

CHAPTER V  
ARAKAN

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### ARAKAN

SHUT off from Burma by a hill range, Arakan has a separate history, but it is the same in kind. Though that wall of hills rendered her immune from attack on the east, the resultant peace did not give her unity, because her territory is a long thin strip of coast intersected by hill torrents. Before 1437 Sandoway was usually independent.

The ease of sea communications renders it likely that Buddhism reached Arakan earlier than the interior of Burma, and the Mahamuni image (p. 313) may well date from the early centuries of the Christian era. But accessibility from the sea brought other things than Buddhism. Thus, Brahmanism is indicated by the word Chandra which ends the name of every traditional king from 788 to 957 and by the fact that medallions ascribed to these kings bear Siva's trident and Nagari script.<sup>1</sup> After the tenth century the country was professedly Buddhist, notwithstanding the spread of Mahomedanism which reached Achin in 1206 and dotted the coast from Assam to Malaya with the curious mosques known as Buddermokan revered by Buddhists and Chinamen as well as Mahomedans. Doubtless it is Mahomedan influence which led to women being more secluded in Arakan than in Burma.

The capital was successively Thabeiktaung, Dinnyawadi, and Vesali down to the eleventh century, Pyinsa (Sambawut) till 1118, Parin 1118-67, Hkrit 1167-80, Pyinsa 1180-1237, Launggyet 1237-1433, and Mrohaung (Mrauk-u) 1433-1785. All are in Akyab district, Thabeiktaung on the Yochaung river, the others on or near the Lemro river.

Like the rest of Indo-China, the country suffered chronically from raids. Akyab district was exposed to the hill tribes and in the tenth century Shans temporarily overran it. Settled government was the exception. In the middle of the twelfth century even the famous Mahamuni image could not be found,

<sup>1</sup> For Arakanese medallions, see *Phayre* "Coins" and *Vincent Smith* "Catalogue."

for it had been overgrown with jungle in the prevailing anarchy. But the Arakanese were usually quite able to look after themselves. A Mahamyatmuni pagoda near Mindon in Thayetmyo district was built by them during a successful raid in 1160, and there were many such land raids, although their real aptitude lay in sea raids to the north. The Burmese under the Pagan dynasty 1044-1287 successfully established their suzerainty over north Arakan but not over the south, and even in the north the kings merely sent propitiatory tribute to their stronger neighbour and continued to be hereditary kings, not governors appointed by Pagan.

The reign of **Minhti 1279-? 1374** witnessed a famous sea raid from Bengal. The raiders lay inside the mouth of the Hinya river at Chittagong; the Arakanese secretly sank boats laden with stones so as to block the river mouth and then loosed fire rafts from higher up the river, driving the enemy boats on to the sunken craft and annihilating them.

The length of Minhti's reign is attributed to the superior virtue of the ancients which sometimes increased the span of life. He was beloved for his uprightness. He ordained that masters should be punished for the offences of their servants, husbands for the offences of their wives and children, and teachers for the offences of their pupils. Important cases such as cattle theft, which was punishable with death, he tried himself. He used to wander in disguise among the people, and thus learnt that the crops would not grow because of the misdeeds of his uncle, the powerful minister Anandabaya. Once a rich man's servants stole some cattle at Letma on the bank of the river opposite the capital, and the rich man, knowing that he would be executed along with them, bribed Anandabaya; at the trial, the accused pleaded guilty but claimed exemption from punishment on the ground that they belonged to Anandabaya's household;<sup>1</sup> the king asked if this was so, and Anandabaya in consideration of the bribe said it was so; but the king, taking him at his word, enforced the rule and executed him together with the thieves.

<sup>1</sup> It was the same in Burma. Servants in ruling households were exempt from punishment, and English officers record that they were the worst robbers in the country and no redress could be obtained against them, e.g. *BSPC* despatch 5 Feb. 1813, Canning to Adam. In Upper Burma men still living remember how, by the same law of privilege, a man could not be sued even for an old debt after he entered the king's service.

After chewing betel, men used to clean their lime-stained fingers by rubbing them on the pillars of the hall. When he built his new palace, wishing to keep its gilded posts clean, he ordained that anyone who wiped his fingers on the posts should have his right index finger cut off. Once he wiped his own finger there. A minister noted it down silently. A fortnight later, the king, seated on his throne in full regalia, noticed the stain. In anger he called for the offender, and the minister said "Sire, thou art the man." At once he cut off his own finger. The story made a deep impression on the imagination of the people, and they add that in his wisdom he had done it all on purpose. Nay, at Nanya village in Akyab district there is an image of Buddha with one finger of the right hand missing, erected by the king's order in commemoration of the event.

From the overthrow of the Pagan dynasty in 1287 until 1785 there is not even the pretence of Burmese overlordship, save in the fourteenth century when some of the people, torn with dissension, asked the Ava court to nominate a king (p. 86). From 1374 to 1430 the country was subject first to Burmese and then to Talaing interference, and was raided by both on several occasions (pp. 91, 94).

**Narameikhla 1404-34**, when ousted in 1404 by the Burmese, fled to Bengal, was well received by the king of Gaur and served him with distinction in the field. After many years in exile he was given a levy from Gaur to regain his throne, and although the Mahomedan commander at first betrayed and imprisoned him in Arakan, he was ultimately reinstated in 1430. His Mahomedan followers built the Sandihkan mosque at Mrohaung and it was under him that a court bard, Aduminnyo, wrote the historic song *Yahkaingminthami-egyin*. The turmoil of foreign inroads showed that Launggyet was ill-fated, and the omens indicated Mrohaung as a lucky site, so he decided to move there; though the astrologers said that if he moved the capital he would die within the year, he insisted, saying that the move would benefit his people and his own death would matter little. In 1433 he founded Mrohaung and in the next year he died. A populous<sup>1</sup> sea-port, built on hillocks amid the rice-plain, and intersected by canals which

<sup>1</sup> *Manrique* xxi, year 1630, gives the population as 160,000. See p. 265 below.

served as streets, Mrohaung remained the capital for the next four centuries.

Thereafter it is common for the kings, though Buddhists, to use Mahomedan designations in addition to their own names, and even to issue medallions bearing the *kalima*, the Mahomedan confession of faith, in Persian script; doubtless at first, about this time, the kings had these medallions struck for them in Bengal, but later they struck their own. Naramaikhla's brother and successor **Ali Khan 1434-59** (p. 100) annexed Sandoway and Ramu. **Basawpyu (Kalima Shah) 1459-82** occupied Chittagong in 1459 and it was usually in Arakanese hands till 1666; indeed it had occasionally been subject to Arakan for centuries, and according to the fluctuations of power in the middle ages, when Bengal was in the ascendant, some kings, for instance Naramaikhla 1404-34, sent tribute to Bengal and when the Arakanese were in the ascendant they received tribute from the Ganges delta, "The Twelve Towns of Bengal."<sup>1</sup>

After 1532 the coast, though poor and largely uninhabited,<sup>2</sup> was liable to pillage by *hpalaung* (= feringhi = Portuguese). It would have been a disastrous period for Arakan, with the aggressive Tabinshwehti on the throne of Pegu, had not king **Minbin 1531-53** been capable. He strengthened the massive stone walls of Mrohaung and dug a deep moat for the tidal waters; and when the Burmese invaders (p. 158) penetrated the eastern outworks of the city, he opened the sluices of his great reservoirs and flooded them out. He retained Ramu and Chittagong in spite of raids there by the Tippera tribes while he was engaged by Tabinshwehti, and coins bearing his name and styling him sultan were struck at Chittagong. He built at Mrohaung the Shwedaung pagoda, the Shitthaung, Dukkanthein, and Lemyethna temples, and the Andaw to enshrine a Ceylon tooth.

Unlike the other races of Burma, the Arakanese maintained sea-going craft<sup>3</sup> and Chittagong bred a race of competent seamen. For centuries they were the terror of the Ganges delta and at times they hampered even Portuguese shipping.

<sup>1</sup> For these, see *JASBengal* 1913 Hosten "The Twelve Bhuiyas or Landlords of Bengal."

<sup>2</sup> *Hamilton* II. 30.

<sup>3</sup> The king could equip as many as two hundred, resembling galleys (*Year* 1569, Caesar Frederick at *Hakluyt* X. 138).

Finally they united with Portuguese freebooters and thus brought about the greatest period in Arakanese history, circ. 1550-1666. The Portuguese, subject to no control from Goa, had settled in numbers at Chittagong, making it a thriving port, since the middle of the sixteenth century. It was always held by a brother or faithful clansman of the king, with an Arakanese garrison; every year the king sent a hundred boats full of troops, powder, and ball, and then the garrison and boats sent in the previous year returned home to Arakan.

**Minyazagyi 1593-1612**, the founder of the Parabaw pagoda at Mrohaung, employed De Brito in the expedition against Pegu (p. 183). It comprised land levies which went over the passes, as well as a flotilla from Chittagong and the Ganges delta. On the return journey the wise minister Mahapinnyakyaw, lord of Chittagong, died and was buried, after cremation, near the Hmawdin pagoda at Negrais; he had served the kings from youth up, and his compilation of legal precedents, Mahapinnyakyaw *pyatton*, which placed the interpretation of the Manu *dhammathats* on a definitely Buddhist basis, was thereafter among the most valuable works of its kind throughout Burma.

The Burmese, Talaing, and Siamese prisoners brought back by the expedition were settled at Urittaung and along the Mayu river. Some of the Talaings were at Sandoway, and it is probably they who built the Lemyethna pagoda there; a thousand of them tried to escape and were recaptured; they then plotted with Indians in aid of the *ywaraja* (crown prince), Minhkamaung, when he came to worship at the Andaw pagoda, Sandoway; they marched on the palace to assassinate the king, and they failed. The crown prince was pardoned but his companion, Uggā Byan, poet and lord of Sindin in Akyab district, was condemned to have his hands struck off and to be dedicated with the Talaings and Indians as slaves to the Mahamuni image.

In 1608 the king offered to let the Dutch trade and build fortifications in return for help in driving out the Portuguese, but their commitments elsewhere were too heavy to allow them to accept the offer.<sup>1</sup>

Fearing De Brito was about to seize Dianga, the port on the bank opposite Chittagong, the king massacred six hundred

<sup>1</sup> *Hague Transcripts 1607-16 letter 62; De Jonge III. 77.*

Portuguese settlers there in 1607. Sebastian Gonzalez Tibao, a man of low birth who had made enough money in Bengal salt to buy a boat of his own, was among those who escaped. Though outnumbered eight to one, Tibao and his men exterminated the Afghan pirates of Sandwip island and set up there in 1609; this important island was a trade centre, it commanded the mouth of the Brahmaputra and Ganges rivers, and its neighbourhood provided timber in abundance for shipbuilding. The king quarrelled with his brother, governor of Chittagong, who went over to Tibao and gave him his sister; Tibao baptised and married her. Although they used to plunder Arakan and sell the loot in the Ganges delta, the king leagued with them for a time in order to prevent the Moghul governor of Bengal from taking Noakhali at the Ganges mouth which was then in Arakanese hands. While thus allied to the king Tibao gained possession of the Arakanese flotilla by the simple expedient of murdering its captains at a council. He used to raid villages up the Lemro river and even captured the king's gold and ivory barge;<sup>1</sup> his nephew had been left as hostage with the king who now crucified him on the bank under Tibao's eyes, but even this did not make him desist.

**Minhkamaung (Husein Shah) 1612-22**, as crown prince, had been captured by De Brito (p. 185). His queen built the Ratanabon pagoda at Mrohaung. On coming to the throne he tried to reinstate Uggā Byan in society, but convention was too strong and he remained an outcaste.

Minhkamaung is famous as the king who broke the power of the Portuguese in his dominions. His first advance on Sandwip was withdrawn because of a raid by the raja of Tippera. He then had to meet a counterstroke by Tibao who, aided this time by official Portuguese ships, attacked Mrohaung in 1615; Minhkamaung with some Dutch ships beat him off and finally in 1617 ejected him from Sandwip. After this the Portuguese ceased to be the king's rivals and became his servants. They centred at Chittagong, becoming ever duskier in complexion, continuing to hear mass devoutly, and occasionally assassinating their priests who, indeed, were little better; with the Arakanese they made a dire combina-

<sup>1</sup> *Stevens* III. 161. The king made long progresses throughout his dominions in this magnificent barge, surrounded by the court in boats, a moving city as it were.

tion, holding Sandwip island, Noahkali and Backergunge districts, and the Sunderbands delta south of Calcutta, and raiding up to Dacca and even Murshidabad, while Tippera sent them propitiatory tribute. After they had sacked Dacca, his capital, in 1625, the Moghul governor felt so unsafe that for a time he lived further inland. For generations an iron chain was stretched across the Hooghly river between Calcutta and Sibpur to prevent their entrance. In a single month, February 1727, they carried off 1,800 captives from the southern parts of Bengal; the king chose the artisans, about one-fourth, to be his slaves, and the rest were sold at prices varying from Rs. 20 to Rs. 70 a head and set to work on the land as slaves.<sup>1</sup> This continued throughout the eighteenth century, decreasing when the English began to police the coast. But even in 1795 they were plundering the king of Burma's boats off Arakan, laden with his customs dues of 10 per cent. in 'ind.<sup>2</sup> Rennell's map of Bengal, published in 1794, marks the area south of Backergunge "deserted on account of the ravages of the Muggs [Arakanese]." They had forts at Jagdia and Alamgirnagar in the mouth of the Meghna river, and here and there a few of them settled in the delta, for a little colony of 1,500, speaking Burmese and wearing Burmese dress, still survive on four or five islands in the extreme south-east of Backergunge district. They did not occupy the country administratively, they held it to blackmail:—

The Arakan pirates, both Magh and feringhi, used constantly to come by the water-route and plunder Bengal. They carried off the Hindus and Mahomedans that they could seize, pierced the palms of their hands, passed thin strips of cane through the holes and threw them huddled together under the decks of their ships. Every morning they flung down some uncooked rice to the captives from above, as we fling grain to fowl. On reaching home the pirates employed some of the hardy men that survived such treatment in tillage and other degrading pursuits. The others were sold to the Dutch, English, and French merchants at the ports of the Deccan. Sometimes they brought their captives to . . . Orissa; anchoring a short distance from the coast they sent a man ashore with the news. The local officers, in fear of the pirates committing any depredation or kidnapping, there, stood on the shore with a number of followers, and sent a man with money on board. If the terms were satisfactory, the pirates took the ransom and set the captives free with the man. Only the feringhis

<sup>1</sup> *Twenty-four Parganas Gasetteer* 39.

<sup>2</sup> *Symes* 117.



sold their prisoners. But the Maghs employed all whom they had carried off in agriculture and other services. Many high born persons and Saiyads, many Saiyad-born pure women, were compelled to undergo the disgrace of slavery or concubinage to these wicked men. Mahomedans underwent such oppression as they had not to suffer in Europe. As they continually practised raids for a long time, Bengal daily became more and more desolate and less and less able to resist them. Not a house was left inhabited on either side of the rivers lying on their track from Chittagong to Dacca. The district of Bakla [Backergunge and part of Dacca], which formerly abounded in houses and cultivated fields and yielded a large revenue as duty on betel-nuts, was swept so clean with their broom of plunder and abduction that none was left to tenant any house or kindle a light in that region. . . . The governor of Dacca had to confine his energies to the defence of that city only and to the prevention of the coming of the pirate fleet to Dacca; he stretched iron chains across the stream. . . . The sailors of the Bengal flotilla were inspired with such fear of the pirates that whenever a hundred war-boats of the former sighted only four of the latter, the Bengal crew thought themselves lucky if they could save their lives by flight; and when the distance was too short to permit escape, they—rowers, sepoy, and gunners alike—threw themselves overboard, preferring drowning to captivity. Many feringhis living at Chittagong used to visit the imperial dominions for plunder and abduction. Half their booty they gave to the raja of Arakan and the other half they kept. They were known as the Herwad [Armada] and owned a hundred swift *jalia* boats full of war material. . . . Latterly the raja of Arakan did not send his own fleet to plunder the Moghul territory, as he considered the feringhi pirates in the light of his servants and shared their booty. When Shayista Khan asked the feringhi deserters, what salary the Magh king had assigned to them, they replied "Our salary was the Moghul empire. We considered the whole of Bengal as our fief. We had not to bother ourselves about court clerks and revenue surveyors, but levied our rent all the year round without difficulty. We have kept the papers of the division of the booty for the last forty years." (Year 1670 circ., Shihabuddin Talish, soldier and historian, see *Jadunath Sarkar* "History of Aurangzib" III. 224 and *JAS Bengal* 1907 his "The Feringi Pirates of Chatgaon" 422).

**Thirithudamma 1622-38** deferred his coronation twelve years because the wise assured him he would die a year after.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> To avert this fate, just before his coronation he sacrificed 6,000 human hearts, 4,000 hearts of white cows and 2,000 of white doves (*Manrique* xxxi). The numbers are of course exaggerated, but Arakanese gentlemen tell me the sacrifice is true to type, although they do not cite other instances. A traditional king of Sweden killed nine of his sons to prolong his life; among the Baganda eight men were killed at the coronation, and others throughout the reign, to invigorate the king's life; when a king of Uganda was ill, some of his subjects were selected by the priests and put to death (*Frazer* "The Dying God" 160-1 and "Adonis, Attis, Osiris" II. 220-6).

It took place in 1635, and Manrique, an Austin friar who was present, describes it as a dazzling spectacle—twelve vassal chiefs were crowned at the same time, in the palace was a hall gilded from top to bottom, with massive pillars each composed of a single tree, and the Guards included Mahomedans from Upper India, Talaings, Burmans, feringhi gunners, and even some Japanese Christians.<sup>1</sup>

Thirithudamma raided Moulmein and Pegu town, bringing back, among his loot, Anaukpetlun's bell (p. 191), which he set up at a pagoda near Mrohaung.<sup>2</sup> In 1638 his brother, lord of Chittagong, deserted to the Moghuls. The chief queen, Natshinme, had a paramour, the lord of Launggyet, minister and royal kinsman, who was expert in the deadliest forms of black magic; so Thirithudamma died suddenly. His only direct heir, Minsani, the little son of Natshinme, then fell ill; Natshinme nursed him, and he died.

Her paramour thus became king **Narapatigyi 1638-45**, but as soon as the Massacre of the Kinsmen (p. 338) had been enforced and he was firm on the throne, he would not suffer her in the palace-citadel and made her live at a safe distance outside. Narapatigyi built at Mrohaung the Mingalamanaung pagoda, and, to house some scriptures from Ceylon, the Pitakataik.

**Sandathudamma 1652-84** is revered as one of the noblest kings. He built the Zinamanaung, Thekyamanaung Patan-amanaung, Shwekyathein and Lokamu pagodas at Mrohaung. Buddhist missions to and from Ceylon had taken place in previous ages, and now, in the last year of his reign, some forty Arakanese monks went to Ceylon at the request of a mission sent by the aid of the Dutch;<sup>3</sup> the Dutch, fearing a revival of Portuguese influence in Ceylon, wished to strike at Catholicism by reviving upasampadā ordination (p. 56) which was on the way to becoming extinct. One reason why it was

<sup>1</sup> Christianity was undergoing persecution in Japan. Though overbearing, the Japanese were in demand as valiant and faithful mercenaries—thus, the king of Siam had 70 in his bodyguard at this time (JSS 1910 Ravenswaay "Van Vliet's description of Siam" 28).

<sup>2</sup> A Hindu officer of irregular horse in the 1824-6 war took it to Aligarh, U.P. The text and translation of its inscription are at JASBengal 1838 Wroughton "Inscription of the large Arakan bell."

<sup>3</sup> Similarly in 1753 the Dutch obtained monks from Siam, Tennent 223; cf. *Nga Me*.

to Arakan that they sent is that from about 1626 to 1683 they had a branch a mile from Mrohaung; it was closed at times, because they had so many commitments elsewhere; and in 1670 the whole staff was massacred. But while it lasted they found the king of Arakan more business-like than him of Burma, for under the articles<sup>1</sup> of 1653 he admitted their right to claim their own interpreter at audiences and to take away their children by women of the country (p. 350).

Indeed, as might be expected of a people dwelling amid the life of the sea-ports, the Arakanese were in several respects less backward than the Burmese. Thus they permitted the export of rice (pp. 206, 357), under the control of an officer who regulated it so as to prevent a shortage. And about 1660 they began to use coined currency in the ports, striking it themselves; India had done so in Roman times; the Burmese did not do so till 1861, though after annexing Arakan in 1785 Bodawpaya struck some medallions for enshrinement in the Mingun pagoda (p. 275), having learnt the idea from Arakan. The Arakanese had used such medallions since the tenth century for commemorative and religious purposes, usually at a king's accession.

Shuja, brother of Aurangzib, was defeated in his struggle for the Moghul throne, and had to flee in 1660. The people of Bengal regarded the Maghs as unclean savages, but Shuja was in such straits that he asked the king of Arakan to shelter him and provide ships so that he could go to Mecca. The king consented, and Shuja, with his family and followers, were brought to Mrohaung in Portuguese galleasses.<sup>2</sup> Shuja kept aloof from the king, repelled by his table manners. The Arakanese had never seen the like of his treasure, six or eight camel loads of gold and jewels; moreover, the Moghuls offered large sums for his extradition. Eight months went by, yet the king never provided the ships he had promised. Finally he asked for Shuja's eldest daughter, and Shuja, a blue-blooded Moghul of the imperial house, felt that his cup of bitterness was full. He was helpless and could not get away. In desperation he decided to overthrow the king. He had two

<sup>1</sup> *Valentyn V. i.* 140-6.

<sup>2</sup> Half galleys, from early Portuguese *geluas*, a half-decked craft used in the Red Sea and called in Arabic *jalba*, whence *jalia*, and English *jelly-boat*.

hundred faithful men, and he also won over the local Mahomedans; the thrones of Indo-China have been overthrown with fewer men, and good judges on the spot thought he had a reasonable chance. But there were too many in the plot to keep it secret, and the king heard of it in time. Shuja's men fired the city before being overwhelmed, and he escaped to the interior for some weeks but was found and executed. For days it was a sight to see his treasure being melted down and conveyed to the palace strong-room. His daughters were taken into the harem, the marriage of the eldest being celebrated in song and verse which are still greatly admired. A year or so later the king, perceiving a plot, starved them to death, although the eldest was in an advanced stage of pregnancy by himself; and their brothers' heads were hacked off with *dahs*.<sup>1</sup>

Aurangzib himself would have executed Shuja, though not his women, but he did not like outsiders doing it, and also it was necessary to curb the piracy of the Maghs. Shayista Khan,<sup>2</sup> the Moghul viceroy of Bengal, built a fleet, and in 1665 drove them out of their strong stockades on Sandwip island. The news spread consternation, and the king in fear began to distrust the feringhis, who, suspecting that he would exterminate their families, accepted the offers of Shayista Khan and fled with their families in forty-two galleasses laden with munitions; they received fiefs, and their descendants still live at Feringhi Bazaar, twelve miles south of Dacca. In 1666 Shayista Khan's force of 6,500 men and 288 boats took Chittagong after a thirty-six hours' siege, and subsequently Ramu. They sold 2,000 Arakanese into slavery and captured 1,026 cannon, mostly jingals throwing a one pound ball. One hundred and thirty-five ships were taken, the rest had been sunk in action, and two elephants were burnt in the sack. Such of the Arakanese garrison as escaped tried to march home, but on the way they were attacked by their former slaves, the kidnapped Mahomedans of Bengal who had been settled on the land.

<sup>1</sup> Schouten I. 228-37, Bernier 109-15, Manucci I. 369-76, Bowrey 139-42, Hamilton II. 27-9, *JBR* 1922 Harvey "The Fate of Shah Shuja."

<sup>2</sup> *Chittagong Gazetteer* 31, Bernier 174-82, *JASB* Bengal 1907 Jadunath Sarkar "The Conquest of Chatgaon," *Jadunath Sarkar* "History of Aurangzib" III. 220-45.

The fall of Chittagong caused indescribable rejoicing in Bengal. It was a decisive blow to the prosperity of the Arakanese, and with it their century of greatness came to an end. They were, indeed, able to continue their sea raids, for the trackless delta of the Ganges afforded scope to them, as to nests of pirates recruited from the scum of every race; but never again did they hold Chittagong or even Ramu, and they lost their sword arm by the desertion of the feringhis. Sandathudamma's long reign saw the power of his race pass its zenith, and his death is followed by a century of chaos. The profits of piracy had gone but the piratical instinct remained, rendering government impossible.

A long coastline exposed Arakan to alien breeds, and a difficult terrain hampered the task of a central government. Shuja's followers in 1661 were retained as Archers of the Guard, praetorians who drew Rs. 4 a month, equivalent to many times that amount of modern currency. They murdered and set up kings at will, and their numbers were recruited by fresh arrivals from Upper India. In 1692 they burnt the palace, and for the next twenty years they roamed over the country, carrying fire and sword wherever they went.

Finally they were suppressed by a lord who set up as king **Sandawizaya 1710-31**; he deported them to Ramree; there, and at Thinganet and Tharagon near Akyab, their descendants still exist, under the name Kaman (Persian *kāmān* = a bow), speaking Arakanese but retaining their Mahomedan faith and Afghan features. He fought the raja of Tippera and raided Sandwip, Prome, and Malun in Thayetmyo district. But his reign was only an interlude of capacity and after his murder the country relapsed.

King after king was murdered, and village fought against village. Earthquakes are for centuries mentioned in the chronicles of the various states of Burma, but those of 1761-2 in Arakan were exceptionally awesome; the whole coastline rose three cubits perpendicular, the king changed his name to evade the pursuit of the unseen powers, and the people felt that they were doomed. When Singu 1776-82 was king of Burma, many of them fled and asked him to intervene; but a more energetic king than Singu might well have felt unequal to calming such a bedlam, and he refused.

Sometimes the lords would induce a hardy spirit to accept the throne, and as often others would combine to make his task impossible.

The last king, **Thamada 1782-5**, bearing as if in irony the name of the first king on earth, had less authority than ever, for he was of slave blood.<sup>1</sup> Another band of lords went to Ava asking for intervention; perhaps they were patriots wishing to see their land at rest; perhaps they wanted the sweets of office. Their request was granted with a vengeance, for Bodawpaya was now king in Burma. Many a village came out with music to greet his armies as deliverers, and there was little fighting because the king had few supporters. But the methods of the Burmese were such that soon the very men who had brought them in were leading insurgents against them. Yet perhaps even a good administrator could have done little better with the only means Bodawpaya had at his disposal (pp. 267, 280).

<sup>1</sup>That is, he was a man of Ramree. The people of Ramree and Cheduba, being rough islanders, occupied in such tasks as woodcutting, are beyond the pale. An Arakanese will not marry among them.