Claudine Bautze-Picron
photography by Joachim Karl Bautze

The Buddhist Murals of Pagan

Timeless vistas of the cosmos

Treasures hide in the temples of Pagan—treasures in part never meant to be seen, enshrouded in the darkness of high vaults. They compose a unique ensemble in the Buddhist world of the eleventh to fourteenth century, giving us a glimpse of a lost splendour, and providing evidence of the major political, religious and artistic position that Pagan then held. Adorning the walls and ceilings of those monuments, they constitute a prayer to the Buddha: to the Buddha as a human being, to his last life, but also to his numerous lives when he was in search of the truth.

This comprehensive study covers, for the first time, not only the murals found within temples near the historic city of Pagan, but also those within the monuments scattered elsewhere over the Pagan plain. Following an initial iconographic analysis, the author proceeds to reconstruct the overall vision of the murals within the broader context of the interior spaces of the temples, revealing these monuments as visualizations of the Buddhist cosmos and reflecting the cosmological nature of the Buddha. Author Bautze-Picron is an authority on early Indic Buddhist art and her erudite descriptions of these lost treasures are complemented by a magnificent photographic record of the surviving murals themselves. Essential reading for all with interest in the history and diversity of Buddhist art.

Scenes with Asoka, as related in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, north wall of the archway to the shrine, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba (see Plate 28)

THE BUDDHIST MURALS OF PAGAN

FOR ALEXINA AND THIBAULT

THE BUDDHIST MURALS
OF
PAGAN

Timeless vistas of the cosmos

Claudine Bautze-Picron

WITH PHOTOGRAPHY BY

Joachim K. Bautze

Orchid Press
Bangkok 2003

Claudine Bautze-Picron
with photography by Joachim K. Bautze

THE BUDDHIST MURALS OF PAGAN
Timeless vistas of the cosmos

Protected by copyright under the terms of the International Copyright Union; all rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or by any information storage or retrieval system, without prior permission in writing from the copyright holder.

Published by
ORCHID PRESS
P.O. Box 19
Yutthitam Post Office
Bangkok 10907, Thailand

© Orchid Press 2003

Printed in Thailand

ISBN 0-8348-0533-2 (North America)
ISBN 974-524-025-7 (Asia, Europe, UK)

CONTENTS

Dedication	ii
List of Illustrations	viii
Foreword	viii
Chapter I The Murals of Pagan, Presentation	1
Pagan as seen by historians and art-historians	2
Pagan, the international city	3
The temples and their murals	5
The life	7
The multiplication of images	20
The flamed Buddha	22
The cosmological Buddha	25
Historical narratives	27
The sources	29
Chapter II The Miraculous Life of the Buddha	33
The birth	33
The great renunciation, the tonsure	34
The way to the Enlightenment	35
The Enlightenment	37
The seven stations after the Enlightenment	39
The first predication at Sarnath	44
The miracles at Sāvatthi	45
The sermon on the mountain and the descent from heaven to Saṅkassa	51
The predication of the *Ratana-sutta* at Vesāli	58
The taming of the wild elephant Nālāgiri	59
The sojourn at Pārileyyaka, the 'protected forest'	60
The Parinibbāna and the cremation	63
The veneration of the feet of the Buddha by Mahā-Kassapa, the veneration of the relics, the war over the relics and their distribution	64
Chapter III The previous Lives of the Buddha	68
Chapter IV Dīpaṅkara and the Buddhas of the Past–Metteyya, Buddha of the Future	79
Dīpaṅkara	87
Metteyya	89

CHAPTER V ICONOGRAPHIC ORNAMENTATION	92
Sakka and Brahmā	92
The pair of Bodhisattas	93
The monks	103
The army of Mara	109
The sun and the moon	114
The Buddhapada	115
The universe, Lake Anottata, the horoscope	116
CHAPTER VI THE ORNAMENTAL DECORATION	119
A. THE WALLS	120
The pillars	120
The arch, the temple	123
The throne, the aura	131
Heavenly creatures, protecting characters	135
The frieze with geese and other animals, the creeper	139
The frieze with the lion heads	144
The pointed ovoids	146
The dangling motifs	147
B. THE CEILING	147
The lotus	146
The quadrants	148
The corners	153
CHAPTER VII THE MURALS OF PAGAN, A GUIDE	156
A. MONUMENTS IN OLD PAGAN OR SOUTH OF THE CITY, NORTH OF MYINKABA	156
1. Patho-hta-mya (monument 1605)	158
2. Kubyauk-gyi Myinkaba (monument 1323)	161
3. Mye-bon-tha-hpaya-hla (monument 1512)	164
4. Loka-hteik-pan (monument 1580)	167
5. Thein-mazi (monument 1471)	169
B. MONUMENTS SOUTH OF MYINKABA	170
1. Abe-ya-dana-hpaya (monument 1202)	170
2. Monument 1148	179
3. Monument 1150	180
4. Monument 1152	180
C. MONUMENTS SOUTH OF MYINKABA, NORTH-EAST OF PAGAN MYO-THIT	181
1. Nga-hla-htin-gu (monument 1091)	181
D. MONUMENTS EAST OF MYINKABA AND SOUTH OF MINNANTHU	182
1. Ku-tha-hpaya (monument 845)	182
E. MONUMENTS BETWEEN OLD PAGAN AND WETKYI-IN	183
1. Temple 2157	183
2. Temple 2103	183
3. Temple 2095	183

4 Temple 2155 184
5. Temple 1844 184
6. Temple 1846 187
7. Alopyi-gu-hpaya (monument 374) 187
8. Kubyauk-gyi in Wetkyi-in (temple 298) 189
9. Taung-pon-loka-na-tha (315) 190
F. MONUMENTS IN MINNANTHU AND IN THE SURROUNDING AREA 191
I NORTH-WEST AND NORTH OF MINNANTHU 191
1. Let-put-kan (monument 711) 191
2. Ma-la-phyi-hpaya (monument 664) 192
3. Winido-hpaya (monument 659) 192
II NORTH OF MINNANTHU, EAST OF WINIDO GROUP 194
1. Aja-gona-hpaya (temple 588) 194
2. Maung-yon-gu (temple 600) 195
III. NORTH OF MINNANTHU, EAST OF THE ROAD 196
1. Nanda-ma-nya-hpaya (monument 577) 196
2. Monument 585 198
3. Thambula-hpaya (monument 482) 198
4. Hpaya-thon-zu (monuments 477-9) 199
5. Monument 473 202
6. Ka-tha-pa-hpaya (east) (monument 505) 202
7. Ka-tha-pa-hpaya (west)(monument 506) 204
IV. NORTH OF MINNANTHU, WEST OF THE ROAD 204
1. Tatkale-hpaya (monument 572) 204
2. Le-myet-hna-hpaya (monument 447) 205
3. Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi (monument 539) 206
4. So-hla-wun-hpaya (monument 676) 206
CHRONOLOGY OF THE MURALS IN THE MONUMENTS 206

CONCLUSION 208

ENDNOTES 209

BIBLIOGRAPHY 227

GLOSSARY 233

INDEX OF THE MONUMENTS 237

GENERAL INDEX 239

LIST OF PLATES

Unless indicated, all photos are copyright Joachim K. Bautze

1 The multiplication of images at Sāvatthi, interior wall of the corridor, east face, south east corner, Kubyauk-gyi 8
2 Cult image, south wall, Loka-hteik-pan 9
3 Cult image, west wall, monument 2103 10
4 Cult image, west wall, monument 2157 10
5 Buddha surrounded by scenes of his life, south wall of the shrine, monument 473 11
6 Scenes of the Buddha's life, east wall, north niche, Sale, monument 101 11
7 Buddha surrounded by scenes of his life, east wall of the west entrance, Ka-tha-pa-hpaya (east) 12
8 Scenes from the Buddha's life, wall behind the cult image, Sale, temple 92 13
9 North wall and entrance, Sale, temple 92 13
10 South wall and niche, Nanda-ma-nya-hpaya 18
11 Cult image, west wall, Nanda-ma-nya hpaya 19
12 North wall and niche, Nanda-ma-nya-hpaya 20
13 Bejewelled Buddha, west wall, shrine, Winido-hpaya 21
14 Bejewelled Buddha, south ceiling, vestibule entrance, monument 645 21
15 Buddha teaching, upper part of the exterior wall, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya 22
16 Flaming Buddha images, east wall, north wing, Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi 23
17 Flaming Buddha, interior wall, corridor, Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi 23
18 Flaming Buddha, entrance hall, east wall, north part, Thambula 24
19 Flaming Buddha, south wall of the passage to the shrine, Thein-mazi 25
20 The Parinibbāna and other scenes, north wing, east wall, Winido-hpaya 26
21 Ādāsamukharāja in the *Cūmani-Canda-jātaka*, north-west window, east wall Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba 27
22 Worship of a Buddha image, north-east window, west wall, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba 28
23 Worship of a Buddha image across the waters, north window, east wall, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba 28
24 The first Council, interior wall of the corridor, north face, north-west corner, Kubyauk-gyi Myinkaba 29
25 The second Council, interior wall, north face, west side, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba 30
26 The third Council, interior wall, north face, north-east corner, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba 30
27 Asoka paying his respect to Moggaliputta Tissa, panel following the previous one 31
28 Scenes with Asoka, as related in the *Mahāvamsa*, north wall of the archway to the shrine, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba 32
29 The birth, north wall, Nanda-ma-nya 34
30 The birth, north wing, east wall, Ku-tha-hpaya 35
31 The tonsure, north wall of the corridor, Patho-hta-mya 36
32 The dreams, west wing, north wall, monument 585, copyright G. Heil 37
33 The last meal, interior wall, east face, north side, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba 38
34 The earth-goddess, exterior wall of the corridor, east side, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya 39
35 Multiplication of the images, interior wall, east face, south part, Patho-hta-mya 40
36 Looking at the Bodhi tree, passage between shrines 477 and 478, south wall, Hpaya-thon-zu 41
37 Wondering the Bodhi tree, north wing, east wall, Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi 42
38 Sitting in the House of Gems, interior wall, east face, north side, Kubyauk-gyi 43
39 Being seduced by Māra's daughters, south niche, east wall, Nanda-ma-nya 43
40 Mucilinda protecting the Buddha, south wall, shrine, Maung-yon-gu 44
41 The first sermon, north niche, east wall, Nanda-ma-nya 45
42 The first sermon, wall behind the cult image, south-east corner, Loka-hteik-pan 46
43 Multiplication of the images at Savatthi, wall behind the cult image, south-west corner, Loka-hteik-pan 47
44 Multiplication of the images at Sāvatthi, interior wall of the corridor, north face, east side, Patho-hta-mya 47
45 The twin miracle at Savatthi, west wing, north wall, Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi 47
46 The great miracle of Sāvatthi, north niche, east wall, monument 585 47
47 The mango trick at Savatthi, interior wall of the corridor, east face, south side, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba 48
48 The suicide of the heretics at Savatthi, interior wall of the corridor, south face, south-east side,

	Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba	49
49	The sermon on Mount Meru, east wall, Loka-hteik-pan	50
50	King Pavenadi in the mango garden and the Buddha ascending the universe, east wall, Loka-hteik-pan	51
51	The descent from the heaven of the 33 gods at Sankassa, east wall, Loka-hteik-pan	52
52	The sermon on Mount Meru, entrance vestibule, west wall, monument 1150	53
53	The sermon on Mount Meru, interior wall of the corridor, south face, west side, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba, copyright G. Heil	54
54	The Buddha seated at the lake Anotatta, next to the previous panel, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba	55
55	The Buddha instructing Sāriputta, next to the previous panel, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba	55
56	The bats listening to the two monks, interior wall, west face, south side, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba	56
57	The descent from Mount Meru and the predication at Sankassa, interior wall, west face, north side, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba, copyright G. Heil	57
58	The descent from Mount Meru, west wing, south wall, south-east corner, Let-put-kan	57
59	The descent from Mount Meru, wall behind the cult image, south-west corner, Loka-hteik-pan	58
60	The taming of Nālāgiri, wall behind the cult image, south-east corner, Loka-hteik-pan	59
61	The crossing of the Ganga at Vesali, south niche, east wall, monument 585	60
62	The almsgiving by king Pavenadi, south niche, west wall, monument 585	61
63	The conversion of Mahā Kappina, north niche, west wall, monument 585	62
64	The sojourn at Pārileyaka, Hpaya-thon-zu (477), entrance hall, east niche, south wall	62
65	The sojourn at Pārileyaka, Maung-yon-gu, shrine, north wall, north-east corner	63
66	The cremation of the Buddha's corpse and the worship of the feet by Mahā Kassapa, west niche, south wall, monument 585, copyright G. Heil	64
67	The Parinibbāna, west niche, west wall, Nga-hla-htin-gu, copyright G. Heil	65
68	The Parinibbāna, the worship of the feet by Mahā Kassapa and the division of the relics, west wall, above the entrance, monument 473	65
69	The Parinibbāna, south niche, south wall, Sale, monument 92 (Yanzatthu)	66
70	The dreams, north niche, north wall, Sale, monument 92 (Yanzatthu)	67
71	*Jātakas*, west wall, shrine, Loka-hteik-pan	69
72	*Mahajanakajataka*, detail, west wall, shrine, Loka-hteik-pan	70
73	*Mahājanakajātaka*, detail, west wall, shrine, Loka-hteik-pan	70
74	Four *jātakas*, west wall, upper right corner, shrine, Loka-hteik-pan	72
75	West wall and ceiling, vestibule, Loka-hteik-pan	73
76	*Jātakas*, north wall, corridor, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba	74
77	*Vātaggasindhava-* and *Kakkatajātakas*, south wall, corridor, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba	74
78	*Uragajātaka*, south wall, corridor, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba	75
79	*Jātakas*, wall, entrance hall, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya	76
80	The Buddha surrounded by a broad frame of *jātakas*, south wing, west wall, Ka-tha-pa-hpaya west	77
81	The Buddha surrounded by a broad frame of *jātakas*, south wing, east wall, Ka-tha-pa-hpaya east	78
82	Sumedha lying at the feet of the Buddha Dipaṅkara, east wall, shrine, Loka-hteik-pan	80
83	Kūṇāgum (Konāgamana), Buddha of the past, north wall, shrine, Loka-hteik-pan	81
84	Kassapa, Buddha of the past, north wall, shrine, Loka-hteik-pan	81
85	Buddha of the past, upper frieze, interior wall, corridor, Patho-hta-mya	82
86	Buddhas of the past, corridor of the shrine, Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi	83
87	Buddhas of the past, north wall, east niche, Hpaya-thon-zu (477)	84
88	Buddhas of the past, corridor of the shrine, So-hla-wun-hpaya	85
89	Buddhas of the past, south wing, west wall, Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi	85
90	Buddhas of the past, corridor of the shrine, east wall, Tha-mu-ti-hpaya	86
91	Buddhas of the past, corridor of the shrine, south wall, west part, Thambula-hpaya	87
92	Maitreya, lintel, south wall, vestibule, Loka-hteik-pan	88
93	Metteyya, entrance wall, Winido-hpaya	90
94	Metteya, north window, east wall, vestibule, Ku-tha-hpaya	91
95	Sakka worshipping the Buddha, south wall, shrine, Loka-hteik-pan	94
96	Brahmā worshipping the Buddha, south wall, shrine, Loka-hteik-pan	94
97	Brahmā at the proper left side of the entrance, north side, Winido-hpaya	94
98	Brahmā at the proper right side of the entrance, south side, Winido-hpaya	94
99	Brahmā, east wall, south-east corner, proper right of the cult image, monument 1844	95

100 Sakka, west wall, south-west corner, proper left of the cult image, monument 1844 95
101 Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu in medallions, interior wall, west passage, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya 95
102 Viṣṇu on Garuḍa, interior wall, west passage, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya 96
103 Mañjuśrī, south wall, right side, entrance hall, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya 97
104 Avalokiteśvara, south wall, left side, entrance hall, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya 97
105 Bodhisatta, east wall to the shrine, south side, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba 97
106 Bodhisatta, east wall to the shrine, north side, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba 97
107 Bodhisatta above the Buddha, proper right side, west wall, monument 2157 98
108 Bodhisatta above the Buddha, proper left side, west wall, monument 2157 98
109 Bodhisatta as protector, upper row, exterior wall, corridor, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya 98
110 Mañjuśrī, lower row, exterior wall, corridor, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya 98
111 Mañjuśrī and attendants, lower row, exterior wall, corridor, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya 99
112 Bodhisatta, side wall of a niche, corridor, exterior wall, Alopyi-hpaya 100
113 Bodhisatta, side wall of a niche, corridor, exterior wall, Alopyi-hpaya 100
114 Bodhisatta, north wall, niche, shrine, Nanda-ma-nya 100
115 Bodhisatta, Sale, monument 99 100
116 Bodhisatta, Sale, monument 99 101
117 Bodhisatta, west wall, entrance hall, south side, Thambula-hpaya 101
118 Monk, east wall of the shrine, north side, Ma-la-phi-hpaya 101
119 Monk kneeling at the Buddha's proper left side, south wall, Loka-hteik-pan 101
120 Monk kneeling at the Buddha's proper right side, west wall, Nanda-ma-nya 102
121 Monk kneeling at the Buddha's proper left side, west wall, Nanda-ma-nya 103
122 Monk kneeling at the Buddha's proper right side, west wall, Sale, monument 92 105
123 Monk kneeling at the Buddha's proper left side, west wall, Sale, monument 92 105
124 Monk kneeling at the Buddha's proper left side, north wall, Hsutaung-pyi-hpaya 105
125 Monk kneeling at the Buddha's proper right side, south wall, Hsutaung-pyi-hpaya 105
126 Ascetic, west wall of the shrine, monument 1152 106
127 Ascetic in a cave, exterior wall of the corridor, north-east corner, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya 106
128 Ascetic in a cave, step to a window, monument 1844 107
129 Māra's army, interior wall of the corridor, south side, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya 107
130 Māra's army, interior wall of the corridor, south side, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya 108
131 Māra's army, the attack, south wall of the shrine, proper right side of the Buddha, Loka-hteik-pan 109
132 Māra's army, the defeat, south wall of the shrine, proper left side of the Buddha, Loka-hteik-pan 110
133 Māra's army, the defeat, west wall of the shrine, proper left of the Buddha, monument 2157 111
134 Māra's army, the defeat, west wall of the shrine, proper left of the Buddha, monument 1152 111
135 Māra's army, the attack, north wall of the shrine, proper right of the Buddha, Sale, monument 101 111
136 Māra's army, the defeat, south wall of the shrine, proper right of the Buddha, Sale, Ohn-pwe-taw 112
137 Māra's army, attack and defeat, west wall behind the cult image, Winido-hpaya 112
138 Māra's army, the attack, west wall, proper right side of the Buddha, Kubyauk-gyi Wetkyi-in 113
139 Māra's army, the defeat, west wall, proper left side of the Buddha, Kubyauk-gyi Wetkyi-in 114
140 Sun and moon above the Buddha, south wing, west wall, Ajja-gona-hpaya 115
141 Buddha's footprints, east vestibule hall, ceiling, Let-put-kan 116
142 Lake Anotatta, north wall, north-east corner, Sale, Ohn-pwe-taw 117
143 Universe and footprints, east vestibule hall, Winido-hpaya, copyright G. Heil 117
144 The horoscope, ceiling of the passage to the shrine, Winido-hpaya, copyright G. Heil 118
145 Upper part of a painted pillar, monument 1150 120
146 Painted pillar in a corner, Sale, monument 99 121
147 Lower part of a painted pillar, monument 1846 122
148 Panelled pillar in a corner, Hpaya-thon-zu (478) 122
149 Lower part of a pillar, corner, Hpaya-thon-zu (477) 122
150 Basis of a pillar, corner, Sale, monument 99 122
151 Upper part of an arch, monument 1148 123
152 Upper part of an arch, monument 661 124
153 Left kinnara on the back of the throne, Loka-hteik-pan 124
154 Right kinnara on the back of the throne, Loka-hteik-pan 124
155 Kinnara on the back of the throne, Hsutaung-pyi-hpaya 124

156 Kinnara at the right extremity of an arch, monument 1846 125
157 Kinnara at the left extremity of an arch, Hpaya-thon-zu (478) 126
158 Kinnara at the right extremity of an arch, Shwe-tan-za 126
159 Kinnara in a spinode, right extremity of an arch, Shin-ma-hti 126
160 Pillar acting as door-jamb, Hpaya-thon-zu (477) 126
161 Stuccoed arch above the passage to the shrine, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya 127
162 North-west corner of central core, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya 128
163 Painted niches, corridor, monument 653 129
164 Painted shrine with the Buddha, monument 2095 129
165 Painted pavillion with a devotee, monument 1844 129
166 Thūpa above a high pedestal, vault, west quadrant, Tatkale-hpaya 130
167 Buddha seated within a pavilion, vault, south quadrant, Tatkale-hpaya 130
168 Tower above the Buddha on the north side, Thambula 131
169 Back of the throne, Loka-hteik-pan 132
170 Scrolls above the nimbus, south wall, monument 1148 133
171 Painted pedestal below the cult image, Sale, monument 101 133
172 Pedestal below a Buddha image, detail of pl. 216, Mye-bon-tha-hpaya 134
173 Divine characters flying, interior wall of the corridor, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba 135
174 Divine character flying above an arch, west wall, monument 1152 136
175 Monstrous characters flying above a kinnara, entrance hall, north wall, Ka-tha-pa-hpaya (east) 137
176 Figure flying among scrolls, east wall, south-east corner, monument 1846 137
177 Figures flying among scrolls, side wall of a niche, shrine, Winido-hpaya 137
178 Figures flying among scrolls, entrance hall, west wall, south-west corner, Thein-ma-zi 137
179 Figure flying among scrolls, north wing, north-west corner, Ka-tha-pa-hpaya (east) 138
180 Figure in a lobed medallion at the bottom of decorative bands, entrance hall, south-west corner, Nanda-ma-nya-hpaya 138
181 Figure seated within a shrine at the bottom of decorative bands, north wing, south-west corner, Ma-la-phyi-hpaya 138
182 Figure seated on a leopard, bottom of decorative bands, Hpaya-thon-zu (477) 138
183 Creeper with lotuses, side wall of the central window, west wall, Patho-hta-mya 140
184 Volutes with nāgas, stairs below a window, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba 141
185 Volutes with sword dancers, stairs below a window, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba 141
186 Volutes with decorative scenes, ceiling, entrance hall, monument 1148 142
187 Parallel ornamental bands, east wing, south-east corner, Let-put-kan 143
188 Floral bands with various characters, passage between shrine 477 and 478, south wall, Hpaya-thon-zu 143
189 Vertical creeper with fantastic figures, monument 1150 143
190 Pillar at the right of the niche, south wall, monument 1844 144
191 Lions' heads spewing garlands of pearls, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya 145
192 Garlands of pearls and trees of the Buddhas of the past, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba 145
193 Pointed obovals with figures, south niche, east wall, Ka-tha-pa-hpaya (east) 146
194 Pointed obovals with figures, Tha-kya-hi-hpaya 147
195 Pointed obovals with ornamental designs, side wall of a niche, monument 1845 148
196 Pointed obovals on the ceiling and at ground's level, Sale, monument 99 149
197 Ceiling of the shrine, Loka-hteik-pan 149
198 Ceiling of the shrine, west quadrant, Loka-hteik-pan 150
199 Ceiling above a window, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya 150
200 Ceiling above a window, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya 151
201 Ceiling and side wall of a window-embrasure, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya 151
202 Ceiling of the shrine, Maung-yon-gu 151
203 Medallions with Buddha images, ground floor, south shrine vault, Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi 152
204 North quadrant of the ceiling in the shrine, Ma-la-phyi-hpaya 152
205 East quadrant of the vault, ceiling of the east shrine, Hpaya-thon-zu (477) 152
206 Squared ornamentation with tiny Buddha images, monument 660 153
207 Medallions with Brahmā images, So-hla-wun-hpaya 154
208 Rows of Brahmā seated within sitting among scrolls or within a shrine, Winido-hpaya 154
209 Ceiling above a window, Thambula-hpaya 155

210 Ceiling above a window, Thambula-hpaya 155
211 Corner of the vault, shrine, Ma-la-phyi-hpaya 158
212 Upper corner of the vault, shrine, Tatkale-hpaya 159
213 Māra being consoled by his daughters, Patho-hta-mya 160
214 Asita admiring the newly born Gotama, Patho-hta-mya 161
215 Scenes of the Buddha's life, south wall of the entrance vestibule, Mye-bon-tha-hpaya-hla 164
216 The Buddha teaching, north wall of the entrance vestibule, Mye-bon-tha-hpaya-hla 165
217 Face of the Buddha, detail 166
218 Face of the Buddha, passage to the shrine, south wall, Thein-mazi 169
219 Niche, east face of the interior wall, northern part, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya 171
220 Niche, east face of the interior wall, southern part, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya 172
221 South-east corner, corridor, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya 173
222 North-east corner, corridor, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya 174
223 North-east corner, exterior east wall of the corridor, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya 175
224 North-west corner, exterior west wall of the corridor, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya 176
225 South-east corner, exterior south wall of the corridor, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya 177
226 North-east corner, exterior east wall of the corridor, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya 178
227 West niche and wall of the shrine, monument 1150 179
228 West niche and wall of the shrine, monument 1152 180
229 North wall, entrance hall, Ku-tha-hpaya (845) 182
230 West wall with look on the shrine, entrance hall, Ku-tha-hpaya (845) 183
231 Cult image on the south wall, monument 1844 184
232 West wall of the entrance vestibule, monument 1844 185
233 Image in the central core of the shrine, Alopyi-hpaya 186
234 Outer wall of the corridor of the shrine, Alopyi-hpaya 186
235 Corridor of the shrine, Alopyi-hpaya 186
236 Outer wall of the corridor, Alopyi-hpaya 187
237 West wall of the shrine, Kubyauk-gyi, Wetkyi-in (298) 188
238 Ceiling of the shrine, Kubyauk-gyi, Wetkyi-in 189
239 North wall of the shrine, Kubyauk-gyi, Wetkyi-in 190
240 South-east corner, shrine, Kubyauk-gyi, Wetkyi-in 191
241 East vestibule, north wall, Let-put-kan 192
242 West wall of the shrine, Winido-hpaya 193
243 North wall of the entrance hall, Ajja-gona-hpaya 194
244 North-west corner of the shrine, Maung-yon-gu 195
245 South niche, Nanda-ma-nya-hpaya 196
246 North image, Thambula-hpaya 197
247 West wall of the central shrine, Hpaya-thon-zu (478) 198
248 West wall of the eastern shrine, Hpaya-thon-zu (477) 199
249 East wall of the entrance vestibule to the east shrine, Hpaya-thon-zu (477) 200
250 Buddha, east wall of the west entrance, Ka-tha-pa-hpaya (east) 201
251 Birth of the Buddha, east wall of the west entrance, Ka-tha-pa-hpaya 202
252 Descent from the Heaven of the 33 Gods, west wall, west entrance, Ka-tha-pa-hpaya 203
253 North-east corner, shrine, Ka-tha-pa-hpaya 204
254 East wall, south-east upper corner, shrine, Ka-tha-pa-hpaya 205

LIST OF MAPS

1. General map of Burma xiv
2. Location of selected Pagan monuments 156
3. Monuments of the Myinkaba area 157
4. Monuments of the Wetkyi-in area 184
5. Monuments of the Minnanthu area 193

FOREWORD

Treasures hide in the temples of Pagan—treasures in part never meant to be seen, enshrouded in the darkness of the high vaults. When revealed to our eyes, however, these murals excite particular admiration. They compose a unique ensemble in the Buddhist world of the eleventh to fourteenth century, giving us a glimpse of a lost splendour, and showing that Pagan held a major political, religious and artistic position during that period. Adorning the walls and ceilings of those monuments, they constitute a prayer to the Buddha: to the Buddha as a human being, to his last life, but also to his numerous lives when he was in search of the truth. Moreover, the ornamentation transforms the temple into illustration of the cosmos, and reflects the cosmological nature of the Buddha and his identification with the temple. The temple becomes the living presence of the Buddha.

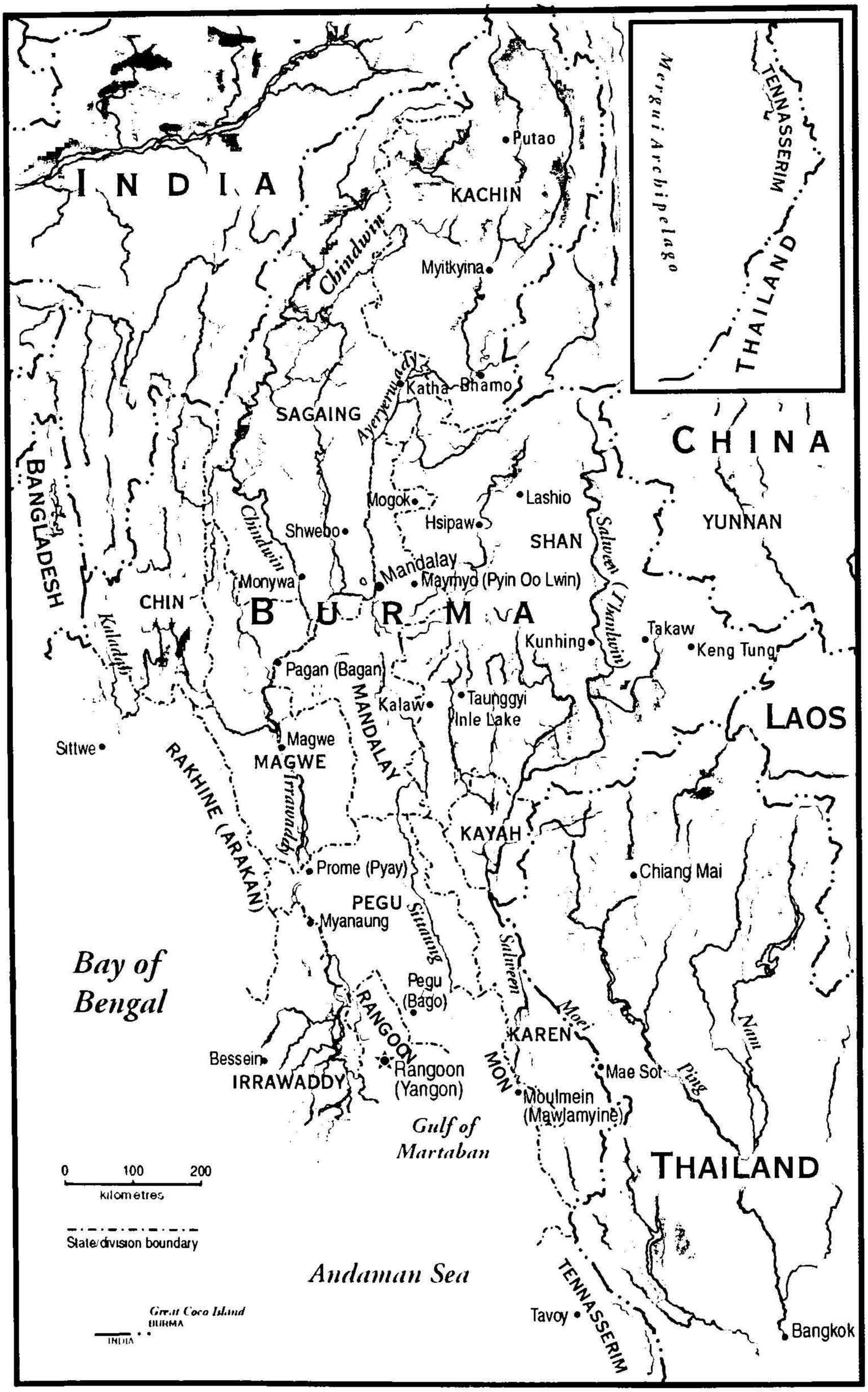
Over quite a long period, from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, temples and *thūpas* were constructed in a large area limited in the north and the west by the Irrawady, and in the city of Sale, located south of Pagan along the river. A late but short revival took place in the eighteenth century, when monuments were constructed and adorned with murals which reflect a completely different style, as one might well expect, and exemplify other iconographic themes.

Various authors have already drawn attention to these paintings. By and large, however, they have focused on a very particular cluster of temples built close to the old city, and to some temples constructed at Minnanthu. But visiting the numerous monuments scattered all over the plain of Pagan is much more rewarding: all the temples must once have been gorgeously adorned with murals, thus constituting evidence that painted ornamentation was a fundamental part of the sanctuary, giving its real meaning to the temple.

Necessary though it may be, as a first step, to isolate the various components of the different iconographic programmes painted on the walls and ceilings of the temples in order to identify the respective iconographies, the next step must surely be to reconstruct the complete programme and understand its meaning in the light of its various components. The devotees who entered and still enter the monuments in order to pay their respects to the Buddha and his teachings, clearly did not do so with the mentality of a twenty-first century Western visitor for whom these paintings are basically an object of intellectual curiosity—more rarely of aesthetic value, and probably never of a spiritual nature. Most probably, too, these devotees did not dissect the temples as we do here. Although this dissection is required, it should never blind us to the fact that the inner space of the temple has to be apprehended globally, in its totality, and this experience reveals the monument as a visualization of the cosmos, and of the Buddha as a cosmological being.

I would like to express all my thanks to Pierre Pichard, of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient in Bangkok, for having answered various queries, and to Tilman Frasch, South Asia Institute of the University of Heidelberg without whose knowledge and help, some of the murals would have remained unidentified. Moreover, and as the reader will soon realize, the writings of both of them have proved to be extremely precious while working on this project. I am particularly grateful to Klaus Bruhn, Freie Universität Berlin, for actively helping in preparing the index. My thanks are due to Günter Heil who provided us with some missing photos in our documentation. I also have a debt of thanks to Sabine Mangold for her help in handling the Japanese sources. Of all those who have crossed my path, and whose impact on my life has at times proved more than expected, all my gratitude and feelings go to my husband, Joachim K. Bautze: this book would have never seen the light without the enduring work which he conducted under the vaults of the Pagan monuments, and without his unflagging support ever since. His participation into this project is a reminder that there can be no real art history without the proper photographic documentation to back it.

We are both particularly thankful to U Nyunt Han, Director-General of the Department of Archaeology, Government of Myanmar, and U Aung Kyaing, Deputy-Director of the Department of Archaeology, Government of Myanmar who sustained our work at Pagan with keen interest, warmth and friendliness.



Map 1 General map of Burma

Chapter I

THE MURALS OF PAGAN, PRESENTATION

When the rising sun cast nine and a half foot-steps of shadow on Monday, 16 December 1236, the hollow-pagoda was enshrined. It was finished after twenty-eight days... On the walls of the hollow-pagoda were painted 14.619 Buddhas and scenes from 550 Jātakas. *The painting starting on Friday, 7 March 1237 and completed on Monday...*[1]

The tradition of adorning religious monuments with mural paintings is indeed ancient, dating back to the early times of Buddhist art in India where remains from the second century BCE can still be admired in cave nine at Ajanta. Later on, in the late fifth or early sixth centuries, more caves were painted in this site and at Bagh, constituting the basis for the further development of Indian mural painting in the north as in the south, from where it penetrated respectively into Burma and Sri Lanka.

Traces of this tradition have been preserved in literature. Beside the passage from the *Vidhurapandita-jātaka* (*jātaka* 546) quoted below in Chapter V, the *Mahāvaṁsa* or 'Great Chronicle' of Sri Lanka which dates back to the fifth century CE, includes a long description of a relic chamber in the Mahāthūpa, the 'great *thūpa*' constructed by the king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi at Anurādhapura. The perennial nature of this description can easily be appreciated since it includes subjects still present on the walls of Pagan.

> *On a throne...erected to the east of the Bodhi-tree, he placed a shining golden Buddha image seated...Mahābrahmā stood there holding a silver parasol, and Sakka carrying out the consecration with the Vijayuttura shell, Pañcasikha with his lute in his hand, and Kālanāga with the dancing girls, and the thousand-handed Māra with his elephants and train of followers ...*

and around this three-dimensional composition,

> *the events during the seven weeks he commanded them to depict duly here and there in the relic-chamber, and also the prayer of Brahmā, the setting in motion of the wheel of the doctrine, the admission of Yasa into the order, the* pabbajā *of the Bhaddavaggiyas and the subduing of the Jaṭilas; the visit of Bimbisāra and the entry into Rājagaha, the accepting of the Veḷuvana, the eighty disciples, the journey to Kapilavatthu and the (miracle of the) jewelled path in that place, the* pabbajā *of Rāhula and Nanda, the accepting of the Jetavana, the miracle at the foot of the mango-tree, the preaching in the heaven of the gods, the miracle of the descent of the gods, and the assembly with the questioning of the thera, the Mahāsamaya suttanta, and the exhortation to Rāhula, the Mahāmaṅgalasutta, and the encounter with (the elephant) Dhanapāla; the subduing of the (Yakkha) Āḷavaka, of the (robber) Aṅgulimāla and the (nāga-king) Apalāla, the meeting with the Pārāyanakas, the giving up of life, the accepting of the dish of pork, and of the two gold-coloured garments, the drinking of the pure water, and the Parinibbāṇa itself; the lamentation of gods and men, the revering of the feet by the thera, the burning (of the body), the quenching of the fire, the funeral rites in that very place, and the distributing of the relics by Doṇa.* Jātakas *also which are fitted to awaken faith, did the noble (king) place here in abundance. The Vessantara Jātaka he commanded them to depict fully, and in like manner (that which befell beginning at the descent) from the Tusita heaven to the Bodhi throne.*
>
> *At the four quarters of the heaven stood (the figures of) the four Great Kings, and the thirty-three gods and the thirty-two (celestial) maidens and the twenty-eight chiefs of the Yakkhas; but above these devas raising their folded hands, vases filled with flowers likewise, dancing devatās and devatās playing instruments of music, devas with mirrors in their hands and devas also bearing flowers and branches, devas with lotus-blossoms and so forth in their hands and other devas of many kinds, rows of arches made of gems and (rows) of dhammacakkas; rows of*

sword-bearing devas and also devas bearing pitchers ...[2]

A number of inscriptions at Pagan refer to these paintings, mentioning that 'on the walls were beautifully painted the scenes from the 500 *Jātakas*',[3] and that 'on the walls of the hollow-pagoda were painted 14,619 Buddhas and scenes from the 550 *Jātakas*', referring thus to the numerous tiny images of the Buddha which cover the walls and ceilings of some monuments.[4] Or elsewhere, we read that the footprints of the Buddha, *buddhapadas*, or Buddhas of the past were illustrated.[5]

Pagan as seen by historians and art-historians

Until the various publications of Gordon H. Luce and his collaborators—among whom special mention must be made of U Ba Shin—the murals and temples of Pagan had been known for nearly fifty years through the work of Th. Thomann published in 1923 on the basis of documents collected during an earlier journey in 1899. Although much criticised by Gordon Luce because he had frescoes removed from some temples, the German author took a genuine and indeed enthusiastic interest into the paintings of the site, publishing panels which have in the meantime partly disappeared, such as those of the entrance to temple 1846.[6]

Gordon H. Luce approached the murals from a completely different point of view; he was a historian, not an art historian, and the paintings held his attention inasmuch as they were labelled, or could be integrated within the history of Pagan and of the Buddhist thought therein. His writings, as far as they concern our present subject, are dominated by two major ideas. On the one hand, he argued a Mon ancestry for the art of Pagan, denying any other impact, whereas, on the other hand, he acknowledged the spiritual debt of Pagan to Sri Lanka, again ignoring the presence of other aspects of Buddhist religious thought in the city.[7]

As a matter of fact, the murals are very often identified through short glosses written below them. The language in which these legends are written can be old Mon, as in the Patho-htamya or the Kubyauk-gyi in Myinkaba. In some cases both old Mon and Burmese are used, in the Loka-hteik-pan, for instance. But what can the languages used in the glosses tell us about the origin of inspiration for these murals and the monuments containing them? Let us briefly consider the case of the Kubyauk-gyi in Myinkaba, built by Rājakumār, shortly after Kyanzittha's death, around AD 1113 and taken to illustrate the 'Old Mon style',[8] although the 'style' of its paintings clearly relates to the contemporary school of east India.[9] Similarly,.the Loka-hteik-pan, built in the early part of Alaungsitthu's reign, around AD 1120, has glosses which are mainly in archaic Burmese although the upper rows of the *jātakas* painted on the western wall, the series of names of the Buddhas of the past on the north wall and the top lines on the eastern wall, are labelled in Old Mon.[10] Here again, the style and the iconography of the Buddha's life clearly find their inspiration in east India.[11] Temples 2157 and 2103 follow the model of the Loka-hteik-pan and were probably built some years later. The style of their paintings still betrays the Indian connection. However, the mural in temple 1150 clearly illustrates local stylistic trends, which are best reflected in the monuments of Minanthu and can be globally dated to the thirteenth century. In short, the language used in an inscription cannot imply that the labelled paintings reflect the style of the country of origin of the language. On the contrary, the men who conceived these temples and their ornamentation combined cultural elements tracing their origin back to different countries, and we may even conjecture that they did so quite intentionally.

Thus, exception being made of the publications of Nihar Ranjan Ray and Paul Strachan,[12] the attention paid to these murals remained essentially a philological one: these murals existed only on condition that ink-glosses painted below them gave them an identity. For instance, the magnificent twenty-eight trees painted on the inner wall of the Kubauyk-gyi in Myinkaba are even not mentioned in the monograph devoted to the

monument by Gordon H. Luce and U Ba Shin, and as a result, the presence of images of the twenty-eight Buddhas of the past has simply remained unrecognised up to now, as if paintings could only have a right to existence by virtue of an accompanying inscription. Being interested above all in the identification of specific programmes or scenes, these authors failed to consider the painted ornamentation in its totality, nor did they ask themselves what purpose might be served by the presence of particular programmes in very specific positions within the temple. Moreover, given this approach to the paintings we can understand just how little the interest was ever taken in their style. Nihar Ranjan Ray was in fact the first to deal with stylistic issues, recognizing the strong similarities shared with the north Indian school of paintings[13] known through the Buddhist illuminated manuscripts, but his work was no more taken into account than that one of S.K. Saraswati, who underlined the similarities between certain architectural structures at Pagan and in Bengal.[14]

But in no other publication, has the beauty, the delicacy of some of the murals been better extolled than in the book published by Toru Ono, gorgeously illustrated with the superb photos by Takao Inoue,[15] a book which underlines the elegance, vivacity and richness of inspiration displayed by the paintings. Ten years later, in 1988, Nina Oshegowa and Sergej Oshegow wrote a general but very precious introduction to the art of Burma, attempting to approach the paintings of Pagan from a new standpoint, listing the iconographic topics and relating them to their position within the monument, while presenting a short but clear description of the iconographic programmes. And in 1989, Paul Strachan published the first book exclusively devoted to the history of the art and architecture of Pagan.

Pagan, the international city

For Luce, the presence of glosses written in Mon justified identification of the murals as 'Mon frescoes'. However, the situation was much more complex. No Mon fresco has survived, if there ever were any, whereas a close study of the Pagan murals reveals strong stylistic similarities with the remains of pictorial art in north-east India, e.g. the illuminated Buddhist manuscripts or cloth paintings. The Buddhist monasteries from Bihar and Bengal are mere ruins, destroyed by time and people, but the Tibetan evidence as well as fragmentary remains prove that they were once gorgeously painted.[16] And, as a matter of fact, a close inspection of the iconographic programme of the Pagan murals reveals that part of it draws its source from north-east India, which in turn proves the existence of intensive relations between Pagan, located at the south-east limit of the Bihar-Bengal area and this region. Pagan appears as a place of transition, where Indian models, both contents and forms, were assimilated and transformed into a genuinely local formulation. This transformation coincided with the introduction of new spiritual values from Thaton: as a matter of fact, both movements were contemporary, starting in the reign of Anawratha (1044-1077), but waxing stronger during the reign of his successor, Kyanzittha (1077-1113). The former ruler very consciously contributed to the establishment of the Buddhist church at Pagan, drawing on the original authorities, fetching texts from Thaton—not, apparently, in a particularly Buddhist spirit according to the Chronicles, since he invaded the city with his army—and borrowing models of images from Bihar. As a matter of fact, not only do the murals of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries betray their relation to the stylistic and iconographic Indian production, but the king's name is also encountered on votive tablets which depict the Buddha and include the Buddhist credo written in Sanskrit and in the Devanagari script of north India, as found on practically any image from Bihar or Bengal:

> *The things which arise from a cause, of these the Tathāgata has stated the cause. Of these also there is a means of suppression. Such is the teaching of the great Ascetic.*[17]

On the contrary, the tablets from Kyanzittha's reign are bilingual, including the same

inscription and its version in Pali and in Mon script.[18]

The peak of the Indian and Mon 'influences' is reached in the first half of the twelfth century in monuments built around Myinkaba or east of old Pagan, after which they start to dilute. Often, moreover, the very same monuments, such as the Abe-ya-dana or the Kubyauk-gyi, for instance, combine the ground plan traditionally considered to be of a Mon origin and murals of Indian style. A strong political and religious will was quite evidently behind the phenomenon, backing this construction policy, and paving the way for Pagan to be seen as the repository of Buddhism after 1200, when political changes in India had driven Buddhism from its homeland.[19]

Given the intensity of construction in the early period we may surmise that a fairly large community of workers used to live at Pagan. Similarly, all these temples were completed with murals, which involves the presence of numerous painters. Study of these murals suggests that different ateliers were at work in the same period, and more particularly in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The monuments of the late eleventh and the twelfth centuries which were constructed near the old city, present an ornamentation painted in the north Indian style although the iconography does not relate to the Vajrayāṇa Buddhism then blossoming in eastern India—but on the other hand the fact remains that we have virtually no knowledge of the architecture and its painted or carved ornamentation in this period in India.

It has generally been assumed that King Anawratha brought back Pali texts from his campaign in Thaton in 1070, and that these texts would have served as works of reference for the ornamentation of the temples. Gordon Luce considered him, however, to be a 'zealous champion of Buddhism...[who] was Mahāyānist rather than Theravādin.'[20] His arguments are based on the existence of political relations with Arakan and east Bengal, and more precisely with the State of Pattikera, the capital of which was located at Lalmai in what is now the district of Comilla in south-east Bangladesh. In this context, Luce also 'suspected' that Abeyadana, the wife of Kyanzittha, who succeeded to Anawratha on the throne, originated from Pattikera,[21] and would have fostered the construction of the Abe-ya-dana, a 'Tantric Mahāyānist' temple, whereas her husband had the Nagayôn, a 'Theravāda temple', constructed. From now on, all the temples of Pagan would reflect the Theravāda. However, apart from the fact that one should try to avoid the term 'Tantrism' used whenever unexplained scenes with couples or fantastic creatures are depicted, although such scenes can usually be explained within the Indian tradition of couples or beautiful young women depicted at the door or on the façade of the temple it also emerges quite clearly from careful observation of the paintings that images of Bodhisattas as we know them in north-east India were introduced with the mere function of acting as protectors of the shrine. Hence, their actual identification is practically irrelevant: they recall the Bodhgaya temple where Maitreya (Metteyya) and Avalokiteśvara used to stand on either side of the main entrance, forming with the main Buddha image, a triad which is frequently illustrated in stone sculpture in India, but also in Burma.[22]

Furthermore, in the light of the constant use of other iconographic programmes which find their source in Bihar, such as depiction of the eight great events of the Buddha's life, it becomes evident that the ornamentation of the temples partly originated in Bihar.[23] The homeland of Buddhism remained the major place of reference as far as the worship of the Buddha was concerned. Bodhgaya was the centre of the Buddhist world,[24] and hence the main aspect of the Buddha reproduced in every temple as cult image, showing him seated under the Bodhi tree and touching the earth with the fingers of his right hand rather than meditating, as he is traditionally depicted in Sri Lanka. This does not imply that the Buddhism practised at Pagan also borrowed the values upheld by the main Buddhist school of Bihar, i.e. Vajrayāṇa.

On the contrary, these images borrowed from the north as a reminder of the Buddha's land are integrated within a cosmologic understanding of the Buddha that developed in a Theravāda context.[25] However, the development had taken place from around 1050, during Anawratha's reign, up to *c.*1200, during the reign of Narapatisithu, who sent a mission to Bodhgaya to get a more precise picture of the political situation in Bihar at that time, when Buddhists were practically thrown out of their homeland and the entire north was swept over by Muslim armies. Thus this sovereign paved the way and constituted solid foundations for a new perception of the city in the thirteenth century as the centre of the Buddhist cosmos, serving as a substitute for Bodhgaya. Just as Bodhgaya had been a place of confluence where monks from all over the Buddhist world met, Pagan now took over in this position: the young Burmese monk Chapaṭa came back to Pagan in AD 1181, after a sojourn of ten years in Sri Lanka, accompanied by Sīvalī, Tāmalinda, Rāhula and Ānanda, four monks who originated respectively from Tamralitthi, i.e. Tamralipti or Tamluk in Bengal, Cambodia, Sri Lanka and Kancipur, i.e. Kanchi in south India.[26] The construction of the Mahabodhi Temple at Pagan in the first half of the thirteenth century represented a decisive contribution to this situation.[27]

The close connection between the kingdom of Pagan and Sri Lanka has been repeatedly underlined but, here again, we must take account of the scantiness of information bearing on artistic similarities,[28] the only real, material indication of an artistic influence from the island on Pagan probably being the image of the Tamani-hpaya, where the Buddha displays the gesture of meditation, generalized in Sri Lanka whereas the Pagan Buddha displays the earth-touching gesture.[29] Vijayabāhu I, king of Sri Lanka, had led a long war against the Coḷas, with the tragic consequence of decimating the Buddhist community of monks—a situation that forced the king to ask Anawratha to offer his country 'a chapter of five monks to perform the ordination' with the aim of starting afresh a new community. As it turned out, it was not five, but 'twenty pious elderly priests' with their books who were sent to Sri Lanka.[30] As a token of gratitude, Vijayabāhu 'sent to foreign parts lacs of pearls and gems'.

Now, if the Buddhist community of Sri Lanka suffered such a paucity of members one can hardly suggest that it could have stylistically influenced the then blossoming Pagan. Moreover, what has survived from the murals in Sri Lanka before the eleventh century reveals a completely different inspiration in its iconography and style, which relates to the south Indian tradition. Such is also the case of the murals in the Tivanka pilimage at Polonnaruva, which betray strong stylistic similarities with south Indian paintings.[31] This shrine, constructed by Parakramabāhu I (1153-1186), was restored by Parakkamabāhu II (1236-1271); hence the murals might belong to any of these periods. However, their programme and its particular distribution within the monument belong to the tradition which had emerged in the Pagan murals, and in particular in the presence of *jātakas* in the entrance hall, which is a permanent feature at Pagan and which found here, in Sri Lanka, its first rendering. They are narrated in a continuous development, as in the Lokahteik-pan, and include, moreover, some of the last ten previous lives of the Buddha.[32]

The temples and their murals

The work of Gordon Luce and some of his colleagues, in particular U Ba Shin, has resulted in something of a consensus, contemplating a fundamental Mon source in the making of Pagan culture in the eleventh century. Be that as it may, however, the situation was far from being that simple, as we know nowadays. The kings of Pagan viewed their city as the political centre of Burma, and we need only mention the inscription of the Kubyauk-gyi at Myinkaba, chiselled in four languages, as evidence of this.[33] At the same time, the city's economic life related it to a number of regions and, indeed,

Buddhist community took over and sustained these various inter-regional systems of relationships, placing Pagan at the centre of an international network. This position is reflected in the murals, both in their iconography which integrates elements from various regional traditions, and in their style and ornamentation, in part drawing inspiration from different artistic sources.

The 'Mon' temples are located within the old city of Pagan or south of it.[34] Named *gu* or 'caves',[35] these monuments include a dark shrine surrounded by a corridor and preceded by an entrance hall. To this first group belong temples like the Abe-ya-da-na, the Kubyauk-gyi Myinkaba, the Naga-yon and the Patho-hta-mya, as well as the Mye-bon-tha and the Alopyi-gu-hpaya although, in both latter cases, the central shrine is replaced by a central core around which four images of the Buddha are carved or installed in niches. A second group includes smaller monuments such as the Loka-hteik-pan, temples 1148 to 1150, temple 1152 built south of the village of Myinkaba, and temples 2103 and 2157 east of the city of Pagan. Their ground plan is simple, showing a sanctum preceded by a vestibule. Both groups of monuments belong to the twelfth century and display murals painted in the Indian style. The axial ground plan of the small temples undergoes transformation in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: the vestibule is included within a forepart clearly distinct from the shrine itself while side windows or entrances may be added. As for the shrine itself, it similarly includes side wings, or even three such extensions with a further one being then added behind the cult image which thus acquires a central position. A third category of temples shows the ground plan shaped as a Greek cross consisting of a central core with four identical wings symmetrically distributed around it. Such temples can be very small, each of the wings having just enough room for a few persons, like temple 421 for example, while others are monumental, belonging to the south-east Asian tradition of the temple-mountain. Such is the case of the Ānanda, which displays four tall wooden images of the Buddha fixed on the four faces of the central core, as in the above-mentioned Mye-bon-tha and Alopyi-gu-hpaya.[36]

Specific topics were illustrated on the walls of the Pagan temples, where they are distributed according to very strict rules. The main theme is evidently the historical life of the Buddha and his previous existences (Chapters II and III). Another frequent theme is the series of the twenty-eight Buddhas of the past, who sit below their respective trees, displaying either the gesture of Enlightenment or the gesture of teaching (Chapter IV). A third category of motifs include: a) iconographic topics painted on the ceiling, such as the Buddha's footprints, the universe and Lake Anotatta seen in the vestibule hall, or the large lotus always painted on the keystone of the shrine; b) divine figures distributed on the walls, such as the Bodhisattas, the gods Sakka and Brahmā (Chapter V), or a number of ornamental motifs, creepers, architectural structures, for example (Chapter VI). These three categories occupy specific positions within the monument. In the temples of the first group the paintings covering the walls of the corridor around the shrine remain invisible, such is the darkness of the place.[37] As we have seen, the *buddhapadas* are painted on the ceiling of the entrance hall, the *padma* on the vault of the sanctum. Similarly, Lake Anotatta and the universe are usually painted on the walls or the ceiling of the entrance hall. The life of the Buddha has been variously depicted as we shall below. It either forms a group of eight scenes, i.e. seven painted scenes distributed around the central stucco image of the sanctum or distributed in isolated panels painted in the wings around the sanctum, following a special order (the life usually starts in the north wing and is distributed around the central image in the solar direction), or it includes many more scenes painted side by side, as in the Patho-hta-mya and the Kubyauk-gyi Myinkaba.

Although our main concern will be with presentation of the iconography of these murals, be it canonical or ornamental, even a glance reveals profound differences in the rendering

of the forms, the treatment of narrative scenes and the selection of the decorative motifs. Thorough-going study of these motifs, in the broad sense of the word, would doubtless help to propose a relative chronology of the murals. As a matter of fact, the decorative ornamentation should be carefully analyzed and its evolution traced; from the short survey made here, it would appear that this evolution could help suggest a chronology for the monuments, as indeed it also could in other cultural contexts—in Khmer art, for instance. Moreover, the formal changes affect the entire impression made by the paintings, thus contributing to transform perception of the inner space of the temple.[38]

The life

The life of the Buddha constitutes a major theme illustrated in practically every monument of Pagan.[39] Three various renderings of the biography can be broadly distinguished, tracing their origins to different traditions. However, these distinctions do not affect the composition in illustration of the various moments, which remains identical in all the monuments of the site and find its source in east India.

The first rendering of the biography of the Buddha is encountered in monuments built towards the end of the eleventh or in the early part of the twelfth century south of old Pagan, such as the Kubyauk-gyi and the Mye-bon-tha, or within the city walls, such as the Patho-hta-mya. In the Kubyauk-gyi, the life occupies a series of large square panels distributed in two rows high on the inner and outer walls of the corridor (pls 1, 33, 38, 47-48, 53-57). Further scenes were also introduced in the shrine. Occupying the main part of the lower frieze in the upper part of the interior walls we see the ascent to Mount Meru, where the Buddha would teach the Abhidhamma to the gods and his mothers, the events of Sāvatthi, which preceded this ascent, the sojourn on the mountain and the visit paid to him by his disciple Sāriputta, and, to conclude with, the descent to Saṅkassa. The importance of this part of Sakyamuni's life would never fade, but it was to undergo profound change, as illustrated in the late Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi (see below).

plate page nos
left column
(right column)

Even larger panels, but at eye-level, are seen in the Patho-hta-mya, distributed either between the windows on the outer wall or on the inner wall (pls 31, 35, 44), and again in the shrine. In both temples, the Kubyauk-gyi and the Patho-hta-mya, the distribution of the panels is the same; the panels are large, set side by side, and form sequence readily followed while walking around the shrine. Completely different in their organization are the murals of the Mye-bon-tha, where the entire entrance hall was painted with scenes drawn from Sakyamuni's life, but the distribution of the panels is not structured as strictly as it is in the other two monuments (pl. 215). In fact, scenes of various sizes form a sort of gigantic jigsaw puzzle and reflect a typical Indian tradition of covering large spaces, as we know from the fifth century wall-paintings of Ajanta. Scenes are also distributed around the central cult image, a composition recalling the structure encountered in the second treatment of Sakyamuni's life.

(36, 40, 47)

(164)

Among these moments selected from Sakyamuni's life, the seven weeks spent at Bodhgaya after the Enlightenment hold a particular position in the Patho-hta-mya, heralding their importance in the later temples (see below). This topic, like various others—the twenty-eight Buddhas of the past or scenes drawn from actual Singhalese texts in the Kubyauk-gyi, for instance—finds its source in texts of the Pali canon, which were most probably imported from Sri Lanka in the second half of the eleventh century. The *Buddhavaṃsa* or 'Chronicles of the Buddhas' remained the basic source for illustration of the Buddhas of the past in the murals (Chapter IV).[40] The *Nidānakathā* or 'Story of the origins', a fifth century text, which constitutes an introduction to the collection of *jātakas*, the previous birth stories of Sakyamuni, tells the life story of Sakyamuni; this text, which also includes a detailed rendering of the seven 'stations' or weeks after the Enlightenment, was the reference book used in illustration of the life of Sakyamuni at the Kubyauk-gyi and the Patho-hta-mya.[41]

9, 39, 43, 48-49, 54-57

1 The multiplication of images at Sāvatthi, interior wall of the corridor, east face, south-east corner, Kubyauk-gyi

The second treatment of the biography finds its origin in east India, where its largest surviving achievement is the image of Jagdishpur near Nālandā,[42] and shows at the centre of the composition the image of the Buddha displaying the *bhūmisparśamudrā*, i.e. the Buddha touches the earth with the tips of the fingers of his right hand, calling the earth Goddess. This event constitutes the most important moment of the series of the 'eight miraculous deeds', and in Pagan the large image of the Buddha illustrating it also constitutes the main image of the sanctuary, carved in bricks then covered with a layer of stucco, which was subsequently painted (pls
(12) 2-4). It is also abundantly clear that the art of Pagan drew its inspiration from the
(13) neighbouring areas and not from Sri Lanka where the main cult image shows the Buddha with the gesture of meditation.

(11) This sculpture is surrounded by seven scenes painted on the back wall and distributed in a very strict manner. As such, this programme is present in rather small temples, comprehending only the cella and a short vestibule at the entrance. Such are the Loka-hteik-pan (pl. 2), or the temples 2103 and 2157 (pls 3-4), both located north of the road going from old Pagan to the Schwe-zigon pagoda, thus between the villages of Taung-bi and Wetkyi-in. A similar programme is introduced in temple 1077, north of Thiripyitsaya, where some of the eight great events and some of the seven stations are combined to two *cetiyas*, framing a depiction of Mount Meru.[43] The composition evolves in the course of time, as testified in monuments 421, south-west of Wetkyin-in, and 505 in Minanthu (pl. 7). Variants are, moreover, introduced in temple 298 and in monuments of Sale, such as the Yanzatthu-hpaya (temple 92) (pls 8-9), located near the larger temple Shin-bin-sar-kyo, attributed to Anawratha (Aniruddha), and monuments 99 and 101 (pl. 6), built outside the city.

In India, where only sculptured testimonies

survived, or at Pagan, the scenes are not distributed according to the chronology of the events, but according to visual rules of symmetry. Thus, the only scene where the Buddha lies, i.e. the Parinibbāna, tops the composition above the large carved Buddha, the following two scenes show the Buddha standing and either taming the wild Nālāgiri or descending from the heaven of the thirty-three Gods (pls 59-60, pp. 58-59). These scenes are followed by depiction of the two moments where the Buddha reveals himself as supreme teacher and which are located at Sarnath and Sāvatthi (pls 42-43, pp. 46-47), whereas the last and lowest level brings together two scenes which do not fit with any of the other scenes, namely the birth and the sojourn in the forest of Pārileyyaka. The topic of the 'eight great miraculous deeds' or *aṣṭamahāprātihārya*, emerged in the course of the Gupta period in north India, but it is in Bihar from the eighth century onwards that it was widely illustrated. These 'miracles' or events took place in eight renowned pilgrimage sites, and we may surmise that the increased production of images illustrating this iconography relates to the existence of a particular pilgrimage route linking together all these sites[44] whereas certain other places where the Buddha had performed miracles fell into virtual oblivion.

The large image at Jagdispur, in the close vicinity of Nālandā, can be dated to the tenth century, while remains from a similar stele from the twelfth century were recovered at Lakhi Sarai. Moreover, stelae from south-east Bangladesh illustrating, also in considerable detail, the same iconography belong to the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[45] The murals at Pagan are contemporary, since the Loka-hteik-pan is dated toward the end of the eleventh century or beginning of the twelfth century, and a similar date can be ascribed to the murals in temple 2157, which reflects the luminous style of the Loka-hteik-pan. Without speaking of an 'Indian influence', we should rather consider that the presence of this iconography at Pagan reflects the location of the site at the easternmost

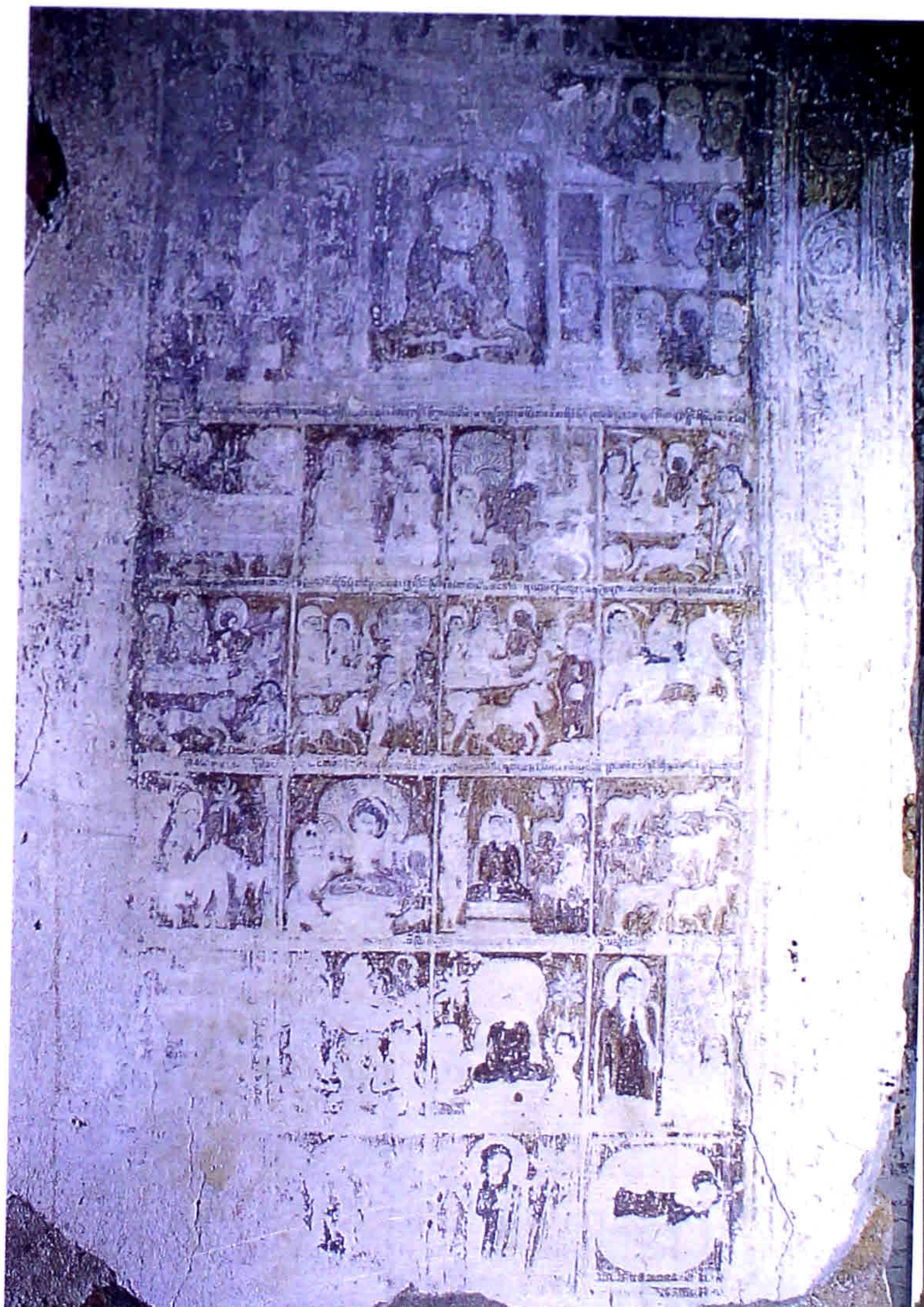
2 Cult image, south wall, Loka-hteik-pan

limit of a large geographical and cultural region which was evidently centred on Bihar, and more particularly on the region of Nalanda-Bodhgaya. When considering the geographical origin of all the images comprehensively, i.e. not only the sculptures and the painted depictions of the Buddha's life in the murals at Pagan, but also illustration of this topic in cloth-paintings collected in Tibet, we are led to conclude that the most detailed versions, including scenes from the seven weeks after the Enlightenment or moments from the youth of the Buddha, for instance, were produced outside Magadha, the core of Bihar, as if there was a

3 (left) Cult image, west wall, monument 2103

4 (right) Cult image, west wall, monument 2157

5 *(left) Buddha surrounded by scenes of his life, south wall of the shrine, monument 473*



6 *(right) Scenes of the Buddha's life, east wall, north niche, Sale, monument 101*

7 Buddha surrounded by scenes of his life, east wall of the west entrance, Ka-tha-pa-hpaya (east)

need to recreate the life, to re-enact this dramaturgy. The distance from the region where the Buddha had been active, and indeed from a number of other places visited by him in Uttar Pradesh or south Nepal, afforded the perspective to achieve an overall comprehension of the life, while stressing the need to rescue this life from oblivion far away from the homeland. These images acted as geographical and historical perception of the Buddhahood.

Unlike the Loka-hteik-pan, the small monu-
10 ments 2103 and 2157 (pls 3-4) open towards the east, like most of the monuments in the area, all of them being thus oriented toward the Schwe-zigon, the greatest *thūpa* built at Pagan by Anawratha in the eleventh century. The first temple preserves the composition of the Loka-hteik-pan although the panels are already much smaller in comparison with the large Buddha image. The painted programme of temple 2157 is similar to that of temple 2103 but includes, moreover, as in the Loka-hteik-pan (pls 131-2, pp. 109-10), the attack by Māra and his troops and their subsequent defeat (pl. 133, p. 111). Only some monks remain from the depiction of the final demise which appeared painted above the image of the Buddha. Four *thūpas* are distributed above and below the six side scenes, the lower right one being worshipped by two *nāgas*. Identification of the latter remains uncertain, but they recall of the Cūḷāmaṇi and the Dussa *thūpas* painted on the eastern wall of the Loka-hteik-pan above the large scene where the Buddha instructs his mother and the gods on Mount Meru (pl. 49, p. 50).

In the western cella of temple 421, a monument with four cellas aligned with the four cardinal points standing approximately at the centre of the Pagan area, the biography sees a more complex treatment. The other three cellas likewise include a main stucco image but the walls around them do not display the Buddha's biography. Moreover, two small chambers are attached to the western cella, a second feature enhancing its difference from the remaining three. The murals on the back wall of the western cella have much faded, but we can still identify the programme, which includes, symmetric to the Parinibbāna, the cremation of the Buddha—a depiction which appears in some other monuments of Pagan.[46] Below this upper level, on either side of the now missing image, two parallel rows of rectangular panels are painted. The outer row includes the other moments of the set of eight great events, or even adds to it the dream had by Māyā, mother of the future Buddha—a topic usually ignored at Pagan. As for the inner row, it shows six scenes which evidently constitutes the Burmese 'touch' for

8 (left) Scenes from the Buddha's life, wall behind the cult image, Sale, temple 92

9 (right) North wall and entrance, Sale, temple 92

this mural. Below two *thūpas*, four panels (or
(12) probably six but the lower part of the painting is much erased)[47] show the Buddha seated and displaying the gesture of meditation. These four or six panels together with the central image illustrate the seven stations which the Buddha took in the weeks following his Enlightenment and form a typically Burmese topic, which is also illustrated by the 'andagu' slabs,[48] but is not encountered as such in the neighbouring region of India on similar stelae.[49] The space allocated to the depiction of the eight great events has been reduced to allow space to the seven stations, both themes sharing the central larger image of the Buddha shown at the moment of his Enlightenment. A similar treatment is encountered in the small temple 473 at Minnanthu where the painters distributed likewise the main seven, i.e. six stations in fact, events and the seven, i.e. six, on either side of
11 the two side standing Buddhas (pl. 5).

A later development of this chequered structure retained for the illustration of the biography of the Buddha is encountered on the side walls of wings in the small temple 101 at Sale.
11 Although now much defaced (pl. 6), the murals show a chequered structure akin to the composition of *jātakas* panels (Chapter III). This illustration relates to some rare murals of the thirteenth century at Pagan, whereas most of the monuments include a simplified version of the life which is reduced to the two sets of the major eight events and the seven weeks, as seen below.

Dated in the thirteenth century, the Ka-tha-pa-hpaya east, bearing the number 505, is located at Minnanthu, a village situated in the south-eastern quarter of Pagan. Its ground plan, which is oriented towards the east, differs from the previously mentioned temples: it includes in particular, a large entrance wall containing three doors, while the main cella is also open on three sides. The central image is set against a wall built behind the western opening. All the walls have been covered with murals. For our present concern however, it is the large painting of two metres fifty in width by nearly three metres fifty in height covering the western wall that holds the greatest interest (pl. 7). It shares its iconographic programme with the murals in the sanctuary of temple 421, but also includes elements unnoticed in this smaller structure, such as the tower painted above Sakyamuni and the now much erased large panel below the latter where Māra is still seen profiled, shooting his arrows at the Buddha, while a large indistinct face occupies the centre of the composition.

Another interesting feature which this painting shares with the mural of monument 421 is its position within the temple, since in both cases it faces west. A possible explanation for this position is that the land where the Buddha actually lived lies west of Burma. These panels would thus constitute at the same time both a summary of the Buddha's biography appropriately positioned in the westernmost part of the monument, and a mirror of what had actually taken place in the west.

The painting in the Ka-tha-pa-hpaya east is much destroyed since it is directly exposed to the outside; the lower part of the painting is completely erased, and in recent years graffiti have seriously damaged the panel. Only shadows remain of this mural, a pale remembrance of what must have been a gorgeous visual prayer to the Buddha.

The central image sits below a *śikhara* around which *devatās* fly; two Bodhisattas images that only survived through their outline, stood on either side of the Buddha around whom twenty-two panels are distributed. This composition is strongly reminiscent of the sculptures from south-east Bangladesh and of some twelfth century thankas where not only the central Buddha but all images on the frame sit within a temple.[50] Some of these thankas were recovered from Tibetan libraries while others were found at Khara Khoto, which shows how widespread the composition observed in monument 505 was in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[51] The Indian *śikhara* is preserved among the murals of Pagan, for instance. It is also to be seen above the images painted in

the Nanda-ma-nya (pls 39, 41, 245) or in the Wetkyi-in Kubyauk-gyi (298) or in the Thambula-hpaya (pl. 168),[52] but usually the deity sits under a wooden monument with superimposed roofs, backed by a tree (pls 165, 167).[53]

Here again, *thūpas* are depicted in the upper part of the painting, most probably being the same four monuments reproduced in temple 2157. In the absence of any gloss we can only speculate about the identification of these four *cetiyas*. The number four reminds us of the directives given by the Buddha himself in the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*:

> *There are these four places, Ānanda, which the believing clansman should visit with feelings of reverence. Which are the four? The place, Ānanda, at which the believing man can say:- 'Here, the Tathāgata was born!' is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence. The place, Ānanda, at which the believing man can say:- 'Here the Tathāgata attained to the supreme and perfect insight!' is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence. The place, Ānanda, at which the believing man can say:- 'Here was the kingdom of righteousness set on foot by the Tathāgata' is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence. The place, Ānanda, at which the believing man can say:- 'Here the Tathāgata passed finally away which leaves nothing whatever to remain behind!' is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence. These are four places, Ānanda, which the believing clansman should visit with feelings of reverence.*[54]

But the presence of the two *nāgas* worshipping the *cetiya* in the lower right corner of the mural in temple 2157 recalls of one of the eight original monuments constructed over the relics of the Buddha, which was built at Rāmagrāma. Some twenty years after the demise of the Buddha, 'the great Kassapa' worried that the relics would not be preserved in safety in the eight kingdoms and thus decided to convince the respective rulers to part with them.

> *He went to the seven kings, who gave to him all the principal relics, keeping beside themselves only what was strictly necessary to be deemed an object of worship and goodwill towards Buddha's person. One exception was made in favour of the relics deposited in the village of Rama, because they were in future times to be carried to Sri Lanka and placed in the great wihara or pagoda.*[55] *43, 45, 196* *131*

Some centuries later, when king Asoka decided to open the *thūpas* in order to find the relics, his men were faced with the *nāgas* at Rāmagrāma (Rama) who were guardians of the monument and prevented its opening.[56] *129* *130*

Of course, this monument, like the other three in the murals, could at the same time be one of the eight original *cetiyas* and convey, through their number, a clear reference to the words of the Buddha; so much was observed in the Kubyauk-gyi Wetkyi-in (temple 298) before part of the paintings had been removed.[57] Sixteen rectangular panels, some now destroyed, are distributed in the corners of both walls of the entrance hall, representing six of the eight great events analysed below, the seven stations of the Buddha at Bodhgaya and three more events. The three pairs noted on the back wall behind the central image in the previous monuments are distributed over the south wall while the seven stations are depicted on the north wall.

In monuments 1844 and 1846 eight panels are distributed over the walls of the side niches in the shrine; although most of the scenes can readily be recognized, some remain enigmatic. The birth scene is excluded from this group, finding its place in the mural painted on the right wall of the entrance, symmetric to the war over the relics, both scenes being introduced in the frame around the main panel which shows a woman and her servants worshipping the image of the temple—a rather unusual scene which contain a portrait of the donor. As for the scenes distributed within the shrine, one shows, for instance, another woman kneeling within a wooden construction (pl. 165), and a *(129)* number of Buddha scenes show him standing, in all case within a wooden palace or a construction topped by a *thūpa*. Given the absence of striking elements, no clear identification of the scenes can be made.

In monuments 421, 473 or in the Ka-tha-pa-hpaya east, the panels are much smaller than

in the Loka-hteik-pan, no doubt in consequence of the decision to extend the iconographic programme but also reflecting a stylistic trend to be seen in most of the temples at Minnanthu, where the scenes are multiplied and form frames around large central depictions of the Buddha. As a result we find series of usually three superimposed panels which are distributed in the
(11) shrine, on the side walls and/or in the four corners, as in temples 577, 585 or 1152 (see below).

The Yanzatthu-hpaya (monument 92) and temples 99 and 101 at Sale belong to the category of small temples built with a cella and an entrance hall. All three of them show a variant of the composition observed in the Pagan temples. In the first temple, the traditional pattern of having six scenes from the great events distributed around the main image is preserved, the six panels being set in the corners between the side recesses and the back wall of the shrine,
13 close to the Buddha image (pl. 8), while a second set of six superimposed panels depicting the six stations, is distributed in two groups of three, in the corners of the side recesses with
13 the front wall (pl. 9). The first two groups are painted above a depiction of a Bodhisatta while the second are displayed on the images of Sakka and Brahmā, respectively to our left and right (Chapter V). In this temple also the final demise is introduced in the upper part of the left side wall, facing a representation of the Buddha reclining on the cosmological waters
66-67 (pls 69-70).

A further variant is to be found in temple 99, where only four scenes are distributed close to the Buddha image, in the back corners of the side recesses; these include the scenes which are always depicted in the upper two rows in traditional treatment of the subject, i.e. the taming of the wild elephant Nālāgiri facing the descent from the heaven of the thirty-three gods and the Sāvatthi miracles paired with the first predication. The two remaining scenes, i.e. the birth and the sojourn at Pārileyyaka, are displaced in the front corners, where they are combined with two of the six stations. As in temple 92, these two series are supported by a representation of Brahmā, to our left, and of Sakka to our right. As for the painters of monument 101, here they are seen to have isolated events like the descent from the heaven of the thirty-three gods or the final demise on the side walls of the niches, but they also introduced a detailed rendering of the life prior to the Enlightenment on the east wall of the north niche (pl. 6). These variations noted in the programmes of the temples of Sale are most probably attributable to the distance from Pagan. Indeed, the monks seem to have found a new impulse in their perception of the temple and its ornamentation.

The third treatment of the topic is met with in most of the temples dating back to the thirteenth century. It is related to the previous rendering of the biography, including the set of eight events, which is some cases may be extended with illustration of the seven stations. The panels occupy a specific position on various walls of the temples. The life starts in the north wing and proceeds following the direction of circumambulation, i.e. panels are painted on the east, then south and finally the west walls. Apart from the distribution of the birth and death scenes in the north and/or west wings, which is related to a traditional pattern, the distribution of the other scenes is clearly very much a matter of visual impact, preserving the pairing of scenes observed when seven great events are all painted around the central Buddha image.

This programme is more particularly exemplified in cruciform temples, or in temples with two lateral wings and a fore-part distributed around the shrine, at Minnanthu and in the surrounding area. The Ajja-gona-hpaya (monument 588), which is located north of Minnanthu and east of the so-called Winido group, is an example of one such temple where we observe that, beside the central Buddha in stucco displaying the gesture of Enlightenment, only six painted scenes are preserved, i.e. the taming of the wild elephant and the descent from the Heaven of the thirty-three Gods (passage), the two scenes of teaching at Sārnāth and Sāvatthi (south wing), and the birth and

Parinibbāna (north wing). The absence of the Parinibbāna is more probably attributable to loss over time rather than an initial choice not to have it illustrated. When preserved, the scene is usually painted either in the north or west wing, which does not mean that is was excluded from the programme. It might indeed have been painted in a higher position, at the level of a lintel for instance, and since simply have faded away.

This programme, which is observed in a large number of temples, underwent certain variations. Further moments of the Buddha's life can be added to it, as for instance in the very same monument 588, where, of four small panels painted on the walls of the side niches in the entrance hall, one illustrates the Buddha instructing his mother and the gods on Mount Meru, a scene which, albeit part of the biography, had never belonged to the cycle of the eight great events. It is coalescent in this part of the monument with paintings likewise reflecting the idea of a cosmological Buddha, such as the universe and Lake Anotatta, or the sermon on the mountain, and by virtue of its location there recalls monument 1150, where it adorns one of the walls of the entrance.

Although very badly defaced, the ornamentation in the nearby monument 586 reveals a similar distribution of the eight panels.[58] It is likewise to be seen in temples 558 (Zan-thi east),[59] 845 (Ku-tha-hpaya) or 447 (Le-myet-hna-hpaya), 676 (So-hla-wun-hpaya) and 711 (Let-put-kan), all three of which share the same distribution of scenes.

In the seven weeks which followed his Enlightenment, the Buddha passed through seven different places around the tree of Bodhgaya—the 'seven stations'—reduced to six in illustration since the very first week was spent under the Bodhi tree, which means that the cult image refers simultaneously to the event and to the week thereafter. This enlarged programme combining six stations and six main events are painted on the same walls; usually the main event is depicted on the outside, towards the windows or the entrances and the station towards the inner side. We meet this enlarged programme in monuments 447, 539, 664 or 711. In temple 477 the main events are painted in the entrance hall, framed by the *jātakas*, while scenes extracted from the seven stations are to be seen in the northern and western passages to the shrine (pls 36, 249).[60] *(41, 200)*

In monuments 577 and 585 an interesting variant integrates a group of six panels, all showing the Buddha at his Enlightenment with details allowing for identification of the various moments. In the Nanda-ma-nya (monument 577) in Minnanthu, the two panels in the south niche include a depiction of Māra shooting at the Buddha and being comforted by his daughters on the west wall (pl. 245), and the daughters on the east wall (pl. 39);[61] in the lower part of the panel on the west wall of the north niche,[62] devotees kneel on either side of a stand sustaining a jewel, while the east wall displays the two gazelles and the large *dharmacakra* in this position (pl. 41); as for the two remaining panels painted in the passage to the entrance hall, they show flames appearing behind the main Buddha and forming a frame, and thirty-two tiny images of the Buddha sitting in a pavilion below a tree.[63] It is fairly evident to see that if both panels in the south niche allude to the Enlightenment, those in the north niche refer to the first predication and those in the passage to the miracles at Sāvatthi. *(196)* *(43)* *(45)*

What might appear to be a simplification of the iconography, but reflects in fact a new understanding of the Buddha and his ideas, is also encountered in monument 585, located in the vicinity of the Nanda-ma-nya-hpaya, where six Buddhas touching the earth with their fingers are distributed.[64] Most of these scenes would remain unidentified were there no gloss written below them indicating that events in the Buddha's life were here depicted, that find no representation elsewhere in the murals of the site.[65] The two images in the entrance hall illustrate a visit of the Buddha at Kapilavatthu and the story of the sixteen pupils of Bāvarī headed by Ajita who, having questioned the Buddha, became his disciples.[66] Two further

10 South wall and niche, Nanda-ma-nya-hpaya

(37, 64) panels are painted in the south niche, illustrating, on the east wall, a visit made by the Buddha to Vesāli, most probably when, having heard that the city was possessed by evil
60 spirits, he preached the *Ratana-sutta* (pl. 61),[67] and, on the west wall, the donation made by
61 King Pasenadi (pl. 62).[68] In the north niche, the panel on the west wall tells how King Mahā-Kappina 'who [was] a famous archer was longing for Buddhahood', and 'decided to
(44) become a monk and crossed the river to approach the Buddha'. In search of the Buddha, he and his followers crossed three rivers, as seen on the mural, before becoming Mahā-Kappina
62 Thera (pl. 63).[69] Facing it, the panel on the east
47 wall shows the miracles at Sāvatthi (pl. 46). The last two panels painted in the west vestibule, thus behind the cult image, depict the
(18, 20) parinibbana and the dreams of the Buddha reclining on the cosmological waters (pls 32, 66).

This programme exemplifies the possibility that existed to depart from the established iconographic scheme while retaining the traditional mural composition. Scenes not generally depicted are usually distributed in a secondary position within this overall composition. For instance, like monument 585, the Maung-yon-gu (temple 600) includes a rare representation of the dreams of the Bodhisatta portending the approaching Enlightenment (pl. 40).

Aware that this programme differed from the actual depiction of the biography, the artists introduced readily identifiable scenes from the life on the walls of the shrine in both monuments 577 and 585. Series of three superimposed panels are painted on the walls of the sanctuary, more precisely in the four corners (pls 10, 12).[70] They are smaller and clearly

occupy a position which is secondary to the panels with the Buddha displaying the *bhūmisparśamudrā*; furthermore, they are related to the second treatment of the Buddha's life analysed above. The particular treatment of the iconography in monument 585, which clearly evolves from the one encountered in the Nanda-ma-nya, illustrates how, though limited by strict rules, the artists and the monks could innovate with the representation of scenes otherwise never shown or not represented the way they are here (pls 46, 61-63). At the same time, in both monuments a new way is open to the understanding of Buddhahood, universally present. Here the very same image is reproduced all around the central image, murals reflecting the icon like facets of a diamond. *(47, 60-62)*

The very same approach is present in temple 505, which, beside the large mural on the west side already mentioned above, includes eight panels distributed on the side entrance walls to the cella and the back and front entrance

11 Cult image, west wall, Nanda-ma-nya-hpaya

walls. Here again we see the Buddha at the moment of his Enlightenment, each depiction being surrounded by a varying number of tiny illustrations of *jātakas*, the sum of which makes the traditional number of 550. It was no longer felt necessary to introduce details of the biography allowing for differentiation of the panels since the life is painted on the western wall.

The multiplication of images

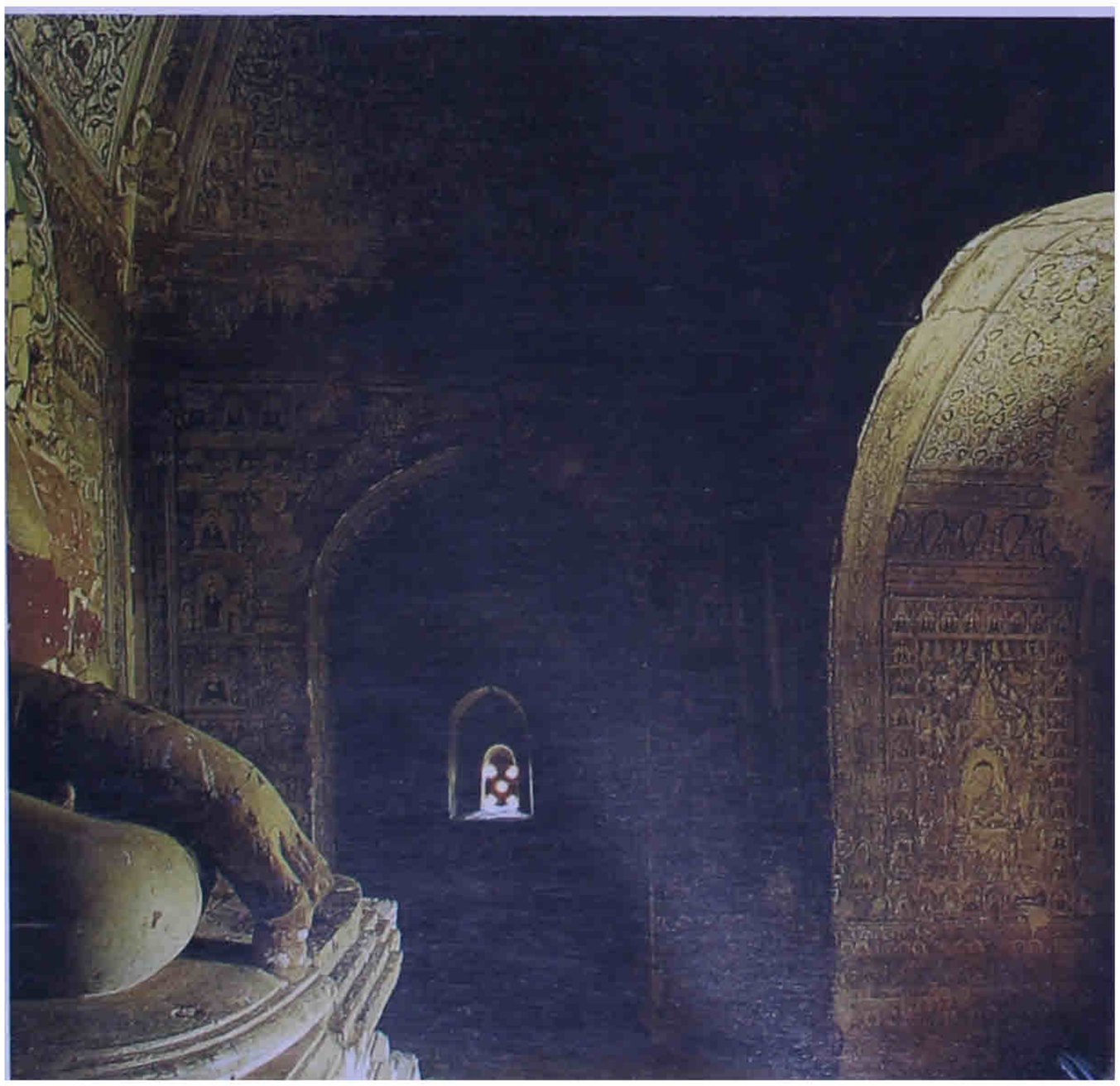
From the above points it emerges clearly that the Buddha iconography at Pagan finds its source not only in north-east India but also in Sri Lanka, although stylistically the debt is exclusively to north-east India. Nonetheless, a clear selection of topics was made to meet specific religious or spiritual requisites, and some iconographic types were practically ignored at Pagan although present at Bodhgaya, which the monks used to visit. Such is the case of the image of the bejewelled Buddha. Although known through a number of wood carvings, this representation is rarely encountered in the murals of Pagan. Isolated examples are for instance observed in the Winido-hpaya (pl. 13) and nearby monument 645 (pl. 14), where the crowned Buddha presents the earth-touching gesture,

(22), (13)

(130)

(186)

12 North wall and niche, Nanda-ma-nya-hpaya



seated in a shrine and attended by monks.[71]

Although the cult image shows the Buddha at the time of his Enlightenment, the Buddha as a teacher, with both hands displaying the gesture of turning the wheel of the Dharma, is probably the image most often encountered in the murals of Pagan. As such, it can be related to specific events of the life, the first predication at Sārnāth or the great miracle of Sāvatthi, for instance, or a number of other predications of *suttas* which the Buddha held, such as those illustrated in the Kubauyk-gyi or the Patho-htamya. There are, however, more abstract renderings of the Buddha viewed as a preacher that cannot be related to specific moments of his life but, rather, help to visualise the monument as perfect illustration of the Buddhist teachings. These representations are usually painted in the upper part of the walls, as in the Abe-ya-dana (pl. 15), or in temple 92 at Sale (pl. 9), or on the ceilings, as at the Tatkale-hpaya (pl. 167), or in the shrine of the Kubyauk-gyi at Myinkaba.[72]

However, in the Alopyi-gu-hpaya, some 650 inscribed panels were originally painted on the walls of the shrine, all showing the Buddha teaching *suttas* being venerated by four monks carefully following his words (pls 234-5). Similarly, rectangular panels all repeating the same scene showing the Buddha attended by two monks and preaching, but without any inscription, cover most of the walls of the shrine of the Winido-hpaya (pl. 242, p. 193). This topic of the teaching of the *suttas*, or the repetitive representation of the Buddhas of the past, may possibly have inspired the multiplication of Buddha images on the inner walls of temples located in particularly at Minnanthu. For instance, in the Thambula-hpaya (pl. 91, p. 87) and the Ka-tha-pa-hpaya west[73] the outer walls of the corridor are covered over with large images of the Buddha displaying the *dharmacakrapravartanamudrā* and the *bhūmisparśamudrā*. Similarly, they also appear painted, albeit on a smaller scale, on the western wall of the entrance hall of temple 505 or cover the upper part of the walls of the ground floor of the Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi, where the

13 (above) Bejewelled Buddha, west wall, shrine, Winido-hpaya

14 (right) Bejewelled Buddha, south ceiling, vestibule entrance, monument 645

Buddhas display the teaching gesture while sitting in a pavilion protected by a tree (pl. 86, p. 83). With their size and position within the monument, these images are differentiated from the tiny repetitive images painted on the ceiling of a number of monuments.

A further development is to be seen in the two-storied Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi, also located at Minnanthu, which was probably constructed in the first half of the thirteenth century.[74] The entrance hall of the upper-storey is painted over with six superimposed rows of images of the Buddha displaying the gestures of predication, meditation and teaching respectively.[75] Similarly, both walls of the corridor around the central core of the ground floor are covered with representations of the Buddha teaching, those on the outer wall with bare right shoulder. These images amount to twenty-eight—a clear reference to the twenty-eight Buddhas of the past—and are surmounted by smaller similar images (pls 86, 89, pp. 83, 85), while eight images on

15 Buddha teaching, upper part of the exterior wall, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya

the inner wall and others in the wings follow various representational patterns (pls 16-17).[76] This rather confused programme with the gesture of predication predominant, includes, as we have seen, depiction of the Buddhas of the past and the defaced life painted in the four vestibules of the cross. It is manifestly that various themes intermingled in this temple, the series of the Buddhas of the past overlapping the multiplication of images at Sāvatthi.

The flamed Buddha

Another particular perception of the Buddha is illustrated with the flamed Buddhas displayed in a number of temples such as the Thambula (pl. 18) or the Thein-mazi (pls 19, 218). The Buddha stands irradiating flames which cover all the space around him. Although this theme most probably derives from the twin miracle of Sāvatthi, these images clearly cannot only be explained away as mere illustration of the event. The Buddha is here perceived as a being of light, as best exemplified by the murals of the Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi (pls 16-17) briefly mentioned above. This monument is adorned with fine, well-preserved stuccoes and conserves damaged mural ornamentation differing from that seen on other monuments in the area. The old pattern of distributing scenes from the life of the Buddha is only partly preserved: moments from the eight miraculous events and the seven stations are painted in the passage between the entrance hall and the central corridor and in the other three wings radiating from the central core. However, we do not find the distribution of one set towards the windows and one towards the corridor. Some scenes are ignored, such as the Parinibbāna, or do not appear clearly, like the first predication, for instance. Some scenes remain anonymous, like the two teaching scenes on the southern wall of the west wing. Some can be clearly identified, such as the taming of the wild elephant and the offering of the *madhu* (honey) by the monkey—two scenes facing one

24, 25, 169

16 Flaming Buddha images, east wall, north wing, Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi

17 Flaming Buddha, interior wall, corridor, Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi

another in the south niche, close to the windows—whereas the two panels towards the corridor show the Buddha meditating, most probably during two of the seven weeks following upon the awakening. The Buddha standing near a tree on the east wall of the north wing is probably shown in the second week following upon the Enlightenment (pl. 16). The birth scene, now defaced, and the double miracle of water and fire were both painted on the north wall in the western wing. As a matter of fact, the miraculous deeds which the Buddha accomplished at Sāvatthi are reproduced in various places: not only in the western wing, but also on the northern wall of the passage between the entrance hall and the corridor, where representation of these miraculous deeds faces the predication on the summit of Mount Meru followed by the descent to Saṅkassa, and

18 Flaming Buddha, entrance hall, east wall, north part, Thambula

on the eastern wall of the north wing, the most complete illustration including the various deeds performed at that place; similarly, the panel facing this mural includes the very same three large Buddha figures, but without the elements allowing for clear identification (i.e. the flames, the heretic, the mango-tree) (pl. 16). The same composition is seen on the north-west side of the inner wall of the corridor where all three Buddhas are depicted with long thin flames irradiating from them.

Moreover, a number of large flamed images of the Buddha, seated or standing, and all worshipped by gods and monks, also appear painted on the inner wall of the corridor.[77] The presence of flames irradiating from the entire body of the Buddha clearly relates this type of image to the miraculous deeds of Sāvatthi, but we may wonder whether selection of this particular iconography was not made to meet another criterion, to illustrate the Buddha irradiating light erect at the very centre of the universe. Over and above the fact that these images evoke the fire miracle of Sāvatthi, the overall presence of flames recalls the 'six glories', or rays of different colours irradiating from the body of the Buddha, or the golden light pervading the universe at specific moments in the Buddha's life, such as his birth or his awakening. A lengthy description of the six rays of light is provided in cosmological texts such as the *Traibhūmi Braḥ R'vaṅ*, written in 1345 by Lidaiya, king of Sukhodaya, when he was still viceroy at Sajjanālaya.[78] These 'six glories' appeared when Sakyamuni had become awakened again at the time of the twin miracle at Sāvatthi, and when the Buddha left the heaven of the thirty-three Gods:[79]

> *So the Buddha found depth for his mind and, while he was considering the superlative law, the purple, gold, red, brown, glittering and white rays of glory proceeded from his divine body. From wherever his body was dark, as from his hair, beard, and the pupils of his eyes, the rays were dark. The glory of his body was like a golden carriage, or like the farina of flowers. The rays glittered, as a fan made of a precious stone glitters when it is waved to and fro, or like an embroidered robe. The golden rays went forth from the golden colour of his skin. The glory of his body was like a golden carriage. From his flesh and blood, which was of a red colour, the red rays issued. They were like a beautiful ruby, softer than velvet, as if he had been painted with vermilion. From his teeth and bones, the rays were white, like a most beautiful silver fan which glitters as it is waved, or like a variety of white flowers. From the soles of his feet and the palms of his hands the brown rays issued forth, like a reddish-brown precious stone. From his forehead the glittering rays issued like lightning, or like the reflection of the sun's rays from a mirror or from the purest gold.*[80]

The entire universe glistened like gold when

> *the rays penetrated beneath the earth, water, and air, until they entered nothingness. The six glories also ascended through the six heavens in succession, and through the first nine Brahman countries.*[81]

On the ground-floor of this monument we also see a number of tall standing Buddhas painted as if walking from right to left and followed by the assembly of monks, to be welcomed and worshipped by laymen or deities. The pattern evidently copies the descent from the heaven of the thirty-three gods, an event which took place at Saṅkassa and it is difficult, if not impossible, to recognize here depiction of precise moments in the Buddha's life; moreover, these standing and walking Buddhas are painted at the level of the twenty-eight Buddhas of the past, all seated below their respective trees while predicating to the monks arrayed all around them (pl. 89, p. 85). Most probably the same group of twenty-eight Buddhas was also painted on the upper part of the walls of the wings, where each Buddha sits below his own *thūpa* in the shade of the tree.

The overall impression given by the paintings of the Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi is that of a transitional iconographic programme: the various types of images, either the standing Buddhas descending from heaven, or the flamed Buddhas displaying the gesture of predication, are all painted either in the wings or in the corridor along the central core of the building where four tall stuccoed images of the Buddha were originally carved. The programme of the life scenes was modified with the precise purpose of underlining the importance of the miraculous deeds that took place at Sāvatthi and Mount Meru. The presence of three Buddha images, two standing on either side of the seated figure, not only narrates a story—the arrival of the Buddha at Kosambi before he sits below the mango-tree and then shows himself in his full glory—but also serves to illustrate the multiplication of images which took place there, all the images being framed by flames. The attention paid to this event is also illustrated by the direct representation of the miracle of fire and water in the western wing; usually only flames irradiate from the body of the Buddha whereas, on this panel, water flows down from the lower part of his body (pl. 45).[82] *(47)*

19 Flaming Buddha, south wall of the passage to the shrine, Thein-mazi

The cosmological Buddha

Whereas these various temples underline that the Buddha is a being of light, another aspect of the Buddha has been illustrated, showing him reclining on the cosmic waters in a scene which accompanies the depiction of the final demise or Parinibbāna. Both scenes are indeed related: the small temple 92 at Sale (pls 69-70) shows *(66, 67)*

the Parinibbāna on the tympanum on the left
(44) wall and facing it, on the right wall, the Buddha reclining on waters, as if to show that at the moment when He expired, He went back to the cosmic waters which carried Him, returning to the only 'true immortality'[83] which He had only momentarily abandoned. Moreover, flames irradiate from the Buddha reclining on the waters in temple 585, as if his still burning body were already lying on the cosmic ocean where the four continents are dis-
37 tributed around the Buddha (pl. 32).[84] Thus, clearly, illustrating in fact the five dreams of the Bodhisatta on the eve of achieving the awakening, this scene perfectly exemplifies the assimilation of the Buddha to the universe, as we shall see below. In the Winido-hpaya (pl. 20), the scene with the deceased Buddha is partly framed by the water motif, as if combining the two moments in a single image, while the Buddha lies on a bed made of elegantly drawn scrolls.

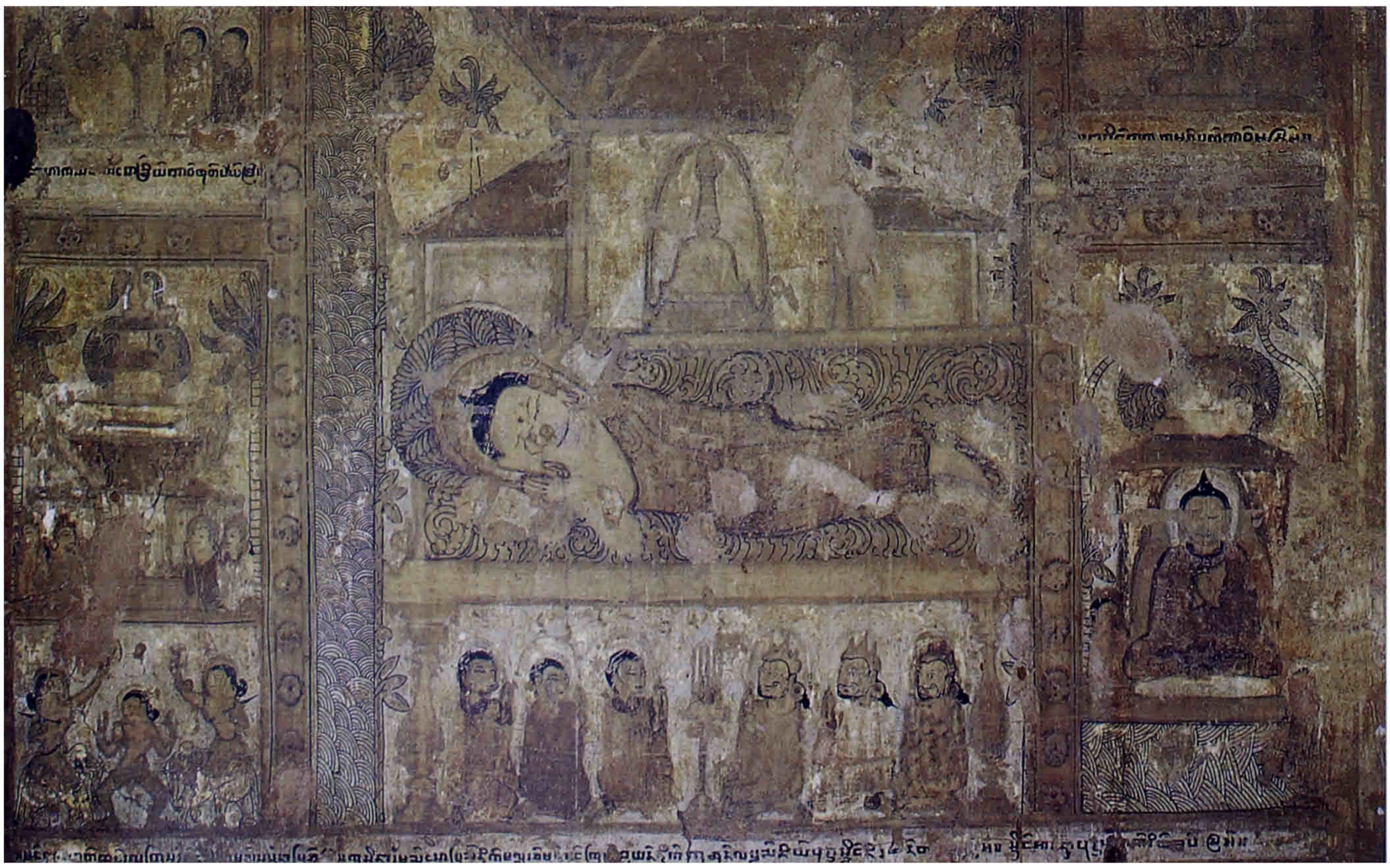
In the Maung-yon-gu the scene is painted below the depiction of Sakyamuni being
(53) protected by the snake Mucalinda, who seems himself to arise out of these cosmological waters (pl. 40). These paintings again relate to a particular understanding of the Buddha as a cosmological being arising out of the cosmic waters, which is particularly well explained through the first of the five dreams mentioned above when

> *it appeared to him that the earth was his sleeping place, with the Himawonta for his pillow. His right hand rested on the western ocean, his left on the eastern ocean, and his feet on the southern ocean.*[85]

Clearly the Buddha is here the entire universe.

As reflected in the ornamentation of the *buddhapadas*, or Buddha's footprints, the Buddha is the universe which is made of golden earth and sustained by these cosmic waters, themselves supported by a layer of wind resting on emptiness.[86] Further motifs allude to the presence of the cosmic waters, such as the depiction of the universe and of Lake Anotatta, and both of them are closely related to the Buddha. Moreover, the Buddha himself can sit on Mount Meru surrounded by its successive girdles of mountains and seas in temples 798 and 1150 (pl. 52).[87] In fact, the relation of Lake

20 The Parinibbāna and other scenes, north wing, east wall, Winido-hpaya



Anotatta to the universe is similar to that of the universe to the *buddhapada*—it is a part of it. Moreover, just as depiction of the universe is centred on a mountain, namely Mount Meru, Anotatta is one of the seven great lakes found in the Himavanta, and is itself surrounded by five mountains. Thus, what is depicted above our head or on the walls of the monument, are the mountains as sources of the water which either surrounds our continent or flows over it.

Historical narratives

The Buddha is also made present through the illustration of stories which in many cases still remain unidentified. This is particularly true of the murals painted on the side walls of the windows in the Abe-ya-dana and the Kubyauk-gyi at Myinkaba. Some are identified through their glosses,[88] but we also find examples illustrating tales that have yet to be identified. However, general observation of the paintings, whether with the surviving labels or without them (as is especially the case in the northern window-embrasures), reveals the overwhelming presence of rulers, kings and gods. Some tales relate directly to the Buddha himself, presenting Pasenadi, for instance, or to one his earlier birth stories, like the tale of King Vedeharāja in the *Mahosaddha-jātaka*, or King Ādāsamukharāja in the *Gāmaṇicaṇḍa-jātaka* (pl. 21), or to historical characters such as the early Coḷa king, Eḷāra.[89] But in some cases, unfortunately unidentified, it is the image of the Buddha which is worshipped in scenes which in fact shed light on the actual worship of Buddha images at Pagan in the twelfth century, as indeed some of the inscriptions also do.[90] In one of the northern widow-embrasures, for example, the image is carried by four men in a long procession of men and dancing women, the king immediately following the image, holding a fan above it (pl. 22). Another mural shows how a king crosses the waters to visit and worship an image of the Buddha (pl. 23).

In the Kubyauk-gyi we also encounter murals depicting events from Sri Lankan history which are narrated in the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the *Cūḷavaṃsa* up to the reign of Vijayabāhu I, a contemporary of Anawrattha and Kyanzittha, who died in 1114.[91] The murals on the north wall of the passage to the shrine relate events from Asoka's life.[92] We may thus recognize from left to right in pl. 28: Asoka, seated within *(32)*
a pavilion and surrounded by his court, 'Kāla, king of the Nāgas, [who] creates a likeness of the Buddha, and shows it to King Dhammāsok', Asoka taking the relics in a composition which *28*
reproduces a *maṇḍala* with a *thūpa* in the centre of the composition, which is worshipped by two *28*
persons, one of them the emperor himself and in the fourth panel, the king dedicating a monastery, again in a square composition. The great emperor is also seen on the north face of

21 Ādāsamukharāja in the Gāmaṇi-Caṇḍa-jātaka, *northwest window, east wall, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba*

22 *(above) Worship of a Buddha image, north-east window, west wall, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba.*

23 *(left) Worship of a Buddha image across the waters, north window, east wall, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba*

24 The first Council, interior wall of the corridor, north face, north-west corner, Kubyauk-gyi Myinkaba

the interior wall of the corridor, paying homage to Moggaliputta Tissa (pl. 27), a scene which is shown in a sequence of panels depicting the first three councils (pls 24-26).

While the presence of Moggaliputta Tissa as counsellor to the great Indian emperor clearly betrays the link with the Singhalese tradition,[93] the panels showing Asoka, protector of Buddhism relates most probably to the Burmese tradition of glorifying Anawratha, who is substituted for the Indian emperor in the cosmological text of the *Lokapaññati*.[94] The importance of kingship is strongly underlined in the murals painted in the window-embrasures of the corridor around the shrine, whereas the murals painted in the side walls of the windows of the vestibule hall stress the position of women in the donations made to the community of monks. These female figures here are probably not just any woman but princesses of the court, which might reflect the importance of queens in political alliances and succession to the throne.[95] A similar conception is met with in the Alopyi-gu-hpaya, where the murals illustrate offerings and donations being made by human and divine beings to the Buddha or the community.[96]

The sources

While the muralists of Pagan drew their topics from various scriptural sources they also introduced iconographic programmes which find their origin in north India. Since the Buddhist temples of north India have disappeared, and since it is therefore clearly impossible to study their interior decorative and iconographic ornamentation, as far as the iconography is concerned we must rely on images produced in other mediums, and essentially stone carvings, bronze castings or manuscript illuminations. In this context, we see that the theme of the eight great events is most common from the ninth century onwards in Bihar,[97] from where it moved on to Pagan. The distribution pattern of certain themes most probably also finds its origin in India. For

25 *The second Council, interior wall, north face, west side, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba*

26 *The third Council, interior wall, north face, north-east corner, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba*

instance, the multiplication of images at Sāvatthi forms a pair with the sermon on Mount Meru and the descent from the heaven of the thirty-three gods, which followed this predication, on the west and east walls of the entrance vestibule in the Mye-bon-tha-hpaya. But both events were already to be seen facing each other in the murals of the side walls of the antechamber to the shrine of cave 17 at Ajanta, in India, towards the end of the fifth century.[98] Clearly, the ascent of the Buddha through his multiplied images in the sky and the descent from Mount Meru belong together. Another example shows that from the very beginning of Buddhist art, at Sanchi, the representation of the Buddhas of the past had always been positioned in the upper part of the ornamentation—a location which is preserved at Ajanta, and later on in eastern India,[99] and further east at Pagan. Besides the 'ornamental' decoration of the temples, the specific choice of its motifs and their particular distribution again find their source in the Subcontinent.

So much for the distribution pattern of iconographic and decorative topics, but it is to Pali texts that we must turn in order to understand the actual contents of some of these subjects. For instance, only series of five or seven Buddhas are known from India, whereas at Pagan, the Buddhas of the past amount to twenty-eight, thus following the *Buddhavaṃsa*.[100] Another evident example is provided by the depiction of the Buddha seated in a forest and receiving the *madhu* from the monkey; whereas the north Indian tradition locates this event in the city of Vesāli, the Burmese retained Pārileyyaka, near Kosambī, where he was served by an elephant, and both animals—elephant and monkey—are represented, although this panel still belongs to the traditional set of eight great events imported from eastern India. Formulas were directly introduced from this region while the content of the image could be transformed at will in order to conform to a different tradition.

Throughout South-East Asia and to the present day, the life of the Buddha has always been a favourite theme among the artists, illustrated in Burmese manuscripts from the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries[101] and finding in Burma its latest representation in the

27 Asoka paying his respect to Moggaliputta Tissa, panel following the previous one

'Illustrated History of Buddhism' which includes sixty-five paintings by U Ba Kyi and was published by the Young Men's Buddhist Association in 1953, to be reprinted by the Theravāda Buddhist Society of America in 1994. Contrary to what had so far been surmised, it would appear that Sanskrit sources might have also been used at Pagan in the rendering of Sakyamuni's life.[102] However, and although we cannot rule out the possibility that texts like the *Lalitavistara*, the *Buddhacarita* or the *Mahāvastu* were known, their impact remained extremely limited. A major text to have been read at Pagan was the *Nidāna-kathā*, the 'Story of the origins' which was written in the fourth or fifth centuries AD[103] and constitutes the introduction to the *Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā*, i.e. the stories of the Buddha's numerous previous lives, which are painted in practically every monument.[104] In the first part—'the distant epoch'—the *Nidāna-kathā* describes in detail how the Buddha Dīpaṅkara met the young ascetic Sumedha and prophesied that he would become himself a Buddha, and, like the *Buddhavaṃsa* or 'Chronicle of Buddhas', gives a detailed description of the following Buddhas who made the same prophecy. The text continues with the 'intermediate period', where the life of Sakyamuni is narrated up to the Enlightenment and concludes with the 'recent epoch' describing in detail the stations following the Enlightenment to end with the donation of the Jetavana by Anāthapiṇḍika to the community.[105] The text was probably used as a model for the ornamentation of the Patho-hta-mya and the Kubyauk-gyi in Myinkaba, as surmised by Luce.[106] Moreover, without being exclusively devoted to the Buddha's life, other canonical texts can include narration of events which have been illustrated at Pagan, such as the *Dīgha-nikāya* or the *Majjima-nikāya*, used in the shrine of the Patho-hta-mya.[107] The life of the Buddha definitely constituted a major interest in Pagan in that period, and a text known from later versions only, the *Paṭhamasambodhi*, might well have been written, at least partly, in this context, being compiled from various sources, such as the *Nidāna-kathā*.[108] Interest in the life of Sakyamuni never faded, and in 1773 a further biography, the *Mālāṅkaravatthu*, was written, various translations subsequently appearing, in 1853 by Bennett, in 1880 by Bigandet and in 1959 by Edwardes.[109]

A significant aspect emerging from study of the murals is that at Pagan the Buddha was perceived as a cosmological being, while the temple was felt to be a reflection of the universe. Such concepts have been present in Buddhism since the beginning of our era,[110] but they were clearly structured in a text like the *Lokapaññati* which must have been compiled on the basis of various Sanskrit sources in the eleventh or twelfth centuries in Burma—and most probably, we may surmise, at Pagan.[111] The cosmology described in this text, finds its most comprehensive and detailed description in the *Traibhūmi Braḥ R'vaṅ* or 'The Three Worlds', a work completed in 1345 by Phya Lithai, heir apparent to the throne in Sukhotai.[112]

And as mentioned above, chronicles from Sri Lanka, i.e. the *Mahāvaṃsa*, written around the fifth century and the *Cūḷavaṃsa*, which deals with the history of the island after this period,[113] were illustrated at the Kubyauk-gyi.

28 *Scenes with Asoka, as related in the* Mahāvaṃsa , *north wall of the archway to the shrine, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba*

Chapter II

THE MIRACULOUS LIFE OF THE BUDDHA

The birth

On that day, the trees were in full bloom, both the trunks and the branches; and amidst the branches and openings of the flowers large blue beetles and birds came out and flew around, singing melodiously. The whole garden was beautiful and as pleasant as a royal festival. When the queen, surrounded by her numerous attendants, saw the garden she had a desire to amuse herself for a while in it, and caused her bearers to take her there. When she had entered it, she descended from the palanquin and, accompanied, by her younger sister and supported on each side by her attendants, proceeded to the propitious sal-tree. When they arrived at the tree, the queen wished to take hold of a limb which was wholly covered with flowers and, as a young rattan bends in the fire, it bent down to meet her hand. The queen, taking hold of the limb with one hand and of her sister with the other, was seized in labour, upon which the young maids in attendance made a screen and put the men on the outside. As easily as oil glides from one golden cup to another, and with the dignity with which a priest descends from his pulpit, the boy arose from his cross-legged posture, and being perfectly free from all impurity, came standing into the world.[1]

plate page nos
left column
(right column)

While the miraculous conception of the future Buddha in the guise of a young elephant penetrating into the womb of his future mother, is extremely rarely depicted at Pagan—it appears on a badly preserved panel in monument 421, the illustration of the birth is present in practically every temple. The iconography of this moment, which took place at the full moon of Vesākha (April-May), goes back to the early centuries of our era, and illustrates the queen Māyā assisted by her sister on her left. The queen stands below the tree, a branch of which she holds in her right hand (pls 29-30). At Pagan, her feet are set side by side, whereas in India she crosses her legs with elegance.[2] Turning to the painting in the Lokahteik-pan,[3] we find a group of deities sitting in front of her, welcoming the new born infant. Four heavenly creatures play music and pour water[4] over the child, who is depicted twice: arising out of the right side of his mother, sitting in the position of the lotus while having both hands joined in front of the breast and, facing the group of deities, standing above a pile of six jars and a lotus. The gods who welcome him are evidently replicated images of Brahmā and Sakka, who appear beside a group of three devotees in the lower row.[5] Brahmā presents the white umbrella,[6] Sakka the alms bowl, both painted in the upper row while, below them, the second and third rows thrice display Brahmā, and thrice Sakka, all the figures holding a bowl in the same gesture of offering. This scene apparently links together two traditions: the south Indian, where the four Lokapālas were present at the moment of the birth, and the east Indian, where Brahmā and Sakka attend to the queen and the child. As also in south India, the

34, 35

> *four Mahābrahmās, pure in mind, came with a piece of gold-lace network, and, each, taking a corner, ...stood before the mother and received the child upon it*[7]

and

> *from the hands of the Brahmās, who held the boy on the gold-lace, he was received on a ceremonial robe by the four Great Kings and by them was handed over to the female attendants who took him on a piece of cloth which had*

29 The birth, north wall, Nanda-ma-nya

never before been used.[8]

The panel of the Nanda-ma-nya reflects a simplified iconography where the child stands alone at the feet of his mother while four gods, painted in a separated band below the mural, present offerings to the new born child (pl. 29).[9]

Releasing himself from their hands he stood upon the earth and looked towards the East. Many thousands of world-spheres became like a court-yard to him... In this manner he surveyed the ten directions consisting of the four quarters, the four sub-directions, the nadir and the zenith, and without seeing any one to equal him he took seven strides saying, 'Here lies the northern direction,'...[10]

The great renunciation, the tonsure

Accompanied by his loyal groom and servant Channa, Sakyamuni mounted his horse Kanthaka and abandoned the city of his father, Kapilavastu. It was night, all were sleeping in the palace, and in order to protect this departure and prevent all from being awoken by the sound of the hooves of the royal horse, 'the deities by their supernatural power muffled the sound of his neighing so that none could hear it and placed under his hooves, at each step, the palms of their hands.'[11] The gates of the town were opened by the goddess of the place and the future Buddha left behind him a world which he renounced forever.

Having arrived on the bank of the river Anomā, Sakyamuni alighted from horseback and asked Channa to go back to Kapilavastu with Kanthaka, taking with him his royal ornaments. The prince then thought,

These locks of mine do not become a monk. And besides, I see no-one who is fit to cut a Bodhisatta's locks. Therefore, I myself will cut them with my sword.' And taking the sword in his right hand and holding the top-knot with the diadem in his left he cut it off...The Bodhisatta took his top-knot together with the diadem and threw it in the air, saying, "If I am to become a Buddha, let it remain in the sky; if not, let it fall to the ground.' The topknot, which was plaited with gems, rose to the height of a yojana and remained in mid-air. Sakka, the king of the deities, beheld this with his divine eye and received it in a jewel casket the size of a yojana and founded the Cūḷāmaṇi (Crest Gem) in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.[12]

Then one of the great Brahmās named Ghaṭīkāra appeared, disguised as a hunter. He had been the friend of the future Buddha in a previous life and was now going to offer the Bodhisatta the 'requisites of a monk. The three robes, the bowl, the razor, the needle, the girdle together with the water-strainer.'[13] Ghaṭīkāra took the garments of Sakyamuni to heaven where he had the Dussa-thūpa built to enshrine them.[14]

And thus, after Channa had left him and Kanthaka had died broken-hearted, the future Buddha became a religious mendicant. Of that succession of small events starting with the

prince's decision to renounce the futilities of our world and preceding his life as a mendicant,[15] one maintained a major position in the depiction of the Buddha's life, namely this cutting off of the hair. On the north wall of the ambulatory of the Patho-hta-mya, this scene known as being the 'tonsure' is depicted between two windows (pl. 31).[16] The future Buddha sits, as he always does at that moment, holding his long hair in his left hand while cutting it with the sword held above the head in his right hand. The gods are present at the scene, Brahmā on his right and Sakka on his left, both holding a casket in which they will preserve the precious topknot, while a further large bowl is painted in front of the Bodhisatta. Flowers fall from heaven while wrapped in clouds, the gods rejoice.

That this scene was held to be a major event in this period, is also evidenced by the central position it occupies on thankas, for instance,[17] and indeed by the fact that it is also included in the depiction of the Buddhas of the past at Pagan. Such is the case for instance in the Hpaya-thon-zu where below each of the twenty-eight Buddhas, a frieze shows him abandoning his palace and cutting his hair, each Buddha being easily recognisable by his carriage,[18] or in the Nanda-ma-nya where the same composition is observed, i.e. the tonsures are depicted below the Buddhas of the past who display the gesture of predication.[19]

30 The birth, north wing, east wall, Ku-tha-hpaya

The way to the Enlightenment

Having thus renounced the pleasures of life, the future Buddha became a religious mendicant and joined a group of

> *five religious mendicants...*[who] *became his constant companions during the six years he was engaged in his great striving, and they served him attending to various duties such as sweeping the cell and so forth.*[20]

In this period, the Bodhisatta

> *who was determined to practise austerities in their most extreme form began to subsist only on one grain of sesame or rice a day. He even took to complete fasting.*[21]

But

> *realizing that the practice of such austerities was not the path to Enlightenment he went about gathering alms in villages and townships in order to revert to solid food, and he subsisted on it.*[22]

Disappointed, his five companions abandoned him, but they would meet him again when the time had come for the Buddha to preach.

And so, the Bodhisatta went his own way until, having

> *dreamt the five great dreams that night,* [he] *arrived at the conclusion, on examining their significance, that without doubt he would become a Buddha that day; and having attended to his bodily ablutions, on the elapse of that night he*

31 The tonsure, north wall of the corridor, Patho-hta-mya

> *went early in the morning and sat at the foot of that tree, illuminating the whole tree with his bodily radiance, awaiting the time of setting out for alms.*[23]

But what were these dreams? What they reveal, in fact, is the cosmological nature of that
(44) Bodhisatta once he becomes a Buddha.

> *What five? While he was still only an unenlightened Bodhisatta, the great earth was his couch; Himalaya, king of mountains, was his pillow; his left hand lay in the Eastern Ocean, his right hand lay in the Western Ocean, his feet lay in the Southern Ocean. That was the first dream...While he was still only an unenlightened Bodhisatta, a creeper grew up out of his navel and stood touching the clouds. This was the second dream that appeared to him...While he was still only an unenlightened Bodhisatta, white grubs with black heads crawled from his feet to his knees and covered them. That was the third dream...While he was still only an unenlightened Bodhisatta, four birds of different colours came from the four quarters, and, as they alighted at his feet, they all became white. This was the fourth dream...While he was still only an unenlightened Bodhisatta, he walked upon a huge mountain of dirt without being fouled by the dirt. This was the fifth dream...*[24]

Looking at the painting in the Maung-yon-gu (pl. 40), we see the Buddha reclining on those cosmic waters; the painter shows him, as traditionally the monk used to be depicted in a reclining position, but the overwhelming presence of the water all around the reclining Buddha, clearly refers to the first dream. Similarly, the creeper of the second dream grows out of his navel, and both dreams are clear reminders of Viṣṇu lying on the cosmic waters while a lotus arises out of his navel, supporting Brahmā.[25] As for the birds of the third dream, they are all painted, walking in the lower part of the panel: the four birds of different colours that fly from the four directions towards the Buddha standing at the centre of the universe, and miraculously turn white once they have reached this

point, recall of the system with the five Tathāgatas, where four are positioned in the four cardinal directions, each of a different colour, whereas the central Buddha Vairocana is white.[26] This cosmological structure is made evident through the presence of five rather than four birds in the paintings. A similar, but more luminous, version of the dreams is illustrated in one of the temples at Sale, where it faces the deceased Buddha (pls 69-70, pp. 66-67), another covers a wall in temple 585 (pl. 32), where representation of the dreams is more explicit: the Buddha lies in a large circle of water where the four continents are distributed, identified with their different shapes, each bearing a tree. Birds of various types are distributed at the four corners around the cosmic waters, flying towards the Buddha.[27]

Informed by her servant that the future Buddha had taken his seat at the feet of the tree, the young woman Sujātā

> *conceived the idea of serving the milk-rice in a golden vessel and had a golden bowl worth a hundred thousand brought to her, and wishing to put the milk-rice into it she tilted the vessel in which the food was cooked... She covered the bowl with another golden vessel and wrapped it with a cloth; and having adorned herself with all ornaments she placed that bowl on her head and went in all her splendour to the foot of the Banyan tree...and taking in a golden water-pot water perfumed with sweet-smelling flowers she walked up to the Bodhisatta and stood near him...Sujātā placed in the hand of the Great Being the milk-rice together with the bowl which contained it...saying 'Lord, accept what I have offered you and depart wherever you please. Even as my wish has been fulfilled may yours as well be fulfilled!'*[28]

This is the scene which is illustrated in the Kubyauk-gyi (pl. 33, p. 38) where the gloss below the painting reads that 'the Lord Buddha is about to blossom and become a Buddha'.[29] A group of six young women representing Sujātā and other women from her village offer the milk-rice and the perfumed water to the Bodhisatta while gods and divine beings make offerings and venerate him as he sits enthroned below the sacred tree.

The Enlightenment

This is the time chosen by Māra to send his army against the future Buddha. The scene is well known and, indeed, is the most often depicted, selected to symbolize the event of the Enlightenment: the god and his soldiers rush towards the Bodhisatta, and then abandon the scene, being defeated. As it transpired, the future Buddha

> *told Māra as he stood there claiming the throne... 'Māra, who will testify to your having given away in charity?' Māra stretched forth his hand in the direction of his army saying, 'All these are my witnesses'...Then said Māra to the Great Being, 'Siddhattha, who will testify to your having given in charity?'...extricating his right*

32 The dreams, west wing, north wall, monument 585, copyright G. Heil

33 The last meal, interior wall, east face, north side, Kubyauk-gi, Myinkaba

hand from underneath the folds of his robes he stretched it out towards the earth saying, 'Are you or are you not witness to my having given the seven hundred fold alms in my birth as Vessantara?' And the great earth resounded with a hundred, a thousand or a hundred thousand echoes as though to overwhelm the forces of Māra and saying as it were, 'I was your witness to it then'...Then...the elephant Girimekhala ...went down on its knees. The followers of Māra fled in every direction...[30]

This dramatic encounter between the Bodhisatta and Māra is the major element in the Enlightenment iconography and is usually illustrated in the upper part of the image, on either side of the Buddha's head or even above it (pls 131-2), or occupying a large part of the inner wall in the western corridor in temples of the early period (pls 129-30). The offerings made by the village women are more rarely seen. This event is here related to the moment when the Buddha touches the earth with his right hand, the gesture characterising the event of the Enlightenment. Moreover, among the six women kneeling in the foreground, it is very clear that the woman in the left corner offers the jar of abundance which is part of the iconography of the earth-goddess. As a matter of fact, the Indian tradition includes, beside the army of Māra, and the earth-touching gesture, the representation of Bhūdevī or Vasudharā, the 'Earth-Goddess' emerging from her realm and presenting this jar which symbolizes her fertility.[31] For the sake of symmetry, the painters introduced here a further woman in the right corner, holding a smaller jar before her. The earth-touching gesture is presented by all the Buddhas carved and stuccoed in the shrine of the Pagan monuments, it is also the gesture of the Buddha carved in the centre of small stone images where smaller scenes of his life are distributed around him.[32]

109, 110

107, 108

This is not, however, the usual way of presenting the Earth-Goddess in Burma and South-East Asia, for, we are told,

34 The earth-goddess, exterior wall of the corridor, east side, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya

Like a golden lightning darting from a red cloud, the right hand of the Bodhisatta issued from his robe, illuminated with the lustre of its nails of the colour of coral, like the trunk of an elephant, and ornamented with the sign of the Wheel. Pointing this right hand towards the Earth, he said 'O, Earth! I have realized the thirty Perfections and, in my existence as Vessantara, I have made the sacrifice of my wife and of my children, and I have distributed gifts by seven hundreds (of each) at a time; but I have no monk nor Brahman to bear testimony (to what I say), O, Earth, why dost thou not come to bear witness?' Then the Earth, unable to resist the power of the Bodhisatta's perfections, emerged from the ground under the appearance of a woman and placed herself before the Bodhisatta; and as if to say 'O, Great Man, I know that thou hast fulfilled the necessary conditions for the attainment of Supreme Wisdom, my hair is soaked with the water poured upon the earth to ratify thy gifts, and now, I will squeeze it out.' The Earth squeezed her hair and disappeared. The water flowed from her hair like the waves of the Ganges. Māra's hosts could not withstand the flood and fled...[33]

This narration extracted from a biography of the Buddha, the *Paṭhamasambodhi*, a text written in an unknown period and in an unknown region,[34] finds an echo in two rare representations of the Earth Goddess squeezing her hair, in one depiction seated in one of the caves painted on the outer wall of the Abe-ya-dana (pl. 34), in the other on the pedestal below the cult image in temple 101 at Sale (pl. 171).[35] *(133)*

The seven stations after the Enlightenment

As we have seen, once he had become a Buddha, Sakyamuni remained seven weeks in the vicinity of the tree below which this event had taken place.[36] This chapter of the Buddha's life found no systematic illustration in India. As a matter of fact, a few steles possibly depict some of the seven stations, but as a whole it was never a subject for sculptural representation. In Burma, on the contrary, it belongs to the common way of illustrating the Buddha's biography. Here, as noted in the previous chapter, six

35 *Multiplication of the images, interior wall, east face, south part, Patho-hta-mya*

panels are distributed around the central image of the Buddha displaying the gesture of touching the earth at the time of the Enlightenment. They illustrated six of the seven weeks, while the central image represents the first week
(43) when, having become a Buddha, 'the Blessed One sat continuously for seven days experiencing the bliss of emancipation'.[37]

Having spent the first week meditating beneath the pipal tree, he

> *rose into the air and performed the miracle of the double. The miracle performed at the seat of the great Bodhi, that performed in the assembly of his kinsmen or that performed before Pāṭikaputta, all of them were like the miracle of the double performed at the foot of the Gaṇḍamba tree. Having thus dispelled the doubts of the deities with this miracle, the Teacher, who reflected, 'It is on this seat that I have gained Omniscience,' stood in a somewhat easterly direction towards the North of the throne of victory where he had attained the fruition of the Perfections...And that spot came to be known as the Shrine of the Steadfast Gaze.*[38]

This unusual scene is depicted on the model of the representation of the Sāvatthi miracle. As such, it is seen in the Patho-hta-mya (pl. 35) and in the Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi.[39]

The gloss in the Wetkyi-in Kubyauk-gyi has it that,

> *on the 8th day after becoming Buddha, for 7 days he stood at a point north east of the site where he became Buddha, and intently, without closing his eyes, he regarded Throne and Fig-tree. It is the Animmisaṁ ('Unblinking')*[40]

When looking at the murals or at the sculptures, we observe that the Buddha is indeed represented standing, usually with both hands in front of him in a gesture of wonder (pls 36-37).

> *Then* [in the third week], *creating a cloister between the throne of victory and the place where he had stood, he spent seven days pacing up and down that jewelled cloister which lay from East to West. And that spot came to be known as the Shrine of the Jewelled Cloister.*[41]
>
> *During the fourth week the deities created a house of gems at a spot to the North-west of the Bodhi. And he spent seven days there reflecting carefully on the contents of the entire set of treatises...that spot came to be known as the Shrine of the House of Gems.*[42]

Or, as the gloss in the Wetkyi-in Kubyauk-gyi recounts, 'for 7 days continuously he abode in the House of Gems [*ratana-ghara*]'[43] where he remained meditating on the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*. In the painting of the Kubyauk-gyi at Myinkaba (pl. 38), the jewelled chamber where the Buddha sits, is surrounded by a multicoloured aura which represents the six rays of colours irradiating from his body during this week, as seen in the previous chapter.[44]

In the following week, 'on the (twenty-ninth) day after becoming Buddha, he abode for seven days at the Indian Fig-tree called Nikrotha,'[45]

the 'banyan-tree of the goat-herd' (*ajapāla nigrodha, Ficus bengalensis*). Indeed, 'there too he sat cogitating upon the Dhamma and experiencing the bliss of emancipation'.[46] This was also the time when Māra meditated on his defeat:

> *'All the while I have pursued him waiting for an opportunity to seize him, but I have discovered no fault in him; he has now gone beyond my control.' And seated on the highway dejected and downcast, he drew sixteen lines on the ground thinking of sixteen things.*[47]

The scene is well known in east Indian art, where the defeated Devaputta sits below the Buddha in the lower right corner, being comforted by his daughters[48] whereas at Pagan, it appears only rarely, as, for instance, in the Nanda-ma-nya (pls 38, 245, pp. 43, 196)[49] or in the Patho-hta-mya (pl. 213, p. 160). As a matter of fact, the three daughters of Māra, respectively named Taṇhā, Aratī and Ragā, i.e. 'Desire, Aversion and Lust', could not bear to see their father so miserable and thus decided to seduce the Buddha in order to 'ensnare him in such bonds as passions'.[50] Needless to say, they totally failed in their attempt and lost even their youth and beauty, having turned into old women, a disguise which they had assumed when the Buddha paid no attention to them as young women:

> *Varied are the expectations of men; some are attracted by virgins, some by women in the prime of youth, some by women in middle age and some others by older women.*

The Buddha decided then that they should preserve their disguise as 'elderly women' and as such they were also depicted by artists who most probably found their inspiration in the *Nidāna-kathā*: the painting should be followed from right to left, in the direction the women walk in. Starting right (pl. 39), we recognize at least three groups of women, twice they appear as young and appealing, once, in the left corner, they are old and sustained by servants. Like their father, to whom they returned, they had to admit that 'truly has our father spoken; the Sugata is the Worthy One in the world for he cannot easily be led away by worldly desire'.[51]

During the sixth week,

36 Looking at the Bodhi tree, passage between shrines 477 and 478, south wall, Hpaya-thon-zu

> *on his becoming a Cakravartin, and on first becoming Buddha, for seven days rain fell incessantly, buffeting (?) the universe. On the thirty-sixth day after becoming Buddha, he abode within the lap-wall of the Nāga king called Mucalintā* *43*

as the gloss in the Wetkyi-in Kubyauk-gyi tells us.[52] Indeed, he sat for one week beneath the Mucilinda tree (Barringtonia acutangula) and the snake who was also the spirit of the tree 'had wound his coils round him seven times to ward off the cold and other inclemencies, when rainy weather continued for a whole week'.[53] (pl. 40) *(44)*

During the final seventh week,

on the forty-third day after becoming Buddha, he abode for seven days under the laṅlwan *tree [*rājāyatana, *Buchanania latifolia], enjoying the happiness of attainment. After first becoming Buddha, he neither ate rice nor drank water nor passed faeces nor urine for forty-nine days.*[54]

Then on the forty-ninth day, when the seven weeks were over, as he sat there he felt the need to wash his face. Sakka, the king of the deities, brought with him a medicinal myrobolan (gall-nut) fruit. The Teacher ate it and with it his bowels were cleansed. Sakka next brought him a [toothpick] *of Nāgalatā wood and water for washing his face. And the Teacher used that* [toothpick], *and washed his face with that water which was brought from the lake Anotatta, and again sat down there at the foot of the Rājāyatana tree.*[55]

It was then that the Buddha also took his first meal after attaining Enlightenment. Rice and honey cakes were presented to him by the two merchants Tapussa (Trapuśa) and Bhallika, but, and here again the story is tinged with the fantasy which imbues the life of the Buddha, since the latter did not have any alms bowl and since

he began to wonder how he should accept it, for Tathāgatas do not receive food in their hands...the four Guardian Deities [i.e. the four Lokapālas, guardians of the four directions] *who knew what he was thinking about came from the four directions bringing four bowls made of sapphire, and offered them to him. The Blessed One refused to accept them. They next brought him four bowls made of granite. Out of consideration for the four deities the Blessed One accepted all the four bowls and placing one on top of the other resolved that they should become one. The Blessed One accepted the food in that newly made bowl of granite and offered thanks.*[56]

Although these events mark the end of the seven weeks retreat, they can be alluded to in the depiction of the seventh week when the Buddha meditates below the *rājāyatana*, holding a bowl or being attended by four personages.[57]

When we examine the position assigned to representations of the seven stations on the andagu slabs or in the murals, it is evident that

37 Wondering the Bodhi tree, north wing, east wall, Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi

38 (Above) Sitting in the House of Gems, interior wall, east face, north side, Kubyauk-gyi

39 (Right) Being seduced by Māra's daughters, south niche, east wall, Nanda-ma-nya

they are always shown close to the Buddha at the time of his Enlightenment. On the andagu slabs, they form a narrow row between the central image and the depictions of the 'great miraculous deeds', on the murals an inner circle around the cult image while the 'miraculous deeds' are distributed on an outer circle. Quite evidently, the weeks which followed the Enlightenment were of major importance at Pagan, and this might help explain why, in the Nanda-ma-nya-hpaya (pl. 41, p. 45) and the nearby temple 585 (pls 61-63, pp. 60-62), the six panels distributed on the walls illustrating the various 'miraculous deeds' all show the Buddha displaying the gesture of evoking the earth-goddess although he should be showing the teaching gesture in most of them.

A new chapter of his life was now open, but still before leaving Bodhgaya, the Buddha once more sat beneath the 'banyan-tree of the goatherd' (*ajapāla nigrodha)* where he started thinking about the difficulty of understanding the

40 *Mucilinda protecting the Buddha, south wall, shrine, Maung-yon-gu*

knowledge which he had acquired and thus doubting that he would ever be able to convey it.

> *If I ever preach that law, beings will not be able to understand me, and from my preaching there will results but a useless fatigue and unprofitable weariness.*[58]

But the great Brahmā

> *was observing what was taking place in Buddha's soul...*[and] *he instantly left his seat, and having repaired to the presence of Phra, his cloak over his shoulders with one extremity hanging backward, he bent his knee, lifted up his joined hands to the forehead before the sage, and said to him: '...Lay now open the way that leads to the perfection of Ariahs; those perfections are the gates to Neibban.' Thus he entreated Buddha...On hearing the supplication of that Brahma, Buddha began to feel a tender compassion for all beings...He then made to the chief of Brahmas the solemn promise that he would preach his law to all beings.*[59]

The scene was depicted in the Kubyauk-gyi Wetky-in, where the Buddha sits in a shrine, displaying the gesture of predication in a panel which is complementary to the depiction of the seven weeks after the Bodhi. The accompanying gloss, now also lost, identified this as the moment when Brahmā Sahampati requested the Buddha to preach the Dharma.[60]

Then the Buddha recalled the five ascetics he had met years before, sharing his life with them before following his own path. Remembering them, he thought:

> *'The monks of the Group of Five have been of great service to me.' Moreover, reflecting, 'Where would they be dwelling now?', he perceived that it was in the Deer Park at Bārāṇasī and made up his mind, 'I will go there and set rolling the Wheel of the Dhamma.'...*[61]

Actually, the 'Pañcavaggiyas' were then residing in the vicinity of Varanasi, but still they had not forgotten that he had rejected their ascetic way of life before setting out on his own path. Thus, unaware that he had attained Enlightenment, when he appeared to them, they

> *continued to address him either by name or with the appellation 'Friend'. Then the Blessed One announced to them his attainment of Enlightenment saying, 'Brethren, do not address the Tathāgata by his name or with the appellation "Friend"; for, O Brethren, the Tathāgata is the Worthy One, he is perfectly Enlightened.*[62]

The first predication at Sarnath

> [The] *Buddha, assuming a lofty and commanding tone, said to them, 'I declare unto you that I am a Buddha, knowing the four great truths and showing the way to Neibban.' The hitherto unbelieving ascetics humbled themselves, and declared their belief in him and in all that he had taught. From that moment they entered* [upon] *the four ways of perfection. The day was that of the full moon of Watso* [Āsāḷhi]. *The preaching began at the moment when half the disc of the*

> *sun was visible on the western horizon; and half that of the moon was above the eastern horizon. When* [it was concluded], *the sun had just disappeared, and the moon's entire globe was visible on the horizon. The* [first five] *converts were named Kautagnya, Baddiha, Wappa, Mahanan, and Asadzi* [Kondanna, Bhaddiya, Vappa, Mahanama, Assaji].[63]

The sun and the moon (with traces of the hare), painted in the upper corners of the panel where the Buddha is surrounded by his first five disciples and a group of Brahmā deities in the Ajja-gona-hpaya (pl. 140, p. 115), most probably record that the predication started when both luminaries were simultaneously visible in the sky.[64]

The first five disciples form an uneven group distributed around the Buddha who sits in the shade of a tree, leaning on a cushion and displaying the gesture of turning of the wheel of dharma or *dharmacakrapravartanamudrā*. In the Loka-hteik-pan (pl. 42), four monks sit around him, hands joined in the gesture of respect and veneration while the fifth monk is painted in the lower right corner, thus below the Buddha.[65] He faces a dark-skinned, bearded character who is probably Yasa, also named Ratha in the later tradition. Yasa (Yaśas, Yaśoda) was son of a rich banker of Varanasi; he was ordained by the Buddha, whereas his father 'was the first layman that became a disciple of Gaudama' and his mother and wife 'were the first persons of their sex who took refuge in the three precious things, Buddha, his law, and the assembly of the perfect'.[66] The very same group of five monks together with Yasa kneels around the Buddha in the panel of the Nanda-ma-nya where the scene is further identified through the presence of the wheel of the Dharma flanked by the two gazelles, reminding us that this major event took place in the Deer park at Sarnath, near Varanasi (pl. 41).

41 The first sermon, north niche, east wall, Nanda-ma-nya

The miracles at Sāvatthi

During his life, the Buddha was also confronted with men who did not agree with his teachings and with whom he often had long discussions. What could have been one of these countless exchanges, became at Sāvatthi a miraculous event which made a strong impression on the witnesses, and on the imagination of artists in the following centuries. The display of magic powers which the Buddha and some of his devotees were able to perform, was a practice rejected by the Master, who 'laid down a precept forbidding the exercise of... supernatural powers for such purposes in the future'.[67] Some heretics, however, overweeningly proud of their own magical powers, heard these words and took the opportunity to challenge the Buddha,

42 The first sermon, wall behind the cult image, south-east corner, Loka-hteik-pan

in the certainty that neither he nor any of his followers would be in any position to respond to their display. However, they were wrong, since

> [the] *Buddha told* [them] *that the prohibition regarded his disciples, but not himself...*[and] *that in four months he would make a grand display of his miraculous power in the country of Thawattie* [i.e. Sāvatthi]...[The] *Buddha having said that he would select the spot where a white mango-tree stood for the scene of his miracles, the heretics caused the total destruction of all mango-trees in that direction.*[68]

These men who were naked, as the texts relate, did not only adopted such an underhand ploy but went on to challenge the Buddha with a show of their supernatural abilities. However, they completely failed, faced with the most wonderful miracle ever to be performed by the Buddha. Indeed, out of sheer despair their master, Pūrāṇa Kassapa, and some of his followers committed suicide by drowning themselves in the river, as a detailed depiction preserved in the Kubyauk-gyi, shows.[69] As a matter of fact, in most of the renderings of the Sāvatthi miracles, Pūrāṇa Kassapa is depicted in the lower part of the painting, falling on the ground and crying with vexation, vanquished by the Buddha (pl. 46).[70]

But precisely what miracles did the Buddha in fact perform at Sāvatthi?[71]

> *On the day of full moon of the month Āsāḷhi* [June-July] *the Teacher entered the city. On the same day Gaṇḍa, the king's gardener, seeing a large ripe mango in a basket of leaves made by red ants, drove away the crows which had been attracted by its savour and flavour, picked up the mango and...accordingly he presented the ripe mango to the Teacher.*[72]

So starts the story of the Buddha's stay at Sāvatthi. After the Buddha had drunk the juice of the mango prepared by Ānanda,

> *he said to Gaṇḍa, 'Dig up the earth right here and plant the seed of the mango.' The gardener did as he was told. The Teacher washed his hands over the place where the mango had been planted. The very moment he washed his hands, a mango-tree sprang up, with a stalk as thick as a plough-handle, fifty cubits in height. Five great branches shot forth, each fifty cubits in length, four to the four cardinal points and one to the heavens above.*[73]

A panel on the east inner wall in the Kubyauk-

43 (p. 47, top left) Multiplication of the images at Sāvatthi, wall behind the cult image, south-west corner, Loka-hteik-pan

44 (p. 47, top right) Multiplication of the images at Sāvatthi, interior wall of the corridor, north face, east side, Patho-hta-mya

45 (p. 47, bottom left) The twin miracle at Sāvatthi, west wing, north wall, Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi

46 (p. 47, bottom right) The great miracle of Sāvatthi, north niche, east wall, monument 585

47 The mango trick at Sāvatthi, interior wall of the corridor, east face, south side, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba

gyi Myinkaba (pl. 47) illustrates this miracle, which eventually became one of the most famous tricks of Indian magicians, having struck the imagination of the emperor Jahangir in the seventeenth century as well as greatly impressing European travellers in India.[74] In the same temple, beside this panel and the mural showing the heretics (pl. 48), no other miracle which took place at Sāvatthi is represented and the following panel in the sequel, depicts the ascent to the heaven of the Tāvatiṃsa (see below). In the Loka-hteik-pan, King Pasenadi of Kosala sits in a pavilion rising in the middle of the garden where Gaṇḍa's mango-tree grows
51 (pl. 50), and as in the previous example, the Buddha is shown preparing to ascend Mount Meru.

> *The Teacher created a jewelled walk in the air, one end of which rested upon the eastern rim of the world and the other upon the western rim...he came down the jewelled walk.*[75]

This 'jewelled walk' which the Buddha created in the wake of the miraculous events that took place at Sāvatthi is described in detail in the opening pages of the *Buddhavaṃsa*, a text read at Pagan in which the monks and artists draw their inspiration for the representation of the Buddhas of the past (Chapter IV). The magnificence of this miraculous creation was such that it could never be surpassed:

> *...The leader of the world created a well-wrought Walk with all the jewels. In the ten-thousand world-system he displayed, like a course of pillars on (each) supreme mountain Sineru, Walks made of jewels. The Conqueror created a Walk spanning the ten-thousand; all golden were the sides of that Walk which was made of jewels. The junction of (each pair of) beams was symmetrical, the floor-boards covered with gold; all golden were the railings, well-fashioned on both sides (of the Walk). Strewn over with sand (consisting) of jewels and pearls, fashioned and made of jewels, it illumined all the quarters like him of the hundred rays when he has risen. Walking up and down* [it], *the wise one,* [he] *of the thirty-two glorious Marks, Self-Awakened*

48 The suicide of the heretics at Sāvatthi, interior wall of the corridor, south face, south-east side, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba

> *One, Conqueror, shining, walked up and down...the Walk...*[76]

Although there remains no doubt that the large composition in the Loka-hteik-pan or in monument 1150 depicts the ascent to the heaven of the gods and the descent therein, we cannot rule out the possibility of seeing in it a depiction of this jewelled walk linking the eastern to the western rim of the universe and recalling of the path of the sun.

Then, surrounded by his numerous company, the Buddha performed another miracle,

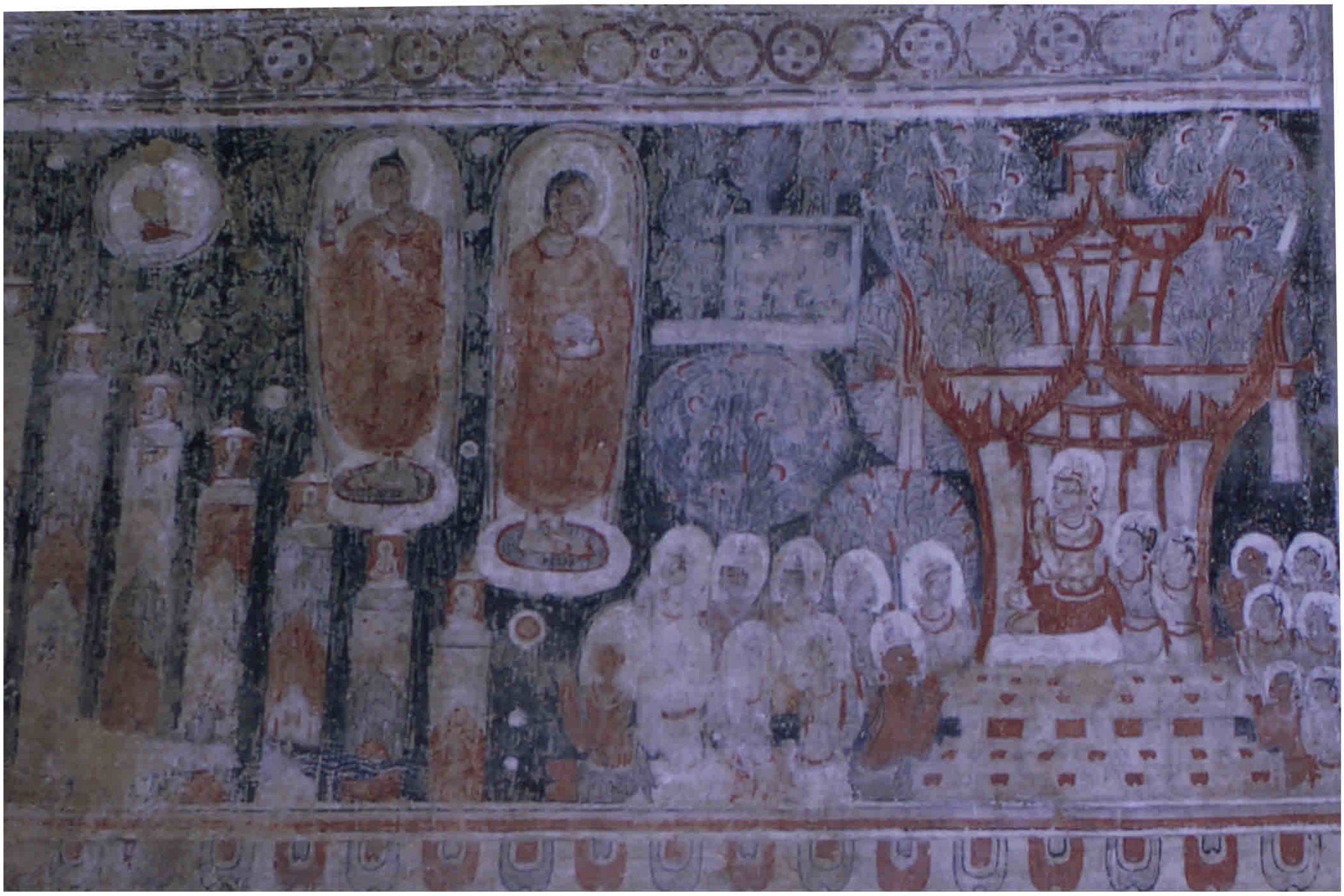
> *the Twin Miracle, a miracle far more wonderful than any performed by his disciples. From the upper part of his body proceeded flames of fire, and from the lower part of his body a stream of water. From the lower part of his body proceeded flames of fire and from the upper part of his body a stream of water. From the front part of his body proceeded flames of fire, and from the back part of his body a stream of water. From the back part of his body proceeded flames of fire, and from the front part of his body a stream of water. Flames of fire and streams of water proceeded from his right and left eyes, from his right and left ears, from his right and left nostrils, from his right and left shoulders, from his right and left hands, from his right and left sides, from his right and left feet, from the tips of his fingers and from the roots of his fingers; from every pore of his body proceeded forth flames of fire, and from every pore of his body proceeded forth a stream of water. Six-coloured were they: blue and yellow and red and white and pink and brilliant. The Exalted One walked, and a counterpart of him stood or sat or lay down;...his counterpart lay down and the Exalted One walked or stood or sat.*[77]

The twin miracle of water and fire is rarely depicted as such, but in the Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi (pl. 45), water pours from the seat on which the Buddha sits while flames irradiate all around him, whereas in monument 324, two *makaras* symbolize the water.[78] *(47)*

Still irradiating flames,[79] the Buddha climbs on the mountains surrounding Mount Meru, an event which concludes this series of miracles

49 The sermon on Mount Meru, east wall, Loka-hteik-pan

53 (pl. 52). But this was not enough: the Buddha suddenly multiplied images of himself which filled all space; indeed, he created a counterpart to himself, and both took on various postures.[80] This 'multiplication of images' is the most often encountered way of depicting the (47) miracles of Sāvatthi and follows a fixed pattern. The Buddha sits displaying the gesture of (23) teaching[81] below the mango-tree of Gaṇḍa, surrounded by smaller images of himself presenting different *mudrās*. Flames irradiate all around the head of these secondary depictions or even in the background behind the group of Buddhas.[82] Two of them support the sun and the moon in the depiction of the event in the 47 Loka-hteik-pan (pl. 43), and both luminaries also appear in the upper corners of the panel in monument 1844.[83] King Pasenadi of Kosala and his court worship the Buddha, kneeling below the lotus on which the latter sits, while the defeated heretics throw themselves on the ground in despair. This composition, which has its origin in India,[84] is commonly met with on the walls of Pagan, where we can distinguish the paintings of the first period as illustrated in the Loka-hteik-pan or in the Patho-hta-mya,[85] with two Buddhas seated with their back to the main one and two Buddhas seated in the upper part turned towards the centre of the composition (pls 43-44),[86] from the murals at Minnanthu, as in the Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi (pl. 16). In this temple, the seated Buddha preaches, surrounded by two further, standing images of himself: the Buddha to our right moves in the direction of the seat he intends to occupy while the image to our left faces us, as if having left his seat. All three images are flamed, recalling the miracle of fire and water; the central image sits beneath the mango-tree below which the Buddha displayed his magical powers. Further, a small image of himself is painted in the upper corner, evoking the multiplication of images, and another representation of the defeated heretic Pūraṇa Kassapa is painted in the lower left part of the panel.[87]



50 King Pasenadi in the mango garden and the Buddha ascending the universe, east wall, Loka-hteik-pan

The sermon on the mountain and the descent from heaven to Sańkassa

> [The] *Buddha, having completed the twofold work of preaching to the crowds, and exciting their respect and admiration* [with] *the most astonishing display of the most extraordinary miracles, began to think within himself as follows: To what place have all former Buddhas resorted after the display of signs, and spent the season? He saw by a stretch of his incomparable foresight that all of them had gone to the seat of Tawadeintha, in the Nats' country, to announce the perfect law to their mothers. He resolved to go thither too. With one step he reached the summit of the Uganda mountain* [Yugandhara], *at a distance of 160,000 youdzanas, and another step carried him to the top of the Mienmo* [Meru] *mountain. This was done without any effort on the part of* [the] *Buddha. Those mountains lowered their summits to the very spot where he was standing, and rose up again to resume their lofty position.* [The] *Buddha found himself brought almost instantaneously to the seat of Tawadeitha. He took his position on the immense rock Pantukambala. When he lay extended there, upon his tsivaran, the huge mass on a sudden contracted itself to the very narrow dimension of his dress.*[88]

The eastern wall of the shrine of the Loka-hteik-pan (pl. 49) and the western wall of the entrance hall of temple 1150 (pl. 52), which is located south of Myinkaba, are both covered with a large panel combining three representations of the Buddha. Again south of Myinkaba, a similar but simplified version of the panel is painted once more on the western wall of the entrance hall in temple 1170.[89] Much the same composition is encountered in the Kubyauk-gyi Myinkaba, where it is painted on three panels distributed among others on the inner wall of the south and west corridors.[90] The finest version is evidently the one in the Loka-hteik-pan, and this was clearly the source of inspiration for the painters responsible for the simplified composition in temple 1150. The first panel or part of the painting to our right depicts the ascent of the Buddha towards Mount Meru,[91] the central part shows Him seated at the top of the

(53)

51 The descent from the heaven of the 33 gods at Saṅkassa, east wall, Loka-hteik-pan

universe, and the last part, to our left, illustrates His descent to Saṅkassa.[92]

From the narrative, the ascent of Mount Meru appears as a logical consequence to the displays of miracles at Sāvatthi. And in fact, this event also exemplifies the cosmic nature of the Buddha, as at Sāvatthi with the multiplication of images or the creation of the jewelled walk.

The Buddha walks up the mountains, irradiating flames before taking his place within a shrine at the summit. The flames (pl. 52) record that this moment follows immediately upon the twin water and fire miracles performed at Sāvatthi. Similarly, in the Loka-hteik-pan (pl. 50) we see the Buddha taking leave of King Pasenadī of Kosala surrounded by his court in the garden where the mango-tree had grown *(29-30)* magically in the same sequence of fantastic events. The double representation of the Buddha probably constitutes an allusion to the multiplication of images, which had been another major part of the Sāvatthi miracle. On the way to the summit, He is worshipped by the gods residing on the successive girdles of mountains which surround Meru, all separated by the Sīdantara cosmic waters where fishes swim.[93] The flaming Buddha of temple 1150 departs from the iconography of the Loka-hteik-pan, reflecting a new perception of his personality which can be discerned in various monuments of Pagan in the thirteenth century. The large flames which irradiate from the Buddha's body remind us that He took the decision to instruct his mother when at Sāvatthi, where He had performed miracles, and in a certain way, the predication on the mountain can be considered a prolongation of these Sāvatthi miracles. On the same panel also, the Buddha holds a sceptre shaped like a Ficus leaf, an attribute also presented by his disciples predicating at the councils in the Kubyauk-gyi (pls 24-25) which is probably a fan.[94]

The first chapter of the *Buddhavaṃsa* presents a detailed description of the 'jewel-walk', and the artists of Pagan may have at least partly drawn their inspiration from that text, where

52 The sermon on Mount Meru, entrance vestibule, west wall, monument 1150

we read, for instance, that the Buddha 'in the ten-thousand world-system... displayed, like a course of pillars on (each) supreme mountain Sineru, Walks made of jewels'.[95] This is clearly the right slope of the mountain which the Buddha climbs in the murals. The slope is in fact formed by a series of 'pillars'.

In the centre of Indra's city, which crowns Meru, stands the wonderful Vejayanta palace where the Buddha stayed for three months during the rainy season.

> *In the middle of this city of the thirty-three* devatā *there is the Vejayanta castle, which is 25,600,000* wa *high. This castle is most exquisitely beautiful and is covered with the seven kinds of gems, which are 2,400,000* wa *high. This Vejayanta castle, which is covered with the seven kinds of gems, that are gloriously beautiful beyond anything that can be conceived, has been provided for Indra; and he is lord of this Vejayanta castle.*[96]

Outside the town of the thirty-three gods, a park named Puṇḍarīkavana contains the wonderful coral tree or 'tree of desire', Pāricchattaka. Below this tree, lies the magic stone Paṇḍukambala, which is the seat of Indra which the Buddha occupied and then taught the Dharma to His mother and to all the gods who had assembled to be instructed by Him (pl.

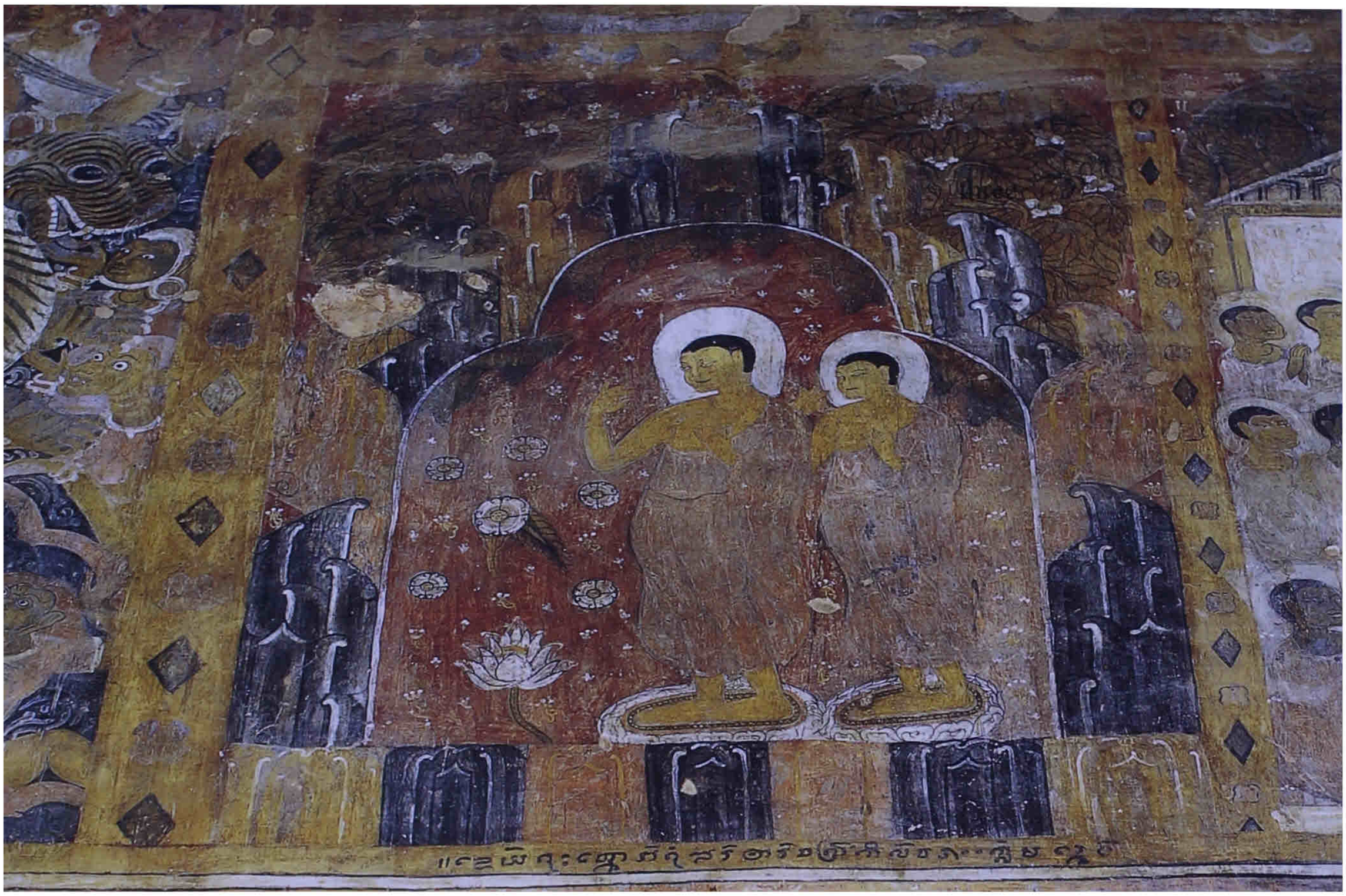
53 The sermon on Mount Meru, interior wall of the corridor, south face, west side, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba, copyright G. Heil

53).[97] In the Loka-hteik-pan this tree is beautifully illustrated with its large red flowers, spreading foliage in a broad circle behind the palace where the Buddha sits and both the Devas and the Brahmās kneel at His feet, lis-
50 tening to His word (pl. 49).[98] A lotus pond shaded by trees is painted on either side of the Vejayanta, representing the two lakes which can be seen in each of the five parks spread outside the city of the gods.[99] Above them, a *thūpa* fills each corner of the panels; on the evidence of the inscriptions we recognize them as, respec-
(47), (115) tively, the wonderful Cūḷāmaṇi,[100] in the left corner, which preserves the hair of the Buddha, cut at the time of the great renunciation (see above), and which stands in the Tāvatiṃsa where it is venerated by the Devas, and, in the right corner, the Dussa-thūpa,[101] which contains the garments worn by the Buddha at the moment of the renunciation, erected in the *Brahmaloka* where it is worshipped by the Brahmās. This upper part of the mural thus depicts the worlds of the Devas and Brahmās who occupy the highest levels of the universe in the Buddhist cosmology. Two large roundels are painted above the seven ranges of mountains surrounding Meru in the Loka-hteik-pan or in the upper part of the painting in temple 1150. Both represent the moon, which is adorned with a hare drawn on the central surface, and the sun, bearing perhaps a now faded peacock. Both luminaries are often identified with the Buddha who shines on the world day and night, and again appear painted on either side of the Buddha when He accomplished his miracles at Sāvatthi (pl. 43) and at Sarnath (pl. 140).[102]

While residing at the top of the universe, and after he had 'created a likeness of another Buddha, whom he commissioned to continue the preaching of the Abidama (sic)',[103] the Buddha took some daily rest visiting Mount Himavant where he 'ate the tender branches of a certain tree',[104] washed his face in Lake Anotatta and received the visit of the Elder Sāriputta, who waited upon him (pls 54-55).[105]

54 *The Buddha seated at the lake Anotatta, next to the previous panel, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba*

55 *The Buddha instructing Sāriputta, next to the previous panel, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba*



56 The bats listening to the two monks, interior wall, west face, south side, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba

Sakyamuni sent back his disciple with the mission to teach the Abhidhamma to '500' monks from respectable families in Sāvatthi. The story of these '500' disciples is told in the *Dhammapada* commentary as well as in the life of the Buddha translated by Bigandet and Edwardes; it is also exceptionally illustrated in the Kubauk-gyi at Myinkaba, where we see Sāriputta reading the Abhidhamma to them as
(53) well as the original event which led them to become disciples of the Buddha (pl. 56).[106] Thus

(29-30) *in the dispensation of the Buddha Kassapa they were little bats. On a certain occasion, as they hung over a mountain-cave, they overheard two monks reciting the Abhidharmma as they walked up and down their walk and straightway fell in love with their voices. As for the expressions...they did not know what they meant; but solely because they had fallen in love with their voices, when they passed from that state of existence they were reborn in the World of the Gods. There, for the space of an interval between two Buddhas, they enjoyed celestial glory; afterwards they were reborn in Sāvatthi in the households of families of distinction. Receiving faith in the Twin Miracle, they became monks under the Elder and were the first to obtain mastery over the Seven Books...*[107]

And in pl. 56, we see them, the bats, hanging on the roof of the cave above the two walking monks and listening to their words.

In monument 1150 the painters represent the Buddha the sovereign who dominates the universe (pl. 52),[108] holding the staff also displayed by the Buddha and some of his disciples in the scenes of predication painted in the Kubyauk-gyi (pls 24-25).[109]

When the season of the rains had passed and the Terminal Festival had been celebrated, the Teacher informed Sakka, 'Great King, it is my intention to return to the path of men.' Thereupon Sakka created three ladders, one of gold, one of jewels, and one of silver. The feet of these ladders rested against the gate of the city Saṃkassa, and their tops against the summit of Mount Sineru. On the right side was the ladder of gold for the deities, on the left side the ladder of silver for Mahā Brahmā and his train, and in the middle the ladder of jewels for the

Tathāgata...With this retinue did the Teacher descend and set foot on earth at the gate of the city Saṃkassa. Elder Sāriputta approached the Teacher and paid obeisance to him.[110]

With variations, this is the scene recognized in the murals of the Kubyauk-gyi (pl. 57),[111] the Loka-hteik-pan (pls 51, 59, pp. 52, 58) and temple 1150: the Buddha descends upon the ladder, surrounded by Devas and by Brahmās in the first monument or only by Sakka and Brahmā in temple 1150, where his faithful disciple Sāriputta has thrown himself at his feet. Among the gods, Sakka holds the bowl of alms and Brahmā the white umbrella. In the thirteenth century the scene is simplified with the presence of only two gods accompanying the Buddha, as in monument 1150 or the Let-put-kan (pl. 58), where Pañcasikha follows holding his musical instrument, thus reminding us that, on the day of the Devorohaṇa, when the Buddha left the Tāvatiṃsa, he was accompanied with songs and music. Having arrived at Saṅkassa, he preached the Dharma to his followers (pl. 57).

When the time had come, 'on the day of the full moon of Thadin-kioot (October)',[112] the Buddha duly left the world of the gods, but not without producing another wonder which reflected his cosmicity:

On the occasion of the Descent of the Gods, the Teacher, standing on the summit of Mount Sineru, performed the Twin Miracle, and looked up. There was a clear view of the nine Worlds of Brahmā. As he looked down, he had a clear view as far as the Avīci Hell. Then he looked forth to the four cardinal points and to the four intermediate points, and there was a clear view of countless thousands of worlds. Gods looked upon men, and men looked upon gods...[113]

57 The descent from Mount Meru and the predication at Saṅkassa, interior wall, west face, north side, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba, copyright G. Heil

58 The descent from Mount Meru, west wing, south wall, south-east corner, Let-put-kan

59 The descent from Mount Meru, wall behind the cult image, south-west corner, Loka-hteik-pan

This universal presence of the Buddha is nowhere so well illustrated in Pagan as in these two panels of the Loka-hteik-pan and temple 1150.

Beyond these examples, the sermon on the mountain is preserved in some temples only where its treatment undergoes a clear simplification. In the Ajja-gona-hpaya, south niche in the entrance wall, east wall, only the scene of instructing is preserved. The ascent may not be painted but the descent is preserved on the left slope of the mountain on which the Buddha dispenses his instruction and which preserves its central position in the composition (Pya-tha-nge, monument 798),[114] or the ascent not being illustrated, the right slope is not painted and the sermon on the mountain shifts to the right part of the panel (Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi, Ma-la-phyi-hpaya, monuments 1844 and 1846).[115] The scene is painted twice on the ground-floor of the Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi, on the western wall of the northern wing and on the south wall of the passage between the entrance hall and the ambulatory. In monument 505, the representation of the Buddha on Mount Meru is integrated within the cycle of eight events and is depicted precisely above the drawings of the descent from this heaven (pl. 252. p. 203).

The predication of the *Ratana-sutta* at Vesāli

At that time, the city of Vesāli was afflicted by all kinds of disasters and evils. After some of his disciples, having visited the place and being full of compassion for its inhabitants, had reported the dramatic situation to the Buddha, the latter made his way to Vesāli. He crossed the Ganga and, on reaching the city, he instructed his beloved disciple Ānanda to recite the *Ratana-sutta*, the 'Sutta of the Jewels', while walking seven times around the place and sprinkling water from the Buddha's alms-bowl. At that very moment, the city was freed of the evils tormenting it, and the population could once again enjoy peace. The chanting of this poem, which praises the triple jewel, i.e. the Buddha, the Doctrine and the Community of monks, thus protects from evil spirits, be they from heaven or from earth: they, in turn, take refuge in the three gems and change their attitude towards us, showing compassion and love.

This is a rather secondary story in the life of the Buddha but the chanting of this *sutta* belongs to the daily life of Buddhists and is still recited to ward off evil omens.[116] This might have already been the case in the twelfth century, which would explain the representation of the coming of the Buddha to Vesāli, on the eastern wall in the Loka-hteik-pan, at the same level as the prophecy of the Dīpaṅkara Buddha.[117] The king of the Licchavis is depicted, surrounded by his court and the people of Vesāli,

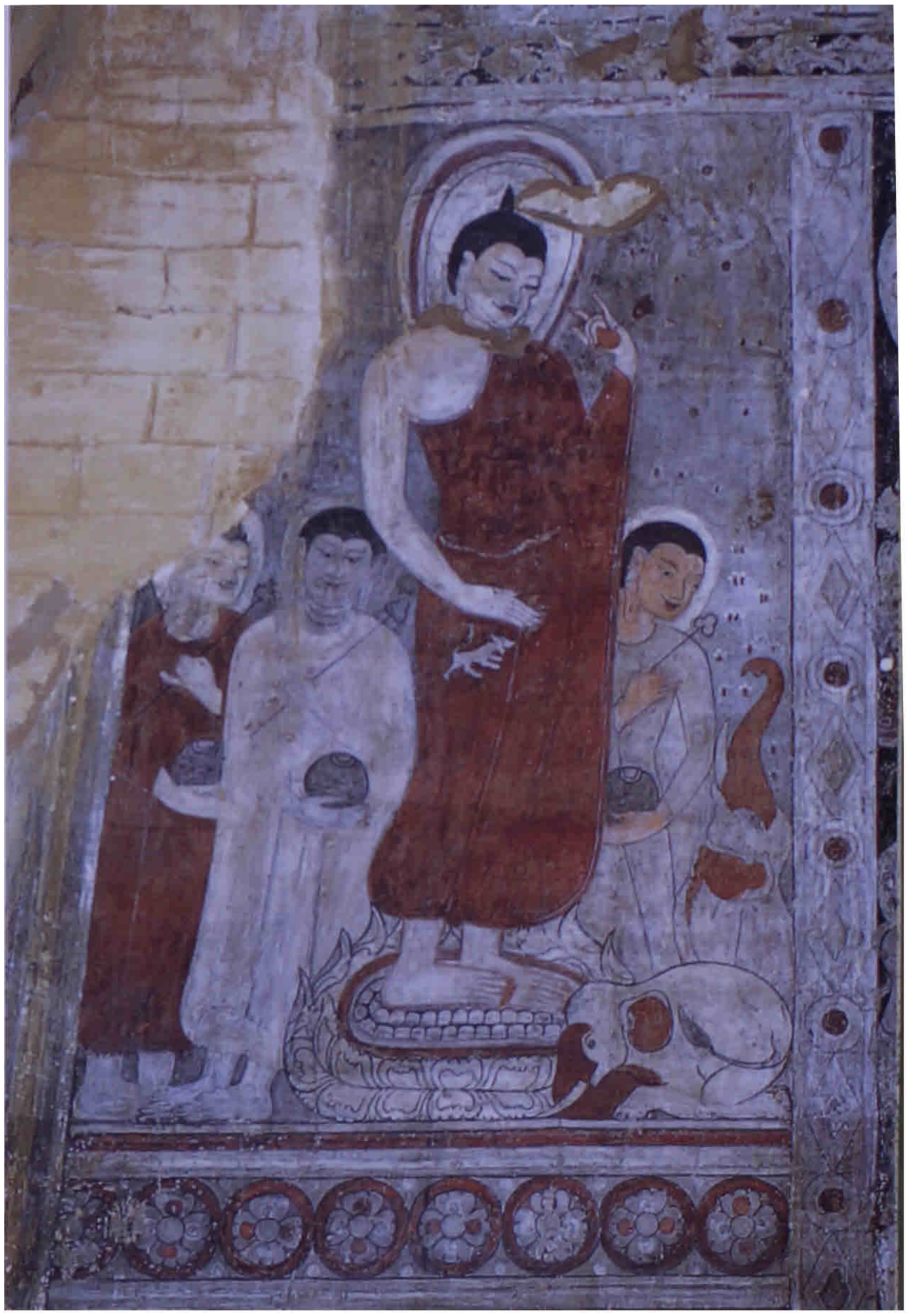
welcoming the Buddha for whom a decorated pandal has been erected. Side scenes show Ānanda kneeling at the feet of the Buddha and listening to his indications, or monstrous evil spirits running away from the city, driven out with recitation of the *sutta*. This might well be also the scene depicted in monument 585 (pl. 61, p. 60) where the gloss tells us that

> *When the Buddha came to Vesali, he was greeted by the king of Vesali and his wife floating on a barque and the Nagas who dwelt in the water with an umbrella and a flagstaff. By the earth guarding Nats and the people with two umbrellas. By the Nats in the sky with three (or seven) umbrellas. Thus the Nats dwelling in the six Devalokas up to Brahmaloka revered the Buddha* [continuously? diligently?]*with umbrellas and flagstaffs.*[118]

The taming of the wild elephant Nālāgiri

Towards the end of his life, the Buddha once more visited the city of Rājgir. And there, his cousin, Devadatta, tried to kill him by intoxicating an elephant with large quantities of alcohol and letting him run free in the streets of the town.[119]

> *The believers thought, 'To-day there will be a mighty battle between the lord elephant Buddha and this elephant of the brute world. We shall witness the defeat of Nāḷāgiri by the incomparable skill of the Buddha,'...And the elephant, on seeing the Blessed One approach him, terrified the people by demolishing the houses and raising his trunk he crushed the wagons into powder, and, with his ears and tail erect with excitement, he ran like some towering mountain in the direction of the Blessed One. On seeing him the Brethren thus addressed the Blessed One, 'This Nāḷāgiri, holy sir, a fierce and savage creature, and a slayer of men, is coming along this road. Of a truth he knows nothing of the merit of Buddhas and the like. Let the Blessed One, the Auspicious One, withdraw.' 'Fear not, Brethren,' he said, 'I am able to overcome Nāḷāgiri' Then the venerable Sāriputta prayed the Master, saying, 'Holy sir, when any service has to be rendered to a father, it is a burden laid on his eldest son. I will vanquish this creature.' The Master said, 'Sāriputta, the power of a Buddha is one thing, that of his disciples is another,' and he rejected his offer...Then the venerable Nanda by reason of his strong affection for the Master was unable to acquiesce in this and cried, 'Let this elephant kill me first,' and he stood before the Master, ready to sacrifice his life for the Tathāgata. So the Master said to him, 'Go away, Ānanda, do not stand in front of me.'...The Master thrilling with the charity that is expressly commanded, and, uttering the honeyed accents of a voice like that of Brahma, called to Nāḷāgiri saying, 'Ho! Nāḷāgiri, those that maddened you with sixteen pots of arrack did not do this that you might attack someone else, but acted thus thinking you would attack me. Do not tire out your strength by rushing about aimlessly but come hither.' On hearing the voice of the Master he opened his eyes and beheld the glorious*



60 The taming of Nālāgiri, wall behind the cult image, south-east corner, Loka-hteik-pan

61 The crossing of the Ganga at Vesali, south niche, east wall, monument 585.

form of the Blessed One, and he became greatly agitated and by the power of the Buddha the intoxicating effects of the strong drink passed off. Dropping his trunk and shaking his ears he came and fell down at the feet of the Tathāgata. Then the Master addressing him said, 'Nāḷāgiri, you are a brute elephant, I am the Buddha elephant. Henceforth, be not fierce and savage, nor a slayer of men, but cultivate thoughts of charity.' So saying he stretched forth his right hand and coaxed the elephant's forehead...[120]

Rajgir is built at the foot of the hilly ranges located south of Nalanda. At the time of the Buddha, it was a city of major political importance, ruled by Bimbisāra; but in the period of the Pagan murals it was merely a pilgrimage place passed through on the way from Nalanda to Bodhgaya.[121] The scene is well-known and always portrayed with the same composition. The Buddha stands, slightly profiled, surrounded by monks. The elephant is depicted standing in front of him, much smaller than the Buddha, scale reflecting hierarchy. The animal is usually depicted twice, the images superimposed one upon the other. One shows him with trunk erect, the other kneeling on his forelegs, trunk lowered down, surrendering to the spiritual power of the Buddha. Closely following the east Indian tradition, the painters of the Loka-hteik-pan show tiny lions springing out of the fingertips of the right hand, which tames the wild animal (pl. 60),[122] an element that disappears in the other murals, thereby indicating that the motif was indeed locally extraneous to the life of the Buddha.

The sojourn at Pārileyyaka, the 'protected forest'

The forest is a place favourable to meditation, which explains why the Buddha liked to live in retirement in its deep darkness. He was not the only one to have such preference, as we are told by a 'noble elephant':

Here I live, crowded by elephants, female elephants, elephant calves, and young elephants. They have chewed off the tips of the grass I eat; they eat branch after branch I break down; they muddy the water I have to drink. Whenever I plunge into the water, or come up out of the water, the female elephants come and rub against my body. Suppose I were to retire from the herd and live all alone.[123]

Having made his decision, the elephant abandoned his herd and took refuge in the forest of Pārileyyaka, in the vicinity of Kosambi. Now, moved by a similar situation—the monks being engaged in discussion and quarrel without listening to their master—the Buddha made the choice to leave his community and reside in the solitude of the place, where, 'at the foot of a beautiful Sāl-tree, in Protected Forest, near Pārileyyaka, the Exalted One spent the rainy season pleasantly, attended by the elephant

Pārileyyaka.'[124]

Now, a monkey saw the elephant up and doing each day, performing the lesser duties for the Tathāgata, and he said to himself, 'I'll do something too.' One day, as he was running about, he happened to see some stick-honey free from flies. He broke the stick off, took the honey-comb, stick and all, broke off a plantain-leaf, placed the honey on the leaf and offered it to the Teacher...The Teacher ate it...The monkey was so delighted that he leaped from one branch to another and danced about in great glee. But the branches he grasped and the branches he stepped on broke off. Down he fell on the stump of a tree and was impaled. So he died. And solely because of his faith in the Teacher he was reborn in the World of the Thirty-three in a golden mansion thirty leagues in measure, with a retinue of a thousand celestial nymphs.[125]

As for the elephant which had been named after the forest where he lived, Pārileyyaka, he did not survive the departure of the Buddha fetched by his disciples, but

as the Teacher slowly passed out of sight, he died of a broken heart. Through faith in the Teacher he was reborn in the World of the Thirty-three in a golden mansion thirty leagues in measure, with a retinue of a thousand celestial nymphs. God Pārileyyaka was his name.[126]

The story of the monkey who offered honey to the Buddha is located here in the vicinity of Kosambi, although other versions located it at Vesāli or Sāvatthi. Be that as it may, it is the only story to have been retained by the Indian artists, whereas in Pagan the elephant is always present below the seat where the Buddha, painted in three-quarter profile, sits in the 'European way' below the sal-tree, holding his alms bowl in his lap. In front of him, the monkey is depicted at various stages of the narration, presenting the bowl, dancing out of happiness because the Buddha has accepted his gift, before, out of sheer ecstasy, falling into the well where he drowns, finally being reborn in the heaven of the 33 Gods, as a result of his good deed (pls 64-65).[127]

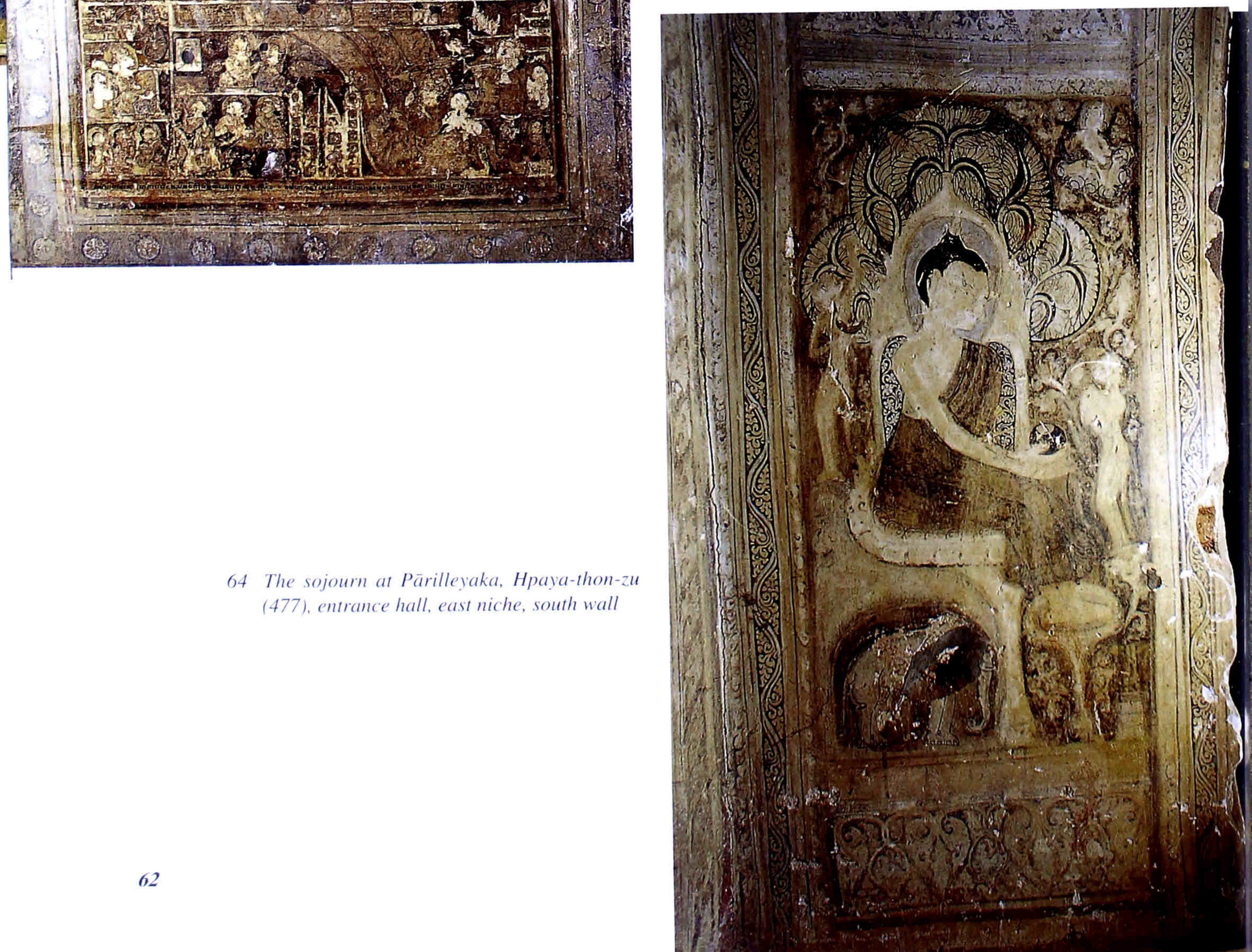
In the tradition of east India this tale centres on the present made by the monkey while ignoring the elephant Pārilleyaka. Moreover, the story is located at Vesāli, north of the Ganga,

62 The almsgiving by King Pasenadi, south niche, west wall, monument 585

which had gained in importance since the Buddha had there taken the decision to depart from this life. Hence, the offering of the *madhu* at Vesāli, is considered to be the last but one event of his life.[128] The Burmese tradition did not retain Vesāli as a place where the monkey offered honey to the Buddha, but retained it nonetheless as the site where this decision was taken.[129]

It was the monsoon, and the Buddha had become an old man. But he still visited a number of places, accompanied by his followers, among whom Ānanda, before reaching the city of Kusinārā in the month of Karttika (October- *62-63*

63 The conversion of Mahākappina, north niche, west wall, monument 585



64 The sojourn at Pārilleyaka, Hpaya-thon-zu (477), entrance hall, east niche, south wall

November). The Sri Lankan tradition, on the contrary, records that the Buddha remained at Vesāli till the following spring, when the weather was more favourable to journeys, and accordingly dates his death in the month of Vesākha (April-May), most probably in order to date it in the same month as the birth and the Enlightenment.[130] This is the tradition followed at Pagan, as the horoscope of the Buddha's life drawn on the ceiling of a few temples at Pagan testifies it.[131]

The Parinibbāna and the cremation

> *And the Exalted One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to the Sāla Grove of the Mallas, the Upavattana of Kusinārā* [Kuśinagara], *on the further side of the river Hiranayati: and when he had come there he addressed the venerable Ānanda and said: - 'Spread over for me, I pray you, Ānanda, the couch with its head to the north, between the twin Sāla trees. I am weary, Ānanda, and would lie down.'*
>
> *'Even so, lord!' said the venerable Ānanda in assent, to the Exalted One. And he spread a covering over the couch with its head to the north, between the twin Sāla trees. And the Exalted One laid himself down on his right side, with one leg resting on the other; and he was mindful and self-possessed.*[132]

But still, the Buddha was able to address the members of his community, give them instructions for his funerals[133] and even convert new adepts. And then,

> *the Exalted One...said: — 'Behold now, brethren, I exhort you, saying:—"Decay is inherent in all component things! Work out your salvation with diligence!"' This was the last word of the Tathāgata!...When the Exalted One died, of those of the brethren who were not yet free from the passions, some stretched out their arms and wept, and some fell headlong on the ground, rolling to and fro in anguish at the thought:— 'Too soon has the Exalted One died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!'*[134]

Depictions of the scene invariably show the Buddha lying on his right side on a couch, his head to the left, surrounded by monks and laymen who mourn. A *thūpa* hovers above the Buddha's body.

65 The sojourn at Pārilleyaka, Maung-yon-gu, shrine, north wall, north-east corner

> *Now as the body of the Exalted One burned itself away, from the skin and the integument, and the flesh, and the nerves, and the fluid of the joints, neither soot nor ash was seen. Only the bones remained behind. Just as one sees no soot or ash when ghee or oil is burned; so, as the body of the Exalted One burned itself away, from the skin and the integument, and the flesh, and the nerves, and the fluid of the joints, neither soot nor ash was seen. Only the bones remained behind. And of those five hundred pieces of raiment the very innermost and outermost were both consumed.*[135]

In monument 421 the Parinibbāna is followed

66 *The cremation of the Buddha's corpse and the worship of the feet by Mahā-Kassapa, west niche, south wall, monument 585, copyright G. Heil*

by depiction of the cremation of the Buddha's body. Similarly, the death and cremation are illustrated below the vault on the south and north side respectively, in the circular temple 516.[136] Mahā-Kassapa kneels at the end of the bed where lies the Buddha, venerating his feet which arise out of the burning coffin.

The final demise of the Buddha is often depicted on a lintel: such is the case in the Le-myet-hna-hpaya and the Ma-la-phyi-hpaya (lin-
(10) tel above the passage leading to the entrance hall in the east), or in temple 473 (on the lintel above the only entrance, in the west, of this small monument) (pl. 68); in temple 516, it occupies a similar position on the wall above the image facing the cremation, which is seen on the lintel of the passage to the entrance hall in the north. In temple 92 at Sale, it appears on the tympanum of the left wall facing a depiction of the Buddha reclining on the cosmic
66-67 waters (pls 69-70). The Parinibbāna is painted on the west wall behind the cult image in the Nga-hla-htin-gu (pl. 67).[137] Painted on the north wall of the west wing, below the cremation, it faces the Buddha reclining on the universe in temple 585, while in monument 845, painted on the south wall of the west wing, it faces the war over the relics.

In monuments 2103 and 2157, which follow the composition of the Loka-hteik-pan, the Parinibbāna is painted above the central image of the Buddha, as is always the case in India (pls 3-4).

The veneration of the feet of the Buddha by Mahā-Kassapa, the veneration of the relics, the war over the relics and their distribution

> *His mind having emerged therefrom,* [the great Kathaba] *made the following prayer:— 'I wish to see the feet of the Buddha, whereupon are imprinted the marks that formerly prognosticated his future glorious destiny. May the cloth and cotton they are wrapped with be unloosened, and the coffin, as well as the pile, be laid open, and the sacred feet appear out and extend so far*

as to lie on my head.' He had scarcely uttered his prayer, when the whole was suddenly opened, and there came out the beautiful feet, like the full moon emerging from the bosom of a dark cloud. The whole assembly burst into loud applause and continued cheers on seeing this matchless prodigy. Kathaba, stretching [out] *his two hands, that resembled two lilies just blooming, held both feet firmly by the heels, placed them on his head, and worshipped. All his disciples followed his example, and worshipped. Perfumes and flowers were profusely offered by the crowd. When this was done, the feet slowly withdrew into their place, the pile and coffin resumed their natural position. As the sun and the moon disappeared below the horizon, so the feet of Buddha disappeared, buried as it were, in the folds of cloth and cotton.*[138]

This scene is painted above the now lost depiction of the final demise in monument 585 (pl. 66). On the whole rarely depicted,[139] it forms a pair with the wars over the relics and their distribution to eight rulers, in the Wetkyi-

67 (Right) The Parinibbāna, west niche, west wall, Nga-hla-htin-gu, copyright G. Heil

68 (Below) The Parinibbāna, the worship of the feet by Mahā-Kassapa and the division of the relics, west wall, above the entrance, monument 473

69 The Parinibbāna, south niche, south wall, Sale, monument 92 (Yanzatthu)

in Kubyauk-gyi (298), in monument 473 where both scenes frame the Parinibbāna (pl. 68) and in the upper row of the large mural in temple 505 where both scenes are painted side by side in the upper left corner.

> *In the place where the corpse had been exposed during seven days, the relics were deposited during the same length of time, and offerings of perfumes and flowers were incessantly made. Above them, a canopy bespangled with gold and silver stars was raised, and bouquets of flowers and perfumes were hanging therefrom. From that place to the one where the ornaments were deposited, the road was lined on both sides with fine cloth; the road itself was covered with the finest mats. Above the road was spread a splendid canopy bespangled with golden stars and flowers. The interior of the building was richly decorated; perfumes and flowers were seen hanging from the canopy. Around the building, masts were planted, and adorned with the five sorts of flags. Plantain trees were planted on both sides of the road, and jars of cool water were laid down at a very short distance one from the other. From posts of well-polished wood were suspended lamps to be lighted day and night. The box, containing the relics, was placed on the back of a richly-caparisoned elephant, and the precious remains were honoured in every possible way by offerings of flowers and perfumes; by dancing, singing, music, rejoicings, and loud acclamations. The Malla princes, to insure the safety of the relics, had a line of elephants drawn round the place, then a second line of horses, than a third of chariots, then a fourth of warriors. Such precautions were taken both for insuring the safety of the relics, and allowing time to everybody to come and do honour to them.*[140]

With the presence of elephants and horses, one might argue that some of the murals at Pagan illustrate this scene of veneration of the relics, after the cremation and before they were distributed between eight rulers. But the gloss in the Kubyauk-gyi Wetkyi-in leaves no doubt

70 The dreams, north niche, north wall, Sale, monument 92 (Yanzatthu)

that what is to be seen is the brāhmin Doṇa distributing the relics among these eight kings. Human beings are by nature weak and greedy, and the fact that the relics and ashes were those of a great man was apparently not enough to prevent those kings, who had come from all parts of north India to pay their last respects to the Buddha, from expressing their wish to acquire the relics and take them back to their countries. They were even ready to fight each other:

> *They agreed that, the relics of Buddha being the most valuable possessions in the world, they would not part with them. Many angry words were exchanged among contending parties. They were almost ready to draw the sword when a celebrated pounha, named Dauna, made his appearance. He stood on an elevated spot, and making a sign with his hand, began to speak in a language calculated to soothe the irritation of the parties... 'O Kings and princes,' said he, 'hear one word that I have to say to you...I will divide the relics into eight equal portions. Let every one be ever solicitous to multiply in all directions dzedis in honour of him, who was possessed of the five visions, that many feel affection for the most excellent one'...*[141]

On the panels in the Wetkyi-in Kubyauk-gyi and in the Winido-hpaya (pl. 20), we see the brahmin Doṇa standing below the pyre hemmed between two elephants, which refer to the claimants to the relics. In the present case, both scenes are complementary to the six scenes of the life usually seen on either side of the cult image. The war over the relics and their division are also painted on the north wall of the west wing in the Ku-tha-hpaya (845) where it faces the Parinibbāṇa, and where four kings on their elephants and four on their horses converge toward the centre of the composition. *(26)*

Chapter III

THE PREVIOUS LIVES OF THE BUDDHA

When my concentrated mind was thus purified, bright, unblemished and rid of imperfection, when it had become malleable, wieldy, steady and attained to imperturbability, I directed, I inclined my mind to the knowledge of recollection of past lives. I recollected my manifold past lives, that is to say, one birth, two, three, four, five births, ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty births, a hundred births, a thousand births, a hundred thousand births, many ages of world contraction, many ages of world expansion, many ages of world contraction and expansion: 'I was there so-named, of such a race, with such an appearance, such food, such experience of pleasure and pain, such a life term; and passing away thence, I reappeared elsewhere, and there too I was so-named, of such a race, with such an appearance, such experience of pleasure and pain, such a life term; passing away thence I reappeared here' — thus with details and particulars I recollected my manifold past life.[1]

plate page nos
left column
(right column)

The *jātakas* or 'previous birth stories' are moral tales which extol the immense compassion of the future Buddha Sakyamuni in his numerous previous lives when, as a Bodhisatta, he was man, animal, or even god. As such, these tales have an instructive and moralising function, and their presence on the walls of the temples is perfectly comprehensible. Moreover, they show the gradual maturation of a being on his way to Buddhahood and introduce the perception of a period, the length of which goes beyond our understanding, spreading over 547 lives narrated in a sequence of twenty-two books.[2]

While the life of the Buddha was illustrated through stone images at the Ānanda and at the Kyaukku Onhmin,[3] and whereas the Buddhas of the past were sculpted in the Naga-yon,[4] the *jātakas* were depicted by means of terracotta plaques, distributed over the terraces of the major monuments. Thus we see them on the Ānanda, or on large *thūpas* or pagodas, e.g. the Shwe-hsan-daw, 'pagoda of the golden holy hair' (monument 1568), ascribed to Anawratha's reign, with a series of unglazed and not inscribed plaques on the plinth,[5] the west and east Hpet-leik or 'pagodas of the curling hair' (monuments 1030 and 1031) (*c.* Anawratha's reign), with a very large number of unglazed plaques[6] which bear a number and the title of the *jātaka*, or the Schwe-zigon (Kyanzittha's reign) with inscribed glazed green terracotta plaques distributed over the different terraces.[7] Another group used to be distributed on the levels of the Mingalazedi.[8] Gordon Luce pointed out that two lists of *jātakas* might have been used, one of 550 tales which would be slightly older, and was illustrated at the two Hpet-leik, and one of 547, which coincides with the scriptural tradition introduced from Sri Lanka in the course of Kyanzittha's reign at the Ānanda for instance or later in the murals of the Kubyauk-gyi at Myinkaba.[9] However, the development does not seem to be as evident as supposed by the scholar, since 550 and not 547 birth stories were illustrated in thirteenth century temples at Minnanthu, probably out of practical convenience since it was evidently easier for the painters to accommodate the even number of 550 rather than the odd 547 panels on the walls, just like it was more convenient to place twenty-eight, rather than twenty-five, Buddhas in a continuous frieze.

(74-76)

As a matter of fact, the *jātakas* were also painted within the monuments. In a temple like the Kubyauk-gyi (pls 76-78) they received

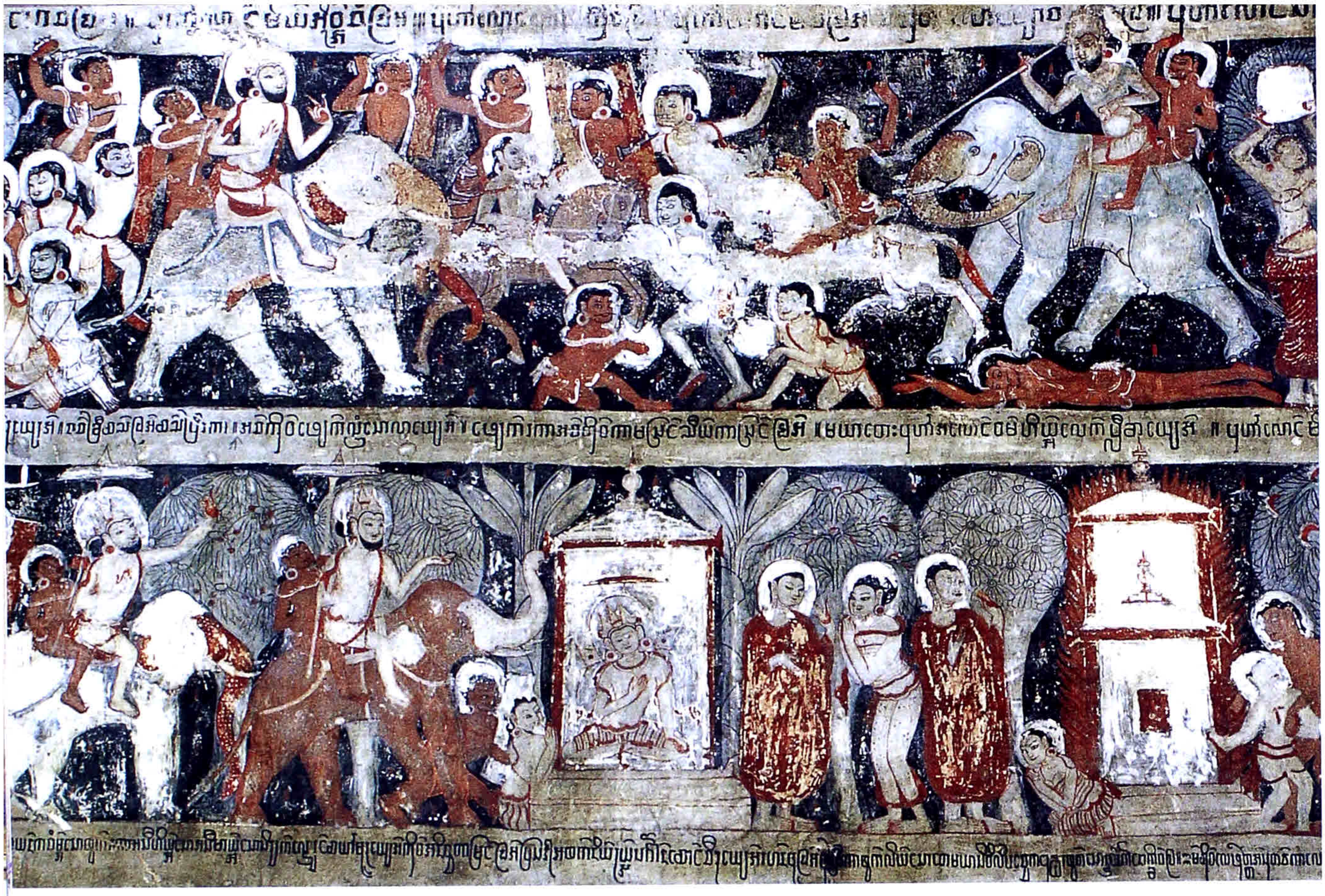
particular treatment, being distributed over all four outer walls of the corridor. The cycle starts at the top of the eastern wall and runs round and down. Thus, the oldest tales remain practically invisible, being painted very high on the walls, while the most recent ones are at eye-level. Since we find further panels with depictions of mythic events often related to cosmology above these *jātakas*, the spatial distribution seems in fact to reflect a chronological succession. The past is high in space, invisible to our eyes, immersed in the abyss of time.

As mentioned above, the Bodhisatta assumed a whole range of aspects in the course of his successive existences and, although he could only become a Buddha as a male human being, his long spiritual way led him to be a human, semi-divine creature, god or animal without any specific line of evolution that can be followed.[10] Thus, surveying the walls in the Kubyauk-gyi we see depictions of animals side by side with scenes of discussion between human beings (pl. 76).

The panels are large and depict the various tales in detail. They are framed by a yellow gold band which is either adorned with rhombic and circular gems of dark blue and red hues, or inscribed with the name of the tale (pl. 76). A similar structure can be seen in the Abe-ya-dana, where the *jātakas* are painted only in the entrance hall (pl. 79), again framed by a yellow band, which is here unadorned. Unlike the Kubyauk-gyi, where the composition of each panel is innovative and imbued with movement, painted with a warm palette on a red background, showing large blossoming trees behind the heroes of the various tales, the panels of the Abe-ya-dana tend toward a simplification or standardization of composition. Often separated in two levels by a horizontal line, the panels are filled out with figures kneeling close together or standing side by side. The colours may have faded but, nonetheless, they show nothing like the warmth impregnating the murals of the Kubyauk-gyi.

While looking at the two panels illustrating *jātakas* where the Bodhisatta was a white stallion and a strong elephant respectively (pl. 77),[11] we observe two types of composition,

71 Jātakas, *west wall, shrine, Loka-hteik-pan*



72 Mahājanakajātaka, *detail, west wall, shrine, Loka-hteik-pan*

73 Mahājanakajātaka, *detail, west wall, shrine, Loka-hteik-pan*

one asymmetric and imbued with movement and energy, and one based on a strict symmetry developed about a central figure. This is the structure most commonly met with among the depictions of *jātakas* (pl. 76), although the painters introduced various ways of organizing space to create at a first glance, an impression of confusion. But closer observation of the mural reveals that most of the panels are elaborated in two vertical parts of the same size. The characters, human or animal, present in these two compartments face each other. Within this rather simple structure, variations are introduced for instance, the Bodhisatta alone occupies one of the two halves, usually the left one, and a group of worshippers face him, which implies that the Bodhisatta is also taller than his companions. Such is the case of the Bodhisatta as a monkey in the *Garahita-jātaka*, explaining to his herd of monkeys what mankind is, or of his position as a minister of justice in the *Kūṭavāṇija-jātaka*, where the villagers kneel in front of him—two tales illustrated in the upper left corner of the mural illustrated here.[12] A similarly clear composition, with two groups of characters facing each other, is also present in the panel illustrating the *Uraga-jātaka* (pl. 78), which tells us that 'once upon a time...the Bodhisatta was born in a Brahmin household, in a village outside the gates of Benares'.[13] He was the father of two children and was present when his son was mortally bitten by a snake, but neither he nor any of the members of his household, shed tears, all aware that 'that which is subject to dissolution is dissolved, and that which is subject to death is dead. All compound existences are transitory and liable to death.' Thus,

> *they all took up fire-wood and, lifting the body on to the funeral pile, they made offerings of perfumes and flowers, and then set fire to it. But not a single tear was shed by any one. All were dwelling on the thought of death. Such was the efficacy of their virtue that the throne of Sakka manifested signs of heat.*

Puzzled, Sakka appeared at the funeral pyre, which is the scene depicted in the mural: the long-bearded Sakka faces the Bodhisatta and his wife who attend to the pyre standing in the centre of the composition. The god presented them with 'the seven treasures in countless abundance', judging them to have reached such a high spiritual level that they should not work any more but 'give alms, ... keep the moral law, ... observe holy days ...' 74

> *Once upon a time, when Brahmadatta was king of Benares, there was a great lake in Himalaya, wherein was a great golden Crab. Because he lived there, the place was known as the Crab Tarn. The Crab was very large, as big* [and] *round as a threshing floor; it would catch elephants, and kill and eat them; and from fear of it the elephants durst not go down and browse there.*

The *jātaka* of the 'gold-clawed creature' or *Kakkaṭā-jātaka*,[14] tells us how the Bodhisatta was born in this herd and how he helped his likes to destroy this monstrous crab, which is here depicted (pl. 77); the large golden crab (74) swims in the lake where he is trampled by the future Buddha and his congeners. The large, proud white elephant with the red trunk is surrounded by the herd of animals forming pairs behind him, all depicted as if trampling on the crab. The composition is imbued with vividness although elaborated on the basis of strict symmetry, showing the Bodhisatta in the foreground and in the centre of the square panel. 75

In these tales our Bodhisatta often appears as the king of his herd, the rescuer confronting a danger, but his presence can also be a pretext to introduce a moral lesson as in the *jātaka* of 'He for whose sake', the *Vātaggasindhava-jātaka*,[15] which is depicted close to the previous tale.

> *Once upon a time, when Brahmadatta was king of Benares, the Bodhisatta was a Sindh horse, and they called him Swift-as-the-Wind, and he was the king's horse of ceremony.*

Now it happened that a she-ass had fallen in love with the Bodhisatta, and possessed by passion, had given up eating and drinking. Seeing her so desperate, her son had no difficulty in persuading the Bodhisatta to respond to her desire, but at that moment, she felt that it would be below her dignity to meet his approach without resistance:

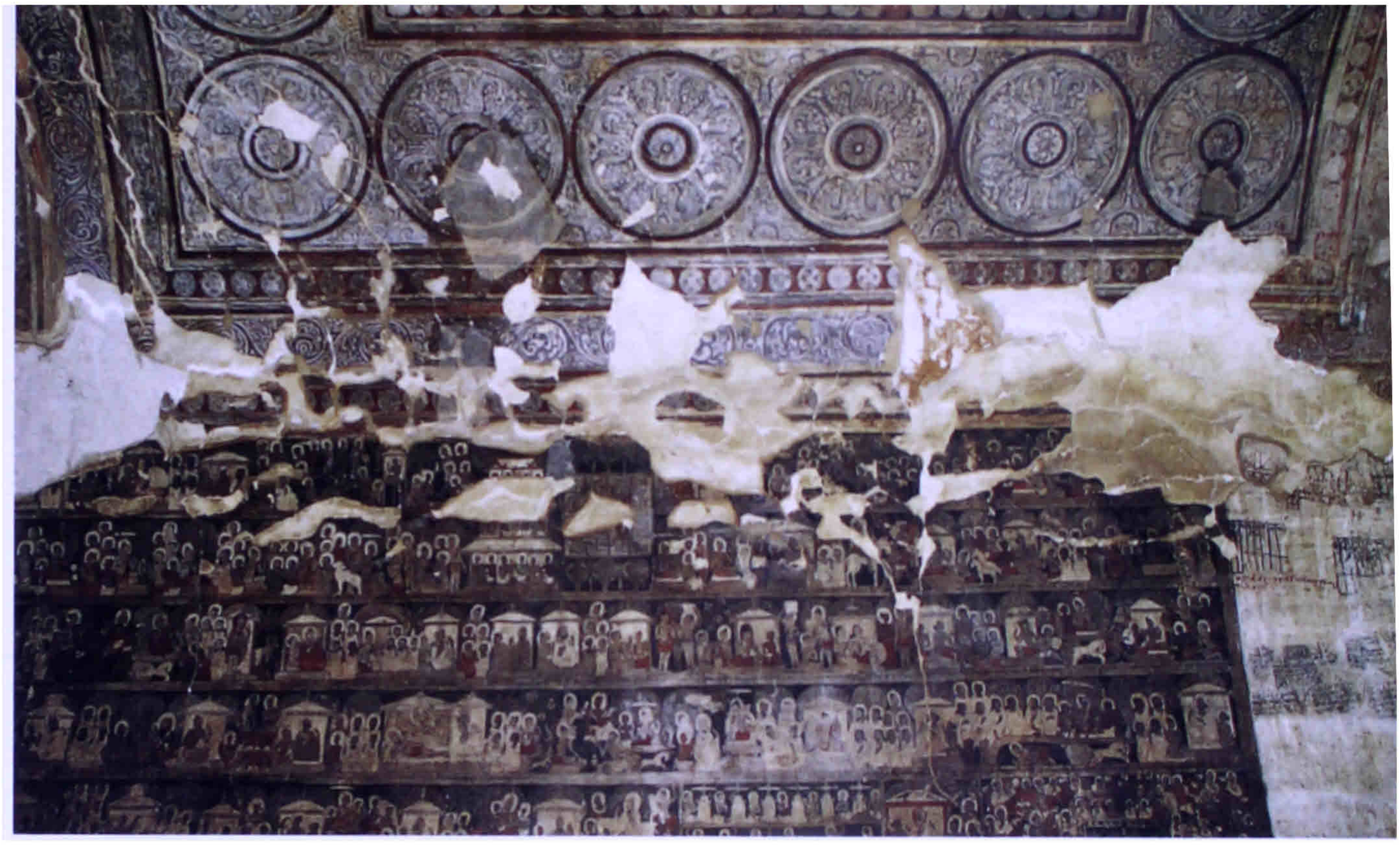
> *If I make myself cheap, and let him have his way*

74 Four jātakas, *west wall, upper right corner, shrine, Loka-hteik-pan*

> *as soon as he has come here, my honour and pride will perish. I must make as though I did not wish it.*

And thinking so, 'she gave him a kick on the lower jaw, and scampered away. It broke his jaw, and half killed him.' The result was that the Bodhisatta 'felt ashamed and made off'. Clearly, the authors of the *jātakas* were shrewd observers of the feminine mind, concluding the tale with the following sentence: 'If at the very first, when by her side / He stands, without delay / A woman yields, all humbled in her pride: / Therefore I ran away.'[16] And here, she is depicted lashing out and hurting the white stallion behind her, and the same stallion running away in the background. In contrast to most of the panels, the composition is totally asymmetric: a *(77-78)* broad movement brings the animals from left to right, indicating secondarily the direction in which the complete set of *jātakas* should be read.

Hence forward the presentation of the tales reveals a marked tendency towards simplification: the frame is reduced to a simple *(87)* line, the size of the panels shrinks dramatically. The number of characters taking part in the stories naturally dwindles, too, and the story is reduced to a mere pictographic representation. The treatment of the trees, which constitute a major ornamental element covering the background, becomes increasingly basic and only their circular outline is drawn, forming as it were an aura behind the characters. Since this simplification also sees reduction in the size of the panels, and since, moreover, no more glosses are written, the perception of the birth stories can at best be had globally, and not in the particular perusal of each of the panels. The *jātakas* were clearly understood as leading to the historical existence of the Buddha, and this explains how rows of small panels illustrating them came to constitute a frame around larger depictions of events drawn from the Buddha's life (pls 80-81), a treatment which is more particularly noticed in the thirteenth century temples at Minnanthu.[17] This subsidiary position, also evidenced by the fact that they no longer cover walls but can also constitute large rectangular spaces on the lower part of the walls (pl. 91), also relates to the importance attributed in these monuments to the Buddha



75 West wall and ceiling, vestibule, Loka-hteik-pan

as image of Buddhahood, or to the Buddha as cosmological image, at the expense of the vision of a being slowly progressing towards Nibbana, when he escapes the cycle of reincarnations.

Following the tradition of the Abe-ya-dana, the *jātakas* cover the side walls of the entrance hall, in the nearby temple of Phya-sa-shwe-gu (no. 1249),[18] and in the Kubyauk-gyi at Wetkyi-in, where they are framed by scenes of the Buddha's life and by the series of the Buddhas of the past (pls 239-40).[19] In a direct line of continuity with the composition in this temple, even smaller panels are painted in the entrance of the Ajja-gona-hpaya (pl. 243). They appear similarly in the forepart to the eastern sanctuary of the Hpaya-thon-zu (no. 477) (pl. 249), below the row of Buddhas of the past (pl. 91) and around large panels showing Sakkamuni (pls 80-81), or in the entrance hall of temples at Sale (pls 9, 196).

However, painters could also innovate, and select another location within the temple. *Jātakas* can cover large rectangular surfaces on the side walls of the niches, such as in the Maung-yon-gu (pl. 244), or form a frieze in the lower part of the murals, painted below the Buddhas of the past such as in the Thambula-hpaya (pl. 91). In the Ka-tha-pa-hpaya east, the *(87)* complete set of 550 *jātakas* is distributed around eight images of the Buddha displaying the gesture of Enlightenment (pl. 81), painted *(78)* on the side walls of the passages toward the shrine; through subtle variations, not noticeable at first sight, the artists managed to paint 44 (eastern wing), 72 (north wing, west wall) and 78 (north wing, east wall; southern and west- *190-191* ern wings) *jātakas* around the Buddha images, amounting to the final number of 550 panels.

The last ten *jātakas* or *dasajati*, 'ten births', *194* form the book entitled *Mahānipāta*, and were particularly favoured by the artists of Pagan. For instance, 389 terracotta plaques depicting *200* them are distributed over the upper terraces of the Ānanda, while the 537 tales preceding *77-78* them are illustrated with 537 plaques only on *13, 149* the lower levels.[20] Similarly, they were depicted at the bottom of small carved images of the Buddha, effectively supporting the latter and illustration of his life through the eight great events and the seven stations.[21] Earlier this set *195*

76 Jātakas, *north wall, corridor, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba*

77 Vātaggasindhava- *and* Kakkaṭā jātakas, *south wall, corridor, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba*

78 Uragajātaka, *south wall, corridor, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba*

had already been the object of special attention at Thaton, capital of the Mon kingdom, in southern Burma where they were mentioned in an inscription dating to the reign of Makuta before he was deported to Pagan by Anawratha, and where they were illustrated in the glazed terracottas of the Thagya pagoda or in stone carvings on the boundary pillars of the ordination-hall at the Kalyāṇī Thein.[22]

The last ten *jātakas* were also given a particular position in the Loka-hteik-pan, where the first twenty *nipātas* or books of *jātakas* are summarized with a limited number of panels covering the upper two rows and the left part of the third row of the western wall in the shrine (pl. 71).[23] They are followed by a detailed rendering of the first eight *jātakas* included in the twenty-first book entitled the 'Great nipāta' or *Mahānipāta*, which cover the remaining right part of the third row and the following fourth to fourteenth rows. As for the last two *jātakas*, i.e. the Mahāsodha and the Vessantara, they are painted on the two walls of the entrance hall (pl. 75). Apart from the paintings in the Loka-hteik-pan, the sequence of these ten stories differs in Pagan from the order presented in the Sri Lankan sources and since it is preserved throughout all the illustrated series of *jātakas*, either painted or carved, present in the site, we cannot surmise 'a lack of strict supervision'[24] but, rather, the presence of another tradition at Pagan: the distribution encountered here in any of the mural or terracotta series, is also introduced in the small sculptures mentioned above.[25] Quite clearly, the artists here drew their inspiration from a source other than the Singhalese one. This is borne out by the fact that different names were given to some of the common birth stories, thus the *Temiya-jātaka* (*jātaka* 1 of the last *nipāta*) is known as the *Mūgapakkha-jātaka* in the Sri Lankan tradition, the Singhalese *Sāma-jātaka* (tale 3) can be labelled *Savaṇṇasāna-jātaka* here, the *Mahosadha-jātaka* (tale 5) is known as *Mahāummaga-jātaka* in Sri Lanka, the Singhalese *Khaṇḍahāla* (tale 6) is the Burmese

69

Candakumāra-jātaka[26]

Whereas the tales drawn from the twenty-one first books, are painted within square pan-
72 els (pl. 74),[27] the last ten *jātakas* are illustrated with a lively continuous frieze delineated on a dark blue background adorned with tiny red and white flowers which the gods let fall from heaven. The haloed characters are engaged in the action against a landscape of precisely rendered trees rising between sanctuaries or pavilions. The description of the events is written on narrow bands separating the successive horizontal lines, and the label is clearly not superfluous addition with the mere function of 'iden-
(70) tifying' the tales: for instance, labels are also introduced at the topmost levels, inaccessible to the eye and so, of course, impossible to read.[28]

Each one of the twenty-one first books is alluded to with the depiction of one of its *jātakas* which is labelled.[29] Here we meet the Bodhisatta as a hermit, or as the king of Varanasi, as the minister to the king, as a king among animals, such as the vulture or elephants, or even as Sakka, the king of the gods. The lapidary inscriptions here only identify the paintings, but although those running below the following friezes are longer, they do not quote lengthy passages from the scriptural tradition or give a circumstantial account of the narrative. For instance, the fight (pl. 72) between two armies evoked with the presence of two elephants, two

79 Jātakas, *wall, entrance hall, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya*

horses and foot-soldiers is described as such in the epigraph: 'He mustered an army for campaign. Having mustered it, he comes with the object of destroying his elder brother. After the destruction the elder brother lost (the day) and the younger brother won.'[30] This battle for the throne between the king Mahājanaka and his younger brother, the viceroy Polajanaka is similarly very briefly evoked in the text whereas the preparations for war and the subsequent escape of the queen are narrated in detail:

> *The inhabitants heard that Prince Polajanaka was come, and most of them joined him with their elephants and other riding animals, and the inhabitants of other towns also gathered with them. So he sent a message to his brother, 'I was not your enemy before but I am indeed your enemy now; give the royal umbrella up to me or give battle.' As the king went to give battle, he bade farewell to his principal queen. 'Lady,' he said, 'victory and defeat in a battle cannot be foretold,—if any fatal accident befalls me, do you carefully preserve the child in your womb': so saying he departed; and the soldiers of Polajanaka ere long took his life in battle. The news of the king's death caused a universal confusion in the whole city. The queen, having learned that he was dead, quickly put her gold and choicest treasury into a basket and spread a cloth on the top and strewed some husked rice over that; and having put on some soiled clothes and disfigured her Epson, she set the basket on her head and went out at an unusual time of the day, and no one recognised her.*[31]

The battle scene nonetheless occupies an important portion in the central part of the frieze, illustrated with vividness and animation whereas the escape of the queen, to the right of the battle, is fittingly discreet. Similar remarks could be said of the scene depicted below, labelled:

> *After coming out to enjoy himself in the garden, he makes his teacher the (two) mango (trees), the one with fruits and the other without fruits, and sees his own impermanence. Staying on the pavilion, he has brought to him a monk's robe, and becomes a monk. Having become (a monk), he goes forth. His wife Sīvali, (thinking that) it is a Pacceka-Buddha, steps back in reverence.*[32]

Now, the narration of the very same sequel of events took nearly three full pages in the English translation of the text,[33] and comparison

80 The Buddha surrounded by a broad frame of jātakas, *south wing, west wall, Ka-tha-pa-hpaya west*

between the mural and its glosses in the Loka-hteik-pan, with the scriptural sources, shows that it was necessary to know these sources to understand the mural and the inscription: neither suffices to make the moral message of the tale clear, but in conjunction they evoke a specific moment of the tale. The scenes are clearly separated but harmoniously related, covering superimposed horizontal bands which fill the entire wall; they should usually be read from left to right. For instance, we see in pl. 73 the *(70)* illustration of King Mahājanaka and his wife ruling and being venerated by their people,

before the king lies on his death bed, and the crown prince is enthroned. Below these scenes, (70) the mural first shows the Bodhisatta being rescued by Maṇimekhalā when the ship on which he travels sinks, and second the princess Sīvali with a minister who 'desiring to please her, squeezes her foot', before they moved towards the 'place where the Bodhisatta is'. A Brahman, having examined the marks on his feet, says, "This is indeed the Bodhisattva fit for kingship." So they take him off with them.'[34] The Bodhisatta will be presented to the princess, marry her and ascend the throne. A generous ruler, he will make numerous donations before coming to the realization of his impermanence in the mango garden and departing from the mundane life of a ruler, as seen in the second figure (pl. 72).

81 The Buddha surrounded by a broad frame of jātakas, *south wing, east wall, Ka-tha-pa-hpaya east*

While in the Loka-hteik-pan, the *jātakas* are illustrated through a succession of events, in the other monuments, depiction of them is reduced to a single event, or possibly two, as for instance in the Htin-ga-ya-za (temple 1051), which still shows inscribed murals in the style of the Loka-hteik-pan.[35] This reduced iconography can, moreover, be related to the disappearance of the labels; thus the only way to correctly identify the various tales is to know their exact sequence. Most probably this twofold simplification, i.e. through elimination of the title and the sole presence of one event portrayed with drastically reduced treatment, is related to the secondary position taken by the *jātakas* in the temples where they are thus treated. In both Ka-tha-pa-hpaya for instance (pls 80-81), they form a broad frame around images of Sakyamuni, and when we consider the overall iconography of the temple it emerges in all evidence that they have become subsidiary. They are no longer represented forming large panels on the side walls of the entrance hall, accompanying the devotee on his way to the shrine, preceding the presence of Sakyamuni and actually announcing the latter—their most suitable position, in fact, since the devotee passes through the entrance hall before seeing the image of the Buddha and given that the *jātakas* were also the innumerable stations leading to the last historic life. And as such, reduced to broad frames or panels distributed in the lower part of the walls in the side niches of the shrine, the strength of their moral message for the worshipper is diluted, whereas they remain as a continuous thread which finds its spiritual fulfilment in the presence of Sakyamuni. Moreover, when distributed around the Buddha's image they appear as countless facets of the latter, the 'historical' dimension characterizing them as a sequence having practically vanished at that point of understanding. Distributed around the large central Buddha image, the *jātakas* reflect the multiplication of this image in a spatial dimension, which is superposed onto their chronological succession.

Chapter IV

DĪPAṄKARA AND THE BUDDHAS OF THE PAST— METTEYYA, BUDDHA OF THE FUTURE

Dipaṅkara, knower of the world(s), recipient of offerings, standing near my head, spoke these words: 'Do you see this very severe ascetic, a matted hair ascetic? Innumerable eons from now he will be a Buddha in the world. [1]

Twenty-eight Buddha images displaying alternatively the *dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā* and the *bhūmisparśamudrā*, i.e. the gesture of predication or earth-touching, are painted on the northern wall of the sanctum in the Loka-hteik-pan, facing the cult image (pls 83, 84). Each Buddha sits below a particular tree and is identified with an inscription in Old Mon. The first three Buddhas aside, all of the following twenty-four once met the being who was to become Sakyamuni, the Buddha of our era, and who is also the twenty-eighth of the line. The life of each of them is similar to the life of our Buddha: each attained Enlightenment below a specific tree, each preached and had followers. For instance, the *Buddhavaṃsa* describes the life of Dīpaṅkara thus:

Rammavatī was the name of the city, Sumedha the name of the warrior-noble, Sumedhā was the name of the mother of Dīpaṅkara, the teacher. He lived the household life for ten thousand years. And the three superb palaces were Haṁsā, Koñcā, Mayūrā. There were three hundred thousand beautifully adorned women. His wife was named Padumā, his son was named Usabhakkhandha. After he had seen the four signs the Conqueror departed mounted on an elephant; he strove the striving for a full ten months. After he had engaged in the striving the sage awakened to his purpose. On being requested by Brahma, Dīpaṅkara, great sage, great hero, turned the Wheel in the Nanda-park in Sirighara. Sitting at the root of a Sirīsa, he crushed the sectarians. Sumaṅgala and Tissa were the chief disciples, Sāgata was the name of the attendant of Dīpaṅkara, the teacher. Nandā and Sunandā were the chief women disciples. That Lord's Tree of Awakening is said to be the Pipphalī. Tapussa and Bhallika were the chief attendants; Sirimā and Somā the chief women attendants on Dīpaṅkara, the teacher. The great sage Dīpaṅkara was eighty cubits in height. He shone like a tree of lights, like a king of sāla trees in full bloom. That great seer's life-span was a hundred thousand years. Living so long he caused many people to cross over. After illuminating the True Dhamma and causing the populace to cross over, blazing [like] *a mass of fire, he, with the disciples, waned out. And that psychic potency and that great retinue and those treasures of the Wheel on his feet have all disappeared. Are not all constructions void? Dīpaṅkara, the Conqueror, the teacher, waned out in Nanda-part. A Conqueror's thūpa to him there was thirty-six yojanas in height.* [2]

plate page nos
left column
(right column)

81

The reader will have recognized the similarities between this summarized life, and the long, intricate biography of Sakyamuni; the major events of the latter's life are evoked: the four encounters, the departure, the awakening, the turning of the wheel, the miracles, the final demise. And the life of each of the following Buddhas reproduces the same chain of events, only the names of the characters, trees,[3] places changing.

The tradition of the 'Buddhas of the past' traces its origin back to early Indian art, where a group of five or six of them was symbolically evoked around Sakyamuni through the presence of their respective tree of Bodhi or through the *thūpa* hiding their relics. Similar symbolic depiction of the Buddha of the future, Metteyya,

82 Sumedha lying at the feet of the Buddha Dīpaṅkara, east wall, shrine, Loka-hteik-pan

was, moreover, attached to this group—a composition which is absent from the Burmese tradition. The six Buddhas of the past, the Buddha Sakyamuni of our time and the Buddha of the future, Metteyya, form a group of eight figures to be observed as from the Gupta period, at Ajanta for instance, and this group is going to be preserved up to the twelfth century in east India.[4] Although the group of twenty-eight Buddhas is a characteristic of the Buddhist iconography of Pagan and does not seem to have been portrayed in India as had the smaller group of the seven Buddhas, groups of a variable number of Buddhas are known, all displaying the same gesture, which might possibly illustrate these Buddhas.[5] At Pagan, a group of five Buddhas is also repeatedly alluded to in particular pentagonal monuments which have been studied by Pierre Pichard. This group includes the last four Buddhas of our era or *kappa*, i.e. Kakusandha, Konāgamana, Kassapa and Sakyamuni, and the Buddha of the future, Metteyya.[6]

The Pagan tradition relies entirely on the text of the 'Chronicle of Buddhas' or *Buddhavaṃsa*, which briefly describes each of them and relates their encounter with the Bodhisatta who was to become the Buddha of our era, and who is himself the last Buddha of the list, named Gotama. Each meeting brings the Bodhisatta, who assumes various human and animal forms, closer to Buddhahood. Of these encounters one has held a more particularly important position since the beginning of our era in north-west India, and this is the meeting of the Buddha Dīpaṅkara and the young ascetic Sumedha, which also became a favourite theme at Pagan. However, whereas the *Buddhavaṃsa* has a list of twenty-five Buddhas starting with Dīpaṅkara, at Pagan we invariably find twenty-eight Buddhas, three having been added before Dīpaṅkara. These three Buddhas, who did not meet the Bodhisatta, are barely evoked in the *Buddhavaṃsa*:

> *Immeasurable eons ago there were four guiders away: these Conquerors, Taṇhaṅkara, Medhaṅkara, Saraṇaṅkara and Dīpaṅkara the Self-Awakened One were in one eon.*[7]

They were fully integrated with the set of the Buddhas of the past at Pagan; the Le-myet-hna-hpaya (447), dated to 1223-27, has a complete set of twenty-eight Buddhas, all presenting the gesture of preaching while sitting below their respective trees, painted on the outer wall of the corridor; the glosses identifying them are very precise, adding names of their parents, for instance, below the first three Buddhas.[8]

This theme evidently introduces the dimension of eternity and cyclic time into the iconographic ornamentation of the temple. The lives of these Buddhas are similar, as we saw above:

83 *Kūṇāguṁ (Konāgamana), Buddha of the past, north wall, shrine, Loka-hteik-pan*

84 *Kassapa, Buddha of the past, north wall, shrine, Loka-hteik-pan*

85 Buddha of the past, upper frieze, interior wall, corridor, Patho-hta-mya

they form a series of repetitions prefiguring the life of Sakyamuni, although they are of course based on the latter's biography. Each of the Buddhas needed an extremely long period of time to prepare himself before awakening, and this period lasted for eons (*kappa*) the lengths of which are beyond our understanding. These eons were an eternity of time ago, in a time which escapes any possibility of being measured:

> *There are these four incalculable periods of an eon: when an eon rolls up, when an eon that has rolled up stands still, when an eon rolls out, when an eon that has rolled stands still.*[9]

Moreover, these Buddhas also lived to be extremely old: they lived in eons where the lifespan had a length which is unthinkable for us.[10] Thus, the successive twenty-seven Buddhas who preceded the twenty-eighth, Gotama, illustrate this eternity which is behind us. Sakyamuni, or Gotama, is the Buddha of our eon, and since the very beginning, since the first Buddha, Dīpaṅkara, he has been present. That the topic not only relates to the Buddhas of the past, illustrating simultaneously the cyclic nature of time and its eternity, but that it is of major relevance to the personality of 'our' Buddha is exemplified, for instance, in the Kubyauk-gyi at Wetkyi-in, where Dīpaṅkara is the first of the series to be properly labelled, whereas the very first three panels, which illustrate the three Buddhas who belong to eons prior to Dīpaṅkara, remain anonymous and bear, instead, inscriptions concerning the notions of *kappa*, the eon, and of space. Each panel has a two-line inscription; in the first panel, the first line describes the five various types of eons and the lower line explains that 'in an aeon when a Buddha is to be born, at the establishment of the aeon, there must first appear a site for the Lotus-blossoming.'[11] The upper line of the second panel is erased but probably offered a commentary on the first two eons since one is given on the last three eons in the corresponding line of the third panel. As

86 Buddhas of the past, corridor of the shrine, Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi

for the lower line, it again presents information related to space:

> *when past or future Buddhas come, be they more in number than the grains in a heap of earth, there must be a site for them to preach their Wheel of the Law sermon.*[12]

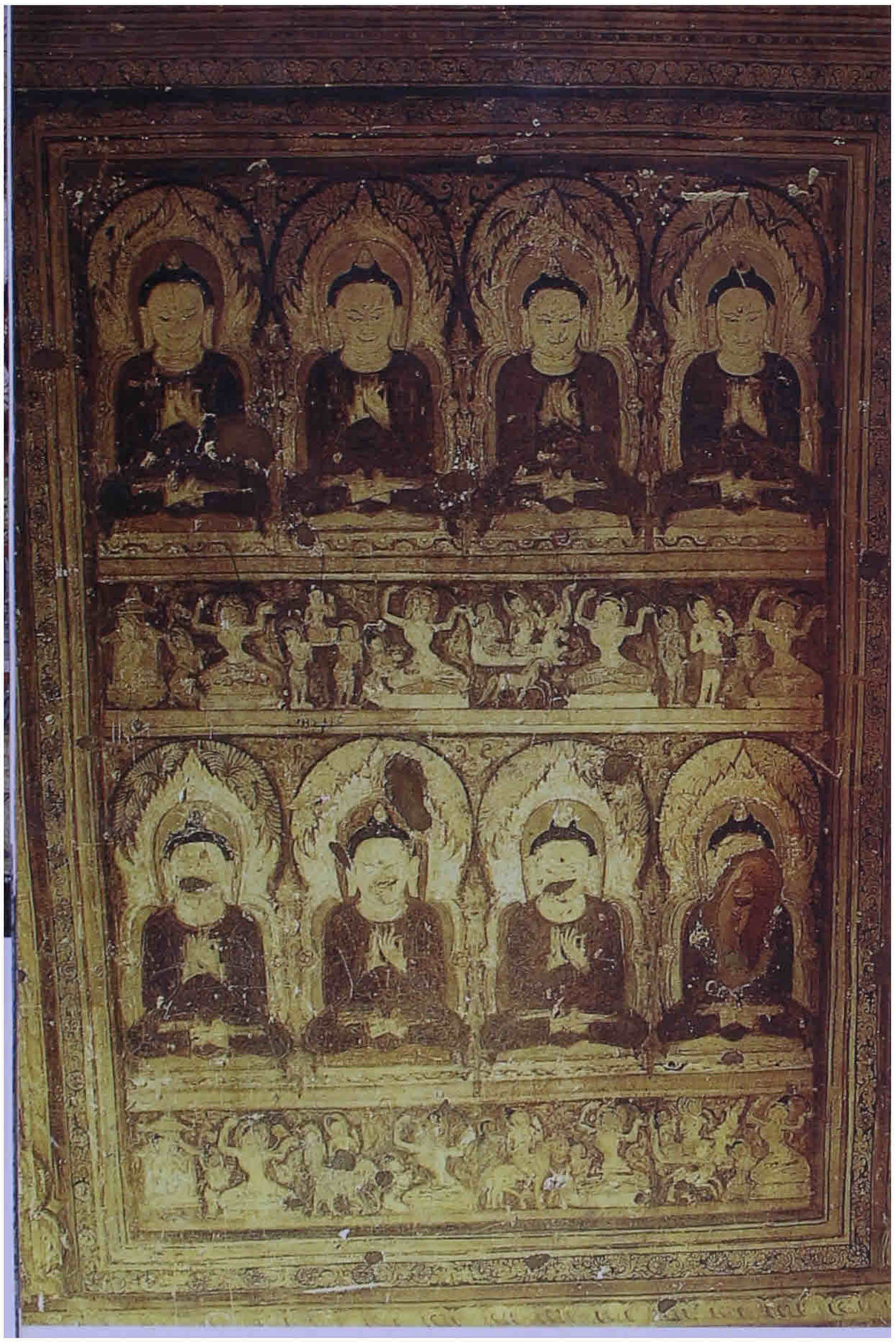
And yet more is introduced in the lower line of the third panel:

> *there must be a site for them to descend (to earth) after preaching the law in the world of spirits* (Devaloka).—*The first to be established is the last to perish.*[13]

The precise place where a Buddha is to appear, the site where he will teach and the site where he will descend from the heaven of the gods are thus major, if not fundamental, centres through which eternity flows and is made history.

There are different ways of representing this somewhat repetitive theme of the twenty-eight Buddhas of the past, the most common being precisely the one selected in the Loka-hteik-pan or in the Alopyi-gu-hpaya, dated to the beginning of the twelfth century.[14] Here the Buddhas are simply differentiated by their trees, while an inscription below each informs us about their identity. In the Loka-hteik-pan, they alternatively display the two major gestures depicted by any Buddha image, as mentioned above. With alternating *mudrās* they appear in other temples, such as the So-hla-wun-hpaya (pl. 88), or the Tha-mu-ti-hpaya (pl. 90). *(85), (86)* However, they may also all be depicted with the *bhūmisparśamudrā*, as in the Kubyauk-gi at Wetkyi-in,[15] or all be seen with the *dharmacakrapravartanamudrā*, as in the Hpaya-thon-zu (pl. 87),[16] the Nanda-ma-nya, the Le-myet-hna-hpaya, the Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi (pl. 89), the Thambula (pl. 91), or temple 585, all six being located at Minnanthu. A completely 'abstract' way of alluding to the Buddhas of the past, is to be seen in the Kya-zin temple (1219), dated to the early part of the thirteenth century, where only their names, together with the names of the trees below which the Buddhas

(84) *(85)* *(87)*



87 Buddhas of the past, north wall, east niche, Hpaya-thon-zu (477)

achieved their Enlightenment, are inscribed in Old Mon on the upper part of the walls, starting in the south-west corner, running east, then
(69) north and so on to the north-west corner.[17]

The most carefully executed and detailed trees are painted in the Kubyauk-gyi at Myinkaba; the images of the Buddhas on whom they cast their shade are now lost, but they were carved and not painted, being distributed in the twenty-eight recesses cut into the inner wall of the corridor. The trees are painted around the
135, 145 upper part of each niche (pls 173, 192).[18] The presence of independent sculptures depicting the Buddhas of the past finds echo in the carvings of the Naga-yon-hpaya, where sixty niches are hollowed in both walls of the corridor. The temple, located south of Myinkaba, preserves a complete set of fifty-four steles, each of them illustrating a Buddha of the past, either meditating within a pavilion, above a predella where the Bodhisatta worshipping him is depicted, or touching the earth and seated below his tree of Enlightenment.[19]

Apart from the trees which help us to recognize the various Buddhas, other elements of their iconography can be painted below the image of the Buddha itself. For instance, the scene of the great renouncement followed by the cutting off of the hair is illustrated in the Hpaya-thon-zu (east) (pl. 87),[20] as in the So-hla-wun-hpaya (pl. 88), while the tonsure also appears below each of the Buddhas in the Nanda-ma-nya.[21] In the summary of their lives given in the *Buddhavaṃsa* the renunciation is always mentioned as well as the way each of the Buddhas chose to make his departure, be it on an animal such as horse or elephant, or a palanquin, or a chariot drawn by thoroughbreds, or even in a flying palace or, but extremely rarely, there being only one example, on foot.[22]

On the contrary, below the Buddhas painted in the Kubyauk-gyi at Wetkyi-in (pl. 240, p. 191), as also below the sculptures of the Naga-yon-hpaya, it is the encounter between each of them and the Bodhisatta which is depicted. The Buddhas can easily be recognized in these small scenes by the dark red monastic robe they wear; they are usually turned towards the right, facing the Bodhisatta.[23]

In the Loka-hteik-pan (pl. 71) the Buddhas of the past cover a complete wall facing the cult image, whereas in the other monuments they usually form a frieze running along the upper part of the walls. In this monument the series starts in the upper left corner (north-west) and runs in three horizontal bands, always starting in the left corner; it then veers down on the right wall to conclude on the left wall with the image of Gotama at the lower level.[24]

88 *Buddhas of the past, corridor of the shrine, So-hla-wun-hpaya*

89 *Buddhas of the past, south wing, west wall, Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi*

90 Buddhas of the past, corridor of the shrine, east wall, Tha-mu-ti-hpaya

In the Alopyi-gu-hpaya, the frieze starts from the centre of the eastern outer wall of the corridor, to continue on the southern and conclude on the western wall.[25] Friezes, of fourteen Buddhas each, are painted on the upper part of the northern and southern walls of the Kubyauk-gi at Wetkyi-in; similarly, a frieze runs along the upper part of the walls in the sanctum of the Nanda-ma-nya and of the Ka-tha-pa-hpaya (east). On the other hand, four groups of Buddhas are painted in the Hpaya-
84 thon-zu (east) (477) (pl. 87): eight are illustrated on each wall of the eastern window, six on each of the walls leading to the corridor to the central Hpaya-thon-zu (478). Alternatively, as in the Le-myet-hna-hpaya (447), the So-hla-wun-hpaya and on the ground-floor of the Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi (pl.
85 89), the panels may be distributed on the outer wall of the corridor around the central core. Another treatment of the topic is seen in monument 1263, where twenty-eight tiny images of the Buddha are painted on each of the four vault quadrants.[26]

However it may be presented, the depiction of the Buddhas of the past forms a theme which is evidently related to Sakyamuni, the Buddha of our time and the thread linking together all the stories, appropriately culminating in the main image of the temple. Moreover, all allude to the *jātakas*, the previous 'birth stories' of the Buddha, and are thus associated illustration of these tales, also painted on the walls (Chapter III). Here, however, we have *jātakas* of another type since, in each of these lives, the future Buddha or Bodhisatta meets an accomplished Buddha. This most probably explains why they are usually painted on the upper part of the walls, possibly above the actual *jātakas*, as in the Kubyauk-gyi in Wetkyi-in, for instance. The lives of these Buddhas constitute a continuous thread epitomising the perenniality of Buddha-hood up to present times. But while we can appreciate the need for the presence of Gotama

in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, being at the end of a development, his representation in the sequel of the Buddhas of the past in the murals is less obvious since he is the main image to be worshipped in the shrine. Similarly, the first three Buddhas receive only brief mention in the text–since they did not meet the Bodhisatta and thus could not predict that he would himself become Buddha.[27] Nonetheless, they get the same treatment as their successors in the paintings.

Dīpaṅkara

Among the Buddhas of the past, one held a more particular position, since he himself and his encounter with the future Buddha are described at length in the *Nidāna-kathā*, and since he is the first Buddha to be mentioned in the 'Chronicle of the Buddhas'; he who is also the first to predict that the young man he encounters will become the Buddha Sakyamuni. Dīpaṅkara, 'the one who makes light', was Buddha 'a hundred thousand eons and four incalculables ago'.[28] A rich and learned Brahmin of the name of Sumedha lived in the city of Amaravatī before he decided to renounce the world and retired to a hermitage built on the slopes of the Dhammaka, a mountain in the vicinity of the Himavant.

> *He strove the strivings there, whether sitting, standing, pacing. Within a week* [he] *reached power in the super-knowings. While* [he] *was thus attaining accomplishment and becoming a master in the teaching (for ascetics), the Conqueror named Dīpaṅkara arose, leader of the world.*[29]

Sumedha had attained magical powers through his meditation and when people started rejoicing at the coming of Dīpaṅkara,

> *the ascetic..., rising from his hermitage and proceeding through the air above the spot where those men were at work, saw them joyful and glad; and wishing to investigate its cause he descended from the sky, and standing on one side asked them, 'Friends, for whom do you decorate this road?' ... The men replied, 'Venerable Sumedha, do you not know that Dīpaṅkara, the Lord of ten powers who has attained the perfect Enlightenment and set rolling the wheel of the Dhamma is residing in the great monastery Sudassana, having reached our city on his sojourns? We have invited the Blessed One for a meal and we decorate the route for that the Buddha, our Blessed One will take.' The ascetic Sumedha thought, 'The very sound of the word "Buddha" is rare in this world, and more so the appearance of a Buddha; it behoves me to join with these folk in clearing the road the Lord of ten powers will take.' He then told those men, 'If, friends, you are decorating this road for the Buddha, give me also a section so that I will be able to decorate the road along with you.' They consented, saying, 'Very well,' and knowing that the ascetic Sumedha was endowed with psychic powers they decided on a section washed away*

91 Buddhas of the past, corridor of the shrine, south wall, west part, Thambula-hpaya

92 *Maitreya, lintel, south wall, vestibule, Loka-hteik-pan*

by water, and assigned it to him saying, 'You repair this place.' Sumedha who was impelled by the joy arising from thoughts of the Buddha reflected, 'I am capable of preparing this spot through my psychic powers; but if it is prepared in that manner it will not give me satisfaction; this day it behoves me to do it by physical exertion'; and he brought earth and threw it on that spot. But even before he could prepare that place, Dīpaṅkara the Lord of ten powers, attended by a retinue of four hundred thousand from among the arahants... entered that decorated highway with great majesty, in all the immeasurable glory of a Buddha... while deities made offerings such as heavenly garlands and perfumes and celestial choral music resounded, and while men made offerings such as earthly perfumes and garlands. The ascetic Sumedha with wide-open eyes... thought, 'To-day it behoves me to make sacrifice of my life to the Lord of ten powers; let not the Blessed One walk in the swamp, may he, along with his four hundred thousand arahants who have destroyed their banes, go treading on my back as though walking on a bridge of jewelled planks; it will be for my lasting weal and happiness'; and he untied his hair, spread out on the black mud his deer skin, matted locks and bark garment, and lay down in the mire providing as it were a bridge of jewelled planks.[30]

And the Blessed One Dīpaṅkara came there; and standing near the ascetic Sumedha's head he opened wide his eyes which possessed the fivefold grace, as though opening a jewelled casement, and beholding the ascetic Sumedha who lay upon the mire he investigated through his insight into the future, 'This ascetic lies making his resolution for Buddhahood; will his resolution be fulfilled or not?'; ... 'Do you see this ascetic of austere habits lying on the mud?' 'Yes, Sir.' 'He lies here having made a resolution to become a Buddha. His aspiration will come true. He will become a Buddha named Gotama four asaṅkheyyas and a hundred thousand aeons hence. In that existence his residence will be the city named Kapilavatthu, his mother the queen Māyā, his father the king Suddhodana, his chief disciple the Elder Upatissa, his second leading disciple Kolita, the personal attendant of the Buddha will be Ānanda, his chief female disciple the nun Khemā, and his second leading female

disciple the nun Uppalavaṇṇā. With ripened wisdom he will make the Great Renunciation, engage in great exertion and ascending the seat of knowledge at the foot of the Assattha tree attain Enlightenment, having accepted milk-rice at the foot of the Banyan tree and partaken of it on the banks of the river Nerañjarā.[31]

Thus summarized, the biography of Sakyamuni presents the main features and elements of his life, which are also part of the life of each of the Buddhas of the past, evoked under various different names, in relation to each of them in the *Buddhavaṃsa* or the *Nidāna-kathā*. But in the encounter between the ascetic Sumedha and Dīpaṅkara, the artists were struck by the scene of the Bodhisatta submitting to Dīpaṅkara and throwing on the muddy ground the hide which, as an ascetic, he possesses and lies upon, eager to become part of the path on which the Buddha would walk. Thus in the Loka-hteik-pan, where the scene is painted in the lower right part of the eastern mural (pls 49, 82), below the large depiction of the Buddha teaching at the top of Mount Meru, Dīpaṅkara stands, framed by a large aura which reflects his 'immeasurable glory..., like a lion on a plateau of red arsenic arousing itself to activity'.[32] Some of his 'four hundred thousand' followers stand behind him with both hands joined in the gesture of veneration while he bows slightly towards the emaciated Sumedha who lies at his feet, on the hide (of a tiger) evoked in the text. The rectangular motif supporting white umbrellas and streamers which is painted above him and in front of the group of worshippers welcoming the Buddha reminds us that people of the city of Ramma

prepare the road the Buddha was to take, throwing earth where water had eroded it away and thereby making the surface even, and sprinkling sand as white as layers of silver. They strewed puffed grain and flowers, hoisted banners and streamers made of cloth dyed in many colours and placed arches of banana trees and rows of jars filled to the brim with water.[33]

And as the text also tells us, the gods let flowers fall from heaven while divine heavenly music was to be heard.

Also in the mural of the Kubyauk-gyi at Wetkyi-in we see clearly painted as a background the hide of a tiger upon which Sumedha has thrown himself.[34] The importance of this narrative is also underlined by the fact that a summary representation of it introduces the series of the *jātakas* in different temples, i.e. the Abe-ya-dana, the Kubyauk-gyi in Myinkaba and the Myin-pya-gu.[35]

Metteyya

Gotama Buddha blossomed at the Bodhi fig-tree. His stature was 18 cubits. His life-span was 80 years. The future Buddha Mitryā, having become the junior ordained monk called Acita, in the presence of Gotama Buddha received the prophecy.

Thus, according to the gloss inscribed on the last panel of the series of the twenty-eight Buddhas in the Kubyauk-gyi at Wetkyi-in,[36] 'Mitryā' (Skt. Maitreya, Pali Metteyya), meets Sakyamuni who prophesies that he will become Buddha. The tradition, as narrated for instance in the *Paṭhamasambodhi*,[37] has it that Ajita ('Acita'), son of Ajātasattu of Sankassa, was the last novice to have joined the community of monks; at that time, Mahāpajāpati Gotamī, the aunt of the Buddha, donated to the latter two thin robes which she had woven herself. After the Buddha had refused them, after she had offered them to all the members of the community, who also refused them, she presented them to Ajita, who accepted the gift. At that moment the Buddha threw in the air his alms-bowl given to him by the four Guardians of the world and, whereas no disciple could retrieve it, Ajita succeeded in getting it back. The Buddha then prophesied that Ajita would be Metteyya.[38] *50, 80*

With this prophecy, the history of Buddhism would continue in the future. Be that as it may, however, images of Metteyya are very rare in the iconographic ornamentation of the temples of Pagan. Within this context, i.e. as the future Buddha inscribed in the line of the Buddhas of the past, he appears in the entrance hall of the Loka-hteik-pan (pl. 92) where he is painted on the tympanum above the passage to the shrine,

93 Metteyya, entrance wall, Winido-hpaya

thus on the back of the wall with the Buddhas of the past. Still being a Bodhisatta, Metteyya wears jewels and sits in a pavilion, attended by four devotees. Trees and water-ponds are painted all around them. Similarly, Metteyya sits above the painted pediment of the entrance to the Winido (pl. 93), with both hands joined in front of the breast, being surrounded by flying celestial creatures. And similarly, we cannot exclude that Metteyya images were also repeated in the en-
182 trance hall of the Ku-tha-hpaya (pl. 229).

There do exist other iconographic programmes where Metteyya is introduced, but they were usually avoided in the murals of Pagan. The first occurrence relates Metteyya to the four Buddhas of our *kappa*, a programme probably imported from south India some centuries earlier; the five of them were worshipped in the pentagonal temples, as mentioned above. On the contrary, the second situation where Metteyya is introduced finds its source in north India, more particularly at Bodhgaya and shows two Bodhisattas, Metteyya/Maitreya with Avalokiteśvara attending to the Buddha (see Chapter V). Again, although it found its way into the sculptural art of Pagan, and in particular in the small andagu sculptures, this triad is not seen in the murals of the site where the pair of Bodhisattas play the role of guardians of the shrine and where these Bodhisattas have lost any attribute allowing for precise identification (Chapter V).

Moreover, the three murals clearly related to Metteyya, are positioned in the entrance hall: one showing Metteyya receiving the prophecy

from Gotama in the Kubyauk-gyi at Wetkyi-in, the others the Bodhisatta seated in the heaven of the Tusita in the Loka-hteik-pan or in the Winido. The chequered ornamentation in the entrance hall of the Ku-tha-hpaya (pl. 229, p. 182) also depicts the Bodhisatta who is painted on the side walls of the windows (pl. 94). Clearly, Metteyya does not belong to the cosmological model painted within the shrine; his presence introduces the dimension of the future, i.e. of an unaccomplished situation, whereas the sequel of the Buddhas of the past tells a continuous story which concluded with the life of Sakyamuni, or rather with his Parinibbāna, and this opened up a new a-historical perspective symbolized by the lotus painted at the keystone. Metteyya indicates, however, that the history is not over, but goes on.[39] 'May I become a disciple of Metteyya, the coming Buddha!',[40] such was the hope of the Burmese king, who had fostered the repair of the Bodhi temple at Bodhgaya from 1295 to 1298,[41] reminding us of the hope that Metteyya would be reborn in Pagan 5,000 years after the death of the Buddha.[42] Moreover, like Gotama prophesied to the future Metteyya that he would become a Buddha, the devotee hoped to receive from the lips of Metteyya himself this prophecy concerning his own future.[43]

94 Metteya, north window, east wall, vestibule, Ku-tha-hpaya

Chapter V

ICONOGRAPHIC ORNAMENTATION

Moreover, in the tunnel on either side, clever painters made all manner of paintings: the splendour of Sakka, the zones of Mount Sineru, the sea and the ocean, the four continents, Himavat, Lake Anotatta, the Vermilion Mountain, Sun and Moon, the heaven of the four great kings with the six heavens of sense and their divisions—all were there to be seen in the tunnel. The floor was strewn with sand white as a silver plate, and on the roof full-blown lotus flowers. On both sides were booth of all sorts; here and there hung festoons of flowers and scented blooms. Thus they adorned the tunnel until it was like the divine hall of Sudhamma.[1]

plate page nos
left column
(right column)

Sakka and Brahmā

As early as at the beginning of our era two gods were already constantly appearing at the side of the Buddha in the art of Gandhara. Brahmā and Sakka, known as Śakra or Indra in the Sanskrit sources, form a pair accompanying the Buddha on various occasions in his life.

Whereas in the eastern Indian tradition both gods are present at the birth, standing at the feet of Māyā, in the Burmese tradition there are four
(50) Brahmās and four Devas standing there on the occasion. This evidently testifies to a connection with the south Indian tradition, where four Lokapālas substitute the two gods. Both gods also attend to the Buddha at the time of his Enlightenment, or when he descends from the heaven of the Tāvatiṃsa after he has instructed
34, 57, 58 his mother and the gods (pls 29, 58, 59).

Sakka and Brahmā rule over the worlds of the Devas and Brahmās respectively. The
(94) *Devalokas* or 'worlds of the devas' occupy the highest position in our universe and sustain the sixteen visible *Brahmalokas*.[2] Sakka represents the gods of the Tāvatiṃsa, which is the second of the *Devalokas* and is located at the top of Mount Meru, the centre of our universe; there, the god reigns from his palace named Vejayanta. This is the place which was visited by the Buddha when he taught the Abhidhamma to his mother and the gods, sitting on the divine stone Paṇḍukambala at the foot of the wonderful coral tree Pāricchattaka, which grows near the Vejayanta.[3]

The gods of both worlds worship the Buddha's relics: the *thūpa* of the Cūḷāmaṇi which is constructed in the Tāvatiṃsa contains the hair which the Buddha cut off at the moment of the renunciation after leaving Kapilavatthu, while the Dussa-thūpa, erected in the *Brahmalokas*, contains his garment (pl. 49).[4] Both groups of gods—both their kings—represent the two possibilities which were offered to the Buddha, i.e. to become the king 'who turns the wheel' or *cakkavatin*, ruling over our universe, or to become the spiritual master who turns the wheel of Dhamma. Both, Brahmā and the Brahmās, Sakka and the Devas, accompany the Buddha throughout his life, attending to him, and acknowledging that his spiritual powers by far outshine their own.

In the Loka-hteik-pan (pls 95-96) Sakka holds his conch Vijayuttara which he blows at the moment of the awakening,[5] and Brahmā presents to the Buddha the triple white umbrella.[6] The two are painted respectively on the right and left sides of the back-wall behind the cult image;[7] each of them is accompanied by twenty gods similar to them, namely the Devas and the Brahmās.

Thus they are to be seen repeatedly appearing, painted on two separate panels, forming a

pair, independent of any specific event of the Buddha's life. In temple 92 at Sale, for instance, they are painted below the six stations (pls 122-3), while in temple 99, in the same city, they are seen below four stations. Similarly, in the Ajja-gona-hpaya both gods are painted on the back walls of the entrance hall, on either side of the passage to the sanctum; in the Ka-tha-pa-hpaya east they appear in the passage to the sanctum, and are painted on either side of the main image in the Taung-pon-loka-na-tha. As in the Loka-hteik-pan, where they are present on either side of the Buddha at the time of his Enlightenment, they again appear in the Kubyauk-gyi Wetkyi-in, both seated on a cloud outside the large panels showing Māra's army (pls 138-9).[8]

The artists also introduced variations, replacing Sakka with another representation of Brahmā, as in the Winido-hpaya (pls 97-98), both images of Brahmā standing on either side of the entrance, holding the umbrella. Alternatively they might show a one-faced Brahmā, as in monument 1844 (pls 99-100), and painted on the side walls on either side of the central Buddha image.[9] Another pair are painted in the entrance to the Thein-mazi where we recognize Sakka on the right and, facing him, a musician playing the harp. This is most probably Pañcasikha, who, on the day of the Devorohaṇa, when the Buddha left the Tāvatiṃsa, accompanied the descent of the Buddha with songs and music.[10]

Now there comes also a time, brethren, when, sooner or later, this world-system begins to re-evolve. When this happens the Palace of Brahmā appears, but it is empty, and some being or other, either because his span of years has passed or his merit is exhausted, falls from that World of Radiance, and comes to life in the Palace of Brahmā. And there also he lives made of mind, feeding on joy, radiating light from himself, traversing the air, continuing in glory; and thus does he remain for a long long period of time. Now there arises in him, from his dwelling there so long alone, a dissatisfaction and a longing: 'O! would that other beings might come to join me in this place!' And just then, either because their span of years had passed or their merit was exhausted, other beings fall from the World of Radiance, and appear in the Palace of Brahmā as companions to him, and in all respects like him. On this, brethren, the one who was first reborn thinks thus to himself: 'I am Brahmā, the Great Brahmā, the Supreme One, the Mighty, the All-seeing, the Ruler, the Lord of all, the Maker, the Creator, the Chief of all, appointing to each his place, the Ancient of days, the father of all that are and are to be. These other beings are of my creation. And why is that so? A while ago I thought, "Would they might come!" And on my mental aspiration, behold the beings came.'[11]

105

Is it not, we may ask, these very beings, 'in all respects like' Brahmā, that cover the ceilings of most of the temples at Pagan? Indeed, one of the favourite ornamental motifs painted on the underside of the vaults illustrates tiny images of the three-faced Brahmā sitting in *paḍmāsana*, both hands clasped in front of the breast in the gesture of respect and veneration (pls 207-8). These Brahmās inhabit the sixteen *Brahmalokas*, which crown our universe.[12]

113-114

94

(154)

95

The pair of Bodhisattas

While there is no doubt that Bodhisatta images were introduced in a number of temples, it is not at all evident that their proper identities had been preserved. Furthermore, the concept of the Bodhisatta as present in the Buddhism of north-east India seems not to have been known: very clearly, the Bodhisattas painted in the entrance of temples had the function of welcoming the worshippers and accompanying them on their way to the shrine, which they also protected.

95 (p. 94, top left) Sakka worshipping the Buddha, south wall, shrine, Loka-hteik-pan

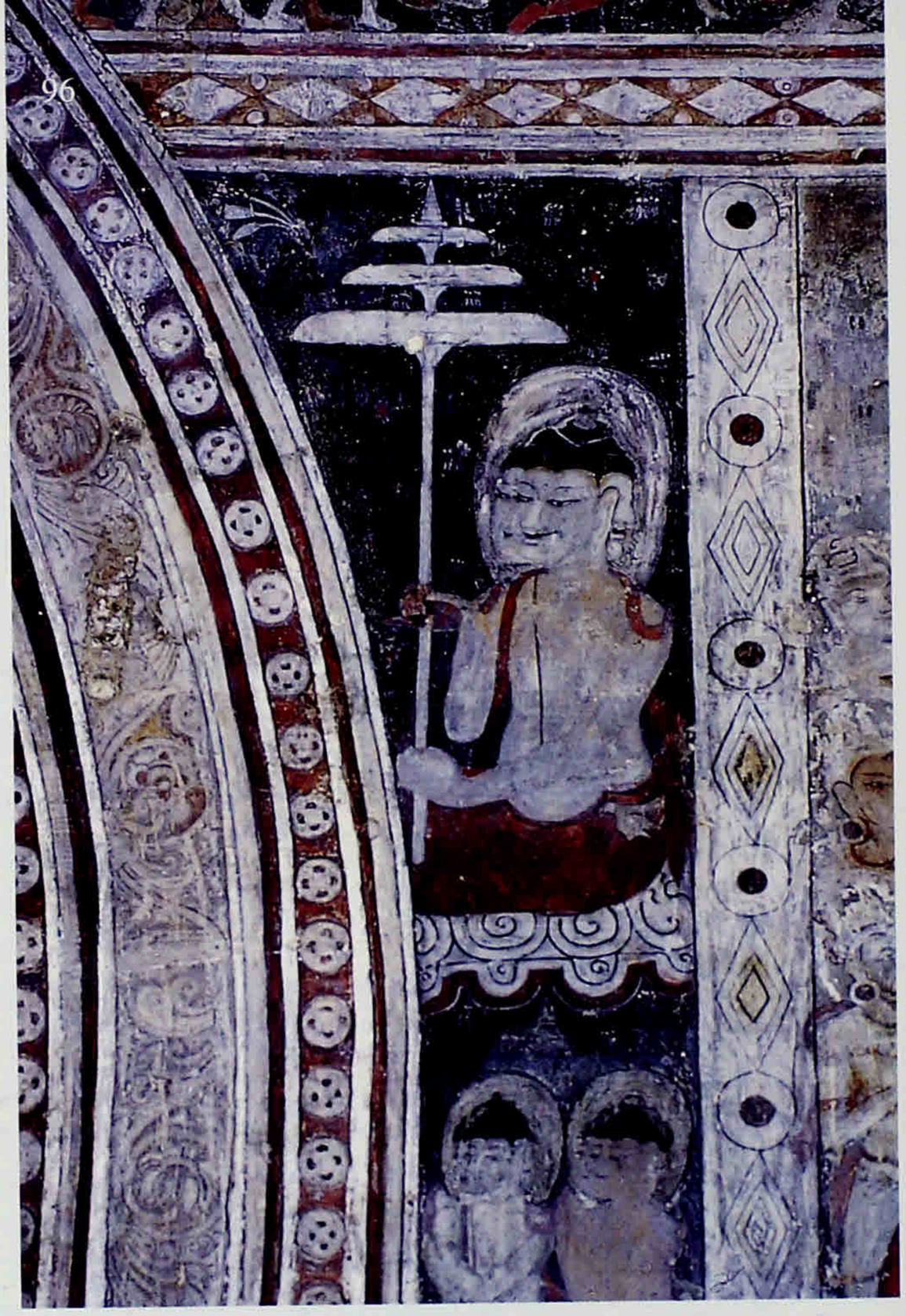
96 (p. 94, top right) Brahmā worshipping the Buddha, south wall, shrine, Loka-hteik-pan

97 (p. 94, bottom left) Brahmā at the proper left side of the entrance, north side, Winido-hpaya

98 (p. 94, bottom right) Brahmā at the proper right side of the entrance, south side, Winido-hpaya

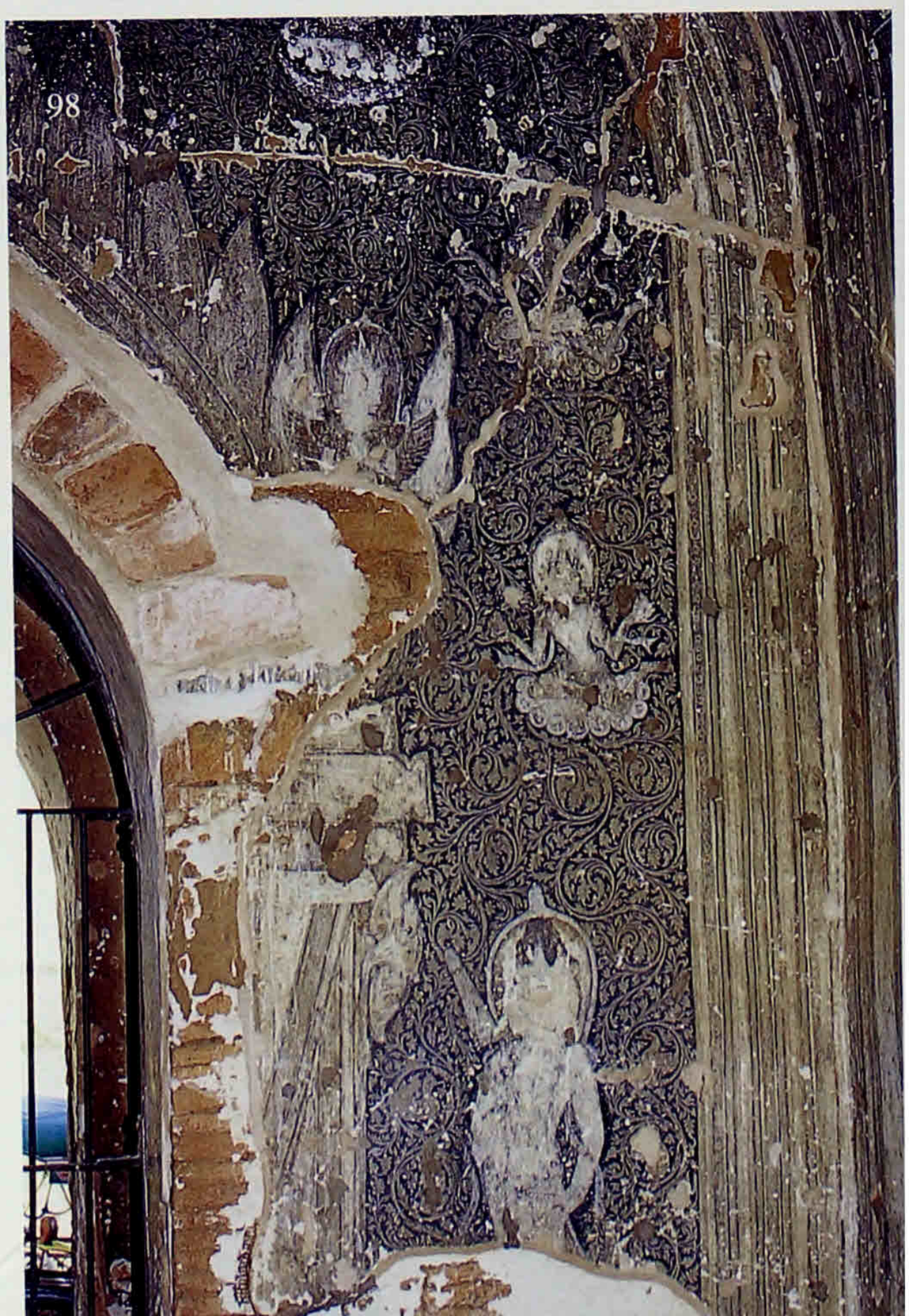
95

96



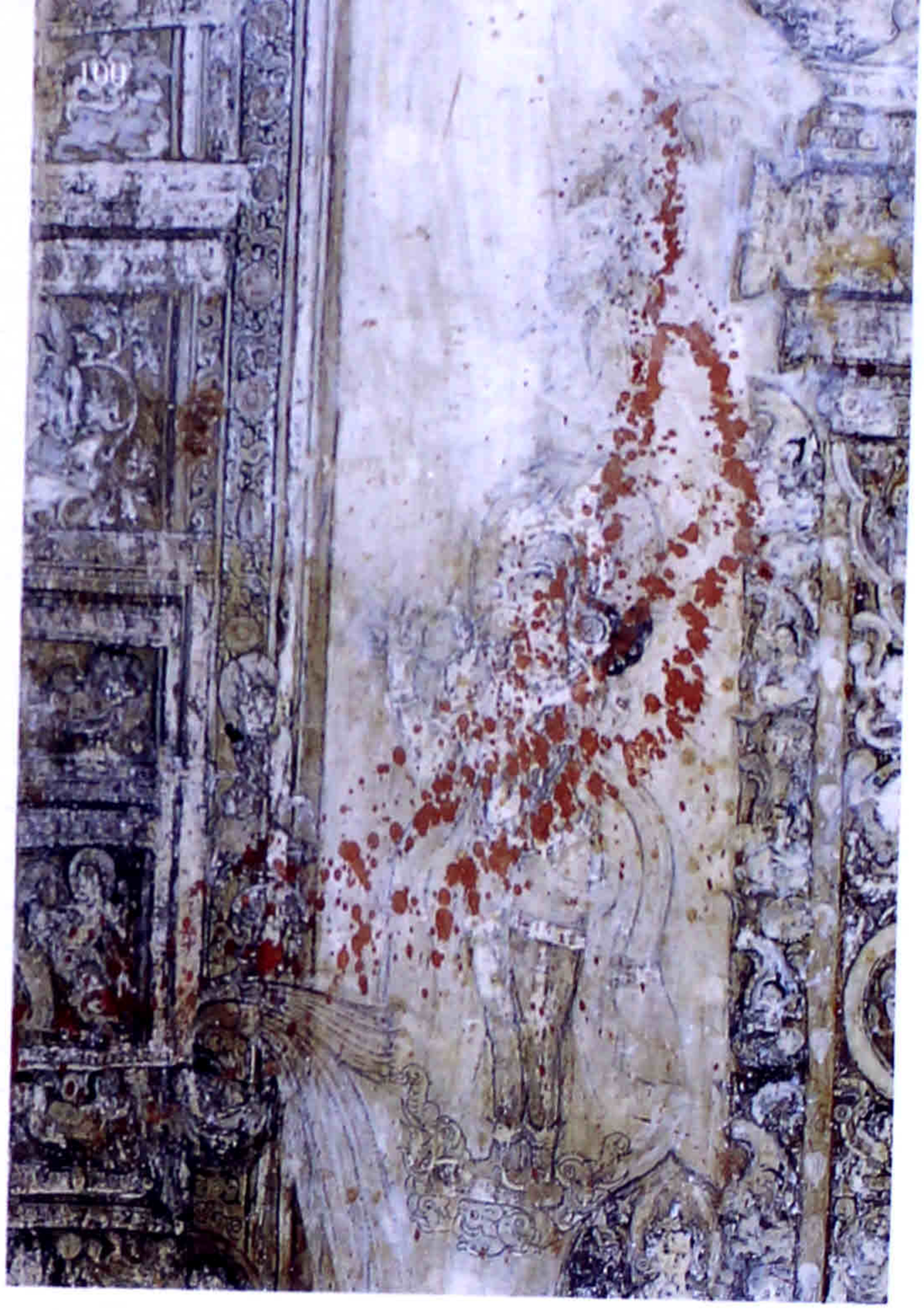
97

98



99

100



101

102 Viṣṇu on Garuḍa, interior wall, west passage, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya

(98) Among the temples of Pagan, the Abe-ya-dana holds a particular position. Identifiable *(98-99)* Bodhisattas are painted in the entrance hall on either side of the passage to the shrine (pls 103-4). Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara, holding re- *(100, 186, 187)* spectively the blue lotus (*utpala*) supporting the manuscript and the large white lotus, are most probably the figures we are supposed to recognize here. Both the blue and the white lotuses are held by the Bodhisattas protecting the images of the Buddha on the outer wall of the corridor (pl. 109) and Mañjuśrī is the main Bodhisatta to be painted in the lower row on the same wall (pls 110-111). Similar pairs protect the passage to the shrine of the Alopyi-gu-hpaya and the windows of the corridor where the Bodhisattas stand or kneel (pls 112-3, 233, 236).

Similarly tall, but ten-armed, Bodhisattas are painted on the side walls of the entrance to the Kubyauk-gyi.[13] And another pair of fourteen-armed Bodhisattas protects the passage to the shrine (pls 105-6). These Bodhisattas clearly

99 (p. 95, top left) Brahmā, east wall, south-east corner, proper right of the cult image, monument 1844

100 (p. 95, top right) Sakka, west wall, south-west corner, proper left of the cult image, monument 1844

101 (p. 95, bottom) Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu in medallions, interior wall, west passage, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya

103 (p. 97, top left) Mañjuśrī, south wall, right side, entrance hall, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya

104 (p. 97, top right) Avalokiteśvara, south wall, left side, entrance hall, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya

105 (p. 97, bottom right) Bodhisatta, east wall to the shrine, south side, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba.

106 (p. 97, bottom left) Bodhisatta, east wall to the shrine, north side, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba

111 Mañjuśrī and attendants, lower row, exterior wall, corridor, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya

influenced some later representations of multi-armed Bodhisattas with indistinct attributes introduced, for instance, in the corner pillars of the Hpaya-thon-zu (pl. 149).[14] Here again, it is impossible to propose clear identification for these images, which most probably trace their origin back to the iconography of Avalokiteśvara. Two female deities attend to the Bodhisattas painted at the entrance to the Kubyauk-gyi; the one on the proper left of the figure, presents the *utpala*, the attribute of the Tārā, one of the female attendants of Avalokiteśvara who is traditionally positioned on the right of the Bodhisatta, but this is not the case here. More *utpalas* are painted in the upper part of the mural, hovering above the Bodhisatta but the flower held by the goddess recalls the commonly observed peony blossom

107 (p. 98, top left) Bodhisatta above the Buddha, proper right side, west wall, monument 2157

108 (p. 98, top right) Bodhisatta above the Buddha, proper left side, west wall, monument 2157

109 (p. 98, bottom left) Bodhisatta as protector, upper row, exterior wall, corridor, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya

110 (p. 98, bottom right) Mañjuśrī, lower row, exterior wall, corridor, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya

112 (p. 100, top left) Bodhisatta, side wall of a niche, corridor, exterior wall, Alopyi-hpaya

113 (p. 100, top right) Bodhisatta, side wall of a niche, corridor, exterior wall, Alopyi-hpaya

114 (p. 100, bottom left) Bodhisatta, north wall, niche, shrine, Nanda-ma-nya

115 (p. 100, bottom right) Bodhisatta, Sale, monument 99

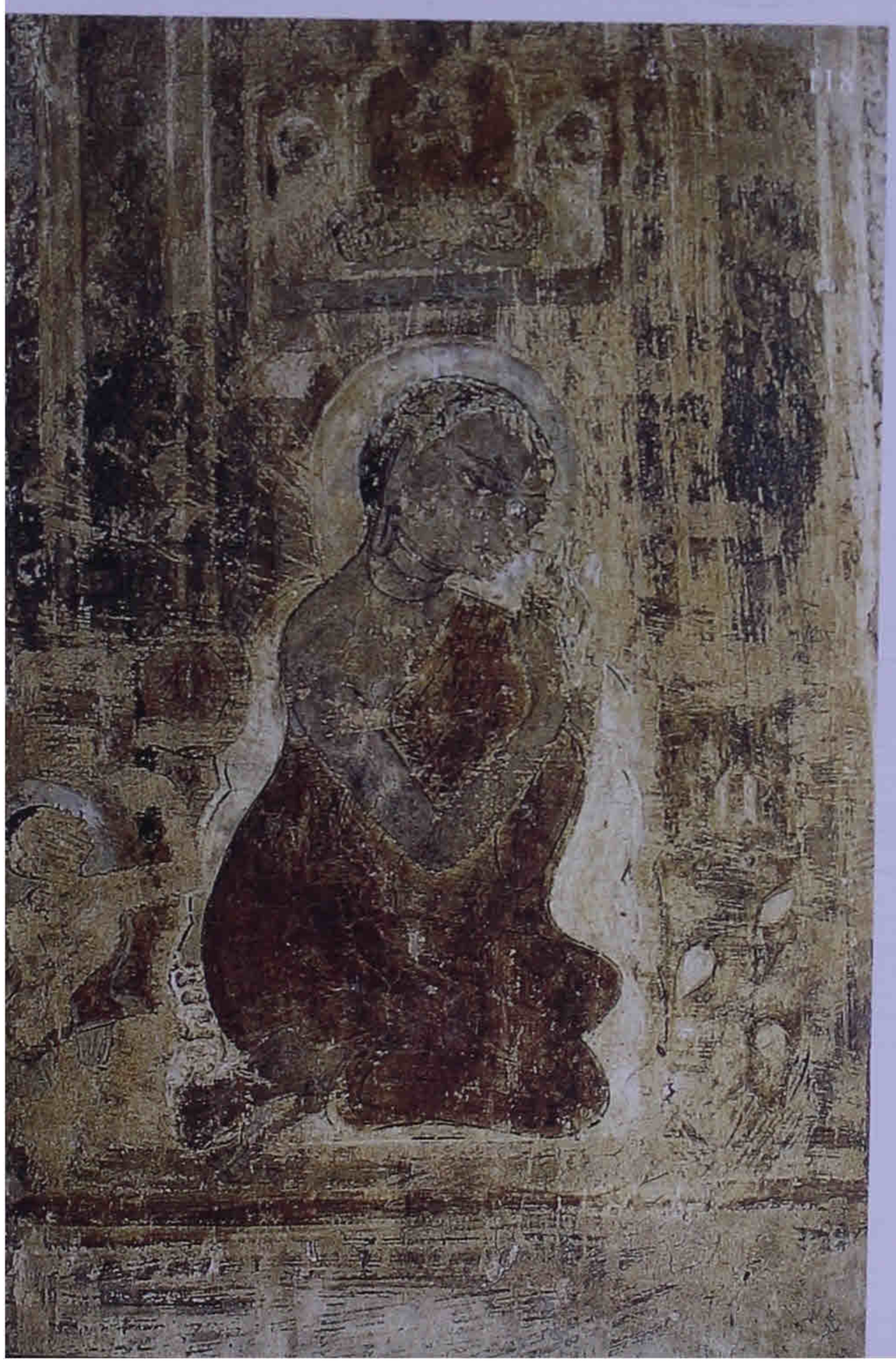
112

113

114

115

118



119

120 Monk kneeling at the Buddha's proper right side, west wall, Nanda-ma-nya

116 (p. 101, top left) Bodhisatta, Sale, monument 99

117 (p. 101, top right) Bodhisatta, west wall, entrance hall, south side, Thambula-hpaya

118 (p. 101, bottom left) Monk, east wall of the shrine, north side, Ma-la-phi-hpaya

119 (p. 101, bottom right) Monk kneeling at the Buddha's proper left side, south wall, Loka-hteik-pan

of the later period. We may suspect that sketch-books were at the disposal of the artists who created such images without relating them to a specific iconographic concept. The presence of two Bodhisattas flanking the entrance or the passage to the shrine echoes representation of them in steles from north-east India or in the Burmese andagu slabs of the period.[15] This would explain their presence at the bottom of the south walls of the two side niches in the shrine of temple 1170, as if to attend directly to the central Buddha;[16] below two scenes of the life in temple 101 at Sale; below four main scenes in temple 99, or below the six in temple 92 (pl. 8, p. 13), where they stand amidst elaborate scrolls, reminiscent of the depiction in the Nanda-ma-nya (pls 115-6, pp. 100-101). Differentiation between them has been attempted since they carry different flowers, one evoking the large *padma* on our right (pl. 116, p. 101), one with pointed blossoms on our left (pl. 115, p. 100), reminiscent of the dragon flower or *nāgapuṣpa* held by Metteyya in India, in which case we would have here a rare but fairly clear depiction of the pair of Bodhisattas Avalokiteśvara and Metteyya, forming with the Buddha a triad which is generalized in north-east India.

In temples of the thirteenth century the two Bodhisattas, standing amidst scrolls apparently act as protectors of the window on either side of which they are painted (pl. 227, p. 179). Those painted in the Nanda-ma-nya stand on a large monstrous face (pls 114, 245, pp. 100, 196), protected by a large tree which is painted behind the nimbus. Very often they sit on the back wall of the entrance, as in the Thambula (pl. 117, p. 101).

Eight-armed Bodhisattas were also introduced in the ornamentation of the dummy pillars in the Hpaya-thon-zu (pl. 149, p. 122);[17] their attributes are somewhat indistinct and since they are introduced in the corners of the temple–a position of architectural weakness–it is likely that they here fulfil the apotropaic function traditionally held by couples when il-

lustrated at a point of transition between two different parts of the monument.

The triad commonly met within the stone sculpture from India basically reproduces a group of three images which were distributed at the entrance and within the temple of the Bodhi. In the description which he provides of this monument, the Chinese pilgrim Xuan-tsang tells us that both Bodhisattas had images standing in pavilions or niches at the entrance of the temple, thus on either side of the passage leading to the main cult image, which shows the Buddha touching the earth with his right hand.[18] In the andagu slabs the Bodhisattas cannot be properly identified, having lost their respective flower or the emblem adorning their head-dress. A similar pair stand or sit on either side of the Buddha in the panels of the Nanda-ma-nya (pl. 39, p. 43) and in temple 2157 (pls 107-8, p. 98), or below the panels depicting the Buddha's life, i.e. on either side of the central image of temple 92 at Sale (pl. 8, p. 13).

The monks

The Buddha was never alone in his life after he had preached at Sarnath. Monks accompanied him on his spiritual way, some having special relations with him. Beside Ānanda or Mahākassapa 'who resembled molten gold', Moggallāna or Mahāmoggallāna was 'of great psychic potency, without an equal in the power of psychic potency, thundering like a black storm-cloud, like and similar to a dark blue lotus', and Sāriputta was 'of great wisdom, like and similar to a *koraṇḍa* (flower), skilled in concentration and meditation'.[19]

Among them, two are often illustrated as a pair distributed on either side of the Buddha, Sāriputta, who has the colour of the *koraṇḍa*, i.e. the yellow amaranth, and the dark-blue Moggallāna. In the Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi (pl. 17), they present distinctive colours,[20] but this is rarely the case. In the Loka-hteik-pan, Mahāmoggallāna and Sāriputta are also recognizable by the colour of their skin, standing behind the Buddha as he tames the wild elephant Nālāgiri (pl. 60). *(59)*

121 Monk kneeling at the Buddha's proper left side, west wall, Nanda-ma-nya

Both monks kneel and venerate the central image of the Buddha. They are rarely carved and stuccoed (pl. 3), but generally painted on the walls behind the cult image, as in the Loka-hteik-pan (pl. 2), the Nanda-ma-nya (pl. 11), or *(9), (19)* in monument 1844 (pl. 231).[21] A nimbus and a *(184)* large cushion form a white frame behind them. *23* In later depictions, the cushion is multifoil while flames irradiate from all around the monks, as in the Nanda-ma-nya (pls 120-121). Oversize *(102-3)* monks are present on the side walls of the

Hsutaung-pyi-hpaya (pls 124-5) where they offer flowers to the Buddha. In this case the painter followed the symmetry so closely that he overlooked the proper way of folding the dress of the monk to our right, whose right shoulder is hidden.

Mahāmoggallāna and Sāriputta have known each other since eternity. They lived together in numerous previous lives, and this resulted in an extremely close bond in this life. Very often they formed a pair, such as snake and rat, bird and tortoise, lion and tiger, monkey and elephant, monkey and jackal or man and jackal; both could also be human beings such as royal prince and royal minister, royal minister and son of a slave, charioteer of the Bodhisatta and
(95) charioteer of Ānanda. Sāriputta was once the moon-god and Mahāmoggallāna the sun-god, or they were respectively Varuṇa the *nāgarāja*, 'king of the snakes', and Garuḍa, the king of their enemies, the *supaṃṇas*:

> *At that time the sage's father and mother were the royal family, the eldest queen was Rāhula's mother, the eldest son was Rāhula, Varuṇa the Nāga king was Sāriputta, the garuḷa king was Moggallāna, Sakka was Anuruddha, the king Dhanañjaya was Ānanda, and the wise Vidhura was myself.*[22]

(80) Monks are present in every panel showing an event of the Buddha's life except for the birth and the sojourn at Pārileyyaka. Thus, we recognize Sāriputta welcoming the Buddha when he came back from the heaven of the Tāvatiṃsa
53, 58 at Sankassa (pls 52, 59), or Ānanda trying to throw himself in front of the Buddha threatened by the wild elephant Nāḷāgiri while Mahāmoggalāna and Sāriputta stand behind
59 their master (pl. 60). Or, again, we see Ānanda preparing the juice of the mango offered by
48 Ganda at Sāvatthi (pl. 47), Sāriputta visiting the
55 Buddha at Lake Anottata (pls 54-55) or explaining the Abhidhamma to five hundreds monks. Further panels in the Kubyauk-gyi depict the later Moggaliputta Tissa preaching at the sec-
30 ond and third councils (pls 25-26).

The overwhelming presence of monks in the murals rightly stresses the importance of the *saṃgha*. Monks worshipping the Buddha saw themselves reflected in the paintings, as if directly taking part in the life of the Buddha. This participation was made even more perceptible when groups of anonymous monks were painted in the shrine. Such is the case in the small Shwei-leik-pan (temple 264) or in the Gu-nge (temple 1475), where a row of large images of kneeling monks is painted on either of the side walls, worshipping the stuccoed Buddha image.[23] Long before, in the Patho-hta-mya, the close disciples of the Buddha were painted behind the images of the shrine, where they were identified with glosses.[24] In the Abe-ya-dana, large groups of monks form a frieze on the northern inner wall of the corridor (pl. 101), listening to the Buddha in the Kubyauk-gyi, at Myinkaba, groups of monks were painted in the lower part of the walls of the shrine.[25]

Beside the monks, ascetics and lay-people are often encountered. Having himself been an ascetic in previous lives, the Buddha opened the way to this type of existence. It was as the ascetic Sumedha who had renounced to the worldly life for a forest wilderness that he first encountered a Buddha who predicted his future to him. The scene is depicted on the eastern wall of the Loka-hteik-pan (pl. 82), where he throws himself on the hide of the tiger, at the feet of Dīpaṅkara. Extremely emaciated, he wears a *jaṭā* made of two knots set above the

122 (p. 105, top left) Monk kneeling at the Buddha's proper right side, west wall, Sale, monument 92

123 (p. 105, top right) Monk kneeling at the Buddha's proper left side, west wall, Sale, monument 92

124 (p. 105, bottom left) Monk kneeling at the Buddha's proper left side, north wall, Hsutaung-pyi-hpaya

125 (p. 105, bottom right) Monk kneeling at the Buddha's proper right side, south wall, Hsutaung-pyi-hpaya

126 (left) Ascetic, west wall of the shrine, monument 1152

127 (below) Ascetic in a cave, exterior wall of the corridor, north-east corner, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya

128 (right) Ascetic in a cave, step to a window, monument 1844

129 (below) Māra's army, interior wall of the corridor, south side, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya

130 Māra's army, interior wall of the corridor, south side, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya

ears, and a long, thin, grey beard, which is the traditional way of depicting the ascetic in the
(106) murals of Pagan, some examples being the ascetic who sits among the people of the town of Rammanagara, who had welcomed the Buddha in the same mural, or Asita admiring the newly
161 born Bodhisatta in the Patho-hta-mya (pl. 214). Numerous ascetics are also illustrated in the *jātakas* on the western wall of the Loka-hteik-
69 pan temple (pl. 71), where they are venerated by lay-people.

A large number of ascetics are met within the frieze showing caves hollowed in the mountain, which is painted on the outer wall of the
106, 177-8 corridor in the Abe-ya-dana (pls 127, 225-6). The influence of this frieze is noticeable in monument 1844 where ascetics seated in caves
(22,173-4) are painted on the stairs leading to the windows
107 (pl.128).[26] The great respect which these men inspired is also testified by their position in the direct vicinity of the Buddha: in temple 1152 for instance, ascetics are painted at the same level as divine figures, or even above monks (pl. 126).

A third category of worshippers is repeatedly painted in the murals of Pagan. Lay-people, mainly male, are recognizable by their dress, adorned with delicate patterns, and their beards. The importance of the lay community at Pagan cannot be overlooked, not least because of the substantial donations made to sustain the Buddhist community and help in the construction of monuments. This explains why in the mural covering the outer wall of the corridor in the Abe-ya-dana, groups of human devotees kneel at the feet of the Buddhas painted in the upper part, which means above the depiction of Bodhisattas and heavenly flying creatures (pls 15, 221-2), whereas the traditional position of human devotees belongs to the lower part of the panels. The worshippers painted in the Abe-ya-dana are not simple human beings;

131 Māra's army, the attack, south wall of the shrine, proper right side of the Buddha, Loka-hteik-pan

they form a group wearing necklaces of pearls, and are probably dignitaries to the court, accompanying a prince or a king, who wears a crown and kneels on the Buddha's right-hand side. Usually, as also seen in the Abe-ya-dana itself, laymen appear partly denuded in the presence of the Buddha: wearing only a long skirt, a shawl across the breast, they kneel in large groups below the Buddha who is teaching (pls 219-20, p. 171-2).

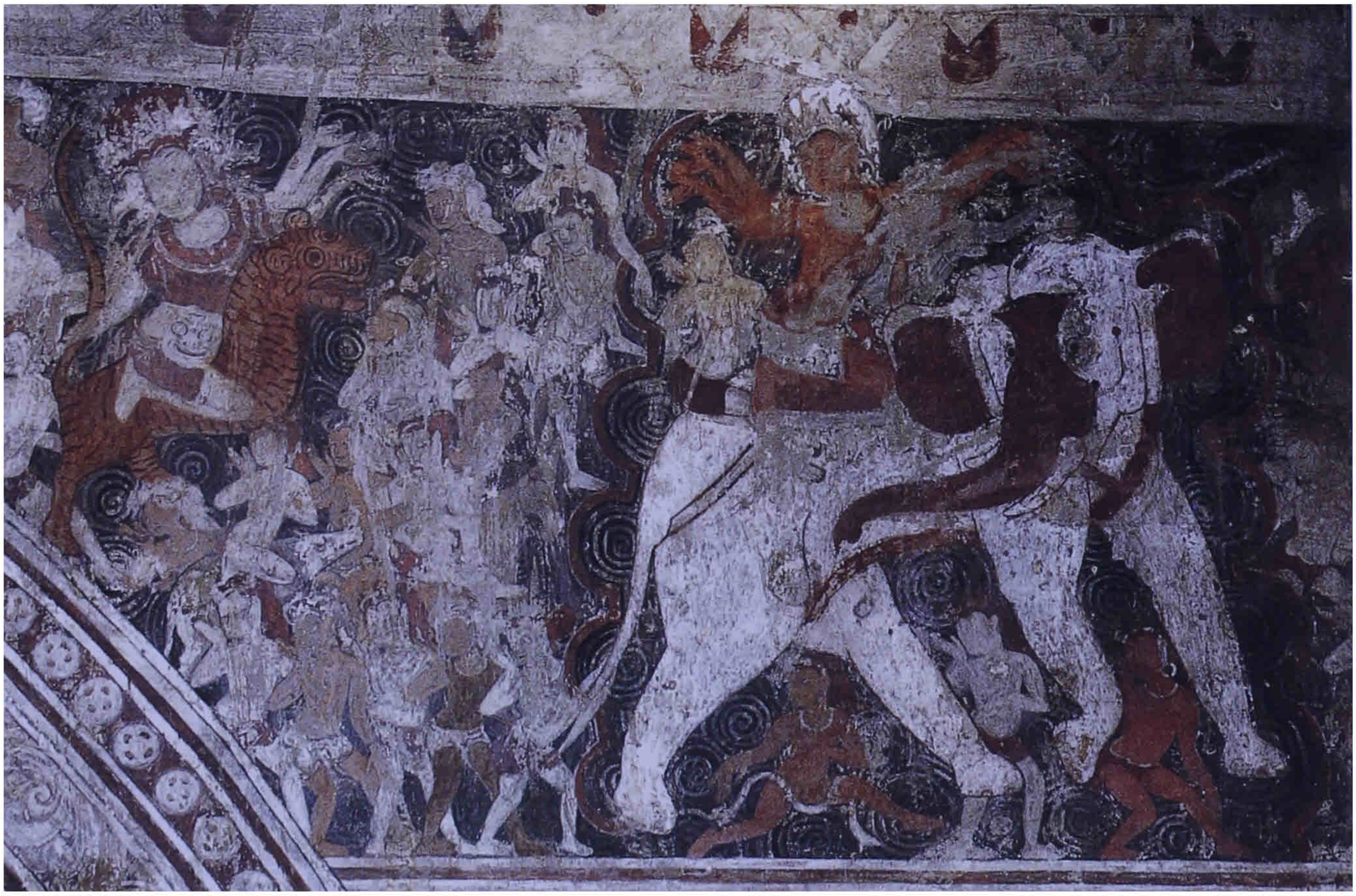
The army of Māra

A further iconographic motif which artists treated with grandeur in India and in Burma, is the attack led by Māra and his goblins against the Buddha. The motif was well known in north-east India, where sculptures or paintings depicting the Enlightenment included detailed rendering of this army of monsters.[27] Māra and his army rush towards the Buddha from his right and, defeated, retreat from his left. The schema is generalized in India, from where it was introduced in Pagan; it can be seen in the Loka-hteik-pan (pl. 2) and in monuments 2103 and 2157 (pls 3-4, 107-8, 133) or 1170.[28] Mounted on animals or emerging out of clouds, the soldiers of the god violently hurl stones and weapons at the Buddha (pls 131, 135), before being defeated and abandoning the battlefield, waving farewell to the Buddha with their right hands (pls 132-134, 136).

(9)
(10, 98, 111)
(109, 111)
(110-112)

This composition in two panels distributed at the level of the Buddha's head or above, is preserved in the small temple 1152 (pl. 134), where the two parts of the event are painted on the side walls: mounted on his elephant and surrounded by his troop, Māra rushes towards the Buddha on the left (i.e. east) wall and, defeated, departs from the scene on the right (i.e. west) wall. His sons ride a buffalo and a tiger while another soldier sits astride a bird and others run on foot, some with a human appearance,

(111)



132 Māra's army, the defeat, south wall of the shrine, proper left side of the Buddha, Loka-hteik-pan

some hybrid creatures with animal faces. All the characters are distinctly painted and easily recognizable. A similar composition is to be seen in the Ohn-pwe-taw at Sale (pls 135-6).

Two large panels flanking the central cult image in the Kubyauk-gyi at Wetkyi-in develop this theme (pls 138-9); here, alongside the elephant Girimekhela, mount of the god, we find the buffalo, tiger and goose, with a lion or a horse for instance. Leading a large number of foot-soldiers, the generals of Māra's army swoop down on the Buddha or flee the battlefield. The same scene is also preserved in the Thambula (pl. 246) and the Winido-hpaya (pl.137). Moreover, large monstrous faces or creatures fill the upper corners, reminiscent of the face of Rāhu, the god of the eclipses, who swallows the moon and sun in the depiction of this scene in south-east Bangladesh.[29] Awesome soldiers display terrifying features: some are hybrid, some show a huge face in place of the belly, or have many faces, numerous arms, animal heads.

113-4 *197* *112*

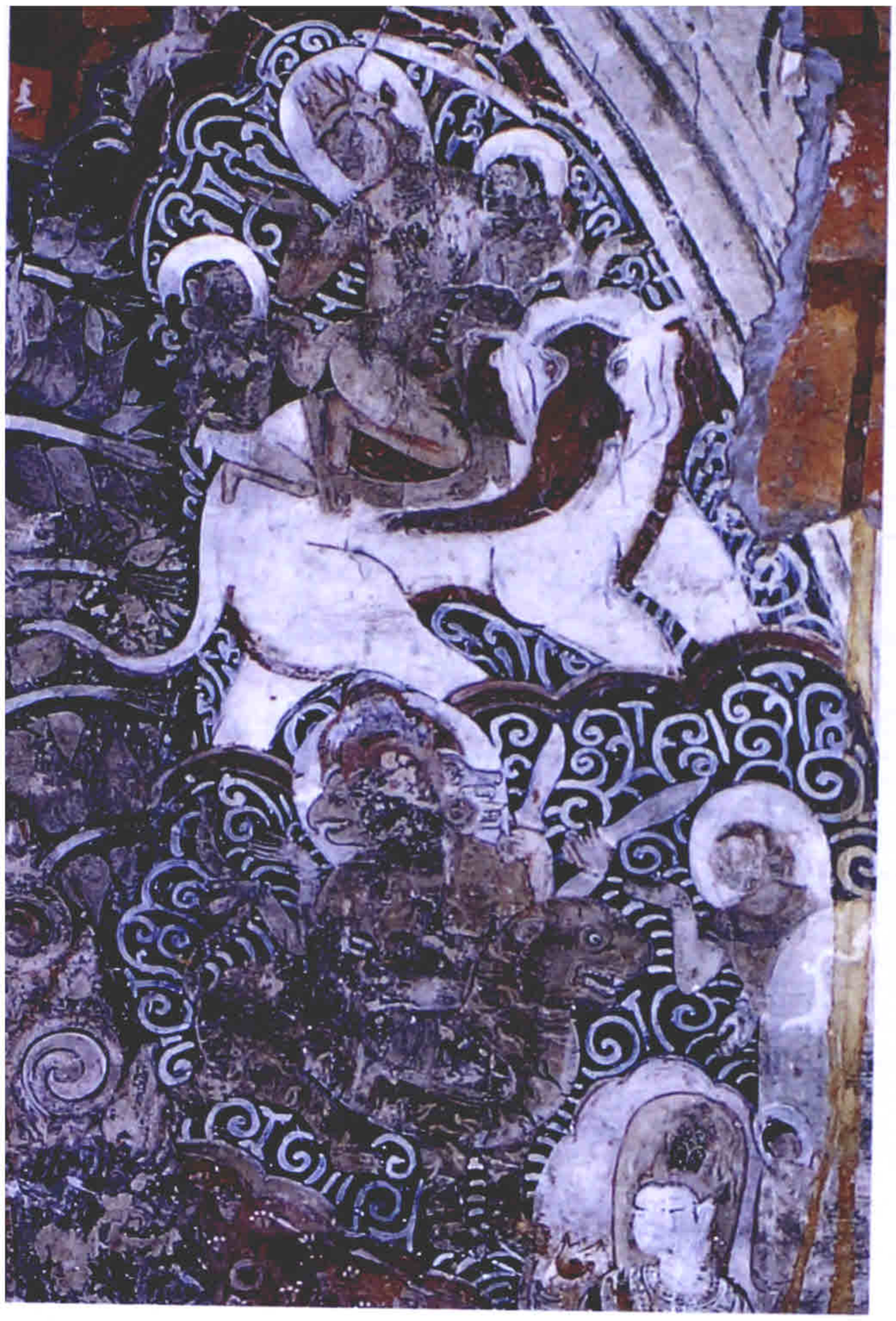
The painters of Pagan evidently revelled in depicting such awful creatures, for even when the topic as such is no longer illustrated they preserved isolated representations of these monsters, which the *Paṭhamasambodhi* describes in the following terms:

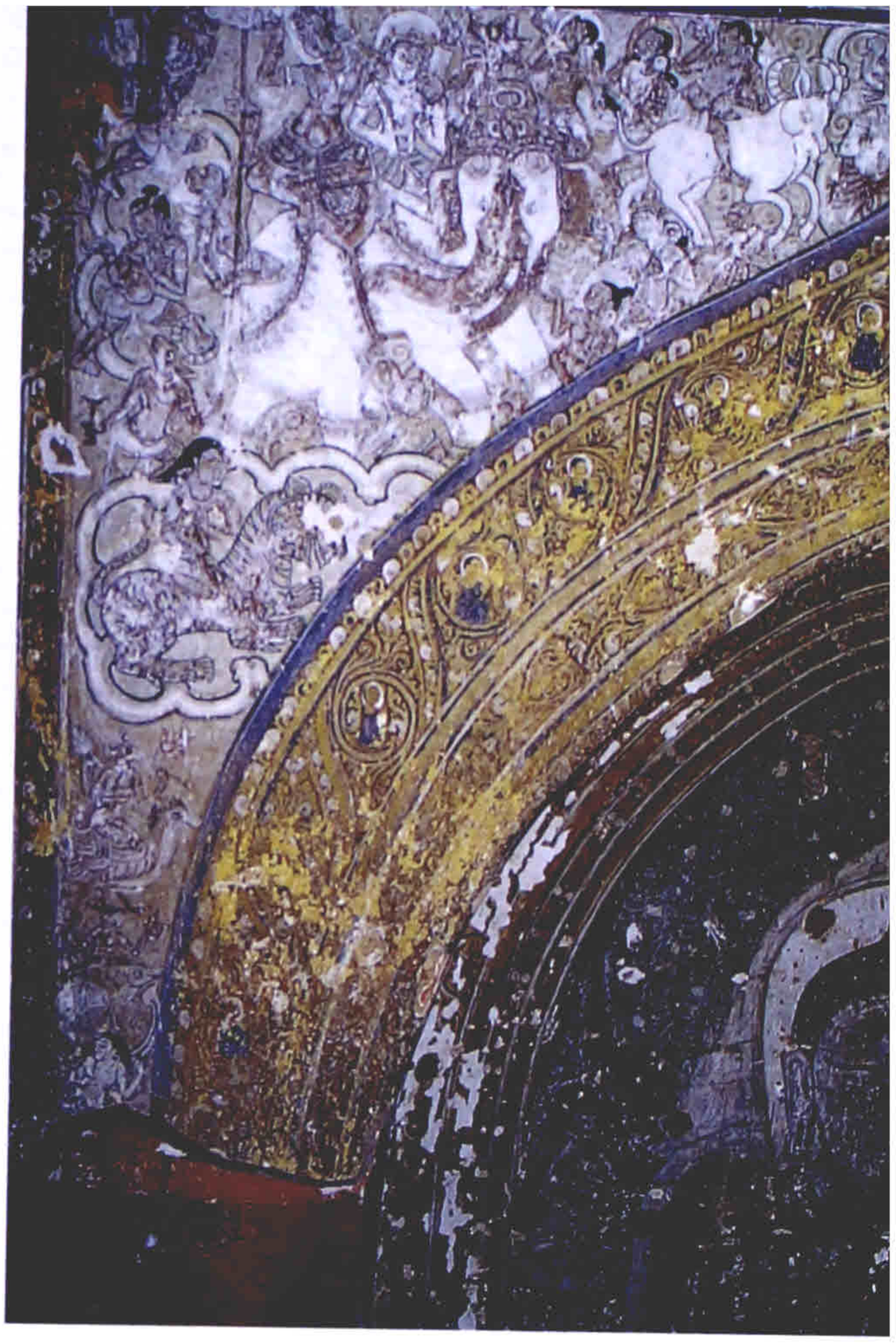
some of the beings had red faces and green bodies, some had green faces and red bodies; some of them manifested as white bodies with yellow

133 (p. 111, top left) Māra's army, the defeat, west wall of the shrine, proper left of the Buddha, monument 2157

134 (p. 111, top right) Māra's army, the defeat, west wall of the shrine, proper left of the Buddha, monument 1152

135 (p. 111, bottom) Māra's army, the attack, north wall of the shrine, proper right of the Buddha, Sale, monument 101





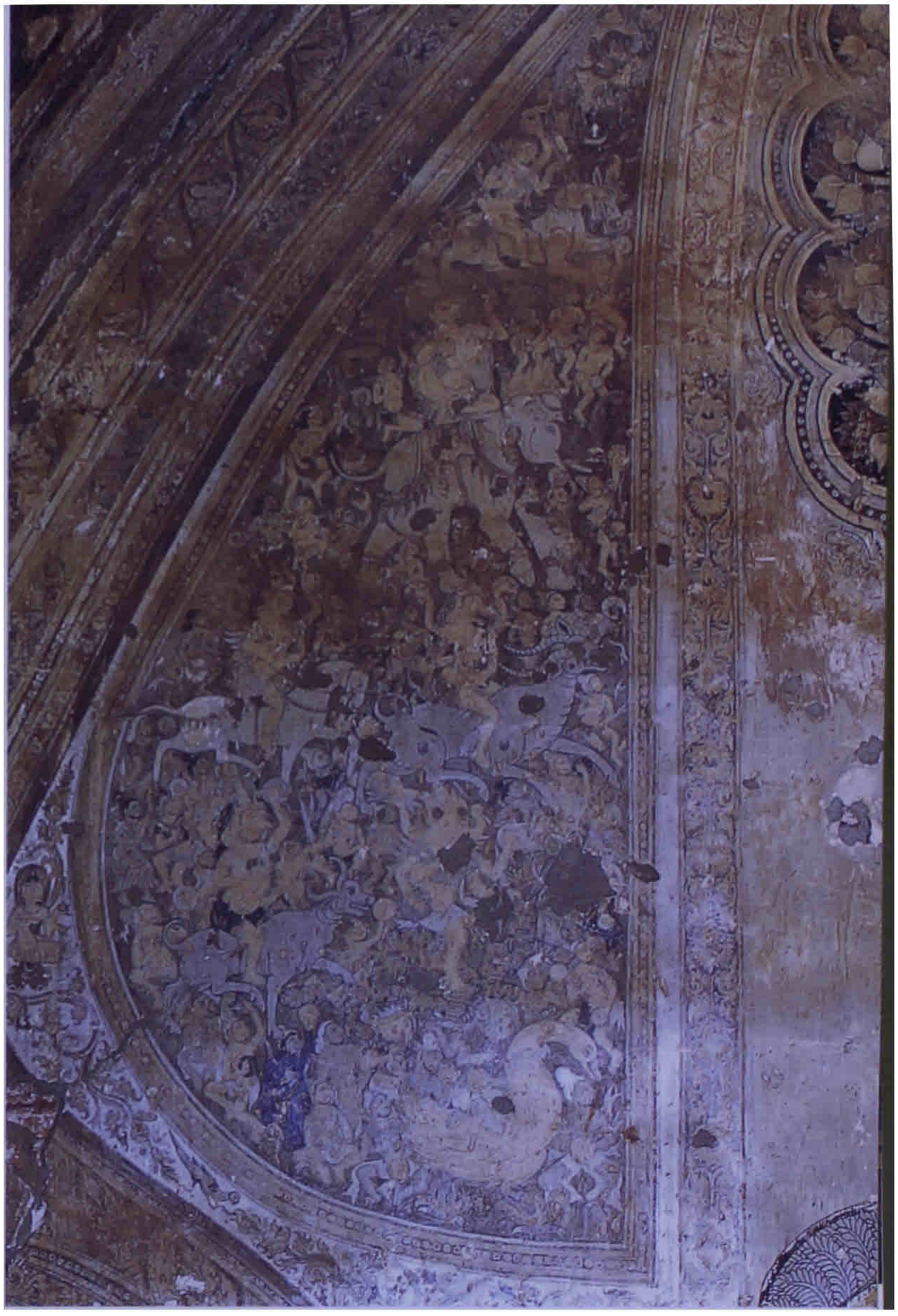
136 Māra's army, the defeat, south wall of the shrine, proper right of the Buddha, Sale, Ohn-pwe-taw

137 Māra's army, attack and defeat, west wall behind the cult image, Winido-hpaya

faces...some of them had striped bodies and black faces...some of them had serpent lower bodies and human upper bodies...[30]

One of the first examples of this new treatment of Māra's army is encountered in the small monument 1150. Four square panels cover the shaft of the pillars painted on either side of the side niches, each including one of these frightening goblins mounted on his particular animal (pl. 227, p. 179).[31] Yet more demoniac creatures are inserted within the two lobed panels painted at the top and the bottom of the same pillars. From now on, there would be a marked tendency to distribute such figures all around the shrine, where they may also appear in the panels on the dummy pillars in the corner (pls 231, 253, pp. 184, 204).

Returning to the early temples of Pagan, it appears that although the topic of Māra's army belongs to the iconography of the Enlightenment—as is very clear in the Loka-hteik-pan, for instance—some doubt remains as to the real position of this scene in the perception of the Enlightenment. In north-east India, Māra rushed towards the Buddha during the long night which led to the awakening, but in the southern tradition, the god and his daughters appeared at Bodhgaya during the fifth week after the Enlightenment, and their visit did not take on the dramatic proportions observed in north-east India, in which case the depiction of the army around the Buddha attaining the Enlightenment became completely out of context. This is illustrated, for instance, in the Ka-tha-pa-hpaya, where no demon of Māra's army is present around the sanctuary within which the Buddha sits at Bodhgaya, but instead we see gods venerating the Buddha (pl. 7). And this might explain how the scene disappeared or, rather, dissolved into a series of small panels which could be mistaken as purely decorative elements without the necessary knowledge of their genesis. In the Hpaya-thon-zu, for instance, they are seen in the corners of the shrine, standing on their mounts (pls 148, 248); in other temples, small creatures are to be seen mounted on animals on the capital or base of the dummy pillars (pls 145, 150), or the same figures may appear painted over flames running along the ornamentation of arches (pls 157, 190), or distributed on roundels painted under the vault (pl. 210). In the Ka-tha-pa-hpaya (pl. 175) heavenly creatures fly amid a throng of fantastic heads—a motif which exists on its own but which, in the present rendering, is clearly related to the depiction of the monstrous goblins of Māra's army seen in nearby monuments like the Thambula or the Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi.



138 Māra's army, the attack, west wall, proper right side of the Buddha, Kubyauk-gyi Wetkyi-in

(120, 122)

12, (126, 144)

(155)

(137)

122, 199

This knowledge, i.e. that the army did not

139 Māra's army, the defeat, west wall, proper left side of the Buddha, Kubyauk-gyi Wetkyi-in

attack the Buddha at the time of the Enlightenment, probably explains why in the Abe-ya-dana, the Naga-yon, and the Kubyauk-gyi at Myinkaba, the artists did not paint the army in the shrine, but rather introduced it on the inner western wall of the corridor, directly behind the Buddha image. The panels showing Māra and
107-8 his army in these temples (pls 129-30) present the most dramatic and large-scale illustration of the attack and subsequent defeat. The composition is imbued with energy and violence, movement and strength. The various characters express their awesome feelings. The colours are strong and well preserved. Clearly the artists were successful here in their evident aim to evoke powerful contrast with the wild whirl of Māra's army around the peaceful and immutable presence of the Buddha. Moreover, the location of the army in the west or the south, might also be related to the fact that this direction is traditionally related to darkness, whereas the east is source of light: in fact, the position of Māra's army in the south as well as the distribution of the Hindu gods and goddesses walking towards the entrance of the shrine, in the north, in the Abe-ya-dana, coincide with the same position of the army and of the devatas on the Ānanda.[32] A later development of this comprehension of the topic is noticed in the Winido-hpaya where the army was hidden by the cult image when it was still standing (pl. 242, p. 193).

The sun and the moon

The two luminaries occur repeatedly in a number of scenes, such as the sermon on the mountain, the miracles at Sāvatthi or the first predication at Sārnāth. They are there to remind us that the Buddha is above them; he owns both of them. The sun and the moon both belong to the Buddha: they merge in him and he illuminates the universe all through the night, all the day long.[33] When his feet disappear after Mahā Kassapa has worshipped them, we are told that 'as the sun and the moon disappeared below the horizon, so the feet of Buddha disappeared, buried as it were, in the folds of cloth and cotton'.[34] Or, after the Buddha had displayed his magical powers at Sāvatthi, and left the earth of the men for the world of the gods, 'the people who had seen Buddha, and who could not now descry him, found themselves in a state of bereavement, as if the sun and the moon had disappeared from the sky'.[35]

In the depiction of the Sarnath event in the Ajja-gona-hpaya (pl. 140), the sun and the moon are two large roundels partly framed by a row of petal-like curves;[36] differentiation between the two heavenly bodies is achieved with the presence of stars around the moon and clouds

around the sun. The motif appears more often in the scene of the Sāvatthi miracles, for instance in the Loka-hteik-pan (pl. 43, p. 47), or in the Kubyauk-gyi (pl. 1, p. 8), where two Buddha figures lightly stroke both luminaries, or in monument 1844.[37] The motif also occurs on the large mural of the eastern wall in the Loka-hteik-pan, where the two luminaries are painted on either side of Mount Meru:[38] the Buddha, seated on the mountain, also sits above the sun and the moon; he is above them (pls 49-51, pp. 50-52), and this may possibly account for the fact that Lake Anotatta, which is visited by all Buddhas, and where Sakkamuni regularly went, receives neither the light of the sun nor the light of the moon, the sole source of light being the Buddha's halo. Again, the sun and the moon fill the upper corners of the panel in temple 1150 (pl. 52, p. 53) where they appear as in the Ajja-gona-hpaya, surrounded by a row of curls.

140 Sun and moon above the Buddha, south wing, west wall, Ajja-gona-hpaya

The *Buddhapada*

While the vault of the shrine celebrates the Buddha and Buddhahood, the ceiling of the entrance hall and of the side wings can be adorned with various motifs which are never to be seen in the central part of the monument, such as the pair of *buddhapadas*, the Buddha's footprints (pls 141, 241, pp. 116, 192). As they are the visible traces left by the Buddha, the footprints are found in every Buddhist country, worship of them being attested from the very beginnings of Indian art.[39] They are usually directed towards the shrine and reflect the presence of the Buddha above the devotees who enter the temple, showing them the way and at the same time reflecting the cosmological nature of the Buddha.

In fact, no fewer than 108 auspicious signs are drawn around the lotus-shaped central disk, providing symbolized illustration of the Buddhist cosmology. Around the central lotus pavilions are depicted, referring to the sixteen *Brahmalokas* and six *Devalokas*, those worlds that crown the universe. Also present are the mountains on which the four guardians of the universe reside, or Mount Meru, the centre of the universe. Going on to the outer rows of the ornamentation we come across images of Mount Kelasa, of the seven great mountains and the cosmic water which surround Mount Meru, of the sun, the moon, the constellations, of the king *cakkavattin* and his treasures. All these elements are fully integrated into the cosmological person of the Buddha. Just as the lotus painted at the centre of the vault in the shrine is the door to the sky and denotes the possibility for the soul to escape this world and penetrate a world without form, so the footprints allude to the unseen presence of the Buddha and refer

141 Buddha's footprints, east vestibule hall, ceiling, Let-put-kan

to the absence of any form at the highest levels of the universe.[40]

More probably even than this, the footprints also constitute symbolized representation of the cosmological Buddha and recall the depiction of the cosmos in the *Lokapaññatti*, a Buddhist text of cosmology which was in all likelihood composed in Burma around the eleventh and twelfth centuries[41] and they might, moreover, allude to the coming of the Buddha Metteyya.[42]

The universe, Lake Anottata, the horoscope

Beside the Buddha's footprints, certain other motifs may also be observed on the ceiling of the entrance hall, wings and passage leading to the shrine. Moreover, while the horoscope is apparently always seen in that position, the maps of the universe and of the lake are more often painted on the walls of the entrance hall.

The universe consists of seven rows of mountains separated by water (pl. 143), encompassing Mount Meru, where an image of the Buddha may be painted.[43] Four continents, varying in shape, are located outside these girdles. When no Buddha or Paccekabuddha was born in the *kappa*, a *cakkavatti* monarch ruled over this universe.[44]

As for Lake Anottata (Skt. Anavatapta), it is one of the seven great lakes located in Himalayas, the mountains of our continent, Jambudvīpa, and is itself surrounded by five mountains (pl. 142). It is the source of the rivers which flow through India, rushing out of the lake between four rocks which are shaped like the heads of four animals, lion, bull, horse and elephant-respectively distributed to the east, south, west and north.[45] The lake lies beyond the sun and the moon, never being directly touched by their light but illuminated by the sole presence of the Buddha; it is also the place where 'all Buddhas go' after their life, where the wives of the four Lokapālas washed Māyā before the conception, where the Buddha had his feet washed, where Cunda, who gave to the Buddha his last meal before his death, had his dress washed by the gods, and it is a place which the Buddha visited while teaching the Gods and before the 'twin miracle'.[46]

> *Just as the water of Anotatta, having ultimately entered the ocean through the Ganges, would never turn back, so the Bodhisatta, in his last birth, would never turn back from his purpose of becoming Buddha for the sake of becoming a cakkavatti.*[47]

The depictions of Lake Anotatta and of the Universe are very similar. They are based on a large central circle formed by thick concentric lines which indicate the seven girdles of mountains surrounding Mount Meru or the five mountains around the lake. Waters flow out of the lake through four animal faces which are distributed at each of the four cardinal points. Forming a labyrinth, these waters flow round

142 *Lake Anotatta, north wall, north-east corner, Sale, Ohn-pwe-taw*

143 *Universe and footprints, east vestibule hall, Winido-hpaya, copyright G. Heil*

the mountain before giving birth to the great rivers which run in our world, Jambudvīpa.[48] Besides, both the lake and the universe share similar features: the lake is surrounded by mountains, and the girdles of mountains around Mount Meru are separated by water.

The presence of these two motifs, like the representation of the Buddha sitting at the top of Mount Meru emerging from the cosmic waters, where he preaches to the gods, most probably imply that the temple is perceived as an image of the cosmos, including both the waters and the universe reclining on them. All the motifs are related to the (cosmic) waters, which are also alluded to with the numerous creepers painted on the walls. Reference to the cosmic waters is made not only through the *buddhapadas* but also through the universe, since the seven rows of mountains are separated by seven seas, and the lake, from which the four rivers flow.[49] In fact, the relation of Lake Anotatta to the universe is similar to that of the universe to the *buddhapada*: it is a part of it. Moreover, just as the depiction of the universe is centred on a mountain, Mount Meru, Anotatta is one of the seven great lakes found in the Himavanta, and is itself surrounded by five mountains. Thus, what is depicted over our heads or on the walls of the monument are the mountains as sources of the water which either surrounds our continent (depiction of the universe) or flows over this continent.

The depiction of the horoscope (pl. 144) indicates the day of four major events in the Buddha's life, i.e. conception, birth, Enlightenment and final demise,[50] and this quite evidently reflects a progression in the 'quality' of the birth or initiation, from the moment of the conception in Māyā's womb to the Parinibbāna.[51]

144 The horoscope, ceiling of the passage to the shrine, Winido-hpaya, copyright G. Heil

Chapter VI

THE ORNAMENTAL DECORATION

Probably no motif can be qualified as being purely 'decorative' in the field of religious art. Every ornamentation, and every space filled by these ornamentations, finds an explanation. Nonetheless, beside the great iconographic topics illustrated on the walls of Pagan and which are basically related to the Buddha, numerous elements of a somewhat ornamental nature have been introduced. Without any doubt, these elements have their bearing on our overall understanding of the temple and of the image which this temple is to convey. The ornamentation has a clear symbolic value. It constitutes a frame; a scaffolding behind the official iconography. It articulates the different zones of the programme with each other, i.e. the walls with the ceilings, the wings or niches with the central shrine or hall, and it clearly contributes to present the temple as a living image of the cosmos. Each motif occupies a specific position. For instance, hybrid male figures with wings and a beaked nose are seen in the upper part of the monument, either in the frieze of the pointed obovals or on the dummy pillars in the corners, or even higher, close to the central lotus, on the bands which cover the corners of the ceiling. The same hybrids are painted on either side of the nimbus or of arches, where they stand on dummy pillars. This figure is clearly related to Garuḍa, the royal eagle who flies through the sky, like the sun: hence his location in the upper part of the ornamentation. Another example is offered by the two Bodhisattas seen in the previous chapter who welcome the devotees to the shrine. These figures can also be perceived as protectors of the shrine and hence are introduced around windows or, in a further transformation of this function, near a corner which marks transition between two parts of the monument; they are painted in the lower part of the ornamentation, i.e. at our level, and at places of transformation within the monument. As a third example we may mention the ornamentation running along the lower part of the walls, usually erased, but well preserved in the Nanda-manya, where the superimposed abstract bands reproduce the tall pedestal on which the Buddha sits (pls 10-12), as if they themselves would support the upper part of the ornamentation where images of the Buddha are painted.

plate page nos
left column
(right column)

(18-20)

Ornate floral designs form bands of varying widths which are distributed in various places within the monument. Their function is to separate zones: they are either horizontal and, as in the Hpaya-thon-zu, mark the limit between the vault and the walls in the corridors, or vertical and painted along the edges of walls or in recesses. They may also frame panels where the Buddha is depicted and thus mark a limit between this representation and the outer ornamentation. Not only the walls but also the ceiling can include floral motifs since, beside the central lotus on the vault of the shrine, creepers curl all around the tiny images of the Buddha or of Brahmas painted on the ceiling. When painted on the walls these creepers include animals, human beings and fantastic creatures. Their vivid movement, incisive line and burgeoning ornamentation spreading between the scrolls clearly impart the idea of life born of the waters. Similarly, the footprints painted on the ceilings are depicted as set upon a wide open lotus on the surface of which elegant thin scrolls are drawn around the toes.

Stuccoed and painted ornamentation is very rarely encountered inside the monuments, when present being reserved to the pediments above the passage to the shrine and above the windows of the ambulatory, as in the Abe-ya-dana, or to the nimbus behind the central Buddha image in some other temples.

A number of motifs are also observed on the façade of the temple, where they are carved and stuccoed. Such is the case of the pillars painted

145 Upper part of a painted pillar, monument 1150

in the corners and covering the angles outside the monument, as also of the frieze of lion faces spewing a pearled garland which occupies a higher position, above the recesses both inside and outside, running below the corbel, and of the pediments painted above windows or arches inside and carved above the same on the façade. Similarly, the frieze of geese painted on roundels which are regularly distributed within the coils of a creeper, though very rarely observed, can also be carved outside and painted inside. The position of these motifs within the monuments coincides precisely with their location on the exterior walls, making both sides of the wall symmetrical to each other. As a *(13, 121)* matter of fact, the interior of the temple is perceived as if being a reflection of the outside walls, so that in a monument like the Abe-ya-dana, for instance, we can follow the painted ornamentation as would be seen from outside, and thus consider the monument a temple-mountain. Similarly, we can also transfer the *(128, 172)* multiplication of Buddha images appearing on the ceilings or walls in later temples onto the façade, and so consider this multiplication emerging out of the sanctuary and directed towards the outside world.

A. THE WALLS

The pillars

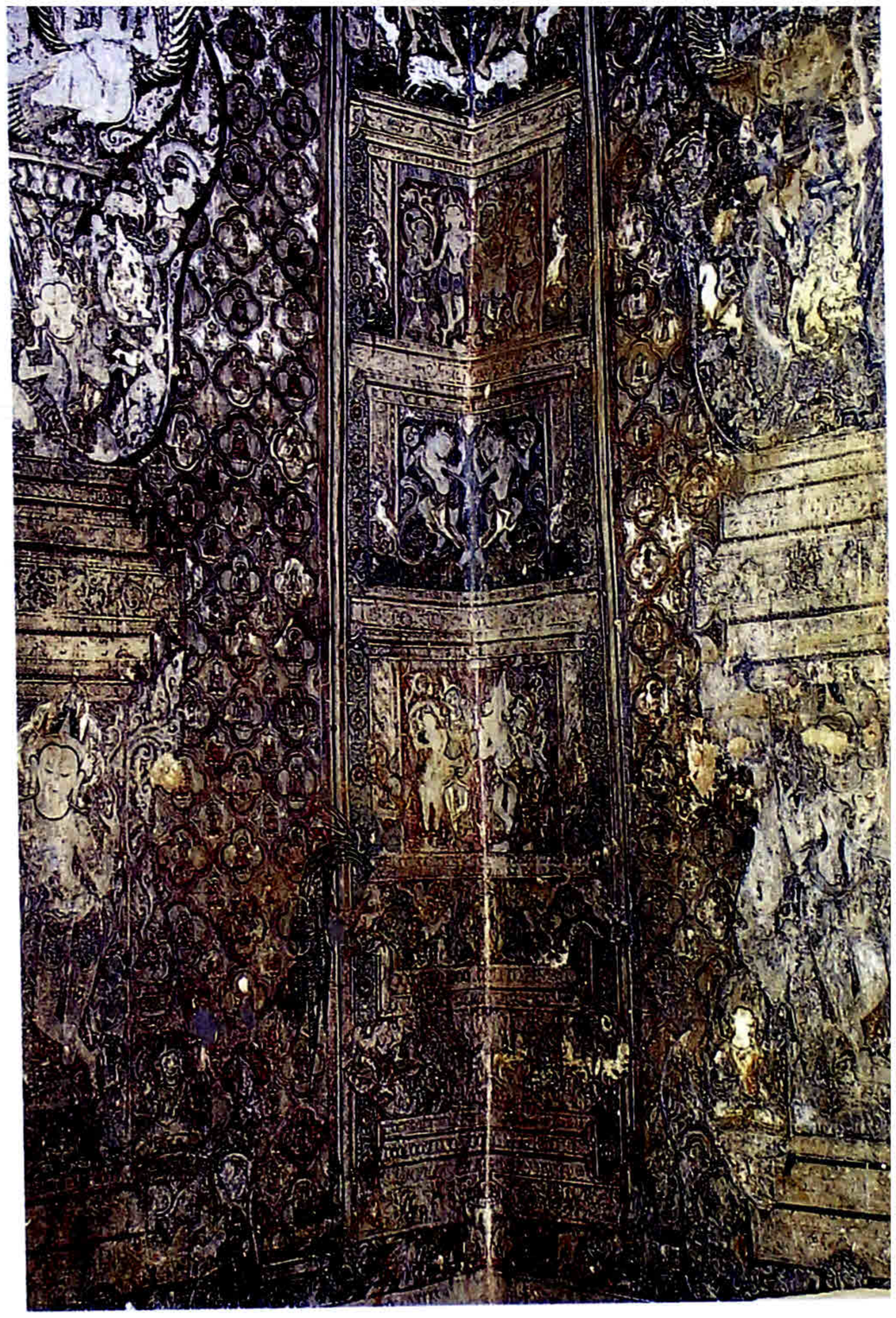
Dummy pillars are painted in the corners of most of the temples, echoing the stuccoed pillars distributed on the corners of the façade and, like them, theoretically supporting the roof. Like these pillars, they are adorned with two large triangular flames which may point upwards or downwards while a circular medallion is set at mid-height (pls 9, 146); parallel bands run along either vertical side. This ornamentation appears in the Abe-ya-dana where warm colours are used: on a violet background, two golden triangles adorned with scrolls point towards two lotus medallions and a rhombus which have petals of alternating colours (pls 162, 220). The position of these panels within

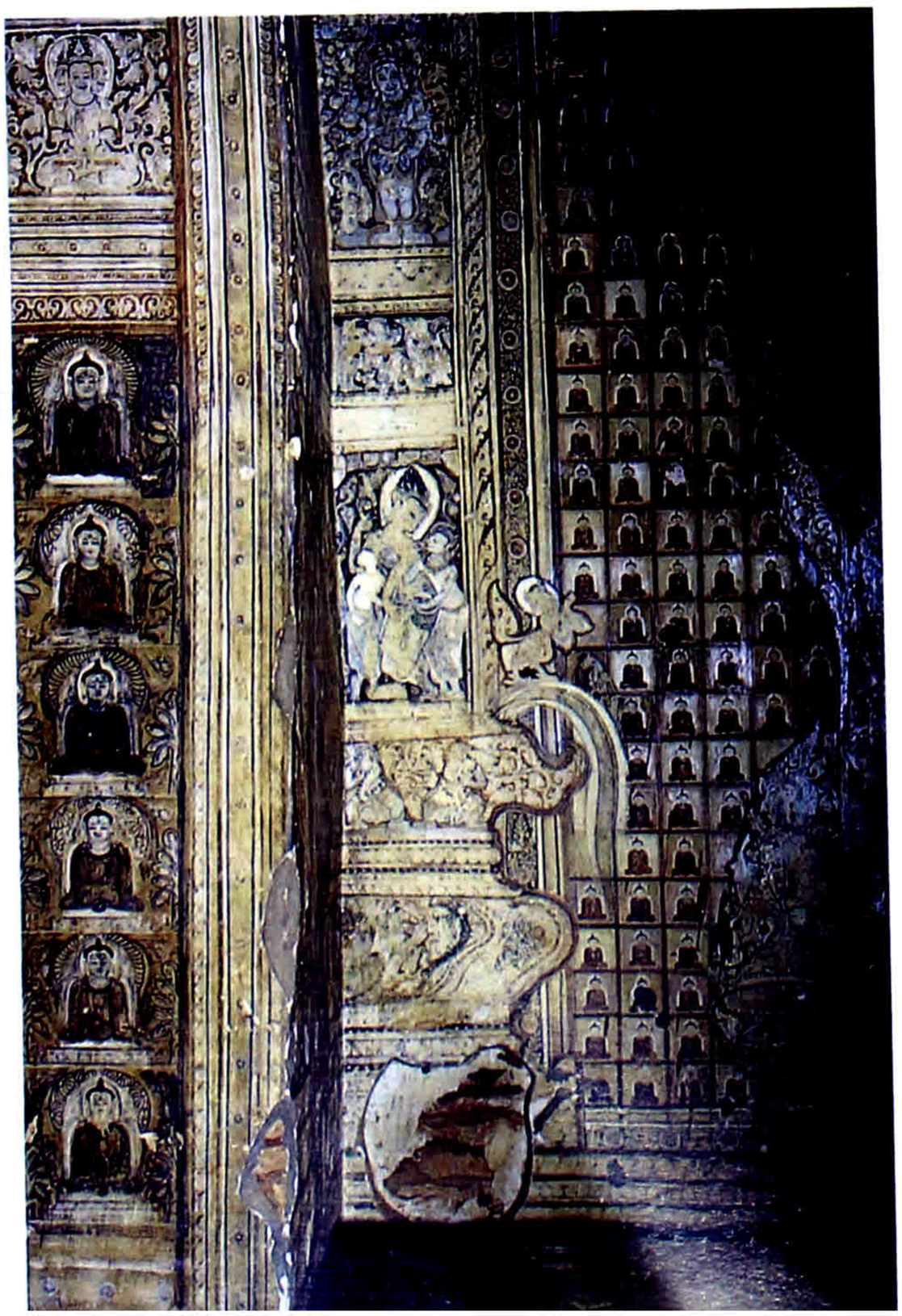
this temple reproduces their location on the façade walls, i.e. on the corners of the wall of the shrine and not, as will subsequently be the case, on the corners of the outer walls which, in the Abe-ya-dana, bear no architectural ornamentation (pl. 222, p. 174). In temple 1152 (pl. 228, p. 180) these pillars, with capital and base, are present in the corners of the shrine, a position they are to occupy in every other monument (pls 10-12, pp. 18-20). As a matter of fact, they are clearly reserved to the ornamentation of the shrine and are to be seen only extremely rarely in the entrance vestibule (pl. 243, p. 194) or in the side niches or wings. In temples of the later period, such as those at Sale, the entire shaft is covered with a vine creeper within which monstrous creatures crawl (pl. 146).

The painted pillars in the corners can also display a more intricate ornamentation. Their shaft is covered with a series of panels filled with various fantastic creatures (pl. 148, p. 122), while the base is in the shape of a jar of abundance and the capital includes different superimposed mouldings (pls 231, 248, 249, pp. 184, 199, 200).[1] In some temples, the architectural elements tend to dissolve into a purely decorative ornamentation. In temple 1150 (pl. 145) elaborate capitals display a ferocious lion facing us, flanked by two snakes; a winged heavenly creature sits on his back and, above them, some more figures dance or play with lions while two birds are profiled at either end.[2] Similar figures are seen on the vase of the base, which may be adorned with beautiful volutes (pls 147-8). Here it emerges quite evidently that the distribution of motifs follows a very specific pattern, bearing a clear meaning. Human couples (pl. 148), constituting a fertility-related element present in the art of India since the very early period, are distributed in the lower level, whereas creatures of a more divine nature are painted above them.

The presence of such ornamentation in Buddhist monuments was not always clearly understood. From Ch. Duroiselle, followed by N.R. Ray and G.H. Luce, authors tended to shy away from a representation held to be 'of a character so vulgarly erotic and revolting, that they can neither be reproduced nor described'![3] Duroiselle related this 'tantric' Buddhism to the existence of the Arī (or Araññavāsin), a religious sect established at Pagan, more precisely around Minnanthu, and saw it as 'tainted with grossly immoral practices which were repulsive to the purer faith [i.e. the Singhalese Hīnayāna].'[4] These 'immoral practices' which characterized 'a whole phase of distasteful religious development' were evidently of sexual nature, but representation of the couple relates to a more general understanding of the temple. All the examples are distributed in the corners, and more precisely on the panels covering the dummy

146 Painted pillar in a corner, Sale, monument 99





151 Upper part of an arch, monument 1148

pillars which would theoretically support the upper part of the monument. Situated in the corners, these pillars thus stand at points of rupture, or transition between two zones. Further, they have an (apparent) function of support, and by virtue of their position contribute to accentuate the corners of the religious space. Evidently, as indeed from the very beginnings of Indian art, the couples act here not only as prophylactic but also as apotropaic figures.[5]

147 (p. 122, top left) Lower part of a painted pillar, monument 1846

148 (p. 122, top right) Panelled pillar in a corner, Hpaya-thon-zu (478)

149 (p. 122, bottom left) Lower part of a pillar, corner, Hpaya-thon-zu (477)

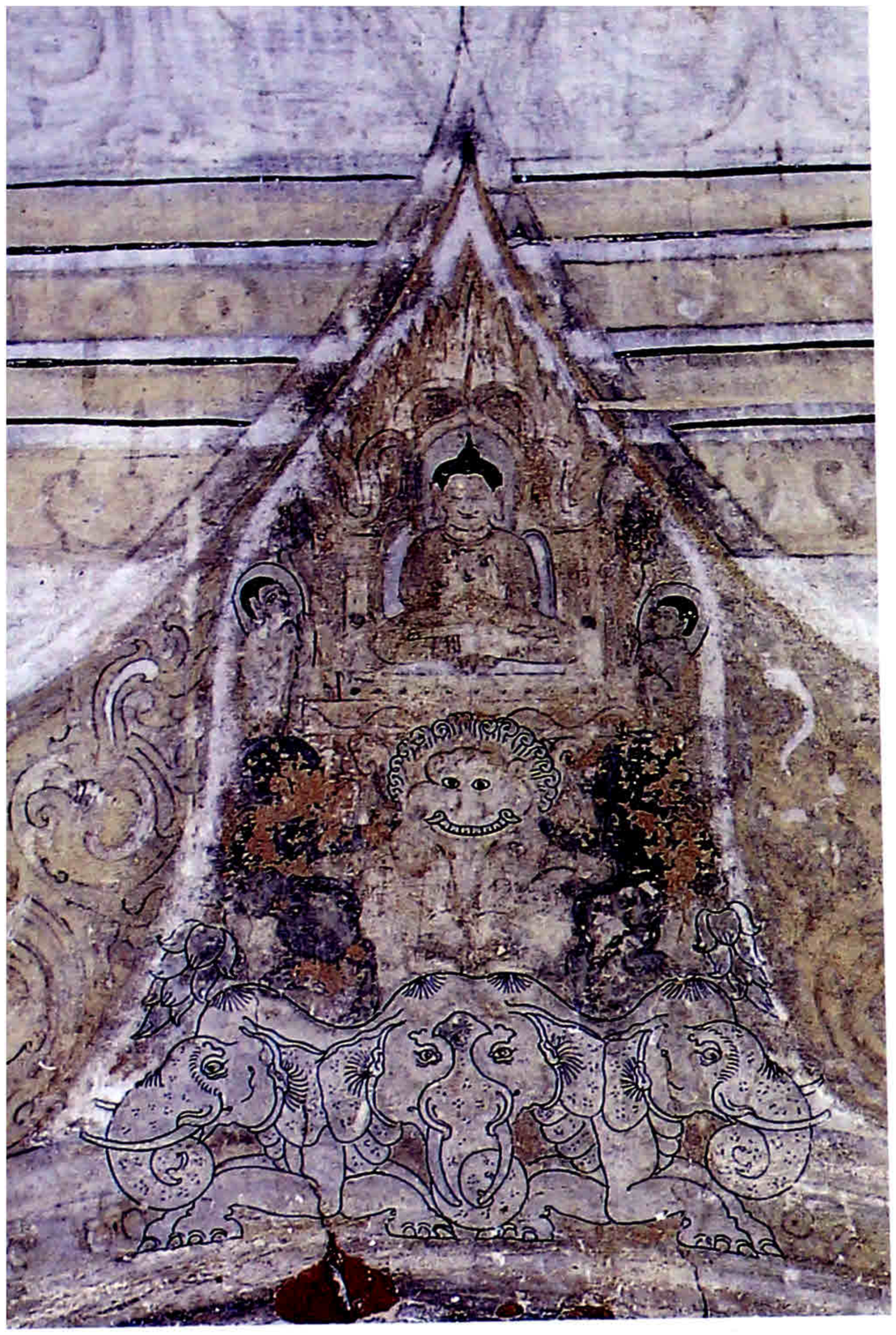
150 (p. 122, bottom right) Basis of a pillar, corner, Sale, monument 99

The arch, the temple

The temples of the early period include windows which are regularly distributed over the façade and recesses hollowed into the inner wall of the corridor or also in the outer wall, as in the Abe-ya-dana. The openings in this particular temple are adorned with beautiful ornamentation in stucco which was then painted (pls 161-2, 219-220): an architectural structure crowns the passage to the shrine, the two niches on either side, and the central niche on the back wall, while a pediment surmounts the recesses cut into the interior wall. Similarly, a stuccoed pediment adorns the windows on the outer wall (pls 221-2), while the niches there are adorned with painted architectural ornamentation. In no other temple do we encounter such a large range of variations. Some of the niches are adorned with a *stūpa* erected above a high pedestal, some with a *śikhara* or tower. This type of refined ornamentation, also present, but to a lesser degree, in the Patho-hta-mya or the Loka-

(127-8, 171-2)

(173-4)



ok-shaung–two monuments of the early period [6]– eventually disappears, and when recesses are topped by an ornamental architectural structure it is only painted, no longer stuccoed (fig. 163).

The use of architectural structure as part of the painted ornamentation is, henceforward, introduced in the depiction of events in the Buddha's life or in more anonymous scenes which may also appear painted on the ceiling. As in the stone sculpture and illuminated manuscripts from north-east India, the Buddha is depicted within a shrine.[7] He stands or sits in a monument which supports a *thūpa* erected above recessing tiers (pls 164, 166, pp. 129, 130) or a *śikhara* above tiers which support further images of reduced shrines (pl. 41, p. 45).[8] More rarely, the tower with straight lines and a slightly sloping outline of the Bodhgaya temple was painted, such as in the Ka-tha-pa-hpaya (pl. 7, p. 12) and Thambula (pl. 168, p. 131), although the device was well known to the architects of Pagan, who made use of this typical configuration.[9] Quite clearly, these various types reproduce models which were actually built at Pagan, based on Indian prototypes. Another type of monument used as a background is authentically Burmese. Known as the pyathat, it shows a tiered tower with superimposed sloping roofs of decreasing width (pls 165, 204, pp. 129, 152), with corners which may be chamfered or support vases of abundance (pl. 167, p. 130).[10]

In the lower part of the pediment carved above the windows of the outer wall, two large *makaras* are painted, roaring, with open mouth and displaying the evident function of protecting the window behind them. The ornamentation on both walls of the ambulatory of the Abe-ya-dana would never be repeated,

156 Kinnara at the right extremity of an arch, monument 1846

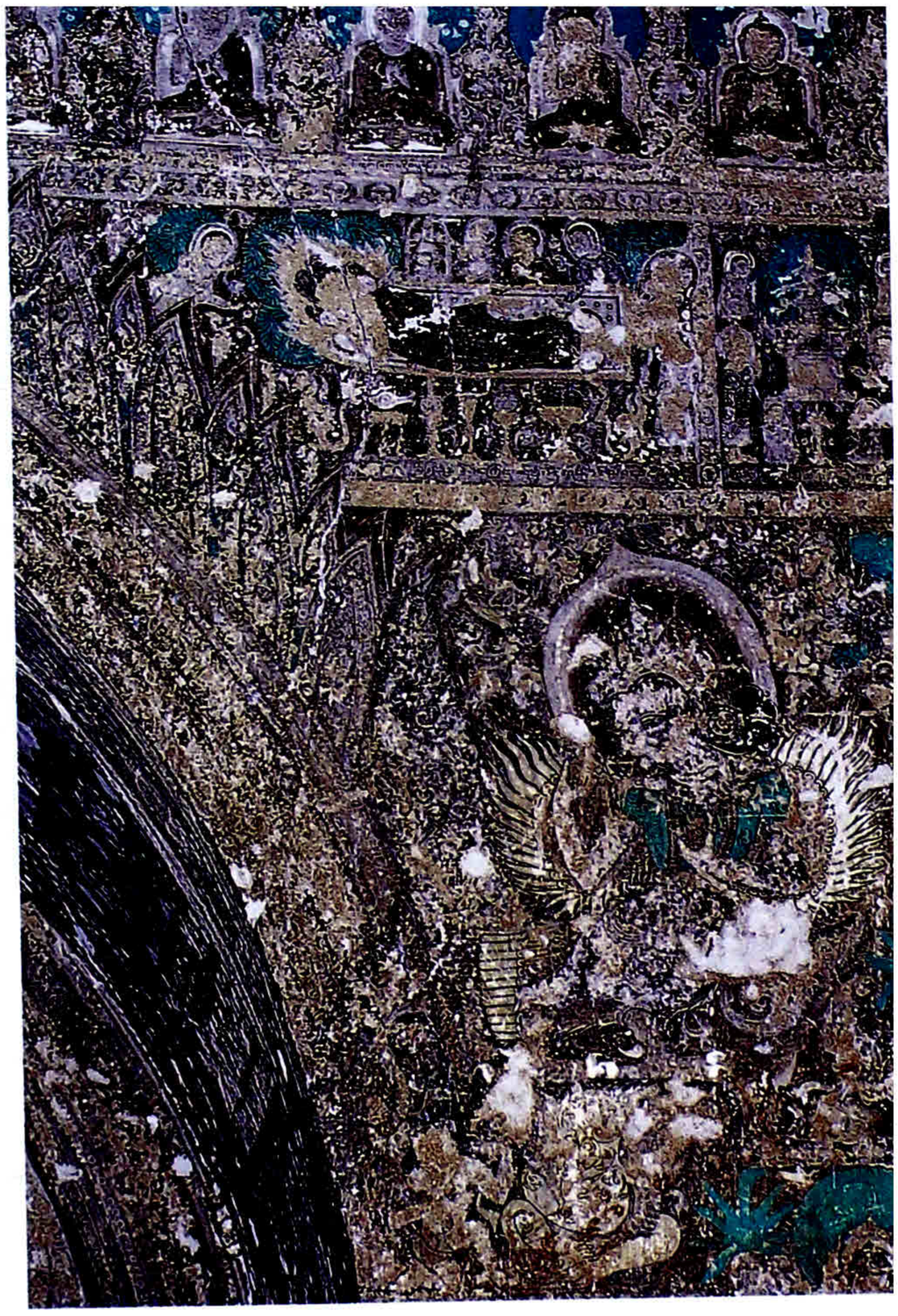
but the artists who conceived it were following a clear project. Here, more than in any other temple on the site, the painted decoration has the function of reflecting the true meaning of the monument, which is to serve as a temple-mountain. The ornamentation on the outer wall is the imprint of the monument seen from the outside. The niches distributed on two levels most probably contained images of the Buddha, while the very specific iconography of the superimposed levels can readily be understood by replacing it within a three-dimensional context, with the lower row in the foreground and those of the upper one in the background.

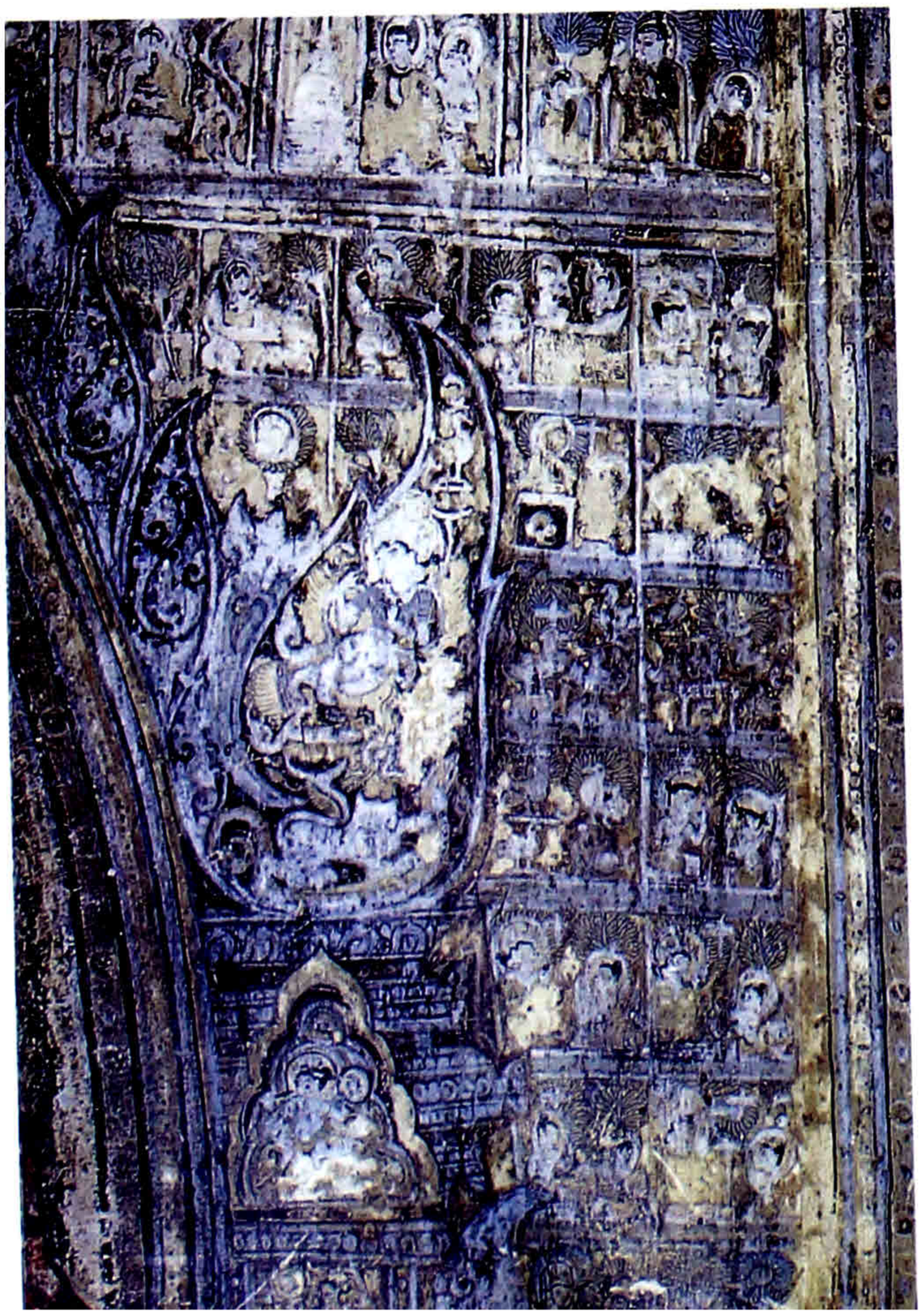
152 (p. 124, top left) Upper part of an arch, monument 661

153 (p. 124, top right) Left kinnara on the back of the throne, Loka-hteik-pan

154 (p. 124, bottom left) Right kinnara on the back of the throne, Loka-hteik-pan

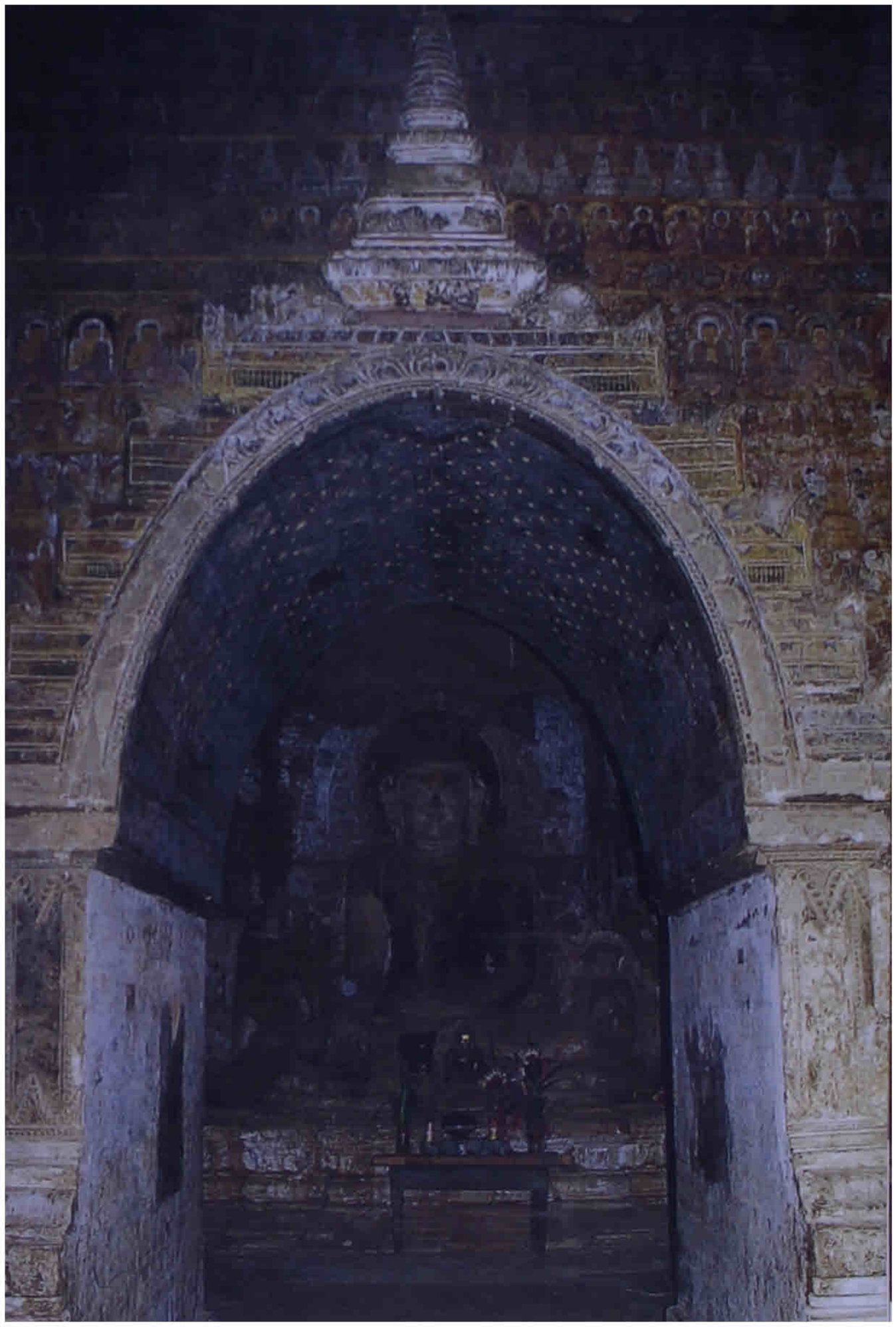
155 (p. 124, bottom right) Kinnara on the back of the throne, Hsutaung-pyi-hpaya





the row of caves forming an intermediary third level. The artists must have been inspired by a structure similar to the Borobudur temple with its superimposed floors supporting niches with images of the seated Buddha and intermediary panels showing various types of characters.[11] Be that as it may, the presence of an architectural structure around each niche and window enhances perception of this wall as the image of a temple.

While the arch ending in two *makaras* would never again appear in the painted ornamentation of the temples, being reserved to the stuccoed pediments of the façade, the arch with fantastic birds became generalized in the shrine, adorning the various openings.[12] But before being introduced in this position, the fantastic birds formed part of the decoration of the throne in the Loka-hteik-pan (pls 153-4, p. 124), in monument 2103 (pl. 4, p. 10), or in the Hsutaung-pyi-hpaya (pl. 155, p. 124). These creatures, known as *kinnaras*, are hybrid, combining the hind part of a bird with the torso and face of a human being. They symbolize the air, and represent sound, which is not only expressed through their own features: often they are depicted as they used to be in India, as musicians, playing cymbals or holding a *vīṇā*. After this early phase where they have a human face, they turn into a figure approaching the image of Garuḍa. The nose is crooked, the wings are flamed, the round volutes of the tail disappear and are replaced by a tail with feathers from which there may rise an elongated scroll (pl. 157).



161 Stuccoed arch above the passage to the shrine, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya

Only an oval nimbus is painted behind the head of the divine musicians in the Loka-hteik-pan (pls 153-4), while the Hsutaung-pyi-hpaya (pl. 155) already has a red line following the edge of the nimbus; scrolls surround the musician, arising out of his body and filling a space shaped like a spinode, as seen, for example, on the pediments above windows and entrances. In monuments of the Hpaya-nga-zu group (pl. 156), the multifoil nimbus is adorned by a row of pearls, an interstitial element protruding in each indentation. The wings of the hybrid bird have turned into flames, while the beaked nose

(124)

(124)

(125)

157 (p. 126, top left) Kinnara at the left extremity of an arch, Hpaya-thon-zu (478)

158 (p. 126, top right) Kinnara at the right extremity of an arch, Shwe-tan-za

159 (p. 126, bottom left) Kinnara in a spinode, right extremity of an arch, Shin-ma-hti

160 (p. 126, bottom right) Pillar acting as door-jamb, Hpaya-thon-zu (477)

162 North-west corner of central core, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya

has become truly striking. Only a few scrolls rise out of the tail profiled on one of the flames (126) running along the arch, while the chimerical figure stands on a fantastic creature which combines the head of an elephant with the scaled body of the *makara*.

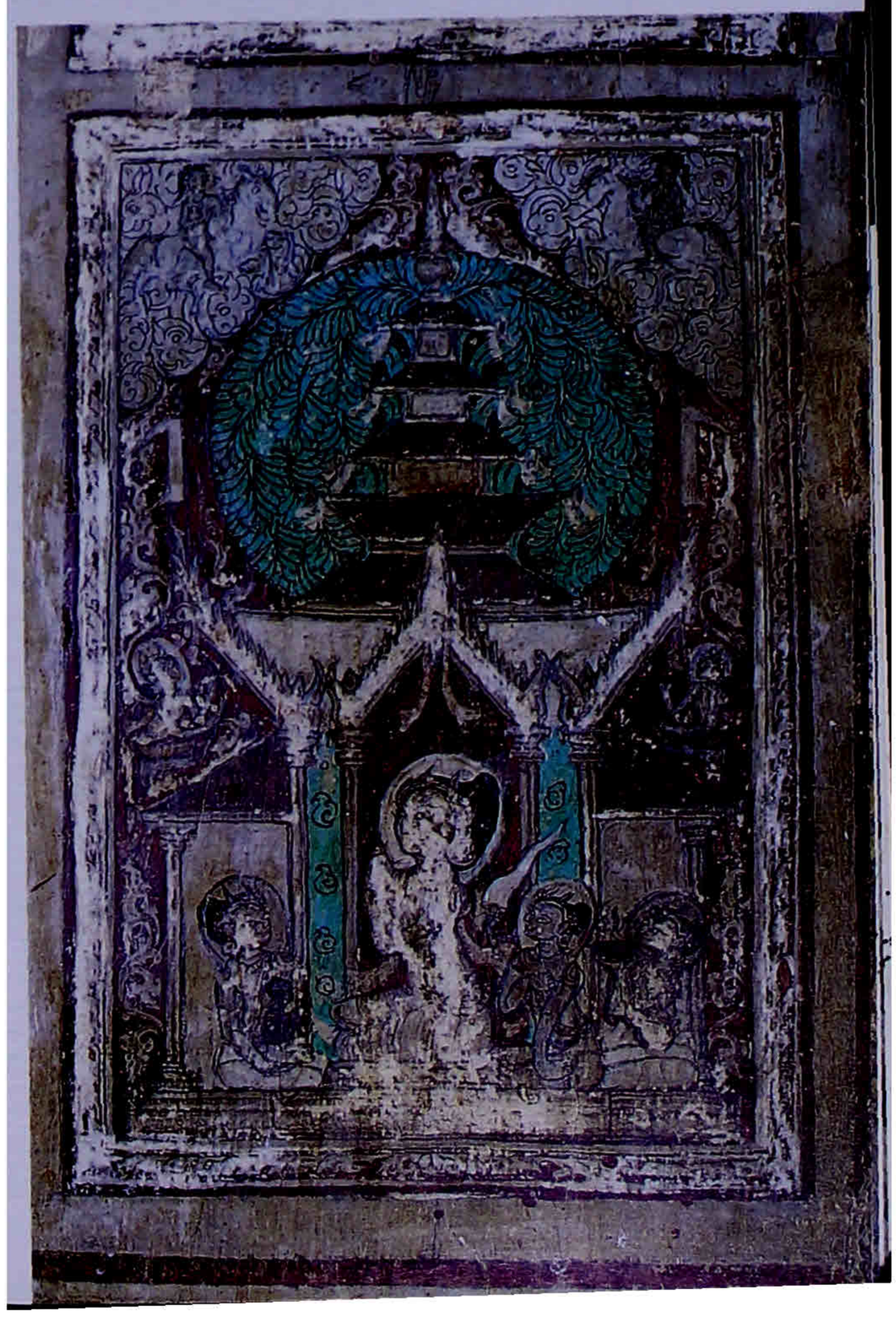
Whereas the fantastic bird still holds his musical instrument in monuments 1077, 1846, and in the Nanda-ma-nya,[13] he usually loses it in the other paintings of the thirteenth century. In the Shwe-tan-za, for instance (pl. 158), 126 he stands with both hands in front of him filled with wonder before the Buddha, surrounded by monstrous creatures. In the Shin-ma-hti (pl. 126 159), he is proportionally smaller than in the other examples and is framed within a large flame or spinode. He shows the same gesture of bewilderment, standing above a lotus which rises out of the tail of the *makara*. This wild *makara* tramples on a snake while a golden lion springs from his open mouth.

A further development of the motif in the thirteenth century is exemplified by the gorgeous hybrids painted in the Hpaya-thon-zu (pl. 157). The *makara* has here disappeared, to be replaced by a man embracing two women, but from behind him, the snake rears up, forming powerful volutes within which tiny figures crawl. The snake, like the tail of the hybrid bird above, is inscribed within the shape of a flame. Tiny scrolls rise out of the tail of the bird, forming elegant decorative ornamentation. Standing profiled on a lotus, the bird turns towards us with both hands folded in a gesture of veneration, gently smiling. He wears an elaborate crown where thin, elongated fleurons rise like flames, and cover the white background of the multifoil nimbus.

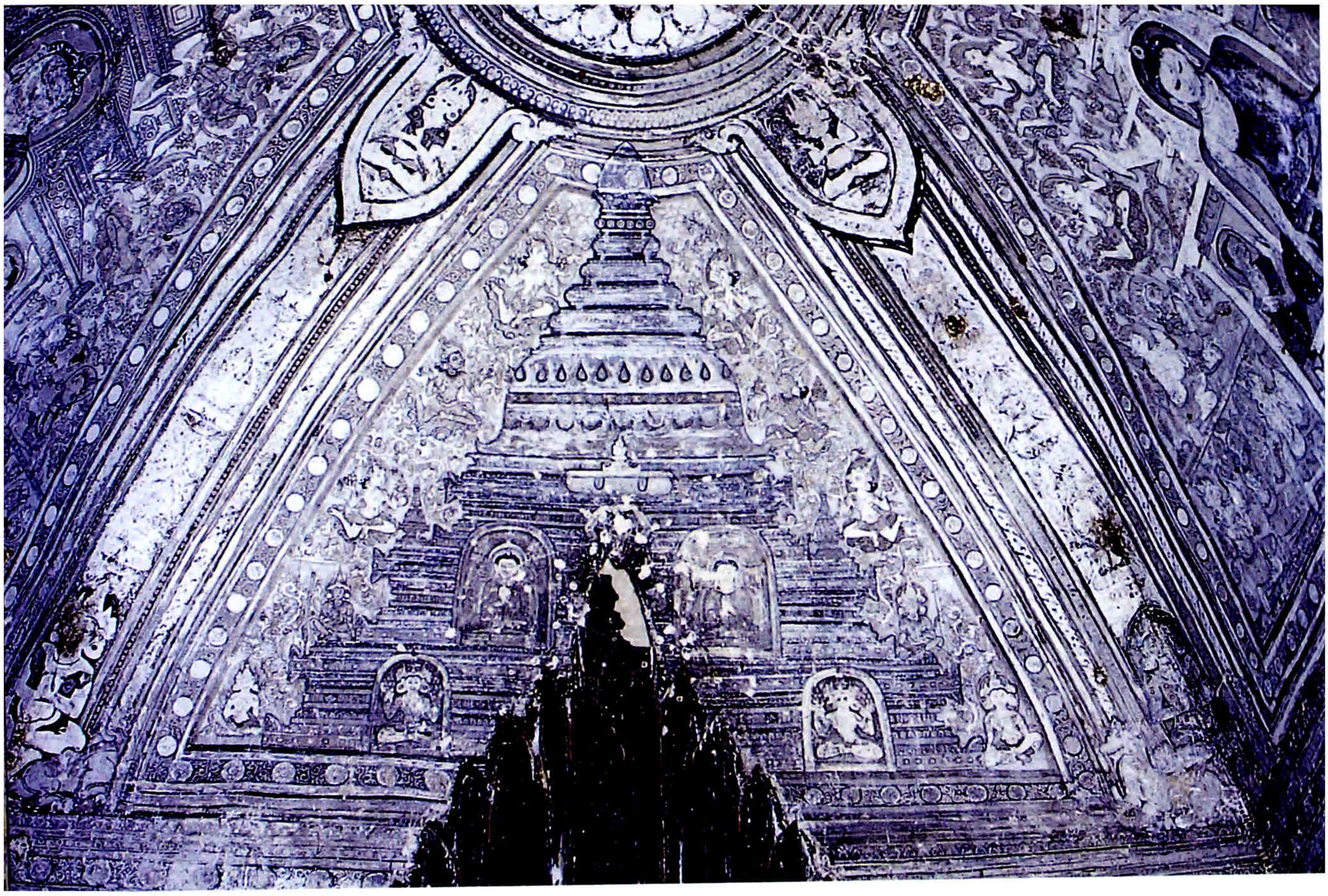
These fantastic creatures stand at the lower part of the row of flames which is painted all around the arch. Again, the flame motif has its source in the nimbus irradiating from the Buddha's head. Composed by tiny scrolls drawn in a black line on a white background or painted

163 (top left) Painted niches, corridor, monument 653

164 (top right) Painted shrine with the Buddha, monument 2095

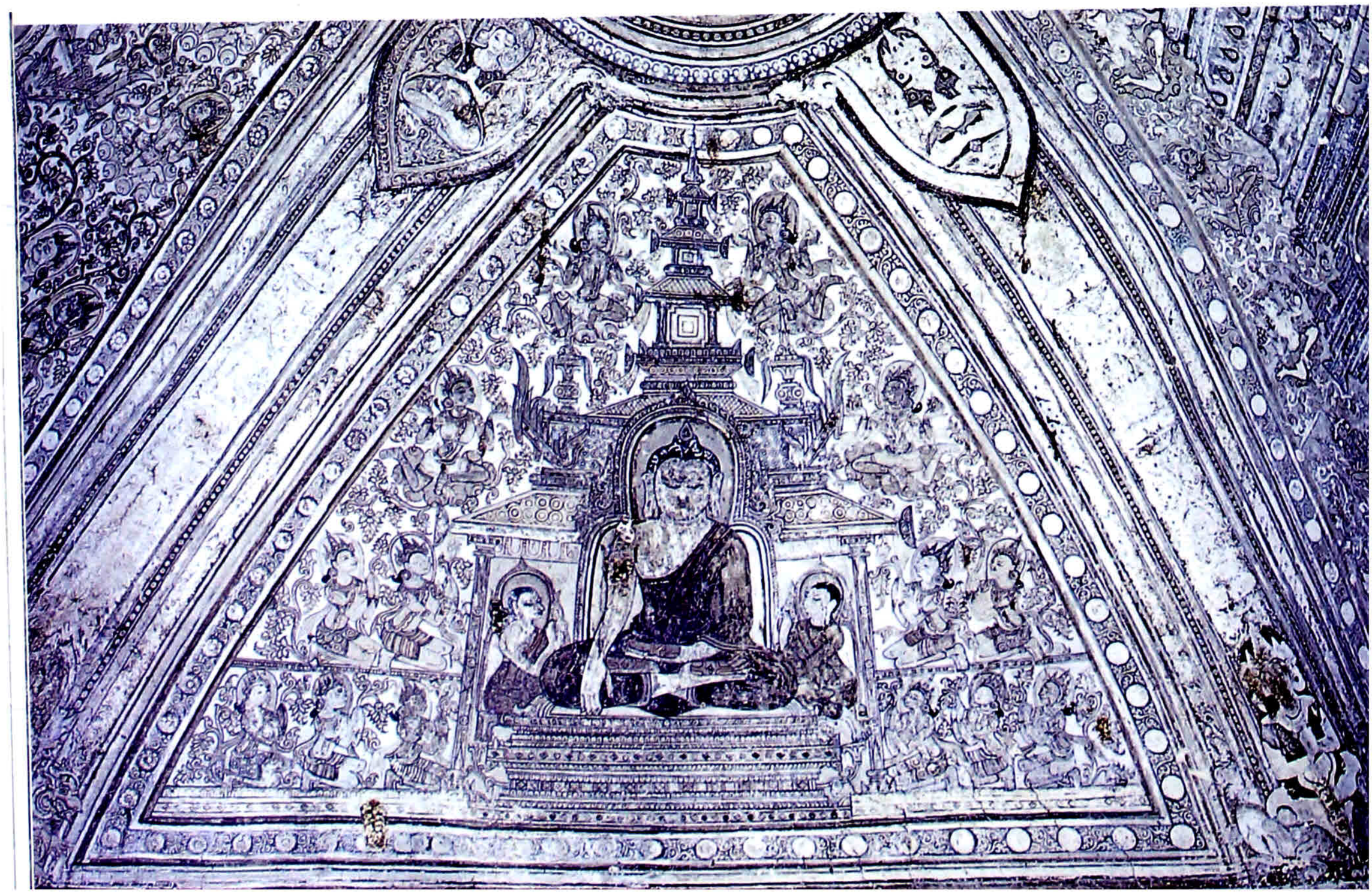


165 (left) Painted pavillion with a devotee, monument 1844



166 Thūpa above a high pedestal, vault, west quadrant, Tatkale-hpaya

167 Buddha seated within a pavilion, vault, south quadrant, Tatkale-hpaya



with alternating fine red and white parallels lines in the Loka-hteik-pan (pls 153-4, pp. 124), the flames are usually clearly shaped and separated from each other (pl. 155, p. 124). Shaped like the spinodes of the pediments on the façade, they also develop into elegant floral ornamentation (pls 151, 157, pp. 123, 126) which can include tiny images of monks (pl. 174, p. 136) or fantastic beings (pls 157-8, pp. 126) venerating the Buddha painted in the finial, who in turn shows the gesture of predication (pls 151-2, 248, pp. 123-4, 199) or touching the earth (pl. 247, p. 198).

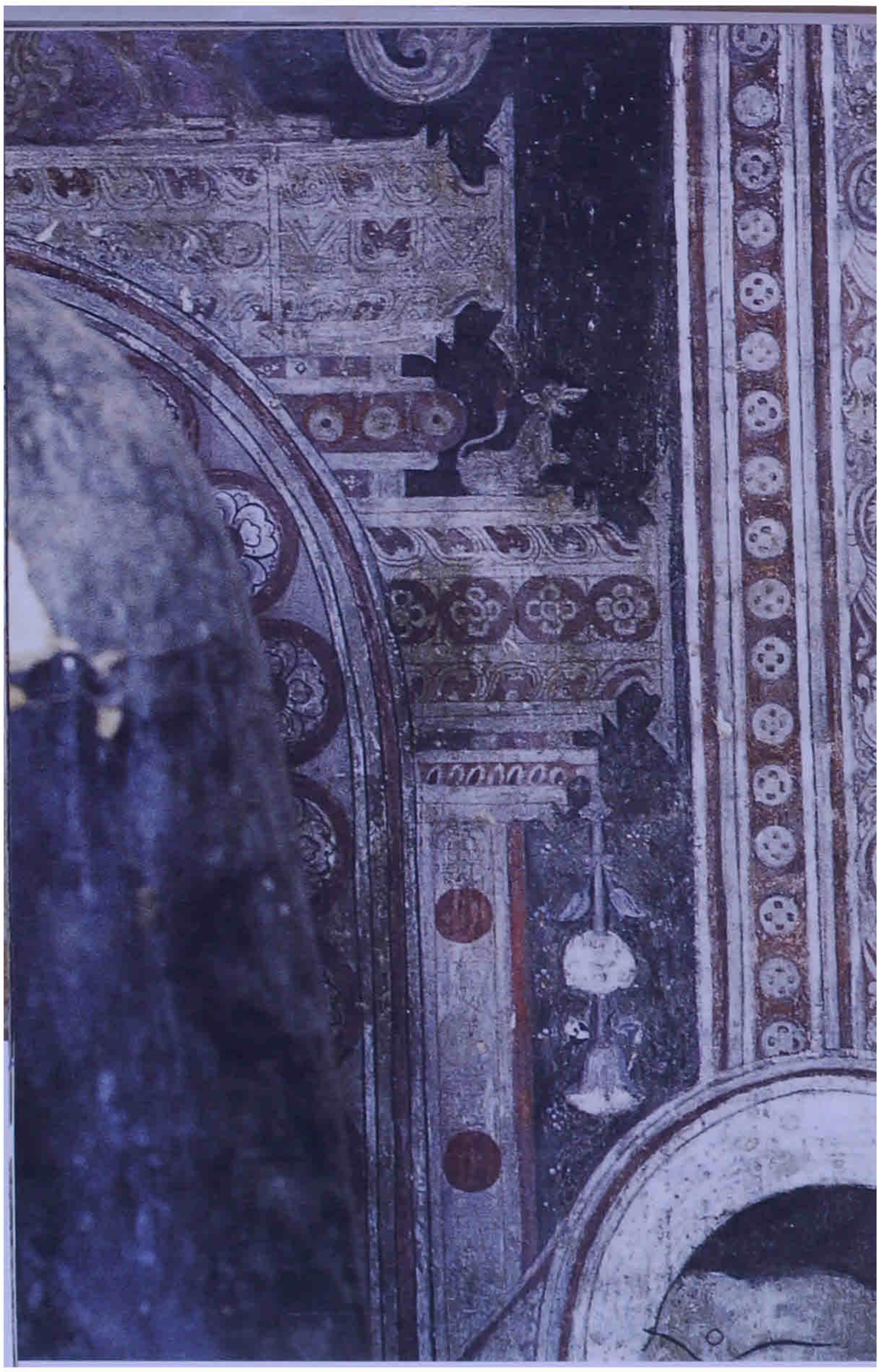
The hybrid birds stand on pillars painted along the edge of the wall. These pillars are usually constituted by superimposed panels illustrating fantastic beings, as seen in the dummy pillars painted in the corners (pls 227, 244, pp. 179, 195).

The painters of the Hpaya-thon-zu used the shaft of these pillars in order to introduce standing 'Bodhisattas' who have the function of protecting the passage, standing with crossed legs on a lion's head or on two diverging lions (pls 148, 160, 248, pp. 122, 126, 199). These figures are directly related to the pair of Bodhisattas protecting the passage to the shrine in most of the Minnanthu temples in the thirteenth century, here attended by two figures who press in on them. A large motif is attached to the lower part of the pillar, showing, profiled, a caparisoned elephant supporting a lion, both mounted. This combination is met with in other places at Pagan but, as it appears here, it is directly related to an Indian prototype.[14]

168 Tower above the Buddha on the north side, Thambula

The throne, the aura

The main image of the Buddha sits on a throne consisting of the back he leans against and a lotus upon which he is seated, although in actual fact the back of the throne is depicted only very rarely. The most detailed rendering is encountered behind the cult image of the Loka-hteik-pan (pl. 169) where two lintels lie above the back; on them a pair of heavenly fantastic musicians stand on either side of the nimbus (pls 153-4). Each lintel contains three horizontal bands, the upper one consisting of a row of lotus petals where blue and red alternate, the lower one also being formed by a row of petals, while the central band shows two different motifs. Simple rosettes are distributed side by side in the lower lintel, whereas two different ornaments cover the central band of the upper lintel. Dangling motifs in the shape of lotus petal and triangle alternate on the outer part, a creeper covering the inner part of this band. *132*
The presence of two motifs side by side can readily be understood if we see this lintel as being in relief with the side slightly carved in *124*



recess. This is the usual way of depicting the back part of the throne upon which the Buddha
(152) is seated in north-east India, where various motifs are also to be seen at the same level in paintings.

If we turn our attention now to the Buddha painted on the north wall in the entrance hall
165 of the Mye-bon-tha-hpaya (pl. 216), we may readily note how it reproduces the lower part of the plinth as if constructed on a series of side
134 recesses (pl. 172). Such examples directly draw their inspiration from India.[15] But beside one further example in the Hsutaung-pyi-hpaya (pl.
124 155), which is clearly based on the throne motif in the Loka-hteik-pan, the rendering of the back of the throne of the cult image becomes greatly simplified (pl. 231, p. 184) before disappearing. Whereas the pedestal of the throne is carved and stuccoed (pls 231, 246, pp. 184, 197), only the back of the throne is still painted although quite often this element, too, was carved and stuccoed before colours were added to it (pl. 170).

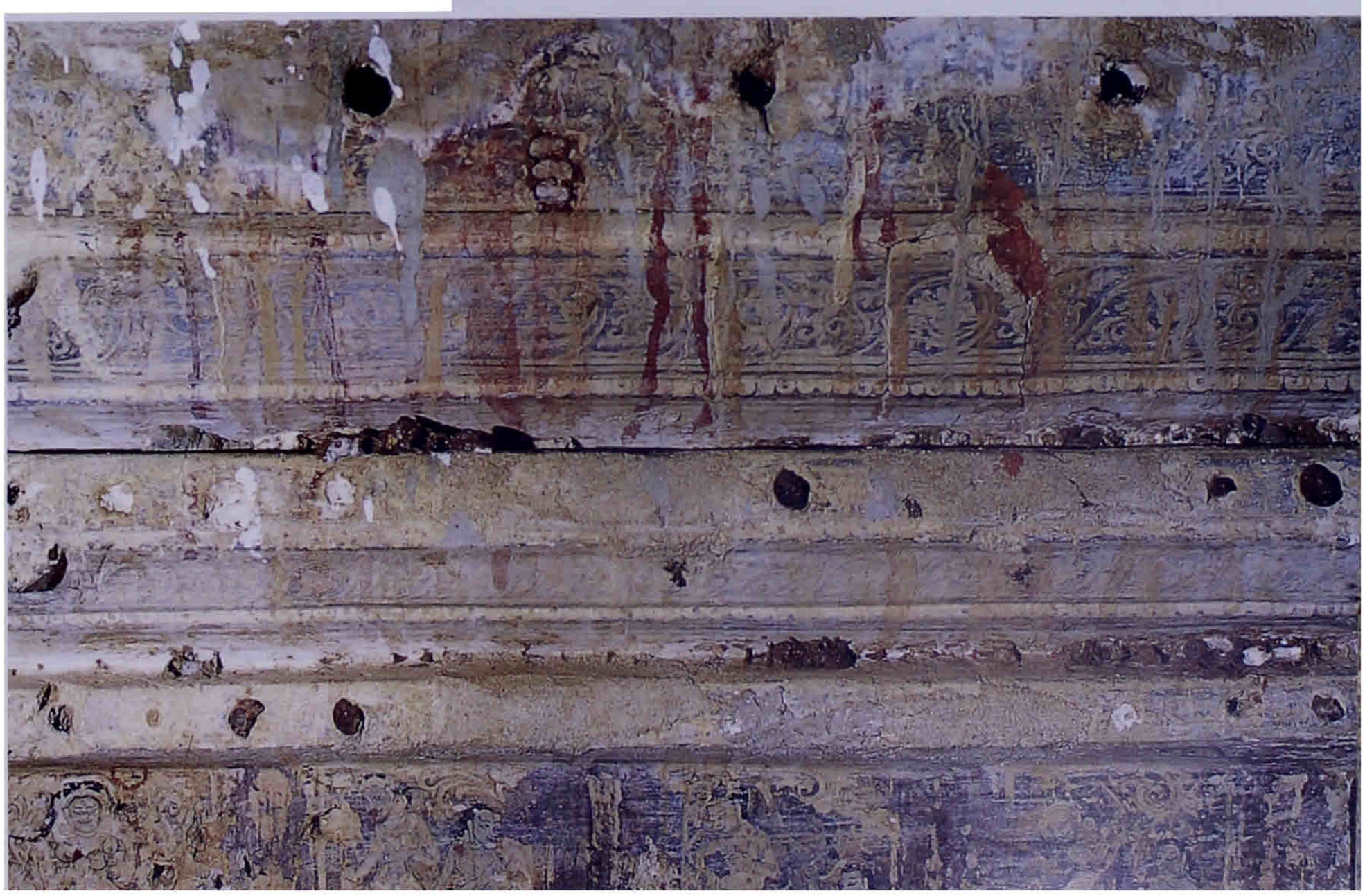
We also find examples of a particular rendering of the throne, as in the small temple 661, for instance (pl. 152, p. 124),[16] where an iconographic motif may replace the flame at the top of the aura, showing the Buddha–seated on a throne below an arch adorned with a pediment–being attended on by two monks. His throne is supported by three lions: two dark ones, holding a huge banana flower, are profiled on either side of a large lion squatting on a triple elephant, reminiscent of Airāvata, the mount of Sakka. Since the beginning of our era the Buddha has been depicted like a king, seated on a lion throne, the animals not only supporting the throne but also protecting it. These creatures symbolize the royal nature of the throne and of the Buddha who sits upon it, while also referring to the element of fire and the word spoken by the Buddha. As for the elephant, it bears an evident chthonic symbolism: in eastern India various deities may be depicted seated on a throne supported by the protome of an elephant–a motif which found its way up to Pagan, where elephants and lions may appear carved on the pedestal of small slabs depicting the Buddha.[17] A similar composition is repeatedly used on the ceiling of the Ma-la-phyi-hpaya (pl. 204), where the tiny Buddhas are supported by the huge lion head flanked by two profiled elephant heads. Both animals partake of royal nature, and the fact that we have here a triple elephant, which is a traditional manner of representing the mount of Indra/Sakka, evidently constitutes a clear reference to the world of the Devas over which Sakka rules. When the Buddha went to Mount Meru in order to teach the Abhidhamma to his mother and the gods, he sat on the wonderful stone Paṇḍukambala upon which Sakka used

to sit. Moreover, the mount of Sakka is a 'cosmic' elephant, expanding to become its own universe. And the king *cakkavatti*, when mounted upon his own elephant, is similar to the king of the gods sitting on Airāvata. Assimilating attributes which characterise Sakka, the Buddha seated on the triple elephant and on the lion becomes himself a cosmic king.[18] The king *cakkavatti* is said to be as beautiful as Indra when the latter is mounted on his elephant. He is thus a king, just as Indra is king of the gods, and we may surmise that his elephant should be identified with the universal Airavāṇa.

In some cases, as in the Thambula, for instance (pl. 246, p. 197), what used to be the elaborate lintel of the throne turns into the tall pedestal upon which stands the architectural structure painted above the Buddha, while the large oval-shaped outline behind the body of the Buddha, present in the Loka-hteik-pan, in temple 1152 and in the Hsutaung-pyi-hpaya, is still preserved.

This oval-shaped element, originally a cushion, in later temples became multifoil

170 (right) Scrolls above the nimbus, south wall, monument 1148



171 (below) Painted pedestal below the cult image, Sale, monument 101

172 Pedestal below a Buddha image, detail of pl. 216, Mye-bon-tha-hpaya

47, 53 (pls 45, 52). Again, in some later examples it is preserved behind standing images of the Bud-
(11, 23-25) dha, supporting the nimbus, and may be assimi-
23, 41, 53 lated with the aura (pls 17, 36, 52). In the Loka-hteik-pan, the Patho-hta-mya, Kubyauk-gyi or the Mye-bon-tha, it appears behind all the seated images of the Buddha as a large white surface
46-47, 55 (184) (pls 42-44, 54), but in the same monuments, it is often adorned with various geometric patterns, also appearing printed on the dress of laymen
28-31, 40, 48-49 attending to the Buddha (pls 24-27, 35, 47-48).

In the early temples we find a painted aura,
(134) comprising throne and nimbus. It forms a broad band which includes various motifs, such as the pearls or the creeper with lotus flowers in
94, 109 the Loka-hteik-pan (pls 95, 131), or pearls and
111, 124 a row of elongated flames (pls 134, 155), or
10 flames alone (pl. 4). When the architectural structure of the throne disappears, the nimbus rises directly above the cushion and the row of flames runs all around the image of the Buddha, thus forming the aura which irradiates from his body (pls 5, 16-19).

The tall stuccoed plinth[19] upon which the Buddha sits also has its source in India; it is composed of various mouldings adorned with decorative motifs such as musicians accompanying dancers (pl. 231), or with iconographic motifs such as the Earth-Goddess squeezing her hair– all motifs that adorn the pedestal of the throne in temple 101 at Sale (pl. 171, p. 133). The same plinth is preserved in the murals, in the early period (pl. 172) showing a structure similar to that of the lintels, with petals of alternating blue and red on a golden background and drapery falling in front of the throne.[20] Elements of the Buddha's iconography can be integrated within this structure: for instance, two *makaras* symbolize the waters that flow from the Buddha's body at Sāvatthi, in the Shwe-myin-tin-hpaya.[21]

Heavenly creatures, protecting characters

Heavenly creatures fly on their clouds, venerating the Buddha. In Abe-ya-dana, they do not fly towards the seated Bodhisatta (pls 110-111), but towards the empty niches which once contained representations of the Buddha (pl. 221). Beautiful creatures are to be seen painted in the Kubyauk-gyi, profiled on clouds of various plain colours, offering flowers and perfumes to the Buddhas of the past (pl. 173).

In monument 1152, where the *kinnara* wears boots as in the Abe-ya-dana, the motif of the cloud shaped as a series of animal heads is introduced for the first time in the background (pl. 174). Bird and elephant faces are depicted here, the birds referring to the air, the elephants to the water pouring from the clouds, while in later renderings of the motif grinning leonine faces, fantastic faces and, more rarely, bird faces rise out of the cloud (monument 1846) (pl.176, p. 137).[22] Painted decoration preserved around a window in temple 505 (pl 175, p. 137) shows how faces came to form the foils of the cloud: here we see some monstrous faces still attached to bodies which are half illustrated; they do not belong to the cloud behind the central flying figure, but together represent members of Māra's army. In temple 2157 (pls 107-8, p. 98) the demons of Māra again show only their heads or the upper part of their bodies against the background of clouds. Here again, as in the example in temple 1152 (pl. 174), the faces are well differentiated, while the later treatment shows faces all alike, presenting a broad circular outline (pls 177, 179, pp. 137, 138).[23]

In the early period, these flying figures emerge from clouds and may be partly hidden within them (pls 111, 173, pp. 99, 135). The painters of temples 505, 1152 and 1846 still suggested this sensation of diffuse presence with illustration of scrolls or multiplication of small characters all around the figure. Usually, however, the motif of the *kinnara* on his cloud is drawn in very sharp lines against the background of the creeper covering the entire wall (pls 177-8, p. 137). These figures of the later period are often partly depicted from the front with both hands holding a large white flower, whereas in the early period they might be seen presenting flowers or holding an umbrella.

Since they refer to heaven, in the early period they are, as one would expect, distributed in the upper part of the murals. In the later period, however, we find them tending to be distributed all around the image of the Buddha (pls 5, 231), and thus also present in the lower part of the mural; indicating the nature of the Buddha as a heavenly being, they are drawn on the large flames irradiating from his body. Distributed within this structure, i.e. forming a frame, they also occur around windows or entrances (pls 178, 227). *98-99* *173* *(11, 184)* *(137, 179)*

173 Divine characters flying, interior wall of the corridor, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba

174 Divine character flying above an arch, west wall, monument 1152

Other heavenly creatures appear on the bands covering the angles of the vault of the shrine or on the dummy pillars in the corners, or even at the bottom of vertical scrolls. On a shield-shaped panel covering the upper part of the band on the ceiling, a heavenly figure sits with hands joined in the gesture of veneration (pl. 212). In later temples this figure is transformed into a hybrid bird, with wings and feathers on the legs, standing on a monstrous lion head to which tiny legs are attached (pls 167, 204). The lower part of the band is also hidden by a heavenly creature who usually sits on two profiled lions (pl.167). Closely related figures are painted on the dummy pillars in the corners of the shrine, and their presence in temple 1846, for instance, helps us in turn to understand the presence of two profiled animals below some of them. Here the figure sits astride a gazelle which, for the sake of symmetry, is duplicated (pl. 147), and the very same motif appears in monument 1150 where the figure sits with folded legs (pl. 189).[24]

159 *(18, 20, 185)* *130, 152* *130* *121* *143*

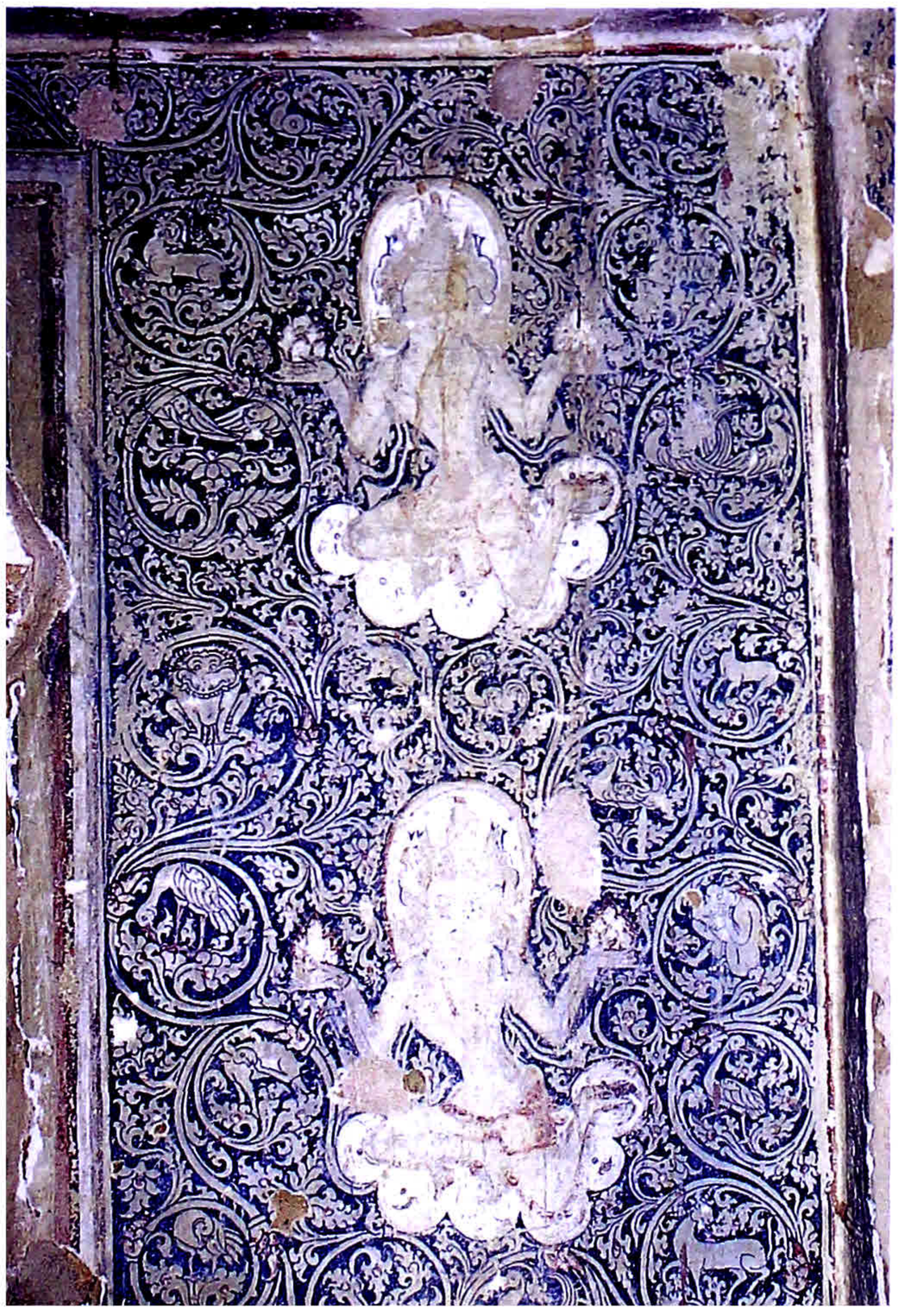
Male figures are distributed at very specific places in the shrine, but always close to a passage or a side wing. They are painted at ground level in a lobed medallion[25] at the bottom of a broad decorative band made up of parallel abstract and decorative motifs, such as the creeper, painted along the angles of the side niches (pls 10, 12, 232). The male figures sit or, very rarely, stand, as in the Nanda-ma-nya where they hold

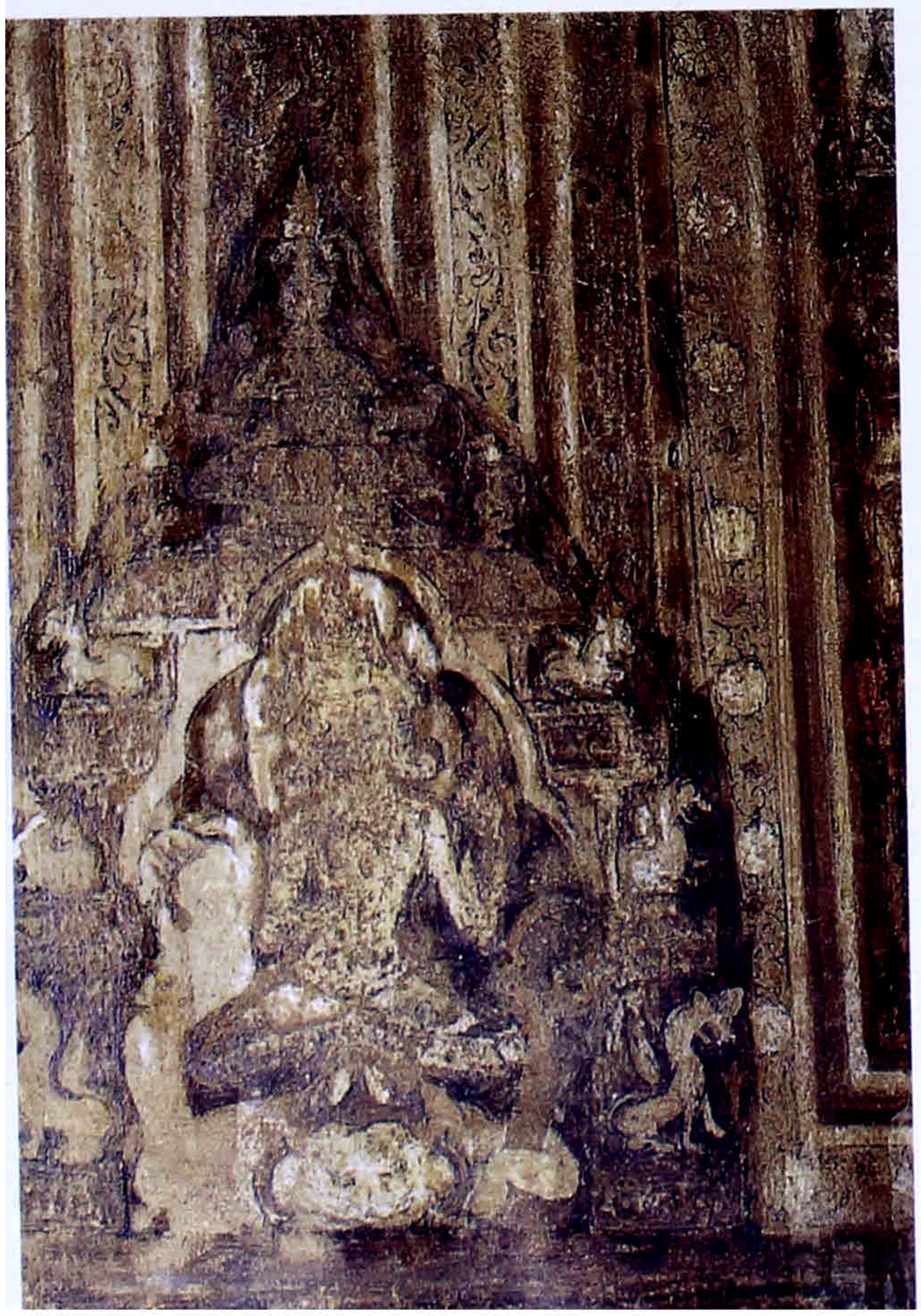
175 (p. 137, top left) Monstrous characters flying above a kinnara, entrance hall, north wall, Katha-pa-hpaya (east)

176 (p. 137, top right) Figure flying among scrolls, east wall, south-east corner, monument 1846

177 (p. 137, bottom left) Figures flying among scrolls, side wall of a niche, shrine, Winido-hpaya

178 (p. 137, bottom right) Figures flying among scrolls, entrance hall, west wall, south-west corner, Thein-ma-zi





creepers, and dance on a lotus sustained by the monstrous lion face flanked by two profiled leogryphs (pl. 180).[26] In the Ma-la-phyi-hpaya (pl. 181), we see them within a shrine, accompanied by two attendants whose legs are held by the fore-legs of the leonine face upon which the figure sits. A further variation is encountered in the Hpaya-thon-zu where, again surrounded by flowers, the figure sits on a lion/tiger close to the pillars painted around the passage (pls 182, 248). Given their particular position and the frequent presence of the lion face they evidently act as protectors of the passage, being introduced, for instance, at the bottom of the architectural ornamentation painted around the side niches (pl. 227). Although they trace back their origin to the large Bodhisattas painted at the entrance of the Abe-ya-dana and the Kubyauk-gyi in Myinkaba, nothing of the earlier Bodhisatta iconography remains in them; they have become anonymous figures, like the ones painted on either side of the passage to the shrine, but include elements like the monstrous lion head, or the animal itself as a mount, absent from the larger figures in the entrance hall.

The frieze with geese and other animals, the creeper

Although rarely encountered, the frieze with geese or *haṃsas* is closely related to the single motif of the creeper running on a horizontal band and forming large scrolls which create a circular space. A dado adorned with continuous scrolls forming roundels within which *haṃsas* are profiled runs above the plinth on the façade of the Nan-hpaya (temple 1239).[27] When painted, however, this band runs along the upper part of the wall, and as such is introduced within the windows of the Patho-hta-mya (pl.183). This creeper presents thin lines to which are attached golden leaves, round white lotuses, today much defaced, or elongated lotuses with thin petals. The creeper springs out from the feathers of the two geese painted at either end. Taken as a whole with these various features incorporated, the motif is imbued with vividness and strength. The same mural includes two further bands showing a creeper. Both are narrow and surround the large frieze, and each of the bands offers a variation on the same motif. In the upper band, a continuous creeper runs from left to right, forming large scrolls which may include the lotuses, whereas the creeper in the lower band starts from the middle and rolls symmetrically towards the edges; again, it delineates large circular scrolls with lotus which are regularly distributed; this motif also adorns the large oval-shaped frame around the central Buddha image in the Loka-hteik-pan (pl. 95). Variations such as these met with in the Patho-hta-mya would never again occur in the murals. Henceforward the frieze is narrow, runs continuously and includes the geese in the tondos, as in the Kubyauk-gyi (pl. 192), where the birds are transformed into a plant motif.[28]

In this monument the creeper is given regular treatment, with much shorter leaves attached to the main stalk. So depicted, and forming two large symmetric volutes, it is painted on the steps leading to the windows (pls 184-5). The line is nervous, forming short stalks drawn around a roundel within which are painted a number of various characters, real or fantastic, including ascetics, either alone or in the company of a woman, snake-kings and men dancing with swords in their hands. This latter

138 *138* *(140)* *138, 199* *179* *(94)* *(145)* *(141)*

179 (p. 138, top left) Figure flying among scrolls, north wing, north-west corner, Ka-tha-pa-hpaya (east)

180 (p. 138, top right) Figure in a lobed medallion at the bottom of decorative bands, entrance hall, south-west corner, Nanda-ma-nya-hpaya

181 (p. 138, bottom left) Figure seated within a shrine at the bottom of decorative bands, north wing, south-west corner, Ma-la-phyi-hpaya

182 (p. 138, bottom right) Figure seated on a leopard, bottom of decorative bands, Hpaya-thon-zu (477)

183 Creeper with lotuses, side wall of the central window, west wall, Patho-hta-mya

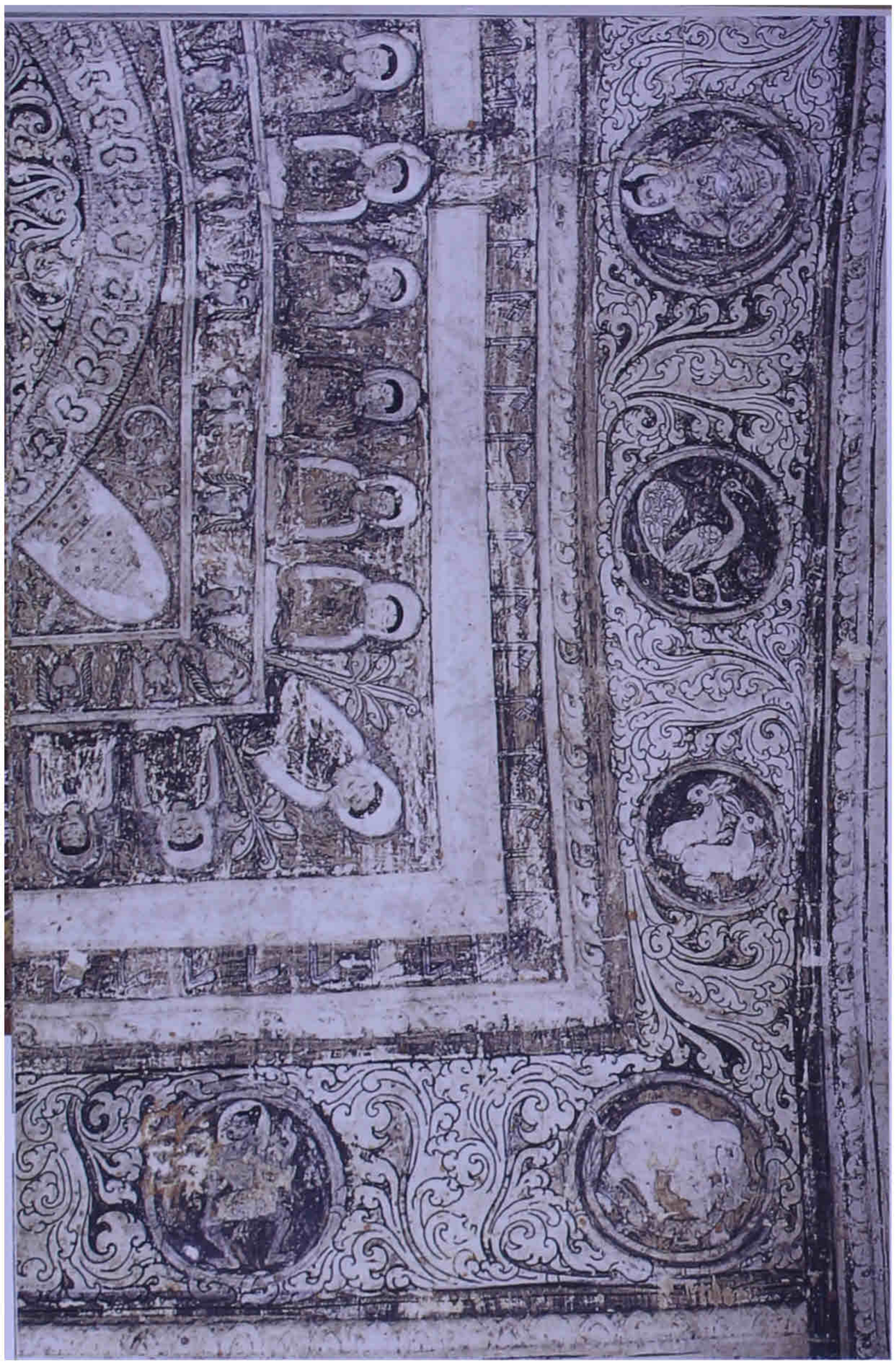
scene probably alludes to a real event, since another, similar scene, but with women, is to be seen on the side wall of one of the northern windows in the same temple. In the Abe-ya-
145 dana (pl. 191) the scroll lifts off from a central foot, as in one of the narrow bands in the Patho-hta-mya, to spread laterally in a continuous wavy line.

Large, clearly drawn creepers as seen in this early period—introduced below windows, for instance—are rarely to be seen later on. Subsequently, the creepers are distributed on vertical
(142) bands at various places within the monuments. However, a direct link to the early monuments can still be seen in some rare temples, as in monument 339, where two symmetric medallions are distributed on either side of a central vertical stem, reproducing the motif observed in the Kubyauk-gyi.[29] Monument 1255, which is constructed south of Myinkaba, also preserves a link with the monuments built in the area by virtue of the presence of a creeper showing wrestlers or musicians, reminiscent of the characters seen in the ornamentation of the stairs within the windows of the Kubyauk-gyi.[30]

The creepers in this early period are all painted with very warm colours—ochre, brown, gold or white—a palette which is drastically reduced in the following period, as exemplified by the scrolls which form a frame around the *buddhapadas* painted on the ceiling of monument 1148, where we recognize, among other motifs, the sun and the moon respectively symbolized by the peacock and the rabbits (pl. 186).[31] The colours have faded, but very clearly, the rich palette of the early temples was no longer used here. Drawing takes precedence over volume, which was previously evoked with the use of different colours. However, the line still retains its lightness, suggesting elegant small curls filling the space between the tondos, which are adorned with a variety of motifs: drum-beaters, hunters, ascetics, riders and couples mix with lions, rabbits, birds, or the

84 Volutes with nāgas, stairs below a window, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba

85 Volutes with sword dancers, stairs below a window, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba



186 Volutes with decorative scenes, ceiling, entrance hall, monument 1148

elephant being attacked by a *makara*.

(143,146, 147)

In temples of the thirteenth century the creeper can be seen on horizontal or vertical bands (pls 187, 194). Animals, real or fantastic, are profiled within each of the volutes traced out with a thick stalk. The nature of the small scrolls has completely changed. A large pointed blossom or leaf reminiscent of the peony leaves seen in Chinese art[32] is surrounded by small jagged leaves and fills the space between each roundel. On the same mural in the Let-pu-kan (pl. 187) further narrow bands run parallel to the creeper with tondos, such as the two rows

143, 147

of pearls (pl. 194, p. 147) earlier observed in the Loka-hteik-pan (pl. 95, p. 94), or, alongside the row of flames, another band with volutes drawn in black lines on a white background.

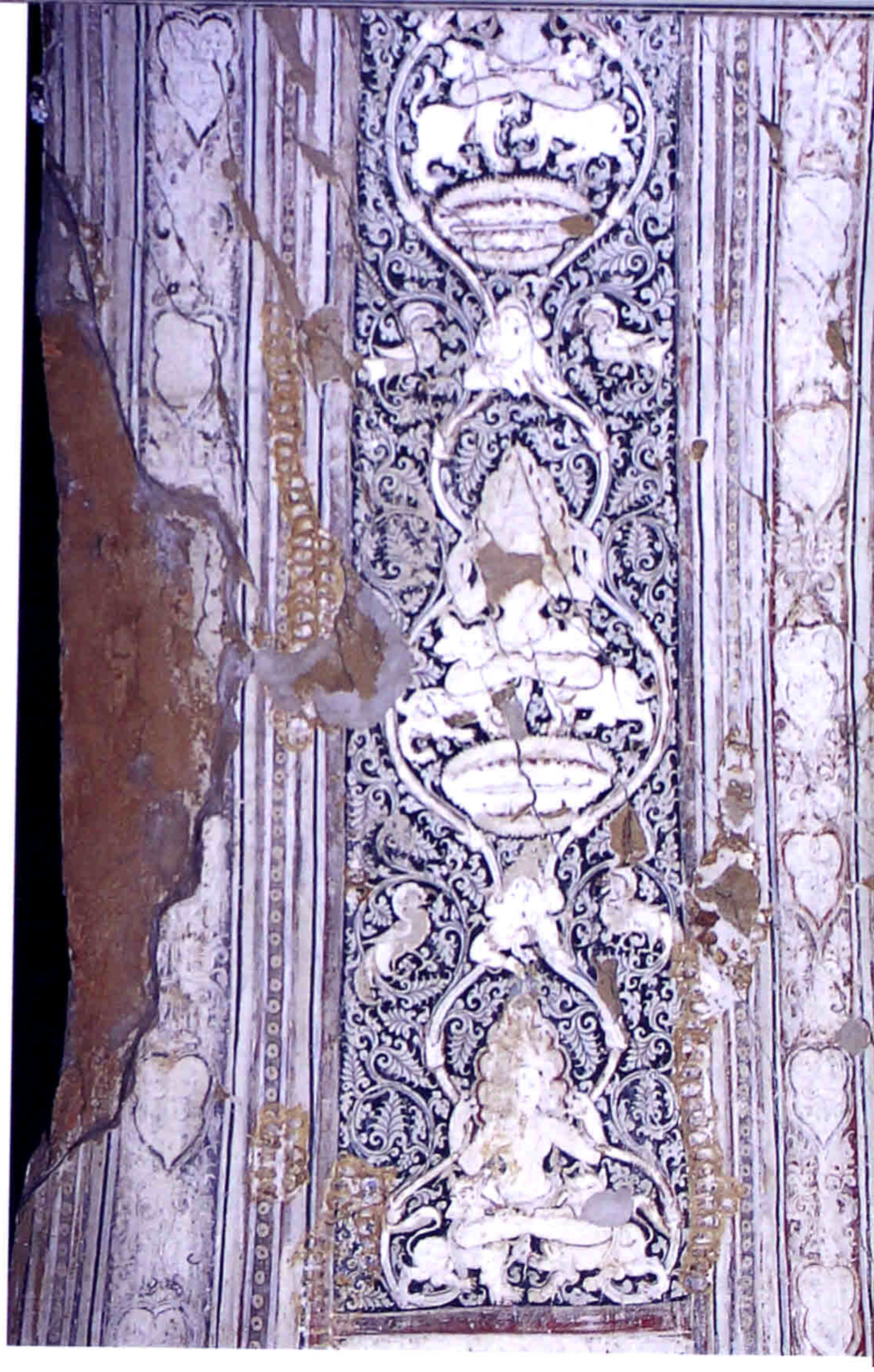
Looking more closely at this frieze we notice the presence of regularly distributed small rosettes, some of which are painted with a touch of white. The rendering of the scrolls is similar to those noticed in monument 1148, but the presence of the round flowers painted above or amidst the creeper in another colour, or even isolated, becomes a common motif in temples of the thirteenth century (pls 87, 99, 149, 166-7, 181, 193, pp. 84, 95, 122, 130, 138, 146), where the creeper often presents a triangular blossom or leaf referring either to the peony bud or to the vine creeper. This type of creeper is generalized in the murals of the thirteenth century, where it may frame the panels illustrating moments from the Buddha's life (pl. 46, p. 47), or where it may be held by Bodhisattas (pl. 114, p. 100).[33] Most probably the peony creeper reflects a Chinese influence which might also have been responsible for the lobed medallions with anonymous Bodhisattas.[34]

In fact the nature of the creeper changes: the leaves are no longer short and curled, following the direction imposed by the main stalk, but as already noted, the triangular blossom is surrounded by symmetric leaves (pls 170, 187, pp. 133, 143). The treatment of this motif very rapidly becomes regular and uniform, showing thick superimposed petals with pointed tips—a form which is generalized to all kinds of creepers (pls 189, 193-4). Usually painted white on a dark background (pls 188-9), it is

187 (p. 143, top left) Parallel ornamental bands, east wing, south-east corner, Let-put-kan

189 (p. 143, top right) Vertical creeper with fantastic figures, monument 1150

188 (p. 143, bottom) Floral bands with various characters, passage between shrine 477 and 478, south wall, Hpaya-thon-zu



190 Pillar at the right of the niche, south wall, monument 1844

encountered at various places in the monuments including, for instance, the corner bands under the vault (pl. 202, p. 151), within and outside the tondos with images of the Buddha or heavenly creatures which cover the ceilings (pls 203, 207, 209, pp. 152, 154, 155), or the vertical bands. This floral pattern covers the entire vault[35] or the wall behind the flying figures distributed either around a Buddha image (pls 5, 231, pp. 11, 184), or a window (pls 178, 227, pp. 137, 179), or forming a broad horizontal band (pls 40, 245, pp. 44, 196). It may even still contain the roundels, adorned with frolicking animals as in the Winido-hpaya (pl.177, p. 137), or fill the space around the characters within iconographic panels, very often against a red background (pls 30, 41, 58, 90, 114, 117, pp. 35, 45, 57, 86, 100, 101).

A similar creeper is to be seen in monument 1150 (pl. 189), where male figures seated astride two lions, hold thick stalks extending from top to bottom of the frieze. Delicately painted buds and cut out leaves fill the space where birds and grotesquely comic dwarfs are regularly distributed. The frieze in the Hpaya-thon-zu (pl.188) is most probably contemporary: it shows dancers alternately standing or sitting against the background of scrolls which, like those in the narrow upper frieze, betray a Chinese influence.[36]

The frieze with the lion heads

The frieze of lion heads spewing forth a garland of pearls is a permanent motif adorning the façade of the monuments of Pagan, where it is carved below the cornice. Its source lies in the architectural decoration of north-east India,[37] before being introduced in the painted ornamentation of the early period. A beautiful frieze with broad faces is seen in the Abe-ya-dana (pls 191, 201, pp. 145, 151),[38] which is characterized by the absence of the lower jaw, the fangs protruding from the mouth while thick whiskers run along the upper lip. Rows of pearls fall from the mouth linking together all the faces or hanging down with gems attached to them. Similar rows of pearls hang between the faces, thus filling the large loop.[39] The painters of the Kubyauk-gyi (pl. 192) preserved only the beaded garlands hanging from a sequence of white and golden scrolls, and introduced large flowers within and between the

191 *Lions' heads spewing garlands of pearls, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya*

192 *Garlands of pearls and trees of the Buddhas of the past, Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba*

loops, which are similar to those adorning the ceiling of the Loka-hteik-pan (pl. 198).

150

On the whole, the motif of the lion head spewing rows of pearls, yet more pearls hanging down, remains rarely used in the painted ornamentation, although it is still seen, for instance, in monument 1150 (pl. 227), or in a later rendering in temple 148[40]—a thirteenth century construction, where the intermediary scrolls reproduce those encountered on the façade at that period[41]—or in the Tha-kya-muni-hpaya, where the arches take the shape of the pointed obovals.[42] Heavenly creatures seated with hands folded in the gesture of veneration are usually painted within the loops: they may be winged, and may appear seated on a leonine mask (pls 193-4), thus becoming the very same figure also encountered on the pillars painted in the corners of the walls and ceilings as seen above. This ornamentation is clearly identical with the ornamentation observed on the frieze of pointed obovals, and indeed was quite probably borrowed from it.

179

(18-20, 129, 152, 184, 192, 195)

(13, 149)

The frieze of the obovals is much more often encountered in the temples of the thirteenth century, its presence implying the absence of the line of lion faces with garlands and divine creatures.

The pointed obovals

Rare in the early temples, a frieze of pointed obovals usually runs below the corbel of the ceiling (pls 10-12, 163, 205, 231, 241, 244) either on the main walls or on the side walls of the windows and recesses.[43] However, the painters who worked at Sale successfully introduced this motif on the ceiling of the entrance hall or on the lower part of the walls (pls 9, 196).

The obovals are clearly separated, delineated with a strong outer line. The inner space is filled with tiny volutes spreading symmetrically around a Buddha image or a seated figure with hands clasped in the gesture of veneration.[44] Similar figures are painted between the scrolls filling the space between the obovals, where they sit either above or below a monstrous lion

193 Pointed obovals with figures, south niche, east wall, Ka-tha-pa-hpaya (east)

194 Pointed obovals with figures, Tha-kya-hi-hpaya

face (pls 193-4). All around them, the background is covered with a creeper to which numerous peony buds are attached, only some small curved leaves being preserved.

The dangling motifs

In a number of temples located in the Winido group or close to it, reflecting mainly the 'white style', motifs–most probably lamps–hang below the ceiling or below the row of pointed obovals. They often take the shape of a bird standing on a lotus, and are more rarely abstract (pls 163, 231).[45]

B. THE CEILING

The lotus

A choice of specific motifs adorns the various ceilings of the monument, including a large lotus flower or *padma* spreading its concentric rows of petals on the ceiling of the sanctum amidst smaller lotus medallions, or tiny depictions of the Buddha or of Brahmā, which constitute a probable reference to the *Brahmalokas* (pl. 202).[46] This flower symbolizes spiritual purity and sustains any divine image, it supports the creation out of the cosmic waters, it also refers to heavenly worlds and symbolizes the spiritual sun.[47] The lotus, or to be more precise, the 'seed vessel of the lotus', i.e. the *karṇaka/karṇikā/kaṇṇikā*, indicates the true centre of the monument, the place through which Heaven can be reached, through which the arhat breaks after ascending into the air. As such, the motif has a long history since it had occurred from the beginning of Indian art in this position and was repeatedly painted on the ceilings at Ajanta or carved on those of Cālukya temples from the fifth to the eighth century.[48] Apart from these early examples, a general pattern of ornamentation emerged which was reproduced in every temple of Pagan.

(151)

129, 184

The quadrants

Various types of decorative nets cover the surfaces of the four cells (quadrants) of the clois-

195 Pointed obovals with ornamental designs, side wall of a niche, monument 1845

ter vault of the shrine. The painters of the Loka-hteik-pan innovated and introduced a programme which was never repeated at *(152)* Pagan: the lotus is figured in a square frame, blue and white lotus flowers seen as if falling from the sky on the four bands, while a golden creeper forms a geometric pattern in which *149, 150* large white lotuses are distributed (pls 197-8).[49] *(152, 155)* In its entirety the vault suggests a lotus pond. A similar idea prevails in the ornamentation of the *(152)* windows in the Abe-ya-dana, where large lotus blossoms are drawn with delicacy on circular *150, 151 (155)* medallions (pls 199, 201) or on square frames *151* (pl. 200), or in the windows of the Naga-yon-hpaya.[50]

Tiny images of the Buddha are usually reproduced on the four webs, displaying either the *152* gesture of predication (pl. 204) or, more rarely, as in the Maung-yon-gu, the earth-touching *151* gesture (pl. 202).[51] Also seen on the walls of *122, 126, 198-9* some monuments (pls 148-9, 160, 247-8), this *(130, 152)* topic would again be introduced in the ornamentation of the ceilings of the entrance hall, of the ambulatory passage and of the wings around the shrine. The Buddhas are often distributed on circular medallions (pl. 203), the interstitial spaces being covered with blossoms or florid creepers, but often the artists also introduced variations in the shape of these medallions, using hexagonal, rhomboid or even more intricate frames (pls 205, 209),[52] or showing free images of the Buddha drawn on an elaborate background of scrolls (pl. 204). The drawing can be extremely elegant and florid, as in the Hpaya-thon-zu (pls 209-10),[53] where not only Buddha images but also fantastic heavenly creatures are distributed over an intricate interlaced design.

The ornamentation on the vault of the shrine is dedicated to the glory of the Buddha, whose presence is not only evoked through his 'thousand' tiny images, but also through larger images painted in the central part of each of the webs (pls 167, 204).[54] Such elaborate decora-

tion with the Buddha depicted as teacher can be better understood if we bear in mind the point made above about the ornamentation of the walls: the numerous images of the Buddha are to be seen as if directed towards the outside world, as if spreading Buddhist thought in the profane world. Very often, also, only tiny images cover the four cells in an extremely repetitive pattern (pl. 202, p. 151), which led the artists to introduce different colours on the background. This creates pleasant, subtle effects of depth in the vault, as in the Hpaya-thon-zu, for instance (pl. 205, p. 152). The same treatment was also used at the level of the walls (pl. 206, p. 153).[55]

Images of Brahmā can be substituted for those of the Buddha, freely distributed between volutes, as in the Ku-tha-hpaya or the Winido (pl. 208, p. 154),[56] or drawn on circular medallions, as in the So-hla-wun-hpaya (pl. 207, p. 154).[57] There are sixteen worlds, known as *Brahmalokas*, where innumerable Brahmās reside, and which are distributed at the summit

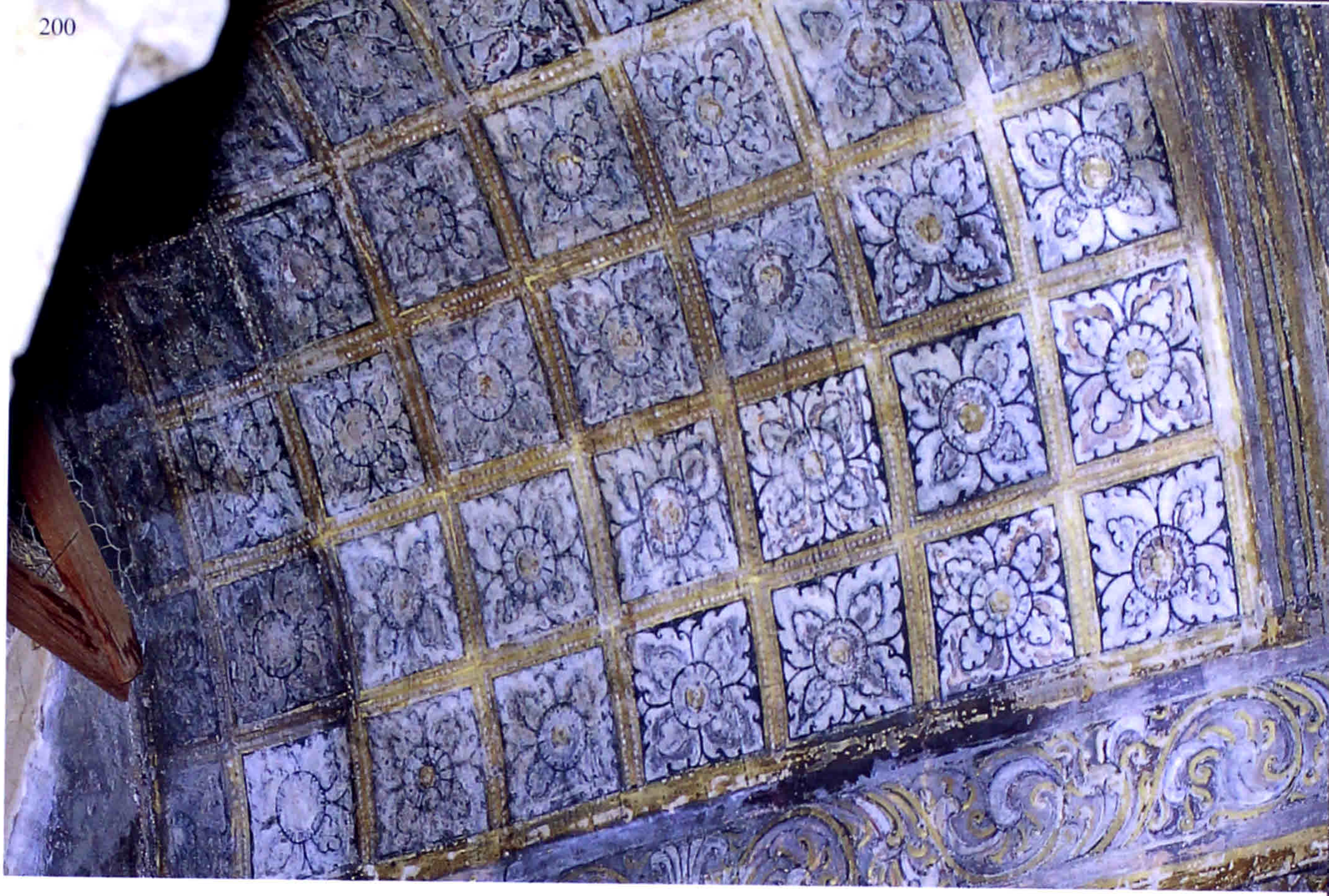
196 (right) Pointed obovals on the ceiling and at ground level, Sale, monument 99

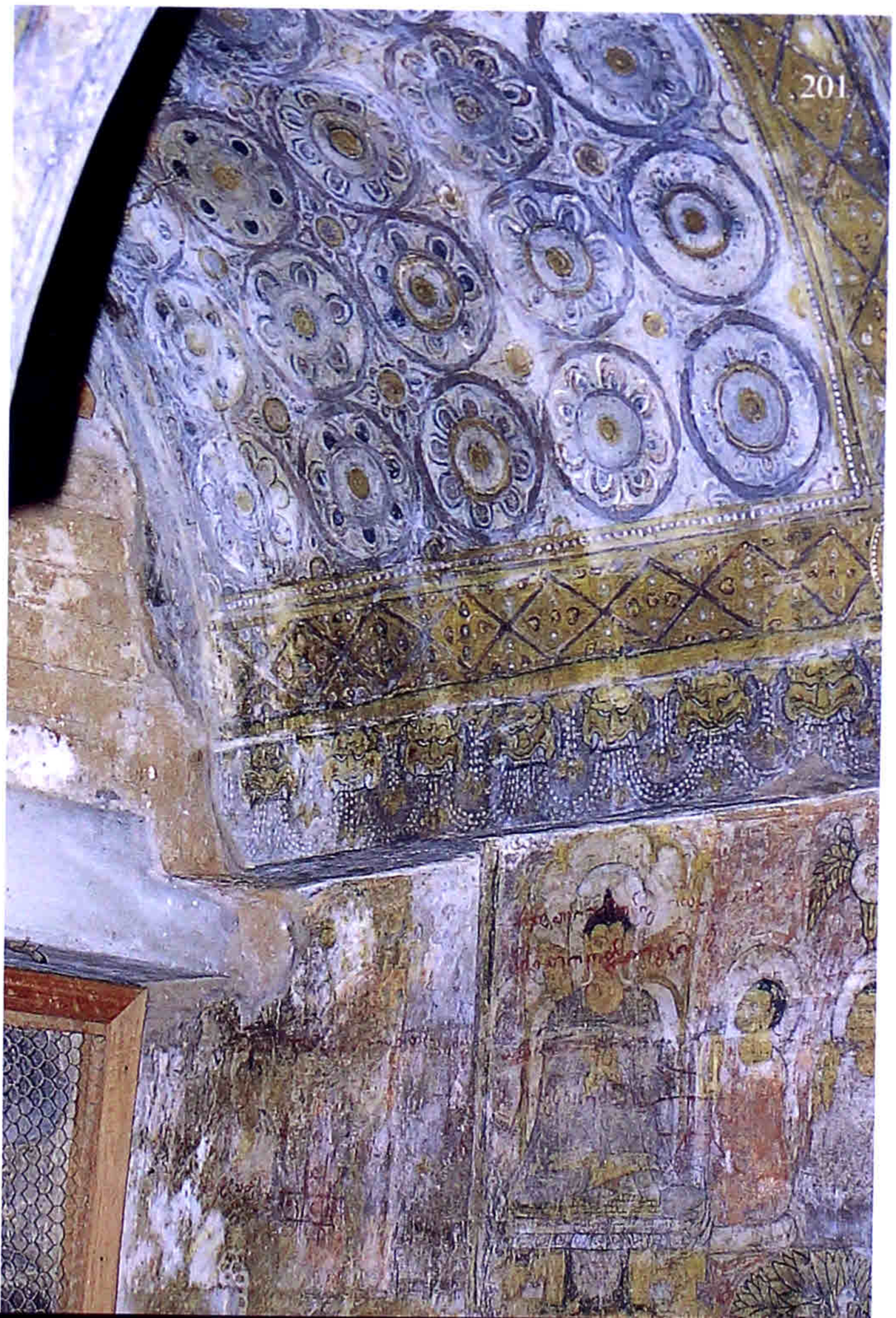
197 (below) Ceiling of the shrine, Loka-hteik-pan

198 *Ceiling of the shrine, west quadrant, Loka-hteik-pan*

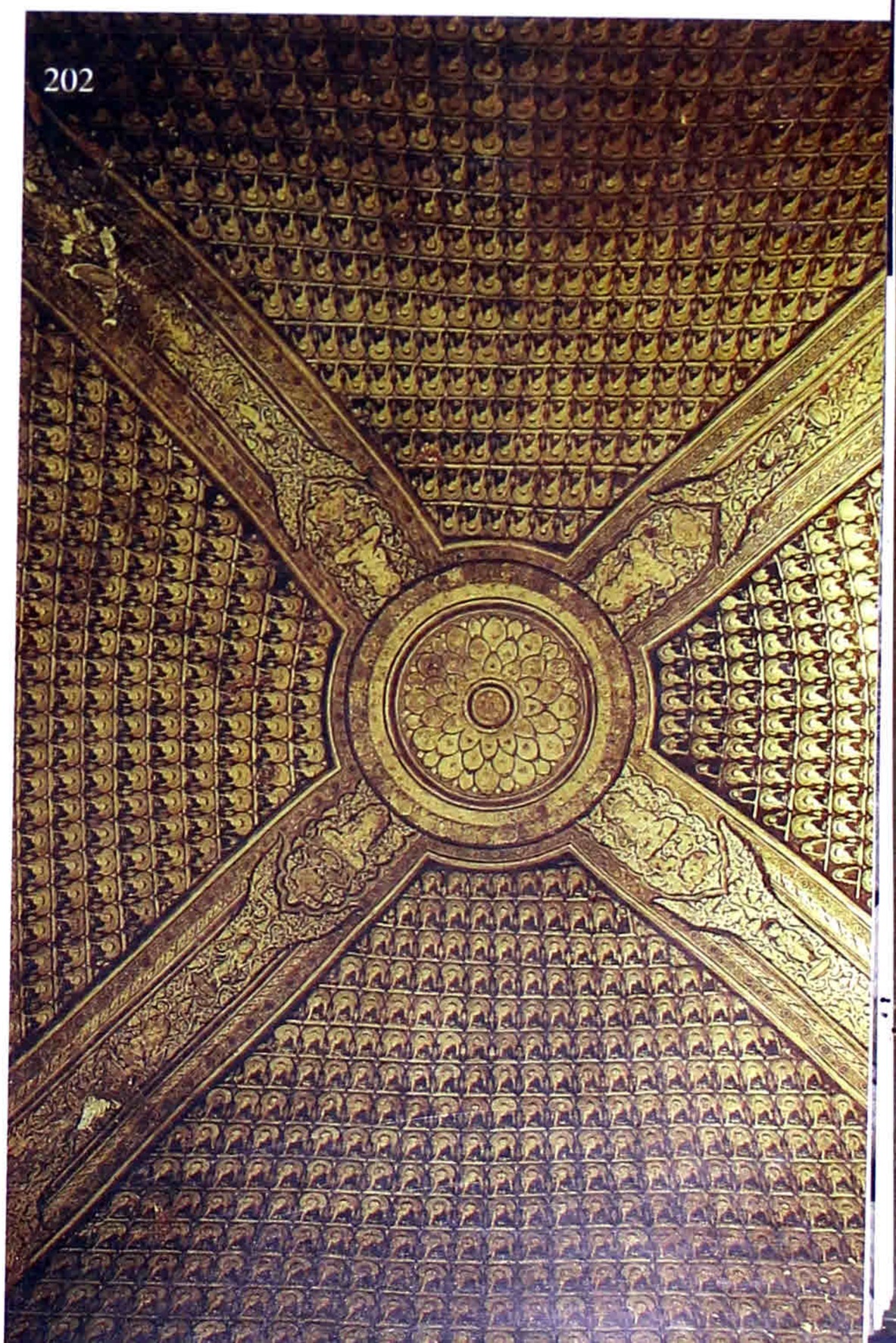
199 *Ceiling above a window, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya*

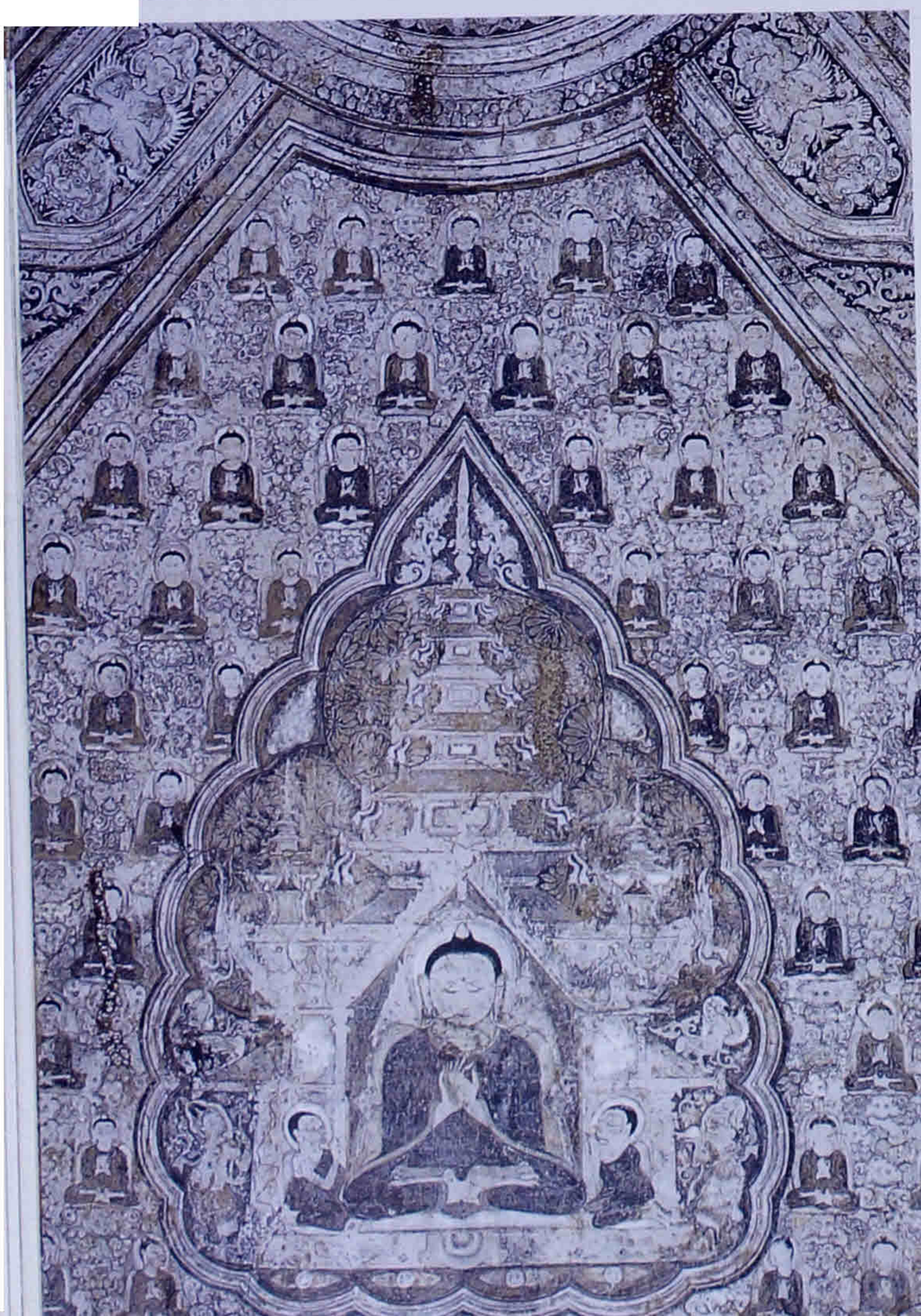
200

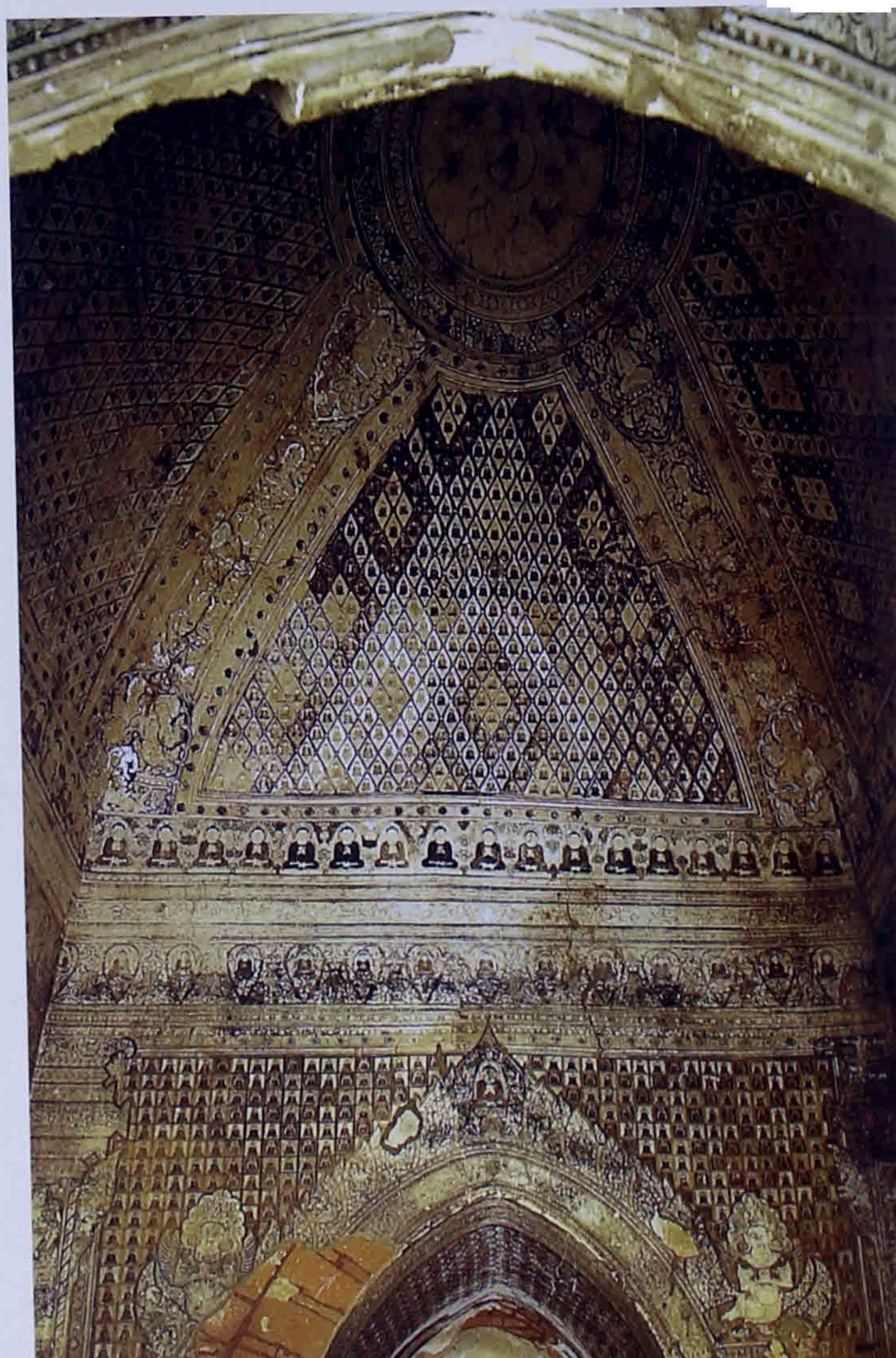




202



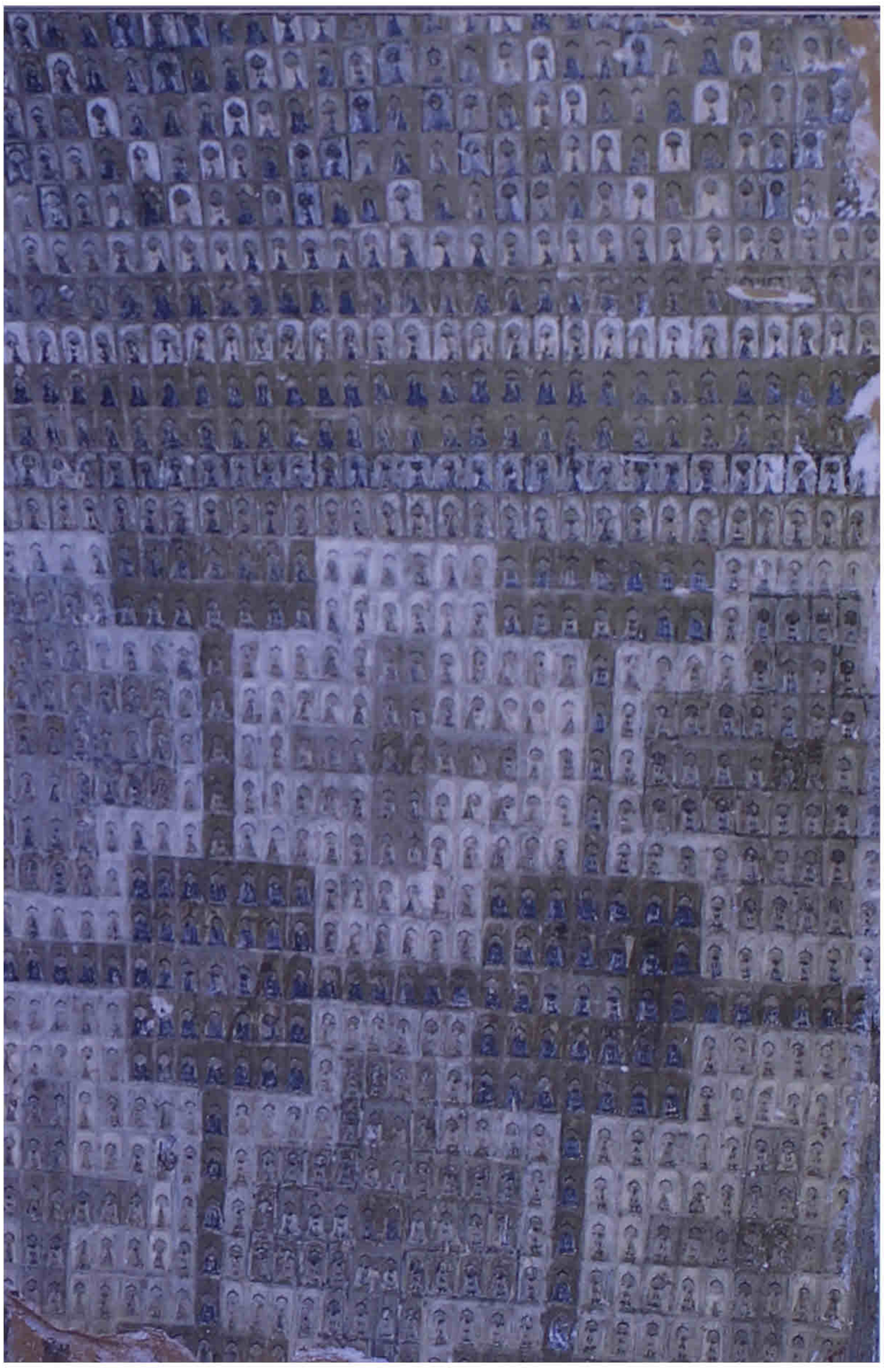




of the universe.[58] These gods are here seen, each seated in a shrine and attended by two worshippers. The vault of the temple should be clearly understood as being the canopy of heaven, and as such it can also be visualized as the dark blue sky illuminated by golden stars, as indeed we see on the ceiling of the passage leading to the shrine in the Abe-ya-dana (pl. 161, p. 127).

The corners

From the central lotus, four broad bands irradiate to cover the four corners of the ceiling, separating the four surfaces which are usually adorned with images of the Buddha (pl. 202). The bands show a structure similar to that of the pillars painted in the corners of the walls. Parallel vertical bands are adorned with various motifs on either side of the central zone, which is plain or covered with scrolls, heavenly figures or fantastic creatures with pointed fleurons in the upper part, adorned with fantastic creatures (pls 166-7, 205, pp. 130).[59] Only the bands painted in the corners of the vault of the Loka-hteik-pan differ completely from this type of ornamentation since they present two types of lotuses falling from the centre to the periphery (pl.198, p. 150).



206 Squared ornamentation with tiny Buddha images, monument 660

200 (p. 151, top) Ceiling above a window, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya

201 (p. 152, bottom left) Ceiling and side wall of a window-embrasure, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya

202 (p. 151, bottom right) Ceiling of the shrine, Maung-yon-gu

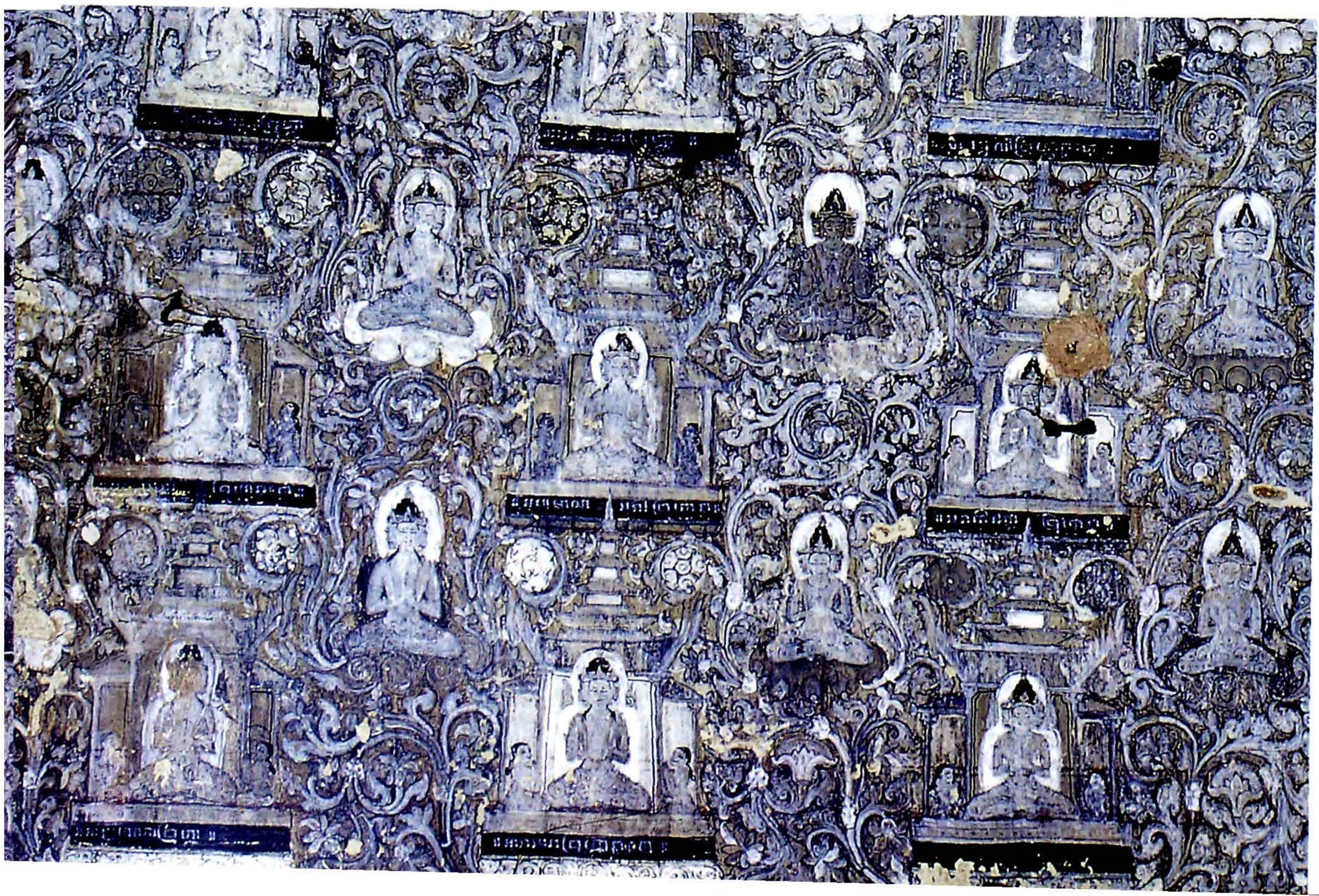
203 (p. 152, top) Medallions with Buddha images, ground floor, south shrine vault, Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi

204 (p. 152, bottom left) North quadrant of the ceiling in the shrine, Ma-la-phyi-hpaya

205 (p. 152, bottom right) East quadrant of the vault, ceiling of the east shrine, Hpaya-thon-zu (477)

207 Medallions with Brahmā images, So-hla-wun-hpaya

208 Rows of Brahmā seated within sitting among scrolls or within a shrine, Winido-hpaya



209 *(left) Ceiling above a window, Thambula-hpaya*

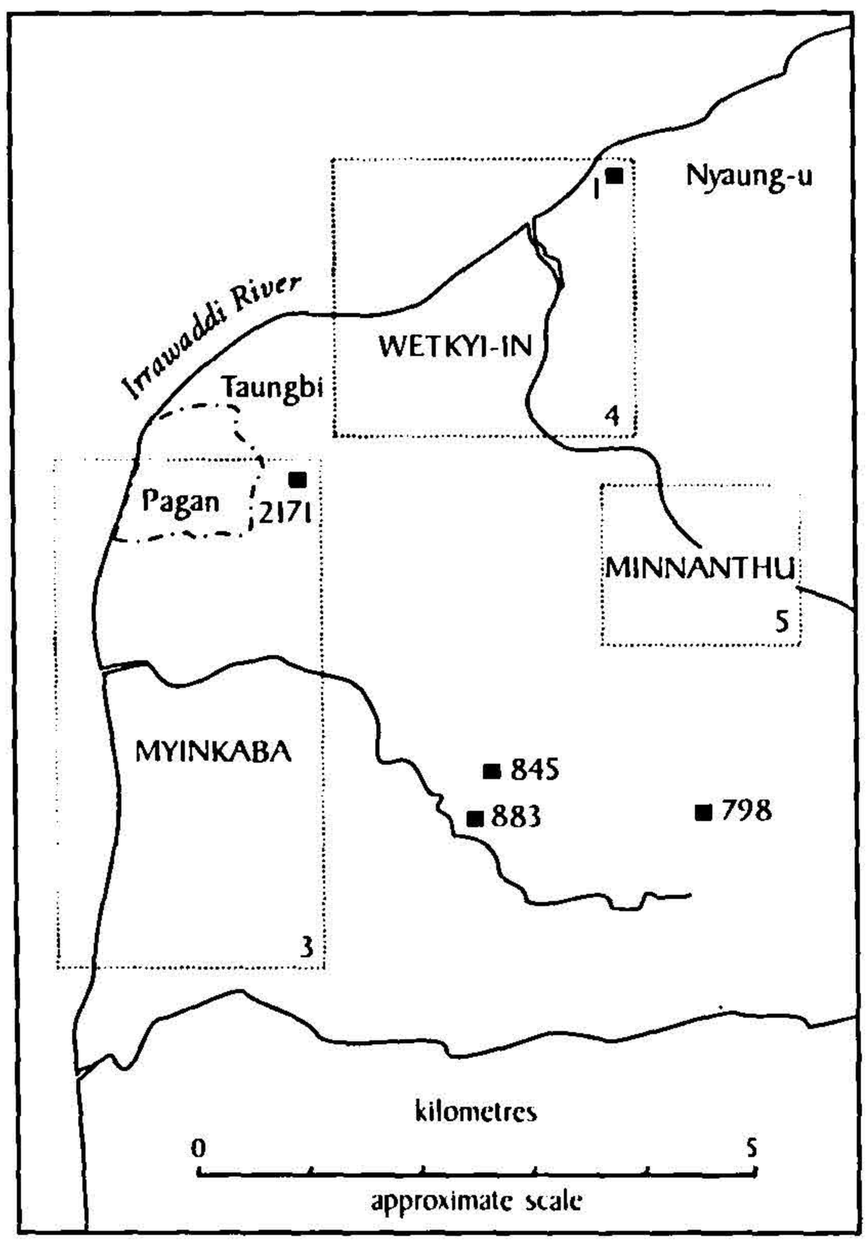
210 *(below) Ceiling above a window, Thambula-hpaya*

Chapter VII

THE MURALS OF PAGAN, A GUIDE

Although these murals excited the admiration of those who studied them, reading their texts analytically we find that it was essentially the iconography that held their attention. The study of Pagan was in fact profoundly influenced by the work of Gordon H. Luce and his collaborators, among whom U Ba Shin was a particularly notable example. Both published the inscriptions of some major temples of the beginning of the twelfth century—the Loka-hteik-pan, the Kubyauk-gyi in Myinkaba and the temple with the same name in Wetkyi-in—enhancing our knowledge of these monuments. Besides, Luce devoted long passages to the Patho-hta-mya, the Abe-ya-dana and, again, the Kubyauk-gyi in Myinkaba in his magnum opus, virtually amounting to monographs on the respective temples. Luce was apparently not interested in questions of style, nor did he try to suggest interpretation of the murals; for him and his assistants, the presence of glosses in old Mon was enough to assign the qualification of 'Mon' to the murals. Actually, he was well aware that questions of style were fundamental when attempting to trace the sources of inspiration of the architects of Pagan but, as we saw above,[1] he labelled some of them as Mon 'for convenience' whereas he considered the temples built during Kyanzittha's reign as belonging to the 'North Indian Pāla (Pyu and Mon) tradition rather than the Singhalese'.

Map 2 Location of selected Pagan Monuments



The following list includes all the monuments frequently mentioned in the previous chapters, giving a short description of their murals. It also includes temples which received only brief mention and which present murals of secondary interest or much damaged: for these we make reference to the 'Inventory of Monuments at Pagan' by Pierre Pichard. For all the monuments, however, the work of Paul Strachan on 'Imperial Pagan' remains an extremely valuable introduction, also proposing a description of the architectural ornamentation.

A. MONUMENTS IN OLD PAGAN OR SOUTH OF THE CITY, NORTH OF MYINKABA

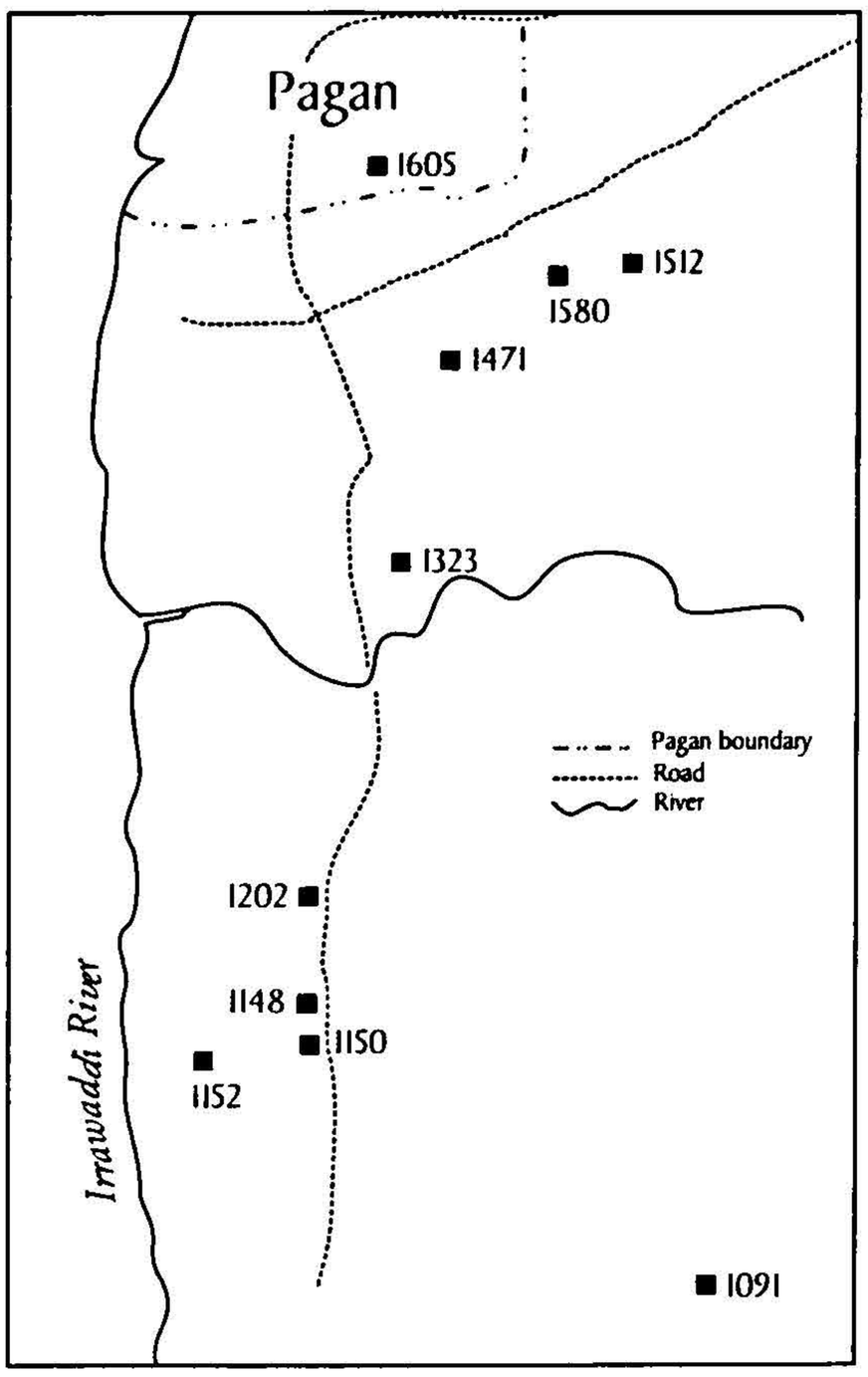
Among the temples constructed along the Irrawady, south of the old city of Pagan, a group of monuments built in the last part of the eleventh and the first quarter of the twelfth centuries include the earliest preserved murals of the site. The first to be listed here is the Patho-hta-mya, built still within the precincts of the city and open to the east, while all the others were constructed south of the city and often orientated northwards, such as the Abe-ya-dana, the Naga-yon-hpaya, the Loka-hteik-pan or even the small later temples 1148, 1150 and 1152.

On the contrary, the Patho-hta-mya, the Kubyauk-gyi in Myinkaba, the Mye-bon-tha-hpaya and the Thein-mazi in the vicinity of the Loka-hteik-pan, are traditionally open to the east, the decision to have monuments open to the north probably having to do with the location of the city. The murals of the early period reflect a strong north Indian stylistic influence. They also display different iconographic programmes where common themes can be illustrated, like the *jātakas* or the historical life of the Buddha, but distributed in a different structure within the monument. For instance, the *jātakas* are painted in the ambulatory corridor in the Kubyauk-gyi, but in the entrance hall of the Abe-ya-dana, or in the entrance hall and on one of the walls of the shrine in the Loka-hteik-pan. The Buddhas of the past were shown in the Kubyauk-gyi in a composition reflected in the Naga-yon, i.e. in niches distributed over the interior wall of the ambulatory, or occupying a full wall in the Loka-hteik-pan, whereas the entrance hall of the Patho-hta-mya contains a version of the 'thousand' Buddha images motif. The life of the Buddha previous to his awakening illustrated on the outer wall of the corridor around the shrine in the Patho-hta-mya was never painted elsewhere. In the same monument, a large number of scenes of predication cover the walls of the shrine; similarly, scenes of teaching of the Vinaya and of the Abhidhamma adorn the upper part of the inner wall of the corridor in the Kubyauk-gyi. Beside those scenes, some moments of the Buddha's life consequent to the Enlightenment, evidently received particular favour: the set of 'eight great miraculous deeds' as seen in the Loka-hteik-pan finds its origin in Bihar, and more particularly in the region of Nālandā, the fundamental nature of the miracles which took place at Sāvatthi and the ascent to the heaven of the thirty-three Gods with the Buddha seated on Mount Meru, teaching the Abhidhamma, also traces their source to India. The two events are often related, as in the Loka-hteik-pan, the Mye-bon-tha-hpaya or in temple 1150.

The Loka-hteik-pan reveals the emergence of the local style of painting, visible in the rendering of the *jātakas*, whereas the Indian style is preserved in the iconic rendering of the Buddha. Similarly, the murals of the Abe-ya-dana show connections with the 'provincial' sub-style of south-east Bangladesh whereas the murals of the Patho-hta-mya, the Mye-bon-tha-hpaya or the Kubyauk-gyi and part of the paintings in the Loka-hteik-pan, testify to an influence of Buddhist centres located in Bihar or north Bengal. The Abe-ya-dana and, with rather more certainty, the small temples 1148, 1150 and 1152, introduce the florid ornamentation which tends to cover the walls in the later monuments of Pagan, more particularly those of Minnanthu.

Badly damaged murals of the period are also preserved in the Naga-yon-hpaya and in the Myin-pa-gu, two monuments not detailed here; but see for the Naga-yon-hpaya (temple 1192):

Map 3 Monuments of the Myinkaba area



211 Corner of the vault, shrine, Ma-la-phyi-hpaya

Luce 1969/70, I, pp. 311-21, and III, pls 184-206; Pichard 1995, 5, pp. 73-77; Strachan 1989, pp. 61-64. Myin-pya-gu (temple 1493): Luce 1969/70, I, pp. 292-4 and III, pls 150-152; Pichard 1996, 6, pp. 84-88; Strachan 1989, pp. 52-53; Ono/Inoue 1978, pl. 19.

1. Patho-hta-mya (monument 1605)

The paintings adorning both walls of the ambulatory offer illustration of the Buddha's life, to be read first on the outer side, starting from the south-east corner on the south wall with the depiction of the birth, and ending with the Buddha approaching the Bodhi tree. This narration continues inside the shrine where it covers all the walls up to the vault, the programme being based on various Burmese and Singhalese sources[2] and thus showing detailed depictions of scenes from the Buddha's life with a sequence of panels covering the walls in superimposed tiers.[3]

The programme painted on the interior wall of the corridor is unique among the murals at Pagan.[4] Major scenes of the Buddha's life are painted on panels nearly two metres high and one and a half metres wide. Six panels are painted on the east wall—three on either side of the passage to the shrine—while eight appear on each of the three other walls—four on either side of the central niche or window. Starting in the south-east corner on the east wall, the sequence of six of the 'seven stations' is illustrated, starting with the second week. On this panel, the Buddha is depicted twice, standing and walking in the proximity of a tree (second and third weeks);[5] this programme continues on the south wall, where the four panels painted on the eastern part depict the fourth to seventh weeks following upon the Enlightenment. We recognize, successively: the Buddha seated in the Ratanaghara, the Buddha being tempted by Māra's daughters, the Buddha seated in a wooden pavilion around which the hoods of the snake Mucilinda are spread and, in the last panel, the Buddha meditating under a tree. Like all the paintings on the inner wall, these too are for the most part worn away; for instance, only the outlines of Māra being consoled by his daughters and the latter attempting to seduce the Buddha can be made out. The following scenes, distributed all around the shrine, depict the Buddha teaching or touching the earth. Identifiable scenes are again met with on the eastern part of the north wall, where the second panel east of the window illustrates the great miracle of multiplication of the images at Sāvatthi (pl. 44, p. 47). The first panel after the window illustrates a moment of the Enlightenment when two gods (?) attend to the Buddha;[6] the fourth panel from west

shows the Buddha standing, accompanied by his disciples while a monk kneels at his feet, recalling the descent of the Buddha at Saṅkassa.

Further 'great miraculous events' of his life are depicted on the east wall, such as the Parinibbāna near the entrance to the shrine, on the northern part, or another depiction of the miracle at Sāvatthi (pl. 35, p. 40), on the other side of this entrance. Quite evidently the programme of the 'eight great miraculous events' is not easily identifiable here, contrary to the depiction of the seven weeks; some events are not included or cannot be recognized, like the birth for instance (but probably because this moment is already illustrated on the outer south wall, belonging to the long cycle of the Buddha's life), or the taming of the wild elephant or, to take yet another example, the Buddha retired in forest seclusion at Pārilleyaka; as for the first predication, it was probably painted on the same wall as the death scene. At least one event, the great miracle at Sāvatthi, might appear to be depicted twice, first on the east wall (pl. 35) and again, in a more sumptuous rendering, on the north wall (pl. 44, p. 47), where the Buddha sits below a golden *śikhara*. In the case of the first rendering, we can ask whether the artists did not make use of a known structure to illustrate a magic moment which took place at the beginning of the second week of meditation following the Enlightenment, when the Buddha rose into the sky and produced further images of himself.

Those major scenes of the Buddha's life, be they the seven stations or those selected from the eight miraculous events, were introduced in the forepart of the walls of the ambulatory, clearly occupying a dominant position; sixteen panels, at times badly damaged, propose an iconic and rather anonymous illustration of the Buddha on the remaining parts of the north and south walls and on the west one.

Since all the scenes that survived are also depicted among the narratives in the shrine, it is evident that they were not inspired by the same sources used in the shrine, but rather belong to the two programmes mentioned above,

212 Upper corner of the vault, shrine, Tatkale-hpaya

namely the 'seven stations' and the 'great miraculous events', although the number of the latter events does not amount to eight here. This programme is incomplete, which might mean that the traditional set of events as we know it in the Loka-hteik-pan had yet to be introduced at Pagan. Both series of events are illustrated here in a particularly dramatic way encountered in no other monument of Pagan, appearing on very large panels distributed close to the entrance to the shrine, as if leading the way to the images worshipped within.

Five rows of paintings are introduced above these large panels, and four over the panels of

213 Māra being consoled by his daughters, Patho-hta-mya

plate page nos
left column
(right column)

the outer wall, illustrating alternatively the Buddha touching the earth or teaching, accompanied by two of his disciples. Similarly, seven rows of nineteen such depictions are painted on each wall of the entrance hall. Given such a

(36) large number of representations, we cannot read into them the theme of the Buddhas of the Past; rather, we seem to be faced with a version of the 'thousand' Buddha motifs. Events from the life of the Buddhas of the Past were however painted in the higher levels within the shrine.[7]

On the evidence of what remains we recognize a strong north Indian stylistic influence. The Buddha rests on a cushion adorned with large medallions while the tall nimbus is flanked by two birds, the *haṃsas*, whose scrolls run in large round curves along

47 the nimbus (pl. 44). The dark blue background is adorned with tiny flowers falling from heaven and the Buddha may appear depicted standing or sitting below the tower of a shrine forming a sort of niche around his head—a motif often seen in Buddhist illuminated manuscripts of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries in east Bihar or north Bengal.[8] The figures are depicted with a firm but smooth line (pl. 214). The image of the Buddha reflects strength and elegance in movement (pl. 31); it is always on a larger scale than the attendants and occupies a medial position in the panel, the entire composition centering upon it. The Buddha and his disciples, or his relatives or any other character involved in his life (pl. 214), have eyes drawn like lotus petals, a characteristically Indian treatment of the eye, whereas the lay people have their eyes wide open. The dark shading of the body suggesting volume also traces its origin back to India (pl. 214).

The artists who painted the upper rows of Buddhas were also active at the Abe-ya-dana-hpaya, making the same use of the ochre colour for the body of the Buddha and the attendant monks or the divine creature worshipping him. But here again, the rendering of the clouds on

panels on the outer wall (pl. 31, p. 36) and of the divine creatures casting flowers towards the Buddha, or future Buddha, reminds us of similar panels in the Abe-ya-dana-hpaya. Boldly delineated thick scrolls to which blossoms are attached form bands running below the various rows of panels (pl. 85, p. 82), their warm dominant colours again including ochre and cream.

Gordon Luce attributed the Patho-hta-mya, or 'this Mother of Theravāda temples' as he called it, to the reign of Saw Lu, Anawrahta's son, i.e. after AD 1077.

Date: late eleventh century. Ref.: Pichard 1996, 6, pp. 244-8; Luce 1969/70, I, pp. 302-9 and 3, pls 156-67; Maung Mya 1936, p. 192 and pl. CIX; Ono/Inoue 1978, pls 76, 78, 81; Strachan 1989, pp. 54-56; Report 1915, p. 19 (tenth century); Report 1919, pp. 38-39 (tenth century); Bautze-Picron 1998c, figs 12, 31. Still within the walls of the city of Pagan.

2. Kubyauk-gyi Myinkaba (monument 1323)

This monument, constructed according to the will of Kyanzittha's son Rājakumār around AD 1113, contains some of the finest and best preserved paintings of Pagan. Its iconographic programme reveals the now well established relation to the Buddhist church in Sri Lanka, since it includes scenes drawn from the *Mahāvaṃsa* painted in the lower row on the south wall.[9] The ornamentation is clearly distributed over square panels of various sizes on all four outer and inner walls of the ambulatory around the shrine, up to the vault. The entrance hall was also fully painted and contained scenes of predication essentially, but these are for the most part destroyed (Luce 1969/70, III, pl. 348).

On the outer walls of the ambulatory around the shrine the narratives always start on the east wall, south of the passage to the entrance hall and run clockwise on all the walls. The lower tier is not continuous and, as we have seen, depicts stories drawn from the *Mahāvaṃsa*, but also from other Buddhist sources.[10] The second tier, from the middle of the north wall as far as the passage to the entrance hall, also includes a number of tales, some not yet identified in literary sources.[11] The first part of this second row, i.e. starting south from the passage to the entrance hall up to the middle of the north wall, coincides with the depiction of the *jātakas* 493 to 547. As a matter of fact, starting from the same position, south of the passage to the entrance hall, in the eighth row, running round the monument and descending as far as the second row, there is a full set of depictions of the previous birth stories of the Buddha. Above them, and practically invisible from ground level, two further rows of larger panels are distributed, the upper one illustrating the life of the Buddha, probably drawing inspiration from

214 Asita admiring the newly born Gotama, Patho-hta-mya

the *Nidāna-kathā*,[12] while the lower one relates the creation of the universe, the appearance of the Mahābrahmās, the story of the cakkavattin ruler Mandhātā and of his conquest of the four continents, as well as various other tales.[13]

The interior wall contains twenty-eight niches above which the golden tower of a temple has been painted, as already seen in the Patho-hta-mya. Different trees are painted, each referring to one of the twenty-eight Buddhas of the past.[14] Some blossoming, these are probably the most finely executed trees to be seen in the painting of Pagan, all clearly recognizable (pl. 192). Divine creatures fly from heaven around them, worshipping the Buddhas whose images were probably distributed in the now empty niches. They fly over clouds of various colours applied with thick strokes, a thick white line demarcating them; the use of chiaroscuro in the rendering of the bodies of the divine creatures to suggest volume remains isolated at Pagan.

145 *(38)* *(43)*

Two elegant decorative bands run along the walls above this level, one showing large loops of pearls regularly falling and separated by large white blossoms which also fall within the curves, the second band displaying a continuous scroll with leaves of various sizes elegantly delineated with rounded edges, with *haṃsas* occupying large round volutes, part of their bodies turning into smaller volutes (pls 53, 57, 192; Ono/Inoue 1978, pl. 101). In these ornamental friezes, as in the bands of flames painted on the vertical upright at the corners where the walls meet, the painters essentially made use of white, ochre, brown, red, and golden colours, creating depth in the background. Making use of the same palette, and again introducing chiaroscuro, the same artists painted the steps in the windows in the outer wall, where two large symmetric scrolls form a sort of large frame around a central scene where different types of characters make their appearance, including sword dancers, dancing women, ascetics frolicking with monstrous bird creatures or with women, flying couples and snake deities (pls 184-5).

(29-30) *(31)* *54, 57 (55)* *145* *(54, 55)* *141*

Returning to the interior wall of the ambulatory, we see that it includes two further rows of large square panels, the upper one again practically inaccessible to the eye, which depicts great scenes of the life of the Buddha after he had attained awakening, and which are related to the predication, starting in the north-east corner of the east wall and read clockwise.[15] On the east and west walls four panels are depicted, two on either side of the entrance to the sanctuary (east) and on either side of a deep niche (west), while six panels appear on the south wall, three on either side of the central window. The sequence starts with the last meal offered by Sujatā before the Enlightenment (pl. 33) and depiction of the third week after this fundamental moment when the Buddha remained within the 'Jewel Palace' (pl. 38), and concludes with the preaching of the Dharma at Saṅkassa on the north-west corner of the west wall; as for the remaining six panels on the north wall, they depict the first three councils and show one of the main disciples of the Buddha teaching in front of the crowd of monks and lay people (pls 24-26), and the emperor Asoka kneeling in front of Moggaliputta Tissa (pl. 27). All the panels are labelled with glosses in old Mon.[16] Some scenes depicted here are only known from literature, the source of inspiration apparently lying in the *Dhammapada* commentary.[17] For instance, we see the Buddha resting at Lake Anotatta (pl. 54) during his stay on Mount Meru, where he had gone to teach the Abhidhamma to his mother and the gods (pl. 53), and, in the following panel (pl. 55, and Ono/Inoue 1978, pl. 104: detail of the lake), left of it, a scene where 'in the Chaddhanta (?) forest, the Lord Buddha preaches the rules of Abhidharma to the lord Sāriputta' as explained in the gloss below.[18] A gorgeous forest with different kinds of trees form the background to this event, all the foliage clearly and distinctly illustrated, hiding almost completely the red background favoured by the painters of the Kubyauk-gyi, which here takes the form of a diffuse echo of the red colour of the Buddha's monastic dress.

A further rare panel (pl. 56) shows the bats listening to the preaching of the Abhidhamma, 'in the stone cave two monks would walk up and down. The 500 bats ... listened to them'.[19] As we know, this led them to be reborn 'in Sāvatthi in the households of families of distinction'.[20] White flowers of various sizes and forms cover the deep red background within the cave cut into the rocks, while large trees hide the upper corners. Some scenes depicted here would never again occur in the wall-paintings of Pagan, such as the detailed version of the mango-trick (pl. 47 or Ono/Inoue 1978, pl. 80 for a detail). With rare creativity and a wealth of details, the artists painted these scenes related to the predication on two levels which are interrupted on the west wall by an imposing, but badly damaged, rendering of Māra's army (Ono/Inoue 1978, pl. 40) on either side of two Bodhisattas attending to the Buddha (Ono/Inoue 1978, pl. 13), whose image was most probably contained in the central niche. The predication of the Abhidhamma appears here as taking place at a divine, if not cosmic level. After the victory over the heretics at Sāvatthi (Luce 1969/70, III, pls 346a-b), the ascent of the Buddha to Mount Meru (pl. 48 or Luce 1969/70, III, pl. 346c) and his descent therein (pl. 57 or Ono/Inoue 1978, pl. 30; Luce 1969/70, III, pl. 346d) surround scenes which took place on the cosmic mountain and are rarely, if ever, represented. Moreover, the teaching of the Vinaya is distributed at an even higher level, close to the ceiling of the ambulatory, in a position corresponding to the first part of the Buddha's life illustrated on the outer walls. The life of Sakyamuni is quite evidently suffused with a heavenly perception which acquires even greater reality when we consider the position of these paintings within the monuments: immediately below the vault, invisible from the ground and wrapped in darkness.

The *jātakas* are painted on the outer walls (pl. 76; Luce 1969/70, III, pl. 347) within square frames formed by vertical golden bands ornamented with red and dark blue gems in an alternating sequence of circular and rhombic shapes crossing horizontal bands bearing the ink-glosses. The style is lively, not repetitive; the line dynamic and drawn with firmness. The entire surface is covered with the characters of the tale, depicted within a palace or before trees standing out against the red background, many in blossom, and all distinctly illustrated. The human figures and the animals turn towards the centre of the panel, seen in three-quarter profile and full of expression (pls 77-78; Ono/Inoue 1978, pls 49, 52). *56* *(74 75)*

With the programme overwhelmingly concerned with the Buddha, his previous lives and his teaching, one can only wonder at the presence of six large, at times even very large, images of 'Bodhisattas' distributed on the path to the shrine. The first pair is painted in the forepart, right at the entrance, the second pair towering nearly three metres high on the walls of the passage to the ambulatory while the third stand at the entrance to the shrine. The first, accompanied by two female (?) characters kneeling at their feet, are much faded given to their proximity to the entrance; ten-armed, they carry a number of attributes with eight of their hands while making the gesture of veneration with the main pair. Blossoms fall from heaven and fill the space around them. The two smaller Bodhisattas protecting the entrance to the shrine (pls 105-6) are very well preserved, and we can well imagine how splendid these large Bodhisattas at the entrance and the passage must once have been. These two Bodhisattas display fourteen arms bearing attributes—essentially weapons—such as bow and arrow, sword, hatchet, elephant goad, noose, disk, trident, beside holding a large white lotus before their breasts. They are drawn with a clear line against a deep red background and in position as well as in distribution of attributes, are perfectly symmetric, which gave rise to certain misunderstandings: in the canonical Buddhist iconography of India the lotus is held in a left hand and the gesture of generosity performed by a right hand, as indeed is the case of the image to our right, whereas the left panel inverts the position of attribute and gesture. Such *48* *49* *57* *(97)* *74*

215 Scenes of the Buddha's life, south wall of the entrance vestibule, Mye-bon-tha-hpaya-hla

images do not fit in with the Theravāda Buddhism which was then being actively introduced in Pagan. Nonetheless, they were considered to be sufficiently important to occupy a position that would later be taken by Sakka and Brahmā or Pañcasikha, as in the Thein-mazi for instance. The attributes are clearly illustrated, but do not constitute sufficient evidence for precise identification of these figures. The presence of numerous weapons among the attributes clearly stresses their nature as protectors of the way to the shrine, of *dvarapālas*, i.e. 'protectors of doors', and thus inferior to the Buddha. Such Bodhisattas, known in the Buddhism of eastern India at that time, remain otherwise unknown at Pagan; it is not that Bodhisattas constituted an unknown concept, since bronze images of some of them, Avalokiteśvara or Metteyya, have been recovered on the site, but they do remain isolated and illustrate a very simple iconography.[21]

The pair of Bodhisattas on either side of the passage to the shrine are painted against a brilliant red background which anticipates the use of this colour in the Loka-hteik-pan and differs from the more subdued tonality used in the panels depicting *jātakas* or scenes from the Buddha's life in this temple. The plain large red aura is reminiscent of similar treatment of the aura in two manuscripts painted around AD 1100 in south-east Bangladesh, where identical large auras, but white against a red background or red against a dark blue one, have been repeatedly depicted.[22] Essentially three colours are used, i.e. white and blue, as well as the red, of course, and it is precisely also these three colours that could predominate in the manuscripts.[23] The exaggerated swaying of the figures with feet set wide apart is also reminiscent of Bodhisatta representations in these manuscripts, while the large oval face and diadem with three rhombic ornaments are typical of the sculpture of the region.

Paintings were also introduced in the window-embrasures of the entrance hall, depicting offerings made by various women to the community of monks—a theme that recalls the

paintings in the vestibule of the Alopyi-gu-hpaya (below).

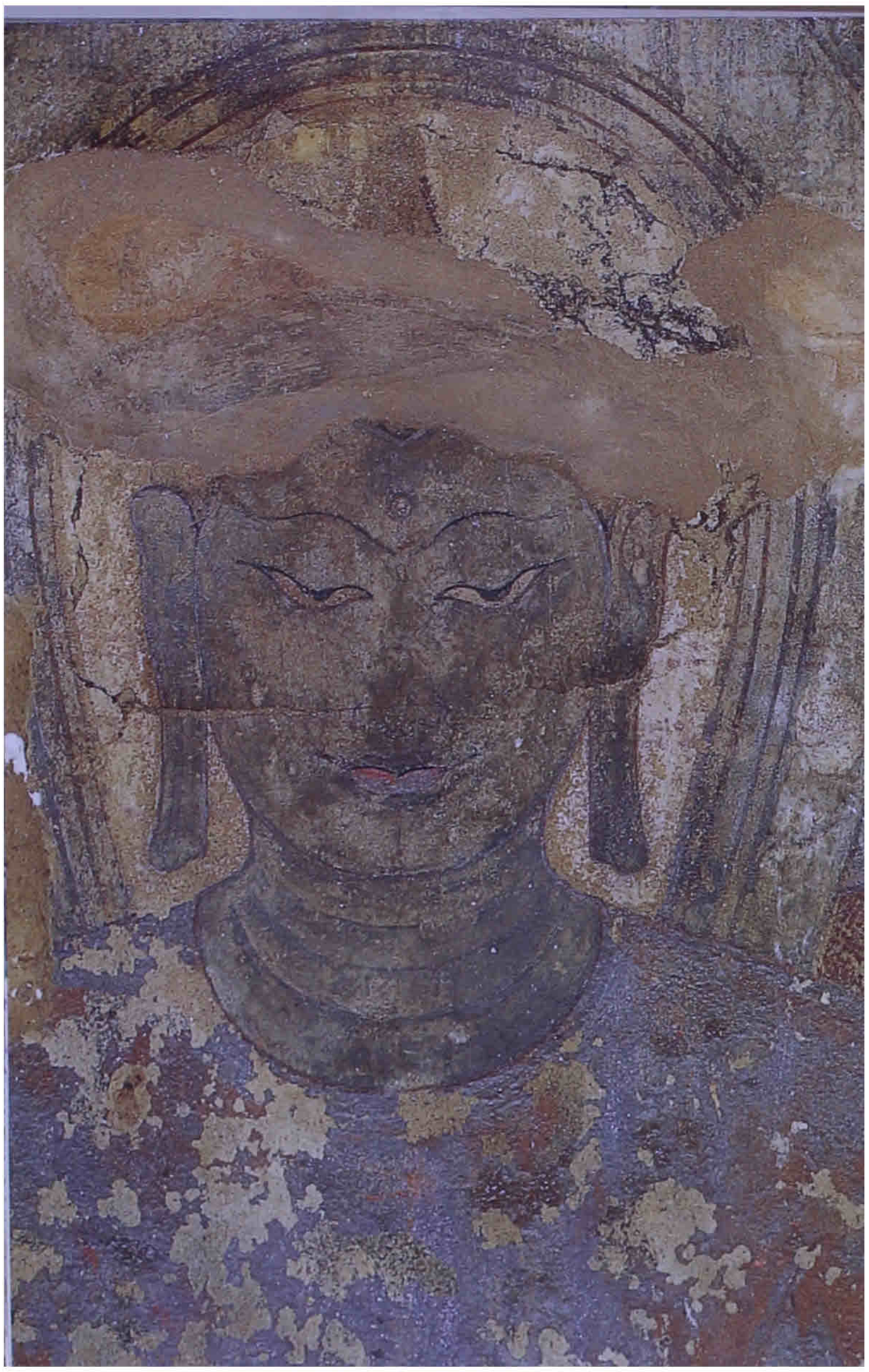
Dated AD 1113. Ref.: Pichard 1995, 5, pp. 242-51; Luce 1969/70, 1, pp. 373-83 and 3, pls 335-50; Luce/Ba Shin 1961; Duroiselle 1916, pp. 115-19; Duroiselle/Mya 1936, pp. 45-46; Maung Mya 1936, p. 184 and coloured frontispiece; Ono/Inoue 1978, pls 13 (but to correct the text, the Bodhisatta is introduced in the depiction of Māra's army on the west wall and not in a *jātaka*), 16, 30, 40, 49, 52, 80, 88, 91, 101, 104, 115, 159 (not in the Patho-hta-mya as stated in the legend, the monk appears in the lower left corner of a panel in the upper row illustrating the story of the mango-trick, see here pl. 47, p. 48); Oshegowa 1988, p. 82; Strachan 1989, pp. 71-74; Bautze-Picron 1998c, figs 8, 26.

3. Mye-bon-tha-hpaya-hla (monument 1512)

Located in the vicinity of the Loka-hteik-pan, this temple belongs to the early group of monuments, and reflects a strong Indian influence in its murals; it includes a large entrance hall but no dark central shrine surrounded by ambulatory corridor. In its place, a square central core bears four colossal stucco images, which have recently been heavily restored. Their distribution follows a particular pattern, starting on the north wall with the birth of the Buddha, proceeding on to the east side with the Bodhi, which is the main image and larger than the other three; it then goes to the south side with the Buddha teaching at Sarnath, to conclude on the west wall with the Parinibbāna (Pichard 1996, 6, figs 1512m, o-q, s-u: all photos taken before the recent restoration). The same programme was observed in the badly damaged Le-myet-hna-hpaya (monument 1185). In short, this programme recalls the rules of conduct given by the Buddha himself in the *Mahā-parinibbāna-sutta* where He advised that *cetiyas* should be built and venerated in the four places where He was born, where He became Enlightened, where He preached for the first time and where He would die.[24]

The whole monument was once painted but unfortunately, only large fragments have survived and the colours, which must have been warm and vibrant on the evidence of isolated traces, have now faded. Moments from the life of Sakyamuni were painted in the entrance and in the passage to the shrine, but only the upper part of the ornamentation has survived (ibid., fig. 1512l). Large panels of various sizes are distributed side by side on both walls and rows of small images of the preaching Buddha attended by two disciples, a motif also painted in the passage to the shrine (ibid., fig. 1512n), covered the highest part; clearly, the Buddha

216 The Buddha teaching, north wall of the entrance vestibule, Mye-bon-tha-hpaya-hla



217 Face of the Buddha, detail

as a teacher is a major image in this temple since small images showing this iconography also covered the walls of the ambulatory and shrines on the upper storey (ibid., figs 1512v-w). The panels are framed by rows of lotus petals and alternately round and rhomboid gems. The composition is elaborate—more so than in the illustration of the *jātakas* in the neighbouring Loka-hteik-pan. The entire space is covered either with figures crowding round the Buddha or with trees and sanctuaries or palaces (pl. 215). The forms are well-proportioned, the movements smooth and elegant, while the body does not yet show the exaggerated bow illustrated in some of the *jātakas* panels of the Loka-hteik-pan.

Two larger panels showing the Buddha seated below a tree were painted, facing each other, close to the west wall; only the foliage of the *Ficus religiosa* on the panel on the left (south) side has survived (pl. 215), but we can still make out the outlines of the divine multitude which assembled around the Buddha, with Sakka holding the conch close to the top of the tree. The corresponding panel on the north wall is much better preserved (pls 216, 217). Brahmā stands on the left-hand side of the Buddha, who sits on a throne which shows remarkable similarities with examples to be seen in illuminations of north Indian manuscripts and cloth-paintings from Tibet or India. The god presents the white umbrella whereas only the outline of Sakka holding the conch is visible on the right-hand side. Both are repeated in practically all panels, usually in the upper part of the mural. Most of these panels appear to be moments of the stations made by the Buddha after his Enlightenment. However, other major events of the Buddha's life also found a particularly imposing illustration here, such as the descent from the Heaven of the thirty-three Gods which took place at Saṅkassa and is painted on the east wall, left of the entrance, or the miracle of multiplication of the images at Sāvatthi, which occupies the entire west wall of the entrance, with the flamed images of the Buddha in different positions and displaying the gesture of predication, distributed on lotus flowers attached to a common stalk (ibid., fig. 1512m).

The entire wall behind the main Buddha image facing east and displaying the gesture of touching the earth was painted with superimposed panels illustrating the life of the Buddha. They are in the same state of decay as the paintings in the entrance, only those on our right having survived to some extent. Enough remains to show that the programme included the series of the 'eight great miraculous deeds' and of the 'seven stations', which alternate around depiction of the throne and of the *Ficus religiosa* foliage. The main scenes are

distributed below an architectural structure, as evidenced by contemporary cloth-paintings, illuminated manuscripts and even stone sculpture.[25] The strong Indian connection is also noticeable here; the queen Māyā crosses her legs, for instance, whereas the traditional Burmese rendering illustrates her with feet set side by side.

What remains of the murals reveals that the topics were essentially, if not exclusively, centred on the personality of the Buddha; no trace is found either of *jātakas* or of the Buddhas of the past, whereas the Buddha as a teacher is extolled throughout the temple. Together with moments from the weeks following upon the Enlightenment, the major scenes depicted in the entrance hall were the great miracle of Sāvatthi on the west wall and, very probably, the predication on Mount Meru, which must have formed a pendant to the still surviving oversize image of the descent at Saṅkassa on the northern side of the entrance.

Date: early twelfth century. Ref.: Pichard 1996, 6, pp. 115-20; Luce 1969-79, I, pp. 352-3; III, pls 248-51; Strachan 1989, pp. 80-81.

4. Loka-hteik-pan (monument 1580)

The walls of this small sanctuary 'adorning the top of the World', as its name tells us, were completely painted. When entering it from the north, one is struck by the tall cult image backed by a painted depiction of the Buddha's life—an iconographic programme which finds its origin in north India as seen before. On the contrary, the representation of the last ten *jātakas*, on both walls of the entrance hall and on the western wall of the shrine, or the representation of the twenty-eight Buddhas of the Past, would be related to the Singhalese tradition. As a matter of fact, if the literary sources used for these two programmes were respectively the *Mahānipāta* and the *Buddhavaṃsa*, two works written in Pali which must have been introduced at Pagan during Kyanzittha's reign,[26] no surviving painting from any region could be considered to constitute the visual sources of these murals. No similar contemporary or earlier wall-painting from Sri Lanka is known.[27] On the contrary, murals adorned the walls of the monasteries in north India even though no trace of them has been left, which leaves the door wide open to hypotheses on their themes.[28] Now, considering the fact that the murals behind the main image forming a single programme with it, draw their origin from north-east India and that the style of all paintings in the temple is definitely Indian, we can surmise that such an extensive iconographic programme could also have been present in India. In conclusion, the source for these murals, both from iconographic and stylistic points of view, might well be sought in north-east India, where the tradition of depicting the seven Buddhas of the past had been preserved, and where, as in an earlier period at Ajanta, they were distributed in the upper part of the monument or of the painting, which is usually the position they occupy at Pagan.[29] Moreover, some rare depictions of *jātakas* are also known, probably carved in the region of Bodhgaya and Kurkihar;[30] and indeed a short inscription identifying them is engraved on the lower part, which is reminiscent of the ink glosses of Pagan.

The painters knew the Indian tradition very well, introducing, for instance, the small lion jumping out from the fingers of the Buddha's hand taming the wild elephant—a feature which disappears in all other representation of the scene at Pagan. But they were also aware of the Burmese tradition, introducing the elephant Pārileyyaka below the seat of the Buddha who is attended by the monkey in the lower left panel.

The Buddhas of the past lean back against a tall white cushion while the large nimbus rests on their shoulders; two large florid or rhomboid ornaments fill the angles between the nimbus and the cushion. The two attendants to the Buddha kneel, turned towards the centre of the composition, the large tree forming an ample aura behind the three characters. These images are very hieratic, like those of the Buddha teaching in the upper two rows of the western wall or the central Buddha in the composition painted on the eastern wall, where he sits on

Mount Meru, teaching the Dharma. This hieratic effect combined with the simplicity of the composition are typical features of the 'Pāla' period also encountered in other temples such as the Alopyi-gu-hpaya, which is contemporary with the Loka-hteik-pan. The presence of flaming scrolls in the angles above the Buddha's shoulders refers more precisely to the miniature paintings of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries from Bihar and north Bengal. The Buddha seated on Mount Meru is backed by a large white cushion resting against a much defaced architectural structure which is observed in India,[31] while two *haṃsas* have their backs to the nimbus, their tails forming large multicoloured scrolls running along the edge of it. This is a motif which is also to be seen behind a Buddha on the south wall,[32] and which also appears, again behind the Buddha, in the Patho-hta-mya.[33] The large volutes, related to the birds or alone, are rare in India where both treatments are, nonetheless, to be seen on covers of a manuscript dated *c.* 1132.[34] The painters responsible for these frescoes imbued them with a delicacy and elegance which find their full expression in the rendering of details like the fantastic creatures standing upon the lintel of the throne behind the main Buddha
124 image for instance (pls 153-4). It is evident that they dedicated particular care to the splendid rendering of the nimbus, the tree spreading its
9, 94, branches all around, the throne (pls 2, 95-96,
124, 132 153-4, 169) and the aura separating the Buddha from the adjoining scenes. The small flowers falling onto the dark background likewise belong to the Indian tradition, and at Pagan, are painted with great delicacy in the Patho-hta-
47 mya (pl. 44).[35]

The background of the *jātakas* is usually dark blue, illuminated by tiny red flowers falling
(46-47, 58-59) from heaven as in Indian miniature paintings or cloth-paintings. But whereas the style of the murals behind the cult image, or of any Buddha image, finds its closest match in images from Bihar, the depiction of the *jātakas* or elements on the eastern wall is more closely related to the pictorial tradition of south-east Bangladesh. As a matter of fact, the sculpture and painting from this region include a number of features which show them closer to the art of Pagan than to that of Bihar. The similarities are not only iconographic[36] but also stylistic. The painters showed a predilection for clear compositions drawn with a strong line, flat with ample surfaces covered by a single colour, no shading being introduced (contrary to the illuminated manuscripts from Bihar or north Bengal). Although depicting a story, the paintings show a frozen moment of the tale, possibly in a sequence of panels following one upon the other, at times separated by a band. The choice of colours is very limited; beside the dark blue of the background, red and white dominate, just as in the manuscript illuminations of south-east Bangladesh. A number of similar details can be seen, and in particular, the thick red sacred cord falling over the shoulders appears in a manuscript painted during the reign of Harivarmadeva, who ruled in the region of Comilla towards the end of the eleventh century.[37] The transparent dress worn by female characters also appears in the manuscript.[38]

The figures in the *jātakas* differ from those in the panels on the south and east walls. It is not simply that they belong to the 'narrative style',[39] illustrating a sequence of events by means of small panels possibly separated by a frame, but more importantly that the positions of the personages' bodies, the proportions and the treatment of the faces introduce new visual perspectives. The faces are usually seen in three-quarter profile, the frontal view being reserved to the image of the Buddha or the Bodhisatta towards whom the attendant figures turn. In the paintings behind the cult image, the faces of the Buddha and his attendants form a perfect oval with the eye slightly protruding when they are profiled, underlined by the small hollow below the eye (pls 42-43, 59-60). The eyes present the typical shape of the lotus leaf while the eyebrows are bow-shaped, the mouth closed, showing thick but short lips.

Now, some of these features are rarely met with in the depiction of the *jātakas* where trees are used as a mean to fill the background and form large circles covering the upper part of

218 Face of the Buddha, passage to the shrine, south wall, Thein-mazi

the panels. The laymen usually wear a long and thin black beard. The eyes are no longer shaped like lotus leaves but wide open, which is a feature noticed in the manuscripts of Harivarmadeva's time in south-east Bangladesh.[40]

Date: early twelfth century. Ref.: Pichard 1996, 6, pp. 198-202; Ba Shin 1962; Luce 1969/70, I, pp. 384-8 & III, pls 351-6; Oshegowa 1988, pls 51-55; Strachan 1989, pp. 83-84; Bautze-Picron 1998c, fig. 32 (correct the legend).

5. Thein-mazi (monument 1471)

Although the inner ground-plan is reminiscent of the Mye-bon-tha-hpaya-hla, including the central core with four large images of the Buddha, surrounded by the ambulatory which is preceded by the rectangular entrance hall, the much defaced paintings belong to a much later period and illustrate a different ornamental and iconographic programme. The side walls to the entrance are painted with large images of Sakka presenting the conch and Pañcasikha holding a lute. The west wall of the entrance is covered with thick scrolls spewed from the monstrous faces of lions or other animals which form the clouds on which heavenly figures sit (pl. 178), *(137)* a theme which also occurs in the passage to the shrine (pl. 19; Thomann 1923, pl. 40), or around *(25)* the Buddha images painted in the shrine, either on the outer walls or on the side walls of the wings. The thick, white volutes bear abstract blossoms and leaves which tend to cover any empty space and are drawn on a dark background, as encountered on a number of monuments in Minnanthu, or in the vicinity of the Thein-mazi, in smaller monuments around old Pagan and Myinkaba; the motif is similar to the one encountered in monument 1846 (pl. 176) but reflects a more mechanised treatment, *(137)* with a harder line and fewer variations in the rendering of the scrolls, most probably belonging to a slightly later phase.

Although the murals in the entrance have for

the most part disappeared, a large fragment on the south wall shows the army of Māra rushing towards the Buddha. Still in the entrance hall, each of the two side windows contains a representation of the army of Māra on the west wall, and illustration of *jātakas* on the east wall. Large square surfaces including small rectangular panels of 20 x 25 cm with further *jātakas* are also distributed on walls of the shrine and its wings. The paintings are rather rough, the narration being practically reduced to a pictogram showing the Bodhisatta alone or with an attending figure taking part in the tale, identification being through the glosses set out below each panel (Whitebread 1971 and his figs 2-5). The birth stories were apparently painted on walls in the front part of the shrine, either within the wings or in the ambulatory, below a row of larger Buddha images showing alternately the gestures of predication and touching the earth, most probably illustrating the Buddhas of the past (Thomann 1923, pls 38: east wall of the north niche, and 40: south wall in the south-east corner).

A large image of the Buddha surrounded by flames is shown as if emerging out of the sanctuary on the left wall towards the shrine, while further divine figures kneel against a
25 background of volutes below him (pl. 19). His body is short, head square, large and flat; profiled, it presents the protruding eye in an almost completely frontal view. The neck is
169 thick and heavy (pl. 218). Further events depicted on a large scale are distributed around the central core: the descent from the heaven of the thirty-three gods is painted on the east wall in the south wing, the multiplication of images and the fire miracle of Sāvatthi on the south wall of the south-west corner, and facing it, on the north wall in the north-west corner, the Buddha teaching, attended by disciples. Here he is probably shown at Sarnath, both panels being surrounded by a broad frame with volutes and kneeling divine creatures. The west wall in the north-west corner is painted with a narrative in superimposed tier. Other depictions of the Buddha contained in the west niche or at the bottom of the *jātakas* walls (Thomann 1923, pl. 38) probably belong to the set of the seven stations.

A well preserved pair of footprints of the Buddha is painted on the ceiling of the north niche.

Date: late twelfth century (paintings). Ref.: Report 1918, p. 30; Thomann 1923, pp. 51-54 ('Kubyauk-tha-Pagode') and pls 38-40, 63, 68-69; Whitebread 1971; Pichard 1996, 6, pp. 40-43; Strachan 1989, pp. 115-7.

B. MONUMENTS SOUTH OF MYINKABA (see Map 3, p. 157)

1. Abe-ya-dana-hpaya (monument 1202)

The *jātakas* covered the walls of the entrance hall in large panels similar to those of the Kubyauk-gyi, though only fragments of them have survived on the north wall (Pichard 6, ill. 1202j; pl. 79). Beside the two large Bodhisattas painted on the back wall, protecting the way toward the shrine, the stories of the Buddha's previous lives are the only subject also painted in other temples of Pagan to have been retained here. As a matter of fact, the programme differs completely from what is observed elsewhere and has usually been labelled as 'Tantric', although the term is probably used, or misused, as a result of the uncertainty of scholars seeking to provide the iconography of the paintings in the corridor around the shrine with satisfactory identification and explanation. We already have the lengthy precise description of these paintings that Luce provided in his major publication (1969/70, I, pp. 325-44), recognizing their importance, and without repeating description here, we shall mention some major iconographic and stylistic features.

It is probably impossible to propose a precise identification for each of the figures painted on these walls. The programme considered in its entirety reflects the fact that the monument was understood to be a cosmic mount upon which the Buddha as predicator sits and with which he is probably to be identified. The ambulatory walls do not contain any painted image of the Buddha which could be directly and without any doubt related to the life of Sakyamuni.

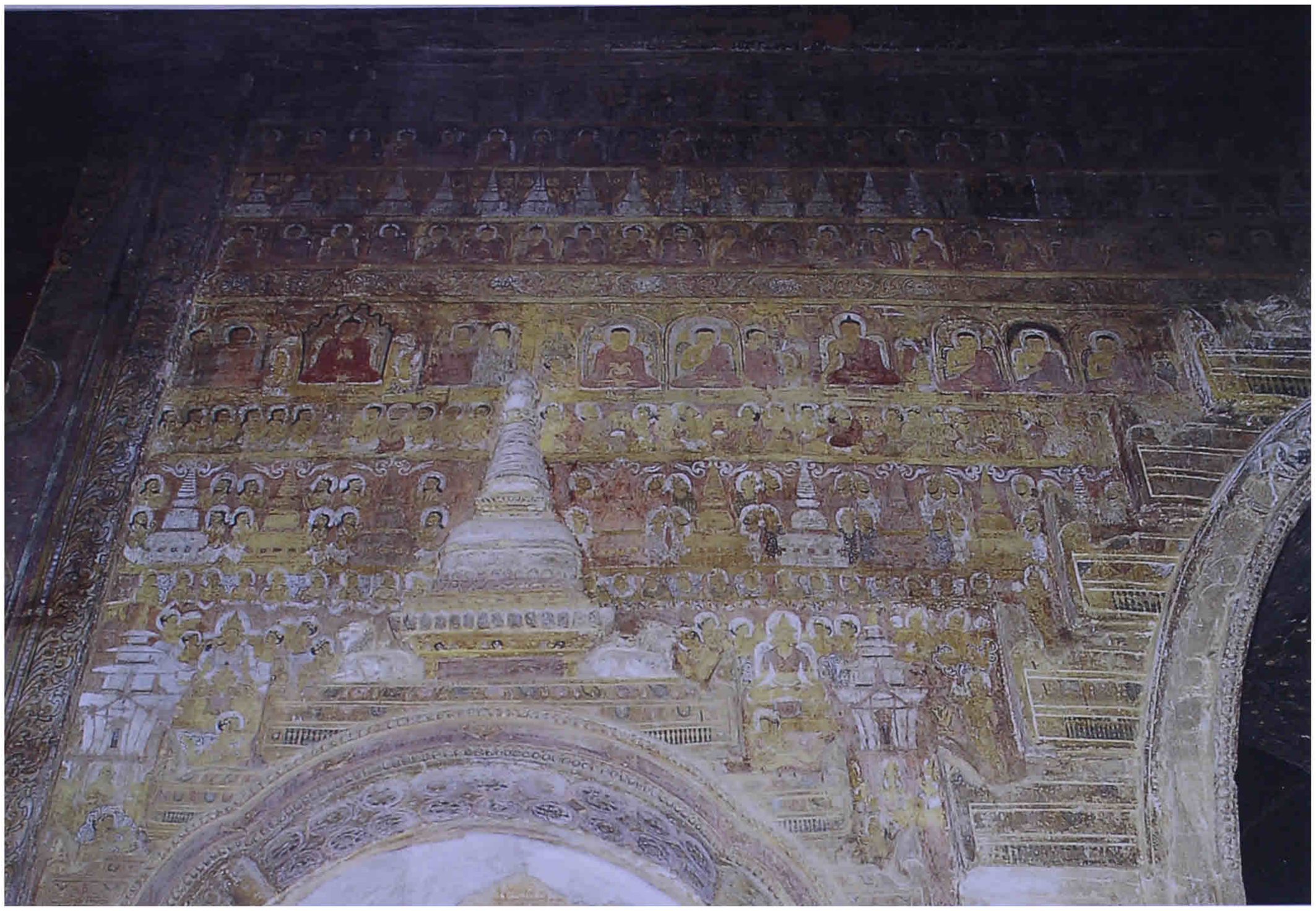
However, the murals do provide information on the existence of a programme that referred to this life. In this context, we notice the large panels showing the army of Māra, painted in the central part of the western interior wall, on either side of the large central niche, reproducing the schema already seen in the Kubyauk-gyi in Myinkaba. Although the image in the central recess is now missing in both monuments, a number of features underline the exceptional nature of this Buddha image. First of all, the presence of the demons, running toward the niche to our left and, defeated, abandoning the scene to our right, constitute a direct allusion to the scene of the Enlightenment. Second, the stuccoed ornamentation above the niche is particularly intricate, including a *śikhara* in the Abe-ya-dana, or three painted tasselled umbrellas replacing the tree seen above the other niches in the Kubyauk-gyi. Third, in both temples this niche is larger than the other niches of the interior wall. The image contained in this recess used to be positioned behind the tall image of the Buddha carved in the shrine presenting the gesture of touching the earth. Both images thus allude to the same moment of the awakening, but whereas the image in the shrine irradiates warmth and compassion, the image in the back corridor reflects the victory over the dark forces of Māra. The representation of this event traces its origin back to north-east India,[41] where victory over Māra and the darkness of his reign coincided with the fundamental instant of the Enlightenment. But clearly, this aspect of the Enlightenment was not favoured at Pagan, where attention turned to the teaching of the Buddha, and this might explain why the scene was rejected from the shrine where events of the Buddha's life or scenes of predication were introduced in the Kubyauk-gyi, for instance.

The north wall also contains allusions to events in the life of the Buddha. Thus, to the right of the door, images of Brahmā turn towards the stuccoed spire above the niche where the Buddha was depicted on his death bed (pl. 219). At the same level (pl. 220), but to the left of the passage, two divine female figures sit,

219 Niche, east face of the interior wall, northern part, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya

attended to by four other divine women, who are most probably the wives of the gods protecting the four spatial directions. Both sit with crossed legs in the traditional position of the lotus or *padmāsana*, with arms stretched above their thighs; the woman to our left, and thus near the corner, holds in her lap a child who sits in the same equipoised position as 'his mother' (Luce 1969/70, III, pls 217a-c). This scene most probably constitutes a—albeit extremely rare—depiction of the pregnancy; as a matter of fact,

> *when the time is right, he descends into his mother's womb, mindful and aware. He is aware it is*



220 Niche, east face of the interior wall, southern part, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya

his last existence. At that time, there is an illimitable, splendid radiance throughout the universe. His mother is protected by four Devas during the gestation period. His mother does not break the five precepts during her pregnancy, and she is not attracted to any man. The mother is surrounded by all the pleasures of the five senses. She suffers from no illness, and she can see the Bodhisatta in her womb. He is seated cross-legged in the womb facing outward.

Although this description applies to the future Buddha Metteyya, it can perfectly well be applied to the scene represented here.[42] The young child is depicted the very same way in the depiction of the birth in the Loka-hteik-pan, hovering above the right hip of his mother, the queen Māyā. Together with the presence of the Parinirvāṇa on the other side of the entrance to the shrine and with the depiction of Māra's army around the central recess of the southern wall (pls 129-130), these scenes would indicate that scenes of the Buddha's life were distributed around the shrine or, at least, that this wall should be seen as depicting the life of the Buddha from his birth to his death, passing through the scene of the Enlightenment.

107-8

(95-96)

Four-armed Bodhisattas are painted in the narrow space between the niches of the interior wall, standing on a lion that in turn rises above three elephants (ibid., pl. 226b), while eighteen tondi are distributed between the upper part of the niches and divine creatures fly, half-hidden in their clouds, towards the niches on each wall except the northern one; these clouds are skilfully illustrated, elegant curls, falling from heaven to run to the images once contained in the niches. The golden-framed tondi and heavenly figures (ibid., pl. 224) harmoniously fill the space between the stuccoed pediments of the niches, clearly delineated against the red background.

In virtue of their iconography the tondi belong to the Indian tradition (ibid., pls 219-223). They illustrate Hindu deities mounted on their respective *vāhanas* or mounts (pls 101-2), who came to be assimilated to the companions of

Māra's army in north-east India, where they could, therefore, be represented in vehement, aggressive mood attacking the Buddha seated under the tree at Bodhgaya. The group presented here can be identified, and on whole, coincides with the same group of deities introduced on either side of the nimbus in steles from south-east Bangladesh.[43]

The gods pay their respects to the Buddha; they venerate him and acknowledge their submission: four gods move towards the now missing image of the niche in the south corridor, while fourteen, forming two groups of seven each, move towards the entrance of the shrine, in the west and east corridors.

The upper part of the walls is covered with continuous bands: two bands of white *cetiyas* alternate with two bands where the Buddha is alternately shown performing the gestures of teaching and touching the earth. Below these four bands, a fifth shows various aspects of the Buddha. Thus, on the eastern wall, the Buddha meditates and holds his alms bowl, while the tier below includes the image of three seated women, apparently preparing food, which could allude to the last meal taken by the Buddha before his meditation leading to the awakening (ibid., pl. 217d). On the south wall, eight broader panels represent the Buddha teaching, surrounded by four monks, while on the west wall a central panel includes three images of the Buddha predicating and is surrounded by a continuous frieze of monks; a second row of disciples with monks and laymen is painted below this band (pl. 162, p. 128). The scene painted at both ends of the north wall is identical to the teaching scenes on the south wall (pls 219-220). Moreover, on the right part, a further scene of predication is introduced where the main image, dressed in red and set below a quinquefoil arch, is attended by two Bodhisattas and surrounded by six further images of the Buddha predicating, but dressed in pink and backed by a simple aura (pl. 219). Left of the entrance, the Buddha touches the earth below the quinquefoil arch; he is surrounded by six further images of himself presenting different gestures (four show the gesture of protection, one with the bowl and one possibly with the gesture of predication). In the band below, laymen and lay women venerate the various Buddha images. Above the Buddha images, a frieze presents on either side of the entrance eight or nine *thūpas* being venerated.

The ornamentation of the outer wall differs completely from that of the inner wall. The spandrels between the recesses are larger than on the inner wall and contain images of male divine characters. They all sit with one leg on the ground and the other raised up; most of them are booted and carry weapons: clearly, they are protecting the niches, but with them they are also protecting the figures distributed above them (ibid., pls 228-9).

221 South-east corner, corridor, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya

222 North-east corner, corridor, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya

The second row includes Bodhisatta images seated on large lotus flowers, attended by two figures (ibid., pl. 230). Mañjuśrī is repeatedly shown here, holding the blue lotus *utpala* on which a manuscript may be lying, or he may also be shown teaching (pls 110-111). More rarely represented, Avalokiteśvara is recognisable with his large round lotus on a few panels. Around them, the same heavenly creatures painted on the inner wall fly towards the niches, suggesting that images of the Buddha were most probably once inserted in them, as in the upper level. As mentioned above, two Bodhisattas stand on either side of the passage to the ambulatory around the shrine; they can be identified as Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara, respectively on the left and right side, identifiable by their flowers and attribute: the manuscript lies above the *utpala*, the blue lotus, presented by the first one and the *padma* or pink lotus held by the second (pls 103-4). Both Bodhisattas embody particular aspects of the way to Buddhahood, i.e. knowledge (*prajñā*) and compassion (*karuṇa*).

98-99

97

Another row of Bodhisattas is painted in the upper part of the walls, on the spandrels between the upper niches (ibid., pls 238-9). They stand with heels of both feet touching each other and are surrounded by lotus flowers; most of them are armed, carrying a disk, or an arrow, sword, or conch, but the most interesting feature of these images is that from the florid creepers bearing lotus flowers two identifiable flowers blossom at the height of their head, and these are the *utpala*, i.e. the blue lotus, on the left-hand side, and the round white lotus, the *padma* (which is traditionally of pink colour).[44] These Bodhisattas thus appear not only as protectors, but also combine the emblematic flowers of the two Bodhisattas painted in the entrance hall, their presence probably to be viewed in relation to these two panels. Just as these Bodhisattas protect this shrine and its corridor, and like the Bodhisattas of the lower level protecting the seated Mañjuśrī images, those in the upper row should be viewed as keeping on the way to the

Buddha depicted as a teacher above them. The Buddha sits on a lotus which lies above a vertical stalk emerging from behind the standing Bodhisatta; he presents the gesture of predication and is surrounded by a group of laymen, one being apparently a king, seated to his right below him (ibid., pl. 240).

Below these two zones, which also coincide with two rows of niches, a continuous band runs all along the walls, interrupted only by the windows. It shows a mountainous landscape with caves within which various types of figures sit and which are separated by trees (ibid., pls 231-7). Altogether, there are thirty panels on each of the east, south and west walls. Part of the painting on the north wall has now disappeared. The characters are shown with great vividness, the line animated but not nervous; beside the images of the Buddha, images of monks and ascetics reflect peacefulness. The landscape is painted with great care and attention paid to the rocky structure, the rocks being depicted with different colours—blue, red and ochre—shaded and edged with a white line. This mountainous landscape contains lively scenes with animals and hunters chasing after them: we see monkeys, birds, snakes, elephants, deer and squirrels.

This tier raises a number of queries as to its iconographic programme. Apparently, the artists had at their disposal sketchbooks containing images of terrifying gods which they do not always seem to have recognized or known, which would account for the difficulty if not indeed impossibility of a definite identification in some cases. Quite a number of these 'demons' are painted on the south wall, perhaps because this direction is related to Yama, the lord of death. But beside these figures, which include, for instance, a Vārāhī, painted in the north-west corner, a three-headed elephant-god next to her (pl. 224), we also find *(176)* images of the Buddha in anonymous scenes including the Buddha teaching (pl. 225), or a *(177)* blue-skinned Buddha showing the gesture of touching the earth, which suggests that the Buddha ruler of the East, Akṣobhya, was meant here. Much more rarely, such images can be

223 North-east corner, exterior east wall of the corridor, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya

224 North-west corner, exterior west wall of the corridor, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya

related to an event in the Buddha's life like the sojourn in the Pārileyyaka forest, where he is attended to by the elephant (pl. 223). In some cases it might be a previous life story that is alluded to: for example, a Buddha sits and teaches a lion who kneels to his left (pl. 225), and in the next panel, the lion lies in his cave, and we may wonder whether this may not in fact represent the encounter of the Bodhisatta who was then a lion with the Buddha Paduma. Clearly however, the depiction of the lonely lion sleeping in his cave is also related to the following panel where an ascetic feeds a deer. As a matter of fact, the tamed lion belongs to the traditional depiction of the ascetic in Indian art. Other characters of the late Buddhist pantheon can be recognized, including
39 Jambhala (pl. 34), lord of richness; Vasudharā wringing her hair, as she is known to do in Burma or Thailand (pl. 34; Luce 1969/70, III, pl. 237a);[45] the Tārā, who holds her blue lotus *utpala*, while displaying either the gesture of
175 generosity or of teaching (pl. 226); Mañjuśrī, also recognisable by his *utpala*, predicating (pl. 223). The *Mahosaddha* (*Mahā-ummagga*)-*jātaka* has been identified in a sequence of successive panels.[46] Luce and U Ba Shin also suggested that a number of other panels might be interpreted as *jātakas* (Luce 1969/70, I, p. 330), but no identification has been accepted as final. Earlier, U Mya had underlined the influence of late Buddhism, evoking the 'Tantric nature' of some gods or goddesses.[47] It is also likely that some of the ascetics or monks illustrate mahāsiddhas, known to have been represented in contemporary India and Tibet or Nepal. Moreover, the topic of the ascetic living as a recluse in a mountain cave is already present in Bihar from the tenth century and onwards.

This tier clearly separates two rows of paintings which share the same composition, since in each one of them, a (lower) row of Bodhisattas protects the upper row of images, be they other Bodhisattas, essentially Mañjuśrī, or the Buddha.[48] These paintings should not only be seen as covering the wall from bottom

to top, as indeed they do, but also as representing successive layers distributed around one centre where the Buddha sits and teaches. As we follow the murals from the lower level upwards, we also move from the outer limits towards the centre of a *maṇḍala*, a concept which was not unknown at Pagan. The landscape and its caves constitute yet a further level within this structure. This scenario, filled with various types of characters such as Buddhas, Bodhisattas, monks or ascetics is known from Tibetan thankas[49] or Indian manuscripts.[50] In the present context, it reminds us that the temple can also be identified with the sacred mountain upon which the Buddha sits and teaches; at the same time, it indicates the limits of this cosmic mountain. But whereas on Tibetan thankas, the programme is coherent, here it proves somewhat eclectic. Through its location within the overall composition, i.e. surrounding the mountain on which the Buddha sits and predicates, it recalls the series of the eight cremation grounds forming a circle around a number of deities in Tibetan thankas,[51] or of the group of *mahāsiddhas* who were also repeatedly featured around the central deity in thankas.[52]

The concepts which lie beyond the iconography of the Abe-ya-dana-hpaya, still partly preserved their enigmatic nature, and are probably to be looked for in north-east India or in South-East Asia, but in the absence of any similar monument surviving in India we can only speculate as to their sources. The idea of Bodhisattas surrounding a central Buddha image is well known in Indian art where the Buddha teaches and is often identified with Vairocana, the relation of Mañjuśrī and of the Buddha, too, and even the triad constituted by the Buddha accompanied by Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara is not unknown in north India.[53] But while the iconographic rules remained very strict in the homeland of Buddhism, new images were created, deriving from Indian originals, and, in such a context, a Bodhisatta can simultaneously carry the *padma* and the *utpala*, in an evident attempt to combine two personalities, otherwise distinctly represented in the entrance hall. However, although the concepts lying behind this ornamentation find their origin outside Pagan, there is no certainty that they were still present in the Abe-ya-dana: the central image of the Buddha, predicating, was clearly not Vairocana since he is being worshipped by laymen who are distributed around him, whereas it would be impossible in the context of late Buddhism in India to introduce human beings in the highest level of the image, even above Bodhisattas. Moreover, the heavenly creatures seen on either side of

225 South-east corner, exterior south wall of the corridor, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya

226 North-east corner, exterior east wall of the corridor, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya

the seated Bodhisattas on the lower level are not turned toward these but rather toward the now empty niches, which suggests that images of the Buddha were once contained in them where they were venerated by these creatures. (173-4)

Mañjuśrī occupies a major position in the ornamentation of the outer wall and even the head-dress of the Bodhisattas acting as guardians recalls the tiara worn by him in India.[54] Pagan lies on the fringe of north-east India; in some aspects the iconography of the Abe-ya-dana-hpaya is related to the art of south-east Bangladesh, and it might well be that the whole concept originated in this area—an hypothesis supported by the representation of the Hindu deities in the tondi of the interior wall.[55] (151) (98)

Here the artists made rather more limited use of chiaroscuro (see pl. 102). The composition of the *jātaka* panels in the entrance hall is more compact and repetitive as in the Kubyauk-gyi, while the ornamentation of the walls of the ambulatory is also repetitive, although the artists showed their abilities in varying the facial features and of course in the lively rendering of the mountain landscape which would be copied in some later temples (pl. 128; Pichard 1999, 7, fig. 1844k). 96 (150-151) 107

The architectural decoration is rich; pediments are painted above the windows, *śikharas* above the recesses. Large *makaras* crawl at both ends of the pediment (pls 221-2). Small figures hover around them, and another is painted in the finial (Luce 1969/70, III, pl. 226a). Luxuriant scrolls fill the surrounding flames. Rows of scrolls separate the various tiers of both walls and are also within the windows (pl. 201). As in the Kubyauk-gyi, large flowers are spread on the back walls—a design which is commonly met with in Buddhist manuscripts and in murals at Pagan—but in this case, the flowers are very large and display similar shapes while being attached to a creeper (pl. 109). The flowers painted on the ceiling of the windows and niches are clearly drawn in a chequered pattern. Below the ceiling is painted a row of faces of the lions spewing rows of pearls and separated by tassels (pls 199-201), which are still very close to Indian prototypes.[56] All the motifs show a distinctive shape and show no overlapping.

Date: late eleventh century. Ref.: Pichard 1995, 5, pp. 86-91; Luce 1969/70, I, pp. 222-7, 321-44, and III, pls 207-41; Duroiselle/Mya

1936, pp. 43-44; Maung Mya 1936, pp. 181-4 and pls CI-CIV; Strachan 1989, pp. 59-61; Bautze-Picron 1998c, fig. 20.

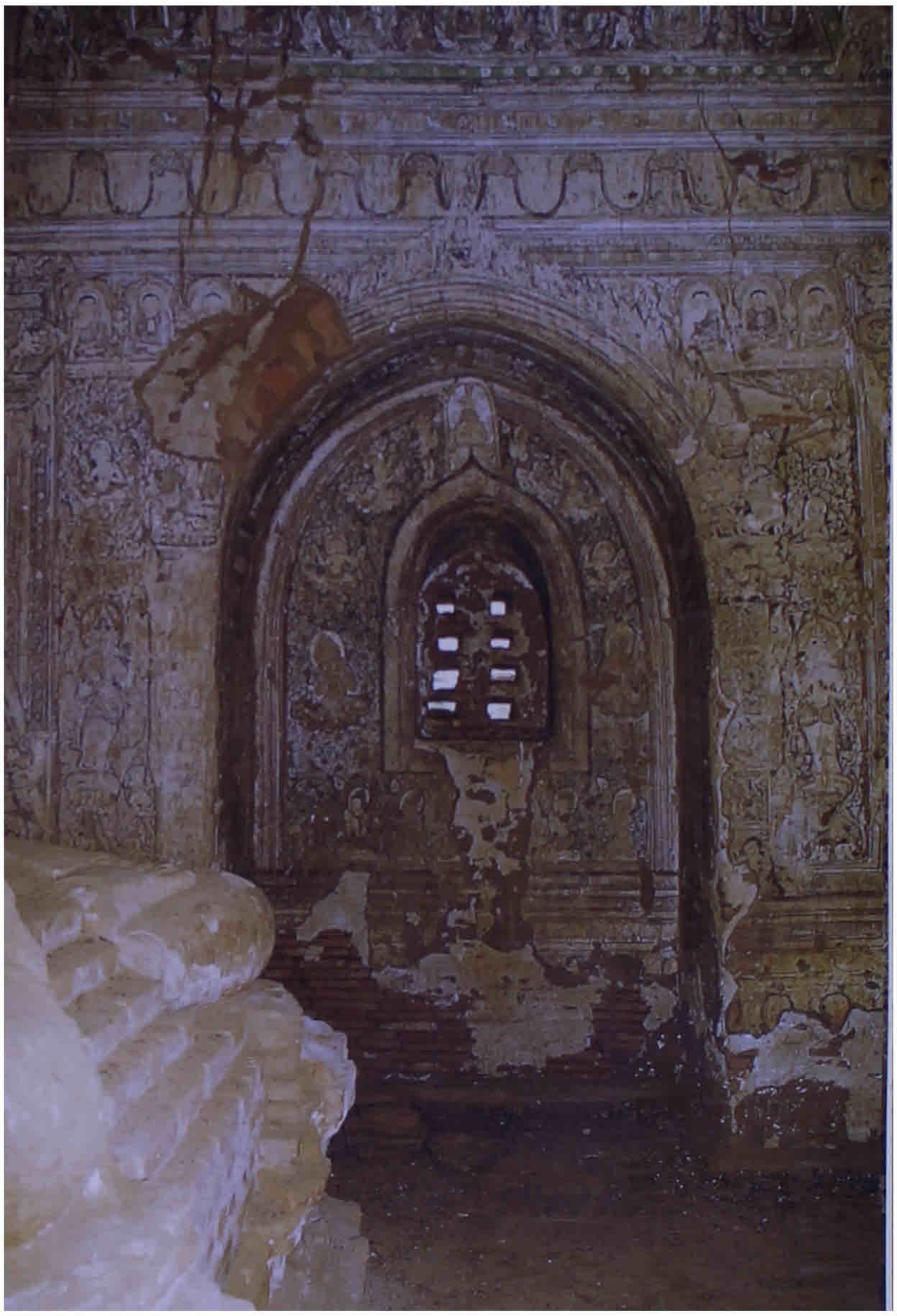
2. Monument 1148

This small temple and the following two are located south of Myinkaba; all three reproduce the ground plan of the Loka-hteik-pan with a vestibule preceding the shrine.

The murals in this monument are essentially ornamental: large white panels are preserved above the level of the stucco images, which are framed by plain bands. A frieze with pointed obovals runs below the soffit, while panels framed by plain bands covered with tangent circles enclosing images of the Buddha predicating overspread the vault of the shrine. A deep red ornamental band runs along the two side niches. Large white flames are drawn with delicacy on this red background, shaped like schematized flowers surrounded by elegantly turned volutes, while a Buddha with the gesture of predication crowns the frieze (pl. 151, p. 123). Similar scrolls arise from below his seat and spread all around him. The line is nervous but elegant, the motif clearly depicted. The same hand must have painted the nimbus behind the head of the two Buddhas carved on either side of the central one and the mural decorating the wall behind the central Buddha image, which is now lost.

The ceiling of the entrance is entirely covered with a large square panel in the centre of which the *buddhapadas* are painted. The ornamental band which surrounds the central field, shows short florid scrolls attached to a stalk which regularly forms a medallion within which various motifs (animal or human) are included. These scrolls, like those painted behind the main Buddha image (pl. 170) or along the side niches, recall those adorning the steps to the windows in the Kubyauk-gyi with thick leaves to which tiny scrolls are attached.

The nearby monument 1149 (Pichard 1995, 5, pp. 20-21) shows strong similarities to this temple: three large seated images of the Buddha were distributed within the shrine around which



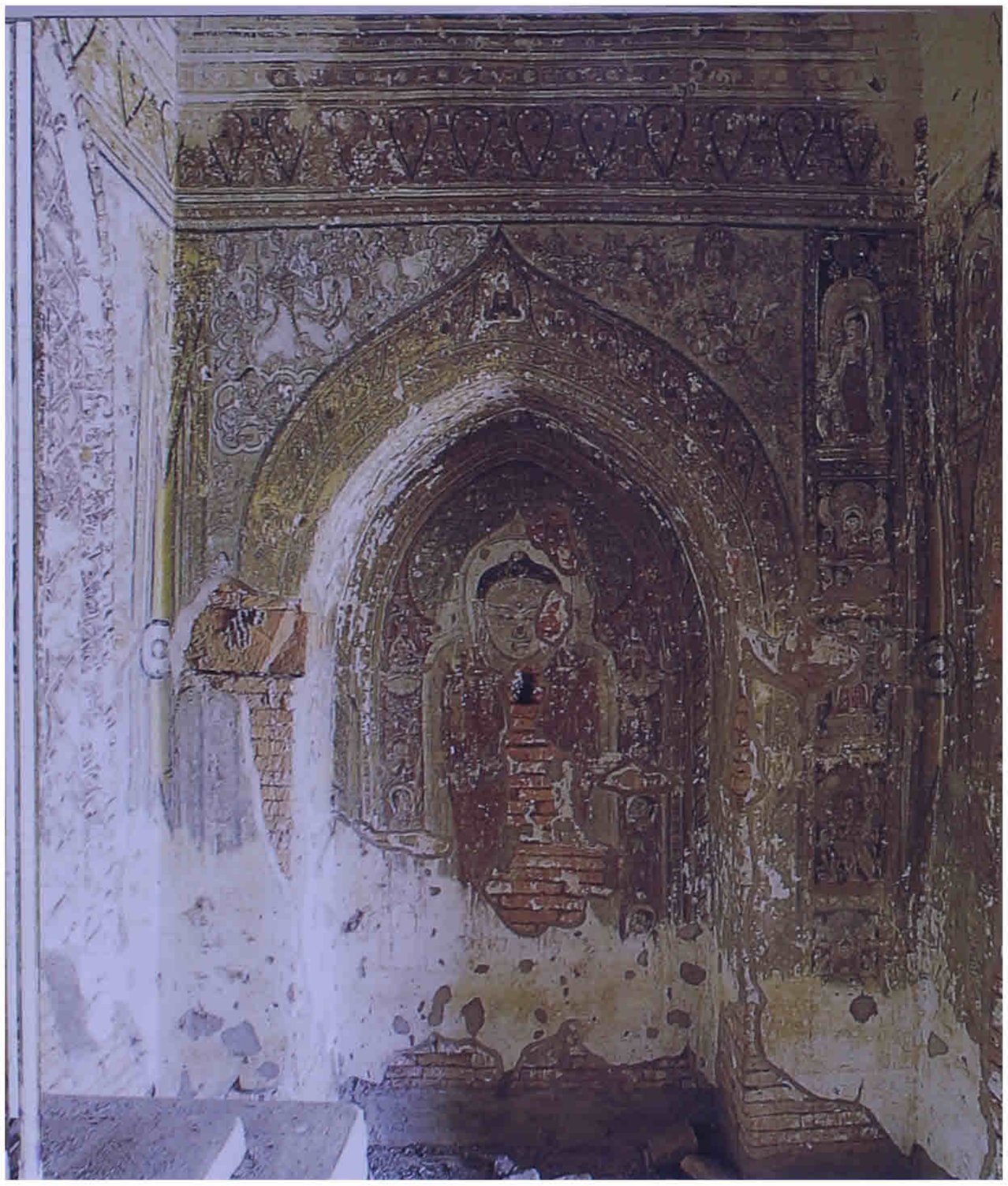
227 West niche and wall of the shrine, monument 1150

the painted ornamentation is solely abstract. The lower level includes plain white panels framed by plain bands, and the same panels are painted under the vault. The ornamental bands in the corner show the rising and falling triangular motifs seen in 1152, for instance, but here proportionally larger. *137*

Date: thirteenth century. Ref.: Pichard 1995, 5, pp. 16-19.

3. Monument 1150

The murals in this temple echo those adorning some temples at Minnanthu (see below). Beside



228 West niche and wall of the shrine, monument 1152

the two large panels of the entrance showing
53 the Buddha teaching (pl. 52 and Pichard 1995, 5, fig. 1150d), and the row of large images of the Buddha touching the earth painted in the upper part of the walls in the shrine, their contents are mainly ornamental, illustrating divine creatures flying amidst thick scrolls painted on the red background in both side niches, or on the side walls above unidentifiable Bodhisattas. The goblins of Māra's army are distributed on either side of these niches. Further demons are frolicking amidst the vine painted below the Bodhisattas. These scrolls are perceived not only as a decorative background but also as the attributes of the Bodhisattas and their flowers present the triangular shape observed on the murals of Minnanthu. The same volutes, round and compact, to which the triangular flower is regularly attached, are painted on a black background on the vault of
143 the side niches (pl. 189).

Large plain bands are painted in the angles, presenting the upward and downward pointing triangular motifs. Moreover, large trefoils include the fantastic combination of various animals in the four angles under the vault where a lion squats above three elephants—a motif seen in the Abe-ya-dana—and in turn bears a winged creature on its back. Two snakes emerge from behind the group of animals, held by two leaping figures. A similar motif crowns the band in the angles of the walls, with two tall, threatening snakes rising from behind a lion which is mounted by a winged figure. The leonine face spewing the pearled garland runs below the ceiling which is adorned by pointed obovals bearing tiny figures of the Buddha.

Notable is the use of the green in some parts, e.g. the row of pearls painted around each of the four panels on the soffits.

Date: thirteenth century. Ref.: Pichard 1995, 5, pp. 22-24.

4. Monument 1152

The paintings in the vestibule have completely disappeared whereas those in the shrine are quite well preserved, although much erased in the lower part of the walls and below the vault. Moreover, some paintings were left unfinished in parts. This temple shares with monument 1148 the decorative composition of the upper part of the walls and the vault, with the frieze of pointed obovals and the tangent circles.

But the ornamentation of the side walls differs. In fact, it illustrates the life of the Buddha: five panels are superimposed in the northern part of each wall, including the six great events usually painted on either side of the central Buddha and four further scenes drawn from the series of the seven stations. Two further standing Buddhas, who most probably complete this series, are painted on either side of the arch on the northern wall. The southern part of each wall includes a depiction of Māra's army, either attacking the Buddha (on the east wall) or defeated and fleeing from the Buddha (on the west wall); the same are also painted on either side of the aura around the central, now lost, image of the Buddha.

Each side wall includes a deep niche with a depiction of the Buddha standing and displaying the gesture of protection. Monks, ascetics and divine figures surround him, painted on the deep red background used in 1148 and also adorned with the same elegant florid volutes (pl. 126). In contrast, the paintings on the wall around the niches—except for the panels with events from the Buddha's life—make use of more subdued colours: as mentioned above, the south part of each wall is covered by the army of Māra who is painted in the upper part of the panel, mounted upon his elephant (pl. 134). Similarly, two divine creatures fill the upper north angles (pl. 174) amid nervous thin scrolls painted on red on the white background; both fly on a cloud made of heads of various animals—a motif that seems to make one of its first appearances here. The aura is painted along the sides of the two niches with large golden flames adorned with circular medallions within which a tiny image of the Buddha sits (pl. 134). A second aura is painted within the niche, reproducing the aura painted around the central Buddha in the Loka-hteik-pan, i.e. the band is broad and includes a row of thick pearls.

The murals stand in direct relation to those of the Loka-hteik-pan. We note the same taste for covering the walls, for florid, nervous ornamentation, full of delicacy and life, and for the use of the red background in the side niches or the dark blue background in the panels narrating the life (and the *jātakas* in the Loka-hteik-pan). Given the limited space, the artists introduced here on the side walls the ornamentation seen on the back wall in this monument, adding to it the depiction of the seven stations. However, the broad face and the short neck of the Buddhas painted in the side niches (pl. 228) are typical Burmese features which distance them from the Indian style illustrated in temple 1580. The palette also shows similarities with the colours used in the Abe-ya-dana: the ochre, gold and cream colours used in the rendering of the aura, in the flat bands painted in the angles or under the vault, are introduced in the murals of the ceiling of the Loka-hteik-pan (pls 197-8). These similarities support the hypothesis of a date in the second half of the twelfth century rather than the previously proposed thirteenth century dating.

Suggested date: second half of the twelfth century (Pichard: thirteenth century). Ref.: Pichard 1995, 5, pp. 26-27.

106

C. MONUMENTS SOUTH OF MYINKABA, NORTH-EAST OF PAGAN MYO-THIT

1. Nga-hla-htin-gu (monument 1091)

This small shrine includes well preserved paintings; the ceiling decor recalls that of temple 572 *111*
in Minnanthu but shows a more systematised distribution of the heavenly creatures and in- *136*
troduces more monks on either side of the Buddha. The two Bodhisattas on either side of the cult image stand on a monstrous lion face spewing two *makaras*. Creepers grow out of the open mouth of these marine monsters, which cover all the background around the Bodhisattas who stand swaying slightly with a movement that *111*
still appears very natural, as observed in an earlier period at the Abe-ya-dana.

Whereas scenes from the Buddha's life are to be seen in the different wings and recesses, *jātakas*, unfinished in parts, were painted on the walls and, above them, the Buddhas of the past forming a continuous frieze below the ceiling. As in monuments 473 and 1152, a standing Buddha is painted in the south side niche. These murals are probably intermediary between the early period, from which they have still drawn inspiration and those of the thirteenth century as known at Minnanthu.

Date: thirteenth century. Ref.: Pichard 1994, 4, pp. 343-5.

D. MONUMENTS EAST OF MYINKABA AND SOUTH OF MINNANTHU

1. Ku-tha-hpaya (monument 845)

As in the case of most the temples built in the area around Minnanthu, the fact that the monument opens on all four sides has aggravated the decay of the paintings, which are badly faded and are covered with a thick layer *149-50*
of yellow dust.

229 North. wall, entrance hall, Ku-tha-hpaya (845)

The traditional ornamentation of the two Bodhisattas standing on either side of the passage to the shrine and of the celestial creatures flying amid foliated scrolls covers the back wall of the entrance vestibule (pl. 230). The horoscope of the Buddha is still well preserved on the ceiling of the passage while the universe is painted on the south wall of the entrance (Pichard 1994, 4, fig. 845h).

The twenty-eight Buddhas of the past are all distributed at one level, forming a row along all the walls of the shrine; they alternately display the gesture of Enlightenment and of predication and sit below their respective trees. Above them, five rows of smaller panels show the Buddha teaching and being attended to by two monks. Similar ornamentation covers the ceiling and the walls of the entrance hall, showing, in the upper part, three rows of Buddha images, all teaching, and below them rows of the repeated representation of a seated Bodhisatta, most probably Metteyya, who displays the gesture of generosity, is attended to by two devotees, and is also painted in the window-embrasures of the entrance (pls 94 (p. 91), 229).

Large panels depicting the main scenes of the Buddha's life are distributed on the side walls of the wings, following the usual pattern, i.e. the taming of the wild elephant faces the descent from the heaven of the thirty-three gods in the south wing, while the birth faces the retreat at Paralliyeka in the north wing and the final demise forms a pair with the war over the relics in the west vestibule. Moreover, these scenes are painted on large chequered panels including the depictions of the *jātakas* (pl. 30, p. 35) or of events of the Buddha's life (in the west wing).

The murals are unfortunately much faded. Nonetheless, we can still admire the firmness of the line, the elegance of the movement and the delicacy of the decoration, which was not overloaded although the background has been completely covered with foliated scrolls (pl. 30). All the walls were entirely painted and reflect a great lavishness in the treatment of the life of the Buddha and in the depiction of the Buddhas of the past, all illustrated with large panels.

Date: AD 1265. Ref.: Pichard 1994, 4, pp. 36-40.

See also: Hsutaung-pyi-hpaya (temple 883). Date: thirteenth century AD. Ref.: Pichard 1994, 4, pp. 81-83. The ornamental frame painted behind the Buddha image is of high quality; it appears to be contemporary with the murals in temple 1152, having probably been realized by the same artists. Like the painting in this monument, it owes a lot to the murals in the Loka-hteik-pan including, for instance, the broad aura with the row of thick pearls; Pya-tha-nge (monument 798). Date: thirteenth century. Ref.: Pichard 1994, 3, pp. 372-3.

E. MONUMENTS BETWEEN OLD PAGAN AND WETKYI-IN

1. Temple 2157

This monument, with the simple ground plan of the shrine preceded by an entrance hall, is open towards the east. The murals preserved on the wall behind the cult image reproduce the programme of the Buddha's life as illustrated in the Loka-hteik-pan (pl. 4), albeit in a simplified form. As a matter of fact, we note here a decorative tendency which avoids the complicated compositions of the temple near old Pagan, favouring line at the expense of volume and depth. The treatment tends to become rougher in some places: for instance, short but thick strokes indicate the clouds behind Māra and his army,[57] the flames belonging to the aura painted around the mural are shown with white line. In all the scenes the number of characters is much reduced (pls 107-8, 133, pp. 98, 111).

On the evidence of the composition including, for instance, the four *thūpas* to be seen at the higher level of the Loka-hteik-pan, this mural must find its source of inspiration in the far more refined paintings of monument 1580; hence dating to the second half of the twelfth century cannot be excluded.

Date: second half of the twelfth century. Ref.: Pichard 2001, 8, pp. 123-4.

2. Temple 2103

The murals are very badly damaged in this temple, which shows a square ground plan preceded by the entrance hall. Like 2157, it is open towards the east. Only traces survived of what must have been a beautiful ensemble, closer to the Loka-hteik-pan and its Indian source than the murals in temple 2157.

The original carved stuccoed image has remained intact: two monks, carved and not painted, originally knelt on either side of the Buddha (pl. 3, p. 10).

Date: second part of the twelfth century (Pichard: thirteenth century). Ref.: Pichard 2001, 8, pp. 54-55.

3. Temple 2095

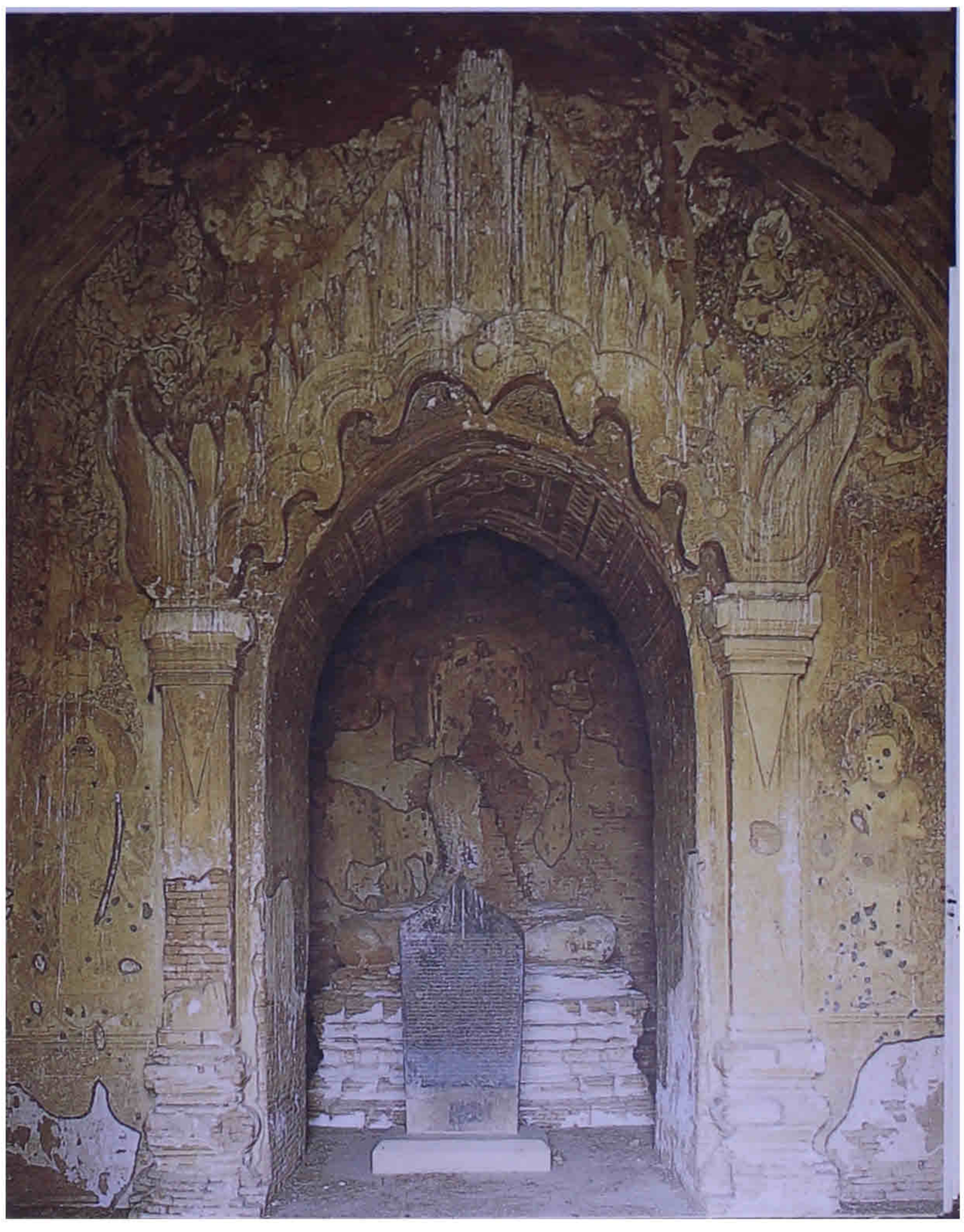
The paintings are much erased and hardly recognizable. Nonetheless, we can still see that the main miraculous events of the Buddha's life were depicted on a white background within an architectural structure topped by a *thūpa*, which is a feature more particularly observed on the stone sculptures from south-east Bangladesh (pl. 164).[58] *(129)*

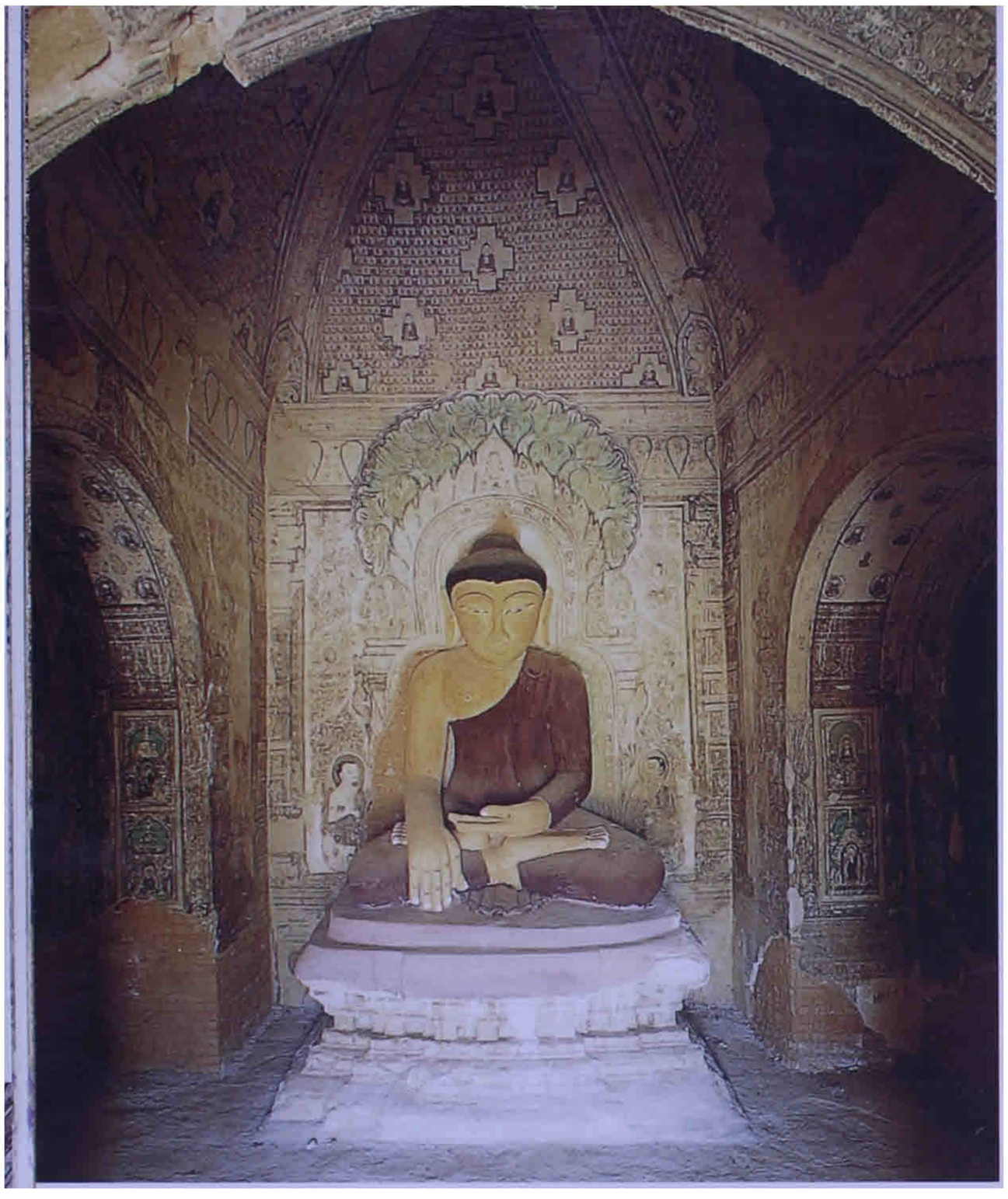
Date: AD 1242. Ref.: Pichard 2001, 8, pp. 40-41. *10*

4. Temple 2155

This temple is located north-east of monument 2157 and, although internally it shows the same structure of shrine preceded by entrance hall, the plan of the shrine is star-shaped, unlike the plan of the first monument, which was (still) square. Each of the two large panels painted on the walls of the entrance hall includes two

230 West wall with look on the shrine, entrance hall, Ku-tha-hpaya (845)





231 Cult image on the south wall, monument 1844

images of the Buddha predicating—a subject already encountered in monument 1150, south of Myinkaba. Here, however, these images are surrounded by a myriad of tiny representations of the Buddha seated—a motif which in fact covers all the ceilings of the monument, surrounding the footprints in the entrance hall. The same tiny images are distributed on the pointed obovals.

The four angles are adorned by the plain band with rising and falling triangular motifs on either side of a lotus painted at mid-height. As also in monument 1150, the side niches are adorned by scrolls within which divine figures fly, worshipping the small image of the Buddha which is painted above the window.

This temple reflects another iconographic trend where the 'thousand Buddhas' motif is dominant, and where the only iconographic panels are reserved to the entrance hall. The ornamental painting is executed with great care, but it also includes the motif of the thousand Buddhas. The murals are probably contemporary to those of the temple 1150.

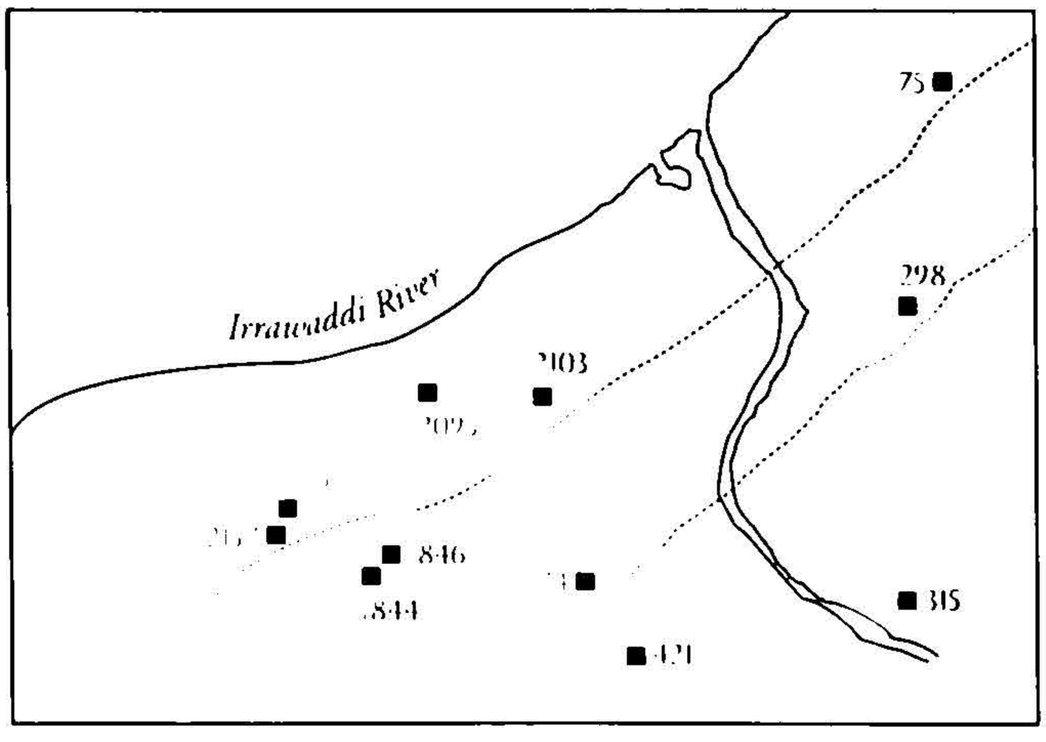
Date: thirteenth century. Ref.: Pichard 2001, 8, pp. 119-20.

5. Temple 1844

This monument, like four others numbered 1843, 1845, 1846 (below) and 1847, form a cluster of temples belonging to the Hpaya-nga-zu group located west of the large Hti-lo-min-lo (temple 1812) and south of the road leading from old Pagan to the modern village of Nyaung-u. The pictorial affinities with the murals of monument 1846 are truly striking, leaving no doubt that the same group of painters were at work here. They made use of the same structural composition and the same iconographic programme with eight scenes drawn from the Buddha's life distributed on both sides of the window-bays (Pichard, fig. 1844p). The stylistic unity between both temples is also remarkable, anticipating the murals of the Hpaya-thon-zu in Minnanthu.

The colours have faded, but very clearly various palettes were used for the murals. An

Map 4 Monuments of the Wetkyi-in area



intense red is used in the panels of the Buddha's biography, similar to the red of temple 92 at Sale whereas a strong green has been used on the ceilings or walls (pl. 232). Behind the central, fully restored image, we can still make out extremely finely painted scrolls forming flame-shaped clouds behind divine creatures flying towards and worshipping the Buddha (pl. 231) (Ono/Inoue 1978, pl. 166; Pichard 1999, 7, fig. 1844n; or in temple 1846: pl.176) and the two monks venerating the Buddha (Ono/Inoue 1978, pl. 168), seen in three-quarter profile, with eye protruding.

On the side walls which are white, a broad decorative band runs along the arches, as in monument 1846 (pl. 232); it shows dummy pillars adorned with a series of fantastic creatures running, dancing or mounted upon animals, painted on a dark brownish-red background or framed by a circular medallion (in the middle of the pillar) or by a cinquefoil line forming a triangular shape (standing at the bottom and falling at the top) (pl. 190; Ono/Inoue 1978, pl. 65). Other fantastic creatures are superimposed on the pointed flames (pls 99-100, p. 95) attached to these pillars atop which two Garuḍa figures (Ono/Inoue 1978, pl. 151) trample on a monstrous creature combining elements of the elephant, *makara* and lion (Pichard 1999, 7, fig. 1844l; see pl. 156: in temple 1846). Further, a row of pointed flames imitates the pediment encountered usually on the façades of Pagan temples. Sakka, holding the conch and Brahmā—although only one-faced here and presenting the white umbrella—attend to the Buddha on the side walls (pls 99-100). Dummy pillars are painted in the four angles (left or right part of pls 99-100), as in monument 1846, including superimposed panels with various topics, such as couples (ibid., fig. 1844m).

Birds on a lotus or flowers hang below the vault, forming a continuous frieze seen on the side and the back walls (ibid., fig. 1844n). At certain points, clouds appear formed by fantastic heads of animals (pl. 231; ibid., 7, fig. 1844n), a motif earlier seen in temple 1152, which is also observed in monument 1846.

232 West wall of the entrance vestibule, monument 1844

Date: thirteenth century. Ref.: Pichard 1999, 7, pp. 144-7; Ono/Inoue 1978, pls 65, 151, 168.

6. Temple 1846

More, perhaps, than in the previous monument, the ornamental painting here becomes overwhelmed with fantastic creatures. The plain bands with the rising and falling triangular motifs are here covered over with superimposed panels displaying fantastic creatures. A male figure mounted upon two animals, real or monstrous, tops the composition (ibid., fig. 1846i) where, among other scenes, we see couples,

women, and Garuḍa fighting *nāgas* (pl. 147; Pichard 1999, 7, figs 1846h, k and fig. 1844n). The divine flying creatures on the back wall behind the stuccoed Buddha image relate to those seen in monument 1150, although their cloud is here made of heads (pl. 176), a motif introduced in monument 1152 (pl. 174).

As in monument 1844, eight panels depicting the life of the Buddha are introduced on the walls of the niches (ibid., fig. 1846j), where they are each framed by a row of flames; the scenes are very often anonymous, i.e. it has become impossible to identify the precise event that is illustrated.

233 (p. 186, top left) Image in the central core of the shrine, Alopyi-hpaya

234 (p. 186, bottom) Outer wall of the corridor of the shrine, Alopyi-hpaya

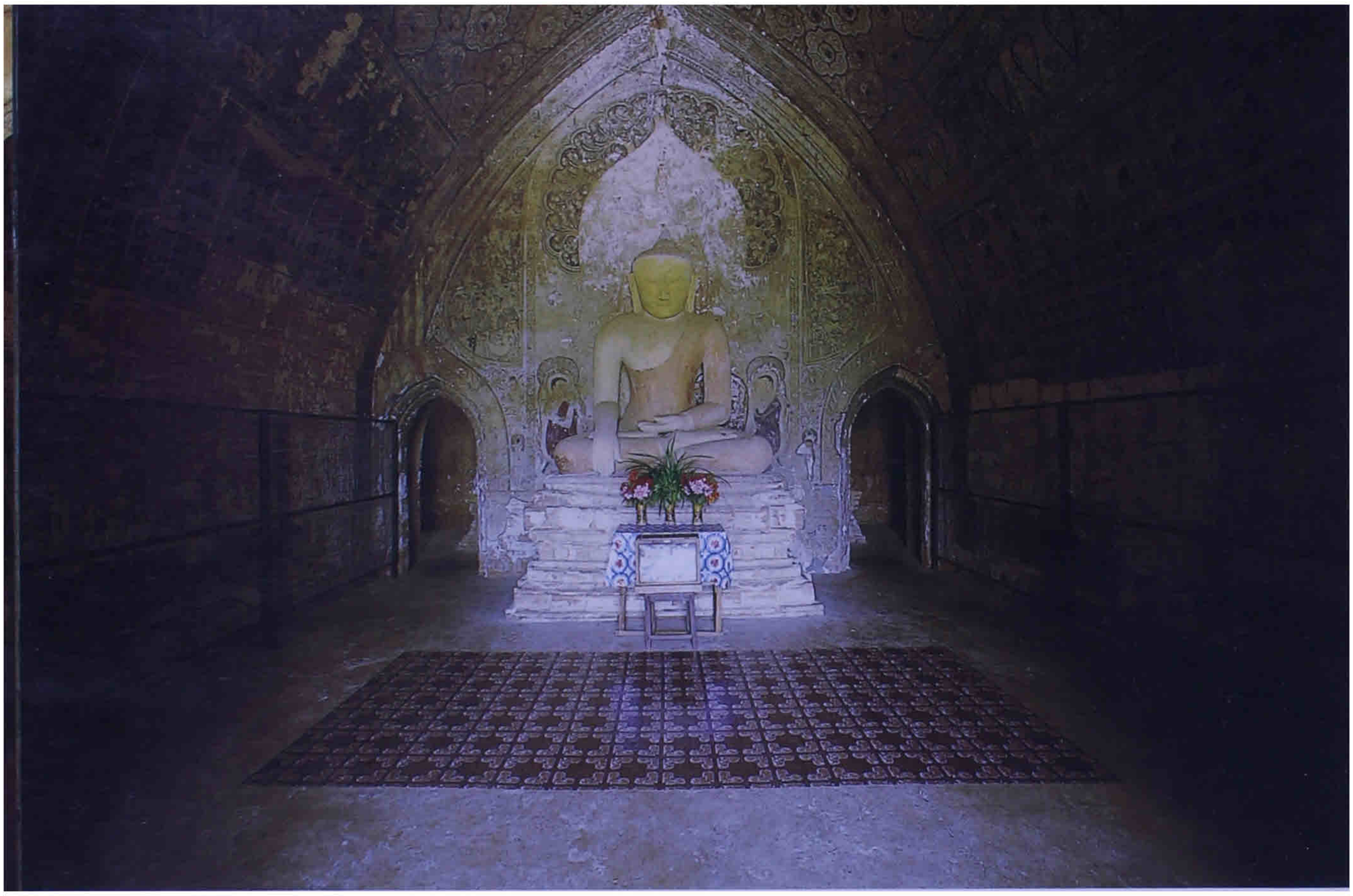
235 (p. 186, top right) Corridor of the shrine, Alopyi-hpaya

236 (below) Outer wall of the corridor, Alopyi-hpaya

Date: thirteenth century. Ref.: Pichard 1999, 7, pp. 151-3; Ono/Inoue 1978, pls 60, 65. *122*

7. Alopyi-gu-hpaya (monument 374)

Although located south-east of the village of Wetkyi-in, this monument belongs to the early group of temples built south of Pagan. The Alopyi-gu-hpaya shares its ground plan with the Mye-bon-tha-hpaya-hla, both having a broad vestibule followed by the shrine where four images were set against a square central core and windows cut into the outer wall. Here niches are cut out into the core (pl. 233). However, the painted ornamentation differs: the murals of the entrance hall extol the donations made to the Buddha and to the community, as well as the sermons of the Buddha, recalling the paintings in the entrance hall of the Kubyauk-gyi at Myinkaba. However, walking along the corridor around the central core (pl. 234) one is struck by the overwhelming presence of the Buddha teaching *suttas* to four monks who kneel at his feet and listen with devotion to his words. Each of the six hundred *137* *136*



237 West wall of the shrine, Kubyauk-gyi, Wetkyi-in (298)

and fifty panels originally covering the walls (those of the lower part of the walls have disappeared), is inscribed and gives the name of a particular *sutta*,[59] whereas the series of the twenty-eight Buddhas of the past was distributed in the upper part of the exterior walls, starting on the east, running along the south wall and ending on the west one.[60] Each Buddha is shown at the moment of his Enlightenment, making the prophecy concerning the future Buddha (pl. 235). This type of representation is reminiscent of the paintings in the entrance hall and the shrine of the Patho-hta-mya and in the upper shrine of the Mye-bon-tha.[61] The stylistic similarities with the paintings of the later shrine are very strong, which suggests that the same artists were responsible for the murals in both temples.

Likewise, the artists used warm colours—ochre, brown and yellow—and painted large flowers on the vault of the niches and windows, as they did in the Abe-ya-dana (pls 234, 236). Large Bodhisattas offering flowers kneel on the side walls of the niches where carved images of the Buddha are distributed, while standing Buddha images once appeared painted in the passage to the shrine and on the side walls of the windows (pl. 236). As for the Buddha images venerated in the niches of the central core, they are attended by Brahmā and Sakka (pl. 233).

Date: twelfth century (AD 1130?). Ref.: Pichard 1993, 2, pp. 169-72; Luce 1969/70, I, pp. 388-97, III, pls 357-8; Luce 1975; Strachan 1989, pp. 77-78.

8. Kubyauk-gyi in Wetkyi-in (temple 298)

The paintings cover the walls and the ceiling of the large forepart at the back of which the main cult image is carved (pl. 237). On either side of the large tree painted behind the cult image, and slightly above the two monks, two large panels are painted above the passage to the back corridor illustrating the army of Māra attacking the Buddha and retreating from the

field, after their defeat.

The Buddha's footprints are painted in the centre of the barrelled vault (pl. 238) amidst lobed medallions which are adorned with tiny images of the Buddha. Below the row of pointed obovals the upper part of each wall is, as usual, covered with a series of fourteen depictions of the Buddhas of the past (pl. 240, p. 191), each displaying the gesture of Enlightenment; their respective encounters with the future Buddha and their predication are painted on the predella painted below each of them. The life of Sakyamuni is depicted with sixteen large rectangular panels which were distributed on both walls, surrounding the smaller depictions of *jātakas* (see Chapter I) (pl. 239, p. 190) and of which only some survived the visit paid in 1899 by Th. Thomann and his companions to the temple, when they cut away from the walls large parts of paintings with the aim of selling them in Germany. Straight lines indicating where further portions of the murals were to be cut out are still clearly visible on the walls (pl. 240, p. 191).[62]

The paintings in the Kubyauk-gyi are drawn with precision and detail, much care having been paid to the treatment of the trees in the images of the Buddhas of the past, for instance, and to those rising behind Sakyamuni in illustration of the various moments of his life. The line is elegant and smooth, delineating the characters and the temples in the background. The movement is animated without being over-intricate; a good example being the illustration of Māra's army, where each member is distinctly depicted; feelings are visually rendered and the scene has not yet become as essentially decorative as it would in monuments like the Hpaya-thon-zu, for instance. The delicate and precise treatment of the ornamentation anticipates the murals of Minnanthu, the Winido-hpaya or the Nanda-ma-nya for instance, or those built near the Hti-lo-min-lo (temples 1844 to 1846).

The overall composition of this large entrance hall which is also the shrine imparts a feeling of clarity, of peacefulness created with strict geometry. The life of Sakyamuni, his previous existences as well as the Buddhas of the past are regularly distributed in horizontal and vertical zones covering both north and south walls. In contrast to these square panels, the ceiling and the back wall are adorned with circular or curved motifs. Covered with the iconographic panels, the walls form large rectangular surfaces framed by parallel bands of various colours and separated from the ceiling by a broad decorative band which includes the pointed obovals. At the same time, however, the horizontal lines in the rigorous geometry of the composition direct attention toward the curved, pointed back wall, leading the way to

238 Ceiling of the shrine, Kubyauk-gyi, Wetkyi-in

239 North wall of the shrine, Kubyauk-gyi, Wetkyi-in

the tall image of the Buddha.

Date: early thirteenth century. Ref.: Pichard 1993, 2, pp. 61-65; Luce 1969/70, I, pp. 230, 246, 391-7; Ba Shin et al. 1971; Duroiselle 1916, pp. 115-9; Report 1913, pl. I.3; Pichard 1991, fig. 5; Ono/Inoue 1978, pls 116, 118; Thomann 1923, pp. 42-45, pls 29-32; Oshegowa 1988, pls 70-76; Strachan 1989, pp. 100-102.

9. Taung-pon-loka-na-tha (315)

Although only preserved in parts, the paintings of this temple open towards the west, i.e. towards the city of Pagan, clearly relate to the murals of the western group of monuments. Scenes of Sakyamuni's life are painted in the entrance hall, for instance, where they are still visible in large fragments; their composition is reminiscent of the paintings in the Mye-bon-tha-hpaya. Two large Bodhisattas are painted on either side of the wall of the passage leading to the corridor around the central core of the shrine, as in the Kubyauk-gyi and Abe-ya-dana. As in the Kubyauk-gyi also, *jātakas* were painted on the outer wall of the corridor, and roundels adorned the stairs leading to the windows. The four large niches carved in the central core have been adorned by beautiful stuccoes which are still preserved, probably illustrating Mount Potala: the temple is, as a fact, named after Avalokiteśvara, also known as Lokanātha, and a Bodhisatta was carved in one of the niches.

The main niche, directed towards the west, included an image of the Buddha, Sakka and Brahmā standing on the side walls, where they are drawn against a dark red background, and remains of the army of Māra being still preserved in the upper part of the mural. Images of *thūpas* and the Buddha teaching were distributed in the upper part of the walls, while the murals in the small shrine on the first floor illustrate scenes of worship of the *thūpa* by gods and monks.

Date: twelfth century. Ref.: Pichard 1993, 2, pp. 85-89.

See also: Shin-ma-ti (temple 75). Date:

thirteenth century. Ref.: Pichard 1992, I, pp. 147-8; Shwe-tan-za (temple 231). Date: thirteenth century. Ref.: Pichard 1992, I, pp. 347-9; Tha-kya-hpaya (temple 249). Date: thirteenth century. Ref.: Pichard 1992, I, pp. 376-81; Temple 421. Date: thirteenth century. Ref.: Pichard 1993, II, pp. 219-21.

F. Monuments in Minnanthu and in the surrounding area

I. North-west and north of Minnanthu

1. Let-put-kan (monument 711)

A beautifully preserved pair of the Buddha's footprints is painted on the vault of the eastern entrance hall to this monument, which is constructed around the square central core once bearing four images of the Buddha. Roundels bearing the image of the teaching Buddha cover the ceiling of the vestibules and the frieze of pointed obovals marks the limit between the ceiling and the walls. Two large iconographic panels, now largely erased, originally covered the lower part of the walls of the eastern entrance, showing the Buddha teaching on Mount Meru (pl. 241, p. 192) and Lake Anotatta. Similarly, in each of the three vestibules, both walls include two scenes drawn from the Buddha's life. The panels, unfortunately covered by graffiti, are large and offer a clear description of the events, always recognisable. They are framed by a creeper—a motif which occurs in the entrance hall—containing animals vividly delineated within the large volutes (pl. 58), reminding us of the elaborate scrolls adorning various temples located south of Pagan. The walls of the ambulatory around the central core are painted with *jātakas* in their lower part and with a continuous representation of the Buddha teaching, seated in a wooden pavilion shaded by a tree. On both walls of the southern, western and northern porches, large images of a terrifying figure reminiscent of the Krodhas are depicted.

The composition of the iconographic panels still owes a lot to the paintings in the Lokahteik-pan: in the scene showing the Sāvatthi miracles, for instance, two images show the

240 South-east corner, shrine, Kubyauk-gyi, Wetkyi-in

Buddha holding the moon and sun in the sky. The trees are painted with much care, clearly delineated against the red background. Motifs from the early period are still recognized, such as the pair of geese on either side of the nimbus, alongside motifs belonging to the later phase, such as the slender elongated flames replacing these birds above the throne. The rendering of the facial features of the Buddha also reflects the link still existing with the paintings in the temples built south of Pagan: the body is well proportioned, the three-quarter profile shows the protruding eye only slightly, the line is drawn with firmness and the movements are

241 East vestibule, north wall, Let-put-kan

harmonious. As in monument 844, for instance
86 (pl. 90), elegantly turned scrolls cover the background, together with heavenly flying figures
57 borne by their clouds (pl. 58).

Date: before AD 1241. Ref.: Pichard 1994, 3, pp. 239-43.

2. Ma-la-phyi-hpaya (monument 664)

This monument contains, on the back of the wall behind the cult image, a very tall (nearly five
(117) metres) painted image of the Buddha being attended by his two favourite disciples. The same
(154) pair of monks was also seen attending to the
101 cult image (pl. 118). Two Bodhisattas or gods stand in the entrance hall, on either side of the passage to the shrine. The motif of the Bodhisatta seated in a cinquefoil niche is repeatedly used at the base of the bands running in the corners or along the angles (pl. 181, p. 138). Heavenly creatures fly against a background of nervous scrolls around the side windows, as seen in monuments 1150 or 1471 (pls 178, 227, pp. 137, 179), for instance. The vault is completely covered with images of the Buddha teaching, seated on a throne supported by two elephants and one monstrous lion (pl. 204, p. 152); finely drawn volutes fill the intermediary space, suggesting the presence of clouds. In the centre of each soffit, the Buddha, again teaching, sits in a wooden pavilion, accompanied by Sāriputta and Moggallāna in a multifoil medallion. The same teaching Buddhas are painted on the ceiling of the western wing (Pichard 1994, 3, pl. 664n). Four broad bands cover the rib of the vault, painted with a Garuḍa seated on a lion head at the upper end and with a number of unidentifiable Bodhisattas seated amidst fantastic creatures similar to those encountered in the Hpaya-thon-zu or in temple 1844 (pl. 211; Ono/Inoue 1978, fig. 65).

Date: AD 1274. Ref.: Pichard 1994, 3, pp. 167-70.

3. Winido-hpaya (monument 659)

This temple gives its name to a group of monuments, located north of the village of Minnanthu. A number of them (temples 645, 653, 657, 658) share the same stylistic and iconographic features, but evidently the paintings in the Winido-hpaya itself are the best preserved and reflect the most elaborately thought-out iconographic composition.

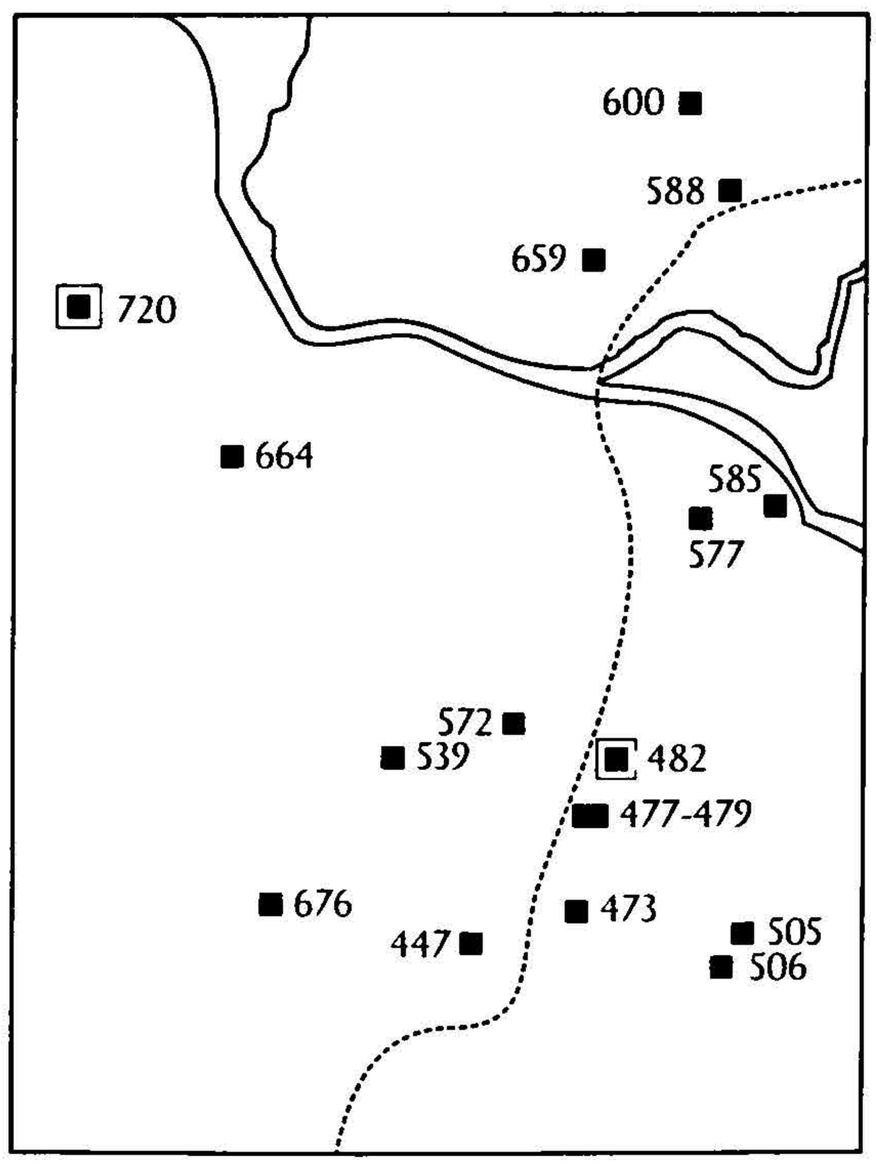
The painted ornamentation of this temple is well preserved and displays a very traditional programme: the *jātakas* cover both walls of the entrance hall, whereas the ceiling is adorned by two large medallions with depiction of the Buddha's footprints and the universe (pl. 143), images of the gods inhabiting the *Brahmalokas* painted all around them (pl. 208). Brahmā and Sakka, the latter partly destroyed, protect the

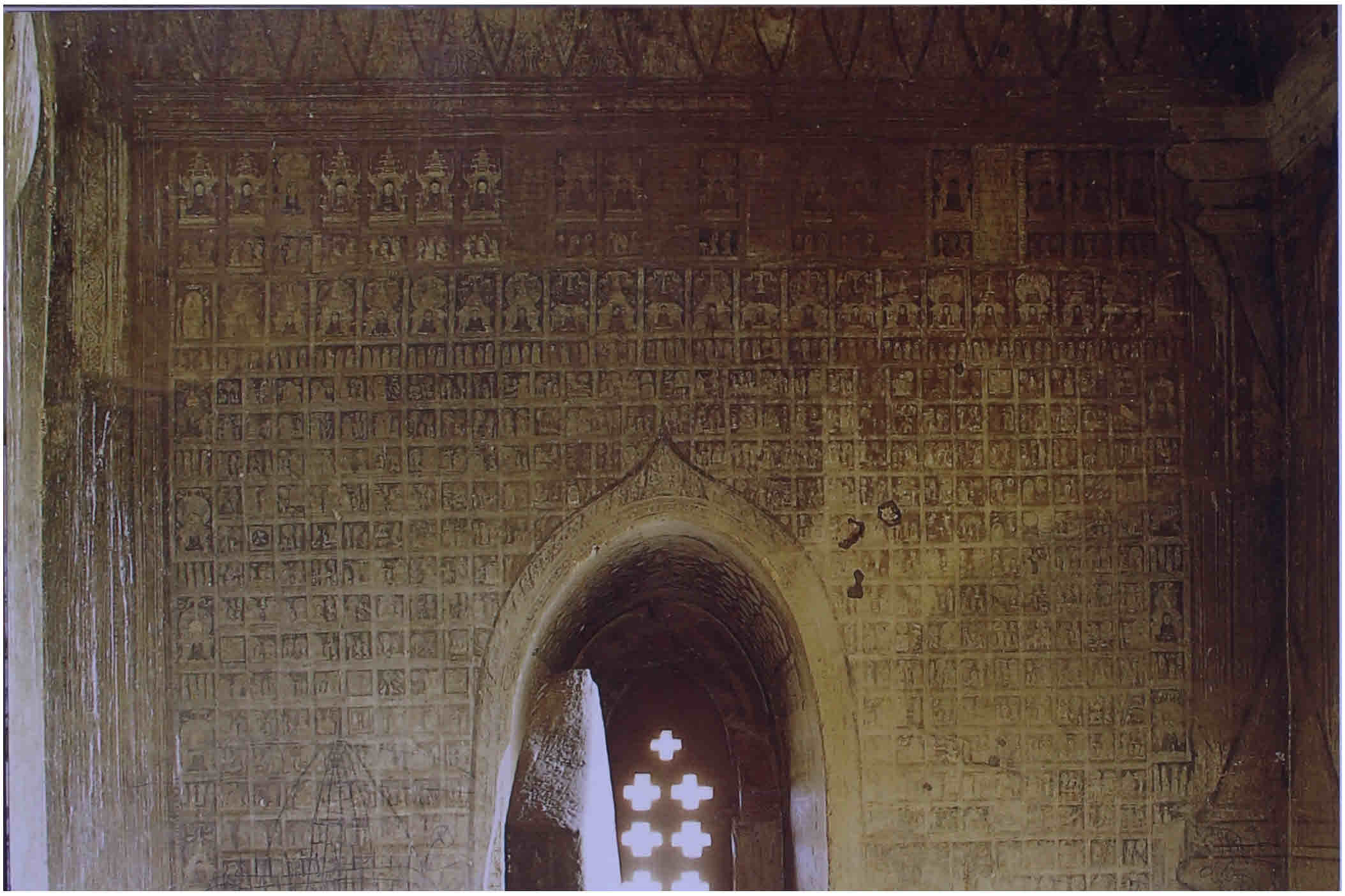
242 West wall of the shrine, Winido-hpaya

entrance to the temple; celestial creatures fly above them against a dark background of beautifully drawn scrolls, paying their respects to Metteyya who is painted above the pediment (pl. 93, p. 90). Two Bodhisattas stand on either side of the passage to the shrine while the horoscope of the Buddha's life once appeared painted on the ceiling of this passage (pl. 144, p. 118).

In the shrine, scenes of the Buddha's life were distributed in the three wings: we can still see the birth facing the Parinibbāna on the west and east walls of the northern wing, for instance. The wall behind the cult image, thus in the west (pl. 242), is covered with uninscribed panels depicting the Buddha teaching two monks: this large composition is reminiscent of the Buddha's predication of the *suttas* as seen in the Alopyi-hpaya, for instance (pls 234-6, pp. 186-7), while the presence of the tree and the shrine below which the Buddha sits, as in the nearby Than-bu-de-hpaya (657),[63] anticipates

Map 5 Monuments of the Minnanthu area





243 North wall of the entrance hall, Ajja-gona-hpaya

13 the murals of temple 92 at Sale (pl. 9), with which the Winido murals also share the deep red lines and background of certain of the murals.

Behind the cult image, which is detached from the wall, a small niche was built in, adorned with gods kneeling toward the back of it where faint traces of a Buddha showing the gesture of teaching are still visible. When the cult image was still preserved, the niche was evidently invisible, which means that the army of Māra painted around the stuccoed pediment and, above the army, the larger panels depicting the Buddha teaching and the bejewelled Buddha on his Enlightenment were likewise hidden (pls 13, 137). The other walls of the shrine are covered with the same chequered structure, apparently including miraculous events of the Buddha's life, the teaching of the *suttas* and celestial creatures flying.

21, 112

The detailed ornamentation reminds us of the paintings in the Hpaya-thon-zu, although the composition of the square panels showing the *jātakas* or events of the Buddha's life and the chequered murals covering the walls show connections to temples in Sale, as indeed did temple 657, mentioned above.

Date: First part of the thirteenth century. (contemporary to monument 657, which is dated AD 1224). Ref.: Pichard 1994, 3, pp. 156-60; Strachan 1989, pp. 135-6.

II. North of Minnanthu, east of Winido group

1. Ajja-gona-hpaya (temple 588)

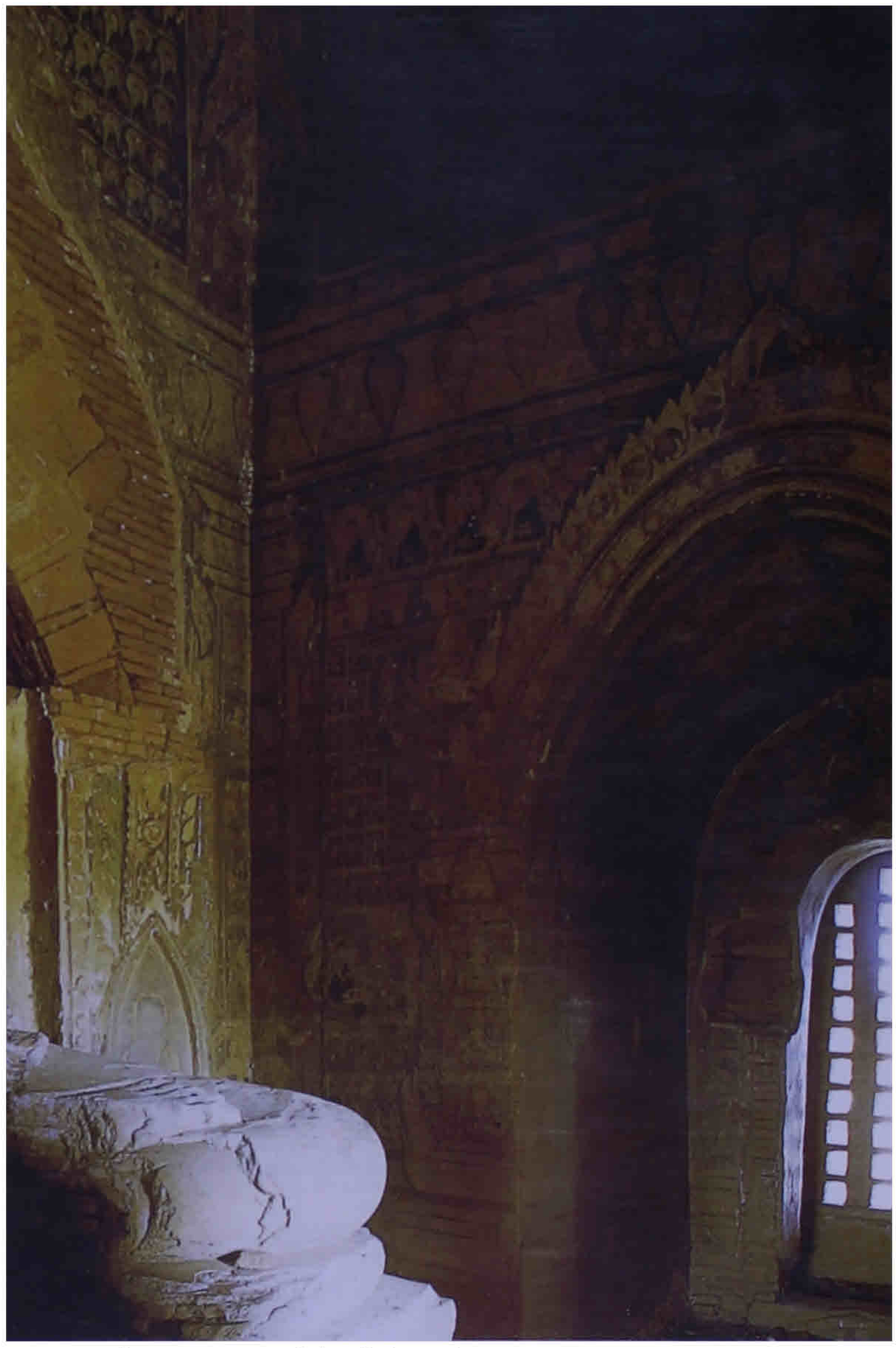
The entire entrance hall is adorned with small representations of the *jātakas*, while the walls of the ambulatory are covered with tiny images of the Buddha teaching (Pichard 1994, 3, figs 588o, r-s). Even the panels depicting events of the Buddha's life, distributed in the side wings and in the passage to the shrine, are framed by similar images. The ornamentation of the entrance hall is apparently based on the composition within the Kubyauk-gyi showing, above, two rows of Buddha images seated

within a shrine which is shaded by a tree, and, on either vertical side, a row of similar panels framing the representation of the previous life stories (pl. 243). Two small standing Bodhisattas are painted on the pillars around the entrance of the passage towards the shrine. Large panels depicting the life of the Buddha are painted in the passage to the shrine and in the side recesses of the shrine (pl. 140, p. 115), which preserve stylistic relations with the temples of the early period: large roundels run along the nimbus and the *kinnaras* are close to those of the Loka-hteik-pan and related temples.

The row of pointed obovals bearing tiny figures, is not only painted in the upper part of walls but also runs along the lower part (ibid., fig. 588r). The dummy pillars painted in the corners of the shrine rise out of the vase of plenty, shaft decoration remaining plain. Elements from the early period are still included, such as the motifs of the large scrolls rolling along the nimbus but clearly shaped here as flames, or the two geese in place of the *kinnaras* above the lintel of the throne (pl. 140).

Viewed frontally, the head of the Buddha is broad and presents the round cranial protuberance (pl. 140), but there are cases where a flame rises out of this *uṣṇīṣa* and when the Buddha is depicted in a three-quarter profile, the head preserving its proportions. The face then shows the protruding eye and slipper-chin.

Date: AD 1237. Ref.: Pichard 1994, 3, pp. 55-59.



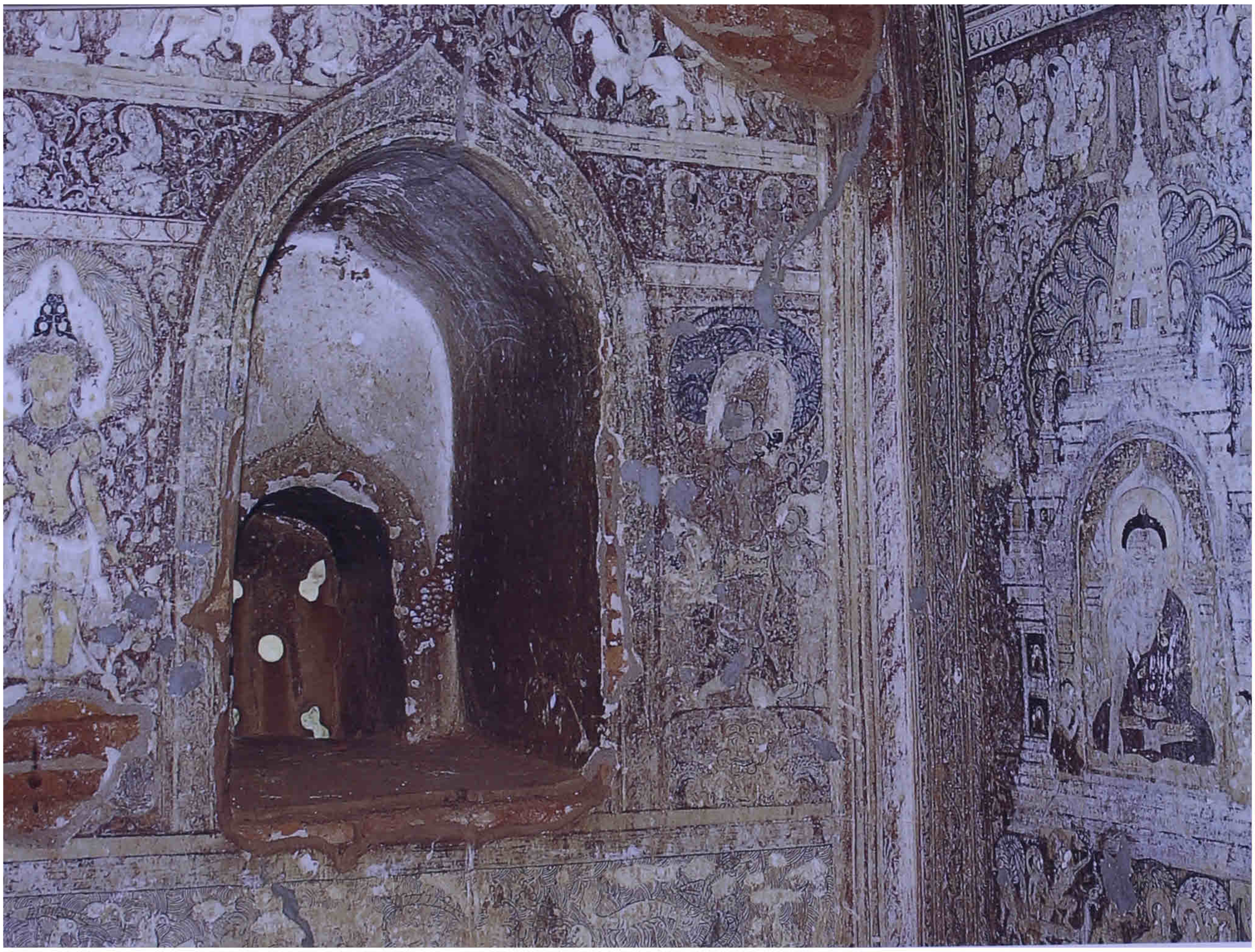
244 North-west corner of the shrine, Maung-yon-gu

2. Maung-yon-gu (temple 600)

The murals of this small temple are beautifully preserved and reflect the style of the late thirteenth century, as encountered in a number of monuments at Minnanthu and in the vicinity. The motif of the thousand Buddha images covers the four sides of the vault, separated by large bands extending over the ribs. Luxuriant scrolls run along these bands, intermingled with small figures; a seated figure appears at either end of the bands which meet at the central lotus (pl. 202). The decorative ornamentation combines harmoniously with the iconographic panels, completely covering all the available surface. The same 'thousand' Buddha images cover the upper part of the walls, below the Buddhas of the past. The flames running along the different arches are all adorned with creatures on a background of volutes drawn with a nervous line, while broad bands with three superimposed images of Bodhisattas or scenes of veneration, or even with a scene like the birth of the Buddha, replace the dummy pillars seen, for instance, in monuments 1844 and 1846 (pls 40, 244). The small creatures are mounted upon various animals, some real, some fantastic, reminding us of the depiction of Māra's demons in temples located at

(44, 195)

151



245 South niche, Nanda-ma-nya-hpaya

Minnanthu. The nervous style, florid scrolls covering the entire background and angular rendering of the facial features are all elements also characterizing the murals in the Hpaya-thon-zu.

(18-20) The iconography repeats what we know from other temples; the theme of the Buddhas of the past runs below the ceiling, scenes from Sakyamuni's life are introduced in the corners at eye-level (pl. 244). Other scenes are framed by small square panels depicting the *jātakas*, all included within larger rectangular panels which are distributed on the side walls of the two windows and of the entrance hall. Anonymous Bodhisattas stand on either side of the passage towards the entrance hall, while others sit in cinquefoil niches on the four ribs of the vault, or on the dummy pillars on either side of the side niches.

(102-3) Date. AD 1271. Ref.: Pichard 1994, 3, pp. 74-76.

III. North of Minnanthu, East of the Road

1. Nanda-ma-nya-hpaya (monument 577)

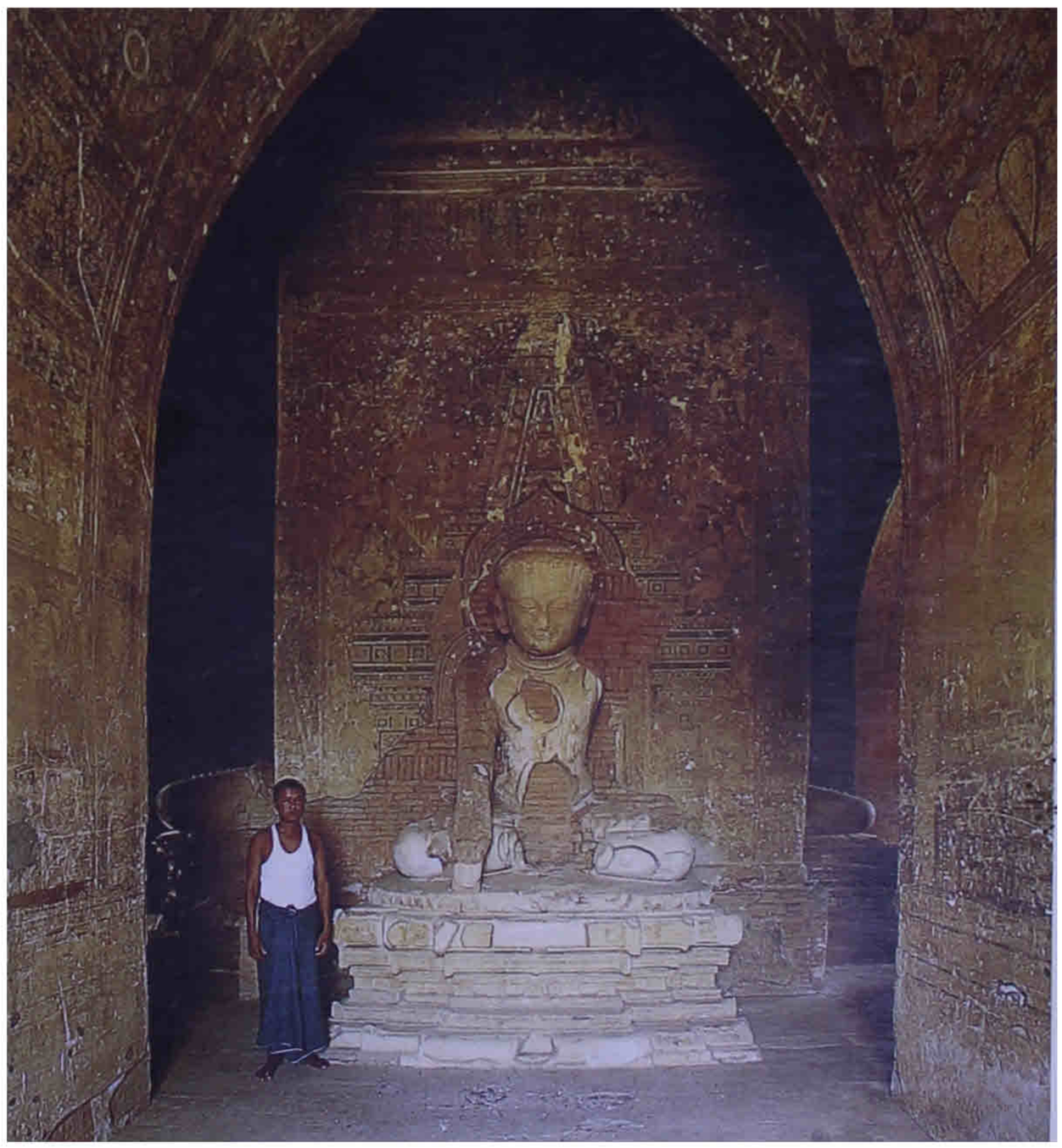
Although large parts of the murals have flaked off in the upper part of the southern wall, this temple is itself a little jewel (pls 10-12). On the evidence of the well preserved iconographic and ornamental programmes we can imagine what most of the temples at Minnanthu must have looked like in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Moreover, whereas in most of the temples the lower part of the murals has been erased, it is here well preserved and illustrates a succession of decorative bands with various motifs, with rows of lotus petals, of creeper or of large pearls clearly depicted. On either side of the cult image, now in part destroyed, the two monks are depicted in three-quarter profile, kneeling and venerating the Buddha (pls 120-121). The aura painted on the back wall is covered with scrolls over which four divine

creatures hover on their respective clouds. The same are depicted flying in both recesses, painted against a deep red background, and in the six panels related to the life of the Buddha, which are distributed in the side niches and in the entrance hall (pls 39, 41). The clouds have here lost their unity, consisting of an assemblage of round or curved elements which still include facial features, but thoroughly distorted. They also form independent clusters intermingling with the volutes which consist of a thick stalk to which elongated blossoms are attached. The motif occurs repeatedly and is included, for instance, around the Bodhisattas of the side niches.

The row of pointed obovals bearing images of the Buddha teaching runs along the walls below the vault which is adorned with elaborate interlacing within which heavenly figures painted in a square frame worship the images of the Buddha drawn within octagonal roundels (Pichard 1994, 3, fig. 577q; Pichard 1993b, fig. 2). Dummy pillars are painted in the corners, simply adorned with large triangular fleurons at both ends (pl. 11), recalling the motif seen in monuments 1149, 1150 or 1152 (pls 227-8, pp. 179-80). The traditional flamed arch with two Garuḍas adorns the upper part of the recesses, standing on dummy pillars which are adorned with a series of mounted animals. Bodhisattas seated within a multifoil niche are also distributed at the bottom of the bands running along the walls and the vault of the vestibule (pl. 180, p. 138). Two Bodhisattas are painted in the eastern part of both recesses, standing on a monstrous face equipped with two arms (Pichard 1994, 3, fig. 577t-u; Ono/Inoue, pls 17-18; pl. 114, p. 100), which is similar to the treatment of the same motif as noted in the styles of Angkor Vat and the Bayon, in Khmer art.[64] At the same time, however, their hieratic position, the floral scrolls surrounding them, the broad crown with its series of pointed fleurons and the broad armbands, these figures are reminiscent of the numerous *apsaras* of the same styles.[65] This is hardly surprising since some monuments of the early thirteenth century at Pagan include the false doors which constitute a common decorative motif at Angkor.[66] Moreover, a group of monks came from Sri Lanka around 1200 and settled at Pagan. One of them, Tāmaliṇḍa, may possibly have been the son of the Cambodian king, and his name survived in a temple,[67] while we learn from an inscription at Angkor Thom that a learned Brahmin, 'having heard that Cambodia had plenty of excellent experts of the Veda, came therein to show his own knowledge'. This man whose name was Hṛṣīkeśa, became the priest of Jayavarman VII and his two successors, he belonged to the Brahmanical clan of the Bhāradvājas and originated from Narapatideśa, i.e. 'the country of Narapati', who was most probably Narapatisithu, king of Pagan, whose reign had started in 1174.[68] *43, 45*

Date: thirteenth century. Ref.: Pichard 1994, 3, pp. 35-39; Ono/Inoue 1978, pls 3, 17-18, 21-23, 53, 68, 86-87, 102, 108, 152-3, 162, 165, 169, 177-9; Oshegowa 1988, pls 56-59; Strachan 1989, p. 134; Pichard 1991, fig. 4; Duroiselle 1918, passim (early part of the twelfth century);[69] Report 1916, p. 13; Report 1918, pp. 29-30; Bautze-Picron 1998c, figs 10, 21. *19*

246 North image, Thambula-hpaya



2. Monument 585

The murals of this small temple and of the nearby Nanda-ma-nya-hpaya share their iconography and their ornamental decoration although they might well be slightly later than those of temple 577. All the images display the earth-touching although they illustrate various moments of the Buddha's life. Since the panels here bear ink-glosses, their identification is very clear (pls 32, 46, 61-63, 66).

37, 47, 60-62, 64 (24)

More than in the Nanda-ma-nya-hpaya, the tendency to cover the background is evident in the iconographic panels where a large number of monks or of deities are introduced and painted in a very repetitive manner. Simultaneously, simplification occurs in the painting of the ceiling where tiny images of the Buddha are repeated, side by side (Pichard 1994, 3, fig. 585e).

(87)

Date: thirteenth century. Ref.: Pichard 1994, 3, pp. 49-51.

3. Thambula-hpaya (monument 482)

(25)

The four tall images distributed around the central core are all backed by murals showing the shrine below the tree of the Enlightenment and surrounded by the army of Māra or heavenly creatures (pl. 246), while two tall *kinnaras* stand above the pillars sustaining the architectural structure. The best preserved image is located in the north (pl. 246; Pichard 1993, 2, fig. 482p), where the Buddha sits below a tower similar to the one topping the temple of Bodhgaya.

Two flamed Buddhas standing on either side of the entrance in the entrance hall (pl. 18) welcome the worshipper. When compared with the standing Buddhas in the Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi (see below), they still preserve an elegance in movement which is lost in the second temple, although common features are noticed in both temples, such as the clouds with faces, the large flamed Buddhas, the large row of Buddhas of the past (pl. 91) or the four tall stuccoed images around the central core; here, however, the slipper-chin is not that so evident, nor the neck so slender, and they clearly predate those painted in the Thein-ma-zi (pl. 19). Above them, another image shows the Buddha teaching

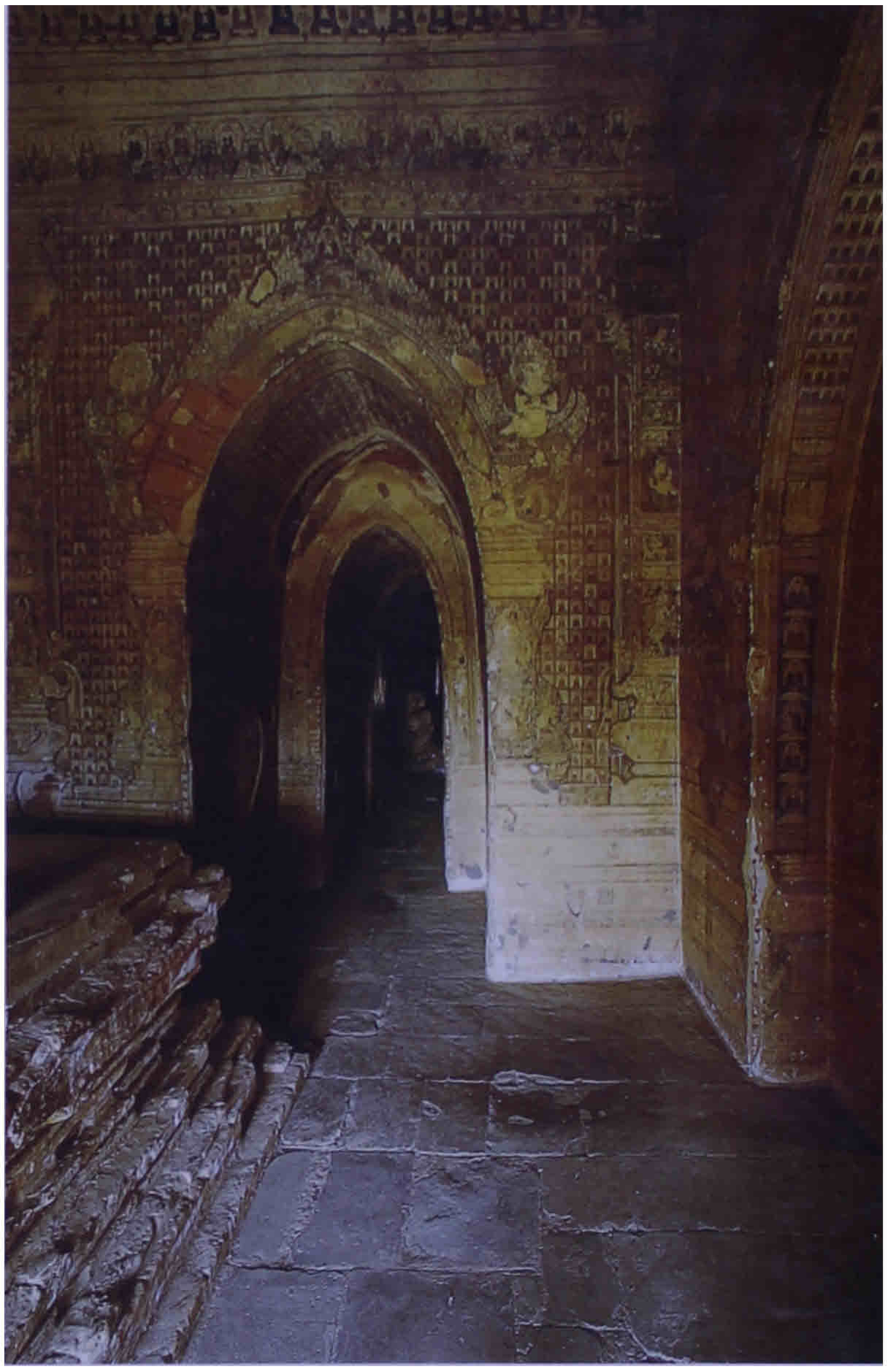
247 West wall of the central shrine, Hpaya-thon-zu (478)

amidst a crowd of divine devotees, both scenes, below and above, probably being related to the sojourn of the Buddha on Mount Meru after he had accomplished the various miracles at Sāvatthi, among which the double miracle of water and of fire. On the side walls, large panels illustrate the Buddha meditating or touching the earth.

Two Bodhisattas sit on either side of the passage to the shrine, while above them heavenly creatures pay their respect to the enshrined Buddha, kneeling on clouds made of monstrous faces (pl. 117, p. 101; Strachan 1989, fig. 139). The background is entirely covered with a creeper.

The outer wall of the ambulatory (pl. 91, p. 87) is adorned at eye-level with the row of the twenty-eight Buddhas of the past, all depicted as teachers (Pichard 1993, 2, fig. 482o). The upper surface of the wall is covered with images of the Buddha in the earth-touching gesture, each shown in a shrine below a tree and appropriately framed. This topic is most probably related to the thousand Buddhas motif, already encountered in a temple like the Alopyi-gu-hpaya. Below the Buddhas of the past, two or three rows of small panels depict the *jātakas*. Scenes from the Buddha's life are distributed in the passage to the entrance hall and in the northern, western and southern wings.

The frieze of pointed obovals runs below the ceiling which is adorned with large roundels bearing images of the Buddha teaching (Pichard 1993, 2, figs 482l-m) while the vault of the entrance hall was partly covered with images of the predicating Buddha (ibid., fig. 482j). The vaults in the wings attached to the shrine are painted with exquisite motifs, including, for instance, fantastic creatures mounted upon animals or seated Buddha images (pls 209-10), respectively on roundels and on square or octagonal panels which are all surrounded by an intricate volute, sharing with the one observed in the Nanda-ma-nya (Pichard 1993b, fig. 2) the simultaneous presence of two medallion shapes and the presence of a white scroll which organises the creeper in a more orderly manner.



248 West wall of the eastern shrine, Hpaya-thon-zu (477)

Date: AD 1255. Ref.: Pichard 1993, 2, pp. 300-303; Strachan 1989, pp. 132-3; Report 1916, p. 13.

4. Hpaya-thon-zu (monuments 477-9)

The murals, or rather some of the murals, pre- *155*
served in this temple have given rise to a certain amount of speculation on the presence of 'Tantric' Buddhism at Pagan. In fact, the paintings in question do not show any specific 'Tantric' feature, whatever the term is taken to mean.[70] The murals are badly damaged in the eastern chapel, but the programme can still be

249 East wall of the entrance vestibule to the east shrine, Hpaya-thon-zu (477)

identified; those in the central chapel were left unfinished and, as for the third, western chapel, it was apparently not completed. What remains in the eastern chapel, shows that this architectural entity was, at least, in its iconography, independent from what could have been planed in the other two chapels. The iconographic contents include traditional themes: first of all, the life of the Buddha framed by square panels depicting the *jātakas* is to be seen in the entrance
(113) hall of shrine 477; second, the Buddhas of the past are distributed on the inner walls of the eastern embrasure and of the western passage in the same chapel. Third, the thousand Buddhas motif cover the walls and the ceiling of both shrines; all depict the gesture of teaching, the gesture also shown by the Buddhas painted on the pointed obovals and in the finial of the
(126) arches in shrine 477 (pl. 248)—whereas the Buddha in the finial of the arches in the central chapel shows the earth-touching gesture (pl. 247)—a gesture that accords with the presence of Māra's demons in the corners of this shrine.

The ornamental decoration is extremely rich and includes motifs noted in temples 1844 and 1846 of the Hpaya-nga-zu group, or in the Nanda-ma-nya, which is closer to the Hpaya-thon-zu. The Hpaya-thon-zu paintings are probably slightly later than those of these temples. Here we find similar motifs, but more developed, showing more 'exaggerated' forms. For instance, the Bodhisatta seated in the multifoil at the base of the doorjambs (pl. 182) wears a crown much like the one worn by a Bodhisatta of the Nanda-ma-nya, with fleurons as tall as the matted hair. Absent in other temples, a motif in the form of a pipal-leaf grows in each recess between the numerous foils around this character. As in the Nanda-ma-nya, the nimbus behind the head of the standing Bodhisattas is also multifoil (pl. 160). The treatment of these Bodhisattas also shows a careful attention to detail not to be seen in other monuments: small snakes and heads of *makaras* rise from behind

the head-dress, grotesque figures adorn the earrings. Like their attendants, they wear shirts adorned with a scroll delineated with a strong black line, possibly containing roundels with animals (Strachan 1989, pl. XXVII). Comparing the Bodhisattas painted in the central shrine and those in the eastern one, we are struck by a distinct difference in their treatment. Those in the central shrine are slender whereas those in the other shrine present a proportionally large head, the legs being excessively shortened below the knees. These Bodhisattas are distributed on either side of the entrance to the shrine, within the shrine, or on either side of the passage leading from one shrine to another. Their function is evidently to protect either the passage or the shrine itself.

Further differences are noted: a second, but seated, Bodhisatta is painted in the lower part of the dummy pillars on either side of the passage in the central shrine while a leogryph rears above an elephant in the eastern shrine in this position. Another male character embracing two female attendants is painted on the capital, below the *kinnaras*, again this group is absent in the eastern chapel (pl. 157; Strachan 1989, pl. XXXIII).[71]

Also in the ornamentation of the dummy pillars painted in the corners, the artists included various treatments of the same motifs or even other motifs. In the central shrine, the figures evidently allude to Māra's army, standing astride various animals and shooting arrows in the upper two panels, while a couple stands in the lower panels. In the side chapel, a *kinnara* is painted in the central panel while groups of three females fill the upper and lower panels, distributed in a composition which is obviously borrowed from the scene of the birth where the queen Māyā leans on her sister Gautamī. Narrower bands with hideous figures are introduced between these panels. Beside these formal differences, another aspect worth underlining is the use of a richer palette in the central shrine, again reflecting either that different artists were responsible for the two chapels, which the representation of the standing Bodhisattas suggests, or that the underlying concept was to stress the importance of the central shrine, making it richer and brighter.

250 Buddha, east wall of the west entrance, Ka-tha-pa-hpaya (east)

Date: thirteenth century. Ref.: Pichard 1993, 2, pp. 291-6; Oshegowa 1988, pls 60-65; Strachan 1989, pp. 129-32; Duroiselle 1918 (early part of the twelfth century); Report 1916, p. 12; Ray 1936, pp. 51-56; Frasch 1996, p. 116 (perhaps Narapati's reign, i.e. end of the twelfth century).

251 Birth of the Buddha, east wall of the west entrance, Ka-tha-pa-hpaya

5. Monument 473

This very small temple, which is in fact no more than a chapel, combines—despite its diminutive proportions—most of the iconographic themes encountered at Pagan: the sequence of the Buddhas of the past runs below the ceiling, while the life of the Buddha is depicted in square panels on either of the side walls where they form a large frame around a central image of the standing Buddha who displays the teaching gesture (pl. 5). A Bodhisatta is painted on either side wall of the vestibule.

Behind the central image, which has disappeared, the wall is adorned with the tree of Enlightenment, the broad leaves being neatly drawn. Two *kinnaras* stood on the lintel of the throne behind the Buddha who was also attended to by two monks, but only the outline of any of these has survived. Against a background adorned with a creeper displaying round volutes, also to be observed above the entrance or above the side Buddha images (pl. 5), two heavenly creatures kneel on their clouds, venerating the Buddha, while the upper part of the mural illustrates Māra and his demons, in the tradition of the Loka-hteik-pan.

The paintings have unfortunately faded, but they evidently reflected the transitional phase between the first phase, illustrated in the temples south of old Pagan, and the most typical Burmese florid phase, characterized by the nervous line, simplification of the scrolls and of the iconography, and a change of the proportions of the body. Here we still see motifs used in the Loka-hteik-pan and temples inspired by it, like the throne with the birds behind the side Buddhas, for instance. On the other hand, the Buddha presents the broad face with the flat head-dress, or the scrolls may bear the spear-headed blossom on the side panels (pl. 5) but still preserve their older shape in the corners above the entrance (pl. 68, p. 65). The murals are most probably contemporary with those of temple 1152, which has, moreover, the same ground plan and includes two standing Buddhas in the side recesses (pl. 228, p. 180).

Date: end of twelfth century(?) (Pichard: thirteenth century). Ref.: Pichard 1993, 2, pp. 283-4.

6. Ka-tha-pa-hpaya (east) (monument 505)

The central image of this monument stands in the centre of the shrine which has three wings to the north, west and south and a passage towards the entrance hall in the east. On either side of these four passages towards the outside world, a pair of seated Bodhisattas is painted; a fifth one is introduced on either side of the western entrance, thus facing the large panel which illustrates the Buddha on his Enlightenment and

numerous scenes drawn from his life and from the weeks following upon this moment (see Chapter I). Similarly eight panels of the Buddha displaying the gesture of touching the earth are distributed on the side walls of the wings, all surrounded by tiny images of *jātakas*, the total number of which is reaching 550 (pl. 81, p. 78). Clearly, this type of programme with the Buddha always showing the same *mudrā*, is related to the murals of the Nanda-ma-nya or of temple 585 whereas the presence of the previous lives forming a frame around depictions of the Buddha is to be seen in monuments 477, 506 or 600, for instance.

While the central image of the mural on the west wall complies with the traditional Burmese perception of the Buddha in the thirteenth century, with the large face sunken above a short neck and the flat upper line of the head where the round *uṣṇīṣa* protrudes (pl. 250), the facial features of the characters painted in the side panels still betray a strong relation to Indian stylistic features. In the birth scene, for instance, Māyā stands with crossed legs, as in the Mye-bon-tha-hpaya (pl. 251). In the figures that are profiled, the eye is only very slightly protruding and the proportions between head and body are closer to reality. On the contrary, the depictions of the Buddha in square panels painted in the entrance hall reflect the Burmese illustration of the Buddha with the thin neck bearing a large head, but in all cases the eye protrudes very little, and in some cases not at all.

On the shaft of the dummy pillars painted on either side of each opening (pl. 253), superimposed panels with unidentifiable scenes are introduced above each another: seated 'Bodhisattas' are supported by two attendants, a woman stands with crossed legs, accompanied by two servants—all scenes reminiscent of similar depictions seen in the Hpaya-thon-zu. Also the *kinnaras* standing on these pillars are similar in both temples. Similarly, dummy pillars are painted in the corners of the shrine, adorned with superimposed panels showing fantastic characters mounted on animals, a theme also found in the Hpaya-thon-zu. All the

252 Descent from the Heaven of the 33 Gods, west wall, west entrance, Ka-tha-pa-hpaya

walls in the shrine are adorned with small images of the Buddha displaying, alternatively, the gesture of predication and of earth-touching (pl. 253). Above them, a row of larger images of the Buddha runs below the ceiling; a further image of the Buddha is painted on the finial above the opening (pl. 254) and a frieze with pointed obovals within which seated characters are regularly distributed, some above a monstrous face (pl. 193), runs above the side panels with the image of the Buddha surrounded by the tiny images of *jātakas* (pl. 81). *(204)* *(205)* *(146)* *(78)*

253 North-east corner, shrine, Ka-tha-pa-hpaya

The wall around both windows, south and north, is adorned with the flying heavenly figures kneeling on their clouds made of fantastic
138 heads, amidst scrolls (pl. 179). Other similar figures fly above the arch to the side openings
137 in the entrance hall (pl. 175). Comparison of both motifs reveals certain differences. The monstrous faces in the entrance hall show more variations, and faces can be still recognized, such as a hideous *makara* face similar to some observed in the Hpaya-thon-zu. Some faces are still attached to a torso and are thus closer to the demons of Māra's army, which indeed could be the original source for this motif.

As in the Hpaya-thon-zu, myriads of Buddha images cover the ceiling and, as in the Tatkale-hpaya, an image of the Buddha is depicted on each of the four soffits, here attended by two attendants and two heavenly creatures (Pichard 1993, 2, fig. 505h). In terms of its ornamentation and its iconography, this temple includes at the same time features of two different periods: the large panel painted on the west side relates to a tradition which goes back to the Loka-hteik-pan in the early twelfth century, whereas the eight panels distributed around the shrine show an extreme simplification of a programme noted in monuments 577 and 585, no longer indicating precise moments of the Buddha's life. The decorative ornamentation in the entrance hall shows an earlier rendering of the heavenly creatures on fantastic clouds as we saw in monument 1152, while the murals around the windows in the shrine present a very simplified rendering of the same motif.

Date: thirteenth century. Ref.: Pichard 1993, 2, pp. 331-3.

7. Ka-tha-pa-hpaya (west)(monument 506)

Scenes from the Buddha's life are distributed on the side walls of the different wings, all within a large frame of tiny depictions of *jātakas* (pl. 80, p. 77), as in nearby monument 505. The walls of the corridor around the central core are adorned with a row of large images of the Buddhas of the past below smaller images of the Buddha seated within a shrine, which cover the wall up to the ceiling (Pichard 1993, 2, fig. 506g-i).

Date: thirteenth century. Ref.: Pichard 1993, 2, pp. 334-6.

IV. NORTH OF MINNANTHU, WEST OF THE ROAD

1. Tatkale-hpaya (monument 572)

The painted ornamentation on the walls of this small monument was limited to large white panels and the two monks on either side of the cult image, whose outline is still traceable. Dummy pillars were painted in the corners, sustaining the frieze of pointed obovals which runs all round the monument.

254 East wall, south-east upper corner, shrine, Ka-tha-pa-hpaya

Nonetheless, the paintings on the ceilings are remarkable. They form a homogeneous ensemble showing, on each of the four faces, a central Buddha image attended by his two disciples and seated within a shrine. Broad bands cover the angles and are adorned with a series of heavenly creatures seated amidst a creeper; two larger figures sit within a fleuron at the bottom and top of these bands. The figures in the lower part of these bands sit above two diverging lions—a motif anticipating one often encountered in the following century in Minnanthu, and which shows the figure sitting astride two diverging animals.

Against a background of fairly well painted scrolls, heavenly creatures—still booted—fly on their clouds, presenting flowers to the central Buddha images while others kneel in the lower part of each panel. The different shrines are painted in a very detailed manner, as indeed are all figures. The line is nervous but still very firm. The painters created the illusion of depth with varied shading of the same colour and by underlining certain details, such as clouds or faces, with a deep black line.

Date: AD 1193. Ref.: Pichard 1994, 3, pp. 28-30, Bautze-Picron 1998c, figs 9, 22.

2. Le-myet-hna-hpaya (monument 447)

Together with the usual iconographic programme of the scenes of the Buddha's life framed by small square panels showing *jātakas*, and as well as the series of the Buddhas of the past, the walls and the ceilings are covered over with tiny images of the Buddha displaying the gesture of predication. The ornamental decoration is very restrained: plain bands of various colours surround the murals showing the life scenes and *jātakas* or run along the arches. The motif of the scrolls is used with much restraint, only appearing around the windows, where it backs standing deities, or in a narrow frieze with flying figures on the side walls of the wings. Pointed obovals with seated characters are also

only to be seen on these walls.

Although otherwise well preserved, all the murals are somewhat faded. But enough remains to reveal very rigorous ornamentation with panels clearly drawn on the walls, the motifs—be they ornamental or iconographic—clearly distributed within the architectural structure.

Date: AD 1223. Ref.: Pichard 1993, 2, pp. 248-52; Luce 1969/70, I, p. 237.

3. Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi (monument 539)

(85) The iconography of this monument has been described in the first chapter. The composition is very crowded and always oriented towards the Buddha, either seated or standing, and not necessarily in the centre. When the Buddha is profiled, his hidden side protrudes and his large head surmounts a thin neck. The outline of the face is angular, with the protruding eye and the slipper-chin much accentuated, in contrast with the smooth rendering of the face seen from the front. One arm falls down to the knee. The Buddha displays just a hint of smile and his eyes are practically closed.

(154) Beside the traditional floral scrolls, tiny figures of worshippers, be they gods or monks, fill the background around the Buddha images. The colours have much faded or are covered with dust, but the strong green has survived, used to depict either the foliage of trees or the aura below the lower part of the Buddha's body when he stands.

Here as in the other monuments at Minnanthu, the panels are clearly drawn and framed by bands of decoration exhibiting abstract motifs.

Date: before AD 1248. Ref.: Pichard 1993, 2, pp. 376-83; Strachan 1989, p. 129.

4. So-hla-wun-hpaya (monument 676)

The paintings of this temple are in a very bad state of preservation. Nonetheless, we do recognize the traditional set of iconographic topics: the scenes of the life are distributed in the northern, western and southern wings, surrounded by depiction of the *jātakas*. Whereas the upper part of the walls of the ambulatory around the central core is covered with small repetitive images of the Buddha teaching, seated within a pavilion which is surrounded by trees, we see—at eye-level—the Buddhas of the past occupying large panels, alternating the earth-touching and predication gestures; they are surrounded by monks and heavenly creatures flying against a background of scrolls. Each Buddha can be identified by his tree of Enlightenment and the scenes from his life painted below his image—these are in each case, the great departure and the tonsure (pl. 88).

In the entrance hall, two poorly preserved Bodhisattas protect the passage to the shrine. Fantastic creatures and animals are painted at the base of the arch around the side windows, recalling those seen in Minnanthu, for instance in the Hpaya-thon-zu (Pichard 1994, 3, fig. 676m)

Litanies of Brahmā figures adorn the vault of the northern, western and southern wings, some beautifully preserved although their colours have faded, affording a glimpse of the quality of the decorative ornamentation once to be admired in this temple (pl. 207; Pichard 3, fig. 676l).

Date: AD 1269. Ref.: Pichard 1994, 3, pp. 188-191; Bautze-Picron 1998c, fig. 25. See also: Monument 516. Date: thirteenth century. Ref.: Pichard 1993, 2, p. 347.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE MURALS IN THE MONUMENTS

The murals of the temples built in the eleventh and twelfth centuries at old Pagan or south of it, closely follow iconographic patterns and reflect stylistic formulations which draw their origin in north-east India; the Patho-hta-mya, Loka-hteik-pan, Mye-bon-tha-hpaya, Kubyauk-gyi at Myinkaba, and the Abe-ya-dana belong to this group. Temples 2103 and 2157 were constructed and painted—most probably in the second half of the twelfth century—following a model introduced in the Loka-hteik-pan. As early as the twelfth century, some rare temples were already in the plain, east of the Irrawady: such is the case of the Alopyi-gu-hpaya and

Taung-pon-loka-na-tha which still include markedly Indian stylistic features.

South of Myinkaba, the small temples 1148, 1150 and 1152, probably constructed in the second half of the twelfth century, reflect stylistic elements which relate them to the Loka-hteik-pan. However, they also reflect a transitional phase leading to an authentically Burmese sense of modelling, as is illustrated in the temples of the Hpaya-nga-zu group in the thirteenth century (temples 1844 and 1846). The painted ornamentation of these small monuments is very similar to the murals of the Hpaya-thon-zu in Minnanthu, suggesting that the same group of painters were at work in these different sanctuaries. The So-hla-wun-hpaya belongs also this group, and the same taste for lavish ornamentation found its way into the Nanda-ma-nya and temple 585, the Le-myet-hna-hpaya and the Maung-yon-gu.

Some temples located north of Minnanthu, such as the Winido-hpaya and the Ma-la-phi-hpaya, feature a deep red background, also noted in temple 92 at Sale. On the whole, this background originates in the Loka-hteik-pan and the Patho-hta-mya, later to be retained in parts in temple 1152, for instance. The wall covered by a single colour—usually red, more rarely black—will serve as background for a very refined and nervous floral ornamentation in various temples of Minnanthu, such as the Nanda-ma-nya and the Hpaya-thon-zu. A part of the ornamentation of the Ka-tha-hpaya east also belonged to this phase, while other parts of the murals directly relate to a less subtle style, with exaggerated features, as seen in the Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi or the Thein-mazi. The iconography became more important than the decorative murals in the Tayok-pyi-hpaya.

Another treatment of the background is also observed in the small temples built south of Myinkaba, where large white surfaces are preserved on the walls. The same plain ornamentation is introduced at Minnanthu and surroundings. As a matter of fact, and although this aspect of the research on the murals still await a specific study, two stylistic trends seem to have been coalescent in this area, the first characterized by an elegant, detailed treatment, with carefully rendered motifs, whereas the second tends to favour large-scale composition where the line is stiffer, more angular, harder. Moreover, elements of both tendencies could also be integrated within the same monument, as in the Ka-tha-pa-hpaya east, for instance (pls 175, 179). The second stylistic idiom of *(137, 138)* Minnanthu, which finds its major achievement in the Le-myet-hna-hpaya or the Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi, was already to be seen in the Tatkale-hpaya, built in AD 1193, where the painters also introduced white walls as background, inaugurating a 'white style' which differentiates itself from the contemporary murals of the 'red style', characterized by a dominant red background, to be seen in a large group of temples (90 (Kala-Kyaung), 149, 257, 673, 734, 882 (Gu-ni), 1050, 1089, 1209, 1206, 1695, 1798, 2049-50, 2102, 2136), in some cases combined with refined decoration, as in the temples 1052, 862 (Pein-ne-taing) and 883 (Hsutaung-pyi-hpaya), it also appears in temple 1843 where the white background is used behind the ornamentation and is still clearly visible along the corners.[72] This 'white style' dominates in the later paintings of the Kyanzittha-Umin (65), a temple-cave with corridor painted white, showing only isolated decorative or iconographic motifs which can be dated to the last part of the thirteenth century.[73]

The thirteenth century murals of Minnanthu and surrounding could at times even reach monumentality, showing large images of the Buddha with the typically Burmese broad head weighing on a short neck (Le-myet-hna-hpaya, Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi, Thambula-hpaya). The temples of Minnanthu also express a genuinely Burmese taste for refined decoration—for the arabesque characterising the florid scrolls, much as we can still see today in the local lacquerware. Within one century the painters achieved complete assimilation of models imported from abroad, opening up a new way for the arts of Burma.

CONCLUSION

Painted in praise of the Buddha, the murals of Pagan reflect the cosmological nature of the Buddha and ensure the perenniality of his teachings. They are precious and unique since they reflect a tradition which has been destroyed by time and people in India, and at the same time reflect the introduction of various spiritual and artistic trends originating in faraway countries and their crystallization in a genuinely Burmese expression. Within this context, the painters worked on concepts and images freshly introduced in the eleventh century to develop a genuine, independent school. Given the fact that we can only surmise what the painted ornamentation of the temples of Bihar and Bengal was like, what the iconographic programme consisted of and how it was presented, we cannot determine how closely the temples of the first period at Pagan were related to their Indian counterparts or whether they had already departed from these models. The murals of the first phase, which can be dated to the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, however, relate directly to the north Indian school of painting, whereas the following period reflects the blossoming of genuine local stylistic and iconographic tendencies, while also incorporating stylistic elements from Cambodia and China.

The overwhelming ornamentation was perceived as a prayer to the Buddha and his teachings; it shows how monuments were thought of as reflections of the cosmos and of the Buddhahood. The richness of the decoration transforms these temples into heavenly palaces, propelling the devotee into another dimension: he stands in the infinite and eternal universe with the world of the gods over his head, and the history of Buddhism from the unknown beginning of the universe to the unbounded future all around him. At this level, moreover, the worshiper finds an echo of his spiritual longing, for the quest for Buddhahood by Sakyamuni was an extremely long and patient way which cannot but be closely bound up with love and compassion.

ENDNOTES

Chapter 1

[1] Inscription quoted after Than Tun 1978, p. 140.

[2] Geiger 1912, pp. 204-7, quoted by Luce/Ba Shin 1961, pp. 284-5.

[3] Than Tun 1959b, p. 75 or 1978, p. 131.

[4] Than Tun 1959a, p. 51, 1959b, p.79 and 1978, p. 140; also mentioned by Whitbread 1971, p. 96. An extreme example of multiplication of tiny images of the Buddha is encountered in monument 1081, for instance (Pichard 1994, 4, figs 1081j-k).

[5] Than Tun 1959a, pp. 51-52; 1978, pp. 67, 128.

[6] Compare the illustration in Thomann 1923, pl. 48 to the illustration 1846e in Pichard 1999, 7. The same fate overtook the panel facing this one (Thomann 1923, pl. 49 and his col.pl. I for a detail), which has now practically disappeared. On the 'Thomann affair', see Whitbread 1971, pp. 88-92 and Whitbread in Ba Shin et al. 1971, pp. 167-9. Even though we may not agree (who will nowadays?) with the behaviour of Thomann and his collaborators while staying at Pagan, we should not forget that the removal of art objects had been going on for a long time in the British Empire, more particularly in the neighbouring India, without creating among British art-historians the turmoil which the Pagan affair did (however, there is also the fact that Thomann was not British but German!).

[7] While speaking of the Naga-yon, for instance (Luce 1956, p. 293). On the whole, Luce was convinced that practically all, if not all the temples built during Anawratha and Kyanzittha's reigns were 'Mon'. But as already pointed out by various authors and as seen here (below, note 34), the situation is much more intricate; similarities are met with Pyu architectural structures at Hmawza, but they might be contemporary with the Pagan monuments of the eleventh century, or they might have inspired them, while other similarities are noticed with the architecture of Bengal. As for the frescoes, they relate stylistically to the art of north India, which was also noted by the anonymous Burmese who authored an article dealing with the art of painting (U Tin Lwin 1974, p. 237).

[8] Luce/Ba Shin 1961, p. 277.

[9] But a remark made by the two authors clearly evidences that they simply refused, whatever the reason, the possibility of even an artistic relation to India. Thus, we read in their common study of 1961, p. 279, that 'evidence of the revision made by [Kyanzittha] becomes apparent as we study the paintings and the writings in the pagodas of the period. The revision was clearly based on Singhalese texts.' What is actually true is that the paintings in the Kubyauk-gyi reveal a direct knowledge of Pali texts, be they religious or historical, but this concerns only their iconography, not their style: the style is conditioned by the painters themselves, whereas the iconography can always be imposed on them.

[10] Luce/Ba Shin 1961, p. 329, Ba Shin 1962, p. 21.

[11] Considering Indian manuscript illuminations from the end of the eleventh and twelfth centuries where the eight Great Events also composed an iconographical thema with scenes either distributed on separate folios or combined on book-covers, we cannot but admit the stylistic similarities with the wall-paintings in the Loka-hteik-pan, even though the manuscripts never exceed ten centimetres in height whereas the Burmese panels measure approximately seventy centimetres. We should also acknowledge the fact that from this very beginning, the Burmese originality is to be seen in the iconographic programme of the monument: this eight-scene thema is, for instance, in the Loka-hteik-pan surrounded by two large panels depicting the last ten *jātakas* and the preaching on Mount Meru.

[12] P. Strachan (1989) remains to this day, the only author who has introduced stylistic considerations bearing on the architectural ornamentation and the interior painted decoration.

[13] Ray 1936, p. 58 note 1, where he names 'Indo-Burmese' the murals and temples of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and 'Burmese' those of the later period.

[14] In fact, the articles by S.K. Saraswati (1942) and those by N.R. Ray (1939a and b) published in the *Journal of the Greater India Society*, and in *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma* (1946) were simply ignored by Gordon H. Luce in his magnum opus, whatever the reasons behind this neglect.

[15] I do not take here into consideration the elephant-size book by Klaus Wenk (1977), which shows solely examples of eighteenth century paintings at Pagan.

[16] Bautze-Picron 1995/96, p. 387 notes 120 and 121 for further references.

[17] Luce 1969/70, I, pp. 15-18. Similar sealings were also found in India (Lawson 1983, pp. 141-97, a chapter rightly entitled 'The Burmese Problem'; Luce 1969/70, III, pls 6-14).

[18] Luce 1969/70, I, pp. 52-53.

[19] Frasch 2000, p. 46. Verardi 1996, pp. 232-3, clearly shows that the disappearance of Buddhism from its homeland was far from being the sole responsibility of Islam, then spreading in the Ganga valley: monasteries had long been a prey of Hindu aggression.

[20] Luce/Ba Shin 1961, p. 280. However, and as quoted by Guillon 1985, p. 3, Luce later (1969/70, I, p. 26) reached the conclusion that Anawrahta had only brought the *jātakas* from his campaign at Thaton.

[21] Ibid.

[22] On the so-called andagu small slabs, two Bodhisattas usually stand or sit on either side of the central Buddha image; they act equally as protectors of the sacred space around the Buddha and as images of spiritual or moral qualities of the Buddha (Bautze-

Picron 1999a, see also Bautze-Picron 1995/96, p. 357).

[23] As suggested by Luce 1969/70, I, p. 38, this set of the eight great scenes must have been, together with the *jātakas*, one of the earlier themes known in Burma.

[24] Frasch 2000, pp. 41-42. The fundamental position of this site, is reflected at various levels in Pagan: 1st through the permanent presence of the pyramidal spire of the Bodhi temple on the votive tablets produced all through the eleventh and twelfth centuries, 2nd through the introduction of the same spire on a number of temples at Pagan, beside the so-called Mahabodhi temple of the place (monuments which have been analysed by Frasch 2000), 3rd through the presence of a triad, formed by the central cult image surrounded by two anonymous Bodhisattas on either side of the passage to the shrine (above note 22).

[25] The exception is perhaps the Abe-ya-dana, but as we shall see, the mere presence of Bodhisattvas presenting the *padma* and the *utpala*, is not enough to label the paintings as exemplifiying the Mahāyāna, and even less the Vajrayāna. As a matter of fact, we do not know, and probably will never know, the nature of the cult paid in this temple. Like a number of other constructions of the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries, it is unique, and this uniqueness, shared as we have seen with other temples (the Loka-hteik-pan, the Kubyauk-gyi, to cite but two monuments), indicates the multiplicity of 'influences' which penetrated Pagan at that period; it reveals the internationality of the city, the largest cultural, religious, political and, most probably, economic centre located on the fringe of the Indian cultural sphere, but also opened towards China, South-East Asia and Sri Lanka.

[26] Frasch 1996, pp. 292-5, ibid. 1998, p. 85. The monks from Sri Lanka used to stay near the village of Myinkaba, south of the old city. There stands the Tamani-hpaya which preserves a cult image showing the Buddha meditating, i.e. as he used to be depicted at Sri Lanka (Pichard 1994, 4, fig. 1133f).

[27] Again, as developed by Frasch 1998, pp. 77-81 and Frasch 2000, pp. 46-47, who reminds us, moreover, that 'the considerable number of Indian names suggests increasing human influx from India' (p. 46, with reference to Frasch 1996, p. 170).

[28] Frasch 1998, pp. 83-91 very clearly summarizes and analyzes the nature of the contacts between the two countries; further, p. 27 footnote 139, the author provides a bibliography on the subject.

[29] Above note 26. A second image of the Buddha with both hands folded in the meditation gesture, stands in monument 1565 (Pichard 1996, 6, fig. 1565d).

[30] Thanks to which, after 'having secured ordination for thousands of priests in Laṅkā he disseminated the religion', see Bo Kay 1966, pp. 93-94; or Luce 1969/70, I, pp. 39-40, where we learn that the help offered by Anawratha extended far beyond that of sending monks. Much more practically, he sent precious goods with which Vijayabāhu could keep his army, which had started deserting him.

[31] In an extremely broad understanding of the term: starting from Ajanta, Bagh and Badami, in the fifth and sixth centuries, and passing through Kancipuram in the eighth century before reaching the Cola country. This continuous Indian impact is also stressed by Paranavitana in Archer/Paranavitana 1957, pp. 24-26; see also Dharmasiri 1988.

[32] Illustrated in Boisselier 1980, figs 76-77, Archer/Paranavitana 1957, pls XV-XVI, Rowland/Coomaraswamy 1938, pl. 28 or in Dharmasiri 1988. This programme apparently remained unique on the island, whereas it is generalized at Pagan, and indeed from the beginning of the twelfth century, which suggests an influence originating in Pagan. Sri Lanka was repeatedly falling a prey to political turmoils, as was again the case at the beginning of the thirteenth century when monks from the island took refuge at Pagan (Frasch 1998, pp. 84-85). This certainly does not create propitious circumstances for creativity.

[33] As Luce formulated it (Luce/Ba Shin 1961, p. 283): 'Above all, Rājakumār's quadrilingual inscription shows him as perhaps unique, in recognising, not only the possibilities of Burmese as a written language, but also the debt it owed both to India, homeland of Buddhism, and to the older Buddhist cultures of Burma, Pyu and Mon.' See the same author, p. 277 for further references.

[34] Very clearly, these authors did not know how to label this group of monuments, i.e. where to search for their inspiration. As Gordon Luce explained in a lecture, quoted by Ba Shin 1962, p. 2, 'for convenience, I shall call them the "Mon" temples, though perhaps I am begging a question in calling them so, for there is nothing much like them (so far as I am aware) in Rāmaññadesa and if you prefer to call them Pyu rather than Mon, you may possibly be right. They differ in many ways from the later Burmese temples; and the old writing, inside and outside them, where it is not Pali, is nearly always Mon.' Ba Shin recalls, however, the construction of small vaulted temples by the Pyus at Śrī Kṣetra (Hmawza near Prome), foreshadowing the larger monuments of Pagan. One of these Pyu temples, the Lémyet-hna, shows a ground-plan shaped as a cross, with four entrances and a central core with four recesses where images were installed: the ground-plan is reminiscent of a monument like the Ananda, whereas the central core with the four images foreshadows the composition within the Mye-bon-tha; it is reproduced by Luce 1985, 2, pl. 22 (and see Oshegowa 1988, p. 28), who dates this monument like other ones to the seventh century (ibid., 1, p. 133). But, let us also not forget that the monuments of Paharpur in north Bengal or of Mainamati, closer to Burma, also present the cross with four large and deep chapels, and this structure was noticed earlier in China in the sixth century (Stein 2001, fig. p. 228). In a later publication, the same authors attribute the temples built during Kyanzittha's reign (AD 1084-1113) to the 'North Indian Pāla (Pyu and Mon) tradition rather than the Singhalese' (Ba Shin et al. 1971, p. 170), which clearly indicates the uncertainties related to the 'origin' of these ground-plans. Luce 1985, 1, p. 54 sees in the temples of Prome 'the small prototypes of the great temples of Pagan'. He might not be wrong but it is likely that the architects of Pagan also drew their inspiration from north India, most probably from the neighbouring Bengal. Beside the monuments built on a cross ground plan of Paharpur and Mainamati, the so-called 'Mon' temple style or *gu* which is exempli-

fied by the temples of the first group, also found a similar structure (with a circumambulatory) at Mainamati, named the Itakhola Mura which, moreover, included a stuccoed image of the Buddha. The date is very uncertain but Imam suggests that the monument might have been founded before AD 671 (Imam 2000a, pp. 55-66, and p. 65 for the date or Imam 2000b, p. 150 for the date). In fact, the situation of this temple in the context of Bengali architecture reflects the situation of the Pyu constructions at Hmawza: the architects innovated, introducing new and various ground plans. The Pyu sculptures of the site have been likewise tentatively dated from the fourth century and onwards (Guy 1999) or in the seventh century (Brown 2001), the chronology being more a matter of personal appreciation by the various authors than the result of a definite study of the material (and the arguments of both writers are quite convincing). A seventh century date for the Pyu site of Hmawza would meet the seventh century date for the Itakhola Mura at Mainamati. But, the Hmawza monuments sharing so many common features with the temples of Pagan, one can also argue that they date back at the earliest to the eleventh century and in fact do not predate the Pagan period, as suggested recently by John Guy after Donald Stadtner (ibid., p. 17). All this reflects how little we know with certainty about the Burmese (connoting the territory of contemporary Burma) artistic production before the eleventh century at Pagan.

[35] From the Sanskrit *guha* or 'hidden', 'secret', see Snodgrass 1992, pp. 201-2, Than Tun 1959b, pp. 72-73.

[36] Pichard 1992, 1, pp. 31-33.

[37] The darkness of the temple most probably refers to the night which prevails in the relic-chamber, intended to be sealed and never penetrated by the light of day. Murals were indeed discovered in two relic-chambers of *dagobas* (i.e. *thūpas*) at Sri Lanka, which clearly shows that this ornamentation was made in honour of the relics and not to be admired by human visitors, see Boisselier 1980, p. 120, Archer/Paranavitana 1957, pls XV-XVI. As a matter of fact, the monks who visit these temples do not need to see, or to read the paintings, since they know the previous lives, or the historical life of the Buddha; they have studied the *suttas*, know the texts describing the Buddhas of the past, etc. For the devotee, everything is there, present on the walls and ceilings from all eternity, and the paintings must be globally comprehended: they are a landscape within which the soul wanders till it finds its way to escape the fate of rebirths.

[38] The anonymous author of the pamphlet translated by U Tin Lwin (1974), introduced considerations of style, showing an approach which differs radically from the more traditional iconographic one. More recently, Paul Strachan (1989) also viewed the murals and the temples containing them with the eye of an art historian. And I would suggest that this remains the best approach to trace the development of an art and determine its chronology.

[39] Duroiselle in 1917 and Seidenstücker in his monograph published in 1916 considered this thema as it is depicted in the stone sculpture of the Ananda temple. In 1962, Ba Shin briefly touched upon the question in relation to the murals of the Loka-hteik-pan; Luce himself dedicated a chapter to it in his ample volume published in 1969-1970 (I, pp. 148-83). See also note 3 in Chapter III.

[40] Translated by I.B. Horner (1975). See also Norman 1983, pp. 92-94 or von Hinüber 1996, p. 62.

[41] The book ends with the donation of the Jetavanārāma by the merchant Anāthapiṇḍika. It was translated by T.W. Rhys Davids (1925) and by N.A. Jayawickrama (1990). Dated in the 5th c. by Lamotte 1967, p. 718, see also Norman 1983, pp. 77-84, 128-9.

[42] John Huntington 1987b, Bautze-Picron 1992 (concerning the image located at Betagi, in south-east Bangladesh and a number of other stelae sharing with it their iconography and style which betray a strong stylistic and iconographic relation to the art of Burma), Bautze-Picron 1995/96. A comprehensive bibliography concerning the sequence of eight events has recently been published by U. von Schroeder (2001, p. 398), and concerning the life of the Buddha in general or in detail, see Bautze-Picron 2002.

[43] The painting is much destroyed in its upper part, but we still see the Buddha descending Mount Meru, which suggests that he was also depicted seated at the top of the cosmic mount and teaching (Pichard 1994, 4, fig. 1077h).

[44] John Huntington 1987a and b. Apparently, a first cycle, which was also illustrated at Pagan, includes four pilgrimage sites, related to the birth, the Enlightenment, the first predication and the final demise–four moments of his life which are quoted by the Buddha himself in the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (*Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*)(below note 54). See also Bautze-Picron 2002, pp. 219-26.

[45] Beside the references included in footnote 42, see Bautze-Picron 1996, figs 18-22 and Bautze-Picron 1991/92, figs 4a-b, showing details of the Lakhi Sarai fragments.

[46] It also appears on a cloth-painting, see Bautze-Picron 1995/96, p. 368 and figs 2 and 10.

[47] Below the birth scene, another panel apparently represents the dream of Māyā.

[48] von Schroeder 2001, pp. 400-405 (pls 129-31) adds nine new examples to the corpus of hitherto known 'andagu' images as previously listed by Bautze-Picron 1999a, pp. 48-50; the images on his pls 130-131 integrate the complete programme of the great events and stations. Those on pl. 129 illustrate 'only' the great events. Both types can at the same time be seen at Pagan, as testified by andagu slabs preserved in the local museum, see Bautze-Picron 1999a, figs 3 and 7 (only the events) and 9 (events and stations).

[49] Scenes drawn from the weeks following the Enlightenment, are indeed observed on the lower part of stelae related to Nālandā: von Schoeder 2001, I, pl. 128 (p. 399) and Bautze-Picron 1998, cat. 27 show the Buddha meditating below Mucilinda. Sotheby's New York 20.3.1997, lot 28 adds on either side of the Buddha protected by Mucilinda, a seated Buddha with *varada-* and *abhayamudrā*. Sotheby's London 24.11.1986, lot 164 illustrates the same meditation in place of the nativity. Bautze-Picron 1995/96, fig. 18 integrates a Buddha meditating and one displaying the

gesture of protection below the central image.

[50] Bautze-Picron 1995/96, figs 2 and 15, Bautze-Picron 1992, Bautze-Picron 1998c, pp. 18-24 and figs 2-6.

[51] A further analogy with some thankas from Khara Khoto is of course the short neck and the sunken head which some Buddhas show, as quoted by Bautze-Picron 1998c, p. 41 with further references.

[52] Ba Shin et al. 1971, figs 9-10.

[53] As we know, the Indian *śikhara* was also erected on major monuments at Pagan, such as the Ananda built by Kyanzittha (r. 1084-c. 1112/1113)(Frasch 1996, pp. 97, 99 and 102), the Wetkyi-in Kubyauk-gyi (298)(end of 12th. c.: Ba Shin et al. 1971, p. 217)(ibid., fig. 1).

[54] *Mahā-parinibbāna-suttanta* in Rhys Davids 1971a, pp. 153-4.

[55] Bigandet 1880, II, p. 97.

[56] Ibid., p. 132. The tale is well known and often depicted in Indian art, from the very beginning at Sanchi.

[57] The whereabouts of the murals removed by Thomann in 1899 has remained unknown. Both walls were by a lucky chance photographed before being damaged, see Thomann 1923, pls 29-32, Ba Shin et al. 1971, figs 9-10 and figs16-17 showing the depredation; in fact the lower part of the north wall as well as the lower part and the upper right part of the south wall are lost.

[58] Pichard 1994, 3, pp. 52-53.

[59] Pichard 1994, 3, pp. 8-9, where the birth and the descent from heaven of the thirty-three gods (and not the prophecy by Dīpaṅkara).

[60] In monument 1051, six main scenes are distributed on the side walls of the shrine, where they are framed by the *jātakas*, see Pichard 1994, 4, fig. 1051f, detail in Ono/Inoue 1978, fig. 27.

[61] Also reproduced by Oshegowa 1988, pl. 59 or Ono/Inoue 1978, pl. 86 illustrate a detail of the women, young and old, walking or dancing below the seated Buddha. The panel with the women is reproduced by Ray 1956, p. 45.

[62] Pichard 1994, 3, fig. 577s; Bautze-Picron 1998c, fig. 10.

[63] Bautze-Picron 1998c, fig. 21.

[64] In fact, this pattern is also encountered at Prome (Śrī Kṣetra). Even though the Buddha apparently displays there the *bhūmisparśamudrā* with the left hand, see Luce 1985, 2, pl. 23b and I, p. 54, the scene represents the first predication (wheel and gazelles are present between three monks and two ascetics), which was reflected by the discussion gesture of the broken right hand (Brown 2001, pp. 39-40). A number of megalithic Pyu images of the Buddha representing triads illustrate the Buddha touching the earth with the left or the right hand while the second hand rests above the legs (Luce 1985, 2, pls 12-13). The fact that all the–badly preserved–images differ from each other seems to indicate uncertainty about the iconography of the Buddha, which was then at its beginning in Hmawza—as recalled by Brown, there are no Buddhist images from the earlier site of Beitkhano (2001, p. 35); moreover, the megalithic nature of these images most probably reflects a link with an earlier megalithic culture (Luce 1985, 1, pp. 52-53). The multiplicity of gestures might constitute a reference to manifold events of the Buddha's life, but I think it unlikely. I would suggest that it rather indicates the absence of proper information concerning the image of the monk.

[65] These glosses, at times much erased, or very difficult, were read by Tilman Frasch to whom I am much thankful.

[66] Malalasekera 1960, I, p. 36 and 2, pp. 279-80.

[67] Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 709-10.

[68] This was the *Asadisadāna* when Pasenadi tried to outdo his subjects: elephants held white parasols over the monks while maidens were fanning them (and each of the monks or Buddhas depicted in the panels of the frame, is indeed attended to by an elephant holding the umbrella and a young woman holding a fly-whisk), see Malalasekera 1960, I, pp. 203-4.

[69] Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 473-5.

[70] Monument 585: Pichard 1994, 3, figs 585f-g. Monument 577: ibid., fig. 577j.

[71] See also Pichard 1994, 3, fig. 1077k.

[72] Pichard 1995, 5, figs1323v-x.

[73] Pichard 1993, 2, fig. 506i.

[74] Ibid., pp. 376-83.

[75] From bottom to top and in each case, two rows of a single *mudrā* are always directly superimposed.

[76] 1st teaching, with both shoulders hidden by the monastic robe (on the western wall, on the southern wall, south-west corner; on the northern wall, north-east corner); 2nd teaching, with bare right shoulder (on the eastern side; and in the case of the northern image: on an elephant); 3rd still teaching under the mango tree, and with both shoulders hidden but also surrounded by flames and accompanied by two standing Buddhas (northern wing, eastern wall), and 4th two standing Buddhas in the south-eastern corner of the south wall (illustrated pl. 17). See also footnote 82, for a further description of the upper storey. Detail in Ono/Inoue 1978, pl. 7.

[77] A standing Buddha with *varadamudrā* is painted on the north-east inner wall of the corridor.

[78] Coedès/Archaimbault 1973, p. 8. But this miraculous phenomenon is well known throughout Buddhist literature, see Lamotte 1967, pp. 716-7.

[79] Edwardes 1959, pp. 109 and 114; Bigandet 1880, I, pp. 218-9 and 226.

[80] Edwardes 1959, pp. 46-47; Bigandet 1880, I, p. 101.

[81] Edwardes 1959, p. 47.

[82] Besides, a scene like the sojourn at Pārileyyaka is depicted on the inner wall of the corridor, north-east side where it is illustrated in an unconventional manner: the Buddha displays the *dharmacakrapravartanamudrā* on a seat below which two elephants are painted and smaller images of the Budddha making the same gesture are distributed all around, each of them accompanied by a single elephant below the seat. The representation of the two elephants below the main image shows them as if they would sustain

the lotus upon which the Buddha sits; it might be a simple visual solution, but since the sojourn in the forest of Pārileyyaka is already depicted in the south wing, it might also well be that the presence of these animals reflects a link with images of the eleventh and twelfth centuries from Bengal where protomae of elephants are introduced below various Hindu, Jain or Buddhist deities. The paintings in the upper floor are much destroyed, but we can still make out rows of Buddhas displaying alternatively the gestures of meditation and predication painted on the walls of the vestibule. Here again, one might wonder whether the presence of these two *mudrās* do not reflect an allusion, even though faint, to the central Buddha Vairocana, whose name means precisely 'the one who irradiates', and who can show either the one or the other *mudrā*.

[83] Guénon 1962, p. 250.

[84] Pichard 1994, 3, figs 585k and l. As if, on his death, the Buddha had returned to the cosmic waters which carried him, re-attaining back the only 'true immortality' (Guénon 1962, p. 250) which he had only momentarily abandoned.

[85] Bigandet 1880, I, p. 81; Edwardes 1959, p. 37 or Alabaster 1871, p. 144.

[86] Kloetzli 1989, p. 26.

[87] Pichard 1994, 3, fig. 798g.

[88] Luce/Ba Shin 1962, pp. 382-7.

[89] For the identifying glosses, see ibid.

[90] Than Tun 1959a, pp. 52-53.

[91] Luce/Ba Shin 1962, pp. 391-2, 395-400.

[92] Ibid., pp. 393-4, 401-3.

[93] Since this function is held by Upagutta (Upagupta) in Burma, see Denis 1977, I, p.VIII.

[94] Below footnote 111.

[95] Frasch 1996, pp. 91-93.

[96] Luce 1969/70, 1, pp. 390-391.

[97] Further references concerning this iconography are given above in notes 42 and 45.

[98] Takata/Ohmura 2000, 3, pls C.17-18 and 17-19, and for a sketch of the murals: Schlingloff 1999, pp. 53-54.

[99] Bautze-Picron 1995/96, p. 361–even though we know of only series of seven Buddhas, and not twenty-eight as in Pagan.

[100] Translated by I.B. Horner (1975).

[101] Those preserved in the British Library were published by Patricia Herbert 1993.

[102] This is the conclusion reached by Guillon in his study of Māra's army in the frieze of terracottas distributed around the lower part of the Ananda, see Guillon 1985, pp. 24-25 and 63. Guillon suggests that the *Buddhacarita*, a Mūlasarvāstivādin text or the *Lalitavistara*, a Sarvāstivādin source, could have been the scriptural models for these images. Moreover, beside the fact that some Sanskrit terms still appear behind Mon words (ibid., p. 24 and footnote 7: quoting Ch. Duroiselle), an inscription in the Kubyauk-gyi at Myinkaba betrays a Sanskrit influence (ibid., p. 24 and footnote 8): Upagupta is the counsellor of Asoka in Sanskrit sources whereas the Pāli texts name him Moggaliputta Tissa and this inscription includes both names (Luce/Ba Shin 1962, p. 385 : 'Our lord Tissa-Upagupta...', also quoted by Denis 1977, I, p. VII).

[103] Above note 41.

[104] English translation under the editorship of E.B.Cowell (reprint: 1990).

[105] Although the text concludes with the sentence: 'In this manner, wherever the Blessed One lived, from the time of his attainment of Enlightenment at the foot of the great Bodhi-tree up to his death bed at the Great Parinibbāna is included in the Recent Epoch.' (Jayawickrama 1990, p. 127).

[106] Luce 1969/70, I, pp. 304 ff. and Luce/Ba Shin 1961, pp. 363-6. However, Gordon Luce felt uneasy concerning the paintings representing the Buddha in the Patho-hta-mya, which he considered to be the 'free-hand work of artists' (Luce/Ba Shin1961, p. 281), recalling that 'many panels have Mon glosses; but half of them are now illegible'. In a later publication (1969/70, I, pp. 304 ff.), he suggested that the text had been used as scriptural source for the paintings distributed on the exterior wall of the corridor.

[107] Luce 1969/79, I, pp. 304ff. As a matter of fact, lists of *suttas* included in both texts are given in the upper part of the walls of the corridor, see Luce/Ba Shin 1961, p. 281.

[108] This is the conclusion proposed by Georges Coedès(1968, p. 218), who, however, underlines also that it might as well have been compiled in the fifteenth century at Sukhot'ai, at Ch'ieng Mai in the sixteenth century or even later at Ayuth'ya (p. 223). It was finally completed in 1845 by Paramānujit, prince of Siam and used by Alabaster for his 'Life of the Buddha' published in 1871 (Coedès 1968, p. 218). No proper translation has been published up to now, but it has been used for the presentation of 'An Illustrated Life of the Buddha' on the Thai web site Budsir, where large parts of it are given. This text includes the description of the earth-goddess squeezing her wet hair at the feet of the Buddha, an iconography well known in Burma and Thailand (Chapter II, note 35), which appears for the first time in the twelfth century murals of the Abe-ya-dana (pl. 34) and temple 101 at Sale (pl. 171).

[109] Thomas 1927, p. 282, Coedès 1968, p. 218, Edwardes 1959, p. 13.

[110] Howard 1986, pp. 6-17, 115-56: the 'Sūtra of Cosmology' was translated into Chinese toward the late fourth or early fifth century.

[111] Though Norman 1983, pp. 174-5 locates the source at Thatôn; Denis 1977, I, pp. VI-IX. The Burmese origin had already been mentioned in an earlier publication by Paul Mus as recalled by Coedès/Archaimbault (1973, p. XIII) and Denis (1977, I, p. VII). The *Mahāvastu* might have been one of these Sanskrit sources (Denis 1977, I, p. XXIX). Further, it reveals the importance of the nāga cult (ibid., pp. VIII-IX and XLIX), and the attempt to assimilate the worship of Śiva (Mahessari, i.e. Maheśvara, replaces Māra in the history of Asoka, ibid., p. VIII and XLIV). The legend of Upagutta, and Māra is detailed in this work, and is also alluded to in Mon inscriptions of the Kubyauk-gyi at Myinkaba as recalled by Denis, who

edited and translated the text in French (1977, I, p. VII). The legend of the great Indian emperor also served as a model for the elaboration of the legend of Anawratha, said to have rescued the relics hidden under earth, a heroic moment which is usually attributed to Asoka (ibid., pp. VIII and XLV).

[112] Coedès/Archaimbault 1973 (French translation); Reynolds/Reynolds 1982 (English translation).

[113] Lamotte 1967, pp. 129-30.

Chapter II

[1] Edwardes 1959, pp. 18-19. See also Bigandet 1880, I, pp. 35-36; Foucher 1949, pp. 42-52; Naudou 1973, pp. 38-52; Parimoo 1982, pp. 6-14; John Huntington 1985, pp. 49-50; Karetzky 1992, pp. 9-38 concerning the nativity cycle, from the dream of Māyā up to her death. Jayawickrama 1990, pp. 69-70: the eighteenth century Burmese version is evidently based on this text.

[2] Indeed, only a few murals represent Māyā crossing her legs, for instance in the Mye-bon-tha-hpaya or in the Ka-tha-pa-hpaya (east) (pl. 251).

[3] Ba Shin 1962, pls 13-14; Luce 1969/70, III, pl. 353c (copy); Aung Thaw 1978, p. 93 (copy). Ono/Inoue 1978, pl. 24 shows only the upper part of the painting: the photographer Takao Inoue most probably faced the metallic balustrade already erected in order to protect the murals from visitors and which partly hides the lower part of the wall-paintings.

[4] As said in the *Nidāna-kathā*, 'Even though this was so, two streams of water came down from the sky to do honour to the Bodhisatta and his mother and allayed the heat in their bodies.' (Jayawickrama 1990, p. 70).

[5] These are the 'men' or the 'people' mentioned in the literary sources, who receive the newly born from the Nats or Devas, or from the four Lokapālas, according to the sources, see Bigandet 1880, I, p. 37 and Jayawickrama 1990, p. 70.

[6] Also mentioned in the text: 'A chief of Brahmas held over his head the white umbrella. A Nat carried the golden fan. Other Nats held in their hands the golden sword, the golden slippers, the cope set with the rarest precious stones, and other royal insignia.' (Bigandet 1880, I, p. 38).

[7] Edwardes 1959, p. 19; see also Bigandet 1880, I, p. 36 and Jayawickrama 1990, p. 70.

[8] Edwardes 1959, p. 19. Bigandet 1880, I, p. 27 mentions that four men received the child, and Jayawickrama 1990, p. 70 recounts that the four Brahmās hand him over to the 'Four Guardian Deities of the World [who] received him on a cloth of antelope skins...'

[9] Ono/Inoue 1978, pl. 23; Oshegowa 1988, fig. 58.

[10] Jayawickrama 1990, p. 70, see also the life translated by Bigandet 1880, I, pp. 37-38 or Edwards 1959, pp. 19-20, which includes the famous sentence: 'This is my last birth; there shall be to me no other state of existence; I am the greatest of all beings.'

[11] Jayawickrama 1990, p. 83.

[12] Jayawickrama 1990, p. 86; see also Bigandet 1880, I, pp. 64-65.

[13] Jayawickrama 1990, p. 87.

[14] Malalasekera 1960, I, p. 1100.

[15] For a description of the complete 'great departure' cycle, see Bigandet 1880, I, pp. 58-67; Foucher 1949, pp. 100-106; Naudou 1973, pp. 76-89; Karetzky 1992, pp. 63-83.

[16] Luce 1969/70, pl. 166a; Ono/Inoue 1978, pl. 34.

[17] Bautze-Picron 1995/96, figs 2 and 11 (detail). See also ibid., fig. 22a showing the scene below the Betagi image (both also reproduced in Bautze-Picron 1998c, figs 2-3).

[18] For instance, in the illustration published by N. Oshegowa 1988, pl. 65, we recognise in the lower row, from left to right, Padumuttara, Sumedha, Sujāta and Piyadassin, respectively carried by a 'palace', an elephant, a horse and a chariot drawn by thoroughbreds; and in the upper row, Sobhita, Anomadassin, Paduma and Nārada, who left their city in a 'palace', a palanquin, a chariot drawn by thoroughbreds and on foot (Horner 1975, p. xxxvi).

[19] Ono/Inoue 1978, pl. 21 reproduces one tonsure. The composition is simplified when compared to the paintings in the Hpaya-thon-zu, since only the gods kneel at the feet of the future Buddha, presenting the casket where they will preserve the precious hair. Traditionally, the future Buddha cuts his hair with the sword in the right hand, the representation in the Nanda-ma-nya differs by introducing the sword in the left hand (see also Pichard 1991, fig. 4).

[20] Jayawickrama 1990, p. 89.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid., p. 90.

[23] Ibid., p. 91. See also Bigandet 1880, I, pp. 80-81; Alabaster 1871, pp. 144-5; Ñāṇamoli 1998, pp. 21-22.

[24] Ñāṇamoli 1998, p. 22.

[25] Three gods are, moreover, painted in their respective shrine in the upper part of the mural, which constitutes another reference to the image of the reclining Viṣṇu, as illustrated in Burma with Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu sitting on full-blown lotuses which arise out of the god's navel, see for instance Ray 1932, figs 4-6 and pp. 28-33. Could we also settle a link to the fact that the king of Pagan, Kyanzittha for instance, is named like the Hindu god, fully in a line with the Indian tradition where the king is identified with the god and is husband of the earth? (Luce/Ba Shin 1961, p. 279).

[26] Verardi 1999/2000, p. 71 already surmised that the tradition of the five colours related to the five directions and supposed that the system, and what is formulated in late Buddhism with the five Buddhas finds in fact its origin in an earlier period.

[27] Four flame-like motifs are depicted as if arising out of the Buddha; however, they might also be the birds approaching the Buddha and in fact, merging into him (or do they refer to the plant which grows out of the future Buddha's body?). Also, the strange motif below the reclining figure is by no means easy to understand: would it be the creeper arising out of the Buddha's navel? or could it be the cosmic mountain Meru? Correct identification is still wanting. An-

other particular aspect of this panel is the fact that the Buddha lies on his left side and that his left shoulder is naked. In the absence of any solid scriptural testimony, I would suggest that the visual experience here took precedence over the rules of iconography. This mural faces a representation of the Parinibbāna, today largely destroyed (pl. 66), but what remains shows that the head was 'correctly' positioned towards the left. In short, both Buddha images, on the death bed and on the cosmic waters, lie with the head towards the east, and both are perfectly symmetric.

[28] Jayawickrama 1990, p. 92.

[29] Luce/Ba Shin 1961, p. 380.

[30] Jayawickrama 1990, p. 98.

[31] See for instance Bautze-Picron 1995/96, fig. 23.

[32] Bautze-Picron 1999 and von Schroeder 2001, 1, pp. 400-405 (pls 129-31) who publishes a number of these small andagu slabs preserved in Tibetan collections.

[33] Duroiselle 1922, p. 15; see also Alabaster 1871, pp. 154-5. Concerning this version, see Raymond 1998, pp. 114-5, Coedès 1968, pp. 223-6 or Duroiselle 1922.

[34] Coedès 1968 summarises the different possibilities, concluding that although the text has remained unknown in Burma, it might have been translated from Sanskrit sources in Burma during the twelfth century. But whatever the date or the place of composition of this text, the fact that this particular rendering of the Māravijaya is exclusively found in this text and appears in the eleventh-thirteenth centuries in Pagan/Sale and at Angkor cannot be ignored.

[35] Coedès (1968, p. 225 and note 1) observes that in Cambodia, this scene is illustrated during the period of the Bayon (late twelfth-early thirteenth centuries), thus after the murals of the Abe-ya-dana, but more or less contemporary with the Sale temple. Raymond (1998, p. 117) also mentions the painting in the Abe-ya-dana and a sculpture of the Ananda representing the Buddha touching the earth with the goddess emerging below it, offering him the large jar of abundance (Luce 1969/70, III, pl. 296b: rightly, against the interpretation of Luce who recognized here Sujatā). As surmised by Raymond (p. 121), the goddess squeezing her hair which is known under the name of Wathundaye, appears at Pagan in the eleventh-thirteenth centuries.

[36] According to the Vinaya, there would have been only four weeks of meditation consecutive to the event (which coincides with first, fifth, sixth and seventh as described here). However, a later development of the biography, exemplified in the *Lalitavistara*, *Mahāvastu* or the *Nidhāna-kathā* of the *Jātakamālā*, introduces seven weeks (Luce 1969/70, I, p. 152; Thomas 1927, p. 85; U. von Schroeder 2001, p. 398).

[37] Jayawickrama 1990, p. 103.

[38] Ibid., pp. 103-4.

[39] In both cases, the scene cannot be confused with the depiction of the Sāvatthi miracle, since this scene is also illustrated. The scene in the Patho-hta-mya belongs to the set of depictions of the seven weeks as described below in Chapter VII. In the Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi, it belongs likewise to this set which is painted in the inner row, whereas the main events of the life are distributed on the outer row (see Chapter I). This event is painted in the northern niche of the temple, west wall, together with the predication on Mount Meru and the descent, two scenes which face the wall where the Sāvatthi miracle is depicted by the side of the Buddha standing facing the tree where he has attained awakening (pl. 16).

[40] Ba Shin et al. 1971, p. 193.

[41] Jayawickrama 1990, p. 104.

[42] Ibid., p. 104.

[43] Ba Shin et al. 1971, p. 193.

[44] For the accompanying gloss ('Ratanaghara' or the 'house of gems'), see Luce/Ba Shin 1961, p. 380. The painting is also published by Bautze-Picron 1998c, fig. 26.

[45] Gloss in the Wetkyi-in Kubyauk-gyi, see Ba Shin et al. 1971, pp. 193-4.

[46] Jayawickrama 1990, p. 104.

[47] Ibid., p. 104.

[48] The scene of the defeated Māra, mourning over his fate, has been known since the very beginning appearing as early as the *vedikā* at Bharhut. However, the position in the lower right corner and the presence of his daughters at his feet has been systematically used since the second half of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century (Bautze-Picron 1998d).

[49] The frieze illustrated on pl. 39, has remained misunderstood, being labelled for instance 'tantric' by Lu Pe Win (1955, p. 74) or a 'procession of young and old women' by Aung Aung Thaw (1978, p. 96). See also chapter seven, note 69 and chapter six, note three.

[50] Jayawickrama 1990, p. 105; Guillon 1985, pp. 66-67 and p. 67 note 1.

[51] Jayawickrama 1990, pp. 106-7.

[52] Ba Shin et al. 1971, p. 194.

[53] Jayawickrama 1990, p. 107; see also Karetzky 1992, pp. 150-151.

[54] Gloss in the Wetkyi-in Kubyauk-gyi, see Ba Shin et al. 1971, p. 194. See also Jayawickrama 1990, p. 107. For a summary of the seven weeks, consult Thomas 1927, p. 85, Luce 1969/70, I, p. 152. There are obvious discrepancies between this classification of the seven weeks and the presentation of the Buddha's deeds in texts like the *Mahāvastu* or *Lalitavistara*, which also fail to agree completely (von Schroeder 2001, p. 397). For instance, the sixth and seventh weeks here are inverted in both texts; the *Mahāvastu* adds the visit to the nāga Kāla in the fourth week. Moreover, these two sources do not fully agree on the sequence of the weeks, since the *Lalitavistara* inverts the order of the second and third weeks as mentioned in the *Mahāvastu* and here.

[55] Jayawickrama 1990, p. 107.

[56] Ibid., pp. 107-8; Karetzky 1992, pp. 144-9.

[57] Bautze-Picron 1999a, figs 1 and 11.

[58] Bigandet 1880, I, p. 112; Edwardes 1959, pp. 52.

[59] Bigandet 1880, I, pp. 112-3; Edwardes 1959, pp. 52-53. Or Jayawickrama 1990, p. 108; Karetzky 1992,

pp. 141-4.

[60] Ba Shin et al. 1971, pp. 176 and 194.

[61] Jayawickrama 1990, pp. 108-9; Edwardes 1959, p. 53.

[62] Jayawickrama 1990, p. 109. See also Bigandet 1880, I, p. 118; Edwardes 1959, pp. 54-55.

[63] Bigandet 1880, I, p. 118. Or Parimoo 1982, pp. 24-30; John Huntington 1986a; Karetzky 1992, pp. 145-64; Karetzky 1995.

[64] A striking aspect to note here is that the teaching starts when half the sun is still visible on the west line of horizon, as if the sun would be taking this teaching with it on its way. This connection of the predication with the west is encountered in east India, particularly in the iconographic ornamentation of illuminated manuscripts where Amitābha, Jina of the west, and red like the setting sun, can display the *dharmacakrapravartanamudrā*.

[65] Ba Shin 1962, pl. 16.

[66] Bigandet 1880, I, pp. 122, 126 (the story is narrated in pp. 120-126). The version presented by Bigandet names Ratha the convert but this Ratha is, however, not to be confused with Naradatta: Ratha is in fact named Yasa (Yashas, Yashoda) in the Indian tradition (Jayawickrama 1990, p. 110; Foucher 1949, pp. 215-6), whereas Naradatta (also named Nārada or Nālada) was the nephew of Asita (Foucher 1949, pp. 214 and 368), the astrologer who had drawn up the horoscope of the Buddha at his birth. Naradatta also appears as one of the first to have been converted, but the story is much shorter. This would account for the obvious confusion we are now faced with in the name to be given to the character. However, Edwardes 1959, pp. 57-61, names Yasa the convert.

[67] Burlingame 1969, 3, p. 38. See also Bigandet 1880, I, pp. 212-4 and Edwardes 1959, pp. 100-102.

[68] Bigandet 1880, I, pp. 215-6; Edwardes 1959, pp. 102-4.

[69] Luce 1969/70, III, pl. 346a and b; Ono/Inoue 1978, pl. 91 (Kubyauk-gyi); Pichard 1995, 5, fig. 1323aj.

[70] Or Ono/Inoue 1978, pl. 28 (temple 1846).

[71] Bigandet 1880, I, pp. 215-6; see also Foucher 1949, pp. 277-85; Naudou 1973, pp. 163-8; Huntington 1986b, pp. 32-41; Karetzky 1992, pp. 180-184.

[72] Burlingame 1969, 3, p. 41; Edwardes 1959, p. 104.

[73] Burlingame, *loc.cit.*; Edwardes 1959, pp. 104-5.

[74] Yule/Burnell 1984, pp. 555-6.

[75] Burlingame 1969, pp. 42-45.

[76] Hoover 1975, pp. 2-3; Edwardes 1959, pp. 105-6.

[77] Burlingame 1969, 3, pp. 45-46; Bigandet 1880, I, pp. 216-9; Edwardes 1959, pp. 108-9. The *Traibhūmi Braḥ R'vaṅ* describes how the aura of the Buddha irradiates six colours, green, yellow, red, white, pink and brilliant comparing each of them to the colour of a specific flower (Coedès/Archaimbault 1973, p. 184-9; Reynolds/Reynolds 1982, pp. 263-8); these 'six glories' are also detailed in the version of the life translated by Edwardes (1959, pp. 46-48).

[78] Pichard 1993, fig. 324i.

[79] The coalescence of fire and water also occurs at the cremation : 'When the pile was consumed by fire, water came down from the sky, as thick as the arm, which soon extinguished the fire. The Malla princes also poured upon it an immense quantity of scented water. All the while the pile was burning, streams of flames issued from the leaves and branches of the trees, shining forth with uncommon brightness, without burning the trees...' (Bigandet 1880, II, pp. 89-90; Edwardes 1959, p. 175. See also the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*, in Rhys Davids/Rhys Davids 1971a, p.186).

[80] Burlingame 1969, 3, p. 47: 'Since the Teacher saw in that vast throng none other than himself who understood his mind and could ask him questions, he put forth his supernatural power and created a double; the double then asked him questions and the Teacher answered them. While the Exalted One walked up and down, his double occupied himself otherwise...Seeing the Teacher perform his miracle thus and hearing him preach the Law, two hundred millions of living beings in that vast throng obtained Comprehension of the Law.'

[81] Burlingame, 3, p. 47. The Buddha teaching below the mango tree is seen in eastern India where the images usually include the miracle of the multiplication of images and the defeat of Pūraṇa Kassapa (G. Bhattacharya 1990; Brown 1984, fig. 10).

[82] Ono/Inoue 1978, pls 27-28 (temples 1051 and 1846).

[83] Ba Shin 1962, pl. 17a and pp. 11-12 (Loka-hteik-pan); the panel with the Sāvatthi event is located in the south-west corner.

[84] See the remarks by R. Brown on the 'raised-arm gesture' of Pūraṇa Kassapa found in India and observed here (Ono/Inoue 1978, pl. 28; Brown 1984, pp. 91-92).

[85] Bautze-Picron 1998b, fig. 31. See also the panel in temple Htin-ga-ya-za (1051), reproduced by Ono/Inoue 1978, pl. 27.

[86] See the panel of temple 1846, illustrated by Ono/Inoue 1978, pl. 28.

[87] As such, the scene is depicted in the ground floor, 1st north wing, eastern wall (Pichard 1993, II, ill. 539ab (correct the localization), detail in Ono/Inoue 1978, pl. 7), 2nd inner wall, north-east side. It served also as model for the composition seen in the north wing, west wall (without the heretic, nor the flames, nor the smaller image).

[88] Bigandet 1880, I, pp. 219-20; Edwardes 1959, p. 109.

[89] Pichard, 1995, 5, fig. 1170d.

[90] Luce 1969/70, III, pls 346c and d show the ascent and the descent.

[91] Luce 1969/70, III, pl. 346c; Ono/Inoue 1978, pl. 30 (Kubyauk-gyi). Pichard 1995, 6, fig. 1580s (Loka-hteik-pan). Aung Thaw 1978, p. 90 (copy of the mural), Ono/Inoue 1978, pl. 29 (correct the legend: the monument is today numbered 1150, not 496), Oshegowa 1988, p. 91, Pichard 5, fig. 1150e (temple 1150).

[92] Luce 1969/70, III, pl. 346d (Kubyauk-gyi). Pichard

1995, 6, fig. 1580r (Loke-hteik-pan).

[93] A 'Mount Meru Cave' has been excavated at Powun-Daung, where the caves are related by the tradition to the Pyus. The dating of these monuments is uncertain and might have spread over a few centuries (Duroiselle 1920, pp. 42-48). The façade reproduces the mountain with its seven pillars of increasing height on either side of the central part which includes eight small niches with figures and with quatrefoil merlons crowning it. Above this large carving, the height of which measures around eight metres sixty, two small caves are dug, the façades of which are ornamented with the coral-tree of Sakka's heaven below which the Buddha sits and the palace of Sakka (ibid., pp. 49-51 and pl. XXX). This structure is quite clearly based on the painted evidence collected at Pagan, and is perhaps even contemporary with it, thus dating back to the twelfth-thirteenth centuries. A painting in monument 684 which is dated in the fourteenth century by Pichard (1994, 3, pp. 203-4) recalls the cave at Powun-Daung: a deity sits on each of the 'pillars', in fact the continents, surrounding Mount Meru.

[94] This recalls the popil, a Cambodian ritual object used in private and religious ceremonies. However, apart from the shape, the two attributes are different; the popil is a small object, not larger than fifteen cm, with the leaf attached to a short shaft and is used together with a light (Thierry 1971). All known examples appear to be of a recent period although the tradition goes back to a much earlier period, as testified by its presence as a *maṅgala* on the Buddha footprints from Angkor (Bizot 1971, pp. 427, 431). Worth mentioning here is a Khmer butt-end with a hollow shaft, indicating that it was probably fixed on a wooden stick, from the region of Korat in Thailand, which might be the object observed on these murals of Pagan (Coedès 1923, pl. XLV-5 and p. 52; Thierry 1971, p. 351 refers to Coedès 1923, pl. XXXIX which is a very large item, too large to be held in the hand as the Buddha does in the murals). This attribute is also presented in later times, by Buddha images from Arakan (Gatellier 1993, fig.12; Gutman 2001, pl. 173) where it is identified with a fan, and where the Buddha holding it is said to be preaching (Gatellier 1993, p. 116), which the earlier examples from Pagan corroborate. This attribute also recalls the kotsu or kyōsaku, the 'awakening stick' which is a long stick with a flattened end, being used during meditation session in Zen. Also in monument 1150 (Pichard 1995, 5, fig. 1150d), the scene facing the preaching on Mount Meru, which is also a scene of predication, introduces this attribute in the hands of the Buddha. As Alabaster 1871, p. 304 describes it, it appears on the Siamese footprints: 'This is not so much a fan as a screen; something to cover the eyes of the monk, and prevent his attention being diverted by what is passing around him.'

[95] Horner 1975, p. 2 (verse 12).

[96] Reynolds/Reynolds 1982, pp. 223-4, see also Coedès/Archaimbault 1973, pp. 154-5.

[97] Ibid., p. 163. And in the *Lokapaññatti*: Denis 1977, I, p. 42.

[98] Ba Shin 1962, p. 13.

[99] Ibid. and Coedès/Archaimbault 1973, pp. 155-6 or Reynolds/Reynolds 1982, pp. 224-5.

[100] Read the description of it in Coedès/Archaimbault 1973, p. 162 or Reynolds/Reynolds 1982, pp. 232-3.

[101] Coedès/Archaimbault 1973, p. 175, Reynolds/Reynolds 1982, p. 252. Reproduced in Luce 1969/70, 3, pl. 354a.

[102] A further variant is exemplified in the Ajja-gona-hpaya, on a small panel of the north side niche of the entrance where it faces a depiction of the universe, which evidently enhances the cosmic connotation of this iconography (see Chapter V). Further representations of Mount Meru supporting the Buddha are painted in the Ma-la-phyi-hpaya (Pichard 1992, 1, p. 53 and 1994, 3, fig. 664o) and in the Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi (north niche, west wall).

[103] Bigandet 1880, I, p. 224; Edwardes 1959, p. 111.

[104] Bigandet 1880, I, p. 224.

[105] Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 1116-7.

[106] *Pagodas and Monuments* 1995, ill. p. 94.

[107] Burlingame 1969, 3, p. 52. See also Bigandet 1880, I, p. 224; Edwardes 1959, pp. 111-2.

[108] Bigandet 1880, I, pp. 223-5; Edwardes 1959, pp. 110-111.

[109] See above note 94; this attribute is clearly not the *khakkhara*, the long staff held by the monks, which has a lanceolated ornament to which are attached small pieces of metal that jingle while walking, thus announcing the passage of the monk, this attribute is held by two of the images in the miracle of the multiplication in the Htin-ga-ya-za (Ono/Inoue 1978, pl. 27).

[110] Burlingame 1969, p. 53-54; Bigandet 1880, I, pp. 225-7; Edwardes 1959, pp. 113-4; John Huntington 1986b, pp. 41-46.

[111] Ono/Inoue 1978, pl. 30; *Pagodas and Monuments* 1995, ill. p. 94.

[112] Bigandet 1880, I, pp. 225-6; Edwardes 1959, p. 110.

[113] Burlingame 1969, 3, p. 53 and Bigandet 1880, I, p. 226 (Edwardes 1959, p. 114): 'He looked upwards, and all the superior seats of Brahmas were distinctly described; on...looking downwards, his eyes could see and plunge into the bottom of the earth to the lowest hell. The Nats of more than a thousand systems could see each other: Men could perceive Nats in their fortunate seats, and Nats saw men in their terrestrial abode. The six glories streamed forth with an incomparable splendour from Buddha's person, which became visible to all the crowds.'

[114] Pichard 1994, 3, fig. 798g.

[115] Pichard 1992, 1, fig. on p. 53; 1994, 3, fig. 664o (Ma-la-phyi-hpaya); 1999, 7, figs 1844p, p. 147 and 1846j, p. 152.

[116] Spiro 1971, pp. 270-271 describes such a ceremony where the *sutta* was chanted by three monks to ward off an evil omen, in order to protect a village.

[117] A precise description of the mural is made by Ba Shin 1962, pp. 15-16.

[118] Reading and translation by Tilman Frasch.

[119] Malalasekera 1960, II, p. 58.

[120] Cowell 1990, 5, pp. 176-7. See also Bigandet 1880,

I, p. 264; Foucher 1949, pp. 288-9; Parimoo 1982, pp. 53-56; Huntington 1986c, pp. 33-40; Zin 1996.

[121] John Huntington 1986c, pp. 33-40.

[122] Zin 1996, pp. 332 and 334; Oshegowa 1988, fig. 53; Ono/Inoue 1978, pl. 33.

[123] Burlingame 1969, 1, p. 179. See also Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 191-2.

[124] Burlingame 1969, 1, p. 178.

[125] Ibid., p. 180.

[126] Ibid., p. 182. The story is also summarized in another chapter of the *Commentary* (ibid., 3, pp. 211-3). As narrated in Bigandet 1880, I, pp. 236-7, the tale is much simplified since the monkey is not evoked and since most of the details of the elephant story are simply ignored.

[127] See Ono/Inoue 1978, pl. 31 (temple '449'). For the rendering of the tale in sculpture, see Luce 1969/70, I, pp. 177-8 and pl. 312b; or Duroiselle 1917, pp. 95-96 and fig. 54 (on pl. XXXVII). In the carvings, the Buddha faces the spectator.

[128] Foucher 1949, pp. 301-4; Leoshko 1993/94, pp. 258-9; Bautze-Picron 1995/96, p. 365 or J. Huntington 1986c, pp. 28-33 for a study of the event involving the monkey alone at Vesāli, more particularly during the 'Pāla' period. Vesāli is also mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Xuan-tsang (Leoshko 1993/94, p. 258; see also Foucher 1949, pp. 291-4, or Parimoo 1982, pp. 56-57). Different locations are attributed to the tale: beside Vesāli, which is the place preserved in the late tradition of east India, the names of Mathura and Sāvatthi are also evoked (Foucher 1949, p. 291).

[129] Bigandet 1880, II, pp. 28-32; Edwardes 1959, p. 141; Thomas 1927, pp. 146-9.

[130] Foucher 1949, pp. 297 and 377; Naudou 1973, p. 235.

[131] Eade 1998, p. 60.

[132] In the *Mahā-parinibbāna-suttanta* (Rhys Davids/Rhys Davids 1971a, p. 149). See also: Bigandet 1880, II, pp. 44-68; Edwardes 1959, pp. 164-5; Foucher 1949, pp. 304-14; Naudou 1973, pp. 230-244; Huntington 1986d; Karetzky 1992, pp. 191-203; Ebert 1985.

[133] Bigandet 1880, II, pp. 53-57.

[134] *Mahā-parinibbāna-suttanta*, in Rhys Davids/Rhys Davids 1971a, pp. 173 and 177.

[135] Ibid., p. 186.

[136] Pichard 1993, 2, fig. 516c.

[137] Pichard 1994, 4, fig. 1091g.

[138] Bigandet 1880, II, pp. 88-89; Edwardes 1954, p. 174. This magic moment is rarely represented in Indian art; some examples from Gandhāra are known, see for instance Foucher 1905, fig. 280 where Mahā-Kassapa touches the feet of the Buddha. The monk is usually depicted close to the feet of his deceased master (ibid., figs 278-81, 285-6) sometimes with the naked ascetic who had informed him of the death of the Buddha (ibid., pp. 567-70). The event alluded to by the Burmese version, also found in the Chinese sources (ibid., p. 570) is illustrated in a depiction of the final demise preserved in Berlin (*Palast der Götter* 1992, p. 78 cat. 30) where the coffin is open, letting the feet of the Buddha miraculously appear.

[139] Karetsky 1992, p. 195.

[140] Bigandet 1880, II, p. 90; Edwardes 1959, p. 175-6.

[141] Bigandet 1880, II, p. 93; Edwardes 1959, p. 178. Clearly, no real 'war' took place here; it was successfully avoided. In contrast to the Indian tradition, already depicting the war at Sanchi.

Chapter III

[1] Ñāṇamoli 1998, pp. 23-24 (transl. from the *Majjhima-nikāya*). See also Bigandet 1880, I, pp. 95-96, Edwardes 1959, p. 45 or Jayawickrama 1990, p. 99.

[2] Six volumes translated under the direction of E.B. Cowell (reprinted in 1990).

[3] Luce 1969/70, III, pls 141-2; Pichard 1992, 1, p. 252 (and note that fig. 154aa was also published by Sotheby's New York 28.10.1991, lot 104 after having been stolen from the site; it was withdrawn from the sale and must now have been sent back to Myanmar), and note 39 in Chapter I, for the panels in the Ānanda, see also Luce 1969/70, III, pls 192-4 (Naga-yon).

[4] Luce 1969/70, III, pls 195-201.

[5] Luce 1969/70, I, pp. 44, 260-262, 3, pls 85c-87.

[6] Luce 1969/70, I, pp. 262-7 mentions that 446 plaques have been recovered 'out of a total of over 1,100 - there may well be more underground', III, pls 97-118.

[7] Luce 1969/70, I, pp. 267-74, III, pls 174-5.

[8] Partly preserved in the Museum of Indian Art, Berlin, see Grünwedel 1897; Luce 1956, pp. 293-4.

[9] Hpet-leik: Luce 1956, p. 292, Guillon 1985, p. 14. Kubyauk-gyi, Ānanda: Luce 1956, pp. 292, 294, Guillon 1985, p. 13 note 5. Summarized by Bautze-Picron 1998b, p. 131. The scriptural version of the *jātakas* could already have been introduced at Pagan during Anawratha's reign, who would have brought it back from his campaign at Thaton around 1057; this version would have included the 550 tales (in place of the series of 547 ones, introduced during Kyanzittha's reign, the successor of Anawratha). This earlier and longer version has been tentatively attributed a south Indian origin, located around Kanchipuram (Luce/Ba Shin 1961, p. 279; Luce 1969/70, I, pp. 21, 40; von Hinüber 1983, p. 79). As remembered by Luce/Ba Shin (1961, pp. 279-80), the new numeration is introduced at the Ānanda and 'thenceforward all Burma versions ... strictly adhere to the Ceylon version...' whereas the sequence of the Schwezigon, built around 1090, reflects a mixture of both numberings. As to the version with 547 tales, it was introduced when the relations between Sri Lanka and Burma strengthened, towards the end of Anawratha's reign or under his successor, i.e. after Vijāyabahu had successfully, around 1070 or 1075, conquered his capital Anurādhapura, and asked the Burmese king to send him monks in order to start a new propagation of the Law in his country (Luce/Ba Shin 1961, p. 279; Bo Kay 1966). See Chapter I, note 30.

[10] And this was apparently the aim of the devotee, to

experiment Buddhahood (Than Tun 1959a, p. 53).

[11] Respectively the *Vātaggasindhava-* and *Kakkata-jātaka* (nos 266 and 267, Luce/Ba Shin 1961, p. 346).

[12] Respectively *jātakas* 219 and 218, see Cowell 1990, II, pp. 127-30.

[13] *Jātaka* 354, see Cowell 1990, III, pp. 107-11.

[14] Numbered 267, see Cowell 1990, II, pp. 235-7.

[15] Numbered 266, see Cowell 1990, II, pp. 233-5.

[16] But the last sentence is set in the mouth of the Buddha himself, who explains the now to come long mourning and solitude of the she-ass because she refused 'a suitor nobly born'!

[17] A composition similar to the one encountered in the Hpaya-thon-zu, where the *jātakas* cover fully

[18] Luce 1956, p. 293; Pichard, 1995, 5, fig. 1249f. This temple is dated in the twelfth century, it shares with the Abe-ya-d

[19] Ba Shin et al. 1971.

[20] Duroiselle (1961/1962, p. iii and 1937, p. 15) mentions the presence of 389 plaques whereas Luce 1969/70, I, p. 359 (quoted by Guillon 1985, p. 13) gives the number of 375.

[21] Bautze-Picron 1998b, 1999. And more recently, U. von Schroeder published a group of them preserved in Tibetan collections (2001, p. 397 and pls 130B-C, 131).

[22] Luce 1956, p. 192; Wray et al. 1996, p. 114. For the pillars of the Kalyāṇī Thein, see U Mya 1936, pp. 203-4 and pl. CXVI (dated for palaeographic reasons in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries by this author, p. 204).

[23] The main idea behind the selection of *jātakas* was apparently to exemplify each of the twenty-one books by their first tale; this observation applies correctly to the illustration of the *nipātas* one to fourteen, and eighteen to twenty, but as far as the remaining books are concerned, it is the tale 499 and not 497 which is retained for the book fifteen, the tale 514 in place of the tale 511 for the book sixteen, the *jātaka* 523 and not the 521 for the book seventeen, and the tale 537 in place of the tale 533 for the *nipāta* twenty-one.

[24] As supposed by Duroiselle 1961/62, p. v, also quoted by Luce 1956, pp. 294-5.

[25] The murals in the Loka-hteik-pan are apparently the only ones which do not depart from the scriptural tradition inherited from Sri Lanka: the *Mahāsoddha-jātaka*, numbered 546 faces the *Vessantara-jātaka*, numbered 547, in the entrance hall, whereas the first eight tales are painted, following the list of *jātakas*, on the western wall of the shrine. In the other series of *jātakas*, the tale 546 is introduced between the *jātakas* 541 and 542 (i.e. *Nemi-jātaka* and *Khaṇḍahāla/ Candakumāra-jātaka* respectively). At the suggestion of Gordon Luce, U Ba Shin (1962, p. 19) attributes the change to the fact that the painters wished to have more room for the very long *jātaka* 546. This might be, but it might also be that they were following another recension of the text, which was precisely the Singhalese one.

[26] Bautze-Picron 1998b, pp. 132-3.

[27] The panels illustrated here represents respectively the Bodhisatta as king of the vultures (*Gijjha-jātaka*, no. 427), the Bodhisattva as a deva in the *Catudvāraka-jātaka* (no. 439) in the upper row, and the Bodhisatta as a hermit in the *Sonaka-jātaka* (no. 529) followed by the same as a prince in the *Kusa-jātaka* (no. 531) (Ba Shin 1962, pp. 120-121).

[28] Ba Shin 1962, pp. 91-111, 122-43.

[29] Ba Shin 1962, pp. 89-90, 120-121.

[30] Ba Shin 1962, p. 124.

[31] Cowell 1990, VI, pp. 20-21.

[32] Ba Shin 1962, p. 125.

[33] Cowell 1990, VI, pp. 28-31.

[34] Ba Shin 1962, pp. 124-5.

[35] Pichard, 1994, 4, fig. 1051g.

Chapter IV

[1] Horner 1975, pp. 14-15.

[2] Ibid., pp. 8-29.

[3] On the names of the trees of awakening in the various sets of inscriptions at Pagan, see Ba Shin 1962, pp. 155-7, 163-7; Luce 1969/70, I, pp. 392-7; Horner 1975, pp. xxxvi-xlv (after Luce).

[4] Bautze-Picron 1995/96, p. 361 and figs 2, 15, 17-20. For the earlier development, consult Pichard 1991, pp. 3ff (with further references), and Rhys Davids/ Rhys Davids 1971a, pp. 6-7 for this group as described in the *Mahāpadāna-suttanta*.

[5] Bautze-Picron 1995, figs 5 and 7 for instance.

[6] Apparently, this theme of the five Buddhas originated in south India, as pointed out by Pichard (1991, p. 3) with reference to the *thūpas* with five pillars distributed on four faces. From Andhra Pradesh, the idea migrated towards Burma where it is observed in the seventh and eighth centuries at Prome (Chapter V, note 33).

[7] Horner 1975, p. 96.

[8] Ba Shin 1962, p. 159-60. The same author mentions the existence of a text in Pali with Burmese translation, where the life of these Buddhas is described in the detailed manner of the life of their successors.

[9] In the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, as quoted by I.B. Horner 1975, p. xxvi.

[10] Horner 1975, p. xxxii summarizes the 'household life' and the 'life-span' for each of the Buddhas. Dīpaṅkara, for instance, left his family when he was ten thousand years old, at a time when life-span was a hundred thousand years; Sikhin left when he was seven thousand years old and lived seventy thousand years, to cite but these two examples.

[11] Ba Shin et al. 1971, p. 195. Like the following inscriptions, this is also quoted by Horner 1975, p. xxviii after a letter sent to her by Gordon Luce. Luce, however, was mistaken in writing that 'Taṇhaṅkara, Medhaṅkara and Saraṇaṅkara are not shown; but in their stead there are three introductory panels, upper and lower, ...' Now, one need only take a look at the illustrations published by Luce himself (in Ba Shin et al. 1971, figs 9-10) to count fourteen panels with Buddha images on each wall, and to see that the fourth

panel on the south wall, starting from the south-east corner, shows Dīpaṅkara (Sumedha lies on the animal skin which he owns since he is an ascetic) while three other Buddhas are painted in the first panels. Further, Luce also mentioned in this letter to I.B. Horner that the panels were distributed 'along the top of the S. and W. walls', a manifest error since the panels are painted on the south and north walls.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Luce 1969/70, I, p. 388.

[15] Oshegowa 1988, figs 74-75; Ba Shin et al. 1971, figs 8c-10, 16-17.

[16] Oshegowa 1988, fig. 65.

[17] Luce 1969/70, I, pp. 391-7.

[18] Pichard 1991, fig. 5.

[19] In fact, only one stele illustrates the tree: Luce 1969/70, III, pl. 197d. For all other Buddhas, see Luce 1969/70, III, pls 195-201b. All the Buddhas apart from Dīpaṅkara, who stands with Sumedha lying at his feet (pl. 195a), present here the gesture of meditation or *dhyānamudrā*. Starting with Taṇhaṅkara on the north-west corner of the north inner wall, the series proceeds clockwise on the inner wall (fourteen Buddhas) and then on the outer wall (thirteen Buddhas). The sculptures are distributed in the niches alternating with depictions of the Buddha touching the earth and most probably, these also depict the same Buddhas (see in Luce 1969/70, III, pls 192b-c, for instance, that the trees behind the Buddhas differ); the overwhelming presence of such a relatively anonymous scene (since no detail apart from the tree relates it to a particular Buddha) may possibly also have served to illustrate the infinite nature of the awakening, spreading in all directions from the centre of the monument. Panels describing events of Sakyamuni's life were distributed in the niches of the entrance hall (Luce 1969/70, III, pls 193-4) and in the north-west corner, outer wall of the corridor. Altogether, sixty panels were installed in the niches of the corridor (identified by Mon Bo Kay, as quoted by Luce 1969-79, I, pp. 313-4); after having removed the six life scenes of the north-west corner, there remains the fifty-four panels illustrating the twenty-seven Buddhas (meditating and touching the earth). See also Pichard 1991, p. 6.

[20] But, below the first three Buddhas, only monks kneel and worship since their history is not known. For instance, in the illustration published by N. Oshegowa 1988, pl. 65, we recognize in the lower row, from left to right, Padumuttara, Sumedha, Sujāta and Piyadassin, respectively carried by a 'palace, an elephant, a horse and a chariot drawn by thoroughbreds; and in the upper row, Sobhita, Anomadassin, Paduma and Nārada, who left their city in a "palace", a palanquin, a chariot drawn by thoroughbreds and on foot' (Horner 1975, p. xxxvi).

[21] Ono/Inoue 1978, pl. 31 reproduces one tonsure in the Nanda-ma-nya. The composition is simplified when compared to the paintings in the Hpaya-thon-zu, since only the gods kneel at the feet of the future Buddha, presenting the casket where they will preserve the precious hair. See also Pichard 1991, fig. 4.

[22] Summary given by Horner 1975, p. xxxvi.

[23] Ono/Inoue 1978, pls 109 and 121; Oshegowa 1988, fig. 75.

[24] Ba Shin 1962, pl. facing p. 16 shows the distribution of the Buddhas on the wall.

[25] Luce in Ba Shin 1962, pp. 155-7.

[26] Pichard 1995, 5, fig. 1263d-e.

[27] Horner 1975, p. xi.

[28] Horner 1975, p. 9.

[29] Ibid, pp. 10-12 (quote on p. 12).

[30] Jayawickrama 1990, pp. 15-16. See also in the *Buddhavaṃsa*: 'Seeing the delighted populace, elated, exultant, joyous, I descended from the heavens and immediately asked the people: "Elated, exultant, joyous is the great populace–for whom is the way being cleared, the direct way, the path and road?" Asked by me, these declared that an incomparable Buddha had arisen in the world, the Conqueror named Dīpaṅkara, leader of the world, and it was for him that the way, the direct way, the path and road was being cleared. When I heard "Buddha", zest arose immediately. Saying "Buddha, Buddha" I expressed my happiness, then, departing from my own hermitage, rustling the bark-garments, went through the air...' Sumedha joined the rejoicing people who were cleaning the way for the Buddha while the 'deities in the zenith of the sky poured down in all directions deva-like mandāvara flowers, lotuses, flowers of the Coral Tree. The men on the surface of the earth threw up in all directions flowers of campaka, saḷala, nīpa, nāga, punnāga and ketaka. Loosening my hair, spreading my bark-garments and piece of hide there in the mire, I lay down prone' (Horner 1975, pp. 13-14). Another version of the story was known in north-west India and subsequently in the subcontinent, where Sumadhi (for Sumedha) met a young woman on his way to the city where Dīpaṅkara had arrived; he got from her, who would become his wife in his next existences, five flowers which he tossed at the Buddha and the legend tells how these flowers remained miraculously suspended in the air above Dīpaṅkara. Then, after the latter had predicted that he would become the Buddha Sakyamuni, 'he saw the ground wet with puddles, he laid out his deerskin clothing to cover them. Seeing they were insufficient to cover the (puddles), he spread out his hair on the ground and told the Buddha to [tread] on (it as a carpet) and walk by...' (translated from the Chinese by Karetzky 1992, p. 3). A large number of depictions of the event are known from the ancient region of Gandhāra, probably because the tradition locates the story of the encounter between the two men at Nagarahara (Hadda) (Karetzky 1992, p. 7, footnotes 8-11). Thus a number of these scenes are ignored in the Pali tradition, like the encounter with the young woman, the purchase of the flowers, the offering of these flowers to the Buddha Dīpaṅkara, the spreading out of his hair–all elements present in the visual narration in Gandhara.

[31] Jayawickrama 1990, pp. 19-20. And see Horner 1975, pp. 14-16.

[32] Jayawickrama 1990, p. 16.

[33] Ibid, p. 15.

[34] Ono/Inoue 1978, pl. 121.

[35] Luce 1969/70, I, p. 323.

[36] After Ba Shin et al., p. 200; also quoted by Pichard 1991, p. 7.

[37] Lévi 1932, p. 366. On this text, see chapter one, footnote 108.

[38] See also U Chit Tin 1992, pp. 18-20.

[39] Monument 1077 includes two murals in the side niches, facing each other. In the northern niche, the scene on Mount Meru is depicted, surrounded by a selection of events drawn from the Buddha's life, while on the southern wall, either the bejewelled Buddha or Maitreya sits in a pavilion protected by a tree, gods kneeling all around. The scene might also depict the first meditation under the Jambū tree when Gotama was still a child; in any case, this iconographic programme would deserve more attention than the space allowed here. See Pichard 1994, 4, figs 1077h, j-k.

[40] Taw Sein Ko 1911-12, p. 120; Barua 1981, pp. 195-200.

[41] See also Frasch 2000, p. 42.

[42] Frasch 1996, p. 57. As mentioned by Shorto 1966, p. 165 and footnote 17, some of the attributes depicted on the footprints and which are presented by the gods on the frieze adorning the basement of the Ananda, are also carried in processions made in honour of Metteyya in north Burma.

[43] Than Tun 1959a, p. 53.

Chapter V

[1] *Jātaka* 546: Cowell 1990, VI, p. 223, also quoted by Luce/Ba Shin 1961, pp. 283-4.

[2] As a matter of fact, there are twenty *Brahmalokas*: sixteen belong to the realm of form and four are beyond them, in the realm of non-form (Lamotte 1967, pp. 759-61; Kloetzli 1989, pp. 29-30; Coedès/Archaimbault 1963, pp. 170-6 or Reynolds/Reynolds 1982, pp. 245-57 describe the sixteen *Brahmalokas*. On the *Deva* and *Brahmalokas*, see Malalasekera 1960, I, pp. 1002-4 and II, pp. 336-8. The hierarchical structure of the worlds was well known to the artists: in the Loka-ok-shaung (temple 1467), a row of Brahmās was painted around the large footprints in the entrance vault, and around them, i.e. in the outer circle, farther from the footprints, a row of Devas is illustrated (Pichard 1996, 6, fig. 1467k).

[3] Malalasekera 1960, I, pp. 1002-4.

[4] Ibid., pp. 909 and 1100.

[5] Malalasekera 1960, II, p. 871 and 961.

[6] Their presence at that moment is attested throughout the centuries: from the *Nidāna-kathā* (Jayawickrama 1990, p. 95) to the *Mālālaṅkaravatthu* in the eighteenth century (Bigandet 1880, I, p. 87: when Māra appeared and threatened the Buddha, the gods did not act as particularly courageous: 'the Thagia [i.e. Sakka], swinging his conch upon his shoulders, ran to the extremity of the world. The Brahma, holding still the umbrella by the extremity of the handle, went up to his own country.')

[7] Both appear among the clouds above a Buddha attaining Enlightenment on an eleventh century thanka, most probably painted in India (Bautze-Picron 1995/96, figs 1 and 14), which shows that, first of all, the presence of the gods in this position was known in north India, and secondly that the pictorial tradition could differ from the sculptural one, where the gods are absent in this particular position.

[8] Both may eventually be depicted in stuccoed carving on façades, as on the facade of the Tha-man-hpaya (monument 555) (Pichard 1994, 3, figs 555f and g), but this apparently remains an exception. Monuments 36 and 1868 still preserve traces of a Brahmā painted on the back-wall behind the central Buddha image (Pichard 1992, 1, fig. 36j; ibid. 1999, 7, fig. 1868g).

[9] See Pichard 1999, 7, fig. 1844j showing the Brahmā illustrated here *in situ*.

[10] Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 105-7 and Bigandet 1880, I, p. 226 where he is the 'Nat, holding a harp in his hands and playing the most melodious tunes'.

[11] Rhys Davids 1973, pp. 30-31. See also Rhys Davids/Rhys Davids 1971b, pp. 26-27.

[12] See also Pichard 1996, 6, figs 1481h-i (Pe-nan-tha-gu).

[13] Luce 1969/70, III, pl. 345. See also Ray 1936, pp. 56-60 concerning the paintings in the Abe-ya-dana.

[14] If Ray rightly recognized Bodhisattas here (1936, p. 52), he misunderstood their presence in those temples, in this respect following Charles Duroiselle. Both understood the couples as being Bodhisattas embracing one or two '*śaktis* or consorts', where one should essentially see images related to fertility. Their presence in the corner, i.e. at a position of architectural rupture, is in itself significant; in an Indian context, as shown by D. Desai (1984), the presence of erotic images is related to places of rupture in the monument, i.e. to places which require specific protection.

[15] Bautze-Picron 1999, figs 1, 7-11.

[16] Pichard 1995, 5, fig.1170e, where they are close to the life scenes painted on the walls of the side niches. As such, they also appear on the side walls of temple 2102, symmetrically painted, i.e. with the sacred chord falling from the right shoulder of the Bodhisatta on our right, and not the left as it should rightly be, and as it is indeed in the panel on our left (Pichard 2001, 8, figs 2102j and m).

[17] Duroiselle 1918, pl. Lb and p. 88.

[18] Bautze-Picron 1995/96, p. 357; Leoshko 1988, p. 36.

[19] In the *Buddhavaṃsa*, see Horner 1975, p. 6. Malalasekera 1960, II, p. 547 refers to a Singhalese legend according to which Moggallāna owns his dark colour to the fact that he had suffered in hell where he had been damned.

[20] Detail in Ono/Inoue 1978, pl. 7. In the Myin-pya-gu (ibid., pl. 19 or Strachan 1989, pl. XI), two green or yellow gold monks sit on either side of a Buddha image.

[21] For further examples, see Pichard 1993a, 2, figs 298k and 339h; ibid. 1995, 5, fig. 1209h; ibid. 1996, 6, fig. 1695d; ibid. 1999, 7, fig. 1844h.

[22] Nyanaponika/Hecker 1997, p. 97 with precise references to the *jātakas*. Citation after the *jātaka* 545 (Cowell 1990, VI, p. 156).

[23] Pichard 1993, 2, fig. 264g (the ornamentation, much of which destroyed, was apparently limited to the motif of the thousand Buddhas; the monument is dated to the 14th century by Pichard) and Pichard 1996, 6, fig. 1475g respectively.

[24] Luce 1969/70, I, p. 306.

[25] Pichard 1995, 5, fig. 1323v.

[26] Pichard 1999, 7, fig. 1844k.

[27] Bautze-Picron 1995/96, pp. 364-365 and figs 2, 10-12, 15, 17, 22-23; Bautze-Picron 1996, pp. 122-9 and figs 15-24, 26-29.

[28] Which is a small temple open to the North and standing West of the Abe-ya-dana, see Pichard, 1995, 5, fig. 1170f, illustrating the western wall of the shrine where the army clearly runs away from the central image. The army illustrated in temple 2157 is also published by Pichard 2001, 8, figs 2157f-g.

[29] Bautze-Picron 1996, p. 129 and figs 23-24. Both monstrous creatures are also depicted in early thankas, where they have many faces and apparently hold the ritual knife and skull (Bautze-Picron 1995/96, figs 2, 10). For the monstrous creatures in the Kubyauk-gyi at Wetky-in, see Oshegowa 1988, figs 72-73, Ono/Inoue 1978, fig. 120 (detail of the right-hand panel), or Aung Thaw 1978, p. 97 and Strachan 1989, pl. XXVI (right-hand part of the mural).

[30] Budsir, picture 25.

[31] Pichard 1995, 5, fig. 1150i.

[32] Shorto 1966 concerning the depiction of the *devatās* on the temple and Guillon 1985, p. 20 fig. 3 and pp. 18-19 concerning the army of Māra. The French author observes, more than once, similarities in the composition between the depiction of the deities on the roundels of the Abe-ya-dana and the representation of soldiers of Māra's army on the Ānanda (pp. 38, 40, 41, 43, 45) and we shall further compare the *supaṇṇa*, another name for Garuḍa, of his fig. 29 with the actual Garuḍa carrying Viṣṇu on the roundel of the Abe-ya-dana illustrated here fig.102. As Guillon observes it (p. 63 note 2), the direction followed by Māra and his army in the Naga-yon differs: they walk from right to left, but taken as part of the iconography of the Enlightenment depicted in the shrine they can be seen walking in the right direction, from left to right. Another reason for this obsolete position might be the intention to distribute them in the direction of the circumambulation. I would not, like Guillon seems to do it (ibid., pp. 62-63), attribute the magnificent presence of the army of Māra to a Sarvāstivādin tradition preserved by the Mons, since it directly relates to still numerous preserved images from Bihar and Bengal.

[33] The sun and the moon already appeared carved on either side of a *thūpa*, on a rectangular slab, found in excavations near Śrī Kṣetra (Prome); moreover, five images of the meditating Buddha are carved side by side at the bottom of the *thūpa* (and of a second one), most probably being the five Buddhas of our *kappa*, i.e. the four Buddhas of the past Kakusandha, Konāgamana, Kassapa and Gotama and the future Buddha Metteyya. See Pichard 1991, figs 1 and 2 (with further references).

[34] Bigandet 1880, II, pp. 88-89.

[35] Bigandet 1880, I, p. 221.

[36] Compare to the ornamental medallions in the Thakya-muni-hpaya (temple 147), see Pichard 1992, 1, fig. 147m.

[37] Ba Shin 1962, pl. 17a. The painting in monument 1844 is unpublished.

[38] As written in the *Lokapaññatti* (Denis 1977, I, p. 53), the sun and the moon hover forty thousand yojanas above the continent of the Jambūdvīpa, and exactly at the same level as the Sumeru.

[39] On this subject see the book by Anna Maria Quagliotti, 1998, and on the subject of the painted *buddhapadas* of Pagan, Bautze-Picron [in press].

[40] Shorto 1966, pp. 156sqr, noticed that some emblems shown on the footprints, are presented by the gods depicted on the basement of the Ānanda. Moreover, these gods include the set of the four regents of the quarters, and the two main gods Brahmā and Sakka, rulers of the *Brahmalokas* and *Devalokas* respectively. If the universe is here alluded to, its presence would imply that the monument is identifiable with the body of the Buddha, who is the one who owns all these symbols and who incorporates the universe within himself.

[41] Where it was composed from various Sanskrit sources: Denis 1977, I, pp. VI-IX.

[42] Since in a contemporary cult of the future Buddha in upper Burma, objects are being shown in procession, which are seen on the footprints, see Shorto 1966, p. 165 and footnote 17.

[43] Pichard 1993b, p. 99. For a complex rendering of the universe, see Pichard 1996, 6, fig. 1536n-o (Nga-phon-thin-yaung).

[44] The *Tribhūmi Braḥ R'vaṅ* written in 1345 in Siam, tells us that in a *kappa* where there is no Buddha or no Paccekabuddha, then a Universal King appears (Coedès/Archaimbault 1973, p. 88 and also p. 86 for a description of the *cakkavattin* or Reynolds/Reynolds 1982, pp. 139 and 136-7).

[45] Przyluski 1932 gives a detailed analysis of this cosmic lake, pp. 481-2, 490-493.

[46] Bigandet 1880, I, p. 28; Malalasekera 1960, I, pp. 96-99; *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, I/4, pp. 580-581, 716-22. The fact that this is the lake where Buddhas go after their life or where Cunda washed his dress evidently relates the place to death, hence most probably its position on the western vault, but it is clearly also a place of purification before a new birth or initiation and, as demonstrated by Przyluski (1932, p. 493), it is a real cosmic lake, positioned at the centre of the universe, i.e. around the axis mundi. See Pichard 1996, 6, fig. 1536k-m, for instance (Nga-phon-thin-yaung).

[47] Malalasekera 1960, I, p. 99, after the *Milindapañha*.

[48] Coedès/Archaimbault 1963, pp. 208-9, Reynolds/Reynolds 1982, pp. 294-6.

[49] Pichard 1993a, pp. 99, 101; Kloetzli 1989, pp. 24-28.

[50] Pichard 1993b, pp. 99-101 and figs 13-14; Pichard 1994, 3, fig. 732e; Eade 1998, p. 59 and his note 8.

[51] This could account for the position which is practically generalized, of the horoscope on the ceiling of the passage leading to the sanctum: entry into the sanctuary leads to a new birth, see Snodgrass 1992, pp. 201-2.

Chapter VI

[1] See also Ono/Inoue 1978, figs 160-161.

[2] The presence of such motifs in the corners reminds of the tall Garuḍas taming *nāgas*, who are distributed in corners or on the façade at Angkor (Stern 1965, p. 30, figs 48, 57, 59, 163-4; Marchal 1951, pl. XVII, 64). For further examples at Pagan, see Ono/Inoue 1978, figs 146, 155. On the whole, the painted motif of the lion's face with or without arms, holding eventually two monstrous creatures, reminds of the *kāla* generalized in the art of Cambodia (see for instance Marchal 1951, pl. XVI, 58 or XVII, 61). Similarly the stucco ornamentation of the pediments include *makaras* reminding us of Java or Cambodia. This shows that Pagan was fully integrated within the cultural network of South-East Asia but would require further studies.

[3] Duroiselle 1918, p. 82 (with regard to the paintings in the Nanda-ma-nya, for further quotations from this article see Chapter II note 49 and Chapter VII, notes 69-71).

[4] Ibid., p. 81. Misunderstanding arose also because of a wrong translation of the inscription as shown by the critics introduced by Frasch 1996, p. 288 footnote 10.

[5] On the position of erotic couples in the structure of the temple, see Desai 1984.

[6] Pichard 1996, 6, fig. 1605o-p and fig. 1467p respectively.

[7] Bautze-Picron 1998c, figs 1-7 and pp. 18-24.

[8] For further representations in the Nanda-ma-nya, see Bautze-Picron 1998c, figs 10, 21, Pichard 1994, 3, fig. 577l, r-s.

[9] See Frasch 2000 for a study of the temples topped by this tower and their historical meaning.

[10] This type of construction is usually made of wood (known as ok-taik), examples of it belonging to a later period, the eighteenth century or even later. A rare building in bricks still stands at Pagan, the Pitakat-taik (monument 1587) (Pichard, 1996, 6, pp. 210-211, Strachan 1989, p. 45 and pl. 32), a monument of the eleventh century probably renovated in 1783. This structure is reproduced on the walls of the Tha-mu-ti-hpaya (Pichard 1994, 4, fig. 844l), reminiscent of the walls of temple 92 at Sale (pls 9, 69-70); see also Pichard 1995, 5, figs 1422j-k; ibid., 1996, 6, figs1481h-i (Pe-nan-tha-gu).

[11] Bernet Kempers 1976, pl. 103.

[12] Ono/Inoue 1978, figs 64-70, 150-154 reproduces a series of such fantastic birds belonging to the throne or the arch.

[13] Pichard 1994, 4, fig. 1077g; Ono/Inoue, pls 152-3.

[14] Bautze-Picron 1998c, figs 35-36. The motif of the Hpaya-thon-zu is also discussed and reproduced by Duroiselle 1918, p. 88 and pl. I.IIIb.

[15] For comparative examples, see Bautze-Picron 1998c, drawing II p. 27 and figs 1 or 3 for a carved example, showing the painters' source of inspiration.

[16] Pichard 1994, 3, pp. 163-4, where it is also illustrated in fig. 661g.

[17] These are the so-called 'andagu' slabs, see Bautze-Picron 1999, figs 1, 5-13.

[18] Coedès/Archaimbault 1973, p. 104, Reynolds/Reynolds 1982, p. 161, or Denis 1977, I, pp. 44-45. U Mya mentions (1934, p. 329) that Sakka's elephant is three-headed in later depictions (and Indra's vehicle is indeed multi-headed). But for a wonderful cosmic depiction of the elephant in the fourteenth century, see Coedès/Archaimbault 1973, pp. 158-9 and Reynolds/Reynolds 1982, pp. 226-8.

[19] Bautze-Picron 1998c, fig. 25.

[20] Bautze-Picron 1998c, fig. 26 and pp. 26-27.

[21] Pichard 1993a, 2, fig. 324i.

[22] Pichard 1999, 7, fig. 1846h.

[23] Or shows the cloud formed by a series of circular elements shaped as if they would be coiled snakes or vases (Ono/Inoue 1978, fig. 71).

[24] The figure on the capital of the dummy pillar is reproduced by Pichard 1999, 7, fig. 1846i; seated on two diverging lions, it reproduces the same perception of the frontal view by splitting the animal into two symmetric parts.

[25] Reminiscent of similar frames seen on a porcelain dish from the Yuan period (fourteenth century) (Rawson 1984, fig. 123), on a jar from the same period (ibid., fig. 114) or on one of the Koryo dynasty (thirteenth century) (ibid., fig. 122b).

[26] Aung Thaw 1978, p. 87.

[27] *Pagodas and Monuments* 1995, ill. p. 84; Pichard 5, fig. 1239j.

[28] See also Ono/Inoue 1978, fig. 101.

[29] Pichard 1993, 2, fig. 339g. In the Nga-phon-thin-yaung (monument 1536), a row of lotus medallions with elegantly delineated geese replaces the creeper, bordering the limit of the entrance vault (Pichard 1996, 6, fig. 1536g-h).

[30] Pichard 1995, 5, fig. 1255g-h.

[31] Pichard 1995, 5, figs 1148j-q.

[32] Rawson 1984, figs 8, 55, 62b, 87, 98, 114, pls 2-3. Most of these examples belong to the Yuan dynasty. It is likely that the motifs travelled through the import of lacquerware or porcelain, then being exported from China to the Middle-East but also to South Asia (see Das 1991/92 with further references concerning the discovery of porcelain of the Yuan period in Delhi).

[33] A similar motif is already introduced in the architectural ornamentation of north-east India, where it apparently evolves from the blue lotus or *utpala*; petals are elongated and thin but they all have the same length and form a compact flower, still seen at Pagan in the Loka-hteik-pan (pl. 198) or the Abe-ya-dana (pl. 109). Such an elongated blossom or leaf also ap-

pears, albeit extremely rarely, in the depiction of the *devatās* of Angkor-Vat (S. Marchal 1997, pl. X.D), where the flowers most often represented are the blossoms of the coconut palm and the areca palm-tree. Moreover, the motif is strongly reminiscent of the peony leaves illustrated in the Yuan period (1260-1364). Chinese goods must have been favoured at Pagan: the *Glass Palace Chronicle* mentions the presence of Chinese silks among the property of the king (Pe Maung Tin/Luce 1960, pp. 142, 172). As T. Frasch reminds us, inscriptions also testify how silk was praised at Pagan and that silken hangings were used in some temples (1996, p. 282).

[34] See above footnotes 25 and 32.

[35] Pichard 1992, 1, figs 147k and m.

[36] Also reproduced by Aung Thaw 1978, p. 95 (copy). In particular, the narrow upper band where running waves recall clouds seen in the kingdom of Dali (Yunnan) in the twelfth century: Lutz 1991, cat. 8 p. 85 (manuscript dated 1119).

[37] Bautze 1999, pls 19-26 and pp. 365-70.

[38] Ibid., pl. 9 and p. 360. It is similarly carved on the Kyauk-ku-umin (Pichard 1992, 1, fig. 154f-g, Strachan 1989, pl. 39) and in the Nan-hpaya (Bautze 1999, pl. 8 and p. 360, Pichard 1995, 5, fig. 1239q; *Pagodas and Monuments* 1995, ill. p. 86).

[39] Bautze 1999, pls 6-8.

[40] Pichard 1992, 1, fig. 148g.

[41] Cf. Bautze 1999, pl. 10.

[42] Pichard 1992, 1, fig. 147m.

[43] Ono/Inoue 1978, figs 182 or 94 where it frames the Buddha's footprints.

[44] See also Ono/Inoue 1978, fig. 96.

[45] Pichard 1992, 1, p. 52, '734', figs 90g-h; ibid. 1993, 2, figs 257f-j; ibid. 1994, 3, figs 653g, n-r, 658m, 659t, 734g-h; ibid., 1999, 7, figs 1798f-h, 1844n; ibid. 2001, 8, fig. 2136g.

[46] See also Ono/Inoue 1978, figs 95, 169-70, 172.

[47] As pointed out by Coomaraswamy, quoted by Guénon 1962, p. 333 footnote 2.

[48] As such, it occurs already on the lower surface of the lower architrave on the *torānas* of Sanchi. Coomaraswamy 1997, pp. 11-14, 226-7. This is the door which the Buddha opens (ibid., p. 49 fn. 51 and Rhys Davids 1971a, p. 33: 'Wide opened are the portals to Nirvana!'). See also Verardi 1985, p. 79 with further references to an article by A.K. Coomaraswamy, and Bigandet 1880, II, p. 68: before His death, the Buddha wished 'to visit for the last time the abodes wherein his soul has so amorously dwelt during his long and lofty mental peregrinations. He entered into the first state of dzan, then the second, the third, and the fourth: he ascended there from successively to the first, second, third, and fourth immaterial seats ...'

[49] Pichard 1996, 6, figs 1580i-j; Ono/Inoue 1978, fig. 170.

[50] Pichard 1995, 5, fig. 1192t. Further examples in other temples, see Ono/Inoue 1978, figs 103, 105. Pichard 1993b, figs19-20, reproduces a rich selection of these motifs, purely floral or with images of the Buddha, which adorn the vaults of the Pagan temples. Secant circles with floral ornamentation, such as those reproduced on his figs 19-9 and 10, reminds of a similar motif noticed at Dadu, the Yuan capital (Rawson 1984, fig. 126).

[51] See also Ono/Inoue 1978, figs 102, 172-3, 175.

[52] Pichard 1993b, figs 2, 4, 7 or 9.

[53] *Pagodas and Monuments* 1995, ill. p. 137.

[54] Ono/Inoue 1978, fig. 20.

[55] Or Pichard 1995, 5, fig. 1208h, for instance.

[56] Pichard 1993b, fig. 12. The same is observed on the cupola in monument 1481 where the Brahmās sit in pavilions distributed around large Buddha images; further Brahmās kneel at the feet of the Buddha, worshipping him (Pichard 1996, 6, figs 1481h-i).

[57] See also Pichard 1996, 6, fig. 1460e-f.

[58] Bigandet 1880, I, p. 28. *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, I/4, pp. 580-581, 716-22. The fact that it is the lake where Buddhas go after their life or where Cunda washed his dress evidently relates the place with death, hence most probably its position on the western vault, but it is clearly also a place of purification before a new birth or initiation. Coedès/Archaimbault 1973, pp. 170-176 gives the names of the sixteen *Brahmalokas*. Sixteen *Brahmalokas* belong to the realm of form (Kloetzli 1989, p. 29-30) whereas four more are beyond any form (ibid., p. 30).

[59] See also Ono/Inoue 1978, figs 95, 102, 169, 172.

Chapter VII

[1] Chapter I, footnote 7.

[2] Luce 1969/70, I, pp. 304ff, mentions, beside the Vinaya (*Sutta Vibhaṅga*), the *Dīgha-nikāya*, the *Majjhima-nikāya* and the *Nidāna-kathā*. The latter text was probably read for the biographical and narrative paintings on the outer wall of the ambulatory (from birth to the approach of the Bodhi tree), which were resumed within the shrine (where it starts with the first predication, ibid., p. 306), whereas the other texts were exclusively used for the painted ornamentation of the shrine above the paintings inspired by the *Nidāna-kathā*.

[3] See Luce 1969/70, I, pp. 305-9 for a detailed account of the glosses identifying the panels.

[4] As already noted by Luce 1969/70, I, p. 305, footnote 16. Three niches were apparently walled in on each of the three walls (south, west and north), and subsequently covered with paintings. If, as he remarked, there is no depiction of Māra's army attacking the Buddha on the western wall, a depiction of the event is seen on the south wall, where the god shoots an arrow at the Buddha and where his three daughters try to charm the latter.

[5] This is what Luce identified (ibid, p. 305) as the descent from the Heaven of the Realm of the thirty-three Gods.

[6] Could they be the gods Sakka and Brahmā persuading the Buddha to predicate? But Brahmā is not recognizable; both gods having only one head each.

[7] Luce 1969/70, I, p. 308.

[8] Bautze-Picron 1998c, pp. 20-24.

[9] Luce/Ba Shin 1961, p. 372.

[10] Ibid., pp. 372-6 ('10th row'), where the reading of the ink-glosses is given.

[11] Ibid., pp. 371-2 ('9th row').

[12] Ibid., pp. 363-6 ('topmost row').

[13] Ibid., pp. 367-71 ('2nd row').

[14] Buddha images depicting either the gesture of predication or of touching of the earth were distributed in the niches, see Luce 1969/70, III, pl. 344 and I, p. 375.

[15] On the upper level, the scenes deal with the predication of the Vinaya by the Buddha in different cities, see ibid., pp. 377-9.

[16] Luce/Ba Shin 1961, pp. 379-82.

[17] Burlingame 1969, 3, pp. 41-54, concerning the miracles at Sāvatthi and the ascent to the heaven of the gods.

[18] Luce/Ba Shin 1961, p. 381.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Burlingame 1969, 3, p. 52.

[21] Luce 1969/70, III, pls 445a, 446a-b (c right is the same as b), 447a and b-c illustrating two Tārās. In all these examples, the divinity is two-armed and presents his/her characteristic flower. Considering the isolated nature of such bronzes, the fact that they are small and that they constitute a direct echo of bronzes cast in north-east India, we cannot reject the hypothesis that they might have been imported from India.

[22] Bautze-Picron 1999, pls 3-5, 9, 20-21, 25, 29-30, 32-37, 40.

[23] See for instance ibid., pls 3-5, 7-11, 14, 17-19, 22-26.

[24] Chapter I, footnote 54.

[25] Bautze-Picron 1998c, pp. 18-24.

[26] Bautze-Picron 1998b, p. 131, quoting Luce 1969/70, I, pp. 387-8 and Ba Shin 1962, p. 19.

[27] Dharmasiri 1988, Boisselier 1980, pp. 120, 150-151: the closest paintings are in the Tivanka Pilimagê in Polonnaruwa, a monument where *jātakas* are painted in the entrance hall and the life of the Buddha in the shrine, but this monument is later than the Loka-hteik-pan, and this might thus reflect a Burmese influence. See Chapter I, footnote 32.

[28] Faint traces of murals were discovered at Nalanda, see G. Bhattacharya 1985. Evidence of the presence of wall and cloth-paintings in north-east India is scattered in the Tibetan sources, see Bautze-Picron 1995/96, p. 387 notes 120 and 121 for further references.

[29] See above Chapter IV footnote 4.

[30] Bautze-Picron 1987; Bautze-Picron 1998b, figs 1-2.

[31] Bautze-Picron 1998c, fig. 41.

[32] Ibid., fig. 32 (correct the text: this mural in not in the Patho-hta-mya, but in the Loka-hteik-pan).

[33] Ibid., fig. 31.

[34] Ibid., p. 31 (note 2 for further references) and Bautze-Picron 2000, pls 13-14.

[35] In fact, these small red flowers falling from heaven are shown in the first part of the eleventh century in manuscripts from Bihar and Nepal. The motif is mentioned in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* as a 'rain' covering the background of cloth paintings (Lalou 1930, pp. 34-35, 44, 48, 56, 60). It appears on a cloth painting which could be dated in the first part of the eleventh century (*c.* 1050 most probably) (Bautze-Picron 1998c, fig. 1).

[36] In particular, see the stone images depicting the Buddha and his life, Bautze-Picron 1992.

[37] For the date, see Bautze-Picron 1999, p. 188. Ibid., pls 9, 10, 16, 39 where the red *upavīta* is visible.

[38] Ibid., pls 21, 36.

[39] Strachan 1989, p. 83.

[40] Bautze-Picron 1999b, pls 9, 11, 23-24, 28-30.

[41] Bautze-Picron 1996.

[42] U Chit Tin 1992, pp. 30-31, after various Pali sources quoted by the author.

[43] Bautze-Picron 1996, pp. 129, 135.

[44] The point escaped the attention of Luce 1969/70, I, p. 333 (quoted by Wenk 1977, p. 9), who sees in them Avalokiteśvara but rightly noted that they resemble the seated booted figures of the lower row, all carrying weapons and attributes.

[45] Raymond 1998.

[46] U Mya 1936, p. 183 and pls CIId-CIIIa, b, quoted by Luce 1969/70, 1, p. 329.

[47] Ibid.

[48] And this might be no mere chance: Mañjuśrī is closely related to the function of teaching and incorporates it when the Buddha is seen reaching the Enlightenment, see Bautze-Picron 1993.

[49] See, for instance, Kossak/Casey Singer 1998, cats 3, 18-19, 27.

[50] For instance Bautze-Picron 1999b, pls 12, 31.

[51] Kossak/Casey Singer 1998, cats 2, 21. For a thorough study of the death grounds, consult Meisezahl 1980.

[52] Kossak/Casey Singer 1998, cats 33, 35.

[53] As is, for instance, illustrated on a small thanka, Bautze-Picron 1995/96, fig.1, pp. 355-6 and passim, also published in Bautze-Picron 1998c, figs 1, 38-39.

[54] Cf. Bautze-Picron 1999b, pls 25, 37, 24 (above Jambhala), to be compared with the matted hair of Avalokiteśvara: pls 9-20, 27, 38-39 which is not illustrated in the Abe-ya-dana.

[55] Which recalls the tradition according to which Abeyadana, queen of Kyanzittha, would have originated from Patikkera, a kingdom located in south-east Bangladesh (Luce 1969/70, I, p. 322).

[56] And, similarly, the motif is carved at the Kyauk-ku-ohn-min (Strachan 1989, fig. 39), the façade of which is directly copied from door-frames carved in north Bengal (Luce 1969/70, III, pls 135-40).

[57] Which might draw their origin in the rendering of

the clouds from the Patho-hta-mya where thick round black lines fill the inner space of the clouds; see for instance Ono/Inoue 1978, pl. 34.

[58] Bautze-Picron 1998c, pp. 20-21.

[59] Luce 1969/70, I, p. 389. Luce counted that some 650 *sutta* panels were 'illustrated'.

[60] As noted by ibid., p. 390.

[61] Compare in particular with Pichard 1996, 6, ill. 1512w.

[62] As a matter of fact, the murals cut out by Thomann are no longer traceable today. While they were thought to be preserved in the Museum of Ethnology of Hamburg, the paintings kept in this museum appear to originate from the Thein-mazi, as demonstrated by Whitbread in his 1971 paper.

[63] Pichard 1994, 3, pp. 148-51.

[64] de Coral Rémusat 1951, pl. XI (compare with pl. VII-19, of an earlier period, where the forearms are present).

[65] Marchal 1951, pls XLIII-170, XLVIII-193; Stern 1965, figs 1-34.

[66] Monuments 995 and 1228 (Pichard 1994, 4, pp. 219-23; 1995, 5, pp. 126-7), also quoted by Frasch 2000, p. 45. Another possible similarity is the presence of a Garuḍa taming *nāgas* in the corners of the shrine at Pagan or in the corners of the façade at Angkor (Chapter VI, footnote 2).

[67] Frasch 1996, pp. 292-3; ibid. 1998, p. 85; ibid. 2000, pp. 44-45.

[68] Coedès 1964, p. 316, K. Bhattacharya 1961, p. 41; for Narapati, see Frasch 1996, p. 116.

[69] Duroiselle evidently felt scandalized by the murals of the monument, which he considered to be 'of a character so vulgarly erotic and revolting, that they can neither be reproduced nor described'! (Duroiselle 1918, p. 82). For him, those paintings and those of the Hpaya-thon-zu reflected the 'debased' thought of the Arī, i.e. the Arañňavāsin (see below). Like other scholars, he understood the Arī to belong to a religious sect which had preceded the arrival of Buddhism under the reign of Anawratha, and which was going to be 'so much abhorred' once the Theravāda was well established (p. 82). Now, Duroiselle mentioned an inscription dated 610 in the Burmese era, i.e. AD 1248, but related to events which had taken place more than a century earlier (p. 83), which would bring the definitive proof that the monks related to this temple and the Hpaya-thon-zu, could not belong to the Hīnayāna; the problem is that he misunderstood the phrase of the inscription, on which he concluded that the monks of the temple used to drink alcohol (Frasch 1996, p.288). And this would be the definite proof that not only this temple, not only the Hpaya-thon-zu but 'the numerous others scattered about, were the homes of that mysterious sect'. (Duroiselle 1918, p. 83) Another methodological problem is that around 1112-1130, dates which he suggests for the Nanda-ma-nya, the Theravāda had already developed its stronghold at Pagan, being officially sustained by the court since Alaungsitthu's father had founded the Kubyauk-gyi at Myinkaba in 1113. This implies that both spiritual trends, the official Buddhist one and the heretic Arī one both knew contemporary developments, which cannot be excluded. But on the grounds of very clear stylistic features we cannot consider the monuments of Minnanthu to be contemporary with those of Myinkaba. Of course, the scholar was well aware that this contradicted the statement that the Theravāda would have somehow ousted this heretic sect and he concluded that in fact, both 'communities seem to have lived on a footing of amity' (p. 84). Nonetheless, he still considered the Nanda-ma-nya to be 'an avowedly Arī temple', finally identifying the sect of the Arī as a sect of the Mahāyāna!

[70] Again consult the article by Charles Duroiselle (1918), who was followed in his interpretation, by N.R. Ray 1936, pp. 51-56. We should correct Ray who wrote that these 'gods and goddesses that are evidently Tantric in character' are met with in monuments all constructed at Minnanthu. The motifs seen in the Hpaya-thon-zu and, earlier, in the Nanda-ma-nya, are also observed in temples 1844 and 1846 (see above). The murals in those temples do not relate to the pantheon well known through the art of north-east India, while the Bodhisattas still recognizable in monuments of the early twelfth century have become in the meantime anonymous; neither the flowers which they hold nor any attribute allow a proper identification. They clearly act as protectors of the monument or of parts of the monument. As to the Bodhisattas 'embracing their respective *śaktis* or consorts' (Ray 1936, pp. 52 or 53), if the motif draws its origin in India, it is as the motif of the couple, again related to the doorjambs; here, it always occurs in a position of transition, either at the doorjamb or in the corner between two walls. Be that as it may be, even Ray had to admit the impossibility of identifying these images.

[71] As for the 'Bodhisatta' with two consorts who were recognized by Duroiselle and Ray, they constitute a development of a scene noted already above in temple 1846 where the main figure leant on the smaller attendant (pl. 147). On closer scrutiny of at these images, it is also clear that the Bodhisatta is in fact female, wearing the typically female bun of hair falling on the nape of the neck and not the matted hair of the male characters (compare both types of hair-dress on pl. 190); both attendants wear the same bun of hair, which is again another import from the art of eastern India But Duroiselle and Ray apparently wanted to read here at any price an image of 'Tantric' bearing, hence their identification of the scene as being of a Bodhisatta 'embracing their respective *śaktis* or consorts' (see previous note).

[72] Consult the *Inventory* by Pierre Pichard under the relevant numbers for these temples.

[73] Pichard 1992, 1, pp. 134-6.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alabaster, Henry, *The Wheel of the Law, Buddhism illustrated from Siamese Sources by The Modern Buddhist, A Life of the Buddha and An Account of the Phrabat*, London (Trübner & CO.), 1871.

Archer, W.G. and S. Paranavitana, *Ceylon, Paintings from Temple, Shrine and Rock*, New York (The New York Graphic Society in arrangement with Unesco), 1957.

U Aung Thaw, *Historical Sites in Burma*, (reprint:) Rangoon (The Ministry of Union Culture, Government of the Union of Burma), 1978.

U Ba Kyi, *The Illustrated History of Buddhism*, (reprint:) Dale City (Theravāda Buddhist Society of America), 1994.

U Ba Shin, *The Lokahteikpan, an Early Burmese Pagan Temple*, Rangoon, 1962.

Col. Ba Shin, K.J. Whitbread, G. Luce, *et al.*, Pagan, 'Wetkyi-in Kubyauk-gyi, an early Burmese Temple with Ink-glosses' *Artibus Asiae*, vol. XXXIII, 3, 1971, pp. 167-218.

Barua, Dipak K., *Bodh Gaya Temple, its History*, (second revised enlarged edition) Buddha Gaya (Buddha Gaya Temple Management Committee), 1981.

Bautze, Joachim K., 'Stucco Decoration in Bengal and Pagan During the Pala Period' *Journal of Bengal Art*, vol. 4, 1999, pp. 359-72.

Bautze-Picron, Claudine, 'A Unique Hamsajātaka Representation from Bihar' in W. Lobo and M. Yaldiz, ed., *Investigating Indian Art, Proceedings of a Symposium on the Development of Early Buddhist and Hindu Iconography held at the Museum of Indian Art Berlin in May 1986 (H. Härtel Festschrift)*, Berlin, 1987, pp. 31-37.

—, 'Lakhi Sarai, An Indian Site of Late Buddhist Iconography and Its Position within the Asian Buddhist World' *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, Kamakura (The Institute of Silk Road Studies), vol. 2, 1991/92, pp. 239-84.

—, 'A Preliminary Report on the Buddha Image from Betagi' in C. Jarrige, ed., *South Asian Archaeology 1989, Papers from the Tenth International Conference of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe, Musée National des Arts Asiatiques Guimet, Paris, France, 3-7 July 1989*, Madison Wisconsin (Prehistory Press), 1992, pp. 301-8 (Monographs in World Archaeology no. 14).

—, 'Mañjuśrī au geste de l'enseignement' in *Premier Colloque E. Lamotte (Bruxelles et Liège 24-27 septembre 1989)*, Louvain-la-Neuve (Université Catholique de Louvain), 1993, pp. 149-60 (Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain, 42).

—, 'Between men and gods, small motifs in the Buddhist art of Eastern India, an interpretation' in K.R. van Kooij and H. van der Veere, eds., *Function and Meaning in Buddhist Art, Proceedings of a seminar held at Leiden University, 21-24 October 1991*, Groningen (Egbert Forsten), 1995, pp. 59-79.

—, 'Śākyamuni in Eastern India and Tibet from the 11th to the 13th centuries' *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, Kamakura (The Institute of Silk Road Studies), vol. 4, 1995/96, pp. 355-408.

—, 'From God to Demon, from Demon to God: Brahmā & other Hindu Deities in Latge Buddhist Art of Eastern India' *Journal of Bengal Art*, vol. 1, 1996, pp. 109-35.

—, *The Art of Eastern India in the collection of the Museum für Indische Kunst Berlin, Stone & Terracotta Sculptures*, Inscriptions read by Gouriswar Bhattacharya, Berlin (Dietrich Reimer Verlag), 1998 (Monographien zur Indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie, herausgegeben im Auftrag des Stiftungsrates der Stiftung Ernst Waldschmidt von der Direktorin des Museums für Indische Kunst der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz Marianne Yaldiz, Band 12). (1998a)

—, 'La représentation des *jātaka* en Birmanie et dans l'Inde orientale à l'époque médiévale' in Pierre Pichard & François Robinne, eds., *Études birmanes en hommage à Denise Bernot*, Paris (École française d'Extrême-Orient, Études thématiques, vol. 9), 1998, pp. 129-45.(1998b)

—, 'The Elaboration of a Style: Eastern Indian Motifs and Forms in early Tibetan (?) and Burmese Painting' in Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter and Eva Allinger, eds., *The Inner Asian International Style, 12th -14th Centuries, Papers Presented at a Panel of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz, 1995*, Wien (Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften), 1998, pp. 15-65 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Denschriften, 267. Band; Proceedings of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz 1995, General Editor: Ernst Steinkellner, volume VII).(1998c)

—, 'Lumière et obscurité: L'Éveil de Śākyamuni et la victoire sur Māra' *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale*, Naples, vol. 58, 1/2, 1998, pp. 1-49.(1998d)

—, 'Between India and Burma: the 'andagu' stelae' in Donald M. Stadtner, ed., *The Art of Burma, New Studies*, Mumbai (Marg Publications, vol. 50), 1999, pp. 37-52. (1999a)

—, 'Buddhist Painting during the reign of Harivarmadeva (end of the 11th c.) in Southeast Bangladesh' *Journal of Bengal Art*, Dhaka, vol. 4, 1999, pp. 159-97. (1999b)

—, 'The Los Angeles manuscript covers: uncovering and explaining their iconography' *Journal of Bengal Art*, Dhaka, vol. 5, 2000, pp. 95-128.

—, 'The Biography of the Buddha in Indian Art: How and When ?' in Andreas Schüle, ed., *Biography as a religious and cultural Text*, Münster-Hamburg-London (Lit Verlag), 2002, pp. 197-239.

(in press), 'Some Observations on the painted Buddhapadas at Pagan' in Kakali Roy, ed., *Adhir Chakroborty Festschrift*, Calcutta.

Bernet Kempers, A.J., *Ageless Borobudur, Buddhist Mystery in Stone, Decay and Restoration, Mendut and Pawon, Folklife in Ancient Java*, Wassenaar (Servire), 1976.

Bhattacharya, Gouriswar, 'The Newly Discovered Buddhist Temples at Nalanda' in Janine Schotsmans and Maurizio Taddei, eds., *South Asian Archaology 1983*, Naples (Istituto Universitario Orientale, Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Series Minor XXIII), 1985, pp. 719-40.

—, 'Buddha Sakyamuni under the Mango Tree' *Oriental Art*, vol. XXXVI/1, Spring 1990, pp. 31-34.

Bhattacharya, Kamaleswar, *Les religions brahmaniques dans l'ancien Cambodge d'après l'épigraphie et l'iconographie*, Paris (École Française d'Extrême-Orient), 1961 (Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, volume XLIX).

Bigandet, P., *The Life or Legend of Gaudama, the Buddha of the Burmese, with Annotations, The Ways to Naibban, and Notice on the Phongyies or Burmese Monks*, 3rd ed., London (Trübner & Co.), 1880.

Bizot, François, 'La figuration des Pieds du Bouddha au Cambodge' *Asiatische Studien - Études Asiatiques*, vol. 25, 1971, pp. 407-39.

Boisselier, Jean, *Ceylan, Sri Lanka*, Genève/Paris/Münich (Nagel), 1980.

U Bo Kay, 'Relations between Ceylon and Burma in the 11th Century A.D.' in Ba Shin, Jean Boisselier, A.B. Griswold, eds., *Essays offered to G.H. Luce by his Colleagues and Friends in Honour of his Seventy-fifth Birthday*, Ascona (Artibus Asiae), 1966, vol. I, pp. 93-96.

Brown, Robert L., 'The Śrāvastī Miracles in the Art of India and Dvāravatī' *Archives of Asian Art*, vol. XXXVII, 1984, pp. 79-95.

—, 'Pyu Art: Looking East and West' *Orientations*, vol. 32/4, April 2001, pp. 35-41.

Budsir (Buddhist Scriptures Information Retrieval): www.budsir.org/MenuEng.htm ('An Illustrated Life of the Buddha').

Burlingame, Eugene Watson, *Buddhist Legends, Translated from the original Pali text of the Dhammapada Commentary*, 3 Parts, (reprint:) London (Pali Text Society), 1969 (Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 30).

Sayagyi U Chit Tin, *The Coming Buddha, Ariya Metteyya*, 2nd revised edition, Kandy (Buddhist Publication Society), 1992.

Coedès, George, *Bronzes khmers*, Paris/Bruxelles (Van Oest), 1923 (Ars Asiatica, vol. V).

—, *Les États Hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, nouvelle édition revue et mise à jour, Paris (De Boccard), 1964.

—, 'Une vie indochinoise du Buddha: la *Pathamasambodhi*' *Mélanges d'Indianisme à la mémoire de Louis Renou*, Paris (De Boccard), 1968, pp. 217-27 (Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne, fascicule 28).

Coedès, Georges et Charles Archaimbault, *Les Trois Mondes (Traibhūmi Braḥ R'vaṅ)*, Paris (École Française d'Extrême-Orient), 1973 (Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, volume LXXXIX).

Coomaraswamy, Ananda K., *The Door in the Sky, Coomaraswamy on Myth and Meaning*, Selected and with a preface by Rama P. Coomaraswamy, Princeton, New Jersey (Princeton University Press), 1997.

de Coral Rémusat, Gilberte, *L'art khmer, Les grandes Étapes de son Évolution*, Paris (Vanoest, Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire), 1951 (Études d'Art et d'Ethnologie asiatiques, publiées sous le patronage de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, I).

Cowell, E.B., ed., *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births, Translated from the Pāli by various Hands*, 6 vols., (reprint:) Oxford (The Pali Text Society), 1990.

Das, Asok K., 'Chinese Porcelain at the Mughal Court' *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, Kamakura (Journal of the Institute of Silk Road Studies), vol. 2, 1991/92, pp. 383-409.

Denis, Eugène, *La Lokapaññati et les idées cosmologiques du Bouddhisme ancien*, Paris (Librairie Honoré Champion)/Lille (Atelier Reproduction des thèses), 1977 (Thèse présentée devant l'Université de Paris IV - le 16 juin 1976).

Desai, Devangana, 'Placement and Significance of Erotic Sculptures at Khajuraho' in Michael W. Meister, ed., *Discourses on Śiva, Proceedings of a Symposium on the Nature of Religious Imagery*, Bombay (Vakils, Feffer & Simons Ltd.), 1984, pp. 143-55.

Dharmasiri, Albert, 'The Tivaṅka Pilimage Murals in Sri Lanka' *Orientations*, vol. 19/4, April 1988, pp. 54-65.

Duroiselle, Charles, 'Pictorial Representations of Jātakas in Burma' *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India 1912-13*, Calcutta (Superintendent Government Printing, India), 1916, pp. 87-119.

—, 'The Stone Sculptures in the Ananda Temple at Pagan' *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India 1913-14*, Calcutta (Superintendent Government Printing, India), 1917, pp. 63-97.

—, 'The Rock-cut Temples of Powun-Daung' *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India 1914-15*, Calcutta (Superintendent Government Printing, India), 1920, pp. 42-55.

—, 'The Ari of Burma and Tantric Buddhism' *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India 1915-16*, Calcutta (Superintendent Govern-

ment Printing, India), 1918, pp. 79-93.

—, 'Wathundayé, the Earth-goddess' *Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma For the year ending 31st March 1922*, Rangoon (Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma), 1922, pp. 14-17.

—, *The Ānanda Temple at Pagan*, Delhi (Manager of Publications), 1937 (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 56).

—, 'The Talaing Plaques on the Ananda' *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Archaeological Survey of Burma, vol. II, Parts I (Text) and II (Plates), Rangoon (Superintendent, Government Printing and Stationery), 1961/1962.

—, and Maung Mya, 'Conservation, Burma Circle' *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India for the Years 1930-31, 1931-32, 1932-33 & 1933-34*, edited by C.L. Fabri, Delhi (Manager of Publications), 1936, pp. 43-48.

Eade, J.C. , 'On the Temple Walls of Pagan: Early Burmese Horoscopes' in Pierre Pichard et François Robinne, eds., *Études birmanes en hommage à Denise Bernot*, Paris (École française d'Extrême-Orient), 1998, pp. 57-73 (Études thématiques, vol. 9).

Ebert, Jorinde, *Parinirvāṇa, Untersuchungen zur ikonographischen Entwicklung von den indischen Anfängen bis nach China*, Stuttgart (Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden Gmbh), 1985 (Publikationen der Abteilung Asien Kunsthistorisches Institut der Universität Köln, Band 5).

Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, vol. I, Fascicle 4: Anabhisamaya Sutta - Aoki, Bunkyō, ed. G.P. Malalasekera, Ceylon: Published by the Government of Ceylon, 1965.

Edwardes, Michael, ed., *A Life of the Buddha, From a Burmese Manuscript*, London (The Folio Society), 1959.

Foucher, Alfred, *Les bas-reliefs gréco-bouddhiques du Gandhâra*, Paris (Imprimerie Nationale), 1905.

—, *La vie du Bouddha, d'après les textes et les monuments de l'Inde*, Paris (Payot), 1949.

Frasch, Tilman, *Pagan, Stadt und Staat*, Stuttgart (Franz Steiner Verlag), 1996 (Beiträge zur Südasienforschung, Südasien-Institut, Universität Heidelberg, Band 172).

—, 'A Buddhist Network in the Bay of Bengal: Relations between Bodhgaya, Burma and Sri Lanka, c. 300-1300' in Claude Guillot, Denys Lombard amd Roderick Ptak, eds., *From the Mediterranean to the China Sea: Miscellaneous Notes*, Wiesbaden (Harrassowitz Verlag), 1998, pp. 69-92.

—, 'A Remark on the Mahabodhi Temples at Pagan' in Wibke Lobo and Stefanie Reiman, eds., *Southeast Asian Archaeology 1998, Proceedings of the 7th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asia Archaeologists, Berlin, 31 August - 4 September 1998*, Berlin (Centre for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull, Special Issue & Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz), 2000, pp. 41-49.

Gattelier, Marie, 'Le temple Shitthaung à Myohaung, dépositaire des traditions de l'Arakan' *Arts Asiatiques*, tome XLVIII, 1993, pp. 110-126.

Geiger, Wilhelm, *The Mahāvaṃsa or the Great Chronicle of Ceylon*, London (The Pali Text Society), 1912 (Translations Series 3).

Gruenwedel, Albert, *Buddhistische Studien*, Berlin (Geographische Verlagshandlung Dietrich Reimer), 1897 (Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Veröffentlichungen aus dem Königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde, V. Band).

Guénon, René, *Symboles de la Science sacrée*, Paris (NRF/Gallimard), 1962.

Guillon, Emmanuel, *L'armée de Māra au pied de l'Ānanda (Pagán - Birmanie)*, Paris (Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations), 1985 ('Mémoire' no. 60).

Gutman, Pamela, *Burma's Lost Kingdoms: Splendours of Arakan*, Bangkok (Orchid Press), 2001.

Guy, John, 'The Art of the Pyu and Mon' in Donald M. Stadtner, ed., *The Art of Burma, New Studies*, Mumbai (Marg Publications), vol. 50, 1999, pp. 13-28.

Herbert, Patricia M., *The Life of the Buddha*, San Francisco (Pomegranate Artbooks/The British Library), 1993.

Horner, I.B., transl., *The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon, Part III, Chronicle of Buddhas (Buddhavaṃsa) and Basket of Conduct (Cariyāpiṭaka)*, London (The Pali Text Society), 1975.

Howard, Angela Falco, *The Imagery of the Cosmological Buddha*, Leiden (E.J. Brill), 1986.

Huntington, John C., 'Sowing the Seeds of the Lotus, A Journey to the Great Pilgrimage Sites of Buddhism, Part I' *Orientations*, vol. 16/11, November 1985 , pp. 46-61.

—, 'Sowing the Seeds of the Lotus, A Journey to the Great Pilgrimage Sites of Buddhism, Part II' *Orientations*, vol. 17/2, February 1986, pp. 28-43. (1986a)

—, 'Sowing the Seeds of the Lotus, A Journey to the Great Pilgrimage Sites of Buddhism, Part III' *Orientations*, vol. 17/3, March 1986, pp. 32-46. (1986b)

—, 'Sowing the Seeds of the Lotus, A Journey to the Great Pilgrimage Sites of Buddhism, Part IV' *Orientations*, vol. 17/7, July 1986, pp. 28-40. (1986c)

—, 'Sowing the Seeds of the Lotus, A Journey to the Great Pilgrimage Sites of Buddhism, Part V' *Orientations*, vol, 17/9, September 1986, pp. 46-58. (1986d)

—, 'Pilgrimage as Image: The Cult of the *Aṣṭamahāprātihārya*, Part I' *Orientations*, vol. 18/4, April 1987, pp. 55-63. (1987a)

—, 'Pilgrimage as Image: The Cult of the *Aṣṭamahāprātihārya*, Part II' *Orientations*, vol. 18/

8, August 1987, pp. 56-68. (1987b)

Imam, Abu, *Excavations at Mainamati: An Exploratory Study*, Dhaka (The International Centre for Study of Bengal Art), 2000 (Studies in Bengal Art Series, No. 2). (2000a)

—, 'Itakhola Mura Temple: its Date' *Journal of Bengal Art*, vol. 5, 2000, pp. 143-151. (2000b)

Jayawickrama, N.A., *The Story of Gotama Buddha, The Nidāna-kathā of the Jātakaṭṭhakathā*, translated by, Oxford (The Pali Text Society), 1990.

Karetzky, Patricia Eichenbaum, *The Life of the Buddha, Ancient Scriptural and Pictorial Traditions*, Lanham/New York/London (University Press of America), 1992.

—, 'The First Sermon' *East and West*, vol. 45, 1995, pp. 127-47.

Kloetzli, W. Randolph, *Buddhist Cosmology, Science and Theology in the Images of Motion and Light*, Delhi (Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited), 1989.

Kossak, Steven M. and Jane Casey Singer, *Sacred Visions, Early Paintings from Central Tibet*, New York (The Metropolitan Museum of Art), 1998.

Lalou, Marcelle, *Iconographie des étoffes peintes (paṭa) dans le Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, Paris (Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner), 1930 (Buddhica, Documents et travaux pour l'Étude du Bouddhisme, première séries, mémoires, tome VI).

Lamotte, Étienne, *Histoire du Bouddhisme indien, des origines à l'ère Śaka*, Louvain (Institut Orientaliste), (reprint:) 1967.

Lawson, Simon D., *A Catalogue of Indian Buddhist Clay Sealings in British Museums*, A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Oxford, Oxford, 1982.

Leoshko, Janice, 'The Vajrasana Buddha' in Janice Leoshko, ed., *Bodhgaya, the site of enlightenment*, Bombay (Marg Publications), 1988, pp. 29-44.

—, 'Scenes of the Buddha's Life in Pāla-Period Art' *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, Kamakura (The Institute of Silk Road Studies), vol. 3, 1993/94, pp. 251-76.

Lévi, Sylvain, 'Maitreya le Consolateur' in *Études d'orientalisme publiées par le Musée Guimet à la mémoire de Raymonde Linossier*, Paris (Librairie Ernest Leroux), 1932, tome II, pp. 355-402.

U Pu Le Win, *Pictorial Guide to Pagan*, Rangoon: Ministry of Union Culture, 1955.

—, 'The Jātakas in Burma' in Ba Shin, Jean Boisselier, A.B. Griswold, eds., *Essays offered to G.H. Luce by his Colleagues and Friends in Honour of his Seventy-fifth Birthday*, Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1966, vol. II, pp. 94-108.

Luce, Gordon H., 'The 550 Jātakas in Old Burma' *Artibus Asiae*, vol. XIX, 1956, pp. 291-307.

—, *Old Burma ~ Early Pagán*, New York (J.J. Augustin Publisher, Locust Valley for Artibus Asiae & The Institute of Fine Arts), New York University, 3 vols., 1969-1970.

—, 'Pali and Old Mon Ink Glosses in Pagan Temples' *Journal of the Burmese Research Society*, vol. LVIII/2, 1975, pp. 183-230.

—, *Phases of pre-Pagán Burma, Languages and History*, Oxford (Oxford University Press), 1985.

—, and Bohmu Ba Shin, 'Pagan Myinkaba Kubyauk-gyi Temple of Rājakumār (1113 A.D.) and the Old Mon Writings on its Walls' *Bulletin of the Burma Historical Commission*, vol. II, 1961, pp. 277-416.

Lutz, Albert, ed., *Der Goldschatz der Drei Pagoden, Buddhistische Kunst des Nanzhao- and Dali-Königreichs in Yunnan, China*, Zürich (Museum Rietberg), 1991.

Malalasekera, G.P., *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, London (The Pali Text Society/Luzac & Company Ltd.), 1960

Marchal, Henri, *Le décor et la sculpture khmers*, Paris (VanOest, Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire), 1951 (Études d'Art et d'Ethnologie asiatiques, publiées sous le patronage de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, III).

Marchal, Sapho, *Costumes et parures khmèrs d'après les devatā d'Angkor-Vat*, (reprint:) Paris (L'Harmattan), 1997.

Meisezahl, R.O., *Geist und Ikonographie des Vajrayāna-Buddhismus, Hommage à Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann*, Sankt Augustin (VGH Wissenschaftsverlag), 1980.

Maung Mya, 'Explorations in Burma' *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India for the Years 1930-31, 1931-32, 1932-33 & 1933-34*, edited by C.L. Fabri, Delhi (Manager of Publications), 1936, pp. 176-206.

—, 'A Note on the Buddha's Foot-prints in Burma' *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India for the Years 1930-31, 1931-32, 1932-33 & 1933-34*, edited by C.L. Fabri, Delhi (Manager of Publications), 1936, pp. 320-331.

Naudou, Jean, *Le Bouddha*, Paris (Somogy), 1973.

Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, *The Life of the Buddha according to the Pali Canon, Translated from the Pali*, selection of material, and arrangement by, (reprint:) Kandi (Buddhist Publication Society), 1998.

Norman, K.R., *Pāli Literature, including the canonical literature in Prakrit and Sanskrit of all the Hīnayāna Schools of Buddhism*, Wiesbaden (Otto Harrassowitz), 1983 (A History of Indian Literature, vol. 7: Buddhist and Jaina Literature, fascicle 2).

Nyanaponika Thera and Hellmuth Hecker, *Great Disciples of the Buddha, Their Lives, Their Works, Their Legacy*, edited with an Introduction by Bhikkhu Bodhi, Boston (Wisdom Publications), 1997.

Oshegowa, Nina, *Kunst in Burma, 2000 Jahre Architektur, Malerei und Plastik im Zeichen des Buddhismus und Animismus*, Leipzig (VEB E.A. Seemann), 1988.

Ono, Toru (text) and Takao Inoue (photos), *Pagan, Mural Paintings of the Buddhist Temples in Burma*, Tokyo (Kodansha), 1978.

The Pagodas and Monuments of Bagan, Volume I, n.p. (Yangoon: Ministry of Information), 1995.

Palast der Götter. 1500 Jahre Kunst aus India, Berlin, Große Orangerie, Schloß Charlottenburg 7. März - 28. Juni 1992, Berlin (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Museum für Indische Kunst).

Parimoo, Ratan, *Life of Buddha in India Sculpture (Ashta-Maha-Pratiharya)*, New Delhi (Kanak Publications), 1982.

Pichard, Pierre, *The Pentagonal Monuments of Pagan*, Bangkok (White Lotus), 1991.

—, *Inventory of Monuments at Pagan*, Paris/Gartmore (Unesco/Kiscadale Ltd), vol. 1, 1992, vol. 2, 1993, vol.3, 1994, vol.4, 1994, vol.5, 1995, vol.6, 1996, vol.7, 1999, vol. 8, 2001.

—, 'Sous les voûtes de Pagan' *Arts Asiatiques*, tome XLVIII, 1993, pp. 86-109.(1993b)

U Pe Maung Tin and G.H. Luce (transl.), *The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma*, (reprint:) Rangoon: Rangoon University Press, 1960.

Przyluski, Jean, 'Le symbolisme du pilier de Sarnath' in *Études d'orientalisme publiées par le Musée Guimet à la mémoire de Raymonde Linossier*, Paris (Librairie Ernest Leroux), 1932, tome II, pp. 481-98.

Quagliotti, Anna Maria, *Buddhapadas, An Essay on the Representation of the Footprints of the Buddha with a Descriptive Catalogue of the Indian Specimens from the 2nd century B.C. to the 4th century A.D.*, Kamakura (Institute of The Silk Road Studies), 1998.

Rawson, Jessica, *Chinese Ornament, The Lotus and the Dragon*, London (British Museum Publications Limited), 1984.

Ray, Nihar Ranjan, *Brahmanical Gods in Burma (A Chapter of Indian Art and Iconography)*, Calcutta (University of Calcutta), 1932, (reprint:) Bangkok (Orchid Press) 2001.

—, *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma*, Amsterdam (H.J. Paris), 1936, (reprint:) Bangkok (Orchid Press) 2002.

—, 'Early Traces of Buddhism in Burma (From the earliest times to the introduction of Theravāda Buddhism in Pagan in 1057)', *The Journal of the Greater India Society*, vol. VI/1, January 1939, (reprint:) New Delhi (Aditya Prakashan), 1987, pp. 1-52.(1939a)

—, 'Early Traces of Buddhism in Burma (Concluded from JGIS, VI, p. 52)' *The Journal of the Greater India Society*, vol. VI/1, January 1939, (reprint:) New Delhi (Aditya Prakashan), 1987, pp. 99-123.(1939b)

—, 'Theravāda Buddhism in Burma, from the introduction of Theravāda Buddhism in Pagan in 1057 to the fall of the Pagan dynasty, c. 1287 A.D.', *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, Leiden 1946, (reprint:) Bangkok (Orchid Press) 2002, pp. 89-151.

—, 'Frescoes', *Mārg, A Magazine of the Arts* 'In Praise of Buddhist Art in Burma', vol. IX/3, June 1956, pp. 45-50.

Raymond, Catherine, 'Wathundayé, divinité de la Terre en Birmanie et en Arakan' *Études birmanes en hommage à Denise Bernot*, éd. Pierre Pichard & François Robinne, Paris (École française d'Extrême-Orient, Études thématiques, vol. 9), 1998, pp. 113-27.

Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma For the year ending 31st March 1913, Rangoon (Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma), 1913.

Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma For the year ending 31st March 1916, Rangoon (Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma), 1916.

Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma For the year ending 31st March 1918, Rangoon (Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma), 1918.

Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma For the year ending 31st March 1919, Rangoon (Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma), 1919.

Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma For the year ending 31st March 1922, Rangoon (Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma), 1922.

Reynolds, Frank E. and Mani B. Reynolds, *Three Worlds according to King Ruang, A Thai Buddhist Cosmology*, Berkeley (The Regents of the University of California), 1982 (Berkeley Buddhist Studies Series 4).

Rhys Davids, T.W. , *Buddhist Birth-Stories (Jataka Tales), The Commentorial Introduction Entitled Nidāna-kathā, The Story of the Lineage*, New and Revised Edition by Mrs Rhys Davids, London/ New York (George Routledge & Sons Ltd./E.P. Dutton & Co), 1925.

—, *Dialogues of the Buddha, Translated from the Pali of the Dīgha Nikāya*, Part I, (reprint:) London (Routledge & Paul Kegan), 1973.

Rhys Davids, T.W. and C.A.F., *Dialogues of the Buddha, Translated from the Pali of the Dīgha Nikāya*, Parts II & III, (reprint:) London (Luzac), 1971 (a & b).

Rowland, Jr., Benjamin and Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *The Wall-Paintings of India, Central Asia & Ceylon, A Comparative Study*, Boston (The Merrymount Press), 1938.

Sailer, Waldemar C., 'The Buddha Pada Lakkhana Mandala in a 'Central-shrine Temple', of the 'Somin-gyi Pagoda Site', Bagan (Pagan), Union of Myanmar (Burma)' in *Proceedings of the International Seminar on Brahmanism and Buddhism in Thailand, August 19 to 21, 1994, Bangkok, Thailand*, Bangkok, 1996, pp. 63-88.

Saraswati, S.K. , 'Temples of Pagan' *The Journal of the Greater India Society*, vol. IX/1, 1942, (reprint:) New Delhi (Aditya Prakashan), 1987, pp. 5-28.

—, 'Abeyadāna and Patothamya, two interesting temples at Pagan' *The Journal of the Greater India Society*, vol. 10, 1943, (reprint:) New Delhi (Aditya Prakashan), 1987, pp. 145-53.

Schlingloff, Dieter, *Guide to the Ajanta Paintings, vol. I, Narrative Wall Paintings*, Delhi (Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt.Ltd), 1999.

Seidenstücker, K., *Süd-buddhistische Studien. I. Die Buddha-Legende in den Skulpturen des Ānanda-Tempels zu Pagan*, Hamburg (Meissner in Komm.), 1916 (Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg, 4).

Shorto, H.L., 'The Devatā Plaques of the Ananda Basement' in Ba Shin, Jean Boisselier, A.B. Griswold, eds, *Essays offered to G.H. Luce by his Colleagues and Friends in Honour of his Seventy-fifth Birthday*, Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1966, vol. II, pp. 156-65.

Snodgrass, Adrian, *The Symbolism of the Stupa*, (First Indian Edition:) Delhi (Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited), 1992.

Sotheby's, *Indian, Himalayan and South-East Asian Art*, London (Sotheby's), 24th November 1986.

—, *Indian, Himalayan and Southeast Asian Art*, New York (Sotheby's), October 28, 1991.

—, *Indian and Southeast Asian Art*, New York (Sotheby's), March 20, 1997.

Spiro, Melford E., *Buddhism and Society, A Great Tradition and Its Burmese Vicissitudes*, London (George Allen & Unwin Ltd.), 1971.

Stein, Rolf A., *Le monde en petit, Jardins en miniature et habitations dans la pensée religieuse d'Extrême-Orient*, Paris (Flammarion), 2001.

Stern, Philippe, *Les monuments khmers du style du Bàyon et Jayavarman VII*, Paris (Presses Universitaires de France), 1965 (Publications du Musée Guimet, Recherches et documents d'art et d'archéologie, tome IX).

Strachan, Paul, *Imperial Pagan, Art and Architecture of Burma*, Honolulu (University of Hawai Press), 1989.

Takata, Osamu (text) and Tsugusato Ohmura (photos), *Ajanta Paintings*, Tokyo (NHK Pulbishing Co., Ltd.), 2000.

Taw Sein Ko, 'Burmese Inscription at Bodh-Gaya' *Epigraphia Indica and Record of the Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. XI, Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, India, 1911-12, pp. 118-20.

U Than Tun, 'Religion in Burma, A.D. 1000-1300' *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, vol. XLII/II, 1959, pp. 47-69. (1959a)

—, 'Religious Buildings of Burma, A.D. 1000-1300' *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, vol. XLII/II, 1959, pp. 71-80.(1959b)

—, 'History of Buddhism in Burma, A.D. 1000-1300' *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, vol. LXI/I-II, 1978, pp. 1-266.

Thierry, Solange, 'Un objet rituel cambodgien, le 'popil'' *Objets et Mondes*, Tome XI/4, Hiver 1971, pp. 229-354.

Thomann, Th.H., *Pagan, ein Jahrtausend Buddhistischer Tempelkunst*, Stuttgart/Heilbronn (Verlag Walter Seifert), 1923.

Thomas, Edward J., *The Life of Buddha as Legend and History*, London (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & CO., LTD.), 1927.

U Tin Lwin, transl., 'Old Burmese Painting' *Oriens Extremus, Zeitschrift für Sprache, Kunst und Kultur der Länder des Fernen Ostens*, Jahrgang 21, 1974, pp. 237-59.

Verardi, Giovanni, 'Avatāraṇa: a Note on the Bodhisattva Image Dated in the Third Year of Kanika in the Sārnāth Museum' *East and West*, vol. 35, 1985, pp. 67-101.

—, 'Religions, Rituals, and the Heaviness of Indian History' *Annali*, vol. 56/2, Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1996, pp. 215-53.

—, 'The Buddha-Elephant' in Elizabeth Errington and Osmund Bopearachchi, eds., *Silk Road Art and Archaeology, vol. 6, Papers in honour of Francine Tissot*, Kamakura: The Institute of Silk Road Studies, 1999/2000, pp. 69-74.

von Hinüber, Oskar, *Notes on the Pāli Tradition in Burma, (Beiträge zur Überlieferungsgeschichte des Buddhismus in Birma, I)*, Göttingen (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht), 1983 (Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, I. Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1983, Nr.3).

—, *A Handbook of Pali Literature*, Berlin (de Gruyter), 1996 (Indian Philology and South Asian studies, 2).

von Schroeder, Ulrich, *Buddhist Sculptures in Tibet, Volume one, India & Nepal*, Hong Kong (Visual Dharma Publications Ltd.), 2001.

Wenk, Klaus, *Murals in Burma, Volume I, Paintings from Pagan of the late period, 18th century*, Zürich (Verlag Iñigo von Oppersdorff), 1977.

Whitbread, K.J., 'Mediaeval Burmese wall-paintings from a temple at Pagan now in the Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg' *Oriens Extremus, Zeitschrift für Sprache, Kunst und Kultur der Länder des Fernen Ostens*, Jahrgang 18, Heft 1, Juli 1971, pp. 85-122.

Wray, Elizabeth, Clare Rosenfield and Dorothy Bailey, *Ten Lives of the Buddha, Siamese Temple Painting and Jataka Tales*, with Photographs by Joe D. Wray, New York-Tokyo (Weatherhill), (revised paperback edition:) 1996.

Yule, Henry and A.C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive*, New Edition edited by William Crooke, (Reprint:) Delhi (Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt.Ltd.), 1984.

Zin, Monika, 'Der Elefant mit dem Schwert' in Friedrich Wilhelm, ed., *Festschrift Dieter Schlingloff, zur Vollendung des 65. Lebensjahres dargebracht von Schülern, Freunden und Kollegen*, Reinbek (Dr. Inge Wezler, Verlag für Orientalische Fachpublikationen), 1996, pp. 331-44.

GLOSSARY

Abeyadana, queen, wife of Kyanzittha

ajapāla nigrodha (Skt. nyagrodha), 'banyan-tree of the goat-herd', *Ficus bengalensis*

Ajanta, a Buddhist site in western India

Ajātasattu, ruler of Saṅkassa (Malalasekera 1960, I, pp. 31-35)

Ajita, son of Ajātasattu, he will become the future Metteyya (Malalasekera 1960, I, p. 37)

Akṣobhya, Buddha of the East

Alaungsitthu (or Sithu I, 1113/4-*c*.1168), ruler of Pagan

Amitābha, Buddha of the West

Ānanda, a disciple of the Buddha (Malalasekera 1960, I, pp. 249-68) – see also Nanda

Anāthapiṇḍika (Malalasekera 1960, I, pp. 67-73), a banker of Sāvatthi, contemporary to the Buddha

Anawrattha (Aniruddha) (*c*.1044-1178), ruler of Pagan

andagu, a type of yellow-beige stone

Anomā, a river

Anomadassin, seventh Buddha of the past (Malalasekera 1960, I, pp. 101-2)

Anotatta (Skt. Anavatapta), one of the seven lakes in the Himavant (Himalaya) (Malalasekera 1960, I, pp. 96-99)

Anurādhapura, a site in Sri Lanka

Aratī, 'Aversion', a daughter of Māra (Malalasekera 1960, I, p. 171)

arhat, a saint

Asadisadāna (Skt. asadṛśadāna), 'a unique donation'

Āsāḷhi (or Āsāḍhī, Āsāḍhā) June-July

Asita, chaplain of Suddhodana (Malalasekera 1960, I, pp. 208-9)

Asoka (Skt. Aśoka), king of Magadha (Malalasekera 1960, I, pp. 216-9)

aṣṭamahāprātihārya, 'eight great miraculous deeds'

Avalokiteśvara, a Bodhisatta/Bodhisattva

Avīci, one of the eight great purgatories (Malalasekera 1960, I, pp. 199-201)

Bagh, a Buddhist site in western India

Bāvarī, an ascetic, disciple of the Buddha (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 279-80)

Bayon, monument at Angkor

Bhallika, a merchant, younger brother of Tapassu (s.v.), both gave the Buddha his first meal after the Enlightenment (Malalasekera 1960, II, p. 367)

Bhāradvāja, name of a brahmin clan, members from the clan at Sāvatthi were disciple of the Buddha (Malalasekera 1960, II, p. 373)

Bhūdevī, earth-goddess

bhūmisparśamudrā, 'gesture of touching the earth' made by the Buddha at Bodhgaya

Bimbisāra, king of Magadha, contemporary of the Buddha (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 285-9)

Bodhgaya, site of the enlightenment

Bodhi, the 'Enlightenment'

Bodhi temple, temple at Bodhgaya

Brahmā, a supreme god

Brahmalokas, 'worlds of the Brahmās' (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 336-8)

Brahmā Sahampati, one of the Great Brahmās (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 1080-1081)

Brahmās, a category of gods

cakkavatti (Skt. cakravartin), a universal monarch

Cālukya, an Indian dynasty (6th-8th c.)

Channa, Gotama's charioteer (Malalasekera 1960, I, pp. 923-4)

Coḷa, a south India dynasty (10th-13th c.)

Cūḷāmaṇi, 'jewel worn on the head', i.e. the hair cut off by the Buddha. A cetiya, the Cūḷāmaṇicetiya, was erected over it in Tāvatiṃsa (Malalasekera 1960, I, p. 909).

Cunda, a metal worker who prepared the last meal taken by the Buddha (Malalasekera 1960, I, pp. 876-7)

Devadatta, cousin of the Buddha (Malalasekera 1960, I, pp.1106-11)

Devalokas, 'words of the gods'

Devas, a category of gods

Devatā, 'god'

Dhamma (Skt. Dharma), the (Buddhist) Law,

dharmacrakrapravartanamudrā, 'gesture of moving the wheel of law' made by the Buddha for the first time at Sarnath

dhyānamudrā, 'gesture of meditation'

Dīpaṅkara, a Buddha of the past

Doṇa (Skt. Droṇa), a brahmin who divided the relics of

the Buddha (Malalasekera 1960, I, p. 1122)

Dussa-thūpa, a *thūpa* built in the world of the Brahmās, enshrining the garments of the Buddha (Malalasekera 1960, I, p. 1100)

Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, king of Sri Lanka (101-77 BC) (Malalasekera 1960, I, pp. 1093-5)

Erāvaṇa (Skt. Airāvata), Sakka's elephant (Malalasekera 1960, I, p. 457)

Gaṇḍa, a gardner at Sāvatthi (Malalasekera 1960, I, p.741)

Gandhāra, region in north-west India and north Pakistan

Ganges (Ganga), river flowing in north India

Garuḍa, mythical bird, solar eagle, mount of Viṣṇu (Malalasekera 1960, I, p. 755)

Ghaṭikāra, one of the Great Brahmās (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 823-4)

Girimekhala (or„Girimekhalā"), a divine elephant, mount of Māra (Malalasekera 1960, I, p. 771)

Gotama (Skt. Gautama), the Buddha (Malalasekera 1960, I, pp. 788-810)

Gotamī, sister of Māyā, aunt of the Buddha

gu, 'cave', hence 'temple'

Gupta period (319/20- *c*.500)

Hadda, a site in Afghanistan

haṃsa, 'goose'

Harivarmadeva, ruler in south-east Bengal (today Bangladesh) (c. AD 1100)

Himavanta (or Himavā), name of the Himalaya (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 1325-6)

Hmawza, site in Burma

Hṛṣīkeśa, a Burmese Brahmin in Angkor (end of 12th c.)

Itakhola Mura, a mound at Mainamati/Lalmai (south-east Bangladesh)

Jagdishpur, a site near Nalanda

Jahangir, Moghul emperor (1605-1627)

Jambhala, Buddhist god of richness (in late Buddhism)

Jambū tree, rose-apple tree, *Eugenia jambolana*

Jambūdvīpa, the 'island of the Jambū', name of our continent

jaṭā, matted head dress

jātaka/jātakas, the previous 'births' of the Buddha

Jayavarman VII, Cambodian king (1181-1201/1218?)

Jetavana, a park near Sāvatthi (Malalasekera 1960, I, pp. 963-6)

Kakusandha, twenty-second Buddha of the past (Malalasekera 1960, I , pp. 470-471)

kāla, a monstrous face

Kanthaka, horse of Gotama (Malalasekera 1960, I, pp. 509-10)

Kapilavatthu, home town of the Buddha (Malalasekera 1960, I, pp. 516-20)

kappa (Skt. kalpa), an era

kaṇṇikā (Skt. *karṇaka/karṇikā*), seed vessel of the lotus

karuṇa, 'compassion'

Kassapa, twenty-fourth Buddha of the past (Malalasekera 1960, I, pp. 544-7)—not to be confused with Mahakassapa (s.v.), a disciple of the Buddha and with Pūrāṇa Kassapa (s.v.), a heretic

khakkhara, attribute of a monk

Khara Khoto, a site in China

kinnara, a divine winged being

Konāgamana, twenty-third Buddha of the past (Malalasekera 1960, I, pp. 681-3)

koraṇḍa, yellow amaranth

Korat, a city in Thailand

Koryo, a Korean dynasty (918-1392 AD)

Kosala, a kingdom close to Varanasi and to the north-west of Magadha (Malalasekera 1960, I, pp. 695-7)

Kosambī, capital of the Vatsas or Vaṃsas (Malalasekera 1960, I, pp. 692-5)

kotsu, attribute of meditation in Zen

Kurkihar, site in Bihar, south of the Rajgir hills

Kyanzittha (1084-1113/4), ruler of Pagan

Lakhi Sarai, site of Bihar, east of Magadha

lañlwan tree - see rājāyatana

Lémyet-hna, site in south Burma

Lidaiya, king of Ayuth'ya (14th c.)

Lokapālas, the gods protecting the four cardinal points

madhu, honey, sweet drink

Magadha, central part of Bihar

Mahābrahmās, the 'Great Brahmās'

Mahā-Kappina (Thera), one of the most eminent disciples of the Buddha (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 473-5)

Mahā-Kassapa (Thera), one of the main disciples of the Buddha (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 476-83)

Mahāpajāpati Gotamī, young sister of the Buddha's mother Māyā (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 522-4)

Mahāthūpa, monument in Sri Lanka

Mahessari (sic!) (Skt. Maheśvara), another name for Śiva

Mainamati, site in south-east Bangladesh

makara, a fantastic water creature

Malla (or Mallā), kingdom located in north India (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 453-4) Mandhātā, a cakkavatti king (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 444-5)

Mañjuśrī, a Bodhisattva

Māra, a god personifying temptation, evil (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 611-20)

Māravijaya, the 'victory on Māra', part of Enlightenment

Mathura, a city in north India

Māyā, mother of the Buddha (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 608-10)

Meru, mountain at the centre of our universe (Malalasekera 1960, II, p. 1136)

Metteyya (Skt. Maitreya), the future Buddha (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 660-662)—see also Ajita

Moggaliputta Tissa, presided over the third council (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 664-6)

Moggallāna, one of the main disciple of the Buddha (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 541-7)

Mon, a population in Burma

Mucilinda (or Mucalinda), a nāga-king (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 638-9)

Mucilinda tree, a tree below which the Buddha sat (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 638-9)

mudrā, 'gesture of the hands'

Nagarahara - see Hadda

nāgapuṣpa (or nāgakeśara), Ironwood tree, Mesua ferrea, attribute of Metteyya

nāgarāja, a royal serpent, a king serpent

Nālada (or, Nārada, Narodatta), ninth Buddha of the past (Malalasekera 1960, II, p. 51) Nālāgiri, an elephant who tried to kill the Buddha (Malalasekera 1960, II, p. 58)

Nalanda, site in Bihar

Nanda, half-brother of the Buddha, one of his disciples (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 10-11), but here the same as Ānanda

Nārada, ninth Buddha of the past (Malalasekera 1960, II, p. 51)

Narapatideśa, the country of Narapatisithu

Narapatisithu (or Sithu II, *c.*1174-1211), ruler of Pagan

Nikrotha (Skt. nigrodha), fig-tree (banyan)

padma, red lotus

padmāsana, 'position of the lotus', seated position with legs

Paduma, eighth Buddha of the past (Malalasekera 1960, II, p. 131)

Padumuttara, tenth Buddha of the past (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 136-7)

Paharpur, site in north Bengal (today in Bangladesh)

Pāla, an Indian dynasty (8th-12th c.)

Pañcasikha (Skt. Pañcaśikha), a divine musician (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 105-7)

Pañcavaggiyas, the first five disciples of the Buddha (Malalasekera 1960, II, p. 104)

Paṇḍukambala (or Paṇḍukambalasilāsana), the throne of Sakka (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 122-3)

Parakkamabāhu I (Skt. Parakramabāhu, ruler of Sri Lanka (AD 1153-1186) (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 147-150)

Paramānujit, prince of Siam, nineteenth century

Pāricchattaka, coral tree on Mount Meru (Malalasekera 1960, II, p. 191)

Pārileyyaka, an elephant and a forest (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 191-2)

Parinibbāna (Skt. parinirvāṇa), the 'final decease'

Pasenadi, king of Kosala, disciple of the Buddha (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 168-74)

Pattikera, a kingdom in southeast Bengal (today Bangladesh)

Phya Lithai, see Lidaiya

Piyadassin, thirteenth of the Buddhas of the past (Malalasekera 1960, II, p. 207)

popil, a candle holder

Powun-Daung, site of caves in north Burma

prajñā, 'wisdom', 'knowledge'

Prome, see Hmawza

Puṇḍarīkavana, a park on Mount Meru

Pūrāṇa Kassapa, a heretic (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 242-3)

Pyu(s), a population of Burma

Ragā, 'Lust', a daughter of Māra

Rāhu, the creator of eclipses (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 735-7)

Rāhula, son of the Buddha, his disciple (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 737-40)

Rājakumār, crown-prince, son of Kyanzittha

rājāyatana, a tree, *Buchanania latifolia* (?), below which the Buddha sat after the Enlightenment

Rājgir, capital of king Bimbisāra, site located in Bihar

Rāmagāma (or Skt. Rṛmagrāma), a village where a *thūpa* with relics of the Buddha was kept (Malalasekera 1960, II, p. 734)

ratana-ghara, 'House of Gems' erected in the vicinity

of the seat of Enlightenment (Malalasekera 1960, II, p. 711)

Sakka (Skt.Śakra), Hindu god (Malalasekera 1960, II; pp. 957-65)

Sakyamuni, Sakkamuni (Skt. Śākyamuni), epithet of the Buddha

Sāla (Skt. śāla), a tree, Shorea robusta

Sanchi, site in north India

Saṅkassa, a city in north India (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 974-5)

Sāriputta, one of the main disciples of the Buddha (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 1108-18)

Sarnath, site near Varanasi where the Buddha taught for the first time

Sāvatthi (Skt.Śrāvastī), capital of Kosala (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 1126-7)

Saw Lu (*c.* 1078-1084), king of Pagan

Siddhattha, personal name of Gotama Buddha

śikhara, tower of the temple

Śiva, Hindu god

Sobhita, sixth Buddha of the past (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 1304-5)

Sujātā, a village girl who offered the Bodhisatta his last meal before the Enlightenment (Malalasekera 1960, II, p. 1186)

Sujāta, twelfth Buddha of the past (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 1182-3)

Sumedha (Sumadhi), the Bodhisatta

supaṇṇas, divine birds headed by Garuḍa

Tāmaliṇḍa, a monk (end of 12th c.)

Taṇhā, 'Desire', a daughter of Māra

Tapussa (Skt. Trapuśa), a merchant (Malalasekera 1960, I, p. 991), see also Bhallika

Tārā, a goddess showing compassion and love in late Buddhism

Tathāgata, 'the one who has arrived', another term for 'Buddha'

Tāvatiṃsa (Skt. Trayastriṃśa), second of the six heavens of the gods (Malalasekera 1960, I, pp. 1002-4)

torāṇa, a portico in front of a Buddhist monument

upavīta, sacred thread

uṣṇīṣa, cranial protuberance

utpala, the blue lotus

Vairocana, the central Buddha in late Buddhism

varadamudrā, 'gesture of generosity'

Vārāhī, a Hindu goddess

Varuṇa, god of the ocean, located in the West (Malalasekera 1960, II, p. 837)

Vasudharā, Vasundharā, the earth-goddess

Vejayanta, palace of Sakka (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 915-6)

Vesākha (Skt. Vaiśākha) April-May

Vesāli (Skt. Vaiśālī), capital of the Licchavis

Vessantara, hero of the *Vessantara-jātaka* (Cowell 1990, VI, pp. 246-305, n° 547)

Vijayabāhu I (AD 1055-1110), ruler of Shrilanka (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 867-9)

Vijayuttura, the conch of Sakka (Malalasekera 1960, II, p. 871)

vīṇā, a musical instrument

Vinaya, discipline followed by Buddhist monks

Viṣṇu, a Hindu god

Wathundayé - see Vasudharā

Xuan-tsang, Chinese pilgrim of the 7th c.

Yama, a Hindu god, ruler of the south, king of the world of the dead

Yasa (Skt. Yaśas, Yaśoda), son of a banker, disciple of the Buddha (Malalasekera 1960, II, pp. 685-7)

yojana, a measure of distance

youdzana - see yojana

Yuan, a Chinese dynasty (1260-1364 AD)

Yugandhara (Uganda), mountain near Meru

INDEX OF THE MONUMENTS

The number given in parentheses is the inventory number of the monument as found in the *Inventory of Monuments at Pagan.*

Abe-ya-dana-hpaya (1202) - pls 15, 34, 79, 101-104, 109-11, 127, 129-130, 161-2, 191, 199-201, 219-26 – pp. 4, 6, 20, 27, 69, 73, 89, 96, 108-9, 113-4, 119-121, 123, 125, 135, 139-140, 144, 148-9, 156-7, 160-161, 170-179, 180-181, 188, 190, 206, 213

Ajja-gona-hpaya (588) - pls 140, 243 – pp. 16, 45, 58, 73, 93, 114-5, 194-5

Alopyi-gu-hpaya (374) - pls 112-3, 190, 233-36 – pp. 6, 20, 84, 85, 96, 165, 168, 187-8, 193, 199, 206

Ānanda, or Ānanda-gu-hpaya-gyi (2171) – pp. 6, 68, 73, 114, 210-212

Gu-nge (1475) – p. 104

Hpaya-thon-zu (477-479) - pls 36, 64, 87, 148-9, 157, 160, 182, 188, 205, 247-9 – pp. 17- 18, 35, 73, 83-84, 86, 99, 102, 113, 119, 128, 131, 139, 144, 148, 185, 189, 194, 196, 199-201, 203-4, 206-7

Hpet-leik (1030, 1031) – p. 68

Hsutaung-pyi-hpaya (883) - pls 124-125, 155 – pp. 104, 127, 132, 134, 182, 207

Hti-lo-min-lo (1812) – pp. 184-5, 189

Htin-ga-ya-za (1051) – pp. 78, 212, 216, 217, 219

Ka-tha-pa-hpaya east (505) - pls 7, 81, 175, 179, 193, 250-254 – pp. 8, 14-15, 19-20, 58, 66, 73, 78, 86, 93, 113, 125, 135, 202-204, 207

Ka-tha-pa-hpaya west (506) - pls 80 – pp. 20, 78, 203, 204

Kubyauk-gyi, Myinkaba (1323) - pls 1, 21-28, 33, 38, 47-48, 53-57, 76-78, 105-6, 173, 184-5, 192 – pp. 2, 4-7, 20, 27-29, 32, 37, 40, 46, 51-52, 56, 65-66, 68-72, 84, 89, 96, 99, 104, 113-5, 134-5, 139-140, 144, 156-7, 161-5, 170-171, 178-9, 188, 190, 195, 206, 213

Kubyauk-gyi, Wetkyi-in (298) – pls 138-9, 237-40 – pp. 8, 14, 15, 20, 40, 41, 44, 66, 68, 69, 73, 82-84, 86, 89, 91, 93, 110, 156-7, 188-90, 210, 212

Ku-tha-hpaya (845) - pls 30, 94, 229-30 – pp. 17, 64, 67, 90-91, 149, 181-2

Kyauk-ku-umin (154) – p. 68

Kya-zin-hpaya (1219) – p. 83

Kyanzittha-umin (65) – p. 207

Le-myet-hna-hpaya (447) – pp. 17, 80, 83, 86, 205-6, 207

Le-myet-hna-hpaya (1185) – p. 165

Let-put-kan (711) - pls 58, 86, 141, 187, 241 – pp. 17, 57, 142, 191-2

Loka-hteik-pan (1580) - pls 2, 29, 42-43, 49-51, 59-60, 71-75, 82-84, 92, 95-96, 119, 131-2, 153-4, 169, 197-8 – pp. 2, 5, 6, 8-9, 12, 15, 33, 45, 48-53, 57-58, 60, 75, 78-79, 83-84, 89, 91-93, 103-4, 108-9, 113-5, 127, 131-4, 142, 144, 147, 153, 156-7, 159, 164-6, 167-9, 181, 183, 202, 204, 206-7, 209-11

Loka-ok-shaung (1467) – p. 123

Mahabodhi (1670) – pp. 5, 220

Malaphyit-hpaya (Ma-la-phyit-hpaya) (664) - pls 118, 181, 204, 211 – pp. 58, 132, 138-9, 192

Maung-yon-gu (600) - pls 40, 65, 202, 244 – pp. 18, 26, 36, 73, 195-6, 203, 207

Mingala-zedi (1439) – p. 68

Minnanthu (village) – p. 193

Mye-bon-tha-hpaya-hla (1512) - pls 172, 215-7 – pp. 6, 7, 31, 132, 134, 157, 165-7, 169, 187-8, 190, 203, 206, 210

Myinkaba (village) – p. 157

Myin-pya-gu (1493) – pp. 89, 158

Naga-yon-hpaya (1192) – pp. 6, 68, 84, 114, 148, 156-7, 209

Nanda-ma-nya-hpaya (577) - pls 10-12, 29, 39, 41, 114, 120-121, 180, 245 – pp. 14, 16-17, 19, 34-35, 41, 43, 45, 83-84, 86, 102-3, 119, 128, 136, 189, 196-8, 199-201, 203-4, 207, 212

Nan-hpaya (1239) – p. 139

Naung-u (village) – p. 184

Nga-hla-htin-gu (1091) - pl. 67 – pp. 64, 181

Nga-phon-thin-yaung (1536) – p. 222

Patho-hta-mya (1605) - pls 31, 35, 44, 85, 183, 213-4 – pp. 2, 6-7, 20, 32, 35, 40-41, 50, 104, 108, 123, 134, 139, 156-7, 158-61, 162, 168, 188, 206-7, 213

Pe-nan-tha-gu (1481) – pp. 221, 223

Phya-sa-shwe-gu (1249) – p. 73

Pitakat-taik (1587) – p. 223

Pya-tha-nge (798) – pp. 26, 58, 183

Sale, temple 92 - see Yanzatthu-hpaya

Sale, temple 99 - pl. 115, 146, 150, 196 – pp. 8, 16, 73, 102, 121
Sale, temple 101 - pls 6, 116, 135, 171 – pp. 8, 14, 16, 102, 120, 134
Shin-bin-sar-kyo (Sale) – p. 8
Shin-ma-hti (75) - pl. 159 – pp. 128, 190
Shwei-leik-pan (264) – p. 104
Shwe-hsan-daw (1568) – p. 68
Shwe-myin-tin-hpaya (324) – pp. 49, 134
Shwe-tan-za (231) - pl. 158 – p. 128
Shwe-zigon (1) – pp. 8, 12, 68
So-hla-wun-hpaya (676) - pls 88, 207 – pp. 17, 83-84, 86, 149, 206, 207
Taik-gyi-hpaya (1245) – p. 219
Tamani-hpaya (1133) – pp. 5, 210
Tatkale-hpaya (572) - pls 166-7, 212 – pp. 20, 204-5, 207
Taung-bi (village) – p. 184
Taung-pon-loka-na-tha" (315) – pp. 93, 190-91, 207
Tayok-pye (Tayok-pye-hpaya-gyi) (539) - pls 16-17, 37, 45, 86, 89, 203 – pp. 7, 21-25, 40, 49-50, 58, 83, 86, 103, 198, 206, 207
Tha-kya-hi-hpaya (249) - pl. 194 – p. 191
Tha-kya-muni-hpaya (147) – p. 146
Thambula (482) - pls 18, 91, 117, 168, 209-10, 246 – pp. 15, 20, 22, 73, 83, 102, 110, 125, 133, 198-9, 207
Tha-mu-ti-hpaya (844) - pl. 90 – pp. 83, 192, 223
Tham-bu-de-hpaya (657) – p. 193
Thein-mazi (1471) - pls 19, 178, 218 – pp. 22, 157, 164, 169-70, 192, 198, 207
Thiripyitsaya (village) – p. 157
Wetkyi-in (village) – p. 184
Winido-hpaya (659) - pls 13, 20, 93, 97-98, 137, 143-4, 177, 208, 242 – pp. 20, 26, 89, 93, 110, 114, 144-146, 149, 189, 192-4, 207
Yanzatthu-hpaya (Sale, temple 92) - pls 8, 9, 69-70, 122-3 – pp. 8, 16, 20, 25, 37, 64, 73, 102-3, 146
Zan-thi (east) (558) – p. 17
148 – p. 146
339 – p. 140
421 – pp. 6, 8, 12, 14, 15, 63, 191
473 - pls 5, 68 – pp. 14, 15, 64, 66, 181, 202
516 – p. 64
572 – p. 181
585 - pls 32, 46, 61-63, 66 – pp. 16, 17-19, 26, 37, 43, 59, 64-65, 83, 198, 203-4, 212
586 – 117
645 - pl. 14 – pp. 20, 192
653 - pl. 163 – p. 192
660 - pl. 206
661 - pl. 152 – p. 132
684 – p. 217
732 – p. 223
1077 – pp. 8, 128, 223
1148 - pls 151, 170, 186 – pp. 6, 140, 142, 156-7, 180-181, 207
1149 – pp. 179, 197
1150 - pls 52, 145, 189, 227 – pp. 6, 26, 49, 51, 56-58, 113, 121, 136, 144, 156-7, 179-80, 184, 187, 192, 197, 207
1152 - pls 126, 134, 174, 228 – pp. 6, 16, 108, 121, 134-5, 156-7, 180-181, 182, 187, 197, 202, 204, 207
1170 – pp. 51, 102, 109
1255 – p. 140
1263 – p. 86
1336 – p. 219
1422 – p. 223
1843 – p. 184
1844 - pls 99-100, 128, 165, 190, 231-2 – pp. 15, 58, 93, 103, 184-7, 189, 192, 195, 200, 207, 209
1845 - pl. 195 – pp. 184, 189
1846 - pls 147, 156, 176 – pp. 15, 58, 128, 135-6, 169, 184, 185-7, 189, 195, 200, 207, 209
1847 – p. 184
1868 – p. 221
2095 - pl. 164 – pp. 183
2102 – p. 221
2103 - pl. 3 – pp. 6, 8, 12, 64, 109, 127, 183, 184, 206
2155 – pp. 183-4
2157 - pls 4, 107-8, 133 – pp. 6, 8, 12, 15, 64, 103, 109, 135, 183, 184, 206

GENERAL INDEX

A

Abeyadana 4, 226
Abhidhamma 7, 40, 56, 92, 104, 133, 157, 162, 163
Abhidhamma-piṭaka 40
Ādāsamukharāja 27
Ajanta 1, 7, 31, 80, 147, 167, 210, 232
ajapāla nigrodha 41, 43
Ajātasattu 89
Ajita 17, 89
Akṣobhya 175
Alaungsitthu 2, 226
Amitābha 216
Ānanda 5, 15, 46, 58, 59, 61, 63, 68, 73, 88, 103, 104, 218, 229, 232
Anāthapiṇḍika 32, 211
Anawrattha 27
andagu 14, 42, 102, 209, 211, 215
Angkor 197, 215, 217, 223, 224, 226, 230
Animmisaṁ 40
Anomā 34
Anomadassin 214, 220
Anotatta 6, 17, 26, 42, 54, 55, 92, 115, 116, 118, 162, 191
Anurādhapura 1, 218
aṣṭamahāprātihārya 9
Arakan 4, 217, 229, 231
Araññavāsin 121, 226
Aratī 41
arhat 147
Arī 121, 226
Asadisadāna 212
Āsāḷhi 44, 46
Asita 108, 216
Asoka 15, 27, 29, 31, 162, 213
Avalokiteśvara 4, 90, 96, 99, 164, 174, 177, 190, 225
Avīci 57
Ayuthya 213

B

Bagh 1, 210
Bangladesh 4, 9, 14, 110, 157, 164, 168, 169, 173, 178, 183, 211, 226, 227
Bāvarī 17
Bayon 197, 215
Beitkhano 212
Benares 71
Bengal 3, 4, 157, 160, 168, 208, 209, 210, 213, 222, 226, 227, 229, 230
Bhallika 42, 79
Bhāradvāja 197
Bharhut 215
Bhūdevī 38
bhūmisparśamudrā 8, 19, 20, 83, 212
Bimbisāra 1, 60
Bodhgaya 4, 7, 9, 15, 17, 20, 43, 60, 90, 91, 113, 125, 167, 173, 198, 229, 230
Bodhi 40
Bodhisattas 4, 6, 14, 16, 18, 26, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 68, 69, 71, 78, 80, 84, 86, 89, 90, 91, 93, 96, 99, 102, 103, 104, 108, 116, 119, 131, 139, 142, 163, 164, 165, 168, 170, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 180, 181, 182, 188, 190, 192, 193, 195, 196, 197, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 206, 209, 210, 214, 219, 221, 226
Brahmā 1, 6, 16, 33, 34, 35, 36, 44, 45, 54, 56, 57, 92, 93, 147, 149, 153, 164, 166, 171, 185, 188, 190, 192, 206, 214, 221, 222, 224, 225, 227
Brahmā Sahampati 44
Brahmalokas 92, 93, 115, 147, 153, 192, 221, 222, 224
Buddhacarita 32, 213
buddhapadas 2, 6, 26, 27, 115, 118, 140, 179, 222, 228, 231
Buddhavaṃsa 31, 32, 48, 52, 79, 80, 84, 87, 89, 167, 220, 221

C

cakkavatti 116, 162, 222
Cālukya 147
Cambodia 5, 197, 208, 215, 223
Candakumāra-jātaka 76, 219
Catudvāraka-jātaka 219
cetiyas 8, 15, 165, 173
Ceylon 218
Channa 34
Chieng Mai 213
China 5, 208, 210, 223, 229, 230
Coḷa 27
Coḷas 5
Comilla 4, 168
Cūḷāmaṇi 12, 34, 54, 92
Cūḷavaṃsa 27, 32
Cunda 116, 222, 224

D

Devadatta 59
Devalokas 59, 92, 115, 222
Devaputta 41
Devas 54, 57, 92, 133, 172, 214, 221
devatās 1, 14, 53, 222, 224, 230, 232
Devorohaṇa 57, 93

Dhamma 41, 44, 79, 87, 92
Dhammapada 56, 162, 228
dharmacrakrapravartanamudrā 45
dhyānamudrā 220
Dīgha-nīkāya 32, 231
Dīpaṅkara 32, 58, 79, 80, 82, 87, 88, 89, 104, 212, 219, 220
Doṇa 1, 67
Dussa-thūpa 34, 54, 92
Duṭṭhagāmaṇi 1

E

Eḷāra 27

G

Gāmaṇicaṇḍa-jātaka 27
Gaṇḍa 46, 48, 50
Gandhāra 218, 220
Ganges 39, 116
Garahita-jātaka 71
Garuḍa 104, 119, 127, 185, 187, 192, 197, 222, 223, 226
Ghaṭīkāra 34
Gijjha-jātaka 219
Girimekhala 38
Gotama 80, 82, 84, 86, 88, 89, 91, 221, 222, 230
Gotamī 89
gu 6, 210
Gupta 9, 80

H

Hadda 220
haṃsas 139, 160, 162, 168
Harivarmadeva 168, 169, 227
Himavanta 27, 118
Hīnayāna 121, 226, 230
Hmawza 209, 210, 211, 212
Hṛṣīkeśa 197

I

Indra 53, 92, 132, 223
Itakhola Mura 211, 230

J

Jagdishpur 8
Jahangir 48
Jambhala 176, 225
Jambū 221
Jambūdvīpa 222
jaṭā 104
Jātakamālā 215
jātakas 1, 2, 5, 7, 14, 17, 20, 68, 69, 71, 72, 73, 75, 76, 78, 86, 89, 108, 157, 161, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 170, 176, 178, 181, 182, 189, 190, 191, 192, 194, 196, 199, 200, 203, 204, 205, 206, 209, 210, 212, 218, 219, 221, 222, 225, 228, 230
Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā 32
Java 223, 228
Jayavarman VII 197, 232
Jetavana 1, 32

K

Kakkāṭā-jātaka 71
Kakusandha 80, 222
kāla 223
kaṇṇikā 147
Kanthaka 34
Kapilavatthu 1, 17, 88, 92
kappa 80, 82, 90, 116, 222
karuṇa 174
Kassapa 15, 50, 56, 80, 114, 216, 222
khakkhara 217
Khaṇḍahāla 75
Khara Khoto 14, 212
Khmer 7, 197, 217
kinnaras 127, 135, 195, 198, 201, 202, 203
Konāgamana 80, 222
koraṇḍa 103
Korat 217
Koryo 223
Kosala 48, 50, 52
Kosambī 31
kotsu 217
Kūṭavāṇija-jātaka 71
Kurkihar 167
Kusa-jātaka 219
Kyanzittha 2, 3, 4, 27, 68, 156, 161, 167, 209, 210, 212, 214, 218, 226
kyōsaku 217

L

Lakhi Sarai 9, 211, 227
Lalitavistara 32, 213, 215
laṅlwan 42
Lémyet-hna 210
Lidaiya 24
Lokapālas 33, 42, 92, 116, 214
Lokapaññati 29, 32, 228

M

madhu 22, 31, 61
Magadha 9
Mahābrahmās 33
Mahā-Kappina 18
Mahā-Kassapa 64, 65, 218
Mahāmoggallāna 103, 104

Mahānipāta 73, 75, 167
Mahāpajāpati Gotamī 89
Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta 15, 216
Mahāthūpa 1
Mahā-ummaga-jātaka 75
Mahāvaṃsa 27, 32, 161, 229
Mahāvastu 32, 213, 215
Mahāyāna 210, 226
Mahessari 213
Mahosaddha-jātaka 27
Mainamati 210, 230
Majjhima-nikāya 218, 224
makaras 49, 125, 127, 128, 135, 142, 178, 181, 185, 200, 204, 223
Mālāṅkaravatthu 32
Malla 63, 66
maṇḍala 27, 177
Mandhātā 162
maṅgala 217
Mañjuśrī 96, 174, 176, 177, 178, 225, 227
Māra 1, 12, 14, 17, 37, 38, 39, 41, 43, 93, 109, 110, 113, 114, 135, 158, 163, 165, 170, 171, 172, 173, 180, 181, 183, 188, 189, 190, 194, 195, 198, 200, 201, 202, 204, 213, 215, 221, 222, 224, 227, 229
Māravijaya 215
Mathura 218
Māyā 12, 33, 88, 92, 116, 118, 167, 172, 201, 203, 211, 214
Metteyya 4, 79, 89, 90, 91, 102, 116, 164, 172, 182, 193, 221, 222, 228
Middle-East 223
Mienmo 51
Moggaliputta 29, 31, 162, 213
Moggallāna 103, 104, 192, 221
Mon 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 75, 79, 84, 156, 162, 209, 210, 213, 220, 229, 230
Mons 222
Mount Meru 7, 8, 12, 17, 23, 25, 26, 31, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 57, 58, 89, 92, 115, 116, 118, 133, 157, 162, 163, 167, 168, 191, 199, 209, 211, 215, 217, 221
Mucilinda 41, 44, 158, 211
mudrās 50, 83, 203, 212, 213
Mūgapakkha-jātaka 75
Mūlasarvāstivādin 213

N

Nāgalatā 42
nāgapuṣpa 102
nāgarāja 104
nāgas 12, 15, 187, 213, 215, 220, 223, 226
Nālada 216
Nālāgiri 9, 16, 59, 103
Nalanda 60, 225, 228
Nanda 1, 59
Nārada 214, 216, 220
Narapatideśa 197
Narapatisithu 5, 197
Nats 51, 59, 214, 217, 221
Nemi-jātaka 219
Nepal 12, 176, 225, 232
Nidāna-kathā 7, 32, 41, 87, 89, 162, 214, 221, 224, 230, 231
Nikrotha 40
nipātas 75, 219

P

padma 147
padmāsana 93
Paduma 176, 214, 220
Padumuttara 214, 220
Paharpur 210
Pāla 156, 168, 210, 218
Pali 4, 7, 31, 89, 167, 209, 210, 219, 220, 225, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232
Pañcasikha 1, 57, 93, 164, 169
Pañcavaggiyas 44
Paṇḍukambala 53, 92, 133
Parakkamabāhu II 5
Paramānujit 213
Pāricchattaka 53
Pārileyyaka 9, 16, 31, 60, 61, 104, 167, 176, 212
Parinibbāna 9, 12, 17, 22, 25, 26, 63, 64, 65, 66, 91, 118, 159, 193, 213, 215
Pasenadi 18, 27, 48, 50, 51, 61, 212
Paṭhamasambodhi 32, 39, 89, 110, 228
Pattikera 4
Phya Lithai 32
Piyadassin 214, 220
popil 217, 232
Powun-Daung 217, 228
prajñā 174
Prome 210, 212, 219, 222
Puṇḍarīkavana 53
Pūrāṇa Kassapa 46
Pyu 156, 209, 210, 212, 217, 228, 229

R

Ragā 41
Rāhu 110
Rāhula 1, 5, 104
Rājakumār 161
rājāyatana 42
Rājgir 59
Rāmagrāma 15
ratana-ghara 40
Ratana-sutta 18
Ratha 45, 216

S

Sajjanālaya 24
Sakka 1, 6, 16, 33, 34, 35, 42, 56, 57, 71, 76, 92, 93, 104, 132, 164, 166, 169, 185, 188, 190, 192, 217, 221, 222, 223, 225
Sakyamuni 7, 14, 24, 26, 32, 34, 39, 68, 78, 79, 82, 86, 87, 89, 91, 163, 165, 170, 189, 190, 196, 208, 219, 220, 228
Sāla 63
Sāma-jātaka 75
Sanchi 31, 212, 218, 224
Saṅkassa 7, 23, 25, 51, 52, 57, 159, 162, 166, 167
Sāriputta 7, 54, 55, 57, 59, 103, 104, 162, 192
Sarnath 9, 44, 45, 54, 103, 114, 165, 170, 231
Sarvāstivādin 213, 222
Savaṇṇasāna-jātaka 75
Sāvatthi 7, 9, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 24, 25, 31, 40, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 52, 54, 56, 61, 104, 114, 115, 135, 157, 158, 159, 163, 166, 167, 170, 191, 199, 215, 216, 218, 225
Saw Lu 161
Siam 213, 222
Siamese 217, 227, 232
Siddhattha 37
śikhara 14, 123, 125, 159, 171, 212
Sineru 48, 53, 56, 57, 92
Śiva 213, 214, 228
Sīvali 77
Sobhita 214, 220
Sonaka-jātaka 219
South Asia 223, 227, 228, 232
south India 5, 33, 90, 92, 218, 219
South-East Asia 31, 38, 177, 210, 223, 229, 232
Śrī Kṣetra 210, 212, 222
Sri Lanka 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 15, 20, 27, 32, 68, 75, 161, 167, 197, 210, 211, 218, 219, 228, 229
stūpa 123
Sugata 41
Sujāta 37, 214, 220
Sukhodaya 24
Sukhotai 32
Sumedha 32, 79, 80, 87, 88, 89, 104, 214, 220
supaṇṇas 104, 222
suttas 20, 58, 187, 188, 193, 194, 211, 213, 217, 226

T

Tāmaliṇḍa 197
Taṇhā 41
Tapussa 42, 79
Tārā 99, 176
Tārās 225
Tathāgata 3, 15, 37, 42, 44, 56, 59, 61, 63
Tāvatiṃsa 34, 48, 54, 57, 92, 93, 104
Temiya-jātaka 75
Thailand 176, 213, 217, 231
thankas 14, 35, 177, 212, 221, 222, 225
Theravāda 4, 32, 161, 164, 226, 227, 231
thūpas 1, 12, 14, 15, 25, 27, 54, 63, 68, 79, 92, 125, 173, 183, 190, 211, 219, 222
Tibet 3, 9, 14, 166, 176, 177, 215, 219, 225, 227, 230, 232
torānas 224
Traibhūmi Braḥ Rvaṅ 24, 32, 216, 228

U

Upagutta 213
upavīta 225
Uraga-jātaka 71
uṣṇīṣa 195, 203
utpala 96, 99, 174, 176, 177, 210, 224
Uttar Pradesh 12

V

Vairocana 37, 177, 213
varadamudrā 212
Vārāhī 175
Varanasi 44, 45, 76
Varuṇa 104
Vasudharā 38, 176
Vātaggasindhava-jātaka 71
Vedeharāja 27
Vejayanta 53, 92
Vesākha 33, 63
Vesāli 18, 31, 58, 61, 63, 218
Vessantara 1, 38, 39, 75
Vidhurapandita-jātaka 1
Vijayabāhu 5, 27, 210
Vijayuttura 1
vīṇā 127
Vinaya 157, 163, 215, 224, 225
Viṣṇu 36, 214, 222

W

Wathunday 215
Wathundayé 229, 231

X

Xuan-tsang 103, 218

Y

Yama 175
Yasa 1, 45, 216
yojanas 34, 79, 222
youdzanas 51
Yuan 223, 224
Yugandhara 51

THE AUTHOR

Claudine Bautze-Picron studied at the Universities of Brussels, Lille, Jawaharlal Nehru in New Delhi and Aix-en-Provence. Since 1980, she has been research fellow at the National Centre of Scientific Research (CNRS) in Paris and since 1992, she has taught Indian art history at the Free University of Brussels. The main focus of her research for many years has been the art of eastern India, about which she published a large number of articles considering stylistic as well as iconographic issues. This research culminated in the publication of the catalogue of the collection of eastern Indian sculpture in the Museum of Indian Art, Berlin (*Eastern Indian Sculpture in the Museum of Indian Art, Berlin*, Berlin, 1998). She has also been interested in the artistic relations between eastern India and neighbouring regions such as Burma or Tibet. She has researched various aspects of Buddhist manuscript illuminations, and the iconography of the Buddha. In recent years, she has focussed on the symbolic ornamentation of Buddhist monuments, at, for instance, Ajanta, and on the iconology of Buddhist topics, such as the Enlightenment of the Buddha. These various interests led her to Pagan and to the wall-paintings of the site, which she has been researching for the last five years.

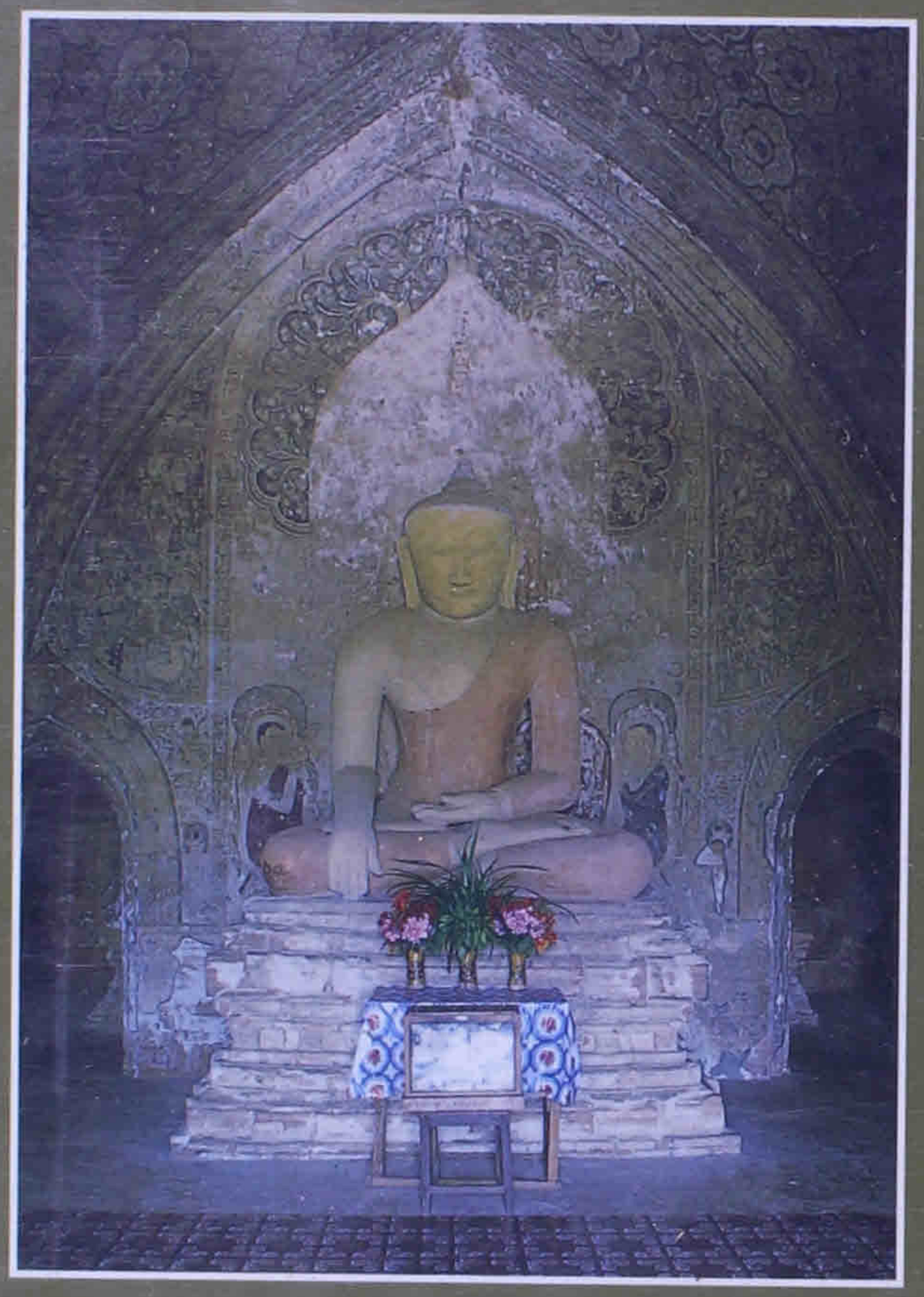
THE PHOTOGRAPHER

Joachim Karl Bautze is an Indian art-historian trained at universities and museums in Berlin, Germany and Jaipur, India. He has conducted extensive research into, and has published a monograph and numerous articles on, 17th and 18th century wall-paintings of royal palaces in Rajasthan. He has contributed to a number of exhibitions in the United States, Switzerland and Germany (*Lotosmond und Löwenritt*, Stuttgart, 1991; *Gods, Kings, and Tigers, The Art of Kotah*, ed. Stuart Cary Welch, Munich-New York, 1997). He was the guest curator of an exhibition shown in San Francisco and many other American venues from 1998-1999 (*Interaction of Cultures, Indian and Western Painting 1780-1910, The Ehrenfeld Collection*, Alexandria, Virginia, 1998) and is presently writing a catalogue for a forthcoming exhibition in San Francisco in 2003, entitled *The Ehrenfeld Collection of colonial photographs from India*. He has also been teaching at the Free University of Berlin, and for the past 10 years at the South Asia Institute of the University of Heidelberg. He is presently guest professor at the Wako University, Japan.

Jacket illustrations:

Front: Boddhisatta as protector, upper row, exterior wall, corridor, Abe-ya-dana-hpaya (see Plate 109)

Rear: West wall of the shrine,Kubyauk-gyi, Wetkyi-in (see Plate 237)



ISBN: 974-524-025-7

9 789745 240254 90000