

of our lord Hsinbyushin. Tell that to the son of our lord". Mathout, his mission completed, returned.

That night, the lord of Myaungmya summoned his sons and sons-in law, his trusted lieutenants and had a drinking party. While they were drinking, he asked them "Now that an altercation has arisen between Binnya Nwe and citizens of Pegu, which side shall we take ?". His sons and sons-in law replied that they would fight on elephant, on horse, on warships, on warboats or on foot in the manner they were ordered to do so, but that they did not have any opinion as to which side they should be on. However, they said, "Binnya Nwe is the real son of our monarch."

Dala Chitthin³⁵, was summoned and was told to give his opinion. "If you side with Mahadevi who is getting on in years, she would not be able to look after your lordship's and your lordship's descendants for a long time. Smim Maru is only the son of a mandarin. It would be like a cracked pot that will not retain water for long. Binnya Nwe, on the other hand is a direct decendent of a monarch and like the acidity of a lime, he will grow stronger with time. When a plant that has just begun to sprout and whose leaves have just begun to open is not snipped with the fingers, would it not require an ax to cut it down when it has grown into a tree?"

The lord of Myaungmya was by then feeling his liquor and felt angry at Mahadevi for being unfaithful and besmirching her reputation with Smim Maru. He decided not to help them. Among his subordinates, there were those who had become quite drunk and said "While we were at Pegu at the bidding of our lord, the people there were singing 'don byu thu hsu tha lon don, toun kamei bro byu l'sin, taru bra to balei talei do a noñ (the old peahen lays her eggs on the tree; the old woman is an unabashed husband snatcher). They were taking a sly dig at Mahadevi with this song ". The lord of Myaungmya hearing this and being quite intoxicated by now swore that he would not help this evil woman and ordered the boats to head for Myaungmya. At about midnight, the lord of Dala, *Mnyi Gam Gaung*, hailed the boats in the rear and was told that the lord of Myaungmya has taken umbrage at Mahadevi and that they were heading for home. The lord of Dala was heartened at this developments and planned to report this to prince Binnya Nwe early next morning.

Binnya Nwe had a dream that very night. He dreamt that a golden torch shone brightly in the heart of Dagon and although storms swept in from the four points of the compass, the torch shone brighter than ever. Then the wind from the west died. Storm clouds darkened the Pan A'Lwei area but

³⁵ The paper edition accredits him as the governor of Dala, but *Mnyi Gam Gaung* holds that post, as it had been said earlier. He was in reality one of the nobles who was captured by Byattapa, governor of Martaban during Binnya U's reign. While being shipped off to Bengal, he was taken off from the ship by Laukpya to serve under him. (See also p.74)

later it grew bright. An ascetic pronounced that in the coming four or five days the storm coming in from the north will abate. After waking up from this dream the prince had it interpreted by *Min Kan Si* who explained that the golden torch meant the prince; the gathering storm from the four points of the compass symbolised the situation of being besieged from three fronts; the west wind that abated meant the lord of Myaungmya's troops and that victory would come during the coming four or five days as indicated in the words of the ascetic. "May it turn out as you predicted", said the prince.

When the courier sent by *Manyi Gam Gaung* arrived at the gates at dawn he was at first detained but let in when it was reported that he was a servant of the prince's brother in Dala. When the courier reported that the lord of Myaungmya had left, the prince hugged *Min Kan Si* in joy and let out a shout of exultation. The courier then conveyed the words of his lord requesting the prince to negotiate with the force from Martaban before attacking Smim Maru. The prince sent word to the lord of Dala that he should come at the soonest with all the available troops if he loved him and rewarded the courier before sending him off.

The prince, *Min Kan Si*, Baw Mun and the Ma Paing recluse conferred among them. To the question, who should be sent to Baik Kamyin, Baw Mun was the answer as they were friends from childhood days. The memorandum read as follows :-

"Baik Kamyin to whom this pronouncement has been addressed; When the lord of Myaungmya came to know that Mahadevi intended to put Smim Maru on the throne once Hsinbyushin passes away, he said he saw no reason to become an enemy of the prince, in the event that Hsinbyushin was no more he would pay obeisance only to the prince, as there was no call to kowtow to Smim Maru and that he had come as he had been told that Hsinbyushin had bade him come. He awarded the envoy and had these words conveyed to me. The lord of Myaungmya has now left. What option do you consider, Baik Kamyin?"

Baw Mun was sent on this mission together with a gift of three viss of gold and ten sets of good quality robes. Baik Kamyin seeing Baw Mun coming from a distance said in jest, "So the citizen of Dagon has arrived". Baw Mun presented the three viss of gold and the ten robes. At this, he asked "What occasions the son of the lord to honour us in this manner?" Baw Mun replied that these were for the procurement of rations for his troops. To this Baik Kamyin said, "Comrade in blood, you are my alter ego and I would like you to give your opinion". Baw Mun in return said, "The lord of Myaungmya commands a force of no mean strength. Yet he considers that he should not antagonise the son of his lord and has left. *Manyi Gam Gaung* is also from the same royal family as our prince but he does not fancy himself as a prince and pays obeisance to the prince. You have been delegated by the

lord of Martaban to represent him. When the prince becomes king you will become just one of his servants. However, should you have acted harshly against him now, wouldn't you be an enemy of the crown then?"

At this Baik Kamyin was wordless. Devaraja, *E Bra Koi* and *E Si Van* spoke up "Verily Baw Mun has spoken. Our sentiments are also much the same. However Baik Kamyin is the general and it depends only on him." Baik Kamyin then announced that he would turn for home. Baw Mwan returned. Then Baik Kamyin headed his warboats downstream with the receding tide.

Baw Mun reported that after he had communicated as he had been told, the Martaban contingent was delighted saying that they had come only because Hsinbyushin had bidden them, that they would be turning back even if their own lord had not sent word recalling them as now that the truth has been told they had no occasion to come here in the first place and that his friend had said that he would be leaving as the tide was running out, even as he, Baw Mun headed back against the tide. The news delighted the whole town including the prince who wondered whether the time had come to mount an assault on Smim Maru's force.

Min Kan Si said that he would like to scout around for oracles and after propitiating the gods, beseeched them to show some sign indicating whether the coming assault against Smim Maru's forces would be successful. After making this pledge the three went around in their search for some portentous sign and they were eventually rewarded when they heard a boy singing this near Mahadevi's residence.

"ga cam lha lwok mwa, pok ca swat ca rwe, ja gu ce viun magu magu-the prince's jousting routs the enemy and ends the battle." (a young sparrow hangs upside -down on a sprouting pipal twig eating the pipal fruit, the besieging host arrives and the monarch's son charges single -handedly on an intrepid elephant into the teeming host, easily scattering them)

To the prince's question, Min Kan Si explained that, the young sparrow symbolised Smim Maru as both were astrologically related to Tuesday, that it hung upside down on the twig meant that he would not last long in the high station that he had come into, the reference to a besieging force plainly refers to the present situation and it meant that an elephant charge led by the prince would rout Smim Maru's forces. The prince hugged and kissed Min Kan Si saying "Let what you have interpreted come true !". At this moment it was announced that the lord of Dala, Manyi Gam Gaung had landed and the prince went there on an elephant to welcome him. The two royal brothers rode together on the same howdah. The latter advised him not to tarry in the conference hall but to mount an assault that very night.

Smim Maru had a report sent to Mahadevi to acquaint her with the news that the lord of Myaungmya and Baik Kamyin had turned back. While

waiting for word from her, he dared not withdraw yet and so conferred with his generals. The mandarin Zeip Bye suggested that without a word from the sister of Hsinbyushin, they should not withdraw yet.

On reaching his tent, he sent a message which ran "Wouldn't you rather nip it off with your fingernails now than use an ax to chop it down later?", to the prince.

He also asked him to attack the troops of his enemy and not the other troops who would just stay quiet and that he be made a minister. He also sent one of his men to Yo Karat to pass on this message in a whisper "You and I are brothers, should there be some commotion during the night or at any hour just stay within your stockade and don't panic".

The prince mounted the elephant Ajapa after seeing to the garrisoning of the city's stockade. The elephant Adaraung carried Pamu Lauk. With Baw Mun riding amidships. Mathauk was mounted on Pazwe Lamun. With Matham Ke riding amidships, Baw Mwan³⁶ was mounted on Asura. With Min Kan Si riding amidships, Baw Kane³⁷ rode Ei Magu Thauk. With the brahmin Ma Yaññ amidships the recluse Ma Paing was mounted on the elephant Ei Lagaik Nyat. Maha Min Dey was mounted on a she-elephant. Another carried Apa Sain with Apaja riding amidships.

With four young male elephants, four female elephants, two thousand troops under prince Binnya Nwe, a thousand under Manyi Gam Gaung there were three thousand warriors who were the pick of the bunch. Mamwe Kyi and Kyat Taye Phrac Lwan manned the battlements with Baw Kane commanding the garrison troops. After seeing to that the war boats were properly manned, the prince rode out. He had not travelled far when a cock careening through the air stepped on his head. As he stopped momentarily disturbed by this intrusion, an old man approached him and asked him why he had stopped. The prince replied that he thought he would stay for a while because a flying cockerel had stepped on his head.

The old man said that this was an auspicious omen, the finial of a stupa could not be raised without a cruciform base and since the flying cock had placed the sign of a cross on his head with his feet, he continued, it meant that the umbrella signifying kingship would soon be raised over his head. The prince was overjoyed to hear this and rewarded the old man well. The column moved out with Dey Pathwe, Tala Khwa Maha riding point on a she-elephant. At Hin Paza, south of Lagu and north of Hemavan he had a pavilion erected for the ceremonial washing of hair in which he and his elephant-mounted warriors took part.

Baw Mwan Nyi according to Nai Pan Hla's translation.

Baw Kane commanded the war-boat flotilla according to Nai Pan Hla's translation.

As Smin Maru was encamped at Sudaranga which in astrological terms signified Monday as did firewood, he had all his warriors beginning with Maha Min Dey wear the Anan (*Fagraea fragrans*) flowers which signified Saturday and thus, fire.

As they proceeded from Hin Paza to *Je Kapan* a great voice like that of a man shouting "Maha Jeyatu, Maha Jeyatu" issued forth from the northern face of the Dagon pagoda. This was heard by all of the troops. The prince enquired "Is that the sound of someone sermonizing?" The brahmin Ma Yaññ said "This is not a sermon, but the gods proclaiming that your highness will be victorious".

The prince summoned Tala Khwa De Pathwe Maha and directed him to lead him there by the shortest route. Maha kowtowed to him and respectfully observed "How can I go wrong?"

The route he took led from Lagu Gyi to Pallin, thence Ganaing Marut, through Deylato to Janam Pala. The prince surged forward riding abreast with Maha and ordered him to go straight to Smim Maru's camp and to break in where the moat was at its shallowest and the posts weak.

Smim Maru at that time was packing for retreat as his allies on two fronts had melted away. Past midnight and under the hazy light of a moon, they reached Smim Maru's camp. The attackers gave a thunderous battle cry as they drew near and elephants flanked by cavalry charged the stockade. The enemy buckled under the assault of the prince's hardened troops. Smim Maru ran down from a water closet built on a raft and jumping on a pony rode away. His elephant Byu Bako was in musth and scenting Adaraung tugged at his halter but could not break free. The chief mahout Pamu Lauk descended from his elephant and quieted him with a few words. Pamu Lauk then mounted him and clapping his arms with the palms of his hands in jubilation exulted, "Now that I can ride him my lord will soon be master of Pegu." During the headlong assault about two to three hundred were cut down and about an equal number of Shans also met this fate. The carnage was stopped by the prince who shouted orders to his men to cease. The tents were set on fire.

Seeing this, troops under Yo Karat and Re Thin Ran left their camps and joined up with Zeip Bye's for safety. "We do not know whether Samim Maru escaped or not. If we retreat at dawn the prince blocks our line of retreat from the very start."

"What do you have on your mind?" they asked him.

"Is he not the son of one who is the lord of all of us?" he replied, "If Smim Maru has been defeated who will dare face the prince whether Smim Maru lives or not?" "Binnya Nwe can be very severe and pitiless. If we had run

away individually mingled among the crowd during the night we might have escaped but not once dawn had broken. Should we be brought before Binnya Nwe we would not be forgiven " they said. The old noble said, "If that is what you say, I am but an old courtier so I will go and die in your stead. You shall stay here". He left on a female elephant taking only a retinue of seven. When he reached the stockade he hailed "Your servant Zeip Bye is here". It was heard by the prince who said "Let my uncle in." When he had arrived, the prince and Manyi Gam Gaung dismounted and the three of them conferred in a tent. Then the dead were collected and properly laid out and the injured carried into tents. After that a liaison team made up of Zeip Bye's and Binnya Nwe's men to summon Yo Karat and Re Thin Ran. All the mandarins and commanders were assembled at the prince's feet. When everyone had assembled this was said "All of us had paid allegiance to the king's sister vowing to kill every adult after taking Dagon. We did not have the chance to kill them Instead they have killed many of our fellows who had also paid allegiance. All of us have now fallen into the hands of the prince and can be put to death. However since the prince has grown up in our care he does not think of killing us in reprisal for he is our lord's son. We will remember this boon and give up our lives in your service. Pegu will be easily taken." The prince commented that while his father lived he would not deprive him of his station in life. Baik Nyei argued, "If you Binnya Nwe will not advance to Pegu, Smim Maru will be there ahead of us and saying that we have gone over to your side will have our families shipped to Martaban. and would this not place difficulties for us ?". To this Zeip Bye said, " This is altogether off the point. At present we are like people who have been put into a cage, our means of escape being cut off. No one can help us out of this predicament. We must get out on our own. May the son of our Lord treat us with compassion as great as that of a Buddha and after holding the ceremony of swearing allegiance lead us forward before dawn. " The prince agreed to this and summoned Manyi Gam Gaung to arrange a swearing in ceremony for the officers on the pagoda enshrining the sacred hair relics (i.e the Shwe Dagon) The recluse Mapaing observed that by doing so it would not be possible to advance before dawn. At this Min Kan Si suggested that a gold image of the Buddha be obtained for the ceremony. A gold image was duly obtained and the ceremony of drinking the water of allegiance held before it.

Only men, elephants and horses from Smim Maru's force were taken with the organisation of troops under his mandarins left intact. On the 10th waxing day of the moon in the month of Nadaw (1383 C.E), Smim Maru's force was routed and he ran away to Pegu. His officers arrived the next day. Maha devi condemned the officers, blaming them for the defeat at the hands of the other side and threatened them saying, "Because Hsinbyushin is ill, do you think that I, a woman cannot kill you ?". The officers replied that there was

no cause for this censure, as if they had stood idle while her son-in-law was engaged by the other side in battle. This was not the case, they said, since his troops had been easily overpowered only because instead of facing the enemy he had fled the scene on a pony. After destroying his force, they said, the other turned and engaged their troops but that they had fought and had withdrawn in good order without any further losses. Mahadevi was left speechless at this riposte. They repaired the fortifications where it was necessary and dug up the moat where it was shallow. These developments were reported to the prince by a stream of couriers. When Hsinbyushin was severely ill and comatose this was reported to the prince by the noble Zeip Bye. Smim Maru summoned the nobles and set them repairing the battlements. When the prince heard of this he sent Manyi Gam Gaung back to Dala ordering him to stand firm should the lord of Myaungmya march against him. Mamwe Kyi, Smim Bako and Matham Ke were put in charge of the Dagon garrison. Warboats under Saw Te Raik and War Kamaw were told to rendezvous at Maw Thabyaw. A hand-picked corps of five thousand warriors were organised. Mwe Maneik rode Ei Magu Thauk. Mwe Mathin commanded the warboat Rangamein while Binnya Nwe was on the Jambu Jayum warboat. Lawk Win rode the elephant Byu Bako, with Baw Mwan on the Pazwe Lamun, Min Kan Si on the Asura, Mathauk on Adaraung, Masaing on Pauk Lan, while the recluse Mapaing and some others were ensconced on Ei Lagaik Nyat and the two she-elephants Apa Mwe Su, Apa Mwe Ein. Other elephants and horses of medium mettle, were allotted to those who were suitable to be mounted on such steeds. On the eleventh day of the waning month of Pyatho, the march to Pegu was begun. They camped at Sayi and sent out a party to keep an ear for oracles.

What they heard was a ditty "Pan Ba gwe bala dwe dwa bharwe janon dwaok atassala araria mwe pa thaññ cwe" (The two gates are agape like a tom-cat's wide open jaws, the great Bo tree falls and the son of the king succeeds in less than a day). To the prince's enquiry, Min Kan Si replied that Bagwe stood for Pegu, "dwe dwa" meant two portals will be opened, the Bo tree symbolised his father the King and that the part about succeeding in less than a day referred to the prince.

The prince was delighted to hear this and marched off at dawn. They camped at Maw Thabyaw where the naval contingent under Saw Te Raik caught up with them. Baik Nyei, governor of Zarweboun also joined up bringing his troops and reported that the king had passed away yesterday. When he was asked how he had come to this information, Baik Nyei replied that two of his nephews served the king in the royal palace and had this information from them. The prince covered his face and wept when he heard this. He then summoned Saw Te Raik, ordering him to leave only a small party to watch over the boats and follow him with the rest of his troops. The lord of Zarweboun asked permission to fight a duel on elephants with Smim Maru as

he wanted to repay the prince's magnanimity in sparing his life. The prince, however, bade him not to and marched off from Maw Thabyaw and being a moonless night, made straight for the objective.

Smim Maru, having heard that Binnya Nwe was coming, sent out commands to man the battlements. However, no one heeded his commands and men of the royal blood and common troopers alike deserted him and went over to the prince.

Smim Maru came to realize that he must be getting away on his own and taking Talamithiri, ten elephants loaded with gold and silver left for Martaban with a retinue of seven hundred of his most trusted servants. This was reported to the prince by the noble Zeip Bye. The prince sent the trio of Zeip Bye, Saw Te Raik and Baik Nyei after him. They cut through Dalanin to pursue him by the shortest route. Baw Hkonmaing and nobles came to greet the prince. The ex-monk Zarwe Kanung was freed by the guards and was able to come over to the prince who greeted him warmly. To his complaint that he was put in irons by Smim Maru on account of the prince, the prince acknowledged that the ex-monk had suffered because of him and thought up a fitting reward, investing him with the title of Yaza Paroheit (ie. "the King's Brahmin Seer").

"When should I ascend the throne," the prince then asked him and received the reply that he was to ascend the throne the next day, the first day of the waxing moon in the month of Pyatho after the first watch of the dawn had been struck ³⁸, together with his queen. He was also to observe the ceremony of treading the auspicious soil. At this he invested Mwe Manaik with the title of Piyarazadevi, Mwe Mathin with the title Tala Thuta Maya and his brother Baw Hkonmaing with the title, Binnya Paik during the course of that same day. At this moment Yaza Paroheit announced that kings of long ago in Martaban used to walk on the platform of the stupa in performing the ceremony of treading the auspicious ground. "Why was this so?", asked the prince. The reply was that during the time after King Atha (C.E 854) defeated the seven thousand Indians and wanted to build a stupa over the ground where he had speared the Indians, the wise men protested saying that the site being truly a field of victory, building a stupa over it would prevent it being tread when an enemy host appeared. Thus, the commemorative stupa was built outside the field of victory and the stupa was named Yan Aung Myin ("Vanquisher of the Enemy"). However, although the field of victory was not covered by the stupa, he was told, it might be possible for one to miss treading it if the exact spot was not known. When the prince asked how was one to come by the exact spot, the ex-monk replied that his mentor had told him when he was young that digging down to a depth of about a cubit and a hand span (nearly 29 inches) below an obelisk in Ma Ei Nwan Hsei would

yield earth of a reddish golden hue which matched the colour of soil distinctive of the field of victory and that after treading it, no enemy would be able to defeat his lord the prince. This spot was duly prepared by the royal brahmin. Before the ceremony a grand pavilion complete with a neat canopy was prepared for his stay during the interim period. At dawn, with an attendant retinue of nobles and officials he set out for the field of victory. Dismounting from the elephant, he was lent a hand by Smim Tissa Kummar. After treading the auspicious ground he paid homage at the Yan Aung Myin stupa where prayers were recited by the whole group and offerings of oil lamps, popped rice, betel and pickled tea were ceremoniously made.

At this moment a report was received that Smim Maru had been caught at Po Mgam. The prince ordered that he was to be held at the foot of the elephant ramp on the pavilion and Smim Maru and Talamithiri were duly placed there when they arrived. The prince came mounted on an elephant in splendour accompanied by a crowd of nobles and officials and on his arrival told Baw Hkonhmaing to call his sister-in-law. Queen Talamidaw was however chagrined at Mwe Manaik being made a queen and did not come, weeping in her sorrow. Therefore Baw Hkonhmaing carried Bawlawkyantaw in his arms and returned with him riding an elephant. The prince took the child and enfolded him in his arms. Mahadevi also came and asked after Min Kan Si and the Mapaing Saya on her arrival. At this juncture she sighted Smim Maru and Talamithiri as they lay bound with ropes at the foot of the elephant ramp. Smim Maru wept on seeing Mahadevi who just gritted her teeth. When the prince came upon them he said "So he is still there, the sight of him is like grit in my eyes". The Mapaing Saya and Min Kan Si intervened, requesting him to formally ascend the throne first. Their request was however denied and Smim Maru was handed over to Manwam to be executed. At this moment, Raza Paroheit announced that the auspicious moment had arrived. The prince with his son Bawlawkyantaw in his arms and accompanied by his queen Piyarazadevi entered the royal apartment of Hsinbyushin.

Binnya Nwe ascended the throne on the 12th waxing day of the moon in the month of Dabodwe, 745 ME. (1383)³⁹. Then he announced that although he had slain an enemy another still remained and that the official Deinmaniyut was to be executed. Deinmaniyut kneeled before him and bravely asked him to point out where he had gone wrong to deserve such a fate as, he said, only by executing those who committed wrongs would a king's power and glory increase.

The king replied, "If you want to know your mistake I will tell you. When I was away in Dagon, nobles and citizenry came to me as to show their respect and fealty. Some sent their representatives, while some proffered their advice. It was the same at Maw Mathan and at Maw Thanbyat. Now that you come to me only when I am at the pinnacle of kingship with your sweet words, this is

³⁹ 1385 according to Harvey.

your great mistake." Deinmaniyut then made his supplication, "I had been a servant to your father, the king and had enjoyed his trust. In return I had been awarded the feifdom of Syriam (Thanlyin). I pay court only to a king who wears a white umbrella, not to one who is without this emblem of kingship. If you should take umbrage for this and have me executed, I lose nothing more than my life but the underpinnings of good administration would be uprooted for good. People would point out my fate as an example of losing one's life and leaving one's wife destitute for being loyal only to a crowned king and omitting to make overtures like offering advice to a pretender who later becomes king. Such attitudes are an anathema to good administration and will destroy your peace of mind. The citizenry and ecclesiastics as well will suffer should such attitudes become prevalent in a country." The king was rendered speechless by this argument and only Mapaing Saya and Min Kan Si spoke up to second Deinmaniyut's proposition, stating that it was based on truth and reality. Only then did the king relent and reinstated his title and feifdom which incidentally made him one who was invested with a title even before the king's most trusted servants from childhood received theirs.

The ex-monk Mapaing Saya was named Sit Lun, Min Kan Si as Raza Manuttha Bala, Baw Mwan as Siri Manu, Ma Thaing as Saw Nu Thain, Ma Mwan as Saw Nu Thin, the scribe Ma Thin as Bawga Raza and Mathamke as Thanlaik.

His most trusted servants were each given feifdoms of villages or towns based on their individual merit. Before retiring, he even had Deinmaniyut conveyed to his home in honour, to the accompaniment of drums. Even Mahadevi was given Dagon in deference for what she had done for him during his childhood. This magnanimous deed was appreciated by the people who remarked among themselves that he had the compassionate heart of a Budha. Others who had served him were also awarded, each according to his merit. The city's fortifications were also improved.

When Laukpya, lord of Myaungmya heard that Binnya Nwe had ascended the throne, he conferred with his sons and sons-in-laws and sent envoys named Sittarat, Pathoun, Min Se Oo, Malagun and Mindey bearing many gifts to Minkyiswasawke, King of Ava (Innwa) with the following message :-

"The Lord and King of Ava to whom Laukpya, bestowed of the fief of the town of Myaungmya do submit,

That my lord of the golden palace march against him that has been consecrated as the king of Pegu before he has time to consolidate his kingdom while I will lead a maritime assault on him. If we are successful my lord shall take the core of spoils while I will be satisfied if you will give me the rind "

On being read this letter, Minkyiswasawke mobilised his men. With his son, the Lord of Kukhan, the Lord of Sagaing and the Lord of Salin, altogether

four armies marched along the Tharawaddy route. Hsinbyushin, king of Rakhine, the Lord of Taungdwin, the Lord of Toungoo, the Lord of Pinya and the Lord of Myede, altogether five armies, advanced along the Toungoo route.

King Razadarit had Thamlaik, Lord of Wun summoned but as he did not show up he marched against him and encamped at Zutkari Lauktet. Only when news of the invading Ava force reached him did he turn back. The armies taking the Toungoo route reached Pankyaw. Pankyaw was the fief of Kyattyasalun now titled Bayananda. He was overwhelmed and troops from Ava occupied Pankyaw.

Minkyiswasawke advanced along the Laing axis. E Gon Gam Mathain who had the feifdom of Hmawbi, caught a column of the invading force in a ravine and the chief of Pinle was pierced by a lance and slain atop his war elephant. The ravine in which this battle took place was later known as Zayaung Pinle. As the king reached the battleground, he attacked the Rakhine king's force at Pankyaw but could not make any impression so that he had to content himself laying siege to it. The Rakhine king jeered, "Binnya Nwe does not give battle and it becomes a deer hunt instead". Because the enemy had been joined by the lord of Myaungmya, he withdrew and was informed by nobleman Maha Thamun that the enemy was in *Talein*. At this, he turned and attacked the Rakhine king's force but again could make no headway so that he retired as he became concerned of being caught in a pincer-movement. As the Rakhine king sent out his cavalry in pursuit, Razadarit turned and charged at the enemy on his elephant Adaraung. Seven cavalrymen fell while his forces sustained fifty casualties and the elephant Adaraung lost its tail. As Razadarit entered the city gates, Minkyiswa joined up with his forces at *Talein*.

Yaza Paroheit pronounced that in the coming days the Burmese forces would be destroyed as the place where they had encamped was in reality not *Talein* but *Talaing*. Hsinbyushin (ie Razadarit) made preparations to personally lead a besieging force of over ten thousand against the enemy stockade. During the march at night his white umbrella was knocked down into the dust by a sudden gust. Taking this as a bad omen, he was on the point of aborting the operation when Raza Manu (Min Kan Si) observed that it was such a good portent as the white umbrella had covered the ground signifying rulership over the whole extent of land and water. The king praised him for this. As his force marched out monks climbed the Thinbaw pagoda to get a grandstand view of the coming battle.

Minkyiswa sent word to his son cautioning him not to cross the stream as there must be a reason for coming out with so small a force. The prince however chose to ignore the order saying that coming that far from Ava to fight the *Talaings* he would not stay now that he had seen them. As Minkyiswa was biding his time on the other bank, the prince's forces were scattered by

Razadarit's onslaught. As they heard about the clash in the stream, the king of Ava's forces also collapsed. Only their numbers kept Razadarit's men from following up their victory and they collected only the elephants, horses and men that fell into their hands. The lord of Myaungmya too, withdrew on learning the fate of the king of Ava.

King Razadarit conferred with his ministers saying that now that even the servants of his father rebelled against him and invited the Burman king to attack him, people could not live in peace. To put an end to this, Saw Htut and Shwe Taung Nya were duly sent to the king of Ava with bolts of velvet, felt and cotton cloth, a plentiful amount of gold and silver and a message which ran -"Elder Uncle and Lord of the Golden Palace to whom your son the King tenders that-

In the absence of my father Hsinbyushin, I look upon you as my own father; and have these presents sent to you as you, my elder uncle and elder brothers, had departed too quickly from your last visit and I did not have the chance to proffer these to you."

When the Shwe Taung Nya delegation reached Ava and the king learnt of the message he was discomfited with its seemingly innocuous politeness and said "This young Talaing has spoken to me in such a way. When he has the time to consolidate his forces Bassein, Myaungmya, Martaban and so on will be acquired by force of arms." The Shwe Taung Nya delegation was sent off with fitting presents. Then lord of Myaungmya again made an overture :- "Sire, the lord of Myaungniya town makes this submission :-In the last campaign, My Lord advanced along the Prome (Pyay) route and I along the riverine route so that our forces could not join up and as a result our campaign was unsuccessful. On this occasion I will come up to Pan Alwe while My Lord brings up at Panhlaing. We will then join forces and take Laing. From Laing we attack Hmawbi, then Dagon and then Dala will be taken. Can Binnya Nwe withstand us if we were to attack in this way?"

Minkyiswa was pleased by this plan and marched off en masse to attack the fortified town of Laing. The governor of Myaungmya came with a flotilla of warboats and took up his position at Panhlaing.

Meantime, king Razadarit had organised two forces, one commanded by Deinmaniyut and the other by Re Thin Ran together comprising twenty war elephants and twenty thousand troops to garrison Laing. The town was besieged for more than a month without avail. Realising that Laing could hold its own, Razadarit sallied out with elephants and cavalry. The king of Ava also moved to meet him and his vanguard took up positions (ie. stockaded itself) at Hmawbi. Seeing this, Razadarit also deployed his forces. On the next day, without rallying his nobles, he mounted the elephant Re Lapun and with a guard of seven hundred warriors he reconnoitred the enemy stockade.

The Burmese troops inside made Talaings captured from previous engagements cried out, "If we open the gates will your lord come in ?". Razadarit replied, "If you open up I will enter". Burmese troops took up positions on the bastions and ramparts and then opened the gates.

Razadarit being of one mind with his seven hundred men let out the goad and allowed his elephant to charge headlong into the stockade. Arrows rained down like hail but no Burman governor dared enough to clash tusks with Razadarit's mount and ran away. Twelve elephants and over ten horses were captured. The stockade was set on fire the smoke from which attracted Razadarit's nobles to caparison their mounts and rush off to reinforce him. Only when they were at the stockade did they realise that their king had won the battle. They collected the booty and presented it to their king. Sit Lun and Raza Manutha however, did not follow their example but reproached the king instead. Razadarit, for that matter, accepted their reproach good naturedly.

When news of his victory at Hmawbi reached the governor of Myaungmya, he dared not stay longer at Pan Hlaing and retreated. One day, a sentry piquet captured three Burmese soldiers which they brought before the king. "The Burmese people have made war on us because they put their faith in one of my servants who is a scoundrel and a ne'er -do-well. There is no peace in my villages and realm. I will charge straight for the face of the Burman king and snap him like a twig," the king shouted loud enough for them to hear. He then rode four or five laps to display his riding skills. The captured soldiers were ordered to be tied up but secretly his men were told to bind them in such a way that they would be able to make their escape. That happened and they duly reported what they had heard on reaching their side. On hearing this, the governor of Myinsaing observed, "Let the young Talaing get bolder. Then we will be able to get him with ease." But other voices were raised complaining that they had camped there too long and the place was teeming with gnats and flies and they should shift elsewhere. Minkyiswa agreed and as they struck camp to move elsewhere, panic broke out and men began running. The king could not control his troops and therefore had to retreat with them.

Razadarit did not know of this development and was giving out awards to Re Thin Ran for holding out resolutely at Laing. When information came to him that the governor of Myaungmya had headed for home and that Minkyiswa had withdrawn, he began his pursuit up to Prome. As the defensive works at Prome had not been repaired yet, bastions and railings were nonexistent. But Razadarit reached it only at dusk and the troops were tired so that they made camp. Minkyiswa, meanwhile had the men working on the fortifications throughout the night and work was completed during its course. Thus, Razadarit reckoned that it could be only taken with difficulty and his men being fatigued, he too made for home. At Pegu, he had its fortifications repaired and rested his men. Only afterwards did he march against the 32

walled towns in the east that had become rebellious and disrespectful.

As he deployed his forces against the town of Wun, the governor of the town Than Laik protested that he was only holding the town that he had won and that he was not a rebel like those from Martaban, Lagun Byi, Tari and Thanmaung, that he would not obstruct the king's march and if he would attack him after capturing the aforesaid towns, he would not find it an easy proposition. At this message was conveyed to him he conferred with his nobles and a consensus was reached on the following points; that the approach to Wun was too restricted for tactical deployment, that it would be difficult to mount an attack against it, that Than Laik had said that he would give right of way and that he did not deny vassalage to the king. Boats and barges from Wun and Taikkala were to be requisitioned for transport of provisions to Pankataing and Tari would be attacked from both the land and riverine routes. At this point, Tari was governed by Saw E Binnya, son-in-law of Byattapa and the son of Baran. He fled to Myaungmya on a swift dragon boat. The son of E Byapon and the son of Baw Gun who had provisioned Tari for a seige did not make a stand in the face of the king's joint land and riverine assault and fled to Martaban. The governor of Thanmaung came over after Tari was taken and he was given the water of allegiance to drink and reinstalled as the governor of Thanmaung. Martaban and Moulmein were shaken at these developments. Tham Lam was given a force a force of five thousand and installed in Tari. When Tari was attacked by Martaban and Moulmein after the king had returned home, they were repulsed everytime. In these incidents a certain Mathalon, son of Atut, who served under Tham Lam distinguished himself again and again. The king heard of his exploits and showered awards upon him.

Later, the king attacked Wun. He suffered so many casualties, that as a ploy it was shouted across to Than Laik that his daughter Hnin Kethara would be soon relegated to the task of pounding rice and fetching water. To this, Than Laik shouted back that his son-in law must be destitute for his daughter to have do these tasks and that if she did so, he said, she could be only called a goood wife for serving her husband in this manner. Re Thin Ran was summoned and the king ordered him to persuade Than Laik to vow fealty to him seeing that in the past, they had drunk each other's blood to pledge comradeship. Re Thin Ran gave his assurance and at dawn approached a bastion on the city walls to ask for Than Laik. When Than Laik responded, his friend said, "You fool ! Razadarit is your king, why do you not come to serve at his feet ?" " Byattapa and Laukpya are rebels but do they have the chance to ride on the elephant Byat ? I ride on the elephant Byat, I hold the fief in the town of Wun and the title of Than Laik. Having these three marks of nobility do I have to kowtow anyone?" was the reply." "You do not have to pay homage to others but Razadarit is the son of your lord Hsinbyushin" riposted Re Thin Ran. Than Laik shouted back not to talk in this way. Re Thin Ran

then tried another tack and had Than Laik invite him in for a drink. He then reported this to the king and asked for gold, silver, ear ornaments and rings to give his friend. These were provided by the king and permission given to proceed. Re Thin Ran entered the town gates with these presents and gave them to his friend. Such visits became frequent and eventually three hundred armed men were insinuated inside the city without raising Than Laik's suspicions. On the appointed day, the city was assaulted from without by the king while Re Thin Ran and his men started hacking down the besieged from within. Than Laik mounted Byat and left for Martaban with three hundred men.

But the elephant Byat was in musth and kept dragging his feet. Seeing this Saw Byalak, a noble on Rajadirit's side, mounted a female elephant and drawing abreast of Than Laik attacked him with a lance. The king sent an order not to kill him but the deed was done before it could be transmitted. The king was sorry to lose him and chided Saw Byalak saying that he had plans to entrust outlying districts to Than Laik to defend them on his behalf.

After taking Wun, Razadarit made plans for laying seige to Lagun Byi. Marching forth from Tari he asked who held Lagun Byi on approaching it. When he was informed that Baw Goon did he remarked that young Baw Goon would soon surrender Lagun Byi just as he did the town of Tari. Surveying the town he noticed an elephant shed near its moat. Filling the shed with dry reeds and hay, it was set ablaze after midday when thermals began to form. Helped by these currents the conflagration spread to the fortified town. Baw Goon came riding on an elephant to take charge of putting out the fire but his elephant panicked at being confronted with the flames and ran. Baw Goon could not control the runaway elephant which ran under his own house (built on stilts) where he was knocked off by a floor beam and was killed. The death of Baw Goon led to the surrender of the town. The king appreciating that Mathanlon was a stalwart took him in. The troops on the outside were those under the command of various nobles and it occurred that the reinstalled governor of Thanmaung, Magyan decided to turn traitor and mounted an attack at night on the outlying troops with a force of five thousand men. The outlying troops were scattered and the stockade set on fire. By the light of the flames Magyan could be seen commanding his troops from a palanquin. "Who will get this sorry specimen of a vassal, Magyan, for me?" asked the king and Mathalon kowtowed to the king and taking a shield and sword went out. He held an earthen pot in his hand as if he was carrying the head severed from an enemy and made as if he was going to present it to Magyan. Being nighttime he was able to approach Magyan as he was mistaken for one of his own men. When he was within striking distance, Mathalon threw the pot away and in the same instance hacked down Magyan. Taking the severed head with him he returned and presented the head to the king who just said "Well done!" but did not give him any award which made Mathalon

unhappy. One day, the king assembled his generals together and wondered aloud how the towns of Martaban and Moulmein that still remained out of his hands could be taken without difficulty. At this, Than Myan submitted his plan. He said that taking Martaban could result in heavy casualties and that the king should position himself at Lagun Byi and organise seven columns each commanded by a noble which would cross over to Kaungton Kaungkyan and attack to the east. The king thought this plan reasonable and Than Myan, Deinmaniyut, Re Thin Ran, Bya Paik, E Gaung Pain (only five are named although both versions in two palm leaf books written long ago mention seven units) ⁴⁰ were named as commanders.

This force together with elephants and horses crossed Tharup Dabya and deployed. From Martaban, with E Byapon and his uncle in command, war boats with supply boats in tow came up at night reaching Rajadarit's force at midnight.

Making land in the dead of the night, they achieved surprise and scattered five of the columns. Only the columns of Than Myan and Deinmaniyut were left intact.

Cautioning his men to stay quiet Deinmaniyut went over to Than Myan and conferred with him whether to fight or flee. Than Myan assessed the situation. To withdraw would mean that they would put the whole operation into jeopardy, while to fight the enemy at present it was probable that they could lose, however, if they could lull the enemy into believing that the entire force had been put off-balance instead of just five of the columns, then suddenly pounce upon him, they would be able to destroy him, he said. They agreed to go by Than Myan's plan which was to stay quiet and then pounce upon the enemy when they were engaged in picking up the spoils on the battlefield. This was duly done and the tables were turned. Such was their success that E Byapon and his uncle abandoned their warboat for a small canoe and paddled away for dear life, not even stopping at Martaban and made straight for the coast of India.

The leaderless citizenry of Martaban surrendered. Hearing the news of success, the king came down from Lagun Byi to Martaban where Than Myan and Dein-maniyut breifed him on the details of the encounter. Than Myan was invested with the title of Byat Za. The wife of the governor of Martaban was summoned and gold, silver and other treasure that was due to the king Hsinbyushin, his father and predecessor was calculated and confiscated. Samim Tissa Kumma was invested with the title of Byakaman, his wife with the title Taala Hnin Byi and the governorship of Martaban bestowed upon him. The governorships of Moulmein, Tari, Lagun Byi and Thanmaung were also given to suitable nobles. When the force reached the town of Taikkala, a

The remaining two, He(E?) Nare and Pit Be are mentioned in the Universities Central Library palmleaf m/s.

house of five spans was built and Hnin Kethara, daughter of the governor of Wun town⁴¹ and the king's concubine, installed in it. The king then called for Byat Za and instructed him to invite Mathalon to his house where he was to ply the latter with enough drink to make him dead drunk and then take him on a palanquin and deposit him on an ornate couch in the five-spanned house, that he bestows the title of Lagunein together with the coronet on which it was inscribed, the governorship of Taikkala, five young male elephants and the king's concubine Hnin Kethara in marriage and that this news was to be given only when he had recovered from the effects of drink. Byat Za duly called for Mathalon and gave him enough drink until he was stupefied and then some more. He then had him taken over to the house on a palanquin where the sleeping Mathalon was placed on the couch and Hnin Kethara apprised of the king's instructions before he left.

When Mathalon woke up from the drunken stupor he found himself on an ornate couch used by royalty, in a room lit by oil lamps and lulled by the soft music of harp and syrinx. He immediately thought that he had wandered into the royal bedchamber in his befuddled state. As he made a move to leave the couch, Hnin Kethara restrained him and told him that he had not got there by mistake, that the king had bestowed on him the governorship of Taikkala, the coronet with his title Lagunein inscribed on it, five young male elephants and herself for wife. Then did he recall that after his exploit at Lagun Byi, the king had only praised him when he presented the head of Magyan but neglected to give him any reward at that time. This was the reward that had been deferred, he realised. Turning toward where Razadirit would be, he paid obeisance. From that time it was said that Mathalon enjoyed the amenities of a celestial god.

It was in the year 750 M.E (1388 C.E) that Martaban was taken. In that same year Martaban was visited by famine. While the king was preoccupied with the task of imposing his authority over the 32 principalities of the east, news reached him that the governor of Dala, Manyi Gam Gaung had entered into a pact with Laukpya, the governor of Myaungmya. Eindazeik was put in charge of an inquiry into this matter. It turned out to be true and Manyi Gam Gaung was executed. His son Bawgyaw was placed in his stead and was allowed to keep his patrimony. From thence, he turned his attention towards Myaungmya. However, since Myaungmya had considerable resources in the form of manpower buttressed by familial ties, good defensive works and therefore difficult to take, he decided to attack Bassein first. Bassein was held by a trio all of whom hailed from Myaungmya - Nawratha, Smim Bya Gyin and Laukshin. His attack was met by sailing ships manned by foreigners who fired their weapons at them causing much casualties among which was Raza

⁴¹ The late Than Laik, previously known as Mathamkc

Manussam who died while mounted on his elephant. Raza Manussam⁴² was cremated with ceremony and his bones placed in a golden urn which was buried on the platform of the Dagon pagoda. The attack on Bassein proved to be only partially successful and he turned back to Myaungmya expecting that if the latter fell Bassein would fall of its own accord. Meanwhile, Bassein made contact with Myaungmya and told them that they would assemble a flotilla of warboats for a riverine attack while Myaungmya was to come out and attack. Can Binnya Nwe stand a two-pronged attack, they said. The king heard that Bassein was coming to the help of Myaungmya with a great array of warships and planned to have Lagunein hold them off at Daungpaung Lulin. The plan called for the breadth of the river to be staked leaving only narrow channels between the stakes which were to be just below the water at floodtide and for Lagunein to head up to Panpin to lure the enemy into the trap with a score of handpicked warriors on light boats which could navigate the channels. When the enemy flotilla was truly entangled on the stakes he was to come out with the rest of his force which up to this time would be well hidden, with some deployed on land. In order to make Lagunein strive even better, he sent his queen Talathutamaya to give a present of betel to him personally. Lagunein took the betel made obeisance to the king and left. Later he thought "Bassein has a formidable riverine force while we are but a few. I will test the king whether he loves me and I will lay my life on the line when I am sure that he loves me". So saying he covered his head with a blanket and slept.

At dawn when Deinmaniyut and Byat Za were making an inspection round, Lagunein was absent so that they were concerned, since he had agreed to carry out the king's plan and tide was running in, he should have embarked on his mission by that time. A messenger was duly sent to inquire into this matter and to whom Lagunein's men as instructed by their master, explained that he was ill.

Deinmaniyut and Byat Za set out by boat to Lagunein's catamaran and after finding no sign of sickness on him asked him why he did such a thing. Lagunein knelt before them and kowtowing said that he could not even eat a bite after witnessing the spectacle of queen Talathutamaya's bodice coming loose as she presented betel to him and as he would die whether he went or stayed, he had elected to stay. Asked if they should report these words to the king, Lagunein affirmed that it was to be so. Deinmaniyut and Byat Za duly reported to the king that Lagunein had not left yet. When the king enquired why, they at first only said that the sly vassal's words were not fit to be repeated. At the king's persistence, they finally reported what Lagunein had said. Instead of being angry, he said that he could stand losing a queen but not him, he summoned the queen and persuaded her to obey him. The queen wept as she kneeled before the king but was eventually installed in a gilt

⁴² formerly Min Kan Si who was bestowed the title of Raza Manussa Bala

canoe under an ornate canopy. Deinmaniyut and Byat Za followed her as the canoe made its way to Lagunein's catamaran. Lagunein, on seeing the procession, came out to the prow of his boat with many gifts and fell on his knees. As the queen drew up he touched the deck with his forehead and presented the gifts. Saying that he had only wanted to know how much the king loved him and that he realised now that he truly did, he then led his force toward Daungpaung Lulin.

There were two heavily-armed warboats, four high-sterned galleys and forty fighting boats. Including supply boats the little flotilla was about a hundred strong. As instructed by the king, the breadth of the river was staked and part of the force stationed on its bank. Then putting together a small force of swift, light boats manned by trusted men, he went up as far as Panpin where the enemy was camped. Laukshein was there with a flotilla five to six hundred strong. His men seeing Lagunein's boats came after him with the rising tide. On reaching Daungpaung Lulin, it was observed that there were only a few boats on the water while men were to be seen on the bank which led the pursuers to believe that part of the force had landed and had abandoned their boats to flee before them. Thus they plied their paddles even harder to catch them. Lagunein's men sped deftly through the staked area but the boats pursuing them were impaled on the stakes and those coming up later rammed into them turning that part of the river into a melee of sinking boats and men with those still afloat hopelessly snarled among the wreckage forcing their occupants to abandon them. Laukshein himself made land and beat a hasty retreat toward Bassein. Lagunein returned with the captured boats and presented them to the king who was overjoyed at the success of his tactics.

The king pronounced that although Bassein had been routed, Dey Pathwe was still held by Saw E Binnya and it must be taken before Myaungmya could be seized.

At this Deinmaniyut proposed that the king should turn back to Dala as it was not provident to attack Dey Pathwe while he was in an exposed position. The king agreed and after organising a force of ten thousand men, cavalry and elephantry with thirty nobles in command, he left for Dala.

At Dala, his mind was not easy, being beset with rebels on one hand and with memories of his father on the other who had repeatedly said that he wanted his younger brother Baw Khonhmaing to succeed him. Fearing that he might rebel and bar his return to the palace he sent E Gaung Pein to kill him. At Dey Pathwe, Deinmaniyut took up positions near the town after which he sent this message to Saw E Binnya - "My lord Binnya to whom Deinmaniyut tenders - that since we are vassals of Binnya Nwe, our future has become as viable as a pumpkin on the back of a horse. I have always looked forward to be here and now that I am here I beseech you, my lord not to relent in your endeavour to make us your vassals" Saw E Binnya was delighted with the message and sent

out one of his men to administer the oath of allegiance. Deinmaniyut took a blank palm leaf carefully wrapped up in fine cloth and an empty relic casket in hand and took the oath of allegiance in front of Saw E Binnya's man. He then asked him to convey the message to his master that Deinmaniyut would advance with his officers and men as if to attack at which Saw E Binnya was to come out of the stockade and accept the vassalage of all the nobles accompanying him.

Saw E Binnya on being apprised of what his man had seen and heard believed it to be genuine and came out mounted on a she-elephant and with an escort of twenty only. Deinmaniyut also came riding on a female elephant but had made arrangements to have his war elephant caparisoned with a rope harness brought up later. A thousand warriors followed him after which nobles mounted on horse and elephant brought up in the rear. The rest of his troopers were instructed to stay put. When Saw E Binnya saw this horde advancing on him, he dared not advance far from the city portal and complained to Deinmaniyut that he had come with too many men. Deinmaniyut replied that his lord's wishes would be fulfilled only if he came up to meet them. Saw E Binnya again complained that Deinmaniyut was not approaching him alone and that the latter's officers kept coming nearer and nearer. At that, Deinmaniyut said he would send them back if they were not required and actually sent back some of them. Thus Saw E Binnya became convinced that it was not a ruse and moved out from the vicinity of the gate. When he was quite near Deinmaniyut climbed down from the elephant he had been riding and leaping onto the back of his war elephant charged at Saw E Binnya. Saw E Binnya's mount being a she-elephant turned back and ran inside the gates. Deinmaniyut followed him in pursuit and his nobles spurred their steeds to catch up with him. As the town's gate could not be closed in time to keep them out, they were able to kill Saw E Binnya.

On hearing the news that Dey Pathwe had been taken the king left Dala for Myaungmya. On meeting Deinmaniyut, the delighted king remarked in a jocular tone that not only was he an accomplished orator, he was a splendid warrior too and once he had become a warrior in elephantry, there was no one in this world who could face him.

Hearing that Lagunein had beaten the Bassein contingent at Daungpaung Lulin and that Deinmaniyut had vanquished Saw E Binnya, the lord of Myaungmya prepared to sail off to Arakan (Rakhine). Byi Nwe requested him to tarry awhile saying that he would challenge Binnya Nwe to a duel on elephants and if the outcome was favourable to enjoy the pleasures of a king and only take to the sailing ship if he were defeated. The lord governor of Myaungmya duly deferred the departure of the ten ships while Byi Nwe tendered a letter to the king Binnya Nwe in which he said, " You, my lord's son, have won Hanthawaddy on account of your prowess in elephantry. I too have faith in my

prowess as a warrior on elephant and stand in the fastness of Myaungmya. If you desire victory meet me in a duel. Take over the towns of Myaungmya and Bassein if you win and return to Hanthawaddy if you cannot defeat me. I do not indulge in ambiguity but speak only what is true. Enter the city and fear not that pitfalls, stakes and traps await your elephantry and cavalry. If you doubt my word send your men to see for themselves. "The king sent this reply " As I am the son of the monarch Hsinbyushin and royal blood runs in my veins, let the god who guard the teachings of the Buddha for five millenia be my witness. Byi Nwe challenges me to a duel on elephants and this is to my liking. If Byi Nwe wins keep Myaungmya, Bassein, Khepaung and regions west of them. If I win, I will not kill the governor of Myaungmya but will only have him lead a monastic life at the foot of the Dagon stupa. I have spoken verily as the son of a monarch. " When this was reported, Byi Nwe was pleased and sent back word that the duel would take place the next day.

At dawn on the appointed day, Razadarit breakfasted and mounted his elephant Ngayet Nwe and moved off. Deinmaniyut and Byat Za remonstrated, saying that the king should not demean himself by taking on someone who was not his peer.

The king brushed their argument aside saying that it was beside the point. Nobleman Saw Nu Thain tried to enter with mounted warriors one on each flank but was stopped by Byi Nwe who said that this was to be a duel between prince Binnya-nwe and himself and that was no place for the nobles in this affair. When this was reported to the king, he ordered them to stay and announced that he would enter alone. He had his men reconnoitre for pitfalls and traps and they duly returned and reported that there was none.

Meanwhile Byi Nwe, mounted on his war elephant (which was also) called Ngayet Nwe (both palm leaf book versions inscribed during the olden days give identical names for the elephants involved) positioned himself diagonally behind the portal. When the gates opened, Binnya Nwe entered unawares, thinking that Byi Nwe would be waiting at the foot of the gate. As soon as the head of Binnya Nwe's elephant passed the edge of the gate panel, Byi Nwe sent his mount forward to catch the prince's elephant from behind and to its flank. The tusks of his elephant caught the other at the base of its tusk and they were now drawn abreast. Byi Nwe tried to unsheathe his sword but could not draw it out so that he slashed at the prince with his elephant goad. The beak of the goad caught the prince on the forehead splitting it. The elephant Ngayet Nwe sensing that it was not well with the prince who was in a daze retreated for some thirty yards⁴³ outside the city gates. When his head cleared, the prince, steering with the goad charged in again. This time catching the other head on , their tusks clashed. Byi Nwe's mount being not as strong as the other fell back and the prince's elephant seizing this advantage pressed forward

⁴³ Twenty yards, according to Nai Pan Hla's version

again and butted the other felling it. The prince hit Byi Nwe with his goad tearing the other's ear off. The latter's elephant succumbed to his injury. Byi Nwe was captured and taken along as the prince then moved out of the town. He sent men after Laukpya who had run away.

Myaungmya had so many rich men among its citizens that silver was distributed by the helmetful to the troops. Over ten thousand were taken as prisoners. When the king gave audience, Byi Nwe was brought before him. "You are only one of my vassals," he said, " yet do you think yourself man enough to challenge even a king such as I am ?"

Byi Nwe replied, "I am but a vassal, but a good serviceman and warrior, if you were to ask this question to me with the intention of investing me with a fief in the outlying districts. But if it is on the grounds that I have challenged you to a duel and have fought this duel and asked this question with enmity in your heart, it is not right. Even if you let me live I would not be happy. If I could have unsheathed my sword during the duel I would have cut you down and my sword would even cut the elephant with the same stroke. But I have nevertheless cut your forehead open with the beak of my goad and I will die everytime that you see that scar in your ruby -lined mirror and say that this has been done to me by Byi Nwe. I would fain die but once. " "You esteem your despicable sword too much. Can you cut me with it ?" asked Razadarit " You will be able to judge for yourself when I cleave a boulder more than a cubit thick with it ", answered Byi Nwe. Accordingly such a boulder was brought and it was found that the sword performed as it had been claimed by its owner. Razadarit praised it as an excellent sword. He had also wanted to have Byi Nwe among his warriors but the latter himself did not wanted to live any longer so that he was executed.

The king stayed at Myaungmya for only two days and proceeded to Bassein. Laukshein had already left by that time. When he reached Maneik glen the citizenry of Bassein came to welcome him as their sovereign. Laukshèin had left with ten elephant loads of gold and silver and he hoped to find refuge at Prome. Byat Za was sent after him with ten elephants and seven thousand warriors. Finding no place to cross that was not blocked, Laukshein gave up his plan and instead turned towards Sandoway (Thandwe).

When the king reached the town of Bassein, he summoned Dala Chitthin and bade him tell how he had responded to the governor of Myaungmya's enquiry at the time when he was in Dagon. He related faithfully to the king what he had told the governor of Myaungmya then. The king appreciated his stand and gave him an award as well as the fiefdom of Thagyi town. Dala Chitthin went on to say that he had the honour to serve under Razadarit's father and was in the campaign mounted against Byattapa, the rebellious governor of Martaban. In the attack led by Zwe Thura, the commander of the king's force suffered a gunshot wound and died on his elephant after which the king's force had to

retreat with Byattapa in pursuit and he fell into the enemy's hands at Zaung Kyat and was later put on a ship from which he was taken off by the governor of Myaungmya to serve under him. Now that he had become a vassal of the king who had not only let him off with his life but had given him a fiefdom in the bargain. Such was the magnanimity of the king that he asked to be allowed to take the oath of allegiance and to let his son, Bechitta serve in the royal court. Meanwhile, Byat Za had pursued Laukshein up to Sandoway but could not take the town so that he had to be content with besieging it. The people of Sandoway had no time to provision their town as strife had reached their doorstep under short notice. Therefore they calculated that they could not be able to withstand a long siege and went forth to negotiate. "Why have you come?", they asked, "Is it to attack our town to catch your enemy?" "I have come not to fight you but in pursuit of our enemy and if you will hand him over we will leave you in peace," replied Byat Za.

They proposed that an oath be taken to solemnise this understanding and this was duly done by both sides. After this ceremony, the citizens of Sandoway produced Laukshein together with his family and possessions. As Byat Za prepared to return, Laukshein revealed that Sandoway had yielded him only because they had not the time to provision themselves with adequate rice and if Byat Za were to hold on for another four or five days they would be able to take it with ease. Would it not be a greater prize then to set before the king with all the captives, he asked. However, Byat Za was not amenable to this idea and they duly left Laukshein and family were presented to the king who had Laukshein executed and his family sent off to Martaban.

This episode on their foray into Arakan (Rakhine), duly reached the king's ears through the mouths of the mandarins and the king summoned Byat Za and asked him why had not taken Sandoway when he could have done so in a matter of four or five days. Byat Za scraped his forehead on the ground and said, "Lauk-shein had reached Sandoway before us and could not be divested, we had to be content with surrounding it. Then the citizenry came out to negotiate and handed over Laukshein only after an oath had been administered. We came to know of famine stalking the town only after we had Laukshein in our hands. Most of the men wanted to stay on and take Sandoway and only I was against it. One of the reasons was that you have campaigned without rest. There are two aspects of war.

One is to settle matters through the exercise of diplomacy and the other through force of arms. In this affair it was settled by negotiation and the enemy was handed over only after taking an oath. If we had broken our word and attacked them, we would be denied the chance to settle things through negotiation if another occasion should arise in connexion with Sandoway. Then it would have to be carried through by force of arms only at risk. One who habitually goes back on his given word will die from the potency of the

Asservation made and even if he is spared, his life can never be peaceful nor will he be able to serve his master for long. I would like to serve you for a long time to come and that is why I had returned. "

The king was profuse with praise for Byat Za, recommended him for being farsighted and declared that he was fitting to be a general in command. He invested Byat Za with the title Smim Be Byat Za, a tazza with a cover as an official accoutrement and the governorship of Myaungmya. The governorship of Bassein was given to Thilawa. On 752 M.E (1390 C.E) consecration ceremonies were held with Piyarazadevi by his side. He was angry with Talamidaw and took away all her retinue of servants and possessions except for the 12 rings given her by her father. These rings were kept hidden in her tresses and so escaped being confiscated. Deinmaniyut was entrusted with the task of getting these rings. He had ministers who were in the know tortured and eventually learned that their mistress kept the rings in her hair knot. This Deinmaniyut informed the king who ordered him to unravel her hair and get them. Deinmaniyut went to the queen Talamidaw crouched before her respectfully while tears rolled down his cheeks. When Talamidaw asked why he was weeping he informed her of the king's command and said, "My hands being that of a poor servant are not worthy of touching the hair of the daughter of a monarch, please help me from touching your hair." At this Talamidaw fell in a dead faint. Later when she had recovered she removed the rings from her hair and gave them to Deinmaniyut.

When he presented these to the king he was ordered to give them to Queen Piyarazadevi and this was done so. Talamidaw was heartbroken and could not take food or drink. Later she thought it better to die than live in this fashion and committed suicide by taking a solution of camphor and lime.

His son Bawlawkyandaw lived in a separate house under the tutledge of Ne E Gangaung. The king commemorated his unprecedented victories by treading on the field of victory again, feasted and drank with his nobles and bestowed titles, appurtenances of office and fiefdoms on those who deserved to be rewarded. The king's body weight in gold was donated to the Shwemawdaw stupa. A great pavilion was built which stretched to the foot of the stupa in the east, up to Zarwe Tashe in the south, up to Kyat Paw in the west and up to Thandwetira in the north. At each face of the stupa forty satellite stupas were erected. Over a thousand monks were respectfully invited and feted for seven days and five hundred viss of copper donated to each monk. The ex-governor of Myaungmya, Laukpya was pardoned and left to end his days as a monk on the Shwedagon pagoda. In the year 752 M.E (1390 C.E)⁴⁴, Razadarit was 23 years of age. Hanthawaddy prospered and thrived like a realm of the celestial gods. Bassein, Myaungmya and Khepaung were mobilized and warboats mounted with weapons and machines of war to attack Kudut (Myanaung) which was then a fortified town under the suzerainty of the Ava king. After

⁴⁴ Amended as verified from palm leaf manuscript

Kudut had been taken, it was stockaded with wooden posts and Samim Bechitta and Samim Thankye were placed in charge to hold it with enough men. As he was about to return, news that his son Bawlawkyantaw was sharpening the tusks of his war elephant and that he was practising elephantry and equestrian skills disquieted his mind as he drew a parallel with his own sojourn in Dagon when he had scant followers and riches. He began to fear that his son might rebel against him. E Gaungpein was dispatched to Pegu with orders whispered into his ear to end it once and for all. At Pegu, E Gaungpein related the royal orders that he had received to the prince. Bawlawkyantaw said that he had practised martial skills with the elephant and horse as this was part of the 18 manly arts required of a prince. He had no designs against his father and was therefore innocent, he said. "My mother is also his royal sibling. He takes a common woman to wife and raises her to noble status while my mother the daughter of a monarch is abandoned because he has been advised to reject his descendants of the royal lineage and as a result my mother has died an awful death. And now I am to suffer the same fate also. E Gaungpein stay a moment while I seek refuge in the Buddha and his teachings." So saying he went to the Shwemawdaw, made an offering of the rings, bracelets and ornaments that he wore and prayed that after his death he be born as the son of another king and that he would wage war against his father. He was executed on his return from the pagoda. In that year the ex-governor of Myaungmya also died.

It was 775 M.E (1413 C.E) when Razadarit returned to Hanthawaddy. E Gaungpein was summoned and was asked to report the prince's words which he did. At this he left for the Shwemawdaw stupa where he took off his crown and donated it, praying that when Bawlawkyantaw, reborn as a prince in another country comes to wage war may he be able to defeat him on his elephant.

When the king of Ayuthia heard that Binnya Nwe, son of Hsinbyushin had ascended the throne of Hanthawaddy and had he had cleared his realm of rebellious elements and that it was peaceful now, he sent an elephant called Gandha that was a fit mount for kings. Hearing this news General Byat Za, Dein-maniyut, Baik Nye, Re Thin Ran and Zeip Bye, five mandarins in all were sent with a hundred elephants and five thousand troops up to Kamanpaik to receive the elephant.

The act of stockading Kudut and putting under the command of Smim Bechitta and Samim Thangye with a sizeable garrison meant that an outlying part of his realm was being strongly held by a force of Talaings to Minkyiswasawke, king of Ava. Accordingly he came down with his army and navy. On seeing that the Talaing force was quite large, he inferred that Razadarit himself must be there and he left his warboat and joined his land forces. Mahathamun's archers noting that Minkyiswasawke had left the riverine force attacked them

destroyed it capturing some of the boats. Some of the boats were set on fire and abandoned.

The land force with its cavalry and elephantry was not attacked as it was quite large and the king himself was in command. Booty captured from Minkyiswasawke's mutiple -hulled war boat and from those belonging to the nobles were checked and returned to him with an accompanying letter which stated :-"The Lord of the Golden Palace, elder uncle of our Lord and Master to whom we four generals and officers bow low to the ground and submit before his royal feet that - We inadvertently clashed with your warboats and destroyed not knowing that your most glorious self had come with them. Should your son Razadarit know of this episode he will blame us severely. He will be asking how can it be that you have succeeded in an action against the king who has come down to bestow his beneficence on you vassals, Smim Thangye and Smim Bechitta. Should we try to explain it will be like belittling your power and glory. We are only vassals who enjoy the beneficence of our lord and will stand firm and not turn away from a fight. In our hearts we wish you to have what you have come for, but we are not looking for a fight and we submit this in order that peace may flourish between the kingdoms of Ava and Hanthawaddy. "After it was read out to Minkyiswasawke he asked the envoy why they were returning the warboats that they had captured. He answered that this unfortunate incident had occurred only because they had not know that his majesty was on the march and were now afraid that their lord's ire will be raised should he now of this so that they were returning them as a present. Minkyiswasawke then asked, "You say in the letter that you would like me to have Kudut but want no conflict. How will you explain it? " The envoy answered, "Kudut has been part and parcel of your majesty's realm. Only because your son, our king had attacked and taken it, it was stockaded and his men placed in it. This has caused you to march against us. Please take back Kudut but let us go. That is why we have said we want you to have it but want no conflict." Minkyiswasawke spoke, " He had rebelled against his father at the age of sixteen. When his father passed away, he prepared to attack his brother -in-law who had ensconced himself in a fortified city causing the latter to flee and inherited his father's realm. I have made two attempts against him at the invitation of the governor of Myaungmya but both failed and he has quelled all the rebellious elements in his realm. I have come marching because my territory has been infringed upon. Now you say that my territory is for the taking. I would like to take those who are holding the fort but a diligent effort will have to be made and Binnya Nwe may not be content to take it without rancour. At my age I do not want to commit more unwholesome acts. Because your lord has done an unworthy deed I should not put the blame on you. As I do not scheme in the manner of your lord and master I will abide by your wishes. "He awarded each of the four commanders with a young male elephant

and drew back his besieging forces. A representative was sent to observe the oath-taking ceremony with the four commanders on the other side. A suitable person was appointed in charge of Kudut town. Smim Bechitta and Smim Thangye together with their troops went to pay their respects to Minkyiswasawke who gave out ample awards.

The four commanders returned to their post and a Talaing who was suffering from diahorrea was carried by the Burmese on a stretcher to his camp. On the other hand a Burmese captive demanded by the king was not returned although it was said that he would be returned after due investigation. Thus the Talaings were said to have broken their promise and the saying "Given but not received" came into currency. Minkyiswasawke then returned to Ava.

The four commanders on reaching Pegu reported to their king Razadarit that their negotiations with king Minkyiswasawke of Ava were successful. The king was delighted and praised them saying, "You commanders and nobles have carried out negotiations with a powerful monarch and handled matters of the state well. You have enhanced the might of your sovereign." The party sent out to receive the gift elephant from Ayuthia also returned. During this year the chief queen Piyarazadevi passed away. An earthquake and a flood also occurred.

The governor of Moulmein, Saithu, also passed away. Binnyaparan was born this year which also marked the demise of Mahadevi. In the month of Kason (May-June), Moe Ounaung was consecrated as Queen Razadevi. People shaved their heads in deference to the death of the chief queen. Moe Ounaung was the daughter of Sitrepain who was the son of Binnya The who had left the king of Chiengmai, Maharat because he was disenchanted with the king and came to serve under (Binnya U). With his wife he brought a son and a daughter by the name of Hnin The. When his wife who had accompanied him from Chengmai died, he was given the hand of Binnya U's daughter Myi Talasawlun in marriage. The sister, Hnin Khe O⁴⁵ was wed to Khun Hmaing who hailed from the Shan country. To Binnya The and Myi Talasawlun was born a son named Sitrepain, and a daughter Moe Akhinlay. Sitrepain had three daughters, Moe Ounaung, Moe Auk and Myi U Si. The king took all three of them as his queens, Moe Ounaung being given the title Razadevi, Moe Auk, the title Lawkadevi and Myi U Si, the title Thirimayadevi. Their aunt Moe Akhinlay was also invested with the title of Tala Hninthiri at the same time and one of her two sons, Baukanbaru given the title Saw Maharat and wed to the king's daughter Talamikyaw. The other, named Bawchi was given the title Ein Kummar and later with the title Byattapa and the governorship of Lagun Byi town.

After Minkyiswasawke had passed away, his son Hsinbyushin became king of Ava. Later he became insane and was assassinated by Nganaukhsan, the son of

⁴⁵ Binnya The's daughter according to Nai Pan Hla's translation. The name also differs.

his guardian and himself was killed in turn by the nobles (who placed) Minhkaung on the throne. The citizenry of Ava and Pagan (Bagan) became festive and there was no unity among them. The king (Razadarit) raised his fist in jubilation when he heard of this state of affairs. He summoned General Byat Za before the court and pronounced that a god had once predicted that not only he would rule the three Ramanya kingdoms of the Talaings, but his suzerainty would stretch right up to the northern realm "where the Naga serpent sojourns "; that Burma was in a chaotic stage presenting an opportunity to take up arms against it and seize Laukpya's sons and sons-in laws; that it would be feasible even to take over the country or establish friendly relations with it.

After that men were set to build war boats for the nobles and when this project was completed, thirteen battle formations were fielded, the Lagunein force, Upakaung's vanguard, Avanannaing's force, General Byat Za's main force, Deinmaniyut's force, Re Thin Ran's force, the governor of Dala Baw Gyaw's unit, the regiment commanded by his son-in-law Saw Maharat, Yo Karat's unit, E Gaungpein's unit, the governor of Bassein, Thilawa's unit and the king's own troops. An armada of four thousand large and small vessels with rafts carrying elephants and horses moved up the river Irrawaddy (Ayeyarwady). E Byare was placed in charge of the garrison troops. It was on the 9th waxing day of the month of Nadaw 756 M.E (1394 C.E) that the armada set out for Ava.

Prome was then held by Pyanchi, son of the governor of Myaungmya⁴⁶. Prome was well defended with strong walls, turrets, bastions and an adequate moat and met the seige with closed gates. Because the elephantry and cavalry could not yet advance an assault could not be mounted against the defenders. Meanwhile the defenders could not counterattack because they were weak on water. As the attacking force reached Khaunglaungkya, the king's daughter Talamikyaw fell ill and the king decided to leave her behind with his son-in-law Saw Maharat in a stockaded position. Deinmaniyut submitted his concern that they could be isolated and attacked and that it would be better to bring them along. The king replied that since he had reached Burmese territory, he had confiscated all boats, taking the good ones, destroying and setting fire to those that were not. He would build a strong stockade for them and leave a reserve force of war boats to go after the enemy if they came out to forage and would they dare attack them, he said. He didn't take Deinmaniyut's advice and leaving his daughter and son-in-law at Khaunglaungkya continued his advance.

One or two days after the king had pushed forward, Pyanchi, the governor of Prome had boats that had been hidden in a lake portaged to the river and mounted a night attack . The troops in the stockade stood to at their appointed

⁴⁶ The late Laukpya.

es on the ramparts and bastions. Saw Maharat, however thought that a
n attack was being mounted against him and leaving his catamaran barge
in a small boat. The Burmese force captured princess Talamikyaw who
was escorted to Ava by land and presented to the king who gave her to his son
Bhathu in marriage. Razadarit did not know of this development and on
reaching Ava he had the ceremonial drum sounded and the white umbrella of
the kingship raised over his royal person. Seeing that he did not have the naval
power of his adversary, the king of Ava stood in the fastness of his royal city.

Razadarit sent Deinmaniyut and General Byat Za up the river as far as
Minhkaung.

Inside Ava, King Minhkaung assembled his ministers and nobles, invited the
residing monks from within the royal city and its environs and asked for
their advice on how to deal with the emergency situation. Not one minister or
venerable monk had any advice to offer except Panya Thukyo a monk aged
nearly one years who had spent twelve years in the ministry who spoke up
from behind the ranks of venerable prelates, "My lords have partaken of the
righteous king's generosity yet you have no advice to offer when he asks you
at this time of emergency. No official has also come forth with a suggestion.
No plan to raise the Talaing king's seige have been thought out. Is it right to
remain silent in this situation?" To this older monks commented in derisive
tones, "No one else but this saintly person has a plan to make the Talaing king
withdraw." Panya Thukyo smiled and just said "Very well." King Minhkaung
was gladdened and called him aside saying, "Pray think of something, my son". Panya Thukyo assured the king that he would take care of matters and
told the king not to worry. He then sent this epistle to Razadarit, "Righteous
King of Hanthawaddy who holds the title of King Razadarit", I am of thirty
years in age and have observed twelve monsoon retreats as a monk in the
study of the scriptures. I have planned to journey down to the royal city of
Hanthawaddy just to have the chance of seeing your majesty but have been
unable to do so. I send this epistle because should I die before I have had the
chance to see you I shall certainly be consigned to one of the four miserable
modes of existence but if I am able to see you in person, though I should die I
will be reborn in one of the celestial realms." This letter was sent to
Razadarit.

As the letter was read out to him, the king thought, "I did not come across
such a monk throughout my voyage from my city to the gates of Ava. Now that a
monk sends a request to see me I would be criticised that I chose to ignore one
of the Three Gems should I refuse to see him." He sent an invitation to the
monk saying that he wished to see him the invitation being ceremoniously
accompanied by a present of betel. Having received this invitation, the monk
informed King Minhkaung that he had been invited by the Talaing king and

Derived from Pali "Rājā adhi rāja" or "King of Kings"

asked him to provide some presents to accompany him on that visit. King Minhkaung provided thirty eight golden seats, thirty sets of elephant harness chains in gold, one thousand ornamented rugs of fine quality and a thousand pieces of fine cloth carried by a train of ten thousand white-robed nuns with the monk riding on a tuskless elephant equipped with howdah. Razadarit exclaimed that the monk had brought him a great quantity of presents and provided him with a suitable place to sit near him.

Panya Thukyo asked "Pray listen to me king and upholder of the faith, while the Lord Buddha was seated under the rājayatna (*Buchanania latifolia*) tree the merchant brothers Tapussa and Bhallika rendered an offertory of honey-cakes and the Buddha gave eight hairs from his head for them to worship which were eventually enshrined on top of the Theinguttara hill as has been foretold. This was on the full moon day at the time of neap tide. King Anawratha sought the sacred hair relics but as it was not preordained that he obtain them he sailed upstream (from Dagon) when the tide rose to the level of the reliquary (in the Shwedagon pagoda). When he reached Pagan (Bagan) the difference in the two levels was 1750 *ta* (ie. 18, 375 feet). Why have come up such a distance at a great expenditure of effort from your rowers and paddlers?" "I have come here for four reasons", replied Razadarit, "One, because I want an enemy king to suffer; two, because I want to take over his realm; three, to increase my manpower and my might; four, because I had heard that Pagan and Ava are rich in the numbers of pagodas enshrined with Buddha's sacred relics." Hearing this Pinya Thukyo smiled. Upon being asked why he smiled, the monk replied that he smiled because the righteous king was without a proper mentor and general and upon being asked why he made this claim, he replied, "Pray listen to me righteous king, according to the scriptures, of the realms of existence, the great island of Jambudipa is of ten thousand *yojanas* (nearly 130,000 miles), as is the extent of the Tavatimsa (realm of a class of celestial gods), Asura (realm of a class of gods who are the sworn enemies of the Tavatimsa gods) and Maha Aviji (the nethermost hell); Jambudipa is composed of 16 kingdoms and there are separate cities towns and villages and oceans but these are clearly demarcated;

The Tavatimsa celestial abode has the great parks of Nandanavana, Missakavana and Cittalatāvana and manors of one or two *yojanas* belonging to the gods and these are also clearly demarcated, there are no territorial disputes, the same is with the realm of the Asura. However, this is not the case with the purgatory of Maha Aviji where it is like rice dough that has been rammed into a joint of bamboo. This is because sentient beings are full of greed. They take another's territory for their own. They take another man's wife for their own. They take what property another man has for their own. That is known as greed. Your majesty has given me four reasons for coming here out of which there is only one that Buddha will commend because it is based on good reason and he will not be pleased with the remaining three.

only your objective of coming here to worship at the pagodas will be accepted by any Buddha. Your coming here from Hanthawaddy is commensurate with the building of a place of worship dedicated to the Buddha and is deserving of untold merit. Since no one seems to have raised his voice against the remaining three reasons given I have said that you lack a mentor I have said that you lack a general because ancient kings used to send envoys to other kings to befriend them and to establish peaceful relations among their nations, to promote trade and commerce, that the rich, the monks and brahmins may be prosperous and live well so that it will be fruitful in the present existence as well as in the coming ones. There is no one to give you this beneficial advice so that I have said that you lack a general." The king was pleased with these words and said that he had not come by the land route but by the riverine route so that he would leave once the party that had been sent to the Tagaung-Male area upstream, returns. Panya Thukyo then commented, "Righteous king, you are like the Buddha, the monk is like Indra and the people of Ava are like the citizens of Rājagaha city. Why have I said thus? This is because once when the Buddha went on a round of accepting food offertories in that city the citizenry remained behind closed doors in their houses and Indra, knowing of this and that to remain that way would consign the citizens of that city to the netherworlds in their coming life, took pity on them and taking the guise of a human being went up to the Buddha and placed an offertory of food in his bowl. Only then did the citizens come out and followed his example and in the end the people of Rājagaha were reborn in the pleasurable abodes. That is why I have said that you are like the Buddha, the monk is like Indra and the people of Ava are like the citizens of Rājagaha."

Razadarit said, "Since I came up here no one has come forward to offer me even a solitary cockerel. If I were to let this hurt my pride and letting my wrath get the better of me and carried out hostilities all creatures will come to suffer. We two kings will then have committed unwholesome acts. Because Panya Thukyo has given us a sermon, the two kings will not fight each other but hostilities are ended and there is reciprocal friendliness and respect. This is a very beneficial thing." At this point, some of Razadarit's men who had made a foray into the precincts of the Shwekyetyet pagoda returned with thirty to forty slaves that had been dedicated to that pagoda and heads severed from some of their group. At this Panya Thukyo remarked that the king was being ungrateful towards his benefactor. The king asked who was this benefactor that the monk was referring to. Panya Thukyo the monk replied, "Righteous king, you have attained the power, the glory and the amenities you enjoy now because in a past existence you have made offertories to a Buddha or a Lesser Buddha. You have now caused the slaves that serve the pagoda symbolising this benefactor to be killed which is a very great misdeed and that is why I've said that you are ungrateful towards your benefactor. Monarch of Hanthawaddy, since you have reached Burma, to say nothing of meeting a

learned son of the Buddha as I am, have you ever had the honour of being presented with a single flower even by a young child ? As befitting a monk, I have discoursed on matters that bring benefit in this present existence as well as in the future ones while those who ply the paddles and sweep the oars bring you presents. I've shown you the way how monarchs may befriend each other. You have met me, a son of the Buddha, because I have come to you righteous king, in order that two monarchs may have the chance to establish friendship and respect for each other and that you may benefit by being prevented from doing wrong in this present life and avoid enmity in the future"

The king was deeply touched by Panya Thukyo's counsel made with allegorical references and his hardened heart turned as soft as wax heated by flames. He could not make an ascerbic riposte and could only look on the noble monk's countenance with admiration and spoke of his deep respect for him. The pagoda slaves from the Shwekyetyet pagoda were also freed and allowed to leave in peace by his command.

The king declared that he would build a monastery near the walls enclosing the precincts of the Shwekyetyet pagoda and would sail down the river for home in a week. Panya Thukyo was taken back to Ava in the king's golden boat, riding in the royal seat under the towering tiered golden canopies. A monastery of five pavilion-roofed halls joined together was constructed on the platform of the Shwekyetyet pagoda and donated complete with the four requisites of monks. Panya Thukyo informed king Minhkaung that he would be enlightening the Talaing king on the teachings of the Lord Buddha before he departed downstream.

King Minhkaung commented that Razadarit would be turning back only because the monk had gone out to meet him but that his mind was troubled at the thought that he might return again. The monk replied that he would see to it that he did not return by calling on the two brothers who commanded the cavalry to take two thousand mounted troopers with them and to ride along the bank of the river showing themselves whenever the Talaings set ashore to gather firewood and vegetables but not attacking them, relying on this show of force to make them turn back for their boats, keeping this up until they had reached Prome. The king was pleased with this plan and summoned the two brothers who commanded the cavalry and let Panya Thukyo give them their instructions. Panya Thukyo told them "You take command of two thousand horse and ride with them along the riverbank, make them see you whenever they come ashore to gather firewood or vegetables, do not attack them but let your presence send them scurrying back towards their boats. When they land at Pagan to pay pilgrimage to the pagodas there, ride between the monasteries and gardens so that they will be deterred from their pilgrimage. Keep this up until they reach Prome when you will ride down onto the sandbank and

breaking up your formation into numerous troops, scare them away by your numbers. In this way prevent them from worshipping at the Myathitin pagoda (now better known as the Shwehsandaw⁴⁸) and keep harrying them until they are past Prome."

At dawn king Razadarit sent for Panya Thukyo entreating to accompany him as far as Pagan. The monk was given a golden outrigger canoe with tiered golden turrets in which to ride. As they sailed downstream, they could see smoke rising from the monastery on the Shwekyetyet donated by king Razadarit which was now being put to the torch on the orders of king Minhkaung. King Razadarit was angered and gave orders to turn back, vowing that he would return to Hanthawaddy only after crushing Ava. On hearing this Panya Thukyo placated the king by saying that only those who destroyed another man's meritorious work would deserve demerit; as once a meritorious deed is done, it is not wasted and its author immediately earns merit and similar meritorious works can continued to be done elsewhere to earn further merit. Since a monk propagates the teachings of the Lord Buddha, he continued, the royal word once given should not be amended. The king was mollified by these words and the journey downstream was continued until they reached Pagan where the king built a monastery near the Tankyi stupa and donated it together with a monk's four requisites to the monk Panya Thukyo. At Sale, the departing invaders tried to take away the gracious Sagyo image but was deterred from doing so by the cavalry. The king had his royal boat drawn near the shore and landed some of his troops while he left his seat under the ornate canopy to stand at the prow and took command. As one of his generals Upakaung landed, he was set upon by the enemy cavalry and had his thigh pierced by a thrown lance. The trooper who had thrown the lance approached the fallen Upakaung to claim his head but Upakaung speared the trooper's steed from under him, cut off his head as he was brought down from his saddle and presented the severed head to his king. When the Burmese troops saw this, they exclaimed in wonder that he could not be human but must surely be a god. When the riverine force had disembarked in great numbers the horsemen of Ava left. About ten horses were captured and these were presented to the king. The king seeing that Upakaung was bleeding from the lance wound tore his robe into shreds and stanched the flow of blood with these. "I have laid waste Tagaung-Male and put the countryside to torch but no one there dared to lift a finger against me," he said, "but Sale has the temerity to wound one of my generals and therefore I will not return without taking it." He accordingly sent his commanders who took it and presented some captives to the king. From the captives he learnt for the first time that his daughter had been captured and that she had been taken to Ava to be presented to the king. A courier boat was sent to Prome which returned to report that the force there had not been destroyed but that the princess had

⁴⁸ U Po Latt's "Research on Ancient Myanmar History and Culture", Pyinnya Nada Press, Yangon 1962 .p.101

indeed fallen into the hands of the enemy. This was a great blow to him and his anger blew up like rape seeds being roasted over a hot fire. He vowed that he would not return until he had sacked Sale and Prome. At this point Deinmaniyut and Smim Byat Za intervened to plead that the men were tired and it would be better to resume hostilities again only after the men had a rest and the coming monsoon season was over. Then a large force of both land and riverine components could be mobilised to realise his ambitions, they said. After taking a large number of captives, they sailed for home.

Razadarit's daughter was wed to the son of Minhkaung, prince Minethihathu and on reaching Dala, Razadarit had Saw Maharat executed. Once home in Pegu, King Razadarit gave Upakaung the hand of his daughter Talamikaung in marriage and invested him with the fiefdom of Paungnin. When the monsoon came to an end, two columns, one land and the other riverine set out. The land force was made up of five combat formations with General Byat Za, Smim Ava -nannaing, Smim Baw Kyaw, Smim E Byare and Smim Byapaik in command of each and totalling a hundred elephants and thirty thousand troops. The riverine force comprised of eight flotillas with the king Razadarit himself, Deinmaniyut, Smim Yokarat, Upakaung, Lagunein, Smim Sithu, Smim E Gaungpein and Smim Mawkhwin in command of each and totalled seventy thousand marines, one thousand warboats and over two thousand supply boats.

First Kudut was attacked and then the towns of Uyinpu, Kyakhat and Shwedaung were sacked and captives taken. Tayokmaw was attacked but could not be taken.

As Razadarit approached the besieged town the governor of Tarokinaw fled into the jungle. Tarokmaw was bypassed after taking captives and the fleet left for Prome as the nobles commented that if Prome was taken, Tarokmaw would fall of its own accord.

At that time Prome was held by Letya Pyanchi, the son-in-law of the late Lauk-pya. Another of his son-in-laws, by the name of Min Hla Kaung was given the governorship of Salin and the title, Nawratha. Nawratha was also given the task of holding Prome. Prome was under assault three times but these attacks proved to be costly and were not successful so that Razadarit had to content himself by surrounding it from the landward side. On hearing that Prome was under siege and that its citizens were facing famine, a force of thirty thousand comprising four regiments each commanded by the governors of Kukhan, Talokmyo, Kinda and Pinle were sent as reinforcements. Hearing of this development, Razadarit summoned Deinmaniyut and Byat Za and said, "Min Swe (Minhkaung) does not come in person but sends four regiments commanded by nobles, shall we let them approach the city walls or fight them before they reach here?" Byat Za answered, "If we let them approach the city we will be attacked from two sides, by reinforcements from Ava on one side

and troops in Prome on the other. Maintain the siege with the marine forces while our seven regiments will sally forth to meet them ". The king agreed with the scheme and left his landforce commanders to carry out their plan. They set out with Lagunein in the van, the general Byat Za riding on the Gandha elephant that had been presented by the king of Ayuthia, and accompanied by the troops of Smim Awanannaing, Smim Zeip Bye, Paw Kyaw the governor of Dala, Smim Byapaik and Upakaung. When enemy movement was detected in the village of Theymathaw, they concealed themselves behind a range of hills as they were quite close to each other. At the head of the Burmese forces was the Kale regiment which advanced without hesitation. Byat Za sent a message to Lagunein telling him not to advance too quickly and to wait for his signal, to venture out on to the plain only then and to attack the enemy where it was favourable in terms of strength.

Lagunein, however, ventured out onto the plain saying that by staying as it was they could not put fear into enemy's heart. Upakaung followed. Lagunein's charge scattered the vanguard but the Kale regiment reformed and charged putting Lagunein's unit into disarray and sixty of his men were killed. Seeing this, the troops of Upakaung, Byapaik and Baw Kyaw were scattered. Only the three troops under Byat Za, Zeip Bye and Awananaing that remained in concealment in the jungle were intact. Awananaing standing on his elephant could observe four of their units being scattered and he had the news relayed to Byat Za together with his query whether they were to fight or withdraw. Byat Za replied that by withdrawing they would not accomplish anything and as loyalty to their benefactor required of them, he would not budge from his place atop the elephant and would only strive for victory. Remaining on his station atop the elephant, he passed water in a spitoon repeatedly. His elephant escort footsoldiers seeing this remarked that their elephant was in musth in the front as well as in the rear and therefore the Burmese troops will not be able to withstand its charge. Meanwhile the troops pursuing the four regiments that were put to flight were observed not to be in orderly formation themselves so that the two regiments of Samim Ava-nannaing and Samin Zeip Bye under Byat Za's command hurled themselves at the Kukhan regiment and scattered it. They set the Tarokmyo governor's stockade to the torch making its occupants flee and eventually scattered all the four regiments.

Lagunein meanwhile was regrouping his scattered forces in a nearby forest and seeing this chance, went out and captured elephants, horses and men from the disorganized enemy forces and then he lost no time in turning back and presenting this booty to the king who showered many gifts on him. When the general Byat Za returned he heard of this and retired to his tent without giving his report to the king. He entered the king's presence only when he was summoned and when he was asked why he did not come immediately, he replied that since the king had awarded Lagunein without examining the nature of his exploits, (it would seem as if) he had taken only those that had

remained after his foray which he deemed not worthy of presenting to his majesty and therefore he had not appeared before the king. Lagunein admitted that his troops had been put to flight at the beginning, but that he had later taken the opportunity to capture the enemy that had been scattered by the general (Byat Za)'s counter-attack.

The king clapped his hands in delight and laughed. He then chided Lagunein that his words were not that of a noble and warrior but that of a cowherd and if warned him that if it happened the next time, he would be handed over to the general to be disciplined. Then seeing that his general Byat Za, who had been ill from the start of the campaign was ill at ease, he had a round cushion brought for him to lean on (from that time onwards, this amenity was provided every time the general was present when the king gave audience) General Byat Za then submitted that the besieging of Prome could only succeed by starving out their citizenry, it would take time and meanwhile the miasmic environment could exact its toll on the troops. Since the enemy reinforcements had been put to rout, he said, only three regiments should be placed at Nawin and the main force, both riverine and land concentrate at Thale where the climate was salubrious. Prome would succumb, one time or another, he said, since the four troops had been prevented from reinforcing it. The general's advice was followed and Byapaik, E Byare and Baw Kyaw were sent to hold Nawin with Upakaung's force stationed on its riverside. The king erected a great redoubt at Tale and named it Baranasi (Banares).

The citizens of Prome faced famine subsisting on rice bran and pith of the toddy palm. When King Minhkaung heard of this, he realized that it would soon fall into enemy hands unless he intervened and marched off with two thousand elephantry and one hundred and twenty thousand troops. A forced march took them to Myede where they struck camp. As lookouts brought this news to Razadarit, he conferred with Deinmaniyut and Byat Za. "Min Swe has come with a large horde. Is it advisable or not to withdraw the besieging force ?" he wanted to know. Byat Za commended its withdrawal. The three governors commanding the besieging forces protested "Even though Prome is starving it has not fallen yet. Repeated assaults on it has not been effective. If the besieging troops are withdrawn will it not weaken the effort ?" At this point Deinmaniyut intervened "Prome is defended by brick walls and a wide and deep moat while our defences consist of stockades encircled by ditches. The Burmese king is a king no less than our Hsinbyushin is, while you are but nobles. In war, forces led by nobles are usually no match against a force under the leadership of a monarch. That is why we recommend withdrawing your besieging troops". The general stayed silent while E Byare exuberantly claimed that they would fight undeterred. Deinmaniyut again reasoned against it saying, "You say you will strive your best but it will be like a carver of wood who takes on a huge log with a small thin chisel and a lightweight mallet. "At this point king Razadarit made his exit and the meeting broke

up. He was swayed by the three commanders of the besieging troops who opted to continue the siege.

When he gave audience in the evening he asked the three commanders of the besieging forces whether they were united in their purpose. They affirmed that they were and asked only for some reinforcements which the king arranged for. He had them widen the moats and ditches and strengthen the stockade.

As King Minhkaung of Ava marched forth from Myede he was met by the four governors who had suffered defeat earlier. They admitted that they had erred in being too hasty and had paid for it and that they would try their utmost in the future. King Minhkuang carried out the assault on the Talaing stockade at dawn, Tuesday, the 5th day of the waxing moon in the month of Dabodwe (January).

The assault force included elephantry and cavalry, while infantry scrambled over the stockades with scaling ladders. Although the besiegers now turned into the besieged withstood the assault determinedly and King Razadarit himself lent his aura to Byapaik's troops, every stockadé was breached, Byapaik and Baw Kyaw were killed in action and Samim Zeip Bye was captured. During the furious onslaught following the breaching of the defences, seven to eight hundred defenders were slaughtered and about the same number of Shans were captured.

Hundreds fled to the river. When King Razadarit heard this commotion he asked about it and was told that they were troops fleeing from the breached Nawin stockades. Furious, he commanded that ten reconnaissance boats be launched to kill the fleeing soldiery from Nawin crossing the river. Emuntaya took this order, kowtowed and left. At this point Mahathamun interceded for the men, pointing out that the three governors were the ones who had made the madcap claims, not their men and that by killing his own men it would be like helping the enemy. Thus the king was pacified and Mahathamun was allowed to save the swimmers. After winning the battle King Minhkaung's troops filled the fortified city of Prome with their numbers.

During the royal levee held at daybreak, the king commented that he had been put to shame because he had disregarded Deinmaniyut and General Byat Za and had listened to the yelping of curs instead. General Byat Za said that although the battle had been lost because his words came to nought, victory would be assured if his advice was followed in the future. The king asked how was this to be. Byat Za explained that since they had been subsisting on the environs of Prome and King Minhkaung had only come with rations carried by porters it would soon be used up and it would be necessary to provision himself by drawing on supplies from the Ava-Pagan region. "When the environs of Prome face famine we will win", he said "The Burmese king will

this point as well as I do. Therefore do not negotiate with him when he asks for a truce. With three to four hundred boats and picked men led by nobles we will see that rice from the Myede -Thayet - Magwe -Malun is collected and any amount remaining burnt and destroyed." The king approved his plan so that this scorched earth policy was carried out in every town and village in that area. As King Minhkaung could not get his supplies from far or near, he had to send an envoy by the end of ten days or so with gifts of two good horses and ten robes. His envoy brought this message to King Razadarit, Elder Brother to whom the Lord of the Golden Palace of Ava informs that I have come here, honourable brother, not with the intention of waging war against you, who have ruled the kingdom of Hanthawaddy after your father Hsinbyushin had passed away and impressed your rule on such parts of your realm that had been insurgent, just as I, who have also inherited the country of Burma after my father had died and have to put down insurgent elements in my own country. As brotherly kings blessed with power and glory I have come to behold you with love and affection. On my way as I march forth with all the power and glory of a monarch, I had inadvertently clashed with three troops under your servitors who had neglected to keep their proper station.

At that clash, Zeip Bye alone has survived and I will be sending him to you, Elder Brother. This I do inform you with love and respect. "When the king heard this message being read out, he looked at Byat Za and remarked "This minister has the vision of a person gifted with omniscience. He truly befits his office" Byat Za remained with his face lowered.

The king said, "My younger brother King Minhkaung is said to be wise and indeed he is wise. I have come upstream from Pegu and attacked Prome but my endeavours have not succeeded and have lost many of my men. You have won the battle, younger brother so that you can ask for a truce. Meanwhile I have lost a battle so that in my embarrassing situation I cannot grant one until I have taken Prome. Only then will I be able to grant what you have asked for." King Razadarit did not appoint his own envoy to convey this message to King Minhkaung but had the latter's envoy carry it on his return. When the envoy had left, the king retired to his chambers where queen Tala Thutamaya, learning that her father had not been killed but was being held captive by King Minhkaung entreated the king tearfully, prostrating herself and hugging his feet, that he end the hostilities by negotiation and ensure her father's release. The king reappeared before his generals "I retired to my chamber but I cannot stand the queen's querulous pleadings that the war be ended and she given the chance to see her father again. What do you think of it General?", he asked Byat Za who replied "I only know the business of war not of women" After an interval of two or three days King Minhkaung again sent an envoy to deliver a message that read "In the preceding year, while my elder brother came up to the Tagaung -Male region and later returned downriver, there was no outbreak of hostilities. In the interests of making merit in this present

life as well as for the future rebirths, I had my mentor the *sayadaw* visit you and after his discourses on the teachings of the Lord Buddha no war was waged between us. During your present campaign, you have set fire to the stockaded towns of Kudut and Uyinpu, the four regiments that I had sent as reinforcements to Prome were also set upon by my brother's men and choice elephants and horses had been taken from them as booty. I have only won a battle against my brother's three servitors who had neglected to observe the necessary etiquette they should have accorded a column headed by the monarch himself. Therefore, elder brother, though you say that your men had suffered casualties, you have had the most number of victories overall. Please consider that a son of a monarch is a monarch and will he turn away from an enemy who faces him with cavalry and elephantry ? I fear only that should monarchs wage war against each other in their arrogance with full panoplies of cavalry and elephantry the people, laity and monks alike, will suffer and evil deeds prevail. Since we are brother monarchs we are both invested with power and glory resulting from accumulated past merit. If we should pray that we might become a future Buddha or a chief disciple of the Buddha our aims will be fulfilled. Let us pray together to attain nirvana when the future Buddha Metteyya attains Buddhahood and makes his preordainment. "

When this letter was read out to him, King Razadarit commented that the king of Ava had spoken with grace and courtesy in accordance with the tenets of the Buddhist doctrine. He then retired to his chamber where his queen Tala Thuta -maya again beseeched him which prompted him to send this message to his counterpart " You, Younger Brother have spoken in the interest of what is honourable in this present life and in the future cycle of rebirths as well. Should I reject your proposal it would seem that I care not for these principles and therefore I agree to your wishes. " Amicable relations between these two monarchs ensued and envoys shuttled between them. From King Minhkaung came a conciliatory message which read " Elder Brother, you are well-known far and wide. If you deem that a lesser figure has the temerity to oppose an aggrandiser I humble myself before you. " He sent this message with a delegation headed by Tharay Sithu and returned six to seven hundred captives including Zeip Bye. Gifts comprising one hundred horses including ten caparisoned in gold, two female elephants with gold howdahs and one thousand rugs from China carried by a retinue of a thousand also accompanied this delegation. On arrival, Tharay Sithu was appointed a place beside Byat Za. After the former had made his asseveration he was given five young male elephants and five female elephants, all with gold howdahs. Following Tharay Sithu's return, Razadarit sent General Byat Za together with presents consisting of ten young male elephants, five female elephants and bolts of velvet and rolls of felt which required one thousand bearers.

At the ceremony of offering the presents, Byat Za's profferal was received by

the king himself. With Tharay Sithu in front Byat Za made his asseveration after which the king presented him with thirty horses of which two were caparisoned in gold, bracelets and rings for each of his fingers. Byat Za was made to bare his chest and parade in front of the king who remarked that he seemed to be quite thin, at which Byat Za replied that he was not in good health at the present. The king praised Byat Za commenting that he befitting his reputation that he was a man of physical and mental prowess and remarked that he would like to see him catch elephants. Byat Za replied that it would be only worthwhile to witness the catching of wild elephants but the the spectacle of lassoing domesticated elephants was not to be recommended. The king remarked jocularly in friendly tones that in the presence of Byat Za, he felt as if Razadarit himself had honoured him with a visit before letting him return.

The two monarchs then sat together on the platform of the Myathitin pagoda and exchanged pleasantries. Razadarit made a present of his white umbrella and personal betel leaf holder and betel box to Minhkaung who in turn presented him with his white umbrella and betel box. The two kings demarcated their territories, designating Tapindaraung as the western border point, Thapaka in the east, the upcountry as the territory of Ava while the downriver country was the territory of Pegu. Razadarit then said that he would maintain a garrison in the stockade named Baranasi in Talehsing and that he requested Minhkaung to bear with it until he retired that garrison. This was only to impress the neighbouring kings, he said, and assured Minhkaung that it would not be held with a strong force. King Minkhaung agreed to this and later they parted.

Razadarit returned to Pegu and Minhkaung to Ava respectively. When he had reached his capital, King Minhkaung initiated a mission to investigate whether the Talaing garrison holding Talehsing had departed or not. When it was reported that it had not, he commented that the Talaings had failed to keep their word, that while it had been agreed on Tapindaraung they are now trying to keep Talehsing in their hands. He said that he would first attack Arakan (Rakhine) and having taken it, he would attack Pegu. He also sent thirty horse to the King Saw Maharat of Cheingmai (Zinnme) with this message "Elder Brother King of Cheingmai to whom the Lord of the Golden Palace informs - that the servitor of a Talaing king has gone against the pledge he had made with me and now tries to hold on to part of my territory. For this act I am going to attack Arakan first; then with Arakan in my hands, I will attack Pegu, in which case I ask you to march as far as Thitdaunk. When I have won Pegu, we will sit together and I will let you have your share of the choicest of women, horses and elephants to your heart's content." Meanwhile, King Razadarit had, Maw Khwin, the governor of Salat set up a picket to cover the jungle trails and arrest anyone using them. The thirty horse from Ava were captured by this picket and presented to the king. The king took

umbrage at the expression "Talaing servitor" and ordered the thirty mounted couriers to be executed. Deinmaniyut pleaded for a stay of the sentence to let him interrogate them first as a pact had been made with the Burmese king with whom they had been enemies not long ago so that if they had been sent before the pact had been made he should not be angered. He then asked the couriers when they had been sent on their mission. When the Burmese officials answered that they had been sent on their way during the month of Dagu, Deinmaniyut reported to the king that his anger was justified as the pact had been made in the month of Dabodwe (ie two months before they had embarked on this mission) and had the men executed. "Min Swe asked for a truce and after an agreement had been made, betrayed his trust," he said "Should I stay quiet ? Send a spy to Ava." When it was reported that Minhkaung had left for Arakan, Razadarit marched out to Bassein. As Minhkaung took over Arakan, the Arakanese king fled to India while his son prince Narameikhla fled to Sandoway (Thandwe) taking with him a force about a thousand strong together with elephants and cavalry. Hearing that Razadarit was in Bassein, he sought his protection which was readily given. Razadarit told him not to worry and that he would help the prince regain his rightful heritage.

Baik Nye and Maw Khwin were appointed co- commanders with Thanlaik and Bya Nare as their deputies at the head of a force made up of 50 elephants, three hundred horse and twenty thousand troops with orders to escort Narameikhla who was to be borne under the white umbrella of kingship, install him on the Arakanese throne and to refrain from looting Sandoway which was on their line of march. An ultimatum was to be sent to the governor of Sandoway to accept Narameikhla as their sovereign by which means they would be left in peace but should they ally themselves with the Burmese and chose not to be his subjects there would be war. When the whole Sandoway countryside had rallied to his side, he said, the men that Min Swe had left behind in Arakan would not stand and fight against them.

When this force reached Sandoway, the whole town rallied to the side of the prince and the official named Maha who was in charge of the town had to flee to Arakan. Prince Narameikhla awarded the citizenry of Sandoway with gifts and the commanders added levies from that town to their column and headed towards Arakan. Meanwhile Arakan was held by Garmani, who was wedded to Min-hkaung's daughter, princess Sawpyechantha. King Minhkaung had installed his son-in-law on the Arakanese throne saying that they deserved its golden palace and its thriving seaport. The ministers thought otherwise but since the royal edict had been rendered they did not dare give their opinions. As Razadarit's expeditionary force approached the Arakanese city with the deputy commanders in the van, the citizens rallied to their side as their prince Narameikhla was in it.

Garmani was isolated with his troops. As the force with Thanlaik and Bye Nare in command of the spearhead and Narameikhla following close behind them entered, Garmani lost his nerve and fled but was captured with his wife, the princess, together with their insignias of state and three thousand horse and elephantry. Meanwhile at Bassein, Razadarit relieved Thilawa of its governor-ship and placed Deinmaniyut in his stead. He then left for Pegu and at Zanawdaw he watched a polo match played between teams formed from his officers.

It was at this point that the victory at Arakan and the news that captured daughter and son-in-law of Minhkaung, princess Sawpyechantha and Garmani, were now in Bassein was reported by Deinmaniyut. Razadarit clapped his biceps with his hands in jubilation and exclaimed that the Burmese king's daughter and son-in-law had fallen into his hands as the direct result of his betrayal of the pact they had once entered. A stupa was then built on this spot and titled Kyat Kanat. Later it came to be known as the Sanaw Daw.

Razadarit sent Mahathmun to Bassein to have Garmani executed and escort Sawpyechantha who was made a queen on her arrival. Two large high-tailed dragon-boats laden with largesse were sent to the commanders of the victorious expeditionary force together with instructions to install Narameikhla on the throne complete with the white umbrella (the insignia of kingship), to establish his suzerainty over the whole domain and to bring back Burmese artisans at Arakan who were skilled in painting, carving, sculpture, weaving, bronzework and carpentry. On receipt of these orders, Narameikhla was duly installed on the throne, any incipient movement towards insurgency quelled and all Burmese artisans taken away with them on their return.

Meanwhile, King Minhkaung was on an expedition to put down a rebellion by the Shans of Bhamo (Bamaw). After attaining his objectives he returned with a number of men and women of all ages taken as captives. The king listened to a recital of the King Sittathon Story⁴⁹.

Thus he was engaged when news arrived that the city palace of Arakan had been taken and that his daughter and son-in-law captives of the Talaings. The king exploded like " rape-seeds sprinkled onto a blaze " and in rage had the Bhamo Shans executed. Mobilizing his men and augmenting this force with levies from Kale and Mohnyin he assembled an army 150 thousand strong, with six thousand horse and five hundred elephants. Taking the Yamethin route he swore that he would return to Ava only after taking Pegu and Binnya Nwe.

The year was 765 M.E (1403 C.E). Reports from lookouts reached Razadarit that the king of Ava was on the march. The king mobilised a force of 80

⁴⁹ (The Cullasutasoma Jataka - Jataka no.525)

ousand troops, over two hundred jousting elephants and over five hundred young male and female elephants. Setting out, he encamped at Pasa on the first day of the march and waited there four or five days for the rest of the troops to catch up.

The next stop was at Thakyin where he feted his men and showered awards of gold and silver on his warriors. "I am the son of a monarch," he proclaimed, raising his arm "Who shall encroach on my territory? We will strive to the utmost to attack the Burmese land". The nobles had to pledge their fealty by taking part in the ceremony of drinking blood in front of the king. From Thakyin they advanced to Depade and thence to Akharein but did not stockade themselves. Byat Za suggested that a force to reconnoitre the movements of the Burmese force be sent out and Lagunein was duly sent on this mission with fifty fighting elephants, six hundred troops and over one hundred pathfinders. They reached the vicinity of Langet after a day's march.

Meanwhile, Minhkaung had reached Taungoo after striking camp five times along the way. Approaching Langet, Lagunein could hear the commotion raised by a large number troops and ordered the pathfinders to take to the rooftops. They came back with the report that there were many, many troops and that they should withdraw quickly as they might be soon engulfed by the horde. Lagunein said that they would not before he had taken a look himself and climbed up a tree.

From its vantage point he could see wave upon wave of infantry, cavalry and elephantry advancing towards them, an endless sea of troops. Lagunein turned from his perch and taking his men across the Langaik stream ambushed the Shan troops advancing in the van. After killing twenty to thirty men, they had to get out fast without taking any enemy alive as they were in the danger of being engulfed by those following. Taking to the woods, they felled trees and planted stakes to hinder the enemy advance as they retreated. When Lagunein reported to the king that the enemy's strength was between fifty and sixty thousand, the king raised his arm in defiance and said, "Who dare they to encroach on my land!"

Byat Za addressed Lagunein "You are tired after your strenuous patrol," he said, "Take a rest in that hut."

Later, Byat Za, Samim Sithu, E Byare, Samim Awanaannaing assembled before the king and sent for Lagunein. "Did you see just the van or the entire main body of troops?" he was asked. Lagunein replied that from his perch in the Langaik woods he could count two hundred pennants and estimated a strength of seventy thousand, that he had mounted an ambush at the stream crossing but could not hold on for long and that only Shan troops were in the van.

Uzadarit assessed that the strength of the Burmese troops favoured the open

plains but were weak where elephants were concerned and that therefore, they would catch them in a pincer movement in the jungle. Byat Za pointed out that the Burmese troops were numerically superior as Lagunein had observed and as one mounting an offensive tends to surge ahead with great momentum, he said, meeting them in jungle would mean success only after a long hard fight. It would be similar to wild buffaloes straining at each other with horns locked, he said. "It would be easier," he suggested "to let them take to the jungle while we prepare to fight on our home grounds; to ensconce ourselves in the fastness of our city walls and tire them out as they batter futilely at them from without." As all of the officers were in agreement with the general's view, Razadarit asked if that meant that they should withdraw. Byat Za replied that they should indeed but that they should send the womenfolk ahead of them. Razadarit directed that Mahathamun should take in charge of that detail but the latter protested "I would personally wash the clothes of my ladyship if I were ordered to do so during normal times, but in the face of battle I would rather fight on my elephant at the foot of my lord." Thus the order was amended and Eindazeit placed in charge of escorting the king's harem back home. After they had departed they waited for a while and began their march, keeping enough intervals between elephants as most were in musth. As they took the Salat route, there were murmurings that the Burmese would be there before them as their route across Za-rwe was more direct. Byat Za and Razadarit quieted these fears, saying that if this happened they would be able to take the enemy from behind and destroy them. The order of march was Byat Za in front, followed by Samim Awananaing, then Upakaung and finally Lagunein bringing up in the rear.

Meanwhile, Minhkaung was stockading himself and gathering his forces around him thinking that his vanguard's skirmish with Lagunein meant that Razadarit would be waiting in the jungle ahead. That took him five or six days.

As Razadarit's force reached Thakyin he thought up a scheme to play a joke on Zeip Bye, who was the governor of Thakyin and put a scare into him. He told Zeip Bye that he was to stem the Burmese invasion forces at Thakyin while he mobilised his forces for about ten days after which he would come to his aid with dispatch. At this, Zeip Bye protested that Thakyin was protected by a timber stockade only which was not too strong, that the moat was narrow and quite shallow, the surrounding terrain was flat and that as he was too old and tired it would be better to put someone who was young and skilled in the art of cavalry and elephantry in charge. Razadarit countered that when he was given the revenues of Thakyin he did not complain that he was too old to enjoy them and was it to be that the young and hardy should hold it only when a battle is imminent? He then retired to his chamber. Zeip Bye was persuaded to think that he would actually be left behind and approached Byat Za saying "I have erred in the past because I forsook your advice and I live now only

because I was very fortunate. Shall I be able to withstand the onslaught of an assault led by a monarch himself ? Please be forbearing like a Buddha and convince the king that I should remain at your lordship's side. "The general asked Zeip Bye whether he could afford a present of ten viss of gold for the king. This he could not afford, said Zeip Bye, but he would find seven viss for the king and a viss for the general to which the general agreed. Presenting a bowl of gold weighing one viss to the general they went together to seek audience with the king, Zeip Bye bringing seven viss of gold which they presented to the king. Again Zeip Bye submitted that he was too old to take command of a stockade that was under the threat of an assault and that he made a present of the gold in order that the king might use it to recruit warriors and that he might be allowed to serve in the shadow of the royal feet and continue to campaign with Byat Za.

The king remarked that as he had presented him with seven viss of gold, he asked how much he had given Byat Za. Byat Za replied that he had received one viss of gold upon which the king said he would be taking over that too since he needed it to give as bounty for warriors in the meantime but would compensate Byat Za for it later. He then had the Thakyin stockade destroyed and rice stocks burnt. He then struck camp at Einaing stream and the spot was named Yameyi. Byat Za however recommended that the camp be made further ahead and they moved to Pankyaw stream where the general commented that the stream was wide, the sand banks adequate and tidal bores could be counted on. A stockade stretching from Kyat Sri to Depankara pagoda in the west to the short-cut path in the east was erected and eight armies large and small were stationed within. Outside its perimeter, five to six thousand hardened and reliable troops were deployed.

The invading Burmese troops set fire to every village they came across and butchered all the cattle they could lay their hands on. On sighting Razadarit's fortifications, Minhkaung sited his own stockade facing it from the east. The latter's stockade stretched up to Panapo Daniye in the east. Troops from Kale and Mohnyin were placed in front. As Minhkaung's forces arrived during a period of neap tide and the Shan troops had no experience of tides they went around looking at the stockade. There were mutterings amongst them that they had been told they would be sacking Pegu but so far they had not seen it yet and they had not carried out an attack on the enemy stockade so that they were doing nothing more than just wandering around.

Meanwhile the Talaings had carved out ramps in the banks so that when the tide came in horses and elephants would be able to climb up on to the safety of the bank. At the opportune moment the Talaings shouted across to the Shans taunting them that since they would not come to fight them they would attack the Shans. The ramparts and battlements on the stockade were manned while nobles and troops carrying their arms ran down into the stream. Seeing what

seemed to be an assault in the making the Shans charged out. The Talaings then began to retreat and advance in turn drew most of the Shans into the stream. Razadarit had a rider sent downstream to report when the tide came in. When it was reported that the incoming tidal bore had reached Daniye he ordered drums, bugles, gongs and conches to be sounded to drown out the roar of the tidal bore. Thus the Shans had no inkling of impending trouble until the tidal bore was on them and as they tried to clamber out only those who were close to the banks could make their way out of the melee. Some were carried away by the tide and drowned. Those who could make the exit from the confines of the stream slashed at the tidal waters in frustration. When the water receded the bodies of the Shan troops were revealed. There were more than two hundred corpses in the stream and Talaing soldiers came out and hacked at the dead bodies.

This prompted a Talaing onlooker to remark that there was no reason for them to hack at the Shan dead as they had been killed by the tide and not by their bravery as men. This was heard by one of the deputy commanders who censured him for talking irresponsibly and slew him, then placed his corpse with the dead enemy. The commander then reported his action to the king who approved it. A spirit shrine was erected near the bank of the stream. The king had brahmins wear turbans and robes coloured with red ochre stand on the bank chanting and waving palm fronds and branches once when the tide came in and once when the tide went out. When the Shans saw that the brahmins apparently seemed to be able to beckon and dismiss the waters with their gestures and mantras, they were awestruck by this phenomenon.

The Burmese had placed the Shans in the forefront and in the light of the Shans suffering heavy casualties they were reluctant to enter the fray. Meanwhile Deinmaniyut, the governor of Bassein had come with a sizeable force to join Razadarit at Pankyaw. Razadarit was much gladdened to see him. Deinmaniyut went on a tour of the defences and troop deployment and later commented that the stockade was sited too close to the stream which prevented warriors from putting on a display of their martial prowess to awe the enemy. He then had the posts of the stockade moved back 5 *ta* (ie about 16.5 yards or 16 metres). Then nobles on the outer perimeter put on a display of equestrian and elephantry skills while their troops paraded with flashing swords, glittering lances and gleaming shields. Burmese troops remarked among themselves that the Talaings were unfazed and enjoying themselves. Razadarit summoned Deinmaniyut and asked him to look around and estimate the size of his army. Deinmaniyut duly did and gave an estimate of eighty thousand. The king then sent four scribes on a head-count who later returned with a figure of eighty thousand. Razadarit praised Deinmaniyut saying that his appraisal by sight was as good as an actual count.

Razadarit likened Deinmaniyut to the fabled ruby of Cakkavattin, the universal

monarch, with its power to turn turbid water to crystal clarity as he had put his mind, which was set in a turmoil by the Burmese king who had only been born before his father had ascended the throne now come invading into his territory, at ease. It was then that the title "Deinmaniyut," was given him by the king.

King Minhkaung meanwhile was appraising his options and decided that he was not in a condition to attack the Talaing stockade and he was also not in a condition to make a successful withdrawal as their foraging during the advance and their destruction of foodstocks after taking what they needed had depleted the countryside. To gather supplies he had to send foraging parties totalling about three thousand strong as far as Paukngu, Malauk, Dawgon, Awtit and Taungnyo. Razadarit sent Samim Awanannaing after these foraging parties to ambush them on their return. As these parties came back bent under baskets of rice in the husk they made easy prey and five to six hundred were killed, over two hundred were captured alive, as were seven male and female elephants and over twenty horses. This happened two or three times. Thus casualties mounted and when they had to forage further and further, what meagre provisions these parties could collect were mostly consumed during their travels to and fro. To the west dense jungle barred their entry and to the east numerous lakes, swamps and morasses hindered their travels. Enemy ambushes made foraging costly. Therefore little rice was to be had and famine stalked the troops.

King Minhkaung sensing that victory was not possible in the circumstances summoned Innpe Thugyi and sent him with the following message to King Razadarit. "Elder Brother Hsinbyushin to whom your Younger Brother, Lord of the Golden Palace informs, that wars waged by monarchs and kings on this great island of the Eugenia treee are either met with success or failure. However that may be, they have always conducted themselves in a fair and just manner. But you have not acted fairly when you won the last time, my son-in-law died at Bassein after he became your captive and my daughter became one of your queens. When your daughter Talamikyaw fell into my hands, I wed her to my own son Thihathu. I took into consideration the fact that a tactical error may result in defeat and both of us being monarchs entitled to wear the white umbrella we might fight each other over territorial disputes but there is always the option to send envoys to make peace and become friends again. If you want your daughter back I will have her sent to you. I want you to return my daughter too"

After this communication was read to him, Razadarit said "My brother Minhkaung faults me that I had acted unjustly. You are clever with words to make this charge of which I have been made aware only now. I must say that your accusation is groundless. My brother, you were the one to betray the solemn pact made between us on the sacred Myathitin pagoda. In your letter

to the king of Cheing Mai you referred to me in the coarsest of terms. But your betrayal displeased the gods so that your thirty horsemen carrying that letter fell into my hands. The expeditionary force that I sent to Arakan overwhelmed your son-in-law and nobles. Now you have come with troops numbering in hundreds of thousands to lay waste ten or twenty counties in my realm and take my subjects captive but you conceal this fact. I cannot accept your proposal. Since you have come here in full force to fight me, just do so."

Innpe Thugyi conveyed this message to King Minhkaung who, in the face of starving troops, had to adopt a gentle tone in his response to King Razadarit's harsh words. The message he sent back with Innpe Thugyi was as follows :-

"If you say that this is not the time for us to make a pact let our minions do so among themselves and I will return home. Once I am in Ava I will send envoys to you, together with Princess Talamikyaw should you so desire." When this message was conveyed to King Razadarit by Innpe Thugyi, he was told that Razadarit would accede to this. Razadarit then showed Innpe Thugyi a pair of horses, a grey and a russet, and asked him whether he recognised them. When the latter replied that he did not, Razadarit told him that these once belonged to Garmani and had been captured in Arakan. One was worth twenty and the other seventeen viss of silver, he continued, so that Innpe Thugyi should have recognised them although he had denied knowing them.

Innpe Thugyi replied that horses of such quality were plentiful in Ava so that he should be excused for saying that he did not know them which was the truth.

Razadarit then asked Minhkaung's daughter to serve him betel so that Innpe Thugyi would see her and then told him to approach her to receive any message she might want to send. Innpe Thugyi replied that he had been sent on a mission to seek peace between the two nations by his lord and that it did not include taking messages from his lordship's daughter. Hearing these words Razadarit was impressed and remarked that the personality and farsightedness of the young Burman would raise him to nobility someday. Before Innpe Thugyi left, he gave him a date on which the oath-taking ceremony would be held.

Razadarit then conferred with Minister Deinmaniyut, General Byat Za, Samim Awanannaing and E Byare, all of them wise counsellors. He asked them what they thought of Minhkaung's latest proposal. To this Byat Za replied that if they kept their word they would do likewise but if they did not there was no reason why they should. His sentiments were seconded by the other nobles. Razadarit then laid down plans to seize the entire body of delegates from the other side during the oath-taking ceremony. Swords and

lances were secreted in the sand bank where the ceremony was to take place. On the day of the ceremony thirty delegates were appointed on each side with Byat Za leading Razadarit's party and the Minister Myinsaing Sithu on Minhkaung's side. Each of the thirty delegates on each side was paired to its counterpart on the other side. Thus the most junior official on the Talaing side, Lagunein, was paired with Thado on the Burmese side. As Lagunein's arms were bent and Thado was bowlegged, it was conceded that they made a fine pair. The Talaing party was primed to seize the other party when they were on their way to pay obeisance to King Minhkaung. As both parties drew abreast of each other as they entered the Pankyaw stream, Thado asked his counterpart Lagunein whether the oath-taking ceremony they were to participate in was genuine or not. Lagunein answered "You fool of a Burman, do you have to ask me such a foolish question? I will kill you if I can and you would do the same favour for me. Can an oath made between enemies in wartime be termed genuine by any chance?". At this Thado called out to his leader that they should not proceed any further as there was treachery afoot. The Burmese party on their elephans turned back and later so did the Talaings. As the latter reached their camp, they were asked by their king why their mission had failed. Deinmaniyut answered that it had broken up after an interchange between Lagunein and Thado from the Burmese side but that he did not what had been said between them. On being asked Lagunein admitted the truth at which the king condemned him for obstruction and commanded that he be drawn and quartered and let to die at the hands of Emuntaya who duly dragged him away.

Byat Za and Deinamniyut fell on their knees to plead on Lagunein's behalf, saying that to condemn a brave warrior to die, one who the king himself had nurtured, would only encourage the enemy and that the king should give him a chance to redeem himself, carrying out the sentence if he failed. The king kept silent, giving Byat Za and Deinmaniyut a chance to stay the hand of the executioner. Meanwhile the executioner had bided his time in the hope that the king would have a change of heart. Lagunein sought refuge in the Three Gems to face his fate calmly. It was then that the messenger arrived and he was taken back to face the king. However he was in such a state of mind that he could not respond to Byat Za's questions. Deinmaniyut, sensing this asked that Lagunein be given a chance to compose himself until he was in a position to answer the general's questions in private, much less in the presence of his monarch. The king retired to his chamber and Lagunein was taken to Byat Za's tent where he was made to wash his hair and after he had regained his composure he was given the chance to his side of the story. Lagunein paid obeisance to the general and related that when Thado asked him whether the oath-taking ceremony was being held in earnest, it came to his mind that as the Burmese forces were on the point of running out of rations they would be beating a hasty retreat at that time and it was not politic to win through the

exercise of duplicity when they were on the verge of collapse. It would be like, he said, the instance when Atha the legendary king of old who instead of defeating the enemy in a fair fight resorted to a ruse, the consequence of which, the name of his kingdom, Hanthawaddy, given by Indra ruler of the celestial realm himself passed into oblivion and the name of "Upe kho," (meaning to steal by subterfuge) came into being and later became "Pegu". If this sham taking of oath was used to defeat the enemy this time he continued, he feared the kind of epithet by which Pegu would be known in the future. That was his reason for his reply to Thado's question, he explained.

Byat Za and Deinmaniyut then asked him what kind of plan he had in his mind.

When he said that he did not have a plan, he was told that in this case he would have to die. Lagunein conceded that he was likely to meet this fate unless the lordships helped him. At that point, Deinmaniyut remarked that Minhkaung regularly went on an inspection of his troops every evening riding a female elephant, from Panapo Daniye to the Mawlyin pagoda. A war elephant would be in tow, he continued, but usually it lagged far behind and security was lax so that if an ambush was carried out at Mawlyin employing a force of three hundred warriors and an elephant, Minhkaung could be taken. Lagunein agreed to this plan saying that if only the elephant Baka Mat was given him, he would get Minhkaung. When the plan was put up to the king, the elephant, Baka Mat was duly caparisoned and Razadarit said he himself would head the supporting troop of warriors who would be awaiting in the vicinity to join the fray when the bugles and trumpets sounded, signalling the fight. At this point, Lagunein bowed deeply and submitted that he did not know Minhkaung so that his brother, Min Theiddat, former governor of Sagaing, was given the task of riding amidships in the howdah. Razadarit spoke to Min Theiddat saying "The time has now arrived for you to benefit from your past meritorious deeds. You have only to point out Minhkaung to my vassal who has guaranteed to get him. This being done, I will march on to Ava and put you on the throne, after which I will make a pilgrimage to the shrines at Pagan and then return here." Min Theiddat let out a jubilant cry and mounted the elephant with Lagunein and the party set out.

Once at the head of the head of the stream the party observed strict silence and with Razadarit on the elephant Nan Laung the supporting force concealed themselves in the jungle. Byat Za was on his left and Smim Mawkhwin, Smim Baiknye, on his left with a total of thirty elephants and three thousand troops.

When dusk fell, King Minhkaung began his inspection tour with the vanguard far out in front and escorted by only five hundred men with sheathed swords. Only his war elephant Ye Myatsha followed close behind, with the remaining elephantry bringing up far behind. When the king drew near, Lagunein