



research papers *on*

OLD ARAKAN

by U SAN SHWE BU



RESEARCH PAPERS

ON

OLD ARAKAN

BY

SAN SHWE BU

Our Three Main National Causes

- Non-disintegration of the Union;
- Non-disintegration of the national solidarity;
- Perpetuation of sovereignty.

First Edition

September, 1998; 500 Copies

Price

500 Ks

Registration No.

331 96(4)

Cover Registration No.

157/96(6)

Published by

U Mya Than (0150)
Ah-Thaing-Ah-Waing Sarpay
35, Tha-Mar-Di St
Ka-Ba-Aye, Yangon

Printed by

Daw Khin Khin Win (02670)
Kalayar Offset
152, Kyun Shwe Myaing St.
Thu-Wan-Na, Yangon.

**Distributed
BY**

PEAL

Publishers of Eminent Arakanese Literature

55(A), Kyun Shwe Wah St.

Bayint Naung, Yangon.

Phone: 01-680672

01-681826

01-681772

PEAL

PUBLISHERS' NOTE



We, Publishers of Eminent Arakanese Literature- PEAL (ရန်ကုန်မြို့တော်) have published a certain number of books, magazines, pamphlets and the like that mirror of the history, language and literature, research, biographies and other themes on Rakhineland and its people. Our endeavour, however small, may render positive contribution to a certain extent in the sense that different aspects of a race and its culture are properly recorded in such publications. We sincerely hope to create a stage through which Rakhine themes or subjects are exhibited or presented to be observed accurately by its own people and others so as to enable them for the correct judgement of "Arakan's Place in the Civilization of the Bay", in Asia and the world at large.

All of our former publications were in Myanmar and Rakhine languages meant for local readers and researchers. The present one, "Research Papers on Old Arakan" is a collection of works authored by U San Shwe Bu (Barrister-at-law) and Mr. Maurice Collis, a well-known British writer on Myanmar. Those who have a taste on old Rakhineland, on its history or other subjects, this small volume may contribute delicacy. As a matter of fact, apart from its historical and cultural worth, the writer's beautiful style of English writ-

ing, the acumen of a researcher, patriotic fervour of an intellectual, dramatic presentation of historic and historical events, and in-depth study of the race and land he revered are also reflected in this collected work. To the readers, information is imported that the articles collected herein appeared in the "Journals of the Burma Research Society"(J.B.R.S.) published during the years 1916 through 1926.

Some views or notions on historical research presented by the writer may differ from the received and accepted ones prevailing today. However, we, as publishers, without waveringly sought them for presentation with deep-seated admiration on the researcher.

We are especially grateful to U Maung San Phaw, U Maung Ba Thein, U San Hla Kyaw, U Alone Maung, U Aung Kyaw Sein and Ko Oo Khin Mounng for their generous assistance for rendering this publication a reality. A solemn tribute is hereby paid to the late U San Tun Khine (Advocate, Sittway) who permitted us without any hesitation whatsoever to publish this collection of works authored by his eminent father(U San Shwe Bu) before the former passed away.

Rakhaing Hla Myint

**Publishers of Eminent Arakanese Literature
(PEAL)**

PEAL

CONTENTS

1. THE STORY OF MAHAMUNI.	1
2. LEGENDARY HISTORY REGARDING THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME MYAUK-U OR MRAUK-U.	12
3. WUNTI NAT	20
4. THE CORONATION OF KING DÁTHÁ-RAJA (1153-1165 A.D.)	24
5. U GA BYAN, GOVERNOR OF SINDIN, ARAKAN.	35
6. BRASS FIGURE-LAMP FOUND AT OLD WESALI, ARAKAN.	42
7. THE HISTORY OF ARAKAN.	48
8. LEIK-KAM-PHA-MA-WUTTU OR THE STORY OF THE TURTLE.	51
9. THE LEGEND OF THE EARLY ARYAN SETTLEMENT OF ARAKAN.	77
10. FOLK TALES OF ARAKAN.	
II. ENFORCED GREATNESS	89
11. FOLK TALES OF ARAKAN.	
III. THE TEN SIMPLETONS	103
12. SOURCES OF "FOLK TALES OF ARAKAN".	118
13. THE ARAKAN MUG BATTALION.	122
14. FOLK TALES OF ARAKAN.	
IV. NGAN-DAW-SHAY WATHTU OR THE STORY OF THE HAMADRYAD	140

CONTENTS

15. THE FIRST BURMESE WAR BY MAUNG BOON.	158
16. AN ARAKANESE POEM OF 16TH CENTURY BY M.S. COLLIS.	213
17. NOTES OF THE ABOVE POEM BY SAN SHWE BU.	234
18. TASE-HNA-RA-THI RATU BY UGGA BYAN.	242
19. DOM MARTIN 1606-1643. THE FIRST BURMAN TO VISIT EUROPE BY M.S. COLLIS	253
20. ARAKAN'S PLACE IN THE CIVILIZATION OF THE BAY.	288
21. SUMMARY OF THE WORK DONE BY MAUNG SAN SHWE BU, HONORARY ARCHAEOLOGICAL OFFICER FOR ARAKAN FOR THE YEAR 1919-20.	337
22. REPORT OF THE HONORARY ARAKANESE OFFICER, ARAKAN, FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST MARCH 1921.	356
23. REPORT OF THE HONORARY ARAKANESE OFFICER, ARAKAN, FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST MARCH 1922.	383

THE STORY OF MAHAMUNI

(J.B.R.S Vol. 6, Part 3. 1916)

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

country are the replicas of the first great and only faithful copy of the Master.

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

they often take up an important event, enlarge upon it, and then relate how it was prophesied__ generally by Buddha__ many centuries before.

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

to lay down the pen so far as this point is concerned.

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

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

In 1078 A.D. Min Bhi-lu of Arakan was killed by a noble who usurped the throne. Min Re-baya the heir apparent fled with his family and took shelter at the court of Kyansit-tha of Pagan. The fugitive prince remained in exile for twenty five years during which time a son was born to Min Re-baya and is known in history as Let-yar-min-nan. It is true that Kyan-sittha promised to restore the royal fugitive to the Arakanese throne but the lack of suitable opportunity prevented that monarch from redeeming his promise. On the death of Min Re-baya Alaung-si-thu who had already succeeded his grandfather determined to place Let-yar-min-nan on the throne of Arakan. To carry out this object he sent 100,000 Pyus and an equal number of Talaings both by land and sea into Arakan. There was some show of stubborn resistance at first which the more disciplined troops of Burma gradually but surely overcame. Thus Let-ya-min-Nan came unto his own in 1103 A.D. and as the Pyus were instrumental in bringing this about he is also known to the Arakanese as ဟူတသိန်းစင် (the king created by the 100,000 Pyus).

When these soldiers had accomplished their task and just on the eve of their departure for Burma they visited the shrine of Mahamuni. There they found it so richly stored with gems and gold that overcoming all religious scruples they began to despoil the temple of all its vast wealth. From the image itself the Pyus scooped out the greater portion of the back, the Talaings cut off the whole right leg and carried away these treasures into their country—a distinct fulfilment of Gotama's dicta.

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

then entrusted these men with his personal jewel instructed them to give away as reward to any person or persons who could direct them to sacred spot. After much trouble and by the assistance of two Mros they found the place — the men being rewarded as ordered by the king. When news of the discovery reached the royal ears he immediately set out for the place with his entire court. The image was found in the ground buried up to the neck. The right leg and the greater part of the back were missing. The shrine was completely destroyed by fire. The king at once saw the exposed nature of the place. He knew that its general isolation among the hills was the too frequent cause of the shrine being desecrated by the wild tribes who made periodic visits of plunder into these parts. He therefore conveyed the image by water into the ancient city of Dinnyawaddy. The chronicles tell us that invitations were then issued to all the neighbouring kings and princes to visit Arakan and share with him the supreme merit to be acquired by undertaking the entire repairs of the most sacred image and shrine. The gathering of

ruling princes was a representative one. First they repaired the image itself by supplying the missing parts. Then they erected the shrine on which were lavished all the skill, energy and resources they could command. In the building of the surrounding walls the work was proportionately divided between the different races that were present. Thus some were asked to carry out the work on the east of the shrine, some to the south and so on. The temple and the walls were decorated with exquisite carving. The latter contained human figures representing all the races of the earth. There is no doubt about it that this second building of Mahamuni was a great historic event. What little is left of it at the present day amply proves it. The spot selected was a small hill at the north east corner of the city. The nine kutis of treasure left buried by king Sanda Thurya was also unearthed, removed and buried again at the northern end of this hill. The stone slab placed on the mouth of the pit was so immense that a thousand men, say the chronicles, would not even be sufficient to shift it from the place. The whole thing

was finished in seventy-one days.

Several races undertook to visit the temple once in every three months for the purpose of carrying out such minor repairs as were considered necessary from time to time. But some of the tributary tribes were given definite work to perform and were required to always leave behind certain persons to guard the place. The details of the allotment of such specific duties were also recorded in stone tablets at the four cardinal points. These records no longer exists in their usual places though I am told they were there until quite recently by an authority of no mean repute.

In the closing scene of its variegated history Bodawpaya of Burma comes in— a fit character for a fit occasion. After his final conquest and so-called pacification "*solitudinem faciunt pacem appellant*" he directed the famous image to be conveyed into Burma. This was accomplished in the year 1785 A.D.. The excess of patriotic fervour led some people a few years ago to declare that the real image was lost in the creek close to the site in the course of its removal and that the soldiers fearing the

king's wrath took away a substitute. Attractive as this country proclaims the image that now adorns the Arakan pagoda at Mandalay to be the genuine one.

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

What seems to me to be rather a curious fact is that even at the time of Da-tha-raza, towards the middle of the 12th century, this well-known temple and image could not be easily found. At the present

day none of us has any idea of the original site though the chronicles describe the place pretty clearly. I think there are two reasons to account for this. In the first the names of hills and creeks in familiar use in those days are no longer employed now; and the daily occupation of all our time in western education and pursuits has so alienated our interests that it has become almost impossible for us to identify the old names with the present ones. Secondly the abundant rainfall so favours the rapid growth of vegetation that the few years of neglect is sufficient to entirely cover up any structure with dense jungle. But whatever the true reason may be it would be tremendously worth our while to discover this spot as there is no knowing what interesting archaeological finds we may come across.

**LEGENDARY HISTORY REGARDING
THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME
MYAUK-U OR MRAUK-U**

(Present Myohoung in Arakan)

(J.B.R.S Vol. 6, Part 3. 1916)

In order to arrive at a clear understanding of the events that led to the first naming of the place "Mrauk-U" which gave its name to the present city it is necessary for us to go back nearly five centuries from the time Min Saw Mwan built the city in 1430 A.D.. Tsu-la-taing-tsan-dra (951-957 A.D.) the ninth king of Wesali was shipwrecked off cape Negriz on his return from Yunan. Before undertaking this dangerous journey he left his ring with his queen Sandadevi with an injunction that if he did not return the country was to be governed by a person on whose finger the ring fitted. When the news of the king's unfortunate death reached Wesali the queen assembled

all the ministers of state and informed them of the king's last command in regard to the government of the country. By mean of the ring a systematic search for a suitable person was made. But as nobody could be found to suit the much coveted throne, the minister in their despair had to ransack the outlying districts in the confines of the kingdom which were peopled by the wild hill tribes such as the Chins, Mros, Thets and the Phyls. Eventually they came upon two Mro brother and a son of the younger brothers searching for fish in the river. When the ring was tried on, to the great surprise of the ministers, it fitted all three of them. So they were all brought into the royal city. The elder brother A- Mya-Thu was then crowned king (957-964 A.D.) and the younger became the crown prince.

Everything went on smoothly for a time until one day, by quite an accident, the king became aware of the love intrigue that existed between the queen and his brother. Being greatly disturbed in mind by the fear of assassination he resolved to murder the Crown Prince. So one favourable night pretending to be first asleep by the

side of his consort he suddenly sat up in bed and gave vent to a terrific yell. Sanda-devi woke up with a start and on questioning him the reason of his strange conduct she was told that in a dream his household gods, who felt themselves shamefully neglected and outraged by his sudden change of fortune, threatened him with the most horrible death. In fact they actually rehearsed in the dream the fate he was shortly to undergo in real life. He then got up and dressed himself saying that he was determined to perform the usual sacrifices that very night.

He forthwith summoned his brother to whom he related the whole dream, informing him at the same time his resolve to carry out the wish of the gods. So according to the custom of his ancestors he got together a white bull and a white buffalo. He told his younger brother to lead the animals out of the city and that he would follow with all articles necessary for the ceremonial. When they came to a very lonely and unfrequented spot A-Mya-Thu the king treacherously shot his brother with a poisoned arrow killing him on the spot. When

day broke he returned to the palace in a profusion of tears telling the astonished courtiers that his brother had met with an unfortunate accident which proved fatal. The monarch was a consummate actor. His grief was so well simulated that it took in everybody except one solitary person, his nephew Pal-Phyu,—the son of the deceased. This shrewd youngman knew all about his father's illicit passion. Piecing together the various facts of the case he arrived at the true conclusion—fratricide. Warned by this act of treachery on the part of his uncle who was quite capable of fixing on him as the object of further revenge, he silently withdrew from the attraction of the court, resolved to lead the life of a hunter in the unknown solitude of some distant forest.

Just about this time the Phyus who lived in the mountainous regions lying to the north east of the kingdom heard of the death of Tsu-la-taing-tsan-dra and of the accession to the throne of a Mro chief who wedded the widowed queen. They thought it was the most opportune moment for an invasion. Headed by a very powerful chief an army of 90,000 soldiers descended the

heights, on conquest bent. When this mighty host reached the eastern bank of the Lemro river (about four or five miles from the present city Myohoung) a general halt was ordered with the object of reconnoitring the country and devising means for crossing the stream. Meanwhile the people of Wesali were quite ignorant of the presence of so dangerous an enemy. There was nothing to disturb the harmony of their simple lives. But prince Pai-Phyu in his new role of hunter while tracking game along the western bank of the stream at which the enemy halted, suddenly saw a great concourse of people on the opposite bank. After a short time he became convinced that they were some enemy. Instead of running away and giving the alarm he boldly decided to remain and to act single-handed. He got hold of a small dug-out and crossing over to the enemy related to their chief of the story of the king's treachery and his own misfortunes. He moreover swore that the sole object of his life was revenge and that as the opportunity for its fulfillment had then arrived he would undertake to convey the whole army across the river and lead them

on to the capital (Wesali) and to certain victory. Naturally the Phyus were greatly delighted at this unexpected piece of good fortune. They implicitly believed the young prince and because of his topographical knowledge left everything in his hands.

The work of transporting the army then commenced in real earnest. The boat was small—only four or five at a time could be conveyed across. There were no others available. Each time the precious cargo reached the opposite bank the prince led them to a lonely spot and murdered them, for he was quite a giant in strength and size. These silent murder went on for the space of seven days and seven nights. On the morning of the eighth day the Phyu chief seeing that more than three fourths of his army had crossed over, ascended a high hill to see what his men were doing on the other side. To his great surprise he only saw the corpses piled up in innumerable heaps. For a moment he was paralysed. He did not know what to do at first. When calm reason asserted its sway, he decided to abandon his scheme of conquest and run for dear life. He called together his men and

told them everything, representing that it was far wiser to flee to the security of their mountain homes than to face so dangerous and crafty an enemy. Then they ran. Meanwhile prince Pai-Phyu hastily gathered together all the Arakanese who lived in the adjoining districts. The Phyus were chased and captured with all their effects. They were then brought to the place where the present city (Mrauk-U or Myohoung) stands and were all put to the sword. So in commemoration of this event and because it was the spot on which his first great undertaking was crowned with success prince Pai-Phyus named the place "Mrauk-U" (မြောင်ဦး). "Mrauk" (မြောင်) means accomplishment and "U" (ဦး) means first. In Arakan the old pronunciation is still preserved in spite of the corrupted form (မျော့ဦး) (Myauk-U) that crept in with the Burmese conquest in 1782. To explain this later perversion a very silly story was invented in later times. A female monkey is supposed to have mated with a peacock causing the former to lay an egg on the spot which afterwards on that account came to be known as "Myauk-U" "Myauk" (မျော့) being

a monkey and "U" (𐤅) an egg,— a version obviously absurd and wholly in keeping with the best traditions of legendary Greece and Rome.

WUNTI NAT

(J.B.R.S Vol. IX, Part 1. 1919)

Nat worship prevailed in Arakan from the earliest times. Abundant references are made to it in all our literature. But for some mysterious reason, no particular mention is made of the name of either a god or a goddess. They were, however, divided into two classes. One looked after the household and family, and the other presided over the affairs of the kingdom. Thus, in all personal matters, household deities were consulted. Kings received their guidance from the other kind on the eve of any important political movement. No journey could be undertaken nor an army raised without the previous approval and sanction of the special deities.

The earliest mention we have of the name of one of this latter class is that of *Wanti*, whose worship first began with King Pai Pyu of Wesali in the tenth century. It is

recorded that, with her assistance, this king succeeded in driving out the Shans who poured into the country from the north-east. So to commemorate the event, he called the place of operation Myauk-U and set up and dedicated a temple to her worship.

From this time, her name disappears from history, though her worship must still have continued. Several centuries later, in the days of Myauk-U Kings, she once more occupied conspicuous place. But this time she was no longer at the above named city, but near a village on the left bank of the Yochaung, a considerable stream that feeds the Kaladan on the right. Until quite recently, there was a dolmen there will remembered by a number of people of the locality. Regarding the special rites and ceremonies attached to her worship, nothing is definitely known; but there is a very quaint tradition concerning one of her exploits in the cause of King and country.

During the prosperous reign of Min Pha Laung in Arakan, Bureng Naung, the ruler of Pegu, harboured the ambitious design of invading Arakan. With that end in view, he

sent ambassadors to the Court of Akbar, who had just then conquered Bengal. The main object of this mission seems to have been to find out the Mughal attitude towards his contemplated project of conquest. Min Pha Laung being aware of this, and, in order to make the requisite preparations to defend his country, consulted the goddess Wunti regarding the coming struggle.

She replied that it was unnecessary for a powerful King like himself to go to all the trouble and expense of raising an army, but that, when nations were at war, the opposing deities, like the Homeric gods, first engaged themselves in conflict and decided the fate of the contending armies beforehand. She told the King that she had a brother, who guarded the palace of the Burmese King, and that she would go over there to see what she could do to serve him (the King of Arakan).

With her numerous followers, she arrived at the palace of Bureng Naung at about midnight. She not only found the whole palace wrapped in slumber, but also came across her brother keeping guard at the principal entrance to the building. After an

exchange of greetings and an artful display of simulated affection, she requested her brother's permission for a glimpse of the sleeping King, whose military exploits had been the wonder and admiration of the age. The necessary consent being obtained, she entered the Royal Chamber, and standing at the head of the bed for a moment, she raised her five fingers above the recumbent King. She then returned to Arakan with all her followers rejoicing.

On the following morning, five large carbuncles appeared round the neck of the Burmese King, from the effects of which he subsequently died. Thus, through her timely intervention, Arakan was saved from all the attendant horrors of a foreign invasion which even if it proved unsuccessful, would have brought considerable ruin and misery to the country.

THE CORONATION
OF
KING DĀTHĀ-RĀJĀ (1153-1165 A.D)

J.B.R.S Vol. VII., Part 2. 1917

In India Buddhism flourished in its purest form till the close of the first century A.D. during which time it had no rival faith worthy the name. That the Jains of those days formed an insignificant minority will be clearly evidenced by the fact that more than three fourths of the people named, specified objects of donation, inscriptions throughout India from Asoka to Kanishka's time are Buddhist, while the majority of the remainder are Jain. From that time onwards, the Brahmans, with their numerous gods and manifold sacrifices, became increasingly powerful till, in the first half of the eighth century, a furious persecution instigated by the great Brahman apostle,

Kumarila Bhata, succeeded in eliminating Buddhism from the land of its birth. It cannot, therefore, be supposed that such a mighty upheaval did not in some way influence the religious thoughts and ideas of Arakan, which is India's next door neighbour

In fact all available records clearly indicate that just about this time or a little while after it, Brahman gods and their sacrificial forms came into Arakan and along with Buddhism—the original religion—they found equal favour with the people. It so profoundly affected the Arakanese of those days that a whole dynasty of their kings adopted Hindu names. The coins they struck bore on one side the effigy of the sacred bull, Nandi, the riding animal of the god Siva.

Temples were erected in quick succession in the approved Indian style and were specially dedicated to the worship of Siva and Vishnu. The decorations, which were used in these religious structures, consisted of figures illustrating the lesser gods of the Hindu Pantheon.

When Datha-Ràjà ascended the throne of Arakan in the 12th century, Buddhism

and Brahmanism shared equal honours and the cults of Siva and Vishnu were in high favour. Indeed, so deeply rooted were the latter faiths in his country that they affected all the ceremonials, even of a purely domestic nature. They permeated every household and influenced the individual and domestic concerns of everyday life. They interfered with marriage, which before that time, was purely a civil contract; they required a person to perform certain sacrifices before undertaking a journey; they imposed obligation on cultivators and fishermen and, in a thousand different other ways, which constituted the daily life of the people.

Nowhere in the history of Arakan is this fact so prominently brought out than in the coronation of King Datha-Rājā on the full moon day of *Kason* 1158 A.D., which the old chroniclers have handed down to us with all the accuracy and vividness of the Dutch School. The following is a summary of what I have been able to gather from various sources, which, I trust, will enable the general reader to form a just estimate of the powerful influence of Brahmanism in

Arakan from the end of the 8th to the middle of the 14th century A.D.

By the advice of the astrologers and the other Brahmans, whose specially duty was to conduct religious ceremonies, active preparations were made for the coronation of the King. From the seven different hills in the various parts of the kingdom earth was collected. A particular kind of wood was cut at a certain hour of certain day of a certain week for the erection of the pandals. On the most auspicious day of that year, i.e. the full moon day of Kason, three kinds of pandals were erected, having for their roofing a particular kind of leaves brought by the Shans of the north-east. The place selected was the right bank of the Lemro river, a parallel stream to the east of the Kaladan. The first pandal had the general appearance of a lion and was called သီတာသံ. The second resembled an elephant and was called ဂဠာသံ. The third resembled a peacock and was called နေရာသံ. The first was decorated all in white, the second in red, and the third in blue. In the first Brahmans, in the second sailors, and

the third cultivators, waited in attendance. Then the ground covered by each of the pandals was laid over with a layer of the earth brought from the seven different hills. In the first pandal, a millionaire's son clothed in yellow robes had to till the ground by means of a gold ploughshare drawn by white bulls. In the second, the son of one who belonged to the middle class and clad in red robes had to do the same by means of a silver ploughshare. The son of an agriculturist in green robes had to do likewise in the third by means of an iron ploughshare. After this, the earth was well mixed with cow's milk and dung and then grains of paddy, millet, sessamum and so forth were strewn over. The whole place was then fenced off so as to prevent the intrusion of those who were not directly concerned with the ceremonies.

When these preliminaries had been gone through, the Brahmans conveyed the images of Sárasvatī, Párvatī and Visnu on chariots decked out for the occasion, and placed them in the pandals amidst the chants of *mantras* and other incantations. Twelve other Brahmans and four Bhikkhus

intoned special hymns usually employed at the ordination of Buddhist monks. At the same time, another class of Brahmans repeated appropriate *slokas* from the vedic texts. This ended, there was a simultaneous blowing of conches during which the structures were sprinkled with holy water.

The sacred water of the Ganges was then brought in jars of gold, and, at the most favourable conjunction of the planets, the water of the Kaladan and the Lemro rivers was conveyed by forty virgins belonging to the five highest classes of the people. Eight were princesses with gold jars; eight were daughters of Brahmans with earthenware jars; eight were daughters of ministers with copper jars; eight were daughters of millionaires with silver jars; and eight were daughters of middle class people with iron jars. Each class went in separate boats and were accompanied by Brahmans, ministers and representative agriculturists. Then in the midst of strains of joyous music, the boats pulled towards midstream, where the jars were filled and then the parties returned to the shore. The water conveyed by the princesses and the daughters of Brahmans was

placed in the lion pandal, that brought by the daughters of ministers in the elephant pandal and the remainder in the peacock pandal. The whole route from the Royal Palace to the pandals was sprinkled with holy water and flowers by Brahmans, who chanted hymns at the same time. It was also completely roofed over all the way so as to shut out sunlight, and, on both sides, sugar cane and plantain trees were alternately planted.

At the conclusion of all these elaborate preparations, the King and Queen clad in splendid robes, glittering with the nine kinds of gems that ornamented them, proceeded on a white elephant towards the pandals, escorted by armed soldiers, Brahmans and ministers, who went both before and behind them. On arrival, they entered the lion pandal. Here, the King separating himself from the queen uttered certain formulas while humbly seated on the floor. He then bathed himself in the elephant pandal, and, in the other, he washed his head. Having performed this acts, the eight princesses clad in beautiful raiment stood before the King, and administered the first coronation

oath: "Oh King, in all your conduct, be you guided by the wisdom and experience of all the wise monarchs who ruled the earth before you. Oh King, it is our fervent hope that you will not be the first to give offence to other neighbouring kings; that you will always encourage and support all the industrial and commercial enterprises of your subjects; that you will always treat your people as if they were your own children; that you will guard and protect their properties and possessions and that you will always regard their lives as dear as your own. Oh King, we wish you to discard every form of anger, malice and hatred, and to do and say only that which is right and appropriate." Saying this, with one accord and with uplifted hands, they poured from silvery white conches studded with gems the sacred Ganges water over his head.

Eight high-class Brahmans then stepped forward and administered the second oath: "Oh King, be the defender of your faith. Strive always to make it popular and universal. Love and defend all living beings as you would own self. Protect the properties of your subjects as you would your own. In

all political relations with other countries, do not be the aggressor. We implore you to discharge your kingly duties always, to listen to the advice of wise counsellors and to preserve the honour of your race" They then went through the same ceremony of pouring Ganges water over his head.

Eight men belonging to the middle class then stepped forward and administered the third oath: "Oh King, we trust you will introduce just and benign laws for the prosperity and progress of your subjects. We implore you to avoid all forms of evil and to shun the companionship of those who have no honour nor self-respect."

At the conclusion of this ceremony, the representatives of all the different classes of people took their stand before the King, and administered the fourth and final oath: "Oh King, by virtue of the (water pouring) ceremony, which we have just performed, we hope you will be able to carry out all our wishes in every particular. Rule us wisely and well, and never levy taxes more than the legitimate one-tenth of our incomes. Oh King, if you fulfill all our wishes and act and say all that we implore you to do, your

majesty, might and power, both in the present and the future, will steadily increase, like the rising sun and the waxing moon. All the other kings will bow down before you, and own your allegiance, and all the territories over which you bear rule will be from robbers and evil-doers. There will be profound peace, prosperity and plenty, and, above all, you will enjoy a long and happy life. But if, on the other hand, you set our wishes at naught, and give rein only to your own wicked and selfish desire, without any regard for the happiness and welfare of your subjects, may there be not only a speedy desintegration of your Kingdom by the prevalence of frequent storms, earthquakes, fires and other destructive forces of nature, by the depredation of thieves, robbers and all other agents of lawlessness, but may you yourself also have a short and miserable life, and, in the end, may you suffer unto eternity all the indescribable horrors of the nethermost hell."

The King then, having made a solemn vow that he would conduct himself in such a way as to give satisfaction to every one of his subjects, returned with his Queen to

the Royal Palace in the same imposing order as when he started from it. This concluded the whole ceremony, and the three pandals were dismantled and cast into the Lemro river in order to prevent the commission of sacrilege on them.

*U GA BYAN, GOVERNOR OF
SINDIN, ARAKAN.*

J.B.R.S Vol. IX, Part 3. 1919

Few figures in Arakanese history are so attractive as that of the minister U Ga Byan the dashing soldier, the dilettante, the littérateur, the friend and companion of Min Khamaung. He flourished towards the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th when Razagri (1593-1612) was King of Arakan. Of his early life and parentage nothing is definitely known. He was created Governor of Sindin in Arakan and at the same time the king gave him the guardianship of the Crown Prince Min Khamaung who though very young led an extremely wild life. Somehow this guardianship did not prove to be of much benefit for the young prince continued to be as incorrigible as ever—wayward, reckless, and always ungrateful towards his doting father.

Besides U Ga Byan there were nine oth-

ers, all mighty men of valour, who like the Paladins of romance formed a coterie to do and dare anything under the sun and from whom the prince was never for a moment separated. The brain and soul of the party was U Ga Byan. It was at his instigation that the prince sent a number of desperados to assassinate his father the king; but the plot being discovered Min Khamaung and his ten companions fled the country to take shelter at the Court of Hanthawaddi. During their short residence here U Ga Byan was much admired for his deep learning and showed himself up to be a poet of no mean order. On the promise of a free pardon the party returned to Arakan where everything went well with the prince on whom Razagri continued to pour his untiring affections.

Sometime after this Hanthawaddi was invested by the Araknese. While this was going on and at the instigation of his guardian the prince attempted another assassination of his father. This again having fortunately failed the culprits fearing the king's anger went over to the side of the enemy where they were received with every mark

of joy and respect. But one of Min Khamaung's wives who accompanied him pointed out that if death was to be their punishment it was far better to receive it at the hands of his father than be a friend of one who was the enemy of his own country. So the prince with his followers though opposed by overwhelming odds cut their way through and gained their own lines. The prince's valour and might was so conspicuous on this occasion that everybody concerned in the attempt on Razagri's life was entirely forgiven.

The next scene is laid at Sandoway. The prince went there with the avowed purpose of worshipping at the sacred shrine; but on arrival U Ga Byan his evil genius told him that two attempts at assassination had already failed and a third was not to be thought of. It was therefore decided upon to resort to open rebellion with thousands of dis-contented men who then resided at Sandoway. There he got together all the pagoda slaves—several thousands—who consisted of prisoners of war and under his personal command marched on Myauk-U the capital. The royal forces met and

crushed the rebels, the majority of whom fled to Burma. The ringleaders, the prince and his companions, were captured. On this occasion Razagri was very angry and had it not been for the persuasive wisdom of his chief minister the royal rebel would have received a very severe but well merited punishment. U Ga Byan's share of the blame was by no means a light one. He was told that the king conferred on him a unique distinction born of confidence when he was made the tutor and guardian of his son who was one day to rule the country. Since that confidence was seen to be sadly misplaced by the prince's repeated acts of violence against the State as well as Society he could no longer be considered a fit person to continue in the same high position of responsibility and trust he formerly held. As a just punishment for his many misdeeds he was accordingly made a pagoda slave attached to the temple of Mahamuni.

In after years when Min Khamaung ascended the throne one of his first acts was an attempt to reinstate his great friend into society. But the latter politely declared

that the immemorial custom of the country in such a case—to restore an outcast into society—required a king to be even more powerful than the one who first meted out the punishment and that, since he (Min Khamaung) had not yet proved himself a greater sovereign than his father he could not possibly accomplish what he so much desired without infringing one of the established customs which he had solemnly sworn to observe. All further efforts at persuasion having proved hopeless U Ga Byan was left to pass away the remainder of his chequered life in humble but disgraced obscurity and in the undisturbed contemplation of his many acts which constituted both his greatness and his failure.

As an author he is principally known for his gems of poetic thought with which he enriched the literature of his times. He has composed a *ratu* which consists of twelve verses representing the twelve months of the year and describes with great beauty of expression and accuracy of detail the customs and manners of the Arakenese of those days. Min Khamaung while still a Crowned Prince spent three long years of continued

enjoyment at Hanthawaddi during which he entirely forgot Arakan. So U Ga Byan presented him with his *ratu* which so powerfully affected him that he soon returned home amid the rejoicings of his people.

It might be mentioned here in passing that this practice of sending *ratu*s with those who sojourn in distant lands to remind them of their home was until quite recently a common enough thing among the Arakanese. But it died an earlier death in Arakan proper for in the tumultuous days under the Burmese régime the character of the Arakanese underwent a great change necessitating in the abandonment of many of their civil institutions. In the Chittagong district however under the aegis of the mighty Company the Arakanese settlers found a tranquil home which enabled them to retain all their ancient customs and manners. These people coming over to Arakan either on pleasure or business used to carry with them such documents and disclosed the interesting fact that there had developed a class of professionals who entirely maintained themselves by such compositions.

On payment of a rupee a housewife procures a suitable *ratu* which she makes over to her husband on the eve of his journey to a foreign land and tells him not to open it till business is over. When the proper time comes he reads it and falls a victim to its many allurements consisting chiefly of intimate domestic touches which so strongly appeal to his simple affectionate nature that he generally returns home at the earliest opportunity. Sometimes the *ratu* is sent on afterwards when the traveller has been away for many months; but in each case it never fails to bring about the desired effect.

BRASS FIGURE-LAMP FOUND AT OLD WESALI, ARAKAN

J.B.R.S Vol. 10, Part 2, 1920

Of all the form of gifts to the Gods (*deva dānam*) there is perhaps none which can equalise in merit-winning capacity that which is offered in the form of lamps or *dīpam*, from the Sanskrit *dīpa* "to light". Everywhere they form the accessories of temple-worship; but the particular type of lamps, conceived in the form of human statues, generally female supporting in both hands the cup which holds the oil for burning the wick, are characteristically South Indian, and commonly to be met with in all Visweswara temples of that particular part of the peninsula. Except in the temples of Annapurna at Benares where the only example of this type is to be found, there is none to be seen in the whole of northern India. In Ceylon too, though its close proximity has given it a large share of other

South Indian types, no specimen of the figure lamp has ever yet been discovered.

From the earliest times the gift of figure-lamps to temples seemed to have been looked upon with particular favour by the people of South India; for they firmly believed that in the symbolic expression of the burning devotion of the donors represented in the lamps, untold virtues were likely to be acquired for themselves both in this life and in the hereafter. Thus when such gifts were made they were usually accompanied by the offer of cows, buffaloes, sheep or goats from the milk of which the necessary clarified butter is extracted for the perpetual use of the lamps in the temples. One peculiarity in the construction of these statue-lamps is that they should always be placed upon pedestals. No merit is to be attached to those that are without. For it is expressly laid down in the Scare Texts that though Mother Earth has been patient under different forms of sufferings she will not allow any legs to kick her nor put up with the heat of lamps.

The antiquity of this type of lamp is undoubted. In the literature of south India

which deals with the remote times of the first and second centuries frequent mentions are made of it. And indeed from this source alone it can also be gathered with some degree of certainty that the early Greeks and Romans were more or less responsible for the introduction of this type into South India, where especially at Madras and Kaveripatnam they had extensively settled down for purpose of trade. These people brought their wares from the west, and among them the figure-lamps also came. The Indian craftsmen seeing them for the first time were probably attracted by the novelty of the human *motif* employed in the design of the lamps. Next they imitated, and to suit their particular purpose they merely substituted their own forms of drapery and other ornamentation peculiar to the accepted canons of their own art.

The specimen found in Arakan (vide illustration) measures 9 inches in height including the pedestal. It represents a woman in the act of holding out in front of her a rather elongated pear-shaped receptacle intended to hold the oil, which by means of

the wick is meant to be burnt before the images. Her features are sharp and pointed. The ears are long, prominent and well-defined. The hair is coiled on the crown of the head, slightly pushed back. She wears a plain necklace and an amulet on each upper arm fastened by a broad band. There is a bangle round each wrist and a similar one round the middle of each forearm. Except for these few ornaments the body is absolutely bare. A girdle encircles the waist and another lower down over the hips fastens the close-fitting drapery which folds below the knees. One end of the cloth is apparently brought round from the back between the thighs and after being slipped over the girdle it is allowed to fall in front in graceful folds. It is impossible to say whether this specimen is purely South Indian or of a mixed type. The peculiar method of wearing the hair in a topknot and the arrangement of the drapery are unlike anything met with in the collections of India. Indeed the general impression suggests that the statuette is more inclined towards either Egyptian or Assyrian than towards Indian both in design and execu-

tion. Whether it was actually made in Arakan or simply conveyed by the merchants of Southern India we have no definite means of ascertaining at present. There is a line of inscriptions (in Arakanese characters) round the upper part of the pedestal. But this shall be noticed later.

In regard to the final destruction of Wesali, The Arakanese histories are not in general agreement. Some authorities state that it took place in the second century A.D. while others are inclined to the belief that at about the middle of the tenth century Wesali simply ceased to be the capital, and was given up in favour of the newly found city of Sanbawot. But the life of the old city still continued till it was finally destroyed in the later half of the eleventh century. So, though there is nothing definite to go by in determining the age of this figure-lamps, if any reliance can be placed in the data afforded by Arakanese histories, it may confidently be assumed that it must belong to the eleventh century or earlier. It is a great pity that no competent authority has ever yet thought it fit to properly survey the site of this famous old city to whose

harbour, in days long gone by, more than a thousand vessels are said to have annually put in laden with merchandise of all description extracted from the great emporiums of the Eastern world. One has simply to understand its past history, its former greatness, to enable him to form a pretty shrewd idea of the store of priceless art treasures lying buried beneath the soil.

As has already been mentioned above a line of inscription round the upper part of the pedestal records the gift, evidently made by a royal personage. It reads thus:—
 အာနာဝ်ဇောဝ်. This is more or less a facsimile of the original which in modern Burmese may be rendered အာနာဝ်ဇောဝ် "the gift of Ayana." The final syllable ဇောဝ် unmistakably suggests the donor's rank. The inscription is of particular interest especially when considered in relation to the statuette with which it is associated. For to whatever age the latter may belong, it is difficult to get away from the inference that the Arakanese (Burmese) literature must have also been current at the time.

Some 30 years ago the late Dr. Forchammer visited Arakan, and in an ad-

*

PEAL

mirable report on its antiquities stated with some degree of conviction that the Arakanese (Burmese) alphabet could not have been in use in the country much before the beginning of the 16th century. As a matter of fact the learned doctor saw much of Myohoung and other places; but of some reason or other he missed Wesali altogether. So the inscription under consideration accords a convincing proof of the unreliability of the doctor's deductions; for, to say the least, it must be several centuries older than the period at which the present alphabet is authoritatively reported to have been introduced into Arakan.

THE HISTORY OF ARAKAN

J.B.R.S. Vol. 12, Part 3, 1922

Dear Sir,

The history of Arakan is a very difficult proposition. After many years of patient research I have come to the conclusion that nothing much can be done regarding our early history until excavations are undertaken at the ancient sites of Diññyawaddi and Wesali. The native records to mention a good deal of those far off days; but their bare statements can hardly be accepted in the absence of evidence which must be both direct and corroborative. From 1400 A.D. onwards I believe it possible to write a connected and reliable account of the country from the materials that are fairly extensive. In addition to a

♣ A reply to a request for information about the origins of Arakanese history.-- Ed.

large collection of historical Mss. we also have a plentiful supply of inscriptions and coins covering almost the whole of the period. The Portuguese came into this country in the 16th century and left behind records which are intimately associated with the social and political history of Arakan. In one of his letters to me the Rev. Father Hosten of the St. Xavier's college, Calcutta, the learned annotators of Portuguese and Spanish records, states that many volumes might be written on Arakan and Pegu alone In the circumstances the most I can do for the Society is to give a bibliography of works which will be of much assistance in the proper study of Arakanese history. The list is attached.

Yours sincerely,
SAN SHWE BU

LEIK-KAM-PHA-MA-WUTTU

OR

The Story of the Turtle

J.B.R.S. Vol. XI. Part 1, 1921

In an obscure village in Arakan there once lived a man and his wife with their only daughter by name Mai Htwe Yai. I cannot tell you the names of the girl's parents; but it was the custom of the people in the country, even just it is now the present day, to avoid as much as possible the use of the real names of persons who are advanced in years, they are commonly known to the villagers as Mai Htwe Yai's father and mother. They were simple ignorant rustic who daily earned their living by catching fish in the small stream that flowed silently past their little village. One day the worthy couple went out fishing as usual in their canoe and Mai Htwe Yai was left to look after the various household duties such

as splitting firewood, filling the jars with water and pounding the necessary quantity of rice for the evening meal. Somehow on this particular ill-fated day the fishing did not prove as successful as usual. The husband got terribly annoyed, while the wife in her love and anxiety for the comfort of her daughter repeatedly kept on saying:

(1)What shall I do

For my daughter's dinner?

How I wish

That I might win her

Lots of fish—

'Twere a dainty dish

For my daughter's dinner.

Hearing this the man fiercely replied, "You seem to be only thinking of your daughter's dinner, but what about mine you ungrateful woman?" and forthwith he struck her with the heavy oar he carried in his hand. The blow was so severe that the poor woman died outright. But when the body was thrown into the water the man was astonished to see it suddenly transformed into a turtle.

When the man returned home alone in

the evening Mai Htwe Yai questioned him about her mother. As he did not wish to grieve his daughter he tried to deceive her by saying that her mother had gone on a visit to her aunt. The next day the girl went to her aunt's house only to find that her mother was not there at all. Then her father said that he had made a mistake for, as a matter of fact, her mother was then with her grandmother. On verification this also proved to be false. Thus for several days by a succession of lies he managed to hind the real facts of her mother's death from the young girl. But at last the day arrived when he could no longer think of a likely story, and for his own peace of mind he made a full confession of his guilt, adding, "So though you have no mother now she is not really dead for at the present moment she exists in the river in the form of a turtle".

For a time Mai Htwe Yai was inconsolable. Grief seemed to be her only food. She neither ate nor drank several days. At night she hardly ever slept a wink because of her weeping for her dear mother. At length the father one day spoke to her thus:

(2) O daughter mine.

Why peak and pine?

The deed is done, and tears are vain.

To weep and wail

Will not avail

To bring your mother back again

Go, take about the village

The baskets I made yesterday.

And sell them to the villagers

As shrewdly as you may.

Now in this same village there also lived a *bluma* or ogress with her two daughters. The elder girl's name was Kret Chi May and so very ugly that when she walked through the village the children fled from her in terror. This ogress secretly loved Mai Htwe Yai's father back up to that time she could not think of any plan by which she could make him her husband. So when Mai Htwe Yai came to her house with a load of baskets on her head the ogress suddenly saw her long sought for opportunity and determined to make Mai Htwe Yai's father come to her house and make him her hus-

band that very day. One or two baskets having been sold to the ogress the young girl put the rest on her head to return home: but when she tried to get up she could not do so because the ogress pressed her down from the top without the girl's knowledge. She then suggested that the load was too heavy for her and that she should call her father for assistance. Believing it to be true the girl went home as directed. In the meanwhile the ogress and her daughters hastily prepared some food and set up a pot of fermented liquor in the best room of the house. When May Htwe Yai and her father arrived the ogress welcomed them effusively and persuaded the man to eat and drink, for his visit was an honour done to her. Long and merrily the meal continued till night advanced apace. By the time the feast ended the man fell into a drunken sleep making it impossible for the daughter to return home alone. She was therefore easily persuaded to pass the night there also. According to a prearranged plan the ogress's daughter got up in the dead of night and tied together the hair of the man with that of her mother who was

sleeping close by. In the morning when the man and the ogress found themselves bound together in this mysterious fashion they agreed to marry and to live together in the latter's house.

Having now accomplished her object one would have thought that the ogress would be satisfied. This was far from being the case, for the wicked woman conceived a violet dislike for her step daughter Mai Htwe Yai whose beauty far excelled that of any other woman in the village. How much better, she thought it would be for everybody concerned if her step daughter's life could be taken without any suspicion being directed against her. Anyhow she determined to do her worst, hoping that before long, grief and misery would bring about that death which she feared to inflict too openly.

So poor Mai Htwe Yai was given very little to eat while at the same time she was compelled to tend cattle everyday by the river side. For a time she tried to bear up her misfortune with fortitude until one day while looking after her herd she was so overcome with hunger and grief that she

fell by the river and cried bitterly:

(3) O mother turtle, look at me,
Unhappy daughter thine—
Without a friend to comfort me.
All alone I pine,
Starved and treated cruelly.
And made to tend the kine.

No sooner were these words uttered than the turtle appeared on the surface of the water bearing a present of small fishes. These the girls silently took and going into a disused hut close by she carefully cooked them and ate them contentedly.

Thus under these new conditions when she was daily supplied with good fish by her mother turtle, life became more pleasant and tolerable, and she began to thrive both in health and strength. The ogress seeing the change in the appearance of her step daughter wondered much and could not find any satisfactory reason for it. So she secretly told her daughter Kret Chi May to try and find out what May Htwe Yai did by following her the next day in

the guise of a common village dog. For the ogresses were a wonderful people. Though they usually resembled human being and lived as such, they were able also to assume any form they liked. The next day when Mai Htwe Yai went out with the cattle to her usual haunt a dog followed her from a safe distance spying upon her every movement without her being aware of its presence. As before the girl received her allowance of fish from the turtle she then cooked and ate them at the hut while the dog unable to resist the temptation of picking up a few bones approached quite near. "What a troublesome dog this is," said May Htwe Yai and gave it a vigorous kick. Whereupon the dog ran away howling and shouted out from the distance that it would tell the ogress all about her mysterious supply of fish which she received daily from the turtle.

The next day the ogress, having learnt all she wanted, pretended to be sick. She placed dry sticks of bamboo under the mat on which she lay and groaned very loudly. When the husband returned from work he was greatly concerned about her and sent

his own daughter Mai Htwe Yai to consult an astrologer as to the best way of relieving the pain. Every time the ogress turned on her side the dry sticks would snap and she would yell at the top of her voice saying that her ribs were breaking. This increased the man's fears and he cursed his daughter for the delay. At length when she arrived she hastily prepared the medicine she brought with her and administered it to the patient. But instead of being relieved the ogress yelled all the more with pain. She even accused the girl of bringing false medicine to kill her because she hated her step mother. She therefore sent her own daughter Kret Chi Mai to consult the astrologer. Acting under previous instruction the girl returned to say that the only thing that could cure her mother was to give her the flesh of the turtle which according to the astrologer was the best remedy for so serious a disease.

The husband then made a stout bamboo coop to catch the turtle. He first set it in the river close to the right bank. When Mai Htwe Yai saw this she wept and said:

(4) Mother turtle, have a care!

By the right bank is set a snare.

On hearing this the turtle went to the opposite side of the river. There was no catch that day and the man returned home disappointed. When on the next day the coop was set close to the left bank, Mai Htwe Yai said:

(5) Mother turtle, have a care!

By the left bank is the snare.

On hearing this the turtle went away to the opposite side of the river and consequently it could not be caught. For the third time the man tried. He placed the coop in midstream and then he caught his daughter by the wrist and beat her severely with the thorny branch of a plum tree telling her that if he did not catch the turtle he would surely kill her that very day. The poor girl's body was so lacerated by the thorns and the pain was so great that in her agony she cried out:

- (6) O mother turtle, pardon me,
Though into danger guided.
For oh! they are so hard on me,
I can no longer bide it:
Right in mid river is the coop—
Good mother, go inside it!

The turtle obeyed, and it was caught and carried home in triumph. That very evening it was cut up into bits and carefully prepared for dinner. As soon as the ogress ate the turtle curry she got out of her bed and pretended to be quite well again. But since a great deal of the curry was still left, poor Mai Htwe Yai was sent to distribute it among the village folk. With a heavy heart she set out her errand and as she stopped at each house to give the curry she requested the good people to eat flesh but the bones for her. The people invariably laughed and said, "What a funny request to make! since you have given us that curry you cannot stop us from eating everything, bones and all, if we are so minded." But an old couple taking pity on the poor thing promised to oblige her. The next morning when she called on the kind

old people she was given two bones which they preserved for her. She then went into a large public garden and planted the bones side by side in the ground and uttered the following invocation, "Oh ye nats who pre-side over the four quarters of the earth give ear unto my prayer. If I be virtuous and if I have suffered great misery, undeservedly, may these two bones which I have planted spring up into two trees, one of gold and the other of silver. Let no man be successful in his efforts to dig them up. May all the implements he employs be snapped in twain. But should I so desire it let me accomplish the feat by the merest turn of my finger nail"

Hardly were the words out of her mouth when the two trees burst form from the ground in all their resplendent beauty. The girl, however, went home secure in the belief that no one could cut them down or remove them. Soon the news of magic trees spread all over the country. Men came to see it from all directions. The king of the country being unable to suppress his curiosity any longer went to the spot in the state because all his previous efforts to

remove them to his palace completely failed. When he actually saw the beautiful trees he offered a handsome rewards to anyone who could dig them up and carry them away to his palace garden. Men toiled all day in the hope of winning the prize; but all their efforts were useless for the trees refused to be shifted from their position. The king then asked the people as to how the trees came to be there, and when they informed him that a young girl called May Htwe Yai was responsible for their growth he ordered her to be brought to the spot. On her arrival the king said, "I command you to dig up the trees at once. If you are successful I will make you my queen, but if not, your life shall be the forfeit." Hearing these words the girl sent up an inward prayer to the Nats to assist her and in fear and trembling she touched the trees. To the surprise of everybody the trees were easily uprooted. The king marvelled much but spoke no word at all. At a sign from him the ministers placed the trees in the chariot and after mounting the girl on a richly caparisoned horse the whole party returned to the palace. In due course Mai

Htwe Yai-the poor persecuted maiden became the queen of the country.

Some time after this event the ogress and her two daughters heard about Mai Htwe Yai's good fortune. They could neither eat nor drink for they were very jealous. So for many days they discussed the details of a plan by which they hoped Mai Htwe Yai could be killed. At last the long sought for opportunity arrived, for the ogress's husband the queen's father, had to undertake a long journey to a foreign land. When the man departed the ogress sent words to the palace requesting the queen to visit her father who was very ill. "Is my father still capable of eating a little rice and drinking a little water?" asked the queen to the messenger. "Yes! he can still do that," replied the latter. "Then," said the queen, "you may return. I am certain that my father will not die yet."

After a few days another message was sent to the palace. This time it stated that the queen's father was on the point of death and that if she did not hurry she would be too late to speak to him. Before setting out alone from the palace the queen

ordered her servants to fetch her in the evening from the house of the ogress. When the queen arrived at the house of her step mother she found the whole household in tears around a bed on which some object was covered up by a blanket. Thinking that her father had died she went up to the bed and tried to remove the blanket from his head in order to have a last look at him who was once her parent. But the wily ogress prevented her from doing so on the plea that the face was so distorted that it was unfit for any one to see. So the poor queen could do nothing else but sit with the rest and give way to tears. Presently Kret Chi Mai her elder step sister began admiring the jewels and other ornaments which the queen was then wearing, and said to her, "Dear sister you must indeed be very happy in your present condition. What magnificent jewels you have on! Can you please allow me to wear your bangles just for a moment to see what I look like?" At first the queen refused and rebuked her sister for her frivolous thoughts especially at a time when they should be in the deepest grief. But Kret Chi Mai laughed

and still persisting in her request she at length got her own way.

When evening came the queen asked for the return of her bangles; but Kret Chi Mai, pretending to be terribly angry with her for worrying her so soon, threw them through a crack in the floor on to the ground beneath the house. Whereupon the ogress her mother said, "What a naughty girl you are Kret Chi Mai! Instead of being grateful for being permitted to wear the bangles even for so short a time, you have even thrown them away. Go, pick them up at once and offer an apology to your sister." "That will I never do," said the offender, "If she wants her bangles she may pick them up herself." The queen was in a hurry to get back to the palace and as she knew that her servants would be almost on their way to fetch her she did not want to waste any more time arguing the matter out. So she went down beneath the house to pick up her jewels. Just as she stooped the ogress and her daughter hastily brought a large pot of boiling water which they had previously prepared and emptied its contents on the unfortunate queen. Death was

instantaneous but her body was immediately converted to that of a beautiful egret. Quickly the ogress's daughter Kret Chi Mai adorned herself with the discarded clothes and jewels of the late queen and calmly awaited the coming of the palace servants.

Meanwhile Shwe Kya the young prince began to get anxious about her mother who had absented herself for hours. He went to his father the king and told him about his fears. So the father and son waited patiently strolling about in the palace grounds. As darkness came on they heard the sound of trumpets and the trampling of many feet. The father said to the son, "I think that is your mother. Though she is certainly late I do not think you need worry yourself any more for she has assuredly returned." Shortly after this the long expected party arrived. The pretended queen came down from palfrey and smilingly advanced to the father and son who were watching her with unfeigned surprise. "My dear," said the king, "if you are my wife you have certainly changed a great deal in your appearance. You left the palace this morning a very beautiful woman, but you

have now returned very ugly. What in heaven's name can be the reason of this remarkable transformation?" The queen then replied, "Dear husband, you know that I went to the death bed of my father. When I saw him lying dead I was so overcome with grief that I cried very much and struck my face so insistently that I have become very ugly now. But prince Shwe Kya stoutly refused to be embraced by his supposed mother for he felt sure that she was some one other than what she represented herself to be.

It so happened that when Mai Htwe Yai the real queen died she left behind an unfinished piece of cloth she was then weaving. In order to carry on the pretence completely Kret Chi Mai the supposed queen went to the loom every day and tried to continue the work of weaving. But to her chagrin she found she could not do so easily as the pattern of the cloth was too intricate for her. Whenever she found herself in a difficulty the egret, which was then living in the palace as a general pet, would go up to the loom and by means of its beak indicate what should really be done.

For a time the false queen put up with it but when this interference became too frequent she became so annoyed that she struck the bird with heavy shuttle and killed it outright.

She then sent it down to the kitchen with orders to have it served up for dinner. But when the king found that his dinner consisted of the palace egret he refused to touch it and gave orders to have the curry thrown away. The servant immediately bore the dish out of the room and threw the contents close to the royal gardener's house. The next morning to the great surprise of the gardener and his wife they found a fully grown bilva tree (Bengla quince) bearing a single fruit of extraordinary size—One remarkable thing about the fruit was that whenever the old lady (gardener's wife) passed by under the tree the fruit used to touch her head, until, at last, she was so annoyed that she plucked it and kept it in a basket in the house.

One day the old lady went out to work in the garden and left her husband to look after the house. But the worthy man fell asleep, and as he did so the bilva fruit

mysteriously opened and a most beautiful girl emerged out of it. Then without any hesitation what so ever she began to bathe, dress and besmear her face with *Thanetka* (a paste obtained by rubbing a certain kind of bark on the smooth surface of a flat stone). After going through her toilet most carefully—I cannot explain minutely the intricate phases of a young lady's toilet—she prepared some rice and cooked some food. When this was done she passed some very severe remarks on the old man who was sleeping soundly and then she addressed the cock that was scratching for food at the foot of their backstairs:

(7) Good Mr. Cock!
I prithee tell
The old lady.
When she comes back,
There is no lack,
Dinner's ready.
Let her eat well,
Let her drink well,
I prithee tell
Her, Mr. Cock!

So saying she entered the bilva fruit. When the old lady returned home she was much surprised to find that some one had mysteriously cooked her dinner and blamed her husband for sleeping instead of keeping proper watch. Just as she finished her scolding the cock spoke:

(8) Grand mamma!

Look! Look!

Dinner stands!

But the cook

Had unclean hands.

Fling it afar,

Do, grand mamma!

Now this was not exactly what the girl from the bilva fruit told the cock to say. But being a cunning bird who appreciated a good dinner as well as any one else he rightly thought that by misinforming the old lady she would act on his instructions. As anticipated the dinner was flung out with curses and the wily cock had a good feed thereof. This sort of thing continued for several days until the old lady losing her patience determined to keep watch herself.

She sent her husband away to do some work in the garden while she lay down on her bed and pretended to be asleep. After a while the girl, as usual, issued from the fruit and in the midst of her preparations for dinner the old lady quietly got up and threw a large bamboo cage over her.

The old people then adopted the girl who was forbidden to leave the house but was only permitted to weave and spin. It so happened that the boys of the town, including the young prince, were in the habit of playing everyday near this house. Whenever an opportunity occurred the girl would call the prince and ask him to assist her in her work. At last interruptions in his play became so frequent that he lost every day. His father the king one day seeing his son sad and dejected asked him what the cause was. The boy replied that a certain beautiful girl living in the old couple's house frequently made him to do some work for her and would not allow to play his game properly. It was on this account that he returned home a loser every day.

On the following morning the king rode away on a visit to the old people deter-

mined to see for himself who the girl was and after halting in front of the house he called out loudly for a cup of water. The old man brought him one but he refused it by flinging away the cup. Then the old woman brought him out another cup. This also he angrily flung away saying, "I have not come here to accept any hospitality from fools like you. I will only drink from the cup tendered by the young lady who is now an inmate of your house. Go and bring her out at once if you do not wish to incur my extreme displeasure." In fear and trembling the old woman complied and when the king saw the lovely girl he was at once struck by the resemblance she bore to his dear wife Mai Htwe Yai. So without saying a word he placed her on his horse and returned to the palace.

On their arrival the lady informed the king that she was no other than his real wife, the mother of the young prince and at the same time she related to him without any reservation whatsoever the story of her persecution by the wicked ogress and her elder daughter who was now living as his rightful queen. The king greatly rejoiced to

hear this but being a very just monarch he summoned the imposter and asked her for an explanation. Nothing daunted the false queen indignantly repudiated the allegations against her and stated that the girl whom he had brought was none other than an adventuress trying to bring about her ruin.

The king sat down and thought very hard for a long time. But at length he resolved to allow the two claimants to settle their dispute by a personal combat. He therefore ordered two swords to be brought. The false queen quickly selected the sharper one of the two while, the other, relying upon the justness of her case, took up the blunter weapon without any murmur. Then the fight began. By some mysterious cause the assaults of the false queen made no impression whatever on her opponent. On the other hand a well directed blow from the true queen pierced the breast of the ogress's daughter and killed her outright. Thus was the king convinced that she who survived the terrible ordeal was his true wife and with due ceremony she was once again installed as his rightful queen.

When the day's festivities were over the

king ordered the body of the false queen to be cut up into bits. The pieces were then preserved in a large jar of fermented liquor. After a few days the jar was sealed and then sent to the ogress with the compliments from the king. When the former received it she was highly pleased and openly boasted to her neighbours on the advantages of having a king for a son-in-law. When the hour for dinner came she opened the jar and took out a piece to eat with her curry. But her observant younger daughter quickly remarked in alarm. "Oh mother! just look at it carefully. Doesn't it resemble the finger of my sister?" "Nonsense child, you must be dreaming. What absurd ideas do get into your head!" so saying she calmly went on with her dinner. When another piece was brought out the young girl again exclaimed, "Do look mother this is surely my sister's foot. I well remember the position of this is peculiar scar she had on it." Again the mother scolded her for her fancies and ordered her to be silent. On the third occasion the preserve being very tasty, a large piece was brought out. This time the girl jumped up and cried, "Oh mother

this is surely my sister's head. See the arrangement of the hair and earrings she always wore while with us." Hearing these words the ogress became dumb with astonishment. She knew it to be a human head but owing to the presence of other ingredients she could not quite distinguish the features at first. She hastily brought some water and watched the face. Then she became convinced that the face she was looking at was none other than that of Kret Chi Mai her own daughter. Need I tell what happened the ogress after that? What does every mother feel when a beloved child of her dies? Even so the wicked ogress felt; but in her case the grief and shock was so great that she died in a very short time. Thus was virtue rewarded while sin and wickedness met the just punishment which always pursues those who are its votaries.

(Verse by G.H. Luce)

THE LENGEND OF THE EARLY ARYAN SETTLEMENT OF ARAKAN

J.B.R.S. Vol. 11, Part 2. 1921

Many centuries before the birth of Buddha there reigned in the country of Uttara Madhûra a powerful king whose name was Sâgaradeva. At the same time in the country of Asitinjana there ruled a king of the same race whose name was Deva Kamsa. The former had two sons Sâgara and Uppa Sâgara. The latter had two sons Kamsa, Uppa Kamsa and a daughter named Deva Gamba. When the girl was born the astrologer informed the king that her ten sons who should be born thereafter would some day destroy the whole of their grandfather's family. Whereupon the relatives of the king advised him that the best course to follow under the circumstances was to kill the girl baby in order to prevent the fulfilment of such a dreadful prognostication.

After careful consideration the king said that it was not necessary to resort to such an extreme measure as their purpose could be quite as easily served if the girl was prevented from marrying. The family conference having unanimously agreed upon this proposal, the king ordered a very lofty palace to be erected. In the topmost room the princess was brought up under the immediate supervision of a trusty nurse named Mandigopa and her husband Anandakagopa. Moreover the palace was well fortified, and down below, surrounding the whole building, a thousand men were kept to guard it carefully day and night. No stranger was allowed to approach the building and the princess was never allowed to leave her room under any pretext.

In course of time the old king died. The elder son whose name was also Kamsa ascended the throne and the younger Uppa Kamsa became the Crown Prince. In the country of Uttara Madhûra, king Sagaradeva died. His elder son Sâgara became king and the younger Uppa Sâgara became the Crown Prince.

Prince Uppa Sâgara on account of his

many virtues and accomplishments was a popular hero. Day by day his followers increased causing no small amount of uneasiness among the ministers. At last they in a body went to the king and represented to him the danger that was menacing him and urged him to take timely measures. The Crown Prince was summoned before the king and on being told about the matter he swore that there was nothing on the accusation and that the ministers had exaggerated a great deal. The king was satisfied with the explanation. But when the young prince returned home he thought to himself that if the ministers kept on accusing him of conspiracy against the throne he would surely come to great harm in the end. He therefore determined to leave the kingdom while there was yet time.

King Kamsa of Asitinjana country was a great friend of his because they had been class mates in the university of Taxilla. He thought that if he went there his friend was sure to give him the shelter and protection which he sorely needed. Secretly he collected his followers and in a body they went over to king Kamsa and placed them-

selves under his protection. The king rejoiced very greatly to see his old friend turn up and assigned to him in perpetuity the revenues of a rich district.

One day while prince Uppa Sâgara was passing by the palace of the imprisoned princess she happened to be looking out of a window. In a moment their eyes met and love was complete. From that time forward the prince exerted all his might to get a chance of speaking to her. The maidservant Nandigopa being won over to his cause after a great deal of trouble, at length his object was accomplished.

The lovers met in secret every night till eventually the princess Deva Gamba became big with child. When the maid realised the seriousness of the crime to which she was a party she felt greatly alarmed. So in order to mitigate her own offence she informed the king of the real condition of the princess his sister. On being questioned she at first denied having any real knowledge of the affair; but when she was examined under torture she made a complete confession.

That very day the king held a council

consisting of himself, the Crown Prince and the four Chief Ministers of State. The majority were in favour of punishing all the culprits in such a way that the dread prophesy might not be fulfilled. But the wise king solemnly rose up to address the council in the following terms, "Oh my brother and ministers! There are twelve kinds of people whom we should honour and who should never be punished. They are mother, father, teacher, uncle, Buddha, Piccaga Buddha, Arahata, Sangha, Rishi, Muni, one who observes the precepts and Brahmins. So far as these persons are concerned we must show our forbearance even though they be guilty of any offence. Then again there are five kinds of people for whose sake we should even risk our lives. They are, bosom friend, one who in fearing to lose his life seeks our protection, one who strives to preserve the purity of his race and family, one who is able to save the lives of other people and one who risks his life in order not to break a solemn promise. In the present case however, prince Uppa Sâgara is not only my bosom friend but he is also a fugitive who seeks our protection. How

can we therefore ever think of doing him any harm?"

Then the Crown Prince in the midst of profound silence next stood up and said, "Oh king and ministers! the words which we have just heard form the essence of wisdom. Besides, there is no immediate cause for anxiety since the prophesy relates to the birth of male children only. If the princess conceives a female child there is no need to be alarmed. So let us wait and see the result."

The council unanimously agreed to this and moreover it was resolved that since it was too late to interfere the princess Deva Gamba should be wedded to her lover. At the same time a careful watch was set against her approaching accouchement. When the dreaded day arrived a girl baby was born to the relief and joy of everybody. This child was named Omara Devi.

The following year the prince Deva Gamba again became enceinte; but this time her maid Nandigopa was also in the same condition. And in the fulness of time both gave birth on the same day and at the same hour. This time the princess was de-

livered of a boy and the maid of a girl. Seriously alarmed at the probable fate of the child should her brother hear of it, she caused the babies to be exchanged. When the king learnt that her second child was also a girl he was very pleased and he felt sure that his astrologers were completely wrong in their calculations.

Thus being more or less convinced of the falseness of the prophesy the king and his ministers no longer paid much attention to the princess. From the time of her second confinement she was left practically alone with her own maid. So in course of time she gave birth to ten sons altogether, while her maid also begot ten daughters. But for safety's sake the boys were brought up by the maid as her own sons. Their names were Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Candadeva, Suradeva, Aggideva, Ajjhata, Varunna, Rohaneya, Ghatapandita and Angura. The eldest child Omara Devi died before long. The youngest child was a daughter named Anjana Devi.

When these boys grew up to be young men they became very bold and fearless. They also far excelled the strength of ordi-

nary men. They were very cruel and inconsiderate in their dealings with other people. They looted, they robbed, they murdered, and in short they were guilty of the worst forms of excess. At first the people did not complain because they were the sons of Nandigopa the trusted servant of King Kamsa. But when they persisted in their evil conduct which became intolerable the people went to the king in a body and complained very bitterly. Their supposed mother was sent for and severely taken to task for allowing them to run amok in the country. She replied that they were beyond her control and requested the king to do anything he liked to check their career of crime.

King Kamsa then ordered the arrest of the young men but no attempt to accomplish this object seemed to have been successful; for whenever they were pursued and surrounded by the soldiers they generally became invisible, eluding every effort at capture. This made the king think, suspecting at the same time that the young men were no ordinary mortals. He sent for Anandagopa the husband of the maidser-

vant and questioned him very closely as to the real parentage of the young men. Fearing to lose this life the servant at length made a clean breast of all the circumstances attending their birth and parentage. The maidservant was then sent for and questioned. Seeing that it was useless lying any further she corroborated her husband's statement.

When the king learnt the real facts he was filled with fear and anger. He sent for the executioners who forthwith led away the guilty couple to the place of execution. On the way they met the Crown Prince Uppa Kamsa who an enquiry found what had happened. He ordered the men not to carry out their work until he came back again. He then went to his brother the king and said, "Oh king, you placed implicit trust in the two unfortunate servants and ordered them to attend on the princess our sister. It is the duty of every servant to obey his or her immediate master. So that in the present case in failing to give you accurate information about her sister's children they were but carrying out her wishes for which they should not be blamed. The

most that they should suffer is to undergo the same punishment as those other guards who were placed to prevent strangers from entering the palace of the princess."

The king being thoroughly satisfied with the argument cancelled the first order, letting off the culprits with a fairly light punishment. As for the princess Deva Gamba she was filled with grief because her brother the king accused her of want of love for themselves as well as the family to which she belonged; for by her inconsiderate act her sons were destined to destroy them all.

But as parental love is greater than all thing else in this world both she and her husband prince Uppa Sâgara admitted their fault and begged the king to condone all their sons' offences. But the matter was referred to the council which decided that under no circumstances could the young men be left at large for they were a real menace to the existence of the kingdom. So an order was issued for their immediate arrest.

For this purpose the whole military strength of the kingdom was employed.

Three times the attempt was made on an elaborate scale but without success for on each occasion the devas of the earth and the sky gave their active support to the ten brothers. At last seeing that force would not do the king decided to resort to strategem, hoping to accomplish his object by means of sweet words and alluring promises.

Informed of these fresh designs upon their persons the brothers ran away to the Himavanta forest where they met a very learned rishi who provided them with food and shelter. Under the instruction of this rishi they learnt the different kinds of arts and sciences and then returned to their uncle's kingdom with the object of conquering it. At the time of their entry the king and all his courtiers were assembled at a tournament. They at once got into the ring and killed the most famous of the combatants without having due regards for the formalities.

When the king saw who intruders were he immediately got up from his seat and shouted out to the assembled people to arrest them. Whereupon the eldest brother

Vāsudēva rushed upon his two uncles king Kamsa and Crown Prince Uppa Kamsa and slew them with his own hands. With the death of these two persons the kingdom passed into their possession. Then after having conquered the neighbouring kingdom of Ayuḷjhapura they resolved to annex the kingdom of Dwarrawaddi which at the time was under the rule of the king Narinda. And when this was accomplished after a great deal of hard fighting, the ten brothers with their youngest sister Anjanadevi made an equal division of all their acquired territories where each set up as an independent ruling prince. The youngest sister's portion was Dwarrawaddi in Southern Arakan (modern Sandoway) which amid the new scenes of varied life her followers colonised for the first time.

*FOLK TALES OF ARAKAN**II. - ENFORCED GREATNESS*

J.B.R.S. Vol. XI, Part 3, 1921

Once upon a time there lived a very poor middle aged couple on the outskirts of a great and magnificent city. Early in the morning the man used to set out to the city and return home in the evening with a few odd annas earned by picking up small jobs in the warehouses of wealthy merchants. One fine morning, being lazier than usual, he remained in bed with his eyes closed though fully awake, and furtively watched the proceedings of his wife during her toilette. When she was completely satisfied with her performance the man pretended to wake up as though from a deep sleep and addressed his wife, "You know, my dear, of late I have been feeling that

some strange power has been granted to me by the gracious *nats* who preside over our destinies. To illustrate my point, you saw just now that I was fast asleep, and yet, would you believe it, I knew exactly what you were doing a little while ago from the time you rose from your bed up till the present moment," and proceeded to tell her all she did at her toilette. As may be imagined, his wife was quite astonished at this feat, and womanlike, she began to see in this power the means to a profitable living.

Just about this time the kingdom became greatly distracted by a series of daring thefts which took place both by day and night. All efforts by the authorities to capture the culprits proved useless. At length the king became seriously alarmed for the safety of his treasure, and in order to afford better protection he redoubled the guards round the palace. But in spite of all this precaution the thieves entered the palace one night and succeeded in carrying away a large quantity of gold, silver and precious stones.

On the following morning the King is-

sued a proclamation to the effect that a thousand gold mohurs would be given as a reward to the person who could either capture the thieves or restore the stolen property. So without consulting her husband in whom she had absolute faith, she went off to the palace and informed the king that her husband was a great astrologer and that it would be quite easy for him to find the lost treasures. The king's heart was filled with gladness on receiving this information. He told the good woman that if her husband could do all that she promised, further honours and rewards would be heaped upon him.

When the woman returned home she joyfully related to her husband the details of her interview with the king. "What have you done, you silly fool?" shouted the man with mingled astonishment and alarm. "The other day when I spoke to you about my powers I was merely imposing upon you. I am neither an astrologer nor a diviner. It will be impossible for me to find the lost property. By your silly act you have not only brought disgrace upon us but you have also imperilled our lives. I don't care what

happens to you; I only know that I am going to commit suicide this very day."

So saying he left the house and entered a dense forest with the intention of cutting a stout creeper with which to hang himself. After he got what he wanted he climbed up a big tree to tie one end of the creeper to a branch. But while he was engaged in this act the notorious thieves came to the foot of the very tree on which he was perched and proceeded to divide the treasures which they stole from the palace. The man on the top remained absolutely still and eagerly listened to all that was going on down below. Apparently the division was not quite satisfactory to every one, and as a result a terrible dispute arose among them. For long hours they argued and abused each other without being able to come to a settlement. At length seeing that the sun was already declining they agreed to bury the treasure at the foot of the tree and to return on the morrow for a further discussion relative to their respective shares.

As soon as they left the place the poor man came down from the tree and ran home as fast as he could. "My dear wife," I

know exactly where the treasures are to be found. If you make haste and come along with me I shall be able to remove the whole lot to our house." So they hastened together with baskets on their heads and reached the spot when darkness had properly set in. They then dug up the treasures as quickly as they could and conveyed them home.

On the following day they went to the palace and restored the lost treasures to the king. Greatly overjoyed at his good fortune the king praised the man and marvelled at his rare knowledge. In addition to the rewards which he received, the man was forthwith appointed the chief astrologer to the King with a handsome salary which placed him beyond the dream of avarice.

While in the enjoyment of such honour and rewards the astrologer one day thought to himself, "So far I have been fortunate. My luck has been phenomenally good. Everybody takes me to be a great man, though actually I am not. I wonder for how long my luck will befriend me?" From that time forward his mind became uneasy. He often

sat up in bed at nights dreading the future which should bring about his exposure and disgrace. Every day he spoke to his wife about his false position and the peril that threatened him. He saw that it would be utter folly and madness to make a clean breast of everything as he had already committed himself too far. So he decided to say nothing for the present but to await a favourable opportunity of extricating himself from the awkward situation.

It so happened that one day the king received a letter from the ruler of a distant country which stated that he had heard about the famous astrologer. But that somehow he did not quite believe all that was said concerning the wisdom and knowledge of the man. By way of testing his real powers would he, the king, enter into a bet?" If acceptable, he said he would send him a gourd fruit by his Envoys, and if his astrologer could say how many seeds it contained, he was willing to forfeit his kingdom provided he (the former) did the same in the event of his protégé going wrong in his calculations. Having absolute faith in his astrologer the king forthwith sent a re-

ply to the letter accepting the bet.

For many days after this the poor astrologer thought very hard how he should act in the matter. He knew that the gourd fruit usually contained thousands of seeds and that to attempt a guess would be worse than useless. Being fully convinced that the day of reckoning had at last arrived, he determined to run away and hide himself in some obscure corner rather than face the disgrace of a public exposure. So the next thing he did was to procure a boat. He then loaded it with food for many days and quietly left the shores of the city.

The following day as he was nearing the mouth of the river, a foreign vessel came sailing up under a full spread of canvas. He saw from a distance that the sailors, having nothing particular to do, sat in a group and were engaged in pleasant conversation. As he came alongside the vessels he heard a man remark to the others, "Somehow I feel quite certain that our King will lose the bet. Don't you fellows know that this country possess an astrologer who is infallible in his calculations? He is reputed to possess the combined sight of a thousand *devas*. To

such a one the single seed, lying hidden within this gourd we now convey with us, will not prove an obstacle of any serious difficulty. You may therefore rest assured that he will find it out in a very short time."

When the man heard these words he felt very glad and blessed his good luck for having freed him once again from a dangerous situation. Instead, therefore, of continuing his journey, he swung his boat round and made for home, happy in the possession of his freshly acquired knowledge. On his arrival he related everything to his wife who shed tears of joy on hearing the good news.

Early next day, hearing that the king was about to grant an audience to the foreign Envoys, the royal astrologer went to the palace. The courtiers were very glad to see him turn up, for so great was their confidence in him that they felt that their country was quite safe and that the chances were in favour of their acquiring a new kingdom. When the king entered the Hall of Audience he invited the astrologer to sit on his right while the others sat in front

of him with their faces almost touching the floor. Then the real proceeding began.

First of all presents were exchanged and complimentary speeches were delivered on both sides. When these ceremonies were over the Chief Envoy addressed the king in the following terms, "Oh Mighty Monarch! The real object of our journey to your most beautiful country has already formed the subject of correspondence between your Majesty and my king. I will not therefore tire you by its recital all over again. My master commands me to show you this gourd and to ask you to say how many seeds exactly it contains. If what you say be correct his kingdom passes into your possession; but on the other hand should you be wrong your kingdom becomes the property of my master."

Hearing these words the king smiled and turning to the astrologer near him, said, "My dear *saya*, it is unnecessary for me to tell you what you have got to do. Consult your stars and tell us how many seeds the fruit contains. You already know how generous I have been to you in the past. And now at this crisis, if you are able to assist

me in winning a kingdom, my reward to you shall be such as to make you rejoice for all the remaining days of your life." "Your Majesty," replied the astrologer, "everything I have, including my life, belongs to you. By your will I am able to live, and by your will I must also die. In the present case my calculations point to one answer only, and therefore I have no hesitation in saying that this gourd contains one seed only."

Accustomed to seeing gourds with thousands of seeds, the king turned pale when he heard the astrologer's answer. But still having complete faith in him, with effort he restrained himself from further questioning him. The gourd was then placed upon a gold plate and was cut open in the presence of all those present. To the astonishment of every body there was but a single seed as was said by the astrologer. The foreign Envoy congratulated the king on having won his bet and on the possession of so valuable a servant. He then returned home with a heavy heart bearing the news of his sovereign's ruin and his country's misfortune.

As to the astrologer his fame spread far and wide. All sorts of honours and rewards were heaped upon him. He was even granted the unique privilege of entering or leaving any part of the palace at all hours, just as his own inclinations directed him. Yet in spite of all these things he was not happy. He knew he was an imposter who stood in imminent danger of being found out. He was more than satisfied with the reputation he had made and the riches he had acquired. He did not desire any more of these things. His greatest ambition now was to find a graceful way of escape from his false position.

So he thus spoke to his wife one day, "My dear wife, so far I have had most wonderful luck. It has enabled me to escape two great dangers with honour to myself. But how long will this luck stand by me? Something tells me that I shall be found out on the third occasion. What I propose to do next is this. Listen carefully so that you may carry out my instructions without a hitch. Tomorrow while I am at the palace with the king you must set fire to our house. Being of thatch and bamboo

it will not take long to be consumed. You must then come running to the palace to inform me about it and at the same time you must keep on repeating these words 'the Astrological Tables are gone.' I will then do the rest."

On the following day while the king was holding a grand Durbar in the Hall of Audience, a great commotion was heard outside the gates. On enquiry the king was informed that the astrologer's wife had come to inform her husband that their house was burnt down and that everything of value, including the most precious astrological tables by which her husband made his wonderful predictions had been consumed by the fire. Hearing these words the astrologer pretended to be terribly affected. He struck his forehead with the palm of his hand and for a long time he remained silent and motionless with grief. Then turning to the king he said, "May it please your Majesty I am now utterly ruined. For had it been my riches alone that perished in the fire I should not have minded so much. They could have been easily replaced. But now since these precious tables are gone it

is impossible to procure a similar set from anywhere else. I hope I have served your Majesty faithfully and to your satisfaction in the past; but I grieve to say I shall not be in a position to give you the same service in the future. I beseech you therefore to release me from the present responsible position for I shall in no longer be useful to you. But in recognition of my past humble service if your Majesty, in your great goodness of heart, can see fit to grant me a small pension for the rest of my life I shall have cause to consider myself exceptionally favoured."

The king was very sad to hear of his favorite's misfortune. And as there was nothing else to be said or done in the matter he ordered a beautiful building to be erected on the site of the house that was burnt down. Next he filled it with a large retinue of servants and other equipments such as horses, carriages and so forth. Then the whole thing was made over to the astrologer with the command that for the rest of his life he was to draw from the Royal Treasury no less a sum than ten thousand gold mohurs a month.

As may be imagined the lucky astrologer was more than satisfied with the arrangements and inwardly congratulated himself upon his good fortune which once more enabled him to escape from the dangerous situation. Thus some men are born great, some achieve greatness; but there are also others who have greatness forced upon them, and it is to this third and last class that our hero the pretentious astrologer belongs.

FOLK TALES OF ARAKAN

III. The Ten Simpletons.

J.B.R.S. Vol. XII, Part 2, 1922

According to the old saying that birds of a feather generally flock together, so there once met in a village, by some strange fatality, ten simple rustics of similar tastes and disposition. One day while they were having breakfast under a large and shady tree, one of them began counting the number of those who were present. But forgetting to include himself he could not get beyond nine. So after going through the same process three or four times he eventually told the others that a misfortune had happened because out of ten, their original number, only nine remained, and that one of them had mysteriously disappeared. One or two disbelieved this, as they were fully certain that no one had left them from the

time they first assembled together under the tree. So to satisfy themselves they began counting over again, and to their astonishment they could not get beyond the number nine, for, like the first man, each of them excluded himself in the telling. Many were the reasons put forward to account for so strange a disappearance, but somehow nobody could be fully convinced.

While these things were taking place, an old man happened to pass by that way. Seeing the men in hot dispute over something or other he addressed them thus; "My sons, if you are not actually quarrelling, you are at least very much excited and are on the verge of coming to blows. Tell me, I pray you, the nature of your dispute so that I may, if it lies in my power, settle it amicably." So one of the men replied, "Grandfather, you are just the person we are looking for. My friends and myself are disputing as to our actual number. Some say we are only nine; but other stoutly refuse to accept this; and hence all the present excitement." "Very well," said the old man, "If I can convince you that you are not nine really but ten as you originally

were, will you become my slaves?" To this they all agreed. They did not care what manner of works they did, provided they could be certain that all their friends were together. So the old man told each of them to bring him a stick. When this was done the men were told to count the sticks. They all counted ten, and when they were fully satisfied that their number had in no way diminished, they greatly marvelled at the wisdom of the old man. So they willingly became his slaves and followed him home.

At that time the paddy was just ripe. One morning the old man sent for his newly acquired slaves and said to them. "My sons, I want you to do some reaping for me today. Don't do the job in bits, one here and one there, but you should all keep together to one side of the field and gradually work up in a line till you come to the other side." Unfortunately these instructions were too technical and too complicated for their simple pates, for they contained a phrase which when literally rendered meant "put a hamadryad on one side and reap". So totally misunderstanding the phrase, the

poor rustics began their work by searching high and low for the elusive reptile. From early morn till dewy eve this went on until night approaching rapidly, the old man in his anxiety at their delay went out to investigate for himself. He found them in the midst of their fruitless search, and on enquiry one of them replied, "Oh grandfather tell us what we are to do now. The whole day long we have been searching for a hamadryad to enable us to begin our operations on the field. We have not succeeded and hence all this delay." The old man was astonished and after having cursed their gross stupidity he explained to them what was really meant by his particularly puzzling instructions.

The next day reaping began in real earnest. By sunset the whole business was completed. When the labourers returned home with sheaves of corn on their heads the old man was unfortunately away from home. So not knowing where to deposit their loads they asked the old lady, who was then engaged in weaving, where they should do so. She happened to be extremely cranky at the time, and so she shouted at

the top of her voice, "You fools, do you mean to say that you really do not know where such things are usually placed? If so place them on my head." No sooner were the words out of her mouth than the men, impatient to relieve themselves, began discharging their loads on the hapless old lady. The result was disastrous; and her soul was instantly carried off on the wings of death.

When the old man returned home he enquired after his wife. They told him all that had happened and pointed out the spot where she was lying, at her expressed wish, beneath the sheaves of corn. Instantly he was flinging aside the heavy bundles, and, as he feared, he found his better half lying cold in death. What was to be done? The utmost he could do was do abuse them roundly for their gross stupidity.

The next day the men were ordered to go to the forest to cut firewood for the proper cremation of the body. Having arrived at the place the simpletons first selected a tree of proper girth and proportions. One of them sent up to the branch of the tree for the purpose of playing the flute so that the rest might be amused.

Another was told to cut the trunk, while the remaining eight men stood in a row to receive the tree on their shoulders.

The tree was eventually cut; and in the act of falling the eight men were crushed to death and at the same time the flute player was dashed to pieces. The only survivor was the one who undertook the cutting. Sad and dejected at the loss of his friends he resolved to die also. He therefore laid himself down by the bodies of his friends and thinking that the simple process of death consisted in keeping quite still, he soon fell off to sleep.

By and by a mahout, riding his elephant, while passing that way, came across these men stretched out on the ground. Not knowing whether they were dead or alive he tried to find out by probing each prostrate figure with the iron goad he had with him. Of course there was no response from the dead; but when he touched the man who pretended to be dead and who was in reality asleep, the men jumped up in extreme surprise. He looked upon the iron goad as a marvellous instrument capable of resuscitating the dead; for was not he quite dead

a little while ago, and was not he now fully alive by being simply touched with the wonderful goad? So he addressed the mahout in these words, "Good mister mahout, I should very much like to possess your goad if you will let me have it; and in return I am willing to give you all the *dahs* and axes I now have with me." The mahout was much pleased inwardly at having come across such a simpleton, and blessed the star that guided his footsteps to that place. His goad was not of much value while the *dahs* and axes were far more valuable. Without therefore saying a word he handed over his goad and received the other things the man offered him, and departed.

Armed with the goad the men set out on his travels determined to earn an honest living by means of his new possession. After several days of wandering he entered a large and prosperous village where he found all the people in the deepest grief. Being very curious he asked a person what it was all about. "Don't you know," replied the man, "that the richest person in the village has lost his only daughter? Being a very good and influential man in these parts we are

all expressing our grief for his sad loss. Where could you have been to, so as not to have heard about this before?" Our traveller replied, "Friend, I am the stranger to the place; please overlook my ignorance. If this rich man's daughter is dead and still in the house I have means of bringing her back to life. Go and inform him, I pray you, about my presence here, so that if he wishes it I am willing to raise her from the dead."

For some moments the villager remained dumbfounded. Then with a long indrawn breath he ran as fast as he could towards the rich man's house, eager to impart the wonderful information. Arrived there he related everything to the bereaved parent who, unable to believe his ears, caught the man by the arm and hurried him to the spot where he left the marvellous being. When they reached the place the rich man said "Worthy stranger, is it true that you can restore life to the dead? If so I pray you to come to my house and perform the operation without delay. I will give you such a reward as will enable you to live in comfort for the remainder of your life."

Arrived at the house the man looked upon the serene face of the dead. He ordered a thick curtain to be placed over it so as to prevent the corpse with his goad. After the first few applications he was surprised to see that there was no response from the dead. So in the eagerness he probed the body with all his might, tearing the flesh everywhere. This went on for quite a long time. At last the bereaved parents, growing impatient to learn the result of the cure, raised the curtain to see how far the man had succeeded. To their horror and indignation they found that instead of the dead coming back to life, the remains of their daughter were mutilated beyond recognition.

The servants of the house were hastily summoned and were told to take the man outside the village and after thrashing him soundly to drive him away. When they had carried out their instructions they told him as a parting piece of advice that it would have been better for him if he had joined them in weeping and mourning from the time he first entered the village. But now, since he pretended to be what he was not,

he had been justly punished.

Much puzzled and grieved at the failure of his goad he left the village. For several days he walked aimlessly on and at last he came to another village where a marriage procession was passing along its main street. He stood in the middle of the road and calmly waited for it to come up to him. As soon as it was sufficiently near he began weeping very loudly and rolled himself in the dust. He did this because he was told to do so by the people of the last village. Whereupon the people who formed the procession became very angry. For they looked upon such evident signs of grief as something out of place, and being highly superstitious they considered the man's conduct to be very unlucky. So they beat him severely and told him that on such occasions he should never weep but should shout, laugh and sing with gladness.

He then left the village with the parting advice fully remembered. On the way he had to pass through a thick jungle in which he saw from a distance a trapper wholly absorbed in his work. The man was hiding behind a tree trunk and was intently look-

ing at a bird about to fall into his trap. Of course our simpleton knew nothing at all about this. As soon as he saw the man he began to shout, laugh and sing as previously advised; and on the whole he made so much noise that the bird near the trap flew away in fright.

As may be imagined the trapper was furious. With one great bound he came up to our hero and ruined merciless blow of his face and body. Then with a final kick he said, "You utter idiot, didn't you see I was trying to catch a bird, and that to do so it was necessary to remain absolutely quiet? You should have done the same as I was then doing. But now you have spoilt it all, for which you have been justly punished. On the next occasion it will pay you to remember my instructions." The poor simpleton begged and prayed to be excused and informed the irate trapper that his conduct was due to a piece of advice he had previously received. After faithfully promising to do all he was told he left the forest with a sad weary heart.

The next place he reached was a small village of dhobies. Now in this community

there had been several thefts of late and the people were particularly careful about strangers lurking about in the neighbourhood. So when he saw from the distance that the people were engaged in washing clothes, he stealthily approached them by taking advantage of every available cover as was told to him by the trapper.

Being broad daylight the dhobies saw him soon enough. At once their suspicions were aroused and they caught him and tied him up to a tree and flogged him severely, taking him to be the thief who had robbed them. The man howled with pain and told them he was no thief but a mere traveller. He said that he approached the village in the manner he did because he was told to do so by a man he met on the way. The dhobies, finding out their mistake, soon released him; but at the same time they told him that it was entirely his fault. They said that what he should have done was to join them in their work to do exactly as they did. He would have then been given food and shelter for his services. Instead of which he now received, for his foolish conduct, a punishment he justly deserved.

Early next morning the man left the village to take up once more the course of his interrupted travels. After walking all day, and just as the sun was about to dip itself beneath the western horizon he saw a lone hut by the bank of a small stream. Instinctively he knew something was wrong there, for even from a distance he could distinctly hear the sound of blows and angry voices. He rapidly approached the hut, and in it he was amazed to see a man and woman, apparently husband and wife, engaged in a desperate struggle.

Mindful of what he was told previously in the dhobies' village he rushed into the house and began beating both of them in turn. He did this because he really believed that it was the only way of ingratiating himself with them. But the irate couple, seeing a total stranger interfering in their affairs without any rhyme or reason, soon forgot their own differences. A common enemy had come on the scene. It was their bounden duty to get rid of him as soon as possible. So they both attacked him with curses and blows; and before long the intruder howled for mercy.

On being questioned as to the cause of his strange conduct, he told them the details of his last adventure. He said that it was because he was told to do exactly what he saw others doing and thereby earn their gratitude, that he joined them in their quarrel. "Unfortunately," said the owner of the house, "that advice though it may do in certain cases, does not apply here at all. The proper thing for you have done was to separate as by coming in between and then to make up the quarrel by sweet words and phrases." The man faithfully promised to do so on the next occasion. After properly apologising for what he had done he left the house that very evening.

When night had fairly advanced he entered a dense forest. The path could not be properly seen because of the darkness. So more in prudence than in fear he climbed up a tall tree and passed the remainder of the night in fitful slumber. When day broke he was again on his legs walking rapidly through the forest. At last he came out to an open field and paused a while to consider what direction he should take. Suddenly his attention was drawn to the sight

of two buffaloes charging each other with lowered heads. This went on over and over again till he was thoroughly convinced that they were really fighting.

What was he to do? He knew full well what he did on the last occasion and how badly it ended for him. So he at once decided to act on the farewell advice given by the owner of the hut he last visited. When the buffaloes separated once again before charging each other he rushed in between them. Fling wide apart his arms in opposite directions he shouted to them to stop and not to lose their temper over a trifling affair. But the maddened beasts took no notice of his antics. They came on with the fury of a tornado, and just met at the place where our hero was standing. The result was disastrous. His body was crushed and the weary soul, shuffling off its mortal coil, joyously soared away to that realm in which the *nats* have their uninterrupted bliss.

*SOURCES OF
"FOLK TALES OF ARAKAN"*♦

J.B.R.S. Vol. XIII, Part 2. 1923

Dear Sir,

Mr. Grant Brown is quite justified in making the remarks he did especially in regard to the "Story of the Turtle" (J.B.R.S vol. part). But if ever he brought in a suggestion that I manufactured the story for Arakan, the people here would only laugh at him because it is known to every individual Arakanese. I am not sure if it is known in Burma as well; but the last story I sent you, that of the Hamadryad, is quite familiar to the Burmese also.

When I was a little boy I used to be sent to bed early, and my aunt used to tell me these stories which were then familiarly known to every house-hold and employed

♦ In reply to a letter drawing the author's attention to a review in the R.A.S Journal in which the sources of the "Folk Tales" are called in question.— Ed.

with the sole object of inducing children to fall off to sleep. A few years back the late U Htoon Chan once casually remarked to me that these stories gradually forgotten by the people owing to their increasing struggle for existence. It was then that I convinced for the first time the idea of writing up these stories in English and thereby preserving them for posterity. My subsequent investigations have proved the truth of what U Htoon Chan then said. In the town of Akyab there is at present not a single person, man or woman, who remembers more than three or four of such stories. Whenever I make enquiries I am always told, "Oh I used to know a lot when I was young; but those who really knew them are now dead. If you want to listen to these stories you should go to some secluded village in the district where there are still preserved and handed down from generation to generation."

So far as I remember, these stories form a very large collection. Some are short and some long; and like the Fables of Aesop a few of them contain some useful moral lesson. The majority of these stories are orally

handed down; there are also others, lengthy ones, which have been preserved in the form of E-gyin, Linga, Thâ-gyin (ဆွဲငါး) and Phwè (ပဲ). Some of these latter are That-ta-hta-nu, Kaw-Kaw-nu, Wun-thu-daw, Ran-aung, Hta-ma-ra, U-ga, Gro-gra, Shwe-ma-la and Mra-ke-tha phwe and so on.

It is my intention to write up these oral stories first as they are more easily forgotten and lost. When the series is complete, or rather when I have recorded as many as possible, I shall next take up the written ones in which are some of the best in the whole collection.

Folk tales are common to every country. Sometimes some of them travel great distances either in the wake of trade and commerce or due to the impact of civilisations. Thus we observe that some of the stories in the Jatakas are reproduced, with certain modifications, in the fables of Aesop. But even if this is not conceded it has been ascertained that in the first century A.D. a collection of about a hundred of Indian fables came to Alexandria. According to Mr. Jacobs the so-called "Fables of Kasyâpa" were taken to Ceylon, and that it

was by means of an embassy from that Island that they reached the Egyptian centre of learning, where they were translated and were subsequently known as the "Libyan Fables". Then again there are certain scholars who favour the belief that the Jakatas inspired the "box arrangement" of the Arabian Nights, which in turn produced in the West the well known works called the Decameron and the Heptameron. My task does not lie in finding out the origin of our stories but simply in recording all those that are found to be in common use by the people of the land. Everybody knows of the political relations between Arakan and Burma in the past, and there is hardly any necessity for us to be surprised when we find some of these stories to be common to both countries.

Yours faithfully,
SAN SHWE BU

THE ARAKAN MUG BATTALION

J.B.R.S. Vol. XIII, Part 2. 1923

The Arakan Commissioner's Office contains some very interesting and valuable records which are among the oldest in British Burma. Though they are bound together and preserved in book form, yet a casual examination of them will convince a researcher that they have been carelessly kept without the slightest attention being paid to any form of order or chronological sequence. The paper being all more or less, one finds it most difficult to reproduce a connected account any of the many interesting subjects with which they are concerned. The time has more than arrived when these valuable records ought to be properly looked after, tabulated and indexed by some one competent to undertake the work. In preparing the following account this difficulty has been met with, involving the sacrifice of much of its interest owing to the want of

continuity of narration. Such as these facts are found, they are now served up without further apologies.

The first proposal to raise three companies of Mugs, each a hundred strong, was made by Mr. Robertson to Captain Hay, Commandant of the Provincial Battalion at Chittagong, for the purpose of protecting the district during the unhealthy season. This seems to have been carried out, for Captain Hay is asked to indent for arms and accoutrements for three hundred men. This order was sent on the 9th of February 1824. Besides this, Mr. C.R. Cartwright, Acting Collector of Chittagong, was asked to advance Rs.1500 to Captain Hay for the purpose.

Apparently one Mr. Lindguist attached to some small force landed on the island of Shapuri and without authority removed the Burmese Flag. He was severely censured for this. Early in 1824 we find Robertson hinting at a possible rupture with the Governor of Arakan and advising Government to withdraw the small force apparently occupying that island. Another reason for withdrawal was unhealthiness. The ill feeling between

the two people being really due to the boundary dispute, Robertson on the 8th January 1824 sends a letter to the Burmese Governor of Arakan to appoint some one to meet him to adjust the boundary. The dispute arose out of the arrest of two Englishmen who were found anchoring near the island. The Raja's letter being unfavourable, war is expected and Robertson takes precautions. He finds Arakanese co-operation indispensable. He works round their prejudices and gains their esteem. He praises their patriotism and their regard for their ancestors.

He thinks that there is no one under 40 who knows any thing about his country. Moreover he finds the Mugs never willing to work unless they were paid. The following passage represents his views regarding the people. "It is a custom common to the Mugs, the Burmese and other eastern tribes to give a bounty to every man going on actual service in his own country. This practice, I suspect, is found advantageous to several parties. It enables the sovereign to raise an army without difficulty, and the fact that the peaceful subject has to pur-

chase an exemption from service ensures to the individual employed some remuneration for his exertion and affords the local authority an opportunity for extortion and embezzlementAnother peculiarity of the Mugs is their respect of their hereditary national chiefs and their comparatively ready submission to the headmen of their wards or villagesThe inhabitants of one village will not move under the guidance of the headman of another villageThey are clearly a trading and not an agricultural race; and they seem to have the commercial indifference to hereditary rank with the commercial attachment to their own little respective communities. At Hur Bung which contains upwards of 1000 families of their tribes I was informed by the zemindar's agent that there was scarcely a single field cultivated by the Mugs." Here he talks about restoring the independence of Arakan and making over the country to the people, but doubts whether the Arakanese themselves would exchange life under settled Government for a precarious existence.

In the month of March troops gather on both frontiers. Conditions of amicable settle-

ment are laid down by Robertson as follows:—

- (i) First, that both of you (the Burmese Governor and Bandula) send me a written denial of your participation in the seizure of the two gentlemen and the khalasis, in order that being furnished with this document the Right Honorable the Governor General may write to the Sultan of Ava to have the person punished who was guilty of the act."
- (ii) "Secondly, that relinquishing all claims to the island of Shapuri you plainly state in writing that you admit the said Shapuri to belong to the Honourable Company, and that the local authorities in Arakan will never again pretend claim to it."
- (iii) "Thirdly, you reduce the force in the Province of Arakan by sending away all but the usual number of troops. So soon as you comply with these three conditions we will immediately withdraw our forces."

These conditions are to be fulfilled within

ten days counting from the 19th February 1824. In the event of their failure to comply with the above terms war is to be declared.

With a view to hostilities a party of 650 Mugs were sent to Naaf under the disposal of Colonel Shapland. He is told to train them for the subsequent formation of a permanent corps. To enable the proper handling of the men a Bengali writer on Rs. 10 a month and Mug interpreter on Rs. 10 a month are sanctioned in March 1824.

The Mug levy of 400 men is for the time being kept as a separate unit under Captain Pringle. In the month of April this officer is authorised to enrol suitable recruits and to raise the strength of the corps to 500. Other small bands of Mug distributed in other small towns do not form part of this regular levy, but Captain Pringle is asked to exercise control over them. They are not incorporated into the regular Provincial Battalion because of their general unwillingness to serve under foreign leaders.

This raising of Mug troops is more for political reasons than for any particular requirement of service; and in order to facili-

tate others joining the force when they are asked to do so. Colonel Shapland at the frontier is, however, on financial grounds, asked to discharge 700 Mugs under him in such a way that they will join when wanted. He is asked to draw up an agreement to that effect, and adds: "The Mugs, though stubborn and intractable, are, I understand, generally faithful to any agreement they may enter into. I have reasons to think that these men will be found ready to adhere to the terms of their agreement."

Small bands of Mugs—20 to 90—are raised under their leaders and are looked upon as part of the regular troops. A pay of Rs. 7 a month is given to the leaders having more than 30 men under them. Discipline is to be introduced very gradually as sudden confinement would alienate the men from their cause. As an extra inducement extra pay is promised to those leaders who submit to regular drill and discipline. At first 3 leaders with their men agree to this. Their progress appears to be satisfactory: "many of the men are admirable marksmen and all of them seem previously acquainted with the use of the musket. It is the opin-

ion of Captain Pringle and every officer who had observed them that they are particularly fitted to form an efficient rifle corps." The whole lot under training and proper discipline under Captain Pringle comes up to about 400 strong. They are given short green jackets as uniforms and 100 rifles are distributed among the best shots; six bugles are also given; and ultimate object is to form a disciplined light infantry.

The levy at Chittagong being now without any officer to superintend and control them, become disorganised and rowdy. So in June 1824 Captain Dickenson of the Dacca Provincial Battalion is sent down to take charge. But on behalf of the Mugs it is stated that they, even when wounded severely, brought in their arms and accoutrements.

In July 1824 preparations were made to send 600 Mugs to Rangoon. The Mugs were very willing to go. They were sent in two batches, the first of which sailed in the "Thalis" under Captain Wiggins in the month of August 1824.

The Mug levy under Dickenson flourishes and he is authorised to raise the strength

to 600. He gets in an extra Havildar and 2 Naiks of the Regular Army for the instruction of his men. On the 23rd July 1824 Captain Dickenson, in whose experience great trust is reposed, is empowered to form the men of his levy into six companies, *vis:—*

5 Companies, each consisting of

1 Subadar at Rs. 40 a month

2 Jemadars at Rs. 20 "

6 Havildars at Rs. 10 "

6 Naiks at Rs. 8 "

6 Bugler at Rs. 8 "

100 Privates at Rs. 6 "

1 Company of Dowmen as a temporary establishment to be attached to the Corps during the War.

2 Jemadars at Rs. 15 a month

4 Havildars at Rs. 8 "

4 Naiks at Rs. 6-8 "

100 Privates at Rs. 5 "

These men were equipped with light Fuzils with pouches and black belts of the new pattern—their old heavy muskets being too

cumbersome.

The opinion formed by Captain Dickenson of his men and in which Mr. Robertson entirely agreed, was: "It is to be remarked very much in favour of the Mugs that every man who offers himself as a soldier seems to have his mind solely occupied with the ideas of entering as a fighting man, and all his arguments hinge on that; and though the very limited experience I have yet had of them does not allow me to speak confidently, still I am greatly disposed to think the Mug will ultimately form a better and more useful soldier than ever was contemplated. Their hardiness, freedom from religious prejudices and mode of feeding are material circumstances in favour of my opinion of their natural courage and respectability. With regard to discipline I see neither difficulties nor obstruction to its perfect accomplishment with time. It must not too prematurely too rigorously be imposed. The habits of the people must be gradually and progressively changed, and themselves more familiarised with the European character to ensure their confidence and by degrees to lessen that now reposed

in their chiefs. If this corps is to be permanently retained the sooner it is rendered effective by the nomination for an Adjutant, the better, and he should be a young man selected for his fitness to assist in accomplishing the ends in view. A Quartermaster Sergeant would likewise be desirable."

Three days later Mr. Robertson in writing to the Government for the full equipment of the Mug Battalion makes the following remarks. "I am happy in being able to inform the Government that Captain Dickenson has, by studying the character of his men and commencing the acquisition of their language, succeeded in bringing them into a state of discipline such as promise fair to render the levy a most useful and serviceable corps. Many of the Sardars have cheerfully agreed to undergo regular drill to enable them the better to direct and manage their men."

Writing to General Sir Archibald Campbell at Rangoon, Mr. Robertson gives some pertinent advice to that officer regarding the handling of the 600 Mugs under Captain Wiggins: "They are divided into

several district parties, and it will be found advisable in employing them to mingle the different sets as little as possible with each other, and never if avoidable to place the men of one party under the orders of the Sardar of another. You will I hope find them an active, hardy and serviceable though often intractable body of men; but there are some peculiarities in their character, by attending to which much of the annoyance arising from their occasionally unaccountable perversity may be avoided. They dread being called coolies or any degrading appellation, and are fond in the extreme of being treated with some degree of consideration. They have no prejudices of caste and are possessed of a respectable degree of courage. They are extremely inquisitive, observant and jealous of any indulgence that other troops receive which they may be denied. If sent into the field without tents while every other Regiment has them, they may think themselves slighted and consequently form less efficient soldiers than they otherwise do."

With a view to the advance on Arakan in the proper season Mr. Robertson devises

means of raising as possible for the purpose. He therefore gets some influential Mug Chiefs to right to those of their people who had settled in large numbers in the district of Backergunge, asking them to join the army which was to take the offensive in Arakan and which would eventually give them the opportunity of seeing and recovering their own country again.

But at this stage of preparation we find that in November some doubt is expressed by Government if it would be advisable to allow the Mugs to take active part in the operations in Arakan, the suggested alternative being their employment at Chittagong for civil purposes. Robertson dissents from this view and points out the obvious disadvantages. He says that the levy was quite an experimental measure chiefly undertaken "to ascertain whether trained soldiers may not be raised from a class whom it has hitherto been supposed impossible to discipline." It was therefore finally decided to take them into Arakan, and accordingly an additional 300 Mug pioneers were raised under Lieutenant Scott.

In November of the same year an addi-

tional Rifle Corps is attached to the levy and Captain Macfarlane is especially brought down from the 16th Madras Infantry to train them. He is so successful that he is permanently retained for the campaign at hand.

At the recommendation of Captain Dickenson an extra field allowance is sanctioned, to continue only while on active service.

Subadars	....	....	Rs. 8-0
Jemadars	....	....	Rs. 5-0
Havildars	....	....	Rs. 2-8
Naiks	....	....	Rs. 2-0
Buglers	....	....	Rs. 2-0
Sepoys	....	....	Rs. 1-8

In December Mr. Miller of the "Rose Ark" is appointed to be in medical charge of the Mug Levy.

The Government does not seem to attach much importance to the Mug Levy, and was inclined to deprive it of the privileges given to regular troops. We find Mr. Robertson fighting tooth and nail on their behalf, and pointing out that in a country like Arakan no Indian troops could be as useful, and the utility of the campaign rested

entirely with the Mugs. He points out that as the Mugs were very proud and independent, any slight offered to them would prove disastrous to their cause; and that no amount of pecuniary recompense would mitigate the evil once created by preferential treatment. He regrets that they are still looked upon as irregulars and advances reasons to support his contention that they ought to be incorporate into the permanent establishment under the new designation of "Mug Rangers." In fact towards the end of December, anticipating Government compliance, he instructs Brigadier Morrison, commanding the Chittagong Division, to transfer the Levy, as a temporary measure, from the Political to the Military Department.

We next hear of Maungdaw being taken by Brigadier Morrison. Unfortunately the letter of information gives no date, but it is probable that it took place in January 1825. In the following month Mr. Robertson is taking every pains to reduce the conquered territory to some semblance of law and order. With this object he places Major Roope in full control in the District giving

him directions to deal with crime in a manner suggested by his own direction. Under him he also appoints Mug Kyaun Oks over each half of the District, with the authority of petty Magistrates. We can see how very anxious he is to win over the confidence of the people and with that purpose he exerts himself to the utmost. He writes to Major Roope: "In all capital or heinous criminal matters the offender had better be confined and the circumstances of the case communicated to this office, whence further instructions will be received under such rules as may hereafter be laid down by Government. You will examine into all petty theft, assault, disturbances, quarrels, etc., etc., and award at your own discretion either a sentence of moderate fine, imprisonment or corporal punishment limiting the infliction of the latter to 30 rattans Cases of petty debts and civil actions for money may be adjusted summarily when necessary by yourself A weekly report had better be in the same manner required from the two Kyaun Oks who must also be made to understand that they are to send immediate information of every serious occurrence

to your office."

On the 7th January 1825 Government sanctions the transfer of the Mug Levy from the Political to the Military Department and places it under General Morrison.

With the fall of Arakan in March 1825 and its occupation by the British, Mr. Robertson is appointed Agent to the Governor-General in Arakan and Commissioner for the management of Civil Affairs. He is therefore given increased salary of Rs. 50,000 a year. He is also permitted to hold his original situation as Judge and Magistrate of Cawnpur. His duties are to collect revenue, to organise efficient police, to administer Civil and Criminal Justice, adhering as far as possible, to local usages and institutions, except when they are plainly at variance with the principles of humanity and natural equity. To assist him in this high office Mr. C. Paton, Magistrate of Calcutta, is appointed his assistant.

Captain Hutchins, the second in command of the Mug Levy, having taken leave, Captain Macfarlane is appointed in his stead in August 1825. In the same month Mr. Paton is directed to raise an additional 400 Mug

recruits who should be trained along with the regular Levy. When the number sanctioned is completed, the question of its arms and accoutrements is to be considered by General Morrison.

On the 10th of March 1826 the Sub-Commissioner is informed by Government that it sanctions the disbandment of the Mug Pioneers raised at Chittagong to accompany the expeditionary force to Arakan.

Due to adverse reports the ideas of forming a Mug Provincial Battalion on a large scale stopped, and the Commissioner is authorised to employ the existing lot on police duty. The undisciplined conduct of the Mug soldiers is largely noticed by the Military authorities; but on investigation it was found that it was mainly due to the removal of direct European control over them. It is therefore decided to place them always under European supervision and to utilise them along with other regular troops.

Correspondence lasts up to May 1826 only, when we have to leave the Mug Levy in the midst of general complaints against their conduct.

FOLK TALES OF ARAKAN.
IV. Ngan-daw-shay Wathtu or The
Story of the Hamadryad

J.B.R.S. Vol. XIII, Part 3. 1923

Long, long ago there lived a widow whose worldly possessions consisted of three beautiful daughters. Although she was very very poor she would not permit any of her daughters to do any form of manual labour, for she considered it far too rough for the girls who were in every way suited to become the brides of grandees and princes. So allowing them to idle away their time at home, the woman used to set out alone everyday, either firewood in the forest or to catch fish in the river. Life was indeed hard for her, but she felt it not. For her sole care was to promote the comfort and happiness of her daughters in whose high destiny she had the utmost confidence.

One day she took down her wicker bas-

ket to the river to catch fish. After several hours of patient toil she did not succeed in catching any. But on the last attempt, instead of a fish, a hamadryad entered the basket. She cursed her bad luck and the snake at the same time. So intending to kill the reptile later on she carried it home. When she got there placed the basket in a corner and went about her other business. Meanwhile the snake silently slid out of the basket and got into a large earthen jar of condiment. When the woman returned to the basket later on she could not find the snake and thinking it had left the house she dismissed it altogether from her thoughts.

Some days afterwards the woman went up to the jars with the object of taking out some condiment, and as she dipped her hand into it, the snake coiled itself so tightly round the hand that she could not pull it out again. So in her extreme fear and pain she thus spoke to the snake:

Worthy snake, if you desire
To wed my eldest daughter,
Loosen your coils!

In reply the snake tightened its coils

more than before. Again she spoke:

Worthy snake, if you desire
To wed my younger daughter,
Loosen your coils!

In reply the tightness all the more. Then
for the third time she said:

Worthy snake, if you desire
To wed my youngest daughter,
Loosen your coils!

Immediately after this the coils fell off
and she was free.

Night having set in, the good woman prepared a room and told her youngest daughter to sleep in it with the snake who, from that time forward, should be looked upon as her legitimate husband. So the poor girl entered the bridal chamber in fear and trembling, and awaited the coming on her reptilian husband with resignation. After a little while she saw him gliding into the room; but to her great joy and astonishment she saw that as soon as she neared her bed the snaky skin peeled off from his body, transforming him into a marvellous handsome youth. Now, as a matter of facts, he was no snake at all, but was in reality a very powerful *nat* who went disguised as a

snake. Every night in the privacy of his own room he became a young man, though from early morning till the following night he roamed about the house as a snake.

Meanwhile the girl appeared to be perfectly satisfied and happy with her nat. She neither complained nor uttered a word of protest. Her elder sisters wondered a great deal as to how she could possibly put up with a husband who was a loathsome, slimy reptile. Unable, therefore, to restrain their curiosity any longer, they one day asked the girl the cause of her apparent happiness. "You think," she answered, "that my husband is a snake. You are quite mistaken. When he is with me in the night he is a very handsome youth. I love him very much, and as he loves me in return I am very very happy indeed." The eldest then said, "My dear sister, if such be the case you are really most fortunate. Would it not be better for you and all of us as well, if he remained a human being the whole time? If you will faithfully carry out my instructions your husband need never be a reptile again. He will always be a handsome youth to be loved, honoured and obeyed. So follow me

closely. To-night when he was cast off his skin you must suddenly roll about the bed with a bad stomach-ache. Then uttering deep groans you must ask him to make up a fire in the room. And when you have succeeded in sending him out of the room on some excuse you must quickly get out of bed and throw the cast-off skin into the fire. If you act as I tell you, you will secure a husband to be proud of always."

The time for action having arrived, the girl carried out her instructions faithfully—She had the fire made up and then on same excuse she asked her husband to leave the room. As soon as he was well away she quickly threw the discarded skin into the fire and destroyed it completely. No sooner had she done this than her husband ran into the room, breathing heavily. At the same time he kept on repeating these words, "Oh I am burning, I am burning," and rolled about in bed in great agony. But as soon as the fire subsided his pain ceased altogether. His wife then told him what she did with the snake skin and the reasons which actuated her to it. For his part, though he had suffered great pain, he was extremely glad

at all that had happened, both for the sake of his wife as well as for the sake of her relatives.

Finding himself now an all-time human being so to speak, he began to think a great deal about his future home and family. He determined to move out of his mother-in-law's house as soon as possible. So, being a *nat*, he caused a beautiful palace to be built in the course of a single night. He then fitted it up with all sorts of provisions so as to last for several months. When these were complete he told his wife that he was setting out on a long voyage to distant lands for purposes of trade. She was requested to occupy the house and never to leave it for a moment during his absence, lest some harm should befall her and the child to be born a few months hence. All the necessary arrangements being made, he set sail on a great ship filled with merchandise.

Meanwhile her good fortune aroused the envy of her sisters who, from the day she occupied the palace, thought of nothing else but how to accomplish her ruin and then occupy her position. So one day they

went to her and said, "Dear sister, we are going to the river to catch fish. It will be a good thing for you to accompany us, for it will provide you with amusement and profit." "I have plenty of fish in the house," she said, "and I do not wish to go out with you." A few days later they went to her again and said, "Dear sister, will you come with us to riverside to break firewood? We are informed that there is plenty to be had there at this time of the year." But she again told them that she already had a great quantity in store and that she did not care about accompanying them. Baffled in their attempt to entice the girl away from the house, they left her in peace for a few days. Then for the third time they approached her again: "Dear sister," said they, "when you were young you used to be very fond of the swing. Come let us amuse ourselves again just to remind us of old times. There is a very nice one down by the river side, placed beneath shady trees. The gentle breezes blow regularly there during the day and we ought to have a very enjoyable time of it."

Having these words the poor girl entirely

forgot her own condition. Gone also were her husband's parting instructions in the childish eagerness to amuse herself on the swing and to receive the pleasant memories of days gone by. She readily fell in with the proposal of her sisters and accompanied them to the riverside. Each sat on the swing in turn, which the other two pushed from the back. When it came to the youngest's turn to take the seat, her elder sisters pushed it so vigorously from behind that the poor girl was flung out from it to a distance of about half the river's width.

But fortunately for her, when this event was taking place, a great big stork and his wife were watching it from their nest which was on a large tree on the opposite bank. And just as the girl was about to fall into the water they swooped down and caught her upon their interlaced wings. She was then gently carried to their nest and watched over by the birds with all the loving care and attention they were capable of bestowing. As for her two wicked sisters, they were thoroughly convinced of the girl's death and accordingly they returned to the palace and duly installed themselves as its

mistresses.

In due course the girl gave birth to a son. The stork and his wife were very happy about it, and they even went so far as to regard the child as their own. One day the child became unusually restless and he would not sleep at the proper time. He cried so much that the mother could not quiet it by simple devices which only a mother knows how to employ. So in order to make the child fall to sleep she began chanting these simple words,

Son of the Hamadryad,

How beautiful thou art!

Sleep, beloved, sleep!

When the stork heard this he became very angry. "If you do not say," said he, "that he is my son I shall surely kill him by digging my beak into his body." So the poor frightened girl had to appease the bird by changing her words to this effect,

Son of the mighty stork,

How beautiful thou art!

Sleep, beloved, sleep!

The bird was very pleased at this, and from that day used to fly away in search of food with a lightness of heart it never felt

before. But all the same whenever the birds away she took good care to repeat the original lullaby, for she derived much solace from even the bare mention of her absent husband.

Several months passed away with unchanging routine in this simple household. One fine morning a beautiful white ship entered the harbour and cast its anchor close to the bank where the tree was situated. It contained the merchant, the girl's husband, who had just returned from his successful trading venture. Just then the birds happened to be away, and the girl being eager to put the child to sleep began her lullaby as usual,

Sone of the Hamadryad,

How beautiful thou art!

Sleep, beloved, sleep!

The merchant heard, and thrilled at the voice which he distinctly recognised as that of his wife, he wondered how she could ever have got there, sitting on the nest on the top of the great big tree. So he quickly had himself rowed ashore in order that he might investigate things for himself.

Meanwhile the girl was sublimely igno-

rant of what was taking place around her and beneath her; and she went on with her consoling lullaby. As the merchant approached the tree he felt certain of his wife's voice. To climb it and to sit on the rim of the nest next to his beloved was the work of a few moments only. In his eagerness and surprise he questioned her very closely as to how she happened to be there and what really took place during his absence. With tears in her beautiful eyes she told him everything, reproaching herself not a little for her disregard of his wishes which enjoined her not to leave the house under any excuse. He comforted well as he could and said that she was not to blame as she had been the victim of a foul plot. Just as he was about to come down to make arrangements for conveying her home, the birds returned and angrily demanded of him the reason for his presence there. The merchant told them about his having cast anchor near the bank and how he heard a familiar voice from the tree-top, which on investigation proved to be that of his own dear wife. He further said that he was taking her home in his ship on the following

day.

At this news the birds were horrified; they could not even bear the thought of the temporary separation from their beloved ones, leave alone this suggestion to take them away for good. So the male bird said, "I have not the slightest doubt that this girl is your legitimate wife. But since we have cared for her and her baby as though they were our own children, our affection for them has become very deep and lasting. Can you therefore blame us if we should now raise any objection to your taking them away? However, strong as our claims to them are, we fully recognise them to be subordinate to yours. So to compensate us for the trouble of caring for them and for the pain of separating from these dear ones, you must give us such a pile of fish as will be equal to the weight of this very tree. You may then take your wife and child away. Otherwise I shall see that they do not move out of this nest."

When the merchant heard these words he rapidly promised to perform this task. Of course he was a *nat*, and as such he had resources at his command to accomplish

things which to an ordinary mortal would be quite impossible. The first thing he did was to dry up the river by his merest wish. The fishes thus left exposed were then collected together by the sailors who piled them up alongside the tree. As soon as the required height was reached he caused the water to reappear, and the river flowed on as usual in its tranquil course. Having completed this task to the entire satisfaction of the stork and his wife, the merchant transferred his own family to the ship and sailed for home at the first favourable opportunity.

During the journey he put his wife and child into a large wooden box, so as to conceal them from her sisters, who he heard were now occupying the house. When he reached home he had this large box taken into his own room and ordered the sisters to fetch him his meals every day. As soon as he was left alone he used to let his wife out and share the meal with her. Then he used to put them back when the time came for her sister to retire for the night.

In this way several days passed. Meanwhile the sisters told him a very wild story

of how their dear sister, his first wife, lost her life; and how they were now trying their best to console him for his loss. But whenever the merchant and the two sisters were found conversing together, a crow used to alight on a near by window-still and say:

Fools and knaves are men and women
 born;

Their like who ever saw?

Him they stole, and her they left for-
 lorn—

Caw! Caw!

When at last these cries became too frequent the merchant made up his mind to punish the culprits and to teach them a severe lesson for their wickedness. To bring this about he ordered a feast to be prepared consisting of rare and costly delicacies. Several people, with their families were then invited to it. In the evening when the guests were all seated round the table the merchant in pretence loudly bemoaned the absence of his dear lost wife. Of course, naturally, his friends sympathised with him for fuller details of the sad bereavement.

Then turning to his sisters-in-law he addressed them thus, "My dears, since both

of you were present at the time of the accident to my late wife, you will be more competent than I to relate the whole story in all its details. Will one of you therefore kindly oblige the company? As for myself I cannot bear to hear it again; so by your permission I shall leave the room for a little while." So saying, he immediately went up to its bedroom and opened the box. He hastily explained everything to his wife and told her to follow him with her child in her arms.

When they reached the threshold of the banqueting hall the story was almost finished; the whole company mutely attentive; only the speaker's voice rose and fell in pleasing modulation. Then as the story ended, husband and wife abruptly entered the room. When the guests saw the girl in flesh and blood, the men rose from their seats in astonishment; the woman shrieked. But the effect on the two sisters was most disastrous. For as soon as they saw their sister alive and well, and standing by the side of her husband, they were so overcome with grief and shame that they died in their seats. From this time forward hus-

band and wife lived happily in mutual love and sweet fellowship, blessed by numerous children, who, they fondly hoped, would one day be the solace and support of their old age.

But my story is not yet ended. Just have a little more patience and listen to what happened to another party. In the same town there also lived an old woman with an only daughter. When she heard that a snake became a human being on marrying a poor girl on whom he was able to shower untold riches, she immediately thought of trying the same experiment on her daughter. So after searching for several days she managed to find a large snake which was a real boa-constrictor. This she took home and placed in a room prepared for the occasion. In the night she sent in her daughter to sleep with it; fervently praying for the same good fortune as that of her fellow townsman.

A few hours later the boa, in obedience to its own natural instinct, began to swallow the girl. When the process reached as far as the ankle the poor trembling girl shouted out these words to her mother,

"Oh mother, what have you done to me? My ankles are imprisoned by the snake." The foolish old woman replied. "My daughter, have patience, your husband is only putting on your anklets." Then after a little while the girl again cried out, "Oh mother he has come as far as my waist. Do come and help your daughter." To this the mother replied, "My daughter I am sure he is only putting on your *Htamein* (skirt). So don't be frightened." After this there was silence for some time. Then in the stillness of the night an agonising cry rang out again. "Oh mother, he has come right up to my neck. For pity's sake save me before it is too late." The mother's only reply was, "Keep quiet, my girl, he is only putting on your necklace."

The next morning there was profound silence in the bridal chamber. The old woman could not make out why it was so. The sun having risen somewhat high, she felt a little anxious because of the continued stillness in the room. So with a heavy heart she went to find out things for herself. On entering the chamber the old woman was horrified to find that her daughter was no

more, and on the bridal couch she saw the snake fully stretched out, with a bloated stomach, calmly sleeping off the effects of the full meal it had enjoyed the night previous. Then and then only did she feel sorry for what she had done. And the thought of her evil deed continued to oppress her heart till the end of her life.

This story is a fit lesson for all those who are cursed with an envious disposition. So that for such people, whenever they are assailed by the longings of avarice, it would be well to think of this envious and greedy old woman and her son-in-law the boaconstrictor.

THE FIRST BURMESE WAR.

BY

MAUNG BOON

TRANSLATED BY SAN SHWE BU

J.B.R.S. Vol. XIII, Part 3. 1923

Translator's Note:

Of the three Anglo Burmese Wars the first is perhaps the most interesting, the most written-about and the most widely known. Most of the papers relating thereto have been examined and published. But in spite of all our knowledge there still remains a phase of this war—the operations in Arakan—which is not so well known to the general public. Many years ago Mr. Robertson, the civil officer in charge of the expedition, published a small volume, "The political incidents of the First Burmese War," in which he gave a clear and valuable account dealing with the main incidents of the operations. Unfortunately this book is very rare and not easily obtained by the general public.* But

* A copy is now in the B.B.S library. —Ed

besides Robertson an Arakanese scholar also wrote about the same thing. In the accidents they record they are substantially in agreement; but the latter's account is of greater value to us since it was given us a greater wealth of details concerning events and places, enabling us to visualise and thoroughly understand the whole of the military transactions in Arakan. This account has now been translated and published for the first time in the hopes that a greater knowledge and appreciation of the subject may be achieved thereby. Maung Boon, the author, was a friend and tutor of Henry Hopkinson, the commissioner of Arakan who succeeded Sir Arthur Phayre. His account is very concise and clear and distinguished by the absence of those extravagances sometimes indulged in by Arakanese historians of a former age.

I, Maung Boon, who am the tutor of Henry Hopkinson, the commissioner of Arakan, will here relate the history of the war between the East India Company and the Burmese.

In the Naaf River which forms the divid-

ing line between the British and the Burmese territories, there lies a small island known as Shinmapru (Shapoori Island). The representatives of both the countries hotly disputed as to who should own this island. But owing to the extreme avarice and the unreasonable nature of the demands made by the Burmese Governor of Arakan, the two countries were compelled to resort to open hostilities. So with a view to invading Arakan the English sent their troops both by land and by sea. The officers who were concerned in the conduct of this invasion were General Morrison, Commissioner Robertson, Bo MC Kenzie, Bo Palin, Captain Pringle and others. Native troops of all descriptions were mobilised from places such as Madras, Calcutta, Benares, Bombay, Lucknow, and so on. They consisted of 13 platoons. There was also a company of Pioneers together with an Arakanese Contingent and Bengali coolies of all descriptions. The whole numbered about 100,000. There were also vessels of all kinds having one mast, two masts, stitched boats and so on numbering about 100. Those of the natives who accompanied the English in this ven-

ture were from the Arakanese: Chowdhury[♦] Maung Nyo, Chowdhury Chin Daung, Chowdhury Rai Hpaw Thay, the former Governor of An, Governor of Thandaung, Teingyabo, Do Aung Gywe, Interpreter Thet Htin Pru, Aung Gyaw Rhi,[■] Interpret-er Rai Phaw, Interpreter San Ra Phwe, Interpreter Hla Phaw, and a Minister of the King of Tippiara whose name was Diwan Chitsuba. These men were ordered to accompany the English throughout the Province of Arakan, to Mrohung, Ramree, Manaung, Sandoway etc. Beyond these limits also they were ordered to serve overseas in Rangoon, as well as to penetrate as far as the Burmese capital of Ava. These remarks are merely general, but I will now relate the details concerning this War.

In the year 1184 (1822 A.D.), in the month of Nadaw, the Burmese Governor of Arakan

♦ Landowners of Eastern Bengal were called by that name of which the Arakanese corruption in Thaw-da-ly (တောသလီ)

■ For valuable services rendered he was subsequently made a Dewan. Some years later, being concerned in an attempt rebellion against the Company's rule, he was transported for life to the land of Singapore. From there he wrote several letters to his family, in the form of verse (Ratu). They are in the translator's possession.

ordered Bo Maung E and his assistant Maung Daw[•] with 20 soldiers to occupy and guard the island of Shapoori[•] belonging to the British. Gaung Zauk Ke, a servant of Chowdhury Maung Nyo who lived in the village of Sabyin, went in a boat loaded with paddy to trade with the village of Ramu. As he was passing through the channel between the Chittagong coast and the island of Shapoori he was fired at and killed by the Burmese outpost on that island. When Gaung Zauk Ke died the crew of the boat abandoned it and ran away. When they reached home they reported the death of Gaung Zauk Ke to their lord. Whereupon Chowdhury Maung Nyo reported the matter to the Dowraga stationed to look after the country along the Naaf river. The

● The present town of Maungdaw on the Arakan side of the Naaf river derived its name from this man. This town is now joined with Buthidaung by a light railway across the Mayu range.

◆ This island is situated at the mouth of the Naaf river. In the old days it was separated from the Chittagong coast by a narrow channel. It is now entirely connected with the main land—only a trace of the channel remains. Some writers erroneously identify it with St. Martin's Island which is further out in the sea.

Dowraga went to the scene of crime, and after examining the locality carefully, discovered the dead body of Gaung Zauk Ke. After having made plans of the locality very carefully the Dowraga reported the matter to the Magistrate at Chittagong. ဝါးနောင် ဆစ်ဆောင်, the Magistrate at Chittagong, in his turn reported the matter to the Governor-General at Calcutta. After careful consideration he decided that the matter was one requiring serious consideration and that Robertson would be the most suitable person to cope with the matter. Accordingly, Robertson was sent to Chittagong, after being appointed a Magistrate and Collector of the place.

When Robertson arrived at Chittagong in the month of Pyatho of the same year he ordered a detachment of soldiers under the command of Subada Mardowin to be stationed on the island of Shapoori. The Burmese under Bo Maung E and his assistant Maung Daw and followers numbering about 1000 came to the British outpost in the month of Tabaung and attacked it. Jemadar Hari Singh and 10 men were captured and taken away to Burmese territory. As for the

Subadar Madowin he escaped capture because he ran away in time. This Subadar reported the matter to the Dowraga at Tek Naaf. The Dowraga, in his turn, made a careful report of the incident and informed the Magistrate at Chittagong, Mr. Robertson, that not only were the men belonging to the outpost captured by the Burmese but that the latter were openly and actively showing that they meant to be hostile towards any body attached to the British. When the matter was finally reported to the Governor-General, he, knowing that the Burmese were very dishonest and crooked in their dealings, decided that they should be severely punished. With this end in view he ordered General Morrison to invade Arakan and to annex it to the British Dominions in India.

In the month of Pyatho of the year 1185, a large number of soldiers left Calcutta and passing through Chittagong stationed themselves at Ramu. These men stationed themselves very carefully, with defensive works, at the source of the Ramu creek. The advance post consisted of 80 men and 2 officers. Besides this, at a place called

Santhwankan a similar outpost was also stationed. At another place called Re-ngandon near Tek Naaf a similar outpost was also stationed. The Arakanese elders, such as the former Governors of An, Thandaung, Interpreters Aung Gyaw Rhi, Rai Hpaw, Chowdhury Chin Daung, Chowdhury Maung Nyo, Interpreters San Ra Phwe, Teingyabo and his assistant Aung Gywe, Bo-min Ran Saik Aung were summoned before the Magistrate and were asked to supply the English with suitable men to serve in the expedition. So these elders went about collecting the most suitable men for the purpose, men who were primarily distinguished for their valour and bravery.

A complete platoon having been mobilised from amongst the Arakanese, the following men were appointed to serve as officers for them:—

Zaw Ge, Hta We, Myat Pyaw, Mūnita, Thuaik Kra, Htwe San, Pha Htwe, They Hnan, and Shwe U.

The Arakanese contingent consisted altogether of 400 men. While the expedition was being planned and on the eve of departure, the Burmese the Governor of Arakan

having appointed Maung Loon as the officer in charge, sent a detachment of soldiers to station themselves at Maungdaw and to keep a guard along the frontier. Meanwhile the Governor sent the following letter to King Bagyidaw at Ava:- I, Maung San Byaw, the Governor of Arakan, with deep respect and humility beg to make the following report:—

"The island of Shapoori which has by right belonged to the Kings of Burma for several generations past has now been forcibly occupied by the British. They have not only done this but they are now contemplating an organised invasion of Arakan. We do not at present possess sufficient numbers to oppose this aggression, but if you wish your servant to subjugate these people and send them to Ava as your Majesty's humble slaves I beg of you to speedily send reinforcements from Ava."

King Bagyidaw having considered the matter very carefully decided that the English were a people who never understood what precedent was, that they were a race who did not respect the old established laws of a country, and that they dealt crook-

edly in the ordinary transactions of life. So that if peace was to be attained in the future the best thing that could be done in the circumstances was to attack and take over Bengal from the hands of the English. With this end in view he summoned Mahā Bandoola to his presence and after explaining all the details of the affair in Arakan he appointed him Commander-in-Chief of the forces to be sent.

Accordingly Mahā Bandoola, accompanied by some distinguished officers such as Maung Khine, Maung Zan and so on, with upwards of 10,000 men came over to Arakan. But before this contingent arrived in Arakan, Maung Aung, the Governor of Sandoway, Re Hla, the Governor of Manaung, Maung Yin Galay, Governor of Ramee and Maung San Byaw, the Governor of Mrohaung, with 1,000 men went and occupied the small island of Na-khaung-do near Maungdaw with the object of keeping careful watch over the frontier. Meanwhile the Governor of Lemro and others, wishing to gain time, represented matters to Robertson saying that from time immemorial Arakan and Bangal had always been friendly, that trade

relations had always been established between the two countries from which both of them had always benefited. If, as now appeared, there were going to be hostilities between the two countries, it would greatly mar their future relations. They proposed that to avoid this shameful thing it would be best to talk over matters and settle them amicably.

Robertson, after consulting other people at Chittagong, agreed to the proposal to settle the dispute by arbitration and accordingly sent a trusty messenger to the Burmese. The matter contained in the letter was as follows:—

"The Burmese and the British have always been friends in the past. There should never be any obstacle to spoil this friendship and to interrupt the friendly commercial relation between the two people. I am very willing to talk over matters with this end in view. At the same time it is nothing but right that the island of Shapoori should be given over to the British. If this concession can be made, there is reason to hope that there can be no matter or cause of dispute between the two people." This let-

ter was sent by the Burmese messenger Maung Nu who was kept waiting at Chittagong for the purpose.

When the Burmese officers received the reply, they pretended to be satisfied with the proposals and sent the messenger back with a letter notifying their consent. Robertson, believing the message, agreed to meet the Burmese officers at a conference and he accordingly set out to Naaf. At the conference the Burmese finally agreed that Shapoori Island should belong to the English and that the old trade relations between the two countries should continue on a firm basis, thereby promoting feeling of respect and honour towards each other. The meeting terminated on the 5th waxing of Tabodwe of the year 1185 B.E. On the eve of departure to their own homes the Burmese suggested that they should each burn their own defensive works as an indication of mutual trust. To this Robertson also agreed, and burnt his defensive works on the Shapoori Island. But the Burmese, instead of doing the same on their part, piled up great quantities of straw and set fire to them and thereby deceived the En-

glish. Robertson then withdrew his forces from the place and, on his return home, left behind an officer with 80 men to keep watch at Re-ngan-don (ငရဲငှဲ). Besides this he retained the military outpost at Tsan-thwan-gan (ဆန်သွန်ကန်) and Byinbutaung which is at the source of Ramu creek. At Ramu itself the Arakanese levy, with upwards of 4000 others and a few officers (*names unrecognisable*) were left behind.

Robertson and the General went back to Chittagong with the remainder of the forces. Shortly after, 7 ships arrived from Bombay. Out of these a *Jalla* with 3 cutters was stationed at Naaf River. The remainder of the vessels went on to Rangoon via Cheduba. Meanwhile the Burmese officers stationed at Maungdaw whose names were Nga San, Maung Lon and Maung E, repeatedly visited the British officers on board the ship guarding the channel at Shapoori Island. With presents and sweet words the Burmese made friends. After some time the Burmese invited these English officers to their own home, representing to them that they were very anxious to show them hospitality in their own fashion. The invitation

being cordially accepted by the British, a day was fixed on which the visit was to be made. The Burmese returned to Maungdaw happily and when they arrived there they made preparations to arrest the English officers when they came. The unsuspecting officers, on the appointed day, wishing to keep their promise, went to Maungdaw. No sooner were they perceived from a distance than the Burmese leaders went out to meet them as a sign of true hospitality and reiterated their friendship and goodwill. While thus talking and laughing in friendly fashion, the English officers were led into the Burmese stockade. Immediately afterwards they and their followers were overpowered and disarmed. They were then severely bound together and sent to Maung San Byaw, the Burmese Governor of Mrohaung. The officers arrested were Chew and Ross and their followers.

On their arrival it was suggested to the Governor that if something could be done to the Captain by way of *Yadaya** it would

* This has been explained elsewhere in this number. See pp. 302,303.

be impossible for the white *kalas* to conquer their country. The Governor was an ignorant and short-sighted man. He readily believed in the possibility of the suggestion and enquired how it could be done. His advisers informed him that in accordance, with the ancient practice certain *mantras* should be repeated over them so as to make their natal star dwindle and so their power of victory. While these plans were being discussed the Minister of Interior, Maung Zan, being appointed by Bandoola to post himself with some men at *Aungdet*^c suddenly arrived. To this officer, the English captives were sent by the Governor. On enquiries being made as to the circumstances of their capture, the Minister Maung Zan severely blamed and scolded Maung San Byaw, the Governor of Mrohaung, for his act of treachery. He said, "Since at a former meeting with the English, you agreed to certain terms and promised to end the dispute definitely, you should not have done so disgraceful an act. You are positively base-born and a dishonourable man. You

^c This is the present landing stage of Mrohaung.

are now the sole cause and originator of the quarrel with the English because you have not only treacherously captured them but treated them with undue severity. I therefore order you to release them at once and treat them with proper respect and consideration until the arrival of Bandoola." Maung San Byaw did as he was ordered.

When Bandoola arrived at Aungdet, which is close to Mrauk-U (Mrohaung) he immediately ordered the English officers and their followers to be safely conducted to their ship in the Naaf River.

This was done on the 14th waning of Tabodwe of the year 1185B.E. On their arrival the officers wrote to Robertson complaining about their treatment by the Burmese. When Robertson learnt the true facts of the case he wrote a report to the Governor-General to the effect that the Burmese were a dishonest, untruthful and promise-breaking people and that the previous agreement entered upon by them was made with a view to deceit.

Meanwhile, in the month of Tagu 1185 B.E. Bandoola ordered the Minister Maung Wa and the Governors of Mrauk-U, Sando-

way, Ramree and the Cheduba to march into the English territory, his object being to attack Chittagong. But Rai Hla, the Governor of Cheduba, informed Bandoola that he could not carry out the orders because in the channel that separated the island from the main land there were many war vessels of all descriptions belonging to the enemy. He was therefore excused and permitted to remain where he was. In the same way the Governor of Ramree excused himself and remained where he was after making his position as secure as possible against a likely attack. The remaining leaders concentrated their troops, which totalled about 15,000, and on the 8th waxing of Tagu of the year 1185 B.E. they occupied Shapoori Island and planted the Burmese flag on it.

When the Commander of the British outpost stationed at Re-ngan-don on the Naaf saw what had been done, he reported the matter to Robertson. The latter then quickly informing the Governor-General sent a letter to the King at Ava in the following terms:—

- "(1) British subjects within the British territory have been systematically ill-treated by Burmese officers.*
- (2) Shapoori Island has been unjustly claimed by the Burmese.*
- (3) Those who have been kept in official charge of Shapoori Island according to agreement, have been arrested and taken into captivity.*
- (4) With the object of settling the quarrel a sacred agreement had been entered upon between the two nations.*
- (5) The capture of officials who had been stationed to guard the channel at the mouth of the river.*
- (6) The planting of the Burmese flag on the Shapoori Island.*

Considering all the circumstances aforesaid it appears that the King of Ava, knowing full well the many dishonourable deeds committed by his officers in Arakan, did not check nor use sufficient control over them. Therefore it is justifiable to consider him as being a consenting party to those deeds. On the other hand, it is not due to the

weakness of our armies that we are preserving silence. Our old friendship with the former kings of Burma has preserved our goodwill up to now. Our silence has been due to the desire to increase our mutual respect and goodwill and to preserve the lives of our fellow men from wanton destruction. While we have been calm and honourable, the Burmese have been shifty, inconsiderate, indiscreet and deceitful. They have totally disregarded the wisdom imparted by precedents. Their conduct resembles the case of a small fly or a bee who unhesitatingly and without fear attempts to drink up the whole ocean. Such is our message to the old King of Ava".

When this letter reached the Burmese King he ordered the Governor of Pegu to reply in evasive terms which, for the most part, consisted of a tissue of lies. Meanwhile, on the first waning day of Tagu of the year 1185 B.E., Maung Wa, the Minister of the Interior, with the other high military officers, including Maung San Byaw, the Governor of Mrauk-U, was ordered to proceed to British territory with a force of 15,000 men. This force marched by way of

Letwedet road on the Mayu and by way of Alethangyaw. When the Commander of the British troops of Re-ngan-don and the Chaungtha Bomin Pha-kya-kwa of the Myothit river heard of the Burmese advance, they immediately went to Ramu and reported the matter to Captain Pringle, who was in command of the Arakanese levy. The latter did not believe them and so his informers were ordered to be imprisoned for about 3 days.

On the 5th waxing of Kason of the year 1186 B.E. the Burmese army arrived at the British outpost at Santhwangan. When this news was reported to Captain Pringle, he and another officer (ဇောင်လုံပုလတ်တောင်ဆင်[•]) marched out to that place. With them they also took two elephants loaded with cannon. They came upon the Burmese army during the night at a place about 8 miles from Ramu. The Burmese immediately fired on the British and caused them to lose a cannon, which fell off one of the elephants. The Arakanese leaders, Ran Zaik Aung and

• Probably the commander of a platoon of soldiers carrying jingalls. Pa-lok-taung (ပုလတ်တောင်) is the Arakanese corruption of the word "Platoon"

Mra Phaw with 80 men, dashed into the Burmese lines and rescued the cannon. But on the following morning, seeing that they were getting the worst of the deal, the British fell back upon Ramu and further strengthened their defensive works. Meanwhile, the small garrisons stationed at other outposts came into the military base at Ramu. The Burmese remained to refresh themselves for 3 or 4 days at Santhwangan and advanced directly on Ramu. On the 10th waxing of Kason of the same year the Burmese reached the outskirts of Ramu and entrenched themselves at places known as Razabuk and Onkhali. Whereupon some of the Chittagonians and Arakanese ran away from Ramu and hid themselves in the jungle. Some remained behind consoling themselves, with the assurance that the Burmese had never been able to defeat the British and that they would never do so. But there were others who went within the British fortifications determined to throw in their lot with the English whether they won or lost the contest. A few Chittagonians who had been forcibly deprived of their belongings by the Burmese deliberated

among themselves whether they should complain of the matter to the English or not. While they were in this state of indecision, the Burmese burnt their houses and killed and consumed their cattle. As a result of this highhanded treatment the Chittagonians made a strong protest. Their only reward was the execution of 19 of their spokesmen. Seeing this, the remainder speedily dispersed in great confusion.

For about 3 days, the struggle continued between the English and the Burmese, after which it was made clear that the superiority of the latter was undoubted. Then the Arakanese leaders, namely the former Governor of An, Aung Gyaw, Bomin Ran Zaik Aung and an Arakanese Subadar approached Captain Pringle and suggested to him to remain within the fortifications with 500 Zaunggyi (ဇောင့်ဂျီ) soldiers and to allow the Arakanese levy and some others to sally forth and attack the Burmese. But Captain Pringle would not permit this. Consequently, the defenders being without food and water for 4 days, suffered great hardships. About 100 Zaunggyi soldiers were killed in the action. The Burmese also lost about 500 sol-

diers. But this loss made no impression on them because of their numerical superiority. In fact, on the 4th day of the struggle, the Burmese had more men than they had at the start because of reinforcements which arrived in quick succession. Fully realising the danger of their situation of the Arakanese chiefs requested Captain Pringle to remove the non-combatants, consisting of men and women numbering about a thousand altogether, so that they might seek shelter elsewhere. Captain Pringle then ordered a slightly wounded Adjutant to take charge of these people and to place on two elephants Rs. 20,000, being the pay of the soldiers, and to escort them to some place out of harm's way, and then to return back to the fort. While these people were being escorted out of the fort by the Arakanese levy, the Burmese tried to intercept them by gun fire. Owing to this, about 100 men and women lost their lives. But the Arakanese levy with their precious charge forced their way through and managed to reach a place of safety. As they were about to return back to the fort it was ascertained that the English forces which remained be-

hind, had been overwhelmed and killed by the Burmese. Only a young British officer managed to escape on horseback. Four British officers and 500 men lost their lives. When the Arakanese leaders came to know this, they considered that their return to the fort would be useless against such fearful odds, so on the full moon day of Kason of the year 1186 B.E. they marched back to Chittagong. On their journey, when they reached a place called Halabun, they lost an elephant which was killed by Burmese gunfire. They took the remaining elephant and the Adjutant safely into Chittagong. This catastrophe happened because the Burmese practised deceit. They first signed an agreement to end the quarrel, so as to throw off all suspicion; then like a thief in the night they suddenly mustered their force and attacked the English. Had they not done so they would never have been victorious. But the Burmese shamefully boasted that the victory was entirely due to their own invincible prowess. They remained entrenched at Ramu within their strong defensive works and then scoured the country for paddy, rice and other eatable things,

which they accumulated in vast granaries.

When the Burmese thus took their station at Ramu the inhabitants of the surrounding country ran away for shelter by land and by sea to Chittagong.

While these things were taking place, Bandoola was suddenly recalled to Burma to oppose the British forces that had landed at Rangoon. So he immediately sent orders to the commander of the Burmese forces in Chittagong to abandon the scheme of the conquest of Chittagong and to return with all his men into Burma. The Burmese, during their departure from Ramu, founded that they had about 200 men who, owing to the wounds they had received, could not march back along with the main force. So, thinking that if they were allowed to remain in that place they would surely go into Chittagong and give information to the English, they killed these wretched soldiers to a man. The remainder then marched back towards Burma.

The first news of the Burmese retreat was sent on to Robertson by the people who had escaped from the hands of the Burmese. In addition to that, a Commander

of a British vessel who had been stationed to keep watch at the mouth of the Mahazo River, also followed the Burmese retreat for some time, and when he had fully ascertained that they were marching back he returned to Chittagong and informed Robertson about it. This same officer also went to Ramu and saw the scene of the last occupation of the place by the Burmese, who left behind all their stores of provisions.

Having taken an inventory of all the things left by the Burmese he sent it on to Robertson. Robertson then reported the full facts of the matter to the Governor-General at Calcutta. Meanwhile Robertson ordered the Commander of the vessel to return to Ramu and to distribute all the provisions left by the Burmese amongst the poor and needy inhabitants of the surrounding country who had suffered by the late Burmese aggression. He also ordered that all gardens and fields which had been destroyed by the Burmese be reconstructed and put into proper order, so as to make them useful and serviceable as before. From the month of Wagoung of the same year he

ordered the leaders of the Arakanese as well as the Chittagonians to collect together boats of all descriptions. He said that he wanted boats varying from 13 fathoms in length to 15 fathoms, to the numbers of about 300. In the same year, from the month of Thadinyut, coolies and servants to the extent of 10,000 men were also collected from various places.

General Morrison received definite orders from the Governor-General that Arakan should be forthwith invaded and taken away from the Burmese. The necessary number of soldiers being collected together, consisting of a regiment of Zaunggyi, a regiment of British soldiers, and a regiment of Madras Infantry, over 10,000 in all, General Morrison ordered them to proceed by means of vessels in the month of Tazaungmon of the same year. These leaders arrived at Chittagong in the month of Nadaw of the same year. Robertson was also ordered to proceed to Arakan by overland route. About 200 Arakanese servants were also sent over to Rangoon to serve with the British forces. The British force under Morrison intended for the invasion of Arakan consisted of the

following:—

1000 Madrasi soldiers, 600 Arakanese soldiers, 1000 British soldiers and 500 Cavalry. Besides these there were 10,000 other soldiers together with servants and coolies. This force marched in two divisions by land and by sea on the 11th waxing of Pyatho of the year 1186 B.E.

On the 12th waning of the same month, they arrived at Re-ngan-don on the Naaf. They remained there for about 10 days. Meanwhile the division that came along by water also arrived there. When the Burmese outposts, stationed at Maungdaw, Nakhoun-g-do and Latwedak saw the British forces in such great numbers, they got very greatly alarmed and were afraid to retain their positions and offer resistance. Just as the Nagas and other serpents are frightened by the sound produced by the flapping of the wings of *garuda* birds, so also the Burmese, rather than meet this fearful foe, ran away their posts in great confusion.

The Arakanese who lived at Maungdaw were very glad to see this. They were also glad that a people who should be real rulers over them were now advancing to at-

tack their country. So the elders among them collected together and went over to the English lines at Re-ngan-don, carrying with them valuable and suitable presents. On their arrival there they reported what had happened on the Burmese side. They also requested to be taken under British protection and to be permitted to serve them faithfully. But Robertson and the British officers were not quite willing to believe this report. So, to make thing doubly sure, the Arakanese leaders from Maungdaw were imprisoned. Captain Dickenson, the officer-in-charge of the Arakanese levy, was then ordered to take about 1,000 men and to march on to Maungdaw with the object of ascertaining the true facts of the matter. Dickenson took with him the followers of the Arakanese leaders who came over from Maungdaw to show him the proper way, and on the 2nd waxing of Tabodwe 1186 B.E. he marched to that place. When he reached there he found out definitely that the Burmese had abandoned the 3 out-posts in question. On his return to the base he lost an elephant loaded with cannon by a fall from a hillside. When Robertson found

out that the report was perfectly true he ordered a general advance on Maungdaw. They arrived at that place on the 10th waxing of Tabodwe of the same year and encamped there. Meanwhile a satisfactory road* was made through the jungles by the coolies consisting of Arakanese and Chittagonians, leading from Maungdaw to Angumaw†. After the road was completed, the British force advanced by means of his road to Angumaw on the 5th waning of Tabodwe. Arriving there, they encamped again for some time. The division that went by river anchored off the mouth of the Kaladan. Captain Drummond and a few others went out reconnoitring the place. When it was ascertained that there was a Burmese outpost at Sindetmaw‡ they returned to their vessels and fired a few shots from their cannon towards this outpost.

* This road still exists. It runs along the foot of the Mayu range on the west.

† The most southerly point on the Mayu range which terminate at the mouth of the Mayu river. The dreaded Mayu *nat* has a stone shrine here.

‡ To the south east of Akyab across the river.

The Burmese garrison speedily abandoned their post in great confusion. The Thugyi of Peinnechaung* was forcibly taken on board one of these vessels and, when the tide arose, the vessels weighed anchor and entered the Kaladan. The Peinnechaung Thugyi acting as their guide, the whole fleet advanced up the river anchored off the coast of Urittaung.

Meanwhile Robertson and his land forces encamped at Angumaw were rather anxious because they had not heard anything from the division that had left by water under General Morrison. So, with a view to finding out what the matter was they sent Fernandez (ငေဝ်မာလုံ) and a few others to investigate. So Fernandez and his men crossed the Mayu and by means of a small connecting creek they went towards Urittaung. When they arrived at the Urittaung Pagoda they were glad to see the British flag which was planted there by General Morrison's party anchored close by. So they hastened to that spot and having found some men, they were speedily taken to the General.

* A large village in the middle Borongas to the southeast of Akyah.

When the anxieties of Robertson and other officers were told to him, the General wrote a letter in which he explained everything and sent it back to Robertson. While Morrison was awaiting the arrival of Robertson and his land forces he ordered 10 vessels with 500 soldiers in all to investigate the Burmese positions on the river. This contingent arrived at Chaungphela^a outpost. When the Burmese saw it approaching them they made preparations for defense. One of the three-masters which went ahead of the rest got stranded in shallow water. The Burmese seeing this were very glad and they immediately opened fire on the attackers. The Commander of the vessel then gave orders to retaliate, but the British fire being a bit too high, the shots went over the Burmese. For this reason there was not much damage done to the Burmese outpost. As for the British, they lost two officers and four men by Burmese gunfire and over 30 were wounded. When the tide arose and the vessel floated once again,

^a About 28 miles to the north east of Akyab. It lies on the direct launch route to Mrohong.

the British fire on the outpost took effect and wounded the Burmese Commander, Maung Lon, in his left arm. When this happened Maung San Byaw, Governor of Maruk-U and his followers ran away from the outpost. After this, the British returned, towing away the vessel that was stranded.

When Bandoola was suddenly summoned back to Burma he left behind his able assistant, Minister of the Interior, Maung Zan, as Commander-in-Chief of the Burmese forces in Arakan. As soon as the latter took charge, the first thing he did was to arrest Maung San Byaw, the Governor of Mrauk-U, and put him into jail for his cowardly desertion of the outpost at Chaungphela. But he did not remain in jail for long, for he was set at liberty after 3 days.

The Commander Maung Zan proceeded to supply the many outposts distributed about the country with sufficient quantities of arms and ammunition, and he strictly commanded that on no account should the Burmese soldiers retreat and that no quarter was to be given on their side.

The land forces under Robertson crossed over the Mayu and when they reached

Kywekrantaung[♦], they encamped there for the night. The next morning at about 6 a.m. they advanced on the Burmese outpost of Padaw[■]. As soon as they reached it, which was at half past one in a day, about 200 men attacked it vigorously and after half an hour's fighting, the Burmese completely abandoned their outpost. As soon as it was taken the British column remained there for a short time and advanced northward to Ziza, where they encamped for the night. On the 8th waxing of Tagu of the same year the British soldiers, the Arakanese levy and the Madras Infantry joined forces and together marched on the Mahati[●]. But when they reached the Mahati stream which separated them from the Pagoda itself it was

♦ Close to the Hinkoraw village about 25 miles to the north east of Akyah.

■ ★ A small steep hill in the Mrohoung township. There is a small Pagoda on the top enshrining the cheek hairs of the Buddha and owing to that fact it is called Pa-mwe-daw-dat.

● Mahati shrine was put up by King Kaulya of the Parin dynasty about the middle of the 12th century. Its name is derived from Maha Thera (the disciple Ananda) who in a former existence is supposed to have lived there.

found impossible to ford it owing to the high tide. After waiting there for about 2 hours, the waters subsided and they easily forded it and then immediately marched on to the attack of the Burmese outpost around the Pagoda. The Burmese were terribly alarmed, and without the British having to fire a shot, ran away in great confusion. The running away of the Burmese resembled the stampede of all forest-dwelling animals when they suddenly meet face to face the awful majesty of the Kesaraza Lion. The cowardly conduct of the Burmese subsequently provoked much laughter in the British camp. When the British held Mahati they wantonly did much damage and destruction to the Mahati pagoda and other surrounding religious buildings. Indeed the British military commander actually lived inside the image shrine for the time being. About 10 Burmese soldiers were found hiding there. They were arrested and taken as prisoners. From Mahati, the column advanced further north, and when they arrived at the Paungdok Plain they encamped there, waiting for the approach of the rest of the force from which they had separated.

When the main body had come up and joined the advance column that was waiting on the Plain of Paungdok, they paused for a while to deliberate as to the best method of attacking the formidable city of Mrauk-u, which was surrounded by three rows of stone walls.

The elaborate preparations carefully thought out for the achievement of this object resembled somewhat the plans adopted by the Thagyamin on the eve of the great struggle between his mighty army and that of the Asuras. *(Here the author goes into a great deal of unnecessary details describing the uniforms of the various regiments employed in the attack on Mrohoung).* The troops that took part in this attack consisted of the following:—

A company of the Arakanese levy, a company of the Madras Infantry, two companies of British soldiers, two companies of Zaunggyi soldiers and 300 Pioneers with scaling ladders. The first attack was made on the eastern gate of the city known even to this day as Kwanzepaungwa. It was made on the 10th waxing of Tagu of the same year at 5 in the morning before dawn. So

stout was the resistance offered by the Burmese and so great was the difficulty of the situation, that the attack proved unsuccessful. The British suffered a severe reverse here. Two Cavalry soldiers, 300 Madras soldiers, 20 Zaunggyi soldiers, 3 British soldiers, and 2 Uria soldiers lost their lives. As for the Arakanese levy, only the Commanding Officer and 100 men escaped entirely without a scratch. Seeing that any further attack on the Burmese position would be fraught with consequences to themselves, the British Commander ordered a retreat and the entire force fell back upon the Paungdok plain. The reason why the Burmese got the better of the deal in this transaction was because Maung San Byaw, the Governor of the city, and his son Maung Whike Kay were placed to defend this gateway, and being persons of the greatest authority in the city they were able to collect together in their service the pick of the Burmese soldiers at Mrauk-U.

At the southern gateway known, as Nawhle-taung Gate, Bo Mahazeta was placed in command. On the western side of the city at a place called Sabaseik or Babutaung,

Sikè Naymyo-Alan-Kyaw-Zaw and Maung Lon were placed in command. On the north of the city at the gateway close to Shitthaung temple Naymyo Thiha was placed in command. Mingyi Maha-thiha-thu Maung Zan, the Burmese Commander-in-chief, and Maha Minhla-raza Maung Khine as second in command, stationed themselves on the top of Sangataung hill and directed the defensive operations of the city. As for the British, after passing a night on the plain of Paungdok, early next morning, the Commander summoned Robertson and the other officers to a consultation. That day the only thing which the British did was to detach a party of men to station themselves some distance away from the eastern gate and to keep up a desultory

-
- Under the Arakanese regime all produce of land such as rice, cotton etc, was sold and exported under the direction of a controller who was called "Babu". His principle function was to see that foodstuffs did not leave the country in such abundance as to create a condition of scarcity in the land. Hence the well known saying ငါးဗိုလ်တို့ ဝန်ထမ်း (The presence of Babu means the presence of rice meaning, the country could never suffer famine as long as the Babu was present. This official had his residence at the foot of the hill to which his name is imparted.

fire. They were strictly ordered not to approach close enough to be harmed in any way. This idea was simply to deceive the Burmese. Thus they spent another night during which they put up a large mound of earth, which was about 15 to 20 cubits in height. On this they mounted a cannon and keep it ready for the morrow. The next day they fired it towards the place where the Burmese Commander-in-Chief was stationed. As the shot fell very close to that officer the Burmese were thoroughly alarmed. So they hauled down a very large cannon known as Mingala Praung from the top of Lwantaung[♦], which had been placed there ever since the time of the Arakanese kings. This cannon was conveyed with great difficulty to the hill known as Lethataung close to the eastern gate. When they found that it could not be mounted on the top of this hill, the majority of the soldiers defending the eastern gate were called away to assist in the work, leaving behind only a few men to guard it. On the evening of that day the

♦ A small hill immediately outside the palace walls. It is a continuation of the hill on which the palace is built. On Arakanese times a large drum (Baho Si) was kept here also.

British Commander summoned the Arakanese chiefs and asked them the best way of attacking the city. Whereupon, the former Arakanese Governors of An and Thandung, and Chowdhury Maung Nyo made enquiries amongst the rest of the Arakanese and having found some men who had intimate knowledge of the city defenses owing to their frequent dealings with the Burmese, took them to the presence of the British Commander. After they had presented these men with suitable presents in accordance with Eastern custom, they were closely questioned regarding the city. They informed the general that because the city of Mrauk-U was surrounded by three walls it was not a very easy task to take it by assault. The only method by which this object could be achieved with comparative ease was to scale the Lethataung hill which was to the west of the Eastern Gate and to launch a vigorous attack on that position. They said that it was the only place possible, falling which they could not think of any other place which should offer them better advantages. Hearing these words the general at once decided to make a vigorous

effort to capture this hill. So accordingly a British officer with 80 British soldiers accompanied by fifes and drums scaled up the side of Lethataung hill at about one o'clock in the night. They were guided by an Arakanese named Mo-reik-ke. Fortunately for the British the Burmese Commander and his men happened to be very tired. They were in the middle of a heavy slumber owing to the fatigue of the previous few days. Besides, the scaling party did their work so silently that the Burmese were completely surprised. A good number of them lost their lives in the sudden onset while the remainder ran away in great confusion. As soon as the British found themselves masters of the hill, the fifes and drums suddenly struck up a brisk tune and the men with one accord raised up shout after shout. So sudden was the noise and so great was the confusion among the Burmese soldiers, that all those who were within the city, woke up from their sleep. Their first thoughts were that the British had entered the city and were marching upon them to mete out severe punishment. In a moment there was great confusion, every-

body left his home with any property he could get hold of and attempted to leave the city without further loss of time.

When the British General and all those who were left outside the city gate heard of the great confusion prevailing in the city, they knew at once that the Burmans and other inhabitants were trying their best to abandon the place. The Commander ordered his men not to enter the city but to wait outside and abide their time. Some Burmans ran away through the gateway near the Shitthaung temple. Some ran away by way of the road that led along the foot of the Thingyettaw pagoda⁴. Others ran away by the high road that led to the Mahamuni temple. This desertion of the city continued from about one o' clock on Thursday night till about noon on the following day. This general stampede resembled the panic among the Nagas caused by the hearing of

← About six miles to the north of Mrohoung, on the direct road to Mahamuni. At this place the road bifurcates. One branch leads along the foot of the hills. The Arakanese records state that in the 11th century Anawratha Zaw of Pagan tried to take away the frontal bone relic supposed to be enshrined here: but being unsuccessful he only took away images of gold and silver.

the sound produced by the flapping of the wings of the garuda* bird. It also resembled the panic among the Gandharvas[■] caused by an angry glance of King Wethawanna[■] (Vaicravana) who is one of the four guardian kings of the world. (*His other name is Kubera. He is the regent of the north*). Thus were the Burmese and the Arakanese inhabitants of Mrauk-U brought to great hardships and tribulations. (*Here the author*

♦ Garuda belongs to the sixth class of demigods. He is the King of birds and a deadly enemy of the snake. He kills and injures the Nagas whenever he can.

■ Gandharvas or Kinnaris belong to the forth class of demigods. They are the musicians of Sakra, who join with their master to serve and worship Buddha. They are represented with a human bust on the body of a bird; their wives are the Apsaras, their chief Chitraratta or Supriya, and they are attendants of Dhritarashtra (Dhatarattha), guardian of the earth.

* In Buddhist mythology, the mountain Maru in the centre of the universe, is guarded by four "heroic-like" kings of the demons. These are:— (1) *Kubera*, *Kuvera* or *Vaicravana*, also called *Dhanada*, *Dhanapati*, *Yeksha-rāja*, etc., the Hindu Plutus or the god of wealth; he is the regent of the North, and his attributes are— a pike with a flag and a rat or mongoose that vomits jewels; his colour yellow. (2) *Virudhaka*, the ruler of the South and chief of the

indulges in a series of flattering parallels between the power, glory and might of British armies and warriors of the invincible Thagyamin. Since it is directly unconcerned with the present narrative these word-pictures been omitted. — Translator.)

As soon as it was ascertained that the city was well-nigh deserted the Commander gave to his troops not only to open the city gates and enter therein, but he also gave up the whole city to the tender mercies of his soldiers for three whole days within which they were permitted to take for themselves anything that they desired or could lay their hands upon. On the forth day it was ordered that nobody should touch anything on pain of severe punishment. After this, by beat of drum throughout the city it was notified for public information that (1) anybody who takes for his own purpose the wives and daughters of the people without their consent, shall be most severely pun-

Kumbhandas. His attributes being a helmet of the skin of an elephant's head and a long sword; his colour green.

(3)*Virupksha*, the red king of the West and ruler of the Nagas, whose attributes are a jewel and a snake. (4)*Dhritara-shtra* (Dhataratha), guardian of the East.

ished, (2) all those people left behind should enter their own houses and dwell at peace without any restraint or fear, (3) all those people in disobedience of these orders who hide in the jungles and the hills, will be searched out by the soldiers and brought into the city under arrest. No subsequent denial will be of any avail. When the people heard these orders they all returned to their homes and followed their usual pursuits. As for the Burmese officials and people, some of them returned to Burma by way of the Lemro river and through the Sedoktara Pass across the Yomas. Some returned to the city of Mrauk-U and occupied their own homes. As soon as it was known throughout the country that the city of Mrauk-U had fallen into the possession of the British, the elders of the villages came into the city from all directions bearing presents to the British Commander, and at the same time they took their oath of allegiance. The British Commander and Robertson then gradually restored peace among the people. The Arakanese levy was stationed near the Shitthaung temple. The Zaunggyi soldiers were placed near the tree which is the

abode of the *Mrauk-U nat*, the Guardian Deity of the city. The British soldiers were palaced within the palace enclosure. Then the middle of the inner walls of the city was ordered to be pulled down. There were also some troops stationed to occupy the foot of the Babutaung hill.

In the year 1146 B.E., when the Burmese had conquered Arakan, they built on the top of Shwekutaung, which is to the north-east of the palace, a small pagoda called Aung-zedi⁶ in commemoration of their conquest of Arakan. This pagoda was pulled down, and in its place a temporary court house was built in which Robertson took his residence and transacted business at the same time. The interpreter Aung Gyaw Rhi, who accompanied the British force from Chittagong, was appointed Dewan. The former Governor of An was also appointed a revenue officer of Mrauk-u. Besides these, all the other Arakanese elders who came

⁶ In addition to this Pagoda the Burmese also built a small Pitakat Taik, a library for the reception of sacred works in Pali and Burmese. Near by are the graves of British soldiers who succumbed to the awful climate. Unfortunately they are no longer marked, though the locality is well known to the present inhabitants.

along from Chittagong with the British, were also given suitable appointments.

From the time of the first occupation of Mrauk-u till the month of Wazo of the year 1187 B.E. great sickness prevailed in the city and many soldiers, numbering over 1,000, succumbed to it. When all these arrangements were completed, Robertson appointed Charles Paton to be Governor of Mrauk-U and then marched to the island of Ramree.

This ends the parts of the British operations in Arakan describing the fall of Mrauk-U.

In part II, I will now relate the history of the capture of the island of Cheduba by the English East India Company.

As has already been stated, Min-re-hla, the governor of Cheduba, remained behind in his charge superintending the fortifications of the place against a possible attack by the British. Meanwhile, Baung-lan Wun, who had been sent by Bandoola with a Burmese contingent, joined him there, and between the two of them they had carried out great improvements to the defenses and gave an increased sense of security to the

people. Meanwhile the British vessels from India arrived off the coast of Cheduba and anchored in the channel separating the island from the main land. General Morrison, wishing to find out the best places for anchorage along the coast of the island, sent a small vessel with an officer and 2 guns in the guise of a merchant. Min-re-hla, the Governor of Cheduba, being completely deceived, believed that the man was a real merchant, and having gladly accepted presents, entertained him suitably and allowed him to depart. The officer, before he returned, took careful notes and made careful plans regarding the approaches to the island and the defenses within it. Having learnt all these facts in detail, in the year 1186 B.E., on the 8th waxing Kason, General Morrison ordered the vessels to approach the island without hesitation. From about 6 a.m. till about 2 p.m., the island was bombarded incessantly. The British soldiers entered the city through the north gate and the Madras Infantry through the east gate, fighting their way in the whole time. The Burmese, finding themselves unable to withstand the British attack, aban-

doned the place and ran away from the city. The Burmese lost in men and women over 1,000 people. There were over 500 wounded. The British lost over 200 and over 30 were wounded. Min-re-hla, the Governor of Cheduba, was captured. After the capture of Cheduba, the inhabitants of the place were treated kindly so as to win their confidence. Moreover, they were permitted to dwell in their own homes in peace and without further molestation. The British forces then encamped at Cheduba, while Min-re-hla, the Governor of Cheduba, together with his wife and children were sent to the Governor-General at Calcutta. This in the end of *part II* wherein is described the siege and capture of Cheduba. The history relating to the siege and capture of Ramawaddy of Ramree will now be related.

Bandoola also sent one Palaung Siké at the head of a Burmese contingent to garrison Ramree. On his arrival, he consulted Maung Yin Galay, the Burmese Governor of Ramree, regarding the details of the defenses. It was then decided that 500 soldiers should be stationed at Kyaukchaung village. 500 soldiers were stationed at Aung-

hla-maw. 500 soldiers armed with fire-arms were stationed at the left bank of the entrance to the Tanchaung creek. On the right bank of the same creek 1,000 soldiers were stationed. These were the various outposts defending the approaches to the city, where the main body remained behind strong fortifications. Meanwhile, General Morrison, who was in occupation of Cheduba, sent 3 ships and 3 cutters with 500 men under the command of a British officer to attack the Burmese outpost at Aung-hla-maw. This was carried out on the 12th waxing of Nayon in the year 1186 B.E. The Burmese at first offered a stout resistance, but eventually they were defeated and the position was abandoned.

The officer-in-charge of the outpost reported the disaster to the Commander at Ramree. Whereupon, the latter and the Governor marched out with 1,000 men and opposed the British advance. This time, superior numbers prevailed and the small British force had to retreat. On the 2nd waxing of Wazo of the same year, another attack was launched on the Burmese by way of Remyat Chaung creek. On this occa-

sion also 500 men were employed. On landing, the men had to pass through a mangrove swamp in deep mud. Thus, tired and dejected, they met the Burmese and were driven back. At this venture, the British left behind a wounded officer and 10 men killed. Anazi, the interpreter who guided the force on his expedition, was suspected of treachery because it was subsequently found that he had secret relations with the Burmese. He was therefore sent under arrest to Calcutta. As for the British, they remained on the islands of Cheduba and Sagu without doing anything further. But, in the meantime, so great was the power and glory of the British and their lucky star being in the ascendant, the Burmese, though they were within strong fortifications abandoned Ramree and ran away into Burma. When this happened, Maung Shwe Baw, the most influential resident of the place, having told the people not to have any fear, succeeded in restoring peace and order in the capital as well as in the surrounding country. He then wrote a long letter explaining the whole situation, and invited the British to take possession of the place. Moreover, he stated

that the people were all willing to serve the British and to take the oath of allegiance. This letter was sent by the Arakanese elders Thale, San Ra Phwe, Mootha, Pha Rhee and a Mahomedan by name Abdulla. When Robertson received this message he would not believe it at first, but due enquiries having proved the accuracy of the information, he, with a force of about 700 men, entered Ramree and took possession of the place without opposition, on the 4th waxing of Kason of the year 1187 B.E. at 8 a.m. Captain Phillips was then appointed Governor of the district to restore law and order and to administer the country. *Part III* of the history, relating to the siege and capture of Ramree is here ended.

Part IV the history relating to the siege and capture of Dwarawaddy (or Sandoway) will now be related.

In the same way, Min Maung Aung, the Governor of Sandoway, after having strengthened the defenses of the city, stationed 500 soldiers at Khamaung-don. The same number of soldiers were stationed at Sinkhaung-wa and at Pai-re. In spite of all these warlike preparations the British sta-

tioned at Sagu Island showed no concern whatsoever. The Burmese then abandoned the city and ran away into Burma in the month of Kason of the year 1187 B.E. The British then entered Sandoway and took possession of it. Captain Dalgatty was appointed Governor of the district. This is the end of *Part IV*, being the history relating to the siege and capture of Sandoway.

The history relating to the war between the Company and the Burmese in Burma and the taking over of that country, has already been made known by the historians of Moulmein.*

This history of the war in Arakan was written by Saya Maung Boon at the request of Henry Hopkinson, the Commissioner of Arakan, in the year 1210 B.E. (1848 A.D.) to make out the necessary papers for as many slaves as the padre might require, and the entertainment being at an end, the royal party re-entered the palace. It only remained for Manrique to see the business through. Many formalities had to be carried

* This undoubtedly refers to a work in Burmese which was first published anonymously at Moulmein in 1838. A copy of this is now in the translator's possession.

out, papers sealed and signed, but with the help of his masterly tact, the names of the particular Arakanese Christians he wanted were entered on the grant and a few days later the men were handed over to him. So he accomplished his first object, collecting round the Church in the Portuguese suburb all the Christians of the vicinity. There, united and refreshed, they were able to practise, thanks to the tolerance of the authorities, their Catholic rites in a Buddhist city. In what city of Europe at that date a community of Buddhists have done the same?

The narrative of Fra Manrique's journey and the successful achievement of his immediate objects, though it does not take us to the end of his travels, is sufficient to give a most concrete idea of Arakan in the heyday of the Mrauk-U dynasty. Unfortunately no history of that dynasty has yet been written. When such a work is compiled, an epoch of Indo-Chinese history will be revealed as brilliant as that of Pagan. Indeed to some its annals will be more interesting, as less parochial, for Arakan within the general orbit of oriental politics;

great figures of the outer world—the Mogul, the Viceroy of Goa, pirates, fallen princes from Hindustan, friars and navigators, come and go; their thoughts and actions are in relief against the Kings in stone palace and strange pagoda, and because of that relief the complete picture is more arresting.

M.S. COLLIS

— — — — — AUTHORITIES. — — — — —

Padu Maestro Frey Seb. Manrique. Chap. X to XX
Campos. History of the Portugues in Bengal.

Notes from Arakanese MSS. supplied by

Mr. San Shwe Bu.

Forchemmer's Antiquities of Arakan.

Akyab District Gazetteer.

Topographical notes made from personal observation.

AN ARAKANESE POEM OF THE 16TH CENTURY

By M.S. Collis

J.B.R.S. Vol. XIII, Part 3. 1923

Mr. San Shwe Bu in Volume IX, Part III, Page 151 of the Burma Research Journal has already given a sketch of the life of Ugga Byan, the author of the poem translated below. But for the convenience of the reader and in order to complete the subject under one head, I will here retrace shortly the main facts of his history. The authorities which mention him are the Mahâ Râzawin, the Dannyawaddi Ayedawpon and the Nga Lat Rone Râzawin, all Arakanese MSS in the library of Mr. San Shwe Bu. There is also, however, a considerable unwritten tradition, in which he assumes the proportions of a mythical hero. The ac-

count here will be confined to the historical facts of his career.

We find his name first mentioned about the year 1593 A.D. as the tutor of Prince Min-khamaung, eldest son and heir of King Râzagri of Arakan, the greatest king of Mrauk-U dynasty and the grandfather of Thri-thudhamma, whom Manrique has described so well. The prince, Min-khamaung, was wild and he found in his tutor a boon companion. They had a band of youthful supporters, Nga Ru, Nga Pru, Nga Gru, ten of them, and they lived that life of erudition and of the imagination wedded to fighting, brawling, feats of endurance, the tradition of which is familiar to us from a study of the European Renaissance.

The history of Ugga Byan's tutorship is concerned solely with his three attempts to assassinate his pupil's father King Râzagri, and with the terrible punishment at last inflicted on the poet.

On the first occasion, the ten above mentioned were told off to despatch him. The plot was discovered and Prince Min-khamaung with his tutor retired to Pegu, then the centre of Burmese Civilization.

There they had a great success. Ugga Byan's poems were much admired and he, like the Playboy of the Western World, moving within the halo of a parricide, cut a very fine figure. From this they were withdrawn by a free pardon from the King.

A year or two later, Râzagri, in the ordinary course of government, invaded Hanthawaddi and invested Pegu. He was accompanied by his son and Ugga Byan. During the siege, Ugga Byan thought he saw a favourable opportunity to accomplish what he had failed to do on a previous occasion. Again the plot failed, and he and the Prince went over to the enemy. But when it appeared likely that Râzagri would take the town, Min-khamaung and his party cut their way out again. This feat so pleased the King, that he again offered a free pardon to all concerned.

Like certain persons mentioned by De Quincey in his "Murder as one of the Fine Arts", there must have been something about Râzagri which invited assassination. The MSS do not reveal what it was. Perhaps his excessive amiability caused an irritation, an itching. One cannot tell. Suffice it to say

that hardly had the army returned from Pegu, when the poet had his third attempt on him. This time it was more in the nature of a rebellion. Min-khamaung and he were down at Sandoway, visiting the pagodas. The town was full of Pagoda slaves. Mahomedan prisoners of war confined there to sweep out the three sacred shrines, Andaw, Nandaw and Sandaw,— all desperate men. A word was enough for such fellows. At the head of this army of pagoda slaves, the Prince with his tutor marched on Mrauk-U, the capital. But Râzagri met, defeated and captured them.

The king was evidently a man who learnt by experience, for he now made up his mind that Ugga Byan was not a safe tutor for his son and decided to terminate the appointment. And, observing that the poet evidently found himself at home with pagoda-slaves, he attached him in that capacity to the temple of Mahâmuni.

It is difficult for us to understand the full significance of that punishment. It was the most complete social downfall that could overtake a man. For one who had strutted in King's Courts, a poet and a hero, the

equal of princes, it was death, and Ugga Byan accepted it as such.

Years later, when Râzagri had been succeeded by Min-Khamaung, the new King remembered his old tutor and boon companion, once so brilliant a nobleman, and offered to reinstate him. But Ugga Byan refused. He quoted the law "A pagoda-slave dedicated by one King cannot be freed except by the command of a greater king." This was too blunt for Min-khamaung and it is not recorded that he ever approached Ugga Byan again. The poet's words may sound like a retort, the cry of an embittered man. In fact they were nothing but the sober truth. Public opinion, immemorial custom weighed on him. Once a pagoda-slave, always a pagoda-slave. It would have required a much greater King than Min-khamaung to have overcome that conviction and to have reintroduced Ugga Byan into society. He was a disgraced man and in this utter degradation he remained for the rest of his life.

Such is the history of Min-khamaung's tutor, such is the life of the poet who composed the poem here translated.

The work is said to have been written about the year 1595 A.D. when Ugga Byan was in Pegu. It is in the form of a Ra-tu and is his only extant piece. The word Ra-tu means "Seasonal" and is a form of poetical composition much affected both in India and Burma. The poet speaks through the mouth of a woman, a wife left at home by her husband, who is abroad, travelling, fighting or exiled. The wife pictures their town, the common sights of the countryside and her love, and sends the poem to him. He reads it and overcome by homesickness, returned back. It is on such lines that a Ra-tu is generally written. In the particular Ra-tu here translated, it is supposed that Min-khamoung's favorite wife, left at Mrauk-U while he is away at Pegu, is the speaker and begs him to return to her.

The poem has been preserved on palm-leaf, and one of the few MSS. copies in existence is in Mr. San Shwe Bu's library. Though well known to the older generation it is now a very rare work. It is written in archaic Arakanese and offered the most stubborn resistance to its translator. The ungarnished literal rendering, upon which

the verse translation is made, was the combined effort of several persons. Mr. San Shwe Bu informs me that he had to consult hpongyis, his grand-mother and various other elderly people before he was satisfied that he had arrived at the exact sense. It was then for me to present it in some form which would suggest the original. Anyone who has attempted translations from foreign verse will appreciate my difficulty. There are two schools of translation; according to one an exact word for word rendering of the original is essential; according to the other the translator should concern himself chiefly with recreating for the modern world the old life and emotion of his model. I will let my readers determine to which school I belong. But Mr. San Shwe Bu allows me to record that in his opinion the verse translation here given is a close and accurate version of his manuscript.

The poem is certainly a valuable document on the social and religious life of Arakan at the end of the 16th century, and serves as a background for Manrique's almost contemporary account. He described

the outside; this Ra-tu shows what was going on within. As has often been observed before, the thoughts and feelings of humanity do not change with the centuries; it is only the outward expression which varies. But Ugga Byan's poem remains very true of Arakan to this day, both inside and out. The weather is the same; many of the festivals still survive; the temperament of the people is identical; Mahâmuni has been carried away and Mrauk-U is in ruins, but still races are held on the Thinganaddi, processions pass to the sacred hill and flowers are laid at the knees of the Exalted.

M.S. COLLIS.

I. Tabaung—March

To-day I took early the forest path;
There a dry wind was driving the withered
leaves;
But already the new sprays were on the
boughs,
So green, so fresh, that tears came to my
eyes.
By the pathside were all the flowers of

Tabaung,
Each is his choice place, like a gem well
set,
The silver flower, the Flower-of-a hundred-
passions,
And many more, the forest flowers of
spring.
So in the mild air, neither hot nor cold,
Hushed by their odours, prayerfully I went,
Plucking now here, now there a precious
flower.
With these I mounted the Pagoda steps
And laid them at the knees of the Exalted.

II. Tagu,—April.

Let me recite my prayer with lifted hands.
Tabaung is over and gone; Tagu begins
The New Year comes; but I am sorrowful,
For you are far from me at a foreign court.
The rains will soon fall, but you have not
written;
No word, no message of love has come
from you.
Have you no longing to return at this
season?
I heard a bird sing in the forest today:
Its voice was my voice, calling you to come

back.

What if the King of Heaven from his seat
on Mount Meru

Should hear and transport you suddenly
to me?

Would we not go together to the Water
Festival?

This year the boat-races are on the
Thinganaddi,

South of the city of golden Mrauk-U.

III. Kason.—May

The water feast is past; a new moon waxes;
Still my thoughts follow you incessantly.

Everywhere doves are cooing; through the
leaves

The light seems every colour of gay green
Or misty showers pass over in thin drizzle.

But all these only make my heart more
sad,

For thinking I must see them without you,
So that three parts of the night I often lie

Wakeful and wishing you were by me here,
That we might watch together the moving

sky,

See the Rain-king marshal his thunder
clouds

And make his lightnings flicker; see the
Sun-king,
In his rich coat of a thousand scarlet
flames,
Drive out and set his horses at a gallop
In circuit of Mount Meru; on the summit
the King of Heaven sits, smiling at this,
Until, an amber rod in his left hand,
His right upon a sword, he shouts gain.
At once the Rain-king summons back the
clouds,
Darkens the sky, darts lightning everywhere,
And a shower rushing down settles the
dust.

IV. Nayon.—June

Last month the Monsoon struggled to
break loose;
But now the free rain-wind has set south-
west,
A wind of clouds, which rise from a dark
sea
And hang in folds of black over the land.
Heavy showers fall now, the rain spills on
earth,
And countrymen look to their ploughs and
cattle;

The birds, with their fat fledglings close
behind,
Walk in the fields, searching the ground
for food,
And fly away, wing to wing, happy and
fond.
These sights, the cattle plough, the wait-
ing field,
The play last night of lightning in the
leaves—
All these increase my longing and my love.
How can I live without you a whole year?
I am distracted with the dismal thought.

V. Wazo—July

Summer is far departed; rain increases;
The sky was overcast of a sudden today
And I heard thunder rumble and thought
of you—
Your princess thinks only of love of you!
How the time hurries! Monks prepare for
Lent
Already in wonderful monasteries of the
Jungle;
The Sun-king shows himself no more in
the sky,
And rain falls all day long, though with head

bowed

I have besought the King of Heaven to
stop it,

For such rain damps the heart with you
away.

My bed is cold and humid, half my bed,
Your half, and when I look on it, I weep;
Lying awake, oppressed by anxious
thoughts,

Listening to distant drums and cymbals
struck

Far off in the midnight streets or temple-
yards,

My sadness growing till the first cock-crow
And the wild mingled notes of early birds.

VI. Wagaung.—August.

Wazo indeed was wet, but in Wagaung
A rain, a torrent rushes out of heaven,
Filling the hollows, falling day and night
On field-embankment, flooding every land
That lies by river fringe or forked creek-
side,

A sea-born rain, that south-west winds
renew,

Sucking it from the ends of a dark sea,
Lit of no sun, but by the flares of light-

ning,
Where thunder crashes louder than heavy
waves.
If such rain ceased and paddy fields lacked
water,
The offer of right gifts to the King of
Heaven
Could certainly invoke it back again.
But you nor prayer nor grief brings back
to me:
Your heart is harder now than it was once:
Could days are near— Oh, can you still
forget!
Dear love, come back! I plead with you—come
back!

VII. Tawthalin.—September.

The last of the rain drops feebly away:
Tawthalin's ripening glow spreads through
the land;
On every hillside patch of rice men laugh:
From every hilltop garden they scare birds:
Watching the crops go yellow, they are
cheered.
The farmer's house is gay with talk and
friends:
Bird-song and bee-drone swell the hum of

gladness:

Filled with all sounds, the forest trembles
with life,

And he that walks in it, feels no fatigue.
Ah, Love, all the love-thoughts, all the old
longings

Of so many months rise and assail me
now;

If in this time of Tawthalin we two
Could lie down side by side on this bed of
mine,

I'd have you as close by me as the gem
That rests upon my throat; not the Abodes
Of Tavatimsa could yield me more bliss,
For we'd be indivisible and one.

VIII. Wagyt.—October

Wagyt is in, the month of festivals,
The time of pleasures and gladness in the
country.

Some make umbrellas, wrap up rice in
jack-leaves,

Arrange flower stands and set out lamps
in a row;

All these they offer to pagodas and im-
ages:

Some observe also the Five and the Eight-

Precepts,

Doing much charity as befits a Buddhist;
Others betake themselves beyond the city.

And there together swill down pots of
drink

Till all are drunk and some abuse each
other;

Some fight among themselves and some
are sick:

And others make cooked rice into pago-
das,

Stand in a ring and sing old songs in
chorus,

Clapping the time with bamboos and with
hands.

So they keep festival throughout the coun-
try,

And every where in noise, confusion and
music

Processions pass to the pagoda-hill.

Such was the end of Lent. The mist still
hangs

A half-seen wrapping, till the north winds
blow

From the unmelting snows of Himavanta.

Love, Love, had you known all my love for
you,

Would you have stayed from me so long a while?

Come back—I beg you on my knees—Come back!

LX. Tasaungmon.—November:

The sign of Tasaungmon is a chilly wind.
Still festivals and fairs are in every village:

Those who would worship the Sulâmuni
Set up a bamboo sixty cubits in height

And run a rope of lamps to the top of it,
With music and the rhythm of rural song.

That I could offer up such lamps with you!

Day in, day out, my prayers for your return

Have gone to the holy relics of the Buddha,

But no one hears me, no one sends you back,

Though the north-eastern wind is cold and bites

Me through the blankets. Will you never come!

I hope no longer, without hope exist,

A wretched woman, hardly touching food,

Taking no drink, in mind and body ill,

Utterly miserable, like one half dead.

X. Nadaw.—December:

Flowers of Nadaw have come, but nights
are cold,

Savagely cold for one who waits alone,
Her poor mind fluttering, as she longs to
feel

The close warmth of your arms consoling
her.

Sleepless she lies now through the bitter
nights,

Fixing her thoughts on you, but cold to
the bone.

Why do the Nats who inhabit the Six Re-
gions

Allow so cruel a cold to chill us here?

Night after night I have complained to
them,

Till I am weary complaining; they do not
hear.

Wherefore I raise my hands in the form of
a bud,

Wherefore appeal over the Nats to Bud-
dha,

To those two certain Shapes of Him that
exist,

To Mahâmuni, which lies beyond the city,

And to Sulamuni in Tavatimsa,
Which is beyond the cities of this world.

XI. Pyatho.—January

This is a colder winter than last year,
A bright sun, but a north wind, and a mist
In the mornings like a blanket of woolly
cotton;
And though I settle cloth screens round
my bed,
The draught gets under them and makes
me shiver,
If only you were back with me again,
Wearing that gold chain I remember well!
I can exactly see you as you looked
The morning when you left me and set
out,
Your eye as large and liquid as a planet,
But in your air something obscure and
lofty.
There is a region where sun never shines,
The icy valleys of the Himavanta;
The lake Anâdatta there overflows
The rock Tilangana, the mount Trisâana:
From those strange mountain places winds
are blow-ing,
That wreak their cold on me and wring my

heart

With longing for your safe and quick return.

XII. Tabodwe.—February.

Today was the festival of Tug-of-war:

The cold had gone; through the mild evening air

Holiday crowds entered the capital,
Singing their old songs to the old-time tunes,

Till the whole city was full of their sound.
Laughing and shouting in lightheartedness,
Groups of them gathered at the tugs-of-war,

Settling their friends and sisters ready in line,

Urging the girls to grip well on the rope
And the boys to give a strong pull together.

So for hours they were happy and high-spirited,

In bright clothes, very bright in their gold ornaments,

The beat of the band-music always high
When a new tug began or the victors danced.

Night advanced; the moon rose over the

city.

The streets were still full of the same mad crowd

That posed and pironetted, shouting jests,
Not one of them with any thought of sleep.
I sat on watching; midnight was long gone;
The morning cocks were crowing; still I lingered,

More saddened now by reason of their joy.
But suddenly the sun burst out of ground,
Rousing the birds, making them hop and stretch,

Open their wings and wheel above the tops,

And fill the forest morning with their songs.
My eyes went after them, I saw beyond
Flowers everywhere, on tree and every bush
A fire of flowers, the same wild flowers of spring

I'd plucked a year ago with such fond prayers,

With such fond hopes had laid before the
Exalted—

Fond foolish hopes, for you have not come back.

M.S. COLLIS

NOTES OF THE ABOVE POEM

By San Shwe Bu

No. 1—This poem is called *Tasè-hna-rā-thi-ratu* or twelve season *ratu* and is probably on similar lines to the twelve boat-songs, corresponding to the twelve months of the year, supposed to have been composed during the reign of Duttaboung. It is said that the Arakanese *ratu* was first composed by the Dhammazait *Amat* who flourished about the time of the Chandra kings of Vesali (8th to 10th century A.D.) and was constructed upon Indian models. Its composition is somewhat peculiar, and when chanted accurately, as it always ought to be, the effect is most pleasing to the ear. As a general rule the first line consists of three feet, the first two of which contain four syllables each and the third has three only. Then all other remaining lines have four feet each, of which the first and the

last have six syllables and the second and the third four syllables. Thus in Dewan Aung Gyaw Rhi's *ratu*.—

မတိဋ္ဌိတနံဆာ၊ ဘုန်ညွန့်ပြာသည်၊ ဆရာခေါင်၊
တပြောင်ပြောင် ထွန်းလျှံလင်း၊ ခွေထွေးပိမ့်၊ ဇေတဝန်ဝတ်၊
ဆာန်ယုန်သစ်မင်း၊ ဘိုရဟန်၊ ချင်နှင့်မတူ၊ ဌာထိုစွန့်ထား၊ ယေဝန်တောမှာ၊
ထုတ်သွားစံတော်မူလျက်၊

But in the present poem the above rule is not strictly observed. The author takes grate privileges and has succeeded in producing a very irregular piece of composition. The English equivalents for the Burmese months are, of course, only approximate.

No. II. KING OF HEAVEN.—The Thagyamin who is the ruler of the six abodes of the Nats. He is the same as the Vedic deity Indra. The more common of his other names are the following:—*Sakra*, the able one (Thagyamin of the Burmese); *Divapati*, the lord of the gods; *Bajri*, he who wields the thunderbolt; *Vritrahá*, the destroyer of *Vritra* (drought); *Meghawahana*, he who rides on the clouds; *Mehondra*, the great Indra; *Swargapati*, the lord of Heaven.

WATER FESTIVAL.—when the sun enters the constellation Aswini in the sign Aries we have the "Ata-ne" or New Year's day of the Thingyan period. The Water Festival begins from this day and continues for three days. On the first day the holy images and monasteries are ceremonially washed. Then on the following days the elderly people observe the Eight and Ten Precepts while the younger folks throw water on one another.

THINGANADDI.— The classical name of the small navigable creek that flows up to Mrohung (Mrauk-U) from the south. Boat races are still held there every year.

No. III—**THE INFLUENCE OF BUDDHIST MYTHOLOGY ON BUDDHIST IDEAS.** The Arakanese claim that they are of Indian origin. The "Kyaukro Thamaing" and the "Shwe-myne-dhammathat" are most positive about this and they go even so far as to state that the first inhabitants of Arakan were the Hindus (Indians). Be that as it may, it is clear that the Arakanese received their civilisation from India. Their religion, literature, social customs and beliefs and the like, are unmistakably derived from Hindu sources, but with

modifications according to local needs and conditions. Thus in common with the Hindus the Arakanese employ the Vedic and Puranic gods in their scheme of the creation. They also share the same beliefs as the Hindus in regard to the forms and attributes of these deities. Indra and Surya are the Thagyamin and Sun god of the Arakanese. Parjanya, the rain god and Vāyu or Vāta wind god, are the Maruts or companions of Indra, who more or less controls all their actions. This idea is clearly brought out in the present poem. Besides these gods the Puranic triad, Brahma, Śiva and Vishnu, plays a most important part in Arakanese art and literature. Perhaps the finest example of this Hindu influence is to be found in the splendid sculptures of the Shitthoung Temple at Mrohoung where almost all the most important deities of the Hindu Pantheon are beautifully represented.

No. V. MONKS IN JUNGLE MONASTERIES.— Monks who lead a life of real seclusion have their monasteries built in peaceful valleys among the hills, are thoroughly suited to a life of contemplation.

DRUMS AND CYMBALS.— Musical Instru-

ments in common use among the Arakanese. These are of Indian origin. Some of them are no longer in existence.

No. VIII. UMBRELLAS.—The large white umbrellas that are usually placed above the images.

WRAP UP JACK LEAVES.—The Arakanese expression for this is ခင်ဖုတ်တင်. Cooked rice packed in jack leaves in the shape of small cones. Each complete offering consists of 33 cones; these are placed in a row round a lower tier of a pagoda. This practice is not kept up now and consequently the expression is meaningless to modern Arakanese.

FLOWERS STANDS.—Usually a flower is fixed on to the end of a thin strip of bamboo. When several of these have been collected, their other ends are inserted into a stick of pith in various directions. Thus it forms a sort of "Flowers tree" ဖုတ်တင်, which is placed before an image.

MAKE COOKED RICE INTO PAGODAS.—The Arakanese expression for this is ခင်ဖုတ်တင်. This consists in kneading cooked rice into a paste. It is then shaped like a pagoda and placed in the middle of a tray. Surrounding this on the tray are a number of smaller pagodas made out of the same material.

The whole is then offered up to an image of pagoda.

No. IX — SULAMANI.— There are supposed to be five *Munis* altogether. They are, Sakya-Muni, Canda-Muni, Cula-muni, (Sulamuni), Maha-Muni and Dussa-Muni. The first is to be found at Kapilavastu, now in the Nepalese Tarai. The second is at Kosala, modern Oudh. The third is in the Tavatimsa region. The fourth is in Arakan (now in Burma). The fifth is in the Brahma region. The poem seems to suggest that in olden days the Arakanese believed that by worshipping the Sula Muni image in the cold weather the cold is minimised.

No. X—SIX REGIONS OF NATS.— They are: Catuma-haraja, Tavatimsa, Yama, Tussita, Nimma narati, Paranimmita vassavati. The first region is situated half way up Mt. Meru. The second is right on the top of it where the Thagyamin has his Wezayanta palace. The remainder are above this and are placed one above the other in serial order. The beings of these regions are called *nats*. Though they are endowed with super-human powers, they are still subjected to the law of transition in which birth, growth

and death take place in alternate succession. But they enjoy great length of life. The longest term being in the highest region and the shortest in the lowest region which is Catumaharaja. A day in the latter region, for instance, is equivalent to fifty years on earth.

No. XI ANADATTIA.—This is a lake supposed to be situated in the great Himalaya (Himavanta) region. It has four openings facing the cardinal points. One resembles the mouth of a lion, another that of a bull, the next that of an elephant and the last that of a horse. From these four openings four great rivers are supposed to flow—Brahmaputra or Tsanpo, Ganges, Indus and Zungaria.

TILANGANA.—It is a great slab of rock on which the river Ganges falls after rushing down from the Anadatta lake.

TRISANA.—A mythical mountain which lies in the path of the river Ganges. The force of the current is so great that when it reaches this mountain the waters rush up its sides and fall over the top in a roaring cascade.

No. XII. TUG OF WAR.—The tug-of-war fes-

tival is of ancient origin. It is still celebrated in Arakan much in the same manner as before. It is not religious, but agricultural and magical, for the old Arakanese believed that its celebration would ensure regular monsoons and abundant crops. It lasts for three nights and ends on the night or the first waning of Tabodwe. The tug-of-war itself consists of four wooden wheels fixed on a stout framework of bamboo and wood. It roughly resembles a cart, in the centre of which small bamboo trees, with leaves and branches tied together into a sheaf, are fastened in an upright position. A long stout rope is then attached to each end of the cart and pulled in opposite directions. The tug-of-war is held during the nights only, and is kept up with music, shouts and laughter till the small hours of the morning. On the last night of the festival the cart is burnt to the great amusement of the children. This festival no longer holds the same significance that it once did to the present day Arakanese, who seem to celebrate it simply for the sake of its pleasant associations.

Tase-hna-ra-thi Ratu.

By

Ugga Byan.

TEXT—EDITED BY SAN SHWE BU.

မင်းခမောင်းသည်။ အရှေ့ဟံသာဝတီတိုင်းမှာနေ၍။ သုံးနှစ်
စေ့လျှင်။ ရခိုင်ပြည်သို့ပြန်မည်အကြောင်းကို ကျွန်ယံပညာရှိ ဦးက
ဗျာန်စာစီကုမ်း၍။ မင်းခမောင်းကို တင်ဆက်တော်မူသော တစ်ဆယ့်
နှစ်ရာသီရတုစာ။

ဟေမံကံပြောင်း။ လတပေါင်းသည်။ ချမ်းဆောင်းနေ့ကာလ။
တပေါင်းမင်းလွင်။ ရွက်ကျင်တောင်လေထက။ ကြွေကျပင်တကာ။
ဖူးရောင်နုဆောင်။ သိကုန်းယောင်သို့။ ခြောက်ရောင်စိမ်းခြေဖြာလျက်။
ရှုချေသော် လွန်းဗွေတိ။ ပွင့်သီးတကာ။ ပင်တိုင်းမှာသည်။
ချိန်ခါအညိုသို့။ ကြည့်သရွေ့လွန်းယောင်ဗွေ။ တပေါင်းမင်းလွင်။
ရွက်ကျင်ရတုလေက။ ကုမ်းသီဟန်နှယ်မပြား။ ညှာစိန်းရွေတူ။
ငွေတူပန်းကြက်နားတည်း။ ခေါ်နားချတ်တရာ။ ဝယ်ယာကျက်ရုန်း။
ဂမုန်းစံကား။ ဆပ်သွားငိသဝါနှင့်။ နော်ဇာသည်ဇော်ကျိပ်နား။ ပုန်း
ညက်ကြန့်ဇာ။ လေတ်တာသည်။ ခတ္တာပန်းခေါက်ရုန်းနှင့်။ ပြိုင်းပန်း
ပင့်ဝေလူ။ လေပြေဆင့်မူး။ တောလုမ်းဓမ္မာနမ်းကြူမျှ။ မည်စု
သည်ပန်းထင်ရှား။ ကုမ်းဘဲဆင်ဝေ။ ငုန်းရွှေပန်းချီရားနှင့်။ ကုမ်း

သီထားနှယ်အတူ။ ဟေမံကုန်ပြောင်း။ လတပေါင်းသည်။ ချမ်း
ဆောင်းအကုန်ယူ၍။ သာနီဟူ ကုန်တော်ပန်း။ ပွင့်မျိုးစုံစွာ။ ဂိမ္မတ
ပေါင်းဆန်း၍။ စွန်းစွန်းဆွပ်ယူ။ ဆယ်ချောင်းထိပ်မိုး။ ဖုန်းလှံဖျိုးကို။
။ ရှိခိုးတောင်းပန်၏လေ။

ရှိခိုးတောင်းပန်။ ဖုန်းတက်သံကို။ ကျွန်လျှောက်မည်။ ရတုလည်း
တပေါင်းကို။ အတာအစွန်း။ တန်းခူးဆန်းသော်။ အလွန်မေဝယ်ပူခဲ့။
ခုတုံစုံမစူးသာ။ ဟသာဝတီ။ တိုင်းမြေသုခမ်ဝါက။ နိဗ္ဗူကာပန်းမျိုး စုံ။
ဆက်စာရက်ထောက်။ ခြင်းကောက်လှမျိုးစုံက။ ထက်ရတ်ဘုံလှံဝါ ပြီ။
ပစ္စုန်ကျလှာ။ သို့ချိန်ခါကို။ လွန်းတော်မမူသိလော။ ရတ်ဝေးသူရတ်
မြေ။ တောရကံဝယ်။ ဘော်စုံကျီးငှက်မြည်က။ စိတ်မတည်လွန် လောင်ပူ။
မောင်လည်းသူခွင်။ တာသဖင်ဝယ်။ မေ့ရှင်မေ့နှင့်မပူးဘဲ။
များရတ်ကျူးဝေးမြေခေါင်း။ ရကွမဏ္ဍိုင်။ ရခိုင်ပြည်ရောက်အောင်
တည်း။ တန်းဆောင်းသည်ဖျူးဖျူးမြင့်။ မြင့်မှီရဲထွဋ်ခေါင်း။ လေး
ယောက်မောင်သည်။ ဘုန်းခေါင်သိကြားမင်းလည်း။ ခုချက်ချင်းပို့
ဆက်လှာ။ ရကွမုန်ဖူး။ မြောက်ဦးရွှေပြည်သာ၌။ များစွာသည်။ ရွှေ
လှပေါင်း။ သိင်္ဃနဝီ။ နန်းတောင်ဆိပ်ဝယ်။ ရွှေလှေမင်းဆိတ်ချောင်း၌။
တသောင်းသောင်းပျော်စည်တွင်။ တူစုံရှုကြည့်ချင်သည်။ ။ သံဂြန်
အခါတည့်လေ။

တန်းခူးကိုပြန်။ တာသံဂြန်လည်း။ လုံ့လတ်သည်။ ခုဆန်းမည်
ကဆုန်လ။ မောင်ကြောင့်စိတ်ပူ။ မွေးသူတတကနှင့်။ စိမ်းရောင်မြပင်
တကာ။ ရွက်သစ်နုဆောင်။ ပင်တိုင်းပြောင်သည်။ ခြောက်ရောင်အလှံ
ဖြာသား။ ရှုချေသော်လွန်းချေတိ။ ကဆုန်ရေသွန်း။ မိုဏ်းပန်းပွင့်
လှာဘိက။ စိတ်သတိညီပူဆာ။ ခြိုးသားယဉ်ယူ။ စိတ်ပူရောက်ပြန်
လှာက။ ဘုံမွေ့ရာသလွန်ထက်။ ညည့်လေးယံမှာ။ တယ်မျှမေမစက်

တည်း။ ကြံတွေးဆနေစည်ခါ။ ဝတိန်တရိုး။ ပစ္စုမိဏ်းသည်။ ပြီး
ပြီးရွာပြုလှာ၏။ မေလွန်းခါကိုမောင်မသိ။ ပစ္စုသခင်။ ပြီးပြောက်
ဆင်သည်။ ကောင်းခင်လျှတ်ရောင်ပြီးမျှ။ ရှုကြည့်ဘိခုချိန်ခါ။ သော
တာပန်လောင်း။ ရောင်မောင်းတထောင်ဖြာသား။ ထွက်လာသည်
နေမင်းနတ်။ အိန္ဒဝေါတောင်။ ဝတိန်ခွင်ဝယ်။ မြင်းဆင်ရထား ကတ်၍။
ချီသွားကြတ် အစည်ပြောင်။ မြင့်မိုရ်လှည့်ပတ်။ ယုဂါန်ထွဋ်ဝယ်။
ချည်းကတ်သွားလတ်ကျင်မှ။ ဘုန်းရှင်သည်ပစ္စုနတ်။ မြပန်းမြပင်။
မြကုန်းဆင်သည်။ နတ်ရှင်မြင်ပြန်လတ်က။ ဆွတ်ဆွတ်ပြုန်းရေရွှင်။
ဘယ်ကတင်ဆမ်း။ ပန်ကြိမ်လမ်းနှင့်ပင်တည်း။ လက်ျာတောင်စွဲသံလျက်။
မိုဏ်းနတ်ဘုန်ရှင်။ ကမြဆင်သည်။ ပျော်ရွှင်မြင်းနှင့်ထွက်က။ ပြီးပြက်
လျှတ်ရောင်ဖြာ။ ကဆုန်စမိုဏ်း။ ထစ်ကြိုးသံကျလာသည်။
မေတို့လွန်းရာဖို့လေ။

နတ်သားပစ်စုံ။ ကမြူးခုန်သည်။ ကဆုန်လွန်။ ပေါ်ဆန်းပြီ နံယံ
လ။ သမုတ်ရေရှင်။ တောင်လေတင်၍။ ကောင်းခင်မှိုင်းဝိမျှတည်း။
သွန်းဆင်းကျရွာပြန်လှာ။ သောင်းဇေယျဝယ်။ ရှင်လူမျိုးလေးဖြာတို့။
ထုံသွားရှာကျွဲနွားတတ်။ လယ်ချောင်းတောတောင်။ လုတ်ဆောင်မျိုး
ချလတ်က။ ဆွတ်ဆွတ်ပူလောင်ဝေ။ ကျေးငှက်သပြင်း။ မြေဝယ်နင်း၍။
မိနောက်ပျန်လိုက်သည်တည်း။ ဘာသာသည်တူတကွ။ တောင်
ချင်းချီ၍။ ဘော်စုံပျန်ဝဲကြ၏။ ချိန်ကာလနံယံခါ။ မိုဏ်းနတ်ကုန်ရှောင်။
ပင်တိုင်းပြောင်သည်။ လျှတ်ရောင်တဖြာဖြာနှင့်။ ကြည့်ချေ
သော်လွန်းဇေတိ။ မြင့်မိုအဟံ။ ချစ်ခြင်းဝုန်ကြောင့်။ အကျွန်မနေချိ
တည်း။ စိတ်သတိမဆယ်နိုင်။ သလွဲဘုံသာ။ စက်မွေရာဝယ်။ ပုတောင်နေ
တတ်မည်လည်း။ မွေးမေသည်ရင်သဲချာ။ ကယ်ကောင်း ယောင်ပင်။
ဤညည့်တွင်ဝယ်။ ဘုံခွင်သလွဲတွင်း၌။ စုံနှေးချင်း ပျော်စည်တွင်။

ညညဝယ်မက်သည်။ အိမ်မက်ယောင်မထင်တည်း။ ကယ်ကောင်းပင်
နီးလတ်ငြား။ ပတ်လည်မှုတ်ကြိုး။ တုပိုးသံသာ ကြား၍။ ကြက်များ
သွားသွားတုံ။ မောင်ကမလာ။ လိပ်ပြာဖူးလာ ဟံသို။ ကြိန်ဆယ်ဖန် တခါ
ခါ။ နံယုံစမိုင်း။ ဖြိုးဖြိုးသံကျလာသည်။ ။မကြာစုံပါလေ့ လေ။

ဂိမ္မိကုမုန်း။ ဝါဆိုဆန်းသည်။ မိုင်းကာလ ဝါသဝံ။ ရွာစီးသံယို မစဲ။
အလိုမဲ့ပင်။ မြပန်းဆင်သို။ ကောင်းခင်ရာဇ်ကြွမျှ။ လွန်း ဝံသစိတ်ဆာပူ။
ခြောက်ပြစ်လွတ်စင်။ လှမြတ်ရှင်သည်။ မြင်မောင် ကြောင့်ဝိသဲ။
လှကြည့်သွေမပြား။ အရညကင်။ ဇောရတ်ခွင်ဝယ်။ ရှင်ပင်ထာရ်
ပေါင်းများလည်း။ ဝါဝင်လုနီးလတ်ပြီ။ တဖန်နေနတ်မင်း။ မပေါ်
လျှင်းသည်။ မိုင်းမင်း ဆောက်ပြတ်သံသဲ။ ဘုံဝယ်ယံထက် သိကြား။
နှုတ်ထဲသောသွင်။ ပစ္စုံမိုင်းနတ်သားကို။ ဦးထိပ်များ ဆယ်ချောင်းတင်။
ဒေဝါမိုင်းမင်း။ ချက်ချင်းစဲစေချင်၏။ ဘုန်းရှင် မလာခါ။ ပစ္စုံမိုင်း
သည်။ ရွာရိုးထက်ပင်များသဲ။ စီးသံကျချမ်း ငေးပြန်။ ဘုံသလုံမှာ။ မောင်
မလာ၍။ စက်ရာတဝက်ကျဲသဲ။ ချစ်ဝံသည်လုံလောင်သဲ။ ပြစ်စက်
မျက်ရေ။ မဆယ်တရွဲရွဲနှင့်။ ယိုလည်းစီမည်။ စည်ပုတ်သံဝါ။ ဘောမှုတ်
တာသည်။ ဒုပ္ပာကြီးရိုက်ပြန်၏။ လွန်းဝံသည်မစက်ပဲ။ တယောက်မောင်
ကြောင့်။ သခေါင်လုန်းလုန်းလွဲသဲ။ ကြက်လည်းသွားသွားတုံ။ တုပိုး
လင်းခွင့်။ ကြည်းနင်းမောင်းခတ်သံနှင့်။ ဥဩာတုံဖိုးခေါင်ကျူး။ မောင်
ကြောင့်တရူ။ မွေးသူမအိပ်ဖူးတည်း။ လွန်မှုတခါခါ။ သံဝါခမ်းထူး။
ခေါ်ပျန်ပျူး၍။ ကျီးငှက်မြူးတုံလာသည်။ ။ဝါဆိုလခါတည်းလေ။

ဝါဆိုကုမုန်း။ ဝါခေါင်ဆန်း၍။ မိုင်းပန်းလှိုင်။ ကျူးမြေအိုင်မိုင်း
နဂါး။ ပစ္စုံသခင်။ မြင့်မှိုရ်ရှင်သည်။ ထက်ခွင်မိုင်းသိကြားလည်း။
နှီးဆော်ငြားဖန်ဆင်းပြီ။ ညယ်မကင်း။ ရွာထံပြင်းသည်။ မိုင်းမင်း
ဆယ်မြောင်းဝံမျှ။ တရံမျှနေမပူ။ ရှစ်ဖြာယိုးထုတ်။ မြစ်သမုတ်က။

တင်ပေတောင်လေယူ၍။ ရှစ်သောင်းယူလေးထောင်ခြား မြင်းမိုရ် အရံ။
 နတ်တို့ ဖန်သည်။ ယုဂ္ဂန်တောင်ထိပ်ဖျား၌။ မနားမနေလို။ လျှတ်ဝါပြေး
 သန်း။ ရှစ်ရတ်ထွန်းသည်။ မိုင်းပန်းစိမ်းစိမ်းညိုမျှ။ အာကာကိုစိုးပိုင်
 ချုပ်။ မိုင်းရတ်ညိုသည်။ ရှစ်မျက်နှာလှမ်းအုပ်၍။ ဆော်တီးမှုတ်ထစ်
 ကြိုးမြေ။ သူဇာလင်ရင်း။ သိကြားမင်းသည်။ ဖန် ဆင်းစီရင်သည်လော။
 မေလွန်းသည်အခါကို။ ယခုမလာ။ မိုင်းဝေဝါသည်။ ထက်မှာဘုန်းရိတ်
 ခိုသား။ မကြည်ညိုဝေယံရှင်။ အိန္ဒာ သက္က။ ပူရိန္ဒကို။ ဆယ်ချောင်းဦးထိပ်
 တင်၍။ လျှောက်ကျင်လေသော အခါ။ ပစ္စုကြိုး၍။ စမိုင်းစောင်မ
 ရွာတည်း။ ဝုဒ္ဓိသော စိတ်ဝမ်းနု။ ရိုက်ရင့်ချီဝဲ။ လွှဲဝံ့သဲသည်။ ရှေ့နည်း
 ထက်ပင်ထူးခဲ့။ စုံမပူးမြင့်တာရှေ့။ ဝါခေါင်မိုင်းမင်း။ အချမ်းသွင်းလတ်
 မည်ကို။ ဘုန်းရှင်တဆယ် လည်းလေ။

ဝါခေါင်ကုလျှင်း။ တော်သလင်းလည်း။ ထွန်းဝင်းလှာ။ မိုင်း
 ကြွင်းရွာဘာချေမှု။ တောင်မြင့်ခေါင်ခေါင်။ ခမောင်စောင်သည်။ ယာ
 တောင်လုတ်သောသူတို့။ ကြည့်ချေမှုပျော်စွေဝိ။ ကျေးငှက်နှင့်သည်။
 ယာစင်တောင်တိုင်းရှိခဲ့။ စိတ်သတိလွန်းစွေပင်။ ကောက်သီးဝင်းဝင်း။
 တော်သလင်းလည်း။ လွန်းတင်းဖို့သားမြင်ခဲ့။ ကိုင်းတခွင် လယ်လုတ်
 သား။ အသီးကောက်ပင်။ မွန်းဖျင်သားမယားနှင့်။ ကျီးငှက်များ
 မောင်နှံစုံ။ ဦးခေါင်းတုံ့ကျော်။ သာလိကာသည်။ လင်းပြာဆွတ်မျှကြ။
 လျှတ်။ ငှက်ဝါမူတဌာန။ တရင်းဆော်သည်။ လျှင်စွာရောက်ပျာလား ဟု။
 ကျူးမြည်ငြားလူသဏ္ဌာန်။ ပန်းရတ်ယူကုမ်း။ တရမ်းရမ်းသည်။
 ပိတုမ်းမျှမကျန်တည်း။ ဝဲယွန်သည်တသောင်းသောင်း။ ခပ်သိမ်းရကုန်။
 တမြူးခုံသည်။ ဖေါစုံကျီးငှက်ပေါင်းတို့။ ကြည့်မညောင်းစိတ် ဆာဝိ။
 လွန်းသစ်လွန်းဟောင်း။ လွန်းပေါင်းမိုင်းနှယ်စီမျှ။ မိုင်းရာသီ
 တော်သလင်း။ နှစ်ပါးစုံလို။ ဘုံညိုသလွန်တွင်း၌။ တကိုယ်ချင်းဆွဲရိုက်

ပြန်။ ကိုယ်သာကွဲကြ။ သက်တူမျှသည်။ ဇောတမောင်လွန်ကြင်ကို။
ဆွဲလိုင်တွင်မြဲနေငြား။ နှစ်ပါးစုံဘော်။ နတ်ဘုံကိုမမျှတည်း။ လွန်
ဆယ်ဆတခါခါ။ တော်သလင်းသည်။ လျှင်ပြင်းခုကြဲလှသည်။ မေ
ကဆာစီ၏လေ။

ဘူတော်မိတ်မှတ်။ လဝါကျွတ်သည်။ ဆန်းလတ်ခါ။ လုရွာပွဲသဘင်။
ဆီမီးတန်းဆောင်။ ပန်းထောင်ထီးကြီးပျင်၍။ သင်ပုန်းတင်
တန်းပြန်ခတ်။ အဋ္ဌသိနှင့်။ ပညသိကို။ အညီစောင့်သုံးမှတ်၍။ ဝါန
ဝတ်စွန်ကြလှ။ မင်းပွဲသဘင်။ မြို့ပြင်တချို့လူက။ သီဇာဟူသောက်
ပြွန်းပြွန်း။ ကောင်းမှုလက်ဆောင်။ ထမင်းထောင်ကိုဝန်း၍။ အံ့ဗေမူ
အသံချို။ လက်ခုတ်ဖြောက်ဖြောက်။ ခြင်းကောက်သံပြိုင်ဆို၍။ အ
လိုလိုသောသောရ။ ဝါကျွတ်သဘင်။ ပျော်မှုဆင်သည်။ လူရှင်အစုစုနှင့်။
ယစ်ဝမှုအသံကာ။ တချို့ကိုလည်း။ တချို့ဆဲသည်။ တချို့က
ရာန်ခိုက်ရှာ၍။ တချို့သာပြစ်တင်ကုန်။ ပိန်ပေါင်ခရာ။ စည်စုပွါနှင့်။
ပတ်သာမြို့လုမ်းချုံမျှ။ ကခြံမူပတ္တလား။ စောင်းညှင်းပြီသာ။ တု
ရိယာသည်။ လုရွာသဘင်များနှင့်။ တသောသောထမင်းထောင်။ လှိုင်
ကူထွတ်ထား။ ဘုရားပါးရောက်အောင်တည်း။ ကြိုးဆောင်သည် အစုစု
သာစုအကြံကြံ။ နေ့မည်သည်။ အသံတရုရုနှင့်။ ရွှင်ပျော်မှုအသွယ်
သွယ်။ ရာသီလည်းလွတ်။ ဝါလည်းကျွတ်သည်။ နှင်းလည်းတဝေဝေနှင့်။
ဝဲရတ်မြေဟေဝန္တာ။ လေညှင်းလာခါ။ မေလွန်းရာကို။ မောင်တော်မ
သိသာ၍။ ကျူးရှေကြာရရှိသည်။ စုံရကြောင်းကို။ ခွင့်တောင်းရှောက်
တင်ပေသည်။ မကြာရောက်လာဘို့လေ။

တန်းဆောင်ပုန်းလ။ ဟေဝန္တာသည်။ ချမ်းစပေါ်။ လုရွာပွဲသဘင်။
သိကြားပျော်ရာ။ ဝတိသာဝယ်။ စုဠာမုနိရှင်ကို။ ဗူးမျှော်ကျင်ဆယူ
မြှောက်။ အတောင်ခြောက်ဆယ်။ မြင့်ပူးသွယ်သည်။ တန်းဆောင်ပုန်း

တိုင်ဆောက်၍။ အောက်ကဟက်ကြိုးငင်။ ပြောင်ပြောင်ညိုသည်။ ဆိမိပွဲသဘင်ကို။ တူစုံပင်ညိုရကြောင်း။ ရှစ်စရွတ်သည်။ မွေခါတ်ရှင်တော်ပေါင်းကို။ ဆုတောင်းမည်လျှောက်ပြန်။ တစ်ဆယ်နှစ်လ။ ကြိုးရေချသော်။ တရက်မျှမကွဲတည်း။ အမှီသည်တနှစ်တက်။ ရက်ကိုချင့်သော်။ သုံးရာခြောက်ဆယ်စင်တည်း။ တဆယ်နှစ်လပတ်ပတ်လေ။ ဘယ်နတ်ဖန်၍။ စုံပြန်ပါရမည်လည်း။ မေလွန်းသည့်အခါကို။ တန်းဆောင်ပုန်းလ။ မြေမြောက်လေချိုနှင့်။ နှင်းစိုစိုချမ်းလတ်ငြား။ မေချည်းချိုသော်။ မလုံအိုနတ်များတို့။ ပူးရတခါခါ။ တန်းစသွယ်ဆောင်။ လွန်းလေမှောင်သော်။ မောင်ကြောင့်မကြီသာ တည်း။ နေထိုင်သော်မပျော်ပိုက်။ ထမင်းရေစာ။ မဝင်ပါသည်။ ပုဆောင်းလေဖြစ်၍။ တူဖက်ရာဇ်ဆွဲလိုင်တွင်။ ရာသက်နှံကို။ တရက်မျှမခွါချင်သည်။ ရာသက်ရှင်ကိုတည်းလေ။

သင်ပေါ်စ။ နတ်တော်လဝယ်။ ချမ်းရမည်။ လွန်မတည် စိတ်ဗျာယ။ မယ်ချည်းလွန်းတုံ။ ဆယ်ထပ်ချိုသော်။ မလုံသည်ကာလကို။ ဟူနှစ်ပါးစုံရစေ။ ဆယ်ချောင်းထိပ်တင်။ ဝယ်ယံရှင်ကို။ မောင်ပင်ရှောက်တင်လေလော။ နှမ်းနယ်သာပင်ပန်းမော။ ခြောက်ထပ်နတ်ရွာ။ တုသိတာမှာ။ ဒေဝါနတ်သိကြားလည်း။ မသနားမကြင်မှု။ ချမ်းဝှံတိုးသည်။ နှစ်မျိုးနှင့် ပင်မတူတည်း။ ခုဘယ်သူနှံထည့်သည်။ ရိုးခြင်ထဲတွင်း။ အလွန်ပြင်း၍။ ချမ်းခြင်းတောင်ဆိုးသည်တည်း။ မြေးဆောက်တည်ပရအောင်။ စက်ဘုံထဲဝယ်။ ရေခဲရေကြေဆောင်သို့။ တမျက်တောင်မရှက်ချင်။ စက်ခမ်းမေ့ရာ။ ညောင် တောင်းသာမှာ။ ဗျာဘာစိပစ်တင်၍။ ကိရိယာတောင်မြင်းမို့ရ်။ အထွတ်တင်သည်။ သခင်နတ်မင်းတိုလည်း။ ကြိန်များဖန် လျှောက်တောင်းဆို။ ချမ်းတက်ချမ်းမျိုး။ အမှီတိုးသည်။ ချမ်းဝှံအလွန်သဲခဲ။ မေချည်းမနေကြေ။

ရှင်နတ်များတို့။ ကိုယ်ချင်း မဆာသည်လော။ ဇောင်ချမ်းသည်အခါကို။
လိုင်ထက်လက်တင်။ မေ့သက်ရှင်နှင့်။ တူပင်ပျော်ရလို၏။ စီးပြစ်သွေ
တခါခါ။ ဆယ်ပြာလက်ကို။ ပန်းပွင့် ဟံပမာသို့။ ပေါင်း၍သာဉ်တင်မှတ်။
ထက်အာကာမှာ။ ဓူဠာမုနိ ခါတ်နှင့်။ ဤသောင်းရက်ဓမ္မူတူင်။ ကိုယ်ဇား
တော် သည်။ မဟာမုနိရှင်ကို။ တိုင်လျှောက်ကျင်ဆုတောင်းခါ။ ချမ်းပုံ
လွန်သက်သာသည်။ ။ပြာသိုလ်ဆန်းလှာဖို့လေ။

နတ်တော်ကဲ့လို။ ပြာသိုလ်လည်းဝန်း။ ပြောင်ပြောင်ထွန်း၍။
ဆန်းလတ်ပေ။ ရှောင်မတည်အချမ်းပြင်း။ ခုနှစ်ပြာသိုလ်။ ဤဆောင်း
ကိုလည်း။ မလိုချမ်းပုံပြင်း၍။ ဘောင်းချင်းချင်းနှင့်မတူ။ မြောက်
လေဖျူးရင်း။ အချမ်းသွင်းသော်။ ဆီးနှင်းတဝေဝေနှင့်။ ရှောင်အဟံ
ချမ်းပုံသဲ။ တင်းထိန်ကာသန်း။ ဆူး၍ဝန်းသည်။ ရွှေနန်းသလုံထဲ၌။
စုံလည်၍တင်ဆက်ကာ။ ခြောက်ပြစ်လွတ်သည်။ မိုင်းနတ်ကြယ်ပမာ သို့။
လှဆင်းဝါနတ်ရုပ်ရည်။ ချစ်ဖွယ်တိသာ။ မချီအောက်မိသည်တည်း။
လွန်းမတည်နိုင်လတ်ဘိ။ ချမ်းမျိုးဆင်လှာ။ လိုင်မှာဆွဲဒါလိကို။ ငမ
မျက်စိနားတွင်ပင်။ လှသွယ်ဆိုင်းကို။ လာနှိုင်းနှိုင်းငြားထင်ဝဲ။ ခြင်္သေ့
လျှင်နားဆင်မြင်း။ မုက္ခမုံစွာ။ ခံတွင်းမှာသည်။ လေးပြာပြုမတ်ဝက။ စီး
သွံကျသုန်းပတ်လည်။ တစ်ဆယ်နှစ်ဖြာ။ ဟေဝန္တာသည်။ အချာနဝဒါတ်
ရေသို့။ ငါးသွယ်တောင်မြင်းမို့ရ်။ ယုဂ္ဂါန်လည်းခေါ်။ သုရိယာသည်။
ရောင်ဝါပင်မထွန်းလိုတည်း။ ထစ်ကြိုးသွံကျလှာ။ တိလက်န။ မည်ရထို
ကျောက်ဖျာ၌။ တရိစ္ဆာနတောင်တွင်ဖျူး။ အာကာသမည်။ အံ့မြူးဖွယ်
သည်။ နဒီသဲပြင်ဖြူက။ ရေဟုံထိုးထက်အာကာ။ ဂစ္ဆာနဂီ။ မြောက်ဆီ
ဟေဝန္တာက။ သွံကျလှာသည်စုံလိုပြင်း။ စိန့်စိန့်ချမ်းခါ။ မွေရာသလုံတွင်း
ဝေ။ လျှင်ပြင်းသည်စုံလိုပုံ။ လှမျိုးရာသက်ပန်သည်။ ။ကြင်ရိုး
ကြင်ပါလေလေ။

ရာသီကုံလွဲ။ တပိုးထွေးသည်။ လွန်းဖွေပင်။ ပျော်ရွှင်လှရတ်မြေ။
 ရထားသဘင်။ နှစ်စည်ငင်သည်။ သောင်းခွင်ဤလူပြည်ထက်။ ရွှင်
 ပျော်ဖွယ်လူတို့၌။ ရာဇဌာနေ။ မင်းနေပြည်ဝယ်။ ထိုထိုဇနပုတ်၌။
 ကျူးသံရိုက်ထိန်ထိန်ဆူး။ သမုတ္တရာ။ ယမုန္ဒာသည်။ သီဝါချောင်းခြား
 ထူခဲ။ များရှင်လူပျော်သောင်းသဲ။ ပိန်ပေါင်းခရာ။ စည်စုပါသည်။
 ပက်သာမြို့လုံးချိုမျှ။ ဟာငင်ကုံဆွဲသာဆွဲ။ လက်လှအညီ။ ကိုယ်စီရှုံ့
 ကိုတွဲ၍။ တချို့လည်းရထားပေါင်။ ပါးဝယ်မျှောင်၍။ ဟာမေမောင်ညီ
 ယောက်ဖ။ ကိုယ်ဘက်ဘော်၍။ အစ်ကိုယ်ညီသည်။ ရှုံ့ကိုမြဲကစီလော။
 လလည်းဝင်းဝင်းပြောင်။ သံခေါင်ညည့်ကြီး။ ရင်ဖတ်တီး၍။ ကြက်
 ကြီးတွဲလတ်ယောင်တည်း။ တစ်မျက်တောင်မရှက်ချင်။ ဆုမ်းရေဆုမ်း
 ရေ။ လာမည်ညည့်ကို။ တင့်နည်းရာရာဆင်၍။ တချို့လျှင်ရွှင်မြူးစံ။
 ရာသီကုံ၍။ နွေဦးတိုင်လတ်ပြီသော်။ ရှစ်သောင်းဟံလေးထောင်ခြား။
 မြင်းမှိုလ်အဟံ။ ခုနှစ်တံသည်။ ယုဂ္ဂါန်တောင်ထိပ်များက။ စက်ရထား
 နေပိမှာန်။ ဟေမန်ချမ်းဆောင်း။ အလှည့်ပြောင်း၍။ တပေါင်းဆန်း
 မည်ကြံခဲ။ ကမြူးစံကျီငှက်ပေါင်း။ တောင်ချင်းရှက်ချို။ နေငွေလှံသည်။
 ရကံမြိုင်ချောင်းတော၌။ တသောင်းသောင်းဝဲကာယုံ။ ညာစိန်း
 ဆတ်သွား။ ပန်းစံကားသည်။ ကြွက်နားစန်းသလုံတည်း။ မညှီးဟန်
 ချတ်တရာ။ ဝေရာကြက်ရမ်း။ သိမြော်ကမ်းသည်။ ဂမုန်းဇီသဝါနှင့်။
 ရွှေတူသာဇော်ကျိပ်န်း။ မြက်လေးကြန့်ဇာ။ စလတ္တာသည်။ ညီညာ
 ပင်လုမ်းမွန်းမျှ။ ကြိုင်ဇေးယုံပင်တကာ။ ရကံတောခွင်။ မွန်းချင်ပွင့်
 မုံလာသည်။ ။တပေါင်းဆန်းလှာဆီလေ။

DOM MARTIN 1606-1643.
The first Burman to visit Europe.

BY M. S. COLLIS

IN COLLABORATION WITH SAN SHWE BU.

J.B.R.S. Vol. XVI, Part 1. 1926

It is the object of this paper to explain who Dom Martin was, why as an Arakanese he had a Portuguese name and how it happened that he paid a visit to Portugal. The story is extraordinary and romantic, but were I to plunge into it without some sort of a preliminary summary of the political situation in the Bay of Bengal at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the result would be unintelligible, a flux of kings, priests, noblemen and pirates, and the Arakanese fortuitously appearing here, the Moghul there, Portuguese everywhere, the whole having the complexion of a cinema drama. In consequence I must trespass upon your patience and preface as briefly as possible his adventures with an historical sur-

vey.

For the purpose of this view, I select the year 1610 A.D. Readers of my previous studies in Arakanese history will be aware that in that year the Arakanese empire was at the height of its destiny. Razagri was king and his territory stretched from the eastern mouths of the Ganges delta to the delta of the Irrawaddy. In his employ or under his protection were certain groups of Portuguese. Of these, one consisted of the Portuguese mercenaries in his home army and navy, chiefly gunners and engineers; another of traders who had been allowed to build a settlement at Dianga, near the city of Chittagong, on condition that they helped to defend the Chittagong frontier against the Moghul.

The Moghul had by 1610 taken over the administration of Bengal and in consequence their territory marched with Chittagong. They were Razagri's most serious pre-occupation. Portuguese also lived under their protection and at Hugli, on the river of that name, maintained a trading settlement. Besides these groups of Portuguese, the mercenaries in Arakan, the traders at Dianga

and at Hugli, there was in the Bay a further group of Portuguese who lived at Sandwip Island within some thirty miles of the Chittagong river. As this group plays an important part in this history, it must be described in some details.

King of this Island was the famous pirate, Gonsalves Tibau. This man had come out to the East in 1605 as a soldier. In 1607 he had accumulated sufficient money to enable him to purchase a small ship, which he loaded with salt and in which he sailed to Dianga to trade. By a piece of bad luck he happened to put in there on the very day that Razagri was punishing the Portuguese for some treachery or other. As a result, his ship was confiscated and his two years savings were lost. Completely ruined, he gathered round him others who like himself had been reduced to poverty, turned pirate and preyed on the Arakan coast with such success that 1609 he had a well equipped sea force of 40 sail and 400 men. With this he attacked the island of Sandwip, then occupied by one of the Moghul's men, and proclaiming himself King. It was a rich island inhabited by Hindus.

Moreover being situated on the mouth of the Megna, it enabled him to erect custom houses and collect dues from trading ships. Piratical excursions were also undertaken into the Delta rivers of the vicinity. By these means he soon acquired funds and is stated in 1610, the date of this survey, to have had a force of a thousand Portuguese and eighty ships with cannon. It must be insisted that Tibau's sovereignty was real. The Viceroy of Goa had no control nor aspired to any control over him. By 1610 he had become so prominent and important a figure in the Bay that Razagri, who was contemplating a brush with the Moghul in the matter of a frontier dispute, invited Tibau to co-operate with him on the naval side. It is sufficient for the purpose of this paper to say that Tibau, to whom the control of the Arakanese fleet had been given, turned round at the last moment, allowed Razagri's land force to be taken at a disadvantage and routed by the Moghul, himself seized the Arakanese fleet, murdered its officers, enslaved its crews and in the general confusion that followed harried the Arakan coast. Razagri returned to Mrauk-U

and we can sympathize with him if he took the view that Gonsalves Tibau was the most underhand black villain that any gentleman could be fool enough to trust.

Such is a summary of the political situation in the Bay in 1610 and with so much clear in the mind's eye it is possible to advance upon the story of the subject of this paper.

In 1610 Razagri had appointed his younger son, Min Mangri, Viceroy of Chittagong. A son or a brother of the Arakanese kings was usually posted to that charge and there was nothing unusual in Razagri's choice except that Min Mangri was not on good terms with the heir to the throne, Min Khammaung his elder brother. This latter was a wild young man. As I have noted elsewhere, in association with the poet Uggā Byan he attempted three times to assassinate his father. Min Mangri urged, probably with much truth, that an individual upon whom family ties lay so lightly, would make short work of him, his detested brother, when he came to the throne. At the very least Min Mangri saw himself deprived of his Viceroyalty. He there-

fore cast about for an ally, some one who would lend him support when the inevitable blow fell, some one who would perhaps be strong enough not only to save him from his brother but to put him in his brother's place. The obvious person to fulfill these requirements was the pirate-king Gonsalves Tibau. Min Mangri therefore sent an embassy to him, suggesting a treaty of alliance. The proposal was admirably suited to the immediate needs of the Prince of Sandwip. That worthy, after his seizure of the Arakanese fleet and his harrying of the coast of Arakan, was in the worst odour at Mrauk-U. Min Mangri's proposal was in effect to provide him with a strong friend in the enemy's camp, one to protect him from the vengeance he feared and who with good luck might facilitate further lucrative raids. In short he accepted the offer. It was decided to seal it by the marriage of Min Mangri's daughter with Tibau's son. Min Mangri had three children, two daughters and a son. In this year of 1610 his son was four years old. It was this son who afterwards became known as Dom Martin and went to Europe. But I must not anticipate.

We are now engaged in describing the nuptials of his elder sister. It was agreed that on her marriage she should take the Catholic faith, for Tibau, though a ruffian, was very careful to observe the forms of his religion. Manrique, whom we follow here, states that in this affair the swashbuckler derived his greatest satisfaction from the feeling that he was the divine instrument in saving a soul from damnation. This point need not be pressed. Suffice it to say that he selected as emissary to Chittagong Father Rafael of Santa Monica. This friar was to covert the princess to Catholicism and afterwards conduct her to Sandwip. Father Rafael spoke Arakanese fluently. He was also much loved by the country people, to whom he appeared a saint. When he came to a village, he used to paint a red cross on the foreheads of the children who pressed up to kiss his hand. The parents recognising this as some holy symbol allowed it to remain until obliterated by the weather. Such is the amiable picture of the ecclesiastic sent by the pirate-king of Sandwip to further his political machinations. That Father Rafael was a genuine

holy man is borne out by the fact that Gonsalves found it very difficult to make him fall in with his ideas of how a Portuguese envoy on so important a mission should conduct himself. The Religious would have much preferred to stroll into the city of Chittagong incognito or recognised only by the poor and the children. This did not suit Tibau's conception of the entry of a matrimonial embassy. But when Father Rafael was asked to sail up the Chittagong river in galley with flags flying and bands playing, he flatly refused. The pirate then resorted to a stratagem. Father Rafael started from Sandwip in a common sort of boat accompanied by one catechist. After he had left, ten of the best galleys, with embroidered awnings, musicians and well dressed gentlemen on the quarter deck, proceeded by another route and reached the Chittagong river before his arrival. There they waited, anchoring a little below the jetty. When his small boat came up, the captain of the galleys boarded it and delivered to the Father a letter from Gonsalves, begging him to enter Chittagong in state. Father Rafael was about to refuse, when

he noticed that the jetty was crowded with the local nobility and gentry that the bands had struck up, that the artillery had commenced the salute and that an immense mob behind was clamouring to know what the delay was about and why the Portuguese ships did not approach. Under the circumstances the Father perceived that his original intention of landing from his little boat had become ridiculous and yielding with the best grace possible, he went aboard the captain's galley. This was the signal for weighing anchor. The galleys advanced towards the jetty, the crew rowing with a calculated rhythm, the soldiers standing at the salute while the band played the martial airs of Portugal. Father Rafael of Santa Monica landed. The waiting nobles received him with great ceremony; the City Magistrate was presented to him; in a body they moved in towards the street. There eleven elephants were waiting. The creature with the gilt howdah was for the Father. He was led up to it by the City Magistrate, who with the accepted gestures intimated that it was a present from the Viceroy. At the same time he gave the Father a parasol

and told the elephant to kneel. The public reception on the jetty had been very trying for the Father though he had carried it through, returning salutation for salutation. But now the kneeling elephant and the gilded parasol overcame him. He could not be induced to mount. Thanking the City Magistrate profusely, he firmly said he could not parade through the City on that beast, and calling his catechist he began to walk. This made the Portuguese captains, for whom other elephants had been provided, look blank and it scandalised the City Magistrate. But there was nothing for it, all had to fall in on foot behind the Father and in this manner they made their way towards the palace. Yet the priest walking made a more vivid impression on the populace than had he been seated in a howdah; his action was in accordance with oriental ideas of how a holy man should behave; and the Viceroy coming to meet him as far as the gate on the third circumvallation, received him with the ceremonies prescribed for the reception of saints.

On entering the palace Father Rafael was introduced to the Viceroy's three chil-

dren, the eldest being the princess whom he had first to convert. The youngest, as already mentioned, was a boy of four years old, the Viceroy's heir, grandson of King Razagri and the subject of this paper.

Father Rafael asked the princess whether of her own free will she wished to become a Christian. To this she replied with reserve that she desired first to hear expounded the Catholic dogmas and asked for time to listen to the Father's arguments. Whereupon the Viceroy summoned the Chief Eunuch and ordered him to admit the Father at any hour into the princess's apartments. "Thanks to this ample permission and to help from the above" explains Manrique, the Religious soon silenced the princess's objections. He continued however, to expound and now that he knew she was won over he had no scruples in describing in detail the tortures of the demand. "All those who die unbaptised are damned" he added. This frightened the princess, who burst into tears, asking him to baptise her at once. The Father pretended to be in no hurry and spoke of a baptism on her arrival at Sandwip. But she thinking of hell's flames

and now thoroughly alarmed, cried "Supposing I was to die on the voyage!" and without an instant's delay told one of the girls to bring in a can of water, there and then forcing the Father to baptise her. A few days later Father Rafael conducted her to Sandwip where amid great rejoicings she was married to Tibau's son. This sealed the alliance between Min Mangri, Viceroy of Chittagong and Gonslaves Tibau, King of Sandwip. The former now felt that he could at least resist his brother Min Khamaung, if he was unable to supplant him. Tibau acquired tone and influence; increased his exactions on ships entering the Megna, accumulated treasure and dreamed of a future sack, perhaps assisted by Min Mangri, of Mrauk-U itself.

When Razagri heard of this marriage and realised that his younger son was now allied with the ruffian who had treacherously seized his fleet, harried his coasts and who certainly must be supposed to harbour further designs against himself, he became uneasy. He had every reason to be. The Arakanese MS. histories relate that some eighteen months after the events described

Min Mangri broke out into rebellion against his father, declaring himself an independent ruler, no doubt with the intention as the next step, of seizing with the assistance of Tibau the throne of Mrauk-U. So it happened that in 1612 Razagri sent an army against him under the Crown Prince Min Khamaung upon whom he could depend to operate with industry, as it was his own inheritance that was threatened. Chittagong was besieged. Min Mangri had secured from Gonselves Tibau the services of four hundred Portuguese, who were placed at points of vantage on the walls. The leager dragged on. After four months the citizens were starving and lost heart. They sent a message to Min Khamaung to say that they would be glad to surrender the city to him but that this could not be effected, because the Portuguese forces had taken control of the operations. Certain efforts were then made to deflect the Portuguese. These failed and Min Khamaung ordered a more violent assault. The defence began to waver and to stiffen his men Min Mangri himself paraded the walls at the head of his staff. Unfortunately becoming involved in a mêlée, he

was struck by a musket ball and mortally hurt. They carried him into the harem, after he had abjured the Portuguese to continue the defence, as the fall of the city would mean the murder of his children. These perceiving that the Viceroy's death was imminent and that it would be followed in spite of their efforts, by the surrender of the inhabitants of Chittagong to their liege lord, the King of Arakan, decided to apprise Gonsalves Tibau of these things and invite him to contrive some way of saving the young prince and his sister. Tibau received the intelligence, but did not wish openly to be involved in the rescue of the children. His alliance with Min Mangri had not borne fruit and with the death of that Prince he would again be politically isolated. In such a position he did not desire the embarrassment of the Viceroy's heir, who, a child of six, without a state and proscribed could be of no service and might draw to him the inconvenient attack of the King of Arakan. On the contrary he had no wish to abandon the children, who were his son and daughter-in-law; moreover at some future date it might be convenient for him

to have an heir to the Arakanese throne up his sleeve. The trusty friar, Father Rafael of Santa Monica, was therefore summoned and directed to enter the beleaguered city and evacuate thence the young prince and his sister by artifice. The Father was ready enough to go as he scented two new converts. Disguised as a mendicant, he made an entry which was as private as his earlier arrival at that city had been public, and discovering himself to the Portuguese officers, was taken to the palace. The Chief Eunuch, acting on old instructions, made no difficulty about admitting him into the seraglio, where he found the Viceroy in articulo mortis. This somewhat dashed the Father, for he had counted upon him being at that balance, where, sufficiently conscious to hear his exhortations, he would be sufficiently near his dissolutions to desire to comply with them. He hazarded indeed, a question or two, hinting at the consolations he was able to dispense. But the Prince was too far gone to apostosize. He died a pagan.

The woman immediately set up a lament, but Father Rafael had sufficient pres-

ence of mind to compose them. It was essential, he pointed out, to keep for a while the Viceroy's death a secret. If the courtiers heard wailing, it would be over the city in a moment that Min Mangri was dead and the Arakanese would come pouring in before he could get the children away. The ladies saw the sense of this and the court dancing girls were ordered to sing their droillest ditties. Suspicion quieted, the Father made his preparations. That night taking the children he escaped with them down a subterranean passage to the sea, where a galley was waiting. Embarking on it, they held on past Sandwip till Hugli, the Portuguese settlement, was reached. Here within the Moghul dominion they were safe from their uncle's vengeance, safer than they would have been at Sandwip.

Meanwhile Min Khamaung had entered Chittagong without opposition and after attending his brother's funeral immediately called for his nephew and niece. When they were not forthcoming, he suspected Tibau, but it was not until afterwards that he learnt they had escaped to the Moghul. Foiled in this, he finished his business and

returned to Mrauk-U, where later in the year he succeeded his father.

At Hugli the young prince began his education at the convent of St. Nicholas. The Prior reported his case to the Viceroy at Goa and it was decided on no account to press him while still a child to become a Catholic. But funds were made available to give him the training of a Portuguese nobleman. His sister was taken into the house of one of the leading citizens of the town and there cared for in the same manner. From six to thirteen the young prince remained in the convent. The Fathers selected for his perusal Catholic devotional works and histories of the heroes of Portugal. As time went on his reading of the lives of the saints and of the great men of Spain and Portugal, of the conquest of Peru and Mexico and of the fabulous voyages of the mariners, his close association with the leading gentlemen of Hugli and the personal tuition he received from his master, Father Antonio de San Vincente— all these influences combined to make him feel that to become himself a Portuguese nobleman was the most magnificent ambition in the world.

He longed to emulate the great captains and he realised that if ever he was to enter their company he must first he enrolled as a member of their faith, in which indeed he had become by reading and suggestion a whole-hearted believer. Inspired by this double motive, one Sunday in 1619 when the community came out after vespers, he went to the Prior and told him the time had come for him to be baptised. The Prior in pursuance of his careful policy would not immediately agree but after the matter had been further discussed by the Fathers of the convent of St. Nicholas, a feast day was selected and with great pomp and magnificence the prince and his sister were baptised. She was given the name Petronilla and he was christened Martin, an old family name of Portugal. As Dom Martin, the Portuguese noble, he is known from this date.

It is now necessary to glance for a moment at Sandwip and Arakan to see how the political situation there had changed during the seven years spent by Dom Martin at Hugli.

The fall of Chittagong had changed the

fortunes of Gonsalves Tibau. As long as Min Mangri was Viceroy, the pirate-king was assured of a dominating position at the head of the Bay. With his death and the appointment of a new Viceroy strictly under the control of the King of Arakan, his position was threatened. He realised that it was a fight to the death between him and Min Khamaung, the King. As he was certain that the Arakanese would choose an opportune moment to send a strong force against him, he planned to forestall their attack and by some startling and particular exploit cause them to decide to leave him alone. With this object in view he proposed in 1616 to sack the capital Mrauk-U itself. As this was beyond his powers alone, he sent an emissary to the Viceroy of Goa, Dom Jeromyno de Azevedo, representing to him that a sudden onslaught upon Mrauk-U by the combined fleets of Sandwip and Goa would probably be successful and that as Mrauk-U was the richest city in the Bay, much treasure might be expected. This proposition illustrates the quality of the Portuguese eastern empire in 1616. It was clearly hastening to its end when a pirate-

king could enter into negotiations with the Viceroy and plan with him to make a sudden descent upon a city with which Portugal was at peace. Dom Jeromvno accepted Tibau's proposal and sent a fleet consisting of sixteen ships under Dom Francisco de Menezes Roxo. The rendezvous was the mouth of the Kaladan river, the present Akyab harbour. Tibau arrived with fifty ships and the combined fleet of sixty vessels proceeded up the river. It was the month of November, the beginning of the cold season, and as is the case at that time of year, the weather was clam and bright. Mrauk-U lies fifty miles from the sea and the final approach to it is a network of narrow creeks. The Portuguese project was in fact ludicrous. Mrauk-U was impregnable from such an attack by ships. The Portuguese had not the smallest chance of success and their plan must have been conceived in complete ignorance of the terrain. They were not to get very far. Somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Urritaung Pagoda the Arakanese fleet attacked, assisted by certain Dutch vessels which happened to be in the port. The engagement was hot and long. To be-

gin with the Portuguese had the advantage of the tide, which was flowing up and assisted them in pressing the attack. But towards evening Dom Francisco, the Viceroy's admiral, was killed by a musket ball in the forehead and with the turn of the tide Portuguese broke off the battle, headed for the open sea and returned to Sandwip. the Viceroy disgusted with so ignominious a failure would not hear of a second attempt and withdrew his ships. Some of Tibau's own men, seeing that he was now isolated, deserted him. Min Khamaung followed up his victory. A strong force was sent to Sandwip. The island was taken. Gonslaves Tiabu escaped the massacre but he was a ruined man and appears no more in history.

Such were the events which had occurred during Dom Martin's seven year novitiate at the convent at Hugli. Their effect was to make him entirely dependent upon the Portuguese of Hugli for his future. His relative Tibau, his elder sister who had married Tibau's son, the resources of Sandwip, interest with the inhabitants of Chittagong, all had gone. His uncle Min Khamaung was

firmly established on the throne Mrauk-U. In such circumstances it is easy to perceive why he turned his mind away from his own country which offered him no prospects and as time went on began to concentrate it upon carving out a distinguished career among the Portuguese. As stated above he was thirteen years of age when he became a Catholic. Shortly after this the Hugli Fathers, who now began to regard him seriously as one of their nation, decided that for a youth of such promise Hugli was too restricted a sphere and wrote to the Viceroy suggesting that he should be invited to Goa and there presented at the Viceregal court in conformity with his rank. This was sanctioned and accompanied by his beloved master Father Antonio de San Vincente, he went to the capital of the Indies. There they lodged him in the convent of Our Lady of Grace, but he also frequented the court and by mixing with the noblemen in the Viceroy's suite, he completed his education. He seems to have been a young man of open and engaging manners, magnanimous and high spirited and after five years residence in Goa, at the age of eighteen he

found his taste for the profession of arms had grown so strong that he begged the Viceroy to give him a commission in the Navy. This request was granted; he left the convent of Our Lady and began his service as a cadet under the personal supervision of that old master of the military art, Captain Freire de Andrada, General of the Straits of Ormuz. This important event in his life took place about the year 1624, two years after his uncle Min Khamaung had died and his first cousin Thirithudhamma had succeeded to the throne of Arakan.

For three or four years the young Arakanese prince served with the Portuguese navy in the Persian Gulf. He rapidly distinguished himself and Manrique observes that in his numerous actions he proved himself so capable a soldier that even old Portuguese veterans were known to call him a brave young man.

In 1627, when he was twenty-one years of age, the Portuguese found themselves seriously threatened in the Straits of Malacca. The King of Achin, that strong native state in the north-west of Sumatra, laid siege to the town of Malacca. The Portu-

guese power in the Indies had been rapidly declining since Portugal in 1581 was united to Spain under Philip II. The interests of the smaller state were subordinated and the Spanish wars in the Netherlands resulted in the Dutch molesting the Portuguese in eastern waters. Simultaneous trouble in the Brazils further embarrassed them and they were unable to send sufficient men and ships to the east or to replenish the armament of their fortresses. If the King of Achin should be successful against Malacca, the Straits would be closed and Macao in China cut off. It was therefore of vital importance to the continuance of the Portuguese power that Malacca should be relieved. It appears that Dom Martin had returned from Persia and was in Goa at the moment. His record had been brilliant, a great emergency existed, and in spite of his extreme youth he was given the rank of Captain and the command of a ship by the then Governor, that valliant Bishop, Dom Luis de Britto. Here was an opportunity for the young prince to distinguish himself. The Portuguese fleet consisting of thirty sail was commanded by

a remarkable nobleman of the name of Dom Francisco Coutino del Sem. As it approached Malacca, it was met by the Achinese fleet of sixty galleys, two deckers mostly and well provided with artillery. In spite of his inferiority Dom Francisco decided to give battle and hoisting the banner of Portugal, emblazoned with the five wounds of Christ, he raised the cry "Santiago" and led the van into action. Each of his vessels was laid alongside one of enemy. The Portuguese swarmed up their sides under cover of a barrage from their arquebusiers and in spite of a savage resistance by Turkish, Persian and Khorassian mercenaries, succeeded in seizing and burning the majority of the Achinese fleet. In the hurly-burly of this battle Dom Martin bore himself bravely. The enemy ship engaged by him was burnt, while he himself sustained a lance thrust.

It might be supposed that such brilliant services to the crown of Portugal by an Arakanese prince would have been reported to the King. That he was specially mentioned in despatches seems to have been the case, but Philip IV, King of the united

peninsular, was in the hands of Castillian ministers, who concerned themselves little with Portuguese victories or defeats. In consequence he knew only what they saw fit to communicate and does not appear to have been informed of Dom Martin's eminent services.

The lack of notice from Portugal did not dishearten the prince. After the battle of Malacca in 1627 he joined the fleet of Dom Alvarez Botello and with him sailed those seas, being again engaged with the Achinese at Malacca in 1629, against the English and Dutch in Singapore in 1630, remaining on until his Admiral was killed in the explosion of a captured Dutch vessel while attempting to save Dom Antonio Mascarenhas, one of his friends. These details show that Dom Martin was serving with men of great qualities, where the standard of valour and conduct was high, and when we find it recorded that he conducted himself in all these events in a manner that evoked the commendation of his comrades and superior officers, it may be assumed that he was very remarkable man. For ten more years he continued to serve the Portuguese as a

naval captain. These were years when their powers continued to decline and when their fleets were engaged with the Dutch and the Cingalese, sometimes in victory, but more often in defeat. By 1640 Dom Martin was thirty-four years of age and had had sixteen years active service in Persia, in Ceylon and in the Straits. He had seen fighting from Ormuz to Jacatra and he must have been recognised as a veteran commander. But events destined profoundly to affect his future had been occurring both in his own country of Arakan and in Portugal and it is necessary now to glance at these.

As already stated, about the time Dom Martin went to Goa, his first cousin, Thirithudhamma succeeded to the throne of Arakan. In earlier studies I have described father Manrique's meeting with Thirithudhamma's children, the scene by the tank in the palace precincts when the elephants squirted the crowd and when the Father presented the younger prince with a toy dog. The strange murder of the King has also been detailed, with the death of his eldest son, the disappearance of the other and the usurpation of the Chief Min-

ister, Kuthala, as Narapatigri. These events occurred in 1638. Narapatigri thought he had exterminated the legitimate line of the kings of Mrauk-U. But he had forgotten Dom Martin, who on the death of his first cousin's children, became the legal heir to the throne. Narapatigri may have known of the existence of Dom Martin and thought he could safely be ignored. This, however, was not Dom Martin's view. As soon as he heard that the throne of his fathers was occupied by a usurper, he began to cast about in his mind how to recover it. The turn of events in Portugal two years later gave him his opportunity. For several years the Portuguese nobility had become more and more dissatisfied with the union of Portugal with Spain. The interests of Portugal had been entirely subordinated. By 1640 the state of affairs in Portuguese India was desperate. For this and other reasons the nobility conspired to break away from Spain and crown as their king the Duke of Braganza, descendant of their legitimate line. The Spanish Government was successfully driven out in December 1640 and the Duke of Braganza a fortnight later crowned king

as John IV. From the point of view of Portuguese India this revolution had great importance. It meant that an effort to restore Portugal's position in the East would be made. Dom Martin saw this as his opportunity. If he could get to Portugal at this moment of enthusiasm, explain who he was, recount the long record of his services to that state and suggest the great advantages that would accrue to all parties if he by Portuguese aid drove the usurper out of Mrauk-U and assumed his ancestors' throne as an ally of Portugal, ready to place at its disposal the resources of Arakan, its long coastline, its excellent harbours, if he promised to hound down the Dutch, to come forward with treasure and men, would he not be making an offer likely to be accepted, an offer also that would permit him to make payment for all the kindness given, the honours heaped upon him by the Portuguese, an offer that would procure for them the very salvage of their Eastern Empire? Such was Dom Martin's plan and, probably in the autumn of the year 1641, he embarked incognito for Portugal. It appears that the Viceroy for some reason not

stated was averse to his going and he had to leave secretly, badly provided with clothes and other necessaries. His old schoolmasters, the Fathers of the convent of Our Lady of Grace, had done their best for him and it was arranged that on landing at Lisbon he should go straight to the headquarters of the mission, where he would be received by certain Fathers who had known him in India and who would make arrangements for him to meet the King.

The long voyage by the Cape was successfully accomplished and he arrived at Lisbon probably in the spring of 1642, in the thirty-sixth year of his age. As arranged, he presented himself without delay at the head convent of Our Lady of Grace, where he was given a lodging. There he met one who had been his greatest protector in Goa, his revered friend the Reverend Father Coutino. This Religious and others he had known in India took him to the cell of the Head of the Order and so he was gradually introduced to influential people. Father Coutino placed certain funds at his disposal for current expenses, but before he could be presented to his Majesty John IV, it was

essential that he should be properly dressed and that when he went to pay his respects he should be equipped in all points like a prince from oversea. As the good Fathers had rescued him from death in infancy, brought him up, made him a Catholic, seen him turn into a hidalgo and watched with pride his career as a Captain in the Navy, they were naturally anxious for him to cut a good figure at the royal audience, and after a certain interval they were able to interest on his behalf John of Alencastre, a collateral of the House of Portugal. This nobleman fitted him out. It must be remembered that masculine fashions in 1640 were expensive and before Dom Martin was suitably accommodated with silk doublets and hose, a plumed hat, buckled shoes, gauntlets and jewelled rapier, caharger and page, Alencastre must have drawn liberally on the family revenues. At a favourable opportunity Father Coutino mentioned him to the King and he was received in audience. The details of what transpired on that occasion have not been recorded, beyond the general statement that the King promised to further the Prince's aspirations

in Arakan. It is easy to divine that between these two must have existed a natural bond of sympathy. The Braganza had just succeeded to the throne of his country, a maritime kingdom comparable in extent to Arakan, and which for sixty years had suffered what was known as "the Captivity". He could understand the feelings of the dispossessed heir, and his heart must have prompted him to give Dom Martin a favourable reply. In addition to such private inclinations, there were, as have been explained above, strong reasons of state why Dom John, whose ambition was to restore the estates of Portugal in the East, should desire to have upon the throne of the second strongest kingdom in the Bay of Bengal a prince versed in his needs and devoted to his interests. Hence the chronicler's observation that the King and Dom Martin arrived at a complete agreement is readily understood. The latter remained in Portugal until the next sailing season. He continued to lodge in the convent where the King from his own purse provided him with all the funds he required. During these months the details of the help to be given him were

elaborated and when he sailed it was with the full assurance that the arms of Portugal would assist him to throne of his ancestors. But he was never to reach Goa or Arakan. He died on the voyage out.

In the face of this sudden termination of a singular career, two questions arise. Could Dom Martin have succeeded in defeating the usurper Narapatigri with the help of the Portuguese and if so, how would this event have altered the course of Arakanese history?

In the first matter, the Arakanese MS. histories are emphatic that Narapatigri was a most unpopular sovereign. It is recorded that the violent extinction of the legitimate dynasty with the murder of Thirithudhamma and his son shocked public feeling; that large numbers of the upper class fled from Arakan to Chittagong, which though still legally part of the kingdom had made itself independent; that the county-side became infested with bandits and that trade came to a standstill. Under these circumstances, if Dom Martin had landed in Chittagong at the head of a well equipped Portuguese force, had declared himself Razagri's grand-

son and the legitimate heir to the throne, at the same time calling upon those who had fled from the tyranny of the usurper to join him and march on Mrauk-U, if on entering Arakan he had proclaimed to the people that he came as a deliverer and commanded them as their rightful liege lord to rise against and put to death the abominable traitor who had slain their king, there is little doubt that he would have entered Mrauk-U in triumph.

But in regard to the second matter no such certainty exists and the mind is amused among alternative speculations. Could a Catholic and one who was by education a European have formulated a policy agreeable to the inhabitants of a Buddhist state of the seventeenth century? On the contrary, could not such a man with his wide experience of the world and military affairs have arrested the national decline, prevented the loss to the Mughol of Chittagong in 1666 and so strengthened the dynasty as to have enable it to resist with success the onslaught of the House of Alaungpaya in 1784 and maintain its independence, perhaps till the present day? To

these questions there is no answer or the answer is dim as dreams, for it is as difficult to alter the past as to foretell the future.

When Dom Martin lay dying onboard the Portuguese vessel, which he had hoped was to carry him to the threshold of a kingdom, but which had brought him instead to the threshold of death, very well may he have reviewed the vicissitudes of his career, Chittagong besieged, his father's mortal wound, the flight down subterranean passages to a fresh existence at Hugli, very well may he have seen in retrospect his conversion to a foreign faith, his entry into a foreign navy and the long years of his service at Goa, Ormuz, Malacca till the birth of a new hope drove him to Lisbon, to the king's presence and now to this last sickness on shipboard, and in his weakness, so musing over thousand dangers and disappointments, well may he have felt that, were he to live, his fortunes in Arakan might be even more curious and extravagant, so that lacking the heart to face a new cycle of adventures, he may have turned with relief to death.

ARAKAN'S PLACE IN THE CIVILIZATION OF THE BAY

A STUDY OF COINAGE AND FOREIGN RELATIONS

J.B.R.S. Vol. XV, Part 2. 1925

COINS FOUND IN ARAKAN

Mr. Htoon Aung Gyaw, Barrister-at-law and certain other private collectors of Akyab have in their possession over a hundred coins found in Arakan. When recently arranged by Mr. San Shwe Bu, many of them were seen to be duplicates, but sixteen belonging to the Mrauk-U dynasty (1430 to 1784 A.D.) were distinct specimens, bearing the dates and titles of fifteen different kings of that line. Moreover there were a few coins belonging to the Wesali dynasty (788 to 951 AD). I propose in this paper to show the relationship of these coins to Indian coinage as a whole and to use them as a

document from which to draw certain general conclusions on the history of Arakan. As that history has never been written and as the data for the early centuries are scanty and controversial, I trust that the inevitable shortcomings of this summary will be understood and excused.

**Types of Indian coinage: Hindu
& Mohomedan**

Speaking generally the coins of India fall into two distinct types, the Hindu and the Mohomedan. Specimens of Hindu coinage of as far back as 600 B.C are in the British Museum, but it was not until India came into contact with Mediterranean civilization in 327 B.C. that its coinage developed and became an art. This connection, beginning with the invasion of Alexander and continuing through the Satraps into Roman times resulted first in the striking of coins almost pure Greek in design and gradually in the adaptation of that design to Hindu ends. With the Guptas (320 to 455 A.D.) a coinage had been evolved which while owing much to the Greek theory of form, was pure Hindu in feeling. Now all this Hindu

coinage, from its highest as a work of art to its lowest as a barbarous confusion, has certain definite characteristics. It exhibits portraits of kings, figures and animals, deities and symbols of deities. Inscriptions take a very subordinate place; dates are infrequent; as it is not always possible to identify a coin with a particular king, a classification by dynasties and localities is the most that can often be attempted. Mohomedan coinage, which came into India in 1203 A.D. has opposite characteristics. It is of an inscripational nature. Save for a few exceptions, it contains not a portrait or a figure. The King's name, title, date and faith are carefully recorded. The coin's artistic merit depends upon the calligraphy; and as every one is aware who has studied the Persian script as a mural decoration this can give a remarkably balanced and vital impression of art.

Coins of Arakan

The coins found in Arakan belong to both the groups described above; those of Wesali are Hindu and those of Mrauk-U are Mahomedan. In order to understand the

Wesali coins it will be necessary to set down here in outline what is known of that Kingdom and how it stood in relation to adjoining states.

Wesali. Archaeological evidence

The ruins of the city are still to be seen on the bank of a tidal creek about six miles from Mrauk-U (now known as Myohaung) and about fifty miles inland from the Bay of Bengal. The site has neither been surveyed nor excavated, but the casual observer may perceive the remains of brick walls enclosing a large area. On the south side was to be seen until lately portions of a stone pier. Within the walls are numerous mounds and lying on them are pieces of stone statuary, bas-reliefs, capitals, floral designs in stone and inscriptions in the Nagari character of the 8th century. All these remains are purely Hindu in execution and subject. The figures represent deities; on the capitals is the sacred bell of Siva; the style is rougher than the best Hindu work, but is not debased. Close by the walls is a large stone monolith of Buddha belonging to the same date. This is the

image now known as the Paragri, praying at which Fra Manrique found king Thirithu-dhamma eight centuries later. Various Nagari inscriptions, still undeciphered, have been found in the vicinity of the city, and at Mahamuni, 15 miles N.E., are to be seen surrounding the mound on which once sat the great image of the Buddha, which is now in Mandalay, a number of statues and bas-reliefs of the Hindu Pantheon. Incomplete and insufficiently worked out as is this archaeological evidence, it suggests that in the city of Wesali were practised both the Hindu and Buddhist religions or that it was a Mahayanist city.

Wesali MSS. evidence

Mr. San Shwe Bu has placed in my hands his translation of a curious Arakanese MS. called "the true chronicle of the Great Image". The age of this MS. like that of most Arakanese MSS. is unknown, but it purports to give some account of the Wesali dynasty. Its contents in this respect may be summarised as follows;—

✦ Its caligraphy is older than that of the rest of the MSS. in my possession.— San Shwe Bu

The area now known as north Arakan had been for many years before the 8th century the seat of Hindu dynasties; in 788 A.D. a new dynasty, known as the Chandras, founded the city of Wesali; this city became a noted trade port to which as many as a thousand ships came annually; the Chandra kings were upholders of Buddhism, guarding and glorifying the Mahamunni shrine; their territory extended as far north as Chittagong; the dynasty came to an end in 957 A.D. being overwhelmed by a Mongolian invasion. The conclusion to be drawn from this MS. is that Wesali was an easterly Hindu kingdom of Bengal, following the Mahayanist form of Buddhism and that both government and people were Indian as the Mongolian influx had not yet occurred.

Testimony from the history of Bengal

(1) Fa-Hein

Four hundred years before the Chandras, Fa-Hein (405-411 A.D.), the Chinese pilgrim, visited the plain of the Hindustan when that land was ruled by the Guptas. The supreme government was Brahmanical, but he was able to collect from the thousands

of Mahayanist and Hinayanist monasteries, which were flourishing side by side with temples of the ancient gods, quantities of Buddhist books and relics, with which he returned to China. India was no longer Buddhist as it had been at the time of Asoka (272 B.C.); but numerous Buddhist foundations persisted.

(2) Hiuen Tsang.

A hundred and fifty years before the Chandras, another Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang (630 A.D.) visited the same area, then under the Emperor Harsha. Hiuen Tsang himself was a Mahayanist and from the conversation he states he held with Harsha, it is clear that the latter also inclined to that religious view, though in the course of his reign he had created temples to Siva, to the Sun and to Buddha. Hiuen Tsang returned to China with hundreds of Buddhist MSS. But his account of how the Bodhi tree at Gaya had been dug up and the footprint of Buddha at Pataliputra destroyed by the Puranic Hindus allows us to draw the conclusion that Hinanyanism had already fled the country and that Mahayana

Buddhism was really a compromise in which the Hindu gods and Buddha ranked equally.

(3) The Pala kings of Bengal

If we now turn on the history of this Ganges area at a period contemporary to that of the Chandras, we find a further development of the same tendency. The ruling dynasty, the Pala, was Mahayanist; it was in communication with Tibet, to which country it sent two missions; and the last of the Palas developed the Tantric side of Mahayana Buddhism.

Conclusion. Wesali a Mahayanist State

These are some of the data for forming an opinion as to the religious condition of Bengal from 400—1000 A.D. As Wesali was a Hindu State adjacent thereto, the presumption is that its religious history was similar. Hinayanism had vanished; Mahayanism had compromised with original Hinduism to such a point that Buddha had become one of many gods; even the sexual magic of Tantricism was no anomaly. Such, it appears, was the Chandra Kingdom of Wesali, Mahayanist in the sense that word carried

in the Bengal of the 8th century. It is significant that at least one Tantric sculpture has been found in Wesali.

The coinage of Wesali

The Wesali coins can now be appreciated. They have been picked up on the site and a considerable number are in existence. Some of them are as large as a modern rupee; others resemble in size a four anna bit. They are of good silver and well preserved. Stamped on them are the bull, Nandi, the avatar of Siva; Siva's trident; on one is what appears to be a vase of votive flowers; on some there is an undecipherable Nagari inscription. Artistically they are a long way behind the Gupta coins, but they lie in that tradition and are superior to many of the debased coins of Southern India. Though all the symbols that occur on them are to be found at one time or another among those struck on Indian coins, I have seen none that are precisely their fellows. They have a generic similarity to the coinages of some of the lesser Indian States, and there is no doubt both from

the number of them now in private collections, from their uniformity of design and varying values that they were coins and not, as has been suggested commemorative tablets. Indeed, from what I have already noted of the size of Wesali and its foreign trade, to suppose that it had no coinage would be to postulate an exception, for at that period in India all States of any importance had at least a silver currency. Wesali, as will be explained later, must be regarded not as an early Burmese but as a late Hindu State. With the whole tradition of the great Hindu past it had inherited coinage. All these data indicate that the coins of Wesali were in the pure Brahmanical tradition. But coins bearing Brahmanical symbols are not inconsistent with a Mahayanist dynasty. I am not aware of any Indian coin of a period later than the 1st century A.D., which contains a Buddhist figure, symbol or inscription. The Mahayanist kings of the periods mentioned above struck Brahmanical coins. Nothing is therefore more to be expected than that the Wesali coins should also be Brahmanical. It is merely another proof of how closely the Mahayanist

Buddhism of 8th century Bengal approximated to Hinduism.

The end of Wesali & the beginning of the Arakanese.

Such was the kingdom of Wesali, an Indian state in the style of the period. But in 957 A.D. occurred an event which was to change it from an Indian into an Indo-Chinese realm and to endow the region of Arakan with its present characteristics. The "True Chronicle" records that in the year 957 A.D., a Mongolian invasion swept over Wesali, destroyed the Chandras and placed on their throne Mongolian kings. This important statement can fortunately be amply substantiated. Over the border in Bengal the same deluge carried away the Pala kings. The evidence for this latter irruption is fully cited in a paper by Mr. Banerji and there is no doubt that the Mongolian invasion, which terminated the rule of the Palas, closed also the epoch of the Chandras. But while in Bengal the Hindus regained their supremacy in a few years, it would seem that in Arakan the entry of the Mongolians was decisive. They cut Arakan away from

India and mixing in sufficient numbers with the inhabitants of the east sides of the present Indo-Burma divide, created that Indo-Mongoloid stock now known as the Arakanese. This emergence of a new race was not the work of a single invasion. The MSS. record subsequent Mongolian incursions. But the date 957 A.D., may be said to mark the appearance of the Arakanese, and the beginning of a fresh period.

The period 957-1430 A.D., General characteristics.

The cardinal characteristic of the new period is that Arakan (as the area may now be called) looked East instead of West. The Mongolians were savages and following their invasion supervened a period of darkness. But the invaders became educated in the culture of the country they had conquered. The resulting civilization was of a mediaeval character. The capital was moved from Wesali to the Lemro river, some fifteen miles south-east. There during the ensuing centuries numerous dynasties ruled; each with its own city but always in the same locality. Few archaeological remains of this period

of five centuries exist, though brick foundations may be seen on the Lemro bank. There was no coinage. This fact is significant as placing the age in its perspective. We have here to do with a small kingdom in an age of small kingdoms. In Bengal the Mahomedans were not to arrive till 1203. Over the mountains in Burma proper was the quiant kingdom of Pagan. It was with Pagan alone that Arakan had any considerable dealings and it was from that gentle garden of the Little Vehicle that it was to learn much. Thus during these five centuries the inhabitants of Arakan became more similar to the inhabitants of Burma and less like Indians. Their religion became less Mahayanist and more Hinayanist. The link with the past, however, was the Mahamuni image, which was still in its old place, for it fitted equally well into Hinayana as into Mahayana Buddhism.

**Particular Characteristics of the Period
957-1430 AD.**

Arakan became feudatory to Pagan, that is to say it maintained its own kings but

paid tribute as an acknowledgement of suzerainty. There existed a road connecting the Lemro with Pagan. That road was known as the Buywet-ma-nyo. It has long been overgrown, but the present Government is seeking to resurvey it. It was along that road that the ideas of Burma passed into Arakan. Pagan herself had modified from the Mahayanist to the Hinayanist form of Buddhism and the modification was transmitted to Arakan during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Burmese writing came over at the same time and in the same manner. No inscriptions in the Burmese script are found in Arakan before that date. The question of the emergence of the Arakanese language is more difficult. Whether it was the language of the Mongolian invaders of the 10th century or whether it filtered across the mountains after contact with Burma in the 11th and 12th centuries is undecided. As Arakanese is the same language as Burmese, being merely a dialect, to suppose that it was the language of the invaders is to contend that the Mongolians who extinguished the Chandras spoke the same tongue as those who afterwards became

predominant in the Irrawaddy plain. If the contrary is postulated, and it is argued that the Burmese language, coming over the mountain road, impinged upon the Mongolian speech of the then Arakanese and created modern Arakanese, linguistic difficulties are raised which are difficult to resolve. This question awaits judgment.

The Mahamuni image and Pagan

The great preoccupation of the Lemro dynasties during this mediaeval period was the guardianship of the Mahamuni image. As it was believed to be a likeness of the Master cast during his lifetime, its possession gave Arakan an important position in the eyes of the Pagan kings. For monarchs who had built so many thousand pagodas and who had raised up to sacred a city was Pagan, the possession of Mahamuni would have been the crown of their endeavours. But the Arakanese had an old belief that if it left their country, it would synchronise with the ruin of their race. As they were not strong enough to guard it by force of arms, they employed that peculiar system of magical astrology, known as Yadaya, to

protect it. They attempted to render its site unapproachable for invaders or spoilers by enveloping it in a magical net. Both Anawratha and Alaungsithu, though suzerain lords of Arakan and though both dearly longed to enshrine the great Buddha in their own capital city, failed to remove it. The writers of the manuscripts conclude that the Yadaya calculations were well drawn. Being unable to take it, they worshipped there and the facts that the most revered image of all Buddhism was located in Arakan resulted in much coming and going between that country and the kingdom of Pagân. Thus were the two countries drawn closely together. The road over the mountains became a trade route. The MSS. relate great fairs held on it at a point between the two States. But of coinage there was no need.

Summary of the Lemro period

During these five hundred years Arakan became a Holy Land. It had no political importance, but was a place of pilgrimage for the Buddhist world. Neither commercial nor cosmopolitan like the kingdom of Wesali,

it developed those racial and religious characteristics which mark it still.

Arakan looks West again 1430 A.D.

But India was again to play its part in the making of Arakan. To understand the age of Mrauk-U (1430-1785 A.D.), the profound changes which had taken place in Bengal since the time of the Palas must be called to mind.

The World movement of Islam.

When the life went out of the Roman Empire, élan vital drove the followers of Mahomet to create a polity in its stead. Under the propelling conviction of their war-religion they overran the middle block of Eur-Asia. Europe was restricted almost to small states on the Atlantic sea-board. Moslem civilization extended from Cordova to Dacca. An average observer of the period would have seen nothing in the world but Islam. From all points of view, military, political and cultural, the Moslem Sultanates were in the van of civilization. For every other State they represented modernity, as industrial Europe now represents

what is modern for Asia and Africa. Bengal was absorbed into this great polity in 1203 A.D. But that was its extreme eastern limit. It never passed into Indo-China; and its influence from its arrival in 1203 till 1430 was negligible upon Arakan.

Why Arakan turned towards India in 1430.

The circumstances which made Arakan turn from the East and look West to the Moslem States were political. In 1404 A.D., Min Saw Mwan was King of Arakan, ruling from Launggret, one of the Lemro cities already mentioned. As the kings of Pagan had regarded Arakan as their feudatory, the Kings of Ava, who succeeded them, saw no reason why they should not reassert that view. Moreover the Arakanese had annoyed them by raiding Yaw and Laungshe. Accordingly the heir-apparent to the throne of Ava invaded Arakan in 1406. Min Saw Mwan fled the country, taking refuge at Gaur, the capital of the Sultan of Bengal. That kingdom had been independent of the Sultanate of Dehli for eighty-six years. It was one of the many sovereign states of the world-

wide Moslem polity. The Arakanese king remained there for twenty four years, leaving his country in the hands of the Burmese. Nasir-ud-din Shah became Sultan in 1426 and Min Saw Mwan prevailed on that monarch to restore him to the throne of Arakan, as his tributary. Force of circumstances made him prefer to call himself a feudatory of the Sultans of Bengal than of the kings of Ava. He turned away from what was Buddhist and familiar to what was Mahomedan and foreign. In so doing he loomed from the mediaeval to the modern, from the fragile fairy land of the Glass Palace Chronicle to the robust extravaganza of the Thousand Nights and one Night.

Founding of Mrauk-U.

Nazir-ud-din restored him in 1430 A.D. and Mrauk-U was built. It is noteworthy that one of that Sultan's coins was recently found near site of that city. It is a unique document in the history of Arakan.

Origin of Arakanese coinage.

When the Moslems entered Bengal in 1203, they introduced the inscriptional type

of coinage already described in this paper. Nasirud-din's coin is in the tradition and it was on that coin and its fellows that the coinage of Mrauk-U was subsequently modelled. In this way Arakan became definitely oriented towards the Moslem States. Contact with a modern civilization resulted in a renaissance. The country's great age began.

The Mrauk-U dynasty 1430-1785

Shin Araham would have found himself as much out of place at the court of Gaur as St. Bernard in the university of Cordova. To avoid such a sensation and snatch advantage from change, the Arakanese had to forsake a fashion in ideas, which had fallen behind in the march of the world's thought, and bring themselves up to date.

Period I 1430-1530. As feudatory to Bengal.

They had to learn the history of recent events; the meaning of the triumph of Islam and how it arrived that the chief Moslem protagonists were Mongolian. For it was a curious fact that while the government of Further India was Mongolian-Buddhist, that

of India and westwards beyond was Mongolian-Mohomedan. Situated as they were between the two, the Arakanese had opportunity of detecting their fundamental difference. That basic distinction centred in the matter of war and aggrandisement. While for Further India war was wrong and only happened by the way, for the Moslem block it was the first preoccupation of government. It took the Arakanese a hundred years to learn that doctrine from the Moslem-Mongolians. When it was well understood, they founded what was known as the Arakanese empire. For the hundred years, 1430 to 1530, Arakan remained feudatory to Bengal, paid tribute and learnt history and politics. Eleven kings followed one another at Mrauk-U in undistinguished succession. If they struck coins, none have been found. In 1531 Minbin ascended the throne. With him the Arakanese graduated in their Moslem studies and the empire was founded.

The Mrauk-U dynasty. Period II. 1531-1638.

Two capital events occurred which gave the now instructed Arakan its weapon and

its opportunity,— the arrival of the portuguese and civil war in Bengal.

The portuguese.

The Portuguese arrived in eastern waters about the year 1500 in search of trade. From the Indian point of view they were an obscure tribe living on the extreme edge of the Moslem domain. In fact they had only recently succeeded in driving the Moslem out of their own Iberian peninsular. Between them and India was the solid block of the Mussalman states and they had therefore been compelled to sail round by the Cape of Good Hope. But they had one extraordinary and unique characteristic—they were mariners, supreme seamen. There were no other sailors of note in the world. The enormous Moslem dominion was military. It had no need of the sea because its trade routes in Eur-Asia were overland. The Portuguese shipmen were a mere handful; the total population of their country would not have filled a dozen of the larger India cities; but as they were unopposed on the sea, they found themselves in command of it. Had this not been the case they could

never have appeared at all in eastern waters so far from their base. But it was not enough to be in command of the sea; some point d'appui on land for trade and refitting was essential. This they acquired in various localities by peaceful arrangement with the local authorities. looking for such a concession Don Jao de Silveira entered the harbour of Arakan in 1517, fourteen years before Minbin's accession. The Arakanese, their wits sharpened by experience, saw that here was one of those chances given to nations and individuals, which if boldly exploited yield a great profit. It seemed that a mutually agreeable understanding could be arranged. While the Portuguese were able to provide mastery of seamanship, with a more modern knowledge of arms and fortification, the Arakanese could throw into the bargain territorial concessions and trade openings. An agreement on these lines was reached. When Minbin came to the throne he turned Mrauk-U into the strongest fortified city of the Bay, employing the Portuguese to lay out his walls and moats and to forge and mount his cannon. He appointed them as military of-

ficers to train and equip a mercenary army of heterogeneous races, foreign and domestic; and he built, with their aid, a large fleet manned with his own men, who were hardy boatmen, but guided and stiffened by Portuguese mariners. Minbin in the way became master of a powerful modern weapon.

Civil war in Bengal.

The second capital event, which gave Arakan its opportunity, was the civil war in Bengal. The Moghuls had arrived and the second of that line, Mumayon entered Gaur, displacing the independent dynasty. But he could not maintain himself against the pretender Shere Shah. During the whole of Minbin's reign the administration of Bengal was interrupted by that struggle and eastern Bengal lay defenceless. For Minbin, armed as he now was, this was the opportunity. With a combined fleet and army movement he occupied eastern Bengal. That province remained to Arakan for the next hundred and twenty years, till 1666. Its administration was left in the hands of twelve local rajahs, who paid an annual tribute to the Arakanese king's Viceroy at Chittagong.

*Minbin's coin.**Mrauk-U a Sultanate.*

In Mr. Htoon Aung Gyaw's collection is one of Minbin's coins. It presents a succinct commentary on the sudden rise of Arakan to importance in the Bay. On one side of it is inscribed the word "Minbin" in the Burmese character. On the reverse in Nagari in his Moslem title, Zabauk Shah. So Arakan had turned into a Sultanate. The Court was shaped on Gaur and Dehli; there were the eunuchs and the seraglio, the slaves and the executioner. But it remained Hinayana Buddhist. Mahamuni was still there, still fervently worshipped. Moreover Minbin embellished Mrauk-U with its greatest temples and pagodas. But the architecture of the former is neither Mohomedan nor Buddhist. It is Hindu, but of so unique a design as almost to constitute a particular style. This architecture was the work of Indian builders employed by Minbin and working to his general specifications. It illustrates the cosmopolitan origins of the state of Mrauk-U, which derived from the Hindu and the Buddhist as well as from

the Portuguese and the Moslem. But it also indicates how Minbin was able to fuse diverse elements into a particular and separate style.

Consolidation of Mrauk-U 1600.

The north west frontier.

If Minbin founded the prosperity of Mrauk-U, Razagri, his successor of forty years later, may be said to have consolidated it. In 1576 central and western Bengal was definitely administered by Akbar. Hence the Arakanese in eastern Bengal found themselves on the frontier of the Moghul. There was now no buffer state between. It was known that the Moghul regarded all Bengal as rightly his and that it was entered in his records as such. Hence it behoved Mrauk-U to guard that frontier well. But it was not feasible to do so with the regular army. Arrangements were therefore made with other Portuguese for this purpose. These were not those who acted as officers and instructors at Mrauk-U. They did not belong to the home army or navy. They were Portuguese mariners who had been allowed to found a trade settlement

and refitting base near Chittagong. It was agreed between them and the king that they would protect the frontier against the Moghul in return for all the trade openings their position at Chittagong afforded. The king had his brother or near relative as Viceroy. It was the duty of that functionary to watch the Portuguese and see that they played fair. This they were not always inclined to do, but at that period the kings of Mrauk-U were strong enough with their home army and navy to overpower the Portuguese when necessary. On at least one occasion they were constrained to punish them by burning their settlement. On another occasion Don Gonsales Tibau, who belonged to an outside set of Portuguese, made a dash at the city of Mrauk-U itself. But he was turned back from the harbour of Arakan and was followed up and defeated in his own independent island at the mouth of the Ganges. Thus at this time when the government of Mrauk-U was strong enough to keep the Portuguese in order, the policy of posting the latter on the northern frontier was a sound one.

The south-east frontier.

Mrauk-U, having turned the tables on Bengal proceeded to do the same on Burma. This was the first and only period in its history when Arakan was able not only to repulse the Burmese but even to annex part of their country. Razagri, in alliance with Ava, took Pegu. On the division of the spoils the strip up to and including Syriam and Moulmein was added to his long coastline. This campaign was rendered possible by his excellent navy and Razagri, in appointing the Portuguese de Brito, as Governor of Syriam was repeating the policy of north-west frontier. He depended on those mariners, in conjunction, presumably, with his own seamen, to keep his borders for him.

Maximum Extent of the empire of Mrauk-U.

For a short period during the reign of Razagri Arakan extended from Dacca and the Sundabans to Moulmein, a coast strip of a thousand miles in length and varying from 150 to 20 miles in depth. This considerable dominion was built up by means of

the strong cosmopolitan army and navy organized by Minbin and by inducing the Portuguese outside his Army to fight for him in return for trade concessions. It is difficult to conceive of a state with less reliable foundations. But during the short years of its greatness, the century from 1540 to 1640, it was brilliant and imposing. Copying the imperial Court of Delhi, its kings adopted the title of Padshah. The French traveller Fyiar, who was in India at the time, sums up its position in the Bay as second only to that of the Moghul. In my studies from Fra Manrique and the Arakanese MSS. I have tried to paint a picture of Arakan at this moment of its highest destiny. Here I will add in order to give those studies perspective a comparison of its coinage with that of the contemporary coinage of Delhi.

A comparison of the Moghul and Mrayuk-U coinage, 1600.

The coins of the Sultans were inscribed with a precise inscription in useful and sufficient Persian lettering. With Akbar and his successors the script becomes a fine art.

Imperially cursive, whirling under the eye, it has a living beauty. We possess a coin of Razagri. On the obverse is his title in Burmese; on the reverse in Persian and Nagari. The style is essentially that of the Sultanates, convenient, clear, but conveying no impression of art. In fact Moghul Delhi never influenced Mrauk-U. That city drew from Gaur of Bengal, the Gaur of 1430. Beyond that it did not excel.

Decline and fall of Mrauk-U 1638-1785

The causes that make men rich are often the same as ruin them. What a gambler has won he may lose by an identical throw. Mrauk-U was glorious because wise kings took advantage of a strong alliance against distracted border states. It fell into poverty and contempt because weak kings were falsely served by their allies against united border states.

Internal causes of decay

In my sketches of Mrauk-U at its heyday I have indicated the weakening of the central government that followed the murder of King Thiri-thu-dhamma. The usurper,

Narapti, was never fully accepted by the Arakanese. He depended upon foreign mercenaries. These were ready to unmake him. The sanctity of authority was gone. Moreover the victories of previous reigns had flooded the country with Moghul, Burmese and Portuguese prisoners-of-war. These were centres of discontent on which any adventurer could count. On such men counted Shuja, Aurangzebe's elder brother, rightful Emperor of Hindustan, when he fled to Arakan after being worsted in the struggle for the imperial crown which followed the death of Shah Jehan. Only a strong national king can control an army of foreign paid soldiers.

External causes: The Portuguese

After 1600 a change for the worse overcame the Portuguese. When their country was united with Spain and her resources were squandered on the European struggle in the Netherlands, she was unable to reinforce her eastern shipmen. The Dutch and the English had arrived and threatened trade rivalry. In consequence the Portuguese were transformed from assured traders into

cut-off and desperate adventurers. They realised that their empire of the sea doomed, that being unable to look for help from Europe, they had only their own wits and swords to uphold them and that situated on the borders of great oriental states, so many thousand miles from home, the duration of their prosperity could but be short. They became pirates. The Viceroy of Goa's control over them, always slight, now disappeared. They recruited their numbers from the halfbreeds. Yet it was on the good faith of these desperate men that the King of Mrauk-U depended for the defence of his North West Frontier. The weak usurpers of Arakan had no hold at all upon such cut throats. If it was to their interest to play fair, eastern Bengal could still call itself a part of Arakan. But in fact for 28 years before Chittagong was actually lost, the coinage of Mrauk-U bears no reference to it. The coins are stamped only with a Burmese legend.

External causes: The Moghul.

As the 17th century advanced, the Moghuls consolidated their administration.

But Bengal remained an irritant. It was not so much that the Emperors objected to the eastern portion owing allegiance to Arakan as that it was the base from which resolute pirates crossed into their domains, raiding even to Moorshedabad. The pirate-boats were manned by pure Portuguese, half breeds and Arakanese. They seized from the river banks goods and persons. Large numbers of these latter were sold in Arakan, where the rice crop was sown and reaped by them. But it was a short-sighted policy for the kings of Arakan to annoy so strong a neighbouring State as the Moghul empire. As noted above, however, it is doubtful whether the usurping kings after Thiri-thudhamma controlled or attempted to control the Portuguese. These foreigners had established an independent bandit State on the Bengal border. So intolerable a condition of affairs could not last. It was only a question of time when the Moghul would move. And in fact, as soon as Auranzebe had secured the throne and his rival was in exile, he sent to Bengal a strong Governor, Shaistah Khan with instructions to stop the piracy.

Items in the decline of Mrauk-U.

(1) Loss of Chittagong 1666.

Shaistah Khan made it clear to a certain section of the Portuguese bandits that the whole force of the empire would now be used to suppress them, but if they liked to come over to his side before he attacked, they would be given rewards greater than they had received from the king of Arakan. The Portuguese cannot have been fools enough to believe that the Nawab would pay them as well as they had been able to pay themselves, but they saw that the game was up and in 1665 many came over. Moghul sources give a very full account of the events which followed,—the nature of the country in which the operations took place, the huge fleet built by the Nawab, the assistance given by the Dutch and the fact that the expedition had for its military object the defeat of the rest of the Portuguese fleet. All was quickly over and Eastern Bengal was lost to Arakan. It is noteworthy that the Arakanese home army was not sent into Bengal in full force to resist the Moghuls. This supports the view here taken

that the Portuguese had become almost independent and that the usurpers after Thiri-thu-dhamma exercised little control in Chittagong which had become a Portuguese robber state. When the Moghuls showed signs of advancing into Arakan proper, the Arakanese army resisted them in force and with success. After the loss of Chittagong the territory of the kingdom of Mrauk-U was reduced to the present districts of Akyab, Kyaukpyu and Sandoway. These areas in Lower Burma which had been won by Razagri and resumed in part by Thiri-thu-dhamma had all lapsed back to the Burmese. Arakan was now confined to its natural boundaries and was no larger than it had been two hundred and fifty years previously at the time when it was feudatory to Bengal. That phase in the country's history which began with Minbin was now over. But it was to last as an independent kingdom for another hundred and nineteen years.

Items in the decline of Mrauk-U.

(2) Internal degradation 1666-1785.

There were twenty-five kings of Mrauk-U

during those hundred and nineteen years. That is a sufficient commentary on the period. With the old legitimate line extinct and with a large mercenary army of miscellaneous races which cared neither for the person of the king nor for the aspirations of the people, adventurers appeared every few years, sometimes every few months and the throne constantly changed hands. Between the fall of Chittagong (1666) and Sanda Wizaya (1710) there were ten kings averaging two and a half years each. Three reigned only one year and two did not reign one month. Between Sanda Wizaya and Nara Abaya (1742) the average was under two years, and the last seven kings to 1784 averaged just three years each. The three kings named, Sanda Thudhamma, Sanda Wizaya and Nara Abaya, each was a notable man and each tried to stop the downward tendency, but without success. So insecure a polity is little removed from anarchy. The coins we possess reflect this desperate internal condition. While we have several stamped with the titles of Sanda Thudhamma and Sanda Wizaya, there are none extant of the ten kings between. Of

the following set of six, two are represented and of the last seven all have coins except numbers 42 and 46, who both ruled but a few weeks. The coins themselves exhibit little variation. Their design is neither more nor less interesting. It remains in the Mohomedan tradition of 1430 A.D.

The fall of Mrauk-U.

Such a kingdom as was Arakan from 1666 to 1784 could only stand alone and independent as long as it had no aggressive neighbour. The Moghuls had ceased to be an expanding power; Burma was nearly as distracted as Arakan; the English were new comers. In other circumstances it could not have endured a century and a quarter. But when in 1760 the Alaungpaya dynasty had united Burma, Mrauk-U's fate was certain. The sole question was when the blow would fall. In 1782 Thamada became king of Mrauk-U. So reduced had become the once great kingdom, that his rule did not extend more than a few miles beyond the walls.

Ngathande and Bodawphaya.

There were six other pretenders in the

country, each with his following and each anxious to enter the capital city. One of these, Ngathande, asked Bodawphaya, king of Burma, to invade the realm. After so long a period of looking west, Arakan turned eastward again. Ngathande's idea was that Bodawphaya would place him on the throne as a feudatory monarch. It was a familiar point of view in Arakanese foreign relations. Bodawphaya, however, had no intention of anything of the kind. He used Ngathande, invaded the country and reduced it to the position of an administered province, the first time in its long history that it had lost a home government of its own.

The Mahamuni image.

It is noteworthy that when Bodawphaya decided to annex Arakan, he bowed to the old idea that the Mahamuni was the defence of that kingdom. For so many centuries it had been the common belief of Further India that as long as Mahamuni was in Arakan, the country would remain independent, that Bodawphaya thought it safer to tamper with those calculations in Yadda which were reputed to protect both the

image and the realm. He therefore sent masters of that Art before his troops crossed the mountains and the formulae were deflected.

Its loss a mortal blow.

After his victory and to clinch the affair and prove to the world that Arakan was really down, he removed Mahamuni to Amarapura, where it now sits. This event, long prophesied and long guarded against, crushed the Arakanese more than defeat in the field.

*The Burmese administration of Arakan.
1784 to 1825.*

Bodawphaya's medallion.

Bodawphaya's first act was to strike a medallion in the style of the Mrauk-U coinage. The Burmese had never used coins and hence he had no model of his own. He copied therefore the Moslem design. The legend reads—"The kingdom of the Master of Amarapura and of many White Elephants." This is the numismatic document to the fall of Mrauk-U. It was the last coin

struck in Arakan.

The Burmese governor of Mrauk-U found the country in a very lawless state. One Chinbyan organized a rebellion. To secure peace and maintain order the Burmese put to death some and deported others to Burma. Two hundred thousand are said to have fled to India.

Arakan learned nothing from Burmese connection of 1784-1825.

In her previous connections with outside states Arakan had always been the gainer. As feudatory to Pagan she had received the Little Vehicle and learnt her present alphabet. As feudatory to Bengal she had laid the foundations of her great age. But administered as a governorship by the Burmese of the 18th century, she had nothing to gain, for the Burmese had nothing to teach a country which for centuries had been in touch with the world of thought and action through the Moslem Sultanates at a time when Burma herself was isolated and backward.

Arakan looks West again.

But an extraordinary turn of events had changed the face of India since the fall of Chittagong in 1666. The Moguls had disappeared and their place had been taken by other foreigners, not Mongolians on this occasion but English, persons strange to say who resided three thousand miles away but who maintained themselves by means of a sea connection as the Portuguese had done but far more successfully. These individuals became irritated with the Burmese in 1824 for the same reason that Aurangzebe had become irritated with the Arakanese in 1665, namely in the matter of frontier raids. The Burmese had lived so long out of the world that their geography and political information were lamentably weak. They were not aware that the then masters of Hindustan represented a more modern polity than their own. The Arakanese, however, were better informed. For just as Min Saw Mwan realised in 1430 that the Sultanate of Bengal was a polity in the van of the world's thought and would be able to drive the Burmese out of Arakan and restore him, so

the Arakanese of 1824 perceived that the English were moderns and that the Burmese could not resist them. Accordingly they sided enthusiastically with them and facilitated in every way their occupation of Arakan in 1825.

Arakanese desire again to be feudatory to Bengal.

When the Burmese had fled and Mrauk-U was occupied by the English, the Arakanese expected that the history of 1430 would be repeated and that an Arakanese prince would be placed on the throne. It is possible that the English might have classed Arakan as a Native State had there been a royal house in existence. But unfortunately the legitimate line had been exterminated 186 years before and it would have been difficult to select from the descendants of the twenty-eight various usurping commoners who followed, a prince acceptable to popular opinion. For forty years Arakan had been a conquered country and part of Burma, so that for the English to have reconstituted it as a principedom would hardly have been feasible. If the Arakanese were

disappointed, it indicates that they were in need of the very education they were about to receive.

The significance of the English administration of Arakan. 1825 to 1925.

The Arakanese had graduated in various systems of ideas during the course of their history—in Hinduism in Hinayanism, and in the real politik of the Moslem Sultanates. They were now to graduate again and this time in economics. Economics had become the metaphysic of the Modern world; by the canons of that science right and wrong could be distinguished. The significance therefore of the English dominance has been for Arakan its initiation into a modern system of thought. Just as the country's connection with Moslem Bengal dissipated mediaeval phantasies, so its subordination to the Government of India brought it again up to date.

Conclusion.

The rhythm of the history of Arakan is that of a dancer who sways now to the East and now to the West. Rarely has she

stood upright. For a hundred years now she has been leaning westwards. But there are indications that her rhythm is beginning to re-establish itself and that she will again sway to the East.

M.S. COLLIS *in*
collaboration with San Shwe Bu

ARAKAN'S PLACE IN THE CIVILIZATION OF THE BAY

Kings of Mrauk-U	Date of accession	Coin.	Remarks.
Mn Saw Mwan	1430	---	<i>Feudatory to Bengal</i>
Mn Khari (Ali Khan)	1434	---	
Ba Saw Pru	1459	---	
Dan Uga	1482	---	
Ba Saw Nyo	1492	---	
Ran Aung	1494	---	
Se-ling-ga-thu	1494	---	
Mn Razza	1501	---	
Gazupadi	1523	---	
Mn Saw U	1525	---	
Tha Zada	1525	---	
----- Mn Bin (Zaback-Shah)	----- 1531	----- Obverse: Chittagong-Minhin Reverse: Nagari inscription giving Moslem title	----- <i>The period of the Arakanese empire, Minbin to Thiri-thu-dhanana</i>
-----	-----	-----	-----

Kings of Mrauk-U.	Date of accession.	Coins.	Remarks.
Dek-kha Saw Hla Min-Sak-Kya	1553 1555 1564	--- --- ---	-----
Min Pha-hang (Secundah Shah)	1571		
Razagri (Selim Shah)	1593	Obverse: Sin Byu Shin Naradipadi Selam Shah 963 Reverse: Bilingual legend, upper half in Persian and lower half in Nagari. Appears to repeat obverse.	<i>Naradipadi was the title assumed by Razagri at his coronation.</i>
Min-kha Maung (Hussein Shah)	1612	Obverse: Sin Byu Shin Wara Dhamma Raza Hussein Shah 974 Reverse: Bilingual legend. Persian and Nagari. Appears to repeat obverse	<i>Wara Dhamma Raza was the coronation title of Min-kha Maung</i>
Thiri-thu- dhamma Min Soni	1622 1638	--- ---	<i>Period of usurpers and decline.</i>
Narapadigri	1638	Sin Byu Thakin Sin Ni ha kin Narapadigri 1,000 (Reverse same)	
Thado Mintra	1645	Sin Byu Thakin Sin Ni Thakin Thado Mintra 1000. (Reverse same)	<i>Reading of this coin in Phayre Museum Catalogue appears to be incorrect.</i>

Kings of Mrauk-U.	Date of accession.	Coins.	Remarks.
Sanda Thu-dhamma	1652	Shwe Nan Thakin Sanda Thu-dhamma Raza 1014 (Reverse same). Shwe Nan Thakin Sanda Thu-dhamma Raza 1034 (Reverse same).	<i>First issue</i> <i>Second issue, which is in two sizes, the smaller having a bar cross the middle on reverse.</i>
-----	-----	-----	-----
Thiri Thurya	1684	---	
Wara Dhamma	1685	---	
Miri	1692	---	
Thudhamma		---	
Sanda Thurya		---	
Dhammaraza	1694	---	
Nawata Zaw	1696	---	
Mayupha	1696	---	
Kakman-dai	1697	---	
Naradipati	1698	---	
Sanda Wi-mala	1700	---	
Sanda Thurya	1706	---	
Sanda Wizaya	1710	Shwe Na Thakin Sanda Wizaya Raza 1072 (Reverse same).	
Sanda Thurya	1731	Shwe Nan Thakin Sanda Thurya Raza 1093 (Reverse same).	
Naradipadi	1734	---	

Kings of Mrauk-U.	Date of accession.	Coins.	Remarks.
Nara Pawara Raza	1735	Shwe Nan Thakin Nara Pawara Raza 1097 (reverse same).	<i>Reigned 3 months; Reigned 3 days.</i>
Sanda Wimala	1737	...	
Kaiya	1737	...	
Madara	1737	...	
Nara Ahaya	1742	Shwe Nan Thakin Nara Ahaya Raza 1104 (Reverse same).	<i>Reigned 3 months.</i>
Thiri-thu	1761	...	
Sanda Parama	1761	Shwe Nan Thakin Sanda Parama Raza 1123 (Reverse same).	<i>Reigned 40 days.</i>
Maha Raza	1764	Shwe Nan Thakin Ahaya Maha Raza 1126 (Reverse same).	
Sanda Thumana Raza	1773	Shwe Nan Thakin Sanda Thumana Raza 1135 (Reverse same).	
Sanda Wimala	1777	...	
Thaditha Dammarit	1777	Shwe Nan Thakin Dammarit Raza 1140 (Reverse same).	
.....

Kings of Mrauk-U.	Date of accession.	Coins.	Remarks.
Thamada	1782	Shwe Nan Thakin Maha Thamada Raza.	<i>Fall of Mrauk-U Burmese conquest.</i>
Bodaw-paya	1784	Amarapura Sin Byu Shin Naing Gan.	<i>Two sizes. Larger has an ornamented border of slanted lines and dots.</i>

AUTHORITIES CONSULTED

- Mr. Htoon Aung Gyaw's Arakanese coins, arranged, translated and the annotated by Mr. San Shwe Bu.
- The True Chronicle of the Great Image. An Arakanese MSS. translated by Mr. San Shwe Bu.
- Notes from private Arakanese MSS. placed at my disposal by Mr. San Shwe Bu.
- Lecture by Mr. Htoon Chan, Bar-at-law. Printed in "Arakan News" of May 1916.
- The Coins of India. P. Brown.
- Coinages of Asia. S. Allan.
- The Pálas of Bengal. Banerji.

- Early History of India. V. Smith.
- Travels of Fa-Hein. Edited by Giles.
- Padre Masestro Fray Seb. Manrique (Translated in Bengal: Past and Present).
- Shihabuddin Talish. Persian MS. Translated by Sarkar.
- The Glass Palace Chronicle. Tin and Luce.
- History of Bengal. Stewart.
- Musalmans of Bengal. Fuzli Rubbee.
- Outline of Burmese History. Harvey.
- Catalogue of Coins in Phayre Provincial Museum.
- Report of Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma, for the years 1917, 1921, 1922 and 1923.
- From Akbar to Aurangzebe. Moreland.
- History of the Portuguese in Bengal. Campos.
- Coins of Arakan, of Pegu and of Burma.
- (In Numismata Orientalia) Sir Arthur Phayre.

Summary of the Work done by
Maung San Shwe Bu,
Honorary Archaeological Officer for Arakan
for the year 1919-20.

Conservation of monuments.— On the occasion of His Honour's visit to Akyab early last year the elders of Myohoung presented a memorial to him praying that the Local Government may be pleased to undertake the repairs to the Shitthong temple which was rapidly decaying through excessive rains and neglect. As it was thought inadvisable to affect a complete restoration, measures for its conservation were recommended. And accordingly the Executive Engineer, Akyab, drew up an estimate for over eight thousand rupees.

Meanwhile the elders of Myohoung and the neighbouring villages held several informal meetings which resulted in the formation of a board to look after its affairs. The board has now sent in a written guarantee for four thousand rupees to the Commissioner, Arakan Division, as a contribution

towards the expenditure to be incurred on the conservation of the monument. Subscriptions are now being collected throughout the district and at the same time a regular suit has been filed in the District Court, Akyab, praying for the appointment of Trustees to look after the ancient pagodas of Myohoung under a proper scheme to be drawn up by the said Court.

The Commissioner is now thoroughly satisfied with the activities of the people and he has accordingly requested the Local Government to place Rs. 5,000 at his disposal so that repairs may be taken in hand before the rains set in. In this particular case delay is very dangerous and it is quite certain that incalculable harm will be done to the building if it were exposed to the tender mercies of another destructive monsoon.*

Mahamuni Temple, Appointment of Trustees.—After a good deal of unavoidable delay trustees have been formally and legally appointed for the control and management of the affairs of the Mahamuni

* I expect to visit Arakan in the next cold season, and shall inspect the pagoda in question.

Temple. The following is the scheme formulated by the District Court for the proper upkeep of the temple and the management of the trust property:—

Scheme

Under the provisions of section 92, Civil Procedure Code, and in pursuance of the decree passed in the Civil Regular Suit No. 19 of 1919 of the Court of the District Judge, Akyab, I hereby settle and determine the following scheme for the administration of the trust property vested in the trustees of the Mahamuni shrine, Akyab District.

(1) There shall be eight trustees of the said trust. If it be found that they are unable to cope with the work, the trustees will, with the consent of this court and according to law, appoint one or more trustees.

(2) In the event of any of the trustees disclaiming or dying or being for a continuous period of one year absent from their respective houses or from the Akyab District, or leaving the said places for the purpose of residing elsewhere or being declared an insolvent, or desiring to be discharged

from the trusts or refusing or becoming in the opinion of this Court unfit to act or incapable of acting in the said trusts a new trustee shall be appointed in his stead in the manner following, that is to say, the trustees for the time being of the said trust shall within six months from the time when such vacancy shall have occurred give public notice of the said vacancy and shall call a meeting of Buddhist inhabitants of Mahamuni and neighbouring villages within a radius of 10 miles of the shrine to be held at the said shrine on a day to be named in such notice, for the purpose of choosing a person to fill such vacancy. Such meeting shall not be held until after the expiry of one month from the first publication of such notice or other notice in Mahamuni, Kyauktaw and Akyab.

(3) At such meeting the trustees shall to be the best of their ability ascertain the wishes of the said inhabitants of the villages as to the person to fill the vacancy and the said trustees or any of them shall apply to this Court to appoint a new trustee to fill such vacancy. The said trustees shall also on such application report to such

Court the proceedings of such meeting.

(4) No person who is not Arakanese or Burmese "Upathaka" shall be entitled to act as a trustee.

(5) One or more meetings shall be held at the shrine annually by the trustees. And no meeting in connection with the management of the trust property or of holding pagoda festival shall be held elsewhere than at the Mahamuni shrine.

(6) The trustees shall appoint annually a President, Vice-President and a Secretary. This appointment shall be made in the month of December or January of every year.

(7) For carrying out their work and that of the staff under them the trustees may make by-laws which do not conflict with any rules laid down in this scheme.

(8) The trustees shall not dismantle, remove, alter or add to any structure or part of a structure including walling, etc., of archaeological or historical interest without first obtaining the advice of an archaeologist and architect of approved authority.

(9) The trustees shall not allow new pagodas, structures, etc., erected if such pa-

godas or structures will interfere in any way with the conservation of structures which are of historical or archaeological importance.

(10) The trustees shall see that nothing is done to impair the pristine value of the structures or premises.

(11) They shall cause true and full accounts to be kept of offerings at the said pagoda and of all other receipts and disbursements on account of the said pagodas and trusts.

(12) They shall publish all such accounts in Burmese on a notice board on the pagoda platform and in a local newspaper once in a year.

(13) All account books and accounts shall at the meetings be open to the inspection of any Burmese or Arakanese Buddhist house-holder residing in the Akyab District desiring to inspect the same.

(14) The iron chest for the receipt of offerings on the pagoda platform or within pagoda precincts shall be securely fastened with three locks, one key of which shall be in the custody of the President, one in that of the Vice-President, and one in that of the Secretary.

(15) No trustees shall have the custody of more than one of such keys at one time.

(16) The chest shall be examined and opened regularly, a list of the contents shall be made and signed by three trustees and put up on a notice board on the pagoda platform. In the case of the absence of any of three key holders the trustees shall appoint one or more of the other trustees to keep his key during his absence provided the rule in paragraph 15 is not infringed.

(17) The trustees shall not lend any of the trust funds to any one whomsoever but they may invest any surplus funds not required for current expenses in securities of the Government of India.

(18) At a meeting of the trustees five shall form a quorum. All questions are to be decided according to the wish of the majority of the trustees present. In the event of the trustees present being equally divided on any matter, the President or in his absence the Vice-President shall have a casting vote.

(19) In the event of any of the trustees resigning or disclaiming he shall give one month's notice to the President. But until

the month has expired he shall be responsible for the performance of his duties.

(20) Meetings of the said trustees may be held at any time after seven days' notice has been given to all trustees.

(21) A meeting shall be convened at any time by the President or in his absence by the Vice-President on a written requisition signed by three other trustees after notice as specified in the last preceding paragraph.

(22) Minutes of all proceedings held shall be recorded under the signature of the President or in his absence the Vice-President and the names of the other trustees present at the meeting shall be recorded. In case the President and Vice-President being both absent, the members shall elect a Chairman for the meeting who shall have the same powers and extra vote for the time being as the President.

(23) The trustees shall have a seal which shall be stamped upon all formal documents and communications made on their behalf. Such seal shall remain in the custody of the President or in his absence the Vice-President.

(24) The records of the proceedings of the

trustees and all account books and documents of the trust property shall be kept securely at a place to be provided for the purpose on the platform of the pagoda. The key of such place shall be kept by the President or in his absence by the Vice-President.

Reception of foreign Ambassadors.— In common with all other countries the Arakanese also observed certain ceremonies in connection with the reception of foreign embassies. The party is always introduced into the city through the western gate over the arch of which and buried in the masonry are the clothes and other objects belonging to a harlot. According to the Arakanese a harlot is looked upon as the living embodiment of all that is evil and they consider that if any object of hers is placed above a person's head the latter becomes နှိမ့်သင့်, a word though rather difficult to translate may tentatively be rendered as "losing the capacity to perform great and noble deeds" so that, at least, in this life, he can never hope to obtain power and glory. Thus by bringing in the ambas-

sador through this gate it was thought that through him the evil effect would be conveyed to his king and country.

In the city itself he is usually allotted a separate house and entertained at the public expense while awaiting the pleasure of the king. Meanwhile the royal astrologers are asked to determine a propitious day and hour for the reception of the embassy. The day so fixed having arrived the party is conducted by a high official, generally a Sikkè, to the palace preceded by a band of soldiers. At each of the gates of the three surrounding walls of the palace troops are lined up and the greatest demonstrations of respect are shown to the illustrious visitor and his suite while on their march towards the king's apartments.

Before entering the Hall of Audience the strangers are first met by some one usually with a coarse and repulsive appearance who immediately begins to speak in terms of the most unpleasant description and sometimes even bordering on insult. Then a little while after he retires a young girl bedecked in all the finery of the prevailing custom comes out to bid them welcome

in language at once winning and seductive. This is done with the object of greatly enhancing the warmth of the welcome after the discouraging effects of the first encounter. After entering the Audience Hall they are made to sit upon splendid carpets while waiting for the king. As soon as it is announced that His Majesty was about to enter everybody bends forward, the face almost touching the floor, in token of awe and respect. Presents are then exchanged through the medium of officials appointed for the occasion. Then last of all by means of an interpreter the object of the mission is made known to the king.

In 1629 A.D. portions of Eastern Bengal were under Arakan. The Portuguese who largely settled there were commanded to guard the frontier and to send in regular reports regarding the affairs in Bengal proper. The Arakanese Governor of Chittagong bearing a personal grudge against these people informed Thirithudhamma raza, the then king of Arakan, that his servants the Portuguese were secretly plotting with the king of Bengal to lead an army of invasion into Arakan. An

Arakanese fleet was sent out with orders to proceed to the island of Sandwip and other Portuguese settlements within his kingdom and to punish them severely for their treachery.

Being greatly alarmed at the news, in July of the year 1630 A.D. Padre Maestro Fray Sebastian Manrique was deputed by his compatriots to go to Arakan and to intercede with the king. When he arrived after a perilous journey he was informed that the king was not at the capital but was fasting at Pharagri (ဖာဂရီ) now identified with the great image at Wesali some 12 miles to the north of Mrauk-U city. Of the interview with the king it is best to allow Father Manrique to speak for himself for he also had to go through the various formalities attached to such visits.

"When the fast was over, the king, before coming out to give audience, consulted first of all the Raulines, who are his priests. Such is the custom on many occasions; for these Pagan nations are so much given to superstitions and omens that they see a meaning in everything: so that, if, when leaving or entering their houses and rooms,

some animal passes in front, or somebody happens to sing, shout or make any noise on that occasion, they at once consult their priests or snootsayers, about these accidents, and the latter put into their heads any fiction they think best. So they told the king that it was necessary to wait for the following day, till the hour at which he used to send food to the Idol, and that after sending the food, he should order nine birds to be released, in order that these might go first to present his fast to the Pora, and that after these pious works he was free to do anything he liked.

"These silly pious works of the devil being over, by the virtue of which he thought himself preserved from what he had been told, the news spread quickly through the city, on the following day, that the king was going to visit the Pagoda, or Idol. There was, therefore, a great gathering of Lords and Courtiers to accompany him. After his visit to the Idol he gave much alms to the Raulines, and, returning home, he gave orders to the Puchiquè, to bring us to his presence after his meal. The Puchiquè did so with much diligence. With a large suite

he came where we were to take us, and brought, instead of trunked elephants, very neatly adorned ciriones (palanquin or salin), in which we went to the royal palace (temporary building). We entered and went on till we reached a hall, where was the Yeguan Guard, which came at once to receive the Puchiquè or chief of justice and master of the household, accompanying him to the second hall, where was the guard of the Mogores (Moghul). From the second hall, we passed on to the third, where were some of the chief Lords, to whom the Puchiquè made great reverences, in which we followed him. Then we reached a middle-sized door, which the Puchiquè struck three times at measured intervals. At the last knock, a shutter, which was on the door was opened, and there emerged an old hunch-backed eunuch, who with his ugly face could quiet the most sulky child. This monster asked us with much anger and greater pride what we wanted at that hour at the door of the Master of our heads. The Puchiquè answered this arrogant question with subdued voice and much humility, saying that by the command of the Lord of his

head he had brought those Portuguese foreigners, and that one was a Father. At this reply the semi-man closed the shutter with such force that one might have thought he wanted to fling it at our faces.

"At this place we remained kneeling for over half an hour in deep silence: and what astonished me most was that, on examining and re-examining every side of that large hall, I noticed the same silence was kept by all. So I fancied that, perchance, there had been a revival of the incantations of those happy knights-errant, the Palmerins and Esplandians and the like and that there had been conjured up Dwarfs and monsters similar to the eunuch, and I believe there could have been none more ugly than he in face and build. From this thought we were awakened by a beautiful and most graceful maiden, who, opening the shutter a second time, presented herself to our gaze, dressed in a snow-white dress adorned with artificial flowers of various colours, from the ends of which hung a profusion of rich pearls. As an ornament to her black hair, she carried white natural flowers. Encouraging then our hope, the lovely Annunciatrix,

a presage of our coming success, said to us with a smiling and merry countenance: 'Happy strangers, be you as welcome as the longed for rains, when they are necessary to our fields, for you will participate in the smile from the mouth of the Master of our heads'.

"Immediately after this brief address, the door was opened by some venerable matrons, who led to present ourselves before His Mogo (Mug) Majesty. And as soon as the Puchique sighted the latter, he prostrated himself thrice, a ceremony in which we imitated him. His Majesty was seated at a window, which faced a hall where were some princes. A matron led me to a seat near them, Captain Tibao being seated a little further back, while the Puchiquè was on his knees in the middle of the hall.

"While we were in this position, our adla, or present, arrived. It was carried by some eunuchs, who after showing and presenting it in our name to the Mogo Monarch, took it back. When this function of offering our present was over, the Ramallu, or Interpreter of the Portuguese, approached me and asked me in the name of his king what

it was I desired, and how I had dared to set out at such a time from Dianga. At this question, as I came well prepared, I stood up promptly, and bowed profoundly in token of my gratitude for the mercy the king bestowed on me, by deigning to speak to me. This is a ceremony which this nation observes towards its king, for they deem it a great boon to be interrogated by that Highness. After this ceremony of thanks according to the Mogo etiquette, they made me resume my seat, and the interpreter asked me in a low voice in the Portuguese tongue to expose my business, for it was a good occasion. So turning my eyes reverentially to the Royal Majesty" said to him:—

Here follows a long speech by the worthy Padre in defence of Portuguese loyalty and devotion to the Crown. Then when he had resumed his seat the king, casting his eyes on him said, "Father, I am quite certain of all you have said. I also know the loyalty with which the Portuguese serve me. And that you may see that my mouth speaks what my heart desires, I shall order at once the return of the Corangri (the chief of the Bodyguards sent with the fleet to

punish the Portuguese)". Saying this and showing the desire to rise, "they lowered a curtain, not however, before all present had prostrated themselves. With this all were dismissed, and were free to leave when they liked".

Fat-bellied Buddha.— According to Grünwedel the fat-bellied Buddha or Ho Shang is supposed to be a common form of art expression in China. This Ho-Shang together with the four protectors of the world formed a pentad and was considered to have been a representative of the Mahayana system. In Arakan too there is a widespread belief in the existence of fat-bellied Budhas; but here each figure is supposed to be found by itself and not surrounded by children as in China. Moreover it is believed to occasionally vivify and roam about the jungle in search of more secure hiding places. During this process if any one had the good fortune to meet and kill it the treasure believed to exit in the belly would become his.

The Arakanese are firmly of opinion that in the olden days when life and property were insecure owing to the weakness of the

central Government, rich and wealthy men widely resorted to the practice of hiding their treasure. The commonest method was burial underground; but there were a few who adopted other tactics. They made images of Buddha and in the belly the treasure was put in and cleverly concealed by a covering of the original substance of which the image was made. For it was then thought that the people in coming across such an image would rather think of worshipping than desecrating it. But the secret having been out in a subsequent age, the people began to regard all such images that have a fat belly as being unworthy of their respect and veneration. Hence the practice in Arakan of laying open the belly of any Buddha image that has the least suspicion of abdominal protruberance. Unfortunately the ignorant people do not altogether confine their operations to the genuine articles but they very often break up other images also whenever they think that vandalism might be practiced with impunity.

**REPORT OF THE HONORARY
ARCHAEOLOGICAL OFFICER, ARAKAN,
FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST MARCH 1921.**

Conservation.— During the year under report a great deal of activity in monument restoration and conservation has taken place. Wealthy men in Myohoung and elsewhere are eagerly vying with each other in repairing their old pagodas and temples. Conspicuous among them is one Tha Tun U of Myohoung who, with creditable enthusiasm, repaired no less than six pagodas during the year and has adequately provided for their permanent upkeep. The Shitthaung Temple Trustees, appointed last year, have not been less active on their part. By means of their paid emissaries they have been collecting funds from every part of this district throughout the year. And as soon as they understood that Government was prepared to assist them and to undertake the repairs to the temple,

they deposited the sum of Rs. 3,000 to the credit of Executive Engineer, Akyab, in the Sub-Treasury at Myohoung. This is merely a first instalment; but other sums will be made available from time to time in the same way whenever subscriptions are collected together from the various parts of the country. In this connection I must state that Government help has come in at a very opportune moment. The people are much impressed by their generosity and as a direct result of this the subscription towards the repairs of the temple are freely coming in from every side. These are very encouraging signs indeed giving rise to the hope that in no distant future the principal monuments of the country will receive the active sympathy and support of the people in regard to their proper repairs and upkeep.

Tour of the Superintendent, Burma Archaeological Survey, in Arakan.—By far the most outstanding feature of the year's work was the visit to Arakan of M. Chas Duroiselle, superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma. Being the first of its kind it marks a distinct epoch in the annals of this coun-

country. For several years such a visit was contemplated, but owing to some thing or other the project did not come off. It was however reserved for M. Duroiselle to usher in a new era of goodwill, understanding and hope for the patient people who were on the verge of despair. His visit has been a great success from every point of view. It has stimulated enthusiasm in every quarter and paved the way to a fuller consciousness on the part of the people of the great importance of their historic monuments. While on the other hand it will enable the department to direct the processes of conservation from a more intimate knowledge of the country.

Owing to other pressing arrangements elsewhere M. Duroiselle could not remain here long. Altogether he spent thirteen clear days in Arakan, the greater portion of the time being taken up at Myohoung, where he inspected some of the principal monuments of the place. From Myohoung he proceeded to the site of ancient Wesali and remained there in camp for a couple of days. There he saw Shwedaung, originally intended to be excavated during this visit

but postponed owing to want of time. A hurried survey of a part of the city site revealed the ruins of demolished buildings and stone sculptures scattered about and overgrown with jungle. A double-lined inscription in old Devanagari was also found there. Estampages were taken and the stone itself was entrusted to the care of a local man who undertook to safeguard it.

Kudaung Caves.—Close to the northern coast of the Akyab Island separated only by the width of the Moze River, which is about 3 miles in extent, stands the Moze Island. It is in the form of an irregular quadrilateral, having an area of 51 square miles. Running down the length of the island in the direction from north to south, nearer the eastern border than the western, is a low range of hills known as Uggataung. But in addition to this there are also small low-lying ridges scattered about in various parts of the island, some rising gently from the surrounding plain, while others are more precipitous resembling lofty walls put up in defence of a city.

Tradition has it that Buddha in one of his many previous incarnations roamed

about the forests of Arakan as an elephant king. One day a terrific rain storm swept over the country and the poor animal was compelled to run about in search of a suitable shelter. When he came to this island the rain stopped (မိုးစည်းသည်). From this fact alone the place was subsequently called Moze Island, literally, the island where the rain ceased.

Situated in the centre of the northern third of this island stands the village of Kudaung, at the foot of one of the precipitous ridges already mentioned. The name is so derived because of the existence of certain *kus* or cave temples which are hewn out of the living rock on the eastern face of the ridge. Originally the village has undoubtedly a settlement of temple slaves (Thinchis) who are mostly Yambyes; but of late years it has received considerable additions from other tracts and the people now as a whole exhibit symptoms of increasing prosperity.

When Min Ba, the greatest of Mrauk-U kings, came to the throne in 1531 A.D. Arakan was still nominally a part of the Kingdom of Bengal—a condition brought about ever since the time of King Saw

Mwan, the founder of the dynasty in 1430 A.D. In the year 1533 AD King Min Ba conceived the idea of throwing off this foreign yoke which to him appeared to be disgraceful. So he gathered together an immense army and a strong navy and marched on Bengal. On the way he had to pass through the island of Moze; and while he encamped there he caused three cave temples to be constructed out of the living rock. History states that in addition to these caves four Buddha images were also modelled out of the solid rock. After finishing these he ordered his workmen to carve on the entire eastern face of the hill the figures of all living beings both of sea and land. At the present day the caves and the Buddha images still exist, but the rest of the other figures cannot now be found to any large extent or variety, at least to the extent to which recorded history has led us on to believe.

To reach these caves one has first to climb up a broad stone stairway which leads on to an extensive terrace. From this a second terrace, somewhat smaller than the first, is reached by another stairway. When

you have reached this the caves are before you, though somewhat on a higher elevation. But before entering them let us first examine the outer face of the hill. Originally the carvings extended to 170 feet of the hill; but in 1836 A.D. owing to some cause a large slice of the rock peeled off, leaving 135 feet of the area intact. The figures represent birds, beasts and men, with profuse intermingling of fabulous monsters so common to the Buddhist iconography of that age. As usual Garudas are there in plenty, one is about to swallow a man while a hunter is in the act of shooting it down with his bow and arrow. The *devas* are there too, all occupied with the business of worshipping the incomparable Master.

At the present day there are six caves altogether. The three on the left being the ones constructed by King Min Ba in 1533, and the other three on the right being recent additions, done up in imitation of the old. Of the latter, two were constructed by Thugyi Aung Gyaw We in the year 1887 and in the following year the one on the extreme right was constructed by Shwe Bu, a wealthy cultivator of Laungzin Village.

There is nothing remarkable about these caves for they are more or less copies of the originals.

The three caves on the left have three corresponding openings facing the seated Buddhas in the centre of the caves. A stone stairway, 6 feet 6 inches broad and partially out of repairs, leads up to the central cave which is in turn connected with the other two. The entrance to the central chamber measures 3 feet 3 inches broad, 4 feet 6 inches long and 7 feet 8 inches high. The chamber itself measures 16 feet 8 inches by 16 feet 2 inches and is in the form of an irregular square. The roof may roughly be described as pointed concave and is 12 feet 4 inches in height. The centre of this chamber contains a seated stone image of the Buddha 6 feet in height in the usual earth-touching *mudra*. The *palin* on which it sits is 2 feet high. Then surrounding this image and in juxtaposition to the walls are a row of sitting Buddhas hewn out of the living rock. They are all of the same pattern measuring 3 feet 6 inches in height. The spaces on the walls in between the images are filled with beautiful arabesque designs, in low relief, carried

up from the altar to a height of 7 feet 6 inches.

From this chamber a communicating passage 4 feet 8 inches long, 2 feet 7 inches broad and 6 feet 4 inches high leads into the chamber on the right. This measures 13 feet by 16 feet 8 inches and is 12 feet 2 inches high. The centre is occupied by a large sitting image, and behind this again, stretched along the length of the wall, is a large Buddha image 8 feet 6 inches long, in the Mahâparinirvâna attitude. On each of the side walls there are two large niches 4 feet in height. And these are in turn surrounded by smaller niches. They all contain images. Unlike the other two this chamber contains wonderful specimens of carving which for grace and variety can hardly be surpassed by those of other countries. There are four pilasters on each side of the chamber, complete with abacus and capital. The latter is enriched with beautiful figures of animals and birds in attitudes which convey the impression of pleasing realism. The most characteristic feature of this chamber is the roof. It is exactly like that of an ordinary Arakanese house, with beams and

rafters prominently brought out in the living rock. The spaces between these rafters are studded with elegant representations of lotus buds and flowers.

To reach the other cave on the extreme left, the central chamber must again be traversed and then by means of a broad and irregular passage it can be entered into. This chamber is somewhat smaller than the other two, being only 12 feet 4 inches long, 11 feet broad and 8 feet 6 inches high. Its general appearance is more of an irregular circle. In the centre of this there are two small Buddhas seated side by side. The surrounding walls contain six similar images altogether. Architecturally as well as artistically the chamber is undoubtedly inferior to the other two. It is devoid of ornamentation of any sort; and the chiselling of the images reveal an inferiority most difficult to account for. The only reasonable explanation seems to lie in the fact that the workmen were probably hurried off before the completion of their task.

These caves are looked after by the neighbouring villagers who do all they can towards their upkeep. But their slender re-

sources are quite unequal to the tremendous problem which now confronts them. For in the rains the roofs leak very badly and the constant percolation of water trickling over the surface of the walls is producing a most unhappy result on the splendid sculptures represented thereon. The question is, can anything be done to top this leakage? Any sum of money utilised for such a purpose would be well spent.

Origin of the name "Mug".— On page 47 of the "History of Burma" Sir Arthur Phayre writing under the heading "Note of the Mag or Mage applied to the Arakanese by the people of Bengal" states: "The Rakhing people of the Mongoloid race do not know this term. It is given to them by the people of Bengal, and also to a class of people now found mostly in the district of Chittagong, who call themselves Rajbansi. The latter claim to be of the same race as one dynasty of the kings of Arakan, and hence the name they have themselves assumed. They are Buddhists in religion; their language now is Bengali of the Chittagong dialect; and they have a distinctive physiognomy, but it is not Mongolian. Their num-

ber in the Chittagong District, by the census of 1870-71, was 10,852 (*Hunter's 'Bengal', Volume VI, page 250*). A few are found in the district of Akyab. I was formerly of opinion that these people were a mixed race, the descendants of Arakanese, who, when their kings held Chittagong during the 17th century, had married Bengali wives. Further enquiry and consideration have led me to a different conclusion. I now think it most probable that the self-styled Rajbansi descend from immigrants into Arakan from Magada and that the name given to them by the people of Bangal correctly designates their race of the country from which they came. It is very probable that one of the foreign dynasties of Arakan came from Southern Bihar, though, from modern jealousy of foreigners, the fact has been concealed by Arakanese chroniclers. The former existence in Southern Bihar of princes having the race name of Maga is an undoubted fact. The researches of Dr. Francis Buchanan, and later enquiries instituted by Dr. W.W. Hunter, show that the kings of Magada reigned at Rajagriha in the modern district of Patna. They were Buddhists, and

that a dynasty of this race reigned in Arakan may be considered to be true. The name Rajbansi has no doubt been adopted by the remnant of the tribe in later times, from a desire to assert their importance as belonging to the same race as the kings of Arakan. This term has been adopted in the district of Rangpur by the Chandalas and other low castes, who had not the reasonable claim to it possessed by the class now under consideration. The name Maga having been extended to the whole of the Arakanese people, who are Mongoloid in race, is an ethnological error which has caused confusion among European writers upon this subject. But this error does not extinguish the fact of the people descended from an Aryan race called Maga, who migrated from Bihar, being still in existence in Arakan and the adjoining district of Chittagong." Able as these arguments are they do not appear to be very convincing, though since 1883 they have been left unchallenged.

From the time of the publication of the above in 1883 up to the present moment the learned arguments adduced by the author have more or less been allowed to stand

unchallenged. From later researches and other enquiries, fresh information has come to light to disapprove almost all that have been already said on the above subject. The term "Mug" or "Maga", as Phayre has it, is in no way associated with the Maga race which is supposed to have hailed from Southern Bihar. In the contemporary Persian account of Shihabuddin Talish, in the Bodleian Ms. 589, it is definitely stated that the term "Mug" is an abbreviated form of the expression "Muhamil-i-sag", meaning "despicable dog" and was contemptuously applied to the Arakanese settlers of Eastern Bengal who by their piracy and other evil practices incurred the opprobrium of their Mahomedan contemporaries (Sarkar "Studies in Mughal India", page 118). That this explanation is correct, there cannot be the least doubt inasmuch as several circumstances appear to support this view. In the first place neither the Arakanese nor the Rajbansis ever speak or write of themselves as "Mug" though they are fully aware of the existence of that word. Its use is purely confined to the Mahomedans both in speech and literature. The probable pe-

riod in which the word was first used was either the end of the 16th century or the beginning of the 17th century, for in no earlier record of the country can this word be traced. Then lastly—perhaps the greatest stimulus to the birth of the word—are the activities of the pirates of Chittagong in the delta districts of Eastern Bengal. The Mahomedan writers of those days have left us vivid records of their misdeeds in language both picturesque and convincing, and so thorough were the depredations of these pirates (Portuguese and Arakanese) that it is said that not a house-holder was left on both sides of the rivers on their track from Chittagong to Decca. They carried off Hindus and Muslims, high and low, men and women, secured together by thin canes pierced through the palms of their hands. Those who fell to the Portuguese were generally sold in the open market while the Mugs generally took away theirs to their own country for employment in the fields. The exploits of Dilal Khan, the famous pirates, are still remembered and wonderful legends are told of him in the island of Sandwip. He was unique in his profession,

for, like Robin Hood of Merry England, he helped and protected the poor and only plundered the rich (Campos, History of the Portuguese in Bengal, page 157. See also J. E. Webster, "Noakhali Gazetteer", pages 19 and 20) (also Stewart's History of Bengal, page 326). From the time of Akbar piracy became the normal condition of Eastern Bengal and it was only in January 1666 A.D.) when Shaista Khan assumed the reins of Government in Bengal that piracy was finally extinguished. It would appear, therefore, that the inhabitants of Eastern Bengal had justifiable cause to loathe and execrate the Arakanese who were responsible for the destruction of their homes and property, and the association of the term "Mug" with the latter was but an expression of the concentrated hatred they entertained their implacable enemies.

Shah Shujah in Arakan.— The earliest independent account of Shah Shujah's participation in the bloody wars of the Moghul succession and of his subsequent fate, as well as that of his family, is to be found in Bernier's "Travels in the Moghul Empire" The author was actually present in India at

the time at which these stirring events happened. In spite of the peculiar facilities he had of obtaining first-hand information on the subject he tells us that he is not at all sure of his facts since he heard three or four totally different accounts of the fate of the Prince, from those even who were on the spot. However, after carefully sifting all the available information he arrived at the correct conclusion that the Prince, with his family and retainers, went to Arakan where they were very handsomely received by King Sanda-thudhamma-raza. His eldest daughter Chānd Bibi, as the Arakanese called her, was given in marriage to the king. Then after a time, being involved in an unsuccessful rebellion Shujah fled to the hills. But he was quickly captured and put to death. His two sons were decapitated and the female members of his family were shut in a room and left to die of hunger. Such is substantially Bernier's account; but at the same time he is cautious enough to add that in respect of certain particulars he had heard a thousand different tales.

To this story it is evident that Phayre has added on a little more of his own in

order to reconcile the belief which most European writers shared concerning Eastern potentates who were always looked upon as despotic, cruel and barbarous. He brings in the story of Shujah wanting to go to Mecca (where he got this from I am unable to say)—the King's refusal—the demand for the hand of one of Shujah's daughters—her forcible admission into palace seraglio—her subsequent death by grief—acts of felo-de-se by her two sisters, are all related with an air of reality calculated to bring out in bold relief the excessive tyranny and cruelty of Eastern Kings.

But though Bernier and Phayre have given some sort of justification for the so-called cruel conduct of the Arakanese king, Spearman has thought it fit to omit it altogether in order, no doubt, to enhance the enormity of the king's conduct. He said that when Shujah refused to give his daughter in marriage to King Sanda-thudhammaraza he was told to quit Arakan. But before preparations could be completed he was seized and drowned. "The ladies were taken into the capital. The daughter who had excited the lust of the king stabbed herself

in his presence, two others poisoned themselves and the youngest was forcibly married to the king but soon died"

Of the three accounts it is needless to say that Bernier's approaches nearest the truth, at least, nearest to that which is related by the Arakanese historians who are in complete accord on his subject. This is their story: "Sometime in the month of September, 1660 Shah Shujah, together with his family and retainers, were conveyed to the Arakanese Capital Mrauk-U (present Myohoung) in galleys manned by the Portuguese who were then subjects of the king of Arakan, Sanda-thudahmma-raza of revered memory. The refugees were well received and the prince and his family were treated with all the honours due to princes of the royal blood. Shujah then explained his plight and asked for assistance. To this the king readily agreed for he sent to Bengal a large army with the greater portion of his fleet. Meanwhile, to seal the friendly relations existing between them Shuja gave his eldest daughter in marriage to the king who celebrated the event in song and verse which, at present day, are among the most

beautiful poetical compositions to be found in the whole range of Arakanese literature.

In Bengal the Arakanese army, surprised in a night attack, were completely defeated by the forces under Mir. Jumla. The Arakanese general and hundreds of soldiers were killed. The rest returned to relate their sad tale. Shujah was in despair for he now saw that his chance of ever winning the Moghul throne was at an end. But that philosophic calm which ever stood his brother Dara in good stead in the face of overwhelming reverses was never a part of Shujah's mental possessions. In a short time he conceived the idea of deposing the king his benefactor and ascending the throne of Arakan. There were numerous Mahomendans settled in the country. He practically won over all these to his cause. Preparations for a general rebellion were pushed on with feverish haste. But alas! in February 1661, the plot leaked out and Shujah and his party sought safety in flight to the hills of Northern Arakan.

King Sanda-thudhamma-raza was more or less stunned when he heard of this colossal act of perfidy and ingratitude. The

fugitives were speedily followed and captured and were brought before the royal presence. For a time the King looked sad; but a revulsion of feeling having set in he forthwith commanded that Shaujah, his sons and principal officers of his retinue should be put to death. This was carried out with the approval of his ministers who urged that if the culprits were allowed to live there would be no peace in the country. Shujah's wife and two remaining daughters were spared and were permitted to reside with the princess whom he had married. The rest of the followers of the ungrateful Shujah were spared their lives for it was contended that they, as servants, merely obeyed the orders of their Master. They were then organised into a separate corps of archers and were thenceforth known to the Arakanese as "Kamans". Their duty was to defend the palace or to form the body-guard of the king wherever he set out.

For the space of about two years after these events, the affairs in Arakan pursued their tranquil course. But in the year 1663 A.D. the followers of Shujah became restive once again. Either from greed of gain or to

avenge the supposed wrongs of their defunct master they one night set fire to the palace. In the general confusion Manaw-thiri, the Governor of Mrauk-U, was burnt to death and the king and his family barely escaped with their lives. Their crowning act of treachery very rightly destroyed the remaining faith the king had in all those connected with the Indian prince. In his righteous indignation he first caused the arrest and execution of his Moghul archers. Then he ordered the death of Shujah's wife and daughters, not even excepting his own wife who was then in an advanced stage of pregnancy. The reason for this cruel command being based on the fact that it was considered neither fair nor expedient that such ungrateful people should be allowed to dwell in the society of loyal and honest subjects of the realm.

King Sanda-thudhamma-raza was one of the most enlightened of Arakanese kings of the Mrauk-U dynasty. Considering the times, he enjoyed the longest and most prosperous reign of 32 years. He encouraged foreign religious missions and was a great patron of art and literature. Like Shah

Jehan, he was a builder and was responsible for some of the finest religious monuments in the country. In estimating his character, it would not be fair to go too rigidly by the present day standard but to judge rather by the prevailing customs and usages of contemporary kings who ruled alike in the East and in the West.

Buywetmanyō Road.— The Mahamuni image cast on the occasion of the Buddha's distinguished visit to Arakan in the year 546 BC, soon became the centre of religious worship. The tradition attached to it and the fame of its miraculous powers exhibited from time to time, aroused the envy of kings of Burma and excited in the minds of some of the most powerful of them a desire to possess it. Thus it is to this holy ambition that the famous Buywetmanyō Road owes its origin.

At the commencement of the second century B.C., Nga-ta-ba, the 12th king of Tharekhetara conceived for the first time the idea of conveying the image into Burma. After carefully surveying the Yomah range he decided in favour of constructing the road in the vicinity of Mount Victoria. So

with this sole object in view he utilised the entire resources of his kingdom and after a period of eight long years the work was completed. The journey through this new route proved so easy and so short that it received the rather expressive title of "Buywetmanyo" Road, that is to say, the road by which a person wishing to travel from Arakan to Burma or *vice versa* can do so in less time than it takes the plucked young leaves and tendrils of the gourd plant to lose their original freshness. But King Nga-ta-ba failed to remove the image and returned home a sad but wiser man.

In 59 B.C.* King Phaperan of Tharekhetara conducted a great invading army into Arakan along this same road. He determined not to leave the country until he succeeded in removing the image. For the purpose of facilitating the transport of supplies and other materials of war he greatly improved the road, maintaining a large staff of workmen to preserve it in permanent good repair. He fought against the Arakanese for a period of 32 years without gain-

* The dates contained in this and the two preceding paragraphs are traditional dates only.

ing any decided advantage till in the end the project had to be abandoned. Immediately after the retreat of the Burmans, the Arakanese King, in order to prevent further troubles from that direction, caused the road to be obstructed by the placing of huge boulders and other impediments. After this event Arakan enjoyed peace for about five centuries during which the kings of Burma were apparently content to send envoys to Arakan to convey their offerings to the sacred image.

Then towards the close of the 5th century A.D., U Myo Min, a Panthay prince, led his invading forces into Arakan. On the march he re-opened the Buywetmany Road which took him one whole year to accomplish. Like his predecessors his attempt to carry away the image completely failed and he was obliged to leave the country disappointed. From this time onward the zeal of subsequent kings of Burma in regard to the possession of the image gradually waned. Other possibilities in the use of this route began to dawn in the minds of the people of both countries and in the succeeding centuries it became the high way of com-

merce between Arakan and Burma.

In 1057 A.D. consequent on the revival of Buddhism in Burma by Shin Araham, Anawrahta Zaw of Pagan conducted his victorious troops through this historic road into Arakan. He spent nine whole months in further improving it so as to enable him to carry away the image without difficulty. He failed as others did before him. In 1117 A.D. his great-grandson Alaungsithu repeated the performance. This time it was not to possess the image but to restore Letya-min-nan, a fugitive prince of Arakan, to the throne of his fathers. But for these two slight interruptions the tide of commerce placidly flowed on with increasing volume. History has recorded in no uncertain language the fact that the trade relations between the two countries were so well established that the kings of Arakan and Burma found it to their mutual advantage to meet together on more than one occasion to discuss important problems of trade under the shadow of Phôkhaung-taung (present Mount Victoria) which lies on this famous road. The last of such historic meetings took place in about the middle of the

15th century when there was a grand display of the industrial produce of both countries, the details of which are minutely and vividly set forth in the chronicles of Arakan.

In August 1498 A.D. the East and West met for the first time by the landing of Vasco da Gama on the shores of Calicut. And in the subsequent development of European sea trade in the East the importance of Buywetmany Road gradually declined. In 1517 A.D. the Portuguese first set foot in Arakan under the direction of their intrepid commander D. Jao de Silveira. Arakanese trade with foreign countries became very brisk whilst the Portuguese developed into carriers on the high seas. By the middle of the 16th century though the old land route was not totally abandoned, her trade was crippled for ever. At the present day memories of its past glories still survive; but no one deems it fit to take advantage of its shaded path which is almost obliterated by centuries of neglect.

SAN SHWE BU

Honorary Archaeological Officer for Arakan.

REPORT OF THE HONORARY
ARCHAEOLOGICAL OFFICER FOR ARAKAN,
FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST MARCH 1922.

Conservation.—With the help of Rs. 5,000 generously contributed by Government and a further sum of Rs. 3,000 collected from the people, the work of conserving the Shitthaung Temple was taken in hand by the Public Works Department early in the year 1921. Portions of the roof of the south gallery having fallen in, it was found impossible to restore it. So it was decided to preserve that part of the gallery by strengthening it by a supporting arch built from inside. This has been done. The roof of the whole building from outside has also been made water-tight and the workmen are now engaged in rebuilding a portion of the north-west angle of the outer gallery which com-

pletely caved in a few rains ago. As soon as this is accomplished the temple as a whole will be in a fit condition to resist the destructive forces of nature for many years. Early in September the Public Works Department withdrew its supervision over the works and it was enthusiastically taken up by the Trustees who since that time, have been daily attending the temple in turn. Moreover, throughout the year the Trustees have been collecting funds with commendable energy, and as a result they are now in a position to spend a further sum of about Rs. 2,000. They are indeed to be congratulated upon the good work they have done during the year.

Besides the Shitthaung Temple another very fine solid stone pagoda known as a Ratanamanaung, having an octagonal base, was also repaired during the year. This meritorious work is the achievement of U Shwe Tha U, merchant and land-owner of Myohaung. He is also an Honorary Magistrate and President of the Shitthaung Trust. In undertaking to pay for the entire cost of the repairs he has already spent nearly Rs. 3,000 on the main structure itself. He is

now engaged in repairing the triple walls that surround the pagoda and the beautiful image shrine to the east of it. Finally he will completely restore the unique little stone building situated to the north-east corner of the enclosure. It has a vaulted roof and a small channel running along the middle of the whole length of the floor. In the Hall or Upasthânasâlâ the Bhikkhus or "members of the order" met on the nights of new and full moon to read their rules and go through their confessional forms. Here also met for all their more solemn purposes such as ordination, excommunication and the like. Unlike his predecessors the *payataga*, in carrying out the repairs, has strictly adhered to the general principles suggested to him by Mr. Duroiselle during his visit to Arakan.

During the year under report the arch over the western gateway of the old city wall of Myohaung completely collapsed. As it was considered desirable to preserve it as an historic landmark, arrangements are now being made to rebuild the arch by contribution from the District Cess Fund as well as from a few wealthy people of Myohaung.

Arakanese Coins.—Three Arakanese silver coins were found during the year. One is undoubtedly of the Wesali dynasty (788-957 A.D.). It bears the emblems of the sivite cult—the figure of a recumbent humped bull and the trident of Siva with garlands (*see* catalogue of coins in the Phayre Provincial Museum, page 3, No. 1). The second is a somewhat larger coin covered with an unknown inscription. So far as is known it has not been found in Arakan before. Both these coins are now with the Epigraphist to the Government of India, Madras, to whom they were sent for decipherment.

The third coin is of the Mrauk-U dynasty (1404-1784 A.D.), and is not included in the catalogue of coins in the Phayre Provincial Museum. It was struck during the first regnal year of King Narapadigri (1638-1645 A.D.) and bears the following inscription on both faces: “3,000—ဆင်ဖြူသင်ဆင်နီသင် နာရပတိကြီး။ *Translation:* “1000—The Lord of the white and red elephant Narapadigri”. It may be noted here that on Arakanese coins and epigraphs written in Burmese character and the earliest of which may be assigned to the beginning of the 16th century A.D., the figure 1

(1) is written 3, while in the older inscriptions found at Pagan it is always written (1), and the figure 2 (2) is written 3.

The career of Narapadigri is full of romantic interest. Its parallel is frequently to be met with in the history of almost all countries especially of the East. During the reign of King Thiri-thudhamma-raza (1622-1638 A.D.) there were two ministers by name Nga-Lat-Rone and Nga-Ku-Thala. Both were well known for their wisdom and learning. The latter was the Governor of Launggret, a former capital of Arakan, situated a few miles to the south-east of Mrauk-U. Rumour ascribed to him a profound knowledge of black magic by the practice of which, it was popularly supposed, he caused Queen Nat-Shin-May to fall madly in love with him. Being greatly encouraged by the queen he next plotted to ascend the throne. He wrote a sort of poetical composition known as "Nga-Tswe", which is still popular in this country, and bribed the little boys of Mrauk-U to sing it in the streets at nights. By so doing he fully hoped to destroy the power and glory of the king. Meanwhile all these things being known to the other minister

Nga-Lat-Rone he conceived it his duty to give timely warning to the king and to explain to him the true significance of the various procedures adopted by Nga-Ku-Thala. But Thiri-thudhamma entirely disregarded the warning with that lack of superstition so rare among monarchs of those days. So Nga-Lat-Rone, scenting future trouble, wisely abandoned the world and in the solitude of a secluded monastery he assumed the yellow robes with the determination to devote the remainder of his life to righteousness and meditation. Seven months after this event the king died. Rightly or wrongly, everybody believed that it was brought about by the power of the black magic practised by the minister Nga-Ku-Thala.

Then the Crown Prince Min Sani—so called because he was born on a Saturday—ascended the throne assuming the name of Thado-Min-Hla (1638 A.D.) Twenty-eight days after the coronation he fell a victim to small-pox; and it was then widely accepted that his untimely end was hastened by his own mother Queen Nat-Shin-May who, pretending to show great anxiety

and affection for her son, administered drugs calculated to enhance the virulence of the disease. (In the catalogue already mentioned above he is erroneously referred to as the 22nd king of the Mrauk-U dynasty, whereas he is actually the 20th.) With a death of Thado-min-hla the line of Mrauk-U kings comes to an end. The next 28 kings had no real title to the throne and were generally regarded by native chronicles as usurpers during whose troublous reigns the country rapidly declined, until in 1784 A.D., the Burmese conquest brought about the final dissolution of the kingdom.

Thado-min-hla left no successor. It became necessary for the princes and nobles to elect a king. So Queen Nat-Shin-May invited them to attend the conference at the palace where, as soon as they were all assembled, she told them to consider themselves as prisoners until such time as she thought fit to release them. She then declared that in consequence of the death of her husband and son the throne was vacant and that it was her intention that they should choose a suitable person to occupy it. It was patent to them who her

lover was, and her design being perfectly apparent, they unanimously voted Nga-kuthala as their king, securing at the same time their own freedom. So the minister ascended the throne with the title of Narapadigri. As soon as he felt himself secure in his position he refused to have anything to do with the guilty queen who did so much for him. He believed that a woman who behaved as she did towards her husband and her son was capable also of doing the same thing towards himself if, at some future date, her affections for him changed in favour of some one else. He therefore built her a new palace not far outside the palace walls where she continued to reside till the end of her life.

It is undoubted that from very early times Arakan learnt the art of coinage from her contact with India. At first it was meant to be commemorative as well as donative. But in later times it was used for currency. Coins were invariably struck in the first regnal year of kings. They were also used for deposit in the relic chamber of pagodas and temples. The Arakanese historian Do We in his Maha Razawin mentions another

use to which coins were also put. According to him, as soon as coins were struck to commemorate a new reign, the king took 50 of these together with 50 of the coins struck in the previous reign and personally deposited them in the hole dedicated to Vasundhara (Earth Goddess) which is situated within the enclosure of the Mahamuni Temple. This practice appears to have been a part of the ritual connected with the coronation of Arakanese kings. The official name for a coiner or minter is *apmyefZif*; (*Saw-pan-zin*). It appears to be a Shan word, *ai0* meaning a prince, and *yefZif*; a minter—the two together probably means "Chief Minter" or "Royal Minter".

Narathu or Kula-kya-min, 1185—1189 A.D.

—All students of Burmese history know the reasons which gave King Narathu the somewhat expressive nickname "Kula-kya-min". Phayre's classic account of the incident may here be quoted. "The most notorious of this king's crimes was the murder of his father's widow, the daughter of the King of Pateikkara, whom he slew with his own hand. This led to a strange event. The father of the princess, on hearing of the

murder of his daughter, disguised eight soldiers as Brahmans, who were sworn to avenge the crime. They arrived at Pagan, and were introduced into the palace under pretence of blessing the king. They killed him with a sword; after which they either killed each other or committed suicide, so that all died in the palace. This king is known to this day as "Kula-kya-min", or "the king killed by foreigners" (History of Burma, page 49 and 50).

Shweinthe, Alaungsithu's mother, fell in love with a Pateikkara Prince, and *Hmannan* definitely states and there is no reason to doubt it, that Alaungsithu himself had as one of his queens a Pateikkara Princess. (*Hmannan*, printed Volume I, page 306). On the other hand, the greatest Arakanese historian Do We, in his *maha Razawin*, in referring to the acquisition of this nickname by Narathu, gives a totally different version of the incidents connected with it. The following is a translation of the passage in which the above occurs:—

"During the reign of King Thihapati of Arakan a certain king Pateikkara of the kingdom of Marawa (မာရဝတီ: မာရဝတီ) sent

his two daughters Thinza and Manlari as presents to Thihapati and the king of Tampadipa respectively. Narathu, King of Pagan (Kyaw-thin-kha of Arakanese history), hearing about this, sent Thado-min-din, the Governor of Taungdwin, with an army to intercept the mission at the Thingandaung Pass in the Yomas (this is to the north of Mount Victoria and lies at the lowest end of Chin Hills District). This army consisted of 5,000 Salin Chins, 2,000 cavalry from 'Tharekhettra' and 15,000 soldiers from Pagan. The King of Arakan having also heard of this mission, sent his General Thiridhamma-thiri with an army consisting of 20,000 Arakanese and 10,000 Indian troops. The two armies met at the Pass and in the battle that ensued the Arakanese captured 500 of the enemy cavalry and all the Chins as well as the Burmese General. When Thiridhamma-thiri took over the princesses and their escort he was also given the forwarding letter sent by King Pateikkara. On its perusal he was surprised to find out that one of the princesses, Thinza, was meant to be presented to his own king, and the other, Manlari, to the King of Tampadipa. So

thinking that a real king could never betray a sacred trust, he sent the Princess Manlari to Pagan under the protection of the Burmese general Thado-min-din requesting him to tell his King Narathu the full facts of the case and to ask him to send the princess to Tampadipa. When she reached Pagan, Narathu forcibly detained her in his seraglio. In her anger and shame the princess severely rebuked him for his unkindly and disgraceful conduct. This made Narathu very angry and he forthwith drew his sword and killed her" (Do We, Maha Razawin, xm:). As to the rest regarding the circumstances that attended the death of Narathu, it is exactly the same as the Burmese account.

The problem that now confronts us is whether the Arakanese or Burmese version is correct. The age in which these events took place is rather remote. There is practically no contemporary documentary evidence available. And I thoroughly agree with the view held by Mr. Harvey that none of our historians can, on the material, *e.g.*, palm leaf on which they are written, go back three centuries at the outside. For the material is too perishable, the climate too de-

structive, the old governments too unstable for preservation of archives even though proper record-room methods are understood. So in the present stage of our information, it will be best to leave the matter as it now stands. the future may have something more in store for us.

Pateikkara.— In spite of the fact that a great deal has already been written regarding the name Pateikkara, nothing definite seems to have yet been arrived at. Phayre says, "This words as used in the Burmese history may represent the title of a king or the name of a country. In either case it refers to a part of Bengal where Buddha was worshipped. Whether the word has any connection with the Balhara of the Arab voyagers, or with the Pala kings who still reigned in Bengal in the 11th century is uncertain" (Phayre, history of Burma, page 38, foot-note). Gerini seems to think that "Pateikkara" is the name of a country and identifies it with modern Chittagong (Gerini, Researches on Ptolemy's Geogrophy, page 740). U Tun Neyin identifies it with Chittagong (Inscriptions of Pagan, etc., Rangoon, 1899, page 4, foot-note). On the other hand,

Spearman is inclined to the belief that it refers to Ceylon. In writing of the foreigners who slew Narathu, he states, "Who these foreigners were is uncertain. According to Burney they were Chittagonians but it appears more probable that they were Sinhalese. In Alaungsithu's reign there was considerable intercourse between Burma and Ceylon, principally through the port of Bassein" (Spearman, *British Burma Gazetteer*, 1880, Volume I, page 242).

The Arakanese history, to which a reference has already been made, now comes forward with additional information on the subject. According to it, the term "Pateikkara" denotes the name or title of a king, and the country to which he belongs is called Marawa. Furthermore, the itinerary of the mission which conveyed the Princesses Thinza and Manlari seems to suggest that the Marawa country is situated to the north of Arakan, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Manipur. When *Kanrazagri* made over Tagaung to his younger brother, he ascended the Chindwin and founded Kale-taung-nyo or Razagro city. Later on the neighbouring King of Maurang (မောင်မောင်) is

said to have presented him with a daughter principally because of the strength and influence which such an alliance would create. Can it therefore be possible that this ancient name "Maurang" is preserved in the more recent one of Marawa?

Htaw-ra-gri. Who was he?— The identification of the name Htaw-ra-gri presents a somewhat difficult problem. The name is not mentioned in any of the existing Arakanese works. Maung Kala's manuscript history of Burma states. "In 1403 A.D. hearing that the Arakanese were attacking Laungshe, Minkhaung, the King of Ava, ordered his son Min-re-kyaw-zwa, then only a lad of 13 years of age, to march against the invaders. The two armies met at Nha-nwin-taung (ESEGif;awmif) resulting in the defeat of the Arakanese and the loss of their King Htaw-ra-gri". Spearman, in his Gazetteer, 1880, page 265, says: "At the beginning of the 15th century differences arose between Arakan and Burma and sovereign of the former, called Thinza in Arakanese and Htaw-ra-gri in Burmese, invaded Burma and penetrated into the provinces of Yaw and Laungshe. A Burman force was sent against

him and a rebellion having broken out in his own country he retired but was overtaken and defeated and he himself killed". Then again Phayre in his history of Burma, page 72, has the following: "The Burmese army marched into Arakan across the mountain pass of Natyegan, and the king of that country fled to Bengal".

Now it is proved beyond possibility of doubt that when Min-re-kyaw-zwa, Prince of Ava, invaded Arakan the ruler of that country was called Nara-mell-hla or Saw Mwan. He proved himself to be a thoroughly unworthy king. He cared more for the enhancement of his personal pleasures than for that of the prosperity of his subjects. The advice of his ministers (was entirely disregarded; with the result that the country went to rack and ruin. So that when the Burmese army crossed over into Arakan he found himself unable to put up a sufficiently large army of opposition. He therefore fled to Bengal where at the Court of Sultan Ahmed Shah, the independent ruler of that country, he whiled away his days in idleness and comfort. After an absence of 24 years and during the reign of

the next King Sultan Nasir-ud-din shah, who gave him all the necessary assistance, he returned to Arakan and re-occupied the throne of his father.

Such, in brief, is the story of King Saw Mwan. The first two extracts which represent Htaw-ra-gri as King of Arakan instead of Saw Mwan cannot obviously be accurate since he is stated to have been killed at the battle of Nha-nwin-taung which is in the An or Natyegan pass. He might be only a Governor of the eastern district of An but, as it is not unusual in the history of this country for distant Governors to set themselves up as independent monarchs whenever they found the central government weak and the king powerless, it is reasonable to oppose that he, in the usual bombast of those days, styled himself a king.

On the other hand, Spearman cannot be right in identifying Thinza with the then King of Arakan. Thinza or Thin-tse ruled from 1390 to 1394 A.D. and died several years previous to the events which now form the subject of discussion. It is true he invaded Burma but he had to return almost from the frontier in order to put down

a rebellion headed by the Governor of Sandoway. He was killed by the rebels immediately outside the walls of his capital Launggret.

SAN SHWE BU,
Hony. Archaeological Officer for Arakan.



Printed in PEAL Press

Starting Date of this paper-

12/6/1998.23:28:32

Absolute Finishing Date of this paper-

04/3/1999.10:35:16

MSA J



Design : U Khin Moung