

MYANMAR BUDDHISM  
OF  
THE PAGAN PERIOD (AD 1000-1300)

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## SUMMARY

The Myanmars must have become Buddhists soon after they entered the central plains of Myanmar in about the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD. Pagan Buddhism, although primarily Theravada, was influenced by Mahayanism and was also mixed up with Brahmanism. In addition, the Myanmars did not forsake their earlier beliefs (*nāga*-and spirit-worships).

Although Pagan had contacts with India before establishing relations with Sri Lanka and throughout the Pagan period, we cannot attribute all the unorthodox practices to India. For instance, the monks' recitation of the *parittas*, acceptance of the slaves donated to them, and their possession of money most likely came from Sri Lanka. The existence of Brahmanism and of Mahayana influence in Sri Lanka undoubtedly was the reason why Myanmar Buddhism did not become more orthodox in spite of its continued contacts with Sri Lanka.

The most important effect of contacts with Sri Lanka was on the Sangha. In the earlier period (till the end of Kyansittha's reign [1084-1113]), there seems to have been only a sect of Buddhist monks with *Saṅ* titles (*Saṅkrī*, *Saṅlyāṅ* and *Saṅ*). From Alaungsithu's reign (1113-1161) onwards, the monks' names with *Phun* titles (*[Phun]mlatkrīcwā*, *[Phun]mlatso*, *Phunsaṅ*, etc.) appear in the inscriptions. That many of these later monks with *Phun* titles were forest monks connected with the Sinhalese Sangha indicates this sect's connection with Sri Lanka. The *paṇṣukūlikas* also used *Phun* titles. The *Phun* monks increased rapidly and seemed to have absorbed the *Saṅ* monks. The forest monks with *Phun* titles initiated the Saṅgha reform in the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. That the *Phun* sect grew rapidly while the *Saṅ* sect began to decline in the second quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century suggests that the Saṅgha reform was effected during that time.

Parallel changes can be seen in architecture and art. Some changes, such as the increasing popularity of small buildings in the later period, certainly must have been connected with Pagan's contacts with Sri Lanka and thus with the change in the Sangha. The rapid increase of buildings in the latter half of the Pagan period must have been partly due to Pagan's economic development resulted by the expansion of cultivation that began from the 1190s onwards, and partly to the growth of the *Phun* sect. The change from the predominance of stupa over temple in the early period to the ascendancy of temple over stupa in the later period as well as the change in painting style very probably resulted from the influx of Indians.

As Pagan's contact with Sri Lanka was through monks, Sinhalese influence is more visible on the Sangha and faith. Since Pagan's contact with India, on the other hand, was mainly through slaves and laborers, its effects are more noticeable in art and architecture.

This does not mean that all the changes are due to these contacts. First, Pagan had contacts with other countries too. More importantly, local preferences must have played a far greater role than any foreign influence, though there is no way to trace them directly.

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## Symbols and Abbreviations

<	derives from
>	becomes
<i>IB</i>	G.H. Luce and Pe Maung Tin, <i>Inscriptions of Burma</i> . 5 Portfolios (Rangoon: Rangoon UP, 1933-1956)
ME	Myanmar era
OM	Old Myanmar
MnM	Modern Myanmar
P	Pali
qtd.	quoted
Skt.	Sanskrit
<i>RMK</i>	Nyein Maung, <i>Rhe:hoñ: Mranmā Kyokcāmyā: [Old Myanmar Inscriptions]</i> , vols. 1-5 (Yangon: Archaeology Department, 1972-1998)

## NOTES ON TRANSLITERATION AND UNPUBLISHED MATERIALS

For the transliteration of Old Myanmar words and names of works, I have followed the system laid down in Duroiselle's "Literal Transliteration of the Burmese Alphabet."<sup>1</sup> Names of monuments are in loose transcription with the new monument numbers (i.e. the numbers used by Pichard in the *Inventory of Monuments at Pagan*) given in parentheses.<sup>2</sup>

The digital images of the mural paintings recorded by the National University of Singapore are referred to as: National University of Singapore, Mural Paintings of Pagan, disc no(s).\name of folder (which is monument number preceded by zero[es], if necessary, to make four digit)\sub-folder(s), the first being the wall number\name of file(s).<sup>3</sup> For example, "disc 55\0505\01\P1210014.tif and P1210015.tif" refers to image files P1210014.tif and P1210015.tif of wall number 01 of Monument 505 (the plan of Monument 505 with its walls numbered is included in the root folder 0505). In most cases, the folder with wall number includes only a few images covering large areas of the wall, and a sub-folder normally named "details."

If the paintings of a temple occupy more than one disc, I cite the whole range, because the disc numbers will be changed if in future the images are copied to a hard disc to make them accessible online, or if the file formats are changed to reduce the file sizes. However, the monument number would not be changed. Additionally, reference to the first disc (the disc with the root folder) is always necessary to find the placement of the painting.

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<sup>1</sup> Chas. Duroiselle, "Literal Transliteration of the Burmese Alphabet," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 6.2 (1916): 81-90.

<sup>2</sup> Pierre Pichard, *Inventory of Monuments at Pagan*, vols. 1-6 (Paris: UNESCO, 1992-1995).

<sup>3</sup> National University of Singapore, Project on Mural Paintings of Pagan, CD-ROM, 142 discs (Unpublished; the images were recorded in December 2000-May 2001). They are neither indexed nor edited yet.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Lying in central Myanmar, Pagan is the capital of a kingdom **which** flourished between the 11<sup>th</sup> and the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. **Sprinkled** with some two thousand Buddhist monuments, this ancient city resembles a large religious complex. Pe Maung Tin, Gordon H. Luce, Than Tun, and Michael Aung-Thwin have laid the foundations for the study of the history and culture of Pagan. What I have to rely on for this thesis are the works of Pe Maung Tin, Luce and Than Tun. They are the earliest scholars to reconstruct the history of Myanmar from contemporary epigraphs. Most of what we know about Pagan and Old Myanmar today resulted from their studies. However, it is also important to note that there are many topics where the views of these pioneering scholars can be augmented or improved upon, as more archaeological and historical advances are made.

Solely based on the contemporary inscriptions, Pe Maung Tin wrote an interesting article on Buddhism in 1936.<sup>1</sup> He describes how Buddhism in Pagan was mixed up with Brahmanism and *Nāga*- and spirit-worships; how the donations were made to the Three Jewels, and what items were donated; how the religious monuments were built; how the Buddha was worshipped; and how the people prayed and cursed. He also discusses matters concerning land donations and transactions as well as land disputes. Despite being short, the paper is well-written with proper citations and is quite informative, and it is also easy to read.

The best-known work on Pagan, however, is Luce's *Old Burma—Early Pagán*,<sup>2</sup> a comprehensive study on early Pagan (11<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries AD) in three volumes: 1) Text, 2) Catalogue of Plates and Indexes, and 3) Plates. The text is divided into three parts: history,

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<sup>1</sup> Pe Maung Tin, "Buddhism in the inscriptions of Pagan," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 26.1 (1936): 52-70.

<sup>2</sup> Gordon H. Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán*, 3 vols. Artibus Asiae, Supplementum 25 (New York: J.J. Augustin Publisher, 1969-1970).

iconography and architecture. Although this work was published only in 1969-70, it is based on his papers written beginning in the 1910s;<sup>3</sup> hence, it seems justifiable to discuss this work before proceeding to analyze Than Tun's thesis.

In part A, Luce discusses about the history of Pagan, from its founding to the reign of Kulākya (aka Imtawrhāi; AD 1169). Here, he argues that the Sinhalese attacked Pagan and killed King Kulākya, and how this led to the restoration of Aniruddha's line of kings and to the "supplanting of Mon influence at the Court by Singhalese."<sup>4</sup> In part B, Luce focuses on iconography. He discusses the representations of the Buddha in different postures, scenes from the lives of the Buddha and Mahayana, Tantric and Brahmanical representations. Part C deals with architecture. After explaining the different building types, he examines the stupas and temples of Pagan. He believes that the buildings of the earlier period (before the end of Kyansittha's reign in AD 1113) are in Mon style, and refers to this period as Mon period.<sup>5</sup> He discusses individual buildings (many of which are unique in one way or another) and the paintings and sculptures thereof in detail. He asserts that the buildings were gradually 'Burmanized' due to Sinhalese influence and termed the period from AD 1113 to 1174 the transitional period.<sup>6</sup> However, the Sinhalese invasion of Myanmar itself is in question, and his conclusion as to the growing Sinhalese influence at the Pagan court is based on too many speculations.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, although he emphasizes the growing Sinhalese influence at Pagan court, although he mentions the purification of the Pagan Sangha on Sinhalese lines, and

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<sup>3</sup> For a list of the articles Luce has contributed to the learned journals, see Naing Pan Hla, "Gordon Hannington Luce 1889-1979," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 62.1-2 (1979): 215-234.

<sup>4</sup> Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* 1: 125.

<sup>5</sup> Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* 1: 9, 44, 49, 59-60, 230.

<sup>6</sup> Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* 1: 61-62, 96.

<sup>7</sup> For Aung-Thwin's criticisms on Luce's conclusion, see Michael A. Aung-Thwin, *Myth and History in the Historiography of Early Burma: Paradigms, Primary Sources, and Prejudices*, Monographs in International Studies, Southeast Asia Studies, no. 102 (Athens: Ohio UP, 1998), Chapter 1. For how Luce tries to stress the Sinhalese influence at Pagan court with his speculations, see Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* 1: 127.

although he compares the art and architecture of Pagan with those of India, the effects of Pagan's relation with Sri Lanka on Myanmar Buddhism is stressed only in discussing the arrival of the Theravada scriptures.

In 1955, Than Tun made a detailed study of Pagan Buddhism in his Ph.D. thesis,<sup>8</sup> a revised version of which was published in the *Journal of the Burma Research Society* in 1978.<sup>9</sup> This paper is divided into ten chapters. In the first three chapters, he focuses on the political history and administration of Myanmar, and in the last chapter, he discusses the slaves of Pagan-period Myanmar. Chapters IV to IX deal with Buddhism, the Sangha and the religious buildings, and he was mostly recounting how Buddhism was practiced, how the donations were made, etc. Most of the information he gives is the same as that given by Pe Maung Tin and Luce. Than Tun's emphasis is on the Sangha, to which he has devoted two chapters (VII and VIII). In Chapter VII, he discusses the different grades of monks and the donations made to the monks. In Chapter VIII, he elaborates on Pagan's important monks, the best-known being Mahākassapa (a leader of forest dwellers). He connects the forest sect of Pagan with the *arañ* mentioned in the chronicles. He states that

... the monks educated in Ceylon, monks who received education from Sinhalese thera at Pagan and thera of Pagan who agreed with the Sinhalese advocated purification of the Order on Sinhalese lines. Nevertheless, we must bear in mind that there was also

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<sup>8</sup> Than Tun, *The Buddhist Church in Burma During the Pagan Period (1044-1287)*, (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1955). The article that inspired Than Tun to write this thesis is Pe Maung Tin's "Buddhism in the Inscriptions of Pagan" (see above). Both this article and Pe Maung Tin's arguments about the *arañ* with Duroiselle influence Than Tun considerably (see 1.2.1.2. Ari Cult).

<sup>9</sup> Than Tun, "History of Buddhism in Burma, A.D. 1000-1300," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 61.1-2 (1978): 1-256. His other articles based on this thesis are: "Religion in Burma, A.D. 1000-1300," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 42.2 (1959): 48-69; "Religious Buildings of Burma, A.D. 1000-1300," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 42.2 (1959): 71-80; "Mahākassapa Guiri:" [Mahākassapa's Sect], *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 42.2 (1959): 81-98; and "Mahākassapa and His Tradition," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 42.2 (1959): 99-118 (being English version of the preceding).

another group of monks who were not so eager for reforms. They were known as ‘forest-dwellers’.<sup>10</sup>

Luce also believes the same about the forest dwellers.<sup>11</sup> However, the *theras* Dhammasiri and Subhūtica who, according to Than Tun, “undoubtedly desired the purification of the Order on Sinhalese lines” and most probably “were much alarmed at the appearance of Mahākassapa and his new school at the capital and so hastened to Ceylon for inspiration and help”<sup>12</sup> were witnessing the donation of a forest monastery together with Mahākassapa before they went to Sri Lanka (see 4.2 [below]). Luce’s “Sinhalese *thera* Ānanda [who reformed the Pagan Sangha] on the strict model of the Ceylon Mahāvihāra” was a forest monk (see 4.1 below). That these monks were forest monks is clear from the inscriptions Than Tun and Luce themselves have cited for these statements.

This conclusion suggests that they assumed that Sinhalese Buddhism was orthodox or at least that the Sinhalese monks followed the *vinaya* strictly.<sup>13</sup> They ignored how the forest monks of the Mahavihara became powerful in the 1150s, and how the Sinhalese monks themselves were not following the *vinaya* rules strictly.

In 1989, Paul Strachan published a work on Pagan’s art and architecture: *Imperial Pagan: Art and Architecture of Burma*.<sup>14</sup> He divides the Pagan period into three sub-periods: Early (c. 850-1120), Middle (1100-1170) and Late (1170-1300) Periods. He also states that

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<sup>10</sup> Than Tun, “History of Buddhism” 120.

<sup>11</sup> Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagan* 1: 9, fn. 30.

<sup>12</sup> Than Tun, “History of Buddhism” 122.

<sup>13</sup> See also Than Tun’s statement: “To counteract their [*ari*] growing popularity, the orthodox monks allied themselves with the Sinhalese Order and strove to purify the Religion on Sinhalese lines.” Than Tun, “History of Buddhism,” iv. “As Buddhism has nothing comparable with Brahmanical rituals for such occasions as coronation, palace construction, etc. Burmans felt it necessary to adopt some Brahmanical rites through the Mon. Their monks tolerated this adoption.” *ibid.* Than Tun added a note that as time went by Buddhism would have been “modified to suit the time and place,” when he wrote “Religion in Burma” in 1959. However, he did not change any of his earlier conclusions. Than Tun, “Religion in Burma” 47.

<sup>14</sup> Paul Strachan, *Imperial Pagan: Art and Architecture of Burma* (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1989).

the “Middle period was transitional and experimental phase ...” Thus, he is adopting Luce’s division with slight changes in dates. (Even though Luce’s work does not include the late period, his mention of the Mon period and the transitional period presupposes the Myanmar period or late period).

This adherence to Luce’s chronology detracts from Strachan’s work. Adopting Luce’s framework as well as Luce’s political history of Pagan seems to have led him to argue with Luce unnecessarily so that he would not be seen to be copying Luce’s book. *Imperial Pagan* really looks as if it is a revised version of *Old Burma—Early Pagán*. With regard to architecture, apart from adding the late-period buildings, Strachan is just elaborating Luce’s statements. When he disagrees with Luce, he often cannot give good reasons.<sup>15</sup>

On art, however, Strachan’s work is useful. As a trained art historian, he analyzes the paintings of Pagan temples very well, and points out that there were two different styles. Nevertheless, his statements about Mahayana and/or Tantric representations are hard to understand. Take, for example, his statements about the paintings in Abeyadana:

... It should, though, be noted that despite the presence of Mahayana, Tantric and Brahmanical deities, the essential Theravada texts remain prominent in the painting cycles and the *bhumisparsamudra* Buddha, the most sacred of Theravada icons, remains the primary object of worship, central in the shrine of this supposedly Tantric temple. Other, seemingly alien, iconographic elements support the Theravada, they do not contradict it...<sup>16</sup>

First, I fail to understand how he differentiates whether these Mahayana/Tantric and Brahmanical elements *support* or *contradict* Theravada. Secondly, since the Buddha image itself was invented by the Mahayanists, its presence as a primary object of worship does not mean that Theravada was more important than Mahayana in that temple. Moreover, his

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<sup>15</sup> For example, see Strachan’s discussion on Pahtothamya and Abeyadana. Strachan, *Imperial Pagan*, 54, 27.

<sup>16</sup> Strachan, *Imperial Pagan* 59.



statement that “increased contact with Ceylon maintained a purifying current in the religious life of Late Pagan”<sup>17</sup> indicates that he has assumed the orthodoxy of Sinhalese Buddhism.

Thus, although all these scholars have referred to Myanmar’s contacts with Sri Lanka,<sup>18</sup> they do not mention how Buddhism was practiced in Sri Lanka, which is the major drawback of their excellent works. Hence, some of their conclusions are based on the presumption that Sri Lankan Buddhism was orthodox.

Michael A. Aung-Thwin was the first historian on Pagan who is strong in theoretical issues and who also knows old Myanmar language. He has attempted to reconstruct an institutional history of Pagan in his doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Michigan in 1976.<sup>19</sup> It was revised and published in 1985.<sup>20</sup> He discusses how the gradual flow of wealth (mainly land and labor) to the tax-exempt religious sector was the main institutional cause of Pagan’s decline because it depleted the economic resources of the kingdom by the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, causing a shift in the focus of power from the royalty to the *sangha* and its wealthy patrons.<sup>21</sup> His conclusion that the establishment of the religious institutions and the donations made to these institutions contributed to Pagan’s economic development is acceptable. However, his theory that the flow of wealth to the Sangha was the main cause of Pagan’s decline is not acceptable at all. This will be discussed in detail below (Chapter 4).

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<sup>17</sup> Strachan, *Imperial Pagan* 94.

<sup>18</sup> Than Tun, “History of Buddhism” 7, 12, 14, and *passim*; Strachan, *Imperial Pagan* 45, 54, 56, and *passim*; and Niharranjan Ray, *An Introduction to the Study of Theravāda Buddhism in Burma: A Study in Indo-Burmese Historical and Cultural Relations from the Earliest Times to the British Conquest* (Calcutta: Calcutta UP, 1946) 8, 11, 17, and *passim*. Luce’s important statements on Pagan’s relations with Sri Lanka has been discussed above.

<sup>19</sup> Michael A. Aung-Thwin, *The Nature of State and Society in Pagan: an Institutional History of 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> Century Burma* (Ph.D. Dissertation, U of Michigan, 1976).

<sup>20</sup> Michael A. Aung-Thwin, *Pagan: the Origins of Modern Burma* (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1985).

<sup>21</sup> Aung-Thwin, *Pagan* 169-198.

Aung-Thwin also believes that the royal purification of the Sangha was a tactic used by the Myanmar kings to restore the tax-exempt religious land to the state. This statement seems to have been based mainly on the assumptions that all the kings who reformed the Sangha were doing the same as what Dhammaceti did when he reformed the Sangha in the 15th century, and that Kīlacwā attempted to confiscate religious land.<sup>22</sup> However, there is no evidence that the Pagan kings forced all the monks to receive reordination or to leave the monkhood; although Dhammaceti's very probably was after the material wealth of the Sangha, there is no evidence that the Pagan kings were doing so. Although Aung-Thwin goes so far as to say that Kīlacwā's failure in confiscating the religious land "subsequently brought the Pagan Dynasty to an end."<sup>23</sup> the inscription (he uses in describing Kīlacwā's confiscation of religious land) does not indicate that Kīlacwā's intention was to confiscate the religious lands. Moreover, Aung-Thwin states that Kings Caw Rahan, Aniruddha, Kalancacsā, Narapatisithu, and Kīlacwā all used Sangha reforms to regain the land donated to the Sangha without giving explanation. He contradicted himself by saying that "during the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, the devolution of land and labor to the religious sector was not a significant problem because land was plentiful ..."<sup>24</sup> He even suggests that the Sangha reforms in other countries and even the Sangayana (Buddhist councils) were held for the same reasons; thus he believes that the cleansing (or editing) the Tipitaka also were made by the kings to regain the wealth from the Sangha.<sup>25</sup> However he does not give convincing evidence for this statement either.

Despite a few shortcomings I have described above, these works are the most informative works on Pagan. Without these works, I would not have been able to write this

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<sup>22</sup> Michael Aung Thwin, "The Role of *Sasana* Reform in Burmese History: Economic Dimensions of a Religious Purification," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 37.4 (1979): 671-688.

<sup>23</sup> Aung-Thwin, "Role of *Sasana* Reform" 674.

<sup>24</sup> Aung-Thwin, *Pagan* 140.

<sup>25</sup> Aung-Thwin, "Role of *Sasana* Reform."

thesis. I would still be wondering what the words in the inscriptions mean. Undoubtedly, most of the shortcomings in these works stem mainly from their attempts to reconstruct a very complete history of Pagan.

In this dissertation, I propose a new perspective on the Buddhist practices, Sangha, art and architecture and about the effects of Pagan's foreign contacts on them. The Myanmar became Buddhists long before the Pagan period. The early monks used titles with *Sai-*. Pagan's contact with Sri Lanka seems to have brought about in the establishment of a new sect of Buddhist monks (who used the titles with *Phun-*). This sect grew noticeably after the Sinhalese-oriented Sangha reform initiated by the forest monks of this sect in about the second quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Parallel changes can be seen in the religious architecture. Whereas the early monasteries were single-building monasteries comparable to those in northern India, the later ones were multiple-building monasteries. Temples topped with stupa-shape towers became more popular than those capped with *sikhara* towers. However, Indian influence did not stop. Unlike Sinhalese influence which was mainly on the Sangha and faith, Indian influence is more noticeable in art and architecture. The style of the paintings was always Indian. Temples became more popular than stupas from the 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards.

Chapter 2 introduces the pre-Pagan religions of the Pyus and the Mons and the pre-Buddhist cults of the Myanmar. Chapter 3 deals with Buddhist practices in the Pagan period, compared to Sri Lanka and India. Pagan's economy, which was the main factor for the growth and decline of the Buddhist Sangha and the donations made to Buddhism, is discussed in Chapter 4. In chapters 5 and 6, I analyze the Buddhist Sangha of Pagan—describing the different Buddhist sects and determining how and when these sects were established. This is the first study of the Buddhist Sangha of Pagan as a whole. Previous scholars (Pe Maung Tin, Luce and Than Tun) only concentrate on the forest dwellers and on some famous monks. Chapters 7 and 8 are devoted to the architecture of Pagan (temples and stupas as well as

monasteries), where an attempt is made to uncover the relations between architectural features and different sects. Unlike previous studies, which usually focused on the better-known buildings, I based my analysis on the majority of the buildings recorded in volumes 1 to 6 of Pichard's inventory.<sup>26</sup> Chapter 9 deals with the Buddhist art of Pagan. This is the area most thoroughly studied by Luce, Strachan and Ray, and I have to rely heavily on their studies, even though I may disagree with them in some cases. My examination is mainly based on the mural paintings because they are the art objects found *in situ* and usually have not been modified. Most of the brick and stucco images have been repaired quite recently, and almost all the stone sculptures have been moved to the Pagan Archaeological Museum. The exact provenances of many objects in the museum are not known, and I was not allowed to take any photographs in the museum.

In conclusion, I discuss Pagan's contacts with India and Sri Lanka and the effects of these contacts on Myanmar Buddhism. It should be noted here that not all changes are due to these contacts. First, Pagan had contacts with other countries (Cambodia and Thailand). More importantly, local preferences must have played a far greater role than any foreign influence. Unfortunately, however, it is quite impossible to trace the indigenous developments, because all the architectural remains except the ruins of the palace and city walls as well as almost all the art objects belong to foreign religions (Buddhism and Brahmanism), and almost all the inscriptions are connected with Buddhism.

It is necessary here to add a note on the use of the terms 'Theravada' and 'Mahayana', and on the transliteration of Myanmar words. A problem with the study of Buddhism is the use of the terms Theravada and Mahayana, because Mahayana elements have been adopted by Theravada. Buddhism had undergone so many changes that there was no pure form of Theravada Buddhism by the time the Myanmars became Buddhists. There are no references in the Pagan-period inscriptions to Mahayana, Theravada, Tantrayana, etc., and

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<sup>26</sup> Pierre Pichard, *Inventory of Monuments at Pagan*, vols. 1-6 (Paris: UNESCO, 1992-1995)

it does not seem that the people discriminated between these different forms of Buddhism.

Some scholars have raised questions regarding the use of the terms Mahayana and Theravada and the distinction made between these two forms of Buddhism.<sup>27</sup> It is true that the distinction made between Mahayana and Theravada forces “the schools into neat, isolated, and independent categories that often undermine the complexities that exist concerning their beliefs, ideologies, and practices.”<sup>28</sup> Avoiding this distinction and these terms may pose no problem and may be preferable in studying a particular practice or religious ideology.

However, it is impossible or, at least, inconvenient to avoid these terms in studying Buddhism of a region, in comparing with that practiced in another region, or in comparing Buddhism as practiced in a country in different periods. Therefore, the words ‘Mahayana’ and ‘Theravada’ will not be avoided in this paper. Additionally, Buddhism in Sri Lanka and Myanmar will be referred to as Sri Lankan Buddhism or Sinhalese Buddhism and Myanmar Buddhism as opposed to the orthodox Theravada Buddhism or canonical Buddhism; otherwise, the meanings of the terms will be clear from the context.

Another problematic term is ‘sect’, which is often used as an equivalent of Pali *nikāya* or Myanmar *guṇi*: (< Pali *gaṇa*).<sup>29</sup> The meaning of the Pali *nikāya* itself is variously defined. However, it is widely accepted that a *nikāya* is a group of monks who mutually acknowledge the validity of their ordination and who are willing to perform with one another

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<sup>27</sup> John Clifford Holt, *Buddha in the Crown: Avalokitesvara in the Buddhist Traditions of Sri Lanka* (New York: Oxford UP, 1991), viii-ix. Also see Jeffrey Samuels, “The Bodhisattva ideal in Theravada Buddhist Theory and Practice: A Reevaluation of the Bodhisattva-Sraavaka Opposition,” *Philosophy East and West* (Hawaii) 47.3 (1997): 399-415, electronic document, Digital Buddhist Library and Museum, Comprehensive Cyberspace for Buddhist Studies, Center for Buddhist Studies, National Taiwan University <<http://ccbs.ntu.edu.tw/e-CBS.htm>> (downloaded from its mirror site at the University of Heidelberg), 26 August 2000 <<http://sino-sv3.sino.uni-hiedelberg.de/FULLTEXT/JR-EPT/jeffrey2.htm>>

<sup>28</sup> Samuels, “Bodhisattva Ideal in Theravada” 399.

<sup>29</sup> Although the Shwegyin group refers to itself as Shwegyin Nikāya in its publications, the common word used in speaking is *guṇi*., derived from Pali *gaṇa* “a meeting or a chapter or company of monks.”

the ecclesiastical rites within the same *sīmā* (consecrated area for performing such rites).<sup>30</sup>

Thus, although different groups of modern Myanmar monks are referred to as ‘sects’, each of them has no doctrinal difference with other sects. Mendelson has discussed how new groups of monks usually justify the split from the main Sangha “in terms of a redressal of laxity which creeps into the Sangha at large.”<sup>31</sup> So, the degree of strictness in following the Vinaya rules may vary slightly from one group to another. Some anthropologists prefer to avoid using the word ‘sect’ for these groups. Spiro prefers the term ‘branch’,<sup>32</sup> and Ferguson decided to use the Myanmar word *gūin*: itself.<sup>33</sup> On the other hand, some scholars use the word ‘sect’ or ‘school’ to distinguish a group of monks from the main body of the Sangha or from other groups, and I have followed this practice mainly to avoid using the Myanmar or Pali words.<sup>34</sup> Although it is all right to use the words *gūin*: or *nikāya* in discussing the different groups of monks in the 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries because the monks themselves have been

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<sup>30</sup> H. Berchert. “The Structure of the Sangha in Burma: A Comparative View,” *Studies in History of Buddhism*, edited by A.K. Narain (New Delhi: B.R. Publishing, 1980) 33; For other definitions, see J.L. Taylor, *Forest Monks and the Nation State: An Anthropological and Historical Study in Northeastern Thailand*, Social Issues in Southeast Asia (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1993) 38-39, note 6.

<sup>31</sup> E. Michael Mendelson, *Sangha and State in Burma: A Study of Monastic Sectarianism and Leadership* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1975) 25-26.

<sup>32</sup> Melford E. Spiro, *Buddhism and Society* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970) 315-320.

<sup>33</sup> John Palmer Ferguson, *The Symbolic Dimensions of the Burmese Sangha* (Ph.D. Thesis, Cornell University, 1975) 106, note 1.

<sup>34</sup> Ray uses ‘school’ in referring to the different groups of Pagan monks mentioned in the chronicles. Niharranjan Ray, *An Introduction to the Study of Theravāda Buddhism in Burma: A Study in Indo-Burmese Historical and Cultural Relations from the Earliest Times to the British Conquest* (Calcutta: Calcutta UP, 1946) 115. Luce, Pe Maung Tin and Than Tun use the word ‘sect’ even to refer to the group of forest monks in Burma. G.H. Luce and Pe Maung Tin, “Burma Down to the Fall of Pagan,” *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 29.3 (1939), 273; Than Tun, “Mahakassapa and His Tradition,” *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 42.2 (1959), 100. Mendelson, after using the word ‘sect’ loosely in his study on the Myanmar Sangha, thought it would have been better to use ‘faction’. Mendelson, *Sangha and State* 27-30. Tambiah, although apparently preferring to use ‘group’, ‘section’, uses ‘sect’ to refer to the group of forest dwellers. Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, *The Buddhist Saints of the Forest and the Cult of Amulets: A Study in Charisma, Hagiography, Sectarianism, and Millennial Buddhism* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1984) 56-58.

using them, using these words for the Pagan period might mislead the readers that the words occur in contemporary inscriptions.

## 2. MYANMAR FAITH

Although the subject of this thesis is Buddhism, the composite nature of Myanmar faith makes it necessary to be aware of the features of other religious beliefs in Myanmar as well. Evidence indicates the existence of pre-Buddhist cults—spirit- and snake-worships and the *ari* cult—among the Myanmars. Moreover, the Myanmars must first have received Buddhism and Brahmanism from the Mon and the Pyu. Therefore, the religion of the Pyu and the Mon, and the pre-Buddhist Myanmar cults will be discussed in brief in this chapter for the better understanding of Myanmar Buddhism.

Myanmar chronicles relate that the religion of the *arañ* prevailed in Pagan until Aniruddha (1044-1077), converted to Theravada Buddhism by the Mon monk Shin Arahan, conquered the Mon capital of Thaton in AD 1057-58, brought back the Mon king Manuha together with his family and thirty sets of the *Tipiṭaka* (Buddhist canon) as well as learned Buddhist monks, and “unfroked the thirty Ari lords and their sixty thousand followers and enrolled them among his spearmen and lancers and elephant-dung sweepers.”<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to take the whole account as truth. Luce’s remark on the traditional accounts of Aniruddha’s wars may be cited here:

... The earliest accounts of his [Aniruddha’s] wars, however, are late—the Pali-Mon Kalyāṇī inscriptions of Pegu, 1479 A.D. (none too reliable for the Pagan period), and two Pali Chronicles of North Siam, one rather older and one later than the Kalyāṇī. Already these accounts cancel themselves out: Aniruddha goes seeking the Tipiṭaka now at Thaton, now at Ceylon, now at the Khmer capital Angkor. He receives an insolent refusal now at Thaton, now at Angkor. Kyanzittha the general in one case, Aniruddha the king in the other, performs feats of gymnastics, “piercing the Cambojans” (*krwam: thui:*): the scene is now Pegu, now Angkor. Each has magic horses that can fly so fast as to give the impression of an army. Each cows his rival with the spectre of streaks of betel-blood: but in one case it is the Khmer monarch, in

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<sup>1</sup> Pe Maung Tin and G.H. Luce, trans., *The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma* (London: Oxford UP, 1923; reprint, 1960) 59-60, 74-75 (hereafter *Glass Palace Chronicle*)



the other that of Nanchao. Hero, scene and villain are alike lost in folktale, and history sub-merged [*sic.*] in myth....<sup>2</sup>

Than Tun, following Luce, states that the chronicles are not reliable for this period and judges that the truth of the story that the Myanmars received Theravada Buddhism from Thaton after Aniruddha's conquest of it in the 11<sup>th</sup> century is very doubtful.<sup>3</sup>

Although the discovery of Aniruddha's seals in Lower Myanmar proves that he did incorporate Lower Myanmar into his kingdom,<sup>4</sup> there are no contemporary inscriptions recording either Aniruddha's conquest of Thaton or the introduction of Buddhism from Thaton. The chroniclers' claim that pure Theravada Buddhism was introduced to Pagan from Thaton is better regarded as legend because no contemporary religious buildings comparable to those at Pagan have been found at Thaton, and also because the iconography of Myanmar images and Mon ones differs greatly. Mendelson has rightly pointed out: "it is doubtful that any 'pure' form of Theravada Buddhism existed in 1057 at Thaton or even in Sri Lanka, for a Sinhalese king had to send to Pagan in *c.* 1070 for a chapter of Burmese monks to revive his weakened Sangha."<sup>5</sup>

The chroniclers state that their sources include earlier chronicles and the inscriptions, although they usually do not give any specific reference for each of their statements. The *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātama*., however, specifically refers to the Kalyāṇī inscriptions in discussing the date of Chappada's mission.<sup>6</sup> The Kalyāṇī inscriptions are the earliest extend source mentioning Aniruddha's conquest of Thaton, and it is more than likely that this legend, in

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<sup>2</sup> G.H. Luce, "Mons of the Pagan Dynasty," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 36.1 (1953): 9.

<sup>3</sup> Than Tun, "History of Buddhism in Burma, A.D. 1000-1300," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 61.1-2 (1978): 51-52.

<sup>4</sup> Than Tun, "History of Buddhism" 4-5.

<sup>5</sup> E. Michael Mendelson, *Sangha and State in Burma: A Study of Monastic Sectarianism and Leadership* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1975) 35.

<sup>6</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkramaṁ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātama*: [History of Buddhism], edited by Khin Soe *et al.* (Yangon: Hanthawady Press, 1956) 119.

which the head monk of the Buddhist fraternity during the reign of King Kyansittha (1084-1113)—and probably during that of Aniruddha (1044-1077) as well—playing a leading role, was created in later times, before or during the reign of Dhammaceti (1472-1492). If it was created before Dhammaceti's reign, it must have been created by royal chroniclers to justify the expansionist policy of the Myanmar kings; to imply that they were waging wars just for the cause of the Religion—either to gain scriptures or relics or, in later times, to convert other peoples to the Religion.

If this legend was created during the reign of the Mon king Dhammaceti (1472-1492), it was probably just to imply that Myanmar culture was derived entirely from the Mons, or to justify Dhammaceti's purification of the Sangha by emphasizing the existence of different sects of Buddhist monks—those of Shin Arahan's lineage and those of the lineages of Chappada and the monks who accompanied Chappada on his return from Sri Lanka. What Dhammaceti did was that he had all the monks reordained by the twenty monks who, under his arrangements, had been ordained at the Mahavihāra in Sri Lanka. As seniority among the Sangha was (and is) measured from the date of ordination, all the monks who were reordained by these twenty monks became junior to them; thus the king could control the monks effectively as his monks had become the leaders of the entire Sangha. Moreover, as many monks would not receive reordination either because they did not want to forsake their old sects or because they did not want to become junior to those twenty monks, they would leave the monkhood, effectively reducing the religious land on which no tax could be levied.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> See Archaeological Survey of Burma, *Epigraphia Birmanica* 3.2. For a discussion on Dhammaceti's religious reforms, see Niharranjan Ray, *An Introduction to the Study of Theravāda Buddhism in Burma: A Study in Indo-Burmese Historical and Cultural Relations from the Earliest Times to the British Conquest* (Calcutta: Calcutta UP, 1946) 182-192. Ray has stated: "He [Dhammaceti] proceeded in his declaration to ban all monks who were without faith and devotion ... *who possessed goods, paddy, rice, slaves, cattle, or any kind of material wealth*, and threatened them all with expulsion from the Order. Upasampadā ordination could in no way be conferred on them. 'If you do not act thus, but confer the upasampadā privily, the mother and the father of those who receive such ordination, as well as their relatives, and likewise their lay supporters, will be visited by us with royal penalties'"

Thus, the act by Dhammaceti (1472-1492) would have had both political and economic effects.

Moreover, a Myanmar monk who was in Sri Lanka in the 15<sup>th</sup> century wrote in his work, the *Saṅkhepavaṇṇanā*, that he purified the Religion at Sri Lanka with the help of the king and trained the Sinhalese monks in Vinaya and Abhidhamma.<sup>8</sup> If this was true, there was no good reason for Dhammaceti to send Myanmar monks to receive ordination in Sri Lanka soon before or after this purification. It should be admitted here that it is also possible that this monk was boasting. But the fact that there were learned monks in Myanmar at that time is not deniable, although Dhammaceti has stated that “in all sects, there were none who were well-versed in the *Tipitaka*.”<sup>9</sup>

Indian religions, Brahmanism and Buddhism (Theravada as well as Mahayana) and languages (both Sanskrit and Pali) made their way to Myanmar long before Pagan came into being as a historical entity. These religions were professed mainly by the two ethnic groups—the Pyus and the Mons—before the Myanmars founded the city of Pagan. Hence it is important to study the religion of the Pyus and the Mons, from whom the Myanmars must have received these religions when the latter entered Myanmar. Theravada Buddhism was established among the Pyus in about the 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> century AD, and Brahmanism and Mahayanism were known in Myanmar by about the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries AD respectively.

## 2.1. PYU AND MON RELIGIONS

### 2.1.1. Religions Among the Pyus

Luce believes that the Pyus entered Myanmar from the northeast and were converted to Buddhism, and that they had contacts both with India and with the Mon countries of

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(emphasis added). *Ibid.*, 188-189. As will be explained below (6.2), the possession of ‘material wealth’ was allowed in Sri Lanka.

<sup>8</sup> W.M. Sirisena, *Sri Lanka and South-East Asia: Political, Religious and Cultural Relations from A.D. c. 1000 to c. 1500* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978) 77-78.

<sup>9</sup> Ray, *Introduction to Theravāda* 184.

Rāmañña and Dvāravatī.<sup>10</sup> Than Tun has suggested that the Pyus were already in Myanmar by the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD and founded the city Śrī Kṣetra near modern Pyay in the valley of the river Ayeyarwady in AD 638 or 718.<sup>11</sup> The T'ang dynastic chronicles (AD 606-918) of China mention that the Pyus were Buddhists and that they had a hundred monasteries.<sup>12</sup> The earliest mentions of Śrī Kṣetra were made by Hsuan-tsang in about AD 643 and I-tsing in about AD 680. However, the nearest they had come to the Pyu city was Chittagong (Samataṭa).<sup>13</sup>

Excavations at several places around the old city of Śrī Kṣetra have revealed religious remains of the Pyus. Among them are twenty gold plates from Khinba's mound containing extracts from the Pali canon.<sup>14</sup> There were also two gold plates from Maunggan's mound with the following Buddhist stanza:

*Ye dhammā hetuppabhavā (te)sa(m) hetu(m) tathāgato āha tesañ ca yo nirodho evaṃ vādi Mahāsamaṇo*<sup>15</sup>

The conditions which arise from a cause, of these the Tathāgata has stated the cause, also the way of suppressing these same: this is the teaching of the Great Ascetic.

They are inscribed in a script closely akin to Kānāḍā-Telegu script used in southern India between the 5<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries AD.<sup>16</sup> Therefore, there is no doubt that the Pyus had contacts with southern India and that Theravada Buddhism was established in Śrī Kṣetra between the 5<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries AD.

<sup>10</sup> G.H. Luce, *Phases of Pre-Pagan Burma*, 2 vols. (London: Oxford UP, 1985) 1: 52.

<sup>11</sup> Than Tun, *Khet-hoiñ: Mrammā Rājawañ* [History of old Myanmar], (Yangon: Mahadagon Press, 1969) 89; and Luce, *Phases of Pre-Pagan* 1: 48-49.

<sup>12</sup> Nihar-Ranjan Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma* (Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1936; reprint, Rangoon: Buddha Sāsana Council Press, n.d.) 55ff.

<sup>13</sup> Luce, *Phases of Pre-Pagan* 1: 48.

<sup>14</sup> Archaeological Survey of India, *Annual Report (1926-27)*: 172-173.

<sup>15</sup> Mya (U), *Rhe:hoiñ: Upkhwak Ruppwā: Chañ:tutaumyā*: [Votive tablets of Myanmar], 2 vols. (Yangon: Archaeology Department, ?1961) 1: 6; and Kanai Lal Hazra, *History of Buddhism in South-East Asia with Special Reference to India and Ceylon* (New Delhi: Munshiram Monaharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1996) 63.

<sup>16</sup> Mya, *Rhe:hoiñ: Upkhwak* 2: 12-13; and Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism* 4.

Furthermore, Sanskrit inscriptions on the pedestals of two Buddha images from Śrī Kṣetra are in Brahmi characters of northern India of about the 7<sup>th</sup> century. The style of both images is similar to the late Gupta tradition of eastern India.<sup>17</sup> There are also terracotta votive tablets inscribed with *ye dhammā* stanza in similar script. Ray believes that some of them were brought from northeastern India (the Magadha region) which, in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, was a center of Sarvastivada-nikaya according to I-tsing.<sup>18</sup> Hence, he concludes that these images were connected with Mulasarvastivada, although he admits that no definite evidence proves that they were not connected with Mahayanism.<sup>19</sup>

Referring to I-tsing's record, Ray has also pointed out that Sarvastivada Buddhism prevailed in other countries in Southeast Asia in about the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>20</sup> As the prayers of the inscriptions belonging to the Pagan period show Sarvastivada influence (see 3.2.6 [below]), it is not impossible that Sarvastivada prevailed in Myanmar before the Pagan period.

Apart from these Theravada finds, the site of Śrī Kṣetra has yielded votive tablets with *ye dhammā* stanza in Devanagari characters of the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>21</sup> One of the votive tablets with this inscription represents Tārā, the *śakti* of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara or Lokanātha.<sup>22</sup> The fragment of another tablet represents a four-armed *bodhisattva*.<sup>23</sup> A gold plate depicting a six-armed Avalokiteśvara has also been found there.<sup>24</sup> All this shows that Mahayana Buddhism existed in Śrī Kṣetra by about the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> century AD.

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<sup>17</sup> Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism* 19-20.

<sup>18</sup> Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism* 20-21.

<sup>19</sup> Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism* 21-22, 30.

<sup>20</sup> Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism* 22-30.

<sup>21</sup> Mya, *Rhe:hoi: Upkhvak 2*: 17-19, Figs. 16, 17, 19 & 24.

<sup>22</sup> Mya, *Rhe:hoi: Upkhvak 2*: 19-20, Fig. 24.

<sup>23</sup> Archaeological Survey of India, *Annual Report (1926-27)*: 182-183, Pl. xlii (c); and Luce, *Phases of Pre-Pagan 1*: 55.

<sup>24</sup> Archaeological Survey of India, *Annual Report (1928-29)*: 105 (ix), Pl. lii (a, c); and Luce, *Phases of Pre-Pagan 1*: 55.

Moreover, some of the votive tablets found at Śrī Kṣetra have Buddhist Sanskrit inscriptions in Devanagari characters belonging to about the 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>25</sup> Apart from Buddhist finds, Brahmanical images in Vaṅgī-Pallava style datable to about the 7<sup>th</sup> century have also been unearthed at the same locality.<sup>26</sup>

It can therefore be concluded that Theravada Buddhism was introduced first from southern India, and later on Mahayana Buddhism, and probably Sarvastivada, as well as Brahmanism from northern India crept in. Than Tun believes that Theravada Buddhism was prevalent.<sup>27</sup> However, it cannot be ascertained whether the Pyus were professing these religions separately or were practicing a mixture of these religions. Another possibility is that they had different periods of ascendancy and eclipse.

Another Pyu city at Halin (about 21 kilometers south of Shwebo) flourished since about the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, and Than Tun has suggested that both Śrī Kṣetra and Halin were destroyed by the Nanchao in AD 832.<sup>28</sup> But Luce assumes, after studying the Chinese sources, that the Pyu capital Śrī Kṣetra was “moved to the north, probably Halin, towards the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century,” and states that it is not certain when Śrī Kṣetra fell.<sup>29</sup>

### 2.1.2. Religions Among the Mons

The other ethnic group that absorbed Indian culture was the Mon, who occupied the area stretching from Mottama Gulf in the south to Kyaukse in the north.<sup>30</sup> Their cultural centers were Dvāravatī in Thailand and Thaton (Suvaṅṅabhūmi) and Bago in Lower Myanmar. They had contacts with southern India that went back to the early Christian era

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<sup>25</sup> Mya, *Rhe:hoi: Upkhwak* 2: 12-13. Ray, however, dates the script to the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD. Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism* 3-4.

<sup>26</sup> Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism* 5.

<sup>27</sup> Than Tun, *Khet-hoi: Mranmā Rājawan* 49.

<sup>28</sup> Than Tun, *Khet-hoi: Mranmā Rājawan* 90.

<sup>29</sup> Luce, *Phases of Pre-Pagan* 49.

<sup>30</sup> Than Tun, *Khet-hoi: Mranmā Rājawan* 19.

and they must consequently have got Buddhism and Hinduism from southern India through traders.<sup>31</sup>

The earliest Mon inscription, found at Loppuri in central Thailand, is written in a script based on the Pallava script of the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD according to Harvey.<sup>32</sup> Loppuri was under the Khmers in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, when Khmer influence can also be seen in the finds at Sukhothai and Suwankhalok. Haripuñjaya (the Mon kingdom with its capital at Lamphun) in northern Thailand, however, seems to have been an independent kingdom at least till the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>33</sup> The inscription found at Botahtaung Pagoda in Yangon containing a Pali stanza is the earliest extant inscription in Mon script found in Myanmar. Than Tun has estimated that this inscription belongs to about the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>34</sup> Luce suggests that the city the Nanchao attacked in Lower Myanmar in AD 835 probably was old Bago.<sup>35</sup>

Luce believes that the Myanmars, probably trying to escape from Nanchao supremacy, entered the central plains of Myanmar in about the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD. The culture of the Myanmars, who conquered the Mons in the Kyaukse area, was greatly influenced by Mon culture. They must have acquired Buddhism and Brahmanism from the Pyus and the Mons who were already in central Myanmar.<sup>36</sup> The inscripational evidence for Pyu is too scanty to be of help in ascertaining the influence of Pyu on Myanmar. Nevertheless, there were some Pyus in central Myanmar as the inscriptions attest. Pyu singers took part in the ceremony of

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<sup>31</sup> Than Tun, *Khet-hoiñ: Mranmā Rājawañ* 91. See also I.C. Glover, *Early Trade Between India and South-East Asia* (University of Hull, Centre for South-East Asian Studies, 1989) on archaeological research in western Thailand.

<sup>32</sup> Reginald le May, *The Culture of Southeast Asia* (London: 1954; 2<sup>nd</sup> impression, 1956) 50.

<sup>33</sup> Hazra, *History of Theravada* 131.

<sup>34</sup> Than Tun, *Khet-hoiñ: Mranmā Rājawañ* 82-83.

<sup>35</sup> Luce, "Old Kyaukse and the Coming of the Burmans," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 42.1 (1959): 75-109.

<sup>36</sup> Luce, "Old Kyaukse," 78-82; and *idem*, "Burma's Debt to Pagan," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 22.3 (1932): 120.

constructing the palace of King Kyansittha (1084-1113).<sup>37</sup> Moreover, in AD 1207, a king gave the boundary of the land he donated to the Sangha as “the place of Kantū and Pyū in the east.”<sup>38</sup> If the number of the Pyus in Pagan was not considerable, Kyansittha’s son would not have inscribed his donative inscription in four languages including Pyu.<sup>39</sup>

Mon influence, however, is certain and important. The Myanmars certainly learnt the art of writing from the Mons, since their script was derived from that of the Mons. In addition, many Sanskrit and Pali loanwords in Myanmar are derived through Mon. To crown all, the ink captions of the paintings in early temples are in Mon.

Nevertheless, the Mons in central Myanmar must have been separated from those in Lower Myanmar and Thailand for a long period, though there undoubtedly were some contacts between them. This conclusion is drawn because the style of the representations of the Buddha, in painting as well as in sculpture, in central Myanmar is different from those in Thailand. The Myanmar paintings, even in the temples with Mon inscriptions, show no influence of southern Mon.

## 2.2. MYANMAR RELIGION

### 2.2.1. Pre-Buddhist Cults

Not much is known about the religion of the Myanmars before Aniruddha’s reign (1044-1077) because there are no contemporary Myanmar records. Myanmar chroniclers’ knowledge of the history of Myanmar prior to Aniruddha’s period seems to be very vague and hazy. As Ray has remarked, it is only from Aniruddha’s reign that the chroniclers’ accounts become fuller and somewhat definite, and chronology becomes quite consistent.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Luce, *Phases of Pre-Pagan* 1: 46.

<sup>38</sup> Nyein Maung, *Rhe:hoñ: Mrammā Kyokcāmyā*: [Old Myanmar Inscriptions], vols. 1-5 (Yangon: Archaeology Department, 1972-1998) 1.52, lines 7-8 (hereafter *RMK*)

<sup>39</sup> *RMK* 1.1 & 1.2.

<sup>40</sup> Ray, *Introduction to Theravāda* 88.



Nevertheless, the chronicle accounts are still mingled with legends. For instance, the *Glass Palace Chronicle* vividly describes how the spirits of Pagan fought with those of China during the Sino-Myanmar war in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>41</sup> This is not surprising since the Myanmar language was not reduced to writing until the Pagan period, and hence there were no reliable Myanmar works to which the chroniclers could refer for the history of earlier periods.

#### 2.2.1.1. Spirit Worship

However, it can be said with a certainty that the indigenous religion of the Myanmars was the worship of spirits (for which they had their own Tibeto-Burman word *nat*), the worship of which was common to the peoples speaking Tibeto-Burman languages. Although the inscriptions normally do not mention spirit-worship, it survives till today; the silence in the inscriptions is because their main purpose was to record the donations made to Buddhism. There is, however, the Pali inscription (dated AD 1131) from Shwegugyi temple, which records the king's order:

“Make a pleasing lovely room,  
A fragrant chamber for the mighty sage  
Gotama Buddha. On a platform high  
Exalt it, and adorn with cetiyas and images of spirits.”<sup>42</sup>

Moreover, there are many references to spirit-worship in the *Glass Palace Chronicle*. It states that King Aniruddha (1044-1077) himself ordered the building of a spirit-house in the precincts of Sutaungbye Pagoda which he had constructed at Taungbyon so that the people might worship the spirits of Shwehpyingyi and Shwehpyinnge whom he had put to death.<sup>43</sup> One minister executed by Aniruddha (1044-1077), says the chroniclers, “became a spirit,” for

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<sup>41</sup> *Glass Palace Chronicle* 175.

<sup>42</sup> Pe Maung Tin and G.H. Luce, trans., “The Shwegugyi Pagoda Inscription, Pagan, 1141 A.D.,” *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 10.2 (1920): 69. Although the date given in this article is AD 1141, Luce has corrected that it should be AD 1131 as Pe Maung Tin has pointed out. Luce, “Burma’s Debt to Pagan” 122, fn. 1.

<sup>43</sup> *Glass Palace Chronicle* 83.

whom the king had another spirit-house built.<sup>44</sup> The chronicle also states that King Kyansittha (1084-1113) worshipped the spirits when he ascended the throne.<sup>45</sup> Mahāgiri spirits seem to have played an important role during the reigns of Pagan kings—Kyansittha is said to have taken advice from this spirit,<sup>46</sup> and one of the four teachers of Alaungsithu (Cañsū I [1113-1169/70]) was said to be Mahāgiri spirit.<sup>47</sup> “It was,” according to the authors of the *Glass Palace Chronicle*, “the custom of all kings to climb Mt. Poppa in the month of Nadaw, to worship the Mahagiri spirits, brother and sister.”<sup>48</sup>

#### 2.2.1.2. *Nāga* Worship

Luce is of the opinion that *nāga*-worship was the religion of the Myanmars before they got Indian religions (Buddhism and Hinduism).<sup>49</sup> *Nāga*-worship was also prevalent in Bengal, Assam and Manipur.<sup>50</sup> It is also attested in other countries in Southeast Asia—in places like Campa, Cambodia and Java—before Indian influence spread there, and the word *nāga* became popular in those areas as well. Hence, even though the Myanmar word *nagā*: undoubtedly derives from Sanskrit *nāga* “snake, serpent-demon,” it is impossible to assume that this worship came from India.

The Myanmars did not forsake *nāga*-worship after they had become Buddhists.

A Mon inscription records *nāga*-worship at the ceremonies of Kyansittha’s palace

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<sup>44</sup> *Glass Palace Chronicle* 97.

<sup>45</sup> *Glass Palace Chronicle* 105.

<sup>46</sup> *Glass Palace Chronicle* 106ff, 110.

<sup>47</sup> His other three teachers were Buddhist monks: Shin Arahan, Skhiñ Pañsakū (referred to as son of Seinnyekmin), and Shin Ananda. *Glass Palace Chronicle* 112.

<sup>48</sup> *Glass Palace Chronicle* 157.

<sup>49</sup> Luce, “Old Kyaukse” 91.

<sup>50</sup> Swapna Bhattacharya, “The Ari Cult of Myanmar,” in *Berliner Asien-Africa-Studien*, Band 3/2, *Tradition and Modernity in Myanmar*, edited by Uta Gärtner and Jens Lorenz (Berlin: Humboldt-Universität, 1994)

construction.<sup>51</sup> This is not surprising. The Buddhists in India also adopted *nāga*-worship.

How the Buddhists had adopted *nāga*-worship in India can be seen in Ajanta (cave no. 16).

An inscription describes this cave: “a splendid dwelling for the ascetic Indra (i.e. the Buddha) excavated on the finest mountain, home of a *naga* king.”<sup>52</sup>

### 2.2.1.3. *Arañ* Cult

Chroniclers assert that the religion of the *arañ* prevailed in Pagan before Aniruddha’s conquest of Lower Myanmar. The *Glass Palace Chronicle* states:

... It was the fashion of these Ari monks to reject the Law preached by the Lord and to form each severally their own opinions. They wrote books after their heart and beguiled others into the snare. According to the Law, they preached, a man might take the life of another and evade the course of karma if he recited the formula of depreciation (*paritta*). Such false and lawless doctrine they preached as the true doctrine. Moreover, kings and ministers, great and small, rich men and common people, whenever they celebrated the marriage of their children were constrained to send them to these teachers at nightfall, sending as it was called, the flower of their virginity.<sup>53</sup>

In addition, the *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātam*: describes the *arañ* as wearing black or dark blue robes “like the Palaung and Chinese monks,” and had somewhat long hair.<sup>54</sup> The recitation of the *paritta* hints that they were Buddhists, and the color of the robes suggests that they were northern Buddhists.

However, the chroniclers say very little about the *arañ* and the epigraphic evidence is scanty about their beliefs and practices. Scholars, however, have formed different opinions.

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<sup>51</sup> Archaeological Survey of India, *Epigraphia Birmanica* 3.1; and Luce, “Old Kyaukse” 91, fn. 80.

<sup>52</sup> Richard S. Cohen, “Naga, Yaksini, Buddha: Local Deities and Local Buddhism at Ajanta,” *History of Religions* (Chicago) 37.4 (1998): 360-400, electronic document, Digital Buddhist Library and Museum, Comprehensive Cyberspace for Buddhist Studies, Center for Buddhist Studies, National Taiwan University <<http://ccbs.ntu.edu.tw/e-CBS.htm>> (downloaded from its mirror site at the University of Heidelberg), 26 August 2000 <<http://sino-sv3.sino-uni-heidelberg.de/FULLTEXT/JR-EPT/cohen.htm>>. Cohen’s study on the role played by local deities, including *nāga*, in Buddhism is interesting.

<sup>53</sup> *Glass Palace Chronicle* 70-71.

<sup>54</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkramaṁ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātam*: [History of Buddhism], edited by Khin Soe *et al.* (Yangon: *Hanthawady* Press, 1956) 89-90.

Phayre does not believe that the *arañ* were Buddhists, while Finot is of the opinion that Viṣṇu was their god.<sup>55</sup> Duroiselle's and Than Tun's opinions deserve special mention because their works are the best known and also because some of their conclusions are misleading.

Duroiselle identified these *arañ* (pronounced /əri/) as the monks of a Mahayanist sect who, greatly influenced by Tantric practices, were responsible for the mural paintings of the Hpayathonzu (monuments 477, 478 and 479) and Nandaminnya (monument 577) temples at Minnanthu.<sup>56</sup> He says:

... Whereas the Min-nan-thu [i.e. Hpayathonzu] frescoes, though suggestive, have nothing in them particularly offensive; some in the Nandamaññā are of a character so vulgarly erotic and revolting ... The character of all these paintings tallies exactly with oral tradition and with what the histories vouchsafe to tell us about the Arī practices ...<sup>57</sup>

Additionally, he refers to an inscription dated 610 ME (Myanmar era; AD 1248) which was found near the Nandaminnya temple. This inscription, according to him,<sup>58</sup> records an event that took place during the reign of King Alaungsithu (Cañsū I [1113-1169/70]). He interprets this inscription to mean that King Alaungsithu had one of his ministers build the temple and a monastery nearby, and sent Shin Arahan to Tanintharyi. Then, he dates the construction of Nandaminnya temple, and Hpayathonzu which contains paintings similar to the former, to between AD 1112 and 1130. This inscription also states that the revenue of land dedicated to this temple must be used for providing the inmates of the monastery with rice, meat and fermented spirits twice a day, morning and evening; hence, he concludes, these monks were not following the Theravada Vinaya and were therefore not Theravadins.<sup>59</sup> Luce

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<sup>55</sup> Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism* 70.

<sup>56</sup> Chas. Duroiselle, "The Aris of Burma and Tantric Buddhism," in *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report (1915-16)*: 93.

<sup>57</sup> Duroiselle, "Aris of Burma" 82-83, 93.

<sup>58</sup> I have no access to this inscription.

<sup>59</sup> Duroiselle, "Aris of Burma" 83.

does not agree with Duroiselle regarding either the date of Nandaminnya or the inference that the paintings in Nandaminnya and similar ones were connected with the *arañ*.<sup>60</sup>

There are some problems with Duroiselle's theory. First, these temples and the paintings in them, as attested by the style of the paintings and their captions, belong to the 13<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>61</sup> and hence Nandaminnya has nothing to do with Alaungsithu. Secondly, the word *arañ* is not referred to in the above-mentioned inscription or in any inscription in connection with Alaungsithu. Thirdly, Duroiselle concludes that the monks mentioned in the inscription were not following the Theravada Vinaya and therefore they were not Theravadins. But neither were they following the Mahayana Vinaya. Although the five Theravada precepts were not followed by the Mahayanists, "not to drink intoxicants" is one of the ten precepts both the Mahayanists and Theravadins followed.<sup>62</sup> Lastly, Duroiselle's main reason for connecting the *arañ* with these temples is sex: the chronicles state that the brides had to be sent to the *arañ* to be deflowered, and these temples contain paintings connected with sex. But he himself destroys this argument by saying later that the deflowering of brides by priests was a local custom found also in Cambodia, Laos and Thailand.<sup>63</sup> After concluding that these buildings belonged to the *arañ*, he connects the representations of the Buddha, *bodhisattvas* and their *śaktis* (including Tārā in the Nandaminnya) in these temples with the *arañ* and concludes that the *arañ* were Mahayanists. However, the statements in the chronicles about the *arañ* have nothing in common either with these paintings or with Tantrayana.

There is more evidence against Duroiselle's opinion, which he has evaded. It is stated in the *Glass Palace Chronicle* that King Sawrahan (? AD 931-964) worshipped a *nāga*

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<sup>60</sup> G.H. L[uce], review of "The Aris of Burma and Tantric Buddhism" by Chas. Duroiselle, *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 9.1 (1919): 53-56.

<sup>61</sup> Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism* 58, fn. 1.

<sup>62</sup> Beatrice Lane Suzuki, *Mahayana Buddhism* (London: The Buddhist Lodge, 1938; 4<sup>th</sup> edition, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981) 94-95.

<sup>63</sup> Duroiselle, "Aris of Burma" 88-89.

image, and that, after consulting with the *arañ* monks, he constructed five temples in which “he set up what were *neither spirit images nor images of the Lord*, and worshipped them with offerings of rice, curry and fermented drinks, night and morning” (emphasis added).<sup>64</sup> But both the Nandaminnya and Hpayathonzu had Buddha images. Moreover, none of the paintings shows a monk wearing either black or dark blue robes, having sex with or even embracing a woman. It is unreasonable to believe, just because the paintings include representations of *bodhisattvas* embracing their *śaktis*, that the monks connected with these buildings were the same as the *arañ* who were deflowering brides.

As Luce has suggested, the Tantric influence in these paintings probably came from northern India at a late date, when the Buddhists fled from there because of Muslim invasion.<sup>65</sup> As the *arañ*, according to the chronicles, were in Myanmar before Aniruddha’s reign, their paintings, if there are any, should be more related with the early-period paintings or at least with the early painting tradition, not with the later ones.

Furthermore, although it is true that the paintings in these buildings were connected with Tantrayana, there is no evidence that Tantric monks were making love to brides in any countries where that religion flourished. In fact, sexual intercourse was not really allowed in Tantrayana either. Sangharakshita asserts how sexual intercourse was prohibited in a Tantric text *Kālacakra Tantra*,

... which definitely declares that salvation cannot be obtained through seminal discharge, for which reason the yogins should always shun worldly pleasure.... The act enjoyed is a literal act, but it is to be carried out not physically but mentally, that is to say imaginatively....<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> *Glass Palace Chronicle* 59-60.

<sup>65</sup> Gordon H. Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán*, 3 vols., Artibus Asiae, Supplementum 25 (New York: J.J. Augustin Publisher, 1969-1970). .

<sup>66</sup> (Bikshu) Sthavira Sangharakshita, *A Survey of Buddhism* (London: Tharpa, 1957; 6<sup>th</sup> edition, 1987) 425-426. He also quotes Shasi Bhusan Dasgupta as follows: “In the Hevajra-tantra it is clearly explained how to produce the gross Bodhicitta [i.e. the seminal fluid] through the physical process and how to turn it to the Vivūta form through the yogic process. Pleasure may also be realized through the discharge of the Bodhicitta, but that has unreservedly been condemned by all the Buddhist Tantrikas and it has been said that instead

Therefore, even if some Tantric monks were having sexual intercourse with women, the “deflowering of brides” had nothing to do with Tantrayana. Also note that the *Kālacakra* was known in Myanmar at least in the 15<sup>th</sup> century (see below [on page 300]).

In addition, there is evidence that the cave monastery (*umañ*) close to the Nandaminnya temple was connected with a *phunmlatkrīcwā*. The *arañ*, as will be explained later, were not even regarded as members of the Sangha according to one inscription. Thus Duroiselle fails to connect the *arañ* either with the Hpayathonzu and Nandaminnya temples or with Tantrayana. Therefore, his statement that the *arañ* were northern Buddhists greatly influenced by Tantrayana can only be regarded as speculation that has no supporting evidence.

Since the etymology of the word *arañ* has led scholars to form different opinions, it deserves mention. Duroiselle, following U Tin, derives the word *arañ* from Pali *ariya* (meaning “noble”).<sup>67</sup> Pe Maung Tin criticized Duroiselle’s derivation of the word *arañ* from *ariya*,<sup>68</sup> and this led to a debate between the two.<sup>69</sup> Pe Maung Tin’s opinion, based on the spelling of the word, is that the word was derived from *araññaka*.<sup>70</sup> Ba Han is in favor of

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of delivering a man it binds him to the realm of gross sense-pleasure. It is, therefore, that we find in all the texts repeated warnings not to discharge Bodhicitta; if it be discharged, the Mahāsukha is never realized, the ultimate Sahaja-nature cannot be realized, a man is not liberated from the world of illusion.” *Ibid.*, 425.

<sup>67</sup> Chas. Duroiselle, “The Aris of Burma and Tantric Buddhism,” in *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report (1915-16)*; and *idem*, “Derivation of ‘Ari’,” *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 10.3 (1920): 158.

<sup>68</sup> [Pe Maung Tin], “Derivation of ‘ari’,” *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 9.3 (1919).

<sup>69</sup> Duroiselle, “Derivation of ‘ari’,” *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 10.1 (1920); *idem*, “Derivation of ‘ari’,” *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 10.3 (1920); [Pe Maung Tin], “Derivation of ‘ari’,” *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 9.3 (1919); and *idem*, “Derivation of ‘ari’,” *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 10.2 (1920).

<sup>70</sup> [Pe Maung Tin], “Derivation of ‘ari’,” *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 9.3 (1919); and *idem*, “Derivation of ‘ari’,” *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 10.2 (1920).

U Tin and Duroiselle.<sup>71</sup> However, Pe Maung Tin's derivation was not a new one. It is stated in an article in the *Rangoon Gazette* that Andrew St. John pointed out in 1899 that the word must have derived from *araññaka* (forest dwellers).<sup>72</sup> The derivation of the word *arañ* from Pali *ariya* is more possible than from Pali *araññaka*. Pe Maung Tin himself, about nine years after the above-mentioned controversy, admitted in an article he co-authored with Luce:

... The name Arañ may be merely Ariyā, “the noble ones” or Buddhist clergy (usually written Aryā in Old Burmese). It is perhaps slightly more difficult to derive it from Araññika or Araññavāsi, “dwellers in the forest”; but this sect was numerous in 13<sup>th</sup> century Burma, as in 13<sup>th</sup> century and 14<sup>th</sup> century Siam; this is clear from frequent mentions of “jungle monasteries” (*taw kloñ*) in the inscriptions....<sup>73</sup>

However, semantics is as important as phonology in determining the etymology of a word. The meanings of the Pali words *ariya* and *araññaka* / *araññika* / *araññavāsi* are not the same as that of the Myanmar word *arañ*. As will be explained below, the *arañ* certainly were not connected with forest monks (*āraññika*).<sup>74</sup> It is true that the word could have derived from the Pali word *ariya* “noble” because the priests of a religious system could be termed noble even if they were corrupt.

But there are two other possibilities: 1) the word could have derived from any other Prakrit languages rather than Pali, though related to Pali *ariya* (because the equivalents of Sanskrit *ārya* would have *ariya* in several Prakrit languages); and 2) the word was not derived from any Indian languages. If the first possibility is correct, it can be concluded that the *arañ* cult came from India but had nothing to do with Buddhism, whereas if the second was correct,

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<sup>71</sup> Ba Han, “The Meaning of ‘Ari’,” *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 10.3 (1920): 160.

<sup>72</sup> “The Ari of Pagan,” *Rangoon Gazette*, reproduced in the *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 3.1 (1913): 75.

<sup>73</sup> G.H. Luce and Pe Maung Tin, “Burma Down to the Fall of Pagan: An Outline,” *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 29.3 (1939): 273.

<sup>74</sup> The Pali word for forest monks used in the inscription is *āraññika*: ... *āraññikaṃ sañghikaṃ mahāvihāraṃ katvā* ... (“... having made a large monastery for the forest monks ...”). *RMK* 2.77, line 5.



the *arañ* cult was not connected at all with India. Lastly, it is necessary to bear in mind that the meaning of a foreign word could have changed considerably from its original meaning.<sup>75</sup>

Ray follows Duroiselle and further identifies the *arañ* with the *samañakuṭṭakas* of the *Sāsanavaṃsa*, and asserts that “no attempt has yet been made to find out who these *samañakuṭṭakas* were or what was the significance of the religious tenets and rites they held and practised.”<sup>76</sup> However, it has been mentioned in the aforesaid article from the *Rangoon Gazette* where the author refers to Finot. This article uses the phrase “false Sramanas,” which is the translation of Pali *samañakuṭṭakas* in the *Sāsanavaṃsa*.<sup>77</sup>

It is true that the statement about the *arañ* in the Myanmar chronicles and that about the *samañakuṭṭakas* in the *Sāsanavaṃsa* are the same. But Ray’s other statements are based on Duroiselle’s article. He further states that inscription no. 176 of the *List of Inscriptions Found in Burma*

definitely connects the Aris with Buddhist worship and typically Buddhist ritual. Images of the Buddha were made and other rituals were performed on the occasion of the ordination as a monk of a lay man who subsequently listened to the first sermon, and thus joined the rank of the Aris.<sup>78</sup>

However, the inscription really means that the donor made her son become a monk; and at that ordination ceremony she made donations to fifteen monks and offered rice to a hundred *arañ* (for the discussion and literal translation of this passage, see below [on page 32]).

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<sup>75</sup> It is necessary to admit here that I have given the origin of the word *arañ* as Pali *ariya*. I was wrong in taking the meaning of the word as “Buddhist monk” just because it is mentioned in an inscription that they received the donations of alms-bowls and Buddha image, without studying the practices of the *arañ*. Win Than Tun, *Pali and Sanskrit Loans in Myanmar Language* (Pagan Period), (Tokyo: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 1993), *sv. arañ*.

<sup>76</sup> Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism* 67-69.

<sup>77</sup> “The Ari of Pagan,” *Rangoon Gazette*, reproduced in the *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 3.1 (1913): 75-78

<sup>78</sup> Archaeological Survey of India, *A List of the Inscriptions Found in Burma* (Rangoon: Government Printing, 1921).

Than Tun identifies the *arañ*, who were most abhorred by the chroniclers, with a sect of Theravada Buddhist monks who were most revered by the chroniclers as well as by the people of Pagan. Assuming that the word *arañ* derived from Pali *araññāka* (forest monks), he connects the *arañ* with the *taw kloñ* (forest monasteries) of the inscriptions and states that they were not as debased as the chroniclers have described and that their difference with the Theravada monks was in their lapses of certain morals—drinking liquor and making land transactions.<sup>79</sup> He then concludes that “the Ari of the chronicles are the *araññavasi* or *taw kloñ* monks of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and therefore misplaced by the chroniclers in the 10<sup>th</sup> century,” and suggests that the famous forest monk Mahākassapa “seems to have been their leader and possibly the founder.”<sup>80</sup> Than Tun also believes that the Pagan monks who were ordained or who studied in Sri Lanka were the rivals of these forest monks.<sup>81</sup>

Thus, his whole theory is mainly based on the assumption that the word *arañ* derives from *araññāka*, and partly on the presumption that Sri Lankan monks were orthodox. This theory is not acceptable 1) because if the *arañ* were the same as the forest monks, the chroniclers, after describing the *arañ* very badly, would not state that Arahan, who allegedly converted Aniruddha to Theravada Buddhism, was a forest monk,<sup>82</sup> and 2) because there is evidence that the forest dwellers in Pagan were connected with Sri Lanka and that Sri Lankan Buddhism was not free from unorthodox practices (see 6. Buddhist Sects II [below]). Additionally, Mahākassapa is one of the very few monks referred to by the chroniclers as an *arahat*.

Luce also believes that the *arañ* were forest monks:

... The *Arañ*: were doubtless Araññika or Araññavāsi, who lived in “jungle monasteries” (Old Burmese *taw kloñ*). Their discipline was not so strict as that of the ordinary monks. Whether they were so bad as they are painted in the later Chronicles,

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<sup>79</sup> Than Tun, “History of Buddhism” iv, 120-121.

<sup>80</sup> Than Tun, “History of Buddhism” 124-125.

<sup>81</sup> Than Tun, “History of Buddhism” 120.

<sup>82</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkramaṅ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātama*: 88, 90-91.

may be doubted. Perhaps they derive from a dim memory of Tāntric-Mahāyānist practices from East Bengal, together with local Nāga-worship, common at Pagán before Kyanzittha made a great change to Sinhalese Theravāda Buddhism.<sup>83</sup>

Mendelson, although hesitantly accepting the possibility that the monks connected with Sri Lanka were in competition with the forest dwellers in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, simply says that he does not find Than Tun's theory on the *arañ* convincing.<sup>84</sup>

Swapna Bhattacharya, however, surprisingly agrees with everybody and also believes that the forest monks in Myanmar were the “counterparts of the Araññavasi of Ceylon,” and tries to trace the practices of both the *arañ* and the forest monks to the Sahajīya Siddhācaryas of Bengal, and Vajrayānists of Nepal.<sup>85</sup>

Nevertheless, the information given by these scholars is useful both for the study of the *arañ* and in order to understand the connection between the paintings of Minnanthu and northern India and Nepal.

There are very few inscriptions in which the word *arañ* occurs. In one inscription (and its duplicate) it is stated that an *arañ* by the name of Nā Cuik Sañ donated four *pay* ( 7 acres) of *ryā* (dry field) and two slaves to two stupas on Turañtoñ hill.<sup>86</sup> Another inscription records:

--- e' *lhwat so rhaw (sañghā) 15 yok (ā) piy e' || ñuy krut 15 khu nañsā wat plañ' thañ' ruy lhū e' || ñuy purhā 15 chū plu e' || sapit 100 way ruy' thmañ thak plañ thañ' ruy' arañ ā lhū e' || ñuy purhā le (sañ) arañ tuiw' rhiy' khuiw ciy' hū ruy piy luik e' || ... || sā rahan mū e' taryā-u nā e' || ...*<sup>87</sup>

When [these] were donated, [things] were given to fifteen monks. Fifteen silver caskets filled with perfume were donated. Fifteen silver images of the Buddha were made. A hundred alms-bowls were bought, filled with rice, and were donated to the *arañ*. A silver image of the Buddha was given to the *arañ* so that they may pay respect to it.... [My] son became a monk. [We] listened to the First Sermon.

<sup>83</sup> Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* 1: 9, fn. 30.

<sup>84</sup> Mendelson, *Sangha and State* 47.

<sup>85</sup> Bhattacharya, “The Ari Cult of Myanmar” 251-271.

<sup>86</sup> *RMK* 1.105 (AD 1224).

<sup>87</sup> *RMK* 1.65b (AD 1213).

That they made donations to the stupas and that they were offered Buddha images and alms-bowls suggest that the *arañ* were Buddhists; but it seems that they were not regarded as the same as the other monks who were referred to as *saṅghā*. It is not clear whether the word *saṅghā* in line 2 includes *arañ*. It seems not. Donations were made to fifteen *saṅghā*, while a hundred alms-bowls were donated to the *arañ*. This suggests that there were a hundred *arañ*. (On the obverse face of this inscription, it is recorded that five *mañ charyā* [royal preceptors]—*Skhiñ Nāyagambhī*, *Skhiñ Tilosāra*, *Skhiñ Pañāwilāsa*, *Skhiñ Disāprāmok* and *Skhiñ Aggapaṇḍit*—together with a minister witnessed the donations made by *Sañlyañ Ui Kapsañkhyañ* to a monastery and a pagoda.<sup>88</sup> However, we cannot connect these monks with the *arañ* on the reverse face because the two faces seem to be two different records with no connection.) Apart from these, there are only three inscriptions that mention the word *arañ*, but there is no indication as to what the *arañ* were. Even though it seems that the *arañ* were behaving as Buddhists by this time, there is no evidence to connect them with the *taw kloñ* or forest monks.

Duroiselle has compared the practice, as mentioned in the chronicles, of sending the brides to the *arañ* to be deflowered the night before their marriage with similar customs in Cambodia, Thailand and Laos, and stated that it was a native custom not confined to Myanmar. In Cambodia, according to him, the bride was deflowered either by a Buddhist or a Taoist monk, and this custom was called by the Chinese *chen-tan*.<sup>89</sup> He quotes a Chinese document which records a similar custom in Thailand: “The monks go to meet the bridegroom; arrive at the house of the bride, one of them deflowers her, and make a red mark on the forehead of the young man; this is called *Li lic*.”<sup>90</sup> The Laotian priests, who were very lax in their morals, also practiced a similar custom.<sup>91</sup> We do not know where this custom

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<sup>88</sup> *RMK* 1.65a.

<sup>89</sup> Duroiselle, “Aris of Burma” 88-89.

<sup>90</sup> Peliot, *BEFEO* (1902): 154; qtd. in Duroiselle, “Aris of Burma” 89.

<sup>91</sup> Duroiselle, “Aris of Burma” 89.

originated. It is possible that it originated in China because the name of the custom is in Chinese, and it is equally possible that it originated among the Mon-Khmer peoples because they were spread over all the countries in which this custom was found—Myanmar as well as Cambodia, Laos and Thailand. This practice is never mentioned in connection with the Pagan-period monks in the chronicles.

In short, what we know about the *arañ* of the pre-Pagan period so far is that they wore black or dark blue robes, that they were connected with *nāga*-worship and that they were practicing the custom of deflowering brides prevalent in Southeast Asia, and were not regarded as Buddhists by the chroniclers even though they were reciting the *paritta*. If they actually recited the *paritta*, it must have been due to the influence of Sri Lanka (see 3.2.4 [below]). However, the chroniclers' statement that they had no sacred writs and that they recited *paritta* are contradictory. Moreover, it is also possible that the chroniclers used the word *paritta* to mean *mantra*. The word *mantra* never occurs in any Pagan-period inscriptions. Their cult object was neither a spirit nor a Buddha image. During the Pagan period, however, they certainly were behaving somewhat like Buddhists: they were making donations to the stupas and were receiving Buddha images and alms-bowls from a donor at a Buddhist ceremony. However, they were not regarded as the same as the members of the Sangha.

The meaning of the word *arañ* itself is not consistent throughout the chronicles. The *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātam:*, for instance, after referring to the priests wearing black or dark blue robes whom Aniruddha alleged to have persecuted as the *arañ*, defines the word *arañ* in speaking about the immoral monks of later periods as “someone who became a sage or a monk without receiving ordination.”<sup>92</sup> Sometimes, the chronicler uses the phrase *rhañ yoiñ arañ*, meaning “*arañ*, the impostor monks.”<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkramaṃ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātam:* 128.

<sup>93</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkramaṃ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātam:* 124-125.

Chroniclers' references to the *arañ* in connection with later periods also are interesting. According to the *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātam:*, there were, when King Thihathu ascended the throne in AD 1312, many “‘*arañ*, the impostor monks,’ who were remnants of the *arañ* of Pagan.” It goes on to relate how Sawyun (AD 1315) of Sagaing had some *arañ* among his soldiers.<sup>94</sup> It also states that the *arañ* wore hats.<sup>95</sup> Although there is no evidence that Aniruddha had persecuted the *arañ*, it is possible that some of them had served in the army since the Pagan period because the chroniclers also state that Aniruddha persecuted the *arañ* and enlisted them among his soldiers.<sup>96</sup> Duroiselle describes the *pwai kyoñ*: monks, without giving reference, as follows:

... They set all monastic rules at naught, were great drinkers, and had a weakness for the other sex; they kept their hair about two inches long, wore a kind of cylindrical hat and robes of a colour not orthodox; they dabbled in alchemy and popular medicine, and were reciters, for a consideration, of mantras; they sold amulets and recipes for the attainment of magical powers; and they bred, rode and sold horses and exercised themselves in the use of arms.... Their decline and final disappearance ... is placed at the end of the XVIIIth and beginning of the XIXth centuries ...<sup>97</sup>

It seems that he is combining the chroniclers' description of the *arañ* and that of the *pwai kyoñ*: monks. The chroniclers certainly do not regard the latter as different from other Buddhist monks save their lack of morals. The chronicles mention *pwai kyoñ*: monks' drinking of liquor, playing boxing and wearing hats, but not the color of their robes or about sex. The *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātam:* even states how some monks became “‘*pwai kyoñ*: village dwellers, even though they originally were virtuous as they had descended from the Thaton and Sīhala lines.”<sup>98</sup> The monks wearing hats during the reign of King Bayinnaung, according to the *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātam:*, also belonged to these lines.<sup>99</sup> When the robe controversy

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<sup>94</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkraṃ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātam:* 124-125.

<sup>95</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkraṃ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātam:* 119.

<sup>96</sup> *Glass Palace Chronicle* 59-60, 74-75.

<sup>97</sup> Duroiselle, “Aris of Burma” 92-93.

<sup>98</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkraṃ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātam:* 127.

<sup>99</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkraṃ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātam:* 155-156.

occurred in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it was over how to wear the robe: whether to cover only one shoulder or both, not over the color of the robes.<sup>100</sup> If the *pwai kyoñ*: monks were wearing the robes the color of which was different from other monks, there should have been a controversy over that. Nowadays, there are monks who really believe in *mantras* and amulets in the hill regions of Myanmar, and there are those who are alchemists. But they wear ordinary yellow robes.

Thus, the *arañ* of Pagan seem to have revived in later periods as *pwai kyoñ*: monks, and by this time they certainly were regarded as members of the Sangha. One famous *pwai kyoñ*: monk who won fifteen to twenty horses each year by playing boxing, was a patriarch or *saṅgharājā* (literally meaning, “king of the Sangha”) during the reign of King Mingaung.<sup>101</sup> This revival of *arañ* as Buddhist monks suggests that many of them were partially converted to Buddhism, or were practicing their customs under the garb of Buddhism and were therefore greatly influenced by Buddhism (i.e. Myanmar Buddhism).

#### 2.2.1.4. Brahmanism

As has been stated above (2.1.1), Brahmanism from India entered Myanmar very early. However, its presence in Sri Lanka should also be taken into consideration. Paranavitana has pointed out the presence of *brāhmaṇas* in Sri Lanka, and he believes that they existed in Sri Lanka even before the introduction of Buddhism there.<sup>102</sup> Geiger has also stated that Brahmanism “had always a place in Ceylon along with Buddhism” and that it was recognized by the kings.<sup>103</sup> Brahmanism became more important in later times. The

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<sup>100</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkramṃ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātama*: 182-183, 188-193.

<sup>101</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkramṃ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātama*: 131.

<sup>102</sup> Walpola Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon, the Anuradhapura Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC-10<sup>th</sup> century AD* (Colombo: M.D. Gunasena & Co. Ltd., 1956) 43.

<sup>103</sup> Wilhelm Geiger, trans., *Cūlavamsa, Being the More Recent Part of Mahāvamsa*, translated from German to English by C. Mabel Rickmers (Colombo: Ceylon Government, 1953) Ch. 48, fn. 2 (hereafter *Cūlavamsa*)

Sinhalese chronicle *Cūlavamsa* records a ceremony during the reign of King Mahinda II

(AD 772-792) as follows:

... Instituting a great festival, the discerning (prince) had the Abhidhama recited by the Grand Thera dwelling in the Hemaśāli(-vihāra) and built a bathing tank there for his use. He restored many decayed temples of the gods here and there and had costly images of the gods fashioned. He gave the brāhmaṇas delicious foods such as the King receives and gave them milk with sugar to drink in golden goblets ...<sup>104</sup>

Later, King Sena II (851-885) made lavish donations to the *brāhmaṇas* as well as to the Buddhist monks.<sup>105</sup>

Brahmanic influence persisted in Pagan after the Myanmars had become Buddhists. The Brahmanical rites performed in the construction of Kyansittha's palace could not be regarded as Indian influence alone, especially because the inscription also mentions the recitation of the *paritta* by the Buddhist monks in the same ceremony.<sup>106</sup> Moreover, King Sena II of Sri Lanka who held the ceremony of the recitation of *paritta* made donations to the *brāhmaṇas*.<sup>107</sup> Thus, Brahmanism was mixed up with Buddhism in Sri Lanka too.

To conclude, although the chroniclers assert that the Myanmars received Buddhism when Aniruddha conquered Thaton in 1057-58, historical evidence indicates that Buddhism existed in Myanmar long before Aniruddha's period. It seems that the Myanmars received Buddhism from the Pyus and the Mons who were in central Myanmar in about the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD. However, they did not forsake their earlier beliefs. Spirit- and *nāga*-worships as well as Brahmanical influence persisted.

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<sup>104</sup> *Cūlavamsa* 48: 141-145.

<sup>105</sup> Rahula, *History of Buddhism* 110.

<sup>106</sup> Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagan* 1: 69.

<sup>107</sup> *Cūlavamsa* 51: 80-82; and Rahula, *History of Buddhism* 279.



### 3. BUDDHISM IN PAGAN

Buddhism of the Pagan period has been studied by several scholars. Though Luce and Strachan emphasize Pagan's art and architecture, some references have been made to the faith of the people of Pagan.<sup>1</sup> Buddhism as reflected in the lithic inscriptions of Pagan has been studied in detail by Than Tun in "History of Buddhism in Burma, A.D. 1000-1300,"<sup>2</sup> which is the revised version of his Ph.D. thesis submitted to the University of London. The article that inspired Than Tun to write this thesis is Pe Maung Tin's "Buddhism in the Inscriptions of Pagan."<sup>3</sup> A study of the prayers and curses in the inscriptions has been made by Luce.<sup>4</sup> These scholars have described in detail how the donations were made, what items were donated, how the people of Pagan prayed and cursed, etc. Hence, the description here will be brief, as the emphasis will be on comparing Myanmar Buddhism with Sri Lankan Buddhism and with Mahayana and Theravada.

The fact that Aniruddha sent some Buddhist monks as well as Buddhist scriptures to Sri Lanka when King Vijayabāhu I (1065-1120) purified the Sangha proves that there were Theravada scriptures, if not the whole set of the canon, in Pagan at that time.<sup>5</sup> Sri Lankan sources indicate that there were some Sinhalese Buddhist monks in Pagan fleeing from Chola

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<sup>1</sup> Gordon H. Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagan*, 3 vols., *Artibus Asiae, Supplementum* 25 (New York: J.J. Augustin Publisher, 1969-1970). This work is the most informative work on Pagan's art and architecture. Paul Strachan, *Imperial Pagan: Art and Architecture of Burma* (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1989).

<sup>2</sup> Than Tun, "History of Buddhism in Burma, A.D. 1000-1300," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 61.1-2 (1978): 1-256.

<sup>3</sup> Pe Maung Tin, "Buddhism in the Inscriptions of Pagan," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 26.1 (1936): 52-70.

<sup>4</sup> G.H. Luce, "Prayers in the Inscriptions of Pagan," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 26.3 (1936): 131-138.

<sup>5</sup> W.M. Sirisena, *Sri Lanka and South-East Asia: Political, Religious and Cultural Relations from A.D. c. 1000 to c. 1500* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978) 61.

rule even before this purification.<sup>6</sup> Pagan's continued contacts with Sri Lanka certainly resulted in the arrival of more texts from the latter. Apart from *pitakat 3 pum* (the three Pitakas or the Buddhist canon), the inscriptions mention some works written in Sri Lanka: *Visuddhimagga*, *Dhātuvaiṃsa* (spelt *Dhātuvaṃ*), *Mahāvaiṃsa* (spelt *Mahāvaṃ*), *Catunipāta Jātakaṭṭhakathā* (spelt *catunipat jāt aṭhakathā*).<sup>7</sup>

Scholars on Myanmar Buddhism of the period under study have referred to Myanmar's contacts with Sri Lanka.<sup>8</sup> However, they do not mention how Buddhism was practiced in Sri Lanka, which is the major drawback of their excellent works. Hence, some of their conclusions seem to have been based on the presumption that Sri Lankan Buddhism was orthodox. For instance, Than Tun has concluded that the forest monks of Pagan were the rivals of the monks who were connected with Sri Lanka because of the unorthodox practices of the forest monks (see 6. Buddhist Sects II [below]).

Strachan's statement that "increased contact with Ceylon maintained a purifying current in the religious life of Late Pagan"<sup>9</sup> indicates that he has assumed the orthodoxy of Sinhalese Buddhism in his conclusion such as:

The mural paintings in the Minnanthu temples in reality mark a return to the 'Decorative Style' of the Early Period and are not evidence of active Northern Buddhist cults. As with the Early Period examples ... the paintings are subsidiary to the fundamental Theravada icons ... Thus, such works are more like a colourful and flamboyant 'wallpaper' than a devotional or didactic iconographic programme.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Sirisena, *Sri Lanka and South-East Asia* 18.

<sup>7</sup> Nyein Maung, *Rhe:hoṅ: Mraṃmā Kyokcāmyā: [Old Myanmar Inscriptions]*, vols. 1-5 (Yangon: Archaeology Department, 1972-1998) 1.170b, lines 12-14 (hereafter *RMK*)

<sup>8</sup> Niharranjan Ray, *An Introduction to the Study of Theravāda Buddhism in Burma: A Study in Indo-Burmese Historical and Cultural Relations from the Earliest Times to the British Conquest* (Calcutta: Calcutta UP, 1946) 8, 11, 17, and *passim*; Paul Strachan, *Imperial Pagan: Art and Architecture of Burma* (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1989) 45, 54, 56, and *passim*; and Than Tun, "History of Buddhism in Burma, A.D. 1000-1300," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 61.1-2 (1978): 7, 12, 14, and *passim*.

<sup>9</sup> Strachan, *Imperial Pagan* 94.

<sup>10</sup> Strachan, *Imperial Pagan* 94.

Otherwise, there is no good reason for Strachan to come to this conclusion because, in comparing the style of the paintings with those from Nepal, he himself has stated on the same page that these “temples date from a time when Buddhists in India were being persecuted by the invading Moslems and may have come to Pagan to take refuge ...”<sup>11</sup>

Here, the word “orthodox” poses some problem. If we regard that orthodox Theravada Buddhism is Buddhism as practiced when the Buddha was still alive, then image-worship itself is not an orthodox practice because it was adopted later from the Mahayana. Some parts of the Pali canon are regarded as later additions.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, there are some additions or changes made in the commentaries. For example, see the discussion on how the commentators had legitimized the acceptance of slaves donated to the monks (p. 113 [below]). Even if we take Buddhism as represented by the commentaries, there were some practices in Sinhalese Buddhism that were not approved in the commentaries (for example, see the discussion on how the Sinhalese monks were accepting money even though this practice was not allowed in the Theravada scriptures (5. Buddhist Sects I [below])). Therefore, even if we take all the practices approved in the Theravada canon and its commentaries as orthodox, it is impossible to regard Sinhalese Buddhism as orthodox.

Since Myanmar had contacts with Sri Lanka throughout the Pagan period, it is necessary to consider how Buddhism was practiced in Sri Lanka. Although it is true that Myanmar had direct contacts with the Brahmans and Mahayanists of northern India, it would be narrow-minded to attribute all the unorthodox practices or Mahayana (including Tantric) and Brahmanical influences to India. Evidence indicates that Sri Lanka was not free from these influences either.

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<sup>11</sup> Strachan, *Imperial Pagan* 94.

<sup>12</sup> Kenneth Roy Norman, *Pāli Literature Including the Canonical Literature in Prakrit and Sanskrit of All the Hīnayāna Schools of Buddhism*, vol. 7, fasc. 2 of Jan Gonda, ed., *A History of Indian Literature* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983) 8-9.

The Buddhist sect of Sri Lanka the Myanmar chronicles held in high esteem was the Mahāvihāra, which was (and is) generally regarded as the most orthodox sect. Hence, the lineages of Myanmar monks are generally traced to this sect. But the difference between this sect and other Sinhalese sects might not have been as great as has generally been accepted. Bandaranayake has pointed out that the orthodox bias of the Mahāvihāra is mainly presented by the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Nikāya-saṅgraha* which were written by the monks of the Mahāvihāra and that it was this sect that first adopted image-worship from Mahayana.<sup>13</sup>

Although no thorough study of Mahayana influence on Sinhalese Buddhism has been made, scholars have pointed out the existence of Mahayana elements such as the cult of *bodhisattva* in Sri Lanka. The Geḍige temple of Sri Lanka is regarded as a Mahayana or Tantric sanctuary.<sup>14</sup> In connection with the statement in an inscription that Girikaṇḍaka Pagoda of Sri Lanka was an abode of Avalokiteśvara, Paranavitana asserts that the cult of *bodhisattva* was and still is widespread in Sri Lanka.<sup>15</sup> Bandaranayake also has stated that “Mahāyānism was an overlay or intrusive element which entered Sinhalese Buddhism from time to time, and to a greater or lesser degree, depending on the particular flexibility or orthodoxy of the different *nikāyas*.”<sup>16</sup> It is recorded in the *Cūlavamsa* that King Sena I (AD 831-851) built a monastery in the Abhayagirivihāra and granted it to the monks of the

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<sup>13</sup> Senake Bandaranayake, *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture, the Vihāras of Anurādhapura*, vol. 4 of J.E. Vanlohuizen-Deleeuw, ed., *Studies in South Asian Culture* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974) 71-72, 210, fn. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Scholars disagree as to the date of this temple. Bell dates it in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, whereas Hocart is of the opinion that it belongs to the 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> centuries. Paranavitana, however, assigns it to the late-8<sup>th</sup> century Pallava style. Bandaranayake, *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture* 352.

<sup>15</sup> S. Paranavitana, “Tiriya Rock-Inscription,” in *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Epigraphia Zeylanica, Being Lithic and Other Inscriptions of Ceylon*, edited and translated by H.W. Codrington and S. Paranavitana, 4 vols. (London: Oxford UP, 1904-1934; reprint, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1994) 4: 157.

<sup>16</sup> Bandaranayake, *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture* 71.

Mahayana and of the Theravada schools.<sup>17</sup> In addition, the chronicle also mentions that King Sena II (851-885) placed *bodhisattva* images in a temple.<sup>18</sup> Invocations of Avalokiteśvara, Tārā, etc. are inscribed on the copper plates found at the stupa of Vijayārāma.<sup>19</sup>

### 3.1. TILL THE END OF KING KYANSITTHA’S REIGN (1084-1113)

Although there are many lithic inscriptions as well as ink glosses belonging to the Pagan period, they were inscribed from the close of Kyansittha’s reign (1084-1113) onwards. Therefore, the votive tablets with writings are the most important source of information regarding Buddhism of the Myanmars before and during his reign.

Details of Aniruddha’s faith can be inferred from his votive tablets. One of them is a figure of Bodhisattva Lokanātha flanked by two small stupas with two lines of Devanagari script that are illegible beneath on the obverse face. On the reverse side is a three-line Pali inscription in old Myanmar characters:

*eso lokanātho mahārā || jā sirī aniruddhadvena kato || vimutattham̐ sahatthenevā tī<sup>20</sup>*

This [tablet of] Lokanātha is made by Great King Sirī Aniruddhadewa with his own hands for attaining liberation [from *saṃsāra* “cycle of rebirths”].

Another tablet contains the figures of the Buddha with four lines of Sanskrit inscription in Devanagari script as follows:

*mayāniruddhade || vena kṛtam̐ || sugatasaccakam̐<sup>21</sup> || tena meitreyam aṃvo || dho labheyam̐ nivṛtto padam̐<sup>22</sup>*

<sup>17</sup> Wilhelm Geiger, trans., *Cūlavamsa, Being the More Recent Part of Mahāvamsa*, translated from German to English by C. Mabel Rickmers (Colombo: Ceylon Government, 1953) 50: 68-69.

<sup>18</sup> *Cūlavamsa* 51: 77-78.

<sup>19</sup> Bandaranayake, *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture* 72.

<sup>20</sup> Mya (U), *Rhe:hoi: Upkhwak Ruppwā: Chaṇ:tutaumyā: [Votive tablets of Myanmar]*, 2 vols. (Yangon: Archaeology Department, ?1961) 1: 9-10 and Figs. 2 & 3.

<sup>21</sup> Mya believes this word to be a scribal error for *sañjakam̐*. Mya, *Rhe:hoi: Upkhwak* 1: 11.

<sup>22</sup> Mya, *Rhe:hoi: Upkhwak* 1: 11-12, Figs. 4 & 5.

This figure of the Buddha is made by me, Mahā Aniruddhadewa. For this merit, may I attain *nirvāṇa* [in the presence of] Maitreya.

Aniruddha also donated a tablet portraying the Buddha flanked by two *bodhisattvas*. Beneath is an inscription in mixed Sanskrit and Pali. The script is Devanagari. It says:

*Um̐ deyadhamo yaṃ saccadānapati: || ma || hārāja śrī aniruddhadeva(sya) ||*<sup>23</sup>

Om! This is the donation of Great King Śrī Aniruddhadewa, who follows the Truth.

There are also other tablets containing fifty Buddha figures, containing twenty-eight Buddhas and containing a Buddha flanked by two *bodhisattvas* with twenty Buddhas surrounding them. The tablet with fifty Buddhas has a Sanskrit-Pali inscription in Devanagari characters:

*saccakadānapati maharaja śrī Aniruddha || devena kato bhagavo ||*<sup>24</sup>

[This is] the Buddha made by Great King Śrī Anuriddhadewa who [follows] the true [doctrine].<sup>25</sup>

The most interesting tablet of Aniruddha is the one with the following Sanskrit inscription in Devanagari characters:

*ye dhammā hetu prabhavā hetumteṣāṃ tathāgatoḥava | dātteṣaṅ ca yo nirodho  
evamwādī śrī an[i]ruddhadeva*<sup>26</sup>

The original stanza ends in *mahāsamaṇo* “great monk,” which is an epithet of the Buddha.

Aniruddha has replaced the epithet of the Buddha with his royal title. Was he likening himself to the Buddha?

Thus, Aniruddha had faith in *bodhisattvas* and was using both Pali (the sacred language of Theravada) and Sanskrit (that of Mahayana) as well as the Myanmar script which was derived from Mon and the Devanagari script of northern India. The figures on his votive

<sup>23</sup> Mya, *Rhe:hoi: Upkhwak* 1: 12-13, Figs. 6 & 7.

<sup>24</sup> Mya, *Rhe:hoi: Upkhwak* 1: 13.

<sup>25</sup> This translation is only tentative.

<sup>26</sup> Mya, *Rhe:hoi: Upkhwak* 1: 7.

tablets are in north Indian style, not in Mon style. If the Myanmars had not received Buddhism until Aniruddha was converted to Theravada Buddhism by Arahan, there should have been more Mon influence than north Indian influence on his tablets. Additionally, if Aniruddha, who had been a Mahayanist, was totally converted to Theravada by Arahan, he would not have molded the tablet of a *bodhisattva* after he supposedly had received Buddhism from the Mons. But the use of Myanmar script on the Lokanātha votive tablet shows that he had faith in Mahayana even after the Myanmars had learnt the art of writing from the Mons; and, the use of a mixture of Pali and Sanskrit languages indicates that he still had faith in Mahayana even when he at least had some knowledge of, and was influenced to some extent by, Theravada. Therefore, it is clear that the chroniclers' statement about the introduction of Buddhism could not be true. Nevertheless, Aniruddha certainly had taken the formal role of a Theravadin, because he was regarded as a Theravadin even by the king of Sri Lanka who sought the help of Myanmar monks to revive the Sangha in Sri Lanka. However, Aniruddha was greatly influenced by Mahayanism as his votive tablets indicate and was still a believer in spirit-worship as the chroniclers' statements show (see 2.2.1 [above]).

What is most interesting is the use of Devanagari script and Sanskrit language. If the Sanskrit inscriptions on the votive tablets are always a Buddhist stanza, it can be argued that it was because the Myanmars were using molds imported from India. But Aniruddha was using Sanskrit language and Devanagari script also to record his donations. This highlights the fact that he knew Sanskrit and how to write in Devanagari script. Hence there must have been some Sanskrit texts in Pagan at that time.

King Aniruddha was not the only one who used Sanskrit language and Devanagari script. A royal official recorded his name in Devanagari on a tablet.<sup>27</sup> His tablet is very similar to Aniruddha's and probably belongs to the same period. On another tablet (on which the name of the donor is in Devanagari) with eight scenes from the life of the Buddha, one of

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<sup>27</sup> It also includes a Pali inscription in old Myanmar characters. Mya, *Rhe:hoi: Upkhwak* 1: 17, Figs. 14a & b.

the scenes has a caption in Sanskrit, and the script is Devanagari.<sup>28</sup> She prayed for omniscience. There are also tablets belonging to about the same period donated by other people, some of which contain the *ye dhammā* stanza in Devanagari script. On one tablet is found, besides the *ye dhammā* credo, a Mon inscription in which the donor, a royal official, prayed for Buddhahood.<sup>29</sup>

Among the kings, Śrī Bajrabhāraṇadewa was another one who used Sanskrit language and Devanagari on his votive tablets. On two of his tablets, he wrote: “[This is] Śrī Bajrabhāraṇadewa’s [donation].”<sup>30</sup> His prayer, however, is in Pali language and in Myanmar script. He recorded his donations in Pali in Myanmar characters on a tablet recovered from Myeit. This royal title is not mentioned in any chronicles. As the Devanagari script in his inscription is similar to that of Aniruddha’s inscriptions and as the Myanmar script he used is similar to that of King Kyansittha (1084-1113), Mya has concluded that he was the same as King Sawlu (? 1077-1084), the immediate successor of King Aniruddha.<sup>31</sup> His title *Bajrabhāraṇadewa* (< Sanskrit *vajra* + *bhāraṇa* + *deva*) means “the God, Bearer of the Thunderbolt,” and hence he passed for *Indra*.

The last king to record his donation in Devanagari was Kyansittha (1084-1113), who wrote: “[This is the donation] of Śrī Tribhuwanādityadewa.”<sup>32</sup> Beside this inscription is his royal title Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja in Myanmar characters. He prayed for Buddhahood in Pali on the same tablet.

Thus, Aniruddha, Bajrabhāraṇadewa and Kyansittha were the only kings who used Sanskrit language and Devanagari script in recording their donations. The script used by both

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<sup>28</sup> Mya, *Rhe:hoi: Upkhwak* 1: 16-17, Figs. 13a & b. It is interesting to note that the donors of both these tablets had names with Śrī, which was prefixed only to the names of kings in later times.

<sup>29</sup> Mya, *Rhe:hoi: Upkhwak* 1: 20, Fig. 18.

<sup>30</sup> *Maharaja śrī bajrābharaṇadevasya*. Mya, *Rhe:hoi: Upkhwak* 1: 27, Figs. 36 & 37. *mahā śrīmad bajrābharaṇadevasya tā:.* Mya, *Rhe:hoi: Upkhwak* 1: 27-28, Fig. 38.

<sup>31</sup> Mya, *Rhe:hoi: Upkhwak* 1: 28.

<sup>32</sup> *Śrīya Tribhuwanādityadewasya*. Mya, *Rhe:hoi: Upkhwak* 1: 29, Figs. 40 & 41.



Bajrabhāraṇadewa and Kyansittha is not different from that used by Aniruddha. Mya has compared the Devanagari script on Aniruddha's votive tablets with that used in Bengal and Bihar in about the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>33</sup> If the Myanmars got the Sanskrit texts only in Aniruddha's reign, the script should be similar to the 11<sup>th</sup>-century north Indian script. Therefore, it can safely be assumed that the Myanmars had some Sanskrit texts and learnt Sanskrit language by about the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD (i.e., soon after they had entered the central plains of Myanmar), either through direct contacts with north India (which at that time was a Mahayana center) or from the Pyus and the Mons. (It should be noted here that a few tablets with Old Mon inscriptions were also found around Pagan.<sup>34</sup> However, they are not similar to the ones in Dvāravatī.) Moreover, as both the script and the language were used for writing a Buddhist stanza and for writing the caption for a scene from the life of the Buddha, some of the Sanskrit texts in Pagan must have been Buddhist Mahayana texts. The kings' inclination towards Mahayanism is also proved by the *bodhisattva* figures on some of their votive tablets. The tablet donated by Kyansittha's queen, Triwatamsakā Mahādewī, contains a Buddha flanked by two *bodhisattvas*.<sup>35</sup>

From Kyansittha's reign (1084-1113) onwards, there are numerous lithic inscriptions as well as mural paintings which enable us to learn about the religion as practiced in Pagan at that time. Kyansittha's palace inscription in Old Mon records the Brahmanical and Buddhist rites as well as *nāga*-worship performed at the construction of his new palace.<sup>36</sup> He regarded himself as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.<sup>37</sup> He poured libation water when his son (Prince

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<sup>33</sup> Mya, *Rhe:hoi: Upkhwak* 1: 18.

<sup>34</sup> Mya, *Rhe:hoi: Upkhwak* 1: 21-23, Figs. 20-28, 32. The one with Pyu inscription was found at the Shwesandaw Pagoda, a temple ascribed to King Aniruddha.

<sup>35</sup> Mya, *Rhe:hoi: Upkhwak* 1: 30, Figs. 42a & b.

<sup>36</sup> Archaeological Survey of India, *Epigraphia Birmanica* 3.1; and Luce, "Old Kyaukse" 91, fn. 80.

<sup>37</sup> Gordon H. Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagan*, 3 vols., Artibus Asiae, Supplementum 25 (New York: J.J. Augustin Publisher, 1969-1970) 1: 41, 53-54.

Rājakumār), who prayed for omniscience, made donations in AD 1112.<sup>38</sup> The paintings representing *bodhisattvas* are found in both the temples donated by Rājakumār and that ascribed to Queen Apayratanā (see 9.2 [below]).

It can be concluded that during the early Pagan period, neither Aniruddha, the founder of the Pagan empire and the king who helped revive the line of Mahāvihāra of Sri Lanka—universally regarded as the most orthodox sect—nor his successors were truly Theravadins. Although they had received Theravada scriptures and were regarded as Theravadins, they were still inclined to their earlier religion (Mahayana) and did not forsake their indigenous faith (snake- and spirit-worship). While they were worshipping the Buddha, they had faith in the *bodhisattvas* and were aspiring to Buddhahood, and while they had become Buddhists, if the chroniclers are to be trusted, they were appeasing the spirits. The practice of Brahmanical rites in royal ceremonies also is evident.

### 3.2. BUDDHISM REFLECTED IN THE LITHIC INSCRIPTIONS (AD 1112 TO 1300)

#### 3.2.1. Inscriptions

The Buddhists of Pagan, members of the royalty and of officialdom as well as commoners and monks, made donations to the Religion and recorded their meritorious deeds on inscriptions (*klok cā*),<sup>39</sup> from which their Buddhist faith and practices can be gleaned. This practice of inscribing donations prevailed also in India and Sri Lanka. In India, inscriptions connected with Buddhism contemporary to Pagan-period Myanmar are rare. Probably, this is due to the ravages of the Muslim invasion that resulted in the extinction of Buddhism there. Some donations to Buddhist establishments in India were made by non-Buddhists.<sup>40</sup> It is probably safe to ascribe some practices mentioned in Myanmar inscriptions that are not found

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<sup>38</sup> *RMK* 1.1; and *RMK* 1.2.

<sup>39</sup> *RMK* 1.51, line 15; *RMK* 1.30, line 11; and *RMK* 1.33, line 6.

<sup>40</sup> Sukumar Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1962) 81.

in Sri Lanka to northern India if they are Mahayanist. For example, the prayer *namo sarbbajñāya*, which is not found either in the inscriptions of Sri Lanka nor those of India, is preserved in a Tibetan Sanskrit Mahayana text (see below [on page 63]).

Rahula believes that as the Sangha in Sri Lanka were receiving large endowments the inscriptions were set up to accord with the practice known as *lābha-sīmā*, a later Vinaya convention invented in the *Samantapāsādikā*:<sup>41</sup>

As for *lābha-sīmā* (income area),<sup>42</sup> it was neither allowed by the Buddha nor established by the theras who collated the dhamma (in Council). But kings and ministers after building a vihāra define (boundaries within a distance of) a *gāvuta*, half a *yojana* or a *yojana* around (the place), and set up pillars inscribed with the names saying ‘this is the income-area (or limits) of our vihāra’, and fix boundaries saying ‘whatever is produced within this, all that we give to our vihāra’. This is called *lābha-sīmā*.<sup>43</sup>

However, it seems that the donors had more practical reasons. Firstly, the inscriptions from all these countries—Pagan as well as from Sri Lanka and India—include curses (to those who harm the donations) and prayers (for those who support the donations), indicating that the main reason for these inscriptions was to prevent the misappropriation and confiscation of their donations.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Walpola Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon, the Anuradhapura Period, 3rd century BC-10th century AD* (Colombo: M.D. Gunasena & Co. Ltd., 1956) 165-166.

<sup>42</sup> I.e., area in which the rightful recipient of taxes signs over part or all of those rights in return for rendering of goods and/or services to the religious foundations.

<sup>43</sup> *Samantapāsādikā*, commentary on the Vinaya, 3 parts (Colombo: Grathāloka Press, 1900), 260; qtd. in Rahula, *History of Buddhism* 165.

<sup>44</sup> Indian inscriptions state: “Whoever confiscates land given by himself or by another becomes a worm in ordure and rots with his forefathers” (Archaeological Survey of India, *Epigraphia Indica* 15.7, p. 114); “He who shall deal harshly with this noble religious foundation of the excellent Bijjeśvara shall fall into the abode of hell for as long as sun and moon endure. He who shall ever desire the weal of this excellent foundation shall obtain a kingdom on earth; to this doer of righteous deeds verily (shall accrue) victory, good luck, welfare, happiness” (Archaeological Survey of India, *Epigraphia Indica* 15.20, p. 329). A Sri Lankan text runs: “Should there be any one who has caused harm to this religious endowment, he is as if he has eaten the rice put in the *kāvūṇuva*, he also will become a crow or a dog and will be boiled in eight great hells. This merit that we have performed (should be protected) by those of the future as if it has been performed by their own selves” (Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, *Epigraphia Zeylanica* 4.10, lines 16-17). Myanmar curses and prayers will be given below (3.2.5 & 3.2.6).

Secondly, as in Sri Lanka and India,<sup>45</sup> several Pagan inscriptions clearly indicate that they were records of royal ratification of the donations.<sup>46</sup> Even though many Myanmar inscriptions do not mention ratification, the presence of royal officials as witnesses points to the fact that they were ratifying the donations.<sup>47</sup> In India and Sri Lanka, copper plates were used for recording the ratifications, and royal seals were stamped on them.<sup>48</sup> It seems that the Pagan kings used some fragile materials (palm-leaves or *parabaiks* [folded books]) for these royal registers, which led the donors to record their donations on stone. That is probably why there are numerous stone inscriptions in Myanmar and why the donors gave importance to the witnesses present in their donations. Note that the witnesses were also important in the inscriptions of Cambodia and Java.<sup>49</sup>

What is common in both India and Sri Lanka as well as in Myanmar was invoking the earth as witness by pouring libation water. A few Myanmar inscriptions mention the derivatives of the Sanskrit word *vasumdhara*, the Earth Goddess.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Archaeological Survey of India, *Epigraphia Indica* 15.7 (p. 144) and 4.16 (p. 290).

<sup>46</sup> *RMK* 1.114; *RMK* 1.115; *RMK* 1.133; *RMK* 1.136; *RMK* 1.147; *RMK* 2.29; *RMK* 2.33; *RMK* 3.6; and *RMK* 3.9.

<sup>47</sup> *RMK* 1.26; *RMK* 1.31; *RMK* 1.45; *RMK* 1.66; *RMK* 1.71; *RMK* 2.12; *RMK* 2.102; *RMK* 2.103; *RMK* 3.70; *RMK* 3.87; *RMK* 3.95; and *RMK* 3.98.

<sup>48</sup> Archaeological Survey of India, *Epigraphia Indica* 15.7 (p. 141).

<sup>49</sup> Michael Vickery, *Society, Economics, and Politics in Pre-Angkor Cambodia: The 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> Centuries* (Tokyo: The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies for UNESCO, The Tokyo Bunko, 1998); and Himansu Bhusan Sarkar, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java (Corpus Inscriptionum Javanicarum) (up to 928 A.D.)*, vol. 1 (Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1971), no. 9, lines 9-22; no. 22, Plate IX, A, line 6, no. 32, no. 37, lines 9-11, and passim. Additionally, as Sarkar has pointed out, the mention of many administrative officials is a striking feature of Javanese inscriptions. *Ibid.*, no. 16, fn. 125.

<sup>50</sup> Three Myanmar inscriptions mention the words derived from Sanskrit/Pali *vasundhara* “earth:” ... *īy alhū ñā piy so sañ kā mliṅ krī basundari kuiw lhen saksiy ñā mū so te* (“I made Basundari, the earth, as the witness of this my donation”). *RMK* 1.6a, lines 19-21. ... *mliṅ asuntari si ciy su te* ... (“May Asuntariy, the earth, know ...”). *RMK* 1.177, lines 15-16. ... *asuntariy lhyañ saksiy mū lat ruy alhū riṅ swan e’* ... (“I made Asuntariy [my] witness and pour libation water”). *RMK* 2.22, lines 9-10.

### 3.2.2. Donations of Land and Slaves

The people of Pagan made numerous donations of land—paddy-fields (*lay, lai*) as well as dry fields (*ryā*) and gardens (*uyan*)—and slaves to the religious establishments.<sup>51</sup> Occasionally, however, the people donated toddy, coconut trees, etc.<sup>52</sup> The donations often were made collectively to the “Three Jewels,” namely: the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha. Sometimes, however, they were made separately to the Buddha (i.e. the objects serving as memorials to the Buddha such as temples and stupas,<sup>53</sup> and the images thereof<sup>54</sup>), the Dhamma (for copying the scriptures and for preaching sermons),<sup>55</sup> and the Sangha (to the monks and their monasteries). Since the monasteries generally comprised temples and stupas and also stored Buddhist scriptures, it is impossible to draw a clear line between the three.<sup>56</sup>

One of the motives for donating lands and slaves to temples and stupas was to maintain these buildings.<sup>57</sup> Most of the slaves would have to work on the lands donated to the Religion,<sup>58</sup> and the income from those lands would be used for maintaining the buildings. One inscription states that the slaves were to make necessary repairs to the buildings.<sup>59</sup> The

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<sup>51</sup> *RMK* 1.6a, lines 14-15; *RMK* 1.14, lines 14-16, *RMK* 1.38b, lines 5-8; *RMK* 1.57, lines 1-5; and *RMK* 1.71a, line 20.

<sup>52</sup> *RMK* 1.14; *RMK* 1.52, lines 5-6; and *RMK* 1.91, lines 7-8.

<sup>53</sup> *RMK* 1.6a, lines 2-4; *RMK* 1.7, lines 6-7; *RMK* 1.12, lines 16-18; *RMK* 1.14, lines 2-13; *RMK* 1.16, lines 3-4; *RMK* 1.18; *RMK* 1.21, lines 19-20; *RMK* 1.30, lines 9-10; *RMK* 1.31, line 15; *RMK* 1.32, lines 7-8, 11-12; *RMK* 1.38b, lines 4-8; *RMK* 1.41b, lines 14-21; *RMK* 1.51, lines 14-16; *RMK* 1.52, line 31, *RMK* 1.82b, lines 10-11; *RMK* 1.132, lines 2-4; *RMK* 2.3, lines 11-12; and *RMK* 3.8a, line 7.

<sup>54</sup> *RMK* 1.82b, lines 10-11.

<sup>55</sup> *RMK* 1.16, lines 9-10; *RMK* 1.71a, lines 22-23, 27-29; *RMK* 1.47, lines 5-6; *RMK* 3.73, lines 6-18.

<sup>56</sup> *RMK* 2.21, lines 2-26; and *RMK* 3.38a, lines 17-27.

<sup>57</sup> *RMK* 3.1, line 10.

<sup>58</sup> *RMK* 3.46, line 8.

<sup>59</sup> *RMK* 3.46, lines 7-8. A donor says that the blacksmith he had donated was to repair the monastery whenever necessary. *RMK* 3.77a, lines 24-25.

slaves included artisans (musicians and dancers) and craftsmen (wood-carvers, turners, painters, blacksmiths and masons).<sup>60</sup>

Slaves donated to the Religion were numerous.<sup>61</sup> For instance, a king donated a thousand slaves to the stupa he had constructed.<sup>62</sup> Hence, sometimes one of the slaves had to be appointed as a headman,<sup>63</sup> and occasionally special arrangements had to be made for the support of these slaves. It is illustrated in an inscription how a donor granted, apart from making other donations to the stupa he had constructed, five *pay* (8.9 acres) of land to the *pantya* (dancers) and three *pay* (5.3 acres) for *cañ sañ* (drummers).<sup>64</sup> Another donor arranged that the musicians and dancers she had donated to the Religion would receive fixed amounts of paddy regularly.<sup>65</sup>

A more important reason for these donations, however, was *pucaw* (< Skt./Pali *pūjā*),<sup>66</sup> and the lands donated were often called *saṃput lay* (paddy fields for food)<sup>67</sup> or *wat lai*

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<sup>60</sup> *RMK* 1.143, lines 21-22; *RMK* 2.21, line 21; and *RMK* 3.77a, lines 24-25.

<sup>61</sup> For the slaves donated to the “Three Jewels” collectively, see *RMK* 1.87, line 4; *RMK* 2.22, lines 2-26; and *RMK* 3.38a, lines 15-27. For those donated to the temples, stupas and images, see *RMK* 1.6a, lines 2-14; *RMK* 1.10, lines 1-10; *RMK* 1.12, lines 16-18; *RMK* 1.18; *RMK* 1.29, lines 16-22; *RMK* 1.32, lines 7-8; *RMK* 1.33, lines 5-8; *RMK* 1.34, lines 3-5; *RMK* 1.38a, lines 6-10; *RMK* 1.39a, lines 19-20; *RMK* 1.41a, line 29; *RMK* 1.42, line 8; *RMK* 1.57, lines 3-26; *RMK* 1.132, lines 2-4; and *RMK* 3.40, lines 16-17. There is an instance of donating a slave to Bodhi tree (*ñoiñ tau*). *RMK* 1.149, lines 23-24. For those donated to the monks and monastery buildings, such as *kloiñ* “residential buildings,” *sim* “ordination halls,” etc., see *RMK* 1.10, lines 17-20; *RMK* 1.19, lines 3-7; and *RMK* 1.62, lines 28-29. For the slaves donated to the Buddhist scriptures, see *RMK* 2.12, lines 3-4, 16-17; and *RMK* 3.40, lines 19-20.

<sup>62</sup> *RMK* 1.41a, line 29.

<sup>63</sup> ... || *ñā krwañ sā kā purhā kywan sūkrī mū cīy sa te* ... (“Ñā Krwañ Sā should serve as the headman of temple slaves”). *RMK* 2.26, lines 10-11.

<sup>64</sup> *RMK* 1.41a, line 34.

<sup>65</sup> *RMK* 2.16, lines 31-36.

<sup>66</sup> *RMK* 1.96c, line 30; *RMK* 1.97a, line 11; *RMK* 1.195, lines 7-8; *RMK* 2.16, lines 23-24; and *RMK* 3.11, line 4.

<sup>67</sup> *RMK* 1.21, lines 9-10; *RMK* 1.30, line 9; and *RMK* 3.8a, line 7. The word is also spelt *saṃbut lay* or *saṃput lay*. *RMK* 1.31, line 15.

(paddy fields for offerings).<sup>68</sup> Some donors clearly state that the lands were donated for the offering of food (OM *saṅput wat*, *saṅbut wat*), lamps (OM *chimī wat*, *chīmī wat*), or for both (OM *chīmī saṅput tew wat*).<sup>69</sup> Donors sometimes state that the lands and slaves were donated so that there would always be the offering of food and lamps.<sup>70</sup> A person made his donations so that 1 *prañ* of rice (.26 liters) per day could be offered to each Buddha image every day.<sup>71</sup> Some slaves were to cook food to offer to the Buddha,<sup>72</sup> and “to serve the Buddha on behalf of” the donors.<sup>73</sup> Some were to serve the Buddha with food, lamps, etc.<sup>74</sup> An inscription mentions *wat khlak rwā* (the village for cooking food for offerings).<sup>75</sup> Besides food and lamps, betel, flowers, etc. were offered to the Buddha.<sup>76</sup> Other donations connected with this Buddha-*pūjā* were many utensils, some made of gold and others gilded, donated for serving food to the *purhā* (images in the temples or in the monasteries) or to stupas.<sup>77</sup>

That Buddha-*pūjā* played a vital role in Myanmar Buddhism during the Pagan period is also indicated by the fact that many slaves donated to the temples and stupas were

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<sup>68</sup> *RMK* 1.52, line 31.

<sup>69</sup> *RMK* 1.51, lines 14-15. Spelt *saṅput wat* in *RMK* 1.8a, line 2.

<sup>70</sup> *RMK* 1.32, lines 6-7; and *RMK* 1.51, lines 14-15.

<sup>71</sup> *RMK* 3.24a, lines 12-13.

<sup>72</sup> *RMK* 3.52, line 9; and *RMK* 3.82, lines 7-8.

<sup>73</sup> *RMK* 1.99, lines 3-8; and *RMK* 3.82, lines 7-8.

<sup>74</sup> *RMK* 1.92, lines 7-8; *RMK* 2.13, lines 6-7; and *RMK* 3.40, lines 16-18.

<sup>75</sup> *RMK* 3.20, line 18.

<sup>76</sup> *RMK* 1.97a, line 30; *RMK* 2.16, lines 29-30; *RMK* 3.40, lines 16-18; *RMK* 1.97a, line 30; and *RMK* 1.148b, line 19.

<sup>77</sup> *RMK* 1.38a, lines 7-10; *RMK* 1.54a, line 6; *RMK* 1.61, lines 8-10; *RMK* 1.63a, lines 18-19; *RMK* 1.65a, lines 4-6; *RMK* 1.96; *RMK* 1.134, lines 4-5; *RMK* 1.154, lines 27-32; *RMK* 1.156a, line 22; *RMK* 1.161, lines 17-18; *RMK* 1.173, line 9; *RMK* 2.16, lines 13-17; *RMK* 2.83, line 3; *RMK* 3.30, lines 14-15; and *RMK* 3.31.

musicians and dancers (OM *cañ sañ* and *pasā sañ* “drummers,”<sup>78</sup> OM *kakhrīy* and *pantya* “dancers,”<sup>79</sup> OM *sikhrāñ sañ* “singers,”<sup>80</sup> OM *khwakkhwañ sañ* “cymbalists,”<sup>81</sup> etc.<sup>82</sup>).

It is interesting to note that many slaves including musicians and dancers were *kulā* “Indians”.<sup>83</sup> Although the word *kulā* in later times was used in referring to almost all the people from the countries west of Myanmar, there is no indication that the word was used in that sense during the Pagan period. Although it is not impossible that Tamils were included in *kulā*, most of the *kulā* in Myanmar very likely were from central Bengal since the word derived from Pali *goḷa*, meaning “Inhabitants of central Bengal.”<sup>84</sup> Of a thousand slaves donated to the Dhammarazaka pagoda (947), five hundred were *kulā*. Fifty *kulā* slaves donated to a temple were drummers, trumpeters, dancers, wood-carvers, painters, blacksmiths and masons.<sup>85</sup> An inscription refers to *kulā kakhrīy* “Indian dancer(s).”<sup>86</sup>

In connection with Buddha-worship, Pe Maung Tin has cited one inscription that records the donation of requisites (OM *parikkharā*; Pali *parikkhāra*) to the Buddha images as follows:

The requisite things are for lower Buddha his wearing apparel 1 outer robe, 1 inner garment; for the upper Buddha his wearing apparel 1 embroidered inner garment, 1

<sup>78</sup> *cañ sañ* in *RMK* 1.71b, line 3; *RMK* 1.73, line 5; *RMK* 1.94, line 5; *RMK* 1.154, line 13; *RMK* 1.156, line 20; *RMK* 1.170b, line 6; *RMK* 2.16, lines 9, 10; and *RMK* 2.29, lines 3-5. *pasā sañ* in *RMK* 1.71b, line 3; and *RMK* 2.16, line 10.

<sup>79</sup> *kakhrīy* in *RMK* 1.38a, line 12. *pantya* in *RMK* 1.71a, lines 7-8; *RMK* 1.71b, line 3; *RMK* 1.73, line 7; *RMK* 1.94, line 5; *RMK* 1.156a, line 19; *RMK* 1.170b, lines 6-10; *RMK* 2.16, line 11; and *RMK* 2.29, line 4.

<sup>80</sup> *RMK* 1.154, line 11.

<sup>81</sup> *RMK* 2.16, line 10.

<sup>82</sup> An inscription also mentions *narañcarā*, which according to Than Tun was a kind of wind instrument. *RMK* 2.16, lines 8, 9; and Than Tun, “History of Buddhism” 160. Apart from these, there were other musical instruments. *Ibid.*, 160.

<sup>83</sup> *RMK* 1.96b, line 25; *RMK* 1.142a, lines 2, 5, 8, 10; *RMK* 1.143, lines 21-22; *RMK* 1.165, lines 6, 19, 31; *RMK* 3.87b, line 16; and *RMK* 3.99, lines 16-17.

<sup>84</sup> H.L. Shorto, *A Dictionary of the Mon Inscriptions from the Sixth to the Sixteenth Centuries*, London Oriental Series 24 (London: Oxford UP, 1971), sv. *galā*.

<sup>85</sup> *RMK* 1.143.

<sup>86</sup> *RMK* 1.38a, line 10.



gold couch, 1 apartment for his dwelling-place, 1 high cot complete with bed-covers and pillows, 1 betel box, copper oil lampstands, copper spittoons, 1 big copper kettle, 1 elephant-lotus from which the bell is hung, golden bowls, silver bowls, 2 pestles, 2 trays, 5 covered dishes, 1 big cooking pot-lid, 8 pieces of narañcarā [a kind of musical instruments], 9 of gongs, 3 cymbals, 3 castanets ... The requisite things are 1 big couch studded with gems, spittoon, copper kettle, 2 trays with cup-legs, 5 covered dishes, cooking pot-lid.<sup>87</sup>

Thus, although according to Theravada the Buddha ceased to exist after his entering into Nirvana, here he was treated as an eternal Buddha as in the Mahayana.<sup>88</sup> The people worshipped him as if he was a god, or god of gods. They offered him food and lamps as well as music and dancing. However, the Buddha had been deified long before the Myanmars became Buddhists. I-tsing had noticed the offerings of food, flowers, incense and lamps as well as of music and songs to a Buddha image in the *uposatha* (Sabbath) ceremonies in India as early as the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>89</sup> As to stupa-worship in India, the sculptures of Sanchi represent a scene with worshippers and musicians.<sup>90</sup>

Since many slaves serving in the Pagan temples were Indians, there is no doubt that Buddha-*pūjā* in Pagan was greatly influenced by Mahayana India. According to the Mahayanists, the Buddha taught in the *Larger Sukhavativyuha Sutra*:

‘And again, O Ananda, all the Bodhisattvas who have been born in that Buddha country, having gone during one morning meal to the other world, worship many hundred thousand nayutas of kotis of Buddhas, as many as they like, through the favour of Buddha. They consider in many ways that they should worship (Buddhas) with such and such flowers, incense, lamps, scents, garlands, ointments, powder, cloaks, umbrellas, flags, banners, ensigns, music, concerts, and musical instruments; and, as soon as they have considered this, there arise also on their hands exactly such materials for every kind of worship. And while performing worship for those blessed Buddhas

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<sup>87</sup> Pe Maung Tin, “Buddhism in the Inscriptions of Pagan,” *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 26.1 (1936): 61.

<sup>88</sup> C.H.S. Ward, *Buddhism*, Vol. 2, *Mahāyāna* (London: Epworth Press, 1952), 155.

<sup>89</sup> J. Takakusu, ed. and trans., *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (AD 671-695)* by I-tsing (London: Clarendon Press, 1896; 2<sup>nd</sup> Indian edition, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1982) 42, 46.

<sup>90</sup> Sir John Marshall and Alfred Foucher, *The Monuments of Sanchi* (with the texts of inscriptions edited, translated, and annotated by N.G. Majumdar), vol. 2 (London: Probsthian, 1940; reprint, Delhi: Swati Publications, 1982), Pl. 36.

with those materials, beginning with flowers and ending with musical instruments, they lay up for themselves much immeasurable and innumerable merit....<sup>91</sup>

However, as the Buddha was also worshipped like a god in Sri Lanka, and as Pagan monks of Sri Lankan lineage were mentioned in connection with the donations of musicians and dancers and with the offering of food, lamps, etc., it can be concluded that Buddha-*pūjā* in Pagan was also connected with Sri Lanka. How to worship a stupa (how to circumambulate it and offer flowers) has been described in detail in the *Papañcasūdanī*, the commentary on the Majjhima-nikāya written in Sri Lanka.<sup>92</sup> King Mahinda IV “paid honour to the Hemamālike-cetiya by the gift of a covering of stuff, by dance and song, by perfumes and flowers of diverse kinds, by garlands of lamps and incense of many kinds....”<sup>93</sup> At Pagan an inscription records a royal preceptor’s donation of land and slaves as well as treatises including *Visuddhimagga*, *Dhātuvaṇi* and *Mahāvaṇi* which were written in Sri Lanka.<sup>94</sup> A monk referred to as Siṅkhuw was among the witnesses present at a donation that included dancers (*pantya*) and drummers (*cañ sañ*);<sup>95</sup> and as *Siṅkhuiw* derived from *singhala* (meaning “Sri Lanka”), this monk very likely was a Sinhalese monk. Moreover, among the slaves donated to the *phurhā* at the forest monastery of Ānanda who came from Sri Lanka and “purified the Religion” at Pagan were drummers (*pasā sañ*); and some of the income from the lands his monastery received was to be used for offering rice, lamps and betel to the Buddha.<sup>96</sup> All this suggests that offering rice, lamps, etc. to the Buddha as well as worshipping him with music and dancing was also connected with Sri Lanka.

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<sup>91</sup> F. Max Mueller, trans., *The Larger Sukhavativyuha Sutra or The Sutra on the Buddha of Eternal Life*, edited for Internet by Richard St. Clair, stanza 37, 25 August 2000 <<http://web.mit.edu/~stclair/www.larger.html>>

<sup>92</sup> Rahula, *History of Buddhism* 117-118.

<sup>93</sup> *Cūlavamsa* 54: 37-38.

<sup>94</sup> *RMK* 1.170b, lines 6-10, 12-14. See also page 7 (above).

<sup>95</sup> *RMK* 1.156a, lines 19-20; and *RMK* 1.156b, line 13.

<sup>96</sup> *RMK* 3.35a, lines 21, 27-28.

Nevertheless, there is an important difference between Sri Lanka and Myanmar. In Sri Lanka, although there were Buddha images and image-houses in early days, the commentators ignored them. There is no reference in the commentaries to image-houses or to image-worship; even though image-houses became common in later times, the emphasis was on stupa. To the Myanmars, in contrast, the image was the most important object of worship. Many small stupas do not even have terraces or plinths on which worshippers could circumambulate them. No *cetiyaḡharas* (stupa shrines) exist in Pagan. Even in large stupas like the Dhammarazaka (947) and the Shwesandaw (1568), image-houses were built around them.

Donations made to the Dhamma were not only for copying and preserving the scriptures. A donor granted 35 *pay* (62.01 acres) of land “for the First Sermon to be preached six times, days and night.”<sup>97</sup> Apart from the land, the revenue of which would be used for copying the *Tipiṭaka*, the scriptures received slaves.<sup>98</sup> A donor said: “These two slaves are to serve the scriptures.”<sup>99</sup> Food was also offered to the scriptures, and *pitakat saṅput* (food for the scriptures) is mentioned in the inscriptions.<sup>100</sup> This indicates that the scriptures received worship similar to that received by the Buddha image.

The donations made to a monastery were for the maintenance of the buildings as well as for the support of monks. These donations were often to be divided between the elder (OM *thera*) and other monks of the monastery (OM *aryā*) or students (OM *cāsaṅi*). A donor specified that out of 45 *pai* (79.73 acres) of land she had donated, ten were for the *thera*, while thirty-five were for the *aryā*.<sup>101</sup> Another donor gave one and three slaves to cook for

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<sup>97</sup> *RMK* 1.71a, lines 21-23.

<sup>98</sup> *RMK* 1.71a, lines 21-23, 27-29; *RMK* 2.12, lines 3-4; and *RMK* 3.40, lines 19-20.

<sup>99</sup> *RMK* 2.12, lines 3-4. Another inscription mentions four slaves who were to serve the scriptures. *RMK* 3.40, lines 19-20. See also *RMK* 1.71a, lines 28-29.

<sup>100</sup> ... *pitakat ta niy so ta praṅ khyak saṅput* ... (“... one *praṅ* of rice each day for the scriptures ...”). *RMK* 3.71a, lines 17-18.

<sup>101</sup> *RMK* 3.23a, lines 16-17.

the *thera* and *aryā* respectively.<sup>102</sup> Some donors desired the revenues from the lands they had donated to be divided between the *thera* and the students.<sup>103</sup> Occasionally, the donations were made to individual monks.<sup>104</sup>

What is more interesting is that some dancers were donated to the monasteries.<sup>105</sup> It is probable that their main duty was to worship the Buddha image(s) at the monastery. One donor, however, donated a slave couple to a monastery “to learn *pantyā* [dancing].”<sup>106</sup> It therefore seems that the monks were training dancers and very likely musicians for Buddha-worship, and that they were supervising this worship. Probably, the donations were made collectively to the “Three Jewels” because the monks were supervising these *pūjā*. In fact, the Vinaya prohibits monks from accepting slaves donated to them.

Furthermore, the people donated gold and silver,<sup>107</sup> horses and cattle,<sup>108</sup> etc. to the religious establishments. There were instances in which the monks were purchasing land.<sup>109</sup> One inscription, however, mentions a lay agent through whom a monk purchased some plots of land.<sup>110</sup> Another inscription refers to slaves bought by a monk “with the Buddha’s money”

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<sup>102</sup> *RMK* 3.40, lines 20-21.

<sup>103</sup> *RMK* 1.17, lines 15-16; *RMK* 1.154, line 27; and *RMK* 3.1, lines 7-9. See also ... *satañ saṅkhā cā kā 32* ... in *RMK* 1.17, lines 19-20.

<sup>104</sup> *RMK* 1.6a, lines 14-15.

<sup>105</sup> *RMK* 3.90a, lines 11-12.

<sup>106</sup> *RMK* 1.172a, lines 5-6.

<sup>107</sup> *RMK* 3.8a, lines 23-24; and *RMK* 1.63a, line 17. Donations of gold and silver were also made to monasteries: ... *purhā tryā saṅghā ratanā 3 pā so kuiw paccañ 4 pā athok apañ phlac cim so nhā kloñ ā || nuy || 2000 || rhuy 100 || nā lhū tum e’ || o ||* (“I donated 2000 [*klap* or about 32.66 kilograms of] silver and 100 [*klap* or 1.63 kilograms of] gold to the monastery for the support of the ‘Three Jewels,’ the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha”). *RMK* 3.8a, lines 22-23. See also the donations made to Mlatkrī Tāmalin in *RMK* 3.76, lines 5-8.

<sup>108</sup> *RMK* 1.17, line 22; *RMK* 1.54a, line 9; *RMK* 1.87, line 4; and *RMK* 1.154, line 21.

<sup>109</sup> *RMK* 1.84, lines 11-12; *RMK* 1.150, lines 4-6; *RMK* 2.29, lines 23-24; *RMK* 3.33, lines 8-11; and *RMK* 3.76, lines 33-34.

<sup>110</sup> *RMK* 2.53a, lines 11-12.

as well as with his “own money.”<sup>111</sup> The Theravada Vinaya prohibits monks from accepting slaves or gold and silver. The Mahayanist monks, in contrast, were (and are) allowed to possess money. In a Vinaya text of the Sarvastivadins (the *Vinaya-vibhaṅga*), the Buddha not only allowed the monks to accept money, but even to lend it out with interest.<sup>112</sup>

However, it is impossible to assume that the donations of slaves, gold and silver were due to north Indian Mahayana influence. Monks in Sri Lanka had been receiving revenues from religious endowments long before the Myanmars became Buddhists; and a Sri Lankan commentator has even justified the acceptance of slaves to monasteries as will be discussed below (on page 100).

### 3.2.3. Slave Cult

“Slave” here is a translation of Old Myanmar *kyon* (also spelt *kywan*). Some scholars prefer to use “bondsmen”, “bonded person” or the Myanmar word *kywan* itself and avoid using the word “slave”.<sup>113</sup> A *kyon* is bonded either to an individual or a religious establishment. In some cases, the donors arranged so the the *kywan* would receive a share or the produce; and sometimes, a certain amount of land was donated for the *kyon*. Some became *kyon* voluntarily and some involuntarily. Some were *kyon* by birth and some were not. There were instances in which a *kyon* was bought or sold, and those in which a *kyon* was redeemed.<sup>114</sup> The word *kyon* is translated as “slave” throughout this paper.

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<sup>111</sup> *RMK* 1.158a, lines 5-10.

<sup>112</sup> Gregory Schopen, “Doing Business for the Lord: Lending on Interest and Written Loan Contracts in the Mulasarvastivada-Vinaya,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (New Haven) 114.4 (1994): 527-554, electronic document, Digital Buddhist Library and Museum, Comprehensive Cyberspace for Buddhist Studies, Center for Buddhist Studies, National Taiwan University <<http://ccbs.ntu.edu.tw/e-CBS.htm>> (downloaded from its mirror site at the University of Heidelberg), 26 August 2000 <<http://sino-sv3.sino.uni-heidelberg.de/FULLTEXT/JR-EPT/gre.htm>>

<sup>113</sup> Aung-Thwin has discussed about *kywan*. Aung-Thwin, *Pagan* 75-79, 81-91.

<sup>114</sup> See Than Tun, “History of Buddhism” 143-162.

The custom of becoming a slave for a short while as a means of gaining merit seems to have existed in Pagan. In Sri Lanka, Rahula has explained:

It would seem that offering slaves and liberating them assumed the proportions of a cult, and certain amusing methods of procedure were developed in the pursuit of this cult. While there were real slaves attached to monasteries some of the “slaves” offered and liberated were not slaves at all, but free men of high social status. Most probably they were offered only for a very short time, perhaps for a few hours or minutes, in order to gain “merit”.<sup>115</sup>

He proves this by pointing out that “some of the ‘slaves’ freed were not real slaves,” and cited some instances: in one instance, King Aggabodhi VIII (801-812) made his mother offered him to the Sangha, and then redeemed him to become a free man again; in another instance King Kīrti Niśsaṅka Malla (1187-1196) offered his son and daughter to the Religion and then redeemed them.<sup>116</sup>

At Pagan, according to an inscription, Uiwchokpan (a queen of King Narapatisithu) donated her three sons to the religion, and the king redeemed them by giving 30 *pay* of paddy fields to a monk named Tilokamaṅguir.<sup>117</sup> Moreover, the list of slaves donated to a monastery includes a *saiṅlyanī* and his wife.<sup>118</sup> Note that *saiṅlyanī*, if not a monk, certainly was a royal official. In another instance, a man donated himself as well as his wife and two children to a temple after gilding the images in the temple, donating lands to the temple and robes to the monks, and offering food to a hundred monks. Other slaves included in the same donation were the family members of *saṅkrī* (royal officials).<sup>119</sup> There is, however, no inscription

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<sup>115</sup> Rahula, *History of Buddhism* 149.

<sup>116</sup> Rahula, *History of Buddhism* 149.

<sup>117</sup> ... *uiwchokpan sā 3 yok kuiw lhū ruy maṅkrī caṅsū ruy so uchokkuiw lai 30...* *RMK* 1.59a, lines 10-11. The inscription records the donations made in 573 BE (soon after King Nātoṅmyā ascended the throne) by a monk, who explained how he had received the paddy fields he was donating. Queen Uiwchokpan (usually spelt Uchokpan) was a daughter of Minister Subharac, whose sister was Alaungsithu’s consort and father was a minister of King Kyansittha. The three sons of Queen Uchokpan were the princes Rājasū, Pyaṅkhli and Kaṅkasū, usually referred to as *maṅ* (a title prefixed usually to the names of princes and princesses) in the inscriptions. *RMK* 2.22.

<sup>118</sup> *RMK* 2.49, lines 2-3.

<sup>119</sup> *RMK* 1.21.

recording that they were later redeemed, either by themselves or by their relatives.

Nevertheless, they certainly need not have become slaves in the first place, and hence these donations might have been connected with the ‘slave cult’ prevalent in Sri Lanka.

### 3.2.4. Recitation of *Paritta*

A Mon inscription of King Kyansittha records the recitation of the *paritta* (OM *parit*, *paruit*) at the construction of his new palace.<sup>120</sup> A Myanmar inscription also mentions the recitation of *paritta* when a temple (monument no. 718 at Minnanthu) was constructed.<sup>121</sup>

Another inscription records how Mlatkrī Tāmālin asked for some land from the king when the king listened to the recitation of the *paritta*.<sup>122</sup> The practice of reciting the *paritta* certainly came to Myanmar from Sri Lanka, where it had become important at least since the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>123</sup> It has been recorded in the *Cūlavamsa* that the recitation of the *paritta* was practiced by King Aggabodhi IV (658-674) of Sri Lanka.<sup>124</sup> Moreover, Sena II (851-885) held the ceremony of reciting the *paritta*.<sup>125</sup>

### 3.2.5. Curses

To prevent their donations from being harmed by the people in later times, the donors usually included curses in their inscriptions. Curses generally state that those who harm their donations would not see the future Buddha Maitreya, or would go to hell, etc. Some people vividly described their curses. For instance, a donor stipulated:

<sup>120</sup> Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* 1: 69.

<sup>121</sup> ... || *sakarac 623 khu ... kū thāpanā e’ || thuiw arā nhuik paruit rwat sa kā || skhiñ winañthuir 1 yok || skhiñ sarapuīy 1 yok || ...* (“... A temple was constructed in 623 ME (AD 1261). The [monks] who recited the *parittas* then were: Skhiñ Winañthuir, Skhiñ Sarapuīy, ...”). *RMK* 3.38.

<sup>122</sup> *RMK* 3.9.

<sup>123</sup> Rahula, *History of Buddhism* 276-280. The first reference of the recitation of *parittas* as a ceremony in Sri Lanka was during the reign of King Aggabodhi IV (658-674). *Ibid.*, 107.

<sup>124</sup> *Cūlavamsa* 46: 5-6.

<sup>125</sup> Rahula, *History of Buddhism* 279.

May those who destroy or rob these offerings of mine have many ailments, suffer great miseries and live short in this human existence within 7 days, failing which 7 months, failing which 7 years. As human beings may they be human ghosts. May they be separated from their dear wives, dear sons, dear husbands. May they be visited with the king's danger. May the axe of thunder-bolt fall on their houses. May they be visited with the dangers of water, of fire and other big dangers. When they die, may they be cooked in Avici Hell beneath the earth for as many times as are the particles of earth from  $\tilde{N}$ oñ-ū to Siripaccarā. From Avici into the 8 great hells, and into the 16 smaller hells may they be cooked. From hell to ghostland, from ghostland to hell without returning to the human abode, may they suffer untold misery.<sup>126</sup>

It should be noted here that the curses also occur in the inscriptions of Sri Lanka and India. For instance, a Sri Lankan monk cursed: “Any persons who shall cause hindrance to this act of charity will be [born as] crows and dogs and will [also] be born in the eight great hells.”<sup>127</sup> Not to see Maitreya or not to see future Buddhas is not mentioned in Sri Lankan curses. In contrast with Sri Lankan curses, the Myanmar ones reveal the faith the Myanmars had in saviors: “May those who harm the slaves I have donated not see [the future] Buddha Maitreya;”<sup>128</sup> “May they never see any coming Buddhas;”<sup>129</sup> “May they not be liberated from *saṃsāra* [cycle of rebirths] even if numerous Buddhas [try to] liberate them;”<sup>130</sup> and “May

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<sup>126</sup> || *ī ñā alhū khapsim so kuiu phyakchī so* || *luyak cā so* || *sū tuiw kā* || *ī lū twañ lhyañ* || *khunhac ryak twañ lhyañ* || *khunhac ryak lwat mū kā* || *khunhac la twañ lhyañ* || *khunhac la te lwat mū kā* || *khunhac nhac twañ lhyañ anā myā so phlac cīy* || *chaññray krī cwā phlac cīy* || *asak tuiw so phlac cīy* || *lū twañ lhyañ lū prittā phlac cīy* || *khyat so mayā khyat so sā khyat so lañ nhañ kwaykañ so phlac cīy* || *utcā cañcim khyam̐sā khapañ akrwañmay lhyañ pyakcī pruntī cīy sate* || *mañ krī phuiy sañ cīy* || *īm muiwkruiw puchin kla cīy* || *riy phuiy mi phuiy ka ca so phuiy krī sañ cīy* || *sīy so le* || *ñoñ-u ca so sriypaccarā tuiñ oñ so mliy puñ aluñ tuiñ lhyañ* || *mliy athay awiciy ñray lhyañ kyak liy cīy sate* || *awiciy mha kā ñray krī yhat thap ñray ñay ta chay khrok thap suiw kyak liy cīy sate* || *ñray mha kā prittā suiw prittā mha kā ñray suiw lū nhac chat ma plan atuiñ ma sī chuiwñray krī lhyañ kham̐ cīy sate* || || ... *RMK 3.46*, lines 22-30. Translation by Pe Maung Tin, “Buddhism in the Inscriptions of Pagan,” *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 26.1 (1936) 65.

<sup>127</sup> Translation by S. Paranavitana, “Two Rock-Inscriptions at Kottange,” in *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Epigraphia Zeylanica* 4: p. 90.

<sup>128</sup> *RMK 1.1a*, lines 32-33.

<sup>129</sup> *RMK 1.11*, lines 21-22; *RMK 1.27*, lines 22-23; *RMK 1.47*, line 24; and *RMK 1.50*, line 21.

<sup>130</sup> *RMK 1.45*, lines 18-19; and *RMK 1.54b*, lines 22-23.



they not be liberated from *saṃsāra* even if thousands, or tens of thousands, [of Buddhas try to] liberate them.”<sup>131</sup>

### 3.2.6. Prayers

Some Myanmar inscriptions begin with the phrases meaning “homage to the Buddha(s),” “homage to the ‘Three Jewels’,” etc. (It was [and still is] a custom to place such a phrase at the beginning of a Buddhist treatise for both the Mahayanists and the Theravadins as well as the Hindus [the origin no doubt was India]). Most of them were Theravadin in character and were very likely taken out of the Pali scriptures: *namo buddhāya* (“Homage to the Buddha”), *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa* (“Homage to Him, the Blessed One, who is worthy [of praise], and who is the universal Buddha”), *namo ratanattayassa* (“Homage to the ‘Three Jewels’”), etc. However, it is impossible to assert that the phrase *namo buddhāya* was not connected with Mahayana because the Mahayanists have nothing against paying homage either to the Buddha alone or to the “Three Jewels.” The prayer *namo sabbabuddhānam* (“Homage to all the Buddhas”) might have been due to the influence of Mahayana. It is interesting to note that while this prayer was used by some Myanmar monks connected with Sri Lanka, it never occurs in the Sri Lankan inscriptions or at the beginning of Pali works. For the northern Buddhists, however, it is important to pay homage to all the Buddhas as in the following phrases:

Reverence to all Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Aryasravakas, and Pratyekabuddhas, in the past, the present, and the future.<sup>132</sup>

Adoration to all the glorious Buddhas and Bodhisattvas!

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<sup>131</sup> *RMK* 3.26b, lines 12-13.

<sup>132</sup> Robert A.F. Thurman, trans., *Vimalakīrti Nīrdesa Sūtra* (Pennsylvania State University, 1976), electronic document, True Buddha School Net, 25 August 2000 <<http://www3.10pht.com/~gil/vimlkr̥ti.html>>

Adoration to all Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Aryas, Sravakas, and Pratyekabuddhas, past, present, and to come, who dwell in the unlimited and endless Lokadhatus of the ten quarters!<sup>133</sup>

There is another prayer *namo sarbbajñāya* (“Homage to the Blessed One”).

Although there is nothing against Theravada to pay homage to the Buddha, the phrase certainly came from a Sanskrit work. Compare the phrase at the beginning of the *Heart Sūtra: namaḥ sarvajñāya*.<sup>134</sup>

More interesting, however, are the prayers mentioning personal wishes. As the fruits of their meritorious deeds (OM *phunmhu akuiw* or *koimhu akuiw*),<sup>135</sup> many donors desired to become Buddhas. Most of them prayed for the boon of “omniscience” or “Buddhahood.”<sup>136</sup> A donor wished to become *lo nat taka charya* “the teacher of all men and gods.”<sup>137</sup> Some, however, elaborated their prayers. For instance, a donor gives the reason for her donations as follows:

... because I desire all the humans, gods and animals without exception to be liberated from the miseries of *saṃsāra* and [wish them to] attain *nirvāṇa* which is free of miseries, and because I myself also long for Buddhahood also called omniscience.<sup>138</sup>

Another donor, a minister and his wife prayed in Pali: “May we in the future carry many people who are plunged in the torrents of *māna*<sup>139</sup> to enlightenment that is beyond

<sup>133</sup> F. Max Mueller, trans., *The Larger Sukhavatīvyūha Sūtra or The Sūtra on the Buddha of Eternal Life*, electronic document, edited for Internet by Richard St. Clair, stanza 37, 25 August 2000 <<http://web.mit.edu/~stclair/www/larger.html>>

<sup>134</sup> Max Mueller and Bunyio Nanjio, eds., *The Ancient Palm-Leaves Containing the Prajñā-Paramitā-hridaya-sūtra* (Oxford edition, 1884; reprint, Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1972), electronic document, Australian National University, 25 August 2000 <<http://cres.anu.edu.au/~mccomas/heartsutra/sanskrit.html>>

<sup>135</sup> *RMK* 1.42, line 17; and *RMK* 1.174a, line 8.

<sup>136</sup> *RMK* 1.21, line 27; *RMK* 1.29a, lines 3-4; *RMK* 1.52, line 3; *RMK* 1.97a, line 6; *RMK* 1.130, lines 27-28; *RMK* 1.162, lines 17-21; *RMK* 1.163, lines 11-12.

<sup>137</sup> *RMK* 1.5.

<sup>138</sup> ... *lū nat sattawā khapsim akrwainmay saphlaṇ saṃsarā chaññiray mha thwack mlok kha ruy chaññiray may so niyrabban prañ suiw rok ciy khlyañ so kroṇ || nā le si cap mraṇ nham so sabbaññāñān phurhā chu kuw luiw so kroṇ* ... *RMK* 2.105, lines 4-6.

<sup>139</sup> *māna* (pride) is one of the fetters that bind a man to *saṃsāra* (cycle of rebirths).

description.”<sup>140</sup> Two other donors, however, say that they dedicated the temple because they “wish to become Buddhas after fulfilling the *pāramī* [< Skt./Pali *pāramitā*].”<sup>141</sup> The description in the prayers that “Buddhahood called omniscience is the end of miseries arising from the cycle of rebirths,”<sup>142</sup> shows that the people understood that Buddhahood and *nirvāṇa* are the same, which is in accordance with Mahayanists’ belief.

Another interesting prayer that seems to have been due to the influence of Mahayana is:

... [pañcadha]mmā ca me hontu | jātiṃ jātiṃ punappunāṃ | saccaṃ dhammo dhiti  
cāko | bodhicittaṃ ca pañcamāṃ || o ||<sup>143</sup>

... May I, in my successive existences, be endowed with these five *dharmas*: truthfulness, self-control, steadfastness, munificence, and, fifthly, the *bodhicitta*.

The first four are mentioned in the *Jātaka* and the *Suttanipāta* of the *Khuddakanikāya*. However, the word *bodhicitta* is not mentioned in any works of the Pali canon. This word is very common in Mahayana because a person who cultivates *bodhicitta* (direction of the mind toward *bodhi*) is a *bodhisattva* “Buddha-to-be.”

Many donors, while praying for Buddhahood for themselves, prayed for the three boons (OM *chu 3 pā*) for others,<sup>144</sup> namely, the boon of Buddhahood, of *paccekabuddhahood* and of arahatship.<sup>145</sup> *Nirvāṇa*, for these donors, can be attained either by becoming Buddhas, *paccekabuddhas* or *arahats*.<sup>146</sup> It was the place entered by the Buddhas, *paccekabuddhas* and

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<sup>140</sup> ... *ahañ ca bhariyā ca anena puññena kammaṇa anāgatamhi bodhim atulaṃ bahūjane tārema sotamhi nimmuggamāne* ... *RMK 2.77*, lines 29-30.

<sup>141</sup> *RMK 1.38a*, lines 3-6.

<sup>142</sup> *RMK 1.29a*, lines 2-4; and *RMK 3.38a*, lines 5-6.

<sup>143</sup> *RMK 2.122*. Similar prayers occur in three other inscriptions: *RMK 1.95*; *RMK 1.128*; and *RMK 1.103*.

<sup>144</sup> *RMK 2.20a*, line 29.

<sup>145</sup> *RMK 2.21*, line 34; *RMK 2.30*, lines 16-17; *RMK 2.92*, lines 25-26; *RMK 2.99b*; *RMK 3.44*, line 10; *RMK 3.45*, lines 11-12; and *RMK 3.52*, lines 29-30.

<sup>146</sup> ... *achuṃ kā purhā chu paccekabuddhā chu rahantā chu ra ruy || o || chāniray may so niyrapan khyam̐sa lhyañ kham̐ca cīy sate || o ||* (“In the end, having attained the boon

disciples (OM *tape 'sā*; Sanskrit *śrāvaka*, Pali *sāvaka*).<sup>147</sup> Thus, they accept all the three *yānas* (paths).

Praying for arahatship alone was rare, and it should be noted here that most of those who prayed for it longed to become *arahats* in the presence of the future Buddha Maitreya.<sup>148</sup>

These prayers can be studied in the light of the three *yānas* or paths to enter into *nirvāṇa*: 1) Buddha- or *bodhisattva-yāna* or the path of Buddhas or *bodhisattvas* (i.e. to be intent upon becoming a Buddha and to enter *nirvāṇa* after liberating the living beings from *saṃsāra*); 2) *paccekabuddha-yāna* or the path of *paccekabuddhas* (i.e. to become a *paccekabuddha* and enter into *nirvāṇa* without preaching the Law [and thus without saving other living beings]); and 3) *śrāvaka-yāna* or the path of disciples (i.e. to practice as a monk or disciple of the Buddha to attain *nirvāṇa*).

Of these *yānas*, the Mahayanists hold that the first path is the only path everybody should follow. For the Theravadins, on the other hand, *śrāvaka-yāna* is the path to be taken; each person shall study and practice to become an *arahat* and thus to attain *nirvāṇa*. The Sarvastivadins, however, accepted all three *yānas*. They believed that a person could either aspire to become a Buddha, a *paccekabuddha* or an *arahat*. (As *nirvāṇa* is the goal of all the Buddhists, we do not know when a donor prayed for *nirvāṇa* whether he/she wished to enter into it after becoming a Buddha, a *paccekabuddha* or an *arahat*.)

It can therefore be concluded that the people of Pagan were influenced by the three forms of Buddhism: Mahayana, Sarvastivada and Theravada. Although it can be argued that all the people whether they prayed for Buddhahood, arahatship, or any of the “three boons,” could have been Sarvastivadins, the representations of Mahayana deities in the paintings

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of Buddhahood, paccekabuddhahood or of arahatship, may they enjoy the bliss of *nirvāṇa*.”). *RMK* 3.52, lines 29-30.

<sup>147</sup> ... *achum kā mimi luiw ra rā toñ so chu kuiw ra so phlac ruy || purhā paccekabuddhā tape 'sā tuiw e' wañ rā phlac so niyraban suiw wañ ra ciy kun sa te || || ...* (“... May they finally receive the boons they prayed for and enter *nirvāṇa* which is the place entered by the Buddhas, *paccekabuddhas* and disciples ...”). *RMK* 3.46, lines 35-36.

<sup>148</sup> *RMK* 1.37; *RMK* 1.44; *RMK* 2.2; *RMK* 3.8; *RMK* 3.13; *RMK* 3.17; and *RMK* 3.65.

belonging to the Pagan period point to the influence, and possibly to the existence, of a Mahayana sect, and the mention of Pali scriptures in the inscriptions and the paintings illustrating narratives from the Pali canon point to the prevalence of Theravada Buddhism in Pagan Myanmar. Besides, the fact that the king of Sri Lanka had sought Aniruddha's help to revive his Sangha proves that Pagan was regarded as a Theravada Buddhist kingdom.

Since praying for Buddhahood is found on early Pagan votive tablets with signs of strong Indian influence, this practice must have derived from the Mahayanists of northern India. Contacts with Sri Lanka did not hinder this practice, because Sinhalese donors were praying for Buddhahood too.<sup>149</sup> Praying for arahatship, however, was no doubt connected with Theravada scriptures. Whether the Sarvastivada influence of praying for the “three boons” came from other Southeast Asian countries where Sarvastivada was prevalent in the very early days according to I-tsing, or whether it was prompted by the prayers in some Sanskrit works, such as the *Vimalakirti Nirdeśa Sūtra* is not known for certain (see above [on page 62]).

### 3.2.7. Bodhisattva

In connection with the prayers, it is interesting to study the *bodhisattva* ideal in Pagan. As in Sri Lanka,<sup>150</sup> the kings were regarded, or at least referred to, as *bodhisattvas* (OM *purhā loṇi*).<sup>151</sup> However, at Pagan, they were often referred to also as “living Buddhas” (OM *purhā rhaṇi*).<sup>152</sup> Of course, the donors were very probably just trying to please the kings

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<sup>149</sup> For instance, a Sri Lankan donor prayed, as early as the 7<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup> century: “May all beings, having taken that merit, become enlightened.” Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, *Epigraphia Zeylanica* 4: p. 150.

<sup>150</sup> Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, *Epigraphia Zeylanica* 4: p. 240.

<sup>151</sup> *RMK* 1.26, line 3; *RMK* 1.160, lines 2, 3; *RMI* 1.170a, line 2; *RMK* 2.4, lines 2, 28; and *RMK* 2.82.

<sup>152</sup> *RMK* 1.19, line 1; *RMK* 1.26; line 13; *RMK* 1.41a, line 13; *RMK* 2.27, line 13; *RMK* 2.56a, line 14; *RMK* 2.57a, line 6; *RMK* 2.96; line 23; *RMK* 2.103, line 6; *RMK* 2.105; line 1; *RMK* 3.40; and *RMK* 3.98.

by referring to them as “Buddhas-to-be” or “living Buddhas.” Nevertheless, they could not please the kings by saying so if the latter were not aspiring to become Buddhas.

Two inscriptions begin with the phrases meaning “I pay respect to Lokanātha.”<sup>153</sup> However, it is not certain whether the donors meant the Bodhisattva Lokanātha or the Buddha because *Lokanātha* was also an epithet of the Buddha. As has been stated above (3.1), the presence of votive tablets representing the Buddha flanked by Lokanātha and Maitreya and Aniruddha’s tablet representing Lokanātha as well as the mural paintings<sup>154</sup> clearly point to the fact that Lokanātha (a form of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara) was known in Pagan from the earliest days. Maitreya, on the other hand, was very well known throughout the Pagan period.

### 3.2.7.1. Bodhisattva Maitreya

The curses as well as prayers reveal the important role Bodhisattva Maitreya played in Myanmar Buddhism. Some donors imprecated that those who harm their donations may not see the future Buddha.<sup>155</sup> Many donors desired that they themselves as well as the people who supported their donations see Maitreya when he becomes Buddha,<sup>156</sup> to listen to his first sermon Dhammacakkā (*dhammacakkra tryā ū*), to be liberated from the cycle of rebirths (*saṃsāra*),<sup>157</sup> and to attain *nirvāṇa*.<sup>158</sup> Some donors, however, wished to reach the Tusitā heaven where the Bodhisattva Maitreya was (and still is) believed to be dwelling.<sup>159</sup> When

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<sup>153</sup> || *namo lokanāthāya* || ... *RMK* 2.101, line 1; || *namo lokanāthessa* || ... *RMK* 3.82, line 1

<sup>154</sup> Mya, *Rhe:honi: Upkhwak* 1: 12, 9-10, 30, Figs. 2, 3, 6 & 42a.

<sup>155</sup> *RMK* 1.2a, lines 37-39; *RMK* 1.106, line 15; and *RMK* 2.145a, lines 24-25.

<sup>156</sup> *RMK* 1.51, lines 19-22; *RMK* 1.73, lines 18-19; and *RMK* 3.117, line 4.

<sup>157</sup> *RMK* 1.34, lines 5-6; and *RMK* 1.172b, line 50.

<sup>158</sup> *RMK* 1.159, lines 24-25; and *RMK* 3.5, lines 24-26.

<sup>159</sup> *RMK* 1.51, lines 19-22; and *RMK* 3.63a, lines 9-10.

they prayed for arahatship, many donors desired to become *arahat* in the presence of

Maitreya.<sup>160</sup> Thus, a donor prayed:

... May I become a male in the presence of the Bodhisattva Ariya Mettañ at the heaven called Tussitāpūra, and become a noble *stañ sañ* [i.e. a person keeping precepts] at the Cūlāmuni Cetī that houses the Buddha's sash [at Tussita heaven] ... When the Bodhisattva Ariyamettañ deceases [from the existence of Tussita god] and becomes human, may I also become human; and when he become Buddha and preached the first sermon [called] Dhammacakkā, I desire to become an *arahat*.<sup>161</sup>

Even a person who aspired to become a Buddha desired to see Maitreya. For instance, a lady (probably a nun), “wished to receive the prophecy from Mitrā [i.e. Maitreya] and to become a person who can save all the living beings from the miseries of rebirths.”<sup>162</sup>

What is interesting is that the Myanmar words for Maitreya usually are loanwords derived from Sanskrit *maitreya* or *maitraka*.<sup>163</sup> The Pali loanwords which probably derived through Old Mon *mettey*, however, occur rarely.<sup>164</sup> Therefore, even though Maitreya was also known to the Theravada school,<sup>165</sup> and although the worship of Mahayana *bodhisattvas* was also prevalent in Sri Lanka,<sup>166</sup> it seems that a Maitreya cult in Pagan originated with Mahayana, and that it probably came from northern India. This is also supported by one of

<sup>160</sup> *RMK* 1.29b, lines 30-32; *RMK* 1.44b, lines 11-13; *RMK* 2.6, lines 11-13; *RMK* 3.13; and *RMK* 3.112.

<sup>161</sup> ... *yokkyā phlac ruy || tussitāpūra mañ so nat prañ nhuik || ariya mettañ purhā loñ thañ phlac liy ruy || culway taw dhāmanā so cūlāmuni cetī thañ nhuik stañ sañ mwan phlac liy khlyañ e' || ... ariyya mettañ purhā loñ cutiy kha ruy || lū phlac lat so khā le ñā le lū phlac pā ruy || purhā phlac pri dhammacakkā tryā ū purhā haw taw mū sa rhaw khā lhyañ ... rahantā phlac khlyañ so kroñ' ... RMK 3.63a, lines 9-15.*

<sup>162</sup> *RMK* 1.23, lines 5-8. Her name given in the inscription is Phun'saṅkriy Ui Nusañ.

<sup>163</sup> *Mittaryā* in *RMK* 1.159, lines 24-25; *mittryā* in *OMI* 3.63a, line 23; *mitryā* in *RMK* 1.23, lines 5-6; *mittyā* in *RMK* 1.44b, lines 11-13; *mityā* in *RMK* 3.51, line 8, etc. Sometimes *mahā* “great” or *ari(ya)* “noble” is prefixed to these words: *mahāmittryā* in *RMK* 1.73, line 18; *mahāmittaryā* in *RMK* 1.29b, line 30; *mahāmittyā* in *RMK* 2.145a; and *arimittiryā* in *RMK* 1.1a, lines 33-34.

<sup>164</sup> *mittañ* in *RMK* 1.172b, line 50; *mettañ* in *RMK* 2.54a, line 3; *myattañ* in *RMK* 1.51, lines 18-20; and *myactañ* in *RMK* 1.106, line 15.

<sup>165</sup> Chas. Duroiselle, “The Bodhisattva Maitreya in Burma,” *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 2.1 (1912): 101.

<sup>166</sup> Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, *Epigraphia Zeylanica* 4: p. 157.

Aniruddha's votive tablets, on which he recorded in Sanskrit language with Devanagari script his desire to gain the bliss of *nirvāṇa* when Maitreya becomes Buddha.<sup>167</sup> The style of the Mahayana images as well as votive tablets unearthed around Pagan also indicates that the *bodhisattva* cult in Pagan was more influenced by northern India.

Additionally, unlike in Sri Lanka, Maitreya became so important in Pagan that pentagonal temples and stupas were invented so that there would be a place for his image. He was represented in these temples as one of the five Buddhas of the present eon, and was treated as if he had attained Buddhahood (see 7.1.1.4 [below]).

After stating that “Mahayana temple forms and designs, and *even practices*, were applied to magnify the rational of the orthodox Theravada religion [emphasis added],” Strachan asserts that some scholars “exaggerated the place of the Mahayana in Pagan's religious life.”<sup>168</sup> To him, the representations of *bodhisattvas* in Pagan temples were subsidiary to the Buddha icon, and were “more like a colourful and flamboyant ‘wallpaper’.”<sup>169</sup> As he gives no other reason, this conclusion can be true only if the Buddha was not important to the Mahayanists. It should be borne in mind that whereas the worship of *bodhisattvas* was limited to Mahayana, that of the Buddha was not limited to Theravada. Buddha-worship was very important to the Mahayanists.<sup>170</sup> (See also p. 278)

In sum, Myanmar had contacts both with India and Sri Lanka throughout the Pagan period. The votive tablets indicate that Pagan's contacts with India were earlier and hence early Mahayana influence may be due to these contacts. Even though Pagan continued to

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<sup>167</sup> Mya, *Rhe:hoñ: Upkhwak* 1: 11, Figs. 4 & 5.

<sup>168</sup> Strachan, *Imperial Pagan* 10.

<sup>169</sup> Strachan, *Imperial Pagan* 94.

<sup>170</sup> (Bhikshu) Sthavira Sangharakshita, *A Survey of Buddhism* (London: Tharpa, 1957; 6th edition, 1987) 32-33. The author of the *Mahayana-Sraddhotpada Shastra* invoked at the beginning of this work: “I take refuge in the Buddha, the greatly Compassionate One, the Savior of the world, omnipotent, omniscient, of most excellent deeds in all the ten directions ...” Yoshito S. Hakeda, trans., *The Awakening of Faith (Mahayana-Sraddhotpada Shastra)*, (Columbia UP, 1967), electronic document, True Buddha School Net, 25 August 2000 <<http://www.tbsn.org/english/stframe.htm>>



have contacts with India, it is impossible to attribute all the Mahayana and Brahmanical influences to Pagan's contacts with northern India, because Sri Lankan Buddhism also was influenced by Mahayanism and Brahmanism. Buddhism had undergone too many changes in the countries it flourished by this time that it is impossible to assign many practices to any one country with a certainty. Nevertheless, the existence of Mahayana and Brahmanical influences in Sinhalese Buddhism explains why Pagan Buddhism did not become more orthodox while Pagan had contacts with Sri Lanka.

## 4. BUDDHISM AND THE PAGAN ECONOMY

As Pagan's economy is the most important factor for the growth and decline of donations made to religious establishments, it will be discussed in this chapter briefly. Some scholars believe that Pagan kings were concerned about the flow of wealth to the Religion and attempted to confiscate religious land. A scholar has argued that the flow of wealth to the Sangha was the main institutional cause of Pagan's decline. Their conclusions will also be reassessed below. The donations made to the Religion reflect the ebb and flow of Pagan economy. (How the donations of land and slaves to the religious establishments were made have been discussed in connection with *Buddha-pūjā* in the previous chapter and will not be repeated here.) The donations rapidly increased from the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards and decreased sharply in the latter half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1</sup> The total acreage of land donated by AD 1200 was less than 50% of that donated within the last quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

### 4.1. PAGAN'S ECONOMY

We do not know much about the early history of Myanmar. Luce believes that the Myanmar, fleeing the Nanchao attacks, descended to the plains from the northeast and settled around the Kyaukse area, from where they gradually disseminated westward. Their early settlements were called *kharuīn*: the Eleven *Kharuīn* of Mlacsā (all around modern Kyaukse), where they first settled, and the Tonplun *Kharuīn* and the Six *Kharuīn* of Mañbu that they must have established soon afterwards. Their territory gradually expanded and their new settlements were referred to as *tuik*: Ñaṃsā, Muchuiwpuīw, Pañcañ, Muchuiwkhruṃ, Lathuy, Tamākhā, Pucaw and Muntoṅ Tuik, and the Ten *Tuik* of Paṅklī (see Fig. 1). With

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<sup>1</sup> Michael A. Aung-Thwin, *Pagan: the Origins of Modern Burma* (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1985) 187, Table 1.

their royal seat at Pagan, they expanded their domain by annexing neighboring territories, which were collectively called *muiniān*.<sup>2</sup> However, we do not know when each of the *kharuīn* or *tuik* was established as an administrative unit.

Tradition asserts that Pagan (or Arimaddanapura), the royal seat of the first Myanmar kingdom, was founded in the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD by King Pyinbya. However, the lack of contemporary evidence makes it impossible to learn about Pagan before Aniruddha's reign (1044-1077). In fact, even from his reign onwards, our knowledge of Pagan's political and economic situations is meager, because almost all the contemporary inscriptions are records of donations made to the religion. We know very little about the wars and rebellions this kingdom had experienced, and we know nothing about trade. Nevertheless, some possible reasons for Pagan's development and decline can be studied from the donative inscriptions.

The kings who ruled Pagan from this time onwards are: Aniruddha (?1044-1077), Sawlu ([Mañ Lulañ] ?1077-1084), Kyansittha ([Thiluiñ Mañ] 1084-1113), Alaungsithu ([Cañsū I] 1113-1169/70), Narathu ([Imtawrhañ] 1169-1170), Minyin Naratheinka (Cañsū II) 1170-1174), Narapatisithu (Cañsū III] 1714-1211),<sup>3</sup> Nātoñmyā ([Narasīñkha Uccanā] 1211-1235), Klacwā (1235-?1249), Uccanā (?1249-1256), Narathihapate ([Taruppiy] 1256-1287), Klacwā (1288-1297), and Sawnic (1297-1334).

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<sup>2</sup> G.H. Luce, "Old Kyaukse and the Coming of the Burmans," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 42.1 (1959): 75-112; *idem*, "Geography of Burma under the Pagan Dynasty," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 42.1 (1959): 32-51; and Than Tun, *Khet-hoñ: Mrammā Rājawāñ* [History of Old Myanmar], (Yangon: Mahadagon Press, 1969) 111-118.

<sup>3</sup> The regnal dates for these early Pagan kings are from Aung-Thwin's work. As he has ably proved that there was no interregnum between AD 1165 and 1174 as Luce has suggested, Luce's dates for these kings are not used in this paper. Michael Aung-Thwin, *Myth & history in the Historiography of Burma: Paradigms, Primary Sources, and Prejudices*, Monographs in Internal Studies, Southeast Asia Series, no. 102 (Athens: Ohio UP, 1998) 22-23.

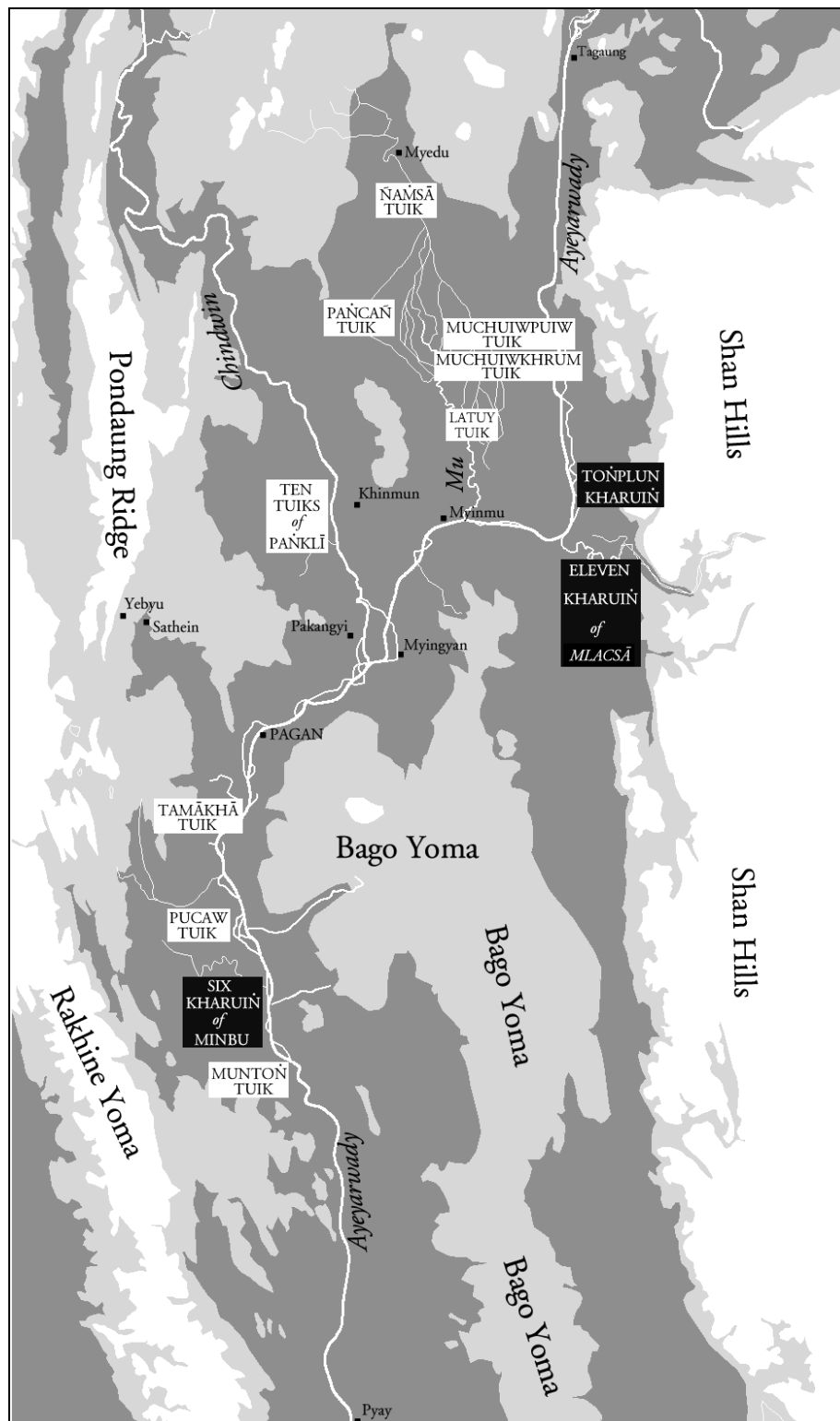


Figure 1.—*Kharuini* and *Tuik* Areas

Note.—Based on Than Tun's map and data. Than Tun, *Khethoi: Mrammā Rājawan* [History of Old Myanmar], (Yangon: Mahadagon Press, 1969) illustration on p. 110, and pp. 111-112.

One reason why there were very few records of donations belonging to the 12<sup>th</sup> century AD, obviously, was because the practice of recording the donations on stone had not become common until the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Some large temples and stupas belonged to the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries,<sup>4</sup> and some early Pagan kings (Aniruddha, Kyanzittha and Alaungsithu) had created and/or repaired irrigation works. There are very few Myanmar inscriptions inscribed before AD 1200, and hence we cannot rely heavily on the amount of donations for this period.

The finding of Aniruddha's votive tablets all over Myanmar suggests that Myanmar territory during his reign included not only all the *kharuīn* and most of (if not all) the *tuik* areas but also the conquered territories: the Ayeyarwady delta and Tanintharyi (in Lower Myanmar) and part of Rakhine.<sup>5</sup>

The acreage of cultivated land in the 12<sup>th</sup> century must certainly have been much lower than that in the 13<sup>th</sup> century since most of the land in *tuik* areas had not been reclaimed till the 1190s. Although most of the land donated before AD 1169 was cultivated land, none of the donations (not even that of a king) exceeded 100 *pay*. In addition, most of the land certainly was located in *kharuīn* areas.<sup>6</sup>

Aung-Thwin has suggested that new settlements around the *tuik* areas began in the reign of Narapatisithu (1174-1211). It is true that Narapatisithu began to expand cultivated land extensively around the *tuik* areas in the 1190s, and he might have been the king who formed *tuik* as administrative units.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, cultivation seems to have been quite developed around the Mu valley before his reign.

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<sup>4</sup> For example, a monk re-donated the slaves he had received from another monk and the land he had received from King Narapatisithu, King Nātoīmyā (before he ascended the throne) and from three queens and a princess; however, none of the original donations of the kings and their relatives exists. *RMK* 1.59.

<sup>5</sup> Than Tun, "History of Buddhism in Burma, A.D. 1000-1300," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon), 61.1-2 (1978): 167, Map IV.

<sup>6</sup> *mlacsā lay* (*RMK* 1.6a, lines 12, 15; *RMK* 1.6b, lines 3, 5); *mrañkhun mlac awhañ* (*RMK* 1.7, lines 4-5). See also the donations made by a king in AD 1168. *RMK* 1.14.

<sup>7</sup> Aung-Thwin, *Pagan* 101-102.

An inscription dated AD 1169 probably was the earliest extant record to mention cultivated land outside *kharuīn* areas and to the donation of uncultivated land.<sup>8</sup> The donations made a year later (in 1170) include 50 *pay* of paddy land at Muchuiwpuiw. Another place (of which only the front part *Muchuiw-* is legible) might be Muchuiwkhrum. Although the word *tuik* is not used, the provenance of the inscription proves that the donor was referring to the area around these two *tuiks*—both between the rivers Ayeyarwady and Mu.<sup>9</sup>

Cultivation seems to have developed noticeably by AD 1192, when several donors donated about 1,800 *pay* of lands (1,200 *pay* of paddy and 400 *pay* of uncultivated land respectively) to a monastery (roughly eighteen times the amount donated by a king in 1168). That the land included at least 200 *pay* of uncultivated *tuik*-area land, points to the expansion around Ñāmsā *tuik*.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, Narapatisithu's donations made to the Dhammarazaka pagoda in AD 1198 clearly indicate that most of the land in the *tuik* areas was not under cultivation yet.

Large-scale reclamation of wastelands, especially around the *tuik* areas, began around this time.

Two inscriptions that record the donations of King Narapatisithu and those of his successor King Nātoñmyā provide the most valuable information as to the expansion of cultivation.<sup>11</sup> The amount of land these two kings donated totaled over 35,000 *pay* (about 61,000 acres). The locations of the land are clear in most cases. Additionally, the donors discriminated the land they donated between *mliṃ*, *lay*, and *ryā*. As the word *mliṃ* merely

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<sup>8</sup> However, it is impossible to identify the locations for certain. *Pukhan* (? Pahkan), *cho ton* (? South of Saw), *nhamphai prū* (compare Nhamphay river south of Ñāmsā *tuik* in *RMK* 1.52, lines 7-9), etc. *RMK* 1.16, lines 6, 19, 30. All the words *lai* (paddy land), *ryā* (dry fields) and *mliṃ* (land) are used in referring to the lands donated. *RMK* 1.16, lines 10, 19, 24, 28, 30.

<sup>9</sup> ... *lhū so lay kā muchuiwpuiw 50 muchuiw - - - 50 - - - lay sā apon lay kā 110 hiy e'* - - -. *RMK* 1.17, lines 12-13. Provenance: Wetlet township (near Kuttaw village).

<sup>10</sup> The donation also includes 100 *pay* given by the son of a *tuik-sūkrī* [head of a *tuik*]. *RMK* 1.32.

<sup>11</sup> *RMK* 1.41 and *RMK* 1.52.

means “land,” the land referred to as *mliy* could be any type: cultivated (*lay* [paddy land], *ryā* [dry fields], *kuiñ* [alluvial land], or *uyan* [gardens]), or uncultivated (*mliy cim* or *taw mliy* [forest land], *mliy lwat* [vacant land]). However, when some areas of the land are listed as *mliy* (land) while others as *lay* (paddy land) and/or as *ryā* (land under dry cultivation), it is apparent that the land referred to as *mliy* was not under cultivation. A large portion of land donated by Narapatisithu is not referred to by type—*mliy*, *lay* or *ryā*; and the word left out more than likely is the general term *mliy*, and the land seemingly was wasteland (the cheapest kind).

The land in Narapatisithu’s inscription can be separated into *kharuiñ*- and *tuik*-area land.<sup>12</sup> The total amount of land in *kharuiñ* areas is 3,700 *pay*: 913 *pay* of *lai/laitam* (paddy land), 21 *pay* of *ryā* (land under dry cultivation), 2,536 *pay* of *mliy* (land), and 230 *pay* of unknown type of land very likely cultivated.<sup>13</sup> Therefore the total area that certainly was under cultivation was 1,164 *pay* (913 *pay* [*lay*] + 21 *pay* [*ryā*] + 230 *pay* [unknown type]). However, the fact that most *kharuiñ* land (including *mliy/mliytam*) was donated together with slaves and cattle suggests that the *mliy/mliytam* (land) also might have been cleared and made ready for cultivation. Even if they were not cultivable, the donor had provided slaves and cattle for the reclamation and cultivation. It seems that Narapatisithu was expanding cultivated land around *kharuiñ* areas.

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<sup>12</sup> *Mrañkhuntuiñ*, Tamut and Makkharā are the only ones referred to in this inscription as *kharuiñ*. *RMK* 1.41b, lines 5, 6, 9. Other *kharuiñ* mentioned are as *Mlacsā Rwā*, *Plañmanā Rwā* and *Sañoñ Rwā*. Luce believes that *Rwā* (which usually means “village”) was also used for *kharuiñ*. The expressions *mlacsā rwā khwañ* (around *Mlacsā* village), *Plañmanā rwā khwañ* (around *Plañmanā* village), *sañoñ rwā toñ* (south of *Sañoñ* village), etc. suggest that the lands were located around these *rwā*, but not within the *rwā* boundaries. *RMK* 1.1.41a, lines 30-31, *RMK* 1.41b, lines 1-3. The *tuik* mentioned are: Pucow, Yañsañ, *Mrañkhuntuiñ*, Pichai, Muchuiwphuiw, Ñaṅsā, Muntoñ, Krañmma Tuik, Tañmākā, Muchuiwkhruim, Pañcañ, and Khakluñ. *RMK* 1.41b, lines 12-21. (Mun)toñ Tuik (in line 15) could not have been the same as Muntoñ Tuik (in line 17).

<sup>13</sup> The type of 230 *pay* of land is not legible. *RMK* 1.41.

The total acreage of *tuik*-area land Narapatisithu had donated was 6,120 *pay*. In addition, he donated 800 *pay* of land that was neither in the *kharuiñ* nor in *tuik* areas.<sup>14</sup> No slaves or cattle were donated together with all this 6,920 *pay* of land. Moreover, the land is not referred to by type, not even as *mliy*. Hence, the land very likely was wasteland that the monks would have to reclaim themselves. It therefore seems that most of the land in *tuik* areas was not under cultivation yet. The king would also have given some vacant land around *tuik* areas to his relatives and to officials, while retaining most of it for the crown.

It can therefore be assumed that Narapatisithu was planning to expand cultivated land around both the *kharuiñ* and *tuik* areas at the same time. Cultivated land must have expanded considerably from the close of Narapatisithu's reign onwards. Nātoñmyā's donation of 4,800 *pay* of paddy land at Ñaṃsā Tuik seems to reflect the effects of this expansion.

Nātoñmyā continued the expansion. His donations to a monastery he had built included 4,800 *pay* of *lay* (paddy land) and 21,800 *pay* of *mliy* (land), and toddy land referred to as *mliy nhañ than 1,050*. The phrase *mliy nhañ than 1,050* is ambiguous. It could either mean "land with 1,050 toddy trees" or "1,050 *pay* of land with toddy trees." The locations of the paddy land, when known, are in *kharuiñ* and *tuik* areas.<sup>15</sup> Of the lands referred to as *mliy*, 10,000 *pay* was located to the south of Ñaṃsā Tuik; and another 10,000 *pay* around Casin and Riyphlū (modern Sathein and Yebyu) near the Pondaung Ridge (*pumñton̄ ruiw*), northwest of Tamākhā Tuik (see Fig. 1);<sup>16</sup> and 1,500 *pay* probably around the same area though nearer to Tamākhā Tuik; the locations of 300 *pay* of *mliy* (land) and that of the toddy land (*mliy*

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<sup>14</sup> The location of 400 *pay* (*mletū khaksañ*) was to the north of Ñaṃsā, the northernmost *tuik*, and the other 400 *pay* might have been located nearby as they are listed together (See Fig. 1 [above]).

<sup>15</sup> Seven hundred *pay* at Khoñcā (? Around Ñaṃsā Tuik), 1,050 at Ñaṃsā Tuik, and 1,000 at Kuiñ (location unknown), 500 around the Six Kharuiñ (of Minbu), 500 at Pañmruñ (location unknown), 500 at Rañun Kharuiñ, 500 at Kantū and 50 at Kukhan Nwayñī (near the confluence of the rivers Ayeyarwady and Chindwin). *RMK* 1.52, lines 6, 9-12.

<sup>16</sup> The inscription gives the western boundary of the land as *pumñton̄ ruiw* (Pondaung Ridge). *RMK* 1.52, lines 12-19.



*nhañ than*), however, are not known.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, it seems that he intended to add the wastelands outside the *tuik* areas for expansion. Surprisingly, Nātoñmyā's donations did not include a single slave. Therefore, it would have been difficult for the monks to get enough laborers even for cultivating the 4,800 *pay* of paddy land he had donated.<sup>18</sup>

Thus, both Narapatisithu and Nātoñmyā's inscriptions show the areas in which they were trying to expand cultivation. They were trying to reclaim the wastelands around some *kharuiñ* and almost all the *tuik* areas as well as some areas beyond them at the same time. This period also coincided with a sharp increase in the donation of slaves to the religious institutions—from 700 (in 1125-1175) to 5,000 (in 1175-1225). Hence, it seems that Narapatisithu and Nātoñmyā's attempts were prompted by a sharp increase in the kingdom's workforce. The area of cultivated land must undoubtedly have increased sharply from Nātoñmyā's reign onwards, and the later kings were to reap the fruits of their efforts. The effects can be seen from the donations made by some royal relatives and royal officials in the latter half of Nātoñmyā's reign.<sup>19</sup>

Donations of land and labor to the religious establishments went on with the same pace. The donations that included the largest amount of cultivated land were made during Narathihapate's reign. In 1266, a royal relative donated over 7,500 *pay* (13,000 acres) of paddy land and 25 gardens together with numerous slaves.<sup>20</sup> Narathihapate's donation made in 1267 included 10,070 *pay* (175,500 acres) of paddy land at *laykuiñ* (Laykuiñ Kharuiñ) and 1,000 *pay* (1,750 acres) at *Prañ* (? Pyay).<sup>21</sup> Even in 1278, a minister, together with his two

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<sup>17</sup> *RMK* 1.52, lines 6-9, 12-19.

<sup>18</sup> *RMK* 1.52.

<sup>19</sup> In AD 1223, a minister donated 1,000 *pay* of paddy land at Khañmwañ (modern Khinmun). *RMK* 1.163, lines 23-24. In 1231, Cau Mañlat donated over 3,000 *pay* of paddy land. *RMK* 1.135, lines 11-14. Another princess donated about 700 *pay* of paddy land at Mretū (modern Myedu), north of Ñamsā Tuik. *RMK* 1.139, lines 13-14. See Fig. 1 for the location of these places.

<sup>20</sup> *RMK* 3.21.

<sup>21</sup> *RMK* 3.26. The amounts of the land in other areas are illegible.

wives, donated 3,230 *pay* of paddy land and 160 slaves to a monastery.<sup>22</sup> The donations made during this period also include cultivated land from Lower Myanmar.<sup>23</sup>

However, this expansion of cultivation was far from complete. The reclamation of land went on throughout the Pagan period. A donation made in 1232 includes 1,000 *pay* of paddy land, 2,000 *pay* of *ryā* (land under dry cultivation) and forest land.<sup>24</sup> Another donation made by a minister in 1233-1234 included 4,000 *pay* of *mliy* (land).<sup>25</sup> A princess was donating 2,200 *pay* of *taw mliy* (forest land) (together with over 1,600 *pay* of *lay* [paddy land] and 1,366 *pay* of *uyan* [garden]) even as late as AD 1275, soon before the Mongol invasion.<sup>26</sup>

Pagan's economy seems to have been at its peak during Narathihapate's reign. However, the Mongols invaded Myanmar from the north, and after the northernmost Myanmar fort fell in 1283, Narathihapate had to send a monk to negotiate with the Mongol king. How far the Mongol forces had penetrated is not certain.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, the kingdom certainly was in a state of chaos and agriculture was disturbed.<sup>28</sup> Donations sharply decreased. King Narathihapate, who had fled to Lower Myanmar, was assassinated on his

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<sup>22</sup> *RMK* 3.73.

<sup>23</sup> Of 1,730 *pay* of paddy land donated to a monastic complex at Sacmatī (Pagan) in AD 1261 by Queen Co Pulaymay (Klacwā's queen), 1,000 *pay* was located around Pusim (Pathein). *RMK* 3.59, lines 4-9. The donations made by a royal relative (Singhasū's daughter) to a monastery at Minnanthu in AD 1266 included, apart from many lands in the *kharuiñ* and *tuik* areas in Upper Myanmar and from Pyay, 2767.5 *pay* and 1000 *pay* of paddy lands from around Pusim (? Pathein in the Ayeyarwady delta) and Payku (Bago), respectively. *RMK* 3.21, lines 15-30. The donations made in 1275 to a temple at Pwasaw (Pagan) include slaves, *uyan* (garden), and *lay* (paddy land) at Pusim (Pathein). *RMK* 3.63, lines 26-29. A garden (*uyan*) from Tanuiñsariy (? Tanintharyi) was among the lands donated to a monastery at Pwasaw in AD 1276. *RMK* 3.66a, line 3.

<sup>24</sup> *RMK* 2.56a, line 27.

<sup>25</sup> *RMK* 1.163, lines 16-18, 28.

<sup>26</sup> *RMK* 3.68.

<sup>27</sup> See the discussion in Aung-Thwin, *Myth & History*, Chapter 3.

<sup>28</sup> The Mongol king told the Myanmar envoy Disāprāmok in about AD 1285 to "call the monks who had fled to raise crops." *RMK* 3.84, lines 33-34. See also *RMK* 3.92, line 6.

way back to Pagan by the prince who held Pyay as an appanage.<sup>29</sup> Narathihapate's descendants continued to reign at Pagan, now a province of the Mongol Empire. Pagan did not recover from the wounds of this war, which also sparked rebellions. Pagan kings could not hold the reins of government for long. When the kingdom was weakened by war, the appointment of three brothers as the highest officials of the court and granting all of them appanages in one of the most productive *kharuīn* would turn out to be an administrative nightmare. Myanmar's political power gradually shifted to the hands of these three brothers who were the ministers of the last Pagan kings and who held Myinzaing, Makkharā and Pañlay (all around Kyaukse) as appanages. Pagan had lost its pride of place as the center of power. Even though the three brothers continued to serve under the Pagan kings till the early 1300s, most of the donations after the Mongol invasion were made around Kyaukse. When a monk made donations in AD 1302, the three brothers were serving under the Pagan king referred to as *taruk prañ lā so tak tau mū mañkrī* (the king who had gone to/come from China)—a king apparently approved by the Mongol Emperor.<sup>30</sup>

Myanmar ceased to be a Mongol colony in 1303, and within a year, Asaṅkhayā (the eldest of the three brothers) acknowledged his younger brother (who assumed the royal title Siri Tribhūwanāṭityā Pawara Sihasūra Dhammarājā) as king.<sup>31</sup> Even then, all the three brothers were regarded as Myanmar's rulers—a minister records in his inscription: “In AD 1304, during the time of Saṅghyā, Raja and Sinkasu, ...;”<sup>32</sup> another inscription, set up after the death of Asaṅkhayā, refers to the three brothers as “the three rulers, Asaṅkhayā, Rājā and Siṅkasū.<sup>33</sup> They apparently strived only for autonomy, not for each other's defeat. The Pagan

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<sup>29</sup> Pe Maung Tin and G.H. Luce, trans., *The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma* (London: Oxford UP, 1923; reprint, 1960) 174-179.

<sup>30</sup> *RMK* 3.123a, line 4.

<sup>31</sup> *RMK* 3.125, lines 3-9.

<sup>32</sup> *RMK* 3.127, lines 1-2.

<sup>33</sup> *RMK* 3.145, lines 1-5.

king continued to reign. Nevertheless, Myinzaing had become Myanmar's political center; and Pagan faded away.

Thus, the Mongol invasion, which resulted in Pagan's decline, came before the expansion of cultivation was complete. Pagan kingdom might not have needed such a vast area of cultivated land in Upper Myanmar in the first place, especially since Lower Myanmar had been annexed.

The workforce very probably was not strong enough either. The donations in the two inscriptions mentioned above may be recalled. One of them records how King Narapatisithu constructed the Dhammarazaka pagoda and donated land and slaves to it. The other reports how King Nātoṅmyā built a monastery and donated land to it. Therefore, the donations of land and slaves recorded in these inscriptions certainly were the earliest donations made to the respective religious establishments. As discussed above, of more than 10,600 *pay* of land donated by Narapatisithu, only the land in the *kharuiṅ* areas (3,700 *pay*) was accompanied by slaves and cattle; and not a single slave was included when Nātoṅmyā donated about 26,600 *pay* of land (21,800 *pay* of *mliṅ*, 4,800 *pay* of paddy land and 1,050 *mliṅ nhaṅ than*). Thus no labor was provided for about 28,500 *pay* (49,000 acres) of wastelands (77% of the total acreage these two kings donated) spread all over Upper Myanmar. It seems that even though these kings could afford to donate an enormous acreage of land, they could not afford to provide sufficient labor to work on it.

The monks would reclaim some of these wastelands gradually. However, some of them would be left vacant. The ownership of some unoccupied wastelands would fade away, resulting in misappropriation and land disputes.<sup>34</sup> Some of the unoccupied wastelands would

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<sup>34</sup> For the land disputes concerning glebe lands, see Than Tun, "Religion in Burma, A.D. 1000-1300," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 42.2 (1959): 62. See also the discussion on how the status of religious lands could deteriorate either because the cultivators often left them vacant or because people misappropriated them in Frank N. Trager and William J. Koenig, *Burmese Sit-Tans 1764-1826: Records of Rural Life and Administration*, The Association for Asian Studies, monograph 36 (Tucson: U of Arizona P,

later be restored to the crown. The king would donate more land gradually too. Kīlacwā's seemingly confiscation of religious land probably was part of this process.

#### 4.1.1. Kīlacwā's Confiscation of *Mahādān* Lands

Although the transfer of wealth to the Sangha would be bad for the royal treasury, none of the Pagan kings seems to have attempted to regain the wealth to the state. Some scholars, however, believe that the kings were concerned about the increase of religious lands and attempted to confiscate them.

Referring to an inscription,<sup>35</sup> Than Tun suggests that Kīlacwā, concerned about the loss of revenues resulted from a great increase in the acreage of glebe lands, attempted to confiscate them; and that Kīlacwā himself later had to make donations to the religion because "tradition required."<sup>36</sup>

Aung-Thwin connects this incident with his theory that Pagan's decline resulted from the flow of wealth to the Sangha:

... King Kīlacwā in vain attempted to recapture some of the wealth of the government by "confiscating lands upstream and downstream," as one inscription noted. He met stiff opposition from the rich and powerful monasteries, by then gorged with the riches of conquests, depended upon the status quo of the *sangha*'s position for its own material well-being.... The kingdom was by this time in trouble structurally, as its economic resources had gotten dangerously out of control and heavily committed to the religious sector. Yet Kīlacwā, like other Burmese kings caught in their own legitimating ideology, was compelled to patronize to promote the religion. His works of merit, although less imposing when compared to those of his wealthier and more extravagant predecessors, were nevertheless grand, despite the growing deficit.<sup>37</sup>

Thus, both these scholars believe that Kīlacwā's intention was to confiscate the religious lands.

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1979) 48. Similar problems would arise with regard to non-glebe lands too. See Than Tun, "History of Buddhism" 87; and *idem*, *Khet-hoñ*: 164-165.

<sup>35</sup> *RMK* 1.160.

<sup>36</sup> Than Tun, "History of Burma, A.D. 1000-1300," *Bulletin of the Burma Historical Commission* (Rangoon) 1.1 (1960): 52-53.

<sup>37</sup> Aung-Thwin, *Pagan* 194.

*Mahādān* literally means “great gift.” Aung-Thwin himself has explained that the *mahādān* lands include not only the land given by a king to a member of the Sangha but also that given to a royal relative or to an official as a “great gift.” (The *mahādān* land is different from the land a member or the royalty or officialdom received as his/her perquisites.)<sup>38</sup> Therefore, it is necessary to consider whether Kīlacwā’s intention was to confiscate the *mahādān* land from the religious institutions or from the royal relatives and the officials.

The inscription states that “King Kīlacwā took all the *mahādān* lands upstream and downstream when he ascended the throne...” As the land Jeyyaswat (a royal official) had donated to a forest monastery during Nātoṃmyā’s reign was among those lands, the monks told the king: “... this *mahādān* land of Jeyyaswat had been donated to the temple/stupa of the forest monastery.” Then the king ordered his stepfather and five royal officials to investigate. After the investigation, they reported to the king that they found the dedication to be valid. Then, “the king poured libation water in front of all the ministers, saying: ‘If it is true that my father had given this *mahādān* land to Jeyyaswat, and if it is true that Jeyyaswat had donated it to the temple/stupa of the forest monastery, then I also donate it.’”<sup>39</sup> (The inscription was apparently inscribed by Jeyyaswat when he made more donations.) Thus, the inscription does not state that Kīlacwā confiscated the land, but that it was among the lands Kīlacwā confiscated. When Kīlacwā found out that Jeyyaswat had already donated the *mahādān* land (given to him by the previous king) to the forest monastery (before it was confiscated), Kīlacwā made no attempt to confiscate it. The donation was ratified.

Than Tun cited two other inscriptions that record the land disputes between the crown and the Sangha.<sup>40</sup> One of them records how an official donated the land he had received from King Nātoṃmyā; and how Kīlacwā ordered another official to investigate as to the ownership

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<sup>38</sup> Aung-Thwin, *Pagan* 109, 136.

<sup>39</sup> *RMK* 1.160, lines 14-16.

<sup>40</sup> Than Tun, *Khet-hoiṃ*: 175; *idem*, “History of Buddhism” 87, note 13; and *idem*, “Religion in Burma” 62.

of it, saying: “Let (? the temple/monastery) have [the land] if it should.”<sup>41</sup> According to the other inscription, King Uccanā confiscated the land at Paṅklī in AD 1256 and passed away soon afterwards. Two hundred *pay* out of the land had been donated to a forest monastery before this confiscation. The monks reported to King Narathihapate through an official Sariy, who was the king’s father-in-law. The king ratified the donation and ordered Sariy (?) to make the boundary posts firmly so that no religious lands would “enter crown lands” (i.e. so that the religious lands and crown lands would not be mixed up).<sup>42</sup> Here, too, the original owner was not a monk. Thus, none of these records really proves that the kings’ intentions were to confiscate the land from religious establishments.

Curiously, although Jeyyaswat’s inscription states that Klacwā “took all the *mahādān* lands,” it is the only extant inscription mentioning the incident. If Klacwā confiscated all the *mahādān* lands from the religious institutions, he certainly would have ratified many other donations like he did with Jeyyaswat’s donation. And, the monks and the donors would have recorded the ratifications to avoid future confiscations. Hence, there should be many more inscriptions mentioning this incident. Why weren’t they alarmed? One possibility is that the religious lands were not included in Klacwā’s confiscation. The *mahādān* lands donated to the Sangha might not be treated in the same way as those given to the elite; they might be treated as *wat mliy* (glebe lands) (the *sit-tans* also use this word).<sup>43</sup> Another possibility is that Klacwā ratified the donations of all the *mahādān* lands donated to the religion; and the monks and the donors were not concerned about it because it was not unusual. Klacwā’s intention might have been to conduct crown audits to assess the extents of tax-exempt *mahādān* lands and revenue-yielding crown lands.<sup>44</sup> In later times, there were the *sit-tans* (lit. “inquest”) in

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<sup>41</sup> *RMK* 3.42.

<sup>42</sup> *RMK* 2.96, lines 1-16.

<sup>43</sup> Sometimes *wat lay* is used if the glebe lands were paddy lands.

<sup>44</sup> Trager and Koenig, *Burmese Sit-Tans* 47. See also the discussion on how the status of religious lands could deteriorate either because the cultivators often left them vacant or because people misappropriated them. *Ibid.*, 48.

which each of the local authorities had to record “the boundaries of his jurisdiction, the customary taxes and services, glebe and service lands,” etc. to submit to the court.<sup>45</sup>

Therefore, it does not seem that Kīacwā’s intention was to confiscate religious lands. However, it is impossible even to say that his intention was to confiscate the *mahādān* lands the previous kings had granted to the elite.<sup>46</sup> We do not know whether the new king customarily ratified such grants made by his predecessors.

Although one of the reasons why King Dhammacetī (1472-1492) purified the Sangha probably was to confiscate religious lands, there is no sufficient evidence to accept Than Tun and Aung-Thwin’s conclusion that Pagan kings were trying to confiscate the tax-exempt religious lands.

#### 4.1.2. Slaves

Narapatisithu and Nātoīmyā’s attempt to expand cultivated land enormously from the close of the 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards very probably was prompted by a sharp increase in the kingdom’s workforce. The number of slaves donated to the religion soared from the last quarter of the 11<sup>th</sup> century onwards. The proportion of the slaves donated in 1125-1175, 1175-1225 and 1225-1275 was 1:7:19.<sup>47</sup> This sudden increase in the workforce probably was mainly caused by the migration of Indians fleeing the Muslim invasion.

Contemporary Myanmar inscriptions reveal the existence of a large number of Indians in Myanmar in the latter half of the Pagan period. “Of all the peoples, native or non-

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<sup>45</sup> Trager and Koenig, *Burmese Sit-Tans* 5.

<sup>46</sup> See Aung-Thwin, *Pagan* 109-10, 136, 147.

<sup>47</sup> The proportion of those donated in 1100-1150, 1150-1200 and 1200-1250 is 1:7:24. Note that one cannot rely heavily on these figures because there are very few inscriptions set up before AD 1050. These figures are based on Aung-Thwin’s data. Aung-Thwin, *Pagan* 187, Table 1.



native to Burma,” Luce remarks, “the one most commonly mentioned by far in these inscriptions is the *kulā*, or Indians.”<sup>48</sup>

Some Indians were among the witnesses.<sup>49</sup> An Indian named Sudinahiy is among the witnesses referred to as *skhiñ*.<sup>50</sup> Whether he was a monk or an official, however, is not known. An inscription refers to a rich Indian.<sup>51</sup> Another inscription mentions an Indian village.<sup>52</sup> The majority of the Indians, however, are mentioned as slaves.

It is, however, impossible to estimate the percentage of Indians among the slaves even roughly. Since the names of the Indians would be in several Indian dialects or derived from them, it is impossible to trace their etymology without knowing those dialects.

However, it can be learnt from an inscription that the most noticeable difference between native names and foreign names is that the native names are almost always preceded by *Ñā-* (for males) and *Uiw-* (for females), whereas foreign names are not. However, some natives had Indo-Aryan names, while some foreign names are prefixed with *Ñā-* or *Uiw-*.<sup>53</sup> One of the reasons for this was because some natives would use Pali names as they were Buddhists,

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<sup>48</sup> G.H. Luce, “Note on the Peoples of Burma in the 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> Century A.D.,” *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon), 42.1 (1959): 70.

<sup>49</sup> *RMK* 1.127, line 15; *RMK* 3.96, lines 15-16.

<sup>50</sup> *RMK* 1.127, line 15.

<sup>51</sup> *RMK* 2.42a.

<sup>52</sup> *RMK* 3.52, line 3.

<sup>53</sup> This is clear from an inscription that refers to the slaves by race.

Names of Myanmar Slaves: *Ñā Myakmañ*, *Ñā Phunchuñ*, *Ñā Cū*, *Ñā Khaytpuñ*, *Ñā Plañwa Sañ*, *Ñā Siryak*, *Ñā Plañ*, *Ñā Sume*, *Ui’ Bu*, *Ui’ Phuncā*, *Tukay*, *Ui’ Lā*, *Ui’ Wañ*, *Maninchan*, *Ui’ Phlū*. *RMK* 1.134, lines 5-7.

Names of Indian Slaves: Male: *Ñā Mano*, *Ñā Phayā*, *Ñā Marā*, *Ñā Lūkā*, [Dha]mmarajā, Mathew, Mahānām, Sāguirra, Satthawārra, *Ñā Kittā*, *Ditā*, *Sumā*, *Cugato*, *Bañwā*, *Klasyā*, *Apyā*, *Dumā*, *Bilawā*. *Ibid.*, lines 12-14.

Names of Indian Slaves: Female: *Ui’ Brawā*, *Kaṃmroh*, *Ui’ Khuykhliy*, *Jambi*, *Siriwī*, *Yari*, *Nā(ci)*, *Caṃmray*, *Maladū*, *Lakkhī*, *Yāsari*, *Sarabī*, *Pārī*, *Siriyā*, *Yārī*, *Nīrū*, *Balakī*, *Ayo*, *Nāci*, *Nakami*, *Sunandī*, *Driwantī*, *Lakkhū*, *Sācī*, *Cassi*, *Lakkhū*, *Apā*, *Siriyā*, *Kawri*, *Dāri*, *Sabañkī*, *Rājū*, *Kantī*. *Ibid.*, lines 7-12.

and some foreigners would use Old Myanmar titles because they were in Myanmar. Another reason apparently was because of intermarriages.<sup>54</sup>

Nevertheless, the inscriptions that mention the word *kulā kywan* (Indian slaves) indicate that a considerable proportion of the slaves in Upper Myanmar, especially at Pagan, would have been Indians. There are twelve inscriptions which refer to slaves who certainly would have to work in Upper Myanmar and which also list these slaves by race; and 40% of slaves in those inscriptions were Indians (see Appendix 1). The following list shows the proportion of Indians and Myanmar among the slaves referred to as Pagan slaves (*pukamī kywan*).

Table 1.—Pagan Slaves Mentioned by Race

Number of Pagan Slaves	Indian Slaves		Reference	Date (AD)	Remarks
	No. of Slaves	Percentage			
78	62	79	<i>RMK</i> 1.134b, lines 5-14	1230	Total number of slaves is 108.
50	50	100	<i>RMK</i> 1.143, lines 15-22	1233	Total number of slaves is 85. All the slaves were artisans and craftsmen.
116	116	100	<i>RMK</i> 2.54a, line 21.	1248	Total number of slaves is 1,250 (?).
92	1	1	<i>RMK</i> 3.63b, lines 1-11	1275	<i>Kulā cākhī</i> .

In short, Pagan's economic growth resulted mainly from the expansion of cultivation very probably initiated by King Narapatisithu in the 1190s, and this expansion probably was propelled by a sudden increase in the workforce. As Aung-Thwin has suggested, the

<sup>54</sup> The list of slaves in an inscription indicates the intermarriages between natives and Indians:

“... Ṇā Puthay 1, wife Inta [cf. Skt. *Indrā*], son Ṇā Phuncā, ...” (here a man with OM title Ṇā- had a wife with an Indian name; and their son got a native name). *RMK* 2.77.

“... Ṇā Phunchum 1, wife Ratū [cf. Skt. *Ratū*], son Belan 1, younger brother Paykā, younger sister Kālī [cf. Skt. *Kālī*] 1, younger brother Ṇā Paṇyā 1 ...” (here the father had a native name, and the mother an Indian name; their offspring had foreign names). *Ibid*.

people's ardent support of the religion would have attracted manpower and stimulated the social and economic development.<sup>55</sup> However, it should be noted here that although the donations of both land and labor increased sharply in 1175-1225, a large proportion of the acreage of land donated by both Kings Narapatisithu and Nātoñmyā was not cultivated land. It therefore seems that the number of slaves increased before the economic growth resulted by the cultivation of expansion. A sharp increase of the slaves donated to the religion and the existence of many Indians among them suggest that a large number of Indians had immigrated. They probably were fleeing the Muslim incursions in the latter half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

#### 4.2. DECLINE OF PAGAN AND THE FLOW OF WEALTH TO THE SANGHA

Aung-Thwin argues how the gradual flow of wealth (mainly land and labor) to the tax-exempt religious sector was the main institutional cause of Pagan's decline because it had depleted the economic resources of the kingdom by the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, causing a shift in the focus of power from the royalty to the Sangha and its wealthy patrons.<sup>56</sup> He went so far as to say:

... when the rights to approximately 63% of the productive land and a significant amount of hereditary labor became the *sañgha*'s by the late thirteenth century, a "critical mass" was reached, whereby a weakened state and a wealthy *sañgha* presented a tempting target for the Mongols....<sup>57</sup>

First, it is difficult to agree that the Mongols who, in Aung-Thwin's own words, "had become the most dominant military force [in Asia by this time], ruling the largest land empire of the time, threatening virtually all of Asia and even parts of western Europe ...," attacked Pagan because it was weakened by the flow of wealth to the religious institutions.

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<sup>55</sup> Aung-Thwin, *Pagan* 169-198.

<sup>56</sup> Aung-Thwin, *Pagan* 168-198.

<sup>57</sup> Michael A. Aung-Thwin, *Myth and History in the Historiography of Early Burma: Paradigms, Primary Sources, and Prejudices*, Monographs in International Studies, Southeast Asia Studies, no. 102 (Athens: Ohio UP, 1998), 64.

Aung-Thwin's theory would be acceptable if there is an indication that Pagan's economy declined before the Mongol invasion. He has collected the amount of land and labor donated to the Sangha during the Pagan period. The chart in his article "The Role of *Sasana* Reform in Burmese History" shows that the donation of land decreased from 50,048 *pay* in 1249-1274 to 30,556 *pay* in 1275-1301.<sup>58</sup> The list in his *Pagan: the Origins of Modern Burma*, however, gives the amount of land donated in 1250-1275 and 1275-1300 as 35,426 *pay* and 20,940 *pay* respectively.<sup>59</sup> Thus, according to the first list, the period of decline overlapped with the Mongol invasion and the subsequent rebellions. In contrast, the later list indicates that the amount of donations decreased sharply in 1250-1275 (to 35,426 *pay* from 67,296.5 *pay* in 1225-1250); so Pagan's economic decline began before the Mongol invasion. These figures demonstrate how one can reach to very different conclusions just by slightly changing the way one groups the data. As the amount of land donated varied greatly from one donation to another—from a few *pay* to over twenty thousand *pay*, we cannot rely heavily on these data to determine whether Pagan's economy began to decline before or after 1283.

Aung-Thwin himself fairly gives another list in 50-year periods and discusses how the donations gradually increased, reaching a peak in the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and began to decline at the close of the Pagan period. He gives the total area of paddy land that had been donated by the 13<sup>th</sup> century as 208,222.5 *pay* (364,389 acres), i.e. 63% of total irrigated paddy land in Upper Myanmar (which according to his estimate was 570,465 acres).<sup>60</sup>

So, how reliable are these estimates? That the total acreage of paddy land was 570,465 acres might be an underestimate. Lieberman has pointed out that the total cultivated acreage of Upper Myanmar in 1885 was 3,000,000 and expressed that Aung-Thwin's earlier estimate of 460,000 acres as the total cultivated acreage in Upper Myanmar was far too low

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<sup>58</sup> Michael Aung Thwin, "The Role of *Sasana* Reform in Burmese History: Economic Dimensions of a Religious Purification," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 37.4 (1979): 67, Table 1.

<sup>59</sup> Aung-Thwin, *Pagan* 187, Table 1.

<sup>60</sup> Aung-Thwin, *Pagan* 187, Table 1, 191, Table 2.

even for the end of the Pagan period.<sup>61</sup> Furthermore, Aung-Thwin's estimate is based only on major irrigation works. Some donations seem to include private irrigation works.<sup>62</sup> During the British occupation, "a multitude of small private irrigation works," existed throughout the Shwebo district.<sup>63</sup> Brown also explains how the irrigations works were constructed and managed by the local people in the Lower Chindwin district in 1911.<sup>64</sup>

On the other hand, Aung-Thwin must have overestimated the acreage of paddy land donated during the Pagan period.<sup>65</sup> Than Tun gives the area of total cultivated land donated to the religion as 35,681 *pay* (62,441 acres), of which 24,085 *pay* (42,149 acres) was paddy land.<sup>66</sup> The discrepancy, as Aung-Thwin has suspected, might be partly due to the fact that Than Tun's data do not include the inscriptions found in 1962-1963 as well as those that are not considered original. Aung-Thwin pointed out that the Pagan-period donations in two inscriptions (*RMK* 1.41 and *RMK* 1.52) "totaled over 65,956 acres [about 37,689 *pay*], already over Than Tun's entire estimate."<sup>67</sup>

In both of these inscriptions, the donors discriminated the land they donated between *mliy* (land), *lai/lay* (paddy land) and *ryā/rā* (dry-crop land). Apparently, Than Tun does not include the amount of land referred to as *mliy* in estimating the acreage of cultivated land. As

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<sup>61</sup> Victor B. Lieberman, *Burmese Administrative Cycles: Anarchy and Conquest, c. 1580-1760* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1984) 180, n. 163.

<sup>62</sup> Several irrigation works were donated together with the paddy land donated in AD 1233. *RMK* 1.143, lines 4-12. See also *RMK* 1.95, line 8; *RMK* 1.160, lines 26-30; *RMK* 2.56a, lines 24-27; *RMK* 3.60, line 21; *RMK* 3.73, lines 11-16.

<sup>63</sup> A. Williamson, *Burma Gazetteer, Shwebo District* (Rangoon: Government Printing, 1929; reprint 1963), Vol. A, 116.

<sup>64</sup> G.E.R. Grant Brown, *Burma Gazetteer, Lower Chindwin District* (Rangoon: Government Printing, 1911; reprint 1960), Vol. A, 99.

<sup>65</sup> I cannot afford the time it would take to make a complete list of the donations made during the Pagan period. Nevertheless, the way Aung-Thwin has used two inscriptions for his data clearly points to the fact that he has overestimated the paddy acreage donated to the religion. See discussion below.

<sup>66</sup> Than Tun, *Khet-hoi*: 181.

<sup>67</sup> Aung-Thwin, *Pagan*, Chapter 9, note 3. Note that Aung-Thwin uses page numbers for these inscriptions.

discussed above (pages 75-78), out of a total of about 37,000 *pay* of land donated by these two kings, at least about 28,500 *pay* (77%) very likely was wasteland; only 5,713 *pay* (or about 15.5%) is referred to as paddy land. If all the land donated was paddy land, the donors would not be referring to some as *mliy/mliytam* (land) and some as *lay* (paddy land), etc. However, Aung Thwin regards the land merely referred to as *mliy/mliytam* (“land”) also as cultivated.

Moreover, Aung-Thwin suggests that about 95% of the land donated to the Sangha “was productive, revenue-yielding *padi* land, called *lay*,” and says: “Even Than Tun’s low figures in *Khit Haung* show that 95 percent were *lay* (or *padi*).”<sup>68</sup> However, Than Tun makes no mention of the total acreage of land donated to the religion. According to Than Tun’s estimate, 68% of the total cultivated acreage of land donated was paddy.<sup>69</sup> Moreover, the donations made during Narathihapate’s reign include land from Lower Myanmar (see above); and some well-known localities in Lower Myanmar (such as *pusim* [Pathein], *tala* [Dala], etc.) can be identified easily. However, the land from many localities that cannot be identified would be included in Aung-Thwin’s data.<sup>70</sup> Hence, it is impossible to compare the acreage of land donated with the acreage of irrigated land in Upper Myanmar.

Therefore, Aung-Thwin’s estimation that 63% of total irrigated paddy land had become religious land by the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century is not acceptable. Even though it is difficult to conclude that the transfer of wealth to the Sangha was the main cause of Pagan’s decline, the fact that Pagan did not recover from the effects of the Mongol invasion might be

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<sup>68</sup> Aung-Thwin, *Pagan* 187, Chapter 3, note 4.

<sup>69</sup> He only gives the total acreage of cultivated land: *lay* (paddy land), *ryā* (land under dry cultivation), *kuiñ* (alluvial land) and *uyan* (gardens). His figures show that a total acreage of cultivated land was 63,155.37 acres (35,681 *pay*), of which 68% or 42,620.45 acres (24,085 *pay*) was paddy land. Then he speculates: “The area of paddy land [donated to the religion] was 24,805 [*sic.*] *pay* or about 42,620.45 acres. So the total acreage of paddy land [in Myanmar] would have been 127,861.35 acres, if one-third of the total cultivated acreage [in Myanmar] was religious land.” Than Tun, *Khet-hoiñ*: 181.

<sup>70</sup> I do not think it is possible to identify even one fourth of all the place names mentioned in the inscriptions.

due to the kings' mismanagement of state's resources. We have to remember that these donations appear to be the only (or) the most important reason for Pagan's decline mainly because almost all the contemporary records are donative inscriptions. There might have been some other reasons.

It is necessary to take into consideration that the three brothers, whose seizure of power marked the demise of the Pagan dynasty, had been the ministers of the last Pagan kings, and that all the rebellions in the Pagan period were led by princes and officials. Furthermore, a large majority of the donations were made by the royalty and officialdom. Therefore, first, we cannot ignore the transfer of state's resources to the royal relatives and the officials.<sup>71</sup> As the inscriptions only record what they were donating, not what they had received, we do not know the amount of land or the number of slaves they had received from the state. (Some inscriptions mention how the donors had received the land and slaves they were donating from the kings or had inherited from their ancestors who must have received them from earlier kings.) Nevertheless, the amount of land they were receiving from the state would have been considerable. In AD 1242, Narapatisithu's daughter-in-law (Gaṅgasū's wife) donated 300 *pay* out of 2,000 *pay* of *mahādān* land she had probably inherited from her husband.<sup>72</sup> Princess Acawkrwam donated 3,779 *pay* of paddy land and 12,500 slaves in AD 1248.<sup>73</sup> In 1275, another donor explained that the land and slaves she was donating were out of 5,000 slaves and 5,000 *pay* of paddy land given to her by the king.<sup>74</sup> Also note that 60% of all the crown lands around Shwebo were "eaten" by princess and officials just before the British annexation.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> According to Aung-Thwin, the number of donations made by the royalty, officialdom and by the commoners between AD 1110 and 1250 was 41(20%), 122 (55%) and 57 (25%), respectively. Aung-Thwin, *Pagan*, Chapter 8, note 8.

<sup>72</sup> *RMK* 2.22, line 23.

<sup>73</sup> *RMK* 2.54a, lines 21-22.

<sup>74</sup> *RMK* 3.63a, lines 26-28.

<sup>75</sup> Williamson, *Burma Gazetteer—Shwebo District* 203.

Moreover, the kings gave some localities as appanages to the members of the royalty and officialdom. This could not only cause a prince or an official who held a prosperous town to become economically quite independent, but would also provide him with a base to raise an army if he was charismatic; and hence, he might be tempted to try to secede or even to seize the throne. Thus, there could have been several reasons for Pagan's decline, which require a thorough study in the future. As for now, we only know that the Mongol invasion was the immediate cause of Pagan's decline.

To conclude, Pagan's economy developed sharply with the expansion of cultivation from the close of the 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards. This expansion probably was mainly prompted by the influx of immigrant Indians fleeing the Muslim incursions. The Mongol invasion of 1283-84 weakened Pagan's economy and disturbed the stability. The power gradually shifted to the hands of the three brothers—who were the ministers of the last Pagan kings and who held Myinzaing, Makkhara and Pinle (all around Kyaukse) as appanages.



## 5. BUDDHIST SECTS I

### What Were the Different Buddhist Sects?

The study of the Myanmar Sangha of the Pagan period is the study of the different Buddhist sects of Pagan, which together formed the Buddhist Sangha as a whole. The Sangha of Pagan can be divided into different sects or groups corresponding to the monks' lineage traditions and the vocations they pursued.

The Myanmar chronicles divide the Buddhist Sangha of Pagan into the *Arahanta Sangha* and the *Sīhala Sangha*,<sup>1</sup> based on the different lineage traditions of the monks. The Arahanta Sangha consisted of monks whose teacher-pupil lineages can be traced back to Arahan (the founder of the Myanmar Sangha according to tradition), whose lineage tradition, in turn, can be traced back to Soṇa and Uttara (the missionaries sent to Suvāṇṇabhūmi by Moggaliputta Tissa, the leader of the Third Buddhist Synod). However, Arahan's lineage tradition is very vague. His accounts given in the earlier works on which the Myanmar chroniclers based their works do not agree with one another: one version states that Arahan belonged to a Brahmana family and came to Pagan without giving information concerning where he came from, while another version says that he came from Sri Lanka to Lower Myanmar and then to Śrī Kṣetra; the last version, however, states that he belonged to the lineage of the above-mentioned Soṇa and Uttara and that he came from Thaton in Lower Myanmar.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkramaṁ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātama*: [History of Buddhism], edited by Khin Soe *et al.* (Yangon: Hanthawady Press, 1956) 98; and Bimala Churn Law, trans., *The History of the Buddha's Religion (Sāsanavaṃsa)*, vol. 57 of *Sacred Books of the Buddhists* (London: Luzac & Co. Ltd., 1952) 74 (hereafter *Sāsanavaṃsa*)

<sup>2</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkramaṁ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātama*: 82-91.

The Sīhala Sangha consisted of the monks whose lineage traditions can be traced, through the monks who had received ordination in Sri Lanka, to Mahinda (the son of Asoka and the leader of the mission sent to Sri Lanka by Moggaliputta Tissa). As the *theras* of the missions sent after the Third Buddhist Synod are believed to have had an unbroken line of succession from the time of the Buddha, so also did the Myanmar monks who were their descendants.

The Arahanta Sangha, since it was established in Pagan first, was called the *Purima Sangha* “the Former Order,” while the latter, the Sīhala Sangha, as it was established later, was named the *Pacchima Sangha* “The Latter Order.” The chroniclers believe that the Sīhala Sangha or the Pacchima Sangha in Pagan was established by Chappada, a Mon monk from Lower Myanmar who received ordination in Sri Lanka and studied there, and the four monks who accompanied Chappada on his return to Pagan at the close of the 12<sup>th</sup> century AD. This sect later separated, according to the chronicles, into three different sects, founded by Sīwali, Ānanda and Tāmalinda, who came to Pagan together with Chappada.<sup>3</sup>

### 5.1. TITLES OF REFERENCE AND NAMES

None of the inscriptions ever refers to Arahanta or Sīhala Sangha. However, references in the inscriptions to monks with different titles highlight the fact that they belonged to different sects.

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<sup>3</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkramṇ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātam*: 96-98; *Sāsanavaṃsa* 74.

### 5.1.1. Monks (*Bhikkhu Sangha*)

The Buddhist Order (*saṅghā*<sup>4</sup> or *arā saṅghā*<sup>5</sup>) consisted of monks (*saṅghā*,<sup>6</sup> *rahan*,<sup>7</sup> *rahan saṅghā*<sup>8</sup> or *skhiñ ariyā*<sup>9</sup>) and nuns. The monks of the Pagan period can be categorized as follows: *mahāthera* (or its variants *mahāther*,<sup>10</sup> *mahāthe*,<sup>11</sup> *mahāthi*,<sup>12</sup> *mahāthī*, or *mathi*<sup>13</sup>) or *saṅghāthī* (or its variants *saṅkathī*,<sup>14</sup> *saṅkāthī*,<sup>15</sup> or *saṅkhathi*<sup>16</sup>), *thera*<sup>17</sup> (or its variants *ther*, *the*), *anuthī*,<sup>18</sup> *pancañ*,<sup>19</sup> and *sāmaṇe*,<sup>20</sup> which derived from Sanskrit/Pali *mahāthera*, *saṅghathera*, *anuthera*, *pañcaṅga* and *sāmaṇera* respectively. More commonly used, however, were two different sets of Myanmar titles. The first was those with *Saṅi-* (namely *Saṅkrī*, *Saṅlyañ* and *Saṅi*), which undoubtedly derived from Old Mon *sañ* (< Sanskrit/Pali *saṅgha*). The second was those with Old Myanmar *Phun-* (> Modern Myanmar *bhun*):

*Phunmlatkrīcwā* (sometimes abbreviated to *Mlatkrīcwā*, *Phunmlatkrī* or *Mlatkrī*), *Phunmlatsa*

<sup>4</sup> Nyein Maung, *Rhe:hoñ: Mrammā Kyokcāmyā*: [Old Myanmar Inscriptions], vols. 1-5 (Yangon: Archaeology Department, 1972-1998): 1.5, line 8; and 1.21, line 21. (hereafter *RMK*)

<sup>5</sup> *RMK* 1.180, line 24; *RMK* 1.60, line 4.

<sup>6</sup> *RMK* 1.42, lines 11, 12; and *RMK* 1.109, lines 15, 16. Spelt *saṅkhā* in *RMK* 1.17, line 14.

<sup>7</sup> *RMK* 1.5, line 4; *RMK* 1.6b, line 13; *RMK* 1.96a, line 33; and *RMK* 1.132, lines 10-11.

<sup>8</sup> *RMK* 1.52, lines 19, 36.

<sup>9</sup> *RMK* 1.97a, line 21.

<sup>10</sup> *RMK* 1.21, line 20-21.

<sup>11</sup> *RMK* 1.5, line 8.

<sup>12</sup> *RMK* 1.19, line 8.

<sup>13</sup> *RMK* 1.19, line 3.

<sup>14</sup> *RMK* 1.140, line 9.

<sup>15</sup> *RMK* 1.126a, lines 12-13.

<sup>16</sup> *RMK* 1.11, line 9.

<sup>17</sup> *RMK* 1.16, lines 17, 18, 29; and *RMK* 1.32, line 9.

<sup>18</sup> *RMK* 1.19, line 15.

<sup>19</sup> *RMK* 1.96a, line 33.

<sup>20</sup> *RMK* 1.96a, line 33.

or *Phunmlatso* (sometimes abbreviated to *Mlatsa* or *Mlatso*), and *Phunsañ*. Besides, *Skhiñ*, a Myanmar word meaning “lord,” often, and *Sukhamin*, meaning “a learned person,” sometimes, replace any of these titles. Moreover, *Ñā*, the Myanmar title usually prefixed to the names of laymen, was also used for monks with Tibeto-Burman names, occasionally together with another title, e.g. *Ñā Tapa*,<sup>21</sup> *Phunmlatso Skhiñ Mahāthī Ñā Rañ Sañ*,<sup>22</sup> *Phunsañ Ñā Wañ Sañ*,<sup>23</sup> etc.

Some of the *Sañkrī* and *(Phun)mlatkrī(cwā)* or *Skhiñ* must have been *mahātheras* as there are references to *Sañgrī Mahāther*,<sup>24</sup> *Phunmlatkrīcwā Samantaphatrā Mahāthera*,<sup>25</sup> *Skhiñ Mahāthī Ñā Tit Sañ*,<sup>26</sup> etc. But some were not, as the phrase *mahāther kloñ mlatkrī bhattasin* (“*Mlatkrī Bhattasin* of *Mahāther*’s monastery”) suggests.<sup>27</sup>

As King Kyansittha poured libation water in the presence of *Sañgrī Mahāther*, *Sañgrī Moggaliputatissatther*, *Sañgrī Sumedhapaṇḍit*, *Sañgrī Brahmapāl*, *Sañgrī Brahmadiw*, *Sañgrī Son*, and *Sañgrī Sañghasenawarapaṇḍit*,<sup>28</sup> these monks must have been the most important monks in his reign, if not his preceptors, although they are not referred to in the inscriptions as *mañ charyā* (royal preceptors). In fact, none of the monks with *Sañ* titles were referred to as *mañ charyā*, and many royal preceptors had the compound *Mañ Charyā* itself and the word *Skhiñ* (used by both *Sañ* and *Phun* monks) as titles of reference.

Monks with *Phun* titles appear in inscriptions from the latter half of the reign of King Alaungsithu (1113-1161) and became increasingly popular in later periods. *Mlatkrīcwā Khaytoñ*, who was the earliest monk referred to as a royal preceptor, made donations in

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<sup>21</sup> *RMK* 1.55, lines 5-6.

<sup>22</sup> *RMK* 1.140, line 2 (below).

<sup>23</sup> *RMK* 1.15, line 6.

<sup>24</sup> *RMK* 1.2a, lines 22-23.

<sup>25</sup> *RMK* 3.57, line 4.

<sup>26</sup> *RMK* 3.11, line 2.

<sup>27</sup> *RMK* 3.96, lines 12-13.

<sup>28</sup> *RMK* 1.2a, lines 21-26.

AD 1169, during the reign of King Imtawsyañ (?1163-1165).<sup>29</sup> Other *mañ charyā* had the titles *Mlatkrī*, *Phunmlatkrī*, *Phunmlatkrīcwā* or *Skhiñ*. Even when later royal preceptors are not referred to with their titles of reference, their names indicate that some of them certainly were *(Phun)mlatkrī(cwā)* or were connected with *Phun* monks.

This indicates that *Sañgrī* and *(Phun)mlatkrī(cwā)* were of the same grade. Thus *(Phun)mlatso* or *(Phun)mlatso* and *Phunsañ* must have been of the same rank as *Sañlyañ* and *Sañ*, respectively. *(Phun)mlatkrī(cwā)*, *(Phun)mlatso* (or *[Phun]mlatso*) and *Phunsañ* and *Sañkrī*, *Sañlyañ* and *Sañ* must have been the titles of *mahāthī*, *thera* and *anuthī*, and *pancañ*. *Mlatso* or *mlatso*, which literally means “noble,” in some instances were probably used as ordinary adjectives rather than as titles of respect.

Very rarely, monks with *Phun* titles and those with *Sañ* titles took part in the same ceremonies.<sup>30</sup> Part of the reason was because *Sañ* was also used to denote all the monks, or sometimes the junior monks of a monastery in contrast with *thera*.<sup>31</sup>

It should be noted here that the titles *Sañkrī*, *Sañlyañ* and *Sañ* were sometimes also prefixed to the names of laypersons, probably administrative officials; *Skhiñ* was affixed to the names of the members of the royalty and some royal officials; and *Phunsañ* to some laypersons. Therefore, it is in some instances impossible to know for certain whether the person with one of these prefixes mentioned in an inscription was a monk or a layperson; hence it is quite impossible to compile a complete list of monks referred to in the inscriptions. A list of monks and nuns mentioned in the inscriptions belonging to AD 1000-1300 has been made (see Appendix 2); but the list includes some names that could either have been monks/nuns or laypersons.

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<sup>29</sup> *RMK* 1.16, lines 1-2.

<sup>30</sup> *RMK* 1.103; *RMK* 1.177; *RMK* 2.41; *RMK* 2.90; and *RMK* 2.113.

<sup>31</sup> *RMK* 1.35a, line 29. The monks in general are referred to collectively as *sañ*, *sañghā/sañkhā*, *aryā*, *aryā sañghā/sañkhā*, *sañ* or *sañ aryā*.

### 5.1.1.1. References in the Chronicles and Monks Connected with Sri Lanka

References to some of the most important monks of the Pagan period in the *Sāsanavaṃsa* and the *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātāma*: provide useful information about the monks connected either with the Mons or with Sri Lanka and other Southeast Asian countries. The *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātāma*: states how Shin Arahan was well-versed in the four *Vedas* even before he was a novice, how he was well-versed in the *Tipiṭaka* and the commentaries after he was novitiated, how, because of his fame, people invited him to *Sokkatai* (Sukhothai), where he stayed for more than ten years, how he returned to Thaton and lived as a forest monk (*araññāvāsī*), how he came to Pagan, converting King Aniruddha to Theravada Buddhism with a single sermon, who offered him a forest monastery at Nyaung-Oo,<sup>32</sup> persecuted the priests of his old faith, and conquered Thaton to loot the Buddhist canon. Thus, Buddhism was introduced to Pagan.

As has been stated above (pages 14-16), this is very likely a legend in which the leader of the Sangha during the reign of King Kyansittha (1084-1113), and also probably of King Aniruddha (1044-1077), is the central figure. The Mon inscription recording the construction of King Kyansittha's palace in 1102, however, refers to Shin Arahan. Luce's study from this inscription regarding the Buddhist ceremony that took place when the new palace was built may be cited here:

Buddhism in this inscription yields pride of place to Vaiṣṇava Brahmanism, Nāga-worship, and other rites. Buddhist monks were called, in particular, to recite protective charms (*paritta*) round all the buildings, especially the throne-room. On Feb. 28<sup>th</sup> 1102 "offerings were made to Indra and all the devas," likewise to "all the images of Buddha which are in this city of Pagan". The main Buddhist ceremonies took place on March 1<sup>st</sup> to 2<sup>nd</sup>, when, after worship of *Nār* (Viṣṇu), the *mahāthera Arahan* arrived with seven leading monks and spread lotus leaves on all the spots where the holes for the various posts were to be dug. Four thousand monks were distributed outside, under eight leaders in the reciting of the *parit*. Inside there were 108 principal monks, headed by Arahan. Near the east porch of the "Great Hall" (which seems here to include the Throne-room), a sanctuary was made for gold images of the Buddha and *Gavaṃpati*, and for a set of the *Tipiṭaka* (Vinaya, Sutta and Abhidhamma). Drums and trumpets were sounded in honor of the Buddha, Gavaṃpati, and all the 4108 monks headed by

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<sup>32</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkrahā, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātāma*: 88, 91.

Arahan. The officials reverently asked for the ‘Refuges’ (*saraṇasīl*), the *parit*, and the *maṅgal* (blessing) to be recited within, without, and all around. Arahan stood at the west side, facing the Buddha on the east, commanding (one imagines) the whole of the Great Pavilion. He held in his hand a right-voluted conch-shell (symbol of Viṣṇu), as he gave the ‘Refuges’, all the 4108 monks within and without remaining standing.<sup>33</sup>

Thus, this inscription corroborates the statement in the *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātam*: that Shin Arahan was well-versed in the Vedas. He was greatly influenced by Brahmanism. He was holding a symbol of Viṣṇu even when reciting a Buddhist formula. It is also possible that he was a Mon monk from Lower Myanmar as Buddhism of the Dvāravatī Mons was greatly influenced by Brahmanism.

The recitation of the *paritta* (OM *parit*, *paruit*), on the other hand, indicates Sri Lankan influence (see 3.2.4 [above]). It is also revealed that Arahan was the leader of the unified Buddhist Sangha during Kyansittha’s reign (1084-1113). If there were different sects, the inscription should mention the names of the leaders of all the different sects. As Kyansittha poured libation water in front of the seven *Saṅgrī* when his son made donations, Arahan must have belonged to the *Saṅ* monks. Among those monks, Saṅgrī Mahāther probably was Shin Arahan. However, it is interesting to note that the *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātam*: refers to Arahan as a forest monk.

The *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātam*: also describes how Chappada and the four monks who accompanied him on his return to Pagan from Sri Lanka (Sīwali, Tāmalinda, Ānanda and Rāhula) formed a new sect—the Sihala Sangha. It also mentions that Sīwali, Tāmalinda and Ānanda later formed their own separate sects.

Moreover, this chronicle also states that Nā Cwayrhaṅ, aka Paṅsakūkṛī:, Poloirhaṅ Kassapa and Sumedha were regarded as *arahats*.<sup>34</sup> The statement in the *Sāsanālaṅkāra*

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<sup>33</sup> Gordon H. Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagan*, 3 vols., Artibus Asiae, Supplementum 25 (New York: J.J. Augustin Publisher, 1969-1970) 1: 69.

<sup>34</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkramaṅ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātam*: 112; and *Sāsanavaṃsa* 76. The *Sāsanavaṃsa* gives the name of Paṅsukūkṛī: and Kassapa as Silabuddha and Polloṅka, respectively. Ibid., 76.

*Cātam*: that Paṅsukūkrī: belonged to the lineage of Arahan is quite unlikely,<sup>35</sup> because he was a *Phunmlatso* whereas Arahan was connected with *Saṅ* monks, and also because the same work refers to Arahan as a forest monk too.

Ānanda, Sīwali and Tāmalinda of Chappada's mission were probably the same as Ānanda, Mlatsa Chiryā Sīwali, and Mlatkrī Tāmalin of the inscriptions, all of whom were connected with forest dwellers (see 6. Buddhist Sects II [below]). Paṅsukūkrī and Kassapa were none other than Phunmlasso Paṅsakū<sup>36</sup> or Paṅsakūkrī,<sup>37</sup> and Phunmlatkrīcwā Mahākassapa (who is also referred to as Poṅloṅrhaṅ),<sup>38</sup> both royal preceptors. Among them, Skhiṅ Paṅsakūkrī's name suggests that he was a *paṅsūkūlika* (see 5.2.2 [below]). Kassapa or Mahākassapa is mentioned in the inscriptions as a forest monk.

Furthermore, Than Tun believes that a mission of monks under the leadership of Subhūticanda and Dhammasiri, royal preceptors, was sent to study in Sri Lanka between AD 1237 and 1248.<sup>39</sup> An inscription records that these two monks together with Phunmlatkrīcwā Mahākassapa acted as witnesses to a dedication.<sup>40</sup> Therefore, it is clear that monks with *Phun* titles were not only connected with Sri Lanka, but that some of them were connected with forest monasteries.

What is important here is that all the monks connected with Sri Lanka or with other Southeast Asian countries in the *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātam*: or whom the author of this work held in high esteem, except Arahan, are referred to in the inscriptions as *Mlatkrī*, *Phunmlatkrīcwā*, etc. or *Skhiṅ*. None of them had the *Saṅ* titles prefixed to their names. Therefore, it can be

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<sup>35</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkraṅ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātam*: 113. Was he, originally a *Saṅ* monk who changed his vocation later?

<sup>36</sup> *RMK* 1.164, line 6.

<sup>37</sup> *RMK* 2.49, line 8.

<sup>38</sup> *RMK* 1.180, line 7.

<sup>39</sup> Than Tun, "History of Buddhism in Burma, A.D. 1000-1300," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 61.1-2 (1978): 24.

<sup>40</sup> Than Tun, "History of Buddhism," 122; and *RMK* 2.77.



concluded that the monks with *Phun* titles belonged to the sect or sects established after Pagan's contacts with Sri Lanka as a result of Aniruddha's conquest of Lower Myanmar that gave the Myanmars control over the coastal regions.

Apart from having different titles, the *Saṅ* and *Phun* monks were dwelling in separate localities. The provenance of the inscriptions connected with them shows that Myinkaba in Pagan was the stronghold of the *Saṅ* monks while they had some monasteries in other places in Pagan, Chauk-Sale-Yenangyaung, and Yamethin areas. The *Phun* monks, however, had their strongholds at Minnanthu and Pwasaw in Pagan, and in Chaung-Oo, Kyaukse, Shwebo-Wetlet areas and also had some influence in Pokokku-Myingyan area. Even when both *Saṅ* and *Phun* monks settled in the same area, they generally did not dwell in the same village. The different sects are thus identified by different titles and associated with different locales .

None of the inscriptions of Pagan mention the town or village dwellers. However, the use of the word *taw kloṅ* in contrast with other monasteries suggests that there were town dwellers who, like nowadays, were regarded as ordinary monks. Interestingly, Myinkaba, the stronghold of the *Saṅ* monks, was an old village where King Aniruddha is said to have relocated his captive Mon king together with his retinue and very probably with other Mon captives. In contrast, Minnanthu and Pwasaw, the area of *Phun* monks, as they were named after the names of the donors of famous edifices around there, became villages only after the monks and their slaves had settled there. This indicates that the *Saṅ* monks were more inclined to town/village residence and the *Phun* monks to forest life.

However, when a donor built three monasteries in AD 1242, she listed her donations as: 1) "the monastery [built] at the site of the house where she and her husband, the lord, had lived," 2) "the forest monastery of Mahākassapa" (probably a building at the monastery complex of Mahākassapa), and 3) "the monastery [built] at the site of the house of Ui Thakplaṅsaṅ, the king's aunt (?)." <sup>41</sup> Though all these monasteries were outside the city walls,

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<sup>41</sup> *RMK* 2.20, lines 6-8.

two of them certainly were in the quarters where the royal relatives lived, and the donor's prayer is in conformity with those of several inscriptions connected with *Phun* or forest monks. As the *Saṅ* and *Phun* titles are not always mentioned in the inscriptions, and as Mahākassapa was a *Phunmlatkrīcwā*, those monasteries very probably were donated to *Phun* monks. Hence, some of the *Phun* monks more than likely were, or had become, town or village dwellers.

In short, the Buddhist Sangha of Pagan can primarily be divided into the monks with *Saṅ* and *Phun* titles—or *Saṅ* and *Phun* sects. The *Saṅ* monks are mentioned in the earliest inscriptions. Some of the monks with *Phun* titles were connected with Sri Lanka and some of them were forest monks.

#### 5.1.1.2. Main Differences Between *Saṅ* and *Phun* Monks

To correlate the division into *Saṅ* and *Phun* monks with different forms of Buddhism, the prayers of the inscriptions (in which the monks are donors, donees or witnesses) are the most important sources. However, prayers do not occur in all the inscriptions. In the inscriptions where the monks with *Phun* titles are included, the donors usually prayed for Buddhahood,<sup>42</sup> *sabbañutaṇa* (omniscience),<sup>43</sup> arahatship,<sup>44</sup> or *nirvāṇa*<sup>45</sup> for themselves when they prayed. For others, however, they prayed that those who took care of their donations might attain any of the “three boons (Buddhahood, paccekabuddhahood and arahatship),”<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> *RMK* 1.11, line 22; *RMK* 1.23, lines 5-8; *RMK* 2.94, line 30; *RMK* 2.98, line 8; *RMK* 3.57, lines 8-9; *RMK* 3.86b, lines 33-34; and *RMK* 3.87, lines 12-15;

<sup>43</sup> *RMK* 3.26b, lines 26-27.

<sup>44</sup> *RMK* 3.59, line 13; and *RMK* 3.65, line 10.

<sup>45</sup> *RMK* 1.32, line 4; *RMK* 1.73, line 17; and *RMK* 3.46, line 21.

<sup>46</sup> *RMK* 3.52, line 29.

“... any boon they wish ...,”<sup>47</sup> “... they may attain *nirvāṇa* ...,”<sup>48</sup> or “... may they get the same as I do ....”<sup>49</sup>

As the Mahayanists can only aspire to become Buddhas and the Theravadins to become *arahats*, whereas the Sarvastivadins believed that a person can either aspire to be a Buddha, a *paccekabuddha* or an *arahat*, it can be assumed that these monks were influenced to some extent by Sarvastivada Buddhism.

Among the inscriptions in which monks with *Saṅ* titles were donors, donees or witnesses, most of the donors who prayed hoped for *sabbañutaṇa*,<sup>50</sup> or *nirvāṇa*.<sup>51</sup> Only in one inscription did the donor pray for arahatship.<sup>52</sup>

Although it can be argued that all the people whether they prayed for Buddhahood, arahatship, or “any of the ‘three boons,’” could have been Sarvastivadins, the representations of Mahayana deities in the paintings belonging to the Pagan period point to the Mahayana influence, and the mention of Pali scriptures in the inscriptions and the paintings illustrating narratives from the Pali canon points to the prevalence of Theravada Buddhism in Pagan Myanmar. Additionally, the fact that the king of Sri Lanka had sought Aniruddha’s help to revive his Sangha proves that Pagan was regarded as a Theravada Buddhist kingdom.

Both *Saṅ* and *Phun* monks were influenced by Mahayana Buddhism. This influence is reflected in the temples connected with them. For example, Kyansittha, who seems to have favored the monks with *Saṅ* titles, prayed for Buddhahood on his terracotta votive tablets.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> *RMK* 3.59, line 22; and *RMK* 3.87b, lines 4-5.

<sup>48</sup> *RMK* 3.91, line 22.

<sup>49</sup> *RMK* 2.118, lines 33-34; and *RMK* 3.78, line 10.

<sup>50</sup> *RMK* 1.1a, lines 28-30.

<sup>51</sup> *RMK* 2.111, lines 23-24.

<sup>52</sup> *RMK* 1.44.

<sup>53</sup> *Siri tribhuwanāditya dhammarājena attano atthena buddhabhāwāya aggītā patimā imā* (“King Siri Tribhuwanāditya Dhammarāja baked this image to become a Buddha.”).  
Mya, *Rhe:hoṅ: Utkhwak Ruppwā: Chaṅ:tutau Myā: [Votive Tablets of Myanmar]*, 2 vols.

Pala influence on the reliefs in the Ānanda temple that he dedicated was so visible that it is even thought by some scholars to be the work of immigrant Indians.<sup>54</sup> The temple donated by his son, the Gubyaukgyi, at the dedication of which five *Saṅgrī* were present, contains paintings portraying *bodhisattvas*.<sup>55</sup> This data is crowned by the fact that many Mahayanist paintings can be seen in the temple ascribed to his queen Abeyadana.<sup>56</sup>

The temples connected with *Phun* monks are not free from the influence of Mahayanism either. For instance, we find Mahayana paintings in a temple donated by Phunmlatso Wineñdhuir.<sup>57</sup> Paintings with Mahayana and Tantric influence in the Nandaminnya temple very probably were connected with Mlatkrī Umañ Skhiñ Anantapañā who dwelt in the *umañ* close to the east of the temple.<sup>58</sup> He might be the same as Skhiñ Anantapañā who received a monastery donated by Princess Acaw Patañsā near Tuyin Pahto in AD 1276.<sup>59</sup> The inscription begins with the phrase: *namo sabbabuddhānañ* (“Homage to all the Buddhas.”). Several later inscriptions connected with (*Phun*)*mlatkrīcwā* have the same prayer. Furthermore, the fact that he dwelt in a cave monastery (*umañ*) suggests that he was a forest monk.

#### 5.1.1.3. Rise and Fall of *Saṅ* and *Phun* Monks

Although the monks with *Saṅ* titles were most important (and the only monks mentioned in inscriptions) during the reign of King Kyansittha (1084-1113), those with *Phun* titles became more popular in later times. The ratio of the inscriptions connected with *Saṅ*

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(Yangon: Archaeology Department, ?1961) 1: 29, Fig. 41. *Siri Tribhuwanāditya Dhammarāja* is the royal title of King Kyansittha.

<sup>54</sup> Paul Strachan, *Imperial Pagan: Art and Architecture of Burma* (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1989) 29, 68, 69.

<sup>55</sup> Strachan, *Imperial Pagan* 71-74, Fig. xviii (facing p. 38).

<sup>56</sup> Strachan, *Imperial Pagan* 59-61, Fig. x (between pp. 37 and 38).

<sup>57</sup> Strachan, *Imperial Pagan* 135.

<sup>58</sup> Ink glosses from the *umañ* dated 621 ME (AD 1259).

<sup>59</sup> *RMK* 3.68, lines 1-3. This inscription was found at monument no. 489, the monastery close to the west of Tuyin Pahto (monument 487).

and *Phun* monks which was seven to six in the 12<sup>th</sup> century became one to two in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the number of inscriptions connected with both decreased as many donors referred to the monks as *Skhiñ*, which had been used by both sects, and the newly-coined *Syañ*, both meaning “lord,” whereas the *Sañ-Phun* ratio was 1:7. Probably, as the monks had become mixed up, *Skhiñ* and *Syañ* became a compromise between the two sets of titles. Nevertheless, *Phun* monks were still the majority.

It seems that the *Phun* monks were absorbing the *Sañ* monks, because although they very rarely took part in the same ceremonies throughout the Pagan period, Phunmlatkrīcwā Mahākassapa seemingly left the monastic establishment he had donated at Amyint (near Chaung-Oo in Monywa District), his birthplace, under the charge of Sañkrī Brum in AD 1315.

#### 5.1.2. Nuns (**Bhikkhunī Sangha**)

Although the Sanskrit/Pali word *bhikkhunī* or its derivatives does not occur in the inscriptions, it is certain that the nuns of the Pagan period were *bhikkhunī*, differing from present-day Myanmar nuns (called *sīlarhañ*, meaning “possessor of precepts”), since they had the same titles as monks, such as *Skhiñ*, *Sañkrī*, *Phunmlatso*, *Pancañ*. Their names occur in connection both with the *Sañ* and *Phun* monks. A *bhikkhunī* is referred to in the inscription as Phunmlatso Uin Chitaw.<sup>60</sup>

Reat believes that the *Bhikkhunī Sangha* (the Order of Buddhist Nuns) ceased to exist in Sri Lanka before the Mahāvihāra tradition spread to Myanmar.<sup>61</sup> Than Tun has pointed out that there were *bhikkhunī* in Myanmar during the Pagan period although tradition asserts that no women were allowed into the Sangha (wider Buddhist Sangha) after AD 456.<sup>62</sup> However,

<sup>60</sup> *RMK* 1.50, lines 7, 18-19.

<sup>61</sup> Noble Ross Reat, *Buddhism: A History* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1994) 131.

<sup>62</sup> Than Tun, “History of Buddhism” 125. However, he does not give any reference for this fact.

the *Mahāvamsa* mentions the building of a nunnery by the queen of Udaya I (aka Dappula II; AD 792-797) of Sri Lanka.<sup>63</sup> In addition, a Sri Lankan inscription belonging to the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD refers to a nunnery at Anurādhapura.<sup>64</sup> When the *Bhikkhunī Sangha* actually died out in Sri Lanka is not known.

The donors in the inscriptions that mention the names of *bhikkhunīs* mostly prayed for Buddhahood for themselves and for *nirvāṇa* for others. They never prayed for paccakabuddhahood or arahatship. This suggests that they were more influenced by Mahayana. Most of the inscriptions connected with them are found at Chauk and Sale townships in Magwe district and from some places in and around Pagan, such as Minnanthu, Myinkaba and Wetkyi-in.

It is interesting to note that several *bhikkhunī* had Tibeto-Burman names unlike most of the monks, who had Pali names. *Uiw* or its variants *Uiw'* and *Uin* which was the same as that prefixed to names of ordinary laywomen, was usually prefixed to their names in addition to such titles as *Saṅkrī*, *Skhiñ*, etc. Also, most of the monks who are mentioned together with them had Tibeto-Burman names and had the prefix *Ñā* in their names, which was the title used for lay persons. Some monks with Pali names are also mentioned together with nuns.

There were *bhikkhunī* with both *Saṅ* and *Phun* titles. It is possible that there were some *bhikkhunī* in Sri Lanka at that time, with whom the *bhikkhunī* with *Phun* titles in Pagan were connected.

## 5.2. VOCATIONAL DIFFERENCES

Apart from their titles, the Myanmar monks of the Pagan period can be divided according to their mode of vocation into *gāṃavāsī* (town or village dwellers), *araññavāsī/āraññika* (forest dwellers) and *paṃsukūlika* (rag-robe wearers). Although the

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<sup>63</sup> Walpola Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon, the Anuradhapura Period, 3rd century BC-10th century AD* (Colombo: M.D. Gunasena & Co. Ltd., 1956) 165-166.

<sup>64</sup> Rahula, *History of Buddhism* 197.

inscriptions of Pagan never mention the Pali word *gāmaṅkāsi* or its Myanmar equivalent, they refer to *taw kloṅ* (forest monasteries) in contrast with other monasteries, and to monks with the name *Paṅsakū* (< Pali *paṅsukūlika* “rag-robe wearer”). Moreover, the existence of a few monasteries within the city walls and of some close to the city as well as evidence that some donors turned their houses into monasteries indicate that some monks could be termed town or village dwellers.<sup>65</sup> Therefore, there were town/village dwellers and forest dwellers as well as rag-robe wearers.

In Sri Lanka, some scholars believe that forest dwellers were attached to all the three principal sects (*nikāya*): Mahāvihāra, Abhayagirivihāra and Jetavanavihāra.<sup>66</sup> The *Mahāvamsa* mentions the *araññāvāsīn* of Mahāvihāra and the *paṅsukūlikas*<sup>67</sup> of both the Mahāvihāra and Abhayagirivihāra.<sup>68</sup> The *paṅsukūlikas* of Abhayagirivihāra broke away and formed their own sect in the latter half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>69</sup>

However, the term ‘forest dwellers’ does not necessarily refer only to the monks dwelling in the forest. The main difference between forest dwellers and town/village dwellers lies in their vocations: the former emphasize *patipatti* (practice) while the latter emphasize *pariyatti* (learning of scriptures). This separation took place early in the history of Buddhism. But one should note that a monk could not take up ‘practice’ without having a groundwork of ‘learning.’ Gombrich has pointed out: “One must not jump to the naive conclusion that all forest dwellers are rigorously ascetic meditators, let alone that village dwellers are more learned but also more self-indulgent. Formal roles and ideal types do not always coincide.”<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> *RMK* 2.20-25 and 82.

<sup>66</sup> Senake Bandaranayake, *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture, the Vihāras of Anurādhapura*, vol. 4 of J.E. Vanlohuizen-Deleuw, ed., *Studies in South Asian Culture* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974) 70-71.

<sup>67</sup> One who wears clothes made of rags taken from a dust heap.

<sup>68</sup> *Cūlavamsa* 47: 66, 51: 52-53, and 52: 21-22.

<sup>69</sup> Rahula, *History of Buddhism* 110.

<sup>70</sup> R.F. Gombrich, *Theravada Buddhism* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1988) 157; qtd. In J.L. Taylor, *Forest Monks and the Nation State: An Anthropological and*

Therefore, it is not surprising that some of the forest dwellers in the Pagan period are said to have been well-versed in the three *pitakas*, or that they were dwelling in large monastic complexes with several teaching monasteries. Even though they were referred to as forest monks, we cannot imagine them as practicing *āraññakaṅgam* as explained in the *Vinaya*. Moreover, as the monks could not survive without donors and as they were exhorted to “render help in return by spiritual gifts to lay people who always support [them] ... with material gifts,”<sup>71</sup> the forest dwellers had to reside nearer and nearer to the towns or villages. As they had become a distinct sect, or at least a distinct community, and as their emphasis was different from that of the town or village dwellers, they needed their own teaching monasteries to train their followers. In addition, the inscriptions say nothing about the syllabi of the monasteries and almost nothing about the beliefs and practices of the monks. Hence, the actual difference between the forest and town/village dwellers only appears from their lineage traditions and their dwelling preferences. Taylor, studying the forest monks of Thailand, believes that “these monastic biases were transmitted to Southeast Asia from the forest monastery branch of the Mahāvihāra or Great Monastery (situated at Udumbaragiri) during the Polonnaruva period (consisting of both scholar monks and meditation monks).”<sup>72</sup>

The *pamsukūlika* were residing in both urban and in forest monasteries in Sri Lanka,<sup>73</sup> and there is no doubt that that was the case in Pagan. This ‘domestication process’ began long before Pagan had contacts with Sri Lanka and Taylor has remarked that the forest

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*Historical Study in Northeastern Thailand, Social Issues in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1993) 20-21, fn. 6.

<sup>71</sup> *Saddharmālaṅkāraya* 523; qtd. in Rahula, *History of Buddhism* 194.

<sup>72</sup> Taylor, *Forest Monks* 12.

<sup>73</sup> Rahula, *History of Buddhism* 196.



monastery of Udumbaragiri was the result of this process.<sup>74</sup> Tambiah also has described this ‘domestication’ in contrast with ‘purification,’ which will be discussed below (6.4).<sup>75</sup>

Therefore, this division of monks into groups by their vocations also is in fact based on the lineage traditions of the monks.

### 5.2.1. Forest Dwellers

There are two controversial questions regarding the forest dwellers. First, what was the origin of the forest dwelling sect? Second, which sect did the forest dwellers of Pagan period belong to?

When the names of the monks from the inscriptions belonging to the Pagan period are divided into two groups, one having the prefixes *(Phun)mlatkrī(cwā)*, *(Phun)mlatsa*, and *Phunsañ*, and the other, with the prefixes *Sañkrī*, *Sañlyañ* and *Sañ*, it is the inscriptions of the first group that are connected with *taw kloñ*. Neither the word *taw kloñ* nor the name Mahākassapa (the best-known forest monk) occurs in the inscriptions of the second group.

As to the provenance of the inscriptions in which the word *taw kloñ* occurs, seven are from Minnanthu, and five from other places around Pagan, four from Anein and Hmancho villages in Chaung-Oo townships, and one each from Magwe, Monywa, Myingun and Myinmu townships and one from Pahkangyi.

Than Tun, connecting the *taw kloñ* monks with the *arañ* of the chronicles (see 2.2.1.3 [above]), believes that the monks who went to Sri Lanka were rivals of forest monks. He states:

... By A.D. 1237 Mahākassapa’s name was mentioned side by side with two other prominent *thera* of the city as witnesses to a dedication by Mahasaman, an important minister of the time. The two *thera* were Dhammasiri and Subhucanda who were probably away in Ceylon between 1237 and 1248. As these two *thera* undoubtedly desired the purification of the Order on Sinhalese lines, it is most probable that they

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<sup>74</sup> Taylor, *Forest Monks* 14.

<sup>75</sup> Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, *The Buddhist Saints of the Forest and the Cult of Amulets: A Study in Charisma, Hagiography, Sectarianism, and Millennial Buddhism* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1984) 53-77.

were much alarmed at the appearance of Mahākassapa and his new school at the capital and so hastened to Ceylon for inspiration and help.<sup>76</sup>

However, there is no reason whatsoever to assume that these monks were the rivals of Mahākassapa and/or of forest monks. In fact, the inscription Than Tun refers to in the above passage records the donation of a forest monastery.<sup>77</sup> Since these two monks (Dhammasiri and Subhūtica) were witnessing the donation of a forest monastery together with Mahākassapa, they could not have been rivals of forest monks or Mahākassapa. It is more likely that they belonged to the same sect, of which Mahākassapa at that time was a, if not the, leader. It is even possible that Mahākassapa sent Dhammasiri and Subhūtica to Sri Lanka to infuse new blood into the Myanmar Sangha as will be explained below (6.2). The main reason for Than Tun's conclusion was that the forest monks "enlarged their estates by buying up land" and "gave feasts where intoxicating drinks were amply served."<sup>78</sup> He says:

They [forest monks] lived in big monasteries and had big estates in support of their establishments. The way they enlarged their estates and their connivance at the drinking of intoxicants were by no means in keeping with the Vinaya.<sup>79</sup>

But none of the inscriptions state that the forest dwellers drank liquor. It is true that the donors, laypersons as well as monks, recorded in their inscriptions the expenses paid for 'liquor' and 'meat' to celebrate the transactions of land and slaves, which they purchased to donate to the Religion. It probably was a custom to give food and drinks to the people, especially to the witnesses, whenever a successful transaction was made. This is clear from an inscription which Than Tun himself has cited.

...When Pyankla and party were given the price of the land, all the hearing and seeing (i.e. witnessing) *sampyan* and *kalan* (were given a feast) by the side of the brick trough of the reservoir where a gelded bull and ten pots of liquor were eaten and drunk ...<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Than Tun, "History of Buddhism" 122.

<sup>77</sup> *RMK* 2.77.

<sup>78</sup> Than Tun, "History of Buddhism" 122.

<sup>79</sup> Than Tun, "History of Buddhism" 121.

<sup>80</sup> Than Tun, "History of Buddhism" 121.

These expenses were recorded in the inscriptions because they were regarded as part of the expenses incurred by the donors, or part of the value of the land they donated as the following inscription (dated AD 1270) discloses: “The *mahātan* land sold by Ñā Pun Sañ and wife to Mlatkrī Alac was 1 *pay* [1.77 acres]; the price, including the cost of meat, was 5 *pisā* [or 8.16 kilograms of silver?].”<sup>81</sup>

In another inscription, the donors recorded that among those donated were 1,000 (*pay* [1,771.8 acres] of) land for which they paid 1,000 (*klap* [16.33 kilograms] of) silver. Then they explained in detail how much they paid to each person connected with the transaction (for clothes, rice, liquor and meat), and stated that “the total cost of land, including the expenses for clothes and food, was 1137 *klap* and 1 *mat* [18.57 kilograms of silver].”<sup>82</sup>

The fact that the monks were purchasing land indicates that they possessed cash, or ‘silver’ as referred to in the inscriptions. Theravadin monks were (and are) not allowed to possess gold or silver (i.e. money) like their Mahayana counterparts. However, the prayers as well as the mural paintings connected with them point to the fact that the forest monks were not professing Mahayanism, though influenced by it.

It is difficult to determine whether purchasing land or possessing ‘silver’ amounts to infringement of the *Vinaya*, but it certainly was not regarded so. The forest monastery of Ānanda who came from Sri Lanka and ‘cleansed’ the Religion received 550 *pay* (974.49 acres) of paddy fields and an *uyan* and 30 slaves in AD 1259.<sup>83</sup> If he owned lands he undoubtedly was receiving revenues from the lands. Sri Lankan monks had been receiving revenues from the lands donated to the religious establishments long before the Myanmars

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<sup>81</sup> ... *mlatkrī alac kuīw nīa Punsañ lañ myā roñ so mahātan 1 pay te aphuiw kā sā phuiw nhañ so khwak 5 pisā khwak te ... RMK 3.41, lines 2-6.*

<sup>82</sup> *RMK 3.81, lines 1-9.*

<sup>83</sup> *RMK 3.35a, lines 2ff., and RMK 3.35b.*

had contacts with Sri Lanka. According to an inscription found in Sri Lanka, “even the monks themselves were ‘paid’ for their work” in teaching the scriptures.<sup>84</sup>

Nowadays, the monks in Myanmar possess money. Some monks spend their money by themselves, while others, such as those of the Shwegyin-nikāya (who emphasize the *Vinaya*), spend their money through lay agents called *kappiya*. One inscription demonstrates that Mahākassapa was careful enough to purchase land through a lay agent called *dhammabhaṇḍā* (< Pali *dhammabhaṇḍāgārika* “treasurer of the Dhamma”<sup>85</sup>), who was a *lū sukhamin* (learned layperson).<sup>86</sup> The other monks might have been doing the same even though *dhammabhaṇḍā* is rarely mentioned in the inscriptions. If the possession of money was not regarded as breaking *Vinaya* rules, there would have been nothing against purchasing land.

Moreover, the monks were not allowed to accept slaves according to the *Vinaya*. Nevertheless, Sri Lankan monks accepted slaves too.<sup>87</sup> They even had legitimized the acceptance of slaves in the commentary of the *Majjhima-nikāya* saying that “it was not proper to accept slaves as such, but that it was proper to accept them when one says: ‘I offer a *kappiya-kāraka*, I offer an *ārāmika*.’”<sup>88</sup> This is not surprising. Some rules that were not difficult to follow when they were laid down in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC might not be easy or possible to adhere to in later times.

What is important is that although Mahākassapa seems to have been infringing the spirit, if not the letter, of the *Vinaya* rules in our modern eyes and although the chroniclers

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<sup>84</sup> Rahula, *History of Buddhism* 137.

<sup>85</sup> This was an epithet of Ānanda, the disciple of the Buddha. G.P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, 2 vols. (London: Pali Text Society, 1937-38; reprint, 1960), sv. *Ānanda*. But *dhammabhaṇḍā* in the inscription certainly was a layman.

<sup>86</sup> *RMK* 2.53a, lines 11-12.

<sup>87</sup> Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, *Epigraphia Zeylanica Being Lithic and Other Inscriptions of Ceylon*, ed. and trans. by H.W. Codrington and S. Paranavitana, 4 vols. (London: Oxford UP, 1904-1934); reprint, New Delhi: Asian Educational Service, 1994): 4.15-16.

<sup>88</sup> Rahula, *History of Buddhism* 146-147.

certainly are against the monks' ownership of land concerning monks of the post-Pagan period,<sup>89</sup> the chroniclers refer to Mahākassapa as an *arahat*. Additionally, even if the forest dwellers were infringing *Vinaya* rules, that does not mean that they belonged to a sect that is not connected with Sri Lanka, for the monks of any sect could become corrupt.

In addition, that the forest monks were influenced by Mahayanism alone does not prove that they were not connected with Sīhala Sangha. Neither did Pagan's contacts with northern India cease after its contacts with Sri Lanka began nor were the Sinhalese monks free from Mahayana influence. As Pagan forest monks were forming large monasteries, so were the forest monks in Sri Lanka.

There is only one mention in the inscription (AD 1315) about the practice of the forest monks. It says:

As Phunmlatkrīcwā Mahākassapa has [established his monastery] in the precincts of Anantasū's monastery, [he] dwelt at the foot of a tree.<sup>90</sup> [Then,] - - - princes, *kalan* and *saṃpyañ* built a monastery so that the venerable lord could dwell in ... The monastery was built on Friday, 610 ME - - -<sup>91</sup>

The titles found in almost all the inscriptions in which the word *taw kloṇ* (forest monastery) or Mahākassapa, the best-known monk among the forest dwellers, is mentioned, are (*Phun*)*mlatkrī(cwā)*, (*Phun*)*mlatsa*, *Phunsañ* and *Skhiñ*. Therefore, even though it cannot be confidently determined whether or not all the monks with *Phun* titles were forest monks, it can safely be assumed that the forest monks belonged to the same school as *Phun* monks who were connected with Sri Lanka.

<sup>89</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkraṃ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātam*: 127-128.

<sup>90</sup> *rukhamū* (< Pali *rukhamūla*) means “the foot of a tree (taken as a dwelling by the ascetics for meditation).” The person dwelling like that is *rukhamūlika* “one who lives at the foot of a tree, an open air recluse.” That is the *dhūtaṅga* (practice) of an *araññaka* (forest dweller).

<sup>91</sup> - - - *phunmlatkrīcwā mahākassapa anantasū kloṇ aram phlac pri ra kā* || - - - *y tuñ aṇ hu arhiy sim thwack ruy rukhamū niy liy* || *mlatcwāsyañ niy aṇ* - - - *mañsā kalan saṃpyañ tuñ kloṇ plu liy kun e'* || ... || *sakarac 610 khu* - - - *ryak sokkrā niy ā thāpanā ruy kloṇ tañ e'* ... *RMK 3.158, lines 1-6.*

### 5.2.2. Paṅsakūlika

The name *Paṅsakū(krī)* (< Pali *paṅsukūlika*, “rag-robe wearer”) occurs in four inscriptions.<sup>92</sup> A monk was referred to as Paṅsakū or Paṅsakūkrī probably because he was the leader of the *paṅsukūlikas*. The monk Phunmlatso Paṅsakū, a royal preceptor, is first mentioned in an inscription dated AD 1236.<sup>93</sup> He was a royal preceptor at least till 1247.<sup>94</sup> It is interesting to note that one of the Myanmar inscriptions that refer to a Paṅsakū was found at Bodh Gaya.<sup>95</sup> The date of this inscription is AD 1298, but it refers to earlier events. It describes how the stupa (?) Paṅsakū had repaired was destroyed, renovated by another person, and was destroyed again, whereupon the Myanmar king had it repaired; the last repair work began in AD 1295 and was completed in 1298.<sup>96</sup> The lay name of a *paṅsukūlika*, according to the *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātam:*, was Ña Cwaysaṅ,<sup>97</sup> which occurs in an inscription dated AD 1229, recording an event that happened in AD 1201.<sup>98</sup> Therefore it is certain that there were *paṅsukūlikas* in Pagan by the reign of Narapatisithu (Caṅsū III; 1174-1211). The *Glass Palace Chronicle* also states that Skhiṅ Paṅsakū was the royal preceptor of King Narapatisithu.<sup>99</sup> It also states how Paṅsakū, the royal preceptor of Alaungsithu (Caṅsū I; 1113-1169/70) left for Sri Lanka following an argument with his immediate successor, King Narasū.<sup>100</sup> Thus a Paṅsakū seems to have been the royal preceptor since Alaungsithu’s reign (1113-1169/70). This is not impossible at all because, first, *Paṅsakū* does not seem to be a

<sup>92</sup> *RMK* 1.164; *RMK* 2.242; *RMK* 2.249; and *RMK* 3.112.

<sup>93</sup> *RMK* 1.164, line 6.

<sup>94</sup> *RMK* 2.49, line 8.

<sup>95</sup> *RMK* 3.112.

<sup>96</sup> *RMK* 3.112.

<sup>97</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkramaṃ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātam:* 110-111.

<sup>98</sup> *RMK* 1.130, line 2.

<sup>99</sup> Pe Maung Tin and G.H. Luce, trans., *The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma* (London: Oxford UP, 1923; reprint, 1960) 146-147. (hereafter *Glass Palace Chronicle*)

<sup>100</sup> *Glass Palace Chronicle* 147.

proper name. It probably was the title by which the people referred to the leader, or successive leaders, of the *paṃsukūlikas*. Also, the fact that the monks practicing the *paṃsakū dhūtañ*<sup>101</sup> would not even accept robes donated to them explains the paucity of the inscriptions connected with them. The names Paṃsakū and Ña Cway Sañ are mentioned only in four and two inscriptions respectively.<sup>102</sup>

### 5.2.3. Pagan Monks' Connection with Sinhalese *Pabbata Vihāras* and Abhayagirivihāra

The plans of some monasteries, such as the Lemyethna and Sutaungbye complexes, in Pagan certainly connect those monasteries with the *pabbata vihāras* of Sri Lanka, which, according to some scholars, were connected with Abhayagirivihāra and with forest monks (see 8.2.2.1 [below]).<sup>103</sup> Mahayana influence on at least two of those in Sri Lanka was certain.<sup>104</sup> In Pagan, the monasteries in question seem to belong to forest monks, and Mahayana influence on those forest monks is reflected in the mural paintings connected with them. However, there is no evidence to connect them with the Abhayagirivihāra of Sri Lanka.

Nevertheless, it is not impossible that there were monks connected with Abhayagirivihāra in Myanmar. As the chroniclers regard the Mahāvihāra as the only orthodox sect in Sri Lanka, it is not surprising that later monks traced their lineage to this sect.<sup>105</sup> However, this does not mean that the Myanmar monks were not inspired by other

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<sup>101</sup> Pali *paṃsukūlika dhūtaṅga*.

<sup>102</sup> *Phunmlatso Paṃsakū Mañchiryā* in RMK 1.164, line 6; *Skhiñ Paṃsakū* in RMK 2.42a, line 15; *Mañcharyā Paṃsakūkrī*: in RMK 2.49, line 8; *Skhiñ Paṃsakūkrī* in RMK 3.112, line 4; and *Skhiñ Ña Cwaysañ* in RMK 1.130, line 2; and *Ña Cwaysañ kloñ* in RMK 3.8b, line 1.

<sup>103</sup> Bandaranayake, *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture* 72. Note that esoteric Abhayagiri monks had influence in late 8<sup>th</sup> century Java. Himansu Bhusan Sarkar, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java (Corpus Inscriptionum Javanicarum) (up to 928 A.D.)*, vol. 1 (Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1971), no. 6a, line 7.

<sup>104</sup> Bandaranayake, *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture* 72.

<sup>105</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkram explains how the four sects—Mahāvihāra, Abhayagirivihāra, Jetavanavihāra and a faked Mahāvihāra (i.e. a later sect also named

sects. First, there is an inscription dated AD 1346 which mentions a monastery named Abhayagirivihāra.<sup>106</sup> Additionally, a statement in the *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātā*: itself suggests that some Myanmar monks were connected with the Abhayagirivihāra of Sri Lanka. It states that the monks of the Abhayagirivihāra did not practice according to the Buddha’s teachings, that they did not wear their robes properly and wore hats, and that during the reign of King Mahāseṇa, a monk of the Abhayagirivihāra became royal preceptor, and the sect became very powerful.<sup>107</sup> It was only when Parakramabāhu ascended the throne in Religious Era 1708 that the monks of Mahāvihāra headed by Mahākassapa, an Udumbaragirivāsīn, cleansed the Religion.<sup>108</sup>

Speaking about Chappada, the author of the same work says that the spelling Chappada with final *-a* in the Kalyāṇī inscriptions and in the earlier chronicles is the *thera* Chappada who studied in Sri Lanka, and that the spelling *Chappado* with final *-o* is a monk of *ū:thupchoi: pwai kyoñ:*, i.e. “*pwai kyoñ:* monks who wore hats.”<sup>109</sup> Hence, it seems that the *pwai kyoñ:* monks of the later periods, who played boxing, wore hats. The chronicle also refers to some monks wearing hats in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in Myanmar.<sup>110</sup>

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Mahāvihāra)—in Sri Lanka. Citing a commentary on the *Mahāvamsa*, he says that only the Mahāvihāra monks were *dhammavādī* “those who practiced according to the Doctrine.” Mahā Dhammasaṅkraṃ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātā*: 33-34.

<sup>106</sup> *RMK* 4.40, line 12. The provenance of the inscription is not known. This inscription also refers to some events in AD 1241 and 1243.

<sup>107</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkraṃ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātā*: 34-35.

<sup>108</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkraṃ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātā*: 36.

<sup>109</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkraṃ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātā*: 118-119. The spelling *Chappada* or *Chappado* is not mentioned in the inscriptions. But as final *-o* in *Chappado* only means that the word is the nominative singular of *Chappada*, these spellings did not necessarily represent two different monks. *Capataw* is the nearest spelling of *Chappado*, and the changes *-pp-* > *-p-*, *-d-* > *-t-* and *-o* > *-aw* were not irregular at all. The change from *ch-* to *c-*, however, is anomalous, though not impossible. Besides, this name is mentioned in the inscription together with Ānanta Mahāther, the name of a monk who came to Pagan together with him. Moreover, it is quite impossible that Chappada and Ānanda who were among the most important monks of the Pagan period are never mentioned in the inscriptions, because it is impossible that they never received donations nor took part in any donation ceremonies.

<sup>110</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkraṃ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātā*: 155-156.



Therefore, even if these monks did not get the custom of wearing hats from Abhayagirivihāra and the story that the monks of Abhayagirivihāra wore hats was just a myth, some Myanmar monks connected with Abhayagirivihāra must have violated the *Vinaya* and worn hats in later times, which led the chroniclers to create this myth.

The best-preserved monastery of the *pabbata vihāra* type in Pagan is the Lemyethna complex donated by Anantasū, a minister, and wife in AD 1223.<sup>111</sup> The *Glass Palace Chronicle* states that Anantasū made Mahākassapa his teacher and donated “a great temple, ordination hall and monastery.”<sup>112</sup> However, the inscriptions show that this monastery became Mahākassapa’s only at a later date. An inscription that records Mahākassapa’s donations in AD 1225 mentions Anantasū’s teacher among the witnesses.<sup>113</sup> Mahākassapa had become a royal preceptor by AD 1237 and had his monastery at Minnanthu by AD 1242.<sup>114</sup> Another inscription records that King Nātoṅmyā’s sister formed an establishment to the east of Anantasū’s monastery and that Mahākassapa dwelt at that establishment.<sup>115</sup> Therefore, it is clear that the Lemyethna complex, the monastery donated by Anantasū and wife was not built for Mahākassapa. Although whether he later became Anantasū’s teacher is not known, he eventually became the abbot of Lemyethna monastery.

An inscription found in the enclosure wall attached to the Lemyethna complex states:

As Phunmlatkrīcwā Mahākassapa has [established his monastery] in Anantasū’s monastery [i.e. Lemyethna monastic complex], [he] dwelt at the foot of a tree. [Then,] - - - princes, *kalan* and *samīpyanī* built a monastery so that the venerable lord could dwell in ... The monastery was built on Friday, 610 ME - - -<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> *RMK* 1.97a, lines 6-31.

<sup>112</sup> *Glass Palace Chronicle* 149-150. The description in the chronicle agrees with the Lemyethna monastic complex.

<sup>113</sup> *RMK* 1.109, lines 14-16.

<sup>114</sup> *RMK* 1.180, lines 6-7.

<sup>115</sup> *RMK* 2.53.

<sup>116</sup> *RMK* 3.158, lines 1-6.

This inscription also refers to the donations made to the lords dwelling at *arhiy kloṇ* “eastern monastery” (i.e. his old monastery to the east of the Lemyethna complex).<sup>117</sup> This inscription, however, was inscribed only in AD 1315.<sup>118</sup> Nevertheless, there is another inscription that records the donation of Nga Lu Gu (monument no. 670) in AD 1262 which states that it was built in the precincts of, or in the environs of, Mahākassapa’s monastery.<sup>119</sup> This temple is located in the enclosure wall attached to the Lemyethna complex on the west side.

Therefore, it is clear that Anantasū’s monastery or the Lemyethna complex had become Mahākassapa’s residence by AD 1248, while his old monastery was referred to as the eastern monastery.

To sum up, the chroniclers refer to the Arahanta Sangha (i.e. the earliest sect in Pagan thought to be founded by Araham) and the Sihala Sangha (the sect formed by Chappada and his associates who were ordained in Sri Lanka). According to the chronicles, this Sihala fragmented into three different sects in the wake of Chappada’s death. The inscriptions, however, reveal that there were different sects of Buddhist monks who used different titles of reference (*Saṇ* titles and *Phun* titles), and monks with different modes of vocation (*araṇṇāvāsī* or “forest dwellers” and *paṇṣukūlika* or “rag-robe wearers”). The forest dwellers and the *paṇṣukūlika* also used *Phun* titles, and it therefore seems that they were branches of the *Phun* sect.

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<sup>117</sup> *RMK* 3.158, lines 1-8.

<sup>118</sup> 677 ME.

<sup>119</sup> *RMK* 3.6, lines 1-3.

## 6. BUDDHIST SECTS II

### How and When Were the Pagan Buddhist Sects Formed?

According to tradition, Buddhism was introduced in Pagan by Arahan, who formed the earliest Buddhist Sangha there, and the chroniclers refer to this sect as the Arahanta Sangha (Arahan's Order). However, the founder of the earliest Buddhist sect in Pagan is not known, because as has been stated above (see 2. Myanmar Faith), archaeological evidence indicates that Buddhism was established in Myanmar long before the Pagan period, and also because Arahan's lineage is too vague. Moreover, the chroniclers state how Chappada and his associates (the monks of Sinhalese lineage) established a new sect, the Sihala Sangha (Sinhalese Sect). As Chappada's mission is widely accepted in connection with the strongest sect(s) of Buddhist monks in Myanmar, it deserves a thorough study.

#### 6.1. CHAPPADA'S MISSION

Chroniclers assert that the Sihala Sangha was established in Pagan by a Mon monk named Chappada and his colleagues who, according to contemporary inscriptions, were most probably forest monks.

During the reign of King Narapatisithu (1174-1211), the Kalyāṇī inscriptions (followed by the *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātam:*, the *Sāsanavaṃsa* and the *Glass Palace Chronicle*) state that the royal preceptor Uttarājīva, together with a novice Chappada, went to Sri Lanka, where Chappada received ordination from Uttarājīva and Sinhalese monks. When Uttarājīva came back to Pagan, Chappada stayed behind to study in Sri Lanka. After studying for ten years, Chappada returned to Pagan with four other monks who were well versed in the *Tipiṭaka* (Buddhist canon): 1) Sīwali of Tāmaliddhi village (? Tāmralipti), 2) Tāmalinda, a Kamboja (Camboja) prince, 3) Ānanda of Kiñcipura and 4) Rāhula of Sri Lanka. At Pagan,

they did not perform the religious rites with other monks, and thus formed a new sect under the patronage of the king.<sup>1</sup> The chroniclers referred to this sect as *Pacchima Sangha* “the Latter Order” in contrast to the *Purima Sangha* “the Former Order” or the sect of earlier monks.<sup>2</sup>

Not long after their arrival, Rāhula left the monkhood,<sup>3</sup> and Chappada passed away.<sup>4</sup> Then, following disputes over *Vinaya* discipline, each of the remaining three monks—Sīwali, Tāmalinda and Ānanda—formed their own separate sects or schools. The chroniclers continue to call all these three sects collectively “the Latter Order.”<sup>5</sup>

The names of at least three monks of Chappada’s mission coincided with three names in the inscriptions. Chappada might have been Skhiñ Capataw who witnessed a donation in AD 1240 together with Ānanda Mahāther and Skhañ Dhammasiri.<sup>6</sup> However, since his name

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<sup>1</sup> Archaeological Survey of Burma, *Epigraphia Birmanica* 3.2 (Yangon): 190-191; Mahā Dhammasaṅkraṃ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātāṃ*: [History of Buddhism], edited by Khin Soe *et al.* (Yangon: Hanthawady Press, 1956) 96; Bimala Churn Law, trans., *The History of the Buddha’s Religion (Sāsanavaṃsa)*, vol. 57 of *Sacred Books of the Buddhists* (London: Luzac & Co. Ltd., 1952) 72-74 (hereafter *Sāsanavaṃsa*); and Pe Maung Tin and G.H. Luce, trans., *The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma* (London: Oxford UP, 1923; reprint, 1960) 142-144. (hereafter *Glass Palace Chronicle*).

<sup>2</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkraṃ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātāṃ*: 96-98.

<sup>3</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkraṃ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātāṃ*: 58-60, 96. Rāhula later went to “Māllāyu island,” where taught *Vinaya* to the king, and left the monkhood. *Ibid.*, 96-97; and *Sāsanavaṃsa* 66. This is very probably the kingdom of Malayu which was then located in the province of Jambi, Sumatra. Bode, however, identified the place with Malayadeśa in the Malay Peninsula because the spelling in a manuscript is Malayadīpa. Mabel Haynes Bode, *The Pali Literature of Burma* (London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1909; reprint, Rangoon: Burma Research Society, 1965) 23, fn. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkraṃ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātāṃ*: 97.

<sup>5</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkraṃ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātāṃ*: 97-98.

<sup>6</sup> *Nyein Maung, Rhe:hoñ: Mranmā Kyōkcāmyā*: [Old Myanmar Inscriptions], vols. 1-5 (Yangon: Archaeology Department, 1972-1998): 2.13, lines 13-15 (hereafter *RMK*). This Dhammasiri and the Dhammasiri who witnessed a donation together with Mahākassapa and Subhūticanda very likely were not the same. Ānanda Mahāther in this inscription also might not have been the same as Ānanda who came from Sri Lanka it is quite unlikely that he would be referred to as a *thera* in AD 1259 and 1269 if he had been a *mahāthera* in 1240. Therefore the identification of Capataw of the inscriptions with Chappada of the chronicles is not certain. However, it is not impossible at all because the name Chappada was said to be derived from the name of his birthplace in Lower Myanmar and was not the name a monk

is sandwiched between that of Ānanda and Dhammasiri, Capataw of this inscription seems to have been quite unimportant.

The *thera* Ānanda who received a monastery donated by a minister, Jayawaddhana (OM *Ceyyawatthanā*), certainly was connected with Sri Lanka. The inscription states that Ānanda “having the same course with” the monks of Mahinda’s lineage, “came from the kingdom of Laṅkā to Arimmadana” and “cleansed the noblest Religion of the Jina [an epithet of the Buddha].”<sup>7</sup> As the monastery he received was a forest monastery, Ānanda must have been a forest monk. He received donations of land and slaves from the same donor in AD 1259 and 1269.<sup>8</sup> He is very likely the same as Ānantatthe who received some donations in AD 1260.<sup>9</sup>

Sīwali witnessed a donation in the late 1260s or early 1270s together with the monks (followers) of Mlatsa Siṅkhuih (probably a Sinhalese monk as the name undoubtedly derived from *Singhala* “Sri Lanka”) and a forest monk named Tawmlassakrī Kunarāsi.<sup>10</sup> (Than Tun, however, takes the phrase *mlatsa [siṅ]khuih saṅ aluṃ* of this inscription to mean “all the

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would choose if he was not from there. The monks normally took Pali names. For the spelling *Capataw*, see above [on page 7].

<sup>7</sup> *RMK* 3.35a, lines 1-3. Lines 1 to 6 of the obverse side of the inscription are in Pali. Neither the date when he came to Pagan nor when he received this monastery are given. The Pali part of the inscription states that Jayawaddhana (the Pali form of [Ce]yyawatthanā), a minister, donated a monastery to the *thera* Ānanda who came from Laṅkā to Pagan and cleansed the Religion. From lines 7 onwards the inscription is in Myanmar. It records the donation of land and slaves to “[Ce]yyawatthanā’s forest monastery” in AD 1259. The reverse side, also in Myanmar, records “more slaves of Ceyyawatthanā, son of Sulapharac,” donated after the obverse side of the inscription had been engraved. The list of slaves, altogether forty-four ends in line 44. This is followed by more donations made to “[C]eyyawatthanā’s monastery” (ll. 14-20) and to “Ānantatthera” (ll. 21-24), very probably by other donors. *RMK* 3.35b.

<sup>8</sup> *RMK* 3.35a, lines 2ff., and *RMK* 3.35b.

<sup>9</sup> *RMK* 3.131, lines 16-18.

<sup>10</sup> *Mraṅ pā si pā sa kā* || *mlatsa chiryā siwali* || *mlatsa - - - khuiw Saṅ aluṃ* || *tawmlassakrī kunārāsi ta yok* || *kloṅ kri oṅkalimā* || ... || *mlatsa siṅkhuih nhama ta yok* || ... *RMK* 3.28, lines 7-13.

Sinhalese monks.”<sup>11</sup> But that Mlatsa Siṅkhuih was a proper name is clear from the fact that the same inscription refers to one of the lay witnesses as *mlatsa siṅkhuih nhama ta yok* “a sister of Mlatsa Siṅkhuih.”<sup>12</sup>)

A monk referred to as Mlatkrī Tāmalin was still alive in AD 1280,<sup>13</sup> and his connection with Sri Lanka is apparent because he received some donations from the king when Dīpaṅkarā sent relics from Sri Lanka in AD 1278.<sup>14</sup> Besides, his monastery complex contains a small temple modeled after a Sinhalese style stupa with a square *harmikā*.<sup>15</sup>

Thus, the names of three monks, Ānanda, Sīwali and Tāmalin, mentioned in the inscriptions not only coincided with the names of three monks of Chappada’s mission, but all of them were connected with Sri Lanka. Among them, Ānanda was a forest monk and Sīwali was connected with a forest monk. Tāmalin witnessed a donation in AD 1280 together with the “teacher of [Queen] Pulaimay,”<sup>16</sup> who in AD 1274 witnessed the donations of slaves and land made to a forest monastery.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, all the three monks were connected in one way or another with forest monks.

Now, the date of Chappada’s mission must have been later than the dates given in the Kalyāṇī inscriptions and the chronicles. The date when Chappada and his colleagues came to Pagan was AD 1180 according to the famous Kalyāṇī inscriptions,<sup>18</sup> which was followed by the author of the *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātam*:<sup>19</sup> and 1191 according to the *Glass Palace*

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<sup>11</sup> Than Tun, “History of Buddhism in Burma, A.D. 1000-1300,” *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 61.1-2 (1978): 119.

<sup>12</sup> *RMK* 3.28, line 12.

<sup>13</sup> *RMK* 1.79.

<sup>14</sup> *RMK* 1.76, lines 20-22.

<sup>15</sup> Monument no. 1133.

<sup>16</sup> *RMK* 3.79a, lines 29-30, 39.

<sup>17</sup> *RMK* 3.59, lines 15-19.

<sup>18</sup> Archaeological Survey of Burma, *Epigraphia Birmanica* 3.2: 190-191.

<sup>19</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkraṃ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātam*: 119.

*Chronicle*.<sup>20</sup> The earliest extant source for this mission, the Kalyāṇī inscriptions, itself is not a contemporary record. They were inscribed in about AD 1479 to record the Sangha reforms initiated by King Dhammacetī (1472-1492). The statement of Mahā Dhammasaṅkraṃ in the *Sāsanaṅkārā Cātāma*: that he calculated the date on the basis of the dates given in the Kalyāṇī inscriptions and in earlier chronicles,<sup>21</sup> reveals that the earlier works from which the later chroniclers obtained information did not agree as to the date of this mission.

If the identification of the monks of Chappada's mission with those in the inscriptions is correct and if the date of the mission given in any of the traditional accounts mentioned above is correct, then the life span of three monks connected with this mission would be at least around a hundred or a hundred and ten years. This is impossible also because the *Glass Palace Chronicle* states that Ānanda, Sīwali and Tāmalinda passed away in AD 1234, 1228 and 1236, respectively.<sup>22</sup>

If the identification is taken to be incorrect there is no supporting contemporary evidence for Chappada's mission. It is difficult to believe that the founders of the most important Buddhist sect(s) of Myanmar as well as a royal preceptor connected with them neither received any donations nor witnessed any donations made to the Religion. The royal preceptor Uttarājīva, with whom Chappada is said to have gone to Sri Lanka, is not mentioned in any Pagan-period inscriptions. None of the other monks are mentioned in the inscriptions earlier than AD 1240.

Apart from the account of the Mon monk Arahan and Aniruddha's conquest of Thaton, the Kalyāṇī inscriptions state that both Uttarājīva, the royal preceptor, and Chappada were Mons of Lower Myanmar, and that the monks who accompanied Chappada on his return to Pagan were all foreigners. Was the Mon king Dhammacetī trying to imply that Myanmar culture was entirely derived from Mon?

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<sup>20</sup> *Glass Palace Chronicle* 143.

<sup>21</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkraṃ, *Sāsanaṅkārā Cātāma*: 119.

<sup>22</sup> *Sāsanavaṃsa* 74.

It is, however, possible that while the details, such as the date, about the mission were forgotten by that time, the important events were still remembered by the monks who belonged to the lineage of these *theras* of Pagan. It is true that these monks were connected with Sri Lanka. It is true that these monks, or at least one of them, ‘cleansed’ the Religion. It is possible that the three monks—Ānanda, Sīwali and Tāmālin—could have quarreled with one another, because they are never mentioned in the same inscriptions. Whether they formed different sects with separate ordinations after their quarrel or whether they even seceded from the earliest forest monks is not known. The inscriptions, however, show no trace of the new sect or sects they supposedly formed.

As stated above (pages 94-95), Myanmar monks had a custom of tracing their lineages ultimately to one of the monks of Asoka’s mission, who had an unbroken line of succession from the time of the Buddha, and thus they were tracing to the Buddha. Therefore, it is not surprising that they traced the line of a monk generally to Arahan (who was of Soṇa-Uttara lineage), or to Chapada, Sīwali, Ānanda and Tāmālin (who had received ordination in Sri Lanka). The reason why they trace their lineages to one of these monks is most likely because it was the easiest and surest path to the monks regarded as having an unbroken line from the time of the Buddha. Mendelson has pointed out in his study on the Myanmar Sangha that the chroniclers, in tracing their teacher-pupil lineages to earlier monks, often left out the monks whom they regard as unorthodox,<sup>23</sup> and that

in the *Saṅgha* one of the most significant ways of promoting sectarianism is to assign to famous monks of ancient times a monastic career or teacher-pupil lineage that emphasizes certain elements on the religious continuum which the chronicle writer himself wishes to promote.<sup>24</sup>

As tracing descent from one monk or line excludes the others, earlier tracings could have led the later chroniclers to see these monks as belonging to different lines or sects.

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<sup>23</sup> E. Michael Mendelson, *Sangha and State in Burma: A Study of Monastic Sectarianism and Leadership* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1975) 43.

<sup>24</sup> Mendelson, *Sangha and State* 36.



To conclude, if the monks of these inscriptions were identical with the monks of the chroniclers' mission, the mission must have been later than the dates given in the traditional accounts, because Ānanda, who came from 'Laṅkā' to Pagan and 'cleansed' the religion, as well as Sīwali and Tāmalin were alive over thirty years after the dates of their death according to tradition. If they were not the same monks, it is impossible to ascertain whether Chappada's mission is historical or not. Although it is possible that there was an earlier mission because Pagan certainly had relations with Sri Lanka during the reign of Narapatisithu, who received corporeal relics from the king of Sri Lanka in 1197,<sup>25</sup> it could not have been Chappada's mission. The names of the monks are too similar to be coincidental. Whether they belonged to this mission or not, the monks of the inscriptions most likely were connected with the Sangha purification seemingly effected by the forest monks (see below).

## 6.2. MAHĀKASSAPA AND THE PURIFICATION OF THE RELIGION

There is a Sri Lankan verse which probably was the draft of a message sent by a Sinhalese monk of Mānavulu (which Parakramabāhu I had made the capital of a province) to a Mahākassapa (aka Saṅgharakkhita) of Arimaddana (Pagan).<sup>26</sup> According to this text, the Sinhalese monk received a request from Mahākassapa through a minister named Ñāṇa, whence this reply. Bennett has identified the Myanmar monk with Mahākassapa of Pagan inscriptions, and the minister Ñāṇa with Ñāṇapicaṅ of the inscription dated AD 1237,<sup>27</sup> and suggested that the letter would have been sent to Pagan in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. He also states that the verse includes greetings to Sāriputta of Pagan whom he identified with

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<sup>25</sup> He enshrined these relics at the Dhammarazaka pagoda (947), West Pwasaw, Pagan. *RMK* 1.41a, lines 23-27.

<sup>26</sup> Lionel D. Barnett, "The Manavulu-Sandesaya: Text and Translation," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1905): 265-283. Also see W.M. Sirisena, *Sri Lanka and South-East Asia: Political, Religious and Cultural Relations from A.D. c. 1000 to c. 1500* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978) 72-73.

<sup>27</sup> *RMK* 1.179, line 20. The spelling Bennett uses is Ñāṇapi-si. Bennett, "Manavulu-Sandesaya" 267.

Sāriputta who received the title Dhammavilāsa (stanza 59),<sup>28</sup> and includes “an exhortation to reform the Church in Pagan as it had been reformed in Ceylon by Parākrama-bāhu ...” in stanza 62.<sup>29</sup>

If the statement about the reformation of the Sangha is true, this sort of letter would not be sent to a monk who did not command respect and who did not seem to have the authority or ability to effect Sangha reform. Even if the statement about the Sangha reform is not true, this message certainly connects Mahākassapa with Sri Lanka. If Mahākassapa in the letter is not the same as Mahākassapa of the inscriptions,<sup>30</sup> then there was no Mahākassapa who was famous in Pagan during the period under study.

Now, was Mahākassapa important enough to receive such a message? The earliest reference to Mahākassapa is found in an inscription (from Shwepaunglaung Pagoda, Myinmu) dated 587 ME (AD 1225), when he received donations from King Nātoimya and his sister Mañha, and when he donated land and slaves (those he had received as donations as well as those he had bought) apparently to the Shwepaunglaung pagoda built by him.<sup>31</sup> When the donations were ratified at the Malañkwat forest monastery, the following persons acted as witnesses:

... Phunsañ Pārami, Anantasūr’s teacher, Skhiñ Set, Skhiñ Mātimā, Skhiñ Phattapañā [and] Skhiñ Nantakat, who were learned persons; 440 monks who came with Phunmlasso [i.e. Mahākassapa], Phunsañ Pāramī and 30 of his monks, five monks from Mrāñmū [= Myinmu] forest monastery, Sāyāpui, the village headman of Mrāñmū, ...<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> The *Sāsanālañkāra Cātam*: states how Sāriputtarā of Dala studied under Ānanda (of Chappada’s mission) and received the title “Dhammavilāsa” from King Narapatisithu, who sent him to evangelize in Rāmañña, and hence the establishment of the Sīhala Sangha among the Mons. Mahā Dhammasaṅkram, *Sāsanālañkāra Cātam*: 61.

<sup>29</sup> Bernett, “Manavulu-Sandesaya” 265-267. However, he has admitted: “We cannot lay any stress upon the dubious verses 57-62.” Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Mahākassapa, however, is never referred to in the inscriptions as Saṅgharakkhita.

<sup>31</sup> *RMK* 1.109.

<sup>32</sup> ... Phunsañ pārami anantasūr charya skhiñ set | skhiñ mātimā skhiñ phattapañā | skhiñ nantakat īy kā sukhamin te | phunmlasso mha pā lasso saṅghā 440 phunsañ pāramī

The list points to the fact that Mahākassapa’s monastery was neither at Malañkwat nor at Mrāñmū. The inscription also states that Phunsañ Pārami, Anantasūr’s teacher, Skhiñ Set, Skhiñ Mātimā, Skhiñ Phattapañā and Skhiñ [A]nantakat, who were well-versed in the *Tipiṭaka*, acted as witnesses.<sup>33</sup> However, Mahākassapa was the only monk in the inscription referred to as *Phunmlatklīcwā*.

Mahākassapa’s name is again mentioned in an inscription dated 599 ME (AD 1237).<sup>34</sup> Although the provenance of the inscription is not known, it mentions *poñloñ*<sup>35</sup> and *Phunmlatklīcwā*,<sup>36</sup> Mahākassapa’s usual title of reference. He had already become a royal preceptor by this time.<sup>37</sup>

It is certain that Mahākassapa already had his monastery at Minnanthu by AD 1242, when Ñoñrañkrī’s daughter made donations to it.<sup>38</sup> Two years later, Mañlha, King Nātoñmyā’s sister,<sup>39</sup> made an establishment (*arap krī*) to the east to the monastery donated by Anantasū,<sup>40</sup> i.e. the Lemyethna monastic complex. Probably, she was enlarging an existing monastery.

Thus, Mahākassapa was receiving donations from the royalty since AD 1225, had become a royal preceptor at least by 1237, and dwelled at Minnanthu since 1244; his establishment continued to receive donations from King Klacwā (1235-?1249) and King

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*khyañ sañkhā 30 mrāñmū taw kloñ sañghā 5 mrāñmū rwā sūkrī sāyāpuil | ... RMK 1.109, lines 14-16.*

<sup>33</sup> *RMK 1.109, lines 32-33.* The phrase *ppittakat suñm puñm tat kun ti te* could also mean that they were *Tipitakadharas*.

<sup>34</sup> *RMK 1.180, line 7.*

<sup>35</sup> *RMK 1.180, line 6.*

<sup>36</sup> *RMK 1.180, line 7.*

<sup>37</sup> ... *mañ e’ charā tow ... RMK 1.180, line 6.*

<sup>38</sup> *RMK 2.22, 23.*

<sup>39</sup> Than Tun, “History of Buddhism” 122.

<sup>40</sup> *RMK 2.53.*

Narathihapate (Tarukplyi; 1256-1287).<sup>41</sup> He certainly was a person to whom such a letter as the one mentioned above would be sent. It seems that he did endeavor to effect Sangha reform. The monks Dhammasiri and Subhūtica who, as the inscriptions prove, studied in Sri Lanka, had witnessed a donation made to a forest monastery together with Mahākassapa.<sup>42</sup> Than Tun has estimated that they studied in Sri Lanka sometime between 1237 and 1248.

There is a very interesting inscription connected with these two monks and the ‘purification’ of the Religion. The inscription records the consecration of a *sim* (ordination hall; monument 888) donated by a minister (probably Caturaṅgabala) of King Klacwā (1235-?1249).<sup>43</sup> It says how the *thera* Subhūtica, “a member of the royalty, came from Kamboja, the land of gem mines to Arimaddana” and “cleansed the Religion,” and how he visited Sri Lanka; how his pupil went to Sri Lanka on a pilgrimage; how other monks went to Sri Lanka; and how Dhammasiri consecrated the *sim* donated by the minister. It also says that Sumedha, the royal preceptor, also had been to Sri Lanka. This Sumedha probably was the same as the Sumedha who received donations from King Klacwā in AD 1245. The same inscription mentions him in connection with Narathihapate (1256-1287) and the donations made to a forest monastery.<sup>44</sup> It goes on to say that “the two learned monks together with their companions forsook the ten wrong states.”<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> *RMK* 2.53b, lines 16-17; *RMK* 3.6; and *RMK* 3.26a, lines 1-22. Although the last inscription does not say where these buildings were, as the inscription was found at East Kassapa Temple (monument no. 505), and as the slaves and land were donated to Mahākassapa’s establishment, these buildings must have been around there too.

<sup>42</sup> *RMK* 2.77, line 8; and *RMK* 2.133.

<sup>43</sup> This inscription also mentions a request made to Subhūtica by the king whose queen was Muttakā (meaning Pearl). *Caw Pulaimay*, meaning “Queen Pearl” was queen of King Narasihapate’ and daughter of King Utcinā and Queen Sumlula. She built a *prasad* (pavilion) in AD 1269 and donated lands and slaves for the support of the “Three Jewels.” *RMK* 3.115, lines 1-2, 6-8.

<sup>44</sup> *RMK* 2.42a and b.

<sup>45</sup> ... *tattha pāmokkha therā dve aññe therā sahāyakā dasavippattiyo hitvā ... RMK* 2.133.

Therefore, it seems that the Sangha reform of the 13<sup>th</sup> century AD was initiated or led by Mahākassapa, which triggered the foundation of a new line of monks with Sīhala ancestry. However, this new line or lines did not undermine the earlier forest monks. There is no indication that they formed a separate sect. Mahākassapa and his monastery continued to flourish. Even though Mahākassapa himself did not receive ordination or study at Sri Lanka, the Sri Lankan monk's letter to him proves that Sri Lankan monks acknowledged the validity of the lineage of Mahākassapa, and that Mahākassapa at that time was at least the leader of the/a forest sect in Pagan.

The fact that the *Phun* sect, which seems to have been weaker than the *Saṇi* sect till AD 1225, became more than twice as strong as the latter between 1226-1250 suggests that the purification movement took place some time between 1201 and 1250 (see Chart 1 [below]).

Additionally, the Sinhalese *thera* in the above-mentioned letter advised Mahākassapa to purify the Myanmar Sangha “on the lines of the purification of the Sangha effected by Parākrama-bāhu I in Ceylon.” The Sangha reform in Sri Lanka during the reign of Parakramabāhu I, in AD 1153, was led by a Mahākassapa,<sup>46</sup> head of the forest branch of Mahāvihāra *nikāya* at Udumbaragiri.<sup>47</sup> This points to the fact that the forest dwellers were held in high esteem in Sri Lanka around this time. Hence, it is not surprising that the Pagan monks who studied after this time at the Mahāvihāra had forest inclinations. They probably studied at the forest branch of the Mahāvihāra.

As has been stated above (5.1.1.1), the names of three monks in the inscriptions coincided with those of Chappada's mission, though all of them occur in the inscriptions over thirty years later than the dates on which they passed away according to tradition. Whether they were the same monks or not, the monks in the inscriptions were most likely part of this

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<sup>46</sup> That they had the same name is pure coincidence.

<sup>47</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkramaṃ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātam*: 36; and J.L. Taylor, *Forest Monks and the Nation-State: An Anthropological and Historical Study in Northeastern Thailand, Social Issues in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1993) 12.

purification movement. All of them certainly were connected not only with Sri Lanka, but also with forest monks. All of them occur in the inscriptions later than Mahākassapa's first appearance, and Mahākassapa was a royal preceptor both before and after they are mentioned in the inscriptions. However, Mahākassapa was not the earliest forest dweller mentioned in the inscriptions. The earliest inscription that refers to a forest monk belongs to AD 1216.

Apart from Sri Lanka, Myanmar forest monks undoubtedly had connections with the monks in other countries in Southeast Asia. Cambodian monks are mentioned in the inscriptions.<sup>48</sup> There was a *klwam mahāthi*, or “Cambodian Mahāthera,” in AD 1293. Subhūtican, who witnessed the donation of a forest monastery together with Mahākassapa and who ‘cleansed’ the Religion in Pagan on his return from Sri Lanka, was of Cambodian royal blood.<sup>49</sup> Tāmalinda of Chappada's mission was a prince from Kamboja according to the chronicles.<sup>50</sup> In addition, an inscription mentions the monastery of a Cambodian monk in the precincts of Mahākassapa's monastery.<sup>51</sup>

It was much easier to travel between Pagan and Thailand than between either Pagan or Thailand and Sri Lanka. Rāmaññadeśa—the origin of Thailand's forest dwellers—had been a territory of Pagan before Sukhothai took it over. A forest-dwelling sect established in Rāmaññadeśa in AD 1331 was connected with the branch of forest monks of the Mahāvihāra of Sri Lanka, and, after ten Thai monks were ordained there, this sect spread to Thailand.<sup>52</sup> However, as Aniruddha had incorporated the whole of Lower Myanmar into his kingdom, Pagan undoubtedly had had contacts with Thailand since the early Pagan period. Compare

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<sup>48</sup> *Skhiñ Krwam*, *RMK* 2.49, line 9. *Klwam mahāthi* “Cambodian Mahāthera,” *RMK* 3.91b, line 16. *Krwam Skhiñ* “Cambodian Lord,” *RMK* 4.116b, line 15.

<sup>49</sup> *RMK* 2.133, lines 2-5.

<sup>50</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkramṁ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātāma*: 60; and *Glass Palace Chronicle* 143-144.

<sup>51</sup> *RMK* 3.33, lines 11-14.

<sup>52</sup> Carol Stratton and Miriam McNair Scott, *The Art of Sukhothai: Thailand's Golden Age from the Mid-Thirteenth to the Mid-Fifteenth Centuries* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford UP, 1981) 6, 14.

similar and, very probably, related, loanwords in Old Myanmar and Thai languages: Thai *aaram*<sup>53</sup> ~ OM *aram* < Skt./Pali *ārāma*, Thai *nikaat*<sup>54</sup> ~ OM *nikay* (pronounced /nikɛ/) < Skt./Pali *nikāya*, Thai *wat* “monastery” ~ OM *wat* < Skt./Pali *vaṭṭa*, Thai *winai* ~ OM *winañ* (pronounced /winɛ/), etc. Many Buddhist words, both in Thai and in Myanmar, must have been derived through Old Mon. But there is no related word in Mon for Thai *Phra* and OM *purhā*/MnM *bhurā*: (pron. /pəra:/).

### 6.3. HOW AND WHEN WERE THE BUDDHIST SECTS FORMED?

The earliest occurrences of the names of monks belonging to different Buddhist sects in the inscriptions of Pagan and in the chronicles are given in Appendix 3. It should be noted here that the inscriptions generally record major donations made to the Religion, such as building temples, stupas, monasteries, etc. and/or donating land and slaves to the religious establishments. The main reason for recording the donations very probably was in order to prevent the abuse of the land and slaves donated and their confiscation by later kings. As it would take time to establish a sect, and as it would take time for a sect or the monks of a sect to become famous enough to receive major donations, the date of the founding of the sects would be much earlier than the earliest dates in which they occur in the inscriptions.

The monks with *Saṅ* titles occur in the earliest dated Myanmar inscription, which records the donations made by King Kyansittha’s son in AD 1112.<sup>55</sup> Kyansittha’s Palace Inscription shows that during his reign, there was only a single Buddhist sect greatly influenced by Brahmanism, while the votive tablets and prayers of his reign point to the fact that this Buddhist sect was also influenced by Mahayanism (see 3. Buddhism in Pagan [above]). Besides, *saṅgradivācariyena* on a votive tablet belonging to Aniruddha’s reign

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<sup>53</sup> Taylor, *Forest Monks* 14.

<sup>54</sup> Taylor, *Forest Monks* 18-19.

<sup>55</sup> *RMK* 1.1a, lines 19-22; and *RMK* 1.2a, lines 22-26.

probably means “... by Saṅgrī Divācariya ...”<sup>56</sup> Hence, it can be learnt that the sect of *Saṅ* monks was the earliest Buddhist sect in Pagan. Moreover, King Kyansittha used Old Mon language in his lithic inscriptions including his palace inscription, and the word *Saṅ* in *Saṅ* titles, as stated above (page 96), was derived from Old Mon. Therefore, these monks probably belonged to the sect established by the Mons in central Myanmar before the Myanmars entered the area and the Myanmars whom they later had converted.

Their connection with northern India is apparent from iconography as well as from Sanskrit inscriptions in Devanagari script stamped on the votive tablets belonging to the reigns of the earliest kings of Pagan—Aniruddha (1044-1077), Sawlu (? 1077-1084), and Kyansittha (1084-1113) (see 3.1 [above]). Additionally, King Kyansittha recorded a mission he sent to Bodh Gaya to repair the Vajrāsana temple in an Old Mon inscription.<sup>57</sup>

This, however, does not mean that the Mons were not connected with Sri Lanka. That the Sinhalese chronicle *Cūlavamsa* refers to Aniruddha as “the Prince Anuruddha in the Rāmañña country” points to the fact that Rāmañña in Lower Myanmar had contacts with Sri Lanka before Aniruddha incorporated it to his domain.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, the recitation of the *parit* (Pali *paritta*) by the earliest monks mentioned in Kyansittha’s palace inscription indicates that they were influenced by Sri Lanka (see 3.2.4 [above]). However, as Buddhism in Sri Lanka was at low ebb until the reign of Vijayabāhu I (1065-1120), the Sri Lankan influence on the Mons, especially on the Buddhist Sangha, in the earlier days could have been minimal.

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<sup>56</sup> Mya, *Rhehoṅ: Utkhwak Ruppwā: Chai:tutaumyā*: [Votive Tablets of Myanmar], 2 vols. (Yangon: Archaeology Department, ?1961) 1: 19, Pls. 15a and b.

<sup>57</sup> Archaeological Survey of Burma, *Epigraphia Birmanica* 1.2: 153-168; and Than Tun, “History of Buddhism” 9.

<sup>58</sup> Wilhelm Geiger, trans., *Cūlavamsa, Being the More Recent Part of Mahāvamsa*, translated from German to English by C. Mabel Rickmers (Colombo: Ceylon Government, 1953) 60: 5-6. Geiger identified this Anuruddha with the Myanmar king Aniruddha. He also states that a Tamil inscription of Polonnaruva confirms that Vijayabāhu fetched monks from Myanmar. *Ibid.*, Ch. 60, fn. 4. See Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, *Epigraphia Zeylanica, Being Lithic and Other Inscriptions of Ceylon*, edited and translated by H.W. Codrington and S. Paranavitana, 4 vols. (London: Oxford UP, 1904-1934; reprint, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1994) 2, pp. 242ff. for this inscription.



Myanmar's contacts with Sri Lanka during the reigns of early Pagan kings deserve special mention. According to some Sri Lankan sources, there were Sinhalese monks in Myanmar fleeing from the Chola occupation in the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>59</sup> This is not impossible because the *Cūlavamsa* states that Vijayabāhu I (aka Sirisaṅghabodhi; 1065-1120), in his attempt to liberate Sri Lanka from the Cholas, sought military aid from Rāmañña.<sup>60</sup> The *Cūlavamsa* goes on to relate how the cargo ships from Myanmar arrived.<sup>61</sup> It also says that there was a good relationship between Myanmar and Sri Lanka, exchanging precious gifts and envoys until the reign of King Parakramabāhu I (1111-1153).<sup>62</sup> Furthermore, King Vijayabāhu I (1065-1120),

... sent to his friend, Prince Anuruddha in the Rāmañña country, messengers with gifts and had fetched thence *bhikkhus* who had thoroughly studied the three Piṭakas, who were a fount of moral discipline and other virtues, (and) acknowledged as *theras*.<sup>63</sup>

Aniruddha complied with this request.<sup>64</sup> Another source states that Vijayabāhu I received twenty *theras* (to revitalize the Sinhalese Saṅgha) as well as the Buddhist scriptures.<sup>65</sup> The Myanmar in return would have received some Buddhist texts from Sri

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<sup>59</sup> Sirisena, *Sri Lanka and South-East Asia* 18.

<sup>60</sup> If we believe Aniruddha incorporated Rāmañña in about 1057 as the Myanmar chronicles have asserted, Rāmañña at that time was part of Myanmar. The country is referred to both as *Rāmañña* and as *Aramaṇa* in Vijayabāhu's request to Aniruddha to send monks to reestablish the Sīhala Sangha. *Cūlavamsa* 60: 5-7.

<sup>61</sup> Sirisena, *Sri Lanka and South-East Asia* 16-18.

<sup>62</sup> *Cūlavamsa* 76: 11-14; and Sirisena, *Sri Lanka and South-East Asia* 21-22. A Myanmar chronicle states that during the reign of King Alaungsithu: "The Kala appointed in the island of Ceylon was corrupt in his allegiance." *Glass Palace Chronicle* 118.

<sup>63</sup> *Cūlavamsa* 60: 5-7; and Sirisena, *Sri Lanka and South-East Asia* 61. See also Niharranjan Ray, *An Introduction to the Study of Theravāda Buddhism in Burma: A Study in Indo-Burmese Historical and Cultural Relations from the Earliest Times to the British Conquest* (Calcutta: Calcutta UP, 1946) 99; and Than Tun, "History of Buddhism" 7.

<sup>64</sup> Sirisena, *Sri Lanka and South-East Asia* 61.

<sup>65</sup> Sirisena, *Sri Lanka and South-East Asia* 61, 63. The work he refers to here is the *Pūjāvaliya*, a Sinhalese text of AD 1266. Ibid., "Introduction" 8-9. Paranavitana and Gunawardana, however, believe that the monks who went to Sri Lanka were those who had taken refuge in Myanmar from Cola rule earlier. Sirisena, *Sri Lanka and South-East Asia* 61-63.

Lanka too. But what is more important is that there was no reason for the Myanmars of that period to regard the Sinhalese Sangha as superior to theirs, since the Sinhalese monks technically had become monks of Myanmar lineage tradition.<sup>66</sup> Hence, there was no reason for the Myanmars to establish a Sīhala sect at Pagan.

*Phun* monks occur in the inscriptions from AD 1151 onwards. This sect certainly was established during the reign of Cañsū I (1113-1169/70), commonly known as Alaungsithu. Although the founding of the sect could be much earlier than its occurrence in the inscriptions, there is no reason to believe that there was more than one sect during the reign of King Kyansittha. *Phun* monks became stronger in later times and probably absorbed the *Saṅ* monks gradually. All the sects formed in later times, such as forest monks and the *paṃsukūlikas*, continued to use the *Phun* titles. The modern Myanmar word for monk, *bhun:krī:*, very likely is derived from Old Myanmar *phunmlatkrīcwā*. Why, when or how this sect was formed is not mentioned in the chronicles. The fact that later monks connected with Sri Lanka continued to have *Phun* titles suggests that this sect derived from there.

Myanmar had contacts with Sri Lanka during this period. The *Glass Palace Chronicle* also relates how Alaungsithu traveled with his boats to Sri Lanka (the king of which offered him his daughter and a boat), to India and Malayu Island.<sup>67</sup> Although there is no evidence that he himself had visited these places, it is not impossible that Myanmar had contacts with these countries as he had control over the coastal regions in Lower Myanmar. According to the *Glass Palace Chronicle*, Myanmar territory at that time was

... Eastward the Panthe country, also called Sateittha; south-eastward the country of the Gywans, also called Ayoja; southward Nagapat Island in mid-ocean; south-westward

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<sup>66</sup> The chroniclers' statement that Uttarājīva, when he and his pupil Chappada visited Sri Lanka during the reign of King Narapatisithu (1174-1211), did not receive ordination from the Sinhalese monks suggests that earlier monks did not regard the Sīhala Sangha to be superior to the Myanmar Sangha. It is clear from the fact that he (together with the Sinhalese monks) performed the ordination on Chappada, indicates that the Sinhalese monks did not regard him as inferior to them either. Mendelson, *Sangha and State* 39-40.

<sup>67</sup> *Glass Palace Chronicle* 114-116.

the Kala country, also known as Pateikkara; in the north-west corner Katu-nganagiyi-yepawmi; northward the Tarop country, also called Gandhala....<sup>68</sup>

Additionally, the *Glass Palace Chronicle* refers to a Myanmar envoy in Sri Lanka who “was corrupt in his allegiance.”<sup>69</sup>

The chroniclers also state that Arahan passed away during Alaungsithu’s reign.<sup>70</sup> Did the king tried to infuse new blood into the Sangha in the wake of the death of the earliest patriarch of Pagan? Or did he then shift his support to the Sinhalese monks and/or their Myanmar pupils, which led to the growth of these monks into a new strong sect? It could have been both.

Apart from the refugee Sinhalese monks who came to Myanmar in the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, there could have been some Myanmar monks who had traveled to Sri Lanka by this time, and there could have been some Sinhalese monks in Myanmar taking refuge from the civil war that broke out in Sri Lanka in the 1110s.<sup>71</sup> Besides, the confiscation of religious property by Vikramabāhu I (1111-1113) that led many monks to leave Polonnaruva might also have prompted a few of them to migrate to Myanmar.<sup>72</sup>

The prayers connected with these monks indicate that there was some Sarvastivada influence, probably due to their contacts with other Southeast Asian countries. The prevalence of Sarvastivada Buddhism in many countries in Southeast Asia in the 7<sup>th</sup> century

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<sup>68</sup> *Glass Palace Chronicle* 106.

<sup>69</sup> *Glass Palace Chronicle* 118.

<sup>70</sup> *Glass Palace Chronicle* 119.

<sup>71</sup> “A Brief Historical Background to Coinage of the Polonnaruva Period: Lanka—9<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> century AD” (text edited from Michael Mitchiner, *Oriental Coins* [London: Hawkins Publications, 1978]), 26 September 2000 <[http://astro.phus.cmu.edu/~kavan/lakdiva/coins/mediaevallanka/polonnaruva\\_period.html](http://astro.phus.cmu.edu/~kavan/lakdiva/coins/mediaevallanka/polonnaruva_period.html)>

<sup>72</sup> Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, *The Buddhist Saints of the Forest and the Cult of Amulets: A Study in Charisma, Hagiography, Sectarianism, and Millennial Buddhism* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1984) 56.

AD can be learnt from the records of I-tsing, who traveled to India, Sri Lanka and the Southeast Asian Archipelago at the close of the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>73</sup>

In the islands of the Southern Sea—consisting of more than ten countries—the Mūlasarvastivādanikāya has been almost universally adopted (lit. ‘there is almost only one’), though occasionally some have devoted themselves to the Sammitinikāya; and recently a few followers of the other two schools have also been found....<sup>74</sup>

The *bhikkhunīs* used both the *Saṅ* and *Phun* titles. Whether those with *Phun* titles were the result of later contacts with Sri Lanka or whether they spread from the *Saṅ* sect to the *Phun* sect, however, is not known. They were in existence in Sri Lanka at least till the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD (see 5.1.2 [above]).

As has been stated above (5.1.1.1), the *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātam*: refers to Arahan as a forest monk (and also as a *paṃsukūlika*).<sup>75</sup> If Arahan was a forest monk, the *Saṅ* monks also must have originally been forest monks. However, even if this was the case Arahan certainly had no connection with the forest monks with *Phun* titles. First, he was a *Saṅ* monk whereas the forest monks were *Phun* monks, and secondly, the earliest mention of *taw kloṅ* (“forest monastery”) was in the inscription dated AD 1216, over a hundred and fifty years after Arahan was alleged to have converted Aniruddha to Buddhism.

The first mention of a forest monastery is in an inscription that records donations made in AD 1216 to Skhiṅ Yaṅtaw,<sup>76</sup> “who was dwelling in the forest monastery built by the queen’s mother.”<sup>77</sup> As he was famous enough to have received donations from the queen’s mother before this time, he could not have been a junior monk of less than five years’

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<sup>73</sup> Nihar-Ranjan Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma* (Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1936; reprint, Rangoon: Buddha Sāsana Council Press, n.d.) 8, 28-29.

<sup>74</sup> J. Takakasu, ed. And trans., *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (AD 671-695)* by I-tsing (London: Clarendon Press, 1896; 2<sup>nd</sup> Indian Edition, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1982) 10; and Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma* 28.

<sup>75</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkramaṃ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātam*: 90-91. This work also states that Paṅsakū Ña Cway Rhaṅ belonged to Arahan’s line. Ibid. 113.

<sup>76</sup> RMK 1.72.

<sup>77</sup> RMK 1.72, lines 3-4.

standing. Hence he very probably had been a forest monk before the reign of King Nātoṇmyā (1211-1235), aka Htilominlo. Moreover, that a forest monk of the Mahāvihāra led the purification of the Sangha in Sri Lanka in AD 1153 shows that the forest monks had become predominant from that time onwards. Therefore, it can be assumed that the forest sect in Myanmar was established between this date (AD 1153) and during the reign of Narapatisithu (1174-1211), and was connected with the forest monks of Mahāvihāra sect of Sri Lanka. It is, however, equally possible that all the *Phun* monks were originally forest dwellers, and therefore that the forest sect in Pagan was established during the reign of Alaungsithu (1113-1169/70), and grew rapidly later due the Sangha reform in Nātoṇmyā's reign (1211-1235) effected by contacts with their counterparts in Sri Lanka.

As stated above, three monks of Chappada's mission as well as two other monks who had studied in Sri Lanka certainly were connected with forest monks. Hence where they had studied, very likely, was the forest branch of Mahāvihāra at Udumbaragiri. The forest dwellers of Pagan were very highly venerated, receiving large donations, and behaving more like town or village dwellers in later times.

The *paṃsukūlikas* occur very rarely in the inscriptions. As all these monks—ordinary *Phun* monks as well as the forest dwellers and the *paṃsukūlikas*—used the same titles, it is impossible to differentiate one from another unless it is explicitly stated in the inscriptions. As they occur only after the purification of the Sangha in Sri Lanka (AD 1153), they seemed to have been connected with the *paṃsukūlikas* of the Mahāvihāra.

The first mention of the monk Phunmlatso Paṃsakū, a royal preceptor, is in an inscription dated AD 1236.<sup>78</sup> Paṃsakū might have been the title of the leader of *paṃsukūlikas*, or of any *paṃsukūlikas*. The lay name of a royal preceptor by the name of Paṃsakū, according to the *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātam*., was Ṇa Cwaysaṅ.<sup>79</sup> An inscription records

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<sup>78</sup> *RMK* 1.164, line 6.

<sup>79</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkrahṇ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātam*: 112-113.

the donations made in AD 1201 by Ña Cwaysañ.<sup>80</sup> Therefore it is very likely that there were *paṃsukūlikas* in Pagan by the reign of Narapatisithu (1174-1211). According to the chroniclers, however, one of the royal preceptors of King Alaungsithu (1113-1169/70) was a *paṃsukūlika*. This is possible. As Tambiah has pointed out, the *paṃsukūlikas* are not mentioned in the historical records of Sri Lanka after they, together with many other monks, had left Polonnaruva for Ruhuana, “in protest against the confiscation of monastic property by Vikramabāhu I (1111-1113).”<sup>81</sup> Even if none of them came to Pagan, the monks of Pagan must have received this tradition while they were still active in Sri Lanka.

Later contacts with Sri Lanka are also interesting. A monk named Siṅghuiw Buddharaṃsī was a royal preceptor during the reign of Nātoṇmyā (1211-1235). An inscription records a donation in AD 1235 at which Skhiñ Sinkhuiw acted as a witness. During the reign of King Narathihapate (1256-1287), aka Tarukplyi, a Mlatsa Sinkhuiw witnessed a donation at Myingun. As *Siṅghuiw* and *Sinkhuiw* undoubtedly derived from *Sīṅghala* “Sri Lanka”, these monks probably were Sinhalese monks.

Polonnaruva rule was weakening during the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The Tamils occupied the Sinhalese kingdom for several months in 1210/1211, and again for three years from 1211 to 1214.<sup>82</sup> From the 1220s onwards, northern parts of Sri Lanka came under the Tamil rule, and during the reign of King Parakramabāhu III (1302-1310), Sinhalese had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Tamil king.<sup>83</sup> Hence, some Sinhalese monks could have migrated to Pagan during the 13<sup>th</sup> century AD.

Chart 1 shows the ebb and flow of Pagan Buddhist sects. Note that dated Myanmar lithic inscriptions occur only from AD 1112 onwards, and that there were very few inscriptions earlier than AD 1175. Therefore, the chart is not reliable for the period before

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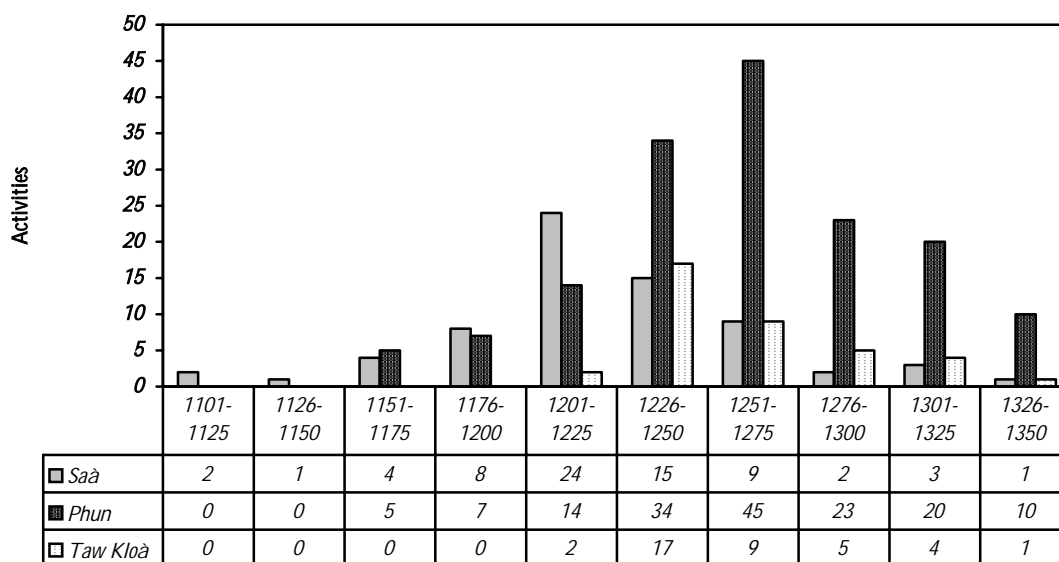
<sup>80</sup> *RMK* 1.130, line 2.

<sup>81</sup> Tambiah, *Buddhist Saints of Forest* 56.

<sup>82</sup> “Brief Historical Background to Coinage.”

<sup>83</sup> “Brief Historical Background to Coinage.”

Chart 1.--Comparison of Saà and Phun monks



Notes.—1. Data table is attached mainly to show that there are so few inscriptions that it is impossible to judge everything from this chart. Especially for the period before 1200, the chart is not reliable.

2. The numbers given in the table are not the number of the inscriptions. Several inscriptions record various events which happened at different times. This chart represents those events, i.e. when the monks and/or their donors were active.

3. Even though it is known that some inscriptions are referring to the same monks, if the title or the word *taw kloà* is not mentioned in them, they are discarded. This is to make sure that the data for all the sects have been collected by the same method. Although some *Phun* monks and the forest monk Mahākassapa occur very frequently in the inscriptions and therefore their inscriptions are recognizable even when the titles are not mentioned, there are no *Saà* monks whose inscription can be recognized if the titles are not mentioned.

4. The *taw kloà* monks, if they are referred to with their *Phun* titles are included in the *Phun* monks.

1175. Also, the number of inscriptions does not explain whether a certain sect was enjoying royal patronage, or whether the monks of one sect were becoming royal preceptors, which also are important indicators. Further, as the forest dwellers and the *paṃsukūlikas* also used *Phun* titles, the inscriptions connected with the *Phun* monks include those connected with the forest dwellers as well as with the *paṃsukūlikas*.

The *Saṃ* sect grew till 1201-1225, when it began to decline. The *Phun* sect which, gradually increased, reached its peak in 1225-1275, and then it too declined. Also, although the decline of the *Phun* sect was no doubt due mainly to the political turmoil caused by the Chinese invasion, that of the *Saṃ* sect was earlier, and while both the sects were at their zenith, the *Phun* sect was much stronger. Most important of all, although the difference between *Saṃ* monks and *Phun* monks was minimal in earlier period, between AD 1226 and 1250, while the number of inscriptions connected with *Phun* monks increased rapidly, the *Saṃ* sect began to decline. It is very probable that this period coincided with the Sangha reform initiated by Pagan forest monks connected with Sri Lanka. However, the fact that the decline of the *Saṃ* sect was gradual, though irreversible, indicates that the sect was not persecuted by royal authority. They just lost support, from the royalty as well as from commoners, who seemingly shifted their support to the sect freshly ‘cleansed’ or ‘reformed’ with the monks who were newly ordained and/or studied in Sri Lanka. In addition, a *Phun* monk is first mentioned as a royal preceptor in an inscription dated AD 1169, about the end of Alaungsithu’s reign. From that time onwards, none of the royal preceptors or the *mahātheras* had *Saṃ* titles. During the reign of King Kīlacwā (1235-?1249), the *mahāthera* (patriarch) as well as two royal preceptors were forest dwellers and one royal preceptor was a *paṃsukūlika*. In addition, there were other monks either with *Phun* titles or connected with *Phun* monks.

The *Phun* sect, though in decline, even after the fall of Pagan was as strong as the *Saṃ* sect at its peak. Their decline was partly due to the change in the nature of the inscriptions, and partly to the monks’ use of a new Myanmar title *syāṇi*. The title *charyā taw* (royal



preceptor) replaced *phunmlatkrī(cwā)*, from which *bhun:krī:* (the word for monks in modern Myanmar) is derived.<sup>84</sup> This is an indication that modern monks are connected with this sect.

In the post-Pagan period, the forest monks with *Phun* titles lost their forest identity. Presumably, this was because there was no more need to distinguish themselves from the *Saṅgha* sect, as the latter, being totally absorbed, ceased to exist, and/or because the monks of this forest sect were behaving more like town or village dwellers. (In later times, only true forest monasteries, i.e. the monasteries located away from lay habitats [though some were large], are referred to as forest monasteries.)

#### 6.4. WHAT WERE THE REASONS FOR FOUNDING THESE SECTS?

Anthropologists regard the ‘domestication’ and ‘purification’ process as the cause of secession. According to Tambiah, the ‘established saṅgha,’ or town or village dwellers, receiving many donations of land and slaves (which led to disputes and lawsuits) separated into sects vying for royal favor and having various degrees and adherence to *Vinaya* rules. This caused the ‘purification’ movement by the royalty and the laity with the help of the ‘ascetic breakaway’ or forest dwellers, who in turn became like the ‘established saṅgha.’<sup>85</sup> Mendelson also remarks: “Too much materialism in the *Saṅgha* triggers both internal monastic reformers and lay purification movements.”<sup>86</sup> Thus, the dichotomy between town or village dwellers and forest dwellers represents, in Tambiah’s words, that between ‘established saṅgha’ and ‘ascetic breakaway,’ or, in Mendelson’s words, ‘reformers’ or ‘reformists’ and ‘the reformed.’ Taylor, however, describes them as ‘domesticated saṅgha’ and ‘ascetic reformers.’<sup>87</sup> Aung-Thwin, however, suggests that the Sangha reforms and the creation of

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<sup>84</sup> Modern Myanmar equivalent of *charyā tau* “royal preceptor” is *charā tau* “abbot.”

<sup>85</sup> Tambiah, *Buddhist Saints of Forest* 72-73.

<sup>86</sup> Mendelson, *Saṅgha and State* 50.

<sup>87</sup> Taylor, *Forest Monks* 14.

new sects were the kings' attempt restored land and labor from the religious establishment to state's resources. However, he does not give any convincing evidence.<sup>88</sup>

It is true that monks' corruption triggers 'purification.' As it was the cause of most of the secessions of Sangha in Sri Lanka as well as in Southeast Asia, there is no doubt that this could have been one of the reasons for Myanmar Sangha to fragment into various sects. However, individual cases vary. The alternative of lax town or village dwellers does not have to be strict forest dwellers. Neither was corruption limited to the town/village dwellers nor was orthodoxy limited to forest monks. Further, the alternative to a lax sect or sects does not have to be a new breakaway sect. It is possible that the *Phun* sect was established during the reign of King Alaungsithu because the *Saṅi* monks became lax in *Vinaya* rules, which led the king to shift his support to the monks with new lineage traditions, eventually resulting in the growth of those monks into a strong sect. In the second instance, the use of the Pali word *visodhayi* (meaning "cleansed") clearly indicates that the reason for the reform was because many earlier monks, perhaps both *Saṅi* and *Phun* monks, had become lax in their observance of the *Vinaya*. However, the purification movement was initiated by the earlier forest monks of the *Phun* sect, and there is no indication that a new sect was formed. This purification resulted in the growth of the *Phun* sect that initiated it. That the monks of the new sect(s) were forest dwellers in Pagan is due more to the fact that the forest dwellers were predominant at that time in Sri Lanka, the source for the new lineage tradition.

The anthropologists who used the terms quoted above were very probably influenced by the chroniclers' depiction of forest *vs.* town dwellers. All of them (except Aung-Thwin) quote or refer to the chroniclers' statement that some Myanmar monks, "disliking the fact that disputes and lawsuits resulting from the revenues from religious land, left the monastery for the religious retreats on the hills," and that "those monks were called forest dwellers who

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<sup>88</sup> Michael A. Aung-Thwin, *Pagan: the Origins of Modern Burma* (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1985) 138-141; and *idem*, "The Role of Sasana Reform in Burmese History: Economic Dimensions of a Religious Purification," *Journal of Asian Studies* 37.4 (1979): 671-688.

walked alone and those who remain near the town and villages were called town/village dwellers who walked with many.”<sup>89</sup>

This chroniclers’ attitude towards the forest and village dwellers is interesting. The monks they mentioned as belonging to Chappada’s mission were *Phun* monks connected with forest dwellers, to one of whom they trace the lineage of later monks, if not to Arahan (a *Saṅ* monk) whom also they refer to as a forest monk. In addition, the *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātā* refers to the corrupted monks as *gāṃawāsī* (“town/village dwellers”), or as “becoming *gāṃawāsī* [town/village dwellers], although they originally were virtuous as they had descended from the Thaton and Sīhala lines.”<sup>90</sup> Why does the author of this chronicle, and the authors of the earlier works he refers to, take this position? It is most probably because the majority of Myanmar monks were connected with forest traditions in their history. The two main sects, as the monks’ titles of reference indicate, were *Saṅ* and *Phun* sects. It seems that the founders of the so-called Sīhala Sangha or the Latter Order were forest monks with *Phun* titles. It is possible that the earlier *Phun* monks also were originally forest monks (as the later forest monks continued to use the same titles), whose forest identity was fading out. It is even possible that the *Saṅ* sect, whose founder the chroniclers regard as a forest monk, also was originally a forest sect that had lost its forest label entirely.

The fact that the Thai monks ordained in the Sinhalese lineage were referred to as “forest dwellers” during the Sukhothai period indicates that they were not a minority among the Thai Sangha.<sup>91</sup> It would not be surprising if the majority of monks in the Pagan period were forest monks, who gradually absorbed other monks, some of whom gradually became domesticated and behaved more like town/village dwellers in later times, compromising their traditions because of the demands of their patrons—royalty as well as commoners—due to their increasing popularity. For instance, Mahākassapa, a very famous forest monk,

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<sup>89</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkrahṇ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātā*: 127-128.

<sup>90</sup> Mahā Dhammasaṅkrahṇ, *Sāsanālaṅkāra Cātā*: 127.

<sup>91</sup> Taylor, *Forest Monks* 26.

becoming a *mañ charyā* “royal preceptor” and having received a monastery at Minnanthu donated to him by a sister of the king, had to make it his headquarters even if he wanted to wander around from time to time.

What reasons for secessions can be eliminated? As can be seen above, the reason why the *Phun* sect was founded is not known for certain. The establishment of the forest dwellers and the *pamsukūlikas* as distinct sects certainly was due to their different lineage traditions and their vocations. The reason Chappada was supposed to have formed a new sect in the reign of Narapatisithu was because of his lineage tradition. This sect separated into three different sects, according to the chronicles, because of arguments between the three monks over rules of the *Vinaya*. Ironically, the rules in dispute were really trivial, while the split of the Sangha which resulted from the arguments was a grave transgression (*pārājika*). And it was the monks who committed this transgression that usually prospered. The reasons for the schisms in the post-Pagan periods, whenever known, are connected with the *Vinaya* rules. Why was *Dhamma* “Doctrine” never the reason for schisms in Myanmar? Very probably because, first, the kings would not allow a totally new sect like Mahayana, though they themselves were influenced by it; secondly, although the monks belonged to different lineage traditions, all of them were professing Myanmar religion, i.e. the combination of Buddhism, both Mahayana and Theravada, tinged with Brahmanism and indigenous spirit-worship.

In sum, the *Saṅ* monks were the earliest monks of Pagan. Although they might have had some contacts with Sri Lanka in their early history, in the Pagan period, they certainly were greatly influenced by Brahmanism and Mahayanism. Later, they seemed to have been absorbed gradually by *Phun* monks. As contacts with northern India did not stop after Pagan’s contacts with Sri Lanka began, and as the Sinhalese Sangha was not free from Mahayana influence, later sect(s) that resulted from contacts with Sri Lanka also was/were influenced by Mahayanism. The chroniclers mention the Purima Sangha (“the Former

Order”), also known as Arahanta Sangha, as the only sect before Chappada’s secession (in AD 1180/1191). However, the date of Chappada’s mission given in the chronicles seems to have been wrong, and there is no indication in the inscriptions that the monks of this mission formed any new sect(s). The Myanmar Sangha does not seem to have been as fragmented as the chroniclers have suggested. The notion that the monks of this mission formed separate sects probably was due to the custom of tracing the lineage traditions of monks.

## 7. BUDDHIST TEMPLES AND STUPAS<sup>1</sup>

The architectural changes occurring during the Pagan period will be discussed in this chapter and the next one. The main purpose of this chapter is to find out the possible relation between the changes in the Buddhist monuments of worship and those in the Pagan Sangha. Of the scholars who have studied the Buddhist monuments of Pagan, the most prolific writer was Gordon H. Luce.<sup>2</sup> A Cambridge graduate in classics and English, Luce came to Myanmar in 1912 and worked as Professor of English Literature at the University College, Yangon. In 1929, after the establishment of Rangoon University, he became a lecturer in Burmese and Far Eastern History there. He was promoted to Reader, and eventually served as a professor of Far Eastern History from 1954 to 1965. He received the C.B.E. from the School of

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<sup>1</sup> The data for the temples and stupas are taken from Pierre Pichard, *Inventory of Monuments at Pagan*, vols. 1-6 (Paris: UNESCO, 1992-1995). As all the monuments are numbered, no reference will be given for individual buildings unless necessary.

<sup>2</sup> The most informative works on Pagan's architecture are Gordon H. Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagan*, 3 vols., *Artibus Asiae, Supplementum* 25 (New York: J.J. Augustin Publisher, 1969-1970); and Paul Strachan, *Imperial Pagan: Art and Architecture of Burma* (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1989). Chihara's work on Southeast Asian architecture includes a chapter on Pagan. Diagoro Chihara, "The Architecture of the Pagan Dynasty," chapt. in *Hindu-Buddhist Architecture in Southeast Asia*, Jan Fontein, ed., *Studies in Asian Art and Archaeology: Continuation of Studies in South Asian Culture* 19 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996): 165-182. There are also several interesting articles on some of the most important buildings of Pagan in the *Journals of the Burma Research Society* and the *Annual Reports* of the Archaeological Survey of India: G. H. Luce, "The Greater Temples of Pagan," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 8.3 (1918): 189-198, Pls. i-ix; *idem*, "The Smaller Temples of Pagan," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 10.2 (1920): 41-48; Than Tun, "Religious Buildings of Burma, A.D. 1000-1300," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 42.2 (1959); Chas. Duroiselle, "The Stone Sculptures in Ananda Temple at Pagan," in Archaeological Survey of India, *Annual Report* (1913-14): 63-97; *idem*, "The Nat-hlaung-kyaung, Pagan," in Archaeological Survey of India, *Annual Report* (1913-14): 136-139; and *idem*, *The Ananda Temple*, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* 56 (Delhi: 1937). With the aid provided by UNESCO, Pichard has made an inventory of Pagan monuments. Pierre Pichard, *Inventory of Monuments at Pagan*, vols. 1-7 (Paris: UNESCO, 1992-). Hudson has studied the monuments of Pagan using GIS (Geographic Information System) analysis. Bob Hudson, *Pagan and Its Monasteries: Time, Space and Structure in Burma's Medieval Buddhist City*, (BA [Hons.] Thesis, University of Sydney, 1997).

Oriental and African Studies (London University) in 1950, and D.Litt. from Rangoon University in 1957. He was also a member of the Burma Historical Commission for ten years. The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland awarded him the Triennial Gold Medal in 1966.

Luce studied the temples and stupas of the first half of the Pagan period in detail in his *Old Burma—Early Pagán*. He concluded that the buildings of the earlier period (before the end of Kyansittha's reign in AD 1113) are in Mon style, and referred to this as the Mon period.<sup>3</sup> He asserted that the buildings were gradually naturalized due to Sinhalese influence between AD 1113 to 1174 which he denoted the transitional period.<sup>4</sup> His conclusion that the early buildings, especially the temples with dark interiors, are in Mon style is based on the fact that the paintings or terracotta plaques in them have Mon captions.<sup>5</sup>

However, there are no buildings in the Mon capital Thaton (from where Pagan received Buddhism according to tradition) that are comparable to the early Pagan temples. Strachan has rightly objected to Luce's conclusion: "Whilst Mon culture was doubtless a significant literary force in Early Pagan, there is no substantive evidence to suggest that the Mons originated the type of brick temples found at Early Pagan."<sup>6</sup> Strachan also highlights the similarity of the voussoir brickwork and radiating arches in Pagan temples with those of Bebe and Lemyethna temples at Śrī Kṣetra belonging to about the 7<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup> century AD. He believes that the buildings in Pagan evolved from those of the Pyus, with the addition of

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<sup>3</sup> Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* 1: 9, 44, 49, 59-60, 230.

<sup>4</sup> Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* 1: 61-62, 96.

<sup>5</sup> Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* 1: 72-73. See also *idem*, "Pali & Old Mon Ink Glosses in Pagan Temples, Part I," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 58.2 (1975); and *idem*, "Pali & Old Mon Ink Glosses in Pagan Temples, Part II," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 58.2 (1975).

<sup>6</sup> Strachan, *Imperial Pagan* 9.

“more recent North Indian developments.”<sup>7</sup> He divides the Pagan era into three periods: Early (c. AD 850-1120), Middle (c. AD 1100-1170) and Late (c. AD 1170-1300).

It is true that the Myanmars adopted some architectural features from the Pyus (e.g. the technique of constructing vaults) and the Mons (e.g. *calac* [pediments] as the Myanmar word *calac* derives from Old Mon *clac*). Nevertheless, Indian influence on sculpture as well as on painting and the growth rate of monuments seem to indicate that Indian influence might have played a greater role than scholars previously have accepted. (See further below)

Both Luce and Strachan studied the artistic and architectural features of individual buildings in detail. Chihara also has studied the architectural features of some Pagan temples.<sup>8</sup> Than Tun emphasizes architectural terms recorded in inscriptions.<sup>9</sup> The monuments of Pagan will here be studied in a broad perspective in order to discern whether changes in architecture may be correlated with religious changes.

## 7.1. TEMPLES

Since the main purpose of Buddhist temples was to house Buddha image(s), temples can be categorized by the number of principal image(s) they contained:

### 7.1.1. Temples with a Single Principal Image

The majority of single-image temples are two-cell structures, i.e. they are formed with a square or rectangular shrine with an entrance hall, often reduced to a vestibule. This ground plan conforms to those of the *gandhakuṭī paṭimāgharas* of Sri Lanka as well as to Indian temples.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Strachan, *Imperial Pagan* 15.

<sup>8</sup> Chihara, *Hindu-Buddhist Architecture* 165-182.

<sup>9</sup> Than Tun, “History of Buddhism” 127-129.

<sup>10</sup> Senake Bandaranayake, *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture, the Vihāras of Anurādhapura*, vol. 4 of J.E. Vanlohuizen-Deleeuw, ed., *Studies in South Asian Culture* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974) 190-203. The term *gandhakuṭī* will not be used in referring to the Pagan temples in this paper because most of the Buddha images in Pagan temples are in



### 7.1.1.1. Temples with plain outlines

#### 7.1.1.1.1. Abeyadana type

The temples of this type are large temples formed with a shrine and an entrance hall attached to it. The main image rests against the rear wall of an inner sanctum, which is surrounded by an ambulatory (see Fig. 2.—Plan of Abeyadana [1202]). This plan is comparable to that of the *paṭimāgharas* at Toluvila in Sri Lanka.<sup>11</sup> The earliest temples of this type belonging to the 11<sup>th</sup> century are Abeyadana (1202) and Gubizatkyi (1662). Architecturally, Nagayon (1192) and Pahtothamya (1605) are of the same type, but are treated separately because each contains three Buddha images (see 7.1.3 [below]).

These temples are topped with stupa-shaped towers. The shapes of the stupas, however, differ from one another. Abeyadana (1202) is topped with a stupa with hemispherical dome and a crowning block. All the later temples of this type (12<sup>th</sup> century: Gubyaukng [285], Pyuntanza [433], monument 1686 and Gubyaukgyi [1323]; and 13<sup>th</sup> century: Bochomi Gubyauk [995]) are topped with square towers.

The paintings in the 11<sup>th</sup>- and 12<sup>th</sup>-century temples are similar in style to one another (see 9. Buddhist Art). Additionally, the captions of the paintings in Abeyadana (1202) and Gubizatkyi (1662) belonging to the 11<sup>th</sup> century (as well as in Nagayon [1192] and Pahtothamya [1605]), and Gubyaukng (285) and Gubyaukgyi (1323), belonging to the 12<sup>th</sup> century, are in Old Mon.

As the *Phun* sect did not come into being until the latter half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century (see 6. Buddhist Sects II [above]), these temples certainly belonged to the earlier monks.

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*bhūmisparśa mudrā*, which symbolizes the enlightenment, and the Buddha attained enlightenment at the foot of a Bodhi tree, not in a *gandhakuṭī* (“perfumed chamber,” the Buddha’s residence at Jetavana).

<sup>11</sup> Bandaranayake, *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture* 194, 195, Fig. 69. Another similar Sinhalese *paṭimāghara* is the one at Pankuliya. However, in this *paṭimāghara*, the vestibule replaces the entrance hall. *Ibid.*, 192, Fig. 66.

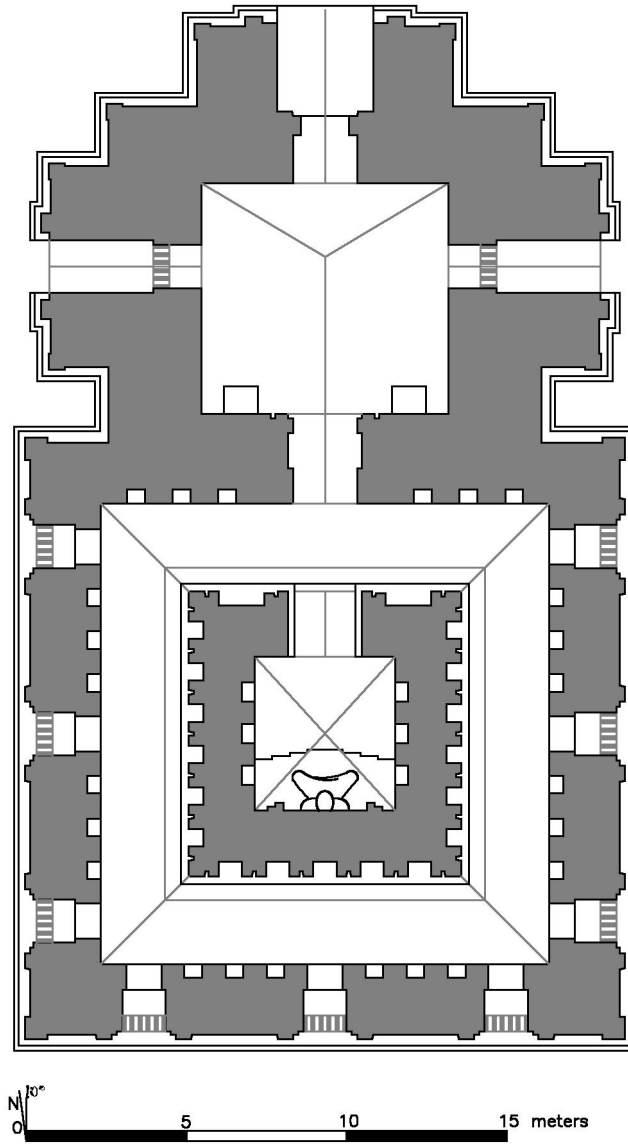


Figure 2.—Plan of Abeyadana (Monument 1202)

Moreover, seven *saṅgrī* were present at the ceremony of donating Gubyaukgyi (1323) as stated above (on page 100).

#### 7.1.1.1.2. Hlaing-she type

There are very few temples of this type: Hlaing-she Hpaya (369), and monuments 716 and 1068, all belonging to the 12<sup>th</sup> century AD. Hlaing-she Hpaya (369 [Fig. 3]) is a two-storied temple topped with *sikhara*. The upper portions of the other two temples no longer exist. In this type of temple, a solid core in the middle of shrine supports the upper parts of the temples. The main image is placed against the solid core facing the entrance.

#### 7.1.1.1.3. Small two-cell structures

This group consists of small temples with an entrance hall<sup>12</sup> or a vestibule.<sup>13</sup> The majority of these buildings are topped with *sikhara*.

These buildings have only one entrance; the image is generally placed next to the rear wall (see Fig. 4.—Plan of Monument 1026). In a few later temples of this type, however, the image is placed in the center of the shrine: monuments 40 and 1580 (without a backdrop [Fig. 5]) and 235 and 352 (with a backdrop). Whether or not this was necessitated by Buddha-*pūjā* (circumambulating the image) is unknown. Two temples of this type,

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<sup>12</sup> Topped with *sikhara*: 12<sup>th</sup> century: 1026, 1336 (two-storied); 13<sup>th</sup> century: 40, 235, 244, 352; topped with stupa: 12<sup>th</sup> century: 316; upper parts ruined: 12<sup>th</sup> century: 1088, 1710; and 13<sup>th</sup> century: 347, 839 and 1455.

<sup>13</sup> Topped with *sikhara*: 12<sup>th</sup> century: 1203, 1511, 1580; 13<sup>th</sup> century: 353, 627, 1046, 1051, 1164, 1209, 1222, 1244, 1329 and 1648; topped with stupa: 13<sup>th</sup> century: 335, 382, 1127 and 1683; upper parts ruined: 11<sup>th</sup> century: 1569; 12<sup>th</sup> century: 1066, 1601, 1611, 1704; 13<sup>th</sup> century: 245, 749, 1045, 1223, 1337, 1381, 1390, 1566, 1630 and 1701.

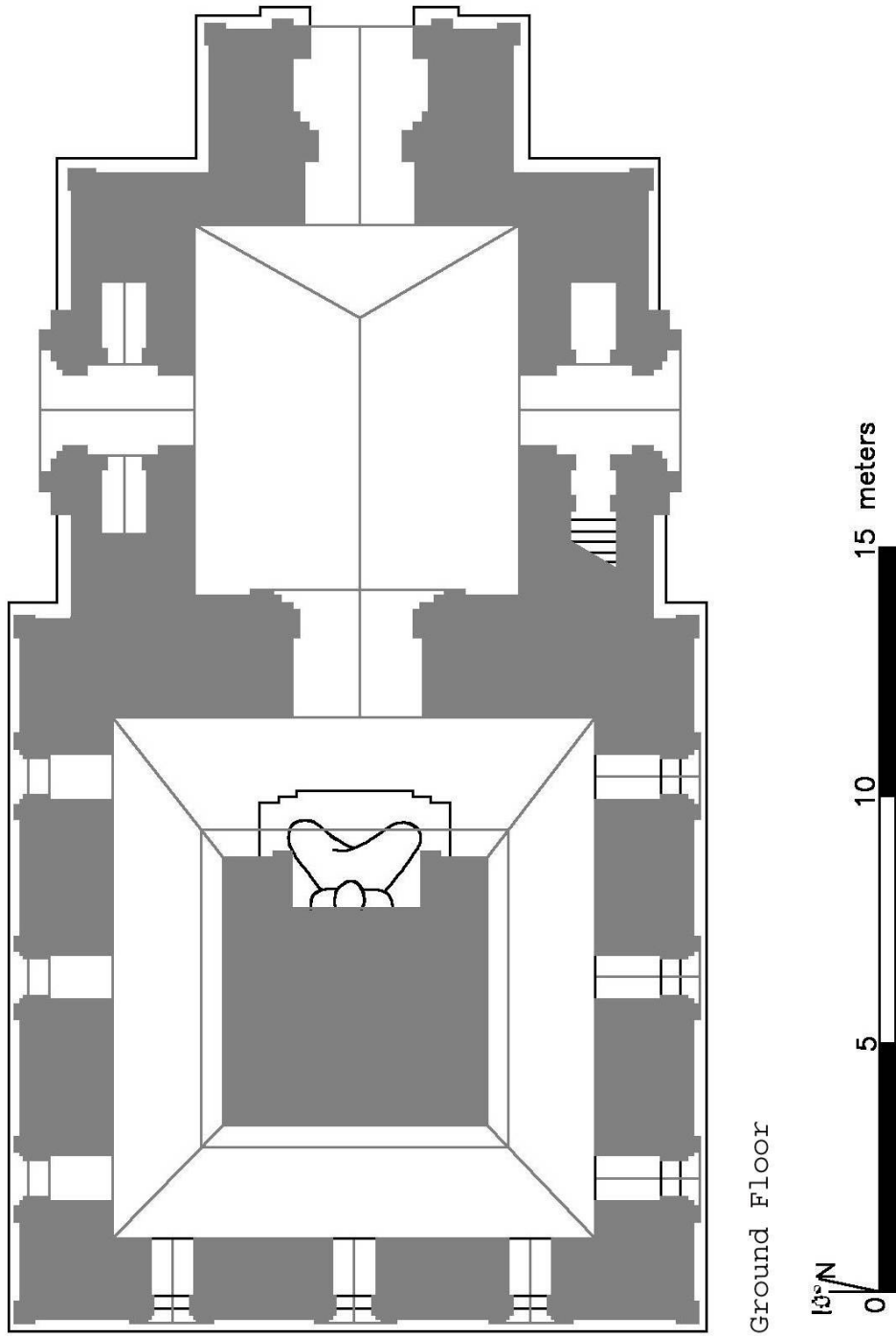


Figure 3.—Ground Floor Plan of Hlaingshe (Monument 369)

Ground Floor

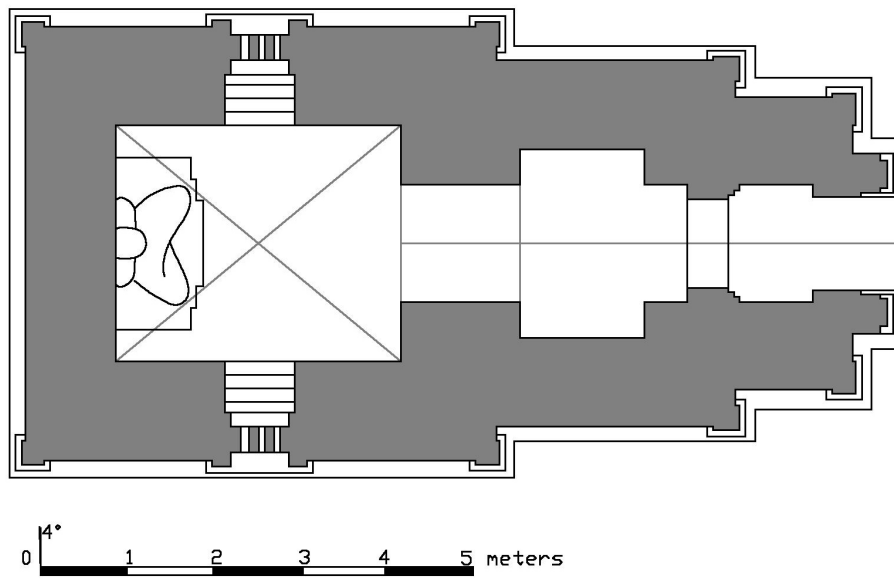


Figure 4.—Plan of Monument 1026

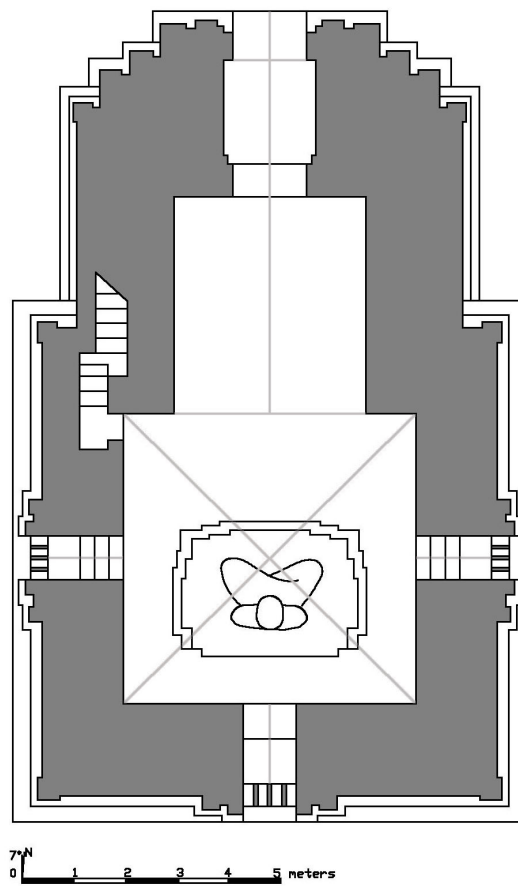


Figure 5.—Plan of Lawkahteikpan (Monument 1580)

monument 1026 and Lawkahteikpan (1580), belonging to the 12<sup>th</sup> century AD, contain mural paintings with Old Mon captions.<sup>14</sup> At Lawkahteikpan (1580), some of the captions are in Mon, while others in Myanmar. None of these temples can be connected with *Phun* monks.

#### 7.1.1.2. Temples with redented corners

The majority of the temples belonging to the 13<sup>th</sup> century fall into this group. They are the same as the temples described above (in 7.1.1.1) in that their components are shrine and entrance hall or vestibule. However, they are different from the temples mentioned above in that they have redented corners. The earliest buildings of this type belong to the 12<sup>th</sup> century, but they became common only in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

The temples topped with stupa pinnacles are commoner in this type of temples than in the two-cell structures with plain outlines mentioned above. Another noticeable fact is that placing the Buddha image in the center of the shrine or slightly removed from the rear wall is also found in the 13<sup>th</sup>-century temples of this type.<sup>15</sup>

##### 7.1.1.2.1. Temples with single entrance

Most of the buildings with redented plans (including all the 12<sup>th</sup>-century ones) have a single entrance.<sup>16</sup> All temples with entrance halls and all temples belonging to the

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<sup>14</sup> Luce uses the old number 418 for monument 1026. Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* 1: 349-351; 3: Fig. 247. See also Boke (U), *Pugaṃ Sutesana Lam:ñhwan* [Guide to Researches on Pagan] (Yangon: Sarpe Beikman, 1981) 90, 360.

<sup>15</sup> Temples with single entrance: temples with shrine and entrance hall: 44, 81, 145, 386, 663, 712, 996, 1104, 1308, 1462, 1524, 1628 and 1311; temples with shrine and vestibule: 43, 927, 1092, 1258, 1374, 1382 and 1383. Temples with two entrances: 237, 586, 1091 and 1668. Temples with three entrances: 121, 151, 197, 588, 660, 732 and 1049. In the temples with four entrances, the image cannot be placed against a wall.

<sup>16</sup> Temples with shrine and entrance hall: topped with *sikhara*: 12<sup>th</sup> century: the image-houses of monument 947 (Dhammarazaka); 13<sup>th</sup> century: 44, 81, 145, 155, 324, 339, 378, 386, 420, 635, 659, 663, 712, 996, 1104, 1255, 1299, 1308, 1311, 1404, 1462, 1524, 1628, 1641 and 1684.

Temples with shrine and vestibule: topped with *sikhara*: 12<sup>th</sup> century: 36, 1073; 13<sup>th</sup> century: 43, 230, 258, 262, 307, 569, 594, 608, 647, 734, 735, 828, 856, 882, 927, 1022, 1050, 1052, 1077, 1080, 1089, 1092, 1130, 1152, 1165, 1170, 1206, 1247, 1258, 1333, 1374,

12<sup>th</sup> century are topped with *sikhara*-shaped square towers. Several temples with vestibules belonging to the 13<sup>th</sup> century are topped with stupas. The temples topped with stupas usually have very short vestibules,<sup>17</sup> and a few temples have no vestibules.<sup>18</sup> (see Figs. 6 & 7)

#### 7.1.1.2.2. Temples with two entrances

Temples of this type may have two or more entrances to the shrine. Thaman Hpaya (555 [Fig. 8]), for example, has two entrances—one on the east side and the other on the north. The image placed closed to the west wall faces east, and hence the main entrance is the east one. Similar temples are monuments 782 and 1098 and Nga Hla Thin Gu (1091). The image is placed in the shrine's center at Nga Hla Thin Gu (1091). Monuments 237 and 586 have entrances on the east and west. Shwe Hti Saung (1668) has two entrance halls with porches on the east and west.<sup>19</sup> The image faces east, and the main entrance hall (on the east) has subsidiary porches on north and south.

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Temples with shrine and vestibule: topped with *sikhara*: 12<sup>th</sup> century: 36, 1073; 13<sup>th</sup> century: 43, 230, 258, 262, 307, 569, 594, 608, 647, 734, 735, 828, 856, 882, 927, 1022, 1050, 1052, 1077, 1080, 1089, 1092, 1130, 1152, 1165, 1170, 1206, 1247, 1258, 1333, 1374, 1382, 1383 and 1577; topped with stupa: 13<sup>th</sup> century: 137, 176, 231, 234, 246, 351, 356, 361, 473, 577, 596, 614, 786, 790, 791, 892, 915, 1005, 1048, 1150, 1417, 1422, 1502, 1635 and 1661.

<sup>17</sup> For example, see monuments 231 and 614.

<sup>18</sup> Monuments 600, 661 and 1676.

<sup>19</sup> A similar temple with two entrance halls, monument 795 has four images and four entrances.

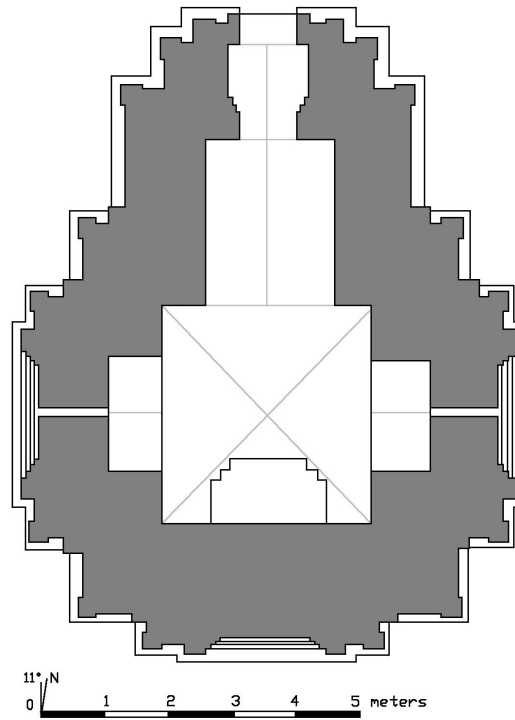


Figure 6.—Plan of Linpya Gu (Monument 56)

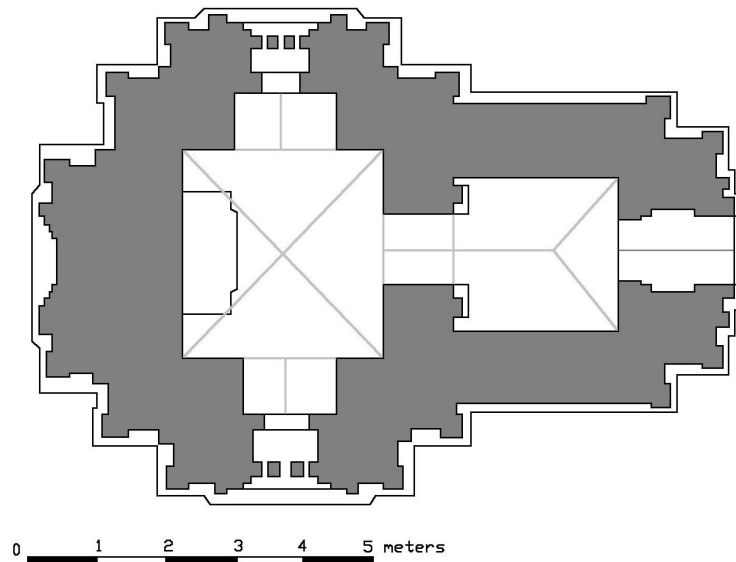


Figure 7.—Plan of Yatsauk (Monument 155)



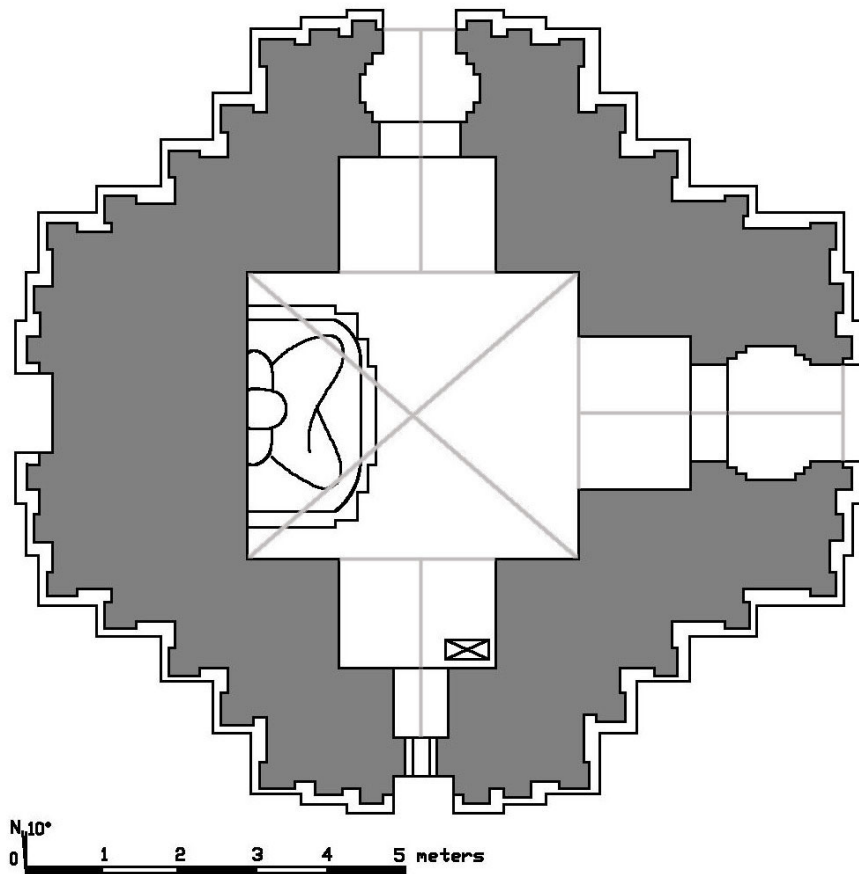


Figure 8.—Plan of Thaman Hpaya (Monument 555)

#### 7.1.1.2.3. Temples with three entrances

Temples with three entrances have a main entrance opposite the image and two subsidiary entrances on the left and right sides of the image (see Figs. 9 and 10).<sup>20</sup> All these temples belong to the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Of the temples of this type, monument 645 is unique in that it has a rectangular cell in the wall behind the image. Monuments 1312 and 1667 (Fig. 11) have secondary shrines at the back of the main image accessible only from the outside. These temples most likely were meant to house two images. No vestibule or entrance hall is present at Sutaungbye (121).

#### 7.1.1.2.4. Temples with four entrances

Several temples of this type (including the single-cell temples) have four entrances facing the four cardinal directions (see Figs. 12 and 13). Among them, two-cell structures are topped with *sikhara*,<sup>21</sup> while single-cell structures are topped with stupas.<sup>22</sup> Shwethabeit (146) is estimated by Pichard to belong to the 12<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>23</sup> whereas all the other temples belong to the 13<sup>th</sup> century. It is noteworthy that none of these single-image temples with redented corners contain mural paintings with Mon captions.

Many single-image temples with redented outlines are connected with *Phun* monks including forest monks and/or with their monasteries. Among the temples with single

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<sup>20</sup> Shrine and entrance hall: topped with *sikhara*: 588, 732, 1049, 1256, 1312, 1500 and 1667; topped with stupa: 151 and 197. Shrine and vestibule: topped with *sikhara*: 130, 148 and 1307; topped with stupa: 142 (one entrance hall has now been walled), 643, 645, 657, 660 and 673.

<sup>21</sup> Shrine and entrance hall: Thakyamuni (147), Eiktawgyi (150), Hpayani (233), 427, East Katthapa (505), 571, Malaphyit (664), Peinnetaing (862), 1218, 1401 and 1461; shrine and vestibule: 1416, 1458, 1460 and 1536.

<sup>22</sup> Monuments 146, 293, 357, 483 (Po Galon), 487 (Tuyin Pahto), 494 (Sutaungbye), 568, 585 and 1483. Monument 1483 has a basement in which four images had been placed.

<sup>23</sup> Pichard, *Inventory*.

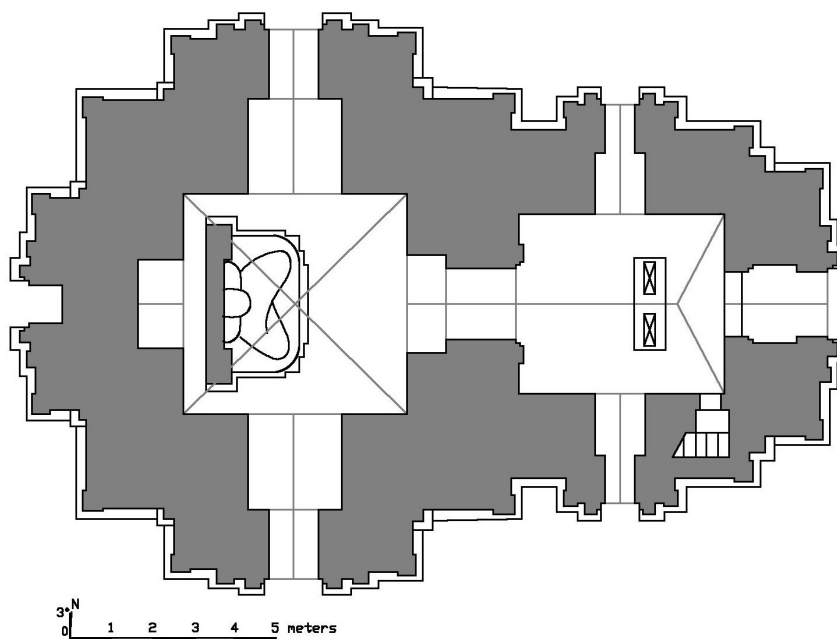


Figure 9.—Plan of Ajagona Temple (Monument 588)

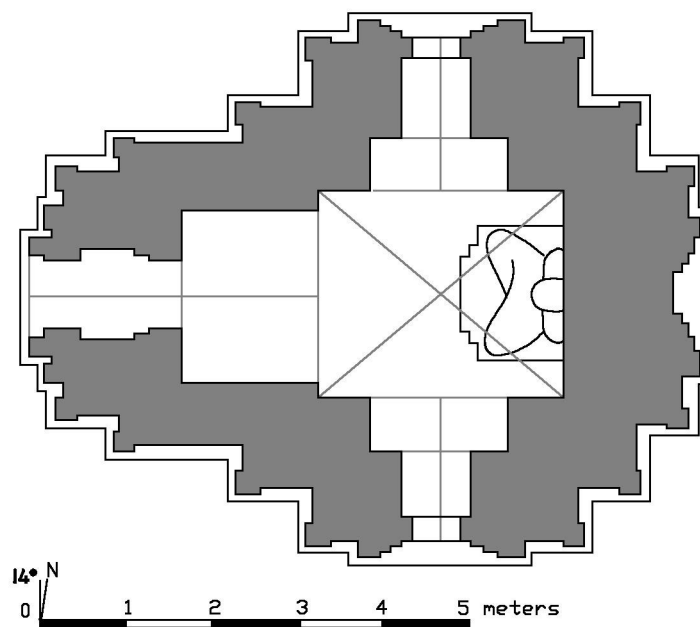


Figure 10.—Plan of Monument 148

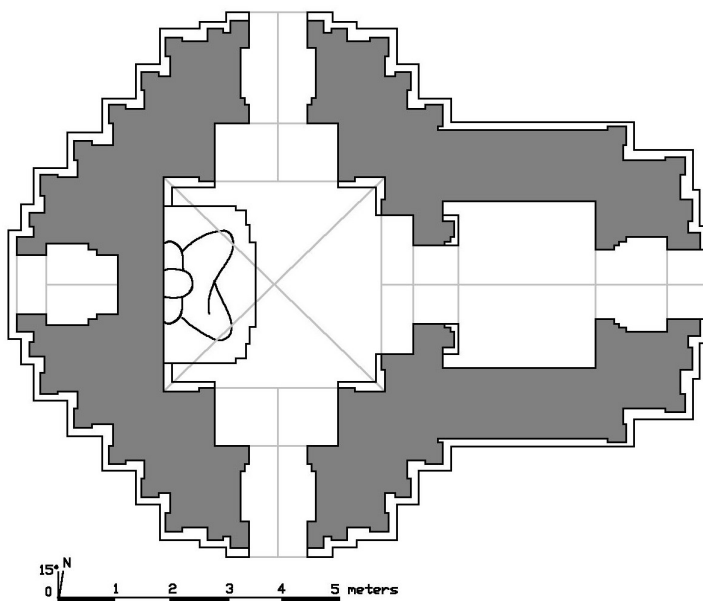


Figure 11.—Plan of Shinbinchitlhauk (Monument 1667)

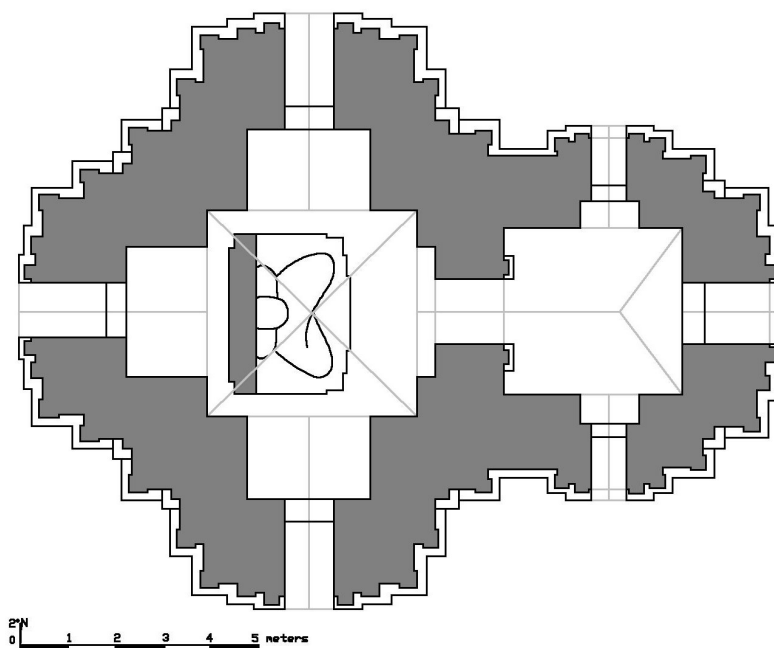


Figure 12.—Plan of East Katthapa (Monument 505)

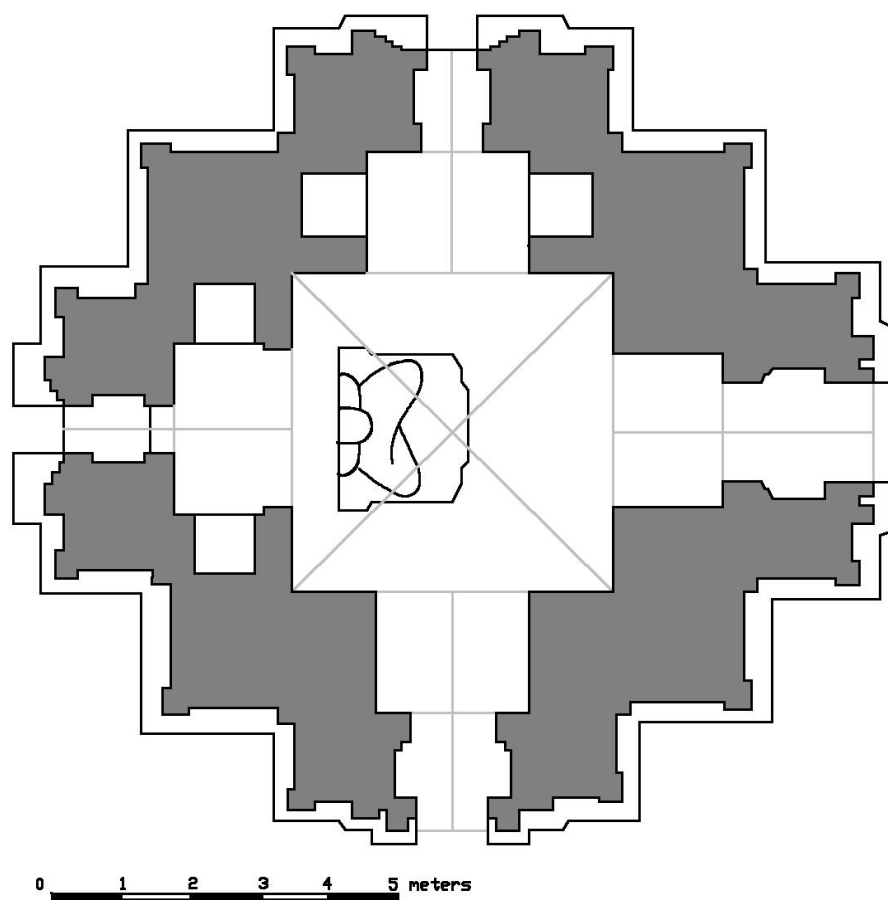


Figure 13.—Plan of Shwethabeik (Monument 146)

entrance, monument 594 was donated by a minister Mahāsaman,<sup>24</sup> who also was the donor of a forest monastery.<sup>25</sup> Monuments 647 and 661 are in the precincts of the monastic complex of Phunmlatsa Winidhuir.<sup>26</sup> Monument 473 is in the Lemyethna complex, which belonged to the forest monks with *Phun* titles and was connected with the *pabbata vihāras* of Sri Lanka.<sup>27</sup> Nandaminnya (577) was connected with Mratkri Uman Skhiñ Anantapañā.<sup>28</sup> Temple 915 is in Sutaungbye complex, which is similar to Sinhalese *pabbata vihāras*. The image-houses of Dhammarazaka (947), in which corporeal relics from Sri Lanka were enshrined, also belong to this type. The inscription found at Maung Yon Gu (600) begins with the phrase *namo sabbabuddhānañ*,<sup>29</sup> which is the prayer found in the inscriptions connected with *Phun* monks. Thinkanyon (712) was built close to the east of the monastic refectory of Mlatkriwā Mahākassapa.<sup>30</sup> Of the temples with multiple entrances, Azagona (588) was donated by the above-mentioned Mahāsaman, and monument 586 is located in the same precincts.<sup>31</sup> Monuments 645, 657 and 660 (with three entrances each) are attached to the Winido complex and monument 673 is attached to the Lemyethna complex.

Thus, all 11<sup>th</sup>-century temples have plain ground plans. In the 12<sup>th</sup> century, temples with redented corners came into existence, although they were not as common as those with plain ground plans. In the 13<sup>th</sup> century, temples with redented corners became a majority (making up 80% of all the single-image temples) (see Chart 2). As temples with plain ground plans continued to be built even in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, it is plausible that this change in temple

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<sup>24</sup> Nyein Maung, *Rhe:hoñ: Mrammā Kyokcāmyā*: [Old Myanmar Inscriptions], vols. 1-5 (Yangon: Archaeology Department, 1972-1998): 2.101. (hereafter *RMK*)

<sup>25</sup> *RMK* 2.77, lines 7-8.

<sup>26</sup> *RMK* 1.71a & b; *RMK* 1.99; *RMK* 2.34; *RMK* 2.95; and *RMK* 3.61.

<sup>27</sup> *RMK* 2.20, lines 10-12; and *RMK* 3.198, lines 44, 46, 49-50. See also 8.2.2.1 (below).

<sup>28</sup> Boke, *Pugam Sutesana Lam:ñhwan* 156-158.

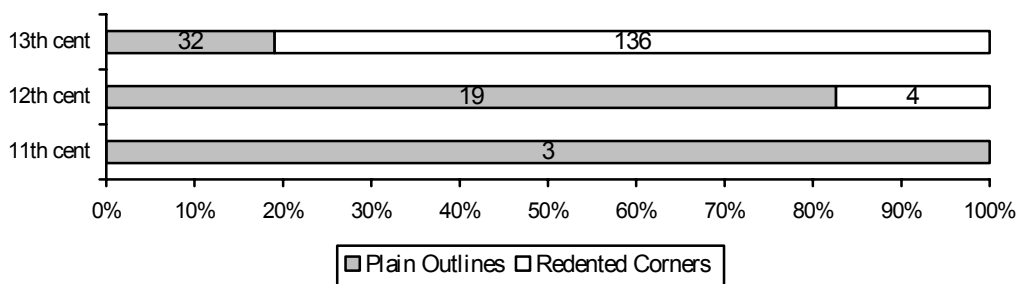
<sup>29</sup> *RMK* 3.43, line 1.

<sup>30</sup> *RMK* 2.35, lines 2-5.

<sup>31</sup> *RMK* 2.101.

ground plan is related to different sects of monks. The change in the shape of temple plans parallels the rise and fall of Buddhist sects in Pagan—the *Phun* sect which came into being in the latter half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century crippled the earlier sect (of *Saṅ* monks) in the 13<sup>th</sup> century (see 6. Buddhist Sects II [above]).

**Chart 2.--Single-Image Temple Types  
(by shape of plan)**



Note.—This chart is based on data from temples of which either the (traces of) images or thrones are present (see Appendix 7).

Spatially, temples with plain ground plans are limited to Pagan proper, Myinkaba (the center of *Saṅ* monks) and Wetkyi-in villages; they are not found around Minnanthu and Pwasaw (the centers of *Phun* monks). The distribution of buildings in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries clearly indicates that temples with plain ground plans were spreading eastward. Temples with redented outlines are found not only in these villages, but also in Minnanthu and Pwasaw. Since almost all the temples with redented corners belong to the 13<sup>th</sup> century, we do not know how these temples spread. Hence, it is impossible to determine whether or not the temples with redented outlines were introduced by the *Phun* monks and radiated out from Minnanthu and Pwasaw to Pagan, Myinkaba and Wetkyi-in with the expansion of the *Phun* sect itself (see Figs. 14a, b & c). The only way to test this hypothesis would be to study temples in other areas of Myanmar where one or both of these two sects flourished

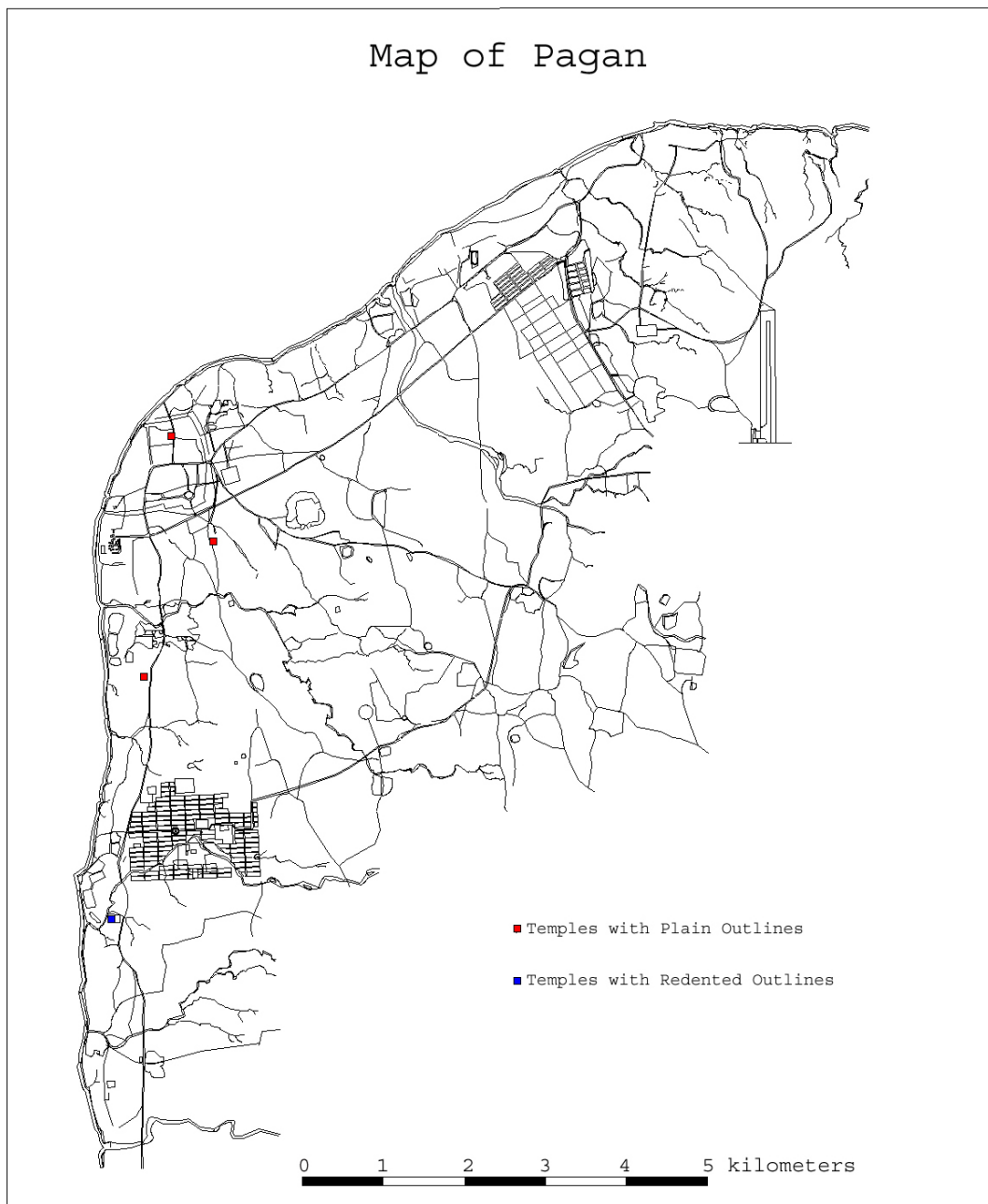


Figure 14a.—Distribution of Temples with Plain and Redented Outlines (11<sup>th</sup> century)



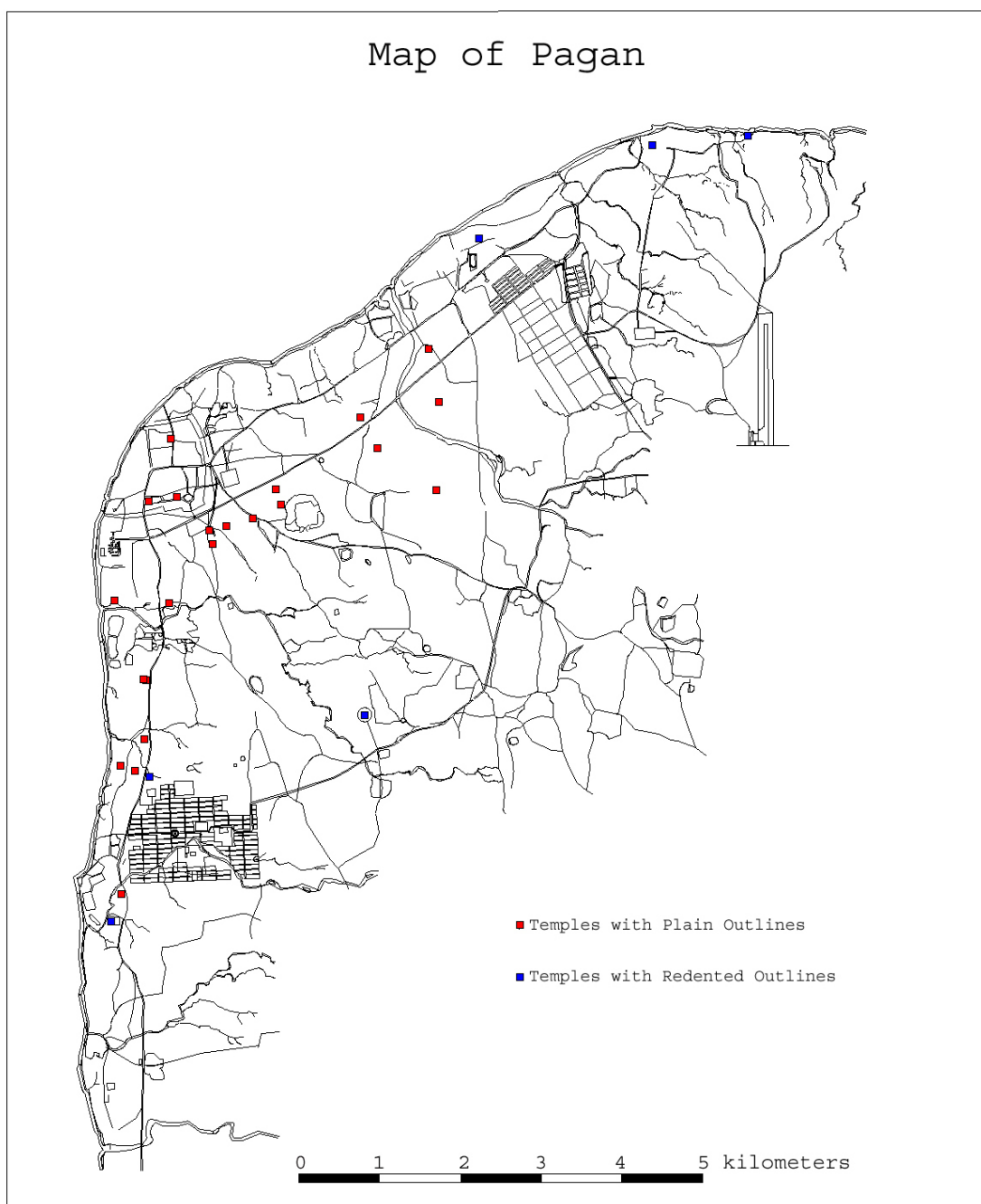


Figure 14b.—Distribution of Temples with Plain and Redented Outlines (12<sup>th</sup> century)

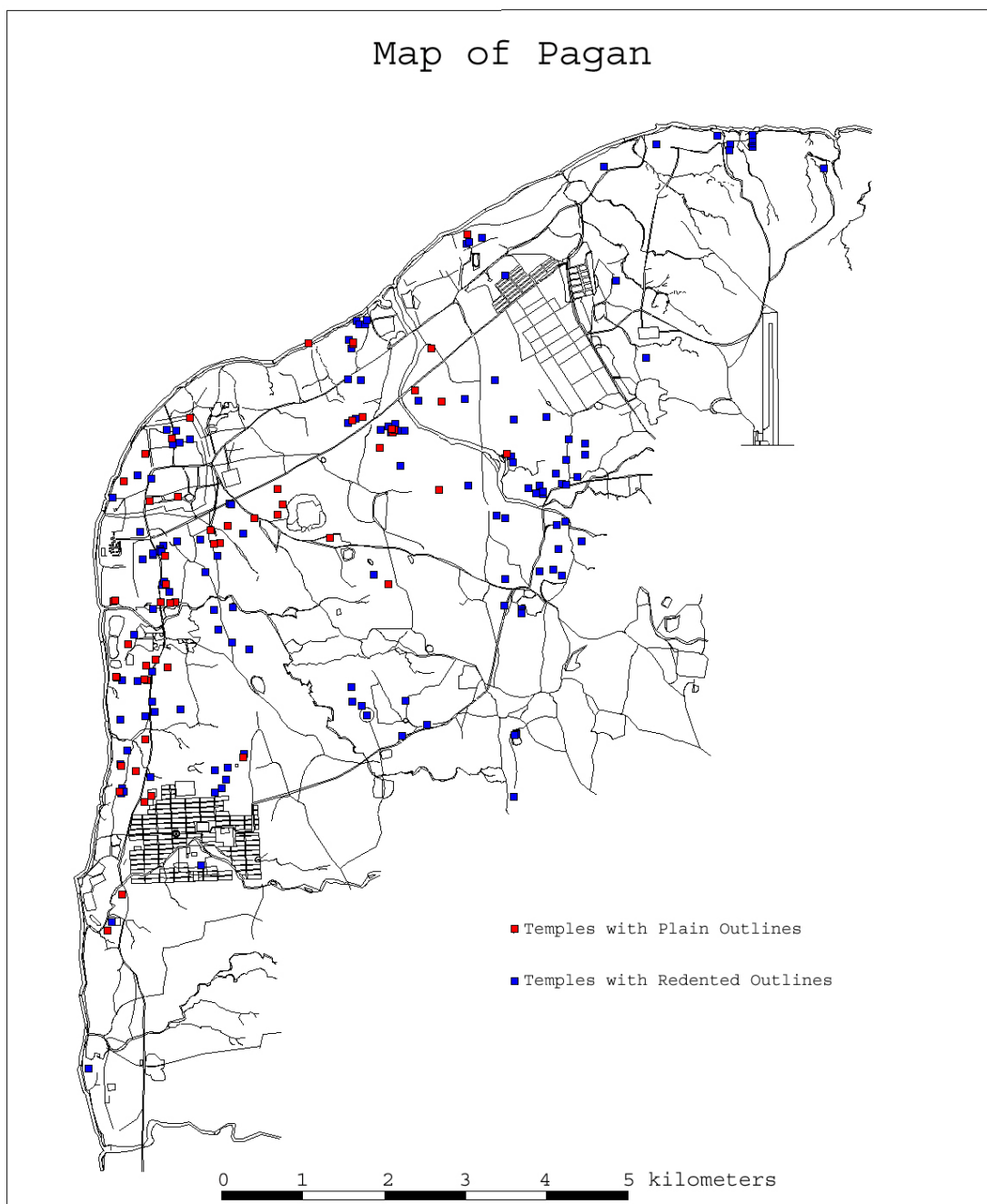


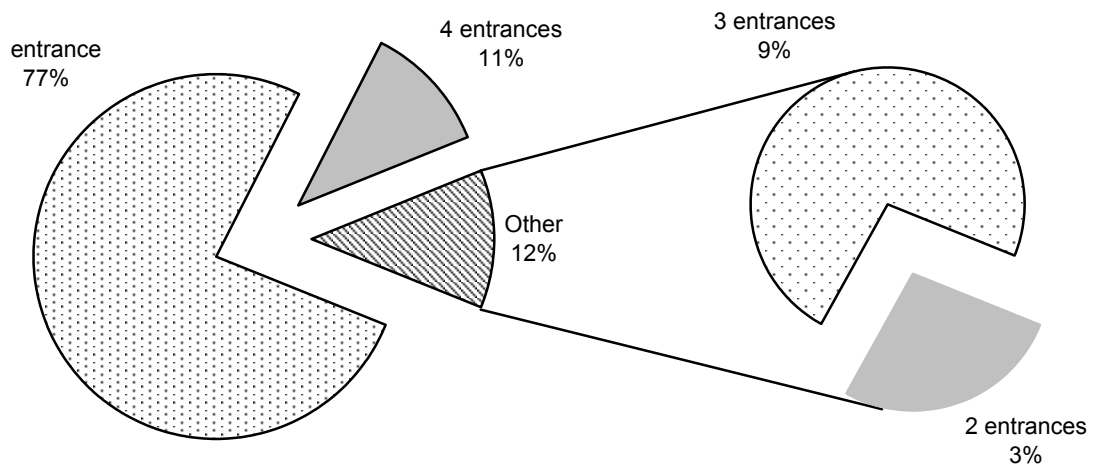
Figure 14c.—Distribution of Temples with Plain and Redented Outlines (13<sup>th</sup> century)

(see above [on page 102]). Unfortunately, the drawings for these temples are not available yet.

That the Mon inscriptions were only connected with the temples with plain outlines and that all the known temples connected with *Phun* monks have redented corners also support this conclusion. However, it is equally possible that the change in temple plan was the result of an influx of northern Indians and had nothing to do with *Phun* monks, because the rise of *Phun* monks also coincided with the Muslim invasion of India.

It is interesting to note here that although early single-image temples (of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries AD) have only one entrance each,<sup>32</sup> 13<sup>th</sup>-century single-image temples have one to four entrances (see Chart 3).

**Chart 3.--Thirteenth-Century Temples  
(by the number of entrances)**



<sup>32</sup> Monument 146 (12<sup>th</sup> century) with four vestibules and porches is an exception.

### 7.1.1.3. Stupa Temples

Several Pagan temples evolved out of stupas. The majority of these are circular structures either with square or circular sanctums (see Fig. 15).<sup>33</sup> Many of them are in the form of Sinhalese stupas (i.e. they have a hemispherical dome from which rises a square *harmikā* [sometimes with projections] capped by a conical spire).<sup>34</sup> Some temples, however, are in the form of Myanmar stupas with bell-shaped domes.<sup>35</sup> The image is placed against the rear wall in all these temples save that it is placed in the center of the sanctum at Tamani (1133), which is connected with Mlatkrī Tāmālin, a Cambodian monk who came from Sri Lanka (see 5.1.1.1 & 6.1 [above]).

Some temples with *harmikā* are found in complexes similar to the Sinhalese *pabbata vihāras*: monuments 467, 468, 474 and 516 in Lemyethna complex, monument 904 in Sutaungbye, and 1724 in Shwenanyindaw.

Apart from these, there are a few temples with square plans. Those with square sanctums derive from Sinhalese stupas: 12<sup>th</sup> century: 1507; 13<sup>th</sup> century: Thiho Zedi (277), and monuments 1075 and 1638. Monument 277 has a bell-shaped dome with square *harmikā* and conical spire, and is called Thiho Zedi, meaning “Sinhalese Stupa.”

The temples with circular sanctums are in the shape of Myanmar stupas (with bell-shaped domes): monuments 655, 656 and 1487—all belonging to the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>33</sup> Temples with square sanctums: 11<sup>th</sup> century: 12, 74, 1653; 12<sup>th</sup> century: 168; 13<sup>th</sup> century: 175, 467, 468, 474, 516, 548, 591, 666, 675, 870, 887, 904, 1133, 1300, 1319, 1440, 1573 and 1724. Temples with circular sanctums: 12<sup>th</sup> century: Thiho Zedi (296); 13<sup>th</sup> century: Lakpya Gu (70), Thein Hpaya (76), Pyankyi Gu (164), Hngetphittaung Hpaya (177), Shwemoakhtaw (194), Nga Lu Gu (670), and Thamahti (926).

<sup>34</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> century: 1653; 12<sup>th</sup> century: 296; 13<sup>th</sup> century: 76, 164, 194, 467, 474, 516, 670, 675, 904, 926, 1133, 1319, 1440, 1573 and 1724. Although the *harmikā* are no longer extant in 175, 460, 548, 591 and 666, their hemispherical domes suggest that they were topped with *harmikā* and conical spires.

<sup>35</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> century: 12, 70, 74; 12<sup>th</sup> century: 168, 177.

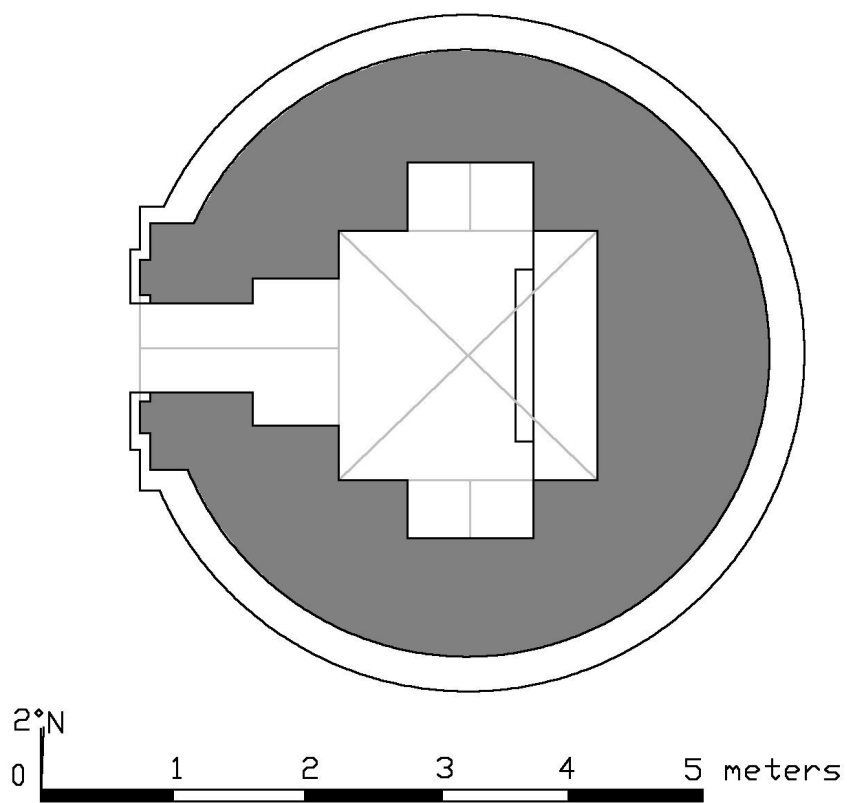


Figure 15.—Plan of Monument 666

Different from these temples are Zedi She (1494) with an octagonal ground plan and monument 1643 with redented corners. Their sanctums are so small that they can be regarded as stupas with niches rather than as temples.

#### 7.1.1.4. Pentagonal Temples

In two pentagonal temples, 566 (Fig. 16) and Thenle Gu (1669), the main image is placed in the sanctum, while there are four niches outside for the images of the other four Buddhas. Monument 566 is topped with a hemispherical dome with *harmikā*, whereas 1669 is capped with a *sikhara* tower. Note that monument 566 is located within the precincts of a forest monastery.<sup>36</sup>

#### 7.1.1.5. Image-Houses

There are a few small image-houses:<sup>37</sup> Shweleik-u (257 [Fig. 17]), 1623 and Sinka-oktaikshe (1042 [Fig. 18]) with rectangular sanctums and 1592 with a square sanctum.<sup>38</sup> Shweleik-u is a building with flat roof and Sinka-oktaikshe has a sloping roof. The upper parts of the other structures are ruined.

### 7.1.2. Temples with Two Principal Images

Temples with two principal images placed in the sanctum back to back separated either by a backdrop or by the solid core of the temples are quite rare.

The earliest buildings of this type belonging to the 12<sup>th</sup> century consist of shrine and entrance halls and have four entrances.<sup>39</sup> At Seinnyet Ama (1085 [Fig. 19]) and 1478, the

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<sup>36</sup> See *RMK* 1.143, lines 1-15.

<sup>37</sup> Here I follow the classification of Pichard, who refers to these small structures with a sloping or flat roof as image-houses in contrast to more substantial structures topped with stupa- or *sikhara*-shaped towers as temples.

<sup>38</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> century: 1623; 13<sup>th</sup> century: 257, 1042 and 1592.

<sup>39</sup> Monument 1085, Yadanazedi Sinpya Gu (1478) and Kyammabat (1620).

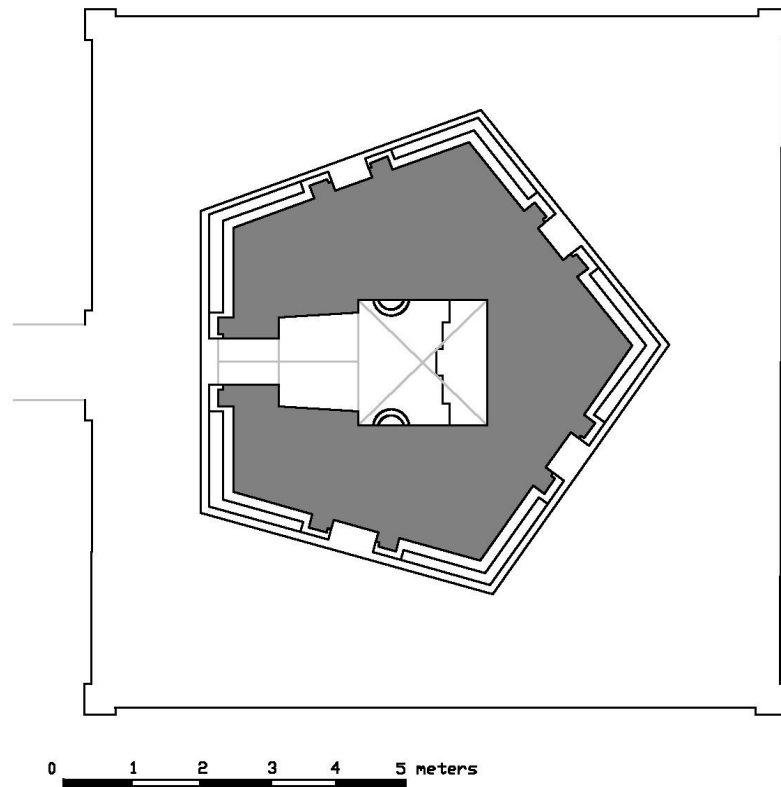


Figure 16.—Plan of Monument 566

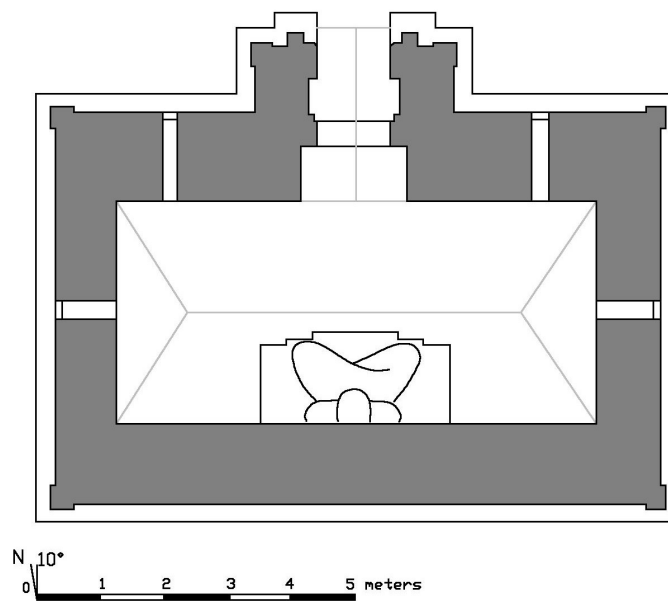


Figure 17.—Plan of Shwe-leik-u (Monument 257)

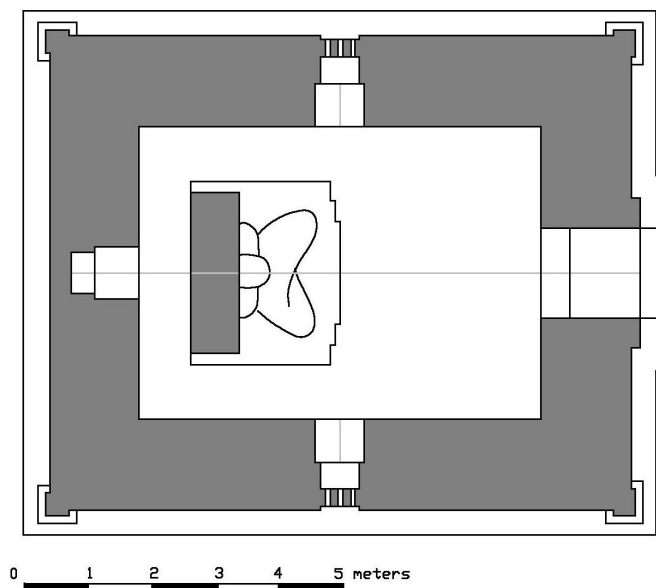


Figure 18.—Plan of Sinka-Oктаik She (Monument 1042)

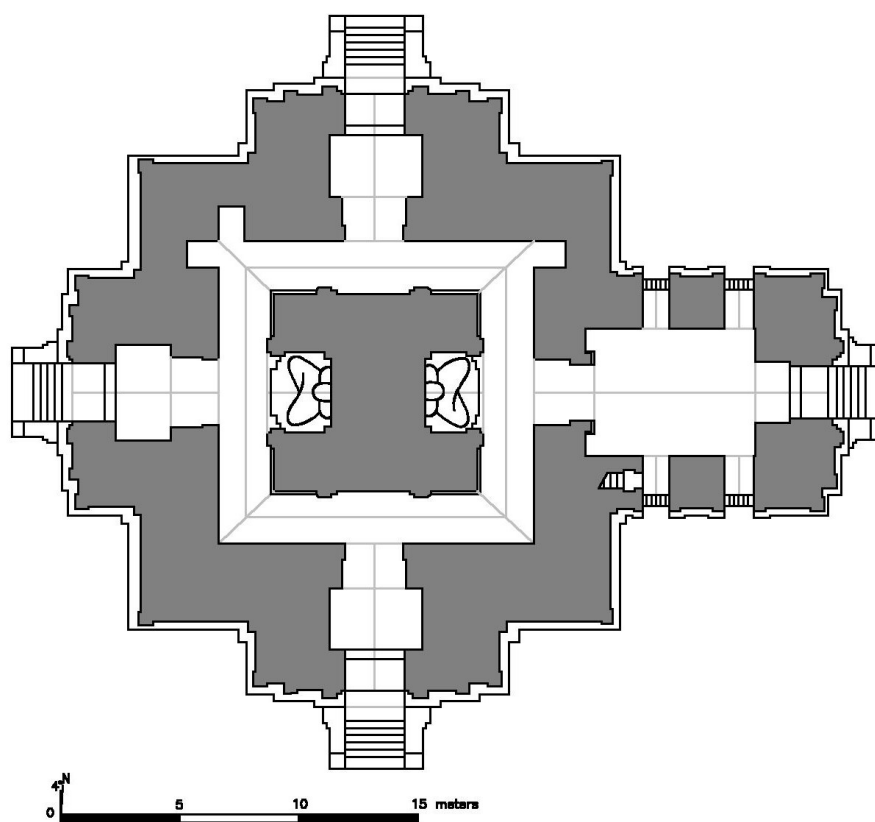


Figure 19.—Plan of Monument 1085



images are placed against the solid cores of the temples, whereas at Kyammabat (1620 [Fig. 20]) they are separated by a screen wall. Two 13<sup>th</sup>-century temples (360 and 1564) are similar to Kyammabat (1620). Among others, monuments 1205 and 1217 have two vestibules each (one on the east and the other on the west side), and the images are placed in the center of shrine, facing towards the entrances. East Zanthi (558 [Fig. 21]) and Garocho Hpaya (1599) are single-cell structures with redented corners. In these temples, the images, one facing east and the other facing west, are separated by a screen wall. East Zanthi (588) belonged to a forest monastery.<sup>40</sup> Apart from this temple, no other temples are located in the areas where *Phun* monks were most active. They are found around Pagan and Myinkaba areas, strongholds of *San* monks (see page 102 [above]). No inscriptions have been found at these temples.

Among these temples, the vestibules of monuments 1478 and 1564 are on the west and south sides, respectively, which shows that the main images were placed on the west and south sides in these temples. In all other temples, the size of the images or of the vestibules points to the fact that the east images were the main images.

This placement of two Buddha images back to back can also be seen, for example, at monument 1312, where the main image facing east is placed in the center of the shrine while there is a subsidiary shrine on the west side of the temple accessible only from outside undoubtedly for a second image. Similar temples belonging to the 13<sup>th</sup> century are: 75, 632, 674, 741, 883 and 1667 (see Fig. 11). The earliest temple of this type is monument 572 built *c.* AD 1192/93.<sup>41</sup> This temple is connected with a *Mlatkrīcwā*. Most of the temples of this type are located in Minnanthu and Pwasaw, the center of *Phun* monks. Therefore, it seems that the forest monks or the *Phun* monks were hesitant to have two Buddha images in the

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<sup>40</sup> *RMK* 1.159; and *RMK* 1.143, lines 1-15.

<sup>41</sup> *RMK* 1.32, lines 11-13.

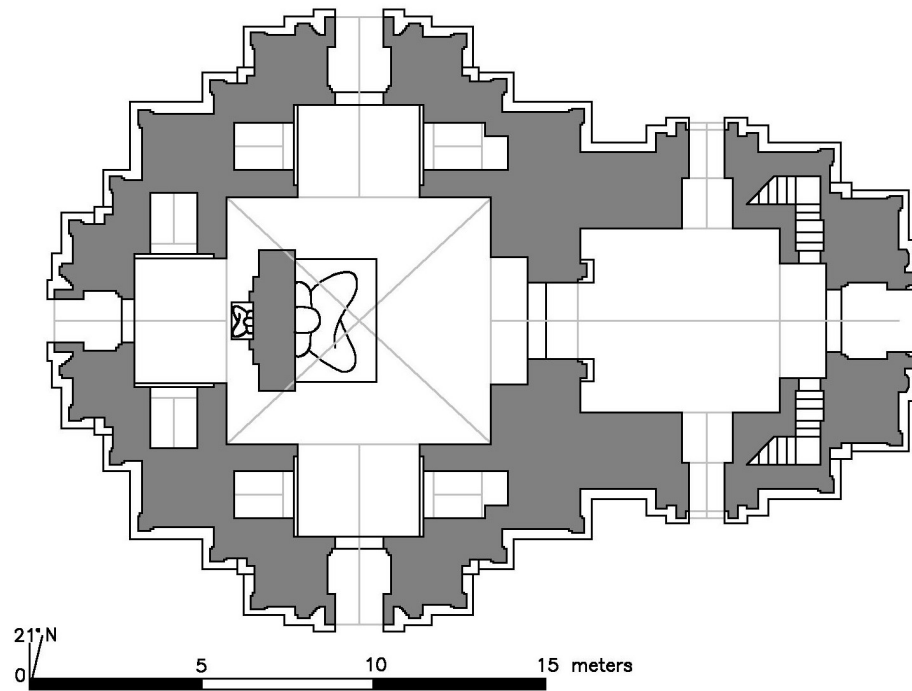


Figure 20.—Plan of Kyanmabat (Monument 1620)

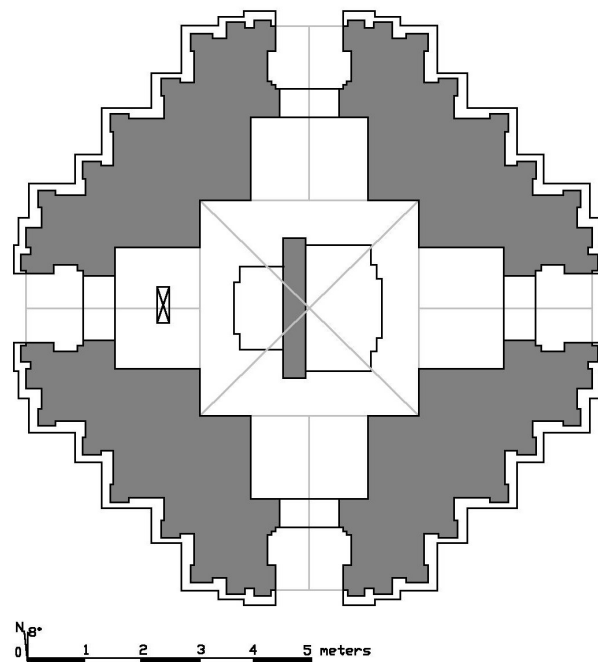


Figure 21.—Plan of Zanthi (Monument 558)

same shrine. They subordinated an image (probably representing Maitreya) by placing it in a small secondary shrine at the back of the temple.

Another example where two images are placed back to back can be seen at Mahabodhi (1670), which was built on the model of Mahabodhi at Bodh Gaya. Hence this practice of placing two statues back to back probably came from northern India. Both Kings Kyansittha and Nātoimya sent missions to the *Vajrāsana* temple at Bodh Gaya.<sup>42</sup>

What the two seated Buddha images placed back to back represent is not known. However, it is not impossible that they are similar to the two Buddha images seated side by side, which are common in Chinese temples and which can be seen in the west hall of Dhammayangyi. With regard to the two images at the west hall of Dhammayangyi, Luce cites the *Lotus Sutra* and suggests that they illustrate the occasion when “two Buddhas, the old and new, sit for one brief moment together on one throne: symbol, at once of the Change and of the Continuity of the Dhamma. Therein lies the strength of Buddhism as a world-religion.”<sup>43</sup> Therefore, it seems that the two Buddhas represented Buddha Gotama and the future Buddha Maitreya.

### 7.1.3. Temples with Three Principal Buddha Images

The earliest temples with three principal images are Nagayon (1192 [Fig. 22]) and Pahtothamya (1605) which belong to the 11<sup>th</sup> century AD. These temples are two-cell structures with inner sanctums comparable to the Abeyadana type mentioned above. At Nagayon (1192), the main image in *abhaya mudrā* is flanked by two smaller Buddha images in *dharmacakra mudrā*. At Pahtothamya (1605), however, there are three Buddha images in *bhūmisparśa mudrā*, the main one flanked by two smaller ones. Nagayon (1192) is topped with a *sikhara*, whereas Pahtothamya (1605) is surmounted by a 12-sided stupa of unusual

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<sup>42</sup> Strachan, *Imperial Pagan* 99.

<sup>43</sup> Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagan* 1: 422.

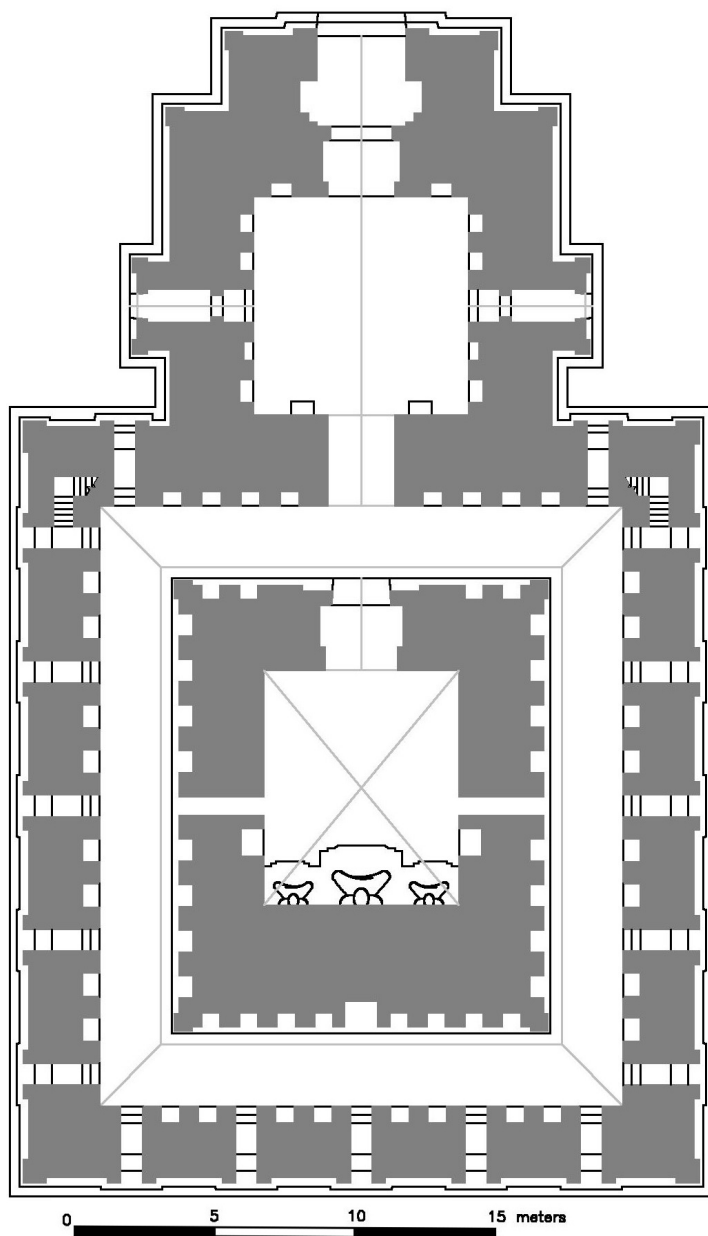


Figure 22.—Plan of Nagayon (Monument 1192)

shape. The captions of the paintings in both of them are in Old Mon, and the subject matter of the paintings is Theravada (see 9.1 [below]). In an image-house of the 11<sup>th</sup> century (1564), the main seated Buddha image facing west is placed in the center of the shrine, while behind, on its left and right sides, are two smaller seated images. This building has a sloping roof.

All the other temples with three Buddha images belong to the 13<sup>th</sup> century. In two temples (320 [Fig. 23] and 1237), and in an image-house (1208), the three seated Buddha images in *bhūmisparśa mudrā* facing east are placed side by side. Monument 362 is the most interesting temple of this type. It was originally a three-image temple, although it is not known when it was built. In the 13<sup>th</sup> century, a new temple was constructed, burying the two side images within its walls.<sup>44</sup> This suggests that some Buddhists opposed building three-image temples.

At Shwemyintin (1018 [Fig. 24]) and monument 1156, however, the main image was flanked by two smaller images facing one another. All the images are in *bhūmisparśa mudrā*. At Kyasin temple (1219), in contrast, the main image in *bhūmisparśa mudrā* is flanked by two images in *dharmacakra mudrā* in *pralambanāsana*.

The main image in *bhūmisparśa mudrā* and two flanking images in *dharmacakra mudrā* in *pralambanāsana* at Kyasin represent the “Miracle at Srāvasti” as pointed out by Luce.<sup>45</sup> The three images in Nagayon (1192) might have been another way of expressing the same scene.

But what the three *bhūmisparśa mudrā* images in other temples and image-houses represent is still a mystery. The placement of the three seated *bhūmisparśa mudrā* images in the three sanctums of Manuha (1240 [Fig. 25]) and in the three adjoined temples called Hpayathonzu (477, 478 and 479 [Fig. 26]) very likely displayed the same symbolism. With

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<sup>44</sup> Pichard, *Inventory*, vol. 2.

<sup>45</sup> Strachan, *Imperial Pagan* 114. This scene can also be seen at monument 359 and at Gubyaukng (1391).

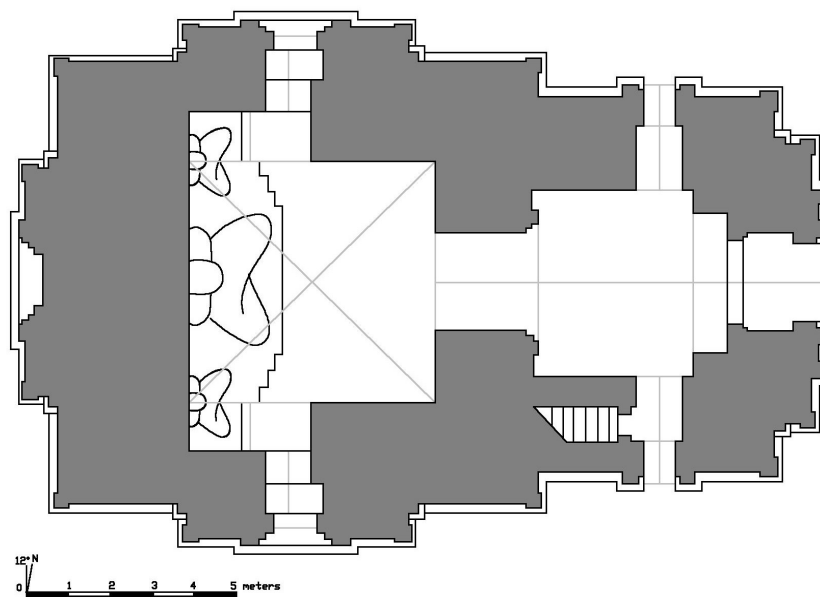


Figure 23.—Plan of Monument 320

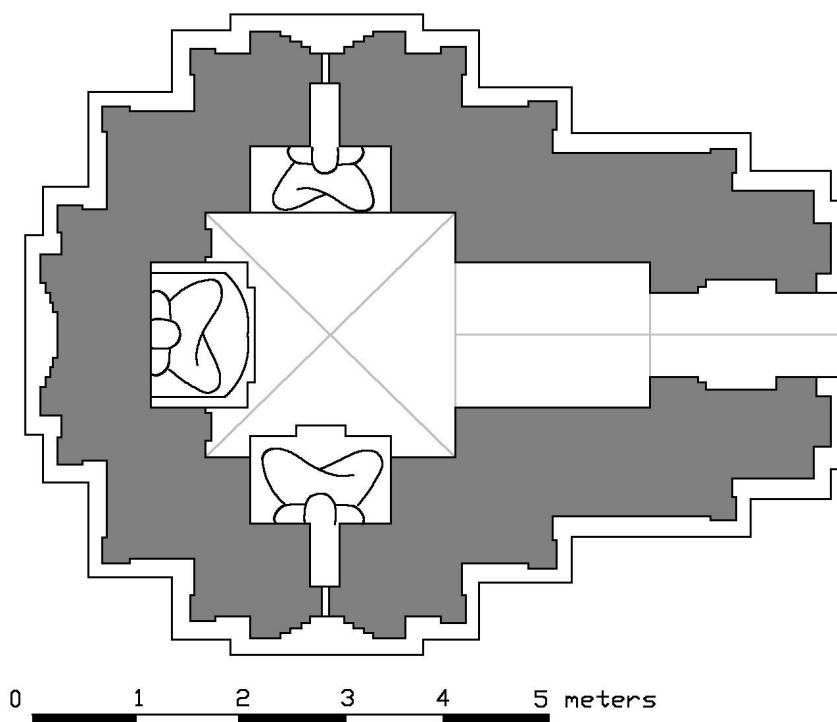


Figure 24.—Plan of Shwemyintin (Monument 1018)

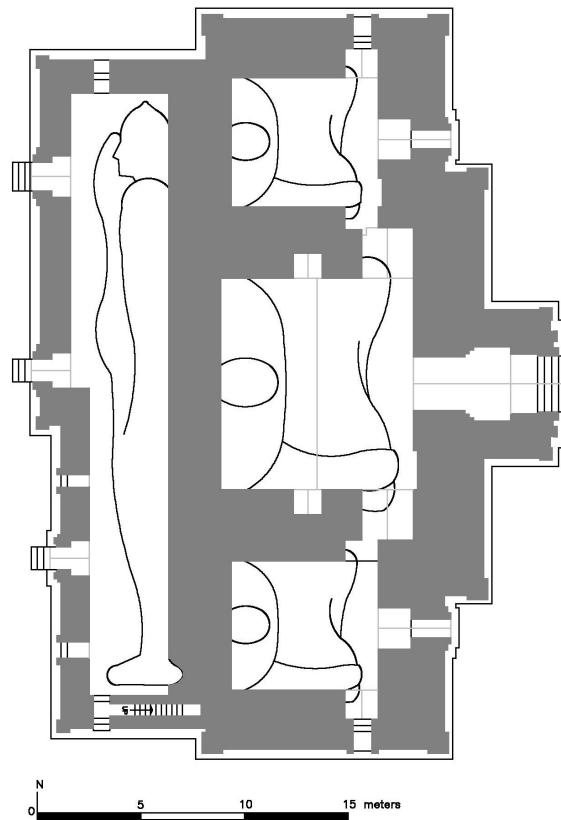


Figure 25.—Plan of Manuha Temple (Monument 1240)

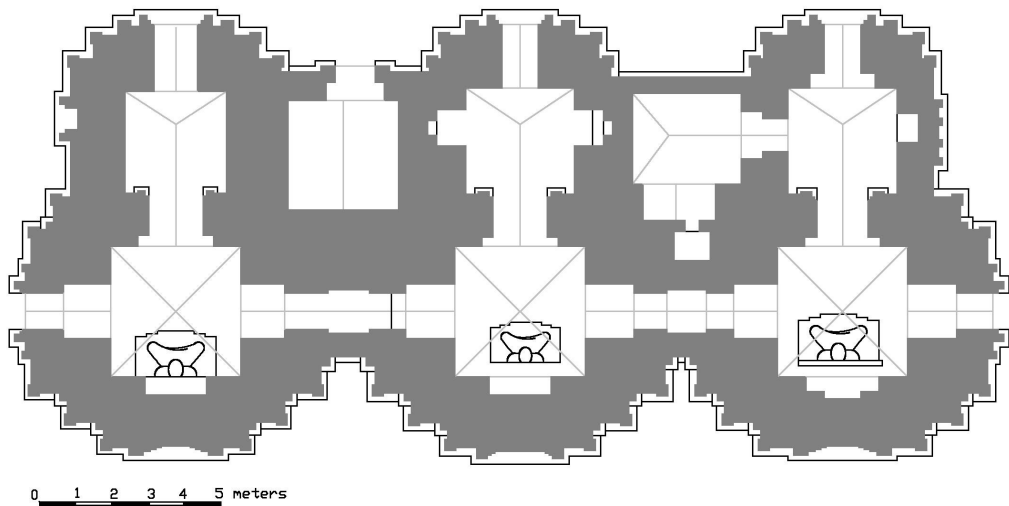


Figure 26.—Plan of Hpayathonzu (Monuments 477, 478 and 479)

regard to Hpayathonzu, Strachan, after noting that the “three pagodas” became common later in Sale, and that the Myanmars explain that the three Buddha images represent the three refuges—the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha, remarked:

... What is curious, though, is that so obvious a form, representing so crucial a formula, if this interpretation of the symbolism is to be followed, was not attempted at Pagan until the last decades of the dynasty, and that it was not until later centuries that it was to become a commonplace feature.<sup>46</sup>

However, it is very unlikely that the three Buddha images in *bhūmisparśa mudrā* represent the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha. This triad more probably represents the three bodies (*trikāya*) of the Buddha by which he saves all living beings. This idea is Mahayanistic and so are the paintings in the Hpayathonzu. However, the fact that the paintings in the Nagayon and Pahtothamyā are Theravada makes it impossible to press this point. Additionally, three standing images placed side by side can also be seen at Madirigirya in Sri Lanka, with two smaller sculptures placed against the side walls.<sup>47</sup> It is recorded that the representation probably of Kuvera and the four animals symbolizing the four cardinal directions have been found in the reliquary under the central figure of Madirigirya.<sup>48</sup>

#### 7.1.4. Temples with Four Principal Images

##### 7.1.4.1. Alopye Type

The temples of this type are two-cell structures (shrine and entrance hall) with plain outlines and have a single entrance and a solid core in the shrine.

Architecturally, they are the same as the Hlaing-she type mentioned above. The difference between them is that Hlaing-she-type temples are single-image temples whereas those of Alopye type are four-image temples. Alopye (374 [Fig. 27]), for instance, has niches

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<sup>46</sup> Strachan, *Imperial Pagan* 130.

<sup>47</sup> Bandaranayake, *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture* 200, Fig. 68 (on p. 195).

<sup>48</sup> Bandaranayake, *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture* 200.



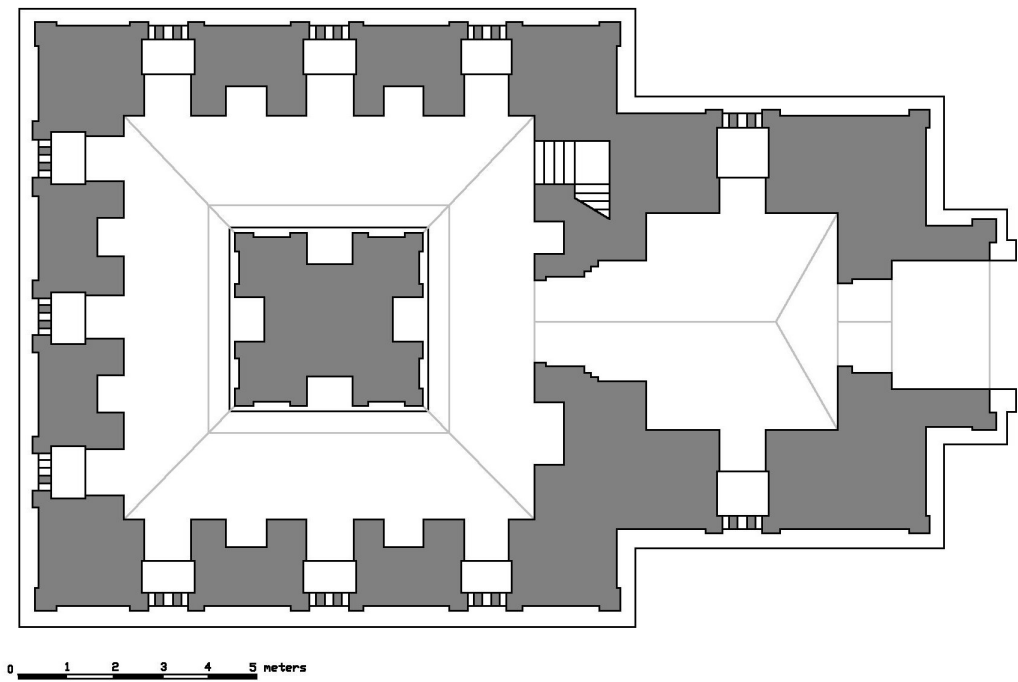


Figure 27.—Plan of Alope Temple (Monument 374)

with Buddha images on the four sides of its solid core; and this arrangement is shared by all the temples of this type. All these temples are topped with *sikhara* towers.

Among the temples of this type, Myebontha Hpayahla (1512) and Taungpon Lokanatha (315) are unique. In the former, the four sides of the solid core are occupied by the representations of the four scenes of Buddha's life: (clockwise from north) the Nativity, the Enlightenment, the First Sermon and the *Parinirvāṇa*. At Taungpon Lokanatha (315), the north and south faces of the core were occupied by two *bodhisattva* figures in *lalitāsana*.

Most of the temples of this type belong to the 12<sup>th</sup> century: Taungpon Lokanatha (315), Alopeye (374), Lemyethna (1185), Hpyatsa Shwegu (1249), Myebontha Hpayahla (1512) and Pathada Gu (1476).<sup>49</sup> Only one temple of this type was built in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, monument 1629, though with a very small entrance hall.

Mural paintings are found in 315, 374, 1185, 1249 and 1512. The captions of those in Alopeye (374) and Hpyatsa Shwegu (1249) are in Mon.<sup>50</sup>

#### 7.1.4.2. Sulamani Type

Sulamani (748 [Fig. 28]) is a temple with a large square solid core with narrow corridors around it. The main shrine and entrances are on the east side, while there are smaller shrines and porches on the north, south and the west sides. Similar temples are Pyathadagyi (803), Gawdawpalin (1622) and Htilominlo (1812).<sup>51</sup>

Thatbyinnyu (1597) also is not dissimilar, but the main image, facing east, is placed on the upper story, the plan of which is comparable to Abeyadana (1202), Nagayon (1192), Pahtothamya (1605), etc. with an inner sanctum.

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<sup>49</sup> The vestibule is no longer in existence at Pathada Gu (1476).

<sup>50</sup> For the Mon glosses in Alopeye temple, see Luce, "Pali & Old Mon Ink Glosses" 182-218.

<sup>51</sup> All these temples belong to the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

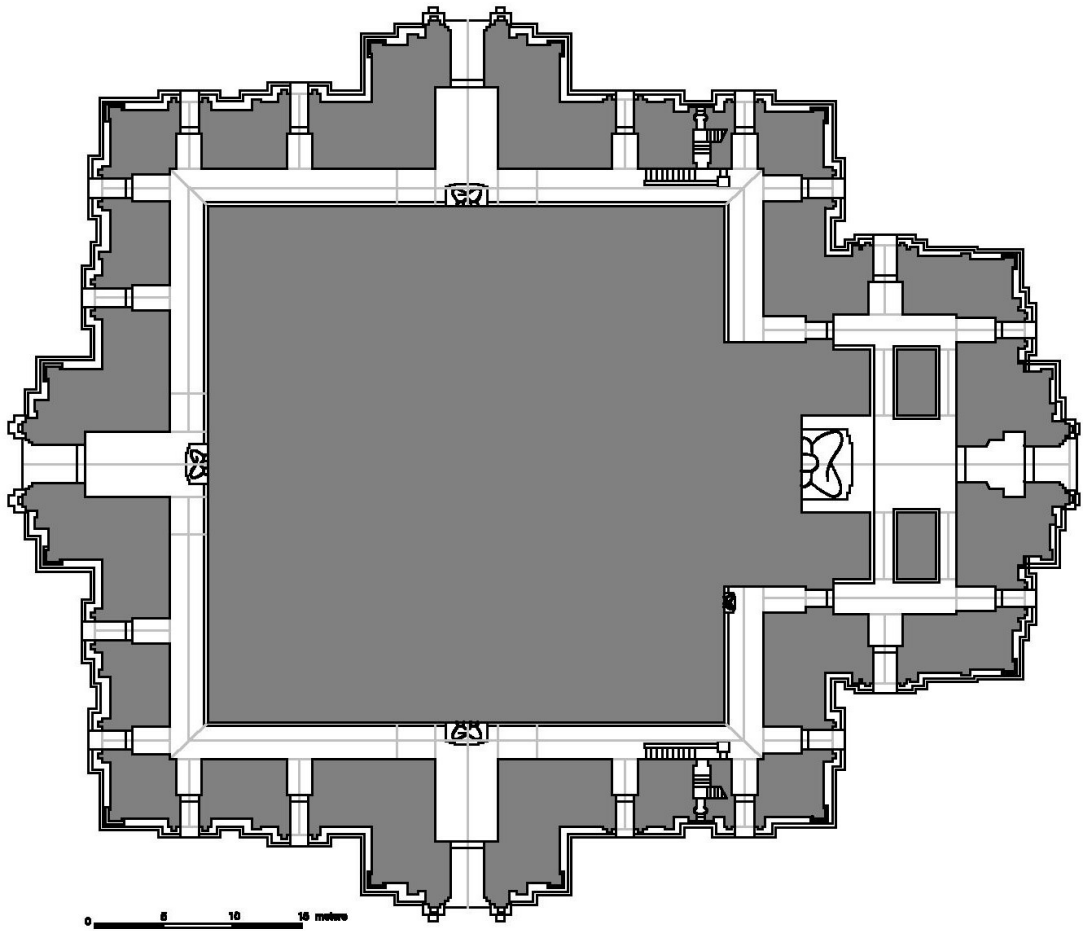


Figure 28.—Plan of Sulamani Temple (Monument 748)

#### 7.1.4.3. Ananda and Dhammayangyi

At Ananda temple (2171 [Fig. 29]), the solid core with four niches occupied by four Buddha images is surrounded by a corridor and an inner wall, around which again is another corridor.

A legend has it that King Kyansittha built the Ananda temple (2171) on the model of Nandamula grotto at Gandhamadana (Himalayas), following the visit to Pagan of eight *arhats* from there.<sup>52</sup> This suggests its north Indian origin. It is a square structure with four projecting vestibules and porches on four sides.

Another temple of this type is the Dhammayangyi (771). In this temple, however, the inner corridor was closed off, probably soon after the completion of the temple,<sup>53</sup> and only the east shrine is accessible. The north and south entrance halls house a seated Buddha image each. In the west hall, the two identical Buddha images in *bhūmisparśa mudrā* seated side by side facing west and a reclining Buddha image facing east were placed separated by a screen wall. Nevertheless, it is clear from the plan of this temple that the original intention was to place four Buddha images around the solid core as in Ananda. Both Ananda (2171) and Dhammayangyi (771) were crowned with square towers.

#### 7.1.4.4. Kalagyaung Type

This type includes the temples with a solid core and with four small projections like Kalagyaung (90 [Fig. 30]).<sup>54</sup> Four Buddha images in *bhūmisparśa mudrā* are placed on the

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<sup>52</sup> Pe Maung Tin and G.H. Luce, trans., *The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma* (London: Oxford UP, 1923; reprint, 1960) 59-60, 74-75 (hereafter *Glass Palace Chronicle*)

<sup>53</sup> Strachan, *Imperial Pagan* 87.

<sup>54</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> century: Kalagyaung (90), 136, 178, Lemyethna (290), Thettawya (326), West Zanthi (557), 653, Letputkan (711), Zeyyathut (785), 1105, 1135, 1269 and Thayambu (1554).

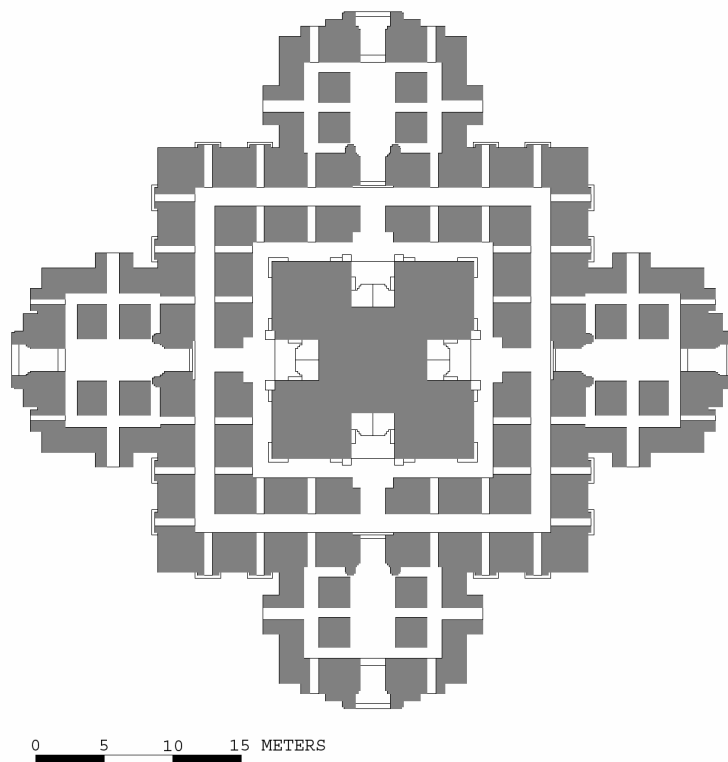


Figure 29.—Plan of Ananda Temple (Monument 2171)

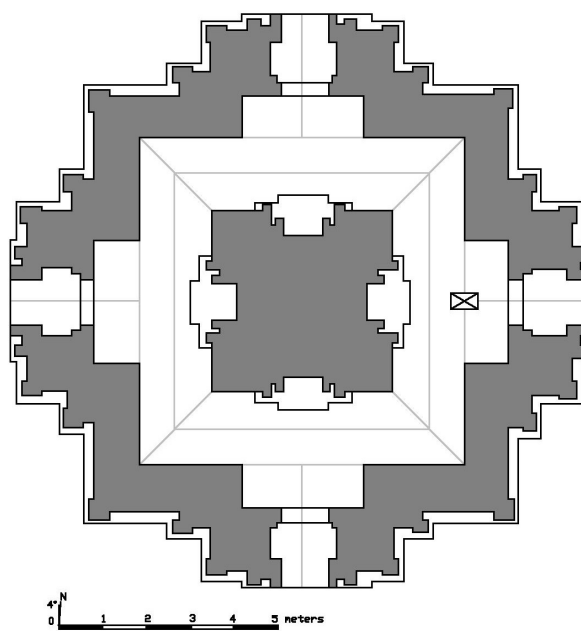


Figure 30.—Plan of Kalagyaung (Monument 90)

four sides of the solid core, which often contains niches. All these temples belong to the 13<sup>th</sup> century and are topped with bell-shaped stupas. Among the temples of this type, West Zanthi (557) and Zeyyathut (785) belonged to forest monasteries,<sup>55</sup> and monument 653 is in the monastery of Phunmlatso Winidhuir.

#### 7.1.4.5. Thambula Type

The temples of this type are two-cell structures with shrine and entrance hall, and the images are placed around the solid core in the shrine (see Fig. 31.—Plan of Thambula [482]).<sup>56</sup> All of them, except Theinmazi (1471) which dates from the 12<sup>th</sup> century, belong to the 13<sup>th</sup> century and are topped with square towers. The pyramidal tower with internal shrine at monument 1228 is comparable to Bochomi Gubyauk (995).<sup>57</sup>

Several temples of this type were connected with *Phun* monks (including forest monks). Lemyethna (447) is the main temple of Lemyethna monastic complex; monument 506 is in the precincts of Phunmlatkrīcwā Mahākassapa's monastery and is known by his name; Sabwetin (534) was donated by Minister Mahāsman who was a patron of forest monks;<sup>58</sup> Sawhlawun (676) was connected with Mlatkrī Acalaputthi (also spelt *Acalabuddhi*);<sup>59</sup> Thamuti (844) was connected with **Phunmlassa Kraëmaphat Chiryâ**

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<sup>55</sup> See *RMK* 1.143, lines 1-15 for West Zanthi (557); and *RMK* 1.16, lines 16-17 and *RMK* 1.165 for Zeyyathut (785).

<sup>56</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> century: Shweleiktu (259), 359, Lemyethna (447), Thambula (482), Hpogalon (483), West Katthapa (506), Sabwetin (534), Tayokepyay (539), Malonbyit (667), Sawhlawun (676), Tawet Hpaya (842), Thamuti (844), Kutha (845), Pyatthatgyi (893), Thayawate (988), Eggate (1340), Theinmazi (1471), Gudawthit (1486), Pyatthat Hpaya (1228) and Mahagugyi (1487).

<sup>57</sup> Note that the images facing north and south in this temple are standing figures, whereas those facing east and west are seated figures.

<sup>58</sup> *RMK* 2.99a, lines 5-6, 7-8.

<sup>59</sup> *RMK* 3.86a, lines 6-8; and *RMK* 3.87.

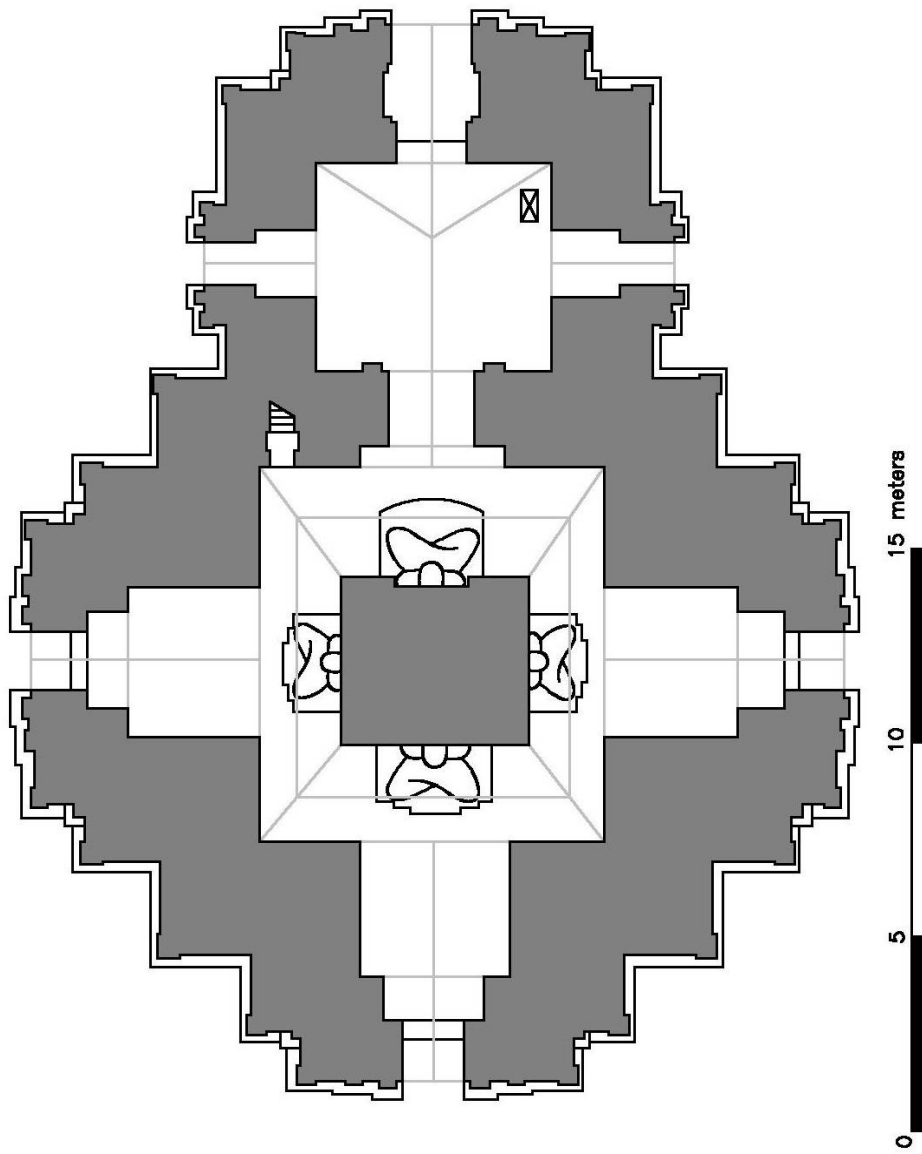


Figure 31.—Plan of Thambula Temple (Monument 482)

Chiryā and Phunmlat Mañkalākṛī;<sup>60</sup> and Kutha temple (845) was donated by the same donor.<sup>61</sup>

#### 7.1.4.6. Temples with Two Entrance Halls

Gubyauknge (1391 [Fig. 32]) and Hpayani (795), belonging to the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries respectively, have two entrance halls, one on the east and one on the west. The images in the sanctum are placed around the solid core. In Gubyauknge (1391), the north face of the core is occupied by the “Miracle at Srāvastī” (the Buddha flanked by two smaller Buddhas in *dharmacakra mudrā*).

#### 7.1.4.7. Temples Without Solid Core

Asawkyun (491 [Fig. 33]) is a temple with four small vestibules and porches. In its center were placed four Buddha images in *bhūmisparśa mudrā* surrounding a small stupa. Monument 475 is the same type of building. The same placement of four Buddha images surrounding a stupa can also be seen at Theinmazi (85), which has an entrance hall on the east side. Of these temples, Asawkyun (491) is in the precincts of the forest monastery of Phunmlatkrīcwā Mahākassapa, and monument 475 is located in the Lemyethna complex. Thus, both of them are connected with forest monks. They remind us of the *stupagharas* of Sri Lanka in which Buddha images are placed at the cardinal points of the stupa. These temples probably were the Myanmar version of the Sinhalese *stupagharas*.

#### 7.1.4.8. Stupa Temples

Two temples evolved from Sinhalese stupas. Monument 1359 (13<sup>th</sup> century) is a stupa temple with a square solid core, around which are placed four Buddha images. It has a

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<sup>60</sup> *RMK* 3.59, lines 17-18.

<sup>61</sup> *RMK* 3.63a, lines 15-25; and *RMK* 2.105.



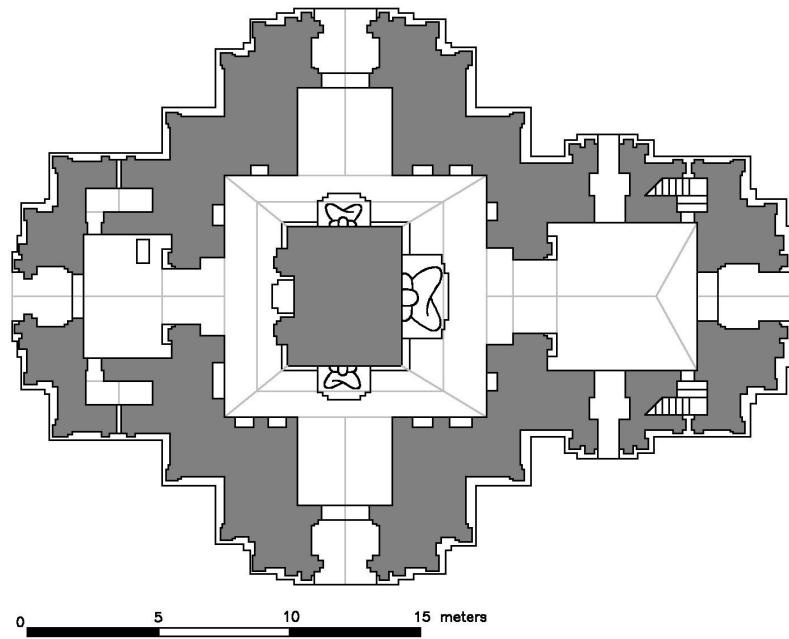


Figure 32.—Plan of Gubyaukng (Monument 1391)

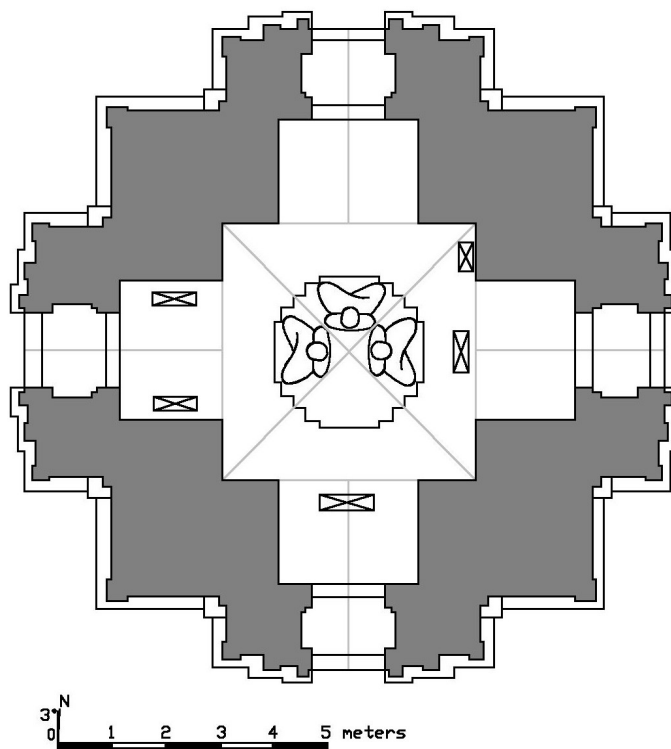


Figure 33.—Plan of Asawkyun (Monument 491)

hemispherical dome and square crowning block capped with a conical spire. A similar temple, Singan Hpaya (1790 [13<sup>th</sup> century]), is decorated with a dado of elephants around its base (Figs. 34 & 35).

Another type of stupa temple can be seen at Minwaing (680 [Fig. 36]). It has four shrines with porches on the four sides of its square base. There is no corridor joining the shrines, and the structure looks more like a stupa with four niches rather than a temple. A similar structure is Hpayani Zedi (263), where even the word *zedi* (spelt *cetī*; “stupa”) is used for referring to it.

At Myinpyagu (1493), belonging to the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the Buddha images facing the cardinal points are recessed into the solid core. The temple, the outward appearance of which is a bell-shaped stupa built on three square terraces, has one entrance on the west side. There are small cells on the other three sides, probably subsidiary shrines.

Although no image is present in them, the East and West-Hpetleik (1030 and 1031), seem to have been the earliest stupa-temples belonging to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. In these buildings, the square solid core is surrounded by a corridor, the walls of which are decorated with terracotta Jātaka plaques. Both buildings have hemispherical domes topped with square *harmikā* and probably by a ringed conical spire. There are four niches at the cardinal points on the dome.

#### 7.1.5. Temples With Five Buddha Images

Ngamyethna (51 [Fig. 37]) is a pentagonal temple with a pentagonal solid core, each face occupied by a Buddha image. There are five vestibules and porches. Similar temples are: monuments 607, 730, 781, 1410, 1504 and 1831, all belonging to the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

All these temples are topped with stupas. Monument 51 is topped with a Myanmar style stupa, while 1831 is topped with a Sinhalese style stupa, but the *harmikā* here is



Figure 34.—Singan Hpaya (Monument 1790)



Figure 35.—Elephant dado from Singan Hpaya (Monument 1790)

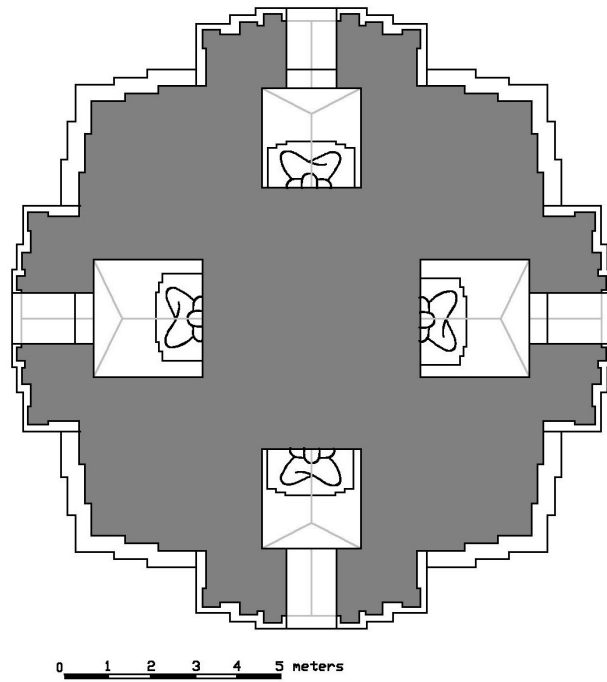


Figure 36.—Plan of Minwaing Temple (Monument 680)

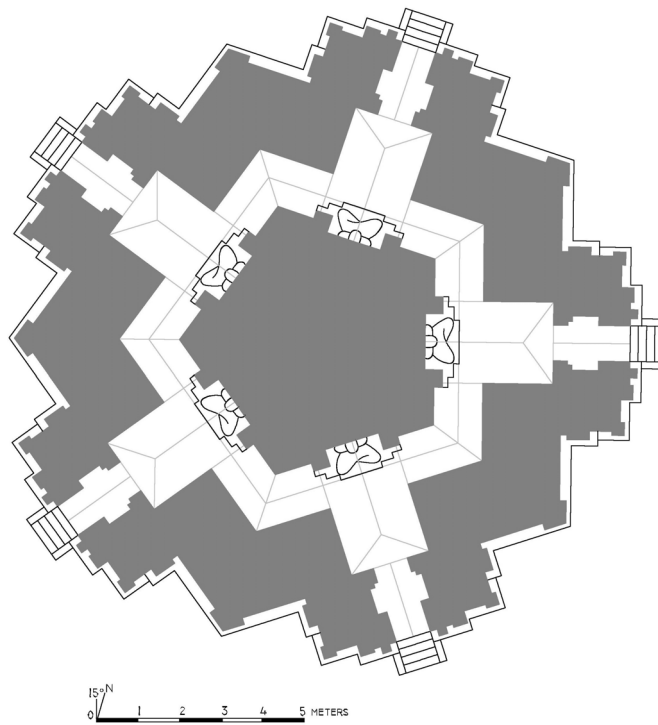


Figure 37.—Plan of Monument 51

pentagonal. Monument 1671, a stupa-temple in the precincts of the Mahabodhi (1670), is a pentagonal stupa with five large niches on its five faces in which Buddha images are placed. It has a hemispherical dome and a *harmikā*.

All the pentagonal structures in Pagan were dedicated to five Buddhas of the present eon: Kakusandha, Konagamana, Kassapa, Gotama and the future Buddha Maitreya. In the Dhammarazaka stupa (947), there are five image-houses on its 5 faces for these five Buddhas. Each of the two temples, monument 566 and Thenle Gu (1669), has one Buddha image in the sanctum and four niches outside for four other Buddhas.

An ink inscription of the 17<sup>th</sup> century in the east image-house of the Dhammarazaka (947) states that the image there represents Buddha Kakusandha.<sup>62</sup> Hence, Than Tun concludes that the images in the southeast, southwest, northwest and northeast were Konagamana, Kassapa, Gotama and Maitreya, respectively.<sup>63</sup> This may probably be true for Dhammarazaka (947). However, the placement in Thenle Gu (1669) suggests that it cannot be true for all the other pentagonal temples. In this temple, the main image faces southwest, and if the above scheme is taken to be true, the main image had to represent Buddha Kassapa. Nevertheless, there is no reason to have him as the main image.

The only non-pentagonal structure with five Buddha images is the 13<sup>th</sup>-century monument 1148 (Fig. 38), in which three seated images are placed side by side facing north with two images on their left and right facing one another. This placement reminds us of Madirigirya in Sri Lanka (see above [on page 181]).

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<sup>62</sup> Archaeology Department (Yangon), Ink Glosses in Pagan Temples, 25 portfolios, mss., no. 3.

<sup>63</sup> Than Tun, "Defacing Old Bagan," in *idem* (ed.), *Pugan̄ Laksac Nhai' Akhrā: Cātam:myā*: ["Defacing Old Bagan" and other articles], (Mandalay: Kyibwaye Press, 1996)

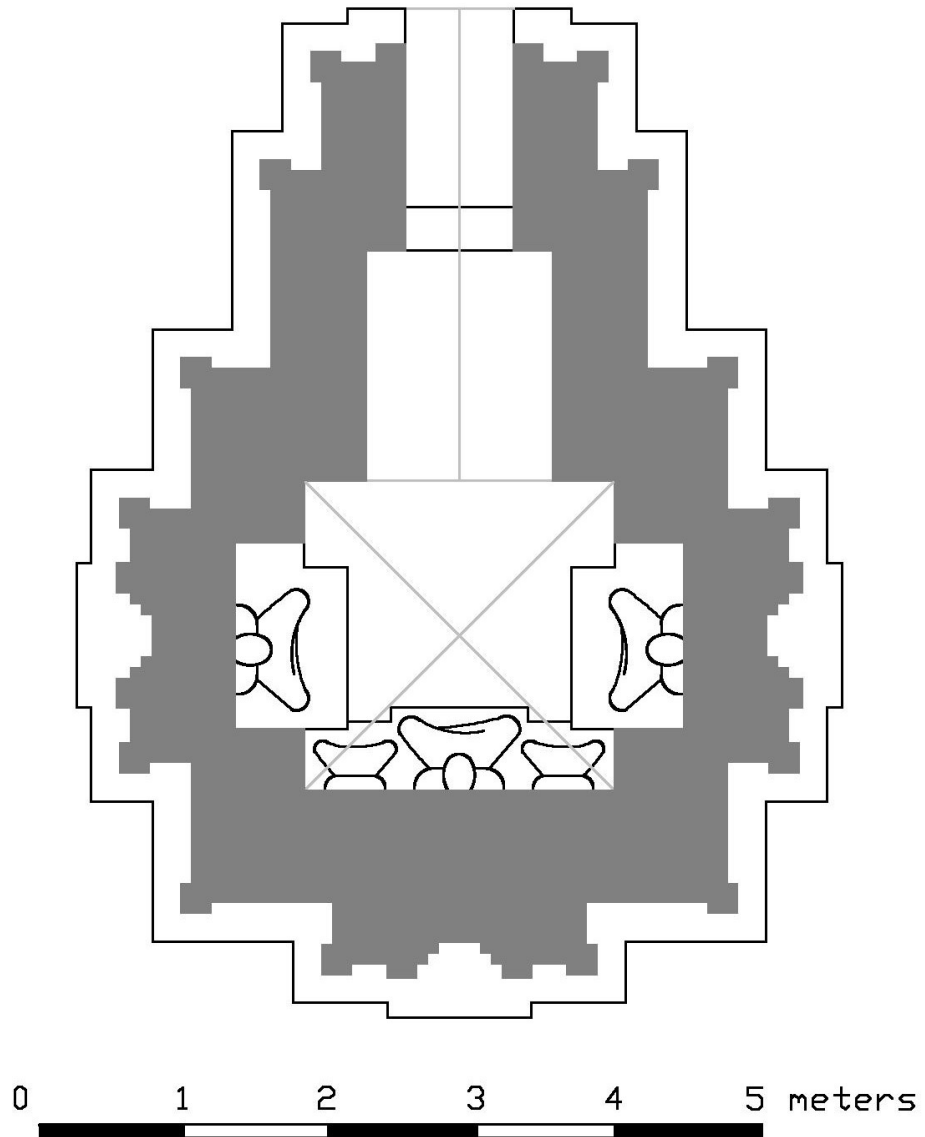


Figure 38.—Plan of Monument 1148

Chart 4 illustrates the percentage of temple types constructed during the Pagan period. Single-image temples were the commonest type since the 11<sup>th</sup> century, accounting for 55% of all the temples constructed then. Their popularity increased steadily to 65% and 76% in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries respectively. This certainly was due to the fact that the people of Pagan were constructing smaller temples attached to monasteries in later times (see 8.2 [below]). It should be noted here that most of the later temples have redented corners as opposed to the temples with plain ground plan of the earlier periods.

The temples with two principal images came into being only in the 12<sup>th</sup> century AD. Their number seems to be quite stable (23% and 21% of the multiple image temples built in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries respectively). However, as has been stated above, it seems that whereas the earlier monks desired to have two images in the same sanctum, the later monks preferred to subordinate one of the images by placing it in the secondary shrine at the back of the temple.

Although three-image temples made up 27% of the temples (or 60% of multiple image temples) belonging to the 11<sup>th</sup> century, no three-image temples were constructed in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. They revived in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, although they were not as common as they had been in the 11<sup>th</sup> century (1% of all the temples or 4% of the multiple image temples).

Chart 4 illustrates that the number of four-image temples rose in the 12<sup>th</sup> century (27% versus 18% in the 11<sup>th</sup> century), and tapered off to 15% in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>64</sup> The decline in the 13<sup>th</sup> century may be attributed to the introduction of five-image temples. All in all, they were more popular in the latter half of the Pagan period. It seems that four-image temples were popular among the forest monks of the later period.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Among the multiple image temples alone, four-image temples increased from 40% in the 11<sup>th</sup> century to 77% in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and decreased again to 63% in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>65</sup> Four-image temples are found in the forest monastery of Mahākassapa (monuments 491 and 506), the Lemyethna monastic complex (monument 447) and the Zeyyathut forest monastery (monument 785).

Temple types (by century)

	11 <sup>th</sup> century	12 <sup>th</sup> century	13 <sup>th</sup> century
Single Image	6	34	212
2 Images	0	4 <sup>†</sup>	13 <sup>†</sup>
3 Images	3 <sup>‡</sup>	0	4 <sup>*</sup>
4 Images	2	14	43
5 Images	0	0	9

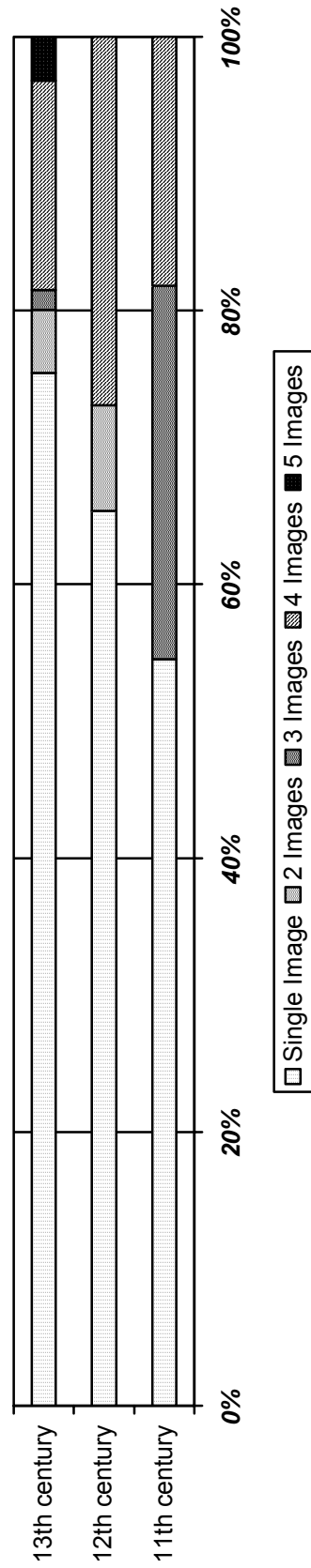
Notes.—This table is based on the temples in which the placement either of the images or of the thrones is known. For the list of temples, see appendix.

<sup>†</sup>Temples with a single image inside and a secondary shrine are included.

<sup>‡</sup>Manuha (1240) not included.

\*Hpayathonzu (477, 478 and 479) not included.

Chart 4.--Temple Types (by the number of images)





Five-image temples were introduced only in the 13th century, reflecting the growing popularity of the Maitreya cult. All the five-image temples except one are pentagonal structures. The non-pentagonal five-image temple is comparable to the *paṭimāghara* at Madirigirya, Sri Lanka.<sup>66</sup> Although Maitreya was also popular in Sri Lanka, the fact that the Old Myanmar word for him derived from Sanskrit *Maitreya* indicates that the Maitreya cult in Myanmar was greatly influenced by Mahayana India. Myanmar certainly were the inventors of pentagonal structures.

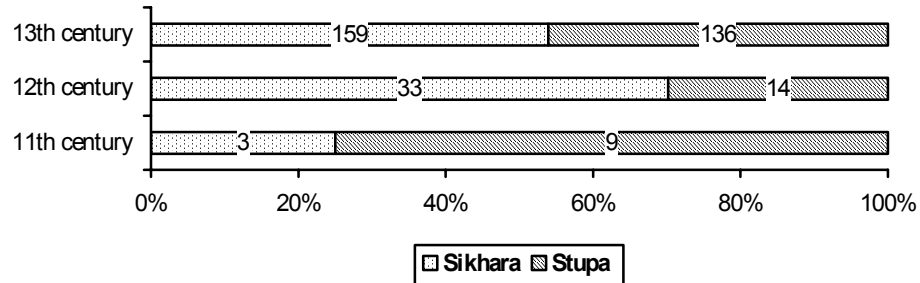
Another interesting feature of the Pagan temples is the change in the temple tops (see Chart 5). The majority of the 11<sup>th</sup>-century temples were topped with stupas. The ratio of the temples topped with stupa to those topped with *sikhara* was 3:1 in the 11<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>67</sup> In fact, in whole structures too, the stupa was more popular than temples during this time (see 7.3 [below]). In the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the number of temples topped with stupa plunged and the ratio became 4:11. It grew again in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, when the proportion of the temples topped with stupa and *sikhara* turned to 5:6. The notable increase of *sikhara* in the 12<sup>th</sup> century was very likely due to the influx of Indians fleeing from Muslim incursions—which also seems to have resulted in the dominance of the temple over stupa (see 7.3 [below]). In the 13<sup>th</sup> century, although image-worship continued to dominate, the Buddhists of Pagan seem to have been attempting to combine image-worship with stupa-worship either by capping the temples with stupa-shaped towers or by constructing stupa-temples. This revival of stupa tops may be attributed to the rise of the *Phun* sect, which had close relations with Sinhalese monks (see 5. Buddhist Sects I & 6. Buddhist Sects II [above]).

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<sup>66</sup> Bandaranayake, *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture* 200, and Fig. 68c (on p. 195). All the images at Madirigirya, however, were standing figures, whereas those at Pagan were seated ones.

<sup>67</sup> If the East and West Hpetleiks (1030 and 1031) are not included in the data, the ratio would be 2:1. Although these two structures are counted as temples because one can enter them, it seems that the corridors were made only to place the Jātaka plaques. It does not seem that these two structures were meant for housing Buddha images. Nevertheless, it is clear that stupas were more popular than *sikhara* in the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

Chart 5.--Temple Tops  
(by century)



Note.—The data table for this chart is given in Appendix 8.

## 7.2. STUPAS

Another type of religious edifice is *puthūiw* or *ceṭī* (< Skt./Pali *ceṭiya*) “stupa.”<sup>68</sup> The components of a stupa, from base to top, are: plinth or basal platform (OM *caṅkram*; Skt./Pali *mālaka* or *maḷuva*), terraces—sometimes transformed into moldings (MnM *paccayamī*; Skt./Pali *pesava* or *medhi*), dome (MnM *thabeik-hmauk*; Skt./Pali *udara* or *aṅḍa*), crowning block (Skt. *harmikā* or *hatarāskoṭṭva*), conical spire (OM *athwat* or *athot*, Skt. *katkaralla* or *chattrāvalī*), and finial (OM *thī*, literally meaning “umbrella”). It should, however, be noted here that some of the components are not present in all the stupas. (see Figs. 39 & 40).

The stupas of Pagan can be categorized as follows:

- 1) stupas with bell-shaped dome
- 2) stupas with hemispherical dome
- 3) stupas with bulbous dome, and
- 4) miscellaneous

<sup>68</sup> *RMK* 1.32, line 7; *RMK* 1.121a, line 8; and *RMK* 1.135, line 7. Spelt *cāti* in *RMK* 1.41a, line 15.

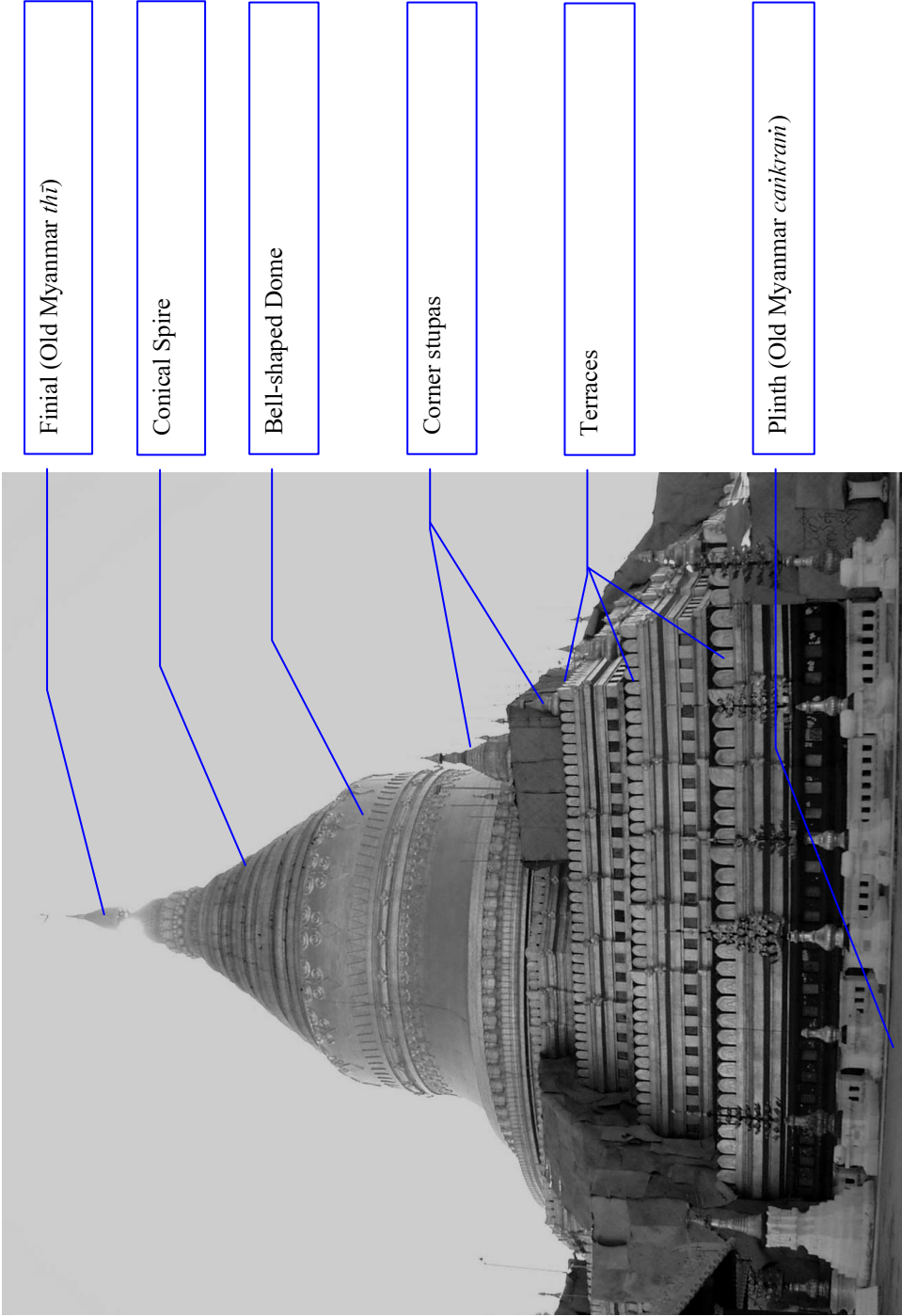


Figure 39.—Shwezigon Stupa (Monument I)

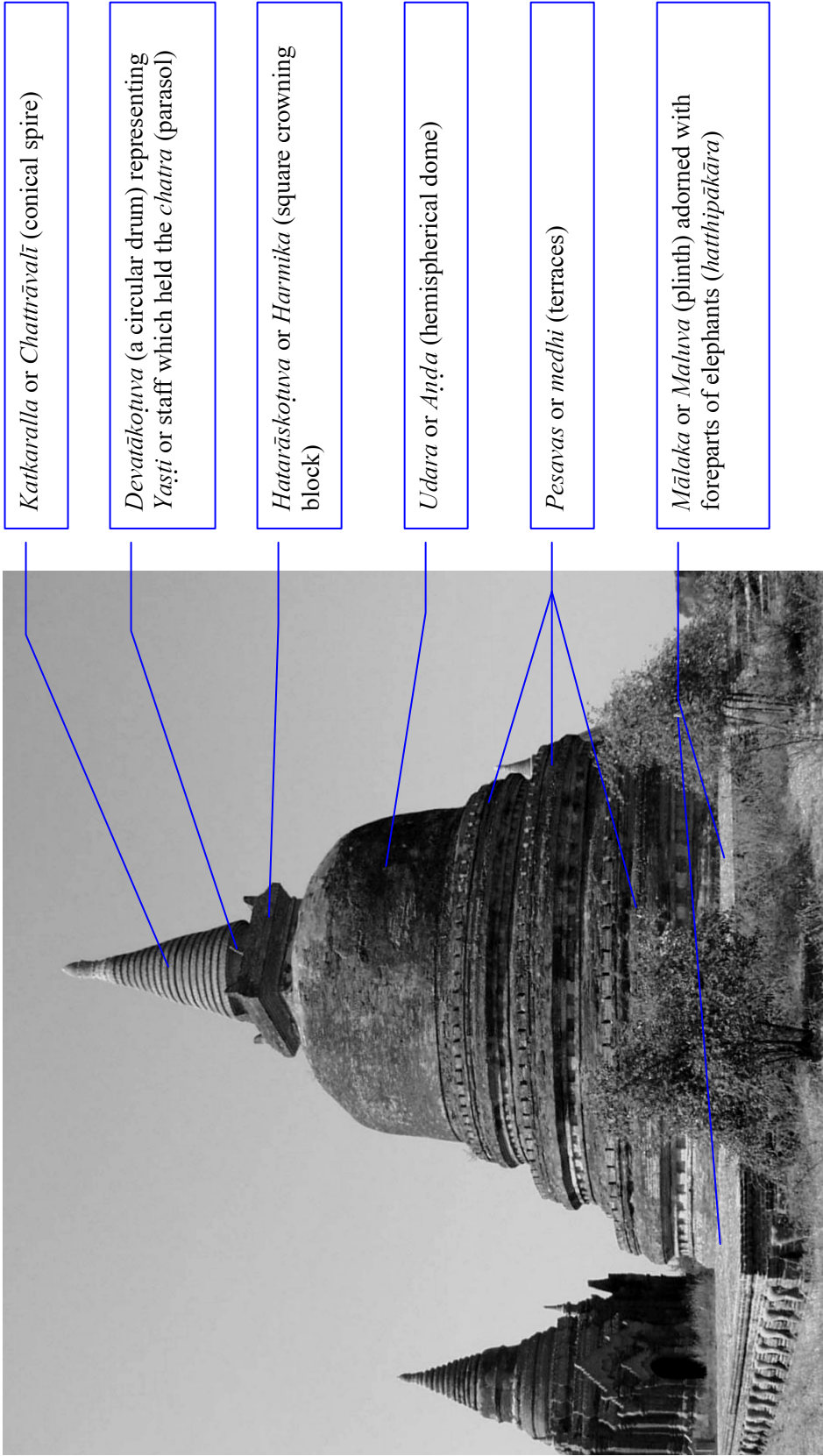


Figure 40.—Kattha Thupa (495)

### 7.2.1. Stupas with Bell-Shaped Dome

The stupas with bell-shaped dome may be termed Myanmar style stupas because they were the commonest type of stupas in Pagan-period Myanmar and also because they became the only type of stupas built in Myanmar in later times. The best example of this type is the Shwezigon (monument no. 1) belonging to the 11<sup>th</sup> century AD. On top of three square terraces built one on another in receding form is constructed the bell-shaped dome. From this dome rises the ringed conical spire topped by a finial (OM *athwat* [finial] or *thī* [umbrella]).<sup>69</sup> (Fig. 39)

The crowning block (*hatarāskoṭuva* or *harmikā*) is absent in this type of stupa except in monument 1506. Although most of these stupas have three terraces, the number of terraces varies from one to seven. The ground plans of these stupas are usually square.<sup>70</sup> The terraces of some stupas are accessible via stairways. The terraces of the large stupas—the Shwezigon (monument no. 1), Dhammarazaka (947) and the Mingalazedi (1439)—are decorated with glazed plaques depicting scenes from the Jātaka stories. Figures of Mahayana deities are never found on these plaques. Ornamenting these stupas with corner urns (*kalāśa* pots) and/or corner stupas was quite common.

Image-houses are found around some stupas of this type, as in Shwezigon (monument 1). The Dhammarazaka (947), a pentagonal stupa with bell-shaped dome, is surrounded by five image-houses. Some stupas contain niches in which Buddha images are placed.

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<sup>69</sup> *RMK* 1.2a, line 28; *RMK* 1.96a, lines 23-24; and *RMK* 1.97a, line 12.

<sup>70</sup> Their plinths and/or their lower terraces are usually square. The plans of three stupas (monuments 180, 1306 and 1608), however, are circular; whereas the Dhammarazaka is a pentagonal stupa.

Inside Theinmazi (85), monument 475 and Asawkyun (491), was placed a small stupa surrounded by four Buddha images at cardinal points with their backs to the stupa. A similar arrangement is found in the *vatadage* of Polonnaruva (see Fig. 41).<sup>71</sup>

### 7.2.2. Stupas with Hemispherical Dome

Stupas with hemispherical domes are distinguished from other types of stupas not only by the shape of their domes, but also by the fact that they always have a crowning block (*harmikā*) between the dome and the conical spire. This type is best exemplified by Katthapa Thupagyi (495) at Minnanthu (Fig. 40).

The crowning block is normally square. However, there were attempts presumably to harmonize it with the circular base of the spire and perhaps also with the circular dome by making it octagonal,<sup>72</sup> or by making a square block with projections.<sup>73</sup>

The plans of most of these stupas are circular, although square ones are not uncommon. Two stupas are octagonal in plan, while one is a pentagonal stupa.

Some of these stupas are certainly connected with Sri Lanka. For instance, monument 187 is ascribed to Chappada, a monk who received ordination in Sri Lanka; monument 1113 is found around the Tamani monastery (the monastery of Tāmalinda who came to Pagan from Sri Lanka with Chappada), and monument 1133 (Tamani temple) ascribed to Tāmalinda evolved from this type of stupa. Moreover, the base of two stupas of this type (monument 495 and 987) are decorated with foreparts of elephants, a common practice in Sri Lanka.

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<sup>71</sup> H.T. Basnayake, *Sri Lankan Monastic Architecture*, Studies on Sri Lanka Series 2 (Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1986) 45.

<sup>72</sup> Monument 1393.

<sup>73</sup> As in monuments 1113, 1236 and 1506.

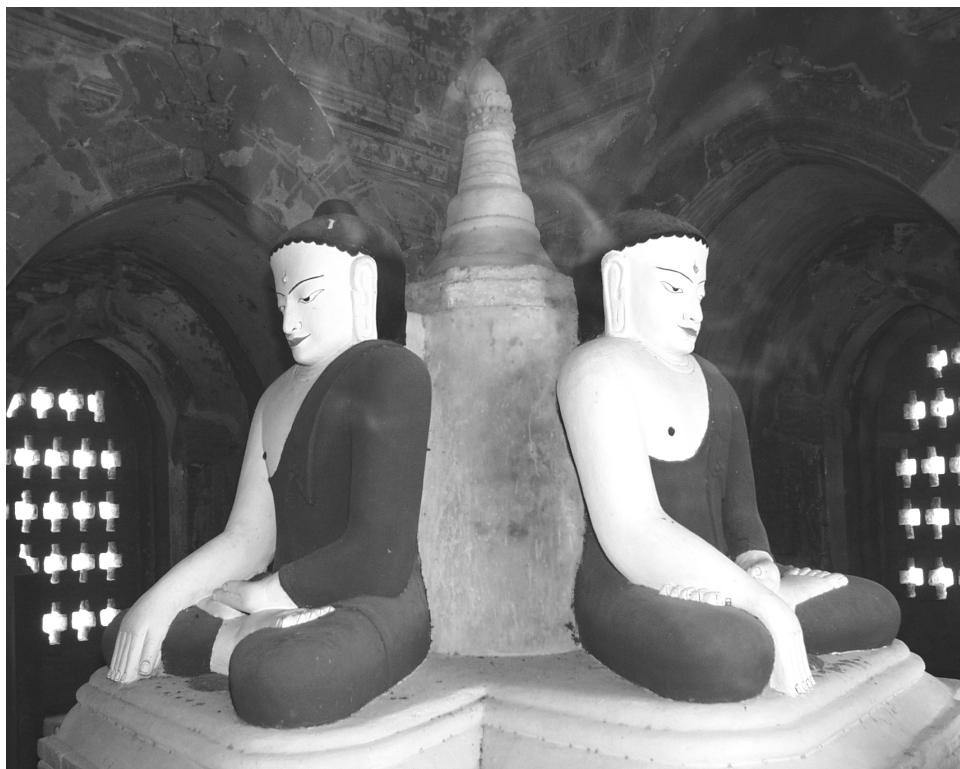


Figure 41.—Buddha Images Surrounding a Stupa inside Asawkyun (Monument 491)

As in Sri Lanka, these stupas are normally not ornamented with corner urns or with corner stupas, simply because they are usually circular structures in both Sri Lanka and Myanmar. Sedanagyi (987) and Seinnyet Nyima (1086), however, are exceptions. Both of them are hybrids of Myanmar style stupa and Sinhalese ones. They are similar to the Sinhalese stupas in that they have hemispherical domes topped with square crowning blocks, while they are similar to the Myanmar stupas in that they have square terraces with corner structures (stupas and urns at Seinnyet Nyima and corner turrets at Sedanagyi). Additionally, the basal plinth of Sedanagyi (987) is ornamented with foreparts of elephants. (Than Tun, assuming that its name derived from Skt. *śiśnā* [male generative organ], believes that it is “an encased Hindu temple,”<sup>74</sup> probably because the name of this temple as mentioned in an inscription was *Cañcanā*.<sup>75</sup> However, the derivation of *cañcanā* from Skt. *śiśnā* is quite unlikely.)

Although these stupas undoubtedly emanated from the Sinhalese stupas, it is interesting to note that there are marked differences between the Sinhalese stupas and the Myanmar ones. The stupas in Sri Lanka usually were independent buildings. At Pagan, on the other hand, apart from Sedanagyi (987) and Seinnyet Nyima (1086), all the stupas of this type are small stupas usually found in the monastic complexes. Additionally, the Sri Lankan tradition of having four gateways is not followed by the Myanmar. It is true that they could not have had gateways because they are part of monastic complexes which do not have their own enclosure walls, but there could have been four approaches like four flights of steps to climb onto the plinth. Katthapa Thupagyi, which has a plinth ornamented with the foreparts of elephants like Sri Lankan stupas, has only two flights of steps—one on the north and one on the south.<sup>76</sup> Many stupas of this type have no plinth onto which one can climb, and their

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<sup>74</sup> Than Tun, “Defacing Old Bagan” 198.

<sup>75</sup> *RMK* 2.53b, line 9.

<sup>76</sup> Another Sinhalese style stupa built on a square plinth with two flights of steps (one on east and the other on west) is Zedigyi (167).



placement in the monastic complexes suggests that they were not important buildings.

Moreover, the *valhakadas* that are usually built at the cardinal points of stupas in Sri Lanka are not found in Myanmar. It seems that the stupas of this type in Pagan served only as a symbol of the monks' or monasteries' prestigious connection with Sri Lanka. The forest monastery of Mahākassapa seems to be the only monastery built originally with a Sinhalese style stupa as the main cult object (see 8.2.2 [below]). Seinnyet Nyima (1086) and monument 1518 have small niches with Buddha images around their domes.

A pentagonal stupa of this type, monument 1671, has five niches on its five faces where the images of the five Buddhas of the present eon are placed (see page 192 [above]).

### 7.2.3. Stupas with Bulbous Dome

This type is rare. The presence of this type of stupas at Śrī Kṣetra (Old Pyay), a Pyu site, suggests their early origin. The crowning block is absent from these bulbous stupas. Paukpinya (1614), with a circular crowning block, is an exception. The bases of most of the stupas of this type are circular.

### 7.2.4. Miscellaneous

There are a few stupas with cylindrical domes.<sup>77</sup> These stupas do not have a crowning block. Their bases are circular or octagonal. One stupa (Inhpayagyi [monument 772] has a circular conical dome.

Of these different types of stupas, the fact that the bulbous type is found in Śrī Kṣetra, an 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup>-century Pyu site, shows its antiquity. The square crowning block (*harmikā*) was neither used by the Pyus nor the Mons. The hemispherical stupas with square or almost square *harmikā* certainly are due to Myanmar's contacts with Sri Lanka during the Pagan period. Luce has pointed out that the bell-shaped stupas existed already in Śrī Kṣetra.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Monuments 34, 1064, 1157, 1631 and 1632.

<sup>78</sup> Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagan* 1: 238.

However, the dates of those stupas are not known. It seems that no bell-shaped type stupas can be dated earlier than the 11<sup>th</sup> century with certainty. This is not surprising because since this type was the most preferred, gradually becoming the only stupa type constructed in Myanmar, they certainly were the most likely to be renovated. The fact that almost all the independent large stupas of Myanmar were of this type suggests that their origin probably goes back to a time when stupa-worship was important. No similar stupas are found either in India or in Sri Lanka. Probably, the bell-shaped stupas in Myanmar resulted from the interpretation of some literary source. According to Parker, a Sinhalese manuscript lists the different types of stupas as: 1) *ganṭhākāra* (bell shape), 2) *ghatākāra* (pot shaped), 3) *dhanyākāra* (paddy-heap shape), 4) *bubbulākāra* (water-bubble shape), 5) *padmākāra* (lotus shape), and 6) *amalakāra* (nelli-fruit shape).<sup>79</sup> Alternatively, they might have resulted from Myanmar's contacts with other Southeast Asian countries.<sup>80</sup>

### 7.3. GROWTH PATTERN OF TEMPLES AND STUPAS

A noticeable feature of the monuments of Pagan is that while the number of buildings was swelling, the percentage of large structures dwindled—from 27% in the 11<sup>th</sup> century to 16% and 3% in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries respectively (see Chart 6). This certainly was caused by the rise of *Phun* monks. As will be discussed in the following chapter, the earlier monks seem to have used self-contained monasteries (where a single building contained shrine room, living cells, etc.) or single-cell monasteries attached to a large stupa, and almost all the temples and stupas of early Pagan were independent structures. The later monks, however, preferred monasteries with separate buildings for temples and/or stupas, monks' residential quarters, preaching halls, etc., and hence many small temples and stupas were built in the later period as parts of monasteries (see 8.2 [below]).

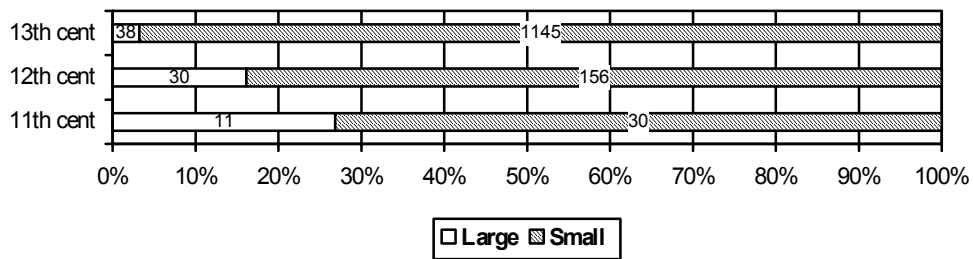
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<sup>79</sup> Basnayake, *Sri Lankan Monastic Architecture* 82, fn. 14.

<sup>80</sup> Compare the bell-shaped stupas from Java with the Myanmar ones.

The most important aspect of Pagan monuments is the rapid increase of buildings and the shift from the preeminence of stupa over temple in the early period to the dominance of temple over stupa in the later period.

**Chart 6.--Pagan Monuments  
(by size range)**



Note.—Size is based on the external length of the longest side. The structures not bigger than 25 meters are regarded as small, and those bigger than 25 meters are counted as large ones.

Source: Indexes of Pierre Pichard, *Inventory of Monuments at Pagan*, vols. 1-6 (Paris: UNESCO, 1992-1999) and the indexes for vols. 7-8. The data from vols. 7-8 are provided to me by Bob Hudson.

Of the Pagan monuments listed in Pichard's *Inventory of Monuments at Pagan*, the number of temples and stupas built by the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century was only 41, while there are 186 and 1183 buildings belonging to the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries respectively.<sup>81</sup> So the ratio is roughly 2:9:59. Is this a gradual development? This is very unlikely. As the earlier buildings would be damaged earlier, and as repairs and renovations in later periods would not only increase the number of buildings belonging to that period but also reduce the number of those of earlier periods, the increase in the number of buildings in the later periods is, of course, predictable; but not to this extent. Moreover, the proportion of temples to stupas, which was about 2 to 3 in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, became 3 to 2 and 3.5 to 2 in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries respectively (see

<sup>81</sup> This analysis is based on the data from Pichard's *Inventory of Monuments at Pagan* (vols. 1-6) and the indexes for vols. 7 & 8. I owe my gratitude to Bob Hudson (University of Sydney) for providing me with the data for these last two volumes before they were published.

Chart 7 and Figs. 42a, b & c). This shows that the emphasis the people of Pagan gave to the cult object changed swiftly from stupa to image from the 12<sup>th</sup> century onward. So the following questions arise: What is the reason for the rapid increase of religious buildings in the latter half of the Pagan period, especially in the 13<sup>th</sup> century? What is the reason for the swift change of the temple-stupa ratio in the late Pagan period, i.e. for the change of emphasis the people gave to the cult object?

The rapid increase of temples and stupas in the latter half of the Pagan period undoubtedly was due to the development of Pagan's economy that resulted from the expansion of cultivation from Narapatisithu's reign onwards. The rapid increase of temples and stupas in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries corresponded with the establishment and growth of the *Phun* sect as well as the growth of the *Sani* sect in the 12<sup>th</sup> century and the rapid increase of the *Phun* sect in the 13<sup>th</sup> century (see Chart 1 [above]).

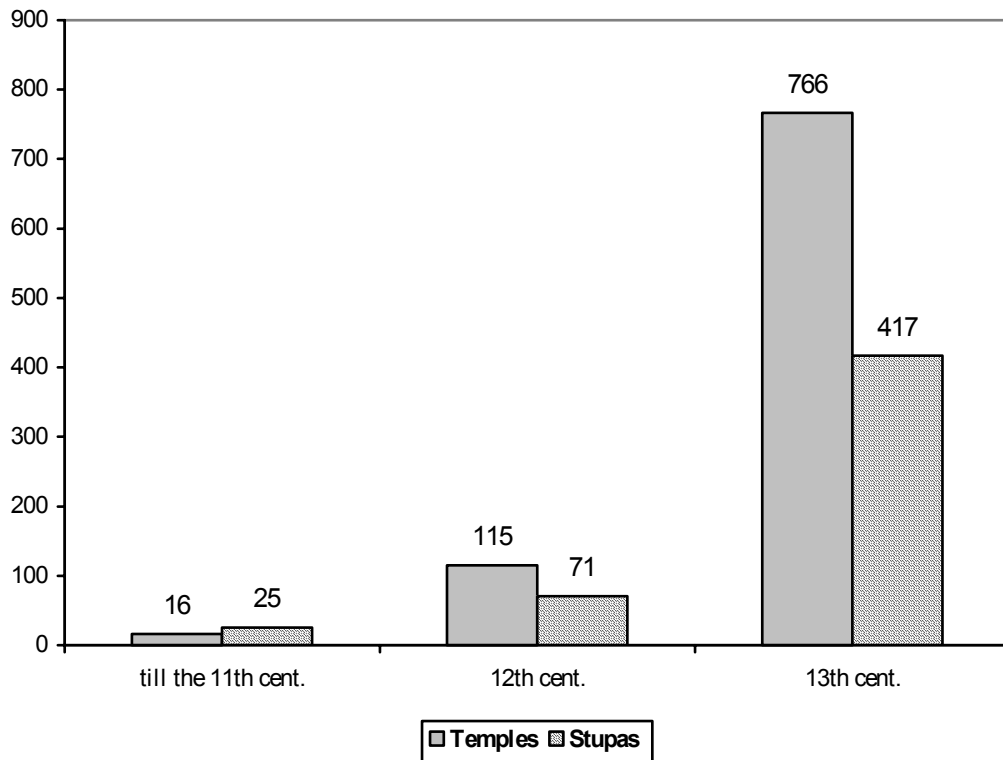
However, this does not explain the change in temple-stupa ratio. Even though temples (or *paṭimāgharas*, as Sinhalese scholars prefer to call them) became very popular in Sri Lanka in the Polonnaruva period, the stupa was, as Bandaranayake points out, "the characteristic monument of Sinhalese Buddhism throughout its long history."<sup>82</sup> As will be discussed below, in most of the Pagan monasteries, the stupa received no importance at all. The period of the rapid increase in construction of temples and stupas as well as the change in temple-stupa ratio also coincided with Muslim incursions in northern India at the close of the 12<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>83</sup> Inscriptions mention many Indian slaves including artisans in Pagan especially in the 13<sup>th</sup> century AD. Therefore, it is very likely that the change in cult object from stupa to image (as reflected by temple-stupa ratios) resulted from the sudden influx of Buddhists (as well as some Hindus) from northern India. Even if this influx did not affect the

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<sup>82</sup> Bandaranayake, *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture* 137.

<sup>83</sup> Michael Edwardes, *A History of India From the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1961) 102-105.

**Chart 7.--Temple-Stupa Ratio  
(by century)**



Source: Indexes of Pierre Pichard, *Inventory of Monuments at Pagan*, vols. 1-6 (Paris: UNESCO, 1992-1999) and the indexes for vols. 7-8. The data from vols. 7-8 were provided to me by Bob Hudson.

faith of the Pagan Buddhists considerably, it would have resulted in cheap skilled labor. Many Indian slaves including skilled artisans and craftsmen are mentioned in the inscriptions. The rapid growth of temples also must have been due partly to this migration of Indian refugees.

In short, the rapid increase of Buddhist monuments in the latter half of the Pagan period was partly connected with the growth of the Phun sect. The change from the predominance of stupa over temple in the early period to the ascendancy of temple over stupa in the later period most probably resulted from the influx of Indians skilled in temple

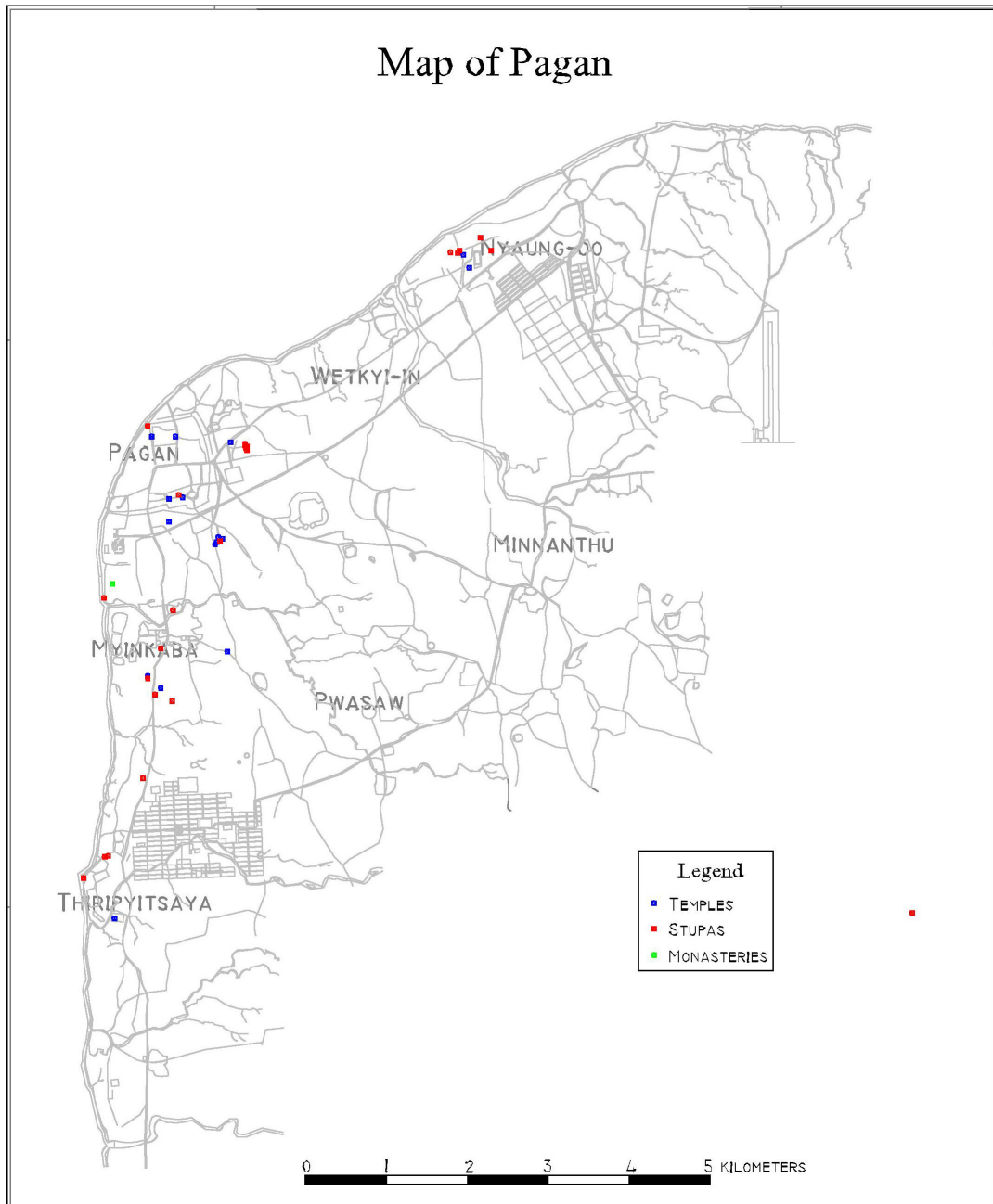


Figure 42a.—Distribution of Temples, Stupas and Monasteries (11<sup>th</sup> Century)

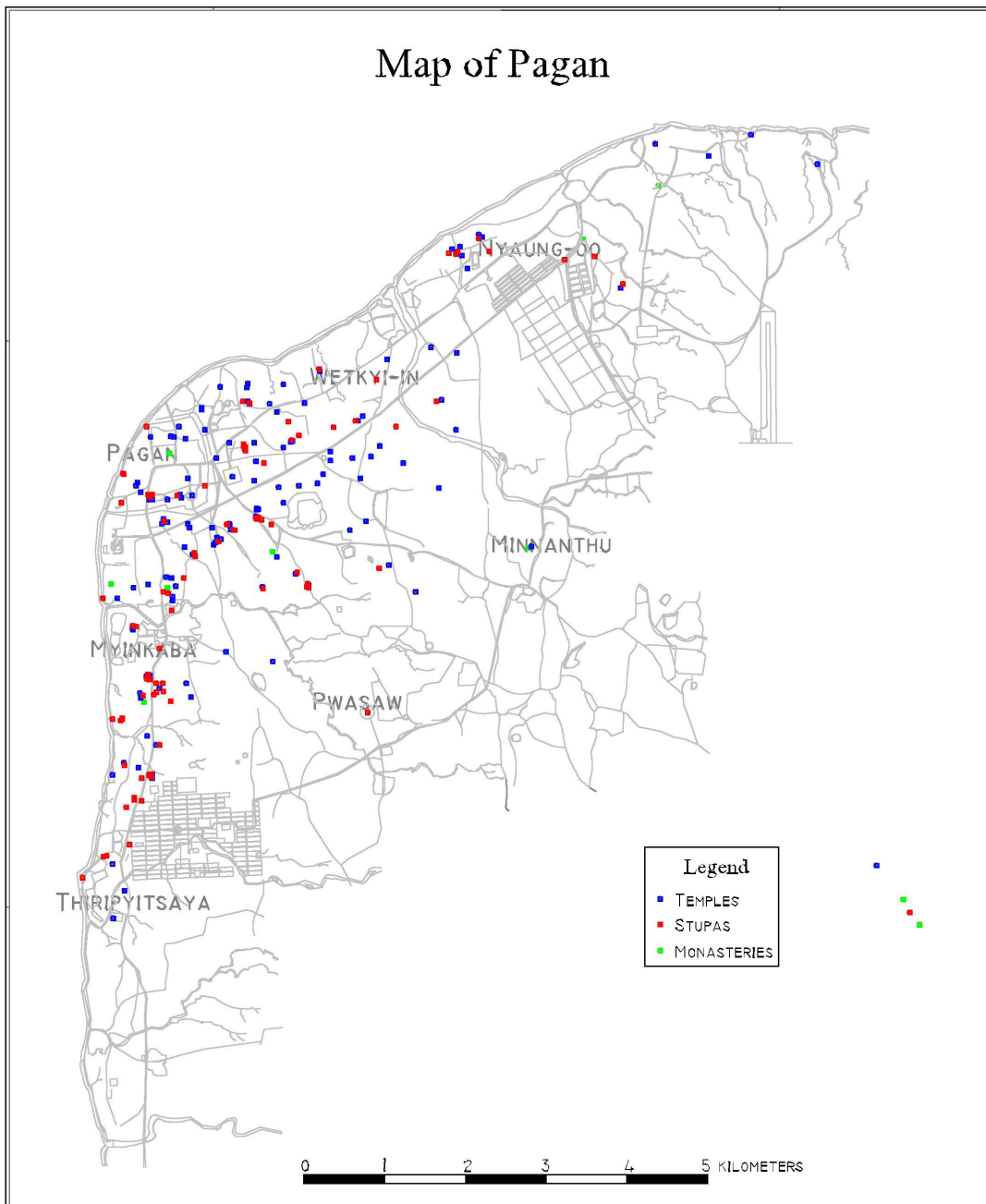


Figure 42b.—Distribution of Temples, Stupas and Monasteries (12<sup>th</sup> Century)

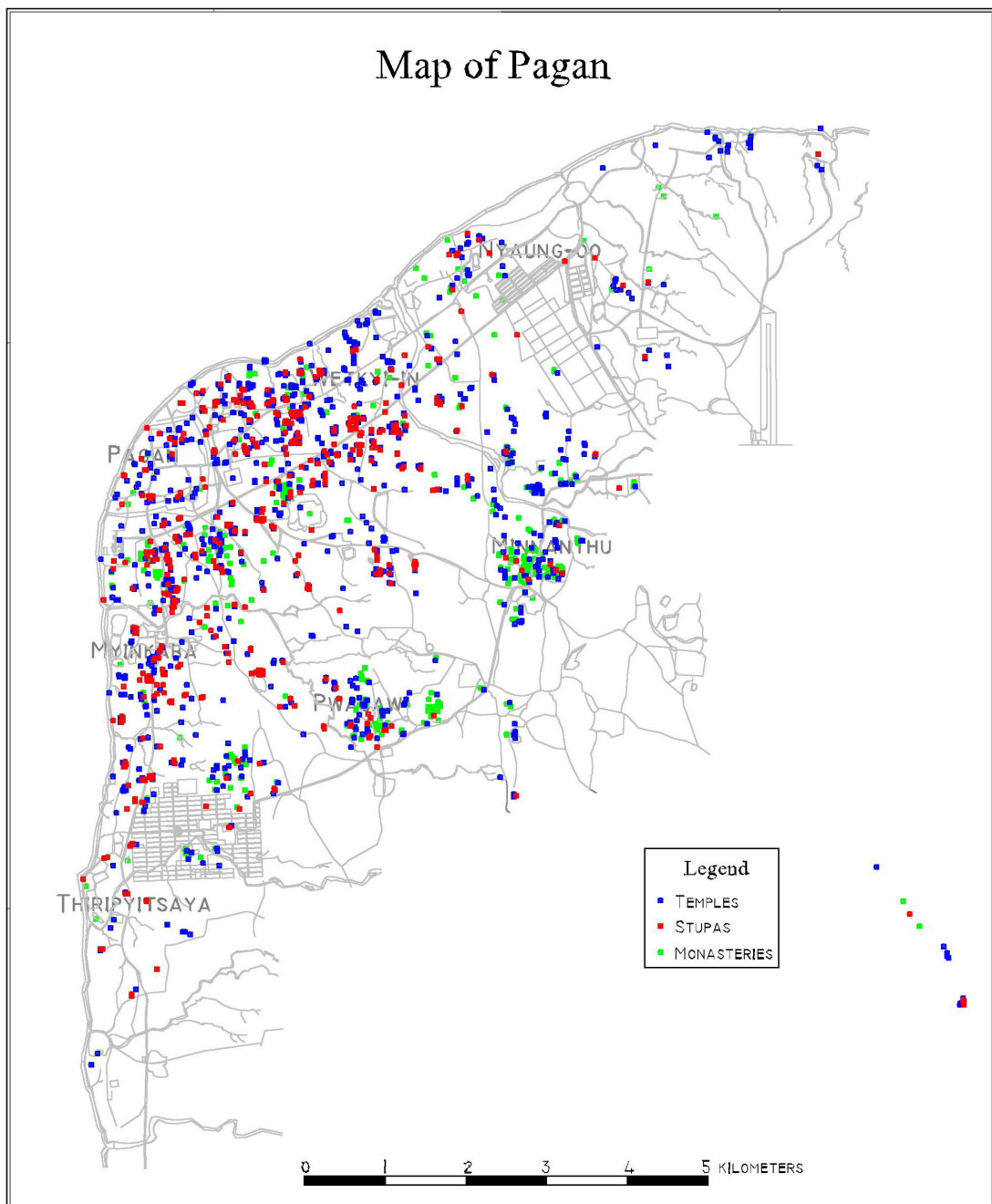


Figure 42c.—Distribution of Temples, Stupas and Monasteries (13<sup>th</sup> Century)



building; and hence, this influx must have been another reason for the rapid increase of Buddhist monuments. The noticeable increase of *sikhara* tops in the 12<sup>th</sup>-century temples also seems to have resulted from these Indian immigrants. In contrast, that the stupa tops revived in the 13<sup>th</sup> century may be attributed to the rise of the *Phun* sect. As discussed above, the early temples have plain ground plans, whereas the later ones have redented ground plans. The Mon inscriptions were only connected with the temples with plain ground plans, and all the temples known to be connected with the Phun monks have redented ground plans; and hence this change in temple plans probably was connected with the rise and decline of Buddhist sects. As the change also overlapped with the Muslim invasion of India, it is impossible to determine for certain whether the change resulted from the growth of the Phun sect, or from the migration of Indians or both.

## 8. BUDDHIST MONASTERIES<sup>1</sup>

In making donations to the Religion the donors often built monasteries (*saṃghāram*<sup>2</sup> or *kloī*<sup>3</sup>), in which the monks could dwell. In this chapter the different types of buildings in Pagan monasteries will be discussed, and the connection between different monastery types and the Buddhist sects will be studied. Sinclair has studied the architectural features of some of these monasteries.<sup>4</sup> Luce and Strachan have referred to some monasteries in their works.<sup>5</sup> Than Tun's study on religious buildings in Pagan include different types of monastery buildings referred to in the inscriptions.<sup>6</sup> Pichard recently wrote an interesting article on Myanmar monasteries. Though he mainly deals with the development of monastery plans from the Pagan period to later times, he has also traced the origins of different monastery types.<sup>7</sup> However, no attempt has been made to connect various monasteries with different sects of monks. Because the provenances of many inscriptions are not known, and also because many early monasteries no longer exist, it is impossible to differentiate the

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<sup>1</sup> The data for the monasteries are taken from Pierre Pichard, *Inventory of Monuments at Pagan*, vols. 1-6 (Paris: UNESCO, 1992-1995). As all the monuments are numbered, no reference will be given for individual buildings unless necessary.

<sup>2</sup> Nyein Maung, *Rhe:hoi: Mramā Kyokcāmyā*: [Old Myanmar Inscriptions], vols. 1-5 (Yangon: Archaeology Department, 1972-1998) 1.3, line 9 (hereafter *RMK*)

<sup>3</sup> *RMK* 1.5, line 3; *RMK* 1.43, lines 1, 2; and *RMK* 1.103, line 3.

<sup>4</sup> W. Braxton Sinclair, "The monasteries of Pagan," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 10.1 (1920): 1-4.

<sup>5</sup> Gordon H. Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagan*, 3 vols., *Artibus Asiae*, Supplementum 25 (New York: J.J. Augustin Publisher, 1969-1970); and Paul Strachan, *Imperial Pagan: Art and Architecture of Burma* (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1989).

<sup>6</sup> Than Tun, "History of Buddhism in Burma, A.D. 1000-1300," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 61.1-2 (1978): 1-256; and *idem*, "Religious Buildings of Burma, A.D. 1000-1300," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 42.2 (1959): 71-80.

<sup>7</sup> Pierre Pichard, "Pagan Monastic Architecture: Between Ajanta and Mandalay," in Pierre Pichard and F. Robinne, eds., *Études Birmanes en Hommage à Denise Bernot*, *Études Thématiques* 9 (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1998): 152-165.

monasteries occupied by the *Saṅgha* monks from those inhabited by the *Phun* monks.

Nevertheless, several monasteries can be connected with monks of different sects.

### 8.1. SINGLE-BUILDING MONASTERIES

The earliest among the single-building or multiple-cell monasteries are Somingyi (1147) and monument 1371, both belonging to the 12<sup>th</sup> century AD. These buildings, both two stories high, are self-contained monasteries which, as Pichard has pointed out,<sup>8</sup> were built on the model of monasteries in India.<sup>9</sup> Somingyi (1147 [Fig. 43]) is the best example of this type. Since it stands at the center of a rectangular enclosure wall by itself without any other buildings,<sup>10</sup> it can be assumed that small cells were for the monks to dwell in, and the large courtyard in the center served as *sim* or *uposathaghara* and/or preaching hall as well as classroom for the monks. The placement of the shrine surrounded by a corridor and courtyard is comparable to the placement of the temples or stupas on *sim* plinths (see Fig. 48 [below]). The shrine room is placed at the rear of the monastery facing the entrance which is on the east.

Monument 1371 is a larger monastery with similar plan. This monastery too seems to have been built as a single building. Although there is a 12<sup>th</sup>-century stupa (1372) in its enclosure wall, the placement and the size of this stupa suggest that it was not an important building for the monastery, and that this stupa and monastery were not built at the same time. However, since both of them belonged to the 12<sup>th</sup> century AD, it cannot be ascertained whether the stupa was there when the monastery was built, or whether it was a later addition.

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<sup>8</sup> He cites a monastery in Taxila as an example. Pichard, "Pagan Monastic Architecture" 152.

<sup>9</sup> The monasteries in Sri Lanka had separate buildings for image-house, *uposathaghara*, *cetiya* or *cetiyaaghara*, *bodhighara* and residential buildings.

<sup>10</sup> The two temples at the southeast corner are later additions belonging to the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

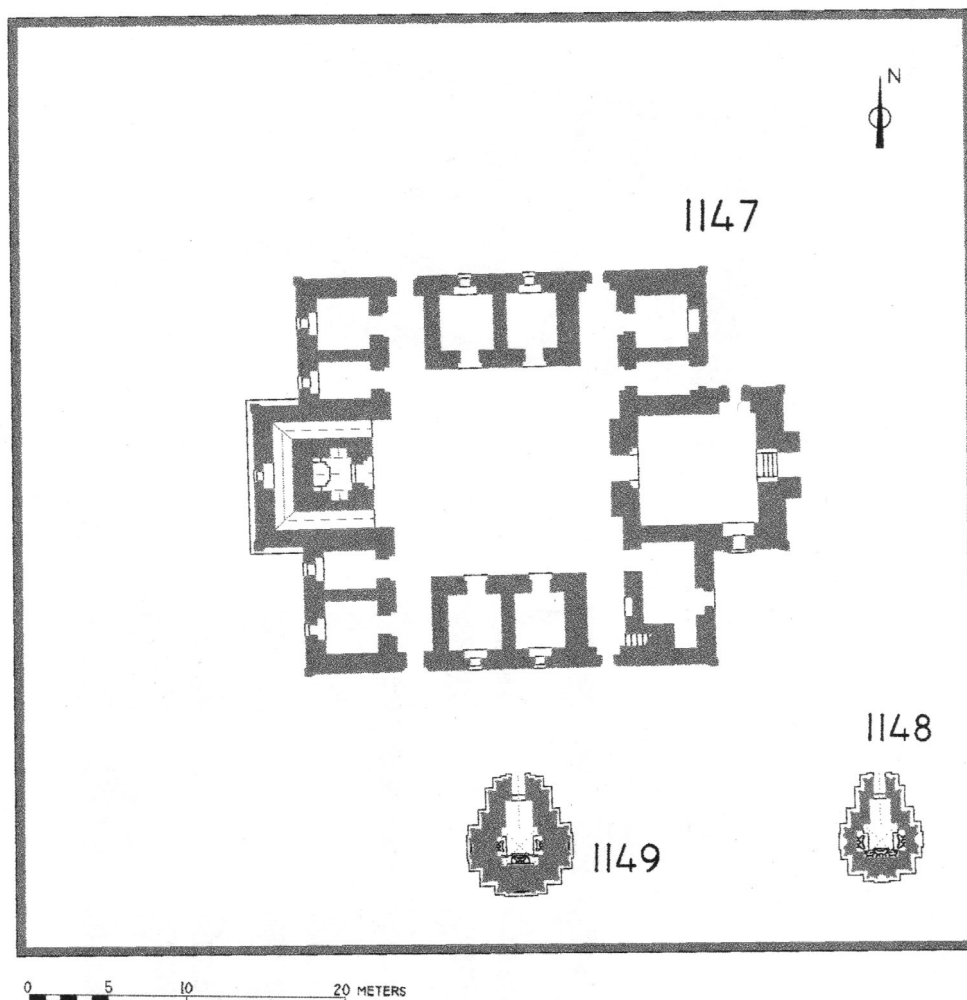


Figure 43.—Plan of Somingyi Monastery (Monument 1147)

Monasteries of this northern Indian type might have been the earliest type in Myanmar because some Pyu votive tablets with the *ye dhammā* stanza inscribed in north Indian characters belonging to the 7<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup> century AD point to the fact that Myanmar's contacts with northern India went back to that time.

There are a few similar monasteries belonging to the 13<sup>th</sup> century, some of which have not been excavated. Some similar buildings seem to have been part of a monastery occupied by Mlatkṛī Tāmālin. Of them, monument 1111 has an entrance hall on east flanked by six small cells. To the west of these is the shrine room with an inner sanctum surrounded by a corridor. At the back of the shrine room is another rectangular cell, probably the abbot's residence. Monument 1112, however, is a building with two central halls flanked by ten cells (five each on the north and south sides). The main entrance is on the east. There are three entrances each on the north and the south. The multiplicity of entrances seems to indicate that it was a building where monks assembled to perform some religious rites (Fig. 44).

Although different from these monasteries, monument 745 attached to Sulamani temple (748) on the north side is the largest multiple-cell monastery in Pagan. Sharing the northern enclosure wall of Sulamani, the central courtyard (138 meters long and 80 meters wide) is bordered by monks' cells (altogether sixty seven) on north, east and west sides. A row of monks' cells runs from north to south in the western part of the central courtyard. A two-cell monastery formerly with a *maṅḍapa* (open hall) attached on the east side stands in the center of the courtyard. Between this building and the south enclosure wall is a rectangular pond. There is an entrance on each wall, the south entrance connecting this monastery with Sulamani temple. Cūlāmani Skhiñ Lokapaññā of an inscription dated AD 1260 might have been the abbot of this monastery.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> *RMK* 3.2, lines 20-21.

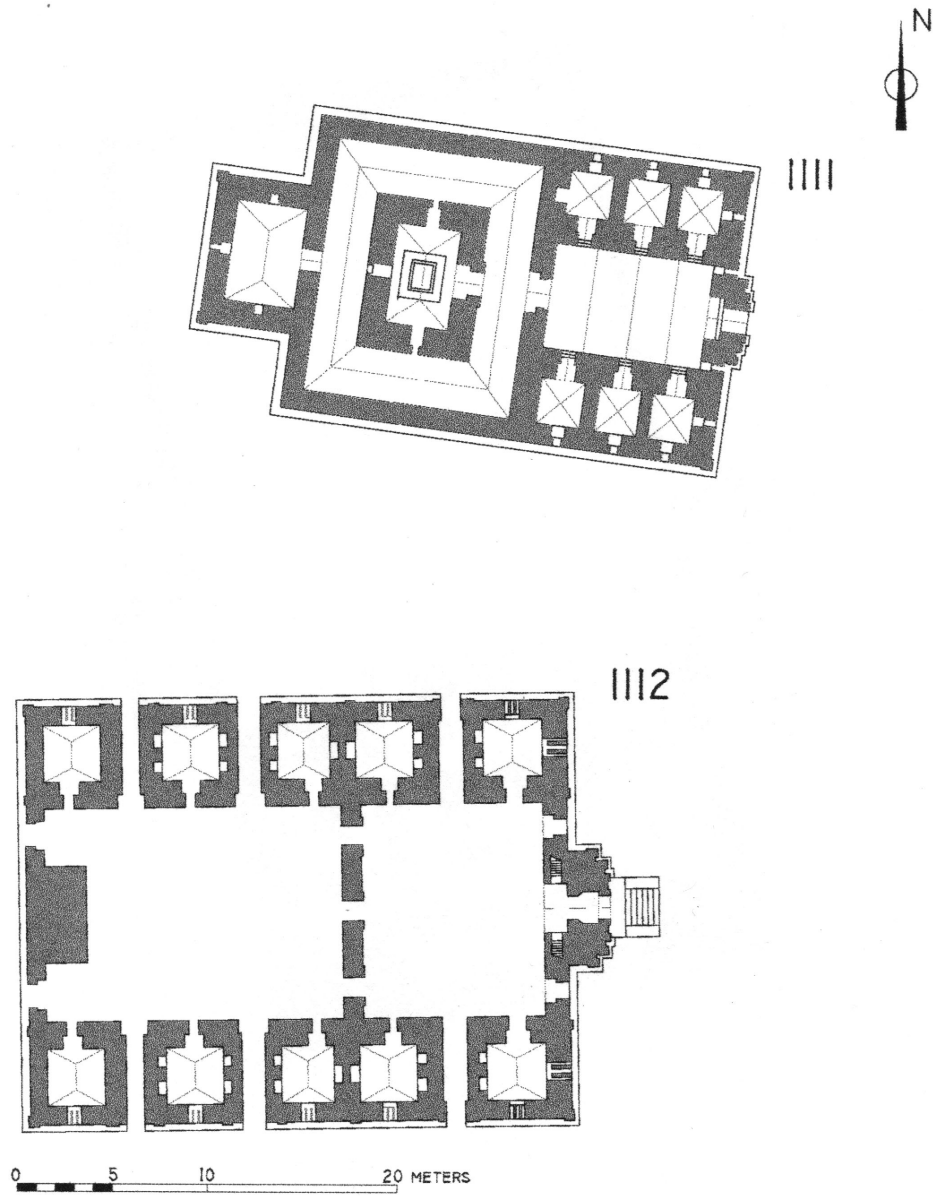


Figure 44.—Plan of Monuments 1111 and 1112 (Tamalin's Monastery Complex)

### 8.1.1. *Umañ* or Cave Monasteries

*Kū kloñ* (cave monasteries)<sup>12</sup> probably were the same as *umin* (spelt *umañ*<sup>13</sup>), which literally means “tunnels.” The *umin* were underground monasteries; examples include South and North Kyansittha Umins, Nandaminnya Umin, etc.

The simplest of this kind is monument 313. It has a central cell surrounded by corridors on all four sides with a courtyard and entrances on the north side. North Kyansittha Umin (56) with a courtyard and entrances on the east also is a monastery with a central cell surrounded by corridors. It has two corridors on the north and south, and it seems that it was originally meant to be equipped with peripheral cells as in South Kyansittha Umin (65 [Fig. 45]). In the latter which faces north, the central cell is surrounded by three cells each on the east, south and west sides, the northern side being the courtyard. There are two larger cells—one at the southeast and the other at the southwest corners of the courtyard. Of these, the central cells and the surrounding ones at South Kyansittha Umin undoubtedly were the residential cells for the monks; the courtyard might have served as shrine-cum-*uposathagara*, and was probably also used for teaching junior monks. The cells at the corners of the courtyards in both the North and South Kyansittha Umins probably were service buildings. In North Kyansittha Umin (956), an image was placed in the niche between the entrances facing the courtyard. The similarity of the structures suggests that it had a *maṇḍapa* in the courtyard as in South Kyansittha Umin. Like multiple-cell monasteries, these caves are highly symmetrical, and in South Kyansittha Umin all the cells face the center.

Different from these central cell monasteries are Hmyatha (171) and Nandaminnya (583) Umins, in which tunnels connect the small underground cells in a grid plan.

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<sup>12</sup> *RMK* 2.9, line 2; and *RMK* 2.40, line 2. Spelt *ku kloñ* in *RMK* 3.19, lines 5-6.

<sup>13</sup> *RMK* 1.217, line 1.

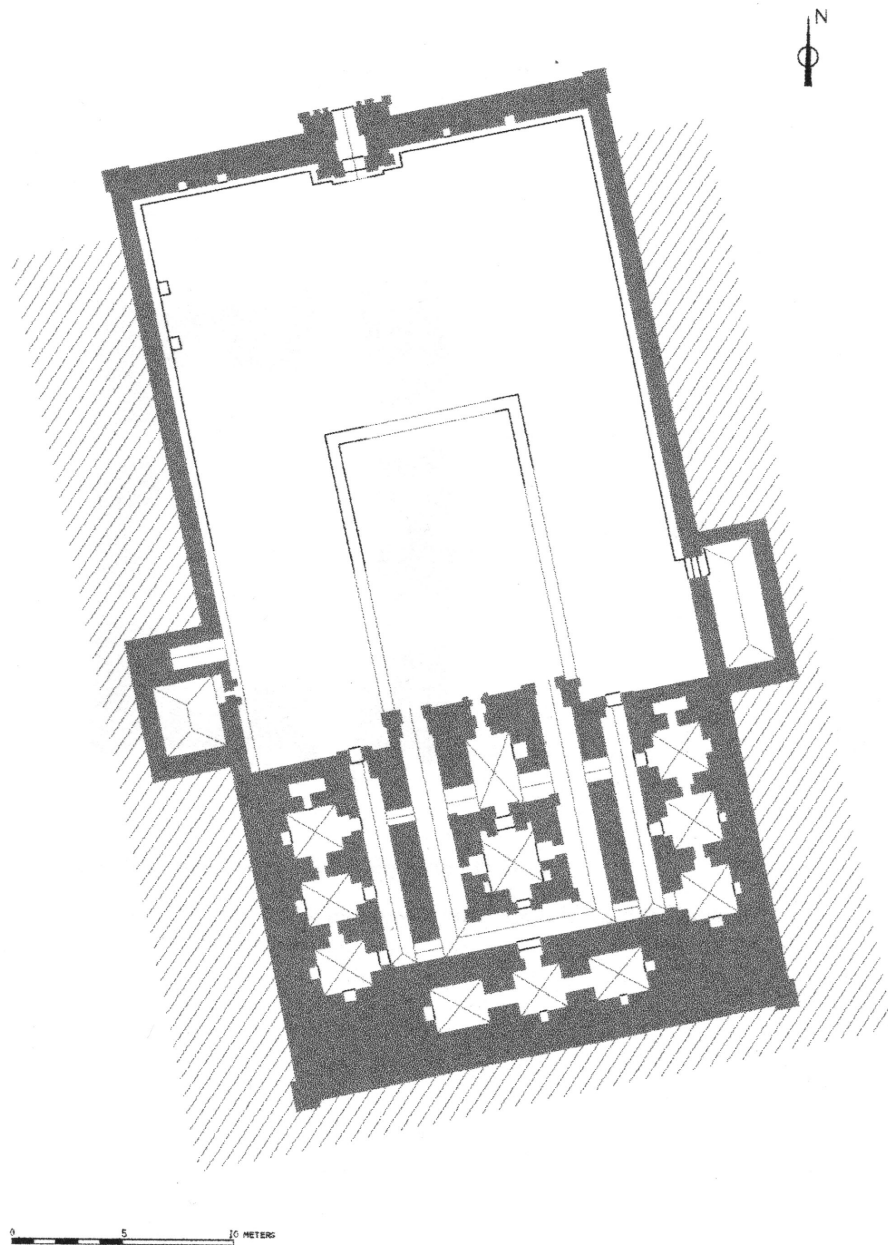


Figure 45.—Plan Kyansittha Umin (Monument 65)



Nandaminnya Umin with two courtyards looks like two monasteries joined together. In these monasteries, the cells are placed randomly and do not face the center. Though they do not face east like the residential buildings of the monasteries with separate buildings, they are placed at random. In these two monasteries, some small cells might have served as shrines. All these cave monasteries belong to the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

## 8.2. MULTI-BUILDING MONASTERIES

The majority of Pagan monasteries belonged to this type. They are comparable to the monasteries in Sri Lanka, which had separate buildings for image-house, *uposathaghara*, *cetiya* or *cetiyaighara*, *bodhighara*, and monks' residences. However, what buildings a monastery had depended mainly on the size of the monastery. As can be learnt from the single-building or multiple-cell monasteries, it is clear that the essential requirements of a monastery include a shrine or an object of worship, a place for the inmates of the monastery to assemble to perform the ecclesiastical rites, to study and to preach to the laity, and small rooms serving as monks' bedrooms. Therefore, a monastery could be as simple as a single-cell building (see Fig. 46). The cell would be the bedroom; the *maṇḍapa* could be used for teaching and preaching; and a stupa or temple nearby would serve as shrine. Alternatively, the attached *maṇḍapa* on the east with an image placed in a niche would have served as a shrine as well as a preaching hall.

### 8.2.1. Building Types

The inscriptions mention several building types in connection with monasteries of Pagan. They may be categorized as follows:

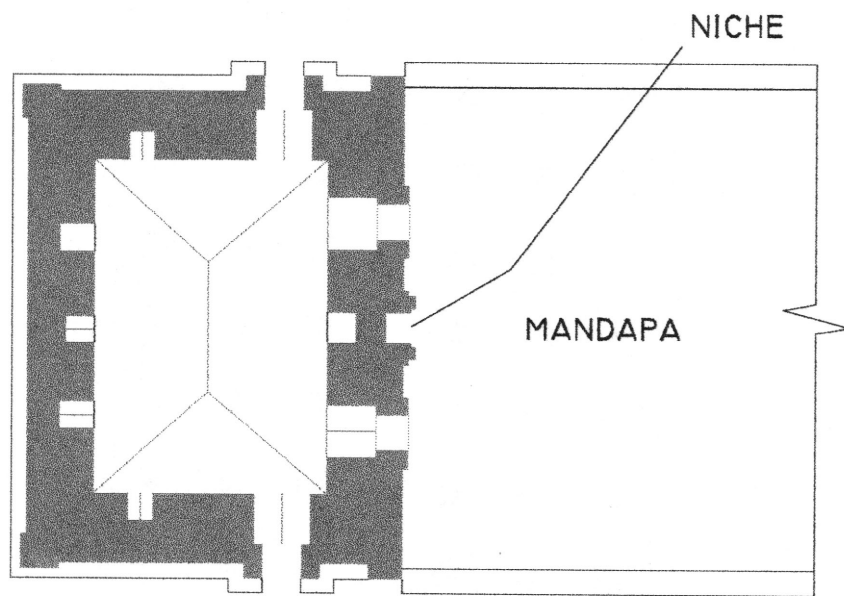


Figure 46.—Plan Representing Single-Cell Monasteries with *Maṇḍapa*

### 8.2.1.1. Shrines and Sanctuaries

These are buildings serving as memorials to the Buddha, such as temples (OM *kū*) and stupa (OM *puthuiw* or *cetī*).<sup>14</sup> As image-worship was important for the Buddhists of Pagan, almost all the monastery complexes contain temples or image-houses; and even though stupas are often included in the monastic complexes, it is the temples that are dominant in size as well as in placement.<sup>15</sup> An inscription dated AD 1299 mentions the construction of two *kulā kloṅ*, a brick *carap* (hall,<sup>16</sup> very probably for preaching), an enclosure wall, and a stupa encircled by another enclosure wall; no mention is made of building a temple.<sup>17</sup>

Most of the inscriptions recording the donations of monastery complexes mention the building of temples. Sometimes, however, monastery buildings were erected around an existing large stupa, which would take a major role as in Mingalazedi (1439). An inscription has recorded that a monk, Syaṅ Disāprāmuk, donated land to Mingalazedi and built a *tanchoiṅ* (rest house) and a *cāsaṅ tuik* (teaching monastery or monastery for students).

The orientation of the buildings around Shwezigon (1), even though they are not within the precincts of the stupa, suggests that they were built with Shwezigon as their main object of worship. They were probably attached to the main monastery in the precincts of the Shwezigon. Although no monastery buildings are in existence within the precincts, the reference to a *caṅkhuṅ kloṅ hoṅ* (old monastery of Caṅkhuṅ [i.e. Shwezigon]) in an inscription found in the precincts of the Shwezigon pagoda points to the fact that there was a

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<sup>14</sup> Note that some temples also are referred to as *puthuiw*, e.g. Tuyin Pahto (487) and Pahtothamya (1605).

<sup>15</sup> For example, Lemyethna and Sinbyushin complexes.

<sup>16</sup> Than Tun translates *carap* as “alms house.” Than Tun, “History of Buddhism” 130, 132. However, it seems that *carap* derived from Mon *jrap* “open hall.” Cf. also modern Myanmar *jarap* “open hall, rest house.” The phrase *dhammasā carap* in an inscription also indicates that *carap* could be any hall. *RMK* 1.5, line 3.

<sup>17</sup> *RMK* 3.118, lines 5-6.

monastery there.<sup>18</sup> In addition, the Thein Hpaya (15) in the precincts of Shwezigon, as its name indicates, probably was a temple built on an old *sim* (see below).

Apart from building temples and stupas, the donors also planted Banyan trees.<sup>19</sup> The donors recorded their desire in an inscription that there would always be the festivals of light, New Year, etc. including *ñoñ riy swan*,<sup>20</sup> which no doubt was the Vesak ceremony, when people visited the Bodhi trees and watered them. Therefore, it is not impossible that there were some structures around the Bodhi trees comparable to the *bodhigharas* of Sri Lanka, although they are no longer in existence.

#### 8.2.1.2. Ecclesiastical Buildings

This category includes *caṅkram* “promenade,” *piṭakat thā rā tuik*<sup>21</sup> “brick building to house the three *Pitakas*” or *ca tuik*<sup>22</sup> “library,” *dhammasā*<sup>23</sup> “hall of Dhamma” (i.e. preaching hall; also called *dhammasa cārap*<sup>24</sup> or *carap*<sup>25</sup>), *tanchon*<sup>26</sup> “rest house” (where the lay persons could listen to the sermons from the monks) and, most importantly, *sim*<sup>27</sup> and *baddha sim*<sup>28</sup> “ordination halls” (where the monks performed the ecclesiastical rites).

Although most of the *caṅkram* must have been plinths on which one can circumambulate the stupa or temple,<sup>29</sup> the phrases *thuir kloñ nhuik || caṅkram sac athot plu*

<sup>18</sup> *RMK* 2.18, line 24. The donor was Skhiñ Acalamati, a royal preceptor.

<sup>19</sup> *RMK* 1.5, line 3; and *RMK* 3.43, lines 1-6.

<sup>20</sup> *RMK* 3.87b, lines 22-23.

<sup>21</sup> *RMK* 2.54a, lines 6-7.

<sup>22</sup> *RMK* 2.54a, line 41.

<sup>23</sup> *RMK* 1.17, line 20; and *RMK* 1.97a, line 20.

<sup>24</sup> *RMK* 1.5, line 3.

<sup>25</sup> *RMK* 1.102, line 5.

<sup>26</sup> *RMK* 1.97a, line 25.

<sup>27</sup> *RMK* 1.5, line 3.

<sup>28</sup> *RMK* 1.6b, line 7.

<sup>29</sup> Than Tun, “Histroy of Buddhism” 128.

*ruy* (“making a finial for the new *caṅkram* in that monastery”)<sup>30</sup> and *sim̃ kū caṅkram̃ rhañ* (“a *sim*, a temple and an oblong *caṅkram̃*”)<sup>31</sup> indicate that some of the *caṅkram̃* (ambulatories) were not part of a temple or a stupa, but separate structures attached to monastic complexes.<sup>32</sup> Unfortunately, the inscription that mentions the first phrase is from Mingalathe temple (484) at Minnanthu, but the reference was made to the buildings in Turañ and Sakcuiw hills; and the provenance of the second inscription is not known. Hence, we do not know which type of buildings the donors were referring to. Additionally, the references to the *caṅkram̃* in some inscriptions seem to indicate that the *caṅkram̃* were not always the plinth of a temple or stupa.<sup>33</sup> The structures, however, no longer exist.

*Dhammasā* “hall of Dhamma” (also called *dhammasā carap*) mainly served as a hall where the laity assembled to listen to the sermons delivered by a monk. However, some of them also served as a *sim*. Monument 450 is the only recorded ruin of a structure referred to in the inscriptions as a *dhammasā* (see below). It is clear from the remains that the structure was a wooden open hall built on a masonry plinth. The use of the word *carap* “open hall” also indicates that the *dhammasā* were open halls. Some donors made golden thrones for the monks to sit and preach in the *dhammasā*.<sup>34</sup>

*Pitakat* (Buddhist canon) seem to have been placed in miniature structures called *tryā īm* “house of Dhamma” within a library: “[We] built a brick building to house the *Pitakat* and a *tryā īm* entirely made of gold.”<sup>35</sup> Sometimes, the scriptures were placed on a *tryā panlañ*

<sup>30</sup> *RMK* 1.81, line 3.

<sup>31</sup> *RMK* 1.132, line 4-5.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *caṅkramanaghara* of Sri Lanka.

<sup>33</sup> For instance, it is recorded in an inscription that a couple donated “a temple, an image, the Buddhist scriptures, *tryā īm* (probably a miniature structure to house the scriptures), hall of Dhamma, monastery, *caṅkram̃*, encircling wall ...” (... *saṃmpyañ samantakuṃṭhaiñ lañ myā || kū purhā pitakat tryā īm dhammasā || kloṅ caṅkram̃ tantuiṅ ||* ...). *RMK* 2.34, lines 1-6.

<sup>34</sup> *RMK* 1.97a.

<sup>35</sup> ... *piṭakat thā rā tuik le plu e' || rhuṃ ti so tryā īm le plu e' ||* ... *RMK* 2.54a, lines 6-7.

“Dhamma throne” inside the library.<sup>36</sup> Than Tun believes that *tryā īm* was the same as *dhammasā* (hall of Dhamma),<sup>37</sup> but such halls could not have been entirely built of gold. A donor recorded in an inscription that he constructed a *kulā kloṇ* to place the Buddhist scriptures in a gold box.<sup>38</sup> Pe Maung Tin and Than Tun believe that *kulā kloṇ* were brick monasteries (see page 238 [below]).

No remains of the *tanchon* “rest houses” are in existence, presumably because they were built of wood. *Tanchon*: in modern Myanmar refers to open halls.

Of the ecclesiastical buildings, *sim* being the most important deserves special mention. Although generally translated as “ordination hall,” the *sim* (< Pali *sīmā* “boundary”) nowadays also serve as a place where the Vinaya rites, mainly the recitation of the *Pāṭimokkha* on the *uposatha* (Sabbath) days, are performed. Thus, they are counterparts of Sinhalese *uposathagharas* and Thai *ubosot* or *bot*.

However, it is interesting to note that the *sim* (monument 450) of Lemyethna is referred to in the inscription as a *dhammasā* “hall of Dhamma” and not as a *sim*.<sup>39</sup> (It is called a *sim* nowadays because it is surrounded by *sim klok* “boundary stones.”) In fact, the inscription recording the donation of the Lemyethna complex makes no mention of a *sim*. It seems that the monks just consecrated the large preaching hall and placed the boundary stones around it to use it as a *sim*. Whether this was done when the building was constructed or later is not known. Nevertheless, it is apparent that the structure served both as a preaching hall and as a *sim*. However, the mention of *sim* in some inscriptions indicates that some structures in Pagan were originally built as *sim*.

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<sup>36</sup> *RMK* 1.170, line 9.

<sup>37</sup> Than Tun, “History of Buddhism” 85.

<sup>38</sup> *RMK* 2.60, lines 11-13.

<sup>39</sup> The donors recorded that the *dhammasā* was built of *klok ut* (“stone-bricks” or “stones and bricks”). As *dhammasā* were open halls, it seems that they meant the plinth was built of sandstones and bricks, which is true.

The presence of either one of the objects of worship—temple, stupa or Buddha's footprint (OM *khriytawrā*, Pali *buddhapāda*)—indicates that the *sim* at Pagan also served as a hall where the monks assembled to worship the Buddha as in Sri Lanka.<sup>40</sup>

It is interesting to note that the *sim* of Pagan are not similar to the Sinhalese buildings Bandaranayake called *uposathaghara*, but resemble those he termed *upaṭṭhānasālā*, especially the Ransimālaka of Mahāvihāra and the hall at Vessagiriya.<sup>41</sup>

Monuments 450, 700 and 909 of Pagan are rectangular platforms, and the remains of stone pillar sockets on them indicate that they were open halls built of wood. Some of the boundary stones around monuments 450 and 909 still exist. The *sim* of Lemyethna (450) is a 0.9-meter-high rectangular platform (28.8 meters by 14.2 meters) with two flights of steps: one on the west and one on the north sides (Fig. 47). That of Sinbyushin (700) is a similar structure, though smaller, with two flights of steps: one on the north and one on the west. That these two structures were accessible only from the north and west resulted from their placement at the southeast corner of the sacred precincts of their respective monastic complexes. Notwithstanding its placement at a similar corner, monument 909 was accessible from all four sides; it has two stairways each on the east and west and one each on the north and south. Eight boundary stones (OM *sim̃ klok*) encompass this platform—4 on cardinal and 4 on diagonal points—as in Thai *ubosot* or *bot*. Therefore there would have been another at

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<sup>40</sup> See also Senake Bandaranayake, *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture, the Vihāras of Anurādhapura*, vol. 4 of J.E. Vanlohuizen-Deleeuw, ed., *Studies in South Asian Culture* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974) 28.

<sup>41</sup> Bandaranayake, *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture* 216-234, 237-239, Figs. 85 & 86.

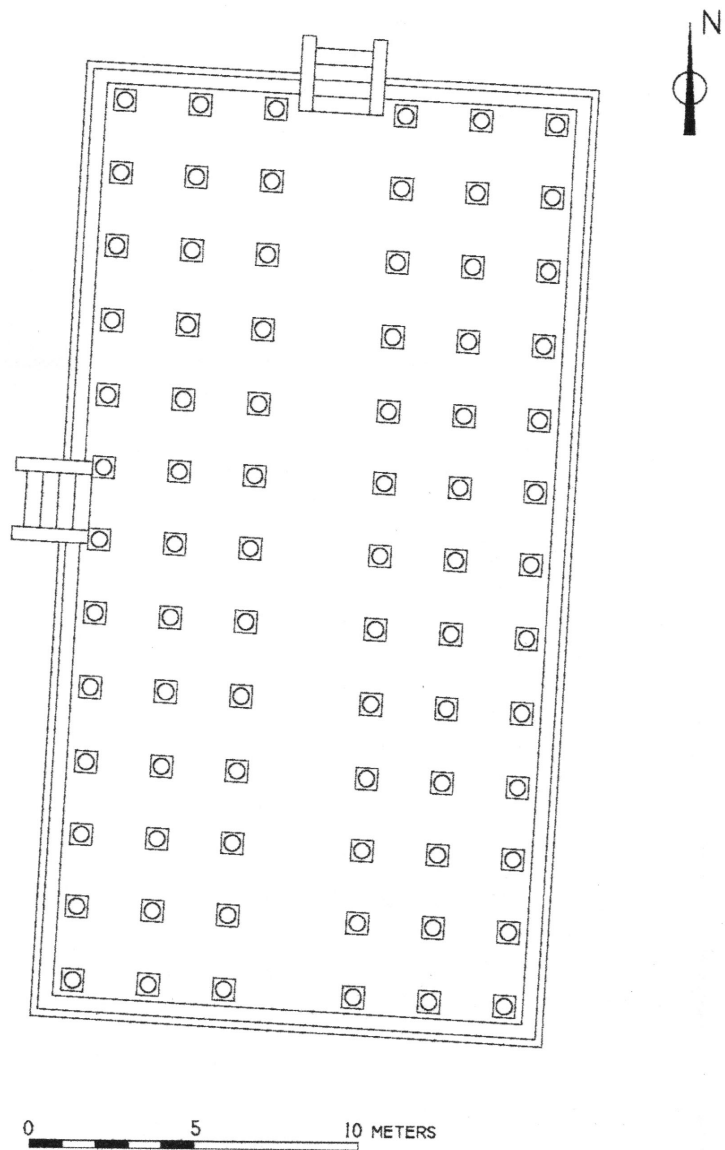


Figure 47.—Plan of Monument 450



the center of the *sim* as in the *ubosot* of Thailand.<sup>42</sup> These three *sim* (monuments 450, 700 and 909) are located in monastic complexes very similar to the Sinhalese *pabbata vihāras* (see below), and are comparable to the above-mentioned Ransimālaka of Mahāvihāra, Sri Lanka.

The ruins of another *sim* (monument 888) which, according to an inscription, was demarcated by the monks who had visited Sri Lanka,<sup>43</sup> comprise a rectangular platform with a small image-house on the southern sector facing north. This *sim* is accessible from the east, where there is a stairway. The image-house is later than the *sim* itself (which belongs to the 13<sup>th</sup> century). However, it is possible that it was rebuilt on an earlier one, because there are other *sim* with an object of worship placed in a similar position.<sup>44</sup> This *sim* may be compared to the hall of Vessagiriya, Sri Lanka.<sup>45</sup>

Although Bandaranayake asserts that the hall of Vessagiriya was an *upaṭṭhanāsālā*, Bell's observation that it was an *uposathaghara* with "a walled shrine" seems to be correct, because similar structures in Pagan (though called *sim* in Myanmar) served as *uposathaghara*.<sup>46</sup> Apart from monument 888, there are similar *sim* in Pagan. Monuments 152 (with boundary stones), 304 and 1543 are very likely to be of the same type. Monument

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<sup>42</sup> See Carol Stratton and Miriam McNair Scot, *The Art of Sukhothai: Thailand's Golden Age from the Mid-Thirteenth to the Mid-Fifteenth Centuries* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford UP, 1981) 25.

<sup>43</sup> The best-known among them were Dhammasiri and Subhūtica. See pages 7, 7, 7-7, 7-7.

<sup>44</sup> See monuments 69, 76, 124 and 209.

<sup>45</sup> Bandaranayake, *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture* 237-238, fig 86. Similar structures with "the dais or raised central enclosure" in Sri Lanka are the Convocation hall of Mihintale, Pilimage No. 2 of Jetavanavihāra and Ruin No. 1, Group A of Mahāvihāra (east). *Ibid.*, 237-238, Figs. 84, 89 & 90.

<sup>46</sup> Bandaranayake rejects Bell's interpretation that the ruins of a small structure on the plinth were those of a shrine. In connection with a similar structure at Jetavanavihāra, he says that he prefers to regard it as a dais or platform "which accommodated the monk or monks presiding over the assembly gathered in the hall." Bandaranayake, *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture* 237-238, 243.

220 probably was a *sim* too. On it were two Buddha images placed back to back separated by a brick wall.

Two stupas (monuments 69 and 124) and a circular temple (76 [Fig. 48]) are built on low rectangular platforms. The names Theingon Hpaya (69), meaning “the stupa at the *sim* mound,” and Thein Hpaya (76), meaning “*Sim* temple,” as well as the boundary stones around monuments 76 and 124 prove that all these monuments were *sim*. Apart from these, there is a 13<sup>th</sup>-century *sim* (monument 209) with a pair of *buddhapāda* “Buddha’s footprints.” Therefore, it is clear that the presence of these stupas and temples on *sim* plinths was not unusual, although Bandaranayake speculates that the small structures on similar plinths in Sri Lanka were daises for the monk presiding the assembly. Buddha images were placed on a dais in the *ubosot* in Thailand as well.<sup>47</sup> It is interesting to note here that in Pagan, the temple or stupa is never placed at the rear of the *sim* as in Thailand. There always is some space behind them. It seems that they were placed so that the monks would be able to circumambulate them. Even in some multiple-cell monasteries, Somingyi (1147) as well as in monument 1131, where the central hall or courtyard seems to have been used as a *sim*, the shrine though placed at the rear is encompassed by a corridor.

It can be learnt from these ruins that the *sim* were open halls built of wood on masonry plinths surrounded by boundary stones,<sup>48</sup> and at least some of them had a temple or stupa on the plinth. An image might have been placed in the *sim* without a temple or stupa, although there is no evidence. The mention of the donations made to *sim̃m purhā* “*Sim* temple or stupa” or *sim̃ puthuw tāw* “*Sim* stupa” also highlights the fact that some temples and stupas were part of *sim*.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Stratton and Scott, *Art of Sukhothai* 58.

<sup>48</sup> *RMK* 1.62, lines 10-11.

<sup>49</sup> *RMK* 1.19, lines 10-11; and *RMK* 1.138, lines 15-16.

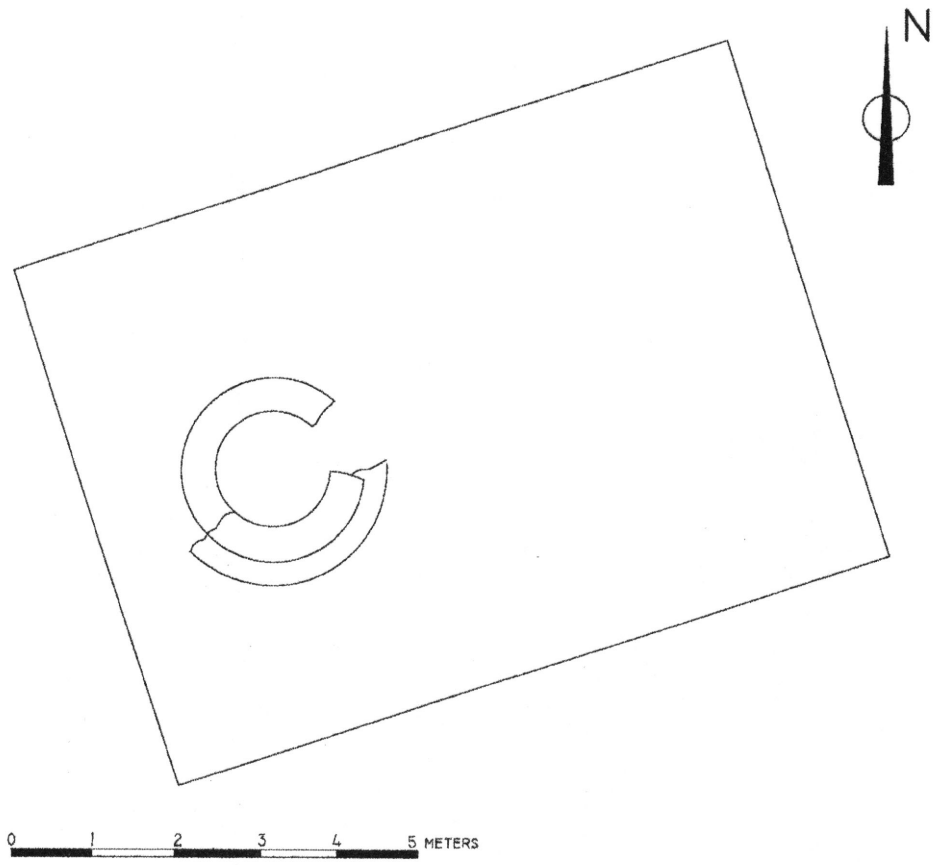


Figure 48.—Plan of Monument 76

In Pagan *sim* are few and far between, which led Pichard to believe that most of the monasteries shared the *sim* of the main groups for ordination.<sup>50</sup> Although it is impossible to make a list of the monasteries that did not have a *sim* because most of the inscriptions record the additional donations made to existing monasteries, it is evident that some monasteries did not have their own *sim*. The monastery (668) together with the temple Malonbyit (667) is a good example. It is recorded in an inscription found there that a minister donated an encircling wall, a temple on a plinth, an image, a *kulā kloṇ* (to house the Buddhist scriptures), a *tanchon* and a *kappiyakutiṅ* (storehouse).<sup>51</sup> *Sim* is not mentioned in the inscription; and there are no remains that could be regarded as a *sim* among the ruins of this monastery either.

However, there must have been a lot more *sim* than those that are still in existence. Nowadays, the *sim* functions not only as the ordination hall (which is the common translation of the word), but as a place where the inmates of the monastery assemble to perform the Vinaya rites on every Sabbath day in Myanmar, and so are the *ubosot* or *bot* in Thailand and the *uposathaghara* in Sri Lanka.<sup>52</sup> Therefore, it is not very likely that the *sim* in Pagan would have been an exception.

There are some possible reasons for this seeming sparseness of *sim* in Pagan. The first reason, of course, is disappearance. Unlike temples and stupas, which would have been maintained by the people as monuments of worship, monastery buildings would be neglected when monasteries stopped functioning. Among monastery buildings, again, *sim* are more prone to disappearance, because they were wooden structures with low masonry plinths. (It is even possible that some *sim* were wooden halls built on the ground without a masonry plinth, in which case they would not be traceable nowadays.) First, the *sim* mounds would be too

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<sup>50</sup> He has stated that only about twelve structures of this kind have been found in Pagan, and even allowing for the disappearance of several of them it seems that most monasteries did not have their own *sim*. Pichard, "Pagan Monastic Architecture" 163.

<sup>51</sup> *RMK* 3.60, lines 1-12. The construction of an encircling wall suggests that the donations were made not to an existing monastery, but to a new one.

<sup>52</sup> Bandaranayake, *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture* 28; and Stratton and Scott, *Art of Sukhothai* 25.

low to be noticed. Even when a plinth is visible, it may not receive much attention. For instance, Pichard himself usually does not list some platforms even though he lists the temples or stupas on them in his inventory.<sup>53</sup>

Secondly, plinths could have been reused as plinths for temples or stupas by later donors. Temples and stupas named *Thein Hpaya* or *Thein Zedi* clearly point to this possibility. Apart from temples built on *sim* plinths mentioned above, there are other buildings named *Thein Hpaya* or *Thein Zedi*: 12<sup>th</sup> century: 168 and 1242; 14<sup>th</sup> century: 202; 16<sup>th</sup> century: 1294; 18<sup>th</sup> century: 15, 48, 98, 431; and 19<sup>th</sup> century: 188 and 1082. Some such temples built on old *sim*, no doubt, would have acquired new names. Likewise, original temples built on *sim* could have acquired new names. Tamani temple belonging to the 13<sup>th</sup> century is probably such a temple. It is built on a plinth with stone pillar sockets, which Pichard describes as the “foundation of a former monastery (?)” The shape of this temple as well as its placement on a rectangular plinth is very similar to the *Thein Hpaya* (76), which is a small circular temple built “on a low rectangular platform with boundary stones (*sim*).”<sup>54</sup>

Another possible reason is that there were different types of *sim* structures. As has been stated above, in the multiple-cell monasteries such as the Somingyi (1147), the main halls were most probably used as *sim* or *uposathagara* as in their precursors in northern India.<sup>55</sup> (No boundary stones were ever found in such buildings, and hence it is probable that the practice of marking the consecrated area with boundary stones came from Sri Lanka.)

This practice of using part of a building as a *sim* could have prevailed also in small

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<sup>53</sup> In *Theingon Hpaya* “*Hpaya on a sim mound*” (69), his drawing does not include the platform though he mentions that the stupa was built on “a low platform with stone border,” and the structure is listed as a stupa. Pichard, *Inventory* 1: 40 and 402 (index). In *Thein Hpaya* (76), his drawing includes both the temple and the platform, and he explains that the temple is on a rectangular platform with boundary stones; but he lists it as a temple. *Ibid.*, 1: 149 and 402 (index). The plinth of Tamani (1133) is not included in the drawing either, though he mentions that the temple stands on a low platform. *Ibid.*, 4: 396 and 411 (index).

<sup>54</sup> Pichard, *Inventory* 1: 149. Although Pichard states that Tamani was built at the center of the plinth, his photo shows that it is on the western side of the plinth. *Ibid.*, 4: 396, Fig. 1133c.

<sup>55</sup> These terms, however, might not have been applied.

monasteries, which need smaller *sim*. This practice, however, is not uncommon in present-day Myanmar. For example, at the Mahāvisuddhārāma monastery in Mandalay, the shrine room of the abbot's residential building (i.e. about half the building) has been demarcated by placing boundary stones outside the building, and is used as a shrine-cum-*sim* as well as the abbot's living room. Although the antiquity of this practice is not known, it is not impossible that this practice originated from the multiple-cell monasteries of Pagan. The use of multiple-cell monasteries by Mlatkrī Tāmalin discloses that the monks of Sinhalese lineage in Pagan were not averse to adopting the building traditions of northern India.<sup>56</sup>

The last plausible reason is that the forest monks used the *sim* only for ordination and several forest monasteries shared the *sim* of the main monastery. Technically forest monks, since they were supposed to be lone wanderers, did not need to *assemble* to perform religious rites. However, it is not certain whether this was still true in the Pagan period, when they were dwelling in groups in large monasteries.

Here, the Lemyethna and surrounding monasteries in Minnanthu may be cited as example. The Lemyethna complex within two enclosure walls was built in AD 1223, and the inscription recording its construction does not mention a *sim*. Monument 450 is referred to as a *dhammasā* "a hall where the people desiring to listen to the sermons might assemble" (see below). If this structure was meant to serve as a *sim*, it should have been recorded in the inscription which records many details. Therefore, it is not impossible that the monks of this monastery first used part of another building (for instance, the *maṇḍapa* of the abbot's residence or a hall of monument 448) for ordination; and only later they turned the *dhammasā* into a *sim*. However, it is impossible to prove this beyond doubt.

More buildings were added to this monastic complex from time to time. In addition, other monasteries were built around this complex. It is evident that the surrounding

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<sup>56</sup> Monument 1111 and the monasteries were regarded as the monasteries of Tāmalinda, a Cambodian prince who came to Pagan from Sri Lanka with Chappada (see 5.1.1.1 & 6.1).

monasteries were attached to the Lemyethna, which gradually became the nucleus of a larger complex.<sup>57</sup> Nonetheless, the inscriptions make no mention of adding more *sim*.

The *sim* (450) in the inner precincts of the Lemyethna is the only *sim* found there, and it is apparent from the remains and the placement of this *sim* that it has never been enlarged. Thus, the capacity of this *sim* would not be large enough for the inmates of the Lemyethna as well as those of the peripheral monasteries to assemble there.

### 8.2.1.3. Residential and Service Buildings

The last group comprises the buildings generally called *kloṇi* (monks' residential buildings), *cāsaṇi kloṇi* (teaching monasteries or residential buildings for students), *kappiyakuṭī* (storehouse),<sup>58</sup> *cāchwani* (monastic refectory),<sup>59</sup> and *riy im* (? bath-house). Several *cāsaṇi kloṇi* were constructed in some monastic complexes so that young monks could learn the scriptures.<sup>60</sup> Apart from these buildings, the inscriptions also mention *saṅkan kup*,<sup>61</sup> the meaning of which is not known, and *caraphut* (kitchen).<sup>62</sup>

The commonest type of *kloṇi* “monasteries” were single-cell monasteries. The ruins of these buildings attest that the majority of them had a wooden *maṇḍapa* attached to them on the eastern side. Roof lines from timber structures are still visible on the walls of many buildings. In these buildings a niche usually exists on the eastern wall, presumably for a Buddha image facing east (see Fig. 46 [above]).

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<sup>57</sup> This is clear from the fact that the donors recorded that the monastery buildings of Mahākassapa (to the east of Lemyethna) and Nga Lu Gu to the west of Lemyethna were built in the precincts (OM *arami* < Pali *ārāma* “Park”) of Lemyethna, and that Mahākassapa whose monastery was built to the east of this complex later became the head of this monastery. See also pages 7-7 (above).

<sup>58</sup> *RMK* 1.97a.

<sup>59</sup> *RMK* 1.155, line 3; *RMK* 2.35a, line 3; and *RMK* 3.87b, line 28.

<sup>60</sup> *RMK* 1.179, line 12.

<sup>61</sup> *RMK* 1.96a, line 25.

<sup>62</sup> *RMK* 3.8a, lines 2-4.

Buildings referred to as *prāsāt*<sup>63</sup> “pavilion” (Skt. *prāsāda* “id.”) or *prasat kloṅ*<sup>64</sup> “pavilion monastery” also were common. Probably, these were monasteries like monuments 489 and 490 as the inscription that mentions the word *prasat kloṅ* was found in a temple (monument 487) in the same precincts. These temples too have *maṅḍapa* attached to them on the east side. They were perhaps built specially for some important monks. An inscription dated AD 1236 refers to Sirimahādhammarājapaṇḍit, a royal preceptor, who dwelt in a *prāsāt*. King Kīlacwā (1235-?1249) built a big *prasat* for Skhiṅ Dhammasari Mahādheṅ in AD 1248.<sup>65</sup> Another *prasat* was constructed by Queen Caw Pulay, daughter of Queen Sunḥlula, in AD 1299.<sup>66</sup> As Pitarac, a royal preceptor, donated some slaves to the Buddha image housed in a *prasat*,<sup>67</sup> some of the *prasat* might also have served as temples. Additionally, there is a reference to a *prasat bhurhā* in an inscription found at Myinzaing (near modern Kyaukse).<sup>68</sup>

The inscriptions also mention *kloṅ mraṅ* “tall monastery,”<sup>69</sup> *kloṅ phlū* “white monastery,”<sup>70</sup> *kloṅ prok* “monastery with paintings inside,”<sup>71</sup> and *panpu kloṅ* “a monastery ornamented with sculptures.”<sup>72</sup> The mention of the word *panpu kloṅ* testifies that some monasteries were built of wood. However, no wooden structures survive today. Even houses could be turned into monasteries. One donor recorded that the cost of turning her house into a monastery (*im kloṅ plu so*), making an enclosure wall, a temple, a Buddha image, wall

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<sup>63</sup> *RMK* 1.170a, line 3.

<sup>64</sup> *RMK* 3.98, lines 12-13. (Provenance: Tuyin Pahto [487]).

<sup>65</sup> *RMK* 2.55, lines 3-6.

<sup>66</sup> *RMK* 3.115, lines 6-8.

<sup>67</sup> *RMK* 1.154, lines 4-5.

<sup>68</sup> *RMK* 3.103, lines 9, 10.

<sup>69</sup> *RMK* 1.54b, line 7.

<sup>70</sup> *RMK* 1.155, line 8.

<sup>71</sup> *RMK* 1.126b, line 2; and *RMK* 3.24a, lines 7, 25.

<sup>72</sup> *RMK* 2.35a, lines 15-16.



paintings, ornaments, plastering and a finial, and for *samput* (food offerings) was 10,000 (*klap* [163.29 kilograms] of) silver.<sup>73</sup> This points to the fact that monasteries could have various shapes.

The inscriptions refer to some monastery buildings as *kulā kloṇ*<sup>74</sup> which, according to Pe Maung Tin and Than Tun,<sup>75</sup> were brick monasteries. A monastery referred to as *kulā kloṇ* is monument 1111, a multiple-cell monastery.<sup>76</sup> An inscription states that a donor built a *kulā kloṇ* to house the Buddhist scriptures.<sup>77</sup> This building probably was monument 668, a two-cell structure.<sup>78</sup>

In some monastic complexes, tanks (OM *kan*<sup>79</sup> or *re kan*<sup>80</sup>) and wells (OM *riy twaṇ*<sup>81</sup>) were also dug, and bridges (OM *tanthā*<sup>82</sup>) were built if necessary.

### 8.2.2. Monasteries

The majority of monasteries were formed by combining separate buildings. The buildings attached to a large stupa called Paungku Hpaya (1339) may be the earliest extent monasteries of this type. Excavations there have revealed Pyu artifacts and a votive tablet with a Mon inscription,<sup>83</sup> and Pichard has estimated that the buildings belong to the

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<sup>73</sup> *RMK* 1.39b, lines 1-3.

<sup>74</sup> *RMK* 1.6b, line 7.

<sup>75</sup> Pe Maung Tin, "Buddhism in the Inscriptions of Pagan," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 26.1 (1936): 57; and Than Tun, "History of Buddhism" 107.

<sup>76</sup> *RMK* 1.123, lines 6-10.

<sup>77</sup> *RMK* 3.60, lines 10-13.

<sup>78</sup> This is the only monastery building that exists in the precincts where the inscription is found.

<sup>79</sup> *RMK* 1.5, line 4.

<sup>80</sup> *RMK* 1.44b, line 4.

<sup>81</sup> *RMK* 1.44b, line 4.

<sup>82</sup> *RMK* 1.44b, line 4.

<sup>83</sup> Luce states that a bronze image of Bodhisattva Maitreya discovered at this site is similar to the one with Pyu writing found at Shwesandaw pagoda. Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagan* 1: 295, and 3: Pl. 444c & d.

11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>84</sup> Two rectangular structures with inner sanctums attached to the stupa flanking its eastern entrance probably were monasteries. However, it is not certain because these structures are in a state of utter ruin, and there are no other monasteries with structures placed in a similar way.

Another early example is the monastery at the northwest corner of the precincts of Dhammayangyi (771), which probably belongs to the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>85</sup> It is a two-storied rectangular structure with an inner cell. Many monastery buildings were built around existing large stupas, such as some monasteries around Shwezigon, Dhammarazaka, Mingalazedi, etc., just as they were built around the Thūpārāma of Sri Lanka. For example, some buildings surrounding the Shwezigon have one side of their walls parallel with one side of the encircling walls of the stupa, indicating that they were built around this stupa as if it was their main cult object. There are small temples among these buildings, which must have been important for the Buddha-*pūjā* for the monks of these monasteries.

Apart from monasteries attached to large temples and stupas, there are later monasteries in which temples and stupas were built as part of the monasteries, such as Tuyin Pahto (487) and the monasteries in the same precincts (489 and 490); Minwaing (680) and the monasteries in the same precincts (682 and 683), etc. In most of these monasteries, the haphazardness of the structures demonstrates that the buildings were not built at the same time. Some major buildings were erected first, and more and more buildings were added later by various donors.

The fact that temples were usually the dominant buildings in the monasteries indicates that the monks' main object of worship was the Buddha image. Many monasteries did not even have a stupa. The forest monastery of Mahākassapa (the old one outside the

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<sup>84</sup> Pichard, *Inventory* 5: 268-269.

<sup>85</sup> Pichard has estimated this monastery to belong to the 12<sup>th</sup> century AD (?). Pichard, *Inventory* 3: 345 (monument 776). There is an inscription dated AD 1253 that refers to a *Dhammarāṃ Skhiṇī Maṇī Charyā* "the Lord of Dhammayangyi, the Royal Preceptor," to whom King Caṅsū granted permission to build a temple to the west of Dhammayangyi.

Lemyethna complex) is an exception. This complex very likely comprised almost all the buildings shown in Fig. 49. All the buildings except monument 507 belong to the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The inscriptions as well as the haphazard distribution of the buildings clearly indicate that the buildings were not erected at the same time.<sup>86</sup> (A 13<sup>th</sup>-century inscription discloses that a Cambodian monk also resided in this complex.<sup>87</sup>) Katthapa Htupa (495) at the center of the complex and Yadana Zedi (504) are Sinhalese style stupas; Asawkyun (491) is a temple in which four seated images are placed surrounding a stupa.

It is evident from the inscriptions that three temples (491, 505 and 506) were later additions to Mahākassapa's monastery.<sup>88</sup> Of the other two temples, monuments 494 and 510 are small temples, smaller than Katthapa Htupa (495); and monument 514, the date of which is not known for certain, is located around the southwest corner of the complex. Both probably were later additions too. Moreover, although the majority of the monastery buildings face east, two monasteries (498 and 499) face west toward the Katthapa Htupa. (It is exceptional to find monasteries facing west in Pagan.) Therefore, it is clear that Mahākassapa's monastery was a monastery originally built with a Sinhalese style stupa (Katthapa Htupa [495]) as the main object of worship.

This, however, does not mean that the stupa was the preferred cult object for all the forest monks. As will be discussed below, Mahākassapa himself later became head monk of the Lemyethna complex, in which image-worship was predominant. In addition, no stupa was found in Zeyyathut forest monastery, which consists of the ruins of two monasteries (787 and 788), most likely single-cell structures, and an unexcavated mound (789) to their south.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> *RMK* 2.22, *RMK* 2.23, *RMK* 2.53, *RMK* 2.54; *RMK* 3.26, *RMK* 3.33, *RMK* 3.92; and *RMK* 3.158.

<sup>87</sup> *RMK* 3.33, lines 11-14.

<sup>88</sup> *RMK* 2.53; *RMK* 2.54; *RMK* 3.26; and *RMK* 3.33.

<sup>89</sup> References to this forest monastery are found in *RMK* 1.160, lines 16-17; and *RMK* 1.165, line 1. Additionally, there are two inscriptions connected with this monastery: *RMK* 2.84 and *RMK* 3.66.

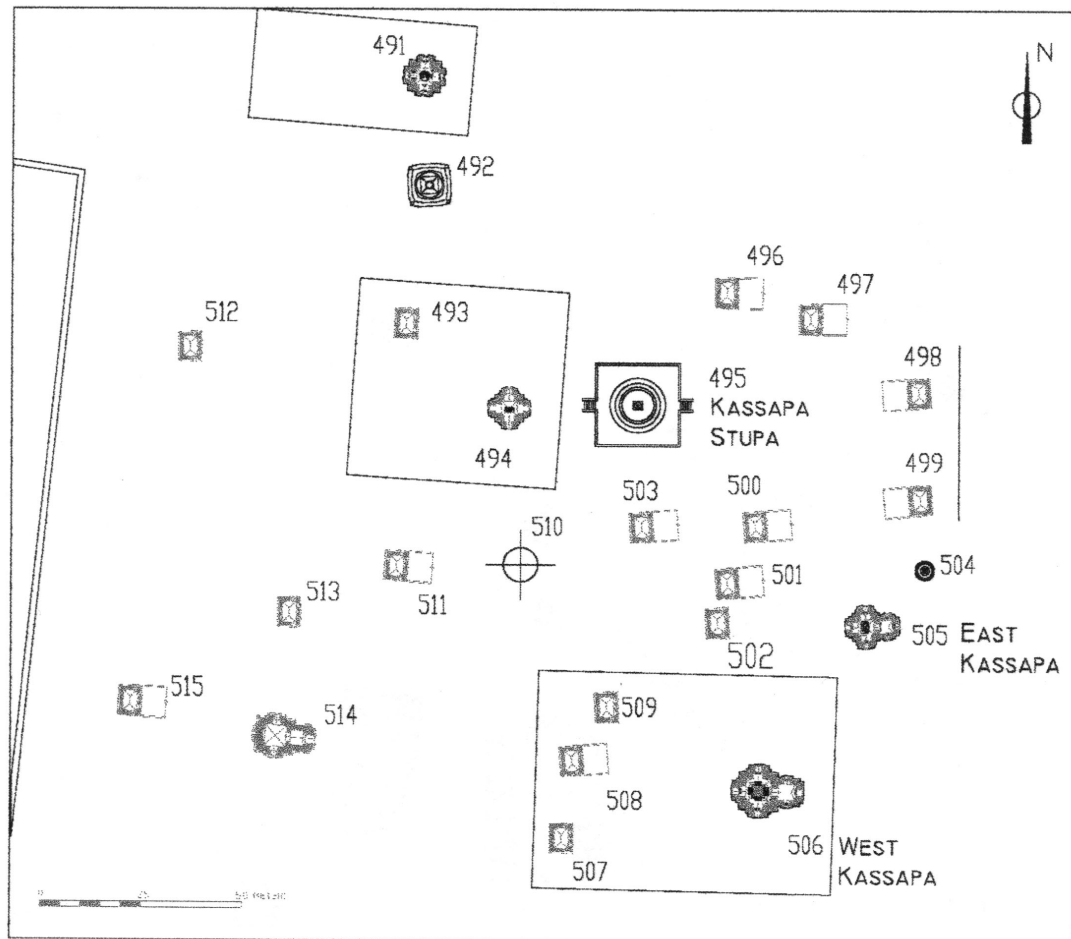


Figure 49.—Plan of Mahākassapa's Monastery Complex

To the east of these were four temples—three single-entrance temples (790, 791 and 792) facing west and a four-entrance temple (Zeyyathut Hpaya [785]) with the main image on the eastern side. Between the monasteries and these temples was a small temple (786) facing east. No encircling wall exists. There are, however, no stupas around these buildings.

Among the multi-building monasteries (monasteries with separate buildings), the monastery of Mlatkrī Tāmalin, a Cambodian prince who came from Sri Lanka together with Chappada, is unusual in that it comprises multiple-cell buildings (see Figs. 44 [above] & 50). An inscription dated AD 1228 recording the construction of a *kulā kloṇ* was found at monument 1111.<sup>90</sup> It, however, makes no mention of Tāmalin's name. Another inscription recording the donations made to Tāmalin's monastery was found near the same building (1111),<sup>91</sup> and there is a Sinhalese style stupa (1113) around it. In addition, Tāmalin himself recorded in an inscription that he donated the donations he received to a *kulā kloṇ*.<sup>92</sup> Hence, it is very probable that the buildings around this monument were included in Tāmalin's monastery. As no encircling wall exists, it is impossible to ascertain which buildings were included in his monastery. It seems that Tamani temple (1113) and its plinth were the sim of this monastery.<sup>93</sup> There is a monastery (1123) which is very similar to monument 1111 about 0.6 kilometer to the south of the latter. That monastery with its own encircling wall was a

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<sup>90</sup> *RMK* 1.123, lines 6-10.

<sup>91</sup> *RMK* 3.9. Boke, the late head of the Archaeology Department of Pagan, mentions that the inscription recording the donations made to Tāmalin's monastery between 600 and 640 ME was found around these buildings. It probably is *RMK* 3.76, now in the Pagan Museum. Boke (U), *Pugaṃ Sutesana Lam:ñhwan* [Guide to Researches on Pagan] (Yangon: Sarpe Beikman, 1981) 365.

<sup>92</sup> *RMK* 3.76, lines 17-18.

<sup>93</sup> Tamani (spelt *Tāmaṇi*) derived from a wrong reading of Tāmalin. Although no *sim* stones have been found there, the placement of the temple on the plinth is very similar to that of a stupa or temple in other *sim*. Boke also speculates that the temple was built on an old *sim* plinth. Boke, *Pugaṃ Sutesana Lam:ñhwan* 365.

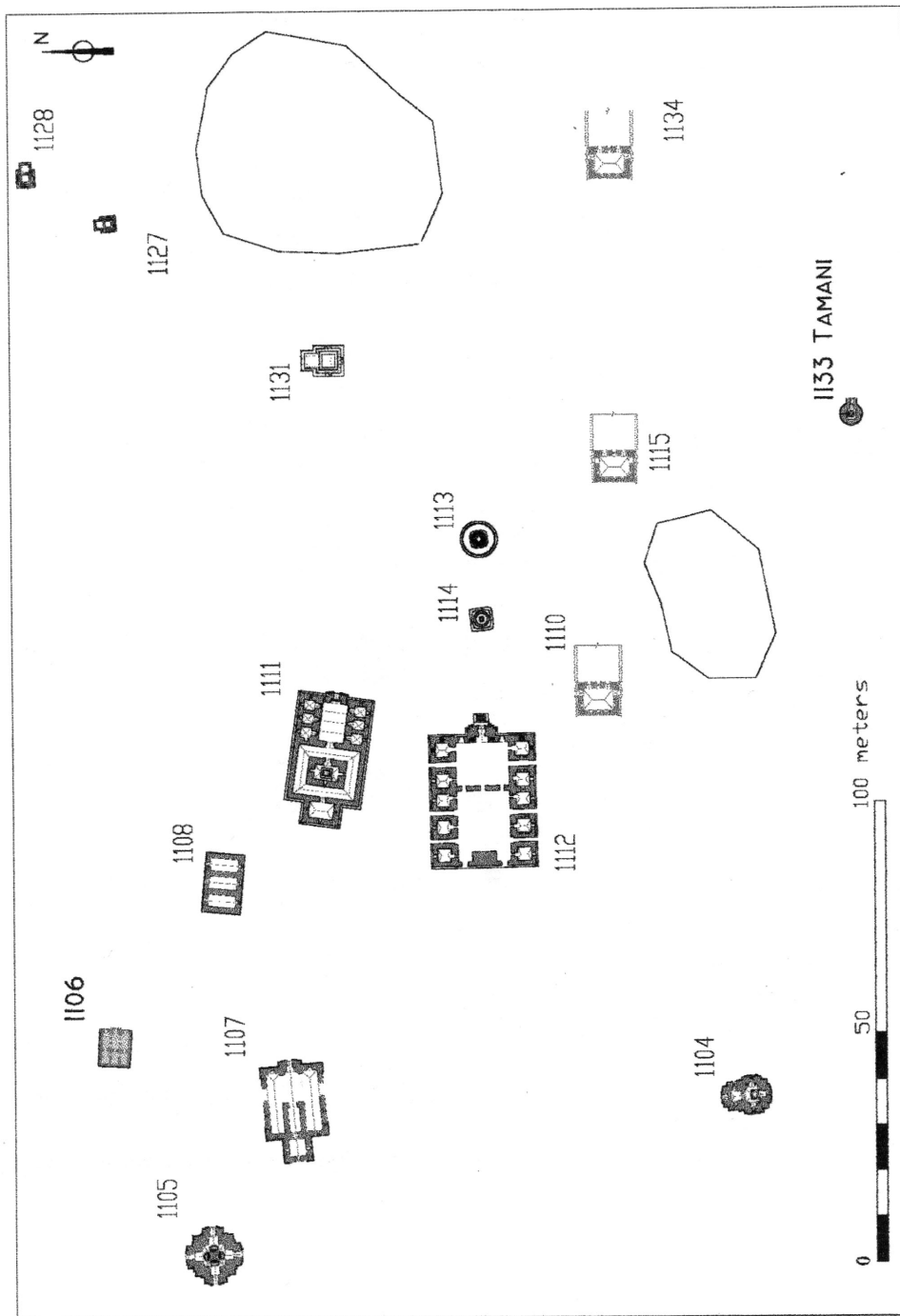


Figure 50.—Plan of Tamalin's Monastery Complex

single-building monastery. Therefore, it is possible that Tāmalin took over an earlier multiple-cell monastery, which grew gradually by adding stupa, temple and *sim* as well as more residential buildings. However, as he was a prince of Kamboja (Cambodia), it is not certain whether his choice of this type of monastery had anything to do with the monastery traditions in his homeland (see page 120 [above]).

#### 8.2.2.1. Monastic Complexes Comparable to Sinhalese *Pabbata Vihāra*

Some monasteries consisted of many buildings enclosed within double enclosure walls. Lemyethna monastic complex is the best preserved among the monasteries of this type (see Figs. 51 & 52). The donors, a minister and his wife, recorded their donations in detail as follows:

At this place (around) the tank called *Amana* (Minnanthu), (we) planted many toddy palms in a monastery compound. (we) then enclosed it within two walls made of brick and within (these) walls upon a fine platform (the plinth of which) is in the shape of a *kalasa* pot, (we) constructed a hollow-pagoda.... In the (chamber) of the hollow pagoda, (we) made four images of the Lord placed back to back and thus each facing a cardinal point and (also) made them shine wondrously with gems. Many (more) images were placed (around) the walls. (On the walls) were beautifully painted the (scenes from) five hundred *jataka*<sup>2</sup>... . (We) also made (a copy) of the Three *Pitaka*—the accumulation of the Law. Where the congregation of those who would listen to the Law might assemble, (we) made a pleasant hall of the Law built of stone bricks. At the place for preaching the Law, (we) made a gold throne. Above the throne, (we) set up a gold umbrella and above it also (we) made a canopy. A large and pleasant monastery—the residence of our Lord the Elder also was made, where all good people desiring *nirvana* might receive instruction. In the surrounding place outside the inner wall (we) also made a row of monasteries where our Lords practising piety out of love for the Religion might abide. That our noble Lords might be at ease for water, a well also was dug and built of bricks. A square tank built of bricks was also (made). To the east a large tank also was (made) with two levels. That the water might enter, pipes and troughs also were beautifully made. All around the tank, a garden was created. Outside the monastery within a fine enclosure (we) made a large and pleasant *tanchon*—rest house, magnificently (decorated) with all sorts of figures, where all good people coming from the four quarters might be at liberty to stay, to sleep or to stand. West of it (we) also made a ? permanent *carap*—alms house, of brick where good people wishing to give alms might give their alms. On the outskirts of the city (we) also made a store house built solidly of brick. For the comfort of the Lord, the Law and the Order who are in this monastery (we) have left there many attendants. In order that all the people coming from the four quarters might fulfill their wants, (we) also dug a well solidly built of brick. In order that all these good deeds made by (us)—the loving couple, may last through out the 5000 years of the Religion, (we) made many arrangements. In order that repairs be continuously done on our behalf, that (the

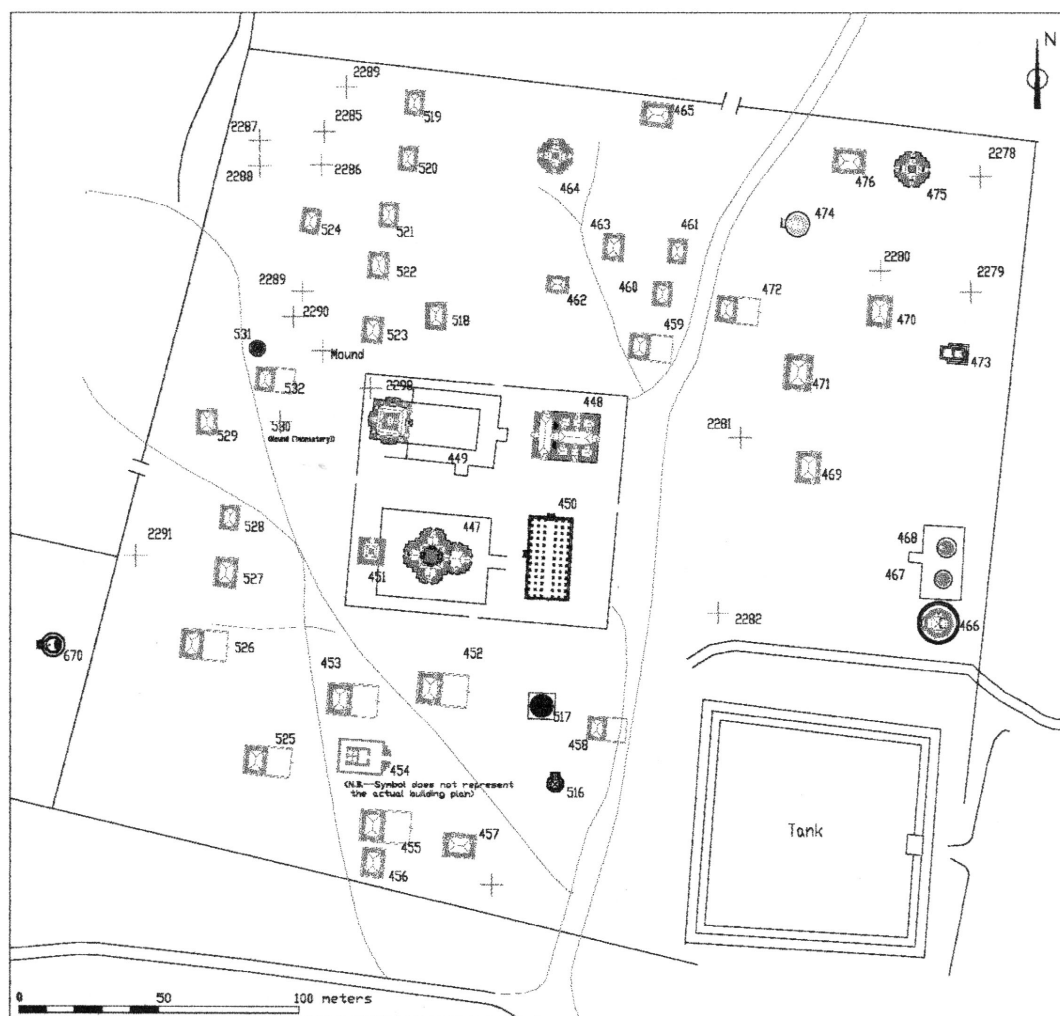


Figure 51.—Plan of Lemyethna Monastic Complex



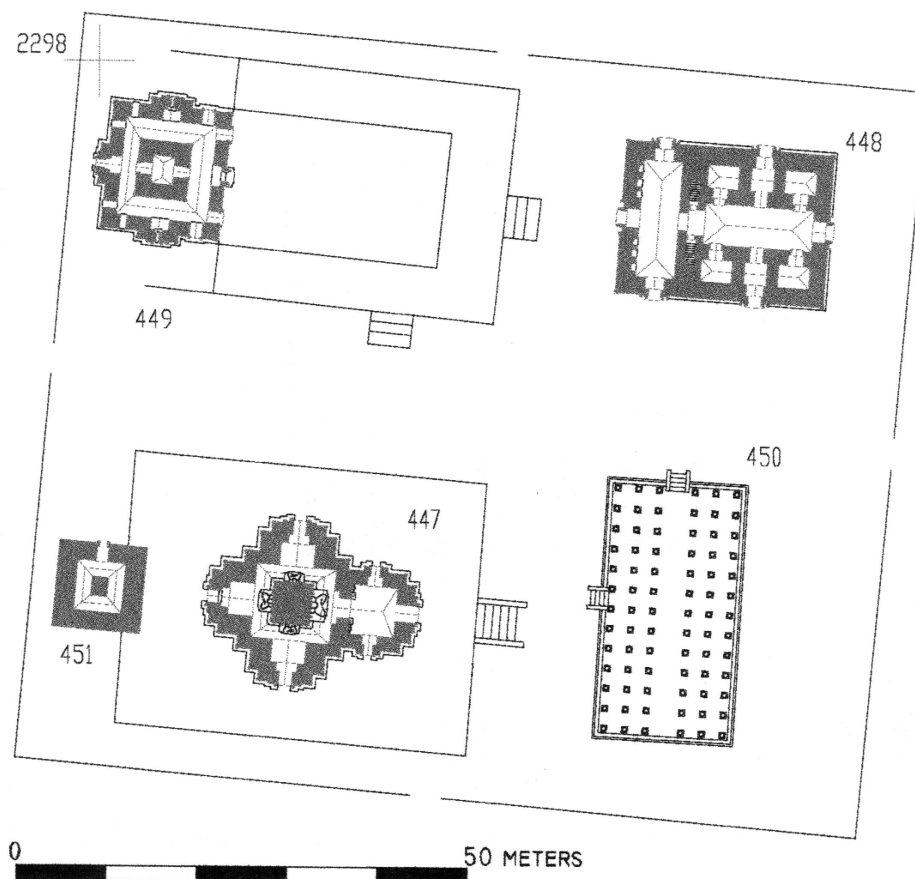


Figure 52.—Plan of Inner Precincts of the Lemyethna Monastic Complex

premises) may be cleansed, that regular offerings of food, oil-lights, betel and flowers be always made to the Lord and the Law and the rice alms be given to the patient noble Lords, (we)—the loving couple, dedicated the following (slaves).<sup>94</sup>

Pichard has rightly observed that these monastic complexes with double enclosure walls are comparable to the *pabbata vihāra* of Sri Lanka belonging to the 8<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> centuries AD.<sup>95</sup> The main feature of the Sinhalese *pabbata vihāra* is the existence of a sacred precinct that contains a stupa, an *uposathaghara*, a *bodhighara* and an image-house at the center surrounded on three or four sides by residential buildings.<sup>96</sup>

Although the buildings in the sacred precincts in the monasteries of Pagan are not exactly the same as those of the Sinhalese *pabbata vihāra*, the general idea is the same: the buildings connected with rituals or with all the inmates of the monastery were placed within a precinct in the center of the whole complex; and this sacred precinct was surrounded by residential buildings. For example, at the Lemyethna complex, a *kū* (temple) which corresponds to Sinhalese *paṭimāghara* (image-house), a *dhammasā* (hall of Dhamma) which functioned in the same way as an *upaṭṭhānasālā* as well as an *uposathaghara* of Sri Lanka, and two monastery buildings occupied the four quadrants of the sacred precinct. As the inscription mentions the construction only of a temple, a *dhammasā* and the *thera*'s monastery in the inner precinct, the function of one monastery building is not known for certain. While one of the monastery buildings (449) seems to have been the monastery of the head monk, the other (448) does not look like a residential building. It has four large halls downstairs and four upstairs, which were probably used for teaching as well as a library.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> *RMK* 1.97a, lines 6-31. Translation by Than Tun, "History of Buddhism" 131-132.

<sup>95</sup> Pichard, "Pagan Monastic Architecture" 157-163.

<sup>96</sup> See Bandaranayake, *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture*, Figs. 14-17, 19-20, & 23-24. Another distinctive feature of these complexes in Sri Lanka is the substantial moat surrounding them. *Ibid.*, 78-79.

<sup>97</sup> Two halls downstairs were later partitioned to form small cells.

Than Tun regards the *maṇḍapa* of monument 449 as a preaching hall; 448 the abbot's residence, 450 ordination hall, and 451 library.<sup>98</sup> However, he does not give any justification for these identifications. If the *maṇḍapa* of monument 449 is regarded as a preaching hall referred to in the inscription as a *dhammasā*, it is impossible to explain the function of the main structure itself. Although this *maṇḍapa* also was used for preaching, it does not seem to be the building referred to in the inscription as a *dhammasā*. As has been noted above, many residential buildings had a *maṇḍapa* attached to them, and the *dhammasā* in the inscription certainly is referred to as a separate building. Furthermore, the plan of monument 449 is comparable to some residential buildings referred to as *prāsāt*.<sup>99</sup> The statement in the inscription that the “people desiring *nirvāṇa* might receive instruction” at the abbot's residence also points to the fact that the abbot's residence had a *maṇḍapa* attached to it. It seems that Than Tun regards this building as a *dhammasā* because monument 450 was a *sim*. But the *sim* is not mentioned in the inscription. If the *sim* was included in the donations as a separate building, the donors very likely would have recorded it in their inscription, as they even recorded less important structures such as the plinth of the temple, the *thera*'s monastery, the rest house, etc. Additionally, monument 448 with three halls on the ground floor and three upstairs does not look like a residential building. Than Tun's assumption that monument 451 (the small temple close to the west side of the main temple in the inner precinct) was a scripture house, however, might be true. Even though the inscription does not mention the construction of a library, it mentions the donation of the scriptures, and there is evidence that the scriptures were worshipped at Pagan (see above). No *bodhighara* or stupa exists in the inner precinct.

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<sup>98</sup> Than Tun, “History of Buddhism” 133; and *idem*, “Religious Buildings of Burma,” Diagram 4 (facing p. 75).

<sup>99</sup> See monuments 489 and 490; and *RMK* 3.68; and *RMK* 3.98.

Around this sacred precinct were residential buildings for monks and some smaller stupas and temples. Of these, five temples (monuments 466, 467, 468 and 516) are small circular temples with square *harmikā*.

In the Sutaungbye complex, the *thera*'s monastery and the *sim* occupied the same quadrants as in the Lemyethna. The northeast quadrant, which was occupied by a three-hall monastery in the Lemyethna, was occupied by a multiple-cell monastery with a large hall in the middle (monument 908).<sup>100</sup> It is similar to the multiple-cell monasteries mentioned above with residential cells surrounding a large hall. The quadrant usually occupied by the temple contains a small stupa and a small monastery (probably a residential building).

The Shwenanyindaw complex also belongs to this type, though the south wall of the sacred precinct does not exist anymore. The *thera*'s monastery is the only building that occupied the same quadrant as in the other complexes, but here together with two other buildings. The temple took the place of the *sim*. The quadrant where a temple is usually placed has two unexcavated mounds and a tank. It is impossible to ascertain what building stood in the northeast quadrant. There were a circular temple and two Sinhalese style stupas in the eastern quadrants.

The monastery complex with monument 888 (a large *sim*, demarcated by monks including Dhammasiri) probably also belonged to this type. The enclosure wall of the sacred precinct, however, does not exist.<sup>101</sup>

The striking difference between these Pagan monastic complexes and the *pabbata vihāra* of Sri Lanka is the omission of stupa and *bodhighara* in the former, at least from the main shrines. Thus, even though the plan of the Pagan complexes derived from Sri Lanka and

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<sup>100</sup> The donation of this monastery in 661 ME (AD 1299) by Amiphurhā Cau (Queen Saw) is mentioned in an inscription dated 750 ME (AD 1388). This inscription states that she built a *ceṭī* enshrining corporeal relics, the three *pitakas*, a big monastery with paintings inside and a *sim*, all inside an encircling wall; and outside this wall, and surrounded by another wall, she built some *cāsaṅ kloṇi*. *RMK* 4.116a, lines 1-15.

<sup>101</sup> Although the same type as these monasteries, the Sinbyushin complex belongs to the 14th century.

even though the existence of small stupas and temples with *harmikā* points to Sinhalese influence, the stupa and Bodhi tree were not the cult object of the people of Pagan at least by this time. Although the stupa had been the main cult object of the Myanmars in the early days of Pagan (see 7.3 [above]), the Bodhi tree does not seem to have received as much veneration as in Sri Lanka. It should also be noted here that even though the plan of these monasteries derived from Sri Lanka, the individual buildings bear more influence from India than of Sri Lanka. Even in small circular temples with square *harmikā*, the paintings inside are in the style of northern India. The reason undoubtedly was the nature of Pagan's contacts with Sri Lanka and India.

Another noticeable difference between Sinhalese and Pagan monasteries was in the orientation of the residential buildings. The residential buildings in the Sinhalese *pabbata vihāra* face the sacred precinct, while the ones in Pagan's monastic complexes almost invariably face east. In addition, most of the residential buildings in Pagan had a *maṇḍapa* attached to them on the east side, and a Buddha image was placed in a niche at the center of the east wall (see page 222 [above]). These *maṇḍapa* very probably were used for teaching. The buildings could not hold many monks. Hence it is also probable that students (*OM cāsai*) dwelt in wooden monasteries which do not survive.

The most important question as to these monasteries is: To which sect did the monks belong? In Sri Lanka, a copper plate containing invocations of Avalokiteśvara, Tārā, etc. and slabs referring to *dharmadhātu* have been unearthed at two *pabbata vihāras*: Vijayārāma and Puliyakuḷam respectively.<sup>102</sup> Prematilleke and Silver believe that these monasteries were connected with the Abhayagirivihāra and with forest monks,<sup>103</sup> saying, “even though these

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<sup>102</sup> Bandaranayake, *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture* 72. Both the monasteries are at Anurādhapura. Vijayārāma belong to the 9<sup>th</sup> century and Puliyakuḷam to the middle of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Hiromasa Kurokouchi, ed., “Ancient Architecture in Sri Lanka,” Waseda University Asian Expedition, Asian Architecture Research Team, Waseda University, 21 July 2000 <<http://www.waseda.ac.jp/projects/AsianArch/sites/srilanLO-E.html>>

<sup>103</sup> Bandaranayake, *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture* 72.

monasteries display a well organized community life apparently due to Mahāyānist inspiration, yet the ideal of the *vanavāsī* (forest-dwellers) seems to have prevailed throughout.”<sup>104</sup> However, Bandaranayake rejects this idea. He points out that the earlier monasteries too are similar to these *pabbata vihāras* in that the stupa, *uposathaghara*, *bodhighara* and image-house were surrounded by residential buildings, although their plans are not highly symmetrical like those of the *pabbata vihāras*.<sup>105</sup> The description of a monastery Vijayabāhu built and donated to the monks “of the three fraternities” (i.e. the Mahāvihāra, Abhayagirivihāra and the Jetavanavihāra) in the *Cūlavamsa* seems to suggest that the monastery was of the same type.<sup>106</sup> If this monastery was *pabbata vihāra* type, then it is clear that this monastery type was used by the monks of all Sinhalese Buddhist sects at least by this time. Even if the monastery in question was not a *pabbata vihāra*, that the king donated a monastery to the monks of three different sects indicates that the monks of different sects could share the same (type of) monastery in Sri Lanka.

Of the monastic complexes in Pagan, the Lemyethna complex was connected with *Phun* monks. The fact that Mahākassapa, a prominent leader of the forest monks (see above), became the head monk of this monastery indicates that the monks of this monastery and Mahākassapa belonged to the same sect. Therefore, this monastery very probably belonged to forest monks.

The Pali inscription recording the consecration of *sim* (monument 888) mentions the purification of the Religion as well as the names of many monks who had visited Sri Lanka

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<sup>104</sup> L. Prematilleke and R. Silva, “A Buddhist Monastic Type of Ancient Ceylon Showing Mahāyānist Influence,” *Artibus Asiae* (Ascona) 30 (1968): 63-64; qtd. in Bandaranayake, *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture* 70.

<sup>105</sup> Bandaranayake, *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture* 69.

<sup>106</sup> “... After building a vihāra beautiful by reason of its threshold pillar, provided with wall and trench, beautified by a splendid five-storeyed pāsāda, well equipped with charming rows of dwellings round about ...” *Cūlavamsa* 60: 11-13. The mention of a trench seems to indicate that the monastery was the *pabbata vihāra* type, because the *pabbata vihāras* were the only monasteries with a trench along the encircling walls. See Bandaranayake, *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture* 78-79.

including Dhammasiri and Subhūticanda).<sup>107</sup> As Dhammasiri and Subhūticanda had witnessed the donation of a forest monastery together with Mahākassapa in AD 1237,<sup>108</sup> it is evident that they belonged to the same sect as the forest monk Mahākassapa. This *sim* is located at Pwasaw.

No inscriptions have been found at the Shwenanyindaw complex, hence its history is not known.

Four out of five such complexes are located in Minnanthu and Pwasaw, both named after the donors of the large religious establishments there.<sup>109</sup> This reveals that these monasteries were built away from the lay habitat, and that the villages were formed only later, most probably by the slaves and laborers connected with these monastic establishments. Therefore, it is probable that all these monasteries were connected with forest monks.

The monasteries of this type are quite rare, presumably because in most cases a single donor could not afford to build all the buildings, or even the most important ones, at once.

To sum up, single-building (or multiple-cell) monasteries were early monasteries in Pagan belonging to the 12<sup>th</sup> century. This type came from northern India. However, the buildings attached to Paungku Hpaya highlight the fact that the monasteries attached to large stupas were also in existence since about the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, it seems that the monks of the earlier sect, i.e. the monks with *Saṇi* titles, were using both types of monasteries.

Most of the later monasteries, however, were multi-building (or single-cell) monasteries. The existence of multiple-cell buildings in Tāmalin's monastery indicates that the later monks with *Phun* titles were not averse to adopting the earlier type of monasteries. However, even when they were using multiple-cell buildings, they used them as part of a

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<sup>107</sup> *RMK* 2.133. According to this inscription, Subhūticanda was a monk from Kamboja. He probably was the Krwam Skhiñ (Cambodian lord) who had a monastery in Mahākassapa's monastic complex. *RMK* 2.133, lines 2-4; and *RMK* 3.33, lines 11-14.

<sup>108</sup> *RMK* 2.77, lines 5, 7-8.

<sup>109</sup> *Minnanthu* derives from *Mañ Anantasū*, name of the minister who donated the Lemyethna complex. *Pwasaw* (spelt *phwā:co*) from OM *phwā caw* (Queen Saw).

monastery. Whether attached to large temples and stupas or built independently with their own temples and/or stupas, whether arranged haphazardly or schematically, most of the monasteries in Pagan are comparable to those of Sri Lanka and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in that they had separate buildings. Among them, the monasteries with double enclosure walls were built on the model of the *pabbata vihāra* of Sri Lanka, and were most likely to be connected with the forest monks of Sinhalese lineage. However, Indian influence was apparent in individual buildings even in the monastic complexes comparable to the Sinhalese *pabbata vihāra*. This was due to the different nature of Pagan's contacts with Sri Lanka and India. Pagan's contact with Sri Lanka was mainly through monks who received ordination there or who studied there, whereas Pagan's contact with northern India seems to have been mainly through the Indian slaves and laborers who migrated to Pagan.



## 9. BUDDHIST ART

As discussed in the previous chapters, Mahayana elements are found in Myanmar Buddhism, and the architectural changes were not only connected with the change in the Sangha (and thus with Pagan's connects with Sri Lanka), but also with Pagan's contacts with India. The main purpose of this chapter is, therefore, to study the connection of Pagan art objects (and the temples in which they are found) with Mahayana and Theravada Buddhism and the possible effects of Pagan's foreign contacts on the art objects.

The Buddhist art of the early Pagan period has been studied by Luce and Ba Shin. Their studies include readings of numerous Pali and Mon legends of the paintings in Pagan temples.<sup>1</sup> Strachan has studied the Buddhist art of the Pagan period as a whole.<sup>2</sup> Tin Lwin wrote an article on old Myanmar paintings in 1974.<sup>3</sup> The Myanmar Archaeology Department has copied most of the Myanmar ink captions of the paintings in Pagan temples.<sup>4</sup> The National University of Singapore has recorded the mural paintings of seventy-seven Pagan temples in digital images.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Gordon H. Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán*, 3 vols., Artibus Asiae, Supplementum 25 (New York: J.J. Augustin Publisher, 1969-1970); *idem*, "Pali & Old Mon Ink Glosses in Pagan Temples, Part 1," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 58.2 (1975): 117-214; *idem*, "Pali & Old Mon Ink Glosses in Pagan Temples, Part 2," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 58.2 (1975): 215-273; G.H. Luce and 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* (Rangoon) 2 (1961): 277-417; and Ba Shin (Bohmu), *The Lokahteikpan* (Rangoon: Burma Historical Commission, 1962).

<sup>2</sup> Paul Strachan, *Imperial Pagan: Art and Architecture of Burma* (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1989).

<sup>3</sup> Tin Lwin (U), "Old Burmese Painting," *Oriens Extremus* (Hamburg) Jahrgang 21 (1974): 237-259

<sup>4</sup> Archaeology Department (Yangon), Ink glosses in Pagan temples, 25 portfolios, mss.

<sup>5</sup> National University of Singapore, Project on Mural Paintings of Pagan, CD-ROM, 142 discs (Unpublished; the images were recorded in December 2000-May 2001). They are

Buddhist art objects of Pagan-period Myanmar comprise Buddha images and sculptures recounting events from Buddha's life made of bronze, sandstone, or bricks and stucco; steatite (Myanmar *andagū*) plaques, terracotta votive tablets (modern Myanmar *upkhwak*; OM *mliypuñ purhā*) and Jātaka plaques (glazed or unglazed); and mural paintings covering the walls of many Pagan temples. The subject matter of these objects helps us in determining which sects of Buddhism they belonged to, and whether those belonging to a sect were influenced by another sect. On the other hand, their style(s) is/are important in determining which art tradition(s) influenced Pagan art.

## 9.1. SUBJECT MATTER

### 9.1.1. Buddha Images

Buddha images are referred to in the inscriptions as *purhā*,<sup>6</sup> *purhā achainpu*,<sup>7</sup> *purhā chainpu*<sup>8</sup> or *purhā achain*.<sup>9</sup> The image of the Buddha might be a standing Buddha (OM *purhā ryap*<sup>10</sup> or *purhā thon*<sup>11</sup>), a seated Buddha (OM *purhā thaway*<sup>12</sup> or *thāway*<sup>13</sup>), or a reclining

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neither indexed nor edited yet. (Hereafter, the images in this collection will be referred to as: National University of Singapore, Mural Paintings of Pagan, disc no.\name of folder [which is monument number]\sub-folder[s]\name of file[s]).

<sup>6</sup> Nyein Maung, *Rhe:hoñ: Mrammā Kyokcāmyā*: [Old Myanmar Inscriptions], vols. 1-5 (Yangon: Archaeology Department, 1972-1998) 1.89, line 6; and *ibid.*, 1.90a, lines 3-4 (hereafter *RMK*)

<sup>7</sup> *RMK* 3.82, line 6.

<sup>8</sup> *RMK* 1.97a, line 15; and *RMK* 3.37, line 9. Spelt *phurhā chainputaw* in *RMK* 2.105, line 12.

<sup>9</sup> *RMK* 1.2a, lines 16-17.

<sup>10</sup> *RMK* 1.69, line 21; *RMK* 1.181b, line 8; and *RMK* 1.184, lines 3, 4. Sometimes a standing Buddha image was the size of the donor: *kuiw ryip tuiñ phurhā* (*RMK* 3.13, line 4) or *nā ryap tuiñ purhā* (*RMK* 1.120, line 11).

<sup>11</sup> *RMK* 1.140, line 3.

<sup>12</sup> *RMK* 1.184, line 4.

<sup>13</sup> *RMK* 3.16a, line 17.

Buddha (OM *purhā niyrapan*<sup>14</sup> or *niyrapan*<sup>15</sup>), the last symbolizing the Buddha's final entering into *nirvāṇa*, i.e. his death. The majority of the Buddha images are seated. Standing images are found mostly in the early-period temples: Nagayon (1192), Ananda (2171), and the image-houses around Shwezigon (monument no. 1), belonging to the 11<sup>th</sup> century AD, and Alopeye (374), belonging to the 12<sup>th</sup> century, etc. Temples with a reclining Buddha as the main image are quite rare: Manuha (1240) and Shwethalyaung (1570). However, the scene illustrating the Buddha's decease is common in paintings as well as in sculpture.

Most of the images still in existence are made of brick and mud mortar and have been repaired recently. But *panṭaṅ purhā* (bronze Buddha image)<sup>16</sup> and *klok purhā skhiṅ* (stone image of Lord Buddha)<sup>17</sup> were also made. Small images of the Buddha to be enshrined in a pagoda or temple were also made out of precious substances such as gold,<sup>18</sup> silver, etc.<sup>19</sup> Some donors, after making a Buddha image, gilded it (OM *rhuy rañ riy*<sup>20</sup>) and placed it on a gilded throne (OM *rhuy panlai*<sup>21</sup>) under a golden umbrella (OM *rhuy thi*<sup>22</sup>). A donor spent 5 *klap* [8.16 kilograms] of gold to gild an image.<sup>23</sup>

A Buddhist temple may usually contain either an image of the Buddha Gotama, four images representing the four Buddhas (including Gotama) of the present eon, or five images, adding the future Buddha Maitreya. A donor made five images representing the five

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<sup>14</sup> *RMK* 1.116, line 5. Spelt *purhā nirapan* in *RMK* 1.95, line 6.

<sup>15</sup> *RMK* 3.1, line 14.

<sup>16</sup> *RMK* 1.90a, lines 3-4; and *RMK* 1.96a, line 18.

<sup>17</sup> *RMK* 1.89, line 7.

<sup>18</sup> *RMK* 1.2a, lines 16-17; and *RMK* 1.96a, line 17.

<sup>19</sup> *RMK* 1.96a, line 17.

<sup>20</sup> *RMK* 1.21, lines 2-3; and *RMK* 1.89, line 6.

<sup>21</sup> *panlai* in *RMK* 1.21, line 4; and *purhā panlai* in *RMK* 1.96a, line 23.

<sup>22</sup> *RMK* 1.21, lines 2-3.

<sup>23</sup> *RMK* 1.21, lines 2-3.

Buddhas: Kakkusan (Pali *Kakusandha*), Gonāguim (Pali *Konāgamana*), Kassapa (Pali *Kassapa*), Gotama (Pali *Gotama*) and Mittryā (Pali *Metteyya*, Sanskrit *Maitreya* or *Maitraka*).<sup>24</sup> An inscription records the making of the images representing the twenty eight Buddhas.<sup>25</sup>

Some donors made crowned Buddha images. A *mahāthera*, the teacher of a king, recorded the donation of paddy fields to a crowned Buddha image (OM *tanchā choñ purhā*) in AD 1279.<sup>26</sup> An inscription refers to the donation of land to a *natoñ tat phurā syañ* “the (image of) Lord Buddha with earrings,” made by Weluwatī, the queen of King Cañsū.<sup>27</sup> Sometimes, ornaments were offered to an existing Buddha image. An inscription records that a monk, Skhiñ Mahāthī Dhammawilassa donated an ornament (OM *tanchā*, probably headgear) to a Buddha image.<sup>28</sup>

With regard to a scene from northern India in which the Buddha in *dharmacakra mudrā* is flanked by two *bodhisattvas* and two *devas* carrying a crown to place on his head, Luce suggests that the scene represents the Last Sermon—i.e. the preaching of the *Saddharmapuñḍarīka* or *Lotus Sutra*.<sup>29</sup> The *Saddharmapuñḍarīka* describes vividly how the Buddha preached this *sutra* (discourse) to a great assembly of the *bodhisattvas* and received their worship including objects of adornment. “A crown, it seems,” says Luce, “is not mentioned in the text; iconography suggests that it was included.”<sup>30</sup> Thus, this really seems to have been the origin of the crowned Buddha images.

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<sup>24</sup> *RMK* 3.63a, lines 22-23. The spelling of the word suggests that the last word is derived from Sanskrit *Maitreya*.

<sup>25</sup> *RMK* 1.205, lines 37-38. Although the inscription is dated 545 ME (AD 1183), it certainly was inscribed at a later date.

<sup>26</sup> *RMK* 3.77b, lines 8-9.

<sup>27</sup> *RMK* 1.207, lines 3-5. Note that this inscription, though dated 547 ME (AD 1185), belongs to a later date.

<sup>28</sup> *RMK* 1.59a, line 3.

<sup>29</sup> Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* 1: 186-187.

<sup>30</sup> Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* 1: 187.

However, the crowned Buddha images in Myanmar often are made in other *mudrās* as well. In fact, the Myanmar did not really care much about the *mudrā* in many cases. For example, even though the Buddha images in *bhūmisparśa mudrā* symbolize the Buddha invoking Earth as witness when he was attacked by Māra's army, images of the Buddha flanked by two monks or two *bodhisattvas* also are often in *bhūmisparśa mudrā*.

A votive tablet with three crowned Buddha images in *dharmacakra mudrā* and a standing bronze image in *vitarka mudrā* have been unearthed at Śrī Kṣetra.<sup>31</sup> The carvings on the *Trap* inscription from Thaton illustrate three Buddhas, with the central one crowned.<sup>32</sup> At Pagan, two standing bronze Buddha images with crowns, one in *vitarka mudrā* and the other in *abhaya mudrā*, have also been recovered. A bronze crowned Buddha image in *bhūmisparśa mudrā* has been found at Pahtothamya (1605).<sup>33</sup> The Buddha images are also crowned in the eight scenes represented on the steatite slabs unearthed near Shwezigon (monument no. 1).<sup>34</sup>

The 13<sup>th</sup>-century paintings on the east wall of the entrance hall of East Katthapa (monument 505) include a crowned Buddha in *bhūmisparśa mudrā*.<sup>35</sup> In monument 1077, the crowned Buddha in *dharmacakra mudrā* flanked by two monks in a *prāsāda* is surrounded by worshippers.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* 1: 184.

<sup>32</sup> Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* 1: 184.

<sup>33</sup> Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* 1: 184; and *ibid.*, 2: Pls. 439a & b, 424e, 433a. Other bronze images of crowned Buddha have been found at Sameikshe (Thazi township), Tabayin (Shwebo district), and at Kyauktaga (Bago district). *Ibid.*, 1: 184; and *Ibid.*, 3: Pl. 439c, d, e & f.

<sup>34</sup> Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* 3: Pl. 400.

<sup>35</sup> The painting, however, is badly erased. National University of Singapore, Mural Paintings of Pagan, disc 55\0505\01\P1210014.tif and P1210015.tif.

<sup>36</sup> National University of Singapore, Mural Paintings of Pagan, discs 136-137\1077\100OLYMP\P3290037.tif and P3290038.tif. The paintings on the same wall include other portraits of the Buddha without a crown. National University of Singapore, Mural Paintings of Pagan, discs 136-137\1077\100OLYMP\P3290029.tif and P3290030.tif.

Since the Buddha received the ornaments only at the end of the Last Sermon, it seems that the Buddha images without ornaments or crown flanked by *bodhisattvas* also originate from the representation of the Last Sermon.

### 9.1.2. Scenes from the Life of the Buddha

Many temples and stupas of Pagan are decorated with stone sculptures, brick and stucco images, glazed or unglazed terracotta plaques, and/or paintings recounting scenes from the life, and former lives, of the Buddha, and some other scenes from the Pali canonical texts and their commentaries, as well as representations of Mahayanist and Hindu deities and floral carvings. Nevertheless, the *Buddhavaṃsa* (life of the Buddha) and the *Jātaka* (the former lives of the Buddha) were the main source of inspiration for the arts of Pagan.

The earliest extant representations at Pagan of the scenes from Buddha's life can be seen on a votive tablet belonging to Aniruddha's reign.<sup>37</sup> On this tablet are representations of the famous eight scenes:

- 1) Nativity.—Queen Māyā holding a branch of the Ingyin tree giving birth to Prince Siddhartha (the Buddha-to-be), who can be seen on the left side near her hip. On the right side is a lady-in-waiting.
- 2) Enlightenment.—The Buddha (in *bhūmisparśa mudrā*) invoking the earth goddess as witness to testify to his former good deeds when Māra and followers attacked him just before his enlightenment.
- 3) The First Sermon.—The Buddha (in *dharmacakra mudrā*) preaching the First Sermon (the *Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta*) to the five ascetics who had been his followers. On this tablet, however, only two monks paying respect to the Buddha can be seen.
- 4) The Taming of Nālāgiri Elephant.—This is the scene illustrating the Buddha's taming of the drunken Nālāgiri Elephant sent by Devadatta to attack him. A small elephant, much

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<sup>37</sup> Mya (U), *Rhe:hoi: Upkhwak Ruppwā: Chañ:tutaumyā: [Votive tablets of Myanmar]*, 2 vols. (Yangon: Archaeology Department, ?1961) 1: 16-17, Fig. 13.

- smaller than the Buddha himself, can be seen on the right side. On the left side stands a monk.
- 5) Descent from Tāvatiṃsa.—The Buddha’s return from Tāvatiṃsa heaven after preaching the Abhidhamma Pitaka there. This is illustrated by a standing Buddha with a monk kneeling on his left, and Indra (?) on his right holding an umbrella (?).
  - 6) Twin Miracle.—The Buddha performing the twin miracle. The seated Buddha is flanked by two *nimmāṇa* Buddhas (in *pralambanāsana*) he had created—all in *dharmacakra mudrā*.
  - 7) Pārileyyaka Retreat.—This scene illustrates when the Buddha, dwelling at Pārileyyaka retreat, received honeycombs from monkeys and elephants. A monkey can be seen on the right side offering food to the Buddha. A small elephant can be seen underneath the Buddha seated in *pralambanāsana*. Duroiselle has pointed out that the elephant is not mentioned in the Vinaya Pitaka. The commentary on the *Dhammapada* as well as some later works, however, mention both the elephant and the monkey.<sup>38</sup> This is the only scene with a caption on the votive tablet. The caption is in Devanagari characters: *grahika vānarā*, meaning “honeycomb from the monkeys.”<sup>39</sup>
  - 8) The *Parinirvāṇa*.—The Buddha’s final entering into *nirvāṇa* at Kuśinārā. The reclining Buddha with two mourners and Indra (?) holding an umbrella.

These scenes are arranged as follows:

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<sup>38</sup> Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* 1: 177.

<sup>39</sup> Mya, *Rhe:hoi: Upkhwak* 1: 17. Luce, however, translates the phrase as: “domesticated denizens of the forest.” Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* 2: 63.

*Parinirvāṇa*

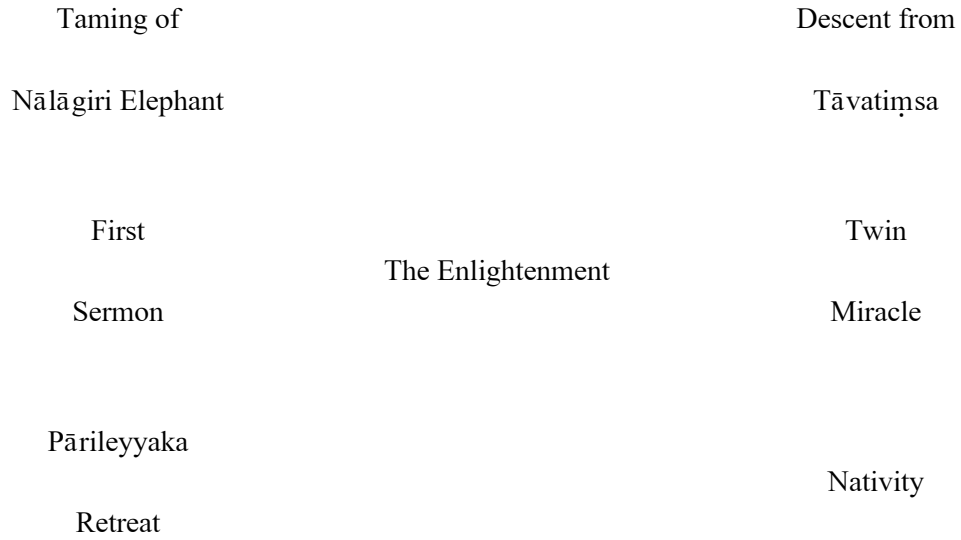


Figure 53.—Sketch Illustrating the Arrangement of the Eight Scenes on a Terracotta Tablet from Pagan

The arrangement, as Luce has pointed out, is the same as in Pala slabs illustrating these eight scenes.<sup>40</sup> Beneath these scenes is the famous *ye dhammā* credo in a two-line Sanskrit-Pali inscription in Devanagari script,<sup>41</sup> which also highlights north Indian influence.

On a similar, though slightly larger, tablet found at Wetkyi-in, however, Devanagari script is not used. The donor recorded his donation in Pali in Mon-Myanmar characters: “This is [the tablet with] eight great scenes made by *Kalan Puwa*.” Mya states that though the figures on this tablet are very similar to Aniruddha’s tablet mentioned above, the script on the obverse face belongs approximately to the time of Kyansittha’s reign and that on the reverse

<sup>40</sup> See Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* 1: 148-150.

<sup>41</sup> Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* 2: Pl. 71.



face belongs roughly to the reign of King Alaungsithu (1113-1169/70). He therefore concludes that the donor used an earlier mold for making this tablet.<sup>42</sup>

Apart from these, there are other terracotta tablets as well as *andagū* (steatite) plaques with representations of the eight scenes, or nine scenes (adding Sujātā's offering of milk rice to Siddhartha just before he attained enlightenment).<sup>43</sup>

Stone sculptures and paintings depicting scenes from the life of the Buddha, including the above-mentioned scenes, can be seen in many temples at Pagan.<sup>44</sup> Sculptures depicting scenes from the events of Buddha's life in Ananda (2171) include many details, and there are over eighty scenes. At Nagayon (1192), some scenes are in sculptures while others are in painting. At Lawkahteikpan (1580), paintings and sculpture are combined: the main seated *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* image in brick and stucco and the painting illustrating Māra's attack and defeat symbolize the Enlightenment, while seven other scenes are all in painting.<sup>45</sup> At Myebontha Hpayahla (1512) and Lemyethna (1185), four events from the life of the Buddha occupy the four sides of the central cores. The scenes are the Nativity, Enlightenment, the First Sermon and the *Parinirvāṇa*. They are arranged so that the Enlightenment scene (the Buddha in *bhūmisparśa mudrā*) faces the entrance.

Most of the scenes recounting the important events from the Buddha's life, either in sculpture or in painting, are executed in hierarchical scale, i.e. the more important person(s) is/are bigger than the others. The Buddha is usually much bigger than any other person or

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<sup>42</sup> Mya, *Rhe:hoñ: Upkhwak* 1: 33-34, Figs. 45a & b. However, it is impossible to verify Mya's statements from the photos in his book.

<sup>43</sup> For *andagū* plaques, see Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagan* 3: Pls. 400, 401, 402a & b, 403a & b, 404, 405a, b & c. For terracotta tablets, see Mya, *Rhe:hoñ: Upkhwak* 1: 38-40, Figs. 50, 51 (with nine scenes), and Pl. 52 (with eight scenes) belonging to about the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Fragments of votive tablets with nine scenes have been unearthed at Śrī Kṣetra. Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagan* 3: Pls. 70a, b & c.

<sup>44</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> century: Kyaukku Umin, Pahtothamya, Nagayon, and Myinpyagu; 12<sup>th</sup> century: Lawkahteikpan, Lawka Ushaung, and Myebontha Hpayahla; 13<sup>th</sup> century: monuments 137, 141, 147, 151, 298, 473, 475, Hpayathonzu (477, 478 and 479), 480, 482, 483, etc.

<sup>45</sup> The *Parinirvāṇa* scene cannot be seen anymore as the plaster had come off.

animal. He is small, of course, in the Nativity scene, in which Māyā, his mother, is the biggest. In little known scenes, however, this hierarchical scale is not applied.<sup>46</sup>

Additionally, the posture of the Buddha in all these scenes, that of Māyā and her attendant in the Nativity scene, and the composition of each of these scenes are closely similar throughout the Pagan period, and are similar to those found in India.<sup>47</sup> Therefore, it can be assumed that the famous scenes came from India very likely through portable media, such as terracotta tablets and miniature paintings, while the little known scenes might have been Myanmar's artistic interpretations of Buddhist scriptures.

### 9.1.3. Scenes from the *Jātaka*

Another subject widely portrayed at the monuments of Pagan was the Jātakas (or stories of the Buddha's former births). An inscription states: "Five hundred Jātakas were painted pleasingly."<sup>48</sup> Another inscription records:

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<sup>46</sup> National University of Singapore, Mural Paintings of Pagan, discs 104-114\1580\04\03\zzz.tif.

<sup>47</sup> Even the designs of the sarongs of Māyā and her attendant in one temple are very similar to those in other temples, although there are some differences in these scenes. Compare also the face of Māyā's attendant at Lawkahteikpan (1580) with that at Thingaraza (1051). National University of Singapore, Mural Paintings of Pagan, discs 104-114\1580\05\P3110044.tif and P3110045.tif; *ibid.*, discs 10-11\0577\12\details\P1290012.tif and P1290013.tif; and *ibid.*, discs 136-137\1051\07\details\2\P3280019.tif, P3280020.tif, and P3280021.tif. In some temples, the images are flipped horizontally, i.e. the right and left are reversed in all respects. This is no doubt due to the placement of the scene. For example, the Nativity scene is usually placed on the right side of the Buddha image symbolizing the Enlightenment. National University of Singapore, Mural Paintings of Pagan, discs 104-114\1580\05\P3110044.tif and P3110045.tif. At Thingaraza (1051), however, the nativity scene is not placed on the same wall with the *bhūmisparśa* image, but on the wall to the left side (the Buddha's right) of the Buddha in *bhūmisparśa mudrā*. Thus, although Prince Siddhartha (the Buddha-to-be) appears on Māyā's hip on the left side (Māyā's right) at Lawkahteikpan (1580), he appears on the right side (Māyā's left) at Thingaraza (1051). Thus, all the interior walls of Thingaraza (1051) were conceived as a single field of decoration.

<sup>48</sup> ... || *jāt 500 le atañ atay riṇ e' ... RMK 2.105*, lines 12-13.

The paintings were done on Friday, the 10<sup>th</sup> waxing day of Tankhū. 14519 images of the Buddha and [scenes from the] 550 Jātakas [were painted]. [The paintings] were completed on Monday, the twelfth.<sup>49</sup>

The earliest representations of Jātaka stories are found on glazed or unglazed plaques placed around the corridors of East and West Hpetleik, and around the plinths of the Shwesandaw, both belonging to Aniruddha's reign (1044-1077). Luce has studied the Jātaka plaques from east and West Hpetleik, and has discovered that there are altogether 550 Jātakas. Among them, three Jātakas (497 Velāma, 498 Mahāgovinda and 499 Sumedhapaṇḍita Jātakas) are not included in the current Sinhalese recension. As there are 550 pockets of glazed plaques at the Shwesandaw, Luce seems to believe that 550 plaques with the same Jātaka stories were placed around this stupa as well. However, no plaques at the Shwesandaw (1568) are found *in situ*. At the Ananda temple (2171) built by King Kyansittha, however, these three Jātakas are not included. Therefore, Luce speculates that Aniruddha obtained from his conquest of Thaton “a non-Sinhalese recension (query: from South India, Kāñcipura ?), with the full 550 [stories],”<sup>50</sup> and that “the later recension, which we can date quite closely from Kyanzittha's revision of the *Tipitaka*, after 1090 A.D., is clearly Sinhalese, and totals only 547.”<sup>51</sup>

However, there is not enough evidence to conclude that the *Jātaka* with 550 stories was a South Indian recension. First, it is not known whether there was a *Jātaka* recension with 550 stories at Kāñcipura or any other place in southern India; and secondly, it is not known whether there was more than one recension of the *Jātaka* in Sri Lanka.

The main difference between the Jātaka representations in Pagan and the current Sinhalese *Jātaka* seems to be the names of several stories and the placement of Mahosadhā

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<sup>49</sup> ... || *kū chiy riy sa ka tankhū la-chan 10 ryak sukrā niy kū purhā 14519 yok* || *jāt 550* || *12 ryak tannhailā niy pri e'* ||. *RMK* 1.179, lines 6-8. The paintings could not have been completed in the same month, as Monday of the same month would have been the thirteenth.

<sup>50</sup> Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagan* 1: 21, fn. 75.

<sup>51</sup> Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagan* 1: 40.

(also spelt *Mahos*, *Mahosathā*; Sinhalese Ummagga [Jātaka no. 546]).<sup>52</sup> However, these are not the only stories where the names are different from the current Sinhalese Jātakas. There are several other Jātakas the names of which differ from those of the Sinhalese Jātakas (see Appendix 9)

It is also impossible to conclude that the Myanmar used the Sinhalese recension of the *Jātaka* or a *Jātaka* recension with 547 stories from Kyansittha's reign onwards. Though the above-mentioned three Jātaka stories (Velāma, Mahāgovinda and Sumedhapaṇḍita) are not found in the paintings in later temples, the artists added some extra stories, while omitting some other stories.<sup>53</sup>

#### 9.1.4. Miscellaneous Scenes from the Theravada Canon

In addition to the scenes from the life of the Buddha and the Jātaka stories, there are paintings illustrating twenty-eight Buddhas, seated under different Bodhi trees. The source of these paintings probably is the *Buddhavaṃsa* and/or its commentaries.

Additionally, the ink captions in several temples refer to many *suttas* (discourses) from the Theravada Buddhist canon. The paintings, however, are monotonous: the Buddha preaching to a congregation. Beneath these paintings are captions saying: This is when the Buddha taught such and such *suttas*. Some paintings recount the events when the Buddha

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<sup>52</sup> For the Jātaka at Ananda (2171), East and West Hpetleik (1030 and 1031), Shwezigon (1), Gubyaukgyi (1323), Gubyaukgyi (298), and Abeyadana (1202), see Luce, "Pali & Old Mon Ink Glosses 2" 272-273. For the Jātakas at Lemyethna (447), Thambula (482), Azagona (588), Maungyon Gu (600), Winido, Thingaraza (1051), and at Ngahlathin Gu (1091), see Archaeology Department, Ink Glosses, portfolios 5, 6, 10, 21, 22 and 23.

<sup>53</sup> Examples may be cited here: at Azagona, *Suṇāṭṭa Jātaka* is inserted between Raka (= Sinhalese 169 Araka) and Kandhaka (= Sinhalese 170 Kakaṇṭaka), and Sinhalese Jātakas 331 Kokālika and 479 Kāliṅgabodhi are skipped. Archaeology Department, Ink Glosses, portfolio 6. *Suṇāṭṭa Jātaka* is also inserted at Chaukhpayahla (monument 141) and at Ngahlathin Gu (1091). *Ibid.*, portfolios 2 & 23. At Ngahlathin Gu (1091), *Kiritiya Jātaka* is inserted between *Dhammapāla* (= Sinhalese 447 Mahādhammapāla) and *Kukkūta* (= Sinhalese 448 Kukkuṭa). *Ibid.*, portfolio 23, and Sinhalese Jātaka 49 Nakkhatta is skipped. Sinhalese Jātaka 166 Upasāḷha, 203 Kandhavatta and 331 Kokālika are skipped at Chaukhpayahla (141). *Ibid.*, portfolio 2.

laid down certain rules of conduct (Vinaya). The Theravada canonical sources of the paintings as well as of sculptures are as follows:

- 1) Vinaya Pitaka (paintings at Pahtothamya [1605], Nagayon [1192], Alopeye [374] and Gubyaukgyi [1323])<sup>54</sup>
- 2) Sutta Pitaka
  - a) Dīgha-nikāya (paintings at Pahtothamya [1605], Nagayon [1192], Alopeye [374] and Gubyaukgyi [1323])<sup>55</sup>
  - b) Majjhima-nikāya (paintings at Pahtothamya [1605], Nagayon [1192], Alopeye [374] and Thambula [482])<sup>56</sup>
  - c) Saṃyutta-nikāya (paintings at Nagayon [1192], Alopeye [374] and Gubyaukgyi [1323])<sup>57</sup>
  - d) Aṅguttara-nikāya (paintings at Nagayon [1192] and Alopeye [374])<sup>58</sup>
  - e) Khuddaka-nikāya
    - i) *Khuddakapāṭha* (paintings at Nagayon [1192])<sup>59</sup>
    - ii) *Dhammapada* (paintings at Gubyaukgyi [1323])<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> See Luce, “Pali & Old Mon Ink Glosses 1” 126-135 for Pahtothamya, 152-153, 155 & 161 for Nagayon; 183 for Alopeye. For Gubyaukgyi (1323), see Luce and Ba Shin, “Pagan Myinkaba Kubyauk-gyi” 377-379.

<sup>55</sup> See Luce, “Pali & Old Mon Ink Glosses 1” 136-139 for Pahtothamya, 154, 161-162 for Nagayon, 183, 189-190 for Alopeye. For the paintings at Gubyaukgyi (1323), see Luce and Ba Shin, “Pagan Myinkaba Kubyauk-gyi” 367-376.

<sup>56</sup> Luce, “Pali & Old Mon Ink Glosses 1” 139-147 for Pahtothamya, 149-150 for Nagayon, 184, 185, 187-188 and *passim* for Alopeye. For Thambula, see Archaeology Department, Ink Glosses, portfolio 10.

<sup>57</sup> Luce, “Pali & Old Mon Ink Glosses 1” 166-179, 180-182 for Nagayon, 184-185, 186, 188-189 and *passim* for Alopeye. For Gubyaukgyi (1323), see Luce and Ba Shin, “Pagan Myinkaba Kubyauk-gyi” 383.

<sup>58</sup> Luce, “Pali & Old Mon Ink Glosses 1” 180, 181 for Nagayon, and 184-187 and *passim* for Alopeye.

<sup>59</sup> Luce, “Pali & Old Mon Ink Glosses 1” 157, 159.

<sup>60</sup> Luce and Ba Shin, “Pagan Myinkaba Kubyauk-gyi” 383.

- iii) *Suttanipāta* (paintings at Nagayon [1192], Alopeye [374] and Thambula [482])<sup>61</sup>
- iv) *Vimānavatthu* (paintings at Alopeye [374] and Gubyaukgyi [1323])<sup>62</sup>
- v) *Jātaka* (terracotta plaques at East and West Hpetleik [1030 and 1031], glazed plaques at Shwesandaw [1568], Shwezigon [1], Ananda [2171] and Mingalazedi [1439], and paintings at Nagayon [1192], Pahtothamya [1605], Abeyadana [1202], Winido, Azagona [588], Thambula [482], Thingaraza [1051], Lemyethna [447], Maungyon Gu [600], and at Ngahlathin Gu [1091])
- vi) *Apadāna* (paintings at Thambula [482])<sup>63</sup>
- vii) *Buddhavaṃsa* (sculptures at Kyaukku Umin [154], Ananda [2171], Nagayon [1192], Abeyadana [1202], etc., and paintings at Pahtothamya [1605], Nagayon [1192], Alopeye [374], Lawkahteikpan [1580], Kyasin [1219], Gubyaukgyi [1323], Gubyaukgyi [298], Winido, Azagona [588], Thambula [482], Thingaraza [1051], Lemyethna [447], Maungyon Gu [600] and at Ngahlathin Gu [1091])
- viii) *Cariyapīṭaka* (paintings at Thambula [482])<sup>64</sup>

Apart from these Theravada texts, there are a few paintings based on the Sinhalese chronicle *Mahāvamsa* at Gubyaukgyi (1323).<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Luce, “Pali & Old Mon Ink Glosses 1” 154, 157 for Nagayon, and 206, 207 for Alopeye. For Thambula, see Archaeology Department, Ink Glosses, portfolio 10.

<sup>62</sup> For Alopeye, see Luce, “Pali & Old Mon Ink Glosses 2” 215-218. For Gubyaukgyi (1323), see Luce and Ba Shin, “Pagan Myinkaba Kubyauk-gyi” 387-389.

<sup>63</sup> See Archaeology Department, Ink Glosses, portfolio 10.

<sup>64</sup> See Archaeology Department, Ink Glosses, portfolio 10.

<sup>65</sup> See Luce and Ba Shin, “Pagan Myinkaba Kubyauk-gyi” 392-393, 395ff.

### 9.1.5. Representations of Mahayana Deities

The earliest extant art objects connected with Mahayana Buddhism in Myanmar are those of the Pyus: terracotta tablets with representations of Tārā,<sup>66</sup> Avalokiteśvara,<sup>67</sup> Lokanātha (a form of Avalokiteśvara),<sup>68</sup> etc. from Śrī Kṣetra, a bronze image of Maitreya from Shwesandaw relic-chamber, Pagan,<sup>69</sup> a stone relief of the Buddha and Maitreya from Śrī Kṣetra,<sup>70</sup> etc.

#### 9.1.5.1. Avalokiteśvara (Lokanātha)

Lokanātha, a variety of Avalokiteśvara, is quite common in Myanmar. Three of King Aniruddha's votive tablets (one found at Pakokku, another from Shwegugyi temple at Pagan and the other from Kanbe in Lower Myanmar) represent Bodhisattva Lokanātha. On these tablets are inscribed: "This Lokanātha [image] is made by the great King Sirī Aniruddhadewa for the sake of liberation."<sup>71</sup> That they are inscribed in Pali language in Mon-Myanmar script indicates that Aniruddha was professing a mixture of Theravada and Mahayana. Apart from these votive tablets, two bronze images of Lokanātha have been found at Pagan.<sup>72</sup> All these

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<sup>66</sup> Mya, *Rhe:hoi: Upkhwak* 2: Fig. 24.

<sup>67</sup> Mya, *Rhe:hoi: Upkhwak* 2: Figs. 29a & b.

<sup>68</sup> Mya, *Rhe:hoi: Upkhwak* 2: Fig. 34.

<sup>69</sup> Duroiselle suggests that Aniruddha brought this image from Śrī Kṣetra and enshrined it at Shwesandaw. Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* 1: 6. The Pyu inscription at the base of this image proves that it is of Pyu origin. *Ibid.*, 3: Pls. 444a 7 b.

<sup>70</sup> Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* 1: 6.

<sup>71</sup> Mya, *Rhe:hoi: Upkhwak* 1: 9, Fig. 2; and Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* 3: Pls. 7, 54a, b & c.

<sup>72</sup> Nihar-Ranjan Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma* (Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1936; reprint, Rangoon: Buddha Sāsana Council Press, n.d.) 48; and Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* 3: Pls. 446a & b.

representations agree with the attributes of Lokanātha given in the *Sādhanamālā*: Lokanātha is holding the stalk of a lotus flower in his left hand, and his right hand is in *varada mudrā*.<sup>73</sup>

Ray has pointed out that the painted representation of the *bodhisattva* on the left wall of the vestibule at Gubyaugyi (1323) iconographically resembles the Bodhisattva Lokanātha with six arms in a miniature painting from Bengal.<sup>74</sup> The *bodhisattva* figure painted at Gubyaugyi has ten arms. Neither the *bodhisattva* representation in the Bengal miniature nor at Gubyaugyi conforms to any of the attributes described in the *Sādhanamālā*.<sup>75</sup> In two painted representations of *bodhisattvas* (one at Chaukpayahla [414] and the other at Ngahlathin Gu [1091]), the captions identify the paintings as Lokanātha.<sup>76</sup>

#### 9.1.5.2. Maitreya

Maitreya played a very important role in Pagan Buddhism. Although Maitreya worship was also prevalent in Sri Lanka, the fact that Myanmar used a Sanskrit loanword to refer to him indicates that Maitreya worship in Pagan originated from northern India (see 3.2.7.1 [above]). He was so important in Pagan that pentagonal temples and stupas were invented so that there would be a place for his image (see chapter 7 [above]). He was represented in these temples as one of the five Buddhas of the present eon (*bhadra kalpa*) and was treated as if he had attained Buddhahood.

Apart from these representations of Maitreya as a Buddha, single Pyu Maitreya images with crowns have been found at Pagan (at Shwesandaw and Paungku).<sup>77</sup> A plaster

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<sup>73</sup> Benoytosh, Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography Based on the Sadhanamala and Other Cognate Tantric Texts of Rituals* (New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1924; reprint, 1985) 38-40.

<sup>74</sup> Ray identified the figure on the miniature painting as Bodhisattva Lokanātha because the phrase *Harikeladeśe śīla-Lokanātha* is inscribed on the painting. However, he does not give the date of this painting. Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism* 49.

<sup>75</sup> Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism* 49.

<sup>76</sup> Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism* 50.

<sup>77</sup> Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagan* 3: Pls. 444a, b, c & d.



image from Nagayon probably represents Maitreya according to Luce.<sup>78</sup> On the south wall of the east vestibule of Thayambu temple (monument 1554), there is a painting of a crowned *bodhisattva*.<sup>79</sup> The caption beneath says that it was “Lord Buddha Maitreya” dwelling at Tusitā heaven, and that he would become a Buddha after living 80,000 years.<sup>80</sup>

### 9.1.5.3. Tārā

Excavations at Śrī Kṣetra have revealed a terracotta tablet representing the Mahayana goddess Tārā which, Ray believes, was imported from Sarnath or Nalanda and belongs to about the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>81</sup> Two bronze images of Tārā also have been found in central Myanmar: one from Magwe district, and the other of unknown provenance. Luce believes that they belong to the 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries AD.<sup>82</sup> By comparing these images with the attributes given in the *Sādhanamālā*, Luce has pointed out that they represent the Śyāmā or Khadiravaṇī variety of Tārā.<sup>83</sup> Painted representations of this goddess occur also on the walls of Abeyadana and Nagayon.

Apart from these, representations of other Mahayana deities are not common. A sculpture of Mañjuśrī<sup>84</sup> and a stone image of Vajrasattva with his *śakti*,<sup>85</sup> have been identified by Ray.

However, there are many paintings of Mahayana and Tantric deities on the walls of Pagan temples that cannot be identified partly because they have been severely worn and

<sup>78</sup> Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* 1: 189; and *ibid.*, 3: Pl. 411c.

<sup>79</sup> National University of Singapore, Mural Paintings of Pagan, discs 72-74\1554\03\details\P1270022.tif.

<sup>80</sup> || || *īy kā purhā Skhiñ Mittryā tussitā nat rwā nhuik cañcim kham e' asak tuiñ niy ruy lū tuiw asak 80000 so ā (ghā) purhā phlac lat am* || ||

<sup>81</sup> Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism* 46.

<sup>82</sup> Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* 1: 198.

<sup>83</sup> Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* 1: 198.

<sup>84</sup> Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism* 46.

<sup>85</sup> Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism* 50-51.

partly because they do not agree with the attributes of any of the deities mentioned in the *Sādhnamālā*. It is very likely that many Sanskrit texts were lost due to the Muslim invasion in India. Perhaps they were once described there; perhaps the Myanmars invented them.

#### 9.1.5.4. *Bodhisattvas* Flanking the Buddha

Two *bodhisattvas* placed on either side of the Buddha as his attendants are very common in Myanmar. A similar placement has been found on the Sikri bas-reliefs of Gandhara, where the Buddha is flanked by Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara.<sup>86</sup> This triad, as stated above (pages 257-259), probably represents the Last Sermon.

At Pagan, the Buddha flanked by two *bodhisattvas* first appears on two types of Aniruddha's votive tablets. On one of them, the Buddha is flanked by two *bodhisattva* figures, above whom are two smaller figures of the Buddha. The *bodhisattva* on the left with his left hand holding a lotus stalk and his right hand in *varada mudrā* certainly represents the Lokanātha variety of Avalokiteśvara. Hence, the right image might have represented Maitreya. However, the right image is a mirror image of the left one.<sup>87</sup> It seems that Lokanātha figure was used as a generalized form of *bodhisattva*.<sup>88</sup> Apart from this, Aniruddha left another tablet on which the Buddha flanked by two *bodhisattvas* is surrounded by twenty-eight Buddhas.<sup>89</sup> A tablet of Kyansittha's queen also bears the Buddha flanked by two *bodhisattvas*.<sup>90</sup> On each of these three tablets, the right *bodhisattva* figure is a mirror

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<sup>86</sup> Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagan* 1: 188.

<sup>87</sup> See Mya, *Rhe:hoi: Upkhwak* 1: 12, Fig. 6; and Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagan* 1: 192-193.

<sup>88</sup> Compare also how the Buddha figure in *bhūmisparśa mudrā* is used for all the previous Buddhas.

<sup>89</sup> Mya, *Rhe:hoi: Upkhwak* 1: 14, Fig. 10.

<sup>90</sup> Mya, *Rhe:hoi: Upkhwak* 1: 30, Fig. 42a. The inscription on the tablet records that it was made by Queen Triwatamsakā.

image of the left one. On a votive tablet and a bronze tablet unearthed at Pagan in 1927-28, however, the Buddha is flanked by Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara.<sup>91</sup>

It is very likely that the votive tablets with the Buddha flanked by two *bodhisattvas* were portable representations of Buddhist temples and not vice versa.<sup>92</sup> As the *śikhara* and the style of the images as well as the use of Sanskrit language in Devanagari characters on the votive tablets show north Indian influence, they very probably were representations of Buddhist temples in Mahayana northern India, which also were the origins of the placement of the Buddha image and the *bodhisattva* representations in Pagan temples. Aniruddha's votive tablet is a good example.<sup>93</sup> On this tablet, the Buddha at the center is under an arch supported by miniature pillars and topped by a *śikhara*; and on each side of him, separated by miniature pilasters, are the two *bodhisattvas* (Lokanātha and Maitreya).

Could this not be the representation of a temple in which the Buddha and the *bodhisattvas* were placed as in the image-houses of the Dhammarazaka (947), in the Nagayon temple (1192), etc.? Similar placement of the Buddha and the *bodhisattvas* are the Buddha flanked by the *bodhisattvas* either in paintings or on votive tablets. It is very likely that the placement of statues in Indian temples was the origin both of the votive tablets and of the Pagan temples.

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<sup>91</sup> Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism* 44.

<sup>92</sup> Mya's description of Anawrahta's votive tablet that has prompted me to form this idea may be cited here: "... The *calac* (pediment) stands on two *pwat tuiñ* (polished pillars) with a semi circular double rimmed top and three tiers. The *kwam:thoñ* (? *śikhara*—pinnacle) is like a drum with floral decorations. It is in three layers. The *āmalaka* (emblic myrobalan) tops the drum. These are crowned with a small *cetiya* from which two streamers fly in graceful curves. The whole top which is known as the *śikhara* looks like Mahābodhi stupa of Budh Gaya.... Mya, *Rhe:hoñ: Upkhwak* 1: 5. Translation by Than Tun, "History of Buddhism in Burma, A.D. 1000-1300," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon) 61.1-2 (1978): 169. Strachan, however, is of the opinion that the *bodhisattvas* from the votive tablets were absorbed "as *dvarapala*, or door guardians to the Theravada sanctuaries." Strachan, *Imperial Pagan* 27.

<sup>93</sup> Mya, *Rhe:hoñ: Upkhwak* 1: 12-13, Fig. 6-7. Kyansittha's queen also made a similar votive tablet. *Ibid.*, 30, Figs. 42a & b.

Comparable placements can be seen in many Pagan temples. However, the place for the *bodhisattvas* was not fixed. At Nagayon temple (1192) belonging to the 11<sup>th</sup> century, two brick and stucco standing images of *bodhisattvas* are placed in the entrance hall flanking the passageway leading to the sanctum. Two small plinths in the entrance hall of Abeyadana (1202), another 11<sup>th</sup>-century temple, suggest that this temple had the same placement. The same placement is followed in the paintings of two 13<sup>th</sup>-century temples (Thambula [482] and Azagona [588]).

In a 12<sup>th</sup>-century temple (monument 1467) and two 13<sup>th</sup>-century temples (monuments 473 and 653), the paintings of the *bodhisattvas* are found on the left and right walls of the vestibules. At Kondawgyi (monument 151; 13<sup>th</sup> century), the *bodhisattva* paintings are on the walls of the passageway connecting the entrance hall and the shrine. At monument 475 (13<sup>th</sup> century), the *bodhisattvas* are placed in the sanctum, facing the Buddha images in the center, and flanking the east vestibule.

At Linpyagu (monument 36; 12<sup>th</sup> century), the paintings of two *bodhisattvas* are placed on the side walls of the niches to the left and right of the Buddha, facing two umbrella-bearers (one is a multi-headed figure and probably Brahmā, the other is almost completely effaced, perhaps Indra). In three 13<sup>th</sup>-century temples (Chaukhpayahla [141], Ngahlathin Gu [1091] and monument 1170), the *bodhisattva* paintings are placed on the side walls of the vestibule or niches to the left and right of the Buddha image, the place where the umbrella-bearers are placed at Linpyagu, and are facing the same direction as the Buddha himself. Thaman Hpaya (monument 555; 13<sup>th</sup> century) is the only temple where these *bodhisattvas* are placed outside the temple. The figures of two *bodhisattvas* are carved on the exterior wall flanking the main entrance, and they in turn are flanked by two umbrella-bearers.

At Shweleik-u (257), the paintings are found on the wall against which the Buddha images are placed, and at Gubyaukgyi (298), they are found on the central core against which the main Buddha image is placed. At Hpayathonzu (477, 478 and 479), although the

placements of the *bodhisattvas* and the Buddhas are the same as that at Shweleik-u, the *bodhisattvas* are flanked by two *śaktis* each. Additionally, there are many other *bodhisattva* paintings there.

At Thamahti (926), a stupa temple which evolved from a Sinhalese-style stupa with square *harmikā*, two seated *bodhisattva* paintings, though near the entrance, are placed together with scenes from the life of the Buddha.

The differences in their placement do not imply any chronological sequence or any architectural feature.

#### 9.1.6. Floral Patterns and Paintings on Vaults

There are two noticeable differences between early temples and the later ones. Firstly, although no figures are included in the floral patterns of the early temples, heavenly figures, animals, etc. are part of the floral patterns in later temples.<sup>94</sup> Secondly, while the paintings under the vaults of the early temples are generally geometric patterns,<sup>95</sup> those of the later temples comprise numerous small Buddha figures. In some temples, numerous Buddha figures of the same size are painted.<sup>96</sup> In many temples, however, a Buddha figure flanked by two worshippers in a *prāsāda* or in a geometric pattern, surrounded by smaller Buddha or heavenly figures, and/or monks in adoration are painted on each side of the vaults.<sup>97</sup> With

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<sup>94</sup> For instance, see National University of Singapore, Mural Paintings of Pagan, disc 90\1148\03\details\P2150020-P2150026.tif; *ibid.*, disc 91\1149\03\details\P2150018.tif and P2150019.tif; *ibid.*, discs 7-9\0477\_478\_479\28\details\P1280035-P1280037.tif, and *passim*. At monument 1826, even the Jātaka scenes are placed in the floral paintings. *Ibid.*, discs 87-88\1826\01\details\P2140016-P2140022.tif, P2140028-P2140043.tif.

<sup>95</sup> The paintings under the vault of the 11<sup>th</sup>-century temples are not visible anymore. For the paintings in the 12<sup>th</sup>-century temples, see National University of Singapore, Mural Paintings of Pagan disc 2\0043\3\P1210011.tif; *ibid.*, disc 71\1478\09\details\P1290063-P1290065.tif; *ibid.*, discs 104-114\1580\P3100001.tif and P3100002.tif. These geometrical patterns are also used in the 13<sup>th</sup>-century temples: monuments 90, 145, 244, 245, 257, 555, 566, 588, 1046, 1051, 1170, 1218, 1255, 1416 and 1460.

<sup>96</sup> Monuments 75, 148, 151, 263, 298, 475, 477-478-479, 480, 482, 491, 506, 539, 558, 577, 660, 1148, 1165 and 1554. At monument 1482, Buddha figures with monks in adoration and Brahmā are painted. *Deva* figures covered the vaults of monument 483.

<sup>97</sup> Monuments 137, 141, 142, 298, 505, 652, 926, 1091, 1481, 1825, 1844 and 1846.

regard to different types of temples, the paintings under the vaults of all the temples, except one, with plain ground plans are geometric patterns.<sup>98</sup> In contrast, the vaults are covered with Buddha figures in most of the temples with redented outlines.<sup>99</sup>

## 9.2. CONNECTION WITH MAHAYANA AND THERAVADA

It is more than likely that all the existing temples except Abeyadana (1202) and Hpayathonzu (477, 478 and 479) are Theravada temples, although there was some Mahayana influence. Apart from the *bodhisattvas* either portrayed as *dvārapālas* or as attendants of the Buddha in some of these temples, almost all the paintings in them represent Theravada scenes: mostly from the *Jātaka* and the *Buddhavaṃsa*. This is proved by the captions beneath the paintings. Thambula temple (482) which, in Ray's opinion, is "notable" among the "temples which bear testimony to the once prevailing Mahāyāna and its allied cults" may be cited as an example.<sup>100</sup> Even though paintings of *bodhisattvas* (as *dvārapālas*) are present in this temple, the legends given below other paintings are in Pali language, and are clearly from the *Jātaka*, *Apadāna*, *Buddhavaṃsa* and the *Cariyapitaka* of the Khuddaka-nikāya of the Theravada canon.

On some walls of the East Katthapa temple (505) are figures of *bodhisattvas*, each with two *śaktis* seated on his knees. This temple is in the monastery of Mahākassapa (a prominent leader of the forest monks who apparently initiated Sangha reforms at Pagan by sending some Myanmar monks to Sri Lanka [see 6.2 [above]], and is named after him.

It can therefore be concluded that almost all the Pagan temples were Theravada temples, although the Theravadins of Pagan were influenced by Mahayana and Tantric

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<sup>98</sup> Monuments 244, 245, 1046 and 1051. Monument 480 is the only temple of this type with Buddha figures painted on vaults. However, it seems that the paintings in this temple belong to a much later date, because the green color of the Bodhi trees in these paintings are never found in Pagan-period paintings. See National University of Singapore, Mural Paintings of Pagan discs 49-50\0480\03\P1220009.tif.

<sup>99</sup> Monuments 75, 137, 141, 148, 151, 298, 475, 477-478-479, 480, 482, 491, 505, 506, 539, 558, 577, 652, 660, 926, 1091, 1148, 1165, 1481, 1554, 1825, 1844 and 1846.

<sup>100</sup> Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism* 56.

Buddhism. That the paintings of *bodhisattvas* are present at Gubyaukgyi (1323), at the dedication of which five *saṅgrī* acted as witnesses, and at East Katthapa (505), which was in the precincts of Phunmlatkrīcwā Mahākassapa, points to the fact that both *Saṅ* and *Phun* monks were influenced by Mahayana.

Abeyadana (1202) and Hpayathonzu (477, 478 and 479), however, seem to have been Mahayana temples. At Abeyadana, the walls of the corridor surrounding the inner sanctum “are largely Tāntric-Mahāyānist of the Bengal School, admitting also Vedic and later Hindu deities, notably Śiva.”<sup>101</sup> Ray and Luce have identified some *bodhisattva* figures (mainly Lokanātha and Tārā) as well as some Hindu deities (Yamunā, Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Devī, Rāma, Revanta, etc.).<sup>102</sup> Many deities, however, cannot be identified. There are no captions for these paintings. The figures in these paintings, like those in other 11<sup>th</sup>-century paintings, are Indian in physiognomy. Scenes from the Jātakas (with Mon captions) painted on the walls of the entrance hall are in a very bad state of preservation.

At the three adjoining temples (477, 478 and 479), collectively referred to as Hpayathonzu “Three Temples,” the walls of the sanctums are covered with paintings of *bodhisattvas* and *śaktis*. Jātakas and scenes from the life of the Buddha are painted in the entrance halls and in the corridors connecting the sanctums. Although there are no captions, the scenes from the Buddha’s life are similar to those in other Theravada temples.

It is clear that Mahayana was more important for the Buddhists connected with these two temples. Though scenes from the Theravada canon are found in these temples (Jātaka scenes at both Abeyadana and Hpayathonzu, and probably scenes from Buddha’s life at Hpayathonzu), the placement of the paintings indicates that representations of Mahayana deities were more important in these temples.

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<sup>101</sup> Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* 1: 322.

<sup>102</sup> Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism* 58-61; and Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* 1: 200, 321-344.

Thus, even though the inscriptions do not disclose the existence of any Buddhist sect(s) other than the monks with *Saṅ* and *Phun* titles at Pagan, it is clear that there were a few Mahayanists there throughout the Pagan period.

The main difference between the Mahayana paintings in early temples and those of the later ones lies in the representations of *śaktis* (*bodhisattvas*' consorts). Although *śaktis* occur in the paintings of Abeyadana (1202) and Gubyaukgyi (1323), they are portrayed as worshipping the *bodhisattvas*. In later temples, such as Hpayathonzu (477, 478 and 479) and East Katthapa (505), the paintings reflect their intimate relationships with the *bodhisattvas*. However, the paintings are not really erotic—in no paintings are a *bodhisattva* and his *śakti* in the famous *yab-yum* position (having sex seated) of Tantrayana (Tantric Buddhism). In some paintings, the *bodhisattva* is embracing his *śakti*(s);<sup>103</sup> in some, two *śaktis* are seated on each knee of the *bodhisattva*.<sup>104</sup> Ray's statement with regard to Hpayathonzu and Nandaminnya (577) that "their poses and attitudes are erotic and suggestive,"<sup>105</sup> and Duroiselle's remark that "some [paintings] in the Nandamaññā are of a character so vulgarly erotic and revolting"<sup>106</sup> are exaggerations. It is true that some women naked to the waist are portrayed in some panels at Nandaminnya.<sup>107</sup> However, they are in a group of women and not with a *bodhisattva* or with a man. There certainly are some episodes in the Theravada canon which could have been illustrated as such. Boke, the late archaeologist from Pagan, assumed that one of the

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<sup>103</sup> See, for example, National University of Singapore, Mural Paintings of Pagan, discs 7-9\0477\_478\_479\25\details\P1280059.tif.

<sup>104</sup> See, for example, National University of Singapore, Mural Paintings of Pagan, discs 55-62\0505\16\details\P1210015-P1210017.tif.

<sup>105</sup> Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism* 52.

<sup>106</sup> Chas. Duroiselle, "The Aris of Burma and Tantric Buddhism," in *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report* (1915-16): 82-83, 93.

<sup>107</sup> National University of Singapore, Mural Paintings of Pagan, discs 10-11\0577\16\details\P1290022.tif and P1290027.tif.



scenes represents the event in which the daughters of Māra (the Evil One) tried to seduce the Buddha.<sup>108</sup>

Although the worship of *bodhisattva* was prevalent in Sri Lanka, the style of the Mahayana representations and votive tablets unearthed around Pagan indicates that the *bodhisattva*-cult in Pagan was more influenced by north Indian Mahayana. After stating that “Mahayana temple forms and designs, and *even practices*, were applied to magnify the rational of the orthodox Theravada religion” (emphasis added), Strachan asserts that some scholars “exaggerated the place of Mahayana in Pagan’s religious life.”<sup>109</sup> To him, the representations of *bodhisattvas* in Pagan temples were subsidiary to the Buddha icon, and were “more like a colourful and flamboyant ‘wallpaper’,”<sup>110</sup> or were placed as *dvārapālas*.<sup>111</sup> As he gives no other reason, this conclusion can be true only if the Buddha was not important to the Mahayanists. It should be borne in mind that whereas the worship of *bodhisattvas* was limited to Mahayana, that of the Buddha was not limited to Theravada. Buddha-worship was very important to the Mahayanists too. In fact, the Mahayanists hold that the Buddha is “transcendental, eternal and absolute, and as such he saves all beings by the use of his Three Bodies (*trikāya*) ...”<sup>112</sup> Therefore, the author of the Mahayana-Staddhotpada Shastra invoked at the beginning of his work: “I take refuge in the Buddha, the greatly Compassionate One, the Savior of the world, omnipotent, omnipresent, omniscient, of most excellent deeds in all

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<sup>108</sup> Boke (U), *Pugan̄ Sutesana Lam:ñhwan* [Guide to Researches on Pagan] (Yangon: Sarpe Beikman, 1981) 388-389. Strachan also believes the same; however, he does not refer to Boke. Strachan, *Imperial Pagan* 134. See also National University of Singapore, Mural Paintings of Pagan, discs 10-11\0577\16\details\P1290022.tif.

<sup>109</sup> Strachan, *Imperial Pagan* 10.

<sup>110</sup> Strachan, *Imperial Pagan* 94.

<sup>111</sup> Strachan, *Imperial Pagan* 27.

<sup>112</sup> (Bikshu) Sthavira Sangharakshita, *A Survey of Buddhism* (London: Tharpa, 1957; 6<sup>th</sup> edition, 1987) 32-33.

the ten directions ...”<sup>113</sup> The fact that *bodhisattvas* were those who were intent upon becoming Buddhas (but have not become so yet) clearly indicates that the Buddha was higher than *bodhisattvas*. Hence, if a Buddha image is present, the representations of the *bodhisattvas* would have to be subsidiary to him. Further, it was the Mahayanists who introduced the Buddha image; the Theravadins adopted it only at a later date. Therefore, although the presence of *bodhisattvas* indicates the influence of Mahayana, the preeminent position of the Buddha image does not necessarily prove the predominance of Theravada.

### 9.3. STYLE

Luce studied the Buddha images of the early Pagan period and pointed out that their origin was Bengal in northern India.<sup>114</sup> He also states: “It seems that in painting, the seeds of Bengal tradition fell on fruitful ground.”<sup>115</sup> Ray also believes that the paintings in the 11<sup>th</sup>-century temples are closely similar “to the classical Indian style represented in almost contemporary manuscript paintings of Bengal.”<sup>116</sup> This also agrees with the fact that the Devanagari scripts in the early Pagan votive tablets are closely akin to those in Bihar and Bengal in northern India (see above [on page 46]).<sup>117</sup> Additionally, that Kyansittha sent a mission to India to repair the temple at Bodh Gaya as well as the mention of many Indian (OM *kulā*) slaves including artisans and craftsmen in the inscriptions also indicate Pagan’s close relations with northern India.

In the paintings of Pagan temples, form is rendered by lines, and different colors are applied in well-defined planes. Nevertheless, the artists used tonal gradations, at least in

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<sup>113</sup> Yoshito S. Hakeda, trans., *The Awakening of Faith (Mahayana-Sraddhotpada Shastra)*, (Columbia UP, 1967), electronic document, True Buddha School Net, 25 August 2000 <<http://www.tbsn.org/english/stframe.htm>>

<sup>114</sup> Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* 1: 132, fn. 9. With regard to the Buddha images in *pralambanāsana* and *dharmacakra mudrā*, he states that the Myanmar images agree with India rather than with Dvāravatī.

<sup>115</sup> Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* 1: 183.

<sup>116</sup> Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism* 58, fn. 1.

<sup>117</sup> See also Mya, *Rhe:hoi: Upkhwak* 1: 18; and Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism* 31-33.

some temples, to express depth, thus giving the paintings a sort of three-dimensionality. Color modeling is clearly visible in the painting depicting Māra's attack at Gubyaukgyi (1323) belonging to the early 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>118</sup> Boke has noticed that color modeling is applied in the paintings in a 13<sup>th</sup>-century monument (1170), even though the artists relied on outline for the definition of form.<sup>119</sup> It is fortunate that the walls of this temple were covered with debris which protected the paintings from discoloration. The paintings in another 13<sup>th</sup>-century temple (monument 1046) include two portraits—one of a man and the other of a lady, both in three-quarter view. The artists gave plasticity to these paintings by using lines of varied thickness augmented by tonal modeling. However, no similar paintings exist at Pagan; hence it is impossible to determine whether or not the paintings and temple belong to the same date.<sup>120</sup> In most temples, however, the paintings are in a bad state of preservation. Tonal gradations, if any, are not readily apparent. Even when the paintings are comparatively well-preserved, preservation works make it impossible to find out whether the artists used color modeling or not.<sup>121</sup>

Studying the paintings at Abeyadana (1202), Strachan observes:

At Pagan, at this time, there were two current painting idioms, one for the Theravada derived narratives, for example, Jataka painting that was based on a plastic idiom, two dimensional and utilizing several spatial planes, in which form is modeled by the play of light and shade and is derived from the Ajanta tradition of wall painting. The second

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<sup>118</sup> See Strachan, *Imperial Pagan*, Fig. 13 (between pages 37 and 38).

<sup>119</sup> Boke, *Pugan Sutesana* 56. The paintings in this temple are recorded by the National University of Singapore. However, the quality of digital images is not good enough to determine whether or not color modeling was applied in these paintings. National University of Singapore, *Mural Paintings of Pagan discs*, 132-133.

<sup>120</sup> Monument 1046. National University of Singapore, *Mural Paintings of Pagan*, disc 85.

<sup>121</sup> The paintings in well-preserved temples were cleaned and coated with some chemicals in the 1970s. Because this chemical coating causes discoloration, the Archaeology Department is now cleaning them again and coating them with different chemicals. This process of cleaning and re-cleaning of the paintings and discoloration caused by some chemicals as well as by light and moisture would have made slight differences in tones invisible. Unfortunately, there is no other way to preserve these paintings. The Myanmar Archaeology Department has been carrying out this task with well-trained technicians and with the aid of a UNESCO expert.

idiom was more linear and florid in tendency and was usually employed for the depiction of decorative figures and motifs that are often spuriously described as Mahayana, or even Tantra, in origin. It is this second idiom that decorates the ambulatory walls here at the Abe-ya-dana ...<sup>122</sup>

He named the style of these two idioms 'narrative style' and 'decorative style.' He stressed that the paintings in Abeyadana as well as Mahayanist paintings in all other temples are in 'decorative style,' while the paintings recounting scenes from the Theravada scriptures are in 'narrative style.' However, it does not seem to be that simple. First, they might well be called 'narrative' and 'iconographic.' It seems that the artists failed to convey depth not only in the paintings of *bodhisattvas*, but also in those of the Buddha when he is not part of a scene. When they are presented alone, it is impossible to express depth by utilizing multiple spatial planes. They are iconographic or symbolic. Take, for example, one of the paintings illustrating the twenty-eight Buddhas at Gubyaukgyi (298). The artists' skill in tonal modeling is visible in the manner in which they painted the Bodhi trees with different shades of green. Notwithstanding the fact that different shades are applied to separate leaves well defined by contour lines, the trees look three-dimensional. The representations of Buddhas, in contrast, are dull and flat. The relative position of the Buddhas, the temples and trees is expressed only by overlapping.<sup>123</sup> The trees in the so-called Tantric cave scenes in the Abeyadana (1202) are painted in the same way as in Gubyaukgyi (298), though depth is not conveyed in the paintings of *bodhisattvas*, *śaktis*, etc.<sup>124</sup> Was this their way of expressing otherworldliness?

It is very likely that the artists had to follow strict rules in painting the objects of worship. At least in painting the Buddha(s), the uniformity of lines as well as the proportion of the Buddhas reflects the painstaking care the artists took.

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<sup>122</sup> Strachan, *Imperial Pagan* 60-61.

<sup>123</sup> National University of Singapore, Mural Paintings of Pagan, discs 63-65\0298\05\details\P1270038.tif, P1270040.tif, and *passim*.

<sup>124</sup> National University of Singapore, Mural Paintings of Pagan, discs 116-125\1202\15\new folder\P2250743.tif.

Whether or not color modeling is used in the paintings in Abeyadana cannot be ascertained.<sup>125</sup> However, note that they are the same as the paintings of Theravada scenes in Nagayon in that they lack the well-pronounced black lines separating each color (though the colors contrast greatly), which became a norm in the 13<sup>th</sup>-century paintings.<sup>126</sup> Although the paintings in Abeyadana differ greatly from those of Nagayon with regard to subject matter, they are similar in that yellowish color predominates in both of them. There is no stylistic difference whatsoever between the scenes of Māra's attack at Abeyadana and those at Nagayon,<sup>127</sup> and between the men in adoration at Abeyadana and those at Nagayon.<sup>128</sup>

Thus, when the icons in Abeyadana paintings are compared to the icons in Nagayon paintings, and when the narrative scenes in Abeyadana are compared to the narrative scenes in Nagayon, there is no stylistic difference between the paintings of these two temples.

Later paintings, such as those in Hpayathonzu (477, 478 and 479), Thambula (482), etc., are in a predominantly linear style, and the lines defining forms are well pronounced and somewhat angular.<sup>129</sup> The use of angular contour is a distinctive feature of the Jaina miniature

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<sup>125</sup> It should be noted here that the paintings in Gubyaukgyi (1323) have been cleaned only once (under the supervision of a UNESCO expert from ICCROM), whereas those in the Abeyadana have been cleaned twice because the chemical coating formerly applied caused discoloration.

<sup>126</sup> For example, see National University of Singapore, Mural Paintings of Pagan, discs 116-125\1202\16\new folder\P2230415.tif, and *ibid.*, discs 104-114\1580\05\P3110041.tif for the 11<sup>th</sup>- and 12<sup>th</sup>-century paintings, respectively; and see *ibid.*, discs 7-9\0477\_478\_479\25\details\P1280059.tif, and *ibid.*, discs 30-36\0482\20\details\P1140040.tif for the 13<sup>th</sup>-century paintings.

<sup>127</sup> National University of Singapore, Mural Paintings of Pagan, discs 116-125\1202\19\P3120064.tif; and *ibid.*, discs 93-103\1192\d1\100OLYMP\P2190008-P2190010.tif.

<sup>128</sup> National University of Singapore, Mural Paintings of Pagan, discs 116-125\1202\17\P3120067.tif; and *ibid.*, discs 93-103\1192\2\01\P2280049.tif.

<sup>129</sup> See, for example, the profile of the Buddha in the paintings of Thambula (482) (National University of Singapore, Mural Paintings of Pagan, discs 30-36\0482\20\details\P1140040.tif); and the representations of *śaktis* at Hpayathonzu (477, 478 and 479) (*ibid.*, discs 7-9\0477\_478\_479\25\details\P1280059.tif).

paintings from western India.<sup>130</sup> This is probably why Ray observes that the paintings of the 13<sup>th</sup> century “seem to owe their affiliation to the somewhat later tradition of Nepalese paintings as well as that of Jain manuscript paintings of Western India.”<sup>131</sup> However, it is important to note that it seems that color modeling was not discarded even though later paintings are in linear style. Tonal gradations applied within well-defined lines are visible in the paintings of a few later temples: monument 1170,<sup>132</sup> 148,<sup>133</sup> Nandaminnya (577),<sup>134</sup> and 1844,<sup>135</sup> all belonging to the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The fact that they are not readily apparent in the majority of temples is probably because of discoloration caused mainly by light and moisture and partly by the process of cleaning and coating them with chemicals.

To conclude, the subjects of the paintings as well as of sculpture prove without a doubt that the majority of the Pagan monuments were Theravada monuments, though with some Mahayana influence. Neither the monks of the earlier sect (those with *Saṅi* titles) nor those of the later sect (those with *Phun* titles) were free from Mahayana influence. However, the nature of this influence changed with time. While the Mahayana *bodhisattvas* as well as *śaktis* are present in both the earlier and later temples, it is only in the later temples that the intimacy between the *bodhisattvas* and their *śaktis* is visible. Thus, the Tantric idea of taking female energies by sexual union came to Pagan only in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. However, even at

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<sup>130</sup> John Guy, *Palm-leaf and Paper: Illustrated Manuscripts of India and Southeast Asia* (with an essay by O.P. Agrawal) (Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, 1994) 22-25, Fig. 11.

<sup>131</sup> Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism* 58, fn. 1.

<sup>132</sup> See footnote 119 (above).

<sup>133</sup> National University of Singapore, Mural Paintings of Pagan, discs 3-4\0148\3\details\P1240014.tif; and *ibid.*, 0148\5\details\P1240070.tif.

<sup>134</sup> National University of Singapore, Mural Paintings of Pagan, discs 10-11\0577\09\details\P1290027.tif.

<sup>135</sup> National University of Singapore, Mural Paintings of Pagan, disc 90\1844\03\P3160010.tif. The paintings in this temple probably belong to a later date. All the images in this temple were repaired by the Saṅgharāja Mahāmahinda in AD 1639. Than Tun, “Defacing Old Bagan,” in *idem* (ed.), *Pugaṇi Laksac Nhai’ Akhrā: Cātam:myā: [“Defacing Old Bagan” and other articles]*, (Mandalay: Kyibwaye Press, 1996) 194.

that time, there were no paintings representing a *bodhisattva* with his *śakti* in *yab-yum* position. Eroticism was avoided.

The style of the art objects indicates that the Buddhist art of Pagan had its origins in northern India. As Pagan had continued contacts with northern India, Pala influence is visible in early art objects. The 13<sup>th</sup>-century paintings, however, bear some west Indian influence. It is very likely that the Muslim invasion caused the migration of Indians from western India to Bengal, from where some of them came to Pagan and some went to Nepal. Even though the early painting style with color modeling gave way to the linear style in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the artists of Pagan continued to use color modeling though it was integrated with the linear style.

## 10. CONCLUSION

As Myanmar had contacts both with India and Sri Lanka throughout the Pagan period, Buddhism in Myanmar may be understood better in the light of these contacts. The effects of Myanmar's contacts with these two countries are reflected in the inscriptions as well as in the art and architecture of Pagan. Therefore, a summary of the previous chapters will be given here, and the possible effects of Pagan's foreign contacts will be discussed.

### 10.1. BUDDHISM IN PAGAN

Although not much is known about the religion of the Myanmars before Aniruddha's reign (1044-1077) due to the lack of contemporary records, spirit-worship was an indigenous religion. Even after becoming Buddhists, the Myanmars did not forsake spirit-worship. *Nāga*-worship also was prevalent. Whether it was an indigenous cult or whether it came from India is not known. This worship also persisted at least till the reign of King Kyansittha (1084-1113). Apart from these two cults, there was the religion of the *arañ*. Our present knowledge of the *arañ* is meager. According to the chronicles, the *arañ* wore black or dark blue robes, were connected with *nāga*-worship and were practicing the custom of deflowering brides prevalent in Southeast Asia. Their cult object was neither a spirit nor a Buddha image, and the chroniclers do not regard them as Buddhists.

During the Pagan period, however, the *arañ* were behaving somewhat like Buddhists: they were making donations to stupas and were receiving Buddha images and alms-bowls from a donor at a Buddhist ceremony. Nevertheless, they were not regarded as members of the Sangha. Duroiselle and Ray's connection of the *arañ* with the mural paintings of Hpayathonzu and Nandaminnya temples at Minnanthu is not supported by evidence. Than Tun and Luce's connection of the *arañ* with the forest monks of Pagan is not convincing



either. First, the chroniclers, who describe the *arañ* very badly, have a very high regard for the forest monks of Pagan; secondly, the chroniclers do not even regard the *arañ* as Buddhist monks; thirdly, neither the chroniclers nor the inscriptions ever mixed up the *arañ* with forest monks; and lastly, the sect of forest monks with *Phun* titles came into existence only after Kyansittha's reign.

The chroniclers describe how Buddhism was introduced to Pagan. According to them, Shin Arahan came either from Thaton or Śrī Kṣetra and converted Aniruddha to Buddhism. As the king of Thaton refused to give him a set of the Buddhist canon, Aniruddha defeated Thaton in AD 1057-58 and obtained thirty sets of the canon as well as many learned monks and artisans. That Aniruddha conquered Thaton might have been true because his votive tablets are found in Lower Myanmar. However, neither that he conquered Thaton nor that Buddhism was introduced from Thaton is recorded in any contemporary epigraphs. Moreover, no contemporary religious buildings comparable to Pagan temples exist at Thaton. It is probable that this legend was created by the royal chroniclers either before Dhammaceti's reign (1472-1492) to justify the expansionist policy of the Myanmar kings, or during Dhammaceti's reign to justify his religious reforms or to imply that Myanmar culture was entirely derived from the Mons.

Historical evidence indicates that both Mahayana and Theravada forms of Buddhism existed among the Pyus since about the 7<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup> century AD. The Mons also seem to have become Buddhists by about the same time.

At Pagan, Aniruddha's votive tablets have been recovered, and the scripts of the Sanskrit inscriptions stamped on them are similar to the 9<sup>th</sup>-century Devanagari script used in Bengal and Bihar. Therefore, it can safely be assumed that the Myanmars had some Sanskrit texts and had learnt Sanskrit language by about the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD (i.e. soon after they had entered the central plains of Myanmar), either through direct contacts with northern India

(which at that time was a Mahayana center) or from the Pyus and the Mons who were already in central Myanmar at that time and who had continued contacts with northern India.

The fact that Aniruddha sent Buddhist monks as well as Buddhist scriptures to Sri Lanka when King Vijayabāhu I (1065-1120) purified the Sinhalese Sangha proves that there were Theravada scriptures in Pagan at that time and that the Sinhalese regarded Pagan as a Theravada kingdom. Nevertheless, the use of Sanskrit language by Aniruddha and the *bodhisattva* figures on the early votive tablets suggest that the earliest form of Buddhism professed by the Myanmars was Mahayana or was greatly influenced by Mahayana. On one of his tablets representing Bodhisattva Lokanātha, Aniruddha records his donation in Pali language in Myanmar characters (derived from Mon script). Therefore, it is clear that he still had faith in Mahayana even though he was, or had become, a Theravadin.

## 10.2. BUDDHIST SANGHA

No thorough study of the Buddhist Sangha of Pagan has been made so far. Scholars, such as Ray and Mendelson, generally follow the statements in the chronicles when they refer to the Buddhist Sangha of the Pagan period. Than Tun is the only one who has studied the Pagan Sangha from the contemporary inscriptions. However, his study is limited to the forest monks, and his conclusion that the forest monks and the Sinhalese-educated monks were rivals (based on his assumption that the forest monks and the *arañ* were the same) is not supported by evidence.

The chroniclers divide the Buddhist Sangha of the Pagan period into two sects: the Arahanta Sangha (Arahan's Fraternity) and the Sīhala Sangha (Sinhalese Fraternity). The Arahanta Sangha was the earliest fraternity in Myanmar and hence is also referred to as the Purima Sangha (the Former Order). The Sīhala Sangha was founded later by Chappada (who had been ordained in Sri Lanka) and his associates and hence is referred to as the Pacchima Sangha (the Latter Order). The chronicles also state that this Sīhala Sangha fragmented into three different sects in the wake of Chappada's death.

The monks mentioned in the inscriptions also can be divided primarily into two groups: a group of monks having *Saṅi* titles and the other with *Phun* titles. As the word *saṅi* in *Saṅi* titles used by these monks derived from Sanskrit/Pali *saṅgha* through Old Mon *saṅi* (meaning, “monk”), this sect probably was founded by the Mons in central Myanmar, from whom the Myanmars received Buddhism when they entered the area in about the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD. This sect might also have included the Myanmar monks converted by the Mons as well as the Mon monks who settled in Pagan or who were relocated by Aniruddha after his conquest of Lower Myanmar. *Phun* monks are mentioned only from Alaungsithu’s reign onwards. They were certainly connected with the Sinhalese Sangha: most of the monks whom either the chroniclers or the inscriptions mentioned as having visited Sri Lanka had *Phun* titles. The prayers in the inscriptions as well as the mural paintings in the temples indicate that both *Saṅi* and *Phun* monks were influenced by Mahayanism.

Apart from these different titles of reference, the inscriptions also refer to forest dwellers and *paṃsukūlikas* (rag-robe wearers). Although the inscriptions never refer to town or village dwellers, the locations of some monasteries and the references to forest monks in contrast with other monks indicate that there were monks who could be termed town/village dwellers. Both the forest dwellers and the *paṃsukūlikas* used *Phun* titles and are often mentioned together with *Phun* monks in the inscriptions. Therefore, the forest dwellers and the *paṃsukūlikas* most likely were branches of the *Phun* sect.

Thus, the *Saṅi* sect was the earlier sect and the *Phun* sect was the later one, with forest dwellers and *paṃsukūlikas* attached to it. Although the chroniclers claimed that Arahan was the founder of the earliest Buddhist Sangha (the Arahanta Sangha) at Pagan, the fact that the Myanmars became Buddhists before Arahan’s time indicates that there was a sect of Buddhist monks before Arahan. Hence, Arahan could not have been the founder of the earliest Buddhist sect of Pagan. Lack of inscriptions makes it impossible to determine whether there was another sect before the *Saṅi* sect. However, it is certain that the *Phun* monks were

connected with the Sangha of Sri Lanka, and it might therefore have been the same as the Sīhala or Pacchima Sangha mentioned in the Myanmar chronicles. However, the founder of this sect cannot be Chappada as the chroniclers have asserted because the *Phun* monks existed before Chappada's mission.

As discussed above (5.1.1.1 & 6.1), Chappada's mission might have been later than the date mentioned in the chronicles, and might be connected with the Sangha reforms initiated by the *Phun* monks in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. This Sangha reform probably was initiated by the forest monks led by Mahākassapa. Even though Mahākassapa himself did not go to Sri Lanka, two monks who went there (i.e. Dhammasiri and Subhūtica) had witnessed the donation of a forest monastery together with him. Additionally, Ānanda (probably the same as Ānanda of Chappada's mission) who came from Sri Lanka and "cleansed the Religion" in Pagan was a forest monk. However, there is no evidence that the monks connected with this reform established a new sect.

Although there is no reason to believe that the *Saṅ* and *Phun* monks had different religious ideals, there are indications that they belonged to different lineage traditions. As Mahāvihāra was not only the strongest sect in Sri Lanka, but was regarded as the most orthodox Theravada sect, the Myanmar chroniclers usually trace the lineage of a monk for whom they have high regard to this sect. It is more than likely that the *Phun* sect in Pagan was established after the Sangha reforms in Sri Lanka under the leadership of a forest monk of the Mahāvihāra, and that this sect with branches of forest dwellers and *paṃsukūlikas* belonged to the Mahāvihāra tradition (see 5. Buddhist Sects II [above]).

The *Saṅ* sect grew till 1201-1225, when it was stronger than the *Phun* sect. However, from this time onwards, the *Phun* sect continued to grow rapidly, whereas the *Saṅ* sect began to decline. The proportion of the events connected with *Saṅ* monks relative to those with *Phun* monks mentioned in the inscriptions became 1:2.5 in 1226-1250 and 1:5 in 1251-1275. From 1276-1300 onwards, the *Phun* sect also gradually declined. Nevertheless, it was much

stronger than the *Saṅḡi* sect till the close of the Pagan period. The rapid increase of the *Phun* monks between AD 1226 and 1250 suggests that this period coincided with the Sangha reforms initiated by the *Phun* monks. That the decline of the *Saṅḡi* sect was gradual indicates that it was not persecuted by royal authority. It seems that the *Saṅḡi* monks just lost support from the people.

The decline of the *Phun* sect in the last quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century was mainly due to the decline of Pagan's economy, resulted from the Mongol invasion, and partly due to the change in the nature of the inscriptions and the monks' use of a new Myanmar title, *Syaṅḡi*.

### 10.3. ARCHITECTURE

The proportion of the monuments constructed in the 11<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup> and the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries AD is 2:9:59. The rapid increase of Buddhist monuments in the latter half of the Pagan period certainly was connected with Pagan's economic growth. As has been discussed, cultivation was expanded significantly from Narapatisithu's reign onwards. However, this does not explain why the temples became more popular than the stupa or why smaller buildings became more popular than the large buildings, etc. Some differences in architecture may be due to the change in Sangha and thus connected with Pagan's contacts with Sri Lanka, while others may be connected with Pagan's contacts with India and with other Southeast Asian countries; yet some changes certainly must have evolved indigenously. Additionally, many changes might have been due to more than one reason.

#### 10.3.1. Temples and Stupas

There are some differences between the plans of early Pagan temples and later ones. All the 11<sup>th</sup>-century temples have plain ground plans. Temples with redented ground plans were introduced in the 12<sup>th</sup> century and became the majority in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Spatially, temples with plain ground plans are found only in Pagan proper, Myinkaba and Wetkyi-in

villages. Temples with redented ground plans, however, are scattered all over Pagan and its environs.

That the Mon inscriptions are connected only with the temples with plain ground plans and that the plans of all the temples known to belong to the *Phun* monks have redented ground plans suggest that this change is related with changes in the Sangha. However, it is equally possible that the change in temple plans was caused by the influx of northern Indians and/or by the Pagan's contacts with other Southeast Asian countries. It is impossible to determine the definite reason with the data available. In addition, whatever was/were the reason(s), local preference would also have played an important role.

Temples can also be categorized by the number of image(s) they contained. Single-image temples were the commonest type throughout the Pagan period, and made up 55% of the 11<sup>th</sup>-century temples. Their increase (to 65% and 76% in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries respectively) most likely was due partly to the growth of the *Phun* sect. The *Phun* monks preferred multi-building monasteries, which resulted in the construction of small temples and stupas attached to monasteries. Even though the number of monuments rose rapidly in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, that of large monuments tapered off (to 16% and 3% respectively from 27% in the 11<sup>th</sup> century).

Two-image temples were constructed from the 12<sup>th</sup> century AD onwards. These temples formed 23% and 21% of the multiple-image temples belonging to the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. However, whereas two images were placed in the same sanctum in earlier temples, attempts were made in later temples to subordinate one of the images by placing it in the secondary shrine at the back of the temple. The two images probably represented Gotama and Maitreya and were connected with Mahayana (see 7.1.2 [above]).

Twenty-seven percent of the temples (or 66% of multiple-image ones) belonging to the 11<sup>th</sup> century are three-image temples. No such temples were built in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Although revived in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, they represented only 1% of the temples (or 4% of

multiple-image temples). It is not known what the three images represent. They probably symbolize the three bodies (*tri kāya*) of the Buddha, a Mahayana concept.

Four-image temples made up 18% of the temples in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, and increased to 27% in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The decrease to 15% in the 13<sup>th</sup> century was probably due partly to the introduction of five-image temples and partly to the fact that the people were building smaller temples. These four-image temples were quite popular among the forest monks, probably because they were comparable to the Sinhalese *stupagharas* (in which four images were placed around a stupa). Even though no buildings similar to Sinhalese *stupagharas* have been found in Pagan, there are three temples (Asawkyun [491], Theinmazi [85] and monument 475) that probably were the Myanmar version of *stupagharas*. In these temples were placed a stupa surrounded by four Buddha images. (Two of them, Asawkyun and monument 475, are in the precincts of the forest monastery of Mahākassapa.)

Five-image temples came into being only in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The future Buddha Maitreya is placed in these temples as if he had attained Buddhahood. Apart from a temple comparable to the *paṭimāghara* at Madirigirya, Sri Lanka, all the five-image temples are pentagonal structures. Pagan is the only place where the pentagonal structures existed in the 13<sup>th</sup> century and it is certain that these structures evolved indigenously.

Another noticeable change can be seen in the temple tops. In the 11<sup>th</sup> century, there were more temples topped with stupa than with *sikhara* (75% versus 25%). In the 12<sup>th</sup> century, however, stupa became less popular than *sikhara* (30% versus 70%). Stupa tops regained popularity in the 13<sup>th</sup> century to 46%.

Connected with this change in the temple tops is the change in temple-stupa ratio. Of all the monuments of worship belonging to the 11<sup>th</sup> century, 39% are temples and 61% are stupas. Temples became much more popular than stupas in the 12<sup>th</sup> century (62% against 38%). There is only a slight change in temple-stupa ratio in the 13<sup>th</sup> century (65% against

35%). Thus, the cult object of the people of Pagan seems to have changed swiftly from stupa to image in the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

Pagan had contacts both with Sri Lanka and India at this time. If this change of cult object resulted from Pagan's contacts with Sri Lanka, temples should become even more popular in the 13<sup>th</sup> century when the *Phun* sect became much stronger than the *Sani* sect. In addition, even though temples had become popular in Sri Lanka by this time too, the stupa was still an important cult object there. That the temples topped with stupa regained popularity in the 13<sup>th</sup> century might have resulted from the Myanmars' attempt to preserve stupa-worship and thus was connected with Myanmar's contacts with Sri Lanka. It seems that the people were trying to combine image-worship and stupa-worship.

The popularity of temples very probably was connected with the influx of Indians fleeing the Muslim invasion. Even if this influx did not affect the faith of the Pagan Buddhists considerably, it would have resulted in cheap labor skilled in temple building. Many Indian slaves including artisans and craftsmen are mentioned in the inscriptions. (The fact that only *kulā kywan* "Indian slaves" are mentioned in the inscriptions does not necessarily mean that all the Indian immigrants in Pagan were slaves. In fact, slaves are the only ones the inscriptions usually refer to by race. Even though the inscriptions mention Indian slaves [OM *kulā kywan*], Myanmar slaves [OM *mranmā kywan*], Karen slaves [OM *kamīram kywan*], etc., they never refer to Indian monks, Myanmar monks or Karen monks. References to a few Cambodian monks and Sinhalese monks are exceptions, probably indicating their rarity.)

The plans of some early temples with inner sanctums (such as Pahtothamya [1605], Nagayon [1192], etc) are comparable to those of the *gandhakuṭī paṭimāgharas* of Sri Lanka. However, it is difficult to determine whether the Pagan temples derived from Sri Lanka or whether they share a common source. It is not impossible that these temples derived from Sri Lanka, because the Mons in Lower Myanmar certainly had contacts with Sri Lanka before



Aniruddha conquered them. The Sinhalese chronicle's reference to Aniruddha as "prince of Rāmañña" highlights this point. The earlier stupas with square *harmikā* (such as East and West Hpetleik [1030 and 1031]) might also have been the result of this contact. Later stupas with square *harmikā* and the temples which evolved out of these stupas are generally connected with *Phun* monks.

### 10.3.2. Monasteries

Monasteries can be divided into two types: single-building monasteries and multi-building monasteries. Single-building monasteries are multiple-cell buildings, each serving as an individual monastery. Each of these buildings, such as the Somingyi (1147), consists of a cell serving as a shrine room, a courtyard probably serving as an *uposathaghara* as well as a preaching hall and a classroom, and small cells, some serving as monks' bedrooms and some possibly as service rooms. All the existing single-building monasteries in Pagan belong to the 12<sup>th</sup> century AD, and it is more than likely that they were used by the *Saṅgha* monks. The fact that similar buildings have been unearthed at Taxila and Nalanda indicates that northern India was the origin of these monasteries.

The majority of Pagan monasteries, however, are multi-building monasteries. They have separate buildings for places of worship, monks' residences, *uposathaghara*, library, etc. What buildings a monastery comprised depended on its size. The smallest monastery may contain only a single-cell building with a *maṇḍapa* attached to it. The building would be the monk's/monks' bedroom, the *maṇḍapa* would serve as a hall where the monks could assemble and as a preaching hall, and a temple and/or stupa nearby would serve as place(s) of worship. Many monasteries were built near large temples and stupas. A large multi-building monastery, such as the Lemyethna monastic complex, however, contains many buildings: temples and stupas, *sim* or *uposathaghara*, preaching hall, library, residential buildings, etc. This practice of having separate buildings for different purposes came from Sri Lanka. All

the monasteries known to belong to the *Phun* monks are of this type. However, it is not known whether all the monasteries of this type belonged to the *Phun* monks.

All the multi-building monasteries except two buildings attached to Paungku Hpaya (1339) belong to the 13<sup>th</sup> century. If Pichard's suggestion that these two buildings were monasteries and that they belong to the 11<sup>th</sup> century is correct, it is probable that *Saṅ* monks were using this type of monasteries too.

A few monastic complexes certainly derived from the *pabbata vihāras* of Sri Lanka, all of them belonging to the 13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> century AD. One of them, the Lemyethna complex, belonged to the forest monks with *Phun* titles.

#### 10.4. ART

The subjects of the paintings as well as of sculptures in the Pagan temples indicate that almost all the temples were Theravada temples even though Mahayana figures are often present in them. The paintings show that neither the *Saṅ* nor *Phun* monks were free from Mahayana influence. In two temples, Abeyadana (1202) and Hpayathonzu (477, 478 and 479), however, Mahayana and Tantric paintings are dominant, and it seems that Mahayanism (including Tantricism) was more important for the worshippers at these temples.

The main difference between Mahayana influence in the earlier temples and the later ones is that while the *bodhisattvas* and *śaktis* are present in both the earlier and later temples, it is only in later temples that the intimacy between the *bodhisattvas* and their *śaktis* is visible. It therefore seems that the Tantric idea of taking female energies by sexual union entered Pagan only in the late period. However, a *bodhisattva* and his *śakti* are never portrayed in the famous *yab-yum* position. Eroticism was avoided. Duroiselle and Ray's remarks on the eroticism of the paintings in Hpayathonzu and Nandaminnya are utterly overstatements.

The style of the paintings as well as of sculptures shows that their origin was northern India. Even though no stylistic change is readily visible between early and later sculptures, there is a noticeable change in the style of painting. It seems that tonal modeling was applied

in both early and late paintings. However, it is not visible in most places due to discoloration. In early paintings, though the colors contrast greatly, they are not separated by black lines. Thirteenth-century paintings, however, are in a predominantly linear style and show some influence from western India. In these paintings, well-pronounced black lines separate different colors. Nevertheless, color modeling was not discarded, but integrated with linear style.

### 10.5. PAGAN'S FOREIGN CONTACTS

As the nature of Myanmar's contacts with Sri Lanka and India was different, so were the effects of these contacts. Myanmar's contact with Sri Lanka was mainly through monks (Sinhalese monks migrating to Myanmar and Myanmar monks visiting Sri Lanka), and hence these contacts greatly affected the Buddhist Sangha of Pagan. It led to the establishment of a new sect. It also had some influence on Pagan's architecture. However, no Sinhalese influence on Myanmar art is visible. Although scenes from Sinhalese chronicles were painted, the style of the paintings as well as sculpture was always Indian. Even though early paintings of both Sri Lanka and Myanmar had their origins in India, they differ considerably. First, nudity seems to have been quite common in Sri Lankan art. See the 5<sup>th</sup> century paintings of Sigiriya and 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century paintings of Tivanka temple at Polonnaruva.<sup>1</sup> At Pagan, the Nandaminnya temple (monument no. 577) is the only temple in which a few topless females are painted (see above [on page 277]). Moreover, the Sinhalese practice of painting half-figure portraits is not found in Pagan temples.<sup>2</sup> Additionally, whereas the paintings in three-quarter view are very common in Sinhalese paintings,<sup>3</sup> they are rare in

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<sup>1</sup> For paintings from Sigiriya, see Senake Bandaranayake, *The Rock and Wall Paintings of Sri Lanka* (Colombo: Lake House Bookshop, 1986), Figs. 23 (p. 31), 27 (p. 34), and 29 (p. 35, Pl. 3 (pp. 42-43), Pls. 5-13 (pp. 45-53), Pls. 18-20 (pp. 56-58); for the paintings from Tivanka temple, Polonnaruva, see Figs. 45-46 (pp. 82-85), Pl. 39 (pp. 96-97), and Pl. 41 (p. 99). All these paintings include topless ladies. For sculpture, see *ibid.*, Fig. 9.

<sup>2</sup> See Bandaranayake, *Rock and Wall Paintings*, Pls. 3, 5-9.

<sup>3</sup> See Bandaranayake, *Rock and Wall Paintings*, Pls. 3, 5-8, 10-11, 13.

Pagan paintings. Besides, the application of colors seems to be different—compared to Pagan paintings, the colors of Sigiriya paintings are too bright and the tonal modeling is much more visible; and the shade of green used in Sigiriya paintings is not found in any Pagan-period paintings.<sup>4</sup> However, this might be due to the practice of repainting or overpainting in Sri Lanka and/or discoloration of the paintings in Pagan. In addition, unlike in Sri Lanka, the artists of early Pagan very often used hierarchical scale in their paintings as well as in terracotta glazed plaques (see above [on page 262]). Lastly, the most visible difference is the use of halos. In Sri Lankan paintings, the heads of figures are very rarely painted with halos, and hence the halos seem to indicate divinity.<sup>5</sup> In Pagan paintings, on the other hand, all the human and divine figures are painted with halos—it seems that the Pagan artists used halos just to highlight the faces.<sup>6</sup>

As Pagan's contacts with northern India did not stop after it had relations with Sri Lanka, north Indian influence continued to creep in. In addition, Pagan's control over the coastal regions (which enabled it to have contacts with Sri Lanka) also made its contacts with India as well as with other Southeast Asian countries easier. Nevertheless, Indian influence on Pagan seems to have been mainly on art and architecture, not on Sangha. This is very likely because the influence came mostly through slaves and laborers.

Myanmar's contacts with Sri Lanka and India have often been referred to by modern scholars. However, how the internal situations in these countries affected Myanmar Buddhism has not received much attention. That Sri Lankan influence was minimal in the early Pagan period, even though there were contacts between these two countries, was undoubtedly because Buddhism was on the wane in Sri Lanka owing to Chola rule. The Sinhalese even had to seek Myanmar help to revive the Sinhalese Sangha. However, the

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<sup>4</sup> See Bandaranayake, *Rock and Wall Paintings*, 3-14, 26.

<sup>5</sup> See Bandaranayake, *Rock and Wall Paintings*, Pls. 23-25 (pp. 59-61), Pl. 49 (pp. 90-91).

<sup>6</sup> National University of Singapore, Project on Mural Paintings of Pagan, CD-ROM, 142 discs (Unpublished; the images were recorded in December 2000-May 2001).

purification of the Sangha led by the forest monks in Sri Lanka during the reign of King Parakramabāhu I (1111-1153) caused a forest sect in Pagan to flourish. Sri Lankan monks very probably settled in Pagan in the 13<sup>th</sup> century due to political chaos in Sri Lanka at that time.

Political events in India also seem to have affected Myanmar Buddhism, especially art and architecture. Although north Indian Mahayana influence was apparent in art, the stupa was more important than the Buddha image in the early Pagan period. In contrast, Mahayana influence on late Pagan Buddhism (when the effects of contacts with Sri Lanka had become apparent) was not only on art and architecture, but also on practice: image-worship became much more popular than stupa-worship. The change was swift, and hence it could not have been due to a few settlers and travelers. The only possible reason was a sudden influx of refugees from northern India fleeing Muslim incursions in the latter half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A flourishing Buddhist kingdom like Pagan certainly was a safe haven for them.

This also explains why the painting traditions differed. As Ray has pointed out, while the early paintings of the 11<sup>th</sup> century were similar to those of contemporary manuscripts of Bengal, later ones belonging to the 13<sup>th</sup> century shows some influence of western India. Although the influence of eastern Bengal was no doubt due to its proximity with Myanmar, influence from the west could only have been due to Muslim raids which came from northwest India.

Although some immigrants might have been monks because they were the ones who would suffer most from the invasion, the majority must have been lay persons. Many of them became slaves and were donated to the Religion. Some of the slaves were musicians and dancers donated to the temples for Buddha-*pūjā*. When the Mahayanist, and perhaps Hindu, Indians were serving the Theravada monks and were performing religious rites in the Theravada temples, mutual influence would be inevitable; both the Myanmar and the Indians would have to sacrifice some of their customs gradually—knowingly or negligently. As the

number of slaves donated differed from temple to temple, and as the degree of tolerance would have differed from one monk to another, the extent of Mahayana influence would also vary from one temple to another and from one monk or group of monks to another.

As a result of this influx of northern Indians, Mahayana deities entered among the paintings of Theravada temples; and, as image-worship became more and more important, more temples were built than stupas. However, the Buddhists of Pagan certainly were trying to roll temple and stupa into one: thus, many more later temples were topped with stupa than by *sikhara* and small stupas were placed at the four corners of many temples. Turning Sinhalese-style stupas into temples also was ideal for this two-in-one cult object: their exteriors resemble stupas, while one can enter inside for image-worship. Some of these Sinhalese-style temples even contain paintings representing *bodhisattvas*.

Interestingly, although the Pagan kings seem to have tolerated Brahmanism, as attested by the Nat-hlaung-kyauung temple, and by a Tamil-Sanskrit inscription recording donations made to a Viṣṇu temple found at Myinpagan,<sup>7</sup> and, if Than Tun's speculation is correct, the Sedanagyi (987),<sup>8</sup> they did not seem to have tolerated Mahayanism, at least not to the extent of allowing its followers to build their own temples. No temples were solely connected with Mahayanism,<sup>9</sup> probably because the kings, considering themselves as true Theravadins (although they were influenced by Mahayanism), did not want to be unfaithful to it by letting other religions prevail in their kingdom. The tolerance of Brahmanism was probably due to the importance of Brahman priests in state affairs.

It is not possible that all the Indians were converted to Theravada Buddhism soon after their arrival in Myanmar. Some treatises connected with Mahayana and Tantrayana

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<sup>7</sup> This inscription belongs to about the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Gordon H. Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagan*, 3 vols., *Artibus Asiae*, Supplementum 25 (New York: J.J. Augustin Publisher, 1969-1970) 1: 218-219, fn. 99.

<sup>8</sup> See page 7 (above).

<sup>9</sup> Even though the paintings in the Abeyadana (1202) and Hpayathonzu (477, 478 and 479) indicate that Mahayanism was more important for the Buddhists connected with these temples, Theravada paintings also are found in them.

were still in existence in Myanmar even in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Among the list of books donated to a monastery in AD 1442 included Mahayana texts (*Nyāyabindu* and *Nyāyabindu-ṭīkā*, and *Hetubindu* and *Hetubindu-ṭīkā*) as well as Tantric texts (*Mṛtyuvañcanā* and *Mahākālacakka* and *Mahākālacakka-ṭīkā*).<sup>10</sup> (The Pali spelling *Mahākālacakka* instead of Sanskrit *Mahākālacakra* suggests that this work and its commentary had even been translated into Pali by that time.) Some of the Indians must have been professing Mahayanism, at least under the garb of Theravada.

The paintings in Abeyadana (1202) and Hpayathonzu (477, 478 and 479) suggest that Mahayana and/or Tantrayana were/was more important for the people who were connected with them. They might have been Mahayana temples adapted to suit a Theravada kingdom. Alternatively, they might have been Theravada temples that the Mahayanists were gradually adapting to suit their needs, as they had done in India.

It is, however, not entirely impossible that there had been Mahayana temples, but that they were adapted to Theravada needs in later times—this would be very easy because only the image(s) and paintings would have to be changed or removed. If there were such temples, there is no way to trace them. But this seems unlikely. If Mahayanism was tolerated, there should have been not only several Mahayanist temples, but also monasteries, a flourishing Mahayana sect, and inscriptions connected with them. Even though it is possible that there had been several Mahayana and Brahmanic temples that were later converted to Theravada buildings, the lack of inscriptions solely connected with them indicates that that was not the case.

However, although it is true that Myanmar had direct contacts with the Brahmans and Mahayanists of India, it would be narrow-minded to attribute all the unorthodox practices or

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<sup>10</sup> Nihar-Ranjan Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma* (Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1936; reprint, Rangoon: Buddha Sāsana Council Press, n.d.) 36. He also assumed that *Rattamālā* and its commentary must have been Tantric texts although their origins cannot be traced. *Ibid.*, 36.

Mahayana (including Tantric) and Brahmanical influences to India, because evidence indicates that these influences also existed in Sri Lanka.

Although no thorough study of Mahayana influence on Sinhalese Buddhism has been conducted, there is no doubt that Mahayana elements such as the cult of *bodhisattva* existed in Sri Lanka. The cult of *bodhisattva* was widespread in Sri Lanka: invocations of Avalokiteśvara, Tārā, etc. are inscribed on the copper plates found in the stupa at Vijayārāma. King Sena II (851-885) placed *bodhisattva* images in a temple.<sup>11</sup> As discussed above (on page 36), Brahmanism existed in Sri Lanka even before the introduction of Buddhism and became important in later times.

This might have been an important reason why the Myanmar did not become more orthodox after contacts with Sri Lanka. Buddhism had undergone so many changes throughout its history that it is very unlikely that a pure form of Theravada Buddhism existed anywhere in or even before the Pagan period; and it is very doubtful whether the people of Pagan could distinguish Mahayana and Brahmanical influences from canonical Theravada Buddhism.

In short, although Pagan had contacts with India before establishing relations with Sri Lanka and throughout the Pagan period, we cannot attribute all the unorthodox practices to India. The most important effect of contacts with Sri Lanka was on the Sangha. In the earlier period (till the end of Kyansittha's reign [1084-1113]), there seems to have been only a sect of Buddhist monks with *Saṅḡi* titles. From Alaungsithu's reign (1113-1161) onwards, the monks' names with *Phun* titles appear in the inscriptions. The forest monks with *Phun* titles initiated the Saṅgha reform in the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Consequently, the *Phun* sect grew rapidly while the *Saṅḡi* sect began to decline in the second quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>11</sup> Wilhelm Geiger, trans., *Cūlavamsa, Being the More Recent Part of Mahāvamsa*, translated from German to English by C. Mabel Rickmers (Colombo: Ceylon Government, 1953) 51: 77.



Parallel changes can be seen in architecture and art. Some changes, such as the increasing popularity of small buildings in the later period, certainly must have been connected with Pagan's contacts with Sri Lanka and thus with the change in the Sangha. The rapid increase of buildings in the latter half of the Pagan period must have been partly due to Pagan's economic development resulted by the expansion of cultivation that began from the 1190s onwards, and partly to the growth of the *Phun* sect. The change from the predominance of stupa over temple in the early period to the ascendancy of temple over stupa in the later period as well as the change in painting style probably resulted from the influx of Indians.

As Pagan's contact with Sri Lanka was through monks, Sinhalese influence is more visible on the Sangha and faith. Since Pagan's contact with India, on the other hand, was mainly through slaves and laborers, its effects are more noticeable in art and architecture. This does not mean that all the changes are due to these contacts. First, Pagan had contacts with other countries too. More importantly, local preferences must have played a far greater role than any foreign influence, though there is no way to trace them directly.

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APPENDIX 1. LIST SLAVES FROM THE INSCRIPTIONS THAT REFERS TO *KULĀ KLĀN* "INDIAN SLAVES" (AD 1000-1300)

Total Slaves	Indian Slaves		Reference	Date of Donation	Provenance	Remarks
	No. of Slaves	Percentage				
23	3	13	<i>RM/K</i> 1.29b, lines 1-29	1190	Pagan (South Guni Temple)	Three Indians and 20 Myanmars. All were musicians and dancers.
18	5	28	<i>RM/K</i> 1.38a, lines 11-12	1197	Pagan (Thahtemok Gu Temple)	Five Indians and 13 Myanmars, all dancers.
1150	500	43	<i>RM/K</i> 1.41a, line 29; <i>RM/K</i> 1.41b, lines 1-9	1198	Pagan (Damarazaka Pagoda, West Pwasaw)	The donation was made to Dhammarazaka Pagoda. However, most of these slaves would have to work in the <i>kharuithi</i> areas.
19	3	16	<i>RM/K</i> 1.57, lines 7-14	? 1210	Pagan (Wetkyi-in)	These slaves were musicians and dancers donated to two temples. The inscription also includes the donations made to other temples. However, it does not mention the race(s) of the slaves as regards those donations.
10	4	40	<i>RM/K</i> 1.70, lines 6-9	1216	Pagan (Dhammayangyi)	Race mentioned only for Indians
14	2	14	<i>RM/K</i> 1.104, lines 4-7	1224	Tarop Myo	Race mentioned only for Indians

APPENDIX 1 CONTINUED.

Total Slaves	Indian Slaves		Reference	Date of Donation	Provenance	Remarks
	No. of Slaves	Percentage				
197 (?)	27	14	<i>RMK</i> 1.121a, b and c	1227	Pagan (Lemyethna Monastery at Minnanthu)	It is impossible to get an exact number of total slaves because part of the inscription is illegible. However, the maximum would not be more than 200
66	42	64	<i>RMK</i> 1.181a, lines 11-24	1229	Pagan (Wetkyi-in)	The slaves would have to work at Kukhan (modern Pakangyi)
107	62	58	<i>RMK</i> 1.165, lines 6, 19-27	1236	Pagan (Zeyathut Temple)	It is impossible to get an exact number of total slaves because part of the inscription is illegible. Sixty-two is the minimum number of Indians.
26	5	19	<i>RMK</i> 1.179, lines 24-26	1237	Exact provenance unknown. Found around Pagan.	All the Indians were dancers. The maximum number of Indians is 5.
40	40	100	<i>RMK</i> 3.99, lines 16-17	1294	Pagan (Taungbi)	
76	33	43	<i>RMK</i> 3.153, line 14	1314	Kyaukse District	

Source: G.H. Luce and Pe Maung Tin, *Inscriptions of Burma*, 5 portfolios (Rangoon: Rangoon UP, 1933-1956); Nyein Maung, *Rhe:honi: Mrammā Kyōkcāmyā: [Old Myanmar Inscriptions]*, vols. 1-4 (Yangon: Archaeology Department, 1972-1998).

APPENDIX 2. LIST OF MONKS AND NUNS MENTIONED IN THE INSCRIPTIONS (AD 1000-1300)

Names	Reference	Provenance	Date (Myanmar Era)	Date (AD)	Date of Donation
Sa(hgri) Mahāther	RMK 1.1a, l. 19	Pagan (Myinkaba)	474	1112	1112
Saṅgri - - liputtatissatther	RMK 1.1a, ll. 19-20	Pagan (Myinkaba)	474	1112	1112
Saṅgri Sume - paṇḍit	RMK 1.1a, l. 20	Pagan (Myinkaba)	474	1112	1112
Saṅgri Brahma - l	RMK 1.1a, ll. 20-21	Pagan (Myinkaba)	474	1112	1112
Saṅgri Brahmadiw	RMK 1.1a, l. 21	Pagan (Myinkaba)	474	1112	1112
Saṅgri So -	RMK 1.1a, l. 21	Pagan (Myinkaba)	474	1112	1112
Saṅgri Saṅghasawarapaṇḍit	RMK 1.1a, ll. 21-22	Pagan (Myinkaba)	474	1112	1112
Saṅgri Mahāther	RMK 1.2a ll. 22-23	Pagan (Myinkaba)	474	1112	1112
Saṅgri Muggaliputtatissatther	RMK 1.2a, l. 23	Pagan (Myinkaba)	474	1112	1112
Saṅgri Samedhapaṇḍit	RMK 1.2a, ll. 23-24	Pagan (Myinkaba)	474	1112	1112
Saṅgri Brahmepāl	RMK 1.2a, l. 24	Pagan (Myinkaba)	474	1112	1112
Saṅgri Brahmadiw	RMK 1.2a, ll. 24-25	Pagan (Myinkaba)	474	1112	1112
Saṅgri Son	RMK 1.2a, l. 25	Pagan (Myinkaba)	474	1112	1112
Saṅgri Saṅghasawarapaṇḍit	RMK 1.2a, ll.25-26	Pagan (Myinkaba)	474	1112	1112
Skhiñ mathisāguir	RMK 1.6a, ll. 14-15, 16	Pagan (Minnanthu)	509	1147	1147
Skhiñ Prañ	RMK 1.6a, l. 15, 16	Pagan (Minnanthu)	509	1147	1147
Skhiñ Guru'	RMK 1.6b, l. 15	Pagan (Minnanthu)	509	1147	1147
Skhiñ Mahāthi	RMK 1.6b, l. 15	Pagan (Minnanthu)	509	1147	1147
Skhiñ Dhammaguru'	RMK 1.6b, l. 15	Pagan (Minnanthu)	509	1147	1147
Mātali	RMK 1.8a, l. 10	Pagan (Zaka village)	50 -	after 1138	after 1138
(Makuta)	RMK 1.8a, l. 10	Pagan (Zaka village)	50 -	after 1138	after 1138
Saddhammarāmsi	RMK 1.8a, l. 10	Pagan (Zaka village)	50 -	after 1138	after 1138
Warabuddhi	RMK 1.8b, l. 3	Pagan (Zaka village)	50 -	after 1138	after 1138
Warasaddhammarāmsi	Rmk1.8b, l. 7	Pagan (Zaka village)	50 -	after 1138	after 1138

## APPENDIX 2 Continued.

Names	Reference	Provenience	Date (Myanmar Era)	Date (AD)	Date of Donation
Saṅ (Pan)caññay (name not mentioned)	RMK 1.9, ll. 8-9	Provenience unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	512	1150	1150
Skhīṇ Mahāthī Nāga(smi)ṇ	RMK 1.10, ll. 1-2	Myingondaing	512	1150	1150
Skhīṇ Mahānāga	RMK 1.10, ll. 15-16	Myingondaing	512	1150	1150
Saṅkhatī (name not mentioned)	RMK 1.11, l. 9	Sale township	513	1151	1151
Uṭamaññakri	RMK 1.11, l. 9	Sale township	513	1151	1151
Phunsaṅ Nā Saitaṅ	RMK 1.11, l. 9	Sale township	513	1151	1151
Phunsaṅ Pukamisaṅ	RMK 1.11, l. 10	Sale township	513	1151	1151
Phunsaṅ Sukhamin	RMK 1.11, l. 10	Sale township	513	1151	1151
Phunsaṅ Nā Muysaṅ	RMK 1.11, ll. 10-11	Sale township	513	1151	1151
Phunsaṅ Puharok	RMK 1.11, l. 11	Sale township	513	1151	1151
Saṅ Anuthir (name not mentioned)	RMK 1.15, l. 6	Yindaw town	530	1168	1168
- Nā Wamsāsāṅ	RMK 1.15, l. 6	Yindaw town	530	1168	1168
Sāṅ Muwthat	RMK 1.15, l. 6	Yindaw town	530	1168	1168
Nā Myawsāṅ	RMK 1.15, l. 7	Yindaw town	530	1168	1168
Sāṅ Puthiwatwac	RMK 1.15, l. 7	Yindaw town	530	1168	1168
Sāṅ Nā Maṅ	RMK 1.15, ll. 7-8	Yindaw town	530	1168	1168
Ujw' Cham'sāṅ	RMK 1.15, l. 8	Yindaw town	530	1168	1168
Sāṅ klosac	RMK 1.15, l. 8	Yindaw town	530	1168	1168
Sāṅkri (name not mentioned)	RMK 1.15, l. 8	Yindaw town	530	1168	1168
Sāṅkri Ujw' Khyam'sāṅ	RMK 1.15, l. 9	Yindaw town	530	1168	1168
Mlatkricwā Khaytoṅ	RMK 1.16, ll. 1-2	Unknown (Now at Mandalay Fort)	531	1169	1169
Phummlatsā Pla(ñicuṅ)	RMK 1.17, ll. 2-3	Wetlet township	532	1170	1170
Mlatkri - - - (name illegible)	RMK 1.18, l. 2	Natmauk township	533	1171	1171
Mathi Utsankathera	RMK 1.19, l. 3	Unknown (Now at Mandalay Fort)	537	1175	1175

APPENDIX 2 Continued.

Names	Reference	Provenance	Date (Myanmar Era)	Date (AD)	Date of Donation
Skhañ Mahāthi	RMK 1.19, l. 8	Unknown (Now at Mandalay Fort)	537	1175	1175
Sañkrī Ña Santāsāñ	RMK 1.19, l. 8	Unknown (Now at Mandalay Fort)	537	1175	1175
Sāñlyāñ Klokt(ōñ)	RMK 1.19, ll. 8-9	Unknown (Now at Mandalay Fort)	537	1175	1175
Pancāñkrī (name not mentioned)	RMK 1.19, l. 13	Unknown (Now at Mandalay Fort)	537	1175	1175
Lapiy' Anuthī	RMK 1.19, l. 15	Unknown (Now at Mandalay Fort)	537	1175	1175
Māhāthī	RMK 1.19, ll. 18-19	Unknown (Now at Mandalay Fort)	537	1175	1175
Phunsañ Cañkray	RMK 1.22, ll. 4, 13-14, 17, 20-21	Unknown (Now at Mandalay Fort)	543	1181	1181
Skhiñ Dhammarajarañsi	RMK 1.22, l. 5	Pagan	543	1181	1181
Phunsañkriy Uj Nusañ	RMK 1.23, l. 3	Unknown (Now at Mandalay Fort)	544	1182	1182
Skhiñ Dhammawilās	RMK 1.26, ll. 3, 6	Sagaing District	549	1187	1187
Sañkri (Charā)	RMK 1.27, ll. 2-3	Unknown, Pagan Museum	550	1188	1188
Skhiñ Mahāther Pajjarboddhi	RMK 1.29a, ll. 7-8	Pagan	552	1190	1190
Skhiñ Kuñāsey	RMK 1.29a, ll. 8-9	Pagan	552	1190	1190
Skhiñ Añgūr	RMK 1.29a, l. 9	Pagan	552	1190	1190
Skhiñ Mahāpañḍit	RMK 1.29a, l. 9	Pagan	552	1190	1190
Skhiñ Ak	RMK 1.29a, ll. 9-10	Pagan	552	1190	1190
Skhiñ Dhammagambhār	RMK 1.29a, l. 10	Pagan	552	1190	1190
Skhiñ Dhammaguru	RMK 1.29a, l. 10	Pagan	552	1190	1190

## APPENDIX 2 Continued.

Names	Reference	Provenance	Date (Myanmar Era)	Date (AD)	Date of Donation
Skhiñ Dhammanandī	RMK 1.29a, ll. 10-11	Pagan	552	1190	1190
Skhiñ Nagā	RMK 1.29a, l. 11	Pagan	552	1190	1190
Sañlyañ Nā Taryasañ	RMK 1.29b, l. 30	Pagan	552	1190	1190
Sāñkrī ñay	RMK 1.30, l. 7	Nahtogyi township	552	1190	1190
Sāñkrī Nhamphay	RMK 1.30, l. 9	Nahtogyi township	552	1190	1190
Sāñkrī - - -ñisañ	RMK 1.30, l. 11	Nahtogyi township	552	1190	1190
Mlatkrīcāwā (name not mentioned)	RMK 1.32, l. 11	Pagan (Minnanthu)	554	1192	1192
Sāñkrī Nā Nuiñsāñ	RMK 1.33, l. 5	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	555	1193	1193
Phummlatso Plañā	RMK 1.39a, l. 11	Pagan (Wetkyi-in)	559	1197	1197
Phunsañ Jayyasīñ	RMK 1.39b, l. 5	Pagan (Wetkyi-in)	559	1197	1197
Nā Thwaksāñ	RMK 1.39b, l. 8	Pagan (Wetkyi-in)	559	1197	1197
Skhiñ Nonthoñ	RMK 1.39b, l. 8	Pagan (Wetkyi-in)	559	1197	1197
Phunsañ - - - Skhañ (name illegible)	RMK 1.42, ll. 2-3	Unknown (Now at Mandalay Fort)	560	1198	1198
Sāñkrī Ñoñ-up	RMK 1.44a, l. 2	Mahlaing township	563	1201	1201
Utsaṅghadhī Nā Krwaksāñ	RMK 1.44a, ll. 10-11				
Sūkhamin Sirek	RMK 1.44a, ll. 11-12				
Phlakuiñ Sūkhamin	RMK 1.44a, l. 12				
Sāñkrī Utsankasiy	RMK 1.44a, ll. 14-15.				
Phummlatso (name not mentioned)	RMK 1.47, l. 17	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	566	1204	1204
Skhiñ Pañā	RMK 1.47, l. 13	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	566	1204	1204
Sañ Nā Nhaclui'sañ	RMK 1.48a, ll. 2-3	Pyinsi town	568	1205	1205
Sañ Nā Nhaclui'sañ	RMK 1.48b, ll. 2-3, 26-27	Pyinsi town	568	1206	1206
Skhiñ Nā Ronsañ'	RMK 1.49, l. 10	Myingun township	567	1205	1205

## APPENDIX 2 Continued.

Names	Reference	Provenance	Date (Myanmar Era)	Date (AD)	Date of Donation
Skhiñ Nā Phlūsaiñ	RMK 1.49, I. 10	Myingun township	567	1205	1205
Phummlatso Uiw Chitāw / Bhunmlatso Uim Chito	RMK 1.50, II. 7, 18-19	Pagan (Dhammarājaka pagoda)	568	1206	1206
Skhiñ Yañtāw	RMK 1.50, I. 8	Pagan (Dhammarājaka pagoda)	568	1206	1206
S(y)añitaprañ	RMK 1.50, II. 8, 19	Pagan (Dhammarājaka pagoda)	568	1206	1206
Tissatthera	RMK 1.50, II. 8-9, 19-20	Pagan (Dhammarājaka pagoda)	568	1206	1206
Skhiñ Guṇasāguir	RMK 1.54a, I. 11	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	570	1208	1208
Skhiñ Nā (Sañhā)ñsañ	RMK 1.54a, II. 11-12	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	570	1208	1208
Skhiñ Sundarapaṇḍit	RMK 1.54a, I. 12	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	570	1208	1208
Skhiñ Cha(ṭṭhi)prū	RMK 1.54a, I. 13	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	570	1208	1208
Skhiñ Kurwaiñ	RMK 1.54a, I. 13 ...	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	570	1208	1208
Phunsañ Uj Mryatsañ	RMK 1.55, II. 4-5	Sale township	570	1208	1208
Ichiy(cañ)	RMK 1.55, II. 5-6	Sale township	570	1208	1208
Nā Tapā	RMK 1.55, I. 6	Sale township	570	1208	1208
Uj Wainrasi	RMK 1.55, I. 6	Sale township	570	1208	1208
Kluit	RMK 1.55, II. 6-7	Sale township	570	1208	1208
Dipaṅkarā	RMK 1.55, I. 7	Sale township	570	1208	1208
Sañkrī (name not mentioned)	RMK 1.56, I. 16	Meiktila township	570	1208	1208
Skhiñ Mahāthī Bajrabuddhi	RMK 1.57, I. 3	Pagan (Wetkyi-in)	572	1210	1210



## APPENDIX 2 Continued.

Names	Reference	Provenance	Date (Myanmar Era)	Date (AD)	Date of Donation
Skhiñ Mahāpaṇḍit	RMK 1.57, l. 4	Pagan (Wetkyi-in)	572	1210	1210
Skhiñ Aggapaṇḍit	RMK 1.57, l. 4	Pagan (Wetkyi-in)	572	1210	1210
Tilokamaṅguir	RMK 1.59a, ll. 2-3	Pagan	573	1211	1211
Skhiñ Mahāthī Dhammawilassa	RMK 1.59a, l. 3	Pagan	573	1211	1211
Phumlatso Mahāthi	RMK 1.60, l. 2	Wetlet township	573	1211	1211
Skhiñ Dhammasiri	RMK 1.62, l. 11	Pagan (Taywin hill)	574	1212	1212
Saṅkrī Dhammapāl	RMK 1.63a, l. 3	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	574	1212	1212
Saṅlyāñ Uj Kapsaṅkhyāñ	RMK 1.65a, ll. 2-3	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	575	1213	1213
Skhiñ Nayagambhī	RMK 1.65a, ll. 7-8	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	575	1213	1213
Skhiñ Tilosāra	RMK 1.65a, l. 8	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	575	1213	1213
Skhiñ Pañawilāsa	RMK 1.65a, l. 9	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	575	1213	1213
Skhiñ Disāprāmok	RMK 1.65a, ll. 9-10	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	575	1213	1213
Skhiñ Aggapaṇḍit	RMK 1.65a, l. 10	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	575	1213	1213
Saṅkāphi Uiw' Kraṅsañ (?)	RMK 1.66a, ll. 2-3	Yenangyaung	577	1215	1215
Saṅlyāñ - kwaysa	RMK 1.66a, ll. 12-13	Yenangyaung	577	1215	1215
Saṅkrī Nā Thuyasañ	RMK 1.66a, l. 13	Yenangyaung	577	1215	1215
Saṅkrī (name not mentioned)	RMK 1.70, l. 15	Pagan (Dhammayangyi)	578	1216	1216
Skhiñ Winaydhuir	RMK 1.71a, l. 20	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	578	1216	1216

## APPENDIX 2 Continued.

<b>Names</b>	<b>Reference</b>	<b>Provenance</b>	<b>Date (Myanmar Era)</b>	<b>Date (AD)</b>	<b>Date of Donation</b>
Skhiñ Yañ(ta)w	RMK 1.72, ll. 3-4	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	578	1216	1216
Phun'saṅ Nā Phunchum̄m -	RMK 1.73, l. 2	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	578	1216	1216
Phun'saṅ Nā Lakchum̄saṅ	RMK 1.73, l. 17	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	578	1216	1216
Phunsaṅ (name not mentioned)	RMK 1.74, l. 3	Unknown (now lost)	579	1217	1217
Syañ Panpu	RMK 1.75, l. 3	Pakangyi	579	1217	1217
Saṅkri Uj Chum̄saṅ	RMK 1.76, l. 2	Sale township	579	1217	1217
Skhiñ Nā Lum̄la saṅ	RMK 1.76, l. 13	Sale township	579	1217	1217
Saṅ Uj Toim̄ysaṅ	RMK 1.76, l. 14	Sale township	579	1217	1217
Saṅ Nā W̄ysaṅ	RMK 1.76, l. 14	Sale township	579	1217	1217
Saṅ Nā Siy	RMK 1.76, l. 15	Sale township	579	1217	1217
Saṅ Sukhamin	RMK 1.76, l. 15	Sale township	579	1217	1217
Saṅkri - - saṅ	RMK 1.79, l. 24	Pagan (Minnanthu)	580	1218	1218
Saṅkri (name not mentioned)	RMK 1.81, l. 17	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	581	1219	1219
Skhañ Talapo	RMK 1.81, l. 17	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	581	1219	1219
Mahādhi Dhammarājaguru	RMK 1.84, l. 2	Pagan (Myinkaba – Gubyaukge)	582	1220	1220
Phunsaṅ Dhammālaya	RMK 1.85a, l. 2	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Muhut	RMK 1.85a, l. 9	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Pannhac	RMK 1.85a, l. 9	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220

APPENDIX 2 Continued.

Names	Reference	Provenance	Date (Myanmar Era)	Date (AD)	Date of Donation
Klōksāyon	RMK 1.85a, ll. 9-10	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Kuṇatrit	RMK 1.85a, l. 10	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Skhin Lha	RMK 1.85a, l. 10	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Ratanālankāra	RMK 1.85a, l. 10	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Anantapannhac	RMK 1.85a, ll. 10-11	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Saddhammakawi	RMK 1.85a, l. 11	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Sumethā	RMK 1.85a, l. 11	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Ñā Kraysaṅ	RMK 1.85a, l. 11	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Ljymyakhā	RMK 1.85a, l. 11	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Ñā Phlacsāṅ	RMK 1.85a, l. 12	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Ñā Sikrāsāṅ	RMK 1.85a, l. 12	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Buddhattakawi	RMK 1.85a, l. 12	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Ñā Cwansaṅ	RMK 1.85a, l. 12	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220

APPENDIX 2 Continued.

Names	Reference	Provenience	Date (Myanmar Era)	Date (AD)	Date of Donation
Rhuytañkhaywuiñ	RMK 1.85a, ll. 12-13	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Ñā Ramanāsañ	RMK 1.85a, l. 13	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Dhamma-ut	RMK 1.85a, l. 13	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Kuṇṇasākuiw'	RMK 1.85a, l. 13	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Citra(mati)	RMK 1.85a, ll. 13-14	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Manācari	RMK 1.85a, l. 14	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Saddhammapannhac	RMK 1.85a, l. 14	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Ña Sac	RMK 1.85a, l. 14	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Ñā Plañsañ	RMK 1.85a, ll. 14-15	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Kassapa	RMK 1.85a, l. 15	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Sacmatī	RMK 1.85a, l. 15	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Pathānakawi	RMK 1.85a, l. 15	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Wuthuiwphlū	RMK 1.85a, l. 15	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220

APPENDIX 2 Continued.

Names	Reference	Provenance	Date (Myanmar Era)	Date (AD)	Date of Donation
Na Klonisai's brother (or Na Kraksai kloñ)	RMK 1. 85a, l. 16	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
(Dhammadhaja)	RMK 1. 85a, l. 16	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Muhut	RMK 1.85b, l. 7	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Pannhac	RMK 1.85b, l. 7	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Kloksāyon	RMK 1.85b, l. 7	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Kuṇṭirit	RMK 1.85b, ll. 7-8	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Skhiñ Lha	RMK 1.85b, l. 8	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Ratanañankā	RMK 1.85b, l. 8	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Anantapannhac	RMK 1.85b, l. 8	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Saddhammakawi	RMK 1.85b, l. 8	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Sumethā	RMK 1.85b, l. 8	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Māñā	RMK 1.85b, l. 8	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Mānakawi	RMK 1.85b, l. 9	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220

APPENDIX 2 Continued.

Names	Reference	Provenance	Date (Myanmar Era)	Date (AD)	Date of Donation
Ñā Kraysaṅ	RMK 1.85b, l. 9	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Ljymyakhā	RMK 1.85b, l. 9	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Saṅ (Ñā Phlac)saṅ	RMK 1.85b, ll. 9-10	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Ñā Sikrāsaṅ	RMK 1.85b, l. 10	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Buddhattakawi	RMK 1.85b, l. 10	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Ñā Cwansaṅ	RMK 1.85b, l. 10	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Rhuytāṅkhaywuṅ(krī)	RMK 1.85b, l. 10	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Ñā Ramanāsaṅ	RMK 1.85b, l. 11	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Guṇasākuiw'	RMK 1.85b, l. 11	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Citratatīy	RMK 1.85b, l. 11	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Tikabhidhamma-ut	RMK 1.85b, l. 11	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Saddhammapannhac	RMK 1.85b, l. 12	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220

## APPENDIX 2 Continued.

<b>Names</b>	<b>Reference</b>	<b>Provenience</b>	<b>Date (Myanmar Era)</b>	<b>Date (AD)</b>	<b>Date of Donation</b>
Ñā Plaṅsaṅ	RMK 1.85b, l. 12	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Pancaṅ Kassapa	RMK 1.85b, l. 12	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Sacmatī	RMK 1.85b, l. 13	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Skhiṅ Pathānakawi	RMK 1.85b, l. 13	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Wuthuiwphlū	RMK 1.85b, l. 13	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Dhammadhajapaṇā	RMK 1.85b, l. 14	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	582	1220	1220
Mahāthī (name not mentioned)	RMK 1.93, l. 2	Pagan (Gubyaukge, Myinkaba)	585	1223	1223
Skhaṅ Seṭṭhadisāpṛāmok	RMK 1.95, l. 19	Pagan (Wetkyi-in)	585	1223	1223
Skhaṅ Ñāṇātisey	RMK 1.95, l. 19	Pagan (Wetkyi-in)	585	1223	1223
Skhaṅ Sudhammarasī	RMK 1.95, l. 20	Pagan (Wetkyi-in)	585	1223	1223
Skhaṅ Supparuiskwai	RMK 1.95, l. 20	Pagan (Wetkyi-in)	585	1223	1223
Skhaṅ Tonlat	RMK 1.95, l. 20	Pagan (Wetkyi-in)	585	1223	1223
Skhaṅ Anantaṅṅabuddhi	RMK 1.95, l. 21	Pagan (Wetkyi-in)	585	1223	1223
Skhaṅ Sudhammalakā	RMK 1.95, l. 21	Pagan (Wetkyi-in)	585	1223	1223
Skhaṅ Tilokawataṅ	RMK 1.95, ll. 21-22	Pagan (Wetkyi-in)	585	1223	1223
Skhaṅ Dhammarājasiri	RMK 1.95, l. 22	Pagan (Wetkyi-in)	585	1223	1223
Skhiṅ Saṅ Kathika (? Scribal error for Saṅkathi)	RMK 1.98, l. 9	Meiktila township	586	1224	1224
Ssaṅlyan Nā (Lwa)ysaṅ	RMK 1.98, l. 14	Meiktila township	586	1224	1224

APPENDIX 2 Continued.

Names	Reference	Provenance	Date (Myanmar Era)	Date (AD)	Date of Donation
Skhiñ Winayather /Skhiñ Winayatherra	RMK 1.99, ll. 16, 24, 25, 30	Pagan (Minnanthu)	586	1224	1224
--ñāna ---	RMK 1.99, ll. 30, 31	Pagan (Minnanthu)	586	1224	1224
---suddhābuddhi	RMK 1.99, l. 31	Pagan (Minnanthu)	586	1224	1224
Saṅkri Uiw' Sisañ	RMK 1.100, l. 3	Mahlaing township	586	1224	1224
Skhiñ Sañkathi --- (name illegible)	RMK 1.101, l. 7	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	586	1224	1224
Skhiñ Uiw Kranipaisañ	RMK 1.101, l. 7	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	586	1224	1224
Ratasā gūih	RMK 1.101, l. 8	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	586	1224	1224
Skhiñ Sañheirājāpaṇḍi	RMK 1.101, ll. 8-9	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	586	1224	1224
Sañkri Uiw Lhoksañ	RMK 1.101, l. 9	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	586	1224	1224
Sakhañ Mahā --- (name illegible)	RMK 1.102, l. 14	Malun	586	1224	1224
Phunsañ Nā (Wam)sañ	RMK 1.103, l. 8	Wetlet township	586	1224	1224
Phunsañ Sañkhā --- (name illegible)	RMK 1.103, l. 9	Wetlet township	586	1224	1224
Phunsañ (Ui Sañ)	RMK 1.103, l. 10	Wetlet township	586	1224	1224
Pancañ Phunsa --- (name illegible)	RMK 1.103, ll. 10-11	Wetlet township	586	1224	1224
Pancañ Upasin	RMK 1.103, l. 16	Wetlet township	586	1224	1224
Sañ Pañcañ Nā Tañsañ	RMK 1.103, ll. 16-17	Wetlet township	586	1224	1224
Phunsañ Sīla ---	RMK 1.104, l. 11	Talup town	586	1224	1224
Phunsañ Sūkhamin	RMK 1.106, l. 4	Meiktila township	587	1225	1225
Mahādhammasiri	RMK 1.107a, ll. 1-3	Unknown (Now at Mandalay Fort)	587	1225	1225



## APPENDIX 2 Continued.

<b>Names</b>	<b>Reference</b>	<b>Provenance</b>	<b>Date (Myanmar Era)</b>	<b>Date (AD)</b>	<b>Date of Donation</b>
Syañ Smantasophana	RMK 1.107a, ll. 4-6	Unknown (Now at Mandalay Fort)	587	1225	
Phunsañ Pārami	RMK 1.109, ll. 14, 32	Myinmu	587	1225	1225
Skhiñ Set / Skhiñ Sac	RMK 1.109, ll. 14, 32	Myinmu	587	1225	1225
Skhiñ Mātimā / Skhiñ Mattimā	RMK 1.109, ll. 14-15, 32	Myinmu	587	1225	1225
Skhiñ Phattapañā	RMK 1.109, ll. 15, 32,	Myinmu	587	1225	1225
Skhiñ nantakat / Skhiñ Anantakkat	RMK 1.109, ll. 15, 32-33	Myinmu	587	1225	1225
Phumlasso Mlañkapso Malañkwat		Myinmu	587	1225	1225
Phumlatkrīcwā Mahākassapa	RMK 1.109, l. 24	Myinmu	587	1225	1225
Saṅkri - - (name illegible)	RMK 1.114, l. 9	Meiktila	587	1225	1225
Saṅkri Nā Lumlāsāñ	RMK 1.116, l. 6	Sale township	588	1226	1226
Sañ (names not mentioned)	RMK 1.122, l. 15	Mahlaing township	590	1228	1228
Srīyhammasuk	RMK 1.123, ll. 10-11	Pagan	590	1228	1228
Sīlawisuddhiṭhara	RMK 1.123, l. 11	Pagan	590	1228	1228
Saṅkāthi Nā Cumsaṅ	RMK 1.126a, ll. 12-13	Pagan (Thetso hill)	591	1229	1229
Skhiñ Mahāthi	RMK 1.126b, l. 1	Pagan (Thetso hill)	591	1229	1229
Ratanāsākui	RMK 1.126b, ll. 2-3	Pagan (Thetso hill)	591	1229	1229
Saṅkri Nā Pumsaṅ	RMK 1.127, ll. 7-8	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	591	1229	1229
Saṅkri (name not mentioned)	RMK 1.127, l. 32	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	591	1229	1229
Skhiñ Sethadisāprāmok	RMK 1.128, l. 18	Pagan (Minnanthu)	591	1229	1229
Skhiñ Nāṇatisaṅ	RMK 1.128, l. 18	Pagan (Minnanthu)	591	1229	1229
Skhiñ Sudhammarasī	RMK 1.128, l. 19	Pagan (Minnanthu)	591	1229	1229
Skhiñ Sappurisakawi	RMK 1.128, l. 19	Pagan (Minnanthu)	591	1229	1229
Skhiñ Toṇlat	RMK 1.128, l. 19	Pagan (Minnanthu)	591	1229	1229
Skhiñ Anantañāṇābuddhi	RMK 1.128, l. 20	Pagan (Minnanthu)	591	1229	1229

## APPENDIX 2 Continued.

Names	Reference	Provenience	Date (Myanmar Era)	Date (AD)	Date of Donation
Skhiñ Dhammalanikā	RMK 1.128, l. 20	Pagan (Minnanthu)	591	1229	1229
Skhiñ Tilokawatañ	RMK 1.128, ll. 20-21	Pagan (Minnanthu)	591	1229	1229
Skhiñ Dhammarājasiri	RMK 1.128, l. 21	Pagan (Minnanthu)	591	1229	1229
Skhiñ Mrañkhuntuñ	RMK 1.129, ll. 1-2, 13	Pagan (West Pwasaw)	591	1229	1229
Saṅkri (name not mentioned)	RMK 1.131, l. 3	Myingyan district	592	1230	1230
Skhiñ Mañkalathe	RMK 1.132, ll. 2-3	Pagan (Minnanthu)	592	1230	1230
Klaykan Saṅkathī	RMK 1.133, ll. 6-7	Nalhtogyi township	592	1230	1230
Adhirācakaru	RMK 1.136, l. 3	Pagan (Myinkaba)	593	1231	1231
Pañāsāguir	RMK 1.136, l. 3	Pagan (Myinkaba)	593	1231	1231
Saṅ (Nā Mwan)sañ	RMK 1.136, l. 3	Pagan (Myinkaba)	593	1231	1231
Phun' (sañ) Dhammarājawilat	RMK 1.137, ll. 3-4	Pyinsi town	593	1231	1231
Pancañ Mukkalan	RMK 1.137, l. 15	Pyinsi town	593	1231	1231
Pancañ Sākyā	RMK 1.137, l. 15	Pyinsi town	593	1231	1231
Pañcañ Kurimārakat	RMK 1.137, l. 15	Pyinsi town	593	1231	1231
Phunsañ Syedhammarañsi	RMK 1.138, ll. 18-19	Kyaukse township	593	1231	1231
Saṅkri Nā Phunsañ	RMK 1.140, l. 2 (above)	Sale township	594	1232	1190
Phumlatso Skhiñ Mahāthī Nā Rainsañ	RMK 1.140, l. 2 (below)	Sale township	594	1232	1232
Kū Saṅkathī	RMK 1.140, l. 9 (below)	Sale township	594	1232	1232
Skhiñ Nā Chūsañ	RMK 1.140, l. 9 (below)	Sale township	594	1232	1232
Skhiñ Warrapan-uit	RMK 1.140, l. 9 (below)	Sale township	594	1232	1232
Skhiñ Nā Mlatsañ	RMK 1.140, l. 10 (below)	Sale township	594	1232	1232
Skhiñ Nā Chumisañ	RMK 1.140, l. 10 (below)	Sale township	594	1232	1232
Skhiñ Sman	RMK 1.140, l. 10 (below)	Sale township	594	1232	1232
Skhiñ Nā Muysañ	RMK 1.140, l. 10 (below)	Sale township	594	1232	1232
Skhiñ Nā Plansañ	RMK 1.140, l. 10 (below)	Sale township	594	1232	1232
Skhiñ Nā Khyatthuiksañ	RMK 1.140, l. 11 (below)	Sale township	594	1232	1232
Skhiñ Nā Nhacluwsañ	RMK 1.140, l. 11 (below)	Sale township	594	1232	1232

APPENDIX 2 Continued.

Names	Reference	Provenance	Date (Myanmar Era)	Date (AD)	Date of Donation
Saṅkāthī (name not mentioned)	RMK 1.147, l. 3	Nahtogyi township	595	1233	1233
Saṅkri Nā Mraysaṅ	RMK 1.147, l. 10	Nahtogyi township	595	1233	1233
Siṅguṇī Buddharaṃsi / Skhiṅ Siṅguṇī	RMK 1.149, ll. 9, 13, 18, 19	Pagan (Near Thiri village)	595	1233	1233
Skhiṅ Mirankhuntuṇī	RMK 1.150, ll. 4-5	Pagan (West Pwasaw)	595	1233	1233
Muy Saṅkathi	RMK 1.152, l. 8	Meiktila township	597	1235	1235
Mañcharyā Pītarac	RMK 1.154	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	597	1235	1235
Yāntawsā Skhiṅ Mahāthi	RMK 1.156b, l. 9	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	597	1235	1235
Plonplā Sukhamin	RMK 1.156b, l. 10	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	597	1235	1235
Khanti Saṅkathāthi	RMK 1.156b, l. 10	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	597	1235	1235
Pan-uw Saṅghāthi	RMK 1.156b, l. 11	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	597	1235	1235
Kanpay Skhiṅ Anuthi	RMK 1.156b, ll. 11-12	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	597	1235	1235
Skhiṅ Siṅkhuiv	RMK 1.156b, l. 13	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	597	1235	1235
Nwāmakralā Pañcaṅ	RMK 1.156b, l. 20	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	597	1235	1235
Nwāthin Saṅkrī ṅay	RMK 1.156b, ll. 20-21	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	597	1235	1235
Phun'sāṅ Anan (Phun)mlatso Paṅsakū	RMK 1.158a, ll. 5-6, 7-8	Wetlet township	597	1235	1235
Skhiṅ Pla(ṅ Māṅgalathe)	RMK 1.164, l. 6	Shwebo district	598	1236	1236
	RMK 1.168, ll. 1-2 (below)	Pagan (Tethe village)	614	1252	1252

APPENDIX 2 Continued.

Names	Reference	Provenance	Date (Myanmar Era)	Date (AD)	Date of Donation
Skhiñ Kumī / Sañkri Skhiñ Kumī	RMK 1.169, l. 11	Pagan (Wetkyi-in)	598	1236	1236
Mañchryā Siri Mahādhammarājapāṇḍit	RMK 1.170, ll. 3-4	Pagan	598	1236	1236
Skhiñ Pīañjuñ Mañklathañ	RMK 1.172a, ll. 35-36	Pagan	598	1236	1223, 1236
Skhiñ Silapañā	RMK 1.172b, l. 1	Pagan	598	1236	1219 (?), 1236
Phumlatso Nāñ	RMK 1.172b, l. 20	Pagan	598	1236	1182
Skhiñ Mahāthī Sundarakawī	RMK 1.173, l. 2	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	598	1236	1236
Skhiñ Mahādhammasenāpatiy	RMK 1.176, ll.15-17	Pagan (West Pwasaw)	599	1237	1237
Sadhammawatañ	RMK 1.176, ll. 17-18	Pagan (West Pwasaw)	599	1237	1237
Phunsañkri Nā Tañsañ	RMK 1.177, l. 16	Sale township	5 --	After 1138	After 1138
Ujw' Toñwuyasañ	RMK 1.177, l. 17	Sale township	5 --	After 1138	After 1138
Nā Thuy Sañ	RMK 1.177, l. 17	Sale township	5 --	After 1138	After 1138
Sañwāsay	RMK 1.177, ll. 17-18	Sale township	5 --	After 1138	After 1138
Sūkhamin	RMK 1.177, l. 18	Sale township	5 --	After 1138	After 1138
Pancāñ Ujw' Chumsañ	RMK 1.177, ll. 18-19	Sale township	5 --	After 1138	After 1138
Pancāñ Nā Wāmphlañ'sañ	RMK 1.177, l. 19	Sale township	5 --	After 1138	After 1138
Phumlatso Guṇātisañ / Skhañ Guṇātisañ	RMK 1.178, ll. 3, 18-19	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	599	1237	1232, 1236, 1237
Phumlatklicwā Mahākāssapa	RMK 1.180, l. 7	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	599	1237	1237
Sañkri Nā Khyasañ	RMK 1.183, l. 11	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	600	1238	1238
Skhañ Buddharañsī	RMK 1. 186, l. 9	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	600	1238	1238
Dhamma(wi)lat	RMK 1.186, ll. 9-10	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	600	1238	1238

## APPENDIX 2 Continued.

Names	Reference	Provenance	Date (Myanmar Era)	Date (AD)	Date of Donation
Sri Uttamarājakavi Awirājapaṇḍit	RMK 1.186, l. 10	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	600	1238	1238
Bhummlatkrīcāvā (name not mentioned)	RMK 1b.191a, l. 3	Shwebo district	444	Late Date	1082
Matimā	RMK 1b.192, l. 4	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	467	Late Date	1086, 1105
Uṭapaṇ-uttamā (Mahāthi Ṇa) Phummsaṅ	RMK 1b.196b, l. 11	Talop township	481	Late Date	Date is illegible
Saṅgri Ṇa Kleṅgamsāṅ	RMK 1b.197a, ll. 2-3	Pagan (Myinkaba)	482	Late Date	1120
Saṅkri Ṇa Kīlkamsaṅ	RMK 1b.197b, ll. 1-2	Pagan (Myinkaba)	482	Late Date	
(Sikha)ṅ Syāṅkhlokma Māhāthaṅ	RMK 1b.199b, l. 1	Sagaing	513	Late Date	
Anudhe (name not mentioned)	RMK 1b.201, l. 2	Sagaing	533	Late Date	1171
Plaṅcūmmīlatewā Mahāthaṅ	RMK 1b.205, l.37	Pagan	545	Late Date	1183
Phummlatewā Culapan Mahāthaṅ	RMK 1b.206a, ll. 2-3	Pakangyi	546	Late Date	1184
Sāṅkri Ṇa Pusāṅ	RMK 1b.208, l. 8	Sale township	548	Late Date	1186
Saṅkharājā / Toṅ Saṅkharājā (name not mentioned)	RMK 1b.214, ll. 21-22	Sale township	557	Late Date	1195
Mlatkrīcāvā (name not mentioned)	RMK 1b.217, l. 13	Pagan (now at Mandalay Fort)	562	Late Date	1170
Mraṅmū Saṅghāthī	RMK 1b.218, l. 7	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	562	Late Date	1200
Mlatkrīcāvā Ṇa Cwaisaṅ	RMK 1b.220, ll. 2-3	Pakangyi	564	Late Date	1202
Kumī Tawklōṅ	RMK 1b.221a, l. 10	Pakangyi	567	Late Date	1205
Saṅ (name not mentioned)	RMK 2.1, l. 12	Natogyi township	600	1238	1238
Mīlatsa Mahāsappurisapaṇḍa	RMK 2.2, l. 15	Pagan (Minnanhu)	601	1239	1239
Syaṅ Kukri	RMK 2.3, l. 14	Talop township	601	1239	1239
Phumsaṅ Sy(e)ṭhammaraisaṅ	RMK 2.5, ll. 4-5	Kyaukse township	594	1232	1232
Tawkrisaṅ Uin Chi-up	RMK 2.5, ll. 5-6	Kyaukse township	594	1232	1232
Phummlatso (name not mentioned)	RMK 2.12, l. 4	Myingun town	602	1240	1230

APPENDIX 2 Continued.

Names	Reference	Provenience	Date (Myanmar Era)	Date (AD)	Date of Donation
Ananda Mahāther	RMK 2.13, l. 13	Pagan (Myinkaba)	602	1240	1240
Skhañ Capataw	RMK 2.13, ll. 13-14	Pagan (Myinkaba)	602	1240	1240
Skhañ Dhammasiri	RMK 2.13, l. 14	Pagan (Myinkaba)	602	1240	1240
Skhañ Dhammarac	RMK 2.13, l. 14	Pagan (Myinkaba)	602	1240	1240
Skhañ Sañlāy	RMK 2.13, ll. 14-15	Pagan (Myinkaba)	602	1240	1240
Skhañ Buddhasiri	RMK 2.13, l. 15	Pagan (Myinkaba)	602	1240	1240
Warasāmati	RMK 2.13, l. 17	Pagan (Myinkaba)	602	1240	1240
Syañ Theuyi	RMK 2.14, l. 15	Chaung-oo township	602	1240	1240
Syañ Khanmwān Anuthī	RMK 2.14, l. 16	Chaung-oo township	602	1240	1240
Skhiñ Acalamati	RMK 2.18, l. 3	Nyaung-oo	603	1241	1241
Guṇañānasiddhi	RMK 2.18, ll. 11-12, 15	Nyaung-oo	603	1241	1241
Pañārāsi	RMK 2.18, ll. 12, 15-16	Nyaung-oo	603	1241	1241
Saṅ Mahāpannit	RMK 2.18, l. 17	Nyaung-oo	603	1241	1241
Saṅ Waradhammaguru	RMK 2.18, ll. 17-18	Nyaung-oo	603	1241	1241
Uttamañānaguru (?)	RMK 2.18, l. 18	Nyaung-oo	603	1241	1241
Acalañān (?)	RMK 2.18, l. 18	Nyaung-oo	603	1241	1241
Phumlatkrī Mahākassapa	RMK 2.19a, l. 2	Kyaukse district	604	1242	1242
Phumlatṣa Pañā	RMK 2.19a, l. 17	Kyaukse district	604	1242	1242
Skhiñ Mahākassapa	RMK 2.20a, l. 7	Pagan	604	1242	1242
Skhiñ Mahākassapa	RMK 2.20b, l. 5	Pagan	604	1242	1242
Mahākassapa	RMK 2.22a, l. 10	Pagan	604	1242	1242
Skhiñ Mahākassapa	RMK 2.25, l. 7	Pagan	604	1242	1242
Phumlatewāso Manchryā Skhiñ Ōa	RMK 2.29, ll. 2, 14	Pagan (near Dhammarazaka)	604	1242	1242
Mansaṅ Guṇātirit	RMK 2.29, ll. 18-19, 28	Pagan (near Dhammarazaka)	604	1242	1242
Skhiñ Guṇātirit	RMK 2.30, l. 2	Shwebo district	604	1242	1242
Skhiñ Mahāthi Silawisuddhi					

APPENDIX 2 Continued.

<b>Names</b>	<b>Reference</b>	<b>Provenance</b>	<b>Date (Myanmar Era)</b>	<b>Date (AD)</b>	<b>Date of Donation</b>
Muchuipuw Mahāthi Kambhiraṇṇ	RMK 2.30, l. 10	Shwebo district	604	1242	1242
Caṇḥan Mahāthi Nānawisiddhi	RMK 2.30, ll. 10-11	Shwebo district	604	1242	1242
Phumlatso (name not mentioned)	RMK 2.31, l. 49	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	604	1242	1242
Mlatkrī Pukaṇ	RMK 2.31, l. 50	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	604	1242	1242
Saṇ skhiṇ	RMK 2.32, l. 5	Kyaukse township	604	1242	1242
Dhammarājapannādit	RMK 2.32, ll. 5-6	Kyaukse township	604	1242	1242
Matirājapannādit	RMK 2.32, ll. 6-7	Kyaukse township	604	1242	1242
Dhamma - - - sin	RMK 2.32, l. 7	Kyaukse township	604	1242	1242
Matisāguḥ	RMK 2.32, ll. 7-8	Kyaukse township	604	1242	1242
Skhiṇ Subhūṭican	RMK 2.33a, ll. 14-15	Pagan (Minnanthu)	605	1243	1243
Skhaṇ Maṇkalatthera	RMK 2.33a, l. 15	Pagan (Minnanthu)	605	1243	1243
Phumlatso Wineṇḍhuir	RMK 2.34, l. 2	Pagan (Minnanthu)	605	1243	1243
Skhiṇ Wineydhur	RMK 2.34, l. 30	Pagan (Minnanthu)	605	1243	1243
Skhi Purhārok(sa)	RMK 2.34, l. 31	Pagan (Minnanthu)	605	1243	1243
Skhiṇ Upāliy	RMK 2.34, ll. 31-32	Pagan (Minnanthu)	605	1243	1243
Mlatkrīcāvā Mahākassapa	RMK 2.35a, ll. 2-3	Pagan (Minnanthu)	606	1244	1244
Phumsaṅkri Sikhāṇ Paṇlay	RMK 2.37, ll. 1-2	Pagan (Taungbi village)	606	1244	1244
Skhiṇ Wicittrapati	RMK 2.41, ll. 8-9	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	607	1245	1235
Skhiṇ Srīnāṇagawi	RMK 2.41, l. 9	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	607	1245	1235
Phumsaṇ Nā Tawsaṇ	RMK 2.41, l. 9	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	607	1245	1235
Phumsaṇ Caliy	RMK 2.41, l. 9	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	607	1245	1235

APPENDIX 2 Continued.

Names	Reference	Provenance	Date (Myanmar Era)	Date (AD)	Date of Donation
Phunsañ Pahū	RMK 2.41, ll. 9-10	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	607	1245	1235
Phunsañ Nā Uinsañ	RMK 2.41, l. 10	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	607	1245	1235
Saṅ Phum(o)ñ	RMK 2.41, l. 10	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	607	1245	1235
Saṅ Kūlyoñ	RMK 2.41, l. 10	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	607	1245	1235
Saṅkri Nā Sāsañ	RMK 2.41, l. 11	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	607	1245	1235
Skhiñ Sumethā / Skhiñ Sumedhā	RMK 2.42a, ll. 3, 20	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	607	1245	1245
Sikhañ (Pansaṅkū)	RMK 2.42a, l. 15	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	607	1245	1245
Sikhañ Sumedhā	RMK 2.42b, l. 1	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	607	1245	1245
Saṅkri Nā Khywan	RMK 2.45a, l. 1	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	608	1246	1246
Saṅkri Nā Tamutsaṅ	RMK 2.45a, ll. 3-4	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	608	1246	1246
Phun(sa)ñkri Nā Phwasañ	RMK 2.47, ll. 2-3	Pagan	609	1247	1247
Mañcharyā Pañsaṅkūkri	RMK 2.49, l. 8	Pagan (Myinkaba)	609	1247	1247
Skhiñ Matirājakaṃphi	RMK 2.49, ll. 8-9	Pagan (Myinkaba)	609	1247	1247
Anantarājāsiri	RMK 2.49, l. 9	Pagan (Myinkaba)	609	1247	1247
Skhiñ Ta-ū	RMK 2.49, l. 9	Pagan (Myinkaba)	609	1247	1247
Skhiñ Krwan	RMK 2.49, l. 9	Pagan (Myinkaba)	609	1247	1247
Mañchryā Harissapū	RMK 2.49, l. 10	Pagan (Myinkaba)	609	1247	1247



## APPENDIX 2 Continued.

Names	Reference	Provenance	Date (Myanmar Era)	Date (AD)	Date of Donation
Skhiñ Pañlay / Tawkloñ Skhiñ Pañlay	RMK 2.50, ll. 15, 23	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	609	1247	1247
Skhiñ Pañā	RMK 2.50, l. 15	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	609	1247	1247
Phummlatso Dhamma(senāpati Sikhhañ)	RMK 2.51, l. 14	Meiktila district	609	1247	1247
Phummlatkrī Mahākatsapa / Phummlatso Mahākassapa / Phummlassa Mahākassapa / Skhiñ Mahākassapa	RMK 2.53a, ll. 2, 7, 8, 14, 38	Pagan (Minnanthu)	610	1248	1244, 1248
Skhiñ Mahākassapa / (Phummlat) Mahākassapa / Phummlatkrī / Phummlatso Skhiñ Dhammasari Mahādheñ	RMK 2.53b, ll. 1-2, 3, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 24	Pagan (Minnanthu)	610	1248	1248
Uttapañāśrī	RMK 2.55, ll. 4-5	Pagan (Samati)	610	1248	1248
Rātanaśrī	RMK 2.70, l. 13	Sale township	611	1249	1244
Nā Muy	RMK 2.70, l. 13	Sale township	611	1249	1244
Sukhamiññāy Warapañḍit	RMK 2.70, ll. 13-14	Sale township	611	1249	1244
Syañ Cantimā	RMK 2.70, l. 6	Wetlet township	611	1249	1249
Bhusañ Upanan	RMK 2.70, l. 23	Sale township	611	1249	1244, 1249
Bhusañ Sunārok	RMK 2.70, ll. 23-24	Sale township	611	1249	1244, 1249
Bhusañ Upāli	RMK 2.70, l. 24	Sale township	611	1249	1244, 1249
Saṅghathī Uttamaññasari	RMK 2.75, l. 6	Sale township	613	1252	1252
Pañlayñāy	RMK 2.75, l. 6	Sale township	613	1251	1251
Nā Muysaññāy	RMK 2.75, l. 7	Sale township	613	1251	1251
Pañawalā	RMK 2.75, l. 7	Sale township	613	1251	1251
Upaliy	RMK 2.75, l. 7	Sale township	613	1251	1251
Mlatkrī Mahākassapa	RMK 2.77, l. 8	Pagan (Wetkyi-in)	614	1252	1237
Dhammasiri	RMK 2.77, l. 8	Pagan (Wetkyi-in)	614	1252	1237
Subhūtīcan	RMK 2.77, l. 8	Pagan (Wetkyi-in)	614	1252	1237

APPENDIX 2 Continued.

Names	Reference	Provenance	Date (Myanmar Era)	Date (AD)	Date of Donation
Skhiñ Uttamañgala / Uttamañgala Sikhaiñ	RMK 2.80a, I. 17; RMK 2.80b, I. 2	Pagan (East Pwasaw)	615	1253	1253
Mlatkrī Sukhamin	RMK 2.81, I. 20	Myingun town	615	1253	1253
Manchryā Mahāpañuit	RMK 2.83, I. 2	Pagan (Dhammayangyi)	615	1253	1205, 1253
Skhaiñ Tape'sakrī Nā Tutsaiñ	RMK 2.83, II. 12-13	Pagan (Dhammayangyi)	615	1253	1205, 1253
Skhaiñ Pañātirit	RMK 2.83, I. 26	Pagan (Dhammayangyi)	615	1253	1205, 1253
Manchryā Dhammātsaiñ	RMK 2.84, I. 21	Pagan (East Pwasaw)	615	1253	1205, 1253
Sikhaiñ Lokanatthe	RMK 2.86b, I. 15	Unknown (now at Mandalay Palace)	616	1254	1254
Mlatkrī Cantakūmā	RMK 2.89, II. 3-4	Myingun township	Circa 616	Circa 1254	Circa 1254
Sikhaiñ Manikala	RMK 2.89, II. 4-5	Myingun township	Circa 616	Circa 1254	Circa 1254
Phunsañ Silawuy'	RMK 2.89, I. 5	Myingun township	Circa 616	Circa 1254	Circa 1254
Phunsañ Sūkhamin	RMK 2.89, II. 5-6	Myingun township	Circa 616	Circa 1254	Circa 1254
Phunsañ Brumhapāñay	RMK 2.89, II. 6-7	Myingun township	Circa 616	Circa 1254	Circa 1254
Sariputtarā	RMK 2.89, II. 7-8	Myingun township	Circa 616	Circa 1254	Circa 1254
Phunsañ Utarā	RMK 2.89, I. 8	Myingun township	616	1254	1254
Saiñ Mokkalan	RMK 2.90, I. 9	Myingun township	617	1255	1255
Skhiñ Sainghathe	RMK 2.93, I. 8	Sale township	617	1255	1255
Mahāthi	RMK 2.93, I. 22	Sale township	617	1255	1255
Phun(sañ si)khaiñ	RMK 2.93, I. 23	Sale township	617	1255	1255
Phumlatso Guñāpicañ	RMK 2.94, II. 13-14	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	617	1255	1230
Phumlassa Skhiñ Mahāmatimāthe	RMK 2.96, II. 3, 22-23, 24	Chaung-oo township	618	1256	1255, 1256
Skhiñ Saraputarā	RMK 2.96, I. 27	Chaung-oo township	618	1256	1255, 1256
Sumana	RMK 2.96, I. 27	Chaung-oo township	618	1256	1255, 1256

APPENDIX 2 Continued.

Names	Reference	Provenance	Date (Myanmar Era)	Date (AD)	Date of Donation
Mlaṭsa Saṅkahi (name not mentioned)	RMK 2.97a, l. 9	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	619	1257	1206
Mlaṭso Mahāthī Uṭtaramati	RMK 2.98, l. 8	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	620	1258	1258
Mañchryā Dhammarāc	RMK 2.98, l. 9	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	620	1258	1258
Mañchryā Pawaradhammarājaguru	RMK 2.98, ll. 9-10	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	620	1258	1258
Pancañ Khanṭī	RMK 2.102, l. 19	Sagaing	621	1259	1259
Skhiñ Guṇagambhī	RMK 2.103, ll. 5, 6, 20	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	621	1259	1259
Sañ Chañkhrañ	RMK 2.104, ll. 3-4	Pagan	622	1260	1260
Sañ Saḥū	RMK 2.104, l. 4	Pagan	622	1260	1260
Sāñkathī Nā Phlūsāñ	RMK 2 (Appendix A).107, ll. 6-7	Unknown	518	1156	1156
Anuthī Nā Phunsāñ	RMK 2 (Appendix A).107, l. 7	Unknown	518	1156	1156
- - thī Nā Tonwuyysāñ	RMK 2 (Appendix A).107, l. 13	Unknown	518	1156	1156
Saṅkri (Pha)ttasin	RMK 2 (Appendix A).109b, ll. 9-11	Sale	560	1198	1198
Saṅkrī (name not mentioned)	RMK 2 (Appendix A).111, l. 16	Unknown	570	1208	1208
Phunsāñ Nā Wamsāñ	RMK 2 (Appendix A).113, l. 6	Chauk township	575	1213	1213
Phunsāñ Ujw Krasāñ	RMK 2 (Appendix A).113, ll. 6-7	Chauk township	575	1213	1213

APPENDIX 2 Continued.

Names	Reference	Provenance	Date (Myanmar Era)	Date (AD)	Date of Donation
Phunsañ Nā Chusañ	RMK 2 (Appendix A).113, I. 11	Chauk township	575	1213	1213
Sañ Cantakūmā	RMK 2 (Appendix A).113, II. 11-12	Chauk township	575	1213	1213
Phun Uiw Krasañ	RMK 2 (Appendix A).113, I. 12	Chauk township	575	1213	1213
Skhiñ Kūle	RMK 2 (Appendix A).116, I. 9	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	586	1224	1224
Sañ Nānadhutai	RMK 2 (Appendix A).116, II. 10-11	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	586	1224	1224
Pañā(hi)so	RMK 2 (Appendix A).117b, II. 1-2	Pagan (Myinkaba)	589	1227	1227
Sāthānamati	RMK 2 (Appendix A).117b, II. 2-3	Pagan (Myinkaba)	589	1227	1227
Sañ Pancañ Nā Tryāsañ	RMK 2 (Appendix A).117b, II. 3-4	Pagan (Myinkaba)	589	1227	1227
Sañ Pancañ Nā Cansañ	RMK 2 (Appendix A).117b, I. 4	Pagan (Myinkaba)	589	1227	1227
Sañ Nā Poisañ	RMK 2 (Appendix A).117b, I. 5	Pagan (Myinkaba)	589	1227	1227
Sañ Kawuwuy	RMK 2 (Appendix A).117b, I. 6	Pagan (Myinkaba)	589	1227	1227
(Mlassakrī) Rewatathe / Mlassakrī	RMK 2 (Appendix B).118, II. 12, 17, 23, 25	Pagan (Mingalazedi)	6 --		After 1238
Pañārasikrī	RMK 2 (Appendix B).118, I. 26	Pagan (Mingalazedi)	6 --		After 1238

APPENDIX 2 Continued.

Names	Reference	Provenience	Date (Myanmar Era)	Date (AD)	Date of Donation
Sumana	RMK 2 (Appendix B).118, 1.26	Pagan (Mingalazedi)	6 --		After 1238
Thammadassi	RMK 2 (Appendix B).118, 1.26	Pagan (Mingalazedi)	6 --		After 1238
Pañāwā	RMK 2 (Appendix B).118, 1.27	Pagan (Mingalazedi)	6 --		After 1238
Tulapañā	RMK 2 (Appendix B).118, 1.27	Pagan (Mingalazedi)	6 --		After 1238
Pannarasi	RMK 2 (Appendix B).118, 1.27	Pagan (Mingalazedi)	6 --		After 1238
Putthakhosā	RMK 2 (Appendix B).118, 1.27	Pagan (Mingalazedi)	6 --		After 1238
Phumlatso Ma - - - (name illegible)	RMK 2 (Appendix B).121a, 1.14	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	Date illegible		Date illegible
Saṅ Pansaṅ (name not mentioned)	RMK 2 (Appendix B).130, 1.3	Sagaing district	Date illegible		Date illegible
Subhucanda	RMK 2 (Appendix B).133, 1.3	Pagan (? Monument 888)	Date illegible		Date illegible
Medhanikara Mahāthera	RMK 2 (Appendix B).133, 1.9	Pagan (? Monument 888)	Date illegible		Date illegible
Tissatthera	RMK 2 (Appendix B).133, 1.14	Pagan (? Monument 888)	Date illegible		Date illegible
Dhammasiri	RMK 2 (Appendix B).133, 1.18-19	Pagan (? Monument 888)	Date illegible		Date illegible
Phumsaṅ Saṅghathi	RMK 2 (Appendix B).134, 1.4	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	Date illegible		Date illegible

## APPENDIX 2 Continued.

Names	Reference	Provenance	Date (Myanmar Era)	Date (AD)	Date of Donation
Pancañ Nā Tusañ'	RMK 2 (Appendix B).134, I. 13	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	Date illegible		Date illegible
Munnamā Anuthī	RMK 2 (Appendix B).134, I. 13	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	Date illegible		Date illegible
Sañlyañ Nā Koisañ	RMK 2 (Appendix B).135, I. 12	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	Date illegible		Date illegible
Pancañ Nā Ra	RMK 2 (Appendix B).135, I. 16	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	Date illegible		Date illegible
- - - w Mahāthūra (name illegible)	RMK 2 (Appendix B).140, II. 5-6	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	Date illegible		Date illegible
Phunsañ Nā Pruim	RMK 2 (Appendix B).140, I. 11	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	Date illegible		Date illegible
Sañkrī Nā Sambhāsañ	RMK 3.2, I. 17	Pagan (Wetkyi-in)	622	1260	1260
Skhiñ Lawkapañā	RMK 3.2, II. 23-24	Pagan (Wetkyi-in)	622	1260	1260
Skhiñ Natī	RMK 3.2, I. 24	Pagan (Wetkyi-in)	622	1260	1260
Phumlatso Sañgharājapaṇḍit / Phumlatso / (Phumlatso)	RMK 3.3, II. 2, 11, 12	Pagan (Taywin hill)	623	1261	1261
Singharājapa(ṇḍit)	RMK 3.6, II. 2-3	Pagan (Minnanthu)	624	1262	1262
Mlatkrī Mahākassapa	RMK 3.7a, I. 3	Pagan (Twinywa village)	624	1262	1262
Phumlatso Tissatthe	RMK 3.7b, I. 2	Pagan (Twinywa village)	624	1262	1262
Skhiñ Wijjā	RMK 3.7b, II. 2-3	Pagan (Twinywa village)	624	1262	1262
Skhiñ Dhammapañā	RMK 3.7b, I. 3	Pagan (Twinywa village)	624	1262	1262
Skhiñ Nā Phlūsāñ	RMK 3.7b, I. 4	Pagan (Twinywa village)	624	1262	1262
Skhiñ Nānarañsī	RMK 3.7b, I. 5	Pagan (Twinywa village)	624	1262	1262
Skhiñ Mañkalapuit	RMK 3.7b, II. 5-6	Pagan (Twinywa village)	624	1262	1262
Skhiñ Phattarā					

APPENDIX 2 Continued.

Names	Reference	Provenance	Date (Myanmar Era)	Date (AD)	Date of Donation
(Skhiñ Tā)malin / Mlatkrī	RMK 3.9, ll. 4-5, 14	Pagan (Tāmañi group of buildings)	624	1262	1262
Phunsañ Nā Koisañ	RMK 3.10, l. 3	Kyaukse district	634	1262	1262
Skhiñ Cakukrī / Cakukrī	RMK 3.11, ll. 2, 4, 12, 13	Minbu town	624	1262	1167, 1220, 1262
Skhiñ Sañghathī Nā Titsañ / Skhiñ Sañghathī / Nā Titsañ Sañghathī	RMK 3.11, ll. 2, 3, 4, 8, 36	Minbu town	624	1262	1167, 1220, 1262
Skhiñ Upacañ / Upacañ (name not mentioned)	RMK 3.11, ll. 8, 9, 10, 36	Minbu town	624	1262	1167, 1220, 1262
Skhiñ Muntoñ / Muntoñ	RMK 3.11, l. 10, 19, 21, 36	Minbu town	624	1262	1167, 1220, 1262
Sañghathī Ñoncok	RMK 3.11, l. 17	Minbu town	624	1262	1167, 1220, 1262
Sukhamin Sanpoñ / Sanpoñ	RMK 3.11, l. 21, 36	Minbu town	624	1262	1167, 1220, 1262
Buddhapā Sankrī / Buddhapā	RMK 3.11, l. 22, 36	Minbu town	624	1262	1167, 1220, 1262
Caku Skhiñ Nā Titsañ / Skhiñ Nā Titsañ	RMK 3.11, ll. 23, 24	Minbu town	624	1262	1167, 1220, 1262
Skhiñ Sṭakumā	RMK 3.11, l. 25, 40	Minbu town	624	1262	1167, 1220, 1262
Ñānasitthi	RMK 3.11, l. 25, 40	Minbu town	624	1262	1167, 1220, 1262
Tawmlatkrī Cantakumā	RMK 3.12, l. 17	Myingun town	625	1263	1234, 1263
Skhiñ Pokmluiw	RMK 3.13, l. 7	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	625	1263	1263

APPENDIX 2 Continued.

Names	Reference	Provenience	Date (Myanmar Era)	Date (AD)	Date of Donation
Skhiñ Nā Poñ	RMK 3.13, l. 8	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	625	1263	1263
Pancañ Upaliy	RMK 3.17, l. 12	Meiktila township	627	1265	1265
Atwañ Mlatkr̥cwā	RMK 3.20, ll. 10-11	Pagan (Minnanthu)	628	1266	1225, 1266
Pancañ Nā Phunsañ	RMK 3.22, ll. 7-8	Meiktila township	628	1266	1266
Skhiñ Kulapā	RMK 3.24a, l. 7	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	629	1267	1267
Skhiñ Kulāpā	RMK 3.25a, ll. 7, 25	Pagan	629	1267	1267
Phumlatkr̥cwā Mahākassapa	RMK 3.26a, l. 22	Pagan (Minnanthu)	629	1267	1267
Mlatkr̥i Buddharak	RMK 3.27a, l. 8; RMK 3.27b, l. 18	Shwebo township	630	1268	1268
Skhiñ Lakkhaṇasin	RMK 3.27a, l. 10	Shwebo township	630	1268	1268
Mlatsa Chiryā Siwali	RMK 3.28, l. 8	Myingun	63 -	After 1268	After 1268
Tawmlassakr̥i Kunārasi	RMK 3.28, ll. 8-9	Myingun	63 -	After 1268	After 1268
Onkalimā	RMK 3.28, l. 9	Myingun	63 -	After 1268	After 1268
Mlatsa Sinkhuiw	RMK 3.28, l. 12	Myingun	63 -	After 1268	After 1268
Mlasa Uttamā Phurārok	RMK 3.28, l. 13	Myingun	63 -	After 1268	After 1268
Phunsañ Saṅghathī	RMK 3.30, l. 3	Mandalay	630	1268	1268
Mañchryā Dhammarācakawi	RMK 3.31, l. 2	Pagan (Myinkaba)	630	1268	1268
Skhiñ Pansañ	RMK 3.31, l. 14	Pagan (Myinkaba)	630	1268	1268
Skhiñ Uttamakaru	RMK 3.31, l. 15	Pagan (Myinkaba)	630	1268	1268
Tikkhapañā	RMK 3.31, l. 15	Pagan (Myinkaba)	630	1268	1268
Uttarā	RMK 3.31, l. 15	Pagan (Myinkaba)	630	1268	1268
Upasin	RMK 3.31, l. 15	Pagan (Myinkaba)	630	1268	1268
Phattasin	RMK 3.31, l. 15	Pagan (Myinkaba)	630	1268	1268
Lakkhanā	RMK 3.31, ll. 15-16	Pagan (Myinkaba)	630	1268	1268
Pañārasi	RMK 3.31, l. 16	Pagan (Myinkaba)	630	1268	1268



## APPENDIX 2 Continued.

Names	Reference	Provenance	Date (Myanmar Era)	Date (AD)	Date of Donation
Silawanā	RMK 3.31I, 1. 16	Pagan (Myinkaba)	630	1268	1268
Skhiñ Dhammakuru	RMK 3.33, 1. 8	Pagan (Minnanthu)	630	1268	1263, 1268
Skhiñ Sutiṣā / Skhiñ Sutiṣāgara	RMK 3.33, II. 8, 22, 23	Pagan (Minnanthu)	630	1268	1263, 1268
Phumlatkrī Mahākassapa	RMK 3.33, II. 11-12	Pagan (Minnanthu)	630	1268	1263, 1268
Krwam Skhiñ	RMK 3.33, 1. 12	Pagan (Minnanthu)	630	1268	1263, 1268
Ānanda	RMK 3.35a, 1. 2	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	631	1269	1259, 1269
Skhiñ Wināñthuir	RMK 3.38a, 1. 12	Pagan (Minnanthu)	632	1270	1261, 1270
Skhiñ Sarapuī	RMK 3.38a, 1. 12	Pagan (Minnanthu)	632	1270	1261, 1270
Skhiñ Thamoñkā	RMK 3.38a, II. 12-13	Pagan (Minnanthu)	632	1270	1261, 1270
Skhiñ Upata	RMK 3.38a, 1. 13	Pagan (Minnanthu)	632	1270	1261, 1270
Uīw Chīṭaw	RMK 3.38a, 1. 14	Pagan (Minnanthu)	632	1270	1261, 1270
Mlatkrī Alac	RMK 3.41, II. 2-3	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	632	1270	1270
Skhiñ Thamanā	RMK 3.42, 1. 4	Pagan (Minnanthu)	633	1271	1228, 1245, 1271
Skhiñ Sārapuī	RMK 3.42, 1. 4	Pagan (Minnanthu)	633	1271	1228, 1245, 1271
Skhiñ Wināñthuir	RMK 3.42, 1. 5	Pagan (Minnanthu)	633	1271	1228, 1245, 1271
Mlatkrīcāvā (name not mentioned)	RMK 3.46, II. 40, 41	Pagan (Minnanthu)	634	1272	1252, 1271, 1272
Skhiñ Koṅāguim	RMK 3.49, 1. 5	Pagan (Myinkaba)	634	1272	1272
Phumlat - - (name illegible)	RMK 3.49, 1. 6	Pagan (Myinkaba)	634	1272	1272
Skhiñ - - panuit	RMK 3.49, 1. 7	Pagan (Myinkaba)	634	1272	1272
Sukhamin Charyā Sakhai Yasathe	RMK 3.50, II. 12-13	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	634	1272	1272

## APPENDIX 2 Continued.

<b>Names</b>	<b>Reference</b>	<b>Provenance</b>	<b>Date (Myanmar Era)</b>	<b>Date (AD)</b>	<b>Date of Donation</b>
Mlatkrī, who was Queen Pulaimai's preceptor (Mlatkrī Pulimai Chiryā / Mlatkrīcāvā / Mlatkrī Pulaimai chiyā)	RMK 3.51, ll. 5-6, 19	Pagan (West Pwasaw)	634	1272	1244, 1261, 1266, 1272
Mlatkrīcāvā (name not mentioned)	RMK 3.52, l. 18	Pagan (Minnanthu)	635	1273	1255, 1271, 1273
Skhiñ Mahāthī (name not mentioned)	RMK 3.53, ll. 2-3	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	635	1273	1273
Mlackri therā (name not mentioned)	RMK 3.54, l. 14	Pyay	635	1273	1273
Phummlatsa Nā Titsāñ	RMK 3.56a, l. 6	Minbu town	635	1273	1273
Atvañ Phummlatkrīcāvā Samantaphatthā Mahādhe	RMK 3.57, l. 4	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	636	1274	1263, 1274
Skhiñ Caliydhe	RMK 3.57, l. 33	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	636	1274	1263, 1274
Malañkwat Mahāthay Athirācakaru	RMK 3.58, ll. 7-8	Myinmu township	636	1274	1274
Phummlassa Krammaphat Chiryā	RMK 3.59, l. 17	Pagan (Thamati temple)	636	1274	1261, 1274
Phummlatsa Mankalākṛī	RMK 3.59, ll. 17-18	Pagan (Thamati temple)	636	1274	1261, 1274
Taimmāthañ	RMK 3.59, l. 18	Pagan (Thamati temple)	636	1274	1261, 1274
Sikhañ Manklonñay	RMK 3.59, l. 18	Pagan (Thamati temple)	636	1274	1261, 1274
Skhiñ Wineñthuir / Sarapuiy Skhiñ Wineñthir	RMK 3.61, ll. 2, 8, 20	Pagan (Minnanthu)	636	1274	1221, 1234, 1236, 1240, 1274
Skhiñ Sukhamin	RMK 3.64, l. 7	Sale township	637	1275	1275
Skhiñ Mahānā - saman	RMK 3.64, ll. 7-8	Sale township	637	1275	1275
Nā Muysañ	RMK 3.64, l. 8	Sale township	637	1275	1275
Upasin	RMK 3.64, l. 8	Sale township	637	1275	1275
- - pañtañsañ	RMK 3.64, ll. 8-9	Sale township	637	1275	1275
Skhiñ Phattasin	RMK 3.64, l. 9	Sale township	637	1275	1275

APPENDIX 2 Continued.

Names	Reference	Provenance	Date (Myanmar Era)	Date (AD)	Date of Donation
Phunsañ Phattapañā	RMK 3. 65, ll. 3-4	Pagan (Thetso hill)	637	1275	1275
Skhiñ Anantapañā	RMK 3. 68, l. 3	Pagan (Minnanthu)	638	1276	1276
Skhiñ Pukañ	RMK 3.70, ll. 2, 7, 23 (below)	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	640	1278	1239, 1250, 1272, 1278
Pancañ Sutacan	RMK 3.70, l. 34 (below)	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	640	1278	1239, 1250, 1272, 1278
Pakkyan	RMK 3.70, l. 36 (below)	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	640	1278	1239, 1250, 1272, 1278
Pāramī	RMK 3.70, l. 36 (below)	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	640	1278	1239, 1250, 1272, 1278
Parwarasī	RMK 3.70, l. 37 (below)	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	640	1278	1239, 1250, 1272, 1278
Rephani	RMK 3.70, l. 37 (below)	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	640	1278	1239, 1250, 1272, 1278
Pañarasī	RMK 3.70, l. 37 (below)	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	640	1278	1239, 1250, 1272, 1278
Pañawā	RMK 3.70, l. 38 (below)	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	640	1278	1239, 1250, 1272, 1278
Mankalathe	RMK 3.70, l. 38 (below)	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	640	1278	1239, 1250, 1272, 1278
Sumanatthera	RMK 3.71, l. 6	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	640	1278	1276, 1278
Lakkhana - - -	RMK 3.71, l. 6	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	640	1278	1276, 1278
Mañchiryā Disābrāmuk	RMK 3.71, ll. 9, 13, 20, 22, 26	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	640	1278	1276, 1278

## APPENDIX 2 Continued.

Names	Reference	Provenance	Date (Myanmar Era)	Date (AD)	Date of Donation
Saṅkrī - - - (name illegible)	RMK 3.74, l. 25	Pagan (Mitrāgū monastery)	641	1279	1260, 1279
Mlatkrī Tāmalin / Mlatkrī	RMK 3.76, ll. 2, 28, 33, 39, 43	Pagan (Tamani group of buildings)	641	1279	1262, 1278, 1279
Prañtawsā Skhiñ Mahāthī / Prañtausā Sikhān Mahāthī	RMK 3.77a, ll. 2, 31-32, 34-35	Magwe district 641	641	1279	1269, 1279
Sikhañ Mahāthī (name not mentioned)	RMK 3.77b, ll. 32-33	Magwe district 641	641	1279	1269, 1279
Mlatsa Mahādhī (name not mentioned)	RMK 3.78, l. 7	Shwebo district	642	1280	1280
Mlatkrī / Mlatkrī Tāmalin / Mlatkrīcāwā Skhiñ Tāmalin	RMK 3.79a, ll. 5, 13-14, 29-30, 39, 43	Pagan (Tamani group of buildings)	642	1280	1277, 1278, 1280
- - - Dhammawilāsa	RMK 3.79a, l. 14	Pagan (Tamani group of buildings)	642	1280	1277, 1278, 1280
Mlatkrīcāwā (name not mentioned)	RMK 3.81, ll. 2, 27	Pagan (Minnanthu)	643	1281	1277, 1279, 1281
Uj Chīṭaw	RMK 3.81, l. 16	Pagan (Minnanthu)	643	1281	1277, 1279, 1281
Syañ Disāprāmuk / Mlatkrīcāwā	RMK 3.84, ll. 5, 49, 51	Pagan	647	1285	
Puñadhāmmikā Mahāthī	RMK 3.84, l. 13	Pagan	647	1285	
Śrī Dhāmmikā Saṅghāthī	RMK 3.84, l. 13	Pagan	647	1285	
Mlatkrī Acalaputti / Skhiñ Acalaputti	RMK 3.86a, ll. 6-7, 15	Pagan (Minnanthu)	653	1291	1264, 1290, 1291
Skhiñ Pṭaka	RMK 3.86a, l. 14	Pagan (Minnanthu)	653	1291	1264, 1290, 1291
Skhiñ Adhirācakuru	RMK 3.86a, l. 15	Pagan (Minnanthu)	653	1291	1264, 1290, 1291
Mlatkrī Acalabuddhi / Skhiñ Acalabuddhi	RMK 3.87a, ll. 4, 10	Pagan (Minnanthu)	653	1291	1269, 1290, 1291

APPENDIX 2 Continued.

<b>Names</b>	<b>Reference</b>	<b>Provenance</b>	<b>Date (Myanmar Era)</b>	<b>Date (AD)</b>	<b>Date of Donation</b>
Mlatkrī Tipitaka	RMK 3.87a, ll. 9-10	Pagan (Minnanthu)	653	1291	1269
Mlatkrī Adhirājakuru	RMK 3.87a, l. 10	Pagan (Minnanthu)	653	1291	1269
Mlatkrī Samantapāsātika	RMK 3.87a, l. 10	Pagan (Minnanthu)	653	1291	1269
Phumlatkricwā / Phumlatkricwā Samantabhaddrā Mahāthera	RMK 3.91a, ll. 2, 3, 9, 24	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)			1260
Syañ Mahāthī Dhammasirī	RMK 3.91b, l. 12	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)			1260
Syañ Ratanasāguil / Skhiñ ratanasāguil	RMK 3.91b, ll. 12, 20	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)			1260
Skhiñ Agga	RMK 3.91b, l. 16	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)			1260
Kiwan Mahāthī	RMK 3.91b, l. 16	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)			1260
Uttaguru	RMK 3.91b, l. 16	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)			1260
Dhammasenāpati	RMK 3.91b, l. 16	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)			1260
Syañ Lha	RMK 3.91b, l. 16	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)			1260
Sutagambhī	RMK 3.91b, l. 16	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)			1260
Nirānwan	RMK 3.91b, l. 16	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)			1260
Skhiñ M(a)thirājaguru	RMK 3.91b, l. 20	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)			1260
Mlatkrī Mahākassāpa	RMK 3.92, l. 2	Pagan (Minnanthu)	655	1293	1278, 1293
Mlackri Bhattasin	RMK 3.96, l. 13	Talop township	656	1294	1294

APPENDIX 2 Continued.

Names	Reference	Provenance	Date (Myanmar Era)	Date (AD)	Date of Donation
Phumlatkīcāvā Neramut	RMK 3.104a, l. 11	Budalin township	658	1296	1296
Kuṇḍaṅ Mahātheṅ	RMK 3.105, l. 6	Chaung-oo township	658	1296	1296
Skhiṅ Paṅsakūkrī	RMK 3.112, l. 4	Bodh-Gaya (now lost)	660	1298	1294, 1298
Chiryā Sīridhammarājākuru	RMK 3.112, ll. 6-7	Bodh-Gaya (now lost)	660	1298	1294
Sīrikassapa	RMK 3.112, l. 9	Bodh-Gaya (now lost)	660	1298	1294
Wanawāsi Skhiṅ Thera	RMK 3.112, l. 9	Bodh-Gaya (now lost)	660	1298	1294
Mlatkrīthe (name not mentioned)	RMK 3.112, l. 10	Bodh-Gaya (now lost)	660	1298	1294
Mlatkīcāvā who was Rājasaṅkramī's preceptor	RMK 3.116, l. 3	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	661	1299	1297, 1299
Kraṅitū Mlatkrī	RMK 3.119, l. 6	Chaung-oo township	662	1300	1242, 1256, 1292, 1300
Mlatkrī Mahākassapa	RMK 3.119, ll. 6, 7				
Mlatkīcāvā Adhirājagaru	RMK 3.119, l. 24				
Skhiṅ Ak	RMK 3.119, l. 24				
Maṅchryā Mahindatthe	RMK 3.119, l. 27				
Mlatkrī Mahindatthe	RMK 3.120, ll. 9-10				
Phumlatssa Guṇasāgara	RMK 3.122, l. 8	Chaung-oo township	662	1300	1300
Tipitakawilāsa Mahāthī	RMK 3.123a, ll. 2-3	Pagan (West Pwasaw)	664	1302	1249, 1259, 1265, 1302
Ānantatthe	RMK 3.131, l. 18	Pakokku district	664	1302	1302
Mlatkīcāvā (name not mentioned)	RMK 3.131, ll. 34, 36	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	667	1305	1260, 1305
Atwaṅ Mlat - - - adhirājagaru	RMK 3.134a, ll. 10-11	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	667	1305	1260, 1305
Mlatkrī Khaṅthī (Skhiṅ)	RMK 3.135, l. 8	Pagan (Minnanthu)	668	1306	1306
Mahāthe (name not mentioned)	RMK 3.139, l. 2	Myinmu town	668	1306	1195, 1306
Mlatkri Pikunthe	RMK 3.146, l. 2	Kyaukse district	669	1307	1300, 1307
		Kyaukse district	672	1310	1310

APPENDIX 2 Continued.

Names	Reference	Provenance	Date (Myanmar Era)	Date (AD)	Date of Donation
Atwainruy (Phummla)thī	RMK 3.148, l. 16	Myingun township	673	1311	1244, 1260, 1311
Skhiñ Abhayathe	RMK 3.150, ll. 1-2	North Mrinyindaw village ? (now at Mandalay Fort)	674	1312	1312
Mlatkrī Phurārok	RMK 3.150, l. 2	North Mrinyindaw village ? (now at Mandalay Fort)	674	1312	1312
Syañ Mahāthī / Mahāthī (name not mentioned)	RMK 3.154, ll. 20-21	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	676	1314	1313, 1314
Syañ Loimakhaiñ	RMK 3.154, ll. 22, 24-25, 26	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	676	1314	1313, 1314
Mlatcawā Syañ Mlatnay	RMK 3.156, ll. 3-4	Chaung-oo township	677	1315	1309, 1315
Phummlatkrīcawā Mahākassapa	RMK 3.158, l. 1	Pagan (Minnanthu)	677	1315	1248, 1269, 1315
Sankrī Brum	RMK 3.159a, l. 34	Pagan (Minnanthu)	677	1315	1248, 1269, 1315
Syañ Upa(kut) / Syañ Upakat (?)	RMK 3.159b, ll. 4, 22	Pagan (Minnanthu)	677	1315	1248, 1269, 1315
Syañ Pañā / Syañ Manikalapañā (whether they were the same persons or not is uncertain)	RMK 3.159b, ll. 4, 23	Pagan (Minnanthu)	677	1315	1248, 1269, 1315
Syañ Uṭtamā (?)	RMK 3.159b, l. 4	Pagan (Minnanthu)	677	1315	1248, 1269, 1315
Skhiñ Pannarasi (?)	RMK 3.159b, l. 23	Pagan (Minnanthu)	677	1315	1248, 1269, 1315
Phummlatkrīcawā Mahākassapa / Mlatkrīcawā	RMK 3.159a, ll. 5-6; RMK 3.159b, ll. 33, 34	Chaung-oo township	677	1315	1272, 1281, 1302, 1315

## APPENDIX 2 Continued.

Names	Reference	Provenance	Date (Myanmar Era)	Date (AD)	Date of Donation
Skhiñ dhammasiri (?)	RMK 3.161, l. 18	Pagan (Minnanthu)	678	1316	1316
Syañ Mahādhe	RMK 3.164, l. 9	Unknown (now at Pagan Museum)	679	1317	1306, 1312, 1317
Mlatkrīwā Sikhāñ Dhammasiri / Sikhāñ Dhammasiri / Sikhāñ Mahāthe / Mahāthe	RMK 3.167, ll. 4-5, 15, 24-25, 29	Kyaukse district	681	1319	1300, 1307, 1309, 1319, 1230, 1231, 1250, 1262, 1319
Taw kloñ (Skhiñ) Mokkalan	RMK 3.168, l. 21	Chaung-oo township	681	1319	1230, 1231, 1250, 1262, 1319
Pan - Parapuiknanta - - -	RMK 3.168, ll. 21-22	Chaung-oo township	681	1319	1230, 1231, 1250, 1262, 1319
Dhammapañā	RMK 3.168, l. 22	Chaung-oo township	681	1319	1230, 1231, 1250, 1262, 1319
Phattapañā	RMK 3.168, l. 22	Chaung-oo township	681	1319	1230, 1231, 1250, 1262, 1319
Pañā	RMK 3.168, l. 22	Chaung-oo township	681	1319	1230, 1231, 1250, 1262, 1319
Skhiñ Nadrīthe	RMK 3.170, l. 2	Taungwingyi town	681	1319	1319
Mlatkrī Thammasenāpati	RMK 3.172, l. 17	Myingun town	682	1320	1234, 1320
Skhiñ Silawī	RMK 3.173a, l. 4	Unknown	682	1320	1309, 1320
Mratkrīwā (name not mentioned)	RMK 3.173b, l. 7	Unknown	682	1320	1309, 1320
Sikhāñ Mañkalathe	RMK 3.176, ll. 13-14	Myinmu town	684	1322	1322
Syañ Mahā(thī) (name not mentioned)	RMK 3.182, l. 6	Kyaukse township	687	1325	1325
Anuthī (name not mentioned)	RMK 3.182, l. 9	Kyaukse township	687	1325	1325



## APPENDIX 2 Continued.

<b>Names</b>	<b>Reference</b>	<b>Provenance</b>	<b>Date (Myanmar Era)</b>	<b>Date (AD)</b>	<b>Date of Donation</b>
Syañ Mahāthī Nā Rhañsañ / Syañ Mahāthī	RMK 3.183, ll. 3, 8	Kyaukse township	687	1325	1325
Turañ Mahāthe	RMK 3.184, ll. 3-4	Unknown (now at Mandalay Fort)	688	1326	1326
Syañ The	RMK 3.185, l. 12	Kyaukse town	688	1326	1326
Syañ Cunta	RMK 3.189, l. 3	Chaung-oo township	689	1326	1326
Mlatkrī Mahādhī / Mlatkri	RMK 3.190, ll. 2-3, 10	Kyaukse township	689	1327	1327
Syañ Niyyamut	RMK 3.193, l. 16	Unknown (now at Sagaing Tūpayon inscriptions shed)	690	1328	1328
Phumlatkriewā -- raja	RMK 3.194, ll. 2-3	Wetlet township	690	1328	1328
Khlok Skhiñ Dheñ	RMK 3.195, ll. 2-3	Kyaukse township	692	1330	1330
Mlatkrī Mahāthī (prob. the same as Mlatkriewā Suphūtican [RMK 3.197b, l. 20])	RMK 3.197a, l. 15	Wetlet township	693	1331	1315, 1331
Mlatkriewā Suphūtican	RMK 3.197b, l. 20	Wetlet township	693	1331	1315, 1331
Phumlatkrī Mahāthañ, who was Anantastī's preceptor	RMK 3.198, l. 49	Pagan (Minnanthu)	694	1332	1207, 1332
Paramaracaguru Skhiñ The	RMK 3.201a, l. 1 (below)	Sagaing	694	1332	1332
Sikhañ Yyassa	RMK 3.208, l. 28	Shwebo district	695	1333	1333
Mlatkri Calañ	RMK 3.208, l. 29	Shwebo district	695	1333	1333
Mlatkri Mwappā	RMK 3.208, l. 31	Shwebo district	695	1333	1333
Mahāthī (name not mentioned)	RMK 3.210, l. 9	Pagan (Thatbyinnyu temple)	696	1334	1334
Mahāthe	RMK 3.217, l. 2	Wetlet township	697	1335	1335
Mahāthe (name not mentioned)	RMK 3.223, l. 7	Myinzaing township	698	1336	1336
Mahākassapa	RMK 4.6, l. 2	Chaung-oo township		1339	1339

APPENDIX 2 Continued.

Names	Reference	Provenance	Date (Myanmar Era)	Date (AD)	Date of Donation
Mahākassapa	RMK 4.7b, l. 3	Yezago township		c. 1338	c. 1338
Anurathā	RMK 4.15, l. 4	Myinzaing township		1340	1340
Mlatcwā Skhiñ Mlatñay	RMK 4.22	Chaung-oo Township		1341	1341
Mlatkricwā Buthacan	RMK 4.28, l. 3	Unknown		1342	1310, 1314, 1339, 1342
Upalawan Mahāthe	RMK 4.32, ll. 5-6	Chaung-oo township		1342	1194, 1250, 1342
Phummlatkrīwā Mahākassapa	RMK 4.35a, l. 25	Monywa township		1344	1341, 1344
Saṅkri (name not mentioned)	RMK 4.39, l. 18	Pakangyi		1345	1203(2), 1216, 1345
Mahāthera (name not mentioned)	RMK 4.40, l. 12	Unknown		1246	1241, 1243, 1246
Dhammarājawilāsa	RMK 4.42, ll. 7-8	Unknown		1347	1347
Syañ Lhoksañ	RMK 4.45, l. 8	Shwebo district		1347	1347
Na Mliysañ	RMK 4.51, l. 3	Wetlet township		1349	1249, 1349
Saṅkharājā	RMK 4.58, l. 5	Wetlet township		1352	1345, 1352
Mlatcwāshañ Mirasatthe	RMK 4.61b, l. 7	Sagaing district		1352	1306, 1336, 1352
Mlatkrī Mahākassapa	RMK 4.100, l. 3	Halingyi		1368	1237, 1368
Syañ Samantaphatra	RMK 4.100, l. 22	Halingyi		1368	1237, 1368
Saṅkri (name not mentioned)	RMK 4.104a, ll. 15, 19	Unknown		1372	1177, 1372
Phunsañkrī Muttho	RMK 4.114	Unknown		1386	1386
Bhunmlatkrī Dhammasenāpati	RMK 4.115, ll. 15-16	Chaung-oo township		1386	Before 1255, 1386
Mahākassapa	RMK 4.115, 3	Chaung-oo township		1386	Before 1255, 1386

APPENDIX 2 Continued.

Names	Reference	Provenance	Date (Myanmar Era)	Date (AD)	Date of Donation
Mahāmatimā	RMK 4.115, ll. 6, 7	Chaung-oo township		1386	Before 1255, 1386
Kṛvāṃ Skhiñ (name not mentioned)	RMK 4.116b, l. 15	Pagan (West Pwasaw)		1388	1299, 1388
Khlokma Mahātheñ	RMK 4.129a, l. 18	Sagaing		1400	139, 1345, 1400
Saṅgharājā (name not mentioned)	RMK 4.129a, l. 18	Sagaing		1400	139, 1345, 1400
Mahākassapa	RMK 4.137a	Ngazun		1409	1315, 1409
Mahākassapa	RMK 4.138b, l. 4	Sale township		1409	1260, 1373, 1409
Rājaguru Mahāthañ	RMK 4.152b, l. 2	Dipeyin township		1435	1381, 1435

Source: Nyein Maung, *Rhe:hoi: Mraṃmā Kyokcāmyā: [Old Myanmar Inscriptions]*. Vols. 1-5. (Yangon: Archaeology Department, 1972-1998); and G.H. Luce and Pe Maung Tin, *Inscriptions of Burma*. 5 Portfolios. (Rangoon: Rangoon UP, 1933-1956)

Note.—The titles *Saikiri*, *Saihyani* and *Sai* were sometimes also prefixed to the names of laypersons, probably administrative officials; *Skhiñ* was affixed to the names of the members of the royalty and some royal officials; and *Phimsañ* to some laypersons. Therefore, it is in some instances impossible to know for certain whether the person with one of these prefixes mentioned in an inscription was a monk or a layperson, and the list would include some names that could either have been monks/nuns or laypersons.

## APPENDIX 3.—THE FLOURISHING DATES OF THE BUDDHIST SECTS (BY SIGNAL YEARS)

Kings <sup>1</sup>	Signal Years	Saṇi Monks	Phun Monks	Forest Monks	Pamsukulikaś <sup>7</sup>	Lemyethma <sup>10</sup>	Bhikkhuni
1. Aniruddha	?1044-1077	Votive tablet prob. belonging to Aniruddha's reign <sup>2</sup>		AD 1057 <sup>5</sup>			
2. Sawlu (Mañ Lulan)	?1077-1084						
3. Kyansitha (Thiluin Mañ)	1084-1113	AD 1112 <sup>3</sup>					
4. Alaungsithu (Cañsū I)	1113-1169/70 <sup>1</sup>		AD 1151 <sup>4</sup>		Skhiñ Pansakū (Na Cwaysañ), acc. to the chronicles, was the royal preceptor since Alaungsithu's reign. <sup>8</sup>		AD 1168 <sup>12</sup>
5. Narathu (Imtawrhan) <sup>1</sup>	1169-1170 <sup>1</sup>						
6. Mañyan Narasingha (Cañsū II) <sup>1</sup>	1170-1174 <sup>1</sup>						
7. Narapatisithu (Cañsū III) <sup>1</sup>	1174-1211 <sup>1</sup>			Chappada's mission chronicle account			

APPENDIX 3 Continued.

Kings <sup>1</sup>	Rignal Years	Saṅg Monks	Phun Monks	Forest Monks	<i>Pam̐sukūlikās</i> <sup>7</sup>	Lemyethma <sup>10</sup>	<i>Bhikkhuni</i>	
8. Nātoṇmyā (Narasinkha Uccanā)	1211-?1235			AD 1216 <sup>6</sup>	AD 1201/1236 <sup>9</sup>	AD 1223 <sup>11</sup>		
9. Klacwā	1235-?1249							
10. Uccanā	?1249-1256							
12. Narasīhapate (Taruppliy)	1256-1287							
13. Klacwā	1288-1297							
14. Sawnac	1294-1334	However, Sīhasū had became king by 13-3-1304.						

Note.—The dates given from the inscriptions were the earliest recorded dates when the monks received donations. As it would have taken time to establish their sects, time to become famous, the founding of these sects would be earlier than these dates.

<sup>1</sup>The list of the kings and their rignal years have been taken from Aung-Thwin's work. As he has ably proved that there was not an interregnum between AD 1165 to 1174 as Luce has suggested, Luce's dates for the kings are not used in this paper. Michael Aung-Thwin, *Myth & History in the Historiography of Early Burma: Paradigms, Primary Sources, and Prejudices*, Monographs in International Studies, Southeast Asia Series, no. 102 (Athens: Ohio UP, 1998)

<sup>2</sup>... *saṅgradivācariyena* ... on a votive belonging to Aniruddha's reign probably means "... by Saṅgrī Divācariyena." Mya, *Rhie:honi: Utkhwak* 1: 19, Figs.. 15a and b.

<sup>3</sup>Rājakumār's inscriptions mention seven saṅgrī. *RMK* 1.1a, lines 19-22 and 1.2a, lines 22-26. A *mlatkrīcwā* by the name of Khaytoṇ was a royal preceptor in 531 ME (AD 1169). *RMK* 1.16, lines 1-2.

## APPENDIX 3 Continued.

<sup>4</sup>The first mention of *Phum*-monks was in an inscription dated AD 1151.

<sup>5</sup>The *Sāsanañāṭṭhikāra Cātami*: states that Arahan, who alleged to have converted Aniruddha to Theravada Buddhism, was a forest monk. Mahā Dhammasaṅkramaṃ, *Sāsanañāṭṭhikāra Cātami*: 91.

<sup>6</sup>An inscription records the donations made in 578 BE (AD 1216) to Skhiñ Yañṭaw, who was dwelling in the forest monastery donated by the mother of the queen. *RMK* 1.72, lines 3-4. Therefore, there were forest monasteries before this date.

<sup>7</sup>The monks with the name Pañsakū could have been *pam̐sukh̐likas*.

<sup>8</sup>According to the chronicles, Skhiñ Pañsakū, aka Na Cwaysaṅ, was the royal preceptor since Alaungsithu's reign. *Glass Palace Chronicle*, 112.

<sup>9</sup>An inscription dated 591 ME (AD 1229) mentions the donations made in 563 ME (AD 1201) to Na Cwaysaṅ's monastery. *RMK* 1.130, lines 1-3. Royal Preceptor Pañsakū's name, according to the chronicles, was Na Cwaysaṅ. Therefore if Na Cwaysaṅ mentioned in the above inscription is the same as "Phumlatso Pañsakū Mañcharyā" mentioned in an inscription dated 598 ME (AD 1236), it can be assumed that there were *pam̐sukh̐likas* in Pagan by AD 1201. If not, however, they certainly were in Pagan before AD 1236, when one of them already had become a royal preceptor.

<sup>10</sup>The monks dwelling in the monasteries with double enclosures, such as Le:myaknhā and Chutoṅ:prañ'.

<sup>11</sup>The Lemyethna, the earliest extant monastic complex, was built in 585 ME (AD 1223). *RMK* 1.97a-d.

<sup>12</sup>A Saṅkri Uirw' Khyam'sāñ was among the monks (OM *sañkhā*) who witnessed a donation in Buddhist era 1712 (AD 1168). *RMK* 1.15, lines 8-11.



APPENDIX 4 Continued.

References	Dates of Events Mentioned in the Inscriptions (AD)									9/Last Date
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
<i>RMK</i> 1.106, l. 4										1225
<i>RMK</i> 1.109, ll. 14, 24, 32										1225
<i>RMK</i> 1.137, ll. 3-4										1231
<i>RMK</i> 1.138, ll. 18-19										1231
<i>RMK</i> 1.140, l. 2 (below)										1232
<i>RMK</i> 1.158a, ll. 5-6, 7-8										1235
<i>RMK</i> 1.164, l. 6										1236
<i>RMK</i> 1.172b, l. 20	1182									1236
<i>RMK</i> 1.177, L. 3, 16, 18-19										After 1138
<i>RMK</i> 1.178, ll. 3, 18-19	1232	1236								1237
<i>RMK</i> 1.180, l. 7										1237
<i>RMK</i> 1.206a, ll. 2-3										1184
<i>RMK</i> 1.217, l. 13										1170
<i>RMK</i> 1.220, ll. 2-3										1202
<i>RMK</i> 2.2, l. 15										1239
<i>RMK</i> 2.5, ll. 4-5										1232
<i>RMK</i> 2.12, l. 4	1230									1240
<i>RMK</i> 2.19a, ll. 2, 17										1242
<i>RMK</i> 2.29, ll. 2, 14										1242
<i>RMK</i> 2.31, l. 49, 50										1242



APPENDIX 4 Continued.

References	Dates of Events Mentioned in the Inscriptions (AD)								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9/Last Date
<i>RMK</i> 2.34, l. 2									1243
<i>RMK</i> 2.35a, ll. 2-3									1244
<i>RMK</i> 2.37, ll. 1-2									1244
<i>RMK</i> 2.41, ll. 9-10									1235
<i>RMK</i> 2.47, ll. 2-3									1247
<i>RMK</i> 2.51, l. 14									1247
<i>RMK</i> 2.53a, ll. 2, 7, 8, 14, 38; <i>RMK</i> 2.53b, ll. 1-2, 3, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 24									1244, 1248
<i>RMK</i> 2.77, l. 8									1237
<i>RMK</i> 2.81, l. 20									1253
<i>RMK</i> 2.89, ll. 3-4, 5-8									c. 1254
<i>RMK</i> 2.93, l. 23									1255
<i>RMK</i> 2.94, ll. 13-14	1230								1255
<i>RMK</i> 1.96, l. 3	1255								1256
<i>RMK</i> 2.97a, l. 9	1206								1257
<i>RMK</i> 2.98, l. 8									1258
<i>RMK</i> 2.113, ll. 6-7, 11, 12									1213
<i>RMK</i> 2.118, ll. 12, 17, 23, 25									After 1238
<i>RMK</i> 2.121a, l. 14									Date illegible
<i>RMK</i> 2.134, l. 4									Date illegible
<i>RMK</i> 3.3, ll. 2, 11, 12									1261













**APPENDIX 6.—DATES OF EVENTS MENTIONED IN THE INSCRIPTIONS  
IN WHICH THE WORD *TAW KLOŃ* OCCURS**

References	Dates of Events Mentioned in the Inscriptions (AD)								9/Last Date
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
<i>RMK 1.72</i> , line 3									1216
<i>RMK 1.109</i> , lines 13, 16									1225
<i>RMK 1.160</i> , line 1									1235
<i>RMK 1.165</i> , line 1									1236
<i>RMK 1.180</i> , line 7									1237
<i>RMK 1.221</i> , line 10									Pagan period
<i>RMK 2.5</i> , lines 5-6									1232
<i>RMK 2.14</i> , lines 15, 16									1240
<i>RMK 2.19a</i> , lines 2-3									1242
<i>RMK 2.20</i> , line 7									1242
<i>RMK 2.42a</i> , line 28									1245
<i>RMK 2.50</i> , line 23									1247
<i>RMK 2.53b</i> , line 13	1237	1242	1244	1246 (4)	1247				1248
<i>RMK 2.77</i> , line 5 (in Pali)	1237								1252
<i>RMK 2.96</i> , lines 2-3	1255								1256
<i>RMK 3.12</i> , line 17									1263
<i>RMK 3.27b</i> , line 5									1268
<i>RMK 3.28</i> , lines 8-9									After 1268
<i>RMK 3.35a</i> , line 7									1269



APPENDIX 6 Continued.

References	Dates of Events Mentioned in the Inscriptions (AD)								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9/Last Date
<i>RMK</i> 3.59, line 15									1274
<i>RMK</i> 3.92, line 2	1278								1293
<i>RMK</i> 3.104a, line 11									1296
<i>RMK</i> 3.119, line 25	1242	1256	1292						1300
<i>RMK</i> 3.150, line 2									1312
<i>RMK</i> 3.153, line 22	1313								1314
<i>RMK</i> 3.168, line 21	1231	1262							1319
<i>RMK</i> 4.7b, 14									c. 1338

**APPENDIX 7.—TEMPLE TYPES (BY CENTURY)**

<b>Monument Nos.</b>	<b>Dates</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>No. of Entrances</b>
12	11 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
74	11 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
374	11 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Alopye type)	4
1030	11 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image stupa temple	4
1031	11 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image stupa temple	4
1192	11 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Three-image temple	1
1202	11 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1240	11 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Three-image temple (Manuha)	
1493	11 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image stupa temple	4
1564	11 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Three-image temple	1
1569	11 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1605	11 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Three-image temple	1
1653	11 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
1662	11 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
20	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple (miscellaneous)	1
27	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple (miscellaneous)	1
36	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
37	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple (miscellaneous)	1
146	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	4
168	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
285	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
296	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
315	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Alopye type)	1
316	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
369	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
433	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
572	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Two-image temple with secondary shrine	1
716	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
748	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Sulamani type)	4
771	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Dhammayangyi)	4
803	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Sulamani type)	4
947 (image houses)	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1026	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1066	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1068	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1073	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1085	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Two-image temple	4
1088	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1146	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple (miscellaneous)	1
1185	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Alopye type)	4
1203	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1249	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Alopye type)	4

## APPENDIX 7 Continued.

Monument Nos.	Dates	Type	No. of Entrances
1323	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1336	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1385	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temples (in ruins)	Ruined
1387	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temples (in ruins)	Ruined
1391	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple with two entrance halls	4
1476	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Alopye type)	4
1478	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Two-image temple	4
1494	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
1507	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
1511	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1512	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Alopye type)	1
1580	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1597	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Sulamani type)	4
1601	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1611	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1612	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple (miscellaneous)	1
1620	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Two-image temple	4
1622	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Sulamani type)	4
1623	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Image house	1
1686	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1695	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple (miscellaneous)	1
1704	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1710	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
2171	12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Ananda)	4
40	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
43	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
44	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
51	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Five-image temple (pentagonal)	5
70	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
73	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple (miscellaneous)	1
75	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Two-image temple with secondary shrine	1
76	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
81	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
85	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple without solid core	4
90	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Kalagyaung type)	4
121	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	3
130	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	3
136	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Kalagyaung type)	4
137	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
142	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	3
145	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
147	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	4
148	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	3
150	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	4

## APPENDIX 7 Continued.

Monument Nos.	Dates	Type	No. of Entrances
151	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	3
155	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
164	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
169	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple (miscellaneous)	1
175	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
176	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
177	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
178	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Kalagyaung type)	4
194	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
197	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	3
230	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
231	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
233	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	4
234	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
235	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
237	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	2
244	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
245	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
246	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
257	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Image house	1
258	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
259	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Thambula Type)	4
262	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
263	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image stupa temple	4
277	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
290	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Kalagyaung type)	4
293	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	4
307	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
320	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Three-image temple	1
324	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
326	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Kalagyaung type)	4
335	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
339	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
344	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple (miscellaneous)	1
347	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
351	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
352	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
353	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
356	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
357	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	4
359	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Thambula Type)	4
360	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Two-image temple	4
361	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1

## APPENDIX 7 Continued.

Monument Nos.	Dates	Type	No. of Entrances
362	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Three-image temple	1
378	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
382	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
386	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
420	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
427	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	4
447	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Thambula Type)	4
467	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
468	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
473	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
474	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
475	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple without solid core	4
477	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Three-image temple (Hpayathonzu)	3
478	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Three-image temple (Hpayathonzu)	3
479	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Three-image temple (Hpayathonzu)	3
482	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Thambula Type)	4
483	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	4
487	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	4
491	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple without solid core	4
494	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	4
505	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	4
506	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Thambula Type)	4
516	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
534	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Thambula Type)	4
539	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Thambula Type)	4
548	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
555	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	2
557	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Kalagyaung type)	4
558	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Two-image temple	4
566	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image pentagonal temple	1
568	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	4
569	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
571	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	4
577	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
585	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	4
586	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	2
588	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	3
591	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
594	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
596	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
600	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
607	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Five-image temple (pentagonal)	5
608	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
614	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1

## APPENDIX 7 Continued.

Monument Nos.	Dates	Type	No. of Entrances
627	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
632	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Two-image temple with secondary shrine	1
635	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
643	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	3
645	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	3
647	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
653	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Kalagyaung type)	4
655	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
656	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
657	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	3
659	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
660	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	3
661	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
663	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
664	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	4
666	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
667	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Thambula Type)	4
670	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
673	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	3
674	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Two-image temple with secondary shrine	1
675	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
676	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Thambula Type)	4
680	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image stupa temple	4
711	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Kalagyaung type)	4
712	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
730	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Five-image temple (pentagonal)	5
732	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	3
734	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
735	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
741	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Two-image temple with secondary shrine	1
749	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
781	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Five-image temple (pentagonal)	5
782	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	2
785	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Kalagyaung type)	4
786	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
790	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
791	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
795	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple with two entrance halls	4
828	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
839	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
842	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Thambula Type)	4
844	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Thambula Type)	4
845	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Thambula Type)	4
856	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1

## APPENDIX 7 Continued.

Monument Nos.	Dates	Type	No. of Entrances
862	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	4
870	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
882	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
883	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Two-image temple with secondary shrine	1
887	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
892	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
893	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Thambula Type)	4
904	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
915	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
926	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
927	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
988	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Thambula Type)	4
995	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
996	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1005	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1022	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1042	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Image house	1
1045	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1046	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1048	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1049	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	3
1050	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1051	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1052	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1075	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
1077	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1080	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1089	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1091	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	2
1092	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1098	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	2
1104	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1105	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Kalagyaung type)	4
1127	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1130	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1133	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
1135	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Kalagyaung type)	4
1148	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Five-image temple (non-pentagonal)	1
1150	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1152	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1164	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1165	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1170	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1172	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple (miscellaneous)	1

## APPENDIX 7 Continued.

Monument Nos.	Dates	Type	No. of Entrances
1205	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Two-image temple	2
1206	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1208	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Three-image temple	1
1209	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1217	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Two-image temple	4
1218	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	4
1222	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1223	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1224	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temples (in ruins)	Ruined
1228	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Thambula Type)	4
1237	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Three-image temple	1
1244	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1247	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1255	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1256	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	3
1258	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1269	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Kalagyaung type)	4
1299	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1300	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
1307	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	3
1308	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1311	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1312	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	3
1319	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
1329	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1333	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1337	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1340	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Thambula Type)	4
1359	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image stupa temple	4
1374	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1381	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1382	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1383	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1390	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1401	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	4
1404	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1410	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Five-image temple (pentagonal)	5
1416	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	4
1417	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1422	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1440	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
1455	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1457	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Thambula Type)	4
1458	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	4



## APPENDIX 7 Continued.

Monument Nos.	Dates	Type	No. of Entrances
1460	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	4
1461	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	4
1462	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1471	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Thambula Type)	4
1475	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple (miscellaneous)	1
1483	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	4
1486	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Thambula Type)	4
1487	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
1500	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	3
1502	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1504	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Five-image temple (pentagonal)	5
1524	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1536	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	4
1554	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Kalagyaung type)	4
1564	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Two-image temple	4
1566	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1573	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
1577	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1583	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple (miscellaneous)	1
1592	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Image house	1
1599	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Two-image temple	4
1604	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple (miscellaneous)	1
1613	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple (miscellaneous)	1
1628	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1629	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Alopye type)	4
1630	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1635	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1638	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
1641	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1643	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
1648	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1661	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1667	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Two-image temple with secondary shrine	3
1667	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	3
1668	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	2
1669	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image pentagonal temple	1
1670	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Two-image temple with secondary shrine	1
1671	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Five-image temple (pentagonal stupa temple)	5
1676	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1683	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1684	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with redented outlines	1
1701	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image temple with plain outlines	1
1724	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Single-image stupa temple	1
1790	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image stupa temple	4

## APPENDIX 7 Continued.

Monument Nos.	Dates	Type	No. of Entrances
1812	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Four-image temple (Sulamani type)	4
1831	13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Five-image temple (pentagonal)	5

Source: Pierre Pichard, *Inventory of Monuments at Pagan*, vols. 1-6 (Paris: UNESCO, 1992-1999)

Note.—The list includes only the temples of which the placement of the image(s) is/are known.

APPENDIX 8.—TEMPLES TOPS (BY CENTURY)

A. Temples topped with square tower (*śikhara*)

Monument Nos.	Dates	Remarks
1192	11 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1239	11 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1587	11 <sup>th</sup> cent	
36	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
37	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
135	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
285	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
315	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
369	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
433	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
744	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
748	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
947	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1026	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1029	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1073	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1085	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1182	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1203	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1249	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1323	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1336	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1391	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1471	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1476	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1478	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1499	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1511	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1512	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1580	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1589	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1597	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1600	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	square spire with 4 projection
1620	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1622	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1686	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
40	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
43	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
44	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
75	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
85	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	

## APPENDIX 8A Continued.

Monument Nos.	Dates	Remarks
121	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
130	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
143	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
145	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
147	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
148	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
150	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
155	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
230	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	ruined
233	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
235	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
243	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	ruined
244	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
245	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	uncertain
249	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
258	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
259	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
262	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
298	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	pyramidal square tower and circular crowning block
307	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
324	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
339	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
352	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	uncertain
353	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
359	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
360	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
378	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
386	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
420	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
427	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
447	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
477	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
478	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
479	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
480	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	uncertain
482	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
506	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
534	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
569	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
571	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
588	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
594	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
608	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
627	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
635	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
647	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	

## APPENDIX 8A Continued.

Monument Nos.	Dates	Remarks
652	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
658	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
659	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
663	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
664	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
667	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
676	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
712	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
732	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
734	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
735	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
741	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
765	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
766	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
795	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
828	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
842	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
844	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
845	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
852	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
856	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
862	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
882	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
883	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
893	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	uncertain
988	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
995	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
996	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1018	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1022	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1046	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1049	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1050	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1051	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1052	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1053	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1077	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1080	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1081	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1087	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1089	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1092	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1104	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1130	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1148	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1149	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1152	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	

## APPENDIX 8A Continued.

Monument Nos.	Dates	Remarks
1164	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1165	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1166	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1170	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1205	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1206	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1209	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1217	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1218	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1219	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1222	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1228	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1237	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1244	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1247	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1255	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1256	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1258	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1263	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1299	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1303	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1307	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1308	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1311	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1312	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1329	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1333	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1340	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1355	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1374	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1383	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1388	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1401	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1404	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1416	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1457	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	reduced square tower (?)
1458	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1460	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1461	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1462	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1475	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	uncertain
1486	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1498	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1524	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1536	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1577	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1584	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	

## APPENDIX 8A Continued.

Monument Nos.	Dates	Remarks
1628	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1641	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1645	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1648	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1667	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1668	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1669	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1684	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1685	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1694	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
505	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
320	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	uncertain
539	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	uncertain

Source: Pierre Pichard, *Inventory of Monuments at Pagan*, vols. 1-6 (Paris: UNESCO, 1992-1999)

## B. Temples topped with stupa

Monument Nos.	Dates	Remarks
12	11 <sup>th</sup> cent	
74	11 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1030	11 <sup>th</sup> cent	hemispherical dome and <i>harmikā</i>
1031	11 <sup>th</sup> cent	hemispherical dome and <i>harmikā</i>
1202	11 <sup>th</sup> cent	hemispherical dome and <i>harmikā</i>
1493	11 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1605	11 <sup>th</sup> cent	twelve-sided bulbous dome with 12 vertical radial bands issuing from naga heads, 12-sided crowning block and spire
1653	11 <sup>th</sup> cent	hemispherical dome and <i>harmikā</i>
1662	11 <sup>th</sup> cent	
146	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
168	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
296	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	hemispherical dome and <i>harmikā</i>
316	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
374	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1074	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	prob. circular bulbous dome (Pichard)
1075	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	circular bulbous dome
1385	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1387	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1494	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1507	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	prob. stupa with hemispherical dome and <i>harmikā</i>
1612	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	

## APPENDIX 8B Continued.

Monument Nos.	Dates	Remarks
1664	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	
51	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
64	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
70	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
76	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	hemispherical dome and <i>harmikā</i>
90	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
136	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
137	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
141	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
142	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
149	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
151	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
164	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	hemispherical dome and <i>harmikā</i>
169	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
175	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	prob. stupa with hemispherical dome and <i>harmikā</i>
176	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
177	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
178	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
194	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	hemispherical dome and <i>harmikā</i>
231	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
234	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
237	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
246	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
263	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
277	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	hemispherical dome and <i>harmikā</i>
290	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
293	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
310	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
326	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
335	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	ruined
351	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
355	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
356	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
357	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
361	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
367	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
370	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
382	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
421	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
467	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	hemispherical dome and <i>harmikā</i>
468	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	hemispherical dome and <i>harmikā</i>
473	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
474	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	hemispherical dome and <i>harmikā</i>
475	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
483	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	



## APPENDIX 8B Continued.

Monument Nos.	Dates	Remarks
487	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
491	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
494	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
516	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	hemispherical dome and <i>harmikā</i>
548	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	prob. stupa with hemispherical dome and <i>harmikā</i>
555	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
557	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
558	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
562	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	ruined
566	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	hemispherical dome
567	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	ruined
568	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
577	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
585	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
586	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
591	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	hemispherical dome
596	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
600	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
607	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
614	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
632	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
643	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
645	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
653	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
657	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
660	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
661	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
662	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
666	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	prob. stupa with hemispherical dome and <i>harmikā</i>
670	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	hemispherical dome and <i>harmikā</i>
673	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
674	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
675	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	hemispherical dome and <i>harmikā</i>
680	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
711	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
722	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
728	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
730	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
750	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
778	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
781	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
782	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
785	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
786	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	

## APPENDIX 8B Continued.

Monument Nos.	Dates	Remarks
790	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
791	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
793	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
892	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
904	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	hemispherical dome and <i>harmikā</i>
915	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
926	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	hemispherical dome and <i>harmikā</i>
1005	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1048	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1091	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1098	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1105	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1127	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1133	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	hemispherical dome and <i>harmikā</i>
1135	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1150	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1208	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1234	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1269	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1282	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1319	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	hemispherical dome and <i>harmikā</i>
1359	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	hemispherical dome and <i>harmikā</i>
1375	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1410	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1417	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1422	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1440	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	hemispherical dome and <i>harmikā</i>
1477	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1479	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1481	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1482	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1483	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1487	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1502	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1504	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1554	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1573	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	hemispherical dome and <i>harmikā</i>
1599	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1613	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1635	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1638	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1643	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1661	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1672	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1676	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1683	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	

## APPENDIX 8B Continued.

Monument Nos.	Dates	Remarks
1699	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	
1724	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	hemispherical dome and <i>harmikā</i>

Source: Pierre Pichard, *Inventory of Monuments at Pagan*, vols. 1-6 (Paris: UNESCO, 1992-1999)

## C. Miscellaneous

Monument Nos.	Dates	Top	Remarks
1570	11 <sup>th</sup> cent	sloping roof	
20	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	square tiered tower	
27	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	square tiered tower	
1146	12 <sup>th</sup> cent	square tiered tower	
73	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	square tiered tower	
257	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	flat roof	
699	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	2-tiered sloping roof	
1565	11 <sup>th</sup> cent	sloping roof	
1042	13 <sup>th</sup> cent	sloping roof	

Source: Pierre Pichard, *Inventory of Monuments at Pagan*, vols. 1-6 (Paris: UNESCO, 1992-1999)

APPENDIX 9.—COMPARISON OF SINHALESE AND PAGAN JATAKAS

A. Jataka Names

Sinhalese Jātakas	Pagan Temples
21. Kuruṅga	<u>Lakkha</u> (Chauk Hpayahla). All the other temples used Kuruṅgamiga or its spelling variants. <sup>1</sup>
29. Kaṇha	<u>Ayyika</u> (Gubyaukgyi [Myinkaba]). All the other temples used Kaṇha or its spelling variants. <sup>2</sup>
54. Phala	Phalaka (Ananda), <u>Kimphala</u> (Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in]). All the other temples use Phala. <sup>3</sup>
101. Parosata	Dutiya Parosahassa (Lemyethna and Gubyaukgyi [Myinkaba]). All the other temples used Parosata. <sup>4</sup>
118. Vaṭṭaka	Cintaphala (Shwezigon). Other temples used Waṭṭaka or its variants. <sup>5</sup>
120. Bandhanamokkha	Hatthawutha (Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in]). Other temples used Bandhanamokkha or its variants. <sup>6</sup>
130. Kosiya	Asipaṭṭhāna (Thingaraza). Other temples used Kosiya or its variants. <sup>7</sup>
132. Pañcagaru	Abhiruka (Lemyethna, Ananda), Abhirūka (Gubyaukgyi [Myinkaba]), (A)bhiruka (Thingaraza), Bhīruka (Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in]), Bhīru (Ajagona), Bhiru (Winido).

<sup>1</sup> Kuruṅgamiga (Ananda, Hpetleik, Gubyaukgyi [Myinkaba], Kuruṅgāmiga (Ajagona), Kuruṅkamika (Ngahlathin Gu), Guruṅgmiga (Thambula and Shwezigon), Guruṅgāmika (Thingaraza).

<sup>2</sup> Kaṇha (Thingaraza, Lemyethna, Winido, Ngahlathin Gu, Chaukhpayahla, Thambula), Kaṇhā (Hpetleik), Kanhā (Ajagona).

<sup>3</sup> Thingaraza, Ajagona, Winido, Ngahlathin, Chaukhpayahla, Thambula, Hpetleik.

<sup>4</sup> Ajagona, Thambula, Ananda, Gubyaukgyi (Wetkyi-in). Only the first two syllables (*paro*) can be read in Ngahlathin gu.

<sup>5</sup> Waṭṭaka (Ajagona, Hpetleik), Wattaka (Ananda, Gubyaukgyi [Myinkaba], Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in]), Wattaga (Thingaraza). Only the last syllable ‘ka’ can be read at Thambula.

<sup>6</sup> Bandhanamokkha (Thingaraza, Ajagona, Ngahlathin Gu, Chaukhpayahla, Thambula, Ananda), Bandhanamukkha (Winido), Bandhanāmukha (Gubyaukgyi [Myinkaba]).

<sup>7</sup> Kosiya (Winido, Ngahlathin gu, Ananda, Gubyaukgyi [Myinkaba], Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in]). Only the last two syllables ‘siya’ can be read at Lemyethna.

## APPENDIX 9A Continued.

Sinhalese Jātakas	Pagan Temples
155. Gagga	Bhagga (Thingaraza, Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in]), Bhaggawa (Ajagona, Winido, Thambula), Bhaggawā (Ngahlathin Gu), Gaggawa (Gubyaukgyi [Myinkaba])
162. Santhava	Sabbawāhana (Thingaraza), Sindhawāhana (Chaukhpayahla). Other temples used Santhava or its variants. <sup>8</sup>
231. Upāhana	Kahana (Hpetleik). Other temples have Upāhana or its spelling variants. <sup>9</sup>
237. Sāketa	Atipema (Ajagona, Chaukhpayahla, Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in]). Sāketa only at Ananda.
255. Suka	Mattañu (Ajagona, Ngahlathin Gu, Chaukhpayahla), Yāvasomattañu (Ananda, Gubyaukgyi [Myinkaba]), Yavasomatta (Hpetleik), Suka (Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in]).
274. Lola	Kāka (Hpetleik). Other temples have Lola or spelling errors for it. <sup>10</sup>
277. Romaka	Pārāva (Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in]). Romakama (Lemyethna). Other temples have Roma. <sup>11</sup>
280. Puṭadūsaka	Samuddadūsa (Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in]). Other temples have Pūṭadūsa or its spelling variants. <sup>12</sup>
296. Samudda	Anantapāyī (Hpetleik). Other temples have Samudda or its variants. <sup>13</sup>
297. Kāmavilāpa	Kāmahetu (Ajagona, Ngahlathin Gu, Ananda, Gubyaukgyi [Myinkaba], Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in]). Gāmahetu (Thingaraza). Only -mahetu is legible at Chaukhpayahla. Kāmatappatu (Hpetleik). Kāmawilā (Lemyethna).

<sup>8</sup> Sandhawa (Winido, Ngahlathin Gu, Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in]), Santhawa (Ananda, Hpetleik, Gubyaukgyi [Myinkaba]).

<sup>9</sup> Upāhana (Thingaraza, Ajagona, Lemyethna, Winido, Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in]), Upahana (Ananda).

<sup>10</sup> Lola (Ajagona, Lemyethna, Winido, Ngahlathin Gu, Chaukhpayahla, Thambula Gubyaukgyi [Myinkaba]). Lomā at Thingaraza.

<sup>11</sup> Sangharāja, Ajagona, Winido, Ngahlathin Gu, Chaukhpahla, Ananda, Hpetleik, Gubyaukgyi (Myinkaba).

<sup>12</sup> Pūṭadūsa (Thingaraza, Ajagona, Ngahlathin Gu), Puṭadusa (Lemyethna, Winido, Ananda), Putadusa (Gubyaukgyi [Myinkaba]).

<sup>13</sup> Samudda (Thingaraza, Ajagona, Lemyethna, Ngahlathin Gu, Chaukhpayahla, Ananda, Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in]). Samutta (Thambula, Gubyaukgyi [Myinkaba]). Only final -dda is legible at Winido.

## APPENDIX 9A Continued.

Sinhalese Jātakas	Pagan Temples
300. Vaka	Catuposa (Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in]). Other temples have Waka or its variants. <sup>14</sup>
327. Kākāti	Uggaka (Thingaraza). Other temples have Kākātiya or its variants. <sup>15</sup>
335. Jambuka	Siṅgāla (Thingaraza, Ananda, Gubyaukgyi [Myinkaba]), Sigāla (Winido, Shwezigon), Sīṅkāla (Ajagona), Sikāla (Chaukhpayahla, Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in]).
355. Ghata	Bhaṅga (Ajagona, Ngahlathin Gu, Chaukhpayahla), Bhagaṭa (Thingaraza), (G)āṅga (Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in]), Ghaṭa (Thambula), Ghata (Ananda, Gubyaukgyi [Myinkaba]).
371. Dīghitikosala	Dīghatissa (Ananda), Kosalarāja (Hpetleik). Other temples have Dīghitikosala or its spelling variants. <sup>16</sup>
391. Dhajaviheṭṭha	Vijjādhara (Hpetleik). Dhajawihedhana (Ajagona, Winido), Dhajavihethana (Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in]), Dhajaviheṭṭha (Ananda), Dhajavihetha (Gubyaukgyi [Myinkaba]).
417. Kaccāni	Naccānagutthā (Thingaraza), Naccānaguṭṭha (Chaukhpayahla, Kaccāyanagotta (Gubyaukgyi [Myinkaba]), Kacca-aṭṭharatta (Thambula). Other temples have Kaccāni or its spelling variants. <sup>17</sup>
421. Gaṅgamāla	Maṅgala (Thambula). Other temples have Gaṅgamāla or its spelling variants. <sup>18</sup>
428. Kosambi	Dīghāwu (Winido, Gubyaukgyi [Myinkaba]), Dīghāwu (Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in], Ajagona). Only -ghāwu is legible at Thambula. Kosambiya (Ananda). Chaukhpayahla has Kitcha; it is not certain whether Kitcha replaced the Kosambi or was another name for the latter.

<sup>14</sup> Waka (Thingaraza, Winido, Ngahlathin Gu, Ananda), Baka (Chaukhpayahla, Lemyethna, Hpetleik, Gubyaukgyi [Myinkaba]). Only -ka is legible at Thambula. Wakka (Ajagona).

<sup>15</sup> Kākātiya (Chaukhpayahla, Ananda, Gubyaukgyi [Myinkaba], Kākātiya (Lemyethna), Gaṅkātiya (Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in], Kāghatiya (Winido), Tākāriya (Ajagona).

<sup>16</sup> Dīghatikosa (Ajagona), Tigharikosala (Ngahlathin Gu), Dīghatikosala (Thambula), Dīghatikosala (Swhezigon). Dīghatissakosala (at Gubyaukgyi [Myinkaba]) is a combination of Dīghatissa and Dīghitikosala.

<sup>17</sup> Kaccāni (Ngahlathin Gu), Kaccānī (Ajagona, Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in]), Kaccā (Winido), Kaccāyana (Ananda).

<sup>18</sup> Gaṅgamāla (Ananda, Gubyaukgyi [Myinkaba], Kaṅkamāla (Ngahlathin Gu), Bhaṅgamāla (Hpetleik), Phaṅkamāla (Ajagona).

## APPENDIX 9A Continued.

Sinhalese Jātakas	Pagan Temples
433. Lomakassapa	Idā loma (Thingaraza), Isiloma (Ananda), Isilomakassapa (Thambula, Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in]), Isilomakassa (Lemyethna), Lomakassapa (Ajagona, Winido), Lomasagassba (Ngahlathin Gu). Only -loma is legible at Gubyaukgyi (Myinkaba).
439. Catudvāra	Mittawinda (Winido, Thambula, Ananda, Gubyaukgyi [Myinkaba], Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in]), Mitawinda (Thingaraza), Mittawinta (Ajagona). Hpetleik is the only temple where the name Catudwāra is used.
454. Ghata	All the temples used Ghatapaṇḍita or its variants. <sup>19</sup>
456. Juṇha	Juṇhaghara (Thambula). Other temples have Juṇha or its spelling variants. <sup>20</sup>
457. Dhamma	Dhammadewaputta (Thingaraza, Ajagona, Winido, Thambula, Ananda, Chaukhpayahla). Dhammadeputta (Shwezigon). Dhammadeva (Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in]), Dhamma (Hpetleik).
461. Dasaratha	Setaratha (Gubyaukgyi [Myingaba]). Dasaratharāma (Thambula). Other temples have Dasaratha or its spelling variants. <sup>21</sup>
464. Cūlakuṇāla	Cūlasakuna (Thingaraza), Cūvasakuna (Gubyaukgyi [Myinkaba]), Cūlawaw (Winido). Other temples have Cūlakuṇāla or its spelling variants. <sup>22</sup>
467. Kāma	Saṅkama (Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in]). Kāma in all other temples. <sup>23</sup>
471. Meṇḍaka	Sirimiṇḍa (Ananda), Meṇḍapaṇha (Ajagona, Chaukhpayahla, Gubyaukgyi [Myinkaba]), Meṇḍakapaṇha (Winido), Miṇḍapaṇha (Thingaraza, Thambula), Meṇḍapaṇha (Shwezigon), Meṇḍoka (Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in]).

<sup>19</sup> Ghatapaṇḍita (Thingaraza, Winido, Gubyaukgyi [Myinkaba]), Satapaṇḍita (Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in]), Ghattamaṇḍita (Ajagona).

<sup>20</sup> Juṇha (Winido, Hpetleik, Shwezigon), Junha (Gubyaukgyi [Myinkaba]), Cuṇha (Ajagona, Ngahlathin Gu, Chaukhpayahla), Cunha (Thingaraza).

<sup>21</sup> Dasaratha (Thingaraza, Anagona, Ngahlathin Gu, Ananda, Hpetleik, Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in]). Dasatha (Winido).

<sup>22</sup> Cūlakuṇāla (Hpetleik, Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in], Shwezigon), Cūlakuṇālā (Ajagona), Cūlakunāla (Ananda)

<sup>23</sup> Thingaraza, Ajagona, Winido, Ngahlathin Gu, Chaukhpayahla, Ananda, Hpetleik, Gubyaukgyi (Myinkaba).

## APPENDIX 9A Continued.

Sinhalese Jātakas	Pagan Temples
482. Rurumiga	Kuruṅgamiga (Ananda), Gurumiga (Ajagona), Durumiga (Thingaraza). Rurumiga (Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in], Shwezigon). Ruru (Hpetleik). This Jātaka is replaced with Mātuposatha Jātaka at Winido.
484. Sālikedāra	Suwaka (Ajagona, Winido, Ngahlathin Gu, Ananda, Gubyaukgyi [Myinkaba], Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in]), Suwamātuposa (Hpetleik), Supada (Thingaraza). It is not whether Wakadāla at Chaukhpayahla replaced this Jataka or is another name for this Jataka.
490. Pañcūposatha	Catuposatha (Ananda). Other temples have Pañcuposatha or its spelling variants. <sup>24</sup>
536. Kuṇāla	Pañcapāpī (Shwezigon). Other monuments have Kuṇāla or its variants. <sup>25</sup>
538. Mugapakkha	Temiya (Ajagona, Ngahlathin Gu, Thambula, Hpetleik, Shwezigon), Temi (Ananda, Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in]), Tamiya (Winido).
542. Ummagga	Mahosatha (Ajagona, Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in], Shwezigon), Mahosadha (Ngahlathin Gu, Hpetleik), Mahos (Ananda).
543. Khaṇḍahāla	Candakumāra (Ajagona, Ngahlathin Gu, Ananda, Hpetleik), Candakumā (Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in]).

Source: Archaeology Department (Yangon), Ink glosses in Pagan temples, 25 portfolios, mss.

<sup>24</sup> Pañcūposatha (Thingaraza, Gubyaukgyi [Myinkaba]), Pañcuposatha (Ngahlathin Gu, Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in]), Pañcaposatha (Winido), Pañcabhosatha (Lemyethna), Pañcūposa (Ajagona).

<sup>25</sup> Kuṇāla (Winido, Ananda, Hpetleik, Gubyaukgyi [Wetkyi-in]), Guṇāla (Ajagona, Thambula). Kunāla (Ngahlathin Gu). Only -nāla is legible at Thingaraza.



**B. Names and Arrangement of the Last Ten Jatakas**

Pagan	Sinhalese Jātakas (with numbers)
Temiya, Temi, etc.	538. Mūgapakkha
Janaka, Janak, etc.	539. Mahājanaka
Sāma, Syām	540. Sāma
Nemi, Nimi	541. Nimi
Mahosadha, Mahos, etc.	546. Ummagga
Candakumāra	542. Khaṇḍahāla
Bhūridatta	543. Bhūridatta
Nārada	544. Mahānāradakassapa
Vidhura	545. Vidhurapaṇḍita
Vessantara	547. Vessantara

Source: Archaeology Department (Yangon), Ink glosses in Pagan temples, 25 portfolios, mss.