

HISTORICAL SITES IN BURMA



7-2

35
67



First Edition 1972
10,000

Sarpay Beikman Press
Printed in the Union of Burma.

CONTENTS

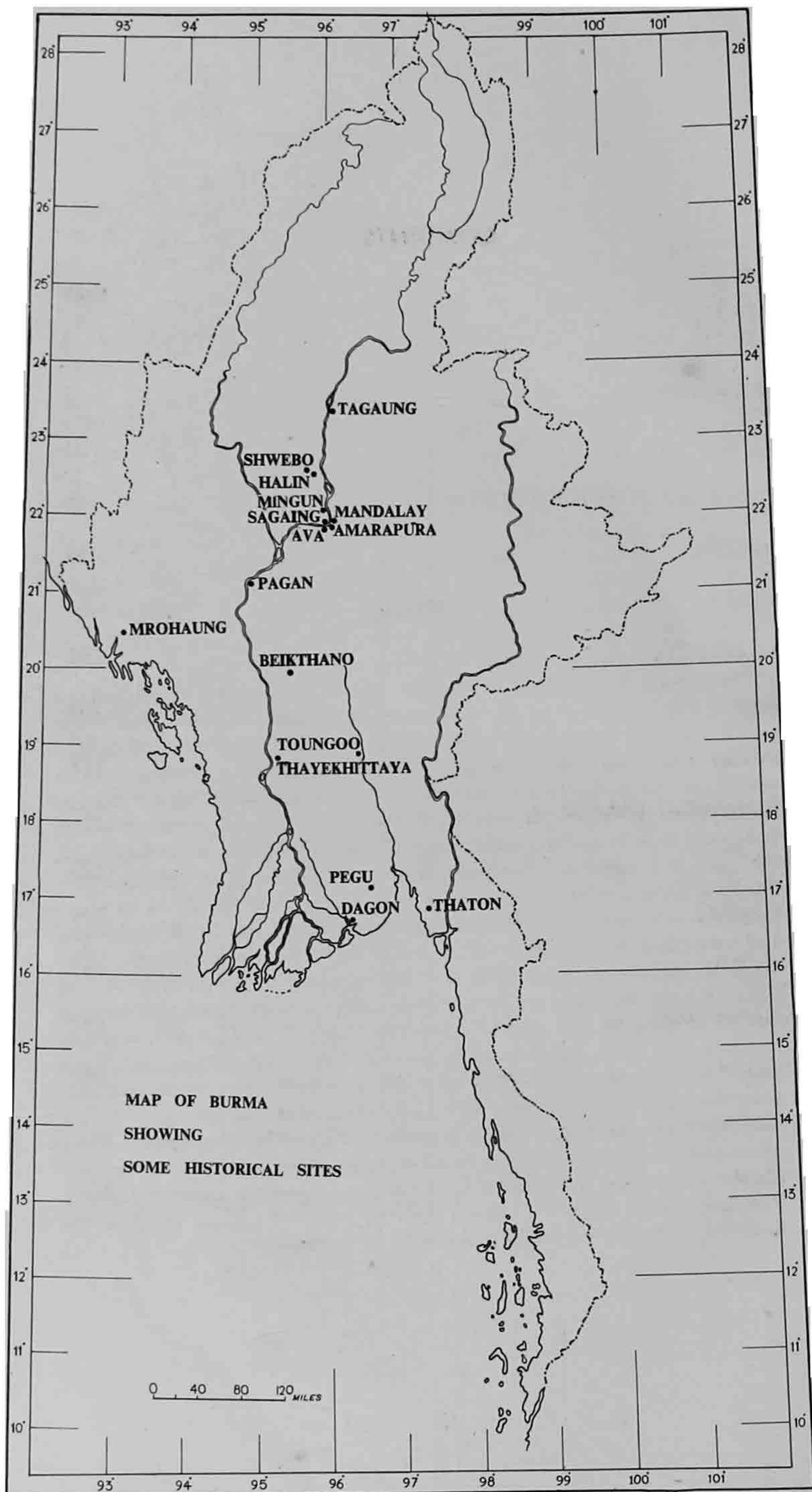
	Page
PREFACE 	i
BEIKTHANO 	1
HALIN 	11
SRIKSHETRA (THAYEKHITTAYA) 	16
THATON 	34
PAGAN 	41
TAGAUNG 	99
PEGU 	104
DAGON 	112
MROHAUNG (MRAUK-U) 	117
AVA 	125
SAGAING 	129
MINGUN 	133
AMARAPURA 	137
MANDALAY 	140
BIBLIOGRAPHY 	151
INDEX 	152

ERRATA

Page 95, Caption: delete Kirttimukha frieze.

Page 148, Line 30-31: for 16 feet by 8 inches, read 16 feet 8 inches

Page 148, Line 32: for 1814, read 1824.



PREFACE

This book is intended to acquaint readers with some of the notable historical sites in Burma. It will be noticed that the ancient sites are distinguished more by their monumental remains of religious significance than by any other perceptible vestiges. There are two main reasons for this peculiarity. Firstly, the Burmans, being professedly Buddhists are wont to lavish their surplus wealth in building religious structures, the act of which is deemed to be one of the surest ways of attaining merit in accordance with the tenets of Buddhism. Secondly, most of the secular buildings, especially dwelling houses, were never built of durable materials like brick or stone because structures of timber, bamboo and thatch are suited to the hot climate and easier and more economical to build than masonry structures. The materials are also available in abundance throughout the country. At the same time the Burmans are by nature humble or modest and feel quite at ease in abiding by the age-old custom of living in wooden houses while masonry structures are exclusively dedicated to religious purpose. Even palaces were invariably built of timber till the nineteenth century and only a few masonry apartments were added later to the Mandalay palace. Gilding was, however, reserved for both ecclesiastical and royal buildings. Thus innumerable pagodas belonging to all ages are to be found throughout the country and it is no wonder that Burma is popularly known as the ' Land of Pagodas '. It is therefore natural that the religious edifices come to the forefront in presenting the historical sites in Burma.

On the other hand it is not intended to recount here the history of the nation in any degree of comprehensiveness nor to dwell at length on the architectural details of every monument worthy of mention. As in many countries Burma has its history mingled with traditional lore and beliefs. The founding of cities and the erection of religious monuments, sometimes assuming important landmarks in the history of the country, are generally cloaked with hoary traditions to emphasize their antiquity or importance. For example, many pagodas are popularly attributed to Asoka and some modern stupas to Alaungsithu. Refutable associations need to be discounted ; but sometimes the traditional background with sentimental undertones goes a long way to understand the vicissitudes of a developing nation and the evolution of its monumental and sculptural arts. Such traditions as were of consequence in moulding public sentiments are therefore mentioned for what they are worth.

The historical periods of the different sites are presented in a more or less chronological sequence. However, in cases where the sites pertain to more than one historical period they are treated in the later periods when they have attained more prominence in the history of the country, allusions being made to their original significance. A few of the sites are difficult of access, but it is not proper to leave them out for this reason alone : their inclusion, it is hoped, would afford the reader a fuller perspective of the ancient sites throughout the country and thus fulfil the purpose of this book.

Grateful appreciation is here placed on record of the joint efforts of U Thein Maung of the Defence Services Historical Research Institute and U Paw Nyein, Head Photographer, Directorate of Archaeological Survey, in taking the colour photographs. The black-and-white reproductions are selected from the photographic archive of the Archaeological Survey the current accessions to which are made by the staff photographers, U Paw Nyein, U Kyaw and U Aye. Thanks are due to all of them for their creditable contribution.



Spouted pot from Beikthano.

BEIKTHANO

Ancient sites in Burma are generally associated with fabulous traditions and folklore handed down from generation to generation since ages past. Beikthano is not an exception. [It is traditionally believed to have been founded some 2,400 years ago by Princess Panhtwar descended from a still legendary dynasty of Tagaung in Upper Burma.] The fall of the city is attributed to a mightier king, Duttabaung of Sriksheṭra, who sacked the city, subdued the princess, took her captive and eventually married her. In the present stage of historical research in this country the personalities characterized in the legend are beyond authentic identification. However, (the existence of an ancient city called Beikthano (Vishnu City) is testified by the ruins which stand to this day and indicates that the legend may have sprung up from a nucleus of true facts.)

(The ruins lying twelve miles west of Taungdwingyi in Magwe district are not easily recognized by casual passers-by but the elderly local people remember that the fort walls stood much higher than now about half a century ago before the bricks were quarried for building roads and railway tracks.) Apart from the interesting tale of the city the local people could give no proper account of the city complex and the urn burials which they often discover in and around the city walls. In fact, its character, its culture and its past life and glory remained shrouded under a misty veil of myth and legend till recently when archaeological excavations were conducted.



Remains of a monastery exposed at site 2, Beikthano.

The excavations, though limited to twenty-five selected sites during six open seasons, reveal that the cultural equipment of the site is essentially Pyu in character. Masonry structures with massive walls constructed of large-sized bricks, uninscribed silver coins bearing symbols of prosperity and good-luck, burial urns of plain and exquisite designs, beads of clay and semi-precious stones, decorated domestic pottery, iron nails and bosses are among the finds which reveal convincing cultural links between Beikthano and the established Pyu site of Srikshetra. The significant absence of Buddhist statuary and relics and of Pyu inscriptions lend support to fix Beikthano culture at an earlier stage of Pyu chronology.



Fragment of stone sculpture, Beikthano.

(The city wall is shaped more or less like a rhombus, each side measuring about two miles. The western side has almost completely eroded and the other sides have crumbled down by natural decay as well as human depredation. Internal projections of the wall, clearly visible on the north and south sides, which at first seemed to be debris mounds of bastions proved to be gateways on excavating them.) The peculiarity of these gateways is that the fort walls curve gradually inwards instead of making square turns at the entrance. The arms or ramparts on either side of the entrance passage extend to about 86 feet. Charred remains of a wooden gate in each of the passages flanked by the arms were discovered together with rusted iron sockets on which the gates were originally swung. All such gates were not excavated but it is apparent that the traditional enumeration of twelve main gates through the entire perimeter of the brick fortification sounds true. Within the fort walls lies a rectangular brick enclosure known as the palace site. On digging the midpoint of the eastern wall of this enclosure an inner gateway was exposed. Unlike those at the northern city walls this gateway has a square entrance. A sentry recess is provided in each of the arms as in the outer gateways. Near this entrance was discovered two huge sandstone blocks each bearing in high relief a pair of human feet. Unfortunately, the upper portions of the stone slabs probably sculptured with door-guardians bigger than life-size are not traceable. These stone sculptures signify the importance of this principal entrance to the citadel which leads to a substantial brick structure within it.

Excavated gateway, Beikthano.





Clay sealing.

and if it was not for the peculiar burial custom characteristic of the Beikthano monuments they could be regarded as Buddhist stupas.

Two oblong structures exposed by excavation are found to be pillared halls which belonged to the monastic establishments. These also have their prototypes in South India. Here the pillars are wooden ; and the burial of urns inside the structures as well as round the exterior base is a peculiar feature not found in the South Indian counterpart. In all probability, these structures indicate the presence at Beikthano of a form of Buddhism similar to that followed by the Aparaseliya and Mahisasaka sects of Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda who started their careers without the Buddha image and did not yield to the popular demand of image-worship.

(The main period of occupation at Beikthano represented by all the excavated sites, except one, characterized the earliest Pyu culture yet discovered. Considering the types of structures, the pottery types, the auspicious marks on potsherds, the inscription on the clay seal, the burial urns and the absence of Buddhist statuary this period may be assigned to the first to fifth centuries A.C. This chronological estimation based on archaeological evidences is confirmed by radiocarbon analysis of charcoal specimens collected from undisturbed layers of debris formed soon after some of the buildings collapsed by fire.)

Hitherto, excavations in Burma have been comparatively few. Srikshetra and Pagan are the only two sites explored with some thoroughness ; even so the accounts of those earlier attempts were not well recorded. Thus Beikthano is a fresh site to be excavated systematically for the study of Pyu culture. The antiquities discovered at Srikshetra and Halin, nevertheless, provide valuable links with the stratified objects from Beikthano.

The burial urns are definite evidence of cultural relationship between Beikthano on the one hand and Srikshetra and Halin on the other. Innumerable urns unearthed at Srikshetra are of the same character as those from Beikthano as regards the contents and manner of burials. But very few types of ornate designs were found at Srikshetra. The urns so far found at Halin are relatively few but the tall and almost perpendicular-sided urns are comparable to those found at Beikthano.

From the disposition of the urns it is apparent that these were not buried singly at various times but were deposited in different groups at numerous burial sites in or around the structures. It could therefore be inferred that the urns were subjected to secondary burial. There must have been suitable buildings where the remains of the cremated bodies could be temporarily buried or stored until sufficient numbers of them were accumulated for



Remains of stupa exposed at site 3, Beikthano.



Base of structure, site 12.

collective burial at proper sepulchral sites or structures built from time to time within or outside the city. Possibly the building at site 2 could have served the purpose. The large quantity of pottery of various types and calcined bones and skulls found within that structure are strong evidences to support this inference. The striking affinity of the plan of this building with that of the monasteries at site 20 in Nagarjunakonda leaves no doubt as regards the functional aspect, and the storage of urns in a monastic building before final burial may be deemed to be part of the sepulchral rites observed by the inhabitants of Beikthano.



Burial urn.

The antiquity of Beikthano is vouched by the recovery of uninscribed coins or medals known as Pyu coins. Though the number recovered by excavation is quite few, surface finds were also made by the local people from time to time. From these specimens it appears that not only the

predominant type found at Srikshestra but also the type peculiar to Halin occurs at this site. In Burma these types of uninscribed coins could be definitely attributed as one of the chief characteristics of Pyu culture.

The Pyus at Beikthano knew the technique of building brick structures but since their settlement at the site even before the fortified city was built they dwelt in houses of perishable materials like bamboo and timber. Clay was mixed with rice husks to make strong bricks. It may be surmized that the main occupation was the cultivation of rice, and a considerable number of the inhabitants were engaged in pottery-making, weaving and producing metal objects of utility and ornaments. Their achievement in sculptural art was not considerable. At Beikthano writing was not used for making permanent records and consequently inscribed Buddhist texts were not in vogue as in Srikshestra.

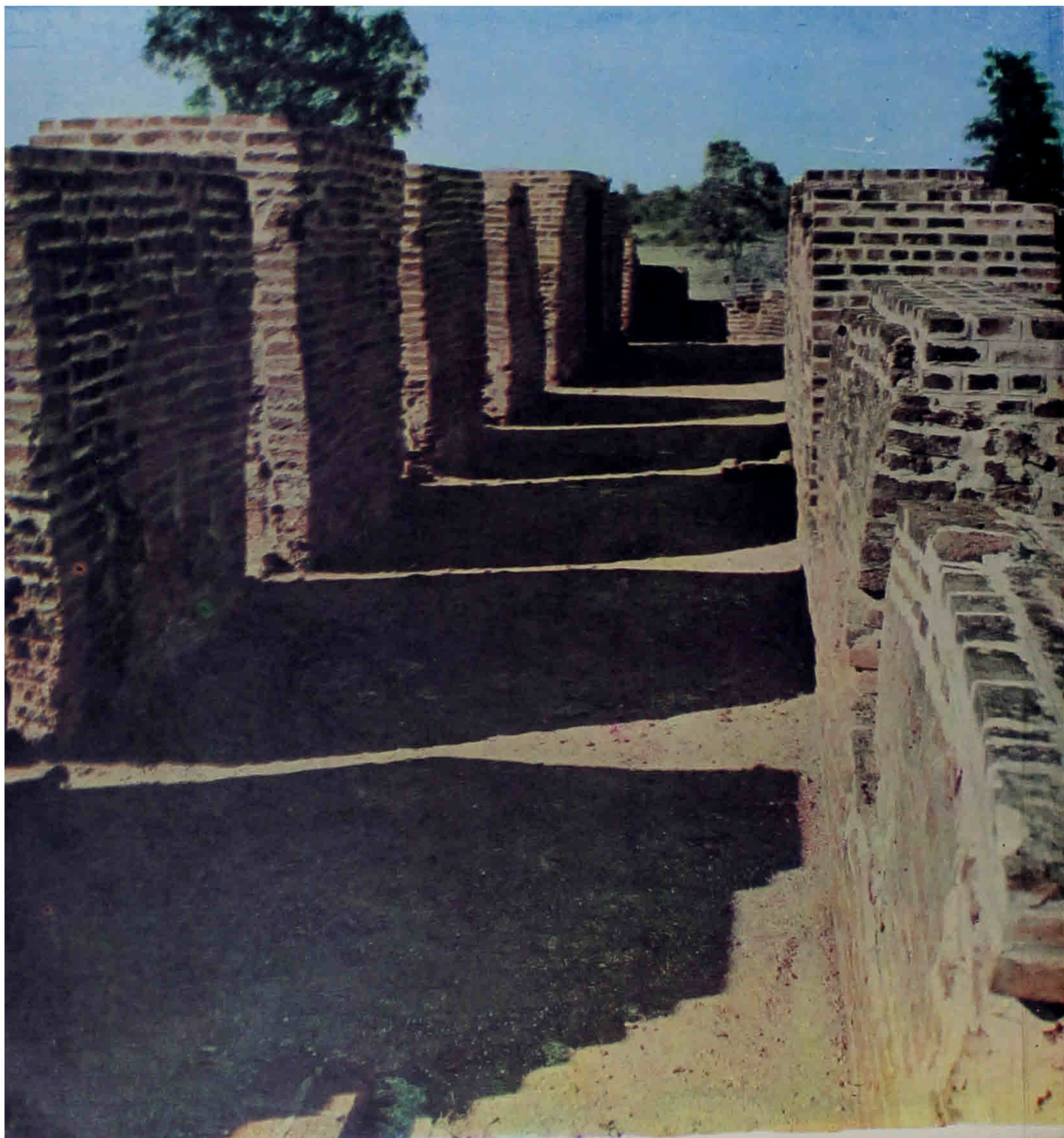


Stone seal.



Symbolical Pyu coins, Beikthano.

Corridor of monastery, site 2, Beikthano.





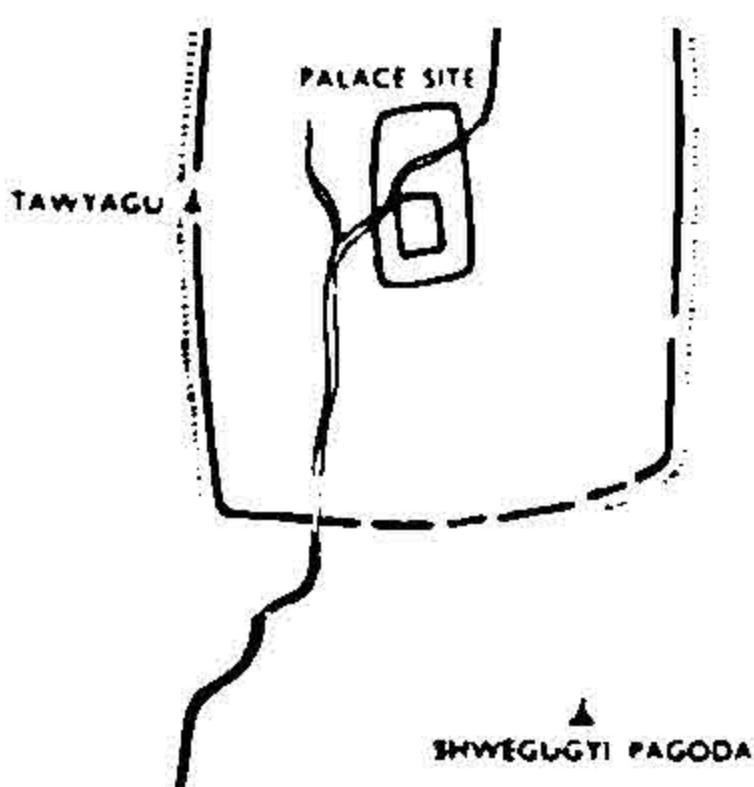
Clay lamp on stand.

HALIN

(Another significant Pyu site, Halin (or Halingyi-Great Halin), lies about 11 miles south-east of Shwebo in Upper Burma. It is reached by road from Shwebo crossing Moksogyon railway-station on the Mandalay-Shwebo line.) One passes through irrigated rice-fields on the way but finds himself in a dry scrubland as he approaches the ancient site. There is a group of villages with numerous small modern pagodas to the south of the old fortified city. This locality is noted for hot saline springs.

(The antiquity of this city is indeed exaggerated by tradition which asserts that it was founded several thousand years ago by a refugee prince from India descended from Mahasamata, the first fabled ruler of Majjhimadesa, that is India. It is believed that the last king, 799th in succession, was a Pyu.) (Owing to his misdeed a rain of ashes and molten matter poured down heavily and buried the city completely.) (Perhaps this legend of a disastrous calamity was fabricated to account for the almost barren and desolated site we see today.) It is surprising that such a renowned city is deplete with visible ruins of either religious or secular character, thus presenting a glaring contrast to Srikshestra.

However, material evidences of Pyu culture lying buried for centuries have been unearthed to convince us that Halin was once the seat of Pyu culture. The site was superficially explored in 1904-05 and few test excavations were made in 1929-30.) The results were by no means disappointing.



Plan of Halin.

The earliest discovery is that of a small stone slab inscribed in an old script later found to resemble the urn inscriptions of Srikshetra and deciphered to be Pyu language. Each of the two Pyu lines is followed by a few interlinear characters in Brahmi. It is an epitaph marking the site of the tomb (or bones?) of one Honourable Ru-ba. It was found to the south of the south-eastern corner of the city and was removed to the Pagan Museum. In 1929-30 a second inscription engraved on a hard sandstone slab was found a few hundred feet to the south-east of the first one. There are eight lines of Pyu without any interlinear Brahmi. The name, probably of a queen, Sri Jatrajiku, is readable. The third inscription is illegible. It appears between two panels of a sculptured stone slab the upper portion of which is badly damaged. It bore a large seated figure with the right hand resting on the right thigh. As the head and body are missing it is difficult to identify the figure. The lower panel contains some fifty figures of seated worshippers in three rows. Some wear headdresses and some have coiled hair on their heads.

The villagers often came by objects of antiquarian interest such as gold, silver and bronze objects, ornaments, etc. but these were usually lost through melting down for the sake of metal. Of particular interest among the chance finds are symbolical coins, some of which could be retrieved owing to frequent discoveries. They are similar to those found at Srikshetra and are definitely characteristic of Pyu culture. The only variance on Halin coins is the symbol of the rising sun on the obverse instead of the bhaddapitha emblem as on Srikshetra coins.

(Systematic excavations at Halin from 1962 to 1967 have shed further light on the cultural complex of the ancient site. The brick-walled city is in the form of a rectangle roughly 2 miles long and one mile wide.) As in Beikthano and the inner citadel of Srikshetra the north-south axis of the fort plan is slightly inclined to the west. The walls have crumbled down and the debris strewn about almost at ground level. Traces of a moat are seen on all sides except the south. Most of the excavated sites had to be covered up again as the remains of structures are lower than the ground level. There were originally twelve gateways of which three were exposed in the course of recent excavations. The fort walls curve inwards at the entrances, thus forming two parallel arms which flank the long passage leading to the interior of the city. This feature as well as the rounded corners of the rectangular fort wall resembles the layout of the gateways and corners of Beikthano city.

The types of structural remains within the city also show distinctive parallels to those at Beikthano. No round stupas are to be found. The exposed structures consist of square or rectangular buildings with a quadrangular projection on one side in a few instances. Earthen funerary urns are

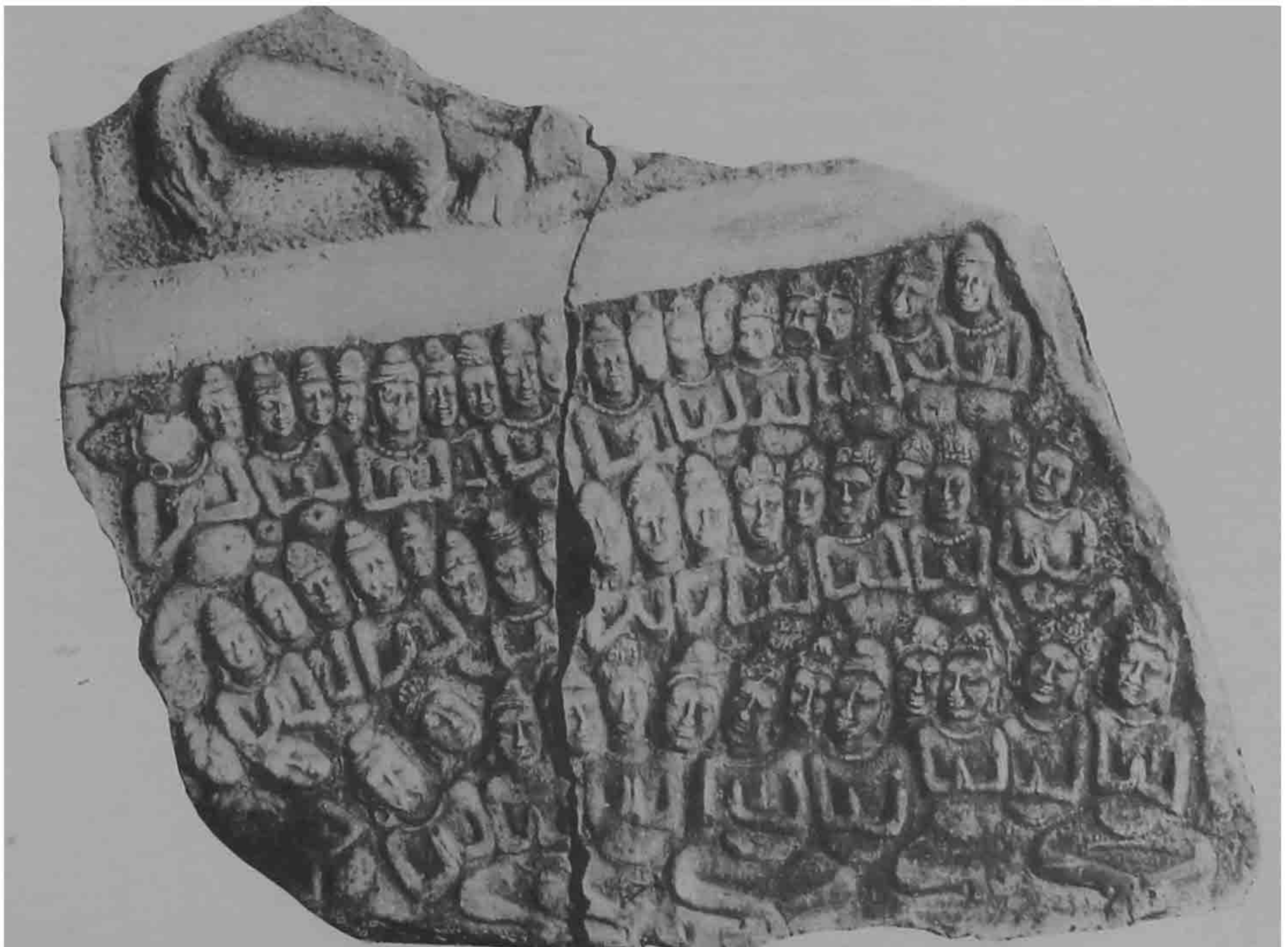
Bronze mirrors, Halin.



found buried both within and outside the structures. As objects of religious character are altogether absent the structures are deemed to be built solely for the purpose of disposing the funerary urns. At site No. 9 was exposed the brick walls, at the foundation level, of a large rectangular hall originally provided with 84 wooden pillars to support the roof or superstructure. The posts which lie in four parallel rows within the walls were completely burnt down and could be traced only by the charred stumps a few inches high. Situated near the so-called palace site this structure might have served as an assembly hall as the one at Beikthano mound No. 9.

(In 1964 a huge inscribed stone slab was discovered about two furlongs north of the palace site. The inscription contains six and half lines of Pyu in South Indian script datable to about 8th or 9th century.) Each of the full lines measures 53 inches and there are some Brahmi letters between them. The inscription begins with the salutation 'Siddham' and each of the proper names Sri Trivigrama and Va : ma occur twice, but owing to the scant knowledge we possess of the Pyu language the contents of the inscription still remain unknown. However, from the script and the readable names it may be presumed that this inscription records a certain event associated with the Vikrama dynasty or the Varmans of Sriksheṭra. This inscription and another illegible one also in Pyu are preserved in the inscription shed in Halin village where the sculptured slab is also installed.

Stone sculpture, Halin.





Gateway excavated at Halin.

Though Buddha statues and clay votive tablets are totally absent this site is notably rich in such small finds as decorated sherds and beads of semi-precious stones, the designs and workmanship of which exhibit unmistakable affinity with those from Srikshetra. A few gold rings, two gold pendants, two gold beads, one round and one barrel-shaped, and several tiny disc beads of gold were found at different ritual structures. Iron nails, knife blades, arrow-heads and sockets for doors are recovered in abundance. Of particular interest among the iron objects found outside the gateways are scores of caltrops with four spikes any point of which inevitably protrudes upward when thrown on the ground. These were used to impede the hostile infantry or cavalry advancing towards the city. Among the utensils of domestic use are three bronze mirrors with long tenons to fix into handles of wood, ivory or other material. These are badly damaged due to oxidation.

About a score of symbolical coins were recovered by excavation. The Halin type with the rising sun symbol predominates. A variant type with a conch within the Srivatsa symbol is also found. This type is very rare and only a few specimens were discovered at Srikshetra. Some of the contemporary Arakanese coins also bear the conch figure.

A very useful antiquity as collaborative evidence in dating the site is a small oval flat piece of agate inscribed with the word Daya-danam in South Indian characters of the 5th century. The name apparently denotes a donor and the object is probably meant as a signet stone to be set in a metal ring. Many such pieces similarly inscribed with Pali words were discovered at an ancient site, Oc-co in the Hinduised state of Funan in Indo-China and incidentally one of those bear the identical name as this found at Halin.

From the foregoing it is evident that Halin, like Beikthano, possesses all the characteristics of Pyu culture with the exception of round stupas and large stone images and metal statues as we find in Srikshetra. It shows that



Inscribed stone seal.

though Halin is contemporaneous with Srikshetra the Buddhist sect at the latter city which accepted the image-worship did not influence Halin in the least. Another diverting factor which prevailed at Halin is the discovery of numerous stretched skeletons at one site together with funerary urns. It indicates that the burial of corporeal remains in the common way was in vogue parallel to the practice of cremation and urn burial.

It is noticeable that most of the structures where wood was used were destroyed by fire. The wooden gates at the entrances to the city were also burnt. Probably a great conflagration either by enemy action or by local accident had razed the city once and for all. (By radiocarbon analysis of the charcoal specimens from the excavated sites the wooden gates from two gateways could be determined to belong to the 2nd-3rd century, and the assembly hall datable to the 6th century.)



Clay water bottle.



Miniature silver stupa
from Khinba mound.



SRIKSHETRA (THAYEKHITTAYA)

(Srikshetra (Thayekhittaya in Burmese), one of the ancient Pyu capitals of Burma, lies five miles south-east of Prome on the left bank of the Irrawaddy and about 180 miles north-west of Rangoon. The founding of the city is popularly attributed to the reign of Duttabaung as early as the 101st year of religion, that is, some two thousand four hundred years ago.) (Local chronicles relate the legend that the city was built for Duttabaung by Sakra, Lord of the devas, with the help of Gavampati, Rishi, Naga, Garuda, Candi and Parameswar.) Standing in the centre of a piece of pleasant level ground Sakra described a circle by means of a rope dragged round by the Naga. On the land thus encircled was founded the golden city of Srikshetra as glorious as Sakra's own abode, and Duttabaung was raised to the throne and anointed king. In course of time the king encountered Princess Panhtwar of Beikthano who defiantly repelled his invading forces several times through miraculous strategem. Ultimately she was defeated and brought captive to Srikshetra. The chronicles also mention the uneventful reigns of Duttabaung's successors and the fall of Srikshetra after about five hundred years of its founding.

(Archaeological discoveries, however, indicate that this city attained its height of prosperity between the fifth and ninth centuries. The Pyus were Tibeto-Burmese speaking people who, being the early immigrants into Burma, were already settled in the central part of the country by the beginning of the Christian era.) After several centuries they gradually merged with the Burmans and the Pyu language became defunct. So it is not possible yet

to decipher most of the Pyu inscriptions to unravel the history of these people nor to substantiate the legendary traditions handed down from generation to generation. Fortunately, the cultural heritage of these ancient people could be revealed from the wealth of archaeological remains brought to light by exploration and excavation. (Srikshestra is one of the thoroughly explored sites in Burma, intermittent excavations having been conducted since 1907 and intensive digging carried on from 1964 onwards.)

Srikshestra shows its close association and contact with South India. This can be seen in the monuments, mainly of religious character, which dominate this ancient site.

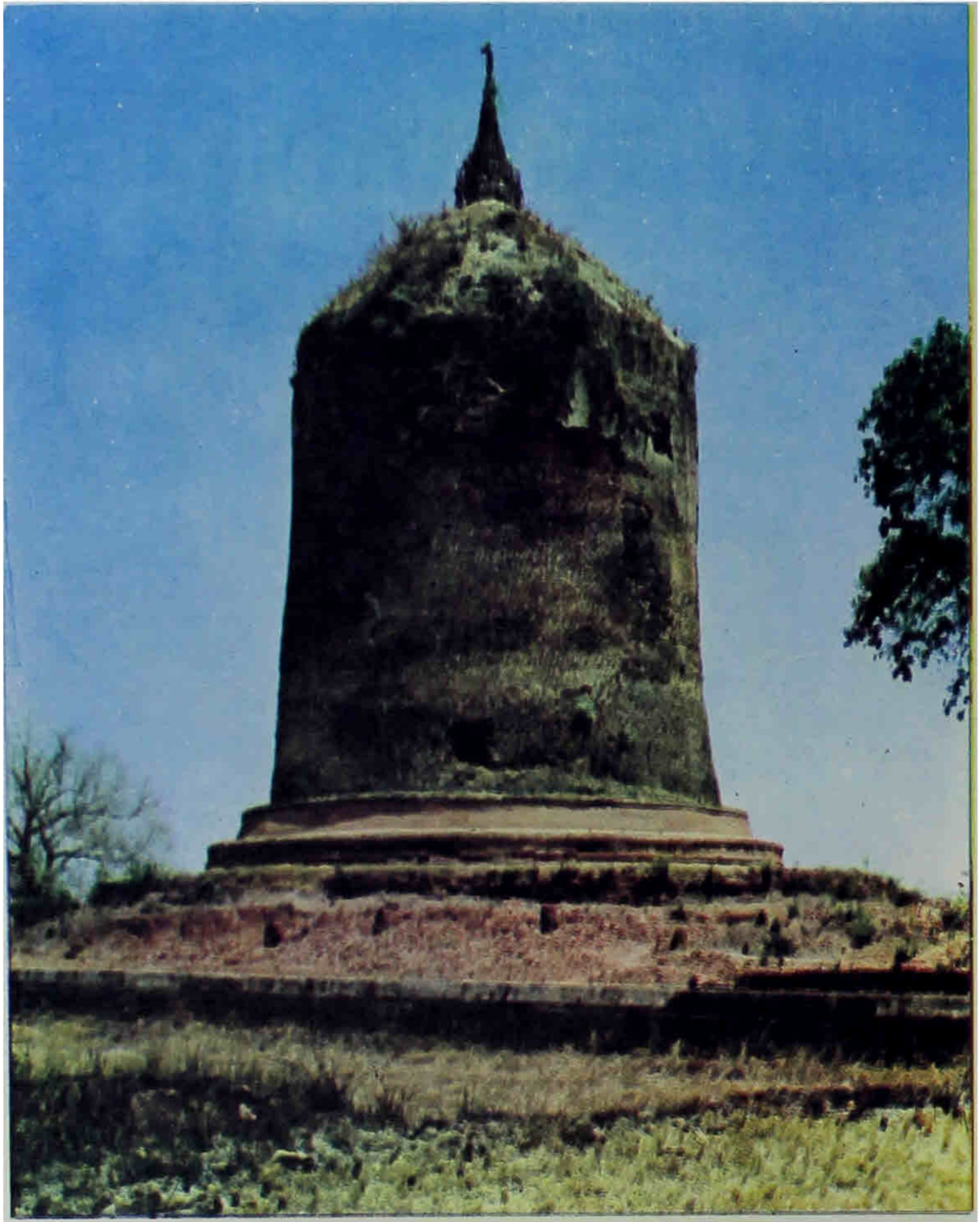


Symbolical Pyu coin.

The city is roughly circular in shape. It is encompassed by a high fort wall of large baked bricks, the circumference being eight and half miles. Some sections of the massive wall still stand to a height of fifteen feet. As



Payagyi Pagoda, Srikshestra.



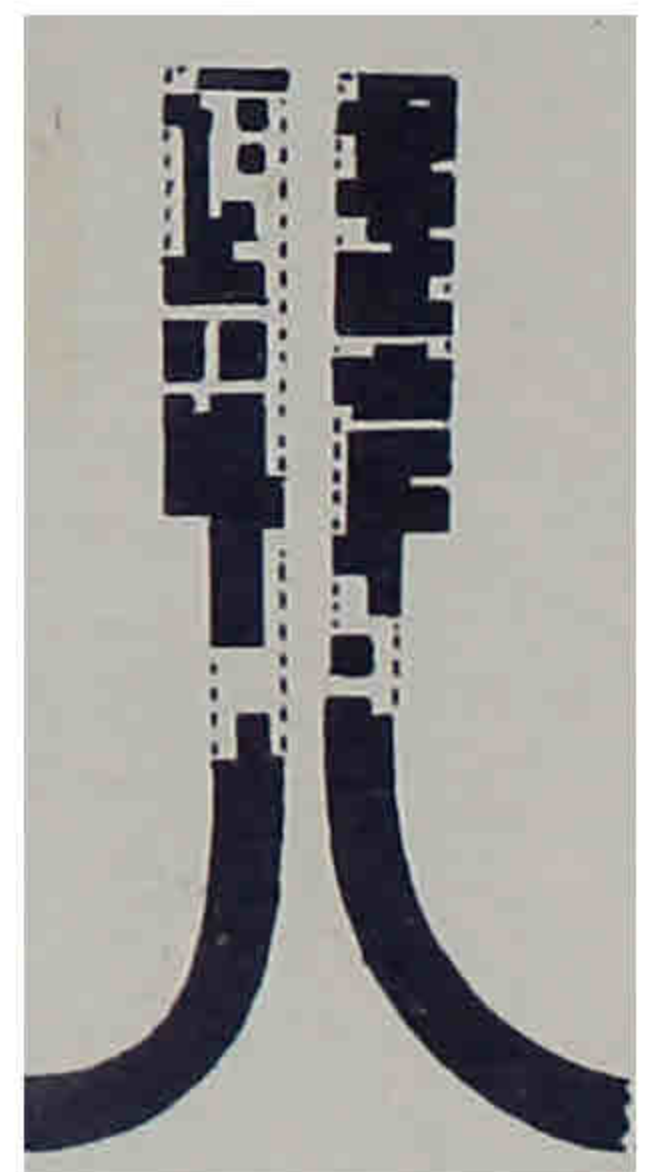
Bawbawgyi Pagoda, Srikshetra.



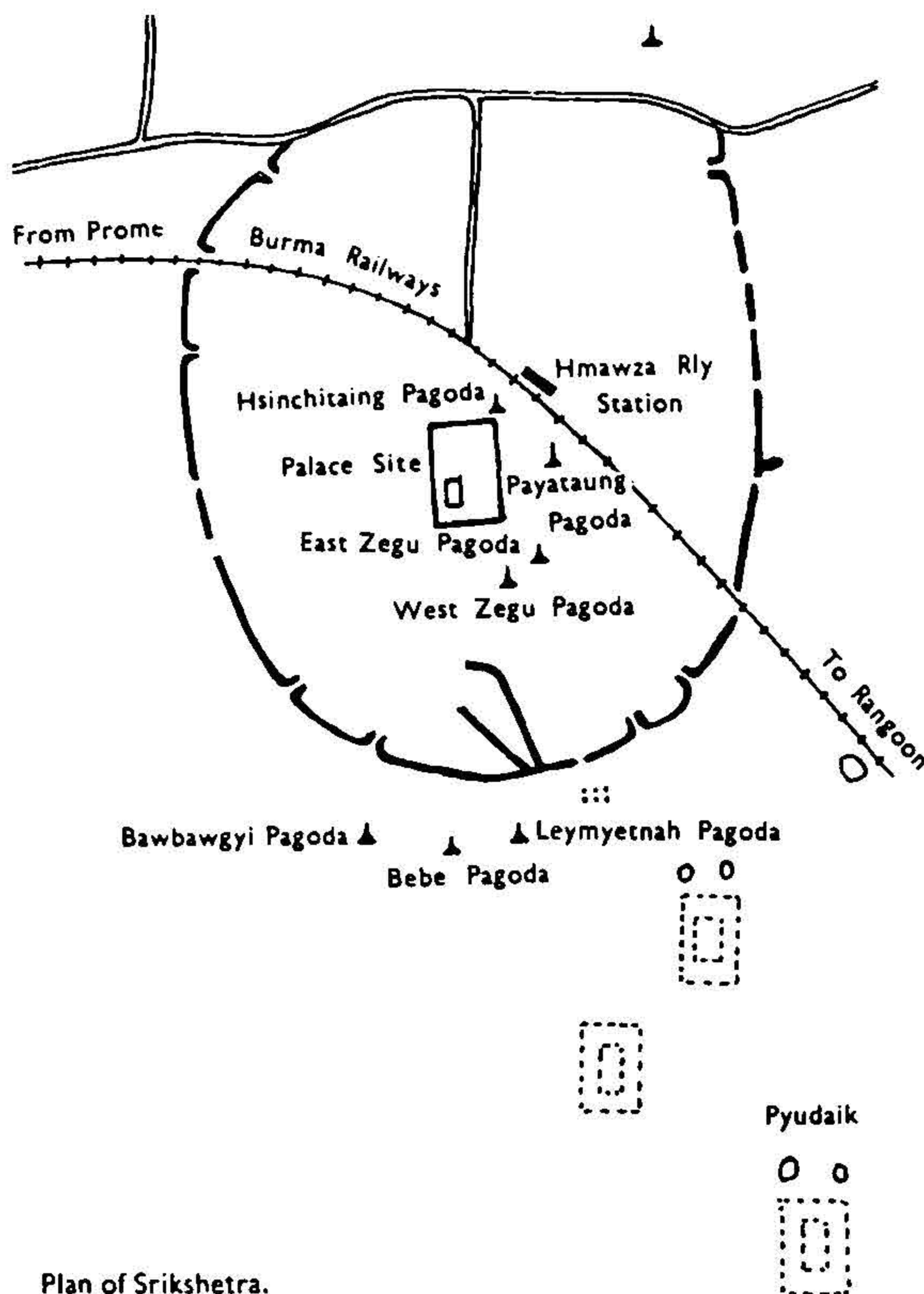
Lemyethna temple,
Srikshetra.

in Beikthano each gateway has rounded corners where the fort wall turns inwards to form long barricades on either side of the entrance passage. In the centre of the city lies the palace site, a rectangular enclosure, 1,700 feet by 1,125 feet, now covered with thick vegetation. The northern half of the city is a low plain dominated by rice fields whereas the southern half is comparatively high, rising gradually beyond the fort wall towards the hill range to the south.

Most of the ancient ruins lie in the southern sector of the city and also outside the fort walls while burial mounds are to be found scattered throughout the locality. Among the conspicuous monuments are three tall stupas, the Bawbawgyi, the Payagyi and the Payama, lying respectively to the south, north-west and north of the city wall. The Bawbawgyi, 153 feet high, assumes a cylindrical shape above five low circular terraces of which two are buried under the debris. It has a conical top surmounted by a modern *hti* (umbrella). This type is apparently evolved from the hemispherical stupas like the Sanchi and Amaravati topes of India. An intermediary stage between the semi-circular dome and the elongated mass appears on the sculptured stone slab which was used as a cover of the square relic chamber in Khin Ba mound. The Bawbawgyi however, is not entirely solid as might be suggested by its exterior view. The cylindrical body is hollow up to about two-thirds of height and has one opening at the base and another aperture high up in the opposite wall. The Payagyi and the Payama are much alike in having high conical domes. The absence of mouldings and elaborate architectural motifs denotes the antiquity of these Pyu stupas. Exceptions are however discovered of stupas with receding terraces and



Excavated gateway.



Plan of Srikshetra.

tapered mouldings as in the modern pagodas but these are of comparatively diminutive dimensions. On the evidence of the clay votive tablets and epigraphic finds recovered, the Bawbawgyi may be assigned to 6th-7th century.

A variant type of solid stupa was found in Gwebindet mound. Here the cylindrical body stands on a square base, seven and half feet high, which is reached by a flight of steps on each of the four sides. The walls of the base are decorated with clay plaques each bearing a figure of a man on horseback.

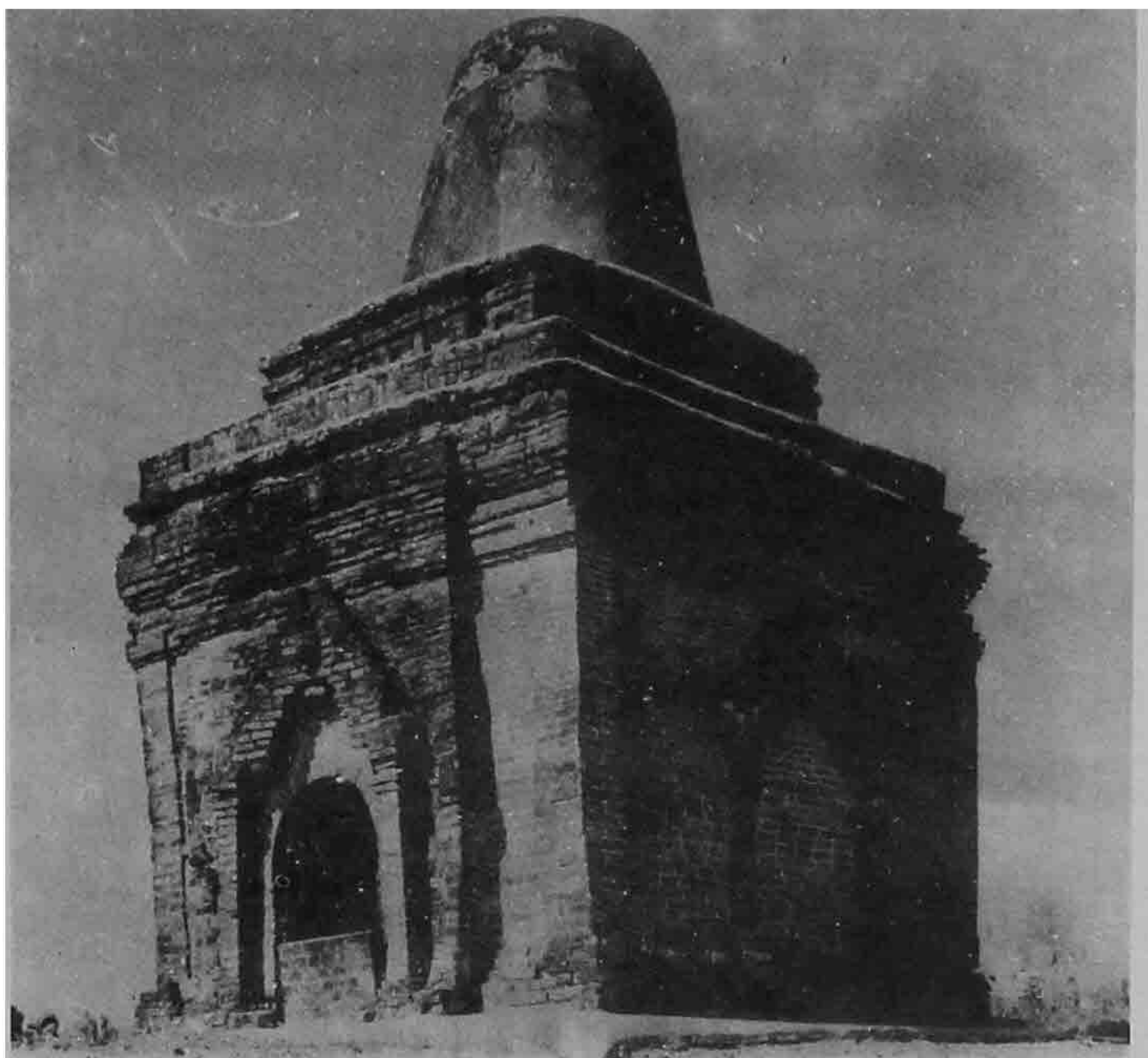
Among the hollow types of pagodas the Bebe, the Lemyethna and the East Zegu possess notable architectural features though not of great height. The Bebe has a small square sanctum with a porch facing east. Above this hollow cubicle rise three receding terraces on which stands a plain cylindrical pinnacle with rounded top. A sculptured stone slab bearing a seated

Buddha flanked by a disciple on either side rests against the west wall. The side walls have pilasters and false arched doors on the exterior and arched niches inside. This structure is a prototype of the early Pagan temples. The East Zegu temple is a little bigger than the Bebe, the ground plan being 27 feet by 24 feet. Facing east, it has prominent projections on all sides decorated with pilasters and arches. The superstructure however is lost to us. It originally housed a stone slab bearing the image of Buddha in relief. The Lemyethna with four entrances is also a small square temple, each side measuring 22 feet 5 inches. It has a central square mass against each side of which was originally placed a stone slab bearing a seated Buddha image. The one on the east is now missing. It has a terraced roof but the pinnacle has disappeared.

A narrow cave-like structure known as the Yahanda-gu has a vaulted roof and three entrances, one at each end and a third on the east side. Set against the west wall are two stone slabs bearing eight seated Buddhas in a

row. The Payataung, a larger square edifice surmounted by a stupa measures 38 feet square at the base. The structure is solid though pilasters and arches are decorated on all sides.

Many ruined structures have been exposed by excavation but some of these are so dilapidated that the original ground plans could not be traced. At Subokkon is a small temple with only one entrance similar to the Bebe. The West Zegu, from the remains of its basement, appears to be a square temple with two entrances on the east leading directly to the square sanctum which is surrounded on the other three sides by a corridor. On the outer walls of the north and south sides of the corridor are small niches of irregular size. The remains of a temple at Shwenyaungbinkon exhibit the prototype of the temple architecture at Pagan. Here the structure consists of a porch, an anteroom and the main hall. The porch and the anteroom occupy a single compartment divided only by a stone threshold one foot wide. The most significant architectural feature is the provision of niches in the walls which are decorated with arch pediments similar to those at Pagan temples.



Bebe temple,
Srikshetra.

The plaster over moulded bricks have entirely flaked off but the bare outlines of the decorative arch testify the high artistic achievement in Pyu architecture.

Recent excavations have exposed at a mound near the Shwedaga gate in the north-west sector of the city wall the basement of a large structure which has a quadrangular hall and a vestibule facing east. The hall measures 105 feet by 77 feet, while the vestibule is made of three diminishing projections having an overall length of 60 feet. It stands on an earthen plinth lined with a thin brick wall up to 6 feet, from which height rises the external walls having considerable thickness. The superstructure was apparently constructed of wood as evidenced by the recovery of numerous iron nails. The debris revealed two subsequent reconstruction at the same site though on a smaller scale than the preceding structure. A similar huge building was also unearthed near the Payama pagoda. Here the vestibule has two projections. Owing to the advanced stage of deterioration it is hardly possible to ascertain the original structural form.

Explorations and excavations in and around the city yielded valuable antiquities some of which are preserved in the site museum at Hmawza village and others removed to Rangoon for exhibition at the National Museum. Among the remains of works of art are fine pieces of stone sculpture



Stone sculpture found
near Bawbawgyi Pagoda.



Stone sculpture from
East Zegu Pagoda.

pertaining to Buddhist as well as Hindu themes. Buddha images are generally carved in relief on huge stone slabs. Unfortunately most of them are mutilated, having been neglected for centuries before they were discovered and preserved. One slab found in 1906 near the Bawbawgyi pagoda bears a Buddha seated with overlapping legs on a low pedestal and the hands in meditation pose. A bowl rests on the palms of the hands. A *makara* back-slab with a circular top is decorated behind the Buddha figure. On either side is a seated disciple but the one on the proper left of the Buddha is damaged beyond recognition. The slabs now preserved in the Kyaukka Thein (ordination hall) and the monastery in East Hmawza are also badly damaged. Each bears a seated image of the Buddha in earth-touching attitude flanked by a disciple with hands in adoration posture.

In the Bebe temple the seated figure of Buddha in relief has his left hand in the unusual attitude of touching the earth while the right hand is in



Stone sculpture,
Nativity scene,
Shwenyaungbinyo mound.

the lap. The seat is a double lotus throne below which is a line of writing in Pyu which has almost entirely flaked off. Flanking the Buddha on either side is a disciple in adoration attitude.

The sculptured slab from East Zegu temple depicts the scene of the First Sermon. Buddha is here seated on a low pedestal with the right leg placed on the left, while the left hand is stretched and rests on the left knee. The right arm is broken below the elbow but it seems that the hand was originally raised towards the breast. A standing figure with a headdress and holding an object which looks like a fan stands on either side of the Buddha. The lower portion of the stone slab bears a *cakra* symbol flanked on either side by a deer and two seated figures in adoration attitude. The two disciples on the proper right look like monks while those on the left with headdresses are laymen.

In the Lemyethna temple the stone relief placed against the southern side of the central square pillar bears a seated Buddha flanked by Bodhisattvas. The Buddha has his left hand resting on the left knee and the right hand on the lap. The head of the Buddha and the figure on the left are damaged. The Bodhisattva on the right is apparently Maitreyya. These large stone reliefs bear marked affinity with the Gupta art and may be dated about the 7th century.

Smaller stone sculptures discovered from various sites within the city are exhibited in the site museum. Among the finds from Shwenyaungbinyo mound one slab, 15 inches high, bears in relief the nativity scene. Queen Maya standing in the centre holds a branch of the sal tree while her sister Mahapajapati supports her on her left. The Bodhisatt stands erect on the right of her mother. Queen Maya and her sister are in *tribhanga* pose, that is, their bodies are not erect but slightly bent to assume the graceful pose of "three-bended" body. Another stoneslab depicts the episode of the taming of the Nalagiri elephant by Buddha. Yet another interesting sculpture, 13½ inches high, portrays the Buddha preaching his first sermon in the deer park. The Buddha is crowned by an umbrella and is seated on a lotus flower supported by its stalk. His hands are in the *dharmacakra mudra*. On each side of the Buddha is a kneeling monk with the hands in adoration attitude, representing the group of five monks who were present at the first sermon. Below the lotus seat of the Buddha are two gazelles facing towards a wheel placed on a stand in the centre. On the right of the deer in the lower panel is the Brahma possessing four heads of which only three are sculptured. The other kneeling figure on the left side symbolizes the Sakra, king of the *devas*. These sculptures also bear Gupta influence but owing to the Mongoloid features of the figures they are perhaps later than the large sculptures by a century or two.



Stone Sculpture, Dharmacakra
scene, Nyaungnibin mound,
Hmawza.

A more elaborate sculpture of the Dhammacakra scene was discovered in 1927-28. The uppermost panel is divided, by the *sikhara* (pinnacle) over the arch above the central figure, into two compartments, in each of which are two standing figures. The inner figure in either compartment is the Buddha while the outer one, with two visible heads, represents the Mahabrahma. In the middle tier is the Buddha seated crosslegged on a lotus in the *dharmacakra mudra* within an arched niche surmounted by a pyramidal spire. The attendants in monastic robes, are kneeling with their hands in adoration attitude and are also on lotuses within smaller arches. The lower panel bears not only the symbolical wheel with a couchant deer on either side, but also two three-headed Brahmas kneeling on stools. Below the deer are two other figures, probably devotees, each holding an object placed in a vase the stand of which rests on their slightly raised knees. This sculpture, now in the National Museum at Rangoon, is assigned to the 9th century.

Large single sculptures in the round are rarely found at Sriksheṭra. One remarkable exception is the Buddha image in stone from the Kanwetkhaungkon mound. The head of this figure is missing. It is seated in the meditation posture with the two hands placed on the lap. It has a fairly big rectangular pedestal round which is inscribed a long inscription in Sanskrit as well as Pyu. The Sanskrit portion is traceable to the Gupta script but may be assigned to a later date, that is, the 7th century.

Some of the sculptures discovered are distinctively Mahayanist. A large stone slab found broken in several fragments in 1926 bears the relief figure of a Bodhisattva seated in a carved niche. He sits on a throne with the right knee raised and the left leg stretched downwards. The right hand is missing; the left hand rests on the left knee. He wears a headdress, armbands and anklets. The stone slab is 6 feet 2 inches high and 4 feet 2 inches wide.

An interesting sculpture of a female deity, probably of the Mahayanist sect, was unearthed at a mound in the north-west sector of the city near the Shwedaga gate in 1965. It is broken into two portions, the entire height being 6 feet 9 inches. The deity sits on her folded legs with her face fully exposed to normal view but the body, in profile, facing the right side of the thick slab. Her left hand, holding what looks like a spear, is raised while the right hangs by her side. She is flanked on either side by an attendant. Four kneeling figures in adoration attitude are portrayed in the lower panel and at the bottom are six grinning female demons on their knees apparently attending on the deity.

A very extraordinary sculpture, probably of a *dvārapāla* (guardian), was recently discovered in the course of excavating a site within the rectangular



Stone Buddha on inscribed pedestal.



Stone sculpture found near Shwedaga gate.

Stone sculpture of a dvarapala.



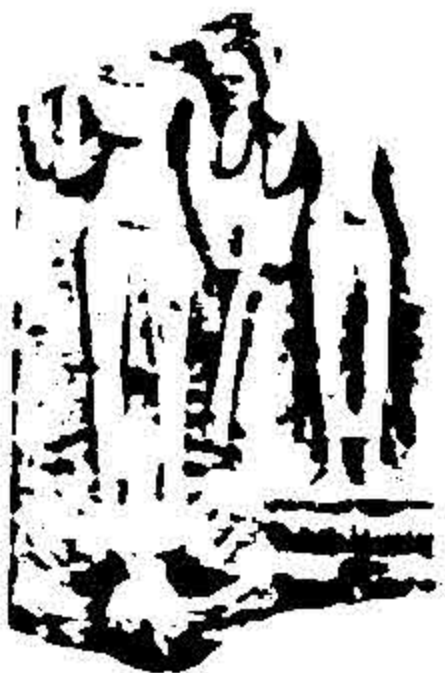
citadel. It is a bulky figure standing on a crocodile, partly damaged, with the left hand raised to the head and the right placed on the bended right knee. The peculiar headdress looks like a bird with spread wings. A chain hangs from the buckle of his belt and the back of his loin.

The fact that Brahmanism prevailed at Srikshetra side by side with Buddhism is attested by the discovery of stone sculptures pertaining mainly to the Vishnavite sect. One sandstone slab bears, in bold relief, the standing figure of Vishnu with his consort Lakshmi on his right side. The top of the slab is broken and both the heads are missing. One hand of Vishnu originally holding a conch is damaged and the other holding a *cakra* is also partly broken. He stands on a *Garuda* with outspread wings and a tail, while Lakshmi is on a fullblown lotus. She holds a bunch of lotus flowers (or a defaced trident) in her raised right hand and hangs her left hand by her side. Both the figures are adorned with ornaments.

In a field near Kalagankon mound were found two sandstone sculptures. One slab represents four-armed Vishnu standing on a mutilated *Garuda*. The other depicts Vishnu reclining on the serpent Ananta. Three lotus flowers stem from the navel of Vishnu. On each lotus is a seated figure, the first representing Brahma, the middle one Vishnu and the third Siva.

Many statuettes and ornamental objects of gold, silver and copper were brought to light by excavations. Among the finds from the relic-chamber in Khin Ba's mound is a gilded silver casket, cylindrical in shape. It is embossed with the last four Buddhas of the present world cycle seated in the earth-touching attitude in the Gupta style. Between the Buddhas are four standing disciples, also in relief. A trunk of banyan tree rises from the centre of the flat lid. Originally it was adorned with twigs and leaves. Around the top of the rim is a line of Pyu-Pali inscription in South Indian characters which identifies each Buddha by name *viz.*, Gautama, Konagamana, Kakusandha and Kassapa in the Pyu form of writing. Likewise the four disciples are also identified by a short line of Pyu below their feet. An extract from the Vinaya Pitaka follows the name of each Buddha. The names of probably the donors, Sri Prabhuvarman and Sri Prabuhdevi, are also inscribed at the bottom. The base of the casket is missing.

There is also a smaller casket in the form of a cube without the lid and base. This also has a meditating Buddha on each side in beautiful repousse. Other objects of interest include miniature pagodas of silver with multiple tiers of flat circular umbrellas, gold and silver caskets with lotus knob or twin-goose resting on the cover, models of boats, ducks, deer, butterflies, lotus flowers ; gold and silver rings ; necklace of elephants in jadeite and numerous beads of carnelian, amethyst, crystal, quartz, agate and glass.



Vishnu and Lakshmi.



Vishnu standing on Garuda.



Gilded cylindrical casket with Buddha figures in relief from Khinba mound.

Very fine pieces of bronze were also discovered at Sriksheṭra from time to time. A four-armed Avalokitesvara image was found near Bawbawgyi pagoda in the open season of 1911-12. It stands gracefully in the *tribhanga* pose but unfortunately it is somewhat damaged. The two feet are missing and the left hands are broken off above the elbow. One right hand is in the 'fear-not' attitude while the other one holds a bundle of palm-leaves tied round with a string. It wears a necklace, armlets and a girdle below which falls a sash tied in a knot on the left hip. The Dyaṇi Buddha Amitaḥa in the elaborate headdress distinguishes the statue as Lokeshvara.



Avalokitesvara
(Bodhisattva) in bronze.



Vishnu reclining on
the serpent, stone.



Square casket with Buddha
figures in relief.

Another identifiable bronze statuette in the round is that of Maitreyya. It bears on its socle an inscription the legible portion of which reads ba : Maitreya ba :.

The most spectacular find of bronzes was made during the excavation at a mound near Payama pagoda in the field season (1966-67). (Chinese annals mention the visit of a Pyu mission including a musical troupe to their capital about 802 A.C. Concrete evidence to support the fact that there were accomplished artistes in the Pyu city of Srikshetra was obtained by the discovery at that site of small bronze figures, each $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height.) One is a flute player, one a drummer, one a cymbal clapper and the fourth a dancer. The fifth figure which is half the size of the first four looks like a dwarf clown carrying a sack on its back. The heads are large for the size of the figures but the bodies are of fine proportion. They are well dressed and bedecked with ornaments. All of them assume most animating postures in consonance with the performances they are engaged in. (It is regrettable that the first four figures are lost through burglary at the site Museum where they were temporarily exhibited before the close of the excavation.) 1966-67

Together with those bronze figures were unearthed five bronze Buddhas and an ornately moulded bronze bell, eleven inches high. The bell is evidently of Pyu workmanship as testified by two emblems of srivatsa, carved in relief, which is commonly found on Pyu coins.

The earliest inscriptions in Burma are found at Srikshetra. The alphabet derived from South India is more closely allied to the Kadamba alphabet of Vanavasi and the Pallava script of Andhra. Two gold plates from Maung Kan's field in Lebaw village and another manuscript inscribed on twenty gold leaves, datable to 5th century, from Khin Ba's mound consist of excerpts from the *Abhidhamma* and *Vinaya*. Likewise a small stone slab from

Bronze figures of musicians and dancers unearthed near Payama Pagoda.





Bronze bell with decorations unearthed near Payama Pagoda.



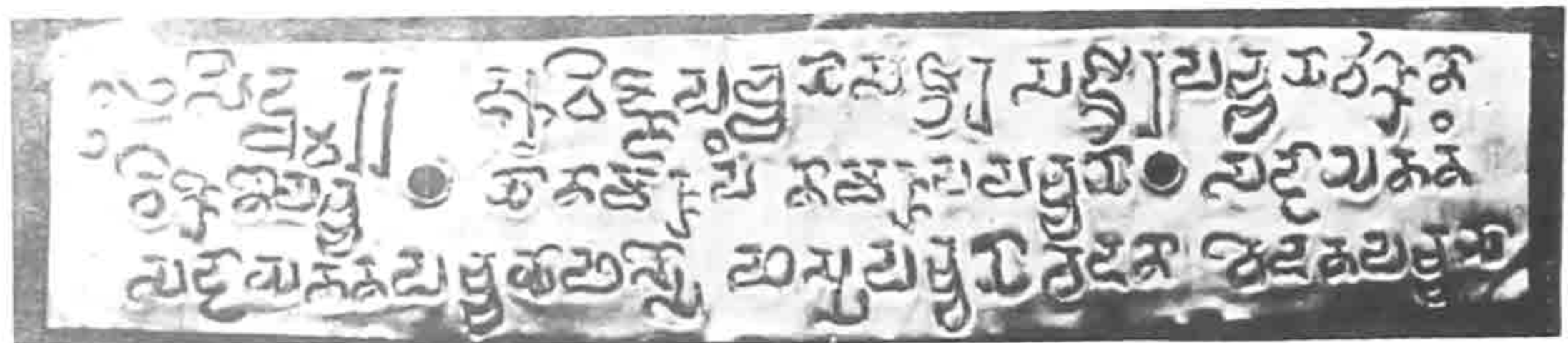
Inscribed stone urn, Srikshetra.

Bawbawgyi bears a Pali inscription taken from the *Abhidhamma*. A very recent discovery of a stone slab, unfortunately badly flaked and weathered, was made near the Shwedaga gate. From the fragmentary lines could be read extracts from three popular *Pali* recitations in verse namely, the *Mangala Sutta*, the *Ratna Sutta* and the *Mora Sutta*. It is datable to 6th or 7th century. These documents by themselves suffice to establish the fact that Theravada Buddhism was flourishing early at Srikshetra.

There have also been found numerous votive tablets of clay bearing Buddha figures and inscribed with the opening words of the Buddhist act of faith 'Ye dhamma hetuprabhava'. . . . Another important inscription is inscribed on the four sides of the square pedestal of a large headless statue of Buddha in stone. It is in Sanskrit with interlinear Pyu words. Yet another *Sanskrit* inscription in several fragments was discovered in the course of excavations in 1970. It is apparent that not only the *Pali* canon but some other canon written in *Sanskrit* was also known.

Excavation of burial mounds scattered round the fortified city yielded numerous funerary urns of divers shape and size. These are mostly earthenware and contain calcined bones mixed with ashes and loose earth. Copper and stone urns apparently used for the burial of the cremated remains of the royalty are also found in limited numbers. Four large stone urns were discovered near the Payagyi pagoda. Each of these bears a brief epitaph inscribed in Pyu. The inscriptions reveal that Srikshetra was ruled by a succession of kings bearing the dynastic name of Vikrama from the 7th to 8th century. Three names could be identified as Suryavikrama, Harivikrama and Sihavikrama. The fourth urn inscription records the demise of Surya-vikrama's relatives. It is difficult to ascertain whether the rulers were Pyu or Hindu colonists, for the indigenous kings might have assumed Indian regnal titles as was the custom among the later Burmese kings having Pali or Sanskrit names.

It is apparent that though Buddhism reigned supreme in Srikshetra Hinduism also influenced the cultural development of the Pyu. As a matter of fact some elements of culture are common to both the religions and it is difficult to draw a clear-cut line between some of the customs and beliefs originating from these faiths. An example of this fact may be cited in the use in profusion of coins or medals struck with auspicious symbols such as the



A page from the gold-leaf manuscript from Khinba mound.



Gold Buddha, Khinba mound.

srivatsa, *vajra*, conch, *bhaddapitha*, as also the emblems of the sun, the moon and the ocean represented by wavy lines.

The architectural, sculptural, epigraphic and artistic remains shed ample light on the cultural and religious aspects of the Pyu civilization. Unfortunately, important historical events are hardly obtained from archaeological sources. (Thus we do not know for certain when and how this prosperous Pyu city met its final fate. Of course Chinese records mention the sacking of a Pyu capital in 832 A.C. by Chinese hordes but it cannot be ascertained whether that capital was either Sriksheṭra or Halin, another contemporary city in the north. Anyway it is evident that Sriksheṭra did begin to decline by the 9th century and when the Pyus gradually merged with the Burmans it gave way to Pagan to emerge as the capital of unified Burma in the 11th century.)

Stone pillar bearing
a Jataka scene in relief.



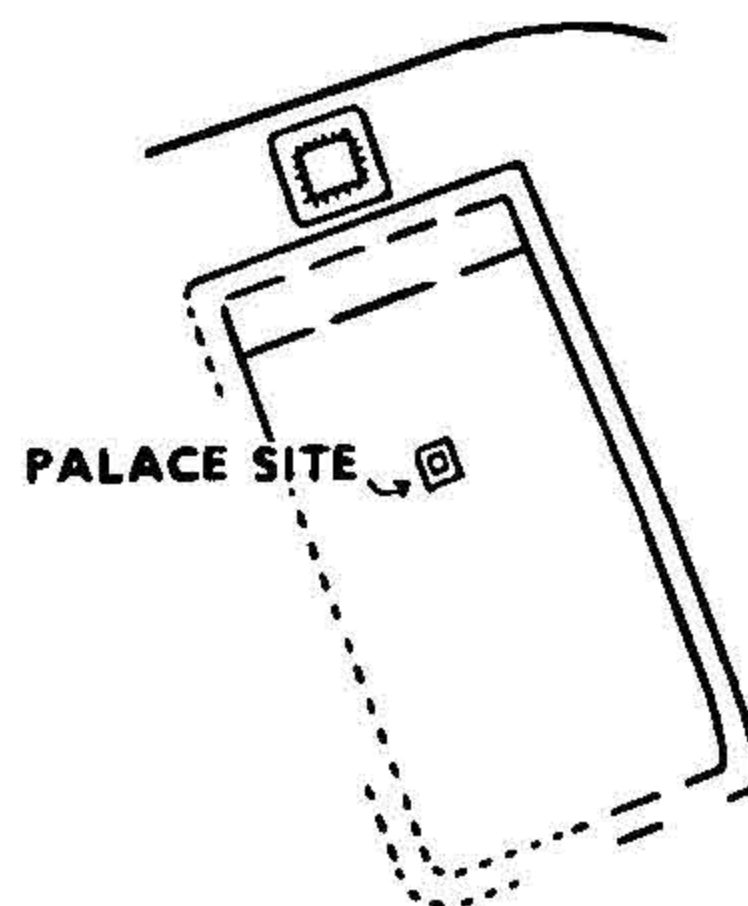
THATON

(In the early centuries of the Christian era the Mons were settled in the region between the Sittang and Salween rivers which was known as the Mon kingdom of Ramaññadesa. Thaton (Sudhamma) the seat of this kingdom was also known as Suvannabhumi or the Golden Land which also applies to the whole region of continental South-east Asia around the Bay of Bengal.) Tradition ascribes the founding of the city to King Siharaja during the life time of Buddha while the Mahavamsa, a Sinhalese chronicle, asserts that a Buddhist mission led by Sona and Uttara was despatched to Suvannabhumi after the third Buddhist Council in the third century B.C. The Kalyani inscription of Dhammazedi, however, identifies Suvannabhumi, the place where the Buddhist mission arrived, with Golamattika or Taikkala which is situated near Ayetthema village at the foot of the Kelasa hills about 30 miles north of Thaton.

(Doubtless Thaton was a flourishing port in ancient times and there was constant intercourse between Southern India and the region around Thaton and Pegu. Burmese chronicles mention that Buddhagosa, a native of Thaton made a voyage to Ceylon about 400 A.C. and succeeded in transcribing the Buddhist manuscripts in Mon characters.) He is said to have brought over from Ceylon to Burma a copy of Kaccayana's Pali grammar which he translated into his native language and to have written a commentary upon it. The historicity of this personage is doubted by some scholars but the prevalence of Theravada Buddhism in Lower Burma by the fifth century

A.C. is evidenced by archaeological and epigraphical finds, so the Mon country also must have by then been influenced by the great faith. When in the middle of the 11th century King Manuha was ruling at Thaton the religion was spreading throughout the land. Shin Arahān, a monk of Thaton well versed in the sacred books of Theravada Buddhism, went to Pagan and converted King Anawrahta. On his advice the king of Pagan requested Manuha to present him certain sacred texts and relics. But Manuha considered it unseemly to send the scriptures to one who held false doctrines and flatly refused Anawrahta's request. Thereupon Anawrahta marched on

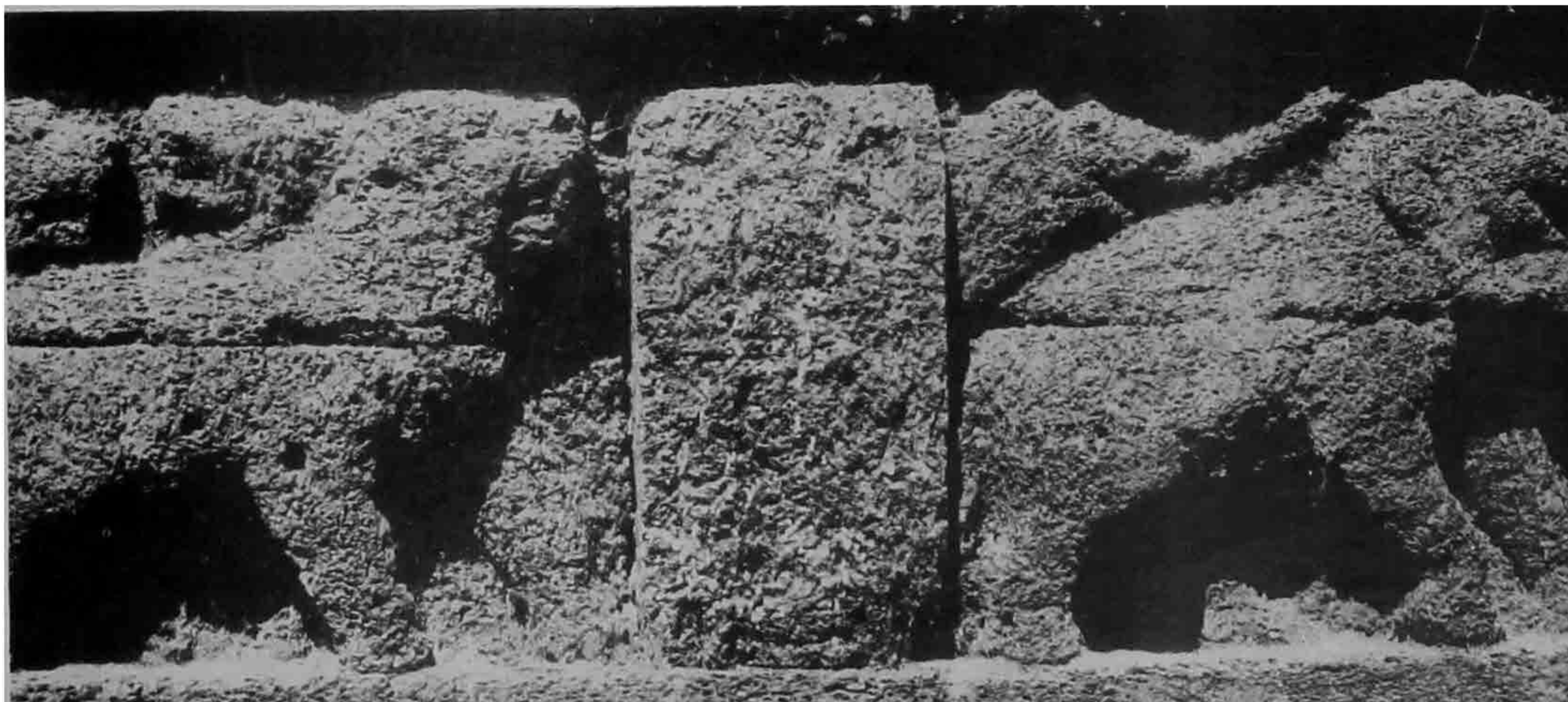
Thaton, conquered Manuha and took away thirty-two sets of the *Tripitaka*. With the king taken captive to Pagan, Thaton thenceforth remained under Burmese domination till the 13th century. The Mons re-established their independence after the fall of Pagan but the seat of this kingdom, first established at Martaban, was soon after removed to Pegu.



Plan of Thaton.

The old city of Thaton appears to have been built on a quadrangular plan like the more modern cities of Amarapura and Mandalay. There are two ramparts in a rectangular shape and the moat lies between the two walls which are faced with laterite stones. The east and west inner walls are about 7,700 feet long while those on the north and south are 4,000 feet each. In the centre is the citadel or palace site measuring from north to south 1,080 feet, and east to west 1,150 feet. As the present town is developed within the old city the remains of the inner city are no more visible. The chief pagodas are situated between the palace site and the south wall. Now the

Sculptured laterite wall,
Hsindat Myindat,
Zokthok near Thaton.





Pitakattaik (Library), Thaton.



Shwezayan Pagoda, Thaton.

largest is the Shwezayan pagoda said to have been built in the 5th century B.C. enshrining four tooth-relics of the Buddha. It has been built over and has now assumed a modern shape with a circular base and a bell-shaped superstructure.

A notable pagoda nearby is the Thagyapaya or Myatheindan pagoda built entirely of hewn laterite. It consists of three high square terraces and a bell. The lower base is 104 feet square and 18 feet high while the upper terraces are proportionately diminished in size. The third storey and the conical superstructure have been rebuilt and the whole building was renovated from time to time. Projecting from the centre of each of the walls below the two upper terraces and facing the cardinal points are deep and high niches adorned with arches. Each of these niches now enshrines a standing image of the Buddha. Besides these high niches there are smaller ones sunk in the dado below the second terrace to which access is given by four flights of steps. Originally there were embedded in them 64 terracotta plaques bearing bas-reliefs. A large number of them are now missing and those still in their original places are either broken or damaged and have been coated with layers of whitewash which render the figures almost invisible. However, among the very few reliefs that are still extant scenes illustrating the Vessantara, the Vidhura, the Maha-ummagga or Mahosadha, the Bhuridatta and the Temiya *Jatakas* could be identified. These reliefs can be assigned, stylistically, to the 11th-12th century.

Within the precincts of the Shwezayan pagoda were found seven inscribed stones, five in early Mon of 11th century, one medieval and the seventh illegible. These are now preserved in a *tazaung* or *wat* within the compound. Among the stone sculptures collected in the same building is a figure of standing Buddha depicted in bold relief on a sandstone slab. His right hand is hanging on his side with the palm facing outwards in the boon-giving pose, *varada mudra*. His left hand is held upwards with the fingers in argumentative attitude. On the two sides of the nimbus above the shoulders are two hamsa birds also in relief, facing each other. The sculpture seems to be a prototype of those in the Ananda temple at Pagan and may be ascribed to the 10th-11th century.

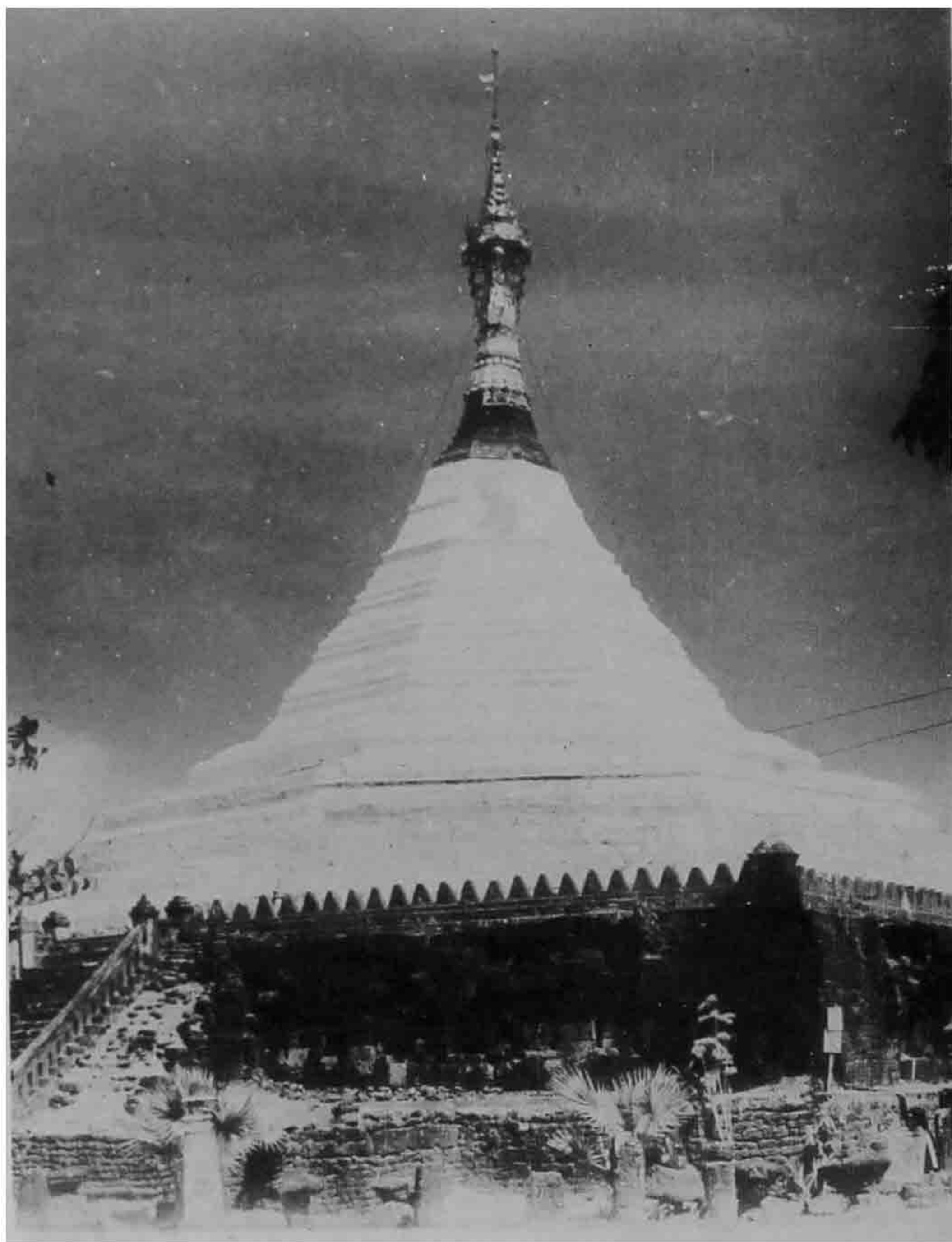
Across the road outside the pagoda compound is the Kalyani Sima built on the remains of an old one. Around that ordination hall may still be seen the boundary pillars in sandstone with stories from the Mahanipata or the Ten Great *Jatakas* carved in relief. These sculptured pillars belong to the 11th-13th century as evidenced by an inscription on one of them.

An earlier type of standing Buddha in bronze was discovered several decades ago by the presiding monk of the Saddhama-jotika monastery of



Stone statue of Brahma.

Tizaung Pagoda, Zokthok,
near Thaton.



Yanaung-Taik, Thaton. The Dipankara Buddha has the right hand raised in the fear-dispelling attitude (*abhaya-mudra*), while the left hand holds a fringe of the robe. The robe closely fits the body but the hem of the drapery stands out in bold folds. The pleats round the waist are visible but the drapery between the legs is indicated by thin lines. Both the shoulders are covered, and the edge of the garment is shown there by a small fold below the neck. This image resembles the one discovered at Srikshetra in 1926-27 among other objects belonging to the 7th-8th century.

Brahmanical sculptures belonging to 9th-10th century were also discovered at Thaton. Two slabs of reddish sandstone bear in bold relief the figure of Vishnu reclining on the serpent Ananta. From his body issues three lotus stems on which are seated Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. The third sculpture is that of four-armed Siva seated with his vehicle, Nandi, the bull,

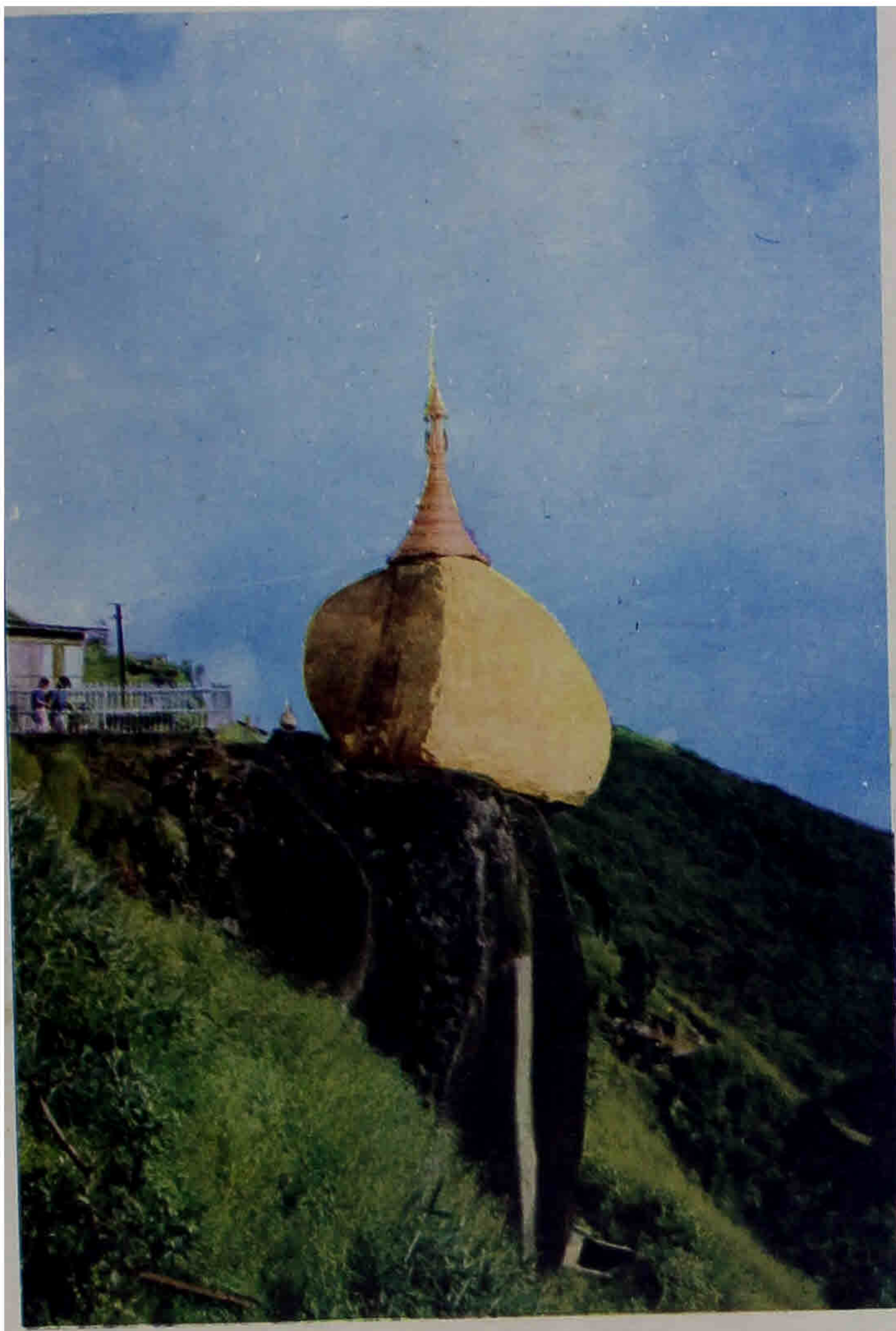


Photo by Khin Lay Maung.

Kyaiktiyo Pagoda.

below his right leg and placing the buffalo-demon under his left knee. Of a little later in date are two small images of Ganesa and a small sculpture of a seated Brahma with three visible heads. These were removed to the Phayre Museum at Rangoon (which had no permanent building) and thence loaned to the Rangoon University Library. They were badly damaged during the second world war and whatever remained of them in fragments are now shifted to the Archaeological Department.

Some of the notable monuments and antiquities in the vicinity of this ancient site deserve mention here. The ruins of the fort walls of Taikkala, believed to be the earlier city of Suvannabhumi, are still to be seen at the present Ayetthema village. Within this old city is the Myatheindan pagoda which, according to Kyanzitttha's Mon inscription discovered on the platform, was known as Kyaik Talan. Since it is recorded that the stupa was repaired by Kyanzitttha it is apparent that the pagoda was already in existence about the 10th century. On the Kelasa hill itself is another pagoda repaired by Dhammazedī. The Mon inscription at the pagoda mentions that it was originally built to enshrine the hair relic of Buddha. At Zokthok village to the south of Ayetthema is the Tizaung Pagoda, a conical structure with octagonal base built on the remains of an older monument. An outstanding feature of this monument is its solid quadrangular basement constructed of large blocks of laterite resting on a plinth also built of the same material. The walls of the plinth are ornamented with laterite pilasters. About a mile south of the Tizaung pagoda is a sculptured wall known as Hsindat Myindat. It is an isolated wall, built of large laterite blocks, the largest one measuring four feet by four by one. Running approximately east to west it is said to have been about a mile long, but barely 360 feet of it now remains. It is 7 feet 6 inches high and is backed on the north side by an earthen rampart. Its prominent feature is the presence of large panels of sculptures in bold relief, showing lions and elephants alternately. (One of the most celebrated shrines in this region is the Kyaiktiyo pagoda which attracts large crowds of pious pilgrims from all over the country. It is situated on a peak of ridge twelve miles from Kyaikto town. The small pagoda, just 18 feet high, is erected on a huge boulder which rests precariously on a projecting tabular rock which itself is separated several feet from the mountain by a deep chasm. It is said to have been built during the life-time of the Buddha over a hair relic obtained by a hermit and treasured in his hair-knot till he found a boulder resembling his head on which he could build a pagoda to enshrine the sacred hair.)



Stone sculpture of Vishnu from Thaton.



Votive tablet.

PAGAN

Pagan, lying on the left bank of the Irrawaddy in the dry zone of Central Burma, is the most important historical site in the country. It was the capital for two and a half centuries when the Burmese empire reached the zenith of its power. It is to Pagan that the religion of the people owes its greatest debt, and it was here that Burmese art and architecture passed through a golden age. Its early history, however, is wrapped in uncertainty. Tradition asserts that it was originally a cluster of nineteen villages, and pushes back the foundation of the dynasty of fifty-five kings to early 2nd century. It is only in the middle of the 11th century that the legendary accounts give place to more substantial facts. Authentic history of the dynasty begins with the accession of Anawrahta (Aniruddha, 1044-77) in whose reign Pagan rose to pre-eminence.

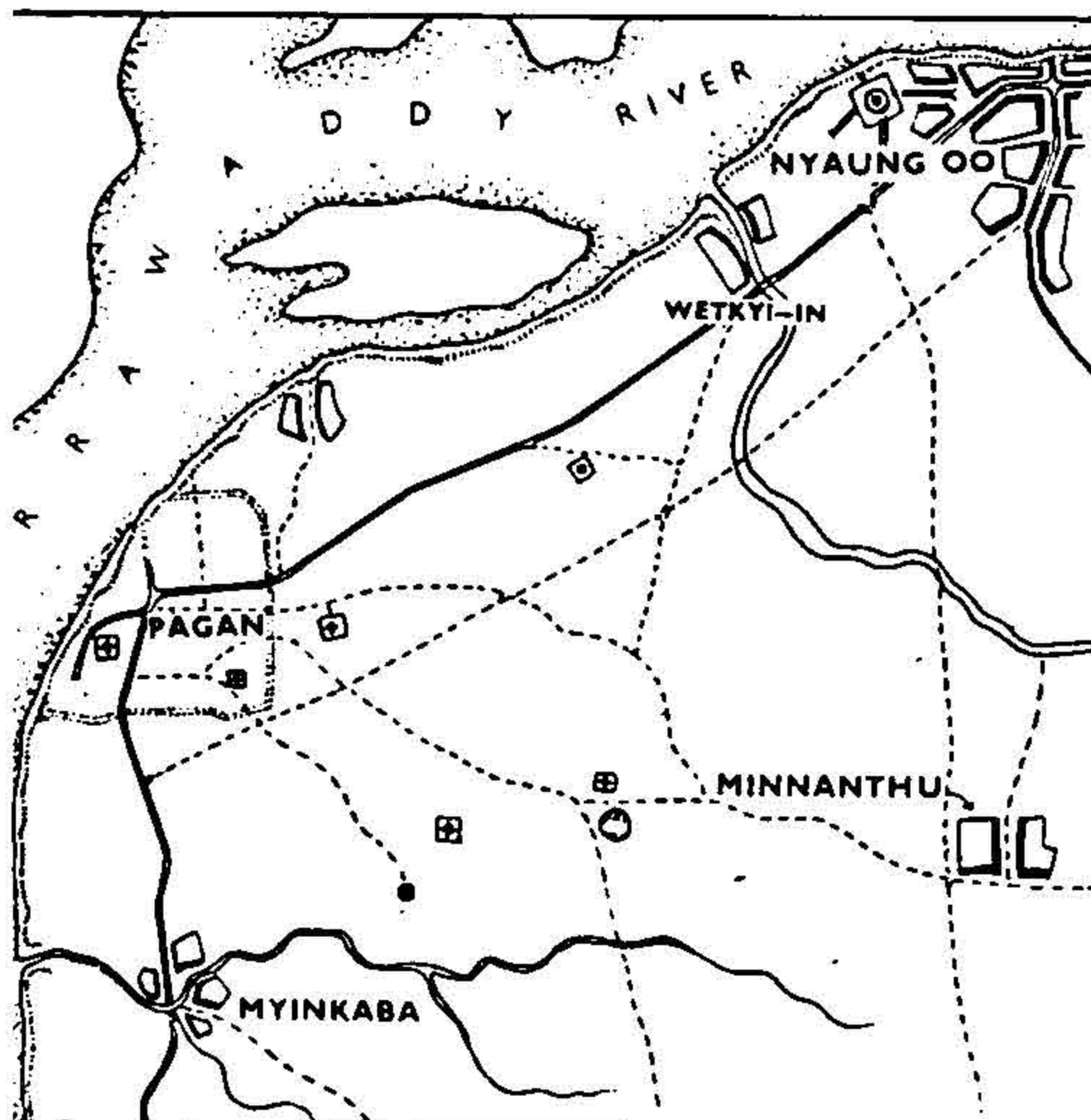
Pagan then known as Pukam had also a classical name, Arimaddanapura. Situated in a strategic position though on an arid plain, it commands the rice fields of Kyaukse in the north-east and Minbu in the south-west. From this base Anawrahta unified the whole country politically. (After conquering the Mon kingdom of Thaton he procured the *Pali* scriptures of Theravada Buddhism which the deposed king, Manuha, had earlier refused to present him. With the help of Shin Arahān, Anawrahta converted his people who were hitherto Mahayanists and spirit-worshippers. Together with the captive king he brought back from Thaton numerous Mon architects, artists and craftsmen and began to build imposing pagodas at Pagan.) The religious

fervour was upheld by his successors for more than two centuries during which period pagodas and temples of various dimensions were erected by the royalty and the common people.

(The ruins of Pagan cover an area of about sixteen square miles. Among the monuments which are largely of brick and stucco three sides of the square city wall together with the Sarabha Gate are the only remnants of secular architecture. All the edifices numbering nearly five thousand were devoted to Buddhism. These religious buildings mainly consist of solid pagodas and hollow temples. Remains of brick monasteries, originally with wooden porches are found within the precincts of larger temples.)

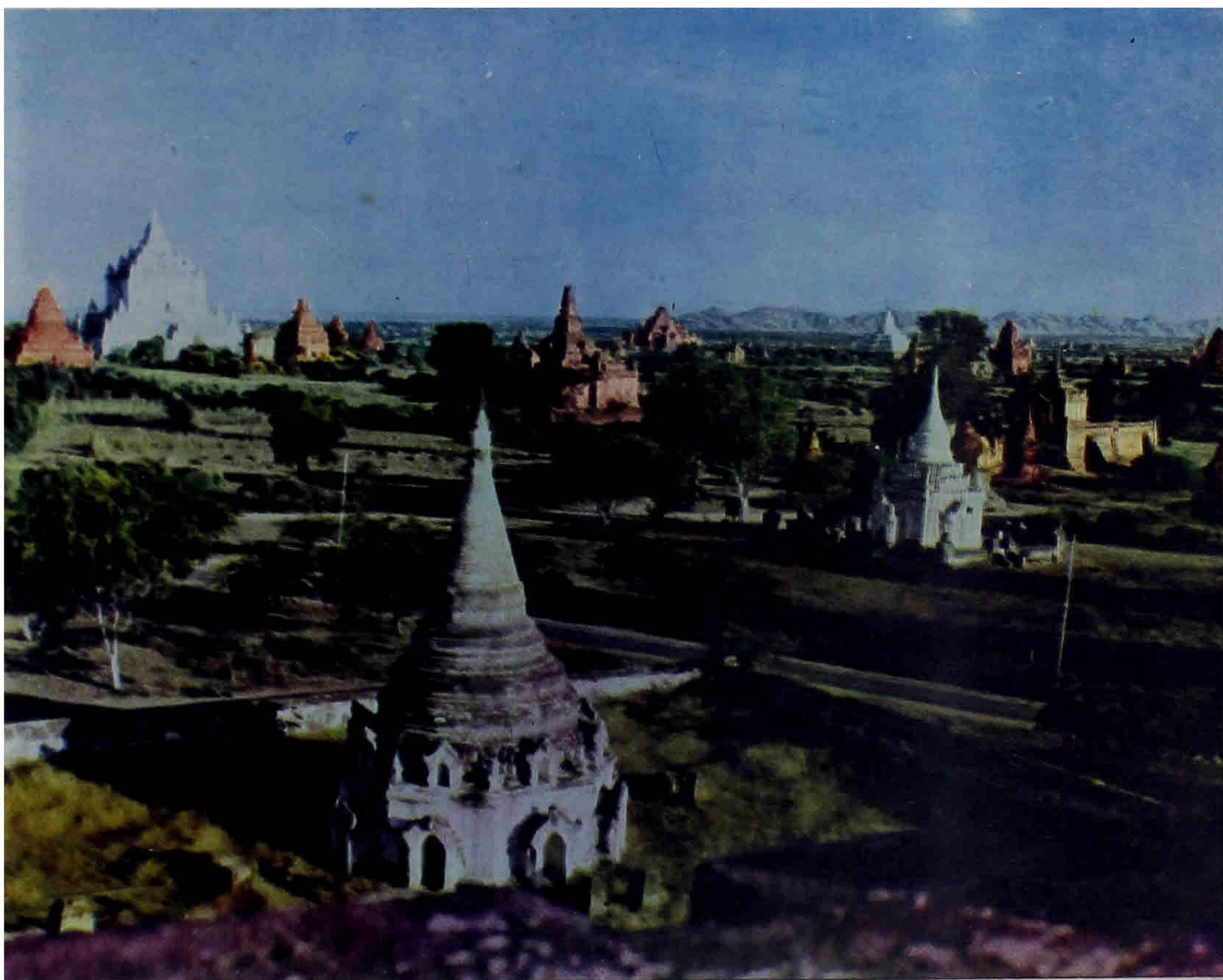
(Prototypes of solid stupas are still extant at Srikshetra and Thaton.) Some of the square temples at Srikshetra are also forerunners of the more elaborate structures of this type at Pagan ; but at Thaton not a single example of early temple architecture is to be found though some architectural terms are undoubtedly derived from Mon nomenclature. The basic design and some elements like the *sikhara* (a bulging four-sided pinnacle), the *kalasa* pot in the form of miniature stupa, and the *kirttimukha* frieze (decorations in stone or stucco carvings in the form of ogre-heads disgorging beaded festoons) originally came from Buddhist India. But the buildings at Pagan are so designed and adapted to conform to Burmese ideals that on the whole they exhibit entirely different appearance from the Indian structures, signifying the aesthetic temperament of the Burmese people.

•••••



Plan of Pagan.

The solid stupa is usually in the form of a bell-shaped dome resting on a series of receding terraces and crowned by a conical finial. (The Bupaya and Ngakywenadaung pagodas are said to belong to pre-Anawrahta period. No concrete evidence is available to confirm this belief but the bulbous forms of elongated domes are indicative of their great antiquity as opposed to tall and tapering structures of later periods.) To (Anawrahta is attributed the Myinkaba, Lokananda and Shwe-sandaw pagodas. The Myinkaba pagoda is said to have been built by Anawrahta in order to expiate the crime of killing his predecessor and half brother, Sokkade, in battle.) It has



View of Pagan from Gawdawpalin temple.

low round terraces and an elongated bell, almost cylindrical in shape. (The Lokananda built in 1059 has a tall cylindrical bell similar to the Pyu stupa, and three octagonal terraces of which the lower two are ascended by flights of steps on four sides.

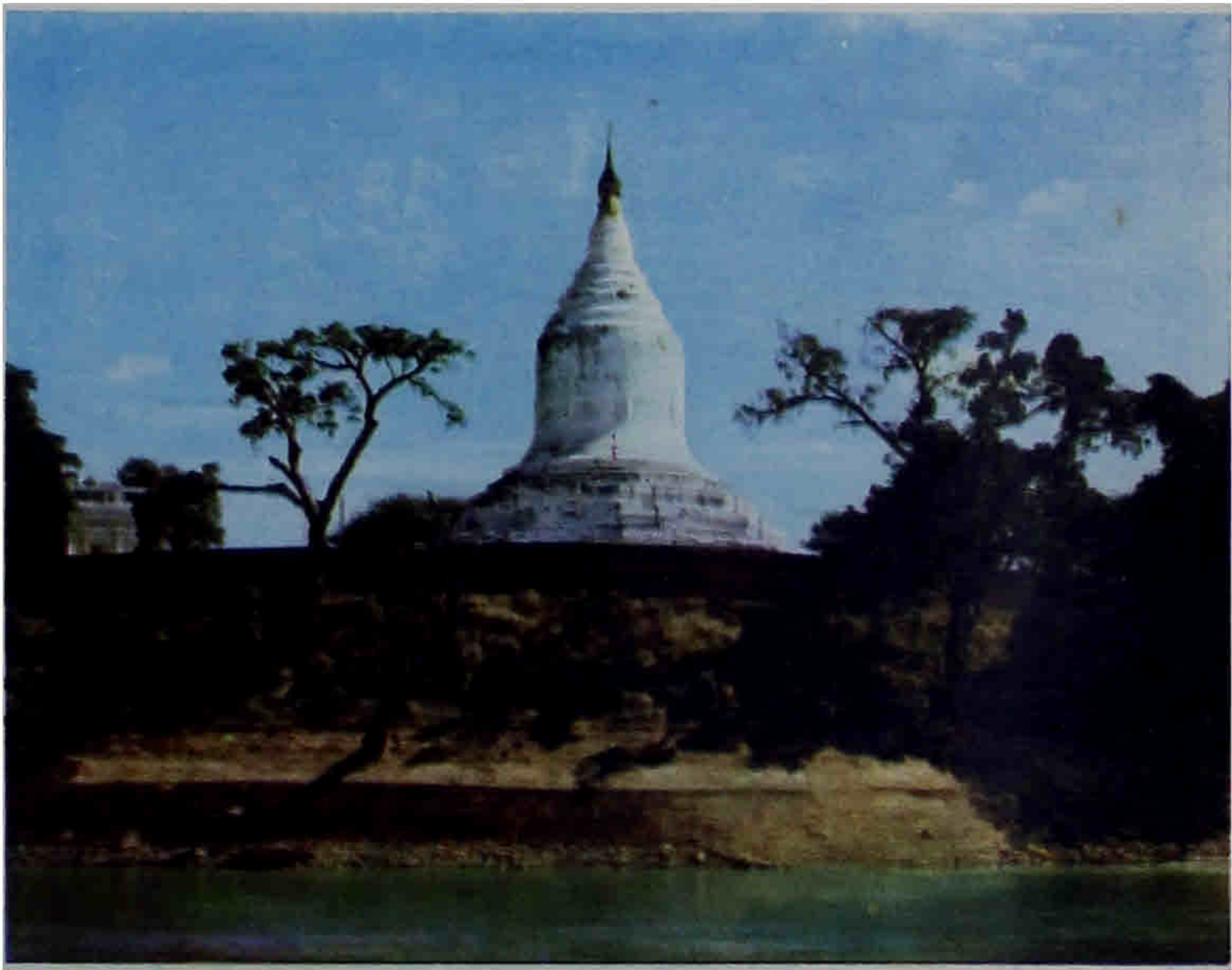
(The Shwesandaw also has a cylindrical bell topped by moulded rings assuming a conical form. The superstructure is here diminished in size owing to the great height of the five receding terraces accessible on all the four sides by flights of steps. In addition to these there are two octagonal bases immediately below the bell. It enshrines some sacred hairs of Buddha obtained from Pegu. This pagoda is also known as Mahapeinne or Ganesh pagoda as a stone figure of Ganesh was originally placed at each corner of the square terraces.)

(The twin Petleik pagodas, East Petleik and West Petleik at Thiripyitsaya south of Pagan, are also assignable to the reign of Anawrahta. These were half buried in debris more than sixty years ago.) When the ruins covering the lower portions were excavated two tiers of unglazed terracotta plaques depicting scenes from the 550 *Jatakas* were recovered round their bases. Each series was originally complete but many of the plaques are missing and some are broken in fragments. The West Petleik is better preserved. (It has a tall cylindrical bell with two decorative bands round it. Between these bands are four deep niches for Buddha images facing the cardinal points.) The pinnacle, resting on a square base called the *harmika*, is in the form of a truncated cone with horizontal notches. Originally there was a vaulted corridor round the base and an entrance chamber facing east at both the pagodas.

(Anawrahta is reputed to have commenced the building of the Shwezigon pagoda which was left unfinished and later completed by Kyanzittha. It is one of the most venerated pagodas in Burma as it enshrined sacred relics of the Buddha, his collar bone, his frontlet bone and tooth. It was repaired several times by later kings but perhaps the original design was not much altered.) The bell stands on three receding terraces and an octagonal intermediate base. There is a bold waist band round the bell-shaped dome above which rises a series of concentric mouldings ending in a finial and an umbrella. Stairways on all the sides lead to the top of the third terrace. Subsidiary stupas are also placed at the corners of all the terraces. All the terrace plinths are decorated with green glazed *Jataka* plaques most of which are now badly weathered. (On each of the four sides of the pagoda there is a small square temple housing a standing Buddha in bronze, 13 feet high. Kyanzittha had erected two large stone pillars inscribed in Mon, one on either side of the eastern approach to the pagoda. Bayinnaung or Hanthawaddy Hsinbyushin who also repaired the pagoda in the 15th century



Unglazed plaque at
Petleik Pagoda.



**Lawkananda Pagoda,
Thiripyitsaya, Pagan.**



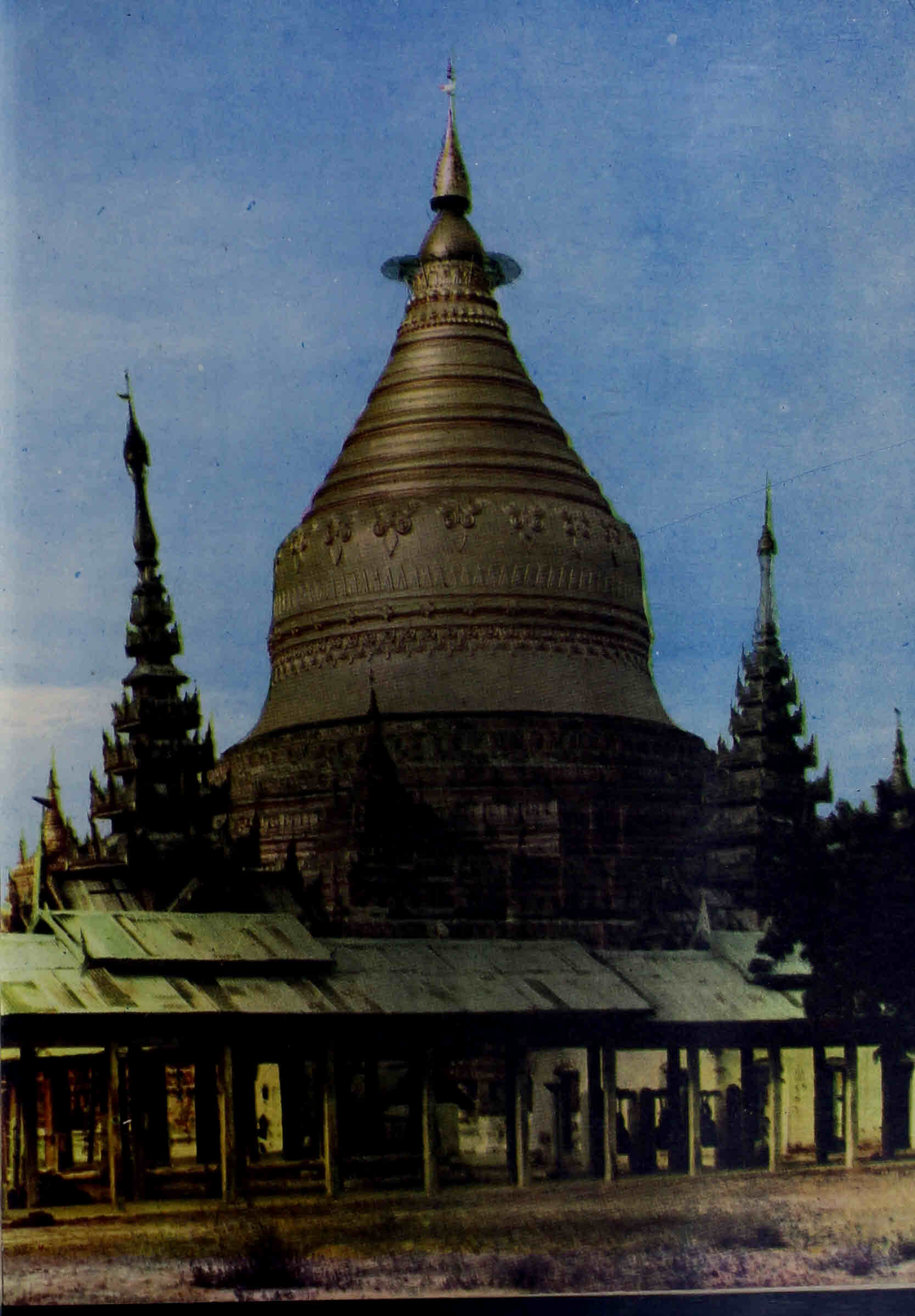
Ngakywenadaung Pagoda, Pagan.

had dedicated a large bronze bell with inscriptions in Pali, Burmese and Mon.

The Shwezigon is virtually the prototype of later Burmese stupas. But at Pagan itself there are a few examples of solid stupas having unusual features. The Dhammayazika at Pwasaw, built by Narapatisithu in 1196, has a pentagonal base with a vaulted shrine on each side. The circuit wall which is also five-sided is pierced with five gateways.) The three lower terraces are adorned with *Jataka* plaques. The Sittana pagoda at the southern end of Pagan was built by Nadaungmya, popularly known as Htilominlo.) It has a large bell which stands on four square terraces at each corner of which is a hollow shrine housing a standing Buddha in brick and stucco. The Sinhalese type of stupa with a square chamber between the bell and the finial is represented by the Sapada and Pebingyaung pagodas. These stand on low bases but the terraces are entirely absent.)



Bupaya, Pagan.



The Mingalazedi pagoda indicates the high water mark of Burmese pagoda architecture because it was constructed a few years before the fall of Pagan. Built in 1284 by Narathihapati, it has fine proportions and is noted for the beautiful unglazed *Jataka* plaques round its terraces.) Small pagodas at the corners of the stepped terraces assume the form of the *kalasa* pot. On the top of the third terrace there are, in addition, four larger stupas of conical shape which together with the subsidiary corner stupas and the stairways enhance the soaring effect of the edifice which culminates in the tapering pinnacle above the bell.

The temple is another predominant type of religious building characteristic of Pagan architecture. These are called *ku* or caves, derived from the cave temples of India. The simplest examples have their prototypes in the square hollow shrines of Srikshetra. (Basically there are two distinct types. The first is a vaulted chapel with only one entrance and an image of Buddha at the far end. The second has four entrances and a central cube with a Buddha image against each side.) A narrow passage runs round the central pile. The walls are usually of great thickness to support the weight of the superstructure. The art of building the temples was developed during the early Pagan period. One of the distinguishing features is the perfection of vaulting and pointed radiating arches with voussoired bricks the use of which was begun in Pyu temples. The thin bricks were laid flat against the arch-surface. The exterior is decorated with bold stucco carvings on friezes and cornices, scrollwork on pilasters and flamboyant pediments on arches. The interior is embellished with mural paintings. The dark corridor is dimly lit by perforated windows. Most of the legends below the paintings are written in Mon.

Notable monuments belonging to this early phase are the Patothamya, Nagayon and Abeyadana temples. (The Patothamya is traditionally ascribed to the 10th century but owing to the well developed architectural features and Mon glosses below the paintings on the interior walls the temple apparently belongs to the reign of Kyanzittha) if not a little earlier. Anawrahta had concentrated on the erection of solid stupas at Pagan and elsewhere, excepting the Library. It was Kyanzittha with a predilection for Mon culture, as evidenced by several of his Mon inscriptions, who began to build elaborate temples of the earlier type. The Patothamya has a square main block and a rectangular vaulted hall on the east. The hall has three doorways with elegant arch-pediments while each of the sides of the main block is provided with five perforated windows. The plinth mouldings on the exterior as well as on the inner walls of the corridor are very prominent. The superstructure consists of three terraces with an ogee roof directly above the main block. The bulbous dome has twelve vertical ribs. Above this lies the *harmika* and the twelve-sided tapering finial with short



Shwesandaw Pagoda, Pagan.



Mingalazedi Pagoda, Pagan.

horizontal notches. The sanctum is vaulted by pendentives formed by the walls rising from the base. It is lit by skylights through medial shrines on the terraces. In the corridor walls are niches enshrining stone Buddhas. The *Jataka* paintings on the walls of the sanctum have Mon writing below them.

(The Nagayon built by Kyanzittha has a very elegant form. It has the usual hall, which faces north, a dark corridor and an inner chamber. The pinnacle in the shape of a mitre stands above curvilinear roofs and square terraces. There are corner stupas on the terraces which are lined with square merlons at the edges. Of the three entrances to the hall the main one has double-pedimented gables. Within the hall are niches containing stone reliefs of the life of Buddha. The hall and the corridor are paved with green glazed stones. The corridor is ventilated by five perforated windows on each side. The outer walls of the shrine and the corridor walls have niches containing stone sculptures depicting the Buddhas anterior to Gautama Buddha. The walls of the corridor are decorated with paintings illustrating scenes from the life of Buddha and the *Jatakas* with glosses in Mon and Pali.) Within the shrine is a standing stucco image of Buddha of double life-size under the hood of a huge *naga* (serpent). Legend has it that the temple was built by Kyanzittha on the spot he was given protection by a *naga* in the course of his flight from Sawlu, his predecessor.

(The Abeyadana is also ascribed to Kyanzittha though a late inscription attributes it to his chief queen. It is believed to mark the spot where Abeyadana, his wife, came and waited for him when he was hiding near the place now marked by the Nagayon temple during one of his flights from the wrath of Sawlu. In plan it resembles the Nagayon, but it has three perforated windows on the walls of the main block and a bell-shaped stupa above the terraces instead of a *sikhara* as at Nagayon. The bell is topped by a prominent *harmika* and an octagonal tapering spire with horizontal notches to assume a stylized form of multi-tiered umbrella (*chatravalli*). A miniature stupa resembling the main spire stands at each corner of the first terrace, a *kalasa* pot on the second terrace and a corner crest on the top terrace. In the sanctum is a large image of seated Buddha in brick. (The frescoes on the outer wall of the corridor represent Bodhisattvas while on the inner walls there are figures of Brahma, Vishnu, Siva, Indra, as well as other divinities of the Mahayana pantheon.) These are not identified by any glosses. On the walls of the front hall there survive some *Jataka* scenes with lines of writing in Mon below them.

Among the structures of the earlier type is a brick temple surfaced with stone. It is the Nanpaya believed to be the residence of the captive king Manuha. Another tradition attributes it to one of the descendants of



Patothamya temple, Pagan.



Nagayon temple, Myinkaba, Pagan.

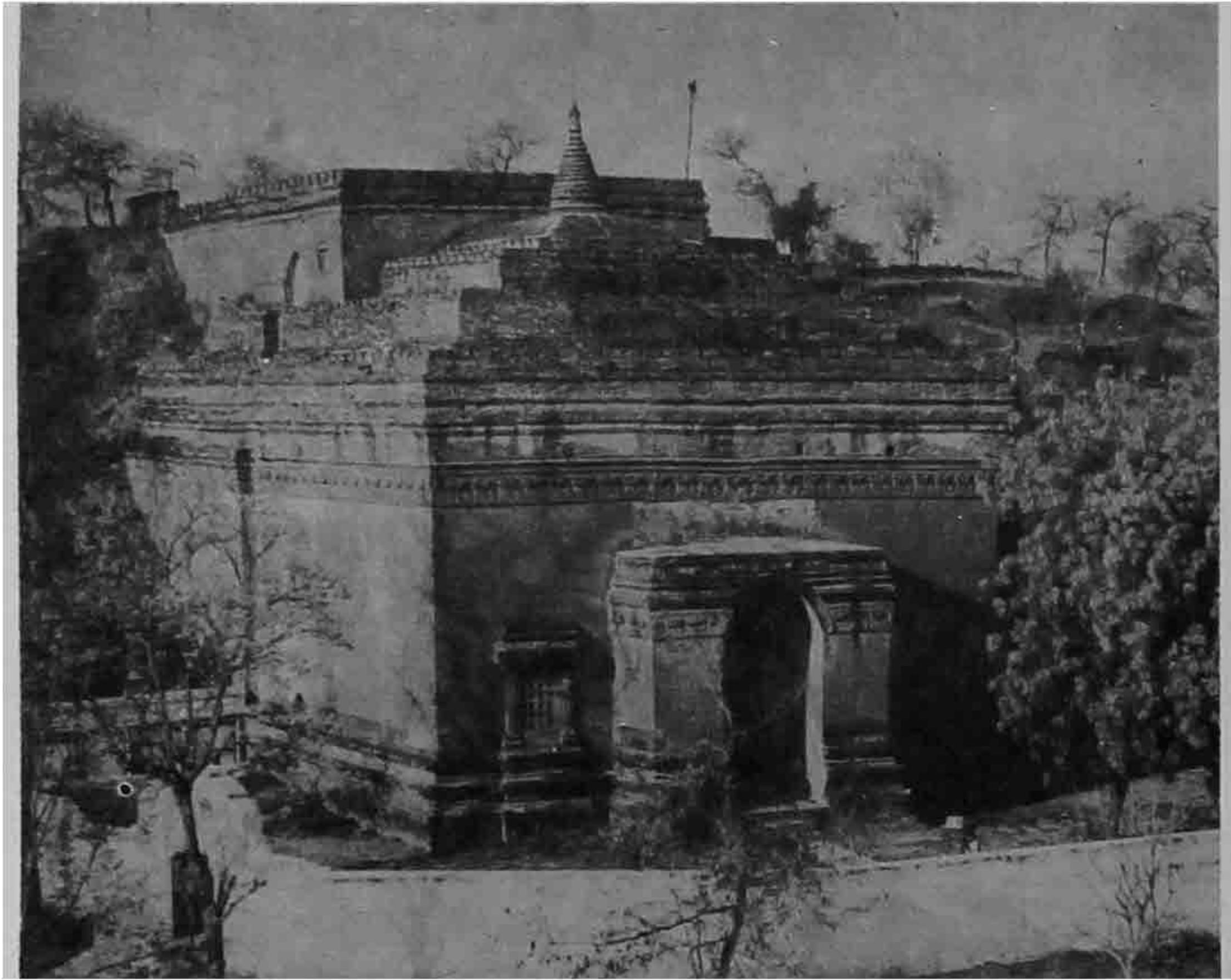
Abeyadana temple, Myinkaba, Pagan.



Nanpaya temple, Myinkaba, Pagan.



Kyauk-gu
Umin,
Nyaungoo.

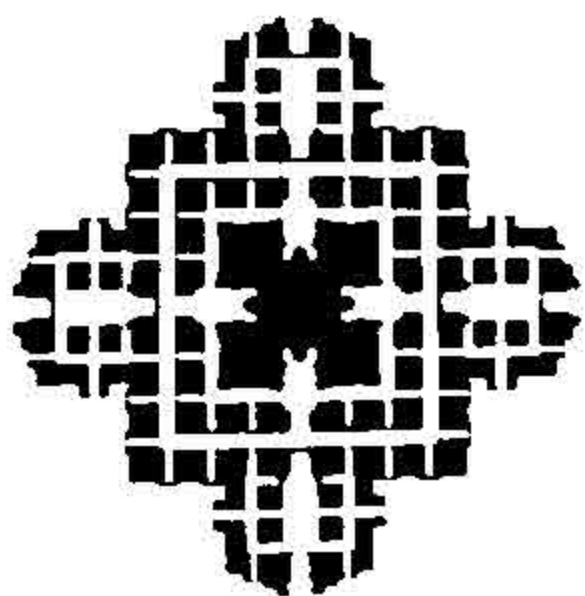


Manuha who built it during the reign of Narapatisithu (1173-1210) on the site of Manuha's residence,) but the architectural features indicate that it belongs to an earlier period. The general scheme of the temple recalls the lay-out of similar structures in the early examples at Aihole in Dharwar, or Bhubaneswar in Orissa. It has a rectangular body surmounted by a *sikhara* with a portico in front. The perforated windows are set in frames of pilasters on which rest bold arch-pediments, each enclosing a *kalasa* pot. Within the main shrine, which is also lit by four dormer windows below the *sikhara*, are four square stone pillars two sides of each being carved with figures of seated Brahmas and the remaining sides with pendant floral designs. In the centre is a low square pedestal with no traces left of what it originally supported. It may have been a standing figure of Buddha or perhaps four Buddha figures seated back to back.

(The basement storey of Kyaukku Umin (cave temple) near Nyaung-U is also faced with stone and probably belongs to this early phase. The upper storeys of brick masonry were added during the reign of Narapatisithu.) It is built against the precipitous side of a deep ravine into which long tunnels



Ananda temple, Pagan.



Plan of Ananda temple.

or caves are excavated. The main structure contains a large square hall with two huge stone pillars in the centre supporting the roof. The exterior base has two horizontal mouldings above the plinth. In the northern side is a high archway projecting from the wall, flanked by a perforated window on either side. The frieze and dado are ornamented with fine stone carvings in relief, as are the door jambs and the interior stone pillars. A huge seated Buddha image faces the entrance. At either end of the back wall is an entrance leading to the long dark tunnel behind.

The buildings belonging to the later phase of the early period are distinguished by their symmetrical plans with four entrances. (The famous Ananda temple which was also built by Kyanzittha is the finest and most imposing example of this type. Tradition says that Kyanzittha had reproduced the general appearance of the cave where Indian Buddhist monks dwelt on Nandamula Hill in the Himalayas.) The central portion of the structure is a square block measuring 175 feet on each side and 35 feet high. From the centre of each face of the basement there projects a large gabled portico with four huge square pillars inside. The plan thus assumes a perfect Greek cross, (the overall length along each axis being 290 feet. The main basement is surmounted by two receding curvilinear roofs and four receding terraces crowned by a spire in the form of a mitre-like pyramid called *sikhara*. The pinnacle consists of a tapering pagoda with a *hti* (umbrella), rising to a height of 172 feet from the base.) Small replicas of the spire placed above the angles of the receding roofs and above the porticoes, and figures of lions on the top terraces and above the arch-pediments enhance the scale and elegance of the profile. Two tiers of windows along the thick walls of the main structure admit ample light into the interior. Inside the square block are two vaulted and high but narrow corridors running parallel to each other along the four sides of the temple. They are connected by low and narrow passages in front of the windows by which light is admitted, and further intersected by four large corridors into which access is obtained through the porticoes. In the centre is an enormous cube, 82 feet wide on each side, which rises to the spire. (On each face of this solid square mass is a tall arched alcove, each enshrining a colossal figure of a standing Buddha, 31 feet high, with hands raised to the breast in the pose of giving a sermon.) Subdued light falls on these Buddhas through medial windows pierced through the upper terraces. The entrance to each porch is guarded on the outside by two door-keepers seated on pedestals in arched niches crowned with miniature spires. Each entrance to the main building is also guarded by another set of door-keepers in plaster work standing on low pedestals.

Other interesting features of the temple are the numerous green-glazed terracotta tiles ornamenting the base and the receding terraces which represent the *Jataka* stories and the hosts of Mara's army. Those on the west

half of the basement represent various monsters of Mara's army, while those on the east depict devas with auspicious symbols in their hands, jubilant over Buddha's conquest of Mara. The upper four terraces are decorated with 389 scenes illustrating the last ten great *Jatakas*. In the lower terraces each *Jataka* is represented by only one scene. Each of these plaques is inscribed with a Mon legend. This vast collection of plaques on a single building is, so far ascertained, unique in the whole of Buddhist world. The inner walls are honeycombed with niches in which are set small stone Buddhas in various postures. The most notable among the sculptures is a series of eighty reliefs in the two lower tiers of niches in the outer corridor, illustrating the life of the Bodhisattva from his birth to the attainment of supreme wisdom. The western sanctum also enshrines the life-size statues of its founder, Kyanzittha, and the primate, Shin Araham. Inside the aisles of the four porches are also stone sculptures depicting the



Glazed Jataka plaque,
Ananda temple.



Colossal Buddha,
Ananda temple.



Glazed Jataka plaque,
Ananda temple.

eight principal scenes in Buddha's life. (In the porch on the west face there are two *Buddha-pads* (Buddha's footprints) in stone placed on a pedestal.) Each footprint bears the traditional 108 marks as enumerated in some of the *Pali* commentaries, but owing to the gilding and wearing away due to constant washing, some of these have disappeared and cannot be properly identified.

The plastered walls of the temple inside and out have been whitewashed over and over again so that it was difficult to know if the interior walls were originally painted or not. Fortunately, the Archaeological Department was able to recover recently some sections of *Jataka* paintings and it leaves no doubt about the interior walls been decorated with frescoes bearing legends in Mon.

(Similar to the Ananda in plan is the Dhammayangyi built by Narathu (1160-65?) who was also known as Kalagya Min or the king killed by Indians. Burmese chronicles assert that while the construction of the temple was in progress the king was assassinated by some Indians and it was



Ananda temple, Pagan.



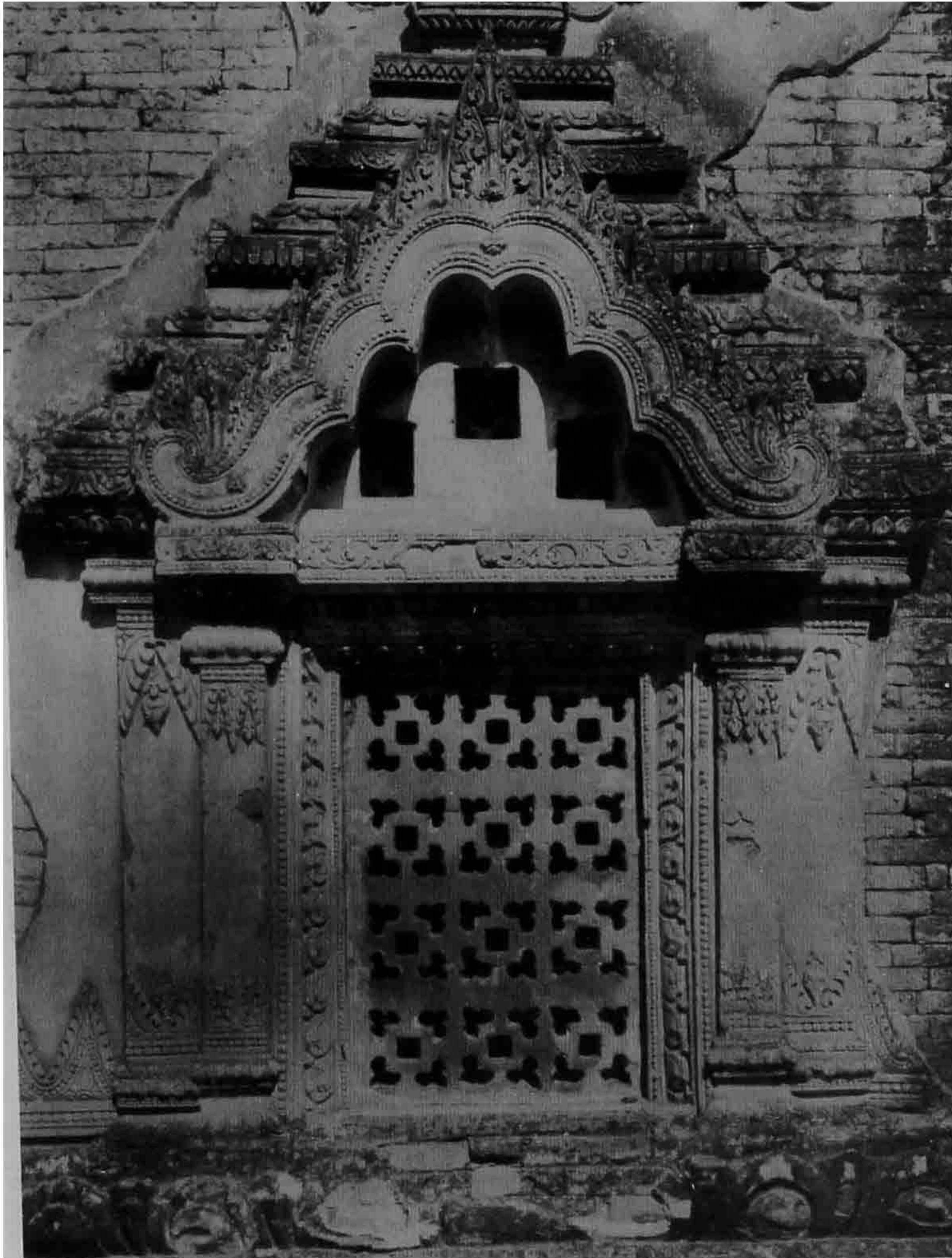
Dhammayangyi temple, Pagan.



Kubyaukgyi temple,
Myinkaba, Pagan.

never completed. Sinhalese sources, however, indicate that the king was put to death by Sinhalese invaders. The building is loftier and more massive than the Ananda. The finest brickwork is to be seen in this temple and the enclosure wall.) Only the four porches and the outer corridors are accessible as the interior is blocked by brickwork for an unknown reason.

(The Kubyaukgyi temple at Myinkaba built by Rajakumar on the death of his father Kyanzittha in 1113 retains the features of the early temple type with a dark central shrine, a corridor lit by perforated stone windows and a large hall with entrance facing east. This was the cave temple which Rajakumar dedicated on behalf of his father when Kyanzittha "fell sick unto death." He set up a quadrilingual inscription in duplicate in which he gave a vivid account of his meritorious deed. Like the Rosetta stone the Myazedi Pillar inscribed in Mon, Pali, Burmese and Pyu is well known for its linguistic importance, and it is invaluable in authoritatively fixing the chronology of the reigns of Kyanzittha and his two predecessors. The temple is one of the finest of the early period.) The exterior is decorated with exquisite plaster carvings on the frieze, dado, window pediments and pilasters. The interior contains *Jataka* paintings with Mon legends and figures of seated stone Buddhas in the niches of the walls.



Stone window,
Kubyaugyi temple,
Myinkaba.



Thatbyinnyu temple, Pagan.

To this group of earlier temples may be added the Alopyi temple, the Kubyauk-nge near Wetkyi-in, the Phyatsa-shwe near Myinkaba, temple No. 418 north of the Sittana and Myinpyagu, all containing paintings with Mon legends.

(With the accession of Alaungsithu (1113-1160?) began the period of transition in temple architecture from the type distinguished by dark cave-like interiors to that with brighter porches and halls. Mon inscriptions become rare and gradually gave place to Burmese writing. Some of the monuments belonging to this type are the Loka Okshaung, Seinnyet Ama, Kubyauk of Thiripyitsaya, Minyeingon and Lokanteikpan. The last one near Shwesandaw pagoda, though quite small in size, is of considerable importance owing to fine frescoes and ink inscriptions both in Mon and Old Burmese entirely covering its walls.)

(The Shwegugyi temple built by Alaungsithu is the earliest among those evolved from the transitional type. Standing on a high brick platform this lesser but elegant temple faces north. Both the hall and the inner corridor round the central mass have doorways and open windows which admit light and air freely. The arch-pediments, pilasters, plinth and cornice mouldings are decorated with fine stucco carvings. According to the Pali inscription on two stone slabs set in the inner walls the temple was completed in seven months.)

A marked change is to be seen in the [↓](Thatbyinnyu (Sabbāññu), a prominent edifice built by the same king, which rises to a height of 201 feet and towers above all other monuments. It is made up of two enormous cubes, the upper one set back above three intermediate terraces. The main porch facing east projects considerably from the wall. It has two main storeys and the principal image is seated on the upper floor.) Entering by the east porch one is confronted by the stairway guarded by two standing figures of guardians. The steps lead to an intermediate storey where a corridor runs round the central mass. Climbing up one of the pair of stairs built in the thickness of the walls one reached the top of the vestibule from where an external flight of stairs leads to the upper storey. The huge Buddha image is seated on a masonry throne in the upper cubicle which has two side doors also. Access to the top of this upper storey is gained by yet another narrow flight of steps built within the walls. Three square terraces with medial stairways rest on this cubicle. The pinnacle consists of the usual *sikhara* crowned by a tapering stupa. The high cubicles, the corner stupas on the terraces, the flamboyant arch-pediments and the plain pilasters combine to give a soaring effect to the monument. The two tiers of windows in each storey make the interior bright and airy. But the walls are bare except for traces of painting in the west porch, and the recesses along the plinth and



Bell pillars
near Thatbyinnyu.

terraces do not contain any glazed plaques. To the south-west of the temple, in a monastery compound close by, stand two tall stone pillars built to support a huge bronze bell which exists no more. The pillars have foliations in the pattern of an inverted V carved in relief.

The late period of temple architecture was ushered with the erection of the Sulamani (Culamani) by Narapatisithu in 1181. The outstanding features which characterize this type of monuments are the elimination, as in Thatbyinnyu, of dark chambers and deep alcoves, in the use of smaller-sized bricks, perfection of true arches employing radiating voussoirs, elaboration of stucco carvings though less bold in relief, and the building of properly integrated storeys without any intermediate floors in the case of greater temples. (The absence of Mon writing is also conspicuous and paintings are executed in bright colours, also introducing green and blue.)



Htilominlo temple, Pagan.

The gloom and darkness characterizing the early type had now been completely dispelled. The greater temples of this type are the Sulamani, Gawdawpalin and Htilominlo.

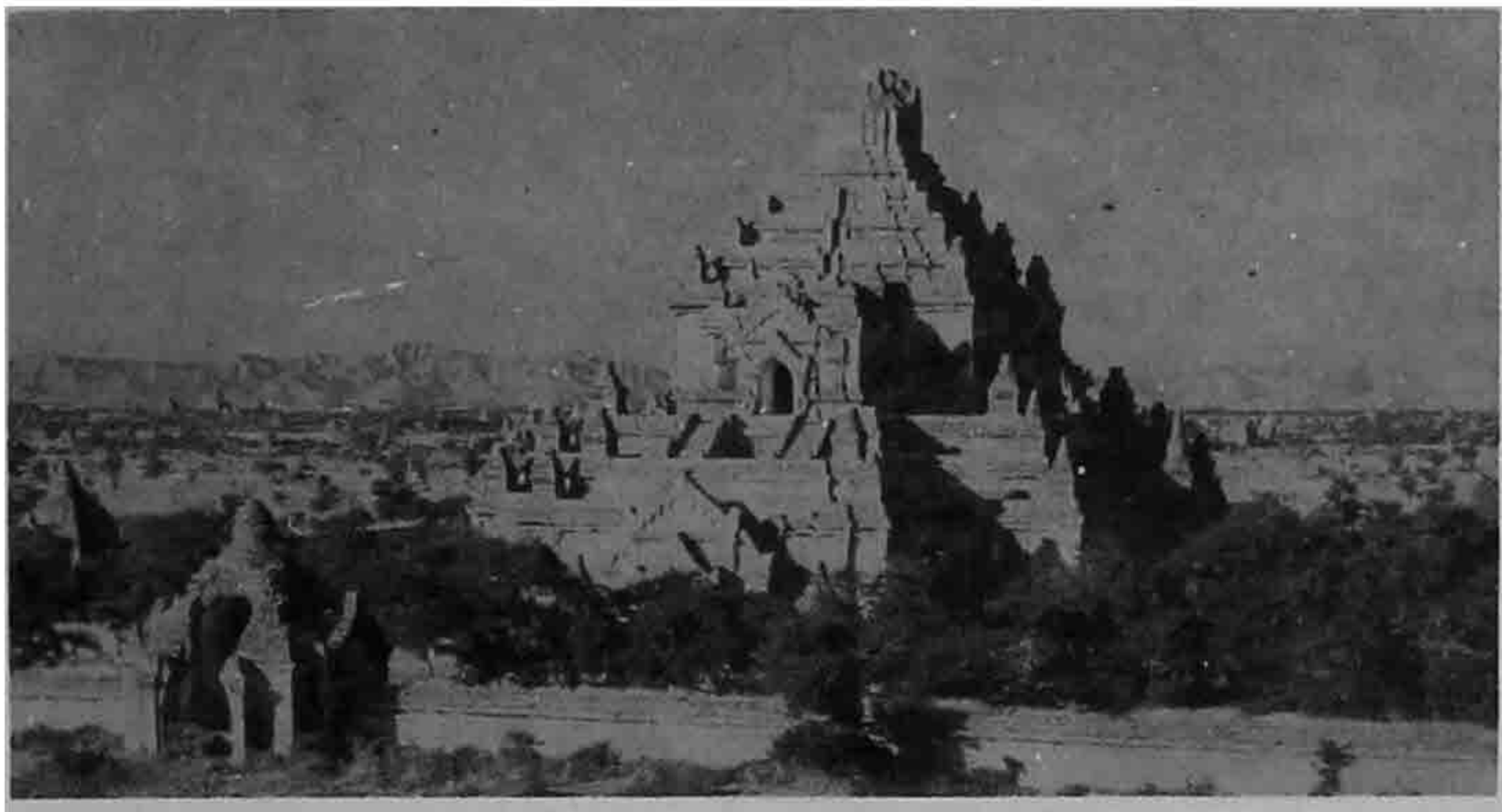
The Sulamani consists of two storeys, being set back one behind the other, and each is crowned by terraces ornamented with battlemented parapets and small stupas at each corner. The cornices of the terraces are set with glazed plaques of different sizes and patterns. In plan each storey is a square with four porches facing the cardinal points, the porch on the east face being larger than the rest. A vaulted corridor runs round the central pile of solid brickwork in the ground storey, and a deep recess built into the side of the wall of the projection on the east contains an image of the seated Buddha placed on a pedestal. The statues on the other side are placed on pedestals built against the side of the walls without any recess.



Gawdawpalin temple, Pagan.



Shwegugyi temple, Pagan.



Sulamani temple, Pagan.

The upper storey is raised to a height almost equal to that of the ground storey, and access to it is gained by two narrow flights of steps built in the thickness of the walls below and two broad ones leading from the first terrace above the roof of the east porch of the ground storeys. An image chamber formed in a recess on the east side of the central block, with a vaulted corridor running round it, forms the interior of that storey. That the walls and vaults were originally covered with fine frescoes is attested by some traces of them which may still be seen on the soffit of the arches. Those on the walls have now been obliterated and covered over by new ones. The whole building is well lighted with doorways the outsides of which are ornamented with flamboyant pediments crowned by miniature stupas.

(The Gawdawpalin built by Narapatisithu and the Htilominlo by Nadaungmya are greater temples belonging to the same class as the Sulamani. Some of the lesser double-storeyed temples are the Kyazin, Kubyauk-nge, North Guni, South Guni, Tayokpye, Sathingu, Lokatharaphu, Thabeikhmauk, etc.) There are also many large single-storeyed temples belonging to this late type, mostly with *sikhara* tops and (some with tall pyramidal spires resembling the Bodh-gaya temple in India.) Just a few of them may be mentioned here, namely, (the Thambula, Lemyethna, Izagona, Thetkyamuni, Kondawgyi, Theinmazi, Kubyaukkyi and Kubyauk-nge near Wetkyi-in village, Minwaing, Katthapa, Thinganyon, Thaman, etc. These fairly large single-storeyed monuments as well as numerous smaller temples are usually decorated with exquisite stucco carvings and mural paintings.) The interior is well lit through high arched entrances on four sides and in most of the temples the central block is either reduced in size or entirely dispensed with. In the latter case there is a large masonry slab against which two Buddha images are placed back to back. In such small temples like the Nandamannya and the eastern shrine of the Payathonzu every inch of the ceilings and interior walls is covered with decorative designs, scrolls, figures of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, celestial beings and various

mythical monsters. Deviations from the conventional plan are met with in a few examples of pentagonal temples and a rare sample of a hollow cylindrical structure with only one entrance. (Another unique type of temple at Pagan is the Mahabodhi built by Nadaungmya after the model of the Bodh-gaya in Bihar.)

The monasteries extant at Pagan form another distinct class of monumental dedication. These were constructed mainly of brick masonry, but wooden porches were often attached to them. Monasteries entirely built of timber and wooden halls attached to brick structures have not survived the long passage of time. The most common type is the double-storeyed square building found mostly within the precincts of prominent pagodas or temples. In the centre is a central block from which pointed vaults spring to support the upper storey which is reached by a flight of steps within the thickness of the side wall. To the entrance side was usually attached a wooden hall with triple gables as evidenced by shallow grooves on



Mahabodhi temple, Pagan.



Kubyaukgyi temple,
Wetkyi-in, Pagan.

the brick walls in which the rafters were set and also by the stone sockets for the posts on the square platform in front. The main shrine lies in the middle of the front side outside the building where an alcove, elliptical or rectangular, is provided in the wall. On either side is a door leading into the building. Elaborate monasteries of this type have a central cell, a corridor and a large medial bay in each of the side walls. These are topped by a square central tower and four corner turrets resembling a wooden *pyatthat* (pavilion). A more complex plan evolved from this basic type is seen in the brick monastery near Upali Thein. Within the square perimeter is a large central room to which access is made from a rectangular hall in front. In addition there are eight small cells ranged around three sides of the processional passage and the main chamber.

(The other main type of monastery is a large structure used as a residential college.) (The Somingyi, Tamani, Winidho and Lemyethna or Amana monasteries belong to this class of monuments. The Somingyi monastery consists of a main hall in the centre surrounded by a lobby on the east, a chapel on the west and small cells on the north and south. The chapel is a small square two-storeyed building with a door opening on the east connecting it with the central hall by a passage.) A narrow vaulted corridor runs round on three sides except the east. The Tamani has a hall flanked

by small cells occupying the eastern half of the rectangular plan and a shrine room with processional corridor on the other half. To the west of the main building is extended a square room for the chief monk. The Winidho is double-storeyed while the Lemyethna has three storeys. At the Hsutaungpyi monastery at Pwasaw the facade is decorated with exquisite stucco carvings.

In the dedicatory inscriptions of Pagan frequent mention is made of the erection of ordination halls, libraries, congregation halls and several other appurtenance of a monastic establishment. Some of these were of wood and some of brick masonry. The wooden buildings have disappeared and most of other masonry structures are ruined out of recognition. There now remains a fine example of a brick *sima* (ordination hall) in Upali Thein named after a celebrated monk during the reign of Nadaungmya and Kyawswa. The foundation of the building may therefore be assigned to the second quarter of the 13th century. It is a rectangular structure of fine proportions containing a vaulted hall with an image of Buddha placed on a pedestal near the west end. The low crenellated parapets on the roof, the arch-pediments and the paintings in the interior are late works of the 18th century. (The *Pidagattaik* (Library) reputed to have housed the scriptures brought by Anawrahta from Thaton lies within the citadel. It is 51 feet square and 60 feet high with an entrance on the east and three perforated stone windows on each of the other sides. The interior conforms to the plan of early Pagan period temple with a cell surrounded by a processional corridor. The spire above the five multiple roofs and the ornamental finials cresting the roof corners were put up when the building was repaired by Bodawpaya in 1783-84.)



Upali Thein, Pagan.

Apart from the city walls no traces of secular buildings are discovered at Pagan. But from several huge fragments of Kyanzittha's Mon inscription, largely defaced, we learn that he had built a great 'palace of Pagan' composed of a main pavilion surrounded by four minor ones. There was a throne room as well as an audience hall. All the doors and windows were framed with ornately decorated arch-pediments. The ceremonial and rituals attending the construction of the palace are described in detail in the inscription.

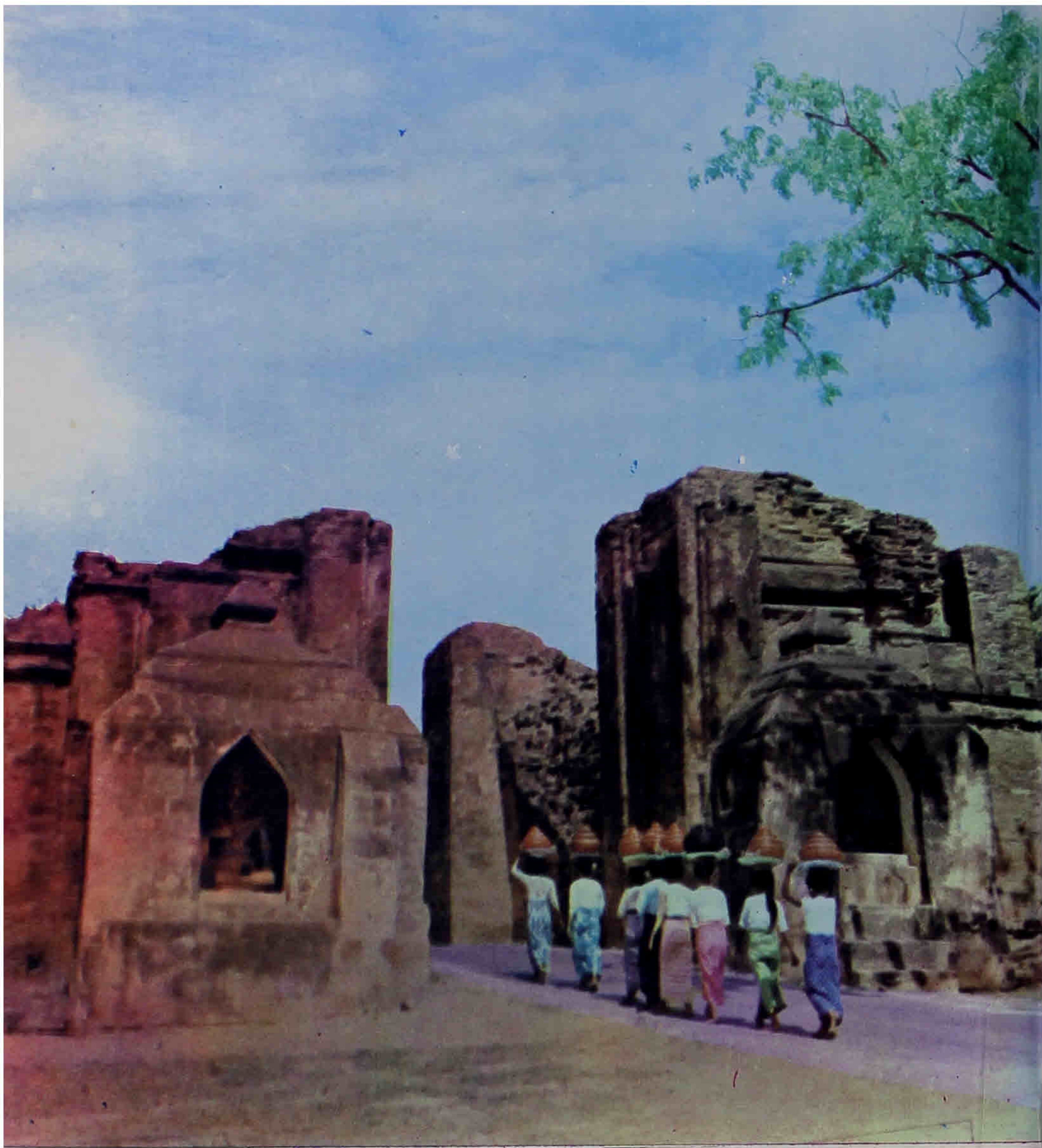


Pitakattaik (Library).

Pagan.

(Intercourse between Pagan on the one hand and North and South India on the other is evidenced not only by Buddhist art and architecture but also by the presence of a temple dedicated to Vishnu, the Nathlaung-gyaung. It was built about the 11th century by a colony of Indian settlers for their own use.) The exterior portion of the building together with the porch is now lost and what remains at present is the central chamber with a square obelisk in the centre. Each side of this brick pillar is provided with an alcove, the main one facing east being high and deep. (Remnants of brick and stucco images indicate that this main niche originally accommodated Vishnu lying on the world-serpent Ananta with the trinity, Vishnu, Brahma and Siva on lotus pedestals springing from the body. The central Vishnu image seated on a Garuda with spread wings was removed to the Berlin Museum about 70 years ago. Only the Siva image on the right and the lotus throne and halo of Brahma on the left still remain.) Of the main Anantasayin image the twisted tails in stucco are to be seen on the north wall of the main recess. Besides there are two pillar niches which are now empty. A standing image of Siva in stone found lying on the floor and removed to the Pagan Museum might have belonged to one of these niches.

Over the capitals on the two sides of the principal figure are two small niches each housing a stone sculpture. The one that now remains *in situ* represents the four-handed Vishnu seated on a full-blown lotus supported by a Garuda in a mutilated condition. In the three other niches of the central pillar there were originally standing images of Vishnu in stucco of which only one is comparatively well preserved. On the outer walls of the square basement which were originally the inner walls or the exterior corridor there are ten arched niches each containing one stone sculpture. These are the images of the ten *avatars* of Vishnu of which only seven now remain. (A Tamil inscription discovered at Myinkaba records the building of a porch and a door at a Vishnu temple at Pukkam or Arivattanapur (*i.e.* Pagan) by a native of Malai-mandalam belonging to the guild of merchants from different parts of the country (South India). The epigraph belongs to the 13th century and as it purports to record the dedications to a temple already existing then it



Tharapa gateway, Pagan.



Nathlaunggyaung temple, Pagan.

may be inferred that the building referred to is none other than the Nathlaung-gyaung.)

(Besides the Vishnuite sculptures at the Nathlaung-gyaung and a Siva image originally found at the same temple and now exhibited at the Pagan museum a bronze image of Vishnu was discovered at Myinkaba and three stone statuettes collected at the museum. Fragments of Ganesh images were also found at the Shwesandaw. This deity is referred by the Burmans under the name of Mahapeinne. Recently a mutilated stone sculpture of Vishnu reclining on the serpent Ananta was unearthed from the debris covering the floor of a small square Buddhist shrine west of Mimalaung-gyaung temple.)

Arch-pediment, Thinganyon temple, Minnanthu, Pagan.



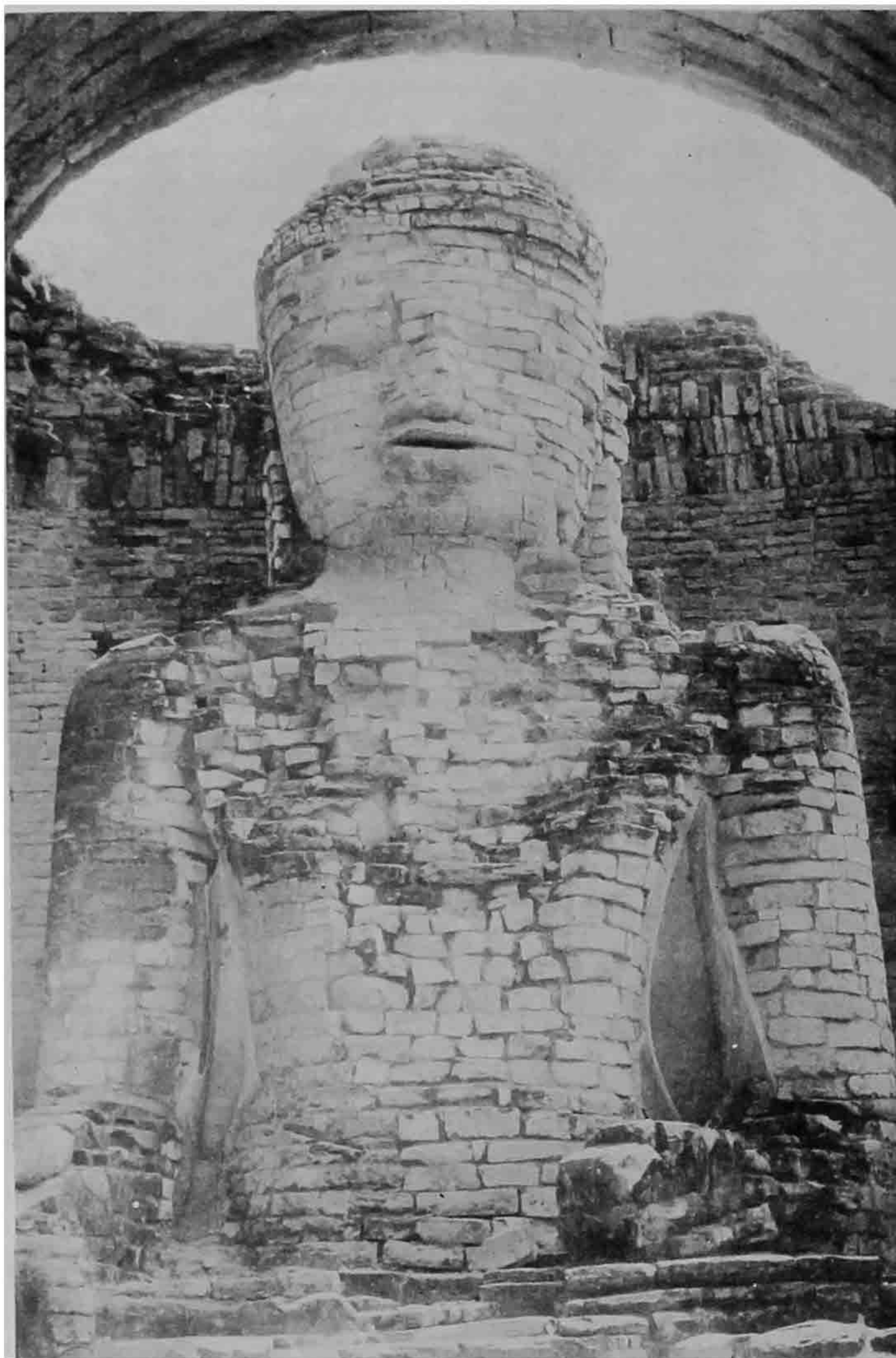
Within the temples at Pagan the principal Buddha images, mostly in seated postures, are made of brick and stucco. From the ruined examples we learn that the image is fixed in position by a wooden shaft passing through the centre of the torso and secured to the back wall by a plank with a perforation at its end to hold the shaft. There are three colossal Buddhas, facing east, in the main shrine of the Manuha temple built by the captive Mon king. In the adjacent chamber is a large reclining Buddha, also of brick masonry, facing West. The biggest reclining Buddha image is the Shinbinthalyaung, 80 feet long, housed in a rectangular brick building west of the Shwesandaw pagoda. The unique example of colossal seated Buddha image of stone masonry is the Thandawgya image, 19ft. 6 inches high, in a vaulted shrine a little to the north of Thatbyinnyu. It was dedicated by Narathihapati in 1284. As it had suffered much damage through exposure before the shrine was lately restored the original details have long since disappeared. Sculptures in stone are mostly found in the niches of older temples. In the celebrated Ananda temple alone hundreds of bas-reliefs and Buddha images, large and small, are to be found. The majority of the sculptures represent the Buddha's career until his enlightenment as in the series of eighty beginning with the request of the gods in the Tusita heaven to the Bodhisattva to be reborn in this very existence and to become the Buddha. Besides these there are other sculptures which depict the principal episodes in Buddha's life as well as scenes from the *Jataka* stories. Similar ones, though in limited numbers, fill the niches in the Nagayon, Kyaukku Umin, Kubyauk-gale at Myinkaba and a few others.

The stone Buddha figures bear the influence of Pala-Sena art of Bihar and Bengal of 8th to 12th century. The most common type is the Buddha seated cross-legged on a stylized lotus throne with both the soles of the feet visible. The hands are either in earth-touching or preaching attitude. The face is oval and long with a small well-defined mouth and a sharp nose from the bridge of which spring the eyebrows in arched curves. The eyes are half closed looking downward. The body is plump above but with a slender waist. The hair is represented by spiral curls and there is a knob-like protuberance on the centre of the head. The robe is lightly defined, leaving the right shoulder bare and exposing the right nipple. Some images in bronze conforming to this style were also discovered from a shrine annexed to the Shwesandaw pagoda.

Of the standing images in bronze the Buddha in the precincts of the Ananda Okkyaung and the four Buddhas in the shrines at the Shwezigon and a small one from Shwesandaw exhibit the same influence of medieval Buddhist art of Nalanda in Bihar. Bronze statuettes depicting the eight principal scenes in Buddha's life are also found at Pagan. From a ruined stupa near Upali Thein were recovered two bronze lotus buds. Each lotus



Thetkyamuni temple,
Nyaungoo.



Thandawgya image, Pagan.

Stone sculpture, Nativity scene, Ananda temple, Pagan.





Bronze Buddha
from Shwesandaw Pagoda, Pagan.



Bronze Buddha at
Ananda monastery, Pagan.

has an upright stand with a circular base and eight petals which are contrived to keep either in closed or open disposition. Resting directly on the stalk or stand inside the bud of one lotus is a miniature stupa while in the second lotus there is a Bodhgaya type of temple. In the first lotus a small sculpture representing one of the eight scenes from Buddha's life is attached to the inner side of each petal. In the second lotus the sculptures are ranged around the base of the Bodhgaya temple, each in small niche. Together with these lotuses was also discovered a small dolomite stone slab finely carved in every minute detail with the eight principal scenes, the main image representing the enlightenment of Buddha being placed in the centre. In a similar stone slab formerly found near the Shwezigon pagoda the central image is that of a crowned Buddha flanked by two standing Bodhisattvas, Maitreya and Avalovitesvara.

(Recently, a thin bronze plate bearing in relief the *Parinivarna* scene (Buddha's death) was discovered at Thayambu temple on removing the debris above the floor. Here the Buddha is shown reclining on a couch



Sculptured dolomite slab bearing eight principal scenes in Buddha's life, Pagan.



Bronze lotus with eight principal scenes around central stupa, Pagan.



Bronze lotus with eight principal scenes in the petals, Pagan.



Copper plate with a scene of Buddha's death in relief, Pagan.

while two disciples are seated one at either end of the bed. Of the four standing figures in the scene the two on the left could be identified as Brahma and Sakra and those on the right four-handed Vishnu and a horrific deity. There is also a figure of deva on the upper part of the plate. Naturally, wooden images or sculptures are rarely found at Pagan. One sculpture preserved in the Pagan Museum represents Buddha's descent from Tavatimsa heaven. The standing figure of Buddha is in *tribhanga* pose, having three bends after Indian models, though the facial features are clearly Mongolian. Two wooden figures of standing Dvarapala, 5 feet 4 inches high, were recently discovered in clearing the debris within a small temple near Kazun-o pagoda. Wearing a tall headdress (*makuta*) each figure stands on a pedestal of wooden block carved with the head of an ogre (*kirttimukha*). Similar figures are usually painted on the sides of interior doorways of the temples at Pagan.

Not all Buddha images of Pagan period conform to the Pala style. Most of the large brick and stucco images and numerous stone figures are modelled in pure Burmese style with slightly drooping head, short neck, thick-set torso and fingers of uniform length. The latter feature and the distention of ear-lobes to touch the shoulders are typical of modern Burmese images. Examples of stone Buddhas definitely assignable to late Pagan period by inscriptions on the pedestals are to be seen at the Pagan museum and one at the Shwezigon pagoda.

The terracotta (baked clay) reliefs form an interesting class of sculptures at Pagan. Those plaques at the twin Petleik pagodas and some retrieved from Shwesandaw are neither glazed nor decorated with beaded borders. The perfection of the details in the figures are much apparent than in the glazed



Wooden Dvarapala.
Pagan Museum.

plaques at the Ananda, Shwezigon and Dhammayazika. But in all the cases the figures are represented in conventional types peculiar to each individual, so there is very little change in the patterns and attitudes. However, most of the figures bear Indian influence. The total number of *Jataka* stories is 547 but these are traditionally called the 550 *Jatakas*. Usually the actual number is illustrated in reliefs and paintings, but the West Petleik completes the series of 550 by adding three *Jatakas*, namely, the Velama, Mahagovinda and Sumedhapandita. The legends on the plaques of the two Petleik pagodas, the Ananda and the Shwezigon are all written in *Pali* giving the name of the *Jataka* followed by its number, while those on the plaques at the Dhammayazika and Mingalazedi are both in *Pali* and Burmese. There the name of the *Jataka* is written in *Pali* and the state of Bodhisattva's existence in each particular story is given in Burmese. The art of portraying the *Jatakas* on terracotta reliefs may be traced to the Indian origin but the Burmese had impressed a character and style of their own, creating a new school of technique altogether different from the Indian model.

Numerous clay votive tablets unearthed from old pagoda mounds and ruined temples form another class of sculptural art at Pagan. They generally

Descent of Buddha from Tavatimsa,
wooden sculpture, Pagan Museum.



bear on the obverse a seated Buddha in earth-touching attitude within a Bodhgaya type of temple flanked by stupas or Bodhisattvas. Many specimens with 10, 28, 50 or 100 Buddhas are also found. Sometimes the principal figure is that of a Lokanatha seated in a kingly pose. In the earlier examples belonging to Anawrahta's reign most of the tablets are impressed with two lines of Sanskrit in North Indian Nagari characters of the 10th-11th century. Pali or mixed Sanskrit and Pali were also used to stamp the epigraph which is the well-known Buddhist creed beginning with 'Ye dhamma hetuprabhava' . . . which is rendered thus:

The Buddha hath the causes told
Of all things springing from causes ;
And also how things cease to be,
'Tis this the Mighty Monk proclaims.

The earlier tablets resemble the fine specimens from places like Sarnath and Nalanda. A large number of them were moulded at Pagan so that Anawrahta's name could be incorporated in the formula. On the reverse of the tablet or below the rim a dedication or prayer in Pali in Mon-Burmese characters is often inscribed, *e.g.* 'This Buddha was made, with his own hands, by Siri Maharaja Aniruddhadeva,' with the object of emancipation'. These seals of Anawrahta were found not only at Pagan but in several other places from Nga-o village near Katha in Upper Burma down to Twante in the delta. Many other types with inscriptions in Mon and Pali on the reverse were recovered from ruined pagodas. The depiction of the eight principal scenes in Buddha's life is also a popular treatment in the moulding of clay tablets. The discovery of a few bronze moulds without Sanskrit inscriptions confirmed the local production of later tablets.

Votive tablets, Pagan.





Crowned Buddha within the precincts of Ananda temple, Pagan.

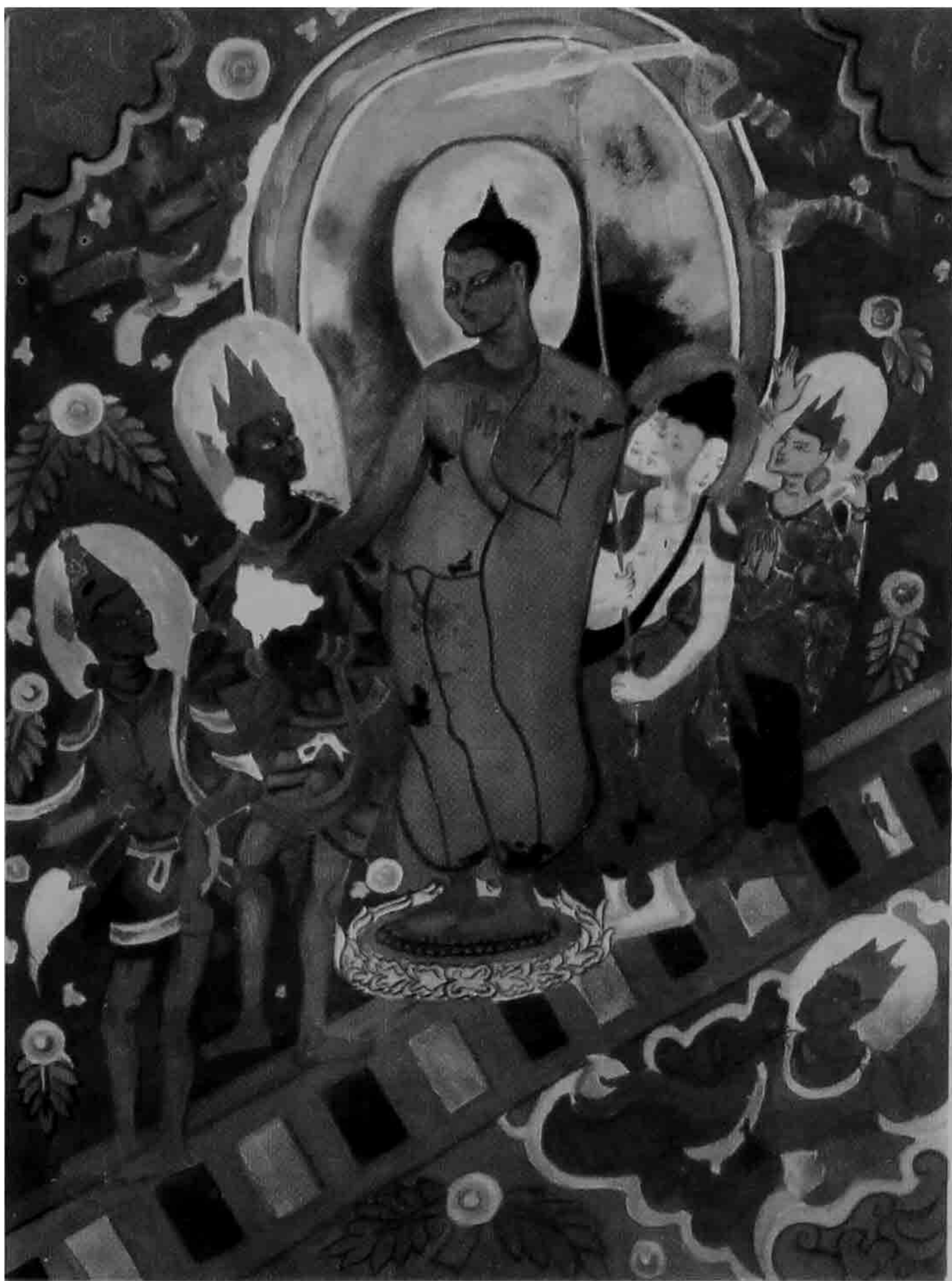


Copy of painting on pilaster,
Payathonzu temple,
Minnanthu, Pagan.

Almost all the temples of Pagan, with a few exceptions, were embellished with wall paintings of some description or other. Today we find fairly preserved a good number of mural paintings to enable us to form an accurate idea of the scope and capacity and also of the method of executing them. Technically speaking these paintings are not frescoes in the strict sense of the term. As the plaster of the walls are allowed to dry before applying the background of white lime wash, preparing the outlines and filling in the colours, the method is actually that of tempera painting. A characteristic feature of these paintings is the outlining of all forms with a clear black line, or sometimes with red, and the absence of perspective and shading is noticeable in the earlier period. Generally, the ceilings are decorated with figures of small Buddhas in rows of circles, or celestial beings such as Brahmas and devas. On the frieze there may be a running pattern of banyan leaves and foliations or ogre-head pendants. Below this frieze is often found a series of the last 28 Buddhas. The main panels are reserved for the principal scenes in the life of Buddha in large panels and the 550 *Jatakas* in small squares. The lower parts of the walls are usually decorated with floral and geometric designs.



Copy of wall painting in Payathonzu temple.



Copy of wall painting in Kubyaukgyi temple, Myinkaba : Buddha's Descent from Tavatimsa.



Copy of wall painting in temple near Somingyi pagoda, Buddha's descent from Tavatimsa.

The style of the Pagan paintings show strong West Indian influence in the earlier phase and that of the Varendra school of Bengal and Nepal in the later period. At the Patothamya temple may be seen Indian figures on the begrimed walls. A royal personage with a crown, halo, ear-ornaments and drapery and a bearded musician beating a pitcher-like drum bear all semblance of Indian features. There are also large panels depicting scenes from Buddha's life. They have become much blurred owing to the ravages of time, but enough now remains to show that these paintings were the work of no mean artist. Two of the noteworthy scenes here are the Foretelling of Siddhattha by Rishi Kala Devila and the Performing of the Twin Miracles by Buddha.

A unique example of a series of paintings reflecting the influences from three sources, namely, Brahmanism, Mahayanism and Theravada Buddhism may be noticed at the Abeyadana temple built by Kyanzittha. On the outer walls of the corridor are Mahayanist figures of Bodhisattvas. There is no writing below the figures and it is difficult to identify them but for their attributes in their hands by which Vajrapani, Padmapani, Avalokitesvara and Manjusri are distinguishable among them. On the inner walls of the corridor are small circular panels between the niches for sculptures. Each panel has a Brahmanic god painted on it and the representations of Brahma, Siva and Vishnu each on his own 'vehicle' are identifiable. There are also some Tantric figures in horrific, not erotic, appearances. The panels on the walls of the porch, however, illustrate *Jataka* scenes, and each scene is explained in legend in Mon in addition to attaching a number of the *Jataka* represented.

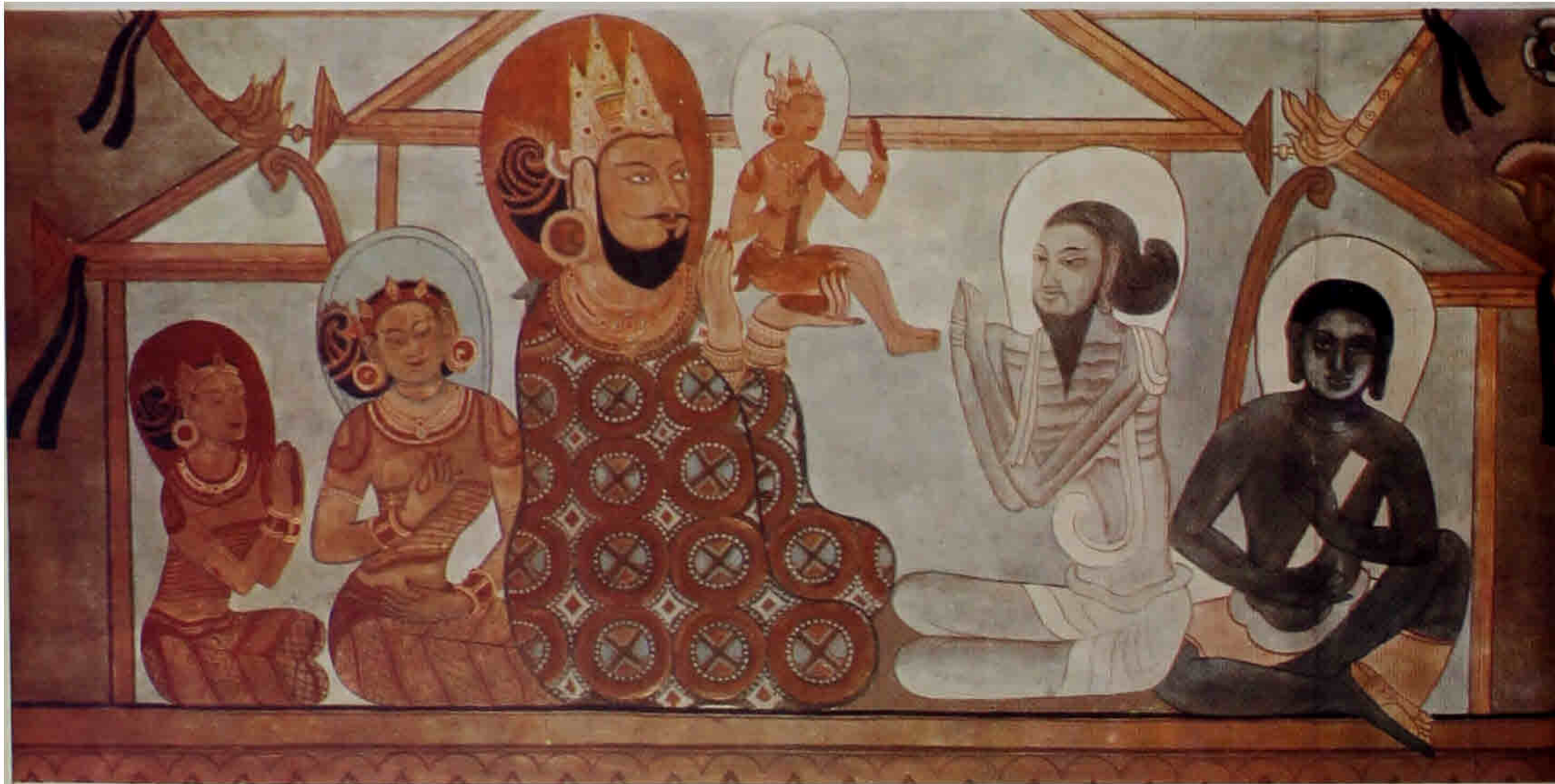
Unlike the Abeyadana, the Nagayon temple built by the same king contains mural paintings solely devoted to Theravada Buddhism. The corridor is adorned with paintings depicting incidents from the Buddha's life, his lents, sermons, miracles and conversions. The Mon legends below help us to identify the scenes which have much deteriorated. Among these scenes are Dipankara's prophecy to Sumedha, the prelude to preaching *Mangala Sutta*, Preaching the *Metta Sutta*, the Twin Miracles, Devadatta's attempts to kill Buddha, Kusa *Jataka*, Chaddanta *Jataka*, Mahasutasoma *Jataka*, etc.

The Kubyaukkyi temple at Myinkaba is another structure wherein orthodox Theravada paintings are predominant. Inside the hall and corridor are scenes from the *Vimnavatthu*. The main block is ranged around with 547 *Jatakas* in nine rows, each scene carrying a Mon legend below it. One of the most popular scenes in the Buddha's life, the Descent from Tavatimsa, is finely executed on the inner wall of the entrance to the shrine. This temple is not devoid of Mahayanist paintings. In the outer porch is a fairly large panel painted with the figure of a ten-handed Bodhisattva attended by seated female companions.



Copy of painting in Kubyaukgyi temple,
Myinkaba: Ascetics performing miracles.

Copy of wall painting in
Patothamya temple, Pagan :
Rishi Kaladevila meets Prince
Siddhattha.





Copy of wall painting in Nandamannya temple, Minnanthu, Pagan : Nativity scene.



¹ Copy of wall painting in Kubyaukgyi temple, Wetkyi-in, Pagan ; Taming of Nalagiri elephant.



Copy of painting in Nandamannya temple, Kirttimukha frieze.

Jataka scenes fill the walls of numerous temples at Pagan and the Kub-yaukkyi near Wetkyi-in village figures prominently in this respect. Each scene is painted in a small square panel very neatly delineated in rows of the vast wall of the eastern vaulted hall. The legends which are in Burmese give the title of each *Jataka* and mention the main character depicted in the scene.

Paintings executed during post-Kyanzittha period are to be seen in the Loka-hteikpan, Thayambu, Theinmazi and Penatha temples at Pagan, the Thetkyamuni and Kondawgyi temples at Nyaung-u and in almost all the temples in Minnanthu area. The walls are covered with not only the *Jataka* scenes but also the eight miracles of the Buddha and scenes of the mansions of the blessed from Vimanavatthu. Portrayal of the last 28 Buddhas from Tanhankara onwards under their respective *Bodhi* trees is also a very popular theme, and not a few of the paintings show the traditional Burmese cosmography.

The Payathonzu temple at Minnanthu contains well preserved murals distinctly Mahayanist in character. The temple is composed of three

distinct square buildings, each with its curvilinear spire, connected by narrow lateral passages leading from one to another. Except in the westernmost chamber the interior walls are covered with paintings quite peculiar and unlike any other as yet found. The walls, pilasters and the vaulted ceilings are all covered with floral motifs in which mythical monsters, animals, birds and human figures are cleverly woven. A striking feature is the portrayal of figures in royal costumes adorned with princely ornaments and attended by females. These may be minor deities of the Mahayana pantheon known as Bodhisattvas.

Though these are probably Mahayanist paintings it is not convincing, on a careful observation of the attitudes of the figures and the disposition of them, to regard them as erotic representations. Small figures of Buddha are painted in a well laid-out design on the soffit of an arch between the porch and main structure of the easternmost chamber, and scenes such as cutting off his hair by prince Siddhattha are portrayed on the walls of the east porch. None of the Bodhisattva figures occupy the central part of any of the walls. As such the portrayal of these Bodhisattvas was perhaps not intended to represent immoral attitudes in association with the Theravada elements but simply to incorporate the minor deities of the Mahayana pantheon. Likewise, it would not be impertinent to review the notion that a particular scene in the Nandamannya temple is Tantric in character and thereby grossly immoral. In this small temple the Buddha image of brick masonry is still extant and among the paintings covering the entire walls within there are large panels depicting scenes from Buddha's life, such as the Nativity scene and the Twin Miracle. On a wall of the southern bay is a rectangular panel showing several scantily dressed women in a procession. These figures may fitly be identified as the women of different ages assumed by Mara's daughters to entice the Buddha. If viewed in this light this



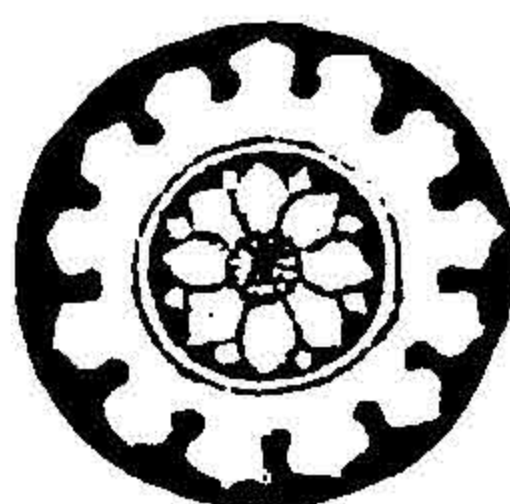
Copy of wall painting in Nandamannya temple, Minnanthu : A procession of young and old women.



Copy of wall painting
in Kubyaukgyi temple,
Wetkyi-in, Pagan :
The assault of Mara's army.

painting, hitherto considered to be a debased Tantric scene, will not appear incongruous with the other scenes in a definitely Theravada temple.

After the fall of Pagan dynasty the classical art and architecture gradually declines until the late 17th and early 18th century when the traditional art was revived by royal patronage from the later capitals of Ava and Amarapura. Thus in some of the buildings at Pagan we find later wall paintings which characterize purely Burmese ideals. At the Upali Thein the scenes are large and continuous instead of confining them in small panels. In addition to the traditional themes of *Jataka* stories and the last 28 Buddhas there are contemporary scenes such as the rehabilitation of a monk who has committed an offence that can be expiated only by undergoing penance, the ecclesiastical ceremony for which has to be performed strictly in accordance with the *Vinaya* rules in an ordination hall. Lively scenes from the *Jatakas* as well as the secular life of those days are painted on the inner walls of the Ananda Okkyaung, a brick monastery close to the venerated Ananda temple at Pagan. The building dates back to 1775. The Sulamani temple built by Narapatisithu also contains late paintings executed in 18th century. Typical of the latter period, the scheme of painting here is delineated in horizontal panels from the floor level to the frieze, the upper panels being devoted to religious themes while the lower ones portray contemporary secular life, infernal scenes and animals. The paintings at Upali Thein, Ananda Okkyaung and Sulamani temple are peculiarly striking in that the variety of subjects is fairly large and the narration of *Jataka* and incidents from Buddha's life is continuous. The highlights of social and economic developments are discernible in the lively secular scenes which pronounce the artistic originality of the period.





Head of Buddha, clay,
Tagaung : 9th-12 century.

TAGAUNG

(Tradition asserts that Tagaung is the cradle of Burmese civilization. The founding of the first city by a Sakyan king who had migrated from India is reckoned hundreds of years before the birth of Buddha and the re-establishment of the capital by a second refugee prince is believed to have taken place about the 6th century B.C.) The legend continues that after several centuries a royal brother of the king at Tagaung, while chasing a wild boar, reached a place where Srikshetra was to be founded later, and settled down as a hermit. In course of time he met two young princes who, being blind since they were born, were drifted down the river on a raft and were miraculously cured by an ogress in the course of their journey. Learning that they were his nephews he married the elder prince to his adopted niece. There was a Pyu queen ruling in that country and as the hermit was venerated by the queen and her people he married her also to the elder prince and raised him king. When their son Duttabaung came to the throne the city of Srikshetra was founded for him by Sakra.

Perhaps this legend was fabricated by those who wanted to assert the glory and antiquity of the Burmese ancestry. As a matter of fact, they appear to have adopted a parallel story culled from ancient Indian lore for no evidence antedating the Pagan period has yet been found at Tagaung.

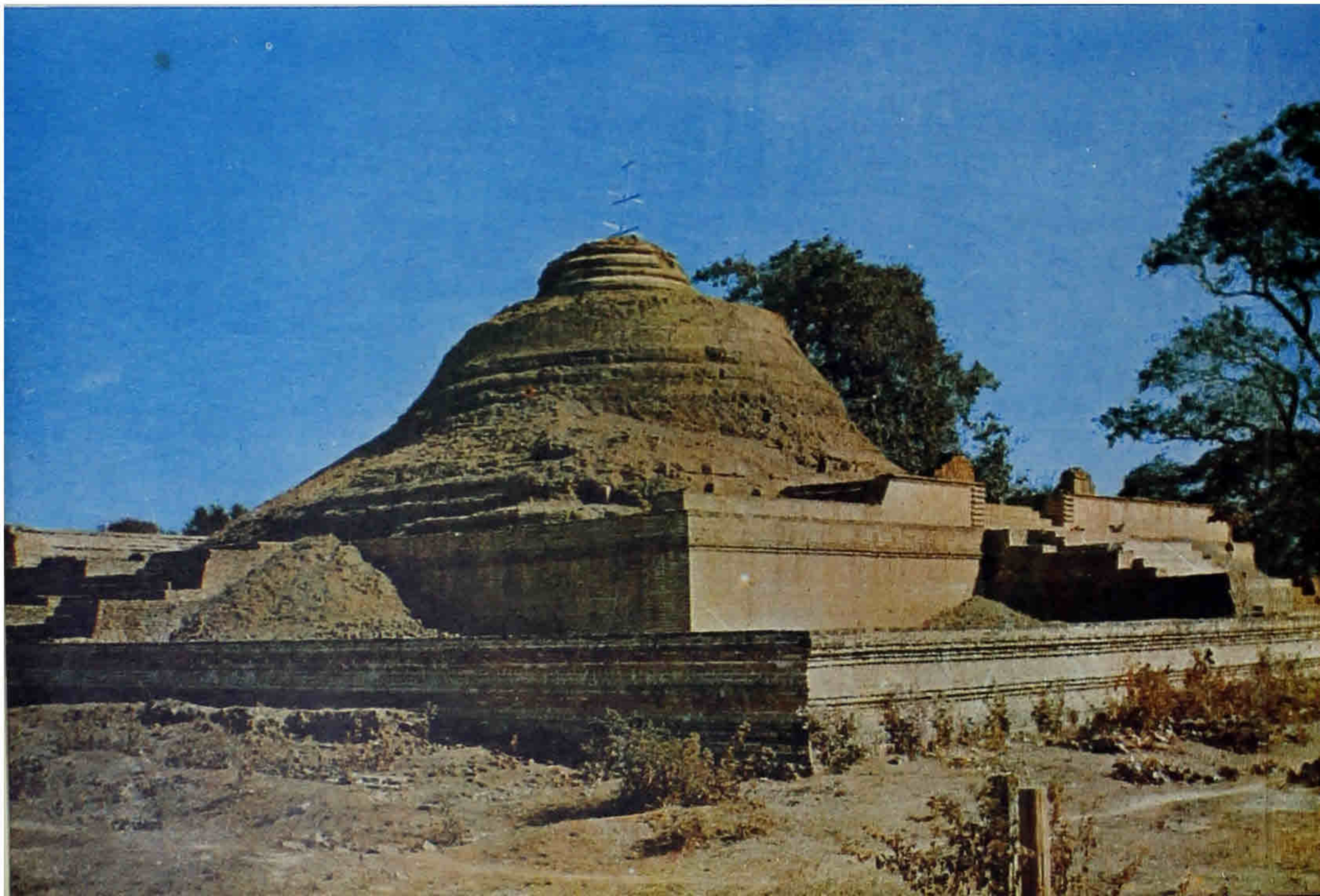
(This ancient site lies 127 miles above Mandalay on the left bank of the Irrawaddy. The earliest mention of it as an outlying town occurs in a

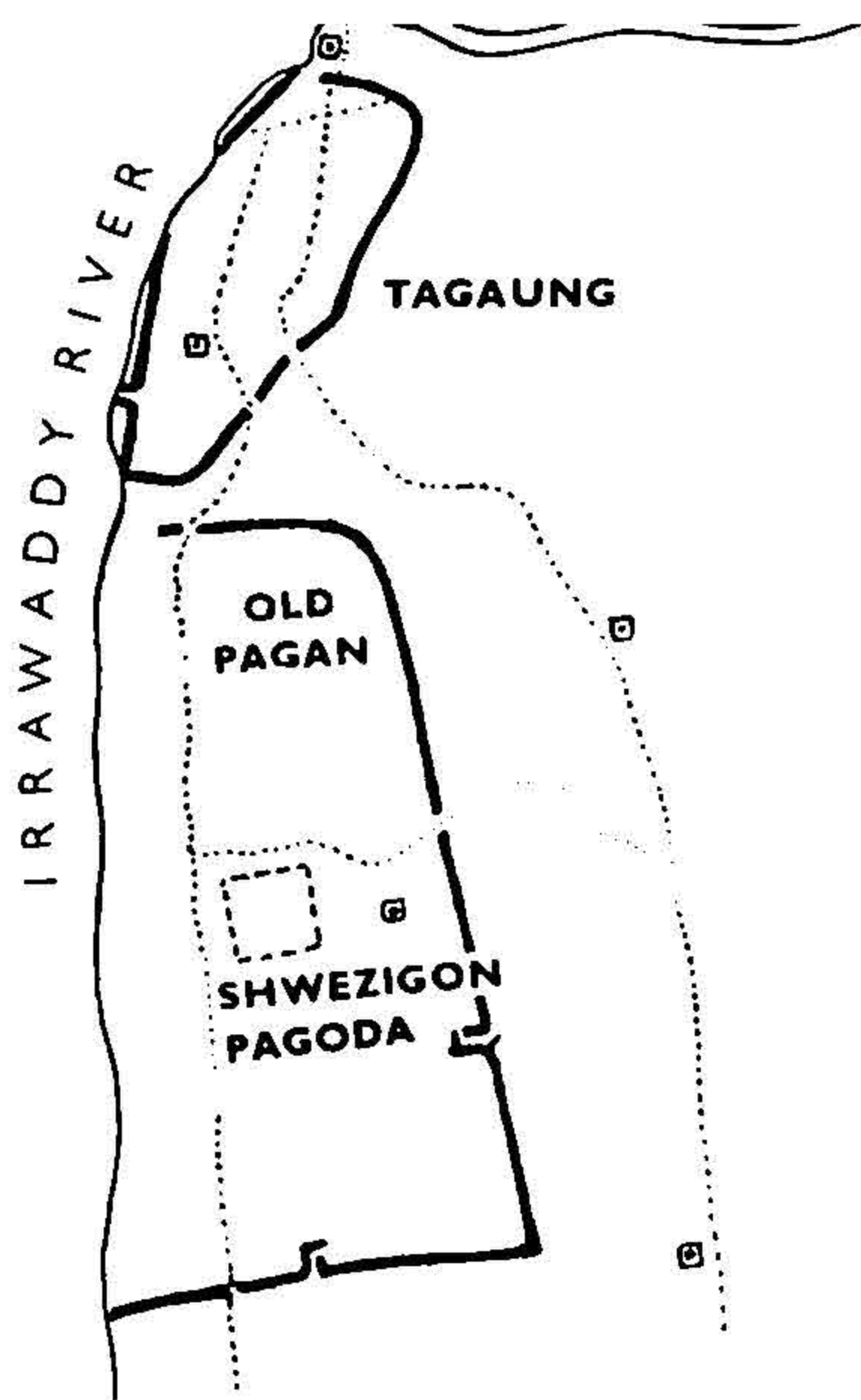
twelfth century inscription from Pagan. A Burmese inscription discovered at the site is dated 1354 A.C. But for the fort walls and traces of moats round the twin cities very few ancient ruins are visible.) The northern city at the bend of the Irrawaddy river is in the form of an oval narrowing towards the south and the adjacent southern city known as Upper Pagan is roughly rectangular. This latter name itself is suggestive of its contemporaneity, more or less, with the Burmese capital, Pagan. Almost the whole area within the ancient wall is occupied by the modern town so there is not much left for prospective excavation. In the southern city are a few villages scattered in the northern sector. The Shwezigon, a large ruined pagoda, lies near the centre of the enclosed site.

During earlier excavations, surface finds were made of clay votive tablets belonging to Pagan period. The reported discovery by an archaeologist about a century ago of a *Sanskrit* inscription purporting to record the history of the site was later found to be untrue and has since been dismissed as a piece of merely unsubstantiated information.

Proper excavation of the site was done recently in the open seasons of 1967-68 and 1968-69. The extent of the two walled towns combined is far less than that of Halin. The maximum length of Tagaung is 800 yards and the maximum breadth 300 yards. The east wall of Upper Pagan measures 1,350 yards, the southern wall 770 yards and the short northern wall

Shwezigon Pagoda, Tagaung.





Plan of Tagaung.

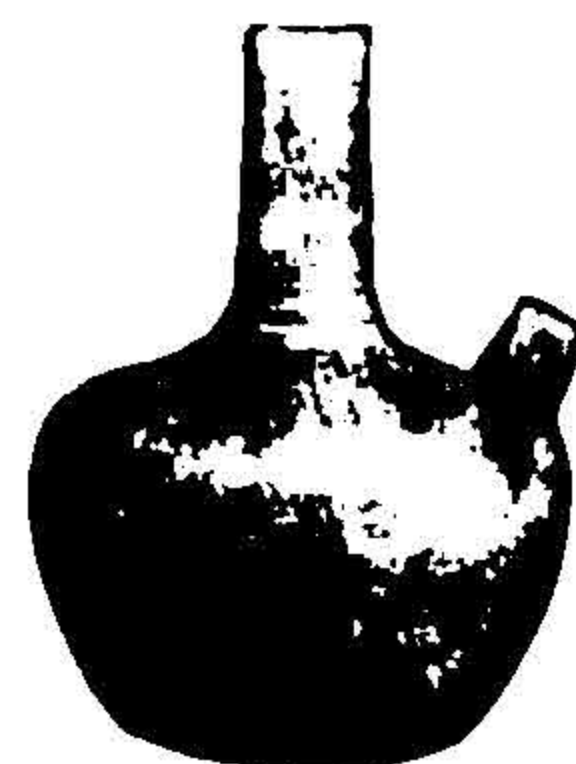
400 yards. The west wall has evidently been washed away by the river. Excavation in the northern town was confined to four sites on the walls. The digging at the south-western corner and a cutting across the west wall reveal that the west wall which runs along the river bend was constructed after the original wall had disappeared by erosion. At each of these two points was exposed the foundation of a square bastion. The thickness of the western wall is lesser than that on the south but the west bastion is larger than the corner projection.

In the southern town excavation of a mound on the east wall laid bare the gateway complex which is peculiar to this ancient site. The entrance passage flanked by an arm on either side takes a square turn northward by providing a screen which projects at right angles to the southern or left flank. The

charred remains of a wooden gate and a stone socket on which the door was fixed were recovered at the interior extremity of the entrance passage. It was found that the gateway through the southern wall was also constructed in the same manner.

Substantial buildings were not found at the mounds excavated within this area. As in other fortified cities of old there is a square enclosure in the centre of this southern fort. The limits of this area were verified by digging at the four corners, and the cutting across the east wall of this brick enclosure exposed an entrance with rounded corners. But no structure was traced in the centre of this quadrangle. The Shwezigon pagoda lies between this inner enclosure and the eastern wall. Though it is believed to be of great antiquity only clay votive tablets datable to Pagan period were discovered from the debris. The ruined structure was repaired in 1902 but it collapsed again after a few decades and is still under reconstruction by public donation.

Of a few more mounds excavated within the southern city three turned out to be habitation sites and two the remains of religious structures of brick and timber with tile roofing.



Spouted goblet.



Clay votive tablets.

The excavations yielded many votive tablets of which two types are peculiar to Tagaung. The first is a small circular tablet like a clay lamp about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter containing only one figure of Buddha seated in the earth-touching attitude with overlapping legs. The second type of tablet is about 7 inches high, containing one central figure of seated Buddha flanked by two standing Buddhas. The arch over the central figure is topped by a pyramidal spire resembling the Bodhgaya temple in India. The space beside the spire is filled with small stupas. At the bottom of the tablet are two lines of the Buddhist creed in Nagari characters stamped in bold relief, which may be dated to 10th-11th century. The third type which is similar to those found at Pagan has the shape of a pointed oval. Enclosed by a prominent rim is a seated Buddha on a lotus throne in an arch surmounted by a "Bodhgaya" spire and flanked by pagodas of varying sizes. The Buddha is in the earth-touching attitude. The Buddhist stanza in Nagari is stamped in relief below the lotus seat. This type found in large numbers at Pagan belongs to Anawrahta's reign. The fourth type of tablet is also high rimmed but has a straight base, convex sides and a pointed top. It contains a Buddha seated in the earth-touching attitude within an arched niche as in other specimens. The legend, in Nagari script, below the throne gives the title of a king which probably belongs to Sawlu, Anawrahta's successor. This type does not occur in Pagan but was found in a few riverine sites between Mandalay and Katha. Chance finds were also reported of several tablets of early Pagan type with Anawrahta's seal in Pali incised on the reverse.

An invaluable piece of sculpture discovered during the excavations is a dolomite slab, 4 inches high, bearing in bold relief the eight principal scenes in Buddha's life. The left portion and the top are broken off, leaving intact the central figure in a slightly damaged condition and scenes from three episodes on the right. Apart from this piece four fragments from a similar slab were also recovered. They belong to the same type of which fine specimens were found at Pagan.

Though each of the two towns is comparable in size to the walled citadel of Pagan there are fewer religious structures of contemporary age than at the latter site. Consequently, large Buddha images are entirely absent. Only fragments of small images were recovered by excavation. One is a clay head

of Buddha, 6 inches high. It is finely modelled like the stone images of Pagan exhibiting the influence of the Pala art of 9th-12th century. The left ear and the tip of the conical topknot are damaged. The hair is marked by rows of beads. The half-closed eyes assume a down-cast appearance. The thin eye-brows slant upwards. The nose is prominent and the low lip of the small mouth is thick and slightly drooping. The chin is rather pointed. The right ear-lobe does not touch the shoulder. The neck seems to be long originally. With the exception of the absence of a small dot between the eyebrows representing the *urna* mark this Buddha head displays the same character as that of the dolomite figure mentioned above. Such types are representative of the images in stone and bronze of the early Pagan period. The second fragment, also in well-baked clay of reddish colour, comprised the lower part of a seated Buddha in the earth-touching posture and a portion of the lotus-throne. The right hand having well-proportioned fingers is indicative of early Pagan art.

A small circular clay seal, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, bearing three short lines, partially weathered, was recovered from the excavation site at the south-west corner of the city wall of Tagaung. The writing, stamped in relief, is in square characters as in the early inscriptions of Pagan. It reads 'Seal of Thingyi Nga Kye Thin', by which we can make out that the owner belonged to the upper middle-class society of Pagan.

A considerable number of potsherds were excavated but all these represent the Pagan types of storage jars, goblets, bowls, lamps and long-necked vases with straight spouts. Clay beads or spindle-whorls and pieces of iron nails are also among the small finds recovered.

The results of the excavation evidently testify that Tagaung rose to be an important fortified city during Anawrahta's reign. There must have existed a small settlement or a small town in that place itself long before Pagan period but there are no hopeful signs of obtaining convincing proof to the effect that its antiquity could be pushed back to the early centuries of the Christian era.



Dolomite sculpture bearing scenes from Buddha's life, Tagaung.

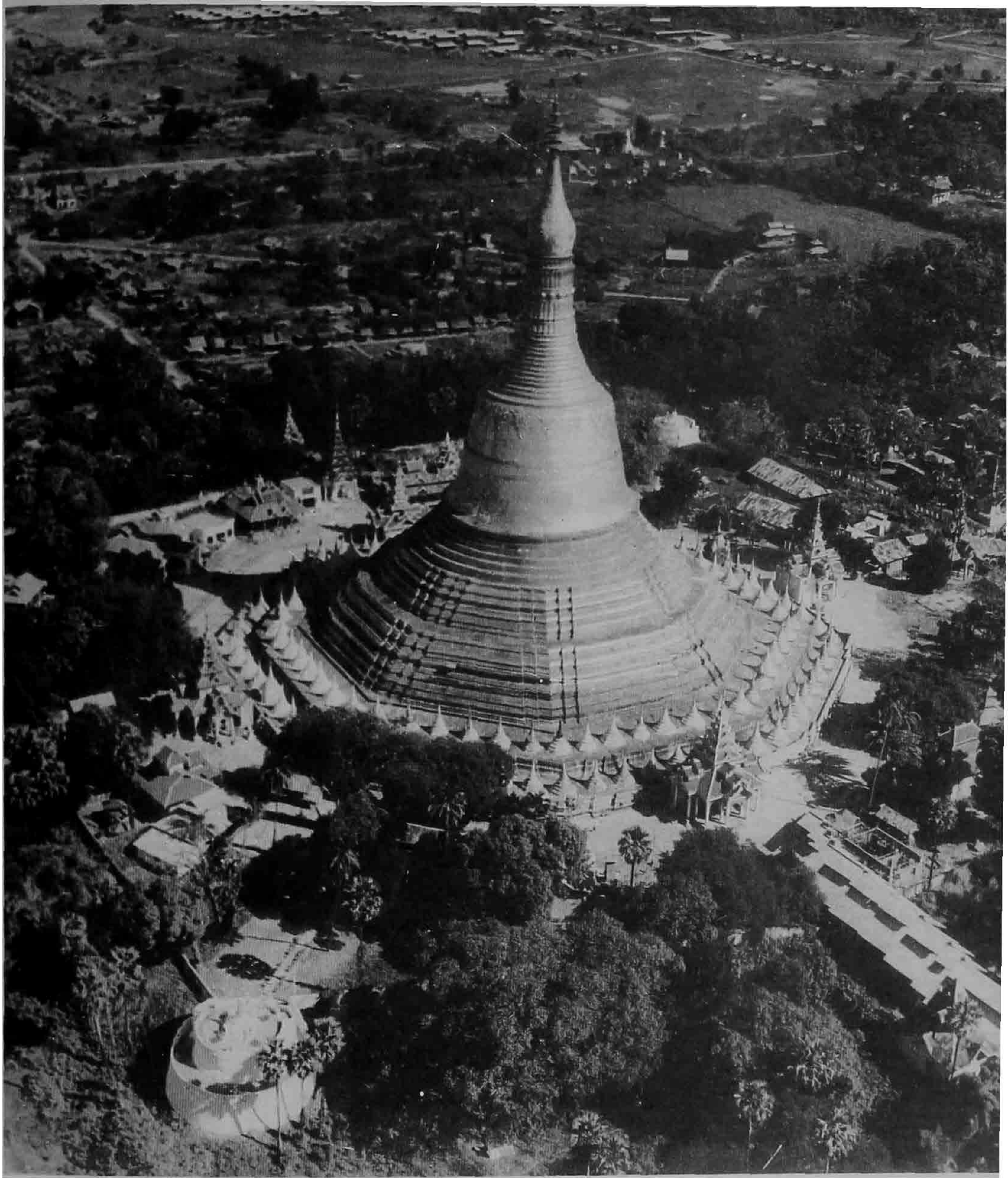


Clay plaque from
Kyontu Pagoda,
Waw, Pegu.

PEGU

(The early history of Pegu is also more or less legendary. Tradition recounts that in the far distant past a *hamsa* bird (Brahmani duck) alighted on a small patch of ground in the shallow sea.) The unsubmerged spot was so tiny that the mate of the *hamsa* found no room to rest upon and had to perch on the back of the male bird. In course of time the delta expanded and the little spot became a significant hillock. It later acquired some sort of historical importance and came to be known as Hinthagone, the resting place of two *hamsa* birds. Assuming a historical landmark this natural mound is now consecrated by having a pagoda built on it.

(The Mons were first settled at this site and apparently some Indian immigrants formed an important section of the inhabitants. The place was named Ussa probably derived from the Indian province Orissa. But, the first city was founded by two Mon brothers, Thamala and Wimala from Thaton about 825 A.C. After 260 years the city came under Burmese domination and remained eclipsed for more than three hundred years. It was only in 1369 that Byinnya-U, a descendant of Wareru (1287-96) king of Martaban, removed the capital to Pegu. Since then the city as well as the delta region of the Mons was popularly known as Hamsavati (Hanthawaddy). The ruins of the fort walls lie to the east the Shwemawdaw pagoda. Rajadarit (1385-1423), Queen Shinsawbu (1453-72) and Dhammaceti (1472-92) were famous rulers of the dynasty.)



Shwemawdaw Pagoda, reconstructed, Pegu.

Photo by Khin Lay Maung

Kyaikpun Pagoda, Pegu.

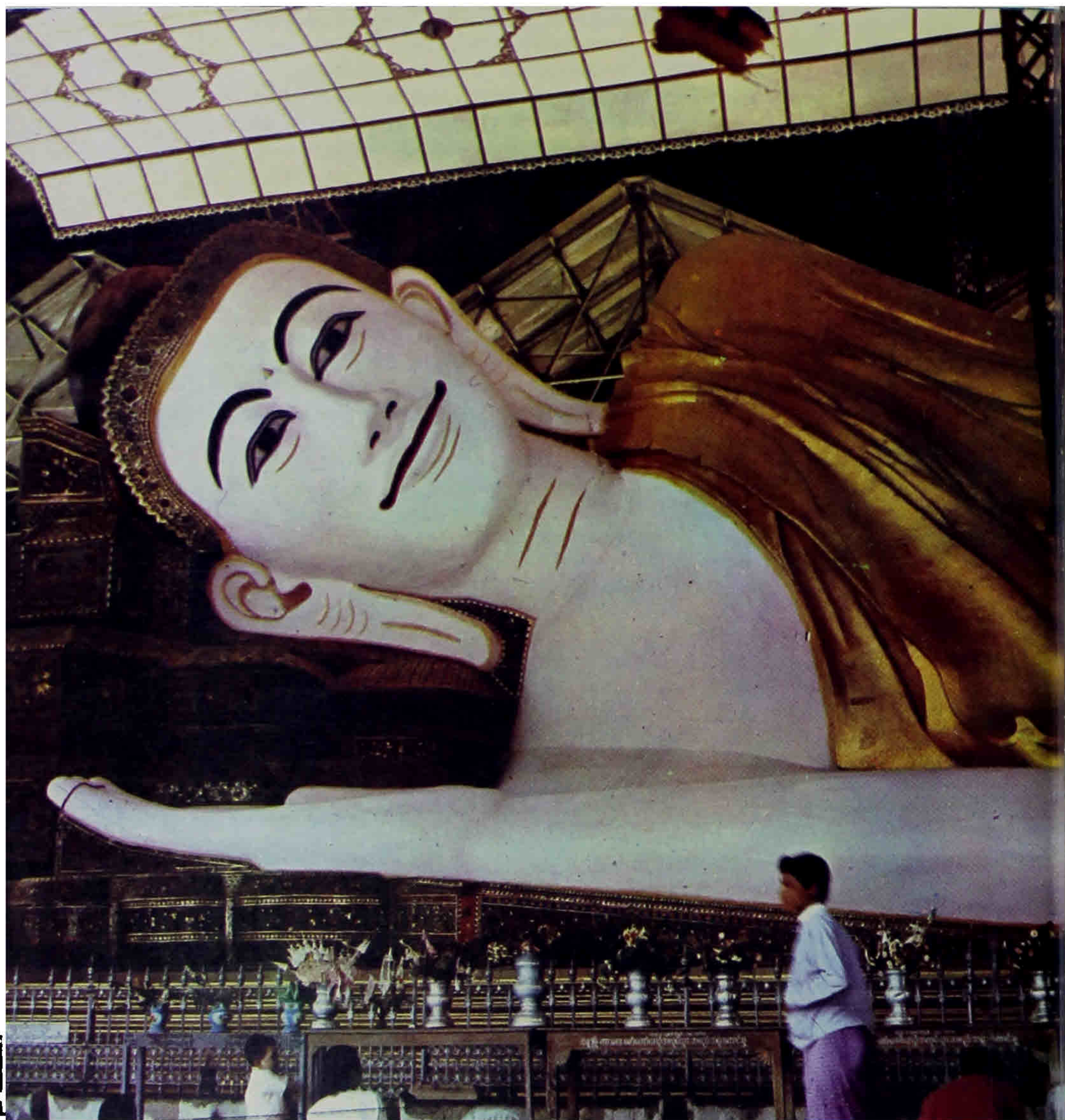


(In 1541, Tabinshwehti of the Burmese dynasty at Toungoo annexed Pegu state. Bayinnaung, his successor, built the new city of Hanthawaddy in 1566. But during Thalun's reign the capital was moved to Ava in 1635. The Mons, after rising against Ava in 1740, had a brief spell of independence. Finally when Alaungpaya established himself king in Upper Burma he regained Pegu and it remained subject to Ava till the British annexation in 1852.)

As in other ancient sites few structures of secular use, apart from the remains of the old moated walls, are to be seen. Among the religious monuments (the Shwemawdaw is one of the most venerated pagodas in Burma. Tradition ascribes the original construction of the pagoda to two merchant brothers who enshrined two sacred hairs bestowed upon them by Buddha during his lifetime. Kings Thamala and Wimala raised the height to 81 and 88 feet respectively in 825 and 840. Successive Kings contributed towards its renovation and enlargement, and when Bodawpaya replaced a new hti (umbrella) in 1796 it attained to a height of 297 feet.) The architectural interest of the pagoda lies in its having an octagonal base and elaborate multiplane projections in the lower portion. Around its base is a double range of small shrines. (The pagoda was shattered by three major earthquakes in 1912, 1917 and 1930. The last tremor was so severe that a great part of the bell-shaped dome and its superstructure tumbled down, thus causing damage to the terraces also. After the last war earnest efforts were made by the state and the public to restore the pagoda to its old glory and the reconstruction, on a model slightly different from the past, was completed in 1954. The height of the pagoda is now 375 feet. Several ancient Buddha images of stone and bronze which were recovered from the ruined sectors of the pagoda are now exhibited in the pagoda museum on the platform.)

(Pegu is also noted for the largest reclining image of Buddha, 180 feet in length and 52 feet in height. It is the Shwethalyaung Image built by King Migadippa the younger in 994. Lying shelterless for several centuries the masonry image gradually became dilapidated and remained in a state of disrepair until Dhammaceti renovated it in the 15th century. Bayinnaung also maintained it in a proper manner but later on it was neglected again and was overgrown with shrub. The image was re-discovered about 80 years ago when its sanctity and glory was restored through intensive repairs. An iron tazaung (open shed) was constructed over it in 1906, and since then the image has regained the country-wide veneration of the Buddhist populace.)

King Dhammaceti, also known as Ramadhipati, one of the most enlightened and wise rulers of Hanthawaddy, was a fervent promoter of Buddhism. He sent a mission of monks to Ceylon in 1475 where they



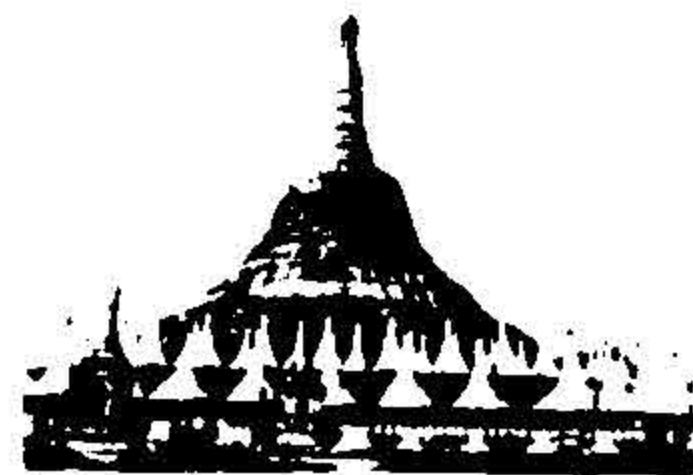
Shwethalyaung Image, Pegu.

received re-ordination in the presence of the members of the Mahavihara sect which was founded by the great apostle Mahinda in the 3rd century B.C. The purpose of the mission was to establish on an indisputable basis a canonically valid monastic succession of the Mon monks. On their return to Hanthawaddy the monks brought the sand from the Kalyani river in Ceylon and had a suitable site consecrated after spreading the sand over it. On that site Dhammaceti erected the Kalyani Sima (ordination hall), the first of its kind in Burma. The original structure was repaired by Bayinnaung and later in 1612 a new building was constructed by Anaukpet-lun to replace it. In 1765 it had to be rebuilt by Bodawpaya. Twice again it was overtaken by calamities and new structures were built over the ruins. The last building in 1902 was badly damaged by the earthquake of 1930. It was therefore dismantled in 1954 and the present new Sima was constructed by public donations.

On the west of the Sima are ten huge stone pillars covered with inscriptions on both sides, except the 9th and 10th stones which are incised on one face only. These were set up in 1476 by Dhammaceti in order to record the ceremonial relating to the consecration of the Kalyani Sima. The great value of the inscription rests on the detailed information it gives of the early history of Buddhism in Burma, of the valid mode of consecrating ordination halls, of the intercourse of Pegu and Burma with Ceylon and South India in the 15th century and of the Burmese view of the apostolic successions of the Buddhist priesthood. The language of the first three stones is *Pali* and that of the rest is Mon. Most of these are more or less broken into fragments but copies of the *Pali* text on palm-leaf are still extant.

Obtaining a duplicate tooth-relic of Buddha from Ceylon, (Bayinnaung (also known as Hanthawaddy Hsinbyushin) constructed the Mahazedi pagoda on the model of the Mahacetiya of Ceylon and enshrined the sacred relic in 1560. The square basement of this pagoda originally measured 320 feet on each side. Being subjected to several earthquakes it remained in disrepair for many centuries. The work of reconstructing the great pagoda was begun recently and is still in progress.)

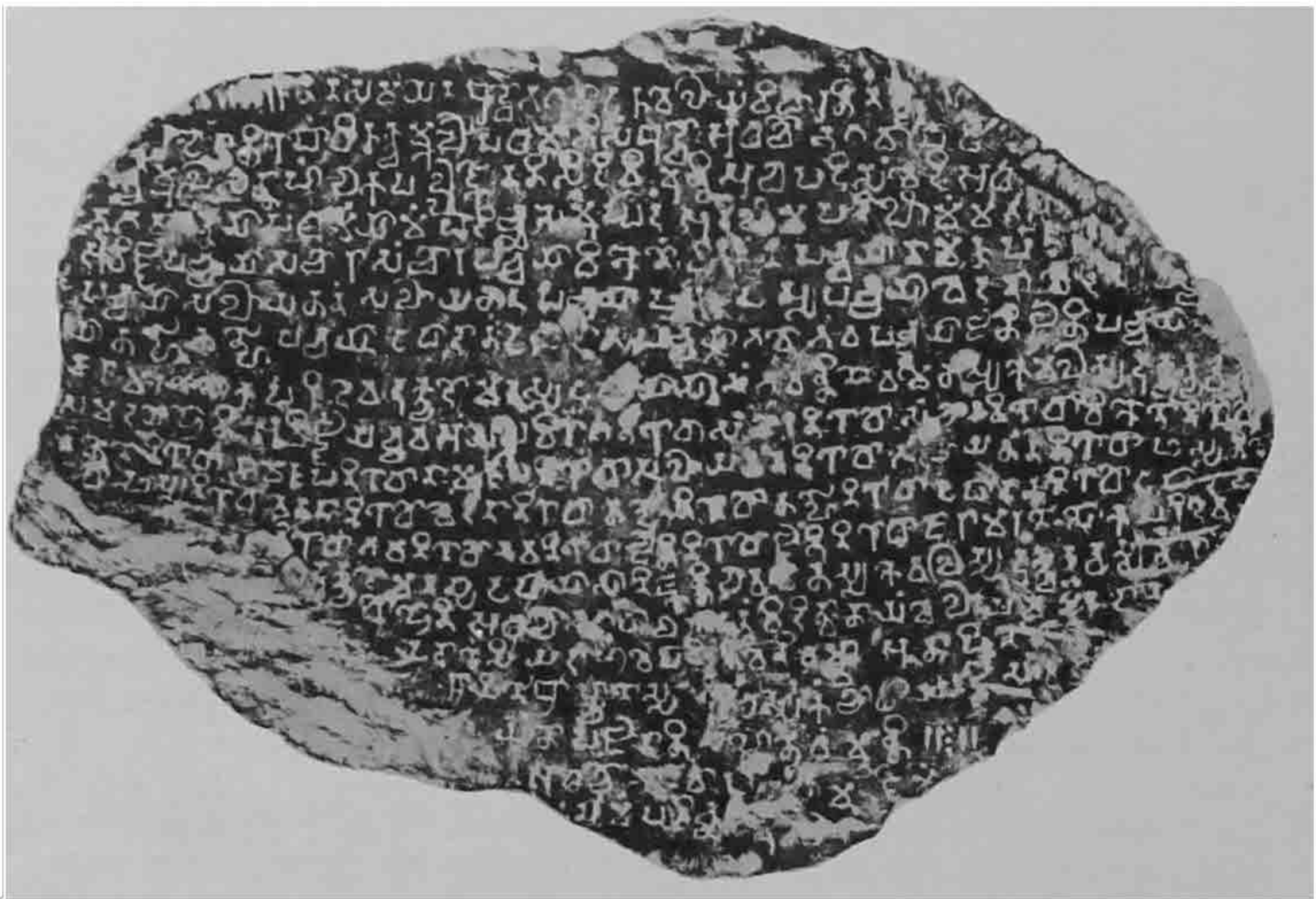
At the Payathonzu village three miles south of Pegu is a cluster of ruined monuments originally built by Dhammaceti. Of these the Shwegugyi is the largest and most important. It was built in imitation of the Bodhgaya Temple in India. Nearby are monuments built in honour of Buddha's seven stations where he spent seven weeks after His enlightenment. It is recorded that each station was fitly adorned with large statues of most of the personages who played important roles in it. Unfortunately, all these statues have disappeared and only the ruins of structures and inscribed stones still remain.) In the niches of the enclosure wall were placed large



Shwemawdaw Pagoda in
1910. Pegu.



Glazed plaque bearing
figures of Mara's daughters,
Shwegugyi Pagoda, Pegu.



Pali inscription at Kunzeik,
Shwegyin township,
Pegu district.



Relief image of
Buddha in stone,
West Shwenatha Pagoda,
Pegu.



clay plaques, some glazed in green and some in brown, bearing bas-reliefs representing the monstrous army of Mara. There are two figures in each brick and each set is distinguished from others by the heads of animals surmounting the human bodies of the warriors and by the weapons held in their hands. At the site of the Ajapala tree where Buddha spent His fifth week after enlightenment is the ruined shrine where among the debris were found glazed plaques depicting figures of women in various stages of life, beautifully dressed and adorned. They represent the one hundred women of diverse ages into whom each of Mara's daughters transformed herself in tempting the Buddha who was meditating under the tree. Those that still remain were collected and are now preserved in the Archaeological Department.

In the same locality is another monument in the form of (four gigantic seated Buddha images placed against the sides of a massive brick pillar. This was also built by Dhammaceti.) Though shelterless it is kept in a fair state of preservation by devout Buddhists. It is called the Kyaikpun pagoda.

At the West Shwenatha pagoda is a stone statue of standing Buddha with an Indian cast of features. He stands in very bold relief against an exquisitely ornamented back-slab, 6 feet high, which together with the Buddha were carved out of the same piece of solid stone. His right hand holds something like a towel, while his left hand assumes the protection pose. At his waist is a girdle of cloth the long ends of which hang down between his legs. The image is believed to have been brought over from

A fragment of
the Kalyani inscription, Pegu.

Ceylon during the reign of Dhammaceti. Iconographically the sculpture may be dated to 10th-11th century.

Sculptures of earlier date were discovered at the Kyontu pagoda in Waw about 18 miles north-east of Pegu. These are clay plaques roughly 1 foot 6 inches square, each bearing a round medallion carved in low relief, enclosed by a beaded border, floral designs and corner semi-circles. The scenes in the medallions depict bull fights, riders on elephants and horses, and dancers and musicians. They all bear the stamp of Indian craftsmanship and some plaques have Indian numerals in Telegu-Kanarese script on the upper rims.

A stone slab bearing a Pali inscription in South Indian characters of 7th-8th century was discovered recently at Kunzeik village on the east bank of the Sittang river, about 40 miles northeast of Pegu. The inscription of 16 lines on the obverse and 3 lines on the reverse is an excerpt from the *Vinaya Mahavagga* similar to the inscription on the first few pages of the gold-leaf Pali manuscript recovered from Khinba mound at Srikshestra. The traces of Indian culture represented by the sculptures and this Pali inscription definitely attest to the close and continuous contacts between this part of the country and the peoples and cultures of India since the early centuries of the Christian era.



Glazed plaque depicting warriors of Mara, Shwegugyi Pagoda, Pegu.

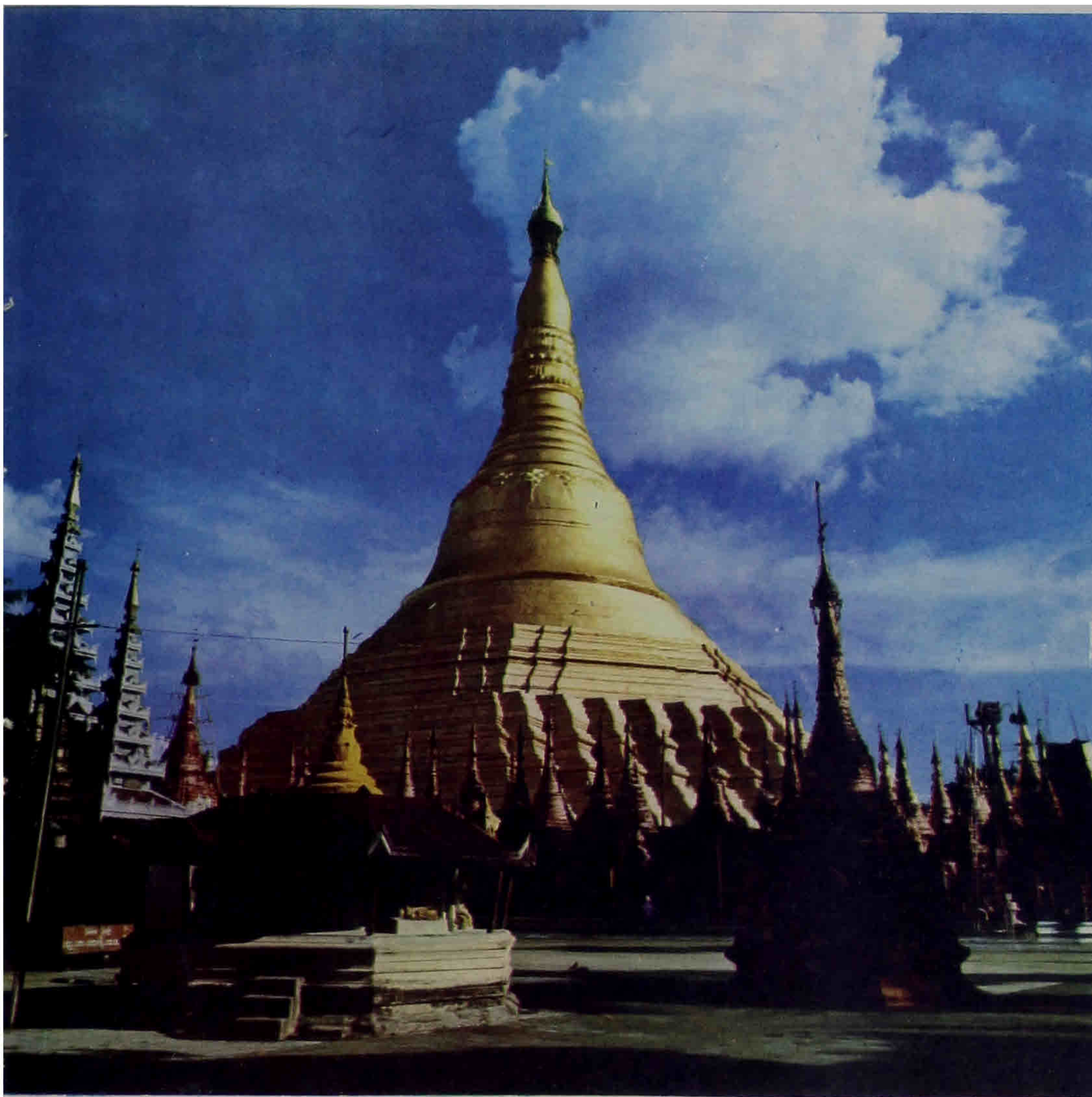


Laterite Buddha,
Tadagale, Rangoon.

DAGON

(After his conquest of Lower Burma in 1755 King Alaungpaya renamed the small old town of Dagon as Yangon (end of strife) and founded a new city on the old site. Yangon (Rangoon) soon became a sea port when Syriam was destroyed by the king in 1756 as it had been the centre of European interests in the country. Its gradual development as a prosperous town and its elevation to the important status of the capital city of Burma are in fact events of recent times. Though it is now quite modern popular tradition traces back its history to the 11th century and its existence under classical names to more than two thousand years.)

(The history of Dagon is closely associated with that of the Shwedagon pagoda. The place was known as Asitanjana or Okkala some five hundred years before the Christian era. According to the hoary legend two merchants Taphussa and Bhallika from Okkala went to India on a trading venture. They met the Buddha under the sacred *Bo* tree and offered Him honey cakes. Having partaken of the cakes presented by them the Buddha bestowed on them eight sacred hairs from His head. On their return they were deprived of two hairs by the king of Ajetta and another two by the king of the *Nagas*. Arriving at Okkala they were greeted by King Okkalapa who held a great festival in honour of the sacred relics. With the help of Sakka, king of gods, a site on the Theinguttara hill outside the gates of Asitanjana was selected to lay the foundation of a pagoda for enshrining the relics. (On excavation of the site, relics of the three preceding Buddhas, namely the



Shwedagon Pagoda, Rangoon.



Sule Pagoda, Rangoon.

staff, the water-dipper and the lower garment were recovered.) These were buried again with the sacred hairs brought by the two brothers. When the relics were examined before placing in the vault the casket was miraculously found to contain the original number of eight hairs. (Over the relic chamber was erected a golden pagoda enclosed in a silver one which in turn was enclosed by a series of tin, copper, lead, marble and iron pagodas. Finally a brick pagoda was built to encase the whole series of smaller pagodas. It was only twenty-seven feet high.)

(The importance of the town grew with that of the Shwedagon pagoda. King Byinnya-U of Hanthawaddy raised it to a height of sixty-six feet in 1362. Dagon was still a small town but it was regarded as a religious centre. Several kings enlarged, repaired or regilt the pagoda in succession and when Shinsawbu (1453-72) came to the throne at Pegu she performed the pious act of building over it a still higher pagoda assuming more or less the present shape. She also gilded the pagoda from top to bottom for which she offered gold by her weight. After she raised Dhammaceti king, Shinsawbu retired to Dagon and during her last illness she had her bed placed so that she could set her eyes upon the gilded pinnacle of the great pagoda.

Dhammaceti, also a pious ruler, gilded the pagoda with gold four times his weight and the weight of his queen, and set up an inscription telling the legend of the Shwedagon in Burmese, Mon and Pali. In 1774 when Hsinbyushin of Ava put up a new *hti* (Umbrella) the pagoda attained its present height. The *hti* was replaced by yet another new one by Mindon in 1871.)

The Shwedagon pagoda today is 326 feet high, with a square plinth the perimeter of which being 1,420 feet. The base is surrounded by 64 small pagodas with four larger ones in the centre of each side. Above the base are three terraces receding in successive planes and having seven angular projections between the main sides facing the cardinal points. Next rises the bell-shaped superstructure followed by the dome in the form of an inverted bowl. Then come the multiple mouldings, two bands of ornamental lotus divided by a ring of spherical bosses (*ywai*), and the spire shaped like a plantain bud. The latter is surmounted by the *hti* (umbrella), an insignia of great sanctity, gilded and covered with precious stones. The pinnacle of the *hti* is made up of a bejewelled vane and the crowning diamond bud.

Botataung Pagoda,
Rangoon.





Bronze Buddha,
Tadagale, Rangoon.

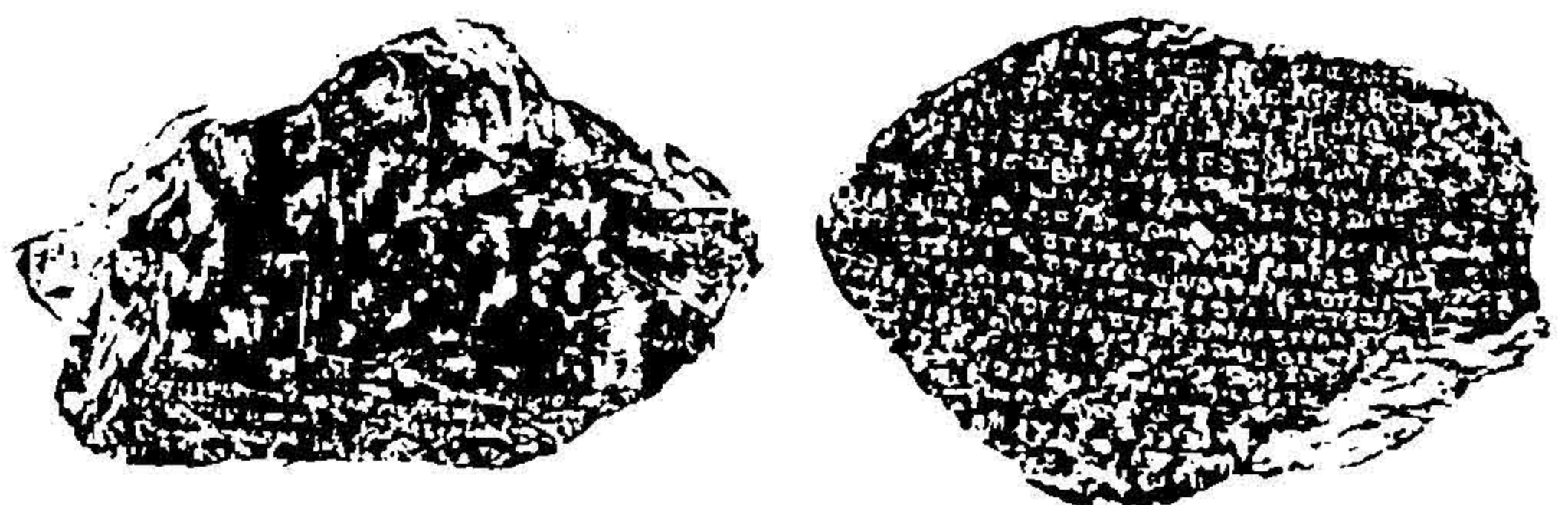
The platform on which the pagoda stands is reached by four long flights of steps, the entrance to the southern approach being guarded by two huge leogryphs 30 feet high. On the platform are several shrines and prayer halls some of which are decorated with very fine wood carvings and mosaic work. Two huge bells were dedicated and placed in prominent pavilions. One weighing about 40 tons was donated by King Tharrawaddy in 1841, and the other weighing 16 tons by Singu Min in 1778.)

Among the ancient pagodas at Dagon are the Sule and the Botataung. (The Sule is also believed to be over two thousand years old. Its sanctity is due to the sacred hair relic enshrined therein. Two Buddhist missionaries, Sona and Uttara, brought over from India ten hair relics and other sacred relics to Thaton (Suvannabhumi). They presented one hair relic to Maha Sura, a minister at Dagon. The pagoda built by him was named Kyaik Athok in Mon and was also known as Sura ceti in Burmese. Its height is 152 feet above the platform. The peculiarity of its architecture is that the octagonal shape is maintained as it tapers to the bell and inverted bowl. The original structure of the Botataung also goes back to over two thousand years. It enshrines two corporeal relics of the Buddha and a sacred hair. It was erected by a minister who received the relics distributed by the King of Suvannabhumi. The latter obtained the relics from a Buddhist missionary of eight monks from India. Known as Kyaik-de-at, the pagoda was destroyed during the last war and the present structure was erected by public donations at the same spot.)

Today no religious edifice in its original form is to be seen at Dagon. Archaeological excavations just before the last war brought to light the remains of an old vaulted structure housing some laterite images of Buddha. It lies at Tadagale in the northern outskirts of the present city. A votive tablet with Pali inscription of 12-13th century was among the antiquities recovered from the site. A few other objects like bronze statuettes and votive tablets belong to the 11th century if not earlier. Devout Buddhists have since encased the whole structure in a new pagoda of modern design named Naga Hlaing-gu and the vestiges of ancient Dagon are now lost to view.

Despite the hoary traditions attached to the celebrated pagodas at Rangoon these edifices are now cloaked, somehow or other, in mantles of modernity. Yet in the fast growing city they still retain the splendour and sanctity, distinguishing themselves as true and glorious symbols of Rangoon's bygone past.

Clay votive tablet, obverse and reverse,
Tadagale, Rangoon.





Stone sculpture,
Shitthaung temple, Mrohaung.

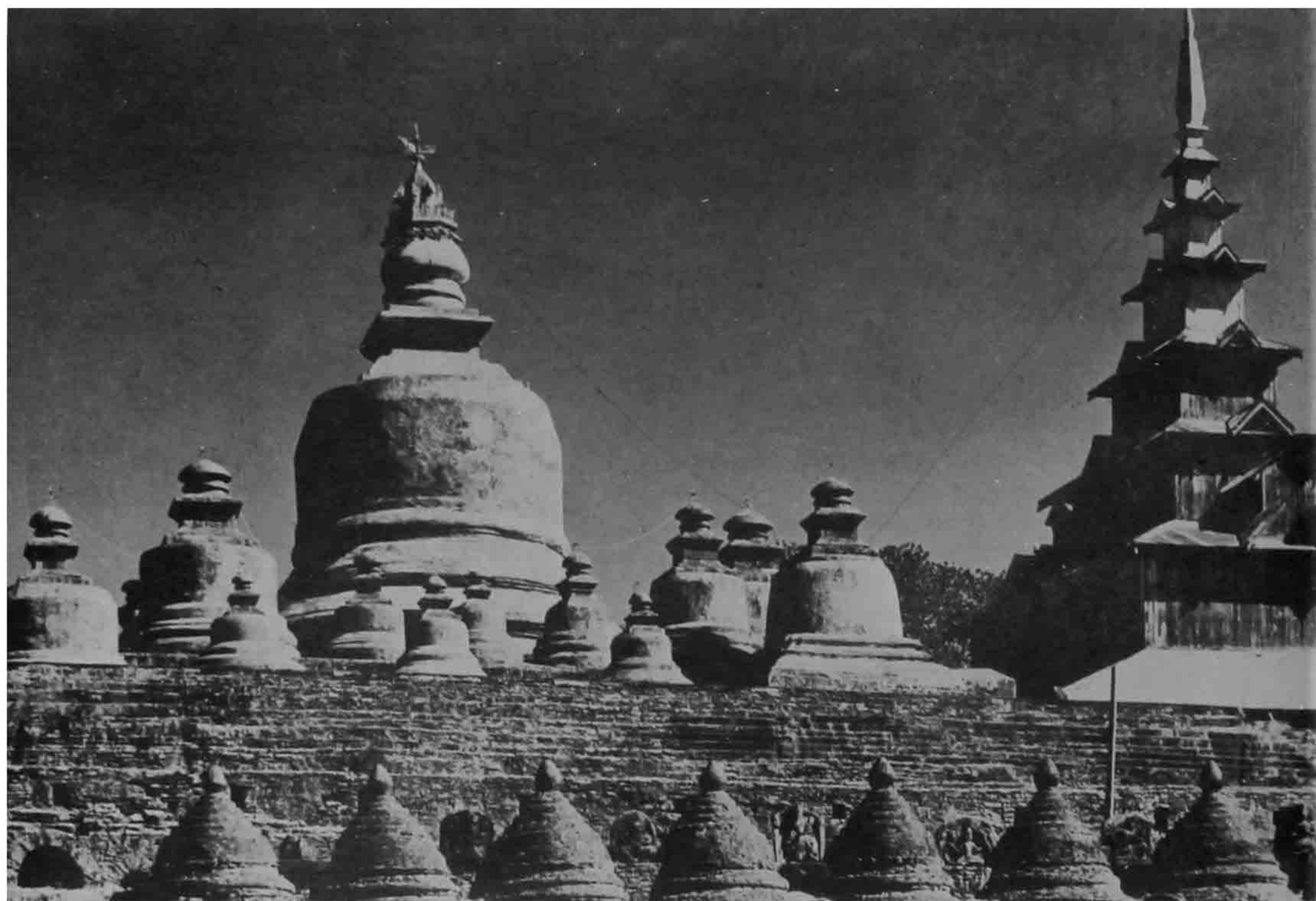
MROHAUNG (MRAUK-U)

According to local chronicles Arakan (Dinnyawadi) has a long history as an independent state from very early times before the Christian era. But we learn from a number of inscriptions and antiquarian remains that a Hindu or Hinduised dynasty was ruling at Vaisali (Wethali) about the 2nd century B.C. It was succeeded by the Candra dynasty in the middle of the 4th century. There were 16 kings in this line and the total regnal years was given as 230. Dven Candra (Taing Sandra) was the first king and the 16th and last was Dhrti Candra. After some years of interregnum there succeeded a third dynasty which lasted from the end of the 6th century to the beginning of the 8th century. Anandacandra, the last king of that dynasty, recorded the genealogical list of his predecessors in his Sanskrit inscription on a four-faced stone pillar originally set up in Vaisali. Centuries later it was removed to the Shitthaung pagoda at Mrohaung where it is now preserved. The chronicles give a much later date for the Candra dynasty but the inscriptions are corroborated by the coins of those kings. These early kings professed Mahayanism.

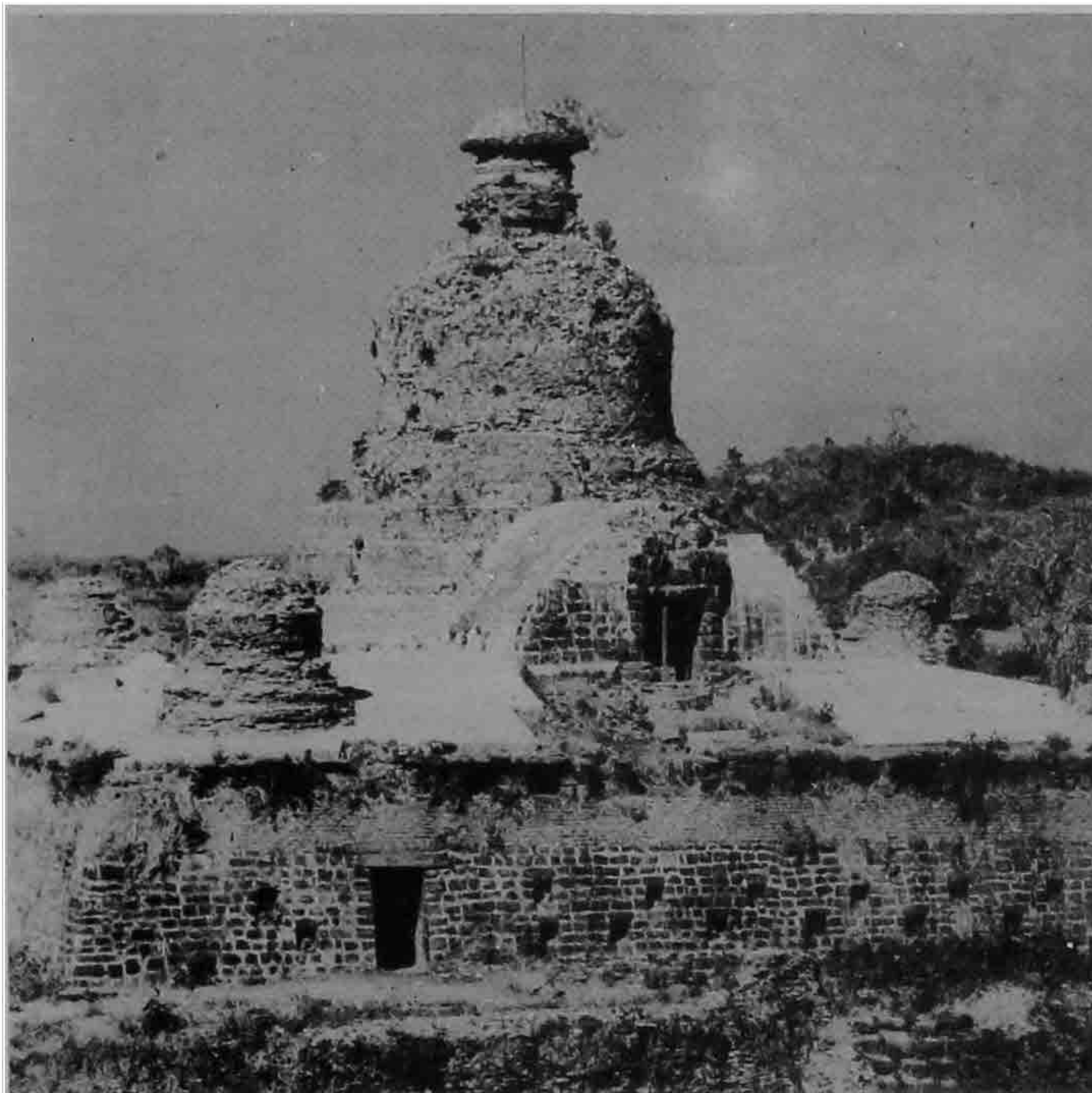
The Arakanese established themselves about the middle of the 10th century and soon after moved successively to the new capitals of Pyinsa, Parin, Hkrit and Launggyet. Their religion became more Hinayanist and by the 11th century Arakan became feudatory to Pagan. The Kings of Ava tried to reassert their suzerainty and invaded Arakan in 1404. Minsawmun left Launggyet and took refuge in Bengal which was already under Moslem

rule. When Nazi-ud-din became Sultan of Bengal in 1426 Minsawmun prevailed upon him to restore him to the throne of Arakan as his tributary, and after many years of exile he was ultimately re-instated in 1430. Three years later he shifted his capital and founded Mrohaung. It remained the seat of the Arkanese rulers until 1785 when Arakan was invaded by Bodawpaya. The Arakanese kings of Mrohaung, though Buddhists, saw fitting to use Mohammedan names in addition to their own names and even struck medallions bearing the Mohammedan confession of faith in Persian script.

Mrohaung lies on the rocky plain or watershed between the Lemro and Kaladan rivers intersected by ranges of hills and numerous canals.



Shitthaung temple, Mrohaung.



Htukkan-thein temple,
Mrohaung.

The hills provided natural defence and rendered the city the most secure spot of the capital of Arakan. The openings in the hills surrounding the town also contain remains of defences. The ruins of the fort are still in existence : they consist of three square enclosures, one within the other, surrounded by masonry walls of very considerable thickness, built of hewn stone and brick set in mortar. As each successive enclosure is higher than the preceding one the topmost is about 50 feet above the level of the lowest platform. Of the old palace itself only traces of the walls remain.

As in old Burmese capitals the architectural activity was the outcome of strong religious fervour. The monuments which dotted the plain and capped the ranges of hills mostly date from the 15th and 16th centuries. Their interest lies in the fact that some of them are unlike in style to anything met with in the rest of Burma : they were temples as well as forts at the



Stone figure of a woman at prayer,
Htukkan-thein, Mrohaung.



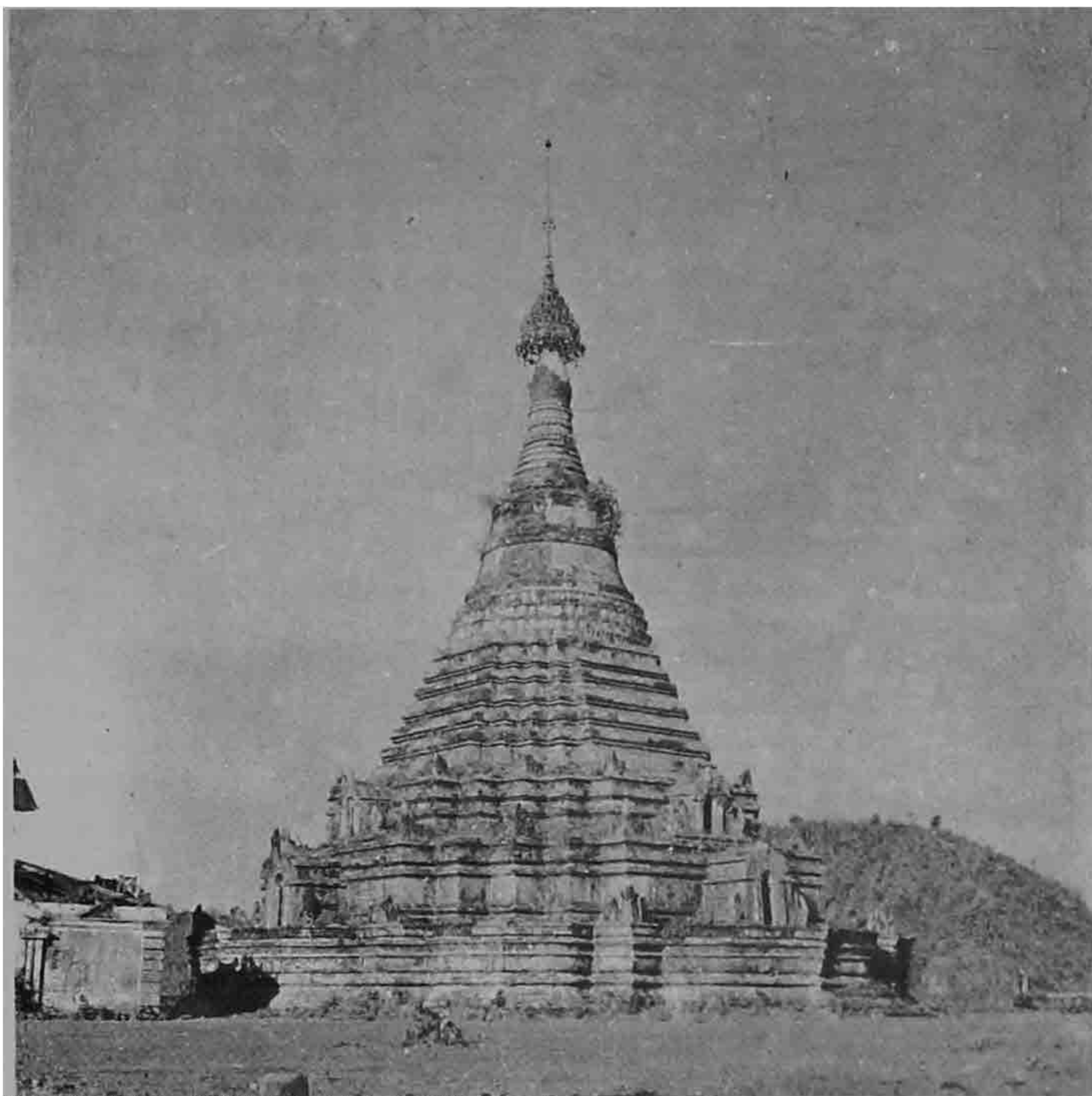
Andawthein temple, Mrohaung.

same time. Most of them are of stone and brick, but those entirely built of stone are generally among the best preserved monuments at Mrohaung.

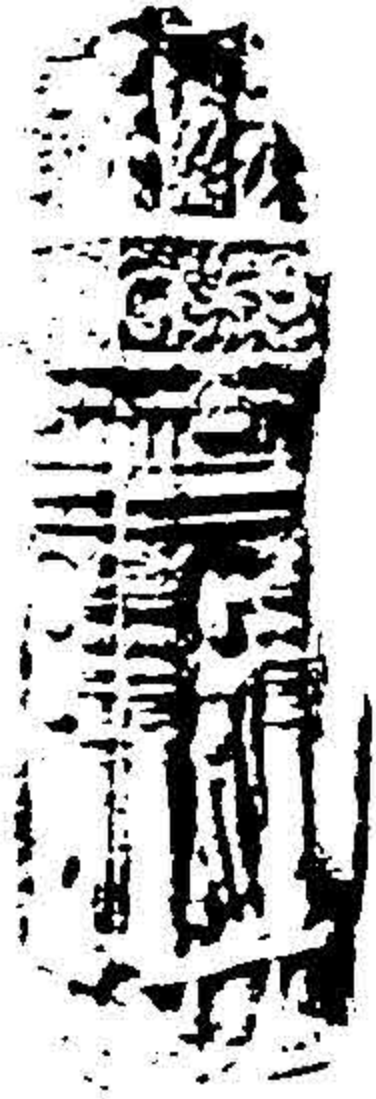
Shitthaung temple, lying on a hillock to the north of the palace site is more a fortress than a pagoda. The main edifice faces the steep, almost inaccessible hill on the east. The first terrace is reached by a flight of steps on the south. A covered path leads to the upper terrace which rises thirty feet above the lower court. On the west and south sides of the principal platform are stone walls 9 feet thick and originally 12 feet high. On the north and south walls are small brick pagodas, the gaps between them being filled with stone slabs sculptured in bold relief on both sides. Some of these slabs are still intact, while others have fallen down and are buried in the debris. The side of the slab facing the inner temple usually represents

a Buddha, the outer side an ogre, *naga* or mythical birds or beasts. The inner temple court east of the main shrine is occupied by a wooden prayers hall which houses innumerable Buddha images. The shrine itself has a gallery all round the structure and a dark passage which leads to the inner chambers. The sanctum enshrining the main image is accessible through a passage opening from the east. Along the outer wall of the gallery are deposited hundreds of Buddha images of varying sizes.

The interior wall of the vaulted gallery is composed of three horizontal rows of ridges between alternating fillets cut into the stone surface. The ridges as well as the fillets running right round the central structure are decorated with sculptures in high relief. The figures represent *kinmaras*,



Thakya-man-aung Pagoda,
Mrohaung.



Sculptured pillar found
near Tezarama monastery,
Mrohaung.

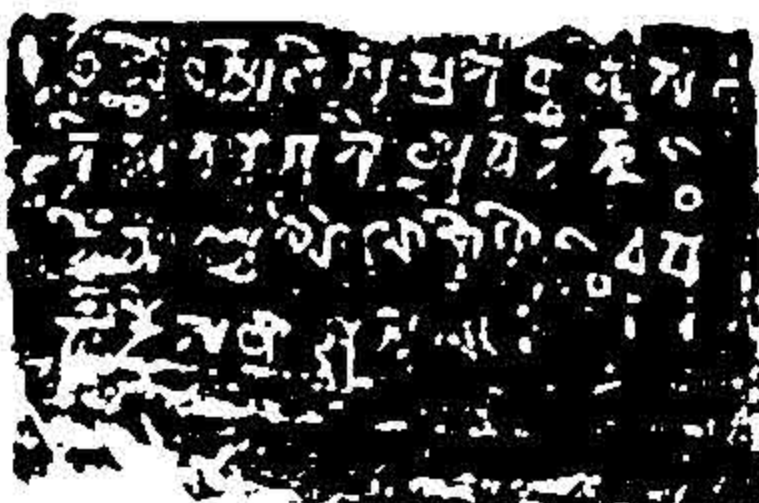
birds and animals in the lower rows and seated men holding flowers in the top row. At the corners are larger sculptures depicting scenes from the *Jatakas*. The temple is virtually a storehouse of sculptures exhibiting not only Buddhist, but also, to a lesser degree, Brahmanic influence. The superstructure of the temple is of brick. It is a cylindrical stupa with a square relic chamber between the dome and the finial. The temple was built by Minbin, also known as Minbagyi (1531-53).

Another fortress-like temple the Htukkhan-thein, built by King Minphalaung (1571-93) lies about 300 feet to the west of the Shitthaung. The structure stands on a hill, 30 feet high. It is reached by stone stairways on the east and south. Built of massive stone walls the basement pierced with small square holes has straight sides on the north, east and south, measuring 106 feet. The west side which is slightly convex is connected to an oblong chamber. The entrance on the east side, close to the south-east corner, leads to a long vaulted passage which spirals round in two tiers till it reaches the central chamber. The superstructure, a bell-shaped dome on receding terraces, is similar to that on the Shitthaung, but here a tall opening with square arch is provided on the east face to admit light into the central chamber. At each corner of the basement stands a small stupa. This temple is noted for the stone sculptures in the vaulted passages, especially the figures of seated ladies, with different styles of coiffure, in the attitude of offering lotus buds.

Close to the north of Shitthaung is the Andaw temple built by King Rajagyi (1593-1612). It is a small structure of stone lying on a hillock. The platform is accessible by flights of stairs on all sides except the west. The main shrine is octagonal in plan and faces east. There are two corridors round the central block which supports the octagonal stupa above. There are scores of seated stone Buddhas within niches cut into the interior walls which are decorated with arch-pediments and jambs finely carved in low relief. On the platform are small ruined stupas ranged along the enclosure walls and the walls of a rectangular prayer hall attached to the east side of the main shrine.

Mrohaung abounds with numerous solid stupas also, largely built of hewn stone. The Ratanabon, built by King Minphalaung (1571-93) lies on a hillock to the north-east of the Shitthaung temple. The plan of its high plinth is octagonal with four long sides facing the cardinal points and four smaller sides at the corners. From the east side there projects a long quadrangle. There are no terraces and the bell-shaped body with three prominent mouldings round it rises directly from the plinth. The cylindrical dome is also low. It is topped by a short conical spire.

Stone inscription of
the Buddhist faith, Mrohaung.



Examples of tall attenuated stupas in stone are to be found in the Sakya-man-aung, Ratna-man-aung and Zina-man-aung pagodas. The Sakya-man-aung built in 1629 by Thirithudhammayaza has a unique plan in the form of a sixteen petalled lotus flower, the petals being of three sizes : the largest four face the cardinal points while four medium sized petals and eight smaller ones are interspersed between them. This design is carried to the fourth terrace from the top of which rises the intermediate base, octagonal in plan. The bell is also eight-sided. The total height of the pagoda is 117 feet.

The Ratna-man-aung built by Sandathudhammayaza in 1652 is 180 feet high. The base of this pagoda is also octagonal. The Zina-man-aung, 135 feet high, has a similar plan but the terraces have angular corners and there is a circular shrine within it, to which access is made by a long narrow passage opening to the east.

On the hills surrounding the town are countless square temples enshrining fairly large images of Buddha in stone. No proper excavation has yet been done at Mrohaung nor at the earlier site of Wesali just a few miles north of it. But a large collection of ancient sculptures and inscriptions has already been made. Among the exhibits in the site museum may be seen a stone relief of Surya riding a chariot drawn by seven horses. This rare sculpture belonging to 8th century was discovered on the hill of Shin nge-det-taung at Mrohaung. Other Brahmanical images are that of Vishnu and goddess Ganga with two dwarfs. From Tejarama monastery was found a square stone pillar three sides of which are ornately carved with standing figures of gods and goddesses in low relief. Several inscriptions in Sanskrit and Burmese and a few in Persian or Arabic are also preserved in the museum, the most important among them being the epigraphs in mixed Sanskrit and Pali in North-eastern *Nagari* script of the 6th century dedicated by Niti Candra and Vira Candra.



Inscribed bronze bell from Vesali.



Ratanabon Pagoda, Mrohaung.



Lawkatharaphu Pagoda. Ava.

AVA

(Ava is situated at the confluence of the Irrawaddy and Dokhtawadi (Myitnge) rivers in Upper Burma. It was founded after the subversion of Sagaing and Panya by the Shans in 1364 and was the seat of a kingdom for nearly five hundred years. In 1841 it was finally abandoned in favour of Amarapura. Its classical name is Ratnapura, the City of Gems. Until modern times Burma is usually referred to as Ava by the outside world.)

Thadominbya, after founding Ava, led an expedition towards the south where the Mons had established themselves at Pegu since the fall of Pagan. But he died on his way and was succeeded by Minkyiswa-sawke. The latter was a descendant of the king of Pagan and his succession to the throne was hailed with delight by the Burmese. He adopted his predecessor's policy of re-conquering the whole of the Burmese dominions and succeeded, in the course of a few years, in establishing the power of Ava as far as Prome. He then invaded Pegu, the Mon country, but was repulsed, and the following years witnessed a long struggle between the Burmese and the Mons. The story of the fight between Minkhaung and his valiant son Minye-kyawswa on one side and Razadarit of Pegu on the other became a popular theme on Burmese stages. Minkhaung died in 1422 and in the following year Razadarit met his death from a wound received while hunting elephants. There was a lull in the struggle for supremacy.

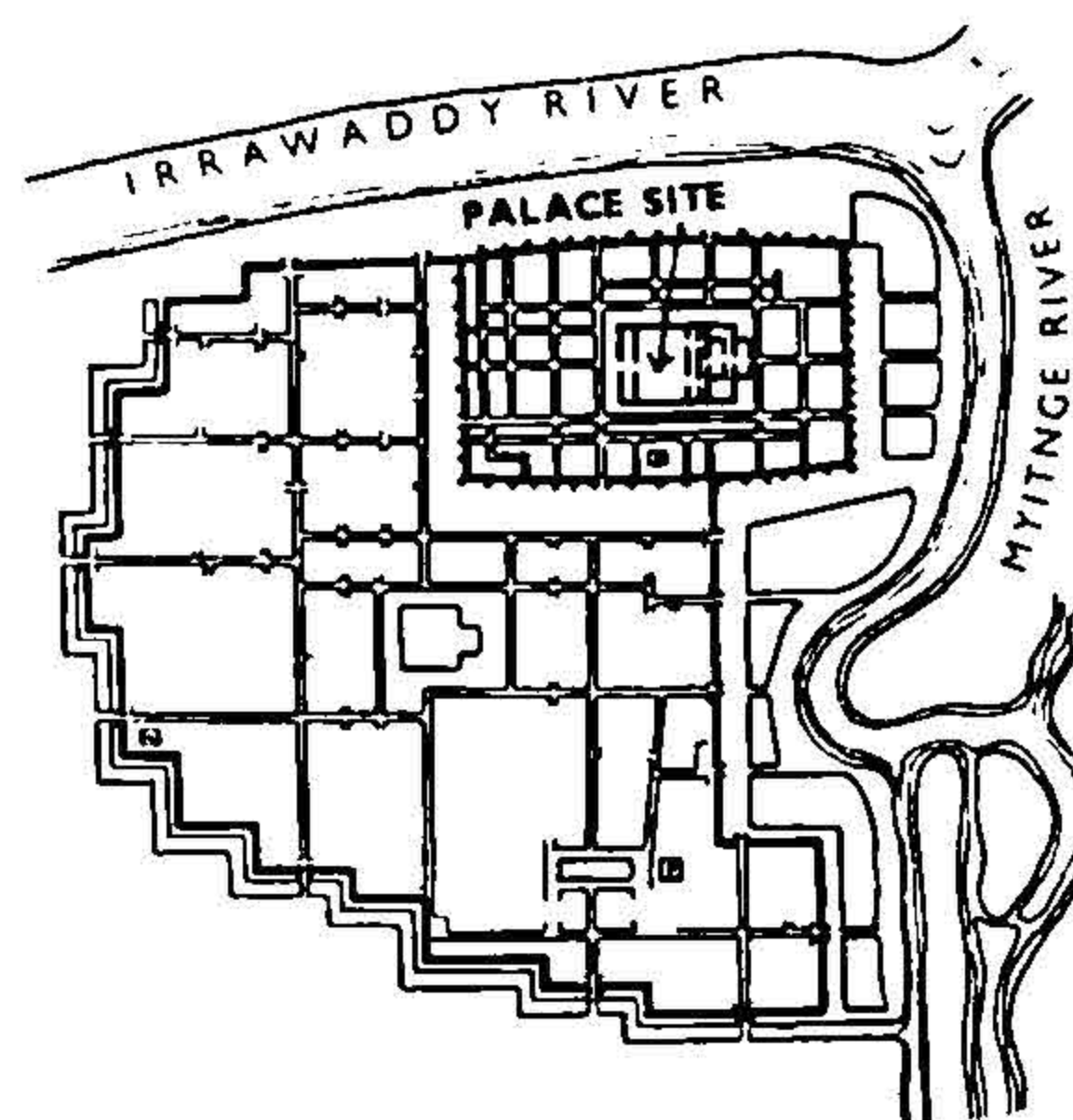


Watch Tower, Ava.

In the meantime, Toungoo which had been allowed to remain partially independent was growing into an important kingdom, and its population was increasing due to the emigrants from Ava during the supremacy of the Shan kings. In 1530 Tabinshweti succeeded to the throne of Toungoo. He was looked upon by the Burmese as a champion of their race. When Tabinshweti attacked Pegu the Mon king fled to Prome. As Prome was then a vassal state to Ava, Thohanbwa came down with a Shan army to the assistance of Prome. The attack of Tabinshweti's army was not successful, but it gave cause in the succeeding years to a series of invasions on Burma proper by Tabinshweti and his successor. Ava fell in 1555 and a Burmese prince was placed on the throne as a tributary of the Toungoo empire under Bayinnaung. It was not till 1636 that Ava became, for the first time in its history, the capital of the Burmese kingdom when King Thalun moved there from Toungoo. The power of the Burmese again declined after a century when the Mons rose once again with a success that was as stupendous as it was brief. The city of Ava was taken and destroyed in 1752, and its king was carried away as captive to Pegu. However, a few years later, Alaungpaya regained the lost territories and became the undisputed emperor of Burma. Thus the power of the Mons was broken for ever. Alaungpaya set up Shwebo in the north as the seat of his kingdom. But Ava again became the capital in the reign of his son Hsinbyushin and his successor Singu Min. When Bodawpaya came to the throne he founded Amarapura as his capital. But his successor Bagyidaw again moved to Ava. It was almost destroyed by earthquake in 1838, and was abandoned three years later by Shwebo Min in favour of Amarapura.

The city is bounded on the north by the Irrawaddy, on the east by the Myitnge and on the south and west by a canal linking the two rivers. Unlike the conventional plans of most of the ancient cities in Burma the brick fortifications do not take a quadrangular form. The zigzagged walls assume the outline figure of a stylized lion seated on its hinds; and the citadel is not centrally disposed but occupies the north-eastern sector of the outer enclosure. Improvements and reconstruction of the layout of the inner city were made three times, firstly by Nyaungyan Min in 1597, secondly by

Plan of Ava.



Hsinbyushin in 1763 and lastly by Bagyidaw in 1832. Now there are several villages within the city area and a large part of it is under cultivation. Jungle growth covers most of the ruins but the remains of the fort walls and the moat are still clearly visible.

Some of the pagodas go back to Pagan period, such as Htilaingshin pagoda built by Kyanzittha. King Shwenankyawshin of the first Ava dynasty is renowned to have built a magnificent wooden palace and the ceremonies attending its construction were recorded in an inscription, now badly damaged but preserved in a masonry shed near the Htilaingshin pagoda. The solitary building which remains of Bagyidaw's palace is the Nanmyin, a ninety-foot high masonry watch tower. The earthquake of 1838 shook its foundations and toppled the upper portion, while the lower part is left leaning to one side.

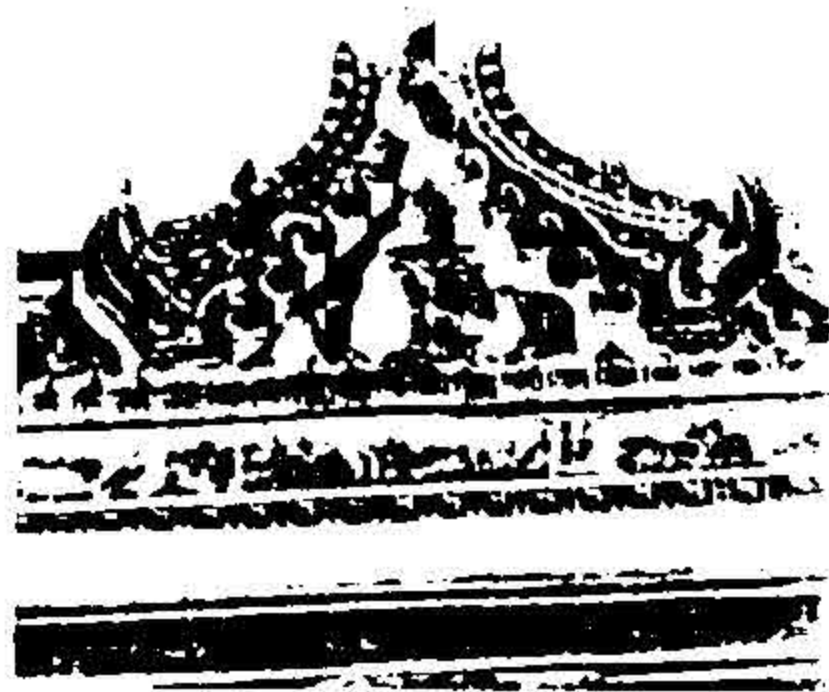
Nanmadaw Me Nu, Bagyidaw's chief queen, built a fine masonry monastery, the Maha Aungmye Bonzan, for the royal abbot Nyaunggan Sayadaw. Its architecture is in simulation of wooden monasteries with multiple roofs and a prayer hall of seven-tiered superstructure. It was also damaged by the earthquake of 1838 but was repaired by Hsinbyumashin, the daughter of Me Nu and a queen of Mindon.

Another monastery of a later date is the Bagaya Kyaung embellished with ornate carvings in wood. It is constructed of 267 teak wood posts. The exterior ornamentation is now lost through long exposure to inclement weather.

About a mile below the city is the ruins of the Ava fort built during the reign of Mindon. It forms a triad with the Sagaing fort on the opposite bank and the Thabyedan fort above Ava.

An old brick causeway leads from the south city gate towards the town of Tada-u from where one could reach Panya which had briefly attained the pride of place as the capital of Shan kingdom.

Stucco carving at
Maha Aungmye Bonzan monastery, Ava.





Maha Aungmye Bonzan monastery, Ava.



Copy of wall painting from Tilawkaguru temple.



Leogryph.
Aungmyelawka Pagoda.

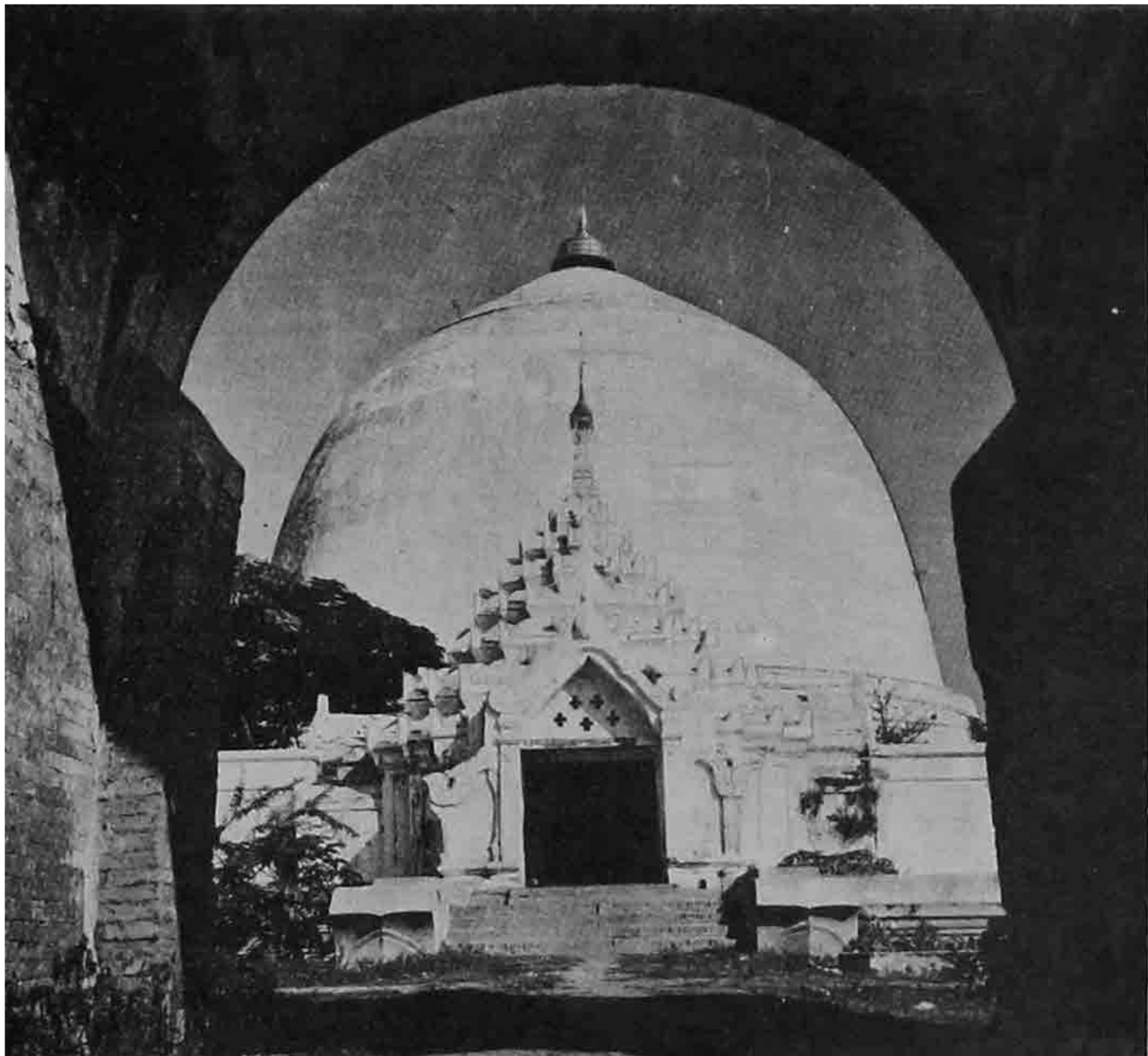
SAGAING

(After the fall of Pagan, Athinkhaya Sawyun, son of the youngest of the three Shan brothers founded Sagaing in 1315. It lies on the right bank of the Irrawaddy. It has no great place in history as the capital was moved to Ava by Thadominbya after 50 years. Alaungpaya's eldest son Naungdawgyi had his capital again at Sagaing for four years (1760-64) and when he died Ava once again became the seat of royalty. The place is, however, one of the most picturesque sites of Burma with numerous pagodas crowning the tops of the hills at the back.)

Among the notable pagodas at Sagaing is the Htupayon built by Narapatigyi (1443-1469) of Ava. On the occasion of the *hti*-hoisting ceremony the king constructed a temporary wooden bridge across the river and the festival was attended by thousands of citizens with great rejoicing. It was destroyed by the earthquake of 1838 and king Pagan began reconstructing it in 1849 but was left unfinished when he was dethroned. It has a circular plan with three concentric storeys adorned with arched niches. Once again its reconstruction has been taken up recently by public donations under the sponsorship of an enthusiastic monk. Sagaing abounds with contemporary inscriptions which are collected and preserved in sheds near this pagoda. The dedicatory inscription of this pagoda itself is properly housed in a masonry shrine.

The Hsinmyashin pagoda enshrining some relics from Ceylon was built by King Monhyin of Ava in 1429. It was damaged by earthquake in 1485 and was repaired by Minkhaung II. However, it was once again razed to the ground by another severe quake in 1955 and reconstruction is still in progress. Invaluable and interesting images and votive tablets recovered from the relic chamber are now exhibited there and will be re-enshrined when it is completed.

A few miles to the north of the town is the Kaunghmudaw (Rajamanicula) pagoda built by King Thalun in 1636 on the model of the Mahaceti pagoda of Ceylon in commemoration of the re-establishment of Ava. The shrine composed of three circular terraces and a gigantic dome towers to a height of 151 feet. It enshrines the tooth relic of Buddha brought from Ceylon and attracts the veneration of the masses. A marble inscription, 8½ feet high, which records the details regarding the erection of this pagoda is well preserved in a masonry shed on the platform.



Kaunghmudaw Pagoda, Sagaing.



View of Sagaing Hills.

The Aungmyelawka pagoda near the Htupayon was erected by Bodawpaya (1782-1819) on the site of his residence before he ascended the throne. It was built entirely of stone on the model of the Shwezigon pagoda at Pagan. The Ngadatkyi pagoda contains a very large seated image of Buddha. It was built in 1657 by Pindale, son and successor of King Thalun.

Noteworthy pagodas on the hills are the Ponnyashin zedi, said to have contained two relics of Buddha, the Padamya zedi built by a monk called Padugyi Thingayaza in 1300, and Onhmin Thonze (thirty caves) pagoda consisting of many images of Buddha enshrined in a crescent-shaped colonnade on the side of the hills. The Tilawkaguru cave temple, said to have been built about 1672 by Narawara of the second dynasty of Ava, contains mural paintings depicting scenes from the former lives of the Buddha. These are rare specimens of the artistic achievement of the Ava period.

Of comparatively late establishment are the Sagaing fortress and the iron smelting factory which was abandoned before it could be usefully operated on the British annexation of Upper Burma.



Copy of painting at Tilawkaguru Cave temple, Sagaing.



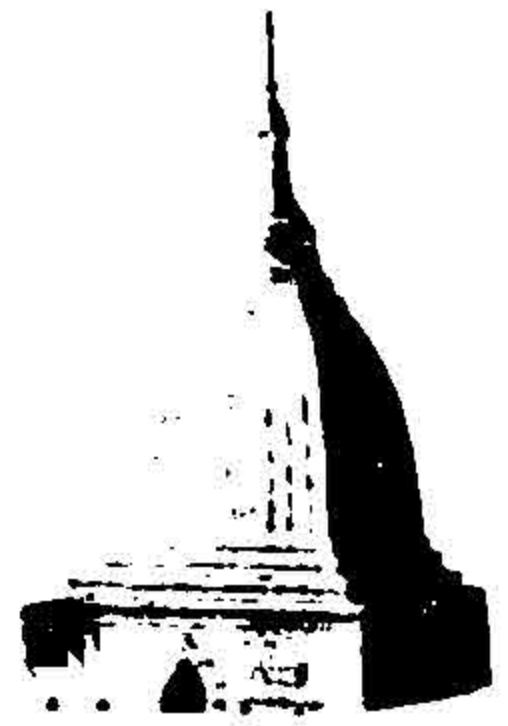


Glazed plaque from Mingun Pagoda.

MINGUN

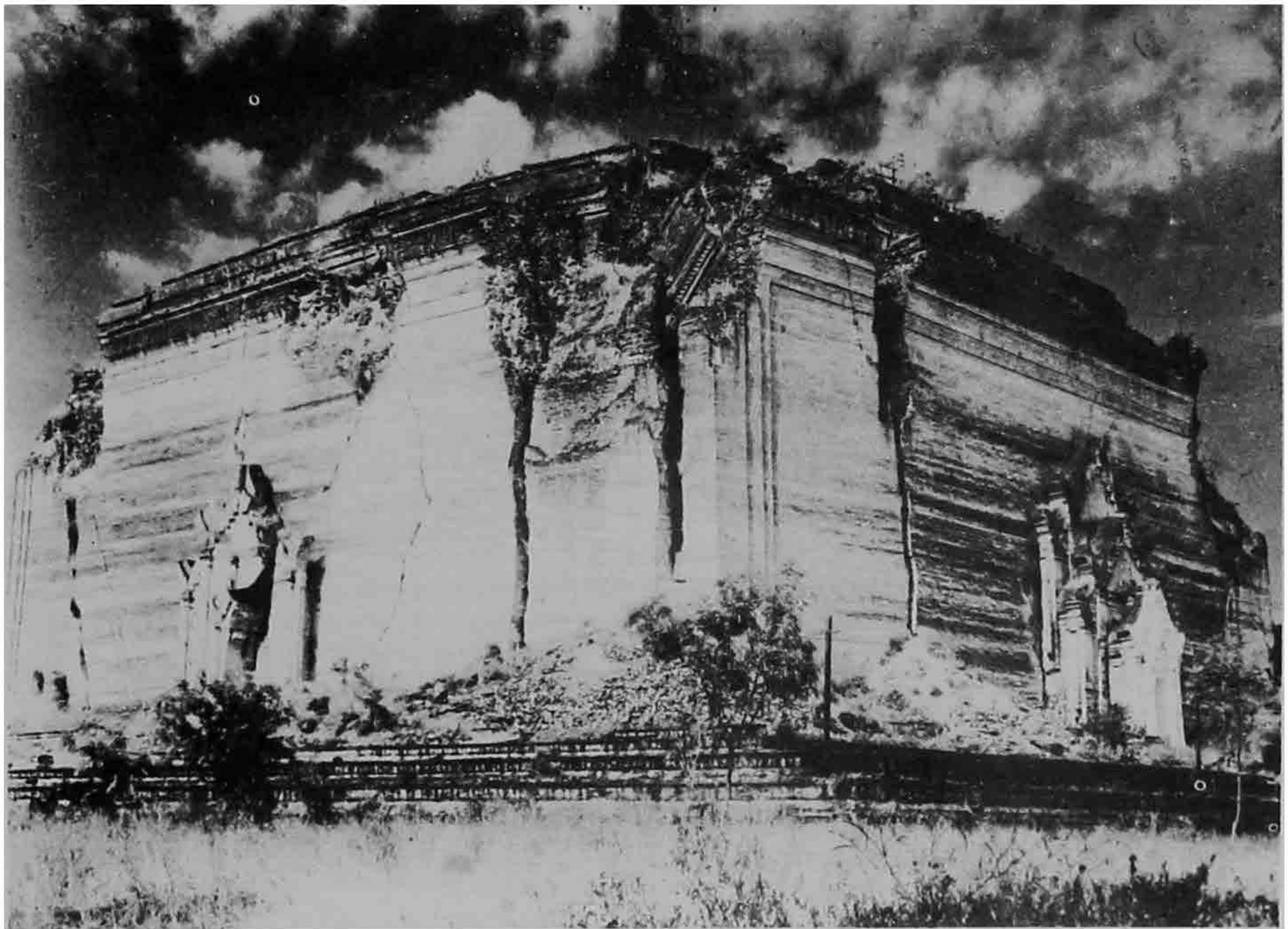
(Bodawpaya had his temporary residence on an island in the Irrawaddy river when he superintended for many years the building of the Mingun pagoda on the west bank. The pagoda, if completed, would have risen to a height of 500 feet, the largest one in the whole country. It was left unfinished when Bodawpaya died in 1819.) As it stands it is the biggest brick pile in the world, the bottom terrace being a square of 450 feet and the basement on which the domical superstructure would rest rising to 162 feet. Each side of the huge cubical mass is hollowed out to accommodate a small shrine with a slightly projecting arch. The diminishing terraces above the obelisk have small square panels which were intended to receive glazed plaques of green, brown and yellow colours bearing in relief scenes from the five Buddhist Councils. The decoration of these plaques could not be effected when the construction was abandoned so they are now collected and preserved in an appropriate building nearby. (This unfinished pagoda had suffered damage due to the devastating earthquake of 1838.) About half a mile to the south is a small model the Pondawpaya 15 feet high designed as a working model for the huge edifice. (As appendages to the pagoda Bodawpaya had cast the largest bronze bell in Burma and also constructed a pair of colossal lions in brick and mortar. The bell is 12 feet high, has a diameter of 16 feet 3 inches at the lip and weighs 90 tons. No wonder it hangs as the largest ringing bell in the world. The statues of lions are now in a very dilapidated condition as they could not withstand several tremors of the earth since the erection.)

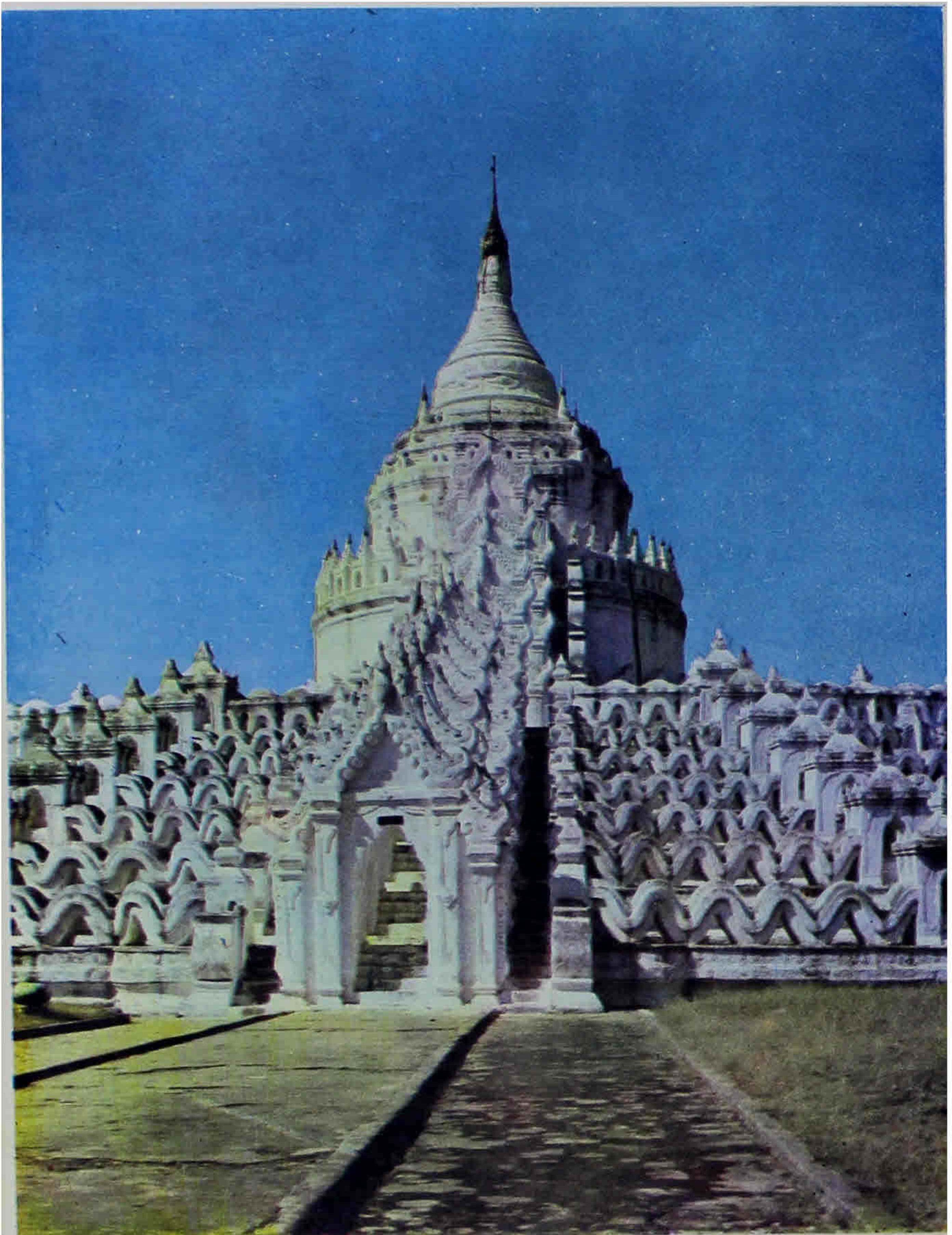
A few hundred feet to the north of the big pagoda is the Hsinbyume pagoda built by Bagyidaw in 1816 while he was yet a prince. It is in the form of the Sulamani pagoda resting on Mount Meru, the centre of the universe, according to the Buddhist idea of cosmography. It has a circular plan and seven concentric terraces parapetted with low walls of wavy pattern. Above the top terrace rises a cylindrical body which contains a vaulted sanctum. The superstructure assumes the common type of tapering pagoda. The sanctum is reached by three parallel flights of steps covered by an arcade of ornamental arches finished in fine stucco. This pagoda was built by the prince in commemoration of the death of his senior wife, Hsinbyume princess. Though it was damaged by earthquakes timely repairs were done and it is now in a good state of preservation.



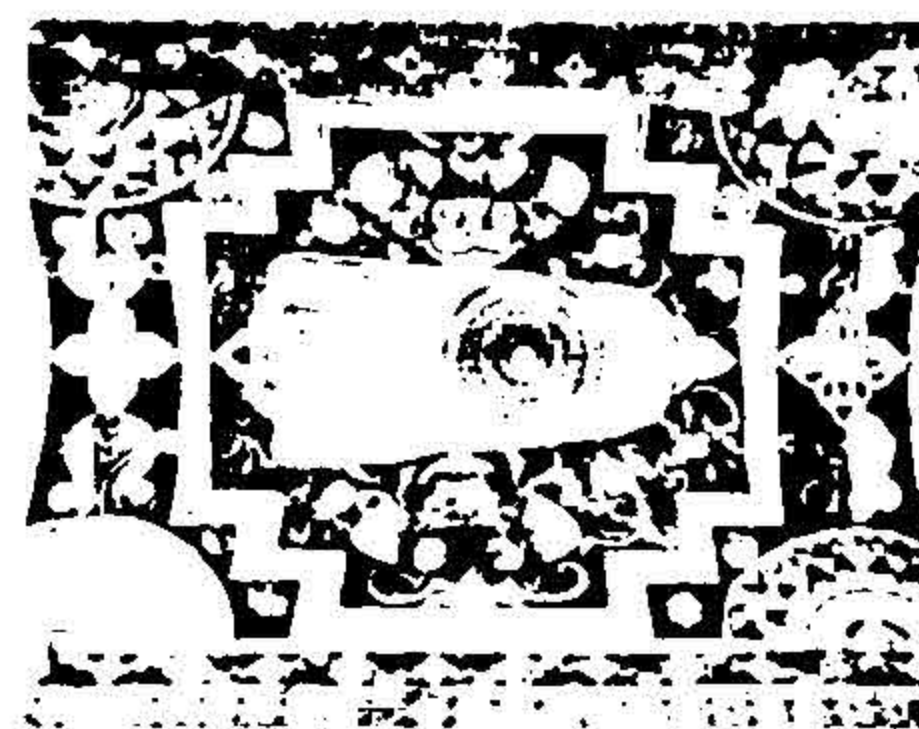
Model of Mingun Pagoda.

On the river bank is the Settawya pagoda which contains a vaulted chamber. In it is placed a marble footprint of the Buddha brought over to Mingun by Bodawpaya when the relic chamber of the big pagoda was ceremoniously sealed. This temple was completed in 1811.





Myatheindan Pagoda, Mingun.



Painting of Buddha's
footprints at Kyauktawgyi Pagoda.
Amarapura.

AMARAPURA

(When Bodawpaya ascended the throne he founded Amarapura and moved his capital from Ava. His grandson and successor, Bagyidaw, shifted the capital back to Ava in 1823. Tharawaddy (1837-46) who succeeded Bagyidaw took the capital back to Amarapura and it remained the seat of the Burmese king until Mindon established the new capital at Mandalay. The city is laid out in a perfect square with a moat surrounding the brick walls. There were twelve gates, three on each side. Above the gates were wooden pavilions and the banks of the moat were properly lined with bricks.)

As most of the palace buildings were dismantled and removed to Mandalay there is very little left of the citadel. Even the fort walls have since been pulled down to quarry bricks for the construction of roads and railway tracks. The remains of only two masonry structures (the Treasury and the Record Office are still to be seen within the city. At each corner within the fort stands a pagoda constructed at the time of founding the city.)

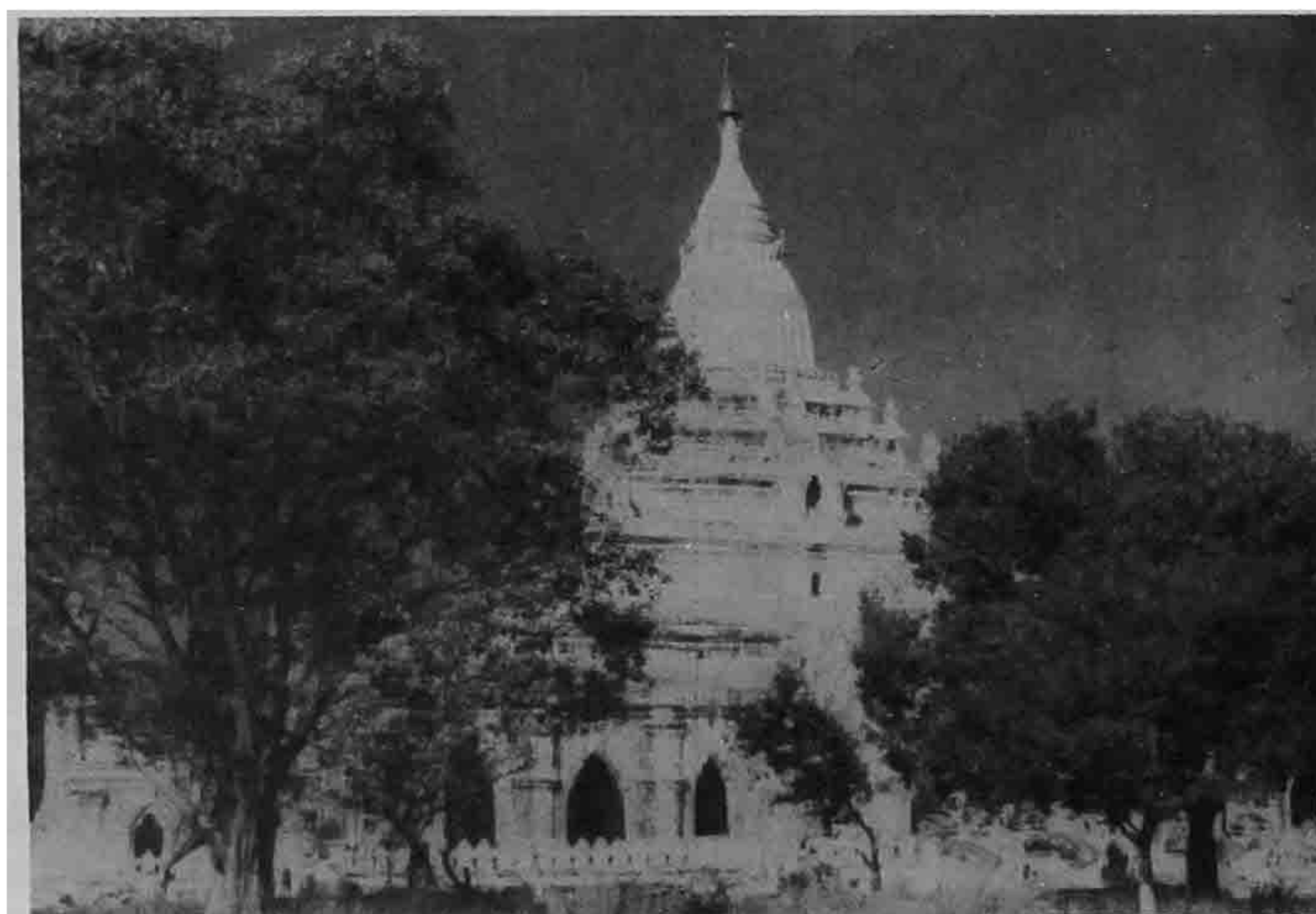
Near the south wall, outside the city, is the (Patodawgyi Pagoda built by Bagyidaw in 1820.) It is of imposing height and the lower three terraces are decorated with marble slabs with scenes from the *Jataka* stories carved in bold relief. The history of the pagoda is recorded on a big inscription stone and a large bronze bell dedicated to the pagoda is installed within its precincts. To the south of the city is (the Taungthaman lake which is spanned by a long wooden bridge built by U Bein, the Mayor.) At the far end of this bridge is



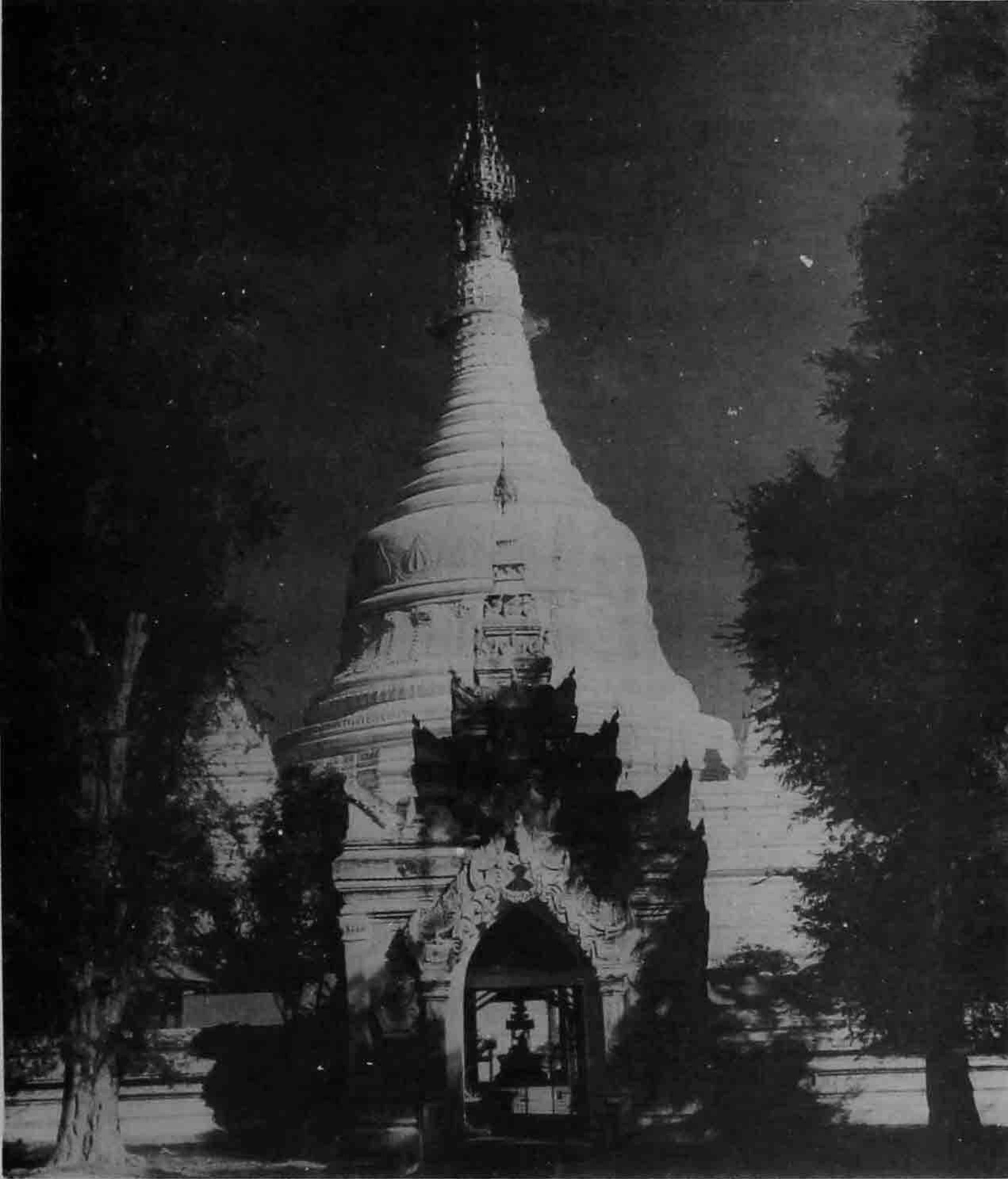
Nagayon Pagoda,
Amarapura.

the Kyauktawgyi pagoda built by King Pagan in 1847 on the model of the Ananda Temple at Pagan.) It closely resembles the Ananda in exterior form but it falls short of the latter in construction and interior decoration. Unlike the Ananda which has perfect vaulted roofs the Kyauktawgyi has wooden rafters and beams which account for the weakness of the structure. There is only one principal image carved out of a single block of Sagyin marble. The walls in the east and south porches are adorned with paintings depicting many religious buildings erected by the donor and other kings in different parts of the country, and scenes from contemporary Burmese life. An unusual form of architecture is exhibited by the (Nagayon, a vaulted pagoda guarded over by a huge dragon within the city.)

The tombs of Bodawpaya and Bagyidaw are located inside the city. The chief queen of Tharawaddy, also known as Shwebo Min, and her daughter built two wooden monasteries in 1843 to the north-east of the city. They were dedicated as the residence of U Nyeya, the Archbishop. Subsequently the princess became the chief queen of Mindon and her preceptor was raised to the dignity of the Head of the Buddhist Church. Owing to the rank and wealth of the donors and to the high ecclesiastical status of the occupant the resources of Burmese art were lavished on them. Unfortunately, both the monasteries were destroyed during the second world war and a few specimens of architectural motifs that could be retrieved are now deposited in the cultural museum at Mandalay.



Taungthaman Kyauktawgyi Pagoda, Amarapura.



(Patotawgyi Pagoda, Amarapura.

On the left bank of the Irrawaddy, opposite Sagaing are two twin pagodas the Shwekyetyet and Shwekyet-kya reputed to have been built by a king of Pagan in the 12th century. Lower down lies the Thabyedan Fort built during Mindon's reign with the assistance of Italian and French engineers for the defence of Mandalay. It was, however, not put to effective use as the garrison there was disbanded when the British fleet was allowed to advance without opposition after Minhla fort was stormed soon after the outbreak of the third Anglo-Burmese war.



Wooden figure of Lawkanatha,
Shwenandaw monastery,
Mandalay.

MANDALAY

(Mandalay was founded by King Mindon in 1857, and the majority of the monuments there including the palace, the city walls, pagodas and monasteries were built in that year or soon after. The city took its name from the Mandalay Hill which is situated at the north-east corner of the present town. The hill has for long been a holy mount, and tradition has it that the Buddha on his visit with his disciple Ananda had prophesied that in the 2400th year of his religion (1857 A.C.) a great city, metropolis of Buddhism, would be founded at its foot. King Mindon fulfilled the prophesy by shifting his capital from Amarapura to the site of the present city. The classical name of the city is Ratanapunja.)

The monuments of Mandalay, just over a century old, scarcely possess any antiquarian interest. But viewed as representing the last of a long series of structures built by succeeding dynasties at the numerous capitals of Burma in gorgeous splendour their interest as silent witness of an order of things which have now passed away for ever becomes quite apparent. At the same time with the construction of the palace, foundations were laid for the building of the city wall and moat, the Atumashi or Incomparable monastery, the Kuthodaw pagoda, the Thudhamma and Pahtan *zayats* (congregation halls) and the Library.

(The fortified city is in the form of a square each side of which is 10 furlongs in length. A battlemented wall of brick and mud mortar has

a total height of 25 feet and is backed by an earthen rampart. There are 12 gates, three on each side, at equal distances from each other and surmounted by *pyatthats* or pavilions of wood. Together with a *pyatthat* at each corner of the wall and 32 smaller intermediate *pyatthats* these total 48 in number. The moat averages 225 feet wide and 11 feet deep, surrounding the city. Of the five original wooden bridges spanning over the moat four lead to the principal or main gates. The palace occupied the central spot in the city. It was removed from Amarapura and was reconstructed at Mandalay. It consisted of numerous wooden buildings, many of them highly carved and gilt, on a high platform enclosed by a brick wall. King Thibaw added a few masonry structures. All these were destroyed by fire during the last war. However, a replica of the Lion Throne survived the war as it was removed from the Hluttaw or Supreme Court which was outside the palace complex to be deposited in the Indian Museum at Calcutta soon after the annexation of Upper Burma. This throne was restored to Burma after independence and is now exhibited in the National Museum at Rangoon.)

View of moat and gateway of Mandalay fort.





The Lion Throne of Mandalay Palace (now at National Museum, Rangoon).



Tooth Relic Tower, Mandalay.

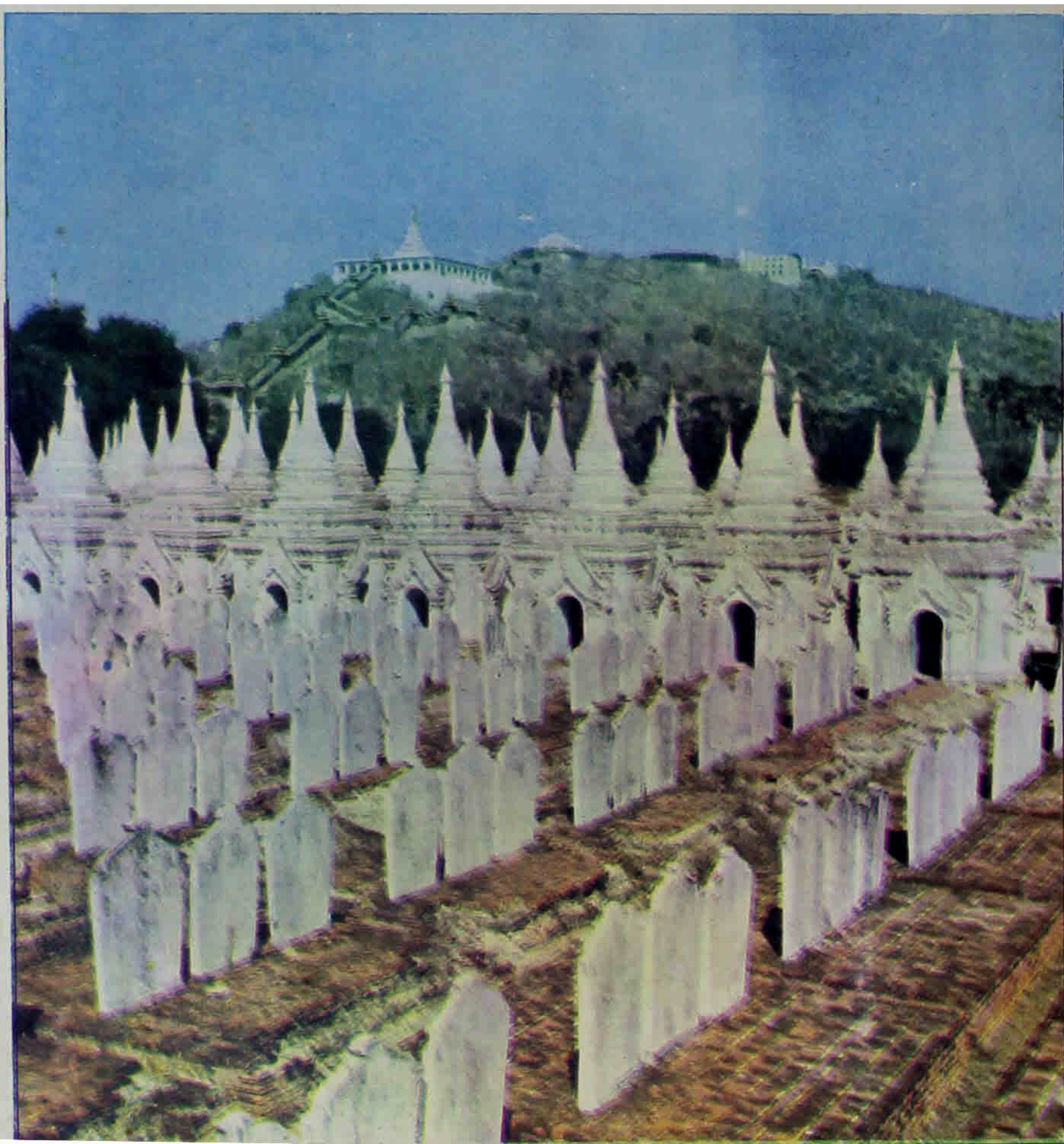
To the west of the palace platform may still be seen a small museum showing the models of the palace buildings.

(The Tooth Relic Tower and the Clock Tower lie to the east of the palace platform. North of the Clock Tower are the mausoleums of which King Mindon's tomb is the most important. The Royal Mint and the Sabbath Hall are also close by. These are masonry structures and in the latter are remnants of contemporary mural paintings. Near the clock tower are two inscription sheds housing more than 600 inscribed stones being original lithic documents collected by Bodawpaya. They were removed for proper preservation from Amarapura to the present site just before the second world war.

(Beneath the shadow of the Mandalay Hill lies the Kyauktawgyi Pagoda which was completed in 1878. It contains an image of the Buddha carved out of a single block of marble from the mines of Sagyin, a few miles to the north of Mandalay. The carving of the image was completed in 1865 and the dedication ceremony was performed amidst great rejoicing, the king himself having attended the festivities with pompous pageantry.)

On the hill itself are numerous religious buildings. There stands a huge image known as the Shweyattaw, representing Buddha pointing towards the palace as the future centre of a capital. Many other pagodas, shrines, covered steps, etc., are the works of a very pious hermit, the late Rev. U Khanti who won great public support to carry out such meritorious deeds.

Inscriptions at
damani Pagoda,
Mandalay.







Shrines at Kuthodaw Pagoda, Mandalay.

(The Kuthodaw or Maha Lawkamarazein Pagoda lies to the east of the Kyauktawgyi Pagoda. It was built in 1857 by Mindon on the model of the Shwezigon Pagoda at Pagan. Its distinctive feature is the collection of 729 stone slabs on which are inscribed the whole of the Buddhist scriptures. King Mindon convened the Fifth Great Synod for the Buddhist canon and the authorized version of the *Tripitaka* approved by the Synod was inscribed on the stone slabs each of which is housed in a masonry shrine within the precincts of the pagoda. This collection is unique in the Buddhist world and is highly prized by all oriental scholars.) To the south of the Kuthodaw pagoda lies the remains of the Atumashi or Incomparable Monastery built by Mindon in 1857 at a cost of five hundred thousand rupees. The building was of wood covered with stucco on the outside and its peculiar feature was the superstructure of five graduated rectangular terraces instead of the customary *pyatthats* or multiple roofs. In it was enshrined a huge image of Buddha and four sets of *Tripitaka* in large teak boxes. The whole building together with its contents was burnt in 1890. » What now remain of the magnificent structure are the masonry balustrade and staircases with elaborate stucco carvings.

Mahamuni Image, Mandalay.

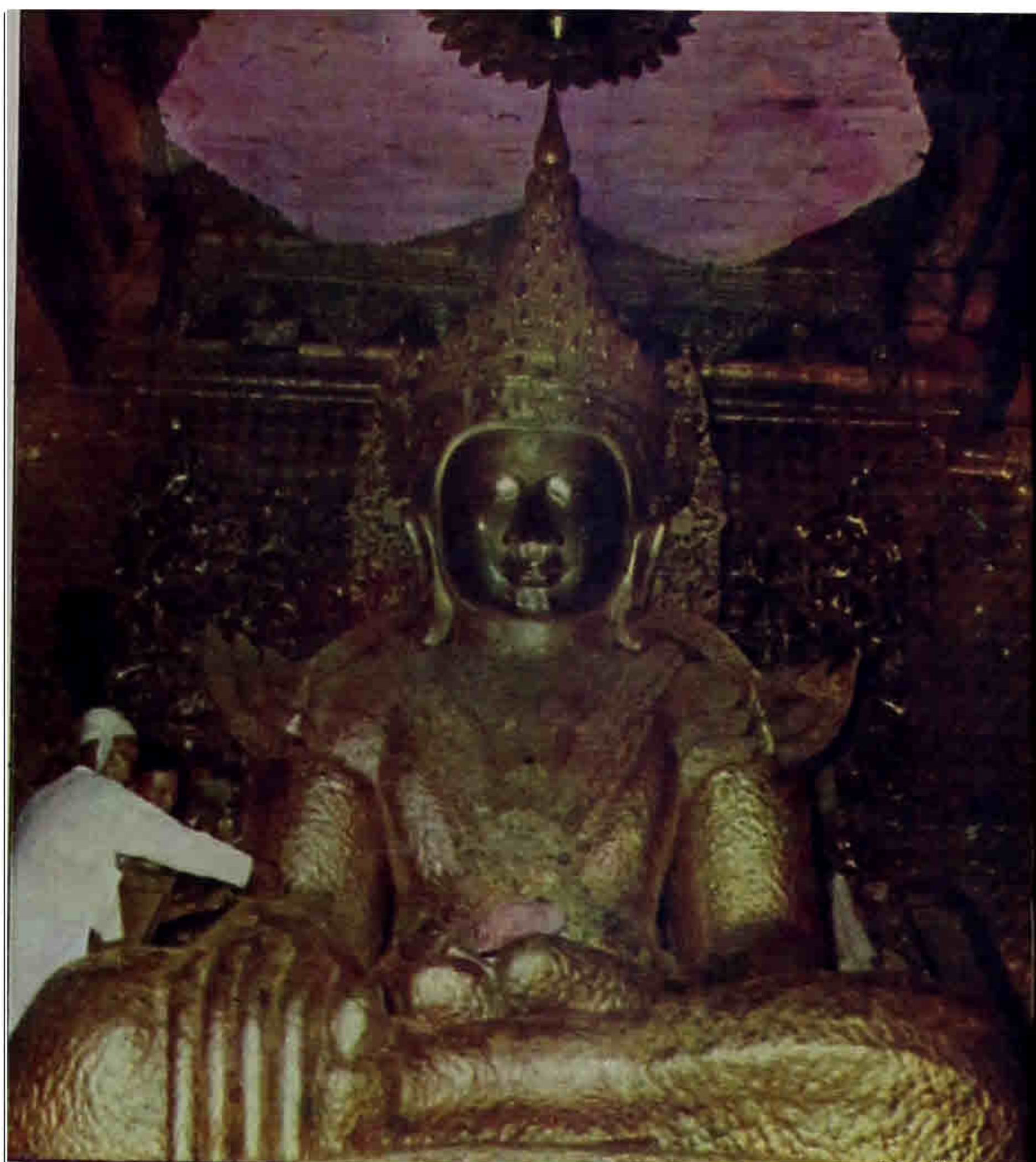
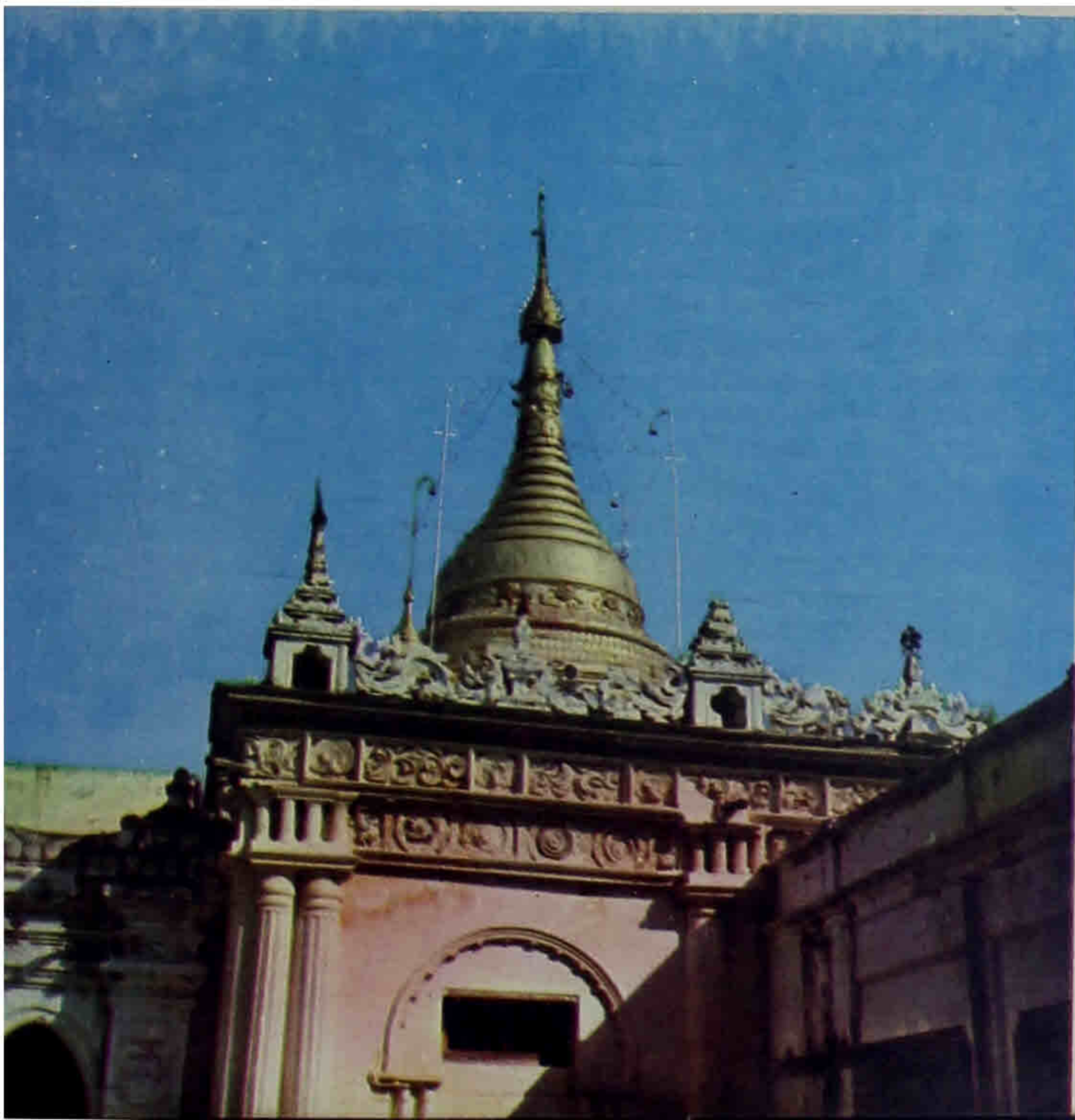


Photo by Khin Lay Maung.



Shwekyimyin Pagoda, Mandalay.

Close to the east of the Atumashi monastery is the Shwenandaw Monastery. It was built by King Thibaw, in 1880, mainly of materials obtained by dismantling the apartment occupied by Mindon. The whole building was heavily gilt and adorned with glass mosaic and exquisite wooden carvings. The building has considerably deteriorated but the carvings within it, especially the Ten Great *Jataka* scenes remain well preserved. Restoration of this monastery is now being undertaken by the Archaeological Department.

The vast area outside the fortified city is properly laid out in large squares. Among the notable monuments are the Mahamuni Pagoda, the Setkyathiha Pagoda, the Shwekyimyin Pagoda and the Eindawya Pagoda. The Mahamuni lies in the southern quarter of the town in close proximity to the northern quarter of Amarapura. Enshrining the celebrated Mahamuni Image, it is also called the Payagyi (Great Pagoda) as well as the Arakan Pagoda as it was brought over from Arakan in 1784 during the reign of Bodawpaya. It is cast of bronze but the body has for long been lavishly gilded and has assumed an irregular outline. The image which is in the usual sitting posture is 12 feet 7 inches high. The original temple was damaged by fire in 1884.) The present shrine which has a terraced roof of gilded stucco is of later construction, being built after the fire. In the inner courtyard are hundreds of stone slabs inscribed with copies of inscriptions recording religious endowments, the originals of which were collected by Bodawpaya. Within the precincts are six bronze figures, two of men, three of lions and one of a three-headed elephant, which were brought from Arakan at the same time as the Mahamuni Image was conveyed to Amarapura. They are part of the spoil which Bayinnaung took from Ayuthia in 1663, and later removed from Pegu by the Arakanese King Rajagyi. Iconographically these bronze statues belong to Khmer style of art.



At the Setkyathiha Pagoda built on an elevated masonry platform is a huge Buddha image in bronze in the usual seated posture, measuring 16 feet by 8 inches in height. It was cast by King Bagyidaw at Ava just before the outbreak of the first Anglo-Burmese war in 1814, shifted to Amarapura by King Pagan in 1849 on the eve of the second war, and brought to Mandalay when the third war broke out.



(The erection of the Shwekyimyin pagoda dates back to the Pagan period. Prince Minshinzaw, son of the famous King Alaungsithu was exiled from Pagan. He settled down near the Aungbinle lake to the east of the present city and engaged himself in the cultivation of rice. He built the Shwekyimyin pagoda and dedicated a Buddha image which is still to be seen in the sanctum. The pagoda is also noted as a repository of many Buddha images of gold, silver and crystal which represent the collection of



Eindawya Pagoda, Mandalay.

successive monarchs. These were salvaged from the palace at the time of the British occupation in 1885.)

(The Eindawya pagoda built by Pagan Min marks the site where he resided before he ascended the throne. It is of fine proportion and gilt from top to bottom. In one of the shrines is housed a chalcedony image of Buddha said to have been brought from Bodh Gaya in 1839.)

(When King Mindon came to the throne he raised his younger brother Prince Kanaung to be crown prince as he had helped Mindon to overthrow King Pagan who was misruling the country. Prince Kanaung was very loyal and energetic. Mindon being a very pious King, he left the state affairs to Kanaung who endeavoured to develop the country by establishing several factories and sending state scholars abroad. However, his ambitious schemes were disrupted as he was assassinated together with a few other princes when Myingun Prince revolted in 1866. The Sandamani Pagoda was built at the spot where Kanaung Prince fell.) It contains an iron image of Buddha cast by Bodawpaya in 1802, and removed from Amarapura by Mindon in 1874. Within the precincts is a large collection of marble slabs inscribed with the commentaries on the Buddhist canon, the dedication of which was sponsored by the Rev. U Khanti.

There were palace intrigues even while Mindon was on his death bed. Finally the Dowager Queen and senior ministers chose a very young prince Thibaw, to succeed Mindon. (He ascended the throne in 1878 and was married to Supayalat, the younger daughter of the Dowager Queen. His rule came to an end in 1885 when the British annexed Upper Burma.) (Thibaw built the Man-aung Yadana Pagoda at Mandalay in 1881 after the model of the Kuthodaw.) Both its historical and architectural interest lies in its being the shrine built by the last king of the Konbaung dynasty, and in its constituting the last link in the long series of religious edifices marking the sites of the capitals of Burma.

Mandalay had lost its glory and prestige but it still remains the pride of the country of being the fountain-head of Burma's spiritual life and the heart-centre of Burmese culture.



Remains of Atumashi monastery, Mandalay.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of Burma* (In English 1902—26 ; 1936—42 ; in Burmese 1947—65), Government Press, Rangoon.
- Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1902-37, Delhi.
- Aung Thaw : *Excavations at Beikthano*, Central Press, Rangoon, 1968.
- Mandalay and Environs*, Ministry of Union Culture, Rangoon, 1956.
- Pictorial Guide to Pagan*, Rangoon, Reprint 1971.
- Pe Maung Tin and Luce, G. H. : *The Glass Palace Chronicle* (tr.) Burma Research Society, Rangoon, Reprint 1960.
- Bulletin of the Burma Historical Commission*, Rangoon, 1960.
- Fiftieth Anniversary Publication No. 2*, Burma Research Society, Rangoon, 1960.
- Harvey, G. E., *History of Burma*, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., London, 1967 (New Impression)
- Hmannan Yazawin* (Burmese), 3 vols., Upper Burma Press, Mandalay, 1908.
- Htin Aung, Maung, *A History of Burma*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1967.
- Scott O'Connor, V. C., *Mandalay and Other Cities of the Past in Burma*, Hutchinson & Co., London, 1907.
- Yule, Henry, *Mission to the Court of Ava*, Smith, Elder, London, 1858.

A

Abeyadana temple, 48, 51, 90
 Aihole, 56
 Ajapala, 110
 Ajetta, 112
 Alaungpaya, 107, 112, 126, 129
 Alaungsithu, ii, 65
 Alopyi temple, 65
 Amana monastery, 71, 97
 Amarapura, 35, 97, 125-6, 137-9, 140-1, 143, 147
 Amaravati, 6, 19
 Amitabha, 29
 Aparaseliya sect, 6
 Ananda temple, 37, 58-60, 62, 77, 84, 137
 Ananda Okyaung, 79, 98
 Anandacandra, 117
 Ananta, 28, 73, 75
 Anaukpetlun, 109
 Anawrahta, 35, 41, 42, 44, 48, 72, 86, 102, 103
 Andaw temple, 122
 Andhra, 4, 31
 Aniruddhadeva, 85
 Arakan, 117, 118
 Arakan pagoda, 147
 Arches, radiating, 48, pediments, 48, 58, 65, 69
 Arimaddanapur, 41
 Arrow-heads, 14
 Asitanjana, 112
 Asoka, ii
 Athinkhaya Sawyun, 129
 Atumashi monastery, 140, 145
 Aungmyelawka pagoda, 132
 Ava, 97, 107, 117, 125-7, 129, 131, 137
 Avalokitesvara, 29, 80, 91
 Ayaka platform, 5
 Ayetthema, 34, 38, 40
 Ayuthia, 147

B

Bagaya kyaung, 127
 Bagyidaw, 125-7, 135, 137-8, 147
 Bas reliefs, 77, 110
 Bawbawgyi, 19, 20, 29, 31
 Bayinnaung, 44, 107, 126, 147
 Beads, 3, 14, 28, 103

Bebe, 20, 23
 Beikthano, 1-9, 11, 14, 19
 Bein, U, 137
 Bell, bronze, 31, 133, inscribed, 44
 Bengal, 117
 Bhaddapitha, 33
 Bhalika, 112
 Bhubaneswar, 56
 Bodawapya, 72, 106, 109, 126, 132-3, 137-8, 143, 147, 149
 Bodhgaya, 69, 70, 80, 86, 102, 109
 Bodhisat, 24
 Bodhisattva, 24, 26, 51, 59, 80, 86, 91, 96
 Bones, calcined, 32
 Botataung, 116
 Brahma, 26, 28, 38, 51, 56, 73, 83, 88, 91
 Brahmanism, 28, 91
 Brahmi, 4, 11, 13
 Buddhagosa, 34
 Buddha images, 14, 23, 26, 37, 51, 56, 58, 65, 68, 72, 77, 110, 121, 147
 brick and stucco, 83
 bronze, 34, 37, 44, 77, 103, 107, 147
 chalcedony, 149
 clay, 103
 iron, 149
 painting, 95, 97
 sculpture, 20, 24, 51
 stone, 59, 62, 76, 83, 103, 107, 110, 122, 144
 Buddhism, 28, 31, 34-5, 109
 Buddhist Council, 34
 faith, 32
 creed, 86, 102
 Buddha-pads (footprints), 60
 Bupaya, 42
 Burmans, 16
 Byinnya-u, 104, 114

C

Caltrops, 14
 Candi, 16
 Ceylon, 34, 109, 111, 131
 Coins, Arakanese, 14
 Pyu, 8
 Symbolical, 14
 Uninscribed, 3
 Conch, 14
 symbol, 33

INDEX—contd.

D

Dagon, 112-116
 Daya-danam, 14
 Devadatta, 91
 Dhammaceti, 34, 40, 104, 107, 110, 114, 115
 Dhammayangyi, 60
 Dhammayazika, 46, 84
 Dharwar, 56
 Dhrti Candra, 117
 Dipankara, 38, 91
 Dinnyawadi, 117
 Dokhtawadi, 125
 Dolomite sculpture, 80, 103
 Duttabaung, 1, 16, 99
 Dvarapala, 26, 83
 Dven Candra, 117

E

Eindawya, 149
 Excavations, 3, 11, 18, 22, 31, 100-3, 116

F

Fifth Synod, 145
 First sermon, sculpture, 24
 Frescoes, 51, 65
 (See also paintings)
 Funan, 14

G

Ganesh, 38, 40, 44, 75
 Ganga, 123
 Garuda, 16, 28, 73
 Gavampati, 16
 Gawdawpalin, 68, 69
 Golamattika, 34
 Greek cross, 58
 Gupta art, 24, 28
 script, 26
 Guni, 69
 Gwebindet, 20

H

Halin, 6, 9, 11-15, 33, 100
 Hamsa, 104
 Hamsavati (Hanthawaddy), 104, 107, 109

Harivikrama, 32
 Harmika, 44, 48, 51
 Hindu, 23, 32
 Hinduism, 32
 Himalayas, 58
 Hinthagone, 104
 Hkrit, 117
 Hluttaw, 141
 Hmawza, 23
 Hsinbyushin, 115
 —(Ava), 126
 Hsinbyumashin, 127
 Hsinbyume, 135
 Hsinmyashin, 131
 Hsindat Myindat, 40
 Hsutaungpyi monastery, 72
 Hti, 58, 106, 115
 Htilaingshin pagoda, 127
 Htilominlo 46
 temple, 68, 69
 Htukkan-thein, 122
 Htupayon, 129

I

Indra, 51
 Inscription, Burmese, 65, 100, 115, 123
 Gold plates, 31
 Kalyani, 109
 Mon, 37, 39, 40, 44, 48, 51, 62, 65, 73, 86,
 90, 109
 Myazedi, 62
 Pali, 28, 62, 65, 86, 109, 111, 116, 123
 Persian, 123
 Pyu, 13, 24, 26, 28, 32, 62
 Sanskrit, 26, 32, 86, 100, 117, 123
 Tamil, 74
 Urn, 11
 Irrawaddy, 99, 100, 125-6, 129, 133, 139
 Izagona (Ajagona), 69

J

Jataka, 37, 83, 91, 122, paintings, 51, 60, 62,
 91, 85, 97, 132
 plaques, 37, 44, 46, 48, 58, 59, 84, 85,
 137, sculptures, 77, 147

K

Kaccayana, 34
 Kadamba, 31
 Kaladan, 118

INDEX—contd.

Kala Devila, 91
 Kalagankon, 28
 Kalasa, 42, 51
 Kalayani Sima (Pegu), 37, 109
 Kanaung, 149
 Kanwetkhaungkon, 26
 Kassapa, 28
 Katha, 86, 102
 Katthapa temple, 69
 Kaunghmudaw, 131
 Kazun-o, 83
 Kelasa, 34, 40, 48, 56
 Khanti, U, 144, 149
 Khinba mound, 28, 111
 Khmer art, 147
 Kinnara, 4, 121
 Kirttimukha, 42, 83
 Konagamana, 28
 Kondawgyi, 69, 95
 Ku, 48
 Kubyauk, 65
 Kubyaukgale, 77
 Kubyaukgyi, Myinkaba, 62, 91,
 Wetkyi-in, 69, 95
 Kubyaukng, 65, 69
 Kunzeik, 111
 Kuthodaw, 140, 145, 149
 Kyaik Athok, 116
 Kyaik-de-at, 116
 Kyaik-pun, 110
 Kyaik-Talan, 40
 Kyaiktiyo, 40
 Kyanzittha, 39, 40, 44, 48, 51, 58, 59, 62,
 91, 127
 Kyaukka Thein, 23
 Kyaukku Umin, 56, 77
 Kyauktawgyi, Mandalay, 144
 Taungthaman, 138
 Kyaukse, 41
 Kyawzwa, 72
 Kyazin, 69
 Kyontu, 110

L

Lakshmi, 28
 Launggyet, 117
 Lebau, 31
 Lemyethna, Hmawza, 20, 24
 Pagan, 69
 monastery, 71, 72

Lemro, 118
 Lion Throne, 141
 Lokahteikpan, 65, 95
 Lokananda, 42, 44
 Lokanatha, 86
 Loka Okshaung, 65
 Lokatharaphu, 69
 Lokesvara, 29
 Lotus, bronze, 77

M

Magwe, 1
 Maha Aungmye Bonzan, 127
 Mahabrahma, 26
 Mahabodhi, 70
 Machaceti, 131
 Maha Lawkamarazein, 145
 Mahamuni, 147
 Mahanipata, 37
 Mahapajapati, 24
 Mahapeinne, 42, 75
 Mahasura, 116
 Mahavagga, 111
 Mahavamsa, 34
 Mahasamata, 11
 Mahavihara sect, 109
 Mahisaska sect, 109
 Maitreyya, 24, 31, 80
 Majjhimadesa, 11
 Malai-mandalam, 74
 Makara, 23
 Man-aung Yadana, 149
 Mandalay, i, 3, 35, 99, 103, 137, 139, 140-9
 Manjusri, 90
 Manuha, 35, 41, 51, 52
 temple, 77
 Mudra, 24, 26, 38
 Museum, Indian, 141
 Mandalay, 138
 National, 22, 26, 141
 Pagan, 11, 73, 76, 83
 Phayre, 40
 Shwesandaw, 107
 Myatheindan, 37, 40
 Myinkaba, 75, 76
 pagoda, 42
 Myinpyagu, 65
 Myitnge, 125, 126

INDEX—contd.

N

Nadaungmya, 46, 69, 70, 72
 Naga, 16, 112
 Naga Hlainggu, 116
 Nagarjunakonda, 4, 5, 6, 8
 Nagari, 86, 102
 Nagayon, Amarapura, 138
 Pagan, 48, 51, 77, 91
 Nalagiri, 24
 Nalanda, 77
 Nandamannya, 69, 96
 Nandamula, 58
 Nandi, 38
 Nanmyin, 127
 Nanpaya, 51
 Narapatigyi, 129
 Narapatisithu, 46, 56, 67, 68, 98
 Narathihapati, 48, 77
 Narathu, 60
 Nathlaunggyaung, 73, 75
 Naungdawgyi, 129
 Nazi-ud-din, 118
 Ngadatgyi, 132
 Ngakywenadaung, 42
 Nga-o, 86
 Niti Candra, 123
 Nyaunggan Sayadaw, 127
 Nyaungu, 56
 Nyaungyan Min, 126
 Nyeya, U, 138

O

Oc-eo, 14
 Okkala, 112
 Ohnmin Thonze, 132
 Orissa, 56, 104

P

Padamyazedi, 132
 Padmapani, 91
 Padugyi Thingayaza, 132
 Pagan, 6, 35, 41-98, 103, 117, 125, 127, 139
 Upper, 100
 —Min, 137, 149
 Pahtan Zayat, 140
 Paintings, wall, 65, 67, 69, 72, 88, 91, 94,
 97, 132, 138, 143
 Mahayana, 91, 94, 95, 96
 Pala art, 77, 103

Pallava, 31
 Panhtwar princess, 1, 16
 Panya, 125, 127
 Parameswar, 16
 Parinivarna, 80
 Patodawgyi, 137
 Patothamya, 48, 91
 Payagyi, 19
 Payama, 19, 22, 31
 Payataung, 21
 Payathonzu, 69, 95
 village, 109
 Pebingyaung, 46
 Pegu, 34, 104-111, 125-6
 Penatha gu, 95
 Pendentives, 51
 Petleik, 44, 83
 Phyatsashwe, 65
 Pitagattaik, 72
 Pindale, 132
 Pondawpaya, 135
 Ponnyashinzedi, 132
 Pottery, 3, 8, 103
 Prome, 16, 125, 126
 Pwasaw, 46, 72
 Pyatthat, 71, 141
 Pyinsa, 117
 Pyu, 3, 6, 11, 13, 20, 21, 32, 33

R

Radiocarbon analysis, 6, 15
 Rajadarit, 104, 125
 Rajagyi, 122, 147
 Rajakumar, 62
 Rajamanicula, 131
 Ramadhipati, 107
 Ramannyadesa, 34
 Ratanabon, Mrohaung, 122
 Ratanman-aung, 123
 Ratnapunja (Mandalay), 140
 Ratnapura, 125
 Reliefs, terracotta, 83, 85, 111
 Rishi, 16

S

Sagaing, 125, 129-132, 139 fort, 127
 Sakra, 16, 24, 83
 Sakyaman-aung, 123

INDEX—contd.

Salween, 34
 Sanchi, 19
 Sandathudhammayaza, 122
 Sapada, 46
 Sathingu, 69
 Sawlu, 103
 Script, Nagari, 123
 Persian, 118, 123
 Telegu-Kanarese, 110
 Scriptures, Pali, 41
 Sculpture, Brahmanical, 38
 Bronze, 31, 79, 80
 Dolomite slab, 82, 103
 Jataka, 122
 Life of Bodhisattva, 59, 76
 Mahayanist, 26
 Vishnavite, 28, 75
 Wooden, 83
 Seal, clay, 4, 103
 Seinnyet Ama, 65
 Setkyathiha, 147
 Shans, 125, 126
 Shin Arahā, 35, 41, 59
 Shinbinthalyaung, 77
 Shinngedet-taung, 123
 Shinsawbu, 104, 114
 Shitthaung pagoda, 117, 120, 122
 Shwebo, 11, 126
 Shwebo Min, 138
 Shwedaga, 22, 26, 32
 Shwedagon, 112, 114, 115
 Shwegugyi, Pagan, 65
 Pegu, 109
 Shwekyetyet, 139
 Shwekyimyin, 147
 Shwemawdaw, 104, 107
 Shwenandaw monastery, 147
 Shwenankyawshin, 127
 Shwenyaungbinkon, 21
 Shwenyaungbinyo mound, 24
 Shwenatha, west, 110
 Shwesandaw, 42, 44, 65, 75, 77, 83
 Shwethalyaung, Pegu, 107
 Shweyattaw, 144
 Shwezigon, Pagan, 44, 46, 77, 80, 84, 132, 145
 Tagaung, 100, 101
 Shwezayan, 37
 Siddhattha, 91, 96

Siharaja, 34
 Sihavikrama, 32
 Sikhara, 26, 42, 51, 56, 58, 65, 69
 Singu Min, 116
 Sittana, 46
 Sittang, 34
 Siva, 28, 38, 51, 73, 91
 Sikkade, 42
 Somingyi monastery, 71
 Sona, 34, 116
 Sri Jatrajiku, 11
 Srikshetra, 1, 3, 6, 9, 11, 14, 15, 16-33, 38, 42, 48, 99, 111
 Sri Prabhudevi, 28
 Sri Prabhavarman, 28
 Sri Trivigrama, 13
 Sri Vāma, 13
 Srivatsa, 33
 Statuettes, 28, 116
 Stucco carvings, 48, 65, 69
 Stupas, 6, 42, 122, 123
 Pyu, 19, 44
 Sinhalese type, 46
 Uddesika, 5
 Subokkon, 20
 Sulamani, 67-69, 98, 135
 Sule pagoda, 116
 Sumedha, 91
 Surya, 123
 Suryavikrama, 32
 Sutta, 31, 91
 Suvannabhumi, 34, 40, 116
 Symbols, auspicious, 32
 Syriam, 112

T

Tabinshweti, 107, 126
 Tadagale, 116
 Tada-u, 127
 Tagaung, 1, 99-103
 Taikkala, 34, 40
 Taing Sandra, 117
 Tamani monastery, 71
 Tantric, 91, 96
 Taphussa, 112
 Taungdwingyi, 1
 Taungthaman, 137

INDEX—concl.

Tavatimsa, 83, 91
 Tayokpye temple, 69
 Tooth relic tower, 143
 Toungoo, 106, 126
 Tejarama, 123
 Temples, Pagan, 20, 21
 Architecture, 48
 Pentagonal, 70
 Thabeikhmauk, 69
 Thabyedan fort, 127, 139
 Thadominbya, 125, 129
 Thagyapaya, 37
 Thalun, 107, 131, 132
 Thamala, 104, 106
 Thaman, 69
 Thambula, 69
 Thandawgya, 77
 Thaton, 34-40, 42, 104, 116
 Thatbyinnyu, 65, 67
 Tharrawaddy Min, 116, 138
 Thayambu, 80, 95
 Theinmazi, 69, 95
 Thibaw, 141, 147
 Thinganyon, 69
 Thirithudhammayaza, 123
 Thohanbwa, 126
 Thudhamma Zayat, 140
 Tibeto-Burmese, 16
 Tilawkgaguru, 132
 Tizaung, 40
 Toungoo, 107
 Tusita, 77
 Twante, 86

U

Upali Thein, 71, 72, 79, 97
 Urna, 103
 Urns, burial, 3, 5, 6, 11, 13, 15, 32
 Ussa, 105
 Uttara, 34, 116

V

Vaisali, 117
 Vajra, symbol, 33
 Vajrapani, 91
 Vanavasi, 31
 Varman, 13
 Varendra, 91
 Vikrama, 13, 32
 Vimanavatthu, 91, 95
 Vinaya Pitaka, 28, 31
 Vira Candra, 123
 Vishnavite sect, 28
 Vishnu, 28, 38, 51, 73, 74, 75, 91, 123
 Avatar, 74
 Temple, 74
 City (See Beikthano)
 Votive tablets, 20, 32, 84, 102, 116, 131

W

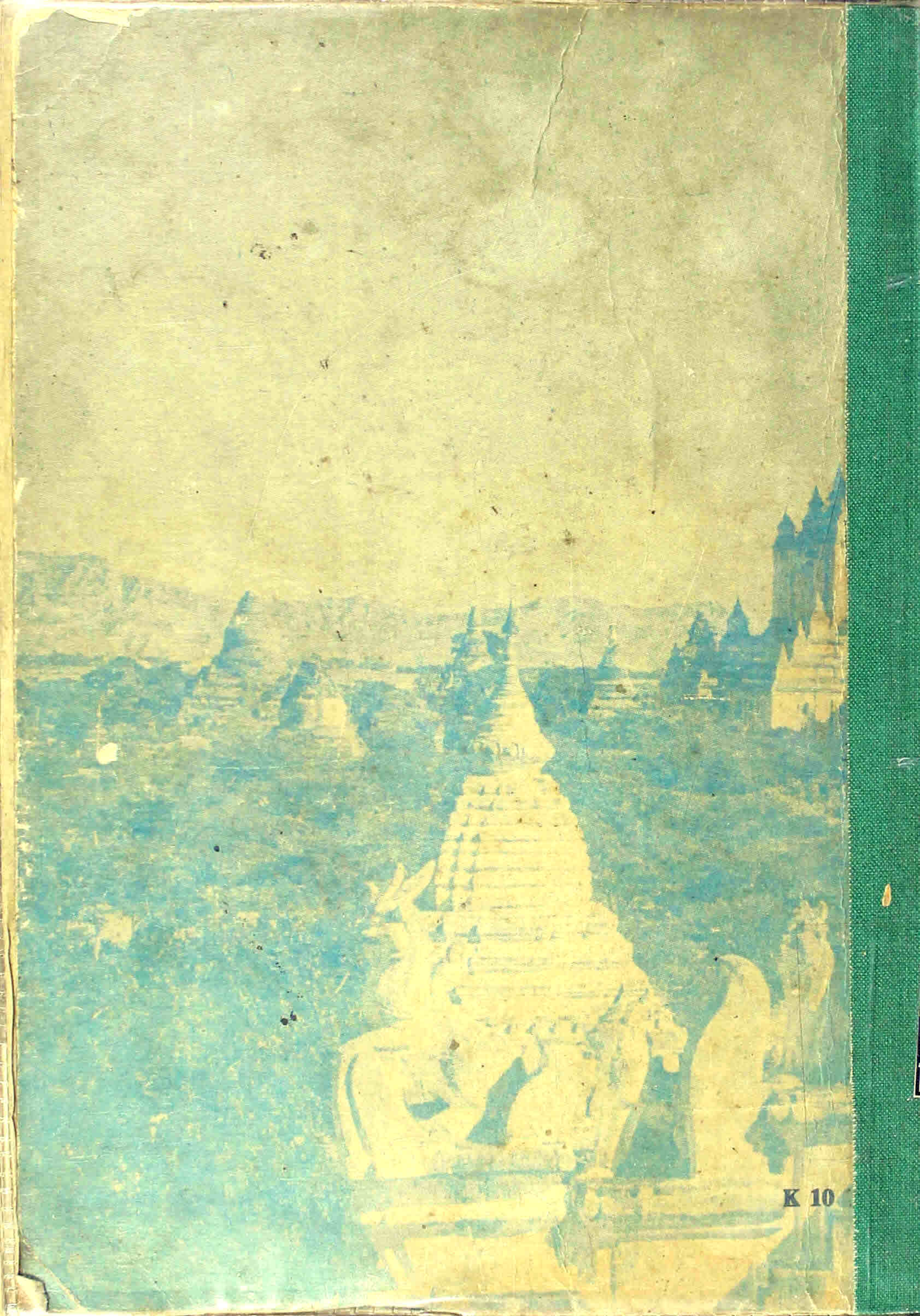
Wareru, 105
 Waw, 111
 Wethali, 117, 123
 Wimala, 104, 106
 Winidho monastery, 71, 72

Y

Yahanda-gu, 20
 Yangon (Rangoon), 112

Z

Zegu, east, 20
 west, 21
 Zina-man-aung, 123
 Zokthok, 40



K 10