

<sup>1</sup> See p. 10.<sup>2</sup> See p. 11.

(*Hakluyt X. 119*) describes the violent tide which ships had to catch in order to shoot up the narrow channel to the town. The decline of Pegu town after 1600 is due to its being no longer accessible to merchant ships. The remains of Portuguese docks at Syriam show that even within the last three centuries much land has been reclaimed.

**Pyu physiognomy.**<sup>1</sup>—The people called Pyu in the chronicles, the people who lorded it at Prome, the people called P'iao by the Chinese, and the people who wrote the P'yu inscriptions, may have been distinct peoples. Villagers call these inscriptions "Pyu writing," but they tend to give the name Pyu to any writing they do not understand. All authorities agree provisionally to assume that these peoples are one and the same, but we really know next to nothing of the Pyu, and it does not look as if we ever shall. One is therefore inclined to be sceptical when one reads Mr Taw Sein Ko's categorical statement at *RSASB* 1919 38, that the fresco he reproduces from Kyanzitha's Chamin, Pagan, depicts a Pyu lady. She is a type commonly found in the frescoes of Talaing pagodas at Pagan, there is nothing to show her nationality, and other observers do not think it is Pyu. He proceeds to say that the Pyus had an "aquiline nose, small mouth, pointed chin and well-developed jaw." But nobody has ever seen a Pyu, they have been extinct six centuries, and if, as is generally held, they were a Tibeto-Burman tribe, their features would be the reverse of aquiline.

**Nanchao** (p. 15)—the Chinese called it *nan* = south + *chao* = prince. Nanchao represents the southernmost limit in the direction of Burma reached by Chinese cultural influence, and so far as her people could write at all, they wrote in Chinese script. Their Buddhism is of a type which comes from Tibet and China, not from the south; thus, in 777 they built a monastery to Kuan Yin the Mahayanist madonna (*Sainson* 47).

*Nanchao*

Hsi-nu-lo 649-74.  
Lo-shêng 674-712.  
Shêng-lo-pi 712-28.  
P'i-lo-ko 728-48.  
Ko-lo-fêng 748-78.  
Fêng-ch'ieh-i, died young.  
I-mou-hsün 778-808.  
Hsün-ko-ch'üan 808-9.  
Ch'üan-lung-shêng 809-16  
Ch'üan-li 816-24  
Ch'üan-fêng-yu 824-59  
Shih-lung 859-77.  
Lung-shun 877-97.  
Shun-hua-chên 897-902.

*Pagan*

Pyusawti 167-242.  
Timinyi 242-99.  
Yimminpaik 299-324  
Paikthili 324-44.  
Thinlikyauung 344-87.  
Kyaungdurit 387-412

} brothers.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 11.

*BEFEO* 1904 Pelliot "Deux itinéraires" 165 notes the similarity between Nanchao and Pagan royal nomenclature whereby the last syllable of the father's name forms the first of the son's. Above are the fourteen chiefs of the Méng dynasty 649-902 of Nanchao, with their dates, which are well substantiated by Chinese records, and the six chiefs of Pagan with the Hmannan dates which are unsubstantiated; the identity of system indicates a common origin, probably community of race.

**Mahamuni.**<sup>1</sup>—The shrine, usually ၃၆ Dinnyawadi, 22 miles north of Mrohaung, in Akyab district, was possibly the oldest in Burma, and certainly contained the oldest image [The Arakanese assign it to the reign of one Sandathuriya 146-98, if not to Buddha's lifetime. But early Buddhists, like early Christians, never made an image of their Master; they did not start doing so till the rise of Græco-Buddhist sculpture at Gandhara in the first century.] See *Forchammer* "Mahamuni pagoda," *JBR* 1912 Chan Htwan Cung "The Mahamuni Shrine" and 1916 San Shwe Bu "The Story of Mahamuni."

The manner by which the image was taken in 1785 to Mandalay (p. 268) has been made the subject of unnecessary mystery, as if there were any difficulty in transporting even larger masses by forced labour. Some writers think there is a conflict of evidence between *Symes* 109 who says it was brought by water, and *Crawford* I. 476 who says "it was transported by the difficult route of Padaung, taken to pieces." Neither is a primary authority, and in any case *Symes* is superficial. *Konbaungset* 581-3 describes how it was taken by sea to Taungup in Sandoway district, by land over the pass to Padaung in Prome district, and by river to the capital; and in final corroboration we have the evidence of an officer who accompanied Trant over the An Pass in 1826. He writes (*IA* 1897 Temple "An unpublished document relating to the First Burmese War") that when marching through An town he was told "the head was taken off and the body divided above the navel. Three rafts were then constructed on which these different parts were floated down the Sunderbands to Sandoway; thence it was transported in the same way to Tongo Koug at the foot of the hills, where it remained till a road was formed to Padaung just below Prome. When the road was made, the three parts were placed on sledges and dragged by manual labour over the mountains to the . . . Irrawaddy."

**Ari.**<sup>2</sup>—The Thayapu pagoda, built in the eleventh century, at Let-hkok in Myingyan district, contains frescoes showing Ari in black robes. The *locus classicus* is *ARASI* 1915-16 Duroiselle "The Ari of Burma and Tantric Buddhism." Mr. Taw Sein Ko at *RSASB* 1909 9 says an inscription records their existence in 1468 at Kyauksauk in Myingyan district; doubtless they existed then and even later, but the inscription, at *Inscriptions* 1903 181, does not mention them.

For the *droit de seigneur* of king and priest in so many parts of the world, see *Westermarck* I. ch. v. Its existence among certain types of Brahman is what one might expect, but its existence among Buddhist clergy

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 17, 137.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 17, 95. ●



is surprising, and is of course very rare ; in Indo-China the only instances beside the Ari seem to be among the Hkamti Shans even now, and in the thirteenth century among some of the clergy in Siam, the Laos, and Cambodia where the Chinese observer calls it the *chentan*. Tradition says that the Popa *myothugyi* exercised it till three generations ago.

Long after the Ari had ceased to exercise the right, the Burmese *cum uxorem ducunt, nouam nuptam ad tempus primae noctis alio uiro tradunt, qui eam uuliet, hanc ad rem peregrinos ex occidente maximi faciunt, interdum etiam fit ut pater ipse suae filiae uim attulerit, antequam eam nouo marito in manus dederit*. This is first mentioned (*Badger* 203) by Ludouico de Varthema about 1505 at Tenasserim, but *Anderson* "English intercourse with Siam" 26 shows he was never there, so that this entry by itself proves nothing. But it does not stand by itself. *Linschoten* I. 99, writing in 1592, refers to the custom at Pegu, and *Schouten* I. 254 refers to it in Arakan in the seventeenth century; Richard (*Pinkerton* IX. 760) in the eighteenth, adding that Dutch sailors were paid for the service; cf. *TP* 1891 Cordier "Les Français en Birmanie" 27, written by 1786. The custom is quite obsolete and forgotten.

Another curious Burmese custom, whether connected with the Ari or not, is *in mulierum gratiam ad membrum uirile tintinabula aurea uel argenta appensa gestant ut sonum reddant dum per ciuitatem deambulant*. This [quite distinct from the ring worn by Chins, Karalingis, Zulus, and Romans (Pliny, Nat. Hist. XXXIII. 54) as an aid to continence] is mentioned at Ava by Nicolo di Conti about 1435 (*Badger*); at Pegu in 1511 by Ruy Nunez d'Acunha (*Hakluyt* X. 29), in 1586 by Fitch (*Hakluyt* X. 196), in 1592 (*Linschoten* I. 99), and somewhat later by *Stevens* I. 228, and in Arakan about 1724 by *Valentyn* V. i. 136. One hears vaguely of shot being used in the same way *ad libidinem* in Indian towns nowadays. Possibly, too, the noise of the bells was intended to scare away evil spirits, for in northern India cowry shells are thus hung on little boys to ward off the evil eye, and little girls wear anklets of tinkling bells partly to scare away evil spirits. The custom is no longer remembered in Burma, but perhaps some cognate idea underlies the imbedding of solid metal pellets under the skin of arms and chest by dacoits as a charm against wounds.

**Drink.**—In addition to these instances above (pp. 17, 60, 80, 95, 110, 122, 123, 160, 167, 171, 201, 208, 210, 212, 222, 232, 262, 278, 283, 340), there are the following:—

From the first the kings of Pagan took part in the annual Mahagiri sacrifice (p. 167), which was also a drinking feast (*Wawhayalinatta* 69). At Martaban in 1281 Aleimma and Wareru plotted to make each other drunk and then let loose assassins (*Razadarit Ayedawpon*). In 1336 money was smuggled into the Sagaing palace in pots of liquor (*Hmannan* I. 396). Cæsar Frederick, year 1567 (*Hakluyt* X. 115), says the chief product of Mergui is nyper wine made from the *da:ri* palm (*Nipa fructicans*, Wurbm.); *Linschoten* I. 103, writing in 1592, says it is exported from Tenasserim in great Pegu jars to India where women drink it secretly and gossip. Gasparo Balbi, year 1583 (*Hakluyt* X. 153), says the Delta

folk live in boats covered with straw and drink hot waters made from rice, strong as our aquavita. Cæsar Frederick, year 1567, and Fitch, year 1586 (*Hakluyt* X. 128, 191), mention opium from Mecca and Cambay as one of the principal imports into Burma. The Maung Minbyu Nat spirit is a prince who died of opium, being the son of Bayinnaung 1551-81; the Minye Aungdin Nat spirit is a prince who died of drink, being the son of king Anaukpetlun 1605-28 (*Temple* 37). *Manrique* xxi, xxix, year 1630, found locally made wine on sale in Mrohaung bazaar, and mentions Arakanese officers getting drunk on rice liquor given them by a monk. *Manucci* IV. 210, writing in 1701-05, speaks of the Burmese governor's drinking feasts at the annual Shwedagon festival, where a law officer once got so drunk, that for a bet he was fired into the air at the tail of a giant rocket, and his charred body was found next morning far away in the jungle. In 1797 the young nobles at the Amarapura palace were passionately addicted to liquor and intoxicating drugs, employing secret agents to obtain them at any price, though the penalty was death (*Cox* 250). In 1824 the royal bodyguard drank on the sly everything they could get (*Gouger* 138, 141). Officers of the victorious army in 1825 found that the Burmese commanders who dined with them drank very sparingly in public, out of respect for the king's orders, but the lower classes were so excessively fond of liquor of any description that, death penalty or no death penalty, they drank everything they could get, and had plenty of toddy and fermented rice (*Snodgrass* 223, *Trant* 229); we often found Burmese soldiers under the influence of opium, and the captured stockades contained opium balls in large quantities (*Trant* 128). In 1826 opium and liquor were staple imports; imports were subject to 10 per cent. customs duty, but inside the country there was no excise duty, for Government did not recognise the existence of intoxicants, and governors who received money for permitting their use were acting unofficially (*Crawford* II. 180, 182, and app. 78). The Hsenwi *sawbrwa* in 1837 had learnt to get intoxicated on drink and opium in the Ava palace (*McLeod and Richardson* 126). The first English administrators of Pegu in 1853 found intoxicants used to excess, toddy being drunk from the palmtrees that grew everywhere, and opium being sold in quantities by Chinamen—see old office files and *Perkins* 91.

Prohibition does not appear to have developed until the time of Bayinnaung 1551-81. Down to the last generation or two, travellers never describe the people of Burma as either sober or drunken, but seem to have regarded them as much the same as other people.

**Cucumber King.**<sup>1</sup>—See *BEFEO* 1905 Huber "Le jardinier régicide qui devient roi." There are at least three other versions—an exact parallel in the Burmese fairy tale book "Princess Thudhammasari," and two variants in Cambodian history, one in the eighth and the other in the fourteenth century. The present king of Cambodia claims descent from the gardener and proves it by showing, in his palace at Pnom Penh, the very spear and sword with which his ancestor slew the royal trespasser.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 19.

The Burmese and Cambodian chroniclers, wishing to have a history in the remote past, made up for the absence of material by drawing on folk-lore. The underlying idea is that in the Priest of the Golden Bough, see *Frazer* "Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings" I. 2.

**Vesali in the Indian Ind.**<sup>1</sup>—*Hmannan* I. 234 calls it "Vesali in Missimataik," which is the Middle Country, Buddha's homeland. Hence *Phayre* "History" 22 surmises that Vesali is Basarh village, north-east of Patna. The distance of Basarh presents no great difficulty, for there was an overland route in use (pp. 9, 17). Nor does the difference of language, for the kings took women into their harems regardless of the fact that they had not a word in common (pp. 280, 283). The caste difficulty however remains, and it is less likely that Anawrahta really sent so far afield than that his late chronicler thinks it fitting for his hero to have a queen from the Holy Land.

Assam was called Vesali. There was also a Vesali town in Akyab district, and *Do We* expressly admits that its lord presented his daughter Hti Hlaing Pru to Anawrahta when he was invading Arakan, *RSASB* 1918 13; it does not follow that it was this princess, among the many presented to Anawrahta, who was Kyanzittha's mother, but, if she was, there was enough Indian blood in Arakan to give her son Kyauzittha his un-Burmese features.

The story of Kyanzittha with its accretions is a fairy tale; his mother Panchakalyani shares the glamour, and it is improbable that her identity will ever be settled. The weight of feeling seems to be against Kyanzittha being the son of Anawrahta. The following is mostly from MS. authorities—*Ḍammazedi-ahtokpatti*, "Did not Kyanzittha, though only a commoner, become king?"; *Scindakyawthubwehkan*, "Sawlu was of the blood royal, Kyanzittha was not"; *Hmannan* I. 277, "The wise said 'With this child [Sawlu] the royal blood shall end'"; *Yazawunthazalini*, "Kyanzittha's paternity is unascertainable." In his inscriptions, Kyanzittha claims to be of dragon race. *Twinthin*, *Mg Kala*, *Ishugumawgun*, *Yazawunthazalini*, all make him the son of a dragon.

**Massacre of the Innocents.**<sup>2</sup>—This story, in *Hmannan* I. 235, closely following *Mg Kala's* chronicle (p. 207), bears the stamp of an ætiological myth, invented to account for the name Kyanzittha. The Palaungs know it, but only as part of the Kyanzittha legend, which has passed over to them.

In *Herodotus* V. 92 the ruling clan at Corinth, hearing that the infant Cypselus will prove formidable to them, send to slay him; he smiles in his cradle and the slayers relent. The story is not parallel, as there is no attempt to kill other children. The following are real parallels.

In *St. Matthew* II., the number of children slain by Herod is not stated, but tradition makes the number very large, e.g. the Greek Liturgy says 14,000.

In the Ceylon chronicle *Mahavamsa* IX. and X., the royal uncles,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 24.

hearing that Pandukabhaya, who afterwards became king of Ceylon, 377-307 B.C., would be born and overthrow them, twice killed his companions, hoping to kill him—once when he was seven and again when he was twelve.

In *Wilson* "Vishnu Purana" 498, 504, 558 king Kansa, hearing that his sister shall bear a child, Krishna, to slay him, kills her children one after another as soon as they are born, but she manages to preserve Krishna; hearing that he has escaped, Kansa orders "Let active search be made for whatever young children there may be on earth, and let every boy in whom there are signs of unusual vigour be slain without remorse"; but still Krishna escapes and finally slays Kansa.

The raja of Manipur, warned by prophecy that he would be slain by his son, has all boy babies in his harem killed at birth. But the mother of Gharib Newaz 1714-54 (p. 208) smuggles him away into a village where he is brought up by Naga tribesmen. Later, the raja has his suspicions aroused and orders all the children in that village to stand on a bridge and watch boats racing beneath; he had caused the bridge to be sawn through, so the children fell into the water and were drowned. But the guardians of Gharib Newaz had been warned, so he escaped, grew up, entered his father the raja's service, accidentally killed him while they were hunting together, and then, the truth coming out, succeeded to the throne (*Hodson* 79).

Such stories recall customs whereby chiefs killed all boy babies born in the harem to wives other than the head wife. One version of the Gharib Newaz story specifically says this was the custom in Manipur until he abrogated it to celebrate his escape, and paid the penalty by being murdered by one of his own bastards. Indeed conquerors sometimes safeguarded themselves by extirpating the boy babies of subject tribes; Pharoah passed such a decree against the Israelites (Exodus I. 8-28).

But Kyanzittha's must be regarded as a case of literary influence, unless his story can be pushed back much further than 1724, when *Mg Kala* was written. St. Matthew dates from the second century, the Puranas from the fourth; *Mahavamsa* was not written till the early sixth and so may conceivably have been influenced by the Christian story, for Christianity was already old at Madras by then. There were Catholics (p. 189) at the Burmese court long before *Mg Kala* was written; the court Brahmans were of course soaked in the Puranas. The Burmese chroniclers probably heard the Christ and Krishna stories; they certainly knew the story of Pandukabhaya, for *Mahavamsa* was one of their greatest classics.

*Byatta*<sup>1</sup> was shipwrecked at Thaton with an elder brother *Byatwi*; the Zingyaik pagoda there is ascribed to the royal chaplain who adopted them. They proceeded to roast and eat the corpse of a magician, which made them each as strong as a full grown male elephant. The chief of Thaton grew afraid of such powerful servants and tried to get rid of them. *Byatta* escaped to Pagan but his elder brother was killed and the chief of Thaton buried different parts of his body with magical rites at places

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 24, 27, 30.

round the city so as to make it impregnable. When Anawrahta dug them up and flung them into the sea, the water shot up as high as a palm tree, *Hmannan* I. 246-50.

The idea that it is possible to partake of a man's nature by eating his flesh underlies the cannibalism of the South Sea Islands and is sublimated in the Eucharist—

Et antiquum documentum  
Novo cedit ritui.

The notorious bandit Twet Ngalu had been a monk and a magician and was elaborately tattooed; when he was killed in 1888, nothing would satisfy the nearest Shan chief but to dig up the body and boil it down into a concoction which he persisted in wanting to share with the English Chief Commissioner so that they both might become invincible. Burmese and Shan legends are full of stories about eating corpses to obtain magical powers such as flying. Similarly in 1907 Uya I, a Burmese wizard doctor, was convicted at Hantawaddy Sessions for a shocking act of murder and cannibalism—*mulierem gravidam occidit, fuerumque utero exsecuit coxit, deuorauit*; and while I was at Bassein in 1914 a Burman was tried and convicted for disinterring a corpse in the town cemetery, apparently with the same object.

The burial of Byatwi's body round Thaton walls is based on the same reasoning as the *myosade* (p. 320). In the Norse Saga, Ragnar Lodbrog's son, dying in Northumbria, was buried at his own wish where his realm was most exposed to attack, nor could William the Conqueror 1066-87 penetrate the frontier until he had dug up the body and burnt it to ashes. A century ago the Burma-China frontier was fixed at Kenglaw between Kengtung and Kenghung by burying two men alive, one facing north the other facing south; in British times two images of Buddha, placed back to back, were substituted. Perhaps Anawrahta's magical images of men left "in the Indian land of Bengal" were set there with a similar idea, although they were musicians, not armed men, and his frontier did not extend as far (*Hmannan* I. 272). See *Encycl. Relig. and Ethics* s.vv. "Burma" and "Foundation, Foundation-Rites."

**Burmese Irrigation.**<sup>1</sup>—Population in Kyaukse was maintained by fresh batches of prisoners of war. In early times the method of keeping them there was to make them responsible for the upkeep of a pagoda and bind them to attend two festivals a year. After the first quarter of the seventeenth century the method was to allot prisoners of war to a unit of the army, at the same time giving them land in Kyaukse. To be a canal tenant was not serfdom but an honour (p. 347).

The area irrigated was rather more than 100,000 acres at the end of native rule. It was administered directly under the Crown by two governors, one for the Zawgyi and one for the Panlaung. At each weir was a *sebin* village whose inhabitants had to keep constant watch on the weir and were exempt from all other duties and from *thathameda* (household tax); they formed a hereditary profession and were employed on

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 25, 58.

construction of weirs, repair of breaches, etc. Some are still employed. This system of *sebin* villages was peculiar to Kyaukse among irrigated districts.

Until within living memory revenue was usually in kind and was sometimes farmed. For two years running, 1869-70, the king required twenty lakhs (two million bushels) of paddy, much of which was stored as a famine precaution. In 1883 the revenue was farmed for Rs. 400,000 and in 1885 for Rs. 500,000, the real value of which was more than the present settlement Rs. 800,000; indeed it was crushing, see *Stewart* "Kyaukse Settlement Report" ch. V.

The grain boats went down the *Zawgyi* to the *Myitnge* river, then into *Irrawaddy*, and so to wherever the capital was. The chronicles usually refer to the canal area by the name *Yehlwengahkayaing*, "the Five Sluices." The principal additions after *Anawrahta's* time were *Kyaukse* weir by king *Narapatisithu* 1173-1210, *Thindwe* by *Athinkkaya* the Shan chief of *Myinsaing* in 1300, *Zidaw* by *Minkyiswasawke* chief of *Ava* 1368-1401, *Ngakyi* by *Moby* *Narapati* chief of *Ava* 1546-52, *Pinda* and *Htongyi* by king *Mindon* 1853-78. It looks as if the Pagan dynasty diverted the *Zawgyi* river; it now flows north but there are traces of an old bed as if it originally ran west from the great *Yehlwe*. The canal system is fathered on *Anawrahta*, but doubtless he found works already in existence.

Other Burmese irrigation works, with the acreage nominally irrigated in Burmese times, are as follows. Save at *Kyaukse* and in *Meiktila* lake they were rarely in full working order.

*Meiktila district*: *Meiktila* lake, 15,000, dating from an unknown period, as *Anawrahta* only repaired it. *Nyaungyan-Minhl* lakes, 18,000, reconstructed by king *Mindon* 1853-78.

*Yamethin district*: *Kyaukse* lake, 5,000, apparently prehistoric. *Yamethin* lake or *Kyinkan*, 5,000.

*Mandalay district*: *Shwetachaung* canal 20,000. *Shwelaung* canal, 20,000, constructed by *Mindon* and abandoned five years later. *Nanda* and *Maungmagan* lakes by king *Alaungsithu* 1112-67; *Aungbinle* and *Tamokso* lakes by his son *Minshinzaw*, all four now extinct.

*Shwebo district*: the *Mu* canals, the most ambitious and least successful of all, dating from king *Narapatisithu* 1173-1210. If successful they could have commanded 300,000 acres but it is doubtful if they ever supplied 30,000. *Alaungpaya* 1752-60 repaired them and constructed the *Mahananda* lake to supply *Shwebo* with water.

*Minbu district*: *Man* 15,000 and *Salin* 20,000. The origin of these canals is prehistoric and they originated with the people, not with the king.

The Burmese worked without scientific formulae, relying on trial and error. It was a most expensive method, and it would have been impossible but for the large reserves of forced labour which the king could command. Maintenance was terribly burdensome as construction relied largely on palm trees and jungle wood which did not last three years, and owing to defective methods serious breaches were the rule. If a construction failed, it was tried again two or three times, and if it still failed it was abandoned on the ground that the gods were

against it. Thus, the Mon system in Minbu district always failed; when the English built it a decade ago many men refused to apply for land, saying that king Narapatisithu 1173-1210 himself had failed there, Thagyamin, the King of the Spirits, was clearly against the project, it could never succeed, it was flying in the face of providence, etc. etc. Yet after these deductions are made, the fact remains that Burmese irrigation works are a monument to the skill and energy of the race. The best stonework is good, and the alignment is extraordinarily fine. The cultivator has a good eye for levels; he has seen the land under rain year by year, and can tell to a nicety which way water will run off. English irrigation officers have seldom been able to better the main alignment of any Burmese canal system. They have straightened channels and cut off bends which were unavoidable to builders who did not use falls, but they have not bettered the sites as a whole, and they now admit that the Burmese site of the Mu canal would have given a better alignment than the one now utilised. See *Stuart* "Old Burmese irrigation works," *JBR* 1921 Stewart "Burmese irrigation: a sidelight on Burmese history."

*Myosade*<sup>1</sup> is the Burmese name for a human victim buried alive under the foundations of a great building in order to provide a guardian spirit. The idea occurs in one form or another all the world over (see *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics* s.v. "Bridge" and "Foundation, Foundation-Rites"). Thus, Hiel laid the foundation of Jericho in his firstborn and set up the gates thereof in his youngest son (1 Kings XVI 34). Men were buried under the round towers of prehistoric Ireland. In the Merlin legend, Vortigern, the fifth century British tribal chief, needs the life-blood of a boy to secure the foundations of his new castle. The custom passed over into Christian times, for in 563 when St. Columba built Iona, St. Oran offered himself and was buried at the foundation; later, human lives were spared and substitutes were used. When the keep of the Tower of London was built in 1078, the mortar was tempered with the blood of beasts.

In backward countries the full custom survived. In seventeenth-century Japan it was an honourable act for a slave to offer himself as a foundation; he would lie down in the trench and the great stones were then lowered. In 1634 the king of Siam renewed seventeen gates of Ayuthia, two victims were required for each of the two posts of each gate, and sixty-eight pregnant women were therefore chosen; but owing to peculiar omens an exception was made and only four actually suffered (*JSS* 1910 Ravenswaay "Translation of Van Vliet's description of Siam" 19). In the Balkans the instinct for human victims survives but is inhibited by modern government. In Turkey in 1865 two soldiers had to be prevented from burying children in the foundations of a blockhouse.

These recent instances, in countries not less civilised, render less surprising the survival of the custom in Burma at a late date. Although tradition says the custom was observed at the foundation of every city,

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 25, 41.

the chronicles seldom mention it. The chroniclers may have taken it for granted, and being monks they would tend to slur over a pagan survival. The Manu Kye *dhammatha* lawbook (p. 238 above) rules that no debt can be demanded when human victims are being buried at the corners of the capital. *Razadarit Ayedawpon*, recording the foundation of Martaban in 1287, says that a pregnant woman was crushed under the gate post at the correct astrological moment. An eye-witness told Dr. Mason that when Tavoy was rebuilt after 1751, a criminal was put in the post hole of each gate (*Mason* 106). *Hmannan* III. 303 records without comment the burying of *myosade* in the Wunbe In palace at Ava in 1676; had the custom been obsolete and revolting in 1829, when the compilers wrote, they would have added a word of palliation—and there are no grounds for supposing Burmese civilisation in their day to be any different from what it had been in 1676. The memory is still vivid in backward areas—in 191, the *myosa* of Mông Küng, Southern Shan States, tried a villager for murdering a monastery servant; the villager pleaded that he had been driven to it as the monastery servant had threatened to have him offered to the Bridge Spirit.

King Mindon 1853-78 was a truthful old gentleman but he had a way of considering himself entitled to deny a thing merely because he had shut his eyes to it. He used to say that he never had a man executed; it is true that he hated the death sentence, but he used to say "Take him away. Let me never see his face again," and everyone knew what followed those words. He told the Chief Commissioner of British Burma that the *myosade* custom had not been followed at the foundation of Mandalay in 1857 (*Fytche* I. 251). But he used to offer fruit and flowers in the palace to a *myosade* spirit (*GUB* I. ii. 35). Dr. Bastian, who was at Mandalay in 1860, wrote "The king was opposed to the gruesome ceremony, but the ministers saw that it was carried out in accordance with ancient custom" (*Bastian* II. 91). The conscience of decent people hated the rite, but it does not follow that it was not carried out without the king's express sanction, in hole and corner fashion at night.

**List of Captives.**<sup>1</sup>—When discussing the antiquity of some particular craft, the pundits often appeal to *Hmannan* I. 251 which gives a detailed list of the various types of craftsmen carried away from Thaton by Anawrahta. Unfortunately this list has the air of meticulous exactitude which one associates with complete fiction, and it bears a family resemblance to similar lists which the chroniclers cannot resist introducing whenever a capital is enslaved—e.g. Chiengmai 1558 (*Hmannan* II. 339), Ayuthia 1563 (*Hmannan* II. 376), Pegu 1757 (*Konbaungset* 261), Ayuthia 1767 (*Konbaungset* 420). The Thaton list, in *Hmannan* compiled in 1829, can have no validity *per se* for what happened in 1057; and its value can be gauged from the fact that it includes makers of cannon and muskets among the craftsmen carried off by Anawrahta. <sup>1</sup> See note "Firearms" p. 340.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 28, 166, 168, 235, 253, 268.



**Cholas in the Delta.**<sup>1</sup>—*Forchammer* "Jardine Prize" 22 thinks that Anawrahta's objective may have been the Tamil colonies rather than the Talaings, and *Stewart* "Pegu Gazetteer" 21 writes as if Anawrahta foresaw a Chola invasion of Burm. and forestalled it by conquering the Delta. But the nineteenth century revealed how little the Burmese knew about neighbouring countries even under Bodawpaya, a more powerful monarch than Anawrahta. Nor is there anything to show that the Cholas ever contemplated invading even Lower Burma, let alone the interior; they found all the field they wanted in Malaya, Java and Sumatra. The theory rests on the obsolete surmise that Kidaram, one of the Chola conquests, is identical with Pegu; Mr Taw Sein Ko, after accepting this identification, continues, categorically, with reference to two stone posts at Pegu, about which there is no record, "Rajendra Chola I . . . in order to commemorate his conquest . . . erected these Pillars of Victory, in accordance with a well-known Indian custom" (*RSASL* 1907 19, 1910 14, 1919 24). But *BEFEO* 1918 Cœdès "Le royaume de Çrivijaya" shows conclusively that Kidaram is Kedah in the Malay states. Had there been a Chola ruler in the Delta, the Burmese chronicles would surely mention him as vanquished in Anawrahta's 1057 campaign or Kyanzittha's expedition.

There remains the undoubted presence of a Chola "prince" in Burma (p. 42). But he may not have been a prince—cf. Alaungpaya's "embassy from the king of London town, England," and Bodawpaya's Chinese "princesses" (pp. 280, 291, 362). There is nothing to show that he was ruling anywhere in Burma; he may have been passing through on some mission further east.

**Pong and Koshanpye.**<sup>2</sup>—*Dalrymple* II. 477-82 gives a note dated 1763 on a hilly country, apparently south-east of Assam and north-west of Burma, called Poong. The map at the end of *Trant*, published 1827, shows Bong as an area at 96° east, 26° north. *Pemberton* 108-46 shortly before 1835 visited Manipur and found there a Shan MS., which his interpreters translated into Manipuri, giving the history of a mighty kingdom, which stretched between latitudes 27° and 22° north and was called Pong.

Ever since then people have wondered what the kingdom of Pong was, and have inclined to regard it as an ancient Shan empire. *Parker* "Burma, relations with China" 23 identifies it as part of Nanchao (Yunnan). *GUB* I. i. 190 follows him. *BEFEO* 1904 Pelliot "Deux itinéraires" 160 shows that the identification is inadmissible; see also *Hodson* 114. *Pemberton* says the Burmese called it not Pong but Mogaung.

The empire is simply the state of Mogaung; Pong is the same word as Maw, and the people were the Maw Shans. At one time or another they wandered across quite an extensive area between the Brahmaputra and Salween rivers, but they did not occupy it all simultaneously, still less did they organise a kingdom. They extended sometimes along the Shweli river, sometimes over Mogaung and Mohnyin, sometimes over the upper Chindwin river and into Manipur. It is impossible to say in which of these areas they were when they paid homage to Anawrahta and gave him

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 28, 42.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 31, 165, 171, 258, 291.

a princess. In the Hmannan account of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they centre at Mogaung and Mohnyin, sometimes a single state, sometimes a joint state, sometimes two states. Its subject states, i.e. villages, in 1442 are enumerated at *Tun Nyein* 38.

Another fabulous empire is Koshanpye. Kawsampi, the classical name of an area in the Holy Land of Upper India, became one of the resounding titles of major Shan states (*Cochrane* I. 46, 67, and *GUB* I. i. 189). Burmese officials in the Shan states could not resist the similarity between Kawsampi and *ko shan pye*, "nine Shan countries," especially as the number nine is so popular—witness the nine *hkayaing* in Kyaukse, the ninety-nine *sawbwat*, and the year 999 beloved of village antiquaries. *Yule* "Mission" 292 enumerates the Koshanpye or Kopyedaung—the towns of Kaingm<sup>4</sup>, Maingmaw, Mowun, Latha, Hotha, Santa, and Mona, Mainglyin, Sigwin; the first six are shown on the map in his end flap. They lay north and east of Bhamo in what is now Yunnan. They were raided by Bayinnaung in 1562 (*Hmannan* II. 357) though the Chinese (*Parker* "Burma, relations with China" 69) give the chief Burmese raid as being in 1583; from this time Bhamo and the Koshanpye begin to fall under Burmese influence (p. 165) and in 1769 that influence became paramount (p. 258). After 1594 the Chinese maintained eight "Frontier Gates" or "Iron Gates" across the main routes; their position varied somewhat at times; the brick arches of three are still visible slightly east of the Myitkyina frontier, one of them with an opening above, for the purpose, say the Kachins, of spearing the war elephants of the Burmese; no iron door-leaves are traceable.

**The Guards.**<sup>1</sup>—Anawrahta must have had some sort of *ahmudan* or permanent troops on duty in the palace, such as can be seen in the Shan states to-day, but the first specific mention of a palace guard is *Hmannan* I. 323 which says Narapatisithu 1173-1210 formed "two companies inner and outer, and they kept watch in ranks one behind the other, for he knew with what ease he had slain his brother Naratheinhka." The Guard formed the nucleus round which the mass levy assembled in war time; it was the standing army. Under great kings it was naturally bigger than usual. *Hmannan* II. 258 gives a glowing description of how Bayinnaung 1551-81 marched to war surrounded by his Guards in golden helmets and splendid dresses, and doubtless it was a great sight although the gold was gilt, and order was conspicuous by its absence, for even in the nineteenth century, when they had some hireling European instructors, the Guards were not strong at drill; but when *Hmannan* II. 299 goes on to say that Bayinnaung had a guard of 40,000 marching round him, the number must be reduced by just one figure—a decimal—for the reasons given in "Numerical Note" p. 333. The energetic Alaungpaya dynasty was at least as powerful as Bayinnaung and its Guard was only a few thousand. *Symes* 318 who saw them in 1795 says there were always 700 on duty in the palace and not more than 2,000 all told in the city. *Havelock* 353 who saw them in the palace in 1826 says their full strength was 4,000—5,000

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 31, 57.

and they were "habited in the war jackets of dark glazed cloth so familiar to the English." *Gouger* 106 who lived in the capital and saw the army march out rejoicing against the English says "each man was attired in a comfortable campaigning jacket of black cloth, thickly wadded and quilted with cotton"—doubtless the same thing as is to be seen in the Shan states to-day, and not improbably it was used by Bayinnaung's men against the cold of the field.

The Guard was divided into four *win*, each of which resided in barracks outside the palace, one at each point of the compass. The commander of each was a *winmu*, a very great personage. The men were selected for trustworthiness and many of them were gentry (pp. 180, 347).

**Married his father's queen,**<sup>1</sup> a frequent occurrence among the kings of Indo-China. Kachins marry their stepmothers. In the same way Oidipous married his mother, and Ang.-Saxon kings of England married their stepmothers as a matter of course; as late as the eleventh century Knut married the elderly widow of Aelthred whom he had ousted. The reason was throughout the same: to marry the dowager strengthened a claimant's title. She was the queen bee, the great mother of the tribe. Sometimes she could sting, as in the case of the lady Shin Bo-me, of noble birth, who was queen to the following five chiefs of Ava in succession:—

1. Minhkaung 1401-22.

2. His son Thihathu 1422-6 whom she caused to be slain because he favoured another queen. As the court would not crown the slayer, and set up the slain king's nine-year-old son,

3. Minhlang 1426, she poisoned him and then set up her lover,

4. Kalekyetaungnyo 1426 who was driven out by

5. Mohnyinthado 1427-40 who finally mastered her, p. 97.

Burmese kings habitually married their half-sisters. The king's eldest daughter was kept unmarried in a *tabindaing-ein* (one post house) until he died; then she married his successor, *Shway Yoe* 442, 448; so, in Pali Jataka no. 454 (Ghata), princess Devagabbha is kept in a single round-tower, like Danae, because the Brahmans prophecy that a son born of her will overthrow the dynasty. Commoners among the Veddahs of Ceylon, many African tribes, and even the civilised Egyptians under the Ptolemies and the Romans, married their sisters. Royalty did so among the Incas of Peru, the Pharaohs and Ptolemies of Egypt, some of the ancient Persians (e.g. Kambuses), some tribes in Africa and the Dutch East Indies, and the Siamese until the present king objected. Zeus married Hera, Osiris Isis, and Abraham his sister Sarah (Genesis XX. 12 and cf. 2 Samuel XIII. 13). *Hmannan* II. 313 and III. 155 gives a reason—"From of old kings have always married their sisters so that the blood royal may be pure." Methold, writing in 1619 of Arakan, says "The king marrieth constantly his own sister, and giveth for reason the first men's practice in the infancy of the world, affirming that no religion can deny that Adam's sons married Adam's daughters" (*Purchas* 1005).

See *Fraser* "The Magic Art" II. 283, his "Adonis Attis Osiris" I.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 34, 38, 80, 81, 97, 104, 112.

316, *Westermarck* II. 90, *Yule* "Mission" 86, *JBR* 1911 Furnivall "Matriarchal vestiges in Burma."

**Coronation and Palace.**<sup>1</sup>—The ritual was Brahmanical not Buddhist, and it was in use all over the Hindu world. In the full Hindu ceremony there was an unction with oil; in Buddhist countries this and certain other features were dropped and the sacring lay in a baptism with water. Several vernacular MS. accounts of the Burmese rite exist and all are in substantial agreement. *First*, the king went in procession to the coronation pavilions of which there might be three, four or five; he was accompanied by the royal white horse and the white elephant, as was decreed from time immemorial and is mentioned in the Mahabharata; *second*, he seats himself on the throne; *third*, Brahmans hand him the five regalia (white umbrella, yaktail fan, crown, sword, sandals); *fourth*, eight noble maidens administer the holy water, solemnly adjuring him in set words to rule justly; *fifth*, the Brahmans raise the white umbrella above his head; *sixth*, the Brahmans in their turn administer the holy water and adjure him; *seventh*, the merchants do likewise; *eighth*, the king says aloud the words ascribed to Buddha at birth, "I am foremost in all the world! I am the most excellent in all the world! I am peerless in all the world!"; *ninth*, he makes invocation by pouring water from a golden ewer; *tenth*, he meditates on the Three Jewels. There was no oath. An Arakanese coronation is described in *JBR* 1917 San Shwe Bu "Coronation of king Datharaja A.D. 1153-65." A modern collection of royal paraphernalia is described at *JA* 1902 Temple "Notes on a collection of regalia of the kings of the Alompra dynasty."

As with the coronation, so with the palace city: there were few changes, for royalty is essentially conservative. Save that the Brahmanical details were probably further elaborated after the conquest of Manipur in the eighteenth century, the most recent coronation probably differed little from Kyanzitha's, and Mandalay, built in 1857, differs little from Pagan, save in being larger. The Burmese kingship, with its teak palace, claims to derive from north India; and the ancient palaces of north India in their turn owed much to Persia. Twenty-two centuries ago, when north India was Buddhist, even the greatest temples and the most gorgeous palaces were of wood; we catch glimpses of them in the writings of Greek and Chinese travellers—the palace at Patna with its halls of gilded pillars, the temple at Peshawar four hundred feet high, with thirteen timber storeys and glittering spire, enshrining the Buddha relics that now rest at Mandalay. The use of timber as building material seems to result in a style of its own, for the wooden churches of Norway are strangely reminiscent of Burmese monasteries and the temples of Nepal. It may well be that in the Mandalay palace to-day we behold the ghost of a vanished architecture, of Asoka's ancestral halls and Solomon's House of the Forest of Lebanon. See *ARAS* 1912-13 Spooner "Excavations at Pataliputra," *Fergusson* I. 51 and II. 369. *Epigraphia Birmanica* III i 1-68 gives the dedication ritual of an eleventh century Burmese palace.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 38.

**Primate.**<sup>1</sup>—A primate did not crown the king, for he was not a priest, and the coronation was Brahmanical. Indeed, the word primate is a misnomer because Burmese Buddhism has nothing which anyone acquainted with Historic Christianity would recognise as a hierarchy; he would regard Burmese clergy not so much as a church as an aggregation of individual ascetics. None the less, the king's chaplain had great power; his appointment is mentioned and his name is clear from the time of Anawrahta onward, save under the Shan chiefs of Ava in the fifteenth-sixteenth century.

Indeed we know that under the Alaungpaya dynasty he had, either as an individual *thathanabaing* or as a commission of eight, definite powers, appointing *gainggyok* as it were bishops throughout the realm, and having jurisdiction in cases under *Vinaya*, the rule governing the clergy, disputes about monasteries, gardens attached thereto, etc. He recommended learned monks for appointment as *sayadaw*, conducted the annual Patamabyan examination in scripture, and saw to monastic education. He was assisted by two departments appointed and paid by the king—the Wutmyewun (commissioner of ecclesiastical lands) and the Mahadanwun (ecclesiastical censor). The Wutmyewun saw to the maintenance of pagodas, pagoda slaves, monasteries, and church lands, and under a king like Bodawpaya (p. 276) he would see that those lands were not too extensive. The Mahadanwun with eight secretaries prepared, at the beginning of each Lent, a list of clergy throughout the realm according to districts, with their age, years of ordination, etc., and submitted it to the primate, under whose guidance he saw to the disciplining of disorderly clerics: they were made to wear a white robe, i.e. were unfrocked, and were then handed over to the secular arm. It is therefore permissible to style the *thathanabaing* primate. Doubtless some such organisation existed long before the Alaungpaya dynasty. The king in his own interests must always have made some effort to control the clergy, and defective as the organisation may have been, it really served to lessen the scandal of scamps putting on the yellow robe at option.

**Pateikkaya and Macchagiri.**<sup>2</sup>—*Phayre* "History" 38 takes Pateikkaya as part of Bengal; *Tun Nyein* 4, followed by *Gerini* 740, as Chittagong; Mr N. K. Bhattasali at *RSASB* 1923. 32 as a ruined site in Patikkara *parwana*, Tippera district. An inscription of the Pagan period (*Inscriptions* 1897 I. 296) places it west of Pagan. *Hmannan* I. 284 makes it the south-west frontier of the Pagan kingdom. But Arakanese records, e.g. *Do We*, seem to use the word as the name of a king "Pateikkaya king of Marawa." The location of Marawa is equally conjectural. *Do We*, in a variant of the Lady of Pateikkaya story (pp. 49-51 above), says she was captured by a king of Pagan while travelling at Thingadaung pass in the Yomadaung, i.e. in a hill country. *San Shwe Bu* thinks Thingadaung pass is north of Mount Victoria and Marawa to be Mawyin, the Kabaw valley; if so, Pateikkaya is near south Manipur.

*Inscriptions* 1897 I. 296, describing Anawrahta's borders, calls

<sup>1</sup> See p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 39, 49, 61.

Macchagiri "the tract crossing over to Pateikkaya." *Hmannan* I. 348-50 describing Yazathinkyan's campaign. (p. 62 above) says the Macchagiri ruler took position on Thet hill and awaited Yazathinkyan's onset. Thet town is Thayetmyo, for *Dinnyawaa*. *Yazawinthit* 126-7 describes how the Arakanese captured Minshinsaw, lord of Thet town, in 1333, and *Hmannan* I. 409 describing the same event calls him lord of Thayetmyo. Thet hill is thus some hill country west of Thayetmyo. An inscription (*Inscriptions* 1897 II. 836) dated 1096 shows that Macchagiri is in Arakan. It is unnecessary to suppose that it stretched as far as the sea-coast just because *Hmannan* I. 350 says Yazathinkyan died on reaching Dalla during the journey home; the details of the period are vague, and he may have been settling some Delta revolt when he was taken ill at Dalla.

**Thambula.**<sup>1</sup>—U-hsaukpan means an artificial flower of silver or gold used as a hair ornament. Other queens held the title—one a queen of Sawlu, one of Alaungsithu, and one of Narapatisithu (see *Hmannan*). Its Pali equivalent, *Vatamsaka*, forms part of the title given to Thambula in the Myazedi inscription, *Trilokavatamsaka* "Adornment of the Three Worlds," as who should say Rosa Mundi.

The story of her son is from *Hmannan* I. 269-86. In Pali Jataka no. 7 (Kattahari), Brahmadatta, king of Benares, while roaming in his pleasure for fruit and flowers found a girl singing merrily as she picked up sticks. He gave her his ring, saying "If thy child be a girl, spend this ring on her nurture; but if it be a boy, bring ring and child to me." When her son could walk, she took him to the palace gate and was summoned to the presence. The king took the boy in his arms, acknowledged him heir, and made the mother queen consort. See also Pali Jataka no. 487 (Uddalaka).

In the Mahabharata, king Dushyakanta while hunting in the forest met Sakuntala, the ward of a hermit, and left her a ring. Later she came to his palace with her son Bharata; he acknowledged Bharata heir to the throne and made her chief queen. The same story forms the subject of Kalidasa's drama "The Lost Ring," written in the third century.

**Ancestor Worship.**<sup>2</sup>—Much of religion originates in the worship of the dead. In Burma it is clearest among wild tribes such as the Hpon, Miaotzu and Lisaw; but most of the Thirty-Seven Nats are deified heroes—e.g. king Tabinshwehti 1531-50. As part of the system of government it occurs in Melanesia, China and Japan, and formerly among the Romans and all Teutonic races—e.g. the ancestral images at Rome, and the early English kings who were all descended from the god Woden. In China the imperial ancestors were worshipped with tablets and not, as in Burma, with images. See *Hmannan* I. 305, *Ridgeway* 233, *Encycl. Religion and Ethics* s.vv. "Ancestor worship," "Communion with the dead," "Images and idols."

When the Alaungpaya dynasty fell in 1885 there were in the palace a set of images and a book of odes to be chanted before them according

<sup>1</sup> See p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 46.

to a prescribed ritual. The images were of solid gold, each stamped with its weight and with the name of the personage represented. The number is variously stated at 13 to 17, and the height varied from six inches to two feet. Only the Alaungpaya dynasty was represented. The rule was to make an image of a king at his death, if he died on the throne, and of a queen if she died while her husband was on the throne, but not of a king who died after deposition or of a queen who survived her husband; the sword, spear, betel-box, etc. used by the dead personage was preserved along with his image. They were kept in the palace treasury and were produced in the Zetawunzaung (Hall of the Ancestors) thrice a year, on the eve of the three great Homage Days (New Year, beginning of Lent, end of Lent), for the king and queen to reverence before themselves receiving reverence from the court and vassals. Eleven images came into the hands of the English Prize Court, which sent them to the Superintendent, Governor's Estates, Bengal, and as there was nobody to take any interest in them they were ultimately melted down.

**Cingalese raid 1180.**<sup>1</sup>—As the Burmese chronicles do not mention these events, there is no check on the Cingalese version, Mahavamsa LXXVI. 10-75, and it may be accepted as substantially correct. Mahavamsa says that the envoys were imprisoned in Malaya or the hili country—the meaning is ambiguous; see *RSASB* 1920 19. It goes on to say that the invaders fought many fierce battles, slaying thousands: like furious elephants they destroyed groves of coconut trees, they devastated half the kingdom, killed the king of Burma, and rode in triumph round his city on his white elephant proclaiming the supreme authority of their own king, till the Burmese all trembled and begged pardon, sending yearly tribute of elephants. In the same way the Burmese chronicles describe mighty wars causing all the kings of the earth to tremble before the might, majesty, dominion and power of the king of Burma. Mahavamsa does not explain how a few little mediæval ships could transport enough men to ravage half Burma and fight many fierce battles. The invasion was of course a raid, and probably over before news of it reached Pagan. The mention of an export trade in elephants to Ceylon is curious seeing that Ceylon had plenty of elephants in her own jungles.

**Tula-dana.**<sup>2</sup>—Hindu rajas practised the rite, and Moghul Emperors, even the orthodox Aurangzib, followed them. The Great Moghul was weighed every birthday twelve times over, once against each of twelve commodities such as gold, quicksilver and silk down to grain and salt, and he gave away as many cattle as there were years in his life. To this day the raja of Travancore passes through a golden cow which is then broken up and distributed to Brahmans, and the cow must be of his own weight. The underlying idea is that under the symbol of the image the donor gives himself up, body and soul, to good works. See *Crooke* I. 206, III. 194.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 57, 63, 114, 119, 166, 172, 195, 260.

<sup>1</sup>The Whitlow.<sup>1</sup>—This version is from *Hmannan* I. 322. In the Ramayana, king Dasaratha, wounded in battle, is sleeplessly nursed by his second queen Kaikeyi; in response to her importunities he appoints her son heir over the head of the first queen's son. A Bengali version says he had an eruption on his finger, and Kaikeyi sucked it.

In *Zinattapakathani-kyan* 261, a life of Buddha with jataka tales, king Okkakarit has a whitlow on his finger; a lesser queen sucks and swallows it and in response to her importunities he makes her son heir over the head of senior sons. The episode is popular with Burmese actors and is often to be seen on the village stage under varying names.

<sup>2</sup>Hluttaw and kingship.<sup>2</sup>—For the Hluttaw, see *Pagan Yazawinthit*, *Hmannan* I. 333, *Konbaungset* 1641, *Shwebonnidan* 55, *Symes*, *Yule* "Mission," *Fytche* I. 239, *Nisbet* . 176, *Shway Yoe* 506, *GUB* I. ii. 156 and 469, *Taw Sein Ko* "Selections from records of the Hluttaw." What it was in earlier times we do not know, but it was probably much the same as under the Alaungpaya dynasty 1752-1885. It was then distinct from the *atwinwuns* (His Majesty's personal secretaries), being the supreme court of the realm in all causes, executive and judicial, for they were not divided; it was composed of the principal ministers, presided over by a senior prince, sometimes the *yuvārāja* (crown prince); they could require His Majesty's personal attendance and an empty throne was always ready in the council chamber. He was expected not to override their collective decisions. Furthermore, following the practice of every business establishment, the king did not ordinarily recall an order he disliked, once it had issued; instead, he reprimanded the ministers or removed them if they continued to pass unsuitable orders without reference. Thus, save under an energetic king, the Hluttaw Council was the real ruler of the country. But it never acquired the independence and security of even a tsardom's cabinet, and being appointed not from below but from above, consisting entirely of the king's nominees, it could not develop even the germ of a responsible constitution. To the end of native rule, the Hluttaw was liable without a moment's notice to be flung into jail for a night or two, while its office remained closed, merely because the king was displeased for some trivial reason (*Cox* 311, *Crawford* I. 303, 497).

The largest unit the Burmese could systematise was the village community. Beyond that they failed to build, and so the higher structure of central government inevitably fell into the form of despotism, which is anarchy, the negation of system. They did not indeed regard the king as a law unto himself, and he was not absolute in the sense in which the *turannos* was absolute. The Ten Moral Precepts for Princes to which he was expected to conform might be nothing more than pious platitudes, but he really was bound by immemorial custom and religious awe. Of legislation, as western states understand it, there was none. The king never issued a command which jurists would recognise as a law. The rules which regulated the daily life of the people were derived not from legislation but from anonymous custom, and these rules were administered by the village

<sup>1</sup> See p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 59.



elders nor did the king consider himself empowered to alter them. Still, he took his seat unconditionally, for there were no charters, no coronation oaths such as every feudal king took. The coronation ceremony did indeed prescribe ritual forms exhorting the king to rule justly, but these were pious exhortations, not binding oaths. No doubt he usually strove to win the respect of those around him, and to conciliate public opinion so far as it existed or could reach his ears. Ancient legends, in Burma as in most other countries, even the most savage, tell how the first king on earth, Mahathamada, was an elective king; and in historic times there are on record several occasions when the court chose a king (pp. 36, 61, 81, 108, 117, 161, 192, 198). Such incidents, however, emanate from no constitutional requirement but from the fact, recognised in the most despotically governed countries, that the ultimate source of authority all the world over is the people. Throughout Burmese history there was no check on her king save his own conscience and the fear of rebellion.

**The Temples and their Builders.**<sup>1</sup>—The religious buildings at Pagan are copiously illustrated in *Scott O'Connor* and are described in *Yule* "Mission," *Fergusson*, Luce "The greater temples of Pagan," in *JBR* 1918; and Sinclair "Monasteries of Pagan," Luce "The smaller temples of Pagan," Mg Mya "Monasteries of Pagan, a review" in *JBR* 1920. Sinclair thinks that the flame-like ornamentation of Burmese architecture derives from the leaves of the palm trees whose stems were presumably the medium in which the Burmese originally worked. But similar ornamentation exists on the roofs of timber churches in Norway, where palm trees do not exist; it seems to be the natural concomitant of timber architecture. So far as the pattern was consciously intended in Indo-China to represent anything, it represented, as Mg Mya points out, a dragon, for the earliest examples, dating from the eighth century and found elsewhere in Indo-China, deliberately portray a dragon.

The radiating arch, at that time rare in India and unknown in Further India, is common in the temples of Pagan. Mr Taw Sein Ko at *PSASB* 1917 33 says that it was introduced from China, as it was unknown in India before the Mahomedan conquest in the twelfth century. But there is nothing to show that China had any perceptible influence on Burmese architecture. Mr Taw Sein Ko does not mention the standard authorities—*Cunningham and Beglar* 186-7 and plate XVII., *Vincent Smith* "History of fine art in India and Ceylon" 13 footnote, *Havell* "Indian architecture" 53-6 and his "Ancient and mediæval architecture of India" 3, 100—which show that the arch was well known in India long before the twelfth century and before the temples of Pagan were built. Presumably it came to Pagan from India, for everything points to Burmese temples being built by Indian architects. Temples of similar type, though without the arch, are found in Sumatra where Hindus of Madras had their great colonies. The Ananda temple was built in 1090 on an Indian model (*Hmannan* I. 288); in the same way English officers in 1826 found the king employing a Madras architect (*Crawford* I. 279).

<sup>1</sup> See p. 59.

The visitor to Pagan is first struck by the extreme solidity of the temples which are mountains of brickwork with scarcely an opening. The cathedrals of the West were built round the ritual of the Mass. Their architects had to produce halls which would not only be stable but also would possess the maximum of interior visibility. The cathedral was too vast, the worshippers too multitudinous, for any but a few to hear the words of the great incantation. Hence the high altar had to be visible from every part of the building, so that men could at least see the elevation of the Host. In their struggle to achieve this, the Masonic Guilds developed intellectual powers which still move us to admiration when we realise the structural difficulties they had to face. But Burmese Buddhism has no priest, no sacrifice, no ritual; hence the architect is under no obligation to give us any interiors at all; in the ordinary pagoda he has none, and such as he gives us at Pagan are acts of grace.

None of the temples at Pagan took more than a few years to build, and some were finished in six months. The Gothic cathedrals took generations, and the hand that laid the first stone had fallen to dust before the spire was raised. The temples of Pagan were each designed by an architect or a small group which imposed its will on mere executants. The Gothic cathedrals are anonymous; they were built not by great heroes of art but by guilds of craftsmen; each member was free to use his imagination and to impress his personality on his own little gargoyle or window-tracery. No one individual knew all that others were doing, but each laboured in his place; even the architect had only a rough idea of what the building would be. The master who drew the first outline passed away, and with him died his concept; other leaders grew up, laboured, and died each in his turn. Yet the completed work has unity, for it expressed the collective spirit of the age. The Gothic cathedrals are the work of the seething democracy of the mediæval cities. The temples of Pagan symbolise the might of a great despotism, and they were built by the forced labour of villagers torn in thousands from their husbandry.

Yet though they grumbled the people would not have had it otherwise. The dynasty appealed to their imagination, and the age they lived in was an age of religious enthusiasm. Consider this inscription:—

“In the month Wazo 541 B.E. [A.D. 1179] Abinandathu, a court official, regilded the Tainggyut pagoda, set a golden spire on it, built a new offering-platform nearby, regilded the statues of [the chief Disciples] Sariputto and Moggalano . . . and fed and clothed many monks. Then he offered himself, his wife, and his two sons as slaves to the pagoda. Also he offered Nga Kyan Gaung, Nga Kywin, Nga Letkana, Nga Swa, Nga Lu Nge, making nine slaves in all. Moreover he offered five acres of rice-fields called Tanaunggyi in order that their produce might be used for rice-offering at the pagoda. By virtue of this my meritorious deed, may I and my pastors, masters, friends and kinsmen, escape the miseries of life in this world and the next, and at last attain Nirvana, and may I become a Buddha.” (Inscription from the porch of the Tainggyut temple, now in the Museum, Pagan, *Inscriptions* 1892 139.)

There is nothing to show that this self-offering was involuntary. At a period when a lord could outcaste himself for religion's sake, it is not surprising to find a whole people swarming forth to build pagodas, so that their ruins at Pagan to-day are spread over sixteen square miles and number nearly a thousand. Indeed it is hard to look at the detail there without being driven to the conclusion that this was a labour of love. There are whole furlongs of wall as at the Dammayan temple, in which the outer bricks, without cement, are joined so finely that scarce a knife blade can be inserted.

Moreover, it is incorrect to regard the government as an undiluted despotism. It was that, and nothing more, at the capital and its environs. But the king's arm was never very long or strong. What with great distances, tropical heat and rain, and the entire absence of roads, he had in practice to leave the greater part of his realm to its own devices. Far away in the quiet countryside dwelt the mass of the people, a homely folk who were ruled by their elders and headmen. They had their songs and gladness, their household cares and village fêtes, they neither knew nor cared what happened at court. The bigger headmen were not so very different from lords of the manor in mediæval England with its communal fields. In villages near the capital, where they intrigued at the palace and had the royal power to back them, local magnates could treat their subjects as they liked. But in the remoter regions, they had to mete out reasonable justice to folk among whom they were born and lived and died. The village in Burma had indeed no assembly of the freemen such as existed among the Anglo-Saxon tribes, nor did it send representatives to some *Witenagemot* or king's council; yet, as in many another mediæval country, it was to a very real degree a democracy, and the elders of the common people had a say in public matters.

The latent instinct for freedom comes out in their choice of popular heroes. It is not the great kings but the humble victims of their tyranny, who are enthroned in the affections of the people. Anawrahta is the greatest figure in the story of their kings; none worship at his shrine, yet they offer flowers daily to the Shan girl he did to death at the Kyaukse weirs. The king of Tagaung is forgotten, but Nga Tin De, and the sister who flung aside her state to die with him, are remembered.

The fact that a large proportion of the population were slaves is not incompatible with this. Slavery has been the normal lot of the mass of humanity throughout the historic period, and Burma is one of the countries where the institution was comparatively mild. Setting aside officials and men of birth, most of the people were probably serfs; it was only on crown slaves and pagoda outcastes that slavery pressed hard. Even pagoda outcastes could be happy enough when, as in the case of the greater pagodas, they were sufficiently numerous to form large villages of their own; they were usually prisoners of war. Consider these two inscriptions:—

“On Friday the 8th waxing of the month Thadingyut 560 B.E. [A.D. 1198] when placing the finial, king Narapatisithu gave away a thousand robes for monks, a thousand slaves of whom five hundred were Burmese and five hundred were Indian, five hundred acres and

five hundred cattle." (Ink inscription on the wall of the Dammayazika pagoda, Pagan, *Inscriptions* 1900 330.)

"In 656 B.E. [A.D. 1294] when dedicating a *pyathat* the minister Indapissiya dedicated four hundred Indian slaves, of whom one hundred were men and three hundred were women." (*Inscriptions* 1892 123.)

Indians were usually captured in Arakan and the north-west. There are a number of such inscriptions; they indicate the presence of numerous foreign captives who, as often as not, instead of being dedicated to pagodas, were employed as servants and became merged in the general population; and they help to explode the modern idea that the Burmese were once a pure race but are now losing their identity beneath a flood of alien immigration. Not only had the Burmese received colonists from India in olden times, but ever since, right through the middle ages, they have been mingling with foreign races; and so far from losing their identity, it is they who have absorbed the immigrants and caused them to lose their identity (p. 121).

**Numerical Note.**<sup>1</sup>—Experience, culminating in the Great War, shows that even an organised state is lucky to get 10 per cent of its population under arms. *Crawford* II. ch. vii shows by several cross-checks that in 1824 the population of Burma with its tributaries was under four million. He is confirmed by the registers of Bodawpaya's 1784 Revenue Inquest which, revised for 1826, show the population, excluding the "wild tribes," to be 1,831,467 (*JASBengal* 1835 180); to this may be added some 170,000, the population of Arakan and Tenasserim (*Fytche* II. 288), which in 1826 had passed into British possession, so that the total would be 2,001,467; hence including the tributaries it may conceivably have approached three million or a dozen to the square mile, nearly a quarter of the population in 1923. It is notorious that under mediæval conditions population tends to be stationary; thus the population of England remained at 2½ million from William the Conqueror to Elizabeth. The figure for Burma after the Shan influx of the thirteenth and succeeding centuries may therefore be left at nearly three million.

Until 1785 Bayinnaung was the only king to hold the whole area or its equivalent. Ten per cent gives him a mass levy of 300,000; but so high a figure is improbable: he had no transport and could not have fed them. At Ngasaunggyan in 1277 the Burmese had 60,000, says Marco Polo (*Yule* "Book of Ser Marco Polo" II. 99), between 40,000 and 60,000 says the Chinese official despatch (*BEFEO* 1909 Huber "Fin de la dynastie de Pagan" 667); both these are doubtless eye-estimates and err on the side of generosity as the Chinese would not wish to diminish their glory in defeating superior numbers. Captain Baker in 1755 spent weeks in observation and says that Alaungpaya's levies in Upper and Lower Burma put together could not exceed 50,000 men though the Burmese put it at more than twice that (*Dalrymple* I. 166). *Sonnerat*

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 63, 82, 164, 179, 181.

(1782) II. 41 says Alaungpaya's army which invaded Siam in 1759 was 40,000. Mahabandula never had more than 60,000, a number which was spoken of with bated breath as the largest army ever raised in Burma (Snodgrass 94). These independent estimates by trained officers show that even under the Alaungpaya dynasty, which had greater driving power than any of its predecessors save perhaps Bayinnaung, the country could not put more than 60,000 into the field.

A cross check gives a similar figure for Bayinnaung. *Hmannan* III. 87-8 says that in 1586-7 his son Nandabayin besieged Ayuthia with 250,000 men but could not surround it and supplies kept going in. That is to say, he cannot have had over 25,000, which would be ample to seal it against any supplies. Now if Nandabayin's 250,000 be really under 25,000, Bayinnaung's 700,000 will be really 70,000.

*Hmannan* II. 422 gives various estimates of the number of men Bayinnaung led into Siam 1568-9, varying up to a million. Cæsar Frederick (*Hakluyt* X. 111) says he saw 500,000 march under his own eyes, and Ralph Fitch (*Hakluyt* X. 189) says he was there when 300,000 left Pegu. These estimates are obviously bazaar rumour. In the same way, the million armies mentioned in Burma by the Portuguese chroniclers are swashbucklers' yarns. The danger of judging by the eye is shown by Gasparo Balbi (p. 179 above); he says he saw 4,000 burnt alive; but *Hmannan* III. 78 says "more than 30 ministers" were burnt; according to custom their families and followers would burn with them, and as they were great personages with, say, 15 dependents each, the total would be about 450; it was a terrible sight, that flaming shrieking mass, and the spectators said "Poor things, hundreds and thousands of them."

Take the following analysis of typical Burmese statements. *Hmannan* frequently describes how, in the mediæval period, the Burmese armies invading the Pegu state or fighting the Shan *sawdwas* would consist of over a hundred thousand men, and the other side would have a similar number; yet at the end of a day's heroic fighting the casualties number 200 dead; possibly the number of dead is correctly stated, and the levies on each side may have numbered several thousand. *Hmannan* I. 293 says the Ceylon king gave Alaungsithu 1112-67 a ship holding 800,000 people. *Hmannan* I. 357-8 says that at Ngasaunggyan 1277 six million Chinese overwhelmed 400,000 Burmans (p. 65 above), but the Chinese had only 12,000 and *Hmannan* does not explain why, if Narathihapate had 36,000,000 soldiers as stated in his Mingalazedi inscription (p. 63 above) which was well known to the compilers, he used only 400,000 when he was fighting for his existence. The Burmese boast (*Tun Nyein* 146) that in 1300 they gloriously defeated 120,000 Chinese; but they did not defeat them, they bribed them to withdraw (p. 77 above), and the Chinese were exactly one-tenth of this number, being 12,000 men, see the Chinese official sanction (*BEFEO* 1909 Huber "Fir de la dynastie de Pagan" 676).

*Hmannan* II. 187 says that in 1492 when the Talaings with 100 elephants and 160,000 men were besieging the Toungoo Burmans in

Dway: wadi, they were routed by Minkyinyo marching out of the south gate with 30 elephants and 10,000 men and Sithukyawhtin marching out of the west gate with 80 elephants and 10,000 men; *Hmannan* does not explain what enabled 20,000 men to defeat eight times their number of troops who were of much the same quality as themselves and were undemoralised by any defeat; nor how a small town could contain, in addition to its own inhabitants, 110 elephants and 20,000 fighting men (to say nothing of such followers as even a Burmese army must have had) who were not trained compact infantry but straggling irregulars; nor how 110 ponderous elephants and 20,000 men could file out of two narrow gates in the face of 160,000 troops waiting outside to catch them. *Hmannan* II. 204 says that just before the fight at Naung-yo 1538, Bayinnaung, wishing to ascertain the enemy's number, sent a soldier up a tree to look at them. The soldier climbed the tree and said "There are over 200 elephants, over 800 horses, and some 80,000 men"; as if 80,000 irregulars scattered about in jungle camps could even be seen simultaneously. *Hmannan* II. 210-5 says Bayinnaung besieged Martaban in 1541 with 180,000 men yet could not prevent supplies from entering the city; in other words, he had not sufficient men to surround it adequately; but even 18,000 could surround it tightly with the greatest ease. *Hmannan* II. 227 says that in 1543 Tabinshehti was besieging Prome with over 180,000 men; that it was a small town with few supplies and many useless mouths inside, such as old women and young persons; yet that in spite of a complete blockade, when at the end of five months a relieving army of Arakanese approached, it was still holding out; obviously therefore, on considerations of food alone, the garrison could not have exceeded a few thousand and could easily have been contained by the tiniest fraction of the 180,000 besiegers who were still practically intact; and the bulk of the 180,000 could have left the siege without any anxiety, to deal with the Arakanese; yet *Hmannan* proceeds to reduce its own figures to absurdity by describing a long council of war held by the officers of the besieging army to decide whether they could afford to detach a force against the Arakanese. *Hmannan* II. 332 asks us to believe that Bayinnaung, whose ability it never tires of extolling, found it necessary to use 400,000 men to beat a few petty chiefs — Mone, Yawnghwe, Lawksawk, Naungmun, Saga. *Hmannan* III. 84-5 says that the Burmese army which attacked Siam in 1586 was 120,000; but it gives details which total 180,000; a mere 33 per cent difference, a trifle of 60,000 is nothing to the chroniclers.

The inscription on Anaukpetlun's bell (p. 191) says its weight is 8254 *viss*, whereas the actual weight is approximately 825 *viss*. In an engagement in 1824 where they repulsed the English so that, remaining in possession of the ground and of the enemy bodies left there, they were in the best possible position to estimate the casualties, the Burmese reported having killed and wounded 1,000 English, when the muster rolls showed the total killed and wounded to be 106 (*Trant* 97-8). The Burmese resident *sitke* in the Shan states said the Shan contingent was 91,000 although English officers who fought against it knew that it was about 8,000 (*McLeod and Richardson* 129).

**The Shoe Question.**<sup>1</sup>—*Hmannan* I. 357 says the Chinese ambassadors in 1273 were rude, but does not say in what way. Burney, writing in 1830, records the Burmese court tradition that their rudeness was appearing in the presence of King Narathihapate with their shoes on (*Yule* "Mission" 79). *Cox* 13, writing in 1796, notes that although no Burman would ever dream of going up to the Shwedagon with his shoes on, he saw Europeans and native Christians doing so as a matter of course and nobody interfered with them. But whenever the Burmese were annoyed, for instance, when feeling ran high before the outbreak of the First Anglo-Burmese War 1824-6, they expressed much dissatisfaction with Judson for not removing his shoes at the Shwehsandaw pagoda, Prome (*Crawford* I. 63).

**Ngasaunggyan 1277.**<sup>2</sup>—Marco Polo catches the spirit of it all, but his details need modification. Narathihapate never took the field in person. Nasr-uddin, the provincial governor, was not present, but he took part in the great drive down to Kaungsin after the battle. The battle was not at the plain of Vochang (Yungch'ang), seventy miles N.E. of the actual site, but at a plain in the Taping valley near Kanngai, in the Yungch'ang prefecture. The Burmese never got beyond the Kanngai area. Ngasaunggyan may be a corruption of Nangsung, the old name for Nantien near Kanngai. There is now a Ngasaunggyan near Bhamo and it may have been stockaded during the subsequent fighting, but it is not the scene of the great battle.

As the Burmese account makes the enemy nearly all horse, and they relied on arrows, it looks as if Marco Polo is right in saying that the 12,000 were Tartars, for the Tartars were the finest of cavalry, and their famous weapon was the bow, discharged while they were riding full gallop. The Burmese elephants wore a sort of armour, and slung to their sides were hollow bamboos containing scores of lances for the men in the howdahs to use. As for the capacity of howdahs, Nicolo di Conti about 1435 mentions howdahs carrying eight to ten men (p. 98 above), Cæsar Frederick in 1568 mentions four men (*Hakluyt* X. 124).

It is nowhere said that Pagan was sacked, and the Tartars probably did less architectural damage than Narathihapate as they had orders to respect religious buildings. But it is not improbable that, having lost 7,000 comrades, they acted up to their name, "The Scourge of God," so far as the population was concerned, and the terror which is potent in the Burmese account must have some basis. The second sack, by wild Shans in 1299, was doubtless worse. Perhaps it is the ease with which Pagan was conquered that lies at the root of Marco Polo's yarn about Kubla Khan telling his gleemen and jugglers to go and take Burma.

Because the Chinese failed badly in 1765-9, complaining of the heat and an impossible climate (p. 356), it has been doubted whether they really reached Pagan in 1287. But in 1287 they were first class Tartar troops in the flush of their great tradition and although they grumbled at the heat they did not make it an excuse. Not only does Marco Polo describe Pagan with the most faithful touches, not only does the official Chinese despatch claim to have occupied it and to have sent out detach-

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 64, 288.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 67.

ments all over the country, but also the standard Burmese account admits that the Chinese occupied Pagan and reached Tarokmaw. Scepticism is therefore gratuitous.

The Burmese account is bad. It telescopes several years and works everything up into the dramatic climax of one battle, Ngasaunggyan, where it says Anantapyissi the commander was slain, whereas he was alive eight years later. But it is not so wrong as it looks in saying that the slaying of the ambassadors provoked the war, for when Thihathu murdered his father he also murdered, amongst others, the latest Chinese envoys. Hence the Burmese murdered envoys twice, the first time in 1273, four years before any fighting, and the second in 1287 immediately before the great catastrophe. The Burmese account says, the exact opposite of the truth, that they were overwhelmed by numbers, having *sic* only 400,000 men against more than 6,000,000 Chinese—as to these figures, see p. 333; its dates are wrong by several years, and the Chinese dates are shown to be right by Burmese inscriptions, e.g. one by Anantapyissi's own daughter at *Inscriptions* 1900 22;.

See *Hmannan* I. 357-64, *Parker* "Précis" and "Burma Relations with China" 28-37, *Yule* "Book of Ser Marco Polo" II. 98-114, *Macgowan* 433-40, *RSASB* 1917 36, *Cordier* "Histoire de la Chine" II. 304-10 and above all *BEFEO* 1909 Huber "Fin de la dynastie de Pagan" which gives a Chinese account.

**Chinese Inscription.**<sup>1</sup>—These considerations cast considerable doubt on Mr Taw Sein Ko's idea that China played an important part in moulding Burmese civilisation. Since, in the one period when we know that she had influence in Burma, civilisation retrogressed and Chinese influence left no mark, what reason is there to imagine that she did anything in earlier periods when it cannot be shown that she had any influence at all?

There is a stone, found near the Sarabha gate at Pagan and now in the museum there. No history mentions it, nor is there anything to show who set it up, and when. It is inscribed in Pyu on one side and in Chinese on the other. Neither is decipherable, but Mr Taw Sein Ko (*RSASB* 1916 20 and 1917 25) says that it commemorates the Tartar conquest of Pagan, and was set up at the time, and the Pyu text is a translation of the Chinese text. The Chinese text was still legible in 1905, and it is a pity there was nobody in Burma to read it then.

Mr Taw Sein Ko in *IA* 1906 "Chinese words in the Burmese language" says "for practical purposes it may be accepted that Buddhism was introduced from China into Burma during the fourth century after Christ . . . [Apparently] at Tagaung, Prome and Pagan, in the early centuries of the Christian era, Chinese missionaries taught Buddhism in Chinese side by side with Indian missionaries who taught it in Sanskrit, but Chinese political influence being in the ascendant, Chinese monks were in greater favour and their teaching made the greater headway . . . [and] became predominant." That being so, there should be a number of ancient Chinese inscriptions in Burma: there is only one, this one. There should

<sup>1</sup> See p. 73.



also be some trace of Chinese influence on the vernacular alphabets : there is none. In Yünnan, where the Chinese had influence, the alphabet, from the Nanchao 766 inscription onwards, is Chinese. There are some thousands of vernacular inscriptions in Burma, and every one of them is in a script which is admittedly of Indian origin.

In his "Chinese words in the Burmese language," an article repeated in five different places, Mr Taw Sein Ko says the chief words in Burmese religious terminology are of Chinese origin ; but some of his words are Sanskrit, there is nothing to show that they came through China, and in the case of others the equation is doubtful. *JBRS*. 1915 and '16 Blagden "Some alleged Chinese words in Burmese" points this out, and Huber at *BEFEO* 1909 585 dismisses the idea in a line.

**Massacre of the Kinsmen.**—Instances or quasi instances are at pp. 75, 80, 117, 120, 145, 201, 264. The best known—Thibaw's massacre of between seventy and eighty of his brothers and other near kinsmen at Mandalay in 1878—probably differed from its forerunners neither in extent nor horror but only in taking place in the full light of modern publicity ; the court notified it to the English as "a purging of the realm according to custom," and men who were in touch with the palace tell me that Thibaw and his ministers seem to have been genuinely surprised at the horror with which the announcement was received. Defective though Burmese records may be, there can be little doubt that such massacres recurred from time immemorial, that they took place at the option of government when a new king felt insecure, that they were justified by the inherent weakness of the central government, and that the conscience of the race permitted them with the pang of regret which a dog fancier feels at drowning a litter.

The acts of Abimelech in slaying his seventy brothers (Judges IX 1-5), of Baasha in extirpating the house of Jeroboam (1 Kings XV 29) and of Jehu in slaying the seventy sons of Ahab (2 Kings X 1-11) may have been the acts of usurpers. But the following instances, among races which

bear, like the Turk,

No brother near the throne,

show the existence of a customary law and even a rite.—When a king of Benin came to the throne, he used to command his brothers to hang themselves, and then he buried them with great pomp ; and in Uganda when a young king came of age, all his brothers were burnt, except two or three who were preserved to maintain the succession (*Fraser* "Taboo and the perils of the soul" 243). Mr. F. W. H. Migeod, who visited Ngala in March 1922 and saw one of the skeletons in the wall, tells me that in Ngala, ten miles south of Lake Chad, at each accession, if the new king were not himself the eldest brother, the court took his elder brothers and buried them alive in the wall of the palace. See p. 316, and the article here below.

**Royal drowning.**<sup>1</sup>—Drowning in a velvet sack was one of the privileges of royalty not only in Burma but also elsewhere in Indo-China. Thus in

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 77, 95, 102, 199, 202, 223

Siam royal victims were tied in sacks of finest velvet so that they might not be polluted by the touch of common hands, and they were then dropped into the Menam river, having sometimes first been clubbed to death by great bars of aromatic wood (*Samuel Smith passim, Pallegoix I. 271, Anderson* "English intercourse with Siam" 370). In Tonkin commoners were beheaded but royalties were strangled. The Tartar Khans would kill each other to get the throne, but they scrupulously avoided bloodshed: thus, Kubla Khan 1259-94 executed his uncle Nayan by wrapping him in a carpet and tossing him to and fro till he expired. The prejudice against shedding royal blood extends to Africa, where in Ashanti royalties are drowned, in Dahomey drowned or strangled, in Benin hanged, in Madagascar burnt alive, in Uganda burnt alive or starved (*Frazer* "Taboo and the perils of the soul" 242). In Burma, not only kings but even their bones were drowned. Thus at Amarapura the tombs of Bodawpaya 1782-1819 and Bagyidaw 1819-37 are cenotaphs, marking the cremation site, and their bones after burning were placed in a velvet bag and thrown into the Irrawaddy as in the case of Kyawswa 1287-98.

**Smim Payan.**<sup>1</sup>—*Hmannan* II. 30-9 says that in 1415 the Mawke Mawdon brothers were aided by a Chinese host in investing Ava and withdrew because their champion was defeated by the Burmese champion, a captive Talaing. *Hmannan* II. 116-20 says that in 1476 the Burmese, having captured a Talaing sent by Dammazedi to Yunnan, used him as a champion against the Chinese who were again investing Ava. The stories are a perfect doublet, even to such details as the Talaing's name (Smim Payan), his equipment, and the colour of his horse. There was no Chinese siege of Ava in 1415, still less was there a Chinese inroad in 1476. Possibly on the second occasion the Burmese waylaid Dammazedi's envoy (p. 199 above).

**Thwethauk and Thissa-ye.**<sup>2</sup>—Two men contract brotherhood by *thwethauk* drinking blood together, i.e. each makes an incision in his arm and the other drinks the blood, so that they twain become one flesh; or the blood may be obtained by killing an animal and be drunk in water or spirits. The resultant relationship is recognised in the *dhammathat* law books. In Burma and Siam the rite is now common only among the wilder tribes, see *Forchammer* "Jardine Prize" 16, *IA* 1891 Taw Sein Ko "Thwethauk." It was at one time or another used all over the world and still survives among tribes in e.g. Africa. Artificial brotherhood in mediæval Europe was usually contracted by some ceremony such as the exchange of weapons, an idea which underlies the wapentake. But the actual drinking of blood is mentioned by Greek and Latin authors as being practised among some of the surrounding barbarians, and to this day it occurs among the southern Slavs in one of the many ceremonies for artificial brotherhood sanctioned by the Eastern Church. See *Encycl. Religion and Ethics* s.v. "Brotherhood (artificial)".

<sup>1</sup> See p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 106, 178, 188.

*Thissa-ye*, the Water of Allegiance, was drunk in Burma as in the surrounding localities, e.g. Siam; thus the Siamese chronicles mention its being drunk to the king at his coronation, see *Samuel Smith* I. Every office holder in Burma drank it on assuming charge. Some of the wild *sawbwas* were called in to drink it before the *sitke* resident once a year. The commonest form was for an animal to be sacrificed to the *nat* spirits and its blood to be mingled with intoxicants in water which was then stirred with the point of spears, swords and, in later times, muskets; the blood in the water bound together all the drinkers, including the king's representative, and the spears, etc., typified the violent death which would befall those who broke the oath. But sometimes, as among Shan-Chinese on the border, the oath would be written out, the paper burnt, the ashes mixed with water, and the whole was then handed round and drunk. See *Cox* 236, *JASBengal* 1837 Hannay "Route from Ava to Assam" 275, *Fytche* II. 111.

**Fire-arms.**<sup>1</sup>—*Hmannan* I. 251 mentions gunsmiths as taken from Thaton to Pagan by Anawrahta in 1057. *Pagan Yazawin* mentions "cannon, jingals, bombs, muskets" as being used at the battle of Pyedawthagyun 1084. *Razadarit Ayedawpon* says that when Tarabya was plotting against Wareru in 1287 he went to Pegu and collected feringhi musketeers; and that Binnya U found difficulty in besieging Martaban about 1360 because of musketeers on the walls. *Hmannan* I. 427 mentions foreign musketeers in the fighting between Burmese and Talaings in 1387; and II. 59 mentions whole regiments of feringhi artillery and musketeers fighting for the Talaings against the Burmese at the siege of Bassein in 1418.

A certain amount of evidence (e.g. *TP* 1902 Schlegel "On the invention of fire-arms in China prior to the arrival of Europeans") exists in support of the popular view that fire-arms were used in China for some centuries before the beginning of wholesale European intercourse, but it is by no means an established view. They were certainly not used anywhere else in the East. It is generally accepted that in Indian warfare they were first used by Babar at Panipat in 1526, being introduced from Turkey and Europe. In 1506 the Cingalese had never dreamt of them, and fled at the mere noise of the Portuguese guns (*White way* 37). Now Burma was in regular communication with Ceylon, and had fire-arms been known in Burma prior to 1506 they would have been known in Ceylon, especially as the Burmese chronicles clearly indicate that the gunners were shipmen from abroad. References before this time are obviously anachronisms, like the references to feringhis, who did not frequent the East till after 1498. It is possible that Mahomedan shipmen, when hired to fight, used in Burma on a few occasions towards the end of the fifteenth century something that could be distinguished as a fire-arm. But, although it is unlikely that fire-arms had got so far inland at that time, the earliest mention that is at all probable is that of Shwenankyawshin's being killed at Ava by a jingal shot in 1527 (*Hmannan* II. 147); and the first extensive use of fire-arms that can

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 106, 155.

be accepted without question is at Martaban in 1541 when the Portuguese were present. Thereafter till the time of Alaungpaya 1752-60 fire-arms were used by the foreign mercenaries or captives of the Guard, i.e. feringhis and a few Mahomedans. The Manipuris (*Pemberton* 39) noted that the first time their Burmese opponents used fire-arms was in 1755, i.e. Alaungpaya had then introduced fire-arms among his Burmans; under his incompetent predecessors even the feringhis of the Guard had apparently decayed. After his time they were regularly used by the Burmans of the Guard as well as the feringhis, and were also served out to selected portions of the levy on mobilisation. Early in the nineteenth century the palace arsenal had up to 35,000 muskets, but they were mostly rejects from French and English arsenals, and the powder was so bad that it would not have been passed in the armies of Indian princes (*Phayre* "History" 258, *Snodgrass*, *Havelock*, *Trant*, *Crawford*, *passim*). The artillery was always a joke but, though the levy never learnt how to take care of their muskets and had to find out to use them, use them they did, and with surprising effect. As for the first line troops under good commanders in the Burman heyday, every enemy opinion on record is that their musketry was of a formidable description; see pp. 237-8 and also compare the Chinese opinion at p. 255 with the English report of the Ramu disaster 17 May 1824 where the Burmese brought their saps up to within twelve paces and poured in such a fire that our bugles could not be heard and the signals miscarried (*Wilson* "Documents" 41).

**Pegu merchants abroad.**<sup>1</sup>—They are mentioned in foreign ports during the sixteenth century. Thus Albuquerque at the siege of Malacca in 1510 used "300 men belonging to the merchants of Pegu" (*Stevens* I. 181). In 1511 the administration of foreigners in Malacca was in the hands of commissioners, one for each race, and among the races enumerated are "the people of Pegu" (*Hobson-Jobson* s.v. "Kling"). *Linschoten* I. 100, writing in 1592, after residing in Goa, says he bases his extraordinarily accurate information about Burma, which he never saw, "not only by the daily trafficking of the Portuguese out of India thither, but also by the Peguans themselves, whereof many dwell in India, some of them being Christians." But these observers, like Nitikin (p. 121 above), were interested in the business community, which was largely foreign, and when they talk of Peguans they possibly mean Burmanised Indians and, as *Linschoten*'s remark about Christians indicates, Armenians from Pegu; some of them may have been born of intermarriage with the people of Pegu. But the people themselves were not maritime traders, for *Barbosa* in 1516 says little information can be obtained about Burma "because it has no shipping" (*Hobson-Jobson* s.v. "Burma").

For the trade of this period, see *Hakluyt X. passim*, *Anderson* "English intercourse with Siam," *Linschoten*, *Badger*, *Stevens*. Good articles on the trade routes are *JBR* 1917 *Furnivall* "From China to Peru" and "Samuel White." Pegu jars are first mentioned in 1350, by a

<sup>1</sup> See p. 122.

Mahomedan trader in India, see *Hobson-Jobson* s.v. "Martak'in"; *Linschoten* I. 268 says they were used to carry water on ships throughout the East. For *ganza*, see *Hobson-Jobson* s.v.

**Tabinshwehti and Bayinnaung.**<sup>1</sup>—*Hmannan* II. 172-92 gives the history of Toungoo with Minkyinyo's family tree. When his son was born in 1517 there were such prophecies about him that Minkyinyo had gold umbrellas erected over his cradle, hence the name Tabinshwehti. *Hmannan* II. 197-8 says Tabinshwehti was the re-incarnation of a prince who, put to death by his father Dammazedi 1472-92, king of Pegu, prayed the same prayer as Bawlawkyantaw (p. 114 above).

*Hmannan* II. 279-80 gives a family tree for Bayinnaung showing him to derive from Thihathu 1312-24, the Shan Brother (p. 76). But Mr Taw Sein Ko at *RSASB* 1910 21 records the tradition which makes him the son of a toddy climber from Ngathayauk in Pagan township. The low standard of education, the lack of documentation, and the absence of primogeniture, render it improbable that any but a few Burmans retain for long a correct knowledge of their ancestry, and the family trees sported by men after they attain greatness must be suspect. On the other hand, the fact that Bayinnaung's father was a toddy climber no more precludes the possibility of his having royal ancestors than it precluded his becoming vassal king of Toungoo when his son rose to greatness,

**Pinto**<sup>2</sup> is not so much a liar as an inveterate rhetorician. Like a true Portuguese of his age, he makes no effort to understand the customs and religion of the races with which he mixed. Just as other Portuguese writers in India said that the cow was an animal which the Mahomedans worshipped with abominable rites as the repository of their souls (*Whiteway*), so Pinto says that the despairing lord of Martaban proposed to offer human sacrifice to the God of Battles, some of his princesses had white skins and auburn hair, he had a temple to the God of Thunder, and he and his family prayed prayers the worús of which might have come out of the breviary.

His statement that the lord of Prome was at once cruelly executed with his wife is improbable, because *Hmannan* II. 148, 292 and III. 70, 119 shows that they were kept in captivity till 1553 when the husband was executed and the wife passed into the harem of Bayinnaung, who named her Sandadevi; by Bayinnaung she had a daughter Minhkinsaw whose son by the lord of Toungoo was Natshinnaung (p. 188). On the other hand, Pinto is doubtless right in saying that the lord of Martaban was executed, as the chronicle is ominously silent about him. Nor is there any reason to doubt the pitiful atrocities which he describes, for they accord only too well with what we know, on overwhelming evidence, to have been Burmese custom in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Cogan's translation of Pinto is thoroughly bad; not only does it mangle the sense and take serious liberties with proper names but also it miscopies dates so badly that it is useless for purposes of chronological comparison.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 125, 153.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 157.

Siamese chronology.<sup>1</sup>—The dates of the Burmese invasions hitherto given in books on Siam differ by decades from those in the Burmese chronicles, which I have followed. The Siamese archives were wiped out in 1767 when the Burmese destroyed Ayuthia. Chronicles compiled after that event were naturally inaccurate for the preceding period. Hluang Prasöt, however, in 1907 found a chronicle written in 1680 and based on earlier material; it is more accurate as to dates than most others and it is translated into English at JSS 1909 Frankfurter "Events in Ayuthia 686-966." Prince Damrong, in his notes to king Mongkut's "History of Siam" published in Siamese by the Vajirañāna National Library, Bangkok, 1914, shows that hitherto the chronology of the annals has been based on the supposition that king Mahachakrapadhi reigned from 1529. The annalists knew that the first Burmese invasion was in his first regnal year, so they assigned it to 1530. But Hluang Prasöt shows him to have reigned from 1547, and hence the first Burmese invasion was in 1547-8, the date given by the Burmese chronicles. Prince Damrong and other leading Siamese authorities now accept the Burmese chronology for these years, which is also in the main confirmed by the Portuguese writers and the European travellers in *Hakluyt*, to say nothing of Burmese inscriptions.

The young feringhi.<sup>2</sup>—There is no Portuguese version that I can trace. I have given the Burmese account, *Hmannan* II. 268-70, which says that he was nephew to the lord of Peissarit who sent him to attack Achin from Malacca. Peissarit is unidentified; the nearest names are Pedir, Pacem and Patani, all in Portuguese hands at this time. *Phayre* "History" 101 says the feringhi was nephew to Diogo Soarez de Mello but does not give the process whereby he comes to this conclusion. I have not found a nephew of his mentioned as being in Burma; he himself put into the coast of Pegu for a time under stress of weather in 1545, but he was not interned and went away again (*Couto* III. i. 16), and after serving Tabinshwehti against Arakan in 1546 (III. i. 21) he serves the Portuguese against the sultan of Achin, but he is not beaten, he gloriously defeats the sultan, (III. i. 348 and ii. 118), and after helping Bayinnaung to invade Siam and to sack Pegu in 1551 he dies there (IV. i. 136). *Couto* mentions some half dozen Portuguese captains in Burma by name, and Diogo Soarez de Mello had a son there, but none of them fit in with the *Hmannan* story, which may well be mistaken.

Funeral sacrifice.<sup>3</sup>—The numbers could be considerable; thus, 10 elephants, 100 horses, and 100 each of men and women were slaughtered at the grave of a major *sawbwa*. The Ahom Shan kings of Assam continued the custom at least as late as the seventeenth century, and would even bury one of the slaves alive to look after the lamp in the tomb (*Gait* 121). Until the English compelled them to abandon slave-holding, the White Karens and the Danaws buried slaves alive with their masters; a small hole was left in the grave through which they could breathe, and food was supplied to them for seven days; if they could then rise

<sup>1</sup> See p. 158.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 161.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 166.

unaided they became free. The same train of thought underlies the *myosade* (p. 320) and the head-hunting of the Wild Wa to-day, who hunt especially before sowing time so as to ensure the presence of a new ghost to look after the fields (*GUB* I. i. 878). In Karen villages pigs are the property of the women and know their mistress's voice; when a woman dies, her pigs are killed so that they may accompany her. In Karenni in 1908, when the *myosa* of Kyebogyi was buried, the people wished to bury his pony with him, but were dissuaded by the Assistant Political Officer. Funeral sacrifice is of course universal. Thus Achilles, after sacrificing four horses and two dogs on the funeral pyre of Patroklos, crowns the ceremony by slaying twelve Trojans (*Iliad* XXIII. 175). Around their dead king the Scythians would bury one of his concubines, his cupbearer, cook, groom, lacquey, messenger and horses lest he should lack servants in the hereafter (Herodotus IV. 71). Viking barrows in Norway dating from the eleventh century contain the skeletons not only of the chief but also of the followers who were buried with him. In the Norse Saga, the Viking chief, sick unto death, is carried aboard his favourite ship, his best warriors clamorously man her, she is set on fire, the sails are hoisted, she blows out to sea, and thus they all die together rejoicing. See *Encycl. Religion and Ethics* s.v. "Burma," "Death and the disposal of the dead," "Human sacrifice."

**Tooth and Invulnerables.**<sup>1</sup>—The dates 1574 and 1576 of the daughter and the tooth are just a decade later in the Burmese version, *Hmannan* III. 8, 33-5, than in the Portuguese versions. See *Stevens* II. 207-9, 251-2 (where Faria y Sousa tells a naughty story about the tooth), *Linschoten* I. 293, and above all *Gerson da Cunha* whose memoir gives a complete history of the Kandy Tooth down to the present day.

These Invulnerables, mentioned at *Hmannan* III. 37, are not peculiar to Burma. Siam also had them. *Samuel Smith* 17-30 mentions them as being sent with Phaulkon's embassy to France, where *sic* the Guards of Louis XIV. fired at them but could not injure them, and as taking part in the 1661 raid into Burma (p. 200) where they rendered themselves invisible and, though heavily outnumbered, so terrified the Burmese by their invulnerability that they won easily. *Trant*, *Havelock* and *Snodgrass* describe the show the Burmese Invulnerables made in 1824-6 when they were frequently found to be doped with opium, but not so heavily that they could not run quite fast. They survive to-day in the form of dacoits with magical tattooing and with pieces of metal buried under the skin as charms against wounds (p. 314).

**The Legend of the East**<sup>2</sup> faded on examination. *Bernier* 55, 225, 229, writing in 1670, pointed out the prevailing destitution and ignorance in India; and he, like *Manucci* II. 441, writing in 1700, was of opinion that 30,000 white troops would suffice to sweep the Moghul Empire off the face of the earth. As for Burma, take the following. (Sir Thomas Herbert was the cavalier who attended Charles I. to the scaffold. Hamilton was a ship-owner who spent a lifetime in the East.)

<sup>1</sup> See p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 176.

"I might tell you of the vanitie of the king of Burma, in his loading himself with glittering gems, his head, ears, arms, hands, legs and feet resembling a bespangled firmament; such as may amaze a good sense, yea, dazzle a good eye, and force some men to judge him infinitely rich; but I behold him otherwise and judge him poor and miserable." (Year 1629. *Herbert* 322.)

"As King of the twenty-four white Somereroes, I believe few Kings will much care to dispute that glorious Title with him, for those Somereroes are only common China Umbrellaes, covered over with thin Chormondel Beteellae, and their Canes lackt and gilded, and because his own Subjects dare not use any such Umbrellaes, he wisely lays his imperial Commands on all other Kings to forbear wearing of them when they go abroad. . . Tho' the Palace is very large, yet the Buildings are but mean, and the City tho' great and populous, is only built of Bambow Canes, thatcht with Straw or Reeds, and the Floors of Teak Plank, or split Bambows, because if Treason or other capital Crimes be detected, the Criminals may have no Place of Shelter, for if they do not appear on the first Summons, Fire will fetch them out of their combustible Habitations." (Year 1727. *Hamilton* II. 45, 47).

**The Catholic Mission.**<sup>1</sup>—Bonfer, a French Franciscan who was chaplain to the seaport Portuguese in 1554-7, also "spent years in learning the Pegues' language and mysteries that he might preach among them, but was forced to give over, desiring rather (as did S. Anthony) to preach among pigs than such a swinish generation." The first church was built by De Brito's Jesuit chaplains at Syriam, who did some mission work there and doubtless accompanied the Portuguese captives of 1613 into the interior. After that there were no white clergy, but there were always two resident chaplains, one for the feringhi community at Syriam, the other for the descendants of the Christian captives at court and in the Shwebo villages; both chaplains were Guanese, under the bishop of Mylapur (Madras); they knew no Burmese, and spoke pigeon Portuguese, and their morals were on a level with their intelligence.

The first missionaries were Genoud and Joret, of the Missions Etrangères de Paris; serving in the Siam mission, they tended Talaing and Burmese captives, whose kinsmen invited them to Burma; they arrived at Syriam in 1689 and founded a little hospital, but were denounced by the monks, taken to court, stripped and exposed to mosquitoes, sewn up in sacks and drowned near Ava in 1693. Nothing further happened till 1721 when Calchi, a Barnabite, and Vittoni, a secular, both Italians, landed and came to court; the fury of the Portuguese priests knew no bounds; they delated the two Italians to the king as spies, and when Calchi lay dying alone they refused him the last sacraments. None the less the king granted facilities and henceforward there was, almost without intermission, at least one resident priest in the country, under, till 1829, the control of Italian Barnabites. The Burmese government, though

<sup>1</sup>See pp. 186, 207, 231.



tolerant as regards religion, was suspicious of wandering strangers, and would not allow them to go into the interior; hence, they had to confine their efforts to Syriam and its successor Rangoon, to the capital, and to the Shwebo villages where, since 1770, the church has been at Monhla. The first bishop, Gallizia, consecrated in 1742, met a tragic end (p. 213). He had only three priests, often there were fewer, and there were never more than half-a-dozen until the English occupation, by opening up freedom of travel, made missionary work possible. Nerini (p. 230) expanded a small Burmese vocabulary left by Calchi, and their work is the basis of subsequent dictionaries. Nerini also founded a girls' orphanage at Syriam, and built Syriam church in 1750, the first brick church in Burma, using Coromandel labour because the local labour was incompetent. The first book printed in Burmese was a little grammar by Carpani, a missionary on leave in Italy; the dies were cut at the Propaganda in Rome, the resultant book being the quaint "Alphabetum Barmanorum seu Bomanorum Regni Avæ finitarumque regionum, Romæ MDCCCLXXVI. Typis Sacræ Congreg. de Propaganda Fide. Præ sidum adprobatione" (Bodleian—8° z. 126 BS, British Museum—68. a. 29). The first Burman to visit Europe was Maung Saw, a monk; he became a Catholic and went to Rome in 1784 with Montegazza who died as bishop in 1794 at the capital Amarapura—his tombstone is still to be seen. Sangermano, who wrote "The Burmese Empire," the first general account of the country, served at Rangoon 1783-1806, founding St. John's church and school there.

The mission records show a terribly high death rate; it was lower than that of lay Europeans, with their less abstemious habits, but in the eighteenth century men did not wear sun helmets or understand how to live in the tropics. The flock consisted mainly of the *bayingyi* villages in the Shwebo area, with 2,000 souls including wives and children, but there were some converts in Rangoon, bringing the gross total to perhaps 5,000 in 1800. The jurisdiction of the Portuguese clergy in India is racial rather than territorial and until shortly after 1800 they continued to exist at Tatkale in Rangoon side by side with the Italian mission, having a congregation of a few hundred Indians and half-caste Portuguese.

It was an Armenian who supplied funds for the building of Syriam church. The Rangoon Armenian Church Kalendar shows that Armenians first came to Burma in 1612 and that they dwelt in Syriam; their first tombstone is dated 1725.

See Purchas 507, Herbert 318, Launay II. 274 and 332, *Annales de la Propagation* 1864 49, Hamilton II. 63, *Bigandet*.

**Dutch withdrawal.**<sup>1</sup>—*Dalrymple* I. 98 infers Dutch possession of Negrais from the existence of a tombstone there recording the burial of a Dutch colonel in 1608; but their papers mention no settlement there. He goes on to say that during some dispute with the Burmese they threatened to bring in the Chinese, whereupon the Burmese expelled them and all other Europeans; he gives no reference, and the statement is doubtful. The Dutch were engrossed elsewhere, they held the prize of all Asia in

<sup>1</sup> See p. 191.

the Spice Islands, and profitable trade could not go through in Burma with any regularity. The decision of the Council at Batavia in 1676 to abandon Pegu says nothing of a quarrel or an expulsion order, and four years later they were still winding up their affairs at Pegu (India Office, Mackenzie Collection of MSS., Private no. 40, p. 59; *Dagh Register* 1680). As for the English, who withdrew about the same time, Governor Higginson, year 1695, in his secret instructions to envoy Fleetwood (p. 203 above) explicitly says that the East India Company had withdrawn its branches from Burma, "the trade proving unprofitable."

**Thalun's inquest, etc.**<sup>1</sup>—As institutions which survived till yesterday, such as some of the land tenures in Kyaukse, are ascribed to Thalun, and so much of his work links up with other matters, this seems the place for a note on general conditions.

None of the record of the 1638 inquest has been found, but probably it resembles that of king Bodawpaya (p. 269), and some references to what he did survive. Thus at Syriam he ordained, in addition to the port customs, twelve kinds of revenue—a toll of gold, a toll of silver, a toll of rope, a toll of each of the two kinds of cane, a toll of wood oil, a toll of madder, a toll of rice, a toll of powder, a toll of chillies, a toll of salt, and a toll of salt fish.

Instead of dedicating prisoners of war as slaves to pagodas, Thalun found a new use for them: he settled them as tenants at Kyaukse where their families supplied labour for the canals and they themselves served as soldiers (p. 318). Indeed some of these canal tenants were not prisoners. Thus Linzin (Viengchang) youths of good family volunteered, probably under pressure, for service under their suzerain, the king of Burma; the Linzin Foot Guards were a crack regiment with land in the canal area, one *thwethauksu* (platoon) being settled at Thindaing and one at Thanyua; they also formed a war-canoe corps.

Thalun settled Chiengmai and Kaunghan (? Kenghung) Shans along the Mu and Chindwin rivers in three corps (Yun-kaunghan, Win-kaunghan, Tat-kaunghan); many of these were not pure Shans but descendants of the Burmese left at Chiengmai by Bayinnaung 1551-81. Bayinnaung himself had settled his Mohnyin and Mogaung prisoners in Shwebo district where they finally occupied the Pyinzala-ngamyo area in the Kanbalu subdivision (Nyaungbin, Yuatha, Hngetpyaw, Nagasin, Pintha) serving as hereditary *daing-asu* (shield men) and *le-asu* (archers). The men in such units entered into *thwethauk* brotherhood (p. 339) with each other, and *thwethauksu* (a body of men who have drunk each other's blood) was the name for a platoon. Nwetame near Kyabin in Minbu district was peopled, probably at this period, by Shan prisoners from Chiengmai who introduced the local irrigation system and served as *Yun-ahmudan* (Chiengmai troops).<sup>2</sup> Now, as later, the kings brought men from all over the Shan states and from distant parts like Tavoy to serve in the plains or at court, usually as soldiers; it supplied government with men, it Burmanised the Shans, and these outlying states would have rebelled even more frequently than they

<sup>1</sup> See p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> *Parsons* 2.

did had not many of their sons, from chief to commoner, been in the king's hands. It was the same with all subject races: villages with such names as Shanzu, Talaingzu, where captive Shans, Siamese, and Talaings were settled, occur all over Upper Burma. It is probably the prisoners taken in the 1629 rebellion who supplied the Talaing settlements at Shwebontha, Zigon, Ngabe, Sulegon and Pyinka island in Sagaing district, consisting of *hsin-ahmudan* (keepers and catchers of elephants) a dangerous service for which they volunteered to avoid being dedicated to the Shwepaunglaung pagoda at Kyaukyit (p. 96). Other parts of the Talaing elephant corps were scattered over Mankyo and Aukkyauung near Sagu, Magyibya, and Sinkya near Salin, and Thalundin near Paunglin, in Minbu district; Myinshisse near Sale in Myingyan district; Hngetpyawdaw near Yesagyo, Sincheya and Pandawyuua near Pakkangyi, in Pakokku district; and at Sindaw near Ma-u, Thitsein, Sadon, and Ngakon in the Monyuua district.<sup>1</sup>

In Myingyan district are Talaing colonies, claiming originally from prisoners taken at Thaton in 1057 and during the attacks made on the Delta by the chief of Ava, Minhkaung 1401-22; they were settled according to their craft, on which the court had first claim—for instance, Shwegu, the village of the shield makers; Sinhka, the village of the howdah makers; Kabyu, Kamyu, Kani where saddles were made, white for commoners, black for junior officials, red for senior officials; Thintabaw, Thintaya, the villages of hairdressers; Pontha, the village of musicians.<sup>2</sup>

Mahomedans were captured among the defenders of Pegu in 1539 and 1599, and they were taken in Arakan, during raids such as those of Tabinshwehti on Mrohaung in 1547 and of Sane's officers on Sandoway in 1707; these, and De Brito's Mahomedan followers captured at the fall of Syriam in 1613 or in the stray ships which arrived just after, were settled at Myedu in Shwebo district, Pinya and Kanlu in Sagaing, Yindaw in Yamethin, and Leppan in Kyaukse, receiving land in lieu of pay for their services as hereditary musketeers of the Guard.<sup>3</sup>

The Portuguese captured at Syriam in 1613 numbered perhaps 400 including Eurasians, women, and children. They were kept for a time at Payeinma<sup>4</sup> in Sagaing district, and then were scattered among villages between the Chindwin and Mu rivers. There they were given land, a Catholic priest attended them, and they formed a Christian community which has retained its identity to this day, with the name *bayingyi* (feringhi). Intermarrying with the people, they lost their distinctive features and many relapsed from Catholicism, being known as *kalafyet* (lapsed foreigners); but, on the other hand, their numbers were occasionally swelled, as stray Europeans who fell into the king's hands were sent

<sup>1</sup> Parlett 4.

<sup>2</sup> Carey 2.

<sup>3</sup> Parlett 4, Grahame 13-8, *J.B.R.S.* 1915 Furnivall "History of Syriam" 53.

<sup>4</sup> *Biganlet* 71 says he saw, about 1867, bricks there of what once had been their church. They themselves say they came to Burma in 999 B.F. (A.D. 1637) but 999 is a mere jingle. He gives two lists, similar to mine, compiled by the Burmese military authorities in 1777 and by himself in 1867. In his lists the *bayingyis* are scattered in smaller packets over more villages.

there, a notable acquisition being the French crews captured in 1757 (p. 231). From 1613 onward they formed the musketeers and gunners of the Guard. Even to-day some of them are to be found with beards and with blue or green eyes from Dutch or northern French ancestors. Their present numbers and localities are

	Mandalay town . . . . .	500
<i>Sagaing district</i>		
	Nabet . . . . .	300
	Chaungu . . . . .	400
<i>Shwebo district</i>		
	Monhla . . . . .	483
	Ye-u . . . . .	120
	Chanthayua . . . . .	600

The treatment of the Portuguese prisoners seems brutal. But it was the custom of the Burmese to deport prisoners, unless indeed they massacred them out of hand. They were acting in accordance with the common custom of antiquity, of which the Babylonian Captivity is a well-known example. From the beginning of their history to the end, the Burmese regarded slaves as one of the chief spoils of war, and habitually settled them all over the country. In Indo-China generally, wars were glorified slave raids. In 1855 the Red Karens were still carrying off Burmans and Shans, whom they bartered for cattle,<sup>1</sup> the Siamese raided Tenasserim until the British occupation in 1825 (p. 272), the Arakanese raided the Burmese border villages and for centuries their slave ships were the terror of Bengal and Assam (p. 143). The Burmese raided their neighbours in the same way, deporting whole cities—Thaton, Ayuthia, and Mrohaung. The Chins say they tattoo the faces of their women because the Burmese were always carrying off the pretty ones. Captives suffered on the march (p. 298), but once they had been brought into Burma, they were often decently treated. The king had first choice, and those he selected were dedicated to pagodas or settled in the villages; but often the troops were allowed to keep a prisoner or two each for themselves, the officers getting more, according to rank; they were either used as servants, or sold in the market, usually for a very low price because they were liable to abscond; thus about 1800 a Siamese woman captive sold for a bottle of intoxicants.<sup>2</sup> Slaves allotted to private soldiers were often treated as members of the family, for the common liability to oppression aroused mutual sympathy, and no man knew when he too might become a slave either at the caprice of government or for failure to pay his revenue (p. 359).<sup>3</sup>

Ruling a poor and thinly populated country, the king of Burma regarded captives as a form of wealth, just as a planter would like to have a gang of labourers who worked for nothing. The same desire for population explains the king's habit of seizing mariners (p. 205),

<sup>1</sup> Yule "Mission" 297.

<sup>2</sup> Crawfurd I. 424.

<sup>3</sup> Sangermano 126, TP 1891 Cordier "Les Français en Birmanie" 393, Crawfurd II. 133, Bayfield xxv, Fortnightly Review 1897 Parker "The Burmo-Chinese frontier and the Kakhyen tribes."

and the custom whereby any foreigner temporarily residing in the country was not merely allowed but was publicly encouraged<sup>1</sup> to take a wife for the period of his stay; he had to pay her off before leaving, and never under any circumstances could he take her or his female children out of the country, though he might, on payment of a heavy tax, get sanction to take his male children. Every ship on arrival was carefully searched for women, and if, on leaving, it contained one woman more than it did on arrival, that ship was confiscated and the crew enslaved: women could breed subjects for the king, and therefore they were not allowed to emigrate.

Just as the king would not allow the export of his live-stock in the form of human beings, so he would not allow the export of his dead-stock in the form of the country's natural products—e.g. rubies, teak, rice (p. 357). A man who goes to trade in a country can take payment only in two ways—either in precious metal or in goods. In Burma it was difficult to take it in goods, because almost every local product worth having was prohibited from export. But if payment was taken in gold or silver, there was the same difficulty: under the king's order the money could not be taken away lest the country should be impoverished. The result might be that the merchant made arrangements to spend it in the country, for instance by building a ship, thus benefiting local labour, which is just what the king intended; but the result might also be that he took good care not to come to Burma again, which is just the opposite of what the king intended. There were a number of countries in the vicinity of which the king had never heard; there were literally scores of ports where money could be used to better advantage because the rajas were less obstructive. In practice even the rulers of Ava did not enforce their prohibitions to the letter. There was not only smuggling, but also there were various exceptions made on application, and there were demi-official evasions. But the prohibitions were never relaxed in the case of the precious metals,<sup>2</sup> and the circumvention of the others was sufficiently cumbersome to prevent Syriam and its successor Rangoon from ever thriving.

These ideas resembled, in essence, those underlying the Mercantile Theory, and there was much to be said for some of them at the time. Take the prohibition on the export of rice. There was no regular surplus for export, because a self-contained population whose numbers are stationary grows only enough for its own support. Government was never stable and at any moment the king in his palace was liable to be cut off by rebellion from Kyaukse and the Delta, the main sources of his supply. He habitually brought large quantities of rice from such

<sup>1</sup> Year 1592 (*Linschoten* I. 98), year 1727 (*Hamilton* II. 51-3), year 1782 (*TP* 1890 Cordier "Les Français en Birmanie" 190 and 1891 25), year 1795 (*Symes* 329). Foreign settlers felt the restriction against taking their children away, but even in the 1826 treaty the English could not get the restriction removed (*Crawford* II. app. 14).

<sup>2</sup> Even in the 1826 treaty the English could not get the prohibition removed from precious metals, *Crawford* I. 210 and II. app. 14. See also *Gouger* 60-7, *Sangermano* 176.

places and stored it in the palace against a possibility of siege, and down the Irrawaddy river there were grain depots, as at Myanaung and Bassein, where food was supposed to be, and sometimes was, stored for dispatch to hungry districts.<sup>1</sup> The king lived, to an extent hardly realisable to-day, in continual dread of famine in the capital, and famines are constantly mentioned in the chronicles.

The organisation of society was tribal.<sup>2</sup> Down to the English annexation, the Sit-thu Prince, or Slave-King, i.e. the headman of Nyaung-u West village near Pagan, who is descended from Manuha chief of Thaton (p. 28), controlled and assessed not only his own village but also eighty families in Pakokku, over ten in both Magwe and Myingyan, and over twenty in both Sale and Minbu, all being Talaings and slaves. Society was honeycombed with class distinctions. Before men "went mad and cast aside their hereditary dignities" a member of the cavalry levy would not eat with a *lamaing* (crown serf) or even sit on the same level. The rules of inheritance varied in different classes. Probably these class distinctions originated in race, commoners tending to be the conquered mass, e.g. Chins and all manner of imported captives, the official classes tending to be the conquerors, i.e. the Burmese themselves—that is one reason why the Burmese are a proud race. People were subordinate not so much to the local headman as to the overseer of their order or tribe, though both offices were frequently combined in the person of the *myothugyi* who was the overseer for the servile classes in his area. Thus Daungbo in Myingyan district contained villagers who when called up served in the cavalry, spearmen and shieldmen respectively; instead of paying revenue to the headman, they paid it to the head of their class. Similarly the privileges of each order were independent of area. A man might live in one village and be entitled to work land in another ten miles away because that land was allotted to his class. If he migrated, he was liable for taxes not to his new village but to his old overseer so long as the latter could trace him. This applies not only to military units, but also to the rest of the population, which was regimented, as in feudal countries. The regimentation was complex and obstructive, and governmental control was facilitated by the unusually high standard of literacy—"it is a kingdom governed by the pen, for not a single person can go from one village into another without a paper or writing."<sup>3</sup> The various classes were clans, with rights accruing from a certain office which it was their hereditary duty to fill; marriage outside the clan entailed loss of status, and the king could degrade a man from one clan to another, for instance from the *sadawchet-asu*, fish-cooks, to the *hsindaing-asu*, elephant scavengers. Society was tribal not territorial, an organisation not of local communities but of occupational guilds. This comes out even in its pageantry: when the Lord Governor of Rangoon kept the Feast of Thadingyut and went in

<sup>1</sup> Symes 233, *FBRS* 1915 Furnivall "History of Syriam" 143.

<sup>2</sup> Carey 2, Furnivall "Myingyan Settlement" 8, 13; *FBRS* 1914 Furnivall "Notes on the history of Hanthawaddy" and 1915 his "History of Syriam"; Forchhammer "Jardine Prize" 7.

<sup>3</sup> Year 1700, Manucci I. 373.

solemn procession to the Shwedagon, with his staff, his musketeers, his spearmen, his boats' crews and all his lieges, the salt boilers had to carry the silver candlesticks. When the English annexed Lower Burma they found authority vested not in the head of each village but in the head of each class—the head over the Karens of each township, the head over its fishermen, the heads over its brokers, its palm-juice drawers, its garden cultivators, its field cultivators, its elephants, its buffaloes, its horses. Early Deputy Commissioners found it hard to make *taikthugyis* realise that their jurisdiction was territorial not personal, and that they were responsible for all residents in their tract. Revenue was sometimes levied on the area a man worked, the unit being the area a pair of buffaloes could plough, but often this was totally disregarded<sup>1</sup> and a man paid a poll tax in his capacity as betel grower, fruit gardener, wood oil tapper, fisherman, salt boiler and so forth. Karens paid revenue not as residents or cultivators but as Karens, a heavy poll tax, and were exempted from military service although they might be requisitioned<sup>2</sup> on emergency to suppress rebellion. Revenue was paid in kind; thus a township in Henzada district paid 10 per cent. of its rice crop, and Tharrawaddy paid 100 *viss* (365 lb.) each of honey and beeswax and 100 mats. Elephant's tusks were a common medium. Syriam paid fish, coconut, plantains, royal tribute of betel from the Dalla gardens, and sugar of which vast quantities were consumed by the elephants. But revenue was also paid in service. For instance, Syriam had to maintain three war-boats, and to keep watch against raiders from Arakan; indeed every big riverside village, such as Shwehle in Minbu district and the Bangyi area in Monywa district, maintained war-canoes for the levy, and races between them were magnificent spectacles, the local lords taking their smartest boats to court and showing them off at the king's regattas.

**Yung-li (Kuei)**<sup>3</sup> was strangled with a bowstring in the market-place of Yünnan Fu and was buried there, aged 38. His heir aged 14 met with a like fate. A little son is buried at a small monastery on an island opposite Shwegu in Bhamo district. His women were taken to Peking and received good treatment in captivity. The heir was called Constantine, the empress Anne, the dowagers Helen and Mary and the able eunuch Achilles, for the whole family had become Catholic, with a Jesuit confessor who gave them these names to invoke the tradition of the Byzantine house. Yung-li himself, though Christianised, was not baptised because he could not forsake his wives. When Sankuei, viceroy of Yünnan, marched into Burma to seize him, Yung-li sent him a letter asking for pity and reminding him of past favours. Sankuei owed his career to the Ming dynasty, but that did not prevent him from hunting Yung-li down like vermin. See *Hmannan* III. 261-82; *Warry; Parker* "Précis" and "Letters from a Chinese empress and a Chinese eunuch to the Pope in the Year 1650" in *Contemporary Review* 1912; *Père d'Orléans*;

<sup>1</sup> *British Burma Gazetteer* I. 439, 450.

<sup>2</sup> *TP* 1891 Cordier "Les Français en Birmanie" 395.

<sup>3</sup> See n. 201.

*Du Halde* I. 487, *Macgowan* 526, *Cordier* "Histoire de la Chine" III. 240-4; *Anderson* "Expedition to western Yünnan" 19-20.

**French and Shipbuilding.**<sup>1</sup>—In 1769 the French obtained greater privileges than the English, such as the right to fly their flag at Rangoon, but the branch soon after died out with the waning of French interests in the Far East. In the eighteenth century their shipwrights were probably the best in Europe, and it is from them that the Delta received its first lessons in shipbuilding. Dupleix 1720-54 liked Syriam because it was out of the way of the English; he regarded it as his chief shipbuilding centre, because labour and material were cheap, and many of the ships he sent to trade in the Red Sea and Manilla were built there; *Diligent* and the ill-fated *Fleury* (p. 231) were built there in 1755. The Talaiings and Burmese were slow and wasted timber because they did not know the use of the saw, but in other respects they were excellent carpenters. Although Malabar and Surat teak was preferred, Burma teak was known in India from the sixteenth century. It was the finest wood imaginable for shipbuilding because it resisted sea water and did not splinter under gunfire, a principal cause of casualties in the sea fights of the eighteenth century. Rangoon, which succeeded Syriam in 1755, was a minor centre in comparison with Calcutta and the great Parsee yards at Bombay, but none the less it supported a shipbuilding industry under French, English and Armenian contractors, numbering perhaps half a dozen. Their ships tended to be weak in the keel because of scamped construction, but they could be built up to 1,000 tons, and the cost was only two-thirds of that at Calcutta. Most were built for Mahomedan and Armenian merchants, but they were resold, and some of the longest found their way into the battle squadrons of the English East India Company. The English invaders in 1824 found on the stocks two unfinished frigates of 300 tons each, built by a shipwright called Turner for the Imam of Muscat. The industry was killed by the invention of iron ships. See *Sonnerat* (1782) II. 43-53 and (1806) III. 40-3, *Symes* 217 and 457-60, *Cordier* "La France en Chine" I. xlvi and "Historique abrégé" 6, *TP* 1891 *Cordier* "Les Français en Birmanie" 39, *Havelock* 49, *Trant* 26.

**Capital punishment** <sup>2</sup> is contrary to Buddhist ethics. A criminal may die by the judge's order, yet he dies not because of his crime, but because he is doomed by his evil deeds in a previous existence to have his head chopped off in five or ten subsequent existences; for his present crime he will suffer in some future existence under the process of *karma*, the indissoluble nexus of cause and effect. As *karma* acts as judge, there is no need for an earthly judge to do more than protect without punishing, and a ruler who takes upon him to pass sentence of death will himself in future existences suffer the misery resulting from manslaughter. Therefore Burmese rulers devoutly refrained from passing sentence of death. But they said "Let him travel by the usual road," and they

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 203, 284.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 208.



said it very often—*Crawfurd* II. 52, 148, written in 1826, records that in the Rangoon area, with a population of 18,000, there were twenty-five to thirty executions a year, which would give the present Rangoon, with its 340,000 inhabitants, no fewer than 519 executions a year, against the actual 2. See p. 358.

**Gwe.**<sup>1</sup>—Two colonies are mentioned, one at Awaing village near Pegu, consisting of Gwe Karens (*Hmannan* III. 383), and another at Okpo in Mandalay district (*Hmannan* III. 393). The former are doubtless the Sém Kwe of the Siamese chronicles, a boorish folk 3,000 strong who, speaking a language distinct from Talaing, follow the exile Smim Htaw Buddhaketi to Ayuthia (*Wood*). The latter are called simply Gwe in *Hmannan*, but *Konbaungset* 71 calls them Gwe Lawa, Lawa meaning Wa; *Scott* "Burma, a handbook" 181 thinks them Shans from Mōng Kwi. The kings had frequently deported Shans, among other races, and settled them in the plains (pp. 166, 347 above). *Parker* "Burma, relations with China" 75 mentions a Chinese belief that they were descended from the retinue of the fugitive emperor Kuei; but the mere similarity of names means nothing, and the retinue, consisting of only 600-700 people, was practically exterminated (p. 200).

**Price of Rice.**<sup>2</sup>—Three of these baskets went to an English ship's rice bay, which Professor H. Dodwell tells me was at Madras in 1782, 150-60 lb., so the basket was evidently much the same as the present Burmese paddy basket of 46 lb. In 1759 the price was fifteen baskets to the rupee (*Dalrymple* I. 110). In 1795 the price at the capital, Amara-pura, was 1½ baskets (each of 16 viss = 58 lb.) a rupee, at Rangoon and Martaban 4 to 5 baskets (*Symes* 326). In 1813, during the famine years, the price at Amara-pura was Rs. 5 a basket (*BSPC* despatch 5 February 1813 Canning to Adam). At the outbreak of war in 1824 the Rangoon price was 4 baskets a rupee but during the war it was 1 basket (*Alexander* 21). Old men in the Herzada island can remember paddy selling at 10 baskets a rupee.

**Negrais Massacre.**<sup>3</sup>—Alves' reports are at *Dalrymple* I. 343-98. The Burmese account, *Konbaungset* 144-7, overlooking the fact that this was in 1759, four years after Pegu had been razed and the struggle was over, adds that Talaing prisoners said they were receiving cannon from the English heretics. The king, in the letter sent by Alves (*Dalrymple* I. 394) says he is sure the governor of Madras would never have allowed help to be given to the Talaings, and Negrais must have been acting without orders; the king had no conception of the Company's organisation or the control it had over its staff. Things were no longer as in 1755 when ships at Rangoon, having no orders either way, could fire on the Burmese and receive no more than an angry reprimand; after 1755 the Company declared its policy towards Alaungpaya, in 1757 it signed a treaty with him, and its officers had orders accordingly. The king also believed (*Dalrymple* I. 374) that

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 211, 212.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 228.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 240.

Negrals was in contract with the Talaings to buy half their loot; but the English, though capable of buying anything and asking no questions as to its origin, were out for teak and so forth, not the sort of stuff Talaings looted.

The Burmese account makes no attempt to conceal Alaungpaya's personal insistence on the whole operation, or the manner in which it was carried out at a friendly meeting, doubtless regarding it all as high strategy. It is also characteristic that when he had a real grievance, a *casus belli*, in the firing of the ships at Rangoon in 1755, Alaungpaya failed to send a mission demanding immediate disavowal and reparation; yet four years later, when even the grievance that existed in his mind could have been settled by departmental adjustment, he broke out into wholesale murder. His entourage included men such as the governor of Bassein, who made lamentations to Alves, saying he merely looked on at the massacre, and, instead of saying frankly he took a share of the loot, went out of his way to deny that he took any; when Alves found one of the captives' clothes in his possession, he mumbled "I was only taking care of it for him" (*Dalrymple* I. 358).

Grave doubts are raised as to the accuracy of Burmese chronicles for earlier periods when even such recent events as these are so inaccurately recorded. Thus *Konbaungset* 141 *et seqq.* puts Lester's embassy to Myanaung in April 1755 or at Rangoon in May 1756, whereas it was really in July 1757; the Negrals massacre in May 1755, whereas it was actually 6 October 1759; Alves' embassy in August 1755, though it did not take place till five years later in the next reign, September 1760. It insists that an embassy came from the king of London town, England, as well as from the Company, mentions many embassies that did not occur, omits the firing of the ships at Rangoon, and the execution of the French officers at Syriam, though it mentions the capture of *kala* ships and crews; and says that the white gunners at the siege of Pegu made shells (an impossibility in the East), that they included 200 English marine artillerymen, and that Alaungpaya had 5,000 white troops. But there had never been a fraction of that number in Burma, and he cannot have had more than 300, mostly the captive French crews. When Alves was allowed to claim all the English and Dutch in Burma, the two together amounted to only nine.

**Chinese War 1765-9.**<sup>1</sup>—See *Konbaungset* 425-92, *Symes* 69, *Crawford* II. 284, *JAS Bengal* 1837 Burney "Some account of the wars between Burma and China," *McLeod* 60, *Macgowan* 548, *Cordier* "Histoire générale de la Chine" III. 353, *Warry, Parker* "Précis" and "Burma, relations with China" 83-94.

The account I have given of the traders' disputes does not put the Burmese in the wrong; it is the Burmese account. The notes which the Emperor recorded on the file show that his designs were imperialistic: he intended to annex Burma and set his nominee on the throne.

The Chinese were severely handicapped by lack of topographical

<sup>1</sup> See p. 253.

information. One of their armies spent two months wandering blindly through Mogaung and Mohnyin when it was urgently needed elsewhere. The Chinese generals studied the records of their 1277 invasion but found them useless as the place names had changed, *BEFEO* 1909 Huber "Fin de la dynastie de Pagan" 669. The Emperor wrote "The Burmese cannot meet even our wretched Chinese troops in the open, let alone our splendid Manchus, but know their strength in stockade fighting and in an impossible climate." One Chinese account calls the Burmese "Blackbellies," referring to their tattooed bodies.

*Symes* 69 says the Chinese came with 50,000 men; even that number must have been a severe test for their lines of communication, and the Chinese official records show that 41,000 was the maximum used in any one year. The Burmese account characteristically says the Chinese numbered half a million, *Konbaungset* 456; see note "Numerical Note" p. 333.

What seem to be the graves of the Manchu generals can be seen at Maingtin near Pyaunggaung (Sakantha) railway station east of Maymyo, see *RSASB* 1918 22. The Emperor was furious on finding that poor Mingjui had after all lost only 15 per cent. of his men and could easily have won with a little timely support.

The written terms say nothing about boundaries; nor do they include the surrender of *sawbwas* by the Chinese, and of prisoners, especially by the Burmese, two items orally agreed to but not fulfilled in spite of subsequent bickering. With their 1787 embassy, however, the Burmese sent back a few of the surviving senior prisoners, and apparently some more in later years when the Chinese had released all Burmese prisoners. The reason why China won so easily in 1287 is that the Pagan kingdom was less powerful than the developed kingdom of Burma; the fierce young Alaungpaya dynasty in 1769 had a much larger area from which to draw levies.

**Shifting Capitals.**<sup>1</sup>—Each Turkish sultan was supposed to build a new palace. The Mikados of Japan used regularly to do so. In Africa, a Baganda king's first duty is to choose the site for a new capital (*Roscoe* 200). In India, Ahmad Shah 1422-35, having suffered from illness at Kulbarga, perceived that the site was unlucky and moved his capital sixty miles to Bidar; and in 1569 Akbar, having lost two children at Agra, decided that it was inauspicious and moved his capital twenty-three miles to Fathpur-Sikri (*Vincent Smith* "Oxford History of India" 278, 351). Prejudice against repairing an old house accounts for the many ruined houses one sees in Indian towns. The underlying belief may be that places, like persons, have only a limited share of luck allotted to them, and it becomes exhausted after a time. Such reasoning would appeal to an agricultural people like the Burmese who are familiar with shifting cultivation, a system of exhaustion followed by fallow.

**Administrative conditions.**<sup>2</sup>—This vivid account of the Talaing outbreak at Rangoon in 1783 is, needless to say, from foreign sources—it

<sup>1</sup> See p. 265.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 267.

is the account of a French naval officer (*TP* 1891 Cordier "Les Français en Birmanie" 32-9). Indeed it is only now, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, when the outer world comes into closer contact with Burma, that we begin to get some idea of what general conditions were like. The following is culled from the actual words of men belonging to six nationalities, differing widely in class and mental outlook, so that their consensus is significant.

The people were sober, industrious,<sup>1</sup> kindly and intelligent; yet, owing partly to egregious misgovernment, neither their agriculture nor their craftsmanship was at a level with their intelligence; they could not make the simplest things but left them either to be made by foreign craftsmen such as Manipuri captives or to be imported from India.<sup>2</sup> The land was mainly unoccupied waste, for wholesale executions, anarchic wars, and the consequent famines, kept the population down to an absurd figure, two million (p. 333); luckily this scantiness of population caused a high rate of wages and thus acted as some check on the tyranny of the government.<sup>3</sup> The mines were undeveloped because the king had no idea of how to develop them and yet insisted on keeping them for himself, wishing his people to have nothing beyond the bare necessities of life.<sup>4</sup>

Rangoon, which should have been a thriving port, was a half-stagnant town of 10,000 inhabitants<sup>5</sup> with at most a dozen brick houses<sup>6</sup>; few foreign merchants save broken men would reside there, because government was extortionate and obstructive. Thus in 1812 its governor made a Mahomedan merchant pay twenty thousand rupees for daring to say that his rival, the late governor, might return.<sup>7</sup> Bodawpaya heard that other countries became rich by means of companies. He did not know what a joint-stock company was and took no steps to find out. He thought it was a monopoly and he proceeded to sell every kind of trade, even vegetables in the bazaar of his capital, to monopolists, regardless of the hardship inflicted on the people by profiteers.<sup>8</sup> Little business could be done, because everything was tied up in royal orders. Teak should have been a thriving business, yet so little was exported that the monopoly sold for only three lakhs; and it was about the only thing men could export, for there were no finished articles and the export of most raw materials was prohibited.<sup>9</sup> Thus, the silk imported overland from China might not be sold out of the country, lest sufficient should not remain for the clothing of the population; rice, frequently produced to such excess that the combined efforts of men and cattle could not consume it, might not be exported lest the people should starve; gold, silver, money and jewels might not be exported lest the country should be impoverished, and ponies could not be exported lest no horses should be left. It is therefore hardly surprising

<sup>1</sup> *Sonnerat* (1806) III. 63, *TP* 1891 "Les Français en Birmanie" 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Crawford* II. vi.

<sup>3</sup> *Crawford* II. 239 and vii.

<sup>4</sup> *Sonnerat* (1806) III. 58, *TP* 1891 "Les Français en Birmanie" 4, *Sangerman* 81.

<sup>5</sup> *Crawford* II. 52.

<sup>6</sup> *Hauslock* 34.

<sup>7</sup> *BSPC* despatch 5 February 1813 Canning to Adam.

<sup>8</sup> *BSPC* 25 September 1812 Canning to Edmonstone.

*Gouger* 60-7.

that trade was negligible, and one of the reasons why the Emperor of China abandoned the 1765-9 war was, as he minuted on the *fac.*, that Burma did little trade, it was mostly seaborne, and what went overland was so negligible that she was not worth the expense of further campaigns.<sup>1</sup>

If the people sometimes had the reputation of being cruel and treacherous, this applied mainly to the vile race of officials who battened on them and corrupted their natural good qualities.<sup>2</sup> For although by nature they tended to be free and manly, the government was as complete a despotism as can well be conceived,<sup>3</sup> and the customs of the court were slavish to a degree rare even in Asiatic courts.<sup>4</sup> Yet in spite of its severity, government was exceptionally inefficient, responsibility being shifted from one person to another so that even a royal order sometimes failed to command attention five miles from the palace.<sup>5</sup>

Criminal administration was severe. Witnesses were liable to be tortured in open court under instructions from the presiding judge.<sup>6</sup> A thief was branded on each cheek and with the word "Thief" on his chest, for the first offence; for the second, his hands were cut off, and for the third, he lost his head; if the amount stolen was Rs. 800 or upwards, he was beheaded for the first offence.<sup>7</sup> For aggravated offences there was a variety of punishments. Disembowelling, impaling, burying alive, throwing to tigers, breaking every bone in a man's body and leaving him to linger sometimes for a week<sup>8</sup>—these were some of the methods in the provinces; at the capital the executioners were, of course, more ingenious.

But these punishments pressed only on the poor. Except treason and sacrilege there was hardly an offence the consequences of which could not be evaded by those who could afford it. Thus, a man was tied to the stake and the marksman fired at him four times without result; at each shot there was a peal of laughter from the crowd; after the fourth shot he was declared invulnerable, pardoned, and employed in a confidential capacity by the governor; he had paid a large amount.<sup>9</sup> A favourite way of dealing with dacoits was to paint bull's eyes on their bodies, tie them to a tree, and practice marksmanship on them.<sup>10</sup>

In spite of the appalling frequency of capital punishment (p. 354), crime was rampant, and folk could seldom sleep easily in their beds. In Rangoon, an important charge always under a picked governor, there were nightly robberies, sometimes by gangs of twenty, and the governor would send a senior officer with 300 men to track them down.<sup>11</sup> You could not travel up the Irrawaddy, the great highway of the country, without guns.

<sup>1</sup> *Parker* "Précis."      <sup>2</sup> *Snodgrass* 204, 208.      <sup>3</sup> *Crawford* II. 136.

<sup>4</sup> *Bayfield* liv; *Sonnerat* (1782) II. 47, (1806) III. 20.

<sup>5</sup> *Crawford* II. 157.

<sup>6</sup> *Gouger* 161.

<sup>7</sup> *Symes* 307, *Sonnerat* (1806) III. 22, *TP* 1891 "Les Français en Birmanie"

45-

<sup>8</sup> *Crawford* II. 50 and 147-8, *Mrs Judson* 33, *Trant* 276.

<sup>9</sup> *Crawford* II. 150.

<sup>10</sup> *Mrs Judson* 86, *Gouger* 101.

<sup>11</sup> *Mrs Judson* 30; cf. *Dalrymple* I. 387 and despatch dated 4 March 1812 from Governor-General to Court of Directors (*PP* 16).

Even a governor on the way to court would be murdered in spite of his escort of fifty men.<sup>1</sup> The civil law also was severe; not only was a defaulting debtor liable to enslavement, but also his wife and daughters were seized by the creditor and made to earn money in a brothel.<sup>2</sup> A woman who owed Rs. 25 or upwards and failed to pay became her creditor's slave but the debt was cancelled if she bore him a child.<sup>3</sup>

The kingship boasted of its wealth and made a great display of generosity in feeding envoys with rice, which cost nothing. It bought some arms and ammunition for the Guard but otherwise had few expenses, as each locality paid for its own administration and maintained its own levy in war-time.<sup>4</sup> The king's principal expenditure was on trinkets and golden vessels bestowed on public officers at their elevation to various grades of nobility, on gilding the palace, and on offerings to pagodas.<sup>5</sup> The chronicles describe images buried in pagodas as being of gold; but competent observers<sup>6</sup> who saw them being enshrined described them as tumpetry shams and such as have come to light are seldom valuable.

The golden court was largely tinsel. Its revenue did not exceed a few lakhs, perhaps only two,<sup>7</sup> against the present eight hundred. But the people did not get off so lightly: two lakhs was the amount that reached the king, not the amount collected. In a not untypical instance, out of Rs. 27,000 collected, only Rs. 15,000 reached the treasury, the balance Rs. 12,000 sticking to the hands of the collectors.<sup>8</sup> Revenue was much heavier than now. It was usually paid in kind. The assessment was impossible, often Rs. 100 a household<sup>9</sup> in an age when rice sold at 24 *miss* (88 lb.) for a rupee; <sup>10</sup> in addition there were heavy personal services. Of course the full assessment was not collected save on some special emergency; but what was collected sufficed to crush people and leave them looking shabby.<sup>11</sup> Revenue defaulters for Rs. 30 and upwards were sold into slavery, but as they were then exempt from further taxation, men occasionally preferred to be sold and be free from further trouble.<sup>12</sup>

The king's two lakhs came only from the subject states and from such parts of Burma as were directly under his administration. The rest, probably the greater part<sup>13</sup> of Burma, was appropriated to public services (e.g. the Lord White Elephant, the war-boats, the elephants) or to the local lords; these local lords were usually the governors, but sometimes they were non-resident favourites in whose case the title *myosa* "eater of the township" is a sadly literal description of their energies.

The tribute from subject states consisted of fine cloths, shoes, goblets, tinsel flowers, gilt candles,<sup>14</sup> with a weight of precious metal which varied

<sup>1</sup> Mrs Judson 222.

<sup>2</sup> Crawfurd II. 133.

<sup>3</sup> Crawfurd II. 186.

<sup>4</sup> Crawfurd II. 186.

<sup>5</sup> Crawfurd I. 146-7.

<sup>6</sup> Crawfurd, Marks 160-1, GUB II. i, 508, Westlake 2.

<sup>7</sup> TP 1891 "Les Français en Birmanie" 393.

<sup>8</sup> Crawfurd II. 162.

<sup>9</sup> Symes 217.

<sup>10</sup> Yule "Mission" 250.

<sup>11</sup> Cox 110.

<sup>12</sup> Crawfurd II. 172.

<sup>13</sup> Year 1795, Symes 326.

<sup>14</sup> Yule "Mission" 302.

from nearly half a *vis* of gold<sup>1</sup> in the case of leading *sawbwas* down to some silver in the case of *ngwegunhmus*. The *sawbwas* in their turn took revenue from the smaller chiefs, usually in kind, such as salt, betel, gold washings, or even a specified number of knives.<sup>2</sup>

Fiefs generally fell to those who were capable of administering them, and many governors concealed under their forbidding exterior a real nobility of character; but only too often the selection was made by favouritism and even bribery, for the king was quite capable of giving charges to anyone who pleased him with a sufficiently large present. What might conceivably happen is indicated by the fact that a servant murdered his master, the governor, intending to seize his property so as to approach the king and buy the province for himself.<sup>3</sup>

Officials who were not important enough to be given fiefs lived by preying on the poor, for they received no salary. A man's whole character frequently changed as soon as he attained power,<sup>4</sup> so much so that the governors and the governed seemed to belong to two different races.<sup>5</sup> A non-official who procured himself a decent competence by his own energy took care to conceal the fact lest he should bring down on his head some trumped up case with a view to confiscating his property.<sup>6</sup> The race possessed much natural ingenuity, but did not exercise it because if a man displayed any individual skill, an official at once pounced down on him and robbed him of the fruits of his labour, or sent him to the palace to amuse the king.<sup>7</sup>

As in Turkey, men were not allowed to build houses of permanent material lest they should use them as strongholds for rebellion;<sup>8</sup> so they lived in discomfort, getting rid of their money quickly on monks and pagodas. Some of the sumptuary laws pressed hard, as for instance one which forbade commoners to use mosquito curtains;<sup>9</sup> and even people who were entitled to decent clothes sometimes avoided dressing up to their station lest some bloodsucker of an official should suspect them of wealth. A poor labourer<sup>10</sup> was heard to say "We are perishing under this government; no security for life, no security for property. If a man is possessed of five rupees to-day, and it becomes known, he is robbed of it by the greedy authorities to-morrow."

The people were constantly rebelling, not because they were a bad people—they were a good people—but because they were in a sort of slavery,<sup>11</sup> and every now and then they would rise against it and sell their lives dearly; hence the land was ever in turmoil, and government instead of being stable was the prey of the strong. Even though

<sup>1</sup> *Crawford* II. 184.

<sup>2</sup> *Clayton* para. 92.

<sup>3</sup> *Mrs Judson* 33. Cf. para. 15 of despatch dated 25 May 1812 from Governor-General to Court of Directors (*PP* 39).

<sup>4</sup> *Sangermano* 123.

<sup>5</sup> *Gouger* 11.

<sup>6</sup> *Sonnerat* (1806) III. 20.

<sup>7</sup> *TP* 1891 "Les Français en Birmanie" 394, *Sangermano* 151, *Gouger* 36.

<sup>8</sup> *Hamilton* II. 47.

<sup>9</sup> *TP* 1891 "Les Français en Birmanie" 393.

<sup>10</sup> *Laurie* "Our Burmese wars" 169.

<sup>11</sup> *TP* 1891 "Les Français en Birmanie" 32.

the poor suffered, the race might have progressed had the nobility been allowed to develop a little independence and character; but they had no security of tenure and were treated in the same way. A commander-in-chief, without being allowed to say a word in his defence, was dashed face downwards on the pavement of the palace, men stamped and spat upon him, dragged him two miles by the hair tormenting him with spears, tore out his vitals, and flung him, still conscious, to the elephants; yet all that the unhappy man had done was to acknowledge defeat, ask for reinforcements, and tell His Majesty that the courtiers had deceived him by grossly under-estimating the enemy; and this happened under a merciful king.<sup>1</sup>

The court was the most stupid<sup>2</sup> and conceited imaginable, and did not contain a single man of common understanding; or if there were such, he was afraid to show it, for the government was a sanguinary despotism.<sup>3</sup>

Remote areas, perhaps the greater part of the country, escaped the king's attention; here men breathed more freely, the good qualities of the people asserted themselves, the administration of the local magnates was reasonable, and the peasantry were probably more comfortable than in many other countries, such as India and the backward parts of Europe where the feudal system had outlived its usefulness and had become an instrument of oppression. But the terrible conditions described above obtained, probably throughout the historic period, along the beaten track, e.g. Bhamo, the capital, and Rangoon; and as these were the most important places in the country, the national life was polluted at the source. The great kings were despotic and cruel because they were grappling with a task which was beyond their capacity. The people were taxed but they were not governed, for the kings had not the organisation to deal with a large area covering the Irrawaddy valley, the Shan states, and sometimes Arakan and Tenasserim as well. The function of government is to govern, but it was difficult for the kings to govern when so much of their attention was spent on maintaining themselves in power against endemic rebellion.

**White Elephant.**<sup>4</sup>—White animals are often sacred—for instance, white horses in Japan, white dogs among the Iroquois, white buffaloes among the Shans of Annam, and white horses among Teutonic tribes (cf. pp. 41, 53, 88, 144, 167, 295, 325). Elephants because of their awesome size tend to be sacred—for instance, in Hinduism eight elephants support the earth; in Africa, elaborate ritual accompanies elephant hunting and the Wambugwe tribes believe the elephant to be the abode of the soul of their ancestors. Therefore it is not surprising to find the white elephant sacred in Enarea, south of Abyssinia, and all over Indo-China. The earliest mention is probably in Aelian who, writing in A.D. 200, speaks of an Indian white elephant ("De Animalium Natura" III. 46). The Chiengmai jungles

<sup>1</sup> Bagyidaw 1819-37, see *Havelock* 331. With *Gouger* 269 cf. Esther VII 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Sonnerat* (1806) III. 20, *Gouger* 329.

<sup>3</sup> Persian's deposition at *Crawford* II, app. 125, *Wilson* "Documents" 237.

<sup>4</sup> *Mrs Judson* 5 et passim.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 274.



were reputed abundant in white elephants. In 1826 the Burmese court was exceedingly hurt when Crawfurd told them that the king of Siam had whiter and more numerous white elephants than the king of Burma. Indeed, when Europeans speak of "The Land of the White Elephant" it is to Siam that they refer. In 1836 the king of Siam spent no less than a quarter of his revenue on his white elephant. See *Razadarit Ayedawpon, Konbaungset*, Jones V. 538, *Samuel Smith* 41, *Sangermano* 62-5, *BSPC* despatch 25 September 1812 Canning to Edmonstone, *Crawfurd* I. 246-8 and 255, *Yule* "Mission" 135, *Shway Yoe* ch. lii., *Nisbet* I. 203, *Encycl. Religion and Ethics* s.v. "Animals."

**Chinese embassies.**<sup>1</sup>—See *Konbaungset* 638 *et passim*; *Parker* "Burma, relations with China" 90-4; *Symes* 285; *RSASB* 1919 18; and *JASBengal* 1837 Burney "Some account of the wars between Burma and China" which gives a detailed account of these embassies.

It is not likely that the Yünnan viceroy represented the girls to be imperial princesses. Cheating by personation of his master's grand-daughters (or daughters, p. 291) was high treason and his head would have answered for it. Bodawpaya may have willingly misunderstood the interpreters, as, after the manner of his kind, he had a voracious appetite for self-deception.

The patents of nobility were doubtless like those (gold phylacteries inscribed Thiriyazakyawthu) which were bound on the foreheads of Havelock and his colleagues when they visited Ava in 1826 (*Havelock* 360). The seal of 1792 was worth Rs. 9,000, hardly a sum for which to compromise the status of a kingdom, but the Golden Palace was not wealthy.

The Emperor's letters were sometimes polite, styling the king "Brother"; sometimes they use the haughty language of an overlord to his vassal. The king's 1823 letter studiously refrains from calling the Emperor "brother" and even omits the polite *ba* in verb terminations. But Bodawpaya must have made some serious admissions—e.g. the acceptance of the 1792 seal—for the Chinese were able to convince the English Foreign Office that Burma was tributary, so that England, as successor to Burmese liabilities, consented in the inoperative article I. of the Anglo-Chinese Convention 1886 to send decennial tribute of local produce to China, stipulating only that the envoys should be of Burmese race.

**Lehtunmingala,**<sup>2</sup>—When Htuntaik 569-82, a traditional chief of Pagan, was performing the rite, the oxen shied at his vestments flapping in the wind, and dragged the plough over him so that he died (*Hmannan* I. 218). The ceremony is described at *Shway Yoe* 255. Cognate ideas underlie the Blessing of the Fields and suchlike local rites in Catholic countries. Actual ploughing as in Burma occurs in Siam, in ancient Attica, and in China where the Emperor himself guided the plough and scattered the seed, similar rites being performed in each province by the governor (*Fraser* "Spirits of the Corn and Wild" I. 108, II. 14). Again, certain fruits in

<sup>1</sup> See p. 280.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 295.

Burma could not be eaten until the first to ripen was tasted by the king (*Bastian* VI. 105).

**Popular Feeling.**<sup>1</sup>—I give a few typical statements by residents in the country at the time, who mixed with various classes—

“From the king to a beggar [the Burmese] were hot for a war. . . . A soldier could be got for five ticals. . . . They were very anxious for war . . . they thought that all the world ought to be slaves to the king of Ava and that it was presumption to contend with his armies. . . . The constant talk of war in the ears of a people who had long been accustomed to a long course of victory and usurpation, inflamed their ambition and rendered it popular. The reports they had heard of the unbounded wealth of Calcutta . . . the general forbearance of [the British] Government for a long course of years, interpreted as timidity, . . . all conspired to lead them to the idea that Bengal would fall an easy prey. It was easy to see that the question of the refugees was fast becoming a pretext. . . . A people so unapproachably wrapped up in the conceit of their own superiority and in a barbarous contempt for the rest of mankind. . . . No doubt was entertained of the defeat of the English; the only fear . . . was that the foreigners, hearing of the advance of the Burmese troops, would be so alarmed as to flee on board their ships and depart before there would be time to secure them as slaves. ‘Bring for me,’ said a wild young buck of the palace, ‘six *kalafyus* [white strangers] to row my boat.’ ‘And to me,’ said the lady of a *wungyi*, ‘send four white strangers to manage the affairs of my house, as I understand they are trusty servants.’ The war-boats in high glee passed our house, the soldiers dancing and singing, and exhibiting gestures of the most joyous kind. ‘Poor fellows,’ said we, ‘you will probably never dance again.’ And it so proved, for few, if any, ever again saw their native home.” (*Crawford* II. appendix 71, 119, 123; *Gouger* 103, 329; *Wayland* I. 337.)

<sup>1</sup> See p. 304.