Bibliographic Data

Author	Burma. The Directorate of Archaeological Survey	**Art.** MP0001A
Article Title		
	Mandalay Palace	
Title (Book/Serial)		
Issue and Volume		
Edition		
Place/ Publisher		
	The Directorate of Archaeological Survey	
Distributor		
Ed. Date	1963	
Pagination	34 p. 31 plates	
Annotation	Contents: (1) Foundation of the Palace and City p. 10 - 15 (2) The City's Defensive Walls p. 16 - 19 (3) Building outside the palace platform p. 22 - 24 (4) The Buildings within the palace platform p. 25 - 35 (5) Appendix - Kings of the Alaungpaya Dynasty p. 37 This book was published with the grant of 1962 Asia Foundation. Text by Mon C. Durosielle former Superintendent of the Directorate of Archaeological Survey. Supplemented with thirty one plates of photographs, plans and measured drawings of the palace structures and architectural motifs as preserved in the Archaeological Department	
Subject Terms	1. Mandalay Palace 2. Mandalay Palace - Historical Sites 3. Mandalay - Description and Travel 4. Mandalay - History 5. Myanmar - History - Later Konbaung Period	
Key Words	1. Yadanabone (Mandalay) 2. Amarapura 3. The Lion Throne 4. The Lotus Throne 5. Shwenandaw Monastery 6. Glass Palace (Hmannan dawgyi) 7. The Watch Tower 8. The Tooth Relic Tower 9. Pyatthat 10. Minglar Gate	

THE MANDALAY PALACE

Published by

The Directorate of Archaeological Survey
MINISTRY OF UNION CULTURE
Revolutionary Government of the Union of Burma

Grateful acknowledgment is due to the Asia Foundation for their generous grant (in 1962) towards the publication of ***The Mandalay Palace.***

Printed at

THE RANGOON UNIVERSITY PRESS
Faculty of Social Sciences Building
University Estate
Rangoon (Burma)
1963

အရှေ့ပွဲတက်ဆောင်နှင့် မြေနန်းပြာသာဒ်တော်ကြီး၊ မန္တလေးနန်းတော် The Audience Halls and Central Spire, Mandalay Palace

PREFACE

MANDALAY is not a very old city, but the last devastating war had completely wiped off the palace buildings and left us with only the memories of the past grandeur of the seat of the two last kings of the Konbaung Dynasty. However, the shattered fort walls with a few remaining *pyatthats* (wooden pavilions) over them and the surrounding moat still present an impressive scene and arouse the desire to visualize the glittering halls and spires that once stood stately on the platform in the centre of the fort.

The miniature model to the west of the desolated platform and the replica now exhibited within the compound of the National Museum in Rangoon provide us with but a sketchy idea of the elaborate palatial buildings. It would seem to be out of place to reprint the Guide Book, long out of print, without any illustrations, when the buildings are no more to be seen. On the contrary, intrinsic interest is still attached to the fact that the palace was the last representative in Burma of a wooden civil architecture whose general plan carries us back to many centuries. To help one to understand the architectural descriptions of the buildings suitable illustrations would be most useful, but due to the congested layout of the structures the preparation of photographs of the full view of each building was not possible. But fortunately, many measured drawings of the structures and architectural motifs are still preserved in the Archaeological Department, and opportunity is now taken to place them on permanent record and to present a collection of these architectural drawings to interested scholars. The historical outline and the descriptions of the buildings are reproduced from the Guide to the Mandalay Palace by Mon. C. Duroiselle, former Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Burma.

Rangoon,
1st. November 1962.

Director, Archaeological Survey, Burma.

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THE MANDALAY PALACE

Interest of the Mandalay Palace and City

Architectural and Historical — The first thing which the resident in Burma or the tourist, when he comes to Mandalay for the first time, desires to see before everything else, is the Palace. He has already heard of it and most probably also read about it in more or less accurate but generally glowing descriptions. He is under the glamour which the very word 'palace' and above all 'oriental palace' calls forth to the mind, and it is in anticipatory visions of majestic piles and grandiosely decorated halls that, through the broad, white and dusty roads of the city, he directs his steps towards the abode of the last kings of Burma. The result of the visit is at first generally, somewhat of a disillusion. This is due to several causes; the visitor has before him only what remains of the palace; much of the painting, gilding, and ornaments which, when it was inhabited, must have made of it a glorious sight and a joy to the eye, have disappeared or faded; he has in fact before him the palace, *but not as it was;* for not a few of the parts which contributed to the harmony and grandeur of the whole are now no more to be seen. The sign-boards bearing, in English and Burmese, the name of each apartment, tell him but little or nothing, if he be not accompanied by a person familiar with the uses to which these rooms were put, and able, by his explanations, to repeople for him those empty, echoing halls, with the fleeting images of those personages, high and low, who, only a few decades ago, filled them with life and movement and who played a role in the gorgeous pageants or revolting dramas once witnessed by these stolid walls. But perhaps the principal and foremost reason for the momentary disillusion — momentary because of the keener appreciation of the real beauty of the buildings which is experienced on a second visit — is the failing, readily comprehensible on the part of the casual visitor, to estimate to its proper value the real and abiding importance, from an historical and architectural standpoint, of the *Shwe Nandaw*, or Golden Palace.

The last representative in Burma of a long series of such buildings. — For the intrinsic interest of the palace at Mandalay lies in the fact that it is the last, and only one preserved to us, of a long series of similar structures built by succeeding dynasties at the numerous capitals of Burma and, in all its barbaric splendour, a solitary and silent witness of an order of things that has now for ever passed away; also in the fact that it is the only example of wooden civil architecture now left in Burma which, in its general plan and design, repeated from century to century with an almost blind adherence to the traditional plan of palaces which have now long disappeared, reproduces to a certain extent the wooden architecture of ancient India and of Asia. Its plan, in its great lines, is not merely old Indian, but rather pan-Asiatic, for its prototypes were found scattered over a vast stretch of country from Patna to Peking and — perhaps — as far as Nineveh. For these ancient cities and palaces were built, with often greatly varying details, on a plan common to all.

The features which may be said to have been, on the whole, common to pan-Asiatic cities and palaces are the following : The city was surrounded by high fortified walls, generally forming a square and surmounted by bastions and towers, a deep moat running all along these walls; the number of gates giving access into the city through these walls was not always exactly the same in every case; but there is a number of instances in which twelve gates are mentioned, as at Mandalay. The palace was erected in the centre, or very nearly the centre, in most cases, of the city, that is, of the square enclosed by the fortified walls; the palace was built on a basement or terrace raised pretty high from the ground, and enclosed by a retaining masonry wall; this

basement was generally longer than it was broad, that is, it was rectangular in shape. The buildings on this terrace, the agglomeration of which formed the palace as a whole, were constructed of wood and of only one storey; they were beautifully adorned with sculptures and mosaics, and heavily gilt and painted. Another feature was that the palace, for greater security to its inmates, was surrounded at no great distance by two or three enclosing walls.

Marco Polo's description of Kublai Khan's City and Palace — The description given by Marco Polo of the Palace of the great Kublai Khan (1260-1294 A.D.), the first Emperor of the Mongol dynasty in China, and his capital of Khan Baliq (Peking), Which he founded in 1264 near the site of the old city, corresponds almost exactly to that of Mandalay, and is most interesting in that it bears out what has been said above about the latter having been built according to traditional models—Khan Baliq not being an exception—which were found scattered over a large area of the Asiatic continent. It is as follows: —

"It (the palace of Kublai) is enclosed all round by a great wall forming a square, each side of which is a mile in length; that is to say, the whole compass there of is four miles. This you, may depend on; it is also very thick, and a good ten paces in height, white-washed and loop-holed all round. At each angle of the wall there is a fine and rich palace in which the war-harness of the Emperor is kept……. Also midway between every two of these Corner Palaces there is another of the like.....This great wall has five gates on its southern face, the middle one being the gate which is never opened on any occasion except when the great Khan himself goes forth or enters..... Inside this wall there is a second, enclosing a space that is somewhat greater in length than in breadth. This enclosure has also, eight palaces corresponding to those of the outer wall, and stored like them with the Lord's harness of war. This wall hath also five gates on the southern face corresponding to those in the outer wall, and hath one gate on each of the other faces. In the middle of the second enclosure is the Lord's Great Palace, and I will tell you what it is like.

" You must know that it is the greatest palace that ever was. The palace itself has no upper storey, but it is all on the ground floor, only the basement is raised some ten palms above the surrounding soil, and this elevation is retained by a wall of marble raised to the level of the pavement, two paces in width and projecting beyond the base of the palace as to form a kind of terrace-walk …….. The roof is very lofty, and the walls are all covered with gold and silver. They are also adorned with representations of dragons, sculptured and gilt, beasts and birds, knights and idols and sundry other objects. And on the ceiling too you see nothing but gold and silver painting. On each of the four sides there is a great marble staircase leading to the top of the marble wall (that is, on the basement), and forming the approach to the palace ……..It is quite a marvel to see how many rooms there are……on the interior side of the palace are large buildings with halls and chambers where the Emperor's private property is kept, such as his treasure of gold, gems, etc. ……. and in which reside the ladies and concubines. There, besides himself, no one has access. Between the two walls of the enclosure I have described, there are fine parks and beautiful trees."

The above is the description of the palace itself in the centre of its two enclosing walls. Of the fortified wall surrounding the whole city he says:—

" The city is all walled round with walls of earth (forming a square) which have a thickness of full ten paces at bottom, and a height of more than ten paces; but they are not so thick at the top, for they diminish in thickness as they rise, so that at the top they are about three

paces thick. And they are provided throughout with loop-holed battlements, which are all white-washed. There are *twelve gates, and* over each gate there is a great and handsome palace, so that there are on each side three gates and five palaces; for I ought to mention there is at each angle a great and handsome palace ……. The streets are so straight and wide that you can see right along them from end to end ……. Moreover in the middle of the city there is a great clock — that is to say a bell. All the plots of ground on which the houses of the city are built are four square, and laid out with straight lines; all the plots being occupied by great and spacious palaces, with courts and gardens of proportionate size. All these plots were assigned to different heads of families. Each square plot is encompassed by handsome streets for traffic; and thus the whole city is arranged in squares like a chess-board and disposed in a manner so perfect and masterly that it is impossible to give a description that should do it justice."

If we take into consideration that what Marco Polo describes on the top of the gates and on the walls were merely towers, answering to the pavilions or *pyatthats* (a construction with multiple receding roofs) on the wall of Mandalay city, it will be seen how very much alike are the two descriptions. The points of resemblance in the general plan of both the cities are too numerous to be merely fortuitous. It will be remarked that, in both cases, the palace proper, which consists of a single storey, is built of wood on a masonry basement forming a rectangle; this is immediately surrounded by enclosure walls. The streets within the city are straight, cutting one another at right angles and leading from gate to gate; in both the cities it is within the crenellated walls and the palace's enclosing outer wall that the streets are laid, and, in the squares thus formed, that the dwellings of the high officials are situated; both have a clock-tower or bell-tower to strike the time. The walls around the city form a square. each side of which has three gate-ways, the middle one of which being, in both cases, used by the king; the walls are battlemented, and watch-towers or bastions with multiple roofs are seen on the walls at the corners and over the gates, as well as between them; and a large moat has been dug all round the city.

General plan of City and Palace common over a vast area in Asia — The numerous capitals of Burma, both Lower and Upper, were, it goes almost without saying, on the same general plan; the walls of many can still be traced and leave no doubt on the subject. There is a description of the city of Pagan, written in Pali verse in the last quarter of the 12th century A.D., which might have been written for Mandalay itself. The same holds good of most fortified cities in the Far East. General de Beylie, the regretted archaeologist, who was in Burma some years ago, in his book on his visit here, gives plans of fortified cities in Cambodia which are in general agreement with that of Mandalay city. The author of this interesting book, having described the plan of Cambodian fortified cities, adds in a note: "The part of this immense space, which was occupied neither by the temple nor its outbuildings, was probably divided by streets, running parallel to the axis, into inhabited wards. It is now difficult to make sure of this, for the houses, built of timber, have disappeared without leaving a trace [1]; but it was on such a plan that the ancient capitals of Burma were arranged. Now, the disposition of these Burmese fortified cities had great analogies with those of Cambodia; for Burmese cities were in the form of a square with the palace in the centre and temples at the angles [1]." Speaking of Banteai Prei Angkor, de Beyliè

[1] This is because those old sites have been for centuries overgrown with vegetation and the street obliterated. A good and more recent example is the city of Amarapura, which was abandoned just a title over sixty years ago in favour of Mandalay; it has streets like the latter city, but it is now impossible to trace any of them:

says: — "This ancient capital . . . . its form is almost square and measures nearly two kilometres, 500 metres on each face. Each of these faces is pierced with three gates."

The custom of building palaces of timber on a masonry basement is very ancient and was found from one extremity of the Asiatic world to the other.

A note Yule appended to the passage in Marco Polo above quoted may be reproduced here: " This description of a palace, an elevated basement of masonry with a superstructure of timber (in general carved and gilded) is still found in Burma, Siam, and Java, as well as in China. If we had any trace of the palaces of the ancient Asokas and Vikramadityas of India, we should probably find that they were of the same character. It seems to be one of those things that belong to some ancient pan-Asiatic fashion, as the palaces of Nineveh were of a somewhat similar construction."

Fergusson thinks that " even if the student is not prepared to admit the direct ethnographic connection between the (wooden) buildings of Burma and Babylon, he will at any rate best learn in this country (Burma) to appreciate much in ancient architecture which, without such a living illustration, it is hard to understand. Solomon's House or the Forest of Lebanon is, with mere difference of detail, reproduced at Ava or Amarapura, [2] " to which Mandalay may of course be added.

In this fact, therefore, as has already been said, that it is one of the last representatives of a long series of similar buildings now long disappeared from the face of Asia, resides the principal and real interest attaching to the Mandalay Palace.

Bird's-eye view of the City and Palace — The town of Mandalay is situated on the plain which stretches from the Shan Hills on the east to the Irrawaddy River on the west. It roughly occupies an area of twenty-five square miles. The streets, well shaded by innumerable tamarind and some other trees, are all broad, and run regularly from cast to west and north to south, cutting one another at right angles. I have said the *town* (in contradistinction to the city), meaning all those blocks formed by the straight-running roads in approximately the centre of which stands the city within its surrounding walls for, to the Burmese, the latter only and properly was the capital, the *Shwe Myodaw*, or Royal Golden City. All that was *extra-muros was* accounted merely as suburbs and outside the capital; this is made clear by the designations of these suburbs still now in current use, as *Ashè-byin, Anaukpyin,* which may be almost literally translated by: the "East outside the walls," the "West outside the walls," etc. It is not therefore with the town, but with the city within the walls, that we are concerned.

Let us, in imagination, go back to the time before the annexation (1885) and suppose — by rolling the wheel of progress, of that wonderful mechanical progress, back for a few years— that we are comfortably hovering over the Burmese capital in an aeroplane. We shall then see, in a comprehensive view, the city as it was. The town itself, outside the walls, has remained in its

[1] There are no temples at the angles of the outer walls of the city of Mandalay; it appears King Mindon objected to them, on what grounds it is not known. But such temples are still to be seen at the four earners of the outer walls of Amarapura.

[2] History of Eastern Architecture , Vol. II, Page 369.

large lines very much the same, if we except, as a matter of course, the greater number of brick buildings, above all near the commercial centre, which the profound peace, the feeling of security, and the incentive to trade which followed naturally the annexation, have brought into being in a bountiful crop. But not so with the city *intra-muros*, which has undergone numerous changes. Excepting a few features, good King Mindôn would scarcely recognize it now were it vouchsafed him to visit it again. This is the sight which would meet our eyes from our flying machine. All round, forming a perfect square, the moat, and the city walls with their twelve gates, their battlemented tops and their forty-eight bastions surmounted with graceful wooden spires, and the five bridges spanning the moat; these features have practically remained unchanged. In the centre of the city, surrounding the palace right in the centre, was first a high stockade of teak posts forming an almost perfect square and with four gates; within this, at a distance of about sixty feet from it, and somewhat less in height, was a brick wall running parallel to the stockade on its four sides; the space between the stockade and this wall formed an esplanade covered with grass. Running right across the eastern face of the palace, its two extremities abutting against the south and north faces of the square brick wall just mentioned, was a second brick wall. Nearer the place again, at the back of it on the west, and along not quite the whole length of its southern and northern faces, was a third brick wall, thus forming three sides of an oblong. The space between these and the palace platform was known as the Inner Court, which forms now the roads running round the palace north and south. Right in the centre of all these was the palace with its numerous apartments, its magnificent spire and its watch-tower. Within the first square wall running along the stockade and the palace platform, were numerous buildings, most of them long ago demolished, such as: the arsenal, the Hlut-daw or Supreme Court, Thibaw's monastery, the Relic-tower, the Bell-tower, the Mint, the Tombs of Mindôn and some queens, numerous guard-houses and barracks, stable for horses and elephants, etc., all the buildings necessary to the active life of an oriental capital. On the north and south of the palace were the beautiful Royal garden now still extent. A reference to plan will make this clearer. The large space between the city walls and the stockade was, as it is still now, divided into large square blocks by the broad roads extending cast and west, and north and south. These blocks contained the dwellings of high officers of State and others with, around each, the huts of their retainers and the petty stalls of small bazaar vendors. This bird's-eye view of the city, however rapid, will, with the help of the plan, give a good idea of the general disposition of the *Shwe Myodaw*, and make clearer the more precise explanations given lower down.

Foundation of the Palace and City

King Mindôn, the Founder of Mandalay — Mindôn Min, the founder of Mandalay, was the 10th king and last, but one, of the Alaungpra dynasty (1752-1885) during which Burma witnessed her greatest military glory as well as her rapid dismemberment under the predecessors of Mindôn and her final downfall under Thibaw, the last king of the dynasty. Much has been written about Mindôn, who has been described as about the best king who ever ruled over Burma. Indeed, the hopes that had been founded on Mindôn Min at the time of his accession were in no small degree realized. European writers have generally, and with justice, drawn a very flattering portrait of him; over-flattering perhaps in some cases, for, notwithstanding his real qualities as a man, ruler, and scholar, he had still some of the defects and of the arrogance of an eastern monarch; and it could not well be otherwise, considering that he wielded an autocratic power and that, in him, centered the influence of the traditions of centuries of despotism and

barbaric rule. His chief merit was, I think, that, whether consciously or not — but certainly through his innate honesty, gentleness, and deep piety — he was probably the only Burmese king of modern times who, to some extent, broke through much of the trammels of those traditions and ruled with wisdom and often with good political insight; and whose reign, if compared with others, was singularly free from bloody hecatombs and atrocities. By all the Europeans who had direct dealings with him, he was always found to be reasonable in his views, amiable, and kind. To the end, he managed to be on a footing of good relations and friendliness with the British, his powerful neighbours in Lower Burma, and endeavoured, as much as was consistent with the established form of government, to bring back a certain amount of prosperity in his dominions and to maintain a peace long distracted by frequent wars.

King Mindôn, so designated from his patrimonial grant to the north of Prome, was born in 1814, and it is during his boyhood that the principal events rapidly succeeded one another which culminated, in 1824, in the first Burmese war, which resulted in the Burmese Government waiving all claims to their dominion over the State of Assam, Kachar and Jintya and their relinquishing into British hands the districts of Tenasserim, Tavoy, Mergui and Yè. This was the beginning of the dissolution of a large Empire, which the bad government and pride of its kings accelerated, until it was finally consumed by the annexation of Upper Burma in 1885.

Mindôn was half-brother to Pagan Min (1846-1853), his immediate predecessor, and the son of King Tharrawaddy (1837-1846) of execrable memory. He had a brother, the Kanaung Min, who later became heir—apparent and was massacred in the rebellion at Mandalay; both were united by the ties of a sincere affection, a thing rather rare in the annals of Burma, and for this reason worth mentioned here. It is this brother who, subsequently, did much to establish Mindôn on the throne at Amarapura. At that time, popular feeling was not a little irritated against Pagan Min on account of the annexation of Pegu by the British (1852), and this new loss of a vast territory, added to the disgust caused by his profligate life and his cruelty, had rendered him very unpopular. This unpopularity was probably a potent factor in favour of Mindôn. The latter was much esteemed at the capital for his amiable disposition, his affability and learning in religious lore. King Pagan, under whose protection the two princes were living, could not but perceive this growing esteem and began to feel an unreasoning jealousy originating, doubtless, in a sub-conscious fear. In November 1852, a dacoity took place at the residence of Ma Thè, who was the sister of the nurse of Pagan Min; this was made the occasion-if indeed the dacoity had not been engineered purposely-of a plot on the part of a certain section of high functionaries to try and bring Mindôn and his brother in disgrace with the king. The two brothers soon became aware that they were unsafe at Amarapura; they left it after much anxious consulation, and took refuge at Shwebo which they entered by force (December 1852). There a force of some thousand men, commanded by energetic chiefs, rapidly gathered about them. It was now open rebellion. The Royal forces vainly endeavoured to oppose the triumphal advance of the small army. Amarapura was taken, Pagan Min abdicated, and Mindôn became king (February 1853). Mindôn treated the fallen king with great consideration and allowed him to live with all his family in a state commensurate with his new position. Pagan Min died in Mandalay of small-pox in 1881.

Mindôn thinks of removing his capital — It has been seen that the city of Khan Baliq (Peking) and the palace there in of the great Mongol Emperor Kublai Khan and those of Mandalay were built practically on the same plan; this plan has been called pan-Asiatic, owing to its being found embodying the same general features over a great part of Asia. In the case of Khan Baliq and Mandalay, the resemblance is so very striking that one cannot but come to the

conclusion that, besides this pan-Asiatic conception of a Royal residence which was more or less common to a certain number of Asiatic nations, ethnic traditions and usage doubtless played a not little rôle. Certain of these Mongolic customs and usage can still be traced in Burma, and there can be little doubt that careful investigation on this subject would bring to light a few more. A few of these may be mentioned here. Among both the Mongols and the Burmese the left hand was considered to be the side of honour, and officials were designated as being of the right or the left, the latter appointment being more honourable and taking precedence. It was the recognized usage and right for a son, on ascending the throne, to take over his deceased father's wives, his own mother being not, of course, subjected to this rule; similarly younger brothers took unto themselves their elder brothers' wives. The cast was the most honourable point of the compass, and the heir-apparent to the throne was designated as the "Eastern Prince".They had superstitions in common concerning the position of the sun and moon, and regarding certain days. No serious operations were undertaken without first consulting the state of the stars arid of the moon, the waning period being considered not so auspicious as the waxing. Fytche remarked [1] "there is one remarkable usage amongst the Burmese which is essentially Mongol. There is no distinction between civil and military services. Treasurers and Judges are expected to take the command of armies. The Burmese army comprises the whole population of adult males..... Sometimes they are collected from particular provinces, townships or districts, but on great occasions levies are made of the whole population. The officials then become generals."

An ancient custom of the nomadic Tartars was, for their princes, frequently to remove their capitals from one place to another. To readers somewhat acquainted with Burmese history, it is well known this also was often the case in Burma; hence, the score or so of capitals scattered all over the country. It must not, however, be thought that — as has sometimes been said — it was the regular custom for every new king to remove his capital. Such a removal, though perhaps on some occasions due to fancy, was generally induced by political expediency and other considerations. King Mindôn, in removing his capital from Amarapura to Mandalay, not only acted on political and private reasons but also, to a certain extent, obeyed the dictates of a deeply seated atavism.

It is in 1856 that he seems to have first thought of this removal. Such shiftings on a large scale much always have been a source of annoyance and of no little hardships to the population settled in the suburbs: petty traders, gardeners, cultivators, etc.; but under the autocratic and despotic government of their kings, when the monarch's will alone was supreme in the land, they hand no voice in the matter and they had to follow their sovereign to the new site he had pitched upon. Mindôn appears, however, to have desired to mitigate the natural anxiety of the citizens and their no less natural discontent, by asserting that one of the principal motives for this (to them) momentous step was the very insalubrity of the then capital, Amarapura, about six miles to the south of Mandalay. The particular site chosen for the new city had been, he averred, pointed clearly out to him in three dreams given him by powerful *nats.* These dreams were, as a matter of course, carefully interpreted in exactly the sense the king wanted them to be with, it appears, a single, and I should say courageous, exception-by the most learned Buddhist bishops court astrologers and high officials. Besides the above, the chief queen and the heir apparent took part in the numerous conferences that were held with reference to this change of capital. The decision was arrived at with great display of scholarship; works in Pali Sanskrit, Bengali, Manipuri and Singhalese were consulted and all, strange to say, were found to designate unmistakably the very

[1] "Burma, Past and Present", Vol. 1, page 245.

site pointed out to the king in his dreams; and this site was definitely chosen as one that would bring great prosperity and wealth to the people, glory to the monarch, and new vigour and splendour to the Buddha's religion. Plans were subsequently drawn of the city and palace and presented to the king for his approval. Long consulations ensued in the council for the determination of a lucky day on which to begin the construction, and the Royal astrologers agreed that Friday, the 13th of February 1857, was the most auspicious day on which to commence the works, which were carried on with vigour.

It was decided that the mapping out and delimitation of the city with the palace within and of the town surrounding the former should start from the Mandalay Hill, at the north-east corner of the present city walls. It is from this Hill that the capital took its name of 'Mandalay'; like most other previous capitals, it was given a second and quasi-classical name: *Ratanapunna,* "the Gem City" *(lit.,* filled with gems), which is commonly shortened to *Ratanapun,* pronounced *Yadãnabõn.* Mandalay Hill had for long been a holy mount, owing to its having been visited by the Buddha and his beloved disciple Ananda to whom he prophesied that, in the 2400th year of his religion (1857 A.D.), a great city, the metropolis of Buddhism, would be founded at its foot.

The exodus from Amarapura — the "Immortal City" - took place in June 1857, in the midst of great rejoicing and festivals. Mindôn had a temporary palace built for his residence until such time as the one under construction should be finished. He used, mounted on an elephant, to superintend the works, assigning at the same time sites in the city for the residences of the princes and officials, and had temporary monasteries built for the clergy. The palace was completed in May 1858, and the king moved from the temporary palace to the new one with all the traditional pomp and ceremonies, which had been carefully recorded and preserved in old official documents. The city walls and the moat were nearly completed in 1859 and, according to the short inscription placed on the red post outside each gate, the city of Mandalay was considered to have been finished and founded on Monday, the 23rd May 1859.

King Thibaw 1878-1885 — After a peaceful and enlightened reign, one of the best Burma had ever enjoyed, King Mindôn passed away on the 1st of October 1878 at the age of sixty-four, deeply regretted by all, and carried away with him the love of his people and their genuine admiration of his abilities as a ruler, his moderation, and his Buddhist scholarship. He was buried near the eastern face of the palace, a little to the north; the tomb is still to be seen. It was near the end of King Mindôn's illness, which lasted about two months, that the A1è-nandaw Queen began the intrigues which were to place Prince Thibaw on the Throne. She was the daughter of King Bagyidaw (1819-1837), by his Chief Queen. She was very imperious and pushing and hankering after power. After the death of the Chief Queen *Nanmadawpaya* [1] which took place in November 1876, her influence in the place — although she had not been crowned Chief Queen — became practically paramount. The Heir-Apparent, the *Kanaung* Prince, had been murdered in the rebellion of 1866, and Mindôn had not appointed any one else to the succession. When urged to do so on his death-bed, he because anxious and hesitated, for he feared factions and consequent slaughter; he therefore compounded matters by nominating three of the best trusted and elderly Princes as Regents as a temporary measure, that is, until such time as he would and could decide his choice of a successor. These were the *Mekkhara, the Thônzè*

[1] She was buried in the Royal garden to the north of the Palace, and a mausoleum, still extant, erected over her grave.

and the *Nyaung Yan* Princes. This, however, did not meet the views of the *Alènandaw* Queen; she thirsted for power and influence, and was determined not to lose them by the appointment of a strong man as *Eingshemin*. She consequently plotted with some high officials whom she had won over to place Prince Thibaw on the throne, who was already, as she knew, in love with her second daughter *Supayalat.* Thibaw was young, inexperienced and weak, and if made king and married to one of her daughters, her (the Queen's) influence at the Court would be the same as before. She practically isolated Mindôn, only a few persons, besides herself, being allowed to approach him. Through her orders, and making it appear as if it were by the King's wishes, the Princes were summoned to the Palace and seized to prevent any opposition to Thibaw. Two of them escaped, the *Nyaung Ok* and the *Nyaung Yan* Princes, who placed themselves under British protection. The King, however, on learning what had happened, had the Princes released. Shortly afterwards the *Alenandaw* gave her adherent to understand that Mindôn's wishes were that Prince Thibaw should be nominated *Eingshemin* and should marry *Supayalat.* Whether the *Kin Wun Mingyi, one* of the most remarkable men, during the Burmese règime, and the others quite believed her is doubtful, but she played on their fears and induced them to have the Princes re-arrested by order of the Supreme Court (Hlut-daw). The order was carried out in the Royal garden to the north of the Palace. Mindôn died, and on the day after the funeral Thibaw was proclaimed King. He was the son of the *Laungshe* Queen, who did not count among those of higher rank.

The Salin Princess, eldest daughter of Mindôn Min, who was the Princess reserved. according to an old custom, to be the Queen of the next King, became a nun on perceiving the love of Thibaw for *Supayalat.* Thibaw then, on his accession, married the two sisters *Supayagyi and Supayalat.* It had been decided that the elder, *Supayagyi,* should be the chief queen, but the consuming jealously of *Supayalat* who never could tolerate the division of the king's affection, very soon forced her to live a life of retirement in the Palace.

In February 1879, the interned Princes, together with some Princesses, a Queen and some notables, altogether over 70 persons, were put to death. The new reign was thus inaugurated by an atrocity difficult to match in Burmese annals. And yet it was not to be the last, for another still greater massacre took place in 1884, when about 300 persons including what remained of the members of the Royal Family, who had escaped in 1879, were cruelly butchered. Here is not the place to detail its circumstances; suffice it to say that it was engineered by certain officials implicated in the intrigues of Prince *Myingun,* who, was then in Pondicherry and was plotting to seize the throne in Mandalay.

From the accession of King Thibaw Upper Burma was in a distracted state. But government and consequent exaction of officials had almost stifled trade and reduced the country to poverty, which was still increased by the system of lotteries inaugurated to refill the Royal exchequer which was in a chronic state of emptiness; revenue extortions and crimes were rampant. The Shans broke out in rebellion, and Bhamo, the centre of Burmese trade with China, practically passed out of Burmese control. Thousands of Burmese subjects took refuge in British territory to escape extortion and anarchy. Relations with the British Government were very strained; British subjects in Burmese territory were often molested and merchants hampered. The monarchy was fast hastening towards its dissolution. The crisis came in 1884; the terrible massacre which had taken place in that year shook the whole of Burma, both Upper and Lower, with a feeling of horror., the Burmese Government was openly hostile to their neighbour in the lower country and showed it in any vexatious ways. About that time the British became aware

that a treaty had been signed, and was on its way to Paris for ratification, between the Burmese and the French Governments, which gave the latter great advantages to the evident detriment of the development of Lower Burma. Then there was the famous dispute between the King's Government and the Bombay-Burma Trading Corporation from whom twenty-three lakhs, only partially due on account of teak exported and very heavy fines inflicted by the Burmese courts without the corporation being even heard, were claimed. The Burmese Government even rejected the offer of the Chief Commissioner, Sir Charles Bernard, to have the dispute settled by arbitration. This was the last straw, and an ultimatum was sent to Mandalay in October 1885, a reply being expected within three weeks. The King rejected the moderate advice of his best diplomat, the *Kin Wun Mingyi*, and issued a proclamation rejecting the terms and threatening to eject the British from Lower Burma. The British proceeded up the river in the middle of November, the army landing at Mandalay on the morning of the 28th, after desultory fighting in several places. On the evening of the 29th the King formally surrendered to General Prendergast and Colonel Sladen in the summer house of the south Palace garden.[1] On the 3rd December 1885 the King left Mandalay, accompanied by his two queens and a few followers on board the steamer *Thuriya.* On the 10th he left Rangoon for Madras; from there he was sent first to Ranipet and subsequently to Ratnagiri on the west coast of India, where he died.

Preservation

Lord Curzon, whose interest in archaeology is well known, visited Burma in 1901. During his stay at Mandalay, he visited and made a thorough inspection of the Palace. Many of the rooms and buildings were then occupied and used as offices, private residences and churches. The demolition of the Palace had already, for some time, been seriously contemplated, for it was thought that the sight of their King's residence might foster political unrest and raise hopes of the restoration of the Burmese regime in the hearts of the people. Fortunately, no attempt to dismantle it completely had yet been made when Lord Curzon visited it and decided on its preservation. In his minute of the 2nd December 1901, he thus expressed his views on the subject: "Its (the Palace's) survival and maintenance are both a compliment to the sentiments of the Burmese race, showing them that we have no desire to obliterate the relics of the past sovereign, and a reminder that it has now passed for ever into our hands. I attach no value to the plea that the Burmese will be led by the preservation of the Palace to think that there is a chance that the monarchy will one day be restored..... No one believes for a moment, because we preserve and are restoring the palaces of the Mughals at Agra, that we contemplate placing the dynasty on the throne again."

There can he little doubt that such occupation of the Palace by all kinds of officials, and even ladies, and a club must have been highly distasteful to the great majority of the Burmese at Mandalay, to whom the Palace, the embodiment of long centuries of national power, grandeur and cherished traditions and usage, had become a sacrosanct building.

This wise decision to rescue the Palace from the fate that had imminently threatened it has preserved for us, though not in its entirety, a fine example of eastern wooden civil architecture, which would have otherwise for ever disappeared. For the preservation of these buildings at the expense of Government is well justified by the fact that, as far as human foresight can judge, no other building of such a type will ever again be edified, embodying, as it does, influences and

[1] The site of the pavilion where the surrender took place was marked by a memorial pillar. It was demolished by the public after Independence.

traditions which go back to a great antiquity.

Lord Curzon arranged for the evacuation of the rooms and buildings then occupied by the civil and military authorities. Not a few of these, as possessing no esthetic or architectural and little or no historical value, were pulled down, and the palace was left as it may now be seen.

The City Walls and Defences

The foregoing remarks, with the help of the plans indicated therein, have, it is hoped, given a good idea of the City and Palace as they were; they may be resumed in a few words before entering into details of the fortified walls and the buildings of the Palace still extant. The Palace proper, raised on a platform of earth hedged in by a brick retaining wall, occupies the centre of the city. It was originally surrounded by two brick walls, forming with the platform two enclosures, the outer one of which was cut up by other walls forming courts effected to diverse uses. The whole of this was again surrounded by a teak stockade which marked the limits of the Palace area. Beyond this stockade, nearly up to the city walls, resided the princes and the officials. The whole formed the *Shwe Myodaw*, the capital of the Burmese Empire. The wooden stockade and the two brick walls within it have been pulled down, only a few vestiges of them remaining here and there, and all the former residences have disappeared. But the city walls still remain in their entirety, and these, with the pavilions crowning them, are under Government's protection and are repaired from time to time as occasion arises.

The City walls. — The walls which surrounded the Capital *Yadanãbõn* (Ratanapunna) form a perfect square; these, with the forty-eight bastions and the *pyatthats* crowning them at regular intervals, the masonry screens before the gates and the broad moat encircling them, and the bridges, formed the outer defences of the city.

The walls are built with the common Burmese bricks set in mud mortar; each face measures a little over one mile and a quarter in length, somewhat more than ten furlongs; they are battlemented in their whole length, the walls, excluding the merlons, are 22 ft 6 in, in height, and with the merlons, which are 4 ft 6 in , they are exactly 27 ft from the ground level to the very top; they are 10 ft thick at the base and 4 ft 10 in at the top. The embrasures are 2 ft 9 in in width. To give access to the battlements in cases of alert and at the same time to strengthen the wall, an earthen rampart on a moderately inclined plane has been thrown up behind it; its summit forms a platform 6 ft wide, paved with bricks and running all along the walls behind the crenelles; the earth obtained when digging the moat was utilised for this purpose.

These very simple fortifications alone, strictly built according to the ancient traditional conceptions of military defences which prevailed from the early centuries of the Christian era in Burma, and which were meant to withstand the onslaught of foes armed with nothing more formidable than swords, spears and arrows, evidence clearly the very conservative spirit of the Burmese in such matters, in so much that the use of firearms, including big guns, was known to them since several centuries; they had sorely experienced their destructive precision and power during the First and Second Anglo-Burmese wars, and to the more enlightened the weakness of such military works must have been indeed, apparent. But the force of tradition and usage, which were not to be departed from without fancied disaster, may have overruled wiser and, without doubt, unexpressed counsels, Moreover, as will be seen further on, implicit faith was

placed in the effective protection of the disembodied spirits which, popular tradition has it, kept watch at the gates. For each gate was under the protection of a tutelary spirit, represented by a hideous dvarapala (or "guardian of the gate"), carrying a mace and placed within a masonry niche, by the side of each gate.

Of these twelve gates, the main one was the central gate in the east wall, facing the Great Hall of Audience and the Lion Throne in the Palace; the east being the sacred point of the compass in Burma.

The twelve gates were kept open the whole day from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., after which time only the small postern in each was kept open till 9. They were also closed in the case of a conflagration in the suburbs, and if there were any rebellion and disturbance; they were likewise closed when a member of the Royal family or high official was to be executed; while the king received the visits and presents of his subjects, principally of the officials: this was done the more easily to prevent and quench any disturbance which might be set on foot at the instigation of some prince or official.

The gateways and bastions. — On each face of the walls admittance is gained into the city by three gateways placed at equal distances one from the other and from the corners. They consist of an opening through the thickness of the wall, 15 ft 9 in wide, flanked on both sides by one-half of a bastion which supports the post of a many-tiered pavilion or *pyatthat* that rises over the gateway; the pavilion over the central gate has seven tiers, those on the other two only five. This difference in number is due to the fact that royalty used the middle gates alone. The bastion projects 23 ft from the face of the wall, and is 34 ft in breadth on each side of the gateway; it is ornamented on the outside, with simple mouldings and simple plaster carvings, but on the inner face which forms the prolongation of the gateway itself, it is quite plain and rises abruptly without any plinth or mouldings, from the ground level. Access to the top of the bastion and that of the wall, both of which are on the same level, is obtained from within the walls by two large flights of steps, one or each side of the gateway. (The large volute at the lower end of each balustrade flanking the flight of steps is noticeable. It is known as *Thayetkin* among native, architects, from its similarity with a young mango fruit. But its origin. with that of the serpentine form of the balustrade, is to be traced to a Makãra figure, very much stylised indeed, and of which it represents the head. This representation of the Makãra [1] as ornamental coping of the balustrade of masonry flights of steps, or of the hand-rails of wooden ones, is general in Burma, in monasteries and temples. The resemblance is as a rule very much attenuated and stylised, above all in masonry.) The graceful *pyatthat with* its multiple roofs is perhaps the most charming, although the most common, feature of Burmese architecture.

Each gateway was provided with a thick wooden door of two leaves, on which were painted figures of *devas* standing on signs of the Zodiac. I have been told that these interesting emblematical doors were removed after the annexation, and replaced by the present ugly iron ones.

The masonry screens. — The entrance to each gateway is protected by a masonry screen or barbican erected a few feet away from the moat in front of the entrance. It is 57 ft 5 in in length, 17 ft thick 20 in, in height, raised on a low plinth, and battering to the top. The summit is

[1] The Makara is supposed to he a kind of sea monster.

crowned by crenellated battlements on three sides only, the inner side facing the gate being left open and free. Access to the top could be gained by means of ladders, no other means of going up having been provided. It served as an advanced defence work protecting both the gate and the bridge a few feet away. By the side of this screen is a huge teak pillar resting on a brick plinth stepped off on two sides, and carrying near the top a wooden board on which is carved an inscription giving the name of the gate, and the year and date on which it was built.

Besides the bastions at each gateway, there is another at each corner of the walls, and also two within the space between every two of the bastions above mentioned; this makes thirteen for each face or forty-eight [1] for the whole of the fortifications., All the intermediate bastions are surmounted by a quintuple-roof pavilion. The barge-board of these many-gabled roofs are covered with carvings.

The moat and bridges. — Surrounding the walls, at a distance of about 60 feet from them, is a moat 225 feet broad and of an average depth of 11 feet. In the case of foes armed with ancient weapons, this moat would no doubt have presented a rather formidable obstacle to the besieging army, whose crafts would have been completely exposed to the missiles of the warriors protected by the merlons on the ramparts and on the barbicans. This moat was formerly fed from a large lake to the out of the city known as *Aungbinlè;* but since this lake has been put to a more profitable use by drawing off its water and turning it into a fertile paddy land, the water for the moat is now obtained from the Mandalay irrigation canal which has its source in the low hills to the cast of the town. This moat was, until recently, covered with red lotuses which, in the blossoming season, gave it a most charming and delightful aspect. Sanitary measures have obliged the authorities to uproot them.

The moat was originally spanned over by five wooden bridges, four of which lead to the four principal or middle gates, that is one to each face of the walls. The fifth, which has now become the principal and most used bridge, leads up to the south-western gate known as *Ãlawi* Gate. This gate was what might be called the "Funeral Gate", and the bridge also the "Funeral Bridge"; it was denominated during the Burmese regime as *a-min-gala*, that is "inauspicious". It is an old Mongolian tradition that no dead body was to be buried within the royal city. A corps in the city was considered a desecrating object and could not therefore be buried therein; dead bodies, as a consequence, were hurried through this gate and disposed of *extra-muros* in the western suburb. King Mindôn, however breaking through this venerable ancestral custom desired that his body should be, not cremated as was the usage, but buried within the Palace enclosure; his wish was dutifully carried out, and he was buried in the city with great pomp. His tomb, quite near the Palace, is still to be seen.

Besides these five bridges there are now two railway bridges : one at the south-west and the other at the north-west corner, to allow of materials and supplies for the troops in the Fort being directly brought in; they were constructed by the British after the annexation.

The five original bridges are similar in design and are in unison with the defensive character of the fort and the moat. Two earthen embankments encased within brick walls form the abutments running into the moat from both banks. The space between is spanned over by teak logs of natural size — the length of two of these logs making up the length of the bridge —

[1] The bastions at the extremities of each wall at the four corners practically merge into me, building, so that the number is really 48.

resting, at both extremities on transversal beams supported by five posts partially encased in the masonry of the abutments; the extremities of the logs which meet in the middle of the bridge are likewise supported by five huge wooden pillars the heads of which are joined together by means of two large wooden plates which rest on cleats so constructed that the whole structure could be taken down and removed rapidly in case of danger.

Human sacrifices at the city gate. — There prevailed in Burma a very gruesome practice : that of crushing to death a man or woman under the massive teak post erected near each gateway, and at the corners of the walls when a new city was founded. The custom of sacrificing human beings at the foundation of a city for the purpose of rendering it secure and impregnable was not, as a matter of fact, confined to Burma, but seems to have, in ancient times, been common in many countries, not excluding Europe. Such a practice, though, on the one hand, absolutely antagonistic to the fundamental tenets of Buddhism and to its spirit, is, on the other hand, perfectly in accordance with the pre-Buddhistic beliefs of the Burmese who, notwithstanding the introduction now secular, into their midst, of the softening influence of the great Indian sage's religion, have, on the whole, always adhered to their primitive spirit-worship. Buddhism could not, any more than in other countries, oust it, but managed wonderfully to live peacefully side by side with it.

The Burmese have always believed, in common with all Mongoloid tribes and some other races, that the spirits of persons who have suffered a violent death haunt the place of their execution or murder; that is, they become *nats* (spirits). One of the peculiarities of these *nats* is that they resent strongly their place of abode being meddled with or in any way molested, and inflict dire injuries upon those who dare disturb it. Hence the belief that the disembodied spirits of persons buried alive under the gate-posts, or at the corners of the ramparts, provide an adequate and not to be despised security to the city against any possible foe. And this protection was extended, not only to the fortifications, but also to any particular building under which one or several persons had been buried: the Palace, for instance.

The spots preferred for such executions were the corners and the gates, as being the most vulnerable points in the defences. A most gruesome feature of these quasi-ritual murders was that a woman in an advanced state of pregnancy, as near as possible to her term, was by far preferred; the idea no doubt being that, in such a case, two birds, if such an expression may be used in such a connection, were killed with one stone, that is, that, while only one person was actually sacrificed for the common weal, two spirits watched over the gate.

These horrible ceremonies were as a rule well prepared beforehand. The court astrologers, either Indian or, more generally, Manipuri brahmins, had to fix a lucky day, determined by astrological calculations, and to determine certain signs by which the person or persons to be sacrificed and who were best fitted for the future service required of them could be, without great difficulties, recognized; the fact is, the signs were so general and could apply to so many that it was, after all, trifles of daily occurrence that designated the victim, and so, everyone had a pretty equal chance, among at least a certain class, of being dragged away to his death. Perhaps the most common sign, not unfrequently mentioned in the chronicles, was that the person to be apprehended would come on such a day, at about such an hour from such a direction, carrying such or such a thing *(e.g.* a tray, etc.) or (if a woman) she might simply be with child.

It has already been said how, in founding a new city and building a new palace, the Burmese scrupulously adhered to ancient plans, precedents and traditions; it was, therefore, to be expected that, at the foundation of the city of Mandalay this ancient method of securing protection for and the impregnability of the new capital would be resorted to. And it is what actually happened although the king, a devout Buddhist, the monks, and even the officials, have strenuously denied it, as abhorrent to the tenets of Buddhism;. moreover they seem to have had, it is but right to say, but little or nothing to do in this ghastly business, which was always arranged by the Manipuri brahmins, the court astrologers, acting, it is true, up to the Indo-Chinese superstition. Lieut. General Fytche, in. his "Burma, Past and Present," expressly says that twelve men were caught, bound and crushed one under each of the twelve gates. But popular memory goes much further and assures us that the number of victims sacrificed at the foundation of Mandalay was fifty-two men, women and children; three were buried under the post near each of the twelve gates of the city walls, one at each corner of those walls, one at each corner of the teak stockade, one under each of the four entrances to the Palace, and four under the principal or Lion Throne.[1] The native chronicles are significantly silent on these horrors. Together with the poor wretches who were done to death at the corners of the fortifications, large jars of oil glazed within and without, covered with great care, and so disposed that no injury could come to them, were also buried. The purpose of these oil jars being buried was, it is said, to ascertain whether their watchfulness over the city was continued by the spirits of the victims; for it sometimes relaxes, and may even come to an end and in such a case new victims would be required. The watchfulness remains unabated so long as the oil remains intact.

B*uildings without the Palace Platform*

(Plan I)

[1] *Cf.* Shwe Yo's "The Burman, His Life and Nations," page 482. How much faith can be placed on this popular statement is difficult to say. The number of victims has probably been greatly exaggerated. Cf. Sir John Marshall's note in Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1902-03 page 95, in which he refers to "Tylor, Primitive Culture, 1, page 106 *ff* ; B. Schmidt, Das Volksleben der Neugriechen, page 196 *ff* ; Frazer' Pausania's Description of Greece, Comm., iii, page 468; "Crooke's Introduction to Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India," page 237, may also be consulted. That the custom was an old one in India, may be seen from the Takkhāriya Jātaka, Fausboll, iv, page 245 *ff*; where such sacrifices are very clearly *referred to. Cf.* also Goblet d'Alviella, Introduction a l'Historie gènèrale des Religious, page 76: Phabitude d'enterrer une victime humaine sous les foundations d'un edifice, pour en assurer la solidite se retrouve dans presque toutes l'Afrique, dans l'Amerique meridionale, chez les Polynesiens, les Dayaks, les Japanais, les Birmans, les Hindous, les Slaves, enf in, dans toutes les traditions de notre moyen age. Mr. Taw Sein Ko, in the Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report for 1902-03, page 95, mentions only four victsms burried at the corners of the City Walls. Burmese ex-officials who served under the King before the annexation, strenuously deny that there was any victim at all, and say that only oil jars were buried. These jars only are mentioned and described in contemporary Burmese records.

Several examples of this bloody custom are recorded in the Burmese and Talaing chronicles, *Yazadhi yit-ayedawbon* ရာဇာဓိရာဇ် အရေးတော်ပုံ Ms. page 10, the example in the history of Hanthawaddy in Talaing, p. 125, in the history of Thayawadi (သာယာဝတီ ရာဇဝင်) Ms page 2 *ff*; a Burmese law book based on Manu, and known as Manu-Kyai, refers to this practice, page 104, in the chapter of debt, saying: "When people are about to be killed to be buried at the corners of the city the king lives in, no debt can be demanded." The same bloody ceremony was performed in the Laos and in Siam, *vide* Revue Indo-Chinoise, 1904, No. 3, page 127, note 1.

Clock Tower. — Of the teak stockade only two small fragments have been preserved to show its structure and its distance from the Palace: the brick wall running all round 60 feet within it has completely disappeared, although many vestiges of it may still be traced on the ground. The Palace itself faces east, so that the main gate through the stockade and wall was that on the east. Entering the Palace grounds, then from the east, two buildings are met, one on each side of the road. The one on the right or north, marked A-1 on the plan (I), is the Clock Tower, known to the Burmese as *Bahozin.* It is a simple building, consisting of a high square plinth; on the top of this four columns sustain a wooden platform surmounted by a double-roof; the whole is crowned by a small finial and a *Hti* or umbrella. Access to the platform is obtained by means of a ladder. It is from this platform that the passing of time was made known to the city by sounding regularly a gong and a very large drum at each watch, that is, every third hour; the day and the night were each divided into four watches. The time was marked by a clepsydra or water-clock. This consisted of a large water jar on the water of which was placed a brass bowl; in the bottom of the latter was pierced a tiny hole, its size so calculated that the bowl filled with water and dropped to the bottom of the jar at exact recurring intervals, which were the hours. The clepsydra was not a Burmese invention; the Burmese most probably learnt its use from India, where it was known very early. One, practically similar to, that used in Mandalay, is described by the famous Chinese pilgrim I-tsing, who travelled in India in the 7th century A.D. Such towers were not peculiar to Burma, but were a feature of many cities in the East. The enormous drum on which the hours were sounded is now in the Phayre Museum at Rangoon.

Tooth-Relic Tower. — To the south of the Clock Tower, nearly facing it across the road is the Tooth-Relic Tower (Swedaw-zin), marked A-2 on the plan. This is a good example of modern Burmese architecture in Upper Burma. The Relic Tower has three parts — first a low basement; second a rectangular block or terrace rising from the first and third a relic-chamber surmounted by a three-tiered roof *(pyatthat);* the whole is crowned by the usual finial and the *hti.* Along the four sides of both basement and terrace runs a battlemented parapet formed of lozenge ornaments; at the four corners of each are small square pillars each surmounted by a marble *manussiha* or winged leogryph; the monster has a human head and two bodies. This effective ornamental design is not a Burmese one; it has been borrowed from the Talaings of Lower Burma. The relic-chamber on the terrace is square; the only entrance into it is on the west, facing the flight of stairs by which access is obtained to the top of the terrace; these narrow steps are enclosed between two brick walls, ornamented with copings in three tiers; the lower end of each coping is terminated by a large and graceful volute; this kind of ornamental stairs, with minor differences in details, may be seen all over Burma, either in brick or wood. The walls and roofs of the relic-chamber are adorned with very graceful plaster carvings. Below, flanking the entrance to the flight of steps are two guard-rooms; therein soldiers had constantly to watch to prevent the tooth-relic from being stolen.

As a matter of fact, although the building is called the Tooth Relic Tower, there never was any tooth-relic enshrined in it, either in Mindôn's or in Thibaw's time. The tower was built simply because it was the tradition to have such a tower at the royal city, a tradition which the Burmese push back only to the time of King Hanthawaddy Sinbyushin in the sixteenth century. Sinbyushin had obtained at an enormous price, from Ceylon, a Tooth, made from staghorn, and had enshrined it near his palace at Pegu. In the Mandalay relic-chamber, there was only a statue of the Buddha, which is still *in situ.* It is true that during Mindôn's time two teeth were received as presents from Ceylon, but they were never placed in the Relic Tower; one was placed in the Kuthodaw Pagoda and the other in a monastery.[1]

Thibaw's Monastery. — To the south of the Relic Tower, and marked A-5 on the plan, is a small monastery which formerly was among the most beautiful examples of wooden architecture, and was adorned with fine sculptures and glass mosaic and covered with gold. It was built in 1874 by King Mindôn and his Chief Queen, for the use of Prince (afterwards King) Thibaw, the son of the Laungshe queen (not of the Chief Queen), on the occasion of his entering the monkhood for a period, according to Buddhist custom. His spiritual guide was the well-known Taungdaw Bishop and he passed in this monastery some years in seclusion and earnest study of the scriptures, little dreaming he would a few years later ascend the throne. This building seems to have deteriorated rapidly and has been past repairs for many years.

Hlut-daw. — The building shown as A-4 on the plan, and which was dismantled after the British annexation, was known as the Hlut-daw or Supreme Court; it was situated a few yards to the north-west of the present branch Post Office, and resting against the inner wall, that is, the brick wall which ran right along in front of the Palace, its two ends abutting against the brick wall near the stockade. The Hlut-daw consisted of two three-roofed wooden structures, raised seven or eight feet from the ground; the roof was of the usual type, as still seen on the Palace buildings, richly decorated with figures and flowers, and supported by massive teak pillars painted red at the bottom and gilded above. Therein was a Lion-Throne (Sihasana) for the King; it was separated by a beautiful gilt wooden railing from the four Chief Ministers (Wungyis) who sat, each facing the throne, against a gilt teak column. This throne, which was a replica of the one now seen in the Great Audience Hall, was sent to the Indian Museum at Calcutta. In the Hlut-daw was transacted all important state business; all criminal appeals also went there, as well as appeals concerning landed property and hereditary posts. In case of sickness of the King, or in his absence, he was replaced by the Heir-Apparent, for whom a special seat was reserved on these occasions, or the Heir-Apparent failing, the office of Presiding Judge was filled by a prince of high rank.

Tagani. — Quite close to the Hlut-daw on the north, and across the road was the Tagani or Red Gate, which gave immediate access into the inner court of the Palace. The main gate was right in the middle of the road and consisted of two heavy wooden leaves; through this only the King and Queen could go and on certain occasions princes, princesses and the four Chief Ministers and followers. Quite near this gate was a postern which was open daily from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. and through which any one could go. This postern was so low that any one entering by it was obliged to slightly bow his head, thus paying reverence, whether he willed it or not, to the *Shwe Pyatthat or* great golden seven-tiered pyre (marked A-6 on the plan) over the Lion Throne in the Great Audience Hall. When, however, General Horace H. Browne, of the Burma Commission, on April 24, 1872, presented to King Mindôn a letter sent by Queen Victoria (this letter was dated 23rd September 1871) he was made, in honour of the great Queen and as bearer of her word, to pass through the Tagani and not through the postern as all who followed him had to do; Captain Strover also, who carried letters from Mr. Gladstone and the Viceroy for the King, was allowed through the Tagani.

Mindôn's Tomb, and others of the Royal family [1] — Due north from the Clock Tower is a cluster of Mausoleums erected to the memory of some members of the Royal family, marked on the plan as A-3, and better shown on the small Plan of the Tombs. The most important

[1] These details are from the Wet-ma-sut Wundauk, the best authority on the Palace.

historically, as well as the most beautiful, is that of King Mindôn (No. 1 on plan), who died in 1878. It was originally a brick *pyatthat*, plastered over and whitewashed, erected by King Thibaw to the memory of his father, as soon as the grave had been built. It is said the *Sawbwa* of Yawnghwe, one of the faithful servants of the deceased king, asked and obtained permission to decorate the tomb with glass mosaic. It is a square structure surmounted by a septuple roof terminating as usual in a *hti*. The peculiar feature of this tomb is that the whole surface with the exception of the roofs of the *pyatthat*, is covered with glass mosaic, which, together with the gold on the ornamental carvings of the roofs, makes of this little building a thing of beauty when seen in the ambient rays of the sun or better in the soft light of the moon. It was first renovated in 1898 ; and thereafter minor repairs were carried out as necessity arose.

No. 2, on the "Tomb plan", is that of Queen Sinbyumayin. She was the daughter of King Bagyidaw (1819-1837 A.D.) and died in Rangoon at the age of 79, in 1900, her body being brought to Mandalay for burial. When Mindôn's Chief Queen died, she was kept as Chief Queen, but she was not actually consecrated as such. She was the mother of three daughters: (i) Supayagyi; (ii) Supayalat, who became the wife of King Thibaw; and (iii) Supayagale.

No. 3 was the mother of the Chief Queen of King Mindôn before No. 2 above (Sinbyumayin) . She was the daughter of the Heir-Apparent, son of King Bodawpaya (1782-1819 A.D.). She had two children: (i) King Pagan Min (1846-1853 A.D.) and (ii) Queen Setkyazeng, whom Mindôn married, and whose tomb is marked as No. 5 on the plan.

No. 4 is the tomb of the Laungshè Queen; she was the daughter of the Monai-bô-hmü Prince; she was a queen of inferior rank, but the mother of Thibaw, the last king of the dynasty., she died in 1870.

No. 5, a few hundred yards from the above tombs and due north of the Palace, was the Chief Queen of Mindôn and daughter of No. 3; she was the daughter of King Tharrawaddy; she had no issue and died in 1876.

It had been for centuries the custom for the kings and members of the Royal family to be cremated; their ashes were then put into a velvet bag and thrown into the river. King Mindôn was the first to go against a hoary tradition and have his remains buried intact, without cremation, at the place where now his tomb stands.[2]

The Mint. — A few hundred yards to the north-east of the mausoleums may be seen the Royal Mint, with a tall chimney. The first Burmese coin was printed there in 1865, and in its honour three guns were fired. A proclamation was issued to the effect that the new coins were legal tender throughout the country, and were, to supersede all other forms of money hitherto used. After the annexation, the Mint was used as bakery for the troops for some years. It has now been turned into a quarter for the use of Palace durwans.

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[1] See special Plan of the Tombs in Fort Dufferin.

[2] For instance, the Royal tombs within the City of Amarapura mark only the spots where the bodies were cremated.

The Buildings on the Palace Platform

(Plan II)

All the Palace buildings shown in plan I, as they were *before* the annexation, stood on the platform. The latter consists of three distinct parts: on the east, the Great Audience Hall and the Lion Throne Room are erected on an earthen basement contained by a brick wall; the whole of the western portion, from the western most extremity up to and including *the Hman-nan* or Glass Palace, is likewise an earthen basement surrounded by a masonry wall; these two basements are connected, from the *Hman-nan* up to the Lion Throne Room, by a plank flooring of the same level supported by numerous teak posts. The whole of this platform, in its greatest length, measures 1,004 feet; in its greatest with, 574 feet, and in the width formed by the frontage of the Great Audience Hall, 253 feet. The height of the basement is 6 ft 9 in, the surrounding or retaining wall rising to a height of 10 ft 9 in from the surrounding ground, and forming a parapet 4 feet from the basement. Access to the top of the basement was obtained by thirty-one flights of steps, some large and some quite small, the principal of which are those at the eastern and western extremities. A number of the others have been done away with.

The western half of the platform was particularly reserved for the residence of the female portion of the Palace inmates: the principal queens, the lesser queens, concubines, ladies-in-waiting, with their female servants, etc.; of the numerous buildings which covered this part of the platform only those which were the residences of the principal queens and two or three others have been preserved; all the rest were pulled down; from the architectural and historical standpoint, they were quite unimportant; and considering they were all built of wood, a material which in these countries requires much care and frequent repairs, their retention and conservation would have involved yearly expenses altogether out of proportion to their intrinsic value and interest. On the space those apartments once occupied has, on the happy suggestion of Sir John Marshall, the Director-General of Archaeology in India, now been laid out a garden, whose lawns and platbands form a charming sight with the Palace buildings as a back-ground.

As has already been mentioned, the Palace faces due cast, and it is on this side of the platform, up to and including the *Hman-nan*, that the most interesting buildings, from an historical and architectural point of view, are situated. We shall therefore begin with the east.

Mye-Nandaw — Entering the City by the Main or Eastern Gate and following up the road which passes between the Clock Tower and the Relic Tower, the visitor is confronted by the *Mye-Nandaw*, and the Golden Spire over the Lion Throne Room, which marks the centre of the City. The *Mye-Nandaw* consists of three distinct parts: (i) the Great Audience Hall on the east; (ii) the Lion Throne Room, immediately behind it on the west, and (iii) the great seven-tiered spire which raises its graceful form over the latter.

The Great Audience Hall.-This Hall itself is made up of three parts: the North (or Left) Audience Hall, and the South (or Right) Audience Hall; they were so called because, when the King was seated on the Throne, facing the east, the first was to his left and the second to his right. These two parts or wings are connected by a transept running east to west from the flight of steps up to the railing around the throne; this transept was called the Central Audience Hall, because it was flanked by the Right and Left Halls. The Great Audience Hall as a whole measures, from north to south, 253 feet. It is marked 1 on plan II.

Below the Palace platform, on each side of the flight of steps, on the east, may be seen a few old pattern European cannons and near them some heaps of cannon balls; a few other guns of the same pattern are placed also on the sides of the steps on the west front of the Palace. To the west of the Palace platform is the fire-station; in front of it may be seen three large guns; these are of local manufacture, through probably under European supervision, and were brought over from Arakan in 1784, the year in which that province was conquered and annexed to the Burmese empire by the Heir-Apparent in King Bodawpaya's reign (1781-1819).

The Great Audience Hall was built with a special eye to external effect, and this object was attained by carving and gilding all the wooden parts of the roofs-except the panels between the two roofs, which were merely gilt-that is, the gables, barge-boards and eaves-boards. The carving is in low relief and consists principally of a lotus and foliage-band on the eaves-boards; the barge-boards are ornamented with a plain scroll design and surmounted by flamboyant which are very effective as a decoration. But the wealth of ornamentation is lavished on the corners of the hipped roofs and the points of the gables as well as their lower extremities. The corners of the hipped (lower) roofs are surmounted by two wooden boards, made up of several joined pieces and meeting so as to form a right angle at the corner; the chief motifs are flamboyant, foliage, lotus-bands and guilloches. The angle itself, the Burmese suppose to represent a stylized peacock—the emblem of royalty—is surmounted by a finial; below the eaves-boards is a pendant turned in the lathe. This same *peacock* is everywhere found at the points of the gables, forming a hip-knob, with the pendant below. All these carvings, besides being gilt, were also decorated with simple glass mosaic. The details above given apply mostly to all the other apartments. and will not therefore be repeated.

All the buildings of the Palace have only one storey, and the roofs are all built on the same principles, and do not differ from those seen on monasteries; the number of roofs superposed being in accordance with the importance of the apartments they cover. The only detail which offends Western taste and sense of fitness, is that these roofs are covered, not with shingles, as might have been expected, but with common corrugated iron sheets. It is not, however, to be supposed that this was due entirely to European influence. It was an ancient Indo-Chinese custom to cover the buildings of palaces, at least the principal of them, with silver or lead sheets. Chinese chronicles, describing a Burmese capital city of the first half of the ninth century (832 A.D.), specially mention this fact; the same material was used also in Cambodian palaces. It is probable that, in the case of Mandalay, the use of corrugated iron sheets served two purposes: adherence to ancient usage, so far at least as external appearance went; and economy, for the numerous Europeans at the capital could easily indent this cheap material for the King.

On the top of the roofs of the principal apartments may be seen small wooden buildings which are often taken for *dovecotes;* they have been described by some writers on Burma as "small spirit houses," where Burmese *Nats* (spirits) resided to protect, and be always ready for attending on, the King. They were in reality shelters where men, day and night, crouched armed with bows and mud-pellets, in order to frighten away birds of prey, such as kites, vultures, etc.; such birds are considered of very ill omen, and their alighting on the roof of a house is the presage, it is thought, of dire calamities.[1]

The Lion Throne and the spire above it. — The Lion Throne, as has been said already, forms, with the room behind it, an integral part of the Great Audience Hall. The room is marked

2 on plan II. There were eight thrones in the Palace, of which the Lion Throne was the greatest, and as such much more elaborately sculptured and finished than the others; an exact replica of the one now in the Palace was formerly in the Hlut-daw and has been removed to the Indian Museum in Calcutta. The King alone, of course, had a right to sit on it; and for anybody else to do so would be considered a case of high treason; the fact indeed was that anybody sitting on this throne was practically the King, if he could keep the rightful owner off. The base is formed of two lotuses,[2] the upper one inverted on the top of the other; this pattern in no way differs from an ordinary altar supporting a Buddha image; but in the centre, where it is narrowest, that is, at the point where the two lotuses meet, is a small band containing a row of niches, with a somewhat larger one above it; in these niches were small figures of lions, besides the two large ones which may be seen now at each side of the Throne.[3] Access to the Throne is obtained by means of a flight of steps in the room behind it from which it is shut off by a sliding door of gilt iron lattice work. On the outer edge of each jamb and attached to a hand of rosettes are seven *devas* or angels, that is 14 for both sides. Just on the top of the two jambs, on each side of the lintel is another figure of a *deva;* which gives us 16; the lintel itself, in the form of scroll work and dragon ornament so typically Burmese, is surmounted on each side by eight other angels, that is 16, which with the previous 16 make 32; between the two rows of figures on the top of the lintel, right in the centre, is *Sakka*, which the Burmese call *Thagya—min;* these 32 *devas and Sakka*, at their head, that is 33, are the gods of what is known as the *Tãvãtimsa* Heaven, that is, "the Abode of the Thirty-Three." *Sakka*, the Lord of the *Tãvãtimsa*, takes a great interest in human affairs, and as he is in heaven what the earthly king was in Burma, that is, supreme, his presence as a tutelary, a protecting and advising deity in the transaction of state business and religious ceremonies was to be much desired; hence his presence over the Throne. At the bottoms and tops of the jambs, just against the sliding door, are four other figures; these are the four *Lokapâlas*. or Guardians of the world, who are in charge of it, one at each point of the compass; this was a way of emphasising that the Throne, with the, spire over it, was the Centre of the Universe, and the King therefore the centre of the world, since he sat between the four *Lokapãlas*. In the middle of each jamb, between each two *Lokapãlas,* may be seen, each in a rosace, on the proper left a peacock, and on the other side a rabbit. The peacock is the symbol of the sun; the rabbit that of the moon; for as we, in the west, see in the moon the figure of a man, the Burmese and Orientals generally, basing themselves on an old Indian legend, see in it the figure of a rabbit. But the symbolism goes still further. There were two great dynasties in ancient India: the Solar Dynasty (Sürya-vamsa) and the Lunar Dynasty (Candra-vamsa). Now, the Burmese kings claimed direct descent from both these hoary dynasties; hence the peacock and the rabbit on the jambs are symbolical of the supposed origin of the Burmese Kings. At the bottom of each jamb, in the angle formed by the band of rosettes and the dragon-like ornament

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[1] All this is explained at page 32 of the Burmese work (*Shwe-bhon-nidan*). It is a small, but standard work on Burmese palaces in general.

[2] The Hindu and Buddhist tradition is that the lotus is the first flower which appeared at the beginning of the world. They say that it seems to spring not from the mud or muck below the water, but from the surface of the water itself, and so is always sweet and pure. From this idea, it has come to symbolise divine birth. Hence its presence on the Buddha's seat**,** and under *devas or angels.* In India and the Far East the King was, in popular imagination, conceived as a god of earth, hence also the lotuses on the King's throne.

[3] One of these two large figures having been lost, a new one was made to replace it.

which rises up from the side of the throne, may be seen an elephant and a lion fighting. The story, an old Buddhist legend, is shortly as follows: The flying manned lion one day set out from his Jewel-cave for food; so did the flying elephant. They met, and as both fed on light clouds, a quarrel ensued and a battle. As the strife was going on, a *deva* or angel, seeing what had happened, began to sing and dance, accompanying himself with small cymbals tied at his ankles. On hearing him, the two animals were so entranced that they immediately stopped fighting. This memorable quarrel and its happy end has been represented on the Throne to symbolise the King's power and influence in preserving peace in his dominions. The Golden Spire, or septuple-roofed building, which raises its graceful Structure right above the Lion Throne, is one of the glories of Burmese architecture; it marks the principal and chiefest part of the Palace: the Throne which, in the mind of Burmese monarchs, was the centre of the universe, the hub of the world, that around which everything revolved.

It was in the Great Audience Hall that the greatest and most solemn ceremonies were regularly performed. It was there that the last King (Thibaw) and his Queen, seated on the Lion Throne, received all the presents brought them on the occasion of their coronation, which were piled on the Poor before them. There were three great ceremonies, called *Kadaw*, "paying homage," held three times a year, when the oath of fealty to the King was taken: (i) at the beginning of the Burmese New Year (April); (ii) at the beginning of the Buddhist Lent (about June or July); on these two occasions, the princes, the ministers and the officials of the city had to attend; and (iii) at the end of the Buddhist Lent (October), when, besides the above, the governors in the provinces of the empire and the tributary Shan Chiefs had to be present. On these occasions, a strong guard having been marshalled, the King left his apartments accompanied by the Chief Queen, to the strains of music; the sliding door of gilt lattice work having been opened, the King ascended the throne by the flight of steps just behind it in the Lion Throne Room, and sat with the Chief Queen on his right. The Heir-Apparent, in a chaise looking somewhat like a cradle, was just before the throne immediately without the railings before it; near him were the princess of the blood, and on the other side the high officials of state; the lesser officials and others present arranged themselves in the two wings on the right and left. The renewal of the oath of fealty then took place. Excepting the Chief Queen, no woman was ever allowed to be seen in this hall during those ceremonies; but the lesser queens, the wives of ministers and other officials were grouped in the room just behind the throne: the queens were seated in the centre within the railing surrounding the flight of steps, while the wives of ministers and others sat in the space without.

In this hall also, as occasions required, took place the ceremonial of tying up the hair of young princes into a top-knot; the ceremony of investing young princes with the yellow robes when they embraced the religious life for a time more or less long-as is binding on all good Buddhists-was performed here.

In the room behind the Lion Throne, in the north-west corner within the railing, is a small *pyatthat* or several-roofed small pavilion standing on a post; therein was placed an image of *Mahãgiri*, the national *Nat* of the Burmese (it has now disappeared) who had, in times past, been a good counsellor to their kings. On the ceremonial occasions described above, when the King entered the room to ascend the throne, he made deep obeisance to *the Mahãgiri Nat* so that he, too, might be inspired by his advice.

Connecting passage. — Behind the Lion Throne Room is an open space, which forms a

connecting passage between it and the next room; this is called in Burmese a *Sanu;* there are several such in the Palace. This one (behind the Lion Throne Room) was called the Eastern *Sanu;* here were always posted men who, by turns, had to be in attendance, as guards and for forwarding any orders to other parts of the Palace. It is marked 3 on plan II.

The Zetawunzaung — Goose Throne Room. — Crossing the Eastern *Sanu,* we come to the Goose Throne Room, known as the *Zetawunzaung* "Room of Victory" (marked 4 on plan II), where Mindôn usually held his state Deceptions. Like all other apartments in which there is a throne, the *Zetawunzaung* is divided into two sections or rooms by a partition wall called *Mãrabhinzi.* In the middle of this partition wall is the Goose Throne so called because it was adorned with twelve figures of the *Hamsa,* or ruddy sheldrake, placed in niches in it. The *Hamsa* was the national emblem of the Talaings of Lower Burma, just as the peacock is the emblem of the Burmese. This bird gave its name to one of the three divisions of the Mon Kingdom: Hamsavati, which we write Hanthawaddy, that is Pegu. It is probable that the representation of this bird on the throne was due to Mon influences. This throne had been at first kept in the room west of the partition wall. When, however, Colonel Albert Fytche,[1] the English Envoy, visited Mandalay during King Mindôn's reign, it was removed from the west room to the east one, and there it has remained. Foreign ambassadors were received in this room; they had to sit on the raised floor within the four central posts, in front of the throne, while the princes and ministers were on the sides of it, according to their respective ranks. General Horace H. Browne, in his diary (1859-79), thus describes shortly his reception in the *Zetawunzaung* when he presented to the King the letter from Queen Victoria in April 1872: "This was carpeted, and was already nearly full when we entered. Opposite the entrance was a gilded door, and in front of it a golden couch and some of the paraphernalia of Burmese royalty. On the right of the couch, and at right angles to it, were seated the royal bodyguard, holding enormous swords. Opposite to them, on the left of the couch, were several of the King's sons in full Court dress. We seated ourselves on the carpet as well as we could, 20 feet in front of the couch, at the end of the lane formed by the body-guard and the Princess, placing the letters on their golden salvers in front of us. The *Than-daw-zin,* or royal voice-bearer, now requested to be allowed to look at the letters, so that he might be able to read them off-hand without hesitation. Five minutes afterwards the gilded doors behind the couch were drawn aside, and the King appeared at the end of a gallery, advancing with a slow, majestic gait in our direction. He seated himself leisurely on the couch, and at once addressed me, referring to my former visit, and saying he was glad to see me again. *Than-daw-zin* then read out the letters from the Viceroy and Mr. Gladstone. The King interrupted the reading once, asking whether the letter was from the late or the present Viceroy. Before the reading of her Majesty's letter, the King appeared nervous and ill at ease, as if he expected there might be something unpleasant in it, but this appearance vanished as the letter was being read, and he was manifestly pleased with its contents. So also were the assembled courtiers, from whom a murmur of satisfaction arose as soon as the reading was completed." On a platform in the room on the west of the partition wall, were placed the golden images of the Kings and Queen of the Alaungpra Dynasty (1752-1885), which were revered by the reigning sovereign, and offering made to them, on which occasions prayers in the Pãli language were recited. These images were brought in for this purpose three times a year, on the eve of the great 'Kadaw feasts' mentioned above (page 25). This is one of the very few vestiges of ancestor worship in Burma. There were, besides, the royal utensils in gold set with gems used oil great ceremonial occasions. In the two small rooms on both sides of the apartment, north and south, were kept the Crown

[1] Colonel Albert Fytche arrived in Mandalay in October 1867, and concluded a new treaty (the Second Commercial Treaty) with King Mindon.

manuscripts of the Buddhist Scriptures. All those treasures were in the charge of a special officer with an assistant.

On both sides of the *Zetawunzaung are Sanus* (marked 5 on plan) where guards were posted.

Nyilãgan-sanu.— On leaving the *Zetawunzaung* we come to another connecting passage which leads into the Baungdawzaung; this passage was known as the *Nyilãgan-sanu* (4a on plan), that is, the Morning Levée passage, because the King held here his morning levée; he was seated on the west, his attendants surrounding him; the Heir-Apparent, ministers and officers of the state were assembled in the passage itself; some affairs of state were sometimes discussed here.

Baung-daw-zaung — From the morning Levée Passage we enter into the *Baungdawzaung* (6 on plan), that is, the Royal Crown Room; the reason for this name will be seen lower down. This room too is separated by a partition into two apartments: one on the east, and the other on the west. In this room was the Conch Throne, called *Sankhã-sana*, because it was adorned with carved conches. This conch decorations may perhaps have been due to latent Vishnuite influence, because, although Vishnu, a Hindu god, was not actually revered by the Buddhists in Burma, he was always invoked on the occasions of great ceremonies, such as the coronation, by the Ponnas, who were Manipurian soothsayers, astrologers and advisers, who always took a considerable part in state ceremonies; and one of the attributes of Vishnu is the conch. The Buddhists themselves, however, prefer to see in it one of the 108 signs which adorned the Buddha's sole; and it was also an emblem of peace, preserving from calamities and war. In the east room, the King held three daily audiences. One at 8 a.m., when all available officials attended; the second at 3 p.m., attended by the officers of the Palace; and the third at 8 p.m.; this last audience was informal, and was attended by the officers on duty at the Palace at that time. In the west room behind the partition, the King vested himself in his state court dress and ornamented and put on his crown on occasions of state ceremonies, before proceeding to the Lion Throne in the Great Audience Hall on the east.

Lapet-yé-zaung. — Immediately to the north of the *Baungdaw-zaung* and near it, is what remains of the *Lapet-yé-zaung*, literally "Tea Room", but really "Royal Guard Room" (7 on plan). In this apartment were arranged the weapons used by the King, his swords, spears, muskets, etc. The sons and grandsons of the members of the Royal Family, as well as of ministers, *Sawbwas* (Shan chiefs) and *Myosas* (Governors of towns), were generally on duty, as what in Europe we would call 'pages,' in this room. Here also were signed the warrants of appointments to provincial and central posts. From time to time the King held audiences here.

Hman-nan-sanu-zaungdaw — Coming out from the *Baungdaw-zaung* (6), we come into *the Hman-nan-sanu-zaungdaw* (6a on plan), so called because it leads into the Glass Palace (9). There often the King sat within the door on the top of the middle staircase leading on to the Glass Palace, and listened to any particular or urgent report the officers of the *Byè-taik* (long since pulled down), or Privy Council Chamber, had to make.

Hman-nan-daw-gyi:Glass Palace. — From the *Hman-nan-sanu-zaung*, on the west side, three small flights of steps lead up into the *Hman-nan-daw-gyi*, or Glass Palace (No. 9 on plan), the largest and one of the most beautiful apartments of the Palace. When this apartment was new and freshly decorated and gilt, it must have been, with its iron trellis work covered with glass

mosaic coruscating in the ambient light, a very great sight. It may be said to have been, in King Mindôn's time at least, the principal living apartment of the Palace. Like all the Throne rooms, it is divided by a wooden partition into two rooms. In the east room is the Bee Throne *(Bhamarãsana)*, so called because it was adorned with figures of bees in the small niches at the bottom of the pedestal. Among the Burmese, bees, according to the place in which they build their hive, have always been considered a very lucky omen. In this room were permanently opened white umbrellas, the stands for which may still be seen near the throne. In this room was held the ceremony for the nomination of the Chief Queen and the Royal nuptial celebrated. A great ceremony took place there yearly during the feasts of the Burmese New year; on the third day, the King and Queen, seated on the throne, partook of *thingyan* rice, that is, cooked rice dipped in cold perfumed water; the members of the Royal Family and the ministers were invited to partake of food, and musical and dramatic performances were held. It was also the room where the formal ceremony of boring the ears of young princesses took place. And there also, before the throne, the body of King Mindôn was laid out after his death in 1878.

The west room, which was formerly divided into several smaller ones, was the principal living room of the King, and no other persons were allowed to sleep there except the four principal queens, to each of whom was appointed a room near the royal bed-chamber, which consisted of a small room surmounted by a *pyatthat*, or small spire consisting of seven superposed roofs similar to the Golden Spire over the Lion Throne Room on the cast of the Palace; this *pyatthat* was of gilt copper; its whereabouts is not now known. On each side of this spired-room were constantly kept open two white umbrellas. The ladies-in-waiting of the Glass Palace were, by turns, stationed around the west room to wait upon. Their Majesties; they, whether princesses or minor queens, were not allowed to enter this room with slippers on or with their golden umbrellas: they had to leave these at the entrance with their attendants.

In the time of King Thibaw, Queen *Supayalat* had a small room to herself in this west room of the *Hman-nan*.

Nanma-sanu-zaungdaw. — Behind the Glass Palace, and separating it from the Chief Queen's Apartment, is the *Nanma-sanu-zaungdaw* (9a on plan), or connecting passage between the principal apartments. All those who sought interview with the Chief Queen—such as the maids-of-honour, the wives of ministers and other officials, the wives of foreign ambassadors or officials, and princesses from the Shan States or other countries—and especially those officers and officials who had some information to communicate to the Queen in connection with state matters in which she might be interested, had to wait for Her Majesty in this *Sanu*.

Shwe-zaungdaw - King's Apartments. — To avoid too often going to and fro and retracing one's steps, one may leave the *Nanma-sanu-zaung* (9a) by the south and proceed to No. 16 on plan. During King Mindôn's time, this was a piece of vacant ground. The present building was erected by King Thibaw to be used as an audience and state business room in place of the one on the north of the Glass Palace (9) used by King Mindôn, but which was dismantled soon after his death. This building is now labelled *King's Apartments*, in Burmese *Shwe-zaungdaw*. The sedan chairs and the cradle-frame seen in it were brought in from other parts of the Palace for safer custody after the annexation. Of the sedan chairs, those painted red, with *pyatthat*, were for the use of queens; the one painted green was used by ministers' wives.

Shwe-Taik. — Right in front of the King's apartments, a few feet away from it on the east,

and where are now stored pieces of old and decayed wood carvings fallen from some buildings, and new carvings to replace the old ones whenever necessary, is the *Shwe-Taik* or Treasury, that is, the King's private treasury, marked 8 on plan. In this building were kept the royal treasures such as silver, gold, diamonds, emerald, rubies, etc., together with the crown, the royal robes and ornaments, and the crown musical instruments. In this apartment were also kept the state archives, a large number of precious records of all kinds, from which much first hand information about modern Burma might have been drawn, had not the Treasury been looted on the night of the occupation of Mandalay in November 1885, and all these records scattered, lost or destroyed. All these treasures were placed under the care of a strong guard, a Superintendent, a Treasurer and a clerk, who were held responsible for their safe custody.

Pan-gôn-daw-ôk-taik .— To the east of this, shown as No. 13 on plan, is the brick building now used as a museum. It was called the *Pan-gôn-daw-ôk-taik*, because in this apartment were kept flowers for daily distribution among the members of the Royal Household. From this building also the King, on certain occasions, inspected the white elephant and others; an elephant shed was on the ground level below the palace platform, to the cast of *Pan-gôn-daw-ôk-taik* and not very far from it. In this room also, from time to time, Buddhist monks were invited and fed.

Watch Tower — Nan-Myin . — Adjoining the Museum on the west, is the *Nan-Myin or* Watch Tower, built of wood, and marked 14 on plan. A Watch Tower was a distinctive feature of most, if not all, Eastern palaces; a good number of examples could be adduced in Indo-China alone. In Burma, the only one still extant, besides the one at Mandalay, is to be seen at Ava; it is the sole and only building that remains of the once magnificent Palace of that old capital which lasted with some interruptions, from 1364-1837 A.D.; it is of brick and square; besides its high historical interest, it is a curiosity, in that it recalls the Tower of Pisa; for its foundations on one side have deeply sunk into the ground, with the result that the tower inclines at a very dangerous angle; it has stood so for very many years and has resisted the shocks of several earthquakes. The Watch Tower in Mandalay is 79 feet high and was built during the reign of King Thibaw. A Watchman was always posted on the summit to give alarm in case of fire either in the Palace or in the town outside the city walls; for such fires outside the City proper were sometimes the sign of a *coup-d' etat.* The King and Queen sometimes ascended the tower to witness the beautiful panorama of the country around, with its river, the bills and lakes; they also, from its summit, contemplated the magnificent spectacle of the illumination of the town at the Thadingyut festival at the end of the Buddhist Lenten period. It is said that Queen Supayalat witnessed, from there, the entry of the British troops who took Mandalay in November 1885.

Ye-gan-daik. — Facing the Museum, on the west, 15th on plan, is the *Ye-gan-daik*, or the Fountain Apartment, that is, an apartment with, in front of it, a fountain with a jet of water. The apartment itself, which was decorated with frescoes by, it is said, some Italians in the King's pay, was used as an evening sitting-room, in the summer, by the King and Queen to relax themselves after the duties of the day. In the middle of the space in front of the room was the fountain, which has long since been filled up; the platform, in which the fountain was surrounded by a colonnade, of which only a few columns remain.

Taung-Samôk. — Immediately behind the Fountain Apartment, on the west, is *the Southern Throne Room*, in Burmese : Taung-Samôk (17 b on plan). In this room was the Deer Throne, now no more there, so called because, in the small niches near the centre of the throne

were small figures of deer. After his Supreme Enlightenment at Budha-Gayã under the tree of Wisdom, that is, after his attainment of Buddha-hood, the Buddha repaired to the Migadãya or Deer Wood, near Benares, and there delivered his first sermon to five disciples. The Deer Throne recalled that momentous event. The use of this room was in keeping with its symbolism; for there, monthly, the King and Queen would inspect the religious offerings they made; besides yellow robes and other requisites for monks, these offerings included many fanciful objects, such as miniature horses, elephants, boats, buildings, umbrellas made of the ears of paddy, etc. The yellow robes, which had previously been made within a fixed period, generally twenty-four hours, were offered to those monks whose conduct had been exemplary, and who were in great need of them. These offerings were brought in solemn ceremony before the King and Queen to be inspected before dedicating them.

Southern Dedicating Pavilion. — Close to this throne room, on the west, is a small room surmounted by a seven-tiered *pyatthat;* it is shown as 22a on the plan and is a pendant of 22b on the north; it is the pavilion in which the King and Queen, after inspecting their offerings in the Deer Throne Room, dedicated them for the use of the monks by solemnly pouring water from a golden vase on to the floor.

King Thibaw's Private Apartment. — On the west, behind the Deer Throne Room, and marked No. 18, is *King Thibaw's Private Apartment.* This was King Thibaw and Queen Supayalat's Special living room; it is built of brick. Attached to it on the south and built of wood, is another apartment called *Natha-nan* or Perfume-Palace, used by the King as a private room where he spent part of the day during leisure hours, in reading, etc. King Mindôn had also such an apartment, going by the same name, where is now a lawn. The old King died there; soon after the building was dismantled and with the materials obtained thereby a monastery was built in Mandalay East, called the Shwe-nandaw-kyaung, which contains some of the most beautiful wood carvings to be at the present time found in Burma.

Theatre Drawing Room. — Just behind Thibaw's Apartment, on the west, is the *Southern Palace,* Taung-nan-daw (19 on plan) and the *Theatre Drawing Room* (Pwe-Kyidaw-zaung). This Drawing room (shown as 19a) is the apartment on the south, contained between the walls immediately above the street running along the Palace platform and the wall and pillars incrusted with glass mosaic. It was built in Thibaw's time. In this room, the Royal family and their guests sat to witness dramatic performances and dances; the theatre or rather stage properly so called was built across the above-mentioned street; it was pulled down a few years ago because it greatly obstructed traffic.

Southern Palace — The *Southern Palace* adjoins this Drawing Room on the north. Like all the residences for the use of the queens, it consists of three compartments; the one in the middle, the largest, was properly the Queen's residence; the two smaller ones on each side of it were affected to the use of the Queen's ladies. The wall and the pillars adjoining the Drawing Room (19a), all incrusted with glass mosaic, are of a very great effect, and give a good idea of Burmese taste in this kind of decoration. In the time of King Mindôn the Southern Palace was known as the King's Mother's Apartment or Medawzaung and was so called because therein resided the Chief Queen of Shwebomin (1837-1846 A.D.) who was the mother (mèdaw) of Paganmin (1846-1853 A.D.) and of the Princess who became Mindôn's Chief Queen. It was only during Thibaw's reign that it was called the "Southern Palace" and was used, along with No. 18, as a residence by Thibaw and Queen Supayalat.

Chief Queen's Apartments. — Close to the north, No. 10 on plan, were the apartments of the *Chief Queen,* Nanmadawzaung. This was regularly used during Mindôn's reign, but in Thibaw's time, his Chief Queen, Supayalat, did not inhabit it regularly. It is in these apartments that Thibaw's eldest child was born.

Princess Royal's Room — Nearby, No. 12, was the *Princess Royal's Room, also* known as *Tabindaing-zaung.* In the Tabindaing apartment lived the princess who was destined to wed the successor of the ruling King. She was generally the eldest daughter of the King. In Mindôn's time, the Tabindaing was the Salin Princess, daughter of King Mindôn and of the Linbin Queen. She did not, however, marry Thibaw, and when she died, Supayalat's sister became the Tabindaing Princess.

Central Queen's Apartment. — No. 11 on plan were the *Apartments of the Central Queen,* Ale-nandaw; the Ale-nandaw was the Queen Sinbyumayin. She was a daughter of King Bagyidaw (1819-1837 A.D.), and the mother of the Princesses: Supayagyi, Supayalat and Supayagale. When King Mindôn's Chief Queen died in 1876, he elevated Sinbyumayin to the dignity of Chief Queen, but she was not consecrated as such. She died in Rangoon at 79 years of age and was brought to Mandalay for burial. Her tomb is shown as No. 2 on the plan of the tombs in Fort Dufferin.

Peacock Throne Room. — Close to the Central Queen's Apartment, to the east, is the *Peacock Throne Room* (Mayurãsana) known in Burmese as the Myauk-Samok (17a on plan). This room was so called because the throne which once stood there contained, in a row, in little niches running along the centre of the pedestal, small figures of peacocks. The peacock has always been considered as the Burmese emblem and is now depicted on the national flag; as has already been said it is also the symbol of the Sun, and as such, of the great Solar dynasty of India, from which kings of Burma claimed descent. Seated on this throne, the King inspected and took formal possession of white elephants and ponies; he did also ride and try them when so minded. From this room also, he would review troops, and assist at tournaments and races.

North Dedicating Pyatthat. — A little to the north of the Peacock Throne Room, and marked 22b on plan is a pavilion of seven superposed roofs, or pyatthat. This is the *North Dedicating Pyatthat.* There were brought the religious offerings made to the monks by members of the Royal Household, queens and ministers; they were arranged for inspection by the King who, having viewed and examined them, dedicated them to the clergy by pouring lustral water on the ground.

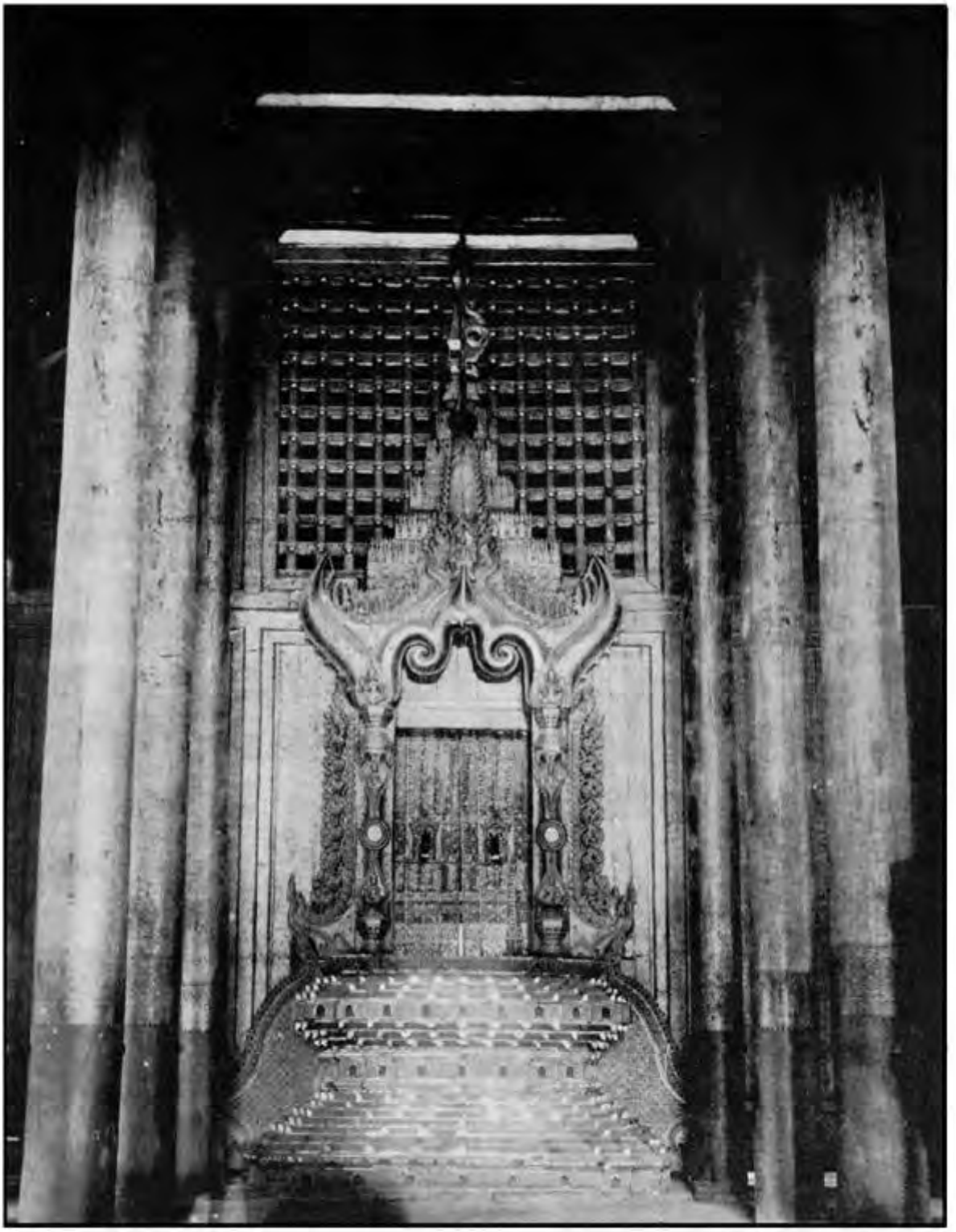
Lily Throne Room ; Queen's Audience Hall. — Now, the last buildings to be visited are those at the extreme west end of the platform beyond the lawns which have lately been laid out. They are shown as 20 and 21 on plan, and they correspond exactly, though on a smaller scale, to the Great Audience Hall and the Lion Throne Room at the eastern extremity of the platform. The building marked 21 is the Queen's Audience Hall. It consists of three parts; a transept leading up to the throne room and, on each side of it, north and south, a wing or as the Burmese call it, a hall. The building at the end of the transept is the *Lily Throne Room,* or Padumãsana (20 on plan). It is in these buildings that the ladies were received in formal audience by the Queen. The separation of the sexes in state ceremonies was very strict; so that the men attended at the Great Audience Hall and the ladies here. The Palace ladies, the wives of ministers and officials and

others, were received in this Audience hall by the Queen, three times a year, on the same occasions as the men were received by the King in the Great Audience Hall, but on slightly different dates; the King was with his Queen when she received the ladies, all attired in their court dresses and ornaments. Besides these occasions there was also another in the Burmese month of *Nadaw* (November-December), when the god or as the Burmese call it the *Nat* Ganesha, placed on a cart, was dragged along. Ganesha was originally a Hindu god, but in after times was reverenced both by Hindus and Buddhists, especially in some parts of India; the Buddhist in Burma did not regularly worship him in the proper sense of the word; they considered him as a n*at* and reverenced him as such on rare occasions. He is represented as a man squatting down, rather obese, and with the head of an elephant instead of a man's. The Hindus invoke him before every undertaking; he is the god of prudence and good policy, and thus, indirectly, the god of prosperity, which is the reason why, *inter alia*, all Hindu merchants worship him.

"In November-December was held the Mahã Peinnê (Ganesha) Pwe-daw (festival). On this occasion the grain first reaped from the Royal fields was sent by the King to the Arakan pagoda, as an offering to the Mahã Peinnê *Nat*, in huge receptacles made in the shape of a buffalo, a bullock and a prawn, and in these were placed respectively paddy, millet and bulrush millet.The Mahã Peinnê n*at*, mounted on a peacock, was brought before the King, who, after paying homage to the *Nat*, scattered pieces of silver and lengths of cloth among the poor." (Adapted from Upper Burma Gazetteer, Part I, Vol. II, page 103).

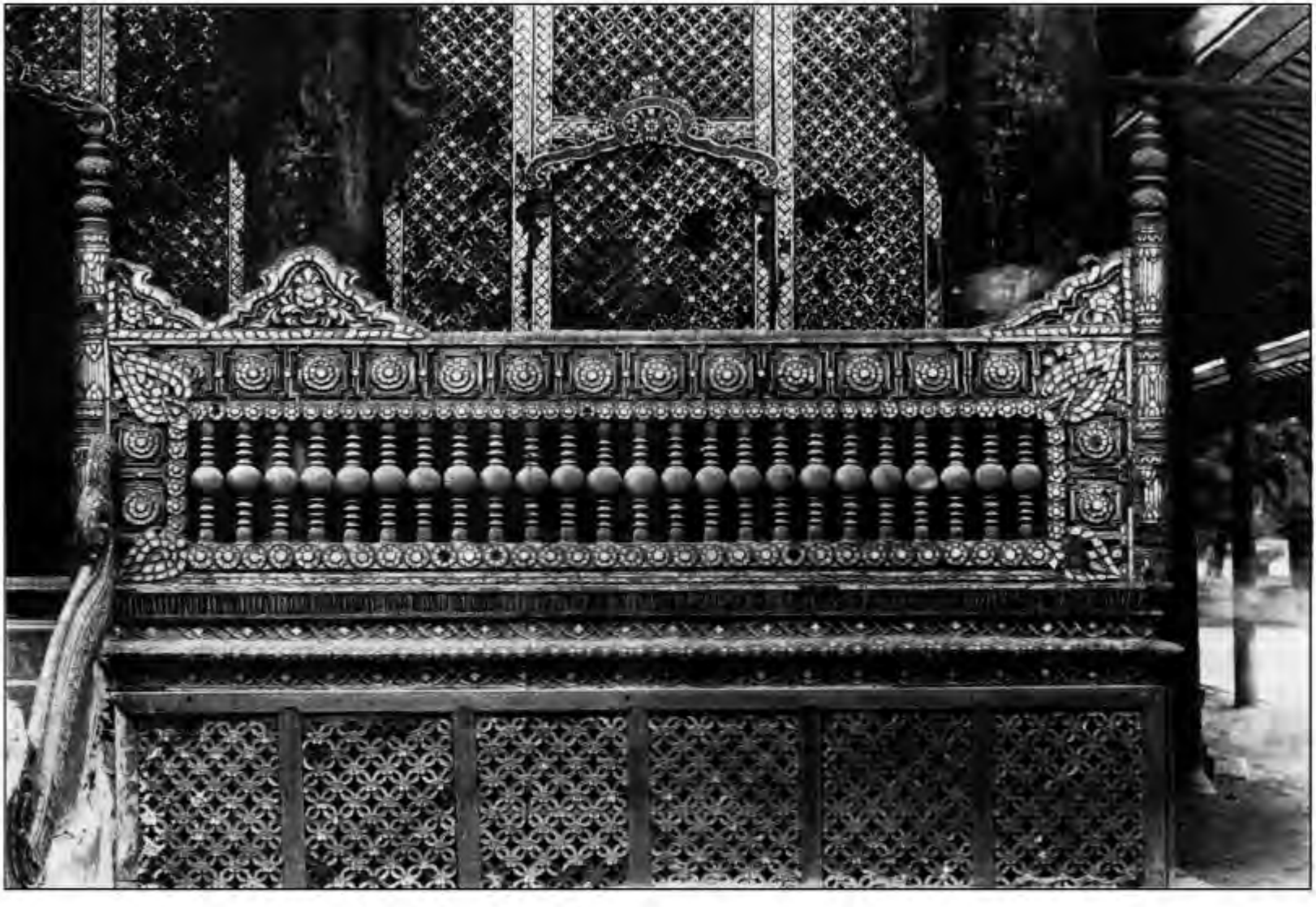
This apartment was called Lily Throne Room, because the throne in it was ornamented with carved lily flowers. The lily or lotus, was the very first flower which appeared in the genesis of the world, and is therefore considered as the most excellent; hence its appearance as a motif of decoration on the throne of the Chief Queen.

သီဟာသနပလ္လင် The Lion Throne



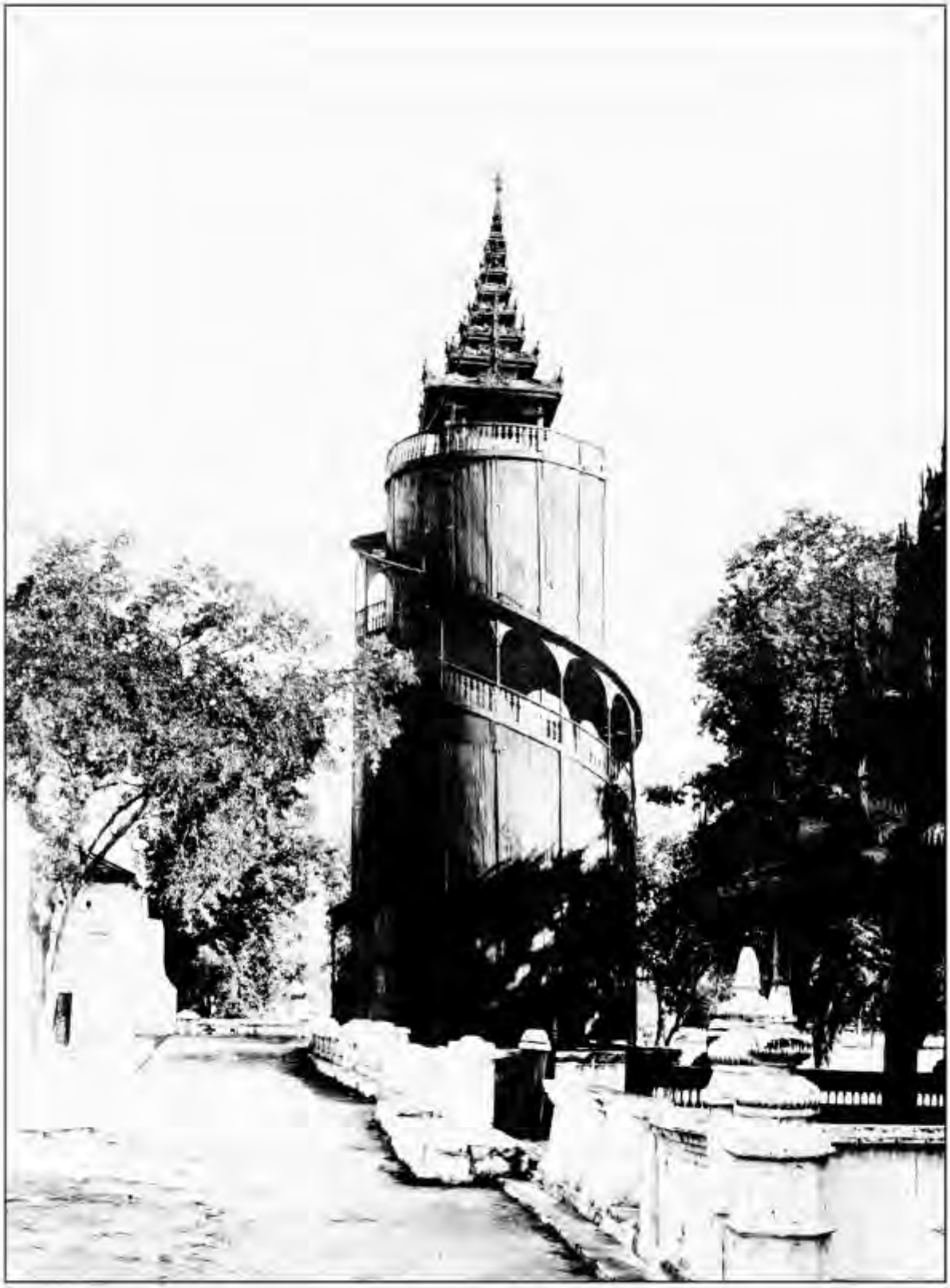
ပဒုမာသနပလ္လင် The Lotus Throne

ရွှေနန်းတော်ကျောင်း Shwenandaw Monastery



မှန်နန်းဆောင်တစ်ပိုင်း Part of the Glass Palace

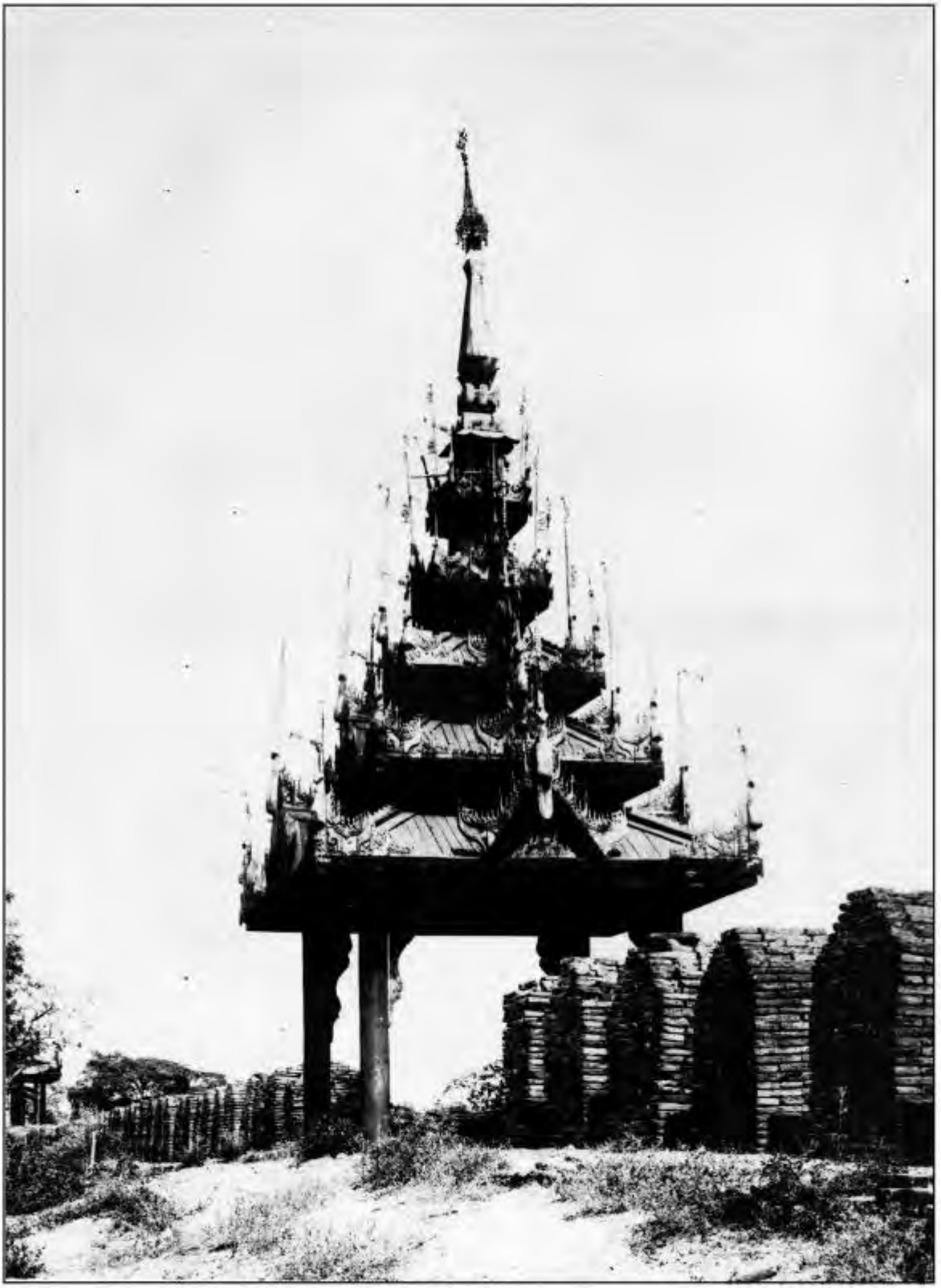
မှန်နန်းဆောင်အတွင်းပိုင်း Interior of the Glass Palace



နန်းမြင့် The Watch Tower

ဓာတ်တော်ဝင် The Tooth Relic Tower

မင်္ဂလာတံခါးနှင့်ပြာသာဒ်　　Pyatthat on Mingalar Gate



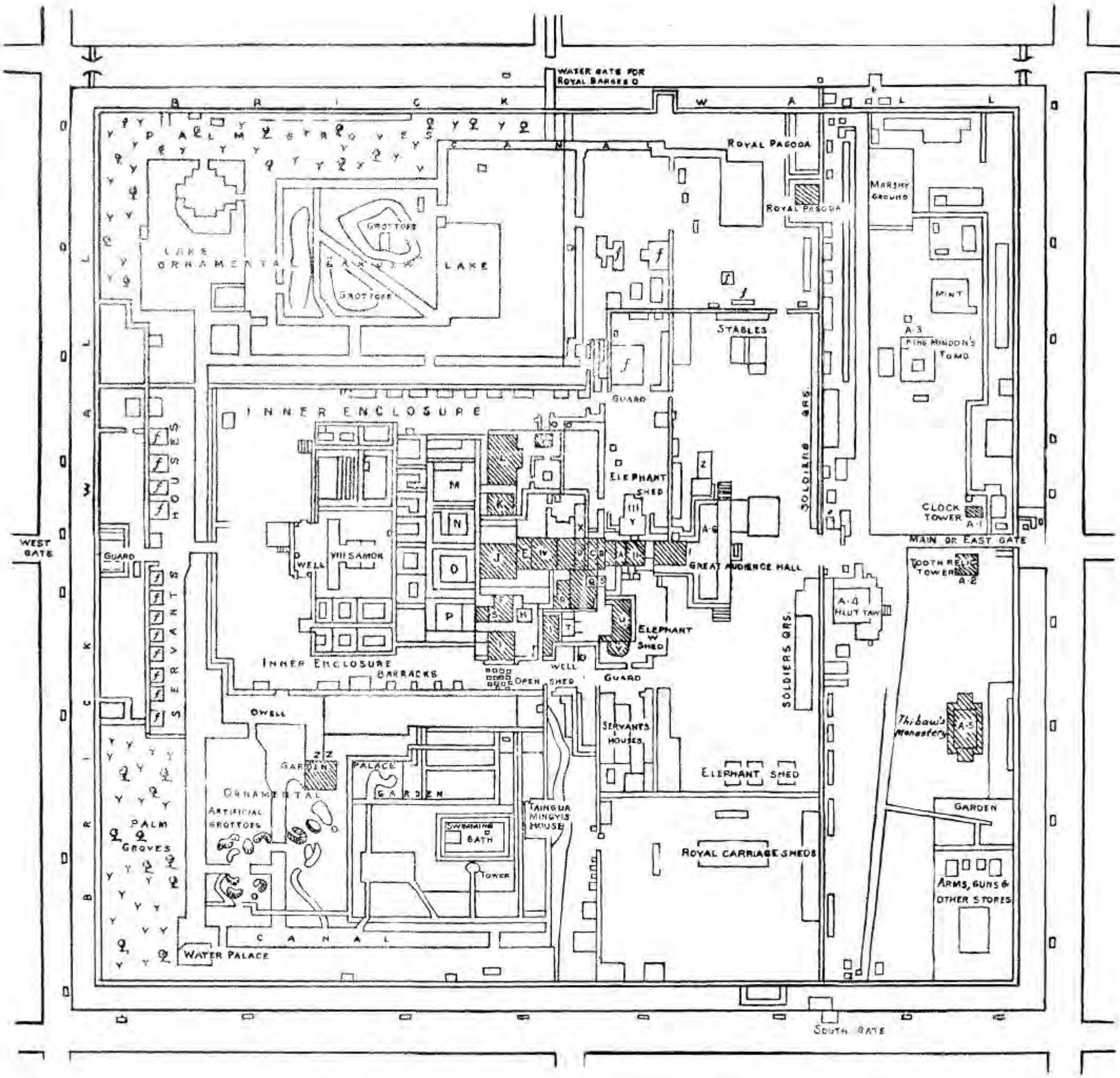
ပြဒိုးပြာသာဒ် Intermediate Pyatthat

PLATE 10

PLAN OF MANDALAY PALACE

Plan I

Scale 300 feet – 1 inch



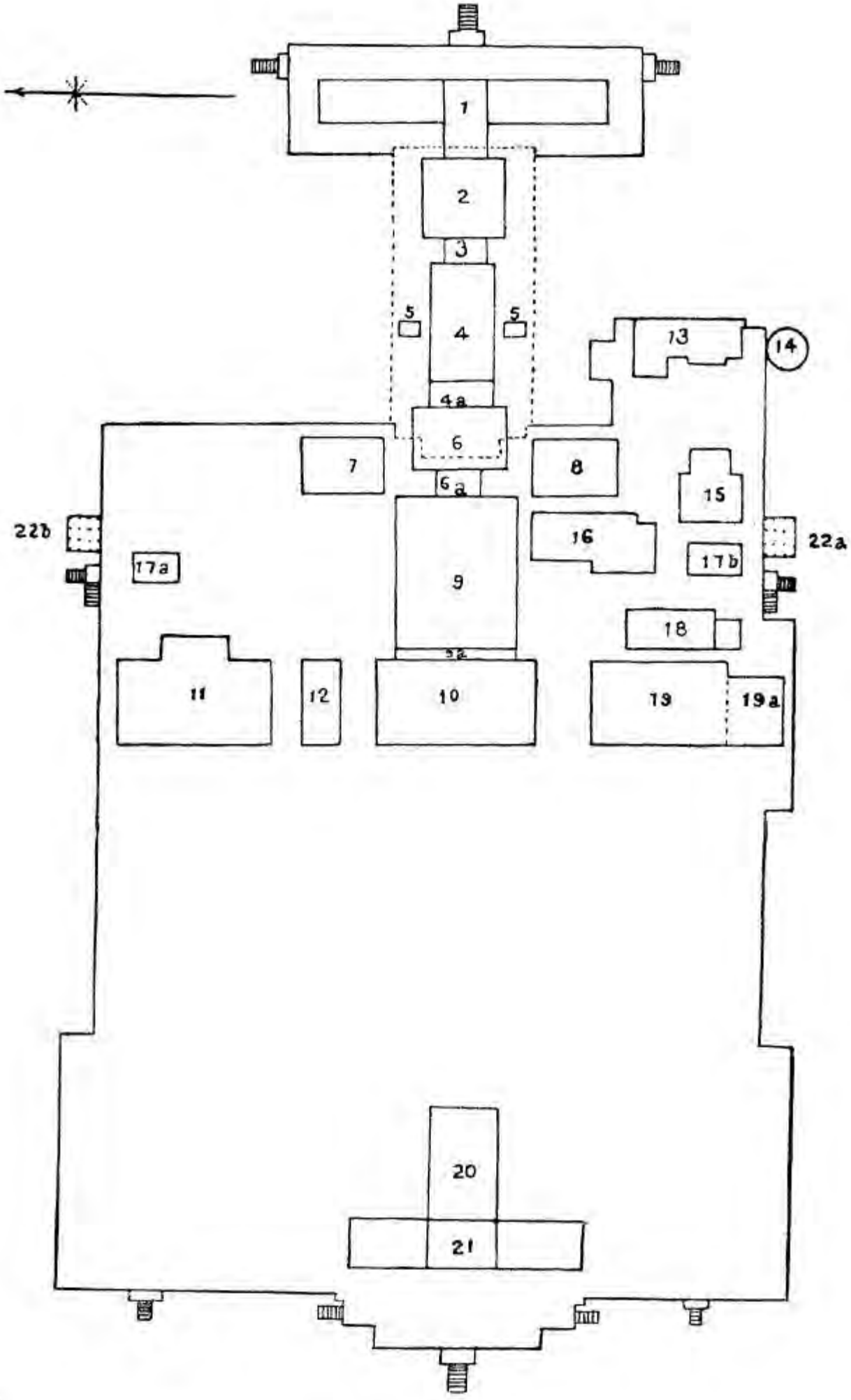
PALACE PLATFORM

with buildings remaining on it before world war II

Scale 100 feet – 1 inch

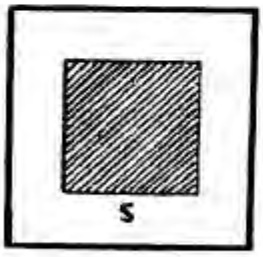
PLATE II

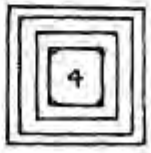
Plan II



Plan III

TOMBS
IN
FORT DUFFERIN, MANDALAY





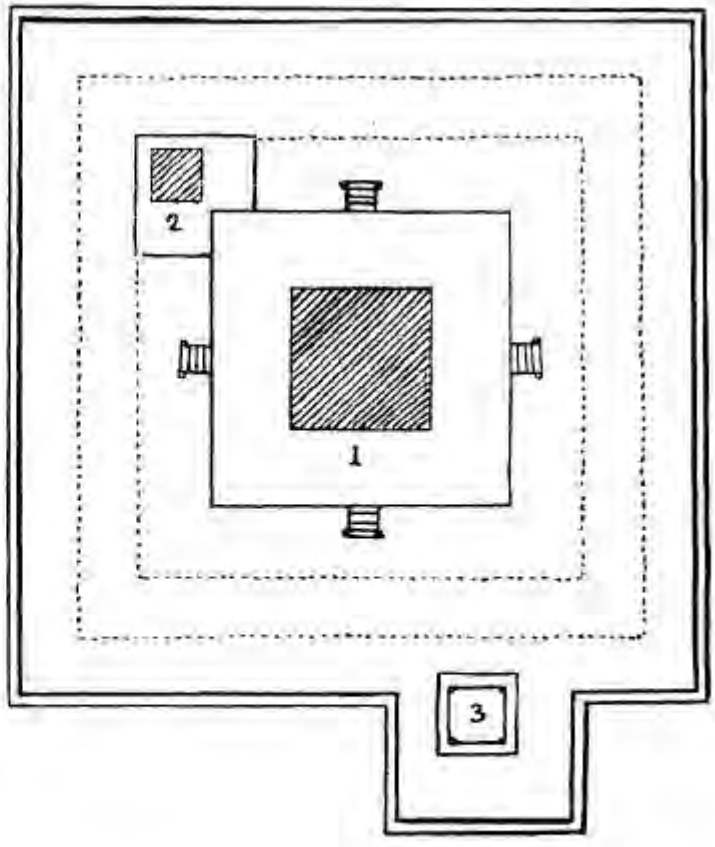
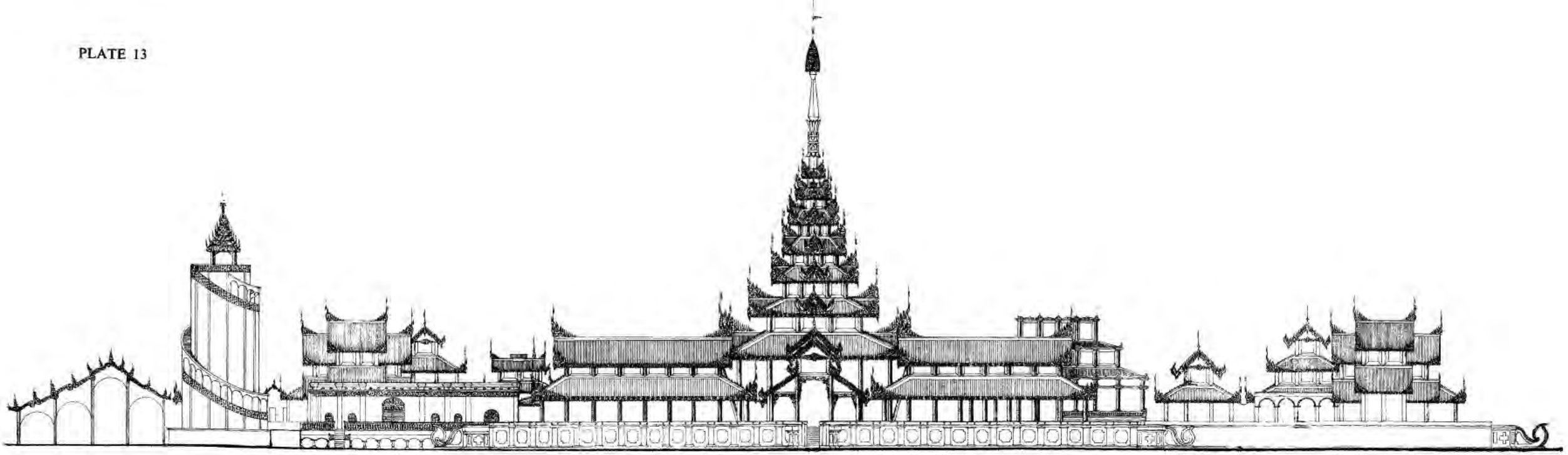


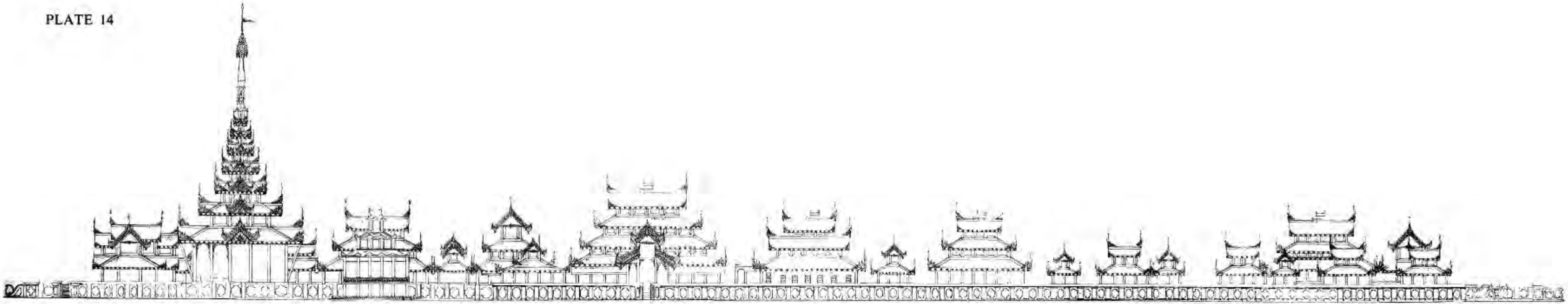
PLATE 13



မန္တလေးနန်းတော် အဆောင်များ အရှေ့မျက်မြင်ခင်း
East Elevation of Palace Buildings, Mandalay

0' 16' 32' 64' 96' FT.

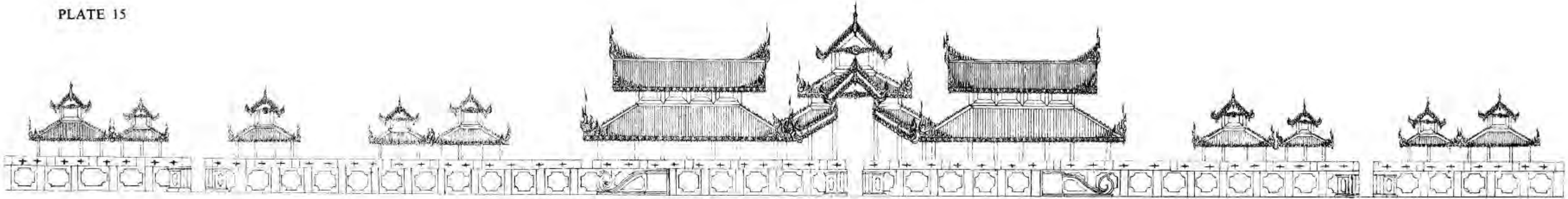
PLATE 14



နန်းတော်ဆောင်များ မြောက်ဖက်မှမြင်ခင်း
(၁၉၀၈ ခုနှစ်တွင် ကြွင်းကျန်သမျှ)
North Elevation of Palace Buildings
as remained in 1908

0′ 16′ 32′ 64′ 96′ FT.

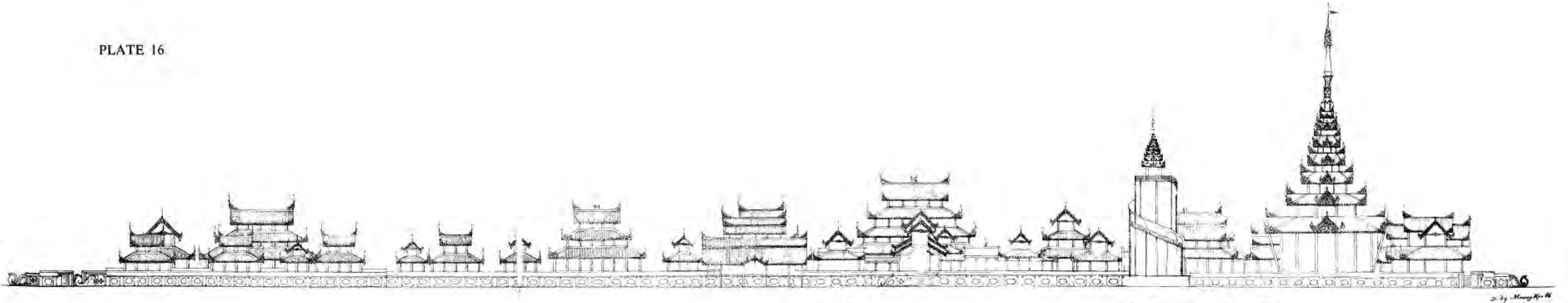
PLATE 15



နန်းတော်ဆောင်များ အနောက်ဖက်မှမြင်ခင်း
West Elevation of Palace Buildings

0′ 16′ 32′ 64′ 96′ FT.

PLATE 16



0′ 16′ 32′ 64′ 96′ FT.

နန်းတော်ဆောင်များ၊ တောင်ဖက်မှမြင်ခင်း
South Elevation of Palace Buildings

သီဟာသနပလ္လင်
The Lion Throne

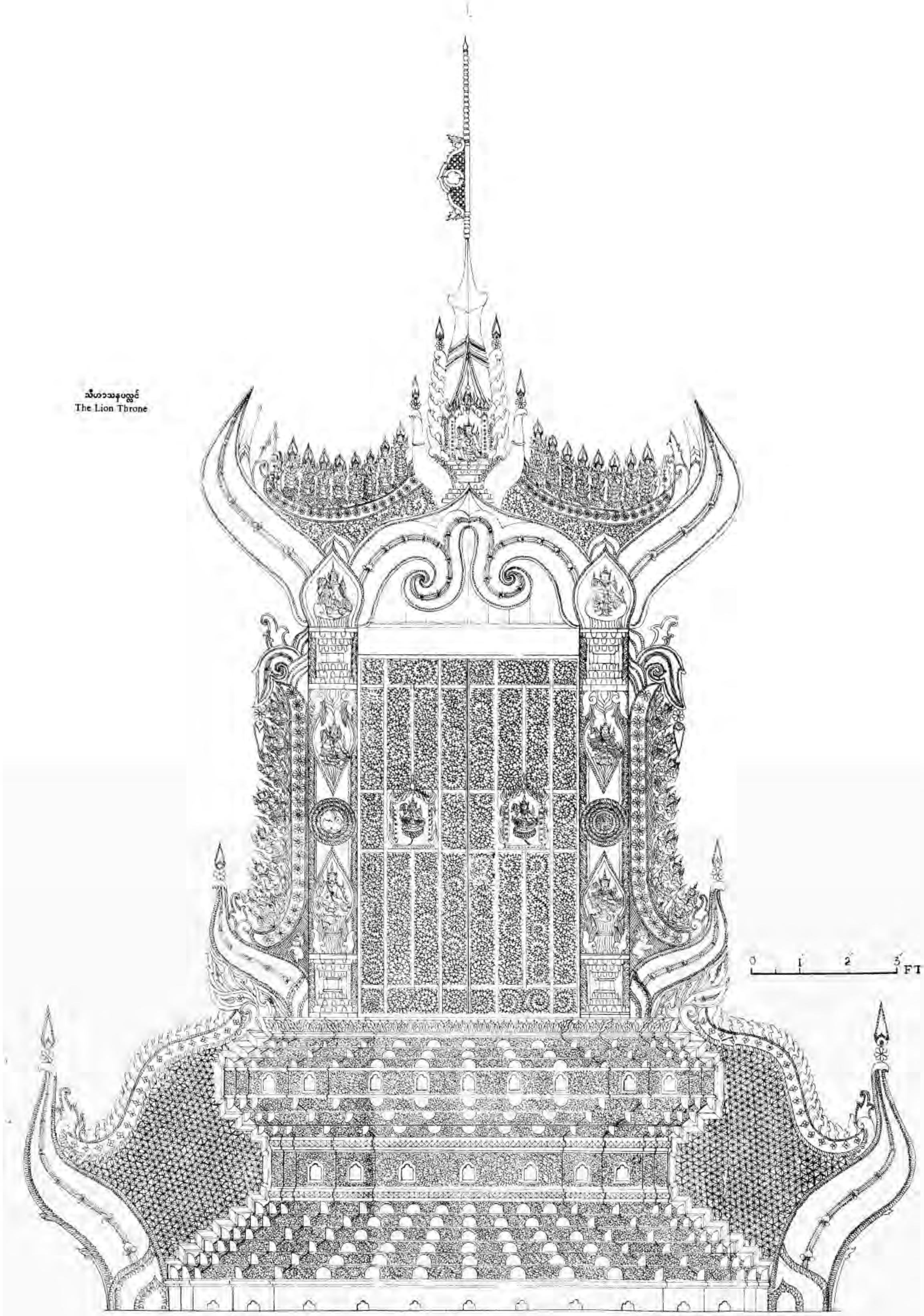
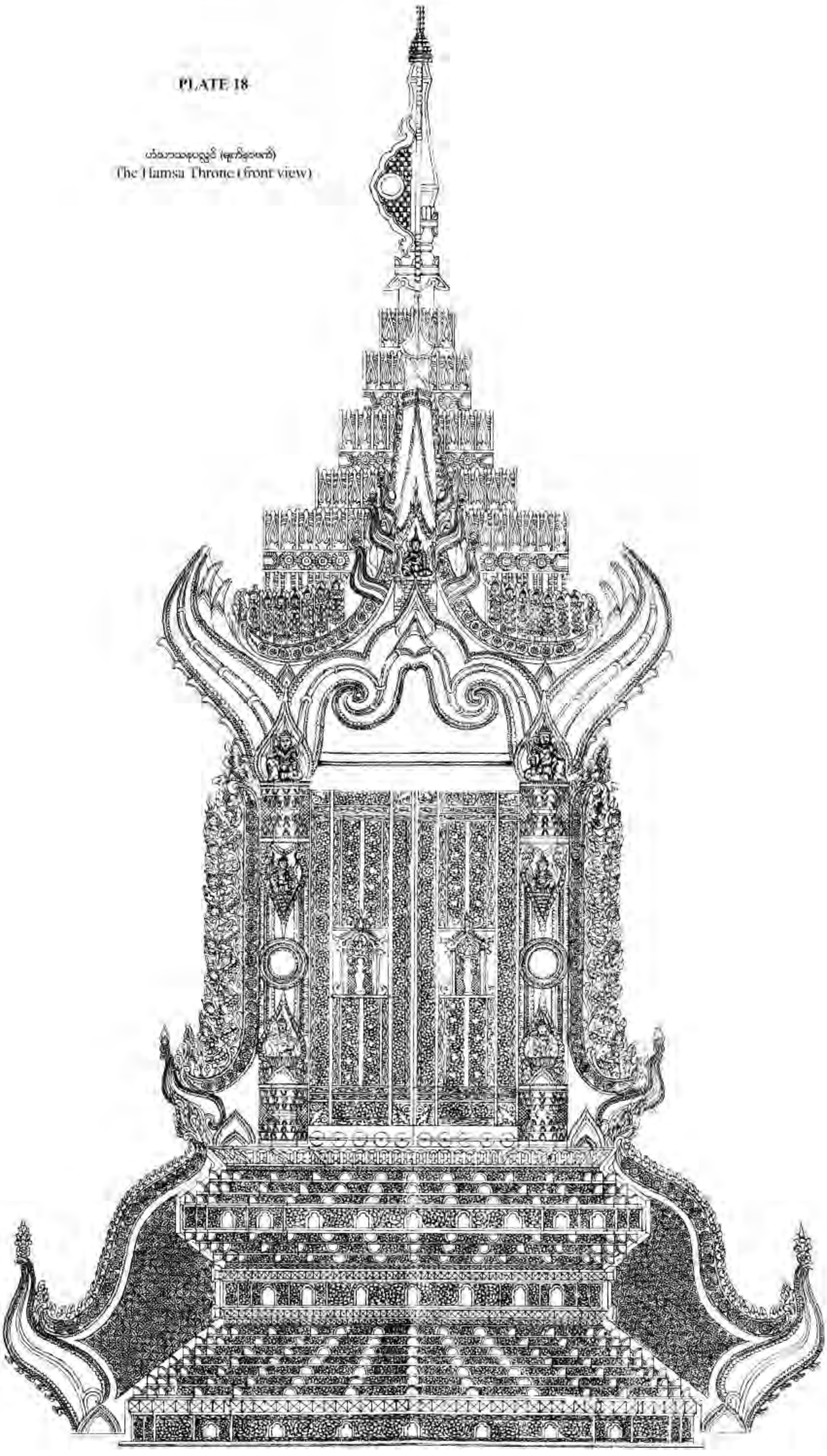


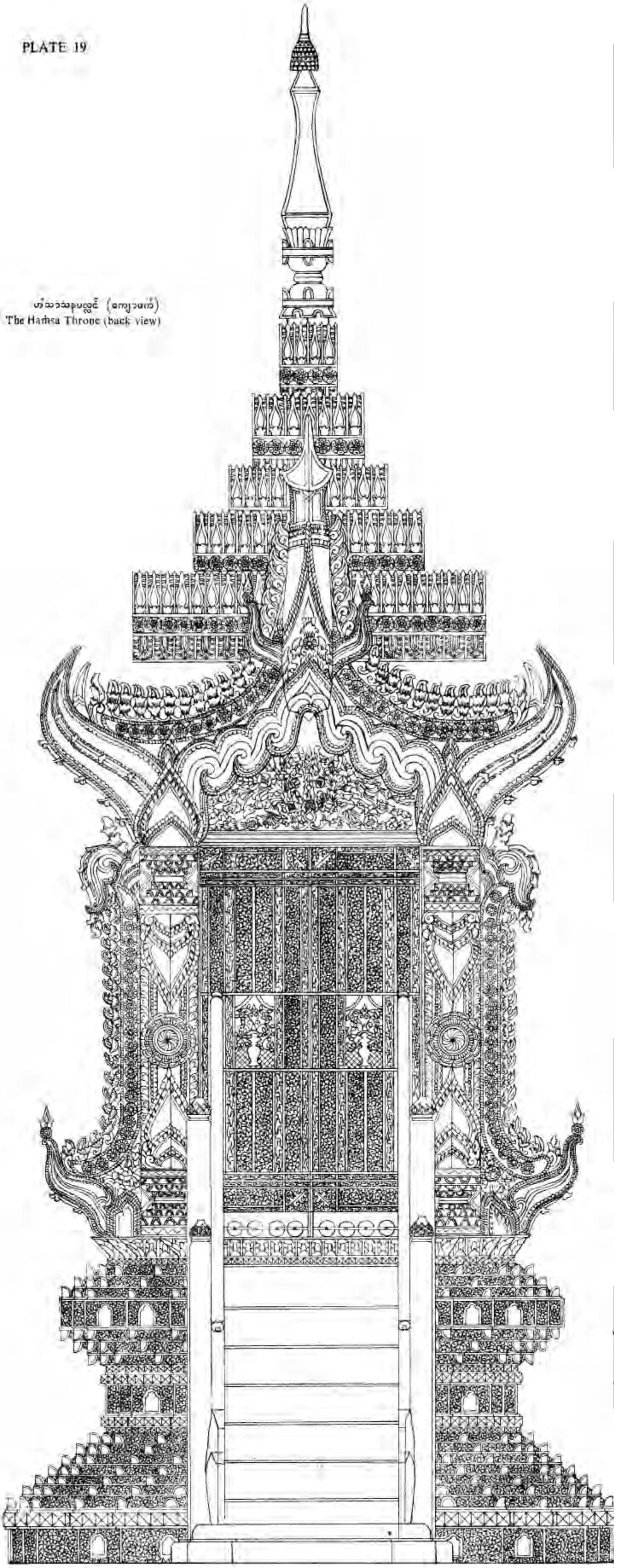
PLATE 18

ဟံသာသနပလ္လင် (ရှေ့မြင်ပေါက်)
The Hamsa Throne (front view)

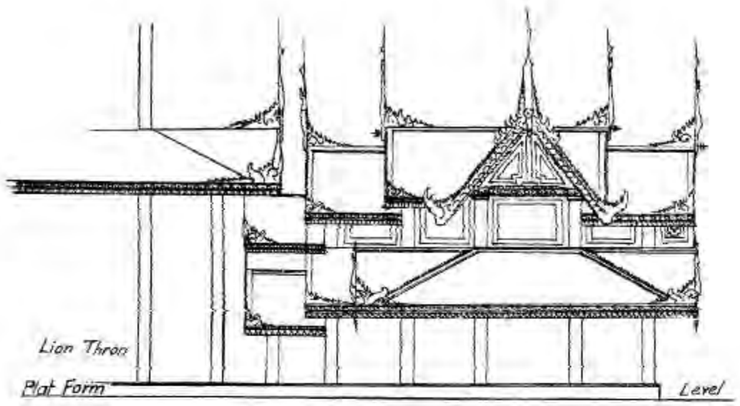


0' 1' 2' 4' FT.

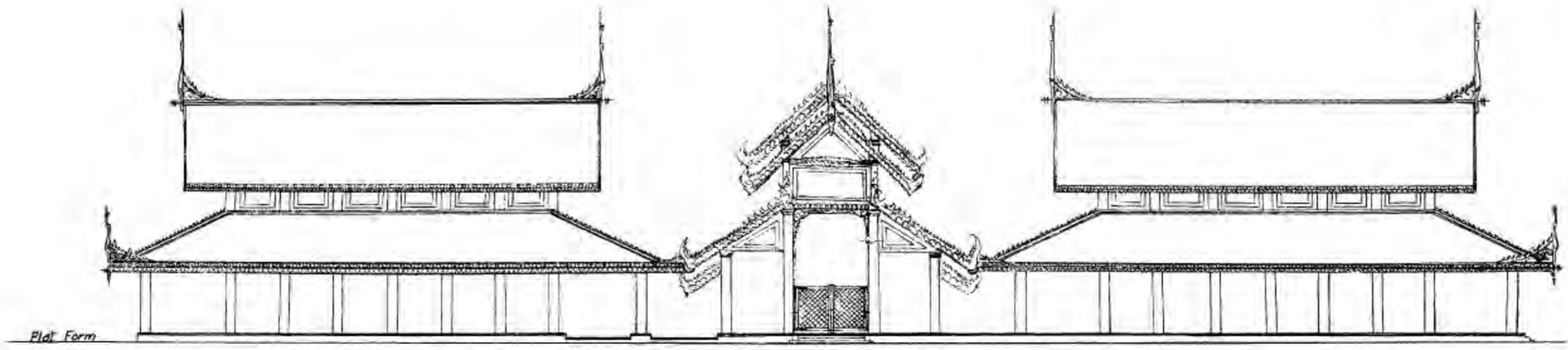
PLATE 19



ဟံသာသနပလ္လင် (ကျောဖက်)
The Haṁsa Throne (back view)



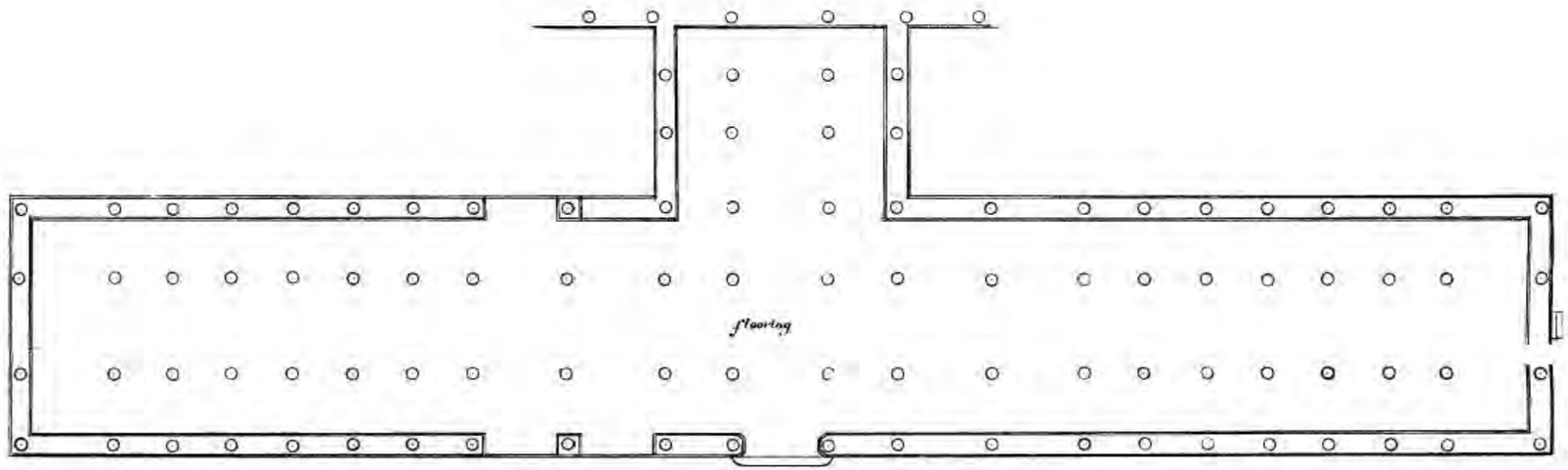
— SOUTH END ELEVATION —

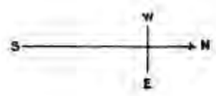


— ELEVATION —

PLATE 20

Audience Hall



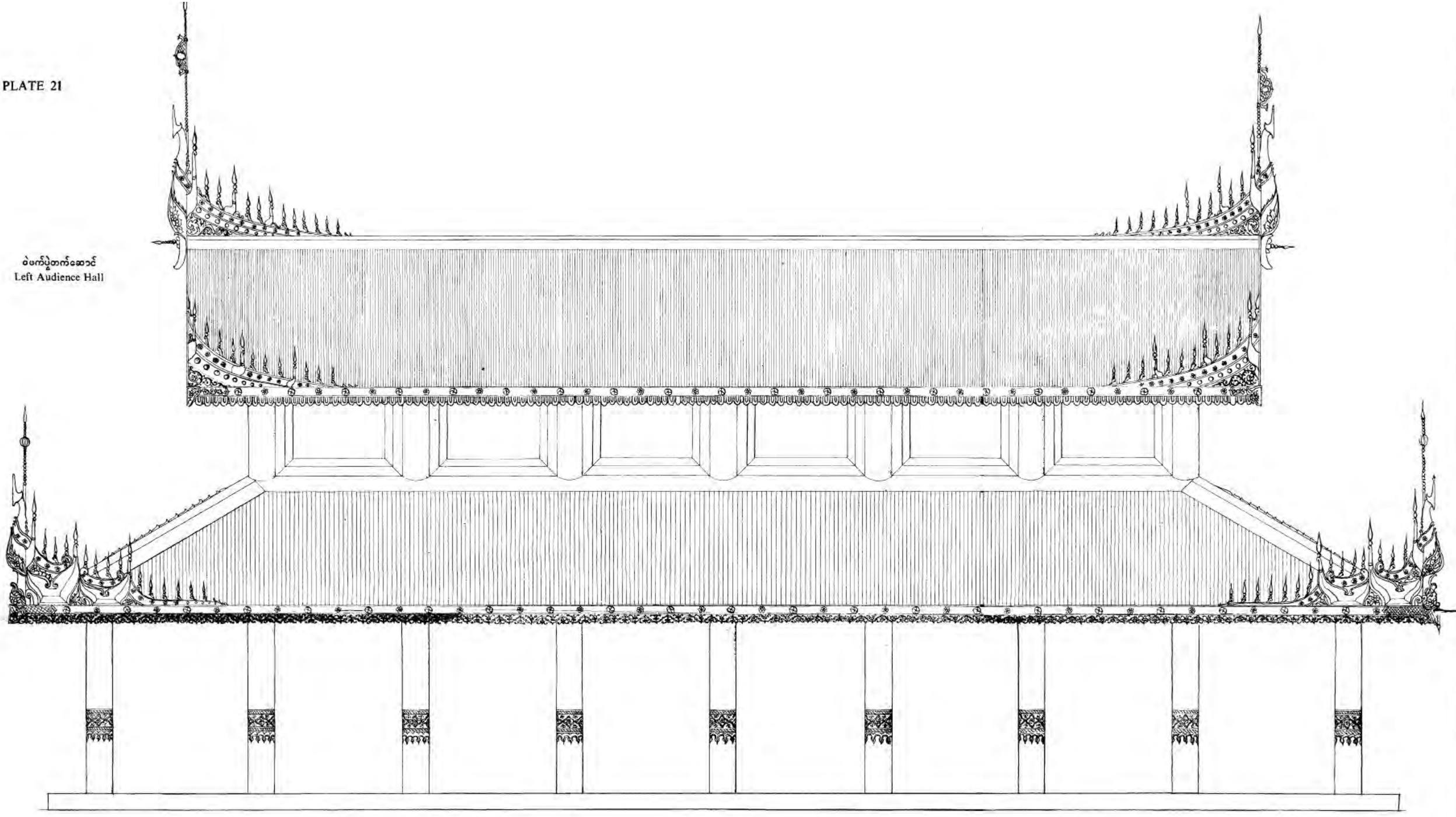


— PLAN —

0′ 10′ 20′ 40′ 60′ FT.

PLATE 21

ဝဲဖက်ပဋိတက်ဆောင်
Left Audience Hall



0 5′ 10′ 15′ FT.

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