Old Burma: Early Pagan

Gordon H. Luce; Bo-Hmu Ba Shin


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OLD BURMA—EARLY PAGÁN

by

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assisted by
BO-HMU BA SHIN, U TIN OO

the Staff of the
BURMA HISTORICAL COMMISSION

the
BURMA ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT

and
MANY OTHER FRIENDS.

VOLUME ONE
TEXT

1969

PUBLISHED FOR ARTIBUS ASIAE AND THE INSTITUTE OF FINE ARTS,
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

J. J. AUGUSTIN PUBLISHER, LOCUST VALLEY, NEW YORK
Nanda temple, Pagán
In pious memory
of
my revered teacher

CHARLES OTTO BLAGDEN

who first recovered
the two oldest literary languages of Burma,
Old Mon and Pyu
OLD BURMA: EARLY PAGÁN

PREFACE

This book may be likened to a torso, without head or feet. It tells of the founding of the Burmese city, Pagán, in the dry zone of central Burma: how it became the Buddhist capital of a united Burma, including Mons and Burmans, from about 1060 A.D.; and how, after a glorious century of building — national character as well as pagodas, a sudden crisis, due to Singhalese invasion, led to a weakening of the union, but also to the efflorescence of a strictly Burmese culture in the latter half of the dynasty.

The 'head' (as originally planned and written) would have told what little we know of the earlier history of Burma from Negrito times: the coming of Mons, Malayans, Indians; the Sak-Kantū; the Nan-chao empire in the north; the founding of the first Pyu Buddhist capital (638 A.D.) at Śrī Kṣetra, at the head of the Irawady delta; the sack of their northern capital, Halin, in 832 A.D.; and finally the descent of the Burmans (Mrañmā) from the eastern hills to the plains, and their first kingdom, Tambadīpa, in Central Burma, based on the meagre ricelands there – the 11 kharun of Kyauksè and the 6 kharun of Minbu.

The whole story was too long, we felt: too discrepant in scale, too full of gaps. For while we know a good deal about Śrī Kṣetra and Pagán, research into the pre-history of Burma is only beginning; and many old capitals and cities in Arakan, North Burma, and South Burma remain unexplored.

The 'feet' – i.e. the later history of Pagán, based on the large and solid foundation of over 500 stone inscriptions, with temples, pagodas and monasteries too numerous to count, is certainly ripe for telling: but the writing, all Burmese, is so different in style and content from the meagre records of the earlier period, mostly written in Mon, that it seems best to reserve it for a separate volume.

This 'torso' treatment necessitates some awkward compromise. – Our present work is divided into three Parts:—

(A) History in a narrow sense (pp. 1–128), based on the few original inscriptions and other records, contemporary or late.

(B) Iconography (pp. 129–227), which seeks to relate the arts of Early Pagán to those of Buddhist India.

(C) Architecture (pp. 228–422), where the local evidence is plain and ample, but mostly undocumented; and not so abundant as it will be in the later Pagán period, where many of the pagodas are not only more or less intact, but have a dated inscription in situ telling their origin.

There are striking differences in the architecture of the two periods; but there is a common root, and more similarity than difference. So that although Chapter XII, our General Survey of Pagán archi-
tecture, is based partly on written evidence fifty or a hundred years later than the buildings we
describe, the buildings are there to prove that there is no serious anachronism.

In Part B, where we discuss the Indian origin of art-motifs in early Pagán, it would never do to
jump the intermediate links – whether at Śrī Kṣetra (Old Prme), Rāmaṇhadesa (Lower Burma), or
Dvāravatī (Old Siam).

We hope, therefore, that the reader will be indulgent when we wander from the period in hand
(11th–12th century A.D.) into the future or the past.

* * *

I am solely responsible for the writing of this book, and for the opinions expressed in it; but I could
not have done it without precious help from many quarters. My colleague, Bo-hmu (Colonel) Ba Shin,
has given me invaluable aid, especially since 1955, when he joined the Burma Historical Commission.
Whether in discovering new inscriptions or checking the readings of old ones, recording languages, or
organizing work on maps, plans, drawings, etc., he has done his utmost to help his old ‘Saya’, now
aged nearly eighty. We seldom differ, I think, in our main conclusions; and where we do, I have
been careful to state both points of view. In difficult readings of stone or ink inscriptions, I have
learnt to trust his eyes and judgement more than my own.

Before the last War, when I was first asked to write this book, I was limited to a maximum of 10
plates or illustrations. The offer came to nothing. Hearing of this, Dr. Alfred Salmony, late lamented
Editor of Artibus Asiae, wrote to me, shortly before his death, the kindest of letters, offering to publish
it, with broad pages and a more liberal allowance of plates than I had dreamed of. I stipulated that the
Burma Archaeological Department should be invited to supply the plates. This brought in a priceless
contribution, for which I cannot adequately express my gratitude to successive Directors of the
Burma Archaeological Survey:— To U Mya, a sure guide and trusted doyen of Burma archaeologists,
who joined the Department soon after it was founded in 1902; and who, since then, has often said the
first word about its manifold discoveries, and not seldom (I think) the last. To U Lu Pe Win, Mon and
Pali scholar, whose prompt and brave action during the last War in burying the smaller antiquities
at the time of the Japanese invasion, saved both them and the Department’s priceless collection of
photo-negatives. To U Po Lat, whose devotion to Burmese epigraphy and language began long before
his short spell as Director. And finally to the present incumbent, U Aung Thaw, whose careful yearly
excavations are steadily enlarging our knowledge of the proto-historical period.

Nor can I fail to mention my great debt to the pioneers of the Department: to the German Dr.
Emil Forchhammer, who died before it was founded, but laid a reliable foundation. To the Chinese
Taw Sein Ko, who joined the French General de Beylè in first excavating Śrī Kṣetra. And to the
Frenchman Charles Duroiselle, a great scholar and epigraphist, who directed the Department for a
score of years. Archaeology in Burma has never been adequately supplied with staff or funds. One
recalls, for instance, that when, in 1941, U Lu Pe Win wanted to excavate Tadágalé, one of the old
sites near Rangoon, he was given Rs. 200/– to cover all expenses! And the opening of the still older
site at Kyai Dè-ap (Botataung) pagoda, was due, not to Government action, but to an enemy’s
bomb. In spite of this, as I know by years of close contact, no Department has served Burma more
loyally or fruitfully than Archaeology. Of the 1937 prints and drawings published in this book, 755 have been supplied by the Archaeological Department. These sometimes include the sole surviving record, the originals being lost. We are privileged also to publish here many measured drawings, groundplans, sections, elevations, and precious eye-copies of paintings, all made by the Department. U Htwe Sein, Archaeological Engineer, as well as his artist son and the staff of Pagán Museum, have done us innumerable kindnesses. U Htwe Sein, in particular, has contributed 9 plans and measured drawings to this volume.

U Khin Maung Zaw, late Archivist to the Burma Historical Commission, also managed, in his spare time, to contribute 289 prints, as well as most of the prints of votive tablets (Pls. 6 to 74) now at Mandalay Archaeological Office. But ever since the War, conditions have been difficult for amateur photographers in Burma. Owing to limitations on foreign imports, art-photography has been, for civilians at least, almost impossible, what with lack of suitable cameras, lenses, and all kinds of photographic equipment. Year-old film, poor quality paper – even ‘hypo’ was sometimes unobtainable. Mr. Alexander Griswold, the well-known scholar of Siamese and Buddhist art, who, since Dr. Salmoyn’s death, has taken over the steering of this book, and raising its illustrations to the high standard of Artibus Asiae, has been indefatigable in his help and wise advice. From M. Lavaud, the famous French photographer, he has obtained 31 prints of excellent quality. But perhaps his greatest discovery was in Burma itself – the amateur Burmese photographer, U Tin Oo, Assistant Editor of the Burma Translation Department. To U Tin Oo’s devoted patriotism and brilliant artistry we owe no less than 605 of our best prints.

In matters of scholarship my primary debt has been to my first teacher in Old Mon, pioneer both in that language and in Pyu, the late Dr. C. O. Blagden. To his memory this book is dedicated. To his worthy successor in Mon studies at the London School of Oriental and African Studies, Mr. H. L. Shorto, author of A Dictionary of Modern Spoken Mon (1962, Oxford University Press), I am also deeply indebted. In Pali, I have relied on my brother-in-law, Dr. Pe Maung Tin, late Chairman of the Burma Historical Commission, and first translator of the Visuddhimagga; also on the late lamented Professor of Pali at Rangoon University, Ahmed Cassim. In Burmese, I am obliged to many scholars: most of all to my colleague U Wun (‘Minthuwun’), poet and lexicographer, whose help has been an inspiration as well as a guide. Another colleague, Daw Thin Kyi, Professor of Geography, has also helped, both in making maps and plans, and in advising on them. She has often come with us to Pagán and elsewhere, and checked the position of ancient monuments. A brilliant guide and generous consultant, especially on Indian texts, has been the archaeologist Mon Bo Kay, Conservator of Pagán. On contacts with Ceylon, I have had the privilege of consulting the veteran archaeologist, Dr. S. Paranavitana. I am of course deeply indebted to the staff of the Burma Historical Commission, and its successive Chairmen, U Kaung, Dr. Htin Aung, U Thein Han and Dr. Pe Maung Tin. Our draughtsman, Maung Bo Hlaing, in particular, has contributed 24 careful plans.

Successive Governments of Burma have given financial aid; and wherever we went on tour, from Arakan to Kengtung, from Myitkyina to Tenasserim, the Burma military and civil officials have done their utmost to escort, protect and entertain us. This was at times no sinecure when we had to enter rebel areas.
To do justice to Pagán, its history, art and architecture, has been our single aim. A large number of plates was therefore needed, with a high standard of reproduction and so of costs. Mr. John D. Rockefeller has long been known, not only as a lover of Oriental Art in general, but, in particular, of Pagán. I can speak from personal knowledge of his constant anxiety to help and encourage us. Without the generous subvention given by the JDR III Fund, this book could not have been published. Further liberal grants have also been made by the Breezewood Foundation and by Cornell University. Our thanks are due no less to the editors of Artibus Asiae and the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, from Dr. Salmony onwards: especially to Mr. Alexander Griswold, who has been a constant friend and tower of strength from first to last. We are grateful to Mrs. M. L. Howard, Mr. Griswold’s secretary, for taking charge of all the typing. We are grateful to our very competent publishers, Messrs. J. J. Augustin, of Locust Valley and Glückstadt, and to Miss C. L. Flesch, of Artibus Asiae, Ascona, who has generously coöperated over a long period of years.

Finally, we remember, with honour and gratitude, the people of Pagán in Burma: with gratitude, for their perennial sweetness and welcome. Among many, many helpers, let me only cite my first guide and guru, the late U Tha Hnint of Pyauksikpin village. We remember the people of Pagán with honour, for the constant daily provision they have made over 900 years, out of their poverty, for the maintenance of the thousand living monuments of their Religion. Pagán is not a dead city.

Gordon H. Luce
TABLE OF CONTENTS

Part A. History

FOREWORD (page 3)

CHAPTER I: RISE OF PAGÁN (page 4)

CHAPTER II: ANIRUDDHA, MAKER OF BURMA AND CHAMPION OF BUDDHISM (page 12)

CHAPTER III: MAṈ LULĀṈ (Saw Lu); d. 1084 A.D. (page 46)
Names, title and regnal dates – Nga Ramán’s rebellion – battle of Praṅtawsā-kīwan – murder of king – siege of Pagan – Kyanzittha to the rescue – pact with Makuṭa’s family (?) – works of merit of the reign.

CHAPTER IV: TĪLUIṈ MAṈ (Kyanzittha), THE UNITER OF BURMA; f. 1084–1113 A.D. (page 50)
CHAPTER V: CAŃŚŪ I (Alaungsithu), DONOR OF RHUY-KŪ (Shwégu); fl. III3–II55/60 (?) A.D. (page 83)


CHAPTER VI: THE TRANSITION, MISCELLANEOUS WRITTEN SOURCES (page 95)

Sung references to Pśu-kan – features of the Transition: languages, scripts, architecture, religion, etc. – votive tablets: Sanskrit, Pali, Pyu, Mon, Burmese – Chitsagön trove (Sumedha, Muggali-putta) – inscriptions: Sanskrit, Pali, Pyu – Mon glosses and inscriptions – four dated, two undated, Burmese inscriptions – Ajāvīla.

CHAPTER VII: THE CHANGE. ĪM-TAW-SYÂÑ (Kulā-kyà), d. II65 A.D. (page 117)


Part B. Iconography

CHAPTER VIII: SYMBOLS AND POSTURES (page 130)


CHAPTER IX: SCENES FROM THE BUDDHA’S LIFE (page 148)


CHAPTER X: MAHĀYĀNIST AND TĀNTRIC (page 184)

CHAPTER XI: BRAHMANICAL (page 203)

Part C . Architecture

CHAPTER XII: GENERAL SURVEY (page 229)

CHAPTER XIII: STUPAS (page 257)
CHAPTER XIV: EARLY PAGÁN SHRINES AND TEMPLES (page 282)


CHAPTER XV: EVOLUTION OF THE BURMA TEMPLE (page 299)

The ‘Mon’ temples – Pāhtothāmya.

CHAPTER XVI: KYANZITTHA’S REIGN (1084–1113 A.D.) I. (page 310)

Tharaba gate – Nagayôn – Abèyadana.

CHAPTER XVII: KYANZITTHA’S REIGN (1084–1113 A.D.) II. – RUINS (page 345)


CHAPTER XVIII: KYANZITTHA’S REIGN (1084–1113 A.D.), III (page 357)

Nanda – Myinkaba Kubyaung-gyi.

CHAPTER XIX: TEMPLES OF THE TRANSITION (1113–1174 A.D.),
AND MISCELLANEOUS RUINS (page 384)


CHAPTER XX: THE CHANGE (from 1131 A.D. onwards) (page 406)

SHORT INDEX OF PLATES
(For details, see CATALOGUE OF PLATES)

Plates
Frontispiece (Vol. I) Nanda temple, Pagán
Frontispiece (Vol. II) Gold repoussé plate from Myinpagán
Frontispiece (Vol. III) A Bodhisattva ripe for Budhahood (Abèyadana temple)

1–3 Views of Pagán area and city
4–74 Votive tablets (terracotta)
75–78 Early stupas (pre-Aniruddha)
79–93 Aniruddha’s works of merit
94–118 Hpetleik pagodas, Thiripyitsaya
119–120 Manuha temple, Myinpagán
121–131 Nanpaya temple, Myinpagán
132–142 Kyaukku Önhmin cave, N.E. of Nyaung-u
143–149 Nat-hlaung-gyaung Viṣṇu temple
150–152 Myinpyagu temple
153–157 Paunggu, Gu Bizat, Pâsāda Zédi and West Taungbi temple
158–167 Pâthothâmya temple
168 Tharaba Gate
169–183 Shwezigôn pagoda
184–206 Nagayôn temple
207–241 Abèyadana temple
242 Mrakan stone library
234–245 Shwé Chaung Kubyaunk-ngè temple
246, 247 Gu 418, S.E. of Lokananda
248–251 Myébôntha Paya-hla temple
252–253 Hlaing Gu 130, N.E. of Alôpyi¹
254–255 Hlaing-shé Gu 251, S.E. of Alôpyi¹
256–257 Gu 201, S. of Hsuîgôn
258 Stupa S. of Myinpagán school. Sin’pâhto
259 Encased stupas
259–262(bis) Sômîn-gyi stupa and glazed work
263 Min-o-chantha stupas
264–334 Nanda temple
335–350 Myinkaba Kubyaunk-gyi temple (III3 A.D.)
351–356  Loka-hteikpan temple
357–358  Alòpyi temple
359–361  Hpyatsa Shwégú temple, Myinpagán
362      Gu 180. E. of Nagayón
363–364  Gu W.NW. of Scovell’s Pawdawmu
365–367  Hsulégôn Gu 202, Wutkyin Paya, and ‘Mon’ temple ruins
368–375  Shwé-gu-gyi temple
376–377  Seinnyet-ama temple, -nyi-ma stupa
378      Taing-chut (Twinkhét) temple
379–390  Thatbyinnyu temple
391–397  Dhammayan-gyi temple (c. 1160 A.D.)
398–399  Inscriptions
400–406  ‘Andagu’ stone slabs
407–418  Stone and terracotta images (miscellaneous)
419–423  Wood-carving
424      Gold-work
425–451  Bronze-work
452–453  Pottery
454      The Pagán Cetiya
455      Monastery S. of Sòmin-gyi, Pagán, and Salban Vihāra, Patikkarā, compared.
ABBREVIATIONS

A. Original Inscriptions collected by King Bodawpay in Upper Burma and now placed near the Patodawgyi Pagoda, Amarapura (Government Press, Rangoon, 1913). [“A”, for “Amarapura”, is the abbreviation adopted in I.B. (see below) for the last of the six ‘elephant volumes’ of Burma’s inscriptions published by the Burma Government between 1892 and 1913.]

App. Appendix.

Arch. Dept. Burma Archaeological Department.

Arch. Office Burma Archaeological Office. [There are now two, the main one in Rangoon, the older one in Mandalay.]

A.S.B. (ASB) Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma. Issued yearly from 1901–02 to 1926. Resumed from 1937–38 to 1940–41. Resumed (in Burmese) from 1947 onwards. The three earliest reports (1901–02 to 1904–05) have the title Report on Archaeological Work in Burma. [Where two years are mentioned in the title, only the later year is cited in references.]


B I, B II Inscriptions copied from the stones collected by King Bodawpaya and placed near the Arakan Pagoda, 2 vols., 1897 [Two of the six ‘elephant volumes’].

BEFEO Bulletin de l’École Française d’Extrême-Orient.

Bijdragen Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië.

B.R.S. Burma Research Society.


Epig. Ind. Epigraphia Indica.


ETB (E.T.B.) Earth-touching Buddha (image seated cross-legged in bhūmisparśa mudrā).


I.B. Inscriptions of Burma. Portfolios I to V. (Plates 1 to 609, arranged chronologically, down to 1364 A.D. and the founding of Ava. Collotype
reproductions made by the Oxford University Press. Published by the
University of Rangoon).

*Ind. Ant.*  Indian Antiquary.

*J.A.*  Journal Asiatique.

*J.A.S.B.*  Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.


*J.S.S.*  Journal of the Siam Society (Bangkok).

*L.A.P.N.B.*  List of Archaeological Photo-Negatives of Burma (Delhi, 1935).

*List*  A List of Inscriptions found in Burma. Part I. The List of Inscriptions arranged in the order of their dates (Charles Duroiselle, Rangoon, 1921).

*M.S.*  Maha-sakarāja, the Śaka Era starting from 78 A.D.


*Neg., Burm. Arch. Neg.*  Followed by the serial number of the Photo-Negative as given in L.A.P.N.B. (above), or in the “List of Photographs taken by the Archaeological Survey”, appended to each yearly Report of *A.S.B.*


*Phot.*  Photograph by ....

*Pl., Pls.*  Plate, Plates ....

*P.P.A.*  Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava (Government Press, Rangoon, 1892). [The earliest of the six ‘elephant volumes’. A translation, with the same title, by U Tun Nyein, was issued in 1899.]

*P.T.S.*  Pali Text Society.

*Ref.*  Reference: ....

*s.*  Cūla-sakarāja, the Pyu/Burmese Era, starting from 638 A.D.

*S.I.P.*  Selections from the Inscriptions of Pagan (transcribed in modern Burmese characters by Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce, Rangoon University, 1928). [A similar volume with the same title has since been published by Professor E. Maung, in 1958.]

*S.O.A.S.*  The School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.


PART A. HISTORY
FOREWORD

The pioneers in civilization, both in Old Burma and Old Siam, were the Mons. Strongest in the deltas near the coast, where they grew their irrigated rice, they had contacts with India from very early times. Their language, which is akin to Khmer and the pre-Vietnamese dialects of the Annamite Chain, is distantly allied to Indonesian, and quite different from Burmese or Pyu, which are Tibeto-Burman.

In 638 A.D. the Pyu, descending from the north-east, founded the first big Buddhist capital of Burma, Śrī Kṣetra. This was near modern Prome, above the head of the Irawady delta, 200 miles from the sea. The last Śrī Kṣetra king whose name we know, died in 718 A.D. Some time later, it seems, the city fell; and the Pyu fell back on Upper Burma, making their new capital Halin, 10 miles south of Shwébo.

On their way north, some Pyu refugees are said to have settled near Pagán—a group of small villages on the left bank of the Irawady, 180 miles north of Śrī Kṣetra. Pagán is in the Dry Zone of Central Burma, below the mouth of the Chindwin, at the point where the Irawady, after flowing in a south-westerly direction from Mandalay, turns finally south towards the sea.

In 832 and 835 A.D. Halin, the Pyu capital in the north, and Mi-ch'één, the chief Mon city in the south, were sacked by Nan-chao, the imperial lords of Yang-chü-mieh (Ta-li) on the high plateau of Western Yünnan. The dominant peoples of Nan-chao were probably Lolo, speaking languages closely akin to Burmese. The Burmans, Mranmā, then subject to Nan-chao, and forced to fight Nan-chao’s battles from Ch’eng-tu to Hanoi, took their chance to break away, and descend upon the hot malarious plains, where Nan-chao durst not follow them except on a cold-weather raid. The Mranmā occupied the two irrigated rice-granaries of the Dry Zone: Kyauksè (80 miles north north-east of Pagán) and Minbu (60 miles south of it). They called them respectively the Eleven Khariuin and the Six Khariuin: khariuin meaning the core or hub from which government radiates. In 850, it is said, they built the walls of Pagán. It was then the advance-centre, rather than the capital, of Tambadīpa, the first kingdom of the Burmans in Central Burma. . . .
CHAPTER I
RISE OF PAGÁN


DESCRIPTION

Compared to the fertile khauwin areas, Kyauksè and Minbu, Pagán is almost a desert. It is “the parched country”, Tattadesa, of Old Mon inscriptions. Apart from the strange eroded ravines above Nyaung-u, Pagán is just a sandy windswept plain, strewn with bright pebbles and fossil wood, and sparsely shadowed by low, straining, thorny trees: euphorbia, osyris, jujube, cutch, and beautiful white-barked acacia. A few big trees, tamarind and Indian elm and bombax, tower magnificent where there is subsoil water; also the toddy-palm, palmyra; and some of the humbler plants flower prettily enough, but are too dry for fodder, or exude blistering milk or sticky stain, or put forth pincer-thorns or little caltrop heads with barbs.

No rice is grown except on islands and the riverbanks. The chief crops today are groundnut, sorghum, panick millet, sesameum, a little maize, a few beans, water-melon and cucumber. Maize and groundnut (Arachis) have come in recent centuries from America; otherwise the landscape can have changed little since the 11th century. Reasons alleged to prove a change of climate, from mentions of broad ricalands in the inscriptions, will not bear inspection. There is no rice-cultivation mentioned in Old Burmese around Pagán, on more than a quite modest scale.

At present the whole area, some 25 square miles, supports a small riverine town and port, Nyaung-u; Pagán, a large village, centre of the lacquer industry; the small villages of Wet-kyi-in, Myinpagán and Thiripyitsaya, where sandy streambeds discharge into the river; and inland the poor hamlets of Hnget-pyit-taung, Minnanthu, and East and West Pwazaw.

Some thirty miles away to east south-east, clean cut against the dawn, rises the extinct volcanic cone of Popa, almost 5000 feet. Beyond the river as it bends from west to south, Mount Tan-kyi rears its massif and its noble crest 1500 ft. against the setting sun. Eight miles south-east, there rises to the height of over a thousand feet the narrow ridge of hills now called Tuywin-daung. The nearer peaks, Turaň ‘the Arch’ and Sakcuiw (Thetso) ‘Ruler of the Sak (Thets)’, are often mentioned in the inscriptions.

---

3 Rangoon Government Press has issued a useful Burmese map of the Pagán area, with names of the chief pagodas, prepared by the Archaeological Department. It is on 4 sheets, 8 inches to the mile. Mounted together, the whole map measures about 6ft. 4in. long by 5ft. 3in. high.
4 Turaň. See I.B., Pl. I 361 (574 s./1212 a.d.) etc. For old inscriptions at, or from, the summit, see I.B., Pl. I 36 (574 s.); I 54 (cf. III 371 b – 586–7 s.) and List 465 b (rev.); II, 195 a (622 s.) and List 988 (837 s., rev.); I.B., Pl. V, 539 a, b (410 s., 725 s.); and Pagán Museum Stone 133 (2 faces, 581 s.). Sakcuiw. See I.B., Pl. II 126 b (592 or 596 s.). For old inscriptions at the summit, see Pl. I 60 a, b (573, 591 s.); Pl. III, 253 b (637 s.); Pl. III 303 (undated, archaic Burmese); IV 377 a, b (584, 609 s.).
Chapter I

Tradition places hereabouts the “19 villages of Yôn-hlut-kyun”, ‘Island of the Hare’s release’, the ancestor of Pagán. There are many variants in the lists; and none of the names except Nôñ-û (Nyaung-u) occur in Old Burmese. But there are several marks of anciencty around Tuywin-daung, as we shall see. With the same facility as that which often led new converts to Buddhism to transplant the sacred sites to their immediate neighbourhood, the Burmans soon transferred to Nhak-pac-loh, ‘Hill where the Bird was shot’, the Pêiao-chû-tî legend of Nan-chao.

DATE OF FOUNDING

When was Pagán founded? – “In this our country of Burma” says Shin Silavamsa® (1455–1520), the first historian of Burma whose work survives, “when 100 years were complete after the passing of the Buddha, the place for the establishment of the Religion was the kingdom of Sarekhettarâ (Śrî Kṣetra). . . . The kingdom of Sarekhettarâ was established for 600 years. The kings were 25, beginning from Tâvattapo. When 700 years were complete after the passing of the Buddha, there came into existence the kingdom of Pagán, called Arimaddana. The kingdom of Pagán was established for 1128 years. The kings were 50, beginning from Pyûmânâhî”, i.e. Pyusawhti, “down to Taruppreîmân:” (Tarôk-pyê-min, ‘the king who fled from the Turks’).

Silavamsa’s meaning appears to be that Śrî Kṣetra was founded in 444 B.C. It fell; and Pagán was founded about 156 A.D. Pagán fell in 1284 A.D. – If this last date is that of Tarôkpyê’s flight from Pagán after the fatal battle of Nga-hsaung-chan (there are several variant readings in the manuscripts), it is exactly right. But Silavamsa’s huge mistake was to place the fall of Śrî Kṣetra and the founding of Pagán six and seven hundred years before they actually occurred. The Pyu urn inscriptions show the Vikrama dynasty still reigning at Śrî Kṣetra as late as 718 A.D.® The Glass Palace Chronicle (p. 55) places the building of Pagán in 849–850. It can scarcely have been earlier. It can hardly have preceded the Nan-chao raids of 832 and 835®; and Pagán is not mentioned in the list of Pêiao (i.e. Pyu) towns and settlements in 802®.®

There is an authority older than Silavamsa for the dating of Śrî Kṣetra. King Kyanzittha, about 1100 A.D., makes the Buddha prophesy the founding of the city in the very year of his parinirvâna® – 544 B.C., according to Old Burmese reckoning; and he makes Gavampati foretell that “it shall

® Lists of the 19 villages are given in the Jâtûûmûn Râjavan (Zatabôn, ed. by U Hla Tin, Rangoon, 1960), p. 92; U Kala Mahâyazawingyi (ed. by Saya Pwa, Rangoon, 1959), Vol. I, p. 135; and the Glass Palace Chronicle (see transl. p. 29). Common to all are the following 11 villages:—Nyaung-u, Ma-gyi, Kyauk-sâga (mod. Lokananda), Nyaungwun, Anuradha, Kyinlo, Kókko, Taungba, Myégèwwin, Yôn-hlit, and Ywasaik. For excavations in the neighbourhood, see A.S.I. 1906, pp. 131–3 and Pl. LIII (at Kyinlo, 8 miles southeast of Nyaung-u), and A.S.B. 1915, pp. 12–13 (at Taungba, 12 miles southeast of Pagán).
® See Yazawin Gyaw by Shin Thilawuntha (Silavamsa), B.R.S. Publ. Series No. 14 (Burmese), edited by Pe Maung Tin, p. 77.
® The Yûan-shih (ch. 13), and the anonymous text translated by Huber (BEFEO t. IX, p. 669), show that the Mongols captured Kaungzin on Dec. 9th, 1283 and Tagau before Feb. 5th, 1284. Tarôkpyê’s flight probably took place shortly after. See J. Siam Society, Vol. XLVII, Part I, June 1959, p. 136.
® Man-shu ch. 10, f. 2 r°; ibid., f. 1 v°; transl, pp. 90, 91; Hsin-t’ang-shu ch. 222 C (Section on Pêiao).
® Hsin-t’ang-shu, ch. 222 C (Section on Pêiao).
stand for twelve hundred years”¹³, i.e. until about 656 A.D. This is much nearer the truth; but it is still over 60 years too soon.

The later Chronicles are all at sea and inconsistent about the founding of Pagán¹⁴. They mostly date the accession of Samuddharāja from 80 to 107 A.D., and of Pyusawhtı 60 years later. They are just as wrong as Silavaṇa. On the other hand, they place the building of Pagán in 849–850, which may be right.

These mistakes appear to stem from a desire to raise the status and antiquity of the Burmese capital at the expense of the Pyu. Much padding therefore was necessary to eke out the odd 700 years. — The names of the first five successors of Pyusawhti¹⁵, though legendary, are old: for they bear the authentic stamp of the Nan-chao system of child-naming: — Pyu-saw-htí, Htí-min-yin, Yin-min-paık, Paık-thín-li, Thin-li-kyauŋ, Kyauŋ-durit. We are then introduced to the august spirits of Mt. Popa, the Mahāgiri Nats brother and sister, who dominate the plain and still sit as natural guardians, left and right, of Tharaba Gate, the main entrance to Pagán. Buddhaghosa next makes his appearance, the scene shifting to India and Ceylon. For the rest (see G.P.C. pp. 50–55), there is little but a barren list of kings and omens, with doublets such as the two Saw Rahans and Thin-li-kyauangs, Paık-thin-li and Thin-li-paık, Khanlaung-Khanlat, Htunpit-Htunchit, Peitthôn-Peitthaung, Htuntaik-Htuntwin, Shwelaung-Shwêmaukh, etc.

The Chronicle Jātāṭopun Rājavān (Zatabón) is generally our best guide in the dating of early Pagán: which makes its muddle at this point (see note 14) all the more remarkable. The underlying truth may well be that before the Mraunmá conquerors of Tambadēpa built the walls of Pagán in 850 A.D., there was an older Pyu settlement there, perhaps of Pyu refugees retreating north after the fall of Śrī Kṣetra. These Pyu, perhaps, were the builders of the oldest Pagán stupas, cylindrical or bulbous, such as the Būpayā on the riverbank (pl. 105a).

CITY WALL AND MOAT

Apart from these, the oldest extant monument at Pagán is doubtless the city-wall. Compared to that of Śrī Kṣetra, the area enclosed is small, less than a square mile, excluding not only the pagodas of Nyaung-u, Wet-kyi-in, Myinpagan, Minnanthu, Pwazaw, etc., but also many of Pagán itself. At Śrī Kṣetra, more than half the area within the wall was rice-field, intended to support the population in time of siege. Since rice will not grow at Pagán except in the riverbed, there was no reason to extend the walled area. “The date of this wall” said Duroiselle¹⁶,“is about 850 A.D., the year of the foundation of Pagán; it is still clearly visible, together with the moat, on three sides of the ancient city; the fourth side, which ran along the river bank, has disappeared owing to the encroachment of the river; on this side, a kind of bastion can be seen quite near to the Circuit House, and a few traces of the wall are seen here and there.”

¹⁴ Thus the Jātāṭopun Rājavān, which on pp. 41 and 54 gives 211 s./850 A.D. as the date for the building of “the present city of Pagán”, on p. 53 gives 112 Mahā-Sakarāja/190 A.D. for the building, by Pyuminhti, of “the city of Arimaddanā”.
¹⁵ G.P.C. pp. 43–46. It was Pelliot who first noted the undoubted connection between the Old Burmese and the Nan-chao system of naming: see BEFEO t. IV, 1904, pp. 165–6.
¹⁶ A.S.I. 1913, p. 136, no. 3.
Chapter I

Away from the Irawady, water was always scarce at Pagán. To fill the city-moat it was necessary to breach the bank beyond the walls, and divert part of the river to enclose it. The upper breach was originally made northwest of Bu-paya, where the remaining wall is still high. High, too, here is the outer bank of the moat, 100 to 150 feet broad, running from west to east. There is an old city-gate at the point where a road descends to the main landing-place west of the derelict hotel. The wall here is about 30 ft. above the road, the upper half of coursed masonry, the lower half of earth. The back fence of the hotel runs along the top almost to the northeast corner of the city.

Here wall and moat turn sharp to the south. From the top of the wall there is a good view, perhaps 40 feet below, of the moat some 150 feet broad, running from north to south, and now full of cultivation. This continues as far as the road to Taunghi village, between Wut-kyin Gu and Zaungdan-gyi pagoda. Thereafter the moat is drier and less defined, and the wall lower, with lines of huts peering on the inner side, as far as Tharaba (Sarapā) Gate\textsuperscript{17}. This chief remaining gateway, with four massive cubes of brick and vaulting between them, still guards the main eastern exit towards Nyaung-u. In its present form it dates, we suspect, from the beginning of Kyazitttha's reign (1084 A.D.). The thickness of the original wall at this point is $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet. It runs on south to another old gateway west of Nanda temple. Sharp turns in the masonry here indicate that there were once projecting bastions, guarding both sides of the gate. Heavy rain will still fill this section of the moat: the general effect, with Nanda temple mirrored in it, is shown on Pl. 265 – a sight which must have gladdened the heart of the donor, king Kyazittha, gazing from the roof of his new palace (1102 A.D.) on the inner side of the walls.

Descending to the moat, one can follow the base of the wall as far as the sharp corner where it turns finally west. Here it is still high and vertical, with (what looks like) several small salients. On the inner side is Thathbyinnyu monastery and its stone bell-pillars (Pls. 379, 380). Thatbyinnyu temple, 212 feet high, built c. 1155 A.D., dominates this southeast corner; the wall describes a large irregular arc to circumvent it. A road from the temple now cuts through the wall to the south. To the south-southwest there is a broad bastion and several salients, as the wall falls gradually back to its proper east-west orientation, due south of the Viṣṇu temple, Nat-hlaung-gyaung. South of Pāhtothāmya temple it sinks to ground-level for a moment, with a path crossing it; then runs due west as far as the south road to Chauk. Here there was an old gateway, shown by the clean walling. West of this, except for a pathway cutting through to Taung-ywa-lê hamlet, the wall is still fairly high; also the further bank of the moat, now dropping rapidly towards the river. The wall ends in a rough cliff west of the Circuit-house, just above the highwater mark. There is now no sign of a bend northwards. The brickwork visible along the riverbank seems to be local, the residue of fallen pagodas.

The East and South sides of the city-wall are at right angles to each other, and about the same length, nearly three quarters of a mile. The North side, also at right angles, is only half that length. If we may assume that the original shape was roughly square, it is clear that erosion by the river has been serious in the north-west quarter. Now our early archaeologists who built Pagán Museum, and filled three sides of its verandah with a double line of stone inscriptions, collected nearly 30 of these

\textsuperscript{17} Pl. 168. The following note is kindly supplied by Professor U Wun: "Sarapā Gate is mentioned at least twice in U Kalā's Mahayasawin-gyi: Vol. I, para 324 (at Pagān), and para. 437 (at Ava). At p. 203 the Gate is called Sarapahā; in the Myadawng Saydaw's Pagān-myō-paya-lasē-hhunassu Thamaing ('Story of 17 Pagodas of Pagān'), it is written Sarapākā. According to the Taijatha-dipan (p. 91) of Hle-thin-atwinwun Mahājeeyyasaṅkhya, the name is derived from semi-Sanskrit sarva-rankā, "defending from all enemies"."
from the Mahābodhi temple-enclosure. Their dates mostly relate to the earlier half of the period; they have nothing to do with the Mahābodhi itself. It seems likely that they were shifted thither, as to a place of safety, when erosion threatened the small river-bank pagodas to which they belonged. Perhaps many more were sunk or buried. And of those that remain, half the historical value is now lost, since we do not know to what they refer. This is one of the reasons for our scanty knowledge of the first half of the Pagán period.  

First Mentions

The oldest mentions of Pagán by name, curiously enough, are in two Cham inscriptions of Phan-rang (Pāṇḍurānga), the Pō-Nagar and Lom-ngō pillars, anterior to 1050 A.D. In the former the name is written Pukam, in the latter Pukām. In Old Mon it is writtenPokām, Pukām, and possibly Bukām; the earliest mention is under date 1093 A.D. In Old Burmese (first mention: 1196 A.D.), it is usually written Pukam or Pukam. Its classical name everywhere is Arimaddana, ‘Crushing of Enemies’.

The Chu-fan-chih of Chao Ju-kua (1225 A.D.) mentions an early embassy of “P’u-kan kingdom” to the Sung capital, K’ai-feng, in 1004 A.D.: ‘In the 1st year of the ch’ing-té period of the reigning dynasty (1004 A.D.), they sent envoys, together with San-fo-ch’i [Śri Vijaya, Palembang] and Ta-shih kingdom [Tājik, Arabs] to submit tribute at Court. They had the good fortune to witness the lamp (-festival) on the 15th day of the 1st month’ [Feb. 8th, 1004].

Caw Rahan

Two kings before Aniruddha whose names we know, can claim to be historical. Caw Rahan, ‘the Royal Saint’, is said, in an original inscription (1212 A.D.) still in situ on top of Mt. Turān, to have built a ‘thein’ (śīma) there: that is, a chapter-house for holding the uposatha and ordination ceremonies. That is all we know of him for certain. He was not, presumably, the ‘Popa Saw Rahan’ of the Chronicles, wrongly said to have invented the so-called Burmese Era, starting from 638 A.D. That era, almost certainly, was Pyu in origin, founded by the Vikrama kings of Śri Kṣetra. The

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18 On p. 26 of the Preface to I.B. Portfolios IV and V, I ventured a different explanation of the mystery of these ‘Shinbin-bodhi’ inscriptions. I beg to withdraw it. The new explanation given in the text, I now think much more probable, after studying aerial and other maps of Pagán. Erosion has been more serious than I first imagined.


20 Epig. Birm. I, Part II, Old Mon Inscr. VII (Pohām-ma imo’ Arimaddanaṇāpur – 455 s./1093 A.D.); Inscr. VIII A2, B14, (Pohām, Pali Pokhāma); ibid. III, Part I, Inscr. IX F19, G19 (Puhām); Inscr. XI (Buṅka?).

21 J.B., Pl. I 1914 (Arimaddanaṇāpurā maṅ so Pukam praṅ – 558 s./1196 A.D.); ibid. Pl. II 138 (Pukam – 603 s./1241 A.D.).

22 See, e.g., Rājakumārī’s quadrilingual inscription (c. 1113 A.D.): Epig. Birm. I, Part I, Burmese face A3, B3 (Arimaddanaṇāpur); Mon face A3, B3 (Arimaddanaṇāpur); Pyu face A3, B3 (Rimadhanabù); Pali face A3, B3 (Arimaddanaṇāmasmi purè).


24 I.B., Pl. I 561 (turāṅ toh thok caw rahan sim pyāk kha raṅā. . . . ), 574 s./1212 A.D., “when Caw Rahan’s sim on top of Mt. Turāṅ fell into ruin . . . .”


Chapter I

historical Caw Rahan, the saint-king with the Nan-chao title, must be identified, if at all, with the "Hill-Farmer" king, Taungthu-gyi, whom Burmese Chronicles call 'Nyaung-u Saw Rahan'. His story there is mostly popular folklore\textsuperscript{27}. A similar tale is found in Cambojan chronicles\textsuperscript{28}, and also, it seems, in Shan and Ceylon fables. His dates are variously given\textsuperscript{29}, his death 43 to 94 years before the accession of Aniruddha.

Modern Chronicles represent him as a heretic, a worshipper of Nāgas and mysterious spirits, and a patron of the infamous 'Ari' (arañ: )\textsuperscript{30}. The original inscription, on the other hand, shows him doing an eminently orthodox work of merit, the first necessity for an active Buddhist church. All agree that he was a builder: and a building that lasted from his date (say, the end of the 10th century) till 1212, over 200 years, was probably of brick or stone. If so, the age of Burmese temple-builders did not begin with Aniruddha.

The Chronicles, from U Kala onwards (early 18th century) give Caw Rahan the title Nat-iō-kyon: takā, "Donor of the Residence of the holy Devas". This kyōn: (Tibetan groñ, 'residence') has been generally taken to be the Viṣṇu temple now called by the much less honourable title 'Nat-hlaung-gyaung', "Residence confining Devas". The Nat-hlaung-gyaung is an early masterpiece of Pagán architecture, situated within the walls between Pāhtothāmya and Thatbyin-nyu, within a stone's throw of the palace. The remarkably advanced, but still archaic features of this temple, and its Viṣṇava connections, will be treated in later chapters (see pp. 219–222, 283–284). Personally, I regard it, on the one hand as the last link in the old Viṣṇava chain joining Śrīketra and Rāmaññadesa with Pagán; on the other as the Pagán prototype of the later 'Mon' temples, from Pāhtothāmya onwards. Its ultimate connections with north-east India, whether Bengal or Bihar, are also certain, though obscure. The intimate association in Burma, from early times, of Viṣṇavism and Buddhism, cannot be doubted. So the fact that Caw Rahan built an orthodox Buddhist simā on Tuywindaug, eight miles from Pagán, does not conflict with the tradition that he also built (or allowed his Indian immigrants to build) this fine Viṣṇu temple in the heart of his little kingdom.

Of the five pagodas attributed to Saw Rahan in the Chronicles\textsuperscript{31}, only one name can now be recognized – the Pāhto-thāmya, within the walls of Pagán. This temple\textsuperscript{32}, one of the early masterpieces of 'Mon' architecture at Pagán, shows no sign of heresy. On the contrary, it is the first Pagán temple to reap the harvest of the full texts of Singalese Tipiṭaka, obtained (as we shall see) after 1070 A.D. It is impossible to date it before the conquests of Aniruddha. Another tradition\textsuperscript{33}, moreover, attributes it to Aniruddha's son, Mañ Lunañ (Saw Lu), who died in 1084.

\textsuperscript{30} See G.P.C. pp. 70–71. The Arañ: were doubtless Araññika or Araññavāsī, who lived in "jungle monasteries" (Old Burmese paw hlañ). Their discipline was not so strict as that of the ordinary monks. Whether they were so bad as they are painted in the later Chronicles, may be doubted. Perhaps they derive from a dim memory of Tāntic – Mahāyānist practices from East Bengal, together with local Nāga-worship, common at Pagán before Kyanzittha made the great change to Singalese Theravāda Buddhism.
\textsuperscript{31} Pāhto-gyi, Pāhto-ngè, Pāhto-thāmya, Thīnli-pāhto, Seitti-pāhto.
\textsuperscript{32} See Chapter XV, pp. 302–309 and PIs. 147–156.
KLOṆ-PHLŪ-MAṈ

One other king, KLOṆ PHLŪ MAṈ, ‘King of the White Monastery’, is doubtless the ‘Kunhaw Kyaungbyu’ of the Chronicles\(^{34}\), said to be the father of Aniruddha. The story — largely the truth, it seems — is, briefly, as follows\(^{35}\) — Saw Rahan, a saint perhaps, but a usurper, perished in a palace-rising; and Kunhaw Kyaungbyu, a scion of the royal line, took his place. He made his queens three sisters, wives of his predecessor, the elder two being pregnant at the time. Their children, Kyizo and Sõkkaté, grew up jealous of their cousin, Aniruddha, child of the youngest sister by the reigning king. By a trick they deposed Kunhaw, and made him a monk, presumably in the ‘White Monastery’. After Kyizo’s death, Sõkkaté raped Aniruddha’s mother. The brave boy, “his mother’s milk yet wet upon his lips,” raised forces and challenged Sõkkaté to single combat on horseback. They met, and Sõkkaté was killed. His corpse, falling into the flooded stream, was lost, and only his horse’s saddle recovered: from this, Myinkaba (Mraṅgabă)\(^{36}\), the stream which flows through Myinpagan, still gets its name. About a furlong north of the stream, must have been the White Monastery, with its standing image of the Buddha set up by KLOṆ-PHLŪ-MAṈ. The son asked his aged father to resume the throne; but he declined in favour of his son.

Two hundred years later, the mahāthera Dhammarājaguru\(^{37}\), the beloved teacher and tutor of the young king Nāṭōnymā and his sister Acau Maṅīha, built the Myinkaba Kubyauk-ngē temple — an early Burmese masterpiece — at the site of the White Monastery, containing KLOṆ-PHLŪ-MAṈ’s image.

One hundred years later, at the very end of the Pagán period, an ink-inscription\(^{38}\), now faint and fragmentary, was written at the west end of the north wall of the hall of this temple. It says that “in 675 s./1313 A.D. the most excellent lady, Phwā Cau-kri, ‘Queen Grandmother’\(^{39}\), in her devotion to the Lord Dhammarājaguru” [donor of the Myinkaba Kubyauk-ngē temple], sent on inspection (it seems) the royal secretary, who served her and her then husband, Caw Nac, “Lord of the White Elephant”, sc. the Cakravartin. He saw in ruin the standing image of KLOṆ-PHLŪ-MAṈ, and took steps to repair it and make permanent provision for its upkeep; and shared the merit with his relatives, including the queen and her deceased husband, the Dethroned King (nān kla maṅ). The concluding prayer, half Pali half Burmese, is fragmentary.

There is more here than meets the eye. KLOṆ-PHLŪ-MAṈ himself had been a dethroned king, even as Phwā Cau-kri’s husband, Kyawzwa (Rhu-y-nan-syan)\(^{40}\). After the Mongol conquest and the poisoning of the runaway king, they had avenged the murder, and done their best, with sympathy and some help from the Mongols, to revive the deserted capital. But the Shan Sīhasū had meantime occupied Kyaukse, besieged Pagán, tricked and carried off her husband to Myinzaing, and finally strangled


\(^{35}\) See G.P.C. (transl.), pp. 60–64.

\(^{36}\) For the name, Mraṅgabă, see I.B., Pl. II 131 b\(^4\) (600 s./1238–9 A.D.).

\(^{37}\) See I.B., Pl. I 63. The dedications probably began from Nāṭōnymā’s accession, in 573 s./1111 A.D.

\(^{38}\) This ink-inscription is not listed nor edited. I had noted it; but it was first read by Col. Ba Shin, who showed me his readings. We have discussed at length its meaning and implications.

\(^{39}\) The last ‘Phwaw’ — ‘Pwawaw’ of Pwawaw, younger sister of the ‘Pwawaw’ of the Sâwhlawun dedications at Minnanthu, with whom she is confused in the Chronicles.

\(^{40}\) The “headman of Ta’ā” (I.B., Pl. IV 392\(^{40}\)) who, after avenging the death of his father, king Taruk-pi, was crowned king of Pagán, Rhu-y-nan-syan, early in lent, 1289 A.D. For the dating of all these events, see the J.Siam Society, Vol. XLVII, Part I, June 1959, pp. 150–8.
him and two of his sons. In order to bluff the Mongols, Sihasū spared a bastard son of Kyawzwa\(^{41}\) aged 16, married him in haste to the queen, and ceremoniously crowned his puppet "Lord of the White Elephant", or Cakravartin: a cynical act, for he had given himself the same title four years earlier\(^{42}\). Horrified, the old Queen left the Court and lived at Pwazaw (the inland villages still called after her), where she, her daughter and her nephew devoted all their feverish energy to works of merit – the last masterworks of Pagán\(^{43}\).

The ink inscription, dated 14 years after her husband's murder, shows her still defiant, the proud Queen "more powerful than thousands of beautiful women" as she liked to be called\(^{44}\), queen of the only rightful Cakravartin\(^{45}\). Pagán, as a capital, died with her. At the very end of that tragic, glorious story, her thoughts went back to its beginnings – to that other dethroned king and queen, who had a son to defend them. She had none. Only the Standing Buddha.

\(^{41}\) Saw Nit (Caw Nac), Chinese Tsou-nieh, Old Burm. Maṅ Lulaṅ, 'the young king'. See I.B., Pl. III 290 b\(^{5}\), 292\(^{28}\), both dated 661 s./1299 A.D., early summer. The former, a Pagán Sathingu inscription, gives the date of the abhiśeṣa: Thursday, 8th waxing of Nayôn.

\(^{42}\) See the Kyauksé Myingôndaing inscription, I.B., Pl. IV 389 c\(^{9}\) (657 s./1295 A.D.).

\(^{43}\) Hsutaungbyi cett and great brick monasteries (I.B., Pl. IV 390–393, 661–3 s./1300–1 A.D.). Thitmati brick monastery (Pl. IV 395\(^{10–24}\), 664 s./1302 A.D.). Adhiṭṭhān "temple and monastery of her brother's son, Mahāsaṅkhita" (Pl. IV 413\(^{a}\), 672 s./1310 A.D.). Thitsawadi temple, probably of mother and daughter (Pl. IV 393\(^{24}\), 663 s./1301 A.D.; Pl. 451, 452 a, 696 s./1334 A.D.)

\(^{44}\) See I.B., Pl. IV 390\(^{4}\); 413\(^{7}\).

\(^{45}\) Chaṅ-phîñ-shhīṅa. See I.B., Pl. IV 390\(^{4}\); 413\(^{4}\).
CHAPTER II

ANIRUDDHA, MAKER OF BURMA AND CHAMPION OF BUDDHISM


REGNAL DATES

The primary difficulty in writing the history of Aniruddha is to fix the dates and order of events. The first certain date we know in Pagán history, based on original stone inscriptions (the so-called 'Myazedî' inscriptions of Rājakumārī), is that of the accession of Kyanzittha: 1628 A.D.1, that is 446 s./1084 A.D. - Compare this date with those given in U Kala's Great Chronicle; the Hmannan or Glass Palace Chronicle; and the Zatabôn (Jālatōpuñā) Chronicle, as shown on the Regnal Dates Chart in Vol. II. - The Zatabôn gets the date exactly right. The others make it 20 or 21 years too early. Rājakumārī tells us that when his father Kyanzittha had reigned 28 years, i.e. till 474 s./1112 A.D., he was sick unto death2 (I think he died in 1113 A.D.). Here the Zatabôn is only about 1 year wrong, the Hmannan 20, U Kala 24 years wrong. Provisionally, therefore, we accept our earlier dates as given in the Zatabôn. I do not think they are far wrong; but there is no certainty about them.

For note the wide discrepancies in this Chart. U Kala and the Zatabôn give Aniruddha 33 years of reign, the Hmannan 42. The Zatabôn gives Aniruddha's son, Saw Lu, 7 years of reign, the Hmannan 5, U Kala 26. And note the discrepancies in the years assigned to Alaungsithu: 56 in the Zatabôn, 70 in U Kala, 75 in the Hmannan. I cut this down to about 47 years. The next certain regnal date we know from original inscriptions, is the death of Kulā:kyu in 1165 A.D.3. Here the Zatabôn is 5 years too late, the Hmannan 6 years too late, U Kala 4 years too early.

TAMBADĪPA

My dates, then, for Aniruddha, 1044–1077 A.D., are merely provisional. So, to a great extent, is the map of Burma, "Early Pagán Period, at the head of Part A, which gives some idea of Tamba-dîpa, the small original kingdom of the Mraññā in Central Burma, as it was when he ascended the throne; also of its great expansion by the time of his death.

The early Burmans had taken to the plains, probably after Nan-chao's sack of the Pyu capital, Halin, in 832 A.D.4. They had occupied the two irrigated rice-plains of the Dry Zone: the Eleven

1 I.B., Pl. IV 361 a², b²; 362 a², b²; 363 a¹, b¹; 364 a¹, b¹.
2 I.B., Pl. IV 361 a¹⁴, b¹⁸; 362 a¹⁹, b¹⁸; 363 a¹, b¹; 364 a¹³, b⁹.
4 See Chapter I, note 10.
Chapter II

khariun of Mlacsā (Myittha), modern Kyauksé district south of the Myit-ngè; then the Six khariun of Minbu, 130 miles south-west, on the west bank of the Irawady. In 850 they had built the walls of Pagán, below the mouth of the Chindwin. In the south, towards Prome, they had seized the rice-plain of Taungdwin-gyi (Tonthwañ) on the northern edge of Lower Burma. As frontier-post downriver, they held the long Kyândaw island (Prañtawsā klawan) below Migyaung-yè. In the north, they held the east-west line of the Myit-ngè (Nam Tu) river and the Irawady, with one rice-rich outpost, Taungbyôn (Tontlun khariun), a few miles north of Mandalay. North of this, the Thet (Sak) and Kãdu (Kantû) tribes were left at the mercy of Nan-chao. In the “Eleven Villages” of Kyauksé, the more enlightened Mrañmá had learnt writing and Buddhism from the Mons (Rmeñ) still lingering in the north of Kyauksé.

At Pagán itself, Buddhism first shows itself in the Bu-paya, a small bulbous stupa on the river-bank, possibly inherited from the pre-Burmese inhabitants, Pyu refugees from Śrī Kṣetra. By 1000 A.D. Caw Rahan had built a chapter-house on Mt. Turan, and Aniruddha’s father, Kloñ-phùmañ, a monastery at Myinkaba. But *Naṭ* worship and Nāga worship were still more prevalent than Buddhism. The central khariun of Kyauksé was known as Myingóndaing (Mrañ-hyun-tuñ), ‘Horse-leaping post,’ recalling the old horse-sacrifices. The kingdom’s centre, Mt. Popa (Pupà), was dominated by the dread Mahāgirí Nats, brother and sister, who still mount guard at the main gateway of Pagán. – Such, in brief, was the kingdom of Tambadiña, ‘the land of copper’ or wealth, the region “south of the river”, when Aniruddha ascended the throne.

WANE OF BUDDHISM

About this time Buddhism was almost everywhere on the wane. In Sung China, during the 11th century, the recoil from Buddhism set in with the rise of Neo-Confucianism. In Tibet, the ‘Red Hat sect’ of Padmasambhava had relapsed into demonolatry, before the Paññít Atiśa (an older contemporary of Aniruddha) came and introduced the Tāntric Mahāyānism of Pāla Bengal. In North India, Muslim armies were continually raiding from the west. In 1333-4 the Ghaznavid general Ahmad sacked Benares. In 1339 the Chedi prince Karnadeva invaded the Buddhist Pāla kingdom of Bihar.

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An old undated Burmese inscription at the Lényet-hna, Minnanthu (I.B., Pl. III 305 a) mentions “the monastery of the king of Taungdwin” (Tonthwañ mañ kloñ).

I.B., Pl. II 117 a² (655 s./1197 A.D.); III 261², 31² (631 s./1270 A.D.). Here, on Prañtawsā klawan, was fought the fatal battle which led to the death of Aniruddha’s son, Caw Lu (G.P.C., p. 101). For two Old Burmese inscriptions found on the island, see I.B., Pl. II 121 a (581 s./1219 A.D.) and III 261, 262 (631 s./1270 A.D.).

I.B., Pl. III 244² (636 s./1274 A.D.).


chay la rud. I.B., Pl. II 162², 38 (608 s./1246 A.D.). List 698 a³ (735 s./1374 A.D.).

Pl. 75 a. and supra, Chapter I, p. 6.

At the ceremonies, mostly Brahmanic, attending the completion of Kyanzittha’s palace in 1102, one day was reserved for Buddhist rites, another for Nāga-worship. See Epig. Birm. III, Part I, Inscr. IX, Faces A, H.


I.B., Pl. I 59² (591 s./1229 A.D.?); 90³ (597 s./1235 A.D.); II 216² (628 s./1266 A.D.).

Pl. 168.


Kyazittha’s latest Prome inscription (c. 1105 A.D.) says that (at some date, unspecified) the Vajrasana temple of Bodhgaya, the very heart of Buddhism, had been “irremediably destroyed by other kings”21. In East Bengal (Samataptra, ‘the level country’), from the beginning of the 11th century, says Bhattachali, “Buddhism had begun to decline with the fall of the Candras.”22 In the Deccan, Buddhism was yielding almost everywhere before the revival of Brahmanism; and the split between Mahayana and the southern schools of Theravada, etc., was ever widening. In South India, early in the 10th century the Saivite Cola empire arose, holding for a time most of the country south of the Kistna. The Colas were strong at sea. Between 1017 and 1070 they ruled most of Ceylon; but from about 1050 the Singhalese prince Kirti (afterwards Vijayabahu I) led a desperate revolt against them, from the south and centre of the island23. In 1025 the Colas conquered Palembang (Sri Vijaya), including the north of Sumatra and the mainland up to the Isthmus of Kra24. Of all that great Buddhist kingdom which I-tsing had admired so much in the 7th century, little remained except Nagar Sri Dharmaraja (Ligor) on the east coast, just south of Kra. Dvaravati25, the Theravada stronghold in Lower Siam, the source of Moi inscriptions 400 years before the first in Burma, fell to the Khmers early in the 11th century. The Saivite court of Angkor (Mahanagara), under Suryavarman I, occupied Lopburi; and between 1002 and 1050 extended Cambojan rule over much of Siam26. There is no evidence, I think, that they persecuted Buddhism; but they are not likely to have supported it. They even tried, as we shall see, to invade Burma. – In this perilous period Buddhism was saved only by such valiant fighters as Vijayabahu in Ceylon and Aniruddha in Burma, and by such ardent reformers as Paisit Athisa in Tibet, and in Burma Shin Arahan.

The King’s Name

Aniruddha was perhaps the greatest of the kings of Burma. He was certainly the king who first gave Burmans the control of the major part of their country. Other kings of Burma, Kyazittha for example27, call themselves Cabravartin, “Universal Monarch.” Aniruddha alone is so called by his successors28. There is a good deal said about him in the various sources; but when all is said, he remains a dim figure to the historian.

The dimness begins with his very name. In his own original inscriptions he once, once only, signs his name Anuruddha29. Elsewhere, dozens of times, he writes Aniruddha. Pagan kings knew Pali better than Sanskrit; but where royal titles are concerned, they usually preferred the latter. Aniruddha is a Sanskrit word: a-niruddha, ‘unobstructed, ungovernable, self-willed’ – a good name, one

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20 ibid., p. 510.
22 N. K. Bhattachali, Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum (Dacca, 1929), p. 11.
28 I.B., Pl. I 91a, 94 a4; II 160 a4.
29 Pl. 6 a, b.
might think, for an imperious monarch. Pali *Anuruddha*, ‘compliant’, past participle of *anu-rujjhati*, ‘to conform oneself to’, is quite a different word in origin, and (applied to kings) almost opposite in meaning, the one ‘despotic’, the other ‘democratic’. *Anuruddha*, of course, was the name of the great and amiable *thera*, first cousin of Gotama Buddha. Malalasekera says that in Mahāyānist books his name appears as *Aniruddha*. So the confusion goes back to early Buddhist times.

In Old Burmese the name *cakkrawati* *Anuradha* first occurs under date 569 s./1207 A.D. About the same time ‘Prince *Anuruddha*’ appears in the 13th-century *Cūḷavamsa* of Ceylon. U Pe Maung Tin suggests to me a possible reason for the change. In Pali, *niruddha*, ‘suppression’, is often equivalent to *nirvāṇa*. *A-niruddha* would imply the opposite — a name improper, therefore, for such a champion of Buddhism. But since he almost always wrote his name thus, it is best to follow his normal spelling.

**HIS VOTIVE TABLETS**

The only original inscriptions of Aniruddha are pious Buddhist sentences or prayers, signed by himself, on terracotta votive tablets showing Buddhas or Bodhisattvas. Already dozens of these ‘Seals of Anoratha’ have been recovered, in many parts of Burma; and many more will be found when we start to dig systematically. These tablets have at least 5 distinct aspects of interest:—

(i) the details of the Buddhist scene shown on the obverse;
(ii) the script of the various writings or stamps;
(iii) the language of the writings or stamps;
(iv) their content or meaning;
(v) the places where the tablets are found.

The size and shape of the tablet, and its artistic quality, may also, of course, be important.

The practice of stamping such tablets in Burma, goes back to early Pyu times at Śrī Kṣetra (7th century A.D.). At Tagaung, Rangoon, Pegu, Thaton, etc., old and distinctive specimens are found, and also in Dvāravatī. Nearly all the Burma tablets are arranged symmetrically, with a central Buddha, Bodhisattva or Tārā. Those of Śrī Kṣetra show great variety in the Buddha image. It may be seated or standing, in various *āsanas* and *mudrās*. Even in the Earth-touching attitude (*bhūmis-parśa mudrā*) there is variety: right hand or left may be touching Earth, over shin, knee or thigh; the other hand may or may not hold the almsbowl; the legs may be in *padmāsana*, both soles showing, or (more usually) right leg on left.

Aniruddha’s example, it seems, has put an end to most of this variety, right down to the present day. He always shows the Buddha touching Earth, always with the right hand falling straight over the shin below the knee, and the left hand empty in the lap. The physical type, too, is generally distinctive (see Pl. 6 c, d): the face strong and square, the *uṣṇīṣa* large and conical, the shoulders

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31 I.B., Pl. II 160 a1. The final date of this inscription is 609 s./1247 A.D. Later inscriptive spellings are *Anorathā* (IV 429); *Anuradha* (V 539 a2); *Anuradhā* (*List* 23); *Anorathā* (*List* 46); *Norathā* (*List* 50 a1); *Anoradhā* (*List* 346 a13); etc. Note that Burmese always drops the -u- in the third syllable: as if a further confusion had occurred with the name of the 17th Nakatra, *Anurādhā*, or that of the ancient Singhalese capital, *Anorādha*.
33 Pls. 4 to 14, 22, 54.
34 Such a beautiful asymmetrical tablet as the one from Rājapuri on the left of Plate III in Coedès’ article, “Siamese Votive Tablets” (*J. Siam Society*, Vol. XX, Part I, 1926), would be hard to parallel in Burma.
rounded, torso and arms long, arms falling steeply, torso tapering to the waist, fingers long and fine; legs locked in padmāsana. He sits on a beaded mat (cammakhaṇḍa), with double lotus below it; below that, if space permits, there may be a recessed pedestal or throne. There is always a nimbus, sometimes an umbrella; never the old-fashioned wooden reredos, with makara on vyāla on elephant-head; instead, a trefoil pillared arch, with or without receding roofs and śikhara-stupa; there are always dangling peepal leaves and streamers. At sides or top there are normally stupas, varying in size and number, always symmetrically placed. A gentler, finer type is found in the stupa close to Temple No. 441, near the Seinnyet (Pl. 6a, b). Here the chin is pointed and the face oval. And there are other differences. Stupas at the sides and top are missing. Receding wooden roofs are more prominent. There is a hint of Nāga-hoods at the sides. The two lines of square Nāgari stamped in high relief below—Aniruddha’s endorsement of the Buddhist Credo—are exceptionally fine. And Aniruddha spells his name Aniruddha.—Perhaps this is a Mon design, from Rāmaṇādesa rather than Bengal. Beautiful it certainly is; but it is unique. The stronger, simpler ‘Aniruddha type’ triumphed. Aniruddha’s simplest tablets are also his largest: 2 ft. 7 in. by 1 ft. 6 in. broad, probably the largest in Burma. They lined the two octagonal terraces of ‘Maung Di’ pagoda, Khabin, a dozen miles west of Rangoon.

LOKANĀTHA TABLETS

At the neighbouring site of Kanbè, and also at Pagán Shwé-gu-gyi, and at Kanthit north of Pakkókkhu, have been found ‘seals’ of Aniruddha which show, instead of the Buddha, the Bodhisattva Lokanātha, seated like a king in lalitaśana, one leg hanging, right hand open on knee in varadamudrā, left arm twined with a stem of lotus. His ‘dhyāni Buddha’, Amitābha, is faintly seen in his headdress. Yet another type of Lokanātha, though not signed by Aniruddha, is found with Buddha tablets signed by him in the relic-chamber of his Pagoda 441 near the Seinnyet, Pagán. And duplicates of this are also found in Minbu, the ‘Six kharuń’.

It is probably quite wrong to regard Aniruddha as a Theravādin. He had as yet no access to the sea, and little contact, it seems, with the half-Buddhist Mons of Rāmaṇādesa. He doubtless had contacts with North Arakan, via the ‘Six kharuń’ and the An Pass, beyond which the pioneers of the Mraṁā were steadily pushing their advance. Perhaps the Chronicles are right in saying that one of his queens was a princess of Vesāli, though the old Candrā capital in Arakan is more likely than the Lacchāvi capital in India. And there is ample evidence to prove that he and his successors had close relations, religious, cultural, and matrimonial, with Patikkarā (west of Comilla) in East Bengal. There Mahāyānism, Tāntrism, and various forms of Brahmanism flourished. Lokanātha, ‘Lord of the World’, supposed to dominate it between the death of Gotama and the coming of Maitreyya, was the most popular Bodhisattva in Bengal. Aniruddha’s Lokanātha tablets are much the same as his tablets of Gotama, except that the gloss usually begins eso Lokanātho instead of eso Bhagavā. Lokanāthas,

35 Pls. 4, 5.
36 Pl. 75.
37 Pl. 54 a, b.
38 Pl. 7 a, b. The new Pagán Shwé-gu-gyi fragment, with green glaze, is at Pagán Archaeological Office. Here, instead of eso Lokanātho, Aniruddha writes eso Bhagavā.
39 Pl. 54 c, d.
40 G. P. C. (transl.), p. 65.
41 See R. D. Banerji, Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture (Delhi, 1933), p. 87ff., and many plates (see his index).
seated or standing, usually balancing Maitreyas, are not uncommon in Pagan art, both bronzes and paintings.

Apart from single figures, tablets signed by Aniruddha are of four types:

(i) 5 figures. These come from various sites around Pagan. The usual Earth-touching Buddha sits enthroned in the centre. Almost as large, Lokanatha and Maitreya sit on his right and left in lalitasana. Two small Earth-touching Buddhas sit above them.

(ii) 10 figures. These are found at Pagan, at Chantha village northwest of Shwebo, and at Nwatelle deserted village in the far north of Mong Mit state, at the top of the Shwebi bend. This last site, 15 miles from Katha, is the northernmost point as yet where tablets of Aniruddha have been found. They show 10 Earth-touching Buddhas, the large central one enthroned in the Bodhgaya temple, with four small ones in two tiers beside him, and a row of five below.

(iii) 31 figures. These are found around Pagan, at Hsaxeikhe, Meiktila district, and at Paunglin, Minbu district. The usual large Earth-touching Buddha sits in the centre, with small figures of Lokanatha and Maitreya sitting in lalitasana on his right and left. Around them in 5 rows sit the 28 previous Buddhas, all touching earth.

(iv) 50 figures. Found at Pagan Shwe-hsan-daw, at Minbu (?Paunglin), and inside the Bawbawgyi stupa at Sri Ksetra. All are Earth-touching Buddhas, all of one size, seated in 6 rows with small stupas between their heads.

Bronze, stone and terracotta moulds for tablets have been found, both at Sri Ksetra and Pagan; so the old controversy, whether these tablets were made in India or in Burma, need not detain us.

The practice of moulding votive tablets, says Coedes, "goes back to the very earliest times of Buddhism," and "appears to be exclusively Buddhist... Such imprints have been found on practically every Buddhist site from the North-West Provinces of India and the Chinese province of..."
Ho-nan, to the caves of the Malay Peninsula and the shores of Annam.” Of our tablets in Burma, North India was clearly the original source, Pāla Bengal, Nālandā and Bodhgayā the distributing centres. The writing was originally Sanskrit, and the script Nāgarī, usually stamped in high relief on the obverse, often in minute characters easily rubbed off. The normal gloss was the so-called Buddhist Credo, summed up in a Sanskrit stanza:—

ye dharma hetuprabhadā hetum teṣām tathāgato
gya avada teṣām ca yo nirodho evamvādi mahāśranaṇaḥ

or in Pali (Mahāvagga I, 23, 5):—

ye dhammā hetuppabhadā teṣām hetum tathāgato āha
tesaṇ ca yo nirodho evamvādi mahāsamaṇo ti

“The things which arise from a cause, of these the Tathāgata has stated the cause. Of these also there is a means of suppression. Such is the teaching of the great Ascetic.”

Coedès comments⁵¹:—“The extraordinary conciseness of this stanza, that gives in four verses the quintessence of the teaching of the Master, might alone be considered sufficient justification for its choice and explanation of its popularity. But there is more in it than that. According to the tradition preserved in the most ancient writings, it was by means of this stanza that the Buddha secured the adherence of the two disciples Sāriputta and Moggallāna, afterwards revered in the circles of the Brotherhood as second only to the Master himself. A formula which had so speedily convinced the two most notable followers of the Master, must rapidly have acquired in the eyes of the ancient Buddhists a sort of magic virtue, and may well have seemed to them a quite irresistible charm for the conversion to the Faith of any who had not yet heard it.”

We may conclude that Aniruddha’s main purpose in scattering his plaques all over Burma, was a missionary one: he wished to convert all Burma to a living faith in Buddhism. So far as the plains of Burma are concerned, he certainly paved the way for this. No small feat, when one remembers that his own people had not yet emerged from Nat-worship and animal sacrifice; that Snake-worship was still powerful in the north; and that in the Mon country Buddhism had only recently triumphed over a hostile Brahmanism⁵². He built, of course, on old Buddhist foundations, Śrī Kṣetra and Halin, with Dvāravatī, Ligur (Nagarā Śrī Dharmarāja), and half the Burma Mons, at least, on his side. But early in the century, the Buddhist kingdom of Dvāravatī, as we have seen, had been occupied by the largely Śaivite Khmers.

Full descriptions and notes on Aniruddha’s ‘Seals’ as known to us at present, are given in the Catalogue of Plates and the section on Iconography.

THE KING’S CAMPAIGNS

We come now to the details of the king’s gests. Here we must often depend on secondary sources, and late Chronicles, Mon, Burmese, Pali and Thai, which at first seem hopelessly confused. All are agreed that he was a champion of Buddhism, whose main purpose was to secure copies of the Tipiṭaka

⁵¹ ibid., pp. 5–6. See also Coedès’ note at Artibus Asiae, Vol. XXII, 1/2, pp. 13–14.
⁵² See G. E. Harvey, History of Burma, pp. 5–9. R. Halliday, The Talains (Rangoon, 1917), pp. 6–9. For old Brahmanic stone-reliefs found at Thaton, see R. C. Temple, Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXII, 1892, Pls. XIII a (Śiva and Pārvati), XIV and XIV a (Viṣṇu Anantaśayin). In Kawgun Cave there is yet another relief illustrating the Sleep of Viṣṇu, and others at Śrī Kṣetra and the Nat-hlaung-ngaung, Pagān.
and Relics of the Buddha. He goes seeking them, now at Thatôn, now in Ceylon, now at Angkor, now at the Nan-chao capital, presumably Ta-li. He receives an insolent rebuff, now at Thatôn, now at Angkor, now at the Nan-chao capital. His general Kyanzittha in one case, the king himself in another, performs feats of ‘gymnastics’, “piercing the Cambojans”\(^{33}\): the scene is now Pegu, now Angkor. Each has magic horses that can fly so fast as to give the impression of an army. Each cow his opponent with the spectre of streaks of betel-blood. The opponent in one case is the Khmer monarch, in the other that of Nan-chao. Scene, hero and villain are alike lost in folktales, and history, it seems, finally submerged in myth.

To thread this maze is not, perhaps, so hopeless as it seems. External sources often come to one’s assistance. But I cannot deny that one has often to depend on probability:

- O False and treacherous Probability,
- Enemy of Truth, and friend to wickednesse;
- With whose bleare eyes Opinion learnes to see,
- Truth’s feeble party here, and barrennesse!

as Fulke Greville frighteningly called it.

**Śrī Kṣetra**

Aniruddha began, as we have seen, with distant overland contacts mainly with the west and north-west, Arakan and East Bengal, which, if Buddhist, were Mahāyānist and Tāntric. Failing to get the basic texts he needed, he turned to the south, where he heard that Thatôn had them. On his way coastward from *Prañławā hkwān*, he must first encounter Prome and Śrī Kṣetra.

“He marched to Śrī Kṣetra by land and water with a great company of elephants and horses, and destroyed the *ceziya* built by king Dwatatabaung. And he took the frontlet-relic… He destroyed the city of Śrī Kṣetra, fearing lest rebels should occupy it in time to come.” (G.P.C. transl., pp. 86–87). A strange act for a champion of Buddhism, but not likely to be quite untrue. “Destroyed” is certainly too strong a word. The city was not destroyed. I guess that the Pyu/Karens\(^{34}\) then living at the old capital (still called *Prañ*, ‘the capital’, though now moved four miles west to the Prome riverbank), put up some show of resistance to the invader; and that Aniruddha, anxious to safeguard his rear, and also to transfer to his new capital the religious virtue still attaching to the old one, opened a hole at the base of the Bawbaw-gyi pagoda (one can still enter by it today), and removed the Relic to Pagán, leaving as receipt his own signed votive tablets of the 50 Buddhas, which General de Beylié found there in 1907, and Maung Po Cho in 1911.\(^{35}\)

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\(^{33}\) Burmese *hrwam:thui*; lit. ‘to pierce the Cambojans’, has now come to mean ‘to turn somersaults’.

\(^{34}\) The *Cakraw* of Old Burmese we identify provisionally with the Sgaw Karens. They appear to have been the chief agents in the break-up, during the 8th century, of the Pyu kingdom of Śrī Kṣetra. They settled, not only in Mrauk, but also on “Cakraw island to the west of Prome.” – See J.B.R.S. Vol. XLII, Part I, June 1959, pp. 86–87.

\(^{35}\) General de Beylié, accompanied by Taw Sein Ko, was the first excavator at Śrī Kṣetra. Among his discoveries in 1907, Taw Sein Ko mentions (A.S.I. 1908, pp. 41–42) “a broken piece of a votive tablet containing 17 effigies of the Buddha with a Sanskrit legend, found, with many others, among the debris in the core of the Bawbaw-gyi Pagoda”. It was broken at both ends. Venkayya read it:— ... *am-anirudhadevana ha* (a) ... A different fragment was found later at the same pagoda by the Sub-OVERSEER, Maung Po Cho (see A.S.B. 1912, p. 13; A.S.I. 1912, p. 144 and P. LXVIII, fig. 2). This one Venkayya read doubtfully: *Macchakadānapati Viṣṇhavāja śrī ...* The illustration shows the bottom left corner of a tablet, with about 12 (+) Earth-touching Buddhas, all of one size, with small stupas between their heads. It is clearly one of Aniruddha’s 50-Buddha tablets. Very likely de Beylié’s fragment was of the same type. The full reading should probably be:— *om sañcaka-dānapati mahārāja śrī aniruddhadevana hato bhagavo, “This Blessed One was made by the great king, Śrī Aniruddhadeva, donor of the mould.”*
KHĀBIN

He was now halfway to the coast. He pursued his march south another 170 miles to Khābin (Old Burm. Krapaṭ)⁵⁶. This old moated city, 12 miles west of Rangoon, preceded Twanté (Tala) as the capital of this coastal region, west of the Hlaing (Old Burm. Lhuin) or Rangoon river. Here he built the large pagoda (Pl. 79 b) which the local people still insist on attributing to the fisherman Maung Di, who married, after long-drawn-out reluctance, the princess who pursued him. The two octagonal terraces of this pagoda are lined with the largest of Aniruddha’s tablets (Pls. 4, 5) over 2½ feet high by 1½ feet broad, all signed by the king on the front rim in Pali, Mon script. Duroiselle was the first scholar to read these faint inscriptions⁶⁷.

This region was famous for its pottery⁶⁸. At Twanté, 7 miles to the west, a fine earthenware pot with recessed conical lid was excavated in 1920⁶⁹. Below the neck is a row of fig-leaves stencilled. A similar pot, lidless, with the same stencilled fig-leaf pattern, was found by U Mya at Pagán in the relic-chamber of the encased stupa near the Seinnyet pagodas⁷⁰. It was covered with votive tablets bearing the seal of Aniruddha, including a Lokanātha tablet. It appears that Aniruddha built this pagoda, and placed in the heart of it one of these fine pots brought from Khābin/Twanté⁷¹.

LOWER BURMA

At Khābin Aniruddha was close to the chief port of Lower Burma, Henbuuiw⁷² or Yhanpuuiw saṭhauberchḥ⁷³, approximately Rangoon on the river Hlaing, the eastern mouth of the Irawady. The population hereabouts was mixed—Indian traders, originally from Orissa, and native Mons. The whole watershed between the Hlaing and the Sittaung was known as Ussā, Ussī = Oḍrādeśa, ‘land

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⁵⁸ Very likely it was the Kalaṣapura (‘City of pots’) of Somadeva’s Kāthāsaraitsāgara (see Tawney’s transl., Vol. I, p. 530); the Chia-lo-shē which sent an embassy to the Sui court in 608 a.d.; and the Chiio-lo-shē-fu, Ko-lo-shē-fen, etc. of the T’ang Histories, placed north or west of Dvāravatī. See J.B. R.S. Vol. XIV, Part II (Aug. 1924), pp. 179–185 (50th Anniv. Publ. No. 2, pp. 280–6).


⁶¹ Note, incidentally, that when the Pagán court fled south to Tala (Twanté) before the advance of the Mongols, Queen Acau ordered “the Cakya potters of Tala circle” to supply pots: see J.B. Pl. III 275–4² (653 s./1291 a.d.), Minthanu, Sawalhuw pagoda.

⁶² Henbuuiw is the best reading in Rājākumār’s inscription (c. 1113 a.d.). See J.B. Pl. IV 364 a⁴¹ (Burm. face). At b³⁴ it looks more like Tenbuuiw. The Pyu face (Pl. IV 365 a⁴⁰–⁴¹, b⁵) had Jo⁵ vī. The Mon face, if not corrupt, may have had a different word, perhaps Nāh-h gir-nu (Pl. IV, 365 a³⁸, b⁵). At Pl. II 1114 Yhanpuwiw Mani are mentioned together (482 s./1122 a.d.). At Pl. II 164 a⁴⁰ (620 s./1258–9 a.d.) a “Yhanpuwiw garden” is mentioned.

⁶³ “Yhanpuwiw-port (sahphauberchḥ), Kanuuiw pa-uiti garden”—J.B., Pl. I 76² (584 s./1223 a.d.). saṭhauber means ship, a word still used in modern Burmese; it comes from Old Malay samāvau. See lines 2 and 6 of Kédukan Bukit inscription, 605 M.S./683 a.d. (Coedès, BEFEEO t. XXX, 1930, pp. 36–37). At J.B., Pl. I 63 a⁴⁰–¹¹(560 s./1198 a.d.) we read: “3000 ḷ of ricefield at Krapaṭ, 600 at Yhanpuwiw. The village-name is Cacsāro ṭh. And 40 Yhanpuwiw slaves.” Yhanpuwiw is also mentioned at Pl. II 216 a⁸ (628 s./1166 a.d.), with Krapaṭ and Payhā (Pégou) in the same line. At Pl. III 289 a⁶ (640 s./1278 a.d.), after Praḥ Carawan ricefields (Prome Zalun ?) comes “1000 ḷ of . . . Kalyak land at Yhanpuwiw.”
of the Orissans\textsuperscript{64}. The Mraňma, coming from the north, appear to have called this mixed population indiscriminately "Tanluin"\textsuperscript{65} (Talaing), i.e. Telinga/Kalinga, East Indians. When they got to know the literate and cultured Indians, they learnt to call them kulā\textsuperscript{66}, for kula\textsuperscript{aputra}, "men of caste or family", and transferred the vulgar term Tanluin, quite wrongly, to the Mons. Rāmaṇṇadesa, 'country of the Mons' (Old Mon Rmeñ\textsuperscript{67}), doubtless included Pegu (Paykū)\textsuperscript{68} at the head of the Gulf of Martaban, 54 miles north-northeast of Rangoon; but the purer Mon region began after the crossing east of the mouth of the Sittaung. Here was the ancient Suvayñabhūmi, 'land of gold', around Mt. Kelāsa, the 1100 ft. 'Gibraltar' rock on the seashore 30 miles north of Thatôn, where Àsoka's missionaries, whose main centre was Sumatra. The local Mons and Indians called them Rakṣa, "cannibal monsters"; and doubtless they enlisted many of the aborigines, Semang Negritos and Australoid Besis, to join in their sea-raids. The coastline, from Twanté east- and south-wards, is still dotted with forts\textsuperscript{69}, built near the mouths of rivers against Rakṣa attack. The old name for Thatôn was Rakṣāpurā\textsuperscript{71}. The Malayans proper were certainly not savages: they were highly expert in metalwork\textsuperscript{72}, and supreme in shipping\textsuperscript{72}. Few were Buddhists. Not very long before the time of Aniruddha (for the name Rakṣāpurā was still remembered) they had been expelled from Thatôn, where, after a spell of Brahmanism\textsuperscript{74}, Buddhism triumphed, and the city was renamed Sudhamma (= Thatôn), 'City of the Good Law'. Perhaps from Kāñçipura near Madras, they received some texts of the Tīpīṭaka, at any rate an old recension of the Jātaka with its commentary (āṭṭhakathā)\textsuperscript{75}. This became immensely popular, stimulating the local arts\textsuperscript{76}. Its fame, we may be sure, reached the ears of Aniruddha.

**CAMBOJAN INVASION OF PEGU**

But I think his first contacts were with Pegu rather than Thatôn, sparked by a sudden invasion of the Cambojans (Old Mon Krom, Old Burm. Krwañ)\textsuperscript{77}. For this, one turns to the history of Camboja

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\textsuperscript{64} At I.B., Pl. II 216\textsuperscript{31}, Ussī comes next to Payku (Pegu). Cf. List 46 a\textsuperscript{2} Ussa Paihā; List 49\textsuperscript{5} "the Tanluin country called Ussāla"; List 963 a\textsuperscript{3} Ussā Paiku (803 s./1442 A.D.). G.P.C. p. 92.


\textsuperscript{66} Kulā. ibid., pp. 301–2 (reprint, pp. 70–74).

\textsuperscript{67} Rmeñ. ibid., pp. 298–9 (reprint, pp. 62–67).


\textsuperscript{69} See Dīpuvarāsa VIII 12, Mahāvamsa XII 6, 44–54.

\textsuperscript{70} e.g. Muthin, at the mouth of Bilin River.

\textsuperscript{71} See I.B., Pl. IV 358\textsuperscript{9}, 359\textsuperscript{9} (upper inscr.), 38 (lower inscr.). Date c. 1050 A.D.

\textsuperscript{72} They gave many of the peoples of South-east Asia their words for metals: Gold (Malay īmas), Silver (ṭeraḥ), and Iron (bōśi).

\textsuperscript{73} They colonized Madagascar to the west, and ranged far over the Pacific to the east: see also n. 63 suprā.

\textsuperscript{74} See n. 52 suprā.

\textsuperscript{75} The Singhalese recension includes only 547 Jātakas. Aniruddha, by his capture of Thatôn, appears to have obtained a non-Sinhalese recension (query: from South India, Kāñcipurā ?), with the full 550.

\textsuperscript{76} The Mahānīpīdā Jātaka was illustrated in stone at the Kalyāṇi Simā, Thatôn; in terracotta plaques at the Thagyō Paya, Thatôn; in words in the Shwēzayan paṇḍita inscription of king Makuta (I.B., Pl. IV 359, lower inscription).

(Angkor) and Old Siam. Suryavarman I, one of the great kings of Camboja, reigned from 1002–50 A.D. Perhaps he was of Malay origin, son of the king of Ligor. It took him 9 years of fighting before he was enthroned king at Angkor, about 1010 A.D. His reign saw a big expansion of Khmer power in the Menam basin. Dvavratī had founded a Mon Buddhist colony in the hills of North Siam, Haripūñjaya (Lamphun); but mother and colony had quarrelled and gone to war; and this gave the opportunity to the king of Ligor (Suryavarman’s father?) to make himself master of Lower Siam, i.e. Dvavrati. From near the beginning of the century the Khmers were masters of Lopburi. They may even have made a temporary conquest of North Siam; but in the end Haripūñjaya maintained its independence. Suryavarman died early in 1050, and his son and successor, who reigned for 16 years, had to face a series of revolts. It seems probable that the Khmer attempt to invade Pegu took place early in the reign of Aniruddha, perhaps soon after the death of Suryavarman.

M. Coedès has given, in Pali text and French translation, large extracts from two early Chronicles of North Siam. The older and more garrulous text is the Cāmādevīvamṣa of Bodhiramśi (early 15th century). The more valuable text is the Jinakhālāmālinī of Ratanapāñha (1516 A.D. ?). The tales they tell are often monkish, legendary and amusing, like our Burmese Chronicles, but with many odd variations. The early dates, like ours, are unreliable. Haripūñjaya, the Mon colony, “Heap of Greens”, had been founded by Cāmādevi, about the 8th century, in the hills some 17 miles south of the later Thai city of Chieng Mai. The Chronicles relate that during the reign of Kamala- or Kambalarāja, cholera desolated the country for six years. The whole surviving population fled to Sudhammanagarama [Thaton]. But the king of Pukama or Punyakama [Pagan], instead of pitying them, harassed them and sought to occupy Sudhammanagarama. So the refugees fled to Hansavuti [Pegu]. Here the king pitied, fed and clothed them; “and as their speech was identical, without the smallest difference,” they soon learnt to trust each other. After six years, when the epidemic ceased, some of the refugees returned to Haripūñjaya, but many remained at Pegu; and friendly relations continued between the two cities. – This fact is confirmed by the finding of 7 Mon inscriptions at Lamphun, dating from the first half of the 13th century, written in a beautiful script very similar to that of Kyanzittha’s inscriptions a century earlier.

The Glass Palace Chronicle, without giving a date, separates widely the offensive war against Thaton (p. 78), and the defensive war against the Kravat at Pegu (p. 92). The North Siam Chronicles combine them, and so does the ‘New Chronicle’ of Tvinthintaikun, who places the Pegu fighting “in the year when Thaton was destroyed”. Certain late Burmese inscriptions or ‘copies’ place the date rather earlier than do the Kalyani inscriptions. The Ywalin Mahapeinné Copy says that in 416 s./1054 A.D., Aniruddha “conveyed the sacred Hair from Thaton and enshrined it.” And the Pin

79 The Jinakhālāmālinī has recently been edited for the Pali Text Society by A. P. Buddhadatta Mahāthera (Luxor, 1962). In 1958 a Siamese translation, using new materials, Jinakhālāmālinī paharaya, was made by Dr. Manavīdhān, and published by the Fine Arts Department of the Thai Government. For a comparison of both, see J. Siam Society I, I, July 1962, pp. 54–62.
80 BEFEO t. XXV, p. 80 (Jinakhālāmālinī); pp. 160–1 (Cāmādevīvamṣa).
81 Three of the Lamphun Mon inscriptions were first edited by Coedès (BEFEO t. XXV, pp. 189–195); then all by R. Halliday, “Les Inscriptions Mon du Siam” (BEFEO t. XXX, 1930, Nos. 1–2).
83 List 16 (B. II 528). The Copy is now in the collection at Mahāmuni pagoda, Mandalay.
Sekkalamap Copy says that in 418 s./1056 A.D. “...Norathã, returning from war with the Gywam soldiers, built a temple...” The Mon History of Thatôn places the Krom invasion even earlier than the capture of Thatôn, indeed 8 years before Aniruddha’s accession. But since Talankesã (Kyanzittha) and his paladins are still the heroes in the battle, this date is not easy to admit.

For the capture of Thatôn, the clearest statement comes in the Pali/Mon Kalyañi inscriptions of Pegu (1479 A.D.). These state that after the theras Soñap and Uttara had founded the Buddhist religion in Ramaññadesa, it flourished for a long time:

“In course of time, however, its power declined, because civil dissensions arose and the extensive country was broken up into separate principalities, and because the people suffered from famine and pestilence, and because, to the detriment of the propagation of the excellent Religion, the country was conquered by the armies of the Seven Kings... During the reign of Suriyakumara, who bore the name of Manohar [Pali text: Manohari], ruling the city of Sudhuv [Thatôn], the power of the kingdom became very weak... In 1601 A.B., 419 sakkaraj [1057 A.D.], king Anuruddha, the lord of Armaddanapura [Pagán], took a community of monks together with the Tipïtaka, and established the religion in Pukãm [Pali Pugãma].”

PŠÃ KROM

There is no mention of the fighting at Pegu. Elsewhere, however, there is frequent reference in these inscriptions to a Cambojan market and a Cambojan monastery (which gave its name to a special sect), somewhere on the west bank of the Hlaing or Rangoon river near its mouth. It was situated, say the inscriptions,

“near the Gapuín river-mouth in Lakkhiyapura province, called the Bahãsa because of its teeming with fish, which served as food for paddy-birds. Near the monastery was a market, and not very far from the latter was a settlement where a great number of Krom prisoners of war were located.

On account of this fact, the market was called the Cambojan bazaar (pštã Krom).”

It seems likely that this settlement dated from the time of Kyanzittha’s victory over the Krom who attacked Pegu. It was still a living memory in those parts four hundred years later. If the Khmer raid took place while Aniruddha was at Khãbin, building his large pagoda, one understands why his help was invoked (Pegu was only 70 miles away), and Kyanzittha hastily despatched to the rescue. One sees a reason, too, for placing the prisoners-of-war camp south of Khãbin, near the sea. The lives of the Khmers had been spared; and ere long they would serve as a help rather than a liability.

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84 List 18 (B. II 627). Copy now at the Mahãmuni, Mandalay.
87 Lakkhiyapura. Modern Let-hkaik, an old site halfway down the ridge running south from Khãbin to Kungyangon. There is still an old pagoda, fragments of a Middle Mon inscription, and a bell with inscription in later Mon. In the Mon version of the Pegu Kalyañi inscriptions, the name has been read Yat-hhret (see Face K, line 3); but the reading is not certain. In Old Burmese it was Lakhriit or Lakhriit; see I.B., Pl. I 916, 926 (553 s./1191 A.D.); Pl. IV 373 b10 (595 s./1233 A.D.). For ‘Gapuín’, could one read ‘Lhuin’ (Hlaing)?
Chapter II

MAKUTA’S INSCRIPTIONS

Apart from Aniruddha’s ‘Seals’, the best, and almost the only contemporary records come from Thatôn, especially the two Mon/Pali inscriptions of King Maktu a now at Shwézayan pagoda88. Rainfall here is over 200 inches a year. The inscriptions, often illegible, sometimes couched in poetry, are nowhere easy to read: that is why they have not yet been edited. Neither has a legible date; but internal evidence suggests that they must precede, and very shortly precede, Aniruddha’s capture of the city. They also make it possible, if not probable, that the king’s name Ma’kuta (or Mukuta), misread, has become the Manuho, Manohor, Manohari (a woman’s name!), Manuhâ, etc., of later records89. In Old Mon inscriptions and the oldest of Old Burmese, the sign of the vowel -u was often hung from the middle stroke of k-, and not (as always since) from the stroke on the right. It seems that this archaic ku- was misread no-, and king Maktu a, “Crown of Kings”, became a meaningless Manuha, with its subsequent corruptions.

Our two inscriptions may be distinguished as the trâp and the panâit inscriptions. Each begins with 3 faint lines in Pali. Then comes the name of the city: “In the beginning, in the city called Rak-\ṣa\pura, ‘city of the Demons’, i.e. the Malayan Vikings of the South. Each inscription continues with the names and titles of the king. These are fragmentary; but as they occur six times altogether90, there is little doubt about the reading: - Ma’kuta (or Mukuta) rájänâma rájâdhrâja “the king of kings named king Maktu a”; paramesvara “the highest lord” (a common title of Siva); isvarâja “lord and king”; abheymahârajâ “the fearless monarch”; devâtideva “god of gods”; bahuńaságara\gambhirâ “deep Ocean of vast knowledge”; srī nityadharmadāhara “fortunate possessor of the principle of permanence”; dhanesvara “lord of wealth”; sakalatâmbâvisaya treyloka\varmanma “armour of the three worlds” (of men, devas and brahmâs), (including) all the regions of copper (tamba)

The late lamented Pierre Dupont justly remarked91 that sakalatâmbâvisaya fits in rather awkwardly with the following, final title treyloka\varmanma. – I see no other way of translating the passage: but I welcome his suggestion that there is covert allusion to Tamba\dipa, kingdom of the Mranmâ. This justifies the awkwardness. There is a sting in the tail. Maktu a claims to be Protector, i.e. Overlord, of this little upstart kingdom of his enemy Aniruddha, as well as Lord of the Universe.

The trâp inscription is made conspicuous by a relief-carving at the top, illustrating at once the First Sermon at Sârâh and the Twin Miracle at Sâvatthi92. The upper half of this stone, its left side especially, is rarely legible. In line 23 of the main section the words lwa’ krom ja’ha are legible at the end of the line, but the context is obscure. Lwa’ is the tribal term Lawa or Wa, present in the name of the city, Lava\pura (Lávo, Lopburi). Krom is the Mon word, the western word for Cambojan (Old Burm. Krva\m; Thai Khôm). Ja’ha might be the Môan Javâ of Râma Gâmhêni’s inscription (1292 A.D.), i.e.

88 I.B., Pl. IV 358 (trâp) and 359 (panâit). The king’s name is clearest at Pl. 3588 (6th line from the end) – Ma’kuta; and Pl. 3598 (main section) Mukuta.
89 The late Pierre Dupont (L’Archéologie Mône de Dothravatt (Paris, 1959), Text, pp. 8–9), without denying this assumption, raised some difficulties, based on modern texts. It would be best to go back to the earliest known sources of the misreading (as I take it to be): viz. (i) the Pegu Kâlyâni inscriptions (1479 A.D.) – Mon face Manohor, Pali face Manokari (see Epig. Birm. III, Part II, Face A, line 18, pp. 91 and 187, n. 13). (ii) the Jainâlamâiti (1516 A.D.) – Manohâra (BEFO E. XXV, pp. 60–61, 123–4). (iii) List 346 a, A.7, Mandalay Palace Shed, Stone 9, North face, line 4 – Manuhô. Though dated 429 s./1068 A.D., this Burmese inscription in coarse late cursive can hardly be older than the 16th century A.D.
91 Dupont, op. cit., p. 9.
92 See the photograph at A.S.I. 1930–34, Part II, Pl. CXII b.
Chapter II

Luang Phra Bang\textsuperscript{83}. The last 10 to 15 lines of this inscription are difficult but mostly legible. They seem to be couched in verse, alternate syllables often rhyming. The general sense seems to be that in the slothful time of peace the king would urge his people (?) to do works of merit, and give gifts of land to the Saṁgha. But in the concourse of war he would knap the spear-blade of the turbulent enemy, and gloriously shoot...capture, daze and overturn him. He would fortify the city (?) with spears and shields, encircling it with a great moat as a place of refuge all around...with walls, battlements, glacis and beacon-fires, signalling to all the world to strive hard and harken to the orders of the king. – I cannot claim that this is an accurate translation; but I think it means something of the sort.

The main \textit{pandit} inscription begins with a fairly clear passage of 15 lines: the king's titles (given four times on this stone); then a list in Pali verse of the 28 Buddhas. It passes into Mon, extolling Gotama Buddha, and again becomes almost illegible. The lower section contains a short summary in Mon of the ten great Jātakas (\textit{Mahānīpāla}).

Both inscriptions end similarly, repeating the king’s titles, and saying that his people went into his presence and repeatedly saluted him, by popular vote to the sound of drums, frog-drums, and acclamations, as \textit{trāp} “lord!” in the one case, as \textit{pandit} “wise man!” in the other. – To me, he does not sound quite like a hereditary sovereign. Was he not just a war-lord, popularly elected to meet a sudden threat of war?

\textbf{Caputre of Thatōn}

Thatōn, says Professor Daw Thin Kyi\textsuperscript{84}, was “built with the Martaban Range flanking it on its eastern side, facing the sea on the west... Even today, there can be seen, besides the double walls of the city, an inner and an outer defence-line, with a fortress in between the northern wall and the outer one, built when invasion threatened from the north. But these defences did not save Thatōn... Its north-south length within the walls is 6,700 feet, and east-west length 4,300 feet. It covers an area of 1.2 square miles.” Local tradition has it that the northern defences held; but that Kyanzittha, Aniruddha's general (magic of course assisting)\textsuperscript{85}, entered by the gap through the hills to the south, and a crawl through the city-drain. Makuta's palace-site is still visible in the centre; and old stupas such as the Thagya Paya, which has the oldest series of Jātaka-plaques in Burma, illustrating the Mahānīpāla\textsuperscript{86}; also the \textit{Kalyāṇī Sīmā}, with the oldest stone carvings of the same themes, and the base of an Old Mon inscription recording its dedication\textsuperscript{87}.

What provoked the quarrel with Thatōn, it is difficult to say. Three possible sources of trouble are suggested: –

(i) the influx, to Thatōn and Pegu, of Mons from North Siam, fleeing from cholera (North Siam chronicles).


\textsuperscript{84} Professor Daw Thin Kyi, “The Early Capitals of Burma,” \textit{New Burma Weekly} Vol. 4, No. 4 (Saturday 24th January 1950), pp. 145–6. See also the Professor's Plan of Thatōn on the page opposite.

\textsuperscript{85} See \textit{G.P.C.} (transl.), pp. 77–78.


(ii) the Krom invasion of Pegu, presumably from Dvāravatī (Mon and Burmese chronicles).

(iii) Aniruddha’s demand for Buddhist texts, met with a rebuff (North Siam and Burmese chronicles). War and pestilence go together, so (i) and (ii) may well be connected. If I incline to these alternatives rather than to (iii), it is because what we find in the early temples of Pagán, suggests that the only texts Aniruddha could get from Thatôn were Jātaka Commentaries. The great access of Tipiṭaka knowledge is not visible at Pagán until the next two reigns — well after 1070 A.D., when the main texts were finally obtained from Ceylon.

It was not usual for Aniruddha to quarrel with fellow-Buddhists; and Makuṭa’s inscriptions show him to be a Buddhist, though possibly none too orthodox. The title paramēsvara sounds more Śaivite than Buddhist, and sri nityādharmadhara, “fortunate possessor of the principle of permanence”, would shock a pious Theravādin. Had Makuṭa played a double game over the Krom invasion? – We do not know. But the infiltrators, Mon or Khmer, were closer kin to Makuṭa than any Burman could be.

CONQUEST OF TENASSERIM

Mon-Khmer speakers have everywhere been pioneers in wet-rice-cultivation. As a result, they suffered from chronic over-population. They started apparently from Tongking, and spread over all the rice-plains of Further India and East India. Most of the Mons of Burma came originally from Siam. So long as this ceaseless infiltration from Siam continued, Burmese control of Burma as a whole was impossible. The Glass Palace Chronicle gives a long account of Aniruddha’s efforts to stem this flood, and seal his eastern frontier. It names 43 towns built by him “to prevent mixture with the Shan Yuns who dwelt between the Burmese kingdom of Tambadipa and Kamboja kingdom.” – The reference to “Shan Yuns” and “Maw kings of the Shan country of Maw” is an anachronism; the meaning should be Gyun (krwam:) and possibly Karens (Old Burm. karyān).

The list of towns does not go south nearly far enough. None of our sources mentions the conquest of any place south of Thatôn. Yet it is certain that Aniruddha marched south at least as far as Tenasserim, and probable that he went beyond the Isthmus of Kra. Only so could his eastern frontier be effectively sealed. On his campaigns, north and south, he took with him his young scamp of a son, Saw Lu, the Man Lulan of Old Burmese, who later succeeded his father with the title Śrī Bajrābharaṇa, “Fortunate Bearer of the Thunderbolt.” Saw Lu died in 1084 after nearly ruining his father’s life-work. Near Maunglaw, 10 miles south-east of Mergui, there has been discovered the beautiful top of a Pali inscription set up by Śrī Bajrābharaṇa. This proves that Aniruddha’s conquests reached far to the south of Burma. The area then inhabited by Mons extended at least as far as Tavoy (Old Mon Daway), 130 miles north of Mergui. Kyanzittha, Aniruddha’s general who succeeded Saw Lu as king, took care to station reliable governors to guard Tavoy. Two of them have left votive tablets

— The earliest Pagán temple to show knowledge of the Tipiṭaka beyond the Jātaka, is the Pāhthothāmya. I should date this temple not earlier than the latter part of the reign of Saw Lu (d. 1084 A.D.). See Ch. I, p. 9 and n. 33.


— Pl. 15 a. The stone appears to have been one of four discovered in 1906-07 by Grant-Brown, then Deputy Commission of Mergui, who moved it for safety to his own compound in the town (R. Grant-Brown. Burma as I saw it (London, 1929), pp. 141-2). It was first edited by the French scholar and explorer, Lunet de Lajonquière: see Bull. de la Comm. Archéol. de l’Indochine, 1909, p. 237 and fig. 28; ibid., 1910, p. 153. I.B., Pl. V 548a. The stone, later set up in the hall of Rangoon University Library, was blown to bits by the Japanese during the last war.
at Môkti pagoda, 6 miles south of Tavoy, with the prayer that when Kyanzittha becomes a Buddha, they may become Arahants in his train.\footnote{Pl. 20. \textit{A.S.B.} 1924, pp. 38–40, para 41 (Duroiselle).}

A new Seal of Aniruddha has recently, I hear, been found by members of the Burma Historical Commission at Mergui, in Mingyang monastery, Thanbo quarter. It was originally discovered on the slope of a hill overlooking the sea, south-west of the large Légyun-hsimi sîmā and cettī. This is the southernmost point, up to now, where plaques signed by Aniruddha have been found. Except for slight damage at the top, the tablet is in good condition and beautifully made. The measurements are: \(5\frac{1}{2}\) inches broad at the bottom; \(6\frac{1}{2}\) inches high; depth of frame \(1\frac{1}{4}\) inches. The obverse shows 50 Earth-touching Buddhas; and appears to correspond closely with similar tablets shown on Pls. 12 a, b, c of this book, and Pls. 8 and 9 (pp. 13–14) of U Mya’s \textit{Volûte Tablets of Burma}, Part I.

In 1196, a hundred and twenty years after Aniruddha’s death, the Pagán king Cânsū II (Narapatrisithu) states the frontiers of his kingdom:\footnote{I.B., Pl. I 19, lines 6–10 (558 s./1196 A.D.). Stone inscription at Dhammarâjaka pagoda, West Pwazaw, Pagán.}—“to the South, Tavoy, Cāñhat (?)...” Santhut (Thandok, south-east of Mergui), Tanaṁsare (Tenasserm), Takwā (Takua Pa on the Isthmus of Kra), Salaṅkre (? Junk Ceylon), then several names difficult to read, the last ending with nakutw, i.e. nagara. In 1196 Cânsū II was doing no more, I expect, than registering a claim based on former ownership. If so, Aniruddha is the king most likely to have reached so far. He was the first to realize the necessity of sealing the border right down to the Isthmus. It was probably he who made the Pagán Burmans colonize Tenasserim. An Old Burmese inscription dated 1269 A.D. has been found at Thandok, south-east of Mergui\footnote{I.B., Pl. III 225 (631 s./1269 A.D.). According to the \textit{Report on the Phayre Provincial Museum}, Rangoon (1923), the inscription was found in a paddy-field near Shin Kodaw pagoda, “Thanbōk”, i.e. Thandok, 10 miles south-east of Mergui. It was in Rangoon University Library when it was blown up by the Japanese in 1945. The lower half of the stone remains. It was one of the four inscriptions originally discovered by Grant Brown (see note 100).}

He is likely also to have wished to join hands with the only surviving Buddhist kingdom in Malaya, Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja. Apart from this city in the south, and Haripunjaya in North Siam, and Patikkara in East Bengal, Pagán stood almost alone as champion of Buddhism. A third motive may have been the dangerous one of trying to control the sea trade at the Isthmus. But this motive, which led to the ruin of Kyanzittha’s great-grandson a century later\footnote{See the Singhalese \textit{Câḷuwaṁsa}, Part II, ch. 76, vv. 16–75 (Geiger/Rickmers’ translation).}, could not have been effective in the absence of a navy controlling the Straits of Malacca.

\textbf{TA-LI KINGDOM}

After these strenuous campaigns of the 1050’s, we may perhaps allow Aniruddha a rest, during which he built, with the help of his Mon captives, some of his works of merit at Pagán – the Piṭakat-taik (Pls. 80–82) to house his manuscripts, and the \textit{Shwe-hsan-daw Mahāpeinnē} (Pls. 83–87) to enshrine the Hair-Relic given by the grateful king of Pegu. We will return to these later. To complete the sealing of the frontier, it was then necessary to visit the ‘Shan States’ south and north, and face the still formidable menace of Nan-chao, now “Ta-li kingdom” (Burm. Gandhālarāj). This expedition, in which Kyanzittha is still prominent\footnote{G.P.C. (transl.), pp. 80–82.}, I should place in the 1060’s. We must here be on our guard against anachronisms. References in the Chronicles to ‘Tarup’ (\textit{Taruḥ}), \textit{Maw}, ‘Shan States’ and ‘sawbwas’ must
be treated with suspicion. The word Taruk (probably 'Turk') comes in first with the Mongols, at the end of the Pagán dynasty. The 'Maw' kingdom of Mêng Mao/Chê-lan appears only in the 14th century, when the Yüan dynasty was weakening in Yünnan. Of the name Syam or 'Shan', the first mention in Burmese is in 1120 A.D. Many Syam slaves, and one high official (sahbyan), are mentioned in inscriptions; but 'Shan States' or 'sawbwas' can hardly have existed in Burma till very near the end of the Pagán dynasty.

In the 8th and 9th centuries, when Nan-chao ruled the north of Burma as far as Manipur and Assam, it had built a fortress, Shên-lung ('Divine Dragon') river-stockade, facing west on the edge of the hills, "where the sun sets at the level of the grasses". From here the 'Udibwa'—a term derived, it seems, from titles conferred by Tibet on the Nan-chao emperor in the 8th century—l lorded it over the plains.

SAK-KANTŮ

Where hills and plains meet in the north of Burma, lived, and still live, the old Tibeto-Burman 'Kādu' tribes (Old Burm. Kanti). They call themselves Asak. From their eastern capital, Tagaung (Old Burm. Takon), on the east bank of the Irrawady, they once stretched across the Mu and Chindwin, north-west as far as the valley of Manipur (where McCulloch in 1859 recorded their Andro and Sengmai dialects), and west as far as North Arakan, where Sak ('Thet') is still spoken in a good many villages north of Buthidaung. The southern 'Thet' tribes (Old Burm. Sak) were in Central Burma when the Mraññā descended from the hills and absorbed them into Tambañpa kingdom. The Kādu of the plains are Buddhist; and probably were so already in the time of Aniruddha, for they had a good many votive tablets at Tagaung, one type of which has not been found at Pagán. Aniruddha and Saw Lu certainly visited Tagaung, and built pagodas and left their signatures on votive tablets far to the north, near Nga-o, south-east of Katha, in the top bend of the river Shwéli. These are the northernmost certain traces of Aniruddha hitherto found. Much more doubtful are references, in later

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107 Ibid., p. 172. Apart from the Yüan-shih and Ming-shih, an important source for the Mao Shans, is the Pai-i-chuan of Li Ssu-ts'ung or Ch'ien Ku-hsün (c. 1397 A.D.).
108 Ibid., p. 124.
110 In 752 A.D. the Tibetans conferred on Ko-lo-fêng the title tung-tî, 'Emperor of the East.' Later they conferred on his grandson I-mou-hsün the title sik-tung-wang, 'King of the Sunrise'. Huber suggested to Pelliot that 'udi' (u:dañ) in Udibwa may come from Sanskrit udaya, 'sunrise'. But bhuvā does not mean 'king' or 'lord'. – Was it added in Middle Burmese on the false analogy of 'Sawbwa', Shan chao-fa, 'lord of the sky'? (See Pelliot, BEFEO t. IV (1904), pp. 162–4).
112 W. McCulloch, Account of the Valley of Munnipe and of the Hill Tribes (Calcutta, 1859). For the Sak-Lui Group, see Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. I, Part I, p. 77 (but note that Daingnet is not a member of this Group, but an Indo-Aryan dialect akin to Chakma or Chittagonian); Part II, pp. 27–28; Vol. III, Part III, pp. 43 foll.
113 In the neighbourhood of Kyaungdaung Bazaar, west of Taungyodaung.
114 Pls. 15 d, e, f; 49; 56 a, b, c, d, e, f (a type not yet found at Pagán); 57 a.
115 Aniruddha's tablets have been found at Nwatêlê deserted village, one mile from Nga-o (Pl. 9 f, g). See A.S.B. 1948, pp. 8–9. Saw Lu's tablets are said to have been found at Tagaung, Odôk pagoda, and at Kanthida old city, in the Forest Reserve near Pyindaung village, a few miles south of Nga-o (Pl. 15 d, e, f). They are signed Bajrâbharaṇa.
inscriptions and the Chronicles\textsuperscript{118}, to Kansi Na Na Kri, ‘Big-eared Kādu’ (big ears are still, I think, a feature of these people), and to Re-tuan-mi-lok-rā, ‘the place where fire burns on water’ – probably Yebawmi, on the upper reaches of the Uyu Chaung.

What exactly happened on this expedition, is obscure. There was little or no fighting, it seems; but the Ta-li ruler, or (more likely) his frontier-commander, was taught the lesson that the Pagán king was not to be trifled with, and that, as champion of Buddhism, he was prepared to defend his fellow-Buddhists, the Kādu. Whether he succeeded in liquidating Shên-lung river stockade, which may have commanded the river-bend between Bhamo and In-ywa, we cannot say; but since he reached Nga-o, if not beyond, and built pagodas there, he must have ventured pretty close to it.

THE MYÉ-LAT

South of the Nam Tu (Myit-ngè), Pagán influence (very likely dating from Aniruddha or earlier) is more evident than north of it. The ‘Myé-lat’ – Lawksawk, Yawng-hwé, and the borders of Inlé Lake – still bears the Pagán hallmark, vaulted temples with the pointed, radiating arch\textsuperscript{117}, not found (I think) to the north. Several late ‘Copies’ of inscriptions\textsuperscript{118} claim that Aniruddha built temples at Thandaung and indein on the west side of Inlé. Porisat pagoda north of Yawng-hwé is attributed to him in the Chronicles\textsuperscript{119}. The eastern limits of Aniruddha’s kingdom are given in the Hmannan Yazawin as ‘the Pan:se: (Panthay) country of Avanti to the north-east, the Pañhā country of Catissa to the east, and the Gwawm: (Cambojan) country of Ayo:ca (Ayudhya) to the south-east’\textsuperscript{120} – Ayudhya (built in 1350 by Rāmādhipati) is an obvious anachronism, for Lopburi. So is the mention of ‘Panthay’, Yūnnanese Muslim. If Pañhā is, as I expect, Biïgarattha, kingdom of the Mè Ping, i.e. Chiêng Mai, that too is an anachronism: Chiêng Mai was founded by Mang Ray in 1296 A.D.

MLACSĀ II KHARUIN

The Chronicles tell us little of value about Burma itself in Aniruddha’s time. They give us, however,

\textsuperscript{118} (i) The clearest mention is at lines 23–24 of the obverse (west face) of the great Htupayôn inscription, Sagaing (List 993 a\textsuperscript{3}), under date 804 s/1442 A.D., where the north-west boundaries of the then kingdom are given. The submission of “brother princes of Kālé” (Kalémyo) is noted, “who rule the so-called place where Fire burns in Water, (the abode) of Big-Ear Kanti (Kādu) and Small-Ear Kasa (Manipuri).” (ii) List 82 (= List 1250 – see P.P.A. p. 30) is the reverse of List 764, a stone at the north-east corner of Pagán Shwézigón platform. The reverse is not an original inscription. Among the northern boundaries of the kingdom of Narapatissatu (= Čaštā II), it mentions “the Big-Ear Kanti, the place where Fire burns in Water.” (iii) List 73, a two-faced fragment (“Stone 50 ka”) now at Mandalay Palace Shed, has an unlisted reverse. Just above the date 538 s/1176 A.D., are some of the boundaries of Narapatissatu’s kingdom. One of these is Kanti Anh kri – a mistake for Na Na Kri, “Big-Ear Kādu”. (iv) U Kala’s Great Chronicle (B.R.S. ed., Vol. I, para 274) gives in the text Kati: Naga: Kri: Re-tuan-mi: as the north-west boundary of Aniruddha’s kingdom, and also (para. 281) of that of the baby Aungpisuthu, except that Re-pō-mi: (‘Fire on Water’) replaces Re-tuan-mi: (‘Fire in Water’). (v) The Hmannan Yazawin (Susodhita ed., Vol. I, pp. 277, 285) corrects Nagā:kri: (‘Big Naga’) to Na Na:Kri: (‘Big Ear’), but is otherwise the same. – Note that the ‘Big-Ear Kingdom’ is mentioned in Fan Ch’t’s Man Shu, ch. 10, f. 3 ro. (863 A.D.). Ta-érh (‘Big Ear’) kingdom is said to have close and friendly relations with the “Little Brahmans” of the Hukong Valley, and also with Nan-chao (transl. p. 92).

\textsuperscript{117} See J.B.R.S. Vol. XVIII, Part II, pp. 69–70, “An old temple at Lawksawk.” – Besides the Shwé-ônhmín temple at Lawksawk, there are two temples with the radiating arch at indein, south-west of Inlé Lake, and others around Yawng-hwé.

\textsuperscript{118} List 4 (B.II 937. Shwé Thandaung, 379 s/1017 A.D.); List 11, 12 (B.II 938–9. Shwé Indein, 401 s/1039 A.D.).


a fairly correct list of the ‘Eleven Villages of Lèdwin’\(^{181}\), that is the Eleven *Kharuin of Mlacsā*, as called in the inscriptions. But they are wrong in saying that they were all built by Aniruddha. Only two, Myittha and Myingōndaing, have Burmese names; and the extant walls of four of them, Pinlè, Pyinmānā, Myingōndaing and Mekkhaya are peculiar in shape, neither contemporary Mon (like Thatôn), nor Burmese (like Pagán). They are cup-shaped, rounded at one end, straight at the other, with gates facing each other down the centre. They look to me quite archaic. Here are their names, roughly from south to north, with spellings (a) in the Chronicles, (b) in the oldest original inscriptions, together with the earliest references:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Modern Transcription</th>
<th>Inscriptional spelling</th>
<th>Early reference (I.B.) and date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Pinlè</td>
<td>Pañlay</td>
<td>Pañlāy</td>
<td>Old Mon, Pl. III 301(^{1}) (no date).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pañlay</td>
<td>Old Burm. Pl. II 137 a(^{12}) (600 s./1238 A.D.).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pañlāi</td>
<td>Old Burm. Pl. I 69(^{18}) (593 s./1231 A.D.).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Plañmanā</td>
<td>Old Burm. Pl. II 149(^{6}) (604 s./1242 A.D.).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mlacsā</td>
<td>Old Burm. Pl. I 19 b(^{6}) (560 s./1198 A.D.).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mlacsā</td>
<td>Old Burm. Pl. I 63 a(^{4}) (560 s./1198 A.D.).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Añun</td>
<td>Old Burm. Pl. III 265(^{27}) (624 s./1263 A.D.).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Makkarā</td>
<td>Old Burm. Pl. IV 368 c(^{10}) (560 s./1198 A.D.).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Makkharā</td>
<td>Old Burm. Pl. I 38 b(^{5}) (573 s./1211 A.D.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Tapyettha</td>
<td>Tapraksā</td>
<td>Taplaksā</td>
<td>Old Burm. Pl. II 181(^{22}) (615 s./1254 A.D.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tapraksā</td>
<td>Old Burm. Pl. II 165 b(^{6}) (610 s./1248 A.D.).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tamût</td>
<td>Old Burm. Pl. II 162(^{18}) (599 s./1237–8 A.D.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Khammû</td>
<td>Old Burm. Pl. I 38 b(^{5}), (^{6}) (573 s./1211 A.D.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Khammlû</td>
<td>Old Burm. Pl. I 44 a(^{5}) (578 s./1216 A.D.).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Khabu</td>
<td>Old Burm. Pl. IV 399 b(^{5}), (^{6}) (666 s./1304 A.D.).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chapter II

Another name for Hkanlu, was Muin or Mun kharuin. Since Khammhū (etc.) is sometimes written Kha̱bu with the Mon glottal ƅ, and since it contained Tanluĩn ru̱ā ma ‘the main Talaing village’, it is pretty certain that Muin or Muin is an early Burmese attempt to render Old Mon Rmeñ, the ethnic name for the Mons. Mons were clearly numerous in this north-west corner of the district, and also doubtless around Kyauksê itself: for there is still in situ, at the foot of Kyauksê Hill, a Mon inscription on mica schist set up by a Mon archbishop (mahāthera) ‘who came to live here at Klok and Sayon’ (two of the three old villages comprised in Kyauksê town), “and built a permanent chapterhouse (buddhasim), after informing the archbishop of Bukām (Pagán) and the king” – perhaps Kyazittha and Shin Arahan.

KYAUKSÊ IRRIGATION

Kyauksê’s irrigated rice-fields fed Pagán; and the prestige of the Eleven kharuin – the first home of the Burmans in the plains, where they learnt writing and Buddhism from the Mons – must have rivalled that of Pagán, right down to the reign of Aniruddha.

“A system of canals”, says Stewart, “fed by the Zawgyi and Panlaung rivers, irrigates that part of Kyauksê district which lies between the Samôn river on the west and the Shan hills on the east. The Zawgyi canal-system irrigates the northern part of Kyauksê district. The Panlaung canal-system irrigates the southern portion.” The Chronicles attribute to Aniruddha the building of 7 dams or wells, 4 taking off from the Panlaung (Kinda, Nga Naiinthin, Pyaungbya and Kümê) and 3 from “the Mekkhaya river”, i.e. the Zawgyi (Nwadet, Kunhsê, and Gutaw). None of these names, except Nwadet (Nwäžak), occur in the many old inscriptions of the Pagán period. I view them all with suspicion. Some of the Kyauksê canals are old, probably much older than Aniruddha. The Mrañmă, when they descended from the hills, could have known little about large-scale irrigation. Mon-Khmer-speaking peoples, on the other hand, had practised it for millennia. Both in Kyauksê and Minbu, the latter were doubtless the pioneers. In Minbu, there was a Pônôn (Palaung) canal north of Sagû. In Kyauksê, the presence of the older peoples is shown in this one sentence of Cañû II’s Dhammarâjaka inscription, the first royal inscription in Burmese: “In Saiñtôn village-circle, 95 pãi of rice-field… west of Lawa (Wa) village, east of Sañthway (Thindwê) canal, north-east of Pônôn (Palaung) village.”

The Chronicles roundly assert that Thindwê dam dates “from the reign of Shwêñasinh of Myinzaing when the Tarops came to Myinzaing”, i.e. 1301 a.d.; whereas five or more original inscriptions prove that it existed already in 1198, and (to judge by the reference to Lawa and Palaung) probably much earlier. And the Chronicles attribute Nwäžak dam to Aniruddha: whereas an old inscription at Pagán Kyaua, Myinzaing, dates it only from 1258 a.d.

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122 Muin kharuin, I.B., Pl. I 63 b 9 (582 s./1220 a.d.). Mun. Pl. II 139 Muin Tampakhway (603 s./1241 a.d.); 163 (Mun Krañ-ah); Pl. III 227 9, 272 9, 274 9, 286 9, 17, 313 a 9, etc.
127 I.B., Pl. II 184 9, 614 s./1253 a.d. (?). For this and other evidence about the Palaungs west of the Irawady, see J.B.R.S. XXII, Part I (June 1959), p. 86, n. 56.
128 I.B., Pl. I 20 9 (stone); IV 368 b 9, c 9; 369 a 9, b 9, etc. (ink). 560 s./1198 a.d. Sañthway is mentioned again at V 492 9, 713 s./1351 a.d.
129 Nwäžak. Myinzaing, Pagán Kyaua, east stone, north face, line 3: nwäžak chañ so ci cac me rakâ. . . . 620 s./1258 a.d.
It is perhaps right to list here the earliest mentions of Kyaukse irrigation as given in reliable inscriptions:–

(i) **Mrońchum**\(^{130}\) (Myaungzôn), ‘End of the Canal.’ These important villages, **Mrońchum-krê, Mrońchum-nai**, ‘big and small Myaungzôn,’ were probably in *Tamut kharuin*. Both are shown on inch-to-the-mile maps, north-west of Kyaukse: Myaungzôn-gyi 3 miles west-southwest of Singaing, Myaungzôn-ngê 4 miles south-southwest of it. An inscription, from Myaungzôn\(^{131}\) itself, first mentions a monastery-dedication in 1169 A.D., by **Mittarasincañ**, minister of Aulaung-sithu. North of it, perhaps, was **Na Prañ** dam (chañ), but the reading is doubtful. South of it, was **Kulă nat**, ‘Indian Deva.’ The place is often mentioned. **Mrońchum-nai** may have been on the east bank of the canal.

(ii) **Cheñ ruwā nai**, ‘Little village of the Dam’ in **Mrañkhuntuin kharuin** south-east of Kyaukse, is mentioned in 1183 A.D., in Gañsū II’s Sulamani inscription\(^{132}\).

(iii) **Santhway mroñ**, Thindwè Canal, perhaps the oldest of the canals, is mentioned in his Dhammarajaka inscription, 1198 A.D., as stated above\(^{133}\). It takes off, says Stewart\(^{134}\), ‘from a weir on the Zawgyi near Hanmyinbo, and flows north parallel with the Shan hills, till it empties into the Sunyê Tank.’

(iv) Canal near Paleik in the north of the district. Under date 1202 A.D., the Odeindaung inscription\(^{135}\) mentions rice-fields at **Pulim** (? Paleik) ‘east of the canal.’ Presumably the Paleik canal. ‘The Zidaw canal’ says Stewart (p. 65) ‘takes off from the left bank of the Zawgyi at Kyaukse. This canal, branching into the Myaungzôn and Paleik Canals, irrigates all the area north of Kyaukse and west of the Zawgyi as far as the Myitngé River, which forms the northern boundary of the district.’

(v) **Klok chañ**, ‘the dam of Klok.’ This famous dam gives its name to Kyaukse, a town built on the site of three old villages: **Klok** (centre), **Sayon** (north) and **Ploñ** (west)\(^{136}\). The Chronicles attribute it to Gañsū II (Narapatisithu)\(^{137}\). This may be right. In inscriptions, it is first mentioned in connection with his successor, **Natoñ Skhiiñ or Natoñmyañ**\(^{138}\). It was then under **Mlacsä** (Myittha). The land was so valuable, that at least two separate enquiries into it were made in the latter part of the Pagán period. There were **Klok chañ krê** and **ner**, ‘big and small dams of Klok’; also **Klok-chañ miñy knlañ**, ‘sour earth Kyaukse’.

Towards the end of the period a good many other **mroñ**, ‘canals’, are mentioned:–

\(^{130}\) **Mrońchum. I.B.,** Pl. I 90\(^{3}\) (and Zeyyaput ink duplicate, line 38). The date is doubtful. **Na Prañ chañ** is probably all right. The name occurs also at Pl. I 13\(^{8}\) (539 s./1188 A.D.); I 67\(^{4}\) (593 s./1231–2 A.D.); II 175\(^{2}\); III 233\(^{2}\); IV 389\(^{2}\) (Kulă nat to the south of it); V 492 a\(^{18}\), 87–89 (713 s./1351 A.D.; mentions of **Mrońchum-krê, Mrońchum-nai**).

\(^{131}\) Myaungzôn inscription: List 712b, 4 (531 s./1169 A.D.). Final date 744 s./1383 A.D. This marble stone is now Stone 18 in the Mandalay Palace Shed.

\(^{132}\) List 113\(^{2}\) (545 s./1183 A.D.). The inscription is in the Sulamani temple, Pagán. It is a good, early Copy.

\(^{133}\) See note 128, supra.

\(^{134}\) **Kyaukse District Gazetteer,** Vol. A, p. 65.

\(^{135}\) I read this fine two-faced Odeindaung inscription when it was moved to the gate of Paleik dak-bungalow. It has now been moved to Mandalay Palace Shed. The reference to the **mroñ** is on line 11 of the obverse, under date 56(4) s./1202 A.D. ‘Paleik’ (Pulip) seems to be written **Pulim** at line 29. The main date is 602 s./1241 A.D.

\(^{136}\) With the Klok **Sayon** of the Kyaukse Old Mon inscription mentioned above, cf. **Sayon** **Ploñ ruwá** of I.B., Pl. III 232(6) 323(6) (323(6) 323(6) 323(6) 323(6) A.D.).


\(^{138}\) **Klok chañ. I.B.,** Pl. III 272\(^{2}\), 273\(^{3}\) to 7, 274\(^{9}\). Sawhlawun Minnanthu inscrs., 653 s./1291 A.D. For **Klokchañ-krê, -ner, -miñy knlañ**, see Pl. II 164\(^{10}\), 11, 17 6(2) s./1258–9 A.D.
(vi) Mroũ-brũ, ‘big canal’ \(^{139}\). We read of land “east of Krakīm (Kyetsein) village, south of Namcwen (Ngazun) village, on the east side of the Big Canal”; also of a ricefield at “Punnă, ‘Brahman’ village, west of the Big Canal.” – The latter still exists, half a mile north-east of Singaing. Kyetsein is 3 miles south of it. Ngazun is clearly not the distant village of that name on the Thindwè Canal. The Big Canal, one imagines, like the Paleik Canal today, took off from the Zawgyi river and flowed north, roughly parallel to the present Mandalay road.

(vii) Marhak mroũ, Panlai mroũ \(^{140}\). In 1303 A.D. we read of land “below the Marhak (Mashet) canal and above the Panlai (Pnilè) canal”. Mashet is north-northwest of Myittha, and Pnilè south of Kumè. One wonders if these canals were two sections of a single one, the Sama Canal. “The Sama Canal” says Stewart \(^{141}\), “takes off from the left bank of the Panlaung at Kyimè Weir, near Kumè. The remodelled canal, 24 miles in length, irrigates the area between the Panlaung and Samôn (west of Myittha and Yamöngyi) to a point due west of Kyauxès.”

(viii) Cimmn mroũ \(^{142}\), the Sama Canal, first mentioned by this name in 1296 A.D., in connection with land “west of Pwãnlaï (Pwinlin) on the Sama Canal, 26 pai, from Carap raï (Zayat-în) to Cañ toũ ũ (Sintaung-ũ).”

Other mroũ (canals), busily created, it seems, during the Myinzaing/Pinya periods, must here be briefly listed:—

(ix) Mroũ khyûp \(^{143}\), 671–686 s./1309–24 A.D. Perhaps near Myinzaing.

(x) Na Lakpatha mroũ \(^{144}\), 686–696 s./1324–34 A.D. Probably near Letpan village, Thindaung, north of Kyauxès. Perhaps the Minyè Canal of today (see Stewart, p. 65).

(xi) Mroũ near Ta‰kalai \(^{145}\), 713 s./1351 A.D. In Khammlû kharun, near Tettekká Ìwàgôn, Paleik, 17 miles north of Kyauxès.

(xii) Mroũ-û \(^{146}\) ‘Head of the Canal’, 729 s./1367 A.D. Perhaps north of, or near, Ta‰kalai (Tétkařë).

(xiii) Mroũ-û \(^{147}\), ‘main canal’, and Mroũ-ûm ‘shallow canal,’ 714 s./1352 A.D. The latter was to the east of the former. Perhaps in Panan kharun.

(xiv) Mroũ krũ \(^{148}\), 721 s./1359 A.D. – A place ‘between the canals’ (?).

Kharun, Tuik, Nuï̋nām

“So far as I can guess from the inscriptions as a whole, kharun was a term applied only to the earliest homes of the Burmans in the plains; which they regarded more especially as their own, with (at any rate in Kyauxès) a landed aristocracy of wealth, and a regular system of land-measurement and registration. Beyond the kharun, were the tuik areas where Burmans mixed more freely, perhaps, with other tribes. There, land was often reckoned in large totals, so many hundred pay, whereas in the

\(^{139}\) Mroũ-brũ, “big canal”, I.B., Pl. III 248\(^{24}\) (636 s./1274 A.D.; Pl. IV 417\(^{4}\) (650 s./1289 A.D.). It appears to have run through Ta‰laká kharun.

\(^{140}\) Marhak mroũ, Panlai mroũ, I.B., Pl. IV 398\(^{10}\)–14 (665 s./1303–4 A.D.).


\(^{142}\) Camn mroũ, Sama Canal. I.B., Pl. III 285\(^{9}\) (658 s./1296 A.D.).

\(^{143}\) Mroũ khyûp, I.B., Pl. V 501\(^{10}\) (671 s./1309 A.D.). Pl. IV 435 b\(^{5}\)–8 (686 s./1324 A.D.).

\(^{144}\) Na Lakpatha mroũ, I.B., Pl. IV 435 b\(^{5}\) (686 s./1324 A.D.). Na Lakpatha mroũ: Pl. IV 453 a\(^{5}\), 6 (696 s./1334 A.D.).

\(^{145}\) Mroũ at Ta‰kalai. I.B., Pl. V 492 a\(^{3}\) (713 s./1351 A.D.).

\(^{146}\) Mroũ-û. List 712\(^{24}\). (729 s./1367 A.D.).

\(^{147}\) Mroũ-û, Mroũ-ûm. I.B., Pl. V 495 b\(^{10}\)–40 (714 s./1352 A.D.).

\(^{148}\) Mroũ-brũ. I.B., Pl. V 527\(^{14}\), 16 (721 s./1359 A.D.).
khawrin it was measured to a fraction of a pay. And beyond the tuik areas, again, were the non-Burmese frontier-areas, nuin-nam, lands of 'the splendour of conquest.' – The three terms all appear in the first royal inscription in Burmese, that of the Dhammarâjâka pagoda, Pagân (560 s./1198 A.D.)149.

Of the tuik areas (especially Pakókku and Shwébo), the Chronicles have little or nothing to say. Perhaps, in Aniruddha's time, the penetration of these rich areas, on the right bank of the Irawady, had barely begun. But the authors of the Hmannan add an interesting list, not given by U Kala, of 43 (or 44) towns150, alleged to have been built simultaneously, under Aniruddha's orders, to prevent infiltration from the eastern hills. The date given is near the end of 395 s./1034 A.D., in the 16th year of his reign. The Hmannan dating is probably much too early. Accepting, as we provisionally do, the fātālōpun dates, the 16th year would be 1061 A.D., not long after the king's campaigns in the south. This is plausible enough. The campaigns had taught him that effective control of immigration, whether of friend or foe, from the eastern hills, was a sine quâ non if Burma, in any large sense, was to be consolidated. The list of fortified towns is carefully arranged, running from north to south, from Kaungzín (Bhamo) to Toungoo. About a dozen of the names recur in Pagân period inscriptions; many, I fear, are anachronisms, belonging to later periods. Nearly all are pretty old, often the seat of a Burmese hereditary myôthu-gyi; and since the terrain is limited, they give some idea, I suspect, of Aniruddha's strenuous efforts to solve his primary problem. Almost all the forts are in the plains; and between Bhamo and Mandalay, nearly all are on or near the banks of the Irawady. Everything east of this, at any rate above the foothills, was non-Burma, unless it came under the outer category of nuin-nam, lands of 'the splendour of conquest.' From the time of Cañasû II, this outermost boundary is usually placed at the River Salween151.

Here is the list, with modern pronunciation, literal transcription, and short description.152

43 FORTRESS TOWNS

1. Kaungzin (Koṅ:cahn:). – Now a village on the right bank of the Irawady, opposite Bhamo.
2. Kaungtôn (Koṅ:tuñh:). – 10 miles downstream from Bhamo, below Sawadi.
3. Nga Yôn (Na Rum:); KLD. Na Rum:. – Not identified.
4. Nga Yin (Na Raṅ:). – Not identified.
6. Yinhkê (Yaṅ:khai:). – 11 miles east-northeast of Katha, on the south bank of the river, towards Nga-o at the top of the Shwêli bend.

151 I.B., Pl. 1 19b (558 s./1196 A.D.).
152 Most of the names are to be found on the following Burma Survey Maps (4 miles to the inch): – 92 H (Bhamo), 92 D (Katha), 93 A (Mōng Mī), 84 N (Shwébo), 93 B (Maymyo), 93 C (Mandalay), 93 D (Yamethin), 94 A (Pyinmana). Descriptions are usually to be found in Part II (Vols. I, II, III) of Scott and Hardiman's Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States (Rangoon, 1900), and (for Toungoo District) Vol. II of H. R. Spearman's British Burma Gazetteer (Rangoon, 1879). Useful, too, are the 'A' volumes of the District Burma Gazetteer, especially Ruby Mines District (E. C. S. George, 19145), Mandalay District (H. F. Searle, 1925), and Kyauksey Gazetteer (J. A. Stewart, 1925). U Wun points out to me that the same list, with a few variants, is given (in 1865 A.D.) by Mingyi Thirimahazeyyathu on p. 258 of his Kawi-lakkhaṇa-dûpani-kyam: (1927, Sudhammavati Press). I cite some of these variants in the text, prefixed with KLD.
9. Htigyaing (Thi:kyan). – There are several variant spellings. Modern Tigyaing. On the west bank of the river, below Inwa at the mouth of the Shwéi.

10. Myadaung (Mra-toh). – Almost opposite Tigyaing, on the east bank of the river.

11. Tagaung (Takon). – Old walled city 20 miles south-west of Tigyaing, on the east bank of the river.

12. Hinhamaw (Hapañmam). – Hinthamaw, south of Tagaung, on the east bank of the river. KLD Hapañgam.

13. Kyahnyat (Kramhaph). – South of Hinthamaw, north of Thabeitkyin, on the east bank of the river.


15. Nga Singu (Na Cañkù). – Singu. In the far north of Mandalay district, on the east bank of the river.


25. Thékkegyin (Sakñaykyan). – Patheingyi township, east of Taungbyôn.


29. Lahé (Lahé). – Not identified.


32. Ta-ôn (Ta-un). – On the south bank of the Myitngê, north-west of Mekhhaya.


34. Myittha (Mracás). – A dozen miles south of Kyauksè. Chief of the old ‘Eleven kharuin’.

35. Haingtet (Huíñ: tak). – Hlaingdet. 9 miles east-southeast of Thazi, on the north side of the Kalaw road.

36. Thágara (Ságara). – A dozen miles north-east of Thazi.


38. Shwémyo (Rhwe-mrui). – Yaméthin district. 7 miles south-southeast of Tatkon. 30 miles south-southeast of Yaméthin.


41. Kêlin (Kai:lañ). – On the right bank of the Sittaung, south-east of Thágara township, north-east of Swa.
42. Swa (Chwèi). – West of the Sittaung, 10 miles south of Myohla, 26 miles north of Toungoo.

[44. Toungoo (Toù-hû). – Not mentioned in the list of 43 towns, but added after in a reference to the list.]

In the following comments I confine myself mostly to places known to have existed in the Pagán period.

I. Kaungzin. Old Burm. Końcañ. 158 – If Aniruddha and his son never reached Bhamo, they came pretty near it when they built pagodas near Nga-o, at the top of the Shwèi bend towards Shwégù and Katha. On the way they must have visited Tagaung, the Kādu capital. There is no hint of conquest. I suspect that they went as allies and fellow-Buddhists, to stop Nan-chao encroachments. Na Choñ Khyam, the fortress, is not mentioned in our list; but in 1196 A.D. Cañśū II claims as his northern frontiers “Takoñ, Na Choñ Khyam, Ucho(tika?), ...yañ plan, and the Banyan Tree”154. Later, it seems, Tagaung and the Kādu revolted; but after General Lakhkāñ’s victorious campaign in 1228148, near the end of Nātōi-myā’s reign, a Governor of Końcañ was appointed, and the whole riverine north of Burma was held strongly, down to the Mongol invasions. Na Choñ Khyam must have been close to Końcañ, the administrative centre, “the Town at the Head of the River” (Chiang-tou) of Chinese sources148. It seems likely to have been modern Bhamo, at the junction of the Ta-p’ing with the Irawady. Both fell to the Mongols on Dec. 9th, 1283. Chinese texts say nothing about crossing the river; so either the river has changed its course since then, or the name Końcañ its meaning.

8. Katha, Old Burm. Kasçā157. – The word occurs, with reference to an elephant, in an inscription dated 1242 A.D., but I am not sure if it is a proper name. Elephants were kept (or caught or lost) in this thickly wooded Kādu region158.

10. Myadaung (Mratoñ). – I have not found this name in Pagán inscriptions, but it was an old Burmese win-ship; and I include it because of its suggestive associations. E. C. S. George, in his Ruby Mines District Gazetteer (p. 16) says that Pyin-lé-bin, “the original parent village on the Lower Shwèi” under its control, “was known as ‘Kanthila’ or ‘Panthila.’” Again, on p. 37, he mentions Gawdamapaya, a pagoda “situated about one mile to the east of Myadaung. Its antiquity is attested by the existence of clay votive tablets bearing Sanskrit and Bengali legends of the 8th and 9th centuries A.D.” – All this reminds me, forcibly, of the votive tablets of Anirudha’s son, Bajrābharaña (Pl. 15 d, e, f), found not only at Tagaung Ódök pagoda, but also at “Kanthida old city, Katha district,” said to be in Pyindaung village forest reserve, Inywa circle (see n. 115 supra).

II. Tagaung. Old Burm. Takôñ. 159. Chinese “T’ai-kung city of the Chien-tu” (Kādu). – This ancient city is first mentioned in Cañśū II’s inscriptions of the Sulamani (1183) and Dhammarājaka (1196 A.D.). See note on ‘I. Kaungzin’ supra, for Lakhkāñ Lakway and the Tagaung war of 1228.

158 Końcañ. I.B., Pl. I 100 b44, Samoa Końcañ (599 s./1237 A.D.); III 24811, sampyah Końcañ (598 s./1237 A.D.); III 231 b4 Końcañ mahāsāman Manorājā (607 s./1245 A.D.). II 15812.
159 I.B., Pl. I 199–20 (558 s./1196 A.D.).
160 I.B., Pl. III 231 b4 (590 s./1228 A.D.).
163 I.B., Pl. II 147 a19 (chañ hā u samt chañ mañ so hasā muñ 1st (604 s./1242 A.D.).
164 I.B., Pl. II 16317 chañ kantā lā thā sañ pəyoh kha rakā.
After the capture of Kaungzin by the Mongols, “the first report, sent with a map to the Emperor, arrived on Feb. 5th, 1284. It says that they had sent envos to deliver a summons to the king of Mien (Burma), but there was no reply;” also that “Chien-tu, formerly controlled by Mien, had wanted to submit (to China).” Its king had now submitted. “T'ai-kung city of the Chien-tu is Mien’s nest and hole. The rebels relied on it to resist our army. We sent Buddhist monks to warn them of the consequences, good or evil, of their actions: but they were murdered. So we have advanced both by water and land, and attacked T'ai-kung city and captured it. Twelve walled towns of the Chien-tu, Gold Teeth, etc. have all submitted. General Ho-tai and the wun-hu Pu-tuan have been ordered to take 5000 troops and garrison them.”

15. Nga Singu (Na Cañ kū). – I have not noted the name in Old Burmese, but in Chinese texts about the Mongol invasions it appears as A-chên-kuo, A-chan-kuo or A-chên-ku. In the far north of Mandalay district, it was the southern point of the newly created Chinese province of Chêng-mien. At the beginning of 1300 Nga Singu and Malè were temporarily recovered by Asaṅkhayā, eldest of the Shan Brothers. When the Mongols retreated after failing to capture Myinaing, on April 14th 1301 they reached Nga Singu and tried in vain to rally their forces. “The same day, by elephant, the mother of Kumārakassapa (Tak-tau-mu-maññr) arrived and said: ‘The rebels held me captive in Myinaing. I have only just managed to escape. If you had only waited five more days, the rebels would have been bound to surrender. What a pity you left so soon!’”


21. Sōn-myō (Cun: mrui). – Is this the Cun rōa of Old Burmese?


26. Wayindōk. Old Burm. Warantū. I rather think this old place-name is not the Wayindōk south of Madaya, but the one in Kyauksè south-east of Singaing. “Khāmuin fishery” was under it.

27. Taungbyŏn-gyi. Old Burm. Tonplûn kharuṁ. Northernmost of all the kharuṁ. Tonplûn is frequently mentioned. From Hlédauk pagoda there, comes an old but post-Pagān inscription, which tells of an invasion of the Taruk (an anachronism for Nan-choa Ta-lik kingdom), in 473 s./III A.D., near the end of Kyanzittha’s reign. It reached the neighbourhood of Tonplûn, and was repulsed by the king’s grandson, RññkΠkΠ, the Taruk general’s son being killed.

32. Ta-ôn (Ta-ûn). – Query: Old Burmese Ta-û, or Ta-ûn? ¹⁷⁰
33. Myinzaing, Old Burm. Mrâncuin. Chinese Mu-lien-chêng, Mi-lang-ch’ung. First mentioned in the Amanâ inscription¹⁷¹, 628 s./1266 A.D. Simhasûra, youngest of the three Shan Brothers, established his capital there near the end of 1296 A.D.¹⁷². The Mongols besieged Myinzaing from Jan. 25th to April 8th 1301¹⁷³, but failed to take it.
34. Myintha. Old Burm. Mlacsâ, Mlesâ, etc. – The most central of the Ii khâruin. The word sometimes is used to cover the whole district: Mlacsâ I0 ta khâruin. First mentions in 1183, 1193 A.D.
37. Nyaungyan. Old Burm. Nôhran. First mentioned, under date 518 s./1156 A.D., in Lé-gyi-tawya monastery inscription north-east of Sawyè, Kyaukse (line 10). Gaṅgasûra, a son of Caṅsû II, had a wife who was daughter of Nôhranâknî. The name is frequent in her inscriptions, all dated 604 s./1242-3 A.D.¹⁷⁶, after her husband’s death.
44. Toungoo. Old Burm. Tonû¹⁷⁶. Emerges as a kingdom (prañ) with a king (maṅkrî) only in the early Ava period. The earliest inscriptions, dated 1375 A.D., when it was still attached to Tonîhwâñ (Taungdwin-gyi), mention the four older cities it controlled: Tharuim, Thamoñ, Pônloñ and Taluyiw. The readings Thamoñ (Khaphoñ ?) and Taluyiw are not quite certain.

CONTACTS WITH CEYLON

After this long digression, we return to Aniruddha and the final years of his reign. His fame as a champion of Buddhism had reached Ceylon. If the Jïnâkalamûti is to be trusted, he may already have received some books of the Tipiṭaka from the Ceylon king. But nothing in all the temples of his reign suggests a knowledge of more than the Jātaka and the Eight Scenes of Gotama Buddha’s life. A typical monkish story of Ratanapañña¹⁷⁷ (1516 A.D.), gives the North Siam version, so like, so different from the Burm legend, and, it seems, equally old. It tells of the coming to Siam from Ceylon of the famous Emerald Buddha, the palladium of Thailand. Here is the gist of it.

Anuruddha, son of Dharmarâja, reigned in 656 A.D. (sic!) at Arimaddana. Full of faith in the Religion, he is eager to obtain accurate copies of the Scriptures. As soon as he hears that they are obtainable in Ceylon, he flies thither on his magic steed, his escort following by boat. The Ceylon king offers to have them copied. “Oh, no” says Aniruddha, “let me do them myself.” After copying the Tipiṭaka and a number of grammatical works, he returns with two sets in one boat, and two in another together with the Emerald Buddha. The former arrives at Pagán safely; the latter, caught in a storm, reaches Mahânagara or Angkor Thom. Hearing of this, Aniruddha flies thither on his magic horse, alights near a monastery, and makes water. A monk, observing that his urine splits the rock, asks who he is. He announces himself as a servant of Aniruddha. The Khmer king refuses to resign the two copies. Anuruddha fashions a wooden sword, dips the blade in (red) chalk, mounts his magic steed, and

¹⁷⁰ I.B., Pl. I 60 b² Ta-û khrañûsîy (591 s./1229 A.D.). Pl. IV 378 b³ šhînî Ta-ûn (609 s./1247 A.D.).
¹⁷¹ Mrâncuin. I.B., Pl. II 216¹⁴ (628 s./1266 A.D.).
¹⁷² I.B., Pl. III 285³ (658 s./1296 A.D.).
¹⁷⁴ Mlacsâ. – List 113¹⁸ Mlacsâ I0 ta khâruin (545 s./1183 A.D.). I.B., Pl. I 12⁶ (554 s./1193 A.D.), etc.
¹⁷⁶ Nôhran. – I.B., Pl. II 143 a³, 12; 145¹⁸, 140 bⁱ⁰, etc. Pl. II 143 a³ šhînî nôhram nai.
¹⁷⁷ Tonû. – List 68⁴ (Minnanthu, Lémyet-hna); List 68⁶ (Pinya, Shwézigôn) – both dated 737 s./1375 A.D.
flies thrice around the walls, brandishing the sword and threatening to cut their necks. Each Khmer, finding the red stain on his neck, is terrified. The king surrenders the copies. Anuruddha returns with them to Pagán, but forgets to take the Emerald Buddha!

It is not easy to see how a ship bound from Ceylon to the mouth of the Irawady, could be swept by a storm to the mouth of the Mekhong: but substitute the Mon, for the Khmer, capital, and the problem is solved. One ship makes land successfully at Bassein; the other, driven by the south-west monsoon, is shipwrecked near Thatôn, where the king flouts Aniruddha by claiming it as lawful prize.

But, first, who was the king of Ceylon? — The _Hmannan_ Chronicle, more than usually wrong, insists that he was _Dhâtsusa_. Dhâtsusa reigned in the latter half of the 5th century A.D. Aniruddha’s contemporary must have reigned in the 11th. U Kala rightly says that he was _Sirisamghabodhi_ — a title shared by several kings of Ceylon. The young prince _Kiriti_ (or _Kittī_) had started his revolt about the middle of the century. Aged 16 or 18, after disposing of his rivals, he assumed the name _Vijayabâhu_ I from about 1055 A.D. He resolved to drive the Śaivite Coḷas out of the island. It took him 15 years of desperate fighting to do so. At some date before his 12th year (1067) he was in great straits, unable to pay his soldiers, who were beginning to resent him. He sent to his fellow-Buddhist, “the king in the Râmaṇnak country,” an urgent appeal for help. Aniruddha responded. “Then arrived in the harbour many ships laden with various stuffs, camphor, sandalwood and other goods. By all kinds of valuable gifts he inclined the soldiers to him, and with large forces at his command, he took up his abode in Tâmbalâgâma.” This was in the south of the island. It was only in 1070 A.D., the 15th year of his reign, that he recovered _Pulathinagara_ (Poḷonnaruva) and _Anurâdhapura_, drove out the Coḷas, and made himself master of the whole of Ceylon. “Thereupon he betook himself to splendid Pulathinagara and dwelt there, known by the name of _Sirisamghabodhi_.“ In his 15th year (1073/74) he celebrated his _abhiseka_ at Anurâdhapura.

From 1017 to 1070 Ceylon had been subject to the Coḷas; and when the king took in hand the revival of Buddhism, there were not enough _bhikkhus_ to form a chapter for holding ordination and other ceremonies. “He sent to his friend, Prince _Anuruddha_ in the Râmaṇnak country, messengers with gifts and fetched thence _bhikkhus_ who had thoroughly studied the three Pīṭakas, who were a fount of moral discipline and other virtues, and acknowledged as _theras_. After distinguishing them by costly gifts, the king had the ceremonies of world-renunciation and of admission into the Order.

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181 “About 1061, he assumed the royal name _Vijayabāhu_ (1055–1114) and made plans for the expulsion of the Coḷas (Mho. 58, 1–3)” (A. L. Basham, Ceylon Historical Journal, Special Number on the Polonnaruva Period (1954–55), p. 18). Cf. C. W. Nicholas, _op. cit._, p. 188. The date of _Vijayabāhu’s_ death, generally given as 1114 A.D., has been corrected by Dr. S. Paranavitana to 1110–11 A.D.: see Epig. Zeylan. V (1955), Part I, p. 17; Ceylon University, History of Ceylon, I, Part II, p. 435; C. W. Nicholas, _op. cit._, p. 198.
183 _Cūḷavamsa_, Part I, ch. 59, v. 10.
repeatedly performed by them, and the three Piṭakas together with commentary frequently recited, and saw to it that the Order of the Victor which had declined in Laṅkā, again shone brightly.\(^{184}\)

This account in the Cūḷavamsa is confirmed by the Tamil/Grantha inscription of Polonnaruva, dated between 1137 and 1153 A.D.:\(^{185}\) "In the prosperous island of Laṅkā, the cakravartin Vijaya-bāhudeva, Śrī Saṅghabodhivarma, a scion of the lineage of Ikṣvāku of the Solar race, gaining victory over many an enemy, entered Anurādhapura, and at the request of the Buddhist priesthood, put on the sacred crown in order to look after the Buddhist religion. So His Majesty had Buddhist priests invited from Aramāṇa [Rāmaṇa] (to Ceylon), and (with their aid) effected the purification of the Buddhist Order of the Three Fraternities (nikāya)."

It seems unlikely that Aniruddha could have received from Ceylon more than a trickle of texts before Vijayabāhu recovered the two capitals in 1070 A.D.; but very likely that he obtained as many copies as he wanted by about 1075, when Burma monks (probably Mons) were busy in Ceylon helping the Singhalese to revive Buddhism in the island. If so, the main flood of the Tipiṭaka only reached Pagān in the closing years of Aniruddha's reign.

The Glass Palace Chronicle says\(^{186}\) that on the capture of Thatōn Aniruddha obtained, not only sacred Relics, but also 30 sets of the Piṭaka and monks well versed in them. The Jinahālamāli says he obtained 4 sets from Ceylon. There is a good deal of fairy-tale in both texts, and doubtless exaggeration in the former. Now the abundant glosses on paintings and terracottas in the early temples of Pagān, prove that the writers used standard Singhalese texts for most of the four Nikāyas, but two recensions, similar but different, for the Jātaka. The earlier, possibly South Indian, recension \(^{187}\) adds 3 Jātakas (497 Velāma, 498 Mahāgovinda, 499 Sumedhapandita), thus changing the numbers of all the last 50 Jātakas, and bringing the total up to 550. The later recension, which we can date quite closely from Kyanzittha’s revision of the Tipiṭaka, after 1090 A.D.\(^{188}\), is clearly Singhalese, and totals only 547. And there are a good many other minor differences between the recensions. In the Pyu temples of Śrī Kṣetra (7th-8th century), the Jātaka was never illustrated. Nor (I think) does it appear in Dvāravatī art. Its vast popularity in Burma dates from the carvings of the Mahānīpāta at the Kalyāṇi Simā and Thagya Paya at Thatōn, and the pandit inscription there, before its capture by Aniruddha.\(^{189}\) The old recension, as seen on the Hpetleik pagodas at Pagān, was doubtless based on Thatōn texts, possibly imported from Kāncipura. From the first Aniruddha used them to adorn the groundplinth of his Shwé-hsan-daw pagoda\(^{190}\), and later the corridors of Hpetleik.

\(^{184}\) ibid., ch. 60, vv. 4–8.

\(^{185}\) See Wickremasinghe, Epig. Zeylan., II, pp. 242–255. Inscr. No. 40 (Tamil/Grantha inscription of Polonnaruva). See also the Ceylon University History of Ceylon, Vol. I, Part II, p. 434. Of the Tamil inscription Mr. C. W. Nicholas writes: — "It confirms the Cūḷavamsa in important respects: — the victory of Vijayabāhu; the arrival in Ceylon of Buddhist monks from Aramaṇa (Burma) at the king's invitation and the purification of the Buddhist Order of the three Nikāyas with their aid; the bestowal of money on the three Nikāyas; and the king's reign of fifty-five years." On p. 436 he adds: — "Vijayabāhu died in 1110/11 in the fifty-fifth year of his reign and at the age of seventy-three."


\(^{187}\) As shown especially in the two Hpetleik series. For the plaques illustrating the Velāma, Mahāgovinda and Sumedhapandita Jātakas, see Pl. 109 a, b, c.

\(^{188}\) For Kyanzittha's revision of the Tipiṭaka, see Epig. Birm. I, Part. II, Inscr. VIII, Face A. Signs of the confusion of both recensions can be traced in the Jātaka series on Shwézigōn pagoda, which is mentioned in line 2 of the same inscription, immediately before mention of the revision.

\(^{189}\) See n. 96, 97 supra.

\(^{190}\) Pls. 86, 87.
QUARREL WITH KYANZITTHA

Hitherto, in almost all his campaigns, Kyanziththa had been Aniruddha’s right hand man. In the Hmannan, even when the king is planning an expedition to Ceylon (G.P.C. p. 88), Kyanziththa volunteers to conquer all Jambudipâ for him. Four pages later (p. 92), near the end of the reign, he is sent to Pegu to fight the Krom. He returns victorious, escorting the gift-princess, daughter of the Pegu king. On the way he makes love to her: and Aniruddha, furious, tries to kill him, and forces him to become an outlaw. – The war with the Krom, as we have seen, is likely to have taken place near the beginning of the reign, not near the end. This story, therefore, is probably not historical. Apart from this, there is no hint of disloyalty on Kyanziththa’s part. The general never takes up arms against the sovereign, as Labienus did against Julius Caesar.

Yet there is no doubt that the breach was absolute. Kyanziththa has left a number of long inscriptions, all in Mon. Never once does he claim relationship with Aniruddha. Never once does he even mention him. He claims descent, not from the Pagán line, but from the Pyu line of Śrî Kṣetra, as an Avatar of Viśṇu, prophesied by the Buddha. Old Burmese inscriptions of the Pagán period call him simply Tīluṅ maṁ, ‘king of Htilaing.’ I have argued elsewhere191 that this Htilaing may well have been in Kyaukse. And the Chronicles agree that when he was called to the rescue during the siege of Pagán, he was “ruling the Eleven Lèdwin villages,”192 i.e. Kyaukse.

Later writers of the early Ava period, probably for propaganda reasons, have tampered with Kyanziththa’s history. There have been both suppressio veri and suggestio falsi. Perhaps it started with the Taungbyon Hlèdauk inscription193, where he is described as “Tīluṅ asyan kalancasā, a beloved son of king Norldā.” In original Burmese inscriptions he is always Tīluṅ maṁ, ‘King of Htilaing,’ never Tīluṅ syan, ‘lord of Htilaing.’ Here we are concerned with Aniruddha rather than Kyanziththa. But no fair judgement of Aniruddha can ignore his treatment of Kyanziththa. The quarrel went very deep. – Was its root really, one wonders, a feud between Kyaukse and Pagán? Early Burmese chiefs, before they conquered Kyaukse (we have Fan Ch’o’s word for it)194, were called maṁ, ‘king’. They would hardly have given up their rights without a struggle. Kyanziththa’s reaction against the autocratic ways of his great predecessor, peeps out from this sentence in one of his own inscriptions: “He shall maintain the succession of all the kings of old”195. Was Kyanziththa the last of the Kyaukse maṁ to maintain his title against the monarchical pretensions of Pagán? – If so, there would be strong reason for the feud. If Tīluṅ was but a minor kingship buried in a large kharaun, this would only make his struggle the more heroic. And if one adds the feeling of ingratitude, which Kyanziththa must have felt towards a king whose battles he had fought from Nan-chao to the Isthmus of Kra, one can understand his refusal either to compromise or to forgo. Loyal he remained to the end. He was willing to risk his life to save Aniruddha’s son, but not to bate one jot of his ancestral rights. One can understand also his resolve, which shines through his inscriptions, to unite Burma by consent rather than by force.

193 List 50 a1 (473 s./1114 A.D.). S.I.P., p. 4. Obverse of Stone 4 at Mandalay Palace Shed. The date 473 s. occurs in line 8 of the Obverse, which is flaked towards the bottom. There were probably later dates, now lost, as is suggested by the mention of kings Turukple and Trykplya on lines 9–11 of the Reverse. The inscription doubtless dates from the early Ava period.
194 Man-shu ch. 4, f. 9 v9 (transl. p. 43). “Mang is their name for their prince. The Man (Nan-chao) call him mang-chao.” He continues with a list of seven mang.
TRUE AND FALSE IN HISTORIOGRAPHY

Falsification of early Pagan history is not due simply to errors of fact or propaganda. The more subtle frauds are those which we historians, who live in a different, more sophisticated, and (dare I say it?) coarse and vulgar age, commit without being aware of it. The only cure I know is to steep oneself imaginatively in the age one writes about, until one feels instinctively the true from the sham. Let me give some instances. I distinguish three main styles in genuine old Pagan inscriptions:-

(i) Early Burmese style. - "541 s., Māgha year, Wednesday, full moon of Mlwaytā. Gilded all the reverend bodies of the Tūnkhet gods, shaded them with gold umbrellas, and made them golden thrones. Gilded Lord Sāriputta, and gilded Lord Mokkalān. Gilded two Lords Gavampati. Asked for the Sermon of the Wheel of Law. And asked for the Sermon on Causal Genesis. Gave 15 monastic robes. And fed 15 monks. And gave the chief Tūnkhet monk the cooked rice-offering... And having dedicated to the Reverend One myself, wife, and two children, wrote the stone inscription 196."

- This plain prosaic bone-dry factual style reads like archaic Chinese. For history, it is the perfect material. And there is pathos in it, never overdone.

(ii) Alaungsithu's Pali style. - "There was a king... great in knowledge, who took delight in hearing the good Law. This lord of men, ruling in righteousness and equity,... pointed and caused to be made for the great Seer, Gotama Buddha, this pleasant and delightful fragrant chamber, adorned with many cetiyas and figures of gods, as though it were raised on high ground, sheltering a wonder-working image... like unto the living Buddha, radiant with glory, fair to look on, delightful to the mind. The supreme Three Piṭakas he made and copied, and clad the monks with many a set of triple robes. Serenely happy, he fed them with his own hands at the temple-festival. Then in strong desire for Buddhahood, he cried aloud this prayer 197..."

- This shows the flamboyant influence of India, with its plethora of adjectives; but underlying it, there is, I feel, native restraint and modesty.

(iii) Kyansittha's Mon Style. - "His fame shall be known over the world. His hardness shall be as iron. The good laws of morality he shall maintain. Vice which is even as a stench, with virtue which is even as a perfume, he shall abolish. Sins too foul for cleansing, of body, word or thought, with clear water of morality he shall wash them all away. The gods who take the clasped hollows of men's hands, who grasp their godly sceptres made of adamant, shall be his servants, his ministers of good works. Thieves who are even as thorns, enemies who are as dense jungle - throughout his kingdom there shall be none. It shall spread wide as ocean... 198"

- This is fine literature, full of poetry and beauty, but with a simplicity and clarity that are Mon, I think, not Indian nor Burmese.

And now for the sham:- 'Now when she reached Pareimma, and Nawrahta-minzaw's child in her womb was ready to be born, there was a great earthquake. And Nawrahta-minzaw questioned his masters of white magic and black, saying, 'Why quaketh the earth'? And they spake into his ear: 'O king, one who shall be king hath been conceived in the north quarter.' And Nawrahta-minzaw, it is said, made search for all women with child in the north quarter, and put to death over seven thousand.

But the mother of Kyanzittha was hidden by a Nagā youth, and died not but escaped. And the king questioned his masters of white magic and black, saying 'Is he dead'? And they spake into his ear: 'Not dead, but born from his mother's womb!' And he made search, it is said, for all suckling babes in the cradle, and again killed over six thousand. But Kyanzittha was hidden by the Nagā youth, and died not but escaped. And the king asked: 'Is he dead'? And they answered: 'Not dead yet, but the size of a cowboy!'... (etc.)

- There is nothing bad about this passage as style: but it is bad history. The Massacre of the Innocents is of course well-known folklore. But even if one does not know this, but knows Pagān inscriptions, one feels at once that it is sham. The relations of kings, ministers and people are quite false, as well as their mentalities. Yet simple Burmans, brought up on tales like this, may well imagine that their Pagān ancestors, notably Aniruddha, were savages!

The scandals told in the Chronicles about the 'Ari' heretics in the time of Aniruddha, are not supported by any evidence of value. The independent testimony of the Cūḷavāṁśa, quoted already, may suffice to prove that Pagān Buddhism in the time of Aniruddha was not the degraded cult which later Burmese authors liked to imagine. It also confirms one's belief that over and above the strategic motives which no doubt guided Aniruddha, there was an intense religious impulse. It was an age of national expansion, but not of crude imperialism, such as was later to impel some kings of Burma to showy and short-lived conquests of Siam, Assam or Manipur. If the Pagān period was free, as free it seems, from the sordid, the vulgar and the pretentious, it was due chiefly to religion. It was this newly-discovered soul within him which strained the energies, inspired the art and architecture, breathed through the writings, and even guided the Pagān government.

WORKS OF MERIT OF THE REIGN

A final word about Aniruddha's works of merit. Apart from votive tablets and Jātaka plaques, his contribution to Pagān architecture seems small compared to Kyanzittha's, but it has its importance. He appears to have built little except stupas. Here his influence lay in the elimination of the harmikā or 'belvedere', the cubic box placed originally above the anāda or dome of the stupa. It held, rather too conspicuously, the precious relics; and also supported the pole or metal mast (Skt. yaṣṭi, Old Burm. ṭiṭ.), that bore the tiers of umbrellas (chattirāvalī). Already, on encased stupas at Śrī Kṣetra, the harmikā was omitted; but conservative Ceylon retained it. So do many stupas at Pagān, both Singhalese and pre-Singhalese. But the general tendency has been to follow Aniruddha. The Pagān stupa will reach full evolution only in the Shwézigon (Pls. 169-171), built about 1086 A.D. by Kyanzittha, with its three square receding terraces, lined with Jātaka plaques, crested with corner-stupas, stepped with median stairways.

Aniruddha's reign was certainly of prime importance in the evolution of the Pagān temple; but it is not yet clear what part the king played in it, apart from the central fact that he captured Thatôn and carried off thence, not only books of the Piṭaka, but also all the architects and artists he could lay his

201 A.S.J. 1926, Pl. LV c; 1928, Pl. LV1 b.
hands on, to beautify his own capital. The description in the Chronicles\textsuperscript{103}, though marred by anachronism ("forgers of cannon and muskets") and the beauty-parlour frou-frou of an idler age, catches the excitement of a new world dawning:

"He brought away the sacred relics, kept in a jewelled casket and worshipped by a line of kings in Thatôn. And he placed the thirty sets of the Piṭaka on the king’s thirty-and-two white elephants, and brought them away... Thereafter he sent away separately, without mixing, such men as were skilled in carving, turning, and painting; masons, moulders of plaster and flower-patterns; blacksmiths, silversmiths, braziers, founders of gongs and cymbals, filagree flower-workers; doctors and trainers of elephants and horses; makers of shields round and embossed, of divers kinds of shields, of shields both oblong and convex; forgers of cannon, muskets and bows; men skilled in frying, parching, baking and frizzling; yakin hair-dressers, and men cunning in perfumes, odours, flowers and the juices of flowers. Moreover to the noble Order who knew the books of the Piṭaka, he made fair appeal and brought them away. He also took king Manuha and his family and returned home to Pugarāmā."

The chief architectural works are described separately in Part C of this book. Here we may briefly list and roughly date the more certain attributions. Many of the dates assigned are guesswork.

1. Myinkaba Zêdi, Pagán. (Pl. 79a). The site where Aniruddha killed his half-brother on the north bank of Myinkaba Chaung. Octagonal terrace. Date: c. 1044 A.D.

2. 'Maung Di' pagoda, Khābin (Pls. 79b). Octagonal terraces lined with Aniruddha's largest tablets (Pls. 4, 5). Date: c. 1050 A.D.

3. Shwé-hsan-daw (Mahapeinné) pagoda, Pagán (Pls. 83–87). Five square terraces with median stairways and corner-gnomons. Lowest plinth with unglazed unglossed Jātaka-plaques. Also the Shinbin Thalyaung colossal reclining Buddha. Date: c. 1060 A.D.

4. Lokananda Zêdi, Thiripyissaya. (Pl. 92). Three octagonal terraces and four median flights of steps. Date: c. 1060 A.D. (?).

5. West and East Hpêtleik pagodas, Thiripyissaya (Pls. 94–118). Largely repaired by Aniruddha, who added to each a corridor housing a set of the 550 Jātakas (old recension). Date: c. 1070 A.D.

6. Piṭakat-taik, near the palace-site, Pagán (Pls. 80–82). 'Mon' style cube with central shrine and corridor, to hold manuscripts obtained from Thatôn, etc. Date: c. 1060 A.D.

Other works thought to date from this, or preceding reigns:-

7. Manuha temple, Myinpagan (Pls. 119, 120), with four colossal images (3 seated, 1 reclining). c. 1060 A.D. Attributed to the captive king of Thatôn.

8. Nan-payà temple, Myinpagan (Pls. 121–131). Buddhist temple, 'Mon' style, brick faced with stone. With four Brahмā pillars, Kyāk Śrī and Makara pediments, etc. Perhaps the private chapel of the captive king of Thatôn. c. 1060–70 A.D.


There is real breath-taking mystery about the temples of this early period. For it is hard to attribute the Nat-htaung-gyaung, the Nan-payà, and the Kyaukku Onhmin to any later reign: each a masterpiece,
each so different from the others, each without a close parallel in Burma or in India. They spring up suddenly, like mushrooms, from the sand and dust of Pagán. So far as we yet know, Aniruddha had no hand in them. But who had? – Do we err in stressing the ‘personality-cult’? Are they rather the natural efflorescence of a young people?

Let us end this superficial chapter on the note of doubt. Archaeology is still in its infancy in Burma. Compared to India, Ceylon, Java and Camboja, we have barely scratched the soil. Until we excavate Vesāli and Mahāmuni in Arakan, Kanthida and Tagaung in the north of Burma, Tenasserim and Khābin in the south, how can we claim to know the truth about Aniruddha? From meagre and often poor materials, we have given merely the skeleton of the age and of the man. Patient sub-soil research alone will allow us to put flesh on the bones, and possibly (who knows?) revive in just proportions the true greatness of the Maker of Burma.
CHAPTER III

MAÑ LULĀṆ (Saw Lu); d. 1084 a.D.

Names, title and regnal dates – Nga Ramā’s rebellion – battle of Prañilauśā-hiwan – murder of king – siege of Pagān – Kyanzittha to the rescue – pact with Makuṭa’s family (?) – works of merit of the reign.

NAMES, TITLE AND REGNAL DATES

Mañ Lulañ, ‘the young king’, doubtless the son of Aniruddha, is mentioned in one original inscription, as ordering a legal enquiry into a Pagān dedication. The name occurs in a list of Pagān kings, just before Tiluṅ man (Kyanzittha). It is clearly the Burmese equivalent of the half-Nanchao ‘Saw Lu’ (Caw Lu, Co: Lu:) of later inscriptions and the Chronicles.

U Mya, the archaeologist, first suggested to me (he is certainly right) that Saw Lu is the Pagān king who ‘made with his own hand’ a terracotta votive tablet found in Myinpyagū temple, Pagān, with a Pali inscription similar to many of Aniruddha, but signed Mahārāja Sirī Bajrābharaṇadeva, ‘Fortunate Shining One, Bearer of the Thunderbolt’. The same title recurs, as we have seen, in a fragmentary Pali inscription below a noble stone relief of the Buddha seated in a forest of lotus, probably found in Maung Law kwīn, south-east of Mergui. It used to be seen in the hall of Rangoon University Library, but was blown to bits by the Japanese. The inscription mentioned the ‘excellent lord of the Three Existences’ (the worlds of men, devas and brahmās), ‘Śrī Bajrābharaṇa, famous in the world... like a lion in the forest... in the excellent city of Aṁmaṭādana...’ i.e. Pagān. Little else is legible. The donor is clearly a king of Pagān; the script shows that he was an early one. He is not Aniruddha, but copies Aniruddha’s style; whereas the next king, Kyanzittha, invented a different sort of title, in which he was followed by all his successors. The king, therefore, should be Mañ Lulañ.

This stone, discovered 10 miles south-east of Mergui, indicates that Aniruddha’s conquests reached to the very south of Burma, if not beyond. ‘It is curious’ says Carapiet, ‘that Mergui Burmese invariably refer to outside Burmese (i.e. those who come from any part of Burma north of Tavoy) as Pagān.’ The oldest Burmese inscription found near Mergui also belongs to the Pagān period.

1 I.B., Pl. 60 a. The stone is in situ at the top of Mt. Thetso. The date at the head of the inscription is probably 573 s./1211 a.d., the year of Nāloñmya’s accession. The final date (Reverse, line 4) is 591 s./1229 a.d.
2 e.g. List 32, Mandalay Palace Shed Stone 7, 444 s./1082 a.d.
4 Pl. 15 b, c, a tablet found at Myinpyagū temple.
5 Pl. 15 a. See supra, ch. II, note 100. See also I.B., Pl. V 548 a, and references given in the Index of Plates.
8 I.B., Pl. III 225. See Ch. II, n. 103.
Chapter III

It is dated 631 s./1269 A.D. This too was lodged in Rangoon University Library until it was blown up by the Japanese; the lower part is still extant, but the top is lost, including the date.

NGA RAMÁN’S REBELLION

Saw Lu’s regnal dates, as given in the Jātāyūpam Rājavanā⁹, are 439–446 s./c. 1077–84 A.D. The latter year is certainly the date of Kyanzittha’s accession. Burmese Chronicles regard Saw Lu as a son of Aniruddha, and as a young scapegrace who perished by his own folly in a rebellion started by one Nga Ramán or Nga Ramán-kan¹⁰ (‘one-eyed Ramán’), which – but for Kyanzittha – might well have proved the ruin of Burmese power in Burma, not only in the south, but in the centre. The story, in brief, is as follows: –

BATTLE OF PRAṽṬWSĀ KLIWAN

Nga Ramán was a Pagán courtier, son of Saw Lu’s tutor. Saw Lu had appointed him governor of Pegu. In hot words after dicing, Saw Lu dares him to revolt. He does so promptly, for he is plotting already. He leads an army and fleet, perhaps of Mon troops, up the Irawady. The frontier-post was then the island Kyûndaw (Praṅṭewsā kliwan) below Migyaung-ye, in the south of Magwé district. The site of the disastrous battle, fought in the darkness of the night, is locally remembered. Saw Lu was captured; and Nga Ramán advanced to Myinkaba on the outskirts of Pagán. Meantime Kyanzittha escaped and rode full speed to Pagán, where the ministers offered him the kingship. He refused, saying that first he must try and rescue the king. He was in the midst of doing so, when Saw Lu, fearing his intentions, gave the alarm. Kyanzittha could barely escape, swimming across the broad river. He fled north and reached the northern borders of Shwébo and Mandalay districts (Nga Singu, Shein-maga); then, recrossing the river and going south, he won the powerful support of the headman of Nga Singaing, north of Kyauksè. From his fief, Htilaing (T’iluǐn), apparently also in Kyauksè, he “held court in the Eleven Villages of Lèdwin”, i.e. the Eleven kharuin. Here he builds up an army in order to recover Pagán.

MURDER OF THE KING. SIEGE OF PAGÁN

Nga Ramán, meantime, had murdered the captive king. The Pagán ministers refuse to open their gates to him until he has conquered Kyanzittha. So he advances to Ava, at the mouth of the Myit-ngè. Here first, after magic rites and a great battle, Kyanzittha defeats him and drives him back to Pagán. Driven south again from Myinkaba, the rebel was finally killed by an arrow in his good eye, shot by the Singaing headman. The site was at Lower Singu, 30 miles south of Pagán.

KYANZITTHA TO THE RESCUE

Tradition, and the Chronicles, are here probably not far wrong. In his own contemporary Mon inscriptions, Kyanzittha describes the crisis in poetic style, under guise of a prophecy made by Gavam-pali on behalf of the Buddha: –

⁹ Jātāyūpam Rājavanā, ed. by U Hla Tin, p. 39 (No. 43).
¹⁰ Written Na Raman by U Kala, Na Ramanhān: in the Hmanan. Col. Ba Shin gives me the explanation. Nga Ramán, according to the Chronicles, “had only one good eye;” Burmese khan; ‘blind’ is a borrowing from Sanskrit/ Pali kāya, ‘one-eyed.’ Spelt kān, and meaning ‘blind,’ the word occurs twice in Lokahteikpan glosses (c. 1120 A.D.), in some of the oldest Burmese writings extant. See Ba Shin, The Lokahteikpan (Rangoon, 1962), Glosses 92, 115.
"His Majesty's desires – quickly they shall be fulfilled. When raiding enemies come up to destroy Pagán, and all four castes of people living there are borne off captive downstream and go to other countries, by the strength, lift and energy of the king, swiftly shall they ascend upstream and take their solace in Pagán again. Of those torn from their dear ones, of those who were sick at heart, by a course of benefits, with water of compassion, with loving-kindness which is even as a hand, he shall wipe their tears, he shall wash away their snot. With his right hand rice and bread, with his left hand ornaments and apparel, he shall give to all his people. Like children resting in their mother's bosom, so shall the king keep watch over them and help them."

PACT WITH MAKUṬA'S FAMILY (?)

Perhaps there are also references to the crisis in a few Burmese inscriptions – not very old or good ones, let us admit, but serving to explain problems else insoluble. The oldest is the reverse of the so-called 'Manuha' inscription, now Stone 9 in the Mandalay Palace Shed. There are also two 'Copies' in the Mahāmuni pagoda collection, Mandalay. The dates vary in all three, and all are wrong. The first, though listed as 'Original' by Duroiselle, is written in coarse late cursive – 16th century, I should guess. The king is called Narapaticaṅsū (Narapatisithu), a name applicable in late inscriptions to almost any king of Pagán. He has a daughter Rhwe-im-sañ (Shwé-eng-thi), said in the Chronicles to be a daughter of Kyanzittha. The gist of the inscription is as follows:

The Thatón king, Manuha, had a son Sudhammarac, whose son was prince Asawatdhammā. The latter hid at Mt. Popa the royal golden boat of king Narapaticaṅsū... The king said: "Asawatdhammā, restore the boat, and I will feed you full with rice." So he restored the boat. And when the king heard that the boat had come, he betrothed his royal daughter, Rhwe-im-sañ (Shwé-eng-thi), to Asawatdhammā's son, Nākasman; and gave him also to enjoy many villages of slaves, and curry made of 30 pots of rice and 15 cattle gelded and tender...

It is a strange story. If there is any truth in it, it appears that Makuta's grandson, exiled at Pagán, was planning rebellion; and to that end had managed to carry off to Mt. Popa the Pagán king's regalia. He was, however, dissuaded by the king from his intention, and handsomely rewarded in various ways, not least by his son's marriage into the Burmese royal family.

If this is right, the one moment when it might easily have occurred, was at the height of Nga Ramán's rebellion. After the battle of Praṅtawā klawn everything was in confusion. The rebel advanced to Myinkaba, where Makuta's family was settled. Nga Ramán, coming from Pegu, would have had Mon forces under him, but he was not a Mon. Makuta's family may have distrusted him, while they trusted the disgraced Kyanzittha, then withdrawn to Kyauksè. They had no option but to attempt a counter-rebellion. They stole in the confusion some of the Pagán regalia, and set up their standard on Mt. Popa. It was a perilous moment: for many Mons would have been glad to rally round their former royalty. Nga Ramán's Mons might well have joined them; and apart from these, the bulk of the population from Yamethin southwards was probably Mon. When the Burmans called Kyanzittha to the rescue, he had two rivals in the field. At this moment he may well have made the fateful pact,

honourably carried out thereafter, to link his own family with Mon royalty, and so unite Mons and Burmans in one kingdom on the basis of equality. The event shows, I think, that he went further still, and promised that his heir should be no son of his, but the offspring of his daughter’s union with the Mon prince. If so, it was the sort of treaty which, however necessary and honourable at the time, later Burmese patriots may have preferred to forget.

WORKS OF MERIT OF THE REIGN

The Chronicles say that Shin Arahan, the mahāthera, reproached Saw Lu for failing to advance his father’s works of merit: “he lived only for worldly enjoyment.” The reproach, if authentic, was undeserved. Saw Lu followed his father, as we have seen, all over Burma, scattering, like him, his votive tablets signed Śrī Bajrābharaṇa: at Nan-u-taik south of Mandalay (Pl. 15 d); at Ódōk pagoda, Tagaung, and at Kanthida old city, Katha (Pl. 15 e, f). Near Mergui he left a finely carved Pali inscription (Pl. 15 a); only the top few lines are known, but it doubtless recorded a Buddhist dedication. In the ‘royal quarter’ south of the walls of Pagán, both he and his father have left their tablets at Myinpyagu: a unique stupa-temple, deeply devotional, with Mon writing, paintings and Jātakas, which must be the work of one or the other: perhaps Saw Lu, since Aniruddha seems not to have used the Mon language. U Mya reports a tradition that Saw Lu built the encased stupa near the riverbank north of Tawyaung monastery, Myinpagan. He also reproduces a post-Pagān painting with Burmese gloss in the Pāhto-thāmya temple, which seems to attribute that superb masterpiece to Mañ Lulan. There are also lateish Burmese inscriptions which attribute dedications to Saw Lu. The earliest (Early Ava period?) mentions one of over 100 ṃ ṇ land in Kyauksè, by Colū maṅkri, in 444 s./1082 a.D. The stone is now at Mandalay Palace Shed, provenance unknown.

It does not look as if Saw Lu spent all his time gambling. He lived in the most brilliant age of Burma’s art and architecture; and I do not think we can deny him a share in its development. The Pāhto-thāmya is not only the first fully evolved ‘Mon’ temple at Pagān, but in some ways the richest and the loveliest. It is the first to exploit the vast field of the Tīpīṭaka, obtained from Ceylon probably after 1070 a.D., when Vijayabāhu at last regained the whole island from the Coḷaś, and invited monks from Burma to come and help to revive Buddhism there. The Pāhto-thāmya resembles Kyanzittha’s temples, but precedes them. I should therefore date it c. 1080 a.D. The earlier temples show little variety of theme, either in painting or carving, apart from the Jālaka, which was perhaps the only series of texts Aniruddha got by his capture of Thatôn. If so, we may attribute to Saw Lu’s short reign — not necessarily to the king — the following treasures:


For other possibilities, see ch. XIV, pp. 294–6. Pls. 153–155.

15 Pl. 14 a, b, c — Aniruddha’s tablets. Pl. 15 b, c Saw Lu’s tablet.
18 List 32, A 10, S.I.P., pp. 2–3, Mandalay Palace Shed Stone 7, under date 444 s./1082 a.D. List 617, 618, two ‘Copies’ in the Mahāmuni collection, are said to come from the Lēmyet-hna pagoda, Paunglin, Minbu, and to record dedications by Saw Lu in 440 s./1078 a.D., and Thado Minbya in 726 s./1364 a.D.
CHAPTER IV

T'IILUIN MAÑ (Kyanzittha), THE UNITER OF BURMA. ß. 1084–1113 A.D.


KING OF T'IILUIN, NAMES AND ORIGIN

The successor of Mañ Lulan was the great king known nowadays as Kyanzittha. The name is a modernized form of Kalan-cassā, a title by which he is sometimes called in late inscriptions. It may perhaps be translated 'the kalan Inspector'. Kalan was an old term for high government officers, male or female, civil or military, found at Pagán and in the villages. Kalan and saṃpyān (Old Mon kalan, sumbeñ), Mon names probably in origin, occur frequently in Pagán inscriptions; but their meaning, in Old Burmese at any rate, was already vague. Kalan ranked lower than saṃpyān.

Kyanzittha's origins are obscure. The Chronicles hint doubt of his paternity, but place his birth at Pareimma, on the left bank of the Lower Chindwin, outside the borders of Tambadipa. Their authority is the Pareimma Htilaingshin pagoda inscription: "King Dhilluinsyan built (this) cēli at Parin capital (prañ), his own birthplace." It is dated 469 s.1107 A.D., within Kyanzittha's own reign, earlier than any genuine dated Burmese inscription. Both style and spelling show that it belongs to the early Ava period, about 300 years later.

1 List 50 a (S.I.P., p. 4; A. 19: from Hiêdaug pagoda, Taungbyôn, now at Mandalay Palace Shed, Stone 4, south face). List 33 (B II 903). The name Kalan-cassā also occurs at I.B., Pl. V 471a5 and List.144b (A 587); but it is not clear whether the reference is to the king of that name.

2 Cassā generally means 'soldier, son of war': but cac primarily means 'to sift, investigate'; and U Wun assures me that in Middle Burmese it meant a civil official, functions unknown. Dr. Than Tun has kindly given me over a dozen references to inscriptions. Only one of these (I.B., Pl. I 63 a17) is of the Pagán period: it occurs in a village-name near Rangoon - Cassā prañ ('Honest Inspector?'). Cásuhrīt cassā occurs at List 1329a in an inscription of the early Ava period, probably from Kyauksê. Cásuhrīt here should mean the military governor of Kyauksê. Kalancaças, referring to a local official (?), occurs in the Chaung-ua Thanantaza inscription (Pl. V 471a6, 705s.); also at List 666a (734 s.), a Pinya Shwēzigôn inscription, where it is the name of "the headman of Laksac, son of the tutor (atihin) of king Tryāphyā." Another Pinya inscription (I.B., Pl. V 517 b5, 718 s.) mentions as a witness "the headman of Lheaukā, Mañ Cassā." For other references see Pl. IV 424 b, V 516c; List 753b, 843b, etc. Mañ Cassā; U Wun tells me, occurs also in the Manaw-hari Pyo of Nawadê-gyi (1579 A.D.), and the Thuzha Pyo of Padhéyazaya (1741 A.D.).


4 List 49b, now Stone 5 (obv.) at Mandalay Palace Shed, A 18, S.I.P., p. 3.
Chapter IV

The Taungbyôn Hlêdauk inscription\(^8\) calls *Tiluĩ-asyaṅ Kalancacsâ* "a beloved son of king Norathâ". This is well-nigh incredible in view of all the other evidence. The only legible year-date is 473 s./III A.D.; but there may well have been others on the flaked base, and kings *Turukple* and *Tryāphya* are mentioned on the reverse, in the same hand. Once again, both style and spelling point to the early Ava period. Neither inscription, in my opinion, is valid for determining Kyanzittha's origins.

His own claims to semi-divine or miraculous birth must also be rejected. He was clearly not a native of Lower Burma (he speaks of it as "other countries"\(^9\)): yet he uses Mon regularly in his inscriptions, and it handles it like a master. This fact, and his unmistakable attachment to Mon culture and religion, point to Kyauksê as the place, if not of his birth, of his upbringing.

In original Old Burmese he is called *Tiluĩ mauṅ*, "the king of Htilaing?" – Where was Htilaing? – Harvey\(^8\) places it near Wundwin in the north of Meiktila district. Duroiselle\(^9\) places it (I know not where) in Myingyan district. The *Gazetteer of Burma* (1944) knows three villages of the name: one 2½ miles south-west of Wundwin, one 6 miles south-east of Yammēthun, one a little north of Toungoo. The *Upper Burma Gazetteer* (Part II, Vol. I, p. 237) mentions a Htilaing village "in the west of the Maw State, Myelat district, Southern Shan States." Wundwin Htilaing is the nearest of these to Kyauksê – barely 30 miles south-southwest of Myittha; the population there in Kyanzittha's time may have been largely Mon.

But it is also clear, though I cannot yet locate it, that there was an older Htilaing in Kyauksê itself. A new inscription, undated (c. 800 s./15th century, I should guess), found at Shwé Inbê pagoda near Pēgin, 3 miles south of Than-ywa in the east of the district, mentions (line 5) a ricefield "east of *Tiluĩ*". An older inscription, dated 687 s./1325 A.D.\(^10\), from Ngazun monastery north of Myintaing, mentions "an old dedication to *Tiluĩ* monastery". And an inscription from the Lēmyet-hna pagoda, Myingôndaing, dated 789 s./1427 A.D.\(^11\), records the good works of "the prince of Mraṅkhuntuṅₘ₃, who is the lord of *Diluĩ*:" – the date and context show that this *Diluĩ ashyan* is not Kyanzittha but Maṅ Lha, son of the reigning king, Mohnyin Thado.

Further research, one hopes, may settle the question. The details of Kyanzittha's flight after the Kyûndaw battle, suggest that he had to take a roundabout route in order to reach his fief, in or near Kyauksê. His daughter, *Ui Nhım Sai of Khan-ṳ̄n\(^12\)*, was certainly connected with Kyauksê: *Khan-_ips, whether her birthplace or appanage, was a famous place in the north of the district, probably in the south of *Makhkharā kharuṅ\(^13\)*. She owned land at *Uttweṅ\(^14\)*, possibly the Öktwin in east Myingyan, between Natôgyi and Pyinzi; for in her old age she rebuilt and endowed the Shwémôktaw at *Klaykan village, modern Paya-ギ", 4 miles south-east of Natôgyi\(^15\).

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\(^{8}\) *List* 50 a, now Stone 4 (obv.) at Mandalay Palace Shed, A 19, S.I.P., pp. 4–6.


\(^{10}\) I.B., Pl. I 60 a (591 s./1229 A.D.), Mt. Thetso. Pl. IV 365 b (552 s./1191 A.D.), Shwémôktaw, Paya-ギ village, Natôgyi, Myingyan district.

\(^{11}\) *History of Burma*, p. 36.


\(^{13}\) I.B., Pl. IV 437 b.\(^{19}\) Now Stone 5 at Kyauksê Club.

\(^{14}\) *List* 885 a². Now Stone 203 (obv.) at Mandalay Palace Shed.

\(^{15}\) See I.B., Pl. IV 365 b, dated 552 s./1191 A.D.; Pl. II 175\(^{18}\); Pl. IV 373 c\(^{4}\).

\(^{16}\) See I.B., Pl. II 190 a\(^{18}\), dated 586 s./1224 A.D. – *Tōh-ṅ Khan-_ips.*

\(^{17}\) I.B., Pl. II 174\(^{18}\), 89, 175\(^{18}\), 594 s./1232 A.D.

\(^{18}\) I.B., Pl. IV 365 b, 373 c, d.
KYAUKSE V. PAGÁN

In post-Pagán inscriptions the term Tiluṅ maṅ, ‘king of Htilaing,’ is softened to Tiluṅ syaṅ, ‘lord of Htilaing.’¹⁶ Maṅ:, ‘king’, which originally, like the inferior term sūkri:, meant merely ‘the old man, elder, senior’ of a village-tract or region, soon became a term reserved for Pagán royalty. But Old Burmese has not only Tiluṅ maṅ, but also Tōṅwaw maṅ (‘king of Taungdwin-gyi’)¹⁷, to prove that once the term was not confined to Pagán. Fan Ch’o in the 9th century called the proto-Burmans the “Mang tribes . . . Mang is the name they give their princes”; and he lists a series of 8 different Mang as one went south from Yung-ch’ang¹⁸. When the Burmans overflowed the khārisin areas, perhaps each lending chief who founded or conquered a new region, would set up his white umbrella and call himself maṅ. Perhaps the absorption of these local maṅ by the Pagán maṅ-kri (‘great or senior king’) dates only from Aniruddha. Anyway Kyanzittha, reacting against the autocratic methods of his predecessor, took care to promise in his inscriptions that he would “maintain the succession of all the kings of old.”¹⁹

The Chronicles attribute the quarrel between Aniruddha and Kyanzittha to the former’s love, affair with Manicandā, daughter of the king of Pegu, whom Kyanzittha, after defeating the Cambojans—was escorting as a gift of gratitude to the Pagán monarch²⁰. There is ample evidence, no doubt, in his inscriptions that Kyanzittha was sensitive to feminine charms: but, as I have argued in Ch. II ( supra, p. 22), the Pegu campaign probably occurred early in Aniruddha’s reign, not near the end of it; it was followed by several other campaigns in which Kyanzittha was prominent; so it could not have been the cause of the implacable feud that thenceforth divided them. The feud never led to any disloyalty on Kyanzittha’s side: merely a complete breach. Aniruddha reigned at Pagán. Kyanzittha was probably lord of Kyausè, always ready to come whenever Saw Lu called him, ready even to risk his life to rescue him. He never mentions Aniruddha in his inscriptions, and passes over in silence all his own exploits as a general previous to the crushing of Nga Ramán. I have suggested ( supra, p. 41) that the real cause of the breach may have been the almost inevitable quarrel between Kyausè and Pagán, between the old equal city-states and the centralized power needed to control a large united kingdom. Kyanzittha, as we shall see, had his own solution of that problem, based on consent rather than on force. What must, I think, have kept their feud within bounds, was their common devotion to the Buddhist religion.

HIS VOTIVE TABLETS

Kyanzittha has left some few votive tablets²¹ signed on the obverse with his title, both in Sanskrit (Nagari script) and Pali (Mon script). There is sometimes a short Pali prayer for Buddhahood on the under-rim. All show 50 earth-touching Buddhas, arranged differently from the similar tablets of Aniruddha²². These tablets have been found at Pagán in “the big temple east of the Nagayôn” (perhaps he built both), and also in “a ruined stupa east of the Mingalazedi” (not identified).

¹⁶ Tiluṅ syaṅ. I.B., Pl. V 471¹² (Thamantaza pagoda, Chaung-u, 705 s./1343 a.d.). List 37² (Htihlayin pagoda, Chaung-u, 449 s./1087 a.d.). List 46 a²⁷, List 49², List 50 a², List 119², etc.
¹⁷ Tōṅwaw maṅ. I.B., Pl. III 305 a²³, Minnanthu Lémyet-hna pagoda, Stone VIII, East face.
¹⁸ Maṅ-shu, ch. 4, f. 9 v⁰ (transl. p. 43).
²¹ Pls. 16, 17.
²² Pls. 12, 13.
Chapter IV

All his other inscriptions are in Mon. He always calls himself by his royal title in Sanskrit/Pali: Śri Tribhuvanādiyadhammarāj, "Fortunate Buddhist king, Sun of the Three Worlds" (of men, devas and brahmās). This kind of title, first used by him, becomes, with various amplifications, the regal style of most of his successors, both of the Pagán and later dynasties, Burmese, Mon or Shan. It is widespread also in Further India.

**MON ‘PROPHETIC’ INSCRIPTIONS**

Thanks to the late Dr. Blagden, the Mon inscriptions of Kyanzittha are now easily accessible in English\(^2\). Most of them are couched in the form of a fictitious prophecy of the Buddha concerning the coming of Kyanzittha, and descants thereon of laudatory comment on his virtues and his reign. At first sight they seem unpromising material for history, whatever their literary value may be. We may judge the latter by an example. The chief of these ‘prophetic’ utterances is the great two-pillared inscription at the east entrance of Shwézigon pagoda at Nyaung-u\(^3\), and its fragmentary duplicate found at the palace-site inside the Tharaba gate at Pagán\(^4\). It begins with the stock formula that must accompany, in Pali hagiography, a sham prophecy of the Buddha. That done, the style changes, and the king’s eulogy, voiced by Gavampati the Buddha’s spokesman, begins. The opening paragraph – “His fame shall be known over the world” etc.\(^5\) – has been quoted already in Chapter II (p. 42). This is followed by the account of Nga Ramán’s rebellion – “When raiding enemies come up to destroy Pagán” – quoted in Chapter III (p. 48). The eulogy proceeds\(^6\):

“The bar of the gate of heaven, golden and studded with gems, by the hand of holy wisdom shall the king draw it open for mankind... From the seven cities virgin-daughters of princes, bright with all manner of jewels, shaded with white umbrellas, fragrant with the fragrance of jasmine flowers, splendid as Alambusā, wife of In – these shall attend him. Upon the lion-throne... the king shall sit, and shall enjoy the beauty of sovereignty... In a palace like the Vejayanta palace, fit for delights, the jewelled diadem of the city of Pagán, the brave king, glorified by all, shall enjoy the fulness of sovereignty... And all the women who dwell in the city of Pagán, shall see his glory and his beauty. They shall stand about at the river-ports, and in the roads and lanes and crossroads: ‘Such glory, such beauty’ they shall say, ‘are because he did works of merit in the past. That is why he gets them.’ So shall they praise the king, and go their ways.”...

Descending to humbler things, without much lowering of style, Gavampati continues\(^7\):

“During his reign mushrooms, bamboo shoots, flowers and fruits of trees shall abound. Poor people who find it hard to get rice and clothing, shall wear gold ornaments and fine apparel. Little children who are learning to eat cake with their fingernails, shall behave nicely like their elders... Throughout the king’s realm, a hundred and twenty times a year the rain shall fall. Always the paddy shall be full in the ear. There shall be plenty of elephants, horses, water-buffaloes, cattle, pigs, goats and fowls.


\(^5\) Inscr. I, Face B, lines 9–22 (transl., pp. 115–6).


\(^7\) *Ibid.*, Face D, lines 45 follg.
Princes' and great men's toys shall be of gold and silver only. Persons who wish to make their doors extra strong, shall make their doors and door-flaps and the ridges of their roofs roofed with brass only. His Majesty shall enrich everyone... And every day, when the king teaches his people, the sound of approval, the sound of praise, the sound of acclamation which the people make, shall be like the sound of a great rain at midnight... Poor old women who sell pots and potlids, shall get high prices and become rich. Those who lack slaves, shall have plenty of slaves. Those who lack cattle, shall have plenty of cattle. Farmers who excel in planting and harrowing, shall fill their barns and granaries with paddy, millet and all manner of grain."

And finally Indra approaches Višṇu, inviting him to be reborn as king Kyanzittha\textsuperscript{29}:

"In order to fulfil all thy works, my lord, up in heaven am I, King In, who wield the thunderbolt. Down below is the mighty and awful Nāga king, with coils a thousandfold. In all ten quarters the four Guardians of the World keep watch and ward. The whole company of the four castes, together with the king, stand upon a site which cannot be shaken."

These quotations should suffice to prove, if the \textit{trāp} inscription of Makuṭa\textsuperscript{30} failed to do so, that in Old Mon we are dealing, not only with a language, but with literature. We do not know enough of Pyu to say if the Pyu language ever rose to the heights. But here, in Mon, the miracle has happened. Burma, though not yet Burmese, has found expression, and the great age, not only of her arts, but also of her literature, has begun. Not even the father of Thai, Rāma Gāṁhēn\textsuperscript{31}, launched his people into letters more magnificently than this. The form is prose, but the matter is pure poetry. It is a great moment in the history of a country when such miracles occur. Hitherto a backward region, dependent on others for its thought and all its culture, a wholesale borrower, a hopeless debtor – suddenly there is a change! Burma has found its soul, its real independence. In the world of art it stands upon its own feet. The artistic impulse started by the Mons, will soon pulsate through Burmese also.

\textbf{Accession and Parentage}

But to descend to prose once again – what do these 'prophetic' Mon inscriptions tell? Are they pure poetry, or are they also history? – There is much history in them; but they require imaginative study.

The king, one reads repeatedly in them, ascended the throne of Pagán in the year 1628 or 1630 after the death of the Buddha\textsuperscript{32}, say 1084 or 1086 A.D. The former date was probably that of his actual accession, the latter certainly that of his \textit{abhiseka} or anointing.

The Chronicles, Burmese and Mon, generally agree that he was a Burman, possibly half-Arakanese. Looking at his portrait-statue, kneeling in the south niche of the west shrine of the Nanda temple at Pagán\textsuperscript{33}, we need not conclude, as Harvey did\textsuperscript{34}, that he was other than a Burman. Burmans have

\textsuperscript{29} \textit{ibid.}, Face H, lines 5–12.
\textsuperscript{30} Ch. II, p. 25.
\textsuperscript{32} 1628 A.B. – \textit{I.B.}, Pl. IV 361 a\textsuperscript{a}, b\textsuperscript{a}; 362 a\textsuperscript{a}, b\textsuperscript{a}; 363 a\textsuperscript{1}, b\textsuperscript{1}; 364 a\textsuperscript{1}, b\textsuperscript{1}. \textit{Epig. Birm.} I, Part II, Inscr. I H\textsuperscript{26}, II H\textsuperscript{14}, 1630 A.B. – \textit{Epig. Birm.} I, Part II, Inscr. I A\textsuperscript{17}, B\textsuperscript{8}; III C\textsuperscript{19}, V\textsuperscript{20}, VI\textsuperscript{22}.
\textsuperscript{33} Pl. 276 b.
\textsuperscript{34} \textit{History of Burma}, p. 40.
never excelled at portrait-sculpture. And the one thing we know for certain about the ancient Burman, is that he was different from the modern.

There are two mentions of his parentage, in Pali and in Mon. In both he says that his father was of the Sun family (ādīccavānsa)\textsuperscript{35}, laying claim, it seems, to some form of legitimacy. His mother, he declares in Pali, was “born of the Bael-fruit stock” (veḷubabbhaṁnajā)\textsuperscript{36}. In the Mon passage, which is fragmentary, she was “of the Egg (kumbāy?) family, dwelling in the b.n dūn (? womb of the Bamboo).”\textsuperscript{37}

The former passage seems to be the basis of the tale in the Chronicles\textsuperscript{38}, how Kyanzittha’s mother, princess Paṇcakalyāṇī, was daughter of Ruciyaṇabhāvatī, who had been born out of the fruit of a bael-tree (Aegle marmelos, Sanskrit vīśa) at Vesāli in India. Perhaps the Chronicles also confuse her with Veḷuvatī, a queen of Narapatisithu, who was found in “a forest of the Pyaws (Pro:) in Myinzaing Wek-win, in a giant banyan, a little daughter born of heat and moisture, having great beauty and the signs great and small.”\textsuperscript{39} As for the Egg family, we recall that on the west face of the Shitthaung pillar at Mrohaung in Arakan, Vajrāśakti, ancestor of the donor Ānandacandra, belonged to the “family of the Divine Egg (devāṇḍajā)\textsuperscript{40}.” There may well be confusion here between Vesāli, capital of the Candras in North Arakan, and Vesāli, capital of the Lacchavis in India. Perhaps Kyanzittha is merely hinting at miraculous birth on the mother’s side.

In any case it was not on Aniruddha’s young line of parvenu kings that Kyanzittha based his claim to legitimacy: but on a prophecy of the Buddha, and on his alleged identity with Viṣṇu, the divine founder of the Pyu kingdom of Śri Ksetra, which still, though its site had moved four miles north-eastward to modern Prom, was recognized as PRAṆ, ‘the capital’, even by the alien founders of a new capital at Pagán.

**PROME INSCRIPTION, 1093 A.D.**

In this ancient capital, at Prome Shwé-hsan-daw pagoda, on June 3rd, 1093, Kyanzittha “issued an order to write down the full number of his virtues, so that all men might understand.”\textsuperscript{41} He launched, in fact, the earliest version of his legend. He, a Burman, launched it from the Pyu capital, in the Mon language. Viṣṇu, says the Buddha, after founding Śri Ksetra with the help of “my son Gavampati” (patron-saint of the Mons), In (Indra, king of the gods), Bissukarma (Viṣvakarman, the celestial architect), and Kalakarma king of the Nāgas, shall be reborn in the families as stated, and in 1630 A.B. (1086 A.D.) shall reign in the city of Pokām (Pagán): where, seated on the lion-throne, he shall receive the royal head-anointing in a pillared paṇcaprāśāda (a main pavilion surrounded by four others), in the presence of his four-fold army and “all the lords Arahan” (i.e. the Buddhist clergy). The eulogy of the king which followed, is now mostly lost.

\textsuperscript{35} Epig. Birm. I, Part II, Inscr. VI\textsuperscript{24}, VIII B\textsuperscript{18}.
\textsuperscript{36} ibid., VIII B\textsuperscript{18}.
\textsuperscript{37} ibid. VP\textsuperscript{4}. See Blagden’s note 9 on p. 151.
\textsuperscript{41} Epig. Birm. I, Part II, Inscr. VI, pp. 147-152. The lettering of this inscription is exceptionally large and fine, each letter about 1 inch in height. Inscr. VII (pp. 152-3), so far as it is legible, appears to duplicate VI, with fragmentary additions.
suvaṇṇabhūmi inscriptions, 1098 a.d.

Nearly five years later, about April 1098, Kyanzittha visited the original home of Burma Buddhism, where the theras Soṇa and Uttara, Aśoka’s missionaries, landed and converted the king and people of Suvaṇṇabhūmi, some 30 miles north of Thaton. At the foot of Mt. Kelāsa he repaired “the cetā of Kyak Talan” (the present Myatheindan pagoda at Ayeththama). Three miles north of Taungzun he repaired “the praśāda of the great relic (mahādhātā) of Satik” (the present Kyak Tè pagoda south-west of Alugalé). Here he left inscriptions, almost duplicates. Two other probable duplicates he left at Thaton itself, one at the top of Myathabeit pagoda hill that overlooks the town, the other two furlongs south of the foot of the hill, north-west of Nyaungwaing monastery.

These inscriptions give the second version of his legend, now inflated. Following the style of the ex-king Makuṭa, Kyanzittha is now “the king of kings, the lord supreme (paramisvar), the mighty universal monarch (balacakkrāvar), who makes his vehicle the White Elephant, the omniscient Bodhisatta, who verily shall be a Buddha and save from misery all living creatures,” etc. He follows, in fact, Makuṭa in setting the example of royal bombast, adopted by most (not all) of the later kings of Burma. Mahāyānist claims are added, and the legend swelled by a short series of private jātaḥa, or previous births in India, befitting his dignity as a future Buddha. He was first a pious millionaire in Benares; then a victorious king in Pataliputta; then a victorious son of king Rām at Ayudhya (Oudh); and finally, as in the original legend, the hermit Bisu (Viṣṇu) “on the silver mountain of Kelāsa.” As before, his founding of Śrī Kṣet, and his rebirth and anointing by Indra as king of Pagán in 1630 a.d. (1086 a.d.), are prophesied by the Buddha, together with a short eulogy. The anointing will take place “in a paṇca-prāsād adorned with 28 arch-pediments (sni’ clac dhen), on a jewelled lion-throne inlaid with stone of purple hue (mo’ sāk srim)”

PAGAN MRAKAN AND ALAMPAGAN INSCRIPTIONS

The same inflated version of the legend recurs in two undated inscriptions set up, perhaps earlier, near Pagán, on the banks of two reservoirs dug or dammed by the king: the one called in Old (and Modern) Burmese Mrakan, ‘Emerald Lake,’ at the west foot of Turantō, ‘the Arch Mountain’; the other at Alampagán, between that hill and Minnanthu. In the inscriptions both reservoirs are given Buddhist names beginning with Mahānirbbān, ‘Great Nirvāṇa’; the rest of the latter’s name may possibly read Alambagālī; the former’s name is given in Old Burmese – Lak chuy khī riya, “water
raised by pulling with the hand\textsuperscript{50}. Both lakes were made “for the benefit of all mankind, classes of animals, and winged birds\textsuperscript{51}.” Kyanzittha’s love of birds is evidenced elsewhere.

MRAKAN LIBRARY

Nearby, till recent times, when villagers and government departments have been allowed to quarry it, stood a stone lodge or library\textsuperscript{52}, lonely, plain and beautiful, doubtless built at the same time by king Kyanzittha. We shall consider later the purpose of this unique building – the only pure stone monument in Pagan, perhaps in Burma. Both Mrakan lake and library are wrongly attributed in the Chronicles to a later king, Klacwa\textsuperscript{53}.

SHWÉZIGÓN PILLARS

Undated, but doubtless the final version of the legend, is that found on the two four-faced pillars near the east entrance of Shwézigón\textsuperscript{54}, Nyaung-u, and the duplicate set up at Kyanzittha’s new palace near the Tharaba Gate\textsuperscript{55}, within the walls of Pagan. The former is still \textit{in situ}, proving that the Shwézigón was the work, not of Aniruddha, but of Kyanzittha. The latter, clear but fragmentary, is now at Pagan Museum. Long extracts from this final version have been quoted already. The private \textit{jālakas} are now dropped, and the Buddha’s actual prophecy somewhat shortened; but “his son \textit{Gavañhapati}” is told to go and explain it to Indra. This he does briefly then and there; but later, after the Buddha’s \textit{parinirvāṇa}, “in full detail.” This section forms the core of the inscription (4 to out of its 8 faces)\textsuperscript{56}, giving under the guise of prophecy an idealized autobiography, perhaps in chronological order; but nothing is said of the king’s life till just before his accession (1084 A.D.).

MAHĀTHERA ARAHAN

This section begins, as we have seen, with an obvious reference to the king’s heroic defeat of Nga Ramán. It is next said that he will “make his right hand man” a virtuous \textit{mahāthera}\textsuperscript{57}. This prelate was doubtless the great \textit{Arahan}, whose portrait-statue, opposite that of Kyanzittha, kneels in the north niche of the west shrine of Nanda temple\textsuperscript{58}. The term \textit{Arahan}, “Saint”, was sometimes used in a general sense for members of the Buddhist Order\textsuperscript{59}, but in several passages of Kyanzittha’s palace-

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{50} \textit{ibid.} Inscr. III, Face D, lines 11–12.
  \item \textsuperscript{51} \textit{ibid.}, Face D, lines 12–14. This detail was remembered by the Chroniclers, though wrongly applied to \textit{Klacwa} “he made a great lake and filled it with the five kinds of lotus, and caused all manner of birds, duck, shelduck, crane, waterfowl and ruddy goose to take their joy and pastime therein” (\textit{G.P.C.}, p. 156).
  \item \textsuperscript{52} Pl. 242.
  \item \textsuperscript{55} \textit{ibid.}, pp. 129–130. The duplicate is shown at \textit{I.B.}, Pl. V 552–554. It is now at Pagán Museum, Stones 5 and 4. A curious fact about this duplicate is that the first of its 8 faces, the east face of Stone 5, was either never engraved or else completely deleted.
  \item \textsuperscript{56} Inscr. I, Faces B, C, D, E, down to F, line 19.
  \item \textsuperscript{57} \textit{ibid.} Face B, lines 43–47.
  \item \textsuperscript{58} Pl. 276 a.
  \item \textsuperscript{59} e.g. \textit{Epig. Birn.} I, Part II, Inscr. VI, line 26 (p. 150): \textit{tarley arahan gunluk}, “all the saintly lords.”
\end{itemize}
Embassy to K'ai-fêng, 1106 A.D.

We then read of another invasion and another victory:—

"And when he reigns, if another mighty army should chance to come, the omen of victory, a happy Star, shall come before him. In time of battle the king shall ride upon a noble horse, swift as are the horses of the breed of the clouds. He shall fight, yea, he shall shine as the noonday sun...

One is left wondering who the invader was. Most probably the old Nan-chao, "Ta-li kingdom". The lateish Burmese Hlèdauk inscription, Taungbyôn, mentions an invasion of Mandalay district from the side of China at the end of his reign; the victorious general is there stated to have been his grandson and heir, the Donor of Shwègu. The Hlèdauk date is 473 s./III A.D. In Chinese sources we read that in March-April 1106 the king had sent an embassy to the Sung court at K'ai-fêng, and scored a small diplomatic success there:—

"In the 5th year of Ch'ung-ning (1106 A.D.), P'u-kan [Pagán] sent envoys to submit tribute. The Emperor ordered that they be treated with the same rank and ceremony as Chu-nien [the Cojas of South India]. But the Grand Council observed: 'Chu-nien is subject to the San-fo-ch'i foreigners [Śrī Vijaya, Palembang]. During the hsi-ning period [1068-77 A.D.] imperial decrees were addressed to it on thick-backed paper, and enclosed in box and wrapper. Now P'u-kan is king of a big kingdom. We cannot look down on it as an ordinary little dependent kingdom. We desire to follow the same ritual as in the case of the Ta-shih [Arabs], Chiao-chih [Annam], and other kingdoms, to whom imperial appointments and decrees are all written on white-backed, gold-flowered, damask paper, and stored in a partly gold-gilt tube with key, and forwarded in a brocade silk double wrapper as sealing envelope'.—The Emperor approved."

What was the object of the embassy? — Perhaps Nan-chao, jealous of Aniruddha's success in Upper Burma, was planning a counter-raid on the plains of Burma after his death — to sack the Burmese capital as it had sacked the Pyu in 832 A.D.; and so Kyanzittha, to win allies in its rear, sent this embassy (probably by sea) to K'ai-fêng in 1106. The Sung, however, under their artist-emperor Hui Tsung, must have been too busy with their northern invaders to give any help in the south. Fortunately Kyanzittha and his young heir were strong enough to deal single-handed with Nan-chao, though its army reached as far south as Mandalay district.

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62 Epig. Birm. I, Part II, Inscr. I, Face C, lines 16-22. The "horses of the breed of the clouds" are those of the Thundercloud (Valākaka), the four horses of Viśū. On the Shwèzigôn platform one can see the stone statue of a small horse, said to be Kyanzittha's charger, pretty but not too mobile.
63 List 50 a, b; A 19; S.I.P., pp. 4-6; from Hlèdauk pagoda, Taungbyôn, 6 miles north of Mandalay; now Stone 4 (obv.) at Mandalay Palace Shed. The inscription says that in the battle (fought near Taungbyôn, it seems), the son of the 'Chinese' (taruk) general was killed.
Chapter IV

TEMPLES AND DEFENCES

To return to our inscription. — There is a reference to the king "opening treasures of three kinds with images in a golden chamber, brilliant as a candle glowing." — Is this a poet’s picture of the building of Nanda, or some other of the king’s cave-temples? — Gilded images, lit mysteriously from above, set back in the gorgeous gloom of carved, glazed or painted architecture, are typical of the ‘Mon’ style of temple favoured by Kyauzittha. We have already quoted the passage about the king’s palace, the building of which, in 1101–2, is recorded in the longest of the king’s inscriptions. He will strengthen, we read, the defences of Pagān, and labour to repair the damage done by war, restoring fugitive monks to their monasteries. Colonel Ba Shin, an experienced soldier, suggests to me that Kyauzittha’s first act after his accession, may well have been to repair the walls damaged in the long siege, and rebuild the Tharaba Gate. The old walls of Pagān may date from the city’s founding, c. 850 A.D.: but the main Gate, with its almost-temple mouldings, is clearly later. The Gate, moreover, resembles in style the enclosure-gateways of Nagayōn, the king’s first temple (c. 1090 A.D.) — with its vaulted middle section, buttressed at each end with high vertical masses, crossed (probably) by wooden lintels. Kyauzittha, we read, shall maintain a standing army of the bravest men, “more than one thousand in number”, for service both at home and abroad. Contrast the army attributed to Aniruddha in the Chronicles — 180 million men — nine times the present total population of Burma. Heretics, the inscription concludes, shall become orthodox. Brahmins learned in the Vedas shall practise Brahmanism. Scholars shall ponder deep the eternal verities. Monks and scholars shall be the two eyes of the king. In his final existence he shall become a Buddha, saviour of the worlds of gods and men. — Indra receives his orders, and promises every support. Gavampati goes on to visit Viṣṇu and repeat in short the prophecy; and so, in turn, does Indra. Viṣṇu accepts their message with enthusiasm; and the inscription concludes with the identification of Viṣṇu with the reigning king, Kyauzittha.

LATER PROME INSCRIPTIONS

Two of the king’s Mon inscriptions remain. The one on the large two-faced slab at Prome Shwéhsan-daw pagoda (Inscr. VIII) begins in the middle of a sentence. Unless we assume the total disappearance of another large slab, its fellow, that slab should either be Inscr. VI or Inscr. VII.

66 Duroiselle (A.S.I. 1913–14, pp. 64–65) gives 1090 A.D. as the date of the completion of the Nanda. I think this is much too early. The Mon inscription cited by Duroiselle, which was later edited by Blagden in Vol. III, Part I, of Epiğ. Büm., records the building of the palace (1102 A.D.), not of the Nanda. Kyauzittha’s early masterpiece, the Nagayōn, may well be dated c. 1090; the Nanda was his final achievement. On general grounds I should date it c. 1105 A.D.
67 Ibid., I, Face C, lines 39–41.
68 Ibid., Face C, line 49 to D line 2.
69 Ibid., II, p. 168.
70 Ibid., I, Face E, lines 32–36.
71 Ibid., I, Face E, lines 32–36.
72 U Kala, I, p. 200. Hu-man-nan (Susodhita ed.), I, p. 272 (transl., G.P.C., p. 95). The desire to exaggerate is human; but it is not particularly characteristic of Old Mon, nor of Chinese, nor greatly of Old Burmese. Here it seems to start with Caṅsū II’s Dhammarājāka inscription (J.B., Pl. I, 19, lines 10–11, 558 s./1196 A.D.), where the royal armies are totalled at 60,000; but the appetite grows, perhaps under Indian example.
74 Ibid., pp. 147–152.
75 Ibid., pp. 152–3.
Inscr. VI, dated 455 s./1093 A.D., has been considered already. Colonel Ba Shin points out that its letters are much larger, and its pointed top and general shape, both height, breadth and thickness, are quite different from the others. Inscription VII has now a broken flattish top, but may originally have had a broad flat arch, like Inscription VIII. Their workmanship, including lettering and borders, are almost exactly alike. Inscription VII has a very rough verso, not engraved: this is the chief objection – not, I think, a fatal one – to accepting VII as the first face of VIII. So far as it is legible, VII appears to duplicate VI up to the end of VI, but it had more (see Blagden’s readings on p. 153). At line 29 of VII, it seems, the Buddha’s prophecy ends; and there are 8 lines more to conclude the face.

Inscription VI apparently belongs to the earlier part of the reign. Perhaps it contained nothing but the Buddha’s prophecy. Inscription VIII, near the end of the Reverse, alludes to the prophecy; but most of what remains is in the past or present tense, recording actual happenings during the reign, each paragraph ending: –

“In that respect, too, no other king is like him.”

It belongs presumably to the latter part of the reign. – I suggest that Kyanzittha in his old age returned to Prome to reinforce the truth of the Buddha’s prophecy; that he began (on VII) by repeating it verbatim; followed it up (on VIII A) by citing his own gests as a Buddhist king; and concludes (on VIII B) with a short Pali eulogy on himself, and a final claim, in Mon, to have been the original founder of the Pyu kingdom of Old Prome, as well as the consolidator of the Mon-Burmese kingdom of Pagán.

JAYabhūMI CETIYA

If so, the earliest gests are now lost, at the flaked base of inscription VII. At the top of VIII A there is mention of a work of merit, Nīrbbānamūlabajra – and perhaps ending – páryāmahāceti, “the great cetiya, Circle of Adamant, Nirvāṇa’s root.” It was built by the king “on the site named Jaya-bhūmi, north-east of the city of Pagán.” Note the recurrence of the word Nirbbāna at the head of this name, as also in the king’s names for the two lakes he dammed. The word may be called the hallmark of Theravāda Buddhism in contrast to Mahāyānaism. It shows which way Kyanzittha’s mind was turning at this time – the climacteric in Burma’s religious history. The work of merit is certainly the Shwézigón, Burma’s most ‘national’ pagoda, where the king’s two-pillared inscription (No. I) still commands the entrance. The Chronicles say the pagoda was begun in 1059–60 A.D. by Aniruddha, who built the three terraces, and that it was merely completed by Kyanzittha. This seems improbable. Aniruddha may conceivably have chosen the site. But the three terraces are not like those of the Shwé-hsan-daw; the Jātaka-numbering differs from that of Hpetyeleik; and there is no mention of Aniruddha on the pillars. Within little more than a century, the name Jayabhūmi, “Land of Victory”

Col. Ba Shin’s measurements are as follows: – Inscription VI, 1 face; height 101 inches; breadth 38 inches (at base 36½ inches); thickness 18 inches. Inscription VII, 1 face; height 75 inches; breadth 51½ inches; thickness 10 inches (at base 9 inches). Inscription VIII, 2 faces; height 62 inches; breadth 53¼ inches; thickness 8 inches.

Blagden’s readings are given in footnotes (p. 156, n. 2) that wihärt, “monastery”, is “entirely conjectural.” – I should substitute ceti.

The exact date of the building as given in the Jātālāpam Rājavah (ed. U Hla Tin, p. 50), was Thursday, the 10th waxing of Tabòdwè, 421 s. – early in 1060 A.D.
REVISION OF THE TIPITAKA (ABEYADANA AND NAGAYON TEMPLES)

Kyanzittha’s next care (VIII A) was to “collect and purify the Tipitaka, which had become obscured and corrupt.”

Evidence is accumulating which not only confirms the fact that Kyanzittha, early in his reign, instituted a large-scale study and revision of the Tipitaka, but also that this new recension, based on orthodox Singhalese Mahavihara models, led Burma out of the East Bengal Tantric Mahayanaism of Aniruddha’s youth, and lodged it finally in the Theravada fold. More lasting than his youthful victories, this was Kyanzittha’s main contribution to his country’s history. The transition was not easy. Pagán’s natural contacts from the first were overland with North India. Her Buddhist iconography, sculpture, votive tablets, bronzes, paintings, are all North Indian in origin, based on Gandharan, Mathuran, and Pāla Bengal models. Her architecture, where it is not independent, links her to East Bengal and (perhaps) Orissa. Kyanzittha’s chief queen, Abeyadana, if not of East Bengal extraction (as I suspect), was deeply committed, as her temple proves, to Tantric Mahayanaism. Nor was it a simple choice, as Burmese Chronicles like to assume, between false doctrine and the Truth, between corrupt and scandalous living and Morality. Their version of ‘Ari’ practices in Aniruddha’s time has no inscriptive basis to support it. Many pious and venerated monks came, and still come, from “jungle monasteries.” The Buddhist way of life, so beautifully portrayed in the Abeyadana corridors, is not Theravadin, but it is deep and noble; and its Ascent to Buddhahood breathes the same idealism as Java’s Barabudur or the Talang Tuwo inscription of Śri Vijaya. Paṇḍit Atiśa, Tantric Mahayaniist, is no less famous than Shin Arahan as a reformer of Buddhism.

INFLUENCE OF CEYLON

The move Ceylonward from Bengal was started, almost by accident it seems, by Aniruddha’s demand for primary Buddhist texts. They were not obtainable, it seems, in East Bengal or Arakan. From his capture of Thaton he got little except texts of the Jataka Commentary. These were not of Singhalese origin, but possibly South Indian. They contained 550 stories, not 547; and the numbering differed from 497 onwards. Here we can check, and date, the Kyanzittha revision. The earliest pagodas

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79 At the base of the north pillar, two short later inscriptions are engraved. The upper one (of 4 lines, undated) is in Old Mon (see Epig. Birm. III, Part I, Inscription X, pp. 68-70), and records a dedication of land by Kyanzittha’s grandson and successor, Cañsi I. Here the pagoda is still called Jeyahun. Below it, on the north face, is an Old Burmese inscription of 5 lines (I.B., Pl. II 176 b), dated 611 or 617 a.d./1250 or 1256 a.d., recording a dedication of slaves to Cañhun phurha. A misreading of -bhun as -gum would account for the change, for the letters bh and g are often indistinguishable, and the sound -gum, in the latter part of a dissyllable, would naturally be written -hun.


80 See BEFEIO, t. XXX, 1930, pp. 29ff. No. II, Inscription of Talang Tuwo, 5 km. west of Palembang. Date 606 M.S./684 a.d. With the name Talang Tuwo, compare that of the pagoda at Mt. Kelasa, Kylv Talang, repaired by Kyanzittha in 1998 a.d. Is there any connection with the Orang Talang, aboriginal tribes of Central Sumatra? — Zökhökh pagoda, 28 miles. N. of Thaton, was originally built, it seems, by the hindoh, i.e. Malayan Räkṣa invaders, after their conversion to Buddhism (see U Mya. A.S.I. 1935, pp. 51-52).

81 See ch. II, p. 40 supra, and notes 187, 188.
of Pagán (East and West Hpetyei) follow the old recension. Kyanzittha, at the beginning of his reign, was of two minds: the Jātaka-numbering on the Shwézigón is a muddle of several recensions; and the older numbering of the Mahānīpāta persists, both here and in the Abeyadana; but from Nanda temple (c. 1105 A.D.) onwards to the present day, the numbering, and nearly all the naming, are Singhalese.

One can see the transition also in the temple-painting and sculptures. The earliest temples (e.g. the Nanpaya) have no Buddhist paintings; the sculpture tends to be Brahmanic. The two Hpetyei, Myinpyag and Taungbi Mon temples have little but illustrations of Jātakas. Scenes from the Buddha’s life (e.g. in the Kyaukku Ōnmin[80]) extend little beyond the Eight Scenes. The endless lines of Buddhas seated in dhyāna, preaching or earth-touching attitudes, have nothing to distinguish them. The great change comes with the Pāthothāmya, which U Mya, in just defiance of the Chronicles, seems willing to attribute to Saw Lu[84]. The date should be c. 1080 A.D. Here we have no Jātakas, but over 60 scenes from the life of the Buddha, boldly painted; rule after rule of the Vinaya, sutta after sutta of the Dīgha and Majjhima Nikāya, each with a written gloss to identify it, all with names and details following the Singhalese Canon. The process grows and extends, both in painting and sculpture, throughout Kyanzittha’s reign, and reaches its climax in the year after his death, say 1113 A.D., in the Myinkaba Kyauk-kyi temple of his son Rājakumār[85]. Rājakumār’s aim, it appears, was to depict on its walls the whole history of the world as known to the Buddhists, and told in the Singhalese Canon, followed by the Dīpavamsa, Mahāvamsa, and Cūḷavamsa, right down to his own day.

REBUILDING OF ŚRĪ BAJRĀS (BODHGAYĀ)

“Thereafter” our inscription continues (VIII A 7), “for the Holy One of Śrī Bajrās pitruh bhan (?)” which had been irretrievably destroyed by another king”, Kyanzittha “got together all sorts of precious things, and sent a ship with the intent to (re)build the Holy Śrī Bajrās: to buy (land?), dig a reservoir, make irrigated ricefields, make dams, cause candles and lamps to be lit which should never be quenched; and give drums, frog-drums, stringed and percussion instruments, and singing and dancing better than ever before. – In that, too, no other king is like him.”

Śrī Bajrās is the Vajrāsana temple of Bodhgayā in India, the “Seat of Adamant” where the Buddha attained Buddhahood. The three following syllables are not certain, and their meaning is obscure. What king had destroyed the Mahābodhi temple? And when? – Ghaznavid Muslims had sacked Benares in 1033–4 A.D. I do not know if any of them reached Bodhgayā. Or was it the Chedi prince Karnađeva, who invaded the Buddhist Pāla kingdom of Bihar (Magadha) in 1039? – That Kyanzittha repaired the Bodhgayā temple, as stated, there is no doubt whatever. For a proof of it, one need only turn to Plate 52-B of Benjamin Rowland’s Art and Architecture of India, “Vaults of Mahābodhi temple before restoration[86].” This has all the marks of early Pagán architecture: pointed arches (main arch and relieving arch) with bricks of the voussoir flat against the arch-face; the remains of what was once an elaborate torana enclosing the entrance; fine brick masonry with vertical and horizontal courses alternating; and the regular absence of integration between the Hall or maṇḍapa (on the right of the print), and the temple proper with its elaborate main entrance.

[83] Pls. 141, 142.
Chapter IV

The inscription continues (VIII A7–8): – "Thereafter, the great monuments (mahāvatthu) built by king Dharmasok, which were old and in ruin, the king repaired and made them finer than before." – These might, of course, be also in India; but I expect the reference is to "the ceti of Kyak Talai" and "the prāśāda of the great relic of Satih", near Mr. Kelása north of Thatôn, which Kyanzittha had repaired in 1098 A.D.87 If so, his Bodhgaya mission took place shortly before that date; and the case for identifying the Suvannabhumi of the Ceylon Chronicles with the Mt. Kelása region north of Thatôn, is appreciably strengthened. Dharmasok, of course, is the emperor Aśoka, who sent his missionaries there in 253 B.C. (?), after the 3rd Buddhist Council of Pāṭaliputta.

ALLIANCE WITH COŁAS

A little further on (VIII A10–17), we read: – "At that time the king heard that a Coli prince had come to Pagán. So the king bethought him that apart from the Three Gems, there is naught else that can give great happiness in this world or the worlds beyond, (or bring) Nirvāṇa to all beings: the Three Gems alone can give it. So the king wrote of the grace of the Buddha Gem, the Dharmma Gem, the Sangha Gem on leaves of gold with vermilion ink, and sent and gave them to the Coli prince. The Coli prince together with his followers... cast off adhesion to false doctrine and adhered simply to true doctrine..." And he showed his gratitude by presenting to Kyanzittha "a virgin daughter of his, full of beauty", together with a wish-fulfilling tree (kalpabriksa88) and other presents.

Coli, one assumes, means Cola. Kyanzittha, reacting perhaps against Aniruddha’s partiality for the Singhalese, though not against their religion, allied himself with the Cola bloc. A Chinese text, the Ling-wai-tai ta of Chou Chü-fei (1178 A.D.), confirms this intercourse between the Colas and Pagán. In its section on Chu-nien (= Cola) kingdom89, it says’ – “Chu-nien kingdom is South India in the west. If one wants to go to this kingdom, one should transship from Ku-lin kingdom90 (Quilon). Some say one can also go there from P’cu-kan kingdom (Pagán).”

The Burmese name for the Tamil peoples of South India, including the Colas, is ‘Kyi-kala’ (written kyan; Old Burm. klañ). Burmese Chronicles mention them briefly near the beginning of Kyanzittha’s reign91: –

“At the time of his anointing [1086 A.D.], the king’s generals brought him Kyi-kala prisoners of war, saying ‘We have conquered the Kala [Indian] country with Thandaung [‘Iron mountain’] and Nga thôn-pinȳă, [‘Sea of Na Sun’?]. And he made the Kalas live in quarters at Singu.’

Had Aniruddha, one wonders, given a token force or bodyguard of Burma troops to his old friend Vijayabahu I? – Prof. Nilakanta Sastri says92: "About 1084–5 Vijayabahu of Ceylon declared war on the Colas when he heard that the envoys he had sent to Vikramādiya VI [the Chālukyan king] had been mutilated. While he was preparing the expedition, the vēlaikkāra mercenaries, ‘unwilling to fight their Tamil kinsmen, mutinied, and burnt the royal palace. The king fled to Wakirigala, but returning crushed the insurrection, the ringleaders being burnt at the funeral pyre of the royal generals whom they murdered. The vēlaikkāra forces learnt the lesson, and at the end of the reign set up the

87 supra, p. 56.
89 Ling-wai-tai ta ch. 2, f. 13 r0–v9, "Chu-nien kingdom."
90 ibid., ch. 2, f. 13 r0–v9, "Ku-lin kingdom." In Travancore.
fine Tamil stone inscription still extant at Polonnaruva in which is recorded their agreement to protect the new Tooth Relic temple." – Dr. Mendis dates this rebellion in 1085; and it is described at length in the 13th century Cūlavānasa. – It looks as if these Tamil prisoners of war may have been captured in the course of this rebellion.

MASS RELIGIOUS ENTHUSIASM

Kyanzittha's inscription continues with a list of tribute-offerings paid monthly to the king "by people of the towns, the country and the jungle, each according to his means" – golden umbrellas, canopies, fans, couches, cushions, sandals, greaves; models of date-palms (sindi), iron-wood trees (kajnu), lions, wish-fulfilling trees,... pavilions; figures of elephants, of men, of devas and clan-spirits (kindok); lights for altars, golden flowers by the thousand, flower-umbrellas and cloth umbrellas by the hundred. "On such occasions the full-grown male elephants would pick up... flowers and come dancing and make their offerings to the king. The horses would dance. And the people, in the guise of all manner of creatures, clan-spirits and devas, would act as spirit mediums (dōn) and enter singing and dancing and make their offerings to the king. After the manner of singing and dancing of all the towns, countries, villages and jungle folk... they would come singing and dancing every time, and make their offerings to the king."

Mass-enthusiasm was thus exploited by Kyanzittha as a means, not only to serve religion and morality, but also to ease his subjects when they paid their taxes. They would bring him living creatures by the thousand, and he would pour holy water and release them. "By the power of loving-kindness... all the birds on the high roads, in the lanes, and at the palace, would not flee. They would lodge in cages. They would come and perch on the roofs,... and the king would stroke them with his hand... and call them 'Birds of the Dhamma.'" – It is a pity that so much of the final face of this inscription is fragmentary.

NEW PALACE INSCRIPTION, 1102 A.D.

Finally, there is the long Palace inscription, pillars and fragments of which, now at Pagān Museum, were originally found near the Tharaba Gate, on the south side of the road within the Gate,

94 Cūlavānasa, ch. 60, vv. 24–47. See also the Ceylon University History of Ceylon, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 433–4. On the importance of the Tamil inscription, see supra, Ch. II, n. 185.
95 U Wun informs me that "Pali sindi and khajjārīt appear in the Abhidhānappadīṭṭhā, verse 603. In the old Nissaya (1108 B.C.) by Kyaw-aung-san-hta Sayadaw the words are identified with Burmese sakphō; Phoenix paludos. In the new Nissaya (1287 B.C.) by Ashin Aggadharmacchīnāsa they are rendered as cwanpalwān; Phoenix dactylifera, the Date-Palm." Sir George Watt (The Commercial Products of India, 1908, p. 882) gives both 'khajur' and 'sindhi' as names for the Date-palm. The latter name, he says, "denotes its origin from Sind."
96 Old Mon kajnu becomes Old Burmese hamkah samuiw, Mod. Burm. kanythē, Pali nāga, Sanskrit nāgaheṣara. It is dear to Buddhists as the Bodhi tree of 4 of the 28 Buddhas: Māṇgala, Sumana, Revata and Sobhita, and also as bearing the distinctive flower of the Bodhisattva Maitreya. The botanical name is Mesua ferrea.
97 The same word (dōn) is still used for spirit-mediums in Vietnam. See Maurice Durand, Technique et Panthéon des Médiums Viêt-namiens (Paris, 1959). In Mod. Mon dōn "denotes the kind of mediums who are the chief assistants in the kalok [Old Mon kindok] dance; see Halliday, The Talaiangs, p. 100." Epig. Birm. I, Part II, p. 166, n. 2.
98 Inscription VIII A, lines 21–24.
99 Inscription VIII B, lines 1–5.
100 Epig. Birm. III, Part I, Inscription IX, pp. 1–68. Pagān Museum Stones 1, 2, 6, 7, 8 and 9. Dr. Blagden, in editing this difficult inscription for Epigraphia Birmanica, was given inadequate information and inaccurate measurements of the stones: with the result that his order of the faces is confused. Please see my "Note on the order of faces of the Palace-Inscription" at the end of this chapter. In the text I ignore Blagden's order of faces, and follow my own.
where the palace-site is still remembered. It was engraved on four tall four-sided pillars. It began, it seems, with a short section, now unfortunately fragmentary, on the actual architecture, and continued with a long account of the numerous ceremonies. The exact date and time of each event are noted; but the extant portions contain no year-date. The late Sir Robert Sewell\(^{101}\), however, calculated that “within the period covered by Kyanzittha’s reign, the end of the year 1101 A.D. and the early part of 1102 best fit the particulars given.”\(^{102}\)

The palace was doubtless made of wood: nothing but the site remains. Fires at Pagán were not infrequent. Another palace (Old Burm. 잉 태, “royal house”), we read\(^{103}\), was built just a century later, in 1204–5 A.D.; and again in 1225 we hear of a great fire when “the whole capital was burnt.”\(^{104}\)

Kyanzittha’s palace is called in the inscription rājasthān Pukām\(^{105}\), “Palace of Pagán.” A fragmentary passage mentions rājasthān Jeyabhūṃ\(^{106}\), “Palace of the Land of Victory.” The name might be applied to any auspicious site: but elsewhere (Inscription VIII A²) Kyanzittha applies it to the Shwézigōn. Perhaps we may assume that while the Pagán palace was in building, the king lived in a temporary palace three miles distant, near the Shwézigōn, his work of merit. His abhiṣekha building of 1086 A.D. is described in his other inscriptions\(^{107}\) as a paṇcapraśāda, “fivefold pavilion”; and his new palace was also clearly built on the paṇcapraśāda basis, namely, a “Great Pavilion” (prāṣāt jnov) doubtless in the centre, and four “minor pavilions” (prāṣāt cindrow) set about it, very likely at the corners. If so, the quincunxial arrangement would show that Old Mon architecture in Burma – all Kyanzittha’s temples were of ‘Mon’ type – bore some resemblance in plan to Old Khmer\(^{108}\). The inscription is too fragmentary to let one speak with much assurance: but one may suggest that the palace stood in a four-sided court (Old Mon ṭan ?)\(^{109}\), with gateways (muk)\(^{110}\) in the centre of each side, perhaps connected by an ambulatory or covered cloister (ṭin jin muk)\(^{111}\), which ran round the four sides.

The terms for East and West offer no difficulty, either in Mon or Burmese. Those for North and South as used in Mon, and that for North in Burmese, are mysterious. In this inscription one term is cīn kinta\(^{112}\), literally “elephant in front”, which Blagden translates “the front gable-end”, and takes to

\(^{101}\) Joint-author of The Indian Calendar (London, 1896) and author of Indian Chronography (London, 1912), etc.


\(^{103}\) J.B., Pl. I 27, Stone 14 at Pagán Museum, 566 s./1204–5 A.D.

\(^{104}\) J.B., Pl. II 122 a², 587 s./1225 A.D., praṅ khapān loṅ so. The inscription was found in a field half a mile west of Kyaukhpū village, about 2 miles west of Meiktila. Praṅ, “capital!” should refer to Pagán; but I am not sure whether here it does not mean Meiktila.

\(^{105}\) Epig. Birm. III, Part I, Inscription IX, Face G². At Inscription I, Face C⁴, it is called simply prāṣād; at Inscription VIII B⁹ rājasthān. Inscription IX E² shi rājasthān.

\(^{106}\) Epig. Birm. III, Part I, Inscription IX, Face F⁴. If this was a temporary palace near the Shwézigōn, could it have been the ‘Kyanzittha Önhmin’ of today?

\(^{107}\) Inscription III, Face C¹; V³⁸; VI⁷; etc. Monier-Williams’ Sanskrit-English Dictionary defines paṇcapraśāda as “a temple with four pinnacles and steeple.” This would apply to Old Mon temples as a whole; but the four prāṣāt cindrow of Kyanzittha’s palace appear to have been distinct from the prāṣāt jnov.

\(^{108}\) See e.g., Henri Marchal, L’Architecture comparée dans l’Inde et l’Extrême-Orient (Paris, 1944), p. 156, fig. 107 “Plan de Pré Rup (Angkor),” and p. 161, fig. 112 “Plan de la terrasse supérieure de Takeo (Angkor),” and the author’s comment on the quincuncial plan on p. 227 (49⁰); on p. 231, however, he says that this plan, “frequent in Camboja, sporadic and rather rare in India, is ‘tout à fait inconnue en Birmanie, au Champa et à Java.’” – From the Pagán period onwards, it has been the normal arrangement of the Burma pagoda: – central Stupa, with four corner-stupas.


\(^{110}\) muk. Face B¹⁴–¹⁵, 26–²⁸; H¹⁷; J¹⁶; K¹⁸.

\(^{111}\) ṭin jin muk. Face L¹², and p. 62, n. 6.

\(^{112}\) cīn kinta. Face B³, ²⁸.
be North; the other, which we may doubtfully restore as *sumluñ ḫibir*, literally “above the river”, he refers to “the back of the building . . . probably the southern end of it.” The Modern Mon for South is *sumluñ kya*, literally “above the wind”; and for North *smañ kya*, “below the wind.” The Old Burmese for North, *mlac ok* (often contracted into *mlok*), literally “below the river,” is obviously coined on the same analogy; and points to the view that “above the river” in Old Mon meant the opposite, that is South, the equivalent of Modern Mon “above the wind.” As for “elephant in front,” it recalls the fact that the Roof-ridge is called in Mon “the elephant of the house”. Citing the 18th-century Mon poem, *Lokasiddhi*, by the Monk of Aswo, Halliday notes that according to Mon custom (not always observed), “the front of the house would be towards the north” – All this confirms Blagden’s statements, and shows that Kyanzittha’s palace, conforming to the Mon rule, had its gable-frontage facing north, towards the main road and the river.

The central feature of the palace was doubtless the throne-room (*sînghâsin*). It seems to have occupied the east side of the Great Pavilion, the west side being the Great Audience Hall (*dîrlec cîrmuk*). Throne-room and Audience-hall had each a porch (*muk*), perhaps to east and west respectively. The four minor pavilions had no porches. An important building in the enclosure was the *jûñ dal*, “Foot of the Mountain”, possibly the living quarters or antechambers at the foot of the “Golden Mountain” (Old Burm. *rhuy toh*), i.e. the Throne. The *jûñ dal* had its own hall (*dîrlec*), porch (*muk*), and doors. There was also the *prâsâl bîrlup*, “Ablution Pavilion”, for ceremonial washing, without a porch, it seems. There were stairways (*sopân*) resting on posts, probably from ground to floor-level, since there is no suggestion of an upper storey. All these buildings rested on Posts (*jîñjun*). The main ceremonial interest centres on these, especially the posts of the throne-room and audience-hall. The posts on the two sides were distinguished as male and female; the central ones as “posts of fame” (*jîñjun yas*) and “posts of renown” (*jîñjun atas*). There were also “posts of renown” at the corners.

The chief decorative feature was clearly the Archways (*torin* from Sanskrit *torana*), especially their Arch-pediments (*clec or clac*), which probably framed all the doors and windows. They appear to have fascinated Kyanzittha. His *abhîśeka* pavilion had no less than 28 *sîni* *clac dûn*. Perhaps it was a four-sided pavilion, with a central door on each side and three windows to left and right of it. Alternatively, there may have been (as in the brick monasteries) two doors near the corners of each face, with five windows between them. All were faced with arch-pediments. Here is part of the description of one in the palace: –

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113 *sumluñ ḫibir*. Face B4, and p. 8, n. 3; p. 39, n. 2.
115 Inscription IX, Face H12. The *dîrlec cîrmuk* appears to be the same as *dîrlec jînok* (A28) and *cîrmuk* (B22). *Dîrlec* also occurs at S6. 11. Note that Old Mon *dîrlec* or *dîrluc*, “hall”, passed into Old Burm. *tuluw* (I.B., Pl. III 283).
116 Face B24, 25.
118 *prâsâl bîrlup* (or *bîrlip*). A9, 16, B24, E19, F28, G6–7.
119 *sopân*. L18, M9.
121 Face J19–20.
122 A pure Mon word. It passes into Old Burm. *calac*.
123 Inscription III, C12. Mr. H. L. Shorto connects *dûn* with Mod. Mon *sânh*, “pincers of a crab.”
"In the middle, at the top of the pediment of the arch, there was the goddess Śrī (kyāk srī), made of shining gold, glittering with precious gems. On both sides, above the capitals of the arch-posts, there were two golden figures of devas in the act of blessing, with golden flowers and garlands within the arch, and pearl pendants and gold plantain-leaves. At every apex of the arch there was a gold stalk as a finial, and a... of gold with gold tracery (?). On each side stood a golden leoglyph (byāl). Above each leoglyph there was a golden capricorn (māhākar). Above each capricorn there was a golden duck (bīp) holding stalk and leaf, all made of shining gold. Above the trunks of each of the capricorns there was golden scrollwork with a ruby pinnacle, and in the middle a great lotus-flower..."

Other decorative features of the throne-room and audience-hall were figures of dancers, drummers, etc.; lions between lionesses at the corners; jambs of arches framed with heads of elephants, and thereon leoglyphs, and thereon capricorns, and thereon lotuses with bulb and flower and fruit, and thereon golden ducks with pearls pendent. Some, at least, of the figures were sheathed in glaze. Glazing — an art which in Burma goes back at least to the Pyu capital of 800 A.D., became very popular again from Kyanziththa’s reign onwards.

CEREMONIES

The ceremonies began with bathing of the sites where the buildings were to go up, and frequent bathing of the various posts. The posts were put ready at their respective sites, also the arch-pediments of each side of the main building. Then (Face B) there was singing in Burmese (mirmā), Mon

124 Kyeh srī occurs again at Face P4. The goddess Śrī (Lakṣmi) occupies the same central position on the top architrave of the south (the oldest) tovāna of Sāñci Great Stupa (see J. Marshall, A Guide to Sanchi, pp. 50 and 44, n. 1). In Old Mon she becomes the symbol of splendour and good fortune. The word passes into Old Burm. kyahsary (often misspelt kyahsare today).
125 byāl. Sanskrit svāla, lion rampant, leoglyph.
126 māhākar. Misspelling for mahā, Sanskrit/Pali maha. As a sign of the Zodiac, it corresponds to Capricornus, the "horned goat." The horns are hardly seen in Burma, but are clear on the maha stair-ramps at Polonnaruwa, Ceylon. Elephant-head, svāla and maha superposed are common in the reredos of Buddhist images of the Gupta period, and also at Pyu Śrī Kṣetra.
127 bīp. The wild duck or goose; roughly corresponding to Sanskrit/Pali haṅsa. The bird was a favourite of Kyanziththa, who, in his statuary, usually makes a pair of them perch behind the shoulders of his Buddhas.
128 Face R4–16. For details of the architecture, see especially the fragmentary faces S, N and R.
129 All the Chinese texts about the Pyu of this date mention their glazed bricks, tiles of lead and tin, and trade with neighbouring tribes in “glazed ware and earthenware jars” (J.B.R.S. Vol. XXVII, Part III, 1937, pp. 250–1). The Man-shu (transl. p. 90) says their city-wall (probably Halin), one day-stage in perimeter, was made of “green bricks”. – In our inscription (Face S4), what Biagden literally translates “clec of mirrors”, I take to be the glazed sheathing of the finials of pediments, which one can still see on some Pagan temples.
130 Mirmā is the Old Mon form of Old Burmese Mranmā. The latter first occurs at J.B., Pl. I 106 (552 s./1190 A.D.). The corresponding Chinese name, Mien (omitting the final syllable), seems to occur first in the dynastic history of the Mongols (Yüan-shih, ch. 210, Section on Mien). Mr. Michael Blackmore points out to me a much earlier use of the same character under date 432 A.D., in the inscription of Ts’uan Lung-yen dated 458 A.D. at Lu-liang chou, east of Yün-nan Fu. This inscription, edited by Chavannes – “Four Inscriptions of Yün-nan (Mission of Commandant d’Ollone)”, Journal Asiatique, July-Aug. 1909, 10th Series, Vol. XIV, p. 37 –, states that in 432 the territory of Ning-chou in south-east Yün-nan was ravaged on its eastern and western borders (?) by the soldiers of Mien. Chavannes adds in a note that “the name Mien denotes Burma. Our inscription appears to be the most ancient text in which it figures.” – There is no other evidence, I think, to suggest that the ancestors of the Burmans were ever in south-east Yün-nan. And in view of the enormous gap in time between this and the next known mention of Mien, I imagine that the reference here is to quite a different tribe with a similar name. – In our inscription Mirmā occurs again at Faces D and H. 5
Besides the Brahmins, government officials were prominent, showing that these were no uncouth foreign rites. There were *sumbeh* (or *sambeh*) *grī* and *leñ*, "thambyin great and small". Note that *grī* "great" and *leñ* "small" are almost the only almost the only Burmese words admitted into Old Mon. The "thambyin" included the chief ministers: *Prajñālākār, Jeysabhan, Kaisāsār, Rājāsūr (or Rājīsrūr), Rīpumadano, Mhāśakti* and *A... bhirac* all with Indian titles. There were also various *kalan* with non-Indian names: *kalan syī, kalan keñ, kalan sā* all clearly junior in rank to the 'thambyin'. There were *yan sañ* probably the important village worthies called in Old Burmese *sañ krī* and *sañ*

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133 *Māñ... (?)* The name may or may not be complete. It appears to be, or to include, the general name, *Mang*, discussed at the beginning of this chapter, which was applied by Fan Ch'o and other Chinese authors to the proto-Burmese tribes of the Nan-chao borderland, who called their chieftains 'Mang.' These Hille-Burmese, like the Dānu of today, talked the Burmese language with dialectal differences. They may well be the *Māñk* of Marvazi, as Prof. V. Minorsky suggests (on pp. 49, 150 of his translation). The Plains Burmans at the time were few, and doubtless took every opportunity to coax their brothers in the hills to come and join them.

134 *Face C21—23, 42—43.*

135 *Face H12.* Blagden (p. 57, n. 2) thinks that these Burmans and Mons were also Brahman astrologers. I think this is doubtful.

136 *buñnañ sakhrañ.* Faces A12, E27, J2, K9, L19.

137 *buñnañ daksāñ.* Face E28, and p. 49, n. 12.

138 *Face D24* and p. 45, n. 6. I prefer Blagden's alternative rendering to that in the text: "Burmese who bore swords".

139 *Face B14.*

140 *sambeh grī.* Face A24, G10—11, H17—18. *Prajñālākār* "Ornament of Wisdom." *Jeysabhan* "Concourse of victory." *Jeysabhan* occurs again in Old Burmese (*I.B.,* Pl. II 110f), under date 443 S.,1081—2 A.D. in *Māñ Lūlañ*’s reign, dedicating rice-fields at *Calāñ* (Salin) to a pagoda south-east of the Nagayón, Pagān. *Kaisāsār, the demon Kaimāsa*, cousin and enemy of *Kṛṣṇa*, who finally killed him: this appears to be the only allusion to the Kṛṣṇa story in Pagān writings. *Rājāsūr* 'royal Hero': the variant, *Rājīsrūr*, is given the Old Mon noun *infixed, -sr.* *Rīpumadano* "Crusher of enemies." *Mhāśaktī* "great Might": this Sanskrit title, not understood by the Burmans, was soon corrupted into *Mahā-saḥ-khić, *Great Terror of the Saḥ* (Thetas). The last fragmentary title ends with *-ahiraja* "monarch."

141 *kalan.* Face H24—27.

142 *yan sañ.* Faces A27, B12, C20, G22, 25, G16, 81, 29, H11, 44. *Yan* is just an honorific "the" in Old Mon. *sañ*, Mod. Burm. *asah*, is from Sanskrit/Pali *sañgha* "assembly, society."
lyan, “sañ great and small”, who were perhaps president and vice-president of the local ‘athan’ or village assembly. There were паndāl, “scholars”, the influential literate class, called in Old Burmese sākhamin, “persons who know” (Tibetan mk‘yen). Twice there is mention of trāp dumsac, “lords of the... (?) in charge of the works”; and once of kла pñañ, “tigers of the army”, military officers. Once a “chief architect,” trāp bissukar, is mentioned. All wore white ceremonial clothes and hair-bands (juk sok). Some Brahmins wore girdles (mekhāla) and carried tridents or forked spears (?). Various musical instruments, drums, trumpets, etc., would be struck or blown at appropriate moments, and then the audience would shout.

Buddhism in this inscription yields pride of place to Vaishnava Brahmanism, Nāga-worship, and other rites. Buddhist monks were called, in particular, to recite protective charms (paritta) round all the buildings, especially the throne-room. On Feb. 28th 1102 “offerings were made to Indra and all the devas,” likewise to “all the images of Buddha which are in this city of Pagán”. The main Buddhist ceremonies took place on March 1st to 2nd, when, after worship of Nār (Viṣṇu), the maññhāra Arahan arrived with seven leading monks and spread lotus leaves on all the spots where the holes for the various posts were to be dug. Four thousand monks were distributed outside, under eight leaders in the reciting of the parit. Inside there were 108 principal monks, headed by Arahan. Near the east porch of the “Great Hall” (which seems here to include the Throne-room), a sanctuary was made for gold images of the Buddha and Gavampati, and for a set of the Tipiṭaka (Vinaya, Sutta and Abhidhamma). Drums and trumpets were sounded in honour of the Buddha, Gavampati, and all the 4108 monks headed by Arahan. The officials reverently asked for the ‘Refuges’ (saraṇaśil), the parit, and the mañgal (blessing) to be recited within, without, and all around. Arahan stood at the west side, facing the Buddha on the east, commanding (one imagines) the whole of the Great Pavilion. He held in his hand a right-voilated conch-shell (symbol of Viṣṇu), as he gave the ‘Refuges’, all the 4108 monks within and without remaining standing.

142 paññit. Faces A87, C60.
143 trāp dumsac. Faces F72, H94. trāp = lord.
144 kla pñañ. Face F72, kla = tiger. pñañ = army.
146 The Old Mon terms for Clothes are sirpu, gik huchom, sathu sāh, sathu cindrow. gik and sirpu were nether garments. Riang-lang s‘an pñan to this day means merely “joincloth”. Sirpu has passed into Burm. sañ:puñ, the monk’s under-garment (antararasa), and thence into Palaung, Thai, Khmer, etc. For huchom and cindrow, see Blagden’s notes at pp. 37, n. 1: 40, n. 1. Sathu was presumably the upper garment, whether shirt (the “minor”, if that is the meaning of cindrow), or jacket (“the grand.” Pali uḷāra).
147 mekhāla. Face F22. Sanskrit/Pali mekhālā.
148 Faces C87, E3 kān bnas; E20 bnas kān; F6 bnas kāñ. See Blagden’s note, p. 44, n. 3. Mod. Mon bnuh (? bnuh kāñ) = spear. Cf. the Thatōn trāp inscription (I.B. Pl. IV 3582) bnas kāñ, spear and shield. I take kāñ to be Middle Mon gāñ (Epig. Birm. III, Part 11, Inscr. XII M93), and Modern Burmese duñ, the round shield.
149 See Faces A11–12, 32; F3–32; G4–4; H4; K3–7. Some are instruments of percussion, introduced with the word tik (Mod. Mon twik) = to strike. These include pham = drum; pham klo, perhaps the bronze frog-drum, Karen klo; gac; pia; and sinig (cf. Srē or Kēo sōng = “drum, generally of deer-skin”). Is this last the “Ceylon drum”, pham singhuwa, of Halliday’s Mon-English Dictionary (p. 310), said to mean “a tomtom”? Others are wind-instruments, introduced with the word pgo (Mod. Mon paguwa) = to blow. These include tāpiw (which Mr. H. L. Shorto, I believe, identifies with the reed-horn); kāh or kāhār; mura; and t‘sd. The “loud lāthar (lāthar māsān)” of Face F34–32 might come either under Wind or Percussion. The maññhāra Arahan holds a “right-voilated conch-shell kīlo’ sañ dakhhsindwāl”, (Face 41–42). Strings are not mentioned in this inscription; but in Jātkara stories tasa (Mod. Mon t‘asa) corresponds to Old Burm. cōh and to Pali cīnā. The general word for musical instruments was twik twik or twik twah, derived from tik (to play on strings) and tik (to strike).
151 Face D20–30.
152 Faces D44 and A.
153 dīrtac śnok. Face A88.
Elsewhere, incidentally it is said that on every fast-day while the palace was being built, Araham and other lords of the Church would come at sunset to the Jethawan (perhaps the nearby Nanda monastery?). Assisted by “the children of Mon chiefs” and other officials and prominent men, they would hold a midnight service, reciting the parit at the various points desired, and sprinkling from conch-shells paritta water, mixed with husked rice and ‘doob’ grass. – Apart from these mentions, Buddhism hardly enters into the proceedings; and one wonders if all of these can rightly be called Buddhist.

After the averting of evil and the blessing of the site and the posts, before breaking of the soil, the Nāgas (whose domain it was) had to be propitiatsed. This was done (if my proposed order of faces is correct – H after A) immediately after the Buddhist ceremony, on March 2nd. After worship of Nār (Viṣṇu), a sanctuary was made for the Nāgas. Sand was placed on all the spots where holes were to be dug – the spots already covered with lotus leaves by Araham and his monks. The sambeñ Prajñālānkār ceremoniously pressed into the ground a gold peg with seven silver cords attached, and patted the sand smooth. Then he brought gold leaf (the passage unfortunately is fragmentary), and “thread spun by virgin daughters of Brahmins, daughters of tender age,” … and “spades with turned handles (?).” Holy water was sprinkled frequently. Prajñālānkār and the chief architect took the lead. The kalan siy first dug the holes for the “male side-posts”; the kalan koñ dug the holes for the “female side-posts”; the kalan sā dug the holes for the yas posts, and so on. The number of strokes of the spade at each spot was carefully fixed.

Next it was the turn of the Posts to be propitiatsed. On March 3rd the “mat” (snāl) at their bases was made of pounded stone. On March 6th gold was applied, and the tīwās (probably some part of the post) specially bathed. Thirty-seven sanctuaries were made for the Posts, each one furnished with a mat, four pots of water, husked rice and ‘doob’ grass. Perhaps jewels were inlaid. On March 7th gold leaf, silver leaf, and copper leaf were buried at ten spots. The bottom of each Post was covered with gold, silver and copper leaf – three layers. Their bases were wrapped with cloth inscribed with “writings of victory” (jeyyalekha). After recitation and sprinkling, they were bound with thread spun by “virgin daughters of Brahmins, daughters of tender age,” on 108 spools.

Then and not before, on Friday March 7th 1210, the Posts of the throne-room were set up vertically in their holes. It was the great day, when the king, “the lord abounding in merit” as he is here called, appears for the only time in the inscription. “From his lodge (? dinañ) near the Jethawan, he made his
elephant enter in front of the last building (\textit{rāṇ kinnūna}) of Pagán, within the lower wall\textsuperscript{168.}'' His white elephant, \textit{Erāvāna-mahāvijeyya-bajrabhūm}, ''Great Adamantine Seat of Victory'', named \textit{Airāvata} after Indra’s elephant, was on one side, his riding horse on the other, both richly caparisoned. Pahanquins – possibly for the palace ladies – followed after. The officials and Brahmons did obeisance; and the latter, after asking permission, ``worshipped Nār after the ancient manner\textsuperscript{167.}'' Drums and trumpets sounded, and there was a great shout. All the Posts were now built up, their lotus bases wound with white cloth, their holes first fed with boiled rice, fresh milk, and the five kinds of gems; and they were all washed and worshipped\textsuperscript{168.}

On the following day, Saturday March 8th, the leading ministers dug holes at the four sides of the 	extit{yas} posts, and buried four caskets of copper containing the four treasures (gold, silver and jewels) wrapped in white cloth\textsuperscript{169.} On March 12th the posts of the 	extit{muk} were set up – the torches of the throne-room, and the four gateways of the enclosure-wall; also the four 	extit{atas} posts at the corners of the Great Pavilion\textsuperscript{170.} On Wednesday April 2nd the hall and doors of the 	extit{juñ dal} were completed\textsuperscript{171.} On April 7th the posts were carved\textsuperscript{172.} On Wednesday April 9th attention was given to the four-sided ambulatory (\textit{triṇ jiṅ muk}).\textsuperscript{172} Before April 16th (?) the stairways (\textit{sopān}) were completed\textsuperscript{174.} But all this latter part is fragmentary\textsuperscript{175.}

PROBLEMS OF THE REIGN

Kyanzittha’s palace-inscription, set beside the others, both autobiographic and ‘prophetic’, and the evidence of his major temples, the Nagayôn and the Nanda, as well as that of his chief queen, Abêyadan, present a complex picture of intense multi-religious life. To distinguish Palace and Pagoda, and to claim that Burmese kings were Brahmanist in the one, and Buddhist in the other, may possibly be valid in a secular age; but cannot, I think, be true of early Pagán, when religion dominated everything. Not a Pagán citizen by birth, Kyanzittha had devoted years of loyal service to Pagán kings. They had shown themselves ungrateful. Recalled from exile to save Pagán from ruin, he had done so; and in 1084 became king of Pagán by sheer merit, almost in spite of himself. According to the \textit{Jādābōn Yazawin}\textsuperscript{176}, he was then 54 years old. This would put his birth about 1030 A.D. If so, he was barely 25 when, in the middle 1050’s, he became Aniruddha’s cavalry-general. Few Burmans, and not many Mons, could have grudged him the Pagán throne. Why, then, was he at pains to forge a Buddha-prophecy, and promulgate fantastic stories of his former lives? Why did he, a Burman, insist on tracing

\textsuperscript{168} Face F\textsuperscript{14} and onwards. Does \textit{ma sar}, “lower”, here mean \textit{sma⁺w hya}, “north”? The passage is difficult and the rendering doubtful. For Blagden’s view, see p. 51.

\textsuperscript{167} Faces F\textsuperscript{32}, G\textsuperscript{4}.

\textsuperscript{169} Face G\textsuperscript{9–16}.

\textsuperscript{170} Faces F\textsuperscript{32}, G\textsuperscript{4}.

\textsuperscript{171} Face J\textsuperscript{13–20}.

\textsuperscript{172} Face L\textsuperscript{1–20}.

\textsuperscript{173} \textit{triṇ jiṅ muk}. Face L\textsuperscript{10–13}.

\textsuperscript{174} \textit{sopān}. Faces L\textsuperscript{18}, M\textsuperscript{5–10}.

\textsuperscript{175} Possibly a part of this palace-inscription may be a fragment “discovered at Myipanag, near Pagán, by the roadside, by some coolies while digging a drain. It measures about 94 in. \times 64 in., and is apparently a piece broken off from a corner of a four-sided stone column of fairly large size. The language is Old Mon, but on account of its fragmentary nature it has not been possible to make a translation of it. Palaeographically it may belong to king Kyanzittha’s time (1084–1112 A.D.). The stone has now been preserved in the Archaeological Office, Mandalay” (\textit{A.S.I.} 1930–34, Part I, p. 247). – I have not seen this fragment; but a rubbing or photograph was presumably sent to Blagden, whose manuscript-book (p. 135), now at the London School of Oriental and African Studies, gives his first readings. There are only 6 short fragmentary lines, it seems, on one side, and 3 on another; there are 3 mentions of “litters” (\textit{luwar}), which remind one of many passages in the palace-inscription. But it must be admitted that Myinpanag is a mile from the palace-site.

\textsuperscript{176} \textit{Jādābōn Rājavah}, p. 40 (No. 44).
his descent from the Pyu of Prome (Srī Kṣetra), yet leave inscriptions there written, neither in Burmese nor Pyu, but in Mon? Why was he the only Burmese king to use, almost exclusively in writing, the Mon language? Why did he choose to build dark romantic cave-temples of 'Mon' type, so different from the solid stupas of Aniruddha, so different from the plain bright lofty Burmese temples of most of his successors? His chief queen, who, according to the legend, had faithfully followed him with food when he was a weary outlaw,

177 was a devoted Bengal Mahāyānist. She built the most deeply lovely Buddhist temple at Pagán, while he, on the other side of the road, was building the Nagayôn – the first temple to show his complete conversion to Singhaelese Theravāda. At the same time his son (not hers), Rājakumār, was hard at work (at the Mrakan stone library, I believe), aided by the best scholars of Pagán, on Pali and Singhaelese texts. His father, and the mahāthera Arahan, were preaching daily sermons to the people. The best sculptors were at work producing thousands

178 of stone and terracotta sculptures of the life and lives of the Buddhas, not the Bodhisattvas. The best painters were covering acres of walls in temples with illustrations of the whole Tipiṭaka, Vinaya, Suttanta, Abhidhamma. All, except his loved and loving chief queen, were helping to lead Burma fast into the Theravāda fold. A sincere Buddhist, deeply religious, eager to uphold, spread and purify the religion, why did he claim to be an Avatār of Viṣṇu? The mahāthera Arahan was his "right hand man",

180 the supposed importer of pure Theravāda Buddhism from Thatôn. Why did they both take part in, or permit, these Vaiśṇava Brahmanic ceremonies, this Nāga-worship, spirit-worship, and the primitive cult of House-posts? Why, finally, was he succeeded by his grandson, though his own dear royal son, Rājakumār, was present at his deathbed, showing a touching gratitude to a father who had disinherited him?

These are hard questions. Perhaps one is on the road to solving them once one admits that Kyanzittha was a Burma nationalist (probably the first of them) rather than a Burmese nationalist. So far as Burmans were concerned, he had no need to forge a Buddha-prophecy. But he was not content, it seems, to resume the humble role of the pre-Aniruddha kings of Tambadāpa. Already, under Aniruddha, he had conquered Lower Burma: but he himself calls it "other countries". It seems that he conceived, and was perhaps the first to conceive, a plan of high statesmanship: not merely to conquer Burma, as Aniruddha had done, but to unite it. Under the aegis of Buddhism – chiefly, but not only the Theravāda – Buddhism of a wide syncretistic kind, embracing not only Mahāyānism and the earlier Tāntric schools of East Bengal, but also the old Vedic and Brahmanic cults (excluding sacrifice), especially Vaiśṇavisism, whose influence was deep in Lower Burma, both among Mon and Pyu; heedful also of the old Nāga-worship of the north, of native Burmese animism (still prominent at his

177 "Once when Saw Lu was wroth with him, and his prosperity and followers were forfeited, he slept alone in a grazing ground for horses; and while he slept a young Nāga came and watched over him. At that place, when he became king, he built the Nagayôn pagoda" (G.P.C., p. 108). "His wife" adds Taw Sein Ko, "who had brought some food for him, ... not daring to approach the spot ... . waited for the disappearance of the serpent which glided away silently" (Amended List of Ancient Monuments in Burma, Rangoon 1921, Meiktila Division No. 35, p. 22).

178 Nanda temple alone contains about 1600 stone reliefs, mostly of Kyanzittha's period, and 1464 green-glazed terracottas. All are orthodox Theravāda.

179 For illustrations of the Vinaya, see the upper tiers of the Pāthothānya Shrine; for the Suttanta, see especially the middle tiers of the Pāthothānya shrine, the Nagayôn corridor, and the Alôpyi' shrines; for the Abhidhamma, see the inner corridor wall of Myinkaba Kubyauk-gyi.


181 supra, n. 6.
first ‘national’ pagoda, the Shwézigon), of the clan-spirits (kindok) and spirit-mediums (don) of the ancient Mons, perhaps even of aboriginal totemism – he seems to have striven, with the help of his mahāthera Arahan, to lay a broad and strong foundation for a united Burma. It was perhaps Kyanzittha’s modest and broad-minded view of the Burman’s role in Burma, that was largely responsible for the remarkable stability of the kingdom, which, militarily weak as it was, lasted nearly two hundred years after him, disturbed by little internal strife, and only perished under the overwhelming force of alien invaders. His broad religious policy succeeded; for whatever the Chronicles may say, Pagan Buddhism, sincere and ardent as it was, was far from pure.

His language policy was not equally enduring; but under the circumstances, and granted the ends he had in view, it is hard to see what other he could have adopted. For the 11th century, we have to imagine the present proportion of Burmese and Mons reversed: a small minority of conquering Burmans, large numbers of native Mons; among the Burmans, only a few literates, mostly in Kyauksè and the capital; among the Mons, an old evolved literature, worthy vehicle for the arts, Buddhism and government. The first necessity for a united Burma was a common written language. The only possible alternative then to Mon was, not Burmese, but Pyu. Pyu, though venerable, was now archaic, and its peculiar script a curiosity. In numbers, too, and range, the Pyu were doubtless far inferior to the Mon. In seeking to impose the Mon written language on the peoples of Burma, Kyanzittha had reason enough: but other considerations, I suspect, may have influenced his choice. Like many another conqueror in history, the victor of the Mons was vanquished by their culture. Perhaps he underestimated the immense vitality of his own people, and the latent possibilities of their language. Shortly after his death, in 1113 A.D., his own son, Rājakumār, engraved the first dated inscription in Old Burmese; and after a half-century of hesitation under his successors, Kyanzittha’s language-policy was finally reversed by Cañsū II (Narapatisithu): Burmese entered into its own, and within three centuries Burmese was influencing Mon, more than ever Mon had influenced Burmese.

RĀJAKUMĀR’S QUADRILINGUAL INSCRIPTION, 1113 A.D.

Before we come to the problem of the succession, let us first look close at Rājakumār’s inscription. It records a touching scene at his father’s deathbed. It is the famous inscription wrongly known as the ‘Myazedi’\(^1\). The Myazedi pagoda is a solid stupa of modern date at Myinpagan, a mile south of Pagan. It stands on the north bank of the Myinkaba ‘stream’, which runs winding through the village. The site was once part of the precincts of the temple now called the [Myinkaba] Kubyauk-gyi, “Great Variegated Temple.” The latter adjoins the Myazedi on the west, and is a dark elaborate cave-temple, typically ‘Old Mon’, full of Mon paintings and writing, similar to the ‘Mon’ temples of Kyanzittha. It is certainly this temple, and not the late stupa, which is the subject of the inscription. It was doubtless built in or about 1113 A.D., shortly after Kyanzittha’s death.

The inscription is engraved in duplicate on two four-sided pillars, each with faces written in four languages, Pali, Mon, Pyu and Burmese. Pillar A, the smaller and better preserved one, was found in 1886-7 by Dr. Forchhammer on the north side of the Myazedi; it is now Stone 10 at Pagan Museum. B, the larger pillar, was found in fragments, two “within the precincts of the Kubyaukgyi temple, which adjoins the Myazedi on the west”; the lower half “deeply buried in an erect position near a small, old brick building close to the Myazedi, on the east, and which is supposed to have been a

Piṭakattaik or Library.” This last site would seem to have been its original place. The fragments have been re-erected on the platform of the Myazedi. Though damaged, the lettering of Pillar B is large and masterly and beautifully clear.

The inscription illustrates the linguistic changes of the moment. Sanskrit has almost gone; Pali takes its place. Mon of course is there. Pyu remains, almost for the last time in epigraphy. Burmese enters, almost for the first. No earlier dated inscription in Burmese, genuinely contemporary, has yet been discovered, though older writings in that language may well exist. The Pali, Mon, and Burmese faces are written in the same script, derived from South India via Dvāravati in Lower Siam. The Pyu face is in a very different, though also South Indian script, Kanarese of most archaic type, almost identical with the script used for the Pyu language at Śrī Kṣetra and Halin from the 7th century onwards, but without the interlinear Brāhmī found in the oldest Pyu inscriptions. The Mon, Pyu, and Burmese faces are in prose, and closely correspond. The Pali is in verse, and is more free.

Kyanzittha, it is said, “a powerful king, scion of the exalted Solar family”¹⁸⁸, became king at Pagán in 1628 A.D. – c. 1084 A.D., probably the date of his actual accession. He had “a beloved queen, Trilokakavādamsakādevi¹⁸⁴, benovilent and skilful in all the affairs of the king.” Her son was Rājakumār, “a minister zealous in the affairs of state, prudent and wise.” He is the donor. The king had given the queen for her support three villages of slaves: – one, Munalon (or Munaluan) of the Sak (Thets), was somewhere down the river below Pagán¹⁸⁵; the second, Raḍy, was near Lēgaing, north of Minbu, in the Six kharuin¹⁸⁶; the third, Henbuwiw (elsewhere written Hyanpuiw, Hyanpuw), was near the coast, probably not far from Rangoon¹⁸⁷; it was the chief seaport of Burma during the dynasty.

When the queen died, the king made over her property, including the three villages, to her son Rājakumār. After reigning righteously for 28 years, i.e. till about 1112 A.D. – the accession-date of his successor is given elsewhere as 1114¹⁸⁸, so perhaps we may split the difference and date his death provisionally in 1113 – “the king was seized with mortal sickness. Rājakumār, remembering the many and great favours with which the king had nourished him,” made a beautiful gold image of the Buddha, and entering with ceremony presented it to the king, saying: ‘This golden Buddha I have made to help my lord. The three villages of slaves you gave me, I give to this Buddha. May my lord approve!’ And the king, though “his mind was troubled by disease”, rejoiced and said: ‘Well done! Well done!’ Then, in the presence of the compassionate mahāthera (his name is not given) and other leading monks – Muggaliputta, the scholar Sumedha, Brahmaṭāla, Brahmadeva, the learned Sona and the great scholar Samghasena, the king poured on the ground the water of dedication, calling the earth to witness. Then Rājakumār enshrined the golden image, and built around it a cave-temple with a golden pinnacle – the Kubyauk-gyi of Myinkaba.

PROBLEM OF THE SUCCESSION

All the Chronicles are agreed that on his death Kyanzittha was succeeded, not by his son Rājakumār, but by his grandson, Cañsū I, known today as Alaungsithu. Perhaps the Kubyauk-gyi was not

¹⁸⁸ Thībhuwandīcico udicēddicca vaṁsa(jo) (I.B., PI. IV 361 a4, b9).
¹⁸⁴ See PI. 8 c for the beautiful five-figured votive tablet signed by her, found in a stupa south-east of the Nagayōn.
¹⁸⁷ Henbuwiw. I.B., Pl. I 63 a17; 76d; II 1124, 164b, 216b; III 289a; etc. See ch. II, n. 62, 63; ch. VI, n. 32.
¹⁸⁸ See List 731, A28, Mandalay Palace Shed Stone 501 (obv.).
the only dedication made by Rājakumār to help his father. Describing the group of five stupas lining the ridge north of Pagān Museum, Duroiselle says:\textsuperscript{189} “It was built during the reign of king Kyawzittha \ldots by, tradition has it, his own son Rājakumār, for the restoration of his old father’s health, hence its name” — Min-o-chaňtha, “Happiness for the old King.”

What lay behind the strange drama of Kyawzittha’s death-bed? For drama it certainly was, unless one denies the unanimous tradition that Kyawzittha was succeeded by his grandson. The difficulty was not ignored by the Chronicles; and they are never at a loss for explanation. Kyawzittha, they say,\textsuperscript{190} had a favourite daughter, Shwē-ēng-thi. When her son was born (of somewhat dubious paternity), the throne-door opened of itself, the great palace-drum sounded without anyone striking it. The baby cried incessantly, till his navel issued about a span, so that he was known thereafter as ‘Chet-taw-shè’, ‘Long Navel’. The astrologers warned the king that he would not stop crying until he was anointed king and heard the record of his kingdom’s boundaries. This was done, and the babe was pacified.

Now, long ere this,\textsuperscript{191} when Kyawzittha was an outlaw fleeing from the wrath of Aniruddha, he had lived in the northern jungles at Kyaungbyu (Klohpū) with Thambula, niece of a monk there. She was with child when Aniruddha died and Kyawzittha was recalled to Pagān. Before leaving, he gave her a ring saying: “If it is a girl, sell this ring and rear her. If it is a boy, bring me the son and the ring”. Kyawzittha had been king two years when she came, leading her seven-year-old son. With difficulty she got admission to the palace. As soon as Kyawzittha saw her, he welcomed her and made her a queen; but embracing his son, he said: “Men say that the son is the root, and grandson the branch. Yet but now I have anointed my grandson king, and lo! the grandson is the root and the son the branch!”

Unfortunately, this tale of the jungle wife with her son by the king, forcing her way into the palace, is a well-known Indian folk-tale. It occurs in the 1st parvan of Vyāsa’s Mahābhārata (the birth of the future sovereign Bharata, by Śakuntalā and king Duṣyanta). The story recurs in Kālidāsa’s play Śakuntalā. Nearer to Burma, it recurs in the Kaṭṭhahāri Jātaka (No. 7)\textsuperscript{192}, with this difference, that whereas king Brahmadatta of Benares disowns the child until forced into recognition, Kyawzittha behaves at once like a gentleman: “Great favour, verily, hath this lady shown me \ldots”. – As for ‘Chettawshè’, ‘Long Navel,” it is a mistake (no doubt intentional) for ‘Thetawshè’, ‘Long Life,” which is an authentic title of Caṇḍu I\textsuperscript{193}. I am afraid we cannot accept these bright solutions.

In Ch. III (pp. 48–49), on the basis of some late inscriptions, I have argued that Rājakumār had to be passed over because of a pact made, at the crisis of Nga Ramān’s rebellion, between Kyawzittha and the Mon king’s descendants: a pact which assured the stability of the Pagān kingdom by uniting it under a grandson half Mon and half Burmese. Reading between the lines, I think that Kyawzittha on his deathbed felt anew the anguish of having disinherit his beloved son; and that the son,

\textsuperscript{189} A.S.I. 1922, p. 35 and Pl. XIX a. For Min-o-chaňtha pagodas, see Pl. 263. At the central stupa one can still see two gilded stone reliefs which may well have come from the Nanda workshop.


\textsuperscript{191} U Kala, I, pp. 198–9, 214–5. Hmannan, I, pp. 270–1, 287–8 (transl., G.P.C., pp. 93–94, 107–8). For a Klohpū near Halin (Shwēbo district), see Halin Shin Pannaw inscription, Obv., line 17. The date given is 444 s.1083 A.D., but the writing is late, perhaps 15th century.

\textsuperscript{192} There are parallels also in the Uddālaka Jātaka, No. 487.

\textsuperscript{193} Sak-law-raňa, I.B., Pl. I 60 a (Thetsodaung); List 50 a (S.I.P., p. 4). Hlēda�k inscription, Mandalay Palace Shed Stone 4 (obv.), where Sataw-raňa = Saktawraňa, “Long Life”.
knowing the reasons and bearing no resentment, made this gesture to comfort his dying father. The pact was honoured. Rājakumār had to step down. Yet there is no hint of ill-will, jealousy or usurpation. Rājakumār completed his masterpiece, the Kubyaukan, under the reign of his nephew.

RĀJAKUMĀR THE SCHOLAR

What transpires from a study of the Mon writings in this temple, is that Rājakumār was not only a good, loyal and unselfish son, a man of rare nobility, but also a remarkable scholar – a true Tipiṭaka-dhara. If Kyanzittha’s pact debarred him from any prominent part in politics, I strongly suspect that his father found other uses for his great abilities. I have mentioned already (supra, p. 57) the Mrakan stone lodge or library (Pl. 242) which once stood near the Mrakan lake, at the foot of Tuywindaung, 8 miles south-east of Pagān. It was certainly built by Kyanzittha, and not – as said in the Chronicles – by Kyazwa. The Chroniclers are not likely to have read Kyanzittha’s Mon inscription on the bank of the lake, but they record some vague memory of its purport and its final words. The king –

‘dammed the water falling from the foot of Mt. Tuywin, and made a great lake. He filled it with the five kinds of lotus and caused all manner of birds, duck, shelduck, crane, waterfowl and ruddy goose to take their joy and pastime therein . . . Hard by the lake he built a pleasant royal lodge, and took delight in study seven times a day. Thus he laboured at the sacred writ of the Religion104.’

Kyanzittha himself was a most active king, and could not have spared much time for scholarly study, so far from his capital. But if, as stated, the lodge was built for royalty, for the intensive study of the Tipiṭaka, I think it likely that Kyanzittha built it for his son Rājakumār, at a quiet lovely spot where, far from the dangers of the Court, he could devote himself to study and translation, in the company of learned monks. Those learned monks, if so, are likely to be those who accompanied him to the bedside of his dying father. Their names have been mentioned above. Three of the seven, Sumedha, Sona, and Saṅghasena, are singled out as scholars (paññīto, bhussuto, varāpaññīto). The therī Sumedha may well be the monk who stamped the thousand votive tablets of ‘Chitsagôn’, east of Nanda, of which more than a hundred have been recovered, inscribed on the back with perhaps the oldest Burmese writing extant (Pls. 31, 41 to 48). His other votive tablet (Pl. 51 c, d) showing the First Sermon, with the Buddha seated with legs hanging (pralambānāsana), has a Pali inscription incised on the back:

“This therī, like Nāgasena, takes keen delight in learning. By this work of making a thousand Buddhas, may he become a Buddha in his future existence. The work was done by the monk named Sumedha, with his own hand, for the sake of Deliverance.”

This is the first (and, I think, only) reference to the Milinda Pañha in Pagān inscriptions. Nāgasena, the therī who explained Buddhism to the Indo-Greek king Milinda/Menander, was born, one remembers, at Kajaṅgala, Rājmahāl, on the right bank of the Ganges near its bend to the south – an important stage on the road to Assam, Burma and China105.

The therī Muggaliṣṭutta, mentioned first after the mahāthera, may be the ācārya Muggaliṣṭutta who has left us several votive tablets, always boldly engraved with his fine signature in Pali on the back. One tablet, rare and beautiful, also comes from ‘Chitsagôn’. It shows five earth-touching Buddhas in

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three rows, alternating with large old-fashioned stupas and leafage. Below them, in high relief, is the Buddhist credo in 3 lines of semi-Sanskrit/Nāgarī (Pl. 61 a, b, c). Other tablets (Pl. 59 c, d, e), found in a field south-west of Htilominlo, show the Buddha seated between Sāriputta and Moggallāna. All three figures are large-headed and plump below their leafage, not stern and tall like the Aniruddha type.

Rājakumār’s writings in his temple are all in Mon, but his mentality was not Mon, but Burmese. Burmese scholars from the first—take Silawamsa for example—like to get their dates fixed and framework clear and exact. A large part of the little Yazawingyan is devoted to chronology. Rājakumār had the same instinct. He was not as deeply religious as his father. The long devotional rows of Buddhas in Nanda temple, endlessly repeated, are not to be found in his temple. Every painted panel is free-drawn and tells its story, and has a gloss below it to explain it. The esoteric side of Buddhism, including the Suttas, he omits. If he stresses the Abhidhamma, it is just the external details, not the philosophy. For the Vinaya, his main care was to picture the cities where the rules were enacted. He was, in fact, an extrovert: a man of boundless intellectual curiosity, credulous no doubt, but eager to emerge from the primitive night of doubt and superstition, into the daylight of accepted history. He set himself to master the full range of Theravāda literature, cosmology and history, and to show it clearly in his temple. He had all a Burman’s love of a good tale, and a sense of humour which no access of piety could repress. A man interested in systems of government, and what they lead to. A humane man who did not forget the poor, the orphan and the starving. All this is visible on his walls. Above all, Rājakumār’s quadrilingual stone inscription shows him as perhaps unique, in his lifetime, in recognizing not only the possibilities of Burmese as a written language, but also the debt it owed, both to India, homeland of Buddhism, and to the oldest Buddhist cultures of Burma, Mon and Pyu.

ARCHITECTURE OF THE REIGN

The chief pagodas and other works of Kyanzittha’s reign, with suggestions as to their dates, are the following: --

1. Tharaba Gate of Pagán rebuilt. c. 1084 A.D. (?) Pl. 168. (Ch. XVI, pp. 310–1).
6. Alampagán and Mrakan reservoirs dammed. 6–8 miles S.E. of Pagán. Before 1098 A.D. (?)
8. Śrī Bajrās, the Vajrśana or Mahābodhi temple at Bodhgayā, India. Rebuilt by the king before 1098 A.D. (See Pl. 190 d).


Less certainly, I would date the following pagodas to Kyanzittha’s reign, largely on stylistic grounds: –

15. Gu 180, E. of Nagayōn temple. This is of ‘Mon’ type; and it seems that a fifty-Buddha votive tablet signed by *Śrī Tribhuvanāditya*, i.e. Kyanzittha, has been found within its walls. Pl. 362. (Ch. XIX, p. 398).

16. Gu 201, S. of Hsułégon, E. of the Shwé Chaung. This temple, furthest from the Irrawaddy of all the ‘Mon’ temples, was only half excavated when I saw it. There is plain evidence of Bengal Mahāyānism, which I connect with the Chronicles’ account of Kyanzittha’s welcome to the monks “from Mt. Gandhamādana” (G.P.C. p. 110): which led, in turn, to the building of the Nanda. Pls. 256, 257. (Ch. XVII, pp. 355–356).

17. Myébōntha Payahla. A ‘Mon’ two-storeyed temple N.E. of Shwéhsandaw. It has a tall *sikhara* reminiscent of Bodhgayā; carved stone windows; and a massive throne, four-sided, with rows of stone Brahms. Pls. 248–251 (Ch. XVII, pp. 352–353).


20. Gu 418, S.E. of Lokananda, on the west side of the road to Chauk. A small temple with Mon paintings, Mon glosses, and fine stuccowork. Pls. 246, 247. (Ch. XVII, pp. 349–352).

21. Sō-min-gyì pagoda, south of Abèyadana temple, west of the road. This lofty stupa is lined with fine glazed carvings. There are three high terraces, without median stairways. Pls. 259c,d–262 (bis). (Ch. XIII, pp. 277–278).

22. Min-o-chaantha line of five graded stupas. N.E. of Nanda. The name means “Happiness of the Old King.” One tradition attributes the work to Rājakumār, anxious about his father’s health. The *Glass Palace Chronicle* (p. 110) attributes it to Kyanzittha himself. The Early Ava Hlèlauk inscription (*List* 50 a) assigns the name (misspelt) to Caṅsū I, who also had a long life. Pl. 263 (Ch. XIII, pp. 276–277).

Chapter IV

ARCHITECTURE AND BUDDHIST EDUCATION

A few general remarks in conclusion. – Harvey, speaking of the Shwézigôn, attributes to Aniruddha a saying which would better suit Kyanzittha: “Men will not come for the sake of the new faith. Let them come for their old gods, and gradually they will be won over". Nearly 9 centuries have passed at the Shwézigôn, and the transition is still far from complete.

The Nagayôn, Nanda and Myinkaba Kubyauk-gyi point to a much more effective method – by education, leading up to bhakti, personal commitment and devotion. The Temple proper is still reserved for worship and adoration; but the Hall, including perhaps the Corridor, is used for the education of the public. Villagers would come mostly on fast-days; and were urged, I guess, to spend much of their time in the Halls. The Nagayôn has only one Hall. Here 10 key-sculptures were placed, with 5 or 6 more in the Corridor, covering the main events in the life of the Buddha. There were also 27 sculptures showing the previous Buddhas. No doubt, monks or teachers were provided to explain all these to their audience. Both sides of the corridor were full of paintings, some of great size: a mixed gallery of Suttas, Jātakas and scenes from the life of the Buddha. Kyanzittha, I suspect, was not satisfied with the result. The Nagayôn was too far from the city; its corridors too dark for even these large panels to be seen clearly from below.

The Nanda was just outside the city-wall. He built it with four broad Halls, forming a perfect Greek Cross in plan. Each Hall had the same 16 scenes in stone relief, all identically arranged (Pls. 298–312). The monks (or teachers) could cope with four audiences simultaneously. The scenes cover the whole life of the Buddha, from the Conception to the Parinirvāṇa. When well-grounded in these, the audience would pass to the outer wall of the outer corridor. Here, in two tiers, running around the whole corridor, are the well-known 80 scenes of Gotama’s life up to the Enlightenment (Pls. 278–297). The later life of the Buddha was shown in hundreds of other stone-reliefs on the inner walls and shrines (Pls. 313–323). There was no painting except in the Halls, where now all is drowned in whitewash. Outside are 1459 green glazed plaques (Pls. 324–334): 552 on the ground-plinth illustrate, with Mon glosses, Māra’s army and the Buddha’s triumph; 532 on the middle roofs illustrate the bulk of the Jātakas, one plaque apiece with Pali title and number; and 375 lining the upper terraces, with Mon glosses, illustrate the Mahānipāta.

Rājakumār in his temple reverted to painting, mostly in small panels, each with explanatory glosses (Pls. 345–350): the whole giving a picture of world-history as known to the Buddhists of those days, covering not only India but Ceylon. The main purpose behind all these temples was educational. In the absence of schools (monastic schools for Burmans were only starting), it is hard to imagine a more effective method. Kyanzittha’s statuary, less grand perhaps than Aniruddha’s, but deeper and more intensely devotional, still dominates religious art in Burma.

NOTE ON THE ORDER OF FACES OF THE PALACE-INSRIPTION

In his “Descriptive Account” introducing Mon Inscription No. IX (Epig. Birm. Vol. III, Part I, p. x ff.), Dr. Blagden admitted that he was doubtful whether his ordering of the faces (A to S) was the right one. His doubt was justified. He was not given sufficient information, nor accurate measurements.

197 History of Burma, p. 33.
198 Pls. 193–202. Mon Bo Kay, Conservator of Pagán, was the first to identify these 27 Buddhas, all but one seated in dhyāna mudrā.
of the stones. As a result, he came to the erroneous conclusion that "the inscription must originally have comprised at least six columns, of which the first, preceding Faces A to D, is entirely lost. ... The original must have extended to over 1,000 lines, of which less than half have been preserved."

The chief difficulty arises, not over Stones 1 and 2 (Faces A to H), which are complete four-sided pillars, but over the broken Stones 6, 7, 8 and 9. After taking my own measurements and coming, in consequence, to conclusions different from Blagden's, I asked our late Chairman of the Burma Historical Commission, Sithu U Kaung, and the then Chairman of Sub-Commission B, Colonel Ba Shin, while we were on a visit to Pagán in Jan. 1956, to be kind enough to take their own measurements of these stones, independently, and to draw their own conclusions. Their measurements (which agree closely with mine, but are probably more accurate) are given below; and their conclusions were identical with mine: viz. that Stone 7 was originally the upper part of Stone 6, and Stone 8 of Stone 9; but that the West face of Stone 8 (as at present set up at Pagán Museum) must have rested on the East face of Stone 9. Note that all these pillars taper slightly from top to bottom.

We need assume, therefore, that there were originally no more than 4 four-sided pillars, altogether 16 complete faces (I number them below Faces 1 to 16). The order of faces throughout (as on all Kyanzittha's four-sided pillars) ran anti-clockwise – East, North, West, and South – providing the most convenient passage at the transitions; so that if these pillars were originally orientated (as they probably were) towards the east, Faces 1, 5, 9 and 13 faced east; 2, 6, 10 and 14 faced north; 3, 7, 11 and 15 faced west; and 4, 8, 12 and 16 faced south.

If we may assume that the pillars were arranged in descending order of magnitude, that order should be: –

- **Pillar I** (Faces 1 to 4) – Stone 8/9.
- **Pillar II** (Faces 5 to 8) – Stone 1.
- **Pillar III** (Faces 9 to 12) – Stone 2.
- **Pillar IV** (Faces 13 to 16) – Stone 7/6.

Generally, the writing on each pillar will begin on one of the broader faces, and end on one of the narrower. But this is not true of the last pillar, where the inscription appears to end on the broad west face, the lower part of which is not engraved.

On the strength of the above conclusions, I propose (and have adopted in my treatment of the text) the following amended order of the faces: –

**Order of Faces**

- Pagán Museum Stones 8/9 – S, N, R, Q, O, P; followed by
- Pagán Museum Stone 1 – B, C, D, A; followed by
- Pagán Museum Stone 2 – H, E, F, G; and finally
- Pagán Museum Stones 7/6 – J, K, L, M.

Note that rubbings of 6 half-faces were not sent to Dr. Blagden, no doubt for the reason that they were deemed illegible. I number these half-faces below in Greek: –

\[ \alpha, \beta, \gamma, \delta, \epsilon, \zeta. \]
Confirmation (or otherwise) of the proposed order may also be sought in internal evidence, especially the order of themes and the dating of the various events. Here are the details, with comments:

**PILLAR I** (Faces 1 to 4). Pagán Museum *Stone 8* (top) and *Stone 9* (bottom)

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One advantage of this arrangement is that it keeps together the three ‘architectural’ half-faces (S, N, R), as distinct from the ceremonial ones (Q, O, P, etc.). On α, the first half-face, which probably contained a year-date and introduction, only a few letters are now legible. A description of the palace and its decoration followed, filling the lower half of Face 1 and all Face 2, and ending somewhere on β, the top half of Face 3, where the transition to the ceremonial occurred. This latter part is arranged in chronological order. At Q8 there is a date – 7th waxing of Āsāt (?), and another at O8 on Face 4 – 3rd waxing of Āsāt, falling perhaps in June or July 1101 A.D.

**PILLAR II** (Faces 5 to 8). Pagán Museum *Stone 1*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STONE</th>
<th>FACE 5</th>
<th>FACE 6</th>
<th>FACE 7</th>
<th>FACE 8</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>274′</td>
<td>21′</td>
<td>274′</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

This arrangement makes the writing begin on a broad, and not a narrow face. B11 (Face 5) has a date – Mon. 2nd waxing of Kārtik – falling in Oct./Nov. 1101. C17 (Face 6) has a doubtful date – Sat. 5th waxing of Māgha – falling near the end of Jan. 1102. It is followed at C31. 30 by Sun. 5th waxing, and Mon. 6th waxing of Phallagun = Feb. 23rd–24th. D15. 42 (Face 7) has dates Fri. and Sat. 9th and 10th waxing of Phallagun = Feb. 28th and March 1st. On the latter date, at the end of Face D, appears the *mahāther Arahan*, who is conspicuous throughout A (Face 8), which has no further dates of use to us.

**PILLAR III** (Faces 9 to 12). Pagán Museum *Stone 2*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STONE</th>
<th>FACE 9</th>
<th>FACE 10</th>
<th>FACE 11</th>
<th>FACE 12</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Present Breadth Blag-</td>
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<td>18°/′</td>
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<td>194°/′</td>
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<td>251′</td>
<td>171′</td>
<td>251′</td>
<td>171′</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Writing begins on a broad, not a narrow face. H9 (Face 9) has merely the date “Sunday”, which Blagden (p. 56, n. 16) took to be the 4th waning of Phālguna, March 9th 1102: it is more likely to be
the previous Sunday, the 12th waxing, March 2nd. E\textsuperscript{16} 21 (Face 10) has dates “Monday”, and Thursday the full moon of Phalagun: probably Mon. March 3rd and Thurs. March 6th. F\textsuperscript{1} (Face 11) has “Friday . . . waning: perhaps the 1st waning of the same month, March 7th. G\textsuperscript{9} (Face 12) has “Sat. the 2nd waning”, which should be Sat., March 8th.

PILLAR IV (Faces 13 to 16). Pagán Museum Stone 7 (top) and Stone 6 (bottom)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STONE</th>
<th>FACE 13</th>
<th>FACE 14</th>
<th>FACE 15</th>
<th>FACE 16</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Present Breadth Blag-orien- at top/ dren’s bottom Face</td>
<td>Present Breadth Blag-orien- at top/ dren’s bottom Face</td>
<td>Present Breadth Blag-orien- at top/ dren’s bottom Face</td>
<td>Present Breadth Blag-orien- at top/ dren’s bottom Face</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>South. 18\textsuperscript{”}/ 17\textsuperscript{”}</td>
<td>East. 23\textsuperscript{”}/ 22”</td>
<td>North. 18\textsuperscript{”}/ 18”</td>
<td>West. 23\textsuperscript{”}/ 22”</td>
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<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>South. 17\textsuperscript{”}/ 16\textsuperscript{”}</td>
<td>East. 22\textsuperscript{”}/ 21\textsuperscript{”}</td>
<td>North. 17\textsuperscript{”}/ 17”</td>
<td>West. 21\textsuperscript{”}/ (\zeta) (not 21\textsuperscript{”} inscribed)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rubbings of half-faces \(\gamma\), \(\delta\) and \(\varepsilon\), deemed illegible, were not supplied to Blagden. Half-face \(\zeta\) is not inscribed at all, so presumably lies beyond the end of the inscription. J\textsuperscript{30} (Face 13) has a clear date: Fri. 8th waning of Phallagun = Friday, March 14th. If so, the incomplete date above at J\textsuperscript{2}, “Wednesday . . . waning . . .” was probably the 6th waning of the same month, Wed. March 12th. K provides no useful date. L (Face 15) has several: L\textsuperscript{4}, “Wed. 13th waxing of Cey” (Caitra) = Wed. April 2nd.; L\textsuperscript{7}, “Mon. 3rd waning of Cey” = Mon. April 7th.; and L\textsuperscript{10,13}, “Wed. 5th waning of Cey” = Wed. April 9th. Finally M\textsuperscript{9} (Face 15) has “Wed. 12th waning of Cey” (?) = Wed. April 16th (?) – the last legible date in the inscription.

With the exception of a few outliers (Q\textsuperscript{9}, O\textsuperscript{6}, B\textsuperscript{11} and C\textsuperscript{17}), the main dates and ceremonies fall between Feb. 23rd (C\textsuperscript{21}) and April 16th 1102. For date-correspondences Blagden consulted the late authority on Indian chronology, Sir Robert Sewell, whose rulings would be final if one could be sure that the Mon/Burmese calendar at Pagán corresponded exactly with the Indian. But Blagden’s notes (p. 39, n. 12; p. 43, n. 11; p. 48, n. 15; p. 53, n. 1; p. 54, n. 9) show that he often had difficulty in fitting the Mon details into the Indian pattern. I feel very doubtful whether all the Indian rules were observed in Burma, e.g. the one stated on p. 43, n. 11: “the rule is that the day takes its number from the lunar day (tithi) current at sunrise.”

So far as Old Burmese is concerned, there were two methods of day-counting: the sāsanā ryak, the ordinary day of the month; and the tithi ryak, the lunar day, reckoned (presumably) by dividing by 30 the lunar month of 29,530-87946 days, according to the Sūrya Siddhānta. Both methods were known: see, e.g., I.B., Pl. V 609 a (a horoscope): – sāsanā 7 ryak hurā mha tithi 6 ryak caniy “the 7th day of the religious month, the 6th lunar day according to astrologers, a Saturday”. But at Pagán, it seems, this latter reckoning was rarely made. Burmans were normally content with the sāsanā ryak. If this was also true of the Mons, we may generally spare ourselves the labour of working out the tithi. But owing to the apparent irregularity in the insertion of leap days and leap months, our method, if we wish to relate the Pagán calendar to the Julian, must be the purely empirical one, of devising a scheme of correspondence which suits best the evidence of the best actual dates in contemporary inscriptions, and breaks fewest of the Indian rules.
CHAPTER V

CAŅŚŪ I (Alaungsithu), DONOR OF RHUY-KŪ (Shwegu):
fl. III3–II55/60 (?) A.D.


NAMES AND TITLES

Kyanzitha’s grandson, who succeeded him in 1113 A.D., was the first Pagán king known as Jeyyasura, Burm. Cañśū (pronounced ‘Sithu’), the “Victorious Hero”. Today, as in the Chronicles and some lateish inscriptions, he is called Aloñ-cañśū, ‘Alaungsithu’ – a perfectly good name, though liable to confusion. ‘Alaung’ here means ‘Future Buddha’: a term often applied to kings, generally after their death.

Several of the later kings of Pagán are called Cañśū. To distinguish this king, we must either call him Cañśū I, or fall back on one of his titles: either Sak-taw-rhañ, “Long Royal Life”, which occurs in at least one original inscription, or Rhuykūdāyakā, “Donor of the Shwegu temple”, which occurs in two. In the Pali inscription set up in that temple, he is given his regnal title: Śrī Tībhuvanādityapavara-dhammarāja, “Most excellent King of the Law, Sun of the three Existences” (men, Devas, and Brahmas) – a title similar to that first used by his grandfather, but with the addition of pavara, “most excellent.”

1 Cañśū. In its Burmese form, used with reference to Alaungsithu, see I.B., Pl. V 47610–11 Cañśū, 501–2 s./1140 A.D. List 73 Cañśū 513 s./1151 A.D. And possibly I.B., Pl. IV 397 a’ Cañśū 5(o)5 s., but the date is doubtful. In its Pali form, Jeyyasura, the title usually refers to Cañśū II, Narapatisithu: e.g. I.B., Pl. I 19 a’ Dhammarājaka inscription, 558 s./1196 A.D.; etc.


4 I.B., Pl. 60 a4 (Thotsdaung, under date 573 s./1211 A.D.). At List 50 a2 (Hlēsaway, Taungbyon; Mandalay Palace. Stone 4 Obv.) Sataurkhañ is a slip for Saktaurkhañ. List 2004 (a Pagán Shinbindhi inscription, probably original, which we have failed to trace) mentions a dedication of slaves by king Sakthawahan in 589 s./1227 A.D. One would like to check the date. The only evidence at present is the text as printed at PPA 171.


6 I.B., Pl. 1 118 Tībhuvanādityapavara-dhammarājā; 21 Śrī Tībhuvanādityapavara-dhammarājā (1053 M. S. = 493 s. = 1131 A.D.) Shwegugyi temple, Pagán.
Votive Tablets (100 Buddhas)

In the same field, S.E. of Nagayon temple, where the beautiful five-figure tablets of Kyanzittha’s queen, Trilokavatamsakah, are found, the large tablets of his grandson are also found, showing, for the first time in Burma, 100 seated Buddhas, with a Sanskrit/Pali line in Mon script below, stating that he was the donor: Srip Tribhuvanadityapavaraadhammarajya danapati. Tablets similarly inscribed have also been recovered from a mound west of Somingyi pagoda.

Inscription at Shézigōn

The same title, Srip Tribhuvanadityapavaraadhammarajya, occurs in the four-line Old Mon inscription written at the base of the four faces of the second pillar of Kyanzittha’s great inscription at Shwézigōn. This short inscription is not dated. It merely records large gifts by the king to Jeyabhuma pagoda, of land at Marhāk, Pothaw, Takṣiy, Mri, etc. The first three of these places, at any rate, were in central Kyausè. The inscription itself is in Old Mon, with one peculiarity of spelling: gu for ku “and”, and gyek for kyek or kyāk “pagoda”. Written by a king in Mon, there can be no doubt but this dedication was the work of Caṅsū I.

Regnal Dates

A fragmentary Burmese inscription, oldish but not original, of which only a small piece now remains in Mandalay Palace collection, was a little fuller when first published in 1913. It mentions a northern tour made by king Caṅsū: he went up the east bank of the Mū river (then the abode of the Saw Kantū, a tribe of the Kādu), and returned by the west bank. He damned a big lake east of Hanśa (?) Halin, and there is mention of Mraṁse khlo, “Dead Horse stream.” The date is given as 513 s., roughly 1151 A.D., when “the king was 63 years old, and had reigned for 37 years”. – If this is trustworthy, Caṅsū I was born about 450 s./1088 A.D., and ascended the throne about 476 s./1114 A.D. Balancing this against Rājakumārī’s inscription, which gives 1112 A.D. as the approximate date of Kyanzittha’s mortal illness, we cannot be far wrong if we date Caṅsū I’s accession in 1113 A.D.

An original Burmese inscription of unknown provenance (possibly E. Meiktla), now at Mandalay Palace, mentions a dedication in 507 s./1145 A.D., “when the king’s age was 56”. But the reading,

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7 Pl. 8 c. Her tablets resemble, but are not the same as those of Aniruddha (Pl. a, b).
8 Pl. 18. Caṅsū I was the first king of Pagān to make plaques showing 100 earth-touching Buddhas.
10 Marhāk (Mashet) is still shown on inch-to-the-mile map 93–C/3 N.NW. of Myittha, astride the river Panlaung. Pothaw (Pauktaw, a Burmese name, ‘jungle of Butea frondosa trees’) was in Mrākkhunte occupy (see I.B., Pl. II 1854; III 234). Takṣiy (Tethē) was in Mlacā kharuin (I.B., Pl. I 63 etc.). I am not sure where Mri was; it is mentioned elsewhere in connection with Thanmākyaw (I.B., Pl. III 23414; 10, 10).
11 Cf. gyāk for kyāk at Pl. 22 c. This weakening of distinction between initial sonant and surd is a most important phonetic change in the Mon-Khmer languages.
12 List 73 (A 28, S.I.P., p. 13), two-faced fragment, Mandalay Palace Shed Stone 50 (obv.), dated 513 s./1151 A.D. There is a fragmentary reverse, not shown in the books, similar in hand to the obverse. It has the date 538 s./1176 A.D., which should fall near the beginning of Caṅsū II’s reign. It begins by giving the boundaries of the kingdom: – to the E., Sathkhoth . . . , (to the S.), up to Taluṃsare, Tawai, Muttama (Tenasserim, Tavoy, Martaban). To the N. or W., the “big-eared Kantū and Kvyan pa(θ)” are mentioned (cf. supra, ch. II, p. 116). The inscription may date perhaps from the Early Ava Period.
13 A khaṭrā (resident landowner) of Hanśa, who was also a judge (sahphama), is mentioned in an early undated inscription (I.B., Pl. I 9 b). Duroiselle notes Hanśavatī and Hanśanagarā as classical names for Halin (Old Birm. Hanla), the 8th–9th cent. Pys capital (A.S.I. 1930, p. 152). The name suits Halin better than Pegu, for wild geese and ruddy shelduck (Burm. hanśa) are regular visitants of northern Burma (B.E. Smythies, The Birds of Burma, 1940 ed., p. 548).
14 I.B., Pl. II 113, Mandalay Palace Shed Stone 3.
56, is very doubtful. If correct, it would place his birth about 1089 A.D. This agrees pretty well with the fragment mentioned above, where the birthdate would fall about 1088; and both would fit in with the view suggested in previous chapters, that Cañasū I was son of Kyanzittha’s daughter and the Mon prince, betrothed at the time of Kyanzittha’s accession in 1084.

The date of Cañasū I’s death is much more open to question. He is always credited with a long life. The Jātāpum Rājavān – the least unreliable of the late Chronicles where early dates are concerned – gives 529 s. (c. 1167 A.D.) as the date of his death.\(^{16}\) The Glass Palace Chronicle (pp. 128, 132) agrees. But this, as we shall see later, cannot be right. For his successor, the builder of the vast temple Dhammayangyi, died in 1165. Cañasū I was alive and active, it seems, as late as 1151. His death, we may guess, took place before 1160 A.D.

SHWÉGU-GYI PALI/SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION, 1131 A.D.

What little we know of him personally, is best gathered from Shwégu-gyi inscription.\(^{16}\) This is engraved on two stone slabs let into the walls of Shwégu (Old Burm. Rhwykhū, “Golden Cave”), a small but splendid temple (Pls. 368–375) in Early Burmese style, built by the king within the walls of Pagán, on the west side of his grandfather’s palace. It was built in 1053 M.S. (1131 A.D.), in 74 months: begun on Sunday the 4th waning of Vaiśākha (Kasôn, say April), and finished on Wednesday the 11th waning of Margaśīras (Nadaw, say November). The dates are given in Sanskrit at the end of the second slab, according to the original Šaka era (dating from 78 A.D.), an era not used elsewhere in Pagán inscriptions. The rest of this inscription is in Pali verse, a cunning patchwork of lines taken passim from the Tipiṭaka, which probably indicates the already high level of Pali scholarship at Pagán. It is true that the script, the shape of the characters engraved, may lead to the conclusion that in its present form it is not original, but dates from the Early Ava period, say the latter half of the 14th century. But there is no reason to doubt that it is a faithful copy of the original, as set up in Cañasū I’s reign.

The poem consists of 100 verses, mostly in the vutta metre of 4 eight-syllable lines; varied at intervals by the vamsaṭṭhā metre of 4 twelve-syllable lines, and the vasantatilakā metre of 4 fourteen-syllable lines. It begins with the praise of Gotama Buddha (21 verses).

Here is an extract:

"For thirty years save one
   In home he dwelt, the Lord of Glory. Thence
   He went a monk, resolved. In his desire
   For highest wisdom he put forth his strength
   In hard ascetic practices. He sate,
   Tathāgata, beneath the Goatherd Tree,
   And breaking fast went tow’rd Nerañjara.

\(^{16}\) Jātāpum Rājavān, p. 40, No. 45.
Upon its bank the Conq’ror ate milk-rice,
And by the high preparèd path he passed
Tow’rd wisdom’s centre. There the factors four
Of Truth establishing, he sate enthroned,
Captain and Bull of men on the Bull-seat,
Unshaking, firm, immoveable. He sate
Beneath the king of trees, the Lord of Men,
Nor trembled, fearless as a lion maned
‘Fore Māra and his hosts; whose engines fell
He brake, affrighting them. Victorious, calm,
And rapt in contemplation, all that night’s
Three watches, He, the keen-ey’d Hero, scanned
The lore of former births and sights occult:
Then comprehended, in the latest watch,
Backward and forward, all the Causal Chain
(O glorious Sage!) and knew Omniscience,
Divinest knowledge, Buddhahood! Thereby
First rose the name of Buddha. There enthroned
Seven days he tarried, voicing prophecy
Inspired, the Light-giver, all duties done,
All fever cooled, and free from poison-flux,
In rapture jubilant, meditating weal.”

The poet then describes the Pagán king (9 verses): –

“‘There was a king most wise, the lord of men,
Who loved the hearing of good Law; his name
Tibhuvanâdîccapavaradhammarâjâ.
This just and righteous ruler of the land
Bethought him: ‘Rarely, rarely in this world
Are Buddhas born; and to be born a man
Is hard, and hard to hear the Buddha’s Law!’
So truly wise with best intelligence
He ordered: ‘Make a pleasing lovely room,
A fragrant chamber for the mighty Seer,
Gotama Buddha. On a platform high
Exalt it, and adorn with cetiyas
And images of spirits.’ This great king,
Abode of virtue, ordered to be made
(Most like the noble Buddha while he lived)
An image glorious-wonderful and fair
Of the world’s Lord, the Teacher, whose five eyes
Were without stain – so purely wise was He.
Thereafter the three peerless Pijakas
He copied; clad the monks with many a set
Of triple robes; and with his royal hands,
What time the Cave was dedicated, fain,
Serenely fain, he fed; then cried aloud,
In strong desire for Buddhahood, this prayer . . .”

The prayer fills 70 verses, and includes the following passages:

“In virtue sure as earth, in fixity
As Himavā, in wisdom as the heaven,
Unfettered as the wind, our Lord is purged
Of poison-flux and sinless. Far beyond
All doubt emerging, all his karma done,
From Longing, all attachment quench’d, set free.
He tameth others, for himself is tamed;
He calmeth others, for himself is calm;
Quencheth and comforteth mankind. The wise
Lean on him as a prop, and they who seek
Happiness, find their benefit in Him. . . .

“As when a fisherman with subtil net
Encompasseth a water, all things found
Within that water needs must enter in:
So divers heretics, ill-doers, who leapt
Into the clutch of heresy, beguiled
By specious handling, were encompassed round
With the pure Buddha-vision and clean eyes,
And might not pass beyond. That vision sure
Whereby he reached the height of wisdom, hemmed
And held the heretics. All living things,
Egg-born or vapour-born or aqueous, ghosts,
Crows, and all wingèd fowl which cross the sky,
All things, both conscious and unconscious, passed
Within that net, within that wisdom plunged.
The world of spirits and our world had leapt
To night and error: but that Wisdom shone,
And night is scattered. As the rising sun
Dispelleth darkness ever, so doth He,
Our Best, the Buddha, Teacher, Charioteer,
Tamer of men, by men and spirits adored. . . .

“By this my gift, whatever boon ensues,
Be it the best of boons, to profit all!
By this abundant merit I desire
Here nor hereafter no angelic pomp
Of Brahmās, Sūras, Māras; nor the state
And splendour of a king; nay, nor the steps
Sublime of pupils of the Conqueror.
But I would make my body a bridge athwart
The river of Samsāra, and all folk
Would speed across thereby until they reach
The Blessed City. I myself would cross
And drag the drowning over. Ay, myself
Tamed, I would tame the wilful; comforted,
Comfort the timid; wakened, wake the asleep;
Cooled, cool the burning; freed, set free the bound.
Tranquil, and led by the good doctrines, I
Would hatred calm. The three immoral states,
Greed, Hate, Delusion – rooted all in self –
O may they die, whenever born in me! . . .

"Longings of sense for all delicious things,
Sounds, sights and touches, odours, relishes,
Pregnant of immorality, begone!
May Sense of Shame, Fear of Reproach (declared
By the Sun's kinsman Guardians of the World)
Never forsake me! As the best of men,
Seers of the Good, forsaking worldly wealth,
Fled, for they saw its meaning; so would I,
All worldly wealth forsaking, draw me near
Religion, and the Threefold Course ensue. . . .

"May I be alway conscious and aware
Of kindness done me! Union of ill friends
Be far from me! Beholding the distress,
Birth-born distress of men and deathless gods,
I would put forth mine energies and save
Men, spirits, gods, from seas of endless change! . . ."

Such was the mind, very likely of the king himself, at any rate of one of his counsellors. One may search the long account (largely folktale) of Aluangthu's reign in the Chronicles, and find no hint of the ardour and the depth of heart and spirit here displayed, which stirred the souls of Burmans at the most creative moment of their history.

**BATTLE AT TOÑPLUN, IIII A.D. (?)**

There is a dearth of original inscriptions during this long reign, and indeed down to the accession of Cañsū II in 1174 A.D. References to the earlier period (there are not many) usually occur in late
inscriptions, not always reliable. The Hlbéauk inscription17, for instance, which we have mentioned more than once: –

"... The beloved grandson of T’iluĩ-asa-yàn Kalan-cacsà Ma-uĩn [for Ma-n-ui]-khyaṁsà Satawrhaĩ, together with his ministers and followers, and military officers of the Left and the Right, went to attack the Taruk army. At that time, at the place called T’onphun, he set up two mat’aw (stupas). He had just built one when the Taruk army came up. And he conquered and wiped out the Taruk army, and the son of the Taruk general also was killed. Thereupon, at the place called T’onpru, for the one remaining mat’aw he added and made a great cave-temple, and set up also a great Buddha" ...

The date given is 473 s./III A.D.: but later in the inscription18 there are mentions of king Turukple and king Tryāphyā: so the final date (now lost) was clearly two to three hundred years after Kyanzitha’s reign. Moreover, the term Taruk (which I take to be ‘Turk’)19, appropriate in the name Turukple (Tarukpliy) for the king who in 1284 fled from the Turko-Mongol armies, is not applicable to the III A.D. invaders, who were probably Lolas from Nan-chao.

TUINKHET DEDICATIONS, 1140 A.D.

Another post-Pagán inscription which tells us something about Caĩsū I, is the reverse of the Taingchut inscription20. The small Burmese temple now called ‘Taingchut’ stands just outside, to the east of, the Tharaba Gate, north of the Ananda monastery. On the obverse21, dated 541 s./1179 A.D., the temple is called Tuinkhethet22. By 706 s./1345 A.D., when the reverse was written, the name was already corrupted to Tuinkhywat23, ‘Taingchut’. This latter face records a series of buildings and dedications made at the site in 501–2 s./1140 A.D., “while the king was staying at Klok kan,” ‘the stone tank.’ The donors were (i) Arinat’s son, Na Pum Saŋ, and the king; (ii) Caĩsū maniɔi’s queen, Ratanāpun; (iii) Caĩsū maniɔi’s kwantausaŋ, ‘lady of the royal betel’, ’Im Bhun Saŋ; (iv) ’Im Pwaŋ Saŋ; (v) Cau Maĩlua (clearly a princess) and the ʔmsiukr̃i (mayor of the palace?, doubtless her husband) Samantalā.

BURMANS SPREAD NORTH, AND WEST OF THE IRAWADY

The rice-fields dedicated were at Ma’hlaŋyūn; Muchuíwehuwu tuĩk (Shwebo); Muchuíwekhrum tuĩk (Mōksōgyōn, S.E. of Shwebo); Kwankataŋ village (E. of Shwebo, N. of Mōksōgyōn); Hanlaŋ tuĩk (Halingyi), S. of Raykhyan village, where a canal (mroũŋ) is mentioned; also in ʔNamsū tuĩk (N. of

17 List 50 a, lines 1–6 (A 19, S.I.P., pp. 4–5). 473 s./III A.D. For Duroiselle’s account of Hlbéauk pagoda, Ngaung-gon village, near Taungbyon, N. of Mandalay, see A.S.I. 1912, pp. 149–151 and Plate LXIX, fig. 5.
18 List 50 b, lines 9–11.
20 I.B., Pl. V 476 (S.I.P., pp. 10–12), Pagán Museum Stone 57, E. face. The final date on the Reverse is 706 s./1345 A.D. For views and plan of Taingchut temple, see Pl. 378 and Ch. XX, pp. 411–2.
Chapter V

Shwébo) and *Pitchai tuik* \(^{24}\); total 750 pè. All this, added to the 513 s. fragment quoted above, points to the fact that during this reign colonization was active in Sunáparanta, W. of the Irawady, on both banks of the Mu, and around Shwébo. Fields were also dedicated, on a smaller scale, in the *khawruin* areas: at Calañ (Salin, N. of Minbu); and at Mahhárā, Nálánpu, Pañllai, Kharñmhū and Warañsū in the Eleven *khawruin* (Kyaukse). Under the final date, 706 s./1345 A.D., *Khałlam tuik* is also mentioned. Some of these last-named lands are defined by reference to certain “*sampyan*’s registers.” – Whenever in old inscriptions one finds references to land in *sampyan*’s registers, they refer, always it seems, to rice-fields in Kyauksè, the chief granary of Central Burma. Clearly the Eleven *khawruin* had already a far more elaborate system of land-organization then the *tuik* areas. Shwébo, in Sunáparanta, though a rich, rice-growing region, with canals, is always a *tuik* area, never a *khawruin*.

**SINGHALSE (?) MAIDS OF HONOUR**

In a genuine Pagán inscription\(^ {25}\) we read finally of two “golden concubines” (*moñma rhuy sañ*) of the future Buddha *Rhu-yīlayakahā*,”“darling (khyal ma) Miï’ sañ and darling Ray sañ.” The former, as we read in another inscription\(^ {26}\), was “Lady of the Royal Fan” (*yap tāw sañ*): she died at a great age in 576 s./1214 A.D. These ladies were sisters, possibly of Singhalese origin\(^ {27}\), as we shall see.

**SHWÉGU-GYI AND THATBYINNYU TEMPLES (EARLY BURMESE)**

For the rest, our surest knowledge of Cañśū I will derive from study of the two great temples he built within the walls of Pagán: the Shwégú (1131 A.D.) and the Thatbyinnyu (Sabbaññu, ‘the Omniscent’)\(^ {28}\). These temples, among the grandest in the whole of Burma, will be described in Chapter XX. They are the masterpieces of the Transitional or Early Burmese style.

**THE ‘ALAUNGSHITHU ‘LEGEND AND ODYSSEY. CONFUSION WITH ‘NARAPATISITHU’**

I have left till last consideration of the Alaungsithu legend as told in the Chronicles\(^ {29}\). Is it worth considering? It is open to the criticism made already about the folklore fable of Kyanzittha’s infancy (see pp. 42, 43), that of being false in style, pseudo-archaic, with a king childish, querulous and brazen. There is also confusion of authorities as to which was the king in question. The Glass Palace Chronicle\(^ {30}\), perhaps rightly (but the whole legend invites scepticism), reserves the sea-journey for Cañśū I; and allows land-journeys to both Cañśū I and Cañśū II. To Cañśū I it assigns the five *sarakkan* sandalwood offerings, the Shinbyu and Shinlha images given by Indra, and the *sāñhanak* (or *sāñkhān*) boat given by the king of Ceylon, “which held eight hundred thousand men”; to Cañśū II\(^ {31}\) it assigns

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\(^{24}\) Several of these names are confirmed by the Dhammarājaka inscriptions of Cañśū II, 560 s./1198 A.D.: *Pitchai tuik*, *Muchañphaw tuik*, *Nāṁsā tuik*, *Muchañkwrum tuik*. *Khaļlam tuik* (*I.B., Pl. I 20*, lines 14–21). For *Nāṁsā*, see also *I.B., Pl. I 12*\(^ {10}\), 31\(^ {8}\).

\(^{25}\) *I.B., Pl. II 143*\(^ {11}\), Pagán Museum Stone 63, 604 s./1242–3 A.D.

\(^{26}\) *I.B., Pl. I 75 a*\(^ {9}\), Minmanthu Lémyethna Stone I, N. face, 576 s./1214 A.D.

\(^{27}\) See *infra*, ch. VII, p. 127.


\(^{30}\) *Hmannan*, I, pp. 310–314 (transl. *G.P.C.*, pp. 128–131). As a rough general rule for distinguishing Cañśū I (Alaungsithu) and Cañśū II (Narapatisithu) in inscriptions, first note the dates. If the event took place between 475 and 522 s./1113 and 1160 A.D., it should refer to Cañśū I; if between 536 and 573 s./1174 and 1211 A.D., to Cañśū II. If any old writing is found at the site, note the script and the language. If it is Old Mon, it is the work of Cañśū I; if Old Burmese, probably that of Cañśū II. If the work of merit is a temple with corbelled arching, not radiating vousoirs, one may rule it out as post-Pagán.

the temples built to enshrine the nine images carved out of the prow of the boat, and also the five
“pagodas of beauty”.

If Aniruddha and Kyanzittha conquered, as seems certain, the whole of Tenasserim down to, and
beyond, the Isthmus of Kra, the next step would naturally be to build a fleet to control and protect
the trade-route across the Isthmus. So a sea-journey of reconnaissance by Cañsū I is not in itself im-
probable. For Cañsū II it would be less likely: for in the interval, in 1165 A.D., control of the Isthmus
was wrested from Burma by the Ceylon armada of Parākrama-bāhu I.

The odyssey attributed to Cañsū I was, briefly, as follows: –
(i) He goes south to “the Talaing country” and descends the Kre:\lon\: stream to Bassein: i.e. the
Nga Wun or Bassein river, which takes off from the main river above Henzada, and forms the most
westerly mouth of the Irawady.
(ii) At Cape Negrais, the extreme end of the ridge running south from Pagán Tankyidaung, along the
west bank of the Irawady, he observes “the glass image of the Nāga king.”
(iii) First, it seems, he sails to Bengal (? Chittagong), where Aniruddha had left stone figures of
musicians (see G.P.C., pp. 95–96), who come to life to greet him.
(iv) He then sails to Ceylon, where the king offers him a daughter; an image “of Mahākassapa
practising ascetic attitudes”; and the enormous boat.
(v) He proceeds by this boat to the vast Jambu tree (Eugenia Rose-apple), “at the head of the
Island” Jambudīpa, the Southern Continent to which it gives its name. At the foot of it he sees the
“rock-mat on which Buddhas have sat.” He wishes to sit there himself, but finds it too dangerous.
(vi) He is about to climb Mt. Meru, up to Tāvatiṃsā, when Indra stops him, and, to console him,
grants him divine anointment and a long title; also two images, ‘Shinbyu’ carved from the rock-mat,
and ‘Shinla’ from a branch of the Jambu tree; also six relics of the Buddha; and enough sarakkhan
sandalwood for carving five images.
(vii) On his way home he is about to fall into the Va\labhāmukha\, “the mighty mouth”. Dr. Pe Maung Tin refers me to the Suppāraka Jātaka,
No. 403, where the Va\labhāmukha is the sixth and last of the strange seas crossed, after a solemn vow, by the blind
pilot, on his way back to Bharukaccha.
(viii) He visits Mallāyny island (Sumatra), where Ma\nimekkalā again rescues the child of a Demon
mother (bhī\l\a:\ma), who had fallen from her hand as she was watching the king. (The terms bhīl\a:\
or rakṣa were especially applied to the early Malayan pirates. Rakṣapura was the old name of Thatōn.)
(ix) He stops at the rock of “the white elephant Gandhālarāja\, which the king (of) Tagunā rode.” It
had “died in the sky, and falling into the ocean, became a rock”. Here Aśoka’s son, Mahinda, “was
wont to walk to and fro.”
(x) He stops at Mār\l\on (Man-aung) island (Cheduba, off the coast of Arakan), and reads a lesson to
its dead king, who had drowned himself sooner than pay homage.
(xi) He visits Jambudīpa, and takes the tusks of an elephant in which a giant-scorpion lived. The
scorpion swarms after him, but failing to catch him, makes a boat-like gesture with its sting.

\footnote{22} Called in Burmese Balavamukha, “the mighty mouth”. Dr. Pe Maung Tin refers me to the Suppāraka Jātaka,
No. 403, where the Va\labhāmukha is the sixth and last of the strange seas crossed, after a solemn vow, by the blind
pilot, on his way back to Bharukaccha.
\footnote{23} For Gandhārāya (\?). Gandha was the name of a special family of elephants. “Each elephant” says Malalasekera
(Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names, I, p. 744) “has the strength of one million men.” In the Myinkaba Kubyauk-gyi
Gloss 224).
The land-journeys and works of merit they produced, are more credible. But here the confusion between Cañsū I and Cañsū II darkens counsel. Many of the pagodas given below to Alaungsithu, are given, in district gazetteers and 'thamaings', to Narapatisithu. If dates permit, I generally follow the Hmanann; for having decided that it was Alaungsithu who made the sea-voyage, it prudently awards him also the harvest of that voyage, and little besides. Local study and excavation alone may help us to the truth. All the pagodas listed below, are in Pakōkku, Sagaing, Shwébo and Mandalay districts. They point to a steady advance northwards by the Burmans, especially across the river into Sunāparanta.

PAGODAS OUTSIDE PAGÁN ATTRIBUTED TO CAÑSÚ I

Enshrining the 5 images of sarakkhan sandalwood, etc.:—

(i) [Anyak]-Thihadaw (or Theinghadaw) cetē on the island in the First Defile, 3 miles S. of Thabeikhyin.
(ii) Shwétandit cetē at Kun-ywa, 5 miles N.E. of Pakōkku. Kun-ywa36 (classical name Mahānagarachinna) was formerly the district centre.
(iv) Shin (or Sin)-madaung cetē on top of Shinmadaung Hill near Pakhan-gyi, Pakōkku. The image is now said to be moved to Sithushin pagoda.
(v) Myat-paung-myizu or Dat-paung-myizu cetē at Pakhan-gyi, Pakōkku. The image is now said to be moved to Sithushin pagoda. It is said to enshrine the six relics offered by Indra.
(vi) Sithushin pagoda outside Pakāhan-gyi34 town.
(vii) Thihoshin pagoda, Pakōkku town (old name Mlachuī37, Myitkaing). Said to enshrine the image of Mahākassapa, given by the Ceylon king.
(viii) Shwē-kun[+]gyal-6p pagoda, 2 miles S. of Htilin, west of Pakōkku district.
(ix) Shwémoktaw and Shwépaunglaung pagodas, on the S. bank of the river Yaw, opposite Pyinchaung, Pakōkku district.

(x) Shinbyushin cetē, Wachet ('Gyawka'), above Sagaing, where the Shin-byu and Shin-hla images were enshrined.
(xi) Inkhayu pagoda "in Kyōcañ"38, near Thinbangōn, Mandalay district.

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35 Kwañ ruā. I.B., Pl. IV 396 a34 (at end of inscr. dated 664 s./1302 a.D.).
36 Kukhan was the old name for Pakhangyi: see I.B., I 193 Kukhan Nyahā (568 s./1206 a.D.); 3213 Kukhan Nyuynd (569 s./1207 a.D.); 749 15, 19; 1022; 10311; II 10 19 (537 s. ?); IV 369 b16 (562 s. ?), etc.
37 Mlachuí. I.B., Pl. I 73 82, 565 s./1223 a.D.; II 213 b4 (?); IV 388 a20, 18, 644 s./1282 a.D.
38 Kyōcañ (Kyawsin). Name of an old tuik S. of Madaya. See evidence of a headman of ‘Taungbyōnnge in Kyawsin tuik on the east side of the Irawaddy’ (1783 a.D.), translated by H. F. Searle on pp. 56–57 of his valuable Mandalay District Gazetteer (Vol. A):—"I have no jurisdiction over the villages which fall within the outer boundaries of Madaya: the reason for this is that Anawrata set the land apart for the support of the nats, and called it Kyawsin."
Chapter V

(xii) Shwébawgyun pagoda “in Kybcañ”.
(xiii) Hlèdank pagoda west of Taungbyôñ, Mandalay district.
(xiv) Mwé-andaw pagoda, at the mouth of Myaungmyít, Mandalay district.

PAGÁN PAGODAS OF THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD (1113–74 A.D.)

From Caññi II’s accession (536 s./1174 A.D.) there appears to have been a reaction against Mon styles at Pagán. The last temple of ‘Mon’ type, the huge Dhammayan-gyi, was built by Caññi I’s son, Kuká-kyá, shortly before his death in 1165 A.D. It must have taken several years to build. That is why I have suggested that his father died not later than 1160. If so, all the remaining ‘Mon’ temples, and some of the Transitional ‘Early Burmese’ temples should fall within this period. The first Early Burmese temple, Shwégu-gyi, can be dated exactly 1131 A.D. Caññi I’s next Early Burmese temple, the four-storeyed Thatbyinnyu, over 200 ft. high, registers such a bold advance in architectural skill, that it must, I think, date from near the end of his reign, c. 1155 A.D. These then, in the absence of contemporary records, are my chief criteria for dating the following monuments. They are described at length in Chapter XIII (Stupas) or Chapters XVIII to XX (Temples).

3. Kyazin temple in its original form. It stands S. of Myinkaba village, N.E. of Nagayon. The donor, Bårucé, died in 1125 A.D. Much of the E. side, including the three colossal images (Great Twin Miracle) and the Old Mon list of the 28 Buddhas, may well go back to this date (Ch. XIX, pp. 391–397).
4. Alópyi (Áluiw-plañ) temple, Gu 228, S.E. of Htilominlo, on the north side of the inland road to Nyaung-u. ‘Mon’ temple with many paintings of Suttas, Buddhañsa, Vímânavaththu, and Maháni-páia Játáka. All glosses in Mon. Pls. 357, 358 (Ch. XIX, pp. 388–391).

39 Old Burm. Toñblun, I.B. I 34 (573 s./1211 A.D.); 50 Toñblun (552 s./1190 A.D.); 74 Toñblun (552 s./1190 A.D.); 75 a, 40, 43, 44; 98 111; III 244 104 Toñblun kharun nhk R Updating akhiw ndh (536 s./1274 A.D.).
40 The accession-date of Caññi II rests on the evidence of the Minsawhla (for Cau Mâñ Lha) pagoda-inscription at Khinnun, Sagaing district. The inscription has not been listed or edited. Its final date (744 s./1382 A.D.) on line 16 of the reverse, is over two centuries later. In line 8 of the obverse we read: 11 sahañac 536 shu ciysâ manhiri rhuy tn tak pri – – – “In 536 s. king Ciysú, after his accession to the throne – – –” There appears to be a listed copy of this inscription, List 715, “Sawminhla pagoda, Pagán,” printed at B I 839. Cau Mâñ Lha was a concubine (aploñ taw) of Caññi II.
42 Bohmu (Col.) Ba Shin, of the Burma Historical Commission, has published a full and learned volume on this temple: The Lokahétique (Rangoon, Sept. 1962).
43 I.B., Pl. IV 367 a4 Áluiw plañ mañ so huw’, 556 s./1194 A.D.


8. Hsulégôn ‘Mon’ Gu 202, facing north, E. of the Shwé Chaung, S. of Kubyauk-ngê. There are many tiers of painted panels, some perhaps with Mon glosses. Pl. 365 a, b (Ch. XIX, p. 399).


10. ‘Mon’ temple S.E. of Myazigôn, facing west. Porch leaning; back wall collapsed. Pl. 366 a, b, c (Ch. XIX, p. 400).


14. Gu S.W. of the Seinnyet group. Roofs mostly fallen in. Pl. 367 a, b (Ch. XIX, p. 401).

15. Gu N.W. of the Seinnyet group. Roofs mostly fallen in. Pl. 367 c, d (Ch. XIX, p. 401).

The above five temples are all of ‘Mon’ type, but too ruinous to date with any precision. The source of ruin is nearly always the lean-to half-arch over the corridors, which could not stand up to earthquakes as the full keystone voussoir could. The Old Burmans were quick to note this weakness, and to correct it.


17. Taingchut (Twiikkhet) temple, outside Tharaba Gate, N. of Ananda monastery. The two-faced inscription, with earliest date 1140 A.D., is now at Pagán Museum, Stone 57. Small Burmese temple, much repaired. Pl. 378 (Ch. XX, pp. 411–412).

18. Thatbyinnyu temple (Sabbañãũkũ, "Temple of the Omniscient"). It stands in the S.E. corner of the city, monarch of all the temples of Pagán (210 ft. high, with four storeys). Early Burmese style (c. 1155 A.D.), with Old Mon bell-pillars of carved stone. Pls. 379–390. (Ch. XX, pp. 412–417).

19. Dhammayan-gyi temple (Dhammãrañ, "Pleasance of the Law"). It stands in the centre of the whole area, a mile S.E. of the city. Last of the ‘Mon’ temples of Pagán. Built by king Kulákya, who was killed in 1165 A.D. Pls. 391–397 (Ch. XX, pp. 417–422).
CHAPTER VI

THE TRANSITION. MISCELLANEOUS WRITTEN SOURCES

Sung references to P'u-kan – features of the Transition: languages, scripts, architecture, religion, etc. – votive tablets: Sanskrit, Pali, Pyu, Mon, Burmese – Chitsagôn trope (Sumedha, Muggaliputta) – inscriptions: Sanskrit, Pali, Pyu – Mon glosses and inscriptions – four dated, two undated, Burmese inscriptions – Ajāvatā.

SUNG REFERENCES TO P'U-KAN

Aggression from the north has always been, during the historic period, the chief menace to Burma's civilizations. Since 'Ta-li kingdom', the weakened relict of Nan-chao, was still master of western Yunnan, the Chinese of the Sung dynasties (960–1278 A.D.) knew little of the Burmans. The Chinese name for them, Mien, does not appear (I think) before the coming of the Mongols and the Yüan dynasty. This was fortunate for Pagán, and allowed its brief but brilliant efflorescence.

Pagán's embassies to Sung China, in 1004 and 1106 A.D., have been mentioned already (pp. 8, 58). The Lingwai-t'ai-ta of Chou Ch'ü-lei (1178 A.D.)1 gives the following account of 'P'u-kan kingdom': –

'From Ta-li kingdom in 5 stages² one reaches this kingdom. From Wa-li kingdom³ in 60 stages one reaches it. Being cut off by the flowing mud of the Black Water⁴, the various kingdoms of the West [India] are unable to communicate with it. The king and officials of P'u-kan kingdom all wear on their heads caps shaped like the rhinoceros horn. They have horses, but ride them without a saddle. The king's residence has tiles made of tin. Gold and silver are used for the interior decoration of rooms and partition-walls. They have several tens of Buddhist monasteries. The monks all wear yellow robes. When the king holds his morning audience, each official holds a flower to offer to the king. The monks make a speech in Sanskrit/Pali praying that he may live long. Some flowers are taken for the king to wear on his head. The rest are taken back to the monasteries and offered to the Buddha.'

¹ "An officer at Kuei-lin in the 12th century." The work "contains a large amount of detail respecting the geography and inhabitants of the two Kuang provinces, and also the regions beyond, summary outlines being given regarding many Asiatic kingdoms, extending even to the far west." (A. Wylie, Notes on Chinese Literature, 1867, p. 45). For the account of Pagán, see ch. 2, f. 11 r°-v°.
² The number of stages is obviously too small. Mr. Chen Yi-Sein (our learned Chinese Reader to the Burma Historical Commission) points out to me that the section on P'u-kan in Ku Tsu-yü's Tu-shih-fang-yü-chi-yao (1667 A.D.; ch. 119) begins as follows: – "The Gazetteer (chih) says that, north-east of the city, it is 5 day-stages to An-chêng-kuo [Nga Singu, N. of Mandalay district], and over 50 day-stages to Ta-li''.
³ Wa-li kingdom is mentioned again in the section on Chên-la (ch. 2, f. 11 r°), as adjacent to Chên-la (Cambodia). The Chu-fan-chih of Chao Jü-kua (1225 A.D.) includes it among the 12 or 13 states dependent on Chên-la.
⁴ Fan Ch'o, in the Man-shu (ch. 2, f. 4 v° – transl. p. 20), appears to identify the legendary Hei Shui, "Black Water", of the Yü-kung chapter of the Shu-ching, with the Irawady (Li Shui). Here, perhaps, the identification is rather with the Chindwin (Mi-no Chiang) and its sources in the Hukong Valley: beyond which, on the route from the Pyu capital to Manipur and India, Chía Tan places the Hei Shan, 'Black Mountains': see Hsin-t'ang-shu, ch. 43 (hsia).
"In the 5th year of the ch'ung-ning period of Hui Tsung, 2nd month [March 8th–April 5th, 1106], they came to Court with tribute."

In the following chapter, "Roads communicating with the outer barbarians", an itinerary is given from Yung-chou to Ta-li. It continues: "From Ta-li kingdom, in 5 stages one reaches P'u-kan kingdom, which is not far distant from the West (and) India. But one is stopped by a river of flowing mud; so there are no communications. Possibly, indeed, one might communicate; but it is extremely dangerous." As for Wa-li kingdom, we read that it was adjacent to Chên-la kingdom (Cambodia). Pagán's connections with the Coças in Kyanzittha's reign are borne out by the following remark in the section on 'Chu-nien kingdom': "Chu-nien kingdom is South India in the west. If one wants to go to this kingdom, one should transship from Ku-lin kingdom [Quilon]. Some say one can also go there from P'u-kan kingdom."

The Chu-fan-chih of Chao Ju-kua (1225 A.D.) adds the following details:

"P'u-kan kingdom. - The officials and common people all bunch their hair on the forehead, and tie it with coloured silk. Only the lord of the land is distinguished by a golden cap. The kingdom has lots of horses, which they ride without a saddle. It is their custom to reverence the Buddha most devoutly. The monks all wear yellow robes... In the kingdom there is a temple of the Warrior Marquis Chu-ko..." He continues with the account of the 1004 embassy (see supra, p. 8) and ends, like Chou Ch'i-fai, with a mention of that of 1106 A.D.

FEATURES OF THE TRANSITION: LANGUAGES

The period 1113 to 1174 A.D. was a nimble and an eager age of transition. This is seen most obviously in language. Aniruddha had written in Sanskrit or Pali – in Sanskrit, perhaps, for dignity, in Pali for ease. Saw Lu wrote in Pali and (perhaps) Mon; Kyanzittha almost always in Mon. His son, Rājakumār, in 1113 A.D. wrote in four languages: Pali, Pyu, Mon and Burmese, but normally in Mon. The grandson, Cañsū I, wrote in Pali, with dates and epilogue in Sanskrit, and once (at least) in Mon. In his reign and his successor's, Burmese inscriptions begin to appear; some undated ones may well go back to Kyanzittha's reign, or even earlier. From Cañsū II onwards Burmese triumphs. Pyu practically disappears. Mon almost disappears, from Pagán at any rate. Sanskrit is confined to a few scholars, and Pali mostly to monks.

SCRIPTS

All these were ultimately derived from India, and were written, like Brāhmī, from left to right. But there were big variations. The Pyu script of 7th century Śrī Kṣetra, based on North Canarese in Western India, just survived into the Pagán period. Meantime more than one type of North Indian Nāgari had spread from Pāla Bihar and Bengal to Arakan, and was at first regularly stamped on the

5 Ling-wai-ta ta ch. 3, f. 9 v°. Yung-chou was the old name for Nan-ning in Kuang-hsi.
6 ibid., ch. 2, f. 13 v°
7 There is a section on Ku-lin kingdom, ch. 2, f. 13 r°-v°.
9 Chu-ko Liang, minister of the Minor Han of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan), who in 226 A.D. led an expedition, famous in story, as far as Yung-ch'ang (Pao-shan), nearly 100 miles from the present Burma border.
Chapter VI

Buddhist votive tablets of Śrī Kṣetra, Tagaung and Pagán. Very different from both, the ‘Mon’ script which ultimately triumphed, had come, it seems, from South India (? Kāñcipuram) via Dvāravatī and the Gulf of Siam.

ARCHITECTURE

In architecture (as we shall see in later chapters), though the ‘Mon’ style is dominant down to Kyanzittha’s death, and is seen as late as Dhammārāma temple (c. 1160 A.D.), already in Cañsū I’s reign (from 1131 onwards) the Early Burmese style revealed its dazzling dawn.

RELIGION

In religion the change was greatest, and the most far-reaching. Started, almost unconsciously, by Aniruddha in his search for genuine Buddhist texts, it climaxed, under Kyanzittha, with a gradual but final passage from the Tāntric Mahāyānism of Bengal to Singhalese Theravāda, based on the closed Canon of the Mahāvihāra.

Other changes, more difficult to trace on the evidence available, were also doubtless proceeding in society, government and education. Flux everywhere, but not confusion. Direction there was, if still no conscious sense of it. External events and influences played their part. Of Mon culture, with all its poetry and beauty, the Old Burman had absorbed as much as he was able. Indian influence and example were to be seen everywhere, almost always beneficent. It is surely one of the chief glories of Indian culture that invariably it gave life, not death, to other cultures. And Buddhism — in its first impact a very midwife to a people’s soul — was hard at work, bringing to the birth, informing and inspiring.

Beyond all this, one feels, Nature was leading the leaders, unconscious, to their destiny. National character was being formed. There was little copying, it seems, of things Indian. Old Burmese inscriptions are nearer to those on Chou bronzes than to any Indian prasasti. And the Old Burman’s mind was large enough to take the gifts of Mon and Indian, and add enough to make the product personal and original. Each pioneer writer, struggling to express Burmese in a script half useless to him, and lacking half of what he wanted, showed a style of his own, both in matter, spelling and calligraphy. These early inscriptions are a joy to the eye as well as to the mind. Too soon uniformity will come and eccentricity be ironed out, with spelling standardised and script flattened and deadened. For the moment everything is burstingly alive.

VOTIVE TABLETS: SANSKRIT

Of such a thrilling moment of birth and awakening, it is sad that the extant record is so meagre. If we exclude Thatôn, dated stone inscriptions of the Pagán kingdom begin with Kyanzittha’s first Mon inscription at Prome, on June 3rd 1093 A.D. But terracotta votive tablets which, with the vaulted chapels, form a ‘bridge’ between the cultures of Śrī Kṣetra and Pagán, are often inscribed, and are indeed among Burma’s oldest epigraphic monuments. The art of making votive tablets came to Burma in the 7th century from early Pāla Bengal.

In shape, votive tablets of early Pagán are usually squared at the base, and arch to a point at the top. Often they are oval or fig-leaf in shape. But the stamped oval or fig-leaf may also fit into deep
squared rims below, arching above — a type popular at Tagaung (Pls. 49, 56). This allowed the image to stand upright in its own small shrine, for private worship. There is, indeed, an intimacy about the writings found on many of these clay tablets which distinguish them from the stone inscriptions. At first, no doubt, the only writing allowed was the Buddhist ‘Credo’, stamped in high relief on the obverse, below the throne or lotus-seat. The language was Sanskrit, and the script Nāgarī. Rarely it was stamped at the top of the tablet (Pl. 53 c), or, if space was insufficient, spread up the sides (Pls. 7, 54 c). Several types of Nāgarī script were employed. One very fine square type occurs on only three sorts of tablet: Aniruddha’s Seinnyet tablets (Pl. 6 a, b); Mahāsālini’s Eight Scene tablets (Pl. 71); and the heavily ornate tablets of Prince Vallabh = Yasa (Pl. 38 a, b, c). Mahāsālini’s tablets are found with others signed by Aniruddha showing 31 figures (Pls. 10, 11). And other tablets of “Prince Yas” are found with those of Aniruddha (Pl. 23 b, c). So it seems that this fine Nāgarī writing in high relief belongs especially to Aniruddha’s court. Another type of “compressed Nāgarī” in high relief, troublesome to read, occurs on Aniruddha’s 10-Buddha tablets (Pl. 9); the compression was doubtless due to lack of space. The high relief exposed these letters to surface-damage; and they were often written so small as to be soon illegible.

The Sanskrit tended to get mixed with Pali, which, though not so venerable, was better understood at Pagān. And soon, when additional matter of local interest was added, the local language (Pyu, Mon, Burmese) and the local script (Pyu or Mon) began to invade the back, under-rim, or side-rims of the obverse, and finally the place of honour there, hitherto reserved for Nāgarī. On Aniruddha’s 50-Buddha tablets (Pls. 12, 13), the line in high relief at the base is in Nāgarī script, but the language (apart from sri, and om at the beginning) is Pali. The transition is clearest seen in Kyanzittha’s 50-Buddha plaques (Pls. 16, 17): half the line at the base is Sanskrit/Nāgarī, the other half Pali in Mon script. When one compares the high relief writing on Aniruddha’s 5-figure tablets (Pl. 8 a, b) with that on the very similar one of Kyanzittha’s queen, Trilokavatamsakā (Pl. 8 c), one sees that the former is normal Sanskrit/Nāgarī, the latter Pali/Mon.

Apart from the Buddhist ‘Credo’, Aniruddha’s Sanskrit prayers are varied: — “Thus saith Śrī Aniruddhadeva” (Pl. 6 a). “Om. This is the work of the monarch, Śrī Aniruddhadeva” (Pl. 10 a). “Om. This is the pious gift of the donor of truth” [“donor of the mould”], “the great king Śrī Aniruddhadeva” (Pl. 8 a). “By me, Aniruddhadeva, has been made this mould of the Blessed One. By this, may I obtain the path to Nirvāṇa when Maitreya is fully enlightened” (Pl. 6 c). His Pali is a single stereotype, first seen on his Khābin pagoda tablets (Pls. 4, 5): — “This Blessed One” (or sometimes “This Lokanātha”, if the central figure is a Bodhisattva, Pl. 7 b), “is made by the great king, Śrī Aniruddhadeva, with his own hands, for the sake of Deliverance” — a formula followed, mutatis mutandis, by his son Śrī Bajrabharana (Pl. 15 c), by Queen Trilokavatamsakā (Pl. 8 c), and others. Kyanzittha prays for Buddhahood (Pls. 16 d, 17 c). His grandson, Pavara, below the first 100-Buddha tablet, merely claims to be the donor (Pl. 18 a); his chaplain, Dhammarājapandita, after making “a thousand Buddha-image(s),” adds a finely engraved prayer for Deliverance (Pl. 18 c). Kulā-kyā, Vara, “lord of the Quarters” (disampani), makes his image of a hundred Buddhas “in order to attain perfect Buddhahood” (Pl. 19 b, d). Cī’peh, who writes in Mon or Pali, was chief queen (rañño makesi) — of which king, we know not. Perhaps she was a Mon: one of her plaques (Pl. 21 c) suggests Lower Burma. She made it “with her own hands”. The only other royalty mentioned is “the wife of Rājāputta” (Pl. 63 a).
Chapter VI

VOTIVE TABLETS: PALI

The simplest and most widespread Pali tablet (found at Pagán, Taungdwin-gyi, Alanmyo, and Hpowundaung) has merely, engraved on the back, *namo Buddha⁵ya*, "Honour to the Buddha" (Pl. 58) – an effective way of introducing villagers to an Indian script, to Pali, and to Buddhism. The commonest users of Pali were naturally the monks (*thera, bhikkhu*, or *ācariya* "teacher"). Of those who accompanied Rājakumār in 1112–13 A.D. to his father’s deathbed, "the teacher *Muggaliputta* created" several "images of the Buddha" (Pl. 59 d, f) with the monk *Silapā* (Pl. 59 e). Muggaliputta had a fine bold hand; and his plaque of the 5 Buddhas alternating with stupas, was original and beautiful (Pl. 61 a, b, c). "The monk *Sunedha*, probably Rājakumār’s *Sunedha-pañḍita*, "like Nāgasena" in the *Mālindapañña*, "takes keen delight in learning. Making with his own hands the thousand Buddhas" [of Chitsagōn], he prays to win Deliverance and become a Buddha (Pl. 51 d). As a co-pioneer with Rājakumār in writing Old Burmese, he must be remembered with honour. "The monk *Rathapā* and "the teacher *Ānanda* created images of the Buddha," also at Chitsagōn – short, plump figures quite different from those of Aniruddha (Pl. 40 a, b, c, d). The *thera *Ānanda*, perhaps a different monk, has left two tablets, one of the 40 (?) Buddhas (Pl. 68 b), and another of the Eight Scenes (Pl. 74 b), similar to that of Mahāśālīni (Pl. 71). These were found by U Htwe Sein N.E. of Upali Thein, together with the bronze cetiya Lotus (Pl. 426) and an andagu slab of the Eight Scenes (Pl. 404) – a notable contribution to Pagán religious art. "The teacher *Saṅgradeva*" (or *Saṅgradiva*), on several heavily ornate tablets, prays that "his image of the highest Conqueror may be a means to attain Omniscience" (Pl. 38 e, f). Another heavily ornate tablet, now in the ‘trésor’ of Pegu Shwesandaw pagoda platform, was "made by the monk *Abhirūpa*, with his own hands, in the hope of release from *sāṁsāra*" (Pl. 37 b).

High civil officials (sambene) were also apt to use Pali. The sambene *Jesalya* (Pl. 57 b, c) adopts Aniruddha’s stereotype. "The sambene, Prince (maṇ) Yasa, favourite (vallabha) of the king" (probably Aniruddha), made his ornate Pwazaw plaque, with the fine Nāgarī stamp, "in his longing for excellent Omniscience. May the worlds of men and gods take note!" (Pl. 38 a, b, c). Yasa wrote in Pali or Mon (Pl. 23 c, d, e), and sometimes mixed them (Pl. 64 b); but he had the Burmese title (maṇ) as well as the Mon (trāp). Several tablets of the ‘28 Buddhas’ (*atthavīsatī Buddhaḥ*) – the number of figures shown may vary from 28 to 31 – were made by "the king’s minister, the sambene *Pintā*" (Pl. 65 f), and the nameless "Law-sambene or Judge, *triyā sambene*" (Pl. 65 a, b, c). These omit the two Bodhisattvas who flank the Buddha on Aniruddha’s plaques (Pls. 8 a, 10 a), and persist even in those of Kyanzittha’s queen, mother of Rājakumār (Pl. 8 c). The Judge’s Pali inscriptions are varied: – "These 28 Buddhas were made by me, the Law-sambene, in the hope of attaining Buddhahood" (Pl. 65 a). "This image of the 28 Buddhas was made by me the donor, the Law-sambene. It is made for the benefit of king, mother, father, together with sons, daughters, wives and all living beings. (May I be) a Buddha in the world to come!" (Pl. 65 b). "The maker of this image of the 28 Buddhas – I, the donor, the Law-sambene, have made it for the merit of king, mother and father. By means of this good work, may all living beings be freed from the immeasurable evils of existence! May I be a Buddha hereafter!" (Pl. 65 c). – These names, at the moment, are little more than names. But if and when excavations continue, some, at least, are likely to recur. Meantime what little we know, should be placed on record.

VOTIVE TABLETS: PYU

Only two kinds of tablet with Pyu writing have as yet been found at Pagán. The chief one (Pl. 34 c, d) comes from the relic-chamber of Shwesandaw, built ca. 1060 a.d. by Aniruddha. The reverse shows..."
6 clear lines of Pyu. “This Blessed One” it begins. The donor, Śrī Bañña, is mentioned in line 3. He prays, it seems, that he may reach Omniscience (?) in the presence of Metriya. The other tablets (Pl. 55 a, b, c) have been found at three sites: at Kyazin temple S.E. of Myinpagan; at a gu W. of Sin’pahto; and in “a mound near the riverbank, close to the south of Tawyakyaung monastery, west of Nanpaya”. At the last site, a rather similar bronze plaque, without the Pyu writing, was also found (Pl. 55 d). A duplicate of the terracottas is now at the Indian Museum, Calcutta (Pl. 55 e). This type shows three seated figures: in the centre a Buddha in abhayamudrā; an earth-touching Buddha on his right; the Bodhisattva Maitreya on his left. On the face of the pedestal below the central lotus-throne are 5 Pyu characters which Duroiselle reads: Budha me: ṣu: khñu.

VOTIVE TABLETS: MON

The commonest writing on these early Pagán tablets is in Mon. At Shin Mókti pagoda, 6 miles south of Tavoy10 towards the mouth of its river, many old votive tablets have been found, with Mon writing of Kyanzittha’s reign. One (Pl. 20 c) reads as follows: — “This (image of the) Lord Buddha is stamped and dedicated by the saññabha Anantajaeyabhikāraṇa who guards Tavoy (Dawāy), servant of our lord His Majesty Śrīh Tribhovanādityadhammarāc”, i.e. Kyanzittha. The first part of the Governor’s name is not quite certain. Another (Pl. 20 b), similarly worded, is offered by “the sumbeñ Yāñ=khñ who guards Tavoy”, etc. This name, too, is not quite certain. The writer concludes: — “When our lord becomes a Buddha, may I, his servant, become an Arahant, disciple of my lord!” Other tablets (Pl. 20 d) found at the site have writing also in Old Mon, though the donors’ names are Old Burmese: — “The kalan Pwoñ (‘Blossom’) stamped this Buddha. (His) daughter, Phun phleñ” (‘Fulfilling virtue’), ‘made the clay’ (lit. earth).

From Pagán Shwéhsandaw relic-chamber, on the back of two ‘seals of Aniruddha’, are found brief writings in Mon: “This (tablet) was stamped by Lord (trāp) Nawur” (Pl. 22 b); “the Buddha (gyāk) of Vrahmasin’, sc. Brahmasena (Pl. 22 c). From the same chamber, on the back of a tablet similar if not the same, is the Mon signature of Prince Yasa (Pl. 23 c): “The Buddha (gyāk) stamped by Lord Prince Yas (trāp mañ Yos).” His Mon writing appears again on the obverse of a ‘figleaf’ tablet of unknown provenance, below the lotus-throne: “Stamped by trāp mañ Yos” (Pl. 23 d, e). On the back of another tablet of Aniruddha type (Pl. 25 a, b), there is a prayer in Mon: “The precept (against) Adultery (?) — may I be ware of it! The precept (against) Stealing — may I be ware of it! The precept (against) Murder — may I be ware of it!” Also a fragment of Old Mon, ill spelt (Pl. 25 d): “I want to be a Buddha!”

10 The earliest Burmese mention of Tavoy (Taway) occurs in the Dhammarājaka inscription of Cānṣū II: I.B., Pl. I 199, 558 s./1196 A.D. The name occurs again in a fragmentary list of boundaries (Taluiñsare, Tawai, Muttama; Tenassserim, Tavoy, Martaban) in an early Ava fragment: line 3 of the unprinted reverse of List 73, Mandalay Palace Shed Stone 501, 538 s./1176 A.D. It occurs again in an Amyint inscription, I.B., Pl. IV 423, 643 s./1281 A.D.: “from Pagán upstream as far as Na Chon Kkyawi; from Sariy-panca far downstream as far as Taway.” Taluiñsare and Tawai are claimed again as the southern bounds of the kingdom by the Shan Asakhyā near the end of the dynasty (I.B., Pl. III 276a, 655 s./1293 A.D.). Note that the later series of Mókti pagoda tablets recently recovered by Col. Ba Shin, are in Burmese, dated 751 s./1389 A.D., when Prêñ Śrīh Dhammarāc (Grün the Mon king Rājādhīrāj) built the Shwégū (Hruyha). There is mention also of the dedication of “twenty families in the township of Tavoy city (?)”, mañh dawuyah (the reading is “extremely doubtful”), as slaves to a monastery at Mergui, in line 5 of the “T’ai Inscription in the Museum at Pagán” (Stone 95), translated by Cham Tôngkanwan and Mr. A. B. Griswold in Artibus Asiae, Vol. XXIV, 3/4, pp. 249–250. The year-date is mostly lost. Mr. Griswold thinks that the inscription, “because of its resemblances to those of Sukhodaya, should probably be dated in the 14th or early 15th century.”
Two other tablets of Aniruddha type, provenance unknown (Pl. 29 c, e), have fragmentary writing to the effect that they were “stamped by the sumbeih Asah rhei who desires Nirvāṇa”. Although this official writes in Mon, his title is Old Burmese – “Long Life”. From Shwēhsandaw relic-chamber come also two narrow tablets (Pl. 52 c, d, e) with Mon signatures engraved down the back: – “This is the Buddha of the Reverend Lady Sisṭhā” – one of the numerous proofs of the existence of Buddhist nuns at Pagán.  

From Sha-hṭok pagoda W. of Sōmingyi, comes a series of Mon tablets of the Aniruddha type, clearly engraved on the back with the name of Lord (trāpa) or sumbeih Srī Bisannarac (the name is variously spelt), “ruler of Visāṇa” – a variant (I suppose) of Vessavana/Kuvera, one of the four Lokapāla kings, Regent of the North. There are about a dozen variants (see Pls. 26, 27, 28), which may be summarized as follows: – “This is the Buddha stamped by the lord Sriy Biṣañarāc with his own hands, 20 (or 50) seals a day. Honour to the Buddha! As the result of the sambeih Srī Bisannarac stamping this Buddha, may he get to be a Buddha himself! He yields the merit to all living beings and the many Devas.” Perhaps he asked his wife, son and chaplain to add their prayers; for in the same trove we find: – “As the result of Yāsohdarāḥ stamping this Buddha, may she get to be a Buddha!” “This is the Buddha stamped by Suṭhānmāḥ. I yield the merit to my mother and father!” “This is the Buddha of the Reverend (trīla) Candumāḥ.” In the same pagoda, the bottom fragment of an “Eight-Scene” (really a Nine-Scene) tablet was found, with a Mon prayer on the reverse ending exactly like that of Yāsohdarāḥ. (Pl. 70 e, f).

It is curious to note the association of early Mon writing with the Aniruddha type of Buddha-image, which seems to originate in East Bengal. Short Mon writings, often just the names of donors, are found on almost every type of tablet – single Buddhas, 3, 5, 10 and 30 figure tablets, and especially Eight-Scene plaques. These last were mostly found “at a small ruined pagoda near the Mingalazedi on the road to Myinkaba”, which was opened by Duroiselle in 1926. He found there tablets of the 28 Buddhas (31 figures) signed by Aniruddha, and also many of these Eight-Scene plaques with Mon reverses, which at first he thought were signed by Aniruddha’s queen; but, which later, when better specimens were found, proved to be the work of Mahāsālīni. Aniruddha himself, so far as we know at present, never wrote in Mon; nor did he sign his name on any tablet of the Eight Scenes (were these too common and ‘popular’?): but Mahāsālīni’s tablets (Pl. 71), which set a new standard for the Eight Scenes at Pagán, appear to have emanated from his Court. From an unknown site at Pagán comes a very different tablet of the Eight Scenes (Pl. 74 d, e, f), with a fragmentary Mon inscription starting on the opposite between the two lowest scenes (the Pârileyyaka retreat and the Nativity), and continuing on the reverse. The final words, “I . . . am the Lord”, suggests that it described the birth of Gotama, ending with his ‘Lion’s Roar’.

What was the range of the Mon language at this early date? To the East no doubt it was spoken everywhere in Siam, from Harihunjaya in the north to the old Devāravati in the south. On the Burma side we have found it at Dawāy (Tavoy) in the south; and it must have been strong in Kyauksē,

11 With ya trīla Sīṭhā, cf. ya tīrta, “the Reverend lady”, in the Mon stone fragment found at the N.E. corner of the West Hpetleik (Pl. 95 e). Is the name Sīṭhā a corruption of Isisning, the ‘horned hermit’?
12 Cf. N. K. Bhattasali, Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum (Dacca, 1929), Plate IX a, “Plaque from Raghvāmpur.” This seems to me close to our ‘Aniruddha type.’
13 A.S.I. 1927, p. 169. See my note at the head of Pl. 71 (Catalogue).
especially in the N.E. kharuin, Khañu or Mon, with its Tānluiñ rwa ma, "Main Talaing village." At Nyaungbinjan, three quarters of a mile west of Hsameikhê, two miles south of Thazi, Méktila district, a tablet has been found (Pl. 35 c, d, e) with 4 clear lines of Mon incised on the back: - "The Buddha of the Law-sümbeñ (rtvāh sümbeñ) Pīn. As the good result (ānis) of this Buddha, I desire to become a Buddha." In the same village, and at Hsameikhê near by, other plaques with archaic Burmese on the back were also found (Pls. 53 c, d; 66 e). At Ingan village, 12 miles south-east of Kyaukpaadaung, about 40 miles south-east of Pagán, a broken plaque has been found with Mon writing on the reverse (Pl. 28 e, f). We do not know if Mon was current west of the Irawady. But it was certainly strong at Pagán and Prome; and an Old Mon brick inscription has been found on Kyûndaw island, Prañawasā kīwan, the Old Burman’s frontier-post in the south of Magwé district (Pl. 398 b). Three tablets with Mon writing have even been found at Bodhgayā. They are now at the Indian Museum, Calcutta. "This is the Buddha (kyāk) of Mhādev" (Mahādeva), is written on the left side-rim of two of them (Pl. 30 a, b). The third has fragmentary writing on the back: "This is the Buddha of Lord (?) ... Śrī ... Nirvāna" (Pl. 36 c, d). No doubt they were left by pilgrims. (Note that a pīñjān (monk) Mahādev and his parents were dedicated by the Mon archbishop of Kyauksé as chief of the pagoda-slaves serving his bāddhasim (Epig. Birm. III, I, p. 71; Inscr. XI, lines 8–9).

VOTIVE TABLETS: BURMESE. CHITSAGÔN TROVE (SUMEDHA, MUGGALIPUTTA)

Conventional as they mostly are, it is clear that these short writings on votive tablets – Pali, Pyu and Mon – are, or may be, of historical importance. They constitute one of the few reliable sources for the first half of the Pagán period. Few types of tablets with Burmese writing of this early period have been found, except for the trove at ‘Chitsagôn’ – a mound in a dry field east of Nanda, south of Pagán-hnyaw temple. The finds are now mostly in Mandalay Archaeological Office. At ‘Chitsagôn’, on the west side of a ruined temple, two standing bronzes (Pl. 432) were first discovered in 1925. Then, close by, a tablet with 8 lines of archaic Burmese written on the back (Pl. 31), a prayer ‘Hollywood’ in tone: - "The boon I want is this: when I die, if born as a man, to be the object of all men’s worship; if born as a spirit, to be the object of all spirits’ worship. So often as I am born in Sansàra, never to be born to a mean existence!" The author is not named.

Excavations continued: and in November 1926, on the opposite side of the temple, Duroiselle discovered the main trove: "... a hoard of terracotta tablets nearly a thousand in number." Amongst them, (according to Duroiselle’s report), were tablets signed by Muggaliputta and Sumedha, whom he naturally took to be two of the monks mentioned in Rājakumār’s inscription (1112–13 A.D.). Tablets of the main series are small, thin and rimless; with a faint line of Mon (?) stamped at the squared base of the conventional obverse (Pl. 41 a); and a great variety of Burmese words (about the oldest specimens of the language extant) incised on the reverses. They mostly record the names of fruits, flowers, woods, etc. accompanying the offerings. Many are shown on Pls. 41–48, with readings and renderings given in the Catalogue of Plates. Here I have received much generous help from U Wun, our leading Burmese lexicographer and poet. This is a brief list of the more probable identifications: – musk, asafoetida, cardamom, white cardamom, black mustard (Brassica), black cummin, sesamum,

14 See supra, Ch. II, p. 31.
15 For other tablets with Old Burmese writing, see Pl. 53 d (names of donors) and 66 e (prayer for Nirvāna) – both found near Thazi, Méktila district; Pl. 66 g (prayer for Nirvāna), from Myoma north of Prome; Pls. 67 a, 68 c (prayers for Buddhahood or Nirvāna), from Pagán.

Offerings to religion would be of rare, rather than ordinary commodities. Several names in the above list imply contact with the remoter parts of Burma, or with India and beyond. Cardamons and Sandalwood came, originally at least, from the far south; Musk, Long Pepper and Black Mustard from the far north. To judge by their names, Palmyra, Sesamum and Gram have reached Burma via India. Asafoetida, Cummin, Grape and Pomegranate came especially from Iran. Several of U Wun’s notes (see Catalogue of Plates) suggest to me that 11th-century scholars at Pagán, such as Sumedha and Muggaliputta, were familiar with the Sanskrit *Amarakośa*: one would like to add also the Pali *Abhidhānappadīpikā* of Moggallāna of Ceylon: but Prof. Renou thinks that the latter — “the only Pali lexicon which has come down to us from the ancient period, written in verse, and strongly inspired by the *Amarakośa*,” dates probably from the 12th century.

Many of these offerings — mustard, areca-nut, myrobalan, fig, mango, *Coix*, rice, etc. — are quite common; and while allowance must be made for anthropomorphic notions — the offering of flowers, perfumes and delicacies to the Buddha as to a Cakravartin — can this apply equally to medicines, febrifuge (*Morinda*), vermicide (*Ferula*), anthelmintic (*Embelia*), emmenagogue (*Sesbania*)? — If these tablets were found singly in different pagodas, one might argue that the donors, anxious about a sick wife or child, had consulted their local medicine-men: who now, as ‘Buddhists’, no longer allowed to prescribe sacrifice, would order instead some rare or common plant to be offered at the pagoda. But that argument cannot apply to miscellaneous mass-offering such as this. I suspect, rather, that the Chitsagôn donation is a scholar’s laborious collection — made in the course of intensive work on Indian texts, with all that that implies of constant tracing of equivalents in rare Burmese for Sanskrit and Pali technical terms encountered in translation.

Besides the bare statement of things offered, several Chitsagôn reverses add interesting prayer or comment, homely and suggestive of the naif optimism of the time, the firm belief that Buddhism, with the patronage of a king bound for Buddhahood, would bring in a Golden Age: — “I made this likeness of the Buddha myself. May my mother also get (the reward).” “This is for His Majesty the king. — Long Pepper.” “By this, may all living creatures win complete release! May they get the Boon! — Bamboo Reed.” “I give (the merit) to all spirits of the four aeons (?) of universes. Bamboo Reed. May they long reign in bliss!” “(The merit is) for kings (present) and future.” “These many offerings are for His Majesty. — *Citrus* blossom.” “This is Soap Acacia. When His Majesty the king of the Law becomes a Buddha, may he have everything pure!” “This is for the righteous king, the king of the Law. When

17 See L. Renou et J. Filliozat, *L’Inde Classique* (Paris, 1953), t. II, § 1546, 1549, pp. 100–103. See also G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, Vol. I, p. 140. He, too, gives “the 12th century” as the date of the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*. One would like to have the dating checked; for if it was a new work just available when Burma monks were working in Ceylon c. 1075 A.D., it would solve our problem very nicely. On the other hand, we cannot assume that Sumedha and his fellow-workers were ignorant of Sanskrit or the *Amarakośa*. 
he becomes a Buddha, may all be saved with him! – This is Hermit’s Bamboo-Reed.” “Cardamom. It is for the righteous king, the king of the Law. When he becomes a Buddha, may all be perfect!” “This is for the great Chief (cāw kri).”

INSCRIPTIONS: SANSKRIT, PALI, PYU

Let us finally turn to the stone and other inscriptions previous to 1174 A.D., not dealt with already.

Sanskrit. – Nothing to add. We have only the numerous votive tablets with the Buddhist ‘Credo’ in Sanskrit/Nāgarī, spread over the plains of Burma, with a few additions by Aniruddha and his son. Also 3 lines of Sanskrit date (1131 A.D.), in Mon script, at the end of the Pali verse inscription of the Shwégu, built by Cāsū I.

Pali. – One text (2 faces) of Rājakumār’s inscriptions (1113 A.D.); one long verse inscription of Cāsū I in the Shwégu (1131 A.D.). Many writings on votive tablets, nearly all in Mon script, covering the whole period, and spread all over the plains of Burma. Pali passages also occur in several Thaton inscriptions, notably the ‘Paṇḍita’ (I.B., Pl. IV 359, lines 1–16); and in a few inscriptions edited in Epigraphia Birmanica.18

Pyu. – One text (2 faces) of Rājakumār’s inscriptions (1113 A.D.); two votive tablets (Pls. 34, 55); and a line on the pedestal of a bronze Maitreya (Pl. 444 a, b). All from Pagán. The bronze and one tablet from the Shwēhsandaw relic-chamber.

MON GLOSSES AND INSCRIPTIONS

Mon. – The early Thaton and Kawgun inscriptions19, and ten out of the eleven stone inscriptions edited by Blagden in Epigraphia Birmanica (Vol. I, Part II; Vol. III, Part I), have been dealt with already. Also one text (2 faces) of Rājakumār’s inscriptions (1113 A.D.). Also many votive tablets with Mon writing spread throughout the period. Mon writings are found in the eastern plains, from Kyaukse to Tenasserim; but also at Pagán, Kyūndaw island, and Prome along the Irawady; not to mention Bodhgayā in India. But there is still much to add: –

(i) At the various pagodas and temples of Early Pagán, there are short Mon glosses on hundreds of terracotta plaques20, and thousands of painted panels21 illustrating the Tipiṭaka. They would fill, I am sure, hundreds of printed pages; but their vocabulary is limited. These glosses will be considered

19 I.B., Pl. IV 358, 359, 360.
20 389 plaques with Mon glosses illustrating the Mahānipīṭha Jātaka, have been fully edited by C. Duroiselle, in Vol. II (Parts I and II) of Epigraphia Birmanica.
in Part C of this book, under their respective pagodas. Among the earliest Mon glosses may possibly be those incised in plaster on the outside wall east of West Hpetleik, describing the later Jātakas. Before 1080 A.D. or thereabouts, illustrations are mostly confined to Jātakas; but from the date of Pāhtothāmya onwards, they range wide over the Tipiṭaka, including the history of Buddhism as told in the Ceylon Mahāvamsa. At first, apart from Pali titles, nearly all the glosses are in Mon. Burmese glosses only appear in Cañṣū I's reign, from about 1120 A.D. onwards. They finally supersede Mon only with the accession of Cañṣū II in 1174.

(ii) Pl. 398 b is a Mon inscription on a brick found in a pagoda-ruin on Kyundaw island (Prañtawsā klwan), a long island in the Irrawaddy 4 miles below Myigkeit-yè, in the south of Magwé district. It was the southernmost fortress of the first Burmese kingdom of Tambadīpa: the site of the disastrous battle which led to the death of Aniruddha's son. The inscription – 5 short lines of good 11th century cursive – may be translated thus: – “These bricks (are given by) Gān Sañ Nay (Mr. Gān Sañ) to help his lord the Teacher (tarlecār). As the result of this help, he desires to become a Buddha. He offers the merit (of this good act) to his mother and father. – 4000 bricks (l-at).”

Tarlecār is a colloquial contraction of tarla cy acār, “my lord the ācārya”; in Rājakumār's inscription it gets still further contracted into ticār. Nāy, suffixed to the donor's name (in Modern Mon it is usually prefixed), is from Pali nāyaka, Mod. Mon nāai, “master, Mr.” Gān Sañ is probably an Old Burmese name, ‘Na Kan Sañ’, the-sañ suffix implying that he was a member of the village council of freemen, the yan sañ class of Old Mon. The use of Burnt Brick for building pagodas goes back to Asoka, the Pali word being Itthakahā. This is the origin of many South-east Asian words for Brick: Siamese ǣh, Old Khmer it, Old Burm. ụt, Old Mon l-at, Mod. Mon ụit. Old Mon hardly distinguished between short vowels in closed syllables: so l-at was probably only a variant of *l-ität, or *l-itung. A noun was commonly formed from a verb by reduplication of the initial consonant. If a word began with a vowel, l- or r- might come in as the initial. An archaic feature of the script in this inscription, is the writing of initial a- with a tail below the line.

(iii) The break between the Mon and the Burmese sub-periods of the Pagán dynasty was so abrupt, that it is prudent to place all, or nearly all, the Old Mon inscriptions, of Upper Burma at any rate, before Cañṣū II's accession in 536 s./1174 A.D.

I.B., Pl. III 305 b (our Pl. 95 e) is a small undated stone fragment found at the north-east corner of West Hpetleik pagoda, near Lokananda. It was last seen at Pagán Museum. A certain ya tirla, “this reverend lady”, is mentioned, apparently a nun. Duroiselle thought that the inscription, “which undoubtedly recorded the foundation of the pagoda, is another proof of its age, which can be placed between A.D. 1057–1059.” – The script is old; but the Hpetleik Jātaka plaques are surely later than those of Shwéhsandaw, though very likely the work of some of the same artists. In my opinion the original Hpetleik pagodas are much older than Aniruddha; but the Jātaka plaques and the Mon inscription belong to his reign, probably the latter part of it, c. 1070 A.D. The inscription, though clear, is a tiny fragment: I cannot make continuous sense out of it. Nothing is legible about the founding of the pagoda.

23 See Taw Sein Ko, A.S.I. 1907, p. 127, Plate L (e), and Plate XLI (Plan). The find-spot is marked (s) on the Plan (our Pl. 94 b). Duroiselle's statement is at A.S.I. 1913, p. 89.
(iv) Pl. 398 a is a Mon inscription engraved on ‘Wébu’ stone (mica schist), still in situ at the Tawya-
gyaung, at the north-west foot of Kyauksè Hill. It reads: – “This I” (a typical Old Mon beginning),
“the mahāthera . . . lon” (part of his name or title, or his previous see), “when I came to live here at
Klokh Sayon” (two of the three villages now absorbed in Kyauksè town), I informed the mahāthera of
Bukam (Pagán), and I informed the king. In the building of this budhasim’ (permanent ‘thein’ or-
chapter-house), “the persons who do the work in my stead at this holy place, are the ordained monk
(pīñjaṭ) Mahādev; his father; his mother; his grandfather (?) . . .” etc. Follows a list of four more
pagoda-slaves. “I dedicate these to do the work in my stead at this holy place. Seven bnaṭ of rice-
field, royal gift (mahādān), which the child of samboñ Daleñ gave to me, I give to this holy place.” The
mahāthera concludes with a fragmentary passage distributing the merit to all living beings.

The raised plinth of the simā is still visible a few yards to the east of the stone. A permanent chapter-
house was always a prime necessity for valid church ceremony, ordination and discipline. The in-
scription proves the existence of large numbers of Mons still resident in the northern part of Kyauksè
during the Pagán period; so that a Mon archbishop had to come and serve the needs of the Mon
church there. The mahāthera of Pagán mentioned in the inscription, may well have been Arahant,
and the king Kyanzittha. The ordained monk (pīñjaṭ), possessing “the five qualifications,” may even be the
Mhādev who left his Mon signature on two votive tablets at Bodhgayā (Pl. 30 a, b). He
was clearly appointed head of the pagoda-slaves serving this religious establishment. A Buddhist
monk could not be a slave in the ordinary sense; but there is a good deal of evidence in Pagán in-
scriptions to show that he might be a pagoda-slave, which was then an honourable profession.

(v) I.B., PIs. III 300, 301. Pagán Museum Stone 68 (E. and W. faces) – This inscription was not
sent to Blagden for editing, presumably because it consists mainly of lists of pagoda-slaves. Its exact
provenance is unknown. Since it was one of the thirty stones found at Mahābodhi pagoda, Pagán, I
suspect that it was originally moved there from the riverbank north-west of Pagán, where the river
appears to have eaten away a considerable slice of the old city. The inscription contains no date.
Judged by the script, it may belong to the middle of the Pagán period, perhaps the middle, or latter
half, of the 12th century. There are a number of lateish forms in the spelling. And the strong com-
mixture of Burmese names suggests also a lateish date.

The inscription is little but a list, or rather two lists, of slaves “given as a gift to the Holy One.”
Two donors are mentioned, but in neither case is the name clear. At Obverse line 1, he may perhaps be
“Mitra, the great tra’; and at Reverse line 15 “Na It, the great…” (tra again perhaps, but the

25 See Ch. II, n. 136.
pācaha; the five qualifications are simā, patṭi, hammavāca, vatthu and pariṣṭ. To be properly ordained, a monk
must be ordained at a recognized site (vatthu), properly demarcated (simā), in the presence of an assembly (pariṣṭ),
after a resolution (patṭi), officially endorsed (hammvāca).
27 The Reverse (W. face) is No. 1253 in Duroiselle’s List of Inscriptions found in Burma, and is transcribed on
p. 197 of P.F.A. (Inscriptions of Pagán, Pinnya and Ava, 1892, Government Press, Rangoon); but the Obverse (E.
face) is omitted.
28 causu, caul (Obv. lines 5, 12; Rev. lines 1, 4, 6) for caul = grandchild. kwon (Rev. lines 17, 19, 20) for kon =
child. kui (Obv. line 1, Rev. line 15) for kil, kel = to give. kyak (Rev. lines 15, 16) for kyâk, kye = object of
worship. brasey (Rev. line 21) for birsa = iron. dic (Rev. line 16, twice) is a strange spelling for dik = slave. There
are also careless misspellings: ko for kon (Obv. line 3); de for deñ (Rev. lines 18, 19, 20, 23), the Third Person
Pronoun.
word is illegible). At Obverse line 1, at least, *tra* is certain. It might be the Pyu *tra:* = slave, servant; *tra:hta:* = minister. *Tra* appears again at I.B., Pl. IV 367 c 4, the Kyazin temple ink inscription29 at Myinpagan, where the donor is called in Burmese *Saṅ Tra Uil* (*saṅ* is Old Mon for *saṅgha*, a monk). Na It’s donation consists of 30 slaves male and female, and a number of ricefields. Mitra donates about the same number of slaves. Their leader has the title *yaṅ saṅ* (Obverse line 2), which occurs frequently in Kyazintitha’s palace inscription30. *Yaṅ* in Old Mon is a sort of honorific definite article (cf. Malay *yang* “divinity”); it may also be the prefix for Mon male names (Obverse line 13, Reverse line 7, twice, line 22, twice). *Yaṅ saṅ*, then, were the class of *saṅ* (cf. the prefix *saṅ* at Obverse line 11), members of secular societies (Pali *saṅgha*), especially the village assembly. As for other prefixes, *nā* is the regular prefix of Old Burmese male names; *ui*, *uin* of Old Burmese female names; *ya* of Old Mon female names, and (possibly) *yaṅ* of Old Mon male names. At Reverse line 16, *nā* is prefixed to a Mon name: “Mr. Slave of the Holy One”.

For the rest, the inscription is chiefly of linguistic interest. Here are some of the rarer words: – *kanhī* (Rev. lines 22, 23) = mother-in-law; *dirde* (Rev. line 3) = the youngest of the family, like Old Burm. *thuy* (Obv. line 6); *nā myaṅ* (Rev. line 18 – the first letter is doubtful) – an unknown term of relationship; *mīrma* (Obv. lines 14, Rev. line 6) = Burman; *brāt* (Obv. line 2) = banana; *maṅglān* (Obv. line 3), *maṅglān* (Rev. line 12) = tamarind, Old Burm. *maṅklaṅ*; *ṭhār* (Obv. line 4) = marrow of the bones; *kruṅ* (Obv. line 10) = lizard; *mlīr* (Obv. line 13) = jasmine; *dok* (Obv. line 14) and *dwac* (Rev. lines 23) = young, small.31 There are also Indian names: – *candramā* (Obv. line 7) = moonlight; *lakkhāṅ* (Rev. line 5) = possessing auspicious signs; *gāṅgī* (Rev. line 11) = pure as the Ganges; *malī* (Rev. line 20) = dirty; *tulvā* (Obv. line 8) = similar; *kumuiṅ* (Rev. line 21) = the white water-lily.

**BURMESE INSCRIPTIONS (4 DATED, 2 UNDATED)**

Burmese. – Apart from one text (2 faces) of Rājakumār’s inscriptions (1113 A.D.), and the votive tablets incised with archaic Burmese found at Pagán and (rarely) in Meiktilla and Prome districts, we know of only four dated original Burmese inscriptions previous to Cañū II’s accession in 1174 A.D.

(i) I.B., Pl. II 111 and 112, dated 482 s./1121 A.D. Now at Pagán Museum, Stone 135, E. and W. faces. This two-faced inscription was found in a ruined temple a few hundred yards south-east of the Nagayón.

The Obverse is certainly original, only 7 or 8 years later than Rājakumār’s inscription. It records a dedication (*lo for lhū*) by a *saṅgriṅ* (say, village-president?) of 53 slaves (*kyo for kywan*) to four pagodas (*pūtho for pūthuṅ*, Pali *vāṭhū*). The *saṅkriṅ* also dedicated (Obv. line 24) “3000 areca-nut trees at *Hyanpūw Manī*, and 300 (pē) of wet ricefield.” *Hyanpūw* is the Henbiw of Rājakumār’s

29 This Old Burmese inscription shows plain evidence of Mon influence, for in line 7 *Saṅ Tra Uil* the Kyazin temple *Trai-loh loβh buıl*, “Strong Comfort of the Three Worlds” (of men, devas and brahmās); *loβh* is Old Mon *luṅbūk*, Mod. Mon *lnuṅ, loβh, lnuṅ* = coolness, happiness, corresponding to Old Burm. *khyainśā*.
30 See ch. IV, n. 141.
31 Cf. the two faces of the archaic Burmese inscription at I.B., Pls. II, 111, 112, dated 482 s./1121 A.D. – *nā dwac* at Pl. 111* corresponds to *nā dwac* at Pl. 112*.
inscription, probably the chief port of Lower Burma, not far from Rangoon\textsuperscript{32}. He concludes by consigning all those who injure his dedication to pañcānāntārik hell – the hell reserved for doers of the five acts which bring immediate retribution.

The Reverse, I.B., Pl. 112, is engraved in the large old cursive of the early-middle Pagan period, in spelling much closer than the Obverse to Standard Old Burmese. It begins with a month-date: so the year should be the same as that of the Obverse. It also records a dedication by a saṅkrī, Nā Kīl Kān Sañ ("Mr. Giver", a name half Mon, half Burmese), of one temple (kū) and four puthuṅw. Fifty slaves are named, corresponding closely, but not exactly, to the names given on the Obverse, but with spellings brought up to date. No land-dedications are mentioned. The Reverse concludes:—"As for me, I have no kith nor kin. I have absolutely no one to give (these slaves) to. So let these many drum-musicians (cañ pandyā)\textsuperscript{33} stay with these holy puthuṅw. Let all the saints living in this monastery take charge of them. Whoever seizes these slaves whom I have dedicated, let him fall into the places of suffering (apāy), the hell (ūrāy) called pañcātri. May he never get the chance to behold Lord Buddhas, though they come to the rescue, as many as the grains in this heap of earth!"

The slave-names listed on each face include 6 or more Mon names: ya kunw (Rev. line 4), "Miss Monkey"; nā doc, nā ṃev (Obv. line 9, Rev. line 7), "Mr. Small"; several Indo-Aryan names (kisā, apāy, ali, pimsā, jimmit, kanakkasiṅ, rāmanā, ruṭī); and one Nā Syam (Rev. line 6), "Mr. Shan." For the rest, the comparison of spellings on the two faces, is of interest:\textsuperscript{34} e.g. Burmese women's names are prefixed with the archaic i or ī on the Obverse, with Standard Old Burmese 'i on the Reverse.

(ii) I.B., Pl. II 113, dated 507 s./1145 A.D., when "the king (pukhāh khaṅ taw) was (5)6 years of age"; but the year-name does not agree with the year, and the reading 5 in the king's age is very doubtful. The inscription, now Stone 3 at Mandalay Palace Shed, comes from a site unknown. Practically all the slave-names etc. are Burmese. The inscription records dedications to a "royal chapterhouse (simm taw)" and "a royal pagoda (puthuṅw taw)" by the Yañ Ut\textsuperscript{35} saṅkathera and others. Saṅ-

\textsuperscript{32} Hyampuw Mani. Cf. Ch. IV, n. 187. These are the main early references: – At I.B., Pl. I 63 a\textsuperscript{17}, 560 s./1198 A.D., after "3000 (pē) of ricefields at Kṛpaṅ" (Khabin, east of Twante), there is mention of "600 (pē) of ricefields at Yahnpuw (the village-name is Caassāroh) and 40 Yahnpuw slaves." At Pl. I 76\textsuperscript{1}, 584 s./1223 A.D., there is mention of "Indian (kul) gardeners of Kanuṅ Pau-iōh at Yahnpuw port (saṅphawcih)." At Pl. II 16\textsuperscript{18}, 620 s./1259 A.D., there is mention of "Yahnpuw garden, and 100 (pē) of ricefield at the foot of the garden." In the following line "850 Saṅ (Thet) slaves at Mani" are also mentioned. At Pl. II 216\textsuperscript{19}, 628 s./1266 A.D., there is mention of "1 family of Indian runaways at Yahnpuw"; in the same line Kṛpaṅ (Khabin) and Pauṅ (Pegu) are mentioned; and in line 26, after Piṅ (Bilin), "Nā Piṅ Saṅ's garden at Mani"; in line 28 "1 garden at Mani" is again mentioned, just before another at Tarakau Pusim (Bassein). At Pl. III 289, 640 s./1278 A.D., after Paṅ Carwau (Zalun in Prome district), there is mention of "1000 (pē) of Kalyuṅ Nā Pha Rañ's land at Yahnpuw, and 30 slaves", Kṛpaṅ (Khabin) is mentioned in line 10. Note also List 963\textsuperscript{1}, 804 s./1442 A.D. (the obverse of Sagaing Htupayon inscription): – "In the S.W. region, where the kings of Pagán used to loosen their joints by going out along the Hnepuiw river, and worship the noble Mahe-caihaṅw spirit."

\textsuperscript{33} Cañ here, I expect, stands for cañ sañ = drummers – always male in Pagán inscriptions. Pandyā, more usually pandyā, derives from Sanskrit vadya-hara, "musician"; but in Old Burmese pantiyā are always women, and usually in contrast to cañ sañ, drummers, who were men. Pantiyā combined singing and dancing. This is shown in line 3 of the reverse of a new fragment found at Pinnè in the south of Kyauske: thus 1 iuñ wan tui pantiyā ka ciyy sate' "As for Miss Cross (?), let her dance as a pantiyā."

\textsuperscript{34} Here are some other spelling-differences between the Obverse (Pl. 111) and the Reverse (Pl. 112); – rih/ryañ (day of month). niñt (day of week). pī (to give). itś, ty (this). teñ (verbal assertive suffix). lom/jum (round thing). sañ dinī/duñ (iron post). pūn (virtue). ṃ tuṅ会对 (Miss Survivor). Pūn ṃ (Miss Full).

\textsuperscript{35} Yañ Ut. The y of yañ is not quite certain. But Col. Ba Shin has checked and approved of it.
**Chapter VI**

**ghathera**, "doyen of the Saṅgha", is not a very common title in Pagan inscriptions. It reminds one of another fine old inscription (Pl. I 22, 23, 563 s./1201 A.D.), where the chief witness of a dedication was the Ut saṅghadhā, "Ut Saṅghathera": this inscription is *in situ* at Hsutaungpyi-pāhto, east of Thadun-e village, Mahlaing township, Meiktila district. There are several other old inscriptions there. I suspect that our inscription comes from this region; and that the yan (if correctly read) before Ut is just the old Austron honorific prefix ('god'; 'His Majesty'; 'the'). The dedications of the inscription *in situ* were witnessed, not only by the Saṅghathera, but by "all the saṅghas belonging to Ut village", including "the high-seated (thaṁ kri so) Saṅkri Ut, and all the villagers" (Pl. 2210-16). Ut is the Indo-Aryan word (iśtakā, iṭṭhakā) for Burnt Brick, once a novelty in Burma, and used especially (after Aśoka's example) for building pagodas. It is not impossible that Caṇḍa I, to serve the needs of Meiktila district (East), built the chapterhouse and Ut *pūthuiw* here, and that the senior monks contributed, and so the village became known as Ḍok ywa (Ut rwa), 'Brick Village.'

The reading of this inscription is not easy. I offer the following tentative translation: –

"In 507 s., Kārttikeya year, on Friday the 14th day of the waxing moon of Kasōn (kūchān), when the king gave the...boon (?)" to the royal pagoda at the royal chapterhouse, (Y)an Ut Saṅghathera gave the following pagoda-slaves" [6 names of women]. "Kāṅkasū and Mahāpuṣwî" [presumably ministers, Gangāśira and Mahābala, but the names are not certain] "gave" [about 6 names of men, including a drummer]; "a large (?) ‘tank’; 3 stretches (plān) of wet ricefield; 2 measures (khrān) of dry field; 2 yoke of cattle. Witnesses of this my gift were the Reverend Mahāthera; the sāṅkri Nā Santā Sān (Mr.Coral); the sāṅlyān Kloktoṇ (‘Stone Mountain’, a place in Kyauksē); the Reverend Alāy (‘Middle’); all these are my witnesses. May they get the merit of all my dedications. The bākkoṁo sāṅkri, Nā Yān Sān, gave to the royal ‘their pāhto’ (sim ṭāthu) the following pagoda-slaves" [2 women]; "4 (pē) of ricefield at the deserted village (nāwā chwā); rising ground and dry field at Kkyū (or Pyū ?) village; and 2 cattle. The old ordained monk (pancakrī) of Tār-hān gave to the royal pagoda" [7 slaves: 4 men, 3 women including Uih Syam pαntyāh ‘the singer-dancer Miss Shan’]. "La(h)iy An(u)th(i) (?) gave to the royal pagoda" [11 slaves: 7 men including Nā Syam (‘Mr. Shan’) and a drummer, and 4 women] "and Noñ (‘Banyan’) ricefield. Should (even) the sāṅkri’s grandmothers or the Mahāthera’s great-grandfathers or their children or grandchildren – whoever injures these pagoda-slaves, may the axe burst his breast! May he fall off a ladder!" The last 6½ lines are faint. They record other, and perhaps later, dedications, including ‘one cow left to end her days in peace’ (nāwā ta ma santisaka tañ sa).

Sañ is a word sometimes difficult to fix in Old Burmese, since it is applied either to monks (as in Old Mon) or to laymen, according as the society (saṅgha) to which they belonged was religious or

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36 See *I.B.*, Pls. III 323 a and 344 a, b. The former records a dispute which was reported to king Caṇḍa (line 17) – probably Caṇḍa II. He issued orders "on Tuesday, the 7th waxing of Tazoungmōn." No year is mentioned; but the handwriting is similar to that of Pls. I 22, 23, dated 563 s., Sunday, 14th waxing of Tagu. The latter inscription, Pl. III 344 a, b, is one of the many versions of Klaowwa's edict against thieves, 611 s./1249 A.D.

37 I read... *ā viyi chui πī tīy so* but the reading is doubtful, and the first two words baffle me. In the date the final figure 7 is certain, but 502 was a Kārttikeya year, not 507 nor any odd number.

38 There was a Kloktoṇ in Saṅhōt khawmūn: see *I.B.*, Pl. IV 453 a, 696 s./1335 A.D. It was also the name of a fortified outpost of Myinzaing, captured by the Mongol army in February 1301 (see *J. Siam Soc.* Vol. XLVII, Pt. 1, June 1950, p. 162 and n. 279).

secular. Nor do the names that follow (Nd Santâ Sân, Nd Yan Sân) often help; for monks and nuns in Old Burma were called, at will, either by their secular or their religious names. In Ch. IV (pp. 68–69) I have suggested that sañ kři, sañ lyān (‘sañ great and small’) were perhaps president and vice-president of the local village assembly. But sañ kři is also commonly applied to senior monks or nuns. Thus at I.B., Pl. I 53r-12 (586 s./1224 A.D.), in a list of sañgha witnesses to a dedication, comes first the sikhîn sañkalhi, the Reverend Sañghathera; next the Reverend (sikhîn) Uîw Krah Pañ Sân (a nun); then, 2 lines below, sañkri Uîw Lhok Sañ (a nun); then sañkri nāy, etc. Note that this “younger senior monk” is written sañkri nāy, not sañlyān. I take it therefore that a sañlyān was always a layman (or laywoman); whereas a sañkri might be either monk or nun, layman or laywoman. But in view of the inscription we are considering, where monks and laymen are mentioned together, with monks not always taking precedence, there is still some room for doubt.

The spelling of this inscription is pre-Standard40, but not nearly so archaic as that of I.B., Pl. II 111 (25 years earlier), though that comes from Pagâ. If this comes from Meiktîla, it was nearer than Pagâ to the Eleven kharuin of Kyauksê, from which (I think) Standard Old Burmese orthography originated.

(iii) I.B., Pl. I 3, dated 512 s./1150 A.D.41 Now at Mandalay Palace Shed, Stone 14. The person who removed it to Amarapura – probably under orders from king Bodawpaya in 1793 A.D. – took care to engrave Mrañkhuntuin at the base of the stone. Myingôndaing. (O.B. Mrañkhuntuin) was the central kharuin south-west of Kyauksê town. That the inscription comes from Kyauksê is confirmed by the fact that it is made of ‘Wêbu’ stone (mica schist)42. ‘Wêbu’ is the name of the hilly ridge east of Kyauksê town; and Wêbu stone inscriptions are confined, in space to North Kyauksê, and in time (with very few exceptions) to the Pagâ period, usually the first half of it. This one records the dedication of 34 slaves and 5 pè of ricefield by the Reverend Mahâthera (Archbishop) Râjaguru (Teacher of the King):

“They are slaves got by merit of the Buddha, by merit of my master, by merit of the king. My kith and kin are not to get them. Let the result of my dedication be shared between my master, the king, his beloved wife, and all the royal family (acaew). May all living beings also share in it! – We, the slaves, are witnesses to you, my lord. – So the Reverend Mahâthera Râjaguru, being very glad, informed the king. And the king too was right glad and said: – I join in dedicating three persons from among my lord’s relations’…Thereupon, entering the royal house, he dedicated these three persons by the pouring of pure water. Furthermore the king went on to declare: – ‘The monk (rahan), son of the goldsmith (panthîn) who made the (ear-tubes?) for me – let him also be saved (from Sâm-sâra).’ – Those dedicated by the king’s pouring of pure water, including the monk, were thus four persons.”

At least 7 of the 34 slave-names are Mon. Of the three relatives of the Mahâthera dedicated – very likely mother, father and daughter – the parents appear to have Mon names. If the Mahâthera

40 The chief pre-Standard feature is the indiscriminate use of long vowels, irrespective of tone: – sâñ, ryâk (day), kân (tank), etc. Spellings like kichîn (line 2; month of Kâsôn), pûrhâ (lines 4, 11; the Buddha, from Pali/Skt. vara), pûthuw (lines 11, 13, 15; Pagoda, from Pali vathu), mâthi (line 18; Mahâ-thera), suggest that in Old Burmese there was more equality of stress between penultimate and final syllables than there is today.
41 For a fuller editing of this inscription, see Bulletin of the Burma Historical Commission, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 231–7.
himself was Mon, he was probably a successor of the author of the Kyauksè Mon inscription (studied already, supra, p. 106), also engraved on Wèbu stone. The inclusion of the monk (rahan) shows that at Pagán pagoda-slavery, as distinct from ordinary slavery, was an honourable profession.

For such an early inscription the spelling is remarkably close to Standard Old Burmese. One suspects that standard spelling was fixed in Kyauksè rather than Pagán⁴⁴.

AJÄWLAT

(iv) I.B., Pls. I, 4 and 5, in situ in Pagán Dhammayangyi temple⁴⁴. The date 527 s., 1st waning of Pyatho, may fall at the end of 1165 or the beginning of 1166 A.D. The inscription occupies the south and north faces of the pillar in the North Hall of the great Dhammaram Temple, “Pleasance of the Law”, a mile south-east of Pagán. Last of the Mon temples of Pagán, it was built on a plan almost identical with that of Nanda, but a very different elevation. It is always attributed to the son and successor of Cañšä I, now called Narathu (Narasūra) or Kulakya – the king “killed by Indians”. Narathu was killed (as we shall see in the next chapter) in the Singhalese invasion and capture of Pagán near the end of 1165 – the very time when this inscription was set up. There followed, it seems, 9 years of confusion, until 1174 A.D., when Cañšä II was enthroned. The inscription dates, I think, from the very beginning of the interregnum, when Singhalese troops were patrolling or threatening the capital. Its main author was Ajäwlat (the reading is probable, though not certain), “the Middle Princess”. To judge by her mental maturity, she was perhaps the daughter of Cañšä I rather than Narathu. But what does the inscription say? – “The inscription which my mother never wrote. First written by Ajäwlat; then also written by” some senior officials: 2 kalāns, one of them a woman, and a sampyān and (perhaps) his wife. Ajäwlat may have been the sister of the dead king; and since her (or their?) mother was afraid to provoke trouble with the army of occupation by an act recalling Narathu’s merits, she undertook it as a duty. For the vast temple was complete; and it was necessary to record its dedication without delay, so as to avert vandalism, to ‘release’ it from secular dues, and to hand it over to the Church. – This, at least, is a possible explanation of the circumstances. But one admits that there are mysteries about this temple still to be solved: notably, the huge work of walling up the interior corridor on all sides except the east.

Apart from the apex of the pillar, the inscription is quite plain except for the writing. The South face (Plate 4) has 25 lines, the North face (Plate 5) 27½ lines. The letters are tall. The carving was done with exceptional care. In beauty of engraving it is fully the equal of Pillar B of Rājakumār. The critical situation at Pagán at the moment must account for the arid nature of the contents: no mention of the royal builder; little but bare lists of slaves dedicated, with note of the cattle, gardenland, tank, and dry weather ricefields. It concludes with a vivid curse on infringers of the property. After the opening invocation, first Sanskrit (śrī), then Pali (namo buddhāya), comes the detailed date (Old Mon style), giving the naksat (27th part of the ecliptic, with its lunar asterism); the lagnā (zodiacal or other sign ascendent on the eastern horizon); the p-heīr (Sanskrit prahara, ‘a striking’, a day-watch or period of 3 hours); and the naḍi (Sanskrit nādikā, two-fifteenths of a prahara, a period of 24 minutes). Such details are usually omitted in Old Burmese.

After mention of her assistants, come two long lists of pagoda-slaves. The first list of seventy slaves is headed by a khanhùn (tax-assessor?) and his wife, who has a Mon name. The names include at least 4 Mons, also a Hill-Karen (Toiša), a Wa (Lawa), and possibly a Kādu (Kantūh). Only indications of sex, age and relationship are added. These slaves were presumably dedicated to the Dhammayangyi. From line 2 of Plate 5 there starts a second list, "54 persons big and small," "slaves of Lu-thwot (?) pagoda," 'Crown of the World of Men.' The names are purely Burmese; they include a few panyah, women singers and dancers. There is no other pagoda within or near the enclosure-wall. Was Lu-thwot a now-forgotten name for the temple itself, and Dhammāmarin for the 'Pleasance' as a whole? – If so, the difference between the two lists might be that the former were all cultivators, working the glebelands perhaps far from the capital, while the latter lived at Pagán and were responsible for the temple-duties there. The inscription concludes as follows: –

"Total 48 cattle. Garden. Tank. 3 pāy of dry-season ricefield (miwryañ). The curse just imprecated by me, the mother, and me, the reverend lord: – These my pagoda-slaves, cattle, ricefields, garden, tank, my monastery, my pagoda – whoever not conserves them but leaves them defective or in ruin, though they be my children or grandchildren, may the rice and curry they eat, the water they drink, the house they live in, poison them! Like as they would wish to pierce a grown male elephant, with a hundred spears may they be pierced themselves! Like as they would see a snake and want to kill it, may they be killed themselves! May Devadatta\[45] be above, and the destroyers beneath! Whoever conserves my dedication, whether my children or grandchildren or other persons, may it not befall them!"

An archaic feature of Ajāwlat's inscription, chiefly near the end where space was short on the stone, is the running together of separate words, by placing the first consonant of the second word subscript to the last consonant of the first, thus avoiding the use of the excellent new symbol, the 'athat' or 'killer' – a short horizontal stroke placed above a final consonant to show that its inherent vowel is not to be pronounced.

The orthography is peculiar, not Standard Old Burmese. While adopting the Indian alphabet, the Kyauksè Burman had employed, almost from the first, a vowel-combination, -ui-, not found in India. This occurs frequently in the Myingondaying inscription which we have just considered. Thus kui, the Objectival Suffix, is there written kuiw, as in Standard Old Burmese. Ajāwlat writes kēw, a pre-Standard combination which has not survived. In Rājakumār's inscription (also at Pagán), the vowel was written in many different ways: -uiw, -iw, -eiw, -ei, -ui, -i. On I.B., Pl. 111 it is written -uiw or -iw; on Pl. 113 -uiw or -uw.

But hardly less noticeable than the strangeness of Ajāwlat's spelling, is its internal consistency. Here there is none of the haphazard spellings of Rājakumār's inscriptions. Indeed, when one comes to study it in detail, one reaches the conviction that here we have, for the first time, a good system – not quite perfect, not always consistently applied (in particular, on the second face) – but an unmistakable system for indicating the three 'Tones', Short, Level and Heavy, of Old Burmese. The Short Tone is shown, either (i) by adding or subscribing an apostrophe, ', after or below a final letter (the subscript form has evolved into the modern 'a-myit' or dot below the letter); or (ii) by use of a short final vowel, as in modern Burmese. The Level Tone is shown by use of a long vowel or diphthong, whether in open syllables or those closed by a consonant. The Heavy Tone is shown, in vowel-endings, by a

\[45\] Devadatta, the Buddha's cousin, who made several attempts to murder him. He was finally swallowed by the earth and suffered in Avici hell.
final -h, corresponding in modern Burmese to a long vowel followed by the Visarga (ः). In consonant-endings it is generally shown by the use of a short vowel or diphthong to distinguish it from the Level Tone; but here some inconsistencies occur, especially with the vowel -o-, where the script does not distinguish long and short. Briefly summarized (and one cannot expect all possible sounds in a language to occur in so short an inscription), the system was as follows:

| Final -a | Short Tone | -a, -a’ | Level Tone | -ā | Heavy Tone | -ah |
| Final -i | -i, -i’ | -ī | -īh |
| Final -u | -u | -ū | -uḥ |
| Final -e | e’ | -e | |
| Final -o | -o | -o |
| Final -aw | -āw | -ēw (-eĩr) | -eiw (-eĩr) |
| Final -uiw | -eiw, -uiy | -eiw (-eĩr) | |
| Final -ay, -ai | [-aỹ] | -āy | -ay |
| Final -iy | -iỹ | -iỹ | -iỹ |
| Final -uy | -uỹ | -uỹ | -uỹ |
| Final -am, -am | -aṃ | -aṃ | -aṃ |
| Final -im, im | -im (?) | -im | im |
| Final -um, um | -ūm | -ūṃ | -ūḥ |
| Final -an | -aṅ | -aṅ | -aṅ |
| Final -in | [-iṅ] | -iṅ | -iṅ (?) |
| Final -un | -ūn | -ūn | -ūn |
| Final -aṅ | -aṅ | -aṅ | -aṅ |
| Final -aṅ | -aṅ | -aṅ | -aṅ |
| Final -iṅ | -iṅ | -iṅ (?) |
| Final -iṅ | -iṅ | -iṅ, -uiṅ | -iṅ, -uiṅ |
| Final -oṅ | -oṅ | -oṅ | -oṅ |

Ajāwlat had realized that distinctions of vowel-length, short and long a, i, u, etc., essential in Indo-Aryan speech and script, were not essential in Old Burmese. So she thought of using the same symbols to distinguish Tone instead, which the script failed to distinguish. The long vowel was reserved for the level tone; and for the short tone, and for the heavy tone on open vowels, she added distinguishing marks mostly based on Old Mon. It was not her fault that her system, so carefully thought out in a period of crisis, was not generally adopted; and that Burmese, in consequence, had to wait nearly six centuries to achieve an adequate orthography. The vested influence of Kyauksē proved too strong. The system (if it deserves the name) of Standard Old Burmese was far inferior to Ajāwlat’s. She deserves to be remembered with honour for having demonstrated in Burmese letters a standard of orthography far in advance of her time.

So much for the dated Burmese inscriptions of this transitional period. A few more could be added if we admit undated ones. On grounds of archaic style and spelling, I should include the following: --
(v) I.B., Pl. III 303, an inscription still in situ on top of Mt. Thetso (Sakcuiv), south of Tuywin-daung (Turaññi)\(^{46}\), 19 lines. No date. Author not named.

"In this my existence as a man, I have made three Buddhas (pārīhā). And pagodas (pūthuiv) twice. And also written the Nidān Jā (?)\(^{47}\) – one book. And also built a monastery. And planted two peepal trees. And built a hall of the Law (dhammasa) and a resthouse (cārap)\(^{48}\). And dug one tank. And made two sons monks (rakan). And given five offerings (cho) of monastic robes. And given in dedication autumn gifts (?\(^{49}\), almsbowls, kettles, etc. And worshipped with banners and umbrellas every year without a break. And kept the precepts every day, every night, without a break.

"For doing so, I do not want (the merit) for myself alone. May Sa‘hrā, Bruhmā, and all the spirits also get it. May the mahaṭhe and all the saṅgha also get it. May the king (mañ) and all mankind (lo) also get it. May lions and all four-footed beings also be saved. May the kālūn (Garuḍa) king and all the birds also be saved. May the great (?) Nāgā king and all the Asūra get the merit. May my former (?) teacher (chārya), my later teacher, and all the dear ones also get the merit. May my mother, father, daughter, younger sister, and all the kindred also get the merit. May wife, children, and all the slaves, male and female, also get the merit. May whales (nā piṅgālā)\(^{50}\), fishes, and all footless beings be saved. After coming to know very splendid and desired (?) aticetaranāthākāhā existences, I want to be born

Judged by its spelling-differences from Standard Old Burmese, this Thetso inscription is as archaic as any of the dated inscriptions. In its use of an unnecessary ‘a-that’ or Apostrophe after a short open syllable, it outdoes even Lower Burma Old Mon\(^{51}\). It frequently lengthens the unaccented penultim-note\(^{52}\), suggesting (as said in note 40 supra) that there was not in Old Burmese the wide difference in stress between syllables that there is today. For the -uiw vowel of Standard Old Burmese, -iw occurs twice; -iuiw once; -ik occurs once for -istik\(^{53}\). -i for -iy is normal\(^{54}\). Long and short vowels, both medial and final, tend to get mixed\(^{55}\): even ma ‘not’ is written mā. -o may stand for -ā\(^{56}\). The writing of phlu

\(^{47}\) Probably the Nidānakathā, the introductory chapter of the Jājaka Commentary, giving the life of the Buddha down to Anāthapiṇḍika’s dedication of the Jetavana monastery.

\(^{48}\) ‘Resthouse’ is the modern meaning given to Burm. carap, as well as Old Mon jrap from which it is derived. But at I.B., Pl. I 73\(^{26}\), 585 s.1223 a.d., we read: “He also built a permanent brick carap, in order that pious people who wish to give alms, may give their alms there.” Perhaps ‘almsgiving shed’ would be a better translation.

\(^{49}\) Very doubtful. I read sardaryān.

\(^{50}\) From Pali timitiṁṅgala etc. Malalasekera (Dict. Pāli Proper Names, I, p.1014) gives timirapiṅgala as an alternative name.

\(^{51}\) e.g. (Pl. 303/Standard O.B.): – bhū/’hhu (unit), ha/’hka (from), ca/’ca (to begin). Sa‘krā (Indra). ami (mother). apha (father), si’ (to know), chw (boon). nhāma (younger sister).


\(^{53}\) e.g. liw/luiw (to want). amiu/amiyuiv (kindred). puṭhiiv/puṭhiiv (pagoda). cikhcuib (to plant).

\(^{54}\) e.g. i, i/v (this). riivy (to write). riivy (water). niivy (day). pi, p/vpiy (to give). ci/ciy (to cause to). akhri/khriy (foot). khui/khiy (former).

\(^{55}\) e.g. dhammasa/dhammassa (Hall of the Law), from Sanskrit sālā, Pali sāla. tachajukā (all). kha/khṛṛ (to divide). chārya/jchara (teacher). sangha/saṅgha (monkhood), from Sanskrit saṅgha, Pali saṅgha. kālūn (Garuḍa), māl ma (not). phāni/phun (merit); from Sanskrit puṣya, Pali puṇṇa. khyām/khyam (cold).

\(^{56}\) e.g. lōlū (man). lōl/līh (to dedicate). chočh (offering).}
for ṭlu (line 1) suggests that Old Burmans were slow to distinguish aspirates from non-aspirates\(^{57}\). 

Hlīy for rhī'v, 'former', in line 12 is almost unique; but Col. Ba Shin has found something similar in a Lokahteikpan gloss: rlīy for rhūy, 'golden'\(^{58}\).


The top half of each face is faint and sometimes illegible. Both faces are in the same hand. In line 18 of the Reverse, below a rough line scratched across the stone, comes mention of Chaṅ ṭhīlū skhiṅ Ṭhuykūdāyakā dhammārājā (ṭaryā) maṅ, “His Majesty the righteous king of the Law, lord of the White Elephant, Donor of Shwégù.” The date, then, is after 1131 a.d., when the Shwégù was built. But there are pre-Standard spellings on both faces; and in view of the fullness of the regnal title, the inscription is likely to belong to Caṅsū I’s reign. Col. Ba Shin and I, after work on this difficult inscription, offer the following provisional translation:

**Obverse.** Lines 1 to 8. Faint lines of Pali, ending (in lines 7-8)... jānatā ti 11 o 1f

“Fortune! In ...s. [year illegible], on Thursday the 1st day of the waxing moon of Tazaungmōn, svātī the lunar asterism, tula (Libra) on the eastern horizon, ...made the following statement [or order]:—’The living Buddha (purhāṅ arhaṅ), lord of the White Elephant, the righteous king of the Law, is reigning at the royal capital... To...-uiṅ Saṅ of Khan-ūn he has dedicated by royal virtue slaves and wet ricefields. ’By (my) golden royal virtue I... To... the Buddha, the Law and the Order, to all these, I have truly offered the Sermon-offering (tāryā waṭ) and Rice-altms offering (saṅmbu waṭ), month by month, year by year without a break. I have been doing all this for full 60 [or 40?] years. Now I am about to die. As for all these... which I have given, I give to Na Lum [or Lup]: slaves—Yāṅ=Sachiy one group (mhuīw); Uṅ Lāḥ one group; Na Tatā phīṅh (White Na Tapu) one group. Total of the 3 groups, 100 slaves. 30(o) pay of wet ricefield. To Na Gri and Na Bra Saṅ, who live at the royal ṭhūw, I hereby entrust them. Moreover, all the Saṅghas (saṅ) and saints (rahaṅ) of the royal ṭhūw, I also make my witnesses.

“As for those who destroy this my work, whether their families (amluīw), or those who...”

**Reverse.** [Lines 1 and 2 illegible.]...“May they suffer... May they become the horns (? , ṭhhruiw) of the hell called Avaciya (?).” May they suffer in the five paṅcānandarit hells. May they suffer in the Lokantarik hell (?). ...In this very (life?) also, may they... Danger of kings, danger of fire, danger of water, dangers of all men, these five dangers (bhūy) also may they experience. May they be born as pṛetas (pitrā), in human form, always hungry.

“As for these my gifts, slaves 100, wet ricefields 300 pay, all these many slaves, five households, who have worked for me without separating off (aṭhī ma tuṭ), who have... to me, I give them entire to Na Lup [or Lum]. As for this my work, I have written it down in (this) stone inscription. Having... I pour water and give it.”

“The lord of the White Elephant, Donor of Shwégù (Rhuṅkū dāyaṅkā), the righteous king of the Law, dedicated by the pouring of pure water the person called Uīy Rhaṅ (?)... to the Reverend Kralōṅ. In Jyi [for Ciy, Caiṅa?] year, the monk (saṅ) Kralōṅ said: — ‘Whereas the Mahārāja made this...

\(^{57}\) Cf. Yatsauk temple inscription (582s./1220 a.d.), I.B., Pl. IV 372, lines 36–41, where, almost side by side, one finds piy kha pā e, chok kha phū e, phū kha phū e, pīu kha phū e, etc.

\(^{58}\) The Lokahteikpan, p. 88 (and p. 26).
dedication to me, let her [i.e. the slave-woman] minister without a break to the Mahāvihāraka purhā (pagoda with the great monastery), where I also am living. Whoever destroys this work, may he be cooked...in Avīcē hell, below the four hells.”

We have reviewed with some thoroughness all known historical writings of the Pagán period previous to the great change (1174 A.D.). It was clearly a period of transition. After the richness and poetry of Old Mon, one cannot but feel a ‘drop’ when one starts on Old Burmese, with its bald prosaic statements of bare fact. But alive, with all the eagerness of youth it is, and first-rate material for history. In the earlier period the focus of interest centred too narrowly on kings and royal courts. Little is said about the common man and woman, hillman and plainsman, cultivator and slave. With the writing of Burmese, the field of knowledge and interest will soon expand, to cover at any rate the plains. The five hundred and more stone inscriptions of the next century, down to the coming of the Mongols, will furnish material for a volume fuller and larger than this one.

Modern Burma was fortunate in its founders: Aniruddha, Kyazittha and Alaungsithu among the kings; Abèyadana, Ràjakumàr and Ajàwlat among the courtiers; the mahāthera Arahana; such scholars as Sumedha and Muggaliputta; and the nameless architects of the Nat-hlaung-gyaung, Nanpaya, Kyaukku Ônhmin, Pàhtothàmya, Abèyadana, Nanda, Shwegugyi, Thatbyinnyu, and many another masterpiece. All these have set standards which have never, in Burma’s history, been surpassed. Each one of them is still an inspiration. But they must be judged by their own extant contemporary record, and not by coarse and fanciful reconstructions of later times.
CHAPTER VII

THE CHANGE. IM-TAW-SYÂN (Kulâ-kyâ), d. 1165 A.D.


NAMES AND TITLES

An original inscription dated 591 s./1229 A.D.¹, still in situ on the top of Mt Thetso (Sakcuw) south of Tuywindauka (Turañtoñ), is our best evidence for the order of Aniruddha’s successors. Unfortunately the Obverse, which contains the list of kings, is very faint, and several of the names are doubtful. The subject is the infringement of a dedication originally made by “the lady of Marhak” in Kyauksâ, probably a royal concubine, “daughter of the hakiki cakhi”, tax-assessor (?) and secretary. “Mañ Lulañ was informed. An official enquiry was held; and in the time of Tîluiñ mañ exemption was granted. In the time of Sak taw rhañ also exemption was granted. In the time of Im-taw-syan (?) also exemption was granted. In the time of Narapati (?) also exemption was granted. And now (?), in the time of Na (C)uin (Phayo)ñ and in my time, why repeat the request? Exemption has been granted a long, long time. Let there be an order(?) confirming the exemption. – The exemption was granted on Tuesday the 9th waxing (?) of Nañkâ” (=Wagaun, say July, in 573 s./1211 A.D. – the date is repeated from line 1), “and on Thursday the (10th waxing) of Tañgthalin” (Aug. 18th ?), “the king ascended the throne.”⁴

Mañ Lulañ is Aniruddha’s son, Saw Lu. Then comes Tîluiñ’s king, Kyanzittha. Then Sak taw rhañ, ‘Long royal life’, Câñsû I, Alaungdaw. Then Im-taw-syan (the last syllable is doubtful) – the ‘Narathu’ of the Chronicles. Then Narapati, i.e. Câñsû II (the reading is doubtful). Then, it seems, another king or pretender to the throne, whose name is quite doubtful. And the list concludes with a king unnamed, but certainly Nâtoñmyâ, whose date of accession is confirmed from other sources.⁵

VOTIVE TABLETS (100 BUDDHAS)

Im-taw-syan means “Lord of the Palace.” Narathu (Narasûra), the name given in the Chronicles, is not confirmed by known inscriptions of any antiquity. As for his regnal title, it appears (we think)

¹ I.B., Pl. I, 60 a, b. The Reverse (West face – the date 591 s. is in line 4), is clear; it is List 203, U.B. I,p.183. The Obverse (East face) is not included in the book. A fragmentary duplicate of both faces was discovered at the same site in Jan. 1906. See Ma Mya Than, “Some of the Earlier Kings of Pagan Dynasty”, J.B.R.S. Vol. XXII, Part II, pp. 101–102.


⁴ I.B., Pl. I 60 a, lines 1–9.

⁵ Compare I.B., Pl. I 364 and 90; also line 18 of the duplicate ink-inscription in Zeyyaput temple, East Pwazaw.

on certain large terracotta votive tablets\(^7\), each showing a hundred seated Buddhas, found at many sites around Pagán. The Pali inscription on the reverse, in early Mon-Burmese cursive script, reads generally as follows: –

sīri tribhuvanādītya varadhamma disahāpati ākāsi buddhaḍiṣṭamāñ imaṁ samābodhipattiyā ti
sīri tribhuvanādītya varadhammarājā dānapati

"Sīri Tribhuvanādītya-varadhamma, Lord of the Quarters, made this image of the Buddhas with the object of attaining perfect enlightenment. – So says the donor, Sīri Tribhuvanādītya-varadhammarājā." This royal title, following Kyanzittha’s model, and exactly like that of Caṅsū I except that vara takes the place of pavaṇa, appears to be that of a new king of Pagán. If so, Īm-taw-syaṅ is the likeliest: for the script is early, and the later kings, from Caṅsū II onwards, discontinued the practice of stamping personal tablets.

REGNAL DATES. DHAMMAYAN-GYI

The regnal dates of this king will have to be corrected. In the Jātālōpum Rājavana\(^8\) they are given as 529–532 s. (1167–70 A.D.); in the Hmannan as 529–533 s. (1167–71 A.D.).\(^9\) The accession-date of Caṅsū II, 536 s./1174 A.D., rests on the evidence of the Minsawhla inscription at Khinmuni\(^10\), whose latest date is 744 s. – more than two centuries later. There appears to have been a long interregnum between the two reigns. An earlier date for Īm-taw-syaṅ’s death, 1165 A.D., is imposed by foreign evidence, as we shall see. If so, we must assume an earlier date also for his accession. He is always credited with the building of the Dhammayan-gyi (Dhammārām) temple at Pagán. The north hall of this temple holds a fine pillar with the Old Burmese inscription of Ṭalōwaṭ, which we considered in the last chapter\(^11\). It is dated 527 s., near the end of 1165 or the beginning of 1166 A.D. – a year or more before the Chronicles’ date for the king’s accession. Now the Dhammayan-gyi, largest of all the giants of Pagán and one of the most carefully constructed, must have taken several years to build. It is not likely to have been begun before the king’s accession. It has therefore been suggested (supra, p. 85) that Caṅsū I’s death and Īm-taw-syaṅ’s accession probably took place not later than 1160 A.D. The Dhammayan-gyi temple will be described in a later chapter: suffice it here to say that it follows the ground-plan of Nanda, but greatly heightens and weightens the superstructure. It is the last great specimen of ‘Mon’ architecture at Pagán.

VERSION OF THE CHRONICLES: TYRANNY AND ASSASSINATION

The king was a usurper, supplanting his elder brother, Min Shin Zaw (Maṅ: Rhaṅ Co:)\(^12\). The Chronicles make him a parricide, who smothered his aged father within his own temple, the Shwégū.

\(^7\) Pl. 19. A note in the Catalogue of Plates lists the many Pagán sites where Īm-taw-syaṅ’s tablets have been found.

\(^8\) Jātālōpum rājavana, ed. by U Hla Tin, p. 40, No. 46 Kula:kyā.

\(^9\) U Kala’s dating – 520–523 s./1158–1161 A.D. – is about as early as that of the other Chronicles is late.

\(^10\) See Ch. V, n. 40.

\(^11\) supra, p. 111.

\(^12\) Maṅ: rhaṅ co:: – According to the Chronicles, Minshinzaw was twice guilty in the Court of rudeness to his old father, who therefore expelled him from the capital. He removed to the south of Mandalay district, where he "dwelt at Htuntōn Putek (T’uantaung: Pūkba) toward the east, founding a village and domain. There he dammed Aungpinnè lake (Ohphañlay kan), 3000 ta in length and breadth; moreover he dammed the lake at Tamākso (Tamut-chuaï). He built three canals, creating 30,000 pè of wet rice-fields" (G.P.C., p. 127). He also invited scholarly monks to write books and teach the people the Buddhist scriptures. On his father’s death, Narathu invited him to return and ascend the throne. No sooner enthroned, than he poisoned him.
He is described as a tyrant, the murderer of his wife Kraphan, her son Uttarasu, and her father's younger brother, Mahabuila the scribe. His chief wife, daughter of an Indian (kulā:) king, the king of Patikkaya; shocked at his uncleanly personal habits, avoided him: whereat enraged, the king stabbed her. Her father pledged eight of his fighting men to take revenge at the cost of their lives; and the eight, disguised as Brahmans, came to Pagán, entered the palace, pierced the king with their swords, and then committed suicide. Thereafter the king was known as Kulaka, "killed by Indians" — a name by which he is certainly called in late inscriptions. Note that the Arakanese historian, Do We, in his Mahārajavana, is said to give an entirely different version of events leading up to the assassination.

**PATIKKARA**

Patikkaya: is doubtless the same place at Patikkara, given in the Dhammarājaka inscription (558 s./1196 A.D.) as one of the western boundaries of Cānsu II’s kingdom, probably to the north-west. It is mentioned similarly in the Chronicles as the kulā: (Indian) country bounding Aniruddha’s kingdom on the west, and Kyanzittha’s on the south-west. A prince of this country, holding in his mouth a magic gem, would come by air and make love to Shwe-ēng-thi (Rhwe-im-sa), Kyanzittha’s daughter, until one day, meeting on his airy way the saintly Shin Arahan, and hearing that his sweetheart was married to another, he gasped, and the live mercury dropping from his mouth, he fell from the sky and perished. Caṇṣi I is said to have been, in a former existence, that prince who fell from the sky. The king of Patikkara presented him with a daughter, Pabhāvati, who was the delight of his old age, but provoked to jealousy his eldest son.

Where, exactly, was Patikkara? — The late N. K. Bhattacharji, Curator of Dacca Museum, identified it with a ruined city on a hill in Tipperah district: “Abundant ruins all over the plateau unmistakably testify to the existence of an ancient town on it, of moderate dimensions. The hill is included in the pargana of Patikkara, which extends westwards from the range and includes Baḍ-kāmatt... We know that Pāṭikārā or Pattikera was a famous town in pre-Muhammadan days, situated somewhere in these parts. A copperplate inscription of one Raṇavaṇka Malla, discovered somewhere on this Lālmai range in 1803 and read by Mr Colebrook in Volume II, page 241, of his Essays, describes the town of Pattikera, as adorned with forts and viharas. This description accords with the ruins of the town on the plateau, and we have no hesitation in identifying the ruins as those of the town of Pattikera.”

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15 *I.B.*, Pl. I 19 a. The Dhammarajaka stone inscription is the first extant original inscription written in Burmese by a king of Pagán. Final date: 560 s./1198 A.D.
17 *ibid.*, p. 106.
18 *ibid.*, pp. 105–6.
19 *ibid.*, p. 120.
20 *ibid.*, p. 126.
The same scholar returns to the subject in his Iconography—"The supremacy of the Pālas was contested in East Bengal by a family of kings with Chandra as their surname. The Tirumalai inscription of Rājendra Chola (1025 A.D.) shows that Bengal was at this time under three different ruling families. Govinda Chandra held sway in Vaṅga, Mahāpāla in Varendra and Uttara Rādhā, and Raṇaśūra in Dakṣina Rādha. From the Rampal plate of Śrī Chandra Deva (Epig. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 136), we come to know of a branch of the Chandras who appear to have had their seat in Samatāta. They are called the family of the Chandras who had been holding sway over the Rohitā hill. Rohitāgiri, meaning the ‘red hill’, appears only to be the Sanskritised name of the Lālmāi (lit. ‘red soil’) range which occupies the centre of the Tippera district. It is a low picturesque range of hillocks lying five miles west of Comillā, the chief town of the Tippera district. The average height of the peaks is about 40 ft., and the breadth about a mile; but some of the peaks rise to a height of 100 ft. The range lies north to south and is about 11 miles in length. Many of the hillocks were undoubtedly crowned by temples and stūpas... The Chandras of Rohitāgiri were Buddhists, and the first man of note in the family was called Purṇachandra. His son was Swarnachandra. His son Trailokyachandra appears to have been a great warrior. He is said to have been the mainstay of the king of Harikela, which is only another name for Vaṅga. He appears finally to have acquired the kingship of Chandravīpa, which was the name of the tract of land forming the greater part of the modern district of Backerganj. Trailokya’s son Śrīchandra Deva appears to have mastered the whole of Vaṅga. He issued his copper-plate grants from Śrī Vikramapura, which town is now heard of for the first time, and which may unhesitatingly be identified with the extensive ruins of a city known at present by the name of Rāmpāl, situated in the heart of the Vikrampur parganā of the Dacca district. The Chandras were ousted in the beginning of the 11th century by the Varmanas, who in their turn made room for the Senas towards the end of the same century. Laksmanā Sena, as is well-known, was ousted from his throne by Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad-bin-Bakhtiyar in 1202 A.D. Buddhism had begun to decline in these parts with the fall of the Chandras. The Varmanas and the Senas were no friends of Buddhism. With the coming of the Muhammadans, both Brahmanism and Buddhism suffered a serious set-back. Bengal sculpture went out like a lamp and the art was forgotten within half a century. Buddhism gradually bled to death and never revived."

Some of the sites discovered by Bhattachalio have been recently excavated by Dr. F. A. Khan on the Mainamati Lālmāi ridge, some 5 miles west of Comilla, in East Pakistan. These Buddhist sites, as we shall see later, are important, among other reasons, for comparison with Pagan architecture, both temples and monasteries.

CEYLON CŪLAVAṆSA VERSION: QUARREL WITH PARĀKRAMABĀHU I

Spearmán, author of the British Burma Gazetteer, thought the assassins of Kulā-kyia came from Ceylon; and he cites in support a note on pp. 47–48 of Yule’s Mission to the Court of Ava, quoting

22 N. K. Bhattachalio, Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum (Dacca, 1929), pp. 9–12.
23 Cf. Dr. Benoychandra Sen, Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal (Calcutta University, 1942), pp. 57–60, 86.
24 Dr. Sen (ibid., p. 370), however, thinks “there is not much to be said in support of the theory that seeks to identify [Rohitāgiri] with the Lālmāi Hills in the Tippera district.” See his version (pp. 368ff.)
25 Dr. Khan’s reports have been issued by the Government of East Pakistan, Dacca:—Mainamati (1956); Second Phase of Archaeological Excavations in East Pakistan (Jan.–March 1956); Third Phase... (Jan.–March 1957).
Turnour’s *Épitome of Singhalese Chronology*. Duroiselle found the identification of Patikkara with Ceylon “untenable.” One may admit this, and accept Bhattasali’s fixing of the site of Patikkara, and yet regard the king of Ceylon as the prime cause of the assassination. For Ceylon history provides a different, and a much older, account of the incident. And unless we adopt the improbable alternative of believing that two kings of Burma were killed about this time by two different foreign invaders, we must choose between them. The 13th century *Cūḷavamsa* of Ceylon, backed up, as it is, by an original Singhalese inscription, must be accepted as a more reliable source for this period than the late Arakanese and Burmese Chronicles.

What is the Ceylon version? – It is told at length in Chapter 76 of the *Cūḷavamsa*. The Ceylon king was the great Parākramabāhu I (fl. 1153–86 A.D.). No date is given for the trouble with Burma; but the old Ceylon archaeologist, H. C. P. Bell, cites the Devanagala inscription in Kegalla district (about 10 miles east of Kandy) as evidence that “the war against Aramaṇa” (= Rāmaṇa, here = Pagán), “was determined on in the 12th year of the king”, i.e. about 1164 A.D. The *Cūḷavamsa* account may be summarised as follows: –

Between the countries of Laṅkā (Ceylon) and Rāmaṇa (Burma) there had never been dissension, since both were inhabited by people holding the true faith, and the kings of both were good Buddhists. All previous kings had felt deeply rooted trust in each other, were wont to exchange costly gifts, and thus had long lived in intercourse and amity. Even the then-reigning king, like his predecessors, had kept up friendly relations with king Parākramabāhu. “But once upon a time the deluded one har- kened to the words of slanderers, of certain messengers who came back from our land.” And so the trouble started. The charges made against the king of Burma were largely concerned with trade- and other missions: – He deprived envoys of the king of Laṅkā of “the maintenance formerly granted.” He issued an order forbidding the sale of elephants to foreign countries. He greatly increased the price of elephants. He abolished “the old custom of presenting an elephant to every vessel in which gifts were conveyed.” Seeing a gold letter addressed to himself, he seized envoys of the king of Laṅkā on the “pretext that they were envoys sent to Kamboja, or saying something of that kind,” robbed them of all their goods, and imprisoned them “in the Malaya country.” Though he well knew that

27 *A.S.B.* 1923, p. 32, n. 4.
28 “According to tradition, the author of the first part of the *Cūḷavamsa* was a therī named Dhammakitti who came to Ceylon from Burma during the reign of Parākramabāhu II (1236–1271). The reign of this king is not far removed from the age of Parākramabāhu I, and the information about his reign as given in the *Cūḷavamsa* should be reliable and authentic to a very great degree.” (Miss Sirima Wickramasinghe, *The Ceylon Historical Journal*, Special Number on the Polonnaruva Period, Vol. IV, 1954–55, p. 169).
29 *Cūḷavamsa*, Part II, Ch. 76, vv. 10–75. Translated in Pali Text Society No. 20, *Cūḷavamsa*, Part II, by Wilhelm Geiger, and from the German into English by Mrs. C. Mabel Rickmers (pp. 64–70). There is also a translation by L. C. Wijesingha, *The Mahāvamsa*, Part II (Colombo, 1889).
32 “Malaya denotes, as in Ceylon and in Southern India, the mountainous regions of the country” (*Cūḷavamsa* II, transl. p. 66, n. 2). – But perhaps the prison was near the Isthmus of Kra, where, presumably, the envoys were intercepted.
his own envoy, Tapaśin, had been treated with every courtesy by the king of Laṅkā, he robbed the Laṅkā envoys of money, elephants, ships, etc., tortured them by fastening hobbles on their feet, and made them sprinklers of water in the prisons. When Kassapa, “a prince of Jambudīpā”, sent costly gifts and a gold letter, he forbade his men to land, and ordered them with insults to take the letter back. One day he summoned the Singalese envoys and said: ‘Henceforth no Singalese vessel shall be sent to my kingdom. Sign this statement authorizing us to kill any further envoys who come: otherwise you will not be allowed to return home.’ The teacher Vāgissara and the scholar Dhamma-kiṭṭi he sent off in a leaky boat into the open sea. Once he took from the king of Laṅkā’s envoys gifts and goods sent for the purchase of elephants, and promised them 14 elephants and silver money; but he told mere lies and gave them nothing. He also seized by force a princess sent by the king of Laṅkā to Kamboja.

THE ARMADA CAPTURES PAPPĀLA, BASSEIN AND PAGĀN

Parākramabāhu was infuriated. He summoned his ministers and said: – “The king of Arimaddana must either be captured or killed.” An official of the public accounts, Ādīca the Damilādhikārina, volunteered for the task. The king gave orders “without delay to make ready ships of various kinds, many hundreds in number... Within five months he had all the ships well built, and assembled them in haste at the port of Pallavaṇaṅa.” A year’s provisions were supplied, abundance of armour and weapons, sharp-pointed iron arrows, many hundreds of thousands, “for defence against elephants”, medicine in cow-horns for the healing of wounds caused by poisoned arrows, antidotes against the infected water of swamps, iron pincers for extracting broken arrow-heads, also doctors and serving-women. Then he embarked his army, “numbering many hundreds of thousands”, and sent off the ships, all on one day. “Subdued by adverse winds, some of these ships went down, some drifted on to foreign shores.” One landed at ‘Crows’ island’ (Kākādīpa): “they fought a battle there, captured alive several of the inhabitants, and presented them to the king of Laṅkā.” Troops of five vessels, headed by Nagaragiri Kittī, “landed on the territory of Rāmaṇaṅa at the port called Kusumi.” They “slew from their landing-place the troops belonging to the Rāmaṇaṅa country, many thousands of them in terrible combat. Like elephants in rut, they hewed down many coconut palms and trees, set fire to the villages, and laid waste a great part of the kingdom. But the ship under the command of Ādīca the Damilādhikārina, landed at the port of Pappālama.”

34 Kākādīpa. “Perhaps the name of one of the Andaman islands?” (Cūlavansiḥ II, transl. p. 68, n. 6). G. P. Malalasekera (Dictionary, I, p. 558) agrees. G. E. Harvey (History of Burma, p. 57), who wrongly dates the despatch of the armada in 1180 A.D., calls the island “Crow Island near Moulinex.”
36 Compare Māppappālam, mentioned among the 1025 A.D. conquests of the armada sent by Rājendra I, in his Tanjore inscription of 1030–31 (see G. Coedès, États hindouisés..., pp. 240–242, and references there given). It seems that [Maha-] Pappāla (if that was the name of the port) was in the far south of Burma, near the junction of the Śri Vijaya (Palembang) and Mon kingdoms. If so, Parākramabāhu’s objective is seen to be a double one: to wreak vengeance on the king of Pagān; and also to occupy the Isthmus of Kra, and so command one of the main trade-routes to the east.
captured alive many people of the country, and plunged Rāmañña into sore confusion. “Thereupon the Singalese, with terrible courage, fearful with their swords, burst into the town of Ukkama” [presumably Pagán],” and slew the monarch of the Ramaṇas. When they had subdued the Ramaṇas and brought their country into their power, the great heroes mounted a splendid white elephant, fearlessly rode around the city keeping the right side towards it, and made known by beat of drum the supremacy of the Sovereign of Laṅkā. Overwhelmed with fear and seeing no other protection, the people of Rāmañña gathered in council.” They sent in haste messengers to the monks of Laṅkā, with letters saying: ‘Henceforward yearly we will send as tribute any number of our elephants. Ye must be merciful and pity us, and move the Sovereign of Laṅkā not to lay on us burdens we cannot bear.’ “Through the intercession of the three fraternities the king of Laṅkā was moved to kindness, and while the Ramaṇas sent him yearly numbers of elephants, they renewed a pact of friendship with him— a king who kept his treaties faithfully.”

DEVANAGALA ROCK INSCRIPTION, 1165 A.D.

The date of the campaign (1165 A.D.), and much in confirmation of it, is contained in the Devana-gala rock inscription (22 lines): —

“On the 10th day of the waxing moon in the month of Poson (May–June) in the 12th year, when His Majesty was enjoying the royal splendour in the noble city of Pulasıṭi [Pוłeııırıuva]. Whereas a person named Bhuvanaditta, lord of Aramaṇa, when reigning, said ‘We shall not contract a treaty with the island of Laṅkā,’ and whereas, when His Majesty had commanded ‘Put men on board thousands of vessels, send them and attack Aramaṇa,’ and Kit Nuvaraṇa in pursuance of the said command, had taken by storm a town called Kusuminya, and when . . . . . . for five months, the Aramaṇas sent envoys saying ‘We shall contract a treaty’— the yālas were granted as pamuṇu to Kit Nuvaraṇa including Malabaṭuvu . . . and the sowing extent of 12 amuṇas and two pālas in (K)istenpauv, which were granted by having this inscription engraved on this stone, so that it may last so long as the sun and moon endure.”

INTERREGNUM

Whatever deduction is made for patriotic exaggeration, there can be no doubt about the fact of this invasion of Burma in 1165 A.D., and little about its momentary success in the death of the king

87 Dr. G. C. Mendis (The Early History of Ceylon, pp. 84–85) says that Parākramabāhu I, “enlisting the sympathies of the fraternity that lived at Dimbulagala, brought about a union of the three sects associated with the Mahāvihāra, the Abhayagiri vihāra, and the Jetavana vihāra.” These were, respectively, the Theravadins, the Dhammarucikas, and the Sāgaliyas. For these, see A. Barea, Les Sectes Bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule, pp. 205–244; and V. Panditha, “Buddhism during the Polonnaruva Period”, Ceylon Historical Journal, loc. cit., pp. 113–129.

88 Pl. 399.

“Sun of the (three) Worlds.” – Part of the regnal title of kings of Burma, from Kyauzittha onwards. The full title of Ṭmawya may be that on the votive tablets attributed to him (Pl. 10): – Sri Tribhuvanadityavaradhamarajā.

40 Aramaṇa = Ramaṇa, the land of the Mons (Old Mon Rmeň). But used here, as in the Cūlaṉsana, in a large sense to cover the whole Pagán kingdom.

41 Kit Nuvaraṇa = the Nagaragiri Kitti of the Cūlaṉsana.

42 Kusuminya = “the port called Kusumi” of the Cūlaṉsana: = Bassein. See n. 35 supra.

43 yāla. “A grain-measure of 20 amuṇas (Epig. Zeyl., loc. cit.).

44 Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. III, Part 6, pp. 312–325 (as edited by Dr. S. Paranavitana).
Chapter VII

and capture of the capital. It was the second great crisis in the history of Pagán. Parākramabāhu I, one of the greatest kings of Ceylon, had armies steeled in 25 years of war for the conquest of the whole island. If the Burmese standing army at the time consisted of only about a thousand men, as Kyanzittha had boasted, the troops of the six ships of Kitti and Ādicca (and there is no reason to assume that none of the other ships of the armada arrived) might well have effected a lightning capture of the capital; though without reinforcements, they could hardly have held the country in subjection for very long.

An index of the confusion caused by the invasion and the devastation brought in its train, is the probable fact that it was not till 1174, some nine years later, that law and order were restored with the accession of Caṅsū II; and with it comes a complete break with the past. For the attempt of the Chronicles to fill the gap with the reign of Min Yin Naratheinhka (Maṅ: Yaṅ Narasiṅkha), supposed son of Kulā: kya and elder brother of Caṅsū II, is a mere makeshift. The name runs together the names of two minor kings of the dynasty: — Maṅ: Yaṅ is the Maṅ Yan of the inscriptions, half-brother and predecessor of Tarukpliy, and doublet son and heir of Uccana, who reigned for a moment in 617 s./1256 a.d. Narasiṅkha, or to give him his full name, Narasiṅgha Ujjana, was the elder brother of Klacwā; Klacwā succeeded him in 597 s./1235 a.d.; he may have reigned for a few years before that. Note that in the list of kings given in the Thetsodaung inscription (see p. 117 at the beginning of this chapter), there is no king named between Ímtawsyan and Narapati.

To view the invasion and its consequences in due perspective, we need to review what little we know of the relations between Burma, Camboja, Ceylon and South India from the time of Aniruddha. The non-Buddhist Colas of South India were rulers of Ceylon from 1017 to 1070. In 1070, after 17 years of fighting, the Singhalese hero Vijayabāhu I (Sirisāṅghabodhi) expelled them, made his capital at Poḷonnaruva, and reigned over the whole island till his death in 1110/11. While still sub-king, fighting desperately against the Colas, he had sought the help of his fellow-Buddhist, Aniruddha of Pagán, who responded instantly. After his coronation in 1073-4, with Buddhism at a low ebb after half a century of Śaivite domination, he asked “his friend Aniruddha” to send a chapter of monks to render possible the ceremony of valid ordination. This they did “repeatedly”, and so helped to revive Buddhism in the island. We can well imagine, not only the popularity of Aniruddha and his line among the Buddhist Singhalese, but also their disappointment to hear of the ‘usurpation’ of Kyanzittha, accompanied, as it may well have been, by a preference for Mon monks and semi-Brahmanic cults rather than Singhalese. It was no accident that Kyanzittha was visited by a Côli prince — the then enemy of the Singhalese — whom he converted to Buddhism, and who, in turn, gave him his daughter in marriage. In his youth Kyanzittha had fought and defeated the Cambojans, conquerors of the Mons in Lower Siam. Near Lakkhiyapura (Lekkhakaï, between Khābin and Kungyangōn) was the “Cambojan market”

49 The whole incident reminds one of the story (quite possibly historical) told by the Arab merchant Sulaymān about the Javanese mahārāja’s lightning-conquest of the Cambojan capital, and beheading of its king, in the 8th cent. A.D. (see G. Coedès, États hindouisés . . . . , pp. 160-1).
51 Maṅ Yan. I.B., Pl. II 218 a², 219 b² (629 s./1267 A.D.).
53 For Duroiselle’s account of the relations between Pagán and Ceylon, see A.S.B. 1920, pp. 17 ff. See also supra, Ch. II, pp. 38-40, Ch. IV, pp. 61-62, 63-64.
(Mon ပေါမာမီ) where, according to the Pegu Kalyâni inscriptions, “a great number of Cambojan prisoners of war were located.” Kyanzittha and his line, though deeply indebted to Ceylon for Buddhist texts of the Tipitaka, had allied themselves with the Mons and the Cojas, while Parâkramabâhu sought alliance with the Cambojans. They were, in fact, in opposite blocs. One object of the latter, it seems (if “the port of Papphâlama” was near the Isthmus of Kra), was to break the hold of Cojas and Burmans on the narrows of the Malay Peninsula, or at least to dispute their claims to control it. Imtawysan, naturally perhaps but recklessly, set a match to this train of ill-will, first by restricting the gift, sale and export of elephants\textsuperscript{51}, and finally by severing relations with the Singhalese and trying to block their passage across the isthmus.

Ceylon historians, accepting the dates given in Burma history books, have naturally assumed that the enemy of Parâkramabâhu was the aged Alaungsithu (Cañsû I)\textsuperscript{52}. But 529 s./1167 A.D., the date assigned to Alaungsithu’s death in the Hmannan and Jâtábôn Chronicles, is contradicted by U Kala, who dates it 520 s./1158 A.D. We know nothing of him from inscriptions after 1151\textsuperscript{53}. He had in his Court, we know, two favourite maids of honour who may have been of Singhalese origin\textsuperscript{54}. And apart from what we know of his pious character, in contrast to the cruelty of his successor, it is more likely that so large an architectural work as the Dhammayan-gyi should have been done before the Singhalese invasion than immediately after it.

RESULTS: RESTORATION OF THE ‘ANIRUDDHAS’

And what were the results? – The main ones appear to have been the following: –

(i) the end of Kyanzittha’s line of Burmese-Mon kings.
(ii) the restoration of the line of Aniruddha, in the person of Cañsû II (Jeyyasûra).
(iii) his marriage to a princess, Vataamsikâ, very likely Singhalese, apparently on terms precluding her children from the succession.
(iv) the supplanting of Mon influence at the Court by Singhalese.
(v) the gradual but rapid withdrawal of Mon culture and influence from Central to Lower Burma, and the apparent death of Mon literature in Burma for three centuries.

(iv) the steady growth, triumph and efflorescence of Old Burmese art, literature and culture.

MARRIAGE OF CAÑSÛ II AND VATAAMSIKÄ

From Cañsû II onwards the genealogy of Pagán kings is generally clear and certain, though of course there are moot points. Before him, it is often dark and doubtful, or rests on dubious evidence of late chronicles. Cañsû II himself, in his extant inscriptions, never once mentions his ancestry. But

\textsuperscript{51} “Ceylon also exported elephants, and the Ceylon elephant was much prized from very early times for its intelligence and docility, but the Ceylon race has the lowest proportion of tuskers (about 8 per cent of the males), and the only object in importing elephants into Ceylon from Burma, would appear to have been to secure tusked animals” (University of Ceylon, History of Ceylon, Vol. I, Part II, p. 473, n. 37).


\textsuperscript{53} supra, Ch. V, pp. 84–85.

\textsuperscript{54} supra, Ch. V, p. 90.
long after his death, his son Rājasūra begins his Mōkku inscriptions of 598 s./1236 A.D. with the following passage in Pali:

‖ cakkavattānuruddhānaṁ | vaṁse jāto narādhīpo | yaśātaro [Jeyyasūro] mahāpaño | saddho vīro visādaro | sīri tribhavanāditya | dhammarājassa yo suto | jambudīpe atulyassa | janathāyassa vesato || Vaṭāṃsikāya nāmāya | mahāpuññāya deviyā | gabbhe jāto mahāpuño | Rājasūro ti vissuto
‖ — — —

“Born in the line of Universal Monarchs, Anuruddhas, was the chief of men, fraught with fame, [Jeyyasūra], greatly wise, devout, virile and bold. The son of that king called Śri Tribhavanāditya-dhammarāja, peerless in Jambudīpa, eminent among the multitude (?), was born in the womb of the greatly virtuous queen by name Vaṭāṃsikā. He was greatly virtuous and known as Rājasūra”, etc. A few lines later he adds:

‖ pitā me dhammakāmoti | ratanapasuto...saddho atulyo | mātā me rājavaṁsāgata paramatāra | nāti seṭhā atulyā ||

“My father was desirous of the Law, ...devout, peerless. My mother was of most excellent kinship in the lineage of kings, the best, peerless.”

Who was this queen Vaṭāṃsikā? - The name was a title. A Pagán queen, specially favoured, wore a distinctive flower or ornament on ear or forehead, which served also as her title: Vaṭāṃsikā in Pali, U-choke-pan in Burmese. Kyanzittha’s “beloved wife”, mother of Rājakumār, was such a queen: Triloka-vaṭāṃsakā-devi. The Uchoke-pan queen of Caṅsū II had a brother, “the king’s minister Sulāphirac”, father of a queen Caw, and of the queen Jayavaddhana. The latter, in 621 s./1260 A.D. made a dedication detailed in an inscription with the following Pali exordium:

‖ Mahindavamsamhi pāṭubhuttavā tadanvayaṁ sapparipālayanto Laṅkāpūra ’gamma ’Rimaddanavayaṁ visodhayai yo jinasāsanuttamaṁ || || theraiṁ tam≡ānandam≡anantaṁvaṇṇaṁ | saṅgama buddhādivibhūsisatam yo|| saddhādayānekagunṣo vihārami akāresi ’macco Subhārajaputto|| ... so Jayavaddhana...

55 I.B., Pl. I 91, lines 2–6 (598 s./1236 A.D.), from Mōkku pagoda, north of Shwéglyaung monasteries, south-west of Shwezigon. Now Stone 42 (E.) at Pagán Museum. Compare Pl. I 94 a, lines 4–7 (598 s./1237 A.D.), said to come from a site half a mile south of Hnēgpyinyata pagoda, a mile south-east of Shwezigon. I expect this was the site of the Thawpariki klokk, 'Butter-store monastery', 2½ furlongs west of Tettkhé village, where the large stone dated 598–602 s., (Pls. IV 375, 376), a four-faced temple (No. 68), and two large brick monasteries are still in situ. Pl. 375 is badly perish; but Col. Ba Shin confirms that it certainly began with a Pali exordium “the same as that of Pl. I 94 a, and very similar to that of Pl. 91.” Pl. 94 a, b is now Stone 48 at Pagán Museum. Its Pali exordium is much the same as that of Pl. 91, with some variations: thus it has the name Jeyyasūro instead of Pl. 91’s yaśātaro.

56 I.B., Pl. I 91, lines 10–11. This latter passage is absent from the other texts (Pls. 94, 375).

57 The Burmese equivalent begins with a; ‘front, forehead’. It must have sounded like Uiw’, the prefix for women’s names in Old Burmese. So U-choke-pan is often corrupted into Uiw chok pan. e.g. I.B. Pl. I 348 (573 s./1211 A.D.) uiw chok pan sā 3 yoh, “the three sons of Uiw-choke-pan.”

58 See line 6 of Rājakumār’s stone inscription (I.B. Pl. IV 304 a, Pillar A, Burmese face). On her votive tablet (Pl. 8 c) she writes her name Trilokavamshakāmahādevi.

59 See I.B., Pl. II 145 (604 s./1242–3 A.D.): amipurā U-choke-pan moḥ maḥ maḥ Sulāphirac “Queen Uchokpan’s brother, the minister Sulāphirac.” At Pl. 144 we read: – miṇpurā cāw pha sulāphirac “Sulāphirac, father of Queen Caw.”

60 I.B., Pl. III 226, lines 1–6 (621 s./1260 A.D.). This is the Obverse of Pl. 227, both being on Stone 52 at Mandalay Palace Shed, original site unknown. For some obscure reason it has been confounded in List with an inscription dated 727 s. from Pinkya village, Pinya, now Stone 137 at Mandalay Palace Shed. — I am grateful, both to Dr. Paranavitana and to Dr. Pe Maung Tin, for criticizing my original translation of this passage, and for correcting it.
"Having appeared in the lineage of Mahinda, and scrupulously guarding his conformity therewith, he [i.e. Ananda] came from the city of Lanka to that known as Arimaddana, and purified the supreme religion of the Conqueror. Having approached that therī, Ānanda of endless colours, that monastic Jayavaddhana, son of Subharāja, having divers qualities, faith, compassion, etc., caused a monastery to be made, adorned with the Buddha, etc." . . .

Vataṁśikā was a great queen, of high royal birth, mother of two proud children, Rājasūra and Gaṅgasūra. These, it seems, were not eligible for the succession, but remained for long influential figures at the Court, loyal to Cānṣū II and his successors. There was also a third son, Pyāmkkhī. Pyāmkkhī is shown in original inscriptions to have rebelled after the death of Cānṣū II. Perhaps he was put to death; his son escaped to Tavoy, and had to forfeit his property before he was allowed to return to Pagán.

The evidence about Vataṁśikā is not conclusive. Her nephew, Jayavaddhana, was a strong supporter of the Singalese therī Ānanda, in his reform of the Pagān Church on the strict model of the Ceylon Mahāvihāra. – I suspect that the queen herself was a Singhalese princess; that Parakkramabāhu (possibly her father), having wreaked his vengeance, came to terms with the Burmans. Cānṣū II, a descendent of Aniruddha, was approved as king, displacing Kyanzittha’s line; and the restoration of the old line was cemented by a marriage with a Singhalese princess, Vataṁśikā, who comes to Pagān with her brother as a minister, and is made the favoured, though not the principal, wife of Cānṣū II.

If this was so, they were not the only courtiers of Singhalese origin. On the site of the Tazaung temple, between the Htilominlo and Wet-kyi-in west village, Rājasūra’s younger brother, Gaṅgasūra, built a “residential monastery” for his mother’s elder sister Uiy Thak Plaṅ Saṅ, the “Lady of Tuṅsaṅ”63. She, then, was an elder sister of Vataṁśikā. Her mother, we read, had as younger sisters the two “golden darlings” of Cānṣū I, Ray Saṅ and Mi’y Saṅ, “Lady of the royal Fan.”64 If so, the influence at Pagān of some members of the Singhalese royal family, antedates the accession of Cānṣū II. Sūlahpira, too, had a younger brother, Anantasūlahpira.65

Enough has been said for the present to indicate the prominence henceforth of Singhalese at the Pagān Court. With the queens and ministers came the Singhalese monks, who became increasingly influential in the latter part of the Pagān period. Came also the Singhalese style of pagoda-building, with the large cubic harmikā revived, and left its mark at Pagān66.

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61 Mahinda, son of Aṣoka, was the therī who converted the Singhalese to Buddhism in the 3rd cent B.C. He established the Mahāvihāra at Anuradhapura, which became famous as the home of the purest form of Buddhism. Ānanda claims to be a loyal follower of this school.

62 See I.B., Pl. I 42 (578 s.1216 A.D.); II 186 (617 s.1255 A.D.).

63 See I.B., Pl. II 147 a, b (604 s.1242-3 A.D.). The inscriptions, now Stones 38 and 37 at Pagān Museum, come from the hall of Tazaung temple, where the holes in the walls from which they were extracted, are still visible. Pl. 147 a mentions maṅ mihār sikhā ut thak ptāṅ saṅ tmarā bhok, “the residential monastery of Prince [Gaṅgasūra’s] mother’s elder sister, Up’t Thak Plaṅ Saṅ”. Pl. 145 describes her as maṅ mihār tuṅ saṅ sikhān “elder sister of the Prince’s mother, the Lady of Tuṅ saṅ, Uiy Thak Plaṅ Saṅ.” Tuṅ saṅ, probably her appanage, was a village in Tapaḥkā khurāin, in the north of Kyaukse (see List 113, 545 s./1183 A.D.; Pl. III 257).

64 See I.B., Pl. II 145 b, 145 sc the Sapada (Chapada) stupa, Nyaung-u. See Pictorial Guide to Pagān, p. 23.
SINGHALESE INFLUENCE SUPPLANTS MON AT THE CAPITAL

The Pali-Mon Kalyāṇi inscriptions of Pegu (1479 A.D.) tell part of the story of the waning of Mon influence at Pagán, and its retreat on Lower Burma; but after the interval of 300 years the memory had weakened: it will be necessary to revise several dates and statements in the records. Mon leaders of the Church remained important at Pagán well after the time of Caṅsū II; perhaps they conformed to Singalese practice. But their interest lay in the religion, and in Pali rather than in Mon; and Mon literature – always a delicate plant – seems hardly to have survived, except in the hills of North Siam\(^{67}\), where Sābbādhisiddhi and other kings of Haripuṇjaya (Lamphun) maintained a precarious independence down to the coming of the Thai in the latter half of the 13th century. When the literature of Middle Mon revives in Lower Burma in the 15th century\(^{68}\), under Baṅg Thāw (Shin Sawbu) and Rāmādhīpati (Dhammazedi), it has changed so much as to seem almost a new language. It is sad to reflect that Kyanzittha’s attempt to found the first real Union of Burma broke down under Īmtaw-syaṅ; and that thenceforth the country tended to split into North and South.

GRADUAL FLOWERING OF OLD BURMESE CULTURE

As to the flowering of Old Burmese culture at Pagán, from Caṅsū II onwards, that must be the subject of another volume.

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PART B. ICONOGRAPHY
CHAPTER VIII
SYMBOLS AND POSTURES


BHŪMISPARŚA MUDRĀ

The events leading up to the supreme moment of the Buddha’s Enlightenment, appear in different forms in the oldest texts. The Touching of Earth, whatever its original form or meaning, is always associated with the struggle with Māra, the final triumph, and the attainment of Buddhahood. In Buddhist art, the Earth-touching attitude (bhūmisparśamudrā) is found first, we are told, on the Rāj Ghaṭ stone relief, 2nd cent. A.D., now in Mathurā Museum. This attitude, common enough but far from universal in the sculptures of Śrī Kṣetra, reached its present pre-eminence in Burma’s iconography only from the time of Aniruddha, who never shows the Buddha in any other form. That mudrā is still symbolic, like all the oldest forms of Buddhist art. Hence its permanence. For a Symbol is charged with whatever meaning or emotion the spectator may invest it with. When art turns to Representation, as it does very gradually during the Pagán period, it becomes defined and limited: obnoxious, therefore, to changing taste and fashion.

Yet Earth-touching in Burma’s art is not only a symbol or an idea. It is an art-form in its proper right. To take a simple instance. In the Nagayon temple (Pls. 195–201) the 27 previous Buddhas are shown seated in dhyāna mudrā, both hands in lap, on leather mat, not lotus. The robe covers both shoulders. The 28th Buddha sits in bhūmisparśa mudrā, on the cleft-lotus, his hands parted, his right shoulder bare. Asymmetry and tension in the one case; symmetry, simplicity and calm in the other. Earth-touching in Burma is different from the same symbol in neighbouring countries. In Siam it seems almost as rigorous as in Burma: but the Thai artist thinks much more of the Face than of the Arm; whereas to Aniruddha, and nearly all the Burmans after him, the straight downward-plunging arm is the nerve-centre of the whole. Did he remember, one wonders, the fine passage in the Mahāvastu:

‘Then, O monks, did Māra the evil one . . . assemble a great fourfold army, and standing before the Bodhisattva utter a great roar ‘Seize him! Drag him! Slay him!’ . . . Then the Bodhisattva, unfearing, untrembled, . . . removed from his robe his golden arms with netted hands and copper-coloured nails,

1 See E. J. Thomas, The Life of Buddha as Legend and History (London, 1931), Chapter VI.
2 Mr. A. B. Griswold tells me that the Thai name for bhūmisparśamudrā is just Māravijaya, ‘Victory over Māra’.
4 Mahāvastu ii, 281. Thomas, op. cit., p. 74, quotes the passage and comments: – ‘The account . . . differs considerably both from the Pali commentaries and the Lalita-vistara, and is probably earlier than both’.
and as though with his right hand lightly touching a balance, . . . smote the earth. Then the great Earth roared and sounded forth a deep and terrible sound. Māra's army so mighty . . . melted away 16.

CAITYA

On the votive tablets of Pagan the Earth-touching symbol is generally associated with the oldest symbol in Buddhist art – the caitya. The latter symbolizes the death or Parinirvāna, as the former the triumph or Enlightenment. On these two poles move the axis and philosophy of Buddhism. First and clearest in Burma's art, the two appear on some of the 'triads' of Śri Kṣetra, where the Buddha sits touching Earth between two large stupas 4. At Pagan, as at Śri Kṣetra, the caityas are disposed symmetrically, on either side of the seated Buddha. There may be any number of them, from one on each side to about eleven. In one instance (Pl. 30 c, d) there are 267. Two Bodhgayā plaques with Mon writing, now at the Indian Museum, Calcutta, (Pl. 30 a, b), have 40 stupas on each side and 28 below: total 108, the number of auspicious signs on the Buddha's Footprint. Latterly, they seem useful chiefly to fill gaps in the design; for while they may be large, tall, beaded, ornate, with tiers of chattrāvalī, they may also be medium in size, or short, or minute, vertical or leaning, as desired.

From Pāla times the architectural setting of these plaques begins to intrude upon the symbolism; but even so the sikhara and arches generally build up to a caitya-finial. And there are indications that the Caitya was meaningful if not essential. When Aniruddha designed his 50-Buddha tablets (Pls. 12, 13), he placed a stupa regularly between the shoulders of his Buddhas. His son, Śri Bajrābharaṇa, did the same (Pl. 15 b). Kyanzittha, however, placed umbrellas over his 50 Buddhas, using stupas merely to fill gaps near the top (Pls. 16, 17). On the fine plaque (Pl. 67) showing the 28 Buddhas each with twoadorants, stupas again are placed over the latter, between the Buddhas. On his 10-Buddha tablet (Pl. 9) Aniruddha adds 10 stupas to correspond. Even in the 'Eight Scenes', where Buddhist art begins to pass from Symbol to Representation, and the Parinirvāna scene is shown (as almost always in Burma) by the reclining figure of the dying Master near the apex of the plaque, the old symbol, the Caitya, is still generally shown above it, in the peak 6. On two Chitṣagôn plaques showing 5 Earth-touching Buddhas, Caityas and Buddhas alternate in equal rows, now the one in the centre, now the

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5 The Mahāsāmaya Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya, preached on a much later occasion, shows striking similarities to this passage of the Mahāvastu. Both, as Malalasekera points out (Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, Vol. II, p. 564, n. 2), contain a similar list of Devas. Māra's army attacks in both. Dr. Pe Maung Tin kindly gives me his translation of the verse-passage in the Sutta: ‘Māra's army marched against all those heavenly beings who had come along with Inda and Mahābrahmā. See the folly of the Black One. 'Come, seize them, bind them, let them be bound with lust. Surround them from all sides. Let none of them escape.' Thus the Black One of many hosts sent forth his armies, striking the surface of the earth with his hand and making a terrible noise, as though the lightning-charged rain had fallen thundering. But because he could not make them do his will, he withdrew his armies in great anger . . . ‘

6 But there are differences. Here it is Māra, not Gotama, who strikes the earth with his hand. In the battle at the Bodhi tree, all the Brahmins, Devas, etc., who had come to sing the praises of the Buddha, vanish when Māra attacks. Here, under the Buddha's influence, they stand firm and strive to enter jhāna. Dr. Pe Maung Tin is convinced that the Sutta account is the original: ‘The Pali Canon was closed in the 3rd cent. B.C., after the conclusion of the Third Buddhist Council. I see no reason to question the authenticity of these last 15 lines.’ So also Malalasekera, s.v. Māra, Vol. II, pp. 614–5.

7 e.g. A.S.I. 1910, Pl. XLVII 3. But on votive tablets at Śri Kṣetra, caityas are also associated with the dharmacakra mudrā; e.g. ibid., Pl. XLIX 5. Compare U Mya, Votive Tablets of Burma, Part II, figs. 17, 22, 36, 38, 39, 44, 51, 52 (Earth-touching); 10, 11, 61, 87, 88 (dharmacakra mudrā).

8 I count 26. If 27 is intended, the total for the two sides (54) would be half the number of the Auspicious Signs (cf. Pl. 30 a, b). Cf. U Mya, V.T.B., Part I, fig. 111.

9 As in Pāla art: see, e.g., R. Chanda, Medieval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum (London, 1936), Plate XIII.
Chapter VIII

OTHER (Pl. 61 a, b). Caityas may even appear on plaques where the Bodhisattva Lokanātha is the central figure (Pl. 7 a, 54 a).

REREDOS

Where did Aniruddha find his models for these Earth-touching Buddhas? – Ultimately, in North India, as the Nāgārī writing on the front indicates. More closely, I think, in East Bengal. As for models in Burma, it is hard to say. The evidence is inadequate, at any rate for coastal Burma, the Mon country. Earth-touching Buddhas are found here, from Twante to Mergui, in great variety. But it is still not easy to date them. The laterite Buddhas are probably the oldest. These are of two types: those with reredos, and those without it. Now at Śrī Kṣetra, in stone images, there was nearly always a reredos, sometimes of megalithic size (the megalith was probably the original object of worship), behind the seated Buddha. In the Mon country the oldest laterite images (at Kyaik Ba, Kyaik Hkauk, Htaimalon, Pada-gyi, etc.) were probably in the round. Those with reredos (such as the larger images at the Nāgaseṇa temple near Rangoon), were later work, imitating Pyu. The Pagān Burman certainly followed the Pyu in generally retaining, and giving prominence to, the reredos.

On votive tablets the Pyu reredos often follows the Gupta type (shown, e.g., on the 5th cent. seated image of Sārnāth), with the makara (capricorn) spouting at shoulder-level, the vyāla or yāli (leogrph) rampant in the middle, and the Elephant (‘caryatid of the universe’) at the base. On one bronze found at the Bawbaw-gyi, there is added a kirtimukha in the apex. A similar bronze earth-touching Buddha was photographed at Pagān Museum in 1912–13 (Pl. 434 a): its provenance is not stated, and one wonders if it is Pyu, or copied from Pyu. For though Old Mon mentions the makar and the byāl, Old Burmese never does so; and even Modern Burmese has no name for the latter. But the Old Burman certainly knew these mythical animals, used them passim in his art, and must have wondered at them – posed so stately in their quaint heraldic stance, crouching, ramping, and spouting. Were they always like that? – Two wood-carvings, (Pl. 423 d), found in a ruined temple east of Hsinbaung pagoda, and now at Pagān Museum, give his idea of how they behaved when off parade: the makara swallowing the hindquarters of the vyāla, who in turn, is biting the elephant’s head! Such mythical animals have not as yet been found in coastal Mon art.

These adorable monsters – oldtime Terrors passed into Counter-terrors – gradually distil in art’s alembic into pure form, cusp, gnomon, ogee, volute, finial – and fuse finally in Architecture, framing the Buddha-image. This architectural evolution goes back to pre-Pagān days, in Pāla India, Śrī Kṣetra, Lower Burma and Siam. The building in the background is a temple, usually surmounted with the Indian śikhara; it is, in fact, the Śrī Vajrāsana temple at Bodhgayā, the actual site where the

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8 See N. K. Bhattasali, Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum, Plate IX a, Plaque from Raghurāmpur, S.W. of Rāmpāl, S. of Dacca.
9 See e.g. A.S.I. 1910, Plate L, 1.
10 For Kyaik Ba Buddhas, see Burm. Arch. Neg. 7901, 7903 (1957–58).
13 So called by H. Zimmer, Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization (Pantheon, Bollinger Series VI), p. 105.
14 A.S.I. 1912, Pl. LXVIII, fig. 5. Burm. Arch. Neg. 969 (1911–12). For the Śaivite origin of the kirtimukha, see H. Zimmer, Myths and Symbols . . . ., pp. 175–184. The kirtimukha at the apex of the arch, with a mahara on each side, is a common feature at the 8th century Barabuḍur in Java. See e.g. Zimmer, Art Ind. As., II, Pl. 491 b.
15 Shown also by Coomasawamy, H.I.I.A., Pl. CIV 315.
Chapter VIII

Buddha touched the Earth. While the Buddha’s form remains in the world of symbol and art, the frame is passing into representation and history.

But Pagán art abounds in architectural backgrounds irrelevantly introduced – perhaps by a sort of hieratic necessity. See, for example, Kyanzittha’s stone sculptures in Nanda temple. When in the Lumbini sāla-grove the newborn Babe is taking his first steps (Pl. 281 d), he is not only royally attired, but must have a palace behind him. He is already taller than the palace and twice as tall as Brahmā and Indra beside him. When he changes into monk’s attire on the bank of the river Anomā (Pl. 289 b), there must be a temple behind him. When Svastika offers him 8 handfuls of grass on his way to the Bodhi tree (Pl. 295 a), an elaborate temple is in the background. When Māra’s daughters tempt him under the Goatherd’s tree (Pl. 297 b) the tree itself is passing into a dome.\(^\text{18}\)

**THE ‘ANIRUDDHA’ TYPE**

Consider next the Buddhas themselves. Touching earth with the left hand, which is not uncommon at Śrí Kṣētra, is rare at Pagán\(^\text{19}\). Where it occurs (3 instances) in the Nanda sculptures, the image has no usṇīṣa\(^\text{20}\). Aniruddha’s demand for Force in the falling hand, ensured that it falls henceforward straight over the upper shin, not over knee or thigh, as often in Pyu sculpture\(^\text{21}\). Force is also increased by giving the image a strong square head, a tall full torso tapering to the waist, with rounded shoulders. Vertical and rounded lines are reinforced by the columns and trefoil arch enclosing the figure; and the horizontal base by mat and living lotus and indented pedestal. Equipoise and calm are fixed by balanced soles and tapered legs, not hidden one by the other as is usual at Śrí Kṣētra\(^\text{22}\). Gentleness and life are latent in the mobile left hand resting in the lap, its contrast with the forceful right nicely breaking the rigidity of the whole. Earth-touchers at Śrí Kṣētra, in bronze, stone and terracotta, often hold an almsbowl in the left hand\(^\text{23}\). This feature is rare at Pagán except where the subject requires it\(^\text{24}\). Usually the usṇīṣa is crested with a flame-niche\(^\text{25}\).

In Aniruddha’s own handiwork two or more types of background can be distinguished. The barest, at Khābin (Pls. 4, 5), just frames the image in a trefoil arch, resting on turned columns. A short straight śikhara with stupa-finial above, a strong indented throne below, complete the design, apart from caityas climbing in échelon towards the peak, and little streamers fluttering from it. In the Pagán plaques found near the Seinnyet (Pl. 6 a, b), the architecture is beautifully elaborated, but at some cost to the grandeur of the image. The latter’s body is shortened and less square, but finely modelled; the arch broadened, and given prominence by beading; the relief deepened by three receding

\(^{18}\) Dome-like trees are found, of course, from the earliest times in Buddhist art. See Coomaraswamy, *Hist. Ind. Indon. Art*, Pl. IV 10 (Benesar Kalpa-vrksa, Maurya dynasty); *Schätze aus Thailand*, Pl. 10 (Ayudhya, 17th-18th cent.).

\(^{19}\) Left hand Earth-touching: – For Śrí Kṣētra, see, e.g., *A.S.I* 1910, p. 121, fig. 3 (Bibeb); *ibid.*, Pl. XLVII, fig. 4 (E. Zëgo); Pl. XLIX, figs. 2, 4 (votive tablets); *A.S.I* 1926, Pl. LV b (Padagelé); U Mya, *V.T.B.*, Part II, fig. 45; etc. – At Pagán some late brick-and-plaster images in niches at Hpyata ShaGU, Myingpagan, are in this attitude.

\(^{20}\) Col. Ba Shin first pointed this out to me. See Pl. 316 a, b, c. The right hand is placed against the breast. All three sculptures have figures on their pedellas, but the scenes have not been identified.

\(^{22}\) See, e.g., *A.S.I* 1910, Pls. XLVII 1, 3, 6; XLIX 10, 15, etc. U Mya, *V.T.B.*, Part II, figs. 18, 20, 22, 27, etc.

\(^{23}\) At Śrí Kṣētra the right leg is usually crossed over the left: e.g. *A.S.I* 1910, Pl. XLVII 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, etc. This is sometimes found also in Early Pagán bronzes: Pls. 436 e, 441 c, 443 a, c, etc.

\(^{24}\) As in illustrations of the Monkey’s Offering, Pārīleyaka retreat. See also Pl. 293 a, b, where Sujaṭā is expected.

\(^{25}\) Perhaps this was the normal feature. It is conspicuous on most of the well-preserved bronzes, and many stone reliefs, especially in the Nagayön.
roofs with cusped corners, like the column’s abacus and base below them. The Buddha’s shoulder-
imbus strongly fills the arch, with a weak wriggle of beads below. Mat and double-lotus are enriched.
The throne has gone, to make room for the fine squared base of Nāgarī inscription. The śikhara is
tall and curving, with peepal branches surging below the flutter of streamers.

The Shwé-hsan-daw type (Pl. 6 c) reverts to the plain square Khābin model, as if to counteract
the weakness of its oval. Pretty śikhara, nimbus and receding roofs are gone; and the arch narrowed
to admit two powerful caityas at each side, climbing in échelon to the strong umbrella at the peak,
with barely room for a few peepal leaves between. The prominence of the beaded arch remains.
The keynote is solidity.

There are over 30 types of Pagán tablets showing single earth-touching Buddhas. Not all are of the
Aniruddha type. “The sanbeñ Prince Yassa, favourite of the king,” was apparently a courtier of
Aniruddha; at any rate some of his tablets (Pl. 23 b, c) are found, with Aniruddha’s, in the Shwé-
hsandaw relic-chamber. His two-plane tablet found at Pwazaw (Pl. 38 a, b) has fine square Nāgarī
writing similar to that on Aniruddha’s tablets found near the Seinnyet (Pl. 6 a). And it shows the
Aniruddha type of Buddha, but set in a ponderous frame; a lotus throne resting on an elephant-head,
guarded by lions at the corners, framed between massive pillars supporting an ornate śikhara-arch,
each abacus weighted with acroteria and conch-shell ornament. It has a sumptuous beauty of its own:
but compared with Aniruddha’s free and spacious image (Pl. 6 a), it is crushed and dwarfed by the
frame. Similar ornate plaques are found at Pegu (Pl. 37). Plumper and softer types of image appear
during Kyanzittha’s reign, Muggaliputta’s plaque for example (Pl. 59 c). But most plaques of the
latter part of the period, found at Minnanthu and Pwazaw, are coarse in comparison. It was still a
living art at Pagán during the ‘Mon’ sub-period.

NON-PAGÁN TYPES

Pagán being the capital, Pagán tablets are found, as one would expect, at Tagaung, Śrī Kṣetra’
Khābin/Twanté, Rangoon, Pegu, Thatôn, etc. But votive tablets, bronzes or stone images found at
all these places show that they too were, or had been, centres of independent artistic activity. Apart
from laterite, perhaps the oldest earth-touching Buddha in Burma is on the inscribed votive tablet
found in Kyaik Dé-ap (Bo-ta-htaung) pagoda, Rangoon28. It is a very plain, almost triangular relief
with reredos, without architecture, throne or lotus-seat: a haloed, high-headed figure with large ears,
bent arms, and robe conspicuous across breast and wrist – a vastly different type from Aniruddha’s.
In the same relic-chamber was a large oblong plaque showing scenes from the life of the Buddha27.
Below the Parinirvāṇa at the top, there is an earth-touching Buddha under the aśvattha tree, with the
Earth-goddess Vasumāharā below, testifying his merits by wringing out the two tresses of her hair.
This shows a different and more ‘up-to-date’ tradition about Earth-touching than the one quoted
from the Mahāvastu at the head of this chapter, or the one usually depicted in Pagán art.

Thatôn, too, has distinctive earth-touching tablets; but these are closer to Pagán. The Buddha-
type is the one favoured by Aniruddha. In the one subscribed in Nāgarī28, he sits in a beaded oval,

27 Arch. Neg. 7659 (1957–58).
28 Arch. Neg. 3643 (1933–34) from Thatôn, Shwézayan pagoda. U Mya, V.T.B. Part I, fig. 76.
like a vesica, under the umbrella, between peepal leaves and caityas—a beautiful arrangement. The Bin-gyi Cave tablet of "the three kalans"\(^{29}\), like several other Lower Burma plaques, is a study in linear panelling.

The original reference of the symbolic mudrās of the Buddha was getting confused, it seems, even in Pyu times. Thus the dharmacakra mudrā, 'Turning of the Wheel of the Law', is the right symbol for the First Sermon, preached in the Deer-park near Benares, with Wheel and Deer often shown on the pedestal. But already on the East Zégu stone relief at Śrī Kṣetra\(^{30}\), which Sir John Marshall dated not later than the 7th century, though Wheel and Deer are shown on the predella, the Buddha appears to be touching earth, with his left hand. On one Pagán bronze (Pl. 434 c) the Deer, on another (Pl. 434 b) both Wheel and Deer are visible: but the Buddha sits touching earth, between two saints on the former, between Lokanātha and Maitreya on the latter. In the Nagayōn, the top line of painted panels on the inner wall of the corridor, illustrates seriatim, as their glosses show, the preaching of Dīgha and Majjhima Nikāya suttas: the Buddhas sit alternately, either touching earth, or turning the wheel of law.

DHARMACAKRA MUDRĀ

In early Buddhist art the Wheel alone sufficed as symbol for the First Sermon\(^{31}\). In the 2nd century A.D. Mathurā\(^{32}\) and Amarāvatī\(^{33}\) reliefs show the Buddha sitting cross-legged, raising his arms wide apart as he 'turns the Wheel'. In the great 5th century image at Sārnāth\(^{34}\), he sits cross-legged in padmāsana, with hands brought together in front of the body; Wheel (side face) and Deer (couchant and affronted) are shown on the pedestal, together with the pañcaavaggiya disciples. This becomes the general model for Burma, as shown on the Shwé-nyaungbin-yo\(^{35}\) and Nyaunngibin-gon\(^{36}\) sculptures


\(^{31}\) Coomaraswamy, *Hist. Ind. Indon. Art*, Pl. IV 12 and p. 229. On Pl. CV 318 he illustrates the fine Wheel of the Law from Prapatn (i.e. Braţ Čaţama), Siam, "5th or 6th century" (but now, as Mr A. B. Griswold tells me, believed to be a century or two later). A similar, but different one is shown on the front-cover of the finely illustrated *Schätze aus Thailand*, recently issued by the Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum, Köln. Another is discussed and illustrated by Coedès in 'Une Roue de la Loi avec inscription en pâli provenant du site de P'ra Pathom,' *Artibus Asiae* XIX, 3/4, pp. 221–226.; the author assigns it to c. 8th–9th century on palaeographic grounds. For a fragment of another, see Jean Boisselier, 'Un fragment inscrit de Roue de la Loi de Lop'buri,' *Artibus Asiae* XXIV, 3/4, pp. 225–231. (c. 8th century). The two articles cited give Bibliographies.

\(^{32}\) Coomaraswamy, *H.I.A.*, Pl. XXIX 104 (top right) and p. 104 ("the earliest instance of this mudrā") – from the Rāj Gāth, Mathurā, 2nd cent. A.D.

\(^{33}\) *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXIII 140 (third scene from bottom) and p. 239. From Amarāvatī, "late 2nd cent. A.D.". Cf. H. Zimmer, *Art Ind. As.*, II, 92 b ("2nd–3rd cent."").

\(^{34}\) Coomaraswamy, *H.I.A.*, Pl. XLII 161 and p. 240 (from Sārnāth, 5th cent.). Cf. Zimmer, II, Pl. 102. The pose is rather like his plate 62 a, 'The Buddha Teaching' ("Taxila, 2nd or 3rd cent. A.D." – Vol. I, p. 403), where Wheel and Deer are absent. For the scene as a whole with Wheel and Deer, compare Zimmer, II, Pl. 177 (Ajanta Cave XVII, 5th cent.).


and votive tablets\textsuperscript{37} of Śrī Kṣetra, or the stone reliefs in Nagayon and Nanda halls at Pagán. (Pls. 193 a, 303 a, b, c, d). At Pagán the Deer are shown on the predellas, but not the Wheel.

When Wheel and Deer are missing\textsuperscript{38}, the dharmacakra mudrā, with hands brought together and feet crossed in \textit{pādāsana}, may show merely that the Buddha is preaching. Thus on another stone relief in Nagayon hall (Pl. 193 d), naked ascetics are shown on the predella: this does not accord with the Deer-park sermon; the scene here is the defeat of the heretics at Sāvaththi. Again, on a pretty painting in the Thayambhu temple\textsuperscript{39} at Pagán, both picture itself and Burmese gloss below it show that the Buddha, seated in \textit{dharmacakra mudrā}, is in process of converting Āljavakka Yakkha. Again, on an early Buddhist sculpture at Silagiri, Kyauk-taw\textsuperscript{40}, in N. Arakan, the Buddha sits sideways on a bench in \textit{dharmacakra mudrā}, conversing with a royal (?) figure seated at ease on the ground before him; this, too, does not fit the First Sermon. The simplest, and perhaps oldest, Burma instances of this attitude, may be on votive tablets found at Śrī Kṣetra\textsuperscript{41} and Rangoon\textsuperscript{42}, with the Buddha seated in \textit{pādāsana} between two stupas or two \textit{vyālās}. This type is common at Śrī Kṣetra.

PRALAMBAṆĀSANA

The \textit{dharmacakra mudrā} is also associated from an early date with a European style of sitting, not crosslegged, but with 'feet hanging' (\textit{pralambanapāda}). This \textit{pralambāsana}, says Coedèe\textsuperscript{43}, "is seen in the sculptures of Ajanta\textsuperscript{44}, of Kāñāheri\textsuperscript{45}, of Kārlī\textsuperscript{46}, of Elūrā\textsuperscript{47}, and generally throughout all the rock temples." "Statues seated European-wise" he says elsewhere\textsuperscript{48}, "—an attitude rare, not to say unknown, in Khmer iconography, are the realization in the round of the ancient images in bas-relief" [in Siam] "representing the First Sermon (Brahmā Pathamacetiya) or the Great Miracles (Ayudhyā, Bangkok Museum)." The attitude was not uncommon in the early Buddhist art of Dvāravatī. The late Pierre Dupont, in his valuable book on Mon archaeology in Siam\textsuperscript{49}, points out that whereas in Indian cave-temples of post-Gupta period, this attitude of the feet is constantly associated with \textit{dharmacakra mudrā} of the hands, in Dvāravatī Mon art it is associated with the right hand in \textit{vitarka mudrā} (pose of Argument).

Here Burma generally agrees with India rather than Dvāravatī, in combining \textit{pralambāsana} with \textit{dharmacakra mudrā}, and the presence of Wheel and Deer confirm the subject as the First Sermon.

\textsuperscript{37} Votive tablet. \textit{A.S.I.} 1910, Pl. XLIX 8 and p. 123. The Wheel appears to be shown twice, full face in the middle tier, side-face between the Deer below. U Mya, \textit{V.T.B.}, Part II, fig. 55.
\textsuperscript{38} As on two Kyauk-ku Önmin stone reliefs (Pl. 142 d, e).
\textsuperscript{39} \textit{A.S.I.} 1936, Pl. XXXI e and p. 79.
\textsuperscript{40} \textit{Silagiri: — Arch. Neg. 2694 (1925–26). An eye-copy is given at \textit{A.S.B.} 1924, Pl. V. (see pp. 44–45).}
\textsuperscript{42} Rangoon, Kyauk Dē-ap (Bo-ta-hlaung) pagoda. Arch. \textit{Neg. 7662–3} (1957–58).
\textsuperscript{43} \textit{J. Siam Soc.}, Vol. XX, Part 1, 1926, p. 8 and Pls. 1 and 11.
\textsuperscript{44} Ajanta. H. Zimmer, \textit{Art Ind. As.}, II, Pls. 162 (Cave IX), 178–9 (Cave XIX. Why is this Buddha called 'Maitreya'?). Pl. 183 (Cave XXVI).
\textsuperscript{45} Kāñāheri. \textit{Ibid.}, Pl. 84.
\textsuperscript{46} Kārlī. \textit{Ibid.}, Pl. 80.
\textsuperscript{47} Elūrā. \textit{Ibid.}, Pls. 190, 191 b (Cave II), 196–7 (Cave X, Viśvakarman).
\textsuperscript{48} \textit{Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam}, Part II (\textit{Inscriptions de Dvāravatī} . . .), p. 3 (I translate from the French).
\textsuperscript{49} P. Dupont, \textit{L'Archéologie Mône de Dvāravatī}, pp. 266–280, and figs. 31, 33, 498–514.
Chapter VIII

Our plaques roughly agree with Coedès' specimen plaque found at Dong Sak, near P'ong Tük. Here the Buddha sits under a Bodhgaya śikharā with 9 stupas on each side. Below the lotus-stool for the feet, there is a Wheel supported by two Deer; also the Buddhist 'Credo' in Nāgārī character, probably Sanskrit. Of the six or seven similar types noted at Pagán (Pls. 50–53), five at least have Wheel and Deer. The shape of the śikharā, and thickness of the columns supporting it, vary; perhaps also the number of stupas; but these details are often difficult to distinguish. All have the Nāgārī inscription. Several have short Mon inscriptions on rim or reverse, in Pagán-period hand. One (Pl. 51 c, d) has a longish inscription in Pali. A bronze mould for making such tablets (Pl. 51 a, b) comes from Myinkaba, and is now in Rangoon University Library. Several Pagán specimens (Pl. 50 a, b, c) are large rimmed ovals in shape. Pl. 50 a measures 7 in. high by 5 ¼ in. broad. They closely resemble a smaller rimless oval tablet (Pl. 50 e), 4 in. high by 3 in. broad, recovered from Twanté and now heavily gilded. This, in turn, closely resembles a rimless oval tablet marked "II 384", from Śri Kṣetra. This tablet, now at Mandalay Archaeological Office, is said to measure 4 in. × 2 ¼ in.

Another widespread type of votive tablet, clearly Mahāyānist in origin, shows the Buddha seated in pralambandasana, with right hand raised from the elbow, and left resting on the thigh. On each side stand slim crowned Bodhisattvas in tribhanga pose, their inner hands raised from the elbow, their outer hands hanging. The precise pose of all three right hands – vilarka, abhaya or other mudrā – is often in doubt. Above the three figures sit three cross-legged Dhyāna-Buddhas. Coedès shows two specimens – oblong plaques arched at the top, and seemingly with grooved frame, height 0 m. 065 (say 2 ½ in.), one from Khao Ok Dalu, Badalung, S. of Nagara Śri Dharmarāja, the other from Braṭ Paṭham. He notes their identity with a small but rather clearer tablet, one of three found in Kawgun Cave by Sir Richard Temple. A more weathered specimen, with the same grooved pointed-oblong rim, but larger (height 3 ¼ in., breadth 2 ½ in., max. thickness ¾ in.), is now in the Dhammayon, near the old Nāgasenā temple at Tadágālē, Rangoon, excavated by U Lu Pe Win in 1938–39. It is said to come from that temple, but is not mentioned nor illustrated in his Report. The Bodhisattvas on this tablet, as on the previous two, appear to be crowned. A similar tablet of worn, perhaps elliptical shape, with damaged top and rounded back, comes from Śri Kṣetra. It is marked 'II 397'. The Buddha's pose is similar, but the standing figures at his side, in tribhanga pose, have haloes rather than crowns: I am not sure that they are not Buddhas, and the scene the Twin Miracles (yamaka-prātiḥāra). All these tablets agree in having three Dhyāna-Buddhas seated at the top. As for the pose of the raised

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50 J. Siam Soc. Vol. XX (Part I), 1926, Plate I (top) and p. 17. At Vol. XXI (Part 3), 1928, p. 196, n. 1, Coedès corrects: "The place of discovery of this tablet is Dong Sak, near P'ong Tük, and not Jaiya." Height 0 m. 125 – almost 5 inches.
51 Pls. 50 b; 52 c, d, e; 53 a, b (?).
52 U Mya, Votive Tablets of Burma, Part II, figs. 53, 54. For other illustrations of these dharmacakra-pralambandasana tablets, see A.S.I. 1906, Pl. LIII, fig. 2, and p. 134 (Pagán, near Abhyadana); 1915, Part I, Pl. XX I, from Pagán; Th. H. Thomann, Pagan (Stuttgart, 1923), Pl. 70 and p. 103. U Mya, V.T.B., Part I, figs. 57–62; Part II, figs. 87 (Śri Kṣetra), 88 (Pagán).
53 J. Siam Soc., Vol. XX (Part 1), 1926, Pl. II (top right and top left) and p. 17.
54 'Notes on Antiquities in Rāmaññadesa', Indian Antiquary Vol. XXII, 1893, p. 361, and Pl. XVI (top right).
55 Arch. Neg. 7664 (1957–58). The temple is called Nāgaḷena, but the archaeologist Mon Bo Kay points out to me that the name, as shown on the old inscribed tablet found there (see A.S.B. 1939, Pl. I a; I.B., Pl. V 568 d), should be read Nāgasena, not Nāgaḷena.
57 Now at Mandalay Archaeological Office; "3¾ in. × 2¾ in." according to the Office List; but our measurements (query of a similar plaque?) are: height 4 (+) in., breadth 3 in., thickness ¾ in. U Mya, V.T.B., Part II, fig. 53.
right hand of the central Buddha, it resembles so much that of the inscribed sculpture of Thān Rāśī, W. of Rājapuri, cut in the rock by the hermit Śrī Samādhigupta, that I suspect it is vitarkamudrā, the pose of argument. This seems to be the commonest mudrā of such images on the Dvāravatī side.

One further tablet (Pl. 53 c, d), presumably early 12th century, since it carries an Old Burmese inscription on the reverse, was found 2 miles S. of Thazi in Central Burma. It is almost round, and shows the haloed Buddha seated in pralambanāsana, dharmacakramudrā, between two haloed Bodhisattvas seated in latitasana, their inner legs hanging, their outer flat on their thrones. Their outer hands rest on the seat behind them; their inner hands are raised before the body. Three or four faint lines of Nāgari cross the top of the tablet, on each side of the Buddha’s halo. Wheel and Deer are absent.

Of single figures in pralambanāsana, there was a fine old bronze statuette, now lost, found in the relic-chamber of a ruined pagoda at Twanté, which showed the Buddha seated with both hands raised in the pose of Argument (vitarkamudrā). With it was a large earthen pot with lid shaped like a stupa. Just such another pot Aniruddha took back with him to Pagán, and used it to hold his Lokanātha and other votive tablets in the ruined temple (No. 441) near the Seinnyet.

Finally, among the Eight Scenes, in that of the Pāreleyya retreat, the Buddha is normally shown seated, often sideways, in pralambanāsana, almsbowl in lap, receiving the offerings of Elephant or Monkey. Apart from the Eight Scenes, the episode is commonly shown in painting in the temples of Pagán. In stone, it is shown on the S. image in the E. Shwénatha Thein at Pegu, in the background on the lower left side. At Pagán, it is shown on reliefs in the Nagayón (Pl. 193 b) and the Nanda (Pl. 312 b), etc.

**DHYĀNA MUDRĀ**

Mahāyānists cultivated dhyāna practices much more than Theravādins, who tended to dispense of them. So perhaps the use or disuse of dhyāna mudrā, the attitude of ardent meditation, gives some measure of the local potency of the two old forms of Buddhism. Whether at Old Prome or Pagán, the mudrā is neither rare nor common. It undergoes some apparent changes. In this pose both hands and legs are crossed, open right hand resting on open left in the lap, and – at Śrī Kṣetra and in coastal Rāmaṇāṇadesa – right leg on left. Only occasionally, on the known sculptures of Śrī Kṣetra, is the pose padmāsana, with both soles level and visible. Moreover, at Śrī Kṣetra, the right shoulder is almost always bare, the robe-flap falling over the left shoulder. Occasionally the almsbowl rests on the hands.

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91 See note on Pl. 6, and U Mya, A.S.I. 1930–34, Part I, pp. 177–8, and Part II, Pl. XCIX.
92 Arch. Neg. 7702 (1957–58).
93 See A.S.I. 1935, Pl. XXII a, from one of the three stupas on Kyanigan mound, south of the Bawbaw-gyi, plainly local work. Here the right shoulder is bare, and the robe crosses diagonally. U Mya, Votive Tablets of Burma, Part II, figs. 25 and 26 (cf. A.S.I. 1935, Pl. XXII a and p. 47), shows two votive tablets (dasabala) from Myinbahu pagoda. Here perhaps both soles are visible, and the robe covers both shoulders, as is usual at Pagán. For the normal right leg on left, see V.T.B. Part II, fig. 2 (Khin Ba Gôn gold image).
At Pagán, Kyanzittha half-filled the corridor of the Nagayón (c. 1090 A.D.) with 26 stone reliefs of Dhyanā Buddha, set in every alternate niche (Pls. 195 b–201 c). All are in padmásana, both soles showing, both shoulders covered symmetrically with the robe. They are seated on plain mats, only one on lotus. They would be wellnigh indistinguishable if it were not for the carved predellas below them. From these, Mon Bo Kay, the Conservator of Pagán, has shown convincingly that they represent the 27 Buddhas previous to Gotama, according to the Pali Buddhavamsa, Khuddaka Nikāya. By contrast, the stone reliefs of Gotama touching Earth (‘the Enlightenment’) show him sitting on double lotus, his right shoulder bare, his left covered with the robe-flap, and no predella below.

About 1105 A.D., towards the end of his life, Kyanzittha built his masterpiece, Nanda temple, which includes the largest collection of Buddhist sculpture in Burma. Here, in the 3 lower rows of the 2 corridors (the ones above are difficult to see and count), there are 180 Earth-touching Buddhas, 102 Preaching Buddhas, and only 34 Dhyanā Buddhas. Of these last, 18 at least belong to the series showing Gotama’s life before the Enlightenment. They occur chiefly at the following moments:—

(i) After the Fast, when he rejects extreme Asceticism and accepts Sujātā’s rice-alms; here occasionally the almsbowl is present. (ii) In the 4th week after the Enlightenment, when the Buddha sits in the House of Gems (ratanaghara), meditating the Abhidhamma. (iii) In a scene showing on the predella a royal donor preparing a feast or offering a document. I take this to represent the Buddha’s second visit to Rājagaha, when king Bimbisāra entertains him at the palace, and dedicates the Bamboo Grove (Vesuva). The dhyānamudrā is also shown in the following earlier scenes:—

(iv) When, just after birth, he is received by the 4 Brahmas in a golden net (Pl. 281 a); (v) When after seeing the Monk (the 4th Sign), he sits in his pleasance thinking, and Vissukamma is sent to cool his royal headdress for the last time (Pl. 286 b, c; 318 c ?); (vi) When, the same night, he sits up in bed and sees his women lying like corpses (Pl. 278 b); (vii) When, after tonsure, he sits waiting as Ghaṭikāra, the great Brahma, brings him the monk’s robes (Pl. 290 a); (viii) On his first visit to Rājagaha, when, after eating his first almsfood at the foot of Mt. Paṇḍava, he is visited by Bimbisāra (Pl. 291 c). (ix) A stone relief in Kyauku Ōnhmin (Pl. 142 c) shows him seated in dhyāna mudrā, almsbowl in lap, under the hood of Mucalinda Nāga.

A beautiful old Chinese bronze (Pl. 441 a), provenance unknown, has been for years in Pagán Museum. Here the Buddha sits on double lotus in padmásana, dhyānamudrā; but as if to counter the rigid balance of such images which Kyanzittha liked, the artist makes the robe swing diagonally down from the left shoulder, and the flap descend in an answering curve from the right shoulder. Another dhyanā bronze (Pl. 441 c), of unknown origin, is closer to the Śrī Kṣetra type: double lotus, right shoulder bare, right foot on left, long perforated ears.

It looks as if the dhyāna mudrā, at Pagán, was gradually reduced in status, in Theravādin circles, from being the equal of the bhūmisparśa and dharmacakra mudrā, to being the mark of old-time or

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66Pls. 192 b, c; 296 d; 297 d etc. When the Buddha sits alone on lotus, touching Earth, under the Bodhi tree (the original symbol), the scene is the Enlightenment. When Brahmā holding the umbrella, and Indra sounding the conch, stand by him, I assume that he is taking his first vajrāsana seat upon the Bodhi throne (Pls. 194 e, 201 d, 296 c, 304, etc.).

67Sujātā. Pls. 309, a, b, c, d; 314 c. There may be an almsbowl at Pl. 293 c; 294 b; 314 d. For the scene, cf. Pl. 202 c (Nagayón). There is also a painting in Pāhto-thamya, E. corridor (outer wall, near N.E. corner).

68Ratanaghara. Pl. 305 a, b. Col. Ba Shin suggested the identification, which I accept. The elaborate gilded double-gable architecture supports his view.

69Bimbisāra donates Vesuva. Pl. 311 a, b, c.

70Mucalinda Nāga. In the similar scene shown in Myinpyagu (Pl. 152 c), the Buddha touches Earth.
immature Buddhas. There were doubtless exceptions to this rule, especially in a few scenes where the mudrā had become normal. In the cross-passages of Nanda temple, between the two corridors and the outer wall, there are housed a number of interesting stone sculptures, perhaps rejects (for one reason or another) from the main series. Here one finds the dhāryā mudrā given not only to the Buddha before Enlightenment (Pl. 318 b, c, d, e), but also to Bodhisattvas or Devas (Pl. 322 b, c) and to venerable hermits (Pl. 323 a, c, d). High up in the four Shrines there are 14 Buddhas in dhāryā mudrā—perhaps also honoured rejects. All sit on double lotus, without predella. Six have almsbowls. (Pl. 314 c, d).

**STANDING BUDDHAS**

Standing Buddhas in stone have not yet been found at Pyy Śri Kṣetra. At Khin Ba Gôn, on the left side of a broken terracotta panel, there is a headless standing Buddha, beautifully posed, his right hand raised in abhaya (or vitarkā) mudrā, his left probably holding out the lapel of his robe. In coastal Rāmaññadesa, on the other hand, at Twanté (Kanbé), Pegu, Thaton and Kawgun Cave, some fine standing images in stone relief are found, mostly damaged or 'repaired', but surely older than any at Pagán. The technique of some of them is quite distinctive: the main figure (or figures) high relief, almost in the round; the background scenes or figures flat, or sunk in low relief. These rare images, at Pegu Nagawun Thein and E. and W. Shwénatha monasteries, at Thaton Shwézayan.

71 Arch. Neg. 2880 (1926–26). U Mya, Votive Tablets of Burma, Part II, fig. 9. Height 18½ in.
72 A.S.I. 1915, Part I, Pl. XX b and p. 23. A.S.B. 1915, p. 17. From Hsutaungbyi pagoda monastery, Kanbé, 5 miles E. of Twanté, not far from Khābin. A small stone relief of N.E. Indian Mahāyānist origin. The Buddha stands with right hand raised in vitarka (or abhaya?) mudrā, and left hand dropped in varadamudrā, between two much smaller standing Bodhisattvas, probably Lokanātha (with lotus stalk) and Maitreya (with the stalk of Mesua ferrea). Their right hands drop in varada, their left are raised in abhaya-mudrā. There is a cayita above each of them; and, arching the top of the slab sit the five 'Dhyān' Buddhas in their respective poses. The stone measures 16½ in. × 7½ in. × 3 in. Present location unknown.
73 A.S.B. 1940, Pl. III b and pp. 14–15. Arch. Neg. 4207 (1939–40), 7710, 7711 (1957–58). Tall stone relief (total height 6½ feet) at Nāgauna simā, ½ mile S. of the Shwégu-gyi (Mahābodhi) group, 5 mile S. of Pegu, on the W. side of the Rangoon road. The Buddha, with royal ornaments and large 'horseshoe' nimbus, is taming the Nālāgiri elephant, which crouches below his feet on his left. Above it is a damaged figure in namaskāra mudrā. On his right is a small monk with almsbowl, nudging into him. The Buddha's beautiful left hand, doubled at the elbow, holds the lapel of the robe. The elaborate architectural background is all in flat relief.
74 East Shwénatha Thein. Two old stone reliefs. South image: total height 6 ft.; Arch. Neg. 7608 (1957–58); details 7700–7709. North image: height from head to feet 3ft. 7 in.; Arch. Neg. 7699 (1957–58); originally similar to South image, but damaged and modernized. The South image shows a crowned and haloed Buddha with right hand hanging in varada mudrā, and left raised to touch the shoulder. The elaborate reredos in flat relief contains many scenes, some hard to identify. On the left (the Buddha's right) is the Nativity, and the Pārileyyaka scene below it, with elephant and monkey. At bottom right is the Taming of the Nālāgiri elephant. At the top is the Panirvāna; and between, on each side, six or seven small panels, mostly with seated Buddhas. Both stones have short Pall inscriptions in the hollows near the arms and body of the Buddha.
75 West Shwénatha monastery. Three old standing images, two modernized, the third badly damaged. Arch. Neg. 841, 842, 843 (1909–10). One is 6 ft. high.
76 Thaton. Two old standing images are now housed in the Dhammayon N.E. of Shwézayan pagoda. (i) Stone 9, "nearly 6 ft. in height," according to U Mya, has "faint traces of a standing image... followed by a monk." The latter is beautifully carved. See A.S.I. 1930–34, Part I, p. 196, and Part II, Pl. CXII a. For the Old Mon inscription on the right side, see I.B., Pl. IV 360 b. The scene may well have been the Taming of the Nālāgiri elephant. (ii) Stone 13 (4 ft. 7 in. high). The Buddha hangs his right arm in varadamudrā; his left is doubled up towards the shoulder. A pair of wild duck (hāmsa) perch on the shoulders of the nimbus. See A.S.B. 1941, Pl. II and pp. 21–22. Arch. Neg. 3661 (1933–34). A third image, in red sandstone, is said to be now on the S. side of the Pitakat-taik, Nandawgon monastery. The Buddha stands with right hand hanging in varadamudrā and left hand raised to touch the shoulder. Height about 3 ft. See A.S.I. 1935, Pl. XXII h and pp. 50–51. Arch. Neg. 3729 (1934–35).
and Kawgun Cave\textsuperscript{77}, are almost life-size, and show a skill in modelling never equalled at Pagán. The themes, often treated with originality, are probably taken from the ‘Eight Scenes’: the Buddha standing between Indra and Brahmana, the Taming of Nālāgiri Elephant, the Nativity\textsuperscript{78}, the Pārileyyaka or other scenes added perhaps in the background. The treatment does not seem to be derived from Pāla art.

In India, the Gupta stone type for standing Buddhas, realized e.g., at 5th century Mathurā, was rendered wonderfully in copper in the Sultāngaṅj image of Bengal, 74 ft. high\textsuperscript{79}. This set the model also for Burma. The colossus stands gracefully, with right hand raised in abhayamudrā; the climbing right palm answered by the drooping left, which rises curiously with an edge or fragment of the robe. Most of the old bronze images in Burma, at Śrī Kṣetra\textsuperscript{80}, Old Pegu\textsuperscript{81}, Thatōn\textsuperscript{82}, Rangoon\textsuperscript{83}, as well as Pagán\textsuperscript{84}, follow the pattern closely; also some stone and terracotta ones. Our archaeologists have named the type ‘Dipaṅkara’: but it was not so limited in India or Siam. And the one certain Pagán representation of Dipaṅkara in stone (Pl. 195 a), does not conform to this type.

The Lower Burma bronzes all antedate Aniruddha. Only one, perhaps the oldest, has a halo\textsuperscript{85}. All except one have both shoulders covered. The one exception is the image found at the Bawbaw-gyi, Śrī Kṣetra\textsuperscript{86}, whose right shoulder is exposed. This Buddha also differs from the others in hanging his left hand at the side instead of holding out an edge or fragment of his robe at elbow level. There is doubt, too, about this and several other damaged images, whether the right hand shows the abhaya or vitaraka mudrā. The Pagán bronzes, like the Sultāngaṅj colossus, always show the abhaya mudrā. The four in the Shwézigon ġandhakuti (Pl. 173) are taller than the Bengal image – 12 to 13 ft. high with-

\textsuperscript{77} Kawgun Cave on the right bank of the Salween, 28 miles above Maulmein. There are two large Buddhist stone reliefs, doubtless Triads originally – the Buddha royally adorned in the centre, between the crowned Brahmana on his left holding the umbrella, and probably Indra on his right. The whole right side of one Triad is lost, including Indra and the head, right arm and feet of the Buddha (Arch. Neg. 7719, 1957–58). The other Buddha raises his right hand in vitaraka, and hangs his left in varada-mudrā. On his right stands a small negroid-looking Indra with his couch (?). Above, on each side, sit 3 crowned figures, all in namashāra mudrā. Height: 4½ ft., breadth 2 ft. 9 in.; thickness 7 in. (Arch. Neg. 7718).

\textsuperscript{78} From Thawkw garden, Old Pegu, comes a two-faced slab, illustrating the Nativity and other scenes, and the Taming of Nālāgiri Elephant (?). See A.S.B. 1940, Pl. I e, II a, and pp. 10–11. Arch. Neg. 4213, 4212 (1939–40).

\textsuperscript{79} Cf. H. Zimmer, Art Ind. As., II, Pls. 100, 101 (Mathurā), 103 (Bengal); or Coomaraswamy, H.I.A.A., figs. 158, 159, 160 (all 5th century). Of fig. 159 he says (p. 240) "Buddha, said to have been found in Burma, but probably made in India, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston".


\textsuperscript{81} Old Pegu: bronze in possession of U Kyaw Yin, Hinthagon quarter. Height 10\frac{1}{2} in.

\textsuperscript{82} Thatōn: bronze shown at A.S.I. 1930–34, Part II, CXII d and Part I, p. 204; Arch. Neg. 3665, 3666 (1933–34).

\textsuperscript{83} Rangoon: Tadagalé bronze. See Lu Pe Win, A.S.B. 1939, Pl. II a and pp. 6–7; Arch. Neg. 4113 (1938–9).

\textsuperscript{84} Pagán bronzes: Pls. 429 a, 442 c (Shwéhsandaw); 173 (Shwézigon colossi); 432 (Chitsagōn); 431 (Ananda Kyaungdaik); 433 a (crowned); 430 c (Meiktla, Hsamaikše). Add 192 a (central colossus of brick and stucco in the Nagayōn); 430 a, b (Pagān).

\textsuperscript{85} From Rangoon Tadagalé (see n. 83 supra). Height 6 in. U Lu Pe Win, a learned archaeologist, even dates it 5th century A.D. (loc. cit.).

\textsuperscript{86} Bawbaw-gyi bronze: A.S.I. 1912, Pl. LXVIII, fig. 4, and pp. 142–4. Arch. Neg. 970 (1911–12). Duroiselle (p. 143) gives the height as 7 ft. 7 in.; but as they are all called (p. 142) ‘small bronze images of the Buddha’, this must be a mistake.
out the pedestal. Coomaraswamy gives details of the composition of the latter:

That the Shwézigon bronzes are similarly made. Most Burma bronzes have a high conical usūna. Those of the Pagán period are usually topped with a ‘flame-niche’ crest. One remarkable standing bronze from Pagán (Pl. 433 a) is a crowned Buddha with rich ear-ornaments: he, too, has an usūna crested with the flame-niche. All Pagán period bronzes have both shoulders covered. The ‘Burma Mon’ style of face is no less dominant in the bronzes than in the stone sculptures. But another heavier type, possibly Burmese, is sometimes seen.

Other variants occur in pre-Pagán standing images. In Kawgun Cave above Maulmein there is a splendid, royally adorned, stone Buddha with right hand raised to the shoulder in vitarka mudrā and left hanging in varada mudrā, standing between Brahmā and Indra. The scene may be the Descent from Tāvatiṃsa, though there is no staircase nor kneeling Sāriputta; and in this scene it is normally the right hand which is in varada mudrā. The more damaged sculpture nearby, also royally adorned, with Brahmā on the Buddha’s left, very likely showed the same scene.

The normal Eight-Scene plaque contains two scenes with standing Buddhas: the Descent from Tāvatiṃsa and the Taming of Nālāgiri Elephant. On plaques where Indra and Brahmā are missing in the former, or the elephant and kneeling Sāriputta in the latter, the two scenes are often hard to distinguish. To judge by Pagán conventions, which rarely (I think) contravene earlier ones where ascertainable, varada mudrā is proper for the right hand in the Descent from Tāvatiṃsa; whereas in the Nālāgiri scene it should hang naturally by the side. In both scenes the left hand is raised to the shoulder, or laid against the breast. At Pagán, the Descent from Tāvatiṃsa is clearly shown in the Kyaukku Önghm (Pl. 141 e), the Nagayon (Pl. 194 a), and the Nanda (Pls. 300 a, c, d; 319 b). Here the right hand is in varada mudrā. A standing Buddha in varada mudrā also appears on a tiny leaf or petal of a bronze lotus (Pl. 428 c), found near the Swēhsandaw. There are usually 8 of these, one for each of the Eight Scenes. If so, this one should stand for the Descent from Tāvatiṃsa.

Varada-mudrā means the Boon-granting attitude. Was the Boon in this case the Abhidhamma Piṭaka? The context does not always show what the boon was. Was the attitude sometimes imposed by the need for balance – between the palm closed against the shoulder, and the palm open beside the thigh? Two fine wood carvings at Pagán Museum (Pl. 419 b, c) show the Buddha standing in this attitude between two monks, on a grand throne supported by kirtimukha, lion and leoglyphs. This scene cannot be the Descent from Tāvatiṃsa. Two old stone images of Thaton, the hanisa and red sandstone images, are in this pose, standing all alone. There is also the slab found in the Thawka garden of Old Pegu, with the Buddha standing between two monks, and the remnants (it is thought) of two

87 Sullāngaja copper: “Now in the Birmingham Museum... Early 5th century. Copper over earthy core... The figure is cast in two layers, the inner of which was moulded on an earthy, cinder-like core, composed of a mixture of sand, clay, charcoal, and rice husks. The segments of this inner layer were held together by much corroded iron bands, originally \frac{1}{2} in. thick. The outer layer of copper seems to have been cast over the inner one, presumably by the cire perdue process; it was made in several sections, one of which consisted of the face and connected parts down to the breast. The whole weighs nearly a ton” (H.I.I.A., p. 240).

88 e.g. Pl. 202 b. Contrast Pl. 202 a, the ‘Mon’ type, in the niche next to it.

89 Kawgun Buddhist images: Arch. Neg. 7718, 7719 (1957–58)

90 Another beautiful woodcarving at Pagán Museum (Pl. 419 a) clearly illustrates the Descent from Tāvatiṃsa; but unfortunately the Buddha’s right arm is broken at the elbow.


small elephants crouched, one on each side of him. If this is indeed the Nālagiri scene, it contravenes my rule. So does one Nanda stone relief (Pl. 312 c). The mudrā was certainly popular at Pagán. In the corner-stupas of the great Sizana (Cañcanā) stupa, built by king Nātonnyā in the far south of Pagán, there are no less than 64 standing Buddhas in this attitude. A number of life-size wooden statues, crowned, are also in this pose. Found in various Pagán pagodas, they are now mostly collected at Pagán Museum (Pls. 421, 422): They may be Bodhisattvas; they may be kings; or (as I should guess, but Col. Ba Shin disagrees), dead royalty reborn in Devaloka, and placed perhaps in temples which they built.

The Nālagiri scene, with the Buddha’s right hand hanging normally by his side, is authenticated by the following sculptures: – (i) a stone relief from the top of Shwênyaungbin ridge, S. of Taunglônnyo village, Śri Kṣetra; a stone plaque at Pegu Shwêmawdaw; (iii) a stone relief at Pagán Kyaukku Önmin, Pl. 141 f; (iv) another at the Nanda, Pl. 312 c; (v) another at Pagán Museum. Pl. 410 f. The great Pegu Nagawun image (see n. 73 supra) would also fit, though the right arm is damaged; the elephant is clear. A similar pose is found on a number of other sculptures, not only at Pagán, where the scene is different, or has not been determined. Perhaps the oldest is a votive tablet from Padagālė hill, Śri Kṣetra, but the figure stands alone, and the right hand is slightly damaged. Apart from Eight-Scene tablets and a few showing the Twin Miracles, this is the only terracotta tablet found in Burma showing a standing Buddha. Other old images at Pegu, one at the East, and one at the West, Shwénatha monasteries, may possibly fit into the pattern if their modern hands follow the original mudrā.

Kyanzittha, more than anyone at Pagán, was responsible for fixing the symbols of Burma’s Buddhist sculpture. As a vital part of his master-plan to teach the full range of Buddhism, he concentrated more and more narrowly on stone sculpture. This meant expanding the old Eight Scenes of the Buddha’s life, to cover hundreds of new ones. He attempted this, cautiously at first in the Nagayôn (c. 1090 A.D.), then on an enormous scale in the Nanda (c. 1105 A.D.). The Eight Scenes provided symbols enough for the Seated Buddha, but not for the Standing, as distinct from the Walking Buddha. For the latter, he followed the Nālagiri model: right hand falling naturally beside the body, left hand raised from the elbow to the left shoulder or breast. To indicate motion he swung the expanded robe more to the wearer’s left side, and less to his right. For the Standing Buddha he had to invent a new-old mudrā, transferring to the standing figure a pose hitherto confined to the sitting – the dharmaakāra. The same perfect calm and balance on which he insisted for his dhyāna mudrā, he now applied to the standing figure: a stance perfectly frontal, hands brought lightly together before the body, robes thrown equally open and displayed on either side of the torso.

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82 For other Pagán images in this pose, see Pls. 202 b, 308 a, b, c, d, 314 a, 319 a.
83 Śri Kṣetra, Padagālė: see U Mya, Votive Tablets of Burma, Part II, fig. 47; Arch. Neg. 2617 (1925–26). The oblong tablet measures 72 in. × 24 in. × 2½ in.
85 The two attitudes are seen side by side in Nagayôn W. corridor: Pl. 202 a (standing), b (walking); or in the Nanda Halls: Pl. 307 a, b, c, d (standing), 308 a, b, c, d (walking). Here are some more contrasts: – Pl. 290 b: with hands averter, he renounces the world (standing). Pl. 290 d: on the march to Rājagaha (left foot slightly advanced). Pl. 295 d: hesitating where to throw the grass (standing). Pl. 296 a: throwing the grass (moving). Pl. 314 a b: walking (in b, left foot is slightly lower); etc.
VITARKA AND ABHAYA MUDRĀ

Sanskrit vitarka means ‘considering the pros and cons, Argument’. The mudrā – similar to abhaya mudrā (‘Fear not!’), with which on worn and damaged sculptures it is easily confused – exhibits one hand, or preferably both hands, raised from the elbow, palms facing front, but with thumb touching the tip of the forefinger. The late Dr. Pierre Dupont recovered many images in this pose in Dvāravatī Mon sculpture\(^99\), and indeed regarded such use of the double mudrā (the same in both hands) as a key-feature of that art. In Burma, images, seated or standing, where both hands execute the same mudrā, are always, I think, archaic. Here I should readily admit Dvāravatī influence: with this difference, that while standing images are commoner in Dvāravatī, seated images are commoner with us. Here is a summary of the Burma evidence.

From Śrī Kṣetra come at least 4 such images, 3 seated cross-legged, 1 standing; 3 in bronze, 1 in gold. All have both hands raised in vitarka mudrā. The gold image, seated right leg on left, was found south of the Tharawady Gate, in a garden just outside it\(^100\). A beautiful bronze, seated in much the same pose, comes from the octagonal ruin at Kan-wet-hkaung-gön\(^101\). Here the robe covers the left shoulder only. A similar bronze image, much cruder in style, looks like a Pyu attempt to copy an Indian original, with features exaggerated, bulging almond eyes, large hands propped on the robe, and legs awkwardly superposed, right on left. It comes from a site W. of Yindaikkwin\(^102\). The standing bronze image, found by the Shwé-nyaungbin-yo abbot near his monastery S. of Taunglînnyo village\(^103\), wears a heavy pointed crown; but in all other respects he is dressed as a monk, with an indented line across the waist, and plain robe spreading behind the legs.

From the relic-chamber of a ruined pagoda at Twanté, some 15 miles W. of Rangoon, comes a fine bronze image of the Buddha seated in pralambanāsana, his delicate hands raised from the elbow in vitarka mudrā. His robe covers only the left shoulder\(^104\).

At Pagán, 3 bronzes and 1 terracotta illustrate this feature. One small weathered bronze (Pl. 443 c, d) comes perhaps from Paunggu pagoda\(^105\), now mostly fallen into the river, just N. of the junction of Myinkaba Chaung and the Irawady. It is a Buddha seated cross-legged, right leg on left, with large hands propped at the wrist, raised in abhaya mudrā. With it was found another archaic bronze of the Pyu Maitreya (Pl 444 e, f). I have a note also, written in Pagán Museum years ago, of a similar “small bronze of ‘Pyu’ style, headless, with tiny round legs and feet barely crossing, and both large hands in abhaya mudrā.” Another bronze (Pl. 443 a, b), from the relic-chamber of Shwéhsandaw, shows the Buddha seated on double lotus, right leg on left, with both hands propped at the wrist. The attitude here is double vitarka mudrā; the āsanna is plain, without flame-niche. The Shwéhsandaw, built by Aniruddha c. 1060 A.D., contained some of the earliest Pagán tablets and bronzes, including Pyu\(^106\).

\(^99\) See his Archeologie mène de Dvāravatī, figs. 160, 166, 336, 357, 358, 361, 373, 394, 397, 404, 421, 425 to 455, 468 to 470, 515, 516. Text volume, pp. 177–185. R. Le May, The Culture of South-East Asia (1954, London), on p. 66, admits that the Dvāravatī Mon Buddha stands “occasionally with both hands raised” in vitarka mudrā. ‘Occasionally’ seems too weak a word in view of Dupont’s evidence. It was the rule, rather than the exception.


\(^105\) It is now at Pagán Museum, oddly labelled as found in a “stone mound W. of the Myazedi, 4 furlongs W. of the main road”. I guess that the reference is to Paunggu pagoda.

The Hpet-leik pagodas at Lokananda, 3 miles S. of Pagán, are certainly older than Aniruddha. It was he, doubtless, who encased them each with a corridor to hold 550 unglazed Jātaka-plaques, the finest in Burma. In doing so, he re-orientated the pagodas so as to face East, instead of North or West where the old stairways are still visible. At the West Hpet-leik, the north steps led up to the main niche in the anta or bell. Here a row of very antique brick-like tablets can be seen in situ (Pl. 95 b); there are 3 similar ones at Pagán Museum (Pl. 95 c, d). They have long tenons which ran back into the bell. Faintly visible in the centre is a haloed Buddha of Dvāravatī type, standing with large hands raised, palms forward, perhaps in vārāha rather than abhaya mudrā. Of the three tiers on each side of the Buddha, the upper one may hold stupas, the two lower ones worshippers.

At least three images with only the right hand raised in vārāha mudrā are known in Burma: a silver image from Śrī Kṣetra, Khin Ba Gôn, where the Buddha sits on a pedestal, cross-legged, right foot on left, right hand half-raised in vārāha mudrā, left in the lap; the large stone Triad-relief in Kawgun Cave, N. of Maulmein, with the standing Buddha royally adorned, raising his right hand to the shoulder in vārāha mudrā, and drooping his large left hand in varada mudrā; and a gold repoussé image from Pagán, (Pl. 424 e), with a heavily crowned Buddha standing with right hand raised to the shoulder in vārāha mudrā, and left hanging at his side.

As for images in single abhaya mudrā, we have mentioned already (supra, notes 80–84) the many bronze and other images of the Standing Buddha so posed, with left hand holding the lapel, and one (note 86) with left hand hanging; also the Mahāyānist votive tablets of the Buddha seated in pralambānandā, with right hand in either abhaya or vārāha mudrā (supra, pp. 137–8). Besides these, from Śrī Kṣetra, Khin Ba Gôn trove, come a round gold plate showing the haloed Buddha seated between lotus-stems, with right hand raised in abhaya mudrā; and a headless bronze showing the Buddha seated in padmāsana, with large hands: the right is raised in abhaya mudrā, the left holds the edge of his thick-folded robe. From Pagán, “at a mound near the river bank, close to the south of the Taw-ya-kyauang monastery on the west of the Nanpaya temple” comes “a small bronze tablet nearly 4⅔ in. height, containing a Buddhist triad” (Pl. 55 d): the central Buddha sits cross-legged, right leg on left, right hand held sideways before the body in abhaya mudrā, left hand supporting the right wrist. On his right sits an earth-touching Buddha, lower in height; on his left the Bodhisattva Maitreya. Here the abhaya mudrā takes precedence over the bhūmisparsa; it is, as Coomaraswamy says, “the commonest early pose”, regular for the right hand in early Kuṇāna art. In the same mound similar terracotta tablets were found, bearing a short legend in Pyu (Pl. 55 a, b, c, e). Duroiselle suggests that they may be imports from Śrī Kṣetra: but since such tablets are found (see note on Pl. 55) at several places around Pagán, as well as at Sindė, Prome district, they seem rather the ‘swan-song’ of Pyu art, still surviving into the Pagán period.

107 W. Hpet-leik tablets: see A.S.I. 1907, Pl. L d, and p. 127, where Taw Sein Ko suggested that they represent “Dipankara... prophesying that Sumedha and Sumitta, a flower-girl, would respectively become Prince Siddhattha and his wife, Yasodharā” (cf. A.S.B. 1906, pp. 11–12). I think this unlikely.

108 A.S.I. 1927, Pl. XLI e and p. 177 (no. 17). Arch. Neg. 2838 (1926–27). Height 3⅓ in. Now at Kabā-aye pagoda, Rangoon. U Mya (V.T.B. Part II, fig. 3) calls this image a bronze. U Mya’s seated terracottas, figs. 11, 14, 49, are possibly also in ‘single’ vārāha-mudrā.


111 A.S.I. 1927, p. 177 (item 14); Arch. Neg. 2858 (1926–27). Height 2¼ in.


113 Hist. Ind. Indon. Art, p. 281. “In the early Kuṇāna period... in some cases the right hand raised in abhaya-mudrā is held sideways (vyāordita), in others with the palm forward (parīordita) as in all later types” (p. 56, n. 5).
VARADA MUDRĀ

Apart from Standing Buddhas in the Descent from Tāvatīṃśa and other scenes mentioned above (pp. 142–3), we find the following instances of varada mudrā: –

(i) at Śrī Kṣetra, Lēyindaung hill, a stone Triad relief. In the centre a headless Buddha seated right foot on left, left hand in lap, right hand open on the knee in varadāmudrā, with a small round object in the palm. He sits between a flywhisk-bearer and a praying monk. On the predella are a dancer and five musicians, one playing the harp. Is this the scene of Indra’s visit, heralded by Pañca-sikha, to the Buddha in the Indasāla Cave?

(ii) a bronze image found at San-ywa, Khábin, on the W. side of Maung Di pagoda. The Buddha sits cross-legged, right leg on left, right hand open on the knee in varada mudrā, with a round object in the palm. The left arm, doubled at the elbow, grasps some object, possibly a roll or fragment of the robe. There is no mat.

(iii) a small bronze image (Pl. 441 f) said to come from Pagān, now at Mandalay Archaeological Office. The Buddha, with staring eyes and high bulbous usṣṇīṣa, sits in padmāsana on mat and downturned lotus. His right hand rests on the knee in varada mudrā, with a round object in the palm. The left hand is in the lap. The flap of the robe is conspicuous on the left shoulder.

(iv) a stone relief with halo broken at the top, from one of the cross-passages of the Nanda (Pl. 318 f). The Buddha sits in padmāsana on throne, between two women kneeling in prayer. His right hand rests, palm open, on the knee in varada mudrā. His left hand is held before the body in a sort of vītarka mudrā (?). – The scene may be that at Vesāli, when his aunt, Pajāpati Gotami, obtained his reluctant consent to admit women as nuns in the Order.

GANDHĀRAN REALISM AND INDIAN FORMALISM

The strange and lovely world of original Buddhist symbol – the world of old Sārnāth (Benares), of the Bhārhat and Bodhgayā railings, of the Eastern and Western Caves, and finally of Sānči – started to change under impact of Indo-Greek converts in the north-west of India. The Śakas gave their name to the Era, starting from 78 A.D., by which some Buddhist peoples of S.E. Asia have dated the beginnings of human history. Gandhāra introduced, not only the Buddhist image, but humanistic representation of a large cycle of Buddhist story, including some of the Jātakas. But the native Indian spirit of art and symbol soon took over the controls at Mathurā, together with hieratic notions of propriety which still dominate the arts of Burma.

The Buddha image is admitted, but its height and bulk are doubly to distinguish him from those around him. The model changes from a standing Greek Apollo to a standing Indian Yakṣa, passing into a seated Ṛṣi. The head is shaven, the moustache omitted. The hair, if any, takes on schematic curls. The turban becomes the usṣṇīṣa. The ārya, or woollen tuft between the eye-brows, reappears as the searchlight from which the holy Rays proceed. The pralambanāsana barely survives, but mostly changes to crosslegged attitudes, and finally padmāsana. The grass-throne yields slowly to the panther-skin or leather mat of the Ascetic, and the double lotus of the Saint. The heavy robe of the cold North-West thins to formal folds, often leaving the right shoulder bare, adheres closely to the body, or becomes so transparent as to leave it almost a sexless nude, with mere hem-line at wrist and ankle.

115 Arch. Neg. 7904–6 (1957–58). Height 5½ in. The image is now with the Kanbè village doctor.
Yet even so, in standing pose, the left hand is held forward from the elbow, as if to support the heavy folds. Soon grand ideas of Mahāyānism will complicate the iconography, when the humble bhikṣu with his bowl (pātra), garbed in paṃsukūla (rags from the dust-heap), is suddenly transformed into the Cakravartin or Universal Monarch. (We shall revert to this in a later chapter).

Many of these changes, from Gandhāra onwards, are reflected in the early iconography of Buddhist Burma, as seen at Śri Kṣetra, Khābin, Rangoon, Pegu, Thatòn, and finally Pagán. Almost all the influences emanate from North India. Of the Three Jewels of Burma Buddhism, the Budda Ratna derives as certainly from Northern India, as the Dhamma Ratana from Ceylon.

BUDDHAPĀDA

One ancient Buddhist symbol (by no means confined to Buddhism) – the pādukā or Sacred Footprint – has continued to live an independent life in Burma, from Aniruddha’s time down to the present day. U Mya has written a learned ‘Note on the Buddha’s Footprints’ (at A.S.I. 1930–34, Part II, pp. 320–331, and PL. CLIII a, b) – an article singled out for praise by the Editor of that volume as one of “outstanding interest for all students of Buddhism, as well as of ethnography, religion and symbolism”.

Buddha-Footprints (Buddhapāda) appear in the 2nd century B.C. on the pillars of Bhārhat. They are always associated with the Wheel, as prescribed in the Lakkhaṇa Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya. The Commentary (aññakathā) on the Mahāpadāna Sutta of the same Nikāya, adds a list of auspicious marks on each sole, which covers most of the first half of the 108 Signs we find in Burma. The list is completed by the Jīnālāṅkāra-ṭīkā and the Anāgalavamsa-aññakathā, which, says U Mya, “may on stylistic grounds be placed in the 8th–11th century A.D.”. He gives these very similar lists in parallel columns, with translations or illustrations. The early Pagán Footprints shown on Pls. 92 and 93, follow these lists closely.

“We may begin our history” says U Mya, “with a stone slab bearing an impression of the Buddha’s left foot. It was originally found on the platform of the Lokananda pagoda, and is now preserved in the Museum, Pagán. The Lokananda was built by Anoratha, king of Pagán (1044–1077 A.D.), and the Footprint...may be assigned to the same period. It was closely followed by four other Footprints: two found on the platform of the Shwézigōn pagoda, and the other two in the west porch” [i.e. Hall] “of the Ananda temple, both of which may be attributed to king Kyanzittha (1084–1112 A.D.).”

The Nanda Footprints are too worn to reproduce; instead, we show two Footprints painted on the ceilings of Lokahetikpan and Theinmazi temples, Pagán. The former temple dates from our period, the latter shortly after it. There is abundance of later Footprints, both at Pagán and elsewhere in Burma, often showing Nāgas with intertwined tails guarding the edges.

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117 A stone Buddhapāda (date not stated, “conservé dans le Mándōb du Vât Vang nà à Bangkok”) is clearly shown on Pl. XXI of Vol. I of L. Fournereau, Le Siam Ancien, and analysed at length on pp. 304–308 of that volume. After brief comparison with our oldest stone Footprints in Burma, Col. Ba Shin and I concluded that the 108 Signs are all there, but that the Thai took liberties with their order and arrangement, while the Pagán artists followed the texts more closely. On the basis of the photograph, Mr. A. B. Griswold attributes this Footprint (whose present location is unknown) to the art of Sukhodaya, c. 15th century (cf. Griswold, “The Buddhas of Sukhodaya,” Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America, vol. VII, 1953). For a 12th century Buddhapāda at Angkor Vat, Cambodia, see H. Zimmer, The Art of Indian Asia, II, Pl. 556.
CHAPTER IX

SCENES FROM THE BUDDHA'S LIFE


THE 'EIGHT SCENES' IN INDIA

Before his death, in answer to Ānanda’s question, the Buddha mentioned Four Sites in particular which should be remembered: those of his Birth, his Enlightenment, his First Sermon, and his Parinirvāṇa. But his disciples were not long content with only these. The drama and inspiration of his life, both before and after his Enlightenment, appealed from the first to Gandhāran sculptors. Soon after the first single images, groups of scenes from the Life appear, sometimes carved on ‘vertical tablets’ (ūrdhva-paṭṭa). The human figures, including that of the Buddha, were all much of a size. The aim was to tell the story with realism. At Mathurā, where Indo-Greek art under the Late Kuśānas merges into Indian, the practice of combining scenes from the Life continued, on horizontal tablets. The choice became more selective, and the range narrower. Symbol tended to resume the place of realism; and the scene was cut down to its barest elements. Symbolic shorthand made it possible to combine several successive scenes in one. Thus in one panel Māra’s Assault (which took place at night-fall) may be combined with the Enlightenment (which came at the following dawn), and even, incongruously enough, with the Temptation by Māra’s daughters (which occurred under a different tree, several weeks later).

Under the Guptas, at Sārnāth, the same tendencies continue. The number and order of scenes tend to get fixed. When only Four Scenes are shown, they are shown vertically, starting from the bottom, all of an equal size. Thus:

IV. Parinirvāna.
III. First Sermon.
II. Enlightenment.
I. Nativity.

When Eight Scenes are shown, in parallel columns of four each, there is more variety. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. (Sārnāth, Cat. C(a)3).</th>
<th>II. (Sārnāth, Cat. C(a)2).</th>
<th>III. (ASI 1905, p. 84, fig. 8)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Sermon</td>
<td>Enlightenment</td>
<td>Nālāgiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parinirvāna</td>
<td>First Sermon</td>
<td>Earth-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descent from Tāvatimśa</td>
<td>Departure</td>
<td>Earth-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twin Miracles</td>
<td>Buddha in Dhyānamudrā</td>
<td>First Sermon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pārileyyaka</td>
<td>(Sujātā’s offering?)</td>
<td>Touching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nālāgiri Elephant</td>
<td>Conception</td>
<td>Nativity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nativity</td>
<td>Nativity</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Coedès points out that each of the Eight Scenes had a different location:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NATIVITY</th>
<th>Kapilavastu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ENLIGHTENMENT</td>
<td>Bodhgaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIRST SERMON</td>
<td>Benares</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TWIN MIRACLES</td>
<td>Śrāvasti</td>
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These correspond to the eight chief places of pilgrimage. This alone would account for the great popularity of the art-form, especially when reduced to portable size, for sale to pilgrims.

From the 8th century onwards the Buddhist art of the Pāla dynasty of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, must have had a powerful influence on Burma. "Stylistically" says Coomaraswamy, "the art of the Pāla school is of high technical accomplishment, elegant and even modish in design. But even the stone sculpture approximates to metal work; everything is conceived in clearcut outlines, and there is no true modelling to be compared with that of earlier schools."

Writing about the Eight Scenes, Duroiselle notes: -- "It is quite possible that the big stone slab measuring 15 ft. in height by 9½ in breadth, which is said to have been found at Baragoon, the old Nalanda, and shown as figure 226 in Burgess’ The Ancient Monuments, Temples and Sculptures of India, Part II, is a prototype of ours” [in Burma] “with regard to the arrangement and general treatment of the scenes represented on them.”

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* Daya Ram Sahni, Guide to the Buddhist Ruins of Sarnath (1933), Pl. VII (C. (a) 2). B. Majumdar, op. cit. Pl. XIII a, b. Oertel, A.S.I. 1905, p. 84, fig. 8.
* Artibus Asiae, Vol. XXII, 1/2 (Salmony Memorial No.), p. 9.
* op. cit., p. 114.
* A.S.B. 1923, p. 31. I suppose this Baragoon colossus is the same as the colossal image of Jagdishpur, 2 miles S.W. of Nālandā, described on pp. 20–21 of A. Ghosh’s Guide to Nālandā.
Hitherto the various scenes, however arranged, had mostly been of roughly equal size. The Pāla method⁹ was to unite the whole by giving main prominence to a central scene. This usually, but by no means always⁹, was the Enlightenment. Here the Buddha, often crowned, sits in earth-touching attitude, on an elaborate throne which may fill as much as one third of the slab. The nimbus-arch about him is flattened to a background pattern. Above him, in the peak, is shown the Parinirvāna. The other scenes, greatly reduced in size, are pushed out to the sides: standing and seated figures in alternate tiers, distinguished, if at all, by symbol. In the bottom tier the Nativity (Māyā under tree) is usually seen on the left; the Pārīleyyaka scene (shown by the bowl in the lap) on the right. Standing Buddhas in one or other of the upper tiers represent the Descent from Tāvatimha (usually on the left), and the Taming of the Nālāgiri Elephant (usually on the right). A minute kneeling Sāriputta or an umbrella above the Buddha in one case, or a minute elephant in the other, may or may not be present. The middle (or upper) tier may hold seated Buddhas in preaching attitude, either crosslegged or with feet hanging. They probably represent the First Sermon and the twin Miracles, but their relative positions vary, and they are often hard to distinguish.

**AT ŚRĪ KṢETRA (TERRACOTTA)**

In Burma, the earliest specimen of the Eight Scenes is a type of terracotta votive tablet from Śrī Kṣetra (East Zégu and Lēmyet-hna temples). De Beylé and Taw Sein Ko found the first fragments at Śrī Kṣetra, showing only the upper half.¹² Two other fragments (see Pl. 70 a) were later found at Pagán Shwēhsandaw pagoda, where other Pyu relics are also found. But the lowest tier was still missing until 1933–34, when two clearer fragments (Pl. 70 b, c) were recovered from Śrī Kṣetra, East Zégu temple, thus completing the picture. Squared below, and arching to a point above, the rimmed tablet was over 5 in. high and 4½ in. broad at the base. The Pyu have added a ninth scene—an extra earth-touching Buddha, with almsbowl, in the middle of the lowest tier: the scene is doubtless the Offering of Milk-Rice, with Sujātā on the right approaching the Buddha, her hands in namaskāra-mudrā. Otherwise the plan is much the same as the Pāla. Thus:—

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⁹ For specimens of Pāla Eight-Scene slabs, I have used the following:—Coomaraswamy, op. cit., Pl. LXXI 228 and p. 244 (crowned; “From Bengal or Bihar . . . Black slate. 17½ inches . . . 10th–11th century”). H. Zimmer, The Art of Indian Asia, Vol. II, p. 383 and Vol. I, p. 416 (crowned; “Bengal or Bihar, 10th–11th century. Black slate. Height 1 ft. 5½ in.”). Rowland, op. cit., Pl. 94 A— the same. A.S.I. 1922, Pl. XXXVI f and p. 105 (Rajgir, black slate, 8th–9th cent.); Pl. XXXVII a (crowned; black slate; Bihar, 10 in. × 7½ in. Broken at the top); Pl. XXXVII b (crowned; from Bihar); Pl. XXXVII c (broken at top; all four Buddhas crowned; from Bihar). A. Ghosh, A Guide to Nālandā (1939), Pl. IV b and p. 25. R. D. Banerji, Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture (1933) Pls. XXI to XXIV (13 specimens, including 5 crowned). Artibus Asiae, Vol. XXII, 1/2, 1959, p. 10, fig. 1 (gilded stone, 6½ inches, 11th or 12th cent., excavated at Ayudhya, Thailand).

¹⁰ At A.S.I. 1922, Pl. XXXVII a, the central Buddha sits in dhāyamudrā; ibid., c, in dharmacakrabhumudrā. In R. D. Banerji’s book, at Pl. XXII c, he is in dharmacakrabhumudrā; at Pl. XXII b, he is a crowned standing Buddha; also at Pl. XXIV f.

¹¹ At A.S.I. 1922, Pl. XXXVI b, the Nativity is at bottom right, the Pārīleyyaka probably at bottom left. So too on the large slab at Old Nālandā.

¹² See L. de Beylé Promen et Samara, Pl. V, fig. 2, and L’Architecture hindoue en Extrême-Orient (Paris, 1907), p. 245, fig. 198, where the same fragment is said to come from the Lēmyet-hna. See also Taw Sein Ko, A.S.I. 1910, Pl. XLIX 7 and p. 123:—“Fig. 7, when entire, must have represented the eight main scenes in the life of the Buddha; his Enlightenment at Bodh Gaya occupying the centre, and his Nirvāṇa the top." In a footnote he adds that “in 1906 a complete specimen from the same die was found." At BEFEO t. XXVIII, p. 163, n. 4, M. Paul Mus adds further identifications: the Descent from Trayastrīmisas and the Taming of the Nālāgiri in the upper tier, and the Buddha in dharmacakra mudrā in the middle right, "which could be either the First Sermon or the Great Miracle, according to the customary arrangement of these images."
ANDAGU STONE SCULPTURES

At Pagán, the Eight Scenes, when shewn together, may be painted on a large scale, 12 or 15 ft. in height, on the walls of temples: for instance, on the S. wall of the Lokhaiteikpan (Pl. 352), a temple of the Transition (early 12th century). They may be condensed on to terracotta plaques barely 3 inches high (Pl. 69 c, d, e, f). The finest are carved on dolomite stone tablets (Burm. andagyü). Eight or more of these have so far been recovered (Pls 400-406), mostly at Pagán, but also at Mandalay (Pl. 403 b), Yaméthin (Pl. 405), and Tabayin in Shwébo district (Pl. 401). Duroiselle had “no doubt” of such slabs “being imported into Burma from India;...but from which part it cannot yet be stated definitely”13. Elsewhere he adds: “According to Dr. Vogel (J.A.S.B., 1915, pp. 301-2), who describes a similar sculpture from Ceylon, these Pagán sculptures may be assigned to the ancient Magadha country, i.e. Southern Bihar, and to the 11th–13th century A.D.”14. Perhaps the earliest andagyü image-fragment found in Burma (not part of the Eight Scenes), was unearthed by Taw Sein Ko at Śrī Kṣetra, Sin-gyi-daing pagoda: “a small headless figure of the Buddha carved in light porous stone, which the Burmans call andagyü. It is well proportioned, and its workmanship forms a striking contrast, in neatness and finish, to that of the votive tablets15.”

These andagyü carvings, widespread in Old Burma, and found once, perhaps, in Siam16, are obviously based on Pāla art; and though fragile, are not heavy to transport. But one needs evidence of their manufacture in Bihar or Bengal. The Sārṇāth carvings of the Eight Scenes were in sandstone; the Pāla carvings usually in black slate. The minimal height of the former appears to have been about 3½ ft.; that of the latter about 1½ ft. The largest of our andagyü plaques is only 8 in. high. Beautiful as they are, they are less simple than the best Pāla slate, more intricate and crowded. The general effect is like filigree, with restless interplay of light and shadow. The arch-frame of the central Buddha bristles with the hosts of Māra. Below them, on each side, stands a slim Bodhisattva, with right hand raised in abhaya mudrā. The Buddha’s lotus seat is always lifted by two eager, loin-girt Nāga kings, rushing in from the sides – a lovely detail, rare in Bengal carvings17, but found on some of the pensive Buddhist sculptures of Mahobā, Bundelkhand, in Central India18. Deeper relief is given to the side

13 A.S.B. 1923, p. 31.
14 A.S.I. 1929, p. 113.
15 Taw Sein Ko, A.S.I. 1910, p. 118 and Pl. XLVIII, fig. 4.
16 See Artibus Asiae, Vol. XXII, 1/2, 1959, pp. 9-14. G. Coedès, “Note sur une stèle indienne d’époque Pāla découverte à Ayudhya (Siam)”, and figs. 1, 2. Height of slab o m. 15.5. But perhaps the stone is different from our andagyü: the technique seems more solid, angular and Indian.
17 Found, however, on the Arapacana (Mañjuśrī) from Jālukṇḍi: see Bhattasali...Dacca Museum, Pl. VII b; Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist Iconography, fig. 89 and pp. 120-1.
18 See Coomaraswamy, Hist. Ind. Indon. Art, Pl. LXIX 223 (seated Padmapāni); Bhattacharyya, op. cit., fig. 166 (Khadiravaṇī Tārā).
scenes, and often extra scenes are added below, and also between sides and centre, illustrating (as Col. Ba Shin has observed) the Seven Sites (*sattattthāna*) around the Bodhi tree.

**THE SEVEN SITES**

Analysis of these 8 *andagī* sculptures shows the following features invariable: Earth-touching Buddha between standing Bodhisattvas (centre); Parinirvāṇa and (probably) Cetiya (top); Nālāgiri scene (top left); Descent from Tāvātimala (top right); the First Sermon (mid left); the Twin Miracles (mid right). Six times the Nativity is placed in the lower left corner, and the Pārīleyyaka scene in the lower right. Twice (Pls. 401, 402 a) these positions are reversed. Twice the central Buddha is shown crowned (Pls. 400, 401), six times merely as a monk. The main division is between slabs with one column of 3 scenes on each side (there are 3 of these, Pls. 400, 402 a, 404), and those with two columns (there are 5 of these, Pls. 401, 402 b, 403 a, b, 405). The former are limited to the six scenes, eked out (in Pl. 400) with Māra's assault, and Māra's daughters. The latter, with their two columns, show 12 scenes at the sides, and usually add a fourth tier at the base with varying content, so that the total number of panels may be 18 or 14. The two columns are distinguished by being on different planes, receding from the centre to the sides; and in one case also (Pl. 403 a) by the inner column being stepped a little higher than the outer. But the space is narrow: so each scene is often limited to a single figure.

The inner column shows little but the Buddha in one of his normal poses: standing in the top tier; seated in *dhyāna mudrā*, with or without almsbowl, in the 2nd and 3rd tiers. If, as seems likely, these represent the Seven Sites and Seven Weeks spent around the Bodhi tree, how should we apportion them? – The 3rd tier, right side, always shows the Buddha in *dhyāna mudrā* (with or without almsbowl) under Nāga-hoods. Clearly this is the Mucalinda Nāga, S.E. of the Bodhi tree, who protected the Buddha from rain during the sixth week after the Enlightenment. In the 3rd tier, left side, the regular presence of an almsbowl seems to imply a meal. If so, it must refer, either to Sujātā's offering of milk-rice under the *Ajapāla* banyan tree (*nigrodha*) E. of the Bodhi tree, on the eve of the Enlightenment; or to the offering of rice-cakes and honey by the merchants Tapussa and Bhallika, under the *rājāyatana* tree (*Buchanania latifolia*), S. of the Bodhi tree, at the end of the Seven Weeks. The two *dhyāna* scenes of the 2nd tier, where no almsbowl is seen, may refer to the first week, spent by the Buddha under his Bodhi tree, the peepal, meditating the Chain of Causation (*paṭicca-samuppāda*); and to the fourth week spent in the House of Gems, *Ratanagāra*, N.W. of the Bodhi tree, meditating the *Abhidhamma*. The two standing Buddhas of the top tier would refer to the second week, when the Buddha, from the N.E., gazed intently (*animisa*, 'without winking') at his seat under the Bodhi tree; and to the third week which he spent pacing up and down the Jewelled Walk (*Ratanacānākama*), N. of the Bodhi tree. Perhaps the correct attitude here is the double *vitaraka-mudrā*, the pose of Argument (Pls. 402 b, 405): but sometimes the inner hands are raised in *abhaya*; and the outer drooped in *varāda-mudrā* – poses hardly appropriate to a lonely vigil.

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10 According to the *Vinaya*, the Buddha spent four weeks near the Bodhi tree: the First under the Bodhi tree, meditating the *paṭiccasamuppāda*; the Second under the Ajapāla *Nigrodha* tree, where Māra's daughters tempted him; the Third under the hoods of the Mucalinda Nāga, who protected him from the rain; the Fourth under the Rājāyatana tree, where Tapussa and Bhallika brought him his first food. The later *Jātaka* account extends the fast to seven weeks, inserting three more (*Animisa, Ratanacānākama, and Ratanagāra*) between the first and second weeks mentioned in the *Vinaya* (see Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, Vol. I, p. 794). Pagán always follows this latter version.
Chapter IX

As for the 4th tier, added on four of the double-column slabs, (Pls. 401, 402 b, 403 a, b), the original intention, perhaps, was to include the two Aggasāvakas, Sāriputta and Moggallāna, kneeling or half-kneeling in adoration at the base of the slab. This fits the evidence of the two inner columns. On Pl. 403 b two similar half-kneeling figures also occupy the outer panels; but on Pls. 402 b and 403a, these become Bodhisattvas seated in ardha-paryāṅkāsana, either in worship (namaskāra mudrā) or their more normal attitude — inner hand placed on raised inner knee. On Pl. 401 two scenes are added in this outer panel: the Fast (dukkhacariya) on the left, with two Devas instilling ambrosia near the ears; and on the right, the Buddha seated in dhyāṇa under the hoods of Mucalinda Nāga — a scene already shown in the 3rd tier, inner column, of the same slab.

TERRACOTTA. MAHĀŚĀLINI’S PLAQUE

In terracotta, Aniruddha is not known to have set his seal on any representation of the Eight Scenes. But a person of his court, Mahāśālini, produced a fine clear open type (Pl. 71), with two beautiful underlines of square Sanskrit/Nāgari, and in one scene, the Pārileyaka, a short identification in the same script. Mahāśālini is U Mya’s correction of Duroiselle’s original reading (from inferior plaques), Mahiśyadevi, whom the latter took to be Aniruddha’s chief queen. The original plaques were found, together with others signed by Aniruddha, at a ruin near the Mingalazedi. U Mya found his better specimens in a field S.E. of U Kywet monastery, at the S. end of Myinpagān. The scenes are arranged like those of the Lokahteikpan painting, like the Śri Kṣetra plaque, and like the minority of the andaṭā slabs — with the Nativity in bottom right, and the Pārileyaka in bottom left corners. The thera Ānanda’s tablet (Pl. 74 a, b) is very similar.

On other terracotta tablets the handiwork is often coarse and crude, ‘bondieuserie’ made cheap for sale to the poor and pious. Side-scenes are often reduced to single figures of the Buddha — standing in the top, seated in the middle tier, without even a Wheel or other symbol to fix them. But they have their interest and variety, bearing the Burma stamp rather than the Indian.

Sometimes additional scenes are shown. At the base of Pl. 69 a, b, the Buddha’s lotus-throne is borne by an elephant-head and outward-facing vyālas. Beyond them, is a kneeling figure on the left, and a horse on the right — doubtless Channa and Kanthaka, symbols of the Great Departure. In the mid-base of Pl. 70 c, as mentioned already, Sujātā’s offering of milk-rice is shown. The scene recurs in Pl. 70 d, e, the Buddha sitting perhaps in varada mudrā, almsbowl in lap.

The rare Pagān tablet, Pl. 74 d, e, f, badly weathered as it is, is the most original. It shows Ānanda kneeling at the feet of his dying Master; below this, three elephant-riders of Māra’s army attacking; at the sides, larger than usual, the two-headed Nālāgiri elephant, and the kneeling Sāriputta; the First Sermon indicated by the thickness of the throne, which was probably faced with the Wheel; in the bottom tier, the Pārileyaka elephant clambering up to fill the Buddha’s bowl. In the centre, between this scene and the Nativity, an Old Mon inscription seems to begin (I cannot make sense of it), and to end on the reverse with the lion-roar of the infant Gotama, taking his seven steps: — “I am the Lord!”

THE EIGHTY SCENES

The Eight Scenes, as defined by Pāla artists in India, were merely the starting point from which the artists of Pagān went on to construct, in wood, stone and paint, a whole cycle based on the Life of the

20 *A.S.I.* 1927, p. 169; 1930–34, Part I, pp. 185–6; Part II, Pl. CV d.
Buddha. This will reach its fullest development after the end of our period, in the Burmese temple-paintings of Minnanthu and Pwazaw. In our period Symbol is still in the ascendent, though slowly forced, by sheer number of themes and the need to distinguish them, to admit Representation. The tentative beginnings are seen in the stone relief-sculptures of Kyaukku Ohmin (Pls. 141, 142), Nagayon (Pls. 192–202), and Nanda (Pls. 278–323), where sculpture reached its prime; in a few bronzes (Pl. 433, 434); and in the paintings of Pāto-thāmya (Pls. 166 a, 167 a, b), Nagayon (Pls. 203, 204), Abeyadana (Pl. 217), etc. Much of the early painting has perished, and nearly all the woodcarving. Stone sculpture is our main surviving source. Painting, which received a new freedom and a vast field on the acres of wall-space in the temples, from the first tended to subscribe its panels with written glosses, identifying the scenes. This immense field of certain Buddhist iconography at Pagán is still largely unexplored. If the field was undoubtedly immense, and the artists’ energy prolific, one notices how slow they were to break the bondage of hieraticism and symbol, and give rein to their own imagination. Still, it was a notable achievement, in sculpture, to expand the single pre-Enlightenment Scene admitted to the Eight Scenes, into the well-known ‘Eighty’ of the outer corridor of Nanda temple. It seems easiest to base our survey on this, with its full and learned commentary by Duroiselle, and to glance back, where possible, at earlier efforts at Śrī Kṣetra and the Mon country, and especially at the common source in India.

DIPAŇKARA AND SUMEDHA (SUMATI)

The story is told in the Sanskrit Mahāvastu as well as the Pali Buddhavamsa. It was a favourite theme in Gandhāra, where it was counted as a Jātaka. The scene was even sited there, at Nagarahara = Jelālabād. The earliest illustration known to Sir John Marshall was on a panel at the base of Sikri stupa, now at Lahore Museum. He dates it at the end of the first century A.D. H. Buchthal shows another panel from the same Museum, and notes that the same general scheme was used for the Conversion of Aṅgulimalya. Coomaraswamy shows a similar panel in blue slate, “Gandhāra, somewhat Indianized. 2nd cent. A.D.” There is also a small relief at Mathurā Museum.

All these show a common design, with Sumati (Sumedha) seen four times: – first, on the left, at the city-gate, buying lotuses from the flower-girl who, in his final existence, was to be his wife, Yasodhāra. Then he is seen throwing the bunch in welcome to the Buddha Dīpaṅkara. Then he is kneeling (not lying) at the foot of Dīpaṅkara, with his long hair spread forward for him to tread on. Then finally he is shown aloft, bending in worship. Note that already Dīpaṅkara is shown a good deal taller than the others. At Sikri he is attended by a monk, not by the usual Vajrapāṇi. “The use of continuous narration” says Coomaraswamy, “is unusual in Gandhāran art.” The scenes are charmingly realistic.

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1 See A.S.I. 1914, pp. 63–97 and Pls. XXXI to XXXIX, “The Stone Sculptures in the Ananda Temple at Pagan.” Duroiselle illustrates 58 of these sculptures; we give here the full 80 (Plls. 278 to 297), and shall number them accordingly with N. (Ananda) preceding the numeral, and with Duroiselle’s numbering (D.) added, where necessary, in brackets. His notes on all these scenes are learned and admirable.

23 Coomaraswamy, H.I.A., p. 53.


27 V. S. Agrawala, Handbook of the Sculptures in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Muttra (Allahabad, 1939), fig. 44; the story is told on p. 53. It is told more fully by D. B. Spooner, Handbook to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum (Bombay, 1910), pp. 5–6.
At Pagán the scene is shown twice in the Nagayôn (c. 1090 A.D.), in stone relief (Pl. 195 a) and also in painting (Pls. 203, 204). On the stone, Dīpāṅkara stands very tall in the centre, with right hand hanging and left raised to the shoulder. He is flanked by monks with almsbowls. All three face stiffly front. At bottom left a tiny Sumedha lies prostrate, not kneeling, at the Buddha’s feet. His hair is not outspread. At bottom right, having received the prophecy, he sits in padmāsana, facing front, in worship. There is no flower-girl. Of the two large paintings on the outer wall of the E. corridor, the upper half is lost. On Pl. 203 we can only see Dīpāṅkara’s foot, with Sumedha prostrate on the ground to the right of him. Pl. 204 shows the sequel, the earthquake when Sumedha “grasps the Law” and realizes his destiny. There are long Mon glosses below each panel.

REQUEST TO SETAKETU IN TUSITA (N. 1; D. 1)

This is the first scene shewn in the 'Eighty-Series' of the Nanda (Pl. 278 a). The Bodhisattva sits, without the lotus-stalk, but otherwise exactly like the seated Lokanātha in Pāla Bengal and Burma art: lahitāsana, right hand on knee in varada mudrā, left before the body in abhaya mudrā. He is a god in Tusita heaven, 4th of the Devalokas: he is granting the request of the Devas that he be reborn as Gotama, the future Buddha. The attitude has little in common with the Gandhāran version of the scene27. In Burma, this Bodhisattva (and Green Tārā) pose occurs first, I think, in small oval or round terracotta seals found at Śrī Kṣetra, Kanthōnzin-daung28. At Pagán, it is regular for the seated Lokanātha29, but is also found in other scenes30: see, e.g., the second tier of seated Bodhisattvas on the outer wall of the corridor of Abèyadana (Pl. 230). Possibly another two-tiered stone relief in a cross-passage of the Nanda (Pl. 318 a) shows the same scene: the Bodhisattva in varadamudrā above, and four Devas in prayer below; but who are the kneeling woman and children flanking the Bodhisattva? The scene is certainly painted on a large panel in the S. corridor of Nagayôn (inner wall). Here Setaketu sits in royal robes in padmāsana, dharmacakra mudrā, with Brahmās on both sides in the top tier, and Devas in the lower two.

MĀYĀ’S DREAM. THE BATH. THE CONCEPTION (N. 2–7, D. 2–6)

This includes several different scenes. “The Nativity” says Coomaraswamy, [query, the Bath preceding the Conception?], “is represented by a figure of Māyā Devi seated or standing on lotus with or without elephants pouring water from inverted jars; this composition occurs also in Jaina usage, but after the 3rd century A.D. disappears from Buddhist and Jaina art and invariably represents the Hindu goddess Śrī or Lakṣmī.” “It is highly probable” he adds in a note, “that some older image of Abundance underlies both forms”31. The scene in its Buddhist sense is clearly seen at Sānchi Great Stupa (early 1st century A.D.), in the centre of the top architrave of the South (the oldest) torana32. Under the name kyāk śrī, ‘the goddess Śrī’, it became, at Pagán, the central feature of the Mon arch-pediment.

27 See Marshall, Bud. Art Gandh., fig. 102 and pp. 79–80. See also the beautiful fig. 74, “the Bodhisattva in the Tushita heaven” (Sikri) and p. 57.
28 See A.S.I. 1910, Pl. XLIX ii, 14. One has a Pyu inscription on the back. U Mya, V.T.B., Part II, fig. 86.
29 Pls. 7, 54, 446 a, b, etc.
30 See Pls. 283 b, 313 a.
31 H.I.I.A. p. 31 and n. 3.
(elec), from the Nan-paya onwards. The name became, both in Mon and Old Burmese, the symbol of splendour and good fortune; but, subconsciously perhaps, the connection of this symbol with Buddhism remained. To regard it as a non-Buddhist intrusion in Pagán art is a mistake.

For the Conception, the old symbol was the crouching White Elephant who, in Māyā’s Dream, entered her womb. At the S. foot of Kyaik Hkauk, Syriam pagoda, is a laterite monolith of a small crouching elephant. This is perhaps the earliest Burma rendering of the Conception. In India, the scene goes back to Bhārhat (early 1st century B.C.) and Sāñci (early 1st century A.D.). In the Bhārhat balustrade tondo, Māyā lies with her head to the left, the huge elephant above her to the right. At Sāñci, Māyā’s attitude is the same, the elephant descending from the top right corner. But in the Gandhāra panel from the Kālayān monastery at Taxila, Māyā’s head is to the right, and the defaced elephant (according to Marshall) is descending from the left. And this is also Māyā’s pose in Amarāvatī panels, where the elephant is sometimes missing. Duroiselle points out that according to the orthodox text (Nidānakathā), Māyā lay on her left side; so Gandhāra and Amarāvatī are in accord with it, but not Bhārhat and Sāñci — nor Burma, which always, I think, makes her lie on her right side.

At Pagán, in the Hall of Nagayon, the broad niche in the W. wall near the S.W. corner holds a damaged stone relief of the Conception (Pl. 194 c), balancing the broad niche in the E. wall opposite, showing the Parinirvāṇa. Māyā lies on a tilted couch, her head to the left propped on her right hand. Below the couch, in the corners, kneel the four Mahārājas, sword on shoulder. Above (or behind) the couch stand their four Queens, offering lotus-buds. In the top right corner above them, the White Elephant descends. In the four Halls of Nanda (Pl. 306 a, b, c, d), the general plan is the same, only the decoration is more elaborate. The minute White Elephant appears to rest on the arch above Māyā’s head (?). In the ‘Eighty Reliefs’ of the Outer Corridor, a beautiful series of 7 sculptures are devoted to the different moments of the Dream. At first Māyā is sleeping naturally (Pl. 278 b). Her pose becomes hieratic, when the four Mahārājas carry her to Manosalālā (Pl. 278 c). Their Queens bathe her in Anotatta Lake (Pl. 278 d). They tire her hair and anoint her (Pl. 279 a). She sleeps at ease on a divine couch (Pl. 279 b). Her pose once more becomes hieratic at the Conception proper. The White Elephant is seen below her head, about to mount the couch. The four queens are seated below (Pl. 279 c).

The scene was also shown in painting, now faint or badly defaced, in the Pāhto-thāmya, on the outer wall of the S. corridor, S. E. corner. High in Rājakumār’s temple, on the outer wall of the E. corridor, starting from the N.E. corner, there are 3 panels showing her transport to the rock Manosalālā, her bath in Anavatapta lake, and guarding by the four Lokapālas. In the Abeyadana, on the inner wall of the N. corridor, on either side of the entrance to the Shrine, there are two broad niches, now empty, intended for sculptures of the Conception and the Parinirvāṇa. The niche on the E. was meant for the former. On the W. side of it, a painting shows the Robing of Māyā, with the four Queens in attendance.

21 Kāvikī above the Nan-paya windows: see Pls. 122 c, d, e; 123 b; 124; 126 b. For her position in the elec of Kyanzittha’s palace, see supra, ch. IV, p. 67 and n. 124.
25 Amarāvatī. A. de Silva-Vigier, The Life of the Buddha, Pl. 13 (top right corner). No elephant. On another photograph of an Amarāvatī relief in my possession, Māyā’s head is to the right, and a small elephant descends from the left.
26 A.S.I. 1914, p. 75.
Nativity

The essential feature of all scenes of the Nativity, is that Māyā is delivered of the Babe as she stands under the śāla tree (*Shorea robusta*), playing the game of śālabhāṇḍikā, her hand uplifted to break a branch. The pose is that of the Tree-spirits in the pre-Aryan religion of India, seen, e.g., in the Cūlakokā devatā of Bhāhrut, early 1st century B.C.39; or the Yakṣī bracket of the E. torana of Sāñci, early 1st century A.D.40; or the Vṛksakā of Mathurā41, 2nd cent. A.D., or Pregnancy of the *aśoka* tree42. Even the crook of the leg kicking the tree – a fertility emblem – survives in a Pagān bronze (Pl. 433 b, c).

Gandhāra, as usual, is more realistic. The Honolulu Academy relief43 shows Māyā standing in the centre, raising her right arm to the tree, touching it with her left foot. On the right stand her sister, Pajāpati, and an attendant. Māyā rests her left arm on the shoulder of her sister, who presses her side. The Babe, “with hands stretched out”44, emerges from her right hip, where Indra (with, perhaps, Brahmā) stands ready with wrapping to receive him. Marshall’s relief, now at Peshawar Museum45, shows four figures standing on the left – the Lokapālas, he thinks – but the leader, taller than the others, should perhaps be Indra. Here Pajāpati does not press the womb. She is followed by two attendants, one with a waterpot, the other “gazing in astonishment”. Gandhāra may combine this Birth Scene with the figure of the haloed naked Babe below, in *abhaya mudrā*, taking his first Seven Steps46. Separate reliefs from Swāt Valley, tiny but exquisite, show the haloed naked Babe taking his first steps, with Indra and Brahmā on the right and two male figures on the left47. A rather larger relief shows the Bath of the Babe, with Indra and Brahmā pouring water from pots above his head, and two women half-kneeling below48.

Amarāvati reliefs49, once more, are different. Here it is the left hand which is raised to the tree: the right rests on the hip, from which the Babe (not shown) is thought to emerge. The Four Regents


41 Mathurā. Zimmer, Pl. 76.


44 Duroiselle (*A.S.I. 1914*, p. 77) points out that, according to the *Nīdānakathā*, the Babe came out from his mother’s side “with hands and feet stretched out.”

45 Marshall, *The Buddhist Art of Gandhāra*, fig. 99, and pp. 77–78. “This nativity scene is the subject of many Gandhāra sculptures, some more abbreviated than this one, but all conforming more or less to the same stereotype pattern . . . In all these other reliefs, both early and late, the deity playing the part of midwife is recognizable as Indra, and the one next to him as Brahmā. This was strictly in accord with the version . . . current in Gandhāra. But there was another version, found in the Pāli scriptures, in which the Regents of the Four Quarters took the place of Indra and Brahmā.”


48 *ibid.*, fig. 58, pp. 44–45. “About 10.5 inches high”.

are ready on the left with long wrappings to receive him; and a stool is placed ready for him to stand on. Pajāpatī on the right is a mere spectator.

The ‘Eighty Reliefs’ of Nanda expand the picture into a narrative of 12 scenes. No. 8: Māyā tells her dream to king Suddhodana (Pl. 279 d). No. 9: The Four Mahārājas guard her (Pl. 280 a). No. 10: She asks her husband’s leave to visit her parents at Devadaha (Pl. 280 b). No. 11: She is borne on a litter (Pl. 280 c). No. 12: The Nativity in Lumbini grove (Pl. 280 d). No. 13: Four Mahābrahmās receive the Babe in a golden net (Pl. 281 a). No. 14: The Four Lokapālas receive the Babe in a black leopard-skin (Pl. 281 b). No. 15: Two Men receive him on fine cloth (Pl. 281 c). No. 16: Gigantic, between Brahmā and Indra, he stands facing East (Pl. 281 d). No. 17: Between Brahmā and Indra (? Suyāma) he takes his Seven Steps (Pl. 282 a). No. 18: His lion-roar: ‘I have no equal!’ (Pl. 282 b). No. 19: He sits in dharmacakra-mudrā, worshipped by all (Pl. 282 c).

The Pagān series is much nearer to Gandhāra than to Amarāvati. And the Nanda Hall reliefs of the Nativity (Pl. 301 a, b, c, d), where the scenes are compressed, are still closer. Māyā always holds the branch with her right hand. But her left leg is not usually bent. The Babe sits cross-legged on the hip. Indra comes flying through the air with a waterpot. The three tiers, Brahmās, Lokapālas and Men, are shown uplifting the Babe. He is seen again at the base, taking his first steps. Nearly all these details are seen in the beautiful sculpture in Myinkaba Ku-byauk-ngē, which dates a little after our period. This even adds, as Duroiselle noted, a small figure of the earth-touching Buddha on his mother’s head. See also Pl. 353 c, for a Pagān painter’s version of the happy scene, in Lokahiteikpan temple.

Among the earliest Burma carvings of the Nativity, is the stiff but rather lovely Triad sculpture from Śrī Kṣetra, Shwényaungbin ridge. The three figures stand on a recessed throne: the tall Babe, already clothed and crowned and haloed, standing on lotus to the left; Māyā in the centre, with both feet on the throne, and left arm resting heavily on the tense-fingered Pajāpatī on the right. Māyā’s hip is furrowed at the point where the Babe issued. At Old Pegu, on the obverse of the two-faced slab, the main scene (the lower half) is the Nativity. On the right, holding the arching bough above her, stands Māyā in tribhāṅga pose, leaning on her sister. Mid-left, mounted on a pillar, is the naked Babe. On the far left, there are three tiers. In the top tier is a flying god, Indra, pouring water (?); in the second, a deva seated cross-legged with arms upraised; at the base a seated devī (?) holding the pillar. The figure on the inner side of the pillar, is said to be an elephant, symbol of the Conception. The south stone at the E. Shwénéatha monastery shows the Nativity as part of the background detail, below the right hand of the Buddha in varada mudrā: just Māyā and Pajāpatī under the arching bough. The oldest Nativity at Pagán, apart from the Eight Scenes, is the broken stone-relief at Kyauku Ónghmin (Pl. 141 a). Here Māyā leans on Pajāpatī, both very tall and delicately carved; the tiny Babe sits cross-legged on Māyā’s hip; then below, royally attired, takes his first steps; there is a

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50 Compare with this the beautiful relief from Swāt, now in Peshawar Museum: “The Interpretation of Māyā’s dream”. shown by Marshall, op. cit., fig. 54 and pp. 42–43: “Māyā, who is usually present in later versions of this scene, is absent from this one”.  
51 As if by compensation, in Pl. 301 c, Pajāpatī crooks her leg.  
52 A.S.I. 1930, p. 73. Arch. Neg. 3878 (1935–36). This, says Duroiselle, “stamps this sculpture as being of Bengal workmanship, of the Pāla school.” For a photograph of the sculpture, see Bohmu Ba Shin, The Lokahiteikpan, (Rangoon, 1962), Pl. 15 b. Note, incidentally, that a late Pagān painting in Minnanthu Nandamañña temple, shown by Dr. N. R. Ray (Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma, fig. 15, and p. 114), represents the Nativity, and not a Bodhisattva embracing his Sākti.  
small attendant on the other side. A Pagán bronze (Pl. 433 d), showing two women (Mâyâ and Pajâpati?) standing against a branching tree, may well be a part of a Nativity group.

PRESENTATION TO KĀLĀDEVALA\(^{48}\) (N. 20, D. 17)

A favourite subject in early Pagán art, where it appears first in a Pāhito-thāmya painting (Pl. 167 a), on the outer wall of the S. corridor. The panel is full of detail and charm\(^{47}\): the palace and coconut palms, the dress and headdress of the two queens, the king’s robe, the ascetic Kālādevala facing him, with his nephew Nālaka behind. The writing below is in Old Mon: – ‘This is when the hermit Kālādevila . . . . the Bodhisattva, and foretells that he will become a Buddha’.

The ‘Eighty Reliefs’ of the Nanda include a simple rendering of the scene in stone, king and hermit sitting knee to knee, with four nurses below (Pl. 282 d)\(^{48}\). There is a fuller, but damaged stone relief at Pagán Museum (Pl. 410 a).

The scene was certainly a subject of Gandhāran art. There are two sculptures of it in Peshawar Museum\(^{49}\), and two also in the Indian Museum, Calcutta\(^{50}\).

MIRACLE AT THE PLOUGHING FESTIVAL

There may be three Pagán renderings of this scene in stone. The first, and the most interesting, is the damaged stone relief in Kyaukku Ṭônmin (Pl. 141 b), with its realistic picture of the old-time heavy swinging cradle, hung from the tree and worked by ropes on a pulley. The crowned Babe, deserted by his nurses, is sitting up in the cradle under the unmoving shade of the Rose-apple tree, and is worshipped a second time by the king his father and his foster-mother Pajāpati. The damaged base may well have shown some of the truant nurses. The ‘Eighty-Series’ (N. 23, 24; D. 20, 21) devotes two reliefs to the scene. In No. 23 the Babe in tilted couch lies hieratically asleep under the leaning tree (Pl. 283 c). In No. 24 the tree is vertical, the crowned Babe sitting like a saint upon his throne in padmāsana, worshipped by father and foster-mother. Eight nurses kneel in prayer below (Pl. 283 d). Another relief, in one of the cross-passages of the Nanda (Pl. 318 b), may show the same scene: four children, boys and girls, in prayer below; Saddhodana and Pajāpati in admiration above; between them the Babe magnified, sitting in padmāsana, dhyāna mudrā between two trees. There is a painting of the scene in the Pāhito-thāmya, on the outer wall of the S. corridor, confirmed by an Old Mon gloss: “This is when the reverend Bodhisat performs a miracle at the foot of the Eugenia tree”; and probably two panels in Rājakumār’s temple (outer wall of S. corridor, top row, 2nd and 3rd from S.E. corner): – “The king, Sri Saddhodana, goes out to the . . . . .” “The Bodhisat remains seated cross-legged at the Fig-tree” – a mistake for Eugenia, Rose-apple.


\(^{48}\) Cf. de Silva-Vigier, *op. cit.*, pl. 14. The four seated women shown in her Pl. 15 are not in the predella below this sculpture, but in that below No. 26 (our Pl. 284 b).


\(^{50}\) See N. G. Majumdar, *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, Part II, p. 40: “No. 24 . . . The lower left panel shows the child in the lap of the sage Asita, who is predicting his future Buddhahood to the royal couple. No. 25: this panel also relates to the prediction . . . but on a bigger scale. In a compartment behind the seated figure of Asita stands his nephew Naradatta . . . Naradatta carries a bowl in his hand which shows that he has already become a monk. This is quite in agreement with . . . the Nīdānāhathā . . . .”
Duroiselle notes: "The northern sources generally place [the episode] late, when he is an adolescent or even an adult. The Mahāvastu (II, 45), however, places it, like the Nidānakathā, soon after the prediction of Kālaidevala; but while in the Nidānakathā the child is still a babe, in the Mahāvastu he is a boy roaming about the garden. The Jīnattha-paṭahāsani (p. 15) on the other hand places it when the child is a month old, but does not give any reference. Spence Hardy (Manual of Buddhism, 150) says the wonder took place five months after the birth. Our sculptures follow, of course, the Pali tradition". Marshall shows a lateish Gandhāran sculpture from Sahri-Bahlol of "Siddhārtha meditating at the Ploughing Festival". The gentle pensive Prince, full-grown, with moustache, sits in dhyāna mudrā under the narrow tree. On the predella "the festival is represented... by a ploughman and his yoke of oxen on the right, with three robed figures at prayer in front of an incense-burner to the left".

ATHLETIC CONTEST (N. 28, 29, D. 23, 24)

The Prince’s adolescence, culminating in the athletic contest, appealed in different ways to the Gandhāran artist, and to Kyanzittha. The delightful school-scenes of Gandhāra, the Bodhisattva seated in his little ram-cart, are forgotten; also the stark wrestling scenes, and Devadatta’s felling of the elephant. Kyanzittha, it seems, had learnt to slight his own youthful prowess as a gymnast. Even the marriage with Yasodharā is omitted in the ‘Eighty Series’, though it may possibly occur among the ‘rejects’. Instead, we find three cold harem-scenes (25, 26, 27), distinguished by little beyond the varying number of palace-roofs (5, 7, and 9). Then comes a scene where Gotama sits thinking, in Pralambanāsana (Pl. 284 d). Then a three-tiered scene (Pl. 285 a) where he stands frontal, broad sword in right hand, little bow in left – no vivid picture of the contest, but a mere memento of his victories. The sculptors of the Nanda had their merits, but a dramatic sense was not one of them. From the moment of birth, when the Bodhisattva (contrary to the texts) sat in dhyāna mudrā on his mother’s hip, Kyanzittha (or his artists) buried the whole story under a veil of sanctimony. Gotama must always have a mind above his circumstance. By so depicting him, they robbed the Great Renunciation of half its pathos and humanity, its tension and its wrench. In the Pāl-shot-thāmya on the other hand (so Col. Ba Shin informs me), there is far more life and realism in the two panels on the outer wall of the S. corridor, the boating scene and the archery contest. Rājakumār also has a panel on the top row of the outer wall of his S. corridor: "The Bodhisat shows his skill in shooting with the bow."

THE FOUR SIGNS (N. 30 to 33; D. 25).

"The Bodhisat goes out to the garden, sees the Old Man, and goes back home" so Rājakumār continues. "This is when the Reverend One goes out to sport in the garden. He sees the Four Pro-

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61 A.S.I. 1914, p. 81.
62 Buddhist Art of Gandhāra, fig. 141, and pp. 103-4.
63 ibid., fig. 95 and pp. 75-76; from Chārsada Tehsil, Peshawar; now in London, at the Victoria and Albert Museum. N. J. Majumdar, op. cit., Part II, p. 41 (Nos. 26-29, Indian Museum).
66 Query Pl. 323 b, c? See N. J. Majumdar, op. cit., Part II, pp. 41-42: "This scene [the marriage of the Bodhisattva] is of somewhat rare occurrence". For the "so-called Presentation of the Bride to Siddhārtha. From Takht-i-Bahi. British Museum", see Marshall, Buddhist Art of Gandhāra, fig. 41, and p. 34.
gnostics”, thus the Pāheto-thāmya, I have found no parallel to these scenes in India. They meant obviously far more to Kyzanzitha than the athletics. His artists had to exercise all their skill in depicting them. Mme. de Silva-Vigier combin[es all four scenes effectively on a single plate. Superficially, there is not much to distinguish them. Repetition was necessary to ram home their meaning. In taking the chariot – wheels, horse and chassis – to pieces, and reassembling them to suit his design, the Pagād artist shows all the ease of Nāgasena in the Milindapanha. For a normal chariot-scene, see Pl. 313 b: ‘The Bodhisattva on his way to the pleasure-garden’; there the interest is centred on the splendid Prince. In the Four Signs the interest must be transferred from him to the small figure (or figures) in the bottom corner. The artist does this by building a high throne above the chariot, and perching the Prince high beyond the scene’s focus, weighted in that low corner. Thus these little figures – the Old Man pulling at his staff, the Sick Man leaning on it, the Death-bundle, and the patient Monk, take on importance far beyond their size.

For a very different, but no less moving realization of the Four Encounters, set in the wide landscape of the Gobi Desert, compare the silk painting from Tun-huang (Mme. de Silva-Vigier’s coloured plate facing p. 16).

THE DEPARTURE (ABHINISKRAMANA)

The Departure from the city of Kapilavatthu gradually forms a whole cycle by itself. At Sāñci Great Stupa, it fills the middle architrave of the East toranā (early 1st century A.D.) On the left is the city, with the horse Kaṇṭhaka, riderless, issuing from the gate, the groom Chandaka holding the umbrella, Devas bearing the horse’s hooves to deaden the sound. The group, moving right, repeats itself four times; then, in the bottom right corner, the horse is seen returning, Chandaka bidding farewell. The Prince continues on his way on foot, shown by the sacred Footprints with the umbrella above them.

In the early sculpture of Amaravati (c. 100 A.D.), the horse, too, is riderless, and the scene simplified. There are no ground-Devas to slow the march: only Chandaka with the umbrella, flying spirits, fleeing men, and Kaṇṭhaka bursting through the city-gate with all the excitement of escape. In later Amaravati reliefs (c. 200 A.D.), where the rider is shown, the movement is from right to left. On one of the simpler ones, Chandaka is leading, Brahmā behind holds the umbrella, and the ground-Devas reappear. Movement is also to the left on the four-panelled relief now in the British Museum, where the Departure panel, with its proud horse and leaping dancers, is on the left of the panel of the Sleeping Women – both masterly sculptures.

In the late Gandhāran reliefs, movement is also generally to the left. One from Loriyān Tangai, now at Calcutta Museum, Marshall dates early in the 3rd century A.D. Chandaka holds the umbrella

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67. The Life of the Buddha, Pls. 32–35. But note that the order of the first two is inverted: the top left scene shows the Sick Man, the top right the Old Man. Compare our Pl. 285 c (No. 31), the Sick Man, with Duroiselle’s fig. 25: it will be seen, alas, that the Prince’s face has been damaged since 1914.


70. E. J. Thomas, The Life of Buddha, p. 54, Pl. II (lower panel).

71. S. Kramrisch, The Art of India, fig. 34.

from behind. Elegant Yakṣas support the hooves. Māra, in front, tries to dissuade the Prince. The city-goddess is also present, as in the Mahāvastu. The whole atmosphere is peaceful, gentle narrative, not cosmic drama. An earlier relief in three tiers, now in Lahore Museum, is more vigorous but badly damaged. In the top tier, says Marshall, “the Life of Pleasure seems to be symbolized by the royal couple seated side by side on a couch.” In the middle tier the Prince sits alone, “in the pose normally associated with the ‘Sleeping Women’ scene. On his right are his horse and groom... on his left a very alert guard, grasping a spear”. Below, much mutilated, the Prince is shown full-face, riding away, with “the lithe and elegant figure” of Chandaka holding the umbrella, and perhaps Indra and the city-goddess standing on the right.

At Pagán, the ‘Eighty-Series’ of Nanda sculptures includes a group of 12 reliefs relating the Departure (Nos. 34 to 45, D. 27 to 35). It follows immediately after the Fourth Sign. No. 34 shows the Prince seated in his pleasance in dhyāna mudrā among his ladies (Pl. 286 b). No. 35 shows Viśvakarman, sent by Indra to coil his jatāmukuta for the last time (Pl. 286 c). This scene is shown again, I think, on a cross-passage ‘reject’, Pl. 318 c, where the Bodhisattva with conspicuous coiffure sits in dhyāna mudrā under carved gable-roofs. On his return by chariot (No. 36) he meets a messenger who brings news of the birth of his son, Rāhula. (Pl. 286 d). No. 37 shows him reclining on his couch, while four women, a singer accompanied by harp, transverse flute and clappers, make music below (Pl. 287 a). In No. 38 he sits up in dhyāna mudrā. Below, the women lie like corpses (Pl. 287 b). In No. 39 he stands between the kneeling Channa (or Chandaka) and his horse Kanthaka (Pl. 287 c). In No. 40 he takes a farewell look at Yasodharā sleeping with their baby son (Pl. 287 d). One circuit of the Corridor is now complete, and the Series ascends to the upper tier of niches. In No. 41 the Prince addresses Kanthaka before he mounts him (Pl. 288 a). No. 42 is the Departure proper: the noble horse and rider in the centre, Channa at the tail, four standing Devas supporting the hooves below, others riding the sky with lotuses (Pl. 288 b). No. 43 shows the Prince riding on with Channa following, the full Moon shining above, and Māra cushioned in the sky, tempting him (Pl. 288 c). In No. 44, under coconut and fan palms, they reach the Anomā river-bank (Pl. 288 d). In No. 45 the gallant horse has leapt to the farther bank (?)

Stately and stilted as these reliefs are, and technically limited, their two-dimensional beauty is undoubted. If they lack life and all its sensuous glories, the solemnity and pathos of Renunciation are deeply conveyed. The Amarāvatī relief of the Sleeping Women is far more sculptural, sensual and vigorous. But the Lalitavistara says that the Prince was reflecting “I do in truth live in the midst of a graveyard”: and this is accurately what the Nanda scene presents.

Duroiselle notes that the series omits one charming incident, dear to Pagán painters. Kīṣā Gotamī (the Mṛgī of the Mahāvastu), perhaps a cousin of Gotama, overheard from her balcony the news about the birth of a son, and looking at the father uttered a cry of joy and admiration, using the word nibbuta, ‘deliverance’. This so gladdened Gotama’s heart that he took off his necklace of pearls and sent it to her as a gift. Both the Pāhoto-thāmya and Rājakumār’s temple devote panels to this incident, just before the ‘Sleep of the Women’ and the Departure.

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74 de Silva-Vigier, op. cit., fig. 39. S. Kramrisch, op. cit., fig. 34. For Gandhāran sculptures of the “Sleep of the Women”, see Marshall, Buddhist Art of Gandhāra, figs. 92, 93, and pp. 72–75.
Chapter IX

THE TONSEUR (N. 46–50, D. 36–40)

The climax of the Departure occurred on the bank of the river Anomā. The ‘Eighty-Series’ tells the story as follows: – In No. 46 the Prince dismounts, takes off his royal attire, and hands it to Channa, Kanthaka watching (Pl. 289 b). No. 47 is the Tonsense. He sits in padmásana, and holding his hair-knot with his left hand, severs it with the sword in his right (Pl. 289 c). In No. 48, to test his chance of Buddhahood, he throws up the Hair-knot. Indra catches it, and carries it off to Tāvatimsa, to be enshrined in the Cāḷāmanicetiya. Below, Channa kneels in worship. Kanthaka, saddled, paws the ground (Pl. 289 d). In No. 49, Gotama sits in dhyāna mudrā. Below, the great Brahmā, Ghaṭikāra, brings him a monk’s robes. Channa worships the Brahmā. Kanthaka waits, still saddled (Pl. 290 a). No. 50 is the final Farewell. The Monk stands, renouncing the world, between the kneeling Ghaṭikāra and Channa. Below stands Kanthaka, alone, unsaddled (Pl. 290 b).

The story of Chandaka and Kaṇṭhaka was well-known to the Gandhāran sculptor. Both horse and groom were born simultaneously with Gotama, part of his equipment as Cakravartin. The finely modelled Jamāl-Garhi relief, now in Calcutta Museum, shows Chandaka’s mother bathing her baby, side by side with Kaṇṭhaka’s dam sucking her foal, while she eats her bran-mash, and the other horses peer over their stalls. Sculptures 39 and 40 in the same Museum complete the story: “Although a fragment”, says Majumdar, “No. 40 shows clearly the scene of Farewell. The Prince is taking off his ornaments which he hands over to Chandaka, and his favourite horse stoops to kiss his feet” (Buddhacarita, VI, 53). In the Pali version the horse goes out of sight and dies of a broken heart.

In the Gandhāran story Gotama obtained his Yellow Robe by exchange with a passing hunter (a god in disguise), giving his princely robe of silk in return for a reddish-yellow garment of rough kāṣāya cloth. At Pagán the god has become the ex-potter great Brahmā Ghaṭikāra, who carries off the robe to Brahmaloka and enshrines it in Dussa thūpa.

There is no extant Gandhāran sculpture, it appears, to illustrate the Tonsense – one of the favourite themes of Pagán art. The earliest, at Kyaukku Önghin (Pl. 141 c), has a broken top. The Prince, contrary to the text of the Nidānakathā, has undone his hair-knot. He holds the tail of it at ear-level. He is already robed as a monk. In the Wetkyi-in Ku-byauk-ngē relief now at Pagán Museum (Pl. 410 c), the pose is similar, the hair undone. The left hand holds the tail of it at shoulder-level. The stone relief in the E. Hall of the Nanda (Pl. 312 a) has the better pose: head slightly tilted; left elbow a little higher than the right. The right hand holds the sword, the left the hair-knot above the point of severance. Very similar to this, and perhaps the strongest, is the stone in the ‘Eighty-Series’ (Pl. 289 c), with its curving nimbus continued above the shoulder. There are also two reliefs high up in the N. and S. Shrines: (Pl. 313 c, d): the former the loveliest, with Indra descending from above; the

78 For a Gandhāran relief showing the ‘Adoration of the Bodhisattva’s head-dress in the Trayastriṃśa Heaven,’ see Marshall, fig. 62 and pp. 46–47. “The festival of the Hairlock at Vaipayasena palace, Sudharmā assembly-hall of the gods” was also illustrated at Bhārhut (see N. G. Majumdar, op. cit., Part I, p. 44 (No. 182). Also at Pagán, Loka-teikpan temple (see Ba Shin, op. cit., Pl. 22 b).

79 Marshall, op. cit., fig. 104 and p. 80. Cf. the relief in Lahore Museum, shown by H. Buchthal, op. cit., fig. 22.


82 Dāthāvaṭṭa, v. 35, as cited by Malalasekara (vol. I, p. 1100). Dussa thūpa is illustrated at Pagán, Loka-teikpan temple (see Ba Shin, op. cit., Pl. 22 a).

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**This is the one shown by Mme. de Silva-Vigier (Pl. 49).**
latter an interesting failure, with the sword too high. There is also a large painting in the Pāhtothāmya, on the outer wall of the N. corridor (Pl. 166 a); here the hairknot is undone. In all these renderings the Bodhisattva sits alone, in padmāsana. The 'Eighty-Series' adds another relief (Pl. 289 d) – the Launching of the Hairknot. Here Col. Ba Shin notes the first appearance of the formal Buddha-ugnīṣṭha.

If the Mon/Burmese artists of Pagan were the first to invent this design, they have no reason to be ashamed: for it is a noble one, full of dignity and resolve. For other representations, see the 2nd century trapstone carving at Kanheri Cave89, with Channa and Kanthaka in close attendance, fierceness of resolve made doubly poignant by the pathos of parting; or again the 8th–9th century stone-carvings at Barabudur, Java88, where the Bodhisattva, standing, severs his hair with a gesture similar to ours at Pagan, and Indra descends and ascends much as he does on the Nanda reliefs. Note the pathetic scene that follows, where Channa weeping turns to depart, and Kanthaka looks back at his master also on the verge of tears, and the umbrella-holder, seated, strokes the Prince’s foot. For grace and beauty charged with pity, no sculpture in the world surpasses these.

FIRST VISIT TO RĀJAGAJA (N. 52–55, D. 41)

No. 51 in the ‘Eighty-Series’, an earth-touching Buddha, is lovely, but clearly intrusive, filling a gap. In No. 52 the intense young Monk is on the march, without almsbowl, via Anupiya (Pl. 290 d). In No. 53 he collects his first alms in Rājagaha, his noble bearing noted by king Bimbisāra’s messengers (Pl. 291 a). In No. 54 he sits and eats his almsfood at the foot of Mt. Paṇḍava (Pl. 291 b). In No. 55 Bimbisāra visits him and offers him the kingdom. He replies that all he seeks is Buddhahood. The king makes him promise that when he has attained it, his first visit will be to Rājagaha (Pl. 291 c). Three painted panels in the Pāhto-thāmya, on the outer wall of the N. corridor, show Gotama collecting alms in Rājagaha; visited by king Bimbisāra; and seated with hermits. There is also a large painting in the Nagayōn (S. corridor, inner wall). I have so far found no parallels to these scenes in Gandhāran art. The six years of Austerities which follow, the Fast and the Breaking of the Fast, were also very briefly represented in Gandhāra.


An early Gandhāran relief from Jamāl-Garhī (1st century A.D.), now in the British Museum84, shows the Ascetic Buddha seated like an Indian yogi on a grass-covered throne. Face, arms, and legs are wasted, torso almost to a skeleton. On his left stands Brahmā and, behind him, Indra, "recognizable by his distinctive headress. Observe" says Marshall, "his charming, almost girlish, face and the offering of ambrosia which he bears in his hand for the starving Bodhisattva. The lady on the right of the Bodhisattva is no doubt Sujātā, as Foucher rightly divined, with an offering of more human food in her hands... The group as a whole is very attractive – the finest, I think, as it is also the earliest, version of this episode that has come down to us." Contrast is obviously intended: Sujātā is large and plump and matronly. The scene combines three elements: the fast proper, the gods’ instilling of ambrosia, and Sujātā’s offering of milk-rice.

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88 de Silva-Vigier, Pls. 50, 51. Zimmer, II, Pl. 483 a, b.
84 Marshall, Buddhist Art of Gandhāra, fig. 84 and pp. 60–61.
Chapter IX

The compression may be pushed still further. Gotama had two long fasts: the one before Sujātā's offering; the other after it, during the four or seven weeks spent around the Bodhi tree. Peshawar Museum Sculpture No. 799 shows the single figure of 'the Ascetic Gautama' in extreme emaciation. This should imply the first fast: but the predella below shows the arrival of a cart and animals, and offerings by men to a seated figure in the centre. This must be the second fast, broken by the arrival from Orissa of the caravan of the merchants Taphussa and Bhallika, and their offering of cakes and honey. The well-known Sikri image of the Ascetic Gautama, now in Lahore Museum, also has a predella which seems to combine both food-offerings: Sujātā and Puṇṇā on the right, Taphussa and Bhallika on the left. In Muttra Museum the stone relief from Maholi village comes nearest to the Burma pattern: the haloed Ascete seated on a throne between two standing worshippers. In all these scenes the Gandhāran artist aimed at cruel realism; not so those of Pagān. The latter barely hint at austerity in the sunken stomach; legs and arms are as stout as ever. They lacked, no doubt, anatomical knowledge: but they also lacked, in the Pagān period, the desire to show pain, and they set little store by realism.

In the 'Eighty-Series' the tale of events is as follows: — No. 56, Gotama's first teacher, Āḷāra Kālāma (Pl. 292 d). No. 57, his second teacher, Uddaka Rāmaputta (Pl. 292 a). No. 58, his first disciples, the Pañcavaggyā or Five Companions — Konḍañña, Assaji, Bhaddiya, Vappa and Mahānāma (Pl. 292 b). No. 59, the Fast; his face and torso wasted: not his arms, into which two Devas rub ambrosia (Pl. 292 c). No. 60, he falls in hieratic swoon under a tree; a Deva kneels at his feet; the Pañcavaggyā sit in prayer below (Pl. 292 d). If No. 61 is not intrusive, we must accept Duroiselle's view: "he has recovered from his faint, and the bowl shows that he is determined to eat food now."

There are other Pagān versions of the Fast. A broken stone relief at Kyaukkulオン明 (Pl. 141 d) shows the emaciated Gotama sitting cross-legged in dhyāna (?) mudrā, while two young Devas, with tubes in their outer hands, press ambrosia into his ears. In a cross-passage of the Nanda there is a similar stone relief with broken top (Pl. 318 d), showing a thinnish Gotama seated on double lotus in padmāsana, dhyāna mudrā, while two young Devas, with tubes raised in their inner hands, press the ambrosia in behind his ears. Another stone relief, in the E. shed of Pagān Museum (Pl. 407 d), presents Gotama with ribs all showing, seated as above, but not on lotus, the two crowned Devas merely standing in prayer on either side of him. Two Devas and three Devīs sit with lotus-stalks below. Finally, in the W. corridor of Myinpygyu temple (Pl. 152 c), among the life-size brick-and-stucco seated Buddhas, there is a damaged image of Gotama in dhyāna mudrā, practising austerities.

**Sujātā’s offering**

The story, beautifully told in prose in the Middle Mon Ajapāla inscription near Pegu, was no doubt popular at Pagān; but there the sculptors were content with a bare memento of the scene, mostly relegated to predellas. Contrast those of Barabudur, Java, whose figure of Sujātā, in her grace,

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87 V. S. Agrawala, Handbook ... Curzon Museum, Pl. XXII, fig. 43, and pp. 52–53.
88 A.S.I. 1914, p. 91. Note that the order in Duroiselle's plates is muddled at this point. His fig. 44 is No. 55 (Bimbisāra). This should be followed by his fig. 43, No. 56 (Āḷāra Kālāma). Then, after one gap, comes his fig. 42, No. 58 (the Pañcavaggyā).
her pride, and her humility, as she approached the Future Buddha, is surely one of the great sculptures of the world.

A Kyaukkhu Önemain relief with broken reredos (Pl. 142 a) shows a strong Buddha seated in padmāsana on double lotus, left hand in lap, right hand taking food out of an almsbowl set before him. There is no predella showing Sujātā or the goats; so it is doubtful if the scene is the eating of Sujātā’s milk-rice. As shown in the Nagayon, N. corridor (Pl. 202 c), the scene is unmistakeable. Gotama sits above in dhyāna mudrā, without lotus. In the centre of the predella, facing right, a woman kneels intently worshipping or praying, between two horned goats. The ‘goatherders’ tree’, Ajāpāla, is conspicuously absent. The scene appears to combine that of Sujātā making her original prayer to the god of the Goatherders’ Banyan Tree (nigrodha, Ficus indica); and also that of her maid, Puṇṇā, sent to prepare a place for the thank-offering, and finding the tree resplendent, with Gotama seated under it.

The story is one of the 16 basic scenes which Kyanzittha displayed in all four Halls of the Nanda (Pl. 309 a, b, c, d). These all show Gotama seated under a tree on double lotus, in padmāsana, dhyāna mudrā. On the predella, left and centre, are two women (Puṇṇā and Sujātā) facing a tethered goat. The woman in the centre has a stick over her shoulder. Two stone reliefs high up in the E. and W. Shrines of the Nanda, may also illustrate the scene (Pl. 314 c, d). Here Gotama sits as above; below, pressed against the double lotus, are two small women facing each other, kneeling in prayer. In the ‘Eighty-Series’ there has been, I think, both loss and confusion. No. 63 (D 47, Pl. 293 c) is the main illustration: the two women kneeling on the predella, Sujātā on the left holding up her golden bowl; Gotama, above, already has an almsbowl. No. 64 (Pl. 293 d) appears to be intrusive. Did the original relief show the Bathing at Suppatiṭṭha ford? No. 65 (Pl. 294 a) – almost identical with No. 54 (Pl. 291 b) – shows him eating the milk-rice. Nos. 66 and 67 (Pl. 294 b, c) may also be intrusive. Then comes the March to the Bodhi Tree. But after the Casting of the Grass, in No. 74 (Pl. 296 b) Sujātā re-appears with a water-pot before the earth-touching Buddha. And this is followed by the First Sitting on the Throne. No. 74 seems clearly out of place.

There are also paintings of Sujātā’s offering in the Pāhito-thāmya (outer wall of E. corridor, near N.E. corner), and in Rājakumār’s temple (outer wall of N. corridor, top row, near N.W. corner).

A unique relief in the Hall of the Nagayon (Pl. 193 c) shows the sequel: the Launching of the golden Almsbowl in the Nerañjarā river, to join the other three launched by the previous Buddhas of this kalpa, all reverently preserved by Kāla, the old Nāga king. Gotama is shown on the riverbank (right hand lost, left before the body). The predella shows three successive scenes. On the left the bowl is sinking. On the right Kāla is sleeping. In the centre he sits up and worships the Four Bowls, welcoming the advent of a Fourth Buddha.

Kālīka, the Nāga king, appears also in Gandhāran art. After eating the milk-rice and crossing the river Nirañjanā (Pali Nerañjarā), Gotama sets out for the Bodhi tree. On his way, says Spooner, “it so chanced that he passed the abode of Kālīka, the king of the Nāgas. Perceiving the effulgence of the Master’s body, Kālīka and his wife Suvarṇaprabhāsā issued forth, and after uttering a hymn of

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90 de Silva-Vigier, Pls. 57, 58. Zimmer, II, Pl. 484 a, b. The Barabuddur also has a beautiful carving of the Future Buddha at Suppatittha ford, taking his bath in the river Nerañjarā, before he eats the milk-rice. No hint here of any emaciation. See A. J. B. Kempers, Ancient Indonesian Art (Harvard Univ. Press, 1959), Pls. 79, 86 “The Buddha bathing in the Nairanjana river”; Pls. 85 “The maiden Sujata offers a bowl of milk rice to the Buddha.”

praise, pronounced the prophecy of his approaching Enlightenment”.
Marshall illustrates the story with a sculpture from Sikri, now in Lahore Museum.

**approach to the bodhi tree (N. 68–75, D. 48–50)**

The ‘Eighty-Series’ of the Nanda lingers over this crucial theme. No. 68 is a fine original sculpture showing Gotama, resolved, with both hands raised in vyākhyaṇā and vītarka mudrā, moving slowly left under the fixed umbrella, between Devas bearing poles with gonfalons (Pl. 294 d). In No. 69 he faces front with palms drooped, receiving the eight handfuls of grass which Sotthiya, standing on the left, is giving him (Pl. 295 a). Arrived at the aśvattha Peepal Tree, he stands or moves in doubt (Nos. 70, 71, 72) whether to approach it from S., W., or N. (Pl. 295 b, c, d). In No. 73, approaching from the E., he casts the grass (Pl. 296 a), and lo! a throne arises. In No. 75 (we omit No. 74, which is out of place), he takes his Earth-touching Seat, while Brahmā on the right stands holding the umbrella, and Indra on the left sounds his conch (vijayuttara-sāṅkha) (Pl. 296 c). This last scene was clearly a favourite of Kyanzittha, confident, himself also, that he was bound for Buddhahood. Eight more reliefs – Nos. VIII and IX in each of the four Halls of Nanda, placed to left and right of all four entrances to the temple proper – show this scene with little variation (Pl. 304, a, b, c, d); also two more in the Nagayôn (Pls. 194 e, 201 d). In every case the Buddha sits in Earth-touching attitude.

The grass-cutter Svastika (Pali Sotthiya) and his gift of grass (symbol of the Rishi’s throne) was well-known to Gandhāran artists. Marshall gives two very different illustrations. One is the Peshawar Museum relief, a realistic picture, showing Gotama with rimmed halo and “outsized uṣṇīṣa”, standing between Svastika (on the left, as at Pagán) and Vajrapāni (on the right)93. The other is the Lahore Museum relief from Sikri, where formal Indian influence is far more obvious. There is also a sculpture of the subject, it seems, No. 45 in the Indian Museum95. Majumdar illustrates another sculpture there, No. 46, a relief which looks as if it came from Sikri: – “It shows Gautama approaching the seat under the Bodhi tree (Bodhimanḍa) on which grass has been spread. The bust appearing below the seat is that of the Earth-goddess who was asked by Gautama to bear witness to his having reached the stage preceding Enlightenment. Behind him is Māra, the Evil One, carrying a sword, and there is also a devotee standing at the right hand corner. The figures to the left are probably Māra, his wife, and other members of his party... Two angels are seen flying towards the tree96.” An īrdhva-paṭṭa at Peshawar Museum, Sculpture No. 787, has a top panel showing a similar scene, described by Spooner as follows: – “The seat itself is shown to be already strewn with grass. It is therefore now prepared. The expectant Earth-goddess is depicted on the front face of the seat, with merely her head and shoulders rising from the ground – which is another Greek touch, while the small figure in the background is the Spirit of the Bodhi-tree. Unfortunately, the right hand side of the stone is lost, but the left shows a divine couple... gods of the Śuddhāvāsa Heaven.”97

92 *Buddhist Art of Gandhāra*, fig. 75 and p. 57.
93 *ibid.*, fig. 61 and pp. 46–47: one of the ‘Mardān group’; perhaps from Swāt (pp. 40–41).
94 *ibid.*, fig. 76 and pp. 57–58.
95 N. G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 45.
96 *ibid.*, Part II, Pl. VIII b “Gautama approaching the Bodhi tree,” and pp. 45–46.
97 D. B. Spooner, *Handbook... Peshawar Museum*, Plate facing p. 30 (Sculpture No. 787, top panel), and pp. 15–16.
MĀRA’S ASSAULT (MĀRADHARṢAṆA)

Devas innumerable hailed Gotama’s first sitting under the Bodhi tree, as well as the old Nāga king, who brought his choir. (The Nāga choir is illustrated in Gandhāra sculpture, in the Kāfr-kot panel now at the British Museum\(^\text{98}\): but what the occasion of the concert was, is not clear.) But at sunset on that day, when Māra (the god of Death) launched his attack, they all, Kāśa, Indra, Brahmā, etc., took fright and fled. After Māra’s defeat they returned to celebrate the Buddha’s triumph.

The earliest version of the scene may be on the Prasenajit Pillar, S. torana of Bārhat Stupa\(^\text{99}\) (now at the Indian Museum). In the top panel is the aśvālita tree with gods whistling and waving. Below this, a throne with two triratna symbols, worshippers, and a free-standing column with elephant-capital. The old gloss says “Enlightenment of the Lord Śākyamuni.” Below this, a panel shows the adoration of various deities; and below this, their dance-concert.

At Sāṇcī (Great Stupa, W. torana, lowest architrave) the scene is much more warlike. It “extends over the three sections of the architrave,” says Marshall. “In the centre is the temple of Bodh-Gayā with the pipal tree and the throne of the Buddha within; to the right, the armies of Māra fleeing discomfited from the Buddha; to the left, the Devas celebrating the victory…”\(^\text{100}\) The N. torana middle architrave, less warlike, shows “the hosts of Māra’s demons, personifying the vices, the passions and the fears of mankind. The vigour and humour with which these fantastic beings are portrayed is...far more forceful than anything of the kind produced by the artists of Gandhāra.”\(^\text{101}\)

The Gandhāran scene Marshall illustrates with a sculpture of the ‘Mardān group’, now at Peshawar Museum\(^\text{102}\). The Buddha sits “on his grass-strewn throne beneath a canopy of leaves. He is in the Earth-touching attitude (bhūmisparsa-mudrā). On his left, is Māra, sword in hand, being held in check by Indra; on his right, one of Māra’s warriors, similarly held by Brahmā. In front are two more fallen warriors, and above, two pairs of angels bringing offerings to the Buddha.” Certainly a very tame affair compared with Sāṇcī. The 2nd–4th century sculpture in grey schist, from Gandhāra, now in Boston Museum of Fine Arts\(^\text{103}\), is much more vigorous as a fight, but badly damaged. None of these warriors seem monstrous. Describing sculptures 47–52 in the Indian Museum, Majumdar notes as follows\(^\text{104}\): “In the Gandhāra School this scene is of common occurrence and usually dealt with in two parts; first the attack of Māra followed by his army, and next, his defeat. No. 47 is only a fragment; two of Māra’s soldiers, armed with a sword and a shield, are seen tumbling down below the seat of the Bodhisattva. Another fragment is No. 48, in which the figure of the Bodhisattva is missing. It shows Māra’s army divided into rows. Below, at the right hand corner, is his chariot, and one of his sons is trying to dissuade him from the campaign. Above are three archers, one mounted on an elephant and the other two on fabulous animals. In the uppermost row, a number of gods distinguishable

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\(^{98}\) Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhāra*, fig. 82 and p. 60.


\(^{102}\) *Buddhist Art of Gandhāra*, fig. 67 and pp. 48–49.

\(^{103}\) de Silva-Vigier, Pl. 70. The same book also gives other interesting pictures of Māra’s assault: Pl. 68, from Barabuṣpur (a real battle, but almost no monsters); Pl. 71, painting from Ajanṭa, c. 600 A.D. (Māra’s monsters above, Māra’s daughters below); Pl. 73, from Tun-huang, China, 10th century (amusing monsters of every shape and form.)

\(^{104}\) N. G. Majumdar, *Guide to...Indian Museum*, Part II, pp. 46–47.
by their halos are hurrying towards the Bodhi tree. Within the small compass of No. 49 both the attack of Māra and his defeat are depicted. The Bodhisattva is seated on a throne in meditation with his right hand pointing downwards, calling the Earth goddess as witness just before Enlightenment. The sinister-looking Māra standing nearby is about to unsheathe his sword. Below the throne two of his soldiers have dropped down. On the right the figure of the Buddha... appears once again, but this time as standing, and Māra is shown as shrinking back and about to beat a retreat...”

At Pagán, of the extant stone-reliefs of the ‘Eighty-Series’ (N. 76–80; D. 51, 52), none show any sign of violence or assault. No. 76, a normal Earth-touching Buddha, may be intrusive (Pl. 296 d). No. 77 shows a small figure of Māra standing weaponless on the left in the pose of Argument. Gotama counters this by touching Earth (Pl. 297 a). No. 78 shows the temptation by Māra’s daughters (Pl. 297 b). No. 79 shows six Devas apparently saluting Gotama’s victory (Pl. 297 c). No. 80 shows the final attainment of Buddhahood (Pl. 297 d). In all these scenes the Buddha sits motionless, touching Earth. “He is calling the Mother-Earth to witness” says Duroiselle, “that this seat of Wisdom belongs to him. On no other occasion prior to this event, ought he to have been represented in this attitude... The statue of the Earth bearing witness is found on almost all important pagodas [in Burma]. She is represented as a woman... with the tresses of her hair falling in front of her breast, while with both hands she is wringing the water from it.”

She is not shown at the Nanda, nor often (I think) in Pagán pagodas. The oldest representation in Burma was probably that found by Duroiselle himself at Vesāli, the old Candra capital of N. Arakan: – “Vasundhārī, or Mother Earth, wringing her hair brought in a tress in front of her breast... It is in a sitting posture; the total height of the stone is 10 in., the figure itself being 7 3/4 in. high; the breadth at the bottom is 3 1/4 in.” Another old rendering is on the oblong terracotta plaque found in the relic-chamber of Kyaiak Dê-ap (Bo-ta-htaung) pagoda at Rangoon. Here the centre panels show the Parinirvāṇa at the top; the Bodhi tree and Earth-touching Buddha below: Vasundhārī in the third panel, kneeling towards the left but facing front, holding out the two long tresses of her hair; and in the bottom panel another kneeling figure, possibly a Nāga king.

Dichotomy, or at least ambivalence, in the rendering of Māra’s Quarrel goes back, as we have seen, to early Gandhāran art; where, however, physical assault soon takes precedence of moral or intellectual Argument. But the fighters still look human. Kyanzittha and his mahāthera Arahan clearly preferred to make the quarrel a battle of Minds rather than Bodies; and, as Duroiselle suggests, “must have given explicit instructions as to how they desired the scene to be presented.” But Kyanzittha was no bigot. His admittance of Nat-worship at the Shwézigōn is proof of that. He allowed his wife Abèyadana to build her Mahāyānist temple almost side by side with his Theravādin Nagayôn. So he gave his sculptors a free hand to portray Māra’s monsters with the old North Indian extravagance around the exterior of the Nanda; while, for the devotional interior, he confined them strictly to the new canon from Ceylon.

But Māra’s Assault was so popular a theme, both with the public and the painters, that in their earlier temples both he and his queen had to find a place for it. This was apt to be on the back inner wall of the corridor on either side of the large Buddha in the central niche, where the battle could be displayed at large, the attack either coming from both sides against the centre, or the attack on one
side and the retreat on the other. The attack is from both sides in Gandhāran art, and also that of Amarāvati and Barabaḍur. At Sānci it comes from the right. In the Nagayon the attack comes from the right, the retreat on the left. In the Abèyadana, and usually at Pagán, it is the other way round. The Nagayon panel measures 26 ft. long by 8 ft. high – perhaps the largest at Pagán. No gloss below was necessary. On the Sārnāth many-scene slab now at Calcutta Museum, Māra’s Assault is curiously combined with Māra’s daughters’ Temptation. At Ajanṭā the same is true: the battle on both sides above; Māra’s daughters on both sides below. Most curious of all, the Buddha sits in varadamudrā!

TEMPTATION BY MĀRA’S DAUGHTERS (N. 78, Pl. 297 b)

In the later Theravāda texts the Temptation takes place in the 5th week after the Enlightenment, not under the Peepal tree (Pali assattha, Ficus religiosa) but under the Banyan (Pali nigrodha, Ficus indica), the Ajapāla, ‘Goatherds’ Tree’. But in North Indian art, including Ajanṭā as we have seen, whether for dramatic or instructional reasons, or for compression and artistic convenience, the event has been transferred to the pre-Enlightenment period. The orthodox Theravāda view is that given in the Middle Mon Ajapāla inscription of Pegu. The scene was here illustrated by many large glazed terracottas, some of the finest in Burma; but many of the best have found their way into Western Museums.

The oldest showing of the scene in Burma is on the two-tiered oval votive tablet of Kanthōnzn Hill, Śrī Kṣetra. The upper tier shows the Buddha touching Earth between two Bodhisattvas. The lower shows them in the same attitude between two naked women. All the figures are seated and haloed. In the ‘Eighty-Series’ of Nanda (Pl. 297 b), the Buddha sits touching Earth under a formal bushy tree (Besnagar type). Below, on the predella, are the three dancing daughters of Māra: Tānḥā, Arati and Rāgā (Greed, Hatred, Passion). The two small seated figures on the right may be Vasuṁdharā, squeezing their hair.

On Pl. II of his valuable Life of the Buddha (facing p. 54), Dr. E. J. Thomas shows a simple two-tiered Amarāvati relief. The title of the upper scene – ‘Gotama meditating in his seraglio’ – must surely be wrong. He is the Buddha, wearing a monk’s robe. At his sides are five women, dancing or resting, and a man, doubtless their father Māra, in the top right corner. The scene is the Temptation. The Ajanṭā painting has been mentioned already. There is a beautiful and spacious treatment of the scene at Barabaḍur.

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108 e.g. de Silva-Vigier, Pl. 70. Marshall, Buddhist Art of Gandhāra, fig. 67.
109 e.g. Zimmer, II, Pl. 88 (c. 2nd cent. A.D.). The Buddha not shown.
110 de Silva-Vigier, Pl. 68. Sheaves of arrows are shown flying from both sides. But none reach the Buddha under his tree, or the children playing at the foot of it.
111 Marshall, Buddhist Art of Gandhāra, fig. 7 (Śaṅci, W. torana).
112 de Silva-Vigier, Pl. 95.
113 ibid., Pl. 71.
114 Malalasekera (Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, Vol. I, p. 794) places the Temptation in the 2nd week: “This is the Vinaya account, but the Jātaka extends the period to seven weeks, the additional weeks being inserted between the first and second.”
116 Indian Antiquity, Vol. XXII, 1893, Pls. IX, IXa, XII, XIII. Blagden published a short article giving the Middle Mon readings of these tablets; but I have not the reference.
118 For the Besnagar hālpavpūṭa, “Maurya or older,” see Coomaraswamy, op. cit., Pl. IV 10 and p. 229.
Chapter IX

THE ENLIGHTENMENT (N. 80, Pl. 297 d)

The simplest symbol is the best. Nothing, I think, can surpass the Barabuḍur carving shown as frontispiece to Dr. Thomas' The Life of Buddha. In Burma a reredos and double lotus seat are normally added. Pl. 297 d is a fine specimen of Kyanzittha's time.

MUCALINDA NĀGA

The 3rd (or 6th) week after the Enlightenment the Buddha spent under the Mucalinda tree (Barringtonia spp.), S.E. of the Bodhi tree, not far from the Adapāla banyan. The Nāga king of the tree sheltered the Buddha from the heavy rain and cold by winding his coils seven times round the body and holding his hood over the head. The story was well known at Pagān, if not earlier in Burma. A Kyaukku Ōnhmin relief (Pl. 142 c) shows the Buddha seated with almsbowl on double lotus in dhyāna mudrā, framed by the twisting coils and five hoods of the serpent. One of the brick and stucco images in the W. corridor of Myinpaya (Pl. 152 c) shows a stout Buddha touching Earth, shaded by five exiguous serpent-hoods. The central colossal, 18½ ft. high, made of brick and stucco gilded, in Nagayon temple shrine, (Pl. 192 a), is a standing Buddha with right hand in abhaya mudrā. He is backed with a screen of 13 serpent hoods, not unlike the lateish wooden frame of Nāga hoods shown in Pagān Museum. The tale was told that Kyanzittha himself had thus been sheltered by a young Nāga when, a weary outlaw, he had slept on the site where afterwards he built the Nagayon (‘overspread by the Nāga’).

The earliest picture of this Buddhist scene appears to be at Sāñci Great Stupa; it depicts, says Marshall, “the visit of the Nāga king Muṣilinda to the Buddha soon after his Illumination. The Nāga king is seated in the foreground, with two of his queens on his right and a ballet troupe of dancers and musicians making up the rest of the Nāga group. In the background, behind Mucilinda, is the throne of the Buddha in the shade of a nyagrodha tree, which is attended by two kinnaras and two female celestials riding, respectively, on a winged lion and a griffin.”

Nāga-hooded images are not confined to Buddhism. In an early Mathurā sculpture of the 1st or early 2nd century A.D., it is the Jain Tirthaṅkara, Pārśvanātha, who was thus protected by the seven-hooded Nāga, Dharaṇendra. In a 6th century ceiling-slab at Aihole in the Deccan, Viṣṇu sits similarly protected by the five hoods of the Ananta serpent, Śeṣa. So too in Bādami Cave III, c. 578 A.D. On the four or five reclining images of Viṣṇu found in Burma, at Śrī Kṣetra, Thaton, Kawgun Cave and Pagān, the serpent hoods are not always visible; but he is certainly sleeping on Śeṣa. A coiled Nāga megalith can still be seen at Paya-gyi, Śrī Kṣetra; only the four lower coils remain; so whether it ever housed an image, Vaiśnava or Buddhist, is uncertain. The Mucalinda Buddhas of

120 Glass Palace Chronicle, p. 108.
121 W. torana, left pillar, inner face, 2nd panel. See Marshall, A Guide to Sanchi, p. 81; Buddhist Art of Gandhāra, fig. 10 b and p. 13.
123 ibid., Pl. XLIV 165 and p. 241.
124 Zimmer, II, Pl. 127.
127 Kawgun Cave: A.S.B. 1958, p. 64 (14); Arch. Neg. 7717 (1957–58).
128 Pl. 147 c.
Kamboja appear to date only from the end of the 10th century. Dupont found four such stone images in the later strata of Mon art in Dvāravatī, as well as fragments in brick and stone from near P'ra Pat'om. Their source he traces to Amāravatī. We in Burma seem to have had little contact with the Andhras. Did our form of Nāga-hooded images reach us via Dvāravatī?

THE FIRST SERMON

A symbolic illustration of the First Sermon is visible at Sāñcī, on the torana of Stupa III (early 1st century A.D.): -- a large Wheel with 28 spokes set on top of a pillar, with four deer grazing naturally below. In early Gandhāran art at Loriyān Tangai, when the ban on representing the human Buddha was still in force, a fragment (now at Calcutta Museum) still shows a carved pillar with Corinthian capital and emerging Yakṣa, shaped like the Triratna symbol, supporting three overlapping Wheels (for the Three Gems). Four of the Five Companions (Bhadravariya), with shaven heads realistically carved, come out from their cell-doors to worship it. The Buddha's Footprints are shown on the torus. A late Gandhāran relief from the same place, carved in the same micaceous schist, shows that formalism is conquering. The Buddha, it is true, is now visible in the centre, seated on a grass-strewn throne under a mango tree, his right hand in abhaya mudrā. The five Bhadravargyas sit to left and right of him, also on grass-strewn thrones, their features still carefully modelled. There are no haloes. The upper row shows gods with faces “doll-like” in comparison. Three Deer are crouched against the throne, and a small pillar as before, crowned with the Triratna symbol and the Wheel. In the 5th century Gupta relief at Sārnāth, though the grand stone carving and delicate modelling are beyond the reach of Kyanzittha's sculptors, the design is largely the same: -- a carved round halo planted on the old square reredos; the medial vijālas still prominent, the crouching elephants gone, the spouting makaras passing into shoulder-lozenges or gnomons. The Buddha sits alone above, in padmāsana, dharmacakra mudrā, his crossed legs and cushioned seat suggesting the double lotus still to come. The side-face Wheel and two affronted Deer, the five colourless monks, and other adorants, are now relegated to the pillared base.

The earliest Burma renderings of the First Sermon, from Śrī Kṣetra, have been briefly mentioned in Chapter VIII (pp. 135-6): -- (i) some worn terracotta votive tablets, recovered from a terrace of the Bawbaw-gyi, and from Mëlunby-gōn, Mahtaw village. They are in three tiers. The upper tier shows the Buddha seated in padmāsana, dharmacakra mudrā, with two figures seated in prayer on either side of him. Below is the Wheel, full-face, with three seated adorants on each side. Below are four Deer, with (probably) the Triratna symbol between them, and jungle at each end. The five monkish figures on the left side of the plaque, are doubtless the Five Companions. (ii) In the East Zégu sculpture the

130 L'Archéologie mōne de Dvāravatī, pp. 251-265 and figs. 494-497. Dupont says (p. 261) that the Khmer image of Buddha on Nāga appears only at the end of the 10th century, in Mahāyānist association; while the Dvāravatī image is earlier, and associated with the Hinayāna.
131 Marshall, Buddhā Art of Gandhāra, fig. 4 b and p. 10.
132 ibid., fig. 59 and pp. 45-46.
Buddha’s hands are not in dharmacakra mudrā, and Mahāyānist influence is seen in the two crowned Bodhisattvas standing beside him, holding fly-whisks. The pillared Wheel (?) two front-face Deer, two monks and two celestials (?) are crushed together on the predella. (iii) The Shwé-nyaung-bin-yo sculpture\(^\text{137}\) is excessively formal: the large-headed Buddha under a fixed umbrella, seated on multiple lotus (with stalk) between two kneeling monks in prayer, all facing front. Below is the pillared Wheel, front-face, between two Deer couchant with inner legs raised. The great Brahmā, Sahampati, who had persuaded the reluctant Buddha to preach his Law, kneels in the bottom right corner; a king, probably Indra, in the bottom left. (iv) The four-tiered Nyaung-ni-bin sculpture\(^\text{138}\) is the most remarkable. The second (or main) tier shows a triple-arched Bodhgayā temple, the Buddha in the centre, in dharmacakra mudrā between two kneeling monks, facing front in prayer. All are on double lotus. Above them, on each side of the stupa-śikhara, stand two Buddhas in dharmacakra mudrā, guarded at each corner on a lower level by a standing Brahmā facing outwards. Below the central Buddha is the Wheel, resting on the inner forelegs of two affronted Deer, couchant on double lotus. In the bottom corners, Brahmā (on the right) and Indra (?) on the left, kneel on pillar-bases. In the centre two half-kneeling figures (donors ?) hold offerings in vases on their raised knees. – This sculpture appears to combine two different scenes, that of the First Sermon below, and that of the Twin Miracles, above. A similar combination is mentioned below, under the ‘Great Miracle’.

At Pagán, the First Sermon was one of the basic scenes selected by Kyanzittha for display, in the Hall of Nagayôn (Pl. 193 a) and the four Halls of Nanda (Pl. 303 a, b, c, d). There is little variation in these stone reliefs: above, the Buddha sits in padmāsana, dharmacakra mudrā; on double lotus in the Nanda, without it in the Nagayôn. The Wheel is never shown; but Deer with inner foreleg raised couch in each corner of the predella. Between the Deer sit four figures in the Nagayôn: two monks on the left in converse, two Brahmās on the right in prayer. In the Nanda, the S. Hall has two such reliefs, one doubtless a stray from the E. Hall, which has none. This stray shows at least one Brahmā on the right side of the predella. I am not sure of the others: they may all be monks. The Nagayôn (E. corridor, inner wall) has also a large painting of the scene. The Buddha sits as usual. Three monks on the right, two on the left, sit facing him in prayer. There are three tiers of Brahmās below. No Wheel; but up the left side twelve tiers of Deer in panels stand facing the Master with foreleg raised; up the right side are seven tiers of Buddhas sitting sideways in dharmacakra mudrā.

THE GREAT MIRACLE

Every Buddha must perform this miracle. Its occurrence in Gotama’s case is placed in the 6th year after the Enlightenment. It consisted of a large number of miracles, each of which may be a subject for representation: –

(i) It begins with a challenge from the heretics (in Burma usually depicted as Ājīvakā or Naked Ascetics) to a rival display of miraculous powers in the presence of the king of Kosala, Prasenajit. Accepting the challenge, the Buddha says he will perform his miracle at the mango tree near the gate of Śrāvasti. The heretics destroy all mango trees in the neighbourhood. But the Buddha, accepting a mango from Gaṇḍa, the king’s gardener, eats it, then plants and waters the seed, which springs up

\(^{137}\) *A.S.B.* 1940, Pl. II d, and pp. 12–13.

overnight. The heretics, put ultimately to shame, flee or drown themselves: — This was the favourite theme of Kyanzittha and Rājakumār.

(ii) Prasenajit, a friend of the Buddha, builds a special mandapa for the miracles. Brahmās and gods descend (devorohana). The Buddha takes his seat in the air on a golden lotus supported by the Nāga kings Nanda and Upananda. — This theme (mostly absent from Pali) was popular in Gandhāran art.

(iii) The Yamaṇaka prātihārya or ‘Twin Miracles’ are the climax (though these had been performed earlier at Kapilavastu). Flames burst from the Buddha’s shoulders, while water pours from his feet. Six-coloured rays from his body spread over the universe. Countless replicas of himself in different attitudes reach up to the sky. — Such themes are developed to the full, especially in Mahāyānist art.

For the Gandhāran versions nearest to those in Burma, compare the Begrām relief in Kabul Museum, Afghanistan339, showing the Buddha standing in abhaya mudrā, flames rising from his shoulders, and three pairs of nirmāṇa Buddhas above and at his sides. Compare also the Takht-i-Bahi sculpture No. 835 in Peshawar Museum, where he sits in dhyāna mudrā, and numerous pairs fly off in all directions; or No. 280 with the Kharoṣṭhī inscription, where he sits in dharmacakra mudrā on the Nāga kings’ thousand-petalled lotus;340 or again Plate III (facing p. 98) in E. J. Thomas’ The Life of Buddha, where he sits, under the kirtimukha, on the Nāga kings’ lotus, surrounded by a gallery of pairs. For the simpler Gupta version from Sārnāth, now in Calcutta Museum, see Pl. 94 of Mme. de Silva-Vigier’s The Life of the Buddha.

In Old Burm a the number of ‘Twins’ is usually reduced to a minimum. A stone relief from Shwényaung-bin ridge, Śri Kṣetra341, has just a formal, frontal Triad set against a plain arched backslab: the central Buddha seated in padmāsana on a high seat; on each side of him a Buddha seated in pralambanāsana — all three with hands in dharmacakra mudrā. Nearby, in a field S. of Taunglōnnyo village, was found a fine terracotta votive tablet342: in the centre a crowned Buddha seated cross-legged in dharmacakra mudrā, between two crowned nirmāṇa Buddhas sitting sideways with one leg raised, one hanging, but facing front with hands also in dharmacakra mudrā. All sit on double lotuses within a large trefoil arch, set against receding roofs and stūpa-śikhara. At the side near the top are very likely two other seated Buddhas.

At Thatôn, Shwézayan pagoda, the peak of king Makuṭa’s trāp inscription343 similarly shows a crowned Buddha seated cross-legged in dharmacakra mudrā. On each side, in pralambanāsana, sits sideways but faces front a nirmāṇa Buddha, crownless, also in dharmacakra mudrā. The scene should be the Twin Miracle, but below the lotus seat appears the Wheel, with Deer on each side, i.e. the First Sermon!

A votive tablet with deep rims, found frequently at Tagaung, Ōdok pagoda344, and also at Myoma village in the north of Prome district,345 but not as yet at Pagán, shows a triple archway with the Earth-touching Buddha in the centre, and standing nirmāṇa Buddhas in the side-arches, their outer hands hanging, their inner raised before the body. Below, there is the Buddhist ‘credo’ in Nāgari.

343 Pl. 56 a, b, c, d, e, f and Pl. 57 a. A.S.B. 1916, p. 38, Tablet A. U Mya, Votive Tablets of Burma, Part I, figs. 63, 64. Cf. fig. 104 (from Twanté).
At Kyaik Dé-ap (Bo-ta-htaung) pagoda, Rangoon, a votive tablet\textsuperscript{148} reduces the number of Buddhas to two: just two trefoil arches crowned with umbrellas, holding two nirmana Buddhas standing on lotus, their outer hands hanging, their inner raised before the body. The one on the left hangs his right hand in varada mudrā, The one on the right raises his right hand in abhaya mudrā. There is Nāgari writing below. A similar tablet may be seen in the platform-museum of Pegu, Shwémawdaw pagoda.

A plaque flame-like or fig-leaf in shape, found at Tadágalé, Rangoon\textsuperscript{147}, serves as a link with Siam. Coedès mentions a specimen found at Bejrupuri. His specimen, better preserved than ours, he describes as follows\textsuperscript{148} :— "The Buddha, with regalia, seated on a lotus throne supported by three elephant-heads, and in the attitude of touching the Earth. He is surrounded by many other Buddhas in the same attitude, those above him being seated upon long-stemmed lotus flowers. Height : o.m.12."

– He does not say it illustrates the Twin Miracles; but I expect it does.

In the year following the Enlightenment, on the Buddha’s first return to Kapilavatthu, he performed a Twin Miracle at the Nigrodhārāma, in order to convince his proud Sākiyan kinsmen. The scene is painted in the Nagayón (S. corridor, outer wall, near N.E. corner), but the top half is lost. It is clearly painted in the shrine of Pagán Pāhó-thāmya, on the E. side of the S. window (Pl. 167 b)\textsuperscript{149}. The Buddha sits enthroned in the centre, in padmásana, dharmacakra mudrā. The twin nirmana Buddhas sit on either side of him, in the same pose but with feet hanging. The Sākiyan princes, wrapped in robes of geometrical pattern, sit in the two lower rows; monks, seated or standing, in the top row; all are in worship. There are also several small panels about Gaṇḍa’s mango at Sāvatthi, on the topmost legible line of the N. recess, N. wall, in the same shrine.

But the theme which Kyanzittha chose as one of his 16 basic scenes in stone relief for display in the Hall of Nagayón (Pl. 193 d) and the four Halls of Nanda (Pl. 298, a, b, c, d), was the Defeat of the Heretics at Sāvatthi. Here the Buddha sits above, under Gaṇḍa’s mango tree, in padmásana, dharmacakra mudrā (without lotus in the Nagayón relief). Below, on the predella, six figures are shown: king Pasenadi on the right or left of centre (in the Nagayón, conversing with one of the naked heretics). On the far right a naked heretic seems to be trying to levitate (in the Nagayón, another heretic is holding on to him). Their leader was Pūraṇa Kassapa. Rājakumār tells the story more vividly in two panels of the inner wall, lower tier, S. corridor, of the Myinkaba Kubyaug-gyi (Pl. 346 a, b)\textsuperscript{150}: “The heretics perform miracles”. “The heretics, ashamed, go and drown themselves in a tank.” For a larger treatment of the scene of the Twin Miracles at Pagán, there is the N. shrine of Myinkaba Kubyaug-ngê temple. But that is after the end of our period.

\textbf{DESCENT FROM TĀVATIMSA}

At Bhārhat (early 1st century B.C.), on a panel of the Ajātaśatru pillar\textsuperscript{161}, there is the earliest showing of the Buddha’s return from Trayāstrimśat Heaven. Vertically down the centre falls the triple stair-

\textsuperscript{148} Arch. Neg. 7658 (1957–58). 6\textsuperscript{1} in. × 4\textsuperscript{1} in. × 4 in.

\textsuperscript{147} A.S.B. 1939, Pl. I e and p. 6. U Mya, Notice Tablets of Burma, Part I, fig. 88.

\textsuperscript{148} J. Siam. Soc., Vol. XX, Part I, 1926, Pl. V (centre) and p. 18.


\textsuperscript{150} For a coloured facsimile of the first panel, see A.S.I. 1930–34, Part I, Frontispiece, and pp. 45–46, 184. Height 3 ft.

\textsuperscript{151} Coomaraswamy, La Sculpture de Bharhat, Pl. XI, fig. 31. Zimmer, II, Pl. 32 b. N. G. Majumdar, A Guide to . . . the Indian Museum, Part I, p. 45 (187): — “Similar compositions, but without the ladder, appear above (186) and below (188) this panel, which remain unidentified.”
way, the Buddha's passage indicated by one Footprint at the top, and one at the bottom. On the left, the empty throne under the tree and the flying god above them, imply Indra, his stone seat Paṇḍukambala, and his Coral Tree Pāricchattaka. Rows of welcomers fill most of the remaining space.

Judged by the slab in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, the Gandhāran realization of the scene was more crowded and matter-of-fact: — triple stairs down the centre; triple tiers of stairs; six tiers of welcomers, six persons on each side; horses and chariots at the base. The haloed Buddha is shown on the three tiers, right hand in abhaya mudrā. On each tier he stands between Indra and Brahma: Indra (shown by his peculiar headdress) is on the Buddha's left, Brahma on his right (in Burma it is always the other way round). There is nothing like the triple (sc. quadruple) head of later representations to distinguish Brahma. He does not hold the umbrella, nor Indra the almsbowl or the conch, as is invariable in Burma. There is no Śāriputra at the base.

The Andhra relief now at the Metropolitan Museum in New York, shows the Buddha, happy to be back, standing on the bottom step, with the Cūḷāmaṇicetiya (?) above him and two half-kneeling worshippers below. Indra and Brahma are not in attendance. No resemblance to the scene as rendered in Burma.

The small Eight-Scene Sārnāth slab, on the other hand, comes close to it: — three standing figures: the Buddha in the centre with right hand hanging in varadāmudrā; Brahma (not yet three-faced) on the right (his left), holding the umbrella; Indra on the left holding the bowl. On the huge Old Nālandā Eight-Scene slab, Brahma (three-faced ?) also holds the umbrella; but he is still on the left (the Buddha's right) as in Gandhāra. "In the sculptures of Gandhāra" says Duroiselle, "the place of honour is always on the left, but in the Ananda it is regularly on the right". Thus Indra takes precedence of Brahma.

Pagán renderings, in stone or wood, of this popular theme stick close to the 'shorthand' summary in the 'Eight Scenes'. Brahma and Indra are indispensable. The earliest version is the broken relief at Kyaukkū Ōnhmin (Pl. 141 e). The legs, as usual, of all three figures are tall, the robes exaggerated. The Buddha's hand, hideously repaired, is in varada mudrā. Śāriputta once knelt in front of the graceful Indra. The stairway is not shown. The theme is one of the sixteen basic themes in all five of Kyanzittha's Halls (Pls. 194 a, 300 a, b, c, d). There is little difference between them. The Buddha's feet are still, but the swinging robe indicates motion. The right hand, where not repaired, is in varada mudrā above Śāriputta's head. The tilt of heads, Indra's and Brahma's, in the N. Hall sculpture (Pl. 300 d) is effective. The W. Hall sculpture (Pl. 300 c) is interesting as showing, at the base, the three stairways (of jewels, gold, and silver), with Śāriputta kneeling (as Duroiselle unkindly notes) at the top instead of the bottom. Among the 'rejects' in a cross-passage, is a sculpture with blank 'wooden' background (Pl. 319 b), which Kyanzittha always disliked. Yet surely, here if anywhere, the background should

152 de Silva-Vigier, Pl. 2. N. G. Majumdar (op. cit., Part II, pp. 55–56) mentions a "very much damaged" version of the scene (No. 74) at the Indian Museum: "Three ladders are depicted; the Buddha is seen descending by the middle one, while Brahma and Śākra by the other two, respectively on his left and right. At the foot of Śākra's ladder is his elephant, while the nun Upalavarnā appears at the foot of the middle ladder welcoming the Buddha."

153 B. Rowland, The Art and Architecture of Indiā, Pl. 71 B.

154 B. Majumdar, A Guide to Sārnāth, Pl. XII b, C(a)3.

155 R. D. Banerji, Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture, Pl. XX a, 'Stele at Jagdispur near Nalanda'; Ba Shin, Lokahiteikpan, Pl. 21.

156 A.S.I. 1914, p. 90.

157 ibid., fig. 53, and pp. 94–95.
be the open skies, not blocked as almost always in Kyanzittha’s temples, by irrelevant architecture. And how much more moving, as a work of art, is the rendering of the scene in wood, still extant in Pagán Museum (Pl. 419 a) — the short self-assured bodies, the tiny ladder with extended rungs, the homespun triumph of man’s infinite quest?

In paint, the Pagán artist first treated the scene, very freely, in Rājakumār’s temple (1113 A.D.). In his series on the history of the Abhidhamma, on the inner wall of the W. corridor, lower tier, one panel covers our scene: “At the time of the Devas’ Descent” (Pl. 346 d). The wooden ladder is shown diagonally, full face, with three Sakras and Brahmā balanced on the sides of them; but the glory of the scene still shines, with the arms of hidden Devas thrusting through the clouds to offer flowers.

PĀRILEYYAKA RETREAT

Duroiselle has an interesting note on this story. In the Vinaya text (Vol. I, Mahāvagga, pp. 352–3), only the Elephant is mentioned, not the Monkey. “The Tathāgata Udānā, on which Bigandet [The Life or Legend of Gaudama, 1858] is based, also ignores the Monkey, which, however, is mentioned in the Commentary on the Dhammapada which gives the complete story [Vol. I, part I, pp. 53 ff., Kosambaka-vatthu, Pali Text Society, 1907], which is reproduced in extenso in the ānitas (pp. 433 ff.). With the story of the Monkey as briefly narrated above, may be compared also “L’offrande du Singe” as given by Foucher in his Art gréco-bouddhique (p. 512 f.). Although in the several sources the scene of this is laid in different places, namely in Vaiśāli, Śrāvastī, Kauśambi, . . . the Monkey invariably comes to an untimely end immediately after his offering, in the one story by falling into a hole or well, in the other by being impaled on a sharp stump . . .”

In the Sārnāth Eight-Scene slab (Gupta period), the Buddha sits cross-legged, hands in lap with bowl on them. A large defaced figure of the Monkey enters on the left, bringing the honeycomb. In the right bottom corner his legs and tail are seen disappearing down the well. Above, in the top right corner, he reappears as a heavenly king.

In Burma, the Monkey certainly appears in the oldest Eight-Scene tablets we find, both at Śrī Kṣetra (East Zegu) and Pagán (Shwéhsandaw): see Pl. 70 a, b, c, etc. At the bottom left corner of the tablet, the Buddha sits in pralambanāsana, almsbowl in lap, facing front. On the right (the Buddha’s left) the little Monkey is eyeing him. The Elephant is not shown. On Pl. 70 d, e, too, where the scene is shown in the bottom right corner of the tablet, the Monkey appears on the left of the panel (the Buddha’s right). At Pegu, East Śrāvasthi Thein, in the background of the larger stone image, lower left corner, the same scene is faintly shown, with the Buddha seated in pralambanāsana, facing half-left. The Monkey is visible below him, offering the honeycomb; but not the Elephant.

At Pagán, both are shewn; in the stone relief in Nagayôn Hall (Pl. 193 b), and in that of the W. Hall of Nanda (Pl. 312 b). The designs are similar. The Buddha sits in pralambanāsana, facing front, hands in lap with almsbowl. The tiny Elephant is at the Buddha’s feet on the left. On the right

158 Late Gandhāran art, too, passed through its architectural crisis, when formal decoration all but killed narrative art. See Marshall, Buddhist Art of Gandhāra, pp. 93–96. Fig. 122 is a pretty picture, but who except a scholar would guess that it illustrated the ‘Great Miracle’?

159 Also shown on p. 75 of Lu Pe Win’s Pictorial Guide to Pagán. For a later, more elaborate painting, see A.S.I. 1936, Pl. XXXI d and pp. 78–79; but the scale of reproduction is much too small.

160 A.S.I. 1914, pp. 95–96, and Pl. XXXVII 54.

161 B. Majumdar, A Guide to Sārnāth, Pl. XIII b, C(a)3, and p. 103.

162 Arch. Neg. 7709 (1957–58).
the taller Monkey is making his offering. On the Nanda relief he is shown a second time, impaled on the stake (?). The two monks seen here in worship behind the Buddha, or the single monk on the Nagayôn relief, are there to remind us of the Pârileyyaka Sutta (Samyutta Nikâya III, 95 ff.), preached by the Buddha to some monks whom Ānanda led to the forest-retreat. The finest stone-relief of this scene, containing all the above elements, is in the Myinkaba Ku-byauk-ngê temple of Nàtoîmyâ, beyond the end of our period. In the Eight-Scene Mon fragment shown at Pl. 74 e, note the clambering Elephant.

CONVERSION OF ÂLAVAKA YAKKHA (ÂTAVIKA YAKSA)

Here too Duroiselle distinguishes two versions of the story: the older and more sober one as told in the Sutta Nipāta; and the later, as found in such modern works as Burmese Jînâthakapâkâsanî (pp. 479 ff.). The stone sculpture in the S. Hall of Nanda (Pl. 312 d) is not exciting, merely a memento of the scene: the Buddha stands in dharmacakra mudrā with the usual architecture behind. On the right, the stout broad-faced Yaktha stands with knees part-bent, as if clinging to the Buddha for protection. He is balanced by a slim monk standing in worship on the other side. The same scene is much more prettily shewn in a painting in Sayambhû temple (a little beyond the end of our period). The tushy Yaktha is here seated on the left of the Buddha (the Buddha’s right), with five Yakkhas etc. in the lower row, and four monks in the upper. The Buddha sits in padmâsana, dharmacakra mudrā, in front of a charming wooden monastery with receding roofs, bowered in leafy trees and palms. The Burmese gloss below reads: — “Here is the Lord Buddha admonishing the ferocious ogre, Âlavaka . . .”

TAMING OF NĂLAGIRI ELEPHANT

Whether for strength of design, dramatic excitement, or emotional release, the Amarâvâti tondo, now in Madras Museum, is a masterpiece beyond praise. The 7th century sculpture at Sânci Museum, though not lacking in dignity, is dead by comparison. In the former the Buddha’s height is not exaggerated, nor that of the elephant diminished. The only liberty taken, for narrative purpose, is to shew the elephant twice: squared and charging on the left, slumped and rounded on the right. In the Sânci sculpture his height is only up to the Buddha’s thigh. On Pagán reliefs, as Duroiselle says, he “might almost be taken for a rat”; and the Buddha, instead of stroking him (which he could only do by stooping), droops his hand, once in varada mudrā. Poses are all stiff and hieratic. The only hint of drama is that the tiny elephant has now two heads, one raised, one sunken. This disproportion in size robs all these Burmese carvings of tension, whatever other merit they possess. The dramatic sense was slow to evolve.

164 I am not sure of the Arch. Neg. number; but Nos. 1047 to 1050 (1911–12) are “Figures of the Buddha in the Kubyaukgalê pagoda”.
165 A.S.I. 1914, p. 96, and Pl. XXXVII, fig. 55.
168 de Silva-Vigier, Pl. 90. Zimmer, II, Pl. 86 b. Rowland, Pl. 73 B.
170 A.S.I. 1914, pp. 96–97 and Pl. XXXVII, fig. 56.
In spite of this, the Nālāgiri theme was one of the most popular in Old Burma, especially at Pegu. At Śrī Kṣetra there is the Shwênyaungbin stone sculpture with high triple nimbus. Here the Buddha and the monk on the left stand in easy pose, right hand hanging, left before the body. The elephant crouches in the bottom right corner (not the left, as is regular at Pagán). His sunk head barely reaches the knee, his rampant trunk the waistline, of the monk on the right (the Buddha’s left). This monk holds the almsbowl before the body, and raises his right hand a little, as if in warning. All three faces are rigid.

Five miles south of Pegu, there is the tall stone sculpture at Nagawun Thein. The defaced, but beautifully carved Buddha with the grand nimbus, stands turning half-left, with knees slightly bent. A plump well-modelled monk with childlike face holds the almsbowl in his left hand, and huddles behind the right leg of the Master. On the Buddha’s left side, below level of his feet, is the tusked two-headed elephant, at once charging and slumped. There is a small figure in prayer above it. With all its damage and disproportion, this is still the finest carving of the scene in Burma. The childlike monk reminds one at once of that more damaged rendering, probably of the same scene, at Thaton, Shwëzayan. There, apart from the sad-eyed childlike monk, with two arms hugging his bowl, little remains except part of the Buddha’s halo and nimbus, and an Old Mon inscription (duplicate of another in Kawgun Cave) which enables us to date these sculptures as pre-Aniruddha, probably 1st half of the 11th century A.D.

Also at Pegu, the tall S. image at E. Shwënatha Thein includes in its background another version of the story. The main high-crowned Buddha stands 6 ft. high, on double lotus, with right hand in varada mudrā. Against the right side of the lotus, below the level of his feet, stands the small elephant, as on the Nagawun sculpture, but not yet crouched, and with only a single head. Above the elephant’s back is a carved pillar. On the left of this, above the elephant’s head, stands the background Buddha of this scene, with right hand drooped as if to protect a small child standing at his feet. On the outer side of the pillar stands a tall figure, probably a monk. The original scene is thus described by Malalasekera: “At the sight of Nālāgiri all the people fled in terror. Ānanda, seeing the elephant advancing towards the Buddha, went, in spite of the Buddha’s orders to the contrary, and stood in front of the Buddha, who had to make use of his supernatural power to remove him from his place. Just then, a woman, carrying a child, saw the elephant coming and fled, in her terror dropping the child at the Buddha’s feet. As the elephant was about to attack the child, the Buddha spoke to him, suffusing him with all the love at his command, and stretching out his right hand, he stroked the animal’s forehead. Thrilling with joy at the touch, Nālāgiri sank on his knees”... Here, then, we have the whole scene in miniature. The heroic Ānanda has been pushed out of harm’s way behind the pillar. The Buddha’s concern now is to save the child, and pacify the drunken elephant. He is in the act of doing so.

Two more illustrations, much less interesting, are also at Pegu. One is on the reverse of the two-faced sculpture found in Thawka garden, Old Pegu. Here the tall Buddha stands with long right

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173 For the two Old Mon inscriptions, see I.B., Pl. IV 360 a, b. The Kawgun Cave sculpture (Arch. Neg. 7719 of 1957-58) is not of the Nālāgiri elephant-scene.
hand (query ‘repaired’?) in varada mudrā, and left in front of the body. He is flanked, as usual, by two small monks standing in prayer. “At his feet” says U Lu Pe Win (I cannot myself see the figures, but the print is poor), “one on the right and another on the left, are what one would assume to be two weatherworn elephant-figures”. If so, this is a unique posing. Finally, in the platform-museum of Shwemawdaw pagoda, there is a dark stone votive tablet, squared below, arching to a pointed top

The upper half is edged with large beading. It shows the Buddha standing in tribhanga pose on lotus, right hand hanging, left raised from the elbow and holding a lappet of his robe. On the right (the Buddha’s left) is a single small disciple holding the almsbowl. In the bottom left corner (note the change of side), there appears to be a minute elephant.

At Pagan, we know of four relief-sculptures of the scene: the earliest in Kyaukku Onhmin (Pl. 141 f); then one in the W. Hall of Nanda (Pl. 312 c), and one in a cross-passage (Pl. 319 c), probably rejected because of ‘wooden’ technique, bare background, absence of architecture; and a sculpture, possibly late, in the E. shed of the Museum (Pl. 410 f) where, although heights have been reduced, the Buddha still can barely touch the elephant’s raised trunk. All are hieratic, without life or drama or even humanity. The design is identical: the elephant, probably two-headed, always on the left; the three standing figures frontal and impassive; the Buddha’s right hand falling naturally except in the Ananda Hall relief (query ‘repaired’?), which is in varada mudrā. The most impressive is the Kyaukku relief, where the Buddha stands immensely tall, large and confident between his slim, long-eared and tiny-headed monks, bearing bowls and fly-whisks – without rapport, physical or spiritual, with the poor drunken beast so far beneath them.

The Nagayon temple has no stone sculpture of this scene; but it has a large panel of painting which includes it, with other scenes at Rājagaha: see panel on the inner wall, W. corridor, near S.W. corner. Nalagiri is here ‘spoonerized’ into Lanagiri: “This is when Devadat let loose Lanagiri so as to kill the Lord Buddha. At that time the Lord (stroked his trunk and established him?) in the Five Silas. The ornaments and clothes which all the people offered.” – Hence the change of the elephant’s name to Ratanapāla or Dhanañapāla, ‘Guardian of Wealth’.

PARINIRVĀNA

A stupa (cetiya) is the symbol for this, both at Bhārhut178 and Sānci179. In Gandhāra the oldest rendering known to Marshall is one of the Mardān group, now in Peshawar Museum180. This is already close to the normal Burma pattern. The haloed Master lies on his right side, head to the left, right hand under the head, left stretched along the body. The two sāla trees are said to be there, with their tree-spirits. The mourners’ grief is vividly and variously shown. Every face is a study in itself. On the later slab from Nathu Upper Monastery181, now at Calcutta Museum, formalism has conquered: the Buddha “is now like a stiffly frontal statue laid on its side... All trace of sorrow has gone. Every one of the actors...even the dying Buddha himself – wear the same pleasant and fatuous smile.” The scene tends to get more and more crowded: e.g. in the Swāt relief, now at Calcutta Museum182, with

177 Arch. Neg. 7691 (1957–58). Height 5½ in.
179 Sānci, Marshall, Buddhist Art of Gandhāra, fig. 5 and p. 10 (Great Stupa, W. torana).
180 Gandhāra. ibid., fig. 68 and pp. 49–50.
181 ibid., fig. 87 and pp. 68–69.
its exquisite “miniature-like carving, more suited to ivory than to stone.” But simpler designs are also found, as in the Gandhāran relief now in Honolulu. None of these appear to contain the old symbol, the Cetiya. It re-appears, however, prominently in the moving Pāla relief, now at the British Museum, with “heavenly music sounded in the sky”.

The practice of making colossal images of the Parinirvāṇa, either in caves or in the open air, started, I suppose, with the rock-cut image in Cave XXVI at Ajanṭā (1st half of the 7th century A.D.) None such have yet been traced at Śrī Kṣetra. But at Kyōntu near Waw, some 20 miles N.E. of Pegu, not far from the former mouth of the Pegu River, the local abbot showed us, S.E. of his monastery, a long grass-grown mound, probably of laterite, clearly shaped like a colossal reclining image. The head (if I remember right) was toward the East. At Pagan, two colossal reclining images of brick and stucco date from the reign of Aniruddha. The one on the W. side of Manuha temple, Myinpagan (Pls. 119, 120), is attributed to the captured Mon king of Thaton, i.e. Makuṭa. Aniruddha himself may be responsible for the other (Pl. 85 b, c), the Shinbin Thalyaung image in the brick shed W. of his Shwēhsan-daw pagoda. Describing the latter image, Taw Sein Ko writes: “Its head points to the south, whereas that of the Manuha temple points to the north, a position assumed by Gotama Buddha when he was lying on his deathbed between two sal trees at Kusinagara.”

Only one illustration of the Parinirvāṇa has yet been found at Śrī Kṣetra – the figure at the apex of the earliest Eight-Scene tablet, common to Śrī Kṣetra and Pagan (Pl. 70 a, b, c, d). Here the Buddha lies, as usual, on his right side, head to the left, upon a beaded couch, his right hand on the pillow under his cheek, his left stretched along the body. Above him is the old symbol, the Cetiya, with flowers.

Three crude votive tablets from Pegu (all marked ‘Pegu 40–41’), now in Mandalay Archaeological Office, show various versions of the scene. The top row of one shows the Buddha lying on a pallet under a broad umbrella (?), with his head to the right. On another, the top panel shows the emaciated Master lying with head to the left; and both sala trees also on the left, to make room, it seems, for Ananda, kneeling at his Master’s feet. The third tablet, or rather top of a tablet, shows two Buddhas reclining in the top panel, their heads towards the centre. A large squared-oval tablet at the Mandalay Office, of unknown origin but probably from Lower Burma, shows faint scenes, probably of the life of the Buddha. The top panel may possibly show the Parinirvāṇa, with the Buddha’s head to the right, and three diminishing stupas on each side. The oblong tablet found at Kyaik Dē-ap (Bo-thahtaung) pagoda, Rangoon, which shows Vasum⸔hārā wringing her hair under the Earth-touching Buddha, has a faint and formal Parinirvāṇa scene at the top, with head to the left. The evidence

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182 de Silva-Vigier, Pl. 121.
183 Ramaprasad Chanda, Medieval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum, Pl. XIII and pp. 52–53, “Passing of the Buddha at Kusinragari”.
185 The attribution is supported by line 12 of List 346 a, a late inscription which may possibly go back to the 16th century A.D. — the obverse of Stone 9 at Mandalay Palace Shed. The date of the image is given as 429 s./1067–68 A.D.
186 A.S.B. 1915, p. 44. Note that the 12th century rock-cut Gal Vihāra colossus, Polonnaruwa, also has his head toward the south: see de Silva-Vigier Pl. 115. Col. Ba Shin reminds me that if Aniruddha had correctly sited his Shinbin Thalyaung with head to the north, his back would have been turned to the Shwēhsandaw pagoda.
187 U Mya, Votive Tablets in Burma, Part I, fig. 93.
188 ibid., fig. 94.
189 ibid., fig. 95.
190 ibid., fig. 113.
191 See supra, note 105.
suggests that the early artists in Lower Burma were less careful than the Burmans to follow the texts strictly. Or were they without a text of the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*?

At Pagan, it seems, the rules for carving Parinirvāṇa scenes in stone were strict, and mainly in the Gandhāran tradition. There is little difference of design here between the Nagayon (Pl. 194 b), the four Halls of the Nanda (Pl. 302 a, b, c, d), and (perhaps the finest of them) the later sculpture of the Myinkaba Kun-byauk-ngē\(^{193}\). Let us take the Nanda reliefs as example. In place of the symbolic Cetiya, but (I suppose) representing it, there is a square-terraced tapering *prāsāda* (the funeral pyre?) in the background. In the Nagayon it has elaborate corner-stupas and fills the apex of the stone; but its size and breadth are much reduced in the Nanda. Below it, is the deathbed, tilted vertically with inclined quatrefoil headpiece on the left, to set off the head of the Buddha, lying hieratically, head propped on hand and three pillows. The two visible legs of the bed are curving and massive; and between them are ranged in worship the Malla princes, on either side of incense-burners or cresset-stands (*dāndadīp*). In the bottom right corner pose a dancer and a drummer. Above them, at the foot of the bed, sits or kneels Ānanda. At each top corner of the bed is a *śāla* tree, including the tree-spirit with offerings. At top left, prominent between the tree and the *prāsāda* stand Brahmā and Indra. To right of the *prāsāda* there are two rows of worshippers: four or five monks squarely seated; and above, with arms diagonally raised, bending deities with lotuses.

In one of the cross-passages of Nanda, there is a simpler and more moving version (Pl. 319 e), rejected, I expect because of its bare arching top. The top is now broken, but the older photographs show it. Below, four monks sit in formal prayer, on either side of the round cresset-stand. The floral fountain on the bier's bargeboard holds the eye. Nothing above but vacancy, and the beaded image of the Master, dead.

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**THE PAGAN ILLUSTRATOR**

This brief survey of some of the main themes of the early Pagan sculptor-painter may suffice to shew his main affiliations as an artist: with North India, from Gandhāra to Bengal. He owed little to Andhra, Pallava or Singhalese art. His limitations are clear. He was a true artist, primarily in wood, suddenly called upon by a strong-minded king to carve in sandstone an enormous number of new subjects. He had no books nor art-galleries to refer to. He knew the old Buddhist symbols, the *mudrās*, the *āsanas*, the Eight Scenes. What he could fit into that scheme, he did with skill, ease and confidence. But neither his eye nor his hand were trained in representation, and his technique was mainly confined to the two-dimensional. Kyazittha, too, was an exacting master, with a taste for gilding and architectural detail. He disliked landscape and bare spaces, and thought only of foreground, where, like Keats, he sought to 'load every rift with ore.' Such knowledge as king or sculptor had of Pāla and Bengal art, Mahāyānist and Brahmanical, could help little in the creation of a new iconography for Theravāda texts. Imagine the problems facing the artist painting the Pāhito-thāmya, called on suddenly to illustrate the thirty Nissaggiya offences, or even such simple themes as the Tonsure, or the Robing of Māyā. He had no precedents to follow, and no intelligible texts to guide him. He had small Pali, and less Sanskrit.

\(^{193}\) See supra, note 163.
All work on the pagodas was done at breakneck speed. "As for the painting of the temple" says one inscription (dated 1237 A.D.)\(^{194}\), 'on Friday the 10th waxing of Tagu (work was started on) the 14,619 Buddhas of the temple, and the 550 Jātakas. By Monday the 12th it was finished." Pagán temples were built in months, not (as many cathedrals in Europe) in centuries. The surprising thing is the artist's measure of success, not his failures. In sculpture, I suspect that the king, or his mahāthera Arahana, rather than the sculptor, was responsible for the great mistake (based, admittedly, on ample precedents in India)\(^{195}\) of splitting his design in two, giving the Symbol large prominence in the panel proper, and relegating details of the particular scene (including its emotional reactions) to the narrow limits of the predella. This generally destroyed the unity of the whole, left no room for the artist's imagination to work in, and condemned him to the role of piecework journeyman. There is ample evidence in the 'Eighty-Series' to shew that he was capable of higher things, had he been freer.

We have only touched the beginnings of Pagán painting in this chapter. To be frank, we have not had time to do much more than read the thousands of glosses below the panels – so important in themselves, so useful in identifying the scenes. A vast amount of work remains to be done: – cementing the paintings to the walls they now barely adhere to, before they can be carefully cleaned, protected from insects and decay, and so made available to study. It seems that in painting, the seeds of Bengal tradition fell on fruitful ground. The Abeyadana proves that, given a free hand (the painter had far more range and freedom than the sculptor), he could do masterly work, both in general design and in calligraphic detail. But here too he was generally limited to two dimensions. There has not been space to consider the iconography of the Jātakas, as seen both in paint and terracotta. Here is a wide and easy field for extending research, and a material in which the early Pagán artists showed their mettle better, perhaps, than in stone.

\(^{194}\) I.B., Pl. I 105 a\(^6\)–b. Pagán Museum Stone 60, W. face. 598–599 s./1237 A.D.

\(^{195}\) This division of panel and predella occurs already at Śrī Kṣetra in the East Zégu sculpture (A.S.I. 1910, Pl. XLVII a), the Léyindaung triad-relief (Arch. Neg. 3002 of 1927–28), etc.
CHAPTER X

MAHÂYÂNIST AND TÂNTRIC


JAMBUPATI

In the centre of two of the dolomite (andagî) slabs of the Eight Scenes, found near Pagán Shwêzigôn (Pl. 400) and at Tabayin N.W. of Shwêbo (Pl. 401), appears the Crowned Buddha, known in Burma as Jambupati. In both cases he sits in the Earth-touching attitude. The crown also appears on at least six bronzes of Old Burma, the oldest of which was found at Śri Kṣetra — a standing Buddha from Shwê-nyaung-bin ridge¹, heavily crowned, with both hands half-raised in vitarka mudrā. He is not a Bodhisattva; for apart from crown and ear-pendents, he wears nothing but the plain robes of a monk. A similar, heavily crowned standing Buddha in gold repoussé plate used to be at Pagán Museum (Pl. 424 e). Here the monk wears a torque or necklace as well as a crown; his right hand is raised to the shoulder in vitarka mudrā; his left hangs at his side. An effeminate standing bronze from Pagán (Pl. 433 a) shows the crowned Buddha with elaborate ear-ornaments, standing on double lotus in normal attitude — right hand raised in abhaya mudrā, left holding out the edge of his robe. The crown, like the usnīsa, is topped with the flame-niche. The other four crowned bronzes, all different in style, though all are seated and touching Earth, come from Pagán Pâhtothâmya (Pl. 439 a, b), from Thazi Hsameikshê, Pl. 439 c, d), from Tabayin in Shwêbo district (Pl. 439 e, f), and from Kyauktâga in Pegu district². All sit in padmāsana, both soles showing, except the Kyauktâga Buddha who has right leg on left.

A votive tablet from Śri Kṣetra³ shows three crowned Buddhas, all seated in dharmacakra mudrā, in a temple elaborately roofed. The central Buddha sits cross-legged, the other two sit sideways, facing front, the near leg hanging, the farther propped on the seat. The carving of the three Buddhas at the top of the trāp inscription at Thatôn is strikingly similar; but there only the central Buddha wears the crown⁴. One would take the scene to be the Twin Miracle, if it were not for the Deer and Wheel clearly visible below. The great stone sculptures of Pegu, at Nagawun Theîn⁵ and East Shwênâtha

³ In a field S. of Taunglônnyo village, see Ch. IX, note 142.
⁴ See Ch. IX, note 143.
⁵ See Ch. IX, note 177.
Thein, also the modernized old sculptures at West Shwénátha, are crowned Buddhas. The two standing Buddhas in Kawgun Cave triad-sculptures, which may possibly show the Descent from Távatiśa, wear royal ornaments and sacred thread (upavita): perhaps also crowns, but the heads are lost or damaged.

Figures of Bodhisattvas, of course, are commonly crowned and robed as kings, with rich ear-ornaments, torque, sacred thread, armlets, wristlets, girdle, etc.; but these are not Bodhisattvas. Five are touching Earth; the rest are standing or sitting in normal Buddha-attitudes. Nearly all wear monastic robes, with only some of the regalia superposed. The Hsameikshé and Tabayin bronzes come closest to a Bodhisattva; and indeed would be called so but for their earth-touching attitude. Their regalia, especially ear-ornaments, epaulettas, necklaces and shawl are exceptionally rich, in the style of the bronze Maitreya of Mahámuñi, North Arakan. The Śrī Kṣetra bronze wears a heavy crown, but nothing royal on the torso. The Páhtothámya bronze has no armlets nor wristlets, and no throne except the large double lotus. On the dolomite slabs the Buddha sits, not only on the leather mat (of the ascetic) and the lotus (of the saint), but also on the large throne (of the monarch). The lotus rests on triple massive stalks, and seems to be suspended in air, with two Nāga kings (or Devas), as on sculptures at Mahobá, eagerly lifting it from below.

For the thoughtful or orthodox Theravādin, one would think, the very idea of a crowned Buddha should seem strange, possibly repugnant, almost a contradiction. For though the Bodhisatta Setaketu, before he designed to be conceived by Māyā, reigned as a king in Tusita, Prince Siddhattha, at the age of 29, made the Great Renunciation; and on the bank of the river Anomā stripped off all his ornaments and royal robes, handed them to Channa, severed his elaborate hairknot, and received monastic robes and the Eight Requisites from Brahmā Ghaṭīkāra. From that moment till his death he remained a monk, and is normally known as such in Buddhist art, from Gandhāra and Mathurā onwards. Yet ‘Jambupati’, the Crowned Buddha, is now imaged everywhere, not only in Burma, but in Siam, Laos, Camboja, etc.; and different fanciful stories are told today in the various countries about the origin of the image.

We can ignore these modern local stories; for the true origin, however complex and obscure, is certainly Indian and ancient. M. Paul Mus, in his long note “Le Bouddha Paré. Son origine Indienne. Cākyamuni dans le Mahāyānisme moyen” has gone deep into the subject, without however exhausting it. In what follows, I resume in rough outline the course of his conclusions in so far as they relate to Burma. For this was one of the main doors by which the plains-people of Burma had entered, or were entering, the Mahāyānist fold in the time of Aniruddha, and might (like Tibet) have been there if the reproductions are poor, it is advisable to ask for prints from the negatives).

BEFEO t. XXVIII, 1928, pp. 153–278. M. Mus distinguishes the “adorned” (paré) Buddha from the Buddha crowned with the mukha. For in several instances which he considers — e.g. the final chapters of the Saddharmapundarīka-sūtra, and the practice (mentioned by Hsiian-tsang at Bodhgaya and elsewhere) of dressing Buddhas with royal ornaments — there may be no mention of a crown. The distinction hardly seems important for Burma.
today, but for (a) the weakness of the Sanskritic link, (b) the Muslim conquest of Bengal at the end of the 12th century A.D., and (c) the opening of contact with Ceylon during the latter part of the 11th.

Crowned Buddhas, in ancient India as in Burma, are never wholly royal. The correlation and contrast between Monk and King are there, and are intended. Seen in ultimate perspective, the Wheel of the Dharma, turned by the Buddha, merges in the Wheel of Authority, turned by the Cakravartin. Przybulska has shown that before the first century A.D., many traditions identified the Buddha with the Universal Monarch. "For the primitive image of the śramaṇa Gautama, humbly clad in coarse pāṃśukūla (rags from the dust-heap), was substituted that of the Buddha-Cakravartin, dressed in royal robes."

In Indian art ‘Buddha’ and ‘Bodhisattva’ were not at first sharply distinguished. "The early inscriptions" says Coomaraswamy, "distinguish by the designation ‘Buddha’ and ‘Bodhisattva’ types which are to all appearances the same; in these cases ‘Bodhisattva’ must refer to Gautama, Śākyamuni, and may be freely equated with ‘Buddha’. In the early Kuśāna period the iconography is not yet fixed, and there is considerable variety of costume, and it would appear that prototypes of the later crowned Buddhas can already be recognized." His Plate XXIII 87 gives a clear picture of one of these, seated with right hand raised in abhaya mudrā – a mottled red sandstone relief, "evidently from Mathurā... Early 2nd century A.D.".

These crowned figures are not attached to any particular scene or moment in the Buddha’s life. Buddhas standing, in abhaya, varada or vitarka mudrā, Buddhas seated crosslegged or with legs hanging, in dhyāna, bhūmisparśa or dharmacakra mudrā – any may be found crowned. Ramaprasad Chanda shows one Pāla slab of the Eight Scenes in which not only the central Buddha preaching the First Sermon is crowned, but also the side-Buddhas in the Pārileyyaka, Nālāgiri and Descent from Tāvatīṃsā scenes.

Between the Mathurā relief of the early 2nd century, and the Pāla ones of the 8th–10th, there is a big gap in time. A carved panel on the lower part of the façade between the two entrances to Kārli caitya hall, may help to bridge it. The older parts of Kārli, including the massive figures of donors to left and right of the Buddha panel, are thought to date from the early 2nd century A.D. if not earlier. But these Buddha-panels, Coomaraswamy says, are later, dating from the Gupta period. The panel in question shows the Buddha seated in pralambanāsana, with hands in dharmacakra mudrā; two many-hooded Nāgas below run in half-kneeling to support a column, on the top of which rests a Wheel.

13 "The Chandras of Rohitāgiri" (Paṭṭikera, W. of Comilla), "were Buddhists... The Chandras were ousted in the beginning of the 11th century by the Varmmans, who in their turn made room for the Senas towards the end of the same century. Lākṣmaṇa Sena... was ousted from his throne by Ikhṭiyaruddin Muhammad-bin-Bakhtiyar in 1202 A.D. Buddhism had begun to decline in these parts with the fall of the Chandras. The Varmmans and the Senas were no friends of Buddhism. With the coming of the Muhammandans,.... Bengal sculpture went out like a lamp... Buddhism gradually bled to death and never revived." (N. K. Bhattacharya, Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum (1929), pp. 11–12).


16 ibid., p. 234.

17 See A.S.I. 1922, Pl. XXXVII. R. D. Banerji, Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture, Pls. XXI–XXIV, XXVI, etc.

18 A.S.I. 1922, Pl. XXXVII c.


between two Deer\textsuperscript{21}. The scene, at first sight, would seem to be the First Sermon in the Deer-Park near Benares. But the Buddha sits between two standing Bodhisattvas carrying flywhisks, and above are two Devas carrying a crown to set it on his monk's head.

**LOTUS SŪTRA**

If this is not the First Sermon, can it be the Last – "The Last Sermon which I preach in this world, the highest of all, which I have kept to myself and never preached"\textsuperscript{22} – the sermon which opened the Mahāyānaist Canon, the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka sūtra, 'Lotus of the Good Law'\textsuperscript{23}? – A re-interpretation of the 'Lotus Sūtra' occupies much of Mus' Note\textsuperscript{24}. It was a carefully designed polemical work of the early Mahāyāna, purporting to record the schism as it occurred in the apparent lifetime of the Buddha on earth. From the very beginning the dull and narrow views of the proud old Buddhist orthodoxy are made to confront the vast horizons of Mahāyānaist imagining.

In Chapter I Ajita (Maitreya), the old type of single Bodhisattva, admits that he does not know the 'Lotus' sermon which the Buddha is about to preach. Mañjuśrī, one of the leaders of the 80,000 new Bodhisattvas assembled to hear it, instructs him at length. Until he knows and accepts the 'Lotus', he cannot attain equality with the newcomers. The role of the Bodhisattva is now no longer a pale reflection of that of the Buddha, but (as Thomas says on p. 189) "one of long training, a progress rising in stages to Buddhahood"\textsuperscript{25}.

In Chapters II and III the Buddha himself addresses Śāriputra, and the old school of arhats, śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas, who have already reached Nirvāṇa. "Śāriputra!", he says, "there is only One Vehicle (eka yāna). No second or third Vehicle exists." But Buddhhas adapt themselves to their audience: "they show Nirvāṇa to those of low dispositions." Śāriputra is amazed, and fears it may be Māra speaking. Five thousand of the monks and devotees of both sexes, full of pride, rise from their seats, and after worshipping the Buddha, leave the assembly. "The Buddha declares that the meeting has been cleared of rubbish, and that it is well that the proud ones are gone"\textsuperscript{26}.

The sermon proper is not reached till Chapter XV. The assembly has now risen from earth into space, and become a lokottara assembly; and the Buddha's audience now consists only of Bodhisattvas. – Why? – It is because, accepting his words which promise all of them future Buddhahood, each is now truly launched on the "Great Vehicle". The Buddha tells them that he once spent a thousand years as servant to a monk – Devadatta. "Therefore, some day, Devadatta will become a Buddha." Nirvāṇa is an illusory idea: "the true goal is Omniscience". – At the end of the sermon the Buddha, seen in this lokottara assembly in his Body of Beatitude (samabhoga kāya) according to the 5th century Yogācāra School, receives the worship of his vast audience, including objects of adornment "from Gadgadasvara and Avalokiteshvara" (Mus, p. 197). A crown, it seems, is not mentioned in the text; iconography suggests that it was included.

\textsuperscript{21} Cf. the two standing figures supporting the column crowned with the Wheel of the Law, on the Gateway of Stupa 3 at Sāñcī (J. Marshall, The Buddhist Art of Gandhāra, fig. 4 a). Compare also the two Nāga kings supporting the thrones of the Mahābā sculptures (supra, n. 10), and the Burma dolomite slabs (Pls. 400–405).

\textsuperscript{22} Mus, loc. cit., p. 177.


\textsuperscript{24} BEFEO t. XXVIII, pp. 175 ff. See also Thomas, op. cit., Ch. XIV, pp. 177–186.

\textsuperscript{25} Thomas, op. cit., p. 183.
MAITREYA AND AVALOKITEŚVARA

This is the scene implied when the Buddha is shown seated between Bodhisattvas. This grouping, says Mus (p. 195), is found already in Gandhāran art on the Sikri bas-reliefs 26. It is based, says Foucher, on the older group showing the Buddha preaching in Tāvatimśa between Indra and Brahmā. A sculpture showing the Buddha seated in pralambanāsana with hands in dharmacakra mudrā, between two standing Bodhisattvas, was found at Takhti-Bahā. Spooner, who illustrates it 27, identifies the Bodhisattva on the left (the Buddha's right) as Maitreya, and the one holding the lotus on the right (the Buddha's left) as Avalokiteśvara. Comparing this group to "much older" triad-sculptures which he had found at Sahri-bahlo 28, he notes that "the Bodhisattvas are seen to have changed sides... There we find Maitreya in the place of honour on the left, here in the later stone this position is given to Avalokiteśvara. Does this not seem to harmonize with the development of Buddhist doctrine as we know it?"

MAITREYA AT MAHĀMUNI

That Maitreya once reigned in solitary state among Burma Bodhisattvas, is seen in the iconography. What he was like, perhaps in the 7th century A.D. 29, at his coming to North Arakan from East Bengal, is seen in the glorious bronze from Mahāmuni 30 — in royal splendour of a young Immortal, flowerless, seated in padmāsana full-face, holding the ambrosia jar 31, his breast looped and hung with jewels, the ear-ornaments and crown composing a rich many-pointed diadem above, and a buoyant lotus-throne below, with guttae spreading round him in cascade.

PYU MAITREYA AT ŚRĪ KŚETRA AND PAGĀN

The elaborate ornament of the Mahāmuni Maitreya is borne with perfect grace. This cannot be said of several dowdy bronze Maitreya found in early Pagān. One from Shwēsândaw reliquary-chamber (Pl. 444 a, b) 32, has a line of Pyu at the base identifying it as "the honourable Metriya". Duroiselle suggests that Aniruddha, who built this pagoda, brought this small image from the old Pyu capital and enshrined it here. "The legs do not cross, but the feet meet at the middle, with the soles turned upwards. The right knee is slightly raised and rests on what appears to be a cushion. The figure possesses all the attributes of a king: crown, ear-rings, necklets, armlets, bracelets, anklets and a waist-

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27 A.S.I. 1908, Pl. XLIV d and p. 145.
28 A.S.I. 1909 (sculptures Nos. 158 and 171). Cf. Marshall, Buddhist Art of Gandhāra, fig. 124 and p. 96 (Maitreya on the Buddha's left carries a flask); so too in fig. 139, from the same site.
29 In 648 Hsian-tsang, and in 675 I-tsing, visited Samatata, the 'level country’ N. of Chittagong; neither mention Arakan as a Buddhist country. Yet about the middle of that century the Mahāyāna must have spread there with Vajrakīrti, grandfather of Ānandacandra, author of the W. face of the Shitthaung inscription, now at Mrohaung, who were certainly Buddhists. See E. H. Johnston, "Some Sanskrit Inscriptions of Arakan", Bull. S.O.A.S., London, Vol. XI, Part 2, pp. 357–385.
31 "In Japan", says Alice Getty (The Gods of Northern Buddhism, p. 24), Maitreya "is seated with legs locked, his hands in dhūyāna mudrā holding a vase, and in this form he somewhat resembles the Tibetan Amitāyus".
band; and a long string passing over the left shoulder and the right arm falls loosely on the seat in front of the figure just before the feet. The right arm is stretched out; the wrist resting on the knee, and the fingers are slightly bent as if holding something. The left arm has broken off just below the shoulder, but the wrist and hand may be seen resting on the knee, palm upwards”.

Two similar small Maitreyas, seated, have been found at Pagán: one (Pl. 444 c, d), at Paunggu on the riverbank between the Mingalazedzi and Myinkaba; the other (Pl. 444 e, f), found (if the label is trustworthy) in a “stone mound W. of the Myazedzi; 4 furlongs W. of the main road”; this might also mean the Paunggu. “The Paunggu pagoda”, says Duroiselle, “now crumbled into a large mound of débris, is ascribed to king Kyanzittha”. The two bronzes have no writing on them. On the former the pointed Ṣvarṣa is conspicuous; on the latter the headdress is rounded, but the braided tresses hang prominently at the back. All three Maitreyas face front. All are dowdily dressed, with a broad belt across the waist, and starlike stomacher in front. All rest their hands on their knees, and sit with legs uncrossed, right knee slightly raised, left flat, toes almost meeting in the centre. All have a long Uparśītra trailing from left shoulder and right arm, and forming a loop in front of the feet. In no case is there a lotus throne, or flower, or stem of a flower to play with.

At Śrī Ksetra, a stone relief found on Shwé-nyaung-bin ridge shows Gotama Buddha touching Earth on the left, with Maitreya seated beside him on the right (the Buddha’s left). The latter, whose head reaches only as high as the Buddha’s shoulder, is similar to, though much more elegant than the Pagán bronzes. He faces front, hands resting on knees, feet not crossed but toes meeting in the centre. He wears a star-like stomacher. The Uparśītra loops symmetrically from both shoulders to the top of the toes.

A similar but less elegant stone image, now at Mandalay Archaeological Office, comes from Pagán (Pl. 411 b), from a ruin about 100 yards W. of Kyazin temple. It shows an outsize lotus throne with plain back-slab, and two seated figures: Gotama Buddha touching Earth, with (possibly) his alms-bowl resting on his left hand in the lap; and on the right (the Buddha’s left) a crowned Bodhisattva, doubtless Maitreya, almost as tall as the Buddha. His hands rest on right knee and left thigh; his right leg, here no doubt in deference to Indian tradition, hangs and rests on a projection of the lotus. The stomacher is gone. Apart from crown and torque and the usual royal ornaments, he wears only a dhoti, and a cord slung from his left shoulder.

A plaster image of a high-crowned Bodhisattva, with torque, necklaces, ear-ornaments, waist-belt, etc., was found by U Mya in a small temple facing west, S.E. of the Nagayôn (Pl. 411 c). He sits in arakaparyáňkásana, right knee raised, on a drum-like ‘wooden’ stool with waist. His right hand hangs naturally over his knee; his left rests on his thigh or the seat behind it. This Bodhisattva, too, may well be Maitreya.

All these Maitreya images so far, except the Mahāmuni bronze, fit easily the Theravāda Canon. A distinctive Pyu type for Maitreya has clearly evolved, and been accepted. Difficulties, however, arise when two Bodhisattvas are required to fit the Mahāyānist pattern. The only instance I know of an attempt to fit the old Pyu Maitreya into a Triad, is a heavy bronze (or iron?) tablet, and several

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23 I doubt the “palm upwards”. It is not confirmed by the other bronze Maitreyas mentioned below.

24 A.S.I. 1927, pp. 165–6. See our Pl. 153 for some stone sculptures recovered in 1915–16 from the Paunggu ruin. New attempts are now being made to excavate it. It may well be older than Kyanzittha’s reign.

similar terracotta tablets, found in a mound near the riverbank close to the south side of Tawya-gyaung monastery, W. of Nanpaya, Myinpagán (Pl. 55)\textsuperscript{38}. The bronze has no writing; the terracottas have a few Pyu characters below the lotus throne in the centre. Both show the Buddha seated in the centre, right foot on left, right hand raised sideways before the body in abhayamudrā, the left supporting it from below. To the right, on a slightly lower throne, sits a dowdy Maitreya, similar to the other three Pagán bronzes, with star-like stomacher and upavīta looping beyond the meeting toes. To the left, also on a throne slightly lower than that of the central Buddha, sits another Buddha, touching Earth; his left hand (in the bronze, not the terracottas) holds an almsbowl. All three figures have solid stupas above them.

Duroiselle regarded the figure on the left (the Buddha’s right) as Maitreya, prematurely promoted to Buddhahood. The Bodhisattva on the right he took to be Avalokiteśvara. While not denying that Maitreya is sometimes shown, in India at all events, as a Buddha\textsuperscript{39}, I cannot ignore the Burma evidence. The link with Pyu in the Pagán plaque is plain; and Maitreya’s seat on the right (the proper left) of the Buddha, corresponds exactly with the Shwé-nyaung-bin sculpture of Śri Kṣetra. The second Buddha in this Triad I can only regard as aberrant: Earth-touching should represent the Enlightenment; Almsbowl in lap usually points to the Pārīleyyaka retreat. The artist, I fancy, felt the need of balance in his Triad, and was not particular how he got it.

This need of Balance in the Triad, and of Contrast between the Bodhisattvas and the Buddha, was real. The Buddha in the centre must remain symbolic, foursquare, solemn, hieratic. The Bodhisattvas, on the other hand, should sit in ‘attitude of pastime’, diagonally posed, both legs and both hands contrasted, body often in tribhanga, twined or framed in climbing flower-stems. The stolid Pyu Maitreya was incapable of this; nor had he Indian tradition to support him. He was just a local product, seated in no known Indian āśana or mudrā.

The single Bodhisattva cult is of early origin, I think, in Buddhist Burma. At Śri Kṣetra two carved megaliths have been found – huge thick stones faced with trefoil or cinquefoil arching and dlec spires, the oldest pediments we have. Both show a crowned god or Bodhisattva beneath. Only the top part of one of them survives. It was found sunk in the ground near Kanbyin (Shwédāga N.) gate\textsuperscript{39}, just south of the point where the railway cuts through the city-wall in the direction of Prome. Perhaps it served as a gate-guardian. A similar megalith, large but fragmented, was found at Nat-yaukky-a-gön\textsuperscript{39}, just north of the railway-line about a mile N.W. of Kyaukka Thein, where the megaliths are now housed. This latter sculpture shows a Bodhisattva (?) seated in arāhaparyāṅkāsana, left hand on knee, within a trefoil arch with dlec pediment. A small royal figure kneels on each side near his feet. Below, sit four Guardians (Lokapālas ?), two on each side of the recessed throne, holding weapons over their shoulders. Other large stone figures in relief have been found at Śri Kṣetra, with clubs over their shoulders: these are clearly Dvārapālas\textsuperscript{40}.

The favourite form of early Buddhist sculpture at Śri Kṣetra was the Triad – the seated Buddha flanked either by two stupas, or by Devas, Bodhisattvas or adorants. Such figures are found on the

\textsuperscript{38} See also Duroiselle, A.S.I. 1928, pp. 125–6 and Pl. LIV a. He reads the Pyu characters as budha mga: psu: khnu.

\textsuperscript{39} “Maitreya may also be represented seated as a Buddha, with legs either interlocked or dangling down” (B. Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist Iconography, p. 80).

\textsuperscript{39} Arch. Neg. 789 (1909–10).

\textsuperscript{39} Arch. Neg. 2886 (1926–27). Height 6 ft. 2 in. Breadth at base 4 ft. 1 ½ in. Thickness 19 in. Depth of relief 6 inches. See also Duroiselle’s description at J.S.I. 1927, p. 183.

earliest Buddhist megaliths\textsuperscript{41}. But it is sometimes hard to say what or who the flanking figures are meant to be. When they are standing, as in two of the Lèmeet-hna sculptures\textsuperscript{42}, they are heavily skirted and stand proudly, hand on hip, on either side of the earth-touching Buddha. Are they Indra and Brahmā, or Bodhisattvas? Duroiselle describes “a piece of sculpture” from Nyaungnibin mound as “unfortunately broken. . . . It represents a Buddhist triad carved in relief on three sides of a rectangular block of stone. This triad is no doubt. . . . the Buddha with Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara”\textsuperscript{43}. In the East Zégu sculpture\textsuperscript{44}, where the First Sermon is presented, they are pretty clearly Bodhisattvas passing into flywhisk-bearers. The development of the Triad is best studied in the votive tablets of Śrī Kṣetra\textsuperscript{45}. Here the influence of North Indian Mahāyāna is evidenced abundantly. As the tablets take on round or oval shapes, two (or three) tiers of triads are often found.

At Zókthôk (Thatôn district), near Kålōkdak (Hitzaung) pagoda, one of the later laterite images (for it has a reredos)\textsuperscript{46} shows a Bodhisattva with high jatāmukuta, seated in arāhaparyānka, right knee raised, left flat. The style reminds one of the stone Devas or Bodhisattvas found on the terraces of Mahāmuni in N. Arakan\textsuperscript{47}.

**Lokanātha in Burma**

From the 7th century A.D., if not earlier, a new Mahāyānist Bodhisattva, Lokanātha (a form of Avalokiteśvara), came to Burma from Bengal\textsuperscript{48}. He must have been popular, for his single images, both votive tablets and bronzes, have already been found at Śrī Kṣetra\textsuperscript{49}, Kanbè (near Twanté)\textsuperscript{50}, Pégu\textsuperscript{51}, Minbu\textsuperscript{52}, Kanhit (Pakōkkü)\textsuperscript{53}, and in several parts of Pagān\textsuperscript{54}. Lokanātha was said to be “the Lord of the World” during the interval between Gautama’s parinirvāṇa and the coming of Maitreya\textsuperscript{55}. In Burma he is usually (not always)\textsuperscript{56} shown seated in lalitāsana on double lotus, his open

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\textsuperscript{43} A.S.I. 1928, p. 132, and Pl. LV, fig. 9. The illustration is not very helpful.


\textsuperscript{45} Votive tablets: – e.g. A.S.I. 1910, Pl. XLIX; 1928, Pl. LV; U Mya, Votive Tablets of Burma, Part II (Burmese).

\textsuperscript{46} Zókthôk: – Arch. Neg. 3753 (1934–35).

\textsuperscript{47} Mahāmuni: – e.g. A.S.B. 1923, Pl. I; 1959, Pl. 35.

\textsuperscript{48} See B. Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist Iconography, pp. 130–2: “Four sādhanas are devoted to the worship of the Lokanātha form of Avalokiteśvara. He is single in three sādhanas, and only one sādhaṇa describes him as accompanied by Tārā and Hayagriva. . . . (He) has two hands and carries the lotus in the left hand and exhibits the navada pose in the right. . . . He sits in the lalita attitude. . . . Out of all images of Lokanātha so far discovered, the one from Mahobā is perhaps the best and the most artistic (Fig. 105). There is a fine bronze of Lokanātha (Fig. 106) in the Baroda Museum. The Sārñāth image (Fig. 107) shows the miniature figure of Amitābha in the samādhi mudrā on the crown. The Nepal image is made of pure ivroy (Fig. 108). These last two represent Lokanātha in the standing attitude.”


\textsuperscript{50} Kanbè: – Pl. 54 a, b. Votive tablets.

\textsuperscript{51} Pégu: – Arch. Neg. 7668 (1957–58). Bronze. Height 7$\tfrac{1}{2}$ in. Breadth 4$\tfrac{1}{2}$ in.

\textsuperscript{52} Minbu: – Arch. Neg. 450 (1906–07). Pl. 54 d. Votive tablet.


\textsuperscript{54} Pagān: – Pl. 54 c (near Seinnyet; votive tablet). Pl. 446 a, b (Scovell’s Paudiwm and Paunggu; bronzes). Pl. 230 (Abeyadana; paintings). Pl. 7 c, d (Shwé-gu-gyi; glazed Aniruddha tablet); etc.

\textsuperscript{55} See R. D. Banerji, Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture, p. 87. The volume has many illustrations of Lokanātha.

\textsuperscript{56} In the painting in Nā Lu Sa’s temple S.W. of Tamani, Pagān, Lokanātha, like Maitreya, is shown standing (Arch. Neg. 3413 of 1930–31). Both are identified by Old Burmese glosses.
right hand stretched across his knee in varada mudrā, his left hand coiled or toying with a climbing lotus-stalk, which flowers above his left shoulder. Another lotus-stalk may also rise above his right shoulder into flower.

The earliest Lokanātha so far found in Burma come from Śrī Kṣetra, Kanthônzin hill (see note 48). They are tiny oval votive tablets, 7th century, some with Pyu writing on the rounded reverse. The central figure is the haloed Bodhisattva who sits (as usual) in lalitāsana, varada mudrā, his left hand holding the stem of a lotus which flowers above. Another lotus, rising on the left of the tablet, supports a stupa. A line of Nāgarī writing runs round the rim.

The two finest specimens are from Pagán, in bronze (Pl. 446 a, b). Dr. Ray describes them 87: – "In each case the right hand is in the varada mudrā, and the left gracefully holds the stalk of a lotus-flower. On the right and left side there rise the stout stalks of lotus-flower in a delicate curve ending in flowers and foliage. Both figures are richly ornamented with necklace, waistband, karnapīras [flower-ornaments for the ears], armlets, wrislets and anklets, which are all elaborately, though not very delicately, moulded. Their heads are crowned with a jata-mukuta consisting of long locks of curly hair. The iconographic features of these two images conform exactly to the sādhanas devoted to the Lokanātha variety of Avalokiteśvara". – There is a fascination about the Pawdawmu bronze – the smiling Bodhisattva, at once rich and ascetic, firm and spacious amid his revel of diagonals. With such a guide, one feels, the road to Buddhahood would not be arid, however difficult or long 88.

Aniruddha himself is connected with two distinct types of seated Lokanātha tablets: one, the Pakkku Kanthit type (Pl. 7) and its duplicates from Pagán Shwé-gyu-gyi and Kanbë near Twanté (Pl. 54 a, b); the other, found with ‘seals’ of Aniruddha and the Twanté pot in his ruined pagoda near the Seinnyet, Pagán (Pl. 54 c), and its weathered duplicate from Minbu or Paunglin (Pl. 54 d). Common to both types is the essential pose of the Bodhisattva: head tilted to the left: lalitāsana with right leg hanging; right hand on knee in varada mudrā; left arm coiled with lotus flowering over left shoulder; perhaps also Amitābha Buddha, seated in dhyāna mudrā in the headdress, which is certain in the Kanbë/Kanthit type, and probable in that of Minbu. The peculiarities of the Pagán/Minbu tablets are: no stupas at the sides; concave lotus bed below the double lotus, giving an oval look to the plaque as a whole; vertical lotus-stem dividing the Nāgarī inscription; large umbrella with broad streamers at the top; flame-nimbus and shoulder-frame, suggestive of the old wooden reredos, instead of the later trefoil arch and śikhara with āmalaka and stupa finial; Lokanātha’s left hand does not hold the lotus-stem, but rests on the shin while the lotus climbs the crook of his elbow. The Buddhist ‘Credo’ in Nāgarī is common to both, but its arrangement differs.

MAHĀYĀNIST TRIADS

If Gandhāran India is any guide, it seems probable, and has been generally assumed, that in the Mahāyānist Triads the Bodhisattvas shown are Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara (Lokanātha). On Aniruddha’s own tablets showing 31 figures (the 28 Buddhas, etc. – Pls. 10, 11), and 5 figures (3 Buddhas and 2 Bodhisattvas – Pl. 8), and also on queen Trilokavatārīsakā’s 5 figure tablet (Pl. 8 c),

87 Nihar-ranjan Ray, Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma (Calcutta, 1936), p. 48, and figs. 6, 7.
88 Another fine bronze Lokanātha, seated, comes from Yinnabin, W. of Mōnywa and the Chindwin. It is now in the possession of U Soe Tin, Commissioner of Sagaing. It may date, perhaps, from the post-Pagán or Early Ava period.
the Bodhisattva on the left (the Buddha’s right) fits perfectly with Lokanātha. He sits therefore in the place of honour. The Bodhisattva on the right (the Buddha’s left) is therefore Maitreya. If so, it is clear that the old Pyu model for Maitreya has been rejected, and a new type created – the exact verso, as it were, of Lokanātha: seated with right leg flat, left hanging; left hand open on left knee in varada mudrā, right hand before the body holding a flower-stalk (if any). But this arrangement will apply only to Aniruddha’s court. Before him, at Śrī Kṣetra, and also probably after him, the balance and contrast required between Buddha and Bodhisattvas, were obtained in other ways. The problem was not a simple matter of aesthetic preference, though (artists being what they are) aesthetics must have played a part. The sādhanas, ‘realizations’ or formulas for invocation, in India at all events, imposed a pretty rigid hold on Hindu and Mahāyānist iconography. Each Bodhisattva had his own fixed colour, mudrā, āsana, sometimes his vāhana (vehicle), his attributes and symbols. If Aniruddha (as I think) made Maitreya the simple verso of Lokanātha, he was contravening the sādhanas. Lokanātha’s flower is the Lotus, Maitreya’s the Nāgakesara (Mesua ferrea, Burmese ‘gangaw’).59

MAITREYA IMAGES

But there was certainly some freedom, or lack of rigidity, in the Indian representation of Maitreya. Bhattacharyyā says60 that “when as a minor god, he accompanies others, he generally carries the chowrie [flywhisk] in the right hand and the Nāgakesara flower in the left.” But “he may be represented as a standing figure... holding in his right hand the stalk of a lotus. He is distinguished from Padmapāni mainly by the figure of a small Caitya which he bears on his crown... The small Caitya... is said to refer to the belief that a Stūpa in the mount Kukkuṭapāda near Bodh-Gayā covers a spot where Kāśyapa Buddha is lying. When Maitreya would descend to earth, he would go direct to the spot, which would open by magic, and receive from Kāśyapa the garments of a Buddha”. Alice Getty also mentions61 the Stūpa in the headdress as one of his distinctive marks. She tells the same story concerning it. She says the nāga is his flower, and either dharmacakra, varada or vitarka is his mudrā. “He may be without a crown and have the Stūpa in his hair.”

Fragments of a distinctive early bronze image were found in 1937 at Paya-gyi, Śrī Kṣetra:62 perhaps a standing figure; but except for a broken hand, thought to be in vitarka mudrā, nothing below the waist remains. The torso is that of a monk, with robe and flap falling diagonally from the left shoulder. But the head is not that of a monk nor Buddha: it is tightly covered with fine combed hair; surmounted with a high cylindrical jaṭāmukuta, in front of which is a small model of a caitya. Though there are no royal ornaments characteristic of a Bodhisattva, this must be Maitreya. The technique looks more like that of a worker in stone than in bronze. The face is long, the lips and nose finely modelled. The ears have long open lobes. The profile falls straight from hair to nose-tip.

Two other bronzes, found at Pagan, may also represent Maitreya. One (Pl. 428 b), a tiny image, 1\(\frac{1}{8}\) in. high, was found “in the débris inside a ruined temple near the Shwehsandaw pagoda. It appears to have formed part of the retinue of an image of the Buddha or a dhyāni Buddha.” He sits in

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62 A.S.B. 1958, p. 66, fig. 8.
lalitásana, right foot hanging, with high jaṭāmukta and flame-niche, right hand half-raised in abhaya or vitarka mudrā, left on knee holding the stalk of nágakesara, which flowers near his left ear. The other bronze (Pl. 445 a), seated in smiling ecstasy, elegant and Indian in style, was found by U Mya in a mound N. of Tawya-gyaunge: "a small but very fine bronze image of a Bodhisattva seated in the lalita mudrā on a lotus seat. The hair is done into a high mukuta, but without a crown. A sash is seen round the body, and the lower garment is a pair of close-fitting trousers. The right hand is raised in the abhaya mudrā, and the left is resting on a lotus. The total height of the figure is 3\(\frac{1}{4}\) in." – Dr Ray corrects 'lotus': "two nágakesara stems rise on two sides in delightful curves, forming a frame as it were’; and identifies the image as "probably Maitreya". Alice Getty notes that "the bronze and stone images of Mi-lo-fu (Maitreya) of the 6th century A.D. are usually standing, with the right hand in abhaya mudrā, and the left in vara mudrā. She adds that at Yün-kang and Lung-mên in North China "there are many examples of Maitreya seated European fashion, but the feet are crossed." Perhaps this explains the unusual pose of our image, with the flat left leg resting on the right thigh.

In Indian iconography the right hand takes precedence of the left: the mudrā of the right hand is often the determining mark. Art knows no such pre dilections. In Burma, no doubt, liberties were taken, with the result that it is often difficult to distinguish the Bodhisattvas of a Triad. Thus an elaborate Pagán bronze with flaming halo and reredos (Pl. 434 b) apparently illustrates the First Sermon; it has Bodhisattvas seated at the sides, both with right hands raised in abhaya mudrā. Are they different or one? At Kanbè (near Twanté) an important stone sculpture (to which we shall recur) shows the two standing Bodhisattvas at the sides both hanging their right hands in varada mudrā. Can they be distinguished? On a two-tiered votive tablet from Tawadeintha Kywégyaunggôn, Śrī Kṣetra, the two standing Bodhisattvas of the upper tier both droop their right hands and raise their left in abhaya mudrā; while those of the lower tier, in balanced contrast, sit with their inner knees up, their outer down. – In general, it seems, the Śrī Kṣetra artists were willing to sacrifice iconographic rules to artistic convenience; and were helped in this, no doubt, by the bewildering complexity of the former. If Avalokiteśvara had, as Bhattacharyya informs us, "as many as 108 different forms" the Pyu artist need not be nice.

AVALOKITEŚVARA IMAGES

As a matter of fact, a Burma image of Avalokiteśvara is usually easy to identify by the figure of Amitābha in his headdress. The "Watchful Lord"76, says Bhattacharyya, "also called Padmapāṇi ('Lotus-Bearer'), is the spiritual son of the Dhyāṇi Buddha Amitābha" (p. 88). "Out of the 15 different forms of Avalokiteśvara mentioned above, 14 bear the figure of Amitābha on the crown" (p. 125). Amitābha must be shown seated in samādhī or dhyāna mudrā (p. 49): if seated in bhūṣparśa (earth-
touched) attitude, the Dhyāni Buddha is Aksobhya (p. 51), and the Bodhisattva who bears him is Mañjuśrī (p. 115). The beautiful bronze standing Bodhisattva with four arms (two lost), recovered from a terrace of the Bawbaw-gyi, Śrī Kṣetra, was first identified by Duroiselle as Avalokiteśvara\textsuperscript{71}, and later corrected by Dr. Ray as Mañjuśrī\textsuperscript{72}, for this very reason. “The two feet [of the image] are broken off, and ... also the left arm above the elbow, so that the attributes held in the two left hands have been lost ... The second right hand, at the back of the first ... holds what appears to be the book, that is, a small bundle of palm leaves tied round with a string.” The front right hand is raised in vitarka mudrā. “The right knee is slightly bent, causing the left hip to protrude slightly and gracefully ... The forehead is marked with the śūlā. The dress is that usually worn by Bodhisattvas, with necklace, armlets, girdle, and below the latter, running across the loins, a sash, tied in a graceful knot on the left hip, and falling all along the left leg. The whole figure is exquisitely worked. It is probably not later than the 6th–8th century”\textsuperscript{73}. Ray dates the image c. 7th–8th century A.D. He notes, as new to Burma, “the curve of the lips, and the rather heavy modelling of the nose.”\textsuperscript{73}

One or two other images of Avalokiteśvara have been found at Śrī Kṣetra. A hideous gold image with six arms comes from the north bank of Yindaikkwin\textsuperscript{74}; “made of thin gold plate from which the mould has not been removed. Two of the hands are in the vitarka mudrā”, says Duroiselle, “and the remaining ones carry ... a lotus with stalk, a chowrie, a trident, and an indistinct object which may have been a noose or a rosary. Height 2\frac{1}{2} in.” It is said to sit in latitasana: perhaps rather in ardhaparyanka, or the ‘old Maitreya’ pose – with toes almost meeting in the centre.

Another image, of bronze, from the same site shows only the head and torso of a two-armed standing Bodhisattva\textsuperscript{75} – possibly Avalokiteśvara. Forearms and legs are lost. It is richly but dowdily adorned after the Pyu style; but the head (as on several Pyu bronzes of Śrī Kṣetra) has character and beauty of its own. It bears a striking resemblance to two much more elegant bronze fragments – head and torso of a Bodhisattva: one at Mandalay Archaeological Office\textsuperscript{76}, the other at Pegu, Shwémaudaw platform museum.

Finally, there is a small bronze standing image at Pagán (Pl. 447 a)\textsuperscript{77}, with Amitābha clearly visible in the high crown. It “stands in a slight tribhanga pose, with the right hand in varada mudrā, and the left holding a lotus stalk”. Ray dates it c. 10th–11th century. This is the correct Indian type, full of quiet dignity.

\textsuperscript{71} Duroiselle, A.S.I. 1912, pp. 143–5 and Pl. LXVIII, fig. 6. Arch. Neg. 973 (1911–12). Height 8\frac{1}{4} in. Now at Mandalay Archaeological Office.

\textsuperscript{72} Ray, Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma, p. 111 and fig. 1. There is some doubt, as Duroiselle admitted, about the right forearm of the Dhyāni Buddha in the headress. Personally, I still incline to Duroiselle’s identification; if only because no certain representation of Mañjuśrī (Arapacana) has yet been found in Old Burma. I do not know the stone sculpture in the Ananda Museum to which Dr. Ray refers (p. 46). Has there been confusion with the ‘Tonsure Scene’?

\textsuperscript{73} Ray thinks the image may have been brought from Cambodia. It reminds me rather of the broken stone relief of a standing figure which Duroiselle found at Let-khat-taung, Vesâli, Arakan: “all that can be seen of the dress ... is a girdle tied in a knot on the left hip, the folds of which fall gracefully down just below the knee” (A.S.B. 1921, p. 28).

\textsuperscript{74} Arch. Neg. 3059, 3060 (1928–29), “found at the W. mound (No. 3049) in Tha Hpu’s garden.” A.S.I. 1929, p. 105 (item ix) and Pl. LII a, e. See Ray’s learned comment at pp. 41–42 of his Sanskrit Buddhism . . . . For the six-armed forms of Avalokiteśvara, see also Bhattacharyya, Ind. Bud. Ic., pp. 141–2.

\textsuperscript{75} Arch. Neg. 3052 (1928–29). A.S.I. 1929, p. 105 (item viii. Height 5\frac{1}{4} in.). Ray, Sanskrit Buddhism . . . ., p. 41.

\textsuperscript{76} Arch. Neg. 8666 (1959–60), described as “the upper part of a Jambupati.”

THE FIVE JINA

A word about the passage from Mahāyāna to Tantra. The Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the Tantra, says Professor Filliozat 79 (I collate his views here summarily with those of Dr. Bhattacharyya 79), are generally the same as those of Mahāyāna at the height of its development. But the chief ones are now assigned a cosmic role, systematically defined; and end by taking to themselves female Energies (śakti), which represents their activity in the world. Apart from the Buddhas who take human form in order to preach to men, such as Śākyamuni, Dipamkara, etc., and over and above them, is formed a group of five Buddhas, called the five Jina or Tathāgata. In European books, following the information given to B. H. Hodgson in Nepal (first half of the 19th century), these are generally called Dhyāni Buddha, 'Meditation Buddhas', though the term is not found in the original texts 80. Corresponding to these are the Mānuṣi Buddha 'human Buddha'. "The pantheon of the Northern Buddhists" says Dr. Bhattacharyya (p. 42), "revolves round the theory of the five Dhyāni Buddhas. The Buddhists believe that the world is composed of five cosmic elements or skandhas"...: rūpa (Form), vijñāna (Thought), vedanā (Sensation), saṁjñā (Perception) and saṁskāra (Conception). "These elements are eternal cosmic forces and are without a beginning or an end. These cosmic forces are deified in Vajrayāna as the five Dhyāni Buddhas."

In iconography each is given a name, a sphere (maṇḍala), an element and corresponding part of the body, a colour, a mudrā, a vehicle (vāhana), and a symbol. Thus 81:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jina</th>
<th>Skandha</th>
<th>Maṇḍala</th>
<th>Element</th>
<th>Part of body</th>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Mudrā</th>
<th>Vāhana</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Vairocana</td>
<td>rūpa (Form)</td>
<td>Zenith, Centre</td>
<td>Space, Aether</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Dharmacakra</td>
<td>Dragon, Lion</td>
<td>Discus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Akṣobhya</td>
<td>vijñāna (Thought)</td>
<td>East</td>
<td>Air</td>
<td>Heart</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Bhūsparśa</td>
<td>Elephant</td>
<td>Vajra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ratnasambhava</td>
<td>vedanā (Sensation)</td>
<td>South</td>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>Navel</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
<td>Varada</td>
<td>Lion, Horse</td>
<td>Patna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Amitābha</td>
<td>saṁjñā (Perception)</td>
<td>West</td>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Mouth</td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>Samādhī, Dhyāna</td>
<td>Wild Goose, Peacock</td>
<td>Padma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Amoghasiddhi</td>
<td>saṁskāra (Conception)</td>
<td>North</td>
<td>Earth</td>
<td>Legs</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>Abhaya</td>
<td>Garuḍa</td>
<td>Viśvavajra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Corresponding to each, there was a Mānuṣi Buddha, one or more active Bodhisattvas, and their energizing female Śaktis. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jina</th>
<th>Mānuṣi Buddha</th>
<th>Bodhisattva</th>
<th>Śakti</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Vairocana</td>
<td>Krakuchanda</td>
<td>Sāmantabhada, Kṣitigarbha</td>
<td>Mārici, Cundā, Locanā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Akṣobhya</td>
<td>Kanakamuni</td>
<td>Vajrapāṇi, Hayagriva</td>
<td>Heruka, Hevajra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ratnasambhava</td>
<td>Kāśyapa</td>
<td>Ratnapāṇi, Jambhala</td>
<td>Vajratārā, Aparājītā, Māmakī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Amitābha</td>
<td>Śākyamuni</td>
<td>Padmapāṇi, Avalokiteśvara, Lokanātha</td>
<td>Pāṇḍarā, Kurukullā, Bhṛkuṭi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Amoghasiddhi</td>
<td>Maitreya</td>
<td>Vīśvapāṇi</td>
<td>Khadiravaṇī (Green) Tārā, Parṇaśāvarī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

78 L’Inde Classique, t. II, §§ 2355–2367.
79 The Indian Buddhist Iconography, pp. 42 ff. Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya is the editor of the Guhyasamājatantra (Gaekwad Oriental Series 53, Baroda 1931), which he regards as "the Bible of the Tantric Buddhists."
Chapter X

Few images of these Tāntric deities (there are hundreds of them) have yet been identified in Burma; but they proliferate in countries to the west and north, Bengal, Tibet and China, and are found also in Java and Cambodia. When scientific excavation of our oldest cities is undertaken here, we may expect to find some of them. They are generally divisible into Benign (like Lokanātha) or Terrible (like Heruka) or both (like Māricci). Agood many are taken from Hinduism, especially Śaivism—Brahmā, Gaṇapati (Gaṇeṣa), Jambhala, Sarasvatī, Yama, Mahākāla, etc. All forces in the universe are at the disposal of the Tāntric adept, exempt from shame and disgust. As for human passions, "they will not dominate him, but he them. Instead of having to break their energy in order to progress, he will employ them as a master to aid his advance." Erotic Tāntrism hardly appears at Pagān until near the end of the dynasty.

All five Dhyāni Buddhas appear on the small slab (now lost) which was reported in 1915 at Kanbè village E. of Twanté. This shows a haloed Buddha erect—right hand in abhaya, left in varada mudrā—between two small Bodhisattvas, each standing in tribhāṅga pose, right hands in varada mudrā, left holding a flower-stalk (on the left, a lotus). Above their heads are two well-carved caITYas; and above these, forming an arch across the top of the slab, are the five Dhyāni Buddhas, each seated on his lotus throne (with reredos), in his proper mudrā. Such showing of the five Jīna is common on mediaeval images in Vaṅga (East Bengal). It is also found at Mahobā in Central India. Vikramapura, modern Rāmpāl, where several of such images are seen, is south of Dacca. It was a capital or fortress under the Candraw, Yādava and Sena dynasties from the 10th to the 12th centuries. Like Pāṭihkharā south-east of it, where Cundā had a temple, it seems to have had contacts with Burma—by sea and land, perhaps, with Lower Burma and Pagān, by land with Arakan.

TāRĀDEVĪ

Apart from painting, three images, or types of image, of the goddess Tārā have so far been found in Burma:

(i) An elliptical votive tablet from Nga Shin’kan, Śrī Kṣetra, shows the graceful standing image of a two-armed Tārā in tribhāṅga pose, her right hand drooped in varada mudrā, her left arm twined with the lotus stalk, which flowers above her shoulder. To the left of her head is a caitya. Below, on (p. 24), and dates c. 300 A.D. (pp. 12-15). "Here for the first time are found the descriptions of the five Dhyāni Buddhas, their mantras, their Maṇḍalas, and their Śaktis" (p. 32). Dr. E. J. Thomas (The History of Buddhist Thought, pp. 295-6) speaks slightly of the value of the work. Personally, without accepting all Dr. Bhattacharyya’s large conclusions, I find it very useful.

80 Thomas (op. cit., p. 248) objects to the use of the term dhyāni buddha, which has never been found, he says, outside Hodgson’s writings. Prof. F. Edgerton admits the term in brackets to his Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary (1953), p. 287: "I have failed to note any actual occurrence in my texts. P. Mus calls them ‘transcendent’ Buddhas in his searching study" ("L’origine des Cinq Jīna," Barabuṭṭhū, p. 577ff.).

81 See also N. K. Bhattachasali, Iconography ... Dacca Museum, pp. 16-22. The authorities do not always agree in the details of these lists.


83 See e.g. Bhattacharyya, op. cit., figs. 89 (Dacca), 101 (Magadhā), 103 (Vikrampur, Dacca), 166 (Mahobā), 167, 169, 173, 174 (Vikrampur). Bhattachasali, op. cit., Pls. VII, XXII b, XXIII.

84 See references given under Vikramapura in the Index of Dr. Benoychandra Sen’s Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal (1942, Calcutta University). Also N. K. Bhattachasali, op. cit., pp. vi-xii, and map on Pl. LXXX (facing p. x).

85 Bhattacharyya, op. cit., p. 223 and fig. 162 (Add. MS. 1643, Camb. Univ. Libr.).

86 The account of these in Ray’s Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma (pp. 45-46) is confused by misprints.

each side of the body, is the Buddhist creed in Nāgarī. Duroiselle dates the writing 9th–10th century, Ray 9th century. I should prefer 8th if this is possible, for Śrī Kṣetra probably fell in the middle of that century.

(ii) A bronze image, 3 in. high, comes from a ruined temple near Manawgôn village, Myothit township, Magwé district (Pl. 447 c, d). Here Tārādevī sits in padmāsana on a down-turned lotus pedestal. Her right hand rests on her knee in varada mudrā, her left holds out the stalk of the blue lotus (utpala, Nymphaea caerulea), which flowers above. The pose is similar to that of the seated Lokanātha, but his lotus is the padma, Nelumbium speciosum. She wears tongue-like armlets and a tongue-like crown; her hair is flattened like a plate at the back of her head. The “deep navel, slender waist, and well-developed bosom”, says Taw Sein Ko, “indicate Indian origin.” Judging by Nepalese models, he dates it 9th–10th century A.D. – perhaps 11th century is more probable.

(iii) The small bronze standing Tārā, which used to be at Pagán Museum (Pl. 447 b) appears to be lost. Ray (who wrongly calls it stone, 2 ft. 6 in. in height) describes its “slight tribhaṅga pose, forearms broken, feet mutilated. [Ornaments: –] kundala (earrings), keyūra (armlets), mekhala (girdle), c. 10th–11th cent.”

All these three Tārās may well be the Green (Śyāmā) or Cutch-forest (Khadiravanī) Tārā, an emanation of Amoghasiddhi.

PAINTINGS OF BODHISATTVAS

We come finally to the paintings. U Mya has seen, and demonstrated, that the Tāntric Mahāyānist paintings of Kyanzittha’s reign were not just frivolous exercise of erotic or horrific fancy, but a deeply considered view of Buddhist life leading from earth to heaven. No less may be claimed for the Theravāda paintings. To the thoughtful Yogacārin of Pagán, no less than the Theravādin, Buddhism was not just a creed to be accepted, but rather a life of confident endeavour to be lived. If Pagán was, as I believe, a great period, when Mon and Burman reached their full stature, it was (I think) because so many of them joined in making it the business of their common lives to attain Bodhicitta, the Buddhist goal, or goals.

In porches and other portals of Pagán temples, one often finds, on either side of the entrance, a giant Bodhisattva painted. They may have many arms, loaded with weapons, and have sometimes been taken for Viṣṇu, or else for Dvārapālas to warn off evil-doers. That, doubtless, was often the intention; but sometimes there was a higher aim. Study the colossal ten-armed standing Bodhisattva-paintings of the E. porch of Rājakumār’s temple (1113 A.D.). All but two of his attributes seem certain; but we cannot yet give him a name. The paintings are in three tiers, “suggestive” as U Mya says, “of the hierarchy of the figures.” At the bottom are the Śaktis, who are his ’strength’. But for all his size and height and physical prowess, he is still an underling, not yet promoted to the lotus throne of spiritual rebirth. Above him, higher though far smaller, sit the Brahmās, happy in

88 Ray, Sanskrit Buddhism . . . , fig. 4, and pp. 46 (n. 2 should be n. 1) and 111.
their temporal paradise. That state, too, is attainable by anyone who strives towards it. But it is not the highest end. Highest and smallest of all (for such is the weak nature of our human perspective), is the endless line of Arhats. That, for the Theravādin, is the goal.

ABĒYADANA CORRIDOR, OUTER WALL

The Yogācārin’s goal, different but not far different from the Theravādin’s, receives its fullest and finest statement on the outer walls of the Abēyadana corridor. That temple was built (c. 1000 A.D.) by Kyanzittha’s chief queen, a Bengal Mahāyānist I imagine, while the king himself was building, just across the road, his first Theravāda temple. Because of the darkness and the grime of ages, the casual visitor is not likely to notice either the delicacy of the painting or the grandeur of the design. But a small typical section of the wall, from near-floor to vault, which U Mya has had faithfully copied in all its detail, gives an exact idea of the artist’s method and intention.

The East, South, and West walls are each cut by three perforated windows, with two tiers of archways, upper and lower, on the inner side, each framed with rich paintings of receding roofs or terraces, climbing to a caitiya at the peak. Between the two tiers of archways runs a continuous band of painting showing a series of Caves, each with a scene (often Tāntric) depicted within them. Below this central band between the archways, are two tiers of seated Bodhisattvas; above it, two taller tiers showing standing Bodhisattvas, and immediately above them, seated Buddhas. – The theme is here the Mahāyānist one: the ascent, not to Arhatship (as in the Kubyauk-gyi), but to Buddhahood.

ASCENT TO BUDDHAHOOD

“The images in the lowest row” says U Mya, “are invariably seated in the ardhaparyanka attitude, each wearing a high mukuta, a crown, earrings and other Bodhisattva ornaments, and in some cases felt boots.” They sit constricted, like kings at ease (rājalilāsana). They have not yet attained lotus seats, nor have they yet disciples. “They are non-Tāntric in form; each has one face and two arms, and the attributes they carry in their hands are lances, clubs, cakras, daggers in various shapes, vajras, swords and books.”

“The images in the [second tier] are seated in lalita mudrā on double lotus with the right leg pendent, and the foot resting on a lotus, the stem of which is attached to the seat. They are also in non-Tāntric form, with two arms and a face. The right hand is resting on the right knee with the palm outward in the charity mudrā; the left is brought to the breast in the abhaya mudrā. A lotus springing from the seat below is seen above the left shoulder. A book is sometimes placed on the lotus as an additional attribute. Each image is flanked by two other gods both seated sideways on their folded legs. The latter are facing the central figure and are in the namaskāra mudrā”. – The Bodhisattvas in this second tier seem all to be a generalized form of Lokanātha.

Above these is the Tāntric Cave-band; above which are the standing Bodhisattvas and the Buddhas. – The inference appears to be that the Bodhisattva, in order to attain full height and ultimate Buddhahood, must pass through the Tāntric ordeals. The common points and differences of the various Bodhisattvas (some 128 altogether) will be considered in Chapter XVI. Not one of all these panels has

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any written gloss identifying it. Perhaps those of the lowest, the second, and the fourth are generalized types of three grades of attainment, and such differences in attributes and attitudes as the paintings show, are merely to avoid monotony.

TANTRIC CAVE SCENES

The third or Cave Tier holds altogether about 128 panels of a different sort. Possibly they illustrate a continuous narrative, but I doubt it. The order of panels seems haphazard. The few as yet identified with any certainty, illustrate Jātakas or other Indian stories. My own analysis of the main occupants of the Caves, includes 15 Buddhas; 15 Saints or Monks; 13 Bodhisattvas; 12 Tārās; 16 Tāntic deities; 29 Hermits; a number of Animals and an Aśvamukhī (horse-faced Yakkhini). Of the 13 Bodhisattvas, all have two arms only; nearly all are seated; 2 sit in ardhaṇaṇaṁkāśana, 9 in lalitāśaṇa. Four or five of the latter resemble Lokanātha; but some have other poses – abhaya, vyākhyāna, vitarka and dharmacakra. These may well represent different Bodhisattvas.

Of the 12 Tārās, all are shown seated alone, with a single head; 9 sit in lalitāśaṇa, 3 in padmāśaṇa. 9 have two arms; 2 have four arms, 1 has 6 arms. Several of the two-armed deities can be identified with the Green (Śyāmā or Khadiravani) Tārā, an emanation of Amoghasiddhi. Apart from the ‘green’ colour (not obvious in our Tārās, most of whom now look brown), the essential marks are the varada mudrā, and the blue lotus (upalā) climbing up her left side (the right side of the image). In 4 or 5 instances the dharmacakra takes the place of varada mudrā. Bhattacharyya illustrates a Mahāśrī Tārā, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, seated in what may be the dharmacakra mudrā. The upper right hand of one four-armed Tārā appears to hold a Book. Perhaps this is the four-armed Dhanada Tārā (‘the Prize-giver’). All these three ‘peaceful’ Tārā’s are emanations of Amoghasiddhi.

Of the 16 Tāntic deities, none has more than one head. About half appear to be male, and half female. Five with bushy hair look more like demons than gods. 9 have two arms, 3 have four arms, 4 (2 male, 2 female) have six arms. More than half the total, mostly males, are shown in ‘fierce’ aspects: with tusks and tushes, lolling tongues, necklaces of skulls; holding, or twined with, snakes; carrying off women; brandishing weapons or human heads. In the case of one – a six-armed figure, standing on a corpse (Pl. 234 i) – I suggest identification with the Hindu goddess Cāmunḍā, who also enters the Tāntic pantheon: “Cāmunḍā rides on a corpse and is of red colour. She is four-armed. With the first pair of hands she holds the kartri [knife] in the right, and the kapāla [skull-bowl] in the left. In the second she exhibits the añjali.” The description agrees pretty well with our painting. Six-armed varieties (Rudra-carciṅkā) are mentioned by Bhattachali.

The lovely fourth Tier consists of Standing Bodhisattvas (Pls. 238, 239). Only one holds the Lotus, but all are framed in it. So perhaps we should call them Avalokiteśvara rather than Padmapāṇi; but Amitābha is not shown in their head-dress.

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95 Mahāśrī Tārā: – Ind. Bud. Ic., pp. 227–9; fig. 169, p. 283. On p. 229 the author says “the vyākhyāna or the dharmacakra mudrā”.

96 Dhanada Tārā: – ibid., p. 231 and fig. 172 on p. 284.

Chapter X

The above account of Abêyadana paintings is a bare summary. They are treated more fully in Chapter XVI, in the section devoted to that temple.

MAHĀYĀNISTS AT ŚRI KṢETRA

The Mahāyāna, as we have seen, reached Burma long before the Pagān period, in the 7th century A.D. if not earlier. It must have been more dominant in North Arakan, where Sanskrit was already the language of culture68, than at Śri Kṣetra where Pali by that date was well entrenched. The chief Sanskrit text at Śri Kṣetra — Sanskrit text with Pyu nissaya — is the unedited inscription on the four-sided pedestal of the headless Buddha found at Kan-wet-hkaung-gôn99. It was the joint offering (after a quarrel) by Jayacandraravarman and Harivikrama. The latter, as we know from his stone urn inscription, died in 695 A.D.100. But Sanskrit, of course, does not necessarily connote the Mahāyāna. Clearer evidence of Mahāyānism is provided in the sculpture and images. The Bodhisattva megalith, over 6 ft. high, found at Nat-yaukkya-gôn, must go back to the early days of the old capital. The bronze Avalokiteśvara (?) from the Bawbaw-gyi, the gold plate image from Yindaikkwin, votive tablets showing, instead of the Buddha, four-armed Bodhisattvas or two-armed standing Tārās, and several other proofs, may be added to the testimony of Hsüan-tsang (648 A.D.) and I-tsing (c. 675 A.D.)101, to prove the importance of Mahāyāna Buddhism at Śri Kṣetra in the 7th–8th centuries. Mahāyānism was then at the height of its religious, philosophical and artistic potency; but it did not succeed in smothering the older and simpler cults.

MAHĀYĀNISTS AT PAGĀN

In the 11th century the situation was different. Almost everywhere Buddhism was in retreat: before Neo-Confucianism in China; before the Brahmanic revival in Bengal; before the advance of Islam in North India; in Dvāravatī (Siam), before the ambitions of the Śaivite rulers of Angkor; in Ceylon, before the conquests of the Colas; in Malaya, before Cola raids, Javanese revolts, and ever-growing commercialism. The Mahāyānists who came in numbers to Pagān were refugees rather than missionaries. Inter-marriages between the Courts of Pagān, Pegu, Patikkarā and Poḷonnaruwa often reflected the needs of Buddhist self-defence. If East Bengal had been able to provide Aniruddha with the texts he wanted, Burma, like Nepal and Tibet, might have been Mahāyānist today. As it is, Pagān was deeply indebted to Bengal for models of most of its iconography, and (I suspect) for much in its architecture. The Abêyadana is the crowning point of Mahāyānist influence here.

68 Probably the oldest inscription of Arakan is the East Face of the Shitthaung (now at Mrhaung), "about 100 lines in a small neat script" which "probably belongs to the 6th century A.D., though it might be as late as early in the 7th century." (E. H. Johnston, "Some Sanskrit Inscriptions of Arakan", Bull. S.O.A.S., London, Vol. XI, Part 2, pp. 359, 364). Possibly the lower parts may prove legible. See I.B., Pl. IV, 346, 347. Note that on p. 364 of his article, more than once, Johnston writes "west" for "east" face of the Shitthaung pillar. He did not live, alas, long enough to check his manuscript.


DVĀRAVATĪ INFLUENCE

Was it just chance that guided Aniruddha’s footsteps south, instead of north? – I do not think so. The necessity to seal and extend the eastern frontiers of his kingdom was a strong motive; to absorb the Mon Buddhist refugees from North and South Siam, and to repel the Khmers. Dvāravatī, as Pierre Dupont’s valuable book has shown, had been strongly Theravādin since the 6th century A.D. The ancient spread of Mon, both population and culture, had been from east to west, not *vice versa*. The oldest Mon inscriptions of Siam¹⁰², like the oldest Khmer, date from about 600 A.D. – 400 years older than the oldest Burma Mon. The Theravāda influence of the Mons of Dvāravatī may have been great on the Śrī Kṣetra Pyu. Finot, founder of the great French School of the Far East, and editor (in 1912) of some of the oldest Pali inscriptions of Śrī Kṣetra, thought it “not impossible that Siam borrowed [Theravāda Buddhism] from Pegu, and then transmitted it to its eastern neighbours”¹⁰³. This view was reasonable at the time: but Dupont’s subsequent work has convinced me that it is partly wrong; and that Dvāravatī, not Śrī Kṣetra nor Pegu, was the original radiating centre of the Theravāda in Further India.


¹⁰³ *Journal Asiatique*, t. XX, juillet-août 1912, p. 136 (L. Finot).
CHAPTER XI

BRAHMANICAL


COMMON ORIGINS

Buddhist iconography, from its origins in India, has had close connections with Hindu and Jain. Gaja-Lakṣmi (Old Mon Kyāk Śrī) – the goddess bathed by elephants – was a fertility-emblem common to Jainism, Vaiṣṇavism, and Buddhism (the Bath of Māyā). Nāga-booted images are common to all three. The pose characteristic of Māyā in the Nativity – one hand holding the tree-branch, one leg hooked to the stem or kicking it – was another fertility-emblem taken from pre-Aryan Tree-worship. The Old Vedic gods, Indra, Śūrya, etc. appear in Buddhism almost from the first. Deva, Yakṣa, Gandharva, Nāga, Garuḍa, Kūṭimukha, Makara, Vyāla, etc. continued to live vigorously in all the arts, no matter what the religion. Viṣṇu has his Buddha-avatars. Kyanziththa, a most pious Buddhist, claimed to be an Avatār of Viṣṇu. Two temples (it seems) at Pagān were dedicated to Viṣṇu. In Arakan, there is evidence of Vaiṣṇavism1 before the coming of Śaivism or the Mahāyāna. Lower Burma Buddhism, both at Śrī Kṣetra and Thatōn, was almost crossed, it seems, with Vaiṣṇava Brahmanism. Śiva appears rarely in Burma Buddhism; but for centuries he was supreme in North Arakan. The Thatōn relief of Śiva and Pārvatī (partly blown up by the Japanese) was once the grandest sculpture in Burma. More than one image of Śiva has been discovered at Pagān. And the return of Śaivite and old Vedic iconography, under the wing of Tāntric Buddhism, is evident in the paintings of the Abēyadana (c. 1090 A.D.).

What images, other than those of Gotama Buddha, were admitted to the Buddhist temples and pagodas of Pagān? – The four Buddhas who have already appeared in this present bhadra kalpa, are the favourite theme of all Liy-myak-nhā (“Four Faces”) or Kyāk Pan (“Four Buddhas”) pagodas, from Śrī Kṣetra onwards. When a fifth is added, it is of course the coming Buddha, Maitreya. The building of five-equal-sided temples posed difficult mathematical problems; but they were solved

1 See Bull. S.O.A.S., London, Vol. XI, Part 2, Pl. V, Coins 1 to 4. Before the normal Śaivite coins of the Candra dynasty begin, with the bull Nandin and the king’s name above it, come 4 coins with the Conch of Viṣṇu. A few coins of Śrī Kṣetra, probably the earliest, also show the Conch: see A.S.J. 1927, Pl. XLII f.
successfully at least nine times at Pagán. Fifth Buddha from the last, *Vessabhū*, has a separate terracotta image devoted to him, engraved with name and eulogy in Pali, found in a Pagán reliquary (Pl. 409 c). The 28 Buddhas are the main subject of relief-sculpture in Nagayón corridor (Pls. 195–201); and in paint appear in dozens of Pagán pagodas, their name and Bodhi-tree noted in glosses, Mon or Burmese, below each panel, and often their height, age-span, and (rarely) principal disciples. The first three, Tañhākara, Medhākara and Saranākara, are nearly always included; often with details about them not found in the *Buddhavamsa*.

The Taingchut (Burmese) inscription (1170 A.D.) mentions the gilding of one image each of *Sāriputra* and *Mokkalan*, and two images of *Gavampati*. Triad sculptures and votive tablets of Pagán may be divided into the Mahāyānins ones, where the Buddha sits or stands between two Bodhisattvas (Lokanātha and Maitreya ?), and the Theravāda ones, where he sits between his two chief disciples (aggasāvaka) – Sāriputta on his right, and Moggallāna on his left; these latter are shown in monk’s attire, with hands usually in worship (namaskāramudrā). The finest image of this triad – a gold repoussé plaque found at Myinpagān (see Frontispiece to Vol. II) – was once at Pagán Museum, but is now stolen and lost.

**GAVAMPATI**

*Gavampati*, ‘Lord of Cattle’, acts as spokesman for the Buddha (who calls him “my son”) in two of the ‘prophetic’ Mon inscriptions of Kyanzittha. He was clearly a patron saint of the Mons. Mediaeval Mon inscriptions of the ninth century tell how he persuaded the Buddha to visit Sukhavīm (Thaton) in *Swannabhīmī*, and leave Hair and Tooth relics there. For his record in Indian Pali texts, see Malalasekera’s *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* (I, pp. 756–8). In the *Dul-wa* (the first part of the Tibetan *Vinaya*) apparently it is said that after the Buddha’s death, Mahākassapa sent Puṇṇa specially to summon Gavampati to the conference, but Puṇṇa found him at the point of death himself. – This does not agree with our Mon inscriptions, where Gavampati is busy, long after the Parinirvāṇa, executing the Buddha’s orders: he was even to be present at the founding of Śrī Kṣetra. He seems to have been a pre-orthodox Buddhist saint, and master of magic. In Burma he is associated in some mysterious way with Gañēśa.

“On the Guthównlōn pagoda at Kyaiksauf near Pagán falling down,” wrote Duroiselle in 1913 “a number of relics ... came to light ... Among these is a bronze specimen, 1.7 in. in height, of what

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8 These five-sided temples (‘Nga Myet-hna’) belong to the latter half of the Pagán period: – (i) Caṅsū II’s Dhammarājaka pagoda at W. Pwazaw (1198 A.D.). (ii) Prince Gaṅgasāra’s Nga-myet-hna temple (1242 A.D.), W. of Htilominlo, on the S. side of the road to Nyaung-u. (iii) a small nameless temple N.E. of Mingaladon. – Col. Ba Shin has noted 6 others: – (iv) a temple on the S. side of the E. approach to the Shwézigon. (v) a temple S.W. of the Nanda, S. of the inland road. (vi) Shwé-gun-cha temple on the riverbank N.W. of Taungbi. (vii) a temple E. of Sa-thin-gu. (viii) a temple E. of Htilūgūn temple, N. of Minnanthu. (ix) Finally, the Colonel has found about 3 miles S. of Salé – the Shinbin Nga Man-aung temple near Nyizu village.

9 Ibid., Pl. I 6, lines 4–6, 541 s./1179 A.D., Taikkhet (Taingchut) temple. The inscription, two-faced, is now Stone 57 at Pagán Museum. The reverse, *I.B.*, Pl. V 476, in a different hand, is dated 706 s.; but mentions dedications made in 501–2 s./1140 A.D.


11 E.g. the 15th-century inscriptions (not yet edited) at Monet Paya, Dhammathath pagoda, Pegg; Dhammathaik pagoda S.W. of Dhammathath pagoda; Mokkhainggyi pagoda, Pegg; etc.

12 Jean Przywulski may perhaps have published somewhere an account of Gavampati: I think he intended to, for he wrote to ask me about the Burma sources.

13 A.S.B. 1913, p. 23 (I take the liberty of regularizing the spelling of proper names).
the Burmese call Gaw̱-hāna-kīya: khyān-kap, that is Gaṇeśa, commonly known in Burma as Mahāpinnai, with, back to back with him and somewhat smaller, ... Gavanāpati. Gaṇeśa is well known as the patron of traders and corporations; Gavanāpati is the Buddhist patron saint of the Talaings ... His cult became known and spread in Pagan only after the destruction of Thaton in A.D. 1057: in the inscriptions* Anawrahta is represented as having had a statue of Gavanāpati carved out of a huge teak log; statuettes of his are still used in witch-craft ... A curious feature of this bronze image is that both figures have their eyes covered with their hands ... The union of a god of the Hindu pantheon with a great Buddhist saint, is typical of the blending, in Burma, of popular Hindu and Buddhist superstitions.” In 1930, on the finding of “a small pot-bellied and shaven-headed figure seated on a lotus” together with the Gaṇeśa illustrated at Pl. 88 e, Duroiselle recurs to the subject*: “Gaṇeśa and this ‘pot-bellied’ figure were once very popular among the Buddhists in Burma, and ... were combined ... in witchcraft.” And he adds three drawings of the bronze found in 1913 (our Pl. 89 f, g).

Gaṇeśa (Pls. 88, 89)

The elephant-headed god, is thus described in Monier-Williams’ Sanskrit-English Dictionary: — “The god of wisdom and of obstacles (son of Śiva and Pārvati ...). Though Gaṇeśa causes obstacles, he also removes them ... He is represented as a short fat man with a protuberant belly, frequently riding on a rat or attended by one, and to denote his sagacity has the head of an elephant, which however has only one tusk ...” — As the “Remover of hindrances”), he was also called Vināyaka, from which his Old Burmese name, Mahāpinay purhā, is derived. This, according to tradition, was the original name, Mahapeinnā, of the Shwesandaw, Aniruddha’s pagoda.11 “I have seen fragments of images of Gaṇeśa” says Dr. Ray, “within the precincts of the Shwesandaw pagoda, Pagan, where they along with other Hindu divinities were placed at the corners of the different pyramidal stages as guardian deities of the Buddhist shrine.” Ray is certainly right in saying that stone figures of Hindu deities were placed originally at the corners of the five terraces of the Shwesandaw. They guard, symbolically, the ascent of Mt. Meru (Sineru), with the Cūḷāmanicetiya (the Shwesandaw) of Tāvatimśa at the summit. Pl. 84 a shows what the S.E. corner of the first terrace looked like in 1905. The Hindu deities are now in fragments at the base or corners of the upper terraces (Pl. 84 b, c, d, e). Among these, I have looked in vain for the distinctive elephant-head of Gaṇeśa; but several fragmentary images (Pl. 84 d, e) show two figures seated back to back. I expect one of them faced inwards, worshipping the cetiya, while the other surveyed the landscape. I doubt if they were ever combinations of Gaṇeśa and Gāvanāpati (they might have been called so at a later period). They look to me more like the double-bodied Garuḍa of Raghurāmpur (Śri Vikramapura), S. of Dacca.13

No images of Gaṇeśa have yet, I think, been found at Śri Kṣetra. A photograph by F. O. Oertel (1892)14 shows a small relief, of unknown origin but probably from Lower Burma, which he found in the

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* Duroiselle, A.S.I. 1930, p. 158, and Pl. XLI d.


* See N. K. Bhattachari, ... Dacca Museum, p. 109 and Pl. XLI. Note that this Garuḍa is of wood.

* F. O. Oertel, Note on a Tour in Burma in March and April 1892, Photograph No. 8, bottom left corner.
Phayre Museum, Rangoon: it includes a crowned Gañëśa seated beside Brahmā. Dr. Ray (1932) also mentions two stone images of Gañëśa in the Rangoon Museum, one with six arms (dancing ?), the other with the usual four. The four-armed figure is "represented as if dancing on his two slim legs, but is really seated. The two upper hands hold what seems to be a cabra (discus) and noose, while the two lower hold the vilva fruit and the trunk." The other, "also with a bulging belly, is seated in padmāsana and has six hands, but the attributes can hardly be ascertained."

At Pagán, small single images of Gañëśa are fairly common, and are found in relic-chambers together with Buddhist images. They are made of stone, mica (? rock-crystal), bronze, baked clay and white plaster (Pls. 88, 89); one is also said to be in paint, in the Abēyadana; but I doubt this. Usually the crowned god sits in padmāsana, but sometimes the right knee is raised. The belly is sometimes, but not always bulging. Both tusks, if any, are shown. The God has usually four hands: the upper ones may hold the Hook, Cabra, Fruit, or Conch; the lower may support trunk or belly; sometimes the lower right hand holds a rosary, and hangs in earth-touching attitude. The fruit, according to Dr. Ray, may be the vilva (bael) or māukiṅga (citron). On the front of the pedestal the god's vāhana, the Rat or the Mongoose, is usually shown. The best-preserved image (Pl. 88 a, b, c), from a mound W. of So-min-gyi pagoda, has three creatures on the pedestal: a Tortoise on the left, a Fish on the right, and a Mongoose (? Crocodile) on the front. This is exceptional; as also the position of the hands in the Kyaunksauk bronze (Pl. 89 f, g), covering the eyes.

THE FAT MONK (Pls. 90. 91)

A widespread and ancient type of image frequently found in old relic-chambers – at Śri Kṣetra, Rangoon, Pegu, Mandalay, Pagán, etc. – presents a Fat Monk with bulging belly, always sitting cross-legged, usually in padmāsana, either in dhyāna mudrā, or with both hands supporting his belly. He often sits on a double lotus throne, sometimes on a bare pedestal, rarely with a back-slab behind him. His statuettes, always small (up to 9 inches in height), are made of stone, bronze, silver-gilt, bronze-gilt, plaster, terracotta, or unburnt clay, sometimes lacquered and gilded. In one instance, Duroiselle tells us but gives no illustration, the Fat Monk takes the place of the Buddha, on a terracotta votive tablet found near Pagán Htiomino. Elsewhere he is not shown as a Buddha, nor as a Bodhisattva. He has neither ūrṇā nor uṣṇīsa nor mukutā. His robes are sometimes barely visible. His head is round and smooth.

Possibly his oldest image in Burma is a stone statuette, 4½ inches high, once lacquered and gilded, found inside a miniature stone stupa covered by a laterite cone, in the relic-chamber of Kyaik Dé-ap (Bo-ta-htaung) pagoda, Rangoon (Pl. 90 a, b, c). Here he sits as a sexless nude, on a bare pedestal, with a hole bored at the back of his waist, perhaps for insertion of a relic. In the same stupa was a

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14 Duroiselle, A.S.I. 1929, p. 111.
four-faced gold image of the Buddha; and in the relic-chamber a votive tablet with a seven-line Pali ‘Credo’, dating from about the 7th–8th century A.D. Two images of the Fat Monk are reported from Śrī Kṣetra: one (Pl. 90 d), a stone image from Shwé-nyaung-bin ridge, seated in padmásana, dhyāna mudrā, on lotus throne; the other a stone image in two fragments from near the W. city-gate, Kinnmunchón village. Two images in silver-gilt and soft white stone, are now in the platform-museum of Pegu Shwémawdaw pagoda (Pl. 91 h). Here the monk, with robes plainly shown – right shoulder bare, flap over left shoulder, hems on the shins – sits with right leg on left. His hands support his belly on either side of the navel. His mat rests on a fine flowered bronze throne with jewelled pedestal – probably of later date. Duroiselle mentions “a bronze figure found in a ruined pagoda in Pakókku”; and two stone figures from the relic-chambers of Pagán Shwéhsandaw and Sittana (Cañcaná) pagodas (Pl. 91 b). The latter was one of the first to be noticed. Since then, many others have been reported from various parts of Pagán, and one from Mandalay (Pl. 91 c, d). The latest in date is a Pagán bronze dated 1602 A.D.²²

Who is this Fat Monk? – Duroiselle hesitated. The Kinnmunchón specimen, in 1925, he took to be the pot-bellied Jambhala or Kubera, Lord of the Yakṣas, and so the god of wealth. Ray agreed with him. Jambhala certainly becomes prominent in Tāntric Mahāyānist art. But when, in 1922, Major C. M. Enriquez produced very similar wooden images, pot-bellied, from Kengtung in the far east of Burma, where (as in Thailand) they are called ‘Mahā Kachai’, Duroiselle accepted the derivation from Kaccāyana, monk, scholar, and author of the first Pali grammar, and even considered that the images “were imported [into Burma] from the Shan States or Laos”. Since then, Dupont discovered a remarkable ‘votive tablet’ from Wat P’ra Pat’on in Dvāravati – apparently similar to the one Duroiselle discovered near Pagán Htilominlo – where the Fat Monk, seated with both hands supporting his belly (or is he in dhyānamudrā?), takes the place of the Buddha.

Or does the ‘Mahā Kachai’ of Thailand, Laos and Kengtung, refer rather to the eminent disciple of the Buddha, Mahākaccāna, famous for his golden complexion? – The rich youth of Soreyya, according to the Dhammapada-ṭṭhakathā (I, 324 ff.), wished that his wife were like Mahākaccāna: a prayer that seems improbable if he was really so obese. In Burma we hardly know how to identify the Fat Monk. So many ancient images of him have now been discovered in the plains of Burma, that the theory of importation from the east has ceased to be probable. Since Jambhala was not a monk, that origin is also difficult to maintain. Taw Sein Ko, and Duroiselle at one time, thought the Fat Monk to be of

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²² A.S.B. 1925, p. 16.
²⁰ A.S.B. 1922, p. 33. This is Arch. Neg. 2199, “a bronze image of Chinese Maitreyī”, from Pakókku; our Pl. 90 e, f.
²¹ J.B.R.S. Vol. I, Part II, p. 1 and fig. 1 (facing p. 4). It was first regarded as a “Chinese Buddha, Omito Fu.”
²³ For Gandhāran Pāñcika, “the genius of riches”, see Marshall, Buddhist Art of Gandhāra, pp. 104–5 and figs. 143, 144. Coomaraswamy (H.I.A.A., p. 68) says: “The Yakṣa is a massive, and often pot-bellied (kalodara) type: ... the type gives rise not only to the Buddhist Pāñcika-Jambhala ... but also to the later Hindu Gaṇesā.” In fig. 298 he shows an 8th century Jambhala from Ceylon. For “the pot-bellied god of wealth, Kubera, who is Lord of the Yakṣas,” see V. S. Agrawala, Handbook of the Sculptures in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Multra, p. 25 and fig. 21.
²⁴ Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma, p. 47.
²⁵ See references in Bhattacharyya, Ind. Bud. 1c., Index of Words, s.v. Jambhala.
²⁶ “He was probably a South Indian and belonged to the Avanti school ... Kaccāyana probably belongs to the 5th or 6th century A.D.” (Malalasekera, Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names, I, pp. 477–8).
²⁷ A.S.B. 1922, pp. 33–34.
²⁸ P. Dupont, L’Archéologie Mône de Dvāravati, p. 87, and Pl. fig. 253.
Chinese origin, from Mi-lo Fo, Maitreya, “the laughing Buddha”\(^\text{29}\). But the Fat Monk was not a Buddha either. In 1930, when Dutroiselle found, together with Gaṅga, “the pot-bellied and shaven-headed figure seated on a lotus”, he seems to have come round to the view that he was Gavampati\(^\text{30}\). U Lu Pe Win tells us that U Mya (who has not yet, I think, stated this view in print) holds that “these figures probably represent Gavampati, the patron saint of the Talaings”\(^\text{31}\). Although I know no text which says that Gavampati was abnormally fat, I lean to U Mya’s opinion: because Gavampati was a monk; because Kyanzittha’s inscriptions prove that he was revered, not only in Lower Burma, but also at Prome and Pagán; and because both these and the Taingtchut inscription and the Aniruddha ‘Copies’ agree that his images were made, gilded and worshipped at Pagán in the 11th and 12th centuries. If this view is right, we may add that they appear to have been worshipped continuously from the 7th century to the 17th. In the countries east of Burma the worship was transferred, it seems, to another monk, Kaccāyana. Magic, Learning and Wealth (as in Roger Bacon’s England) are easily associated in the mediaeval mind; so possibly the ultimate connection with the Yakṣa Jambhala, mutatis mutandis, may also stand.

One final theory, attributed by Dutroiselle to Burmese scholars\(^\text{32}\), is that the Fat Monk is the great Disciple of the Left (also a master of Magic), Moggallāna, uncomfortably swelled by the naughty Māra entering his belly, as told in the Māratajjanīya Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya. Uncomfortable he certainly looks in our illustrations – not at all like a ‘Laughing Buddha’.

SŪRYA

The Sun God, has not yet been traced in any Buddhist temple in Burma. Only two stone images of him have yet been identified: one, of North Indian type, at Shin-ngē-det-taung hill, Mrohaung, in North Arakan\(^\text{33}\); the other (Pl. 148 e), of South Indian type, at the E. end of the outer corridor of Nat-hlaung-gyaung, Pagán.

Mrohaung became a capital only in the 15th century. Dutroiselle dates the Arakan stone about the 8th; Dr Ray (p. 70) 7th or 8th, (p. 92) 6th–7th. It was discovered by the late U San Shwe Bu, Hon. Archaeological Officer for Arakan. “The reverse face” says Dutroiselle, “is filled with a writing in North Indian characters… much defaced… From the archaic nature of a few characters that still remain, it is quite probable that it is in Gupta characters of about the 8th century A.D.” Ray adds that it is in Sanskrit: “the palaeography of the record dates it in the earlier half of the 8th century.”

Dutroiselle describes the sculpture as follows: “It depicts on the obverse face Sūrya riding in his chariot drawn by seven horses. The horse in the centre is facing outward, and is placed in a niche of horse-shoe shape. The figure of the chariot-driver\(^\text{34}\) is missing. The principal figure is much defaced, but enough remains to show that it has two hands both lifted up to the level of the shoulders, each of which is carrying a circular or round object… It has a high headress, large ear-lobes and a necklace,

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\(^{30}\) A.S.I. 1930, p. 158.

\(^{31}\) A.S.B. 1939, p. 9.

\(^{32}\) A.S.I. 1929, p. 110.


\(^{34}\) Aruṣa, the god of Dawn. Īṣā and Pratyāṣā “personifying the different aspects of ‘dawn’ driving away darkness” (J. N. Banerjea, The Development of Hindu Iconography, p. 432).
and is flanked on either side by what remains of a small standing figure, which looks like a female. The one on the right is carrying a bow, and that on the left, a staff or an arrow. These two small figures probably represent the two goddesses, Ushā and Pratyushā."

Coomaraswamy, in his note on the Sūrya panel in the Bodhgayā railing-pillar, says: — "In Vedic mythology the Sun has sometimes one horse, sometimes seven; but in ancient Indian iconography always four. It is only later that the image-makers will allow him seven." — This is borne out by the evidence in his *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*. Thus the early Śunga carving at Bhāja, the Bodhgayā pillar C 100 B.C., and the Mathurā Śapatasamudri well-carving 100 A.D., all show only four horses. At Bhāja and Bodhgayā Sūrya is attended by his women; at Bodhgayā they are shooting with their bows. Seven horses only appear on the 10th century inscribed Pāla relief of Amṛita in the British Museum, and on the 11th century Pāla relief from Chapra, Rājshāhi; they are shown only on the pedestal, with the winged charioteer Aruna in the centre, and Īṣā and Pratyūṣā on the extreme right and left, “moving threateningly with bow and arrow”. But these are only minute figures; the interest has clearly passed from the chariot to the god, who stands bolt upright, holding his pair of lotuses which flower symmetrically above his shoulders. On the lifesize Sūrya statue at Koṇārak (13th century) the women are not seen. The Mrohaung sculpture is clearly intermediate between the Mathurā and Pāla types, and may be one of the first to show the full complement of horses.

This historical digression may help, perhaps, to bridge the gulf between our two Sūryas. Pagan Nat-hlaung-gyaung is a temple of Viṣṇu. Its outer wall has perished, leaving exposed the inner wall of the outer corridor. This has ten niches for ten stone sculptures — presumably Viṣṇu’s avatāras. Only six sculptures remain. The last in the series, on the right hand side of the entrance-steps, Duroiselle describes as follows: — "It is standing on a lotus flower from which two other smaller ones spring; the arms are placed close to the body bent upwards at the elbows, and each hand holds a lotus bud on a level with the shoulders; it wears a crown; the distended earlobes hang down and touch the shoulder under the weight of the large ear-ornaments. It has bracelets, armlets and anklets; the lower garment is tucked up and reaches as far as the knees; lines showing the folds are visible. I have not yet identified it. The number of niches would lead one to suppose that this also represents one of Viṣṇu’s Avatāras; but it has none of the distinctive attributes of any of these”.

Dr. Ray comes timely to the rescue: — "It is not one of the avatāras of Viṣṇu, but seems in all likelihood to be an image of Sūrya of the South Indian type. The position of the two hands as well as the lotus buds held in one line with the shoulders are significant; no less significant is the number of the hands, namely two, which is a distinctive feature of South Indian Sūrya images, and the strictly erect position of standing as well... Sūrya in South India does not generally wear boots nor ride a horse-drawn chariot..." He stresses the very intimate relation of Viṣṇu with the Vedic Sūrya. “In the

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45 *A.S.I.* 1913, p. 138 and Pl. LXXIX (e); and our Pl. 148 e.

Vedas he is never a supreme god, but is always identified with the Sun... The idea that Viṣṇu is the Sun appears to be still maintained in the worship of the Sun as Sūrya Nārāyaṇa.”

Dr. Kramrisch illustrates an 8th century statue of Sūrya in the museum at Alampur, South Deccan: “The image stands straight as a pillar with both feet firmly planted on a semicircular lotus pedestal. The image wears no garment except a very short loincloth. The delicate ornaments on crown and body and the sacred thread span and accentuate the pure and firmly modelled shape. The raised hands of the image hold each a lotus above shoulder height.” For reredos there is only the halo above, and a knee-high back-slab showing in low relief the six horses (the central one is to be imagined), and a minute Aruṇa and a wheel above them.

The only Gandhāran Sūrya shown by Marshall – a very doubtful one, in Tarakī sandstone, from Sirkap (Taxila Museum) – does not appear to have any horses at all. Nor (I think) does that of Pagān. But Old Burmese mentions several times a word, kyak tawiy, for some form of interior decoration of temples and monasteries. I take this, provisionally, to be an Old Mon term, *kyak thvé, “Sun God”; and to refer, not to Sūrya, but to the circular patterns, usually enshrining Buddhas, which cover most of the temple-ceilings of Pagān. Has this some distant connection with the circular painting of the Sun God on the niche-vault above the 120 ft. Buddha at Bāmiyān, Afghanistan?

DEVAS

If only secondary figures in Pagān iconography, Devas were far from unimportant. With the passage from Mahāyānism to the Theravāda, Devas must have re-taken the place of Bodhisattvas as the immediate helpers of men. In his Pali prayer in the Shwégugyi (1131 A.D.), the first temple in Early Burmese style, Caṇḍī I orders: “On a platform high exalt it, and adorn with cetiyas and images of spirits”. Pls. 372 d, 373 a, b, show part of the south face of this temple: one can still count 30 or more Devas above the glazed crenelles of the platform. More can be seen on the west face. So if we may assume that they once lined the crest of all four sides of the platform, there must have been a hundred or more.

BRAHMĀ

In later Gandhāran art the dyad, Indra and Brahmā, tend to oust Vajrapāni as the regular attendants on the Buddha, from his birth onwards. But they bear no resemblance to the dyad common in Pagān art. With us, Brahmā has always three (out of four) visible faces, and holds the umbrella over the Buddha on the right (the Buddha’s left). In Gandhāra he has a single face, often with long hair, stands on the Buddha’s right, and carries, if anything, the Brahma’s water-gourd (kamandalu). The dyad will pass later into Bodhisattvas.

44 The Art of India, Pl. 74 and p. 205.
45 The Buddhist Art of Gandhāra, fig. 27 and pp. 24–25.
46. B. Rowland, op. cit., Pl. 57. See also Coomaraswamy’s note (La Sculpture de Bodhgaya, p. 45) on the connection between the Buddha and the Sun.
48 See, e.g., Marshall, Buddhist Art of Gandhāra, figs. 55, 58, 67, 80, 84, 107, etc.
Chapter XI

In isolation, Brahmā, as "the positive aspect of creation"\(^{49}\), figures only in post-Vedic times. The first instance I know of the three (or four)-headed Brahmā in Indian art, is in the Viṣṇu Anantaśayin sculpture at the Daśāvatāra temple at Deogarh, which Zimmer dates c. 600 A.D., and Kramisch c. 500 A.D.\(^ {50}\). The subject — the Creation, or rather the Re-creation of the world by Viṣṇu — was popular from the 6th century onwards in India, and from the 7th to the 11th century in Burma. In the intervals of creation, Viṣṇu sleeps on the Endless World-Serpent, the sole survivor (Śeṣa) of the previous world. At Deogarh he sleeps with his head to the right\(^ {61}\), but in Burma always to the left. From his navel issues the lotus which supports Brahmā above him. In Burma the lotus always branches to form thrones for the Hindu Trinity, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. With us, Brahmā sits always to the left, Viṣṇu in the centre, and Śiva to the right.

Four such stone sculptures are extant in Burma: one from Śrī Kṣetra, Kalagangōn\(^ {62}\); two from Thatōn\(^ {63}\); and one from Kawgun Cave\(^ {64}\), some 30 miles above Maulmein, on the right bank of the Salween. There was also a fifth, in brick and plaster, in early Pagan, in the main image niche of the Viṣṇu temple, Nat-hlaung-gyaung; but nothing of it remains except Śiva above, one hand of Viṣṇu, the lotus seat and halo of Brahmā, and the ten twisted tail-ends of the endless serpent, below on the right\(^ {55}\). On the Śrī Kṣetra, and the broader Thatōn, reliefs, Brahmā has four arms. Elsewhere he has only two, the poses and attributes varying. He generally sits crouged in pādamāsana; in the broad Thatōn relief in ardhaparyankāsana, right knee raised. His crown is usually (and correctly)\(^ {56}\) the crown of braided hair (jaṭāmukuta); but on the narrower Thatōn relief the pointed kiriṭa mukuṭa.

By far the finest representations of Brahmā in Burma, eight altogether, are seen in the Nanpaya, which adjoins on the south the Manuha temple at Myinpagān, both being attributed to the captured Mon king, Makuṭa, c. 1060–70 A.D. The four richly carved stone pillars supporting the centre of the interior (Pls. 127–131) form a sort of open shrine around the central pedestal, now empty. Once (I guess) it may have borne a lifesize standing bronze image of the Buddha. Each pillar has four sides,

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\(^{49}\) For Brahmā’s role in creation, see H. Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilisation*, pp. 123–5.

\(^{50}\) Deogarh sculpture: — Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. II, Pt. III. Kramisch, *The Art of India*, Pls. 51, 52 and p. 202. Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, Pl. 77 A. Coomaraswamy (H.I.I.A. Pl. XLV 168 and p. 241) shows a bronze Brahmā, “found near Mirpur Khās, now in the Museum at Karachi … Probably 6th century”. — I cannot be sure, from the photograph, whether there are three visible heads or not. Dr. Banerjea (*Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 317) mentions a “stone image of Brahmā in … Mathurā museum (No. 382)” which “shows the four-faced god with faces arranged in a peculiar manner. Three of them are put in one line, the fourth one being placed over the central head … The figure is of the Kushan period”.

\(^{61}\) Elsewhere Viṣṇu sleeps in this scene with his head to the left: e.g. the Bhītārgāon terracotta relief (Rowland, op. cit., Pl. 78 B); the early 7th century sculpture in Mahiṣāmaṇḍapa, Māmallapuram (Zimmer, II, Pl. 286; Coomaraswamy, *H.I.I.A.*, Pl. LXI 209); or the 8th century ceiling panel in the hall of Haccappya Gūḍi Temple No. 9 at Alkoli in S.W. Deccan (Kramisch, op. cit., Pl. 62).


\(^{55}\) First observed by Col. Ba Shin, who pointed it out to me. See Pls. 146 a, 147 d, e.

the two inner ones carved in low relief with figures of Brahmā—each seated in ardhāparvāyaḥkāsana within a lovely forest of lotus, his two hands sustaining two of the flowers. The pose of hands and the lotus forest are strikingly like those of the Brahmā-pair in the porch-paintings of Myinkaba Kubyaukgyi (Pl. 345 a, b). But there the gods sit in padmāsana, their heads erect, their arms symmetrical. In the Nanpaya one knee is raised; the elbow rests on it; and the head, with its gorgeous tower of braided hair and double-lotus finial, gently leans that way. The flattened knee is always toward the centre, the outer knee raised, the supported elbow slightly higher than the other. The faces, too, are more mobile in their eternal calm.

Taw Sein Ko, who was in charge in 1904, when the temple suffered its first unsatisfactory repairs,⁵⁷ noted the Brahmā pillars, the absence of a Buddha, and the ‘Hindu deity’ (Kyāk Śrī) crowning all eleven of the exterior windows; and influenced, perhaps, by the fact that Nan in modern Burmese means ‘palace’⁵⁸, appears to have accepted the view that the building was just ‘the palace of the Talaing king’, and not a Buddhist temple at all. ‘The local Buddhists’ says U Mya, ‘who would not allow the wearing of shoes inside a Buddhist temple, have no such scruples about this temple, as they consider it to be either an old palace, or a Hindu temple. It is not in present use as a religious monument, and when taken over by Government for thorough repairs, was in an utterly ruined condition.’

In his ‘Note on the Nanpaya Temple and Images of Brahmā carved on the pillars inside it,’⁵⁹ U Mya had little difficulty in proving, from internal evidence, that it is a temple, and a Buddhist temple; that the Brahmas here closely parallel the Brahmās in the Kubyaukgyi—unquestionably a Buddhist temple; and that the ‘Hindu deity’ above the windows is just the Kyāk Śrī of dozens of Pagan temples, and of Kyanzittha’s palace and coronation pavilion. But I question strongly U Mya’s provisional dating of the temple as late as the ‘12th–13th century.’ No stone temples were built at Pagan, so far as we know, after the reign of Kyanzittha. I see no reason to question the traditional date: indeed I regard the Nanpaya as the first extant masterpiece of ‘Mon’ temple-architecture at Pagan.

The Myēbōnta Payahla (Pls. 248–251), another beautiful Mon temple (early 12th century?), tottering to ruin a furlong N.E. of the Shwēsandaw, is now being cleaned up, and if possible repaired, by the Archaeological Department. On the four sides of the central block there are recesses with colossal brick and stucco carvings of the Four Scenes, mounted on enormous thrones. Inset in the thrones are long rows of solemn stone Brahmas, each with his pyramid of braided hair, seated cross-legged on lotus mat in padmāsana, hands in namaskāra mudrā, with foliations all around him.

Of single stone-relief images of Brahmā, there are three more to mention (Pl. 416 a, b, c). Two are shown and described by Dr. Ray.⁶² The third, now in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, is similar. All have elaborate braided pyramidal of hair, with double lotus finial. All sit in padmāsana, on a bare pedestal against a bare backslab. All have their two hands raised together in namashāra mudrā. The better preserved Rangoon specimen (his fig. 29), Dr. Ray regards as a local product of the 12th–13th

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⁵⁷ A.S.B. 1904, p. 28; 1905, p. 6; 1910, p. 12; 1911, p. 10.
⁵⁸ In Old Burmese, I think nan sometimes meant Shrine. See I.B., Pl. I 97a, 598 s./1236 A.D.
⁵⁹ U Mya, A.S.I. 1935, pp. 101–6, and PIs. XXVI a to e.
⁶⁰ ibid., Pl. XXVI e.
⁶¹ ibid., Pl. XXVI f.
century; the damaged Pagán specimen (his fig. 28), he regards as the work of an Indian artist "not later than the 10th century." Dr. Ray is a learned and sensitive scholar of Indian art, and I hesitate to disagree with him: but if, as U Mya tells me, the Rangoon and Calcutta sculptures came from Thatôn, like most of the other Brahmanic images once housed in the Phayre Museum, it is not easy to date them later than the 11th century, for one hears nothing of Thatôn during the Pagán period after the reign of Kyansittha. It may have been a dead city.

Finally, at Pagán Museum there is a damaged stone head of Brahmâ, with single jaṭāṃkuta and no backslab (Pl. 416 d).

OLD COINS. ŚIVA

Śiva is a deity little known in Central Burma; but his worship was ancient in pre-Burmese North Arakan, especially under the Candra dynasty of Vesālī (8 miles N. of Mrohaung), during the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. The earliest coins of Arakan\(^{63}\) show the Conch-shell on the obverse – the symbol of Viṣṇu. But from the 4th king of the Candra dynasty, Devacandra (first half of the 5th century), down to Dharmacandra in the next dynasty (near the end of the 7th century), the coins substitute for the Conch of Viṣṇu the Bull of Śiva, Nandin, together with the name of the reigning king engraved above it. The further change, to Mahāyānist Buddhism, began under Vajraśakti towards the middle of the 7th century, and was confirmed by his grandson, Ānandacandra (early 8th century), author of the inscription on the W. face of the Shitthaung pillar now at Mrohaung\(^{64}\). But Vajraśakti’s son, Dharmacandra, father of Ānandacandra, remained "in the lineage of Iśa," i.e. Śiva; and he was the last king to have his name on coins showing the Bull.

When proper excavation starts at Vesālī (and there is no ancient site in Burma so promising as this), no doubt Śaivite images will be found. For the moment, the only one reported is a broken statue resting on a pillar, and showing a double lotus throne with Dūrgā, consort of Śiva, visible from the waist downwards, standing with right foot and Trident proudly planted on the mahiṣāsura, Buffalo Demon, whom she has slain\(^{65}\). Ray dates this sculpture c. 6th–7th century.

At Śri Kṣetra signs of Śaivism are scarcely to be found. The first excavators, General de Beylié and Taw Sein Ko, thought they found them: (a) near Yahanda Gu – "the end of a stone trident from a bas-relief, and the four arms of a statue of Śiva near a fragment of a statue of the Buddha."

(b) In 1927 Duroiselle reported the finding at Kalagangôn of "a liṅga 14 in. in height; an indisputable proof of the existence of Shivaism at Prome, side by side with Vishnuitism and Buddhism." But later, by 1937, he had changed his mind. After mentioning the "probably Pyu legend" of most Burmese Chronicles, that Cāṇḍi and Parameśvara, i.e. Dūrgā and Śiva, assisted at the founding of the old city\(^{66}\),

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\(^{64}\) Edited by the late Prof. E. H. Johnston, loc. cit., pp. 373–382, with translation and notes added, after his death, by Dr. L. D. Barnett.


\(^{67}\) Duroiselle, A.S.I. 1927, p. 182. See Arch. Neg. 2812 (1926–27) for the supposed "stone liṅga discovered at the excavation site W. of Kalagangôn village."

\(^{68}\) See Glass Palace Chronicle (transl.), p. 14.
he adds69: — "I have explored Prome... for many years, and I have never found anything that could be positively pronounced as Śaivite." He mentions the stone trident, clay seal with liṅga, etc.; also "some very old coins of a type pretty well distributed in Central and Upper Burma, which were at one time thought to bear Śaivite symbols; but they have not yet been explained satisfactorily and expert numismatists appear doubtful on this point." — Note that Nandin, the Bull of Śiva, which appears so often on the Candra coins of Arakan, is absent from the otherwise similar Pyu coins of Śrī Kṣetra and Halin.

Elsewhere too in Burma, evidence of Śaivism is more or less doubtful. Near the palace-site of Old Pegu, E. of Hintha ridge, the late Dr. J. A. Stewart dug up two stones which he took to be yoni; but he found no liṅga70. At the Khemathiwun monastery near Kyaik Khauk pagoda, S. of Syriam, a small laterite yoni (?) may also be seen, with spout and groove, and an incised circle in the solid centre. The old carved terracotta tablets set in the row of pockets along the terrace of Thagyay Paya (not Shwezayan pagoda), Thatôn, which Dr. Ray71 and others (including myself) once thought to be Śaivite, have since been proved by U Mya to be illustrations of the ten great Mahāniṣṭā Jātakas72.

As a subsidiary figure, like Brahmad, Śiva undoubtedly appears on the Viśṇu Anantaśayana reliefs (supra, notes 52–54), at Śrī Kṣetra, Thatôn, Kawgun and early Pagán Naht-hlaung-gyaung (Pl. 147 d). He sits on the right side of the Triad, on the proper left of Viśṇu in the centre, above the feet of the sleeping god. On the two Thatôn sculptures he has two arms, elsewhere four. On the Kawgun slab his lower hands are in namaskāra mudrā. The attributes may include trident (triśūla) and mallet (mudgara) in one or other of the upper hands; but all the images are different, and one cannot always be certain. The god sits either in ardha paryankāśana (right knee raised), or in padmāsana (crosslegged, both soles showing). He wears the pointed kirīṭa mukūṭa, except in the Nat-hlaung-gyaung group, where he has the jaṭāmukūṭa.

Three (or more) Brahmanic sculptures were found at Thatôn, and taken thence to the Phayre Museum, Rangoon; and when that was broken up, to Rangoon University Library. Here they were badly damaged, in April 1945, when the Japanese dynamited the building on their way out. Two are the Viśṇu Anantaśayin reliefs already mentioned. The third stone — a tapered rectangle arching to a peak — was once the grandest stone relief in Burma73. The chief deity shown on it used to be identified as Viṣṇu74, but Dr. Ray is assuredly right in calling him Śiva. Beside the lotus pedestal the God’s vāhana, the Bull Nandin, crouches under his right foot, facing the Buffalo-demon (mahīṣāsura) under his left knee; these are scarcely visible on the plates shown by Oertel and Temple, but are (or were) quite clear on the stone. The God, with his head coiffed and mitred within a magenta-nimbus leaning

74 e.g. by Taw Sein Ko, Ind. Ant. Vol. XXI, 1892, p. 381; Oertel, op. cit., p. 22; Temple, loc. cit., p. 360. Note Temple’s remark: — "There are the remains of an inscription on Plate XIII a by the right arms of the large figure. I tried to make it out on the stone and failed, but from a plaster cast I had taken, enough could be seen of it to determine the characters to be Burmese of the Kyaukása type." — Or are they Mon?
to the left, sits in a pose of strenuous ease (ardhaparyankasana). Four massive arms branch out like limbs of a swastika. The upper left hand holds the mallet, the upper right probably the trident, the lower right the rosary, the lower left the citrus fruit. The snake-garland falls over his left shoulder. Against his left thigh sits Pārvatī, holding a yaktail flywhisk, her chin pressed between his two arms. The whole design – the weighting of the left bottom corner, the tense diagonal of the head, the zigzag energy of upper arms and knee, the fluid fall of snake-thread, lower arms and thighs – is masterly. Dr. Ray (p. 79) dates these sculptures 9th–10th century, Orissan style.

At Pagán a badly damaged image of Śiva (Pl. 418 a) was exposed by flood on the riverbank, close to a tank W. of Shwé-ônhmín monastery, Myinpagán. “It is seated” says Duroiselle75 “in the sukhásana on a stylized lotus placed on the pedestal. The right leg is pendent, the foot resting on a small figure lying on its side, which seems to be Apsmāra. This enables us to identify the image as that of a form of Śiva. It has four hands... The stone measures 2 ft. 4 in. × 1 ft. 6 in. with a thickness about 9¾ in.” Dr. Ray thinks the upper right hand holds the trident, and the lower left the rosary; and confirms that “the male figure that lies prostrate under his right foot is the apasmāra puruṣa known only in South India as associated with Śiva.” The apasmāra puruṣa (“epileptic”) was the symbol of Dirt (mala). The scene is shown, says Coomaraswamy77, as early as pre-Kuśāna times (1st century B.C.) on the Guḍimalaṃ Śivalingam (North Arcot). In later times Śiva Naṭarāja is commonly shown dancing on it.

The standing four-armed statue of Śiva (Pl. 148 d), now at the N. door of Pagán Museum, was found by Crawfur in 182678, and by Phayre in 185379, lying on the floor of Nat-hlaung-gyaung. The attributes were clear; trident and mallet in the upper right and left hands, sword and mace in the lower ones. The crown is braided hair (jaṭāmukuta). Phayre noted as follows: – “The standing figure is about 4 ft. high... The image is much disfigured, but its Indian anklets are visible, and beneath the feet is an animal half broken away, but which probably represents a bull. The image, no doubt, is that of Śiva.” Dr. Ray comments81: “It is carved out of grey soft sandstone in bold and round relief. Its form and execution is distinctly South Indian, and may on stylistic grounds be dated not earlier than the 12th century A.D... about a century later than the Nat-hlaung-gyaung images, and of lesser artistic merit.” Duroiselle adds82: – “All the other figures in this temple are Vishnuite, and it is probable that this Śiva was brought [to this Viṣṇu temple] from some other temple.” – Note, however, that Phayre found it lying near “two empty places for upright images right and left of the throne”, and regarded it as having been “displaced” from one of them. Col. Ba Shin agrees with Phayre. Duroiselle did not observe that there is another figure of Śiva, seated in the recess just above.

76 Ray, Brahm. Gods . . . , Pl. XVII 22, and pp. 60–61, 92. He dates the image “not later than the 11th century A.D.”; and adds: “The iconography of the sculpture is South-Indian, but... the art-inspiration, like that of the Nat-hlaung images, seems to have come from the North.”
79 Henry Yule, A Narrative of the Mission . . . to the Court of Ava in 1855, p. 54.
80 The height should be 5 ft. 10 in.
VIŚṆU AND LAKŚMĪ (KYĀK ŚĪR)

In the late Prof. E. H. Johnston’s chronologically arranged plate, “Coins of the Candra Dynasty”\(^8\), the first four coins of North Arakan bear the śāṅkha or Conch-symbol of Viṣṇu on the obverse. Thereafter all bear the Bull of Śiva. The change comes in the reign of Devacandra who uses both symbols, in the first half of the 5th century A.D. Coin No. 3 is similar, but bears no royal name. Coins 1 and 2, both obverse and reverse beautifully engraved and clear, bear no name, but appear to be the numismatic starting point. There are small differences between them; but the Conch on the obverse, and the vardhamāna (?) and ankhūsa on the reverse, set the model. Possibly these two go back to pre-Candra times. Viṣṇu’s Conch figures also on a few of the oldest coins of Śrī Kṣetra\(^8\); but here Śiva’s Nandin never appears.

At Śrī Kṣetra, two of the oldest statues of Viṣṇu show him standing on the shoulders of his winged vāhana, Garuḍa. He has four arms: the upper pair of hands hold perhaps the Discus (cakra) and the Conch (śāṅkha). The lower right hand holds a fruit (? āmulaka, Emblic Myrobalan) in front of the body; the lower left rests on, or holds, the Club (gadā). This will remain the norm for Viṣṇu images in Burma. The two sculptures are quite different in style. The one found by General de Beylié in the garden of Prone Deputy Commissioner\(^8\), is a thin rectangular slab of soft sandstone, carved in bold relief. It presents Viṣṇu and his consort Lakṣmī (or Śrī) standing side by side, she on a double lotus. What remains of the slim, soft and supple figures is wonderfully clean and fresh; but the stone is broken at top and bottom, and both heads are missing. Viṣṇu on the left wears a short natural loincloth and twisted waistband, anklets and many bracelets. Śrī has only two hands: her raised right hand may hold (as Ray suggests) a bunch of lotus stems, her left hangs by her side with long, straining, sinuous fingers. Garuḍa, though defaced, is embellished with scales below the waist, and tail-feathers and wings outspread. The general effect is graceful and Indian, South Indian Pallava in style, according to Dr. Ray, but quite unorthodox: he knows of no other image “where Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī stand side by side.” And Viṣṇu standing on Garuḍa is “up till now found in Burma alone.” He dates the image c. 8th century A.D. It is not the only image of this type found at Śrī Kṣetra\(^8\).

The other stone-relief, from Kalagangōn\(^8\), is much less elegant: a tall triangle rimmed with lotus leaf, showing a large-headed four-armed Viṣṇu standing on a leafy-winged Garuḍa. His tasselled loincloth, ribbed with beads and volutes, is quite unlike the softly folded dhoti of the previous sculpture. The whole is austere, heavy with ornament, but realistically Pyu. Ray dates it c. 8th century A.D.

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\(^8\) See (i) Arch. Neg. 3765 (1934–35). “Fragment of a stone sculpture found at East Zêgu temple.” The crowned figure on the right appears to be Lakṣmī. On her right was perhaps a figure of Viṣṇu, all that remains being the uplifted left arm holding a conch. (ii) Arch. Neg. 621 (1906–08). At Kyaukkaw Thein shed there is also a stone relief, much defaced, from Pogangkan (W. of Peikthano Mibaya Thingyaigyi), showing four-armed Viṣṇu standing with Lakṣmī by his left side. Height 30 in. (+). Breadth 25\(\frac{1}{2}\) in. (+). Thickness 8 in. (iii) Arch. Neg. 784 (1909–10). A similar stone relief from Pokongūn (S. of the Bawbawgyi), also at Kyaukkaw Thein. Height 31 in. (+). Breadth 25\(\frac{1}{2}\) in. (+). Thickness at base 6\(\frac{1}{2}\) in. The bottom right corner is broken. (iv) Arch. Neg. 2809 (1926–27). A sandstone right hand (doubtless of Viṣṇu), upholding the conch. From a mound on the E. (? W.) side of Kalagangōn village. See A.S.I. 1927, p. 172.

VIṢṆU ANANTAŚAYIN

From the same site (the lair of a monitor lizard), perhaps from the same workshop, came Śrī Kṣetra's next Vaiṣṇava relief, the Anantaśayin. The subject, as we have seen, was popular in India from at least the 6th century A.D. In the sculpture at the Daśavatāra temple, Deogārī (N.E. of Sānci), Viṣṇu's head is to the right, and his legs do not cross. In the Bhitārgaon terracotta relief, and the 7th century sculpture in Mahiśamāṇḍapa, Māmallapuram, the head is to the left (as always in Burma), but the legs do not cross. In the 8th century ceiling-panel from the hall of Haccappya Guḍī (Temple No. 9) at Aiholi (S.W. Deccan), Viṣṇu's pose comes nearest to that in Burma: head to the left, legs crossing at the shin. Dr. Kramrisch, in her note on the Deogārī sculpture, points out that above the sleeping god are shown, in the centre, Brahmā on the lotus; on his right Kārttikeya on the Peacock and Indra on the White Elephant; and on his left Śiva and Pārvatī on their Bull, and the Marut storm-gods. Viṣṇu's hands are empty. "The lower part of the panel...shows the demons Madhu and Kaitabha, which were to be slain by Viṣṇu. The four remaining figures are personifications of the potency of Viṣṇu's four hands." In her note on the Aiholi panel, which also shows the god sleeping with hands empty, she says: "The attributes of the power of the god, the Wheel, Club, etc., are carved next to the recumbent image. They are not personified."

In all four of the Burma renderings of the scene the legs are crossed. In at least three (the two from Thaton and the one at Kawgun Cave), the god holds his attributes even in sleep. In the Śrī Kṣetra rendering there must be only two arms, and both are damaged. From the navel of the sleeping god (not always visible, but implied) proceeds the lotus stem which branches to form thrones for the Triad seated above – Brahmā (left), Viṣṇu (always prominent in the centre), and Śiva (right).

The small square Śrī Kṣetra relief, like the standing Viṣṇu from the same site, is rimmed with lotus. It is in two tiers: the sleeping god less prominent below, the Triad in high relief above. At its base, under the lotus mat on which the god lies, is seen on the left the spouting head of Makara. The Ananta serpent, Śeṣa, is hardly, if at all, visible. The faces are all grave, but realistic within their rigid formulas. If the sleeping god has only two arms, the seated Viṣṇu above him has the normal four, and sits, like Śiva, in pose of royal ease.

The stūlā relief from Thaton is a tall rectangle in three tiers: the three stūlā at the top; the seated Triad in the centre; the sleeping god below. This arrangement gives prominence to the Triad in the centre. The three stūlā are just the reredos (Viṣṇu's the highest) of the gods below them, all seated in padmāsana on beautifully fluid lotus cushions. Viṣṇu in the centre has his lower hands as if in dharmacakra mudrā, but perhaps only holding his fruit between them. There is no sign of the Ananta serpent below. There is much more beauty of design and modelling here than in the Pyu relief.

The larger Thaton relief, though worn, is also the work of a master. Square in shape, but flat-arched at the top, it reverts to the two-tiered Śrī Kṣetra pattern. But here the sleeping god is given more prominence and two-thirds of the surface. The five hoods or heads of the Serpent ring his peace-
ful head, asleep on his indented pedestal. The lotus forest rises on either side of the tall stern seated Triad, Viṣṇu alone sitting in pūdāsana.

The Kawgun stone relief⁹⁸ is a tall arched rectangle in three tiers, like the stūḷā relief of Thatôn; but the stūḷā tier is missing, and the sleeping god raised to first importance in the main middle tier. Here the Serpent rings him with seven heads, all crowned, and at his feet Lakṣṇī stands on guard. The bottom tier consists of three niches: a kneeling worshipper at each side, two seated ones in the centre; but these are hard to distinguish. Are they, as at Deogarh, personifications of his attributes? In the top left corner, too, there appears to be a figure riding a horse (?) approaching the three seated gods. One would expect a balancing figure in the top right. Are these the Maruts?

VIṢṆU IMAGES AT PAGĀṆ

At Pagān, a standing bronze image of Viṣṇu (Pl. 448), was found by a monk "in a field at Myinkaba ... about 1 ft. in height, and of good workmanship"⁹⁷. The god, four-armed, stands erect on double lotus. His raised right and left hands hold (or held) respectively the Discus (cahrā) and the Conch (sāṅkha). The lower right hand is held out before the body in abhaya mudrā; the lower left palm rests on the top of the Mace (gadā). Dr. Ray⁹⁸ notes its stiff rigid modelling, hard facial expression, simple and crude workmanship; its flame-epaulettes, its distended earlobes (characteristic of Buddha images); and suggests that it was cast locally, "not earlier than the later half of the 13th century A.D." This seems difficult to reconcile with his mention of "an exactly similar bronze image from the Madras Museum, illustrated in Gopinath Rao's Hindu Iconography" (Vol. I, Part I, Pl. XVIII).

There is also at Pagān Museum a small sandstone image (8 in. high) of the four-armed Viṣṇu (Pl. 417 a), seated in pūdāsana on lotus. No one knows where it came from. The god wears a pointed crown. His upper right hand holds the Wheel, his upper left possibly the Club. The two hands before the body may hold a fruit and the Conch.

Finally, a weathered stone fragment recently found in Shwegu-gyi (Pl. 417 b) shows the crowned head and torso of a four-armed god, similar to several old images of Viṣṇu found at Śrī Kṣetra.

VIṢṆU TEMPLES AT PAGĀṆ

Viṣṇu is the only Hindu god to have had temples built and dedicated to him at Pagān. There was probably once a Viṣṇu temple at Myinpagān. A Tamil-Sanskrit inscription⁹⁹, in Tamil characters

⁹⁷ Duroiselle, A.S.B. 1913, Pl. II (2), and p. 19. Height of image: 13 in. The damaged cakra of the upper right hand is now lost.
⁹⁹ Ray, Brah. Gods in Burma, Pl. XII 17, and pp. 45–47, 91. Compare also the 9th–10th century Perumal Viṣṇu, now at Madras Museum, shown at O. C. Gangoly, South Indian Bronzes, Pl. LXIII, with lower right hand in varada mudrā. Ours is in abhaya mudrā (not varada, as Dr. Ray says).

In Nov. 1903, the Hon. A. T. Arundel of the Indian Public Works Department inspected the newly formed Archaeological Office at Pagān, and "on seeing a Tamil inscription found at Myinpagān, he suggested the despatch of a rubbing of it, for decipherment, to the Government Epigraphist at Madras". Dr. Hultsch sent a translation and notes (later edited in Epig. Ind., Vol. VII, No. 27, pp. 197–8), from which I extract the following: "... In the temple of Nānādesi Vinnagar Alūr at Pukkam alias Arivattanapuram, I, Iyviyin Siriyān alias Śrī Kulasekharanambi of Magodayarpattam, made a maṇḍapa, gave a door, and one fixed lamp to burn constantly in this maṇḍapa..." Note. The inscription consists of one verse in the Sanskrit language and Grantha alphabet, and a prose passage in the Tamil language and alphabet. The Tamil characters are those of the 13th century A.D. ... The Tamil passage records gifts by a native of Magodayarpattanam in Malai maṇḍalam, i.e. Cranganore, in Malabar. His name, Śrī Kulasekharanambi, stamps him as a devotee of the Vaishnava Saint Kulasekharan, from whose Mukundamālā the opening verse is derived. The recipient of the gift was the temple of Nānādesi-Vinnagar at Pukkam ... i.e. the Vishnu temple of those coming from various countries ..." (A.S.B. 1903, p. 7).
thought to be of the 13th century, records gifts by a Vaiśṇava devotee. Śrī Kulasēkharanambi, a native of Cranganore in Malabar, to a Viṣṇu temple at Pagán, presumably near the site of the inscription. The stone, which is now Stone 95 at Pagán Museum, was found at Myinpagān; but the exact spot is not on record. It is possible that ex-king Makuṭa and his followers built such a temple for their own use at Myinpagān. Note, too, the bronze statuette of Viṣṇu (Pl. 448) found “in a field at Myinkaba”.

NAT-HLAUNG-GYAUNG

The other Viṣṇu temple, still extant, is within the walls of Pagán. It is called Nat-hlaung-gyaung, “Residence confining Devas” (Pls. 143–149). It stands between the Thatbyinnyu and the Pāhto-thāmya, a few minutes’ walk from the old palace. No more honourable site could have been chosen. We have seen100 how prominent were Vaiśṇava Brahmans and the worship of Nār (Nārāyaṇa) at the building of Kyanzittha’s palace. Kyanzittha himself often claims to be an Avatar of Viṣṇu. And such a name as Narasingha-Uccanā101, borne by one of the later kings of Pagán, suggests that Kyanzittha was not the only Pagán king who worshipped Viṣṇu.

The main shrine of Nat-hlaung-gyaung is the large fathom-deep recess with striped archway in the E. face of the central block (Pl. 146 a). It is of bare brick, broken by treasure-hunters up to a height of about 6½ ft. from the cement floor. Above this, there is faintly painted plaster with lotus stalks in relief, branching outwards and supporting two double lotus thrones. The one on the left is empty except for the mark of a halo. The one on the right (Pl. 147 d) holds a four-armed god with crown of braided hair, seated in padmāsana, a mallet in his upper left hand and a knife (or mace ?) in the lower. In the centre there was probably another four-armed deity, now lost except for a lifted left arm, holding a conch. – Col. Ba Shin, who first correlated these details with the ten intertwined snake-tails (Pl. 147 e) below, on the right side of the recess, is certainly right in concluding that the main image in the temple was yet another Viṣṇu Anantaśayin, in the act of creation (or rather re-creation) of the universe; that the main image of the god, sleeping on the Ananta serpent with his head to the left, is now lost owing to treasure-hunters; and that little remains except the Śiva above on the right, the top left hand of Viṣṇu seated in the centre, and the lotus throne and halo of Brahmā on the left. These are made of brick and stucco.

On each side of the recess, facing front, there is a narrow round-arched shallow niche, 7 ft. high from the pedestal, and about 2 ft. broad. The standing stone image of Śiva (Pl. 148 d), now at Pagán Museum, which Crawfurd in 1826 and Phayer in 1855102 found lying on the floor of the temple, may have come from one of these niches – perhaps the one on the right, thinks Col. Ba Shin, which shows signs of damage.

Above these tall niches there are strong recessed and swelling capitals, on which rest two round-topped niches, with the nine inward-curving spines of the arch-pediment (clec) between them. This kind of pediment, the Colonel notes, is archaic, typical of Śrī Kṣetra103 rather than Pagán, where the spines of the Mon clec are nearly always vertical. These upper niches are 48 to 50 inches high; 20 to

100 supra, Ch. IV, pp. 68–71.
101 I.B., Pl. II 138a, 200. Narasingha-Uccanā was probably the elder brother of Klacwa. He appears to have reigned for a few years before 597 s./1235 A.D., when Klacwa succeeded him.
102 See notes 78, 79 supra.
103 e.g. above the megalithic Bodhisattvas of Kanbyin Gate and Nat-yaukka-gôn, Śrī Kṣetra (Arch. Negs. 776, 2886).
22 inches broad; the one on the left 1 foot deep; the one on the right (where the image is missing) 2 feet. Misjudgement of their size led Duroiselle into several errors \(^{104}\). Phayre in 1855 suggested that the stone statue of Viṣṇu seated on Garuḍa (Pl. 147 a), which he also found lying on the floor, and which has now been taken to Berlin \(^{105}\), came from the upper niche on the right. Duroiselle comments: \(^{106}\) - “This seated Viṣṇu, 4 ft. high, which Yule [read Phayre]” describes as coming from the niche above the capital on the left” [read right], “is really the central figure below; it could not have fitted in the smaller niche; moreover the counterpart of the figure now missing in this niche, is still in situ in the niche over the capital on the right” [read left] “hand, and is only two feet high; the one on the left” [read right] “was of the same size.”

Duroiselle gives photographs, both of the stone Viṣṇu seated on Garuḍa, “4 ft. high,” now in Berlin (his Pl. LXXX c); and also the brick and plaster Viṣṇu seated on Garuḍa, still in situ in the left upper niche, “only two feet high” (his Pl. LXXIX f). – This last measurement is certainly too small. The niche is 4 ft. high; and our prints (Pl. 147 b, c) prove that the height of the image (including the Garuḍa) is not much less than that of the niche. “The dress” of this image, Duroiselle adds \(^{107}\), “is very simple and resembles that of a Buddhist monk, while the headdress is similar to that of Buddha figures. This interesting image is the Buddha Avatāra.” – Here again he was misled, either by his photograph, or by looking at the image from below. His photograph, taken with a tilted camera, shows a sort of conical usṣiṣa on the god’s head. But ours (Pl. 147 c), taken from the same level as the image, shows nothing of the kind, but only a rather worn jatāmukula on a figure dressed in royal attire, with hands in a pose quite un-Buddhistic. We have not checked Grünwedel’s measurement of the Berlin image: but assuming it to be correct (as we have no reason to doubt), and comparing its shape with that of the niche, we think it quite possible that it fitted the niche exactly. In any case it cannot have been the central image in the recess; for that, we are confident, was a Viṣṇu Anantaśayin.

On the three other sides of the inner corridor, set in shallow niches, are three brick images of the standing four-armed god (Pl. 148 a, b, c). They were once, I expect, the most beautiful brick images in Pagán; but are now, alas, so damaged that we can only guess the beauty of the whole from the delicacy of a few parts. The image on the S. face (Pl. 148 a) seems to hold at least three of the usual attributes: cakra, sankha and gada. All these walls were once covered up to the roof with painting, now difficult to read below the whitewash. Here is U Mya’s description \(^{108}\): “All the paintings represent seated figures of Viṣṇu with his devotees. In some the attributes may be distinguished; and they are the cakra, conch, lotus (?), club or sword. Some of the Viṣṇu images have four hands, others two, and the distinguishing marks are discernible only in the case of images with four hands. The devotees are, in almost every case, ascetics wearing beards and moustaches, with the hair on the head done up into two knots, one on each side above the ear. Each ascetic is seated with the legs folded on one side, and the hands raised in the namaskāramudrā towards the fire before him in a salver.”

\(^{104}\) Duroiselle, “The Nat-hlaung-kyauung, Pagán”, \textit{A.S.I.} 1913, pp. 136–9, and Pls. LXXVIII b, c., LXXIX, and LXXX a, c.

\(^{105}\) Probably by Noetling about 1891, to the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, where, as Duroiselle says, it was “reproduced and carefully described by Grünwedel” (see \textit{Veröffentlichungen aus dem Königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde}, V Band, 4, \textit{Skulpturen aus Pagan}, Berlin, Dietrich Reimer, 1897.)


\(^{107}\) \textit{ibid.}, p. 139.

AVATĀRAS

Of the outer corridor below, only the inner wall is left, now exposed to the weather. It contains ten niches rounded at the top: four on the E. side (two on each side of the steps up to the inner corridor), and two each on the S., W., and N. sides near the corners. Their chief purpose was to house stone reliefs showing the Avatāras (‘Descents’ or Incarnations) of Viṣṇu, Preserver of the Universe. The series starts from the centre of the E. face, the worshipper keeping his right side to the temple as he makes the circuit. “Ten” says N. K. Bhattasali109, “is the most commonly accepted number of the incarnations; but the list was smaller originally. In some enumerations only six incarnations are mentioned, while seven is the number fixed upon in other passages. The list was sometimes extended to 22 or 23, including many famous sages, as well as Rṣabha, the first Tīrthaṅkara of the Jainas, and Buddha the founder of Buddhism.” According to the southern recension of the Mahābhārata, “the Ten Incarnations are the Fish, the Tortoise, the Boar, the Man-Lion, the Dwarf, (Parāśu) Rāma, (Dāśarathī) Rāma, (Bala) Rāma, Buddha and Kalki.”

There are at present only seven stone sculptures in these ten niches. If we number the niches 1 to 10, and the Avatāras in the order given above also as 1 to 10, we find (allowing for gaps) a fair degree of correspondence at the beginning, but some apparent divergencies later: –

I. THE FISH (matsya). – Manu, the first man, washing his hands, spares the life of a tiny fish he finds between his fingers. The Fish, in turn, now grown gigantic, saves Manu from the great Flood. – Sculpture missing.

II. THE TORTOISE (kūrma). – Viṣṇu descends in the form of a Tortoise to support Mt. Mandara, which the Asuras, in their search for ambrosia, were using as a churning rod to churn the ocean. – Sculpture missing.

III. THE BOAR (varāha). – Viṣṇu descends in the form of a Boar to rescue the young Earth (Pṛthivi) which had disappeared under the sea, and establish it above sea-level. – The sculpture is on the S. face, near the S.E. corner. The Boar is seen with Pṛthivi on his left shoulder.110 (Pl. 149 a).

IV. THE MAN-LION (narasimha). – The atheist demon Hiranyakasīṣṇu (“Gold Cushion”) ill-treats his son Prahlāda for praising Viṣṇu. “Where is he?” he asks. “Everywhere” replies his son, “even in this palace-pillar”. Furious, the demon kicks the pillar. The Man-Lion emerges and tears him to pieces. (Brahmā had granted the demon the boon that he could not be slain by man nor animal). – The sculpture is on the S. face, near the S.W. corner (Pl. 149 b).

V. THE DWARF (vāmana). – The demon Bali, “priding himself on his empire over the three worlds, was humiliated by Viṣṇu, who appeared before him in the form of a dwarf holding a kamaṇḍalu, and obtained from him the promise of as much land as he could pace in three steps: whereupon the dwarf expanding himself deprived him of heaven and earth in two steps, but left him the sovereignty of the lower regions”111. – The Vāmana sculpture is shown on the W. face, near the S. W. corner112 (Pl. 149 c). The sequel, the Trivikrama or Three Steps, is not shown.

VI. BALARĀMA HALĀYUDHA, the Plough-weaponed. Elder brother of Kṛṣṇa. Also called Haladhara, ‘plough-holder’, “carrying a peculiar weapon shaped like a plough-share”113. – The sculpture is on the W. face, near the N.W. corner (Pl. 149 d).

110 Duly noted by Duroiselle.
112 This Vāmanavatāra was first correctly identified by Ray (Brahmanic Gods . . ., Pl. XI 15, and pp. 43–44, 91.
113 Monier-Williams, op. cit., p. 1293.
VII. RĀMACANDRA, DĀŚARATHI RĀMA, son of Daśaratha, king of Ayodhyā. “Hero of the Rāmāyaṇa [of Vālmīki], who, to recover his faithful wife Sītā, advanced southwards, killed the demon Rāvana and subjugated his followers, the Rākṣasas... the barbarous aborigines of the south”\(^{114}\). He bears the Bow. – The sculpture is on the N. face, near the N.W. corner (Pl. 149 e).

VIII. PARAŚU RĀMA, “Rāma with the Axe... A typical Brāhmaṇ, and his history typifies the contests between the Brāhmans and Kṣatriyas”\(^{115}\). He bears the Battle-Axe and Club. – The sculpture is on the N. face, near the N.E. corner (Pl. 149 f).

IX. BUDDHĀVATĀRA. – Missing.

X. KALKI. Kalki has not yet appeared, but will appear “mounted on a white horse and wielding a drawn sword as destroyer of the wicked”\(^{118}\). – This is not shown; but instead, as Dr. Ray has rightly argued, there is in this final niche a sculpture of Sūrya, the Sun God\(^{117}\) (Pl. 148 e). Note N. K. Bhattacharjī’s remark:\(^{118}\) “Images of the Sun-god are the most numerous ones found in Eastern Bengal, next only to those of Viṣṇu.” And he adds that “the Varmans and the Senas, who followed the [Buddhist] Pālas, specifically call themselves Saurā, i.e. worshippers of the Sun-God.”

The only unusual element in the arrangement proposed above, is the order of the three Rāmas, Paraśu Rāma normally coming before, and Bala Rāma after, Rāmacandra. But a reader of N. K. Bhattacharjī’s interesting account of these incarnations\(^{119}\), and in particular his analytic chart (on p. 96), will see that after No. 5, Vāmana, the order of the three Rāmas at any rate, is variable. Perhaps, too, it is not surprising that niche No. 9, Budhāvatāra, near the N. corner of the E. face, was left empty. Was this avatāra even known in Burma at the time?\(^{120}\)

ABĒYADANA TONDOS (Pls. 216 b, 219–223)

Even the Vedic gods find entry, under the wing of Śaivite Tāntrism, into this Buddhist temple. The outer wall of the Abēyadana Corridor is Mahāyānīst. The upper paintings on the inner wall are generally Buddhist. But above the high plinth at the base of the inner wall, in the forks where the tall niche-pediments meet, there is a series of 18 Tondo-paintings, on the W., E., and S. walls, showing these ancient gods coming to pay their respects to the Abēyadana Buddhās. On the S. (or back) wall there are two tondos near each corner, converging on the broad Buddha-niche in the centre. The W. and E. walls hold seven tondos each; here the direction is from S. to N., i.e. towards the sole entrance to the Shrine. There are no tondos on the N. wall. At each corner of this central block there is a vertical pilaster; so those nearest the corners are only half, or rather two-thirds, tondos. Each full tondo is about 13\(\frac{1}{4}\) in. in diameter (the subject proper), plus 3\(\frac{1}{5}\) in. (the breadth of the border).

\(^{114}\) Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 877.

\(^{115}\) Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 589.

\(^{116}\) Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 262.


\(^{118}\) Bhattacharjī, *Dacca Museum*, pp. 148, 166.

\(^{119}\) *ibid.*, pp. 89–107.

\(^{120}\) Quite apart from the likelihood of causing offence to some Pagān Buddhās, there is the question of date. Note T. Bloch’s remark in “Notes on Bodh Gaya” (*A.S.I.* 1909, p. 151): “So far as I am aware, the earliest reference in literature to the ninth or Buddha Avatāra of Viṣṇu, is found in Kṣemendra’s *Dāśāvatāra-charita*, a work of the 12th century A.D.” – The Nat-hlaung-gyaung may date from about 1000 A.D.
Chapter XI

VEDIC GODS AND DIKPĀLAS

All show Vedic or post-Vedic gods and goddesses, each riding his vāhana with or without attendants, coming with offerings to worship. In the absence of written glosses, it is none too easy to identify these deities. On the W. side (Nos. 1 to 7, from N.W. to S.W.), U Mya has recognized the three leaders of the procession:\(^\text{121}\): — No. 1 Brahma, riding his Hanśa or Wild Goose; No. 2 Śiva, riding his Bull, Nandī; No. 3 Viṣṇu, riding Garuḍa, who bears his stolen pot of ambrosia. Note that here Śiva takes the central place, always occupied by Viṣṇu in Burma Anantaśayin sculptures. On the E. side (Nos. 8 to 14, from N.E. to S.E.), Dr. Ray has identified one of the middle tondoes, No. 12, as the river-goddess Yamunā (Jumma), riding her Tortoise.\(^\text{122}\)

Other identifications are more or less probable: I propose them tentatively. If No. 12 is Yamunā, as seems certain, one expects Nos. 13 and 14 to be the other ancient river-goddesses — Sarasvatī on Hanśa, and Gaṅgā on Makara. Makara is a curious zebra-like animal with gaping mouth; and it occurs again, I think, on the S. wall, S.W. corner, No. 17, where it may be Varuṇa’s vāhana. One or two identifications seem fairly obvious. No. 4 on the W. wall is likely to be Devī, Śiva’s consort, on Simha, the Lion. No. 9 on the E. wall can hardly fail to be Indra on his White Elephant, Airāvata. “Indra” says Prof. J. N. Banerjea, “was originally the most prominent of all the Vedic gods, and now... he had to be satisfied with the much more modest position of the guardian of the eastern quarter”. It seems clear to me that several of these gods are Dākṣhina-pālas, Guardians of the Quarters; but Indian texts, as Dr. Banerjea shows, are not always at one in their assignments. If No. 9, Indra, represents the East, No. 8 at the N.E. corner may well be Īśana (a form of Śiva) on his Bull, correctly representing the North-East. Perhaps also No. 10 may be Agni on his Goat, representing the South-East. Yama is Guardian of the South, and rides the Buffalo, holding the Trident in his left hand: this, then, should be No. 16 on the S. wall, second from the S.E. corner. Varuṇa is Guardian of the West; but if I have rightly identified him on his Makara (No. 17), I must admit that he is here placed on the S. wall, though in the S.W. corner. Nirṛti (lord of the South-West), Vāyu (lord of the North-West), and Kubera (lord of the North) I fail to find; but there are no tondoes on the N. wall. Left to identify are:

No. 5 W. Wall — a six-armed goddess riding an Elephant.
No. 6 W. Wall — a two-armed king riding a Monkey.
No. 7 W. Wall — a four-armed king riding a Horse.
No. 11 E. Wall — a two-armed king riding a Buffalo.
No. 15 S. Wall — a four-armed king riding a Kinnara.
No. 18 S. Wall — a four-armed king riding an Eagle (?), with Cormorant in front.

Sex is sometimes difficult to distinguish in these tondoes. But No. 6, the two-armed rider on the Monkey, is certainly a bearded king. Vasanta, the Hindu god of Spring, rides a Monkey, but he has normally four arms.\(^\text{123}\) Could No. 6 be Dāśarathī Rāma riding his faithful ape, Hanumān?\(^\text{124}\)

\(^{121}\) U Mya, A.S.I. 1930–34, Part I, p. 183, and Part II, Pl. CIV.
\(^{122}\) Ray, Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma, p. 57 and n. 3, and figs. 22 to 25.
\(^{123}\) The Development of Hindu Iconography, p. 522. The whole of Prof. Banerjea’s section on the “Aṣṭadikpālas” (pp. 519–529) is relevant and valuable.
\(^{125}\) See B. Bhattacharyyya, Ind. Bud. Ic., p. 379.
REVANTA

No. 7 in spite of his four arms (I think he normally has two), may well be Revanta, son of Sureṇu and the Sun-god Śūrya, the lord of horses, cavalry and hunting. One image of Revanta has been discovered in the moat at Badkāmtā, the old capital of Patikkarā in East Bengal. N. K. Bhattachari describes at length the worship of Revanta127, as the climax of "the rite of Nīrājana, the performance of which was incumbent on every king... performed... in the autumn and lasted for seven days. It was a kind of military and religious ceremony performed by kings or generals of armies... preparatory to a campaign. It was general purification, by means of sacred mantras, of the king's priests, his ministers and all the various component parts of an army, together with the arms and implements of war. It was also accompanied by a kind of triumphal march, parade and mock-fight... Revanta is described... as having two strong arms and his body shining with armour... He should have a whip in his left hand and a sword in the right, and he should be placed on a white horse and worshipped with the same rites as used in the worship of the Sun-god."

I have long suspected that Kyanzitha's chief queen, Abêyadana, came from Patikkarâ. Her temple (architecture apart) is so different from any other at Pagán. There must have been a deep love and sympathy between husband and wife to bridge that wide religious gulf. (The gift-princess loved by Kyanzitha in the Chronicles128 is said to have come from Pegu: perhaps she really came from Patikkarâ?). Abêyadana was a faithful wife, and followed her husband, it seems, when he fled as an outlaw to the north. Perhaps, after the disaster of Pyidawtha-kyun129, they meant to escape to Bengal; but when they got to Nga Singu, north of Mandalay, having won to their side the powerful headman of Singaing, they fell back on Kyauksè; and with secret pressure, no doubt, from Pagán, then under close siege by the rebel Nga Ramān, they decided to make a fight for it. It was Kyanzitha's most dangerous campaign. The rebel, in full flush of victory, pursued him as far as Ava. He had but a month or two to improvise a force of raw recruits, and train them to face a seasoned, disciplined army. What did he do? - The Chronicles130 tell an extraordinary tale of magic rites at Lèdwin (Kyauksè), performed - obviously with Kyanzitha's approval - by the Htihaing monk, Shin Poppa: - "He recited charms over minium and cinnabar, and drew figures of the sun and moon on the frontlets of elephants, on saddle pommels, on shields of every kind... and on standards of war, and surrounded them with magic charms and sorceries. When he had prepared them he piled them in rows at Lèdwin... And Kyanzitha, when he had performed divers rites of magic, fought with all his host; and the soldiers of Nga Ramān were sore afraid as though he would eat their flesh; and the mighty battle was broken."

Such a story, so alien to all we know of Kyanzitha's normally austere Buddhist piety, is not likely to be untrue. But something had to be done, and done quickly, to give these raw soldiers confidence and courage. And what expedient more likely would Abêyadana suggest, or Kyanzitha adopt, than to perform the Patikkara purification ceremony before committing them to battle? If this picture of the peril of that hour is not fanciful, Abêyadana had good reason for giving Revanta a place of honour among the gods of her devotion; and Kyanzitha, both as husband and soldier, if not as pious Buddhist, must have approved.

Here, then, is a summary of the 18 Tondoes of her temple, so far as I have read them:

**WEST WALL (from N.W. corner). FACING NORTH**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TONDO</th>
<th>PLATE NO.</th>
<th>DEITY</th>
<th>VĀHANA</th>
<th>IDENTIFICATION</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>219a</td>
<td>3 visible heads, with crest on jaṭāmukuta. 2 arms holding a hairy fruit (?).</td>
<td>Wild Goose</td>
<td>BRAHMĀ on Haṁsa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>219e</td>
<td>6 arms (R mace, trident, discus. L human face, face, club ?). Crowned.</td>
<td>Charging Elephant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>219f</td>
<td>2 arms (R, L: lotus or discus?). Crowned and bearded king. Kriṭāmukuta.</td>
<td>Monkey offering lotus stalk.</td>
<td>RĀMA on Hanumān (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>221a</td>
<td>4 arms (R lotus, lotus. L whip, reins). Crowned king with gold belt, half-sleeved jacket, short loin-cloth, felt boots.</td>
<td>Spirited Horse, well-harnessed.</td>
<td>REVANTA (son of Sūrya) on Horse.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### EAST WALL (from N.E. corner). FACING NORTH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TONDO</th>
<th>PLATE NO.</th>
<th>DEITY</th>
<th>VĀHANA</th>
<th>IDENTIFICATION</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>222d</td>
<td>Upper part, including most of rider lost. 2 (lower?) hands in aṇjali. Red loincloth, variegated felt boots. Tall attendant walks behind with lotus-stem.</td>
<td>Large, horned Goat (human eyes, cloven hoofs).</td>
<td>AGNI on Goat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>221c</td>
<td>4 arms (Upper lotus buds, Lower aṇjali). Crowned goddess. Male attendant with lotus stalk walks behind.</td>
<td>Tortoise with lotus-stalk in mouth.</td>
<td>YAMUNĀ on Tortoise.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### SOUTH WALL

*(from S.E. corner). FACING WEST*

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<tr>
<th>TONDO</th>
<th>PLATE NO.</th>
<th>DEITY</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drawing</td>
<td>Photo</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>221e</td>
<td>223c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>221f</td>
<td>223d</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>VĀHANA</th>
<th>IDENTIFICATION</th>
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### (from S.W. corner). FACING EAST

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<tr>
<th>TONDO</th>
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<td>Drawing</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>223e</td>
<td>223f</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>221g</td>
<td>223f</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IDENTIFICATION</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Striped, fourfooted 'Zebra' with gaping mouth. Eagle (?) with tail spread. Cormorant stands on right.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PART C. ARCHITECTURE
CHAPTER XII

GENERAL SURVEY

Decay and vandalism - materials: wood, stone, brick - site (jayabhāmi) - enclosure wall (tantuṁ) - platform (caṅkram) - stupa (ceti) - crown, mast, belvedere (at'wal, ti, harmikā) - dome (aṅga) - terraces (ālinda) - Jātaka plaques - glazed work (ca'n) - temple (kū) - image (kyāk; tārakah) - interior - paintings - exterior - arch-pediments (clec) - brick monastery (kūlā kloṁ) - pavilion (prāśāl) - chapter-house (sīm) - library and Tipiṭaka - hall for preaching (tryām) - resthouse (laṅchoṅ) - almsgiving house (jraṁ) - storehouse (kappiyakūś) - shed (laṅkup) - school (cā saṅ tuik), etc. - bells, reservoirs, wells, causeways - caves (unān).

DECA Y AND VANDALISM

The chief material glory of the Pagān period is its architecture. Hundreds of stupas, temples and monasteries, built nearly all of brick, still stud the 25 square miles which, in its largest sense, we call Pagān. Yule guessed their number to be not less than eight hundred, perhaps a thousand. The buildings range in size from small stupas ten or twenty feet high, to four-storeyed cathedrals climbing to two hundred feet. This is what remains today; but it is only half the story.

Beyond the laterite coast, Burma's native architecture and carving have always chiefly been in wood. At Pagān, where now the plain is loaded with brick monuments, inscriptions show that there was once a wealth of Wood - palaces, schools, colleges and monasteries - perhaps the major glory of Pagān. With their looped and fretted eavesplates, and roofs tapering or slung like chandeliers, they must have lightened and set off to great advantage the brick masses in between. The brick monuments themselves were then less lumpish than they are now. Enclosure-walls and square-set brick monasteries have not changed much, perhaps, except for decay; but time has blunted or levelled every spire and pinnacle; and archaeology dare do no more than clear the rubble, cement leaks, and grout the ruin. One cannot reconstruct a heap of brick, as archaeologists in Java have given new life to heaps of carved stone.

But man himself has been more cruel to these monuments than time. The brick was once enriched with stucco carving, imitating wood. Tongues of foliation broke the plinth; acanthus scrollwork lifted the pilaster; tasselled monsters lolled below the cornice; rhombs of green or yellow glaze embossed the crenellations; horns involving capricorn and leogryph, with spires between of leaf and bud and stalk, composed a living crown for every door and window. Many of these lovely details are now lost beneath lime whitewash, which villagers, and even temple-trustees, delight to spill all down the outside of pagodas, daub over stone inscriptions, and splash across the old paintings of the interiors. Treasure-hunters have disembowelled all the larger images. And with the coming of westerners, has come a taste for the garish, the gaudy and the foreign, fouling the old masterpieces - the Shwézigōn, the Nanda, and many others.

1 H. Yule, A Narrative of the Mission... to the Court of Ava in 1855, p. 35.
Nor have Burmans been the only vandals. About 1891 Dr. Fritz von Noetling² ravished to Berlin over two hundred of the best glazed plaques and Jātaka-carvings of the Mingalazedi, Dhammarājaka and Sō-min-gyi pagodas, and not a few stone images, reliefs and clay ex-votoes. For years they have lain unseen in dusty cellars of the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde. In 1899 one Th. H. Thomann³, with at least five assistants (C. von Dietrich, J. Muller, Meurer, Ronkel, Kugelmeyer, etc. – they have left their signatures upon the walls that they defaced⁴), sought to devastate Pagán in the interest, it seems, of the Hamburg Ethnological Museum. They were finally caught and expelled, and a small portion of their loot recovered and replaced, sometimes on wrong pagodas. But several of the smaller temples west of Htilominlo show the scars where they sawed off the fresco; and the great Shrine-Hall of the Kubyauk-gyi of Wet-kyi-in, once the pride of the Old Burmese painter, has been irreparably damaged. – These have been the worst vandals; but globetrotters too, for decades past, have ‘souvenired’ among the ruins⁶, and still racket up the secret trade with native desecrators. One never sees, as once one saw in the pagodas, small images in stone or bronze still unpurloined.

It is not enough to judge Pagán by what one sees of it today. One has at times to bleat at gross modernities. One has continually to bear in mind what is no longer there. To read the original inscriptions (there are over 550 of them), each on its proper site, is the best resource: but it serves more to whet curiosity than to satisfy it.

MATERIALS

What, according to these inscriptions⁶, were the main elements of a Pagán dedication? – The question is worth answering fully, before one deals with particular pagodas; so that, regarding these, one may (with the eye of faith, justified) fill in the picture.

WOOD

The main materials used were wood, brick and stone. Wood is our greatest loss; for apart from a few images and carvings⁷, and some large lattice-doors⁸, sanctum-rails and lintels⁹, there can be little woodwork at Pagán today surviving from its period as capital.

STONE

Good stone was rare, except in Kyaukè on the edge of the hills. At Pagán it was very rarely used for whole buildings; and only in the older monuments of the ‘Mon’ period. Kyanzittha’s lodge or

⁴ See the group of small temples (Gu D. 140, 141, 142, 143, etc.) S.E. of Nga-myet-hna temple, ½ mile W. of Htilominlo.
⁵ To the pious Buddhist, conscious always of the Law of Anicca, a pagoda ruin, demonstrating that Law, is more, not less, precious than a pagoda in all the gloss of newness. A visitor who robs it, even of a farthing ‘oil-lamp’, is not only denounced with terrible curses in the inscriptions, but regarded much as a Christian would regard a robber of Communion plate.
⁶ Inscriptions are few in the period covered by this book, but become numerous soon after it. For much of what follows in this chapter, I have had to depend on written evidence not strictly contemporary. But where possible, I cite inscriptions dating before 600 s./1238 A.D. This date is arbitrary; there is no sudden change anywhere in the evolution.
⁷ e.g. Pls. 419–423; 176 a, b.
⁸ e.g. Pls. 271 b, 191.
library near the Emerald Lake (*Mrakan*), at the foot of Mt. Tuywin, was perhaps the only known building east of the Arakan Yoma wholly built of stone. Pl. 242 shows it as it was in 1905—still an object of beauty. It is nothing now (if anything remains) but a heap of stones, used as a quarry. A few other buildings—the Nan-paya of Myinpyan (Pls. 127-131), and the main storey of Kyaukku Önkhin N.E. of Nyaung-u (Pls. 132-142)—have stone facings on a brick core. The fact that the stone was cut usually to the size of bricks, and carved after the cutting, shows that stone was none too familiar as an art-material, even to the Mons. The Old Burmese word for Sculptor or Stone-carver (*tāmo*) is just the Old Mon word for Stone (*im槁*). Fine stone carving and sculpture can be seen at Nanpya and Kyaukku Önkhin; and hundreds of stone images of medium size (often plastered, lacquered or gilded) line the corridors of Nat-hlaung-gyaung, Kyaukku Önkhin, Nagayon, Nanda, etc.—mostly ‘Mon’ temples. Colossal stone images are few: the main image at Kyaukku Önkhin (Pl. 133 a) is a crowned earth-touching Buddha seated in a ‘tazaung’ at the N.W. corner of the Nanda enclosure; others (perhaps post-Pagán) seated in *ṭhyan mudrā*, in a cell just north of the east *gandhakuti* of Shwéhsandaw (Pl. 85 a), or with ablation-slab below it in the E. temple of Dhammarājaka; and there are doubtless more. One of the largest, about 20 ft. high, is the earth-touching Buddha of Than-daw-gya south of Pitakat-taik, within the walls of Pagán. It is made of ‘stone bricks’ of two qualities, originally plastered, and may belong to the latter part of the period. At Shwézigon stone was used for Buddha Footprints (Pl. 93 a), images of ‘Nats’ or spirits (Pl. 176 a, b, c, d), tenarmed Devas (Pl. 176 e, f), guardian lions (Pl. 177) and a horse. Perforated windows were often wrought in carved stone (Pl. 82 etc.).

Stone was also commonly used to strengthen brickwork, especially at corners and in arches. ‘Stone bricks’ were set at intervals within brick courses. Stone points may wedge the cusps below the pediments. Stone blocks may clip the jambs of doorways, with sockets for great wooden doors to move in. Projecting angles were dressed with stone cusps. A colossal brick image will often have the face, or mouth and chin, carved on a horizontal stone slab, which interlocks behind with reredos or wall. Stone is commonly used for small images and lotus-thrones; for model stupas placed in relic-chambers (Pl. 414 c); for stair-ramps, bell-pillars (Pls. 379, 380), large votive almsbowls and umbrellas; for doorills, pavements, ‘plates’ for bearing wooden uprights; for tops of parapets; for boundary pillars and inscriptions. At Pagán the stone used was almost always sandstone, though gilded.

10 *tāmo*. *I.B.*, Pl. I 105 a, 599 s./1237 A.D.
11 Height 22 ft., breadth from knee to knee 16 ft.
12 Height 6 ft. 3 in., breadth from knee to knee 4 ft. 7 in. A monolith.
13 Height 5 3 ft., breadth from knee to knee 4 ft. 8 in. A monolith.
14 Height 4 ft. 11 in., breadth from knee to knee 3 ft. 9 in. A monolith.
15 Height about 20 ft., breadth from knee to knee 13 ft. 8 in. See de Silva-Vigier, *The Life of the Buddha*, Pl. 66.
17 For a small specimen in Myinpyag, see Pl. 151 (f).
18 E.g. *I.B.*, Pl. I 73 *klokh puž so phūhitw*, 585 s./1223 A.D.
19 *I.B.*, Pl. I 97, *thanţhā ḫhūṅ klokh*, 598 s./1236 A.D.
20 A ‘stone mat’ (*klokh phyā*) formed the foundation of the brick floor of Dhammarājaka pagoda or its relic-chamber (*J.B.*, Pl. I 19 b, 559 s./1107 A.D.)
21 Such stone ‘plates’ for the posts of wooden monasteries may still be seen E. of Lemyet-hna temple, Minnanthu.
22 When a ‘stone enclosure-wall’ (*klokh tanitw*) is mentioned in inscriptions (e.g. *I.B.*, Pl. I 103, 591 s./1229–30 A.D.), I think it may refer to the low brick parapet, rarely coped with stone, that forms the inner wall round several temples.
23 Stone pillars for demarcating chapels or ordination halls (hence called *thein*, Pali *simā*, ‘limits’), were particularly important. See, e.g. *I.B.*, Pl. I 360 *ty sim klokh samuit*, 574 s./1212 A.D. (Caw Rahan’s *Thein*, Tuywin-daung).
24 ‘Stone writings’ (*klokhā*) are frequently mentioned from the first: e.g. *I.B.*, I 4, 527 s./1165–6 A.D.
marble images are mentioned\(^{25}\), and 'andagu' stone (query: dolomite ?) was used for intricately carved small Eight-Scene slabs\(^{26}\). In Kyaukse, within easy reach of hill-Quarries, mica schist ('Wedbu' stone,)\(^{27}\) was used for inscriptions early in the period, and marble near the end. Laterite was not used except in coastal Burma.

**BRICK**

_Ut_, the Burmese word for Burnt Brick, is Indo-Aryan in origin\(^{28}\). Its use originally came, perhaps with Buddhism, from India. The brick monastery, frequently mentioned in Pagān inscriptions, is always 'the Indian monastery' (kulā kloñ)\(^{29}\). The Pagān brick, large and thin by western standards, is not usually as big as the Pyu brick of Śrī Ksetra. The size varies a good deal; the average may be about 14" × 7" × 2". It varies also in quality: usually excellent, sometimes sandy and crumbling. "The good brick clinked like glass" is the phrase used in an early Ava inscription\(^{30}\). In building, vertical courses of brick often interrupt the horizontal; in the Nagayon temple of Kyanzittha there are almost as many of one as of the other. The average quality of brick must have been high to bear the enormous dead-weight of many of these temples and pagodas, 150 to 200 ft. in height. The Old Burmese word for Mortar comes from Mon\(^{31}\). As used at Pagān, it was often poor in quality. For holding the bricks together, the masons trusted rather to a tight fit. The word for the externally applied Stucco Plaster, looks Indian\(^{32}\), but one does not find it in the classical dictionaries. Its quality, and the varying beauty of its carving – whether in high relief at the beginning of the period, or fine lacework at the end – are normally high, where damp and whitewash have not sodden it. It often looks as if it had been carved yesterday.

Where were the bricks baked? It is a mystery. _Ut-phuìw_, 'brick-klin', may occur anywhere in Old Burmese, not usually as a place-name; there was one up the Chindwin opposite Amyint\(^{33}\); and one, _Ut-phuìw-rañ_, under Khamlih\(^{34}\) in the north-west of Kyaukse. There are certainly old kiln-sites around Pagān; but there must always have been a shortage of firewood there. Bricks, or firewood for that matter, could easily reach Pagān by river. There is no need to assume that all the baking was done in or near the capital. And the supposition that once the country around Pagān was verdant forest, until the temple-builders cut it down to burn their bricks, and turned the land into a desert, is contrary to nearly all the evidence\(^{35}\).

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\(^{25}\) I.B., Pl. I 73\(^{14}\) kloñ phthā phu ruy, vhuy rāñ riy so purhā. The 'white stone' (kloñ phthā), often used for Kyaukse inscriptions from the end of the Pagān period, wrongly defined as Alabaster on p. 227 of Judson’s Dictionary (1893 Ed.), has been shown by the geologist, Dr. Tha Hla, to be Marble (see his 'Note' at J.B.R.S. June 1959, Vol. XLII, Part I, pp. 113–118); he has traced this stone a few miles E. of Kyaukse town; and it is pretty certain that Pagān marble came from the Kyaukse foothills rather than from the Sagyin quarries N. of Mandalay. At I.B., Preface to Portfolio IV, pp. 12–13, for 'Alabaster' read 'Marble'.

\(^{26}\) Pils. 400–406. On p. 61 of Judson's Dictionary _andagā_ is defined as 'dolomite, or magnesian carbonate of lime'. This has not yet, I think, been confirmed by the geologists.

\(^{27}\) See Dr. Tha Hla's ‘Note’ cited _infra_.

\(^{28}\) Thai, Shan, Mon, Khmer, Burmese, etc. all take their word for 'burnt brick' from Pali _ittaka_.

\(^{29}\) The first mention of kulā kloñ I have noted is at I.B., Pl. I 487\(^{5}\), 582 s./1220 A.D.

\(^{30}\) List 698 a\(^{4}\); U Kyaw Dun’s _Anthology_, Vol. I, p. 26; Sagaing, Htupayon Shed St. 10, S. face, 735 s./1374 A.D.

\(^{31}\) Mon srot. Old Burm. sar wat (I.B., Pl. I 97\(^{4}\), 598 s./1236 A.D.).


\(^{33}\) I.B., Pl. IV 370\(^{1}\) (Hkuntha).

\(^{34}\) I.B., Pl. V 487\(^{11}\) (Khamlihā).

\(^{35}\) See _infra_, Chapter I, p. 1.
Brick does not lend itself easily to carving; but both Mon and Burman had used it long enough to grasp its possibilities, overlaid with stucco, both for architectural detail (especially the Pediment), and (more rarely) for figure-sculpture. In the Nat-hlaung-gyaung (Pls. 143–149) the standing Viṣṇus of the inner corridor are carved in brick, while the Avatāras of what was once the outer corridor, are carved in stone: the former, though now worn and mutilated, are not inferior as art to the latter; and the main image of the temple, now almost totally destroyed, was probably of brick.

SITE

Sites for building were apt to be chosen, by Burmese kings at any rate, for magical reasons: the lakṣana (auspicious marks) must show that the site was a 'land of victory' (Old Burm. oñ mliy, Pali jayabhūmi, later corrupted into cañkhun, 'Zigōn'). The first Pagān 'Zigōn', modern Shwe-zigōn with the prefix 'Golden', built by Kyanzittha about 1086 A.D., is still the Burman's national pagoda. Cañsā II, the first Burmese king to use Burmese in his inscriptions, 'went out towards Turañ (Tuywindaung) in the east. 'That shining thing', he asked, 'is it a fire?' 'Yes, it is a fire,' his followers replied. But the king was ware that it was a ruby shining. He turned back his elephant. 'Ah!' he said, 'this land is truly excellent,' and he trod the site for a royal temple'38. This was the Sulamani (Cūlāmaṇi), 1183 A.D., the model for most of the later Burmese temples.

The site for his second big dedication – the Dhammarājaka at West Pwazaw – was found in much the same way. In 558 s./1196 A.D., from his capital Pagān, the king 'went forth in search of a site with auspicious marks (bhūmmalakṣan), to serve as a field of merit (puñakhettā) for the building of a royal cāṭī (cetiya). And lo! he saw a column of vapour, pure white, issuing from the ground and ascending, in height and volume like a palmyra palm. 'Ah!' he said, 'the showing of this Sign (nimit) must certainly mean. . . . .' Thus longingly he thought, and with a heart. . . . he caused them to note the spot by driving in an iron nail at the place from which the said column of vapour issued. . . . '37

TANTUIN

Having found his site, the Pagān donor would first enclose it with a brick wall (Old Burm. aram tantuin)38, nearly always square or oblong. One main purpose of the wall was to protect the buildings within from fire39. The enclosed area was planted with trees, usually the valuable palmyra palm.40

Often, too, there were sacred fig-trees,41 sometimes imported as seeds or seedlings from Bodhgaya42. Such trees today have mostly yielded to wild growth of thorny acacia or euphorbia. The enclosure-wall is commonly described as 'beautiful'43; and indeed, when well constructed and preserved, it still deserves the title. When not plastered, its red colour is warm and lovely. The enclosure walls of

38 List 1132–7, 545 s./1183 A.D. The inscription – an early, and probably a faithful, copy of the original – is in the Sulamani temple.
37 I.B., Pl. I 194–5, 558–560 s./1196–8 A.D. This stone inscription, the first extant original one in Burmese by a Burmese king, is in the East temple of the Dhammarājaka group.
36 tantuini. I.B., Pl. I 125, 554 s./1193 A.D. Tantuīn is a word formed, after the Old Mon model, by reduplication and infix, from tuin or tuī, 'enclosure' – terms Dai perhaps in origin. The Burmese word, aram, 'surrounds', lent itself to confusion with Pali ārāma, 'park'.
39 I.B., Pl. II 203 tantuini mihā, 624 s./1263 A.D.
40 I.B., Pl. I 73, 585 s./1223 A.D. Old burm. than (Borassus flabelifer). Old Mon tāl. From Sanskrit tāla.
41 I.B., Pl. I 175, 559 s./1198 A.D. Old Burm. ṭōn. Old Mon āey.
42 I.B., Pl. III 1238–9, 633 s./1271 A.D. Pl. I 80–11, 589 s./1227–8 A.D., mentions "a Buddha made from a branch of the holy Peepal tree".
43 I.B., Pl. I 69, 734, etc.
Dhammayan-gyi and Nagayon are perhaps the finest; but many others run them close. The square Nanda wall is the most impressive: 12 feet in height, 9½ feet thick at the base, embossed on the outer side with exactly a thousand squared, archaic, double-banded stupas in relief, and pierced at the axial points by massive gateways 48 feet high. Elsewhere, in the centre of one, two, or all four faces of the enclosure-wall, there is usually a large gateway⁴⁴, often elaborately arched and roofed.

There may be ‘double enclosure-walls’⁴⁵, the outer high, the inner a low parapet once coped with stone⁴⁶. Within the inner-wall were the more sacred buildings: caitya (ceti), temple (kū), chapter-house (sim), hall for preaching (dhammasā, tryā im)⁴⁷ and perhaps the main monastery reserved for the abbot (thera). In the outer enclosure or beyond, arranged in lines, were the brick or wooden monasteries of the other monks (arihā, ariyā)⁴⁸, schools⁴⁹, ‘tazaungs’⁵⁰ or resthouses, ‘zayats’⁵¹ or sheds for almsgiving, storehouses⁵², water-tanks⁵³, wells⁵⁴, latrines⁵⁵, etc.

CAṆKRAM

The raised foundation of the major buildings (ceti, putuiw, kū, sim, etc.) was called the caṅkrama⁵⁶ or promenade-platform. It is always mentioned separately in the inscriptions, as a distinct element in the dedication. Its prime purpose was to enable the worshipper to make his reverential ambit of the pagoda, keeping his right side towards it (Sanskrit pradakṣina). ‘The long, the beautiful, the jewelled promenade-platform, like in form to a kalasā pot’ – such are the stock phrases describing it in the inscriptions⁵⁷. The kalaśa pot is an Indian symbol of fertility, suggestive of a woman's breasts. Applied to the platform, it can only refer to the plinth-mouldings that support it; of which, indeed, the astragal, recess and bulge often form a pot-like silhouette. The platform will be oblong, square, five-sided, cruciform, etc., according to the shape of the building it supports. In Old Mon dedications, and some of the later Burmese, it stood in the middle of the enclosure, as in Khmer architecture, at the intersection of the axes. But the Pagán Burman did not feel as keenly as the Mon or Khmer the need for symmetry; and some of the later Minnanthu and Pwazaw dedications assemble at haphazard kū, cetī and kulā kloṭ within the common enclosure-wall.

CETĪ, PUT‘UIW

The Stupa (Sanskrit stūpa, Pali thūpa), according to Gisbert Combaz⁵⁸, is pre-Buddhist in origin. It was simply the grave-mound or tumulus, made of earth or stone, heaped above the dead, whether

⁴⁴ Old Mon and Old Burm. muk. From Sanskrit mukha. e.g. I.B., Pl. I 97t tanákhā muk.
⁴⁵ I.B., Pl. I 73 thān tanuṭh.
⁴⁶ I.B., Pl. I 145 kloṭ tanuṭh.
⁴⁷ I.B., Pl. I 73 dhammasā; Pl. II 152 tryā im dhammasā.
⁴⁸ I.B., Pl. I 73 ráhā thera, ráhā ariyā tuiy.
⁴⁹ I.B., Pl. I 105 aś śaṣ kloṭ, lit. ‘monastery for teaching writing’.
⁵⁰ I.B., Pl. I 73 tancoh.
⁵² I.B., Pl. I 73 hāppiyakutty.
⁵⁵ I.B., Pl. I 105 aś riy im, lit. ‘water-house’.
⁵⁶ I.B., Pl. I 73 kalasā uiw ayoḥ nhaṭ tū so tapṭay cwaḥ so caṅkrama. From Sanskrit caṅkrama, ‘place for walking about’.
the body or the ashes. It begins to take shape, e.g. (cylinder and cone) in the tomb of Tantalus in Phrygia, or (terraced cylinders with dome) in the Amrit necropolis opposite Arvad in North Phoenicia, guarded by four lions at the base. In Buddhist India, from the simple tumulus, it tends to pass into a place for relics, then into a memorial, and finally a votive monument.

In Burma, the evolution is seen, well beyond the Pagán period, in such titles as Sariraka Ceti, ‘Caitya of the Bodily Relics’80. Cañšū II’s Dhammarāja6a pagoda (1166–8 A.D.) is called a cāti (i.e. caitya)80; and it certainly contained “four of the thirty Body Relics (sarira dhat) sent on request by the king of Ceylon”, “together with the Lion Relic”81. But elsewhere ceti is used without mention of relics, as if it merely meant a solid pagoda, in contrast to kū, temple82.

The word ‘pāhta’ (puttiwiv), very common in the inscriptions83, usually means much the same as ‘zedi’ (ceti). It is derived from Pali vathu, ‘the ground, the site’; and could therefore be used, like vat or wau in other parts of South-East Asia, as a general term for any religious dedication. I suspect that ‘moktaw’ (Old Burm. mat’o)84, now usually confined to very ancient pagodas attributed to Aśoka, is a variant, very likely a Pyu pronunciation85, of puttiwiv. Such names as Dayin-pāhta (turañ puttiwiv)86 ‘the site with torasas’, or Pāhta-thāmya, applied to temples, still show the word used in a large sense. But usually it is confined to the solid stupa, whether the tapering pinacles crowning the peaks of hills87 (after the manner loved by Burmans), or massive pagodas like the Shwézigon88, Sizana or Mingalazedi89 lording it over the plain, or even miniatures in gold, silver, copper, sandalwood, vermilion, ornament, ivory or stone90, enshrined in relic-chambers.

Aśoka, we know, in the 15th year of his reign, enlarged to double the size the stupa of Kanakamuni (Konāgamana) at Nigliva, not far from Kapilavastu92. His own brick stupa at Sāṅcī was encased in stone a century later, and brought to its present dimensions92. The same method of ‘repair’ was employed in Burma, both at Śri Kṣetra and Pagán. When ruined stupas were repaired, the old ruin was just ‘wrapped’ (Old Burm. lhwam) in a new casing. The bulk might thus give some measure of the antiquity. Several Pagán stupas, damaged by decay or treasure-hunters, reveal a number of inner

80 e.g. I.B., Pl. IV 442 a (600 s./1320 A.D.), at Sara-ū, modern Thayaaing village, Shwebo district.
81 I.B., Pl. I 19b. In line 21 it is also called a bthuviw.
82 ibid. Pl. I b4a (lower fragment of the Obverse).
83 e.g. I.B., Pl. I 597 ceti mahā kū, 593 s./1231 A.D.
84 First mention at I.B., Pl. II 118a puttho lay lom, “four pāhta”, 482 s./1121 A.D.
85 I.B., Pl. V 571 b5 mat’o phurkā, 537 s./1175 A.D. (Węb stone, from Kyaukse).
86 When the Puy (of Halin?) sent an embassy to the T’ang court at Ch’ang-an in 801–2 A.D., they sang 12 songs whose titles are given, in transcription and meaning, in the Hsin-t’ang-shu (ch. 222 C). The title of the first, ‘Buddha’s Seal’, is transcribed *mud’-d’-n’yie; which suggests that the Puy nasalized the labial in ‘Buddha’. Their script proves that they had two b’s, transcribed by Blagden b and ḋ (Epig. Birm. I, I, pp. 62–63). The word ‘Buddha’, which occurs several times on the two stones, is usually spelt with ḋ. Perhaps this was the pre-glottal b, which is often misheard as m. Did the Puy use the same sound in vathu?
87 I.B., Pl. I 109a turahputhiv i lwm.
88 e.g. I.B., Pl. I 54s turah loh thak ḋa cuh sah puthiviu i lwm, 586 s. 1225–6 A.D.
89 I.B., Pl. I 107a carhkhu puthiviv.
90 I.B., Pl. II 163a cañšun puthiviu lwm, 610 s./1248 A.D. – i.e. the Sizana or Sittana.
91 I.B., Pl. II 158a panputhiviu too dāyakā, i.e. Narathihapate, “donor of the Turners’ Pagoda”, the Mingalazedi.
casings. U Mya, whose experience in opening encased stupas at Pagán is unrivalled, has noted as follows:

"There are many more 'enveloped' stupas, varying in size from a few feet to very large
sizes; none of these monuments at Pagán can be dated earlier than the 11th century A.D. The date of
the building of the inner stupa and of its outer envelope cannot be far removed in time; for they were
built of the same type of brick, and the relics found in both belonged to almost the same age. It may
be surmised that the inner stupa served as a sort of relic casket, and the outer covering was added to
it immediately after its completion."

The chief parts of a Pagán ceti are (i) the at'wat or metal crown; (ii) the tapering ringed spire of
piled umbrellas (Sanskrit turikāvalī); (iii) the 'mansion' or 'pavilion' (harabhā) below it; (iv) the main
dome or bell (Sanskrit aśā 'egg' or garbhā 'womb'); and (v) the spreading terraces at the bottom
(Sanskrit medhī or aśāpa), with or without medial stairs (sūpa). One ceti had a front extension (Old
Burm. ā-twak), a term (see infra) usually confined to the wooden hall in front of a brick monastery.

AT'WAT

The most brilliant and costly part of the ceti was the metal finial (Old Burm. at'wat). The word is
Tibeto-Burman, meaning a 'crown'. The same word is used for the top part of a temple (Sanskrit
śikhara, Pali thāpyika). It is now made of iron, gilded; but only once in Pagán inscriptions is iron
mentioned in this connection. It was usually made of a mixture of gold, mercury and copper. The
purer copper preferred was that of the Mons (Old Mon slūy, Old Burm. salwai). The following
description of a miniature stupa, the chief piece in a relic-chamber, gives interesting details about the
whole, including the at'wat:

"At the enshrinement of the temple, the Body-Relics were placed in a sandalwood casket. Outside
that, was a casket of crystal. Outside that, was a casket of red sandalwood. Outside that, were
put'uw, first of gold, then of silver, then gilded and embossed with gems, then of ivory, then copper,
and outside that the stone put'uw. Therein were also placed leather-mats of gold and silver, parched
rice of gold and silver, and chandeliers of gold and silver. All these were offered in worship and

U Mya, A.S.I. 1930–34, Part I, p. 178. See Part II, Pl. XCVIII a, b, for specimens of encased stupas (or our
Pl. 259 a).

I.B., Pl. I 334 toh ceti ā thwak, 570 s./1208 A.D. For evidence of a 'front extension' to a hū also, see our Pl.
365c (Wutkyin Temple).

In Rājakumār's quadrilingual inscription (c. 1113 A.D.), Old Burm. rhyu ahol mū so hū (I.B., Pl. IV 364 a26)
corresponds to Old Mon guh cloh thar (Pl. 362 a24, b25), to Pyu go kulu thu (Pl. 363 a19, b9), and to Pali guham
kaṇcanathūpikam (Pl. 361 a26). Old Burm. at'wat is the same word as Tibetan 'tod, 'crown'.

I.B., Pl. I 974. See infra.


I.B., Pl. I 73, lines 8–14, 585 s./1223 A.D.

spoonerism for modern Burm. candakū; Pali candana (Santalum album). See L. Htin Sī's note on the word at

phān. Pali phalika. Sanskrit sphaṭika.

tancika ni. Pterocarpus santalinus. See I. H. Burkhill, Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Penin-

kriy ni. Perhaps kriy is to be connected with Tibetan gri, 'knife'.

camakhana. Sanskrit caramkhandā.

pok 2, i.e. pokpok. Also written papok.

tancoh. Is this derived, by reduplication and infix, from Old Mon coh, 'to burn'?
placed inside (the relic-chamber). As for the stone puṭṭiwa, it was painted and tied criss-cross with copper thread. As for the crown (atīwat), it was made of gold. Above the crown a gold umbrella was set up. The gold umbrella was hung with pearl and coral. As far as the base of the crown there were seven wrappings of cloth, with gold ‘sun-gods’ (kyāk tānuṣī) stamped on the cloth. One golden Buddha cast with 30 (ticals) of gold; one silver Buddha cast with 50 (ticals) of silver; one Buddha made of marble and gilded—all shaded with gold and silver umbrellas. All these, so finely made, were enshrined.

The main crown of the temple (kūṭ tīwaṭ) is described as follows: “As materials for the crown of the temple, 47 viss, 8 buiḥ, 4 ticals of copper (kriy) were cut off and weighed into the hands of the goldsmith (pantṭyan); 7 viss, 9 ticals, was lost in the cutting; so the net amount of copper left was 40 viss, 7 buiḥ, 5 ticals. The amount of sterling gold (ṛhuḥ sā) included was 39\frac{1}{2} ticals, and of liquid mercury (pratā raṭ) 159 ticals. With such precious things the crown of the temple was made to shine.”

This was the minister Anantasūra’s first dedication at Lēmyet-hna, Minnanthu, in 1223 A.D. Four years later, when his wife died, he made another. This time, as materials for the crowns of two celi he cut off and gave the goldsmith 47 viss, 13 buiḥ of copper; the wastage was 6 viss, 3 buiḥ; and the net amount left was 41 viss, 10 buiḥ. As before, he gave also liquid mercury and sterling gold; but the quantities are illegible.

Elsewhere, for a small temple crown, the amounts given were “1\frac{1}{2} viss of copper costing 3 ticals of silver; 1\frac{1}{2} (?) ticals of gold costing 12 ticals of silver; 3 ticals of mercury costing 2 ticals of silver, 10 ticals of silver for wages, 10 ticals of silver for iron.” Whether the iron was used for the atīwat or elsewhere, is doubtful. For another “golden temple-crown”, the amounts were “55\frac{1}{2} viss of copper, and 46 ticals of gold for smearing on the temple-crown.” A horse was given as a reward to the artist.

An ‘umbrella-pole’ went down the middle of the atīwat, was held at the base by the harmikā, and spread out at the top into an umbrella. The word for the pole, yaṭṭhi, has passed into Burmese hti (Old Burm. h₉), ‘umbrella’, and is now used in architecture to comprise the whole spire, especially the metal finial. The old stone umbrellas, once a measure of the dead chieftain’s range of authority, soon merged in the brick structure as a spire. Their tapering rings varied greatly in number (say, from about 7 to 19), and even in size, according as the harmikā was present or not. The harmikā, with its square
'fence' (Sanskrit *vedikā*), was a feature of the Aśokan stupa. Originally the relic-chamber, it was furnished with a lid; it also served as a stand for the umbrellas above it. In the Sinhalese dāgaba it remained prominent, even at Polonnaruwa. At Pagan, from Cañisū II's reign onwards, if not before, the Sinhalese type of pagoda, with *harmikā*, is to be found. Early attempts were made, however, both in India and Burma, to soften the square edges of the *harmikā* by deeply recessing it towards the sides, and deeply indenting it towards the bottom and sometimes the top. But already, on encased stupas at Śrī Kṣetra, the *harmikā* was sometimes omitted; and the *chatārvāli* broadened at the base so as to taper as a cone from dome to finial. For safety perhaps, the relic-chamber was removed from its conspicuous position and secreted deep within the pile. This finally becomes the norm at Pagan, not only on the major stupas from Shwēhsandaw onwards, but also on stone miniatures found in relic-chambers.

The Pagan spire, just below the finial, has normally an up-and-down turned lotus, implying, as always, the special sanctity of what rests on it. Just below this, one can sometimes see a bulbous collar (see, e.g. Pl. 259 b), betokening the original finial – the purifying fruit of the emblic myrobalan, Sanskrit *āmalakā*; a Vaiṣṇava symbol. The *chatārvāli* usually consists of round rings simply turned; but on some of the earlier pagodas, both stupas and temples, it is a conical figure of six, eight, or twelve faces, the corners joined, the faces ribbed horizontally (e.g. Pl. 258 a). The Nagayon Pawdawmu (Pl. 78 d) is peculiar, with its flat-faced, notchless pyramid. In contrast to the modern pagoda, the Pagan spire preserves a strong straight profile, never concave. But one needs to remember that, apart from miniatures in relic-chambers, few extant spires at Pagan can really date from the Pagan period.

**Aṅḍa**

The Aśokan dome (aṅda, 'egg'), a flattened hemisphered of brick, was lifted by the Pyu, as it had been at Amaravatī, to tall cylinder and cone. The transition thence to bell-shape, by the lowering of the cylinder, contraction of the shoulders, and spreading of the base, is nature's way. It is as if the Burmans saw and copied a Pyu ruin. But the change was gradual and uneven. Already at Śrī Kṣetra the bell-shaped stupa appears, with a band round the centre. This soon developed as the Pagan norm, though cylindrical and even bulbous forms persist (Pls. 75–77). The oldest bulbous stupa is  

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102 e.g. the Rankot, Kiri and Alahan Parivena stupas (Ceylon Hist. Journ., 1954–55, Polonnaruwa period, Plates unnumbered).
103 e.g. the Sapada pagoda, Nyaung-u (Lu Pe Win, Pictorial Guide to Pagan, p. 23), or the Sizana stupa in the far south (Thomann, Pagan, abbildg. 61). For earlier types with *harmikā*, not necessarily based on Sinhalese, see Pl. 78 a (Pēbin-nyaung) and Pl. 96 a (East Hpet-leik). The *harmikā* is also noticeable on several of the Arakan Mrohaung pagodas, Shithaung, Dukkanthein, etc. (A.S.B. 1921, Pls. I, II).
104 e.g. the West Hpet-leik (Pl. 94 a), the stupa S. of Myinpagan school (Pl. 258 a, b), Sitā pagoda (Pl. 210 d), Seinnyet-nyaing (Pl. 377).
105 See A.S.I. 1926, Pl. LV c; 1928, Pl. LVI b.  
106 See Pl. 414 c; A.S.I. 1930–34, Part II, Pl. XCIX c, CVII c, CVIII c, CXVII b.  
107 Old Burm. *hrā pāp* (e.g. List 704⁹ *b*).
108 "The crowning stone and angle-motif of the Nāgara [North Indian] śikhara" (Coomaraswamy, Hist. Ind. Indon. Art, p. 205). The *āmalakā* motif is found on the Vajrāsana temple at Bodhgaya, as repaired by Kyanzittha, both at the crown and the corners of all nine storeys of the śikhara (see ibid., Pl. LXXII 210, and p. 81).
109 In India, the prototype of the bulbous drum is said to be in the 3rd century Cave No. 11 at Kanheri (see Taw Sein Ko, A.S.B. 1916, p. 27 and Pl. I). It occurs also in Cave XIX at Ajanṭa (6th century) and the Viśvakarman Cave X at Elūrā (8th century): see H. Zimmer, The Art of Indian Asia, Vol. II, Pls. 180, 196–7.
doubtless the Bu-paya on the riverbank (Pl. 75 a). It may even go back to pre-Burmese times. The largest, Nga-kywè-nadaung (Pl. 75 b, c), is now sheathed in shimmering opalescent glaze. The stupa itself is old; and the large-scale use of glazed brick in Burma certainly goes back to late Pyu times (9th cent. A.D.\textsuperscript{110}). But I doubt if this pagoda’s lovely glaze-facing is much older than Kyanzittha’s time: for the great popularity of glazed work at Pagán seems to start with him.

The Pagán \textit{anda} is left occasionally plain\textsuperscript{111}; but generally it is strapped with horizontal medial bands, enforced by stucco decoration. The earlier taller cylinders may have two separate bands, above and below\textsuperscript{112}. Usually there is a single band in the centre, beaded or corded, and studded at intervals with diamond rosettes; above, a line of stucco peepal leaves or toothing; below, toothing or (more often) a ‘frieze’ of looping \textit{kirtimukhas}. Four niches, holding seated Buddhas, surmounted with the Bodhgayā śikhara, may be let into the four sides of the \textit{anda}\textsuperscript{113}. Above the top octagonal terrace, the \textit{anda} itself, like the stupas shown on votive tablets, normally rests on a round mat of double lotus, marking its sacred character.

**MEDHĪ, ĀLINDA**

Terraces at Old Prome are generally round and narrow, mere props to the cylinder above them, not rimmed with crenellated parapets nor broached by flights of steps. Where steps occur, they may be only on one side, and lead merely to the platform on which the stupa stands\textsuperscript{114}. At Pagán, round terraces, without flights of steps, persist, especially at the smaller stupas\textsuperscript{115}. Octagonal pedestals or terraces occur\textsuperscript{116}. Five-sided terraces are not unknown\textsuperscript{117}. But square terracing soon becomes normal, usually with octagons above to ease transition between square and round. The number of terraces, both square and octagonal, may vary. Sizana\textsuperscript{118} has four square terraces; Shwēhsandaw (Pl. 83 a) five, crowned with two octagonal; Shwēzi-gon (Pls. 169–171) three square, with octagon above; Mingalazedi\textsuperscript{119} the same. This last becomes the norm. The combined height of the terraces in proportion to that of the pagoda as a whole, is greatest at Shwēhsandaw: it is over twice as high as the stupa proper. At Shwē-zi-gon and Mingalazedi the terraces are less in total height than the stupa above them.

In breadth, compared to Śrī Kṣetra pagodas, the Pagán terraces have greatly increased their spread. The whole shape, in fact, has changed from cylinder to pyramid. With the square terracing, four

\textsuperscript{110} See my note on “The Ancient Pyu”, \textit{J.B.R.S.} XXVII, III, 1937, pp. 250–1. The \textit{Man-shu} (c. 803 A.D.) and the two T’ang Histories all confirm this: even the city-wall was said to be faced with glazed brick. Their information mostly relates to the Pyu of 800–802 A.D., when their capital was probably Halin, S. of Shwébo. No glazed work has yet, I think, been found at their earlier capital, Śrī Kṣetra. Nor yet, it seems, at Halin. But excavations there are only beginning.

\textsuperscript{111} e.g. Sapada pagoda, Nyaung-u (\textit{Pictorial Guide . . .}, p. 23), Nga-kywè-nadaung (Pl. 75 b, c), Pébin-nyaung (Pl. 78 a).

\textsuperscript{112} e.g. Myinkaba stupa (Pl. 79 a), Lokananda stupa (Pl. 92 a), W. Hpet-leik (Pl. 94 a).

\textsuperscript{113} e.g. W. and E. Hpet-leik (Pls. 94 a, 96 a), Seinnyet-nyaing (Pl. 377).

\textsuperscript{114} e.g. the Bawbaw-gyi.

\textsuperscript{115} e.g. at Sapada, Nyaung-u (\textit{A.S.B.} 1916, Pl. IV 2); Bu-paya (Pl. 75 a); Nga-kywè-nadaung (Pl 75 b, c).

\textsuperscript{116} e.g. Myinkaba stupa (Pl. 79 a), Lokananda (Pl. 92 a), Nagayôn Pawdawmu (Pl. 78 d). Note that in some later pagodas, e.g. Sulé pagoda at Rangoon, the octagon has even invaded the ‘bell’ (\textit{anda}).

\textsuperscript{117} e.g. Dhammarājakā (\textit{A.S.I.} 1929, Pl. XV a).


medial flights of steps *sopāna* become normal, perhaps under Thatôn influence. This meant loss of height, or rather of climb, unless ramps were steepened and steps made precipitously narrow. Sometimes the steps reach only the lower terraces. Sometimes they are absent. But the squaring and broadening of the terraces brought new architectural possibilities. At Śrī Kṣetra the stupa stood alone, aloof, towering, almost two-dimensional, for the profile hardly varied. At Pagán with the round 'bell' planted on the square terrace, an octagon between, there were corner-spaces to be filled with corner-stupas, miniatures maybe of the central stupa, picked out in glazed bricks, green or yellow. At the corners of the lower terraces, where less space was available, vase-like cornucopias, double-bodied lions, masks of monsters, or stepped-up gnomons modelled on wooden eaves-plates, capped with stone Devas each guarding his *ālinda*, might serve as *pièces d'accent*. Stone lions, too, might guard the bottom corners or the medial steps, or stone umbrellas at their base, or pedimented archways crowning successive flights.

On the Buddha's descent from Tāvatīṃśa to Saṅkassa, three stairways, of jewels, gold and silver, for himself, Indra and Brahmā, were built by Viśvakarman. *Makara* is said to have supported the base: and so he is represented in a painting in Gu 449, between the Tawya-gyaung and Thiripyitsaya. From the latter part of the Pagán period the *makara* motif becomes regular on stairways in Burma, both at pagodas and monasteries. Possibly it was copied from Polonnaruwa, where balustrades showing the horned *makara* (Capricornus) are conspicuous at the entrance to Tīvaṅka image house, the Laṅkāṭilaka temple, etc., built by Parākramabāhu I.

Beauty and grandeur enter into the moulding of the plinth, with bold outlines modelled perhaps on the Mon stupas of Thatôn. The plain cube of the terrace is nearly always broken in plan by a series of small recessions towards the corners; which end, in modern Burma, by breaking down the corners altogether. It is also broken in section by dado, waistband, cornice, parapet, and a whole series of astragal, ovolo and ogee curves and cordage joining them. Tropic light and shade are thus delightfully broken and distributed, each moving abreast, but not together, and leaping like a living thing from vantage to vantage, all the livelong day. Terrace-mouldings may consist of framed rows of pots or stupas in relief, plinth-mouldings of kneeling elephants. Parapets are usually embattled,
with weak crenelles barely slitting the crest—a feature clearly borrowed from western regions. On the Shwégu platform the battlements are not even on the sky-line: the parapets are faced with a row of seated Devas, with glazed battlements in half-relief forming a row below them.\(^{133}\)

The inner waistband is sunk at intervals with cavities, either to deepen shadow or to heighten colour, green and yellow, with plaques of terracotta. The plaques may be plain or geometric—a yellow lozenge on the green; or they may be carved to illustrate Jātakas etc. On the ground-plinth of Nanda, the theme is the Buddha’s triumph and enlightenment: on one side the monsters of Māra’s army who assailed him, on the other the supernatural beings—Brahmā, Indra, the Four Regents, the Four Yamas, Asuras, Devas and Devis, Yakkhas, Suparṇas, Nāgas, Kumbhāṇdas, etc.—who flocked in later to celebrate his victory.\(^{134}\) Sometimes the battlements or masked angle-pieces are picked out in glaze, or cornices enriched with green-glazed foliations, beaker-mouldings, diamonds or beaded stud-medallions, set in a running band of lotus or acanthus.\(^{135}\) The Somin-gyi glazed work (Pls. 259–262 bis), not sunk in pockets, but braving the weather on every convex course, is alive with little dancers and drummers, and small vignettes of frolic animals and birds.

JĀTAKA-PLAQUES

Illustrations of Jātaka stories in stone have an ancient history in India, from Bhāhrut (2nd cent. B.C.), Sāñcī and Gandhāra onwards. In Burma they appear chiefly on terracotta reliefs outside pagodas, or in paint within them. Neither have yet been found at Śrī Kṣetra;\(^{136}\) both are visible everywhere at Pagán. Large terracotta tablets of good quality and design, illustrating the ten Mahānīpāta Jātakas, once lined the middle terrace of Thagyya-paya at Thaton.\(^{137}\) Stone relief-carvings of the same Ten Jātakas adorn the boundary pillars of the Kalyāṇi simā there.\(^{138}\) The Ten Jātakas are also listed on king Makuta’s pandit inscription at Thaton Shwézayan.\(^{139}\) So it seems likely that the art of Jātaka illustration was carried to Pagán (c. 1057 A.D.) by captives from Thaton. Three pagodas attributed to Aniruddha, the Shwésandaw and the two Hpēt-leik, were lined with Jātakas in terracotta. These were unglazed. Those of the Shwésandaw (Pls. 86, 87), being exposed to sun and rain, have mostly weathered away. Those of the two Hpēt-leik (Pls. 97–116), being set in rows along the vaulted corridors surrounding the base of the stupas, have preserved a fresh nicety of design and detail not to be found elsewhere. But buried in dark corridors, they lose their architectural value, which depends, not on their design or detail, but on the life and colour they inspire when spaced along exteriors. Kyanzittha, from the first, loved glazes, and used them freely on all his pagodas. Perhaps it was fear of terracotta weathering that made him take the extraordinary bold step of glazing sandstone. This was used (c.

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133 See Pl. 372 d. On both the inner and outer sides of Nagayōn enclosure-wall, there are also battlements below the skyline.

134 See Pls. 329–334.

135 Specimens of such glazed work can be seen at Pagán Museum.

136 A Khin Ba Gôn terracotta panel (Arch. Negs. 2875, 7310) shows a king seated in pralambanāsana on lion-throne between two standing attendants bearing regalia (?). Duroiselle (A.S.I. 1927, p. 173 and Pl. XL d) thought it might illustrate a scene from Temiya (Māgapakkha) Jātaka; but it stands alone, and Duroiselle adds: "An obvious objection is that the scene depicted corresponds to none of the 16 trials to which prince Temiya was subjected . . ."


138 Kalyāṇi Simā—See U Mya, ibid., Part I, pp. 203–4, and Part II, Pl. CXVI.

139 I.B., Pl. IV 359.
1086 A.D.) for some of the Jātaka plaques (Pls. 174, 175) with which he lined three terrace-plinths of Shwèzigōn. He reverted to glazed terracotta for the Jātakas on his final pagoda, Nanda (c. 1105 A.D.). These (Pls. 324–328) are fairly preserved, and in spite of the ruin wrought by whitewash, still retain some semblance of their lovely green. But he had no ceramists to match in carving the skill of Anuruddha’s artists. And the poses, dress and general arrangement of Jātaka plaques at the Dhammarājāka, Mingalazedi, etc., show little variety, and are inferior as art to those of Hpet-leik. But more important was their colour; and this maintained an admirable consistency throughout the Pagan period, and beyond it. In his Nagayōn temple (Pls. 184–187) Kyanzittha used plain glazed tiles with excellent effect to give life, unity and tone to masses of stuccoed brick.

GLAZE

No glazed work has yet been found at the first Pyu capital, Śrī Kṣetra. But at Halin (if that was the Pyu capital which, in 800–2 A.D., sent missions to Ch’ang-an) there was a thriving industry in glazed ware. "They use green bricks," says the Man-shu (c. 863 A.D.), "to make the walls surrounding their city. It is one day’s journey to walk round it." "The compass of the city-wall," says the Ch’iu-t'ang-shu, "is faced with glazed brick. It is 160 li in circumference." "They make their tiles of lead and tin," says the Hsin-t’ang-shu; "... They traffic with the neighbouring tribes in ... glazed ware and earthenware jars." "Whenever persons are sent," adds the Man-shu, to the Nan-chao capital near Ta-li Lake, "they take ... glazed jars for barter or trade." In their contemporary accounts of coastal Burma, the Chinese make no mention of glazed ware. The second Pyu capital was sacked by Nan-chao in 832 A.D., only 18 years before the founding of Pagan. If it is probable that Anuruddha got his Jātaka-artists from Thaton, there is no evidence that they brought glazing with them. Glazing may have been an art native to Upper Burma. In any case, in the 8th–9th century, it had overland contact with India via Assam.

Recently, at our request, the Burmese glazing expert, U Kyaw Nyein, and the American expert Sergio R. Dello Strologo, visited Pagan. Guided by Mon Bo Kay the archaeologist and Col. Ba Shin, they made a quick survey of twelve temples and pagodas with glazing, and excavated a small glazing kiln S.E. of Myinkaba. Specimens were taken and given spectrographic analysis at the Union of Burma Applied Research Institute. From their report I quote the following extracts: –

140 See Pls. 324–328 for Jātaka terracottas. The Nanda also contains (as 'rejects' perhaps, in the cross-passages) some stone relief-sculptures of Jātakas; see Pls. 320–323.
141 See Duroiselle, "Pictorial Representations of Jātakas in Burma", A.S.I. 1913, pp. 87–119, and Pls. L to LX. Pl. LV is assigned to Dhammarājāka, and Pl. LVI to Mingalazedi Jātakas; but I strongly suspect that most of those on Pl. LV also really belong to Mingalazedi, and were recovered from Thomann’s loot and wrongly replaced. Fritz von Noetling’s looting of glazed work from these pagodas and the Sōmin-gyi have been mentioned above (p. 230).
142 See Duroiselle’s article cited above, Pl. LVII (‘Nandawye pagoda, Kyauksē’) and Pl. LVIII (‘Shwezigōn Pagoda, Pagan’). ‘Pagan’ here is a misprint for Mekkhan, Kyauksē (see loc. cit., top of p. 90). These Jātaka plaques belong to the Pinya period, after the fall of Pagan.
143 Man-shu of Fan Ch’o. Translation published by Cornell University (Data Paper No. 44), pp. 90–91.
145 The Chinese minister, Chia Tan, between 785 and 805 A.D., compiled an overland itinerary from Tongking to Magadha. He gives two routes across Burma, one going due west from Yung-ch'ang to Gauhati; the other going south-west via the Pyu capital. See Hsin-t’ang-shu ch. 43 B, and Pelliot’s masterly work “Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde”, BEFEO t. IV (1904), pp. 131–413.
"The kiln was shaped like a beehive, having a diameter at the base of 8 ft., and a height of 10 ft.... The varieties of glazes are turquoise blue, and olive green glaze, a brownish purple and emerald green, a transparent clear glaze and opaque light green.... The glazes found puzzled us since none of them" [except the olive green] "resemble the glazes of Pagán.... The Pagán glazes used in the pagodas were all opaque glazes whose colours came from green to greenish blue with some yellow and cream-coloured glazes... They were shiny on the surface and have become matt due to weathering... The materials which made up the Pagán glazes were" Silica, White Clay, Calcium, Lead Oxide, Tin Oxide, Copper Oxide, Chrome Oxide (?), Iron Oxide, Vanadium Oxide, and Feldspar. Properly mixed and "applied in a wet state on bricks or sculpture made of clay, they will produce the same glazes as the ones found in the Pagán pagodas, provided they are fired at a temperature ranging from 950 to 1050 degrees centigrade."

U Kyaw Nyein noticed (i) the glazed sandstone Jātaka plaques of Shwézigôn, "severely crazed because the glaze did not fit perfectly the temperature employed." Still he thought it "an amazing and probably unparalleled achievement to succeed in glazing the sandstone body"; (ii) the glazed floor-tiles in the Htilominlo "still in good condition. It is one of the few places where glazed floor-tiles are used"; (iii) the "most beautiful" glazed decorative tiles of the Sōmin-gyi. "They were designed and made with meticulous care to fit with each other perfectly...they are still in perfect condition"; (iv) the plain "decorative tiles of bright green colour on the Hman Zedi, measuring approximately 10" x 8" x ½".... They are still in perfect condition after 800 years. Here the ceramists of Pagán reached their highest point of perfection."

Kū

Pyu go, Old Mon guōh, Old Burmese kū — all from Sanskrit guhā, "secret place, cave". Once hollowed out of rock, both in Eastern and Western India; in Burma, already by Pyu times (7th cent. A.D.), it was constructed above ground. The large Pagán kū, 'temple', evolved naturally from the vaulted chapels of Śrī Kṣetra. Small models of most types of Pagán architecture can be found there: the simple Cella-Shrine; the Four-faced Shrine; Shrine and Corridor; Shrine and Hall; Shrine, Corridor and Hall. Few of the metaphysical connotations of the word guhā in Indian Mahāyānism seem to enter into the Burmese kū. Its main purpose was to enshrine the Buddha image. Until the Buddha is enshrined within, it is nothing but a shell. He is the purhā — the centre of the idea, as of the design, the whole temple standing like a crown about him. For monk as he is, he is also, in Mahāyānist mysticism, the supreme king, and is often shown as such, not only in Pāla art, but also in that of Burma and Siam. By a natural anthropomorphy the temple itself was simply 'the Holy One'.

The Buddha image, of course, came late into Indian iconography: but once come, it slowly revolutionized the old symbolic art. Already at Mathurā niches for images invaded the base of the stupas. The same is seen in Burma in relief-carvings on Śrī Kṣetra relic-chambers. Enlarge the niche, or the..."
four niches in the four sides, into a vaul ted chamber with processional corridor around it; diminish the great dome above it to a crown, or square it to a mitre; and one has a fair idea of a Pagán kū.

**Buddha Image**

The central Buddha or Buddhas are generally of brick, colossal, measured by cubits. They mostly sit touching Earth, cross-legged in padmāsana, both soles showing; but a good many of the older ones sit with right leg on left, as is normal at Śri Kṣetra. They sit on thrones equally colossal, indented and recessed. The word for ‘throne’ (Old Burm. panlañ) is derived from the Indian word meaning ‘cross-legged’\(^{152}\). The throne was gilded, and over it was a gold umbrella (Old Burm. ṭyi)\(^{153}\); sometimes it was decorated with golden ‘sun-gods’\(^{154}\). It was rich with pockets for glazed colourwork or jewels, lions, three-headed elephants, or praying deities\(^{155}\). Behind the throne is usually a large brick screen or, “jewelled reredos”\(^{156}\), plain or painted with the Bodhi tree, which arches almost to the roof. The image itself is held upright by a vertical wooden post which passes down the centre of the torso. At neck-level, a horizontal stone ‘plank’, fixed in the wall or screen against which the image sits, is perforated to admit the post rising to the forehead, and projects to a bevelled end to form the chin\(^{157}\). The cores of tim ber and stone, thus locked, are bodied out with carved bricks, rarely glazed at the surface, usually faced with painted stucco. The method is clever but unsound. The wood rots. Treasure-hunters rummage in the torso. The head-bricks slip and fall. And soon a fine interior is disfigured by a headless disembowelled image.

The image usually presents the last Buddha, Gotama; but when there are four back to back, they may be the four Buddhas of the present kalpa: Kakusandha (N. ?), Koṇāgamana (E.), Kassapa Dasabala (S.), and Gotama (W.). In five-faced temples the fifth, of course, is the coming Buddha, Maitreya. In four-faced ones, sometimes four principal scenes of Gotama’s life are shown: the Enlightenment (Touching of Earth) usually in the front; the Parinirvāṇa at the back; and on the other sides perhaps the Nativity, the Twin Miracles or the First Sermon.\(^{158}\)

**INTERIOR**

The interior of the kū varied in shape considerably. The core might be a solid pier, four-sided, with the four Buddhas seated or standing, back to back, against or within its four faces, with single or

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152 Sanskrit paryānika, Pali pallaṇika. Old Mon thanky. Old Burm. thaway. See I.B., Pl. I 83 thaway 5 toh so purhā, “a five cubit Buddha, seated crosslegged”, 591 s./1229–30 A.D.

153 I.B., Pl. I 6\(^{4}\) rhū ṭhi, rhū panlañ, 541 s./1179 A.D.

154 I.B., Pl. III 308\(^{2}\) purhā panlañ rhū kehtiy ṭto le tap e’

155 The great thrones of the standing Buddhas in Nanda (E., N and S. shrines) have a three-headed Elephant in their central panel, and on each side alternate Lions and Devas seated in prayer. The central band of the four great thrones in Myebōntha Paya-hla (Pl. 251) has a row of stone Brahmās in worship.

156 Old Burm. amyak khat so tankhay paccarā (I.B., Pl. III 247\(^{6}\), 636 s./1274 A.D.), paccarā is from Sanskrit tajra, ‘thunderbolt’. Possibly here it means the nimbus, or ‘adamantine’(?). tankhay is the back-slab or reredos.

157 See Pl. 151 f for a stone Buddha-head with tenon in Myinpyag. Of the brick and plaster image shown on Pl. 408 g, little remains now except the fine stone tenon carved to form the smiling lips and chin.

158 On the N. side of the central block the Nativity is shown in Myebōntha Paya-hla, the Twin Miracles in Kubyaṅg-nge near Myinkaba.
double corridors surrounding the whole. Such a symmetric temple, found already at Śri Kṣetra\textsuperscript{159}, was called in Mon kyāk ūn, 'the Four Buddhas', or in Old Burmese liy-myak-nāhā, 'the Four Faces'.\textsuperscript{160} Or again, the core might be a hollow cell containing the image, the four walls groining in four pendentives to a peak, like petals meeting above the Buddha's head. About this shrine\textsuperscript{161}, there might or might not be a corridor. The Mon, who affected dim religious light, usually had the corridor; the Burman, who loved brightness and air, dispensed with it. The Mons at first, like the Orissans\textsuperscript{162}, would have a hall or antechamber (Sanskrit mandapa) on one side of the main square block (the temple proper), its inner archway\textsuperscript{163} elaborately embossed and guarded, serving as the real door of the temple. With the Burman builders this grandiose inner archway tends to disappear, and hall and shrine finally to merge in a single nave leading to the image\textsuperscript{164}. Walls and vaults alike were plastered, coated with a hard smooth surface, and painted with countless figures and designs. In our (Mon) period the rough-cast roofs were not properly watertight: so the ceiling-paintings of temples treated in this book are nearly all lost or damaged, as well as those on the upper parts of the corridor-walls. Those that survive are often saved by the projecting cornice or corbels above them. The Burmans, learning from Mon mistakes, greatly improved the quality and drainage of roofs: with the result that many of their ceilings are in beautiful preservation even today.

PAINTINGS

Vaults are usually ringed with innumerable golden `sun-gods', each normally enshrining a seated Buddha.\textsuperscript{166} The soffit-peak of the shrine may show a Lotus Lake, symbol of Creation and Brahmā; that of the hall may hold the sacred Footprints,\textsuperscript{168} with their 108 auspicious signs.\textsuperscript{169} All around in floral mazes may be shown the 16 (or 20) worlds of Brahmās and the 6 worlds of Devas.\textsuperscript{170} Below these, there may be rows of panels showing the 28 Buddhas, from Tañhaṅkara onwards, each under his proper bodhi tree, with the future Gotama in his earlier births paying them reverence.\textsuperscript{171} The `frieze' below will show loops of pearl suspended from the mouths of kirtimukhas, or a line of dangled peepal leaves or birds. The main panels on the walls are mostly reserved for the life of Gotama, not only the Eight Scenes, but also his journeys, interviews, Lents, sermons, miracles, conversions.

In the earlier pagodas, before Tipiṭaka texts arrived from Ceylon and were translated, there was little but Jātakas for the Pagán artist to illustrate;\textsuperscript{172} and these remain a constant source throughout

\textsuperscript{159} Śri Kṣetra Lēmyet-ūna shrine. For a plan of it, see de Beylié, *Prome et Samara*, p. 101, fig. 73.

\textsuperscript{160} I.B., Pl. I 50\textsuperscript{14} hā 4 myak nhā; 66\textsuperscript{8} phurhā liy myak nhā; 73\textsuperscript{15} purkā shhiṅ chaṅpu liy myah nhā, etc.

\textsuperscript{161} Old Burm. nān (I.B., Pl. I 97\textsuperscript{9}). Sanskrit vimāna.

\textsuperscript{162} See James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (1910 Ed.), Vol. II, Chapter II 'Orissa'.

\textsuperscript{163} e.g. Pl. 214 a (Abeyadana); 243 (Myinkaba Kubyaung-gyi); 360 b, 361 (Hpyatsa Shwégu). The great wooden doors of Nanda are not at the entrances, but between the Halls and the Corridors.

\textsuperscript{164} e.g. the E. entrance to Htilominlo temple.

\textsuperscript{165} Old. Burm. ayak taṅuy. See note 91 supra.

\textsuperscript{166} Sometimes the tondoes show geometric or floral patterns: see Ba Shin, *The Lokahetiškan*, Pls. 7 and 8.

\textsuperscript{167} *ibid.*, Pl. 9.

\textsuperscript{168} *ibid.*, Pl. 7. Cf. I.B., Pl. III 283\textsuperscript{7} athā 2 chankray so khrīyā taw rhūy nan rhū phway nhan hi so chiy riy e\’]\textsuperscript{4}


\textsuperscript{170} In Gu 338, on the E. side of the Winidlo Group, N. of Minnanthu, there is old writing identifying them: see Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce, *Selections from the Inscriptions of Pagan* (Rangoon, 1928), pp. 156–7 (Burmese; abbrev. *S.I.P.*).


\textsuperscript{172} e.g. the two Hpet-leik pagodas; the Myinpyagu; the Mon gā W. of Taungbi village tank.
the Pagán period. In all, but especially in the last ten Mahānīpāta Jātaka, there was ample field for narrative. And the Pagán artist, if he had little dramatic sense, was a good storyteller. His first medium was the terracotta plaque. This taught him to reduce his theme to minimal proportions. When the vast wealth of the Tipiṭaka, and the acres of wall-space in the large temples, were at his disposal, he must have been embarrassed by his riches. He started, in the Pāho-thāmya, by illustrating seriatim all the ecclesiastical offences of the Vinaya, and all the Suttas of the Dīgha and Majjhima Nikāya. In the Nagayōn he added a selection from the Saṁyutta, in the Alōpyi temple from the Aṅguttara Nikāya. From the Khuddaka Nikāya, apart from the Jātaka, both Mon and Burman artists chose stories from the Vīmāna Vaṭṭhu, the ‘Mansions of the Blest’. But apart from the ink glosses below their panels, there is rarely anything to distinguish one theme from another. However, their pleasant colouring filled space, especially in the high vaults or the awkward pockets between the carved niches and the windows. And so, it seems, a division of labour was arranged between the journeymen painters who, with extraordinary speed (like the lacquer-workers today), could cover a wall with conventional sutta-paintings, and the few master-artists who designed the large main panels at eye-level. Even these could hardly cope with their enormous areas, 7 to 12 ft. broad; and usually filled the sides and lower tiers of their paintings with dull rows of ordinary worshippers.

Kyanzittha’s son, Rājakumār, was a great scholar, to whom the Singhalese Mahāvaṁsa came as a new source of inspiration. In his temple, Myinkaba Kubyauk-gyi (1113 A.D.), the panels are generally smaller; and fresh and freehand painting is the rule, not the exception. Here, for the first time in Pagán, the latter history of the Religion is portrayed: the three Councils, life of Asoka, coming of Mahinda and Saṅghamittā to Ceylon, king Devānampiyatissa, the wars of Dutṭhaṅkāmaṇi, kings Uṣabho, Saṅhabodhi and Buddhādās, and finally Aniruddha’s friend, Vījayabāhu, who died just about the time when this temple was built. I doubt if much can be made of the paintings as they are now; but the subjects are certainly there.

The later Burmese painters also generally preferred small panels to big. The long side-walls of the hall-shrine of Wat-kyi-in Kubyauk-gyi – the walls half-ruined by Thomann – were a fine specimen of their work. Fortunately his book contains photographs of the two walls before he savaged them. Below the high and broad-arched ceiling with its Footprints and great bellying squares of kyaktaṇuyī,

178 The Vīmāna vaṭṭhu is illustrated in the Myinkaba Kubyaukgyi and the Alōpyi ‘Mon’ temples), and also in Gu 338 of the Winido group. For the Burmese glosses in this last temple, see S.I.P., pp. 148–155.
174 From I.B., Pl. I 105 a, lines 6 to 8 (598 s.1137 A.D.), it would appear that the painting of one kā, including 14,619 pictures of the Buddha and the 550 Jātakas, took only three or four days to complete.
175 7 to 8 ft. is the normal breadth of the main panels in Nagayōn, but 11 ft. 9 in. panels occur in the N.corridor. The height may be about 4 ft., but the tops of these panels are mostly lost. Much the broadest panels are generally those showing the Assault and Retreat of Māra’s army, often placed on the back inner wall, on either side of the main Buddha-recess.
176 Especially on the S. wall of the entrance to the Shrine; but in several other places also. The Burma Historical Commission Bulletin Vol. II (pp. 277–415) is a monograph on the paintings and glosses in this temple. There are also large paintings in Thetkyumuni temple, Chaupphahla, N.E. of Nyaung-u, dealing with Asoka and the coming of Mahinda to Ceylon.
177 Th. H. Thomann, Pagan (1923). Pls. 29–30, N. wall: Pl. 29 the N.W. half; Pl. 30 the N.E. half, with a broad gap between them including the large central Buddha-panel (not shown). Pls. 31–32, S. wall: Pl. 31 S.E. half, where the Jātaka series begins; Pl. 32 S.W. half. Almost complete, with the large Buddha-panel in the centre. Pl. 28 “Kube-zat Paya” (query Ku-bizat?) is Thomann’s name for this temple (Pls. 42–45). But the temple shown is certainly not the one containing these paintings.
is the tall solemn row of the 25 Buddhas, 14 panels on each wall. At each corner these rest on two tiers of two panels equally tall, 8 on each wall. Those of the N. wall portray the Sattāṭhāna, the Seven Sites near the Bodhi tree, where the Buddha spent the first seven weeks after his Enlightenment (4 of the panels remain). The S. wall very likely showed 8 scenes from the rest of his life (only 2, the Dhanapāla Elephant and Droṇa’s division of the Relics, remain). What still survives is lovely and unusual. Between these corner-panels, were some 537 panels (each measuring $5\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in.), picturing all the Játakas except the Mahānipatī (of these 537 panels, only 228 remain). To impress on the spectator what all these birth-stories lead up to, there was a large panel of the Preaching Buddha in the centre of each face (both now are lost). The colour of the walls is still fresh and lovely.

Certain paintings, including some of the best, stand out as different from the others: – the faint Vaiṣṇava paintings in Nathlaung-gyaung; the Hindu tondoes and Mahāyānaist panels of the Ascent to Buddhahood in Abēyadana, including a number of Tāntric panels of horrific type; and some temples, mostly at Minnanthu, built near the end of the dynasty, suggestive of a rather more erotic school of Tāntrism. These are exceptional. Nine-tenths (I guess) of all the paintings of Pagān are Theravāda. Many, perhaps a quarter, have glosses below them, in Mon, Burmese or Pali, fixing the scene.

There was obviously close cooperation between painter, sculptor and architect. At first the sculptor was dominant, pocketing the walls with niches for images. The painter was called in to frame and crown these with patterns of receding roofs and stupa-finials, and to fill the spandrels with flying Devas or Gandharvas, offering lotus or music to the Buddha in the niche. Each window, arch and corner was enriched with appropriate facings, each wall-face bound or looped with friezes, each pendentive banded at the groins right up to the painted boss. Floral and geometric patterns are endless in variety and charm.

As for the technique and materials used in these paintings, U Mya has written as follows: “As far as I have been able to ascertain, ‘fresco’ in its true sense is totally unknown in Burma, and such a term cannot possibly be applied to the mural paintings of the Abēyadana and Kubyauk-gyi temples. The paintings were executed on a plaster surface which had been probably allowed to dry. The colours used were few; they were mainly black, white, yellow, red, blue and green. The latter two colours are rare. For adhesive purposes gum obtained from nim trees” [Melia indica] “was used, but it is said that for black colour for that purpose gall of a certain kind of fish was much preferable. It was mixed with lamp-black to obtain the necessary colour and adhesive quality. That is to say, the pigments were mixed with water and a binding substance and used; and accordingly, the work can in no sense be called frescoes, but tempera paintings.”

EXTERIOR

Outside, the kū was crowned, either with a ‘bell’ tapering to its ringed finial like the spire of a ceti; or else with a square bulging pyramidal šikhara of North Indian type (usually minus the āmalaka),

178 e.g. Payathônzu, Nandaminya, North Kathapa Gu 289, Maung Yoñ Ku (No. 11), all at Minnanthu. Also Gu 143, S.E. of Nga-myet-hna temple. There may be others.
179 See, e.g., the outline copy of a section of the outer wall of Abēyadana corridor, shown at p. 71 of Lu Pe Win’s useful Pictorial Guide to Pagan (our Pl. 227).
180 See, e.g., Thomann’s Pls. 38, 49, 44, 46, 49, 63 to 67; and many plates in Bohmu Ba Shin’s Lokahiteikipan,
with lancet curves running up the four faces, enclosing a central image-niche or niches, and notched horizontally, but with cusps piled at the corners, carrying the soaring silhouette up to the ringed finial\textsuperscript{182}. Similar small śikhara or bell-pagodas\textsuperscript{183} may crown the upper corners or the lower centres. All cubic masses are framed with corner-pilasters, beautifully moulded with up-and-down-turned Vs and a diamond between. Pilasters also empanel the large surfaces between the windows. Ground-plinth and terraces will have long lines of pockets in their waists, often holding glazed tiles or Jātaka-carvings. Kīrtimukha demon-masks, disgorging loops of pearls, supply the stucco 'frieze' below the crenellated cornice. Kīrtimukhas often reappear at top or bottom of the 'V' pilasters, or again below the bell-band of the anśa. Inverted V's or (rarely) fig-leaf and bulb, or a long gaggle of wild geese (hamsa)\textsuperscript{184}, will supply the dado.

CLEC TORIN

The most striking feature of exterior ornament is the Arch-façade\textsuperscript{185}, especially its upper part, the pediment or fronton\textsuperscript{186}, which encloses singly (Pl. 394 c), doubly (Pl. 394 b), or trebly (Pl. 393 a), almost every door, archway and window. When double, the upper fronton and pilasters which support it, simply enclose the lower. When treble\textsuperscript{187}, these are further buttressed at the sides by two half-frontons and pilasters, lower and recessed.

In the middle centuries of the first millennium A.D., the Mon clec must have evolved out of the Indian torana. The latter, at the Great Stupa of Sāñci (1st cent. B.C.), was the gateway through the stone railing. Its triple architraves are horizontal, modelled from wooden beams; but their ends are ringed with volutes, and the centre span is already lifting to the arch. In the middle of the top architrave of the South torana\textsuperscript{188}, which is the oldest, stands a female figure on a full blown lotus, with elephants to left and right pouring water over her head. Originally, it seems, a fertility-embelm, this scene has come to represent, in Buddhism, Mahāmāyā's Bath, previous to the conception and birth of the future Buddha. As such, late in the 1st century B.C., it figures again on the tympanum at the entrance to the caitya-cave at Mānmoda hill, Jumna\textsuperscript{189}, north of Poona. Earlier, about 100 B.C., it reappears on a tympanum-doorway at the Jain cave, Anantagumpha, at Khaḍḍagiri in Orissa; where Coomaraswamy wonders if it may stand for the birth of Mahāvīra\textsuperscript{190}. But soon the figure becomes identified with Śrī or Lakṣmī, wife of Viṣṇu; and as such, passes into Old Mon as kyāk Śrī\textsuperscript{191}, 'the goddess Śrī'.

\textsuperscript{182} See, e.g., Pl. 268.
\textsuperscript{183} Old Burm. mwau àn khoñ (I.B., Pl. II 205\textsuperscript{a}, 624 s./1263 A.D.).
\textsuperscript{184} Pl. 134 c (Kyaukkhu Ohmin, fig-leaf and bulb); Pl. 123 d (Nanpaya, hamsa dado).
\textsuperscript{185} Old Mon torin, Old Burm. turañ, from Sanskrit torana (I.B., Pl. 107\textsuperscript{b} turañ pthuñw \r{1} luv ñ; Epig. Birm. III, I, p. 31, Inscr. IX, Face 1\textsuperscript{b} makar torin).
\textsuperscript{186} Old Mon clec, clac, which passes into Old Burm. calac (I.B., Pl. I 64\textsuperscript{a} kulākloñ calac chañwahn; Epig. Birm. III, I, p. 33, Inscr. IX, Face R\textsuperscript{a} clec torin). Clac also occurs in a 13th century Mon inscription of Haripuñjaya, N. Siam (BEFEO t. XXX (1930), p. 97, Vat Kukut I\textsuperscript{b}).
\textsuperscript{187} Old Burm. calac susn chañh.
\textsuperscript{190} Coomaraswamy, p. 38. Zimmer, Pl. 46.
\textsuperscript{191} Kyeh Śrī, Kyāk Śrī. Epig. Birm. III, I, Inscr. IX, Face P\textsuperscript{a}, R\textsuperscript{a}. Here it is an art-form or architectural feature, Elsewhere it occurs frequently as an abstract quality, 'splendour, fortune.'
symbol of fortune and splendour, and so into Old Burmese kyaksariy. In Kyanzittha’s palace inscription she keeps her place in the top-centre of the arch-pediment, though her elephants in Pagan temples have all passed into floral arabesques. Some of the finest are seen on the window-exteriors of Nan-paya (Pls. 122–124).

At Mathurā (1st cent. A.D.) the torana sometimes detaches itself, and arches to form a two-sided tympanum; and the ends between the ribs or architraves have turned into makaras, spouting inwards. Makaras at the shoulders of doorway-arches appear first in the Udayagiri Buddhist caves, Orissa: they all face inwards. They still face inwards on the makara-torana lintel at Bijāpur, c. 1100 A.D. In Burma, the makara was well-known at Śrī Kṣetra, especially as the top member of the trio, makara/vyāla/elephant, composing the reredos of the Buddha. Here they spout outwards. At Pagan where the makara tends to pass into architecture behind the Buddha’s throne, it is seen everywhere, usually in ‘horns’ facing outwards, at the sides of pediments. But the ‘horns’ once established as a convention, the makara head was free to revert to its original direction, spouting inwards (e.g. Pl. 247 c, e, f).

At first, in the ‘Mon’ sub-period, the clec still tended to look wooden, stepped, and horizontal (Pl. 124). Later, as one passes into the Burmese period, verticals are superimposed on horizontals (Pl. 339), and finally supplant them (Pl. 394 a, b, c). The acroteria or spines on the backs of the makaras build up a triangle of leaf and bud, that breaks free near the top, like flames licking up the walls (Pls. 391, 393). The clec has returned in style to wood, but to wood-carving. Seen in all its floral and animal detail, as one can still see hints of it on ruined shrines and monasteries at Minnanthu and Pwazaw, heightened by sheathing of coloured glazes, green or yellow, the effect must once have been dazzlingly alive. It is also seen in paintings in dozens of interiors. On the larger temples most of the brick and plaster specimens are now killed by whitewash. Perhaps the finest effects were once visible in wood. Kyanzittha’s abhiśeka-pavilion had 28 clec. They were numerous too on all sides of his palace: see supra, p. 67, for translation of a contemporary description of them.

Note, finally, that kū were sometimes built near graves, by wives in memory of their husbands.

KLOṆ, KULĀ KLOṆ

The Mon word for Monastery, ṁ pā, is Indian (Old Mon bi har). Old Burmese Kloñ is a Tibeto-Chinese word for a large residence. There was probably more variety at Pagan in the forms of monasteries

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192 Kyaksariy. e.g. I.B., Pl. III 247. Kyaksariy hi so purha trya saṅgha, “the glorious Three Gems”. Not used, I think, in Old Burmese as an architectural term.
194 e.g. Pl. 226 (a).
195 V. S. Agrawala, ...Sculptures in the Curzon Museum ... Matura, Pl. IX and pp. 24–25.
196 See H. Zimmer, II, Pl. 35. Rāni Gunphā, 1st century A.D.
198 e.g. A.S.I. 1910, Pl. XLVII (1), XIIX (6); 1928, Pl. LV (3, 5).
199 e.g. a Hsutaungbyi brick monastery, West Pwazaw; see Pictorial Guide, p. 69.
201 ibid., III, I, Inschr. IX, Faces S., N., R.
202 I.B., Pl. I 967 sankhluin nhuik kū, 598 s./1236 A.D.
than in any other kind of architecture. Even the brick monasteries (Old Burm. kulā kloan 'Indian monasteries') that survive, vary considerably\textsuperscript{204}; the native wooden types, which have all perished, were perhaps more varied still.

In ancient India, says Sir John Marshall\textsuperscript{205}, “wherever important stupas... were erected, monasteries were also provided for the accommodation of the monks or nuns residing on the spot, and chapels or caiitya-halls in which they could assemble for their devotions. The monasteries, as might be expected, were designed on the same plan as private houses: that is, with an open square courtyard in the centre, surrounded on the four sides by a range of cells. Perhaps the earliest existing example of such a monastery is one by the side of Pippalivā stupa” [in Nepal, Maurya period]. “...As a rule, however, the early architects built their structural monasteries and caiitya halls either wholly of wood, or with a superstructure of wood set on a stylobate of stone.”

Some of the big monastic colleges at Pagan were similar\textsuperscript{206}: a two-storied east façade of brick, with projecting hall; staircases on the corners; lines of brick cells along each side, with square-arched windows and pointed niches; passages between; the central yard (as shown by rows of stone 'plates’\textsuperscript{207} for posts to stand on) filled with a wooden structure of two storeys; in the centre of the west side, set back, the main shrines rising to two storeys, the lower one with square pradaksīṇa corridor running round it.

Of the many types of brick monastery extant at Pagan, the simplest\textsuperscript{208} is a plain flat-roofed cube, pierced with square-arched entrances at the lower corners, and above only with carved stone gargoyle, and either square stone slabs fretted in quatrefoil, or brick millions and bars forming perforated windows. Inside, a four-sided vaulted corridor connects the doorways, and leaves a central pier containing a dark cella, doubtless the shrine. Within the thickness ('thinness' would be a truer term) of the outer walls, a narrow staircase may lead to an upper storey, similarly arranged. Holes may sometimes be seen for beams or bamboo poles crossing the vault of the corridor, where the monks might make a loft for sleeping, against small ventilation-holes or stone windows. But roofs were rarely water-tight, and the walls were too thin; and though sometimes slightly abated, they had no buttresses to take the outward thrust of the vault. So these monasteries are always found more or less in ruin.

Outside, in the centre of the main façade, flanked by the entrance-archways, there is often a tall shallow arched recess for a standing image. In front of this, there will be a platform with rows of stone plates for wooden uprights, and high gaping square holes for beams in the brick façade to correspond. Here there was once a wooden “front-extension”\textsuperscript{209} with nave and aisles and gabled roof. The


\textsuperscript{206} W. B. Sinclair, loc. cit., Pl. 7 “Monastery South of Apēyatana.”. Pictorial Guide ... , pp. 59-60 “Somingyi monastery.” A.S.J. 1936, Pl. XXXI (a, c); 1937, Pl. XXIX. Note similarity to Monastery 11 at Nālandā (A. Ghosh, A Guide to Nālandā, “Survey Plan of the Excavated Remains”); and especially to the Salban Vihāra at Mainmati (Pathikāvā, Pl. 455).

\textsuperscript{207} These have now been removed; but I remember finding them in situ in 1919-20. One can still see the corresponding holes for crossbeams in the W. wall of the monastery.

\textsuperscript{208} W. B. Sinclair, loc. cit., Pl. I 'Monastery West of Nyaung-u - Minnanteu road'.

\textsuperscript{209} Old Burm. a-thwak, or a-chak. I.B., Plate II 164,\textsuperscript{41} kulākloñ knl a-chak; Pl. III 283\textsuperscript{4} kulākloñ prasat tuluiak calac ūthwak.
lines of the gable still indent the brick façade, and above them there is sometimes an immense cloc\textsuperscript{210}, elaborately carved, spanning the whole wall.

To break the severity of the plain cube, large central bays may project from the outer walls of the corridor, emphasized without, maybe, by cloc torin over false doors. The roof may be crowned with a central storeyed cloc shrine and corner turrets, each with lines tapering above, battered below. Such a monastery, of which specimens may be seen at Dayin-pāh\textsuperscript{211} north-east of Minn anthropology, may be the kulā klon calac of the inscriptions\textsuperscript{212}, or “the high monastery”\textsuperscript{213}, probably reserved for the chief monk\textsuperscript{214}.

The outer walls of the corridor on both storeys may be flanked with cells on three sides, leaving a long high-vaulted hall on the fourth\textsuperscript{215}. In the larger monastery-groups, at Tāman\textsuperscript{216}, Pwazaw, Minn anthropology and Wet-kyi-in, one finds the greatest variety of internal arrangement, some intended, it would seem, mainly for devotional use, others rather for educational. Schools are often mentioned in the inscriptions\textsuperscript{217}; and some of these buildings would accommodate large numbers. One vaulted hall at Lemyet-hna, Minn anthropology\textsuperscript{218}, measures 44 × 20 ft.; and it is set at right angles to another measuring 40 × 15 ft., with a mezzanine corridor crossing the haunches between the vaults, and leading to a third storey and the roof.

The internal brick walls were plastered and finished, says Sinclair, “with very plain frescoes, consisting chiefly of black and gold lines cutting the wall surface up into panels, and marking the cornices and skirting lines, and picking out the niches with ogee-shaped arch-heads. The whole effect was most refined and well lighted.” “As for the kulā klon,” reads one inscription\textsuperscript{219}, “he painted with orpiment, vermilion, etc, all the posts, walls, cross-beams, wall-plates, rafters and roofs, and applied gold kyakhañutu (‘sun-gods’). As for the ceiling above, he made it splendid with gold lotuses.” Such a monastery was called klon prok, “variegated monastery”\textsuperscript{220}.

PRĀSĀT (‘PYATTHAT’)

The Indian prāṣāda – a palatial building or pavilion with multiple roofs – has had a long and notable posterity in Mon and Burmese architecture, both civil and religious. The Modern Burmese word,

\textsuperscript{210} Pict. Guide . . . , p. 69, shows merely one part of one side of the cloc with the wall of the brick monastery behind it (Htutangbyi, West Pwazaw).
\textsuperscript{211} Sinclair’s article, Pl. 2, “Monastery at Dayinpayato”.
\textsuperscript{212} I.B., Pl. 1.I 64\textsuperscript{6} kulākloñ calac chañwāh, “brick monastery with pediments and porch”, 585 s./1223 A.D.
\textsuperscript{213} klon mrañ. I.B., Pl. I 33\textsuperscript{1}, 570 s./1208 A.D.; III 234\textsuperscript{9}.
\textsuperscript{214} ther, kloñ sañ kri, kloñ nā skhīh.
\textsuperscript{215} Sinclair’s article, Pl. 3, “Monastery N.W. of Upali Thein”.
\textsuperscript{216} ibid., Pl. 4: “Tāman, wing with chapel”; Pl. 6: “Tāman, scholastic wing”.
\textsuperscript{217} I.B., Pl. I 105 a\textsuperscript{12} eñ sañ kloñ s khu, 599 s./1237 A.D.; II 138\textsuperscript{8} eñ sañ tō tuñ, 603 s./1241 A.D.; III 271\textsuperscript{7}; IV 382\textsuperscript{8}, etc.
\textsuperscript{218} Sinclair’s article, Pl. 5, “Monastery N.E. of Lemyetha, Minn anthropology”. The date of this remarkable monastery of Anantashura (see I.B., Pl. I 73) should be 585 s./1223 A.D. I have only found two earlier mentions of kulā kloñ: Pl. I 48\textsuperscript{7}, 582 s./1220 A.D., and Pl. I 64\textsuperscript{9}, 583 s./1223 A.D. One might therefore be tempted to confuse this type of building to the Burmese sub-period; but, on reflection, it is obvious that Anantashura’s kulā kloñ has a long history of evolution behind it, going back to the early days of Pagān. A Shwégīngon inscription dated 603 s./1241 A.D. (I.B. Pl. 139\textsuperscript{4}) mentions a dedication to “the old Zīgōn (Cañkhun) monastery.” — Was this the kulākloñ a hundred yards south of the pagoda, shown on our Pl. 183?
\textsuperscript{219} I.B., Pl. II 194\textsuperscript{28–18}, Thomati pagoda, 622 s./1260 A.D. Orpiment: chiy³ than. Vermilion: hānsapātā. Minium: chun. Lac: khrīt. Cf. Pl. I 97\textsuperscript{7} chiy³ than hānsapātā chun miñy phā hu . . . khrīt khanhut; Pl. III 308\textsuperscript{20}, etc. Kyahlanuyi, applied to monasteries, is mentioned again in I.B., Pl. IV 372\textsuperscript{40}, 582 s./1220 A.D.
\textsuperscript{220} I.B., Pl. I 60 b\textsuperscript{5}, 591 s./1229 A.D. At Pl. I 97\textsuperscript{4} we read that “7 (ticals) were given to the painters who painted the kā; 120 (ticals) were given to the painters who painted the monastery.” A “decorated (?) brick monastery”, tanmhwam kulākloñ, is mentioned at Pl. II 164\textsuperscript{28–26}, 45, 620 s./1258 A.D.
'pyatthat', still keeps the mark of its Sanskrit origin. Carved and painted illustrations of *pr̥sāda* are still to be seen in plenty in the temples of Pagán\(^{221}\); in stone, for instance, in the five-roofed, seven-roofed, and nine-roofed palaces of Prince Siddhattha in the Nanda (Pl. 284 a, b, c). It would seem that the form has not changed much. It was doubtless built mostly in wood, but also in brick. In the earlier Mon wooden architecture, the 'fivefold pavilion' (*paṅcapr̥sāt*) of Kyauzitha's *abhiseka*, with its 28 *elec* pediments\(^{222}\), has been mentioned already; also the ablation-pavilion (*pr̥sāt bir̥l̥v̥p*) of his new palace, and the five pavilions (*pr̥sāt jnok* and four *pr̥sāt cindrow*), built (one imagines) in the form of a quincune\(^{223}\).

In Burmese inscriptions the word occurs frequently\(^{224}\), especially in connection with Buddhist monasteries. Such phrases as *pr̥s̥at ṭul̥vik* *calac u-thwak*\(^{225}\), *pr̥s̥at tukuik* *calac u-thwak*\(^{226}\), "front-extensions with pediments and a hall (*tukuik*) with multiple roofs", might refer to the wooden front rather than the brick monastery itself. But the huge brick temple started by king *Klavē* in 1248 A.D., was, and still is, called 'the Great *Pr̥s̥as̥a dā* '(Pyatthada-gyi)'\(^{227}\). Its lower storey has all the appearance of a *kā*. Above, there were terraces with corner-stupas, and perhaps a small upper storey; but as the building is unfinished and in ruin, one cannot speak for certainty of its roofing.

**SIM ('THEIN')**

Of the other buildings, the most important was the 'thein' or chapter-house. It should also, perhaps, be the easiest to identify, for it was often determined by stone boundary posts\(^{228}\) or 'limits' (Sanskrit/Pali *sīmā*), from which it takes its name. The word is often translated 'ordination hall': and it was used for that purpose. But it was also regularly used as the *uposathāgāra* or chapter-house, for the recitation of the *Pātimokkha*, where, as a Burmese inscription says, 'the lords of the *Saṅghā* might confess their sins beginning with *āpattukaṭ*'.\(^{229}\) The inscription is at the Hсутаunbyi pagoda, West Pwazaw, where a low brick platform paved with stone, in the south-east corner of the inner enclosure, may mark the site.

In any big revival or reform of the Buddhist Church in Burma, the erection of a 'permanent *sīmā*' (Old Mon *bddahasim*), carefully constructed according to the rules of the *Vinaya*, and so fit for the conferring of valid ordination, was a *sine qua non*. At Pegu, in 1477 A.D., when the Mon ex-monk, king Rāmādhīpaṭi (Dhammaṇedi), reformed the church of Lower Burma in cooperation with the Mahāvihāra of Ceylon, the erection of the *Kalyāṇī Sīmā* is described, both in Pali and Mon, with

\(^{221}\) For a painted 'pyatthat', see e.g. *A.S.I.* 1936, Pl. XXXI e (Sāyambhū temple), and Duroiselle's note on p. 79. Or again our Pl. 167 a (Pāṭothākya). See also Duroiselle's note on the "Taiktaw and Sangyaung Monasteries, Mandalay," *A.S.I.*, 1913, pp. 139–141.


\(^{223}\) *Epig. Birm.* III, I, Inscr. IX (passim); and *supra*, Chapter IV, p. 65.

\(^{224}\) *I.B.*, Pl. I 68\(^{a}\), 85\(^{a}\), inscr. from S. of Myazigōn *a*\(^{a}\), *b* klo̍n *pr̥s̥at*; etc.

\(^{225}\) *I.B.*, Pl. III 234\(^{16}\) kūlā klo̍n kri̍l *pr̥s̥at* calac u-thwak.

\(^{226}\) *I.B.*, Pl. III 283\(^{a}\) kūlā klo̍n *pr̥s̥at* tukuik calac u-thwak. *Tukuik* comes from Old Mon *dirlac*, *dirlac* (see *supra*, Chapter IV, n. 115).

\(^{227}\) *I.B.*, Pl. II 165 *b* (*pr̥s̥at hri*), 610 s./1248 A.D.

\(^{228}\) These stones, however, are often removed by villagers from ruined 'theins'. For the demarcation with stone, see *I.B.*, Pl. I 369 sim klo̍n samu̍t, 574 s./1212 A.D., Tuywindaung.

\(^{229}\) *I.B.*, Pl. IV 390\(^{12–14}\) sīm *saṅghā* tuiw *āpattukaṭ* ca so aplac phri yā sim, 661 s./1300 A.D. Sanskrit/Pali *āpattika* = 'guilty of an ecclesiastical offence'. For uses of a 'thein' in modern Burma, see M. and B. Ferrars, *Burma*, pp. 21–22.
meticulous precision. At Thaton, before its conquest by Aniruddha, perhaps after the Buddhist victory over Śaivism, an earlier Kalyāṇi baddhasim was erected south of Shwézayan pagoda. It is still marked by stone pillars finely carved with the Ten Great Jātakas, and more than one fragmentary stone inscription. Another undated Old Mon inscription, still in situ at the north-west end of Kyauksè Hill, records the erection of a baddhasim there, when a Mon archbishopric was created, it appears, for the numerous Mons of Kyauksè, with the permission of the archbishop (mahāthēther) of Pagán (Shin Arahan?) and of the king (Kyanziththa?). The oldest-mentioned building at Pagán itself was a ‘thein’ built by Caw Rahan on top of Mt. Turan (Tuywin-daung), which (the inscription tells us) was repaired by two ladies of the court in 1212 A.D.

A ‘thein’ always contained an image of the Buddha. It was attached to a monastery, pagoda or temple in the neighbourhood.

On the north side of the road from Pagán to Nyaung-u, opposite the mouth of the lane leading to Htilominlo, there is a rectangular building, with narrow arches of entrance abnormally placed in the centre of the two longer sides. It is called the UPALI THEIN. There is no inscription; but possibly, in its original form, it may go back to the Pagán period. The vaulting is old; also the perforated stone ventilation-slabs set in the walls on each side of the entrances. But almost everything else about it—the roof-battlements, stucco-work, archways, enclosure-wall and painting—belongs to a much later date, and is of little help in fixing the form of the old Pagán sīmā. The paintings, which Duroiselle dates “late 17th or early 18th century”, are startlingly bright and theatrical, lacking the deep peace of Buddhist art at its meridian.

There is one mention of a library (catuik) Copies of the Tipiṭaka, in ‘golden coffers’ (rhuey talā), were housed in brick monasteries or else in ‘golden temples’ (rhuey kū). The ‘Pitakat-taik’, or

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231 See U Mya, A.S.I. 1930–34, Part I, pp. 203–204, and Part II, Pl. CXVI. For the more legible Old Mon inscription at Thaton Kalyāṇī Simā, see I.B., Pl. IV 360 (c).

232 Pl. 398 (a). The inscription has been edited by Dr. Blagden, Epigraphs, III, I, pp. 70–73, Inscr. No. XI.

233 I.B., Pl. I 36, 574 s. 1212 A.D. The two ladies were the maid of honour (moña) Nkhat-chāk, and the chief secretary (yēkhi yūth) U Pi Pan Y Seh.

234 For other early mentions of ‘Theins’ in Burmese, see I.B., Pl. II 113, 11 sim taw, pāthaw tāw (507 s. 1145 A.D.; see chapter VI, pp. 108–9); V 574 pūnhita tāw, sim tāw (Wēbu stone, Kyauksè) 545 s. 1183 A.D.; Pl. I 20 b 8 simma taw (Pagan, Dhammarājaka), 560 s. 1198 A.D.; I 28 a 18, b 42 (Piyin amy) 567 s. 1205 A.D.; I 50 18, etc.

235 See Duroiselle, A.S.I., 1936, pp. 80–81 and Pl. XXXII (a, b, c); V. C. Scott O’Connor, Mandalay . . . . , pp. 232, 233.

236 Duroiselle (loc. cit.) says that Upāli “became prime of Burma; he lived during the reigns of kings Nandaungmya (1210–34 A.D.) and Kyauzaw (1234–50 A.D.).” The Glass Palace Chronicle (transl. pp. 155–6) mentions an elder, Sīha-mahā-upāli, whom the former king invited to Pagan, and for whom the latter built a monastery at Sagu in 597 s. 1235 A.D. It cites as authority the Hkēdaung-gyi monastery inscription in Sagu town. – I do not find the name of the monk in original inscriptions of either reign. The Sagu Hkēdaunggyi monastery inscription, so far as I know, is only a late ‘Copy’ (List 893, B II 614, 792 s. 1430 A.D.).

237 I.B., Pl. II 1641 “Total cost of building the catuik, 215 ticals of silver”.

238 I.B., Pl. III 324 thūi kōn twañ rhuey talā nhañ pitakat le thā e’

239 I.B., Pl. I 401 rhuey kū, 575 s. 1213 A.D.; Pl. I 984— rhuey kū, 501 s. 1230 A.D. The great Shwégu (Rhuey kū) temple W. of the Palace was probably so-called because it housed a copy of “the Three Piṭaka” (I.B., Pl. I 18).

240 See Pls. 80–82.
TIPIṬAKA

Sets or parts of the Tipiṭaka are frequently mentioned in the inscriptions. In 1171 A.D. a district headman (luṭh sūkri) at Sayaing dedicated land for the upkeep of the Piṭaka “made by my son Anu-
dhe”241. In 1197 A.D. a whole set was dedicated at Sunyè, Kyauksè.242 In 1207 A.D., four years before his accession, a set was dedicated at Pagan by Nāṭoṭmya.243 In 1223 A.D. Anantasūra included a full set in his dedication at Minnathu.244 Elsewhere we read of “26 books” (kliyam) of the Piṭaka being dedicated.245 Another Pagan dedication includes the making of “the Silakkhandhava at the beginning of the Piṭaka,246 one book (kliam); the Abhidhammasaṅgī247, one book; the Ten Jātakas (tassa jaṭ)248, one book; the Dhāmmapada249, one book; the Wineū (Vinaya), one ‘heap’ (puṃ)250. Another mentions the building of a ‘golden cave’ (rhuy kū), and giving of “three books at the beginning of the Piṭaka”252.

DHAMMASĀ, TRYĀ IM

‘Halls of the Law‘ (Pali dhammasāla)253, or ‘Houses of the Law‘ (Burm. tryā im)254 – the probable Burmese equivalent, are mentioned frequently from the first. They were intended for the delivery of

241 I.B., Pl. IV 365 a3, 5, 533 s./1171 A.D. But I doubt if this inscription, though old, is really original. Sayaing, Thawtawan, Ye-u Kyautsandaik.

242 I.B., Pl. II, 116a, 539 s./1177 A.D. Sunyè, Hsutaungpyi pagoda.


244 I.B., Pl. I 7318, 585 s./1223 A.D. piṭakat suṃ puṃ so tryā apuṃ.

245 I.B., Pl. III 3054a, Taungbi, Shwegwinya pagoda, four-faced pillar.

246 I.B., Pl. IV 37241–44, 582 s./1220 A.D. Yatsauk temple ink inscription.

247 i.e. the Silakkhandavagga, the first 13 suttas of the Diṅgha Nikāya, “Group of pieces concerning rules of conduct.”

248 i.e. the Dhammasaṅgī, “Classification of things”, the first treatise of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka.

249 i.e. dāsa jāṭaka, the final ten great Birth-stories forming the Mahāniṃpāla, or final section of the Jāṭaka.


251 i.e. the Vinaya Piṭaka, “Basket” (Burm. “Heap”) “of the Discipline“, first of the three Piṭakas.

252 I.B., Pl. I 4014, 575 s./1213 A.D. rhuy kū plu ruy piṭakat a-ū suṃ klyai taryā 3 chū j – For other early mentions of the Piṭaka, see I.B., Pl. I 10 a18, 552 s./1190 A.D. (Pagan, S. Gun); Pl. I 105 a18, 599 s./1237 A.D. (Pagan); Pl. I 1068 (Minnathu, Hsinbyushin); Pl. II 122 a3, 18, 587 s./1225 A.D. (Meiktila, Kyauk-hpu); Pl. II 128 b14, 597 s./1235 A.D. (Hsinhuk). The archaic Thetsodaung inscription, Pl. III 303, mentions “the writing of Nidān jā, 1 book (kliam).” This was probably the Nidānahatthā, the introductory chapter of the Jāṭaka Commentary, giving the earlier half of the Buddha’s life.

253 I.B., Pl. I 102a gu kloñ dhammasā caṅkram; 105 a8 kloñ . . . dhammasā . . . tryā panlañ; Pl. III 303 dham-
masa cārap (Thetsodaung); IV 366 gu kloñ thāmasā (Wēbu stone); Pl. V 575 thāmasā (Wēbu stone); 602 a1 dhammasā (Mōnywa).

254 I.B., Pl. II 152b kū purā piṭakat tryā lm dhammasā l kloñ caṅkram tantuñ l; Pl. II 1647 piṭakat thā rā tuik . . . l rhuy ti so tryā lm . . . ; etc.
Chapter XII

sermons. Anantasûra’s inscription mentions “a peaceful Hall of the Law, built of stone bricks, where all the congregation may assemble to listen to the Law, with a golden throne for the preaching of the Law, and a gold umbrella over it, and thereafter a canopy (pitân)”\textsuperscript{255}.

TANCHON, CARAP, KAPPIYAKUTIY

“Outside the monastery,” says the same inscription, “within a fine enclosure-wall, I built a large and pleasant ‘tazaung’ (tanchon) magnificent with all manner of figures, where pious people coming from the four quarters may be at liberty to stay or sleep or stand. Behind it also I built a ‘zayat’ (carap), of solid brick, where pious people, wishing to give alms, may give their alms. At the entering-in of the capital also I made a storehouse (kappiyakutiy), built solidly of brick, for the comfort of the Three Gems in this my monastery; and I have left there also many attendants”\textsuperscript{256}.

‘Tazaung’ is a Burmese word for buildings with roofs like chandeliers (Old Burm. tanchon)\textsuperscript{257}. This dissyllabic word seems to be composed on the Mon model, possibly from Old Mon cañ ‘to burn, to light a lamp’, with infix and reduplication. Carap\textsuperscript{258} is a Mon word (Old Mon jrap\textsuperscript{259}); it is now used for a rest-house. It seems that ‘zayat’ and ‘tazaung’ have interchanged their old meanings in modern parlance. But tanchon was used for more purposes than one. When king Klacoâ in 1249 issued his edict against thieves, he ordered that “those who set up the inscription-pillar, should construct a screen against the sun (?), and build a tanchon (to set it up in), with a nice big ceiling (pitân)”\textsuperscript{260}. A kappiyakutiy, one reads elsewhere more than once, was used “to house objects of dedication”\textsuperscript{261}.

TAṆKUP

There are mentions of satañ tankup\textsuperscript{262}, sheds where laymen might come and observe Buddhist fast-days (satañ niy), doubtless near a monastery or pagoda. TUIK, ‘enclosures, walled buildings’, sometimes “of burnt brick”\textsuperscript{263}, included libraries (cā tuik\textsuperscript{264}, piñkat tuik), schools (cā sañ tuik)\textsuperscript{265}, and buildings where monks might “eat areca-nut” (kwañ cā tuik)\textsuperscript{266}. RIY-IM, ‘water-houses’, i.e. latrines, are mentioned\textsuperscript{267}.

\textsuperscript{255} I.B., Pl. I 73\textsuperscript{18–28}, 585 s./1223 A.D. pitân is Sanskrit vitâna, ‘awning, canopy’.

\textsuperscript{256} ibid., lines 23–27.

\textsuperscript{257} For tanchon as a building, cf. I.B., Pl. III 247\textsuperscript{11} (mentioned between khoñ hrt and kappiyakutiy), and Pl. III 271\textsuperscript{27} (tanchon hrt mentioned before cā sañ tuik). The same word (perhaps pronounced in a different tone) has other meanings which I do not understand: see I.B., Pl. I 23\textsuperscript{4}, 73\textsuperscript{14–15}; III 310 b\textsuperscript{4}, 10–11; IV 372\textsuperscript{11}.” And what is the root meaning of the month-name Tanchonmânu? Was tanchon the Burmese equivalent of Sanskrit/Mon dawdâp, an auspicious emblem, applicable to bijouterie as well as buildings?

\textsuperscript{258} carap. I.B., Pl. I 23\textsuperscript{4} (?), 563 s./1201 A.D.; 46\textsuperscript{5} (Malun); III 303\textsuperscript{2} cårâp (Theydsodung); IV 372\textsuperscript{11} (after satañ tankup); etc.

\textsuperscript{259} jrap also occurs in the Old Mon of North Siam: see BEFO., t. XXX, 1930, p. 96, Sen Khao Ho inscription, line 5.

\textsuperscript{260} I.B., Pl. II 166 b\textsuperscript{5–6} (611 s./1249 A.D.).

\textsuperscript{261} I.B., Pl. III 247\textsuperscript{18} tanchon le plu e’ ḭ alhû paccañ thà am so nhâ kappiyakutiy le plu e’ ḭ. Pl. III 234\textsuperscript{10} alhû paccañ thà cim so nhâ kappiyakutiy plu e’ ḭ

\textsuperscript{262} I.B., Pl. I 40\textsuperscript{9} (575 s./1213 A.D.); III 308\textsuperscript{22}; IV 372\textsuperscript{4}, 46 satañ tankup.

\textsuperscript{263} I.B., Pl. 214 b\textsuperscript{5} ut kyâk tuik.

\textsuperscript{264} I.B., Pl. II 104\textsuperscript{11} catuik.

\textsuperscript{265} I.B., Pl. II 138\textsuperscript{23} cā sañ 10 tuik; III 271\textsuperscript{27}; IV 382\textsuperscript{3} cā sañ chay tuik.

\textsuperscript{266} I.B., Pl. III 276 b\textsuperscript{16} kwañ cā tuik kā aryâ cā te ḭ

\textsuperscript{267} I.B., Pl. I 105 a\textsuperscript{14} riymb 3 pâ.
KHOŃLOŃ

Big bronze bells are referred to, but not as commonly as in later times. One was “cast with 106½ viss of bronze (kriyā)”268. Two grand, but broken, stone pillars, finely carved in ‘Mon’ style (Pls. 379, 380), still stand near the south-west corner of the city wall. If they originally upheld, as tradition says, the great bell of the neighbouring Thatbyinnyu temple, the bell must have been a very large one.

KAN, RIY TWAŃ, TANTHAH, etc.

The digging of tanks or reservoirs (kan)269 and wells (riy twań)270, and the making of causeways or bridges (tanthāh)271 near monasteries, are often mentioned. The fullest account of tanks is that given by Anantasūra of the ‘Square Tank’ (liy thoṅ’ kan, Lédaunggan as it is still called today), east of his dedication at Minnathu (1223 A.D.): “I also dug a square tank, built entirely of brick. To the east of this I dug two big tanks at [higher] levels; and in order that the water might enter, I made it beautiful with pipes (plawān) and basons (talā). And all around the tanks I planted a garden (uyān)”272. Before the last World War, the old wooden pipes were still visible. The wells dug by Anantasūra were “permanent ones, of brick”273. There is mention of a porch (chaṅwaṅ, where ‘the elephant enters’)274; also of a wooden outhouse (kanā praṅ)275. An architectural term in connection with pagodas which baffles me at present, is samarauiw, sammaruiw276.

This well-nigh completes the list of religious buildings and major objects of dedication found in Pagān inscriptions. As for the king’s palace, it has been discussed at length in Chapter IV.

UMAŃ

After the end of the dynasty, ‘devious’ caves (Old Burm. umaṅ, from Pali ummaṅga, ummaṅga), excavated in the sandstone cliffs and hillocks around Nyaung-u277, become increasingly common. There are still monks who dig them today, as a work of merit. One umaṅ at least, the main storey of Kyauk-ku Önhmin, with its magnificent façade of carved stone on brick, must go back to the early days of the dynasty (Pls. 132–142). Another umaṅ, S.W. of Shwézigōn, which contains paintings dating from the Mongol conquest of Pagān at the end of the 13th century278, is now called ‘Kyanzittha’s Önhmin.’ It has been suggested above (see Chapter IV, n. 106) that it may well have been the rājas-thān Jeyabhūṃ of Kyanzittha’s palace-inscription, a temporary palace near his work of merit, occupied by the king while his new palace was being built within the walls of Pagān.

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268 I.B., Pl. I 105 a8 khonlön kriyā apisa 106 pisā khway e’ swan e’ 1, 599 s./1238 A.D.; II 153 a4.
269 kan. Pl. I 23a kan riytwaṅ tanthāh, 583 s./1201 A.D.; 407; Pl. III 303a kan le tac khu’ tō e’; etc.
270 riy twań. Pl. I 23a; 407; 105 a8; etc.
271 tanthāh. Pl. I 23a; Pīnīl, Shwézédi fragment4.
272 liy thoṅ’ kān. Pl. I 73a–b.
273 I.B., Pl. I 73a ut = tī phway, so riytwaṅ le tō e’ 11 ut nха ņ mray mraṅ cwā phway, so riytwaṅ le tō e’ 11.
274 I.B., Pl. I 64a kulākīh ko lalac chaṅwaṅ, 585 s./1223 A.D.
275 I.B., Pl. I 97a kanā praṅ sac phuiw 10 11 “10 ticals for the timber of the outhouse.”
276 I.B., Pl. I 18a kā thwat tān so samaruiw chok so, 559 s./1198 A.D.; Pl. I 105 a4 samarauiw le chok e’; Pl. III 310 b4 samarauiw 36 tuṅ 1 “36 posts of the samaruiw.” The word samarauiw must be a place-name at Pl. IV 445 b8.
277 I.B., Pl. I 18a kā thwat tān so samaruiw chok so, 559 s./1198 A.D.; Pl. I 105 a4 samarauiw le chok e’; Pl. III 310 b4 samarauiw 36 tuṅ 1 “36 posts of the samaruiw.” The word samarauiw must be a place-name at Pl. IV 445 b8.
278 e.g. Hmyathat Önhmin [Pict. Guide . . . , p. 18]; Thamihwet Önhmin (ibid., p. 17); Shwe Önhmin, etc. The important stone inscriptions found in the neighbourhood (List 801, 844, 879 a, b, 907 a, b, 935 a, b, 1117), now mostly at Pagān Museum, date mainly from the first half of the 15th century A.D.

279 See Duroiselle, A.S.B. 1922, p. 18, para 34, and Pl. I, figs. 1, 2.
CHAPTER XIII

STUPAS

DATING OF STUPAS

The dating of solid stupas is more hazardous than the dating of temples. There is less evidence in the building itself to go on. Rarely is there any old record in ink or stone inscription. They are often small and ruinous, or (what is worse) ‘repaired’. Their history is either forgotten or fabulous. And the practice of building them is so old, the lines of development so various, and the achieved shapes so different, that the range of possibility seems infinite.

In 1912, when I first came to Burma, archaeologists were excited about the excavations at Śrī Kṣetra. The great 7th century stupas there – Bawbaw-gyi, Paya-gyi and Paya-ma¹ – were obviously, in origin, tall and cylindrical, with (probably) a flat cone on top. They were no less different from the hemispheres of Sānci than from the tapering ‘bells’ of Shwédagon and other pagodas of modern Burma. I noticed that the Paya-gyi and Paya-ma were less cylindrical than the Bawbaw-gyi, and more sprawling at the base. What they had lost at the shoulder, they had added at the foot. Hearing that it was the custom of Burmans, when repairing an old pagoda, just to encase the ruin as it lay, I jumped to the conclusion that the present spread at the base was not buried terraces, but just débris from the shoulders. The theory seemed to explain the whole history of the stupa in Burma – from the pure convex of the original ‘egg’, to the pretty concave bell-shapes of today. An Indian pañcita confirmed my view by assuring me that the bell-shaped stupa was quite unknown in India. The theory worked until 1926–28, when two big mounds at Thaungbyégôn, Śrī Kṣetra, were excavated, and found to contain – almost as fresh as new – two very modern-looking ‘bell’-pagodas². – The ‘bell’ pagoda, alas, was just as old as the cylindrical!

STUPAS BEFORE ANIRUDDHA

We must feel our way more cautiously. The high-cylindrical Bawbaw-gyi has but a single stairway on the north, leading to the round platform³. Above this, there are only two round narrow terraces –

¹ See A.S.I. 1910, Pl. XLV 1, 2, 3.
mure buttresses to the mass above them. Such high-cylindrical stupas with round buttress-terraces are old. Possibly they derive from those of Amarâvatî in the Deccan. Pl. 76 a shows a tall ruin, probably of this type, about a hundred yards south of Shwé-gwincha pagoda, Taungbi, N.E. of Pagán.

**BU-PAYA**

Another type, with round terraces more prominent and decorated, and the anda bulbous rather than high cylindrical, is seen in the BU-PAYA (Pl. 75 a)⁴. It stands small, but solid and prominent, above the riverbank at the N.W. corner of the walls of Pagán, where in the past there has been maximum erosion. Only the bulbous part is really old; this, and possibly the circular terracing, relate it to the 7th century stupas of Śrî Kṣetra. Another bulbous stupa within the walls (Pl. 76 b, c, d), stands a few yards N.W. of Mimalaung-kyuang, on the E. side of the road to Thiripyitsaya. Three miles south, on the W. side of the same road, N.N.E. of Thiripyitsaya village, is a row of four bulbous stupas (Pl. 77), ruinous, but still about 35 ft. high.

This bulbous type is not confined to Pagán. It is widespread in Upper and Lower Burma. It is typical of the Tibetan chorten. In India, it goes back to the later cave-temples, Kaṅherī (Cave 11, 3rd cent. A.D.), Ajanṭā (Caves XIX and XXVI, 6th–7th cent.), and Elūrā (Cave X, 8th cent.)⁶. Pyu refugees from Śrî Kṣetra, who are said in the Chronicles⁷ to have settled at Pagán, in the middle of the 8th century, before the coming of the Mranmā, may have built the Bu-paya, and also stupas around Thiripyitsaya, the old port of Pagán. We shall find evidence at West Ḥpet-leik also, of pagoda-building much older than Aniruddha’s.

**NGA-KYWÈ-NA-DAUNG**

The largest and most striking of these bulbous pagodas is the Nga-kywè-nadaung (Pl. 75 b, c). It stands N. of Nat-hlaung-yaung, W. of Thatbyinnyu, in the southern part of the old city. Even in ruin 44 ft. high, and 82 ft. in circumference, it is splendidly encased in glazed tiles of iridescent hues. In 1904–5 Sir John Marshall recommended it for conservation: “Covered with green glazed tiles, it is of an elongated bulbous shape, which bespeaks its great antiquity”⁸. Taw Sein Ko added some remarkable statements: “It is like an empty egg-shell”⁹; “crowned by a small chamber which is now roofless”⁹; “the oldest of the shrines” of Pagán, “crowned with what looks like a small domed chapel, thereby bespeaking its Chinese origin”¹⁰. In 1907 he repeats his claim that the stupa is Chinese in origin¹¹; but this appears to conflict with his other statement that it is “one of the five pagodas built

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⁴ Bu-paya. “Built by Pyusawdi, the third king of Pagán, who reigned in 168–243 A.D.” (Taw Sein Ko, A.S.B. 1905, p. 23, item 6). I do not find this attribution in the Chronicles. “The Bu Paya is much later than those at Prome, and only a copy of the latter” (Duroiselle, A.S.I. 1924, p. 82 fn.)
⁵ See supra, Chapter XII, note 109.
⁷ A.S.B. 1905, App. B, p. 25, item 3. Coomaraswamy (H.I.A. p. 170) compares it to the Dhâmêkh stupa at Sârnâth. This is hardly bulbous, but consists of two cylinders superposed, stone and brick. Without further excavation it is hard to say whether the base of Nga-kywè-na-daung was cylindrical, or a series of round terraces, possibly with spiral stairs.
⁸ A.S.B. 1911, p. 10.
⁹ A.S.B. 1907, pp. 8–9.
¹⁰ A.S.B. 1907, p. 12.
¹¹ A.S.I. 1907, p. 29.
by king Taungthugyi” [the Farmer King], “in the 10th cent. A.D.”12. Its name, however, is not included in the five attributed to that king in the Chronicles13. Taw Sein Ko went to considerable pains and expense in keeping the so-called “sanctum” water-tight14. How worshippers ever succeeded in getting up to and into it, he leaves unexplained.

At my request, and some considerable risk to life and limb, Colonel Ba Shin has investigated this ‘sanctum’ at the top of Nga-kywè-nadaung. His note is given at length in the Catalogue of Plates. The sanctum proves to be no more than “a large pit which, to all appearances, was left by treasure-hunters”.

As for the date of this solid pagoda, in its original form it was doubtless old. The terrace or terraces at the base were probably circular. But the casing must be much later. The large-scale practice of glazing brick at Pagán hardly appears before Kyanzittha’s reign (1084–1113 A.D.)15.

STUPAS OF ANIRUDDHA. — MYINKABA ZÉDI (Pl. 79 a)

Aniruddha’s earliest stupa stands on the N. bank of Myinkaba Chaung, where it enters the village of Myinpagán. It is remembered as the site where he recovered the saddle (mrañ:ka) of his half-brother, king Sōkkaté, after killing him in single combat. “And Sōkkaté’s horse ran away with him to the river, and there he died. The place is known as Myinkaba to this day”16.

The small stupa (height 44 ft.) was presumably built shortly after Aniruddha’s accession, which the Jālāpuñ Rājavar17 dates 406 s./1044 A.D. It has a tall double-banded anda, beginning to flare out at the base. There is no harmikā above. The top, seemingly original as far as it goes (the finial is lost), is a heavy cone of slowly tapering chattrāvali, roughly straight in profile.

KHABIN MAUNG DI ZÉDI (Pl. 79 b)

Perhaps his next work of merit was the one now called Maung Di pagoda at Khābin, 7 miles east of Twanté in the direction of Rangoon. Khābin (Old Burm. Kĕñ̄añ)18, a small walled and moated eminence set in paddy-fields, preceded Twanté19 as the capital of these parts; and was doubtless still the local capital when Aniruddha, on his early expedition to the south (c. 1050 A.D.?), occupied it and built this pagoda at San-ywa, half a mile south of it. Modern legend, based on Burmese misinterpretations of the local Old Mon place-names, ascribes it to the poor fisherman, Maung Di, who had to marry a princess who chased him thirty miles or more. But the two upper octagonal terraces of the pagoda, as Duroiselle has proved20, were formerly lined with large terracotta tablets (Pls. 4, 5) signed by Aniruddha.

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14 A.S.B. 1911, p. 10.
15 Our glazing expert, U Kyaw Nyein, writes as follows in his report about the glazing of this pagoda: — “Nga Kywè Nadaung, Shin'pāhto, and two small corner stupas of Mingalazedi, are the only pagodas which were made of glazed bricks from top to bottom. Their colour appears to be white from a distance, but on looking at close range it is faintly green. The glazed surfaces appear to be of strong texture.”
16 G.P.C., p. 64.
17 U Hla Tin, Jālāpuñ Rājavar, p. 39 (No. 42).
himself. These are the largest, simplest, and perhaps earliest, of his votive tablets; and the large pagoda itself (now under repair) may well antedate his capture of Thatôn. The lowest terrace, below the two octagonal ones, is of laterite. There are neither corner-stupas nor stairways. Only the lower part of the anda, including the terraces, can claim to be original.

LOKANANDA

Lokananda Pagoda, ‘Joy of the World’ (Pl. 92), stands on a bluff just above the Irawady, at the point where it finally turns south towards the sea. It is 3 miles below Pagán, near the village of Thiripyitsaya (Śrī Vajra)\(^{21}\). It was the river-port of Pagán for boats coming upstream; at Pagán itself the river is somewhat rocky, and the currents at the bend are strong. According to the Glass Palace Chronicle (p. 91), the Tooth-Relic duplicate sent by the friendly king of Ceylon was enshrined at the site of Shwézigôn pagoda; but at Aniruddha’s solemn prayer, replicas of the Tooth ‘proceeded’, and were placed on the White Elephant. Wherever the elephant knelt, Aniruddha built a pagoda: at the top of Mt. Tankyi across the river; then “at Lokananda where the ship from Ceylon had put in. There he built a cetiya and enshrined it”; then at the top of Mt. Tuywin, etc. Taw Sein Ko, perhaps on manuscript authority (?), dated the building 1059 A.D.\(^{22}\). This tall pagoda (height 86 ft.) has an elongated ‘bell’ resting on three octagonal terraces. There are no corner-stupas; but there are four median flights of steps leading to the middle terrace. There is no harkhâ. The top is modernized. See Pl. 92 b for the stone Footprint of the Buddha – the oldest at Pagán – found on the stone-paved platform, and now lying in three fragments at Pagán Museum. There are two stone inscriptions still in situ. One, an interesting bilingual inscription in Pali and Burmese, is dated 1231 A.D.\(^{23}\). The other mentions a dedication in 1207 A.D. to “the monastery of the Cakravartin Anurâdhâ”; it also mentions the name of the pagoda, Lokanantâ\(^{24}\).

SHWÊ-HSAN-DAY

Pagoda of ‘the Golden Holy Hair’ (Pls. 83–87), stands half a mile south of the south-east corner of Pagán city-wall. According to the Glass Palace Chronicle (p. 94)\(^{25}\), Aniruddha “built a zigôn pagoda over the sacred Hair-relic presented by the king of Ussâ”, i.e. Pegu, “and worshipped it. That pagoda he named Mahâpeîmì (Mahâpinna:)”\(^{26}\), i.e. Gaṇeśa pagoda. Many stone fragments of (apparently) Hindu deities (Pl. 84), sometimes placed back to back, once guarded the corners of the terraces. They now lie at the base or corners of the upper terraces. I have not found the elephant-headed god amongst them; but he may have been there originally. Those that one sees remind me rather of the beautiful double-bodied wooden image of Garûḍha found at Raghurâmpur (Vikramañura), south of Dacca\(^{27}\).

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\(^{21}\) I.B., Pl. I 82 a\(^{28}\) sariy paccarâ ka ṣobû-tuîh oh, “from Thiripyitsaya to Nyaung-û” (589 s./1227–8 A.D.).


\(^{23}\) I.B., Pl. I 65 a, b, 592 s./1231 A.D. It records the establishment of a saṅghârâma by the minister Mahâdânapatî, ‘Great Donor’, and dedication to it of 1000 pē of ricefields in Minbu district etc., and 108 slaves, mostly from Pagân, including many with South as well as North Indian names.

\(^{24}\) I.B., Pl. II 160 a, 569 and 609 s./1207 and 1247 A.D. See lines 6 and 20.

\(^{25}\) Susodhita ed., I, p. 271. ‘Zigôn’ (cañ: kkûn) is a corruption of Pali jayabhûmi, ‘land of victory’, i.e. auspicious site.

\(^{26}\) Old Burm. mahâpinay purhâ, from Pali vināyaka, ‘remover (of obstacles)’. See supra, Chapter XI, note 10, and pp. 205–6.

If Kyanzittha’s rescue of Pegu and repulse of the Cambojan invaders occurred (as seems likely) before the capture of Thatôn, the building of Shwêhsandaw may be dated shortly after that event, perhaps c. 1060 A.D. Some of the oldest votive tablets and bronzes of Pagán have been found in its relic-chamber, including several signed by Aniruddha, or inscribed in Sanskrit/Nāgarī, Pyu, Mon, etc. Taw Sein Ko calls it “the first pagoda built...after the conquest of Thatôn”.

At first sight this great pagoda (135½ ft. high) looks different from the others. The five steep square terraces, with four plain median flights of steps, exalt, but also dwarf, the single-banded bell-like stupa proper, with its two octagonal top-terrace. The explanation lies in the purport of this stupa. Built to enshrine the Hair-relic, it sets out to copy the Cūlamāṇi cetiya of Tāvatimsa, built by Sakka at the top of Mt. Sineru to enshrine the Hairknot cut by Gotama on his first becoming a monk. The five square terraces, therefore, represent the five ālindas of that sacred mountain, guarded by stone Devas. Those Devas, facing outward on guard, inward in worship, sat on gnomon-like projections of stepped brick (copying wooden quoins) at the four corners of the upper terraces. There are no corner-stupas. Lions with divided bodies guard the corners at the base.

Only the ground plinth, it seems, was utilized to show a limited number (288?) of unglazed Jātaka plaques. These are likely to be the oldest at Pagán. They measure about 10½ in. in height, 11½ in. in breadth, and 1¼ in. in thickness. Till recently we only knew of 5 genuine ones, 3 illustrated by Durosselle. On a recent visit to Pagán, Colonel Ba Shin made search at the Museum and found over 20 Shwêhsandaw plaques and fragments (14 almost complete). On Pls. 86 and 87 we show them, almost all. Small and broken as they are, and hard to identify (for there is no writing and little detail to help one, and their original places on the pagoda are not on record), they are not to be despised. They are the work of artists, who could put grace into all their handiwork, even conventional poses. They are almost the earliest extant specimens of Pagán art, and lead direct to the great Hpet-leik series, the finest in Burma. Indeed, some of the Shwêhsandaw artists, I suspect, with acquired skill and experience, went on to do the Hpet-leik.

The Shwêhsandaw garth is paved with stone and lined with stone umbrellas, altars and almsbowls. The central archways in the sides of the enclosure-wall are mostly in ruin; also the four gandhakuti, ‘perfumed chambers’ for images, between the gateways and the stupa. These had ecle pediments and small halls with paintings. Some in the south gandhakuti show the 28 Buddhas inscribed with names in post-Aniruddha writing. On the N. side of the east gandhakuti (C on the site-plan, Pl. 83 b), there is still in fair preservation yet another small vaulted temple with four doorways and three seated stone images (Pl. 85 a). The two set back in the corners against the E. wall are earth-touching Buddhas. The one in the centre is a more-than-lifesize monolith, without reredos, 5½ ft. high above its pedestal.

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28 Pls. 6 c; 13 a, b; 14 g; 22 a (votive tablets); 428 b, c; 429 a, b, c; 433 d; 441 b, 442 a, b, c; 443 a, b; 444 a, b (bronzes).
29 A.S.B. 1905, p. 27, no. 13.
30 Compare the similar quoins on the Thagya-paya at Thatôn (A.S.I. 1930–34, Part II, Pl. CXII c).
31 Durosselle, A.S.I. 1913, Pl. LII, figs. 14, 15, 16, and p. 101. Fig. 13 a, Vattaka Jātaka No. 35, with Burmese writing below – Vattaka jāc phwāloñ nūṁ anmuwū – is clearly of late date; also a fragment now at Pagán Museum, inscribed... (phwā) lōñ nūṁ nāk phlac, doubtless illustrating Kanha Jātaka, No. 29. Our Pl. 85 d shows a beautiful unglazed fragment, now at Pagán Museum, engraved at the top... jāt || 108||, i.e. Bāhiya Jātaka No. 108. It was certainly found in the gā N. of the pagoda. But it differs from all the other Shwêsandaw plaques, being thicker, larger, and inscribed. Col. Ba Shin and I are convinced that it really belongs to the Hpet-leik series.
4 ft. 8 in. broad at the knees. This massive-headed Buddha, lacquered and gilded, sits in *padmásana, dhyānamuddrā*. There are several such massive monoliths at Pagán (e.g. at the Dhammarāja), generally Buddhas seated in *dhyānamuddrā*. They cannot, I think, go back to Aniruddha’s time; they may be of post-Pagán date. It is evident that Temple C was no part of Aniruddha’s original plan. I suspect that such monolithic images belong to the Early Ava period, when wars and disorder led to the looting of pagodas.

**SHINBIN-THALYAUNG (Pl. 85 b, c)**

The building marked B on the site-plan is let into the W. wall of the enclosure, south of the W. entrance. It houses a colossal reclining image of the Buddha entering *parinirvāna* (length 69 ft. 9 in.). This image, also, may not have been part of the original plan; but I suspect it was an afterthought of Aniruddha, perhaps in friendly rivalry with the similar reclining image set up by the captive Mon king at the back of the Manuha temple (Pls. 119, 120). That image is sited, correctly according to the texts, with head to the north. Here it is to the south. If it had been sited correctly to the north (Col. Ba Shin points out to me), the Buddha would have had to turn his back on the Shwêhsandaw pagoda.

**WEST AND EAST HPET-LEIK, pagodas ‘of the curling leaf’ (Pls. 94–118).**

These are N.E. of, and near to, the Lokananda, on the south side of the village of Thiripyitsaya. In their present state they look strange. It is due to bad repair-work done in the early days of the Archaeological Department, when engineers rather than archaeologists had the final voice. Both pagodas certainly go back to pre-Aniruddha days; and there are also, I think, post-Aniruddha additions. But the main features of interest belong to his reign, and are due, I imagine, to his personal interest and patronage. Fine ‘seals’ of Aniruddha (Pl. 10) have been recovered from the débris; also a fragment of Old Mon inscription32 (Pl. 95 e). Some 446 Jātaka plaques (out of a total of over 1,100 – there may well be more underground) have been recovered from the site. They are the finest in Burma, unglazed, some still in good, if not excellent, condition. The writing on them – just the Pali name and number of the Jātaka, engraved across the top of the plaque – is wonderfully clear and bold, in the early Mon script of Aniruddha’s reign. The numbering from Jātaka 497 onwards differs from normal Singhalese numbering33, as found in Kyanzittha’s series at the Nanda. The latter generally agrees with Faust-boll’s edition, based on Singhalese manuscripts; and it has remained the norm in Burma ever since 1100 A.D. The two Hpet-leik series clearly belong to a similar, but different, recension.

The West Hpet-leik was the first to be excavated34. The pagoda had originally a single stairway on the N. side35, leading up to the šikha-niche in the *aṇḍa*. Here were found embedded a number of large oblong terracotta plaques, with tenons. They measure about 9 to 10 in. in height, 5 to 5 3/4 in. in

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32 See supra, Chapter VI, p. 105.
33 The main difference lies in the addition, at this point, of 3 new (7 old) Jātakas, viz. *Velāma* 497, *Mahāgovinda* 498, and *Sumedhappajjita* 499. This brings the total number of Jātakas up to 550, instead of the Singhalese 547. Even today, Burmans still speak of the ‘550 Jātakas’, never (I think) of the ‘547 Jātakas’.
34 See Taw Sein Ko’s ‘Excavation Plan,’ *A.S.I.* 1907, Pl. XLII, reproduced at our Pl. 94 b.
35 The East Hpet-leik also had originally a single stairway, but on its W. side. These stairways account for the lesser number of Jātaka-pocket available on these two faces than on the others. Both stairways are still there.
Chapter XIII

breadth, and 9 to 11 1/2 in. in depth, including the tenon. Five or more are still visible in situ, and three more at Pāgān Museum. Archaic in style (Pl. 95 b, c, d), they recall one of the chief features of Dwāravati Mon standing Buddhas, as noted by the late Pierre Dupont, namely that both hands execute the same mudrā. They show the Buddha standing with both large hands raised vertical from the elbow in vitaraka mudrā, between two tiers of adorants and a top tier of stupas. These plaques are so different from those of the Jātaka series, that one is sure they belong to an older structure, now encased in Aniruddha's. "The pagoda, as it stands", said Taw Sein Ko, its first excavator, "appears to have been added to from time to time. At one or two places, where the brickwork of the basement has broken away, mouldings of different patterns and of different periods can be traced beneath".

The sorry story of 'repairs' is told year by year in the archaeological reports. In 1907 Sir John Marshall, wise and enthusiastic, promised a subsidy "to enable the Executive Engineer to excavate completely" both pagodas, and "to conserve both structures on the lines indicated by him". In the same year excavations revealed the existence of vaulted corridors or ambulatories at both pagodas. The corridors are narrow and low, and the roof had fallen in on several sides; but enough remained, and still remains on the E. side of East Hpet-leik, to guide rebuilders, and the cost would not be high; but in the following year, we read, "a sloped terrace-roof of re-inforced concrete was constructed around the [West Hpet-leik] pagoda to afford protection to the tiles".

Duroiselle took over temporary charge in 1912, when the East Hpet-leik repairs were in progress. He joined Taw Sein Ko in deciding to "restore the building by reconstructing the ambulatory corridors... However, the Executive Engineer, Pakōkkú Division, suggested, from an economical point of view, roofs of reinforced concrete, as had been done in the case of the West Hpet-leik, thereby spoiling the latter, making it a hybrid building, half of the 11th and half of the 20th centuries, and therefore most ugly." Government agreed to Duroiselle's plan, and a rough estimate of only Rs. 6,326 was submitted, covering full repairs to this priceless pagoda. But there were delays; Taw Sein Ko resumed charge; and in 1915 a revised estimate was approved: "to restore the vaulted corridor on its eastern face; to construct a reinforced concrete roof on the remaining three faces;... and to cover up the reinforced concrete roof with loose brick, so as to detract from it the appearance of modernity".

Today, after less than half a century, the reinforced concrete roofs are beginning to break down. Fortunately it is not too late nor too difficult to repair our mistakes, abolish the reinforced concrete on both pagodas, rebuild the vaulted corridors on the East Hpet-leik pattern, and in saving two of Burma's principal monuments, to save Burma from ridicule and reproach.

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26 L'Archeologie Mone de Dwaraouti, Text p. 181. Plates figs. 373, 397, 404, 421, 425 to 455, 468 to 470, 515, 516.
27 Taw Sein Ko thought they represented "Dipaśkvara... prophesying that Suddhah and Sumitā, a flower-girl, would respectively become Prince Siddhattha and his wife, Yasodharā" (A.S.I. 1907, p. 127; cf. A.S.B. 1908, p. 11). - This was certainly a popular motif in Gandhāran art: but our plaque has little or nothing in common with the Gandhāran versions (see supra, Chapter IX, pp. 154-5).
28 A.S.B. 1908, p. 11. He points, also, to the varying breadth of the corridors: 3 ft. 3 in. on the east, 4 ft. on the three other faces. Here my measurements, taken at ground level, do not agree with his: East corridor 3 ft. 8 in.; North 3 ft. 10 in.; West 3 ft. 11 in.; South 3 ft. 9 in. - not very striking differences. The chief discrepancy I noted was at East Hpet-leik, South corridor, which is 4 ft. 4 in. wide at the S.E. corner, and 3 ft. 9 in. at the S.W.
29 A.S.B. 1907, p. 6.
30 ibid., p. 8.
31 A.S.B. 1908, p. 8.
32 A.S.B. 1913, p. 6. "The corridors, a greater part of which are still in good condition, should be restored" (ibid., p. 31). This does not agree with Taw Sein Ko's statement at A.S.B. 1915, p. 11.
33 A.S.B. 1915, p. 12.
HPET-LEIK JĀTAKA-PLAQUES

The present order of the Jātaka plaques on the west pagoda is chaotic. We may be sure that it was not so in Aniruddha's day. In 1915–16 it was decided to refix the loose plaques of the East Hpет-leik in their places, and "Maung Pe, Head Burmese Writer, was placed on this duty, which was discharged" says Taw Sein Ko, "satisfactorily". Saya Pe, it seems, made the important discovery that "the series begins at the first inner row at the S.E. corner, and proceeding northward encircles the core, till the second inner row is reached. The process is repeated till the 489th number is reached." - The direction therefore was anticlockwise. This is true of both pagodas. If the Department had acted on this principle, the plaque-order today, I am convinced, would approximate to the original arrangement. But the Department had already made spasmodic efforts at West Hpет-leik to arrange the plaques in the opposite, clockwise, direction.

Taw Sein Ko tells us that 151 plaques of West Hpет-leik were "found to be firmly fixed in their original position" - over three-fifths of the present total (240) on that pagoda. At East Hpет-leik we read that "171 entire plaques were found and 178 fragments". We are not told that the former were in situ, but probably most of them were, for if they fell, they broke. There are now only about 206 plaques, including fragments, on this pagoda. What has happened to the odd 143 fragments here, and the odd 29 fragments at West Hpет-leik, one can only guess. There is, obviously, still plenty of evidence about the original arrangement: our task is merely to disentangle it from the mistakes made by repairers. The latter, in general, would replace a fallen plaque in a tier near the point where it lay; but it might be the wrong tier, or in the wrong order, or on the wrong side of the corridor. More serious disorder was caused by the experts who tried (half-heartedly, one is glad to say) a new system of arrangement.

After trying to recover the original system from the written evidence, I asked Col. Ba Shin to join me in checking this on the spot. Owing to damage, especially at the corners, we were sometimes doubtful of the exact point where the face begins and ends; but allowing for such minor errors, we believe that, so far as the inner sides of the corridors are concerned, the following was the original arrangement: -

WEST HPET-LEIK

Inner side of corridor. Three tiers

Top tier: Jātakas 1 to 113. (Evidence meagre; distribution should be approximately as follows: - E. 1 to 30; N. 31 to 54; W. 55 to 84; S. 85 to 113.)

Middle tier: Jātakas 114 to 227. (Evidence meagre; distribution should be approximately as follows: - E. 114 to 143; N. 144 to 167; W. 168 to 197; S. 198 to 227.)

Bottom tier: Jātakas 228–340. (Evidence ample; distribution should be approximately as follows: - E. 228 to 257; N. 258 to 281; W. 282 to 311; S. 312 to 340.)

44 A.S.B. 1916, p. 11.
45 Contrast the Jātaka series of the Nanda, which starts at the S.W. corner of the lowest roof-terrace.
46 Witness West Hpет-leik, S. corridor, outer wall, lower tier.
47 A.S.B. 1908, p. 8. "118 had fallen down to the ground", he adds. "Of the latter, only 49 could be restored to their original places, the remaining 28 not being provided with niches in a consecutive order, and the balance, 41, remaining unidentified." The W. Hpет-leik total of plaques and fragments, therefore, was 151 + 118 = 269. Of these 240 are still there.
EAST HPET-LEIK

Inner side of corridor. Four tiers

Top tier: Jātakas 1 to 123. (E. 1 to 32; N. 33 to 63; W. 64 to 92; S. 93 to 123.)

2nd tier: Jātakas 124 to 245. (E. 124 to 154; N. 155 to 185; W. 186 to 214; S. 215 to 245.)

3rd tier: Jātakas 246 to 368. (E. 246 to 277; N. 278 to 308; W. 309 to 337; S. 338 to 368.)

Bottom tier: Jātakas 369 to 490. (E. 369 to 400; N. 401 to 431; W. 432 to 459; S. 460 to 490.)

Since the earlier Jātakas were in the upper rows, and had further to fall, these were inevitably the chief sufferers at both pagodas. Many more of the later Jātakas survive in fair condition. The order on the East Hpet-leik is clear, though these plaques, as a rule, are more fragmented than those on the West Hpet-leik. The credit is therefore largely due to Saya Pe’s careful and accurate work. At West Hpet-leik the ample evidence of the bottom tier enables us to be roughly sure about the distribution of the two upper ones.

The order on the outer side of the corridor is less evident. At East Hpet-leik our repairers seem to have used the S., W. and N. outer sides as a receptacle for fragments and misfits. Only 2 rows on one face were needed here, for the 60 or 61 remaining plaques to complete the series. It seems that these were lodged on the two tiers (outer wall) of the E. side, starting from the lower, and ending with the upper tier. It was probably Saya Pe⁴⁹ who first noticed that the last Jātaka, Vessantara, was allotted several plaques on East Hpet-leik. The third plaque from the end on the E. side, top tier, is probably Nārada Jātaka (No. 548). The next is blank. The last, presumably Vessantara, shows a rider on an elephant facing a king seated on a stool under an umbrella. Continuing on the S. side, we find a plaque (writing illegible) showing Vessantara, seated in his hermitage on the right, speaking to Jūjaka standing with a pole on the left, the two children kneeling between them. The next plaque, numbered ...550, shows Vessantara (the two children kneeling at his feet) pouring the water of dedication before a headless Jūjaka. On the next plaque, which has no writing, a king, seated in the centre, hands a longish object to a figure kneeling on the left. The two children are shown in tiers, with a stout figure on the right. Beyond, there is only the right side of a plaque, showing a robed woman (?) Maddi) standing near a tree. All these plaques have the number ‘550’ painted above them, presumably by Saya Pe.

The East Hpet-leik, in both tiers of the outer side of its W. corridor, has over a dozen plaques illustrating tortures in the hells (Pls. 117, 118). A few have legible glosses: saṅkha-muṇḍika, ‘shelltonsure, a kind of torture’ (P.T.S. Dictionary); tūṭṭhāṭa niriyan, ‘False Weights Hell’; sunakha niraṇya, ‘Dogs’ Hell,’ etc. – Such illustrations of Hell are rare at Pagan.

At the West Hpet-leik 210 plaques (Jātakas 341 to 550) still remain to be placed: the two tiers on the outer sides of the corridor have at least 213 pockets available. Evidence still extant on the E., N. and S. walls is compatible with the view that (approximately) Jātakas 341 to 454 were housed on the upper tier, and 455 to 550 on the lower tier. No. 550 is now astray on the top tier of the inner wall in the middle of the S. face. If this came originally from the lower tier of the opposite wall, it would indicate roughly where the original series ended.

⁴⁹ Saya Pe noticed the last of the East Hpet-leik plaques “representing king Vessantarā giving away his white elephant... The parapet walls of the western entrance are covered by plaques illustrating scenes in the Buddhist hell.” (A.S.B. 1916, p. 11).
But on the outer side of the outer wall on the East – the side to which Aniruddha clearly reoriented the approach to both pagodas – there is another, almost complete, series of the final Jātakas, from 493 onwards. They are not later additions; they include some of the best in the series; and they date, in their present location, from early Pagan days. This is proved by the fact (first discovered by Saya Mon Bo Kay’s sharp eye-sight) that where the original plaster on the wall around the Jātaka-pockets is intact, on the lower tier, it contains short glosses in Old Mon written above the plaques, summarizing their story. Some 14 of these Old Mon plaster-glosses still survive. I guess – it is little more than a guess – that Kyauzittha, eager as always to educate his people in Buddhism, removed a number of these splendid plaques from their original places in the lower tier of the dark corridor, and re-set them in the bright eastern wall \[80\], where they were bound to attract an inquisitive audience. Four of these (Nos. 493, 494, 496, 498) duplicate others still in their original places. They were probably taken from East Hpet-leik. The two pagodas adjoin one another; and there is no doubt that in the course of excavation the two series got sometimes confused \[81\]. This matters little, since both obviously come from the same workshop.

The plaques are approximately square: height generally 15 to 14 in., breadth 15 to 13 in.; thickness 3½ to 2 in. But there is a good deal of variation. To young ceramists at Pagan, the making of these Jātaka plaques meant good discipline in narrative art. To extract the gist of a long story in a foreign tongue, and then reduce and reproduce it on a panel 15 inches square, was a feat in itself. Of course they often failed. The wonder is how often they succeeded. And there is simple beauty in many of those which fail as narrative. There is nothing stilted, formal or exaggerated; and not overmuch that is conventional or repetitive. One would call them realistic, but for their constant simple dignity and grace. Calm, not dramatic nor theatrical, they tell their story and have done. Take the East Hpet-leik plaque of Paduma Jātaka \[82\] for example (Pl. 102 c). The title is neatly engraved along the top. The lotus tank is shown vertically down the centre, a full-blown lotus in each corner. The noseless guardian of the tank, elegantly coiffed, sits or kneels in the centre, holding a lotus. He faces the two snobs, sons of the rich man, on the left. Their cynical rudeness is shown by the way the leader thrusts his begging hand towards that sensitive face. The third, plain-spoken son, the Bodhisattva, stands on the other side, in pose of courteous address, his merit shown by the thin pedestal he stands on. All alike are simply clad in tasselled loincloths, their hair their only luxury. There is nothing here to spare, and nothing sanctimonious. The figures live and tell their tale with bare economy and grace.

The animals shown on these plaques are all delightfully natural: the little deer (Pl. 97 c), the monkeys (Pl. 103 c), horses (Pls. 97 d, 111 a), pigs, oxen (Pl. 103 d), crab, elephant (Pl. 103 b), snakes (Pl. 102 b, 116 c), barking dog (Pl. 113 c), lizard (Pl. 99 b), rhinoceros, hare, lion, buffalo, etc. (Pl. 105 d); and especially the birds: partridge (Pl. 105 b), ospreys (Pl. 110 a), cranes, crows, owls, wild geese, wild fowl (Pls. 106 c, d).

\[80\] Note that he did much the same with the Mahānipāta plaques at the Shwezigon (infra, p. 273).

\[81\] The West Hpet-leik has now 2 plaques illustrating each of the following Jātakas: 110, 296, 322, 447, 493, 494, 496, 498 (Mahāgovinda) and 513 (Ayogha). The East Hpet-leik has now 2 plaques illustrating each of the following Jātakas: 26, 54, 96, 257, 311, 382, and 401. The extra plaque in each case properly belongs to the other pagoda, where it is always missing, except (possibly) 110.

\[82\] See Pl. 102 c. A.S.B. 1913, Pl. II 4. Duroiselle, alert as always to artistic merit, was the first to note the beauty of this plaque.
Where did this delightful art originate? – It is seen in embryo in the Shweghsandaw plaques at Pagan Museum (Pls. 86, 87); and is generally supposed (I think rightly) to have come with coastal Mon artists, after the capture of Thaton. It has little in common with the coarse vigour of Paharpur plaques in N.E. Bengal[83], and little or nothing with the highly sophisticated terracottas of West Bengal[84]. Is it a native Mon art, based on early wood-carving? Or is it rather, or also, a legacy from the Andhra artists of Kalinga, who seem to have taught the coastal people their early sculpture, and spread their noble three-dimensional art as far as Barabudur?

As stupas, the East Hpet-leik is larger than the West, in height, girth and breadth at the base. Both have a tall double-banded ṛṭḍa, not at all bell-like, with śikharā-niches at the four points of the compass. Above the ṛṭḍa, West Hpet-leik has a recessed and indented harmikā and strong tapering cone of chattrāvali. East Hpet-leik has a similar conical chattrāvali, above an enormous cubic harmikā. The latter outdoes the Singhalese. Is it really original?

Aniruddha’s work (if we may attribute it to the king) in enclosing the base of the pagodas with squared corridors, had the effect of changing the frontage of both, from North or West to East. Probably at a later date, mandāpas were added on the east of each. A broad oblong brick structure (Pl. 96 c, d) was built against East Hpet-leik, with high wooden roof now lost. It has large corbeled niches for images in the side and outer walls, amid a flat-roofed passage leading to the E. corridor. At West Hpet-leik a sort of ‘front-projection’ (Old Burm. ṣu-thwak) was added, floored with brick and supported on wooden posts, whose round brick bases are still visible 11 ft. E. of the corridor-wall. This ṣu-thwak, it seems, was destroyed by fire. Taw Sein Ko mentions “the approach to the entrance lined with stone and masonry figures of a Deer and Dragon, fragments of which were found”[85]. – These must be the crouching stone deer (or bull?) and the stone lion-head now leaning against the W. steps of East Hpet-leik. The latter – not unlike the Shwegzigon stone lions (Pl. 177), and the older terracotta one at Waw, Kyonitu[86] – has a square mouth, a mane, two beard-tassels, and a collar with bells suspended.

SHWÉ-ZIGÓN PAGODA (Pls. 169–183)

The next moment in stupa-building comes near the beginning of Kyansitha’s reign, say 1086 A.D., with the building of Shwegzigon, 112 ft. high. This fixes the Norm (there will, of course, be exceptions and developments) for the large Burma stupa of the Pagán period, down to the Mingalazedi of the mid-13th century: – one octagonal terrace holding the large round double lotus-bed of the stupa proper; a bell-shaped ṛṭḍa with single band; no square harmikā above, but slowly tapering chattrāvali, straight-lined in profile, ending in the small Ḧmalaka and double-lotus clasping the finial; at the base, three square terraces crossed with median flights of steps – terraces lined with green terracotta plaques in pockets along the waist; the top terrace corners, where space allows, filled with models of the central stupa, the others with peaked jars or stupa-pinnacles.

83 See, e.g., A.S.I. 1926, Pls. LII to LIV.
84 See O. C. Gangoly, Indian Terracotta Art (A. Goswami, Rupa & Co., Calcutta, 1950), Pls. 9 to 50.
85 Cf. A.S.B. 1916, Pl. III 2, before repairs; and Pictorial Guide . . ., p. 61, after repairs.
86 A.S.B. 1908, p. 12.
87 A.S.I. 1937, Pl. XXXIII b, and p. 82.
Kyanzittha, who built it, called it Nirbhāna-mūla-bajra-parya-mahāceti, "the great Cetiya, Circle of Adamant, Nirvāṇa's root." He liked to prefix his works of merit with the word Nirvāṇa, implying (I imagine) that he was no longer in the Mahāyāna fold (which regarded Nirvāṇa as a sort of opium for the masses), but a Theravādin with Nirvāṇa as his declared goal. If this is right, the Shwèzigon marks the final break with Mahāyānism, and stands as the first great monument of the Reformed Church in Burma.

It was built, he says, "on the site named JAYABHŪMĪ, north-east of the city of Pagān". The name 'Zigōn', now written cañ:khun, is an old corruption of the original name, Jayabhūmi, 'Land of Victory', i.e. Auspicious Site. The stages of the corruption of the name are shown on the north face of Pillar II of Kyanzittha's own inscription at the site. The four-line Mon inscription written, doubtless by his grandson Cañsū I, immediately below the four faces of this pillar, names the pagoda Jeyabhun. Immediately below this, on the north face, is a five-line old Burmese inscription, dated either 611 or 617 s./1250 or 1256 A.D. Here the name is written Cañkhun. Cañ is the normal Old Burmese form of Pali jaya, 'victory'. The change from bhun to kheun probably came by misreading, through an intermediate *guñ, the letters g and bh being often indistinguishable.

The Chronicles say that the pagoda was built to enshrine the Frontlet-relic removed by Aniruddha from Dwattabaung's ceti at Śrī Kṣetra (probably the Bawbaw-gyi, where plaques signed by Aniruddha are found); also the Tooth-relic duplicate supplied by the king of Ceylon. They attribute the building of the three terraces to Aniruddha in 421 s./1059–60 A.D., and only its completion to Kyanzittha. But there is no hint of this in Kyanzittha's original inscription—the two great pillars, still in situ on either side of the approach to the East Gate. It contains no mention of Aniruddha in all its eight long faces of Old Mon. Large extracts from it have been given in translation supra, in Chapters II, III and IV. The inscription is not dated; but as it gives the final version of the Kyanzittha legend and the Buddha's prophecy concerning him, it should come after the second version, 1098 A.D. We may date it provisionally c.1102 A.D. A fragmentary replica of the inscription, once set up at the Palace-site near Tharaba Gate, is now at Pagān Museum.

The pagoda may be sixteen years or more older than the inscription. The name of the pagoda and the site, as quoted above, comes at the top of another inscription, No. VIII, set up at Præme Shwé-
hsandaw pagoda\textsuperscript{70}. Here, near the end of his life, Kyawzitta lists the chief events of his reign, very likely in chronological order. If so, the building of Shwézigôn comes near the beginning, immediately preceding his revision of the Tipiṭaka. The name Jeyabhūm occurs once again, in a fragmentary passage of his palace-inscription\textsuperscript{71}. This mentions "the palace of Jeyabhūm". – I take this to refer to a temporary palace near the pagoda – possibly the enclosed cave-site S.W. of it, still called "Kyawzitta Ónmin"\textsuperscript{72}, – occupied by the king, either when he was building the Shwézigôn, or while his new palace, within the walls of Pagán, was being built. This new palace, we know, was building in 1101–2 A.D.

SHWÉZIGÔN JĀTAKA-PLAQUES

One way of checking the date of the pagoda, is to note the numbering of the later Jātakas\textsuperscript{73}, as shown on the three lowest terrace-plints. Does the Shwézigôn follow the earlier, 550-Jātaka recension, as found in the two Hpet-leik series? Or the later Singhalese, 547-Jātaka recension, as adopted by Kyawzitta (no doubt as a result of his revision of the Tipiṭaka) in the Nanda series, c. 1105 A.D.? The short answer is that he followed both and neither; and, in consequence, there was an egregious muddle. The Shwézigôn plaques are usually difficult to read, and sometimes impossible to identify. To be just to Kyawzitta, we must first eliminate all later muddles, and discover the original arrangement. A few years ago, six members of the Burma Historical Commission spent a week reading the writings, and trying to get at the original pattern. It was not easy. The following is my provisional summary of the evidence collected.

Kyawzitta followed the Hpet-leik numbering and arrangement of the last ten Jātakas (Mahānipāta), thus\textsuperscript{74}: –

541. Temiya
544. Nemī
545. Mahosatha
546. Caktikumā
547. [Bhūridatta]
548. Nāraṇa
549. Vidhura and Vidhuraṇḍita (2 plaques)
550. Vessanta (3 numbered plaques, plus 4 scenes)

\begin{align*}
541 & \text{ = Singhalese 538 Mūga-pakkha.} \\
544 & \text{ = "" 541 Nimi.} \\
545 & \text{ = "" 546 Mahā-ummagga.} \\
546 & \text{ = "" 542 Khāṇḍhahāla.} \\
547 & \text{ = "" 543 Bhūridatta.} \\
548 & \text{ = "" 544 Mahānāradakassapa.} \\
549 & \text{ = "" 545 Vidhuraṇḍita.} \\
550 & \text{ = "" 547 Vessantara.}
\end{align*}

For the critical numbers 497 to 540, he does not follow the Hpet-leik. He usually, but by no means always, follows the Singhalese numbering, thus (I give the Singhalese number first, then the readings on the plaques): –

513. Jayaddisa 513(3).

\textsuperscript{70} Inscr. No. VIII. Epig. Birm. I, II, pp. 153–168. For my discussion of this inscription, see supra, Chapter IV, pp. 59–64.
\textsuperscript{73} It will be recalled that the numbering of both recensions is the same up to and including Jātaka 496, where the older recension inserts Vellāma 497, Mahāgovinda 498 and Samedhapāṇḍita 499.
\textsuperscript{74} See Shwézigôn, top Jātaka plinth, E. face, from centre to S.E. corner.
514. (Chaddanta) 514 (2 plaques).
517. Dakarakh(ka)pañha 517. Another plaque: Dakarakhasa-pan(h)a 519.
518. Pañjara 518 (2 plaques).
521. Tesaguna 521, Tesakuna (521), Tesakuna . . . (3 plaques).
522. Sarabhanga 522 (2 plaques).
523. Alambusa 523.
525. Culasutatoma 525.
532. (Sonananda) 53(2).
534. Mahaha(n)sa 534.
And several others, more doubtful. The variants do not stand alone. There are 5 main types of variation found on Shwezigon plaques:—

(i) The number One behind the Singhalese (I put the Singhalese number first):
   265. Khurappa 264.
   394. Vattaka 39(3).
   398. Sutanu 39(7).
   402. Sattusbasta 401.
   407 Mahakapi 40(6).
   414. Jagara 41(3).
   416. Parantapa 415.
   419. Sulasa 418. Another plaque: 419.
   420. Sumanga 419. Another plaque 42(0).
   439. Catudvura 438.
   449. Mathikudali 448.
   457. Dhammadeputta 456.
   464. Culakudala 463.
   476. Javanahansa 475.
   500. Siriminda 499.

(ii) The number One in advance of the Singhalese:—
   231. (Upaha)na 232.
   233. Vikanachaka 234.

(iii) The number Two behind the Singhalese:—
   494. Sadhina 492 (2 plaques).
(iv) The number *Two in advance of the Sinhalese:* –

(v) The number *Twenty or more in advance of the Sinhalese:* –
483. [Sarabhamaiga]. *Sarabha* 503.
484. [Sālikedāra]. *Suvaka* 5(0)4.
485. *Candakinnara* 5(0)5.
487. *U(dā)la* 507. Other plaques: 48(6), 487.
488. *Bhisa* 508.
489. *Suruci* 5(0)9.
492. *Tacchasukhara* 512.
496. *Bhikkhapparampara* 516.

There are a good many duplicate and a few triplicate plaques, for some of the middle and later Jātakas (none, I think, on the ground plinth). They are not facsimiles, but appear to be made by rival workshops; the rough handwriting of the glosses at the bottom is easily distinguished. These duplicates are sometimes found side by side on the terraces, but sometimes wide apart; and often the Jātaka-numbering differs. I list them below, indicating their position and numbers (Middle or Top terrace; N., S., E., or W. face; pocket-number counted clockwise from the corner or centre of the face): –

234. Asitābhu. – *Asitābhūta* 234 (Middle E. 9th from centre). *Asitābhūta* 235 (Middle E. 3rd from centre).


278. Mahisa. – *Mahisa* 2(78). *Mahisa* (27)8 (Middle S. 22nd and 23rd from corner).

283. Vāḍhakī-sūkara. – .. *sukara* 283 (Middle S. 4th from centre). *Vāḍhakīsūkara* 283 (Top E. 3rd from corner).

313. Khantivādi. – *Khantivādi* 313 (Middle N. 12th from corner). *Khantivādi* 313 (Middle W. 9th from corner).


318. Kaṇavera. – *Kanavira* 3(1)(8) (Middle W. 14th from corner). *K(ana)vira* 3(39) (Middle W. 12th from corner).

330. Silavimahsa. – *Silavimañsa* 330 (Middle W. 5th from centre). *Silavimañsa* (33)0 (Middle W. 17th from corner).

336. Brahāchatta. – *Brahāchatta* 3.. (Middle W. 9th from centre). *B(rahā)chatta* 3(36) (Top N. 9th from centre).

362. Silavimahsa. – *Silavimañsa* 362 (Middle N. 9th from corner). .. *vimañsa* (3)6. (Middle N. 10th from corner).

363. Hiri. – *Hiri* 363 (Middle N. 11th from corner). *(Hiri) 4*(Middle W. 19th from corner).

365. Ahigundika. – *Ahigundika* 365 (Middle N. 16th from corner). *Ahigundika* 365 (Top E. 10th from corner).
382. Sirikālakaṇṇī. – Kālakaṇṇī 38(2) (Middle N. 24th from corner). (Si)rīlakaṇṇī (3) . (Middle N. 6th from centre).

415. Kummāsapīṇḍa. – Kummāsapīṇḍa 414 (Middle E. 14th from corner). Kummāsapīṇḍa 415 (Top E. 11th from centre).

418. Āṭṭhasadda. – (Atthasadda) 41(7) (Middle E. 17th from corner). Addhasadda 418 (Top S. 4th from corner).

419. Sulasā. – Sulasā 418 (Middle E. 18th from corner). Sul(la)sa 41(9) (Middle E. 13th from corner).

420. Sumaṅgala. – Sumaṅgala 419. Suma ... 42(0) (Middle E. 19th and 20th from corner).


481. Takkāriya. – Takkāriya 481. Takkāriya 481 (Top S. 11th and 14th from centre).

482. Ruru. – Rurumīga 482. Rurumīga 482 (Top S. 15th and 16th from centre).


491. Mahāmora. – Mahāmora 490 ... 490 (Top W. 2nd and 3rd from corner). Mahāmora 51(1) (Top N. 20th from corner).

494. Sādhīna. – (Sādhī)na 492. Sādhīna 492 (Top W. 6th and 13th from corner).

498. Cittasambhūta. – Cittasambhūta 498 (Top W. 11th from corner). Cittasambhūta 520 (Top W. 10th from centre).

514. Chaddanta. – (Chad)dha(nta) 514 . . . 514 (Top W. 5th and 6th from centre).

517. Dakarakhhasa. – Dakarakhhasa 519 (Top W. 15th from corner). Dakarakhhasa 517 (Top N. 17th from centre).

518. Paṇḍara. – Paṇḍara 518 (Top W. 8th from centre). Paṇḍara 518 (Top N. 16th from corner).

521. Tesakunā. – Tesakunā (521). Tesakunā 521 (Top W. 13th and 17th from centre). Tesakunā . . . (Top N. 7th from corner).

522. Sarabhaṅga. – Sarabhaṅga 522. Sarabhaṅga 522 (Top W. 12th and 14th from corner).

545. Vidhurapanaṇḍita. – Vidhura 549. Vidhura 549. Vidhurapanaṇḍita ... (Top E. 9th and 16th from centre).

547. Vessantara. Ve ... 550. (Vessantara) 550. (Ve)ssa(nta) 550. (Top E. 10th, 17th, 18th from centre).

The Shwézigón Jātaka-plaque is more oblong than the Hpet-leik: much the same in breadth (14¼ inches), but not quite so high (13¾ inches). There is beading all round the plaque, and a ledge near the bottom separating the carving from the writing. The latter is rough: not elegant like that of the Hpet-leik. Like the Hpet-leik, it gives merely the name and number of the Jātaka. As distinct from Hpet-leik, the plaques are all glazed. Some are even made of stone. When Colonel Ba Shin pointed this out to our pottery expert, U Kyaw Nyein, he was amazed, and thought it unique. He noticed, however, that the stone was badly crazed: which indicates that the optimum adjustment of temperature in firing between glaze and stone had not been achieved. Glazed stone is also found later at Htilominlo; but Kyanzittha was apparently dissatisfied with his Shwézigón experiment, and reverted to terracotta in the glazed tiles of the Nanda.

If the Glass Palace Chronicle is to be believed, this great pagoda, the Shwézigón, was “rebuilt and finished in seven months and seven days” (p. 109). If so, the work was rushed: and this partly
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pockets</th>
<th>Plaques</th>
<th>Blanks</th>
<th>Jātakas Expected</th>
<th>JāTAKA-NUMBERS IN ORDER AS FOUND (Plaques in situ in heavy type; badly misplaced, in italics; foreign plaques omitted)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ground Plinth</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>EAST.</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1–29</td>
<td>6, 9, 11, 13, 34, (15), (16), 50.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centre to S. E. Corner.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SOUTH. S. E. Corner to Centre.</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>30–58</td>
<td>36, 37, 43, 52.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOUTH. Centre to S. W. Corner.</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>59–87</td>
<td>60, 63, (6†), 85.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEST. S. W. Corner to Centre.</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>88–116</td>
<td>(97), 101, (104), 106.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEST. Centre to N. W. Corner.</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>117–145</td>
<td>107, 118, 139.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NORTH. N. W. Corner to Centre.</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>146–174</td>
<td>(196), 152, 164, 16†, 167, 171, 172.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NORTH. Centre to N. E. Corner.</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>175–203</td>
<td>187, (198).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAST. N. E. Corner to Centre.</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>204–232</td>
<td>204, (210), 219, 220, 23(7), 23(1).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>232</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>112</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Middle Plinth</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>EAST. Centre to S. E. Corner.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>233–257</td>
<td>234, 235, 2††, 232, 191, 239, 243, 244, (236), 247, 252, 253.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEST. Centre to N. W. Corner.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>332–356</td>
<td>328, 33(0), 33†, 330, 333, (335), (336), 339, 34†, 348, 343, (258).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Total</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>WEST. S. W. Corner to Centre.</strong></td>
<td>25 13 12</td>
<td>307-331</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WEST. Centre to N. W. Corner.</strong></td>
<td>25 20 5</td>
<td>332-356</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>NORTH. N. W. Corner to Centre.</strong></td>
<td>24 22 2</td>
<td>357-380</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NORTH. Centre to N. E. Corner.</strong></td>
<td>24 19 5</td>
<td>381-404</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EAST. N. E. Corner to Centre.</strong></td>
<td>25 20 5</td>
<td>405-429</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>197 152 45</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Top Plinth</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
explains the muddle. And it seems to have been Kyanziththa’s first attempt at pagoda-building. Supervision and co-ordination must have been faulty. But Kyanziththa’s later temples, Nagayôn and Nanda, were built with meticulous care. There is evidence in the Nanda to show that he would not hesitate to reject anything below standard. Personally, I believe that the Shwézigôn muddle stemmed less from carelessness or neglect on the king’s part, than from sheer ignorance of the Jātaka Canon. The Ceylon manuscripts had only recently arrived, and Rājakumâr’s revision (if I am right in thinking that the work was placed under him) was only just started. Kyanziththa had decided, in principle, to substitute the Sinhalese Canon for that used by Aniruddha: but for the time being he had to depend on miscellaneous copies and conflicting texts from Thatôn (?). The muddle would not have occurred if he had followed Aniruddha’s method, of assigning the work to a single reputable and unhurried workshop. But Kyanziththa was more democratic, and, like most military men, he was in a hurry. As at the Nanda, he appears to have called for specimens from various workshops, each working from manuscripts with a different numbering. Unable to decide which was right, and which wrong, he played for safety by including all the variants. This made for speed in building; but commercialized the whole process of plaque-making, and degraded it from art to journey-work.

As was usual, he started his series from the centre of the E. face of the ground plinth. That plinth has 58 pockets for plaques on each face, 29 on each half-face, 232 altogether. 112 of these are now empty; and a good many that are there, are intrusive and not original. An interesting old one (Pl. 175 f.) on the W. face, 4th from the N.W. corner, reads: kassapamandjât 1312. This is clearly an intruder from Hpet-leik. If we number these pockets 1 to 232, we can check them against the Jātaka plaques with legible names or numbers. On the page opposite we give our summary of the evidence on the three plinths. It is only on the Ground Plinth that one can be really fair to the evidence. Here there are no duplicates, and no important differences in numbering. Some 26 plaques (numbers shown in heavy type) are exactly in situ; there may be a few more if one looks closer at the details and allows for minor displacements. The evidence, if not ample, is sufficient, I think, to prove that the suggested arrangement is correct. Note, incidentally, the interesting variant name for No. 118, Vaṭṭaka Jātaka – Cintâphala, i.e. the Cittaphala ‘Thought-fruit’, of the gâthâ.

In the Middle Plinth, while the evidence proves abundantly that the suggested arrangement is not far wrong, one cannot say for certain that it is right. What with duplicate plaques and variant Jātaka numbers, confusion enters and gets rapidly worse. The column ‘Jātakas expected’ gives the arrangement as it would have been, had these numbers been invariable and one pocket assigned to each. It will be seen that the tendency gradually increases for ‘actuals’ to lag behind ‘expected’ numbers; and little effort is any longer made to arrange the plaques in serial order, provided the numbers come fairly close together.

Of the 8 lines devoted to the Top Plinth, in lines (vii) and (viii) muddle has passed into morass. Line (ii) may be the sequel to the Middle Plinth. If 540 is to be reached at the end of line (vi), the natural divisions would approximately be: – Line (ii), 436–456; Line (iii), 457–477; Line (iv), 478–498; Line (v), 499–519; Line (vi), 520–540. Line (i) (East face), instead of following on from the Middle Plinth, gives the last Ten Jātakas in good Hpet-leik order: – 541, blank, blank, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550. The East face is the main face; and Kyanziththa may have wanted the Mahânipâta shown here, just as, at West Hpet-leik, I guess it was he who brought out to the front Aniruddha’s final plaques, previously hidden in the lower row at the back.
It was, I suspect, Kyanzitha’s own deep consciousness of muddle due to ignorance, which drove him to the conclusion that a thoroughgoing revision of Tipiṭaka texts was urgently necessary, if he was not to lead his people into a morass of conflicting detail and consequent heresy. It was this revision which finally aligned him, and with him Burma, firmly on the side of Singhalese Mahāvihāra tradition.

FOOTPRINTS, COLOSSAL BRONZES, STONE LIONS, WOODEN DOOR

A large stupa at Pagán did not usually stand alone. If it does today, one suspects that it once had at least one covered building made of perishable materials, now lost. Sometimes, as at Shwéhsandaw, there are detached gandhakūṣi built of vaulted brick at the axial points, with Buddha images for worship in stone, bronze or brick; sometimes carved wooden doorways; stone Footprints of the Buddha; shrines for ‘Nats’ or Devas; stone inscriptions; and massive lions in stone or brick guarding the approaches.

All these, and more, are to be found at Shwézigūn. One of the stone Footprints is shown at Pl. 93 a. They are in the ‘tazaung’ N.E. of the N. gandhakūṣi, marked G on the site-plan (Pl. 170 b). In the four grand gandhakūṣi, stand four colossal bronze Buddhas, glorious images, modelled on the colossal Gupta image of Sultāngaṇī, now in Birmingham Museum (Coomarawamy describes it as made of “copper over earthy core, 7 ft. 6 in.”)78. The Shwézigūn bronzes (Pl. 173) are taller: 12 to 13 ft. high, excluding the lotus pedestal. Each Buddha stands with right hand raised from the elbow in abhayamudrā. The left hand is held out level from the elbow, holding, or as if holding, the lapel of the robe. The hands, as one sees them today, are probably not original; the feet, in one instance, are of stone. The bronze is thin; one would like to know the chemical analysis.

To Duroiselle we owe the rediscovery, in 1922, of two of the finest subsidiary features of Shwézigūn: the two stone Lions at the far end of the West approach (Pl. 177); and the carved wooden Door, formerly in the N. gandhakūṣi (Pls. 178–182). He first reported as follows78: — “Two figures of Lions in stone placed on pedestals ... were found in fragments carelessly pieced together and in a neglected state ... They still look, in their bad state of preservation, as works of no mean order. The manes are carefully delineated, and the nose and mouth are finely sculptured. They form ... the earliest figures of lions in the round that are now extant at Pagán77. They are contemporaneous with the pagoda itself ... With a view to have the fragments pieced together properly, I saw the Chairman of the Trustees of the said pagoda, and ... asked him to have them carefully preserved.”78.

The North Lion stands 4 ft. 9 in. high, without the pedestal, and 4 ft. 6 in. long. As for the South Lion, Col. Ba Shin reports as follows: — “Broken pieces ... are still to be found in two groups in the field immediately S. of the approach. The stone plinth on which the Lion sat, the broken head, the fore and hind parts are there; and if these pieces can be put together, I think it may be possible to restore the Lion in its old position, perhaps with some parts missing ...”

79 Duroiselle, A.S.B. 1923, pp. 12–13, and Pl. II, figs. 2 and 3.
77 Duroiselle forgets the lion-head at the Hpet-leik (supra, p. 287), which should be older.
78 Note that the Chronicles also make special mention of the Lions, but get their orientation wrong: — “Sakra with his own hand began and finished the Lion-figures at the S.E. corner” (U Kala, Vol. I, p. 217; Hmannan (Susodhita ed.), I p. 289; G.P.C. transl. p. 109).
Duroiselle also spoke to the Chairman of the Trustees "about the conservation of a wooden door found in a temple on the N. side ..., which appears to me to be very old and almost contemporaneous with the pagoda itself. The door itself, which is formed of two leaves each measuring 13 ft. 2 in. in height by 3 ft. in breadth, is of simple design. It is formed of vertical pieces of boards or battens rebated and held together by cross braces and horizontal struts. But the interest lies in the carvings on the outer surface ... These carvings ... are among the earliest that are now extant at Pagán, of which only a few examples remain. They consist of scrollwork of floral design and roses within beaded borders of a bold type, with quaint figures of men and women, some dancing and others playing on musical instruments, placed at the ... junctions between the horizontal and vertical pieces of the frame. They are carved on separate pieces of wood and framed on the door from outside, forming panels ... Compared with the stolid stone figures belonging to the same period, they are full of life and activity ... This door is a unique piece of work, and with a little care and trouble it may yet be preserved for a long time to come. All that will be required of the Trustees is to have it earth-oiled once or twice a year, to see that no candles are lighted near it, and that it is kept free from white ants."

Duroiselle went further. He got his artists to take photographs of the Lions, and measured drawings of the Door, and most of the figures on it. These we are privileged to reproduce (Pls. 178–182). How much attention was paid to his simple requests by the Pagoda Trustees, is shown by a comparison between these drawings (1922) and our photographs of the door (1960, Pl. 182 b to f). The door was removed from the N. gandhakusî, placed on its side in the dust in an annexe of the S. gandhakusî, and left to the mercy of the insects.

'NAT'-WORSHIP

The Shwézigôn is the most 'national', of all Burma's pagodas. A score of original inscriptions are distributed in various parts of the site, covering most periods of the Burman's history. Why has it always been so loved and venerated? For even a foreigner, mixing in the crowd of worshipers on holy days, is soon made conscious of the fact. The Shwézigôn is indeed a grand, a glorious pagoda; but there are others at Pagán just as fine aesthetically, and others far more purely Buddhist, sounding a deeper note of spirituality. – I suggest that this special feeling for the Shwézigôn goes back to its origin. Kyanzittha, like Aniruddha, was bent above all things on propagating the Religion. There are two main ways of propagating any religion. One – which we may call the Clovis method – is by sudden Conversion: "What I loved, I hate. What I hated, now I love." The other is to admit the old gods to pay service to the new, and so induce gradual transfer of devotion from the one to the other. Kyanzittha's policy was the latter. His method here is obvious. On the main platform of the pagoda, near the S.W. corner (F on the Site-plan), is a shrine containing two 'Nat' images in gilded stone, one placed high above the other (Pl. 176 c, d). They are sea-spirits called by the strange name: 'Apha-htet-thâ-tâ-la-gyi', "Son one month older than the Father". Daw Khwe Ma, 'Nat-htein' of the shrine, told Col. Ba Shin the story as follows: –

"When the building of Shwézigôn was complete, the king, by means of his magic wand Arindama, summoned the spirits of the sea. The Nats Shwé Myo Zin and Shwé Zagá, father and son, and the Broker Nat, Pwè-min-gyi U Né Dun, came up to Pagán from the south. On the way, the father Shwé Myo Zin and the Broker Nat had to break their journey in order to attend a conference of spirits; so
they sent Shwé Zagá ahead of them to Pagán. After the conference they followed up, arriving at Pagán just one month later. The king had summoned the Nats with a view to accommodate them within the precincts of the pagoda, so that they might act as guardians of the Religion. As Shwé Zagá arrived first, he was given a higher position and a higher shrine. The late-comers were given a status lower than Shwé Zagá, who was thus one month senior to his father in service of the king and the Religion. The father was given a seat lower than the son, but on a platform in the same shrine. The Broker Nat was given a separate shrine on ground-level."

The Thirty-Seven Nats, still powerful in men’s minds today, are assigned a long chapel (E on the Site-plan) within the outer wall of the enclosure, between the E. entrance and the S.E. corner. In the E. sanctum of the same building stands the Lord of the Spirits, the Bo-bo-gyi Nat, heavily gilded, dowdily loaded with votive shawls and garments. Under these, one discovers an ancient wooden image of Sakka or Indra, king of the Sakrā Devas (Pl. 176 a, b). He stands facing west, 8 ft. 8 in. high from feet to top of crown. He wears a fine loincloth with kirtimukha pattern and bead tassels. The long left hand hanging at his side may hold the Vajra (?). The right arm, bent upwards at the elbow, holds perhaps the Conch (?). The feet have been repaired.

Other Devas in stone, ten-handed, 6 ft. 10 in. high, stand on guard as Dvārapālas on each side of the S. Gate (Pl. 176 e, f). They are passing, slowly but steadily, out of the world of Indian Devas into that of Burmese Nats: plain evidence and symbol of popular Buddhism in Burma. It cannot be called a high form of the Religion; but it is a living one.

MIN-O-CHANThA, ’Happiness of the Old King’ (Pl. 263)

The name is given to a line of five similar stupas, graded in height along a natural ridge running north and south, ¾ mile N.E. of the Nanda. The Chronicles79, after mention of Kyanzittha’s building of Nanda, continue: − “When he had built these works of merit, nine holy relics of the Lord’s Body arrived from the Ceylon king. He built a ‘pāhto’ and called it Min-o-chantha.” Duroiselle comments80: − “It was built during the reign of king Kyanzittha . . . by, tradition has it, his own son Rājakumār, for the restoration of his old father’s health, hence its name.” In the ‘tazaung’ on the W. side of the main stupa, there are two gilded stone images of the Earth-touching Buddha that may well have come from the original Nanda workshop. Perhaps, then, we may date the building of the Min-o-chantha group c. 1110 A.D., between the building of Nanda (c. 1105) and Kyanzittha’s death (1113 A.D.).

The five stupas follow the norm. They are set on platforms varying in height, but with a common base and walled enclosure surrounding them. The tallest, in the centre, is approached only from the west, up three flights of steps: height 42¾ ft. above the top terrace, 53½ ft. above the enclosure base. The first flight takes one to the level of the broad enclosure and its wall. The second plinth has pockets for plaques and a crenellated top, and only a narrow terrace. This plinth separates the central stupa from its two neighbours, which are about 10 ft. lower. The third plinth has a parapet of perforated brick. The top terrace is a wide one, commanding a fine view towards the east. The crenellated terrace here drops sheer down to the enclosure. Each of the five stupas has a ‘bell’ with central band, and

80 Duroiselle, A.S.J. 1922, pp. 35–36 and Pl. XIX a.
gradual tapering *chatrāvāli*, up to the āmalaka-lotus and ‘plantain-bud’ finial. They have recently been whitewashed; so the details of the old carving have been ruined. At the N. stupa was found a Burmese stone inscription\(^81\), doubtfully dated 542–3 s./1180–82 A.D., recording death-bed gifts of slaves and rice-fields by the ministers *Caṅsaṅghā* and the Hon.’ble *Caṅkray*. The wooden roofing over the main stairway, perhaps a century old, used to show interesting carvings of monkeys, etc., and rows of large nude figures, male and female, facing each other across the stairs. These have now been removed.

**Sin’-pāhto, ‘Glazed Pagoda’ (Pl. 258 c)**

This medium-sized stupa (height about 50 ft.; breadth at square base about 64 ft.) stands a few yards W. of Alōpyi’s temple, S.E. of Htilominlo. The Burmese ink inscription in the Alōpyi’, dated 556 s./1194 A.D.\(^82\), records a dedication in the presence of the “chief monk (saṅkhī) of Can puṭ’uwa”, i.e. Sin’-pāhto, “*Nā Cuit San’*. – I should date it provisionally near the beginning of the 12th century A.D.

Only the top part of the pagoda still shows glaze – the strong-banded ‘bell’ and the *chatrāvāli*. It is broken at the top. At the base are two bold receding terraces, deeply recessed with a broad central panel, large enough to admit Jātaka plaques, but without pockets for them. A plain steep stairway runs up the centre of each face. Low crenelles edge the top of the terraces, with small stupas at the lower corners, and larger ones above set in the spaces left by the top octagonal terrace. The stairs lead on up this to the narrow round top-terrace below the ‘bell’, which may once have had the ring of double lotus, no longer visible at the base. There is no stonework at the corners.

The Sin’-pāhto follows the norm closely.

**Sō-min-gyi Stupa (Pls. 259–262 bis)**

The date of this great stupa is open to question. It stands S.W. of Ngaṇyôn, about a furlong S. of Abêyadana, on the W. side of the road. Its position not far from the river, in the neighbourhood of early temples and pagodas, its distinctive character, fine workmanship and magnificent glazed work, suggest to me a date near the beginning of the 12th century A.D. But what of the name?

A Burmese stone inscription dated 566 s./1204–5 A.D.\(^83\), records dedications by “*Cuiw Maṅ (Sō-min)*, daughter of *Pyamkhī*.” Pyamkhī, probably a son of Caṅsū II by queen Vaṭaṅśikā, perished, it seems, in a rebellion at the time of Nāṭoimyā’s accession in 1211 A.D. Pyamkhī’s son fled to Tavoy, but was allowed to return to Pagan on payment of a heavy fine\(^84\). Another inscription\(^85\), dated 603–4 s./1241–2 A.D., at Letputkan temple, Minanthu, records perhaps a deathbed dedication by “*Cuiw Maṅ*, granddaughter of Lady *Phwā ḫrī*” (Klacwā’s grandmother?). If the builder of the great stupa Sō-min-gyi (‘the elder Sō-min’?) is the same as the lady (or ladies?) of these inscriptions, it will have to be dated at least a generation after the end of our period. But perhaps ‘Sō-min’ was merely a title for a senior queen

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\(^82\) *I.B.*, Pl. IV 367 a\(^*\), 556 s./1194 A.D.

\(^83\) *I.B.*, Pl. I 272, 19 *cuiw maṅ pyamkhī smī*, 566 s./1204–5 A.D. Now Stone 14 at Pagan Museum. Found at Mahābodhi temple, Pagan (perhaps originally from the river-bank to the north-west?).

\(^84\) See *I.B.*, Pls. I 42\(^14\); II 186\(^1\).

\(^85\) *I.B.*, Pl. II 148 a\(^*\) (603 s./1241 A.D.), b\(^*\) (604 s./1242–3 A.D.).
or princess. The Archaeological Department (I know not on what evidence) dates the building of Sōmin-gyi pagoda in 1218 A.D. 86.

This large and lofty stupa was once as high as it is broad at the base – about 100 ft. each way. There are three high terraces supporting a massive single-banded ‘bell’. The relative height of terraces and stupa proper, as at Sin’pāhto, is about half and half. But here there are no median stairways, and so a much steeper climb. The top terrace still has square-based corner-stupas. There were none, it seems, on the lower terraces. The massive squareness of these cubes is only broken by three slight recessions towards the corners, with lines hinting at the pyramid. Each corner, so Col. Ba Shin tells me, is strengthened by stone tenons running back into the mass. The bricks used are large: 16\frac{1}{4} in. × 8\frac{1}{4} in. × 3 in. The three terrace-plinths, almost vertical in section, are not weakened, as at Sin’pāhto, by a sunk medial waist-band. Instead, below the low crenelles of the parapets, each terrace has a series of four indentings, the projecting parts between them being embossed with glazed stucco. These glazed bosses, panels and corner-masks, green and yellow, are the chief glory of the monument. So certain, now, were the Pagān ceramists of their firings, that instead of sinking the glazed work in pockets as usual, they dared to emboss them on their fronts; and if, after all these centuries, many have perished, it was the fault of the plaster that held them, not of the glazings themselves. Much, especially from the lowest plinth, has fallen or been removed: some to Pagān Museum87, much (by Fritz von Noetling) to Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde88. I do not know if it has survived the War. In four plates (260–262 bis) we give a selection of this glazed work. But parted from the mountain mass they once threaded and enlightened, like Kinnarīs on Himāvā, half their gaiety and glory fade.

The Sō-min-gyi has a strong character and beauty of its own. It does not vary far from the norm; its variations are fully justified by the purpose and by the result. It is a Ratana-ceti.

THE HARMIKĀ

Parallel to the norm as fixed by Aniruddha and Kyantzittha, there was an older tradition of pagoda-building which remains common throughout our period, and persists after it. On the stupas of Sāncī, above the hemispherical aṇḍa, there is always a fenced harmikā, pedestal or box for relics, which also served to hold in position the one or more umbrellas (chhatra) above it89. In the earliest caitya-hall at Ajañṭā (Cave X, first century B.C.), the fenced harmikā has a square flat ‘cap’ with three recessions below90. In Cave XIX (c. 500–550 A.D.) the harmikā cap is not only recessed, but also once indented towards the corners91. The Viśvakarman Cave at Elūrā (Cave X, c. 700–750 A.D.)92 comes nearest to the Pagān harmikā, cap and harmikā being merged, and so indented and recessed as to annul all sense of squareness.

86 Amended List of Ancient Monuments in Burma (1921), Meiktila Division, p. 28, Serial No. 60. “This shrine rests on 4 terraces” — Actually, there are only three.
87 See A.S.B. 1904, p. 11. I take the liberty of quoting U Kyaw Nyain’s comment: “The glazed decorative tiles used on the Sōmingyi pagoda are most beautiful. They were designed and made with meticulous care to fit with each other perfectly. A much better glaze-fitness to the body is noticed in these tiles, and they are still in perfect condition. The combined achievement of the sculptors, artists and ceramists of Pagān reached their highest level in making the glazed decorative tiles for this pagoda.”
88 See Chapter XII, note 2.
89 See Zimmer, The Art of Indian Asia, II, Pls. 6, 25.
90 Zimmer, II, Pl. 165.
91 ibid., Pl. 180.
92 ibid., Pl. 197.
Chapter XIII

Aniruddha, following perhaps the example of Śrī Kṣetra, had transferred the Relics from the top to the bottom of his stupas, sinking them under their centres or corners. This allowed him to omit the harmikā from the first, and spread the base of the chattrāvali (no more suggestive of the umbrella) directly on the top of the ‘bell’. Kyantzitha did the same. But old practices, even when they cease to be useful, are loth to die. In origin the two Hpet-leik pagodas are doubtless older than Aniruddha. Both retain the harmikā. At East Hpet-leik (Pl. 96 a), possibly owing to ‘repairs’, it looks like an enormous box. At West Hpet-leik (Pl. 94 a), damaged as it is, it was probably indented and recessed, both at top and bottom. In the Indian cave-caitya at Elūrā only the lower portion was so treated. At Pagán the effect of this double recessing was not only to introduce a new intricate and beautiful member, but also to reduce the heavy harmikā to something vaguely resembling the āmalaka.

At Amarāvatī (2nd cent. a.d.) and the later Caves at Ajañṭā and Elūrā, niches for standing or seated Buddhas invade the anūda. They do the same at Pagán Hpet-leik, but on all four points of the compass. The tops of the niches are usually enriched with elaborate sikhara-facings, similar to those on many of the votive tablets. These niches enrich the tendency to flare the base of the ‘bell’. To counteract the breaking of the anūda, the horizontal band binding it is given prominence by decoration. Finally, this new-old fashion of enriching stupas, spreads also to the temples, especially those with tall mitre-like sikharas, where tapering tiers of niches were possible.

ABEYADANA GROUP

The beautiful recessed and indented harmikā is a feature of the ABĒYADANA temple, which has a plain banded bell-like anūda (Pl. 211 a). Just outside the present enclosure-wall on the south, there is the ruined SITLĒ-PAYA (Pl. 210 d), opened by Taw Sein Ko in 1905: “a small stupa . . . 5 ft. to the S.E. of the Abeyadana temple, . . . a miniature cylindrical structure rising to a height of 12 ft., and covered by an outer casing indicating that a larger stupa has been built over a smaller one.” It has a banded ‘bell’ with fig-leaf stucco decoration above and below the band; deeply recessed and indented harmikā; and round, seemingly octagonal, chattrāvali, slotted but joined at the ‘corners’—all very like the top of Abeyadana. The nameless STUPA S. OF MYINPAGÁN SCHOOL (Pl. 258 a, b), S.E. of Nan-paya, is very similar, and beautifully preserved except at the base: the same ‘octagonal’ chattrāvali, the same recessed and indented harmikā; the same strongly banded anūda, with lines of fig-leaf above the band, but kūrītimukha loops below. This stupa is 25½ ft. high; it ought to be conserved. — All this group should date from the early part of Kyantzitha’s reign, say c. 1090 a.d.

HPYATSÁ SHWÉ-GU STUPA (Pl. 359–361)

The Hpyatsá Shwégú, W. of Myinpagán village towards the river, is a temple of Mon type, dating perhaps from the earlier half of Cañṣū I’s reign. It will be described later. Near it, on the north, is a

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94 e.g. at Sinmyet-nyima (Pl. 377).
95 Zimmer, II, Pl. 98.
96 Ajañṭā: — ibid., Pl. 180 (Cave XIX, c. 500–550 a.d.); Pl. 183 (Cave XXVI, c. 600–642 a.d.).
97 Elūrā: — ibid., Pl. 197 (Viśvakarman Cave X, c. 700–750 a.d.).
98 e.g. at Nanda (Pl. 268).
fine tall stupa with ruined base, very likely part of the same dedication. The stupa proper, which is well preserved, resembles West Hpet-leik. It has the same tight-tall chattāvāli cone (not joined at the ‘corners’, like those of the Abėyadana group); the same indented and recessed harmikā; the same high-shouldered anda, with four śikha-topped niches (missing in the Abėyadana group) facing the cardinal points. It has also a beautiful horizontal band round the anda; inverted V’s (or fig-leaves?) above, and kūrtimukha loops below with floral pendants. The shape of the narrow terraces at the base, could doubtless be ascertained by clearing the débris. The Archaeological Department has now started to repair it.

SEINNYET-NYIMA (Pl. 377)

This, too, is the cetiya-member of a pair of pagodas on the E. side of the road S. of the Nagayon. It is more ornate and better preserved than the Hypatsa Shwégū stupa. Its strongly piled chattāvāli, minutely recessed and indented harmikā, anda with four śikha-topped niches, ‘bell’-band with fig-leaves above and kūrtimukha floral loops below, are almost the same. But here three square terraces, each with pillared corner-stupas but no median stairways, form the foundation. Its fellow, the Seinnyet-ama temple to the west of it, shows ‘Mon’ influence in architecture and painting; but Jātaka-glosses in the Hall are carelessly written in Old Burmese. Quite possibly it may date beyond the end of our period. This stupa forms the link between the old harmikā stupa and the norm.

It is often assumed that the presence of the harmikā on a Burma pagoda argues Singhalese influence. This may be true of Sapada pagoda100 S. of Nyaung-u, built in Cañśū II’s reign, when Singhalese influence became strong at Pagán. Before then, in the period covered by this book, it is improbable. The oldest harmikā at Pagán is probably that on Pébin-gyaung (Pl. 78 a), which must surely be earlier than Aniruddha. It is not at all unlike the Singhalese harmikā: but here direct influence is almost ruled out. In Burma, as in Ceylon, the harmikā is an ancient Buddhist heirloom from India. In each country it has lived its own art-life more or less independently. Ceylon’s conservatism in things Buddhist is well known. The Sapada harmikā is archaic and Singhalese in form, when compared to the typical evolved harmikā at Pagán, as found on Seinnyet-nyima.

ENCASED STUPAS

These are just as common at Pagán as they were at Śri Kṣetra. One is apt to accept them as old, or at least older than the stupas encasing them. One needs to remember U Mya’s warning, quoted at length supra (Chapter XII, p. 236):—“None of these monuments at Pagán can be dated earlier than the 11th century A.D.”101

Encased stupas are precious to the student when they are found complete, especially at the top. Most of the famous pagodas of Burma have been repaired so often that one can say little for certain about the original shape of their upper parts. Our best evidence comes from encased stupas, and from small models found in relic-chambers.

100 Sapada pagoda: A.S.B. 1916, Pl. IV 2; Pictorial Guide to Pagān, p. 23.
Chapter XIII

NAGAYON PAWDAMU (Pl. 78 d)

The most original, and probably the oldest, encased pagoda yet opened at Pagán, is the strong cetiya, over 16 ft. high above its platform, standing on a high point just E. of the road, S.W. of Nagayón temple, E. of Sô-min-gyi pagoda. Nothing is known of its origin. Taw Sein Ko guessed that it might "be ascribed to the 10th century or earlier". Old as it is, perhaps U Mya is right in dating it not earlier than the 11th. The firm hexagonal base, with its recessions, stands breast-high. Then circular recessions lead to the up-and-down-turned lotus and the stupa proper. Above this, there is a short anda, with band of cording between rows of fig-leaf along the middle. At the top of the anda, a squared recession recalling the old harmikā projects, just like the recessed harmikā-cap of Kanheri or Cave X at Ajanṭā, to form the base of a pyramidal apex, śikhara-shaped but flat-faced (like the Vajrāsana temple at Bodhgaya), except for one recession on each side of the central plane. The pyramid tapers to the āmalaka-lotus holding the bulbous finial. Such a pyramidal top is unique at Pagán. The stupa, says Taw Sein Ko, "was exposed to view by removing its brick casing".

ENCASED STUPA N. OF TAWYA-GYAUNG (Pl. 259 a)

This stupa, opened by U Mya, is on the river-bank S.W. of Sô-min-gyi pagoda, about 2 furlongs N. of Tawya-gyaung monastery. The print shows the stupa still half-encased. It is of normal type, bell-shaped, with square terraces and no harmikā — probably post-Aniruddha. It is distinguished by two bands of sunk crenelles, with indented band and pockets between them. The top of the chattrāvali is unfortunately lost.

'SCOVELL'S' PAWDAMU (Pl. 259 b)

This massive little stupa, 21½ ft. high, was discovered and opened, at his own expense, by Mr. C. E. Scovell, late Executive Engineer in charge at Pagán. It is therefore often distinguished from the Nagayón Pawdamu as 'Scovell's Pawdamu'. It stands on the E. side of the branch-road to Dharmayan-gyi, ¼ mile N.NW. of that temple. The plain squared terrace base, with two recessions towards the corners and many horizontal lines, makes it look massive. The stupa proper is of normal bell-shape, without harmikā, distinguished by extra tiers of climbing lotus petals, and bulbous āmalaka, near the top of the chattrāvali. Taw Sein Ko's view, based on Pagán U Tin's, "that it should be ascribed to the 9th century A.D.", seems to me pure fantasy. I should date it not earlier than the latter part of the 11th century. Many interesting bronze images, including a beautiful seated Lokanātha, were found on the west side of this stupa: see Pls. 435, 436 a, b, 446 a.

102 A.S.B. 1918, p. 19. Coomarasawamy (H.I.A., p. 170) merely says that it "has evident Indian affinities".
104 A.S.B. 1916, p. 27.
107 See Duroiselle, A.S.B. 1920, pp. 26–27 and Pl. III, figs. 1 and 2; A.S.I. 1920, p. 31 and Pl. XXV a, b. Dr. Ray (Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma, pp. 48, 112 and fig. 7) rightly corrects 'Maitreya' to 'Lokanātha'.
CHAPTER XIV

EARLY PAGÁN SHRINES AND-temples


If, under the terms Shrine and Temple, we include all pagodas with an interior that can be entered, it will not always be easy to distinguish them from Stupas. The Maniyār Mat at Rājgir in India is hollow, and also some Buddhist stupas in Gandhāra. The Bawbawgyi at Śrī Kṣetra has a vast hollow interior, not intended perhaps for entry, though tempting to the spoiler. The very hole through which one enters today, may have been made by Aniruddha, about 1050 A.D., when, according to the Chronicles, he "destroyed the celi built by king Dwatta-baung, and took the Frontlet-relic" \(^3\), leaving within votive tablets signed by himself. Conversely, as we have seen at Nga Kywè Nadaung (supra, pp. 258–9), even an experienced archaeologist may mistake for a "domed chapel" a "large pit ... left by treasure hunters".

Like the Gandhāran Greek, the ancient Pyu and Burman were not satisfied with the bare Stupa as an object of worship. Two stone lids of relic-chambers found at Khinbagon, Śrī Kṣetra, show stupas with a terraced base, pierced with rows of niches holding on one side five Buddhas seated in dhyāna mudrā\(^4\). Seeking for the origin of Pagán temple architecture, one may well turn ultimately to India; but the first source is likely to have been Śrī Kṣetra. Here the small vaulted shrines, 7th to 8th century A.D. — Bèbè, Lémyet-hna, East Zégu, and several others less well preserved — provide, on a much smaller scale, prototypes of many of the large temples of Pagán. About 1050 A.D., doubtless on his march down to the coast, Aniruddha occupied both Old and Modern Prome, before his conquest of Thatôn and Tenasserim. But I do not think the Pyu source was the only one.

Temple-architecture at Pagán can be divided into four main periods:

I. Pre-Aniruddha period. — There is inscriptional proof (see Chapter I, pp. 8–9) that at least one early king, Caw Rahan, set up religious buildings in or near Pagán. His regnal dates, according to the

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\(^{1}\) M. H. Kuraishi and A. Ghosh, A Guide to Rājgir, pp. 22–23; A.S.I. 1908, p. 42, n. 1. The Stupa-dome, says Gisbert Combaz (I translate from the French), "normally covers a hollow containing the urn with ashes or the relic-casket ... There is generally no access to the exterior. However, in Gandhāra, at the Gudāra stupa and two others, Masson discovered a sort of tunnel, from the centre of the building to its circumference. This peculiarity, already noticed in certain tombs of Hither-Asia, would explain the deposit of relics after the completion of the building" (L’Evolution du Stūpa en Asie, p. 179).

\(^{2}\) A.S.I. 1908, p. 42 (J. H. Marshall). The Atwin Móktaw stupa at Śrī Kṣetra is also hollow: see A.S.I. 1910, pp. 115, 119. Perhaps all of them were.

\(^{3}\) G.P.C. (transl.), p. 86. For an attempt to explain this remarkable allegation, see supra, Chapter II, p. 22–23.

\(^{4}\) A.S.I. 1927, p. 174 and Pl. XXXVIII (d).
Jātātōpun. were 956–1001 A.D. If so, he died some 43 years before Aniruddha’s accession. The Buddhist chapter-house he built on top of Mt. Tuywin, was still standing in 1212 A.D., when it was repaired. It must have been built of durable materials. The same king, from U Kala’s Chronicle onwards (early 18th century), is styled Nat-tō-kyōn: takā, “Donor of the Residence of the holy Devas.” This seems to imply that he also built the Viṣṇu temple, Nat-hlaung-gyaung, still extant in the heart of the City. I see no reason to question this, and good reason to believe it. This temple, and another early shrine, Pēbin-gyaung, are discussed infra. It was a period of widespread paganism; and, in court circles, of peaceful co-existence between Buddhism and Vaishnavism – the latter, perhaps, the older culture in these parts. Such co-existence was a common feature, not only of Pyu Śrī Kṣetra and the coastal country of the Mons, but also, bye and large, of the whole period covered in this book.

II. Reign of Aniruddha (c. 1044–77 A.D.). – Buddhism, under royal patronage, tends now to be in the ascendant; but in the absence of canonical texts was thinly spread, and still in balance between the Mahāyāna of East Bengal and Arakan, and the Theravāda of Dvāravatī and Old Prome. Pyu influence is strong in architecture, seen especially in the ground-plans and the invariable radiating arch. But after the capture of Thatōn, Mon beauty of colour, ornament and design combines with Pāla Bengal strength to produce the typical art-forms of Early Pagan. It is full of variety: the plan and windows of Pitakat-taik; Shinbin-thalyaung with its reclining Buddha (both attributed to Aniruddha); Manuha temple’s colossal images; the lovely stone-faced Narapaya (both assigned to the captive king of Thatōn; the grand stone-faced façade and hall of Kyaukku Onhmin; the bold design and deep devoutness of Myinpyagya. It is the best period of unglazed Jātaka terracottas.

III. Reigns of Sawlu, Kyanziltha, and (in part) Caṅsū I – After the arrival of the full Tipitaka from Ceylon (c. 1075 A.D.) comes the ever-expanding triumph of Theravāda Buddhism, and the splendid series of what I call (with some slight hesitation) the ‘Mon’ temples. They are all similar in plan, with many features common to the older and freer periods. There are now countless themes for sculpture and painting, and wide wall-spaces. But the architect is still the master-artist; sculpture remains largely conventional, and painting mainly decorative. The first masterpiece is Pāhtothāmya; the climax Nanda temple (c. 1105 A.D.).

IV. Transitional period (1113–74 A.D.). – This period witnesses the gradual passage from Old Mon dominance to Old Burmese. The first flowering of the latter is at Shweōgyu-gyi (1131 A.D.); the first masterpiece Thatbyinyu temple (c. 1155 A.D.). With the capture of Pagan by Parākramabāhu’s armada in 1165 A.D., Singhalese influence tends to supplant Mon at the capital; but this soon leads to the efflorescence of Burmese culture under Caṅsū II and his successors.

PRE-ANIRUDDHA PERIOD

Caw Rahan’s ‘Thein’ (sīmā), on top of Mt. Tuywin (Turaṅtoṅ), 8 miles S.E. of Pagan. Nothing of this remains. The sharpness of the summit proves that the chapter-house was a small one. But the fact that it lasted from about 1000 to 1212 A.D. (when it was repaired) suggests that it was built of strong material, very likely the sandstone easily available on the spot.

NAT-HLAUNG-GYAUNG (Pls. 143–149)

This name – “Residence confining Devas” – is a modern, and a rude, variant of the term used in the Chronicles: ‘Nat-taw-gyaung’, “Residence of the holy Devas.” Honourably sited, little more than

a stone's throw from the palace, this Viṣṇu temple stands within the city, near its south wall. The Brahmanic features of the temple have been discussed in Chapter XI (supra, pp. 219–222). Here we are concerned only with the architecture and the date.

Duroiselle mentions a "late" Burmese manuscript, 'Thamaing of the Pagodas of Pagán', which says "it was built by king Anoratha after his return from the conquest of Thatôn (1057 A.D.)." Aniruddha was the champion of Buddhism rather than Vaishnavism; and he built Caityas rather than temples. So the attribution, improbable in itself, must yield to U Kala's testimony, which goes back at least to the early 18th century. There are moreover, to confirm it, markedly archaic and distinctive features in this temple, noted by my learned colleague, Col. Ba Shin: –

(i) The stone jambs, lintel and sill framing the entrance to the upper corridor or shrine.

(ii) The arch-pediment over the image-recess, with inward-bending spines, typical of Śrī Kṣetra rather than Pagán.

(iii) The fact that the central image (now mostly lost) was certainly of Viṣṇu Anantaśayana, not found elsewhere at Pagán, but found four times at older sites – Śrī Kṣetra, Kawgun Cave and Thatôn.

(iv) On all these five images of the Hindu Trinity, Viṣṇu is given precedence, whereas in Abeyadana's temple (c. 1090 A.D.) Śiva is pre-eminent.

As for the distinctive features, note the apparent preference for fine terracotta carving of most of the main images, as against stone for the Avatāras of the lower corridor. Note, too, the difference in level between the inner corridor and the outer, permitting the unique feature of clerestory windows above the latter. Note, finally, that the broken rounded spire, resting on intricate horizontal facets, is Drāviḍa rather than Nāgara in style. On the other hand, the loss of the outer wall, due perhaps to earthquake and the lean-to vaulting of the lower corridor, is the fault typical of the 'Mon' period. Viewed as a whole, this quite extraordinary jewel of a temple suggests Indian influences different from, and older than, the usual East Bengal models.

The original form of the superstructure is not easy to grasp from ground-level, nor yet from the interior of the shrine. Above the lean-to vault of the outer corridor, there seems to have been a low-vaulted top corridor enclosing the clerestory. Above this, the top of the temple, below the breakage, is still in fair preservation: a square roof-terrace with triple corner recessions and pockets for plaques. Above this, the corners were weighted, and the roofs slope back up to the base of the śikhara, the much-indented corners of diminished squares passing easily into tapering round. Seen at sunset from a distance, their jewel facets shine. One cannot but feel amazement in the presence of a pioneer masterpiece such as this.

For the temple sculptures and paintings, see Chapter XI.

PÉBIN GYAUNG (Pl. 78 a, b, c).

This small Cetiya temple is in the N.W. part of the old city, S. of Bu Paya and N.W. of Mahābodhi temple. The name means 'Corypha Palm Monastery': but it bears no resemblance to a monastary.

7 ibid., Pl. LXXVIII b.
8 See our Pl. 146 a.
9 See Chapter XI, pp. 217–220. – Since this volume went to press, yet another stone relief of Viṣṇu Anantaśayana has been reported from Pagán: "in Cave No. 1612/920 W. of the Mimalaung Kyaung" (to quote the local press). This would be presumably within the walls of the city, not far west of Nat-hlaung-gyaung.
10 Pl. 219.
Chapter XIV

Perhaps it was the devotional shrine attached to a monastery now perished. Externally, it looks like an archaic type of Cetiya, strong and plain in its proportions, with round narrow terrace (or terraces) now ruined, cylindrical dome, large square 'belvedere' harmikā, and thick round 'pole' (yaṣṭī) supporting a tight cone of tapering chattrāvali. The top is as repaired. The pagoda looks more stumpy than it should, like many of the old buildings within the city-walls, part buried by the drifting sand of centuries.12

The total height of Pebin-gyaung is over 40 ft. For the interior, see the plan and section (Pl. 78 b, c). It is quite unlike any other shrine at Pagan. Entrance is on the east, by a low passage 2½ ft. high; one steps down into the tiny hall (less than 4½ ft. high), and so enters the square shrine (10 ft. high, 5 ft. 10 in. square). The solid mass and weight of the building is all around and above one. There was once, no doubt, an image to worship. It brings home to one the real meaning of kū (or gū, Sanskrit guhā) - not 'temple' but 'cave'; not 'cave' but 'secret place', somewhere in the bowels of the earth. "Tradition" says Taw Sein Ko, "ascribes this pagoda to the 10th century".13 There is no need nor likelihood, on ground of its harmikā, to seek its origins in Ceylon.14

ANIRUDDHA'S REIGN. — PITAKAT-TAIK (Pls. 80–82)

This 'Library for the Pīṭaka' stands within the walls of Pagan, next to the palace-site, on the S. side of the road shortly after it enters at the Tharaba Gate. Aniruddha is thought to have built it to house his texts of the Tipitaka after the capture of Thaton.15 If so, its date would be 1057 A.D. or shortly after. It is said to have been repaired by king Bodawpaya in 178318. The angle- and centre-pieces and finial of the five receding roofs, may well belong to the latter date; also the stepped approaches on the east; but the main structure, with its thick walls, broad dark lean-to corridor, and darker shrine, lit only by the three doorways on the east, and the three perforated stone windows17 on each of the other faces, must surely be original. It is the beginning of that 'Mon' style, which dominates most of Pagan architecture for a century, down to the end of the period covered by this book.

SHINBIN-THALYAUNG (Pl. 85 b, c)

Aniruddha, it seems, rarely ventured beyond the Stupa in architecture. But it was probably he who added the foursquare vaulted corridors housing the Jātaka-plaques around the two Hpetleik. And he was also doubtless responsible for the Shinbin-thalyaung recumbent image, and the brick building that encloses it, at his chief work of merit, the Shwēhsandaw. The building forms part of the actual

11 Cf. the sketch of the Bhārāhūt harmikā, fig. 14, p. 195, of G. Combaz, L'Evolution du Stūpa en Asie. It is probably the oldest in existence.
12 It would be a real work of merit to clear the drift and débris from these city-monuments, and drain their sites, and let them stand their proper height.
14 Pébin Gyaung is "of the old Siṃhalese hemispherical type" (Coomaraswamy, Hist. Ind. Indon. Art, p. 170). - The type was also available at Sarnāth (Combaz, op. cit., p. 184, fig. 10).
15 "He kept the 30 sets of Pīṭaka in a pāsād richly fraught with gems, and caused the noble Order to give instruction therein" (Glass Palace Chronicle, transl. p. 79).
16 Amended List of Ancient Monuments in Burma, Rangoon, 1921, p. 16, A.S.B. 1918, p. 21. Pict. Guide..., p. 34. The date given for the repairs in several places (e.g. A.S.I. 1907, p. 32) - 1178 A.D. - is wrong.
17 Pl. 82. Perforated stone windows are found in old Buddhist caves in India, e.g. Bhājā (see Zimmer, The Art of Indian Asia, II, Pl. 40).
perimeter-wall, on the W. side, S. of the W. entrance. The colossal image made of brick and plaster, nearly 70 ft. long, shows the Buddha entering parinirvāṇa. The dying Master lies (as usual in Burma) on his right side; but his head (contrary to the texts) is here towards the south. No doubt (as Col. Ba Shin has pointed out) it was felt proper that the image should face the pagoda, and not turn his back on it. The vaulted building makes no pretense to show off its colossal image to advantage. It is merely a broad-vaulted, cleverly built shed-covering, with a narrow passage all round and many small niches for images. Incidentally, it gives M. Lavaud a chance to show his brilliant photography (Pl. 85 b). Between the broad front and narrow back vaults, there is a long vaulted passage high up, in the spandrels above the reclining figure.

MANUHA TEMPLE (Pls. 119, 120)

About the same time Makuṭa, ex-king of Thaton (his name is now corrupted into 'Manuha'), must have built his colossal images at Myinpaṅgaṁ, where he was living in captivity, a mile S. of Pagán. "Stricken with remorse", says the Glass Palace Chronicle, "he built a colossal Buddha with legs crossed, and a dying Buddha as it were making parinirvāṇa; and he prayed saying "Whithersoever I migrate in saṁsāra, may I never be conquered by another!" The temple is called Manuha to this day."

- The attribution is also made in a number of late inscriptions or 'copies' under dates of dubious value.

According to the Pegu Kalyâṇi inscriptions (1479 A.D.), Aniruddha's capture of Manohor (Pali Manohari) took place in 419 s./1057 A.D. What little we read of his family in later inscriptions, suggests that he did not live long in captivity.

At Manuha temple, on the W. side of the main road, there are three colossal images in a row, facing E., the largest (47 ft. from knee to knee) in the centre; all sit in Earth-touching attitude. At the back, facing W., is the reclining image (90 ft. long), the head here correctly orientated towards the north. We may date this temple, or at any rate its colossal Buddhas, c. 1060 A.D.

NAN-PAYA (Pls. 121 to 131)

To pass from Manuha temple, which has little architectural merit, to the neighbouring Nanpaya, is (to me) a breath-taking experience. This lovely little temple, the earliest masterpiece of 'Mon' temple architecture, lies just south of the Manuha. It is also attributed to the captive Thaton king, i.e. Makuṭa. I should date it c. 1060–70 A.D. The date and nature of the building have been discussed in Chapter XI (supra, pp. 211–2). Briefly speaking, I follow U Mya (as against Taw Sein Ko) in regarding the Nanpaya as a Buddhist temple: but not in his proposed dating of it as late as the "12th to 13th century". It may well have been Makuṭa's private chapel. The small central pedestal, now empty, may once (I suggest) have borne a life-size standing bronze image of the Buddha.

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18 Our checked measurement is 69 ft. 10 in. That given by the Archaeological Department (A.S.I. 1930–34, Part I, p. 44) is 80 ft.
21 List 348 (B II 801–2).
23 U Lu Pe Win naughtily calls it "an example of early jail architecture in Burma" (Pict. Guide . . . , p. 51).
24 U Mya, "Note on the Nanpaya Temple and Images of Brahmā carved on the pillars inside it," A.S.I. 1935, pp. 101–6 and Pl. XXVI.
such as (e.g.) the one now at the Ananda Kyaungdaik (Pl. 431). The four stone pillars that form a sort of open shrine about it, are each carved on their two inner faces with beautiful stone figures of Brahmā: eight altogether, in low relief, seated with outer knee raised, in arthaparyankāsana, amid a forest of lotus, their hands sustaining each a pair of them. They do not sit in namaskāra mudrā, for they are bearing offerings. Their pose is similar to that of the Brahmas in the Myinkaba Kubyaukgyi porch-paintings (Pl. 345), or those of stone inset in the thrones of Myebontha Paya-hla (Pl. 251) – both undoubtedly Buddhist temples. The four arches joining the Brahmas pillars on the outer side are crowned with Buddhist stupas at the peak (Pl. 126 f.).

The temple is built of brick, faced everywhere with stone, like the main storey of Kyaukku Ōnhmin (Pl. 132 b). This large-scale use of carved stone is confined to the earlier reigns of the dynasty. I do not think it occurs after about 1100 A.D. The stone, cut small like bricks, as is usual at Pagan, is often beautifully carved. If this slicing of good stone shocks one at first sight, one soon forgets it in delight at the carving. The stone roofing is smooth and solid.

The plan of the temple (Pl. 125 b) is simple: a square main block; three windows on each face except the E. This last is the side of entry, with Hall (one window on each side) and porch (the only entrance, now defaced). The four central pillars of the Shrine, without much blocking of light and space, serve to support the roof and mark off the sanctum. The arches of the ‘Corridor’ surrounding the four pillars, are half-arches, climbing and leaning in towards the centre. Above the arches the exterior cube passes into the pyramid, fenced with three receding crenellated crests, rising to the base of the śikhara. Here weight is lightend by dormer skylights on each face, filling with the sun’s splendour the well or lantern just above the (missing) Buddha’s head (Pl. 127 b): so that the śikhara sits lightly, like a crown above him. Each face of the śikhara has three retreating planes, once studded (like the Vajrāsana temple at Bodhgayā) with medallions of lotus set on lotus-altars. Pl. 126 a gives some idea of this crown before time and repairs coarsened it. Of corner-stupas little but the stumps remain, their corners still delicately carved with kneeling caryatids (Pl. 126 d).

Decoration, even now, is rich. All 16 sides of the four interior pillars repay study, and nearly all the 11 windows of the exterior. These windows, with 5×6 diamond-apertures on the main block, and squarer 5×5 diamonds on the Hall, are all crowned with the Early Mon eclec or pediment, horizontal rather than vertical. The goddess Śrī (Kyāk Śrī) sits in every apex, her arms drooping and outspread, holding lotus stalks. Her elephants with showering pots are gone. Mahārā heads with tight-coiled trunks are clear above the capitals, with Devas pillared on their necks. One recalls Kyanzittha’s palace-inscription:24 –

“in the centre, above the pedimented arch, there was the goddess Śrī made of shining gold, adorned with gems. On the two sides, above the capitals of the arch-pillars, were two golden figures of Devas in the act of blessing, with golden flowers in bouquets within the arch, together with hanging pearls and golden plantain-leaves.”

The cornucopia stands, as at Mrakan stone lodge (Pl. 242 a) and the Dhammayan-gyi (Pl. 391), in the gable-hollow, between the maharas, under the Kyāk Śrī. The lines of small stone bricks emphasize the horizontality of the eclec, derived from the barely arching architraves of Sānchi. The gradual passage from Mon horizontal, to Burmese vertical, treatment of the eclec, is always noteworthy. Here, in the Nanpaya, the horizontal dominates. And the long down-tapering V’s of the corner-pilasters rest these horizontal masses on two needle-points in air.

Owing to faulty drainage at the cornice, one suspects, the stone kārtimukha frieze is the worst preserved feature of the temple. Pl. 123 c shows how strongly modelled it was once, and how rich in detail. In squareness and relief it rivals the long stone frieze of Kyaukku Önmin (Pl. 134 a, b), but excels it in beauty, especially at the corner-pilasters which still, in spite of decay, are among the glories of this temple (Pl. 123 a). The lovely hamsa dado (Pl. 123 d), much better preserved, in its long train of arabesque and broken foliations, captures and refracts the endless play of fierce light and shadow on the basement. Such architectural splendours cannot be seen or matched, except for an occasional moment, outside the drier tropics. Below the dado, the high kalaśa-pot plinth-moulding (Pl. 122 b) achieves by mastery of light and shade both beauty and stability, and sets a high standard for later Pagán architects to follow. They do not always follow it. The plinth mouldings of the 'Mon' sub-period, modelled perhaps on those of Old Thatôn, are far superior, in general, to those of the latter half of the dynasty.

The plain Hall has no staircase leading to the roof. The outer wall of the 'Corridor' has two deep corbelled niches on the side of entrance. The other walls have two small niches each between their three windows. "Faint traces of painting" says U Mya, "can be discerned on the plastered surface of the walls of the temple by slight moistening with a wet cloth." The Nanpaya is sometimes cited as different from 'Mon' temples in not having paintings. This is true neither of the Nanpaya, the Nathlaung-gyaung, the Kyaukku Önmin, nor the Nanda. It is not true, either, of the Early Burmese temples, the Shwegu and the Thatbyinnyu. If a Pagán temple has no interior paintings, it may be because it was never finished; but usually it is due to the disastrous work of whitewashers.

Each face of the square central pillars has a flat panel in the centre, with one recession near the corners. The Brahmā faces (Pls. 128–130) have been described above, on pp. 211–2. Above them, the kārtimukha frieze runs round all four sides of the pillars. Loops and tassels are like those of the exterior, but richer. The flat central plane of all eight floral sides (Pls. 129 b, 131) shows a long kārtimukha V down the centre, with beaded tassels on each side sprouting into lotus buds below. Each projecting angle of each recession has its corner-kārtimukha, with the V divided down its two faces, and tassel down the re-entrant. The much-damaged capitals and cornice above each pillar (Pl. 127 a), are shown in something of their ancient richness in Pl. 126 e. Above the cornice are the shoulders of the four pagoda-arches joining the four pillars. These, on the 'Corridor' side (Pl. 126 f), show five receding roofs climbing to a lion-guarded platform, āmalaka, double lotus, and stupa with lotus finial. On the inner side they hold the well or lantern (Pl. 127 b), which catches all the sunlight flooding down the medial skylights of the roof.

KYAUKKU ÖNHMIN (Pls. 132–142)

Two miles N.E. of Nyaung-u, beyond the Chauk-hpala ravine, is the Kyaukku Önmin, 'Stone Temple-cave and Tunnels', sunk in a romantic gully strewn with fossil wood and pebbles bright like jewels. M. Lavaud's beautiful photograph (Pl. 132 a), taken from the roof-top and looking N.E. up the river, gives a good idea of this strange eroded cliff-country. It is not a detached building, but the façade of a high sandstone cliff, hollowed with cells for ascetics. The receding upper terraces of brick
are old, but later additions. The stone-faced Hall below, of “tender green” as Forchhammer described it, is the original.

This noble stone façade (Pl. 132 b), 30 ft. high, facing N., with kārtimukha frieze unbroken (Pl. 134 a), flat projecting porch resting on round black shadow between flat perforated windows (Pl. 133 b): the whole based on a strong graded plinth (Pl. 133 d) beautifully enriched with dado-carvings (Pl. 134 c) – could only date from Early Pagān.

The interior now holds a stone inscription beginning with the date 550 s./1188 A.D., recording a dedication of land by king Ceṅsū (Narapatisithu) to “the Buddha of the Rev. Thampā (?) Dhammapāla who received food from heaven” (lit. ‘rice of the spirits’). It had another date below, 632 s./1270 A.D., now lost owing to breakage and cementing of the fragments. Taw Sein Ko, with the first date of this inscription (I imagine) as his authority, says the site was “originally dedicated as the residence of the celebrated Pamsukūla Mahāthera by king Narapisithu in 1188 A.D.”

I am by no means certain that this inscription belongs to Kyaukku Ōnhmin. I do not remember seeing it there on my first visit in 1918. Duroiselle describes it as being “within a cave at Chaukpala” which may cover any of the numerous caves in the neighbourhood. Forchhammer certainly included a facsimile in his original edition, but there is no mention of it in the text. At the top of p. 12 of the reprint he writes: “There are not now any ... inscriptions in the caves, except a small inscribed stone slab (see Plate No. VII, No. 14) found in the circular cell l.” – I have read this last fragment, which is undated and post-Pagān, from his own Plate in India Office Vol. 315/2. D. 1. It is not our inscription, but List 1256, shown at P.P.A. p. 315. Nor is our inscription either of the two illegible ones mentioned at the end of his report. These are List 1257 and 1258 mentioned at P.P.A. 316, 317, as found “about 500 ft. S.E. of Kyaukku Ōnhmin.” In a scribble made on the spot before the last War, when our inscription was already set up in the temple, I noted with reference to the Thampā purhā of line 3: “Perhaps it comes from Dhammapā pagoda.” – Col. Ba Shin has discovered that there is a pagoda now named Dā:mapā “about 300 yds N. NE. of Kyaukku.”

The main storey of Kyaukku must be at least a century older than Narapatisithu. Though less refined in workmanship, it has (as Forchhammer noticed) much in common with Nanpaya, attributed to the captured king of Thatôn. If the Nanpaya may be dated 1060–70 A.D., I should date Kyaukku a few years earlier. Forchhammer (p. 15) even suggested a date “before Anawratha”. But so early a...
date is hardly probable. There is this difference between the two temples: that whereas Nanpaya shows obvious Brahmanic influence, Kyaukku is purely Theravāda Buddhist. 29

The great façade is built of stone or stone-faced brick, as at Nanpaya. The stone kārtimukhas, as at Nanpaya, are boldly modelled, tusked and armless, disgorging loops of beading; their cheeks, here, are rather more squared and bulging. But the general effect is more stern and ascetic. Apart from the great round arch and small window-perforations, all main lines are horizontal. No Śri and Makara pediments. No corner-pilasters even. No soft dado of Hāṁsas: but instead, a beaded base with pointed climbers, alternate leaf and chalice, all elaborately inwrought. These are unique at Pagán. The level-headed windows appealed to Forchhammer’s careful German mind. He gives a long description of them.

The one entrance, facing N., is a round high-shouldered archway of stone, 12 ft. high. Deep within it, is the real doorway, each jamb (Pl. 134 e) having three recessions and five faces, bridged at the shoulders with wooden lintels. These five stone faces are carved with a luxuriant jungle, growing rather than empanelled (Pls. 135–140): beads and pellets, shield, capital, medallion, bird and beast, lotus, cornucopias of flower and fruit and tendril, diapers enclosing gods with lifted arms sustaining lotuses. At the base (Pl. 135), fixed in the projecting angles (forehead, nose and chin resting on their clubs), are pairs of tushy Rākṣasas, crouched on guard to frighten villainy; and between them and the door, a comely girl in swaying stance as she upholds her jar, inviting piety to enter. 30 There were once carved wooden door-wings of diamond lattice, moving in stone cusps above and below.

Within, is a vast dim Hall, 25 ft. deep, 42 ft. from side to side. The outer wall curves over to meet two great stone pillars in the centre. These rise to form a pointed vault, 32 ft. high, leading to the colossal Buddha (Pl. 133 a). His enormous lotus-throne (9 ft. high, 18 ft. broad, and 12 ft. 3 in. deep), built of carved stone slabs, projects from a deep recess, roofed at a great height with three pendentives. High on the walls beside the Buddha are square panels of old painting, ‘Mon’ style, without writing. Above, carved in stucco below the painted vault, are several rows, including over a hundred Buddhas.

The stone pillars, 8 ft. square, are sheathed at the base in elaborate dadoes of acanthus, swaying outward from the centre (Pl. 134 d). The outer walls of the Hall have three tiers of niches holding stone reliefs (Pls. 141, 142). Mostly broken and defaced (the result, probably, of earthquake), they are still precious, showing scenes from the life of the Buddha older than those of Nagayōn and

29 "I believe the Kyaukku temple" says Forchhammer (Reprint, p. 17), "to be, like the Mahāmuni shrine in Arakan, a remnant of North Indian Buddhism, which existed in Burma before the introduction and establishment of the Southern Buddhist school from Ceylon and Pegu." This statement, I think, needs correction. North Arakan, as contemporary inscriptions and images prove, was a centre of Sanskrit Mahāyānism from the middle of the 7th century onwards. There is nothing of Sanskrit or Mahāyānism at Kyaukku Ōnhmin. The iconography and architecture of Kyaukku owe little or nothing to Ceylon: but, like nearly all the older art of Central Burma, derive mainly from North India. The religious influence of the Mons, both of Burma and of Dvāravatī, may have been considerable; but in architecture, from the vaulted temples of the Pyu onwards, Central Burma was very likely ahead of all its neighbours.

30 For a somewhat similar figure on a Chaiyta window at Patna Museum, see R. D. Banerji, E. Ind. School of Med. Sculpt., Pl. 90 (a). For a still more remarkable analogy, recently reported by Mr. A. B. Griswold, between the lowest tier of carvings at Kyaukku and a door-jamb from Bangarh, Dinajpur, in N.W. Bengal, see our Pl. 135 (bis) and Catalogue of Plates. We are grateful to the Dacca Museum authorities for permission to reproduce this plate, and for their valuable note on the subject.
Nanda, and in some respects more vivid. The Nativity, Ploughing Festival, Tonsure, Fast, Mucalinda Nāga, Descent from Tāvatimśa, Nālāgiri elephant, etc. have all been noticed in Chapter VIII. In the Ploughing Festival (Pl. 141 b), the swinging cradle is realistic. In the Fast (Pl. 141 d), the two Devas are not massaging the Bodhisattva, but pressing tubes of ambrosia into his ears. The distinguishing feature of all the standing figures, great and small, is length of legs in proportion to torso. This adds to their grandeur; and though their surface has deteriorated, it seems likely (see, e.g., the Nativity, Pl. 141 a) that the modelling too had life in it. Forchhammer, in his Plate II No. 5, shows another stone sculpture: "Gotama in the calm repose of Parinirvāṇa, with adoring monks above and laymen beneath, some in praying attitude, others dancing." This sculpture is not now to be seen; it is not even remembered by the monks in residence.

And what has happened to the "12 wooden carved figures" (pp. 14–15) which Forchhammer found? - "The third chamber" (a on his Plate IX) . . . "is 9'4" broad and 9' high; the ceiling is vaulted; two-thirds of the exit to the east is roughly walled up with bricks; the room is perfectly plain . . . But against the wall recline 12 wooden carved figures 5'8" to 6'2" high; the elaborately wrought head-gear and necklaces leave no doubt that they are the effigies of royal personages. The body is plainly dressed; a mantle, open in front, falls almost down to the feet; the body is wrapped in a close-fitting, sackcloth-like garment; the right arm hangs straight down in the inner fold of the mantle, the left hand lies over the heart; the feet are without covering. Round the neck are tigerclaws and strings of pearl-pattern; the eyes are nearly closed; the face reflects the repose of death. The features are stern, the nose prominent and aquiline, chin and jaws broad and heavy; the axis of the eyes straight; the individual expression of the various faces differ, but they are not Mongoloid. The head-dress and ear-ornaments are gorgeous; it is a mitre . . . The statues are very much damaged. I think they represent Pagan kings who, when grown old, assumed the yellow robe and died here in the hope by such a meritorious deed to have attained the state of embryo-Buddhas."

These 12 wooden statues have also disappeared. Did Fritz von Noetling (who was a friend of Forchhammer) carry these, and the Parinirvāṇa sculpture, off to Berlin, together with his numerous other thefts?31 It seems to me almost certain that these statues were similar to, though not the same as, the 14 royal figures in wood now at Pagan Museum (Pls. 421, 422). The latter were found in various temples: I found one myself lying in Hpyatsa Shwégu, and photographed it then and there, leaning it against the porch of that temple (Pl. 360 a).

What exactly they represent, is a moot point. Col. Ba Shin thinks they are just ‘crowned Buddhas’ or Bodhisattvas. He has found similar ones, he tells me, in pagodas at other places besides Pagan. If we had more of the wooden statuary of this period, it would be easier to judge whether these statues, so different (especially in headdress and ear-ornaments) from the stone images, are just conventional, of no particular significance, or whether (as I still incline to believe, with Forchhammer) they represent, in half-idealized portraiture, dead kings and princes of Pagan, now gods in Devaloka. If so, the temples where these statues are found, may well have been the work of the kings found deified within them: e.g. the statue found at Hpyatsa Shwégu may be the likeness of Cañasū I. Such deification of dead royalty is normal in other countries of South-east Asia, and need surprise no one. But why so many should have been found at Kyaukkou Onhmin, I leave the reader to guess.

31 supra, Chapter XII, p. 230.
MYINPYAGU temple (Pls. 150–152)

This grand stupa-temple stands S. of the city wall, ¼ mile S. of Pāhtothamya. Pl. 150 a shows it as it was after the War, buried in jungle and alive with snakes. Pl. 151 a shows it as it is now, neatly restored by the engineer U Tun Saing and the Archaeological Department.32 Though of 'Early Mon' type in the main, it has many unique features. It dates doubtless from the reign of Caw Lu (Maṅ Lalā), or the end of the reign of his father, Aniruddha. Votive tablets signed by both kings have been found within it;33 also tablets with four lines of Mon, and others with two lines of Pali in Nagari characters (ye dhammā, etc.).34 From the outside, before repairs, one might have taken it to be a solid stupa of normal type, without harmikā, with conical chattāvalī, ‘bell’ with single band and fig-leaf dressings, recessed octagon, and three sprawling terraces without corner-stupas. But the low basement with its few plain perforated windows (without pediments; like those of Pāhtothamya), points to a four-sided corridor within. Each side of the corridor has a deep-set perforated window at each end;35 and on three sides there is a square medial chapel projecting, with a seated or standing Buddha against the outer wall, between two perforated windows, and diamond-shaped air-holes at each side. Each chapel is lined with ‘Mon’ devotional paintings. The standing Buddha in the S. chapel is slim-waisted like a Hindu god. At the foot of this image I found the stone head with tenon illustrated on Pl. 151 f. Such tenons were made to interlock with the masonry. Above these chapel-extensions there were medial stupas, probably copying the one in the centre. On the W. side, instead of a chapel, there is the only entrance – a long narrow passage, with porch and hall. The porch is arched differently from the hall, and is perhaps a later addition, breaking the symmetry of the whole. The walls, seen from the outside, are framed in recessed panels, the same size as the windows, but solid. The corners, though low, are massive, as if to bear the thrust of the terraces and stupa within them. There is no internal staircase.

The corridors (nearly 70 ft. long each side) are fully vaulted, and are exceptionally broad (over 9 ft.). On the inner side are long rows of tall trefoil niches, highly carved. Here sit Earth-touching Buddhas, lifesize, on lotus thrones and long platforms, projecting and recessed, stretching from centre to corner. The original plan was probably to have arched niches for 14 Buddhas on each corridor: and so the 28 Buddhas on each half of the temple. But on the S. and E. corridors there are a few reclining and standing images, slightly reducing the total. Each image is of brick, plastered and painted red, a few in fair preservation. They are of the ‘Aniruddha type’, with long torso, conical usṇīśa and flame-niche (this last generally lost). Ears touch shoulders. Little lions (Pl. 152 d) stand on guard between the Buddhas, and large double-bodied lions at the corners, with standing Guardians on the ledge above them. Each tall niche is framed with strong pillars, squared capitals and beading. Fan-shaped flowers rise between the niches. Hamsas perch on either side of the capitals. In a long slot above the niches are wooden beams still in situ (Pl. 150 b), with squared holes at intervals between the niches: perhaps to support baldachins (Pali vitāna) over each Buddha. Below the beams, in the spandrels, pairs of flying Devas are painted, bringing music or offerings to the Buddha below. Few of the Buddhas are

32 U Tun Saing informs me that the alternate zigzag projection of the bricks for better holding of the plaster – which reminds one of the original brick-laying of the Bawbawgyi, Śrī Kṣetra – is here not an original feature. I venture one complaint. The perforated windows which had originally diamond-shaped holes on the main block and round holes on the chapels, have been coarsely repaired with square perforations, often clashing with the fine original work. This should be easy to correct.
33 Pls. 14 a, b, c, (signed by Aniruddha); 15 b, c (signed by Śrī Bajrābharaṇa, i.e. Caw Lu).
34 A.S.B. 1922, p. 44, items 8 to 11.
35 One window-embrasure which we measured, was 13 ft. deep.
Chapter XIV

distinctive: one in the S. corridor (Pl. 152 e) sits in dhyāna mudrā, practising austerities; another in the W. corridor (Pl. 152 c) touches Earth under the seven-headed Mucalinda Nāga; two, in the E. and S. corridors, are shewn entering parinirvāṇa; one, in the S. corridor near the S.W. corner, stands in varada mudrā, left hand before breast.

These are not the principal images, which are hidden deep within the mass. From the centre of each inner side of the corridor, a narrow tunnel runs into the heart of the pile, to a secret small image, cunningly lit by a medial skylight from the middle terrace (see Section, Pl. 151 b). Climbing by ladder up to the top of any chapel roof, one can enter, stooping, these medial sky-lights, and find oneself in a clerestorey—under a relieving half-vault above the main corridor—lit by sky-lights also at each corner; here one can stand upright and walk all round within the temple.

On the outer wall of the corridor there are three tiers of large Jātaka panels, divided by broad floral bands, all richly painted. Each panel is 1 ft. 5 1/2 in. high by 1 ft. 4 1/2 in. broad, excluding the writing below: usually a single line of Mon in coarse largeish latters, or three or more crushed lines, rarely legible except in fragments. Thus on the W. wall, near the N.W. corner, one reads

||kāl anḍabhūta jāt goh|| ||kāl takka jāt goh||

"It is the occasion of the Anḍabhūta Jātaka" (No. 62); "of the Takka Jātaka" (No. 63). On this top tier we could read parts of about 35 entries. There are some 44 panels on the S. and N. walls, 42 on the W., and about 36 on the E.: total 166, or nearly 500 for the three tiers. The top tier starts on the W. wall, just N. of the entrance, with a panel showing Sumedha before Dīpaṅkara Buddha. The same scene introduces the Jātaka Series, both in the hall of Abēyadana and the outer corridor of Myinkaba Kubyaugkiy. Not all the Jātakas, I think, are illustrated; and they are not always shown in the usual order. Thus the top tier ends on the S. side of the W. entrance with Jātakas 252 (Tilamuṣhi) and 251 (Saṅkappadhota), Tiha Nipāta, in that order. Even when the writing is lost or absent, the panel is sometimes clear and colourful. We could see little and read nothing on the two lower tiers.

The broad soffit of the vault is covered with simple paintings, architecturally designed. Above the niches, rows of stupas, white and gold, with recessed harmikās, alternate with golden flowers of lotus on brown stalks. Above, there is a 'frieze' of bold floral arabesque, still rich in white, gold and red. Then bands of ringed 'sun-gods' cross the vault in different colours, white and gold, with brown borders. On the outer side, above the Jātakas, are rows of seated Buddhas in various attitudes, dharmacakra, bhūmisparśa, dhyāna mudrā, etc., each with a pair of disciples facing him, and a pair of flying gods with garlands above. Niche-soffits, too, are alive with painted 'sun-gods' and geometric patterns.

This temple is more cave-like than other gū. It is unique. From without, the effect, like that of Paḥtothāmya, is to lose the square in the polygon. This is due to the absence (or loss?) of corner-stupas,

36 Such tunnels and secret images remind one of the fine pagoda with its lovely images at Ho-pông, beyond Taunggyi, S. Shan States, where the oldest parts of the vaulting (on the E. and N. sides, if I remember right) employ the Paṅgā radiating arch.

37 Possibly there was something like this at Nat-hluang-gyaung, perhaps only an upper gallery or triforium. One would need ladders to investigate.

38 Extant evidence at Paṅgā shows that this Sinhalese subdivision of the Žātaka into Nipāta and vagga, occurs, first in Myinpyagu, the Abēyadana, and the 'Mon' temple W. of Taungbi tank. The Taungbi temple follows the pattern more strictly than the others. This subdivision is not found in Kyanzittha's early pagodas, Shwēzigōn and Nagayōn.
and the presence of strong bays projecting in the centres, weighted with medial stupas. The interior is not sombre nor cold, but always richly dark and devotional. Apart from Jātakas on the outer wall, there is little to distract attention from pious contemplation of the Buddha. As a means to fix the mind, and awake devotion to the Master, this temple has few equals at Pagān.

**PAUNG-GU TEMPLE (Pl. 153)**

Paunggu temple is, or was, on the N. bank of Myinkaba Chaung at its junction with the Irawady, on the edge of a precipitous riverbank about a mile S. of Pagān. It has been constantly eroded by flood-water, so that now there is little left of it on top of the cliff. In 1916 Taw Sein Ko reported\(^{39}\) that U Tin, Subdivisional Officer, Pagān, had acquired for Pagān Museum 11 stone and 2 bronze figures from this temple: “one of the stone figures represents the dancing of two mythical beings with human heads and the bodies of birds; a second depicts a monkey-headed man with four hands; and a third a creature having two heads of birds. One of the bronze figures is that of a deva or Nat, and the second is that of a seated image of the Buddha. The collection appears to bear traces of South Indian influence.”

On p. 5, para 11, of the same Report, Duroiselle, inspecting Pagān Museum, found “three small slabs of soft white stone, on which are beautifully sculptured musicians, animals, gandharvas and other mythological beings, the technique of some of which is easily traceable to the old school of Indian sculpture, from which they have probably been copied... The action of the water has greatly damaged the building, and a few months ago, caused a small portion of it to crumble down, exposing to view the exquisite sculptures above mentioned. I inspected the Paung-gū, and am convinced that many more such and probably other sculptures are buried among the débris. It is advisable to clear the débris and try and recover what may remain of these sculptures before the river at high flood washes them away. The building is ascribed to Kyanzitha (1084–1112 A.D.)”.

On p. 52, Appendix E of the same Report, only 4 photographs of these 11 Paunggu stone sculptures (none of the bronzes) are listed, viz.:

“45/1535. Figures of birds with the head of elephant carved in relief on a slab of stone.

“46/1536. Figures of monkeys carved in relief on a slab of stone.

“47/1537. Figures of Kinnaras, carved in relief on a slab of stone.

“48/1538. Figures of men, one beating a drum, and the other holding cymbals, carved in relief on a slab of stone.”

“Nos. 45–48 were discovered at the Paunggu pagoda, and now placed in the Museum, Pagān.”

The same list is repeated, under Nos. 1535–1538, on p. 24 of *List of Archaeological Photo-Negatives of Burma* (Delhi, 1936). These are shown on Pl. 153.

In 1927\(^{40}\) Duroiselle reported further efforts to clear the débris; but these had to be abandoned because of the danger to the workmen: “When the monument was examined in November last, it was found that the central relic-chamber had all but been washed away, the only parts that remained being portions of its walls on the E. and N. sides. It was also observed that the mound was honeycombed

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\(^{39}\) *A.S.B.* 1916, p. 37, para 86.

\(^{40}\) *A.S.I.* 1927, pp. 165–6.
with trenches, probably the work of treasure hunters, dating some years back.” Yet he still held that “it is for consideration whether it would not be prudent to tackle the mound again and try and recover whatever antiquarian objects it may still contain.”

Of the two bronzes recovered, one is to be seen at Mandalay Archaeological Office: it is the archaic ‘Pyu’ figure of the Bodhisattva Maitreyana (Pl. 444 c, d). A close parallel to this was found in the relic-chamber of Aniruddha’s Shwèhsandaw pagoda (Pl. 444 a, b), with identification in Pyu writing. A third specimen, without inscription, is also at Pagán Museum: said to come “from a stone mound W. of the Myazedi, Pagán, 4 furlongs W. of the main road”, together with a small bronze seated Buddha with large hands, both raised in abhaya mudrā. The description points also, pretty certainly, to Paunggu temple (see Pls. 444 e, f; 443 c, d). The two last-mentioned bronzes were found later at the site; the bronze found in 1916 at Paung-gu, together with the first ‘Pyu’ Maitreyana, was a Lokanātha of Indian type (Pl. 446 b, c).

Of the 7 other stone sculptures deposited at the Museum by U Tin, two are said to be the small stone lions at the entrance to Pagán Museum (Pl. 153 g, h).

These Pyu bronzes and Dvāravatī type of Buddha, raising both hands in abhaya-mudrā, clearly go back to the early days of the dynasty, c. 1060 A.D., when Aniruddha built the Shwèhsandaw, if not earlier. I expect the Paunggu temple itself goes back to Aniruddha’s reign. U Htwe Sein has recently done a neat job of excavating at the top of the cliff. But the site is complex, and the walls low; so it is difficult to say where the stone sculptures were originally sited, and even what was the original shape of the temple. Apart from a votive tablet showing 5 Earth-touching Buddhas (Pl. 61 e), with a faint inscription in Old Mon on the obverse, nothing remarkable was found. Perhaps he will be luckier if he digs at the base of the cliff when the river is low.

One feature common to all these early images is that while Indian motifs are adopted, and indeed welcomed, there is a strong local, native element in the style of representation. This is seen in the Paunggu sculptures no less than in the bronzes. Look at the human faces – attitudes – clothes – head-dress – instruments. There is a striking, and (to me) most interesting contrast between the Indian motif and the Burma treatment of it. By Kyanzittha’s time, with all his vast numbers of sculptures, that contrast is rarely apparent. With the loss of a good deal of vigour and vitality, a compromise was reached – a rich, dignified, solemn and hieratic style, which henceforth governs most of Buddhist art in the plains of Burma.

But in spite of the half-century between them, there is (I suspect) a debt which Nanda owes to Paunggu. The basement plinth of the former holds 552 terracotta plaques. These show, on the W. side, the various monsters (usually 2 on each plaque) of Māra’s army, who vainly attacked the Buddha on the eve of his Enlightenment. On the E. side, Devas and other mighty beings celebrate his triumph. Possibly – but the evidence is still, I admit, inadequate – some such pair of themes were first illustrated in the small stone sculptures of Paunggu. If so, the fierce Monkey-Men and the Bird-Elephants would be part of Māra’s army; while the Drummers, Cymbalists and flute-playing Kinnaras would be participants in the Triumph.

Good stone is rare at Pagán: so these sculptures are small – only about 12 to 14 in. in length, and 8 in. in height. The change to terracotta on the Nanda was doubtless inevitable. Much the same
change occurred in the illustration of Jātakas. The cross-passages of the Nanda contain a good number of Jātaka-carvings in stone. These were rejected, it seems, by Kyanzittha in favour of terracotta plaques, which could be made large, and were cheaper and easier to work than stone, and, thanks to the bright green glaze with which he dressed them, better suited for exteriors.

GŪ BIZAT TEMPLE (Pl. 154)

In the N.W. sector of the city, a furlong E. of Pēbingyaung, W. of the road running N. from Mahābodhi to the riverbank, there are two neglected ‘Mon’ temples, deep sunk in cowdung, called Gū Bizat. The larger one, Gū Bizat-gyi, is still, structurally, in fair condition, worthy of conservation. It has a 'bell' top and three sprawling terraces, roofs probably sloping, crenellated parapet, corner-pilasters, and ruined corner-stupas. If we ignore later accretions, there was only one arched entrance, on the E., with a square perforated window near each corner of that face. The other faces had each 3 perforated windows, with horizontal caps and 5 × 5 square holes, the outer windows commanding the corridor within. There is a central Shrine (12½ ft. broad by 10¾ ft. deep) with broad vaulted entrance on the E., and a tall perforated window (3 × 7 holes) on each side. The colossal Buddha sits under a painted Bodhi tree, Kinnaras perching near the shoulders. There is also a fine painted Buddha in the centre of the W. inner face of the Corridor. A good deal of dark painting remains on the walls, but none on the lean-to vault. We did not notice any old writing; but the gloom and the dirt discouraged search. The Corridor is broad (nearly 9 ft.), and runs round all four faces (over 50 ft. square without, and nearly 40 ft. within). There are many empty niches for images on both walls, 48 (I think) altogether. — It looks as if this is a ‘Mon’ temple of early symmetric, pre-Kyanzittha type.

PĀSĀDA ZEDI (No. 789, called ‘Hsinpyagu’ on U Htwé Sein’s map)

This great ruined temple (Pl. 155) — somewhat similar to Gū Bizat-gyi in type — is outside the city-walls S. of the Man-aung group, W. of Lokhaitekpan, N.E. of Pēnatha, on a road S. of the old central road. Its main mass (some 73 ft. square?) supports a huge well-preserved šikhara, 96 ft. high, with 3 tiers of corbelled niches on each side. Below, on all four sides, is a broad — too broad a corridor with lean-to vaulting, now mostly fallen in. Below on the W. face, which was doubtless the front, the outer wall, including the entrance and the whole façade, has collapsed. The central mass has no ground-floor inner shrine: only 4 broad vaulted recesses (about 6 ft. deep and 12 ft. broad) for colossal Buddhas. One headless Earth-touching Buddha is still visible in the W. recess. There may be a small vaulted upper shrine below the šikhara (as the view from the west suggests): if so, it is possible that a staircase led up to it in the thickness of the outer wall. But this is quite doubtful. The N., S., and E. outer walls had each 5 vaulted archways over pedimented windows, the outer ones commanding the corridor, the central one facing the recess. Such decoration as remains, especially the stucco edging of the recesses arching from the floor — pellet, cording, pellet, and intricate foliation — is typically ‘Mon’: short torana, 5 receding horizontal tiers, climbing to a recessed harmikā and stupa-finial, just below the cornice at the top of the high wall. 6 corbelled niches in 2 tiers flank each recess. There are no niches in the outer wall. This temple, too, is worth conserving as a ruin.
'MON' TEMPLE W. OF TAUNGBI TANK (Pl. 156, 157)

Not far beyond the N.E. corner of Pagán city-wall, on the W. side of Taungbi village, there is a circular brick tank. About 100 yards N.W. of this, at the top of a sloping millet field, is a group of small pagodas, the Mon temple in the middle facing east. It has a single entrance, now 'repaired' with corbel-arching. In 1961, while listing ink-inscriptions for the Burma Historical Commission, Aung Myat Kyaw and Bo Hlaing re-discovered it. They reported Old Mon writing on the walls.

In nearly all respects this is a typical 'Mon' temple. It consists of a main square block (38 ft.), with a broad corridor on the four sides of a central mass; and a Hall of entrance on the east (14 × 16 ft.). It is crowned with receding terraces and a 'bell 'stupa, now ravaged by treasure-hunters. Corner-stupas, if any, are lost. No 'frieze' is visible. There are corner-pilasters and cornice. The main block has two perforated windows each on the S., W., and N. sides. All have pediments (elec) with vertical spires and 3 × 4 perforations. Each of these faces had diamond-shaped openings (3 above, 1 in the centre below), giving light to the corridor and images within.

There is no Shrine, but the square central mass has a deep recess on each side, holding a lotus throne and colossal Earth-touching Buddha. Mon Bo Kay points out to me that the central figure in the throne-band, as on several thrones in the Nanda shrines, is the three-headed Elephant (symbol of supreme wisdom ?), between lions with reverted heads, and dancers. The recess is crowned with a broad finely sculptured Mon elec-torin, arching from base to peak, with five receding horizontal roofs supporting an old-style stupa with double lotus, square-banded anda, recessed harmikā and tapering squared chattrivāli, reaching to the cornice—all very like the Pāśāda Ceti (supra). There are tall corner-pilasters with capitals. All the walls are covered with painting, including the recesses. These show halo and bodhi tree, architectural background with elaborate corner-shields, and two saints below in prayer or holding lotus-stems. In the W. recess Kinnaras, painted red, perch at shoulder-level. Eleven tiers of Buddhas (without glosses) are painted on this central mass; there is a floral band below, and Indra blowing his conch and Brahmā with closed umbrella standing on either side of the recess.

The Corridor had a lean-to vault too broad for its weight. It has mostly fallen in on the S. side, where, curiously enough, the Jātaka-glosses, now exposed to the elements, are still often legible below the mire, though illegible on the N. side, where the vault is intact. Cattle may have rubbed away the surface on this side. On each side of the entrance to the Corridor there is a tall trefoil niche, and three more, one each in the centre of the other faces.

The large Hall has side-walls arching from the floor; the E. and W. walls are vertical, the latter not integrated with the main block, i.e. the temple proper. There is a high pointed window on each side, between two niches, these side-walls are thick, with deep stepped embrasures. The bricks in the main walls are large: 18 in. × 9 in. × 3 in. The inner entrance-arch is rounder than the others, with three orders of recession. The Hall is covered with dim paintings; there is no writing, I think, below the panels.

At the top of the outer wall of the Corridor, there are 5 tiers of haloed Buddhas seated in dharmacakra mudrā, a saint on each side. There is no writing below them. Then comes a band of floral arabesque; then 5 tiers of small Jātaka panels (14 in. broad, 15½ in. high) with Old Mon glosses below each. The series starts with the top tier, E. wall, S. of the entrance-arch. Here is a brief analysis of what we found on the four walls, and what (more or less) we could read:—
In the lower tiers, space in the niches is utilized, thus greatly increasing the number of panels. The floor at present is silted up high. If we may imagine 3 more tiers (5th, 6th and 7th) available at the base, it should provide space for $90 \times 3$ Jātakas, bringing the total to 553. But already on the N. wall of the entrance arch between Hall and Corridor, 3 of the later Jātakas are provided for: Cītasambhūta (498/501), Sīvi (499/502), Sirimīn pāṇha (500/503): no numbers are given, so we cannot say whether the Nanda numbering or that of the Hpetleik was followed. (The latter is more probable if the temple antedates the accession of Kyanzittha). Perhaps there were only 2 more bottom tiers, space being found elsewhere (query in the Hall?) for the odd 87 panels. There is room for 7 tiers altogether: but the bottom one would reach a point only 8 inches above the brick-paved floor.

The writing is careful and accurate, not slovenly as in many of the later temples. The spelling tends to be archaic: thus “King”, always written smiñ in Kyanzittha’s inscriptions, is here usually smen. And some Sanskritic forms seem to be preferred to Pali: dharmma to dhamma, prasna to pāṇha, prāmokka to pāmokka. All these facts, and, most of all perhaps, the absence of any documentation other than the Jātaka, cause me to date this temple earlier than Kyanzittha’s reign. The first temple to reveal the wider Buddhist horizons, shown in the Singhalese texts (first got, I think, near the end of Aniruddha’s reign), is the Pāhtothāmya. If that great temple dates, as seems probable, near the end of Caw Lu’s reign, this Taungbi temple should be dated rather earlier. The Archaeological Department has started to conserve it.
CHAPTER XV

EVOLUTION OF THE BURMA TEMPLE

The ‘Mon’ temples – Pāhtothāmya.

THE ‘MON’ TEMPLES

Before we proceed to detail about the ‘Mon’ temples, let us cast an eye on the evolution of the Burma temple in general. We start with the solid Stūpa or Cetiya, which was essentially circular. Even the buttresses or terraces supporting it at Śrī Kṣetra were normally round. The big change comes with the squaring of the circle: not by tampering with its shape, but by building it up from below, placing the square under it, usually with an octagon in between. The lotus mat on which the cetiya rests, with perhaps the āmalaka fruit below it or the Vaiṣṇava Śikhara, remains circular and topmost; but as the squareness below grows larger, the circle above gets less.

The square terrace invited decoration: in Aniruddha’s pagodas usually Jātaka plaques, lining the plinth in pockets, at first plain, then coloured. But 550 pockets were too many for the single terrace, and the unglazed plaques needed protection: so he added a low vaulted corridor, where the whole series could be fitted on both sides, and the pious visitor could combine study and pradaksīna, heedless of sun or rain. Kyanzittha loved colour, and revived the Late Pyu art of glazing, as a better means both for protection and for show. By enlarging the Stupa, he found that three terraces sufficed to house the whole 550. Such methods we may call Extravert, intended for display. If Jātakas were missing, both Pyu and Mon and Burman had long learnt to substitute the Four Buddhas of the present kalpa, seated back to back against a common pile, facing the four cardinal points.

But the Mon, like the Indian, was more of an Introvert. He had been under Indian influence a thousand years longer than the Burman. Bhakti, and the need for Worship, moved him more than the need for Display. He pushed his image ever further back into the pile, until it sat alone in darkening splendour, with himself prostrate before it. Having learnt, perhaps from the Pyu, the art of the Pendentive, of intersecting arches, he could build vaulted Shrines and keep them dark and dry by means of perforated windows. At the same time he could satisfy Extravert desires by enriching the outer wall of his Shrine with grand plinth-mouldings, dado, pilasters, tall niches embossed with stucco carvings, crowned with frieze and cornice. He too, like the Extravert, felt the need for the pradaksīna corridor: but marked its lesser status by employing only a lean-to vault, with the outer wall plain except for painting, while still maintaining all the embellishments of the inner wall.

Soon, also, like the Indian, he felt the need for a maṇḍapa or Hall, where other images could be kept, or sermons preached, or alms given. Within the thick side-walls of the Hall a staircase could be built to reach the roof, or kammaṭṭhāna cells hollowed for meditation. But the Hall stood always lower than the Temple, and though it leaned against the Temple face, it was not integrated with it. The masonry of each was separate. One entered the Temple proper only by crossing the great stone sill
dividing Hall and Corridor. Here, at the inner archway, not the outer, stood the giant Guardians, the wooden lattice doors, the richest pediment. Shrine, Corridor walls, and Hall were thus nicely graded from the first, and all are generally present in the ‘Mon’ temples of Kyanzittha’s time. Attempts, of course, were made by architects to impose unity on the asymmetric complex. The most successful means, seen in the later temples, Nanda and Dhammayan-gyi, was to build four Halls instead of one, with the four Buddhas at the centre. But several of the earlier buildings listed in the last chapter – Pitakat – taik, Myinpyagu, Gu Bizat and Pāsāda Ceti – prove that Symmetry was always at the base of the ‘Mon’ temple proper, and that the asymmetric appearance of the ‘Mon’ temples we are about to describe, is more apparent than real. In some of these, the Pāhtothāmya and Abeyadana in particular, the Hall is less essential than in others; such temples are seen best from back or side rather than from front.

At the beginning of the last chapter, I divided Pagàn temple-architecture into four main phases: – the second ‘free phase’ roughly coinciding with the reign of Aniruddha; the third, ‘Mon’, centred in Kyanzittha’s reign (1084–1113 A.D.); the fourth, plainly Burmese, from the accession of Cañsū II (Narapatisithu) in 1174 A.D. In a broad sense we may call the whole middle period – from 1057 A.D. (capture of Thaton) down to 1174 – the ‘Mon’ period; for temples of the third phase (which we must now consider) take off closely from those of the second. In the restricted sense the ‘Mon’ style centres in the temples of Kyanzittha’s reign, but emerged a little earlier, in the Taungbi and Pāhtothāmya temples. In the transitional period after Kyanzittha’s death (1113–1174 A.D.), there are temples of both ‘Mon’ and Burmese styles, the ‘Mon’ gradually yielding to, or merging in, the Burmese. I use the latter term with confidence; the former, ‘Mon’, with some hesitation and inverted commas. Right or wrong in its implications, it is at any rate a convenient label for a style quite distinctive.

The old-style ‘Mon’ temple, as found at Pagàn, is normally of one storey, and in plan apparently asymmetric. It consists, as we have said, of a square main block, the temple proper, containing a central Shrine or recess for images; a half-arched corridor (or corridors) surrounding it; and a vaulted Hall (with the only means of entrance) on one side. The main block is always dark, for the windows (2 to 5 on each of the other sides) are of perforated stone or brick. Even the Corridor is dim; and the Shrine containing the colossal image would often be pitch-dark, if it were not for one, or three, skylights casting mysterious rays on the face of the Buddha. Such temples, if not ruined, have nearly always Old Mon writing, never Old Burmese.

The taste for dim religious light may have owed something, perhaps, to the basic meaning of guhā – “a secret place”, with all its metaphysical connotations in philosophic India. It owed more, I suspect, to the romantic and poetic temperament of Old Mons, who, like the painters of Ajanta, wanted to live in the immediate presence of their Holy Ones. The Old Burman, a more earthy and prosaic person, as soon as he began to control the building, cleared the perforated windows, drove out the bats, opened large doorways on each face, and placed the main Shrine high above him on a platform, which soon became an upper storey.

The great difference in style between Old Mon and Old Burmese inscriptions confirms my view of this temperamential difference. The doubt is whether one is right in calling this style of architecture
'Mon'. Burmese historians, of course, freely acknowledge the great debt of Pagán art to that of Thatón. One of the principal features of these temples, which Kyanzittha, by his frequent references to it, clearly regarded as of great importance, was the clec or pediment over arch or window. Clec is a pure Mon word, not Indian, nor Burmese (though borrowed), nor (so far as we can judge) Pyu. And there are several other Mon words connected with architecture which have passed into Old Burmese.1

The Mon clec is found early, but not often, at Śrī Kṣetra.2 It becomes an essential feature of Pagán architecture from Kyanzittha onwards. Before him it is none too common at Pagán. It is not found on Pēbingyaung, nor on the older parts of Kyaukku Ōhnmin, nor at Myinpyayu. In archaic form it crowns the central recess in Nat-hlaung-yaung. At Pāhtothāmya it is found on the Hall, but not on the ground floor of the temple proper. It appears first in all its glory on the Nanpayya, a temple attributed to the captured king of Thatón. It is there closely associated with Kyāk Śrī, the goddess Lakṣmī, Viṣṇu’s wife, and with Makara, Viṣṇu’s ear-ornament. The same temple has 8 large figures of Brahmā. Such Brahmanic figures are typical of coastal Lower Burma and the Mon country. Pagán at first had closer contact, it seems, with N. Arakan and E. Bengal. The Pyu of Prome, lying in between, felt the influence of both. Kyanzittha—a lover of Mon, a uniter of Mon, Pyu and Burman—standardized Pagán architecture by fusing the Mon clec finally onto the Pyu/Burmese vaulted temple.

But if we would call the resultant style ‘Mon’, where is the Mon original to be found?—The late Pierre Dupont found not one single radiating arch in the Mon art of Dvāravatī (Siam).3 It has not yet been found at Thatón. In 1913–14 the late Dr. J. A. Stewart excavated a vaulted shrine with four pendentives within the walls of Old Pegu.4 East of the old city near Kamanat, Theinbyu pagoda still shows evidence of vaulting. But neither of these bear much resemblance in plan to the ‘Mon’ temples of Pagán. The vaulted chapels of Śrī Kṣetra, on the other hand, though small, are clear prototypes of Pagán architecture:—the Bèbè (perhaps the oldest, 7th century A.D.)—a plain vaulted cella with crude groining;5 the Lėmyet-hna—central solid pier and vaulted corridor on all four sides, with four entrances;6 the East Zégu—Shrine and Hall, a masterpiece of (perhaps) 8th century vaulting.7 There are other Pyu temples too, now roofless. One is in “Saw Maung’s mound at Shwé-ġyöbin village. The structure brought to light is the remains of a square building of brick measuring 36 ft. within. The inner chamber is surrounded by a 3 ft. wide corridor with a doorway on the south, which is also 3 ft. wide”.8 This type—Shrine and Corridor surrounding it—is pretty close to the plan of the ‘Mon’ temples of Pagán.

If so, why not call this type of temple ‘Pyu’ rather than ‘Mon’?—Partly because the writing within is Mon, never Pyu. Mainly, perhaps, because the Pyu (who never seem to repeat themselves in temple-architecture) show no preference for this plan as against others; whereas the early Pagán builders used it over a score of times, counting only extant examples. If they did not invent the type, they may

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2 See the Kanbyin Gate and Nat-yaunkya-gón megaliths (Arch. Neg. 776 of 1909–10, and 2886 of 1926–27).
3 See his remarks on this subject at L’Archéologie Mône de Dvāravatī (Paris, 1959), Texte, p. 125. It was quite wrong, however, to say that the radiating arch was not used in Burma monasteries. Every single kūlākōn at Pagán refutes this: they include some of the largest of our vaulted spans.
5 Bèbè:—A.S.I. 1910, Pl. XLV 4; L. de Beylié, Prome et Samara, p. 98, fig. 70.
6 Lėmyet-hna:—L. de Beylié, ibid., pp. 100, 101, figs. 72, 73.
7 East Zégu:—Henri Marchal, BEFEO t. XL (1949), pp. 425–431, a fine study, beautifully illustrated, of this neglected masterpiece of Burma’s art.
be said to have appropriated it. And finally, can we be sure that the Pyu builders were still living and working at Pagan around 1100 A.D.? Or would the term be almost an anachronism?

In view of the difference in yearly rainfall between Prome and the coast—Prome 47 inches, Pegu 127, Thaton 216—may it not be an accident that vaulted temples survive at Prome and not at Thaton? And again, in view of the contacts between Burma and Bengal from the 7th century, may not East Bengal (with one of the heaviest rainfalls in the world) have provided the original model, both for Pyu and Mon? For I find it difficult to accept the view, proposed both by Marchal and Dupont, that keystone vaulting reached Burma "from China or Central Asia". At Pagan, as at Sri Ksetra, the broad surface of the brick is always laid parallel to the arch-face, never as in Han dynasty tombs, at right angles to it. The Burma method is no doubt the same (as de Beylié pointed out) as that in Central Asia. The common source (if Burma did not invent it independently) is likely to have been India.

The 'Mon' temples of Pagan, in spite of all their beauty, show that the builder (whoever he was) was less expert than the Pyu in vaulting. Though never emphasizing the keystone or keybrick with bosses, he was good enough at groining the four pendentives of a shrine up to the peak. But when he had to build a broad archway at the entrance of the Hall or temple proper, the central order or orders of the arch were usually of wood, fossilwood or stone; and here great doors of wooden lattice may be added. The elaborate plinth, pilasters, dado, cornice and carved niches on the inner wall of the Corridor (really the outer wall of the Shrine), point to the fact that the latter, a mere Cella, was once the original temple, exposed to the air on all four sides. The pradakśina Corridor and Hall were added later: the Hall with side-walls arching from the floor, and leaning against, not interlocking with the original façade; the Corridor, a broad lean-to half-vault, ending on top of the original cornice. Its roof was just ogee, following the curve of the half-vault. As a result of this weak vaulting, under stress of earthquake, most of the Mon temples are in ruin, the lean-to corridor-vault having fallen in on all sides, perhaps, except the front, where the two masses of Shrine and Hall help to buttress it. The Old Burmans, who learnt so much from the Mons, were quick to learn from Mon mistakes. Few of the later temples of Minnathu and Pwazaw are structurally unsound. Where they failed (a not inglorious failure) was in the Brick Monasteries.

PÄHTOTHÄMYA TEMPLE (Pls. 158–167).

This lovely brick temple, in form perhaps the most beautiful of all the 'Mon' temples of Pagan, stands inside the city near the S. wall, on the W. side of Nat-hlaung-gyaung. The Chronicles attribute it to Caw Rahan, who may have died c. 1000 A.D. The attribution must be rejected: for not only is the temple full of Old Mon writings, but its paintings are clearly based on numerous texts of the Singhalese Tipitaka, which could hardly have reached Pagan till near the end of Aniruddha's reign. U Mya

11 Prome et Samara, p. 100 and fig. 71.
Chapter XV

303

says:13 "The temple cannot be assigned to a date later than the 11th century A.D." He appears to argue that Pāhtothāmya was built by Man Lulañ, i.e. Caw Lu, Aniruddha's son and successor.14 If I hesitate to accept all the steps in his argument, I readily accept the conclusion: for while the evidence suggests that it is not the work of Kyanzittha, it is pretty certainly the immediate parent of Kyanzittha's temples. I propose a date c. 1080 A.D.

The temple faces East. The three doorways of the large Hall have prominent arch-pediments. There is also a grand inner one of carved stucco, on the way to the Shrine. There are no other oles on the temple proper, not even above the perforated windows. This would be strange if the builder were Kyanzittha. But the position, size and content of the temple, quite apart from its artistic eminence, show it to be royal. The staircase climbs east from the N. doorway of the Hall.

The first glory of the temple is its exterior. Its plinth-moulding, the noblest in Pagán,15 derives from the profile of a simple pot. Each of the three plain sides of the main block projects a medial bay with perforated window; on each side of the bay are two more windows. All are of plain brick, with holes square or round, rather more tall than broad. There is no reliance for effect on stone or stucco decoration. Such surface beauties as the temple had, are mostly lost. The windows, which are perfect, have no more ornament than three flat orders of recession. There are no pediments nor frieze nor dado. The bare pilasters are important, but are too faint to catch the eye. Few of these gu have suffered more from time's rough finger, blurring and blotching edge and cope and finial. It matters little: for its proportions, great and small, are so just that it can scale and shale and still be beautiful.

The master-stroke of the architect was his decision to project these medial bays (like those of Myinpyag), and build out large medial gu above them, matching the square-framed medial skylights of the top terrace. Not only did this make the union of these fronts organic: but by transferring emphasis above to the centres rather than the corners, not dwarfing the latter but granting them their strength and denying them their dominance, he gave his roof a grand perspective, kept the majesty of the cube and yet achieved the richness of the polygon. Enforcing this, he designed a simple but unique Sikhara, a dodekahedron. The chattravali is like that of Abeyadana, but has 12 sides instead of 8. The plinth below it also is twelve-sided, descending into square with two recessions on each side. And the main dome, with twelve broad foliated ribs rising up and over it, both bulges to a ridge at the four corners, and presents a square retracting frontage to each face.

The way was then open to enrich the roof, the Buddha's diadem (jatamukuta). The roof of the Hall is broad and flat. The two upper roofs are sloping. The corners of the lowest terrace are broken by round stupas embossed against their sides. Below, there is a continuum of large crenelles. The second terrace has a parapet of large round pots with cornice-band of lotus flowers. The third terrace has as plinth small frames of inset square urns, with gnomons of stucco scrollwork at the corners, and round urns above as parapet. The top terrace has only the medial skylights, and ruined tiers retreating on the dome. The medial gu of the lowest terrace, and the dormer skylights above and behind them, are arched within, but square-framed without, like all the windows below them, so as not to squander in flamboyance the soaring lines of the pyramid. Each miniature roof-shrine harbours a Buddha throned

15 It did not escape the eye of Henri Marchal, the old Angkor Conservator: see his L'Architecture comparée dans l'Inde et l'Extrême-Orient (Paris, 1944) p. 102, fig. 53.
in a rich painted chamber: a vault of 'Sun-gods' above, adorants, kings and ministers, to left and right, drummers and dancers below (see PIs. 165, 166). The medial *gu* above the back of the Hall is larger than the others.

'Pāhtothāmya' appears to mean 'Pagoda with many children.' – The title may serve to indicate its second glory – that of Pioneer in spreading the gospel of Singhalese Buddhism. Before it was built, there is no evidence that Pagán had more than hearsay knowledge of the deeper truths of Buddhism or the vast field of the Tipiṭaka. It may well have known more of Tāntric Mahāyānism and Brahmanism than of the Theravāda. The *Jātaka* Commentary was already familiar, and of course the Eight Scenes. But even the Life of the Buddha is not much illustrated beyond these in the sculptures of Kyaukku Önḥmin. And if the endless rows of Preaching and Earth-touching Buddhas in the Taungbi temple and Myinpyagu, are meant to illustrate particular Suttas, there is no gloss below them to prove it. They seem rather to serve as devotional wallpaper, proper for fixing the mind in the presence of the Master.

From the Pāhtothāmya onwards all this is changed. During the next generation the pendulum of purpose will swing from Devotion to Instruction. If I am right in arguing that, apart from the *Jātaka*, little in the way of texts could reach Pagán till after 1070 A.D., when, with the help of monks from Burma, Vijayabāhu I set about reviving Buddhism in Ceylon, scholars at Pagán had had little time, by 1080 A.D., to acquaint themselves with primary Buddhist texts, written in an unknown script and little known language. We can but admire their devotion, industry and accurate scholarship. We may guess that they first studied texts of the *Vinaya*, the Discipline of the Order; and then went on to the *Sutta*ta, first the *Dīgha*, then the *Majjhima Nihāya*. Meantime, with the help of the *Nidānakathā* and other texts, they greatly enlarged their knowledge of the life of Gotama, both before the Enlightenment and after. All these themes are abundantly illustrated, for the first time, in paintings on the walls of Pāhtothāmya. These facts are confirmed by hundreds of ink-glosses, not all of which are legible, but more than enough to prove that the matter, order and naming of the various *sikkhāpāda* of the *Vinaya* follow closely the Singhalese Canon; so do the matter, order and naming of the various Suttas of the first two *Nihāyas*. There is also a short text about Padumuttara Buddha, which we have not been able to locate. We can do little more at present than indicate the position on the walls of scenes, whose glosses we were able to read and identify.

Scenes from the life of Gotama fill the main panels on the outer wall of the Corridor, excluding the bays. On the S., W., and N. sides there are two windows on each side of the central bays, also a niche between the bay and the nearest window. On the E. side there is only one window near each corner, and two niches between it and the entrance. There is room for 6 panels on each wall. All are of equal height (3 ft. 8 in.). They vary in breadth: broad between windows (about 6 ft. 8 in.), narrow where niches intervene (4 to 5 ft.). I number the panels 1 to 24: –

**E. Wall.** S. of entrance arch. Panels 1 to 3; Lower half flaked. No glosses left. Subject perhaps the Conception.

**S. Wall.** Panel 4: The Nativity (gloss illegible).
,, Panel 5: Prophecy of *Kāladevi*ta. See Pl. 167 a.
,, Panel 6: Eight Brahmans examine the Babe's auspicious signs.
Chapter XV

S. Wall. Panel 7: Miracle under the Rose-apple tree.
,, Panel 8: Boat-racing scene (gloss mostly lost).
,, Panel 9: Archery contest (gloss fragmentary).

W. Wall. Panel 10: Gotama seated with attendants, male and female (gloss illegible).
,, Panel 11: On his way to sport in the garden, he sees the four Omens.
,, Panel 12: In the garden Gotama asks the Barber (? Candila) Deva . . . [sc. Vissukamma].
,, Panel 13: Return by chariot from the garden (gloss partly legible).
,, Panel 14: Princess Kisāgotami worships the Lord. He sends her a gift of pearls.
,, Panel 15: Gotama sees the nautches who . . .

N. Wall. Panel 16: He “mounts his horse”. The Devas all acclaim him.
,, Panel 17: The Tonsure. See Pl. 166 a.
,, Panel 18: Having renounced the world, he stays at . . . (Anupiya ?).
,, Panel 19: He “collects alms in the city of Rājagrih”.
,, Panel 20: King Bimbisār visits him (gloss partly legible).
,, Panel 21: He is shown seated with hermits.

E. Wall. Panel 22: Sujātā offers milk-rice (?)
,, Panel 23: The Buddha eats the milk-rice (?) and casts the bowl into the river.
,, Panel 24: Approach to the Bodhi tree (?)

Glosses under panels 21–24 are illegible.

On the inner side of the Corridor, East wall, there are 6 panels, over 6½ ft. high and 5 ft. broad. On the S. side of the Shrine-entrance, the scenes may be the first sitting under the Bodhi tree (Brahmā visible on the left); the Twin Miracles; and the Descent from Tāvatīśa. On the N. side the inner panel shows the Parinirvāṇa. There are 6 panels also on the W. wall, and 8 each on the S. and N. walls (subjects not clear)16. Above these freehand carefully-painted panels there are tiers of smaller panels (4 tiers on the outer wall, 5 on the inner), showing only Buddhas seated between saints. On the N. and S. sides of the Hall, too, are 7 similar rows, 19 panels in each row and 7 rows on each side of the entrance-arch. These are just conventional, and have no glosses below them.

Scenes from the Buddha’s life17 with glosses, are resumed in the Shrine, on the lowest tier of panels with writing, well above eye-level. Will the reader kindly turn to the Plan of the temple shown at Pl. 161 b ? - The Shrine, it will be seen, is divided roughly into two halves, at the side-windows giving onto the bay-windows of the Corridor. The part E. of this, we call the Front of the Shrine. The

16 I am not sure whether this was the original arrangement. Evidence on the W. inner wall suggests that originally there were simple corbelled niches for images, three on each side of the centre; and that shortly afterwards these were closed, and large Buddha-panels of painting took their place. These did not include, at Pāthothāmya, illustrations of the assault and flight of Māra’s army – a theme usually assigned to the back inner wall of the Corridor in ‘Mon’ temples. Note that the roofing of the Hall was less porous than the roughcast roofs of Kyanzittha’s reign: for ‘Sun-god’ tondoes still cover half the ceiling above the top floral band.

recessed part to the W., containing the three colossal images, the central one reaching almost to the roof, we call the N. and S. Recess. The last panel on the outer wall of the Corridor may have shown the Enlightenment. The first panel in the Shrine appears to continue the story with the First Sermon in the Deer-park at Sârnâth: –


32. Front of Shrine, E. Wall, S.E. corner: He “preaches the Law at Veluvan [Bamboo Grove near Rājagaha]. All 8 ministers [sent from Kapilavatthu] become Saints.”

33. Front of Shrine, S. Wall, S.E. corner: The same story, continued.

34. Front of Shrine, S. Wall, S.W. corner: The final envoy of Sudhodana, Udāyi Ther [Kāśudāyi] conveys his message to the Buddha at Rājagaha.

35. S. Recess, E. wall (See Pl. 167 b): The Buddha returns to Kapilavatthu, and performs the Twin Miracle before Sudhodana and the princes of the Sākyan clan.

For further scenes from the life of the Buddha, one has to climb to the topmost legible tier of glosses in the Shrine. Here, in the N. recess, W. wall, above the reredos of the side-Buddha, there are 5 small panels with legible glosses, showing:

(i) “the novice Cunda”, younger brother of Sāriputta.

(ii) “Upalavanna Theri”, one of the two chief women-disciples of the Buddha.

(iii) “Kisagotami Theri”, distracted with grief at the death of her son, was converted by the Buddha.

(iv) “Cula Anāthapiṇī”, the wealthy lay-disciple who fed the multitude at Sāvatthi waiting for the Buddha’s descent from Tāvatiṣa.

(v) “Dharani Upā – Is this Upāli gahapati? Or Vinayadhara Upāli Thera? Query Gharani upāsikā? At the same level, on the N. wall of the N. Recess, there is a series of panels leading up to, and beyond, the performance of the Great Miracles at Sāvatthi: –

(vi) “This is when the Rev. Ānanda gives” . . . “. . . . . . to the Buddha.”

(vii) “This is when our Lord with water pot . . . Gaṇḍa’s Mango (?)”.

(viii) “This is when our Lord enjoys the juice of the Mango.”

(ix) “. . . . . . . .buries the seed of the Mango.”

(x) “This is when our Lord washes his hands above the seed of the Mango.”

Four panels follow without writing. Then, on the E. wall: –

(xi) “This is when the Buddha ascends and preaches the Law in Tāvatiṣa. The lord Moggallān explains the Law afterwards to the congregation of the four castes.”
Two panels follow with fragmentary glosses; and this appears to be all that is legible on this highest tier. There may well have been other tiers above it, now flaked.

Ignoring a possible intermediate line with practically nothing legible, we come to the 2nd tier (originally, perhaps, the top main tier), with illustrations of the Vinaya, Sutta Vibhaṅga\(^{18}\). I suspect that it started on the W. wall, from the S.W. corner of the Shrine, with the 4 Pārājikā offences, involving “Defeat” and expulsion from the Order. This would be followed, N. of the centre of this wall, with the 13 Sanghādisesa rules – for offences requiring a “Formal Meeting of the Order”. The first clearly legible gloss is under the 10th of these\(^{19}\). Here are specimens: –


ibid. (5th panel) – “The Buddha was staying at Veluvan. With reference to the Rev. . . . . . . . . (he laid down) the Saṅghabheda nivuttata” (rules concerning the followers of a schism in the Order). – H.I, pp. 304–8.


ibid. (7th panel) – “The Buddha was staying at Jetavan” (at Sāvatthi). “With reference to the Rev. Assuji and Punabbasu, he laid down the Kālādīsa saṅghādisesa, the 13th rule concerning offences requiring a meeting of the Order”. – H.I. pp. 314–327.


ibid. (9th panel) – “ . . . . . . . . (with reference to) the Rev. Udāyi who sat with a certain woman, the Buddha laid down the 2nd Aniyat.” – H., I. pp. 336–9.

ibid. (10th panel – “The Buddha was staying at . . . . . . . . He laid down the 1st nisaggi”, i.e. Nissaggiya offences, involving “Forfeiture”. – H. II, pp. 3–11.

N. Recess E. Wall (1st panel from N.E. corner) – “At Jetavan, with reference to the Rev. Udāyi, who caused an ordained nun to wash his” (monastic robe), “the Buddha laid down the 4th nisaggi” – H. II, pp. 30–35.


And so on. It is evident that the painters of Pāhtothāmya used a text strictly corresponding (apart from minor differences of spelling) with the modern Singhalese and Burmese Vinaya: The 13 chapters of Sanghādisesa Kāṇḍa are followed by the 2 chapters of Aniyata Kāṇḍa\(^{20}\); then the 30 of Nissaggiya Kāṇḍa; and the 92 of Pācittiya Kāṇḍa (offences involving “Expiation”). There are legible glosses for about half of the 30 Nissaggiya. They end on the 3rd tier: –


\(^{19}\) H. I, pp. 296–303.

\(^{20}\) Miss Horner’s first volume of translation ends with the two Aniyata chapters. Her second volume includes all the Nissaggiya and the first 60 of the Pācittiya.
3rd tier. *N. Recess* N. wall (7th panel from N.W. corner) — “The Buddha was staying at Jetavan. With reference to the Cha-avar monks” (i.e. the 6 troublesome Chabaggiyā), “who.....................


Not all the 92 Pācit are illustrated. There is evidence to show that the panels continue along the N. and E. walls of the N. Recess, then cross to the S. Recess. The 10th pācit is reached on the E. wall in the S.E. corner, ending *vaggo pathamo*, i.e. the 1st Chapter (*Musaavidā Vagga*). The 12th pācit is probably shown on the S. wall. Perhaps the whole Vinaya section of the painting ended on this wall at the S.W. corner.

The three skylights or stepped windows, which throw light on the faces of the colossal Buddhas from E., S., and N., have also thrown a stream of water, whenever it rains, down the middle of those faces, cutting three broad furrows through all these panels and gloses. On the E. Wall, Front of the Shrine, a floral band crosses the whole wall just above the top of the great entrance-arch. Above this, only 1 long tier survives, with gloses legible on the N. side: —

“This is when the lord Buddha *Padumuttar* made Parinirvāna. The reverend *Mhākas* (Māhākassapa) offered in worship a plantain-leaf banner (? ihañ), a ceremonial spear (*tjekh*), and a vase (*klas*). The reverend *thera, Khadiravaniya Revata* (Revata of the Cutch Forest), had ferried the lord Buddha *Padumuttar* in a boat............. The lord Buddha *Padumuttar* blossomed (into Buddhahood)....

*Padumuttar*........by Punna, son of Mantāni. Punna came (?)..............” — These incidents are not mentioned in the *Buddhavamsa.*

On the tier below this, we find a series of panels and gloses relating to the *Dīgha Nikāya,* which has 34 Suttas. The series probably started on the N. wall of the Front of the Shrine, from the N.E. corner. Here are a few specimens: —

*Front of Shrine. E. Wall,* below floral band, on N. side of entrance-arch. N.E. corner: —

(8th Sutta) “............came and asked a question. *Sihanāda sut.*”

(9th Sutta) “The Buddha was staying at Jetavan......The wandering ascetic *Puddhapātha* came and asked a question. *Puddhapātha sut.*”

(10th Sutta) “In the house of the young brahman *Subha,* the reverend Ānanda together with a company of monks...............(*Subha* sut.)”

(11th Sutta) “The Buddha was staying in Pāvā(rica)........... Kevat(tha)sut.”

The series continues on the S. side of the entrance-arch (*Mahāgovinda sut No. 19*). Then on the S. wall (*Pāṭika sut No. 24; Udumbarika sut No. 25*). It then crosses to the lower (3rd) tier on the N. wall, Front of Shrine, and ends near the N.E. corner (*Dasuttara sut, No. 34*).

21 Khuddaka Nikāya, *Buddhavamsa,* Ch. 12. See Malalasekera, II, p. 478 (Mahākassapa); *ibid.* pp. 752–4 (’Revata of the Cutch Forest’): — “In the time of Padumuttara Buddha, Revata was a boatman at Payāga on the Ganges, and once took the Buddha and his thousand followers across the river in a boat decked with canopies, flowers, etc.,’”; the references given are to *Theragāthā Commentary,* I. 108, and the *Manorathapūrūṇi,* I. 126; *ibid.* p. 222 (Pūṇa-Mantāniputta; for his worship of Padumuttara, the reference given is to *Theragāthā Commentary,* I. 37ff.).

22 The *Dīgha Nikāya* in Pali (Roman type) has been published in 3 vols. by the Pali Text Society. There are also reprints (1947–9 and 1965–6) of the English translation in 3 vols. by T. W. Rhys Davids etc. Suttas 1 to 13 form Vol. I, 14–23 Vol. II, 24–34 Vol. III.
Chapter XV

It is followed immediately on the E. wall, by the Majjhima Nikāya, which has 152 Suttas.\(^{23}\) Here are a few key points, indicating the arrangement:

Front of Shrine. E. wall, N. of entrance-arch. – (Mūla)pariyāya sut. No. 1.


,, ,, ,, ,, S. wall E. of niche. – (Cūla)siha(nāda)sut. No. 11.


At this point the series must have crossed to a lower tier on the N. wall of the N. Recess, probably starting from the N.W. corner. It reappears in glosses on this face, near the N.E. corner: –

N. Recess. N. wall (between window and N.E. corner). – Vammika sut No. 23.

,, ,, ,, E. wall (from N.E. corner of Recess) – Rathavinīta sut No. 24. Nīvāpa sut No. 25, etc.

The series continues, with only a few gaps, round the Front of the Shrine, to the S. Recess, E. and S. walls. Probably it ended in the S.W. corner. The last gloss we could read on the S. wall was (Aṭṭha)-kanāgara sut, No. 52.

The tier below this, giving scenes from the life of the Buddha, has been dealt with above.

Before leaving this Mother of Theravāda temples, so full of beauty without and scholarship within, spare a glance at some remarkable Śikharas on the inner wall of the Corridor: the ones above the windows in the S. and N. walls (Pl. 164 a), the other above the central niche in the W. wall (Pl. 164 b). They are unique. Note also the wooden lintels in nearly all window-embasures.

And one final apology. Climbing with difficulty these dark high coigns, Col. Ba Shin and I could do little but try and read the broken lines of frittered gloss. The time for describing or judging the quality of the painting is yet to come. The first necessity is to find a means to pump in cement between the painted surface and the brick wall, and so to fix the former before it safely can be cleaned. The lowest panels, showing the life of the Buddha, impress me as rich and deep in colour, and sometimes grand in design: but distant and dim and vague until the work of fixing and cleaning is accomplished. Such suspended judgement applies particularly to Pāhtothāmya, which set the standard in painting for the later temples.

\(^{23}\) The Majjhima Nikāya in Pali has been published in 3 vols. by the Pali Text Society (1887–1902). A translation, also in 3 vols., by Miss I. B. Horner, has been published: “The Collection of the Middle Length Sayings” (Luzac, London, 1954–59), 50 suttas in each.
CHAPTER XVI

KYANZITTHA’S REIGN (1084-1113 A.D.), I.

Tharaba gate — Nagayon — Abeyadana.

A distinguished western architect was leaving Burma after years of service. He had never shown much interest in pagodas; and I suggested that before leaving for good, he ought at least to visit Pagán. He did so, for a few days; and on his return I asked him how he liked it. “Wedding-cake architecture!” was his reply. When I pressed him to explain, I gathered that he thought the temples looked nice outside, but had nothing of interest inside them.

The criticism is wrong: but it is often held by westerners; and owing to the neglect of centuries, and the appalling vandalism of those who blot out fine old fresco and drown stuccowork in whitewash, and call it a work of merit so to ‘repair’ a pagoda, the criticism is not surprising. The object of our final chapters is to show, by detailed report on some principal temples of our period, what in fact they do, or did, contain. The inventory, even of these, will not be complete. For most are dark and high, and the walls flaked and ruinous. Without step-ladders, bamboo scaffolding, and strong lamps, Col. Ba Shin and I could not in most cases have discovered what we have. Fortunately, many of these temples have, or had, writing in Old Mon, identifying the painted scenes. I read many of these glosses thirty years ago, when they were better preserved than they are now. The Burma Historical Commission hopes to publish the more important ones, which add, incidentally, to our knowledge of this fine old language.

THARABA (Sarapá) GATE (Pl. 168).

Now in ruin, it was the main East Gate of Pagán. The name is thought to derive from Sanskrit sarva, “all” – an abbreviation, perhaps, of some such title as sarvaśatrumardana, “crushing all enemies”. If we are right (as we argue below) in thinking that the present gate is the work of Kyanzittha, the Sanskrit name would be due to his known fondness for conferring learned titles on works of merit which he built. The common people, not understanding them, would retain only the first syllables.

At present, in front of both sides of the gateway, are the high-vaulted shrines and brick and stucco images of Mt. Popa’s Mahāgiri spirits, Brother (“Maung daw”) on the south, and Sister (“Hnama daw”) on the north.¹ These shrines half-hide Pagán dynasty stucco-work on corner-pilasters and capitals –

¹ For their macabre story, see Glass Palace Chronicle (transl.), pp. 45-46. Note, incidentally, that a different “guardian spirit for Pagán city-gate, Sarapā” is mentioned under variant names in the Chronicles, as wounded in the “war of Spirits” that synchronized with the dissatirical battle of Ngahtaungchan (Dec. 1283 A.D.). His name is given as Na Taša-Sah by U Kala (Vol. I, p. 300); as Tepasa-Sah in the Hmaun (Susodhita Vol. I, p. 361; G.P.C. p. 174). The latter cites also the name Sampha-Sah as given in the “New Chronicle” (Yazaunhtit of Twinthin Mahasithu).
kārtimukha frieze, cord-mouldings, climbing lotus petals, fig leaf and pellet beading – similar to that found on Mon temples of Kyanzittha’s time. It seems, therefore, that the shrines are post-Pagán accretions to a Pagán gateway.

Excluding the Shrines, the ruined gate has a length of about 50 ft. on either side of the roadway, and a similar breadth across it. Two vertical towers stand at the outer, and two at the inner ends, each probably about 15 ft. square in plan. Their height was over 25 ft. (the present maximum). Joining the outer and the inner towers was a central recess, about 24 ft. square, arched from the ground, and once vaulted at the top, horizontal and vertical courses alternating in the brick work. The breadth of passage between the towers was 15 ft.; between the recessed sides 24½ ft. We may guess that once the outer towers were joined across the roadway by wooden beams as lintels; so also the inner towers. Down the roadway sides of the outer towers there is still a vertical groove, about 2½ ft. broad, through which some sort of portcullis was once raised or lowered.

It is not likely that this elaborate gate, with almost temple embellishments, could date back to 850 A.D., when the city-wall was built.² Col. Ba Shin has noticed its general similarity, not merely in stucco-decoration, to the four Nagayôn enclosure-gateways, built by Kyanzittha about 1090 A.D. There is the same vaulted interior, with lintel-arching at back and front. Kyanzittha came to the throne in 1084 A.D., after defeating the rebel Nga Ramán and relieving the besieged city. It is likely enough that the old city-gate suffered severely during the long siege; and that Kyanzittha’s first duty, as a soldier-king, was to rebuild the gateway on a more worthy scale.

NAGAYÔN TEMPLE (Pls. 184–206)

Handsomest, and in some ways best-preserved of these ‘Mon’ temples, the Nagayôn stands, facing north towards the city, at the top of the high ground S. of Myinpagán, on the E. side of the road. The legend, as given in the Chronicles,³ is as follows: – “Once when Saw Lu was wroth with him, and his prosperity and followers were forfeited, king Hti-htaing-shin [Kyanzittha] slept alone in a grazing-ground for horses; and while he slept a young Nâga came and watched over him. At that place, when he became a king, he built the Nagayôn pagoda.” Nagayôn means ‘over-spread by a serpent.’

The temple, I think, should be dated early in Kyanzittha’s reign, c. 1090 A.D., perhaps after the building of Shwézigôn, while the revision of the Tipitaka was in progress. It is full, as we shall see, of orthodox Théravâda of the Singhalese school. “This building” says Taw Sein Ko, “is the prototype of the Ānanda.”⁴ It is a large temple (137 × 82¼ ft.), carefully built, mostly of brick; but there are stone ‘bricks’ spaced regularly along the voussoirs, and at intervals in the wall-masonry (Pl. 190 a, b, c). There is glazed paving, both of brick and stone. The large enclosure-wall is still in good condition, with sunk crenelle-facings on both sides, and four great gateways, one in the centre of each face. (Pl. 189 a, b, c). Each gateway is square and massive, with toranas and flame-pediments embracing

² Cf. Duroiselle, A.S.B. 1913, p. 27 and Plate III: “Sarabhâ gate…Originally built in 849 A.D. by king Pyinbya, and repaired in 1093 A.D. by king AlaungSiithu” (query a slip for Kyanzittha ?), “and in 1698 by the Governor of Pagan…”
³ U Kala, I, p. 215; Hmannon (Susodhita ed.) I, p. 188; G.P.C. (transl.), p. 108,
⁴ A.S.B. 1904, p. 28, item 14; 1905, p. 23, item 11; 1906, pp. 5, 19 (item 11). But 1064 A.D., the date assigned by Taw Sein Ko to the building of the Nagayôn, is impossibly early. Kyanzittha did not come to the throne till 1084 A.D. ‘Ānanda’ is a modern misnomer for Nanda temple.
the four sides with outward batter. Each gateway-roof has four small corner-stupas, and in the centre three indented low receding terraces, and a sort of āmalaka. with tapering chattrīvāli. Inside, each gate has a cella arched with four pendentives, filled with tondoes of large lotus. The arched niches to left and right hold Bodhisattva Guardians, seated in pose of royal pastime. Short arched halls extend at entrance and exit. In the angles of the main enclosure-wall stand four shapely stupas. There is a low inner wall or parapet of brick.

The temple itself has the usual grouping of Hall, dark Corridor, and Shrine, with 5 brick perforated windows faced with clec torānas on all three sides of the main block. Above, there are sloping roofs and three terraces with lessening corner-stupas, a śikhara with three tiers of trefoil niches, and a stupa-finial. Medial stupa-skylights on the second terrace admit light from three sides into the central Shrine. Roofs are all sloping, with low crenelle-lines, pranked out at the corners with green-glazed facings. The Hall has three entrances, and a long rolling roof, divided at the sides with a parapet, and warped upwards at the ends. Double-pedimented gables crown the main N. entrance, the clec behind rising over the clec in front. Carved wooden lintels (Pl. 191) cross the main doorway, also that of the Shrine, also the entrance and exit arches of the enclosure-gateways. The pockets of the three upper terraces have squared glazed tiles, also the sides of the Hall-roof. Within the inner enclosure-wall the floor is of glazed brick. Masonry is neat and good, vertical courses alternating with horizontal. Plinth-mouldings are simple. Stucco was of poor quality, but probably good design (Pl. 189 d). Cornice-facings and kirtimukha frieze are largely lost. The five windows on each side are weak; but their bases break pleasantly through the main plinth, forming little bays (Pl. 187 d, e, f). Ornament, as a whole, touched with colour, shows a refined simplicity and restraint.

Hall, Corridor and Shrine are paved with green-glazed stone flags. The side-walls of the Hall arch from the floor, and also the outer wall of the Corridor. The Hall has 10 niches, 2 on each side of the small side-doorways, and 1 on each side of the main entrance: all but one still hold painted stone reliefs of the life of the Buddha. Against the S. wall, on each side of the archway, gigantic brick and stucco ‘Guardians’ stand in haunched tribhaṅga pose. The inner arch is simpler and narrower than usual. This is a Theravāda temple almost wholly: but Mon Bo Kay has detected a Mahāyānist painting in the archway between Hall and Corridor, on the W. wall. Here, under the whitewash, is a large panel showing a Tārā standing (?) in the centre, between two crowned Bodhisattvas. At the N.W. and N.E. corners of the Corridor, stairs lead up through the corner-stupas to the roof. Cinquefoil arched niches line the Corridor-walls, 8 on each side of the E., S. and W. corridors; 8 on the outer side, and 4 on the inner side of the N. – 60 altogether, or 70 including those of the Hall: an important storehouse of Pagán sculpture. The inner wall of the Corridor shows, as usual, a fine plinth-moulding, cornice and corner-pilasters. In the low central band of the plinth, as in Abēyadana, there are painted figures of dancers, male and female, drummers, cymbalists, players on percussion instruments (see, e.g., the E. corridor, near the S.E. corner): here they are not single, as in Abēyadana, but in groups, the groups divided by diamond panels. The corridor-arch is a lean-to half-arch, disappearing behind the cornice of the inner-wall. Between Corridor and Shrine there is a big glazed stone sill as threshold.

E. and W. windows giving on the Shrine permit a vista-view across the heart of this temple, and admit more light than these ‘Mon’ shrines usually allow. The Shrine holds 3 colossal standing Buddhas of brick and stucco, gilded (Pl. 192 a). The height of the central one, excluding the lotus-pedestal, is
18 ft. 4 in. That of the other two is over 12 ft. The central Buddha, cased in Nāga hoods, has hands obviously repaired. Originally — like the four colossal bronzes at Shwézigôn — the right hand was doubtless raised in abhayamudrā, and the left perhaps held out, as usual, a lappet of the robe. Whether the Nāga hoods, fresh-painted, are original, may be doubted; they rather resemble the smaller wooden frame of Nāga hoods shown in Pagán Museum, but the latter have glass mosaic. The pose of the two standing Buddhas at the sides — based on the dharmacakra mudrā of seated images in India — is not uncommon at Pagán, but hardly found (I think) elsewhere. It has the perfect calm and balance which Kyanzittha loved; and he perhaps invented it.

Kyanzittha’s use of images in stone relief was here not haphazard. His proximate model, I suppose, was the sculpture in Kyaukku Ōnhmin. Numerous in Nagayón, images are twenty times more numerous in the Nanda. Some, especially those placed in the Halls, served (as we shall see) an educational purpose: to instruct half-pagan, illiterate villagers in the story of their religion. Those in Nagayón Hall are arranged as follows, starting from the N. wall, N.W. corner: –

N. Wall.
(i) Pl. 193 a. The First Sermon at Isipattana. (No Wheel. 2 Deer. 2 Pañcavaggiyā. 2 Mahābrahmā.)
(ii) Pl. 193 b. Pārileyaka retreat. Buddha sits in pralambanāsana. (Monkey, Elephant and Monk)

E. Wall.
(iii) Pl. 193 c. Gotama launches the golden bowl. Kālanāga awakes and worships the four bowls. (Later sculpture)
(iv) Pl. 193 d. Defeat of the heretics at Sāvatthi. The Buddha preaches to Pasenadi under Gaṇḍa’s mango-tree. Naked ascetics try to fly.
(v) Pl. 194 a. Descent from Tāvatimsa, between Indra and Brahmag. The Buddha stands in varada mudrā above the kneeling Sāriputta.
(vi) Pl. 194 b. Parinirvāna and the bier. (Sāla trees and 5 monks above. 4 Malla kings below. Ānanda in bottom right corner.)

W. Wall.
(vii) Pl. 194 c. The Conception. Māya’s dream. (White Elephant in top right corner above the 4 Queens. The 4 Mahārājas below)
(viii) Pl. 194 d. The Buddha in dhyānamudrā. Request of Sahampati and the Brahmag.
(ix) (missing)
(x) Pl. 194 e. Gotama takes seat in vajrāsana under the Bodhi tree. (Indra winds the Vijayuttara conch. Brahmag upholds the chatira)

As for the 60 stone reliefs on either side of the Corridor, Mon Bo Kay has brilliantly found the key to identify the more obscure of them. He noticed that here miscellaneous images, mostly in earth-touching attitude, alternate with Buddhas seated in dhyānamudrā, each of the latter with predella below.

8 We had realized that the scene was the defeat of the heretics at Sāvatthi. But I thought that the running figure on the right side of the predella, both here and in Nanda Halls (see Pl. 298), was Puraṇa Kassa on his way to drown himself (as shown in Pl. 346 b, Myinkaba Kubyaukgyi), with another heretic trying to stop him. But Mon Bo Kay tells me of a similar scene painted in Maung Yôn Gu., No. 11, Minnanthu, with the following Old Burmese gloss below it: “I ka takkawtan koṅkañ pyaṃ sā hū so kā tape” tway luik sa “Here is a heretic saying that he is going to fly in the sky, and his disciple hanging on to him.”
The predellas vary, the Buddhas hardly at all. All sit alone in padmásana, facing front, right hand on left, both soles showing, without lotus seat or throne; with high usṣṇīsa, large ears drooping, robe covering both shoulders, folds perfectly symmetrical. A calm, gentle, concentrated type, which appealed deeply to Kyanzittha – quite different from the strong dominant Buddhas of Anuruddha’s plaques. Their background is architectural, with only minor variations: up to the shoulders generally brick mouldings, horizontal, supporting the nimbus, and at the sides either raying, floral diamonds or kamsas dangling pearls (a favourite bird, which Kyanzittha usually substitutes for hinnaras). Behind these, a plain wooden gable-roof, or tree, or both. One relief on the inner side of the E. corridor (Pl. 195 a), 3rd from the N.E. corner, breaks the series: here there is no predella; the scene obviously shows Sumedha prostrate before the feet of the Buddha Dipaṅkara (4th of the 28 Buddhas). The predellas themselves are not very distinctive: usually 4 figures – monks, kings, hermits or Nāgas – praying or making offerings. But one (Pl. 196 d), on the inner side of the W. corridor, near the S.W. corner, shows a lion roaring. Is this not Paduma, the 8th Buddha, worshipped by the future Gotama, then a lion? – Once these were identified, the rest fell easily into place. These dhyāna Buddhas all present the 27 Buddhas leading up to Gotama; their predellas show the future Gotama in his previous lives, receiving from them the prophecy of Buddhahood. The illustrations follow pretty closely the text of the Buddhavamsa, Khuddaka Nikāya. The series starts with Taṇhaṅkara (Pl. 201 b) in the N. corridor, inner walk, N.W. corner, and proceeds clockwise in alternate niches up to Sumedha Buddha (Pl. 197 c) in the W. corridor near the S.W. corner; then crosses to Sujāta Buddha (Pl. 197 d) in the outer wall of the N. corridor, 3rd from the N.W. corner. It ends, perhaps with Kassapa and Jotipāla (Pl. 200 d) in the W. corridor, perhaps (by a slight irregularity) with Gotama and Ajita (Metteyya) (Pl. 201 a). Plates 195 to 201 show all these reliefs, and details are given in the Catalogue of Plates.

A few other reliefs of interest (now in the N.W. corner, outer wall of the Corridor) show more scenes of the life of Gotama Buddha: –

Pl. 201 c. Gotama Buddha (?) in dhyāna mudrā. Similar to the many others of the Corridor in this mudrā, but here seated on double lotus, without predella.

Pl. 201 d. Gotama seated in ujjvālasana, touching Earth, between Indra and Brahmā. The relief is similar to Pl. 194 e in the Hall; and both are similar to the pairs of reliefs found in the Nanda Halls (Pl. 304), where they are placed to left and right of the entrance to the temple proper.

Were they not once similarly placed in the Nagayon, as if to invite, from both sides, the young Buddhist entering the temple to make the great resolve, like Gotama, to attain Buddhahood? Pl. 202 a. Standing Buddha, ‘Mon’ type (hands as in dharmacakra mudrā).


Pl. 202 c. Gotama seated in dhyānamudrā, without mat or lotus. The predella shows Sujātā praying between two goats, i.e. at the Ajapāla banyan tree. Compare the scene in the Nanda Hall series (Pl. 309).

Pl. 202 d. Gotama, on his way to the Bodhi tree, receives 8 handfuls of grass. Sotthiya is shown twice: on the right carrying his load of grass; on the left offering it to Gotama, who accepts it. Compare the Nanda Corridor relief (Pl. 295 a). This is a more vivid later Burmese rendering of the scene.⁶

⁶ We owe to Mon Bo Kay, once again, this quite certain identification of the scene.
Chapter XVI

The walls of Nagayôn corridors are still rich in large paintings, both conventional and freehand, with Old Mon glosses written in durable ink. But the poor roughcast roofing, admitting damp, has caused the ruin, not only of the ceiling tondoes, but also the upper half of most wall-panels – the more interesting half, for the lower half consists often of little more than rows of seated worshippers. Fortunately the inner wall has the usual cornice at the top, and the outer wall projecting corbels, which partly stop the rot. But it is sad that so many freehand panels, some of the largest in Pagán, ranged in a row along both sides of the Corridor, are now half ruined. Apart from continuous loss by damp and flaking, the clouds of dust raised by lorries on the main road coat these paintings, particularly in the west corridor, thicker and thicker each year. It will be a happy day, for Pagán art as well as villagers, when the government decides to metal all these roads.

On the inner wall the top line of panels, starting at the middle of the N. face and going E. from the entrance-arch, illustrates the 34 suttas of the Diţha Nikăya: about 15 names can still be read. The Diţha ends on the E. face; and the Majjhima Nikăya follows, about as far as Sutta 76, to the point of starting: some 25 names can still be read. These panels (2 ft. 6 in. high, 1 ft. 8 in. broad) are conventional: showing (as a rule) alternate Buddhas seated, either touching Earth (bhūmisparśa mudrā), or turning the Wheel of Law (dhammacakra mudrā). Below, there is a 6 inch floral band.

Below this are the main panels, no longer conventional, but elaborately designed and painted. Each has a long gloss in Old Mon below it, sometimes clear, but often flaked or illegible. We give below a serial list of the subjects treated, with translation, where possible, of the Mon glosses below them.

The arrangement of subjects is haphazard. The order I adopt starts on the N. wall (from the N.W. corner for the outer wall; from the N.E. corner for the inner wall), and then follows the order of the writing (clockwise for the outer wall; anticlockwise for the inner). This is not necessarily the right order; it is certainly not the chronological order; but it is the most convenient for finding one’s place. My impression is that when he built this pagoda, Kyansittha’s revision of the Tipiţaka had made a good start with the earlier Nikăyas; but that he was still muddled (as he well might be) about the order of the later events in Gotama’s life. Thus early and late happenings at Râjagaha, with Devadatta’s attempts to kill the Buddha, are obviously confused. Intermixed with them are several of the longer Jātakas outside the Mahānīpiţa, and illustrations of a few Suttas, especially those useful for ‘defence’ (paritta) against the powers of darkness.

Nagayôn Corridor Paintings – Inner side (from N.E. corner): –

N. Wall.

1. Preaching of Mahāsamaya Sutta (Diţha Nikăya 20).
   “In the Mahāvan (‘Great Forest’) near Kapilavas, the reverend Buddha is staying together with 500 saintly monks. All the Brahmas, Devas, clan-spirits (or Yakkhas, kindok), Gandharvas, Nāgas, Suparnaşas and Kumbhaṇḍas of the 10,000 world-systems come to pay their reverence (?). At that time the lord Buddha preaches the Mahāsamaya sut. At that very moment king Mār comes and makes a disturbance! – The lord Buddha defeats him, and he runs away.”

2. Preaching of Ālānātiya (?) Sutta (Diţha Nikăya 32). But the name looks more like (Mhārāja) sut.
   “.................monks, nuns, lay disciples male and female, forbidding the spirits (or Yakkhas, kindok), Kumbhaṇḍas, Gandharvas and Nāgas to harm them (?).”
3. Night visit of Ajātasatru and Dr. Jīvaka to the Buddha in the Mango Grove at Rājagaha. This led to the preaching of the Sāmaññaphala Sutta (Dīgha Nikāya 2).

“This is when the lord Buddha is staying in the Ambavan. King Ajātasatru and Dr. Jīv come and question him.”

4. “King Ajātasattu, at night, before dawn, goes out. The lord Buddha is staying in the Ambavan garden.”

5. “On the full moon of Kārttika (Oct.-Nov.), at night, before dawn, king Ajātasattu asks his ministers ...........all the monks............”

6. “King Ajātasattu comes and questions Nigantho Nālaputta. King Ajātasatru comes and questions Ajjatasesakambal (?)”.

7. Bimbisāra visits the Buddha (after the Enlightenment) in the Latthivana (Liquorice garden), S.W. of Rājagaha. Urwela Kassapa shows his submission. (See introduction to Mahānāradakassapa Jātaka, No. 544).

“The lord Buddha is staying in the Latthavana garden. King Bimbasār with 12 nahutas (lahut) of persons, brahmans and householders. 11 nahutas of these become sotāpan (‘stream-winners’), 1 nahuta lay disciples. The reverend Aruvela [Kassapa] levitated and ascended the sky, and after doing miracles, descended and did obeisance to the lord Buddha.”

8. Devadatta’s second attempt to kill the Buddha by hurling a rock upon him as he was walking below the Vulture Peak (Gijjhakīṭā) near Rājagaha. (See introduction to Cullanāhmsa Jātaka, No. 533).

“This is when the lord Buddha is walking up and down at the foot of a mountain. Devadat goes up to the top of the mountain and stones him (?). Two rocks come to intercept (?) and give warning (?) . . . . the Buddha’s foot. At that time three monks carry him back between them on a bedstead. At that time Dr. Jīv comes . . . . lets out the blood (?). Devadat (?) comes to worship and beg pardon, and . . . . the bone. (?)”

9. The Buddha’s entry into Rājagaha, with Indra dancing. Devadatta sends the drunken Nāḷagiri elephant to charge the Buddha. Bimbisāra invites the Buddha and presents him with the “Bamboo Garden”, Velivana. – The occasion is the same as in Gloss 7, except for Devadatta’s third attempt to kill the Buddha, which took place also in Rājagaha, but much later, after Ajātasatru’s killing of his father, Bimbisāra: see introduction to the Cullanāhmsa Jātaka, No. 533.

“This is when the lord Buddha enters the city of Rājgrībhī. King In goes dancing in front. This is when Devadat lets loose Lanagiri [i.e. the Nāḷagiri elephant] in order to kill the lord Buddha. At that time the lord strokes his trunk (?) and establishes (?) him in the five precepts of morality. The ornaments and clothes which all the people offer in worship. The lord wills him also to return to his master (?). King Bimbasār invites the lord Buddha, and makes him a present of the Veluvan.”

S. Wall.

10. Gotama’s first coming to Rājagaha, capital of Magadha. He eats his first almsfood at the foot of Mt. Paṇḍava, one of the five peaks surrounding the city. Bimbisāra’s first visit to him.

“In the shade of Mt. Paṇcápāṇḍaou (‘the five Paṇḍava’), the future Buddha eats his almsfood. Then king Bimbasār, accompanied by all his brahmans and householders, comes and invites the Bodhisat to take the rule. The Bodhisat refuses.”

11. The gods request Setaketu in Tusita (to be reborn as Gotama).

“This is when the Bodhisat is dwelling in Tussilapūr. The Devas come and entreat him.”
E. Wall.

12. Sattapannagohā—"A cave in Rājagaha, on the slope of Mt. Vebhāra. Once, when the Buddha was staying there, he gave to Ānanda the opportunity of asking him to live for an aeon; but Ānanda, because of his unmindfulness, failed to take it". (Malalasekera, II, p. 1009. Dīgha Nikāya i6, 116–7).

"...the lord Buddha was staying in the Sattapannagohā ('Cave of the seven-leaved tree,' Alstonia scholaris). The king, with the Devas of Tāvatimī and the Devas of the Catumahārājā (sc. the Catumahārājikā heaven), all male and female, arrived, and caused Pañcasikha to play the harp (?). Then king In came and questioned the lord Buddha, who explained the Law of life of king In. All that day also there was opportunity to listen to the Law of the reverend Buddha, and so increase his life-span and be born as king Indra again."

If this translation is correct, "the king" is Indra; and there has been confusion with the Sakka-pañha Sutta (Dīgha Nikāya 21), the scene of which was the Indasā guhā in Mt. Vediya. There it was Indra (Sakka) who faced death, and was reborn as Sakka in the course of the Sermon (see Commentary on Dīgha Nikāya, iii, 732).

13. While the Buddha is hesitating under the Goatherd banyan tree, the great Brahmā Sahampati comes to persuade him to preach his Dhamma.

"The lord Buddha is staying at the Ajapāla nigrodha tree, considering... 'This Law is very deep. I do not want to preach the Law to all the worlds of men.' At that time all the Brahmās and Devas of the 10,000 world-systems come and entreat and pray the lord Buddha to preach the Law to all the worlds."

14. The First Sermon in the Deer forest of Isipatana (Sārnāth).

"In Isipatana Deer-forest the lord Buddha......(preaches the sermon of) the Wheel of Law. Eighteen.................get deliverance" (?)

15. Sambhava Jātaka, No. 515 – Note differences in naming from the Singhalese version: Yudhichir (Yudhiṣṭhira) for Dhanañjaya Korabya (Yudhiṣṭhila is mentioned in the gāthā), Surucibrām for Sucirata, Sambhovakumār for Sambhava. Perhaps these point to a North Indian, Sanskrit derivation.

"King Yudhichir sends Surucibrām to go and search and ask the question about the Service of Truth (āharmayāga) in Jambudīpa. He comes and asks, first the Brahman Vidyāra, then (Sañjay), then Bhadrahar. All these fail completely. He goes and asks the young boy Sambhova: whereupon the young boy Sambhova gives the answer to that question. They took the answer down in writing on a gold leaf, and there and then they brought it back and gave it to king Yudhichir."


"The Bodhisat is a royal prince who receives the name Ayogha. His father wants him to rule (the kingdom). He refuses. He goes out, renounces the world, and becomes a hermit, together with all the kings, his father,...........hermits."

17. Hatthipāla Jātaka, No. 509.

"(The Bodhisat is called Hatthi)pāl. His younger brothers (?), kuñcoi are called, one Assāpāl, one Gopāl, one Ajapāl. The king their father takes the form of a hermit and comes to tempt them to rule (the kingdom). They refuse. They go forth......and become hermits. All the kings, their mother and father, younger brothers (?), elder brothers (munyow?)......male and female, a great procession, (renounce the world) and become hermits of the forest."
Nagayôn Corridor Paintings – Outer side (from N.W. corner):

N. Wall. (near main entrance).

18. Victory of king Pasenadi.

"………………… king Passen was victorious."

19. Preaching of Maṅgala Sutta (Khuddaka Nikāya, Khuddakapāṭha 5 and Sutta Nipāta, Cūḷavagga 16).

"For twelve years all the Devas and Brahmās, not knowing (the meaning of) maṅgal (‘the Auspicious’), disputed with each other. The lord Buddha preaches the Maṅgala sut to the Devas and Brahmās. …………"

E. Wall.

20. Mission sent to interview the Buddha by Bāvari, the Deccan hermit.

"The hermit Bāvari calls his sixteen leading disciples, with their disciples also, and makes them go and inspect the Buddha’s Marks, and ask (him) the questions in their hearts." – See Khuddaka Nikāya, Sutta Nipāta 5, Pārāyana Vagga.

21. "The sixteen disciples of Bāvari, with their disciples also, stay (?) and ask the questions in their hearts."

22. Dīpankara’s prophecy concerning Sumedhapaṇḍita. – See Khuddaka Nikāya, Buddhavamsa (1–3).

"This is when our lord Buddha Dīpankira with 40,000 saints enters Rammanagir. The hermit Sumedhapaṇḍita takes mats and spreads them on the mud; after which he kneels with his head bowed down. At that time these are the people who are going towards this reverend Buddha, the people who are making offerings in worship to the reverend Buddha."

23. "This is when the people of Rammanagir entertain (?) invite) the reverend Buddha and (his) 40,000 saints. Thereupon also the hermit Sumedhapaṇḍita grasps the Law. The earth quakes. Jars and pots are shattered. The people fall down. The many worlds come and ask the reverend [future] Buddha what will be his name in this world? The reverend one says he will be nameless, a hermit: ‘After I (?)………….therefore I grasped the Law, and therefore the earth quaked’. This is when the hermit Sumedhapaṇḍita grasped the Law, and all the Devas, Mahābrahmās, Nāgas, Suparnas and Lokapālas (?) grant the boon that he should become a Buddha………………"

24. Preaching of Metta Sutta (Khuddaka Nikāya, Khuddakapāṭha 9 and Sutta Nipāta, Uraga vagga 8).

"This is when our lord Buddha, the reverend ascetic Gotama (sramana Got), preaches the Met sut to the monks and nuns, to the lay disciples (upās) male and female."


"The Bodhisat is king Kusarāja. The 6000 elephants, the 6000 horses, the 6000 chariots, which are kept in harness daily around him (?)”."

26. "This is when the seven kings come and besiege the city of Benares (Bārānasi), desiring the bride (kuṇci dān, ‘consort of the pillow’) of king Kusarāja. The parents-in-law (kuṃsīr) of king Kusarāja request him to go out and fight. King Kusarāja roars. All seven kings with their elephants, horses and hosts fall down, crouch and stay kneeling with heads bowed. King Kusarāja captures all the seven kings, brings them into (the city) and gives them to his father-in-law (kuṃsī), forbidding him to be harsh to them, but (asking him) to give a bride apiece to each of the seven kings, and to send them home to their cities also. At that time king İn gives the Veroc jewel…. to king Kusarāja causing his apparent (?) form to be beautiful again."
Chapter XVI

27. Sivi Jātaka, No. 499. Fragmentary glosses extend on both sides of the S.E. corner of the Corridor.

".........that......comes and applies (?) medicine to the eyes of the reverend lord.......gives as a gift to.........

S. Wall.

.........bring (him) to the bank (of the lake?).........makes a Vow of Truth. King In.........horses again to king Sivirāja............every fastday (?)"

28. Miracle at Nigrodhārāma, the Banyan Park near Kapilavatthu, where the Buddha first performed the Twin Miracle (yamakapāṭḥārāya).

".........the time when the lord Buddha enters Kapilavas. This is when our lord the Buddha performs the miracle in the Nigrodhārām."

29. Visit to Rāhula.

"This is when the lord Buddha enters the house of his son, the reverend Rāhul."


"This is when the lord Ānān informs.........All the Malla princes worship and pay respect to our lord the Buddha as he lies sleeping (?) on his couch (and enters) Nirvāṇa."

31. "This is when our lord the Buddha.........come and worship and make offerings."

32. "When.........our lord the Buddha, all the Devas and men come and pour water (?) on the relics of our lord. At that time also.........water washed...water...came out and washed with perfumes (?) thoroughly."

33."This is when the Malla princes confer on the lord Buddha the splendour of sovrainty" (vebol?).

34. "This is when the [Malla] princes (all) make the seven reverences(?)...the lord Buddha."

W. Wall.


"This is when the king Kālingarāja sends (gold?) and asks for the Kuru Law (dharma) from the king Bodhisat; and his mother; and his wife; and the viceroy; and the chaplain; and the land-measurer; and the charioteer; and the treasurer (sreṣṭha); and.........(paddy ?); and the keeper of the [gate]; and the courtesan."


"This is when the hunter (rumba) Soñuttara] comes and shoots the lord Bodhisat when he was a Chatdan elephant."

37. "This is when......[Sonuttara]........saws off the tusk of the Bodhisat."

38. "This is when the elephants of the Chāddan retinue come and entertain the lords Pacceka Buddhas."

39. "This is when the elephants of the retinue of the lord Bodhisat dwell in the cave during the rainy season."

40. "This is when the lord Bodhisat breaks off the flowers of the Shorea robusta (tiṅtān) together with Cūlasubhadrā and Mahāsubhadrā."

41. "This is when they cremate (saṅskār) the Bodhisat, and the Pacceka Buddhas stay in the heaven of Meditation (? , swar–jhāy)."

42. Sonananda Jātaka, No. 532.

"This is when the hermit Nan takes king Manojo and goes to attack (āwān) one king. See! All the spears and arrows which they shoot or thrust, he wards them all off thus with his leather mat also. All
the kings of the whole of Jambudvip whom he collects, he takes them to go and pay their respects to his elder brother (minyō), who is called the hermit Son."

43. "The hermit Nan, beginning with king Manojo and armies numbering 28 akṣobinī........ (go) to Hemavan (the Himalayas) to pay respect to............."

44. Mahāsutasoma Jātaka, No. 537.
"King Sutasm hears the Law from (the mouth of) the brahman Nandabrām. For the four verses he offers in worship four lakhs of gold. He does reverence and informs his mother and father (?), and returns to the Cannibal king."

45. "This is when king Sutasm goes out (?) and bathes in the tank. The whole army of four divisions stays on guard outside. At that time the Cannibal king comes and carries him off, and after ........ he leaps over (the wall?) 18 cubits high. He roars, and the whole army of four divisions falls flat (?). He ........ the people........ also he goes off."

46. "King Sutasm...........arrives at the city (?) and gives admonition............to the Cannibal [king] and all the entire host."

On the outer wall of the Corridor these main panels are 5 ft. 4 in. high, and usually arranged in several tiers of figures. The breadth is round about 7 ft. The top part is usually lost or damaged. For specimen photographs, see Plates 203 and 204 (Dipaṅkara and Sumedha, 22 and 23 supra); Pl. 205 (king Kusa's forces, 25 supra); Pl. 206 (battle-scene from Sonananda Jātaka, 42 supra). On the inner wall measurements are larger and more variable. Thus on the N. face the Mahāsamaya Sutta panel (1 supra) extends 11 ft. 9 in. from the N.E. corner to the Shrine-entrance. But it is divided crosswise into 4 sections, each about 4 ft. high. On the W. face, N.W. corner, the scene showing Ajātasatru's visit to the Buddha (3 supra) is over 8 ft. long and probably 8 ft. high including floral borders. So is the corresponding scene on the E. face, N.E. corner, showing the Hatthipāla and Ayoghara Jātaka (16, 17 supra). The centre of the S. face is filled with the scene of Māra's army, attacking on the right (the East), retreating on the left (the West). Usually, e.g. in Abeyadana temple, it is the other way round. The whole panel, 26 ft. in length and 8 ft. in height, is perhaps the largest in Pagān. Since the scene was well known, there is no written gloss below it.

Below these main panels, on the inner wall of the Corridor, there are small panels illustrating the shorter Jātakas, from No. 1 to about No. 284, each with Pali name (no number) and Mon gloss stating what the 'Bodhisat' was in that existence. The series starts a little E. of the centre of the S. face, and continues on the W., N., E., and S. faces. The panels are fitted into irregular pockets between the carved niches for images. There are 6 pockets each in the N. and S. faces, and 10 each in the W. and E. The division is approximately as follows: –

S. face. 6 pockets (from centre to S.W. corner). Roughly covers Jātakas 1–33(?).
W. face. 10 pockets (from S.W. to N.W. corners). Roughly covers Jātakas 34(?)–127.
N. face. 6 pockets (from N.W. to N.E. corners). Roughly covers Jātakas 128–185.
E. face. 10 pockets (from N.E. to S.E. corners) Roughly covers Jātakas 186–276.
S. face. 1 pocket (?) Roughly covers Jātakas 278–284+

In general the pockets are consecutive, but their size and arrangement varies. Each has about 5 short tiers, with an average of about 9 Jātakas in each. Of the 284 glosses we could read nearly half.
On the outer wall of the Corridor, below the main panels, there is another series of pockets between niches and windows, similarly fitted with small panels and glosses below them. These illustrate the preaching of Suttas. There are 14 pockets each on the E., S., and W. sides; and 12 (6+6) on the N. side, divided by the entrance arch. Each pocket may have up to 6 tiers of short glosses; but much is flaked or lost. From these 54 pockets we collected altogether about 186 names of Suttas; but many are fragmentary. So far as I can judge, they relate mostly to the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Vagga of the Samyutta Nikāya (Nidāna, Khandhā and Saññīyatana). Identification is not easy. This Nikāya is said to contain 7,762 suttas; and indexes give only a selection of them. Titles, too, are variable, and repeat themselves. And the order of the panels does not follow strictly the order of the text.

The walls of Hall and Shrine are at present without painting. Remembering the Pāhtothāmya, one may well believe that they too, the ceilings at any rate, were originally painted.

ABEYADANA TEMPLE (Pls. 207–241)

This lovely temple stands about 100 yards N.W. of the much larger Nagayōn temple,7 on the W. side of the road. Its old enclosure-wall, a few yards outside the present one on N., W., and S., once extended much further towards the E., almost up to the road facing the Nagayōn, enclosing the five or more small pagodas now intervening. The temple stood in the S.W. corner of the enclosure. Both temples face N. towards Pagán, at the top of the rising ground S. of Myinpagán village. In the Chronicles8 Apayratana (‘Beloved Jewel’) was the name of the first of Kyanzittha’s queens, mother of his daughter Shwé-éng-thi (Rhucc-im-sañ). “At the place called Apayratana [the king] built a temple (gū) and called it Apayratana”9. Two ink inscriptions, neither of them contemporary with the building, are written on the E. and W. sides of the arch leading into the Shrine. The E. inscription, 3 lines of Pali, is written in large square letters of about the 16th century. It mentions the building of the temple by “the chief queen (aggamahes!).” The 4-line inscription on the opposite wall, in Middle Burmese, has no legible date: but it names the Pairetanā-bhruā (i.e. Abejadana pagoda) as “the good work of the great queen, beloved wife of Kyanacca, king Dhilinibhaya.” According to the legend,10 the wife had brought food for her husband, then an outlaw; and found him sleeping, sheltered by a Nāga, at the site where, later, he built the Nagayōn. Not daring to approach, she waited at a distance (the site of the Abejadana), till the serpent disappeared. Her effigy, in brick and plaster, is doubtless the one still visible in the Shrine, seated at the Buddha’s feet (Pls. 215 e, f; 216 a).

In their perfect ‘Mon’ style of architecture, the two temples are similar; and were very likely built by king and queen simultaneously, near the beginning of Kyanzittha’s reign, c. 1090 A.D. – perhaps after the building of Shwézigōn, when the revision of the Tipitaka was in progress. In other respects the two temples are very different. The Nagayōn, as we have seen, may be the immediate result or first fruit of that revision, showing the king’s mind directed to the orthodox Theravāda of the Singhalese school.

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7 The Abejadana is 106 ft. long, the Nagayōn 137 ft. The former is 63 ft. 10 in. broad, the latter 82 ft. 3 in.
9 U Kala, I, p. 215. Hmannan (Susodhita, I, p. 288). G.P.C. (transl.), p. 108. It was the wife, of course, who built the temple, not the husband.
The queen's religion, however, diverged widely. Apart from the Jātaka series in the Hall, the paintings in the Abēyadana – certainly the finest in our period, and perhaps the best in Pagán – are largely Tāntric-Mahāyānist of the Bengal School, admitting also Vedic and later Hindu deities, notably Śiva.

Queen Abēyadana's daughter, Shwē-ēng-thi, is said in the Chronicles\(^{11}\) to have had as lover the Prince of Patikkarā in East Bengal. Kyanzittha was very fond of her; but his ministers persuaded him to disallow the match: "If thy daughter wed the prince of Patikkarā, ere long this will be naught but a Kalā country!" – If her mother herself was of Vāṅga (E. Bengal) extraction, it would explain, not only the story in the Chronicles, but also the unique character of the main paintings in her temple.

The temple has the usual components – hall and main block, with dark corridor and darker shrine. Seen from without, it combines simplicity and grandeur. The main block is roughly square: but, like the Nagayōn, a little longer at the sides (E. and W.) and shorter at the ends (N. & S.). The plinth, with kalaśa pot profile (Pl. 213 b), runs round the whole main block, and also the corners of the Hall, but drops at the main and side-entrances, where the upper recession and 'cornice' are omitted. On each of the three closed sides there are three perforated windows (Pl. 211), made of brick and stucco; more elaborate than those of Nagayōn, but not projecting; simpler than those of Myinkaba Kabyaukgyi. They are well spaced and square, with flame-pediments; the holes are round and rimmed with lotus in the central windows, beaded diamond in those of the corners, with diamond rosettes between. Apart from windows and plinth, there is little external ornament: no kirtimukha frieze nor dado; no glazed crenelle-tiles; no stonework anywhere; only plain plaster on brick surface, setting off beautiful proportions.

Roofs are sloping. There is no staircase up to them. No medial skylights to cast light on the image. The lowest corner-stupas are small models of the crown: a simple banded 'bell' on double lotus, supporting a deeply indented and recessed harmikā, and tall octagonal chattravali with rounded base, its eight edges unbroken, but with tiers of notches in between.\(^{12}\) Tall square deep-waisted jars mark the corners of the middle terrace; gnomons (imitating wood) those of the topmost. At the front corners of the broad Hall, instead of corner-stupas, there are two double-bodied lions, facing outwards.

The large Hall is sadly mutilated. The three entrance-arches have lost their pediments; all combine pointed brick voussoirs with square wooden lintels. The side-archways on both sides had lifesize paintings of standing Yakṣas with striped loincloths and one foot raised to kick (originally the trunk of a tree) behind. Such fertility-emblems carry one back over the centuries to Bhārhat and Sāñci.

Bricks are mostly large; but not quite so large as those of Nagayōn\(^{13}\). There are no vertical courses between the horizontal, and no stone courses at all. The flooring of the Nagayōn was mostly of glazed stone. Here it seems to be pebble rough cast below, overlaid with two layers of smooth hard plaster. Much the same composition was used, it seems, for the roofing; but it absorbs moisture; and here, as in Nagayōn, ceiling painting is almost all lost; and the remarkable paintings on the corridor-walls survive only because of cornice and corbelling below the vaults. The corridor has a lean-to arch. The

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12 To the S.E. of the temple (see Pl. 210 d), built on the old enclosure-wall, the small Sīlē stupa, now tottering to its fall, shows a similar harmikā and spire. Compare the stupa S. of Myipagan village-school (Pl. 258 a, b); and several others scattered around Pagān: S.E. of Myebōtha Payahla; E. of Kundanminyaza; etc.
13 Size of bricks: – Abēyadana 16″ × 6″ × 3″. Nagayōn 17″ × 8″ × 3″.
three outer walls of the Hall arch from the floor; the inner S. wall is vertical. The standing Guardian Bodhisattvas to left and right of the archway are lost; their pedestals remain.

There are no niches for images in the Hall. Most of the space on all the three front walls was needed for a complete set of Jātakas. These were painted in 8 tiers (now overpainted in parts, and blackened with smoke and grime), stretching across the W., N., and E. walls. What remains, mostly on the N. wall, has only about 150 panels with legible writing. As one faces N., towards the entrance, the 8 tiers cover the inclined space, from the W. wall to the E. The top line appears to have begun with other matters, concluding with Dipaṅkara's prophecy about the hermit Sumedha; so that the Jātaka proper only starts in the N.E. corner. Dipaṅkara's prophecy similarly introduces the Jātaka both in Myinpyagu and in Myinkaba Kubyaukgyi. For each Jātaka the Pali title is given, a short description in Mon of the then Bodhisat, and the number within the chapter (vagga) or the series (nipāta), the latter being inserted at the end of each series.

The Jātaka is divided, both in Burma and Ceylon, into 22 'descending series' (nipāta), according to the number of stanzas (gāthā) in each. The nipāta are numbered accordingly 1 to 13 (J. 1 to 483); then 'Miscellaneous' (pākinnaka); then 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80; and finally 'Great' (mahānipāta), a term reserved for the last Ten only. At Pagan this curious system first appears, it seems, in Myinpyagu and the Taungbi 'Mon' temple (supra, ch. XIV, n. 38). We may probably attribute it, together with the reduction in the total of Jātakas from 550 to 547, to the new recension, based on the Sinhalese. Within the nipāta (down to J. 370) there is the subdivision into chapters (vagga), each containing 10 Jātakas. In the 1st Nipāta (J. 1 to 150) and the 2nd (J. 151 to 250), the Abēyadana may give the 'tens' in full, and the intervening numbers merely as t to g. Thus J. 210 is numbered 60 (sc. of the 2nd Nipāta), J. 215 merely as 5. But the later numbering is full of inconsistency: an amalgam of old and new. On the one hand the new Sinhalese divisions are known: the 4th nipāl ends at 350, the 7th at 415/416, the 8th at 426, and (probably) the 11th at 463; but at times the numbers suggest other and older divisions. There was a series (10 or more panels) numbered from 200 to 300: e.g. 268/68 – conflicting with the 210/60 series mentioned above. The 4th nipāt, from 301 to 350 agrees with the Sinhalese: e.g. 350/50 is the last. But there are at least 8 panels of an older series counting from 312, e.g. 353/41, 361/49, etc. There is another series counting from 333 (e.g. 384/51), which runs at least as far as 425/52; and yet another (with only 4 legible panels) from 329 (e.g. 413/84). Two panels illustrate J. 416, one numbered 87 (the old number counting from 329), the other t (the new numbering of the 8th Nipāta?). The 5th Nipāta should begin at 351 and end at 375: but here are 4 Jātakas as late as 453/102, which appear to follow the 5th Nipāta numbering. On the other hand we find 7 Jātakas (455 to 461) with numbers counting from 441. The last Ten Jātakas are numbered in a series starting from 501 (e.g. Nimi 44) and follow exactly the old order of the Hpetleik, ending with (Vessantara 550?). Numbering is not important in itself. Variations may be accidental, due to the fact that a particular manuscript began or ended at a particular point. But given his main object – to unite Burma under the aegis of Buddhism, Kyanzittha’s first need was to standardize the texts. The Abēyadana Jātakas show but little advance beyond the muddles of the Shwézigôn. I doubt if queen Abēyadana had any hand in this Jātaka series. It has nothing in common with the other exquisite paintings in her temple.

The following rough table, using the ordinary Sinhalese numbers for Jātakas, may enable the student to locate them in the Hall of Abēyadana. Numbers in brackets are pure guesswork, serving only to bridge the gaps:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIER</th>
<th>WEST WALL</th>
<th>NORTH WALL</th>
<th>EAST WALL</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>(36 to 61)</td>
<td>62 to 70</td>
<td>10 (to 35)</td>
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<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>(107 to 128), 129 to 132</td>
<td>133 to 142</td>
<td>71 to 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>(179 to 198), 199 to 205</td>
<td>205 to 209 (+4 miscellaneous)</td>
<td>143 to 151</td>
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<td>V</td>
<td>(247 to 267), 268 to 274</td>
<td>275 to 283</td>
<td>210 to 218</td>
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<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>(321 to 346)</td>
<td>347 to 350; 384 to 388</td>
<td>284 to 293</td>
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<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>(389 to 411)</td>
<td>412 to 416; 450 to 453</td>
<td>352 to 362</td>
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<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>(490 to 513)</td>
<td>(illegible)</td>
<td>418 to 427</td>
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<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>(514 to 537)</td>
<td>538 to 547 (?550)</td>
<td>455 to 464</td>
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As one prepares to enter the Corridor of the temple, the vision of the Buddha through the starred inner archway, shouldered by jewelled Kinnaras, framed within the tiered pediment of the sanctum-arch, buttressed with elephants and lions rampant, is one that haunts the memory (Pl. 214 a). To left and right are long (empty) niches, for Māyā’s Dream on the left, for the Parinirvāna on the right. The inner block, in plan, is almost square (c. 31 ft.). There are no windows through to the dark Shrine. There is the strong plinth below, projecting cornice-capitals above, pilasters at the corners. Resting on the high plinth are rows of tall trefoil niches, with columned sides and soaring leaf-pediments, all richly carved. On the E. and W. sides there are 6 of these; on the S., 4, with a large sikhara-recess in the centre, reaching to the cornice. On the N., there are only the two long niches, with the tiered pediment above the entrance-arch, all three crowned with elaborate stupas. The outer wall of the Corridor has plain niches between the windows – 6 on each face in the lower tier, and 6 in the upper tier, except on the windowless N. wall, where there are 10. These are not embossed, but level with the wall. Even these cinquefoil corbelled niches of the outer wall are richly painted; their ceilings with ‘sun-gods’; kirtimukha frieze below the first corbel, and bare panels of beautiful proportions below the second. The central window-embrausres are painted with round lotus patterns; the outer ones with square panels and great variety of content.

The stone images which these 70 niches held are mostly lost. Of those that remain, the majority are small, modern and conventional. Two earth-touching Buddhas, possibly original, are shown on Pl. 215 b, c. The loss is sad because the more we study these walls, the more clear it becomes that here, more successfully than anywhere at Pagán, an attempt was made to integrate in one interior the three rival arts of architecture, sculpture and painting. In the oldest temples architecture dominated, with sculpture confined to the central Buddha and his throne. The Niche, especially the tall embossed Niche opened in the outer wall of the Shrine (the original temple), represents the Architect’s concession to the Sculptor. But these had to be protected; so the lean-to Corridors were added, with their marked contrast of smooth outer, and embossed inner wall, the latter with plinth, pilasters, cornice, frieze and all the trappings of an exterior. The smooth outer wall gave the Painter his chance; and the plain niches soon attracted him. The later history of Pagán architecture will show the triumph of the Painter. In the Abèyadana he had a difficult task: to cope with curving, broken and embossed wall-surface at
every point, recesses, steps, niches, arches, windows, embrasures, cells, pediments and šikharas. He rose to the challenge. On the plain outer wall he deployed his main theme—the Ascent to Buddhahood. For this he adds no frame to those already set by Sculptor and Architect: the windows, arches and niches. He accepts these in his design, and gives each one its independent value, and yet manages to absorb them into the central theme. While some Gandharvas are hurrying one way to voice the glories of an incipient Buddha, others speed in the opposite direction to hymn a Buddha throne in his niche. There is never a straight line anywhere, yet no confusion. The whole has the unity in complexity of a Persian carpet, the ever-varied weaving of contrasted themes as in a symphony.

**Paintings on the Inner Walls of the Corridor.**—At the top, hardly visible from below, five conventional tiers run all round the four sides, with little variation. Tiers I and III show a line of stupas with palmyra palms between—a theme modified from the one in Myinpyau. Tiers II and IV show a line of seated Buddhas with reredos and shoulder-diamonds, alternately touching Earth or preaching—a theme like the one similarly placed in Nagayōn. Tier V is a broad floral band.

Perhaps the next two tiers were also meant to be conventional: but the painters in this temple were artists in their own right and went their own way. Tier VI shows a series generally of red-robed Buddhas, touching earth or preaching, with worshippers. Their audience may include Devas with flywhisks or streamers, tall figures of Sāriputta and Moggallāna, or other monks in separate cells with coconut palms between. On the E. side (where the artist took liberties), the Buddhas become 24 saints without uṣṇīṣa, seated in dhyānamudrā with almsbowls. Tier VII, a narrow tier (Pl. 218), on the N., W., and S. sides, shows the worship of the Daṇḍadīyī by monks, Brahmās, Devas, Yakṣas, kings, queens with coronets, bearing shawls, swords, lidded ricebowls, etc. Daṇḍadīyī, “lamp-stands”, look like rectangular branching sconces. Though not included in the 108 auspicious signs on the Buddha’s Footprint, they figure frequently on the plaques at the base of the Nanda, among the emblems brought by Devas to the Bodhi tree, to celebrate the Buddha’s triumph (Pl. 333 c). On a stone relief of the Parinirvāṇa in a Nanda cross-passage (Pl. 319 e) a daṇḍadīṣṭī stands in the centre below the floral couch on which the Buddha lies. On a Nagayōn painting (Pl. 203 a), there is one below the feet of Dipaṅkara Buddha. It seems that the daṇḍadīṣṭī carried a profound symbolic meaning. Could it possibly stand for the Triratna?—The E. face omits the daṇḍadīṣṭī, and substitutes a homelier series of panels: a lady seated, facing front, with right or left knee raised, holding in her lap a bowl of lotus. She wears dark yellow knickers with black markings. On each side of her there is a maid rolling bark for face-powder, on a stone tray with metal stand (Pl. 217 d). Between each panel are seen the head and forelegs of a white elephant.—Are these the ladies attendant on Queen Māyā during her pregnancy, in continuation of the scenes on the N. face?

The two broad niches dominate the N. side (Pls. 214 b, c; 215 a). Empty as they now are, they must have once held sculptures showing the Conception (Dream of Māyā) on the E. side of the entrance to the Shrine, and the Parinirvāṇa (Death of the Buddha) on the W. Each niche-top is backed.

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14 Tiers I and III: Height 9½”. Breadth from tree to tree 5½”.
15 Tiers II and IV: Height 8½”. Breadth 6”.
16 Tier V (Floral Band): Height 5½”.
17 Tier VI: Height 1’ 3”, including lower border.
18 Tier VII: Height 7½”.
19 Tier VII (E. face): each panel 7 inches high by 1 foot long.
with three receding roofs, and crowned with an elaborate stupa, guarded by lions at the lower corners. On the right of the E. stupa is a large panel (Pl. 217 a) depicting Mäyä’s Robing. She sits in padmåsana, hands on knees, between the wives of the four Mahäräjas, who bring her toilet-requisites. On the left of the stupa is a similar panel (Pl. 217 b, c), showing her seated in great beauty, the Future Buddha shining in her womb. The four queens offer her delicacies, or wait in adoration. In the narrow panel above this, a line of Devas keeps watch over her, 9 to the left of the stupa base, and 14 to the right of it. On the W. side of the archway, the large lower panels of painting on both sides of the Parinirvåna niche show lines of mourners: men and kings in the lowest tier; above them, drummers; above them, Devas dancing on the left, Devås drumming, dancing and making offerings on the right; above them, lines of Brahmås. Above these, below the dandadîp tier, there is a row of painted stupas, 6 on each side of the embossed niche-stupa, worshipped by rows of Devas, Brahmås, Någas, kings, etc.

On the E., W., and S. sides, in the forks where the tall niche-pediments meet each other (or the corner pilasters), there are the 18 Tondoes20 (or half-Tondoes) described already in Chapter XI (supra, pp. 222–4); Pls. 219–223. All show Vedic or later Hindu gods and goddesses, each riding his vahanà, and coming with offerings to worship at this Buddhist shrine. There are no glosses to identify them. My suggestions (argued in Ch. XI) are, briefly, as follows.

The 7 deities of the W. wall tondoes, starting from the N.W. corner, include: — 1. Brahmå on Haṁsa. 2. Śiva on Nandin. 3. Viśnù on Garuḍa. 4. Deī on Śimha. 5. Six-armed god on a charging Elephant. 6. Råma on Hanumån. 7. Revanta on Horse. The 7 deities of the E. wall tondoes, starting from the N.E. corner, include: — 8. Iśåna on Bull. 9. Indra, with Indrânî, on Airåvata. 10. Agni on Goat. 11. Two-armed god on Buffalo. 12. The river-goddess Yamunå on Tortoise. 13. The river-goddess Sarasvatî on Haṁsa. 14. The river-goddess Gaṅgå on Makara. All these face N., on their way towards the only entrance to the Shrine, on the N. face. The deities in the remaining 4 Tondoes on the S. wall, face inwards, towards the Buddha image which once occupied the central śikharå-recess: — 15. (S.E. corner) Four-armed goddess riding a Kinnari. 16. Yama and Dhümôrṇå on Buffalo. 17. (S.W. corner) Varuna on Makara. 18. Four-armed deity on Eagle (?), with Cormorant in front.

Between these 4 tondoes, the painting on this S. face shows the Måra-dharṣâna — the same scene as that similarly placed in Nagayôn. But here the panel is less than half the size21, and the arrangement is more normal: Måra attacking from the left, retreating on the right (Pl. 225 a, b). Above the tondoes on all three faces, on each side of the tops of the niche-pediments, there are pairs of celestial musicians, Gandharvas and Apsarasas, with their various instruments, trailing clouds behind them as they fly to celebrate the Buddha in each niche.22 There are 6 pairs each on the E. and W. walls, and 3 on the S. (Pl. 224 a, b, c, d). Finally, as in Nagayôn (supra, p. 322), on the low band of plinth-moulding on the inner wall, there are tiny panels of painted dancers, drummers and musicians (Pl. 241).

20 The diameter of each tondo is about 14 inches plus 3½ inches of border.
21 Måradhårṣana panel: 11 ft. 8 in. broad; nearly 4 ft. on each side of the recess. Height: 3 ft.
22 Musicians: — Height 1 ft. 1 in. Max. breadth 1 ft. 8 in. The instruments they carry are not easy to identify. Col. Ba Shin suggests that they include various drums, gongs, triangles, cymbals large and small; a long pipe, a (bamboo) pipe with double mouthpiece, double Pan-pipes, gourd-flute with narrow mouthpiece and bellows-like body; ‘dôn-mîn’ wind-instrument; mouth-organ; buffalo-horn; straight trumpet with mouth-cover and flowery end; viol with bow; six-stringed harp; and the Indian vina. For musicians shown on the plinth below, see Arch. Dept. Negatives (year 1957–58), Nos. 7369 to 7373 (drawings), 7347 to 7350 (photographs).
Chapter XVI

*Paintings on the Outer Walls of the Corridor.* – In Pl. 227 U Mya and his devoted assistants have given us a careful and beautiful eye-copy of a small section of the outer wall (S. side) which, *mutatis mutandis,* is valid for the whole. The only omission is the flaked or defaced panel at the bottom. Below the 8 inch band of foliation shown at the base of the drawing, there is a larger band, about 2 ft. 6 in. high, reaching to the floor. In the N.E. corner, one can still see a fragment of it, filled with large coiling arabesque of rampant leafage; also big jars; and probably pilaster-panelling at intervals. The total height of plane painted wall-surface is about 14½ ft. The main tiers, as they were and as they are, may be roughly summarised as follows: –

### OUTER WALL OF CORRIDOR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tier</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Height</th>
<th>Max. Breadth</th>
<th>Original Total</th>
<th>Extant (in whole or part)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Topmost</td>
<td>Buddhahood attained (Pl. 240)</td>
<td>32 in.</td>
<td>27½ in. (at top)</td>
<td>52 to 56</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>Standing Bodhisattvas (Pls. 238, 239)</td>
<td>32½ in.</td>
<td>17½ in.</td>
<td>36 to 38</td>
<td>28 to 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>Caves (Pls. 231–237) + Floral band (4½ inches).</td>
<td>18 in.</td>
<td>11½ in.</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Bodhisattvas in <em>lalitásana</em> (Pl. 230)</td>
<td>26½ in.</td>
<td>22½ in.</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Bodhisattvas in <em>arādha paryāṅkásana</em> (Pls. 228, 229)</td>
<td>26½ in.</td>
<td>19½ in.</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowest</td>
<td>Floral bands</td>
<td>38 in.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In seeking to interpret this wall, we have nothing but the paintings themselves to go on. There are no written glosses, either here or on the inner wall of the corridor. Are the Bodhisattvas individual or generalized? Why do those of the 1st and 4th tiers hold weapons, but not those of the 2nd? Does the long series of Cave-scenes (broken only at the windows) imply a narrative, based perhaps on an original Tāntric-Mahāyānist text? – I am not sure; and even since the War, when Burma lost all its research libraries, vital books of reference are wanting. All we can do is to list and summarize the evidence in proper sequence, tier by tier. We made efforts to record the colour of each Bodhisattva, in case this should be significant. The skin-colour ranges now from muddy white to darkish brown. The original colour was doubtless different, and we cannot fix it. The “Green Tārā”, who recurs fairly often in the Caves, is now much nearer to Brown than Green. My own eyesight is weakening; so I rely here entirely on my colleague Col. Ba Shin. The corridor is always dark. With candle, electric torch and ‘Storm King’ oil-lamp, it was still often difficult to trace the forms. The reader must be prepared to find discrepancy between U Mya’s copies and Ba Shin’s description. I have not softened it; nor can I decide between them: e.g., in Cave No. 49 (Pl. 233 a), whether the Colonel is right in questioning (he does not absolutely deny) the Mouse in the Bodhisattva’s hand.

These hundred-and-more graceful Bodhisattvas, in form always tilted and diagonal, do not easily lend themselves to piling upwards in tiers. Strong frames are necessary to hold them in position. Hence the architectural framing of the tiered niches. Hence the narrow but continuous Cave-band
binding the whole. They form the Second Subject, as in the Classical Symphony, contrasting with the First, and so enforcing it. Jewelled pilasters frame, not only the niches, but also the Bodhisattvas standing between them. Strong horizontal roofs support their finials, but even more the lolling Bodhisattvas. Between these roofs, only the seated Buddha at the top is stable on his jetting stem. Span-drels of the arches, too, upper and lower, allowed the artist to develop the Opening-of-the-Flower motif – symbol of Buddhahood attained. The undivine beginner at the base, constricted in his strength, his armour and felt boots, flowers to unarmed divinity on lotus, with gods adorant on each side. And still there is room for flying gods in clouds to bring their offerings, not to him, but to the Buddhas in the splendid niches beside him. Only in the top spandrels is there no cross-motif: king, ministers, clouds, Apsaras and Gardharva, all combine to form, as to adore, the Flower of Buddhahood.

1st Tier (Pls. 228, 229). – Each Bodhisattva sits alone in ardhaparyaṅkāsana, on plain low platform, with triple-arching reredos, including the nimbus of his tilted head, and sometimes jewelled diamonds at the shoulders. Each has two arms with distinct attributes: spear, arrow, vajra, discus (plain, saw-toothed or lotus-edged); axe, broadsword, leafy falchion, two-edged sword or scimitar; shield, trident, dagger, scabbard-knife (?), club, ladle, twelve-spoked wheel, hooded cobra, wriggling snake, etc. Each has a pointed diadem and lotus-cone of hair, ear-tubes, and royal ornaments, necklaces, armlets, wristlets, epaulettes, and sash or upavīta slung across the body from left shoulder to right hip. All wear striped loincloths of various colours. Some wear felt boots, plain, striped or variegated. Others have only anklets. Usually the right knee is raised, at varying angles, and the left knee flat. If so, the head is tilted to the left, and the right elbow propped on the raised knee or thigh. Where (as in the four E. of the entrance-arch) the head is tilted to the right, the left knee is raised and the left elbow rests on it.

The only Bodhisattvas of this tier yet identified by scholars, are No. 2 on the E. wall (Pls. 228 a, 229 b) which Dr. Ray names Saptaśatika Hayagriva, chiefly because “over his crown peeps out the head of a horse”; and No. 6 on the W. wall (Pl. 228 f), which he finally identifies with Śiva. For the latter, his first judgement (on his p. 60) is to be preferred: “it certainly belongs to the varied pantheon of the Vajrayāna”; for on this outer wall of the corridor we are wholly in the Buddhist world, not the Hindu. U Mya’s outline sketch of the Bodhisattva is nearer the truth: his left hand holds a long spear, not a trident: and the so-called rosary in the right is the result of damage by insects; there is nothing but an open palm. As for No. 2, illustrated here both by outline copy and photograph, since neither Ba Shin nor I can discover the horse’s head, we hesitate to accept Dr. Ray’s suggestion. Perhaps all these Bodhisattvas are just generalized symbols of power still self-imprisoned.

2nd Tier (Pl. 230) – A higher type of Bodhisattvas, all seated like kings in lalitāsana, like gods on lovely lotus cushions, with gods kneeling in worship beside them. The model for the central figure was the seated Lokanātha, “Lord of the World”, whom Aniruddha worshipped. He sits with left leg flat, and right hanging or resting on a lotus footstool. His right hand, palm open, is stretched across the right knee in gesture of Charity, varada mudrā. On the right (his left) rises a long lotus stalk which,

22 Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma. fig. 18 and pp. 60–61 and 115.
24 ibid, fig. 26, pp. 60, 116.
25 A.S.I. 1930–34, Part II, Pl. CI (a) – our Pl. 228 f, (W.6).
twining with his left hand raised before the body in abhaya, vyākhyaṇa or other mudrā, or climbing the crook of his left elbow, flowers, half-flowers, or half-fades above his left shoulder. This may or may not be balanced by another lotus, rising freely on the left (his right). He has two arms, and carries no weapon. There are no felt-boots nor anklets. Bodhisattvas of the lower tier held symbols of worldly power: but these are gods, objects of reverence.

There are a good many minor variations, perhaps just to avoid monotony. In one case only (W. 10) the right leg is flat and the left hanging. In six the right hand is in abhaya, not varada mudrā; in four perhaps dharmacakra mudrā; vyākhyaṇa (pose of exposition) and vitaraka (pose of argument) are also possibilities. The two devotees are always in namaskāra mudrā, rarely offering flowers. Crowns, royal ornaments, sashes and loincloths of all three are beautifully varied. Perhaps they are not meant to give more than a general picture of Advanced Bodhisattvahood.

The ‘Second Subject’ at this point is worth regard. Above the abacus of the niche-frame, holding the lower tier of Bodhisattvas, at the corners of the crenellated terrace stand kinnaras, facing outward on each side (compare those at the corners on the lowest terrace of Seinnyetnima). On the next receding terrace sit or crouch guardian Lions with tails rampant. On the third crenellated terrace sit Devas. On the fourth, Lions again, with mouths agape and outer forepaw raised. All these appear to guard, in échelon, not only the Buddha-stupa behind them, but also the Bodhisattvas whom they face.

3rd Tier Caves (Pls. 231–237). — The panels are small: only 13½ inches high by 11½ inches broad. There are 30 on each of the three sides, E., S., and W. Much on the N. side has flaked; but here too we can distinguish 19 Caves, with the possibility of a good many more. In appendix to this chapter we give, in serial order and tabular form, brief descriptions of these 199 panels. 54 of them are shown in the Plates.

It is my impression (right or wrong) that the artist, or Queen Abêyadana, implies that the lower heights of Buddhist attainment, up to Lokaññha level (2nd tier), are within reach of every strenuous Hinayanist believer. To rise beyond this, a course of Tântre and other discipline, symbolized by the Caves, is necessary before one can attain full stature as a perfected Bodhisattva (4th Tier); after which one rises straight to Buddhahood (topmost Tier). But since we have not yet found the key to the interpretation of the Caves (it may be some Indian text known to better scholars), all we can do for the present is to summarise, in order, the scenes depicted, and illustrate a selection of them with photographs and eye-copies made by the Archaeological Department. My descriptions are based on Col. Ba Shin’s keen observation. He does not always see what the copyists saw; and he often sees details which they overlooked. In particular, they often omit the lāñchana or ‘marks’ (as my Indian friends call them) — seemingly irrelevant figures (hunters, birds, animals, etc.) shown on top of the Caves, to left and right of the peak. Possibly these may help to identify the scenes.

U Mya\(^{28}\) has traced 5 of these 199 scenes to the story of the hermit Vaccha and the Kinnari, who persuaded him to kill the monstrous Spider; as told in Mahosadha (Mahâ-ummaṅga) Jâtaka\(^{27}\). The 5 scenes he identifies, in my serial numbering are Panel 34, the Refusal; 36, the Acceptance; 37, the Family Life; 38, the Killing of the Spider; 39, the three Kinnari (the Invitation?). And a sixth scene, Panel 50, which we call the Negotiation, shows a human go-between entreating the hermit, with one Kinnari turning away, and spiders on both side-walls of the Cave. The narrative order one would


expect is: 39, Invitation; 34, Refusal; 50, Negotiation; 36, Acceptance; 38, Killing of the Spider; and 37, Family Life. Panel 35, in the middle of the series, shows a monk seated in dharmacakra mudrā. This has nothing to do with the story. – I infer from this that the order of these panels is not necessarily consecutive.

If one story is taken from the Jātaka (I cannot question the identity of Vaccha), others may also be traced there. A probable one, I think, is Padakusala-māṇava, No. 432. Cave 68 (Pl. 234 g) shows the horse-faced Yakkhini (Assamukhī) two-armed, seated in her lonely cave among the snakes, Cave 100 (Pl. 236 c) shows her son, the Bodhisattva, questioning her about the limits of her domain. Here she has four arms and weapons, and sits devouring gobbets of human flesh. Other identifications are more doubtful. Panels 45 and 52 show a maned lion couchant in a cave. In 52, without fear, a dog-like animal crouches in front and below him. If the dog is really a jackal, the story may well be that of the Virocana Jātaka, No. 143. Panels 46 and 85 show a hermit seated in a cave, with a small deer standing before him. This reminds one of Alambusā Jātaka No. 523, or Naṭiniṅkā Jātaka No. 526, the story of Isisiṅka. But there are other possibilities, e.g. Migapokata Jātaka, No. 372. Panel 60 shows a hermit in a cave threatening a monkey. This might illustrate either Makkatā Jātaka No. 173, or Kapi Jātaka, No. 256. But if so, the monkey has already discarded his ascetic robes. And here, too, there are other possibilities. In Panel 13, the arrival of the Bird-Elephant (Pali vāraṇa, hatthilinga) with a Babe on its head reminds me of the birth of Vessantara, but the other details hardly agree; it reminds Col. Ba Shin of the story in Dhammapada Commentary about the birth of Udena in the forest, and his rearing by the hermit Allakappa, after Udena’s mother was carried off by the monstrous bird. Panel 73 shows a hermit seated in converse (his varadamudrā pose is denied by the Colonel) with a Nāga King: this might illustrate either Pandara Jātaka No. 518, or Samkhapala Jātaka, No. 524.

But even if all these suggestions were accepted, U Mya would still be right in asserting: “There are certainly clearer evidences of Tāntrism in the paintings along the same band; they display Mahāyānist gods and goddesses in their fierce forms or holding attributes of a Tāntric nature.” Note, however, that the erotic side of Tāntrism, traceable in a few 13th century Burmese temples of Minnanthu, is not to be found in the Abhāyadana.

Who are the occupants of these Caves? –

(i) BUDDHAS: 15. See Caves 1, 7, 15, 21, 27, 44, 51, 55, 57, 83, 96, 107 and 3 illustrated: Pls. 234 a (61), 235 e (80), 236 a (88). They are always shown seated in padmāsana, 4 times in dharmacakra, 4 times in dhyāna mudrā (with or without almsbowl), 3 times each in abhaya and bhūmisparśa mudrā.

35 Dhammapadathāthathā, I, 161.
37 A.S.I. 1930-34, Part I, p. 183, and Part II, Pls. CIII, c, d.
In one panel the attitude is not clear. Once there seem to be a beard and moustache (80). The usniṣa varies - conical, or knobbed, or sharp-cut as if in metal. The right shoulder may or may not be bare. The colour of the robe is usually dark purple. Sometimes there is a reredos, with shoulder-diamonds. In 3 panels other figures are present: – In 44, on the right (the Buddha’s left), a lion sits on his haunches facing him (Is this Paduma Buddha? Cf. Pl. 196 d). In 57, on the left (the Buddha’s right), is a white elephant with trunk raised. In 61 (Pl. 234 a) a figure naked to the waist, knees slightly bent, enters on the right, holding in his left hand a piece of cloth (?), brandishing in his right a large bone (?), as if about to strike the Buddha. – I take this to be Ālavaka Yakkha brandishing the dussāvudha. See Malalasekera, Vol. I, p. 1100.

(ii) SAINTS AND MONKS: 15. See Caves 3, 18, 23, 31, 35, 41, 47, 79, 92, 104 and 5 illustrated: Pls. 231 a (5), 231 c (9), 234 c (63), 234 e (66), and 236 d (101). These have no usniṣa; otherwise they resemble Buddhas. 10 sit in padmāsana on lotus, 4 each in dharmacakra and dhyāna mudrā; 3 perhaps in vitarka mudrā. Their robes are mostly deep purple. Rarely there is a reredos with shoulder-diamonds. Their right shoulder may or may not be bare. In 4 Caves the monk sits sideways, facing right or left. In Cave 3 he faces a praying hermit on the right. In 66 (Pl. 234 e), two monks sit sideways on low pedestals facing each other, their outer hands in vitarka mudrā. With his inner hand, the monk on the right upholds the stem of a large blue lotus. In 63 (Pl. 234 c), the monk with shoulder-diamonds sits sideways on a lotus pedestal, pointing to the right at a maned lion rampant before him, tail between legs. In 47 he sits facing left with hands raised before him. Outside the cave stands a monkey offering fruits. Before the monk, crouches a leopard (?). Between monk and leopard is a large bowl with conical lid. In 31 he sits in dhyānamudrā between two hairy men, the one on the left kneeling in prayer, the one on the right holding a gold staff with tassels diagonally across the monk’s body. Cave 9 (Pl. 231 c) shows two saintly boys seated, facing left, with short black hair and long topknot hanging out behind. The front boy holds a large lotus bud. The younger boy behind him, perhaps also a monkey in front of him, are in namaskāra mudrā. Cave 101 (Pl. 236 d) shows a three-headed elephant with three trunks, but human body and two hands, seated in padmāsana on double lotus. He seems to have the usniṣa (is this a symbol for the All-Wise, the Buddha?).

(iii) BODHISATTVAS: 13. See Caves 11, 19, 25, 30, 82, 91, 95, 103 and 5 illustrated: Pls. 232 f (42), 233 a and 237 f (49), 233 g (58), 235 c (77), 235 i (87). All 13 have two arms, and all but one are seated. One doubtful figure (103) is shown standing – perhaps a royal personage, hand on hip. Two (11, 19) sit in ardhaparyāṅkāsana, right knee raised; nine in lañītikāsana, right or left leg hanging, with or without a lotus footstool. Four (30, 87, 91, 95) sit like Lokanātha, right hand open on the knee in varada mudrā, with or without climbing lotus stems. No 42 (Pl. 232 f) has left leg hanging, and left hand open on the knee in varada mudrā, while the right hand brandishes the vajra. No. 77 (Pl. 235 c), with left leg hanging, holds the stem of a full blown lotus in the left hand, and another in the crook of his right elbow. No. 87 (Pl. 235 i), a Lokanātha without lotuses, holds his left hand, with jewel, open before the body in abhayamudrā. No. 95, too, has the left hand in abhayamudrā. No. 19 has the right hand probably in vitarkamudrā. No. 30 has the left hand before the body in mantramudrā. Whether 49 (Pl. 233 a) really holds a mouse in his left hand is doubtful. Only two of these Bodhisattvas are given adorants. No. 42 (Pl. 232 f) sits between two, human and divine. One lovely figure, 58 (Pl. 233 g), sits facing right on patterned mat and double lotus, left shin resting on right thigh. The pose is dharmacakra
mudrā, both elbows twined with half-blown blue lotus. He looks askance, benignly, on a slim kneeling figure on the right, whose palms are open for offering. But is the figure really a Tārā, Mahāśrī Tārā?

(iv) TĀRĀS: 12. See Caves 74, 89, 97, 109 and 8 illustrated: Pls. 231 e (16), 231 g (20), 231 i (24), 232 i (48), 233 h (59), 237 d (76), 235 g (84), 236 b (93). Whether No. 109, a figure seated cross-legged in royal attitude, is a Tārā or a Bodhisattva, is not certain. Including this, there are 9 Tārās with two arms; two (Nos. 48, 74) with four arms; and one (No. 20) with six. Three (Nos. 20, 24, and 109) sit in padmāsana on lotus; the others sit in lalitāsana, the right leg usually hanging; but the left in Nos. 16 and 76. All wear coronets, and have the ūrṇā in their foreheads. All are ‘peaceful’. The majority are twined with stems of lotus, often with flowers half blown. The pose is generally either varada, or dharmacakrā mudrā. These Tārās have been considered at length in Ch. X (supra, p. 200). The conclusion reached is that they are all ‘peaceful’ emanations, probably of the Jina (‘Dhyāni Buddha’) Amoghasiddhi. Several of the two-armed Tārās in varadamudrā are the Green (Śyāma or Khaḍiravanī) Tārā. The four in dharmacakrā mudrā (Nos. 16, 59, 89, 93) may be Mahāśrī Tārā. The four-armed goddess holding a Book (No. 48, Pl. 232 i) may be Dhanadā Tārā. The six-armed Tārā (No. 20, Pl. 231 g) has not been identified. Perhaps the beautiful ‘Bodhisattva’ of Cave 58 (Pl. 233 g) is really Mahāśrī Tārā. The two blue lotuses and dharmacakrā mudrā would fit.

(v) TĀNTRIC DEITIES: 16. See Caves 32, 33, 69, 105, 106 and 11 illustrated: Pls. 237 a (29), 237 b (40), 233 d (53), 233 e (54), 234 b (62), 234 d (65), 234 f (67), 234 h (70), 234 i (71), 235 h (86), 237 e (99). These have also been considered in Ch. X (supra, p. 200). Not all wear crowns or coronets. Those with bushy hair (Nos. 54, 65, 67, 71 and 99—all illustrated) are perhaps demons rather than gods. Their sex is not always easy to fix. Of the 9 with two arms, about half are male, half female. Of the 3 with four arms, one (No. 65) is male, two (Nos. 105, 106) probably female. Of the 4 with six arms (Nos. 40, 67, 71, 99) all are probably female. The ‘fierce’ deities include Nos. 53, 62, 60, 70 and the 5 bushy-haired ones. No. 71 (Pl. 234 i), the six-armed goddess (?) standing on a corpse, may perhaps be the Hindu-Tāntric goddess Cāmuṇḍā, in her six-armed form as Ṛudrā-cacīkā. Could No. 29 (Pl. 237 a), a seated lady holding the tress of her long hair, be Vasundhāra, the Earth-goddess?

(vi) HERMITS: 28. See Caves 3, 4, 6, 12, 14, 28, 64, 75, 85, 94, 98 and 17 illustrated: Pls. 231 b (8), 231 d (13), 231 f (17), 231 h (22), 232 a (34), 232 b (36), 232 c (37), 232 d (38), 237 c (43), 232 h (46), 232 i (48). Cf. R. D. Banerji, E. Indian School of Medieval Sculpture, Pl. XL e, f. It does not seem to matter if the right leg (as usual) is hanging, or the left. In the latter case, positions may be reversed, left arm on left knee in varada mudrā.

28 Cf. R. D. Banerji, E. Indian School of Medieval Sculpture, Pl. XL e, f. It does not seem to matter if the right leg (as usual) is hanging, or the left. In the latter case, positions may be reversed, left arm on left knee in varada mudrā.
29 The half-blown lotuses do not appear in the first outline copy shown at A.S.I. 1930–34, Part II, Pl. CII (c), and Ray, Sansk. Buddhism fig. 19, but are seen in the later copy (No. 20, Pl. 231 g). Col. Ba Shin confirms the half-blown lotus in the upper right hand, but is doubtful about the upper left. The middle left, he thinks, may be in abhayamudrā before the body.
30 For Amoghasiddhi and the ‘Cutch Forest’ Tārā, see Bhattachar, et al., Dacca Museum, pp. 21, 56–58 and Pl. XXI; Bhattacharyya, Indian Buddhist Iconography, pp. 55–56, 226–227, 307, and fig. 166 (p. 281).
31 Bhattacharyya, op. cit., fig. 169 (p. 283) and pp. 227–9: ‘Mahāśrī Tārā is shown as one-faced and two-armed, exhibiting the Vyākhyāna or the Dharma-cakra mudrā’.
32 Ibid, p. 231: ‘four arms showing the rosary, the Varada pose, the Utpala and the Book’ (fig. 172, p. 284).
33 Ibid, p. 365. ‘Cāmuṇḍā rides on a corpse and is of red colour. She is four-armed. With the first pair of hands she holds the kartri [knife] in the right and the kapāla [skull-cup] in the left. In the second she exhibits the aṇjali’; Bhattachari, op. cit., pp. 207–212 and Pl. LXXI b.
233 b (50), 233 f (56), 233 i (60), 235 a (72), 235 b (73), 235 d (78), 235 f (81). The Hermits have pointed beards and moustaches. All are emaciated. They usually sit sideways, on a low pedestal, with or without a tiger-skin mat, on the left side of the Cave. Two (Nos. 17, 94) hold rosaries, one (No. 43) ladies. Of the 28 Hermits, 21 wear the two horned headress – a ‘horn’ (śrṅga) or coil of hair on each side of the head. Most of the others wear the tall jutting ‘single horn’ (ekāśrṅga; Old Burm. tukkhyā)44, rather like a fool’s cap. The style of headress seems unimportant. The hermit Vāccha, usually shown with the two ‘horns’ (Nos. 36, 37, 38), has only the one ‘horn’ in No. 50; and in No. 34 has only the hair-knot on the nape of the neck. Their visitors (monkeys, dogs, deer, a pig, a bird-elephant, flying Deva, Nāga, Kinnarīs and humans) kneel, sit or stand on the right side of the Cave. A monkey is shown massaging their feet (No. 8), extracting a thorn (?) from the sole (No. 78), or being threatened for a fault (No. 60). The Monk takes precedence of the Hermit. In No. 3 a Monk, in vitarkamudrā, sits on the left (the side of honour), with a Hermit on the right doing him reverence. There is little sign of Tāntrism except in one (No. 56, Pl. 233 f), where the hermit holds in his right hand a blanched human face.

For further detail about the Caves, see the appendix to this chapter.

4th Tier. Standing Bodhisattvas (Pls. 238, 239). – The upper parts of the outer wall of the Corridor are in much worse preservation than the lower parts. These Bodhisattvas, each about 2 ft. 8 in. high, stand between the upper tier of niches and the windows. On the E. and W. outer walls there are 6 niches and 3 windows, all flanked by standing Bodhisattvas (total 10 + 10 = 20). On the S. outer wall there are only 8 Bodhisattvas, 4 on each side of the central window. For the badly flaked N. outer wall I estimate the same, 4 on each side of the entrance-arch (total 8 + 8 = 16); but this may be an underestimate. Of these 36 Bodhisattvas, parts of 28 or more can be seen; but much is lost above the 4½ inch floral band over the Caves, especially on the N. and E. walls. The best preserved panels are on both walls about the S.W. corner.

We may call them Avalokiteśvara perhaps, rather than Padmapāni, since only one (in the N.E. corner) appears to hold the Lotus. But each in his youthful beauty stands framed in it – the Womb of all Creation. From the round double-lotus ‘tray’ on which his bare feet are planted, rises a forest of fertility – stem, petiole, leaf, bud, calyx, pericarp, corolla – to flower above his shoulders. One knee is slightly bent, the other hip haunched; toes point outwards; the head and oval halo are slightly tilted. Each has the āryā in the centre of the forehead. The royal clothes and ornaments are beautiful and simple: a broadening upavīta falling from left shoulder to right thigh; loincloth with variegated lines or stripes; blue waistband tied with loop and lappets dangling at will; short half-sleeved, close-fitting jacket, setting off the gold and pearl necklace, wristlets, armlets, coiling ear-tubes, jewelled crown and braided hair.

The Bodhisattvas have but two hands, and carry various weapons: discus (cakra, the commonest), sword (khaḍga), dagger (kātari), spear (śīla), trident (trīśūla), spear-trident (spear with trident at the butt end), thunderbolt (vajra), hook (ānuśa), conch (śaṅkha), lotus stalk, etc. In this respect they resemble the Bodhisattvas of the 1st Tier rather than the 2nd, who only exhibit mudrās. Are these symbols here to be given a metaphysical sense? Or have we confused, e.g., the cakra with the sudarsana?

44 For tukkhyā, see I.B. Pl. I 7 (542 s./1180 A.D.).
5th (Topmost) Tier. Buddhahood attained (Pl. 246).—After centuries of moistening through the porous roof, few of these remain, even in part—perhaps 17 out of a total of over 50; and of these, hardly more than 6, on both walls of the S.W. corner, are fairly complete. As planned, I imagine, between each frame of upper niche and window, a strong stem rose direct above each standing Bodhisattva to bear a Buddha seated in dharmacakra mudrā. The narrowing arch-tops left ample space, especially at corners and above the windows, for extra Buddhas; so that the original total was very likely over 50.

The number of adorants varies with the space available: but the general design is always the same. From the base of the inverted triangle formed by adjacent spandrels, immediately above the Bodhisattva’s crown, rises a strong pillared stem or peduncle, with attendant petioles supporting leaf, pericarp and bud. The stem expands to form the rich krāpap, fitted with double range of pedicels, on which the Buddha spreads his stippled leather mat. There he sits against a reredos or triple nimbus the arch broken by diamond at the shoulders, under the white umbrella. In purple robe covering both shoulders, with high conical uṣṇīṣa, he sits in vajrāsana, turning his Wheel of Law. Crowned kings and bearded ministers, in tiers nicely graded, each wrapped in coloured robes of patterned wheel or diaper, kneel in worship from below. From above, trailing their rhizome-patterned clouds, float and run the orchestra of heaven, flying (as children kites) their ever-climbing lotus-stems.

**ABĒYADANA. Outer Wall of Corridor. 3rd TIER**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial no.</th>
<th>Plate no.</th>
<th>CAVE</th>
<th>LĀṆCHANA (at top of Cave) Left</th>
<th>Right</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>N. Wall (E. of entrance-arch):</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Buddha seated in dhyānamudrā. Robe deep purple. No almsbowl. Top left corner lost.</td>
<td>(not visible)</td>
<td>(not visible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Seated figure. Kneeling attendant with coronet on right. Flaked.</td>
<td>(not visible)</td>
<td>(not visible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Monk seated facing right, right hand in vitarka mudrā. Before him, facing left, Hermit in na-maskāra mudrā.</td>
<td>Man’s head, facing out.</td>
<td>(not visible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hermit on tiger-skin facing right. Before him sits a crowned king holding up gold pot in both hands.</td>
<td>Head of tusked Elephant, facing out.</td>
<td>(faint)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>231a</td>
<td>Monk in padmāsana on lotus, dharmacakra mudrā. Robes deep purple.</td>
<td>Hunter with topknot, facing front, climbing cave.</td>
<td>Bird facing in (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hermit sits in abhayamudrā. Before him sits a king offering white object, held up in both hands.</td>
<td>(flaked)</td>
<td>Small Bird with tail up, facing in.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serial no.</td>
<td>Plate no.</td>
<td>CAVE</td>
<td>LĀŃCHANA (at top of Cave)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. 23I b</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dying Hermit. Flying Deva (top right) entres with lotus bud. Sad Monkeys at hermit's feet and elbow.</td>
<td>(faint)</td>
<td>Bird with bushy tail, facing out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. 23I c</td>
<td></td>
<td>Two Boys seated facing left. The front one holds lotus bud. The younger one in prayer. In front of the elder boy, left, kneels a monkey in worship.</td>
<td>(faint)</td>
<td>(faint)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td></td>
<td>White Lion crouching with forepaw raised. On right, a figure with white turban seated facing the lion.</td>
<td>(faint)</td>
<td>(faint)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E. wall

<p>| 12.       |           | Hermit sits on haunches. Facing him, a Monkey with right arm over his head. Another monkey between them. | (none) | Bearded Hunter with topknot, facing out. |
| 13. 23I d |           | Hermit sits, with hands out to receive. Enter Bird-elephant (top right) with Child seated crosslegged on its head. Below, a man kneeling with offering. (&gt; N. window) | Bearded Hunter with topknot, facing out. | (none) |
| 17. 23I f |           | Hermit seated facing right, with rosary held up in left hand. | Parrot, flying out. | Thin Man, facing in, climbing cave. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial no.</th>
<th>Plate no.</th>
<th>CAVE</th>
<th>LĀNHANA (at top of Cave)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dark brown Bodhisattva in <em>ardhahaṃgākāsana</em>, right knee raised, right elbow on knee, hand in <em>vitarkamudrā</em> (?).</td>
<td>Bearded Hunter with topknot, facing out, sword in left hand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>231 g</td>
<td>Six-armed dark brown Tārā in <em>padmāsana</em> on lotus. Half-blown lotus in top hands, lowest hands in <em>varadāmudrā</em>, on knees.</td>
<td>Lion charging out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>231 h</td>
<td>Hermit seated on black skin, with finger threatening a bearded Hunter with topknot (bow on left shoulder), who kneels in prayer to him.</td>
<td>Tiger’s head, facing out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>231 i</td>
<td>Two-armed Tārā, dark brown, in <em>padmāsana</em>, right hand on knee in <em>varadāmudrā</em>, left elbow twined with half-blown lotus.</td>
<td>Tusked Elephant-head, facing out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Top flaked. Person sitting in <em>lalitāsana</em>, right leg hanging.</td>
<td>Bird, turning out, with reverted head. (lost)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(all flaked) (&gt; Central window)</td>
<td>Spotted animal with bushy tail, climbing up cave.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hermit sits facing Monkey with hand stretched towards hermit’s chin, but head averted. At his feet sits a baby monkey with back to hermit.</td>
<td>Gaping Lion, facing out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>237 a</td>
<td>Vasudharā (earth-goddess ?) in <em>ardhahaṃgākāsana</em>, right knee raised, holding long tress of hair to the left. Snake coiled on right wall of cave.</td>
<td>Bird, facing in.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serial no.</td>
<td>Plate no.</td>
<td>Cave</td>
<td>Lāñchana (at top of Cave)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Left</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Monk, dark purple, in <em>padmāsana</em>, <em>dhyānamudrā</em>. On right, a bearded hairy man holds golden staff with tassels across monk’s body. On left, another hairy man kneels in prayer.</td>
<td>Head of gaping Lion (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Deva with elaborate crown etc. sits in <em>padmāsana</em>, with right hand before body, and left in lap holding a mongoose (?).</td>
<td>Hunter (flaked) facing in.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Goddess with coronet, seated with right knee raised, both hands before body in <em>mantramudrā</em>. Snake on each side of cave.</td>
<td>Black Buffalo (? facing in.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>232 a</td>
<td>Hermit <em>Vaccha</em>, with hair coiled at back of head, refuses request of praying Kinnari and crowned human figure behind her.</td>
<td>Hunter with topknot shooting at Tiger with bow and arrow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yellow Monk (deep purple robe) seated in <em>padmāsana</em>, <em>dharmacakramudrā</em>.</td>
<td>Bird with tail up, facing in; spotted Deer couchant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>232 c</td>
<td>Hermit <em>Vaccha</em> holds young son in lap. He plays with his father’s beard. Older son sits near his knee. The Kinnari mother stands on the right, with fore-finger raised.</td>
<td>Gaping Lion’s head.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>232 d</td>
<td>Hermit <em>Vaccha</em> in centre, facing Spider on right. He raises stick to kill it. Small weapon also in left hand, Kinnari in pose of converse on left.</td>
<td>Tusked Elephant-head with trunk raised.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>232 e</td>
<td>3 Kinnari, all crowned, facing left, largest in front. All raise right hand before face, with middle fingers depressed by thumb. (&gt; S. window)</td>
<td>(none)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>237 b</td>
<td>Six-armed Goddess, without coronet, seated in <em>arāhaparyāṅkāsana</em>, right leg raised. Dagger and discus in top hands; knobbled staff in bottom left hand.</td>
<td>(none)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serial no.</td>
<td>Plate no.</td>
<td>CAVES</td>
<td>LÂNCHANA (at top of Cave)</td>
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<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Monk in purple robe sits facing left, hand raised in front of him. On left, a Monkey offers fruits. Behind it, crouches a spotted animal with claws. Bowl with conical lid between them and the Monk. (&gt; S.E. corner)</td>
<td>Monkey, turning in, with reverted head, pointing at Bird on right side. Black Bird, turning out, with reverted head.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>232 f</td>
<td>Bodhisattva seated in <em>lalitásana</em>, left leg hanging, left hand on knee in <em>varadamudrā</em>, right brandishing <em>vajra</em>. Deity kneels on left, human figure on right, in worship.</td>
<td>Hoopoe facing out. Hoopoe facing out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>237 c</td>
<td>Right side of cave lost. Hermit sits on pedestal holding two ladles. (&gt; E. Window)</td>
<td>(none)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>232 g</td>
<td>Lion in cave sleeping, turning to left with reverted head.</td>
<td>Mongoose facing in.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Monk seated in <em>padmásana, dhyánamudrā</em> (No uṣṇīṣa). Wriggling snake on left side of cave.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Buddha seated in <em>vajrásana</em> against reredos with shoulder-diamonds. Right hand before body in <em>abhayamudrā</em>, left in lap.</td>
<td>Wolf-head with strapped neck and gaping teeth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serial no.</td>
<td>Plate no.</td>
<td><strong>CAVE</strong></td>
<td><strong>LĀṆCHANA</strong> (at top of Cave)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>52.</strong></td>
<td>233c</td>
<td>Lion crouching, facing right, between 'spider' patterns. Jackal (?) below looking up at him. Lizard (or Snake ?) in roof on right.</td>
<td>Hunter shooting with bow and arrow, facing in. Peacock facing out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>53.</strong></td>
<td>233d</td>
<td>Goddess seated in <em>lalitāsana</em>, right leg hanging, holding Snakes, one in each hand. On right, a Woman kneeling in prayer.</td>
<td>Tusked Elephant-head with trunk coiled.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>54.</strong></td>
<td>233e</td>
<td>Tāntric god or demon, with tousled hair-diadem, tusks, and necklace of skulls. 4 Snakes on wrists and ankles. Sits in <em>ardhaparyāṅkāsana</em>, left knee raised, left hand in <em>mantramudrā</em>.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>56.</strong></td>
<td>233f</td>
<td>Hermit with single 'horn' sits holding white human Face in right hand. Left elbow on knee, with palm held out. (&gt; Central window)</td>
<td>(none)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>57.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Buddha in <em>vajrāsana</em>, <em>āhyānamudrā</em>, with black almsbowl. On left a white Elephant with trunk up. Deva seated holding flower. Snakes.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>58.</strong></td>
<td>233g</td>
<td>Bodhisattra (? Tārā) sits half-front on rich lotus mats in <em>dharmacakra mudrā</em>, between half-blown lotuses, looking askance but kindly at kneeling Lady on right, with offering hands.</td>
<td>Monkey facing Stork.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>59.</strong></td>
<td>233h</td>
<td>Two-armed Tārā with diadem and <em>ūṣṇīṣa</em>, seated in <em>lalitāsana</em> on rich lotus mats, in <em>dharmacakra mudrā</em>; half-blown lotus rising through crook of elbow. Wears black-spotted dress.</td>
<td>Tusked Elephant-head, facing out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>60.</strong></td>
<td>233i</td>
<td>Hermit seated in <em>tarjanīmudrā</em>, pointing to Monkey seated before him with both hands raised. Snake on right side of cave.</td>
<td>Elephant-head facing out with trunk up. Also Peacock with tail dragging and reverted head.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>61.</strong></td>
<td>234a</td>
<td>Buddha with sharp-cut <em>uṣṇīṣa</em>, seated in <em>āhyāna-mudrā</em> with almsbowl. Purple robe (no sleeves). Bearded man on right, holding cloth in left hand and bone (?) in right, as if about to strike.</td>
<td>Archer shooting at Stork in palm tree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serial no.</td>
<td>Plate no.</td>
<td>CAVE</td>
<td>LĀṆCHANA (at top of Cave)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>234 b</td>
<td>Tāntric god with <em>jatāmukuta</em>, seated in <em>padmāsana</em> with garland of skulls, carrying across his back, by arm and ankle, a woman with falling hair and wide-open eyes.</td>
<td>Couchant Hare, facing in.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>234 c</td>
<td>Monk seated, with reredos and shoulder-diamonds, pointing to white maned Lion rampant before him, tail between legs. Snake on right of cave.</td>
<td>Tusked Elephant-head, facing out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hermit seated pointing to kneeling Man on right, bent forward in prayer.</td>
<td>Tiger with tail up, facing out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>234 d</td>
<td>Straddling Tāntric bushy-haired god, with tushes and 4 arms, holding weapons. Dog at his feet on right. Snakes on sides of cave.</td>
<td>Spotted Deer facing out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>234 e</td>
<td>2 Monks sit facing each other. The one on the left has right hand in <em>vitarkamudrā</em> and left in <em>mantramudrā</em>. The one on the right holds stem of half-blown lotus in right hand; his left is in <em>vitarkamudrā</em>.</td>
<td>A Stork striking it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>234 f</td>
<td>Tāntric bushy-haired god with six arms, seated in <em>padmāsana</em>. Holds discus and knife, dagger and human head of hair, bow and arrow (?).</td>
<td>Hoopoe, and Stork on tree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>234 g</td>
<td>Two-armed <em>Āsvamukhī</em> seated in <em>padmāsana</em>, facing right, both hands on knees. Snakes in roof of cave.</td>
<td>Bear, facing out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tāntric god with tousled hair, seated in <em>arāha-paryankāsana</em>. Has long tushes. – Flaked in centre. (&gt;). W. window</td>
<td>Tusked Elephant-head, facing out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>234 h</td>
<td>Tāntric king with elaborate crown, sitting croslegged in <em>namaskāramudrā</em>. Has tushes and protruding tongue.</td>
<td>Gaping Lion-head, facing out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>234 i</td>
<td>Six-armed Tāntric deity with <em>ūrṇā</em> and tousled hair, standing on corpse (head to left). Discus and stiletto in top hands; then bow and arrow; and <em>aṅjalimudrā</em> (? Cāmuṇḍā). (&gt;). S.W. corner.</td>
<td>Hunter with topknot and club, sitting on cave, facing left.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*None*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial no.</th>
<th>Plate no.</th>
<th>CAVE</th>
<th>LEFT</th>
<th>RIGHT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>72.</td>
<td>235 a</td>
<td>Hermit sitting, hands on knees, on tiger-skin. Faces Monkey and Dog in tiers.</td>
<td>Monkey facing out.</td>
<td>Archer shooting at Monkey (?) with bow and arrow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73.</td>
<td>235 b</td>
<td>Hermit seated, with triple reredos and shoulder-diamonds. In varadamūrā towards Nāga king seated on floor. Snake in cave. (&gt;) S. window</td>
<td>Parrot and Stork facing out.</td>
<td>White Stork with head reverted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Four-armed Tārā in lalitāsana. Upper hands hold half-blown lotus stems. Lower hands before the body.</td>
<td>(faint)</td>
<td>Gaping Wolf-head.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Seated Hermit facing a dark bearded Man with head bent, probably in worship.</td>
<td>Small Bird with head reverted.</td>
<td>Tusked Elephant-head, facing out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76.</td>
<td>237 d</td>
<td>Tārā seated in lalitāsana on lotus, left leg hanging, left hand on knee in varadamūrā. Full-blown lotus on right, half-blown on left.</td>
<td>Elephant-head, with short tusks, facing out.</td>
<td>Wolf with strapped neck, facing out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77.</td>
<td>235 c</td>
<td>Bodhisattva seated in lalitāsana on lotus, left leg hanging, left hand holding lotus stem, another stem passing crook of right elbow. Both said to be half-open.</td>
<td>Bird turned inward, with reverted head.</td>
<td>White animal with horns, turned inward.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78.</td>
<td>235 d</td>
<td>Hermit seated on tiger-skin with right leg extended. Standing Monkey on the right, probably extracting a thorn from the hermit’s sole.</td>
<td>Archer shooting inwards at -</td>
<td>Hornless Deer, turned inward with reverted head.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80.</td>
<td>235 e</td>
<td>Buddha with ball-like uṣṇīṣa, also beard and moustache, and purple robes, both shoulders covered, seated on lotus in padmāsana, dhyāna- \mudrā.</td>
<td>Tusksless Elephant-head, facing out.</td>
<td>Hornless Deer, facing in.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81.</td>
<td>235 f</td>
<td>Hermit with one ‘horn’, seated on tiger skin (a Pig on the right smelling it). He holds a necked pot (not a bird) in right hand, and faces in abhayamudrā a seated Woman.</td>
<td>Wolf-head facing out.</td>
<td>Striped Tiger facing in.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serial no.</td>
<td>Plate no.</td>
<td>CAVE</td>
<td>LĀŃCHANĀ (at top of Cave)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>82.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bodhisattva in lalitāsana, left leg hanging. Fingers on his right hand touch shoulder. Left hand holds stem of lotus. Another lotus on left side; both half-blown.</td>
<td>Archer facing in, and shooting at Hare and Monkey.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Buddha seated in vajrāsana, right hand before body, left in lap. Conical uṣṇīṣa. Right shoulder bare. Snake in cave, top left.</td>
<td>Archer, facing out, shooting (at Monkey and Hare ?). Arrow stuck in Monkey’s armpit.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84. 235 g</td>
<td></td>
<td>Two-armed Tārā, seated in lalitāsana on lotus, right leg hanging, right hand on knee in varadamudrā, left before body holding stem of half-blown lotus.</td>
<td>Elephant-head facing out. Behind it, a Bird flying out.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86. 235 h</td>
<td></td>
<td>Two-armed Tāntric king with double crown (kiriṭa, and jaṭā with peak), seated in padmāsana on lotus, both hands holding casket. Snake above. (&gt; Central window)</td>
<td>Wolf-head facing out. Archer facing out, shooting with bow and arrow.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87. 235 i</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bodhisattva seated on lotus in lalitāsana, right leg hanging, right hand on knee in varadamudrā, left in abhayamudrā, with jewel in palm.</td>
<td>Wolf (?) with bushy tail, facing in. Flaked Deer facing inwards.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88. 236 a</td>
<td></td>
<td>Buddha seated in padmāsana on mat. Floral reredos. Conical uṣṇīṣa. Right hand raised in abhayamudrā, left in lap.</td>
<td>Thin figure on roof, facing in. Hunter with topknot, shooting at it.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hermit seated on tiger-skin, with hands in prayer.</td>
<td>Monkey facing out, with left hand above. head.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bodhisattva seated in lalitāsana, right leg hanging, right hand on knee in varadamudrā. Half-blown lotus passes crook of left elbow. Black striped loincloth.</td>
<td>Monkey facing out, with left hand above. head. (flaked)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saint seated in padmāsana, right hand before body in vitarkamudrā, left in lap.</td>
<td>Short horned Deer facing in. Hamsa facing in.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serial no.</td>
<td>Plate no.</td>
<td>CAVE</td>
<td>LÂNHCHAN (at top of Cave)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-93.</td>
<td>236 b</td>
<td>Two-armed Tără seated in <em>lalitāsana</em> on lotus. Hands in <em>dharmacakramudrā</em>. $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$-blown lotus stem on either side.</td>
<td>Whitish Deer facing in.</td>
<td>Tusked Elephant-head facing out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hermit seated with right hand on knee, left holding rosary before body.</td>
<td>Hoopoe facing in.</td>
<td>Maned Lion gaping, and Hoopoe with reverted head.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dark brown Bodhisattva in <em>lalitāsana</em>, right leg hanging, right hand on knee in <em>varadamudrā</em>, left in <em>abhayamudrā</em>, with stem of $\frac{3}{4}$-blown lotus passing crook of elbow. Gold cricket above Bodhisattva’s head.</td>
<td>Maned Lion-head, gaping, facing out.</td>
<td>Monkey facing front.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Two-armed Tără seated in <em>lalitāsana</em>, right leg hanging. Right hand before body, left hand above holding black object. Flower and bud on right.</td>
<td>Deer facing in, above Wolf-head facing out.</td>
<td>(flaked)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hermit seated on tiger-skin facing left, left hand before body.</td>
<td>(faint)</td>
<td>Hermit standing on top of cave, facing in. (faint)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99.</td>
<td>237 e</td>
<td>Standing six-armed goddess with bushy hair. Right hands hold discus, rope-ring (rosary?) and lantern (?); left hands stiletto, short stick and bottle (?). Large box in bottom right corner. On left, a Woman sits touching the feet of the goddess (? rolling face-powder).</td>
<td>Small Bird facing in.</td>
<td>(faint)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100.</td>
<td>236 c</td>
<td>Four-armed <em>Aśvamukhi</em> in <em>lalitāsana</em>, left leg hanging, on lotus. The two upper hands hold goblets of human flesh (?), which she is eating; the two lower hands hold dagger and sword. In bottom left corner, a boy kneeling in prayer. (See <em>Padakusalamānava Jātaka</em> No. 432).</td>
<td>Maned Lion-head facing out.</td>
<td>Crested bird with head reverted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101.</td>
<td>236 d</td>
<td>Three-headed Elephant, with knob-like <em>usṇīṣa</em>, and curly hair. The front face, apart from the trunk, is human. Also all the rest of the body. Right hand touches root of trunk. Left hand in lap supports end of trunk. The figure sits in <em>padmāsana</em> on lotus. (&gt; N.W. corner)</td>
<td>Crested Bird with sharp beak, facing out.</td>
<td>Gaping Wolf-head, facing out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serial no.</td>
<td>Plate no.</td>
<td>CAVE</td>
<td>LÂNCHANA (at top of Cave) Left</td>
<td>Right</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>N. Wall</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Standing four-armed crowned figure, in royal attire. Query a Bodhisattva? The upper hands appear to hold up full-blown lotuses. Is this Sūrya? (The lower hands may rest on hips?)</td>
<td>(indistinct)</td>
<td>(indistinct)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Monk seated in padmásana, hands in dharmacakramudrā.</td>
<td>(flaked)</td>
<td>Bearded Hunter with topknot, facing out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Standing four-armed Goddess. Her upper hands hold sword and staff. At her side sit two men (?), holding short swords.</td>
<td>(not visible)</td>
<td>Small white Bird, facing in.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Standing four-armed Goddess. Her upper hands hold lotus and conch. The lower right holds a staff. On left, a bearded Man facing her. On right, a Woman kneeling in worship. Flaked and scratched.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Horse's head (?), facing out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Buddha seated in padmásana, in bhūmisparśamudrā.</td>
<td>(flaked)</td>
<td>(flaked)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Four-armed Tārā (?), seated crosslegged. Upper hands raised above shoulders (contents lost). Lower right hand on right knee, holding half-blown lotus flower. Lower left hand holds gold vase with conical top, perhaps a pot of ambrosia.</td>
<td>(flaked)</td>
<td>(flaked)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Seated Deity, whitish in colour, in royal attire, crosslegged. Left hand on left knee; right hand probably before body. (? Tārā, ? Bodhisattva)</td>
<td>(flaked)</td>
<td>(flaked)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The other Caves, probably about 11 as far as the Entrance-Arch, are all flaked. Also about 8 on the further side of the Arch. Perhaps there were 19 Caves on each side, that is a total of 36 on the N. wall of the outer corridor.
CHAPTER XVII

KYANZITTHA’S REIGN (1084–1113 A.D.), II – RUINS


The temples and other buildings treated in this chapter include the more damaged or ruinous ones which we are inclined to attribute to Kyanzittha’s reign, mainly on grounds of style. It is easy for pioneers to go wrong in such dating. But even so, we do not think their dates could be much earlier than Kyanzittha’s accession (1084 A.D.), or later than the middle of the 12th century A.D.

MRAKAN STONE LIBRARY (Pl. 242)

This building, which formerly stood at the N.W. foot of Mt. Turañ (Tuywindaung), was commonly called the ‘Setkudaik’ or Library. According to the Glass Palace Chronicle¹, king Kyazwa (Klacwa), who reigned from 1235 to c. 1249 A.D., “in the year 598 s. (1236 A.D.) dammed the water falling from the foot of Mt. Tuywin, and made a great lake. He filled it with the five kinds of lotus, and caused all manner of birds, duck, shelduck, crane, waterfowl and ruddy goose, to take their joy and pastime therein. Near the lake he laid out many tâ of cultivated fields: it is said that he ate three crops a year. Hard by the lake he built a pleasant royal lodge [Burm. man:ta:], and took delight in study seven times a day.”

The four-faced stone pillar recording the digging of Mra-kan tank, ‘the Emerald Lake’, stood till recently on the bank at the N.E. end of the lake. It is now set up in the N. shed, Pagán Museum. The inscription, in Old Mon, is by Kyanzittha, not by Kyazwa; it has been edited by Blagden.² On Face D, lines 11–12, we are told the original name³, half Sanskrit, half Burmese, given by Kyanzittha to the lake: Mahânirbbâñ Lak-chuy-khi-riy, “Mahânirvâna. Water raised by pulling with the hand.” It was made, says the inscription, “for the benefit of all men, all classes of animals and winged birds.” There is no date; but the inscription is almost a duplicate of Kyanzittha’s two inscriptions near Mt. Kelâsa,

³ From the middle of the Pagûn dynasty onwards, the name was changed to Mrakan (Myagan), ‘Emerald Lake’. The Burma Government is taking steps at present to enlarge and embank it.
N. of Thatôn, which are dated 1098 A.D. It gives 'the second version' of his legend (see supra, pp. 56–57) – obviously later than the first, dated 1093 A.D.

A short distance N. of the lake, the royal lodge, or 'Setkudaik' 'Library' as it came to be known – the only all-stone building at Pagán – was still standing in 1905 (Pl. 242 a). In 1918–19, when I first visited it, the N. wall was in ruin, and the stone was being pitted by villagers; but the rest was well enough preserved for me to take a rough measured plan (Pl. 242 c). But the spasmodic demands of the Public Works Department for roadmetal for the nearby Nyaung-U – Kyaukpyadaung road (only recently completed), took precedence of the claims of art and archaeology. When the Burma Historical Commission visited the site in 1957, all we found was a hole in the ground, and two neat piles of stone bricks placed ready for removal. Searching through these, we recovered one with bead-and-egg carving on the narrow side (Pl. 242 b), from either the capital or the torus of the E. window pilasters shown in (a). It is now at Pagán Museum.

There can be no doubt that Kyanzittha built the library as well as the tank. All existing stone or half-stone buildings at Pagán – Nanpaya and Kyaukku Önhrnin – belong to the first half of the Pagán period. It is a lovely spot, quiet except for the music of the birds. I have argued elsewhere⁷ that here Kyanzittha placed his son Rājakumār (whom he had been forced by circumstances to disinherit), together with other learned scholars and monks from Ceylon and Thatôn, to revise and standardize the text of the Tīpiṭaka on Singhalese models; and so to lay the foundation for the subsequent religious, literary and artistic life of Burma.

It is perhaps worth while to leave on record here some extracts from my note made on the spot in 1918–19.

"Interior. Entrance-projection at W. end. The building stretches E. and W., with two perforated windows each on N. and S. sides; and one high, but deep and narrow one at the E. end. All are of stone, through and through. The E. window was faced with stucco and probably painted (was there an image at this end ?). Each arch is finely marked with flat stone wedges joggled into the horizontal courses. At the shoulders of the vault a horizontal band runs all around the building, higher on the E. and W. walls than on the N. and S. The N. side has now fallen in, and the stone is being stolen.

"Exterior. Two windows on S. side. The perforations of the one on the E. are clear – plain square holes, 4 × 4. No carving. Stone pilaster between the two windows. The single window on the E. is the best preserved. Here the window is taller, and the holes bigger, 3 × 5. Above is the flame-pediment (clec), curvilinear below, with slight carving apart from the beautiful bead-and-egg mouldings below the capital, and above the torus, of the jamb-pilasters. Under the curvilinear clec (as at Nanpaya) there is a small kalaśa pot in relief. Above it, and above the flat cornice-band, in the gable (as at Dhammayan-gyi), there is a large kalaśa pot in relief. There were two other large kalaśa

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⁴ One was set up at the foot of the mountain, at Myatheindan pagoda, Ayethêna. It was moved to Phayre Museum, Rangoon, and is now at Rangoon University Library. See Epig. Birm. I, Part II, Inscr. No. V, pp. 143–7; and Pe Maung Tin, J.B.R.S. Vol. XXVIII, Part I, 1938, pp. 92–94. The other inscription is still in situ at Kyak Tê pagoda, S.W. of Alugâlê, some 3 miles N. of Taungzun. See I.B., Pl. V 549. The date of both is 460 s./1098 A.D. month Vaissâka (April–May).

⁵ As told in his first Prâme Shwêksandaw inscription, Epig. Birm. I, Part II, Inscr. No. VI, pp. 147–152, dated 455 s./June 3rd 1093 A.D.

⁶ Arch. Neg. 405 (1905–06), a precious negative.

pots below (one now lost): to left and right of the flame-pediment, resting on the lower horizontal band, just below the level of the pilaster-capitals, and rising almost to the level of the top of the eave.”

SHWÉ-CHAUNG KU-BYAUK-NGÉ temple (Pls. 243–245)

It stands on the E. bank of the Shwé Chaung, about a furlong above the point where the Pagán – Nyaung-u road crosses it. One of Kyanzittha’s notable works of merit was to send an expedition by sea to repair the Śrī Vajrāsana temple at Bodhgayā, where Gotama attained Buddhahood.8 The brickwork, vousoir and relieving vousoir there, visible before the last repairs (see Pl. 190 d) have all the marks of Early Pagán workmanship. In the inscriptionalist (probably chronological) of Kyanzittha’s works of merit, this mission is placed immediately after his revision of the Tipiṭaka, and before his repairs to Dharmāsok’s ruined pagodas. The latter may well be those near Mt. Kelāsa, N. of Thatōn, repaired by the king in 1098 A.D.9 I should therefore date, provisionally, the mission to India c. 1095 A.D. The returning architects, in turn, made popular at Pagán the overgrown Bodhgayā Śikhara, with tier on tier and row on row of carved panels, āmalakas and tondoes.10 Śrī Bajrās, as it was called, had long been known at Pagán from illustrations on votive tablets, and a short fragmentary copy can still be seen in the Nanpaya Śikhara (Pl. 126 a), c. 1060–70 A.D. Perhaps the first large copy is the one crowning Shwé Chaung Ku-byauk-ngè (Pl. 244 a). The curving mitre-like profile of the Pagán Śikhara (based, I suppose, on the Śaka cap11 or Indian jaṭāmukuta) is still maintained; but in other respects the Bodhgayā model is followed on a reduced scale: the projecting central triangle with squared doors at the base; the two recessions towards each side; and the climbing lines of tondoes interrupted by the jagged edge of āmalakas.

The temple is otherwise of pure ‘Mon’ type, and on a grand scale. It is much larger than the Abêyadana, larger too than Rājakumār’s Kubyaug-gyi, but not so large as Nagayôn12. If it is not the work of Kyanzittha himself (and the general absence of stonework, as in the Abêyadana, rather suggests this), it may well be that of a great person of his court, say (but this is guesswork) the mahāthera Araha, or Rājakumār’s mother, queen Trilokavasaṃsikā. So far as one can judge at present, there is little writing on the walls. There is certainly a Jātaka series painted on the side-walls of the Hall. Col. Ba Shin has been able to read about 40 fragmentary glosses in Old Mon beneath them. Script and spelling correspond almost exactly to those of Kyanzittha. I have also noticed a few bits of writing in the W. bay at the back of the temple; so the present bareness may be partly due to poor quality of the ink. But this is not a common fault at Pagán; and I prefer to believe that the lack of writing other than Jātakas points to an early date, before Kyanzittha’s publishing of the Tipiṭaka had taken much effect.

The temple faces E. There is no glazed-work except, perhaps, at the lower corners of the roof. In spite of ruin, the stucco-carving, both in variety and excellence, far surpasses that of Nagayôn and

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9 See note 4 supra.
10 For the Bodhgayā temple, see H. Zimmer, The Art of Indian Asia, Vol. II, Pl. 99. But I doubt if this should be dated “VIIth to VIIIth century A.D.” Kyanzittha’s inscription says it was destroyed ka das pāṭikā, “beyond repair” (Epiq. Birm. I, Part II, p. 156, n. 7, 8).
11 For the Śaka conical cap of the Kuśāna period, cf. V.S. Agrawala, Sculptures in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Mudra, Pl. XIII, fig. 25.
Abèyadana, and sets the standard for all future temples at Pagán. In our period none except the Myinkaba Kubyaukgyi and Myebóntha Payahla can rival it. The crowning stupa is lost, but the śikhara below it is almost complete. The śikhara-motif reappears on the squared corner-stupas of the lowest roof terrace, and again on the central pediments of the S., W. and N. sides. The two upper terraces had rounded pillar-stupas at their corners, rather like the Bodhgayā pinnacles. Apart from the Corridor’s half-vaulting (always a danger in these ‘Mon’ temples), the weakest part of the structure is the vertical plinth-moulding at the base. The Shwé Chaung, normally a dry riverbed, can sometimes rise in spate. Possibly it has sapped the sand-foundations of the temple. Or else the weakness may be due to the absence of those stone tenons at the corners, which still keep firm the almost vertical plinths of Sōmin-gyi. But that is on high ground.

Above the plinth the double lotus band embraces the whole temple. On this, an elaborate leaf-dado rests, broken on each closed side by three tall pedimented windows, and four pilasters with high inverted V’s and delicately carved capitals and tori. Corner-pilasters have a floral diamond embossed in the centre, and at the base a tall trefoil two-faced ‘niché’ of stucco, sheltering the guardian Deva, seated with one knee raised. The kirtimukha frieze of looping beads and tassels is one of the loveliest at Pagán. It lacks, of course, the prominence of the stone friezes of Nanpaya and Kyaukku Önmin; but in its grace and beauty forms, with the pilasters and the lotus plinth, a perfect frame for each perforated window, with fronton tapering step by step up to its crowning śikhara or stupa. Note the delicious detail of the under-cornice and cornice (Pl. 245 a, b, c); the diamond sheathing of the cord moulding; the up-swaying lines of lotus petals; the lozenge chevrons; the long floral arabesque with smiling kirtimukha masks at the corners; the carved crenelle-parapet picked out in colour at the ends.

The Hall is given importance, not only by its long porch and remarkable double pediment on the E., but also by double pediments over the broad and high side-windows, and a median gu (as at Pāhtothāmya) at the back of its roof. It has a lower terrace of its own, with stupas at the four corners, and double-bodied lions (as at Abèyadana) in front of the roof proper. Immediately above the entrance there is a cinquefoil arch embossed over the vault. In the centre is a stupa-finial on tiers of carved roofing. At the lower corners, in place of Makaras, there are large Vyaṇas standing on small Elephants. From the mouths of the Vyaṇas depend long vertical tassels of flowers. All this is enclosed in a tall square frame of double-V pilasters, supporting a high Makara pediment, buttressed by two half-pediments at the sides.

Large and long as it is, the Hall has no side-entrances. Here, within the thick side-walls, single openings with square-arched facing lead to two kammathān cells on the N. side, and one on the S. Instead of the 4th cell (see Plan at Pl. 243 c) there is a staircase mounting westwards to the roof. Jātaka paintings with faint Mon glosses line both walls. Five rows are still visible. The series begins with the top row on the S. wall above the window; then crosses to the N. wall; then to the 2nd row on the S. wall, and so on. The last gloss Col. Ba Shin could read was Jātaka 283 in the 5th row on the S. wall, W. of the window. The inner wall has two high pedimented niches with giant standing Bodhisattvas. The central pediment is traceable, but mostly lost. Between Hall and Corridor there is a long stone sill.

The half-vault of the broad Corridor has partly fallen at the S.W., S.E., and N.E. corners; but it is not beyond repair. The inner wall is very high. At the E. entrance to the Shrine there is a Makara
archway of the old type, with spires inclining to the centre, under the stupa-finial. At the N. and S. sides, above the open windows giving on the Shrine, there are tall Mon horizontal pediments faced with Makara verticals, under sikhara-stupas. The W. inner wall has a deep recess in the centre, with throne and colossal Earth-touching Buddha, under a massive Makara-pediment backed on Mon horizontals. The colossal throned Buddha in the Shrine, now headless, was also touching Earth, with two small figures (Sāriputta and Moggallāna) kneeling in the corners behind his knees. A large stone tenon, now fallen, apparently joined the Buddha’s body to the thin wall behind. The inner wall of the Corridor has high corner-pilasters, and a short plinth recessed with pockets for plaques. Many painted trefoil niches can be seen on both sides, but images and paintings are mostly lost. On the N. and S. sides of the outer wall, above a broad floral band, there are five tiers of seated Buddhas, painted, reaching to the roof, where the ceiling paintings are all lost.

At each corner of the outer wall of the Corridor, beyond the windows, there are tall trefoil niches, holding brick and plaster images of the Eight Scenes. All are more or less in ruin; but they were probably as follows:

- S. wall, S.E. corner – A large niche. Query Māyā’s dream? (Mountains are shown in the background.)
- S. wall, S.W. corner – Pārileyyaka scene. (The Buddha sits in pralambanāsana.)
- W. wall, S.W. corner – Nālāgiri elephant scene. (Elephant not visible. The Buddha stands in varada mudrā between two monks with almsbowls.)
- W. wall, N.W. corner – Descent from Tāvatiṃsa. (The Buddha stands between Brahmā and Indra.)
- N. wall, N.W. corner – Seated Buddha.
- N. wall, N.E. corner – First Sermon (The Buddha seated in dharmacakramudrā. Three praying Brahmās painted above.)
- E. wall, N.E. corner – Parinirvāṇa. (Praying monks painted above.)
- E. wall, S.E. corner – (lost)

There are other sculptures on each side of the E. entrance, in large niches on the outer wall of the Corridor. The two nearest to the entrance have Standing Buddhas with hands raised before the breast (Kyanzittha’s favourite mudrā). Next on the S., is a large Earth-touching Buddha, representing the Enlightenment. In the corresponding middle niche on the N., there is a Buddha seated in dharmacakra-mudrā, with two rows of 7 kings painted on each side.

It is good to see that the Burma Archaeological Department has started on repairs to this temple – one of the great monuments of Pagān.

MON GU 418 (Pls. 246,247)

This is a small temple S.E. of Lokananda, N. of Sittana, on the W. side of the main road 3 miles S. of Pagān. We include it in this chapter because all the writing in it is in Old Mon; and because the painting, stucco-work, and general originality and workmanship are of the best ‘Mon’ type, with none of the cliché carelessness which creeps in after Kyanzittha’s death. Much smaller than Lokahêteikpan, it is similar in plan (cf. Pls. 246 e and 351 c). It has one entrance facing E.; porch, small hall, and shrine – all in a row. The Shrine is roofed with four pendentives, and lit by two small windows at the sides. The image (almost all lost) sat against the W. wall, on a throne still in fair preservation. At the top is the ‘leather mat’ and double lotus, with triple petal-and-tongue mouldings in stucco. Then a pellet-moulding. Then the main ‘cornice’ with two recessions towards the corners, all faced with foliation
branching from the jaws of lion-kiirtimukhas: there is one lion in the centre, two at the corners, and two more at the recession-corners. Climbing lotus petals support this ‘cornice’; then pellet-mouldings above and below the ‘waist’ of the throne. Here the central pocket-occupant is lost; but in the side-pockets are praying Brahmās, and in the outer, lions in profile. Between the pockets are struts with diamond rosettes. Below these again are pellets; then flattened lotus spreading to the base projection, also faced with foliation branching from the mouths of kiirtimukhas.

The W. wall has lost nearly all its paintings. The sofit centre has a small round lotus with overlapping petals within a series of floral bands, set within a frame of elaborate kyaktaniy (this is Brahmā-loka); then a frame of small lotus and a floral band inset with Devas (this is Devaloka); then another lotus frame and 3 tiers of preaching Buddhas, seated between saints; then a broad lotus band or ‘frieze’. Below all these are 6 tiers of panels, 16 inches high, and variable width. Some of the 3 upper tiers have Mon glosses, the lower 3 are mostly lost. The top two tiers show scenes from the Buddha’s life. Thus: –

N. wall (W. side) Top line: “This (shows) the lord Buddha... arriving at Sañkassanagir” – after the descent from Tāvatimṣa.

N. wall (W. side) Top line: “This (shows) the lord Buddha staying in......city” (?)

S. wall (W. side). Top line: “This is when the lord Buddha stayed in Mohcilien.” – i.e. under the hood of the Mucalinda serpent.

S. wall (W. side). Top line: “This is when the lord Buddha admonishes (ret) Dhānapāl.” – i.e. Dhana-pāla, the Nālāgiri elephant.

S. wall (W. side). 2nd line: “This is when the lord Buddha received the almsbowls of the four Lokāpāla kings (cattralokhapāl āpan)” – on the occasion when the merchants Tapassu and Bhalluka offered their rice-cakes and honey.\footnote{The scene had also been carved in stone relief by the Pyu of Śrī Kesetra: see A.S.I. 1928, pp. 128–9, items (a), (b). Arch. Negs. 3038, 3039 (1927–28), from the octagonal pagoda-site at Kan-wet-hkaung-gőn.}

S. wall (W. side). 2nd line: “This is when the lord Buddha rotated (tugel) the Wheel of Law.” – i.e. the First Sermon (Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta).

The 3rd line (starting perhaps on the W. face) was devoted, it seems, to the ten Jātakas of the Mahānipāta: –

N. wall (E. side): “(Mosatha) Jātaka. The Bodhisat was ......... a wise man (paññī).” – i.e. Mahosadha or Mahā-ummagga Jātaka.

N. wall (E. side): “Caṇḍakumāra Jātaka. The Bodhisat was the son of a king.” – i.e. Kaṇḍahāla Jātaka.

E. wall (N. side): “This is (Nārada ?) Jātaka. The Bodhisat was.............”

E. wall (N. side): “This is Widhir...Jātaka. The Bodhisat goes and seizes the tail of the horse of the Yakkha Puṇṇaka.” — i.e. Vidhurapaññīta Jātaka.

S. Wall (E. side): “Vesantar gives his children as a gift to the brahman Juc” (Jūjaka).

S. wall (E. side): “Tiger, Lion and Leopard bar the way (cīr)” – against Maddi’s return to the hermitage.

S. wall (E. side): “This is when the queen comes..............” – probably Phusati (see Cowell’s transl., Vol. VI, p. 301).

S. wall (E. side): “This is when.....Vesantar goes out of the city” – Jetuttara (?).
In the soffit of the archway between Hall and Shrine, are painted the sacred Footprints, guarded by praying Brahmās seated in tondoes. Below (Pl. 247 b), there is a short ‘frieze’, 15½” high, of bold arabesque, *Hamsa* and lotus alternating. Below these there were 5 or more tiers of large Jātaka panels, 3 in each tier. The lowest tiers are faded. —

S. side of archway. E. panel: (lost)
S. side of archway. Centre panel: “……..The reverend Bodhisat was a trader.” — The scene shows people in a boat rowing, with waves and fishes.

S. side of archway. W. panel: “This is *Sallā Jātaka*. The reverend Bodhisat was physician (*ācār kīn-ūy*) to the king of Benares (*Bārānāsīh*).” —

This cannot be *Sūlaka Jātaka*, No. 249, where the Bodhisat was a corn-merchant. From the picture of the two *Jātakas* (Pl. 247 b), it is pretty certain that the centre panel portrays *Samuddavānīya Jātaka*, No. 466, and the W. panel *Kāma Jātaka*, No. 467. The latter is about the sting (*sallī*) of desire (*kāma*).

Two *Jātakas* on the N. wall have fragmentary glosses: —

N. side of archway. W. panel: “……..*Jātaka*. The reverend Bodhisat is ……..the Law to the people.”

N. side of archway. E. panel: “………….the reverend Bodhisat is king Indra.”

The Hall had once lovely-coloured *kyahlaṇīya* on the ceiling, each inset with 4 *hareṣas*. Below is a painted *kirtimukha* ‘frieze’ with bead tassels (Pl. 247 a). Below these are fragmentary panels, without glosses to identify them. The centre panel on the S. wall shows the top of a high *prāśīḍa*, with worshippers at the sides. The top left panel shows 6 standing figures facing each other with a small umbrella in the centre: perhaps a prince and two followers on the left, and a monk and two ladies on the right. In the top right there is a *caitya*, and a panel showing a Bodhisattva seated in *abhayamūdra*, with two worshippers on each side. On the N. wall there are two big panels. On the left there are two great serpents enclosing a monastery *prāśīḍa*. In the top left corner the Buddha is approaching with two worshippers, and a monk (?) in clouds below. On the right of the serpents are two beaked monsters. In the right panel the Buddha stands between two tiers of flying Devas. The lower parts of all these panels are flaked. — I suspect that the pictures on the N. wall portray some of the many miracles that led up to the conversion of Uruvela Kassapa and his brothers. Those of the S. wall may possibly present Sakka’s *Vejayanta pāśāda* in Tāvatīṁsa, and either the *Cūḷāmanicetiya* there or the *Dussa* stupa in Brahmaloka (cf. Loka-h-teikpan, Pl. 354).

The temple has recently been repaired by the Archaeological Department. What remains of the exterior stucco work is boldy wrought after the old style. From the original brick-paved floor, sunk 4 ft. deep in the ground, rises the doubly-recessed ground plinth; and above this, a line of crenelles topped with beading and figleaf dado. Resting on the plinth-top below, and piercing the tasselled *kirtimukha* frieze above, are the two flame-pedimented trefoil windows. Here (Pl. 247 c, e, f) the *makaras* spout inwards (as on the tympana and architraves of Mathurā)\(^\text{14}\), not outwards as is usual at Pagān. *Vyālas* with heads reverted spring from the *makara* jaws. Above the windows runs the *astragal* cord-band with its sheathing and rosettes, and climbing lotus petals leading to the foliated cornice. Three strong crenellated main terraces, and two above the Hall, lead up to what was once (I suppose)

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\(^{14}\) See V. S. Agrawala, *Sculptures...Muttra*, Pls. IX–X, fīgs. 20, 22.
the sikhara. Nearly all the stucco-work of this exterior, like the painting within, has something new and original about it.

MYÉBÔNTHA PAYA-HLA (PJs. 248–251)

This great temple, still in grave risk of collapse, stands in a field a quarter-mile N.E. of Shwéhsandaw pagoda. It faces East. It is one of the "five pagodas of beauty (‘paya-hla’)", wrongly attributed in the Chronicles\(^{16}\) to Narapatisithu (Cañṣū II, fl. 536 to 573 s./1174 to 1211 A.D.). "They were like the work of merit made of sarakkhan sandalwood by Pasenadī king of Kosala in the lifetime of the Lord.\(^{14}\) Sakrā himself with his own hand made the plaster for these five pagodas and overlaid it." — The plaster carving is, indeed, exceptionally fine. The late archaeological engineer, U Tun Saing, has pointed out to me that in some places the underlying brickwork has been specially carved to receive it.

No Mon writing has yet been found in the temple; but its general plan and detail, at any rate of the ground floor, are purely ‘Mon’ of the best type. The chief original feature was an interesting, but hardly successful, attempt to add an upper storey. This is difficult of access now, owing to the falling-in of corridor-vaults. So far as one can judge from below, the Śikhara is a compromise with the Bodhgayā type, as seen on Shwé Chaung Kubyauk-ngē. A series of small tondoes runs up the central triangle, with a squared opening at the base. Below the sikhara, the roof expands so as to hold 3 arched cells on the W., N., and S. sides, their crests crowned with a large tondo answering to the smaller ones above them. On the front or E. side, the old median gu, as built out on the back of the Hall roofs of Pāhtothāmaya, Kubyauk-ngē, and other ‘Mon’ temples, has been integrated with the base of the sikhara, and lengthened and broadened with vaulted porch and corner-pillars and narrow high side-entrances. But until one can climb to the roof, description must remain provisional.

It was the Burman architects who, from the Shwégugyi (1131 A.D.) onwards, attempted — much more successfully — to multiply storeys and so ‘achieve the pyramidal’. The Mons were usually content with a single storey; even their largest temples, Nanda and Dhammayan-gyi, are essentially one-storeyed, with a ‘false’ upper storey superposed. Myébōntha, and also Hlaing-gu (No. 130), show that Mon architects were feeling their way in a similar direction. But whereas the Burmans added their second storey easily at the bottom, the Mons tried to add theirs by inserting it between sikhara and ground floor — a much more difficult problem of integration. At Myébōntha the sikhara motif repeats itself effectively, as usual, on the corner-stupas of the lowest roof-terrace. But the long projection of the low Porch, repeating the projection of the upper storey, and the loading of its roof with yet a sixth sikhara, was not a happy solution; and the many subsidiary pillar-stupas at corners of Hall-roof and terrace and even the Porch terrace, merely bewilders.

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\(^{14}\) Cf. the legend recorded by Fa Hsien in his Fo-huo-chi (he stayed in Magadh for 6 years from 405 A.D. onwards): — "When Buddha ascended into the Trayāstraśpas heavens to preach for the sake of his mother, after 90 days' absence, king Prasenajit desiring to see him again, carved out of the sandalwood called Gaśtraścaundana (‘ox-head’) an image of the Buddha and placed it on Buddha's throne. When Buddha returned and entered the vihāra, the image, immediately quitting its place, went forward to meet him. On this, Buddha addressed these words to it: 'Return, I pray you, to your seat. After my nirvāṇa you will be the model from which my followers shall carve their images'. On this, the figure returned to its seat. This image, as it was the very first made of all the figures of Buddha, is the one which all subsequent ages have followed as a model." (S. Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World, I, Introduction p. xlvii). Burmese sarakkhan is a corruption of Sanskrit śrīkhaṇḍa = sandal tree.
But few other failures can be laid at the door of this magnificent temple, apart from the usual half-vaulting of the Corridor. This is in fair condition up to the E. face of the central mass, but has fallen in on the S. and W. faces, causing their outer walls to tilt dangerously, and also on the W. half of the N. face, which remains vertical.

The central pier is faced with four colossal damaged images. On the E., without recess, sat probably an Earth-touching Buddha under a painted tree. On the N., within an arched recess, was shown the Nativity: Māyā and Pajāpati, with lovely šāla trees painted behind them, and the three tiers of Brahmās, Devas and Men kneeling on the left. On the S., also in an arched recess below a stupa top, sits the Preaching Buddha in dharmacakra mudrā. On the W., without recess, is the Parinirvāna, the Buddha lying on his couch with head to the north. Below these, all round the four sides stretches an enormous and very beautiful throne, inset with 50 stone images of Brahmā—14 each on the S. and N. faces, 11 each on the E. and W. Each Brahmā has 3 visible heads, and sits facing front in worship within a floral shrine. Short pillar-struts with capitals and tori divide them. Throne-mouldings above and below the Brahmās correspond exactly: first, astragal cording with sheaths and diamonds; then beading; then lotus petals climbing up or down; then bold floral arabesque along the ‘cornice’ above or the ‘dado’ below. On the outer walls 6 high steps lead up from corridor to windows (3 on each side). Each step is bordered with earthen Buddhas touching Earth. The ceiling was lined, it seems, with small tiers of preaching Buddhas. Below the corbels of these outer walls are twelve tiers of larger painted Buddhas, also in dharmacakra mudrā. No glosses are visible.

In the broad entrance-arch to the corridor, the soffit is painted with a central lotus surrounded by a square of many lotus-petal kyaktañuṣy. Below this, on each side there are 3 rows of preaching Buddhas. Below these on the S. wall, the Buddha is shown preaching the Abhidhamma in Tāvatiṃsa, with staircases visible on either side. In the dark Hall, below the many rows of preaching Buddhas, there are various scenes—probably of the Buddha’s life—on the S. wall. On the N. wall three large panels appear to show the worship of the Buddha in three mudrās: dhyāna, bhūmisparsa and dharmacakra. The arrangement of staircase and 3 kammatthān cells in the side-walls of the Hall, is as in Shwé-chaung Kubyaunk-ṅgé. At the entrance to both Porch and Hall there are huge stone sills.

After the Brahmā throne, the chief beauty of the temple is its exterior walls—a precarious beauty: for there are ominous cracks and breaks near the S.W. and N.W. corners; the W. wall is beginning to tilt; and the S. wall is tilting badly. Yet all three walls have long sections in almost perfect condition: continuous kīrtimukha frieze with beaded loops and anchor-tassels; most of the 9 stone windows17, with 4 × 5 round holes, each edged with leaflet and bead, and diamonds between; their richly decorated toranās and cinquefoil flame-pediments, backed on to horizontal tiers with stupa-finials; gorgeous V and diamond corner-pilasters; peepal leaf and beaded dado; all-embracing lotus-bed; bulging kālaśa plinth; and elaborate cornice-mouldings similar to those of Shwé-chaung Kubyaunk-ṅgé. One notices the floral and jewelled nature of most of this decoration. There are no Maharas, no Śrī; no birds nor living things, apart from the kīrtimukha and saints on lotuses on the porch.

Hlaing Gu 130 (Pls. 252, 253)

This temple stands in ruin about a hundred yards N.E. of Alōpyi temple. Whatever its date may be, we place it next to Myōbōntha Payahla, because both represent similar ‘Mon’ attempts to add a

17 Add the 2 taller windows of the Hall, with 4 × 6 perforations and plain horizontal caps.
second storey, between ground floor and šikhara. It is smaller in plan than Myebôntha, but much higher. The main storey is so high that no attempt was made to connect base and cornice in the beautiful way this is done on Myebôntha, Shwé Chaung Kubyauk-ngè or Myinkaba Kubyauk-gyi. The peak of the floral flame-pediments above the Hlaing Gu windows only reaches half way up the walls. Its šikhara is of normal Pagán pattern, without reference to the Bodhgayā model. The šikhara-motif may have been repeated on the terrace corner-stupas: I doubt if there was also a šikhara on the porch; it looks more like a triple pediment.

The upper storey is also probably higher than that of Myebôntha. It is similarly placed below the šikhara, with 3 high narrow pedimented archways of entrance to the upper hall, and a through vista from side to side. The upper shrine had narrow side windows immediately below the šikhara. But not being able to climb the ruin, I cannot speak with assurance. The staircase, as in Myebôntha and Kubyauk-ngè, climbs from the S. side-archway of the main Hall, and emerges in the S.W. corner of the terrace below the flat Hall-roof. Both storeys have the kṛitimukha frieze, climbing lotus petals, and low crenellated parapets. On the ground floor the plinth-mouldings are weak below the main double-lotus bed. The S. and E. walls are still in fair condition; but the N. wall has all fallen, exposing the bare central pier, and the lean-to vaulting fallen in on the N. and W. There is also a hole in the Hall roof near the entrance.

But this ruined temple is not without its beauties. The Hall, long, broad and high, has its inner wall embossed with a cinquefoil torana, and a great Kyāk Śrī and Makara pediment, with thrones for seated Bodhisattvas in the bottom corners. The jambs of the torana still have good floral ornament of ‘Mon’ type. The inner orders of the arch were painted. Beyond the archway, in almost perfect condition, is the Śrī and Makara pediment framing the main Earth-touching Buddha (half defaced) in his recess. His throne is buried in débris, but the torana is one of the finest in Pagān. There are faded paintings of saints in the recess, and a large Apsaras. The walls of the corridors are blank. The broad side-entrances of the Hall have the Mon horizontal pediment and squared stupa at the top.

**Hlaing-shē Gu 251** (Pls. 254, 255).

½ mile S.E. of Alöpyi, near Nabédaw, W. of the Shwé Chaung, is another ‘Mon’ half-ruin of the best period. It faces E., and has all the usual components: porch, hall, corridor and shrine, with staircase climbing from the centre of the S. side of the hall. In ground plan it comes close to Hlaing Gu, but it is far less high; and with its central shrine and richly decorated outer walls it is much closer to Shwé Chaung Kubyauk-ngè. The corridor roof has fallen on all sides except the E., leaving the hall intact but more or less isolated, and the central section of the W. wall (perhaps the finest part extant) completely so. The S. wall has entirely collapsed. Bricks are large, but sandy. Where the stucco-work remains, it has a beauty and a delicacy hard to match on any other temple. In the stone carving of its perforated windows, it cannot equal Myebôntha in quantity, but excels it in variety.

The Šikhara top shows no influence of Bodhgayā. The central triangle on the W. has a gorgeous flower-fountain (Pl. 254 b), supported on the head and hands of a bird-eared kṛitimukha. There were the usual 3 windows on each of the 3 closed sides. But the masonry was rather thin; and (as at Myé-
bōntha) earthquake attacked first the half-vaults and the windows, especially the corner-windows, causing the outer walls to crack open, tilt or fall. The isolated W. wall gives the clearest view of the original design. Upon the plinth-mouldings (largely buried) rested the main double lotus bed enclosing the whole temple. On this was set the beaded figleaf dado, broken by the jambs of the window-
toranas (Pl. 255 b). The W. window consists of perforated stone squares: in the centre, squared segments of circles with four hearts at the corners. The highly decorated capitals support a floral flame-pediment, the horizontals of the stupa-terraces now confined to the peak. Maharas have now passed into crested volutes. To support the cornice, the peak of the pediment cuts across the large square loops of kīrtimukha frieze, enclosing long flower-tassels, with dangled bulbs between the loops. Above these, there is a delicious arching mouth-teeth-and-tongue moulding; then astragal cording, with sheaths and flower-diamonds between them; then climbing lotus petals; then flat cornice with floral arabesque; and finally, the parapet of low crenelles.

Over the E. entrance there is a fine floral triple pediment; with a cornucopia between the clec, all foliated and various, like that of Myinkaba Kubyank-gyi. The N. and S. windows of the dark Hall are also of stone, quite different from the W. window: diamond squares with diamond holes (3 × 4), each diamond edged with beading, enclosing two layers of lotus petal and central bud, with floral tongues to fill the corners. The pediment bears a flower-fountain in the centre, two ‘flames’ and a double beaded volute on each side. Cinquefoil below, it is backed on to ‘Mon’ horizontals, tapering to double lotus and the stupa-finial. The same kīrtimukha frieze, dado and lotus bed embrace both hall and temple. There were probably the usual corner-pilasters, embossed with up-and-down-turned V’s and flower-diamond between.

Prof. Daw Thin Kyi first pointed out to me that there are large paintings of the Eight Scenes all round the Shrine. Including (1) the central image of the Earth-touching Buddha to represent the Enlightenment, the painted panels are as follows: –

(2). N. wall, N.E. corner: – the Nativity.
(3). N. wall, Centre: – the Twin Miracles.
(5). S. wall, S.E. corner: – Taming of the Nālāgiri elephant. Height of panel: 4 ft. 3 in. Breadth: 3 ft. 4 in. (the breadth of the panels varies).
(6). S. wall, Centre: – the First Sermon. Deer on either side of the Wheel below the throne.
(7). S. wall, S.W. corner: – Pārileyyaka retreat. The Buddha sits in pralambandasana, facing W.
(8) Above the E. entrance-arch to the Shrine: – the Parimivāna.

In the soffit above are probably the sacred Footprints; also lines of flower-medallions, large lotus arabesque, and a lower line of Buddhas seated between saints. No written glosses were noticed.

GU 20I, s. of Hsulegōn (Pls. 256, 257).

This remarkable temple, E. of the Shwé Chaung, the farthest from the river of all the ‘Mon’ temples, stands facing W. in the rather empty area called Sarapui in Old Burmese inscriptions,
between Minnanthu to the S. and the Shwézigón to the N. It is at present under excavation by the Archaeological Department, and can only be mentioned briefly here.

Externally, it looks like a typical ‘Mon’ temple in ruin: šikhara top, roofs ruinous, corridor vaults fallen in, wholly on the E. (the back), mostly on the N., and partly on the S. There is a long vaulted porch on the W. The square Hall, with two side-entrances, is ‘Mon’ in style: side-walls arching from the floor, and inner wall vertical, hall and temple not integrated. Painted panels cover the walls, but no longer the ceiling. Instead of Bodhisattva Guardians there are kammathān cells in the inner corners, and also in the adjacent corners of the corridor. The main block has the usual 3 perforated brick windows in each closed face, with foliated flame-pediments and 4 × 6 holes, diamond-shaped in the central window, round in those near the corners. A larger diamond-hole is opened above, below the lobes of the pediment. Apart from cornice, plain corner-pilasters and damaged plinth-mouldings, there is little more to be seen outside but ruin.

Within, there is a central pier with four large recesses all elaborately carved with stucco hard as stone. On the W., the headless main image was probably the Earth-touching Buddha. He sits on a great carved throne, under a seven-lobed Makara flame-pediment, a flower-fountain taking the place of Śrī at the apex. In the S. recess, the image – though head, arms and right leg are lost – is clearly a Bodhisattva, possibly Lokanātha, with rich breast and thigh ornaments. The face of the pediment above him is finely carved. At the peak of the innermost band grins the Kārtimukha, with elbows, cheeks and fingers busy holding the stalks from which intricate floral arabesques descend to the toraṇa-capitals. Behind and above him, spreads a smooth elliptic orb – symbol (it seems) of the Sun rising over Mt. Yugandhara. All around are the serried peaks or beaks of mountains, Mt. Sineru, with four empty pedimented caves (for Pacceka-Buddhas), and above them the five trefoil niches (also empty) reserved for the Five Jina or Dhyāni-Buddhas. Demon faces peer, or are shown in paint, worshipping. A similar Kārtimukha crowns the N. recess, with Mt. Sineru’s jostling peaks and jungles; but when we visited the temple, the N. and E. recess were still awaiting excavation.

Surely there is here some East Bengal Mahāyānist element, comparable to that in the Abeyadana. One remembers what the Chronicles say of Kyanzittha in his old age: –

“One day eight noble saints stood for alms at the king’s palace. And the king took the bowl and fed them. And he asked ‘Whence come ye?’ And they said ‘From Mt. Gandhamādana’ . . . . And he built and offered them a monastery for the rainy season . . . . Once he entreated them to call up by their power the likeness of Nandamūla Cave on Mt. Gandhamādana. And they did so. And the king made a great gū after the likeness of Nandamūla gū, and called it Nanda . . . .”

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CHAPTER XVIII

KYANZITTHA'S REIGN (1084–1113 A.D.), III

Nanda – Myinkaba Kubyauk-gyi.

NANDA TEMPLE (Pls. 264–334).

At the end of the last Chapter we quoted a passage from the Chronicles about the visit to Pagán, during the latter part of Kyanzittha's reign, of eight monks from Mt. Gandhamādana in the Himalayas, and the building of Nanda temple. Kyanzittha had obvious links, through his chief queen Abèyadana, with the Tāntric Mahāyānists of East Bengal. Now ever since the time of the Pāla prince, Pañḍit Atiśa, before the middle of the 11th century, the close connections of East Bengal with Tibet and Nepal had caused a Buddhist revival in those regions. "Tibetan art" says René Grousset1, "derives directly from Indian art. Tibetan painting . . . connects with Bengali and Nepalese miniatures, and Tibetan bronzes similarly recall those of Nepal. Nothing is more remarkable than the fidelity with which Tibet has thus preserved across the centuries, even in minutest details, the arrangement of Indian compositions." – There is good reason to believe that this Bengali-Nepalese art, both in bronze-work and painting, had its influence on that of Pagán. Whether it equally influenced Pagán architecture is much more doubtful.

The Nanda (Pls. 264–334) was probably the last of Kyanzittha's temples. It is not mentioned in his Prone Inscription No. VIII, in which he reviews the chief events of his reign. It may be dated, I suggest, c. 1105 A.D. From the roof of his new palace built in 1102 A.D., it spread full in view above the city's wall, and was also mirrored in the moat.2 On this west side, the two main niches to left and right of the colossal standing Buddha, hold statues, above life-size, of a kneeling king on the right, and a kneeling monk on the left – doubtless the royal donor and his primate the mahāthera Arahan (Pl. 276 a, b).

The modern name Ānanda is a corruption of Nanda or Nandamūla, the famous caves in the Himālaya. There is no reason to connect it with the great therā, first cousin and loving follower of the Buddha. There is nothing Tāntric or Mahāyānist about it. Indeed I suspect that it reflects the Theravādin ideals of Mahāthera Arahan rather than those of the king. There are a good many indications that Kyanzittha remained to the last large-minded in his attitude to Buddhism. He certainly had a habit of prefixing the term Nirbhān to his works of merit, as if to remind himself that Nirvāṇa is the true goal of the Theravādin. But his unswerving claims to be an Avatār of Viśnu, and also a Future Buddha, and his obvious attachment to his Mahāyānist and (I suspect) Bengali queen, pulled him in a different direction. Perhaps in his old age he found comfort in the thought that he would be reborn, as a Pacceka Buddha, on Mt. Gandhamādana.

2 One can still see it so, after heavy rain: see Pl. 265.
Gandhamādana, says Malalasekera, "is one of the five mountain ranges that encircle Anotatta……. In the range is an inclined slope named Nandamūla, containing three caves, Suvaṇṇa-, Maṇi-, and Raṇata-guhā, which are the abodes of Pacceka Buddhas." There are frequent references in the Jātakas to the Nandamūla caves. As an ageing Christian saint will dream of Paradise, so would Kyanzittha of Nandamūla Cave, his destined heaven of rebirth.

Most of the 'Mon' temples hitherto described are asymmetric. No building in the world is more perfectly symmetrical than Nanda. Artistic preference may well have influenced Kyanzittha; and several of the earlier 'Mon' temples were symmetric, as we have seen; but there were other reasons for the change, as we shall see. Noting the story about Nandamūla Cave, Duroiselle, in his important memoir on the temple, looked for its prototype in N. Bengal, and found it in the vast symmetrical temple at Paharpur, Rājshahi district (Paundraravāhana). A closer model, both for the Nanda and the 'Old Mon' style of architecture generally, could be found in the recent 'Mainamati' excavations on the Lal Mai ridge W. of Comilla (Samatāla) in East Pakistan. This area, the Patikkarā of Old Burmese, contains the Buddhist Salvan Vihāra, which originally "took the form of a cross measuring 170 feet from arm to arm, and resembling the Paharpur cruciform monument……."

None of these monuments appear to use the radiating Arch, which was certainly known in Burma from the 7th–8th century A.D. The closest model for all these Pağan temples, symmetric or asymmetric, are the small vaulted brick temples of Śrī Kṣetra (Old Prone): Bēbē, Lēmyet-hna, East Zēgu, etc. The East Zēgu, the most advanced in style, is asymmetric. The Lēmyet-hna is perfectly symmetric, and holds Pyu stone reliefs on all four sides, and a vaulted corridor surrounding them. It is quite possible that the ultimate model for all the vaulted temples of Śrī Kṣetra should be sought in Bihar or Bengal, Gupta period. But in 1100 A.D. Pağan had little need to go to Bengal for lessons in architecture, though in other arts that influence was potent. Kyanzittha himself had sent his architects to repair the Śrī Vajrāśana temple at Bodhgayā; and their fine Pağan masonry, typical even in ruin, can still be seen in photographs taken before the last repairs (Pl. 190 d).

Nanda temple, Kyanzittha's masterpiece, the climax of 'Old Mon' architecture, stands just outside the walls of Pağan, S.E. of Tharaba Gate. It enshrines the four Buddhas of the present kalpa: Kakusandha (N.), Koṇāgamana (E.), Kassapa (S.), and Gotama (W.). They were already a favourite theme of Pyu art. Śrī Prabhuvarma's round Tree-casket, found in Khin Ba's mound at Śrī Kṣetra, is embossed with these four Earth-touching Buddhas, seated facing the four quarters, each with his disciple. Another square silver stupa in the same mound shows the four seated alone in dhvāna

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6 For the Paharpur excavations, see A.S.I. 1926, pp. 107–113 (R. D. Banerji) and Pls. XLIX (c, d), L to LIV (a, b, c, d); 1927, pp. 41–43 and 140–149 (K. N. Dikshit) and Pls. IX, XXXII to XXXIV (a, b, c); 1928, pp. 38–41 and 101–111 (K. N. Dikshit) and Pls. XII to XIV and XLV (Plan) to XLIX (a). Also Charu Chandra Das Gupta, Paharpur and Its Monuments (Calcutta, 1961).
7 See booklets issued by Dr. F. A. Khan, the Field Director: Further Excavations in East Pakistan – Mainamati (1956); Second Phase (1956); and Third Phase (1957). See p. 2 of the last.
8 A.S.I. 1927, Pl. XXXVIII (c) and pp. 175–6.
muḍrā.9 The little square Lémyet-hna chapel E. of Bawbawgyi, with its vaulted corridor10, is the prototype of Nanda and many another shrine of Burma, square or symmetrical in plan. But here, at Nanda, the scale is grand. – In the centre a great cube, 87 ft. broad rises 160 ft. to the spire. Within its four faces, in deep recesses 52 ft. high, stand the four stately Buddhas, wooden statues 32 ft. high above their 8 ft. thrones. Two Corridors, outer and inner, surround the central cube, their half-vaults heaving inwards and upwards in darkening epicycle. Great wooden doors, 25½ ft. high, on all four fronts divide the Temple proper from the Halls. Beyond this square of nearly 200 ft., extend four broad four-pillared Halls, 56 ft. long by 93 ft. wide, with main and side entrances. Thus Square and Halls compose a Greek cross, more than 250 ft. each way along the axes. The whole is set within a square enclosure, nearly 200 yards across, bounded by a wall 12 ft. high, 9½ ft. thick at the base, embossed on the outer side with a thousand squared archaic stupas in relief, and pierced at the axial points by massive gateways 48 ft. high.

The four gateways (mukh) are cubic masses vaulted with four pendentives within, faced with broad makara pediments without. They have no corner stupas. The lower ogee roof, topped by five small retreating terraces, supports a short thick śikhara, āmalaka, and stupa-finial. The cela of each gate holds two side-niches for guardian Bodhisattvas, made of brick and painted stucco, seated in ārḍhāparyāṅkāsana.

Seen from without, behind the great triple makara toraṇas enclosing the four entrances and windows of the Halls, and the other shorter ones framing a false upper storey, towers the graceful central śikhara, with its four guardian Devas and five tiers of Buddha-niches. It rests on three crenelle-terraces with medial arches, guarded at the corners by two-bodied lions. Below, four square corner-stupas distribute the śikhara-motif, and accentuate that of the false upper storey which projects medially. Thereafter the roof pours down in spreading ogee curves over the corridors, stemmed by crenellated parapets and ‘bell’-pagodas at the corners, and breaks to left and right over the long rooftides of the halls. Double-bodied lions alternate with guardian Devas at all corners. Lions facing sideways guard the flanks above the ‘flames’ of the façades. The śikhara-motif, this time in relief, recurs above the dvārapāla-niches to left and right of each main entrance.

All terraces from top to bottom were once brilliantly inlaid with green-glazed plaques (now mostly matt with whitewash), 1464 altogether.11 Those of the parapets above the corridors and halls (537) present the bulk of the Jātakas, each identified by Pali name and number. It is the most complete series of Jātaka-plaques at Pagan. Above them, plaques of the top four terraces present 375 scenes, each with Old Mon gloss, to illustrate the last ten Jātakas. Plaques of the ground-plinth, 552 in all, each with Old Mon gloss, show on the W. side the various monsters of Māra’s army, who vainly attacked the Buddha on the eve of his Enlightenment. On the E. side the Gods celebrate the Buddha’s triumph – a procession of Devas and other mighty beings swelling his pomp, holding auspicious emblems.

9 ibid., Pl. XL (f). Note also the four-faced gold image-stupa found in the relic-chamber of Kyaik De: ap, Bo-tahtaung pagoda, Rangoon. Here all the Buddhas sit in dhīyāna muḍrā (Arch. Neg. 4084 of 1957–58).
10 See de Beylû, Promé et Samara, pp. 99–101, and figs. 72, 73 (Plan), and Pl. VII, fig. 3. The Lémyet-hna at Śri Ksetra is only 22 ft. 5 in. square.
11 Duróselle counts 1472 (A.S.I. 1914, p. 67). He may well be right. At the ‘humps’ over the Hall-roofs, there are sometimes two tiers of plaques, where I counted only one.
The Mon glosses (375) of the Mahānīpāta series at the top have been fully edited by Duroiselle. The 552 of the ground plinth have never been edited. These measure about 144 inches square, by 3 inches thick. The scene of Māra's attack is not presented dramatically, as on the S. corridor-walls of Nagayōn and Abēyadana; but piecemeal, showing the components of his army: - First, the Riders on Animals: Elephants, Horses, Lions, Tigers, Rhinoceroses, cīmći (Tapirs? or another kind of Rhinoceros?), Buffaloes, Cattle, Capricorn (mahāra), Camel, Leopard, Pigs, Hog-deer, Hares, Jackals, Leogryphs (syāla), the Ram (Aries), Nāgas, Suparṇas, Vultures, Wild Duck, and Bears. Then, Monsters with the faces of Men, Lions, Elephants, Vultures, Cattle, Tigers, Ravens (ḥil-āk), Nāgas, Buffaloes and Horses. Then, Monsters with Snakes (jrum) issuing from eyes, ears, nose, mouth or head; or again with Snakes as eyes, ears, nose, mouth or head.

The heavenly and other mighty beings who celebrate the Buddha's triumph along the E. side of the ground-plinth, include Mon clan-spirits (kindok), Suparṇas, Nāgas, Kumbhāntas, Devas and Devis; the 4 Yama kings of Death at the 4 gates of hell; the Regents of the Four Quarters - Dalaraṭha (E.), Vīḷuraka (S.), Virūpākṣha (W.), and Kunter (N.). The last, Kubera or Vaśravana, lord of the Yaksas, is near the N. entrance, together with his 28 Generals (yakka senāpati) as listed in the Mahāsāmanaya and Āghanītya Suttas (Nos. 20, 32) of the Dīgha Nikāya. Four Asuras are also in the procession: Asurinda, Vepacitti, Sucitti and perhaps Pahārāda, also Brūmha and In (Brahmā and Indra) on a single plaque at the E. entrance.

The 20 auspicious Emblems which they bear, though each is shown in relief on several plaques, are not all easy to identify. U Mya made a good beginning by comparison with the 108 auspicious Signs on the Footprint of the Buddha. So many of the Emblems and Signs agree, that one is led to expect that all the 20 are included in the 108. Perhaps 15 there are: but daṇḍadīp (Lampstand), bac (Vajra, Thunderbolt) and dīnal (Mirror) are not to be found; and tron and timban have not been certainly identified. Tron is shown on the plaques to be a pot-like receptacle, rather more rectangular than tumhāy, the ordinary pot. From other mentions we know it was liable, like pots, to be broken in an

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12 Duroiselle, "The Talaing Plaques on the Ananda", Epig. Birm. Vol. II, Parts I and II (Text and Plates). I take this opportunity to offer a few criticisms of a good piece of work. Mr. H. L. Shorto, author of A Dictionary of Modern Spoken Mon (1962, Oxford Univ. Press), has suggested to me that the word aja (-ja subscript to a) - sometimes read rāja by Duroiselle - may be an old 3rd Person Pronoun. I think he must be right; it occurs pasim, also in glosses below paintings. If so, Duroiselle's translation will need amending in his Nos. 33, 34, 265, 271, 272, 280, 299, 327, 358 and 376. No. 6 wet - Read ret or det. No. 23 wac - Read dēl "beg", No. 64 sikhīl - Read sīṅgāl "monastic robe" (Late Mon sīhā). No. 100 hew - Read cow "returns". No. 121 puwāk - Read sawāw "children". No. 225 pān - Read hān "he tells his father." No. 255 pāhā - Read pāhā "turns upside down". No. 323 cīmći - Read tim "knows". No. 349 bīy - Read bī. Nos. 351, 353, 354 Mādī - Read Madri. No. 388 bāl rat kinta rāh = "rain of jewels in front of the buildings." See Coveill, VI, p. 304; and cf. Burm. mānā mūw, which concludes the Vessantara series at the top of Mingalazedi. For No. 21 haṣa, I suggest karshu, as a variant of lith "dirt" (?).
13 Old Mon cīt, kṣeh, jādīsī, klā, srt, cīmći, preh, jīlow, mahar, ot, sārdīdul, cilī, drāy, batāy. lith, byāl, mis, nāg, supar, timmāt or timūt, bup or bīp, hmtm.
14 Their names as given on the plaques are: Gopāla, Supagedha, Hiri, Netti, Muniya, Pañcalacaṇḍa, Ālavaka, Sumana, Pajunna, Sumukha, Dadhimukha, Mani (?), Mānicara, Serisaka; Yogadhara, Vissāmitta, Mucalinda, Sivaka, Karatiya, Puṇaka, Sātāgīra, Hemavata, Janesabha, Nalorāja, Cittasena, Devasūta, Opamaṇa, and Parāda. From Yoghadhara onwards they are grouped near the S. entrance; and many of these are usually classified as Gandharvas, subject to Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Regent of the East.
15 A.S.I. 1930-34, Part II, pp. 320-331, and Pl. CLIII (a, b). See also H, L. Shorto. "The Devatā Plaques of the Ananda Basement" (Essays offered to G. H. Luce, Artibus Asiae 1966, Vol II, pp. 156-165), an important contribution published after this volume went to the Press.
16 U Mya (loc. cit. p. 330) notes that in the Buddhavimāsa the vajra is included in the Signs on the Buddha's Footprint.
earthquake; but it could also be made of copper, and used for storing gold, silver and jewelry. It was also used for ear-ornaments.

Mon Bo Kay has been kind enough to send me an extract from the Samantabhadrikā, a Pali commentary on the Anāgatavamsa, which describes the very scenes here shown on the Nanda. The list of emblems borne by the Devas is just as numerous and very similar. Next to dhajapatāka, "Flags", comes kadali, "Plantain-leaf Banners". I take this to be timbañ, though I have not traced the word in Modern Mon. The object shown on the plaques looks like this; it appears more than once in Pagán art. Troñ I take to be the "caskets (cângolaka) of gold, silver, coral and jewels," mentioned in the same list. Mentioned also are dândâdēp (Lampstands) and "âdâsa (Mirrors) of silver and jewels".

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Entry into the Nanda is made only through the four Halls. Why four Halls instead of the usual one? - In changing from One Hall architecture to Four, Kyanzittha was mainly guided, I believe, by conditions of the time. No less than Aniruddha, he was a devotee of Buddhism. But he knew that his common people, still illiterate and animist, were only skin-deep Buddhists. Many passages in his inscriptions prove that both he and his mahāthera Arahan made popular religious education their prime concern. Barely a generation had passed since they first got copies of the Tipiṭaka from Ceylon, and began to study and collate them. In this early part of the Pagán period, "Indian monasteries" of brick (külâ klon) are much rarer than they will be later at Minnanthu, where there are scores of them. But there were doubtless many of wood; and there is ample evidence to show that from the first these monasteries undertook the education of the young. The older villagers were encouraged, I believe, to spend their four fast days a month at the pagoda, where the king found by experience (like the Indo-Greeks of Gandhāra) that the most effective way to teach them Buddhism was to give them a large number of images to worship.

In the Nagayôn he had tried both painting and sculpture. Paintings on the corridor-walls were too dark and too high to serve his purpose. In the well-lighted Halls of Nanda, under the whitewash, one can still descry rows of original painting in the soffits of the lower arches. But stone sculpture easily dominates. The Nanda is, indeed, the first great storehouse of Buddhist sculpture in Burma. And the vast majority of the stone reliefs, at any rate those visible from below, appear to date from Kyanzittha's time or not long after. Buroseille counts "about 1420" images. Our total, for the interior niches only, is 1535. The topmost rows of niches in the corridors are difficult to reach, and even

17 See Pl. 204, painting No. 23 in Nagayôn temple (supra, p. 318).
20 Anāgatavamsa. "A poem on the story of Metteyya, the future Buddha, by an elder named Kassapa, an inhabitant of the CoJa country... A fîkâ exists, written by an Upatissa, possibly the author of the Mahâbodhyavamsa" (Malalasekera, Dictionary of Pâli Proper Names, I, p. 66). Mon Bo Kay tells me that the fîkâ was written by Mahâ- upatissa-thera of Kâlavâsi vihâra, at the request of Mahâbodhi-thera, during the reign of king Dhâtusena of Ceylon (fl. c. 459-477 A.D.).
21 Pls. 285 b, c, d; 286 a, d; 313 b; etc. Col. Ba Shin tells me he has found it painted in NANDAMINYA temple, Minnanthu.
22 Note, incidentally, the remarkable similarity in plan between Pagán Sömingyi monastery or college (see Lu Pe Win, Pictorial Guide to Pagán, p. 60) and the Salban Vihâra central shrine at MAINAMATI (Pati-khârâ): see F. A. Khan, MAINAMATI (1956), p. 8 - Sömingyi College very likely belongs to our period. See Pl. 455.
23 A.S.I. 1914, p. 69.
In the list below are given the 20 names on the plaques, with Modern Mon transcriptions and meanings where known, and Sanskrit equivalents; and in the last column identifications with the 108 Signs and the Sanskritātha:—

**AUSPICIOUS EMBLEMS (NANDA)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OLD MON</th>
<th>MOD. MON</th>
<th>MEANING</th>
<th>SANSKRIT</th>
<th>CORRESPONDENCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. snāk, snek</td>
<td>snāk</td>
<td>Sword</td>
<td>khadga</td>
<td>Sign 12. khagga, Sword.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. danḍātīp</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lamp-stand</td>
<td>danḍātīpa</td>
<td>Pali danḍātīpikā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. nandīvar</td>
<td></td>
<td>Periwinkle ?;</td>
<td>nandīvarta</td>
<td>Sign 3. nandīvarṭa, lit. “turning auspiciously”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“a kind of diagram”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. timbāy,</td>
<td>thmāai</td>
<td>Pot</td>
<td>pātra</td>
<td>Sign 17. patta, Pot or Bowl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tumbāy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pali caṅgottaka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. tron</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pali dhumakatācchau ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. padāk,</td>
<td></td>
<td>Streamers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭadek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. bac, bajīr, bajra</td>
<td>buīt</td>
<td>Thunderbolt</td>
<td>vajra</td>
<td>Pali vajira.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. ka', ka</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fish</td>
<td>matsya</td>
<td>Sign 40. macchayugalam, Pair of fishes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. cāmar</td>
<td>camaw</td>
<td>Yaktail Flywhisk</td>
<td>cāmara</td>
<td>Sign 15. cāmara, Flywhisk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. bhadda-</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Splendid Seat”</td>
<td>bhaddapīṭha,</td>
<td>Sign 7. bhaddapīṭha, Seat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pīdh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. tje, tje</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ceremonial Spear</td>
<td>śakti</td>
<td>Sign 1. satti, Spear.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. cīnran,</td>
<td></td>
<td>Elephant-Hook</td>
<td>aṅkuṣa</td>
<td>Sign 8. aṅkusa, Goad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cinren</td>
<td>cārān</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. torin</td>
<td>taruin (= carving)</td>
<td>Arch</td>
<td>toraṇa</td>
<td>Sign 10. toraṇa, Arch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. sirīvac</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>śrīvatsa</td>
<td>Sign 2. sirivaccha, “the mark adorning the breast of Viṣṇu”*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. dñal,</td>
<td>dñow, dañow (= reflection)</td>
<td>Mirror</td>
<td>aḍārśa</td>
<td>Pali āḍāsā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dinñal, dinñal</td>
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to see from below. The only internal staircases (in the raised cross-passages of the E. outer corridor, on either side of the central doors) lead only to dangerous ledges, where one may sit in space and meditate on vanity.

The Eight Scenes of the Buddha’s life have an iconography going back many centuries in India. Here not many liberties could be taken by the Pagán sculptor. But scope for carving lay in the background, especially the reredos, (‘tāgē’ (Old Burm. tankhay). Some stone reliefs in the E. shed at Pagán Museum have an almost plain ‘tāgē’. But before the Pagán period, the Mons of Pegu had found that greater depth and richness could be got by setting the human form in bold relief against a reredos in faint and flat relief. The ‘tāgē’ was useful for suggesting landscape, trees, flowers, mountain caves, clouds and spirits of the sky, and, incidentally, for supplying nimbus or halo to the saints portrayed. Here they were not always nice: omitting the Buddha’s halo perhaps, and giving one even to the villain in the piece. On Gupta reliefs in India, and also on the votive tablets of Śrī Kṣetra, the Buddha-image was often set in a frame of Makara/Vyāla/Elephant. These tended to pass into geometric and architectural forms. The horizontal lines of plinth and cornice gave firmness and unity to the figures they framed; and at the shoulders, instead of the Makara, pairs of Hamsas would perch, depending pearls; or Kinnara musicians, half-man half-bird; or geometric diamonds would jut, suggesting radiant strength.

The twelve reliefs still left at Kyaukku Ōnhmin, perhaps the first stone images extant at Pagán, make use of architecture as background to the Buddha, seated or standing. Kyanzittha made perhaps excessive use of it, at both the Nagayôn and the Nanda. (His wife, so far as we know, made little or no use of it in the Abèyadana.) It was a time of transition from native wooden architecture and sculpture to the brick and stucco learnt from India. Both types are seen in backgrounds to Kyanzittha’s images, sometimes combined, especially in Nagayôn — brick façades roofed with wooden gables. But in general, wooden posts and lintels framed interior scenes, while cornice and plinth-mouldings and façades denoted exteriors. One must not be surprised to find a palace set just behind or under the peepal, banyan, ironwood or sāla tree, on the banks of the river Anomā, or in Pārīleya or Migadāvana forests. They serve a purely artistic purpose, and have no relevance to the story.

If we may take as ‘rejects’ the many old reliefs relegated to the cross-passages of Nanda (Pls. 318–323), we have perhaps some measure of Kyanzittha’s likes and dislikes. He insisted on symmetry. Any sculpture is rejected where, e.g., the throne is not set in the exact centre. For stone images he rejected woodcarving techniques, the smooth and supple modelling of the Old Burma wood-carver, with his plain blank surfaces alternating with intricately carved ones. Like Keats, he preferred to “load every rift with ore.” In consequence he rejected some of the best and simplest carvings of the older school. But many other carvings which he rejected, show that he was right to impose discipline

24 See Pls. 407 a, b, c; 409 d.
25 e.g. the Nagawun Thein sculpture 5 miles S. of Pegu (Arch. Neg. 4207, 7710, 7711), or that in the ‘thein’ at East Shwénatha Kyaungdaik (Arch. Neg. 7698).
26 At Pl. 297 (a), where Māra is arguing with the Buddha just before the Enlightenment, he has a halo.
27 “Elements of sun- and fire-worship are certainly indicated in early Buddhist art; we find the worship of a flaming pillar, and later, Buddhas, Śivas and kings (coins of Kanishka) with flames rising from their shoulders, while the nimbus is of solar origin and must have originated either in India or Persia.” (A. K. Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 22).
28 Pls. 141 e, f; 142 a, b, d, e, f.
29 e.g. Pls. 281 d; 289 b, c, d; 290 b, d; 296 b, c; 297 b, c, d; 303 a, b, c, d; 309 a, b, c, d; etc.
30 e.g. Pls. 320 a; 322 b.
31 e.g. Pls. 319 b, c, e; 323 b.
on his craftsmen. Often there was no unity of design: a seated figure on one side, a standing figure on the other, and nothing between to connect them;\(^{32}\) or a relief divided, top and bottom, into two almost equal unrelated panels.\(^{33}\) Predellas he approved: a large Buddha above, in one or other of the accepted poses; below, a small predella, to identify the scene. But the means to do so are often meagre: four monks in worship hardly suffice. And though the total effect of such a relief may please, or even move the devout, it gets monotonous. If the architectural background forced some unity in design, it also numbed movement, life and action. Pl. 320 (c) shows the curious effect of a fixed façade serving as background to a moving boat. The tendency has been to petrify religious sculpture in a lifeless, hieratic groove; and by cutting out distance, chiaroscuro, and perspective, to confine it to two-dimensional decoration. The Indian sculptor’s device to make the Buddha twice as tall as those around him, while satisfying to piety (Kyanzittha was very pious),\(^ {34}\) also served to unify, but deaden.

Nanda sculptures may be classified in four main divisions: –

(i) The educational series in the Halls.

(ii) the Life of Gotama up to the moment of Enlightenment, as told in 80 sculptures in two tiers of the outer wall of the outer corridor.

(iii) the devotional series as found in most of the other niches in the inner walls.

(iv) the miscellaneous collection of smaller sculptures, rejects (?), some early and unconventional, found in the raised cross-passages on either side of the outer corridor.

(i) HALL SCULPTURES. (Pls. 298–312). – The stone reliefs in the four Halls give a selection of scenes covering the whole life of the Buddha, from the Conception (Māyā’s Dream) to the Parinirvāṇa. Each Hall holds 16 sculptures: similar to those of the outer corridor, but generally more worn (especially at the base) and less gilded.\(^ {35}\) After brief comparison one sees that these 16 sculptures formed originally a closed series, almost the same, and following the same arrangement, in each of the four Halls. We have seen in the Nagayôn Hall a smaller, but similar, arrangement of sculptures, fore-running the Nanda.

Let us number these niches and sculptures serially 1 to 16, starting with the first niche (1) on one’s left as one enters the Hall, and then going the round of the Hall so as to end with the last niche (16) on one’s right at the same entrance: –

Sculpture 4 in all 4 Halls illustrates the Descent from Tāvatimśa (E.4, S.4, W.4, N.4).

Sculpture 5 in all 4 Halls illustrates the Nativity (E.5, S.5, W.5, N.5).

Sculpture 6 in all 4 Halls illustrates the Parinirvāṇa (E.6, S.6, W.6, N.6).

Sculpture 11 in all 4 Halls illustrates the Conception or Māyā’s Dream (E.11, S.11, W.11, N.11).

Sculpture 14 in all 4 Halls illustrates Sujātā and her Goats (E.14, S.14, W.14, N.14).

What of the remainder? – By comparison, one can sometimes trace the original subject, allowing for subsequent loss, transfer, or intrusion intended to fill gaps. Thus: –

\(^{32}\) e.g. Pls. 321 a, d; 322 a.

\(^{33}\) e.g. Pls. 318 a, 319 d, 321 e, 322 d.

\(^{34}\) Pl. 318 f is a fine relief. Was it rejected because, compared with the two kneeling women, the Buddha was not large enough?

\(^{35}\) The Hall niches, enclosing the sculptures, are generally 40 to 45 inches high, and 20 to 25 inches broad at the base. The Conception and Parinirvāṇa niches are larger – about 50 inches broad.
Sculpture 1 in 3 Halls illustrates the Buddha preaching, with a naked (?) figure in the right corner of the predella striding or running away (E.1, S.1, N.1).

Sculpture 7 in 3 Halls illustrates the First Sermon, shown by the preaching attitude and the Deer at each end of the predella. The Wheel is not shown. (S.7, W.7, N.7).

Sculpture 8 in 3 Halls illustrates the first triumphal sitting, in bhūmisparśamudrā under the Bodhi tree, with Indra and Brahmā in attendance (E.8, S.8, N.8).

Sculpture 9 in 3 Halls illustrates the same scene, a second time (E.9, S.9, N.9).

Sculpture 12 in 3 Halls illustrates the Buddha standing with both hands raised together before the breast (E.12, S.12, W.12).

Sculpture 16 in 3 Halls illustrates the Buddha seated in dhyānamudrā, with a tall king and others making offerings on the predella (E.16, W.16, N.16).

11 out of the original 16 subjects have thus been found and located, with certainty or probability. If one asks why it was necessary to have 2 illustrations of the same scene (8 and 9), we may note that Niches 8 and 9 are one on each side of the entrance to the temple proper, the corridors and the shrine. It was thought right, I suggest, for one mounting the steps to Buddhahood to receive acclaim from both sides rather than from one. And we remember that Kyanzittha has left two sculptures of the same scene in Nagayôn (Pls. 194 e, 201 d).

Certain well-known scenes occur: at W.2 the Pārileyyaka retreat; at W.3 the Nālāgiri elephant; at S.3 the conversion of Ālavaka Yakkhā; at E.10 the Tonsure. But these stand alone, and perhaps may be intrusive. The S. Hall holds 2 illustrations of the First Sermon (S.7, S.10); the E. Hall is the only one without this scene; I suspect, therefore, that S.10 originally belonged to Niche E.7. Sculpture 1, with the Buddha preaching, and a listener on the right side of the predella trying to flee or fly, is absent from W.1: but it is present at W.15, only 2 niches away. Sculpture 12, with the Buddha standing, both hands raised before the breast, is only absent from N.12; but it is still present in N.13. Sculpture 13 in 2 of the Halls (E.13, W.13) shows the Buddha standing, right hand hanging by the side, left raised to the shoulder. This is the normal pose in the Nālāgiri scene; but here neither elephant nor monks are shown. If N.12 and N.13 have interchanged their original positions, it would suit the placing of both. S.15 shows the same pose. Sculpture 10 in 2 of the Halls (W.10, N.10) shows a fine Buddha, almost in the round, seated in dhyāna mudrā on double lotus against an elaborate double gable, the lower gable broken in order to admit his head and halo.

The identification of a few scenes remains more or less doubtful. This last scene, Sculpture 10, is thought to represent the Ratanaghara, N.W. of the Bodhi tree, where the Buddha spent the 4th week after the Enlightenment, meditating the Abhidhamma. This identification, first suggested by Col. Ba Shin, seems to me highly probable. In Sculpture 16, if the tall king is Bimbisāra, king of Magadha, the scene should be the dedication of Veluvana. Sculpture 1, certainly I think, shows the Defeat of the Heretics under Gaṇḍa’s mango-tree at the gate of Sāvatthi, in the presence of king Pasenadi, just before the Buddha’s performance of the Great Miracles. Kyanzittha showed the same scene in Nagayôn Hall (Pl. 193 d); and Mon Bo Kay has proved that the heretics are here not running away, but trying to fly. In the Nagayôn, in neighbouring niches, Kyanzittha has left reliefs of the Standing Buddha (Pl. 202 a) and the Walking Buddha (Pl. 202 b). Similar reliefs neighbour each other in the Nanda Halls: Sculpture 12 (the Standing Buddha), and Sculpture 13 (the Walking Buddha). For Sculpture 2 we find a variety of scenes. The clearest (E.2) shows the Earth-touching Buddha seated between two praying Brahmās, with a row of 6 Deva-kings on the predella, also in prayer. E.3, next to it, shows the
Earth-touching Buddha without the Brahmās, but with 4 Deva-kings in prayer on the predella. S.2 shows the Buddha seated in dhyānamūradā, with 6 figures, all in prayer on the predella – 3 men on the left, 3 women on the right. N.2 shows the Buddha in dhyānamūradā, with 8 praying figures below, mostly women (?). – Are these all aspects of one scene: the request made to the Buddha, when in doubt whether to preach his Law, by a vast deputation of Brahmās, Devas, etc., headed by Sahampati Brahmā? – The scene is paralleled in Nagayōn Hall (Pl. 194 d), where the Buddha sits in dhyānamūradā, with 6 Brahmās on the predella below.

We have now accounted for 14 out of the 16 Sculptures in each Hall. Nos. 3 and 15 remain quite doubtful. Perhaps Niche 3 contained a variety of well-known scenes: Taming of Nālāgiri elephant (W.3), Conversion of Āḷavaka Yakṣha (S.3), Pārileyyaka retreat (W.2), the Tonsure (E.10): we put these together in Pl. 312. Of these, only the Pārileyyaka scene is given in Nagayōn Hall (Pl. 193 b). Niche 15 holds a different scene in all four Halls; two of them (W. 15 and S. 15) have been accounted for already. E. 15 shows a Preaching, N. 15 an Earth-touching Buddha. All the Nagayōn scenes from the Life of the Buddha appear to have parallels in the Nanda Halls, except the Kālanāga and Sotthiya reliefs (Pls. 193 c, 202 d), which are probably post-Kyanzithan in date. The only additions made to the list in these Halls are the Nativity (Pl. 301) and Bimbisāra’s dedication (Pl. 311), and a few stray scenes (Tonsure, Nālāgiri, Āḷavaka, etc. – Pl. 312).

To sum up. The original arrangement of these Hall Sculptures was something as follows: –

10. Ratanaghara. Pl. 305 a, b (W. 10, N. 10). Cf. Nagayōn Pl. 201 c (?).

Why did Kyanzithan design this fourfold, almost identical, gallery of sculpture on each side of the Nanda? – His object, I believe, and that of his mahāthera Arahan, was educational. The Jātaka plaques provided at several of Aniruddha’s pagodas must have intrigued the Pagán villagers greatly. But their connection with Gotama Buddha was remote. Bhakti, the sense of personal involvement and devotion, had to be awakened. The Old Burman was not romantic nor sentimental. The known facts of the Buddha’s life must first be placed in concrete form before him. Pictures in the dark corridors of the older temples were ineffective. Kyanzitha and Arahan relied on stone sculpture in well-lighted Halls to lead the way to bhakti, and so to the dim religious light still thought proper for the Shrine.
In the broad Halls of Nanda they planned to cope with fast-day crowds: where, simultaneously, official Guides or Monks explained and shewed the villagers carefully selected scenes from the life of the Master.

(ii) OUTER CORRIDOR. THE 80 SCENES. (Pls. 278–297). – They were then ready to enter the temple proper. Most, coming from the city, would enter by the W. Hall. The moment they passed through the great Doors into the Outer Corridor, they would turn left and make their pradakṣīṇa ambit round the temple before entering further. At this point began the second stage of their religious education: the detailed record in chronological order of the early life of Gotama, from the time when the gods requested him, as the Bodhisatta Setaketau in Tusita heaven, to become incarnate as man. The story, conveyed in 80 relief-sculptures, requires a double circuit of the corridor, first following the lower tier of cinquefoil niches in the outer wall, and then the upper tier seen easily from below. Much more varied demands were made here on the skill and imagination of the sculptors; and the Eighty Reliefs, though often conventional and hieratic, include some of the best stone sculptures at Pagán. They are also among the best preserved. So far, they have only once, I think, been fully illustrated in print. They are given again here (Pls. 278–297); for the detailed list, in serial order, see the Catalogue of Plates.

The story is strictly Theravāda, based mainly on the Nidānahatha, the introductory chapter of the Jātaka commentary (Avidūre Nidāna). Pagán scholars’ study of the Singhalese Tipiṭaka has now had time to arrest the trend towards Mahāyānism, evident in Aniruddha, and still more so in Kyanzittha’s own queen, Abeyadana. The marvellous element in the Mahāvastu and Lalitavistara is greatly reduced in the life of Gotama as shown in the Nanda sculptures.

(iii) DEVOTIONAL SERIES. – The stone sculptures of the inner wall of the outer corridor, and of both walls of the inner corridor, may be classed provisionally as ‘devotional’. We know very little about them. Most, if not all, appear to relate to the period after the attainment of Buddhahood. The Buddha is always shown seated, either in bhūmisparśa or dharmacakra mudrā. Perhaps here they are used interchangeably, as in the sutta-paintings of the older temples. So far as one can see from below, there is only one instance (on the innermost wall) of dhyāna mudrā. A very few (see Pls. 316, 317) show the Buddha seated in unusual mudrās: (i) without uṣṇīṣa, touching the Earth with the left hand, right hand against the breast; (ii) without uṣṇīṣa, right hand against breast, left in lap. All the sculptures have predellas below them to identify the scene, except those on the innermost wall, lowest tier, where only 3 out of 24 have them. Sermons, dedications, conversions and other events in the long life of the Buddha, seem to be the themes.

Taken separately, few of these sculptures explain themselves. But Kyanzittha was a careful, thoughtful, and pious man; and our experience of him suggests that these sculptures are not placed haphazard: there should be an order and a system behind them. In the Series of Eighty, the order is chronological. Does this apply also to the inner corridor, and the inner face of the outer? And if so,

36 Average height of the 80 sculptures about 40 inches, average breadth about 22 inches.
where do they start and end? Or do they follow the order of the *Suttanta-Dīgha, Majjhima Nikāya*, etc.? – To solve such questions, the first need is to photograph,\(^3^8\) in serial order, at least the lower and larger rows; to identify, if possible (as Mon Bo Kay has done in the Nagayon), some scenes on the predellas, and use them as a clue to discover the system of arrangement. For the earlier years of Buddhahood, the order of events is told in texts as accessible to us, probably, as it was to scholars of Kyanzittha’s time. So if there is a system, it should not be beyond our power to discover it. The discovery would surely open up vistas.

A word about the Niches. – The outer sides of both corridors are plain, without śikhara-facings for the niches. Above the Series of Eighty, on the outer wall of the outer corridor, there is the narrow projecting ledge reached by staircases. Above this, there are 2 rows of (altogether) 88 niches for images, divided by the 3 upper windows on each half-face.

The inner wall of the outer corridor (see Pl. 270 a) is the best-lighted. It has a waist-high plinth-moulding and corner-pilasters. Each half-wall is elaborately designed and heavily gilded. Two broad and high window-openings face the raised cross-passages in the outer wall. Each window has a richly foliated *kyak shri torana* and pediment.\(^3^9\) On each side of the windows, in two tiers, are 8 śikhara-topped niches holding sculptures. Above these is a horizontal band supporting another pair of pedimented windows, equally splendid, with a single tier of śikhara-topped niches. Thus two tiers of vistas at two points near each corner, cross the whole temple, giving graded light to both corridors. Above the third tier of śikhara-niches, another horizontal band supports a row of 10 smaller gilded niches; and above these, in 3 tiers, are 47 plain small niches. These figures for the half-face must be multiplied by 8 to give the total for this inner wall of the outer corridor.

None of the windows are blocked with perforated stone or brick. They are wide open; yet still bats haunt the inner corridor. Its inner wall has low, waist-high, but very strong plinth-mouldings, massively projecting at the corners. The 3 main tiers of niches on this face are all topped with śikharas.

The table opposite gives a brief summary of the stone sculptures visible from the floor: –

(iv) **SCULPTURES IN CROSS-PASSAGES (REJECTS).** – Between the inner and the outer corridor, there are raised cross-passages, admitting air, light, and often pleasing vistas. There are four such passages (I to IV) on each face, two on either side of the central doors. Between the outer corridor and the exterior (or the Halls), where the area is greater, six such passages are practised (I to VI), three on either side of the centre. On either side of each passage there is a cinquefoil image niche, about 34 inches high, 21 inches broad at the base, and 12 inches deep. There are thus 16 passages between the corridors, with 32 niches for images; and from the outer corridor outwards 24 passages with 48 (actually 46)\(^4^0\) niches for images. Not all these 78 niches hold images; and several that they hold are broken, conventional or post-Pagân. Splashes of lime whitewash, as usual, have contributed to the general deterioration. There is here no orderly arrangement and conservation of images such as we find elsewhere.

\(^{3^8}\) The photographer should not omit to examine the backs of the sculptures, some of which (to judge by those in the cross-passages) may bear signatures of donors, artists, etc.

\(^{3^9}\) See Pl. XIV (2) of *A.S.I.* Memoir No. 56.

\(^{4^0}\) On the E. side, Outer Cross-passages in the N. wall of Passage III and the S. wall of Passage IV, on either side of the central doors, two sunk staircases leading up to ‘the Ledge’, take the place of two niches.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OUTER CORRIDOR</th>
<th>Tier</th>
<th>No. of Niches</th>
<th>Bhūmi-sparśa</th>
<th>Dharma-cakra</th>
<th>Dhyāna</th>
<th>With Pre-dellas</th>
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<tr>
<td>OUTER WALL</td>
<td>Lowest 40</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>2nd 40</td>
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<td>13</td>
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<td>32</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3rd 24</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>24</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Top 64</td>
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<tr>
<td>INNER WALL</td>
<td>Lowest</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>32</td>
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<td></td>
<td>4th to 7th</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>INNER CORRIDOR</td>
<td>Lowest</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>4th to 7th</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>INNER WALL</td>
<td>4th to 7th</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>32</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 SHRINES</td>
<td>4 HALLS</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>CROSS PASSAGES</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Inner</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>EXTERIOR</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>-</td>
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Series of Eighty.
Av. height 40 in.
Breadth 22 in.
Av. height 30 in.
Breadth 16\(\frac{1}{2}\) in.
2 unusual mudrās (Pl. 316 a, b).
2 unusual mudrās (Pl. 317 a, b).
3 unusual mudrās (Pls. 316 c, 317 c, d).
Av. height 30 in.
Breadth 16\(\frac{1}{2}\) in.
Av. height 40 to 45 in.
Breadth 20 to 25 in.
Av. height 21 in.
Breadth 14 in.
Av. height 28 in.
Breadth 16\(\frac{1}{2}\) in.
The images are all stone-reliefs. Of the 32 sculptures illustrated here (Pls. 318–323), about 10, telling the life of Gotama, may be an overflow from the corridors. They include (Pls. 318, 319) some of the best we have: Pajāpāti Gotami’s request (Outer N. II W.), Conversion of Yasa (? Inner S. III W.), Descent from Tāvatimsa (Inner E. I N.), Nālāgiri elephant (Outer N. V E.), Parinirvāṇa (Inner E. II N.). To explain our method of locating them, take this last scene as an instance: it will be found in the niche on the north wall of the IInd cross-passage (counting clock-wise from the N.E. corner), on the E. side of the temple, between the two corridors.

Apart from scenes of the Buddha’s life, the majority of these sculptures perhaps illustrate Jātakas. There is no writing to identify the scene; but in about a dozen cases the identification seems probable; and in many others one suspects a derivation from that source. The desire to illustrate the Jātaka was one of the main artistic urges of our period, from Aniruddha onwards. At Shwéhsandaw, following Thaton precedent it seems, the carvers were content to show the story in unglazed terracotta, without gloss. At Hpet-leik they engraved name and number of the Jātaka across the top of the plaque, still unglazed. Kyanzittha, at Shwezigon and Nanda, transfers the writing to a label at the base. He glazed his plaques of stone or terracotta, rightly feeling the importance of colour for plaques set in pockets along the exterior. Later kings were apt to find the colour more important than the Jātaka, so the glazed Jātaka Plaque survives only spasmodically after our period. Meantime, in Kyanzittha’s reign, experiments were made in the Nanda to render Jātakas in stone: not very successful ones. Anyway the experiment was soon dropped. Perhaps it was felt that Stone (a precious material at Pagán) should properly be confined to rendering the last life of the Master.

THE FOUR SHRINES. – According to Bhattasali,\(^{41}\)

Krāucandra (Kakusandha) is the mānuṣī Buddha corresponding to ‘dhyāni’ Buddha Vairocana.

Quarter: Centre.

Kanakamuni (Koṇāgamana) is the mānuṣī Buddha corresponding to ‘dhyāni’ Buddha Akṣobhya.

Quarter: East.

Kasyapa (Kassapa Dasabala) is the mānuṣī Buddha corresponding to ‘dhyāni’ Buddha Ratnasambhava.

Quarter: South.

Gautama (Gotama) is the mānuṣī Buddha corresponding to ‘dhyāni’ Buddha Amitābha.

Quarter: West.

The colossal wooden statue in the W. Shrine, therefore, should represent Gotama. Duroiselle says\(^ {42}\) that only the S. and N. statues (Pl. 277 a, b) are original, contemporary with the founding of the temple. Both these images have their hands raised together before the breast, as in dharmacakra mudrā – a pose for the standing Buddha not uncommon at Pagán, from the Kyaukku Önhmín (Pl. 142 i) onwards. The statue in the E. Shrine has both hands hanging – an unusual pose for a Buddha. Gotama Buddha in the W. Shrine has his right hand raised from the elbow in abhaya mudrā, and left hand held out level from the elbow, palm upward. The pose is ancient, especially in bronze images; but the statue shows clear signs of repair, and does not look old.

Each Buddha stands on a great double lotus, horseshoe-shaped. This rests on a huge throne which fills the breadth of the recess, and projects at the sides to form thrones for the two principal figures kneeling in the niches. Those in the W. recess would normally be the two chief disciples of Gotama,

\(^{41}\) N. K. Bhattasali, ...Dacca Museum, pp. 16, 19.

\(^{42}\) A.S.I. Memoir No. 56, p. 12 and Pl. VII 1, 2.
Sāriputta and Moggallāna. But here, in the principal shrine, their places are taken by the king-donor and his Mahāthera Arahan (Plate 276 b, a). The monk, in the N. wall on the right side of the colossal Buddha, “is distinguishable by his clean-shaven head and the lack of ornaments,” says Duroiselle. He certainly looks young: not like the octogenarian which he would have been if in fact, according to the Chronicles, he first came from Thatôn to Pagán early in Aniruddha’s reign. Inscriptions prove that he was Kyanzittha’s “right hand man” right down to the building of Nanda; whether he was also that of Aniruddha, is open to question.

Kyanzittha, kneeling in the S. wall, on the left side of the colossal Buddha, “has the usual royal ornaments, viz. a crown, a necklace or breastplate and anklets. His dress consists of a close-fitting jacket and a lower garment of which the folds are clearly discernible” – Anklets, I think, are not visible; but crown, ear-ornaments, ear-plugs, breastplate, jacket, wristlets and epaulettes are certainly there. Both faces though damaged and repaired, have a grave beauty of their own: the monk’s passive but firm; the king’s responsive and alert. The statues – at any rate the king’s statue – is not of stone (see Mr Griswold’s note in the Catalogue under Pl. 276).

In the three other Shrines the Buddhas are attended, each by two kneeling monks, presumably their chief disciples as named in the Buddhavamśa, viz. North (?). Kakusandha, with disciples Vidhura and Sāñjīva.

East. Konāgamana, with disciples Bhīṣya and Uttara.

South. Kassapa Dasabala, with disciples Tissa and Bhāradvāja.

But Burma artists were not always accurate in these matters. On the silver-gilt casket of the Pyu king Śrī Prabhuvaram and queen Śrī Prabhudevi, found at Khinbagon, Śrī Kṣetra, the names of the four seated Buddhas are given as Gonagamona, Gagusadha, Kasyaṇa, and Godama. Standing on their left, are their four monks in attendance, named respectively Kasāha, Moḷana, Sāri and . . . . da; i.e. Kassapa, Moggallāna, Sāriputta, and (?) Ananda. – All four, Duroiselle points out, were chief disciples of Gotama Buddha, not of his predecessors.

The great Thrones of the Four Buddhas, here, as in those of the ‘Mon’ temple W. of Taungbi tank (supra, p. 297), show in their central panels the three-headed Elephant (symbol of Omniscience ?), with Devas and outward-facing Lions alternating in the throne-recessions. The outer edge of the Shrine-recess is barred by a gilded openwork wooden fence (vedikā) of 12 + 12 knobbed poles, nearly a man’s height. In the centre are two swing-doors, pointed upwards to the centre, their frames filled with metal diamond lattice. Outside, at the corners of the recess are two stupas with squared base, supporting kalpavṛkṣa trees, about 12 ft. high, hung with stars and peepal leaf.

High up on the side-walls of each recess are 3 niches in 2 tiers, with gilded stone reliefs. Of these 24 images, 9 are in bhūmisparśa mudrā, 9 in dhyāna mudrā. The latter mudrā, common in Nagayón sculptures, is rare in those of Nanda, at any rate for the period after the Enlightenment. Of the

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46 A.S.I. 1927, p. 175.
47 This is true of the E., N., and S. thrones, but not of the W. throne, which shows a lion facing left. The three-headed Elephant recurs in the Cave-series of the Abhaya[n] (see Pl. 236 d). Indra is sometimes shown riding on a three-headed elephant.
48 See Pl. VIII (2) of A.S.I. Memoir No. 56.
12 reliefs selected for illustration (Pls. 313–315), one shows a Mahāyānist theme – the Bodhisattva seated, like Lokanātha between Sāktis, in his palace among the women; another shows him riding his chariot; two severing his hair-knot (a common Burma pose, but rare elsewhere); two in Walking Pose, the swinging robe held at the shoulder; two in dhvāna mudrā on lotus, worshipped by Sujātā and Puṇṇā; two, Earth-touching, receiving Bimbisāra’s gift of the Veḷuvana at Rājagaha, and perhaps Anāthapiṇḍika’s Jetavana at Sāvatthi; another, also Earth-touching, receiving pots of rice and curry – perhaps the fatal meal of Cunda the smith; one more, in the same mudrā, worshipped by 7 women – possibly Visākhā and her mates.

CENTRAL DOORS (Pls. 271a, 272–275)

The four great teakwood doors of Nanda guard the four entrances to the temple proper, between Halls and Outer Corridor. At the centre, their highest point, they reach 25 ft. 7½ in.; at the side-hinges 21 ft. 7 in. Each door has two wings, the wing with the median overlap being broader than the other. When closed, the two wings fill the breadth of the entrance-arch, 6 ft. At the top there is an arch, and not a lintel: so this is filled by making the inner sides of each wing higher than the outer, and adding a diagonal top-piece from one to the other, leaving a space roughly triangular, which is filled with large panels of carving – strange birds or animals affronted. The E. doors show a pair of high-backed, heavy-winged and feathered birds, with small crested pheasant-heads. The N. doors show a pair of low-backed birds of hanīsa type, beaked and crested, with long curving wings and wing-tips. The W. doors confront two long-tailed staglike horned animals, with mouths agape and belling. The S. doors confront two similar animals, taller, with slighter horns, but pointed double mane and spotted breast. – The local woodcarver here let himself go, at once free from Indian conventions and from all bondage of realism.

The main black oblong frame of each door-wing consists of four great batters, 8 in. square in section, mortised and criss-crossed diagonally by thinner beams (4 in. × 3 in. thick), the intersecting points of lattice studded with four-point gilded metal stars. The inner sides of each wing end in a knobbled finial. They are held in position by an iron ring at the top, braced by iron bands at the sides, and move in a stone cup below. Against this black background starred with gold, there is set around the borders a broad plank, thickening towards the middle, of vermilion-painted wood. Here are the main carvings, 1 ft. broad all round. Covering top and bottom mitre-joints, there is broad flat lotus leaf (E. and N. doors), with angular overlapping oak leaf (W. and S. doors). The horizontal frames between the lotus leaves are set with 10 round crinkled lotus flowers and beading; the vertical frames with about 54 (E. and N. doors). Oak-leaf involved at intervals with lily-leaf forms the frame of the W. doors. A rugged looped and twisted oak leaf pattern frames the S. doors.

The richest carving is reserved for the median overlap, where the two door-wings meet. Here all four doors differ. And the difficult question arises, how far any or all of these doors, or parts of these doors, go back to the time of Kyazittha. At the base of all four ‘overlaps’, there is a drum-like stool with banded waist, on which sits or squats the Door-Guardian – a tiny comic figure, most unlike the giant standing Bodhisattvas who guard the inner entrance to many of the older temples. The E. and N. doors provide him with a square winged pavilion arched with flame-pediments, backed against a towered stupa tapering in terraces to a pinnacle with parrots perching. On the W. door he squats heavily robed, with right knee raised and left leg twisted so as to show
the sole, brandishing a leaf-falchion. On the S. door he squats bulging, with beard, ‘horns’ and coiled topknot, a sword over each shoulder. Above him, on the W. and S. doors, simple and less simple patterns of pairs of oak leaves rise and fall symmetrically in curves, one above the other – masterly work. They are in high relief in the centre, flattened and simplified at the sides. On the E. and N. doors the crossing oakleaf pattern alternates with ribbed lotus flowers. At the top of the ‘overlap’, rising from luxuriant lotus, there appears to be a stupa, ringed with oakleaf.

This is all very different from the carvings of the Shwezigôn gandhakuṭi door (Pls. 178–182). But it is all very like the doors of the Shwéguyi (Pl. 374 a), a temple built in 1131 A.D. Top ‘triangle,’ hamsa carvings, lotus leaves at corners, row of crinkled lotus flowers between, overlapping oak-leaves, diamond lattice, star-shaped metal nails, ‘overlaps’ with drum like stools at the base, comic round-faced Guardians with cockatoo hairlocks – all are common to both. Both may be post-Pagán, but hardly one. One would expect such enormous costly doors, so skilfully elaborated, to date from the time when Pagán was the capital. If both sets of doors were restored, say in the Kônbaung dynasty, surely there would be some record of it? One must make liberal allowance for partial repairs along the centuries, copying the old more or less closely. For big repairs, the ‘overlap,’ more liable to damage than any other part, would be the easiest to change. The ‘overlap’ of Shwéguyi W. door is an instance of late repair-work, far inferior to the old. In the Nanda doors I do not notice such degeneration. And as for discrepancy of style, should one not expect it at Pagán, with great artists, Mon and Burmese, both with long experience of wood-work, but widely different in origin, temperament and culture?

VAULTING

A final word about the vaulting. The arching of both corridors is still mostly lean-to half-vaults, both high, those of the inner corridor higher than those of the outer. Why, then, have not the Nanda roofs collapsed by earthquake, as have so many half-vaulted ‘Mon’ corridors at Pagán? – Fortunately, the builders strengthened and bonded the fabric at some critical points. On each side of the central doors, below the level of their tops, the outer corridor has a 15 ft. section of pointed vault complete, some 20 ft. lower than the half-vault. At the corridor-corners, too, there is a short section, about 12 ft. long on each side of the corner, where the half-vault descends perhaps 10 ft. to bind and buttress. The inner corridor has a similar full-vaulted section on each side of the central archway, binding the corridors together; but there is no lowering of the half-vault at the corners. The inner plinth here projects massively to bear the weight of the roof, which, though high in the centre, is narrow overall, owing to the absence of a second storey. – But while admitting that I am no architect, I confess to some anxiety about this priceless monument.

MYINKABA KUBYAUK-GYI OF RĀJAKUMĀR, C. 1113 A.D. (Pls. 335 to 350)

With this great temple we are approaching the end of the ‘Mon’ temples of the old asymmetric plan. It was built by Prince Rājakumār, son of Kyanzitha’s mahādevi, Trilokavatansikā. His quadrilingual inscriptions (now inaccurately called ‘the Myazedi’, after the modern stupa built in the precincts of the old temple) give the date of his father’s accession, 1628 A.B. (446 S./1084 A.D.), and 28
years later (c. 474 s./1112 A.D.) his mortal illness. The inscription and the temple were doubtless completed shortly after his father's death, say 475 s./1113 A.D., which was probably the date of Cañšū I's accession. The important question, why the grandson succeeded and not the son, has been considered in Chapters III and IV (supra. pp. 48–49, 74–76).

The temple stands on the N. Bank of Myinkaba Chaung, north of Aniruddha's Myinkaba Zedi, about a hundred yards E. of the main road to the south. It faces East. Though shorn of all its pinnacles and most of the pediments of the Hall, it has its own exterior beauties, notably the stucco facing on the brickwork. Much of this is well-preserved. The pot-like moulded plinth is topped with the sacring bed of up-and-down turned lotus. This is reduced in scale, but not in shape, along the Hall-bays and porch-projections. Above the lotus is a dado of pointed fig-leaf, broken only by windows and doorway and the pilasters at the corners. Pilasters, in their up-and-down turned V's with diamond rosettes between, are rich with motifs of piled urns and foliation. Those supporting the main double pediment at the entrance have a lovely coiling arabesque pattern. The stone perforated windows – one in each side of the Hall, three in each of the closed sides of the main block – are among the chief exterior beauties. These tall oblongs of stone slab – those of the Hall larger than those of the main block – are fretted to form patterns of four hearts, surrounding now a circle, now a diamond, now a square. In the centre windows the pattern subtly changes to jewelled squares held in tension in their frames on all four sides. There are 3 light-holes also above the lintels. All the windows are thickly set in stucco-mouldings: beading first, then chamfered lotus-leaf and tongue. Pilasters at each side support the double pediment – the makara-motif now dissolved in climbing cinquefoil scrollwork, backed against tiers that taper to a stupa finial. Above, the kirtimukha frieze suspends its loops of pearl, enclosing floral pendants. Above the frieze there is a thick round band, sheathed with sharp rosettes and vajras. Above this, a course of upturned leaf of lotus reaches the narrow cornice-band. This has scrolls of arabesque, and gorgon masques at the corners, like those of Shwé Chaung Kubyauk-ngō or Sōmin-gyi pagoda, but here not glazed. Above the cornice the walls recede; there is another band of sheathing, and finally an up-and-down-turned lotus course reaches the terrace-parapet.

The crowning Śikhara has three tiers of niches down its centre panels, the śikharas repeated on the four well-spaced corner-cells cresting the main block. There are four lower ones above the Hall, the inner two enclosing the heads of original staircases. There are no higher terraces, only a recessed plinth of quiet beauty, with four median skylights now stopped up except on the east. But at the back of the Hall-roof there is set a median gu with throne, painted reredos and haloed Buddha, four penen-
tives above, arched niches at the sides, and pedimented hall – a miniature temple, with lovely-coloured paintings covering all the walls. Outside, four cinquefoil clec archways, double-tiered in front, bind the gu, and a śikhara crowns it, modelled on the large main śikhara behind and above it. It makes, in fact, a sort of second storey, not yet worked into the body of the first, but helping to unite the whole. Plainly it recalls the Pāhtothāmya; and no less plainly succeeds, where Myēbōnthā and Hlainggu fail. The corner cells are similar but smaller, with stone images and paintings. The roof of the Hall is slightly rounded.

The East is the only entrance, high and narrow, the arch pointed without, receding (as often in this temple) to curvilinear within. The inner sides of the Hall have a low moulded plinth, ending in ledge-
seats, which serve as shoulders from which the vault springs. Where the side-windows project, there
are deep bays containing square-arched kammatthān cells and a staircase on the south. The bays are faced with plain-arched toranas, backed on 'Mon' horizontal roofs, climbing to a large double-terraced stupa with crenellated pockets. The E. and W. walls of the Hall are vertical. The W. archway (Pl. 343) leading to the Shrine, projects a high floral flame-pediment, embossed above the arch, with scrolling cinquefoil below. After three painted orders of recession the cinquefoil repeats itself, jagging the arch-edge: and yet again above the entrance to the Shrine. On each side of the Hall archway stand slim gigantic Bodhisattvas, encased in tall toranas, also with jagged cinquefoil backed with roofs tapering to a stupa top. Beyond the long archway to the Shrine sits the colossal Buddha on a great panelled throne; but badly damaged, so that the grandeur of vista seen in Abēyadana is partly lost. Two tall and open windows throw dim side-lights upon the image.

On the Corridor-side these side-windows are framed with pilasters, supporting a scroll arch with short flame-pediment, backed on tiers that taper to a šikhara-stupa just below the cornice. On the W. side (the back), instead of a window, there is an elaborate central recess similarly framed; within the scroll arch are painted three tasselled umbrellas above the cinquefoil shading the seated Buddha. There are four niches on each side of the Shrine-windows and W. recess; some contain stone reliefs (Kyānizitha style) of seated Buddhas, preaching or touching Earth (Pl. 344); a few, inscribed with names of donors, have been moved to Pagān Museum. The Corridor-vault is the usual lean-to half-arch. The inner wall has a massive plinth, with broad flat bands prominent at top and bottom, two round bands between, projecting cornice, and corner-pilasters. The outer wall has deep window embrasures, with three high steps climbing to all of them.

Bodhisattva-paintings in this temple are of interest. On either inset of the E. porch is painted a colossal ten-armed standing Bodhisattva, attended by two seated Saktis (Pl. 345). Two of his hands are raised in prayer, two hang in gestures of charity, two clasp stems of lotus, the rest hold discus, wheel, elephant-hook, etc. High above him, in their lotus paradise, a pair of Brahmass sit in padmāsana on lotus-cushions, their hands sustaining (as in Nanpaya) lotus-buds. Still higher, at the very top, is a narrow endless row of haloed saints standing on lotus trays. – The argument seems clear: powerful as the young Bodhisattva may be, with his Saktis ("strengths") to support him, the Brahmass, first and highest beings in the World of Form, take precedence; but the Buddhist Arhat (the Theravādin ideal), small as he may seem in our low human perspective, excels them all. Two other Bodhisattvas (mentioned already), stand, slim and tall, beside the entrance-arch of the Hall; two are painted in the archway leading to the corridor; two (smaller but lovelier), seven-armed figures (?), on the front face of the arch leading into the Shrine. There is nothing else of Mahāyānist kind in the temple.

One of the chief glories of this temple (there are many) are the paintings on the walls, and in particular the glosses below them. They show the great advance in Buddhist scholarship that had been in progress before and during Kyānizitha's reign. The Burma Historical Commission has recently published a number of its Bulletin60 devoted to these glosses. The following extracts are taken from its Introduction: –

"The great change in Burma – from the Tāntric Mahāyānism of East Bengal to Singhalese Theravāda – which has so largely determined the subsequent religious thought, art and literature of Burma, must

chiefly be attributed to the work of Kyanzittha, his mahāthera Arahant, and his revisers of the Tipiṭaka Canon, not least (I suspect) his son Rājakumār. The extraordinary range of Rājakumār's reading, considering the limitations of his time, argues a lifetime largely spent in study. He set himself to master the full range of Theravāda thought, cosmology and history, and to show it clearly in his temple. But only half of it survives. Apart from local flaking, the Corridor galleries are fairly complete, especially the inner wall. But in the large Hall, covered with painting, we could read little except in the window-embrasures, and in the Shrine proper nothing at all."

Here we can only summarise and locate the main themes illustrated by Rājakumār. We begin with the II rows on the outer wall of the Corridor.

OUTER WALL OF CORRIDOR

ROW II (from the top). Covers the period from the Creation down to the Coming of the Buddha:
Glosses 58–64 (S. wall to W. wall). — Mahāgovinda brāhmaṇa, the ideal Brahman. See Dīgha Nikāya 19, Mahāgovinda Sutta.
Glosses 65–74 (W. wall to N. wall). — King Mandhāt, the first imperialist. See Mandhātū Jātaka, No. 258.
Glosses 75–78 (N. wall to E. wall). — Kolāhal and Kraṃa maṅgaṇa, the Happy Uproar in the Universe, that precedes the coming of a new Buddha. See Commentaries on the Khuddaka-pāṭha and Sutta Nīpāta, Maṅgala Sutta.
Glosses 79–82 (E. wall). — Conversion of Kasi and Akkosiṇa, two Brahmins of the Bhāradvāja clan. See Sutta Nīpāta I 4; Samyutta Commentary I 175 ff. — These panels appear to be an overflow from Row I.

ROW III (from the top).

ROW III (E. wall) to ROW IX (N. wall). Jātaka series.
This is the fullest of the painted Jātaka series with Old Mon glosses. About 496 panels, often fragmentary, have useful glosses. The ink, which is excellent, has usually survived better than the paint. For each story the Pali title is given but no number; and a brief description in Mon: “the Bodhisat was a —.” The series follows closely the Singhalese recension. See V. Fausböll: The Jātaka together with its commentary... (1877–97, 6 vols. and index).

ROW I (topmost). — Early life of the future Buddha Gotama.
Glosses 1–43. The paintings show a series of scenes from the early life of Gotama, with Mon glosses (often fragmentary) written in ink below them. The main source appears to be the Nīdānakathā, the introductory chapter of the Jātaka Commentary (Avidūre and
Santike Nidāna). The scenes begin with the Conception (Māyā’s Dream) on the E. wall from the N.E. corner, and end with Anātha-piṇḍika’s gift of the Jetavana monastery at Sāvatthi (N. wall, N.E. corner). This is the point where the Nidānakathā ends. Probably 16 scenes were shown on each wall, 64 altogether, but we could only count 43 glosses remaining.

ROW IX (beyond the end of the Jālaka), Row X and Row XI on the Outer Wall of the Corridor, are miscellaneous – often interesting, but fragmentary, with large gaps.

ROW IX, N. wall (just W. of central window): –
Glosses 84–86 Story of the hermit Bāvari and Rucirājattā. For Bāvari, see Sutta Nipāta, Pārāyana vagga. I have not located “Shining Locks.”

ROW X, E. Wall (from centre) –
Glosses 95–96 Uttaraku, the North Island. See Dīgha Nikāya 32, Āṭānāṭiya Sutta.
Glosses 97–100 (S. wall) – Duṭṭhagāminī-Abhaya, king of Ceylon, 161–137 B.C. His elephant Kaṇḍol. His quarrel with his father, Kākavaṇṇatissa. See Mahāvamsa, chs. XXII–XXIV.
Glosses 104, 105 (W. wall) – Primaeval kings, Varahalyaṇa, Mahāsammata, Mahāsvadassana the Cakravartin. See Dīpavamsa Ch. III.
Glosses 109–113 (N. wall) – General Bandhula shoots the 500 Lachavi princes. See prefab to Bhaddasāla Jālaka, No. 465. Also Commentary on Dhammapada I 350 f.
Glosses 114, 115 (E. wall) – Visākhā and the elephant. Visākhā’s monastery (Migāramāṇasāda ?). See Commentary on Dhammapada I 409.
Gloss 116 (E. wall) – Upāli Gahapati (the householder), follower of the Jainas. Converted by the Buddha. See Majjhima Nikāya (56) I 371, Upāli Sutta.

ROW XI (lowest). E. wall (from centre) –
Glosses 227–230 W. wall: – Early North Indian kings: – Vararoj; Tivānkaro of Takkasil; Taliissaro of Kusināra; Sudin of Milittaragiri (?). See Dīpavamsa, ch III.

INNER WALL OF CORRIDOR

UPPER ROW
Glosses 117–130. Preaching of the Viney (Vinaya) to the monks: –
E. wall (S. of entrance). Gl. 119–120. At Veluvan, near Rājagrih, capital of Bimbisār.
S. wall (W. side). Gl. 123–4. At the capital of Ālavi kingdom (Aggālava Cetiya).
W. wall (S. side). Gl. 125–6. At Kosambi (capital of the Varṇas or Vatsas), Ghositārāma.
N. wall (W. side). Gl. 127–8. At the capital of Sakka kingdom, i.e. Kapilavatthu, Nigrodhārāma.
N. wall (E. side). Gl. 129–130. At the capital of Bhagg kingdom, on Suvīsumāragiri.

LOWER ROW

Glosses 131–150. History of the Abhidhamma: –
E. wall (from N.E. corner). Gl. 131. The Enlightenment.
S. wall (E. side). Gl. 135. Ascent to Tāvatīṅ (Tāvatīṁsa).
S. wall. Gl. 139. At Anowatat (Anavatapta Lake).
S. wall. Gl. 140. The Buddha teaches the Abhidhar to Sāriput in the Chanda-
navana.
W. wall (from S.W. corner). Gl. 141. Sāriputta teaches the Abhidhar to his 500 disciples.
W. wall. Gl. 142. 2 monks in cave recite it. 500 bats listen.
W. wall. Gl. 144. The Buddha preaches at Saṅkas city-gate.
N. wall (from N.W. corner). Gl. 145. First Council (Ajātasatru).
N. wall. Gl. 146. King Dharmāso(k) goes to meet Muggaliputta Tissatther.
N. wall. Gl. 147. Second Council (Kālasok).
N. wall. Gl. 149. The monks are ordered to observe uposatha.
N. wall (N.E. corner). Gl. 150. Third Council (Muggaliputta Tissatther).

WINDOW-EMBRASURES OF CORRIDOR

S. wall. E. window. E. face. Gl. 152. His 16 concubines (?). He reduces his diet.
S. wall. W. window. W. face. Gl. 156. City of Midhil, capital of king Videharāja. See Mahā-
ummagga Jātaka.
W. wall. S. window. S. face. Gl. 158. “King Culaṇi Brahmādatta besieges king Vīdeh and Mahosadhapāṇḍit” in Uttarapañcāalanagar. – ibid.
W. wall. N. window. S. face. Gl. 161, 162. King In (Indra) in the Sudhamā jrap (moot-hall).
W. wall. N. window. N. face. Gl. 164. “Indra sits on pāṇḍukambal and leans against the Coral Tree (pumpeṇ pārijāt).”
N. wall. W. window. W. face. Gl. 167. “King Elār, and all the villages he administers.”
N. wall. W. window. W. face. Gl. 168. “Doing daily penance so that rain may fall.” For this noble Cōḷa king, see Mahāvamsa Ch. XXI, vv. 13–34.

WINDOW-EMBRASURES OF HALL


About 15 of the 85 stories are legible.

Hall. N. window. W. face. Gl. 173, 174. ibid. 6, 7. Nāvāvimāna I, II.
Hall. N. window. W. face. Gl. 177. ibid. 15. Uttarāvimbāna.
Hall. S. window. E. face, top line. Gl. 180. ibid. 58. Sūcidāyakavimbāna I.
Hall. S. window. E. face, 2nd line. Gl. 181. ibid. 59. [Sucid]āyakavimbāna II.
Hall. S. window. E. face, top line. Gl. 182. ibid. 61. Nāgavimāna II (?)..

HALL. MISCELLANEOUS

The Hall was once covered with paintings; but these are now fragmentary, with few legible glosses.
2 illustrations of Pupphavati (Benares) and the Candakumāra (Khanḍahāla) Jālaka, No. 542.
N. wall. E. of window.  
      King Ajātasatru.
        Lower line.
N. wall. E. of window.  
      Subrahmā the devaputta, and his 500 women are saved. See San̄hyutta Commentary I 88 f.
        Upper line.
S. wall. E. of window.  
      King Kappin. ........
        Lower line.

ENTRANCE ARCHWAY TO SHRINE. S. WALL

The longest and most interesting of all the ink glosses in Rājakumārī’s temple are on both sides of the archway leading into the Shrine. The S. wall is the better preserved. It has six tiers (A, B, C, D, E, F) from top to bottom, with a varying number of panels with inscribed glosses (A 1, A 2 etc.) in each, counting from left to right, that is from E. to W. Most of the panels are devoted to Singhalese history, as recorded in the Mahāvamsa and its continuation, the Cūlavamsa Vol. I. The story (with wide gaps of course) is brought right down to Vijayabahu I, Aniruddha’s friend, who died in 1110–1 A.D., shortly before this temple was built. Tier A is arranged chronologically, from left to right. Also Tier B. These record the two first visits of the Buddha to Ceylon (Mahiyaṅgaṇa and Nāgadīpa). For the rest the order of panels is not chronological. Tiers E 5, E 4 and D 1 (Gl. 194, 195, 196) are concerned with the Emperor Aśoka and his friend Devānampiyatissa, king of Ceylon (fl. 250–210 B.C.). With Tier E 6 and 7 (Gl. 197, 198) we pass to the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya (fl. 161–137 B.C.). E 2 (Gl. 199) is about the reign of Uṣabho, i.e. Vasabha, who reigned from 65–109 A.D. E 1 (Gl. 200) is about king Saṅghabodhi who reigned 2 years, from 251–253 A.D. E 3 (Gl. 201) is about the doctor-king Buddhadās (fl. 340–368 A.D.). Tier D 3 and 4 (Gl. 202, 203) both mention Vijayabahu I (fl. 1055–1110 A.D.); but little except the name is legible. – Rājakumārī has thus covered the whole history of the world as known to the Buddhists, from its creation down to the (then) present day. Because of their rarity, we translate these glosses more fully than the previous ones.

Tier A 1. Gl. 185. “At Nāgavana garden, all the spirits dwelling in Laṅkā (Ceylon) were about to fight.

The Buddha takes station in the sky above, produces a hurricane, creates darkness, and frightens them till they beg release from terror.”

Tier A 2. Gl. 186. “In Laṅkādiḍ the Buddha spreads his leather mat, which extends further and further. The spirits dwelling in Laṅkādiḍ descend into the water of the ocean up to the neck. He frightens them once more (?).”

Tier A 3. Gl. 187. “The Buddha brings the rock Giridīḍ, and causes those spirits to cross thither. Then the island swings back to its former place (?).”

Tier A 4. Gl. 188. “After narrowing once more his leather mat, the Buddha preaches the Law to those spirits. At that time the spirits who abode in the Three Refuges, were ........” See Mahāvamsa I, 19–32.

Tier B 1. Gl. 189. “At Samanakūṭā, the Deva Samanā who dwelt there, begged the Buddha for something to worship. The Lord stroked his head, got one hair and gave it to him.” See Mhv. I, 33–36.

Tier B 2. Gl. 190. “In Nāgadīḍ, two Nāga kings, nephew and uncle, were about to fight. The Buddha confronted (?) the two Nāga kings, and warned and reconciled them again to one another.”

Tier B 3. Gl. 191. “The throne which the Nāga king gave, the Buddha ....... and preached the Law to those Nāga kings. Innumerable were the offerings they made in worship.”
Chapter XVIII

Tier B 4. Gl. 192. "This throne the Buddha caused them to bring......in their city......make offerings at all times." See Mhv. I, 44-70.

Tier C 4. Gl. 193. "This is when the Buddhas Kakusan, Konagam (and Kassapa ?)......"

Tier E 5. Gl. 194. "In the island of Singhal king Devanampiyatis was reigning. He was a friend of king Dhammasok. King Dhammasok sent him regalia, (including) 3 shoulder-loads (of water) of Anowarat and other precious things (?) also. He said to his friend: 'These Three Refuges--may he make his real harbour therein!' - Thereafter king Devanampiyatis went hunting in the forest; and had his private interview with the Rev. Mahamahin, who called the king and asked him the question about the Mango Tree. Thereafter the king came to welcome him and took him back to the city." See Mhv. XI, 27-36; XIV, 1-45.

Tier E 4. Gl. 195. "This is when the novice Sumanya went and took......the almsbowl from king Dhammasok, and the Collarbone relic from king Indra, and took them across to Singhal. King Devanampiyatis went out to receive them. He took and brought them, and went and ensnared them in the Thitaparam. At that time the Collarbone ascended the sky to a height of 7 lah [Pali tala]. Exhibiting the Twin Miracles of water issuing from that Relic, it went everywhere throughout the island of Singhal. When king Devanampiyatis and the Rev. Mahamahin were about to plant finally the great Relic, the great Bodha tree ascended and abode in a chamber of clouds for 7 days. From that great Bodha tree six-coloured rays issued. (Then) it descended from that chamber of clouds, and entered and abode at the planting-site." See Mhv. ch. XVII.

Tier D 1. Gl. 196. "This is when king Dhammasok wishes to send the great relic of the Tree, with the theri Sanyhamitta, to the island of Singhal. In the great ocean, floating for three yojana (?) around that boat, the waves rippled. They were full of lotus flowers of five colours. The theri Sanyhamitta assumed the form of a Suparna and frightened all the Nagas. At that time the king of the Nagas came and entreated that they might take that great Relic and make offering to it in worship of the whole sovereignty of the Naga world. After seven days......Singhal." See Mhv. ch XIX, 1-23.

Tier E 6. Gl. 197. This is when king Dutthagamani plans to build the Ratnaceti. .................seven......... The reverend Sanyha all send the Rev. Sonuttir to go and take the relics from the casket (?) which abode in the Naga world. The king of the Nagas caused his nephew, together with the assembly of all the Nagas, to guard it. At that time the Rev. Sonuttir took those relics by his magic power; and..........deposited them in..........one jewel which king In (Indra) made, to which all the Devas came and made offerings in worship." See Mhv. ch. XXXI, 1-77.

Tier E 7. Gl. 198. "This is when king Dutthagamani brings (the relics) and enshrines them in the Ratnaceti. He was not able to complete the building of the ceti (before his death): so king Abhaya......around the king. From the six kamavacara (realms of sensuous desire), six chariots with virgin daughters of heaven came down to welcome the king. And when the king mounted (the chariot) and was gone, .................ascended to Tusitapur." See Mhv. ch. XXXII.

Tier E 2. Gl. 199. "This king, Ussabho [i.e. Vasabha], was to live only twelve years. He gave gifts of filters (tirdoth), buildings, medicines, and ............... monasteries for the monks. He rebuilt pagodas and monasteries which were old. Thus his life was increased by 36 years." See Mhv. ch. XXXV, 59-111.
Tier E 1. Gl. 200. "(In the reign of) this king, Saṅghabodhi, rain did not fall. ..................he lay down with his body in a heap. ...............Rain fell (around) ..................the people, they and their own children......................that spirit [Yakkha].” See Mhv., ch. XXXVI, 73–97.

Tier E 3. Gl. 201. "This king, Buddhadās, was well-versed in the practice of medicine. One monk, whose liver was being eaten by maggots – he [i.e. the king] made him drink the blood of a horse. He cut open the abdomen of a Nāga. He brought out a snake from the mouth of one man. An enemy, who was a leper (lānāṇīḥ), he succeeded in curing.” See Cūlavamsa, ch. XXXVII, 105–170.

Tier D 3. Gl. 202. "This is when king Vijeyyabāhudev (received the paritta ?).”

Tier D 4. Gl. 203. "This is when king Vijeyyabāhudev.........................”

Tier F 1 to 5. Gl. 204–8. These short glosses, written in tiny letters a few inches above the present floor, appear to record further scenes from the Vimanavatthu of the Khuddaka Nikāya. Col. Ba Shin could only read one name, Anekavānyaka vimān (F 3, Gl. 206), which should be No. 82 in the last, Sunikkhitta Vagga; but the gloss mentions a needle and a “ceti” of the Rev. Kas (Kassapa),” which are not to be found in this story.

**ENTRANCE ARCHWAY TO SHRINE. N. WALL**

This wall has now only 3 visible tiers of panels. The large-lettered Top Tier has 4 panels, with glosses of 1 line apiece, partly written above previous writing – all going back to the early days of the temple. The present glosses (209–212) all deal with the life of Aśoka in India. The Middle Tier has all flaked except for the panel on the extreme right, the E. edge of the arch. This has 3 lines (Gl. 213) of small lettering, telling the story of the rich man of Soreyya, who twice changed his sex. The story, which comes in the Commentary on the Dhammapada, is told in Malalasekera’s Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names, Vol. II, pp. 1311–12. The Bottom Tier (Gl. 214–218) has 5 panels with small lettering. The first panel (on the left or W.) is difficult to read and identify. The second treats of the death and obsequies of Mahāmāya’s sister, Pajāpati Gotami. The third reverts to the theme of the rich man of Sāvatthi, Migār, his son Sīri Vaddhi, and his ‘mother’ or rather daughter-in-law, Visākkhā, Migāramatā; her physical strength, and her descendants. The fourth panel treats of Old Delhi (Indapatha) and the ‘Law of the Kuru’; of the long drought in Kālinga, only broken when the king learnt to practise the Kuru Law. The fifth (on the E. side) is none too clear. It treats of a poor woman-slave who, after 3 years’ work, earned a scarlet robe. When, after bathing, she was about to wear it, she met a monk whose robe had been stolen by robbers, and gave it to him. She was reborn as Uppalavarnā, one of Gotama Buddha’s two ‘Chief Disciples of the Left’. – The story combines part of that of Ummadantī (Jātaka No. 537) with that of the great therī, Uppalavannā.

**Top Tier.**

Gl. 209. “This is king Dhammāsok” i.e. Aśoka (fl. c. 274–237 B.C.).

Gl. 210. “This is king Kālanāgarāj. He creates a likeness of the Buddha, and shows it to king Dhammāsok.” See Mhv. ch. V, 87–94.

Gl. 211. “This is when king Dhammāsok (?) ...............takes (?) the Relics.”

Gl. 212. “This is when (king) Dhammāsok dedicates the monastery to ...........” See Mhv. ch. V, 79–80, 173 ff.
Middle Tier. 1 panel on the right (E): –

Gl. 213. “When this rich man of Soreyya had got two children, afterwards he saw the Rev. Kacca (?) and thought thus: ‘If only my wife’s body could have such beauty (?)!’ At that very moment he became a woman. He...................... He...................... begged pardon (?) .................whereupon he became a man again. He renounced the world and became an Arahant (?).” See Commentary on the Dhammapada, I, 324 ff.

Bottom Tier. – 5 panels, reading from left to right, from W. to E.: –

Gl. 214. “.......................... king (?) .....................he.....................the reverend Na.............

..................after making a Vow of Truth.....................Thereafter, when king.....................all the monks who.....................all the Devas came (?).....................”

Gl. 215. “This is when the lady Pajapati Gotami came and addressed the Buddha; and after performing miracles of various kinds, made her parinirvana. At that time all the Buddhas, together with Devas and men, went and cleansed (the corpse), and the Rev. Anan took the Relics of Pajapati Gotami and brought and gave them to the lord Buddha.” See Malalasekera’s Dictionary, Vol. II, p. 523.

Gl. 216. “This is when the rich man Migar makes search for a woman who possesses virtuous qualities (?) and gets Visakhā. King Passen accompanies the rich man, and the whole host go out to meet (Visakhā) and escort her back and give her to the rich man Sirivaddhi. She has 20 children, 400 grandchildren, and 8000 great-grandchildren. Her beauty, too, remained like that of a virgin. She had the strength of an elephant (?). When the king..............sent (?) an elephant against her, she took one finger (to stop it), and the elephant fell over and lay on the ground.”


Gl. 217. “In the city of Indapathanagrar king Dhanañjay of the Korapparac (Korabba dynasty) observed the Law of the Kurus. Even as he observed it, these ten persons also observed it. At that time, in the (capital) city of Karlinga kingdom, rain had not fallen for twelve years. The king sent (persons) to come and ask for the Elephant. But though the Elephant duly came, the rain still did not fall. They then came and wrote down the Law which that king observed, and came back home and observed it. Thereupon the rain fell and the famine was cleared.” See Kurudhamma Jataka, No. 276.

Gl. 218. “This woman formerly was a poor person. She went and worked for others for three years. Thereby she obtained a red robe......................She gave it as a gift to a monk whom thieves had robbed (?) of his monastic robe. As the reward, after enjoying the happiness of men [and the happiness of spirits], in the dispensation of this our Lord also, she became this Chief Disciple of the Left, possessing the Colour of the Blue Lotus (Uppalavarnna).” See Ummadantī Jātaka No. 537, and Malalasekera’s Dictionary, s.v. Uppalavanṇā Therī (Vol. I, pp. 418–421).
CHAPTER XIX

TEMPLES OF THE TRANSITION (1113–1174 A.D.), AND MISCELLANEOUS RUINS


LOKA-HTEIKPAN TEMPLE

Temple “adorning the top of the world” (Pls. 351–356). – My colleague on the Burma Historical Commission, Bohmu Ba Shin, has devoted to this temple a volume of 212 pages with 70 plates.\(^1\) There is no need for me, therefore, to write at large about its priceless value. Once this was explained, the Burma Government has lost no time in repairing and conserving it. It was, I believe, the archaeologist U Lu Pe Win, who first discovered and photographed the Mon inscriptions at the top of the W. wall.

So much for a happy cooperation! – As an old man, I cannot refrain from drawing the moral. Once, at a meeting of our Historical Commission, one of us – probably Ba Shin – proposed to send relays of parties to copy all the ink inscriptions on the walls of Pagán. “Surely that is unnecessary!” remarked one elderly member: “Hasn’t the Archaeological Department done it long ago?” – “They have certainly done a tremendous lot!” came the reply; “and our debt to the Department is beyond counting. I think they have published about 100 of these ink inscriptions altogether. But on his last visit, in the Myinkaba Kubyauk-ngè temple alone, Ba Shin copied 100 others.” (One remembers Yule’s estimate of the number of pagodas at Pagán as not less than 800, perhaps 1000). Quantity there certainly is. But what about quality? – The Archaeological Department, year by year from the first, has discovered gem on gem of Burma’s ancient glories. But the Loka-hteikpan is there to show how easily some gems can be overlooked; and how necessary it is for all to cooperate, if some, even of the finest gems, are not to be missed.

The temple faces N.; it is a furlong N. of Shwéhsandaw, and about \(\frac{3}{4}\) mile S. of the S.E. corner of Pagán city-wall. It is of medium size, 52 ft. long by 32 ft. at the broadest. It is full of paintings and writings, mostly Burmese, but also Mon. It falls, therefore, into the Transitional Period (1113 to 1174 A.D.). But is the date nearer to the first terminus or the last? – The Mon spellings are practically the same as those in Kyanzittha’s inscriptions, or those of his son Rājakumār. Excluding words of Indo-

\(^1\) *The Loka-hteikpan*, published by the Burma Historical Commission on a grant by the Asia Foundation, Rangoon University Press, Sept. 1962.
Aryan origin, there are barely 40 altogether. So far as the Mon writing and spelling are concerned, it might date from 1100 A.D. In Cañsū I’s reign Mon orthography soon tends to get careless. In the 4 lines of the king’s own (undated) postscript to his grandfather’s Shwezigōn inscription, already 2 unusual spellings occur: gyek for kyek, and gu (but also ku) for ku. In the later Mon temples (Alópyï’, Hpyatsa Shwegu) and votive tablets, such variations will multiply.

The accurate dating of this temple is of still greater importance for the history of the Burmese written language. It contains much the largest text of Archaic Burmese yet discovered. The 5 dated Burmese inscriptions of our period discussed in Chapter VI (supra, pp. 107–116), if we exclude duplicates, contain only 170 lines of stone writing altogether. The printed Burmese text of Lokhaiteikpan fills 20 pages. The two chief stone inscriptions – Rājakumār’s duplicate faces and Ajāwlat’s two-faced pillar in Dhammayangyi – come conveniently near the beginning and the end of the Transitional Period, c. 1113 and 1165–6 A.D. respectively. Another short but precious text (I. B., Pl. II 111) is dated 1121 A.D., barely 8 years after that of Rājakumār. In the Comparative Chart at the end of this chapter (pp. 403–405), taking as basis the complete Burmese vocabulary of Rājakumār, we compare it with those of the two other inscriptions and of Lokhaiteikpan. Bohmu Ba Shin and I are agreed that Lokhaiteikpan Burmese, if not quite so archaic as Rājakumār’s is a good deal closer to it than to Ajāwlat’s. The Colonel is also convinced that there is no gap in time between the Mon writing in the temple and the Burmese: indeed, he regards the handwriting as identical throughout. On the E. wall of the Shrine, for instance, both sides of the top line are in Mon; half of the 2nd line is in Burmese, and half in Mon; while the bottom line is all Burmese. On the W. wall the differences one notices in the writing are due to varying pressure on the available space. The glosses were drafted without reference to the wall-space: so the writer had to reduce or crush his letters accordingly.—Taking both the Mon and the Burmese writing into consideration, we conclude that the temple can hardly be dated later than 1125 A.D., and may well be earlier.

Lokhaiteikpan is not one of the large ‘Mon’ temples with corridor surrounding a closed shrine. Under its high śikha, supported by three terraces with corner-stupas, within an open Shrine roofed with four pendentes, the well-preserved Earth-touching Buddha sits on his high detached throne, facing north towards the entrance. Three perforated brick windows with high steps admit some light to the shrine from sides and back. There are no windows in the Hall: only the plain and gentle expansion, from porch to painted Hall, from hall to jewelled Shrine. Instead of corridor, there is just room to make one’s circuit of respect around the image. In the N.W. corner of the Shrine, a narrow staircase leads up to the roof.

2 kyek (Buddha), tirley (lord), trey (reverend), smiḥ (king), mboṭ (mother), hōn (child); cas (ten), ḯhīm (thousand); cīṭ (elephant), ṭhek (parrot), tamiṇḍā (vulture); sṛṇa (silver), jṅok (great); das (to be), ṭāw (to dwell), ḫōr (to worship); ploṭ, ploṭ (to unfold, of Buddhadhoo); han, ḥān (at), hantul (on), dey (in); ’at ku hāl (at all times), pa tāh ku (beginning from), ma (relative pronoun), goḥ (that); chu’, chu, tām (tree), jrey (Ficus), jrey toḥ (F. obtusifolia), jrey suṇ (F. indica, Banyan), tīṇṭā (?, Shorea robusta), aṅghēn (Pentacme suavis (?), kajou (Mesua ironwood), prāṇ (Xyilia ironwood), pūmpṇa (Butea frondosa), slim (Melia indica), pimpeṇ (Coral tree, Erythrina indica), twōn (?, Ricinus communis, Castor-oil tree), sreṇ (Alstonia scholaris).


4 Lokhaiteikpan, pp. 87–88.

5 See ibid., p. 20, for Bohmu Ba Shin’s remarks on this head.
With porch, hall and shrine continuous, the temple is now a single unit, with gradual dimming from tropic sunlight to religious dusk. The throne hides the window at the back; but light suffices to reveal the first beauty of the temple – the foreground Buddha seated as on Pāla reliefs, against a painted background of the Eight Scenes (āṭṭhamahāatthāna) filling the S. wall behind him (Pl. 352). The plane surface of this wall is about 18 ft. square. The painter has skilfully designed his panels so as to enclose within his frame, not only the window in the centre, but also the Buddha seated in front of it. The frame is similar to the Eight Scene votive tablets and 'andagu' stone carvings of Pagān, but on a far larger scale, with lots of detail and some subsidiary scenes. The whole recalls, in fact, the scale, as well as the design, of the great Pāla slab at Baragaon, Nālandā. The scenes were so well known at Pagān that it was not necessary to add glosses below them.

Maung Bo Hlaing’s four plans of the scenes shown on the four walls of the Shrine, with the Colonel’s full and accurate descriptions, make it unnecessary for me to do more than draw attention to some points of interest. The photographs, alas, do scant justice to these paintings. The two aggasāvaka are shown large, seated at the Buddha’s feet – Sāriputta on the left (the Buddha’s right), Moggallāna on the right (the Buddha’s left). Perched on top of the architectural frame at the shoulders, are two Kinnara (Lok., Pl. 11 a), below the Rays and Tree. The Attack and Retreat of Māra’s army no longer invade the tall narrow panels at the sides of the archway. These are here devoted to the Worship by Devas (to tiers, with 2 in each) on the left, and by Brahmins (similarly grouped – Lok. Pl. 12 a) on the right. Above his Devas Indra sits blowing his conch, with Mahābrāhma seated on the other side, holding a three-tiered umbrella. In the spandrels above these, a long divided panel shows Māra’s attack on the left, his Retreat on the right. The Parinirvāṇa crowns, as usual, the apex of the arch; the sides of the squared frame filled in with Doṣa’s Intervention on the left, the Distribution of the Relics on the right, and 2 stupas in each corner. Below are the 6 side-panels: Taming of Nālāgiri elephant, First Sermon, and Pārileyyaka retreat on the left; Descent from Tāvatimāsa, Twin Miracles, and Nativity on the right. A drawing by U Aye Myint, design-master at Amarpura Weaving Institute, shows the delightful detail of the Nativity scene (Pl. 353 c).

The N. Wall, opposite, divided by the broad archway (14 ft. high, 12½ ft. broad) between Hall and Shrine, is devoted to the 28 Buddhas, Taṅkaṅkara to Gotama, with their respective Bodhi trees, identified in Mon. The two top rows of panels (8 Buddhas in each) cross the whole wall above the archway from W. to E. The third row shows 3 Buddhas (Atthadassi, Dhammadassī and Siddhattha) on the W. side of the arch, and 3 more on the E. The last 6 Buddhas are shown singly in tiers – Śiki, Vessabhū and Kakusandha on the E. side; Kopāgamana, Kassapa and Gotama on the W. The N. wall has been damaged by leaks down the staircase and partial subsidence: so that half the writing is lost. The list of Bodhi trees is useful for comparison with the only other lists in Old Mon so far discovered – in the Alōpyī’ and Kyazin temples. These are translated below (pp. 392–397) in extenso, together with an Old Burmese list, and collated with the Pali text of Buddhavaṃsa, and the text of Nidānakathā as printed at the head of Fausboll’s edition of the Jātaka.

The E. wall of the Shrine (18 ft. square), divided below by the 3 ft. broad window, has several large but faint panels of painting, with 3 lines of barely legible glosses: Mon at the top, Burmese at the

* See ibid., Pl. 21, for an illustration of this.
7 ibid., facing p. 10 (S. wall), p. 13 (E. wall), p. 16 (N. Wall), p. 17 (W. wall). Chapter II of the book (pp. 9–19) gives a full description of these walls and those of the Hall.
bottom, both in the middle. The top right corner shows the Dussa Cetiya in Brahmaloka, where Ghaṭīkāra enshrined the royal robes which Gotama discarded on the bank of the river Anomā. The top left corner shows the Cūḷāmāṇī Cetiya in Tāvatimha, where Sakka enshrined the royal coif of braided hair which Gotama severed at the same spot. The main subject, above the central window, shows Vejayanta flying palace of Indra, king of the Sakra Devas, with the Buddha seated in the centre on the stone throne, Paṇḍukambala, under the Red Coral tree, Pāricchattaka, preaching the Abhidhamma to his mother and innumerable Devas. Indra's palace is at the top of Mt. Sineru, with its 7 ranges of mountains resting on the sea. These are shown as 7 ascending pillars on either side of the throne, with fishes swimming at the base, and suns rising over Mt. Yugandhara at the top. King Pasenadi kneeling at the base shows the Buddha's line of Ascent on the right, the triple ladder his means of Descent on the left. The bottom tier has two large panels, each 7½ ft. long by 3½ ft. high.

On the right (or S.) side Dipaṅkara Buddha is making his prophecy about Sumedha prostrate before him. On the left (or N.) side, at Bimbisāra's request, accompanied by boats of gold, silver and ruby, the Buddha is on his triumphal way to Vesāli to stop the pestilence. He does this by teaching Ānanda to recite the Ratana Sutta.8 (Once again one notices the great value set at Pagān on these paritta Suttas). Note also the affinity between Lokasteikpan and the small Mon Gu No. 418 S.E. of Lokananda (supra, Ch. XVII, p. 351): not only in general shape, but also in detail. The subjects painted on the S. wall of the Hall in the latter, may well be those shown here in Lokasteikpan: Vejayanta palace, between Cūḷāmāṇī and Dussa Cetiyas. Perhaps also the preaching of Abhidhamma in the centre; but there the painting has flaked.

The W. Wall of the Shrine, mostly in good condition considering its age (8½ centuries), has 14 rows of painting illustrating the Jātaka, with full descriptive glosses, usually legible. The two top rows (I, II) have each 10 separate panels, with short glosses in Mon. The remaining 12 rows have lengthy epigraphs in Archaic Burmese. In Pali, the Jātaka is divided into 22 books (nipāta), the last, Mahānipāta, containing the 10 great final Jātakas. The Lokasteikpan is mainly concerned with the Mahānipāta. The 21 previous books are dismissed briefly with one panel apiece, illustrating usually (not always) the first Jātaka in the nipāta. Thus the top two rows, with their 20 panels and glosses in Mon, dispose of the first 20 nipāta. The first panel in Row III, Sutasoma Jātaka, with the first gloss in Burmese, completes the series up to the beginning of the Mahānipāta. This is introduced with a panel showing the Buddha preaching in response to his disciples' request for a 'repetition' (anuvāc) of these. And detailed scenes from each of these 10 Jātakas fill the remaining walls of the temple: not only the 12 lower rows on the W. Wall of the Shrine, but also the W. and E. side-walls of the Hall. The latter are reserved, respectively, for the Mahasadha and Vessantara Jātakas, doubtless because they are much longer than the others. The distribution is as follows: –

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jātaka</th>
<th>Wall</th>
<th>Rows</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Temi (Mūgapakkha) Jātaka</td>
<td>Shrine</td>
<td>III, IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahājanaka Jātaka</td>
<td>Shrine</td>
<td>V, VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāma (Suvaṇṇasāma) Jātaka</td>
<td>Shrine</td>
<td>VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nimi (Nemi) Jātaka</td>
<td>Shrine</td>
<td>VIII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candakumāra (Khaṇḍahāla) Jātaka</td>
<td>Shrine</td>
<td>IX, X, XI (S. side of window)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūridatta Jātaka</td>
<td>Shrine</td>
<td>IX, XI (N. side of window)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8 Khuddaka Nīhāya, Khuddaka Pāṭha 6; Sutta Nīpāta 13.
Nārada (Mahānaradakassapa) Jātaka – Shrine, W. Wall. Rows XII, XIII, XIV (S. side of window).

Vidhura (Vidhurapanḍita) Jātaka – Shrine, W. Wall. Rows XII, XIII, XIV (N. side of window).

Mahosadha (Mahā-ummagga) Jātaka – Hall, W. Wall. 6 rows (probably 8 originally).

Vessantara Jātaka – Hall, E. Wall. 7 rows (probably 8 originally).

The panels in the Hall are not so high as those on the W. wall of the Shrine. The 7 rows on the E. wall are only 5 ft. 4 in. in total height; their length 11 ft 3 in. The height of the W. wall of the Shrine is nearly 17 ft.; its breadth, including the window, 17 ft. 10 in. The window is 2 ft. 10½ in. broad, and 5 ft. 9 in. from the apex down to the bottom row of painting. The top 8 lines of writing run the whole breadth of the wall. The 6 lower lines measure about 7 ft. 2 in. on each side of the window. A good deal of Row III is lost; and there are a number of gaps, due to damp or flaking, on the walls of the Hall. Apart from this, the chief difficulty in reading several of the lines is due to the fact mentioned above, namely that the length of the gloss was not properly related to the length of the panel. When space permitted, the writer wrote clearly and well; but often he had to crush his words into a space too narrow to admit them. In the Hall, note that whereas the glosses on the W. Wall (Mahosadha Jātaka) read naturally from S. to N. (from left to right), those on the E. Wall (Vessantara Jātaka) should be read retreating from S. to N. (from right to left), if the chronological sequence is to be kept.

There are lots of lovely details, floral patterns and rich old colouring in these paintings. For these, see Bohmu Ba Shin’s plates. The Sacred Footprints on the Hall ceiling are shewn on our Pl. 353 a. The painter lacks the mastery and delicacy of the Abēyadana artist; but he has a style and skill of his own, and is rarely conventional or arid.

ALŌ-PYI’ (Āluiw-plañ) temple, Gu 228 (Pls. 357,358)

This temple stands, facing E., ½ mile S.E. of Htilominlo, on the N. side of the inland road to Nyaung-u. Original ink-writings on the painted walls (there is plenty, often legible, both in Corridor and Hall) are all in Mon. But on the S. side of the arch between the two, there is a 16-line ink-inscription,9 dated 556 s./1194 a.d., in still-archaic Burmese, recording gifts of musical instruments to the kūiāw’, i.e. gū, ‘Temple’, “called Āluiw-plañ, ‘Wish fulfilled.’” The first witness was “the chief monk of Can puthuiw”, i.e. Sin’ pāhto, ‘Glazed Pagoda,’ the adjoining stupa on the west.

The temple was probably built at least half a century earlier. Its style follows the old ‘Mon’ asymmetric pattern, with porch, hall, corridor, perforated brick windows, wooden lintels, lean-to vaults, and richly painted niches. The chief change (in line with Old Burmese taste) was to brighten and lighten the interior by eliminating the Shrine: by making the inner sides of the Corridor one solid block, with four tall niches in the centres (as in the Nanda), where Buddhas stand within painted toraṇas under trefoil floral pediments. This central block has still modest corner-pillasters, capitals, cornice, and moulded plinth below, with recesses painted at intervals with flower-patterns. There is still a lean-to

vault over the Corridor. The outer wall has a staircase-opening and two niches on the east; each of the other sides has three high window-embasures with stepped arches, and two niches between them. Vaults and niches are all painted with free patterns of 'sun-god' lotuses. Walls have become smoother and plainer, and paint clearly replaces carving in the interiors.

The exterior, even in ruin, still shows good proportion and simplicity. There is a bell-shaped crown and three roof-terrace, with octagonal 'bell'-topped stupas at the main corners (lowest terrace), and two others at the far corners of the broad Hall. Windows, except those of the Hall, have floral pediments. The makara is gone. There is no kārītānukha frieze. The dormer exit at the top of the staircase casts a deep shadow in the centre above the Hall. The outer walls of the Hall-interior are vertical up to the shoulders; the W. wall, as usual, is not integrated with the temple proper. The main arch between Hall and Corridor is pointed within and without, but had (till recently) wooden lintels in the centre. It has no elaborate pediment. But tall painted Bodhisattvas (replacing the old brick and stucco ones) still stand to left and right; and even larger ones (nearly 9 ft. high) are painted on the inner faces of the arch. Bricks are exceptionally large: one we measured was 16\frac{1}{2} in. long × 7\frac{1}{2} in. broad × 3\frac{1}{4} in. thick.

Both outer and inner walls of the Corridor are filled with painted panels showing, with scant variety, the Buddha preaching his various Suttas. The scenes are simply painted in gold, indigo and white; the gold generally reserved for the frames and the exposed parts of the body. The seated Buddha fills the main panel. Below is a 'predella' with four monks seated facing each other in prayer. Below this, is the Mon gloss, e.g. ’At this time the Lord Buddha preached the Sela Sut to the monks.’ The whole panel measures about 20 in. high by 10 in. broad.

On each side of the central block there are 8 tiers of such panels, above and on either side of the tall Buddha-niche: some 48 on each face, total 192. Of the 7 tiers on the outer wall of the corridor, the glosses on the lowest tier are all lost, and many on the tier above it; and nearly half of the topmost tier is occupied by a series showing the 28 Buddhas with their Bodhi-trees. Out of a total of nearly 650 Sutta panels, which I reckon for the temple as a whole, we could read about 440—the biggest total, I think, for any temple at Pagán. If only the names had been entered in proper order, the list would have been valuable. The order was confused by interference of the 9 arched windows and 8 niches breaking the wall-surface. The top two tiers generally follow a horizontal sequence. The lower tiers may or may not prefer the vertical: down, or across the 'pockets' between windows and niches. And even so, the order was haphazard. One imagines that a number of writers were given separate lists of Suttas to write on the walls; and that they were not particular where they wrote them, since there was nothing in the paintings to distinguish one scene from another.

It is often difficult to identify the names. The spelling is apt to be queer, as if the writer had little knowledge of Pali. But the strange names in some cases may go back to an original variant in the title. Taking only my more probable identifications, I arrive provisionally at the following analysis:—

- **Dīgha Nikāya** — 10 names (out of a maximum of 34).
- **Majjhima Nikāya** — about 80 names (out of 152).
- **Sahāyutta Nikāya** — Sagāthā Vagga over 50 names, Nidāna Vagga about 20, Khandha and Saḷā-yatanā hardly any, Mahā Vagga over 30.
- **Aṅguttara Nikāya** — Tika Nipāta — over 70 names. Hardly any from the other Nipātas.

Total identified: about 275 out of 440 partly legible.
In the top tier on the outer wall of the Corridor, the Buddhavamsa series starts from the centre of the E. face, continues along the S. face, and ends a quarter-way down the W. face. The writings are fuller and better preserved than those of Lokhaitekpan and Kyazin temples: e.g. “Anomadassī blossomed (śāli) at the kloh tree (Terminalia Arjuna). When Anomadassī made his prophecy, the Bodhisat [i.e. the future Gotama] was a Yakkha general.” These lists, together with an Old Burmese list, are given in detail infra (pp. 392–397).

On three walls of the Hall one can still read about a dozen glosses below pictures of the Vimāna vatthu (Khuddaka Nikāya). Here, too, the descriptions are fuller than those in Myinkaba Kubyaukgyi:-

S. wall. W. side. (1) “This man...gave gifts of the Four Requisites to the lord Buddha. Therefore he got...a wish-fulfilling tree (kappari), a lake, and retinue of a thousand women. Sona-

(2) “This man was full of faith, kept the precepts, gave gifts, and ministered to the lords of the Saṅgha. Therefore he got this mansion, together with musical instruments (twin twik), singing and dancing. Uposathāvimān.” – ibid. 24. Uposathā Vimāna.


S. wall. E. side (4) “This child of the gods was formerly a frog (āṅgāw). He delighted in the Law of the Buddha. After death...a lasting mansion replete with....all kinds of singing and dancing. Mandaloka...ita vimān.” – Mahāratha Vagga, 51. Maṇḍikadevapattra Vimāna.

(5) “This child of the gods formerly made a great reverend Buddha[image]. Therefore he got a mansion having musical instruments of many kinds, a lake, garden, ..........Revatīpatinandita vimān.” – ibid. 52. Revati Vimāna.


(7) “This child of the gods came to be a gate-keeper. He opened the gate for monks taking almsfood (pīṇḍapāṭ). Therefore he got this mansion replete with garden, wishing-tree, singing, dancing and a lake. Dwārapālaka vimān.” – ibid. 55. Dwārapāla Vimāna.

N. wall. W. side. (8) “This Deva went out to welcome and invite (weñ jukāl) a lord of the Saṅgha to his house. Therefore he got a mansion, garden, .......wish-fulfilling tree, singing and dancing. Karaṇiya vimān.” – ibid. 56. 1st Karanīya Vimāna.

(9) “This Deva gave the gift of cooked rice (?) to a monk. Therefore he got (this) mansion...... garden and dancing. 2nd Karanīya vimān.” – ibid. 57. 2nd Karanīya Vimāna.

N. wall. E. side. (10) “This Deva (?) gave the gift of two needles (tinliñ) to a lord.......for sewing (his) monastic upper robe (singāl). Therefore he got a wish-fulfilling tree, singing and dancing. Suci vimān.” – ibid. 58. Suci Vimāna.

E. wall. N. side. (11) “This.....gave the gift of.........fruit to the reverend........Therefore .........this mansion, garden, wish-fulfilling tree, singing, .................Phalakadāyaka vimān.” – Pāyāsi Vagga, 67. Phaladāyaka Vimāna.
Chapter XIX

There are several other more fragmentary glosses from the Vimāna vatthu. Perhaps these filled two (or more?) of the lower tiers on the N., E. and S. walls of the Hall. There was also a top tier briefly illustrating the Mahānīpāta Jātaka. Only 3 or 4 glosses are legible: the last one on the S. wall, W. of the window:—"This is when king Vessantar gives as a gift Jāli and Kaṅhājin to the Brahman Juć." Two or three of the Old Mon spellings in this temple—jreui for jrey ‘fig-tree’, treaiy for trey "the reverend"—suggest a date later than Kyanzittha’s reign, perhaps a little later than Lokhaiteikpan.

KYAZIN TEMPLE (NO. 555) AND THE 28 BUDDHAS

Kyazin temple, a very high two-storeyed temple of Early Burmese type, stands S. of Myinkaba village, ¼ mile N.E. of Nagayôn. It faces E.; and its early history is told in two short ink inscriptions, Old Burmese and Pali, on either side of the great torana at the back of the Hall, the entrance-arch to the temple proper. The Pali (too faint for my eyes) has been read by the Archaeological Department. The gist of the Burmese is as follows:—"In 487 s. [1225 A.D.] on the New Moon of Kasôn [April-May], the donor of this pagoda [or Buddha ?], called Bārući, died. In 579 s. [1217 A.D.] . . . Sañ Tra Ul enshrined (the Buddha in) this Bārući temple (kū). In 585 s. [1223 A.D.] . . . Sañ Tra Ul gave the following name to this pagoda: Trai-lok-luḥoh-buil, ‘Strong Comfort of the Three Worlds.’" The Pali is said to repeat the name Trai-lok-luḥoh-buil, but gives only the final date, 1767 a.b. [1223 A.D.], and the title of the repairer as Sumaṅgala Thera.

Bārući and Sañ Tra Ul are not Burmese names. Sañ is Pali/Mon for Saṅgha. Tra may be Pyu tra’z ‘slave’, tra’z hōz ‘minister.’ Trai-lok-luḥoh-buil is a mixture of Sanskrit and Old Mon. Luḥoh (or luḥūk), ‘cold, coolness,’ is doubtless the basis of Old Burmese khyanṣā, ‘pleasant cold, happiness.’ Such names point to the early days of the dynasty.

The temple, though now mainly Burmese, is also of mixed origin, the older portion towards the east. Perhaps from the first it contained 3 colossal images, seated facing E. on a massive lion-guarded throne: Earth-touching Buddha in the centre, between two Buddhas seated (Europeanwise) in pralambhanāsana. In spite of the bhūmisparśa mudrā, the scene implied must be the Great Miracle of Sāvatthi, with the Buddha seated between two nirmāṇa Buddhas of his own creation. The walls facing them, on N., E. and S., have Old Mon writings (first noticed by Mon Bo Kay) listing the 28 Buddhas. They have no paintings above them, apart from the kirtimukha frieze, and, above it, a row of kneeling Devas between coconut palms. The writing is faint, but often legible; and interesting for comparison with the two other Old Mon lists (all fragmentary) in Alōpyi’ (A.) and Lokhaiteikpan (L.). All three are translated below seriatim, together with one of the earliest Old Burmese lists, in the Hall of Wetkyi-in Kubyauk-gyi (W.K.) — a temple dating perhaps from Caṅsū II’s reign (1174–1211 a.d.).

Except those of the first three Buddhas, the Pali tree-names agree with those of the Buddhavamsa. The trees of the first three Buddhas, which are nearly always mentioned in Pagān lists,13 are not

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10 I.B., Pl. IV 367 b.
11 Both terms occur frequently in Rājakumār’s inscriptions (Pyy face). On the two-faced Old Mon inscription (I.B., Pl. III 300), now Stone 68 at Pagān Museum, the chief donor of slaves to a pagoda is tra jnok mitra(?), ‘the great minister Mitra.’
12 The list starts on the S. wall (from the S.W.), continues on the E. wall (S. & N. of the entrance arch), and ends on the N. wall.
13 Not mentioned, however, in the Wetkyi-in Kubyauk-gyi list, given infra.
given in the *Buddhavamsa*: but they are mentioned, so Mon Bo Kay tells me, in the Pali *Sotathākī*, a work attributed to Čāḷabuddhaghosa,\(^\text{14}\) said to be Buddhaghosa’s contemporary. Our old texts suggest that *pālali*, the alleged tree of Saranāṅkara Buddha, should rather be *pipphalī* or *pilakkha.

**BODHI TREES OF THE 28 BUDDHAS**

I. **TANHAṆKARA.** Pali *satta pnamea*. Skt. *saptaparnā*, the seven-leaved *Alstonia scholaris*.
   L. “The Buddha . . . . blossomed at the *sreṇi* tree.”
   A. “The Buddha *Tanhaṅkar* blossomed at the *sreṇi* tree.”
   Old Burm. *caṅraṇ* – a word probably taken from Mon *sreṇ*, which also means ‘a litter’ or ‘withered.’

II. **MEDHAṆKARA.** Pali *kimsvuka*, *pālāsa*. *Butea frondosa*. Judas tree.
   L. “*Medhaṅkir* blossomed at the *pumpuṇ* tree” (*Butea frondosa*).
   A. “*Medhaṅkar* blossomed at the *pumpuṇ* tree.”
   K. “The Buddha *Medhaṅkucir* blossomed at the *pahp(u)n* tree.”
   Old Burm. *pok* (*Butea frondosa*).

III. **SARANĀṆKARA.** Pali *pālali* (*Bignonia suaveolens*). Query:*pipphalī* (*Ficus religiosa*)?
   L. “The Buddha *Saranāṅkir* blossomed at the tree *jrey toṇ*” (*Ficus obtusifolia*).
   A. “The Buddha *Saranāṅkar* blossomed at the tree *jrey toṇ*” (*Ficus obtusifolia*).
   K. “The Buddha *Saranāṅkir* blossomed at the tree *twoṇ (?)*” (*Ricinus communis*). Query read: *toṇ* for *jrey toṇ* (*Ficus infectoria*)?
   Old Burm. Either *noṇ khyan*, ‘sour fig’ (*Ficus infectoria*), Parsipal or Wave-leaved Fig, Pali *pilakkha*. Or *noṇ krat* (*Ficus obtusifolia*), Skt. *piṇḍa*, Pali *pipphalī*.

IV. **DĪPAṆKARA.** Pali *pipphalī* (*Ficus religiosa*). Peepal.
   L. “The Buddha *Dīpaṅkir* blossomed at the tree *jrey toṇ*” (*Ficus obtusifolia*).
   A. “*Dīpaṅkar* blossomed at the tree *jrey toṇ*. When he made his prophecy, . . . . . . . .”
   K. “*Dīpaṅkucir* blossomed at the tree *jrey* . . . . The Bodhisat was *Sumedha*.”
   W.K. “*Dīpaṅkarā* Buddha flowered at the *noṇ khyan*, ‘sour fig’ (*Ficus infectoria*). His height was 80 cubits, his lifetime 100,000 [years]. The future Buddha, being born as the hermit *Sumedhā*, lay crouched in the mud, making himself a bridge, and received the prophecy.”

V. **KONDAṆṆĀ.** Pali *sālakalyāṇi*, ‘the auspicious *sāla* tree,’ *Boswellia thurifera (?)*.
   L. “The Buddha *Konḍaṅ* blossomed at the tree *sārakalyāṇ*.”
   A. “The Buddha *Kundīṅ* blossomed at the tree *sārakalyāṇ*. At the time of (his) prophecy, the Bodhisat was a king.”
   K. “*Konḍaṅ* (?) blossomed at the tree *sālakalyāṇ*. The Bodhisat was a Universal King.”
   W.K. “*Konlaṅ* Buddha flowered at the *kroṅkhyā*, ‘cat’s tongue’ tree (*Oroxylum indicum*). His height was 88 cubits, his lifetime 100,000. The future Buddha, a Universal King, gave a great dedication, and the Buddha, having preached the Law, gave his prophecy.”

   A. "Maṅgalo blossomed at the tree kajnu' (Mesua ferrea). When Maṅgalo made his prophecy, the Bodhisat was a Brahman."
   K. "Maṅgala blossomed at the tree kajnu. The Bodhisat was a Brahman, the Rev. (?) Sucī."
   W.K. "Maṅkalā Buddha had the height of 88 cubits; his lifetime was 90,000. He flowered at the kamkau sanuiw. The future Buddha, as the Brahman Suracī, under a metropolitan hall (prān kovan) built by Sakrā, gave the offering of a monastic robe, and received the prophecy. kamkau is the Burmese word for Mesua ferrea. sanuiw is the colloquial Old Mon kajnu.

VII. SUMANA. Pali nāga (etc.)
   A. "The Buddha Sumano blossomed at the tree kajnu'. At the time of his prophecy, the Bodhisat was a Nāga."
   K. "Sumano blossomed at the tree kajnu. The Bodhisat was Atula, king of Nāgas."
   W.K. "Sumana Buddha flowered at the kamkau sanuiw. His height was 90 cubits; his lifetime 90,000. The future Buddha, as Atīda, king of Nāgas, worshipped him with drum and trumpet, and having dedicated a full set of clothes, received the prophecy."

VIII. REVATA. Pali nāga (etc.)
   L. "The lord Revato blossomed at the tree kajnu'."
   A. "Revato blossomed at the tree kajnu. At the time of his prophecy, the Bodhisat was a Brahman."
   K. "Revata blossomed at the tree kajnu. The Bodhisat was the Brahman Atideva."
   W.K. "Revata Buddha flowered at the kamkau sanuiw. His height was 80 cubits; his lifetime 60,000. The future Buddha, as the Brahman Atityuiw, dedicated the clothing worn by himself, and received the prophecy."

IX. SOBHITA. Pali nāga (etc.)
   A. "Sabhito..................When Sobhito made his prophecy, the Bodhisat was a Brahman."
   K. "Sabhita blossomed at the tree kajnu. The Bodhisat was the Brahman Ajita(?)."
   W.K. "Sabhita Buddha flowered at the kamkau sanuiw. His height was 58 cubits; his lifetime 90,000. The future Buddha, as the Brahman Ajita, gave a great dedication, and the Buddha, having preached the Law, gave the prophecy."

   A. "Anomadassi blossomed at the tree kloñ (Pentàptera Arjuna). When he made his prophecy, the Bodhisat was a Yakkha general."
   K. "Anomadassī blossomed at the tree kloñ. The Bodhisat was............."
   W.K. "Anomadassi Buddha was 58 cubits in height. His lifetime was 100,000. He flowered at the (phok)rakñ tree. [Query= thokrakñ, Terminalia spp.?] The future Buddha, as a general of the Bhilū (Demons, Yakkhas), having given a great dedication, received the prophecy."
XI. PADUMA. Pali mahāsona. Skt. ṣonāka (Bignonia Indica)?
A. “Paduma blossomed at the tree dloñ ek (Oroxyllum indicum, Trumpet flower). At the
time of his prophecy, the Bodhisat was a Lion.”
K. “Paduma blossomed at the Little drāñ ek (Trumpet flower). The Bodhisat was a Lion.”
W.K. “Paduma Buddha was 88 cubits in height. His lifetime was 100,000. He flowered at the
kluñ tree. The future Buddha, as a Lion, having entered the attainment of annihilation
(nirodha samāpat), the Buddha.................”

XII. NĀRADA. Pali mahāsona (etc.)
L. “The Buddha Nārada blossomed at the tree luntih (?)”
A. “Nārada blossomed at the tree dloñ ek (Oroxyllum Indicum, Trumpet flower). When
Nārada made his prophecy, the Bodhisat was a hermit.”
K. “Nārada blossomed at the Great drāñ ek. The Bodhisat was a.................”
W.K. “Nārata Buddha was .. cubits in height. His lifetime was 90,000. He flowered at the
mun tree (Bread-tree?). The future Buddha, as a hermit, having made a dedication of
Red Sandalwood (tancikā nī), received the prophecy.”

XIII. PADUMUTTARA. Pali salāla. (Nidānakathā: sāla, Shorea robusta). Query: sarala, Pinus
longifolia?¹⁵
A. “Padumuttar blossomed at the tree sñow. When Padumutar made his prophecy, the
Bodhisat was a rich man.”
K. “.................blossomed at the tree tintāñ [the Sal tree, Shorea robusta]. The Bodhisat
was the hermit Mahārat (?)”
W.K. “Padumuttui Buddha was 58 cubits in height. His lifetime was 100,000. He flowered at the
aṅkryañ tree [Pentacme suavis]. The future Buddha, as the rich man called Caṭila,
gave the offering of a monastic robe and [received] the prophecy.”

L. “The Buddha Sumedha blossomed at the Great slim tree” (Melia Indica).
A. “The Buddha Sumedha blossomed at the slim tree. At the time of his prophecy, the
Bodhisat was a rich man.”
W.K. “Sumedhā Buddha was 88 cubits high. His lifetime was 90,000. He flowered at the
tamkākhā tree [Melia Indica]. The future Buddha, as the young man Utrā, having
dedicated a golden pot, received the prophecy.”

XV. SUJĀTA. Pali mahāvelu, “big Bamboo.”
A. “Sujāt blossomed at the foot of the Bamboo. When Sujāt made his prophecy, the
Bodhisat was a king.”
K. “Sujāt blossomed at the Bamboo.................”
W.K. “Sujātā Buddha flowered at the krāluviw wā [Dendrocalamus Brandisii]. His height was
5(0) cubits; (his lifetime) .. 0,000. The future Buddha was born as a Universal King, and
having dedicated the Seven Jewels, received the prophecy.”

XVI. PIYADASSĪ. Pali kakuddha. Pentaptera Arjuna. (Nidānakathā reads piyaŋgu).
L. “The Buddha Piyadassī blossomed at the biyañ tree,” i.e. piyaŋgu.

¹⁵ Several Old Burmese texts give tanhun, tanhun, ‘Pine-tree,’ as the bodhi tree of Padumuttara.
A. “The Buddha Piyadassi blossomed at the dirku tree. When he made his prophecy, the Bodhisat was a Brahman.”

K. “Piyadassi blossomed at the birley tree (Crataeva sp., ‘three-leaved Caper tree’). The Bodhisat was the Brahman Kassapa.”

W.K. “Piyadassi Buddha flowered at the sisyt tree” [Phyllanthus emblica]. “His height was 80 (cubits); his lifetime 90,000. The future Buddha was born as the young Kassapa; having built a monastery, he received the prophecy.”


L. “The Buddha Atthadassi blossomed at the cañgā tree” [Michelia champaka].

A. “Atthadassi blossomed at the camp tree [Champac]. When Atthadassi made his prophecy, the Bodhisat.............”

K. “Atthadassi......................The Bodhisat was the hermit Susīma.”

W.K. “Atthadassi Buddha flowered at the campkā [Michelia champaka]. His height was 80 (cubits); his lifetime 100,000. The future Buddha, the hermit called Susīma, offered in worship conspicuous wan” [query: pon ‘flowers,’ or man, for mandāra, ‘Coral flowers’?], “and received the prophecy.”

XVIII. DHAMMADASSI. Pali bimbajāla, ratta kuravaka. Red Amaranth tree.

L. “The Buddha Dhammadassi blossomed at the silver b...ā tree.”

K. “Dhammadassi blossomed at the ṛjey mat, ‘Eye-disease’ tree. The Bodhisat was king In” (Indra).

W.K. “Dhammadassi Buddha flowered at the myaknhā pan” [‘Face-flower,’ Hemigraphis flava or Pavetta indica?]. “His height was 80 (cubits); his lifetime 100,000. The future Buddha, king of the Sakrā Devas, offered in worship perfumes, drums and trumpets, and received the prophecy.”

XIX. SIDDHATHTHA. Pali kaṇikāra. Pterospermum acerifolium.

L. “The Buddha Siddhat blossomed at the tree kaṇnikār.”

K. “Siddhat blossomed at the tree kaṇnikār. The Bodhisat was the hermit Śumaṅgalā.”

W.K. “Sicthat Buddha flowered at the mahālīkā [Bauhinia spp.] His height was 60 (cubits); his lifetime 100,000. The future Buddha, the hermit called Maṅgalā, offered sipriy, ‘Rose-apple,’ fruit [Eugenia spp.], and received the prophecy.”

XX. TISSA. Pali asana. Pentaptera tomentosa.

A. “.................. At the time of his prophecy, the Bodhisat was a hermit.”

K. “Tis blossomed at the tree giguis. The Bodhisat was king Sujāta.”

W.K. “Tissa Buddha flowered at the pyatok [Pterocarpus spp.] His height was 60 (cubits); his lifetime 100,000. The future Buddha, king Sujat, having become a hermit, and having offered in worship conspicuous flowers (tharhā pan), received the prophecy.”

XXI. PHUSSA. Pali āmanḍa. Ricinus communis, Castor-oil tree. [Nidānakathā reads āmalaka, Phyllanthus emblica, Emblic Myrobalan].

A. “Phusso blossomed at the tree tirūy [Phyllanthus emblica]. When he made his prophecy, the Bodhisat was a hermit.”

16 Other Old Burmese texts give riykhathak, riykhantak, (Crataeva kyrophila) as the bodhi tree of Piyadassi.
K. “Pus blossomed at the tree *tilvā*. The Bodhisat was king *Vijitarāc*.”

W.K. “Pussa Buddha flowered at the *sisyā(t)* [Phyllanthus emblica]. His height was 58 cubits; his lifetime 90,000. The future Buddha, king *Vijitāci*, having become a hermit and being well-versed in the Piṭaka, received the prophecy.”

**XXII. VIPASSĪ.** Pali *pātalī*. *Stereospermum* (Bignonia) *suaveolens*.

L. “The Buddha *Vipassī* blossomed at the tree *tawōn(?)* [Ricinus communis].

A. “...................... when the Buddha……made his prophecy, the Bodhisat was a king.”

K. …ssī blossomed at the tree *tawew*. The Bodhisat was the king of Nāgas, *Atula*.”

W.K. “Vipassī Buddha flowered at the *samsat* [Stereospermum fimbriatum]. His height was 80 cubits; his lifetime 80,000. The future Buddha, as the Nāga king called *Atūla*, having dedicated a golden couch (*sakwan*), received the prophecy.”

**XXIII. SIKHĪ.** Pali *puṇḍarīka*, “fragrant Mango.”

L. “The Buddha *Sikhī* blossomed at the tree *aṅgreṇ*” (Shorea robusta, or Pentacme suavis?).

A. “The Buddha….blossomed at the….tree. When *Sikhī* made his prophecy, the Bodhisat was a king.”

K. “Sikhī blossomed…………………”

W.K. “Sikhī Buddha flowered at the *siryak phū*, ‘White Mango’ (tree). His height was 70 cubits; his lifetime 70,000. The future Buddha, king *Arinthama*, having dedicated the offering of a monastic robe, received the prophecy.”

**XXIV. VEṢṢABHŪ.** Pali *mahāsāla*, sāla. *Shorea robusta*.

L. “………………at the *cra* tree” [Query: for sāla, *Shorea robusta* ?].

A. “…*ve*sabhū blossomed at the tree……. When…………the Bodhisat was a king.”

K. “Veṣabhū blossomed at the *tintān (?)* tree [Shorea robusta]. The Bodhisat was king *Sudassana*.”

W.K. “Veṣabhū Buddha flowered at the *aṅkryaṅ* [Pentacme suavis]. His height was 60 (cubits); his lifetime 60,000. The future Buddha, king *Sudassana*, dedicated a monastic robe and having become a monk (*rahan*), received the prophecy.”

**XXV. KAKUSANDHA.** Pāli *sirīsa*, mahāsirīsā. *Acacia sirissa*.

L. “The Buddha *Kakusan* blossomed at the *tintān* tree” [sc. sāla, *Shorea robusta*].

A. “*Kakusandha* blossomed at the *cris* tree [Acacia sirissa]. When he made his prophecy, the Bodhisat was a king.”

K. “………blossomed at the *crus* tree [Acacia sirissa]. The Bodhisat was king *Khema*.”

W.K. “The Buddha *Kakusan* flowered at the *kutkuw* [Albizzia lebbeck]. His height was 40 (cubits); his lifetime 40,000. The future Buddha, king *Khema*, dedicated a monastic robe and eye-salve (*myak can*). Having become a monk (*rahan*), he received the prophecy.”

**XXVI. KOṆĀGAMAṆA.** Pali *udumbara*. *Ficus glomerata*.

L. “The Buddha *Konāgum* blossomed at the *prān* tree” [Xyliā dolabriformis, Ironwood].

17 Other Old Burmese texts give *sackhokwat, sachhawat* (Stereospermum ssp.) as the bodhi tree of Vipasst.
A. “The Buddha ............ the tree lwi (?) [Ficus glomerata]. When Konâk made his prophecy, the Bodhisat was a king.”

W.K. “Konâknuim blossomed at the ri'y siphan ['water fig,' Ficus glomerata]. His height was 30 cubits; his lifetime 30,000. The future Buddha, king Pappâta, having made a big dedication (including) a blanket (kampâlâ), and having become a monk (raham), received the prophecy.”


L. “The Buddha Kassapa blossomed at the tree jrey suhn” [Ficus indica].

A. “The Buddha Kassapa blossomed at the foot of the jreati suhn [Ficus Indica]. When he made his prophecy, the Bodhisat was Jodîpâ.”

K. “.................................Jodîpâla.”

W.K. “Kassapa Buddha flowered at the prañ nôñ [Ficus bengalensis]. His height was 20 cubits; his lifetime 20,000. The future Buddha, the young man Jotipâ, together with his dear friend (khañpwan) named Ghañthiâ, having listened to the Law, received the prophecy.”


A. “The Buddha Gotama blossomed at the foot of the jreati asat [Ficus religiosa]. When Gotama made his prophecy, the lord Ajiti(ł).................”

W.K. “Kotama Buddha flowered at the nôñ putahiy (Bodhi fig tree). His height was 18 cubits; his lifetime 80 (years). The future Buddha Mitryâ, having become the junior ordained monk (pancañay) called Acita, in the presence of Kotma Buddha received the prophecy.”

HPYATSÂ-SHWÊGU temple (Pls. 359-361)

This temple stands facing E., on the W. of Myinpâgan village, not far from the river. Ten yards to the N. of it, there is the fine stupa described in Ch. XIII (supra, pp. 279-280). Both doubtless belong to the same group; and both may date from Cafasti I’s reign.

The temple is of normal ‘Mon’ type, with ñikhara, square central block with 3 perforated windows on each of the 3 closed sides, square hall with side windows, and porch. As in Aløpyi’, the Corridor surrounds no dark shrine, but a central mass with 4 images. Outside, below the corner-stupas and projecting cornice, the walls are bare, without frieze: just plain corner-pilasters, tall windows, and strong ‘kalasa’ pot plinth-mouldings. The window-pediments are all embossed with tapering horizontal tiers, with stupas as finials at the sides, ñikharas in the centre. The Hall windows have also ‘flame’ facings. What little stucco still clings to the exterior is on the damaged porch, which once perhaps had a double pediment with makaras at the sides, praying kinnaras within the arch-lobes, and, below them, hîrtimukha frieze and ‘V’ pilasters.

The sides of the Hall still arch from the floor. Its window-embrasures hold kammaññhân cells, except on the W. side of the S. window, which has a staircase leading to the roof. The E. and W. walls of the Hall are vertical. The whole W. wall is occupied by a very elaborate and massive torana, flanked by brick and stucco Bodhisattvas standing in tribhanga pose. This torana is the most striking feature of the temple. The arch is pointed, with 3 orders of recession; all faces are carved in stucco, rather like the entrance to Kyauku Önhmin, though that is in stone. The bottom tier, on both sides of the arch,
is carved with *Hamsas* within, then Yakṣas on three elephants, then Garuḍas without. Above these, the outer and inner orders are carved with acanthus, the middle order with floral arabesque, and *kirtimukha* at the peak. Beyond and behind all this, the ‘Mon’ pediment has floral horns instead of *makaras*, with praying *kinnaras* near the necks, and outgrowing lotus-thrones for saints in shrines, above each end of the 5 receding tiers. Above the peak is a large lotus throne, elaborately recessed, perhaps for a seated Buddha.

Both side-walls of the Hall are painted with Jātakas, with Mon glosses. We read over 20; and many more, no doubt, may be deciphered. Here are specimens: -- On the S. wall: -- “The reverend One was a hermit. *Samiddhi Jāt.* 167.” On the N. wall: -- “Our lord was a parrot. *Rādha Jāt.* 198”. Perhaps there were two complete sets of Jātakas. For one can count about 431 panels on the S. wall, 424 on the N., and 224 on the E. wall – total 1079.

The ‘corridor’ is still vaulted with the lean-to arch. Its outer wall has 3 tiers of niches, with damaged brick and stucco images, often Buddhas crudely carved, some touching Earth with the left hand. They date, perhaps, from later periods. Many years ago I found lying here a fine life-size ‘Bodhisattva-King’ carved in wood, and photographed it then and there, leaning it against the temple porch (see Pl. 360 a). If this (as I still half-suspect) is the idealized portrait of the king who built the temple, it should be *Cāṇšū* I (Alaungdaw). But my colleague, Col. Ba Shin, thinks that such wooden images (which he has found in other places besides Pagán) have no connection with Pagán royalty.

GU 180, E. OF NAGAYŌN (Pl. 362)

100 yards E. of Nagayōn enclosure-wall. The top is ruinous, also the porch, but the rest is still repairable. Considering the size of the temple (76½ ft. long by 40 ft. broad), one finds it curious that there is only 1 central window on each of the 3 main sides. These, no doubt, were needed to throw light on the recesses in the central pier. The N. recess has a Nativity scene, the W. a *Parinirvāṇa*.

Note (i) the broad inner archway of the Hall 10½ ft. wide), with its fine Śri and *Makara* pediment, and standing Bodhisattvas at the sides; (ii) the six-armed straddling Bodhisattva (Tāntric in type) on either side of the inner archway; (iii) the ‘Mon’ floral stucco-carving, edging the recesses; (iv) the clear 7-line ink-inscription on the N. wall of the inner archway, attributing the (re-)painting to “the *mahā-sangharājā*, teacher of Prince *Anantasūra*” (Early Ava period?). The same archbishop has left his signatures in several other temples, e.g. on paintings in the Halls of Dhammayan-gyi.

The fifty-Buddha votive tablet signed by Śri *Tribhuvanāditya* (see Pl. 16 a, b), marked I 187 1926, from a “big temple east of Nagayōn,” was very likely found here. If so, Kyanzittha may have been the builder.

GU N.W. OF SCOVELL’S PAWDAMU (Pls. 363, 364)

This large unnumbered temple (89 ft. long by 52½ ft. broad), now in grave ruin, was once one of the glories of Pagán. It faces W., and has but a single entrance. There are all the usual components – porch, square Hall, square corridor with perforated windows, and inner Shrine. The fine Śikhara, faced with stucco flower-fountains, ends above the *āmalaka* base of the stupa-finial. Four delicate square corner-stupas nestle at the base of it; and are repeated in the splendid ones at the corners of the main wall, and again in front of the Hall. All had square bases, 3 small bulging terraces, ‘bell’ tops and indented *harmikā*. Between top and bottom terraces, most of the corridor vaults have fallen in, including nearly all the E. (back) side. This inner wall has a broad seven-lobed recess for a *Parinirvāṇa*.
(with the Buddha’s head to the S.). The N. and S. side-walls have beautiful perforated brick windows, simply made with Greek-cross fillings; also the sides of the Hall, where the windows are broadest; but the horizontal pediments are mostly lost, and almost all the plaster. Only the faint corner-pilasters, and good ‘kalasa-pot’ plinths, remain.

The side-walls of the Hall still arch from the ground, with front and back walls vertical. Against the inner wall stand giant hauncharch Bodhisattvas with great painted nimbi. The archway within had wooden lintels. The pediment has fallen; but that of the Shrine entrance shows the ‘flame’ verticals backed on Mon horizontal, tapering to the āmalaka and lotus stupa-finial. Kinnaras perch at the shoulders of the savaged image on his neat throne, between large painted aggasāvakas. There are two tiers of many niches lining both W., N. and S. corridors. On their stone or stucco thrones of double lotus, sit many stucco Earth-touching Buddhas, still wearing robes, it seems, of painted cloth. A few in the upper tiers are still amazingly well-preserved (Pl. 364 c). The inner plinth is noteworthy, with ‘sun-god’ tondoes painted on the broad band at the top. A brick we measured was $15\frac{1}{2}''$ long by $7\frac{3}{4}''$ broad and $3\frac{1}{2}''$ thick.

HSULÉGÔN GU 202 (Pl. 365 a, b)

This medium-large temple (75 ft. long by 41 ft. broad) stands facing N. towards the Shwézigón, visible 1\frac{1}{4} miles to N. NE. It is one of a small group\(^1\) in this sparse area E. of the Shwé Chaung, called Sarapuivy\(^1\) in Old Burmese inscriptions. It has only one entrance, on the N.; and like Gu 180 E. of Nagayôn, it is poorly lighted considering its size: only one perforated window each, on the E. and W. sides of Hall and Shrine. All four have square holes and flame-pediments. Large lozenge-shaped holes are also practised above the taller windows of the Shrine to improve the lighting. There is no window at the back. Apart from strong plinth and cornice mouldings, and corner-pilasters joining them, the outer walls are bare, without frieze or dado. The small bell-top rests lightly on two crenellated upper terraces, well-spaced, with similar small bell-topped corner-stupas. A wooden lintel crosses the main entrance-arch. The whole temple is in fair preservation.

Of the 8 empty niches in the Hall, the two broad ones, on either side of the entrance, were clearly meant to house reliefs of Māyā’s Dream and the Parinirvāna; so the whole probably was intended for the Eight Scenes, with the Conception Scene (as in Shwé Chaung Kubyauk-ngê) doing duty for the Nativity. There are discoveries to be made in this temple, which we visited only recently, under Mon Bo Kay’s guidance. In the Shrine, around the colossal Earth-touching Buddha seated against the S. wall, there are many tiers of painted panels, some with Mon glosses. But without high steps or adequate lighting or leisure to investigate, we can only report our first impression that the subjects do not look like Jātakas or Suttas. There are also painted panels in the broad archway leading to the Shrine, as well as ‘sun-gods’ in the soffit, and floral bands of Mon arabesque.

WUTKYIN PAYA, S.W. of Taungbi village (Pl. 365 c, d)

This is a small temple (42 ft. × 25 ft.) on the N. side of the road S.W. of Taungbi village, just beyond Pagán city-moat. It faces E., in shape rather like Lokakṣitkpan – half-hall, half-shrine. But here there are no windows at all. The temple has a large śīkhara, with 3 tiers of niches in the ‘triangles’

\(^1\) Note that in our photograph of the temple, the broad chaitrāvali, visible on the right, has no connection with this temple, but belongs to the Burmese pagoda immediately behind it.

\(^1\) supra, Ch. XVII, n. 18.
of each face. Below the šikhara, the roof descends in small terraces without corner-stupas to the crenellated parapet and cornice-projections above the plain walls. High above the pedimented entrance-arch, a large lobed climbing pediment which rims the whole wall of entrance, show marks of an old wooden 'front-extension' (O. Burm. ʔi ʔtwak), of the type one often finds on the front of brick monasteries (kulākloñ), but nowhere else on that of a temple. Perhaps it is a later addition. Plinth-mouldings, if any, appear to be sunk under the present ground-level.

Within, there are a few niches, and a narrow passage round the back of the well-preserved image, a large Earth-touching Buddha of fine Mon-Indian type, with its massive reredos reaching to the ceiling. The side-walls of the Shrine are painted in 'Mon' style with tiers of seated Buddhas of varying size; there is a fig-leaf 'frieze' above, and lotus 'sun-gods' in the soffit.

It is hard to fix the date of this temple. Col. Ba Shin regards it as one of the earliest 'Mon' temples. He may be right.

GU S.E. OF MYAZIGÔN (Pl. 366 a, b, c)

A largeish ruined temple (78½ ft. × 44½ ft.), facing W., on the E. side of the path from Upali Thein to Myazigôn. It has a banded 'bell' top, with finely recessed harmikâ above; also 'bell'-topped square corner-stupas on the main crenellated terrace; and others in front of the Hall. The porch was not integrated with the Hall, and now leans forward. Front and back archways of the square Hall are broad and round; the front and back walls vertical; the side-walls arching independently from the floor. There are high steps up to the vaulted windows, but no staircase. The Hall-roof is still in fair condition, but all the walls are bare. No frieze. The Corridor-roof has fallen in on all sides except near the entrance. Here there is a large and deep recess for the seated Buddha, with cinquefoil flame-pediment embossed over the front, the 'flames' inclining towards the centre, as in Nat-hlaung-gyaung. Similar recesses crowned with flame-pediments are found also on the other sides of the central mass. Of the outer walls of the corridor, the N. is the best preserved, but tilting. There are flame-pediments on the square central windows, with flat tops on the side-windows and those of the Hall, where there are also crenelles. The S. wall is similar, but more damaged. An old wooden sill at the base of a window is still visible on the S. side, near the S.E. corner. The E. (back) wall has entirely collapsed.

GU N.W. OF MYINPYAGU (Pl. 366 e)

A nameless ruin facing W., some 50 yards N.W. of Myinpyagu. Once, no doubt, it was a temple of medium size; but the Hall has fallen, and the whole outer wall of the Corridor: so that little but the Shrine remains. This has a Buddha seated, with reredos, against the back wall, with ledges projecting on the N. and S. sides, where there are windows with round perforations. The four-pendentive roof is still in fair condition; but all paintings and plaster work are lost. The inner side of the Corridor, N. and S. (all that is left except the Shrine), has 4 tall corbelled niches for images, 2 on each side of the pedimented windows. On the E. (or back) side, there is a large vaulted recess, probably with stupa-top holding a seated Buddha, a corbelled niche on either side.

GU S.E. OF MIN-O-CHANtha (Pl. 366 f)

A small nameless ruin 100 yards S.E. of Min-o-chantha, ¼ mile N.E. of Nanda, on the S. side of the old central road. It is 30 ft. broad, and 40½ ft. long, not counting the ruined porch. It faces W.,
and had probably a terraced śikhara top. The Hall has fallen in. The central pier, 8 ft. 8 in. square, had on each side a pedimented toraṇa enclosing a deep painted recess. No images remain. There is still some full vaulting on the front and N. sides. In the outer walls of the corridor there are large central perforated windows, deep and vaulted, between smaller windows above an image-niche on each side; an image-niche also on either side of the broad entrance-arch on the W. There is quite a large enclosure-wall, with another small four-faced gū and ruins to the S.W.

GU N.E. OF NGA KYWÊ-NADAUNG (Pl. 366 d)

A small gū without name or number, N. of Nat-hlaung-gyaung. It is just a Shrine with porch facing E., and a large Earth-touching Buddha against the W. wall. On either side there is a high vaulted square window of perforated brick, originally with wooden lintel. There was a broad entrance-arch. The four-pendentive roof has mostly fallen. Outside, above the S. window, there is a curious line of crenelles, instead of the horizontal Mon pediment. At the top was probably a ‘bell’ stupa. Large bricks were noticed: 16½” × 7½” × 3¼”.

GU S.W. OF SEIN-NYET (Pl. 367 a, b)

A ruin 2 miles S. of Pagán, about ½ mile S.W. of the Seinnyet group, on the W. side of the road. This was once a fair-sized temple, 60½ ft. long by 36 ft. broad. It faces E., with Hall, Corridor and Shrine now mostly fallen in. On the N., and doubtless the S., faces there were two windows, with flame pediments but no maharas. No frieze. The Hall had a porch, and one pedimented window on each side. There was a corridor 7 ft. broad, and a central pier 10 to 12 ft. square, with a large image-recess only on the E. Perhaps also a staircase in the S.W. corner of the Hall.

GU N.W. OF SEIN-NYET (Pl. 367 c, d)

A ruin facing E., about a furlong N.W. of the Sein-nyet group, on the W. side of the road. This gū was smaller: 54 ft. long by 28 ft. broad, without corridor or central pier; only porch, Hall and Shrine, with large image against the W. wall. 4 pedimented windows, 1 on either side both of Shrine and Hall. Roofs have mostly fallen in. No frieze.

ANALYSIS

None of these ‘Mon’ temples has yet been found at Minnanthu or Pwazaw, where the temples seem to be all Burmese. The furthest point the former reach inland is Hsulégōn and a little S. of it, barely 2 miles from the river. On the river side (if we exclude Kyaukku Ónhmin) they extend nearly 6 miles, from the S.E. of Myazigōn to a point S.E. of Lokananda. And there may well be other ‘Mon’ ruins which we have overlooked.

When one comes to analyse these ‘Mon’ asymmetric temples, over 20 in number, three obvious points of comparison occur to one: –

(i) Which type of top is preferred? – the round ‘Bell’, or the mitre-shaped Śikhara?

(ii) Which temples have the dark central Shrine, and which the solid central pier (with recesses for images)?

(iii) How many perforated windows are found on the three closed sides of the temple proper?

To some extent, but not entirely, the answer depends on the size of temple.
(i) 'Bell' or Šikhara. In the case of ruins, un repaired (e.g. Gu E. of Nagayôn) or over repaired (e.g. Piṭakat-taik), it is sometimes hard to say what was the original shape. I count 14 temples where the Šikhara, and 7 where the ‘Bell’ top is found:—


It is difficult to give priority to either type. Both are well-authenticated almost from the first. But the preference given to the Vaiśṇava Šikhara marks the antiquity of Hinduism in Burma.


The count cuts out the smaller temples which have no corridor. Though numbers are divided fairly equally, the earlier norm was surely the Central Shrine, found even in such a small building as Aniruddha’s Piṭakat-taik (51¼ ft. square), and implied (I think) in the nucleus of the four great pillars of Makuta’s Nanpaya.

(iii) Corridor Windows: —


2 a side — Gu W. of Taungbi tank. Gu S.W. of Seinnyet. — Both medium-sized temples where the 2 end-windows sufficed to light the corridor. The former also had high lozenge-shaped light-holes on all three faces.

1 a side — Lokahteikpan. Gu E. of Nagayôn. — Both medium-sized temples. In the former the corridor is not important. In the latter the object was to light the central image-recess rather than the corridor.

1 window on 2 sides only — Gu S.E of Lokananda. Hsulégôn Gu 202. Gu N.E. of Nga Kywê Nadaung. Gu N.W. of Seinnyet. — All fairly small gu, without corridor, the image filling the back wall. Two have additional windows in the Hall.

No window — Wutkyin Paya. This temple has a sort of corridor. It is not short nor small, and is probably old, perhaps one of the oldest.

From all this evidence I infer that sufficient light was required to discourage snakes (but not bats, famous in the history of Abhidhamma!); but that the Mon need for ‘dim religious light’ was a very real one, which had to compete (e.g. in Râjakumâr’s temple) with the urgent need for clarity and religious instruction. There was here a big temperamental difference between Mon and Burman.
## COMPARATIVE CHART OF OLDEST WRITTEN BURMESE

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<td>We</td>
<td>ati'; atei'; atui'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Like... Thus</td>
<td>...si'; ...sei'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to be Glad</td>
<td>nhac klui'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural Suffix (of nouns)</td>
<td>tui'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For... a share</td>
<td>aphei'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assertive Verbal</td>
<td>e'; ye'</td>
<td>e'; ye'; yye'; e;</td>
<td>e'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffix</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ye; yye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rājakumār</strong></td>
<td><strong>I.B., Pl. II III</strong></td>
<td><strong>Loka-h-teikpan</strong></td>
<td><strong>Ajāw-lat</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive Suffix</td>
<td>e'</td>
<td>thuiw</td>
<td>e'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>That (demonstr. adj.)</td>
<td>thiw; thuiw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object. Suffix</td>
<td>keiw</td>
<td>k(u)w</td>
<td>kuiw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time, Occasion</td>
<td>rhōw; rwo w</td>
<td></td>
<td>rhāw; rhōw; rō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indic. Suffix</td>
<td>teh</td>
<td>teh</td>
<td>teh; te; te'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final Suffix</td>
<td>su teh</td>
<td>so teh</td>
<td>so teh; so te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One, A</td>
<td>tamuleh</td>
<td></td>
<td>tamule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village</td>
<td>rwoh; rwo</td>
<td></td>
<td>rwaḥ; rwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ten</td>
<td>chāy</td>
<td></td>
<td>chāy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beloved</td>
<td>pāy; pay</td>
<td></td>
<td>pay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This</td>
<td>iy; iy</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iy; iy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causative; May!</td>
<td>ciy; ciy</td>
<td>ciy</td>
<td>ci; ci; ciy; ciy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to Give</td>
<td>piy</td>
<td>pi; piy</td>
<td>pi; pi; ply; piy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to Run away</td>
<td>ply</td>
<td></td>
<td>plī; plīy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandchild</td>
<td>mliy</td>
<td></td>
<td>mliy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>rīy</td>
<td></td>
<td>rī; rīy; rīy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuative Verb.</td>
<td>liy; liy</td>
<td></td>
<td>li; li; liy; liy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffix</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to Die</td>
<td>siy; siy</td>
<td></td>
<td>si; siy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatives</td>
<td>achuy</td>
<td></td>
<td>mūy; myūy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to Feed</td>
<td>mūy</td>
<td></td>
<td>nhūp; nhūy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having . . .</td>
<td>. . . rūy e'; ruy e'</td>
<td></td>
<td>ruy = ye'; ruy = ye; ruy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold</td>
<td>rhuy</td>
<td></td>
<td>rhuy; rhyuy; rūy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to Present, Bring in</td>
<td>nhūp</td>
<td>nhūp</td>
<td>nhūp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oppression</td>
<td>anhip . . .</td>
<td></td>
<td>nhūp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight</td>
<td>het</td>
<td></td>
<td>het; hyet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crown</td>
<td>athot</td>
<td></td>
<td>lhot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to Release</td>
<td>lhot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>tac</td>
<td>tec; tic; tij</td>
<td>tac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>nhāc</td>
<td>nhāc</td>
<td>nhāc; nhāc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>nhāc</td>
<td>nhāc</td>
<td>nhāc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heart – glad</td>
<td>nhāc kluīp</td>
<td>nhāc</td>
<td>nhāc kluīp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to Become</td>
<td>phlac</td>
<td>phlāc</td>
<td>phlac; phlee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oppression</td>
<td>. . . acak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In, At</td>
<td>nhīk</td>
<td></td>
<td>nhīk; nhūik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six</td>
<td>khrok</td>
<td></td>
<td>khrok</td>
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<tr>
<td>In front of . . .</td>
<td>. . . amhok</td>
<td></td>
<td>amhok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numerative of persons</td>
<td>. . . yok su</td>
<td>yok</td>
<td>yok; yok so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future Tense Suffix</td>
<td>aṁ</td>
<td></td>
<td>aṁ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Turn</td>
<td>tuṁ</td>
<td></td>
<td>tuṁ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td><em>Rājakumar</em> c. 1113 A.D.</td>
<td><em>I.B., Pl. II</em> 1121 A.D.</td>
<td><em>Loka-heikpān</em> c. 1120 A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three</td>
<td>surūŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td>surūŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to Speak</td>
<td>miŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td>miŋ; min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slave</td>
<td>kyon</td>
<td>kyo (?)</td>
<td>kyon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to Pass, Elapse</td>
<td>lon</td>
<td></td>
<td>lon; lwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to Pour</td>
<td>son</td>
<td></td>
<td>swan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favour, Grace</td>
<td>klaŋ [jo]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capital, Kingdom</td>
<td>praŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td>praŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name, to Name</td>
<td>maŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td>maŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Either... Or...</td>
<td>laŋ goŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td>leŋ; le = (also)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(&quot;also good&quot;)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner; -er</td>
<td>saŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td>saŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord, Master</td>
<td>skhaŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td>skhaŋ; skhiũ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Image</td>
<td>achaŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td>achaŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With, And</td>
<td>nhaŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td>nhaŋ; nhāŋ; nhaŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King</td>
<td>maŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td>maŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indeed</td>
<td>lheŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td>lhyeŋ; lhyaŋ; lyeŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good, Auspicious</td>
<td>koŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td>koŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Either... Or...</td>
<td>laŋ goŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td>laŋkoŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reason, Cause</td>
<td>akroŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td>akroŋ; so kroŋ e³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thousand</td>
<td>thoŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td>thoŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Future; After</td>
<td>noŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td>noŋ</td>
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CHAPTER XX

THE CHANGE (From 1131 A.D. onwards)

The Old Burman—Shwégu-gyi—Seinnyet Ama—Taingchut—Thatbyinnyu—Dhammaday-gyi.

The previous chapter, and this the final one, repeat the titles given (in our History Section) to Chapter VI “Transitional Period,” and Chapter VII “The Change.” But the periods are not identical. Moments in History follow an order more strictly chronological than they do in Art. The “Change” in Pagán history was the direct and sudden result of Parákramabâhu’s invasion of 1165 A.D., leading to the restoration of Aniruddha’s line with Cañšū II in 1174. The “Change” in Pagán architecture, from the ‘Mon’ temple to the Burmese, was a much more gradual process, no doubt with advances and recessions, lasting half a century. If the process begins unmistakeably in 1131 A.D., with Cañšū I’s building of Shwégu-gyi, the final triumph of the new style can hardly be placed earlier than 1183, beyond the end of our period, when Cañšū II built the Sulamani (Cudāmañi)¹, and the Burmese temple finally reached maturity. It must not be assumed, then, that the new-style temples dealt with in this chapter were all built later than those treated in the last. Nor even that they are all in the new style. The last to be mentioned, Dhammaday-gyi, c. 1160 A.D., is really the swan-song of the dying ‘Old Mon’ style.

The Old Burman, one feels, was in temperament different from the Mon—less sensitive, simpler, rougher and more vigorous. Written in prose or verse, Old Mon is full of poetry. Old Burmese is empty of it. But it would be quite wrong to conclude that the fine arts were beyond him. His early architecture refutes any such idea. Here, almost from the first, as if by magic, he strikes a note of grandeur, which Old Mon architecture, with all its mystery and beauty, hardly attained.

The Mon romantic style—the gradual passage from blaze of tropic sunshine to dim religious and awe-inspiring gloom—soon ceased to appeal to the Pagán Burman. Plain, prosaic, matter-of-fact, he hated gloom and loved brightness and clarity. He wanted height, strength and grandeur. The horizontal Mon arch-pediment he made vertical and flamboyant. He cleared away the perforated windows, opened large doorways in each face, and reduced the pitch-dark central shrine (if he did not abolish it) to a solid core of masonry, with or without recesses. So far, he followed the example of Late Mon Nanda, or Pyu Lémyet-hna at Old Prome.

He was quick to notice the structural weakness of many of the Mon temples: their roughcast roofing letting in the damp; their lean-to corridor-vaulting, liable to fall with a shake; their wooden lintels; their strange reluctance to trust the radiating arch. Whenever earthquake shook their voussoirs, he could (if he knew Old Prome) contrast the greater stability of Pyu vaults, built several centuries earlier. Though prone to lapse into carelessness about finish, symmetry and detail, he soon

¹ See List 113, PPA 145–6, S.I.P. 18–19, inscription in Sulamani temple, Pagán, dated 545 s./1183 A.D.
learnt (by Mon example and warning) to be a better architect. Of all the hundreds of Burmese temples at Minnanthu and Pwawaw, few are structurally unsound.

Justly conscious of his power to build, his main change, almost from the first, was to add another storey or storeys. He did not do this, one may guess, for purely aesthetic reasons; he did not set himself consciously 'to achieve the pyramidal.' We do not know if sumptuary laws played any part: confining storeyed buildings to Burmese royalty, and so, in effect, prescribing them. His method was not just to add another storey on top of the first (as the Mons were trying to do at Myěbôntha and Hlainggu); for the Shrine with its great Buddha must always occupy the highest central point. He just raised it higher on a platform. The platform was at first solid; then hollowed by corridors to form a second storey below the first.

Burman and Pyu have always loved to crown their hills with pagodas. So the main urge was very likely one of religious propriety. People and peoples differ widely in their religious needs. To some the essential is to bring the divine down to earth, to human level. To others (such as the builders of Barabudur) the path of salvation lies in climbing step by step the ascent to where the Buddha sits, or seems to sit, and so beyond it to Nirvana, or to Buddhahood.

shwé-gu-gyi, "Great Golden Cave" (Pls. 368–375)

The Shwégu temple, S.W. of Kyaukittatha's palace-site, is the first specimen of Early Burmese Transitional architecture. Two stone slabs let into the N. wall of the corridor, engraved in Pali verse with dates at the end in Sanskrit, enable us to fix it exactly: 1053 MS., c. 493 s./1131 A.D. It was built in 74 months, between April and November, by Cañšu I, ever since known as 'Shwégu-dāyaka', "Donor of Shwégu." The inscription may not be original; but if not, it is an early copy, and there is no reason to question the date.

Cañšu I "pointed and caused to be made for the great Seer, Gotama Buddha, this pleasant and delightful fragrant chamber, adorned with many cetiyas and figures of gods, as though it were raised on high ground, sheltering a wonder-working image of the Lord of the World." As though it were raised on high ground (santânavântam uccena padhabyâ uggalañ viya) — that is the main new feature. It is not yet storeyed; but it stands on a brick platform 13 to 19 ft. high, measuring 151 ft. from N. to S. and nearly 80 ft. from E. to W. It faces N.; and the modest flight of steps at the N.W. corner is the only means of access, giving, as one tops the platform, a beautiful perspective of the whole. The platform has no mouldings at the base (now buried); but those above its cornice are remarkable (Pl. 372 d): three receding parapets, the lowest faced with up-and-down turned lotus leaves; above them, a parapet inset with crenellations, picked out with green-glazed tiles; at the top, just below the platform-crest, a third parapet faced with lines of Devas, all seated in padmásana, namaskāra mudrā, wearing crowns. Perhaps they once surrounded the whole platform. Today one counts only about 28 (the best preserved) in the centre of the S. face (Pl. 373 a, b), and 34 on the W. face towards the S.W. corner.

For this inscription, see supra, Ch. V, pp. 85–88; I.B., Pl. I 2, lines 43–45 (the Sanskrit date). The inscription has been re-edited by Pe Maung Tin and the author in Bulletin of the Burma Historical Commission, Vol. I, Part 1, pp. 1–28 (June 1960).

Face A, vv. 25–27.
The inscription mentions a "copy of the supreme Tipiṭaka" made and dedicated to the temple. Perhaps this is why, in Old Burmese inscriptions, the term 'Shwégu' (rhuš kǚ) usually implies a library of the sacred books.

The temple itself, exclusive of the platform, measures almost 100 ft. in length, and 67½ ft. at broadest. Exterior decoration, drowned now in ghastly whitewash, was once magnificent. All doorways have side-niches for dvārapālas, and above them flamboyant arch-pediments. The main entrance-arch (Pl. 370) has the treble cinquefoil pediment: the inner clec has the goddess Śrī (Mon kyak śrī) seated in the centre, gods bearing lotuses kneeling on each of the spires, and Makaras at the sides, with Devas seated on lotus above and below the Makara's neck. All other doorways (Pl. 372 d) have the double pediment: the inner clec with kyak śrī and Makaras. Śrī has lost her elephants, and is now reduced to a crosslegged seated figure, holding lotuses. The outer clec on the main entrance-arches is of Makara type, with pointed spires; at the sides of the Hall they are backed on horizontal roofs of Mon type, with lotus seats at the ends, tapering to a squared stupa.

The kirtimukha frieze is splendid all round. The clec and śikhara-framing of the two side-windows on each main face, are also notable, and the square, arched window, wreathed in tendrils, lighting the staircase near the N.W. corner. The stucco-carving of pilasters is most varied and intricate (Pl. 374 b). The windsept weaving of the corner-pilasters is equalled by that on the Ratanabimay Payahla (No. 791), S. of Man-aung temple (Pl. 375 b); but nowhere else, I think, at Pagán. Plinth-mouldings, though low, still retain the strong Mon profile.

Doorways have finally rejected wooden lintels, but still keep more or less in ruin, their wooden lattice-doors on all four sides of the main block. Though half the height of the Nanda doors, they are so like them, both in patterns and style of construction, that it is difficult to deny that both are original, or at any rate co-eval. The broad double doors between Hall and Shrine have wings each nearly 6 ft. wide and over 10 ft. high, excluding the top 'triangle'. These doors have broad grooves at the base, controlling the swing. As at the Nanda, the top corners of each wing show a broad lotus leaf, the bottom corners double leaves overlapping, with lines of crinkled lotus flowers filling in the frames, and star-shaped metal nails at points of intersection. Only one wing of the E. door survives, similar but narrow (8 ft. high, 3 ft. 5 in. broad). On the S. doors the similar carving of the 8 ft. frames is mostly lost; but the median overlap (13½ ft. high) shows, as at the Nanda, a stool with waistband at the base, and a comic round-faced standing 'guardian', with skirt girt between his legs, and crest of hair above his head. He holds a lily leaf, from which a beautifully balanced pattern of overlapping oak-leaves rises, broader than those of the Nanda. The top 'triangles' are rounded to fit the arch. That of the W. wing alone retains its lovely hamsa filling. Of the W. doors, both wings are almost complete, with diamond lattice, plank covering, studs, small crinkled lotus, and large lotus leaves, as usual, at the mitre-joints. At the top a beautiful pair of hamsas face other, holding stalks in their beaks (Pl. 374 a). The median overlap, however, is of late date, coarse and finicky in carving, quite different from the bold broad overlap of the S. door.

The airy Hall (25 ft. square) is roughly 'Mon' in style. Perhaps to give added breadth to the inner doorway, the usual Guardian Bodhisattvas are omitted. At the N.W. corner there is a staircase leading

4 ibid. v. 29.
5 I.B. Pl. I 4012 (575 s./1213 A.D.); 989 (591 s./1230 A.D.).
to the roof. The Hall contains a small Burmese inscription in clear coarse cursive, set up by Bayin-naung in 913 s./1551 A.D., shortly after his accession, confirming former gifts to religion and fixing taxes as usual.\(^6\)

Mounting the three steps into what, in a 'Mon' temple, would have been the dim corridor surrounding the dark shrine, one notices the main change. There is no gloom, no flitter of bats. Thanks to the doorways and open windows, light is spread evenly almost everywhere. Half-arched corridor and shrine have become one broad room. The shrine has dwindled to a recess. But the change is clumsily effected. What astounds me about the Shwégu-kyi is, on the one hand, the supreme confidence, competence and originality of the Burman architect in designing his exterior; and, on the other, his plain incompetence in planning the interior. Its present bareness, it is true, is due in part to vandalism of a later age, who blotted out with whitewash all the paintings, still faintly visible in patches almost everywhere. The central mass has still, almost at eye-level, heavy mouldings, crenellations, up-and-down turned lotus, cornice with floral arabesque, and kírtimukha frieze – all ugly and quite out of place. To right and left of the entrance-arch, let into the outer wall, are the stones of the great Pali/Sanskrit inscription. There is also a late ink-inscription (13 lines) on the inner wall. Above the pedimented niches Burmese flamboyants are clumsily embossed on Mon horizontals. Apart from the large brick Buddhas, there are no reliefs in richly stuccoed niches. All the beauty and splendour of a Mon interior have been lost, and little but good lighting has been gained.

But climb the staircase to the roof over the hall, and stand back against the north front: you will feel the concentrated beauty of this rich diadem above the Buddha's head. Ogee roofs are gone, but not the grandeur of the high plinth-mouldings, at once delicate and massive. The ups and downs of lotus, swaying to the corners, are divided to admit string-courses enclosing flower-medallions and plain plaques of glazing. The finials stand firm; and bright light (sunlight or moonlight) thrills the corner-stupas. These are topped with neither śikhara nor 'bell'. Each is an open casket crowned with tiers of jewelled lids and elongated finials.

The Chronicles,\(^7\) right or wrong, tell the grim story of the death of Shwégu-dáyaka: –

"Now when he reached the age of 101, he fell grievously sick. His son Narathu removed him from the throne and kept him within Shwégu pagoda. And the king recovered consciousness awhile and said 'This is not my palace, surely!' And the handmaid spake into his ear saying 'Not thy palace, but thy work of merit!' 'Whose trickery is this?' he cried. She answered 'Thy son Narathu decreed it.' And the king was convulsed with anger; his whole body burned like fire. Then his son Narathu bethought him: 'If the king ariseth from his sickness I shall be utterly destroyed!' So with clothes and garments he pressed down the king until he died. Some Chronicles say that he was placed beneath a pergola of gourds, and that it fell on him and so he died."

SEIN-NYET AMA TEMPLE (Pl. 376)

The grand Sein-nyet pair are on the E. side of the road S. of Nagayón, at the crest of high ground about a mile S. of Myinpagán. The elaborate cetiya, Sein-nyet Nyima ('younger sister', Pl. 377) has

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\(^{6}\) List 1071, \textit{PPA} 198, 11 lines, 2095 \textit{A.B./913 s./1551 A.D.}

been described in Ch. XIII (p. 280). It remains to describe the contemporary temple, Sein-nyet Ama ('elder sister'), which stands within the same enclosure-wall, a few yards W. of the cetiya.

A Sein-nyet (Cim : ŋakh) Prince is just mentioned in the Chronicles,⁸ in the middle of the reign of Alaungsithu (Cañsū I). He was a monk, who was appointed Primate on the death of Shin Arahan.⁹ I do not think the name occurs in original inscriptions of that reign; but since it still lives on the lips of the people, there is no reason for doubt.

The two Sein-nyet pagodas, both of similar height (c. 90 ft.), are meatly placed in the central E./W. axis of a broad-topped brick enclosure-wall, still in fair condition on all sides, especially the north. A low inner parapet-wall runs parallel from the W. outer wall so as to enclose the pair, leaving a broad area on three sides, for wooden monasteries etc., within the outer enclosure. The only approach is from the W. It leads direct from road to temple. The cetiya is on the E. The temple is thus entered from the back: for its broad Hall is on the E., facing the cetiya. There are 3 bare openings in the inner wall: on the E. beyond the cetiya, and on the N. and S. between the pagodas. The inner enclosure is paved with brick.

The temple stands impressively firm and high upon its windy hill. It has a šikhara top above 4 steep terraces, the lower 3 with medial stairways and corner-stupas. On the E., the lowest terrace has a small medial gū, intended (not very effectively) to hold together Temple and Hall. The latter, though large, is low, with two perforated windows, capped with flame-pediments, on each side. The three other sides of the temple have equally wide arches of entrance, but porches rather than halls. All entrances were grandly framed with triple pediments; but little except the inner one survives, with Śrī seated in the centre. Much of the stucco-work is lost; but what remains, especially on the jambs, is notable: climbing arabesque, sometimes enclosing vyālas crouching on elephants; hanšas holding flowers in beaks; dragons with heads reverted; seated Devas; crested cocks or peacocks; kirtimukhas at top or bottom corners; lions; kirtimuṅka frieze-loops enclosing floral 'anchors'. High flights of steps lead up to all the entrances. Occasional stonework is seen in the masonry; but plinth mouldings are rather weak, with projecting 'cornice' and deep recesses with small empty pockets.

The interior of the temple proper is bare. There are bricked-up arches near the corners, perhaps leading to kammathān cells; but these were closed and painted over almost from the first. The general


⁹ Shin Arahan, it appears, had accompanied the king on an arduous expedition to quell rebellions in various parts of Tenasserim, and died on his return. If he really came first to Pagán early in Aniruddha’s reign, as the Chronicles assert — say 1050 A.D., he must have been about a hundred years old at the time of this expedition. There is, however, some late-inscriptional basis for the story. List 277, a stone inscription found in “Izagona monastery, Minnanthu,” and now unfortunately set up in Nandaminya temple, with which (I think) it has no connection, is dated 610 s./1248 A.D. It tells how king Narapatidasas (Narapatisithu) asks his minister Kyawzwawa (Kyawzwa) to join him in building a pagoda; and how, under dream-orders from Sakkha king of Devas, Shin Arahan is sent to Tanan∂ari prak (‘Tenasserim kingdom’) to get holy Relics. — This would make Shin Arahan over 200 years old when he died. In 610 s. the reigning king was Kyawzwa (Klacw), not Narapatisithu. And no mention of a minister Kyawzwawa occurs in original inscriptions of either reign. List 277 is clearly a late, unreliable inscription. But Cañsū I was, likely enough, a far-traveller by sea; and the mahāhēra Arahan certainly flourished under Kyanzittha’s reign, and possibly beyond it. I suspect that the primary mistake of the Chronicles was to bring him from Thaton to Pagán as early as 1050 A.D. He was Kyanzittha’s “right-hand man” rather than Aniruddha’s.
effect here is Burmese rather than 'Mon', though such painting as survives is Mon in style and colouring. The chief interest lies in the Hall, which has a gabled top, ribbed (as at Nagayon and Nanda), not flat nor topped with corner-stupas as is usual on the 'Mon' temple. The entrance-arch has good kyahkanwiy tondoes on the ceiling. The topmost painted tier on both sides shows a row of the 28 Buddhas, but no writing below them. Below these, all three walls and window-embasures have tiers of Jātaka panels, with Burmese glosses though the painting is Mon. The series starts on the S. wall from the S.E. corner, and goes round the S., N., and E. walls of the Hall, approximately as follows:-

Tier 1 – Jāt. 1 to 50.
Tier 2 – Jāt. 51 to 103.
Tier 3 – Jāt. 104 to 153.
Tier 4 – Jāt. 154 to 192.
Tier 5 – Jāt. 193 to 224.
Tier 6 – Jāt. 225 to 255.
Tier 7 – Jāt. 256 to 326.
Tier 8 – Jāt. 327 to 395.
Tier 9 – Jāt. 396 to 463.
Tier 10 – Jāt. 464 etc.

The number of Jātakas per tier varies according as the window-embasures are, or are not, utilized. There appear to be II tiers altogether. Each panel is about II inches square, including the line of writing at the base. The actual handwriting is old and good, though faint and often illegible. But the work was carelessly done, and sometimes the writing is missing though the painting is complete. Numbers are not given. Here are two typical specimens (E. wall, 3rd tier, S.E. corner): –

152. Sigāla Jātaka. – sikāla jat purhaloñ khrañsiy phlac so

"The Future Buddha being a Lion."

153. Sūkara Jātaka. – sū..ra jat purhaloñ khrañ phlac so

"The Future Buddha being a Mosquito."

The latter gloss intrigued us as a novelty, until we realized that khrañ ‘mosquito’ was just a careless mistake for khrañsiy ‘lion’! We tried to read about 80 of these glosses, but few readings are certain. Perhaps the following variant titles are worth mentioning: –

194. Manñicora Jātaka. – Sakkatithiya jat. (See the story.)

255. Suka Jātaka. – Our fragmentary reading supports the regular Pagān name: Yāvasomatta(ṇu).

270. Ulūka Jātaka. – . Hanša jat. In this story the Hanša (Wild Goose) was preferred, as king of birds, to Ulūka (the Owl).


[471. Menḍaka Jātaka. – Maṇḍika jat. – This latter is the Question about the Ram (Pali menḍa). There is no Ram in Jātaka 395, where Pigeon and Crow are at issue. Perhaps the sense is manda ‘stupid’?

TAINGCHUT (TUINKHET) TEMPLE (PL. 378)

A small temple (54 ft. by 36 ft.), facing W., about 100 yds. outside Thatara Gate, on the N. of Ananda monastery. An important inscription, with two distinct faces, was found here, and is now Stone 57 at Pagān Museum nearby. The Obverse (or W.) face10 three times (in lines 2, 9, 18) names the temple Tuin-khet. This is a half-Burmese rendering of Pali visayakhetta, 'Field of Sphere', the chief of the 'Buddha-Fields' in which a Buddha is born (see line 25 of the inscription).11 The date is 541 s./1179


11 Buddhaghosa, Visuddhimagga, Pali Text Soc. ed., p. 414; Pe Maung Tin's transl., The Path of Purity, Part II, p. 481. Nāṇamoli's transl., The Path of Purification, p. 455. The latter translates visayakhetta 'Field of Scope'.


A.D. This face, interesting for other reasons, tells us little about the temple itself, which was probably built a generation earlier. The donor, it says, had gilded all its images of the Buddha, those of Sāri-putrā and Mokkalan, and two of Lord Gavampati, before dedicating himself and all his family as pagoda slaves.

The Reverse, much later in date, 706 s./1345 A.D., mentions its earlier history from 501-2 s./1140 A.D., in the reign of king Caṅsū – perhaps the date of its building. Dedications were then made by the king and members of his Court, including his queen Ratanāpum,79 his “lady of the royal Betel”, his mayor of the palace, etc. For a fuller account, see supra, Ch. V, p. 89. By 1345 A.D. the temple’s name had already been corrupted into its modern form ‘Taingchut’ (Tuinkhywat, lines 2, 12, 17, 27).

This little temple, thoroughly Burmese, still keeps its beauty of external form, though sadly spoiled by centuries of repair and whitewash. With its shapely śikhara and now elongated spire, its two terraces lined with low crenelles, its strange bell-casket corner-stupas, its strong plinth, its flame-pediments, triple over the W. entrance, double over N. and S. side-windows, and even the false-window at the back – it still gives eye-joy, dulled with doubt, to the archaeologist. The interior has 17 deep niches and images; but neither (surely) are original. The three bhūmisparśa Buddhas on one throne – the one on the right touching Earth with his right hand, the one on the left with his left – cannot be original. The finely designed old paintings on the four pendentives are now splashed with whitewash; the tiers of old panels on the walls obliterated; the old complex foliated sofit of the broad central arch ruined.

THATBYINNYU TEMPLE

(Pali Sabbaññu, “the Omniscient”). The noblest monument (I feel) of Burmese, and Burma’s, architecture (Pl. 379 to 390). When Yule in 1855 wrote of “the stupendous architectural majesty of the Thapinyu and the Ananda,” he was not exaggerating. His Chapter II, “The Remains at Pagan” (pp. 30–54), is in itself a masterpiece of rapid work, accurate description, careful measurement, and beautiful reproduction. Plate 386 a of our book is still taken from Plate 7 of Yule’s.

The temple stands in the S.E. corner of the city-walls, which have been extended to contain it. The earliest mention of the name applied to the temple (kū), occurs, after the fall of Pagān as capital, in 696 s./1333–4 A.D., on a small inscription now Stone 89 at Pagān Museum, which appears to come from the temple. It records a dedication by a monk (Mañlyan or Sañlyan chryi) of the five-cubit cross-legged image of the Buddha on the N. face in Sabbaññu kū; also 6 male slaves and 30 ticals of silver, the interest on which was to cover the daily food-offering. He shares the merit with his teacher, the royal Mahāthera and the king of Pagān (Pukān manākri).

13 Henry Yule, A Narrative of the Mission — to the Court of Ava in 1855, p. 47.
14 “The time which we spent at Pagān altogether was three days and a half in going up, and nearly two days in coming down; but as nearly one whole day was necessarily devoted to public and private letter-writing, and another whole day was abstracted by an attack of fever, I should have come away with much less material for the illustration of these deeply interesting remains, had it not been for the kind assistance of my friends Mr. Oldham, and Lieutenant Heathcote, of the Indian Navy.” (p. 53). — Perhaps by oversight he omits to mention “Major Phayre”, who contributed an important note on Nat-hlaung-gyaung at the end of the chapter.
15 I.B., Pl. IV 450 a. The date given is 696 s., but the year-name (mrakasuiu) corresponds to 695 s. Cf. A.S.B. 1925, p. 24, para. 35, and p. 52, No. 4.
The Chronicles\textsuperscript{18} say that Alaungsithu (Cañṣu I), "after heaping up many works of merit throughout the whole of Burma, . . . thereafter built Thatbyinnyu pagoda in Pokkdrāma [Pagán], and offered two great bells, one at Thatbyinnyu, one at Shwégū pagoda: they were cast of pure copper, ten thousand adultā\textsuperscript{17} in weight, larger by far and nobler than the five great bells offered by his grandfather, king Htihlaingshin." – The bells no longer exist: but across the road S.E. of the temple, in the precincts of the monastery at the actual corner of the city-wall, are two tall wide-spaced bell-pillars of stone, broken at the top, but finely carved in Old Mon style with V-shaped floral patterns. These are commonly regarded as the bell-pillars of the temple (Pls. 379, 380). There is now no evidence of similar bell-pillars at Shwégū-gyi.

Taw Sein Ko dated the building of the temple in 1144 A.D.\textsuperscript{19} He did not state his authority; and I suspect that this date – only 13 years after the building of Shwégū – is rather too early. The advance in building-technique – from one storey to four, achieved with perfect confidence and skill – seems to me too great. And the temple, though complete as a structure, is so ascetic, so bare of ornament, that I wonder whether the king died while the interior decoration, and some of the exterior, was still to do. It is true that the present absence, or near-absence, of wall-painting may be due to other causes. In his 1904 Report\textsuperscript{20} Taw Sein Ko writes: –

"I noticed, with great regret, that whitewash had been applied too indiscriminately throughout the building, and that a number of mural paintings had disappeared under the whitewash."

One can still see faint traces of Buddhas under the whitewash in the upper storeys.\textsuperscript{20} It is also true that Cañṣu I’s mind, as revealed in his Shwégū inscription\textsuperscript{41}, was ascetic:

- Longings of sense for all delicious things,
- Sounds, sights and touches, odours, relishes,
- Pregnant of immorality, begone!

He was moved only by pure religious aspiration. Still I think that he did not live to complete all that he had in mind.

Apart from the grand flame-pediments, there is hardly any decoration. No stucco-carving on pilasters. No dado. No kūrimukka frieze. No cornice-mouldings. How different from the Shwégū! The upper terrace-plinths mostly have large pockets, as if for Jātaka plaques. On the lowest roof-terrace there are 250 pockets measuring 18\textfrac{1}{4} in. by 16 in. On the second roof-terrace 189, measuring 17\textfrac{3}{4} in. by 15\textfrac{1}{4} in. Those of the main upper storey measure only 9 in. by 5\textfrac{1}{2} in., intended probably for points of colour only, so as not to distract attention from the main Buddha of the temple. The 100

\textsuperscript{17} I take this to be Pali/Skt. tūla, a vague word for 'weight'.
\textsuperscript{19} A.S.B. 1903, Form A, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{20} A.S.B. 1904, p. 6. In the early days of the Archaeological Department, repairs were sometimes reckless; and I fear the Thatbyinnyu was one of the worst sufferers: – "At the entrance of the Thathyinnyu pagoda, the two figures of Nats have been badly restored, notwithstanding the existence of good models in the Ananda, which is close by. I have, therefore, suggested the removal of the restored figures, which are hideous. The images of Buddha have also been renovated most unsatisfactorily. A yellow paint has been used to indicate the colour of the flesh, and the robes have been painted red. The black lines of the eyes, eyebrows, mouth and nose have been touched up in such a way as to impart a most ludicrous expression to the features – " (ibid., p. 6). "The two figures of Nats at the entrance have not yet been improved, as suggested by me. Only two of the images of the Buddha have had their features painted; the others have merely been whitewashed" (ibid., 1905, p. 5).

\textsuperscript{20} Pl. 390 c shows the last survivor (I think) of original painting in the Thatbyinnyu – on the ceiling of the ground floor, West Hall. Ex pede Herculem.

\textsuperscript{41} Face B, v. 80.
pockets of the next upper terrace measure 17 in. by 15 in. These large pockets, $250 + 189 + 100$, total 539; just enough to admit all the Jātakas except the Mahānīpāla. These ten great Jātakas, which are assigned many more than a single plaque apiece, though reduced in size, on the Nanda and Mingalazedii, might well have received similar treatment on the three top terraces of Thatbyinnyu, where the pockets still measure about 14 in. by 12 in. – This Jātaka series, I suggest, was intended, but never realized. I have argued in Chapter V (p. 85) that Caṅsū I died before 1160 A.D.; for his successor, who was killed in 1165, had had time to build the enormous Dhammayan-gyi temple before his assassination. I should therefore date the Thatbyinnyu c. 1150–55 A.D.

The first impression of this great temple, 210 ft. high, is of two massive cubes superposed, with three receding terraces between them, and three more terraces above, supporting a short śikhara. The two cubes contain the two main storeys (1st and 3rd); the terraced sections the two entresols (2nd and 4th). The best approach is from the N.W., from the side of Nanda, where the two main cubes are stepped up to by the lower cubes, only less massive, of the East Halls. The lower Hall matches in breadth (106 ft.), though not in depth, the whole upper cube. Both Halls are faced with a similar triple pediment, magnificent, the lower one rather more solid, and propped with minor archways at the sides, the upper one more delicate. The other three Halls of the ground storey are little more than porches, serving to break the hard lines of the cube. Their doorways have a single cloc, with Śrī in the high centre, makhāras at the sides. A large medial stupa above these halls conducts the eye through the long crenellated terraces to the upper cube, which has no halls except on the E., but only double pediments, always with Śrī and makhāras, their spires licking up the walls like flames. These, again, conduct the eye to the three medial pediments above the upper stairways leading to the peak.

All pediments are of vertical Burmese type, except those of the minor doorways on the ground-floor, which are weighted with Mon horizontals behind their vertical facings (Pl. 387 b). The cusped windows of the 1st entresol have a double lotus base above the band. The side-windows of the main upper storey are crowned with śikharas, like those of Shwēgu-gyi. Above them, for the upper entresol, there are square windows edged with lotus. Larger square windows flank the main Hall. Only the topmost spires of the two Hall-pediments with their Śrī apex, break loose from the walls behind them, and blaze upwards into space.

Another binding force, descending from the summit, lies in the recession-lines of the faces of the Śikhara. These spread cascading down to the ever-broadening recessions of the upper terraces, where they are held by the firm line of climbing corner-stupas. Water and Fire – the Twin Miracle!

Strength is the keynote of the whole, based on the cubes. But proportions are so carefully designed and distributed, that there is rarely any sense of undue weight or mass. As one climbs the numerous stairways and wanders along the passages, one often comes on vaulted rooms or kammatthān cells, lightening the load or playing with it.

Ground floor. A glance at Yule’s longitudinal section (Pl. 386 a) will show how like a solid platform, how like the Shwēgu-gyi in fact, the ground storey of Thatpyinnyu, and even the entresol above it, still remain: a single corridor going round the ground floor, a double one round the entresol. The dominance of the 3rd (main) storey, with its Buddha, is also apparent. Each side of the ground floor has 7 archways of entrance, 3 on each side of the smaller Halls with their one central doorway, and 2 on each side of the East Hall with its three.
The general plan of the E. Hall, with its cross-vista between the two side-entrances and four central pillars, is copied, on a larger scale, from that of the Nanda Halls. But the central feature—the base of the main staircase—is different. The Old Mon tradition is here changing, but still strong: entry to the temple proper, at the back of the Hall, should be given emphasis by a great pedimented torana, guarded by giant standing Bodhisattvas at the sides. The two gay painted Bodhisattva Nats—not Mon, but frank Burmese (Pl. 387a)—whom Taw Sein Ko wished to abolish or “improve,” are still there; but now dwarfed by the torana. Narrowed to enclose the staircase, this torana has become thick and massive: crenelles at the bottom sides; Burmese verticals in front; triple Mon horizontals behind with ‘chilli’ finials; and behind these, 5 tiers of larger Mon horizontals, supporting a bulbous stupa with 8 vertical bands (rather like the top of Pāṭothāmya). To the normal Western mind, a staircase is just a staircase; and all this fuss about its base seems otiose or ugly. To the pious Buddhist, on the other hand, starting on his long ascent to Buddhahood, c’est toujours le premier pas qui compte. In the Nanda Halls Kyauzittha quietly enforced this by placing his favourite pair of identical sculptures on either side of the steps: the Buddha taking his first seat below the Bodhi tree, amid the acclaim of Devas and Brahmas.

There are two other staircases in the Hall, one on each side of the main entrance, which climb to the lowest roof-terrace. The ground floor corridor is paved with stone. There is full vaulting, but not high; and the crosslights down the corridor are half-blocked at the centres by the large projecting thrones in the S., W., and N. porches. These little Halls or porches were clearly meant to form small private chapels: the large throned Buddha in back centre; two smaller Buddhas, on black rosetted lotus thrones, filling the large and deep side-niches; a small square altar in the centre; the ceiling painted with ‘sun-gods’ white and gold (Pl. 390c), with the mat of sacred Footprints in the centre. The inscription of 1333–4 A.D., mentioned above, suggests that the Buddhas in some of these chapels, date from shortly after the Pagan period; but all are of one pattern, both beautiful and old. Those of the N. Hall are perhaps the best. There are several smaller gilded Earth-touching images on thrones along the corridor; and one (on the N., near the N.E. corner) seated in pralambanāsana, dharmacakra-nimitta; but these are mostly modernized or modern. There are several late ink-inscriptions in the porches.

1st Entresol (or 2nd Storey). The E. Hall façade shows two tiers—of Archway, band and lotus-pedimented window—on each side of the great triple Flame-pediment. To reach the lowest roof-terrace, take one of the corner staircases on either side of the main entrance. On the way up, you pass the square side-windows (as in Shwégu) and the long vaulted rooms meant to lighten weight, and emerge on the S. or N. face in the re-entrant between E. Hall and main block. Nearly half the Jātaka-pockets line this terrace. One can walk all round. The lower tiers of corner-stupas have all passages through them, which make them glow by day or moonlight. The peak of the main flame-pediment on the E. soars 10 ft. above the centre of this terrace. The young may clamber up thence to the 2nd terrace. The old will prefer to descend to the Hall and mount the central steps between the Bodhisattva—Nats. The stretchers of the top steps were once inlaid with jewel medallions.

This brings one to the 1st Entresol. It has a double corridor, the outer one half-vaulted, the inner a full vault. Even the inner corridor is fairly lighted by windows at the end of each face, and by two cross-passages and one arched central light-hole from the outer corridor. The outer corridor is well lighted on three sides by 6 level windows on each face, and an arched light-hole in the centre, practised
above the central Buddhas in the porches below. But this outer Corridor is blocked in the E. centre by
the main staircases ascending and descending. From the top of the central flight, two others
immediately to right or left, will take you up to the E., to emerge on either side of a broad open ramp,
leading to the upper storey and the Shrine. The stone ramp is triple, simulating the three stairways of
jewel, gold and silver, borne below by Makara, by which the Buddha, attended by Indra and Brahmā,
came down from Tāvatimsa. Under the ramp (Pls. 387 c, 389 a), four steps lead down to a large vaulted
room, running into the mass some 20 ft. The platform at the foot of the ramp has corner-stupas on the
E. with central shrines facing each other. Descend a few steps to left or right, to the 2nd terrace,
lined with 189 large Jātaka pockets.

The view is glorious. Not only the landscape, but the temple: the three long terraces and plinths; the
bulbous medial stupa on its platform on the tier below; the noble forms and spacing of the corner-
stupas (Pl. 388 a, b, c). Finest of all, perhaps, the simple ramp and triple pediment above it, with
seated Bodhisattvas.

Main (3rd) Storey. The small plinth-pockets here are meant for coloured jewel-glazings. The Hall,
though bright and airy, with its two side-archways vaulted from the shoulders, not the floor, is still of
‘Mon’ type, the E. and W. walls vertical. The Śrī and Makara pediment still frames the inner doorway,
with thrones on either side, now holding giant almsbowls, but once perhaps standing Bodhisattvas.
The upper staircase climbs from the S. E. corner. Five steps now divide Hall and Corridor-Shrine.
The Shrine has tall side-archways, now barred against bats, though full light enters from all three
sides. The colossal throned image (Pl. 390 a) is well preserved, but post-Pagán. The Corridor has still
the lean-to vault. It is well lit by high trefoil śikhara-windows at each corner, with 7 steps leading up
to them from within. On the W. inner side there is a deep image-niche, strongly embossed with throne
and small makara-pediment. The broad platform round this main storey holds the 3rd tier of bulbous
corner-stupas, not pierced for passage as are those of the two narrow tiers below. They are empty
cells, facing each other on the E. side, both facing E. on the W. side. The crenellated border of the
platform is here low, so as to let this upper cube stand its full height, with no porch-projections except
on the E.

2nd Entresol (4th Storey). The top staircase leads out inconspicuously on to the well-parapeted
platform at the base of the main external flights of steps. The peak of the main Shrine Pediment
almost reaches to this level. From the small porch-terrace 5 steps below this platform, 6 steps on the
inner side lead up to the 2nd entresol, the top storey. Here is a single corridor, 7 ft. 8 in. broad, and about
75 ft. square, half-vaulted. The interior walls are blank, everything whitewashed. At each corner 6 or
7 steps descend to the square windows; in the middle of each face 6 to 8 steps ascend to square upper
light-holes in the terrace wall above, now mostly blocked against rain. Steps on the N. side descend
to the porch terrace. This has solid bell-shaped stupas at the front, with the peak of the great Shrine
Pediment below rising in the centre. Even this porch-terrace provides some 31 pockets available for
small plaques, about a foot square. The next full terrace above it has 100 full-size pockets, 17 in. ×
15 in.; and the two top terraces 80 + 61 pockets, of size varying from 12 in. to 10 in.

2 Children! Beware! – If you turn E. at the block, you will soon find yourself on the brink of a precipice! – Fifty
years ago, romping down these passages after dark, I kicked a low stone sill and put my foot over it. There
was, thank God!, a ledge on the far side. Wondering where I was, I fumbled for a match and found myself on the
brink, with a clear drop of 24 ft. to the stone pavement of the Hall.
Chapter XX

*Top terraces and Śikhara.* From the E. platform 48 steep steps lead up through the three top terraces to the spire. All three have grand bulbous corner-stupas, pierced for passage. In the centre of each face, the lower two are crowned with pedimented archways (Mon-Burmese, vertical spines backed on horizontals). The top terrace has just jambs and knobs, without flame-pediments, and no parapet but just crenelles flush with the floor. The reason was to expose the short but massive Śikhara, mounted on its high and cushioned throne. This has the usual broad flat ‘triangle’ down the centre. Beyond this rock-like band, the Śikhara-surface is slitted to the corners; with two recessions curved like water falling from the stupa-finiial. Four cusps at the top of the śikhara hold the recessed square platform below the banded bell. The stupa is not round, but also a recessed square. Even the slitted tiers of the cañtravāla are squared and recessed towards their corners, always emphasizing the Water motif, as the clec emphasize the Flame.

This is no lifeless pile of brick and plaster. It is the Purhā, the Buddha, exhibiting the Great Miracle. See the Deluge descending from his shoulders! See the Holocaust ascending from his feet!

**DHAMMAYAN-GYI TEMPLE**

(*Dhammārāma,* ‘Pleasure of the Law’). This great temple (Pls. 391–397) stands about a mile S.E. of Pagán city, in the centre of the whole area – S.W. of Wet-kyi-in, W.N.W. of Minnanthu, N.W. of Pwazaw, N.E. of Myinpagán. It contains three old inscription-stones, with four separate dated inscriptions. In the N. Hall there is a four-faced pillar, including, on its S. and N. faces, a Burmese inscription dated 527 s./1165–6 A.D.\(^{23}\) This records the dedication of “the Middle Princess,” Ajāwelat(?), on behalf of her mother. This finely engraved inscription, important both for historical and linguistic reasons, has been discussed at length in Chapters VI and VII (supra, pp. 111–113, 118). It has also been edited in the *Bulletin of the Burma Historical Commission.* The temple was presumably built before this date.

A different small inscription, dated 582 s./1220 A.D.,\(^{24}\) is engraved on the E. face of the same pillar. It records a dedication, in that year, by Khān Mi Pay Puiw (probably a royal concubine) of 5 slaves to her stī purhā (?‘Thein’). In the W. Hall are two other stone inscriptions. The older, dated 578 s./1216 A.D.,\(^{25}\) records a royal gift of land in Kyaukse by king Nātoñ Skhīn to the minister Mittrasincañ: who dedicates part of it, together with 2 elephants and 10 slaves, for the support of the chief monk of the pagoda (purhā sañhrī) and the 5 junior monks (pancañ). The later inscription is dated (line 16) 615 s./1254 A.D. and records gifts of slaves, etc. It also records (line 1) a dedication in 567 s./1205 A.D. when king Cañsū (Narapatisithu, fl. 1174–1212 A.D.) tells “the lord of Dhammārañ, the royal teacher Mahāpanuñ, to build a temple (kū) here on this W. side of the Dhammārañ.” – This is the earliest mention of the name ‘Dhammayan-gyi’.

Burmese Chronicles\(^{27}\) attribute the temple to Narathu Kulāgya, the tyrant king “killed by the Indians” – “The people completed not the Dhammarāñ, his work of merit, for they were sore afraid

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\(^{24}\) *I.B.,* Pl. I 47. 582 s./1220 A.D.

\(^{25}\) *I.B.,* Pl. I 41. 578 s./1216 A.D.

\(^{26}\) *I.B.,* Pl. II 182a\(^3\), 615 s./1254 A.D.; 182a\(^3\), 567 s./1206 A.D.

and toiled with too great heedfulness and rigour.‘’ – If the temple is incomplete (and the meagreness of stucco and other surface decoration certainly supports this view), the main cause is likely to have been the invasion of Burma by the armada of Parākramabāhu I, king of Ceylon. According to the Devanagala rock-inscription (Pl. 399), this was planned in May-June of the 12th regnal year of that king, 1165 A.D. It appears that after the storming of Bassein (Kusumiya), Pagán was temporarily occupied and the king killed. I have suggested that his death took place probably in the latter part of 1165, shortly before the date of our inscription, when the Singalese were still in occupation of the capital. The building of the temple I should date c. 1160–65 A.D. 28

There are mysteries about this temple still to be solved. It is the last of the great ‘Mon’ temples of Pagán, symmetrical, and in ground-plan much the same as the Nanda: a Greek cross, with central pier, two concentric corridors, and four halls projecting one on each side. 29 In bare structure it is far more than complete, for the inner corridor, and all the passages leading to it, are walled up on all sides except the East. – Why? – There is no sign of weakness or subsidence above. The masonry is as fine as any at Pagán. The legend of the monk-alchemist, 30 200 years ago, wailing himself in (I suppose by magic), may be dismissed.

The work involved was enormous, and apparently meaningless. – I can only think of one possible explanation. The blocking was done almost as soon as the temple was built. The Singalese monarch had felt himself insulted, and his fury is shown in the Cūlavamsa: ‘The king of Arimaddana must either be captured or killed!’ 31 The invaders arrived just when the temple was complete, when the donor’s merit was at its highest. Not content with killing the king, and doubtless anxious to disarm his ghost, they used their troops and captives to desecrate his temple. Not totally, for they were largely Buddhist themselves; and perhaps the palace women, like Ajāwlat, always bravest in despair, protested; and got leave to keep the East approach open, and conduct privately the dedication-ceremony. – Right or wrong, some such explanation would fit the facts.

The Mon-Burmese king, son of Caṅsū I, had seen in his youth the glory of the Nanda, the ‘Mon’ masterpiece; and in middle age the grandeur of the Early Burmese temple, Thatbyinnyu. In the Dhammayan he set out, I think, to combine the excellence of each, and to surpass it. He preferred the perfect symmetry of the Nanda. He chose also to place his main images on the ground floor: seated rather than standing, and raised higher than those of the Nanda, so that one could see them fully from the entrance. Pious persons, entering Thatbyinnyu, may well have been surprised to see in front of them, not the Buddha, but a staircase. On the other hand, the majesty of Thatbyinnyu, its supposèd masses, its flaming pediments and perfect terracing, must have impressed him.

The ground plan, as said above, is close to that of Nanda (N.), but a little larger:

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<tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Halls</td>
<td>Breadth 93½ ft. (N.)</td>
<td>97 ft. (D.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main block</td>
<td></td>
<td>Square 184½ ft. (N.)</td>
<td>194 ft. (D.).</td>
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28 1170 A.D., the date assigned by Taw Sein Ko (A.S.B. 1905, p. 10) is clearly too late. At the end of that Report he gives a useful ground-plan of the temple, on which our own is based (Pl. 397 b), showing the bricked-up passages.
29 “The base of the pagoda consists of a huge block of masonry measuring 96 ft. square, which is surrounded by two corridors each measuring 9 ft. in width. There are four main entrances facing the cardinal points, and also intermediate passages joining the two corridors. The passages marked red in the plan are found to be bricked up, but not up to the level of the soffit, leaving a narrow opening throughout the length of the inner corridor” (A.S.R., 1905, p. 10).
30 A.S.B. 1904, p. 10.
31 Cūlavamsa, Part II, p. 67 (transl.).
Chapter XX

          Outer Corridor  – Breadth 8½ ft. to 9 ft. (N.) – 9 ft. (D.).
          Inner Corridor  – Breadth 7½ ft. (N.) – 8½ ft. (D.).

There is more difference in the total height: 160 ft. (N.) – 181½ ft. (D.).

On first entering the temple enclosure, and noting the fine, though damaged, masonry of the surrounding wall, my first impression, on a direct approach to any of the Halls, is of the great height and steep climb of the triple fronton framing the entrance. That of the Nanda sprawls, in comparison, so as to enclose one window on either side of the entrance. At Dhammayan-gyi there are three entrance-archways, the side ones heavy-weighted with Mon horizontal tapering dec, thinly faced with ‘flames’, and an upper tier of flame-pedimented windows above the band. The main triple pediment rises within these, not enclosing them. An upper band, flush with the roof-cornice, divides the lower from the upper pediment; so that the latter, with its cornucopia, stands out clear above the Hall. One notices also the wide easy spacing of the two lower tiers of corner-stupas, where the corridor roofs are broad and sloping, in contrast to the steep tightness of those of the three top terraces, where plinths are vertical. Here, both Nanda and Thatbyinnyu are superior. Nanda has only 3 tiers of corner-stupas, well spaced because of the ogee roofs; no stupas, but only lions, guard the corners of the three top terraces. Thatbyinnyu has 6 terraces with corner-stupas; but being separated, 3 from 3, by the upper cube, there is no sense of greater tightness or steeper climb; all combine to form a grand perspective.

From below, the corner-view of Dhammayan-gyi is more impressive than the front view. Here one sees, at the back of each Hall fronton, another triple pediment, narrower but almost equally high, framing the entrance of what looks like an upper storey. They are only false storeys. If one climbs the wall blocking the entrance of each, one finds oneself in a room over 25 ft. long by 9 ft. broad, with walls arching from the floor on all four sides. There is no through passage from one such room to another. But on the E. side, from the inner wall of the room, a long narrowing light-hole descends to throw some light on the main image of the temple. These false-storey rooms, therefore, are merely large versions of the medial sky-light common in ‘Mon’ temples from Nanpaya onwards. A more mysterious feature, found on the front of each Hall-roof between the two great pediments, is a high screen with small flat top, pilasters and curving sides, pierced with three corbelled arches.

One reaches the roof by the high staircase on the S. side of the E. Hall, which brings one out on to the lowest roof-terrace. Here there are 4 square śikhara-topped corner-cells, slightly lower than those at the corners of the main block. Two long-sloping roofs over the corridors brings one to the upper roof terrace behind the top of the upper pediment. Thence a flight of 38 steps on each face ascends through 4 vertical terraces to the base of the brick pile, over 40 ft. square, which once, no doubt, was a huge crowning Śikhara. The lowest corner-stupas, both those of the Halls and of the main block, have śikhara-tops; also those of the 3rd terrace. Those of the 2nd and 4th terraces were bell-topped. Those of the 5th or topmost terrace are blunted.

Śrī, Makara and the gorgon-mask of Kirtimukha are prominent on most of the pediments. The inner clec of the main pediments, both upper and lower, have Śrī with her arms drooped, seated cross-legged in the central spire. She sits on double lotus above the gorgon-mask, with Makaras at the sides.
Pediments on the side-entrances to the halls are double, and massive. Each has Śrī in the centre, and Makaras, a yard thick, at the sides. The upper clec has no gorgon-mask, but a flower-fountain supporting the double lotus on which Śrī sits. The main block, as on the Nanda, has two tiers of flame-pedimented windows. These show the gorgon head at low centre, flower-fountain above, Makaras at the sides, but no Śrī. On the main clec the Makara heads spout Vyālās; the former’s bovine hind-quarters and legs are shown.

Pilasters supporting the upper pediments, and probably also the lower, had small floral V’s at top and bottom, with jewelled diamonds in the centre (Pl. 395 b). Lions may face inwards at the sides. Much of the stucco work has perished, but enough remains to show that it was of high standard and originality.

Brickwork is extraordinarily tight and fine; the bricks are often thin and short, with little sign of mortar between them. The square-arched windows (Pl. 395 a, c), at the sides of all the Halls near the outer corners, delighted Yule:–

“Here, to my delight, I discovered a perfect flat brick arch over a window. There were two of these in each wing of the temple, and one of them in particular was as perfect in construction, in joints and radiation, as any London builder could turn out……I doubt if in the 12th century the flat brick arch was known in Europe…….” (Mission……to the Court of Ava in 1855, Pl. 9, fig. 3, and p. 48).

Similar square-arched windows are already found at Shwé-gu-gyi (1131 A.D.).

Stonework is also conspicuous, in the cusps below the clec, both trefoil and cinquefoil. There are stone sills in the windows, and strong stone cusps at all jutting corners. Stone bricks occur at intervals in corner-pilasters and re-entrant angles. The W. Hall is paved with stone slabs.

The ground-plinth is not remarkable. Vertical up to the stone cusps, it then recedes to the two cord-mouldings enclosing the small centre-band with pockets. In the ‘cornice’ projections all bricks are packed, as usual, vertically on their sides. The ground-plinth pockets we measured were 12½ in. broad by 9 in. high. From the 2nd terrace upwards, all terraces have similar pockets for plaques, roughly 11 in. by 10 in. These are hardly large enough for Jātaka scenes. Glazed tiles may well have been intended; and would have vastly brightened this sombre monument; but they are not there.

In the interior, what little remains of interest — until the inner corridor is cleared — is in the four Halls. The outer Corridor is bare, apart from late paintings on the walls. From the little evidence available, it seems that the inner corridor, as in the Nanda, was not quite so broad as the outer. The latter was paved with glazed brick. All the Halls had the same scheme of ‘architectural’ painting of excellent Old Mon type (see Pl. 397a): broad bands of warm brown colour framing arches, arch-recessions and pilasters, with lotus rings within and S-shaped floral arabesques without. The four great pillars, too, are painted with lines of lotus-flowers along the capitals and beaded kirtimukha frieze.

E. Hall. — Modern plaster and patching have spoiled most of the old architectural paintings. There are also gilded Buddha-paintings of the early Ava period (?), often signed (as in the Mon Gu E. of Nagayôn, and other temples): “the good work of the Saṅgharāja, teacher (chryia) of Anantasūra.” On either side of the 4 or 5 steps leading up to the corridor, there are two stone tenons projecting from

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32 For clear drawings, taken from the Dhammayan-gyi and Sulamani temples, of the use of stone for pointing the brick cusps of the clec, see Henri Marchal, L’Architecture comparée dans l’Inde et l’Extrême-Orient, fig. 47. p. 94.
the W. wall, with a brick throne below one of them. These are clearly the remains of the usual two giant Bodhisattvas, standing on guard at the entrance of the temple proper.

The Hall is bare except for a large monolithic image of the Buddha, seated in dhyāna mudrā against the inner pillar. Such stout monoliths in dhyāna mudrā, found also at Shwehsandaw, Dhammarājaka, etc., may perhaps be dated shortly after the fall of Pagan. Above this image, an ink inscription of 10 lines, dated 705 s./1343 A.D., tells how a pious person called Maitham (‘royal officer’), ‘not being able to bear the sight of the ruin done by wicked heretics to the noble pagoda [or Buddha] called Dhammarāma, the ancestral site (aruit ?) of king Caṅsū,’ spent all his life-savings, won by painful endeavour, in setting up (it seems) this dhyāna monolith. -- This suggests the reason for the making of these monoliths. In the troubled period before and after the fall of Pagan, many ‘heretics’ were driven by poverty to rummage in the brick images of Pagan in search of treasure. The only answer for a pious Buddhist was to carve monoliths, which could not easily be disembowelled. Note that the name Caṅsū in the above inscription must refer to Narathu Kulāgya: it had already become generic, it seems, for any king of Old Pagan.

S. Hall. -- The architectural painting here is better preserved than in the E. Hall. There is also a colossal Earth-touching Buddha, painted red, on a high-recessed throne.

N. Hall. -- This also has the architectural painting, and stone door-sills at the sides of entrance with cusps for wooden doors to swing in. As in the S. Hall, on the inner side there is a high-pointed reredos, with a colossal Earth-touching Buddha on his throne, all painted red. On the W. side, near the outer pillar, is Ajāwlat’s inscription-stone.

W. Hall. -- Here, besides the architectural painting, there are the two stone inscriptions mentioned above. The later one begins with the request of Narapatisithu, in 567 s./1205 A.D. towards the end of his reign, addressed to his teacher, Mahāpanita, ‘lord of Dhammāra, to build a kū (temple) on this West face of Dhammāra. So I enshrined this phurā’ (Buddha-image ?). -- Mon Bo Kay holds (and I agree with him) that the reference must be to the remarkable double-image in this Hall, set against the broad entrance-archway to the corridor. The front shows a great red-painted throne, bearing two Earth-touching Buddhas seated side by side, each with a normal stupa above his head. Between and above them, there is a third stupa of strange type, with a door or doors, and resting on a long lotus-stalk visible both in front and behind. At the back of the throne, in a long recess, is a Parinirvāṇa scene: the Buddha, with a round, gentle, Burmese face, long tapering fingers and toes carefully modelled, lies with his head to the S. The hand near his head holds long leaves or a kerchief.

Mon Bo Kay has given us the key to this extraordinary sculpture of plaster and brick. It is the well-known Mahāyānist scene in the Saddharmapundarika Sūtra, the ‘Lotus Sūtra.’ Here is E. J. Thomas’ account of it: --

“The discourse now becomes fantastic, but it is important in showing what the popular conception of a Buddha had become. A stupa of jewels appears, and a voice comes from it praising Buddha for uttering this sūtra. It is the stupa containing the body of the past Buddha Prabhūtaratna, which this Buddha wished to be present whenever the Lotus was being recited, and the Tathāgatas from other Buddha-fields are to be present as well. Buddha, therefore, darts a ray which makes millions of worlds visible in all directions with Buddhas preaching the Doctrine in each. They arrive in numbers like the sands of the Ganges, so that there is no room for any gods, and ask Buddha to open the stupa. He does so. Prabhūtaratna is seen
sitting crosslegged within, and Buddha sits down by him on half the seat.” (History of Buddhist Thought, p. 183).

A similar tale, both in India and Tibet, is foretold about the Coming Buddha, Maitreya: –

“The small Caitya on the crown of Maitreya is said to refer to the belief that a stūpa in the mount Kukkuṭapāda near Bodh-Gayā covers a spot where Kaśyapa Buddha is lying. When Maitreya would descend to earth, he would go direct to the spot, which would open by magic, and receive from Kaśyapa the garments of a Buddha.” (B. Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist Iconography, p. 80; compare A. Getty, The Gods of Northern Buddhism, pp. 21–24).

The greatest moment known to the pious Theravādin is when Buddha meets Future Buddha, and the Prophecy is made. To the Mahāyānist, a greater moment is when two Buddhas, the old and the new, sit for one brief moment together on one throne: symbol, at once of the Change, and of the Continuity of the Dharma. Therein lies the strength of Buddhism as a world-religion.

Mahāpanīta’s message, then, in one of hope. Buddhas release imprisoned Buddhas. They die, but the Dharma remains. The “lord of Dhammāram” knew that there were Buddhas imprisoned in his temple, whom he and all his meagre staff were powerless to release, but that will surely be done with the coming of a new Buddha.

Perhaps, with modern appliances, there is no need to wait till then. When peace at last returns to Burma, before swords are bent into pruning hooks, could they not first be flattened into spades, and join in opening, as a symbol of a new Burma, this old and priceless temple?
ADDENDA, ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA

VOLUME I

page

viii (l. 15 of Preface) After more than my own.
Add an asterisk * with the following footnote at the bottom of the page: -
* The sad news has just come that Bo-hmu Ba Shin, to whom I and all students and lovers of Burma owe so much, has died untimely on Jan. 7th 1970 at the age of 56. Frater, Ave atque Vale!

xv (l. 4 from top) For Bodhisatta
Read Bodhisattva

xv (l. 12 from bottom) For 234–245
Read 243–245

22, n. 79 (l. 4) For J. Siam Society I,
Read J. Siam Society L,

26, n. 100 After compound in the town
Substitute (ASB 1907, p. 13, para 32). It was first rubbed and described by the French scholars Lunet de Lajouquière and Finot: see Bull. Com. Archéol. de l'Indochine, 1909, p. 237 and fig. 28 (p. 236); 1910, pp. 148, 153. See I.B. Pl. V 5480, [etc.]

29, n. 116 (l. 8) For 50 ka
Read 501 ka

52 (l. 9 from top) For lending
Read leading

52 (l. 14 from top) For love, affair
Read love-affair

56 (l. 20 from top) For 1630 A.D.
Read 1630 A.B.

62 (l. 6 from top) For Buddhist paintings
Read Buddhist paintings

69, n. 148 (l. 3) For gdān
Read gdān

74 (l. 14 from top) For 1628 A.D.
Read 1628 A.B.

74, n. 188 For A³
Read A 28

83, n. 1 (l. 2) For List 73
Read List 73¹

84 (last line but one) For E. Meiktila
Read W. Meiktila

84, n. 10 (l. 1) For astride
Read W. of

86 (top line) For Conq'ror
Read Conqueror

99 (l. 7) For (Pl. 59d, f)
Read (Pl. 59d, c)

99 (l. 7) For (Pl. 59e)
Read (Pl. 59f)

101 (l. 19) For (Pl. 70e, f)
Read (Pl. 70f, g)

107 (l. 22) After water-lily Add; gulā
(Rev. line 19), for kula-
putra, = Indian
(cf. O.B. kulā).

109 (l. 11) For Meiktila district (East)
Read Meiktila district (West)

111 (l. 4 from bottom) For zodiacal
Read zodiacal

114, n. 52 (last line) For garula
Read garula

122, n. 36 (l. 2) For États hindouisés ...
pp. 240–242 Read États hindouisés

124, n. 46 (l. 3) For États hindouisés ...
pp. 160–1 Read États hindouisés

126 (last line but one) For akāresi Read kāresi

132, n. 14 For Bollinger
Read Bollingen

140, n. 72 (l. 3) For dropped
Read dropped

143 (l. 11 from top) Before a stone plaque
Insert (ii)

143 (l. 17–18 from top) For tablet found in Burma
Read tablet yet found in Old Burma

191, n. 48 (l. 7) For ivory
Read ivory

214 (l. 6 from bottom) For Anantaśayin
Read Anantaśayana

217 (l. 3 from top) For Anantaśayin
Read Anantaśayana

219 (l. 14 from bottom) For Anantaśayin
Read Anantaśayana

223 (l. 7 from top) For Anantaśayin
Read Anantaśayana

249, n. 197 (l. 3) For l'Indochine
Read l'Indochine

254, n. 247 For Stilakkhandavagga
Read Stilakkhandha vagga

256 (l. 8 from top) For (tanthā)
Read (tanthā)

273 (l. 7 from bottom) For at the end
Read near the end

273 (l. 6–5 from bottom) Delete 436–540. Substitute
430–450; Line (iii),
451–471; Line (iv),
472–493; Line (v), 493–513;
Line (vi), 514–534.

284 (l. 13–14 from top) Delete not found elsewhere
at Pagán in view of new
discovery reported in n.g.

284 (l. 10 from bottom) For below the breakage
Read above the breakage

286, n. 20 For early
Read early

289 (last line) For stone cusps
Read stone cusps

290 (l. 11 from bottom) For Chapter VIII
Read Chapter IX

291 (l. 2 from top) For (Pl. 152d)
Read (Pl. 152b)

292 (l. 7 from bottom) For Pāciśīyāya
Read Pāciśīyā
For inner walk
Read inner wall

After ask the reverend Continue Buddha [sc. Di-paṅkara] what is going to happen to this world. The reverend One says 'Nothing. After I propesied that he would become a hermit and . . . . . . . therefore he grasped the Law, and therefore the earth quaked.' etc.
Add an asterisk * with the following footnote at the bottom of the page: -
* I am indebted to the Mon scholar, Nai Pan Hla, for the above correction of my original translation of Gloss 23.

335, serial no. 8
For entrets
Read enters

338, serial no. 49
Below (Plate) 233a
Add cf. 237f

338, serial no. 49 (l. 3)
For right hand
Read hand

339, serial no. 54 (l. 1)
For hair-diadem
Read hair, diadem

341, serial no. 77 (l. 4)
Delete said to be
For 63-5/6 ft.
Read 63⅝ ft.

347, n. 12 (last line)

352, n. 16 (l. 3)
For Gośiṛṣacandana
Read Gośiṛṣacandana

361, n. 19 (l. 1)
For Inser. I
Read Inscript. I

362 No. 8 (l. 2)
For tūṁhāy
Read tūṁhāy

372 (l. 19 from bottom)
For battars
Read battens

372 (l. 15 from bottom)
For with gold
Read with gold

372 (l. 6 from bottom)
For Samaṇakūṭā
Read Samaṇakūṭā

380 (l. 8 from top)
For (praḥ kwan)
Read ?(praḥ kwan)

393 (l. 8 from top)
For Śoṇāka
Read śoṇāka

394 (top line)
For kakuddha
Read kakuddha

394 (last line but one)

403 (l. 5 from top)
* To (dative) Delete asterisk

404 (middle "Having . . ."")(last column) For ruy
Read ruy,

408 (l. 15 from top)
For square, arched
Read square-arched

410 (l. 7 from top)
For meatly
Read neatly

421 (l. 18 from top)
For cups
Read cups

422 (l. 7 from end)
For in one of hope
Read is one of hope