

INTRODUCTION

THE INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY (London) has a palm-leave manuscript with the title Ratanāsiṅgha Kun:bhoñ Mrui.taññ Mañ:tarā:krī: Aminto' (Orders by the Just King who founded the City of Yadana Theinga Konbaung). There are forty eight leaves (4 aṅgā) and each leaf contains nine lines of writing (9 kroñ: re:). Seventy one orders recorded in it are of the period 28 February 1750 - 25 March 1760. U Lat (Wetmasut Myoza Wundauk) had another collection of twenty eight orders of the same king copied on twenty seven leaves (2 aṅgā 3 khyap) of eleven lines (11 kroñ: re:) of writing on each leaf. The orders are of the period 4 November 1755 to 19 August 1758. These two collections had been edited and published by the Burma History Commission in 1964. All ninety nine orders are edited and published here again. Because notes and summaries would be of some use to scholars who do not read Burmese.

Alaungmintaya made himself king early in 1752 and he died in 1760. In all these eight years he was busy fighting and building an empire. Nevertheless, in Burma in those days, there was no fighting in the four rainy months of June, July, August and September in each year (Kon.,I, 1967, pp. 69 & 101). So quite contrary to the common belief, he had time, for at least four months every year during his short reign to pay attention to the administration in his ever growing territories. His orders bear testimony to this fact.

The king had at his new court some of the former ministers of the last king of the Ava dynasty who was taken prisoner to Hanthawaddy and drowned to death on (3) November 1755 (Thiri Uzana : Lokabyūhā, 1962, p.7). In fact they were taken together with their king to Hanthawaddy though some escaped and came to serve Alaungmintaya chiefly as advisers

in the ways of "the Golden Palace" which Alaungmintaya was trying to establish. They arrived at Shwebo in this order :

Thado Mingyi
Thado Minnge
Thiri Zayya Kyaw Zwa
Nay Myo Shwe Daung and
Thiri Uzana.

It seems that Alaungmintaya asked them what a king is supposed to do, apart from establishing himself firmly in authority, when he ascends the throne and they were to answer him with concrete examples of what the ancient kings had done in a similar situation with special reference to Ava from the last quarter of the 17th century. Consequently they compiled a chronology starting with King Tuesday's ascendancy at Ava on 19 April 1673. But long before he received their counsel, Alaungmintaya realized that he should have a capital of his own built. He had had the constructions begun on 21 June 1753 simultaneously in and around his native village of Moksobo, on the following seven sites.

city
palace
moat
Mahananda lake
Shwe Chet Tho pagoda
shrine of guardian spirits and
clock tower (Kon., I 1967, p.68).

The city was supposed to have been constructed like Kapilavatthu (Kon., I 1967, p.67) near the Himalayas where the Buddha had lived before the Great Renunciation, and like the cities of Kapilavatthu and Rājagaha, (according to the memorial submitted by ex-ministers), the tower to announce the time would be located right in the centre of the city as Mt Meru is said to be in the centre of the universe (ROB 3 November 1755). Or it could be taken that with the clock tower in the palace yard to represent Mt Meru, the palace itself becomes the centre of the universe.

The palace was built like that of Tagaung (Kon., I 1967, p.104; though we now know that Tagaung being a city founded by the Sakyans of India and Alaungmintaya's descent from Mahāsamada, the first king on earth, are all imaginary). It was completed on 12 September 1754. The ceremony of occupying it was held on 28 October 1754 (Kon., I 1967, p.108).

While the city was built, arrangements were carefully made to make it invulnerable to any attack by enemies both human and spirit. To ward off evil spirits, images of various guardian gods were made and put in shrines. Rituals with offerings were carried out at these shrines regularly. Mantras were recited at all the city gates and magic symbols were drawn on city walls, city gate door panels, city gate arch ceilings and inside the striking surface of the city gate drums (ROB 3 November 1755). Buddhist priests would also be requested to recite paritta at the city gates and they would be given alms there. These would safeguard the city and its inhabitants from attacks supernatural. On the other hand, city defences would take care of any attack by human beings. The city walls were made very strong. The moat around it was dug deep and wide (ROB 13 January 1758). Guard duties were much more intensified than before. Guards were to be present at their post for twenty four hours and they were allowed to do no other work like digging the moat or building the city wall which were given top priority at that time (ROB 13 January 1758). After each victorious campaign, the city population would increase considerably and to avoid congestion, the building of Greater Yadana Theinga was begun on 24 October 1757 (Kon., I 1967, p.265). The hinterland of the city was made more productive (ROB 24 January 1756) by improving the irrigation works (ROB 1 January 1760, 6 March 1760) and large areas of land were granted for homesteads in order that more land

would be brought under cultivation (ROB 29 October 1759). War captives were not turned into slaves as usual. They were given land and necessary aids to settle into homesteads (Kon., I 1967, p.58). Some of them were employed again in the war effort (ROB 7 January 1760) and some foreigners captured in war were made king's own guards(Kon., I 1967, pp.185-6). To ensure security of life and property in the urban area, special care was taken to prevent fire (ROB 13 January 1758, 22 September 1759, 6 March 1760 and 13 March 1760) and crime (ROB 13 January 1759). Selling and consumption of intoxicant drinks was also prohibited (ROB 1 January 1760). Due to the ravages of war many villages were destroyed and many families were broken up and many fields had relapsed into jungle. Programmes of reconstruction, rehabilitation and repatriation were made with some efficiency (ROB 20 March 1759, 15 January 1760, 19 January 1760 and 20 February 1760). Trade routes between the city and provinces were kept open and safe. A provincial officer must be in a constant state of preparedness for any emergency but his main duty was to restore peace and order within his jurisdiction (ROB 23 December 1759) and he should use force in his area only as a last resort (ROB 23 December 1759) . That would promote peaceful relations within the kingdom. Toll stations where the dues were collected should never exact more than the customary dues (ROB 4 January 1758, 16 May 1758). In the city, for all buying and selling, standard weights, measures and quality of silver to be used as the medium of exchange, were prescribed and regular checks were made so that the standards were respected at all business transactions within the city limits (ROB 4 November 1755) as well as in the areas where Alaungmintaya's suzerainty was accepted (19 December 1756). Local chieftainship was almost always hereditary (ROB 26 July 1756) but some veterans were

rewarded with the chieftainship in some areas (ROB 26 July 1756).

After having built the palace, the next concern of the king was to have the regalia made according to the old usage (ROB 3 November 1755). The Thihathana (Lion) throne was placed in the centre in the west end of the Myay Nan (Earth Palace) so that the king and queen would be sitting facing east. On the right of the throne were displayed :

- 1 Than Lyet - A Double-edged Sword, with gold handle
- 2 Tha Myi Yat - A Fly-whisk, with gold handle
- 3 Yadana Shwe Pan Daung - A Relic Casket of Bejewelled Gold
- 4 Shit Hmyaung Kun Gwet - An Octagonal Gold Betel Receptacle on Lions
- 5 Salin Kya - A Chandelier of Gold
- 6 Kun Gwet Kyi - A Big Betel Receptacle of Gold
- 7 Kun Hte - A Betel Receptacle of Gold on Lions
- 8 Kun Chat - A Betel Cup of Gold
- (9 Kyat - A Gold Conical Basket)
- 10 Kaya - A Gold Jar with Spout
- 11 Tagaung - A Gold Water Bottle
- 12 Myuta - A Gold Pot and
- 13 Myuta - A Gold Pot.

On the left were :

- 1 Hpa Nut - A Pair of Gold Slippers
- 2 Taung Way - A Gold Staff
- 3 Let Tin Kya - A Gold Lotus Arm Rest
- 4 Kun Gwet - A Gold Betel Receptacle on Serpents
- 5 Thalut - A Gold Bowl with Cover
- 6 Kun Long Gyi - A Gold Big Betel Receptacle
- 7 Kun Long Nge - A Gold Small Betel Receptacle
- 8 Hpa La - A Gold Bowl
- 9 Kaya - A Gold Jar with Spout
- 10 Tha Lin Hmyaunt - A Crystal Pumpkin Bowl
- 11 Thit Taing - A Bejewelled Big Cup with Cover
- 12 Myuta - A Gold Pot and
- 13 Myuta - A Gold Pot.

Although it was claimed that the regalia was made and displayed as in the ancient times, changes were made without admission. Because the display of regalia in 1784 (Zayya Thin Khaya : Rhwe Bum Nidan: - A Description on Golden Palace, written on 21 February 1784, Rangoon, Hanthawaddy, 1963, pp.96-7) and the display of regalia in 1884 (Shay Haung

Sapay Thutaythi Ta U : Nan: Mū - Palace Patent, IV, King Thibaw's Display of Regalia on 15 May 1884) were each in its own way different from the display mentioned above. Each one of these objects, it is said, was either a gift from a friendly king or a captured thing from an enemy king or an heirloom handed down from Mahasamada the first king on earth. Thus the Lotus Arm Rest called Let Tin Kya, Bejewelled Big Cup called Thit Taing, Betel Receptacle called Kun Hti, Chandeliers called Salin Kya and Crystal Pumpkin Bowl called Tha Lin Hmyaunt are traced to Thailand, Cheienmai, Arakan, Bangladesh and Viengchang respectively. The rest are said to be from India , Tagaung, Thayayhkittaya, Pagan and Thaton.

Ceremonial robes of courtiers were also marks of status. A proper use of them should be maintained (ROB 4 November 1755, 29 December 1757) so that there would be no confusion. In fact anyone who used a robe above his rank would be punished. Some robes were supplied by the state though there were some robes and uniforms made by each individual officer for his own use (ROB 16 May 1758). These must be checked so that they were properly made. Those that were not in good condition were supplied new. Correct use of insignias of rank was also insisted and any discrepancy would be punished (ROB 3 November 1755). On the other hand, the king did not like people of high position taking undue advantage of their status. His cousins who became somewhat unruly were seriously warned to behave (ROB 19 October 1757). Queens were once warned not to talk too much (ROB 16 December 1759). A senior monk who asked the life of a rebel leader was refused (ROB 14 December 1759). A minister who was rude to his subordinate was to apologize publicly by a Shihko - obeisance (ROB 4 November 1755). When an officer of a toll gate checked the barge of a minister, the minister was rude to the officer. The king said that no one shall hinder

an officer from carrying out his duty (ROB 7 February 1758). While the king was away on a military campaign, he left administration in the hands of his eldest son. In this way he expected that his son would learn the kingly art from experience (ROB 22 September 1759). As he took all good men in his campaign, he knew that some of the officers he left in his son's council were hopeless (ROB 21 September 1759). For instance, he admitted that he made one of his servants to take charge of moat construction though that man had no engineering skill (ROB 22 September 1759). But with the instructions that he gave, he believed that moat construction as part of the project to make the city defenses stronger would come out all right. The king would not, however, tolerate dishonesty. When the master maker of gold foils was found to be dishonest, he was dismissed from office (ROB 4 February 1758). As regards the commonfolks, the king was of the opinion that every one of them must be called upon to do a public work and anyone who failed to do so should not live in a society. He would be considered a social outcast (ROB 13 January 1759). By public works, he meant the work to improve the city moat and wall. They must be finished as quickly as possible (ROB 6 March 1760). These people were of course cultivators and cultivation should never be neglected. Three quarter of them would be sent back to the fields to start growing when the rains came (ROB 6 March 1760).

Alaungmintaya expected that his eldest son Śīrisudhammarāja (Prince Dabayin) might be able to cope the administration in his absence, with the help of his mother the Chief Queen (ROB 1 January 1760). As a young man the prince was not asked to do much. He shall have to do only the following five things well.

1 In any dealing with a vassal lord, he must be careful not to

- hurt the feelings of that lord in any way (ROB 21 September 1759).
- 2 Give the best possible training to all recruits and send them batch by batch to the front (ROB 22 September 1759).
 - 3 Keep the city safe from fire (ROB 22 September 1759).
 - 4 Keep the irrigation works in a constant state of repairs so that agriculture would not suffer (ROB 1 January 1760).
 - 5 Suppress animism (ROB 1 January 1760).

On general administration, Alaungmintaya wanted to fix the court procedures first (ROB 4 November 1755). In writing Royal Orders on either (1) an appointment of an officer, or (2) conferring insignias of rank, or (3) giving a decision, or (4) giving an instruction, a uniform style should be adopted in each case and the spelling must be correct (ROB 4 November 1755, 29 October 1757, 28 December 1757, 29 December 1757). An officer must check them and when they were found correct, another officer must fix a seal to each order. Language style in writing an official correspondence should be prescribed too (ROB 14 April 1757). All taxes collected at Seik - Port, Ti - Shop, Pwe - Brokerage, Kin - Toll Station, and Gado - Ferry, were to be fixed at ten percent of the value of the thing assessed (ROB 16 May 1758). On things sold, tax should be collected only from two third of the quantity sold. On things bought, only three quarter of the commodity bought was liable to be taxed (ROB 4 January 1758). Apaw Wun - Court Fee from the Plaintiff, was also fixed (ROB 16 May 1758). There shall be no misappropriation of public funds (ROB 20 November 1757). Alaungmintaya wanted to keep himself informed with the general state of affairs and therefore each minister or a judge had to write a monthly report and to hand it over to an officer appointed by the king to summarise them. That officer shall submit the summaries

to the king on every second day of the month (ROB 29 November 1757). He also wanted a manual of Nagan - Heralds, compiled so that there was uniformity in all court procedures. On administration of justice, he directed all judges to study various Dhammathats (Law Books) thoroughly and to make neither a biased or a hasty decision. It would be good to wait one to six weeks to pass any important judgement (ROB 19 August 1758). When a monk was required to appear in a witness box, he shall not be summoned without the prior sanction of the primate (ROB 5 September 1757). Law suits to realize debts, however, shall wait until the Ayedaw - (Ayut'ia) Campaign, was over (ROB 1 January 1760).

On religion Alaungmintaya allowed only one Buddhist sect in his realm (Kon., I 1867, p.70). Members of the sects like Gamavasi - Village Dweller, Ok Htoke Lon - Round Hat, Ok Htoke Pya - Cap, Mo Gyo Thwa - Tall Hat with Top pressed like a Blade of an Axe, Talapat Ni - Red Forehead Band, and Talapat Hpyu - White forehead Band, were ordered to abandon their ways and adopt the way of Ton Ywa chief of monks called Guṇabhilaṅkāra. In the controversy of Atin - Robe on Left Shoulder leaving Right Shoulder bare, and Ayon - Robe covering Both Shoulders, the king decided in favour of the Atin. Atulayasamahādhammarājadhiraṅgajaguru was appointed Thathanabyu - Head of the Mission to propagate Buddhism. He ordered that there shall be no killing of cattle for meat nor consuming any kind of intoxicant drinks or drugs, in his kingdom. Animal sacrifice at the time of harvest was strictly prohibited (ROB 1 January 1760). Any laxity in the observation of the Vinaya among the Buddhist monks was not allowed and Mahadan Wun and his men were to check it. All these measures pivoted on one consideration that Alaungmintaya could not wait until the wars were over, to carry out his destined role

of the defender of the faith. He had to do everything in his power to promote Buddhism as it was believed in Burma or to be more precise, as it was believed by his religious preceptor called Atulayasamahādhammarājadhīrājaguru.

The religious preceptor on the other hand also tried to help the king by issuing a very interesting notification to all provincial chiefs of the former Ava kingdom. In that notification, he alluded to a prophecy that there will be much trouble in the east and anyone who wanted to escape destruction should take refuge in Burma or Shwebo where Alaungmintaya was king. When a chief was wise to make the good decision to accept Alaungmintaya's suzerainty, he could save not only himself but also his followers from death. etc. Then he gave a list of provinces that had already accepted the overlordship of Alaungmintaya. The list included the places of Ingye (Gadu), Kachin, Kayin, Khanti (Shan) and Lawa who were once said to be impossible to subdue. He concluded the notification by saying :

As a monk, I take no part in political affairs but if you have any difficulty in your endeavour to mitigate the miseries of human beings, it is my duty to give you all possible help (ROB 19 December 1756).

Thus the king and monk helped each other to build an empire and to bring prosperity to Buddhism in that empire.

The fall of Ava was attributed to three factors, viz.

- 1 the weakness of the king,
- 2 the corruptibility of the ministers and
- 3 the treachery of Mons (ROB 4 March 1755).

Alaungmintaya considered that the king's weakness was due to his disregard of the ten kingly virtues. Perhaps Mahādhammarājadhīpati was not innately bad. There were so many odds against him that he eventually

lost his throne and was drowned to death on (3) November 1755. To his own success, Alaungmintaya attributed to his destiny. He seemed to have an infinite faith that he was to become king of kings. A lot of propaganda had been worked on it (ROB 2 January 1755, 20 June 1755, 15 January 1756). Another piece of propaganda that worked well was an enticement to all would-be defectors with a promise that if they deserted Pegu, Alaungmintaya would welcome them without any degradation in rank. The phrase used to denote it was :

Cañ:cim ma pyak asak ma se ne rā ma nim
(that he would be allowed to live without being alienated from the ownership of his former property nor he would be denied of his official rank and status) (ROB 18 January 1756).

At a later stage, Alaungmintaya even suggested this kind of arrangement to the Pegu King (ROB 28 September 1756). Some leaflets of propaganda were written in some European languages (probably French) with the hope that mercenaries in Pegu might defect (ROB 9 April 1756). There were quite a considerable number of mercenaries in the Mon fighting forces and it was recorded that in Kyaik Hkawk battle on 15 April 1756, the Burmese forces succeeded in killing 300 foreigners (Kon., I 1967, p.166). Some were taken prisoner and on 29 July 1756, 550 foreigners who had been taken in battle were organized into a gun group called Ko Yan Thay Nat Su - King's Own Guards (Kon., I 1967, pp.185-6). Foreigners so employed were Ferengi, Pathi (Muslim), Kappali (Negro) and Tamil. Using God Indra's name as the author, a letter was sent to people of Pegu with a suggestion that the Pegu King should send his daughter as a bride to Alaungmintaya and the hostilities should be ended with a marriage union (ROB 9 April 1756). Jataka stories were used to negotiate terms of peace (ROB 28 June 1756, 19 October 1756). The stories referred to are :

- No. 51 Mahāsīlava Jātaka - a good king met evil with good. Refusing to sanction war, he was captured but he eventually regained his sovereignty.
- No.371 Dighitikosala Jātaka - a prince spared the life of the king who had slain his father and thereby he succeeded to make that king repent.
- No.462 Saṃvara Jātaka - a prince made friends with all kinds of people and in this way he was able to avert a war.
- No.543 Bhūridatta Jātaka - a marriage union proved to be the best form of alliance between two kingdoms.

To the monks who came from Pegu to negotiate peace, Alaungmintaya promised that there would be no massacre after Pegu was taken if everything turned out well as he had suggested (ROB 19 October 1756). He also said that if the Pegu King was really earnest to stop the war, he was to take the initiative and stop all hostilities first (ROB 19 December 1756). Taking the cue from the Bhūridatta Jātaka (No.543) the Pegu King sent his daughter as a bride to Alaungmintaya on 22 December 1756 (ROB 13 December 1756; Kon., I 1967, p.224).

From the few records that we have on Alaungmintaya's relationship with the Europeans, we find that he was more eager to get the British friendship and trade was an only excuse to procure arms and ammunition. He sent a letter to the British saying that there always was a good trade and friendly relationship between Burma and British and due to a Mon rebellion, that relationship was terminated for a while. Now that an almost normal conditions had been restored, he wanted the friendship renewed (ROB 4 March 1755). Obviously it was a request for the supply of weapons just like what the French were doing for the Mons (ROB 6 June 1755). To show that he was in real earnest to get the British help, he gave them a piece of land for a factory site in Bassein (ROB 8 May 1756). He sent letters to Negrais, Madras and London. There was no reply. We find one Pali verse that might refer to this situation. The Pali

composition is so faulty that it is very difficult to know what it really means though we could make a guess as follows :

(You Englishmen!) You do well in trading,
But you are no good in fighting.
What about your literary attainment?
Find out what this Pali is meant.
(ROB 29 October 1757)

The hopelessness of the situation culminated in the massacre at Negrais on 6 October 1759. The causes of the tragedy were summed up as :

- 1 Help given by Jackson and Whitehill to Mons when they attacked Rangoon on 13 May 1755 was taken as a British treachery.
- 2 Receiving no reply to Alaungmintaya's letter dated 8 May 1756 to King George II was considered an affront that could not be forgiven.
- 3 Gregory (an Armenian in the service of the Burmese) told the Burmese that the British came to India as merchants but they built an empire there; the Burmese took it as a warning.
- 4 Larine, a French Eurasian, who came with the Burmese to Negrais to seize military stores and to capture men for ransom, over did the work because of his hatred on the British; he could easily explain that he had been forced to take extreme measures.

The English considered that revenge was out of question at that time and an irreconcilable breach with Burma was also not advisable. In the meanwhile Alaungmintaya planned to invade Thailand. Hoping to get guns, etc. he sent a letter of friendship to the French at Pondicherry on 20 December 1759. Mergui and Tenasserim were under Thai in those days and he took these towns on (7 March 1760) and (9 March 1760) respectively. That started the war with Thailand.

The fighting men were organized as 10 Lakkak Kaing (armed men) under

I Kyat (leader), IO Kyats (leaders) under I Tat Hmu (chief) and IO Tat Hmus (chiefs) under I Bo (commander) with 2 Sitke (officer), 2 Nagan (herald) and 2 Sayay (clerk) (Kon., I 1967, p.57). Alaungmintaya had his men organized into fighting units from the time that Ava fell on II March I752 (Kon., I 1967, p.19). Occasionally he had the strength of some units increased and they were reorganized before a major campaign was started. One unit of armed men was called one Thwethauk and the approximate strength was fifty. The whole fighting force under Alaungmintaya would be around IOO Thwethauks or 5,000 men. The following is the list of fighting men and the date that they were organized as mentioned in the chronicle (Kon., I 1967).

I7 April	I752	68 Myin Yi Det (Best Horsemen) (p.27)
(I) May	I752	I20 Ko Yan Daw Thet Taw Saunt Shwe Nan Daw Thay Nat (Golden Palace and Body Guard Gunmen) (pp. 32-3)
(I) May	I752	I40 Thon Thwethauk Su (Three Thwethauk Groups) (p.33)
(30) May	I752	I90 Thay Nat Su (Gun Group) (pp.42-3)
26 July	I756	93 Myo Tet Lu Kyun Daw Yin Thu Ye (Commandoes selected from the Most Loyal Servants of the King to raid Syriam) (p.182)
28 July	I756	550 Ko Yan Thay Nat Su (Foreigners called Kala comprising Ferengi, Pathi or Muslim Indians, Kappali or Negros. and Kalé or Tamils) (pp.185-6)
24 October	I756	IOO Shwe Lhan Ye Zu (Braves of the Golden Lance; Commandoes to raid Pegu) (p.194)
24 October	I756	IO6 Ywe Zu That Nat (Selected Gunmen, Commandoes to raid Pegu) (p.200)
(20) December	I756	4IO Nga Thwethauk (Five Thwethauk Groups) (p.290)
24 July	I758	I,848 Letwe Thon Ze Thon Thwethauk (Thirty Three Thwethauk Groups of the Left) (p.290)
I September	I758	I,302 Letya Thon Ze Thon Thwethauk (Thirty Three Thwethauk Groups of the Right) (p.290)
I September	I758	I,980 Ywe Letwe Thay Nat Su (Selected Gunmen Group of the Right) (p.291)

The King went on a campaign against Manipura on I2 November I758 and he was again at his capital on 22 January I759. The forces that he mustered on the Manipuri campaign seemed to be all that he could get. It comprised of I,848 men of Letwe Thon Ze Thon, I,302 men of Letya Thon Ze Thon and I.980 men of Ywe Letwe Thay Nat Su - a total of 5,I30 men or IOO Thwethauk

Groups. But in the Ayut'ia campaign, we are told that Alaungmintaya had mustered over 10,000 men at Tavoy before he started the invasion (Kon., I 1967, p.306). With Min Gaung Nawyatha in the command, there were 300 Horsemen and 3,000 Gunmen; with Min Hla Nawyatha there were 300 Horsemen and 3,000 Gunmen and with Siridhammarāja (Prince Myedu) there were 500 Horsemen and 5,000 Gunmen. That made a total of 510 Horsemen and 11,000 Gunmen. That was slightly over double the strength that he used against Manipura and with a lightning assault, he expected a quick victory. He would have been successful if he were not wounded. (Accounts other than Burmese mention that Alaungmintaya was wounded when a cannon that he managed to fire bursted. See W.A.R.Wood, A History of Siam, London, Fisher Unwin, 1926, p.242.) But there were three reasons that could explain his failure. Firstly, he made the invasion against the advice of his generals (Kon., I 1967, pp.305,315). Secondly he started it too late. We know that in Southeast Asia, the fighting season is from November to February. It would be too hot to be fighting in March and April and the rains made it impossible in May. Thirdly he could not have the required military supplies without the European aid and we know that there were no such aids at that time. As a good general he knew when to retreat.

We have very few Royal Orders of the next three reigns of King Dabayin (Naungdawgyi 1760-1763), King Myedu (Sinbyushin 1763-1776), and King Singu (1776-1782). There were many remarkable events, especially during the time of King Myedu when wars were fought against Chinese, Manipura and Thailand. It is impossible that there were no Royal Orders with reference to anyone of these important episodes though we failed so far to trace them.