

ADMINISTRATION UNDER KING THALUN*

(1629-48)

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The people in exchange for the tax they paid him expected the king to protect their life and property and he would be held responsible if he failed in that duty. In the light of this idea of contract, the reign of King Ngazudayaka (A. D. 1588-99) was assessed and the chroniclers boldly put on record that this particular king made the life of people miserable and thus he was held responsible for *Ācāravipatti* (failure of duty.)

As a result the central organisation broke down and many responsible officers ignored their respective duties, thereby causing failure in most state affairs. This ultimately brought about the collapse of the government and the king was assassinated.¹ The city of Pegu was destroyed in A.D. 1599 and this was followed by sixteen years of anarchy. As there was no security in lower Burma, there were mass migrations either to Arakan in the west or to Siam in the east.² A great endeavour was made by the Lord of Nyaungyan (*Sihastūramahādhammarājā*) one of the sons of Bayinnaung

to put an end to the chaotic conditions and rebuild the nation anew. He however died before the task was completed. His son King Anaukphaklun³ (*Mahādhammarājā* 1605-28) continued the work and the first ten years of his reign was spent mostly in this cause alone. Perhaps it was the peoples' desire for peace and order that helped the king in his endeavours. In short we find that the deterioration of state affairs in the last quarter of the 16th century reached its height at the turn of the century but as we have mentioned above the first quarter of the 17th century saw an era of reconstruction and rehabilitation. It was with some apprehension that the people awaited the accession of a new king in 1629. But he proved to be equal to the situation and when he died in 1648 it was recorded that

The land (during his time) prospered exceedingly and he died in peace. Thus he earned the name of Thalun the Just.⁴

Thalun here has a double meaning. Firstly it means that life was exceedingly

* For Burmese text see *JBR*, XLIX, i, June 1966, pp. 51-69

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1. မုန်နန်းရာဇဝင်၊ တတိယတွဲ၊ စာမျက်နှာ ၁၀၀

2. R. Halliday: "Immigration of the Mons into Siam", *JSS*, 1913, မုန်၊ ၈၊ ၂၂၁

3. မုန်၊ ၈၊ ၁၄၉-၉၁

4. မုန်၊ ၈၊ ၂၅၂

pleasant under him and secondly it means that he passed away peacefully. His regnal title was *Sirisudhammarājāmahādhipati** (1629-48?) and the reform measures made by him is the subject of this paper. It is hoped that a study on administration might reveal to a certain extent the social, economic and cultural life of the people in those days.

As source material we have the following:

1. The Edicts of the Three Kings (Nyaung-yan, Anaukphaklun and Thalun) in palmleaf manuscript (No. 45235) of the Main University Library, Rangoon.¹
2. Edicts of the Seven Kings s.1000-1090 (i.e. A.D. 1638-1728) in palmleaf manuscript (No. 98/11/7) of the National Library, Rangoon.²
3. The *Rājamañicūḷā* Inscription at Sagaing.
4. Copy of the above inscription by King Badon, and placed in the Mahamuni Compound, Mandalay (B, I, 262-79) and
5. *The Cambūdīpa Uchoñ: Kyam*., Rangoon, the Burma Research Society, 1960.³

G. E. Harvey's *History of Burma* (London, Longmans, 1925) has a note on Thalun's Inquests, etc.' of 1638 (pp. 347-52). It is a pity that none of the 1638 inquests are found today but some of the land tenures in the inquests of 1784 and 1803 were traced back to King Thalun's time. *The Mhannan: Rajawan* gives us the political framexork⁴ and we fit into it such details as we find in the above sources. Thus we have a fairly complete picture of the life of the people in those days.

The Burmese kingdom early in the 17th century had its centre at Ava renamed Shwe-wa in 1598.⁵ Under Ava were the states of the Burmese, Shan, Yun, and Talaing. The boundary limits in about A.D.1638 were:

The Iron Bridge in the east; the approaches to the sea in the west; Siam in the south; and the places of the Burning Water, Big Ears, Akkabad and Kathe in the north.⁶

In short there were such states as Kenghung⁷, Chiengmai and Viengchang⁸ in the east, the Arakan coast and the Bay of Bengal in the west, lands beyond the Bay of Martaban from Tavoy and

* မုနိ၊ ဝါ ၂၁၇

1. Henceforth this work will be referred to as *Three Kings* မင်းသုံးပါး
2. Henceforth this work will be referred to as *Seven Kings* မင်းခုနစ်ပါး
3. Henceforth this work will be referred to as *Cambu* ဝဗ္ဗ။
4. မုနိ၊ တ၊ ၁၉၁-၂၅၁
5. ခန္တဝါ မင်းသုံးပါး (၉၆၀-၉၉၆) ၃၃၃
6. ဝဗ္ဗ။ (၉၉၉ ခု) ၆၃
7. ကောဝ်ဟန် Harvey: *Burma*, p. 347 (ကျိုင်းခုံးကြီး)
8. လင်းစင်း Harvey: *Burma*, p. 100

Tenasserim to Siam in the south and the Chin and Kathe areas in the north. Arakan, however, was not among the Burmese possessions in those days.

Within these territorial limits, according to the Sagaing *Rājamañicūlā* (Kaung-hmu-daw) Inscription of A.D.1650, there were such provinces:

Sunāparanta of *Caku*, *Calañ*, *Laykuin*, *Phoñlañ*, *Kale* and *Soñswap*; *Tampadīpa* of *Pukamī*, *Awa*, *Pañra* and *Mrañcuin*; *Kampoja* of *Sibo*; *Ñoñrhwe* and *Muiwnai*; *Cin* of *Bamau*, *Kewelumim* and *Cantā*; *Sirikhettarāma* of *Sirikhettara*, *Udetarac* and *Panthoñ*; *Jayawaddhana* of *Ketumatī* and *Jayawati*; *Rāmaña* of *Hamisawati*, *Digurim*, *Dala*, *Kusim*, *Roñmra* and *Muttima*; *Khemawara* of *Kyuiñturim*, *Haripuñja* of *Jañmay* and *Kyuiñsañ*; and *Mahānagara* of *Kyuiñrumim* and *Muiñcañ*.¹

As compared with the extent of modern Burma it was without Arakan in the west but with the addition of *Haripuñja* and *Mahānagara* in the east.

The people living within these lands were *An:kyay*, *Bharāñjyi* (Feringhi),² *Danu*, *Gywam*: (Cambodian), *Jan:may* (Chieng-mai), *Kadu*:, *Kakhyañ*, *Karañ*, *Kasañ*: *Khyañ*:, *Kulā*: (? Hindu), *Kulā:pyuj* (? Muslim), *Lañjañ*: (Viengchang), *Lawa*, *Lū*: *Pale*, *Paloñ*, *Puññā*: (Brahmana),

Rakhuin, *Sak*, *Syam*:, *Taluiñ*: (*Mwan*), *Tarak*, *Taruk* and *Ywan*: (Lao Shan).³ Among these people *Kulā:pyui* were archers and gunners of Islamic faith and *Bharāñjyi* were Portuguese mercenaries who usually manned the artillery. When these foreigners left the country they were not allowed to sell their houses.⁴ The names mentioned above are only those obtained from the Edicts. Perhaps there were some other nationalities than those given in this list.

The approximate population would probably be worked out like this. In the Edict of 1635 on recruitment for the army, it was said that the former strength which was 20,000⁵ should be increased to a sufficient number to use 100,000 guns, 10,000 cannon, 50,000 bows, 1,000 boats called *Railhe*, 5,000 boats called *Kañ:lon*:, 50,000 shields called *kā* and 50,000 shields called *lhwā*. Roughly it meant raising the number from 20,000 to about 400,000, i.e. an increase of twenty times. As King Thalun's territories were larger a stronger armed force was needed. If we assume that a family of five persons produces one fighting man, with a population of 2,000,000 we get 400,000 soldiers. Perhaps we cannot be very wrong if we assume that the population was two million and most of them were cultivators. The common folk who were not in the service of the king or state were known as *asañ*. The loss of population due to the incessant

1. စတုရ်းရာဇမာဏိပုဂ္ဂိုလ်ကျောက်စာ (သီ ၁၀၀၂၊ အေဒီ ၁၆၅၀) မျက်နှာဖက် စာကြောင်းရေ ၆၇-၇၁၊ မှန်၊ သီ ၂၃၇

2. Harvey, *Burma*, pp. 348-9

3. Harvey, *Burma*, pp. 166

4. မင်းဆန်စံပါး၊ ၁၇၉

5. မင်းဆုံးပါး (၉၉၀ ပြည့်) ၆၀

wars of the preceding decades was a serious handicap in the programme for increasing agricultural produce and in order to offset this, migration from the frontier areas was encouraged. One record mentions that.

When men and women of *syam*; *lū*, *mrañ:rañ*, *kakhyañ*, *karañ* and *añkyay* from upcountry arrive, towns shall receive 300 each, villages 150 each, *tuik* areas 100 each, and *kye*: areas 50 each.¹

A change of kings usually caused anxiety among the people because generally a change brought with it bloodshed in varying degrees. Therefore when King Anaukphaklun ascended the throne in A. D. 1605 he took care to issue the following order which was read in all quarters from the back of an elephant.

This is an order made by the Lord of Life, and the Just King who has accumulated much merit. I now reign in the Kingdom of Shwe-wa which I have inherited from my royal father. Buying, selling, etc. must go on as usual without any trepidation.²

Such an order was necessary to assure the people that they may carry on their business as usual. A similar order was issued by King Thalun in 1629.³

When the Chinese threatened war in 1637, warlike preparations were made and troops were sent out to the frontier. In order that the people who were not directly on the route of march may not be alarmed the King issued the following order.

Local chiefs such as Sawbwa, Myosa and Tat-paung-za must clearly mark out places 'out of bounds' to troops. People should not be frightened. Buying, selling etc. should go on as usual. Ministers must send out full instructions to this effect.

To safeguard the places on the route of march from the ravages of the soldiers the order also says:

All commanding officers from Mintha, Bohmu, Tathmu, Wun, Winhmu, Sitke, Nagan, Tat-ye, Akyat down to the foot soldiers in the fourfold army marching to Mowun must not kill and eat fowl, pigs, goats and cattle during the march. They must not either despoil the property of the people or rob their daughters of their chastity. Nobody must be pressed into the service. Duels are forbidden. Officers shall not abuse their authority and oppress the people. The soldiers should not be allowed to wander far from their billet. Horses and elephants of the army must not be put to grass on lands far away from the camp. Sentry duties are to be strictly enforced. Camp followers are also to be properly controlled. Polemic talks must be avoided. Rivalries must be suppressed. Misappropriation of government properties must be carefully checked and punished. Arms and implements are to be used with due respect and defective ones

1. မင်းအနုပေါ် ၁၄၀

2. မင်းသုံးပေါ် (၉၆၇၃)၀

3. မှန်၊ ၀၀၂၀၀

must be brought to the notice of the officers and these must be repaired and put to use again.¹

It is quite evident that the army was well organised and that the soldiers were well disciplined. Even the camp followers were kept under control. The most important consideration here is in making the soldier respect the rights of the people and to arouse in them the general feeling that the army was the people's army. The king also felt that the people should pray for the speedy success and safe return of the army. He ordained that:

Old people of above sixty, seventy or eighty years of age shall visit the religious places with offerings and pray on my behalf for (the armed forces).

The keynote of administration in general was to consider foremost the wellbeing of the people. The Edict of 1635 says:—

The person to whom a certain town or village is given as fief is in some ways like a gardener who grows the piper betel. Shade has to be provided that the leaves might prosper and the best of them taken away for sale. The gardener earns his livelihood in this way. Similarly the people must be guarded against all exactions by extortionate junior

officers. Only trusted servants should be sent out to villages to look after the welfare of the people. Reports on what the people need must be given due consideration and measures taken to fulfil as much as possible. The fact that the people in each locality and their lord are interdependent should be well established. The advantages that they reap are mutual and reciprocal.²

When the fief holder has an eye only for the collection of revenue he is in no way interested in the welfare of his fief and therefore he would be held criminally liable. In one edict we are given the following allegory.

A bird seeks a tree with fruit and it comes regularly to that tree only when the fruits are plentiful. It practically does nothing contributory to the growth of the tree. Now if the fief holder has no other interest in his domain other than its revenue he is behaving like a bird which is not permissible. He certainly deserves execution.³

For officers who abuse their prerogatives there is an edict which firmly states that:

If and when the Royal Ears are vexed with a report of the people migrating from a certain locality because of the oppressive rule of

1. မင်းသုံးပါး (၉၉၉ ခု) ၁၄၄-၆

2. မင်းသုံးပါး (၉၉၇ ခု) ၁၀၀-၁

3. မင်းသုံးပါး (၉၉၇ ခု) ၁၀

the officer there, he would be denied his right to appeal and would be summarily executed.¹

All these clearly show that the king was always mindful of giving first consideration to the public weal.

Fire precautions were taken as follows:

Each quarter (of the city) has its own headman and assistants who would remind the people night and day to be careful in the use of fire. Each house must have either 5 or 10 hooks with long bamboo handles. Pots full of water have to be placed on top of roofs. Cooking is allowed only in pits 4½ feet deep. Morning cooking must be done by 8.30 a.m. whereas the evening cooking must begin at the sound of the gong at 3.30 p.m. and be over by 5.30 p.m. when another signal is given. These signals will be given by the Lak mahtaung-hmu.² There must be absolutely no fire in the cooking pit nor anywhere else during the non-cooking time. The fire watchman shall make his rounds with feathers in hand and by thrusting the feather into the ash in each firepit he shall find out whether the fire is really extinguished or not. If he finds that there are

live coals, the householder will be sent to the She-yon³ for prosecution. Pipe smoking is not permitted while walking in the street. When caught in the act the pipe will be seized and the offender suffer 100 strokes of the lash. Each fire watchman must make his rounds five times a day.⁴

The following order was issued against petty thefts.

No one without a reasonable cause shall walk about in the streets after 9 p.m. Only those with a real need may go about provided they carry lanterns with them. When somebody shouts for help when a burglar is found, every one within hearing distance of that shout must rally forth to apprehend the thief. Anyone who fails to do so and is proved culpable shall be given 50 strokes.⁵

The king probably felt that the people should not move from locality to locality frequently because when everybody knows everybody there will be less crime. People in the royal service are categorically divided and each group is given a separate housing estate. Men from one group may not go and live in that of another group.⁶ Two groups living in the same place is also

1. မင်းသုံးပါး (၉၉၉ ခု) ဝပ၆
2. လက်မထောက်မှုး Jailor
3. ရွှေရုံး Court of Criminal Justice
4. မင်းသုံးပါး (၉၉၉ ခု) ဝပဝ-၅
5. မင်းသုံးပါး (၉၉၉ ခု) ဝပ၂-၁
6. ဝဗျ။ (၉၉၉ခု) ၆၄

undesirable.¹ Even though strict segregation of one group from another is impossible, the king desired the lapses to be as infrequent as possible. Officers in charge of groups must have registers so that each family may be traced back to its original holding.² On the other hand a man leaving his area must leave full particulars as to where he may be found if and when required.³ An edict of 1636 mentions:

Village headmen and senior Athi⁴ must know the ancestry of every villager. They must be able to identify who are the slaves of which prince or who are the bastards of which prince. The ministers' slaves must be differentiated from those of religious establishments. The case history of how these people had drifted into their present locality must also be known. The village headman is given authority to punish any misdemeanour among these 'outsiders'. They must also be made to work in equal proportion with the original villagers in all public works. If a rape case or a robbery occurs in places between one village and another, the village nearest to the place of crime would be held responsible for catching the culprit and all inmates of the village participate in doing so. Anyone fail-

ing to do so will be punished. In case the malefactor escapes the whole village would be punished. The villagers would be used for carrying big posts⁵ and elders would be branded and sent to collect elephant fodder.⁶

Fetching big posts or collecting elephant fodder were probably considered the most difficult and undesirable tasks in those days. The above edict also be taken as a good example of the collective responsibility of the people for the law enforcement of the area. By knowing the ancestry of each man, a criminal could easily be traced.

In taxation the king required only the customary dues and nothing more. The people were also warned to be on the watch against any exactions. One edict gives the following detail:

The Shwepyisoe⁷ has with him a manual on taxation and the old records are also with him. Tax collection must strictly adhere to the specified form. For excesses the collector, without any exception, shall be executed and his legs and limbs severed right in the middle of the market square.⁸

This assured the people of giving in taxes only that which was prescribed by old usage. With all these safeguards we

1. မင်းသုံးပါး (၉၉၇၃) ၇၂
2. မင်းသုံးပါး (၉၉၈၃) ၁၀၀
3. မင်းသုံးပါး (၁၀၀၇၃) ၃၄၉-၅၀
4. အသည့်
5. တိုင်ကြီးထမ်း
6. ဆင်စာရိုက်၊ မင်းသုံးပါး (၉၉၈၃) ၈၀
7. ရွှေပြည်စိုး
8. မင်းသုံးပါး (၉၉၇၃) ၇၉

can safely assume that the people were happy and contented.

So far we have seen how the king tried to save his people from the hands of rapacious and tyrannical officers. He was also aware that he himself must act according to his own principles. Once he said:

I am the Supreme Lord of each and every one living in all the eight provinces of my country and the happiness or unhappiness of the people depends entirely on me.¹

He firmly believed in effective control and organization to assure peace and tranquility.

The army was organized as follows:

10 men	1 leader ²
10 leaders	1 major
10 majors	1 commander
10 commanders	1 commander-in-chief
10 commanders-in-chief	1 king

So a king has under him 100,000 warriors:

With the help of these braves, the king defended the life and property of his people. In a way he said that he was like a gardener:

The country is my garden where I nurse young plants, prepare good beds for transplantation and make everything possible for the transplan-

ted trees to grow and bear fruits. Fruits of sour, bitter and sweet kinds are all there. Standard qualities of these fruits must also be maintained. In the like manner the Religion and the people shall prosper in my land. There shall be opportunities so that life may be easy. There shall be no hardship for anyone who shall grow up from childhood to manhood and from manhood to ripe old age and death.

The king also likened himself to a charioteer with enough skill to drive through hill and dale, carrying over his people to a land of prosperity. The king encouraged increase in population. Village elders were requested to help spinsters above 40, find suitable partners in marriage. Village headmen must know

how many of the villagers are married, how many remain single and the number of the adolescents who have reached a marriageable age. The birth dates of the boys must be checked so that when they attain the age of service they may promptly serve in their respective vocations. Girls of marriageable age must be persuaded to find suitable husbands. The parents have no right to hinder in their marriage and it is always a good policy to let them marry before anything untoward happens to them.

These orders were issued with an eye to an increase in population which meant more men power both for working and fighting. The king desired both.

1. မင်းသုံးပါး (၁၀၀၀၀၀)၂၃၃

2. Leader ခေါင်း Major စစ်ဗိုလ် Commander ဗိုလ်မှူး Commander-in-chief စစ်သုံးကြီး

The royal orders were meant to be carried out but the king considered that blind obedience was undesirable. Officials were encouraged to use their discretion in carrying out his orders. Strict obedience of a certain order might cause misunderstanding or hardships. For example the king had early in his reign issued an order prohibiting the ordination service, i.e. no more were allowed to join the monkhood. This was because he wanted all able-bodied males to help in the reconstruction and rehabilitation works as much as possible and he feared that some might shirk their share of work by becoming monks. Nevertheless he did not wish this order to be taken as anti-religion. It was the duty of the officers who carried out the order to enlighten the people concerning the real motives of the king in passing it.¹ As a matter of fact Thalun did nothing detrimental to the interest of the people knowingly.

In civil suits, the guiding principle was arbitration. The essence of Burmese justice was to find a happy compromise between the rival parties. Khun-thu-mat² was the name for a judge and there were judges by popular election as well as by royal appointment. The code of civil procedure compiled in 1629 by the Monk of Taung-hpi-la and the Lord of Kaing-za was called the Manuthara Shwemyin Dhammathat.³ Regarding court fees, the

rule was that the fees shall not exceed the whole amount of money involved in the case.⁴ The fee was generally known as Kwan-bo⁵ the price of betel. The king expressly ordered that the desire for receiving a fee should not be the only criterion for a judge to accept a case. His duty was to lessen quarrels. When two contestants accept his judgment, there was every possibility that they may become friends again. This should be the fundamental outlook for a judge in accepting a case.

As most people were ignorant of the procedures of the law courts pleader were needed. They argued before the judges in favour of their clients without regard for justice but to win the suit. So the king passed the following order:

The pleaders expect only to get their fees. So let the order of my father regarding them still hold good during my reign. They must don pointed turban, carry a bag, bowl and fan with yellow handle. As fees, for each case that a pleader appears, let him take 37 $\frac{1}{2}$ ticals of copper. If he takes more, he shall be punished even without the right of appeal... Pleadors thrive on speaking lies every day and in that way they have degraded themselves and therefore they must be given quarters outside the city. Let them live separate.⁶

1. မင်းသုံးပါး (၁၀၀၀၆၅၉၆) ၂၃၃-၅၅
2. ခုံသူမတ်
3. မန္တလေး ရွှေမျဉ်းစမ္မသတ်
4. မင်းသုံးပါး (၉၉၈၃) ၁၀၅
5. ကုမ်းဘိုး
6. မင်းသုံးပါး (၉၆၉၅) ၃

One viss of copper was worth only one tical of silver therefore a pleader's fee was worth only about 4 ticals of silver. Still he was feared because he had the gift of oratory that could fool most people including judges.¹ He would, by the use of his skilful tongue rob anybody of his rightful property even in the presence of the court.² So a judge was given the power of stopping a pleader in the middle of his arguments if he thought that the pleader was purposely trying to mislead the court. His punishment would then be 100 lashes or to be dragged out of the court by his top knot.³ The judge should also stop him if he tried to persuade the court to resort to a trial by ordeal because ordeals were permissible only in cases lacking evidence and witnesses.⁴ For contempt of court he shall be punished with 100 lashes.⁵ Nevertheless his merits were also recognised. He could bring out the truth in a case and guide the judge in his decision. With that alone he would be honouring the people, the state and the Religion.⁶

It is interesting to note that the division between civil and criminal cases in the days of the Burmese kings was quite different from the modern one. Theft, arson, rape, assault, revile, breach of trust, divorce and inheritance were civil suits in those days. Incurring the royal displeasure, disobeying royal orders, conspiring against the person of the king, acting contrary to the interest of the state were all yasawoo?⁷ or criminal cases. Therefore mistakes made in drawing magic squares on the gate posts of the city would also be termed criminal because it was believed that mistakes of that nature would probably cause plagues, etc.⁸ An official who neglected to use all the paraphernalia given to him by royal order as insignia of his rank was also criminally liable.⁹ Using insignia of a higher rank was also a crime.¹⁰ Failing to give proper care to these insignias was a crime too.¹¹ It was punished by caning up to a 1000 lashes, or by being dismissed from office or by being sent out to carry big posts or having to fetch elephant fodder.

1. မင်းသုံးပါး (၉၉၀ ခု) ၁၁၅
2. မင်းသုံးပါး (၉၉၀ ခု) ၁၁၇
3. မင်းသုံးပါး (၉၉၆ ခု) ၃၇၊ (၁၁၀၀ ခု) ၃၅၇
4. မင်းသုံးပါး (၁၀၀၁ ခု) ၂၉၇
5. မင်းသုံးပါး (၉၉၉ ခု) ၁၂၉
6. မင်းသုံးပါး (၉၉၀ ခု) ၁၁၆
7. ရာဇဝတ်
8. မင်းသုံးပါး (၉၉၇ ခု) ၄၆
9. မင်းသုံးပါး (၁၁၀၀ ပြည့်) ၂၂၇
10. မင်းသုံးပါး (၁၀၀၀ ပြည့်) ၂၃၁-၃
11. မင်းသုံးပါး (၁၁၀၀ ပြည့်) ၂၂၃

Execution was mostly by impaling. When a person was executed and his legs and limbs severed and the remains exposed to the birds and beasts in a public place he has been guilty of a crime of the worst type.¹ This form of execution was called 'the bad execution'.²

pounders of rice, prostitutes, rope material makers, saffron pounders, spinners, umbrella makers, lavatory cleaners, water suppliers and weavers. The Twinthin Taik Wun⁵ had to supply all vegetables and dried food needed by the palace kitchen.

The appointment to offices were nominally by royal favour but in village administration the head was usually selected and appointed with the following three considerations. Firstly, the candidate must have an inherited right to the vacant post; secondly he must have popular support; thirdly his superiors must have no objection to his appointment.³ Among the servicemen there were such grades as (1) *naysā* - private, (2) *akai* - leader, (3) *akri* - chief, (4) *akrap* - controller (5) *amhū* - commander, and (6) *akhyup* - supreme. Roughly there were three separate services as the (1) palace service, (2) civil service and (3) military service. The manual labourers in the service of the palace were under the control of the Anauk Wun.⁴ They were bird watchers, brass material makers, carriers of all sorts, cooks, cowherds, dyers, fire wood suppliers, fortune-tellers, launderers, milk suppliers, nurses, palanquin bearers, perfume makers,

There were nine groups of palace entertainers.⁶ In addition to these there were musical troupes of Danu, Kathe, Shan, Tayok, Thak, Yakhaing, Yodaya and Yun.⁷ It was quite natural that some of the girl entertainers became mistresses of members of the royal family. A child born of such a union would never be considered one of royal blood. The child when grown up could not be transferred to any other service. He or she must remain in the palace entertainment groups.⁸ When there were intermarriages within the various groups of entertainers, a son born to the union must serve as an acrobat and a daughter must join the drum group of the queen.⁹

When a new palace was completed in 1635 a series of festivals were held to celebrate it. A royal order was issued to this effect:-

-
1. မင်းသုံးပါး (၉၉၇ ခု) ၇၉
 2. မကောင်းသဖြင့် စီရင်ခြင်း
 3. မင်းခုနစ်ပါး ၁၉၃
 4. အခနာထိဝန် မင်းသုံးပါး (၉၉၇ ခု) ၅၀-၉ Officer in charge of the harem.
 5. တွင်းသင်းတိုက်ဝန်၊ မင်းခုနစ်ပါး ၅၃
 6. သဘင်တော်ကိုးခု၊ မင်းခုနစ်ပါး ၅၅
 7. မင်းခုနစ်ပါး၊ ၁၆၆
 8. မင်းသုံးပါး ၇၄
 9. မိဖုရားစည်တီး

At the Burmese dancing with Burmese music and Talaing dancing with Talaing music, dancing in the nude is not allowed. The dancers' coiffure must be in suli¹ style and they must use gold Headdresses.

It seems that there was nothing unusual about the nakedness of the performer before.

The following were the main features of the king's service. (1) The service men were given residential quarters and land for cultivation.² (2) Ordinarily a person from one service could not be transferred to another service.³ (3) Transfer from an inferior service to a superior one was impossible. Promotions were confined only within a given service.⁴ (4) A service man may not leave the land given to him by royal sanction.⁵ (5) He was expected to raise crops on the land given to him for cultivation while he was not on active service.⁶ (6) He could not abandon work on his

fields unless it was a war time emergency.⁷ (7) He must also undergo training to become skilful in his profession.⁸ (8) An annual report had to be submitted by the officer in charge stating the number of births, deaths, absconders, persons who were ordained as monks, persons disabled either through sickness or old age and that of the able-bodied persons.⁹ Another list must also be given containing the sex and age of everyone in the group.

There were also service men who were not numerous enough to be grouped into separate villages. They were the nurses who looked after the sick,¹⁰ medicine men,¹¹ magicians¹² and artists.¹³ Just as the nurse and medicine man were of allied professions so were the magician and artist. The magician prescribed the form of magic squares which the artist drew. Magic squares were in demand either to cure sickness or to ward off evil or to

1. စုလည်၊ မင်းသုံးပါး (၉၉၇ ခု) ၅၂
2. မင်းသုံးပါး (၉၉၇ ခု) ၅၂
3. မင်းသုံးပါး (၁၀၀၀ ပြည့်) ၂၁၀
4. မင်းသုံးပါး (၉၉၇ ခု) ၇၄
5. မင်းသုံးပါး (၁၀၀၇ ခု) ၃၄၀
6. မင်းသုံးပါး (၉၉၀ ခု) ၉၅-၆
7. မင်းခုနစ်ပါး ၁၁၄
8. မင်းသုံးပါး (၁၀၀၀ ပြည့်) ၁၀၂၊ ၂၁၆
9. မင်းသုံးပါး (၉၉၇ ခု) ၆၃-၄
10. မင်းသုံးပါး (၁၀၀၀ ပြည့်) ၁၂၉၊ သူနာကြည့်
11. မင်းသုံးပါး (၁၀၀၀ ပြည့်) ၃၇၃၊ ဆေးဆရာ
12. မင်းသုံးပါး (၉၉၉ ခု) ၁၃၇-၀၊ မန္တန်ဆရာ
13. မင်းသုံးပါး (၁၀၀၀ ပြည့်) ၃၇၅၊ ပန်းချီဆရာ

enhance success in a campaign. A commander on field duty was usually given an artist for the drawing of magic squares.¹

Occult practices² were employed as precautions against epidemics or fire in the capital. Artists had to draw magic squares on the door panels of the city gates and paint pictures on the ceilings of the arches above them. The pictures were usually (1) the Buddha's success over Mara, (2) the Quail's escape from the great fire, (3) the Hare's jump into the fire and the miracle that not even

one hair of its body was singed and (4) the monkey advising his followers to drink water from an ogre's pond with reed pipes.³ It is also interesting to note that on the occasion of taking possession of the new palace, pregnant women with pots full of water were stationed in all rooms.⁴ Battles were fought on the advice of an occultist.⁵ Auspicious times were always selected for the launching of campaigns.⁶ Sacrifices were often offered to *Udinna*⁷ and *Mahāpinnai*.⁸

The cavalry was divided into many different groups. They were

Imrhe,
Kan coñ,
Kyok chok
Khaklum
Coprwat-ui
Noñram:
Tapayañ:
Toñphak
Daway
Pugam
Prañcañ
Mitthilā
Mranmā
Yūtoaumū
Rhe, sā
Lakrwe: kri:
Lakwai
Lambhū
Saṅ: kri:
Syam: nak

and

Imrhe, toau Pakhan:
Kyoau sañ:
Kywantoauhoñ:
Ñaranai Ci: toau
Jañ: may
Ñoñrhwe
Tarup Mrui, pā
Than: taphaṅ
Nok
Pañ: ya
Bamoau
Mrokphak
Mrui, pā
Rakkhan,
Lakyā
Lakrwe: ṅay
Lañ: jañ:
Sañtoñ
Syam:
Syam: sūṅay

There were altogether 40 groups.

1. မင်းသုံးပါး (၉၉၉ ခု) ၁၃၇-၀
2. လောကီအစီအစဉ်
3. မင်းသုံးပါး (၉၉၉ ခု) ၄၀-၅၀
4. မင်းသုံးပါး ၃၃
5. မင်းသုံးပါး ၆
6. မင်းသုံးပါး (၁၀၀၀ ပြည့်) ၁၇၀
7. မင်းသုံးပါး ၃၅၊ ၁၁၄
8. မင်းသုံးပါး ၃၂၊ ၂၅၆

The musketeers were also divided into many groups. They were:

Ip phan toau
Kulā Pyui
Noktoaupā
Bharañjyi
Rhwemrui, toau
Sūnaytoau

Im-sā toau
Tantā:-u:
Pañ: ya
Mrenan: toau
Wan: kyan

and

There was a total of eleven groups. There were also artillery groups.

The foot soldiers were put under different *Swesok* officers. They were-

Krakhat cā:
Cañsū rwā cā:
Tap rwā cā:
Dandasiri
Pekyañ cā:
Pokkamā cā:
Mathi: lui cā:
Rekhyam: cā:
Rai cakka
Rai teja
Rai dhamma
Rai sañ ram
Rwā ma cā:
Rwā sāyā cā:
Lañ: ñaykrī: cā
Sālha pañ cañ cā:

Khyam: sārwaçā:
Jik sañ ram
Than: tapan cā
Nanta cañsū
Pok-uiñ cā:
Poktuiñ cā
Mū: wa cā:
Raikamma
Rai jeya
Rai dewa
Rai sīha
Rai sūra
Rhañ thwe: thui
Rwā ma krī: cā:
Rwak sañ ram
Wesundhara

and

Altogether there were thirtythree groups.

The *Lhoaukā*: war boats were also grouped into

Arhe, wañ: saprū
Koñ ma cac
Pwai tuiñ: kyoau
Prañ lum: kyoau
Bhun: toau nuiñ nam
Lakwai wañ:
Sārakā
Sūrai tu lhwat

I-kañ:
Pagui: nuiñ nam kyeau
Prañ lum: am
Brai ta roau
Ran nuiñ prañ lum: yū
Lakyā wañ:
Sārabimān

and

There were altogether fifteen *Lhoaukā*: groups. There were also:

Lakwai mrañ: lhe
Dhāwati lhe

and

Lakya mrañ: lhe
Amrok tañ lhe loñ: kri:

The barges were eleven in number

E-ñ phon
Cakkawat phon
Tui: phon
Pañcarūpa phon
Rhwe hañsā phon
Singānit phon

Karawit phon
Jiwacui: phon
Dasarūpa phon
Mikyoñ: phon
Sattarūpa phon

and

With all these forces King Thalun set out to unify the country and consolidate the central administration. In recognition of his strength, Siam and Arakan sent diplomatic missions to him.¹ It was very fortunate for the country that he did not launch a foreign war.

The slaves belonging to the religious establishments during the period under survey were considered as a sort of social outcasts. It was not so during the Pagan period of the 11th-13th centuries. The reason for this degradation was simply due to a convention which make a person who married a slave of a religious establishment a slave of the religion and thus he or she was lost to the original community. The slaves of religious establishments, out of respect to the Religion, were never conscripted into military service during wars. From the political point of view this loss of man power was undesirable. So the kings discouraged their subjects from marrying slaves of religious establishments. This was later willfully or unknowingly misinterpreted so that the slaves of the Religion were regarded as social outcasts.

On the other hand, the Burmese kings usually wanted renown for themselves as the Defenders of the faith and King Thalun was no exception. He aimed at the

purification of the Order first. He denounced those monks who joined the Order simply to escape hard work and amass wealth from charities. Thus he ordered that investigations be made to weed out these undesirable elements from the Order.² Secondly the king tried to find out the extent of the glebe land in his kingdom. The stone inscriptions of former times were studied for this purpose.³ Some of the religious lands were confiscated⁴ and he declared that clear demarcations were to be made between the glebe and royal lands. Old pagodas were repaired.⁵ Many meritorious deeds were done by the King during the one thousandth year of the Sakarac (A. D. 1638). Expenses for all these were to be met from the court fees and the presents received by the king. Five hundred soldiers were given as escort to a mission of monks who went out in the same year in search of *Man: cak toau*.⁶ They found it in the Minbu district. When his son rebelled against him he had to seek refuge temporarily in a Buddhist monastery and his restoration to the throne was due largely through the help of the monks. Although the king aided greatly in the propagation of Buddhism, he was also a great believer in fortune-telling etc. *Bhā:mai Charātoau* helped him greatly in this respect.⁷

1. မုန့်၊ ထ၊ ၂၀၃၊ ၂၀၅၊ ၂၀၉
2. မင်းသုံးပါး (၉၉၈ ခု) ၈၉-၉၄
3. မင်းသုံးပါး (၉၉၉ ခု) ၁၁၁-၁၅
4. မင်းခုန်မီး ၉၇
5. မင်းသုံးပါး (၁၀၀၀ပြည့်) ၁၈၄-၇
6. မင်းသုံးပါး (၁၀၀၀ပြည့်) ၁၈၁-၃
7. မင်းသုံးပါး (၉၆၅၊ ၉၇၂၊ ၉၉၀) ၄၂၅၊ ၉-၁၀၊ ၃၅

In conclusion we find that king Thalun made every possible effort to improve the life of his people. He treated every matter with seriousness if it was in the interest of the people. First he tried to repopulate the war ravaged areas of his country. Migrations from the frontier regions were encouraged. Young people of marriageable age were urged to marry quickly and settle down to agricultural life. Security of life and property was ensured. Measures were taken that his officers may not oppress the people. The Religion also prospered during his reign. Therefore we might say that king Thalun was successful in almost all his attempts to ameliorate the living conditions of the people of his realm.

