

University of Mandalay

**ART AND ARCHITECTURE IN PAKHAN GYI  
DURING THE MONARCHICAL DAYS**

Tint Lwin

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DURING THE MONARCHICAL DAYS**

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## **Abstract**

In writing this dissertation on the "*Art and Architecture in Pakhangyi during the monarchical days*", every conceivable aspect has been covered, and the dissertation is divided into four chapters. In writing the First Chapter, the artifacts and implements of Neolithic age period, the religious edifices and wall paintings are mainly used as evidences to show the development of Pakhangyi region as one of the main centres of Myanmar civilization other than Bagan and other places of cultural interest. The First Chapter asserts the historical and cultural legitimacy of the Pakhangyi region by presenting its visible facets of successive periods starting from the stone age: stone implements, how the very term Pakhangyi emerge, the oldest villages, the massive city wall, how the city was rebuilt five times, the quality of bricks used and the pattern of brick bonding, water supply system, agriculture and the region's inhabitants. In the chapter on Stupas and Cave Temples, about over fifty edifices, from the existing about 200, are detailed with supporting photographs and drawings of groundplans from the viewpoint of art history and architecture. And on wall paintings, ceiling and wall paintings of eighty cave temples are presented in detail with photographs and drawings and with comments comparing with paintings from Bagan, Sagaing and Khin Mon village. Finally on iconography, many images from stupas, cave temples and from Pakhangyi Museum totalling over 50 statues are recorded, commented and compared so as to make clear the scholarly aspects and Dhamma message these icons aim to convey to the devotees who visited the noble places to fulfill their spiritual yearnings. And in writing this dissertation every effort has been made to meet the requirements of historicity by basing mainly on the primary sources.

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### List of Abbreviations

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## Glossary

<i>Abayamudra</i>	The fear not or protection assuring pasture of the hand
<i>Acheit</i>	undulating line,
<i>Anyeint</i>	Song and dance performance.
<i>Aung Chin Shipparr</i>	Eight Buddha's victories .
<i>Aung Thae Aung Thar</i>	Successful celebrated Alcohol and Meat .
<i>Bali-gwei</i>	Gorget with upswept wring as.
<i>Bhumi-phassa mudra</i>	Hand towching earth position
<i>Bou-dawin</i>	Life story of Buddha.
<i>Brahma</i>	being higher than deva.
<i>Chinthei</i>	lion,
<i>Chu</i>	kind of lion, usually stylised.
<i>Chunwe</i>	kind of kanout, creeper hanging down.
<i>Chupan</i>	kind of kanout, the flower, often synonymous as chunwe.
<i>Deva:</i>	god, deity
<i>Du-gok</i>	mantle-like double layered vestment of a monk
<i>Galon</i>	mythical bird of immense size, a roe (from Pali garuda).
<i>Garng Paung Sa</i>	Turban- knoot flat.
<i>Garua</i>	galon.
<i>Gyapkhout</i>	rimitive weaving method.
<i>Gyo-Pyay-Nan-Pyay</i>	Shit-Myet-Hnar stupa.
<i>Hintha</i>	brahminy duck, used as translation for Pali word hamsa.

<i>Hlaing Tan Poe</i>	South city wall constructed pattern.
<i>Hman Kin Taw</i>	The ornamental frontlet covering the forehead, Spire, Top-knot
<i>Hmwe Shin Taw</i>	Stand of hair between the eyebrows
<i>Hmawtan</i>	row of small flowers.
<i>Hmwe Shin Taw</i>	Stand of hair.
<i>Hnishpekhssek</i>	design formed by joining two identical parts.
<i>Hsektan</i>	repeated floral design.
<i>Hsin Swe Wun Shet</i>	secant circle pattern
<i>Htaunghssektan</i>	pron daunzekpan / floral design in a corner.
<i>Jataka</i>	Buddhist birth-story, Burmanised zataka or zat.
<i>Kanout</i>	curvilinear floral design.
<i>Kanout-tek</i>	part of the kanout flower.
<i>Katone Phaya</i>	A bore-Headed Buddha
<i>Khaun-laun</i>	bell made of brass, silver, gold
<i>Kho Nan Choe</i>	West City wall constructed Pattern (with projecting corners).
<i>Khspat pan</i>	floral design girdling a pillar or any round thing
<i>Kinnara</i>	animal human from head to waist and bird from waist down, the female of which is kinnara
<i>Kwekhsek</i>	row of designs joined to each other
<i>Kwekle</i>	same designs in a row as well as one above the other
<i>Kweklehsek</i>	series of designs linked together to form a fourpiece pattern
<i>Kwektek</i>	designs placed at intervals
<i>Kyahlan</i>	design of upturned bands of lotus petals
<i>Kyahmauk</i>	design of down-ward-facing lotus petals
<i>Kyaung, kyaung taik</i>	Buddhist monastery
<i>Lam Mywe Yoe</i>	East city wall constructed partten.

<i>Leihpekhssek</i>	four of the same design joined at the centre
<i>Lokanat</i>	from Pali Lokanatha, the Bodhisatva Arimetteyya, or Avalokiteswara.
<i>Magai</i>	Headress worn by king's or nobility.
<i>Magyiywekhpatt</i>	band of leaves that look like tamarind leaves.
<i>Makan</i>	Burmanised form of makara.
<i>Makara</i>	sea-monster, one half fish and one half mammal.
<i>Ma-keik</i>	Crown.
<i>Manda</i>	swan (Pali).
<i>Mani Taw</i>	Topknot in a Tiny Mound.
<i>Manlikadaza</i>	Robe worn by Queen Mallika.
<i>Mann Phaya</i>	hollow-Image Lacquered
<i>Manusshia</i>	Manusshia, fabulous creature with a man's torso and Lion's hindquarter, depicted in a squatting posture on forked haunches
<i>Manussiha</i>	Sphinx, animal with a lion's body and a deva's head.
<i>Maya-Khoe</i>	Laying bricks in alternate design lengthwise horizontally and vertically.
<i>Mi-Gyaung</i>	Three-string musical instrument shape like crocodile.
<i>Mong</i>	Gong circle.
<i>Monkey-bhilu</i>	kind a spirit that takes the form of a monkey.
<i>Na-kinn</i>	decorated ear-flap
<i>Na-Daung</i>	Ear-plugs
<i>Naga</i>	Decorative serpent, dragon without legs.
<i>Naga-Lein</i>	Intertwining Nagas.
<i>Naga-Yon</i>	Picture depicting shelter made by coiled serpent's hood.
<i>Narr Pan Taw</i>	The decorative earpiece.

<i>Nat</i>	spirit, supernatural being lower in rank than the deva
<i>Nayaar</i>	Four footed serpent in scrollwork.
<i>NCRC</i>	New Century Resource Centre
<i>Ogre</i>	Bhilu, onamentation in form of orge
<i>Out seintaung</i>	row of brick structures forming a low wall, balustraded.
<i>Over</i>	hundred shuttle :
<i>Pan</i>	literally 'flower' , any art or craft.
<i>Pan Chi</i>	Art of drawing with paint.
<i>Pan sekwun</i>	flower in crircle.
<i>Panchi</i>	drawing and painting.
<i>Panhswa</i>	festoons, design of flowers hanging down from a roof.
<i>Panpe</i>	blacksmith, black-smith's craft.
<i>Panpu</i>	sculpture.
<i>Panput</i>	the turner's craft.
<i>Pantamaw</i>	stone sculpture.
<i>Pantaw</i>	stucco seutic
<i>Panteim</i>	goldsmith and his craft.
<i>Panyan</i>	mason, masonry.
<i>Panyun</i>	lacquer craft.
<i>Pein-Hne-Hsu hair</i>	Spiky outer covering of a jack fruit
<i>Pilaster</i>	Pilastre cornier.
<i>Pron daunmat-pan</i>	vertical floral design.
<i>Puhso</i>	man's sarong thtamein = womanis strong.
<i>Puletan</i>	row of heads, same as ywetan.
<i>Purapaik pron parahath</i>	folding book made of hard paper.
<i>Putlepan</i>	floral designs hordering a panel.

<i>Pyatthad</i>	graduated turret surmounting a roof: spire, steeple.
<i>Pyistainghtaung</i>	doll that will remain standing however hard you throw it about.
<i>RCAMM</i>	Resource Centre for Ancient Myanmar Manuscripts
<i>Saing</i>	Myanmar orchestra, an ensemble of Myanmar musical instrument.
<i>Saingpaung</i>	horn-like structure at the upper corner of a door or back-slab; sometimes referred to as 'flame'
<i>Sakra</i>	(Pali Sakka) Burmanised as Thikya, Indra or King of god.
<i>Samakhan</i>	raised platform
<i>Sap panchi</i>	the craft of constructing and decorating makeshift pavillion or tents
<i>Sarivatsa</i>	symbol of prosperity, found on Pyu and Arakan coins.
<i>Sataik</i>	chest for scriptures (in modern Burmese, post office).
<i>Sayap</i>	rest-house
<i>Seintaung</i>	upturned petals, larger than Kyahlan See out seintaung.
<i>Shweisawa</i>	gold leaf lacquerware.
<i>Tankhuntaung</i>	dagundain: sacred flagstaff found at pagoda.
<i>Tar Yar Dewi</i>	Queen of the Constellations.
<i>Taung-Do Kyauk-ceti</i>	Sandstone stupa.
<i>Taung-Shei Pasoe</i>	long sarong.
<i>Thayo</i>	relief-moulded lacquerware.
<i>Thayo pan shweicha</i>	gilded floral designs on thayo work
<i>Tha-yoot</i>	(Plaster)Tamar, Oke-shit Tha-nut and kokko mixed with lime
<i>Thazinkhwei</i>	floral design without petals or leaves only the stalks curving (lit curving orchids)
<i>Theim</i>	Burmanised form of Sima, Ordination Hall

<i>Thin-Kyit</i>	Decorative forntlet covering the forehead
<i>Thin-pon-khaung</i>	The loose narrow piece of Thingan fold at the Chest.
<i>Toe Sie Poung Kuu</i>	Corbelled Arch.
<i>Udaung</i>	peacock (Burmese)
<i>Uhsaukpan</i>	design found on either side of back -slab, throne, sacred flagstaff.
<i>Urn-profiled base</i>	Springer supporting Arch.
<i>Vasundhara</i>	goddess of the earth (Burmanised as Wathondaye)
<i>Yama lekhnyo</i>	Rama's finger, kind of slender floral design.
<i>Yama Leth-hnyo-Ta-ke</i>	Flaming Arch Pediment.
<i>Yamin youp</i>	doll of a pretty girl
<i>Yinsiy</i>	cover for the breasts, worn in the days when the bodice was unknown to the Burmese Ladies
<i>Ywetan</i>	ring of spherical bosses on a pagoda jaggery molassess stone ashes and line of sand.



## **Introduction**

This dissertation is written to fill up the gap that opens up in the study of the Pakhangyi region for there are some socio-economic studies on it, but no attempt has been made to write a comprehensive account of cultural legacy of the region. This Pakhangyi region is rich in history, but scarce in artifacts as most of the cultural findings are undated. And this dissertation is the fruit of much labour: to be precise 23 field trips have been made in a span of nearly five years, July, 2002 to February, 2007.

Three major areas of study have been marked, namely the stupas and temples, the paintings in those edifices and the omnipresent icon or symbol of our religion, the Buddha Images. But without the brief account of its geographical and social backdrop, the study would lack the basic understanding of the region. And so this dissertation is divided into four chapters to get a clearer understanding of the cultural legacy of the Pakhangyi region.

Chapter I traces back to the ancient times of the stone age as this region has firm evidence of human habitation since those times. The unearthed stone age implements and artifacts are the eloquent testimony to the human settlements; and when Myanmar set up the Bagan kingdom the Pakhangyi region was developed enough to build a massive wall around its capital city which was said to have rebuilt five times. The technical side of the construction like the pattern of brick bonding, the quality of the bricks used in comparison with other contemporary sites, the uneven length and design of the four sides of the wall and the gates of opposite sides purposely built not on a straight line - all these features are discussed in detail.

Another area of interest is the region's inhabitants; though the region is dominated by Burmans, there are names of nationalities quite strange to the modern ears, including the “Thak” village which is one of our lost ancestor races. And even the very name of the region “Pakhan” is traced back to its strange etymological root.

Chapter II describes the religious edifices that amount to over 380 monuments, according to the Pakhangyi Archaeology Museum records in the long span of years stretching from the height of Bagan empire to the dark days of early colonial period. But only about 200 cave temples and stupas have been studied; among them 6 monuments from Bagan period, 21 from a total of 111 Innwa period monuments, 2 from Nyaungyan period, 15 from 43 of the early and middle Konbaung period and 8 from Ratanabon period are detailed and commented from architectural and historical standpoints. In the course of study field reports are mainly used and the assessments are made of each temple or stupa comparing with contemporary stereotypical monuments of other areas especially with Bagan monuments which have been extensively and intensively covered. Starting with the Ceti and progressing on with the technical study of architectural features such as the groundplan, the form of the base temple, terraces above, leading to the finial, the direction of the porches they are facing, the three forms of arches and the brick bonding, the building of the enclosure wall as a start, the seven form of stupas not found in Pakhangyi, the highest Lone Taw Gyi temple in the area, the four forms of niches with pediments, the optional decorations like the Chinthe ( lion ) figures, floral works of stucco palster, and the typical architectural achievements are extensively recorded and commented.

Chapter III puts on record the paintings at the ceilings and on the walls inside the shrines starting with the far origins of religious painting at the dawn of the civilization in Europe and India. The development of the art of painting is traced through the successive periods along with the themes, mostly religious in Pakhan area, and the comments made on them are seen from the view of religious import rather than on the

artistic or esthetic enjoyment and appreciation. The lotus and the Image of Buddha are the synonymous prime symbols of Pakhangyi wall paintings, and these two prime symbols are presented extensively in various forms such as the multi-layered central lotus intertwined like elephant tusks ( Hsin Swe Wun Shet Baho Kyar Htut Pan ), the fill-up floral designs, the Buddha Image descending from the abode of Deities, the deities with their regalia, the kings and queens in their royal regalia, the members of the court, the Anyeint dancers and the common audience, the panel of 28 Buddha figurines high on the upper portion of the walls and ceilings, the presence of the figures of foreigners in later periods - all these drawings are assessed along with the use choice of colours in different periods of history. But the fact not to be lost on the researcher is that the words cannot convey what all the paintings had tried to provoke in the sensibilities of the viewers.

Chapter IV has been given to the holiest icon in Buddhist Iconography: the images of Lord Buddha; this chapter goes back to the human habit of icon worship in the young days of human civilization. But the Buddhist worship of icons can be traced back to Majjimesa, the cradle of Buddhist art or Buddha Images, and this in turn can be traced to the influence of Greek invasion. But the traditional accounts of Image worship during the lifetime of Lord Buddha is beyond the realm of scholarship of Iconography. The Bagan images vividly show the influence of Indian culture, and any Image of Indian features is necessarily attributed to the Pyu and Indian influence in Myanmar that seems to recede slowly in later stages of Innwa, Konbaung periods. The features of the images of the different periods are described in detail such as the faces, the eyes, the lips, the eyebrows, the chin, the decorative crown of the images, the thingan robes and its styles of wearing, the cross-legged sitting postures, the standing Buddhas, the Mudras, the conventional ideas in the sculpting of images, the base materials, types of Nagayon images, the rich decorative style of Ratanabon period - all such iconographic features have been presented in detail and undated images are assessed

with the relevant Buddha Images of contemporary periods in other areas. And the Buddha figurines in Pakhangyi Museum, got from the renovations of Pagodas, also projects many vistas to view the images of Pakhangyi area.

This dissertation does not claim to be an exhaustive account of the Art and Architecture of the Pakhangyi region during the monarchical days of the past, but to be modest this dissertation has covered as much possible as ground in the scholarship of Pakhangyi history.

## CHAPTER ONE

### BACKGROUND HISTORY OF PAKHANGYI REGION

The Pakhangyi Region is the place of human habitation since prehistoric times, and the stone, bronze and iron tools and artifacts of Paleolithic, Mesolithic and Neolithic periods of the Stone Age dug up in that region testifies to its human habitation<sup>1</sup>.

Moreover, this region has been clearly the place of continuous human habitation as evidenced by the following findings and diggings: Mesolithic stone implements<sup>2</sup> found by digging in the compound of Lokkutara Theikpan Monastery (Aung Mye Tharyar Thu Htay U Chin Monsastery) in Yesagyio Town, Pakhan region; Neolithic stone implements found by digging in Thet Ywar (Kye-YoKone) near Pakhan; ancient artifacts of Bagan Era found at Nwar Htein Ywar<sup>3</sup> near Yesagyio Town, and by the tools and artifacts of civilized era such as stone tools, ring stones, earthen wares and cups, iron sheets and coins.

The city of Pakhan would have to be pointed out if asked to name the great city in the region west of the Chindwin river during the days of Myanmar kings. In the stone inscriptions of Bagan the name of the city was Spelled "Koo-Khan", but it was not known what the name implied. The name was also spelled "Koo-than" in some Konbaung literature; but now it is known as Pakhan. Pakhan, a sub- township

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<sup>1</sup> *Field study of Pakhangyi Archaeological Museum*, 18 April, 2006

<sup>2</sup> Phone Nwe (Yesagyio), *Stone Implements Underground (Manuscript)*

<sup>3</sup> Tint Lwin, "Nwar Htein Stone Inscription, Ancient Edifices and Images", Paper read on 9 April, 2004 at NCRC & RCAMM with U Po Myint in Chair, Typescript, p. 3 (Henceforth: Tint Lwin, 2004)

in Yesagyo township, is now a big village on the motorcar road between Pakokku and Yesagyo, and it is an ancient town with a moat and a wall.

Pakhan is located inland, a mile west from the bank of the Chindwin river, and straight east from it, there is a village on the bank of the river called Pakhan-nge (small pakhan), the river outlet for the big village. And to differentiate from the small river bank village, the inland big one is now called Pakhan- gyi.

*Sein- Ta- Kyaw-Thu U Awe*, the early Konbaung period poet, wrote in his treatise "*Ka-wi-Lak -kha-na That - pon Kyam*" about Pakhan:

<sup>4</sup>(*Pakhan send 400 soldiers, also known as Koo Than.*)

<sup>5</sup>(*Koo Khan send 400 solders, also known as Pakhan.*)

Apart from the history of the city, the records of the social history of its residents also shed light on the development of the city's different periods. The contemporary stone inscriptions, royal edicts and records of daily social life of city's residents are important sources on which this thesis is based to present a comprehensive study of the region.

### **Pakhan from the Stone Inscriptions**

The earliest mentioning of this city's name is in the Bagan stone inscription of 23 April, 1206, and it was mentioned as "Ku Khan village"<sup>6</sup>. As the inscription described the name as an offering to the Sasana or to Lord Buddha, nothing could be inferred from a political , socio-economic standpoint. But in the stone inscription of 9 August, 1301 the phrase "*Pakhan- Nwe Ni- Ah- Yup*"<sup>7</sup> was mentioned; accordingly

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<sup>4</sup> *Myanmar Min Hluttaw Thone That Pon*, appreciation by the king on Hluttaw Vol II, Hanthawady Press, 1965, Para 684, p. 29

<sup>5</sup> *Sein-ta-Kyaw Thu, Ka-wi La-kha-nar That-pon, (Ka-wi La-kha-nar Dictation)* Thiri Maha Zeyathu, Ka wi lakkhana Dipani, Sayagyi U San Htun, Ka wi lakkhana Wi thaw dani thane kyan, Mandalay, Mya Zaw Press, 1961, p. 257 (Henceforth: *Sein Da, 1961*)

<sup>6</sup> U Nyein Maung, *Old Burmese Inscription*, Vol. I, Rangoon Archaeology Dept, 1972, p. 81, line 13, "*Maung Ma Mi Khin Ngè*" Inscription, p. 568 (Henceforth: *Nyein Maung, 1972*)

<sup>7</sup> Ta Yoke Pyay Min Kyauk Sa, (*Bagan Pinya Ava Inscription*.) Rangoon, Government Press, 1892, p. 200 (Henceforth: *Ta Yoke, 1892*)

it is to be noticed that two terms- *Ku Khan and Pakhan*- were used in the post Bagan periods. Moreover, in the inscription of *King Nar- Taung- Myar* of AD 1207 , there described an of land in "*Ku Khan Nwe Ni*"<sup>8</sup> , and Nwe Ni village was included in the Pakhan at that time. As the term Nwe Ni village, in conjunction with Pakhan, was frequently described, it could be said that it was the most socio- economically developed village among the villages in the Pakhan region. And that village was mentioned in the records of Konbaung period; it still exists today near Pakhan-nge.<sup>9</sup>

### Location

Pakhangyi town is situated between North Latitude (21° 32' 056") and East Longitude (95° 52' 247") and it is 200 feet above sea level<sup>10</sup>. And it is found that there are eight times of measuring the area of the Pakhan region.

The first time of measurement of the region was made during the reign of King Dhanu-thiha in B.C. 508, the first Founder of the Pakhangyi town; the extent of the area was Nay Yin Ywa in the east, Kyauk Sauk Ywar in the west, Myit Kaing Ywa in the South and Kyauk Khat Ywa in the north<sup>11</sup>.

The second time of locating the borders of this region was made during the reign of Bagan King Aniruddha, and it ran thus: the main Ayeyarwady river in Southeast, the land between Ayeyarwady in the east, Ma Yarr Mon Nyin Ywar in the north, Le Yar Chaung Char Nyaung Ywar in the southwest, the land adjacent to Thi-Lin-Ka-Taw in the south<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> Nyein Mg, 1972, Para 84, *Na-Taung-myar-mingyi Kyauk Sar*, Nyein OBI, Vol. 2, 1982, line 3, *Min tha mi ah saw kyun Inscription*, p. 51, Nyein OBI, vol. 2, AD 1248, line 16, p. 100

<sup>9</sup> Dr. Toe Hla, *Tha maing Ah Htauk Ah Htar twe Hte Ka Pakhanyi*, (Historical Evidences of Pakhangyi) Typescript collection, p. 3, (Henceforth: *Toe Hla collection*)

<sup>10</sup>Bob Husn, *Archaeologist at Sydney University*, Australia, Satellite Survey, (1.12.2001)

<sup>11</sup>U Ba Thwe, *Pakhan Gyi Myo Tha-maing*, (History of Pakhangyi City), Mandalaly, Mandalay Press, 1957, p. 2 (Henceforth: Ba Thwe, 1957)

<sup>12</sup>*measurement lines of villages during the reign of Aniruddha*, palm-leaf MS, Yangon Archaeology Department, Copy one, p. 485

The third measurement of the region was made in 1637 during the reign of King Tharlun (1629-1648), and the area was the same as measured in Bagan period<sup>13</sup>.

The fourth measurement of Pakhangyi region was established during the reign of Bagan King Ta-yoke-pyay Min (1256-1287), and the area was the same as measured formerly, except in the West where it became We-bu-la Hill<sup>14</sup>.

According to *Jambudipa U-Saung* Treatise the limits of the Pakhangyi region were: Ayeyarwady in the East, Nga Kyaw Myay in the South, Webula mountain range in the West and Maya Mon-nyin Ywar in the North. It was said “Nga Kyaw Myay in the South”<sup>15</sup>, and so all the following villages were not included in the Pakhan region: Nga Kyaw, Myin Wun, Tinn Kat, Wun Pyae, Le-Yar, Kan Taw, Pa-Ti-Twin, Thayet Kan, Nyaung Ywar and Chauk Taung.

The fifth measurement was fixed in October, AD 1442, and according to *Tet Nwe Kyaung* stone inscription the limits of the region were: in the West the land adjacent to Yaw area, Nga Pyit Be, adjacent land to Ba Hin, Lin Ka Taw. The Pakhan region could not reach into the Yaw region, according to this stone inscription<sup>16</sup>.

The sixth fixing of regional boundaries was made on 9 April, AD 1692 during the reign of Min Ye Kyaw Htin (1672-98)<sup>17</sup>, and in that measurement it was found that King Tharlun and Min Ye Kyaw Htin accepted the boundaries established by King Aniruddha.

In pursuance of the Royal Order of King Bodaw-Phaya on 29 March, 1810 deliberations on the controversial issue of measurement between Bagan and Pakhangyi were made, and new boundary measurement line was drawn from Thi-Ho-Shin to Let-

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<sup>13</sup> *The Sittan of Various Location*

<sup>14</sup> U Tun Yi, *Shei-khit Myanmar Naing-ngan Myo Ywar Tha-maing*, (History of Township and Regions in Ancient Myanmar), Supplement, Yangon, Sein Pan Myain Sarpay Press, p. 20 (Henceforth: Tun Yi, *Shei-khit*)

<sup>15</sup> Furnivall, Mg Mg Tin (Edited) *Jambudipa Usaung Kyan*, Rangoon, Burma Research Society, 1960 (Henceforth: *Zambudipa, 1960*)

<sup>16</sup> *Nyein Mg OBI*, Vol. 5, 1998, Rangoon Archaeological Survey Department, pp. 26,14,18

<sup>17</sup> Dr. Than Tun, *The Royal Orders of Burma AD 1649-1750*, Vol VII, Kyoto, The Center for Southeast Asian studies, Kyoto University, 1987, p. 285 (Henceforth: Than Tun, 1987)



Htoke<sup>18</sup>. In the light of the new boundaries Bagan, Pakhan and Tu-Lak towns were included in Pakhangyi region.

The seventh measurement of the region's boundaries were: Nay-yin and Ayeyarwady river Ta-line-kone in the east, Myit-Kaing, Hsone-Kone and Thi-Ho-Shin Pagoda in the South, Ban-kyi area, southern rim of Yamar stream and in the North<sup>19</sup>.

The eight measurement of Pakhangyi region was made during the reign of King Thibaw, and the ten Kha-yaing administration system was instituted in which the boundaries of Pakhan were thus: Ban-kyi Taik at the Lower Chindwin area in the North, Tan-kyi Taung mountain range in the South, Chindwin and Ayeyarwady rivers in the East and four Yaw towns (Yaw, Sau, Htilin and Laung-shei) in the West<sup>20</sup>. And after successive measuring of the boundaries Pakhan region became wider and thrived with inhabitants; in 1783 the population of Pakhan region was 9056 Athi; and 11893 armed foreigners, totaling 28949 by that count.

Early Konbaung period population data as following table.

**Table I : Early Konbaung Period Data on the Population of summary of 1783**

Serial	Town and Village	Athi	Service	Grand Total
1	Pakhangyi Myo	9056 (937)	11893 (1881)	20949 (2810)
2	Ah-Lone	7734	9684	17418
3	Depayin	6555	8017	14662
4	Ratana Theinga	4160	9632	13729
5	Bank Kyi Teik	2963 (6875)	8607 (1613)	11570 (8788)
6	Myedu	3199	4199	7998 (7398)
7	Pancala	2882	1040	3992

<sup>18</sup> *Dr. Than Tun, 1987, 216-7*

<sup>19</sup> *Ba Thwe, 1957, 13*

<sup>20</sup> *Owens, Burma Gazetteer of Pakokku district, Yangon, Burma Government Press, 1912, p. 13 (Henceforth: Owens, 1912 )*

Serial	Town and Village	Athi	Service	Grand Total
8	Ah-Myint	1276	3407	4683
		(3276)	(1407)	(4683)
9	Laung Shae Myo	284	793	1007
		(232)	(493)	(725)
10	Myay-Soon	227	927	1204
		(277)		
11	Wuntho	1000	-	1000
12	Tha-Put Chauk Ywar	444	467	911
13	Khaw Than Ti	383	411	794
14	Nga-ra-nè	36	511	587
			(551)	
15	Si-Pottara	65	466	531
16	Pin Thar	247	106	353
17	Man-Le Myo	325	-	325
		(165)		(165)
18	Inn Tauk Thar	549	295	844
19	Kyauk Myaung	58	325	383
20	Kawlin	335	23	358
21	Pin Khaing	198	36	234
22	Khaung - ton	165	-	165
		(167)	(21)	(188)
23	Moe-tar	165	29	194
		(80)	(27)	(107)
24	Maing Nyaung	217	24	241
25	Maw Kè	165	4	165
				(169)
26	Maing Khaing	116	5	121
27	Ka Thar	80	27	107
		(112)	-	(112)

Serial	Town and Village	Athi	Service	Grand Total
28	Maw Ton	73 (74)	2	76
29	Hin Thar Maw	23	-	23

**Source:**

(1) *Researches in Burmese History* Vol I. Sapaybeik Hman Press, Yangon, 1977, pp. 109-113

(2) Frank N Trager and William J-Koenig, *Burmese Sittans, 1764-1826*, Record of Rural Life and Administration, The University of Arizona Press, U.S.A, 1979, p. 401-3

(3) Dr. Toe Hla, *Chindwin-Myit-Thar-Mu-Aye-Yar*, Daw Chi Monywa Off-set Press, 1995, March, pp. 28-29

During the reign of King Thibaw (1878-85 ) the Pakhangy region was administratively the most important, and area-wise the widest region in the kingdom, and During the years between 1829 to 1855 this region was second in importance after De-pa-yin in the sixteen areas according to the census of *Thwe-Thauk-Su-Phwe* (a group of 50 member band units).

The list of blood bond brotherhood 1829-1855 is as following:

**Table II : List of Blood bond Brotherhood 1829-1855**

Serial	Town and Village	Blood bond	Copra	Servicemen	Total	Founded Date
1	Depayin	61	305	3050	3416	1828
<b>2</b>	<b>Pakhangyi</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>2016</b>	<b>2256</b>	<b>1827</b>
3	Kalay Tein Nyin	20	100	910	1030	1830
4	Sagaing	10	50	502	563	1845
5	Nga Sint Bn	10	50	445	505	1845
6	Myue du	9	45	446	500	1854
7	Taik Kyan Hse Ywar	7	35	346	388	1855
8	Kyauk Myaung	1	5	44	580	1855
9	Kawlin	3	15	15	168	1830

Serial	Town and Village	Blood bond	Corporal	Servicemen	Total	Founded Date
10	Chaung Oo Hse Ywar	2	10	100	112	1829
11	Bant-kyi Hse Taik	5	24	239	268	1827
12	Myedu	9	45	446	5020	1854
13	Yaw Myo	4	20	200	224	1838
14	Laung Shei	1	5	50	56	1829
15	Ah-Myint	2	10	101	113	1845
16	Allakapa	1	5	50	56	1837

**Source:** *National Library Parabaik M.S, No.1239*

### The Etymology of Pakhan

The word “Pakhan” was spelt variously throughout the ages: Ku-khan, Ku-khann, Koo-khann, Koo-thann, Pa-khan and Pu-Khann; in 1777 one record stated that it was spelt “Ko Khann” for the town was built after leveling the three hills<sup>21</sup>.

Everyone who built the town put on record that it was built after leveling the earth mounds<sup>22+23</sup>. And in AD 1085 in the “Gawun Kyaung” stone inscription set up by King Aniruddha the expression “Ku-Khan...” was found<sup>24</sup>, but in the majority of Bagan stone inscriptions “Ku-Khann” was mainly used. Gradually it was spelt “Ku-Khann, Ku-with heavy tone marker-Khann” in later times.

In February 1709, it was found that the use of the word “Ku-Than” continued, instead of the term “Pakhan”<sup>25</sup>. In the *Apannaka Pyo* poem it was written thus:” *Myanma Ah-lo Ku-than Hso Thar...*”<sup>26</sup> It was assumed that the word “Ku-than” began

<sup>21</sup> U Myat San, Letwethondara, *Vinissaya pakasani Dhamma Linkar*, p. 11

<sup>22</sup> Baddhanta Aye Thi Ka, *History of City*, Purabaik MS

<sup>23</sup> Kyaw Aung San Htar Sayadaw, *Atthasalini*, p. 8

<sup>24</sup> Nyein Maung, 1972, Vol. I, 321

<sup>25</sup> Si-Thu-Shin Pagoda, *line-19 Bell Inscription*

<sup>26</sup> *A-Pannaka Pyo*, copy of handwriting MS, (lost in fire), line 11-12, Formerly in the hands of Baddhanta Aye Thi Ka

to be used in the Nyaungyan period; during the Konbaung period in “Sutta Silakkhan Pali Nissaya” written by Nay Yin Mani-Ratana Sayadaw it was found thus: “Kusannamassa-Nagarasa by the name of *Koo-Thann*<sup>27</sup>” In 1796 in the bell inscription donated by Thado Minye-Kyaw-Khaung the term “Pakhangyi Town” was used. In 1864 in line three of *Ratana-Minzu Maha Thein* stone<sup>28</sup> inscription it was written thus: “Pa-Khan, Pu-Khan was used in some Bagan stone inscriptions.

In 1271 AD, *Tha-man-Ta Pha-ye couple* stone inscription the term “Pu-Khann” was found; besides, in the stone inscription inscribed on 8 September, 1298 AD of Vattalingathu couple the word “Pa-khan” began to be used.

After 1733 AD, *Kyaung-ta-yar Kyaw Aung San Htar Sayadaw* of *Ma-Tont-Moastery*, Pakhangyi town, explained in his treatise *Atthasalini Gandha* the use of the word:

It was known as Ku-Khann Gyi town because it was built after leveling the three hills of earth

The town Arameinna was built as the Buddha’s Relic took the form of a golden deer and running across: thus Koo-Thann Gyi was named

The soldiers of Bagan King Narapati-sithu (1173-1210) vanquished the enemy and ended the dangers and perils to the kingdom; it was with this intention it was named “Pa-Khann”<sup>29</sup> As for fact (1) and (2) it was quite far-fetched to find support, but for fact (3) it was possible to get reference from history books.

The names of the villages in the Pakhan region could be found in Bagan stone inscriptions: Pha Lan Kon, Sin Kaing, Myae Phyu, Sithar, Chaung Baw, Pauk Pann, Pan Yinn (now Pa-nyin), Kon Si Nga Ta Yat (now Nga Ta Yaw), In Kyoe, Bonma, Nga Yan Ywar (now Koyin Ywar), Pa Pyoat, Myar Nge, Kyat, Hsin Chaung, Kyan Seinn, Kyauk Hsauk, Kyu Ywar, Paung Laung, Taung Yar, Hsons Hsauk, Nay Yinn, Kywe Te, Myit

<sup>27</sup> Nay Yin Maniratana Sayadaw, *Sutta Silaakkhan Pali Nissaya*

<sup>28</sup> Ashin Varasami bodhi, *Ratana Myitzu Sima Inscription, line 3*

<sup>29</sup> Kyaw Aung San Htar, *Kyaung Ta Yar, Ma Tont Ta Kyaung Sayadaw Atthasalimi Gandi Kyan*, palm leaf MS

Kaing, Kwon Ywar, Myaing, Nwe Ni (now Nwe Ni), Kaing Ywar, Nwar Htaing, (now Shwe Nan Htaing), Kyi Ywar and Phya Thi Ywar villages<sup>30</sup>.

In 1044 AD King Aniruddha (1044-1088) built forty-three towns and as Pakhangyi was a Lay-yarpyu town it had to send 40 *Thwe Thauks*<sup>31</sup> (a band of fifty men), 200 *A-kyat* (decurion) and 2016 various employees totalling King Sagaing's army (1819-1837). Under the administration of that forty Thwe Thauks, twenty Thwe Thuaks were included to administer Pakhangyi Myoma; of the 299 villages in the Pakhangyi, 149 villages were under the administration of twenty *Thwe Thauks*<sup>32</sup>, 150 villages were under the village headmen.

It is assumed that *Nwar Htein* was the oldest village in the Pakhangyi region, and it is about five miles from Pakhangyi<sup>33</sup>, according to the field trip and excavation made at that village made on 11 September, 2003. Further findings are:

One Stone inscription

One bronze Buddha Image

Ta-Wa-Gu and Thone-Myet-Hnar cave temples

Brick and Fragments

Stone Age tools

Floral works of stucco

Urns and earthen pottery shards

Khè Khwe (iron odd and ends)<sup>34</sup>

In that inscription these phrases are found: "Pyu Min Nyi A-ko", "Tha Koo Pyauk Kaing Sithu Mingyi Nwar Htein", "Thu Kywe, Nga Kyar Thin, Nga Koo Thin";

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<sup>30</sup> Nyein Maung, 1972, 321-2, 350, 374

<sup>31</sup> *Hmannan Yazawin Tawgyi* (Glass Palace Chronicle), Part I, Vol. I, Meit Htilar Myo, Miba Gon Yee Pitaka Taik, 1936, p.296 (Henceforth. Hmannan, 1936)

<sup>32</sup> Dr. Toe Hla, *Chindwin Myit Thar Mu Ayeyar*, (History of the People living in the Doab of the Chindwin, the Myittha, The Mu and Ayeyarwady Rivers), Daw Che, Monywa Offset Press, Yangon, 1995, March, p. 83(Henceforth: Toe Hla, 1995)

<sup>33</sup> Findings from Shwe Moke Htaw Stupa in Nwar Htein village, Yesagyoo Township on 11-9-2003

<sup>34</sup> Tint Lwin, 2004, 14

it is assumed that there may be linkage with Thak Ywar (Kyae Yo Kone) near Nwar Htein village.

The following facts may be evidences of human settlements of pre-Bagan era in the Pakhangyi region: “Pyu Min Nyi Ah-ko” description in Nwar Htein stone inscription<sup>35</sup>, the Buddha Image in Nwar Htein is regarded as Bagan sculpture<sup>36</sup> and the Image is as same as the Taw Htwet Gyi Image of Bagan era<sup>37</sup>, broken bricks with inscriptions<sup>38</sup>, and urns with ashes. The earlier floral works at Nwar Htein may be termed Bagan period floral works<sup>39</sup>. Moreover, this region could be said as the region where Pyu Min Nyi Ah-ko (Pyu brother Kings) reigned over Pyu, Kann-yan and Thak peoples. (Mesolithic period stone age tools found in Lo-kuttara Theikpan Monastery in Yesagyo town, Neolithic period stone age tools found at Thak village). It is said Pakhangyi town was rebuilt five times: The List of Pakhangyi town is as follows:

**Table III : List of Pakhangyi Town BC 508 - AD 1738**

First	King Dhanuthiha	BC	508
Second	Sithu and Kyawswa	AD	738
Third	Ta-Hsi-Shin Kyaw Swar	AD	1305
Fourth	Mingyi Swar Saw Kè	AD	1380
Fifth	Maha Dhamma-dhipati	AD	1738

**Source:** *Foundamental History of Myanmar*, Volume I, Yanggon, Sarpaybaikhman Press, 1975, p. 132

The present wall which one can see would possibly be of the old town of 1380-1738<sup>40</sup>.

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<sup>35</sup> See photo (1)

<sup>36</sup> See photo (2)

<sup>37</sup> See photo (3)

<sup>38</sup> See photo (4)

<sup>39</sup> See photo (5)

<sup>40</sup> See photo (6+7)

By studying the structure of the town it is assumed that the wall was built first and it was not built in the form of a Square; it was built to use as a fortress at that time.

The construction of the Pakhangyi city Wall will be presented, and the way the wall is built by courtier Let Mè is quite strange. According to the history of the town recorded on *Parabaik* (palm-leaf writing) King Thiha-Thu (I298-I322AD) delegated the duty to courtier Let-Mè to build the city on the present site of Pakhangyi<sup>41</sup>; with the advice of learned intellectuals, the city was built on, Thursday, 7<sup>th</sup> Waxing Day of Tabaung month, 667 Myanmar era, and the phrase “*Thu Thu Tann Pa-Khan Ti*” symbolized the numerals of the syllables of the phrase that marked the establishment of the city<sup>42</sup>.

In AD 1305 the area of the city was (125 tar)<sup>43</sup> and in the east was Popa-yon Pagoda and Ghandayon monastery, in the south was Sa-pa-yon Pagoda and Than-si Taik, in the west was Gaw-thi-tar-yon Pagoda, and north of Agga-Dhamar Taik was Htu-Par-yon pagoda, Thi-ho-Yauk Kyaung Taik. Along with the building of the town *Kone-Koe-Kone*<sup>44</sup>, *Taik-Lae-Taik*, *Yone-Koe-Yone* and *Kan-Koe-Kan*<sup>45</sup> were constructed. However, when the actual survey was conducted there were (1221') in the north, (1947') in the west and (1122') in the south, thus totaling (5973') in area of the town's measurement. If the town's area was converted to feet, it had (5250 feet)<sup>46</sup>, and it was found 732 feet more than the original measurement. And the difference in measurements was due to different system of calculating, it is observed.

Moreover, there were four gates in the wall: *Kywe Wa* gate in the east; *Kyauk Pon* gate in the south; *Thar-si* gate in the west and *Winn Ma Narr* gate in the north. The entrances, for the sake of security, were administered with the art of mundane black

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<sup>41</sup> Aye thi Ka, "City History", MS

<sup>42</sup> Ba Thwe, 1957, 5

<sup>43</sup> 1 tar equals 10 feet and 6 inches

<sup>44</sup> Nine mounds: Chan Thar *Kone* (mound), Hin-tha-lin *Kone*, Htauk-Ywar Myin *Kone*, Nga Tet *Kone*, Nyaung Hla *Kone*, Taung Yay Moe *Kone*, Taw *Kone*, Thaw Na *Kone*, the ninth *Kone* is not clear in *Parabaik* writing

<sup>45</sup> Nine Ponds (kan): Kan Swe, Kan Ta Yar, Kan Yoe Chaung, Kyaukse, Myet lin, Shin Ma Gyi, Yoe kan, Wazo kan, the ninth pond is not found in *Parabaik*.

<sup>46</sup> "Archaeological Survey", Curator Htay Win Mg handout, p.11



magic. There was a list of “human sacrifices” who were turned into spirits<sup>47</sup>, and the idea of sacrificing “humans” to guard the gates as it was done during the building of Ratanabon new city was not still verified as yet. Concerning that idea it was written in *Nè Hlè Yazawun*: “It is high time to dig up the places in Amarapura, Ava and Shwebo as it had done like in Mandalay to verify whether there is human sacrifice or not<sup>48</sup>”.

The following is the list<sup>49</sup> of spirits from human sacrifice which was administered in accordance with the mundane art of black magic to guard the four gates:

East	Kywe Wa gate	Letpan Ywar-sar was sacrificed:	Ye Letpan Nat
West	Thar-si gate	Shin Hla Gyi was sacrificed:	Town Spirit
South	Kyaukpon gate	Thauk Kyarr was sacrificed:	Thauk Kyarr Nat
North	Winn Ma Narr	Mi Hla Nge was sacrificed:	Town Spirit

That list could not be told with certainty; it could be verified only by digging up the aforesaid places. But there are Nat shrines (Spirit shrines) around the gates which guarded the city.

Moreover, it was known that there were pots of oil buried under the gates for the Spirits to forever guard the gates<sup>50</sup>, and it is believed that as long as the oil did not dry up the guards would continue guarding the entrances<sup>51</sup>. And the burying of four oil pots could be taken as an omen of the essence of mundane and ultramundane worlds<sup>52</sup>; it is possible with intention oil pots are buried.

From the view of a researcher the projection is this: the city walls were first constructed surrounding the three hills, and after that the three small hills were levelled. So the ground level of the city was the same as the city’s gate, and the city wall

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<sup>47</sup> Ko Ko (Research), *Yatanarbon Myo-yoe Nhit Ah-sin Ah-lar*, (Ratanabon City Wall & Tradition), Yangon, Sarpay Beikman Press, 2002, p. 124 (Henceforth: Ko Ko, 2002)

<sup>48</sup> Dr. Than Tun, *Nè Hlè Yarza Win* (Field notes on Burmese History), Yangon, Nan Thar Press, Vol 2, pp.86-90 (Henceforth: *Dr. Than Tun, 1968*)

<sup>49</sup> Ba Thwe, 1957, 7

<sup>50</sup> Ledi U Hla Paing, *Pakhan Sasana Win*, (History of Pakhan Religion), Yangon, Ganda Win Press, 1981, p. 296 (Henceforth: Hla Paing, 1981)

<sup>51</sup> Common sayings: not verified

<sup>52</sup> MA Tin Hla, Shwe Man Mai, "*Ratanabon Naypyidaw*", Yangon, 1968, p. 34 (Henceforth: Tin Hla, 1968)

was no more than a earthen bund. The city wall was serrated and winding like a wave constructed to withstand the movements of the earth.

The area of the city was 500 tar in circumference; so it was five times smaller than Mandalay which had walls of 2400 tar in circumference. The height of the city wall was 36 feet, so it was much higher (7 feet, 6 inches) higher than Mandalay city wall which was 28 feet, 6 inches high. The thickness of Pakhan city wall was 15-22 feet, so it was twice thicker than Mandalay city wall which was 10 and half feet, at least twice feet thicker<sup>53</sup>. Viewing from the northwest outside the city wall amazing architectural works could be seen. While reigning over Rakhine as king, Courtier Saw Mè, seeing the waves of the ocean, constructed the walls of the fortress city like that of the rolling waves as he had observed it<sup>54</sup>:

“Ah Nauk Phet *Kho Nan Choe*, Myauk Phet *Ma Ya Khoe*, Ah Shay Phet *Lam Mywe Yoe*, Taung Phet *Hlaing Tan Poe*”.

The construction of 500 tar Pakhangyi city was expressed in the stone inscription of “Tha-man-ta Kyaw Khaung Anawratha Ordination Hall stone inscription” as thus: Chin Hman Ryan Tar, Thaung Taing Kwar Ywe, Ngar Yar Ah Wumn, Tha Mike Htun Tharr, Koo Khamn Myo<sup>55</sup>.

The city wall of Pakhangyi is of red earth construction, and northern wall is of *Ma-ya-khoe* design - laying bricks in alternate design: lengthwise horizontally and vertically<sup>56</sup>. Though it is 700 years old the high quality of Myanmar architecture could be seen to this day. It is strange that the brick-laying design of Pakhan city wall<sup>57</sup> was like that of Bagan period pagoda “Hti-lo-Min-Lo<sup>58</sup>” in 1211 AD, and it could be assumed that the city had contemporary evidence in that Bagan pagoda.

<sup>53</sup> Comparing Tint Lwin's Field Record with Ko Ko 2004, 3, 128

<sup>54</sup> Ground plan of Pakhangyi City Wall (copied from Htay Win Maung, Curator of Archaeology Museum

<sup>55</sup> *Tha Man Ta Kyaw Khaung, Anawratha Thein Stone Inscription* within compound of Pakokku Myoma Hsu Taung Pyae

<sup>56</sup> See photo (8)

<sup>57</sup> See photo (9)

<sup>58</sup> See photo (10)

The city wall of Pakhan was similar to that of Pyu towns like Han Lin, Beikthano, Shri Keshtra, Maing Maw and Wa Tee, the walls of these cities have no pointed corners, are not at right angles but circular in form. Similarly, the city wall of Pakhan is circular, not the square wall of Mandalay palace. The north and south walls are parallel, but the lengths are not equal; the north wall is 99 feet longer than the south wall.

Likewise, the west wall is 264 feet longer than the east wall<sup>59</sup>. The east wall of Pakhan (north-south) direction tilts thirteen degrees to the west, and the west wall (north-south) direction tilt five degrees to the east<sup>60</sup>. So the basic plan of construction of Pakhangyi city is roughly a rectangle. Accordingly, it must be regarded that Pakhangyi is an ancient city in which its north-south direction wall tilts more to the west.

According to Dr. Than Tun, the eminent historian, there were twenty-three cities whose north-south wall tilted to the west, and among them nine cities tilted thirteen degrees<sup>61</sup>. Among that nine cities, six cities were believed to be of late 13<sup>th</sup> century and early 14<sup>th</sup> century, and the founding of cities was based on this assumption:

“The assumption that the majority of cities whose walls of north-south direction with a thirteen degree tilt towards west were founded in early 14<sup>th</sup> Century; according to this assumption Pakhan city wall was built in early 14<sup>th</sup> Century. It may be true, but why would Myanmar ancient cities build north-south direction of the walls tilted to the west instead of building straight to the four directions?”

The answer to the above-mentioned question is one or two from these:

Understanding of the four directions were lacking at that time or lack of attention to it

Understanding of the nature of earthquake and building in harmony with the wave of the tremors

Understanding the twenty three and half degrees tilt from west to east of the earth

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<sup>59</sup> Field Record, (18-10-2003), Based on this report to calculate ground plan, p. 10

<sup>60</sup> Field Record, (19-10-2003), Ground plan from Archaeological Department and using compass to calculate the tilt of City Wall

<sup>61</sup> Dr. Than Tun, "*North-South Alignment Wall tilted West*", hand written MS", From U Aye Myint, Myanmar Art Designer

Studying the gates of the city walls, the *Winn-ma-narr north gate*<sup>62</sup> is 38 feet, six inches at the widest, and it is constructed on a straight line. The *Kyauk-pon south gate* is also built with the same width like *Winn-ma-narr gate*, and it is assumed that the north-south wall had the same height. The width and the height of the door at *Winn-ma-narr* is seventy one feet wide from north to south and twenty four feet six inches high. The gate at the south is ruined and it would be the same size as the north gate, it is assumed. The strange fact is the two gates in the opposite walls do not run on the same straight line; the *Kyauk-pon* gate of the south wall is 120 feet nearer to the wall at the west<sup>63</sup>.

Similarly, *Kywe-wa* gate and *Thar-si gate* of the east and west walls are also not constructed on the same straight line. Moreover, *Thar-si gate* of the west wall<sup>64</sup> still stands to this day, and the west wall is the highest of the four walls with a height of thirty six feet. The four walls were constructed with particular design: north wall of *Ma Ya Khoe*; south wall of *waves pattern*; east wall of *Lam Myay Yoe*; and west wall of *Khoe Nan Choe Pattern*.

One thing to dwell on is the fact why Let-mè courtier built four walls of different design. It is assumed that Pakhangyi was built as a fortress town rather than a normal city built for security and architectural beauty.<sup>65</sup>

That is why the gates were not built straight opposites on a line on the four sides. The enemy could not know the design of the four walls easily; they could only know when they made approaches to all the four walls, and that might be the intention of the builders of the city. It might be assumed that the builders wanted to show the architectural high status of Myanmar city building, and the city was built to meet the military and economic requirements of that time with a particular construction plan.

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<sup>62</sup> See photo (11)

<sup>63</sup> Field Record, (20-10-2003), U Htay Win Maung, U Hla Myo Tint of Archaeology Dept and Headmaster U Tin Win help measure the wall, p. 37

<sup>64</sup> See photo (12)

<sup>65</sup> Field Record, (20-10-2003)

Pakhangyi was in Sunaparanta Taing, and the following are the lists of fortress towns in that Taing.

**Table IV : Fortress towns in Sunaparanta**

Town	Area (measurement in Tar)	Strength
Kani	534	400
Ku Khan Gyi (Pakhan)	500	400
Kyauk Myaung	-	70
Nga Ra Ne	300	70
Sagaing	653	-
Ta-On (south)	200	80
Ta-On (north)	42	70
De-pa-yin	437	400
Badon	-	400
Ma-Le	440	30
Moke-Hso-Bo	-	200
Mye-du	400	400
Myin-mu	-	40
Thar-wut Hti	530	-
Hin Thar	-	70
Ah.Myint	-	400

**Source:** Dr. Toe Hla, *Chindwin Myit Thar Mu Ayeyar*, p. 37

By looking at the sixteen fortress towns it can be seen the importance of the Pakhangyi region<sup>66</sup>, for when there was a firm centralized administration those towns were strategically important for the security of the region. But when there was a weak central administration those towns could become autonomous and sometimes they would challenge the central authority.

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<sup>66</sup> Toe Hla, 1995, 38

That assumption is evidenced by the events during the reign of Innwa King Kalay Kyae Taung-nyo who became king in AD 1425. The Innwa King ordered Ta-ra-phyia, Lord of Pakhangyi, to resist the forces of Lord of Mo-hnyin, but the Lord of Pakhangyi asked the hand of Queen Shin Saw Pu in return for vanquishing the enemy. The Innwa King conceded by sending the queen to Ta-ra-phyia, and Ta-ra-phyia could take Pakhangyi from the enemy only after seven days, it was described<sup>67</sup>.

It will be further assessed that whether Pakhangyi has the seven features of a city: (1) Myo daw, (2) the Palace, (3) the Moat, (4) the Central Tower, (5) royal pond, (6) Si-khon Taw, (7) Royal Nat Shrine.

Before Bagan period Pakhangyi was termed a city so it had a city itself, but as it was not a capital it had no Palace. Instead it had the residence of Myo-wun (Lord of the City)<sup>68</sup>; further there were a moat, a pond, Si-khon taw, and a town Nat Shrine, and there was no evidence it had a Tower, for it was a fortress not a capital city.

It was said Pakhangyi was surrounded by three moats: dried moat, mud moat and water moat. But during the reign of King Swar-saw-kè it had been described as a city surrounded by three moats full of water<sup>69</sup>, and so it seemed that there were no other two marks of moat. That there a moat had existed is true; according to the field study made on 20<sup>th</sup> october 2003, the moat is 150 feet wide and it is about 60 feet far from the base or foot of the west wall. As the moats on the other sides are ruined measurement cannot be made. The moat is deep enough to submerge “a man with raised hands” or about ten feet deep. On the other sides deep gullies are evidences of moats surrounding the city<sup>70</sup>.

The moats were supplied with water coming down through the streams from the Shin-ma-taung mountain; ponds were dug up to hold the water from the streams and the

<sup>67</sup> U Kala, *Maha Yazawun Gyi*, (The Great Chronicle), Vol. 2, Yangon, Hanthawady Pitakat Press, 1960, pp. 56-57 (Henceforth: Kala, 1960)

<sup>68</sup> Interview with grand-daughter Daw Thin of former Pakhangyi Myo-wum U Yeik, 14-9-2003

<sup>69</sup> Ba Thwe, 1957, 22

<sup>70</sup> Field Record, (20-10-2003)

moat was fed with water through canals from the ponds, and excess water was relayed into the Chindwin river. Between Shin-ma-taung mountain and Pakhangyi village there are names that still bear the names of ponds and canals.

Observing the measurements of bricks, it is found that for wall construction bricks measuring (15 inches long, 7 inches wide and 2 inches thick) are used<sup>71</sup>; it is also found that (18 by 18 inches) Pinya period bricks<sup>72</sup>, bricks with letter<sup>73</sup>, bricks with pictures<sup>74</sup> brick with animal foot prints<sup>75</sup> and wedge bricks<sup>76</sup> are used. No bricks could rival the ones used during Bagan period, ten to eleven centuries in Myanmar architecture. Though the bricks used during the Srikeshtra and Beikthano were quite strong they could not compete with Bagan bricks for their firmness and compactness<sup>77</sup>.

Likewise, Pakhangyi bricks could not compete with Bagan period bricks, but they are on a par with Srikeshtra and Beikthano bricks. For it is found that paddy grains are found in Pakhan bricks like that of bricks at Pyu ancient sites.<sup>78</sup>

When studying the mixing or preparing the “*Tha-yoot*” (plaster) it is found that “*Tamar, Oke-shit, Tha-nut* and *Kokko* (raintree)” mixed with “lime, jaggery, molasses, stone, ashes and fine particles of sand”<sup>79</sup> are used to make plaster in laying bricks in the construction of Bagan period religious edifices. At that time the standard recipe for mixing concrete is outon thatta, Kywe Kor Nawa Dwe nor tin le, Oke shit Ke, Yway Le Wah Ta Hsoke, Hsi Ta Hmok”<sup>80</sup>.

Of the two recipes of concrete mixing, the sticky substances of the trees grown in the central arid zone was used at Pakhan City wall construction, it is assumed.

<sup>71</sup> See photo (13)

<sup>72</sup> See photo (14)

<sup>73</sup> See photo (15)

<sup>74</sup> See photo (110)

<sup>75</sup> See photo (17)

<sup>76</sup> See photo (18)

<sup>77</sup> Myo Nyunt, *Bagan Ceti Puhtoie Myar ie Bithukar Ahnu Letyar*, (Architecture of Bagan Stupas), Yangon, Yaung Zin Press, 1999, p.93 (Henceforth: Myo Nyunt, 1999)

<sup>78</sup> Myo Nyunt, 1999, 95

<sup>79</sup> U Su, *Bithukar Kyan*, (Treatise of Architecture in Myanmar), Yangon, Sarpay Beikman Press, 1963 (Henceforth: U Su, 1963)

<sup>80</sup> Myo Nyunt, 1999, 97

In the construction of Pakhangyi city wall two types of brick bonding were used: (1) *Hnar-Char-May-Hlay* and *Ma-Ya-Khoe* bonding. And at the corners there are no reinforced stone bricks used like the style of Bagan.<sup>81</sup>

At the corners the wall are connected directly like in Innwa and Pinya period, and so the easy ruins can be seen in south wall of Pakhangyi.

Where did the Pakhangyi city get its supply of drinking water?; it is a fact to be dwelt on; there are water wells outside the city wall and east of the moat in four directions: At the *Sithu-shin* southeast corner *Khon-minn* water well, at the southwest *Sit-ke two wells*, twelve wells in the east, thus totaling fifteen water wells.

Moreover, it is assumed that canals are dug with the mind to transform Pakhangyi area into a granary. That is why the water delivery system is started, and the name Yesagyoy is evolved, the name given by Sithu, twelve canals have been dug in Pakhangyi and the table of canals are as follows:<sup>82</sup>

**Table V : List of Irrigation canals in Pakhangyi Region**

Serial	Name of Canals	Location
1.	Aung Swar Canal (Now Paykone Canal)	Near Naloneyain Pagoda
2.	Dan Pin Canal	Nyaung Taw Ywar
3.	Mein Ma Thay Canal	Ma Oh Zar
4.	Than Tan Tar Canal	Koo Toke Ywar
5.	Than Pu yar Canal	
6.	Kye Si Canal	
7.	Si thu Canal	Mont-pho, Ngar Yar Pyae Western Edge
8.	Chaung Pet Let Canal	

<sup>81</sup> Minbu Aung Kyaing, *Bagan Khit Bithukar Letyar*, (Bagan Architecture), Yangon, Sarpay Beikman Press, 1981, p. 111 (Henceforth: Aung Kyaing, 1981)

<sup>82</sup> U Mg Mg Tin, MA, "Yesagyoy Hse Myar", (Yesagyoy Dams), Rangoon, Shumawa Magazine, January, 1984 (Henceforth: Mg Mg Tin, 1984)



To supply water to the city, Koo Phyu and Koo Ni the canal was dug at Na Nwi Kaing village near the confluence of Ayeyarwady and Chindwin, thus the start of getting water Yesagyo (Welcoming the water).<sup>83</sup>

As Pakhangyi is about 200 feet higher, the idea that water is fetched from the confluence of Ayeyarwady and Chindwin is groundless.<sup>84</sup> So it is probable that water is fetched from *Shin Ma Taung* mountain range through *Yay Shork Yoe* (a little dam).

### Settlements

It cannot be said that Pakhan region was the place where Burmans race resided, and by looking at the place- names such as *Kan Thit*, *Khwe*, *Taun Oh*, *Htan To*, *Pan Yin* (*Pa Nyin*), *Phut Tho* (*Phut Shoa now Phu Lon*), *Myay Khè Taung*, *Myay Phyu*, and *The Pyae Pin* it can be said the region is the place where Myanmar race had settled. However, there are other races which had settled since ancient times, and there is a village called "Thak", about a mile north of Pakhan, making their livelihood as potters all along their historical existence. And it is possible that there may be a link between that village and "*Pyu, Kan-yan, Thak*" races. And it appears that this Thak village implies "*Thak*" race living among the Myanmars. From the point of view of the natural landscape, arable land on one side of the village, and mound and woodlands for hunting and dwelling on the other, it is believed that this village seems to have existed since the stone age.<sup>85</sup>

During the early 13<sup>th</sup> century of Late Bagan period Pakhan seemed to be the place where the Kulas (Indians) were settled; in the I 238 AD stone inscription of *Shwe Kyaung Taik Gyi* in the *Wet-Kyi-Inn* quarter of Bagan, there was a list of *Kala Kyun* (Indian slaves) totaling forty-three in number, and quite surprisingly there was a name of a Kala woman named "*Ku Khan*".

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<sup>83</sup> Ba Thwe, 1957, 3

<sup>84</sup> This proposition is based on the satellite survey made by Bob Huston, who personally visited Pakhangyi on 1 December, 2001.

<sup>85</sup> *Toe Hla Collection*, 3.

And so the name-phrase "*Ku Khan*" may have to be traced back to the Kala (Indian) language origin; as that Kala woman might have born in that place that was why she was given the name "*Ku Khan*", and that practice of naming the slaves was found in the inscriptions. There was also a Kala headman named "*Wuttinsa*" probably a title given by the king, who was so pious that he constructed a temple in Pakan and donated land to the "Three Jewels" . As Pakhan was in the upper part than Bagan, the place was referred to as "*Anyar Ku Khan*" according to some records.<sup>86</sup>

Apart from the Kalas, there were Shans from Northern Siam in the Nyaung-yan period; they were grouped and employed as long-handle lance bearers in the royal service and assigned them to settle in the Pakhan region. And that would be analyzed in detail when presenting the *Hsin-Shay-Kyaung* (Hsin Chaung village) survey. *Thaw-Ka-bè*, another village, may have links with the Shan race.<sup>87</sup>

Controversy over boundaries is another interesting and noticeable feature in studying the history of the ancient lands. The strong dominates over the weak and expands its boundaries encroaching upon other's lands provoking quarrels and controversies; this feature has been recurring since the stone age to the last Konbaung dynasty. And Pakhan region is no exception, and following is the brief description of such instances in the history of Pakhan region.

### **Pakhan- Ta-loke controversy**

The eastern border of Pakhan region was Ta-loke, and as the two were contemporary cities, probably they often engaged in boundary disputes<sup>88</sup> especially when fertile islands appeared. During the reign of King Minkhaung I, the two regions were included in the lands donated by the King and Queen, according to one stone inscription. And the King and Queen gave their verdict concerning the dispute as thus:

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<sup>86</sup> *Nyein Mg, 1972, 97*

<sup>87</sup> *Toe Hla collection, p. 4*

<sup>88</sup> *Minkhaung I and Tazaung Queen Inscription PPA, p. 74*

"According to the royal proclamation, *Hsin- Te village* tract was the centre of dispute both claiming that village tract as their own, and if the Royals decided to favour either side, Pakhan or Taloke, one would be encouraged and other would be disappointed, and vice versa. So the Royals included that village tract into their royal donations, and asked both parties to say *Sadhu* (well done) for their merit. From the inscription it seems that the disputed land, though in the dry region, was developed in agriculture supplied by water from the ponds. Now that village tract is no longer in the Pakhan (Yesagy) region; there had been also land dispute between Pakhan and Bagan in the late Konbaung period. Moreover, there had been a dispute between Pakhan and *Pan Chi, a land in Pin - Ki- Hse Taik*, but after the fall of Nyaungyan period *Chaung-Kauk village* headman of Pakhan appropriated not only the region of Pakhan but also the land of *Pin-Ki (Bunt-kyi) Hse-Taik*; later he took refuge in the service of King Alaungphaya, maintained his rank and became powerful."

### **Thu- Kywes (wealthy men) of Pakhan**

The donors of the pagodas were Kings and Queens, Princes and Princesses, courtiers, noble and wealthy citizens. There were three types of wealthy citizens: *Thu-htay*, *Thu-Kywe* and *ordinary citizen* of wealth; the former two were receivers of titles given by the king. In the stone inscriptions many names of *Thu-kywes*, some receivers of titles, were found with that phrase modifying their names: Nga Chit Thin<sup>89</sup>, Chat -tara<sup>90</sup>, Nga San Thin<sup>91</sup>, Nga Taung Thin<sup>92</sup>, Nga Ti Phyu<sup>93</sup>, Phon Ma Thin Kyan<sup>94</sup>, Phat-ta<sup>95</sup>, Phone Ma Thein Khar<sup>96</sup>, Nga Ma Lay Thin<sup>97</sup>, Nga Hlauk Thin<sup>98</sup>, Wu- thana<sup>99</sup>, O-thu-ke<sup>100</sup> and Ein Tu -rin<sup>101</sup>.

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<sup>89</sup> *Upper Burma Inscriptions*, Vol. 2, p. 142, *Sulapan Inscription* (Henceforth: *UBI*)

<sup>90</sup> *UBI*, Vol. 2, 140

<sup>91</sup> *UBI*, Vol. 2, 140

<sup>92</sup> *UBI*, Vol. 2, 131, *Beside Sulapan Inscription*

<sup>93</sup> *UBI*, Vol. 2, 138

<sup>94</sup> *UBI*, Vol. 2, 140

<sup>95</sup> *UBI*, Vol. 2, 142

<sup>96</sup> *UBI*, Vol. 2, 140

<sup>97</sup> *UBI*, Vol. 2, 140

<sup>98</sup> *UBI*, Vol. 2, 142

<sup>99</sup> *UBI*, Vol. 2, 136, *Shwe Myin Saing Pagoda Inscription*

<sup>100</sup> *UBI*, Vol. 2, 137, *Beside Shwe Myin Saing Pagoda Inscription*

<sup>101</sup> *UBI*, Vol. 2, 132, *Sulapan Inscription*

## Agriculture

As rice is the staple food for Myanmar's paddy crop is grown throughout the whole country, but in Pakhan region there is no system of irrigation to supply water to the fields. There are (Yar) farmlands in Pakhan flooded by streams or water supplied from the ponds called *Than Le* or *Moe Kaung Le*. In the stone inscriptions such stream-fed farmlands (Yar) and toddy palms are not much expressed, but in the donations paddy fields (Le) are only mentioned, though the main livelihood was growing on the Yar farmlands.

There are only two strains of paddy, *Mu-Yin* and *Kauk-Ti*, mentioned in the inscriptions. and it is assumed that Pan-Yin village (Pa-nyin) was the main centre of paddy growing in Pakhan in those times. The lands east of that village are flooded, so it is quite clear that paddy cultivation might have flourished as the fertility was replenished every year by flood waters. But in areas not touched by floodwaters paddy cultivation depended on water supplied by *Inns* (large ponds) and ponds. It is known that this region had to pay an amount of 10000 tins (1 tin = 72 pounds) to the King<sup>102</sup>; in the *Sula-pan Pagoda stone inscription* it was mentioned that King Alaung-sithu dug a pond named "Pyaung Kan Taw"<sup>103</sup>. Apart from that pond, the people dug up their own ponds to supply water to their paddy fields; the system of cultivation used was the transplantation technique that was still used up to this present day. And the transplantation plots were mentioned in the inscriptions.

The following are the list of *Inns* (large ponds), ponds and streams mentioned in the inscriptions: Kan Thar Yar<sup>104</sup>, Kha Kyi Kan<sup>105</sup>, Khin Pyae Kan<sup>106</sup>, Hsawk Pyit Kan<sup>107</sup>, Hsin Thae Chaung<sup>108</sup>, Taung O Kan<sup>109</sup>, Pan Yin Inn<sup>110</sup>, Pyaung Kan Taw<sup>111</sup>, Mu Yoe Kan<sup>112</sup>,

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<sup>102</sup> *UBI*, Vol. 2, 134, *Shwe Saunt Tin Phaya Inscription*

<sup>103</sup> *UBI*, Vol. 2, 143, *Sulapan Inscription*

<sup>104</sup> *UBI*, Vol. 2, 148

<sup>105</sup> *UBI*, Vol. 2, 141

<sup>106</sup> *UBI*, Vol. 2, 143

<sup>107</sup> *UBI*, Vol. 2, 143, 148

<sup>108</sup> *UBI*, Vol. 2, 132

<sup>109</sup> *UBI*, Vol. 2, 143

<sup>110</sup> *UBI*, Vol. 2, 139

<sup>111</sup> *UBI*, Vol. 2, 143

<sup>112</sup> *UBI*, Vol. 2, 146

Moe Nay Inn<sup>113</sup> and Let Pan Inn<sup>114</sup>. That *inns*<sup>115</sup> and ponds have not been verified, so whether they still exist or not could not be said with certainty. With such water supply from Inns, ponds and streams, farmlands and fields would have been arable ground for agricultural development in that region, and that is a safe assumption for the agricultural history of Pakhan.

### **Pyi-Thae-Pyi-Tharr ( Victory feast of Alcohol and Meat)**

It is found that though Myanmar converted to Buddhist Teachings of Lord Buddha, there were some instances of Nat (Spirit) worship in different periods of the Myanmar history. One of that ritualistic tradition was the slaughtering of animals and then feasting the slaughtered meat with alcohol after successful conclusion of a certain business or work. That kind of celebration was described in the Bagan period stone inscriptions and even found in the inscriptions of Pinya and Innwa period; the meat and the alcohol was termed "*Aung Thae Aung Tharr*" (Successful celebrated Alcohol and Meat). Moreover, the kings and the monks did not prohibit that kind of feasts, but in some instances even they were the participants.<sup>116</sup>

According to the inscriptions King Thadoe, returning after his military operation against Saku, was offered with a feast of alcohol and slaughtered meat; only after the feast the King allowed land donation to the pagoda and held a libation ceremony (water-pouring ceremony to share donation) with his own hands. It is a very questionable practice of doing merit if viewed from a religious point of view, but it has to be accepted as a fact of tradition in those times.

Moreover, even in ordinary social occasions it is found to be a common practice; in one inscription paying up of Kyat 100 was celebrated with three *Kyauk* of

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<sup>113</sup> *UBI*, Vol. 2, 140

<sup>114</sup> *UBI*, Vol. 2, 140

<sup>115</sup> *UBI*, Vol. 2, 146

<sup>116</sup> *Toe Hla Collection*, 10

alcohol and one pig<sup>117</sup>. In another instance three *Kyauk* of alcohol and a goat was expanded; and in another case ten alcohol and a cow was consumed. The usage *Kyauk* in the inscription possibly meant the pot alcohol was put in, and in Bagan period inscription the phrase *Phaung Kan* was used as container for alcohol. In Pakhan region the term *Kyauk* was used to possibly mean the pot as a container for alcohol. In *Taung Oo* pots, elephant figures and icons are crafted from stone, and they can be seen to this day, and the stone pot described in the inscriptions might be produced from this location, it might be assumed.

There were grand feasts celebrated in pandals specially set up for the occasion, and in one description "a cow, a pig, and thirty-eight alcohol" were expanded on that feast, and from that it could be assumed that it was a grand celebration for that locality, and the guests could be more than a hundred in number.

According to the "*Kyaun Lein Phaya Kyaung*" stone inscription, there were grander feasts of such celebration ; there were twice holdings of such kind: the consumption of one amounted to thus: alcohol 170 , 11 cows , 2 pigs, 7 goats and 10 chickens<sup>118</sup>. A thousand in number would feast on such amount of food and liquor , it could be assumed. Another grand feast was incongruously held in the monastery of *Paung-Laung Maha Thera* , the holy site of Buddhist religion, and thanks the abbot was not included as a participant. The food at the celebration amounted to: a cow, a pig, a goat eight chickens and alcohol twenty five. The holy place was totally incompatible with such a feast, as slaughtering of animals was a cardinal sin in the teachings of Lord Buddha. And both the king as well as the Abbot should have banned such misdeed, but as it had happened it had to be accepted as a historical fact.

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<sup>117</sup> *UBI*, Vol. 2, Inscribed AD 1365, 149

<sup>118</sup> *Kyaun Lein Phaya Twin Kyaung Inscription*, In the Southeast corner of Sithu Shin, Pakhangyi

## **Ancient Villages of Pakhan Region**

How many ancient villages are there in present Pakhan or Yesagyó Township? This is quite a difficult question to answer, but there are two facts worthy of note. The ancient region of Pakhan is as large as Pakkoku District, minus the Yaw region with Ayeyarwady river in the south and east, Pon Taung Pon Nyar ranges in the West, and Yamarr stream in the north as boundaries. Thus, it is apparent that this region includes Yesagyó, Myaing and a part of Pakkoku Township. Villages mentioned in the inscriptions will be tabulated, but some are not to be found; the origins of the ancient villages can be traced back to its period of origin.

The Pakhan region is mainly the place for Myanmar race, but there are also other nationalities residing in this region as the names of some villages are not Myanmar names, it is noted. Even the term Ku-Khan or Pakhan itself is doubtful whether it is a Myanmar expression. As the Myanmar language is said to be monosyllabic, every syllable has its distinct meaning<sup>119</sup>: *Chaung-Hson-Nge* (*Chaung*-stream, *Hson*-confluence, *Nge*-small), *Hsin-Chaung* (*Hsin* - elephant, *Chaung* -stream), *Nyaung - Pin- Thar* (*Nyaung*-banyan, *Pin*- tree, *Thar* -pleasant), *Htan Toe* (*Htan*-toddy ,*Toe*-short) *Myay Khè Khan*, *Byi-be* , *Ba Lei Ba*, *Thaw Ke Ba* are possibly not Myanmar names originally ; *Byi Lei Ba* may be an Manipur word (Cassey), which means a village of practitioners of Manipur medicine, or that village may be the place of Thak races.

All in all, the Pakhan region was the place where Myanmars mainly lived; *Pan Yin* (Pa Hnyin), *Taung Oh*, *Nwe Ni*, *Nge Myar Nge* (Nga Myar Lay), *Myit Kaing* (Pakkoku) and *Kwan Ywar* (Pakkoku) are ancient villages where Myanmar lived.

## **Pakhangyi Survey**

According to ancient records Pakhan was *Lay-yar-pyu* city state, which meant that this city had to send 400 soldiers to the defence of the kingdom when necessity

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<sup>119</sup> *Toe Hla Collection*, 13



arose. During the reign of King Balon when a survey conducted, Pakhan was one of the fortress cities mentioned in the survey. The full text of the survey has not been found, but part of survey runs thus:

"Nga Shoon, headman of Pakhangyi town, supplied these facts in the year forty-five

When asked by Nga Shoon, a respondent says: the town's measurement is as follows: East- West 2000 *tar*; North-South 2000 *tar*. Within that area there are twenty *Pe* monastic Land, eight *Pe* Pubbaryon monastery, ten *Pe* Nyaung Hla Pagoda land, twenty *Pe* Hsin Phyu Kyaung monastic land, thirty *Pe* Su La Pan Pagoda land, twenty *Pe* Kassapa Pagoda land, twenty *Pe* Shwe Saung Tin Pagoda owned land, 100 *Pe* allotted to Tat Kaung Han Thar, 100 *Pe* for Ywar Thar Ah Nuak Bet Taik, twenty *Pe* for Royal land, 102 *Pe* for Hauk Pyauk, *Pe* for ditches and ponds, no monastic-owned land on west of town...<sup>120</sup>

The survey suggests that it is conducted to record the ownership of land, donated-land to the pagodas and monasteries as it does not mention the measurements of the region, ranks and genealogy of its residents.

### **Pakhangyi Administration (Konbaung Period)**

Before Konbaung period the development of Administration is quite hard to trace its far origins as there are scarce sources of reliability to depend upon; Pakhan area was included in the Sunapranta Taing before the Konbaung period<sup>121</sup>. When the Sunapranta Taing was divided into sixteen administrative divisions, Pakhan became the 13<sup>th</sup> the administrative division by Sinbyu Shin Myedu Min(1765)<sup>122</sup>. After King Sinbyu Shin the area was revised and the administration reconstituted four times. 1768<sup>123</sup>, 1778<sup>124</sup>, 1817<sup>125</sup> and 1847<sup>126</sup>; but in the reign of King Thibaw (1878-1885) on 29

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<sup>120</sup> Pakhangyi Myothugyi, 45 Sittan Sayin by Nga Shoon

<sup>121</sup> Toe Hla, *Chindwin and Myint Thar*, p. 2

<sup>122</sup> Hla Thamein, *Myanmar Minmyar Aukchokepon sartin*, (The Royal Administration of Burma), Vol. 2, Rangoon, Central Press, 1965, p. 82 (Henceforth: Hla Thamein, 1965)

<sup>123</sup> Hla Thamein, 1965, 83

<sup>124</sup> Hla Thamein, 1965, 83

<sup>125</sup> Hla Thamein, 1965, 84

<sup>126</sup> Hla Thamein, 1965, 85



February, 1884, the traditional provincial administration was abolished, and the administrative area was divided into Shan and Myanmar provinces<sup>127</sup>. And the Myanmar province was divided into ten districts in which Pakhangyi became a sixth district in the new administrative system.

Before the Konbaung period the administration of Pakhangyi was mainly the village administration system, and as a Township Myowun was the highest local official, and when it became a district Khayaing Wun became the highest local official. The area under the rule of Pakhangyi Myowun was marked as thus: Yamarr stream in the north; then the south border starting from Shwe Kann Phyu to Sihoshin bridge going past Sihoshin Pagoda to Pakokku- Pauk road; in the east Chindwin and Ayeyarwady, and Tant Kyi Taung range in the west<sup>128</sup>. And the areas south of the Sihoshin bridge were under the rule of Bagan Myowun. And geographically the areas covered by the rule of Pakhangyi Myowun were marked with natural topographical landmarks such as Tantkyi Taung, Yarr Marr stream and Chindwin and Ayeyarwady rivers. Besides, the areas under the rule of Pakhangyi Khayaing Wun were; Pakhangyi Township, four Yaw Townships and Bant Kyi Township<sup>129</sup>.

Seen from the view of administrative set up, the Pakhangyi region was no less in importance, and the Pakhangyi high officials were also men of consequence in the Konbaung court. King Badon or commonly known as king Badon promoted Thadoe Maha Thiha Thu to the post of Pakhan Myosa<sup>130</sup> on 11 July 1783<sup>131</sup>; and on 20 May, 1784<sup>132</sup> the King awarded the Myosa with gold flowers and high office parks such as velvet Headdress or Baung, studded with gold flowers and other royal gifts. And

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<sup>127</sup> Hla Thamein, 1965, 86

<sup>128</sup> Pakokku Gazetteer, p. 131-34

<sup>129</sup> Dr. Than Tun, *Royal Order of Burma*, Tokyo, Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Tokyo University 1990, p. 1053 (Henceforth: Dr. Than Tun, 1990)

<sup>130</sup> Dr. Than Tun, 1990, 265

<sup>131</sup> Dr. Than Tun, 1990, 264

<sup>132</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> Waning Day of Nayon, 1146 M.E

another personage of eminence and high rank is Pakhan Mingyi U Yan Waih who became a member of the nobility and was awarded the Pakhangyi region as his fiefdom<sup>133</sup>.

In conclusion to the background history of Pakhangyi region, the boundaries or limits of the region was measured and redrawn eight times; and during the reign of King Thibaw (1878-1885) it was administratively one of the most important regions, but it was relegated to the level of village on 23 January, 1890, the early colonial period. As there were various name in the past- Koo Khann, Koo Than, Pakhnagyi - the former two terms have no reliable evidence, but the etymological root as in *Pa Say*, *Khan Say* and its derivative word can possibly have some firm reference in historical treatises.

As Nwar Htein village in Pakhan has some archaeological and architectural evidences such as the Buddha Images, ancient artifacts, stucco floral works and the reliable historical testimony of Nwar Htein village inscription, it can be firmly assumed that all the findings may be termed as of the Bagan period. Pakhangyi city is said to have built five times in the past, but the first three times of city construction cannot be confirmed as a historical fact. However, the legacy of the fourth and fifth time of city can be seen till to this day as city walls, moats and gates.

The ground-plan of Pakhangyi is not a square like Beikthano, Maingmaw, Wati, but rounded at the corners like the groundplan of ancient cities at Thègon and Taungdwingyi. The ground-plan of the Pakhangyi city is in form so as to meet the strategic military requirements in defending a city. But the brick bonding quality could not equal the high level of some Bagan architecture; however the quality of Pakhan bricks is equal to quality of bricks at Pyu cities like Beikthano and Srikeshtra. And as such the old Pakhagyi city is a massive fortress city in Myanmar.

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<sup>133</sup> Dr. Thet Lwin, *Koo Ni Nan and Pakhan Myay*, (Koo Ni Shrine and Pakhan Region), Rangoon, Chan Thar Press, 2003, p 176 (Henceforth: Thet Lwin, 2003)

## CHAPTER TWO

### STUPA AND TEMPLE

The religious edifices in Pakhangyi, built during the early period of eleventh century, were based on the religious concept of Buddhism, and they were the donations of kings, courtiers and the people. All the stupas, cave temples, wooden monasteries and caves can be seen to this day.

From the architectural viewpoint of Pakhangyi, there are about over 380 ancient religious edifices<sup>1</sup> built during the span of years from 11<sup>th</sup> century to 19<sup>th</sup> century, and of them a study has been made of about 200 monuments. And at that time homes and utensils used by the people are not made of durable materials like bricks, it is quite rare to find the remnants. Concerning the jewelry worn by people of those times, it is also hard to find the ancient ones as the people have a habit of wearing “jewels which are vogue in style” at those times.

Thus, there are only few remnants of brick monuments which testifies the architectural skills and social culture of those times. Though the religious monuments cannot reflect the features of the mundane society, these monuments are the results of the best mental and physical efforts of the peoples of those times, it can be said.

In Pakhangyi, it is hard to see grand and imposing religious monuments, but assumptions about them can be made from the stone inscriptions. It is found that

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<sup>1</sup>*Annual Report (2004-2005)*, Pakhangyi Archaeological Museum, Ministry of Culture, P.12 Type Script from U Htay Win Maung, Curater of Pakhangyi Museum

enclosure wall was first constructed before building of any monument, like the constructions of Bagan period between 11<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries.

*Thiha-yarzar-kyaw-khaung*, administrator of Pakokku village which was included in south area of Pakhangyi city and receipt of titles such as *Thamanta Kyaw Khaung Nawrahta* and *Mingala Thwe-Thauk-gyi*<sup>2</sup>, built a monastery, a *Zayat* (rest hall) and a ground-based stupa in 1828 AD. After that construction, he ordered an ordination hall to be built in the south east<sup>3</sup> “*within the enclosure wall of the stupa*”. That is the clear indication of the fact that the enclosure walls are first built before the construction of the monuments. In fixing the limits of the ordination hall *it is described as surrounded by “three-tiered arch and a grand enclosure”*, east of *Shwe Tan Tic Pagoda*<sup>4</sup> wherein resided Venerable Sassana-dha-ja who presided over the ceremony. It is believed that it is a beautiful wall with majestic arches and gates.<sup>5</sup> The wall is assumed to be made of bricks and to be square in form; it is made to keep out the fire and to make the monument more distinguishing. From the above-mentioned stone inscription it is the usual custom to build a wall around a religious edifice.

Likewise, 42 stupas in Pakhangyi including *Nyaung Pin Thar*<sup>6</sup> and *Naga-yon*<sup>7</sup> of Innwa architectural style, *Shwe Daung Sin*<sup>8</sup> of Nyaungyan period style, *Thauk-taw-gaw*<sup>9</sup>, *Ba Bay*<sup>10</sup>, *Tin Pyin Pyae*<sup>11</sup>, *Sabe-yon*<sup>12</sup> and *Hsu-taung-pyae*<sup>13</sup> of Konbaung period style and *Shin Pin Pe Chet*<sup>14</sup> of Ratnabon period, have found to have wall

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<sup>2</sup> *List of Stone Inscription in Myanmar*, Part I, Yangon, Government Press, 1921, 1183 A9-10 (Henceforth: List, 1921)

<sup>3</sup> List, 1921, 1883, B 25

<sup>4</sup> Shwe Tan Tic village is 4 miles east of Pakokku

<sup>5</sup> List, 1921, 1183/Kha 10

<sup>6</sup> Stupa No.13

<sup>7</sup> Stupa No.190

<sup>8</sup> Stupa No.200

<sup>9</sup> Stupa No.42

<sup>10</sup> Stupa No.50

<sup>11</sup> Stupa No.52

<sup>12</sup> Stupa No.130

<sup>13</sup> Stupa No.134

<sup>14</sup> Stupa No.69

enclosures<sup>15</sup>. Moreover at Pakhangyi Pakhan-nge monastery<sup>16</sup> and Pakhangyi Monasteries<sup>17</sup>, among the 12 monuments, there can be seen brick wall enclosures<sup>18</sup>, no stone walls can be seen at Bagan. These walls are quite similar to the double wall enclosure of Anan-ta-thu cave temple at Min-nan-thu, Bagan, which was built in 1223 AD. And this suggests that inside the wall enclosure Buddha Images, Stupas, Pitak-Taik, Dhamma hall, Ordination Hall are built, and monasteries for sanghas are built outside the enclosures.

Concerning the building-plan of the cave temples at Pakhangyi, the structures are varied in their types and styles in regard to such parts: formation of solid core and central shrine, vestibule and porch and vaults which support the upper portions. Similarly, in regard to the forms of stupas, there are various forms of decorations according to the periods in such features: plinths, terraces, bells, inverted bowls, lotus buds and projecting corners (*Khoe Nan Choe*). And that is the reason why there are different styles of religious monuments in Pakhangyi, and they are to be studied according to their periods of construction.

In the Pakhangyi region there are (7) stupas<sup>19</sup> which can be termed as the monuments of Bagan era. First the term “Ceti” should be studied; the etymology of the word could be traced back to the stone inscription: “To enshrine the holy relics of Lord Buddha King Asoka (273-232 BC) built many monuments”. The first model of stupa or Ceti was Sanchi<sup>20</sup>, built in BC 2 century, and in Sanskrit<sup>21</sup> it is spelled Caitya, in Pali *Cetiya*<sup>22</sup>, in Nepal *Chaitya*<sup>23</sup> and in Thailand Chedi<sup>24</sup>. It is a chamber in a temple

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<sup>15</sup> Appendix (1)

<sup>16</sup> Donation of Pakhan Mingyi U Yan Wai during reign of King Mindon

<sup>17</sup> known as Kyi-Wun-Min, U Pho Toke Kyaung

<sup>18</sup> Appendix (2)

<sup>19</sup> Appendix (3)

<sup>20</sup> 𑀲𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺-Sanchi

<sup>21</sup> 𑀲𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺-Chitya (Sanskrit)

<sup>22</sup> Cetiya-Pali

<sup>23</sup> Chaitya-Nepal

<sup>24</sup> Chedi-Thai

where holy offerings are enshrined or kept; it is called *Dagaba*<sup>25</sup>, in Srilanka, *Dhatughaba*<sup>26</sup> in Pali, *Dhataginba*<sup>27</sup> in Sanskrit. And in Tamil language it is termed *Toppu*<sup>28</sup>, in Telegu *Topu*<sup>29</sup>: those word means forest garden. Those words changed as *Tha-tu-pa*<sup>30</sup> in Sanskrit and *Htu-paw*<sup>31</sup> in Pali which mean “a building symbolizing the Lord Buddha, but cannot enter into it”.

Those symbolic edifices which serve as a model are: *Sanchi Stupa* of 2 century BC, *Baw Baw stupa* at Srikhestra of 4 century AD, *Nga-kywe-na-daung* stupa at Bagan of 11 century, *Lokanandar stupa* at Thiripitsaya of the same eleven century and *Kaung-hmu-daw* at Sagaing<sup>32</sup>. That kind of stupas cannot be found in the Pakhangyi region.

The stupas of Bagan style architecture at Pakhangyi are: *Yadana-myt-zu*<sup>33</sup>, *Myat-Paung-Myitzu*<sup>34</sup>, *Gotama*<sup>35</sup> Sithu Shin and other titled-unknown stupas<sup>36</sup>. Narapati-sithu (1173-1210 AD) built *Thara-khan* Pagoda and locally known as *Pakhangyi Naypyithu Sithu-shin Pagoda*. That fact is verified by *Twin-Thin-Yarzawin-Thit*<sup>37</sup>, Thawta Pan ink inscription and *Thu-Kywe-Gyi Wutthana stone inscription*<sup>38</sup> the stone inscription runs as follows:

**Sukrway kri: watthana inscription**

" " namo tassati " " Sakarac 564 khu phala kuin nhac tapon lchan

15 ryak

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<sup>25</sup>Pagoda

<sup>26</sup>Data-gabbhe

<sup>27</sup>Dhata-gabhha

<sup>28</sup>Toppu

<sup>29</sup>Topu

<sup>30</sup>Stupa

<sup>31</sup>Thupo

<sup>32</sup>Myo Nyunt , 1999, 21

<sup>33</sup>Stupa No.55

<sup>34</sup>Stupa No.89

<sup>35</sup>Stupa No.167

<sup>36</sup>Stupa No.78, 82, 106

<sup>37</sup>Maha Sithu Twin Thin, *Twin Thin Yazawin Thit*, (New Chronicle), Vol. I, Yangon, Mingala Press, December 1998, p. 134 (Henceforth: Maha Sithu, 1998)

<sup>38</sup>Nyein Mg, 1972, 374

6 niy a sukrway kri wathana tuiw monnham nhac yok ni ruy mlat kri cwa  
na cwai

san a klon ku tuiw kuiw plu e ku tau priam mha lhyan cansu man nhama trya  
pwan man e man san ku khan pran kui plu pryan am so nha chan tau mu lat  
ra

ka ku tau kuiw athwat lan tan e ။ ... nhuik lhu tau mu so lai

From these facts it should be taken as the donor of *Tharakhan* or *Sithu Shin Pagoda* was *Narapati-sithu* (AD 1173-1210). Firstly monument of late Bagan period in Pakhangyi is *Gotama Pagoda*<sup>39</sup>; it has an octagonal base with niches and screen walls on four sides. The vestibule opens to the east, and inside there is a Buddha Image on a throne made of bricks. There are two terraces, and on both terraces there are four small stupas of Sri Lanka style. The upper portion of stupa has up - and - down lotus and it ends with. The measurements of the temple are: North-South 35 feet, 8 inches, and from East to West 38 feet and 8 inches; the height of the temple is about 60 feet. The monument is of late 13 the Century Bagan period, and this temple's basic architectural form seems to resemble *Kone Taw Gyi Temple*<sup>40</sup> of Nyaung-oo: both *Konw Taw Gyi* and *Gotama Temples* have porches on the four sides of the plinth, same 4 stairways, corner pilaster<sup>41</sup> and <sup>42</sup>urn-profiled base.

The vault over the porch of *Gotama Temple* is of *Straight Arch* type, and the brickwork is vertical Bengthurise laying of type. There are floral works over the niches and at the screenwall like that of *Kone Taw Gyi Temple* but nothing remains at present. There are also a few blocks of floral works under the cornice<sup>43</sup>, and the small corner stupas of two terraces are of the same form like that at *Kone Taw Gyi Temple*. But the vault over the porch at the upper terrace of *Kone Taw Gyi Temple* is constructed in the style

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<sup>39</sup> See photo (19)

<sup>40</sup> See photo (20)

<sup>41</sup> Pilastre Cornier

<sup>42</sup> Springer Supporting Arch

<sup>43</sup> Chin-mate Toe

of *Corbelled Arch*<sup>44</sup>, and that type of niches cannot be seen at Gotama Temple. There are four types of niches<sup>45</sup> constructed at Bagan Period and the third type can be seen at *Gotama Temple*, and that type is not quite as systematic as the constructions at *Wet-kyi-inn*, *Gu-Pyauk-kyi* and *Pahto-thar-myar* Temples of Bagan. And the donor of this *Gotama Temple* is not known.

Another architectural form of *Myat-Paung Myitzu Pagoda*<sup>46</sup>, of late Bagan period style, is a square plinth at the base, and the edges of the plinth are decorated with lotus buds. At the four corners of the plinth there are four lions, and they might not be the original ones. For they are found to be the works of late Konbaung period. On the plinth is constructed a cave temple and at the corners of the temple there are four corner stupas. There are two terraces, and at the four corners of the lower terrace there are Kalasa pots. And at the four corners of the upper terrace are lotus buds, and there are four crowning blocks with floral decorations, representing the four Buddhas already reached Nibbana in this five-Buddha world.

All the floral works are mixed, some are of Bagan period and some are of Konbaung period. The vestibule looks to the east and there are 4 stairways to the platform. The cave temple is a square of 40 feet and 3 inches, and the height of the temple is 165 feet, which is the highest stupa in Pakhangyi region. There is a porch on the east side to enter the temple, and in the shrine there is a stone image of Lord Buddha on the throne. There is also an inner porch and a screen-wall; this temple is the architectural style of late Bagan period which is topped by an iron spire that is not an original one.

Its ancient value has been lost due to successive renovations. On the record there are donors who made renovations: U Than - Daw Saw Wah in 1261 Myanmar era, the second renovation by Daw Mai Thin and family, and renovations made in 1339 and 1361 Myanmar era. And it is known that temple was built by Narapati-sithu.

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<sup>44</sup> Toe sie Poug Kuu

<sup>45</sup> Four Terms of Pediment over porches are Pediment on Sikhara in terrace form, niches with flaming arch pediments, Dummy pediment with Dado, Pediment over lotus and Deity figures

<sup>46</sup> See photo (21)



Another temple of Bagan type at Pakhangyi is located at 100 yards East of Stupa number (105)<sup>47</sup>; it has a square plinth and has a twelve-sided base like that of Srilanka style stupa. The basic structure of this temple resembles *Nanda-Ma-Nya*<sup>48</sup> temple of middle 13<sup>th</sup> century of Bagan period. The measurements of this temple are: North-South and East-West have the same 22 feet and has a height of 35 feet<sup>49</sup>; there are no urn-profiled base, mayobalan, as was the usual architectural style in Bagan period. The monument is ground-based, decagonal plinth and has a single terrace small forepart with niches on four sides tapering towards the bellshaped dome. The upturned rim of the bell is like that of *loka-nandar* stupa<sup>50</sup>, which was first constructed in the early 11<sup>th</sup> Century. But the form of band<sup>51</sup> on the bell, the hemispheric dome<sup>52</sup> and ringed conical spire resembles the basic construction form of *Nanda-ma-nyar* Pagoda. This temple has spacy central shrine without central core<sup>53</sup> built like the cave temples such as *Moe Moe Mae Mae*, *Sakyamuni*, *Min Myaw Yazar*, *Loka-Hteik-pan* and *Kyamar-bud* which were constructed between 12<sup>th</sup> & 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. The span of the vaults extending from one side to other are roomy and is of cloister vault design. It is possible that this temple was contemporary to the Bagan cave temples which were constructed between 12<sup>th</sup> & 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. There are porches on all four sides and the interior construction could be on par with the level of Bagan architecture.

The other cave temple of Bagan period style architecture at Pakhangyi is located at the south of Myauk-Pyin Monsastery, and the vestibule of this temple looks towards the east<sup>54</sup>. The ground plan of this temple is a square; the measurements are: north-south 28 feet, six inches and east-west 33 feet, six inches and has height of about

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<sup>47</sup> See photo(22)

<sup>48</sup> See photo (23)

<sup>49</sup> Field Record, 4-7-2003, Tint Lwin, Hla Myo Tint, p. 20 (Henceforth: Field Record, 4-7-2003)

<sup>50</sup> Aung Kyaing, 1981, 87

<sup>51</sup> Band-in the middle of the Bell

<sup>52</sup> Hemisphenic dome-like a inverted

<sup>53</sup> Aung Kyaing, 1981, 85

<sup>54</sup> See photo (24)

30 feet<sup>55</sup>. It was repaired and preserved in 1999; on the four sides of the temple there are niches with pediments and it was constructed with straight arches.

In the architecture of religious edifices of Pakhangyi area, there can be found arches in the cave temples, vestibules, porches, shrines, niches, gateways and enclosure walls, and those arches are constructed in three forms: (1) Corbelled Arch (2) Radiating Arch and (3) Straight Arch. Those three arches are built

Inside that temple, there is a Buddha Image on the throne and it is all brickwork. The Buddha Image seems to be of Innwa period style, and there are paintings on the interior walls. There is also a mound of broken bricks (Temple 78 A) South of that Temple (78), and it is assumed to be of Bagan period architectural style.

At Pakhangyi another stupa of Bagan style is *Yadana-Myizu Stupa*<sup>56</sup>; it has a square ground plan on which the plinth is built, like the *Shwe Gugyi Stupa* of Bagan; in Pakhangyi there are such stupas with brick platforms from different historical periods. Indeed, the stupa is built not directly from the ground, but is constructed from a high-base brick platform; at the four corners at the base of the stupa, 4 lions can be seen. There are two terraces above the plinth, and the stupa is erected above the terrace on an octagonal base. On the west side of the stupa there is a stairway, and up at the stairway there is a porch with a pediment over it. Late additions to the stupa are the spire and an iron umbrella over it. The measurements of the stupa are East-West 22 feet, North-South 26 feet and height 20 feet. This stupa is ground-based and looks towards the west, and that is strange<sup>57</sup>. In Pakhangyi area there are 10 stupas facing west<sup>58</sup>; among them 7 stupas are of Innwa style, one stupa of Konbaung, another one of early colonial period and only one from Bagan period.

Why are the cave temples with a single entrance built facing to all the four directions? Dr. Than Tun wrote:

“Facing east and sitting under the Bohdi (banyan)tree, Lord Buddha achieved Enlightenment, so the entrance to the Maha Bohdi Stupa at Gaya looks towards the

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<sup>55</sup>Field Record, 4-7-2003, Tint Lwin, Hla Myo Tint, p.20

<sup>56</sup>See photo (25)

<sup>57</sup>Field Record, (4-7-2003)

<sup>58</sup>See appendix (4)

east. A minor queen, fleeing the palace intrigue at the Court of Bagan, built *Shwe Sar Yan* Pagoda on the way and the Pagoda's entrance opened to the south in the direction of Bagan where her husband sat on the throne. When the Aris were suppressed they fled to the south of Bagan and built a cave temple, its entrance looked to the north pointing to Bagan; they recited mantras and exercised black magic to destroy Bagan, some said. To counteract the effects of black magic of the Aris, the monks built a cave temple, its temple facing south. Then, the monks recited *Paritas* and sent Metta (loving kindness), thus lessening the panic at Bagan freeing the citizens from the dangers of an epidemic, it was said. Thus, oral history has it that when a cave temple faces east it is truly a religious edifice, and when temples face other directions, they are the products of occult practices.", wrote Dr, Than Tun in his research article: "*If the Bagan Temples do not face east, then why*"<sup>59</sup>. Then there are reasons to ponder as there were 10 west-facing stupas in Pakhangyi region contemporary to the six west-facing temples of Bagan such as (1) Sein Nyet Nyi Ah Ma (2) Taing Gyut (Taing Khit) (3) Nanda-ma-nyar (4) Than Taw Kyar (5) Than bula (Thon-lula) and (6) Ah saw kyun<sup>60</sup>.

Another fact is that the local residents of Pakhangyi call these west-facing stupas as *Rakhine Pagoda* and *Rakhine facing Pagodas*, and a Rakhine style bronze Buddha Image is also found in one of these west-facing Pagodas<sup>61</sup>. Thus, the west-facing stupas of the Pakhangyi area are built so as to exercise the art of occult or the people of the Rakhine race, who came to reside when the Pakhangyi city was built, constructed these Pagodas in remembrance of their homeland. As a result these stupas may be called the Rakhine Pagodas for that reason, for Rakhine area is west of Pakhangyi.

Another Bagan architectural style stupa in Pakhangyi is at 50 yards north of

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<sup>59</sup> Dr. Than Tun, "Bagan Gu Kyaung Twe Ah-Shae Ah-yart Ko Myet-nhar Ma-mu-yin Bartha-baw Le", (what are the Reasons if Cave Temple of Bagan not Facing East), *Thurizza Magazine*, Vol I, No.12, Dec 2000, Yangon, p. 55.56

<sup>60</sup> Dr. Than Tun, 2000, 56

<sup>61</sup> Interview with Curator, Pakhangyi, Ministry of Culture, Archaeology Department, 28-6-2006

Stupa No.(78), which is at the east of *Myauk-pyin* village<sup>62</sup>. The stupa is built on a ground base, square ground plan; the vestibule looks towards the east, and there are two porches on the east and south sides. There are also niches with pediments on the north and east and south sides. In the shrine there is a ruined Image of Buddha on the throne; the measurements of the stupa are North-South 24 feet, 6 inches; East-West 35 feet and a height of 27 feet<sup>63</sup>. Looking at the exterior architectural form it is assumed to be of late Bagan period or of late 13<sup>th</sup> Century, but the wall paintings inside are so ruined that they cannot be surmised.

To make a general analysis of the described religious monuments in Pakhangyi there is no evidence that the pagodas have enclosure walls for the (6) temples as yet. There are 4 lions at the corners of the square base of *Yadana Myitzu* and *Myat Paung Myitzu*, have stairways on the stupas, but there are Kalasa pots only at *Myat Paung Myitzu*. There are no *Manusiha figures* at the Bagan style stupas, but there are few *friezes* decorations at Stupa (78).

Comparing the stupas in Pakhan with the architectural style of Bagan stupas, the classification may be quite similar to that of Bagan:

(i) Stupas (2) cave Temples (3) Brick Monasteries (4) cave tunnels (5) Pyathats (tier-roofings), Pitaka Taik (library), and Sima (Ordination Halls) which will be presented in the later chapters.

Early forms of stupas like the simple plain bulbous stupas at Srikeshtra *Baw Baw gyi* and *Phaya-mar*<sup>64</sup>, are built without decorations. And only during the reign of Aniruddha the stupas were built with the form of bell-rim at the base, and it was the start of change of Pyu form to Myanmar style in architecture. For example, the form of the rim of the bell at the base of Stupa (106) at Pakhangyi resembles like that of Stupas such as *Inn Phayagyi*, *Lokanandar*, and *Kyauk-Phyauk Maw* Pagodas at Bagan.

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<sup>62</sup> See photo(26)

<sup>63</sup> Field Record, (4-7-2003)

<sup>64</sup> Myo Nyunt, 1999, 21

Moreover, there are cave entrances, niches at the hemispheric dome and bands of the stupas, plaster pediments, Buddha Images over the arches at the cave temple entrances, square tower above the hemispheric dome and on the square tower is built of Srilanka style<sup>65</sup>.

There are seven forms of Bagan stupas which *cannot be found* in the Bagan period stupas of Pakhangyi:

Hemispheric dome without conical rings style stupas like Bu-phaya, Nga-kywe-na-daung, and Pyu-ceti (Lay-hsu-tan)

Tapering terraces from the plinth with conical rings decoration, blind forepart style stupas such as *Shwe San Daw*, *Shwe Zigon*, *Mingala ceti*.

Tapering gradually from plinth to ringed conical spire and umbrella with entresol style cave temple, such as *Myin Pya gu Stupa*.

Srilanka style stupa with Hermika such as *Sein Nyet Nyi Ma* and *Sa pa dha* and *Pe pin kyaung*

Stupa of Srilanka style with Hermika and entresol such as stupa No. (1790)

Stupa of Sri Lankan style with hermika and tunnel such as *Stupa no.(1790)*.

Stupa with Buddha Image in the front porch such as *Yadanar Man Aung Stupa*

But Stupa no. (82)<sup>66</sup> in Pakhangyi, if seen without proper attention, seems to resemble like *Kyauk sa ga Pagoda*<sup>67</sup> at Thiripyitsaya in Bagan. Stupa no.(82), close to the east of Myauk-pyin village in Pakhangyi, has a shrine and paintings on the inner walls, must be included in the plain cave temple type.

The Bagan style stupas of Pakhan tapers upwards gradually from the base; and whatever the forms of cave temples are built, there are finial above the temple to form a stupa. To withstand the upper weight of the cave temple the plinth, and other architectural supports are constructed.

The architectural skill in constructing the Gotama Pagoda (stupa), with its

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<sup>65</sup> Myo Nyunt, 1999, 26

<sup>66</sup> Stupa No.82

<sup>67</sup> See photo (27)

upper crenellation and four corner stupas above, is no less than the skill of Bagan period architecture. All the six stupas of Pakhangyi of Bagan period use the style of horizontal-laying brickwork, not using the brickwork style, but the quality of bricks and the style or brickwork could not match the skill of Bagan era. But the basic concept of architecture of Bagan and Pakhangyi is not different: the rulers and the people of those two regions built the religious edifices out of their fervent faith (*Saddha*), and the intention of building cave temples and stupas as symbols of religious faith was to plant Buddhism even in the minds of the illiterate.

*The Architectural History of Innwa Period Stupas in Pakhangyi*

Of the (111) stupas<sup>68</sup> in Pakhangyi of Innwa Period, (15) stupas with titles<sup>69</sup> and other noted monuments of Innwa period will be analysed basing on the practical field work.

*Lone-Taw-gyi Pagoda*<sup>70</sup>, located in South East of *Ywar-Thar Ywar* village's primary school and west of that school, has a vestibule and a shrine in which sits a Buddha Image. The stupa is ground-based and looks to the east; it is like Sa-ba-da Stupa at the entrance to Nyaung-Oo with a Harmika above the hemispheric dome. At the square corners of relic chamber or Harmika there are 4 figures of Manusiha (mythical creature human head and lion body) and 8 figures of Deities with their hands clasped and raised. From the upper conical spire to finial is decorated with glass mosaics topped by a brick umbrella and the stupa is on the base of a nine-sided plinth. And that nine-sided platform stupa is the only one in Pakhangyi. The stupa has a length of 86 feet from north to south, and 89 feet from east to west with a height of 120 feet which is the second highest in Pakhangyi<sup>71</sup>. There is a band on the middle of the bell-shaped dome of Lone-Taw-Gyi; its base is nine-sided and has a two stage Harmika and it is known Let-mè courtier built this stupa.

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<sup>68</sup> See appendix (5), Lists of Innwa Period Pagodas in Pakhan Gyi

<sup>69</sup> See appendix (6), List of Stupas and Cave Temples of Innwa Period in Pakhangyi

<sup>70</sup> See photo(28)

<sup>71</sup> Field Record, (4-7-2003), 23

Another stupa of Innwa style at Pakhangyi is *Shwe Bon Thar Pagada*<sup>72</sup>; it is situated on the north of Stupa no. (I64) and south of Pyi-Thar-Yar quarters police station. The stupa rises from the base temple which has a platform of one and a half feet; north - south length is 23 feet, east- west length is 48 and a half feet with a height of 38 feet<sup>73</sup>. The vestibule opens to the east, and inside the temple there is a headless Buddha Image. There is a painting on the screen wall of the niche on the east side; there are 4 Kalasa pots at the upper corners of the temple and four corner stupas at the terraces. There are also floral works of plaster of Innwa handiwork style around the temple. There are remnants of friezes on the bell-shaped dome, and the part above the conical rings are ruined laying bare. There is a stairway on the north side and inside there are paintings of Nyaungyan period.

*Khandha Thein Pagoda*<sup>74</sup>, which is in the north of Stupa no. (87) and in the precincts of *Ywar Thar Monastery*, is another stupa of Innwa period style in Pakhangyi. This stupa is ground-based, and there are corner stupas at the square plinth. There are terraces, and the four corners are decorated with lotus buds. There is a band around the bell-shaped dome, and ringed conical spire tops the hemispheric dome. The vestibule opens to the east, and inside a figure of Buddha sits on a throne. The measurements of the *Khandha Thein Pagoda* are: north- south of 45 feet<sup>75</sup>. Though the stupa is of Innwa style, there are wall paintings of Konbaung period inside. As the pagoda has been successively repaired, it looks like a new one.

*Stupa no. (87)*, of the same period as *Khandha Thein*, is in the northeast of the *Ywar Thar Monastery* with a figure of Makara and peacock on either side of the niche with forepart<sup>76</sup>, but within the compound of that Monastery. It is of *Ta-wa-gu* (single entrance) type, and the entrance looks to the east. There are four lions at the four

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<sup>72</sup> See photo (29-30)

<sup>73</sup> Field Record, (4-7-2003), 42

<sup>74</sup> See photo (31)

<sup>75</sup> Field Record, (4-7-2003)

<sup>76</sup> Stupa No.87



corners of the plinth, and there are four terraces. Above them a stupa is built on an octagonal base, and there is a porch with a small stairway to enter inside where stands a Buddha image on a throne. The measurements of the pagoda are: north-south 28 feet, east-west 27 feet and the stupa has a height of about 60 feet. The iron umbrella of the stupa is of recent hand work, and the Image is hewn from Sagyin marble<sup>77</sup>.

More or less, the stupa and cave temples in Pakhangyi have "forepart with niches", and the origin of "forepart with niche" comes from the graceful mansion featured in the coins of Pyu period from which it gradually developed into the form of architectural decoration. It is to be assumed that the architectural decorations found in the palaces, religious edifices and porches of the pagodas such as pediments, niches with foreparts are copied from the architectural decorations of Bagan.

During the Bagan period the *forepart with niches* was called *Torana* and *Yama Leth-hnyo Ta-kè* was called Flaming Arch Pediment<sup>78</sup>. And there are 4 forms of niches with foreparts:

- (1) Pediment on Sikhara in terrace form
- (2) niches with flaming arch pediments
- (3) Dummy pediment with Dado
- (4) Pediment over lotus and Deity figures

The forepart with niche at the Pakhangyi Khanda Thein Pagoda is of the third type:<sup>79</sup> Dummy pediment with Dado and on either side of Dado is the plaster relief figures of Naya mythical animal and peacock looking back, like that of Bagan period.

Another pagoda of Innwa period style is *Phaya Ni* or the Red Pagoda as the locals of Pakhangyi call it<sup>80</sup>. It is situated in the south of *Sithu-Shin* Pagoda, about 30 feet east of Stupa No.48, and the vestibule opens to the east. Inside, there is a Buddha

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<sup>77</sup> Aung Kyaing, 1981, 72

<sup>78</sup> Aung Kyaing, 1981, 68

<sup>79</sup> Aye Myint, *Burmese Design Through Drawings*, Bangkok, Silpakorn University, 1993, p. 131, plate 504 and photo 32 (Henceforth: Aye Myint, 1993)

<sup>80</sup> See photo(33)



Image, and there are forepart with niches on the four sides. But the remnants of the plaster handiwork of niches cannot be seen now. The singularity of this cave temple is its red brick color as the name of this temple implies. The niche on the east is opened and the remaining niches are totally closed, and on the second terrace above, only the four corner stupas remain. Above the main shrine near the bell-shaped dome and above the inverted bowl there are decorative ballflower bands which grace the cave temple itself. Inside the temple there are wall paintings featuring themes from Jataka tales such as Bodhisatta renouncing, Chanda-kumara, Vessantara, Temi and Jannakka and some court scenes. The wall paintings are of fine workmanship and are included in the lists of Nyangyan period paintings. The Temple has a measurement of 30 feet North-South; east-west 33 feet and a height of about 35 feet and architecturally is of Innwa period style<sup>81</sup>.

Another stupa of Innwa period style at Pakhangyi is the Black Stupa. It stands close to the north side of the enclosure wall of *Myazigon Pagoda*<sup>82</sup>, and as the stupa is totally black the local name is derived from it. The base is octagonal and decorated with Kalasa pots; the rim of the bell is not upturned as it was Innwa period style, but in a smooth style. It is a rare construction that there is *dado* (Sein Taung) between the upper part of inverted bowl and the conical ringed spire, and the plaster band relief-figures adds to the grace of the stupa. The band of ballflower between up-lotus and down-lotus; the *dado* between the above ten conical rings and below down-lotus: all these are the products of fine workmanship.

The handiwork of constructing axial niches and pediments still betray the influences of the Bagan period architecture. The measurements of the cave temple are: east-west 23 feet, six inches, north-south 19 feet, six inches. The stupa itself is of Innwa period style and the wall paintings inside are of Nyaung-yan period style. And above the porch there is a Buddha *Pada*, and inside the Black Pagoda there are painted

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<sup>81</sup> Field Record (4-5-2003), 13

<sup>82</sup> See photo (34)

inscriptions and graffiti<sup>83</sup>.

*Shit-Myet-Hnar Pagoda or Eight Faces Pagoda* is another stupa of Innwa period style; it is located in the northeast of *Sasana Yaung-Chi-Oo* Monastery of *Kone-Ta-Lin village*<sup>84</sup>. As the Pagoda has eight faces, so it is known locally as thus. The eight faces represent the eight directions and it is also known as *Gyo-pyay-nan-pyay* Pagoda, which means to counteract the negative influences of the planets. The peculiarity of this stupa is that except the iron umbrella all the stupa is built of stone (Taung Oo stone). Another such stone stupa in Pakhan is in the monastic precincts of *A-nauk-kyauung* at *Tha-pye-pin* village, and is known as *Taung-Oo Kyauk-ceti*. The measurements of this pagoda are: east-west 9 feet-nine inches; north-south 9 feet-nine inches and a height of about 16 feet. It is topped with an iron umbrella and is of Innwa period style<sup>85</sup>.

*Nyaung-Pin-Thar Pagoda*, which is situated about 50 feet north of the road to Zigon village from the east gate of Kone-ta-lin village, is another stupa of Innwa period style<sup>86</sup>. The Pagoda has a three-stage plinth and on it has an octagonal base from which the stupa arises. And on the four sides are niches, and there seems to be once a Buddha image inside the porch. At the corners of the lowest stage of the plinth there are corner stupas. The measurements are: the base is a square of 24 feet, and the height of the stupa is about 23 feet. In 1990 Sayadaw Sobana hoisted the umbrella of the pagoda<sup>87</sup>. There is an enclosure wall around the pagoda, and it is believed to be of Innwa period. There are 3 niches each on the four sides of the highest terrace; there are also 3 niches each on the four sides of the second terrace and they are assumed to be of Ratanabon period.

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<sup>83</sup> Field Record (3-5-2003), 12

<sup>84</sup> See photo(35)

<sup>85</sup> Field Record, (19-4-2003), 5

<sup>86</sup> See photo (36)

<sup>87</sup> Field Record (19-4-2003), 4

*Aung Taw Mu Pagoda*, another stupa of Innwa period style, is in the north close to Stupa No .(21), and it opens to the east<sup>88</sup>. There are railings at the entrance and a stairway to descend. It has a vestibule on the east side, and there are four lions at the corners of the base. The measurements of the stupa are : east-west 26 feet; north-south 24 feet and a height of about 35 feet<sup>89</sup>. The stupa is constructed on the temple and there are forepart with porches on four sides of the temple. The gate at the north enclosure wall has a three-tiered roof and a roofed-stairway. And the pagoda is often inundated a little by the waters of the nearby stream.

*Shin Aung Myin*, known by that title among locals but know not why it is called, is another stupa of Innwa period style architecture<sup>90</sup>. It stands in the middle of *Sin Chaung* village; to be exact west of U Htun Hla Aung's house and besides the homes of U Myint Aung and Ko San Maung. The stupas' platform is ground-based, and there are friezes on the hemispheric dome, but at present is flooded by stream waters. The measurements of the stupa are: east-west 22 feet, north-south 25feet and has a height of about 18 feet<sup>91</sup>.

Another stupa *Shin Aung Din* quite similar to *Shin Aung Myin Pagoda* is north of that stupa and quite close to Stupa No.(23)<sup>92</sup>. It is ground-based and of Sri Lankan style. The Stupa looks to the east; its measurements are: north- south 16 feet, east-west 20 feet and has a height of about 16 feet<sup>93</sup>. The figure of the head of a lion on the hemispheric dome is assumed to be of Innwa period style.

*Thauk Taw Gaw Pagoda* , with an enclosure wall and closely north of *Hso Ta* Nunnery, faces towards the east and has a Buddha Image inside<sup>94</sup>. There are forepart with niches on every level and Kalasa pots on the corners of the temple above. And at the corners of the second terrace there are two-stage lotus buds.

<sup>88</sup> See photo (37)

<sup>89</sup> Field Record (20-4-2003), 6

<sup>90</sup> See photo (38)

<sup>91</sup> Field Record (3-5-2003)

<sup>92</sup> See photo (39)

<sup>93</sup> Field Record (3-5-2003), 11

<sup>94</sup> See photo(40)

Stupa No.(56), locally known as *Shin Ma Taung Pagoda* , faces north, and it is a cave temple of Innwa period style<sup>95</sup>. There are forepart with niches on every level at east, west and south sides of the temple. Inside there are images of Buddhas, and at the corners of the second terrace there are decorations of lotus buds. But the iron umbrella of the stupa is of later construction. From the conical spire to down lotus is plastered with glass mosiacs. The measurements of the stupa are: north-south 35 feet; east-west 35 feet 10 inches and has a height of 95 feet<sup>96</sup>.

*Ledi Pagoda* which stands 300 yards north from the road that links Pakhangyi and Pakhan-nge is also of Innwa period style architecture<sup>97</sup>. The stupa has a square plinth and on it arises three terraces. There are small forepart with niches on all four sides, and the stupa is ground-based and crowns with an iron umbrella. The measures of the stupa are: north-south 32 feet, six inches; east-west 32 feet-six inches and has a height of about 37 feet. There is a figurine of Buddha image in the niche on the north wall, and the small Buddha image is of Ratanabon period style<sup>98</sup>.

*Mya Thein Tan Pagoda* or Red Pagoda as is locally known stands 150 feet north of Pakhanyi-Pakhan-nge road, and is about 300 feet straight east of Pakhangyi city wall. It is also 200 feet east of Stupa No.(72). and is of Innwa period style<sup>99</sup>. The stupa is ground-based and has a square brick platform on which the stupa arises. Now the stupa is ruined and only the upper part of ringed conical sphere is visible. And the stupa is so ruined that the architectural period could not be analyzed. The measurements of the stupa are: north-south 40 feet at the base; east- west 40 feet and has a height of about 60 feet<sup>100</sup>.

In the Pakhan region there are 115 stupas of Innwa period architectural style, and they are of different style of construction basically. The majority of the stupas are

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<sup>95</sup> See photo (41)

<sup>96</sup> Field Record (3-7-2003)

<sup>97</sup> See photo (42)

<sup>98</sup> Field Record (19-8-2006 ), 3, 19

<sup>99</sup> See photo(43)

<sup>100</sup> Field Record (3-7-2003), 19

constructed from the ground as their platform; there are pagodas of such types: *Ta-wa-gu*(stupa of single entry porch) type, cave temples with single porch and temple-based pagodas. Among the 15 stupas of Innwa period style which have titles, the ground-based stupas are: *Lone-Taw-Gyi*, *Shit-Myet-Hnar* (*Gyo-Pyay-Nan-Pyay*), *Nyaung-Pin-Thar*, *Shin Aung Myin*, *Shin Aung Din*, *Ledi* and *Mya Thein Tan* ( Red Pagoda ). Among them *Lone Taw Gyi* is massive and the *Shin Aung Din* retain their Innwa architectural style, for they are let to stand without any repairs and renovation. The two stupas *Nyaung Pin Thar* and *Shit Myet Hnar* (*Gyo Pyay Nan Pyay*), though of Innwa period construction, have new look due to repairs and renovation. *Mya Thein Tan Pagoda*<sup>101</sup>, standing between Pakhangyi and Pakhan-Nge , could only be assumed as Innwa period style , but as the stupa is ruined it could be just an assumption. Moreover , the ground - based stupas such as *Phaya Ni*(Red Stupa) , *Phaya Net* (Black Stupa) and *Khanda Thein Pagoda* are also of high architectural quality. *Mya Thein Tan Stupa*<sup>102</sup> or Red Pagoda has a fine brickwork using red earth plaster which could stand for many centuries, and many of the stupas used this form of plaster style at the base and at higher parts of the stupas. The difference between Pakhangyi construction and that of Bagan is that at the corners and at the flat level of brickwork they are reinforced by keystone at the corners. And that form of construction of using keystone at corners cannot be found in the Pakhangyi stupas.

At the Pakhan stupas it is rare that *Dado* and tassels are fashioned from stone, and they are made from bricks. The sikharas are also finely made from bricks. Such temples like *Shwe Bon Thar*, *Phaya-ni*, *Aung Taw Mu*, *Thauk Taw Gaw* and *Shin Ma Taung*<sup>103</sup> have good construction plan and fine brickwork and bonding; *Shwe Oo Min* cave temple can be comparable to the contemporary edifices at Innwa and Tada-oo, and can be said to have a high architectural quality like that of Bagan.

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<sup>101</sup> Field Record, (20-8-2006), (Tint Lwin & Min Zaw Htwe), 1

<sup>102</sup> See photo (43)

<sup>103</sup> Stupa No.165, 73, 22, 42, 56, Field Record (20-8-2006)

The stupas of Nyaung Yan period architectural style will be further analyzed, and there are only three stupas<sup>104</sup> of that period style. *Yoke-Son Temple* or *Pakhan Myet-hnar-thit* cave temple stands at 300 feet east of Stupa No.(195)<sup>105</sup>, and it faces east with only a porch on that side. On the other sides there are forepart with niches and close with stone perforated windows. The Temple is a square and has urn-profiled at the upper cornice there are crenellations and above it are bands and slope alternately. And above them the stupa rises with hemispheric dome, the band and an inverted bowl tapering upwards with a 16-ring conical spire. Above them only two ball flowers and a down lotus remain, and there are no *up lotus*. In *Pakhan Yoke-sone Temple* is the example of fine workmanship of Nyaung-yan period architecture. Inside there is a headless image of Buddha hewn from Sagyin marble, and there are Nyaung-yan period wall paintings on the inside walls; the headless Buddha has been restored with a head<sup>106</sup>. There is also a pair of paintings of Buddha's footprints; the measurements of the temple are : a square with each side measuring 24 feet, ten inches and has a height of 25 feet<sup>107</sup>.

*Shwe Daung Sin Pagoda*, which is situated on the west of Pakokku-Yesagyo car road and east of Pakhangyi Electricity Transformer Station, is the remnant of Nyaungyan period architecture<sup>108</sup>. The vestibule of this Temple open to the east, and there are forepart with niches on all four sides and on all four stages. At the four corners of the terrace there are decorative crenellations, and at the four corners of the base there are projecting corners. Above the three terraces there is an octagonal base on which the stupa is constructed. There are fine floral plasterworks above and below the band which runs around the hemispheric dome and the inverted bowl. There is a porch on the east side to enter, and inside there is a pedestal and a solid core; there seems to be wall paintings once, but now nothing is left. The measurements of the

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<sup>104</sup> See appendix (7), List of stupas of Nyaungyan Style at Pakhangyi

<sup>105</sup> See photo (44)

<sup>106</sup> The head of that Sagyin Stone figure of Buddha was reinstalled by Dr. Myo Myint, Director General and Professor Daw Tin Win on 23-12-2004

<sup>107</sup> Field Record 25-1-2004, by Hla Myo Tint & Tint Lwin, p.50

<sup>108</sup> See photo (45)

temple are: north-south 29 feet, east-west 34 feet and has a height of 45 feet. Among the Nyaungyan period style stupas it is a work of architectural beauty, and the locals say it was built by king Min Shin Saw<sup>109</sup>.

Another stupa of Nyaungyan period style is 100 feet east of Stupa No.(193); it faces east and inside there are few ruined wall paintings, a pedestal and a headless figure of Buddha. On the four sides there are forepart with niches and no crowning umbrella; the measurements are north - south 17 feet, 10 inches, east-west 10 feet and has a height of 25 feet.<sup>110</sup> If studied in detail it could also be said as having a fine brickwork among the Nyaung-yan period style stupas. So it could be said of the three Nyaung-yan period style stupas as thus: *Shwe Daung Sin* Pagoda as having graceful architectural form and fine floral plasterworks; *Yoke-son*e Temple as having smooth conical rings spire, and Stupa no.(194) as having fine brickwork.

In Pakhangyi area there are (43) Konbaung period style pagodas<sup>111</sup> and among them 14 have titles<sup>112</sup> and 29 have no known titles. The Pagodas which have titles are: *Kan Tayar*, *Kwyet Kwyet Hsu (Pyi Lone Chan Thar)*, *Kyaun Lein*, *Koo Gyi*, *Sa-be-yon*, *Hsu Taung Pyae*, *Mya Hsi Gon*, *Mya Thein Tan*, *Tin Pyin Pyae*, *Naga-yon*, *Shwe Moke Htaw*, *Ba Bay*, *Lawka Hman Ku* and *Thaw Ta Pan*<sup>113</sup>.

*Mya Hsi Gon Pagoda* stands close to the south of *Phaya Net* ( Black Stupa) and has four enclosure walls<sup>114</sup>. The plinth is a square, measuring north-south 67 feet, 2 inches , east-west 69 feet and a height of about 65 feet . The plinth has various stages, and above it is the 12-sided base on which stupa the rises. At the corner of the first terrace there are crenelations and plaster floral works; at the corners of second terrace there are 4 *kalasa pots*,and at the corners of the third terrace there are 4 corner stupas. Besides, there are stairways on all four sides , and at the up-end of the stairways there

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<sup>109</sup> Field Record (25-3-2004), 51

<sup>110</sup> See photo (46)

<sup>111</sup> See appendix (8), Konbaung period Stupa Lists

<sup>112</sup> See appendix (9)

<sup>113</sup> Field Record 3/5

<sup>114</sup> See photo (47)



are 4 pediments over porches. Generally, from architectural view this stupa resembles Mingala- zedi of Bagan<sup>115</sup>. In the middle of the north wall there is a stupa constructed on an elephant as a pedestal, and in the east stairway there is a porch with tier-roofs and a figure of Makara<sup>116</sup>.

*Kwyet Kwyet Hsu*<sup>117</sup>, locally known or its title *Pyi Lone Chan Thar*, is situated in the south of *Si Thu Shin* Pagoda. It has a square plinth and it is a ground-based stupa and open to four sides. Inside there are four corner pilasters and three Buddha images are found on them. Formerly there may have been four images on all corner pilasters, and there is an inner corridor that goes around the four sides. As to the exterior decorations there are urn-profiled base, recesses and two-stage.

Above the lower cornice there are crenellations and lotus buds; at the second terrace Kalasas pots. At the corners of third terrace there are base and on the hexagonal arises the stupa itself. On the stupa is a bell-rim, and between the band and the bell-rim runs floral works. Above the band there are crenellations, and above the inverted bowl there are 15 rings conical spire. Above them is the two-stage down lotus, and above them are ball flowers around. Above them is the two-stage up-lotus and above it the iron umbrella. On the four sides of the stupa there are forepart with niches, and in the middle of the east forepart with niche there are figures of a *Galon* (mythical bird) holding two *Nagas* (mythical serpents) with *Hinthar* birds (mythical bird) on either side. The forepart with niches on the west and south sides, four of them, are decorated with plaster floral works, and the four niches on the north side are decorated with figures of *Makara*. The measurements of the stupa are: north-south 54 feet, east-west 56 feet and has a height about 60 feet<sup>118</sup>. Therefore, the *Pyi Lone Chan Thar* Pagoda or *Kwyet Kwyet Hsu* has all the architectural features of a Konbaung period stupa; so in comparison with other Konbaung period pagodas at Yesagyo and Pakkoku,

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<sup>115</sup> See photo (48)

<sup>116</sup> Field Record (25-3-2006), 51

<sup>117</sup> See photo (49)

<sup>118</sup> See photo (50-51), Field Record (3-5-2003)



this stupa is no less in its architectural quality for its smooth and graceful construction.

*Shwe Moke Htaw*, another stupa of Konbaung period style, is situated in the southeast of Pakhangyi State High School<sup>119</sup>; its measurements are north-south 23 feet, six inches, east-west 24 feet, ten inches and has a height of about 30 feet<sup>120</sup>. The vestibule opens to the east; above the hemispheric dome is a square tower and it is similar to that of Sri Lankan style of stupa. And at the four corners are figures of *Manusiha* (human head with lion's body); above them on a lotus base stands the stupa itself. From the lotus base to the spire is gilded with gold, and the lower part is whitewashed with lime. It is assumed to be a late Konbaung period construction.

*Sabè-yon Pagoda*, another Konbaung period style stupa, stands 150 feet north of Pakhangyi Than Si Monastery<sup>121</sup>; the measurements are: the four sides have each 10 feet, six inches and has a height of 15 feet<sup>122</sup>. The plinth of the stupa is an octagonal-based, and generally the octagonal-based stupas are *Gyo-pyae-nan-pyae Pagodas* (Pagodas constructed to appease planetary deities) which can be found in the present time. Above the octagonal base there is a slope, then a brickwork, then a ringed conical spire, then lotus base, then bell-shaped dome, then the stupa itself rises on a lotus pedestal topped by a brick umbrella. Though this Sabè-yon Pagoda is associated with founding history of Pakhangyi town during the reign of Ta Si-Shin Thiha-thu in 1305 AD, the architectural style, it is assumed, is of Kongbaung period.

*Hsu Taung Pyae Pagoda*, another Konbaung period style, is situated about 50 feet east of Sabè-yon Pagoda and is between Pakhangyi and Hsin Chaung village<sup>123</sup>. Its measurements are: north-south 17 feet, east-west 18 feet and six inches and has a height of about 38 feet<sup>124</sup>. In its architectural plan there is a buried trace of an enclo-

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<sup>119</sup> See photo (52)

<sup>120</sup> Field Record (3-7-2003), Tint Lwin & Hla Myo Tint, 20

<sup>121</sup> See photo (53)

<sup>122</sup> Field Record (1-11-2003), Tint Lwin & Hla Myo Tint, 35

<sup>123</sup> See photo (54)

<sup>124</sup> Field Record (1-11-2003), 35

sure wall; there are two long-necked lions, sitting on their haunches, on the east and west side. There is also a lion each on the southeast and northwest side of the pagoda, and the vestibule faces toward the east. There are forepart with niches, and inside there is an image of Buddha on the throne and few Konbaung paintings. The peculiarity of the stupa is that it starts with seven-ring conical base, and above is a bell-shaped hemispheric dome with conical rings topped by a brick umbrella. In Pakhangyi this is the only stupa which starts with conical rings as its base.

*Lawka-Hman-Ku* cave temple, another temple of Konbaung period style, stands 250 feet southwest of Pakhangyi Railway Station and 20 feet north of Stupa No.(154)<sup>125</sup>. The vestibule of this cave temple opens to the east, and inside there is a headless stone image of Buddha on a pedestal. There are also porches to enter from north, south and east sides, and there are also forepart with niches on all four sides. All the corner pilasters are decorated with Thazin floral motifs, and below the upper cornice are crenellations. And on the upper terrace above the temple there are lotus floral works and friezes with ogre heads. There are lotus buds above and below the band, and this is the singularity of Lawka Hman Ku cave temple, where the remnants of Konbaung architectural can be seen intact. On the east side of the hemispheric dome there is an open hole for the relic chamber, and the section up to the middle of conical sphere is ruined. At the base of the temple there are plaster floral motifs, and inside there are a few wall paintings in gold paint. Through the fallen plaster the brickwork can be studied, and lack of renovation offers a chance to study the architecture of early Konbaung period. The measurements of this temple are: each side is 12 feet, nine inches and has a height of about 28 feet<sup>126</sup>.

*Ba-bè Pagoda*<sup>127</sup>, another Konbaung period edifice, stands in the southeast of *Sithu Shin Pagoda*; it has an enclosure wall in which the wall-gate has a pediment over

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<sup>125</sup> See photo (55)

<sup>126</sup> Field Record (6-12-2003), 40

<sup>127</sup> See photo (56)

porch. The temple has a platform, the images of Buddha on four sides are in a cave tunnel, and there are also forepart with niches on four sides. The using of circular instead of square suggests the feature of Konbaung period architecture. The upper corners of the temple have two-stage, and that form can be found in such temples: *Than Thara Aye*, *Tin Pyin Pyae*, *Nyaung Pin Thar*; of the five stupa group (Ngar Hsu Tan) Stupa no.(15) and (17).

Such corner floral works can be found at Stupa no.(101) of Innwa period style, north of the of Ba-bè stupa is of fine handiwork when compared to other Konbaung period stupas, but if compared with Innwa period style of Stupa (101) which is of more refined in detail, it cannot match the high handiwork of Innwa period<sup>128</sup>. At the corners of the uppermost terrace there are Kalasa pots, and southwest Kalasa pot is the original one, while the others are newly repaired. The part above the third terrace is repaired like the Konbaung original, and inside the temple there is an image of Buddha on the throne. On the east side there is a *Kyauk Mandapa* (stone pavilion)<sup>129</sup>. On that there are plaster floral works, and in the middle direct below the arch there is a figure of a Deity holding flowers. Similar can be seen in Than-Si Monastery precincts and it has three-tiers, and in the middle of the second tier or arch there is a figure of an animal<sup>130</sup>. At the base of the temple there are four lions, and there are also two big lions at the side of of the north gateway. The measurements of the temple are: each of the four sides has 36 feet and has a height of about 40 feet<sup>131</sup>.

*Tin Pyin Pyae Pagoda*, another stupa of different architectural form, stands close east of Pakokku-Monywa car road and north of the dispensary<sup>132</sup>. It has a square plinth and has an urn-profiled base. There seems to be an enclosure wall in the past; it has a vestibule which opens to the east and has three porches. On all four sides there

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<sup>128</sup> See photo (57)

<sup>129</sup> See photo (58)

<sup>130</sup> See photo (59)

<sup>131</sup> Field Record (3-5-2003), 13

<sup>132</sup> See photo (60)

are pediments over porches, and inside there is an image of Buddha on the throne. There are at the upper corners of the vestibule which are original handicrafts intact, and the stupa rises from an octagonal base. The peculiarity of the stupa is that there is no band around between the bell-shaped dome and the hemispheric dome, and the bell-shaped dome is a little longer and some say it is a Shan style stupa. And as usual there are Konbaung stupa style features such as ringed conical spire, ball flowers, up-down lotus; originally the stupa has a brick umbrella but now a new iron umbrella is hoisted. There is a wall painting featuring musical instruments<sup>133</sup>.

The measurements of the stupa are: north-south 25 feet, east-west 36 feet and has a height about 38 feet<sup>134</sup>. Among the Konbaung period style stupas in Pakhangyi this is the only stupa of this design.

*Kyaun Lein Pagoda*, which is situated in the southeast precincts of the *Si Thu Shin* Pagoda mound, is massive and the third highest stupa with a height of 110 feet<sup>135</sup>. There are tunnels on all four sides, but the north tunnel is closed, and there is a pillar to buttress the stairway on the east side on which there are Buddha figures on four sides. And there are corner pilasters at the four corners of the base platform and they are built rising to the third stage of the main shrine. There are crenellations on the three terraces. And on the four sides of all three stages of the temple there are porches and forepart with niches with plaster floral works; above them a bell-shaped dome stupa is built. If the stupa is built with a sikhara or tower instead of the bell-shaped dome, this stupa can be assumed that it was built much earlier than Konbaung period. All the forepart with niches are repaired and there might be wall painting inside, but as it is whitewashed with lime it is difficult to assess the period of its construction. The measurements of the temple are: east-west 63 feet, north-south 46 feet.<sup>136</sup> Among the Konbaung period cave temples this temple, with its three-tiered shrine and with a lofty

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<sup>133</sup> Orchestra Music instruments located in this pagoda wallpainting

<sup>134</sup> Field Record (4-5-2003), 14

<sup>135</sup> See photo (61)

<sup>136</sup> Field Record, (4-5-2003), 14

height, is the highest in the Pakhangyi region if seen irrespective of the architectural limits of time.

*Thaw-taw-pan cave temple*, among the Konbaung period temples, is famous for its inside wall paintings. It stands 150 feet northeast of Than Si monastery and 120 feet west of Pakokku-Monywa car road<sup>137</sup>. The peculiarity of this temple is that the temple has four lions on the extended corners of the urn-profiled base<sup>138</sup>. There are three vertical-lined forepart with niches each on four sides of the main temple; there are also niches on four sides of the three terraces. Each terrace is decorated with crenellations and floral works at the second and third terraces are also included. Each side is beautifully *decorated* with six niches. Above them the stupa is built on an octagonal base with double crenellations.

Except the repairs at the upper part of the ringed conical sphere all the remaining architectural features of Konbaung period can be seen in its original state. It seems to be a new pagoda for its repairs: new gilded gold and white washing of upper part of the stupa. The measurements: north-south 25 feet<sup>139</sup>. There are wall paintings and painted inscriptions in the inside walls<sup>140</sup>.

*Mya Thein Tan Pagoda*, another Konbaung period stupa, is situated in the east of the entrance to Thansi monastery<sup>141</sup>. The vestibule opens to the east, and there are porches to enter from the east, south and north sides. There is an image of Buddha hewn from Sagyin marble and there are wall paintings inside, and the stupa has square plinth and is ground-based. On the four sides there are two-stage pediment over porches, and the corner stupas at the upper terrace corners, and above it rises the stupa itself on an octagonal base built in Konbaung period style. The peculiarity of this stupa is that the whole stupa is covered with glass mosaics topped by an iron umbrella, and this is

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<sup>137</sup> See photo (62), Stupa No.(131), Thaw-Tar-Pan

<sup>138</sup> Photo (41)

<sup>139</sup> Field Record (1-11-2003), 34

<sup>140</sup> See appendix 10, Thaw Tar Pan Pagoda in Inscription

<sup>141</sup> See photo (63)

the only one in Pakhan. The measurements of the temple are: north-south 28 feet, east-west 30 feet and has a height of 37 feet. It is an ordinary temple of late Konbaung period, and it is famous for its wall paintings<sup>142</sup>.

*Kan Ta-yar* pagoda, another late Konbaung period stupa, is situated west of Ywar Thar village and about 100 feet northeast of *Japan Agriculture and Forestry School*<sup>143</sup>. The peculiarity of this temple is that it has tunnel to go around inside the temple to pay respect from the four directions, and its vestibule faces east. There are porches on the four sides, and the main temple is plainly a square, and above the terrace a stupa is constructed on a hexagonal base with its serial features: crenellations, bellshaped dome, the band, hemispheric dome, down-lotus, ringed conical spire, ball flowers, up-lotus, and finial and an umbrella. The distinguishing feature of this stupa is that it has a spiral staircase to scale it. This Pagoda's form is simple: main shrine with two terraces and a stupa on it: the measurements are: the four sides each measuring about 26 feet and has a height of about 32 feet<sup>144</sup>. Inside there is an image of Buddha made of bricks on a throne with a screen.

After presenting the Konbaung period style stupas in detail there are some observations to be made generally on the ancient edifices in the Pakhangyi region. There are 43 stupas of Konbaung period which have titles, and 12 of them have been studied from the viewpoint of architectural construction. There are various styles of construction, and this is due to the following factors: the wish of the feudal donors, tradition and cultures of the people, and the skill of the architects. This section of the thesis aims at recording, with photographs, each stupa from the observed form of architectural construction rather than from the aspect of feudal administrators and the norms of traditions and culture.

“ Mainly, the purpose of constructing pagodas and stupas is to inspire

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<sup>142</sup> Field Record (24-10-2003), 32

<sup>143</sup> See photo (64)

<sup>144</sup> Field Record (5-8-2003)

Saddha(belief) in the minds of the people and pilgrims, and then to inspire them further to study and practise the Teachings of Lord Buddha.<sup>145</sup>” There are many reason to accept this observation. There are many stupas built to fulfill the mundane interests of the ruling feudal lords, and there can be found many *Naga-yon* Pagodas ( The image of Buddha shielded by the hood of Naga mythical serpent), the influence of Indian civilization.

“ Generally, the pagodas and stupas are built at the front and eastern part of the town” this observation cannot be applied wholly to the Pakhangyi area. For over 200 pagodas and stupas in Pakhangyi area there are only about 7 stupas that are built in the front and eastern part of the town. And that is due to the fact that the eastern part of Pakhangyi is a flooded area, and so many stupas can be found in the north, south and western part of the town.

In Pakhangyi, of the over 40 stupas of Kongbaung period style, which have been described , stupas with titles are of different architectural form and construction; and regarding their technical construction work, brick bonding and architectural form, though they are not on a par with Bagan architecture, they are no less in quality if compared with other contemporary ancient religious edifices of Konbaung period outside the region of Pakhangyi.

Some stupas and edifices of singularity will be described as well; they are middle stupas from a line of *Kanyoe-chaung Thone Hsu Tan*, (a line of three stupas); *Kan Swe Oo Min Phaya*; *Daw Pan Yon Pyathat*; *Hsin Gu, Kyet Tu Yway Gu* (Elephant and Parrot caves) and *Kyauk Ceti*(stone stupa). *Hnet Htut Pon Phayar* (local name) or encased Pagoda is situated 100 yards north of Stupa no. (117)<sup>146</sup>, and is the only stupa in Pakhan. And there are two encased pagodas at Thiri-pyitsayar, Bagan. The measurements of this encased Pagoda at Pakhan are: each of the four sides has 19 feet and has

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<sup>145</sup> Dr. Toe Hla, "Pinya Innwa Myae Hma Tha-maing Win Ceti Puhtoe Myar", (Historic stupas of Pinya & Innwa Area), (672-1247), Mandalay, Chan Myae Press, March 2006, p. 216 (Henceforth: Toe Hla, 2006)

<sup>146</sup> Photo (65)



a height of 25 feet<sup>147</sup>. The platform of the stupa has 23 feet each on four sides, and there are records that show encased pagodas were built since the time of Bagan era. But this encased pagoda at Pakhan seems to be of Innwa period.

The middle stupa from *Kan-yoe Chaung Thone Hsu Tan*<sup>148</sup>, another peculiarity, is assumed to be of Nyaung-yan period. At the four corners of the third terrace there are figures of lions squatting on their haunches built on hexagonal pedestals. This form of stupa is the only one in Pakhan; but that type of stupa can be found in the Taik Waing precinct of *Lokuttara Theikpan Monastery* in Yesagyo( also known as *Aung Myae Thar Yar Thu Htay Oo Chin Kyaung*). And that stupa is of Konbaung period; in Sagaing there is *Chinthe Thone Hsai Phaya* (30 lions Pagoda) like that of Kan Yoe middle stupa .

*Hsin Gu* and *Kyet Tu Yway Gu*<sup>149</sup> Pagoda or as the locals call *Hsin Gu Phaya*, stands 100 feet southwest of *Pakhangyi Kyaung Taw Gyi*. It has square plinth which has a height of 5 feet, and on four sides of the plinth are forepart with niches, and upon the plinth the stupa rises vertically with the form of a four-stage lotus bud. It is known that that stupa was built in commemoration of a dead elephant which pulled teak pillars when *Kyaung Taw Gyi* was constructed. Another interesting fact is that this *Hsin Gu* Pagoda resembles the architectural construction of a tomb of a Thai Prince at *Lin Zin Kone* cemetery in Amarapura. It seems that elephants are held in high esteem in our Myanmar culture and also in Indian culture.

The height of the Singu cave Pagoda is 9 and 1/2 feet, and so it can be assumed that a commoner might construct a Pagoda which was the height of the dead elephant.

Further, a description of the lions, which are constructed at the corners of the stupas in Pakhangyi, will be presented. It is the decorative custom in religious edifices to construct figures of lions at the gates of the enclosure walls, in front of the porches

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<sup>147</sup> See photos (66-67)

<sup>148</sup> See photo (68)

<sup>149</sup> See photo (69)



at the stupas and cave temples, and at the corners of the stupas and their receding terraces. *Kan Yoe Chaung Thone Hsu Tan*<sup>150</sup>, which has lion figures on the corners of the third terrace, is of singular importance concerning stupas in Pakhangyi.

Dr. Than Tun pointed out: since the reign of “King Asoka (274-237 BC) of Mauriya dynasty, there were constructions of stone pillars in the Buddhist religious edifices, and figures of animals were sculpted to symbolize the life stages of Lord Buddha: the elephant symbolizing the conception of Bodhisatta, the cow for Buddha’s birth, the horse for renunciation of Siddhatha and the lion for enlightenment.”<sup>151</sup>

Dr. Toe Hla further commented: “The figure of lion symbolized the triumph over evil and peril, and it is quite possible that the construction of figures of lions in the eight directions around the stupa implies that concept. Moreover, it can be said that the eight lions over the twelve seasons for all periods. of time.”<sup>152</sup>

And so the figures of 4 lions at *Kan Yoe Chaung Thone Hsu Tan Pagoda*, the figures of 4 and 8 lions at *Law Ka Mann Aung Pagoda*, the donation of King Singu, seem to be constructed in the interests of mundane art of occult practice. Consequently the figures of lions at the third terrace of *Kan Yoe Chaung Thone Tan Pagoda* symbolize the Enlightenment of Lord Buddha, and it is possible that the figures of 4 lions represented the already Four Buddhas who had achieved Enlightenment.<sup>153</sup>

The figures of the lions, which are assumed to be work of early Konbaung period, are found in Hsu TaungPyae Pagoda<sup>154</sup> which stands between Pakhangyi and Hsin Chaung village age, and are also found at the corners of Pakhan-Nge Thone Hsu Tan Pagodas<sup>155</sup> which are of fine handicraft to a certain extent. The lions figures from

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<sup>150</sup> Field Record (25-1-2004)

<sup>151</sup> Dr. Than Tun, "*Lecture on History of Art*", MS, Department of History, University of Mandalay, 3-2-1967

<sup>152</sup> Dr. Toe Hla, 2006, 145

<sup>153</sup> Four Enlightened Buddha

<sup>154</sup> See photo (70)

<sup>155</sup> See photo (71)

those two pagodas are made of without decorations, and the body forms are more elongated than the lions from Hsu Taung Pyae which are decorated with floral works and seem to be of later period. And from that, short-spine lion figures appear to be the work of early Konbaung period. The four lion figures from Pho -Win Taung Ban-kyi area are made of sandstone, and the body form is squat and short spined;<sup>156</sup> that form of lion figures is not found in Pakhangyi area.

The Amarapura period saw the lion figures sculpted in various form; the eyes, teeth and nails were made of Sagyin marble and floral decorations appeared on the chest and limbs and dates and inscriptions were marked. Such novel forms of lions are found in Thaw-Tar Pan Pagoda<sup>157</sup>, which is situated between Pakhangyi and Hsin Chaung village, and Nan Myaw Lion at the base of east roofed-stairway of Si Thu Shin Pagoda<sup>158</sup> and also at the porch of that Pagoda<sup>159</sup>.

More novel figures of lions were sculpted during the Amarapura period: a hybrid form of a lion and an ogre was sculpted at the southwest corner of Ton Ywar Beikman Thar Kyaung stupa and that kind of figure is not found at Pakhangyi<sup>160</sup>. But two strange lion figures are found Stupa No(90), east of Khanda Thein Pagoda in Ywar Thar village: one lion with its one foreleg raised<sup>161</sup> and another standing on its rear legs with forelegs raising.

In local parlance that figure standing on its rear legs is known as Makara lion (crocodile-lion) but this figure is not actually a mixing of crocodile and lion forms but a figure of lion whose chest is supported by rear legs of a Makara ( crocodile). But that strange figure is not fine proportional handiwork of a craftsman . Another strange form

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<sup>156</sup> Sai Naw Khae, *Konbaung Khit Bant-gye Taik-nè Tha-maing*, (History of Bangye Taik, Konbaung Period, (1752-1885), M.A, Degree, Thesis, University of Mandalay, 1991, p. 138 (Henceforth: Sai Naw Khae, 1991)

<sup>157</sup> See photo (72)

<sup>158</sup> See photo (73)

<sup>159</sup> See photo (74)

<sup>160</sup> Sain Naw Khae, 1991, 136

<sup>161</sup> See photo (75)

is the mixing of a lion figure and a Naga (mythical serpent); the figure is that of a lion pressing its left foreleg on the Naga serpent in a bickering mood<sup>162</sup>, not the simple mixing of the body forms of two animals. And that strange figure is at the northwest of that same Pagoda.

In the Pakhangyi area it is that, apart from lion figures, various figures of animals -elephants , monkeys , peacocks, Hamsa (mythical duck), Garuda (Mythical bird), elephat-bird (mixed form) , Karaweik( mythical bird), tigers , dogs and armani ( Mythical bird) including human forms-are found as a docoration of the religious edifices.

In conclusion, many religious edifices- cave temples, stupas- have been built by successive generations since Bagan period to last Konbaung period; from among the 400 stupas about 200 stupas have been put on record. And basing roughly on the architectural style, six out of seven stupas from Bagan period, 16 stupas out of 111 stupas from Innwa period, 3 stupas from Nyaungyan period, and 17 stupas out of 43 stupas from Kongbaung period have been analysed in detail basing on the extensive field work.

To summarize, In recap the architecture of Pakhangyi area had developed since Innwa period, and the art of painting, sculpture and floral decorative art also developed with the progress of the historical period. Buddha images were mostly sculpted; various decorative figures were also hewn to decorate the religious edifices, and cave temples were built in imitation of the natural caves and tunnels. Many religious edifices built were the eloquent testimony to the piety and progress of Sasana in Pakhangyi, and it is found that Konbaung period was the time when the architectural skill of construction pagodas, sutpas and temples reached its climax.

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<sup>162</sup> See photo (76)

## CHAPTER THREE

### WALL PAINTINGS

It can be said that the art of drawing developed together with the rise of human civilization, and going back along the corridors of history there were paintings on the walls of the caves, especially the pictures of animals, where stone age men had dwelt. And that testifies the long span of the existence of this art of painting.

According to the Myanmar adage: (Myanmar traditional) painting is one of the ten skills of *Myanmar traditional arts and craft*, and painting is an art of drawing and coloring pictures<sup>1</sup>. Painting is the art of drawing forms of creatures, landscapes, lifeless matter with pencils, soapstone pencils, stylus and brushes with various colours on walls, cloths, wood slates, palmleaf, and on paper.

The term *Pan-Chi* is spelled *Pan-khi* in the past; the syllable "*Pan*" means art or skill (*Pañña*) and *Khi* to write. Thus the term "*Pan Chi*" means the art of drawing with paint as the syllable "*Khi*" changes to the present usage "*Chi*"<sup>2</sup>. So *Pan-Chi* means whatever visual form one sees, whatever emotions one feels, whatever one thinks, if one conveys on an empty paper, on plain wall and on plain canvass in the form of colours and drawings then it is to be termed a painting or *Pan-Chi*<sup>3</sup>.

There are cave paintings in *Cosquer cave* near Marseilles, France, which is

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<sup>1</sup> *Myanmar: English Abhidan*, (Myanmar:English Dictionary), Ministry of Education, Department of the Myanmar Language Commission, Yangon, Ministry of Trade Press, 1991, p.225 (Henceforth: *Abhidam*, 1991)

<sup>2</sup> *Myanmar Shei-yoe Pan-chi*, (Traditional Myanmar Painting), Handout Book, Ministry of Culture, Yangon, 1975, p. 1 (Henceforth: *Shei-yoe Pan-chi*, 1975)

<sup>3</sup> *Myanmar Swie-son Kyan*, (Myanmar Encyclopaedia), Vol.7, Yangon, Sarpay Beik-hman Press, 1963, p. 21-37 (Henceforth: *Encyclopaedia*, 1963)

about 30000 years old<sup>4</sup>; similarly, in the *Altamira cave* of Northern Spain there are cave paintings of animal figures, bull, cow, elephant, horse and deer which is believed to be the work between 20000 and 10000 years old<sup>5</sup>.

In Myanmar there are cave paintings in Pya-da-lin<sup>6</sup> which is about 11,000 years old, and that painting manifests the aspects of the lives of stone age men such as game hunting and animals during that time in Myanmar. In India painting developed 2000 years before the birth of Christ and it originated from the religious beliefs<sup>7</sup>.

Likewise, in Europe between the years 3<sup>rd</sup> century and 5<sup>th</sup> Century AD the followers of Lord Jesus Christ, fleeing from the repression of the Roman Empire, hid in the underground caves, and they drew paintings of Jesus and his disciples on the cave walls for their worship. When Christianity became an established religion all the walls and ceilings of the churches were decorated with ecclesiastical paintings, and the paintings in the Church of St. Paul was the earliest.

Similarly, in Asia after Gotama Buddha attained Enlightenment, the earliest Buddhist painting was found in Ajanta caves<sup>8</sup> which was believed to be the work between late 5<sup>th</sup> century and early 6<sup>th</sup> century, and the Buddhist paintings spread to Bagh of Northern India, SriLanka and Myanmar<sup>9</sup>. And after Buddhism was established in India it spread to Myanmar, Thailand, Cambodia and Annam; coupled with Buddhism Indian art and culture also spread to Srilanka, Cambodia, Malay and Java peninsular<sup>10</sup>, and that was between 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD.

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<sup>4</sup> Gouriswar Battacharya, *The Newly Discovered Buddhist temples at Nalanda*, South Asian Archaeology, 1983, Naple, pp. 719-740 (Henceforth: Battacharya, 1983)

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Than Tun, *Tha-maing Hte Ka Design*, (Myanma Design), Yangon, Yon-kyi Chet Sarpay Press, Dec: 2005, p. 7 (Henceforth: Dr. Than Tun, 2005)

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Than Tun, *Myanmar Tha-maing Pon*, (History Told in Pictures), Mon-yway Press, July 2004, pp. 38-41 (Henceforth: Dr. Than Tun, 2004)

<sup>7</sup> Father Lunn Aung, *The Roman Catholic Pope Ra-ham Mingyi Myar*, (The Roman Pontiffs), Mandalay, Catholic Sasana Press, 1995, p. 3 (Henceforth: Lunn Aung, 1995)

<sup>8</sup> Benjamin Rowland, *The Ajanta Caves*, Boston, Merrymount Press, 1938, p. 6 (Henceforth: Rowland, 1938)

<sup>9</sup> Reginald Le May, *The Culture of Southeast Asia*, Delhi, Government of India Press, 1963, p. 19 (Henceforth: Le May, 1963)

<sup>10</sup> Encyclopaedia, 1963, 25

Between 10<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC Greece painting flourished in the city of Athens and was said to be of higher artistic calibre than Roman art, and in 14<sup>th</sup> century Italian painting flourished and the theme of the paintings stressed more on nature than visual beauty.

In Asia as in Europe the technique of painting stressed not on perspective, light and dark, and shades of colours, but on the lines and the technique of coloring, mostly on single line contours. Researchers say that Myanmar ancient painting originated from *Palla art*<sup>11</sup> of Magdha State, Majjhimadesa. After the fall of Bagan Empire in 13<sup>th</sup> century the paintings of succeeding periods like Innwa, Pinya, and Konbaung period achieved Myanmar-ness in identity.

The themes of Myanmar paintings were mostly illustrations of the scenes from Buddhist Scriptures; in later periods the themes changed to the drawings of the scenes at the court and of the royal regalia of the kings. And it later developed into more common themes of social life, like tradition and livelihood, and celebrations etc., and the forms of paintings were more varied: wall paintings, *Parabaik* (folded palm leaves), *Nipat* paintings (Buddhist Scriptural themes).

Buddhist Scriptural paintings started to develop since the Bagan period and in succeeding periods the theme, style and the concept changed accordingly with the times; such paintings were to be found in cave temples, Ordination Halls (Sima), monasteries and on Tazaungs (roofed-stairways), and the paintings in Pakhangyi area were also no exception to the change of times.

In the early Bagan period between 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries Buddhist religion was mixed with many sects: *Mahayana sect*, *Mantra-patana sect* and *Wazi-yar-yana sect*. From the reigns of King *Pyu-saw hti* and *Sukka-tae* of that period, the Myanmar paintings were evolving from a foreign-imported form to that of Myanmar style. And in later Bagan period during the reign of *King Saw-mon-nit* Shan and Mon influ-

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<sup>11</sup> *Palla Dynasty founded by king Go pāla ruled in Lower Ganges valley from AD 730-1197*

ences were to be found in Myanmar paintings due to the patronizing power of the King. Later in Innwa and Nyaungyan periods traces of Srilankan cultural influences could be seen, and some French and Portugese influences were also present in Myanmar drawings. Such Shan, Mon, and other influences on Myanmar paintings will be discussed later.

There are 38 cave temples<sup>12</sup> which have wall paintings in Pakhangyi, and these wall paintings are believed to have been drawn during the long span of years: late 11 century to late 19 century. Temples which have wall paintings are in the two-mile vicinity around the old city of Pakhangyi, but the majority of temples with wall paintings have no dates recorded. So by comparing with the paintings which have dates, an analysis can be made of the period and their artistic calibre of the paintings with no recorded dates.

Bagan period temples in Pakhangyi with wall paintings are Stupa no. (78) and Stupa no.(82), which are situated in the south and east of Myauk-pyin Monastery respectively; and they are the earliest wall paintings of this region. The cave temples with wall paintings of Innwa period are: Stupa no (33), Stupa no. (44) , Stupa no. (103), Stupa no.(140), Stupa no. (158) and Stupa no. (163).

The cave temples with wall paintings of Nyaungyan period are : Stupa no. (43), Stupano. (46) (*Phaya Net*), Stupa no. (49) (*Phaya Ni*), Stupa no. (101), Stupa no. (102), Stupa no.(107), Stupa no.(113), Stupa no.(135), Stupa no. (153), Lawka Hman Ku Stupa no.(165) Shwe Bon Thar, Stupa no.(180), Stupa no.(194) , Stupa no.(195)(*Yoke - sone - Kyaung Phaya*) (*Pakhan Myet - hnar -thin phaya*) and U Htun Pyae<sup>13</sup> cave temple.

The cave temples with wall paintings of Konbaung period are: Stupa no.(53) (*Kyaun Lein Phaya*), Stupa no.(88) (*Khanda Thein Phaya*), Stupa no.(133) (*Sa-be-yon Phaya*) , Stupa no.(121) (*Mya Thein Tan Phaya*), Stupa no.(126) (*Naga-yon Phaya*),

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<sup>12</sup> Field Record (24-10-2002), 65

<sup>13</sup> *Situated in Hinn-Tan Quarter, Yesagyo Myo*



Stupa no.(131) (Thaw-tar-pan Phaya), Stupa no.(52), Stupa no.(84), Stupa no.(108), Stupa no.(110), Stupa no.(130), Stupa no.(154) and Stupa no.(182). Among the wall paintings found in the cave temples there are only a few paintings with recorded dates of Nyaung-yan and Konbaung periods, and that few temples with dates recorded are: (in alphabetical order).

*U Htun Pyae* pagoda ----- 1067 ME, AD 1705

Stupa no.(113)---14 Waxing Day of Wagaung month. 1141 Myanmar era,(AD 1779)

*Ma-oo Shwe Moke Htaw* pagoda---13 Waning Pyar-tho, 1153 ME, AD 1791

*Wazo pagoda*<sup>14</sup> (A- pyin-ngar-hsu-tan)---1197 ME, AD 1825

Consequently, the wall paintings in Pakhangyi have to be analyzed basing on contemporary works in other areas, the style of drawing on the ceilings or on the motifs of the drawings. In the paintings lotus flower is regarded as a holy flower by Myanmar, and at the ceilings of the cave temples it was painted in multicolours since Bagan period. It is drawn in many forms, up-turn and down turn forms. Among the 21 lotuses<sup>15</sup> found at the ceilings of cave temples in Pakangyi, there are 11 lotus-paintings at the ceiling drawn in a circular form, but layered- petals lotus painting at the ceiling of *Myat Paung Myitzu*<sup>16</sup> cave temple was drawn in the centre of a rhombus with unequal sides<sup>17</sup>.

In the Buddhist religious art, the lotus flower symbolizes many positive values: holiness, august presence, auspiciousness, triumph, effort and diligence, free from sufferings, birth and development, longevity, and beauty. But in Hindu religious faith lotus means prosperity and development<sup>18</sup>.

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<sup>14</sup> Khin Myo Kyi, *Yesogyo in Konbaung period (1752-1885)*, M.A Thesis, University of Mandalay, 1998, p. 50 (Henceforth: Khin Myo Kyi, 1998)

<sup>15</sup> Field Record (24-10-04), Tint Lwin, Hla Myo Tin, p.80

<sup>16</sup> Stupa No.88, *Ywar Thar village*, north of Pakhangyi old town

<sup>17</sup> Field Record (4-6-2004)

<sup>18</sup> Zimer, *Art of Indian Asia, Its Mythology and Transformation*, Vol.I, New York Bogen, Foundation, 1955, p. 158 (Henceforth: Zimer, 1955)



In Pakhangyi paintings the motif of the drawings were the lotus, the lives of the Buddha, Mythical animals<sup>19</sup> and floral works, and the singular paintings would be detailed.

The painting at the ceiling of Myat- Paung Myit-zu temple<sup>20</sup>, which is situated in Ywar Thar village north of Pakhangyi old city, is assumed to be of Bagan period; the central petal-layered lotus is drawn not in a circular pattern but on a rhombus with unequal sides<sup>21</sup>. It seemed the painter had to draw in a limited time and was drawn on a free-hand basis, but the painting was rich with decorations of the figures of Arahants and floral pediments. This is the singularity of Pakhangyi painting during the Bagan period.

Another painting of peculiarity is at the ceiling of Stupa no.(78) which stands at the south of Myauk -pyin Monastery; this stupa has four porches with foreparts and its vestibule look to the east<sup>22</sup>. The ceiling painting of this temple has portrayed rare figures of sitting Buddhas in the circular pattern<sup>23</sup>, and the colour used in this drawing are green and reddish brown. And the lotuses are not of purely circular pattern, some are oval shaped; as this painting is of Bagan period the plaster is falling off and the remnants are fading. The walls are whitewashed, and so the paintings are lost forever.

*Stupa no.(43)*<sup>24</sup>, which is situated near *Thauk-Taw-Gaw Pagoda*, has a lotus-theme ceiling painting believed to be of Nyaungyan period; there are drawings on the main ceiling and on the moat ceiling with patches of colour in red, and lines in black. The black lines are not in harmony with the colours, so it is not attractive to the viewers. The frame lines are drawn in red and green alternately. The pattern of the main ceiling is "layered-petal central lotus intertwined like elephant tusks"<sup>25</sup>. The circular

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<sup>19</sup> Stupa No.49, *Phaya Ni, mythical animal*

<sup>20</sup> Stupa No.89, Myat Paung Myitzu

<sup>21</sup> See photo (77)

<sup>22</sup> Stupa No.78

<sup>23</sup> See photo (78)

<sup>24</sup> Stupa No.43

<sup>25</sup> See photo (79)

and arch lines are not symmetrical; so the beauty of the petal-layered lotus is not prominent enough to rate it as of a high calibre painting. Under the ceiling there is a figure of Buddha in mood Mindra of three and a half feet, and above the arch of eastern porch is pattern. This pattern is to be pondered, but it is believed to be the theme taken from Buddhist Pitaka (Scriptures). The Pitakas have it that 4 Buddhas, Mangala, Sumana, Bawbita and Rewata attained Enlightenment under Gant-gaw (*Mesua pendunculata*) tree<sup>26</sup> in the Saramantha world<sup>27</sup>. And inside this pattern it is hard to tell which flowers are represented Khwar Nyo (*Clematis*)? This kind of floral pattern in the ceiling paintings have never been found in the contemporary works of other temples, and that is the peculiarity of Pakhan paintings quite different from Bagan drawings. And the paints used to colour the floral designs are based more on the natural flora than for the visual beauty to be appreciated by the viewers. Moreover, this ceiling painting pattern should be chronicled as peculiar to the drawing of the Pakhan region.

Another ceiling painting with a visual novelty is at the stupa of Nyaungyan<sup>28</sup> period; this circular lotus with many layers of petal and with a prominent stamen pattern<sup>29</sup> is the only one found in the Pakhan region. And if compared with the ceiling paintings of Nyaungyan period temples like *Phaya Ni* and *Phaya Net*, the brush strokes are wide and clear on both sides. This ceiling painting of foliage pattern is of petal-layered central lotus intertwined like elephant tusks type<sup>30</sup> and is found in Dipankara Cave Temple of Yesagyo.<sup>31</sup> The system of drawing is symmetrical: the circular lines are equal in measure and red and green colour are judiciously used. All the colours used are in harmony, and there is a space for floral works above the head of

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<sup>26</sup> See photo (80)

<sup>27</sup> Pitaka Pali Taw Myanmar Pyan Kyan Myar Ei Kyan Oo Hmat Phwe Yar Myar. (Facts to be Remembered from Pitaka Pali Introductions) 1 Gust of Buddha Wun, List of 24 Buddhas, Myanmar Naing-gan Buddha Sasana Press, 1965, Yangon, pp.93-94 (Henceforth: Pitaka, 1965)

<sup>28</sup> Stupa No.126

<sup>29</sup> See photo (81)

<sup>30</sup> See photo (82)

<sup>31</sup> Field Record (4-6-04), 20

the Buddha figure. Red is profusely used and is still prominent to the present time, and the durability of red paint colour should be analyzed. And it seemed that donation of wall paintings at all the temple walls had flourished at that period in Pakhangyi area.

At the ceiling of *Tin Pyin Pyae cave temple*, beside the Pakokku- Yesagy motor road, there is a painting of "Hsin Swe Wun Shet Baho Kyar Htup Waing Gyi" pattern<sup>32</sup> (Central lotus with multi-layered petals like intertwined elephant tusks). Shwe Kaing Thar, the scholar monk, explained the technique of that pattern in this way: the pattern must have correct linear measurements, the small patches spread out into bigger ones like the pattern on the peacocks tail, only when the lines and measurements are correct the pattern would be neat and clear. This pattern is bounded by square lines and floral band. The red paint was used profusely in the early Konbaung period, and at the outer spaces of this frame pattern 28 Buddha figurines and floral works were added. And at the walls of Tin Pyin Pyae<sup>33</sup> temple there were paintings portraying musical instruments, *Saung*(harp), *Nyin* and *Pathar*, and foreigners with thin, straight noses with caps.

Another motif of ceiling painting found in Pakhangyi is the "*free-hand drawing of not so circular form of layered-petal lotus*"<sup>34</sup>. That ceiling pattern is found in Yan Aung Myin Temple<sup>35</sup>. Like the circular pattern of Bagan period the circular form was not strictly a circle, and the square was not drawn. That was why the circular petal-layered lotus at the centre was not strictly a circle. And outer drawing was in the form of concentric circles: After the concentric circles figures of Buddha shielded by white umbrellas were drawn, and exactly below that ceiling painting stood the image of Buddha. The floral works line were not drawn clearly in detail but a mix of patch of colours: red , dry green and white , but, all in all, the whole painting projects a beautiful blend of colours. Another different pattern of "*Hsin Swe Wun Shet Baha*

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<sup>32</sup> See photo (83)

<sup>33</sup> Stupa No.52

<sup>34</sup> See photo (84)

<sup>35</sup> Stupa No.84

*Kyar Htup Waing-second stage*<sup>36</sup> is found in Lawka Hman Ku Temple<sup>37</sup>. In this pattern there is nothing in the central space except the red colour, but there are a few touches of black and green. And the layered petals of the lotus bloom are not symmetrical; so the pattern is not of a high quality, thus naming this ceiling pattern the second grade.

Another different pattern of ceiling painting is found in the southwest corner of Pakhangyi railway station, 300 feet away in the Lawhka Hman-Ku Temple; in that painting the lotus flower symbolizes Mount Meru<sup>38</sup>, the centre of universe in Buddhist cosmogony. In this pattern of painting the lotus is drawn in a square, and within that square the circling wheel of radiant colours of Lord Buddha are painted in display of colour contrast design. The line of the outer circle is drawn in waves of Tamar (neem acacia) foliage; in the space between the square and the circle within, mythical figures of animals are drawn on black in red and green alternately, and the central circle and the center waves symbolize the Mount Meru. This ceiling painting of Lawka Hman-Ku Temple, similar in pattern with the painting at Stupa no. (52) Tin Pyin Pyae Pagoda, is not up to the calibre of painting of that Temple. But when compared with the ceiling painting of Stupa no. (43) which is near Thauk Taw Gaw Pagoda, this Lawka Hman-ku ceiling painting is quite superior in art calibre. And that painting must be taken as the work of Nyaungyan or early Konbaung period.

Another pattern of ceiling painting of lotus is "*the lotus bloom symbolizing the heavenly sky*"<sup>39</sup> which is in the Pakhangyi protected zone. The painting is in Khanda Thein temple, closely east of Thè Pon Kyaung monastery within the compound of Min Oh monastery in Yesagyö. This pattern of painting is the work of Pakokku Sayar Hpe in 1906, the early colonial period, and this painting portrays the planetary system in full splendour. The azure sky as a backdrop is painted with light and brilliant

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<sup>36</sup> See photo (85)

<sup>37</sup> See photo (86)

<sup>38</sup> See photo (87)

<sup>39</sup> See photo (88)

blue as the occasion suggests, and the planetary system existed in the wheel of twelve seasons is painted seasonwise. And human and animal figures are drawn neatly in its natural form. The Padommar lotus is painted with colours that projects its full beauty in the central position. The central position of lotus suggests the birth of lord Buddha, or Mount Meru in the astronomical position, and the circular form of the sun in the centre also symbolizes the flourishing Sasana ( *Teachings of Buddha*).

Another similar ceiling painting featuring the sky and the planetary system is at the *West Naga-yon Chan-thar-gyi Pagoda*<sup>40</sup> of Yesagyo. That painting features the planetary system represented by corresponding human and animal figures or symbols against the backdrop of sky painted in various light or dark shades of blue. In the middle the lotus is painted in red, brown and yellow against the deep blue, symbolizes the Enlightenment of Lord Buddha spreading Metta around the whole of universe with His radiance, it is to be assumed.

Another ceiling painting in Pakhangyi is above the head of Buddha's Image<sup>41</sup> and that pattern of ceiling painting is in Wazo Pagoda Ordination Hall in Yesagyo. It was drawn in 1825 AD; the middle years of Konbaung period. The painting is drawn in the place where it is difficult for the painter's hands to reach, and the picture of multi-layer petal lotus is like the scales of a fish, and red paint is profusely used. Around the lotus there is a circular panel of 28 Buddha figurines; the floral works on the left are floral pediments over the head of the big image of Lord Buddha. And as the paints used are more of a reddish brown in colour , it must be said the painting is not free from the influences of Nyaungyan period. And due to the smooth proportion of drawing the painting is not of a high calibre.

Another ceiling painting of note is at the *Ma-Au Shwe BonThar Pagoda* in the Pakhangyi protected zone it is at the ceiling of the entrance tunnel to the temple. The ceiling painting is of a pattern of " intertwining Nagas"<sup>42</sup> (mythical serpents) , and it is

<sup>40</sup> See photo (89)

<sup>41</sup> See photo (90)

<sup>42</sup> See photo (91)

quite similar to cave painting at *Mi-phaya-gu* (Queen's cave) at *Pho Win Taung*<sup>43</sup>, Monywa township. Comparatively, the number of Nagas in the *Ma-Au Pagoda* ceiling painting is more than in the painting at *Pho Win Taung* and the pattern is also different: the one is Nagas' head are facing each other. The painting at *Ma-Au Pagoda* framed by a circle are biting each other's tail. The other pattern is framed by a circle and between the two framing circles the perpendicular line make the pattern of Nagas more prominent. But in the rectangular frame of the other, florals works are added in the space corners; this pattern is presumed to be the work of Nyaungyan period and due to the effects of weather the plaster is falling off.

Another different pattern of ceiling painting is at the Myay Khè Taung Western Monastery<sup>44</sup> Ordination Hall, two miles away from Pakhangyi. This pattern is "*Kyo-gyi-Cheik design*"<sup>45</sup>, the pattern on Kyo-gyi-Cheik lower garment or Ah-cheik longyi design", and three paints are used on the frame of the painting. This work is to be assumed of late Nyaungyan period or early Konbaung period. The frame lines of this painting are painted with three colours, like the lines of *Kyo-gyi-cheik* design, and comparing with other paintings this pattern probably may be of early Konbaung period. The lines framing the painting are painted with light green colour; the painting projects a visual beauty for the viewers, but it seems like a Chinese painting.

Another pattern of ceiling painting is a "*design of circular flowers*"<sup>46</sup>, and it is found at the temple, east of *Nga Mone Kone village line of stupas*<sup>47</sup>. In that pattern of painting, there is no central position, and circular flowers are tangential, like the Bagan period design of circular flowers. And in the gap spaces of circular lines touching each other, four-petal flora design are filled up, and the painting is so clear and neat. It cannot be denied that Bagan period wall painting, basing the designs on the

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<sup>43</sup> Dr. Than Tun, 2004, 83

<sup>44</sup> This is called Larba Kyaw Swar Ordination Hall, surrounded by Phaya-Shit-Hsu-Tan

<sup>45</sup> See photo (92)

<sup>46</sup> See photo (93)

<sup>47</sup> This square temple is believed to be of late Bagan period

lines of flowers in various linking positions, are far more superior, and this painting's design of floral works seems to be a break from that Bagan period's design of floral masterpieces.

Another ceiling painting of note is at the ceiling of *Yoke-Sone Kyaung*<sup>48</sup>, which is in the northeast of *Pakhan Kyaung Taw Gyi*. This ceiling painting portrays an "eight-petal flower with projecting corners"<sup>49</sup> (*Kho-Nan -Choe*), and there are two sizes of "eight -petal flowers, but as the colours are fading out the designs are not prominent. And as the lines expressing the projecting corners(*Kho-Nan-Choe*) are not of right proportions, it lessens the quality of the drawing; moreover; the four-petal blooms circling around are not enough to rate as a good drawing. So, it must be said that the painter, though he might have a good imagination, could not draw to express his visual picture in mind.

Another pattern at the ceiling of *Yoke-Sone-Kyaung Cave Temple* is the design of "*Makara's scales floral pattern*"<sup>50</sup>, this painting is drawn on the available spaces available on the vault of the ceiling. The flower form has four petals, and the stamen is expressed in a circular form painted with petals, and the flowers seem to be . The floral works seem to be drawn of a free-hand style, and the colours, red, light yellow, black and white, are still fresh and neat; the frame lines are simple and not of floral works. The outer band is a lines of Tamar leaves, and the paints used to draw in this picture are not glaring in colour , it must be said.

The last ceiling painting to be presented is at the ceiling of *Mya Thein Tan*<sup>51</sup> pagoda; the pattern is of "floral design"<sup>52</sup>; the lines expressing the floral designs, leaves , buds, stalks, and shoots are drawn so neat and detailed that this picture can be said to be the best work in Pakhangyi. And the choice of paints used in this drawing also adds to the visual impression of the painting.

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<sup>48</sup> Stupa No.195

<sup>49</sup> See photo (94)

<sup>50</sup> See photo (95)

<sup>51</sup> Stupa No.121

<sup>52</sup> See photo (96)



Eighteen ceiling paintings have been detailed in this chapter, and among them lotus-theme drawings are the majority of ceiling paintings in Pakhangyi. The lotus flower is placed in an exalted position, and other flowers are used as decorations to the images of Lord Buddha. The works of Bagan period style, circle and oval patterns with Buddha figurines inside, are rarely found in this region, and there is only one ceiling painting at *Shwe Bon Thar Temple* of such pattern. And it is a subject to ponder about the "*Naga Lein*" (intertwining Nagas)" pattern which may be of Chinese influence, and also the theme of Lord Buddha attaining Enlightenment symbolized by the lotus flower, and the motif of Mount Meru and Lord Buddha spreading *Metta* (compassion) as well.

Further, the peculiar figures of human and deities in the wall paintings of Pakhangyi will be presented. Firstly, a wall painting portraying "*a king among the floral decoration*"<sup>53</sup> will be discussed; it is from the wall painting of *Phaya-Net Ta-wa-gu Temple*<sup>54</sup>, and such pattern of painting can be seen in the *Tilawaka-guru* cave in Sagaing. The view of that human figure is drawn straight from the front view, and the face is not plump in feature. The garment is of full royal regalia: loose sleeve, necklace, waistband, earrings, and a crown (Ma-keik) with two flowers on right and left; the right arm is raised while the left hand is down in its position. The index finger and the thumb of both hands are touched in a circular position, and it seems that royal figure is giving an audience. From the paints used, red and green, and the lines in black the painting suggests that it is assumed to be the work of Nyaungyan period.

Another painting that suggests the work of late Nyaungyan or early Konbaung period is found in a Temple in *Nga Mone Kone village*<sup>55</sup> in Pakhan; the painting portrays "*a king in his reign of kingdom*"<sup>56</sup> and the lines, the paints and buildings in

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<sup>53</sup> See photo (97)

<sup>54</sup> Stupa No.46

<sup>55</sup> Situated in Pakhangyi Security Zone

<sup>56</sup> See photo (98)



the drawing seem to be the work of 18 century early Konbaung period. The floral pattern in the white background is just a decorative fill-up , and the calibre of this painting is of second and third grade. The facial form, the raised eyebrows, and the garment-wearing style seem to be the work of Nyaungyan period, and it can be assumed that this painting cannot be earlier than early Konbaung period. In the drawing there is a figure of Galon (mythical bird) head with a human body holding a *Than-Hlyet* (kingly short sword) and wearing royal robes.

Another painting of human figure is at Stupa no. (130)<sup>57</sup>, which is 150 feet north of *Than -si Monastery*; the painting pictures "*a young prince in a mood of delight*"<sup>58</sup> and that painting cannot be identified from which Buddhist stories it is taken. The facial form of this figure represents not a face of traditional drawing, but of a modern one, and this is quite strange. The clothing is also peculiar: baggy loose sleeves and flowing nether robes like a modern baggy skirt; the colours are painted in spaces between the folds, not in a plain single colour, and the brush strokes are executed in crosses. And that kind of drawing style is rare in the works of past masters, but the red and white paint backdrop is of ancient colouring. However, this painting should be recorded as peculiar form of a prince in Pakhan region.

Another interesting painting is at a cave temple<sup>59</sup>, which is at the north of *Ywar-Thar village* in Pakhan; it is a picture of "*a youth in a dance act*"<sup>60</sup> with a neat head-dress, not the loose head-dress worn by the commoners. This style of head-dress is found in the paintings of Innwa, Nyaungyan and Konbaung periods, but not in Bagan period, and not in the Ratnabon period as well. In the 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup>, and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, the style of garments were: loose and baggy sleeves with long flowing knots of the *Pasoets* (sarongs). The captions at the paintings lend a help in judging the period. Comparing with a painting beside, there is a painting portraying the Deity (*Satu Maharaj*)

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<sup>57</sup> Stupa No.130

<sup>58</sup> See photo (99)

<sup>59</sup> Stupa No.108

<sup>60</sup> See photo (100)

supplicating King Sudhodana when Queen Maya was with Bodhisatta in the womb; this might be the theme of court youths dancing in delight.

Another painting of a deity is at *Myat Paung Myitzu Temple*<sup>61</sup>, which is situated within the compound of *Ywar Thar Gyi Monastery*; inside there is a painting featuring "a Deity offering flowers<sup>62</sup>" and it seems to be the work of Nyaungyan or early Konbaung period by judging from the white paint backdrop. And as a fill-up four-petal flowers<sup>63</sup> are drawn in all the places; no ornamental earflaps and decorations are to be seen. The painting is of no higher quality and it seems to be the work of early Konbaung period.

Another painting of Deity is found in the *Lar-ba Kyaw Swar Ordination Hall*<sup>64</sup> in *Myay Khe Taung village*; this painting portrays "*Brahma Deity in the act of offering flowers and umbrellas*<sup>65</sup>, and this painting is assumed to be of early Konbaung period. And this style of drawing is similar to the painting in *Sulamani Temple* of Bagan in a way of using the theme as a fill-up.

Another painting of deity, superior in artistic calibre than the paintings of *Myat Paung Myitzu* and *Lar ba Kyaw Swar Temple*, is at the *Thaw Tar Pan pagoda*<sup>66</sup>; this drawing features "*a Deity paying homage to Lord Buddha with flower offerings*"<sup>67</sup>, this painting is of Konbaung period. In this picture the orange paint is used as a backdrop colour to make the figure of Deity more prominent, and the head-dress of the deity is drawn in detail, but the decorative earpiece (*Narr Pan Taw*) is singularly missing. The Deity is drawn with a tight upper garment and the lower garment (*Pasoe*) has a chequered design, and comparing with the painting at *Maha Mingala Samudara Temple* of *Sri Lanka* this painting suggests the work of late Konbaung period<sup>68</sup>. And

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<sup>61</sup> Stupa No.89

<sup>62</sup> See photo (101)

<sup>63</sup> Aye Myint, 1993, 93

<sup>64</sup> At Myay Khé Taung Village, 2 miles west of Pakhangyi

<sup>65</sup> See photo (102)

<sup>66</sup> Stupa No.131

<sup>67</sup> See photo (103)

<sup>68</sup> LTP, Manjsuri, *Design Elements from Sri Lanka Temple painting*, Colombo, The Archaeological Society of Srilanka, Colombo Press, 1977, p. 213 (Henceforth: Manjsuri, 1977)

this figure of Deity, with necklace, gorget, is the most pleasant figure among the deity figures of Pakhan, and the colorful bunch of flowers add to the visual beauty of the painting.

Besides, there is also another painting of "*a Deity sitting and offering Dagon Kokkar (decorative pennants and sort of streamers)*"<sup>69</sup> in the same *Thaw Tar Pan Temple*; this deity is drawn with a masculine face, with decorative earpieces and proportionate in its form, and the peculiarity of this figure of Deity is there are rings on the sleeves of the upper garment of the Deity. The Deity of the former painting in the same Temple has feminine features; so it appears to be the figures of the Deity couple, according to *Tharakkhan Phaya Parabaik (folding manuscript)*<sup>70</sup>.

Another quite peculiar theme of painting is "*a strange being appearing from the foliage*"<sup>71</sup>; that painting is found in the wall paintings of *Nagayon Temple*<sup>72</sup>, which is within the compound of *Than-Si Monastery in Hsin Chaung village*. That strange being, seems to be a woman with flowing long hair and with wings of a bird, comes out from the bunch of flower offerings; the woman appears to be *Keinnari (mythical bird-woman)* or an apparition of a woman, and that patch of painting is a fill-up. This work seems to be the work of a Pakkoku painter drawing his strange vision, and may be this drawing is of early colonial period judging from the paints used. It is a hybrid painting: not ancient, not modern.

Another painting is at *Shin Pin Pwint Lan Temple*<sup>73</sup>; the painting features "*the congregation of a hundred and one kingdoms' chiefs*"<sup>74</sup>, and there are 6 plots of paintings of this kind of motif. In the drawing, the faces of the kingdom chieftains are visibly different, and also their headdresses; and they are drawn in an act of homage

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<sup>69</sup> See photo (104)

<sup>70</sup> History of Tharakhon Pagoda Parabaik, No.15(A), Now in possession of Turutor U Htay Win Mg

<sup>71</sup> See photo (105)

<sup>72</sup> Stupa No.126

<sup>73</sup> Situated in Yesagyo Myo

<sup>74</sup> See photo (106)

with their hands clasped with the same little flags. The caption under the painting reads: "*Lin Pei, Lin Taung, Wong Lin, Pa Shuu, Paung Lin, Ma Shuu, Ka-ran, Shein Yein, Yay Hpe Twet, Myan mar, ta-laing, Ka Thain, Heing Taya, Shan, Tha-hton, Ta-loke, Gyun*"; it seems that these words represent the hundred and one races.<sup>75</sup> Another plot of painting features "*a Brahmin and his followers*"<sup>76</sup>; among the four human figures, three seems to be members of the same family, it is assumed; but the ancient tradition of drawing the Brahmin is in profile, and that is also to be considered.

Another human, figure in the painting is in the wall painting of *Wazo Phaya temple*<sup>77</sup>, and the drawing portrays "*an old man executioner wearing a red pasoe (sarong), carrying a sword Than hlyet, wearing a headdress over his topknot hair, sporting a white moustache and girding his lions*"<sup>78</sup>. In the painting, the lines expressing the face and body are done in rings that seem to express the weak muscles, and the earrings are large pieces as is the custom in those days, it is noticed.

In the painting the date is inscribed 1825, and so the painting is the work of middle Konbaung period during the First Anglo-Myanmar War. And it is quite rare to find the figures of elderly in paintings, and from this painting the style of clothes worn by the elderly, maybe in Pakhan area, can be observed.

Another painting of interest is "*a drawing never-yet-seen*"<sup>79</sup> picture and it is found in *Nyi ma thone phaw* Pagoda<sup>80</sup> (Three sisters' Temple). The drawing is unusual in its technique, and the human figures cannot be identified as male or female, but the upper garment is worn without revealing the navel, so it is presumed to be a male figure. In the painting the left hand holds a sword *Than-hlyet* and the right hand is bare. The figure has a waistband and wear a *Pasoe* with spots-design<sup>81</sup>, and the left hand is with ornaments and armpit-hairs are clearly drawn.

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<sup>75</sup> See appendix (10)

<sup>76</sup> See photo (107)

<sup>77</sup> 1825 inscription during Bagyidaw reign

<sup>78</sup> See photo (108)

<sup>79</sup> See photo (109)

<sup>80</sup> 100 yards west of Hsin-kyo village in Yesagy Township

<sup>81</sup> See photo (110)

Another painting of note is in the same *Nyi ma thone phaw Pagoda*, and the painting features "*the figure of a muscular man*"<sup>82</sup>. This drawing is in Chinese style of expressing; in the right hand is a Chinese sword and there are no form of hair or hairdo on the head but the moustache hairs are clearly drawn. The face is drawn not in Myanmar style, the under garment worn is baggy and a huge waistband is clearly seen. Against a light green backdrop, deep green paint and black lines are used; it is assumed that a Chinese painter did the drawing leaving it half finished.

In the *Temple of Nyi-ma-thone-phaw*, the inclusion of such themes in painting is due to the occult practice, it is to be pondered. There are paintings portraying a woman-snakecharmer<sup>83</sup> showing her skills, and a woman dancing in a gentle choreographic style. The apparent feature from these paintings is that the clothing worn by the Deities, the woman snake - charmer and the woman dancer is of the same design, that is with spots. All the form of the human figures, except the chubby cheeks of Deities, suggest the works belong to late Konbaung period.

Another painting of peculiar interest is at the *Mauk-ka-lan village Pagoda*<sup>84</sup>; this painting portrays "*a man with a fierce appearance or a deity holding Than hlyet (a short rhombus-form sword)*"<sup>85</sup>.

The aim of this painting is to project a sense of fear as the form of a man or deity is drawn with such threatening features: raised eyebrows, wide eyes, baring teeth, fangs, old and holding two *Than-Hlyets*. And as the paintings pertaining to Tantric sects, which are mostly found in *Phaya-Thon-Hsu Temple* in *Min-Nan-Thu* village at Bagan are of such genre, it is to be assumed that this painting at Mauk-ka-lan might also be linked to Tantric ideas. One noticeable feature is that in this painting the topknot hair is covered with a headdress tied around in rings, and wear a large

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<sup>82</sup> See photo (111)

<sup>83</sup> See photo (112)

<sup>84</sup> Mauk-ka-lan Pagoda at Mauk-ka-lan village

<sup>85</sup> See photo (113)

earring. In the Tantric paintings frightful ogres and animals are depicted<sup>86</sup>, and in this painting may be the human form is either a fearsome deity or an executioner.

Another painting of note is a painting that portrays "*a man with a topknot hair holding a sword and a lance in both hands, and bare at the upper part of the body while wearing a Pasoe of waving lines Acheik design*"<sup>87</sup>. The painting is quite strange; it is of a Chinese style as if the man is showing his martial skills or demonstrating his skills in a circus, it is to be assumed. That painting seems to be the work of a painters group appeared at those times, and this painting is found in the same *Mauk-ka-lan* village in Pakhan.

Another painting of interest is at *Phaya Ni cave temple*<sup>88</sup> (Red Pagoda); the painting is of Nyaungyan period featuring "*the playful mood of two lovers*"<sup>89</sup>. In the painting, the lovers are drawn in a mood of surprise, embarrassed with wide eyes as if caught red-handed by someone, and look straight in front. The right cheek of the youth is chubby like the human figure in the drawing at Tilawka-guru cave in Sagaing; the young girl wears the *Htamein* (nether garment) above to the armpits without the upper garment, and the youth seems to be fondling the young girl's breasts. And from the headdress and style of clothing they wear, it suggests the two lovers are from the royal court: one a prince and his lover the maid, and they are meeting in a tryst. And such kind of painting with sexual intimations does not conform to the Myanmar cultural tradition, but such kind of secular themes are found in other Asian and South-east Asian countries. Like the painting at *Phaya Ni*, there is a painting of such lovers in Ajanta cave no. 17 during the Gupta Dynasty in 5<sup>th</sup> century AD in India<sup>90</sup>; another paint-

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<sup>86</sup> Shei-yoe Pan-chi, 1975, 15

<sup>87</sup> See photo (114)

<sup>88</sup> Stupa No.(49)

<sup>89</sup> See photo (115)

<sup>90</sup> Hugo Munsterber, Art of Indian and South-East Asia, West Germany, 1970, p. 72 (Henceforth: Munsterber, 1970)

ing of such genre is found at Wat Phumin, Nan, in Thailand.<sup>91</sup> All in all, the painting of lovers at *Phaya Ni* offers a perspective of social life at the court palace.

Furthermore, the human figures in the Pakhan paintings of early Konbaung period will be presented. A painting in the *Lar-ba Kyaw Swar Ordination Hall temple*<sup>92</sup> in *Myay Khè Taung village* portrays human figures of *Saing performer* (Myanmar orchestra), dancers, and court woman attendants. And that painting is quite similar in theme, the *Anyeint performance* (song and dance performance), to the painting of *Aung Myay Lawka Pagoda* (locally known as *Aye Than Monastery*) in *Khin Mon village* in Chaung-Oo Township<sup>93</sup>. In that *Myay Khè Taung village* painting, it features the players of such Myanmar *Saing* instruments as *Pat Waing* (drum circle), *Kyay Naung Waing* (a circle of brass gongs), *Hnè* (Myanmar Oboe) and *Si and War* (a small wood clapper and a tiny bell), and two dancers in choreographic action<sup>94</sup>. The similarity of the human figures in the two paintings is that the musicians tie their topknot of their hair at the front, and the *flap of Gaung Paung* (Myanmar style of turban) is positioned vertically. And that style of hairdo points out that the painting is the work of early Konbaung period. The dissimilarity of hairdo is that in *Myay Khè Taung village* painting, there are two turban-knot flaps (*Gaung Paung Sa*) on the king's turban-headress, but in the *Khin Mon village* painting there are no turban knot-flaps on the hairdos. The peculiarity of this painting is that the hairdo style of *Saing performer* is like the style of Bagan period<sup>95</sup>; they wear white turban cloth and sleeveless vests, but purple paint on the vests seem to be a later addition. From judging the *Myay Khè Taung village* painting, the hairdo-style suggests that the painting is

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<sup>91</sup> David Kwyatt, *Reading Thai Murals*, Silkworm Books, Cheingmai, Thailand, Silkworm Books Press, June 2003, pp 72-73 (Henceforth: David Wyatt, 2003)

<sup>92</sup> Larba-kyaw swar Sima Hall, 2 miles from Pakhangyi, Myay Khé Taung Ah-Nauk Kyaung

<sup>93</sup> See photo (116)

<sup>94</sup> See photo (117)

<sup>95</sup> Drawing (1), Shwe Kaing Thar, Sin-yin Hton Phwe Hmu, Mandalay, Kyi Pwar Yay Press, May 1951, p. 13



still under some influence of Bagan period art, and this painting opens up a perspective into the clothing style of early Konbaung period.

Furthermore, the two dancers seem to be executing the duet dance<sup>96</sup>, but there is no tapering turban (*Gaung Paung Chun*) on the presumed male dancer's head, and that male dancer is holding a peacock feather tail in the form of a *Than-Hlyet*. And as the two dancers have a facial form of likeness it seems that a female is impersonating the role of a male dancer. The female dancer wears a *Htaing-ma-thein* (hip-length jacket worn by dancers) upper garment and a long flowing *Htamein* (nether garment), and her hair is parted in the middle with the coil of her hair (*Hsa-htone*) tied in a slanting form at back, not in an erecting position on top. And the hair tresses letting fall at front suggest that the hairdo style is the starting of Ratanabon period.

Another painting of human figures of *Larba Kyaw Swar Ordination Hall temple* is the drawing that features "two court ladies on the way to offer *Swoon* (cooked rice) and flowers"<sup>97</sup>; in the painting the two ladies have oval-shape faces, the coils of hair, (*Hsa Htone*) tied at the back and covered it with a red shawl, the hair is parted in the middle and graced with a crest of hair. The *Htain-mein* they wear is painted in a colour of soft grey and pink, and it matches delightfully with their faces and complexion. Their *Hta-mein* (nether garment) are of a design of horizontal lines against the backdrop colours of light blue, yellow and pink, and the design seems to be not prominent because of mixed lines and colours, and there are necklaces and earrings as ornaments. But as a whole the painting projects a visual beauty.

Other two paintings of interest at *Lar-ba Kyaw Swar Ordination Hall* are the painting that portrays "*Pala-le* Elephant offering *Swoon* (cooked rice) in a bowl to Lord Buddha, and "*Nala Brahmin* in an act of offering at his village"<sup>98</sup>. The former picture features Lord Buddha under the Ingyin (*Sal*) tree on His tenth Vassa (lent) at

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<sup>96</sup> See photo (118)

<sup>97</sup> See photo (119)

<sup>98</sup> See photo (120)



*Pale-ya* grove and *Pala-le* elephant offering *Swoon* to the Buddha, this kind of painting is found in the Myanmar *Parabaik*<sup>99</sup> (folding palm-leaf text) about which Burney wrote in his book, "*The life of Buddha*<sup>100</sup>". In that *Parabaik* painting the elephant is offering "*Swoon*" bowl and the monkey honey *Swoon*, but there is no figure of monkey in Larba Kyaw Swar picture. In the *Larba Kyaw Swar* painting the elephant offers the bowl with its trunk turning its head back, but in Burney's *Parabaik* painting the elephant two forelegs are stepped out front in a position of paying homage and its trunk offering *Swoon* bowl.

The painting of "Nala Brahmin in an act of offering is at the right side of the above mentioned drawing. This painting portrays Nala Brahmin paying respect to Lord Buddha at *Nala pakkar* village, where the lord is dwelling on His eleventh Vassar (lent) at *Nalika* Monastery in that village, but in Burney's *Parabaik* drawing such spending the 12<sup>th</sup> Vassa is not drawn.

Another painting of note at *Larba Kyaw Swar Ordination Hall (Sima)* is King Kosambi giving audience to his courtiers<sup>101</sup>; in that painting King Kosambi style of hairknot and the two vertical position of hairknot-flaps (*Gaung Paung Sa*)<sup>102</sup> are of the same hairdo styles of his male courtiers on the left of the king. The peculiar feature is the King has a shawl on his shoulder. And the female attendants wear *Htaing ma-thein* upper garments and cover themselves with pink shawls, while lesser female attendants have no shawls over them. One singular feature is that all facial forms are identically the same including the king. Above this painting there is a panel of figures of Buddhas attaining Enlightenment under various trees: Paduma Buddha under Kyaung Shargyi tree, Narada Buddha under Kyaung Shar Gyi tree, Padumottara Buddha under

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<sup>99</sup> Parabaik, owned by Henry Burney, the British agent, Friendly with Myawady Mingyi U Sa

<sup>100</sup> Patricia Herbert, *The life of the Buddha*, London, August 1992, p. 56 (Henceforth: Herbert, 1992)

<sup>101</sup> See photo (121)

<sup>102</sup> See drawing (2), Drawing of Early Konbaung at Ananda Brick Monastery

Pine tree and Sumeda under Htein tree. All the Buddhas are in Bhumiphass mudra. (hands-touching earth position)

Another painting of interest is the painting of " a king among his attendants at Vesali"<sup>103</sup>; in that drawing there is a figure of peacock<sup>104</sup> at the sun, and at the left - hand upper corner as a fill -up symbolizing the sun, and at the right hand corner is a figure of Buddha in a Bhumiphassa Mudra spending his Vassa at the decorated *Mahayon zayat* (rest-hall) in *Mahavain* forest grove in Vesali. There are also figures of maids looking at the youth guards at the gates with tattoos on all their bodies, this painting suggests the behaviour of the maids and youths at the palace.

Another painting of note is at the right-hand side of the above drawing; this painting features "the Buddha blessing the deities and human at Maha Kusala mountain"<sup>105</sup>. The floral design of the forest grove, with leaves, stalks and fruits, serve as fill-up in the corner spaces, and offers a visual impression due to its mix of colours.

Another painting of interest is a drawing of " the citizens of sanghasa-nago offering offertories, as *Swoon* (cooked rice), Thin-boke flowers in vase , candles , streamers to Lord Buddha"<sup>106</sup>, this painting portrays the Buddha descending from the middle ruby stairway, among three *Saung-tans* (roofed-stairway) created by *Thagyar-min* Deity after three months of Abhidhamma teaching to the deities from ten-thousand system of world cycles including the Santusita deity who was in the previous existence, mother of Lord Buddha. Two Brahmar Deities shielded the Lord Buddha with two golden umbrellas, four Brahmar Deities with four white umbrellas when descending from the abode of Deities, but in Henry Burney's painting only white umbrellas are drawn which is a noticeable difference that can be found<sup>107</sup>. The figures of six Brahmar Deities are drawn against the dark red, and the frame lines are sketched

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<sup>103</sup> See photo (122)

<sup>104</sup> See drawing (3)

<sup>105</sup> See photo(123)

<sup>106</sup> See photo (124)

<sup>107</sup> Patricia, 1992, p. 57

in white that serves to project more visual impression of the *Larba Kyaw Swar painting*. The devotees welcoming the Lord Buddha is also drawn in a realistic way, but this painting could not rival the painting of " Lord Buddha descending from Tavamsa plane of Deties to Sankassa-nago" in *Gu-byauk-kyi Temple*<sup>108</sup> at Myinkabar village in Bagan which was drawn 500 years ago between 11 th and 13 th centuries AD. But this painting resembles the painting at *Kamma Kyaung Oo* temple in Taung Bi village, east of Bagan, the painting at *Upali, Ordination Hall* and the painting at *Ananada Temple*; but the clothes style of two paintings are quite different. And this *Larba Kyaw Swar Ordination Hall* picture can be said to be the work of early Konbaung period.

Besides there are panel of *Jataka* ( Buddha in previous existences) paintings on the South wall of *Larba Kyaw Swar Sima Hall*, and the *Tale of Vidura*<sup>109</sup> is described. In that lower-panel painting the ogre *Pondaka* is trying to get the ruby gem from the top of Veponla Hill and Yakkha ogres 500 in number, are running away in fright. And ogre *Pondaka*, holding the reins of the horse is trying to woo princess *Eindawati*<sup>110</sup>, the daughter of the king of *Naga* (serpent) *Varuna*. And if compared with similar theme of painting at *Kamma Kyaung Oo Temple* in Taung -bi village, the paintings are different in projecting visual impression.

Another theme in the panel of paintings in that Hall is the *Jataka* tale of Bodhisatta *King Nemi*<sup>111</sup> in an act of offering together with his court attendants<sup>112</sup>; the king is portrayed with his court attendants; the king is portrayed with the crown on his head as is usual in the ten Great tales of *Jakata* stories, with *Tho-yin* regal jacket and *Taung-shei pasoe* ( long sarong) with *Achiek* wavy pattern and wearing earrings. And the Queen is drawn with the usual upper garment ornament of the early Konbaung period, but she is drawn without the covering shawl; a white umbrella is hoisted

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<sup>108</sup> Shei-Yoe Panchi, p. 34, figure 4

<sup>109</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> Tale of 10 Great Stories, 546<sup>th</sup> Tale from 550 Jataka

<sup>110</sup> See photo (125)

<sup>111</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> Tale of 10 Great Stories, 541 Tale from 550 Jataka

<sup>112</sup> See photo (126)

beside the two royals that symbolizes the sovereignty, and the drawing of King Nemi, in a royal chariot pulled by *Theindaw* horses , on the way to *Tavamsa* abode of Deities led by *Matali* deity.

Another painting at the vault of the western porch of *Larba Kyaw Swar Sima Hall* is a painting that portrays the King, Thi-gyar-min and Brahmar Deities offering flowers to Lord Buddha<sup>113</sup>, and the singularity of that drawing is the deities are paying respect not kneeling of both knees, but with left knee bending and right knee bending upright in an act of homage. That kind of prostration has never been found in other paintings.

Another painting of note is beside the south porch of the *Larba Kyaw Swar Sima Hall* drawn five feet high above, and that drawing features two youths carrying two cocks each in their arms<sup>114</sup>. And the two young men are putting their other hands on each other, and both are tattooed; as Pakhan region is the terrain of *Nat* (spirit) *Kogyi Kyaw* and the place of toddy plams and toddy juice, this painting seems to preserve the *Nat* worship tradition of the locality and reflect the social habits of the local youths.

Another painting as a fill-up is at the interior side of the western porch of the *Larba Kyaw Swar Sima Hall*, and the painting portrays "The gate - keeper couple<sup>115</sup>" whose facial forms seems to be of a European with straight long nose rather than Myanmar features. There are similar figures in the *Wazo Thein Temple* wall painting which has a painted inscription under the drawing that runs; " the wife pulling the beard of her husband, the gate-keeper<sup>116</sup>". From that painting it has to be concluded that foreign nationals are appointed as gate-keepers in the royal palace, and to support this conclusion can be found in Dr.Than Tun's book, *Designs in History* which runs; In the wall paintings at Bagan and at *Pho Win Taung* there are figures of such foreign national

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<sup>113</sup> See photo (127)

<sup>114</sup> See photo (128)

<sup>115</sup> See photo (129)

<sup>116</sup> See photo (130)

gate-keepers such as Gate-keeper Anthony smoking a pipe, taking alcohol and feasting with women<sup>117</sup>.

Another noted painting is at the south corner of the east wall of *Larba Kyaw Swar Sima Hall*, and this painting portrays "Mount Meru with seven oceans and seven ranges of mountains<sup>118</sup>". There is Myanmar saying about the Buddhist cosmogony that runs; no man reaches the top of Mt.Meru, *Bya -ma dat King* is the name for every unknown king in Jataka tales, if the location is not known Benares is the name used in the tales". And the painter of this painting used the concept of this Buddhist belief. In the painting the seven mountains are drawn in terrace form ascending higher and higher in order: *Vina Sakka* mountain, then *Thida* (ocean) *Nemeindara* / ocean, *Thudasana* / ocean, *Kayinka* / ocean, *Yubeinda Thida* / *Yugantho* / ocean and *Mount Meru*. The mountains are painted green like scales of fishes and topped with *Pya-That* (tier-roofs), at the uppermost there are two figures of animals; peacock symbolizing the sun and rabbit the moon. And as the Myanmar kings want to become universal monarchs ruling the whole system of universe, so Mount Meru symbolizes the universe as a whole in the drawings<sup>119</sup>, it is to be observed; and such kind of paintings are found in *Lawka-Hman -Ku Temple*<sup>120</sup>, Temple No.(182) and *Aung -Theikdi* pagoda in Yesagyo.

The Mt. Meru theme painting is at the ceiling of *Lawka-Hman-Ku Temple*, but the painting at Stupa no, (182) is ruined and not as clear as the one at *Larba Kyaw Swar Sima Hall*. The Mt. Meru painting at *Aung Theikdi* Pagoda is quite different in form; the seven oceans on either side are drawn: three mountains and three oceans, and the moon is symbolized by the same figure of rabbit and the sun by a thick red circular spot instead of a peacock. In style, *Aung Theikdi* style of featuring seven mountains

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<sup>117</sup> Dr. Than Tun, 2005, 62

<sup>118</sup> See photo (131)

<sup>119</sup> George Coedes, "Architectural Symbolism", Spectrum, Yangon, Sar Beikman, Central Press, Vol 1, No.6, 1968, pp.176-178 (Henceforth: Coedes, 1968)

<sup>120</sup> Stupa No.153

and seven oceans is much better visually, but in portraying the mythical animals like *Naga* (serpent), *Galon* (bird) and ogres guarding Mt. Meru, and as a whole *Larba Kyaw Swar Sima* painting is of high artistic calibre in the drawing of Pakhan area, it must be observed.

Another painting of interest at that Sima Hall is "the Lord Buddha Spending His eighteen *Vassa* (lent) under the Tamar tree and also the *Naleya* Ogre under the Tamar tree<sup>121</sup>", and in the painting the Brahmin is carrying flowers on a tray to offer Lord Buddha, for the Myanmar custom in offering to Lord Buddha is done in two hands. But here the figure of the donor is holding the tray in one hand; the figure of the donor, though wearing the *Thoyin princely* upper garment, is sporting a beard and wearing a cap worn by foreign officials<sup>122</sup>, it is noted.

And to recount the painting at *Larba Kyaw Swar Sima Hall*, which is the work of early Konbaung period, the ceiling painting is of *Kyoe Gyi Acheik* (ornamental Pasoe-Sarong) pattern, framed by colorful floral works; above the wall painting there is a panel of 28 Buddha figurines, followed by painting drawn according to the *Vassa* and locations spent in the lifetime of Lord Buddha; then under that panel of painting come the drawings that portray the theme of Kings paying homage to Lord Buddha, social themes like the audience at *Anyeint* (song and dance performance), the *Saing* (Myanmar orchestra), circus entertainment<sup>123</sup>. And after that comes the painting portraying *Jataka* (Buddha birth stories) stories like Bodhisatta *Nemi*, *Vidura* the courtier, *Mahajanaka* and *Vessantara*; then comes the painting of Mt. Meru surrounded by seven mountain ranges and seven oceans, and fill-up social theme paintings like the gatekeeper-couple, and the youths carrying cocks in their arms.

The noted late Konbaung period painting will be presented further; in the interior north wall of *Thaw-Tar-Pan*<sup>124</sup> cave temple, situated between Pakhangyi old city

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<sup>121</sup> See photo (132)

<sup>122</sup> Figure 4, *Headdress of an official*, LTP Mansjuri, 1977, p. 221

<sup>123</sup> See photo (133)

<sup>124</sup> Stupa No.131

and *Hsin Chaung* village, there is a painting that features "Lord Buddha dwelling in Jetavana Monastery"<sup>125</sup>. Noticeable is the fact that all Arahants paying homage to the Lord Buddha have common facial features in likeness, and there are drawings of an *Auik Chin* bird (Indian pied hornbill) that signifies the Bodhisatta during his previous existence as that bird, *Shwe Tan Tic Pagoda*, *Ponna Khittan Le Kaing Kyaung Taw Yar*, and *Kalasamam Upper Set Taw Yar*. The Image of Buddha is drawn as a backdrop with its screen wall and pediments that reflect the style of late Konbaung period.

In the painting that portrays Jetavana Monastery and the figure of a royal cavalry soldier<sup>126</sup> it is drawn in the style of compartments that betrays the influence of Bagan period style, and paints are of bluish green. And that suggests the Konbaung painting done at Bagan as a deed of merit, and that painting resembles the drawing of *Kamma Kyaung Oo Pakhan* painting of Bagan period. There are also the figures of four cavalry soldiers showing equestrian skills in the space between the Jetavana Monastery and the Image of Lord Buddha dwelling under the tree; that drawing of showing horsemanship skills is just a fill-up not related to the theme but the visual beauty of the painting is quite impressive.

Another painting of interest at *Thaw Tar Pan Temple* is drawn on the available space of a form of "Arc of the moon"<sup>127</sup>; this painting features the *Zayats* (rest halls) with vestibules and another row of *Zayats* outside the enclosure wall. The black paint used as a backdrop gives much pronouncement to the main Stupa, and according to the painting inscription<sup>128</sup> this drawing represents the *Ponna Khettam Le Kaing Kyaung Taw Yar*, upper level of Buddha footprint (*Ah-Htet-Set-Taw-Yar*) and lower level of Buddha Pada (*Auk Set Taw Yar*).

Another painting of visual beauty at this same Temple is the drawing of "the

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<sup>125</sup> See photo (134)

<sup>126</sup> See photo (135)

<sup>127</sup> See photo (136)

<sup>128</sup> See appendix (11), Thaw Tar Pan painting inscription



beauty of Myanmar floral works and Lord Buddha with His Arahant disciples<sup>129</sup>". The floral works are of *Hsin Swe Wuh Shet kyar Htut Pan*" ( multi-layered petals of lotus flower intertwined like elephant tusks) pattern: this pattern of floral work is entirely different from the floral design of Bagan period and is purely Myanmar in form. Such floral works can be found at *Upail Ordination Hall of Bagan*.

And there is floral band, an image of Buddha against the Banyan tree and in the space between the banyan trees is a fill-up of flowers in a vase and the names of Buddhas under the respective Buddha Images. At the lowest row there are Arahants of Supreme skills (*Ay-Ta-Det*), it is assumed.

Another patch of painting at *Thaw Tar Pan* is the drawing of " Lord Buddha and his right-hand and left-hand disciples<sup>130</sup>". The painting is drawn within a triangle and it portrays Lord Buddha on the throne with resplendent colours; the two disciples Venerable Sariputta and Venerable Mogallana , are paying homage to the Buddha with knees bent in sitting positions. The painting inspires a sense of piety and devotion to the viewers, and the drawing itself is of harmony in lines and colours used.

Another painting of note is the drawing of " Lord Buddha receiving homage from the king and his courtiers<sup>131</sup>" ; in this painting the royal regalia and the royal wear are of notable interest. The king is drawn with a crown and with other regalia, and the women with *Tho-Htein* robes with shawls as a covering . And this painting is similar to the one at *Lawka-Hteik pan Temple* of Bagan, the paints used are deep red, brown and bluish green; the kingly crown is like the crown in the *Lawka-Hteik Pan* painting . All that suggest the styles of late Bagan period, but the coiffure of the Queen, *Lay-par-yar-thi Hsa-hton* (a hairdo for all four seasons) and *Tein Taung Tet Hsa hton*<sup>132</sup> (a hairdo of curls like the rising colourful clouds), suggest the hair style of Ratanbon period. But the facial forms are like the drawing of early Konbaung period and like the

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<sup>129</sup> See photo (137)

<sup>130</sup> See photo (138)

<sup>131</sup> See photo (139)

<sup>132</sup> Aye Myint, 1993, 170-171



facial forms in the paintings at *Ananda Temple*<sup>133</sup> of Bagan and this painting can be said that it is the work of a period not earlier than early Konbaung, but not later than middle Konbaung.

Furthermore, three paintings of Nyaungyan period at *Mya Thein Tan*<sup>134</sup>, a temple within the compound of *Than Si Monastery* and with an enclosure wall, be analyzed in the painting; the upper portion features lord Buddha at *Savatthi*, at *Ni-yo-dhar-yon Monastery* in *Kapilavatsu* spending His fifteenth Vassa. Below this is the figure of King *Vesantara* donating his royal horses and elephants, the Brahmin soliciting the white royal elephant<sup>135</sup>. This painting is quite different from the works of Konbaung period such as those in *Thaw Tar Pan* and *Larba Kyaw Swar Sima Hall*, and as the paint used is of bluish green in colour it is the work of much earlier Nyaungyan period, and similar to the painting at Ananda Temple of Bagan. The drawing of the facial form is similar to the Queen in the painting at *Tilawkguru Cave* at Sagaing Hill<sup>136</sup>. In this painting the queen's coiffure is of a style tied three times over, as a fill-up there are animal figures of a peacock<sup>137</sup>, a parrot<sup>138</sup> and Keinara<sup>139</sup> (mythical human with wings) that offers a visual beauty and also trees of peculiar form<sup>140</sup>.

Another painting is at the left wall of *Mya Thein Tan Temple*; this painting portrays "remain of the Buddha Lord carried away on palanquin<sup>141</sup>" shielded by a white umbrella held by Brahma Deity, the deities playing *Si*, *Byaw* and *Kha-yar* musical instruments. The Bodhistatta is covered with a golden shawl donated by *Malika*<sup>142</sup> and from the clothes style Deities wear and from the paints used, black and white on reddish

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<sup>133</sup> Aye Myint, 1993, 167

<sup>134</sup> Stupa No.121

<sup>135</sup> See photo (140)

<sup>136</sup> Aye Myint, 1993, 165

<sup>137</sup> See drawing (5)

<sup>138</sup> See drawing (6)

<sup>139</sup> See drawing (7)

<sup>140</sup> See drawing (8)

<sup>141</sup> See photo (141)

<sup>142</sup> Widow of Bandoola donated golden shawl, (Burney's Parabaik Painting, Tin Shwe Publishing House, 1997, p. 109)

brown, and from the facial forms, the crown and the earflaps, this painting suggests the work of Nyaungyan period.

In the third painting<sup>143</sup>, the upper lines of floral works suggest the lingering influence of Bagan period style, the Bodhi tree (banyan) is a circular form, neat and clear. As a fill-up animal figures of a peacock, *Hinthar* (mythical duck) and a parrot are usually drawn, and it resembles the painting at *Taung Bi Pitaka Taik* of Bagan. The male figures are drawn with puffy left cheeks and with turbans and that resembles the painting at *Shwe Koo Thar Pagoda* in Amarpura.

In the above passages, the ceiling paintings, the drawings of figures of Deities and humans, the wall paintings of *Larba Kyaw Swar Sima Hall*, *Thaw Tar Pan* cave temple and *Mya Thein Tan Temple* in Pakhan area have been detailed; the remaining wall paintings in other cave temples, their peculiarities will be further described briefly.

There are wall paintings in stupa no. (78), and starting clockwise from the east wall, a panel of 28 Buddha figurines can be seen. Below that panel there are about a hundred of Buddha figures in various positions, like the pattern at *Bawdhi Ta-Htaung* Pagoda (Thousand Buddhas Pagoda) near Monywa, but as the paints are fading out nothing can be described for sure. And the painting of interest is the drawing of *Tar Yar Dewi*<sup>144</sup> (Queen of the Constellations); this *Tar yar Dewi*, wearing *Kyo Gyi Acheik Htamein* (Ah-cheik sarong lower garment), is similar to the figure found in *A-be-yanada* cave temple painting at *Myin ka ba* village in Bagan. According to Bhattacharyya, the Indian scholar, the figure of *Ariya Tar-yar Dewi*<sup>145</sup> has a single crowned head and two hands, green complexion, youthful age and wear a Goddess garment written in his book about the Mahayana Buddhist Sect: "*The Indian Buddhist Iconography*". And the figure of that Goddess in this Stupa no.(78) is quite simi-

<sup>143</sup> See photo (142)

<sup>144</sup> See photo (143)

<sup>145</sup> Bhattacharya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Firma KL Mukhapadhyay, Calcutta, India, Ghosh Printing House, Private Limited, June, 1958, pp.56, 64, 73 (Henceforth: Bhattacharya, 1958)

lar; so it can be assumed that Tantric Mahayan Sect might have existed in Pakhangyi area during late Bagan period.

Another late Bagan period painting is at Stupa no.(82), 50 yards east of *Myauk-pyin Monastery*, but the interior wall paintings are ruined. Similarly, the original painting at *Myat Paung Myitzu Temple*<sup>146</sup> cannot be seen as there are repairs in 1899 and 1977, and the 9 cave temples of Innwa period are also ruined.

Thus, selected wall paintings from Nyaungyan period will be presented. There is a painting at *Phaya Net Temple*<sup>147</sup>, 200 yards south of *Sithu Shin pagada* in Pakhan; the interesting aspect of this painting is the theme: the footprint of Lord Buddha (*Pada or Che Taw Yar*) and the *Zar Tar Taw Pon* painting record at the porch of that temple.

Another painting of note is at *Phaya Ni*<sup>148</sup> cave temple, about a hundred yards east of *Phaya Net*, this painting features a foreign national holding a weapon<sup>149</sup> in the service of royal army, and a mahout who is also a foreigner. The human figures in that painting have puffy cheeks on one side, similar to the drawings at *Tilawka Guru cave* in Sagaing; the peculiarity of the human figures who shoulder the royal palanquin is that they are *saris* wearing<sup>150</sup> women with bare breasts. And as a fill-up to the painting there are figures of a bird-elephant (mythical), Buddha's renunciation and scenes from 550 Jataka Tales such as *Sanda kumara*, *Vesantara*, *Temi* and *Janaka*.

In the Stupa no.(102) there is a painting featuring *Man and Ogre in combat*, but it is hard to describe from which *Jataka* tale this theme represents. From the clothestyle and puffy cheeks of the human figures this painting is said to be of Nyaungyan period, similar to the painting in *Tilawka-guru* cave of Sagaing.

The stupa no.(113) has a ceiling painting that portrays "layered-petal lotus", and is one of stupas at *Lay Hsu Tan Gu Phaya* (a row of four cave temples) in Pakhan. The

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<sup>146</sup> Stupa No.89, Narapati Sithu built this temple

<sup>147</sup> See photo (144)

<sup>148</sup> Stupa No.49

<sup>149</sup> See photo (145)

<sup>150</sup> See photo (146)

painting inscription runs<sup>151</sup>: waxing day of Wagang month, 1140 ME(1778), it features a dancer baring her navel and her upper body and wearing a lower garment with tied-knot flap letting fall at the front. And the inscription also says that it is a scene from *Jataka tale Vesantara* in which the king with his consort, his two sons, *Zali* and *ga-hnar sein*, going to the monastery in the morning on a carriage.

As a fill-up two peacocks are drawn, and their painting seems to have been influenced by Nyaungyan period style, except the green colour which was the customary paint of that period. And another painting of that period is at Stupa (135), north of *Hsu Taung Pyae Pagoda*, but the picture is too ruined and damaged to analyze.

Another Nyaungyan period ceiling painting is at *Lawka Hman Ku Temple*<sup>152</sup>; it is a beautiful picture that features Mt. Meru and a *Makara* mythical marine animal and a standing Deity with puffy cheeks who holds a conch in right hand and a fan in the left hand; and as a fill-up there are drawings of four parrots and a camel-like animal.<sup>153</sup> And in the upper wall there is a panel of 28 Buddha figurines around the four sides in a *Bhumi mudra* position (earth-touching hand position). A drawing above the painting inscription features a *Taxila teacher* (A University Academic) in contemplation, and four student youths, and as a fill-up there are animal drawings of elephants<sup>154</sup>, lions<sup>155</sup>, tigers<sup>156</sup>, Galon<sup>157</sup> and a Keinnara bird with a human head<sup>158</sup>.

Another Nyaungyan period is at *Shwe Bon Thar Temple*<sup>159</sup>; the ceiling painting is of lotus pattern and a panel of 28 Buddha figurines, but the wall paintings are ruined. And at Stupa (154) there is a drawing painted in gold paint; it is a ceiling painting of

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<sup>151</sup> Stupa No.113

<sup>152</sup> Stupa No.153

<sup>153</sup> See drawing (9)

<sup>154</sup> See drawing (10) Elephant

<sup>155</sup> See drawing (11)

<sup>156</sup> See drawing (12)

<sup>157</sup> See drawing (13)

<sup>158</sup> See drawing (14)

<sup>159</sup> Stupa No.165

eight flowers, of eight upturned Tamar (neem) leaves and a fill-up of floral works in a square frame. There are also another three drawings using gold paint at Stupa no. (155), *Ma-Au Taung Shwe Bon Thar Temple* and *U Htun Pyae Pagoda*.

Another Nyaungyan period painting is at *Yoke-Sone Kyaung Temple*<sup>160</sup>; that drawing is at the ceiling and portrays the figure of Buddha footprint or *Pada*, and the *Nagas* (mythical serpent) surround the footprint from the outside rim. There are also drawings of a royal boat, a horse race, and a *Thu Nge Taw* (a royal page) dancing with tightly girded lions and tight-sleeve garments. And in the lower portion of that painting there is a drawing of *Naga-Lein Pagoda* and 5 *Nagas* guarding the Buddha; though this Temple is named *Yoke-Sone* (multi-figures) the drawing is not quite distinct.

Another painting of the same period is at *U Htun Pyae Pagoda* in Yesagyo; this drawing is at the ceiling and it features the footprint of Lord Buddha guarded by two green *Nagas*, and at the porch there are drawings of two beautiful *Hinthars* (mythical ducks), a lotus pattern ceiling, and Lord Buddha defeating the *Nan-daw-pa-nanda King Naga* from eight Buddha's victories (*Aung Chin Shit Parr*).

Furthermore, the remaining Kongbaung period wall painting will be presented; there is an early Konbaung work at the vestibule of *Tin Pyin Pyae Temple*<sup>161</sup>, near the Pakhangyi police Station. This painting features a panel of 28 Buddha figurines and audience in celebration with Myanmar *Saing* (Myanmar orchestra) and drawings of musicians playing drums, bamboo xylophone, harp, *Mi-gyaung* (three-stringed instrument in the shape of an alligator), *Nyin* and *Pat-Thar*<sup>162</sup>. Such kind of drawings can be found at *Ananda Temple* of Bagan, and the human figure shouldering the *Mong* (gong) has a cap and a straight nose who seems to be foreigner. In this painting as a fill-up, there are drawings of peacock and floral works. And such similar theme of female musicians playing instruments can be found at *Dipinkara Pagoda* in Yesagyo and a

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<sup>160</sup> Stupa (195)

<sup>161</sup> Stupa No.52

<sup>162</sup> See photo (147)

female figure playing harp in *Larba Kyaw Swar Sima Hall*.

Moreover, there are also Konbaung period paintings in *Kyaun-Lein*<sup>163</sup> Temple, but as it was whitewashed, nothing of it is left; and in the circular ceiling of *Yan Aung Myin cave temple*<sup>164</sup> there is a drawing of multi-layered lotus (Hsin SweWun Htet Kyar Htut Pan) and as fill-up floral works are drawn in the corners. And in that Temple there is also a beautiful drawing of two peacocks; another early Konbaung painting can be found at *Khanda Thein Pagoda*<sup>165</sup> but it is ruined and it cannot be verified.

Another painting of note is at stupa no. (108), close north of *Ywar Thar vil-lage* in Pakhangyi, and in that painting Lord Buddha's Enlightenment is drawn like in the panel of 28 Buddhas; on either side of the Buddha, two figures of deities are paying obeisance to the Buddha. The paint of reddish brown colour is used, and the figure of *Satu Maharaj Deity* supplicating to King Sudodhana and Queen Maya, who is conceived with Bodhisatta, and the birth of Bodhisatta - such themes are also featured in that painting.

Another work of early Konbaung period is at *Stupa no. (110)*, about 50 feet north of *stupa no.(109)*; in this painting the theme of 28 Buddhas is drawn like in stupa no.(108) and also the tale of *Mahor-tha-htar* (Bodhisatta) in *Maha Oo Minga Jataka Tale*<sup>166</sup> is featured. The peculiarity of this temple is that there is a drawing of two Deities holding conches, and the other two holding flowers; this kind of painting is the only one in Pakhan temples and it is in the vestibule of that temple. And as fill-ups, the animal figures of a parrot couple, and a human figure sitting on the head of *Swe-sonne* elephant are also drawn.

Another painting of Konbaung period is at *Nagayon cave temple*<sup>167</sup>, close to the north of *Mya Thein Tan Pagoda*; though there is a painting inscription under the

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<sup>163</sup> Stupa No.53

<sup>164</sup> Stupa No.84

<sup>165</sup> Stupa No.88

<sup>166</sup> Tale no. 543 of 550 Jataka Tales

<sup>167</sup> Stupa No.126

drawing it cannot be read as it is totally not clear. In this picture, there are drawings from the Jataka tales:<sup>168</sup> Crown Prince *Pawla-janaka* defeated his elder brother King Sula-jataka, seized Meikhtila kingdom and the Queen of defeated king, fully pregnant, escaped impersonating as a poor woman; and also the drawing of *Nalagiri* elephant attacking Lord Buddha from the scene of *Buddha's eight victories*. The royal clothes worn by the king and queen, the rainbow-coloured nether garments, and the judicious use of the paints red, yellow and green colours-all these painting features are similar to the painting<sup>169</sup> at *Kama Kyaung Oo Temple* at *Taung Bi village* of Bagan, which is the work of Konbaung period.

It is found that the painting at *Nagayon Temple* is nearly identical, in style or clothes worn, in the use of colours, in the design and the floral pattern, with the paintings of *Upali Ordination Hall* (1794 AA); with the painting of *Kamma Kyaung Oo Temple at Taung Bi Village* or Bagan, and it was the time of King Bodaw Phaya of Konbaung period. And if there is no damage or falling off, these paintings can be regarded as the best works of Konbaung period in Pakhan area.

Besides, there are works of early Konbaung period in *Stupa (130)*; in that painting there are drawings of 28 Buddhas attaining Enlightenment under various respective trees, of a prince in delightful mood and of a Brahma Deity paying obeisance to the Buddha with a knee raised in a sitting position. There are also Konbaung period paintings in *Sabe-yon Temple*<sup>170</sup>, situated between *Hsin Chaung* village and Pakhangyi which is west of Yesagyo-Pakokku motor road, and in *Hsu Taung Pyae Temple*<sup>171</sup> but the paintings are ruined and cannot be analysed. Moreover, there is a painting in *Kyi Wun Min U Pho Toke's* (Minister of Granaries) *Pagoda*; the painting features Mt. Meru and seven oceans and seven mountains but the drawings are not clear and the painting at the ceiling is also falling off.

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<sup>168</sup> Tale no 52 of 550 Jataka Tales

<sup>169</sup> Aye Myint, *Kamma Kyaung Oo Wall painting* (Handwriting Script)

<sup>170</sup> Stupa No.133

<sup>171</sup> Stupa No.134



Another painting of note is at the middle Temple of *Kan Yoe Chaung Thone Hsu Tan Phaya Su* (A row of three Temples at Kan Yoe Chaung); in that painting the scenes from *Vidura Jataka Tale*<sup>172</sup> (Buddha Birth Stories) are featured: *Ogre Ponnaka*, with *Than Hlyet* sword holding in his right hand and resting on his shoulder, carried *Naga* (mythical serepent) *Princess Ein-na-Wadi* on horseback with a tinge of smile on their faces.<sup>173</sup> And as the painting used black paint as a backdrop, the visual impression of the picture is more prominent.

Another painting of interest is at *Shwe Oo Min Pagoda*, north west of Pakhangyi at *Thak* village, and that painting portrays the scene of "a white elephant and a court page in a dance act", and as fill-ups *Hinthar* (mythical bird) are drawn. And at *Dipinkara* and *Aung Theikdi Pagodas* of Yesagyo there are paintings depicting the panel of 28 Buddhas; and there is the drawing of Mt. Meru and seven oceans and seven mountains, and of Buddha Footprint at the ceiling of *Aung Theikdi Pagoda*. In that painting, red and green paints are mainly used; in *Dipinkara Pagoda* painting there is a drawing of a "dancer with a peacock on the head and ten human figures clapping:, and the "young women performing musical instruments, like that of the painting in *Tin Pyin Pyae* temple". And there is also a drawing of "Buddha's Footprint", and as the lines are expressed in yellow paint, the drawing possesses a visual beauty. There is a painting of "*Vidura Tale*" in *Wazo Sima Hall*, northwest of *Thè Pon Kyaung* monastery, and that painting depicts ogre *Ponnaka* and *Naga* Princess meeting on *Webula* Hill; as fill-up to that painting figures of a gatekeeper, his wife and a muscular man are drawn.

At the *Shwe Phone Pwint Pagoda*<sup>174</sup> of Yesagyo, scenes from Jataka Tales such as "Prince *Janaka* and visions of hell"<sup>175</sup> are found, and the painting inscription is dated

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<sup>172</sup> Tale 546 of 550 Jataka Tale (Princess Ein-na Wadi is daughter of Serperct King Varuna and Queen Vimala)

<sup>173</sup> See photo (148)

<sup>174</sup> Known as Ba Pwint or Hsu Taung Pyae Pagoda

<sup>175</sup> See photo (149)



(1912). And there is a British colonial period painting at *Khanda Thein Temple*; at the ceiling of that temple the drawing of "nine planets" and drawings of "28 Buddhas, of Myanmar kings attending *Hluttaw*<sup>176</sup> (Assembly), of the Ordination ceremony of monks in the *Kalayani river*<sup>177</sup> and kings and his courtiers in session of Assembly" can be seen, and that drawings were the works of Pakokku Saya Pe.

Moreover, there are colonial period drawings at *West Naga-yon Temple* in Yesagy; in the ceiling of that Temple there are drawings of "the planetary system and Bodhistatta in various former existences - human existence, animal existences-practicing *Parami* (perfections). There are over a hundred blocks of paintings in that Temple; the imaginative drawings of the figures of animal heads and human body can be found at the lower portion of the west wall of Taung Bi Pitaka Taik of Bagan. In the painting of that lower west wall of that Temple "*Mara* soldiers in battle" are depicted, and that kind of theme are also found in the temples of Pakhangyi.

Furthermore, the figures of animals, birds, plants and floral decorations found in the paintings of Pakhangyi will be described; traditionally the elephant, the biggest of animals, symbolizes glory, power and strength, and is one of the glorious possessions of the universal monarch. The figure of elephant is depicted in several paintings of *Jataka Tales*: the white elephant in *Vesantara Jataka*<sup>178</sup> Tale, the *Pa-le-la King* elephant in the painting of *Larba Kyaw Swar Sima Hall*, the elephant in the painting of *Lawka Hman-ku Temple* and in the *Jataka Tale* of *Bima-thay-na Tale*<sup>179</sup>. The Elephant is regarded as the possession of Universal Monarch, it is traditionally accepted<sup>180</sup>. Besides, the elephant figure *Nalargiri* is frequently drawn in the scene depicting the eight victories of Lord Buddha; in the four genres of Myanmar Tradi-

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<sup>176</sup> See photo (150)

<sup>177</sup> See photo (151)

<sup>178</sup> Tale 547 of 550 Jataka Tales

<sup>179</sup> Tale 80 of 550 Jataka Tales

<sup>180</sup> Alton Becker, *The Lives of Boddha in the Art and Literature of Asia*, 1989, p. 112 (Henceforth: Becker, 1989)

tional painting, which are *Nayi*, *Kali*, *Kazar* and *Ka-Note*, the art of drawing elephant figures belongs to the "*Kazar genre*".

The figure of the horse in the scenes of Jataka Tales is so common that depictions of it are found in many paintings: *Prince Siddhatha* with his horse *Chandika* and his companion *Channa*; *Ogre Ponnaka* carried *Naga Princess* on the horse in *Vidura Jataka Tale*; *Matali Deity* fetched King *Nay-mi* on a carriage drawn by a thousand *Theindaw* horses to observe the visions of *Niraya* (hell) in *Nay-mi Jataka Tale*, and on the return from *Tavimsa Abode* of Deities; in the *Janaka tale*<sup>181</sup> *Phussa carriage* is drawn by a white horse. And at Temple of *Nga Mone Kone Phaya Su Tan* a painting depicts the animal sacrificing ceremony" which is held at the instigation of corrupt Brahmin courtier *Khanda-Hala*<sup>182</sup>, and in that painting many figures of horses, with full decorations of a royal horse, pulling a royal carriage, and in that painting the action of the animal is portrayed in a realistic mood. And the painting which shows the good features of a horse, such as a strong throat spine and long upper limb, can be seen in the drawing of *Vidura Jataka Tale* at the middle Temple of *Kan Yoe Chang Thone Hsu Tan Pagoda*, and that painting is one of the impressive drawings in Pakhan.

The figure of peacock is another traditional motif for the paintings; the figure of this animal is drawn in the ceiling paintings of circular design<sup>183</sup>, and also as a fill-up in the paintings of *Larba Kyaw Swar Sima Hall*. In the painting of *Dipankara Pagoda* of Yesagy, the figure of peacock is drawn on the head of a dancer; and in the Temple such as *Lawka Hman Ku*, *Larba Kyaw Swar* and *Stupa no.(182)*, the peacock figures are drawn in various forms: dancing peacock, fighting peacock, male and female couple and peacock in flight<sup>184</sup>. And other forms of animals like *Galon*, *Naga* and *Gon-ban ogre* and *Yakkha ogre* are found in the paintings of *Lawka Hman Ku*, *Aung Theikdi*, and *Wazo cave* temples; stranger figures of animals like lions with monkey

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<sup>181</sup> Tale 539 of 550 Jataka Tales

<sup>182</sup> Tale 544 of 550 Jataka Tales

<sup>183</sup> Stupa No.84

<sup>184</sup> Stupa No.121

heads, lion with wolf's head, and *Manusiha* (mythical lion with human heads and two haunches) are found in the paintings of such Temples: *Mya Thein Tan*, *Lawka Hman Ku* and *Larba Kyaw Swar Temples*. Moreover, mythical animal drawings like *Nayaar* (four-footed serpent in scrollwork), lions with deer-horns are found at *Stupa (153)*, and at the Temple, northwest of *Nga Mone Kone Village*, figures of deers can be seen in the painting of *Suvannasama Jataka Tale*<sup>185</sup>. And other forms of animal drawings like parrots, *Hintha* (mythical duck) *Naga* serpent can be seen in many Jataka tales scenes depicted in the paintings of Nyaungyan and Konbaung paintings.

Another drawings of *Keinnari* (mythical human with wings of birds) can be seen at *Stupa no. (126)* and *Mya Thein Tan Temple*; in the latter Temple a couple of *Keinnari and Keinnara* is drawn and also a scene from the *Bala-tiya Jataka Tale*. In this painting of Jataka scene, *King Bala-Tiya*<sup>186</sup> (the Bodhisatta), together with his dog, goes on a hunt in the Himalaya is depicted. In that same *Mya Thein Tan Temple*, there is a figure of *Galon* bird<sup>187</sup> paying respect to the Lord Buddha; and in the painting of *Lawka Hman Ku Temple* the mythical figure of *Karaweik* bird with a human head is drawn, like in the drawing at *Taung Bi Pitaka Taik Temple* of Bagan.

The drawings of floral decorations in the paintings of temples in Pakhangyi will be described further. It is found that floral drawings are painted in three subject-themes: trees as a backdrop for the respective 28 Buddhas in attaining Enlightenment, as fill-ups to the main theme of drawing, and using flora in the *Kanote* patterns (floral designs). In the painting of a panel of 28 Buddha *Bodhi* (banyan tree), *Kant-Kaw* (*Mesua Pedunculata*), *Ingyin* (*Sal*), *Tha-khut* (trumpet flower) and *Tha-yet Phyu* (white Mango) trees are painted as backdrop under which the Buddhas attained Enlightenment, and in over half of the temples in Pakhan these floral drawings can be found as in *Phaya Ni*, *Yoke Sone Kyaung*, *Thaw Tar Pan*, *Mya Thein Tan*, *Kan Yoe*

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<sup>185</sup> Tale 540 of 550 Jataka Tales

<sup>186</sup> Tale 504 of 550 Jataka Tales

<sup>187</sup> See drawing (15)

*Chaung Thone Hsu Tan, Larba Kyaw Swar and Khanda Thein*. And such drawings of floral designs can be found in the paintings of *Ti-Lawka Guru* cave of Sagaing, in *Pho Win Taung* and *Meikhtila* areas. In the middle Temple of *Kan Yoe Chaung Thone Hsu Tan* there is a drawing of *Peinn Pin*<sup>188</sup> (Peinn tree) with flat leaves<sup>189</sup> as a backdrop for the Enlightenment of Buddha in the painting of a panel of 28 Buddhas, and that is not in accordance with the description of the Buddhist Scriptures. And it seems that the floral designs of Bagan period are used as a fill-up in this painting.

In the painting of the *South Temple of Kan Yoe Chaung*, the trunks of the trees are thick and have a tapering foliage, and such kind of drawing of details of the plants and trees are quite similar to the floral drawings in the paintings of *Tin Pyin Pyae, Stupa no.(108)* and *(110)* at *Ywar Thar Village*. In the painting of *Ma-Oo Kyar Thone Khaing* Temple there is a drawing of Arahant holding lotus flowers and *Kan Soon Nwe* floral design as a fill-up, and that drawings show a high standard of artistic skills. Especially, there is a painting of high visual impression of floral design at *Ma-Au North Shwe Bon Thar Temple*; this painting depicts a Hall where *Shin Maha Kassapa* practices *Dhutanga* (austere practices)<sup>190</sup>, and above and beside that *Dhutanga* Hall there is a fill-up of floral designs using white and yellow paints on a red colour base. This painting projects a visual image that can be assumed to be one of the finest paintings of Pakhan.

The *kanote* floral designs<sup>191</sup> in the paintings of *Larba Kyaw Swar at Myay Khè Taung* village is quite different from the other Konbaung floral patterns: this painting is drawn with green, red and old gold paints on a white paint background, but this design seems to be similar to the Chinese floral pattern, the floral design in the painting of *Kama Kyaung Oo Temple* of Bagan, and to the floral pattern in the paintings of *Hna Kyeik Shit Hsu Tan* temple at *Nga Mone Kone old village*.

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<sup>188</sup> See drawing (15)

<sup>189</sup> See drawing (16)

<sup>190</sup> See drawing (17)

<sup>191</sup> See drawing (18)

There are many impressive floral designs<sup>192</sup> in the following temples: the floral design at *Nga Mone Kone Ywar West Temple*, the floral design in the painting above the drawing of "One hundred and one races" at *Shin Pin Pwint Lin Temple*, the floral pattern detailing the stalks, the leaves and fruits at *Shwe Oo Min Temple*, the floral design hold by a Deity<sup>193</sup> at *Naga-yon Temple*, the floral design at *Thaw Tar Pan temple*, and the beautiful drawing of a tree painted in black and yellow on a white background.

The floral designs of late Konbaung period, in comparison with works of early Innwa and Nyaungyan period, seems to move nearer to the concept of realism, but still there are some traces of influence of Bagan and Innwa period styles. And the figures of coconut and toddy palms are drawn in their distinct forms; the floral designs are drawn in mixed style of visual decoration and of realism. It is found that the trees are drawn in accordance with the theme and necessity of the *Jataka* scenes in paintings; the drawings of the forest in the paintings of *Larba Kyaw Swar Sima Hall* resemble more to the natural landscape of woodlands, and the forms of trees at the drawing of the panel of 28 Buddhas in *West Naga-yon Temple* is painted on the concept of realism in the late Konbaung and early colonial era. Besides, the flower blooms are drawn also more to the concept of nature, and such flowers as Gandamar and *Gant Gaw* are drawn with small tapering leaves, more natural than of *Kanoke* floral decoration.

Further, the use of paints and colours in the wall paintings of Pakhan Temples will be described. Like other Myanmar Traditioanal paintings it is found that (4) colours<sup>194</sup> were used in the early Bagan period, (6)<sup>195</sup> colours in Innwa period and (9) colours in early Konbaung period<sup>196</sup> in the drawings of Pakhan cave temples; jade green and vermilion red are the dominant colours, light and deep tone of various colours are

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<sup>192</sup> See drawing (19)

<sup>193</sup> See drawing (20)

<sup>194</sup> Yellow, Red, White, Black, From *Pan-chi Taw U Kyar Nyunt Hnit Thu Let-yar*, (Artist U Kyar Nyunt in his Masterpiece), Yangon, 1975, p. 17

<sup>195</sup> Yellow, Red, White, Black, Blue, Green (From *Min Naing*, 1975, p. 18)

<sup>196</sup> Jade Green, Vermilion, Gray, Dark Green, Reddish Brown, Black, Golden Yellow, White, Red, (Min Naing, 1975. p.19)

used to paint clothes, garments and ornamentation, and reddish brown and black are used to frame the paintings. One singularity of note in the colours is the use of "mauve and purple"<sup>197</sup> in the painting of *Larba Kyaw Swar Sima Hall* at *Myay Khè Taung* village, as these colours are not found in any other temples of Pakhan.

The technique of drawing used in the paintings of Pakhan is like the technique of Myanmar painting, which is the basically linear; the lineaments of the face are painted in black line such as eyes, eyebrows and pupils of eyes, as black had been the paint used since Bagan period<sup>198</sup>, and the drawings of Pakhan testify the similar opinion of *Shwe Kaing Thar*, the monk scholar. The face is painted in the colour of complexion, and the ears, nose, lips and mouth are drawn with red lines; that technique can be observed in the paintings of *Larba Kyaw Swar*, and *Mya Thein Tan*.

And to state the sources of the paints it is found that white paint is acquired from chalk; red paint from red earth, lac, and vermilion (mercuric sulphide); yellow from yellow earth powder; black from fumes of oil, tamarind wood and charcoal; blue from *Doke-Htar*; green from *Say-Dhan* mixed with indigo, and brown from cutch (*Shar-say*)<sup>199</sup>.

After presenting the wall paintings, some in detail, of the cave temples of Pakhan, the most conspicuous theme of these drawings is the Buddha, his life and his teachings. The scenes of the paintings of his life, his conception, his Birth, his Enlightenment, his preachings, his passing away or of Parnibbana - all are painted in various temples, and among the stages of the Buddha's life, the scene of Enlightenment is mostly depicted in the paintings. And another theme of the painting at the ceilings of the temples are the figures of multi-layered petal lotus (*Hsin Swe Wun Shet Baha Kyar Htut Pan*) intertwined like the tusks of an elephant, which is portrayed as the symbol of Lord Buddha. Another motif of the paintings is the drawing of *Naga* serpent

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<sup>197</sup> Found on the clothes of musicians in the Myay Khè Taung Saing painting

<sup>198</sup> Shwe Kaing Thar, "Yoke Sone Buddha Sasanavam Myanmar Panche Style", *Shuma wa Magazine*, Vol. 7, no. 80, Jan, 1954, p. 47

<sup>199</sup> Htay Win Maung Collection

shielding the Buddha under his hood or Naga-lein ceiling painting of the temples. This theme can be assumed as the influence of Chinese art or of the Mahayana sect of Buddhism, or as the Buddha guarding the world with his compassionate wisdom.

Another prominent scenes of the painting is the drawing of episodes from *Jataka Tales* (Buddha Birth Stories); among the 550 Jataka Tales *Vesantara* and *Janaka Tales* are mostly featured, and *Nay-mi* and *Vidura Tales* are less depicted. Painting featuring the *Niraya hell* are mostly drawn in the colonial period. In Pakhan paintings of late Bagan period portrayed Buddhas in circular or oval frames at the ceilings, but in Konbaung period drawings of the panel of 28 Buddha figurines on the upper part of the walls inside the temples are mostly found.

All in all, the wall paintings in the religious edifices of successive historical periods in Pakhan not only provide visual beauty for the Buddhist devotees who frequented the holy temples, but also inspired *Saddha* (belief) and devotion to the Teachings of Lord Buddha. And various themes of paintings like the drawing of the kings, queens and their court attendants, of the palace youths and maids, of the *Anyient* performance and the audience, of dancers and musicians performing the musical instruments of that time, of a circus performance and of a youth carrying a fighting cock in his arms-all this offer a fruitful perspective into the hierarchical and social aspects of the historical periods.

In Pakhan there are very few wall paintings which have dates to assess their importance and meaning, and so in the absence of the dates, the figures of human drawings, their clothes-style, the drawing of religious edifices, the utensils used - such criteria is used in comparing with other contemporary works to assess the historical period of the drawings. The wall paintings of Pakhangyi span centuries of existence: from late 13<sup>th</sup> century to end of 19<sup>th</sup> century and early colonial era. And the paintings from II<sup>th</sup> to late 17<sup>th</sup> century are almost ruined, and the few remnant paintings, though not clear, are for the most part similar to the paintings of *Tilawka-gura cave* of Sagaing, of the works at *Pho Win Taung* near Monywa. The early 19<sup>th</sup> century paintings at *Thaw*



*tar pan*, *Mya Thein Tan* and *Larba Kyaw Swar Sima Hall* resemble the works at *Ananda Temple*, *Aung Myay Lawka Pagoda* at *Khin Mun* village in Chaung Oo Township, and at *Taung Bi Pitaka Taik* of Bagan, and these testify the late 17<sup>th</sup> century to end of 19<sup>th</sup> century the use of blue paint was quite popular, and it was due to the setting up of indigo factories during the reign of King Mindon. And this is quite evident in the painting of *Thaw Tar Pan Temple* wherein the figures of trees are painted blue; near the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century, European influences seems to affect the Myanmar paintings and Myanmar paintings appear to be more "natural"<sup>200</sup>. As in other arts, painting reflects the mood and concept of the artists and the society in which he lives; society and the wall paintings are, in a way the "museum of the past political, social and cultural fabric of societies". Why are walls of ancient temples painted with drawings; it is to be assumed that the donors wanted to record their merits, and also to inspire and share their deeds of merit that are the spiritual expressions of the Teachings of Lord Buddha.<sup>201</sup>

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<sup>200</sup> Kyaw Shein, *Pakokku Hmet-Tan Tha-ming* (History of Pakokku Record), M.A, Degree, Thesis, 1977, Mandalay Arts and Science University, p. 92 (Henceforth: Kyaw Shein, 1977)

<sup>201</sup> Dr. Than Tun, *Wall painting*, *Wave Magazine* 21-6-2004 and *Tales on Art History at Mandalay History Dept*: (1-3-1967)



## CHAPTER FOUR

### ICONOGRAPHY

#### **Buddha Images in Pakhangyi**

**B**efore presenting Buddha Images in Pakhangyi, it is necessary to trace the origins of icon worship since the dawn of civilization. In late stone age Neolithic age agriculture became the mainstay livelihood of societies, and for bumper harvest those early farmers worshipped and asked blessings from their beliefs mostly symbolized by icons of various forms. One such instance is the figure of a pregnant woman<sup>1</sup> found in the diggings during the Magdlenian culture period of France and the figure of pregnant woman is quite prominent by its large womb and breasts, perhaps representing the richness and fulness that could be transferred to the soil of the earth. And that icon is believed to be the earliest form of worship in history<sup>2</sup>, and later figures of icons are made from stone, copper, iron clay and bricks.

Since the time Buddhism was introduced to the people of Myanmar, every aspect of culture and arts was the manifestation of the people's belief and devotion, and the core of the study of Buddhist iconography is necessarily the study of Buddha Images. And the study of Buddhist Iconography must be started from Majjhimadesa where Buddhism started early as a religion, and from Gandhara region<sup>3</sup> of Northern India. The stone inscription of Emperor Darius (BC 513) testified the

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<sup>1</sup> Manu Sa Kyaw Win, *Ah Chai-khan Shei-haung Thu-tay Tha-na Pyin-nyar*, (Basic Archaeology), Yangon, Sarpaybeikman Press, 1977, pp.51-52 (Henceforth: Manu Sa Kyaw Win, 1977)

<sup>2</sup> See drawing (21)

<sup>3</sup> Peshawar is now in Kashmir

earliest icons of Buddha Teachings. According to that stone inscription Gandhara State was believed to be under the Persian rule, but Greek King Alexander defeated the Persians and occupied the Indus river valley and northern part of India in about (326-20) B.C. And in 324 BC, Chandra Gupta defeated the Greek General Selan Cides and set up the Maurya Kingdom, the Greek and Persian invasions left a lingering influence on the northern region of India, and that influence mixed with the Indian concepts of religion gave birth to the art of sculpting icons and images, which in turn became the basis of Buddhist iconography<sup>4</sup>. During the reign of King Asoka<sup>5</sup> of Maurya dynasty the King sent Buddhist missionaries to Greece and Gandhara<sup>6</sup> and Buddhism flourished there, coupled with Buddhist art which was mixed with Greek cultural influence, and that mix of cultures was termed the Graeco-Buddhist Art. Since first century AD the figures of Buddha, with Greek features quite different from local Indian characteristics, were sculpted in Gandhara<sup>7</sup>.

It is a crucial to study and analyze whether the art of sculpting Buddhas images appeared earlier or after century A.D. And it is totally in the realm of historicity to find out whether the Images of Buddha existed during His lifetime, from (623-543)B.C<sup>8</sup>.

Monyway Sayadaw, in his treatise, "Samanta Cakkhu Dipani", wrote that King Kosala asked lord Buddha's permission to cast His Image as he had nothing to worship after the Lord's entering into Nibbana, and lord Buddha preached the Tale of Wutthin-guli-rajā to the King saying that the wise of the ancient times did what the King had asked for. And so King Kosala sculpted image out of Sanda-koo sandal wood

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<sup>4</sup> A.Foucher, *Beginning of Buddhist Art*, London, London Library Press, 1981, pp.119, 121 (Henceforth: Foucher, 1981)

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Dc Sicar, *Inscription of Asoka*, p. 12

<sup>6</sup> Dr. E. Hultzsch, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum I*, Rock Edit V

<sup>7</sup> Myint Aung, *Myanmar Shei Haung Yin-kye-hmu Thu-tay-Tha-na*, (Research in Myanmar Archaeology and Culture), Yangon, Aung Chan Thar Press, 1979, p.158 (Henceforth: Myint Aung, 1979)

<sup>8</sup> C.V Joshi, *Life and Teachings, 2500 Years of Buddhism*, 1980, p. 20 (Henceforth: Joshi, 1980)

to worship after his return from lord Buddha<sup>9</sup>. But Monywa Sayadaw further made a comment that the pundits did not give much credibility to that proposition in the treatise as this tale was taken from the drama-dialogue "Yun-panartha" (Fifty dramatic stories originating in Zinmè) and teachings. From that, the proposition that the Image of lord Buddha existed during His lifetime appears to be a controversial point in tracing the development of Buddhist iconography. Consequently, it is quite arguable lord Buddha personally gave his embrace as a blessing to the Mahā Muni Image cast by Da-nyawadi Rakhine King Chandrasuriya during His life time<sup>10</sup>. Moreover the scholars claimed that the Images of lord Buddha in Gandhara state were crafted within the hundred years after the appearance of Jesus Christ<sup>11</sup>, and as there is no firm evidence to support the claim that there was Buddha Image for worship during the lifetime of the Buddha<sup>12</sup>, the sandalwood Image of King Kosala is a fact to be contended with. And in the *Silakkham* Pali Scriptures says: *Nama asariyo atthi, Sa di so navijjati*"; the devotees of Buddha regarded the Enlightened One as Incomparable and Omniscient, and so from all that, it could be said the Image of Lord Buddha was not sculpted before the 1st Century<sup>15</sup> AD. In chapter 29 of Treatise *Sashamma Ponnarika*<sup>16</sup> in Sanskrit it says: "*Namo nammasa ta sa ma aba yan age loki deswa raya Boddhisatthaya maha sakkaya*": this mantra shows the Buddha was worshipped as the curer of all evils<sup>17</sup>. And coupled

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<sup>9</sup> Myint Aung, "*Buddha Yoke Pwar Taw Ahsa Greece Hma Law India Hma Law*", (The Origin of Buddha Image Sculpting: Whether From Greece or From India), Sesana Yaung-Chi Vol(11), No.3, Religions Affairs Ministry, Yangon, 1962. p.12 (Henceforth: Myint Aung, 1962)

<sup>10</sup> Ven Condobhasa, *A Brief History of Great Image*, Mandalay, 1996, p.2 (Henceforth: Condobhasa, 1996)

<sup>11</sup> Ronland, 1938, 41

<sup>12</sup> Luang Boridal Burihand, *Images of Buddha in Thailand*, Bangkok, 1994, p. 112 (Henceforth: Burihand, 1994)

<sup>13</sup> Silla Khan Sutta, *Bhramajala Sutta*, Yangon, Zabu-Meikswe Press, 1932, p.36 (Henceforth: Silla Khan, 1932)

<sup>14</sup> *Vinaya Rules*, Yangon, Myanmar, Han Thawady Press, 1989, p.9 (Henceforth: Vinaya, 1932)

<sup>15</sup> Myint Aung, 1979, 161

<sup>16</sup> Dr. Nalinaksha, *2500 years of Buddhism*, pp.158-162

<sup>17</sup> Dr. Bapat, "Later Modification of Buddhism", pp. 348-349 and coomaraswamy, *Origin of Buddhism*, Department of Ancient Indian History, Calcutta, 1970, p. 29 (Henceforth: Bapat, 1970)

with this concept of devotion the art of sculpting Buddha images emerged during the reign of King Kanishka in Mathura and Gandhara in the 1<sup>st</sup> Century. And so it could be asserted that the art of Buddha image making did not emerge till 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC after King Asoka; in the Sanchi stupa the Buddha was symbolized by the Lotus, Bhodi tree and the footprint, and that testifies the former proposition. When sects appeared in Buddhist faith the Mahayanist Sect of Buddhism sculpted the Image of Buddha as " the Great Man" (Mahapurisa) to deliver the subtle Teachings of Buddha to the common mankind.

In Myanmar during the Pyu period a figure of Keinnari ( half-bird and half-human mythical figure) was found from Beikthano old city, and many artifacts including Buddha Images from votive tablets, statues in relief and various artifacts were found from Shri-Keshtra. And from these findings it is believed that Theravada Buddhism and Mahayana Sect, which worship Bodhisatta, might have flourished jointly in that period<sup>18</sup>.

And by studying the Buddha Images of Bagan period it is found that there are many traces of influence of Pyu iconography, and it shows that in succeeding periods each Buddha Image had its distinctive features and its stereotypical form, and this fact must be the criteria to study the undated figures of the Buddha. And the art of sculpting images involves many arts and crafts to produce a completed figure or icon of the particular period.

The art of sculpting Images involves *Pan-ta-maw* (sculpting from stone), *Pan-taw* (sculpting from stucco and plaster) and *Pan-htein* (gold and silver smithing, and smelting of other metals and alloys); the figure or image which will be sculpted is first pressed on earth to get an earth " mould" which is the first in a series of processes in the studying of iconography.

Dr. Than Tun, the historian wrote:" Dated Buddha images are the most valuable

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<sup>18</sup>Kyaw Win, 1977, 54

icons for the history of Myanmar art. Some images can be identified of the periods which they belong; some images, though not dated, can be identified from historical records. So if these images are recorded to their periods of time, pattern, the type and style of the image pertaining to respective periods will emerge, and only then other images should be assessed of their particular periods"<sup>19</sup>.

The Buddha Images are expressions of the piety of the Myanmar, and the pious devotees, the donor, the sculptor and the believers, all accepted that the Images are the nearest portrait of the Living Buddha. In the sculpting of the Buddha Images, specific guidelines have been set down throughout the ages:

"The chin must be a curve; and the tip must not be pointed; from the chin through the cheeks to the temple must be like the curve of a half-moon; must not have a hollow space inbetween the forehead and the cheek- bone; the cheek-bones and the two cheeks must have a gracefulness of form; from the chin through the cheeks and cheek-bones to the forehead must have the fullness of form like the Sandi-mar Mandala full moon; the neck must be like the Mu-yoe drum; the three folds of the neck must be even; from the neck to the bosom must have a fullness of Thi-ha-oo-ra Lion King; the form of the breast must have the ripeness of the face of Oke-tha-ba-mu-kha cow; the nipples must have a rough and flat feature; the nipples must be ripe and round like the eyes of a cow; the stomach must be like the nose of cow; the spinal chord must have a smooth incline like the nose of Nwar-lar Oke-tha-ba cow; the thighs must not be straight but must be gracefully plump; the two hands from the shoulders to the wrist must be gracefully plump: the two hands from the shoulders to the wrist must be like the circular trunk of king elephant Saddham; both the palms and the back of palms must be plump and ripe; the ten fingers must be round and equal; so do the ten divisions at the foot; the nose must be graceful like the *Chun-Taung*; the head must have the form of animal like *Aye-ni*; the calves must be plump like the heap of paddy and the two

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<sup>19</sup>Dr.Than Tun, 1968, 83

shoulders must be plump like <sup>20</sup>. Whatever part of the Buddha Image one sees, it must inspire sense of ripeness and fullness; apart from this basic concept there are visible differences in type and style of the images in different historical periods.

The Buddha images found in Pakhangyi ranges from different periods: from late 13 th century to 20th century; the earliest form of images, it is assumed, are to be found at Pakhangyi Museum<sup>21</sup>, and from the diggings within the precincts of *Shwe Moke Htaw Hsu Taung Pyae Pagoda*<sup>22</sup>. All those Images. believed to be of late 13 th ther century period<sup>23</sup> are decorated with *Ma-Keik* (crown), *Na-kinn* (decorated ear-flaps), ear-plugs (*Na-Daung*)<sup>24</sup> and those images decorated with the regalia of kings are almost similar to the image found in Rakhine worshiped by king Maha Kyein<sup>25</sup>. The posture or Mudra of those Buddha figures are in Bhumi-phassa mudra (hand touching earth positon), and the hands of the images are in equal measure. The facial features of that royal regalia-robed Buddha images are also similar to the Image at *Nga Hlaing Kan* village, *Nat Pa-Linn* of Bagan; this Image of 11 th century and Pakhan images are quite similar in the proportionate expression of the image, and the throne on which the Buddha sits are also similar. But the *Na-Kinn* is similar to the style of *Shwe Kon Cher Bodhisatta* image of Innwa period; after taking in all these similar featuares the regalia-decorated Images at Pakhangyi Museum are to be assumed of late Bagan period (1250-1300AD).

A Buddha figure at *Nwar Htein*<sup>26</sup> village has the headgear of a king, but there are no visible decorations on the body and the sculpting of the Image is done together with the *Ma-keik* (crown), *Na-kinn* (ear-flaps) and *Na-pan* (earrings). That Buddha

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<sup>20</sup> U Tun Myint(ed), *That ta Rupaka Vilar tha-ni*, Yangon, Research Society, 1961, pp 28-29 (Henceforth: Tun Myint, 1961)

<sup>21</sup> Inside Pakhangyi Museum

<sup>22</sup> Shwe Moke Htaw

<sup>23</sup> See photo (152)

<sup>24</sup> Royal Regalia decorated Images are Bhodisatta

<sup>25</sup> See photo (153)

<sup>26</sup> See photo (154)

Image has a broad forehead and raised eyebrows; the eyebrows are like the "feathers of a seagull" and the eyelids are heavy. The eyes are downcast like the expression of "Bodhisatta parrot taking a drink"; the Bagan period Buddha images are normally "like the pointed head of an arrow" rising out from inside<sup>27</sup>. The downcast eyes of the Nwar Htein Ywar Image of Lord Buddha is similar to style of Buddha Images in the "Great Events of Buddha's Career"<sup>28</sup> at Upali Ordination Hall of 12 century AD, and the Image from Andagu Eight Scenes<sup>29</sup> at Shwe Zigon Pagoda. And the Ma-keik (crown) on the head of Nwar Htein Ywar Buddha Image is nearly identical to the crown on the heads of Buddha Images at Taw Htwet Kyi Pagoda<sup>30</sup> and the Image at the Ananda Temple<sup>31</sup> of Bagan.

Comparing with the iconographic salient features of Bagan Buddha Images such as Tamar foliage pattern crowning the Ma-keik with lotus buds in between, distinct *Na-kinn* (ornamental ear-flap), *Vutthan-tha-kar-Na-pan-taw* (earrings), the tying shawl of Ma-keik letting drop on the left shoulder, the style of Thingan-robe wearing with the right breast open, the fingers of the hand sculpted like the real human hand and the Mudra in Bhumi-phassa posture, and also with the form and style of the bronze Image at *Nat-pa-Lin Nga Hlaing kan*<sup>32</sup> village of Bagan, Dr. Than Tun personally assessed the Nwar Htein Ywar Buddha Image as the work of 12th and a quarter century AD. In Pakhangyi there are no Buddha images of late 19 century<sup>33</sup>, which are sculpted first with ordinary Thingan robes and then decorated with royal regalia such types as Sandamuni, Sakyaranthi, Sakyasiha and Maha Muni.

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<sup>27</sup> U Mg Mg Tin and U Win Mg (Tampawady) "Khit Ah-set-set Koe Kwei Kya-thaw Buddha Myat-swar Phaya Shin Ei Yoke-pwar Hsinn-tu Taw Myar", (Buddha Images of Successive Periods), typescript, p. 6 (Henceforth: Tin & Win Mg, 1987)

<sup>28</sup> See photo (155)

<sup>29</sup> See photo (156)

<sup>30</sup> See photo (157)

<sup>31</sup> See photo (158)

<sup>32</sup> See photo (159)

<sup>33</sup> Kyaw Shein, 1975, 38



The Buddha Images sculpted during the span of years between 11 to 13 century is termed the Bagan period, and there were many forms of Buddha images, such as stone, marble, brick, bronze, votive tablets and wood. But the type and style of the Images of Bagan are not uniform; the majority of the Bagan period Buddha Images are quite similar to the Images of Palla period in northeastern Bengal state of India<sup>34</sup>. Wood images are rare, marble and votive tablets of Buddha are the majority in numbers.

In Pakhangyi, there is only two wooden Buddha Image<sup>35</sup>, and bronze Images are mostly of Indian Palla style: the noses are too straight and long; the Thingan robes have too many folds and the body or torso is too prominent, and this seems not to the taste of Myanmar devotees. The marble statues are not usually painted in colour; in the store room of Pakahagi Museum there are two Images of Nyaungyan and Konbaung periods<sup>36</sup>, but as they are painted red and yellow, it seems to be the handiwork of later devotees. The Bagan period Buddha statues are not hewn from Sagyin marble, but from sandstone; the height of the Bagan Images on the throne in the Temples are mostly sculpted from bricks and stucco, the scholars asserted<sup>37</sup>. And these facts testify the two Buddha Images in Pakhangyi Museum as of Bagan period<sup>38</sup>.

And as there are no wood Images of Buddha in Pakhagi, the two standing wood figures, which has a height of 38 feet, at Ananda Temple are the only two wooden statues in Myanmar. In the Pyu period, head of the Image of Buddha has no *Thin-kyit* (decorative frontlet covering the forehead) but in the Images of Bagan period the head of the Buddha are sculpted with *Thin-kyit* (Oke-nisa). In the sitting Image of Buddha, the legs are crossed like the original style of India, but in countries like Cambodia and Laos the legs are crossed one over another, and the bending knees are not crafted too

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<sup>34</sup> Aye Myint, *Bagan Buddha Yoke-pwar Taw-myar*, Bagan Buddha Images, Mandalay, Type Script, 1933, p. 11 (Henceforth: Aye Myint, 1993)

<sup>35</sup> Mauk-kalan village and in pakhan-nge: two Images

<sup>36</sup> Seized Buddha Images in Pakhangyi Museum-Nyaungyan Period 2 Images, Konbaung 5 Images

<sup>37</sup> Aye Myint, 1993, 12

<sup>38</sup> *Two Bagan Period Buddha Images*, From Shwe Oo Hmin and Shit Myet Hnar Pagodas



long. And the Buddha Images are mostly in Bhumiphassa (hands touching earth position) mudra posture where the hands, like real hands with uneven fingers in Bagan period touching the earth, are more pronounced.

In the Buddha Images of Bagan period, there are *Hman Kin Taw* (spire), and the frontlet is ornamented with precious stones in the middle and with foliage of banyan leaves and lotus flowers. And that is the symbol of Tha-byin-nuta mind (omniscient) of the Buddha; the hair on the Buddha's head is sculpted with rings of ball flowers and pearls; there is no separate *Hman Kin Taw* and the outer ring near the forehead serves as *Thin Kyit Taw*. The ear lobe has a length of eight fingers<sup>39</sup> piled, and does not touch the shoulder; the ear is concave in form and the upper and lower part of the ears are not differentiated. The eyebrows, the eyes, the nose and the mouth are all pointed and hooked. The form of the nose dents deeply, and the nose is pointed and hooked. The form of the eyes are like the Myanmar alphabet (ka) and hewn like the " Bodhisatta King parrot taking a drink"; the upper lip is thin and the lower lip is thick and short. The chin is thick and points outward; the neck is thick and thicker at the base, where the three folds are pronounced. The three facial portions, from hairline to the eyes, from the eyes to the nose and from the nose to the chin, are all equal in length; the eyes and the mouth are located a third of their respective portions. The ear is a little behind at the back, and the cheeks are wide; the hairline at the back of the head is a little higher than the chin. The side view of the head is round, and the face projects a view of fullness<sup>40</sup>. And all the above facial features are the general criteria<sup>41</sup> for the head portions of Bagan Buddha images.

Furthermore, the Du-gok (mantle-like double layered vestment of a monk) Thingan on the Buddha Image of Bagan period is just a trace on the body, like the twin-feather tail of an eagle, and the Thingan robe is hewn with too many folds and

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<sup>39</sup>From tip of eyebrow to the chin (let shit this length)

<sup>40</sup>Aye Myint, 1993, 11

<sup>41</sup>See drawing (22)

down to the waist. And the hands are not even in length like that of a real human, and the resting hand is sometimes longer, exceeding the upper rim of the throne; the back of the palm is convex in form and is equal to the length of four fingers piled together in width<sup>42</sup>.

In Pakhangyi, among the seven Images<sup>43</sup> of Buddha there are two Images sculpted from brick and stucco; one is at the Gautama Temple, on the west of Pakokku-Yesagyo motor road. This Buddha Image, with a height of four feet, three inches, and sitting on a throne with projecting corners (Kho Nan Choe), is in a Bhumi-phassa (hand-touching-earth as a testimony of His attaining Enlightenment) posture with normal style of left hand on the lap, and right hand touching the earth; this Image is assumed to be the work of late Bagan period ( I250 - I300 AD ). But because of successive repairs this Image is now a mix of styles: the eyes showing Innwa style: and the nose Konbaung style: and as the ear lobe not touching the shoulders and with thin upper lip and thick lower lip, this Image is of Bagan style. The neck has three folds or stages, but it is a little short; the chin and the jaws are in the same line and the chin is a bit square. And that shows the Amarapura period Image in style; the hands are new and the fingers are even and that points to the style of Innwa period. Originally the Image was cast during the Bagan period, but later repairs made it into a mix of Innwa and Bagan styles.

Another Buddha Image nearly identical with the Gotama<sup>44</sup> Image is at Stupa no.(78)<sup>45</sup>; the facial part of the Image is completely ruined as plasters had fallen off, but the remaining parts of the Image are nearly identical. The two Images of Pakhan are almost identical with the Buddha Images of outer wall and inner wall of Abeyadana Temple<sup>46</sup> of Bagan. Another Buddha Image similar to the Gotama Temple Image is at the Phaya Ni Pagoda which is in the southeast of Sithu Shin Pagoda; that Image has

<sup>42</sup> Tin & Win Mg, 1987, 6, 22-23

<sup>43</sup> Stupa No.55, (Ratana Myitzu) Stupas 78, 82, 89, 106, 165, Sithu Shin

<sup>44</sup> See photo(160)

<sup>45</sup> See photo(161)

<sup>46</sup> U Mya, *Abeyadana Hlaing Gu Phaya*, (Abeyadana Cave Temple), Yin-kye-hmu Journal, Union of Culture, Yangon, Yin-kye-hmu Htar-na Press, 1980, p.122 (Henceforth: U Mya, 1980)

a spire (*Hman Kin Taw*) that signifies the That-byin-nu-ta wisdom (Omniscient). And the head is small of Bagan style, and is of a tall height. The face is round and flat; the eyes and the eyebrows are quite far apart; the form of the eyes are of the "Bodhisatta King Parrot taking a drink" but the eyes are a little more open; the lobe of the ears touch the shoulders and the Thingan robe is not distinct; the arm and the fingers of the hands are even; the wrists are not marked; the nose is a little straight and the tip of it is pointed, which is assumed to be of Ratanabon period. The style of Bagan period Images have some influences of Nyaung-yan style, but in the Amarapura period the style of Myanmar<sup>47</sup> Iconography became more pronounced. And so this Phaya Ni Image<sup>48</sup> of Buddha is believed to be the work of the first quarter-year of 17th century of second Innwa or Nyaungyan period.

Moreover, there is Buddha Image of Amarapura period style at *Tin Pyin Pyae Pagoda*<sup>49</sup>; at the forehead of this Image there is a spire with lotus buds covering it, but as that decorative spire is gilded, the lotus band is not clear. And there is no strand of hair (*Hmwe Shin Taw*) between the eyebrows, for that is the custom of the period<sup>50</sup>; the peculiarity of Tin Pyin Pyae Image<sup>51</sup> is that though the ear lobes touch the shoulders they are so close to the temple as not to see the ears clearly. The eyes, eyebrows and the nose are equal in length and thickness, and dent line for the running nose is visible. The chin is round and not project out front; the jaws are a little square in form; the chin and the jaws are in a single line; the Thingan robe is expressed in lines and the fringes of the robe are not protruded; the hands and the fingers are even like Innwa style; the thumb is a little at the back than the other four, that the ornamental frontlet covering the forehead (*Hman Kin Taw*) is a little repaired and the Image gilded, is intact in its style of Amarapura period.

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<sup>47</sup> Stupa No.49

<sup>48</sup> See photo (162)

<sup>49</sup> Stupa No.52

<sup>50</sup> Tin & Win Mg, 1987, 12

<sup>51</sup> See photo (163)

There is a brick and plaster Buddha Image, which seems to be later than Tin Pyin Pyae Image, of Amarapura period style at Larba Kyaw Swar Sima Hall in Myay Khè Taung village; that Image<sup>52</sup> is in Bhumi-phassa mudra but the face has been repaired. The ears of the Image projecting a little outward seems to point out the Ratanabon period, but such features as the ornamental frontlet covering the forehead, the eyes, the eyebrows, the robes portrayed by the lines suggest the Image as the contemporary of Tin Pyin Pyae Image of Amarapura style.

The Image of pure early Nyaungyan period<sup>53</sup> is at the *U Htun Pyae Pagoda*, in Htin Tan Quarter of Yesagyö; as this Image is dated by the wall painting inscription 1705 AD, this Image was sculpted during the reign of King Sa-nay (King Saturday) (1648-1714) of Nyaungyan period. This Image has some influence of Chinese style, and has a distinct Nyaungyan period feature which portrays the wide space between the eyes and the eyebrows; the far edges of the eyebrows bend downwards like the arc of a moon; the eyes are like the seeds of paddy, not the form of "Bodhisatta King parrot taking a dip in water"; the form of the frontlet covering the brow is in the form of a funnel; the lobe of the ears falls down on the shoulders, longer than the length from the eyebrows to the chin; the nose is flat from the side-view; both the upper and lower lips are thin seeming to wear a thin smile; the chin is round and does not project outward; the three folds of the neck are not shown by lines but by groovy surface. Taking in all the features, the head of the Image resembles the head of Kyar-Phet-Hsaung Buddha Image at Amarapura Bar-ga-yar Monastery; the Thingan robes without folds letting down like the twin feather tails of an eagle and the position of the hands show the Innwa period style; the eyes and the eyebrows point to the Amarapura period style; and as this Buddha is dated it is the most reliable evidence of the Iconography in Pakhangyi.

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<sup>52</sup> See photo (164)

<sup>53</sup> See photo (165)

The names of the portions of the head<sup>54</sup> of the Buddha Images of different periods---Bagan<sup>55</sup>, Innwa<sup>56</sup>, Amarapura<sup>57</sup> and Ratanabon<sup>58</sup>--- drawn by U Mg Mg Tin and U Win Mg; and of Thingan robes and of the hands<sup>59</sup>, hairknot, eyes and mouth<sup>60</sup>, of the nose and ears<sup>61</sup> will be presented. A Buddha Image<sup>62</sup> in Phaya-net Cave Temple, north of Myazigon Pagoda, is termed as the work of the Innwa period. This Image, sculpted from brick in a Bhumiphassa mudra<sup>63</sup>, has the signature style of the Innwa period: the fingers, except the thumb, are of equal length. Although the absence of a hair-knot makes it difficult to term it as Inwa period style, the form of its eyes in " Bodhisatta King parrot taking a drink of water" style renders it acceptable as an Inwa period image. The ear lobe and the appearance of the folds on the Thingan robe point to the emerging features of the Ratanabon period. So this Buddha Image of Phaya-net Temple is indeed of the Inwa period, with later additions of Amarapura style becoming more pronounced.

Another Image<sup>64</sup> of note is in the temple which is close north of stupa no.181<sup>65</sup> within the precincts of Kyaung Tawgyi monastery. The Image of brick and plaster has a narrow waist, broad shoulders, puffy cheeks, a round chin and a thick lower lip of a mouth which is about to break into a faint smile. Called the Sakyasiha<sup>66</sup> type, this Image has ear lobes touching the shoulders and has the upper part of the body larger than the lower part. The top-knot (Hman-kin-taw) is in the form of a lotus bud and is directly on top of the head. The Thingan is worn on the left shoulder (Ah-tin Thingan)

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<sup>54</sup> See drawing (23)

<sup>55</sup> See drawing (24)

<sup>56</sup> See drawing (25)

<sup>57</sup> See drawing (26)

<sup>58</sup> See drawing (27)

<sup>59</sup> See drawing (28)

<sup>60</sup> See drawing (29)

<sup>61</sup> See drawing (30)

<sup>62</sup> Stupa No.46

<sup>63</sup> See photo (166)

<sup>64</sup> See photo (167)

<sup>65</sup> Stupa No.182

<sup>66</sup> Dr. Than Tun, 1968, 87

and let fall in front in the form of the twin-feathered tail of an eagle. There is a single fold of Thingan on the breast with no edge-folds( Thin -pon-Khaung). The image sits on a throne ornamented with glass mosaic.

Another brick and Plaster image<sup>67</sup> of interest is in the cave temple<sup>68</sup> north of Ywarthar village in Pakhangyi, and the height of the Image is 3 feet, 2 inches<sup>69</sup>. The top-knot of the head of the Buddha Image is not in the usual round form of the lotus bud of the Innwa period, but a smooth high top of the head. The right eye is ruined, but the left eye is in the form of " Bodhisatta King parrot taking a drink", which is distinctly visible. The nose part is completely ruined; and the twin-feathered tail of an eagle style of Thingan robe is clearly visible, which is the mark of the Innwa period. The Thingan robe is longer than the Pagan period style, falling down to the waist without any folds. The peculiarity of this Image is in the vividness of the right nipple. Viewed from the front the Images of the Innwa period do not seem to have a width like those of the stupas 113 and 110; but this Image bears the strong features of the Innwa period style.

Similar two Images of 150 feet<sup>70</sup> and 50 feet<sup>71</sup> from Stupa 109 will be studied. In cave temple 113 the painting inscription runs to 1779 AD, so this Image can be assumed to be of the reign of King Singu(1776-1782 AD)<sup>72</sup>. The whole part of the face, the hands and the knees are ruined as the plaster has fallen off; and so the Image cannot be analysed. But the length between the two knees, the waist, the chest, the arms of the two Images are nearly identical<sup>73</sup>; the Bhumiphassa mudra, having no marks of damage, are of Ka-tone form( bare head without decorations)<sup>74</sup>. There is

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<sup>67</sup> See photo (168)

<sup>68</sup> Stupa No.108

<sup>69</sup> Field Record (6-8-2006), 27

<sup>70</sup> Stupa No.113

<sup>71</sup> Stupa No.110

<sup>72</sup> See photo (169)

<sup>73</sup> See photo (170)

<sup>74</sup> Dr. Than Tun, 1968, 96

also no room for the spire of the head if seen against the frame of the background painting; and the heads of these two Images may be the work of the Nyaungyan period, much earlier than AD 1779.

The image of the Buddha<sup>75</sup> at the Nagar-yon Cave Temple<sup>76</sup>, north of the Than-si Monastery sits on a Samakhan (raised platform) on a mosaic decorated throne in a Bhumiphass mudra. The onion-based spire ( Hman-kin-taw) on a thin topknot, which covers more head, shows the iconographic style of the Amarapura period. And though the eyebrows are cleraly in the style of the Amarapura period, the eyes in the form of " Bodhisatta King parrot taking a drink" hint at the earlier Innwa period style. Moreover, the tip of the nose nostrils are aligned, showing again the form of the Amarapura period; the end-fold piece of the Thingan robe at the chest is of Thin-pon-khaung form which points to the Amarapura period. The four fingers of the hands even in length, with the thumb extended to the side, suggest the form of the Ratanabon period. And this Images shows the style of the Amarapura Image in Pakhangyi, with the exception of the seemingly repaired right hand.

Another Buddha Image<sup>77</sup> of note is at the cave temple<sup>78</sup> close by to the north of Ratanabhumi Monastery Dining Hall. This Image has no topknot, small rise( Hman-kin-taw) and the eyes are in the form of " Bodhisatta King parrot taking a drink". The two lips, equal in length and thickness, seem to pout a little: this form of pouting lips resembles those of the Image at Phaung Taw Oo<sup>79</sup> Pagoda in Pakhan. The jaws are a little square and the lower cheeks of both sides are even; the tip of the nose is a little long and the nostril slightly large. The neck has three folds and the ear lobes curl a little outwards. The Image is in a Bhumiphassa posture and the right wrist is cut. The Thingan robes has many folds which shows the Ratanabon period style. The right

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<sup>75</sup> See photo (171)

<sup>76</sup> Stupa No.126

<sup>77</sup> See photo (172)

<sup>78</sup> Stupa No.32

<sup>79</sup> Stupa No.33, Phaung Taw Oo

arm is partly covered which is a peculiarity of this Image. From all the visible features, this Image is 25 years earlier than the Image at Thaw-tar-pan Temple of an early Ratanabon period.

In the Cave temple<sup>80</sup>, 150 feet north of Than Si Monastery, is a Buddha Image<sup>81</sup> of Amarapura period style of head spire, eyebrows and "paddy seed"-like eyes<sup>82</sup>. The two lips are the same in length and thickness, the chin is round and the jaws are a little square. The tip of the nose and the nostrils are aligned. The nose is prominent, though the facial expression is of Myanmar features, free from foreign influence. The long piece of Thingan robe that falls on the left chest is of Thin-pon-khaung form (the loose narrow piece of Thingan fold at the chest). The Image is in the Bhumiphassa mudra, and the four fingers are of equal length, with the thumb staying close to the index finger. All the aforesaid features point to the Amarapura style; but the wide gap between the eyes and the eyebrows which are raised shows the lingering influence of Nyaungyan period style of the Buddha. With the exception of the repaired eyebrows, this Image, hewn from Sagyin marble, is the work of the Amarapura period.

Moreover, there is another Sagyin marble Image<sup>83</sup> in the Thaw-tar-pan Temple<sup>84</sup>; the Images has a height of four feet, two inches<sup>85</sup> including the height of the pedestal. There is no spire (Hman-kin) over the head that symbolies Sabbaññutã wisdom (omniscience). The frontpiece covering the forehead is more in width and the Thingan robe has many folds; there is a strand of hair (Oo-hna-lon-myay-shin-taw) in the middle between the eyebrows and it seems that this feature is hewn originally with the Image and not a later addition. And the peculiarity of this Image is that the length of the nostrils is the same as the width of the mouth; and it can be said that this Image has the shortest mouth in the Pakhangyi region.

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<sup>80</sup> Stupa No.130

<sup>81</sup> See Photo (173)

<sup>82</sup> Field Record (1-11-2005), 34

<sup>83</sup> See photo (174)

<sup>84</sup> Stupa No.131

<sup>85</sup> Field Record (1-11-2005), 34



Since 1815 the ornamental frontpiece covering the Buddha's forehead was faintly seen; but after 1840 AD that Thin-kyit-taw frontpiece covering was more prominent. And in 1875 that frontpiece covering was studded with jewels, observed Dr. Than Tun<sup>86</sup>. So this Thaw-tar-pan Image is assumed to be the work of the period between 1840 and 1875 AD. This type of Image was hewn in late Amarapura period during Bagan Min King's reign, and the Ratanabon style of Buddha Image is more smooth and more Myanmar in expression. This Thaw-tar-pan Images is assumed to be the work of late Ratanabon period. Concerning the style of Thingan robe of the Buddha Images, according to Dr. Than Tun, in the 20th century the Thingan wearing style became more realistic with necessary folds; but at present the Thingan folds are more than enough to regard them as realistic.

In the cave temple<sup>87</sup> which is 150 feet north of Hsu-taung -pyae and 80 feet west of Pakokku-Yesagyo motor road, there is a Buddha Image<sup>88</sup> of note in Bhumiphasa mudra. As usual in the style of Ratanabon period Images, there are no such facial features: no topknot small rise on the head, no strand of hair between the eyebrows (Oo-hna-lon-myay-shin-taw). When the Image was gold-painted, the coil of a hair strand may be drawn at that time. The eyes are shaped like the paddy seeds; and later repairs made the eyes a little slanted. The upper lip is thin, while the lower lip is not so thick and not so thin, and a faint smile rests on the lips. The ear lobes do not touch the shoulders, but on the left shoulder where the Thingan robe is wrapped around, the left lobes seems to touch the shoulders. The fingers are unlike the real, uneven fingers of the human hand of Bagan period Buddha Images, and are also unlike the even-length four fingers of the Ratanabon period. But the peculiarity of this hand is in the index finger which is shorter than the other four fingers. And as this index finger sticks close to the other fingers, the Image still retains the influences of Innwa and Amarapura periods. This might also be that this index finger is the result of later repairs.

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<sup>86</sup>Dr. Than Tun, 1968, 95

<sup>87</sup>Stupa No.135

<sup>88</sup>See photo (175)

Though the Image is of Ratanabon style the distance apart of the two knees in a cross-legged position is much wider: this shows the Innwa period style. The lips, nails and the strand of hair between the eyebrows are all painted red. All in all, the wide ornamental forehead covering, the six folds in the piece of Thingan robe falling in front, the paddy seed-like eyes, the absence of a spire on the topknot hair form, the presence of a single strand of hair between the eyebrows--all these features point to the Images as the work of the Ratanabon period. And its facial features resemble those of the face of Hse-ta-mie-nyein let-pwar-shin (extinguishing the eleven evils of fire) Images<sup>89</sup> of Swoon Oo Ponnya Shin Pagoda of Sagaing<sup>90</sup>. Another interesting feature of this Bhumiphassa Image is that the right hand extending to the earth falls short of actually touching the ground as the name implies.

Another interesting Image of the Buddha<sup>91</sup> is in the Mogaung cave temple<sup>92</sup> which is west of the Pakokku-Yesagyo motor road and on the mound of the Shwe Oo Min Pagoda Mound. This Image is three feet high and sits on a throne of projecting corners(Khoe-nan-choe). The spire on the head of this Image is in the form of a lotus bud, resembling the spire of a Buddha Image of 1825 AD in the Wazo-thein Pagoda of Yesagyo. The strand of hair between the eyebrows(Oo-na-lon Mwe-shin -taw) seems to be a later addition. The peculiarity of this Image is the V-shaped mouth which breaks into a winsome smile. And this form of smile resembles that of the Image without head ornamentation in the Ananda Temple<sup>93</sup> (Kadon Phaya) of Bagan. The Mogaung Image has thin lips while that in Ananda Temple has a thick lower lip. And it can be said that

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<sup>89</sup> See photo (176)

<sup>90</sup> Field Record (10-10-2000), 10

<sup>91</sup> See photo (177)

<sup>92</sup> Stupa No.248

<sup>93</sup> Dr. Than Tun, 1968, 96

this Mogaung Buddha Image has the most reassuring smile in Pakhan. Another singularity of this Image is the ear lobe curling outwards, without a ear cavity. The upper and lower portions of the ear lobe are equal in width. Running straight down from the inner brow, the nose is thus rendered more prominent. There is a gap between the eyes and there is a little gap between the index finger and the thumb which suggests the style of the Ratanabon period. The loose front flap of Thingan robe at the chest has a Thin-ponkhaung form, though it is expressed in a thick plastering. Originally the neck has three folds, but now it has two due to redrawing. In 2003 as it was gilded by a donor<sup>94</sup>, the Mogaung Buddha Image now projects a new look.

In the Wazo-thein Pagoda situated in Ywar-poe Quarter of Yesagyo, there is a painting inscription that indicates the date AD 1825; there are also four stone Images of the Buddha--in which one is sculpted from Sagyin marble---which are generally assumed to be the work from King Bagyidaw's reign (AD 1819-1837). These images of post-Nyaungyan or Amarapura period have basically the same height, body and facial features, though there are some differences in detail. It can be seen that the Bagan period Images bear visible influences from India and the Innwa period, with traces of Chinese influences. However, the stone Image<sup>95</sup> of Wazo-thein Pagoda testifies to the unique features of the Myanmar identity, such as the lotus bud form of spire on the head, along with the flat and thin shape of the topknot. But the Sagyin marble Image<sup>96</sup>, one of the four Images of Wazo-thein Pagodas, has a spire on the sharply pointed, while the head of the stone Image is bare and there is no strand of hair between the eyebrows. In contrast, the head of the Sagyin marble Image is ornamented with ball flowers and there is a strand of hair between the eyebrows. In both stone and

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<sup>94</sup> U San Tin - Daw Yi Htwe

<sup>95</sup> See photo (178)

<sup>96</sup> See photo (179)

Sagyin marble Images the form of three folds of the neck, the shape of the hands and the style of Thingan robe are all the same. The right thumb of the stone Image is naturally short, but the five fingers of the Sagyin marble Images are equal in length. Both types of Images have paddy seed-like eyes, the lips are equal in measure and thickness, and show a dent under the nose. The Thingan robewearing style is the same for both types of Images. The most visible distinctness is the touching of the five equal length fingers to the earth, in which Wazo-thein Pagoda Image is the only one in Pakhan to do so.

The Gajasana throne<sup>97</sup> or the elephant throne---which is decorated with parts of the animal like the head, tusk, trunk and the whole animal in 12th century AD. The elephant throne is part and parcel of the iconography of Buddha Images, for Prince Siddhatha after renouncing the mundane world attained Enlightenment on the fullmoon day of Kason month, which is Wednesday symbolised by the elephant figure, in the Jataka stories of Lord Buddha, the tale of elephant King Saddham<sup>98</sup>, the Erawan elephant of Thagyar Deity and Uposatha White Elephant Stories<sup>99</sup>, the nomenclature of Possessor of White Elephants all show the exalted position the animal is given in the Myanmar religion and culture, and even the worship of elephant emerges along with the belief in Lord Buddha.

There is an apparent relationship between the Tha-rakkhan Buddha Image and the elephant throne, for all the Tha-rakkhan Buddha Images have an elephant throne as their pedestal. The following table<sup>100</sup> shows the relationship:

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<sup>97</sup>U Tin, *Myanmamr Min-myar Ok-choke-pon Sardan Hnit Bodaw Payar Ei Yarzathat Khaw Amient-daw*, (Paper on Administration System of Myanmar Kings and Yazathat (or) Decrees of King Bodawpaya), Vol. III, Yangon, Central Press, 1976, p. 159 (Henceforth: Tin, 1976)

<sup>98</sup> Myint Swe, *Nhar ya Nhar Sei Sa-yin Kyia*, (Five Hundred and Fifty Jataka in Detail), Saddanta Tale 516, Yangon, Phoe Wa Press, August 2002, p.44 (Henceforth: Myint Swe, )

<sup>99</sup> Erawan all white flying elephant with long trunk and tails

<sup>100</sup> Field Record (1-11-2003)

**Table. VI Six Tha-ra-khan Buddha Images and the Elephant Throne**

Serial	Image Order (According to number of elephants)	Title	Number of elephants in throne
1	First Image	Sithu-shin	15
2	Second Image	Shwe Tan Tic	14
3	Third image	Shin Ma Taung	13
4	Fourth Image	Hsin Kyoh Ywar	12
5	Fifth Image	Anyar Thiha Taw	11
6	Sixth Image	Myat Paung Myitzu	10

**Source:** Pakhangyi Curator U Htay Win Maung Collection

According to the above table there are six Tha-rakkhan Images on the Elephant Throne, and except for the Image at Anyar Thiha Taw<sup>101</sup>, all the other five Images are surprisingly to be found in the Pakhan area. During the days of Kings all the Tha-rakkhan Images were brought to the capital for worship, but the Shwe Tan Tic Image on a 14-elephant throne was always left behind<sup>102</sup>. It is quite apparent that in the title *Tant* and *Tic* meaning "stalled in the process" is never taken as a good omen in Myanmar culture and tradition, and that superstitious sub-culture is now an undercurrent in Myanmar society.

In magnitude and size the elephant is the biggest among the four-legged animals, and is one of the seven jewels possessed by the Universal Monarch (Set-kyawa-tay min). In the days of the monarchy Myanmar kings took great pride in the possession of white elephants, expressed in such titles as Ta-sie-shin<sup>103</sup> (Possessor of

<sup>101</sup> Within Shwe Kyee Myin Pagoda, Mandalay Myo

<sup>102</sup> Dr. Thet Lwin, *Ku Ni Nan Hnit Pakhan Myay*, (Koo-ni Shrine and Pakhan Myay), 2003, Chan Thar Press, Yangon, p. 236 (Henceforth: Thet Lwin, 2003)

<sup>103</sup> Sao Htun Hmat Win, *Seats, Postures and Vehicles and Historical Sketch of Burmese Buddhist Iconography*, Yangon, Ministry of Religions Affairs Press, 1980, pp. 180-181 (Henceforth: Sao Htun Hmat Win, 1980)

one elephant) and Ngar-sie-shin (Possessor of five white elephants); in the portrayal of the U-tay-na Deity, he is shown with his elephant<sup>104</sup>. And Bodhisatta in his eleven existences as an elephant had led a life free from dangers; so the elephant throne is used to seat the Images of the Buddha, it is said<sup>105</sup>.

Another Image on the elephant throne<sup>106</sup> is at the Khanda-thein Cave Temple<sup>107</sup> which is north of Stupa 87 and in the northeast corner of the precincts of Ywar-thar village monastery in Pakhangyi. This Image has a spire on an onion-base (Hman-kin-taw), but the topknot hair (Mani-taw) is not shaped as a tiny mound. Small ball flowers are used in decoration to depict the hair, but being gold painted the tiny ball flowers are no longer distinct. There is a decorative frontpiece covering the forehead (Thin-kyit-taw), the eyes are of a paddy-seed form, the two lips are equal in measure, the chin is round, and the neck has three folds. There are three equal portions: from hairline to the inner brow; from the inner brow to the tip of the nose; and from the nose tip to the chin. The eyes are placed a little above, and the eyelids have dents; the ears are in the normal position, and the hands run smoothly like the trunk of an elephant. The four fingers of the right hand touch the earth in a Bhumiphassa posture. The hands and the way of wearing the Thingan robe are of the Innwa period style, the front piece of Thingan falling loose has Thin-pon-gaung (marked edge), and is not in the form of the twin-feathered tail of an eagle. This Khanda-thein Image has a four-elephant throne, with all the elephants looking straight ahead. The Image and the throne together has a height of six feet, two inches<sup>108</sup>. And it is the only one of its type on Pakhan.

Another interesting Buddha Image of Innwa period style is in the southeast corner of the precincts of Phaung Taw Oo Monastery. This Stupa no. 33 is sculpted from sandstone<sup>109</sup>; as this Image has no head ornaments like the spire (Hman-kin-taw)

<sup>104</sup> Deity skilled in elephants

<sup>105</sup> Sao Htun Hmat Win, 1980, 181

<sup>106</sup> See photo (180)

<sup>107</sup> Stupa No.88

<sup>108</sup> Field Record (4-7-2003), 20

<sup>109</sup> See photo (181)

and topknot in a tiny mound (mani), it is termed as a bare-headed Buddha figure (Katon Phaya). Dr. Than Tun made an observation concerning the bare-headed Buddha:

"Bare-headed Images are termed as Arahants by some: when you go around the inner tunnel around the Ananda Temple you can see Buddha figurines in the niches. You can see all eight Buddha figurines with bare heads in the Bhumi-phassa, Dhammacakka and discussion mudras; and you cannot tell the bare-headed image of Buddha as an Arahant"<sup>110</sup>.

The Image of Buddha is sculpted with a tiny mound on top of the head which is based on the concept that when Siddhattha, in renouncing the mundane world, cut his long strands of hair he had left four inches behind on his head. In Graeco-Buddhist art the head of the Buddha is sculpted with some form of waves, but there is no such form of head in Pakhan and Myanmar. Being left smooth and bare, nothing is sculpted on the head of the Buddha Images of the Bagan period. As such the Image at Stupa no. 33 is assumed to be a bare-headed one of Buddha. This Image has eyes that are downcast in a Jhanic mood; though the form of the robe and the hands point to the style of the Innwa period, the ears -- which may be the result of later repairs -- indicate the style of the Ratanabon period. The existence of bare-headed Buddha Images of the Bagan period is quite certain; but in Pakhan the same cannot be said of the period. The Images of Stupa nos. 110 and 113 can be assumed to be bare-headed Buddha Images of the Nyaungyan period earlier than 1779 AD, while the one of Stupa no. 33 is assumed to be a quarter century later than the above-mentioned two stupas. The two human figures paying respect with one knee raised may not be the chief disciples of the Buddha, Venerables Sariputta and Moggallana, but may be deities instead as they are ornamented with tight sleeves, waist band and neck ornaments.

Furthermore, as standing Buddhas are one of the common types of Buddhist iconography, there is a standing Buddha Image<sup>111</sup> at Kan Swe Oo Min cave tunnel in

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<sup>110</sup> Dr. Than Tun, 1968, 96

<sup>111</sup> See photo (182)

Pakhangyi. The head and legs are ruined and there are remnants of body parts, a navel and ruined hands and legs. The standing Image had not been sculpted separately but had been buttressed by letting it rest against the wall. From the style of brick bonding this standing Image seems to be the work of around 1500 AD, the end of the First Innwa Period; and judging from the Thingan robe of brick and plaster and navel it can be assumed that the Thingan may be a thin tracing<sup>112</sup>. And later renovations may have encased the Image, making it an encased Buddha figure.

Another interesting standing Buddha Image hewn from teak is the Maukalan, five miles south of Pakhangyi, and three miles east of the Pakokku-Yesagy motor<sup>113</sup> road. The left hand of this Image rests on the left chest as if pressing on it, this posture exuding universal compassion or Maha karuna mudra. If the hand grasps a part of the robe, the posture is termed Civara hattha mudra<sup>114</sup> which means that the Buddha is making a vow, and this pose is often mistaken for Maha karuna mudra. The standing Buddha's head is crowned with a Ma-keik with pediments, and with the form of face it can be termed as the work of Innwa period style. Besides, the ear flap of the Buddha's head has a Kanote floral design<sup>115</sup>, and that kind of floral decorated ear-flaps can be found in the bronze images of Nyaungyan period at Amarapura Bagaya Monastery, and in the stone and wooden images of that period<sup>116</sup>. And to assess this Maukalan from all the available sources this Teak Standing Buddha is of Nyaungyan or Second Innwa period, and there is no standing wooden image of Bagan period in Pakhan, but that kind of wooden standing Buddha can be found at Shwe Zigon, Abeyadana and Nagayon in Bagan<sup>117</sup>.

Another standing wooden Buddha of interest is in the Pakhan-nge Pitaka-taik, in

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<sup>112</sup> Dr. Than Tun, *"Pyu Twe bei pyauk Thwar Lei"*, (*Where have the Pyus gone*), Thiri Swe Press, Yangon, 2006, p. 138 (Henceforth: Dr. Than Tun, 2006)

<sup>113</sup> See photo (183)

<sup>114</sup> Sao Htun Hmat Win, 1980, 70

<sup>115</sup> Nyeint Nyeint Htun, *Study of Earflaps of Images in Bargayar Monastery*, July, 2005, University of Culture, p. 34 (Henceforth: Nyeint Nyeint Htun, 2005)

<sup>116</sup> Field Record (6-8-2006)

<sup>117</sup> Dr. Than Tun, 2004, 59



the southeast of Pakhan-nge Kyaung Taw Gyi<sup>118</sup>; locals say that this seven feet, six inches standing wooden Image<sup>119</sup> is hewn from Ya-ma-nay ( Gmelina arborea) wood, but the smell and the hardness seems to suggest that it is teak timber, the right hand of the Image is let to fall on the side and the fingers seems to close towards the palm as if going to bless the devotees who come to pay respects. The face, the Thingan robes with many folds and the eyes point to the work of late Ratanabon period; this Image is of Vara Mudra posture<sup>120</sup> and the similar Images of the same mudra can be found at Pakhan Kyaung Taw Gyi, built and donated by Pakhangyi Kyi Wun Min U Pho Htoke ( Minister of Granaries)<sup>121</sup>, but the quality of sculpting of this Image is not on a par with the Pitaka Taik Standing Image.

Another standing Image of Buddha of interest is at Dipankara Pagoda in Ywar Poe Quarter, Yesagyoo; this Image<sup>122</sup> holding a Swoon bowl ( Thabeik) in the palm of left hand portrays the Dipankara Buddha going on the alms collecting round with his disciple monks. And according to the Jataka stories the future Gotama was then a hermit Sumeda who cast himself down to offer his body as a bridge for the Buddha Dipankara to walk on, as there were pools of mud on the way. The standing Image is hewn from brick and stucco, from the decorative style of the head, the frontpiece covering the forehead (Thin Kyit Taw), eyes and ears, this Image is of Ratanabon period style, but repeated renovations have made the Image a new look.

Another distinguishing type of Buddhist iconography is the sculpting of reclining Buddha Images; there is a reclining Image of Buddha at Kan Swe Oo Min<sup>123</sup> cave which is sculpted from brick and stucco. This Reclining Image has 18 feet, in length and lay on his right side with the head in the east direction<sup>124</sup>; the reclining Image is hewn from

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<sup>118</sup> Also called U Yan Wai Kyaung as he built in the reign King Mindon

<sup>119</sup> See photo (184)

<sup>120</sup> Vara Mudra, Varadha Muudra, Dāna Mudra, Vara hatta (Variants)

<sup>121</sup> See photo (185)

<sup>122</sup> See photo (186)

<sup>123</sup> See photo (187)

<sup>124</sup> Field Record (10-10-2006)

brick and stucco resting on a two feet brick throne. As the plaster is falling off the face and the body cannot be viewed clearly; in regard to reclining Image of Buddhas or Thar Lyaung Phayas there is a common adage that runs: Ah Shay- Thar Lyaung which means when the head of the reclining Buddha lies in the eastern direction it is called Thar Lyaung; Taung-Paung Laung which means when the head of reclining Image lies in the direction of South it is known as Paung Laung Phaya; Ah Nauk - Nerabana means when the head lies in the direction of west it is called Neraban Phaya, that is Lord Buddha is cleansing the stains of demerits (Akusala) of his followers Nerabana. Seen from this perspective<sup>125</sup> the Kan Swe Oo Min cave reclining Image is of Thar Lyaung form.

Another reclining Buddha Image of note is on the high rise of Shwe Oo Min Pagoda mound; this reclining Image has a length of 19 feet, six inches and the head lies in the southern direction and this Image is termed Paung Laung Phaya. This reclining Buddha wears a new look<sup>126</sup> as the Image had been recently whitewashed and gilded.

Furthermore. the Buddha figurines, got from the renovation of Shit Myet Hnar Stupa<sup>127</sup> and kept in the Pakhangyi Archaeological Museum as enshrined relics, are in various forms such Nagayon, Buddha shielded by the hood of Naga serpent, standing Buddha with hands at the sides, Buddha in Bhumiphasa mudra posture and three figurines of Buddha against Bhodi Tree ( banyan tree). And quite strangely, a Buddha figurine assumed to be of Sukothai period, normally not enshrined as a relic in Buddha's seven centres of victory , is found during the renovation of Shit Myet Hnar stupa. In Buddhist Iconography Buddha's seven holy places of victorious moments are inspiration for sculpting various style of Buddhas and repeated themes for wall paintings<sup>128</sup>:  
to wit:

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<sup>125</sup> In Reclining Buddhas, reclining with head in east direction is termed Thar Lyaung, with head in south direction is termed *Phala samapati* (enjoying fruits of contemplation, with head in the west direction is termed Neraban Phaya, with head in the north direction is termed passing into Nibbana

<sup>126</sup> Field Record (10-10-2006), Tint Lwin-Nyein Chan Aung

<sup>127</sup> Shit Myet Hnar Stupa, south of the road to pakhan-nge

<sup>128</sup> Ven Weragoda Sarada Maha Thero, *The life of Buddha in Gandhara Art*, Singapore Buddhist Meditation Centre Press, 2006, pp. 41-44 (Henceforth: Maha Thero, 2006)

the holy Bodhi Tree (Banyan tree) and the Throne where the Buddha spent His first seven after attaining Enlightenment

the place where Buddha cast His graceful gaze to the tree in His second week after Enlightenment

the place of walking meditation in the third week after Enlightenment

the place, a jewel house created by the Deities, where in fourth week he contemplated the higher concepts now presented as Abhidhamma

the place which is under the shade of a banyan tree known as Ajipala where He spent the fifth week

the place near Mucalinda where King of serpent Naga coiled around the Buddha and shielded with his hood to protect the lord from rain and storm in the sixth week

the place, another tree near the vicinity called Rajatayana, where Buddha spent the seventh week

The bronze Buddha figurine<sup>129</sup>, found at Shit Myet Hnar stupa renovation, stands 9 inches including the throne, and though rusted with ages still clearly portrays the attainment of Enlightenment in the first seven days. And in Buddhist iconography the throne and the back screen banyan leaf<sup>130</sup> symbolize the Buddha's vanquishing of all enemies; the throne now comes to be known as Aparajita Throne<sup>131</sup> or the golden throne on which the Buddha totally annihilated the forces of Mara or forces of evil.

Another bronze standing Buddha figurine<sup>132</sup>, found from the same above stupa, stands 9 inches, and the hands of the figurine keep to the sides while gazing at the tree where He had attained Enlightenment. This standing bronze tiny image symbolize the second seven days after His Enlightenment and is an important theme: the seven holy places of victory (Sattathana) either through sculpting or through painting.

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<sup>129</sup> See photo (188)

<sup>130</sup> Not a royal Throne, but the Throne of Buddha, Aparajita Throne

<sup>131</sup> SaoHtun Hmat Win, 1980, 53

<sup>132</sup> See photo (189)

Another symbol for the fourth week after Enlightenment is portrayed through the bronze figurine of Buddha in Bhumiphassa mudra posture<sup>133</sup>; this figurine is expressed as through the Buddha dwells in a jewelled-house created by the Deities. The throne on which the Buddha sits is circular throne with a narrow waist in the middle, and is known as Paduma sana<sup>134</sup> or Mount Meru Throne<sup>135</sup>.

The Image of *Nagayon* Buddha<sup>136</sup> is one of the important themes of the seven noble places of victory; during the sixth week Lord Buddha was dwelling near the Mucalinda Pond and when rains and storm hit the place King Naga of Mucalinda pond curled seven times around the Buddha and shielded the Lord under his hood. The curling serpent's body is hewn as a throne and the Buddha Image dwells on it to be known as Nagayon Image. And the worship of Nagayon Buddha Image becomes one of the distinct features of conventional Buddhist with the belief that the devotee can enjoy the blessing of King Naga, can have protection from bad weather and poisonous reptiles<sup>137</sup>. This Nagayon Images has 9 inches in height; all the features of the figurine suggests the work as of Innwa period, except the ears which point to style of Ratanabon period<sup>138</sup>.

Another strange finding from the renovation of the Shit Myet Hnar stupa is the finding of Thai Buddha Image of Sukothai period, which is not relevant to the icons of the seven noble places of Buddha's dwelling after Enlightenment. And despite that fact it is not too farfetched to assume that there might have some link with Siam; besides, it is found that this Thai Buddha Image found in Shit Myet Hnar stupa may be the work of late 16th century if compared with the later Northern Type of Thai Image

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<sup>133</sup> See photo (190)

<sup>134</sup> SaoHtun Hmat Win, 1980, 43

<sup>135</sup> SaoHtun Hmat Win, 1980, 29

<sup>136</sup> See photo (191)

<sup>137</sup> SaoHtun Hmat Win, 1980, 113

<sup>138</sup> Field Record (10-10-2006)

as explained in Figure (9) of Professor Silpa Birashi's book "Thai Buddhist Sculpture"<sup>139</sup>.

Further Buddha Images at Pakhangyi Archaeological Museum will be presented; the Buddha Image, captioned as Bagan period<sup>140</sup>, has a height of three feet, seven inches and this statue, hewn from sandstone, was carried from Shwe Oo Min cave tunnel<sup>141</sup>, north of Pakhangyi. And this Image resembles the "Shwe Ta Laung, Ngwe Ta Laung" brick Image in the old edifice, south of Pakhangyi Museum. The resemblance is in the portion of the face of two Images, but Bagan Image at Museum has a more snubby nose. And the eyes, the downcast eyes form are quite alike; this Image is in Bhumiphassa mudra posture and have no spire on top of the head. The head is round, the ears are of Bagan style, but the four fingers of earth touching right hand are even in length which is not of Bagan style and so that right fingers might have been the result of repairs.

Another Image captioned as Bagan period style in the Pakhangyi Museum, also got from the Shit Myet Hnar Stupa, has a height of three feet, two inches and the Mani (decorative topknot) is a high small mound with narrow base which can be mistaken as a spire. The ears, the nostrils are of Bagan style, but the eyes seems to be not of Bagan form. The Image is in a Bhumiphassa mudra posture and the even length of the four fingers all touch the earth which seems to suggest more of Amarapura style. And the throne is of Mt. Meru type, the throne base wide and narrow in the middle; the two legs are cross-legged which shows the Image to be in Jhana contemplation<sup>142</sup>.

Another marble Image<sup>143</sup> at the Museum of Pinya period, roughly 1298 to 1364 AD, is sculpted from sandstone, this Image has a lotus spire on the head which does not have a separate hairknot shape but a trace of a tiny mound. The face is smooth, and the

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<sup>139</sup> Silpa Birasri, *Thai Buddhist Culture*, National Culture Institute, Bangkok, The Aek Karnpim Press, 1954, pp. 9, 17 (Henceforth: Birasri, 1954)

<sup>140</sup> See photo (192)

<sup>141</sup> Field Record (10-10, 2006)

<sup>142</sup> Field Record (10-10-2006)

<sup>143</sup> See photo (193)

raised eyebrows are clearly distinct; the cross-legged position shows the Buddha deep in a Jhanic contemplation posture.

The Sagyin marble Image of Buddha<sup>144</sup> at the Museum is another interesting Innwa period icon; the lotus spire is directly at the top of the head but the topknot mound (Mani Taw) if compared with the shape of Bagan period is much larger. The forehead is flat and wide, and there is an ornamental frontpiece covering (Thin Kyit Taw) which is so thin that it seems to be hairline dividing the hair and the forehead. There is no strand of hair in the middle of the eyebrows (Oo Hna Lon Hmay Shin Taw), and the length of the ears are longer than the length from eyebrows to the chin and even touch the shoulders. The peculiarity of the ears is that they have decorative earrings. The eyes and the lips curve a little upwards, which shows the style of Nyaungyan period. The eyes are in “Bodhisatta King Parrot taking a dip into the water” form, and the look of the pupils seem to slant to the left which seems to be the result of later repairs<sup>145</sup>. The two lips are thin and stretch a little long that seems to project a faint smile; the chin is round and the three folds of the neck are clearly visible. And viewed from all the stated features this Image is the most proportionate and complete among the images of first Innwa period.

Another Sagyin marble Image of Nyaungyan period<sup>146</sup> at the Pakhangyi Museum has a neat lotus spire; the topknot-hair tiny mound is expressed through a design of “spiky outer covering of a jackfruit” (Pein-Hne-Hsu hair) which shows the<sup>147</sup>. The chin is round and the eyebrows are far above the eyes which is the typical feature of Nyaungyan period; the forehead is flat and wide and there is no decorative frontpiece and also no original strand of hair between the eyebrows. And the lobe of the ears touch the shoulders, and the upper lobe seems to be bigger than the lower part; the outer edges of the eyebrows and the lips curl a little outwards. The nose tip and the nostrils

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<sup>144</sup> See photo (194)

<sup>145</sup> Field Record (10-10-2006)

<sup>146</sup> See photo (195)

<sup>147</sup> Tin & Win Mg, 1987, 9

are on the single straight line; though the eyes are in a form of “Bodhisatta King Parrot taking a dip in water” they are a little more open. The lips are thin and a bit long wearing a faint smile; the chin is round and the three folds of the neck are quite distinct. The Image is a Bhumiphassa mudra posture, and the four fingers of the right hand are of equal length which points to the style of late Innwa or Nyaungyan period. The legs are in a cross-legged position that shows the Jhanic contemplation<sup>148</sup>, and taking in all the features this Image is the smooth and graceful sculpture of Second Innwa or Nyaungyan period.

The bronze Image, wearing a Makeik crown of Konbaung period<sup>149</sup>, stands 16 inches displayed in the Pakhangyi Museum, and this Image is got from the Shwe Oo Min Kyaung stone stupa<sup>150</sup>. This Image, wearing a royal crown, is in a Bhumiphassa mudra posture with downcast eyes; and concerning the decoration of royal regalia the Second Monywa Jetavaun Sayadaw in his “Samanta Cakkhu Dipani”<sup>151</sup> and Taung Khwin Sasana Paing in his “Gutthatha Vinissaya Parinibbana Sutta”<sup>152</sup> both wrote that the devotees had right to decorate the Lord Buddha if they wish to see in the royal regalia<sup>153</sup>. Moreover, in 1772 AD Depayin Sayadaw wrote about the emergence of Jambupati Buddha in “Udana Dipani”<sup>154</sup>, but Dr. Than Tun expressed his divergent opinion that there was no Jambupati King contemporary to Lord Buddha. And so sculpting of the Buddha Image with royal regalia rest on three assumptions.

sculpting as Bodhisatta

sculpting as a symbol of victory over the evil Mara

sculpting as to see the Buddha in a graceful regalia<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> Dr. Than Tun, 2006, 142

<sup>149</sup> See photo (196)

<sup>150</sup> Field Record (10-10-2006)

<sup>151</sup> Second Mon-yway Jetawun Sayadaw, *Samanta Cakkhu Dipani*, Yangon, Vol. I, pp. 429-432

<sup>152</sup> Taung Khwin Sasana Paing, *Gutthatta Vinissara*, Vol. I, Diga Nikaya Maha Vagga, Parinibbana Sutta, pp. 21-23

<sup>153</sup> Dr. Than Tun, 1968, 94

<sup>154</sup> Depayin Sayadaw, *Tathagotā Udāna Dipani*, Chapter (153)

<sup>155</sup> Dr. Than Tun, 1968, 95



And if seen from this perspective the two Image decorated with royal regalia have been sculpted from the one of the above three assumptions. The bronze Image, termed as the work of Konbaung period, resembles the royal-regalia decorated *Inn Pagoda*<sup>156</sup> of Pyay in all the features; and according to the yearly report of Archaeological Department the *Inn Pagoda* is termed the work of Innwa period. From this, the royal-regalia decorated Image at Pakhangyi Museum, stated as Konbaung style, must be corrected as the work of Innwa period style.

The Buddha Image of *Mann Phaya type* ( hollow-Image lacquered ), kept in the Ratana Bhumi Monastery in Pakhangyi, wears the *Thingan* robe expressed in concentric<sup>157</sup> rings; this Image was found a mile and five furlongs from *Min Kyaung East Quarter*, south of *Shwe Myin Thar* Pagoda. And this type of Image is hewn more in the Shan State than in the lowlands of Myanmar; if compared with other types of Image this type have letters.<sup>158</sup>

In the Pakhangyi region, there are only two Image of Buddhas that are dated: one Image of the two is dated 1800 AD which was the work during the reign of King Bodawphaya, made of Panca loha bronze Image dated 1162 ME<sup>159</sup> which is 7 inches in height and in a Bhumiphassa mudra posture. Indeed, that bronze Pancaloha Image with inscribed date is a valuable icon in the study Buddhist Iconography in Pakhan, and about fifty Buddha Images have been detailed basing on the stereotypes and major forms and styles of successive periods. And it is found that 95 percent of the brick and stucco Images found in Pakhan is in Bhumiphassa mudra posture, and it is due to the fact that Myanmars as a whole have underlying notions of ideas and traditional beliefs: that the Bhumiphassa mudra posture symbolize the victory over all evils, that the Bodhi tree and the golden Throne are the preferred symbols in various icons of worship, that according to Tibeto-Myanmar culture the earth on whose surface the Lord Buddha

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<sup>156</sup> See photo (197)

<sup>157</sup> Field Record (10-10-2006)

<sup>158</sup> Dr. Than Tun, 1968, 82

<sup>159</sup> See photo (198)



touches and makes vows is firm and inexhaustible and believe that their mundane interests are served from their pious worship of this kind of mudra<sup>160</sup>. Moreover, the preferred forms of icons among the races of Southeast Asia are: the extinct Pyus have a preference for Buddha Images in deep Samadhi posture, Mons for Buddha Images in displaying miracles and so do the Thais and Myanmars for Bodhi tree and the Golden Throne.<sup>161</sup>

Further, a Buddha Image<sup>162</sup> hewn from sandstone is found in the Phaung Taw Oo Monastery in Pakhangyi; this Image<sup>163</sup> is in a Bhumi Phassa Mudra and the singularity of this Image is that it is not hewn from a single block of marble, but it is made from three detachable parts. The Image has height of 66 inches, the breast 29 inches, the length of the knees from one end to another when sitting in a cross-legged position 45 inches and the throne 9 inches.<sup>164</sup> This is the only Image found in Pakhan and in view of the portion of the head, the look of the face and the style of the Thingan robe this Image seems to be the work of late Konbaung period.

A study on the Buddha Images of different periods is based on the sculpted forms of body parts, the limbs, the face, the robes and the mood expressed through these physical parts. And the base material used in sculpting Images should also be a source of study; sandstone is assumed to be acquired from Taung Oo village, five miles from Pakhangyi, for Taung Oo village products of sandstone such as stone bricks and stone wheels can still be seen to this day. And stone stupas, stone umbrellas, stone figure of cow, stone pillar, and stone turtle hewn in Konbaung period and can be seen in temples at Mye Khè Taung village, Pakhan Nge, Pakhangyi, Ma-oo village and at Thak village are sculpted from sandstone; and so it can be assumed that the Buddha Images might have been sculpted from such sandstone from Taung Oo village. Moreover, Sagyin

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<sup>160</sup> Sao Htun Hmat Win, 1980, 67-69

<sup>161</sup> Dr. Than Tun, 2006

<sup>162</sup> See photo (199)

<sup>163</sup> See photo (200)

<sup>164</sup> Stupa No.32

marble had also been used from that Sagyin mountain, north of Mandalay near the town of Madaya.

In this chapter on Iconography many Images of various types and differing forms, Images representing the general characteristics of successive periods in Pakhangyi region have been detailed, and the emerging trend, if it can be termed, will be presented. The criteria used to develop this trend is that this study is based on the prototypes, drawings of figures, explanations and comments offered by accepted authorities on Iconography as the Images with dates are very few in this Pakhangyi region. The early Bagan period saw the distinct features of Images as thus: strong facial features with straight nose, pointed chin, long neck, broad chest with narrow waist, fingers of unequal length and transparent Thingan robe almost a trace and few folds. But in late Bagan features changed are not lost to an observant student: flat face, nose not as pointed, the chin becoming wider, neck shorter, ear lobes long enough to touch the shoulders, the fingers becoming of equal length and conforming to the norms of Mahapurisa requirements of fullness.

As the period changed to Pinya and Innwa, Shan and Thai cultural influences came to the fore: the face becoming flat and round, the eyes becoming to a narrow slit, cheeks rising to chubbiness, the tip of the chin rounder, the *Makeik* (head crown) more decorative, topknot mound (Mani) flatter mixing with the hair, the spire (Hman Kin) taking many forms like lotus-shaped, diamond-shaped, flaming pediments, using elephant figures for the throne. And in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the sculpting of Bhumiphassa mudra Images is the salient feature of the closing days of Myanmar monarch; in the Ratanabon period the Buddha Images are approaching more to human proportions but the Thingan robe worn by the Images are sculpted with many folds that aim to meet the visual appreciation of the devotees rather than the subtle Dhamma message the Image put across to the conventional Buddhist followers.

## **Resume**

This dissertation has limited the theme of study into three major areas of Pakhangyi: the region's temples and stupas, the wall painting and the Iconography of Buddha Images in Pakhan. But the socio-economic system, the landscape and geography are added as a backdrop to get the better understanding or appreciation of the region's importance in the past. The most distinguishing feature of the old Pakhangyi city is its massive wall, thicker, higher and grander in proportion to its local history. This wall projects an image of a fortress to defend a powerful enemy, but it is questionable whether this old city wall had served its strategic aim in its long existence.

Another prominent fact is that so many monuments have erected in this limited region which is adjacent to the powerful kingdom in the country's history: the Bagan kingdom. And it must be assumed that Pakhangyi had enjoyed a certain amount of autonomy to build its memorable monuments, some of the Temples are on a par with the temples of Bagan that show the high achievement of temple building by the inhabitants of the Pakhangyi region.

As to the wall paintings there are more to comment than the ordinary viewers; some of the finest paintings are of high artistic calibre, but the message all these paintings want to convey is religious rather than esthetic. The Buddha Images and the lotus symbols are of the finest pattern in the ceiling and wall paintings. The execution in lines, the colour paints they apply and fill-up of many figures such as deities, ogres, kings queens and court maids presents a panoramic view of the Jataka tales in pictures.

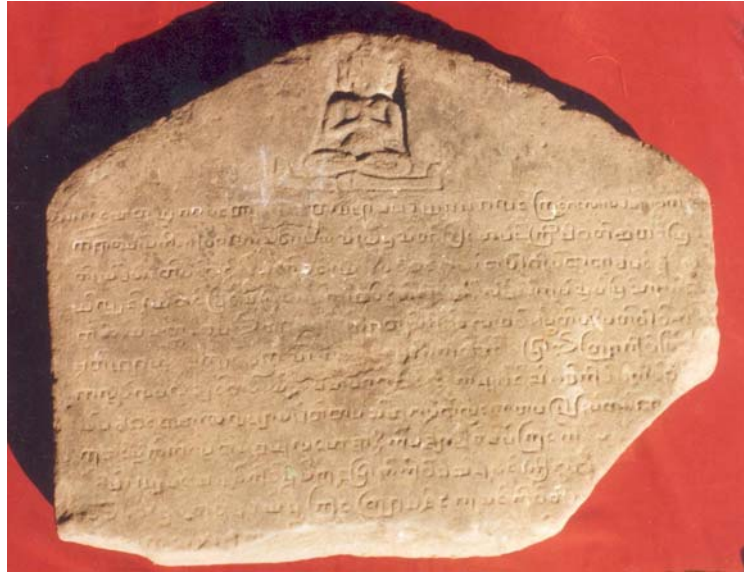
And that the theme of religion is expressed in the icons through Buddha Images and its attendant symbols of piety: the disciples paying homage, the lions, and other mythical figures in homage. The figures of Bodhisatta are also hewn that shows the influence of Mahayana ideas into the region; and even a Thai Buddha Image is found in the region and that also suggests some form of links with the neighbouring lands.

All in all, the Art and Architecture of the Pakhangyi region offer vistas that can be viewed through many aspects of the Pakhangyi region that could inspire the imagination of many interested scholars to continue the study which this dissertation cannot cover.

## Photographs

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01. Nwar-Htein Stone Inscription  
 (width 24 inches, 12 lines)  
 (Photo by Tint Lwin, 28 March 2004)



02. Ma-keit (crown) wearing bronze mould Image  
 Frontview, Height 4.5 inches  
 (Photo by Tint Lwin, 28 March 2004)



03. Crowned Buddha within the precincts Ānanda Temple,  
Taw Htwet-Gyi Image Bagan (Side view)  
(Photo by U Aye Myint, 10 Oct: 2003)



04. Broken brick with letters excavated from Na-Htein village  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, from front view, 20 Sep 2003)





05. Stucco floral works of Bagan period excavated from outside of Eastern porch of Ta-wa-gu (Single Entrane)  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 18 Nov: 2003)

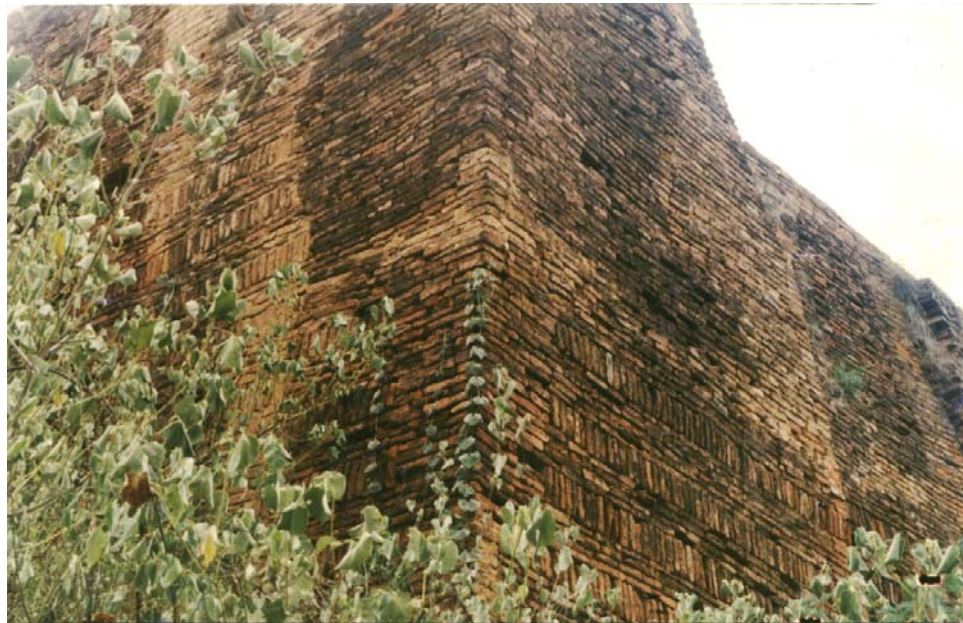


06. Pakahan City wall seen from West side  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 14 May 2003)





07. Western Thazi gate of Pakhangyi city wall  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 20 Sep 2003)



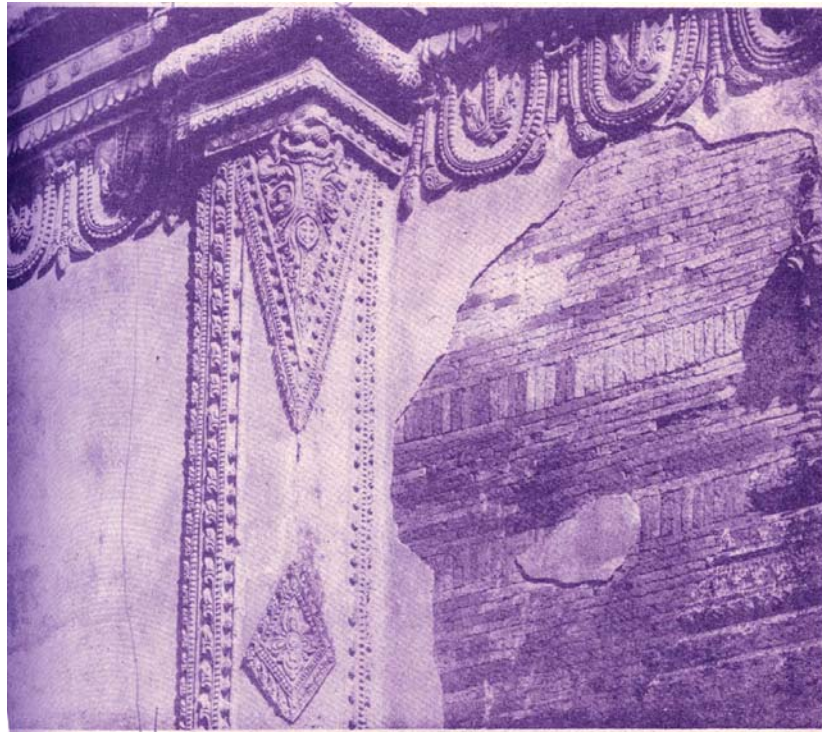
08. Ma-ya-Khoe brick bondage design  
(Alternate Laying of bricks : horizontal and vertical)  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 20 Sep 2003)

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09. Ma Ya Khoe brick bonding pattern, North Wall of Pakhangyi  
(Photo by Tin Lwin, 20 Sept: 2003)



10. Above photo of brick bondage design is the same  
as the brick bondage design of Htee-Lo-min-Lo, Bagan. (Photo by Tint Lwin)  
**Source:** Pictorial Guide to Pagan p.11, Ministry of Culture, 1975, Rangoon





11. Win-ma-narr gate of the north city wall of Pakhangyi  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, from front view, 20 Sep 2003)



12. West City Wall of Pakhangyi (Khanan Choe Pattern)  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 20 Sept: 2003)

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13. Brick in City Wall (15"×7"×2")  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, from front view, 20 Sep 2003)



14. Brick used in the construction of Pakhangyi city.  
(Pakhangyi Museum)  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, from front view, 20 Sep 2003)





15. Wedge brick and brick with letters Pakhangyi Museum.  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, from front view, 20 Sep 2003)



16. Bricks with pictures  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, front view, 20 Sep 2003)



17. Bricks with animal footprints

(Photo by Tint Lwin, from front view, 20 Sep 2003)



18. Wedge Bricks ( Pakhangyi Mbseum)

(Photo by Tint Lwin, from front view, 20 Sep 2003)

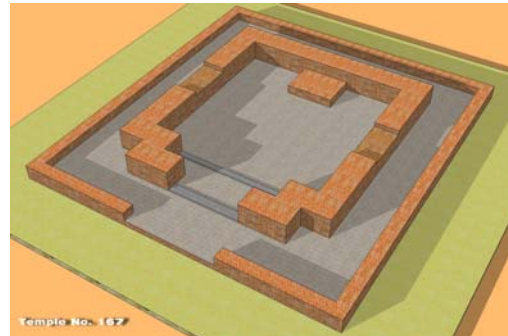
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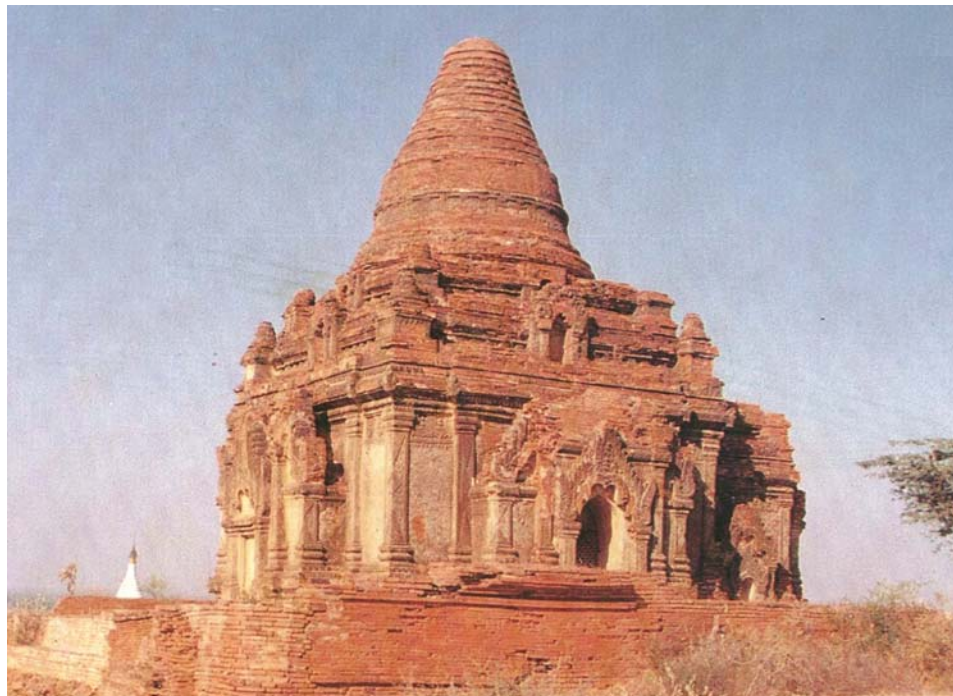




19. Cave Temple (167) Gautama  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, from East view,  
20 Sep 2003)



The drawing of the groundplan is helped  
drawn by Cho Zaw Min, B.E(Civil)



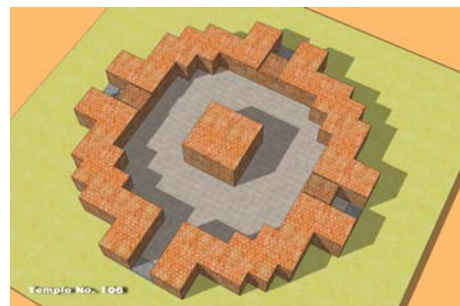
20. Kone Taw Gyi Cave Temple  
From Bagan Stupa & Temple Vol II, 1996, p. 77  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 14 April 2002)



21. Myat-Paung-Myitzu, Stupa No 89  
(Photo by Tint Lwin,  
from Southeast view, 4 Jul 2002)

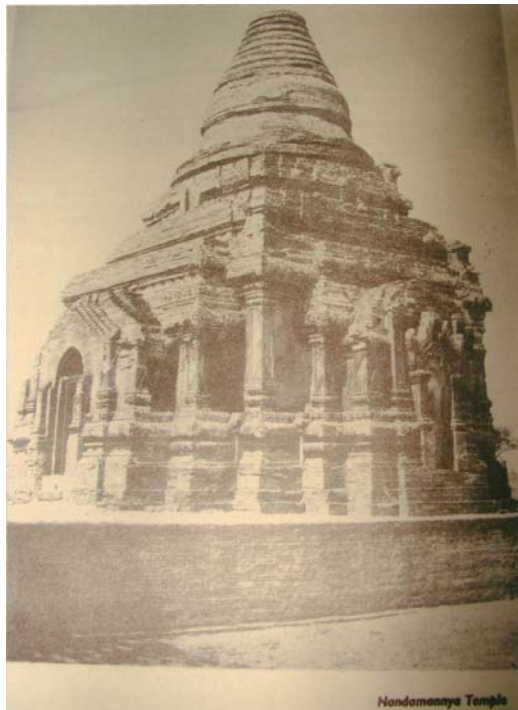


22. Cave temple (106),  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, from Southeast  
view, 20 Sep 2003)



The drawing of the groundplan is helped  
drawn by Cho Zaw Min, B.E(Civil)

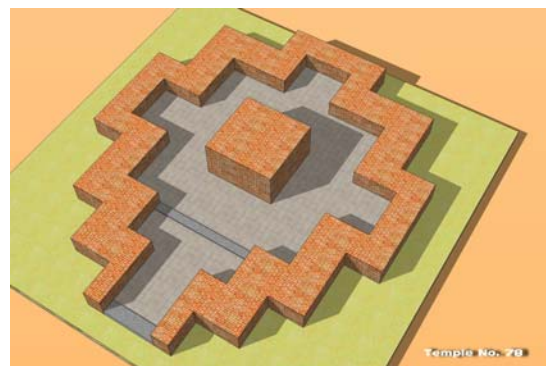




23. Nanda-ma-nya, Temple:  
 (From Pictorial Guide to Bagan)  
 (Photo by Tint Lwin, 24 Sept: 2004)



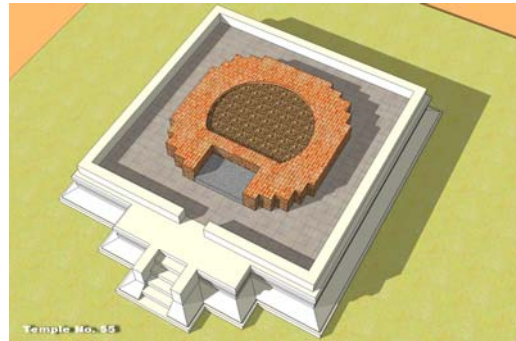
24. Cave Temple(78) , East view  
 (Photo by Nyein Chan Aung,  
 20 August 2006)



The drawing of the groundplan is helped  
 drawn by Cho Zaw Min, B.E(Civil)



25. Stupa (55), Yandanã Myintzu,  
Southeast view (Photo by Nyein Chan Aung,  
31 July 2005)



The drawing of the groundplan is helped  
drawn by Cho Zaw Min, B.E(Civil)



26. Cave Temple (82), East of Myauk-pyin  
village, Pakhan (Photo by Nyein Chan Aung,  
31 July 2005)



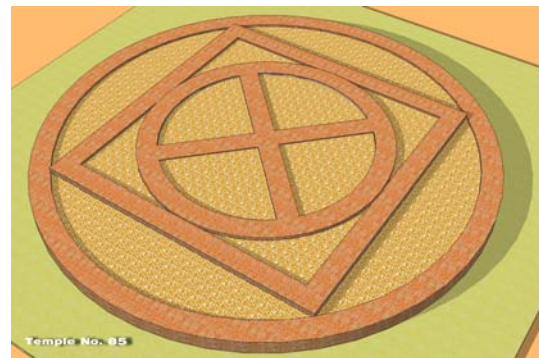
The drawing of the groundplan  
is helped drawn by Cho Zaw Min,  
B.E(Civil)



27. Kyauk-sa-ga Cave Temple, Thiri-pyitsayar, Bagan  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 24 Oct: 2004)



28. Stupa(85), Lone-Taw-Gyi,  
Northview (Highest in Pakhan)  
(Photo by Nyein Chan Aung, 31 July 2005)

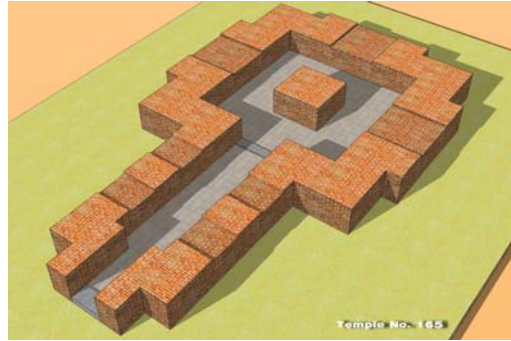


The drawing of the groundplan is helped  
drawn by Cho Zaw Min, B.E(Civil)





29. Cave Temple(165), Shwe Bon Thar,  
(before renovation southeast view).  
(Photo by Nyein Chan Aung, 31 July 2005)



The drawing of the groundplan is  
helped drawn by Cho Zaw Min,  
B.E(Civil)



30. Cave Tepmple(165), Shwe Bon Thar,  
(After renovation: North East view)  
(Photo by Nyein Chan Aung, 31 July 2005)



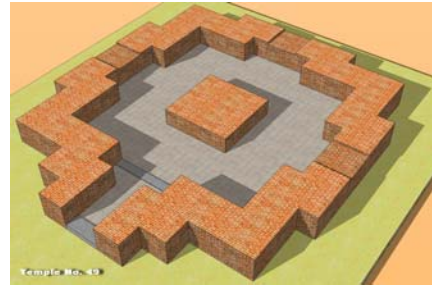
31. Stupa(88), Khanda Thein,  
South view.  
(Photo by Nyein Chan Aung, 11 Dec: 2005)



32. Stupa (88) ,  
niche with pediments, South view  
(Photo by Nyein Chan Aung, 11 Dec: 2005)



33. Cave Temple (49),  
Phaya-Ni, West view  
(Photo by Nyein Chan Aung, 22 Dec: 2005)



The drawing of the groundplan is  
helped drawn by Cho Zaw Min,  
B.E(Civil)



34. Cave Temple (46), Phaya-Net , East view  
(Photo by Nyein Chan Aung, 11 Dec: 2005)





35. Stupa (18) , Shit-Myet-Hnar (or) Gyo-pyay-non-pyay (South view)  
(Photo by Nyein Chan Aung, 11 Dec: 2005)



36. Stupa (13), Nyaung-pin-Thar , Sothwest view,  
(Photo by Nyein Chan Aung, 11 Dec: 2005)





37. Stupa (22), Aung Taw Mu, Southeast view,  
(Photo by Nyein Chan Aung, 11 Dec: 2005)



38. Cave Temple(23) , Shin Aung Myin,  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 12 Dec: 2005)



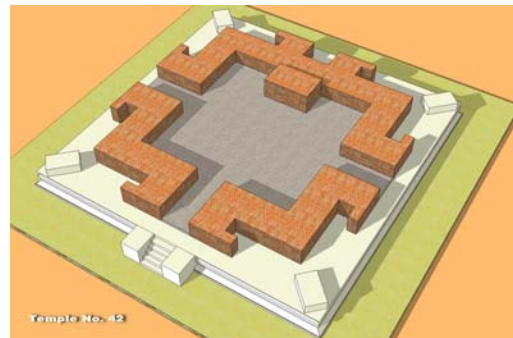
39. Stupa (24) , Shin Aung Din,  
Southeast view.  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 12 Dec: 2005)



The drawing of the groundplan  
is helped drawn by U Aye Myint  
(Myanmar Arts Designer)



40. Cave Temple (42) , Thauk Taw Gaw,  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 12 Dec: 2005)



The drawing of the groundplan  
is helped drawn by  
Cho Zaw Min, B.E (Civil)



41. Cave Temple(56), Shin Ma Taung  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 12 Dec: 2005)



42. Stupa(71) , Ledi, West view, Pakhan Gyi,  
(Photo by Nyein Chan Aung, 11 Dec: 2005)

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43. Stupa (73) , Mya Thein Tan, West view  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 12 Dec: 2005)



44. Cave Temple(195) , Yoke Sone Kyaung  
(or) Zat Sone Kyaung, Pakhan Gyi  
(Photo by Nyein Chan Aung, 11 Dec: 2005)

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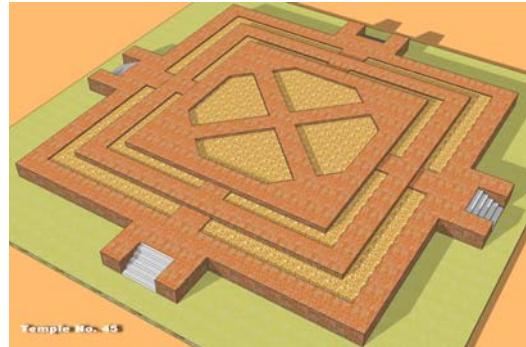
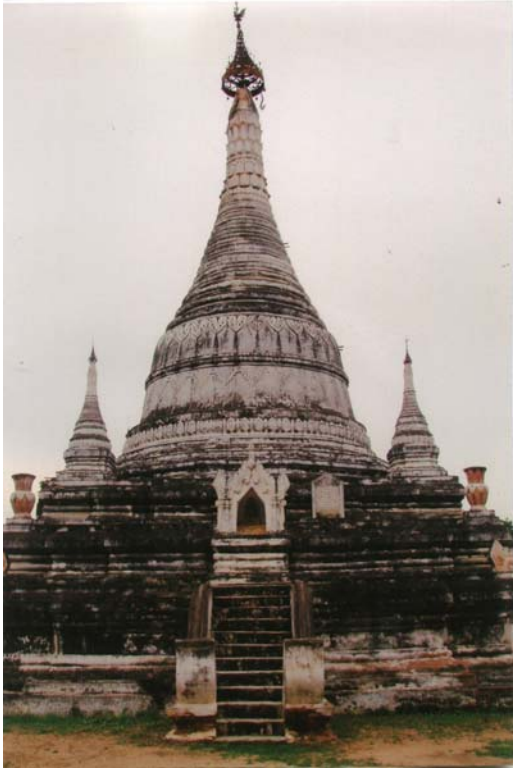
45. Cave Temple (200) , Shwe Daung Sin, South  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 12 Dec: 2005)



46. Cave Temple (194), Title Unknown  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 12 Dec: 2005)

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47. Stupa, (45), Mya-Zi-gon, Eastview (Photo by Tint Lwin, 12 Dec: 2005) The drawing of the groundplan is helped drawn by Cho Zaw Min, B.E(Civil)



48. Stupa, Mingalar Zedi, Bagan, Sujata Soni, Evolution of Stupa in Burma, 11<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> Century, p.25 (Photo by Tint Lwin, 24 Sept: 2006)





49. Stupa(48), Pyi Lone Chan Thar or Kywet Kywet Hsu, Southeast (view). (Photo by Tint Lwin, 12 Dec: 2005)



50. Stupa(48), Pyi Lone Chan Thar or Kywet Kywet Hsu, Eastern porch (Photo by Tint Lwin, 12 Dec: 2005)

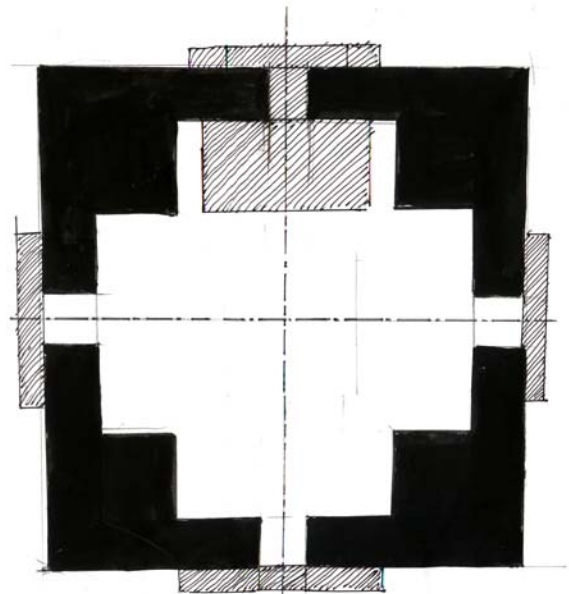
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51. Stupa(48), Pyi Lone Chan Thar or Kywet Kywet Hsu, Northern porch (Photo by Tint Lwin, 12 Dec: 2005)



The drawing of the groundplan is helped drawn by U Aye Myint (Myanmar Art Designer)



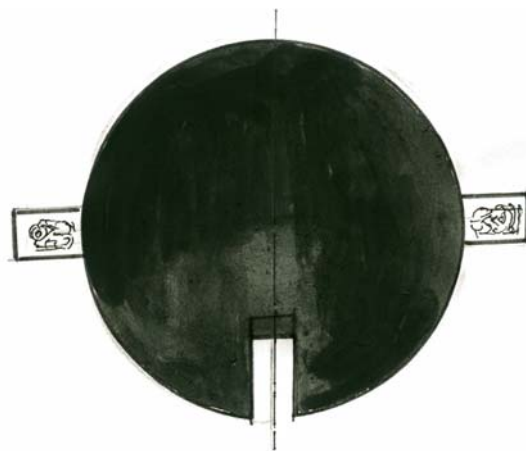
52. Stupa(75), Shwe Moke Htaw, Northwest view (Photo by Tint Lwin, 11 Dec: 2005)



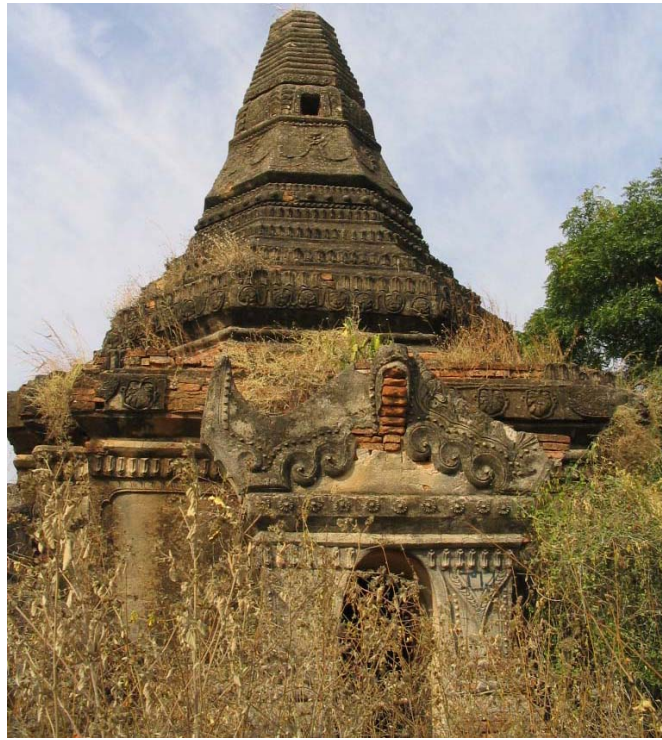
53. Stupa(133), Sa-bè-yon, East view.  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 12 Dec: 2005)



54. Stupa(134), Hsu-taung Pyae,  
East view.  
(Photo by Nyein Chan Aung, 11 Dec: 2005)



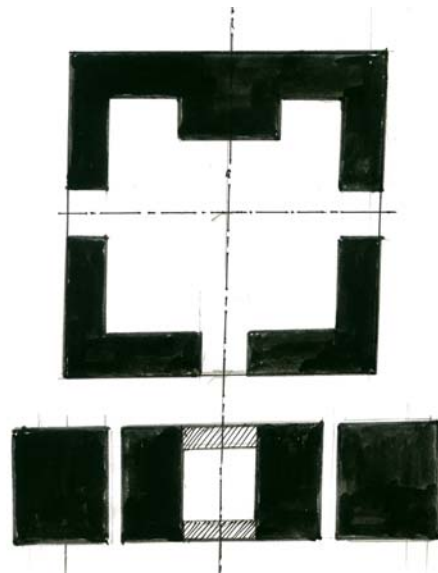
The drawing of the groundplan  
is helped drawn by U Aye Myint  
(Myanmar Arts Designer)



55. Cave Temple(153), Lawka Hnan Ku, East view  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 11 Dec: 2005)



56. Cave Temple (50) , Ba-bè, Southwest  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 11 Dec: 2005)



The drawing of the groundplan  
is helped drawn by U Aye Myint  
(Myanmar Art Designer)





57. Cave Temple (101), North of Japan Forestry Training School,  
Title Unknown (Photo by Tint Lwin, 11 Dec: 2005)



58. Cave Temple(50), Kyauk-mann-dat (Stone Pavilion),  
North view (Photo by Tint Lwin, 11 Dec: 2005)

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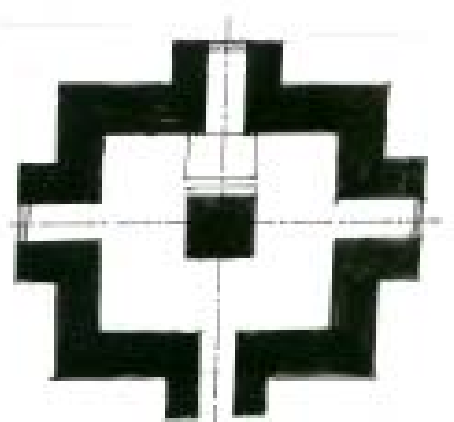
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59. Stupa (126), Nagayon, Kyauk-mann-dat,  
East view (Photo by Tint Lwin, 11 Dec: 2005)



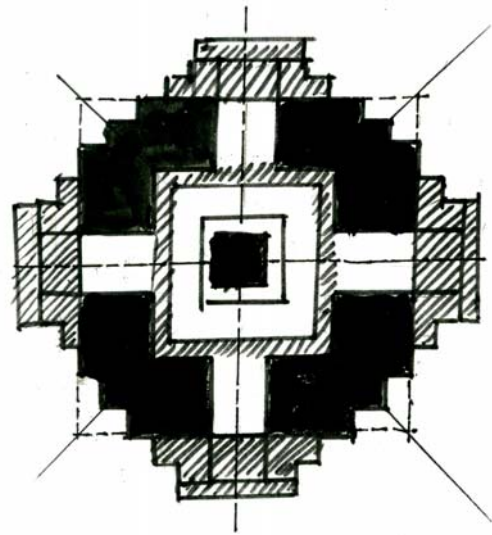
60. Cave Temple (52), Tin Pyin Pyae,  
Southwest  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 11 Dec: 2005)



The drawing of the groundplan  
is helped drawn by U Aye Myint  
(Myanmar Art Designer)



61. Cave Temple (53), Kyaung Iein,  
Southwest view, 2nd highest in Pakhan  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 11 Dec: 2005)



The drawing of the groundplan  
is helped drawn by U Aye Myint  
(Myanmar Design Artist & Resercher)

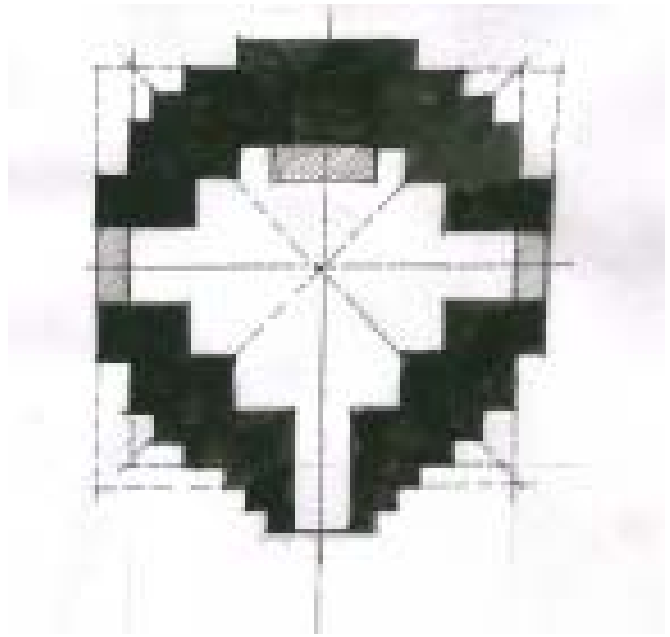


62. Cave Temple (131), Thaw-Tar-Pan, Southeast view,  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 11 Dec: 2005)





63. Cave Temple(121),  
Mya Thein Tan, Southeast view  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 22 Dec: 2005)



The drawing of the groundplan  
is helped drawn by U Aye Myint  
(Myanmar Design Artist & Resercher)

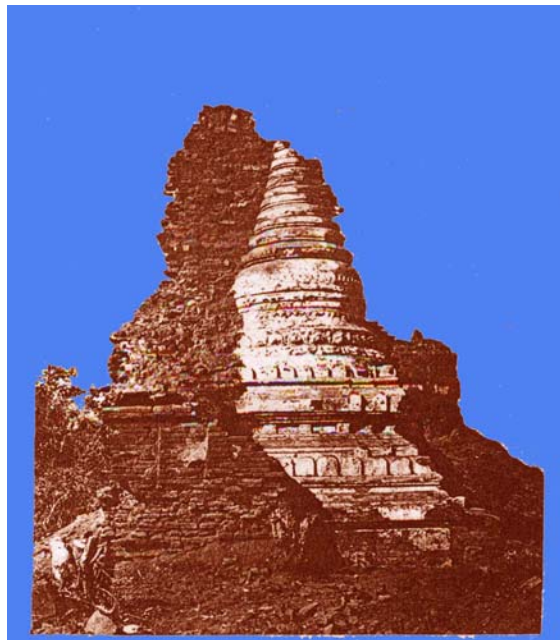


64. Cave Temple (97), Kan-tayar, East view  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 11 Dec: 2005)



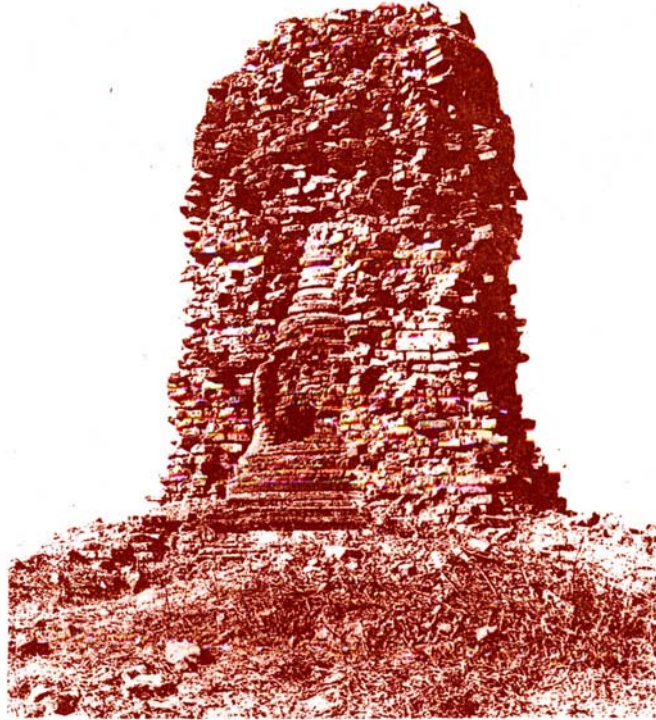


65. Cave Temple (109), Encased Pagoda, East view,  
North of Ywar Thar village (Photo by Tint Lwin, 11 Dec: 2005)



66. An encased ceti (siripaccaya-Bagan) (Photo by Tint Lwin, 11 Dec: 2005)

**Source:** Sujata soni Evolution of stupa in Burma Pagan Period, 11th to 13th centuries. AD, Yangon ASB. Pho Neg. No: 3390, 1930-1. p. 37-84, Photo (70)



67. An encased ceti (siripaccaya) ASB pho Neg No.3360, 1930-1:  
**Source:** Sujata Soniz Evolution of stupa in Burma p. 37-84, Photo(71)  
 (Photo by Tint Lwin, 11 Dec: 2005)



68. Stupa (197,198) Kan Yoe Kyaung Thone Hsu Tan,  
 Chinthè Ah-lei Htaing Pyaya, South view  
 (Photo by Tint Lwin, 11 Dec: 2005)





69. Stupa-, Hsin-gu, Kyet-tu-yway Gu,  
(Elephant and Parrot Caves) (Photo by Tint Lwin, 11 Dec: 2005)



70. Stupa (134), Hsu Taung Pyae, Two Chinthees,  
(Two Lions) East view (Photo by Tint Lwin, 11 Dec: 2005)



71. Long-necked lion,  
Thone Hsu Tan Phaya, Pakhan-nge  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 11 Dec: 2005)



72. Temple, (131), Thaw Tar Pan Two Chinthès,  
Northeast view (Photo by Tint Lwin, 11 Dec: 2005)





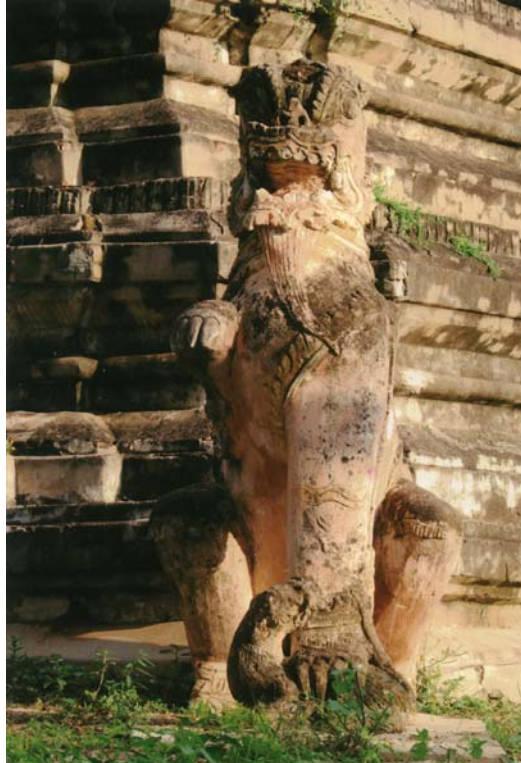
73. Looking towards Palace Two Chinthè, East stairway of Sithu Shin Pagodas, Southwest view (Photo by Tint Lwin, 11 Dec: 2005)



74. Lion East stairway, Sithu Shin Pagoda, South east view (Photo by Tint Lwin, 11 Dec: 2005)



75. Pa-da-yat Chinthe (Forelegs raised), Stupa(91), South west view (Photo by Tint Lwin, 11 Dec: 2005)



76. Squatting Chinthe with right foreleg raised Stupa(91), (Photo by Tint Lwin, 11 Dec: 2005)

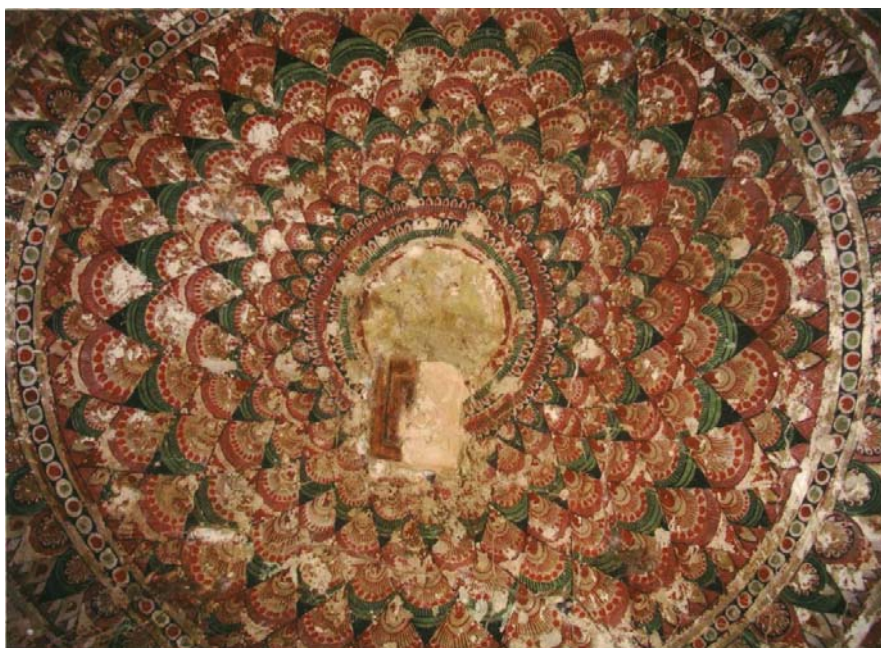




77. Multi-layer petal lotus, petals intertwined like elephant tusks, framed by a rhombus of unequal sides; Myat Paung Myintzu ceiling, (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 June 2004)



78. Ceiling with Images, Stupa (78) (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 June 2004)

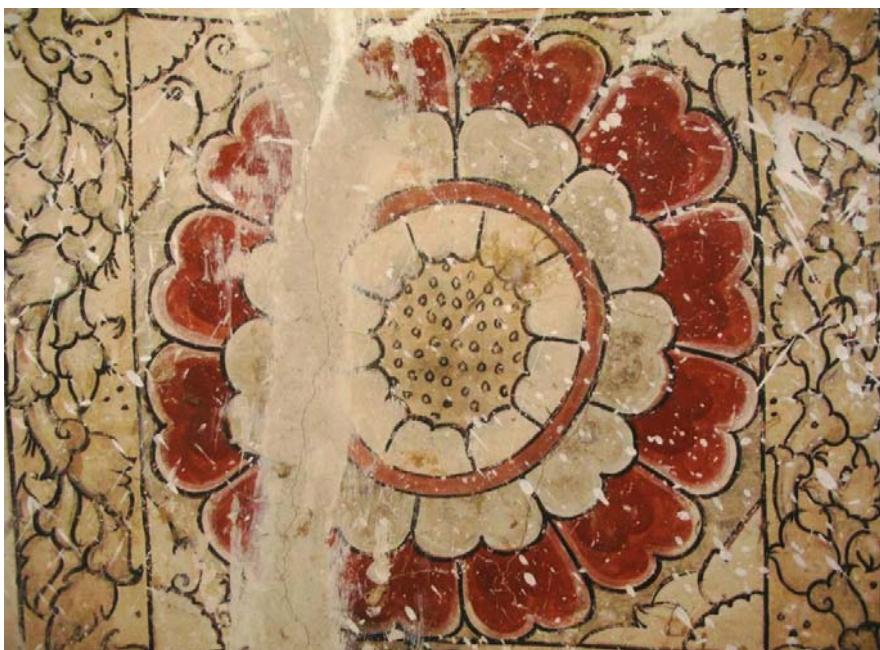


79. Layered-petal central lotus intertwined like elephant tusks, Stupa (43), (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 June 2004)



80. Gant-gaw (*Mesua pendunculata*) flower ceiling (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 June 2004)





81. Circular lotus with many layers of petals  
and with a prominent stamen pattern  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 June 2004)



82. Central lotus intertwined like elephant tusks type  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 June 2004)



83. Hsin Swe Wun Shet Baho Kyar Htup Waing Gyi pattern,  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 June 2004)



84. Free-hand drawing of Lotus (not purely circular), Stupa (28)  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 June 2004 )





85. Hsin Swe Wun Shet Baho Kyar Htup Waing-second stage  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 June 2004)



86. Multi-layer petal lotus symbolizing Mount Meru, Stupa (153),  
Lawka Hman Ku (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 June 2004)

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87. Lotus flowers symbolizes Mount Meru, Law Ka Man Ku, Temple (153)  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 18 Sept: 2005)



88. The lotus bloom symbolizing the heavenly sky, 18-9-05,  
Within precincts of Min Oh monastery  
(Photo by Tint Lwin2, 18 Sept: 2005)









91. Ceiling Painting of Nagayon pattern, Ma Oo Shwe Bon Thar Pagoda,  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 June 2004)



92. Kyo-gyi-cheik design pattern  
Ceiling Painting of Larba Kyawswat sma, Myay Khe Tauing  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 June 2004)





93. Ceiling painting of circular flowers, Nga Mone Kone Stupa group, Pakhan  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 5 August 2005)



94. Ceiling of eight-petal flower with projecting corners  
(Kho-Nan-Choe), Stupa 195  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 5 August 2005)





95. Makara's scales floral pattern, Stupa (195)  
Yoke Sone Kyaung Ceiling Painting (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)



96. Ceiling of Kanote flower pattern (floral design), Stupa (121), Mya Thein Tan  
(Photo by Ting Lwin, 4 August 2004)

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97. A king among the floral decoration (Photo by Tint Lwin, 9 August 2004)



98. A King in his reign of kingdom,  
Nga Mone Kone village (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)





99. A young prince in a mood of delight,  
Stupa 130, East Tawagu Temple, Pakhan  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)



100. A youth in a dance act,  
Stupa (108), (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)





101. A Deity offering flowers to the Buddha,  
Stupa 131, Thaw Tar Pan Temple (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)



102. Brahma Deity in the act of offering flowers and umbrellas,  
Larba Kyaw Swar, Myay Khe Taung (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)



103. A Deity paying homage to lord Buddha with flower offerings  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)



104. A Deity sitting and offering Dagon Kokkar decorative pennants  
and sort of streamers, (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)





105. Strange being coming out from foliage, Stupa 126,  
Naga-yon Temple, Pakhan  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)



106. The congragation of a hurndred and one kingdom's chiefs, Shin-pin  
Pwint-lan Temple. (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)



107. A Brahmin and his followers, Shin-pin Pwint-lan Temple,  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)



108. An old man executioner wearing a red pasoe(sarong)  
carring a sword Than Hlyet (Photo by Tint Lwin4 August 2004)





109. A drawing never-yet-seen Nyi-Ma Thone Phaw Pagoda (Three Sister Temple) (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)



110. Painting a Pasoe with spot Design (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)





111. The figure of a muscular man  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)



112. A woman-snake charmer Nyi-ma-thone-phaw Temple  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)

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113. A man with a fierce appearance or a deity holding Than-hlyet (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)



114. A man with a topknot hair, holding a sword and wearing a Pasoe of waving lines Acheik design (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)



115. Two Lovers in a playful mood, Stupa 49, Phaya Ni Temple,  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)



116. The Anyeint performance of Aung Myay Lawka Pagoda  
in Khin Mon village Chaung Oo Township, (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)





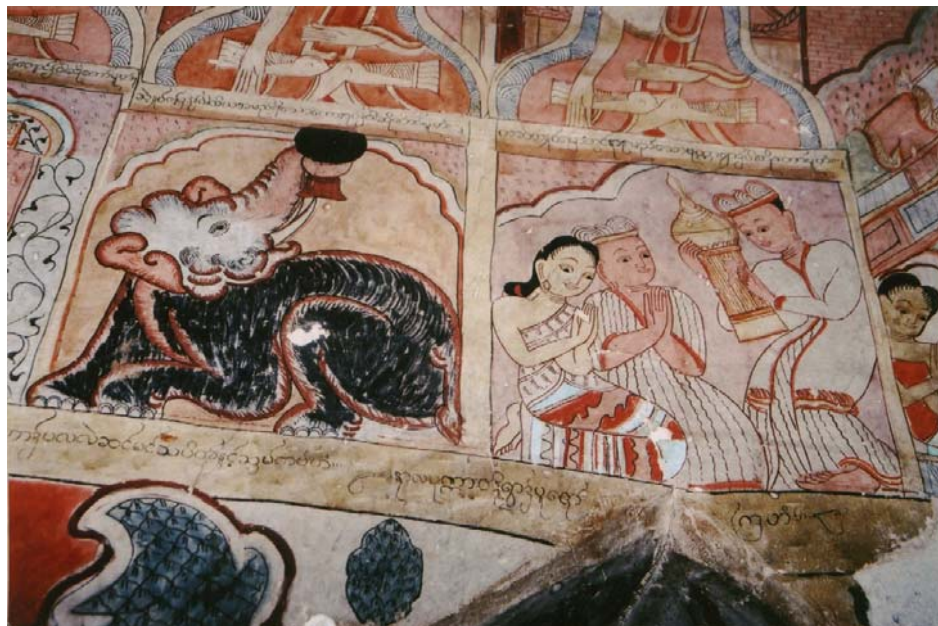
117. Saing Waing (Myanmar Orchestra),  
Myay Khae Taung village, Chaung Oo (Photo by Tint Lwin, 5 April 2004)



118. The two dancers seem to be executing the duet dance  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 5 April 2004)



119. Two court ladies on the way to offer swoon(cooked rice) and flowers (Photo by Tint Lwin, 5 April 2004)



120. Pala-le Elephant King offering flowers to the Buddha and Nala Brahmin making on offering at his village, Larba Kyaw Swar Sima (Photo by Tint Lwin, 5 April 2004)



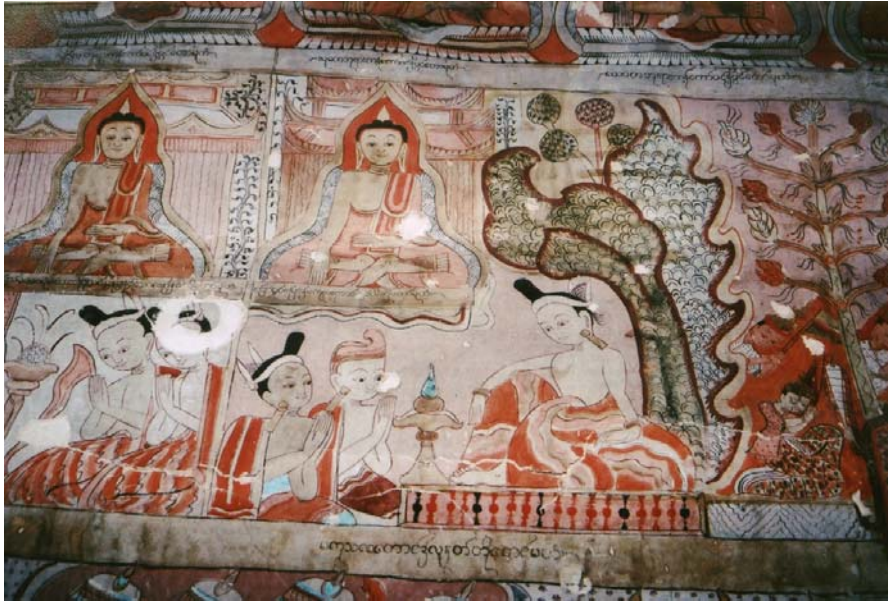


121. King Kosambi giving audience to his courtiers, Larba Kyaw Swar Sima Hall. (Photo by Tint Lwin, 5 April 2004)

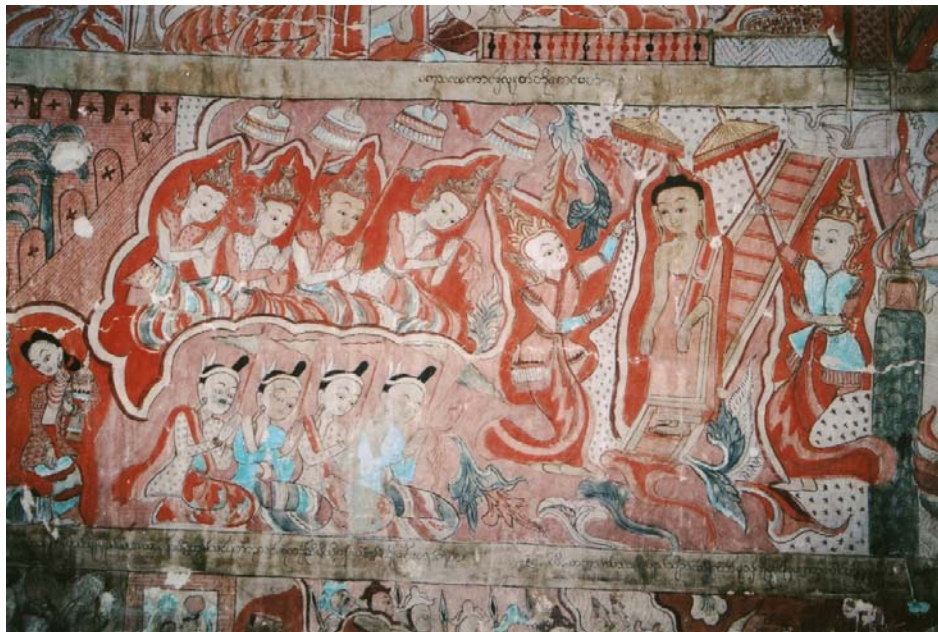


122. A king among his attendants at Vesali, Larba Kyaw Swar Sima Hall. (Photo by Tint Lwin, 5 April 2004)





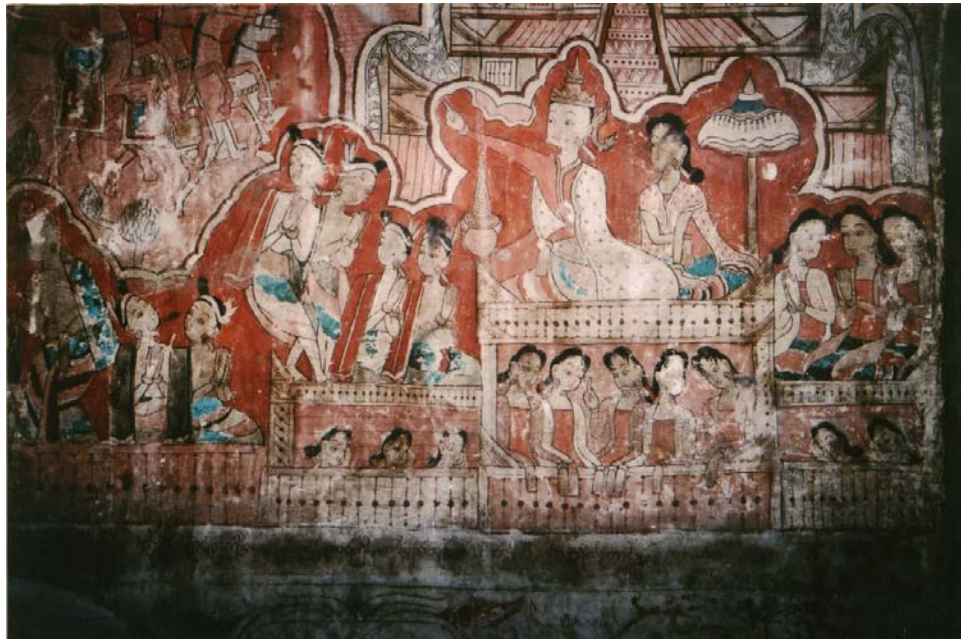
123. The Buddha blessing the deities and human at Maha Kusala mountain, Larba Kyaw Swar Sima Hall. (Photo by Tint Lwin, 5 April 2004)



124. The Buddha receiving offerings from citizens of Sanghasa-na-go, Larba Kyaw Swar Sima Hall (Photo by Tint Lwin, 5 April 2004)



125. OGRE PONDAKA, holding the reins of the horse  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 5 April 2004)



126. Bodhisatta King Naymi making deeds of merit,  
Larba Kyaw Swar (Photo by Tint Lwin, 5 April 2004)





127. King Thigyar-min and Brahmar Deities offering flowers to Lord Buddha, Thaw Tar Pan Temple (Photo by Tint Lwin, 5 April 2004)



128. Two youths carrying two cocks, Larba Kyaw Swar Sima, Wall Painting (Photo by Tint Lwin, 5 April 2004)



129. The gate-keeper couple, Larba Kyaw Swar Sima,  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 5 April 2004)



130. The wife pulling beard of her husband, the gate-keeper, Wazo  
Thein Temple, Yesagy Myo. (Photo by Tint Lwin, 20 Jan: 2007)





131. Mount Meru surrounded by seven ranges and seven oceans, Larba Kyaw Swar Sima Hall (Photo by Tint Lwin, 5 April 2004)



132. The Lord Buddha spending under the Tamar tree (Photo by Tint Lwin, 5 April 2004)



133. Anyeint and Circus performance, Larba Kyaw Swar  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 21 Jan: 2007)

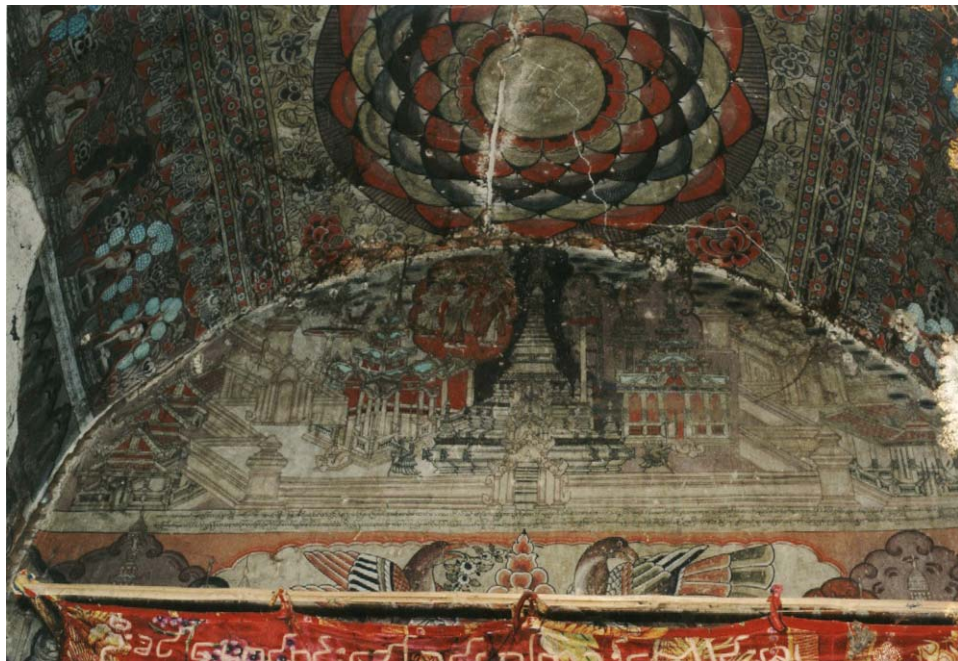


134. Lord Buddha dwelling in Jetavana Monastery, Thaw Ta Pan  
Cave Temple. (Photo by Tint Lwin, 21 Jan: 2007)





135. Jetavana Monastery and the figure of a royal cavalry soldier  
Thaw Ta Pan Cave Temple. (Photo by Tint Lwin, 21 Jan: 2007)



136. Arc of the moon, Thaw Tar Pan Temple  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 21 Jan: 2007)





137. Myanmar floral works and lord Buddha with his Arahant disciples, Thaw Ta Pan Cave Temple. (Photo by Tint Lwin, 21 Jan: 2007)



138. Lord Buddha and his right-hand and left-hand disciples, Thaw Ta Pan Cave Temple. (Photo by Tint Lwin, 21 Jan: 2007)





139. Lord Buddha receiving homage from the king and his courtiers,  
Thaw Tar Pan Temple (Photo by Tint Lwin, 21 Jan: 2007)

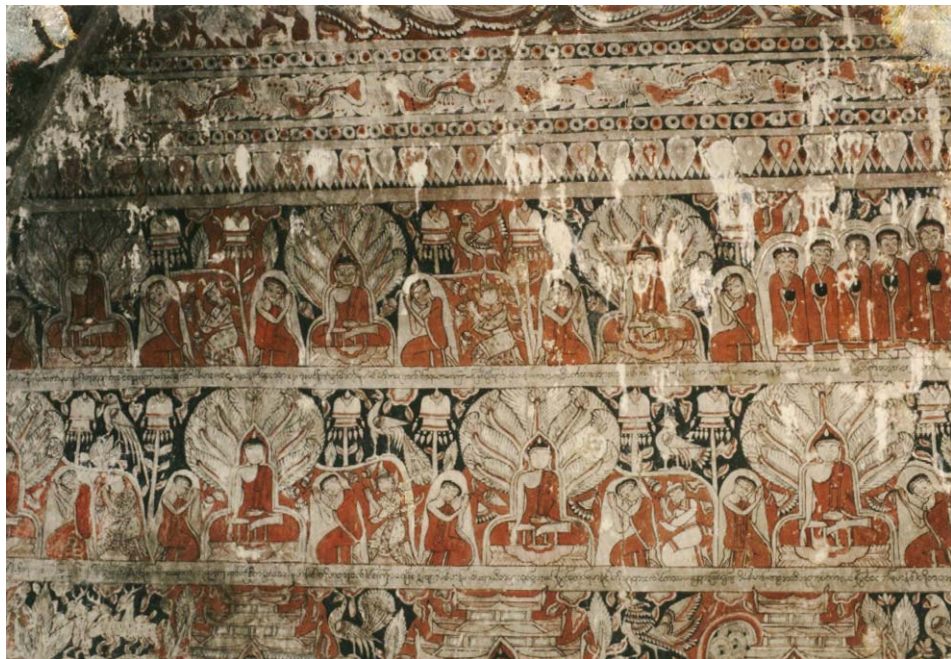


140. King Vesantara donating his royal horses and elephants  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 21 Jan: 2007)





141. The Buddha's remain carried away on palanquin,  
Mya Thein Tan Temple (Photo by Tint Lwin, 21 Jan: 2007)



142. Lord Buddha and Bodhi tree (circular form),  
Mya Thein Tan Temple (Photo by Tint Lwin, 21 Jan: 2007)



143. Tar Yar Dewi wearing Kyo Gyi Acheik Htamein, Cave Temple (78)  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 21 Jan: 2007)



144. The footprint of lord Buddha and Zatar Taw Pon,  
Stupa (46), Pha-ya-net Cave Temple  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 21 Jan: 2007)





145. Foreign national holding a weapon, Pha-ya-ni Cave Temple  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 21 Jan: 2007)



146. Saris wearing women with bare breasts, Pha-ya-ni Cave Temple  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 11 Jan: 2007)





147. Buddha figurines and audience in celebration with Myanmar Saing, Tin Pyin Pyae Temple, Pakhan Gyi. (Photo by Tint Lwin, 21 Jan: 2007)



148. Ponndaka ogre courting Ein-na-wadi, Naga Princess, Kan Yoe Chaung Thone Hsu Tan (Photo by Tint Lwin, 21 Jan: 2007)





149. Visions of hell, Yesagy Myo, Shwe Phone Pwint Pagoda  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 21 Jan: 2007)



150. Myanmar king attending Hluttaw (Assembly), Khanda Thein Temple,  
Yesagy Myo, (Photo by Tint Lwin, 21 Jan: 2007)





151. Ordination ceremony of monks in the Kalayani river, Khanda Thein Temple, Yesagy Myo, (Photo by Tint Lwin, 21 Jan: 2007)



152. Inside Pakhangyi Museum Buddha Image (Photo by Tint Lwin, 21 Jan: 2007)



153. Rakhine worshiped by King Maha Kyein Buddha Image  
(Photo by U Aye Myint, 12 Oct: 2003)



154. Nwar Htain Image, Nwar Htain village, Yeasagyo Township,  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 12 Oct: 2003)

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155. The Eight Great Event of a Buddha's career, Near Bagan, Upali Sima, front view (Photo by Tint Lwin, 1 March 2004)



156. The Andagu Eight Scenes, Shwezigon, Nyaung Oo, front view (Photo by Tint Lwin, 1 March 2004)





157. Taw Htwet Kyi Image , Ananda Temple Pagan, front view  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 1 March 2004)



158. Head of Taw Htwet Kyi Image , Ananda Temple Pagan, front view  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 1 March 2004)

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159. Nat-pa-lin Nga Hlaing Kan image,  
Bronze image, Bagan (Photo by Tint Lwin, 12 Oct: 2003)



160. Gautama Image, Stupa 165, Pakhangyi, Front view  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 12 Oct: 2003)





161. Gautama Buddha Image,  
Stupa 165, Pakhangyi, Front view,  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 1 March 2004)



162. Late Bagan Buddha Image, Pha-ya-ni Image,  
Stupa 78, Pakhangyi, Front view (Photo by Tint Lwin, 1 March 2004)



163. An Image at Tin Pyin Pyae, Stupa 152, Pakhangyi, Front view (Photo by Tint Lwin, 1 March 2004)



164. An Image at Larba Kyaw Swar, Myay Khe Taung village, Front view, (Photo by Tint Lwin, 1 March 2004)

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165. An Image at U Htun Pyae Pagoda, Stupa 46, Pakhangyi, Front view (Photo by Tint Lwin, 1 March 2004)



166. An Image at Phaya Net, Stupa 46, Pakhangyi, Front view (Photo by Tint Lwin , 1 March 2004))

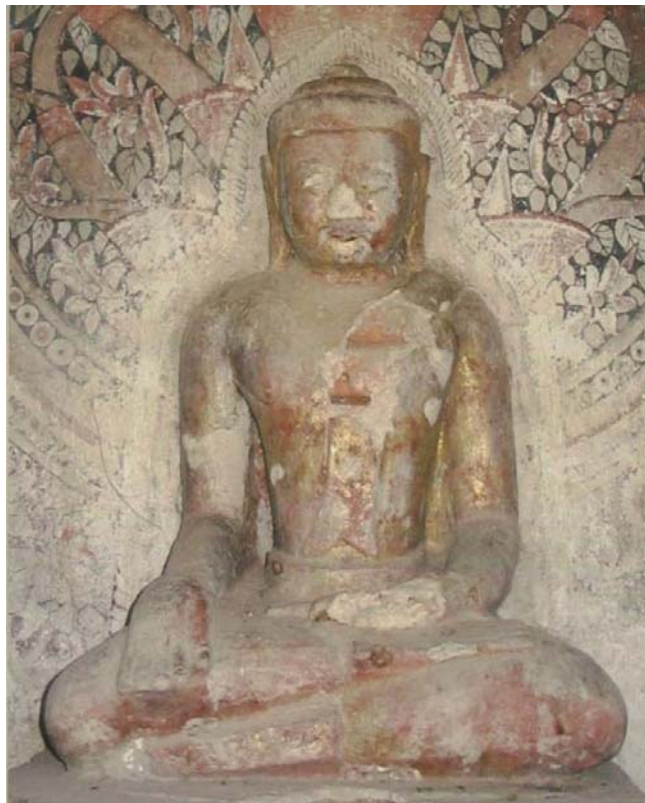
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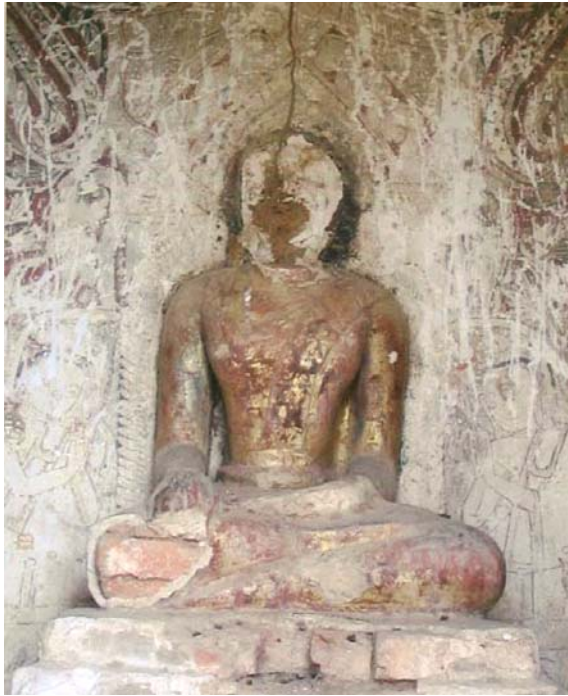
167. An Image of Nyaungyan period, Stupa 182, Pakhangyi, Front view (Photo by Tint Lwin, 1 March 2004)



168. An Image of Innwa period, Stupa 108, North of Ywar Thar Village, Front view, (Photo by Tint Lwin, 1 March 2004)

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169. A Buddha Image at Ywar Thar village,  
Stupa 113, Pakhangyi, Front view, (Photo by Tint Lwin, 1 March 2004)



170. A Buddha Image at Ywar Thar village,  
Stupa 110, Pakhangyi, Front view, (Photo by Tint Lwin, 1 March 2004)

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171. Image of the Buddha at the Nagar-Yon Cave temple, Stupa (126), Than-si Monastery, Front view, (Photo by Tint Lwin , 1 March 2004)



172. Stupa (32) Buddha Image, North of Ratanabhumi Monastery Dining Hall, Front view, (Photo by Tint Lwin, 1 March 2004)

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173. A Buddha Image of Konbaung period, Stupa 130, North of Than Si Monastery, Front view, (Photo by Tint Lwin , 1 March 2004)



174. A Buddha Image of Ratanabon period, Stupa 131, Thaw Tar Pan Temple, Front view, (Photo by Tint Lwin, 1 March 2004)



175. A Buddha Image of Ratanbon period, Stupa 135, north of Hsu Taung Pyae, Front view, (Photo by Tint Lwin, 1 March 2004)



176. Hse-ta-mie-nyein Let-pwar-shin Image, Swoon Oo Ponnya Shin Pagoda of Sagain, Front view  
(Photo by Yay Chan, 1 March 2004)





177. Image of Buddha in the Mogaung Cave temple, west of the Pakokku-Yesagyo, Front view (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)



178. A Buddha Image at Wazo Thein, Ywar Poe, Yesagyo, Front view (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)



179. A Buddha Image at Wazo Thein, Yesagyoo, Front view  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)



180. Image on the elephant throne, Stupa (87), Khanda-thein  
Cave temple, Front view (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)





181. Phaung Taw Oo Image of Buddha, Stupa 33,  
Phaung Taw Oo monestery, Front view (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)



182. A standing Buddha Image at Kan Swe Oo Min, Pakhangyi, Front view  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)



183. A Buddha Image at Muak-kalan, Pakhangyi, Pakoku-Yesagyo, Side view (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)



184. A standing wooden Buddha Image, Pakhan-nge Kyaung Taw Gyi, Front view (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)



185. Pitaka Taik Standing Image, Pakhan Kyaung Taw Gyi, Front view,  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)



186. A Standing Image at Dipinkara Temple, Ywar Poe Quarter, Yesagyo,  
Front view (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)





187. Shwe Thar Laung, Ngwe Ta Laung Buddha Image, Kan Swe Oo Min, Pakhan Gyi, Side view (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)



188. Bronze Buddha Image, Pakhan Gyi, Front view (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)

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189. Bronze standing Buddha Image, Pakhan Gyi,  
Front view (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)



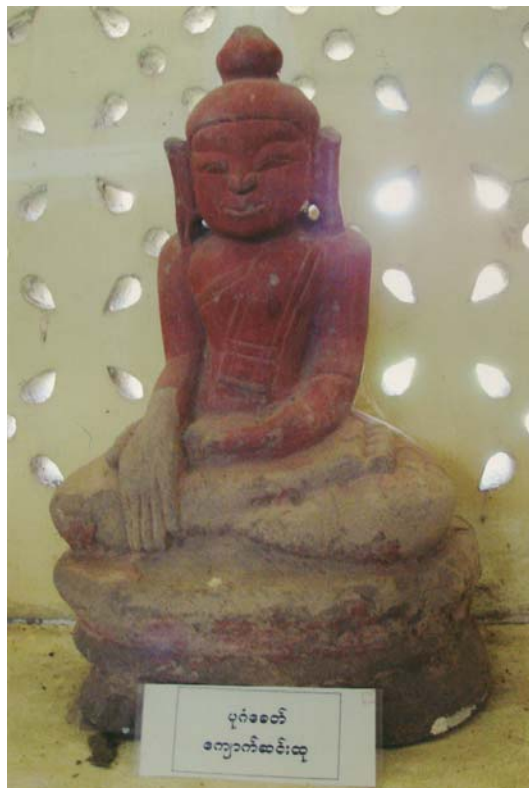
190. Bronze Buddha in Bhumi-phassa mudra posture, Pakhan Gyi,  
Front view (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)

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191. Bronze Image of Nagayon Buddha, Pakhan Gyi,  
Front view (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)



192. A Buddha Image of Bagan period, Pakhan Gyi,  
Front view (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)



193. A Buddha Image of Pinya period, Pakhan Gyi,  
Front view (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)



194. Sagyin marble Image of Buddha, Pakhan Gyi,  
Front view (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)



195. Sagyin marble Image of Nyaungyan period, Pakhan Gyi,  
Front view (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)



196. The bronze Image with Makeik crown of Konbaung period,  
Pakhan Gyi, Front view (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)





197. Bronze Image of Inn Pagoda, Pyay,  
Front view, (Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)



198. Bronze Image, Pakhan Gyi, Front view  
(Photo by Tint Lwin, 4 August 2004)



199. Tau ng Oo Sand-stone Image(Right Knee), Phaung Taw Oo monestery campus, Pakhan Gyi,Front view, (Photo by Tint Lwin, 19 Feb: 2007)



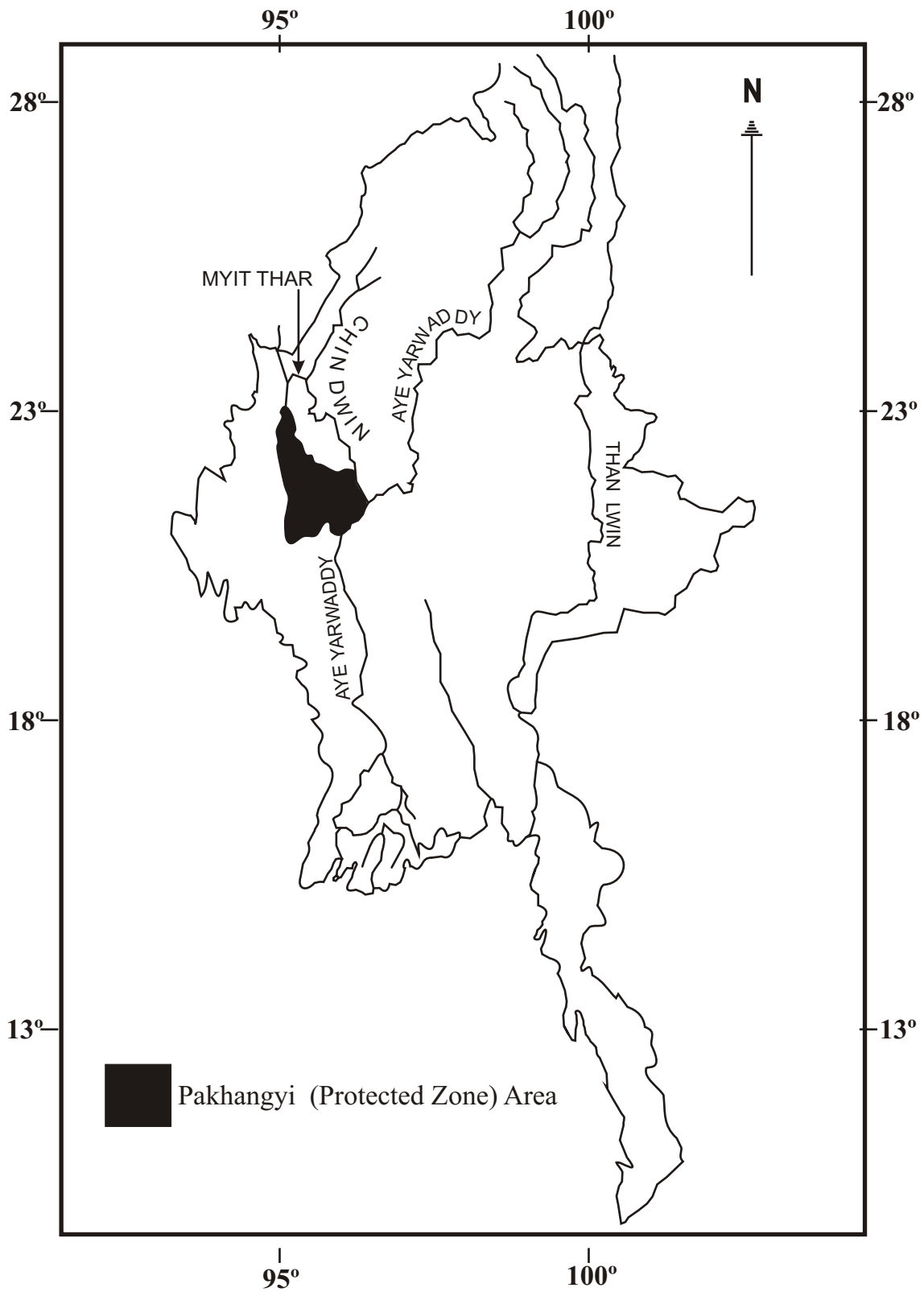
200. Phaung Taw Oo Sandstone Image, Phaung Taw Oo monestery campus, Pakhan Gyi,Front view (Photo by Tint Lwin, 19 Feb: 2007)

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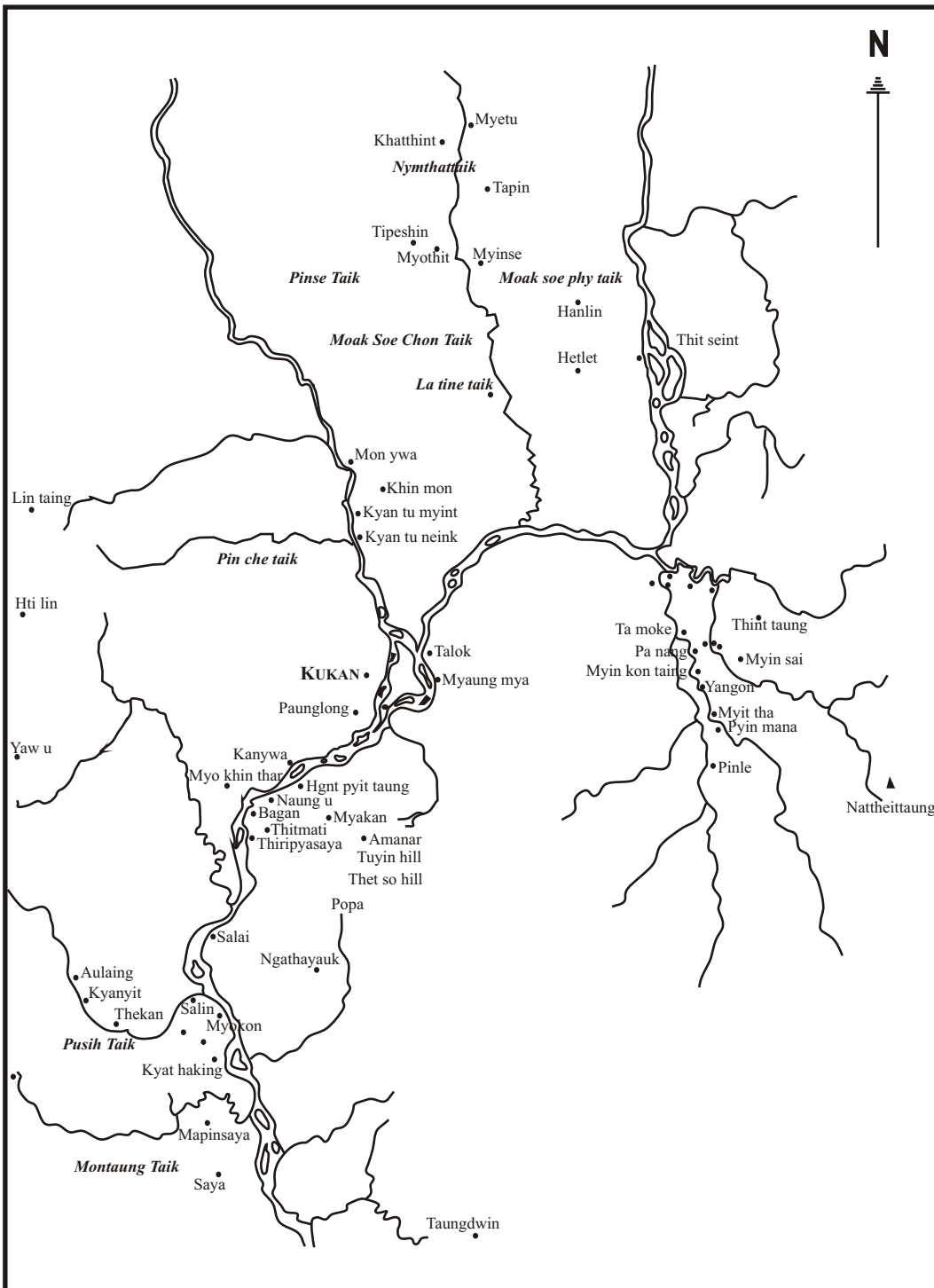
## Maps

**Map (1)**  
**Map of Pakhangyi Region (in conjecture)**





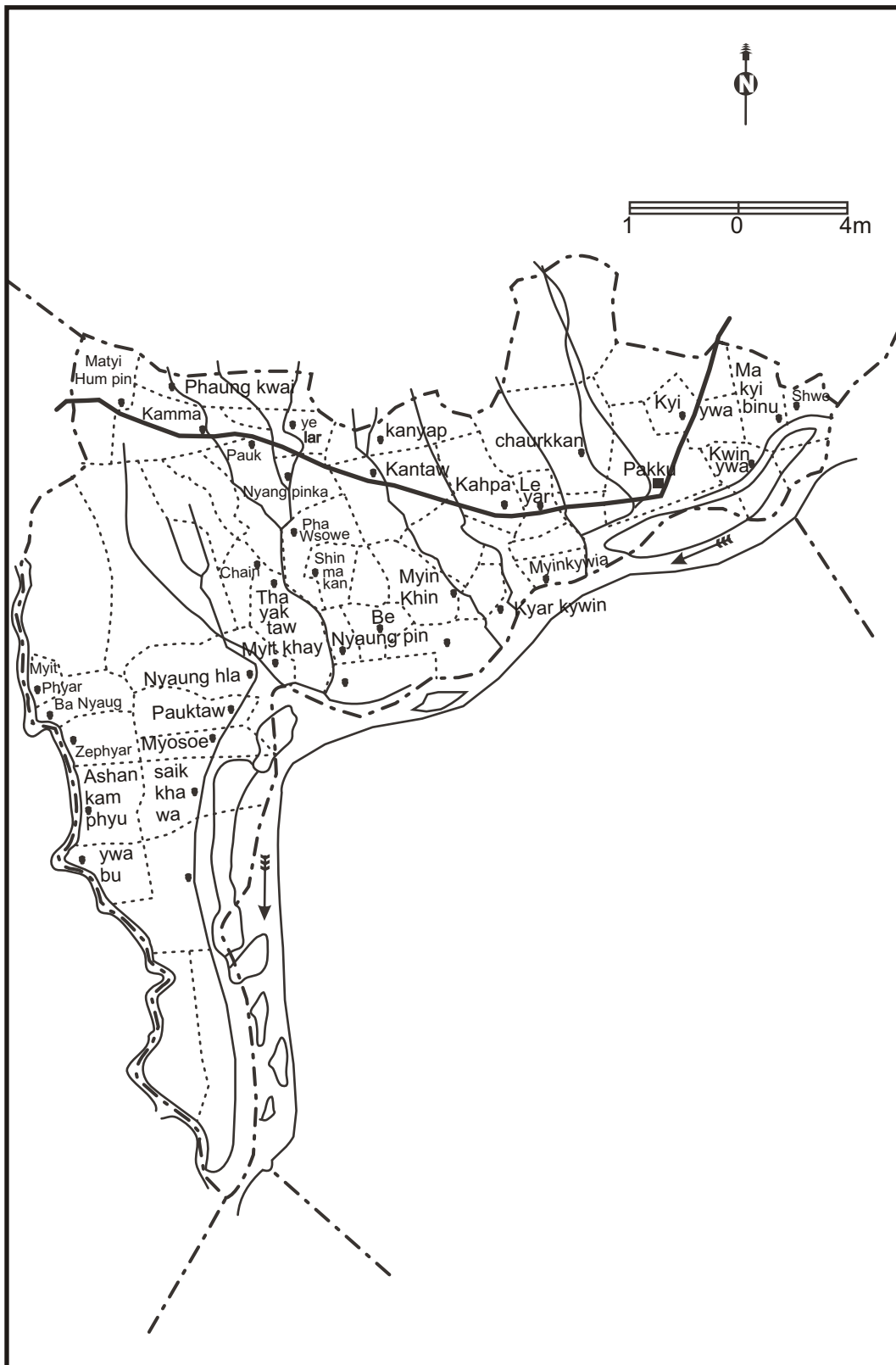
**Map (2)**  
**Original places of settlement of Myanmar 9th Century**



Source: Reproduced from Dr. Than Tun, "Sketches of Myanmar History", Golden Jubilee, UHRC, Yangon.

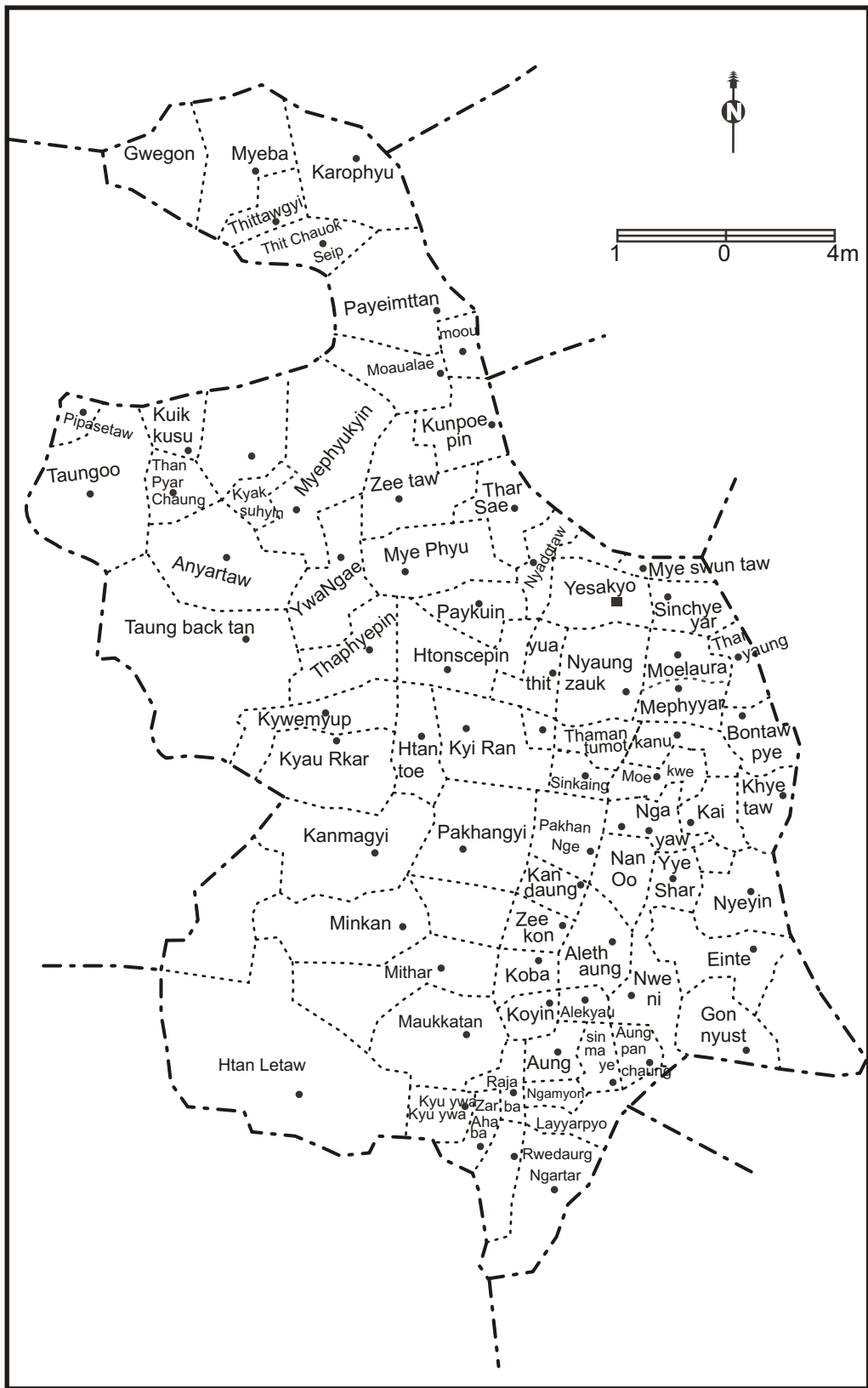
Remark: Original places of settlement of Myanmar is called Khrain and after that Tak

**Map (3)**  
**Map of Pakokku Township**



Source: Adapted from Township Landrecord Department, Pakokku, 1970

**Map (4)**  
**Map of Yesakyo Township**

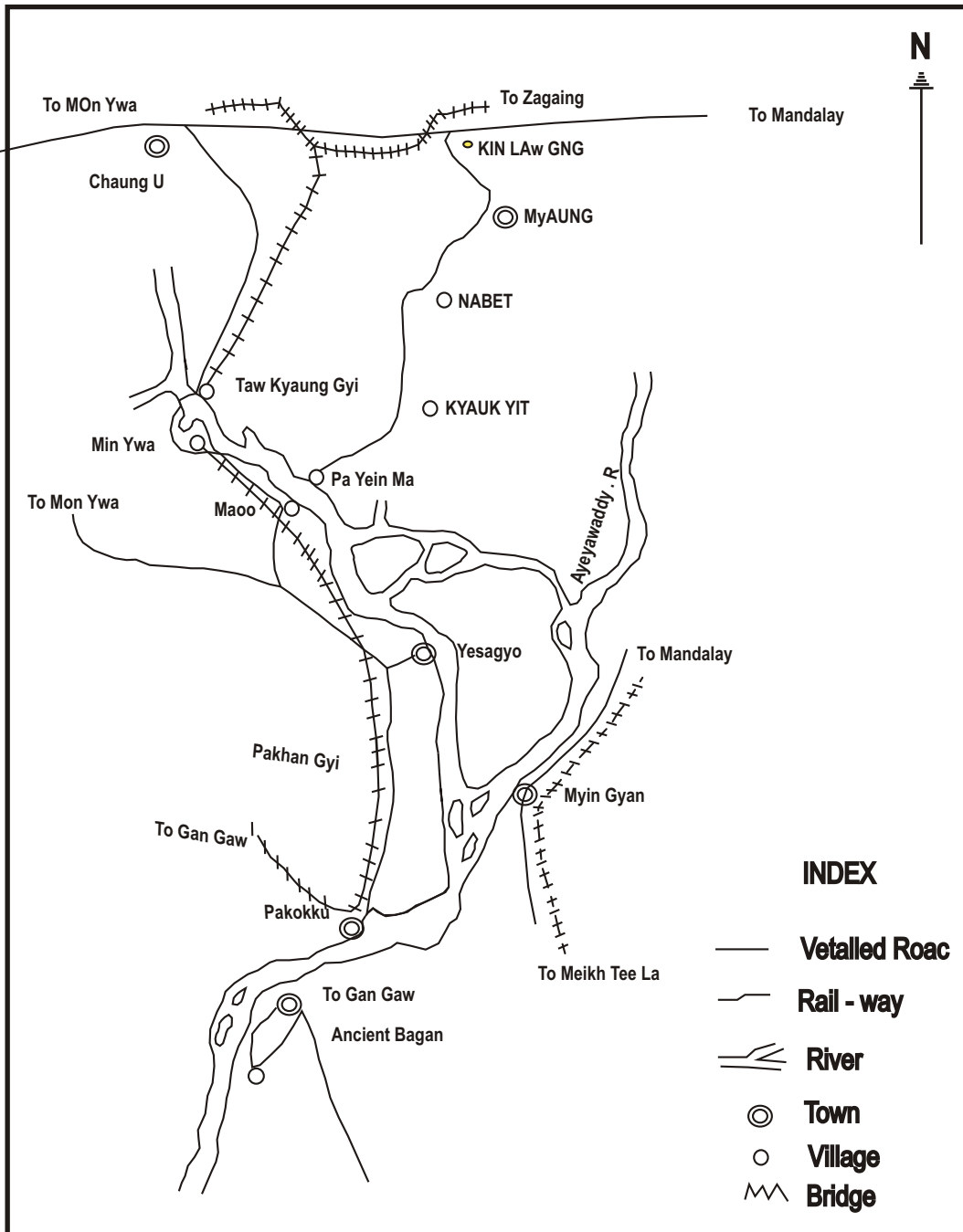


Source: Adapted from Township Landrecord Department, Yesago, 1970





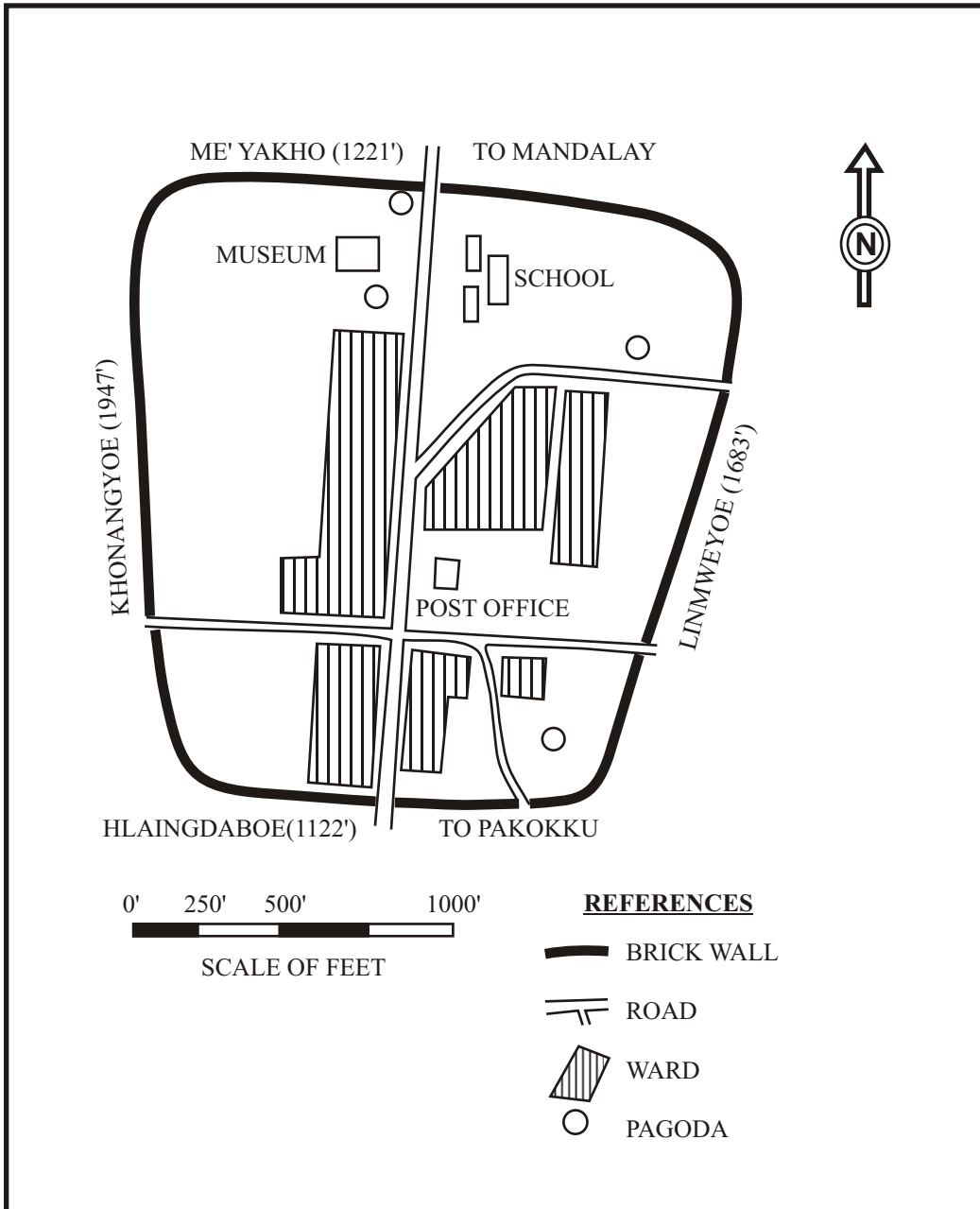
**Map (6)**  
**Situation of Pakhan Gyi Map**



SOURCE: THET THET OO, THE ROLE OF PAKHAN GYI  
 IN MYANMAR HISTORY (KANBAUNG PERIOD)  
 1996. MA (THESIS), MANDALAY  
 Edited by Tint Lwin 10 Dec 2006

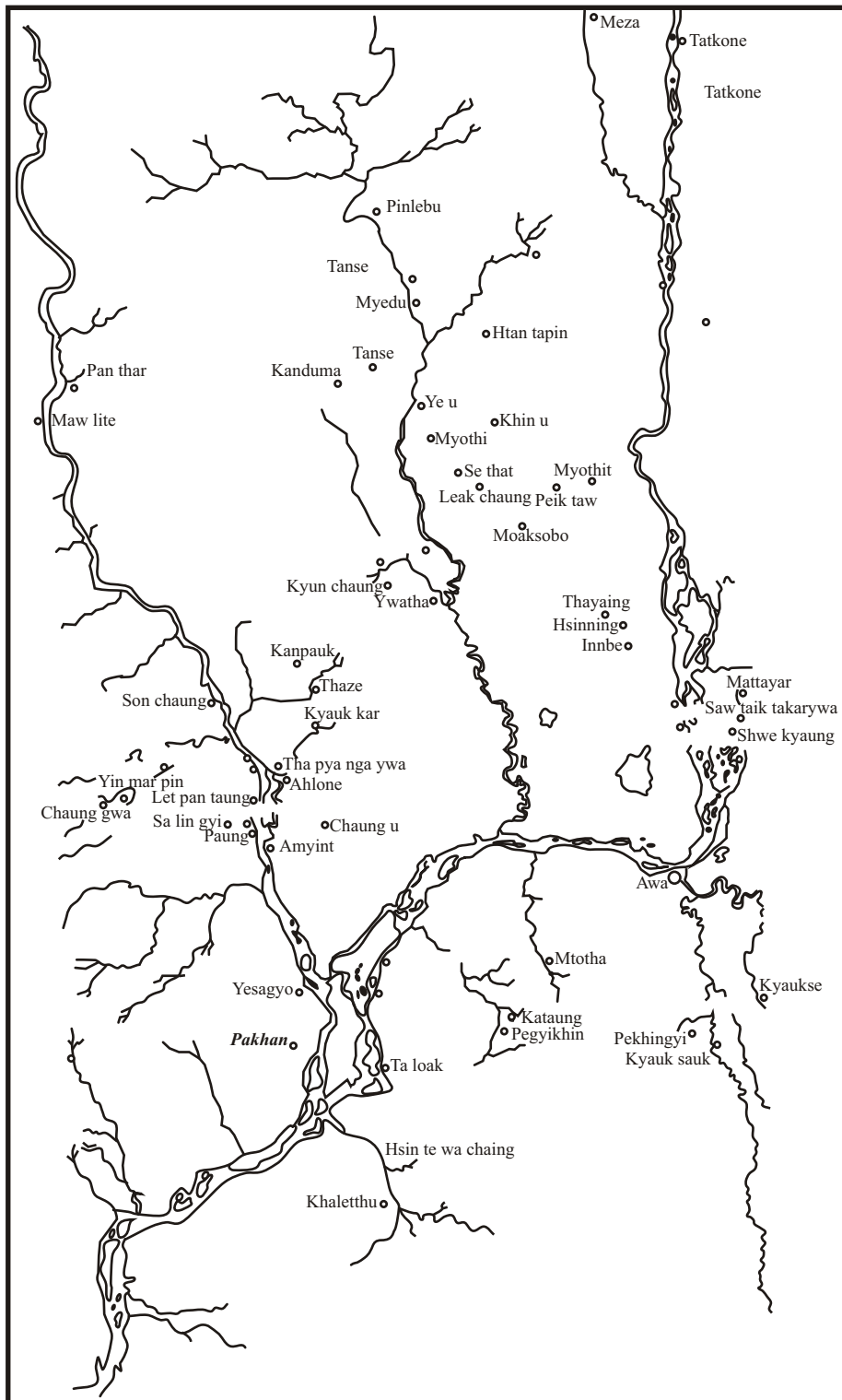
**Map (7)**

**Ground Plan of Pakhangyi Ancient City Wall**



Source: received by U Htay Win Maung , the Curator of Pakhangyi Museum, Yesagyo Township

**Map (8)**  
**Fortress towns set up to defend the attacks of Kates**

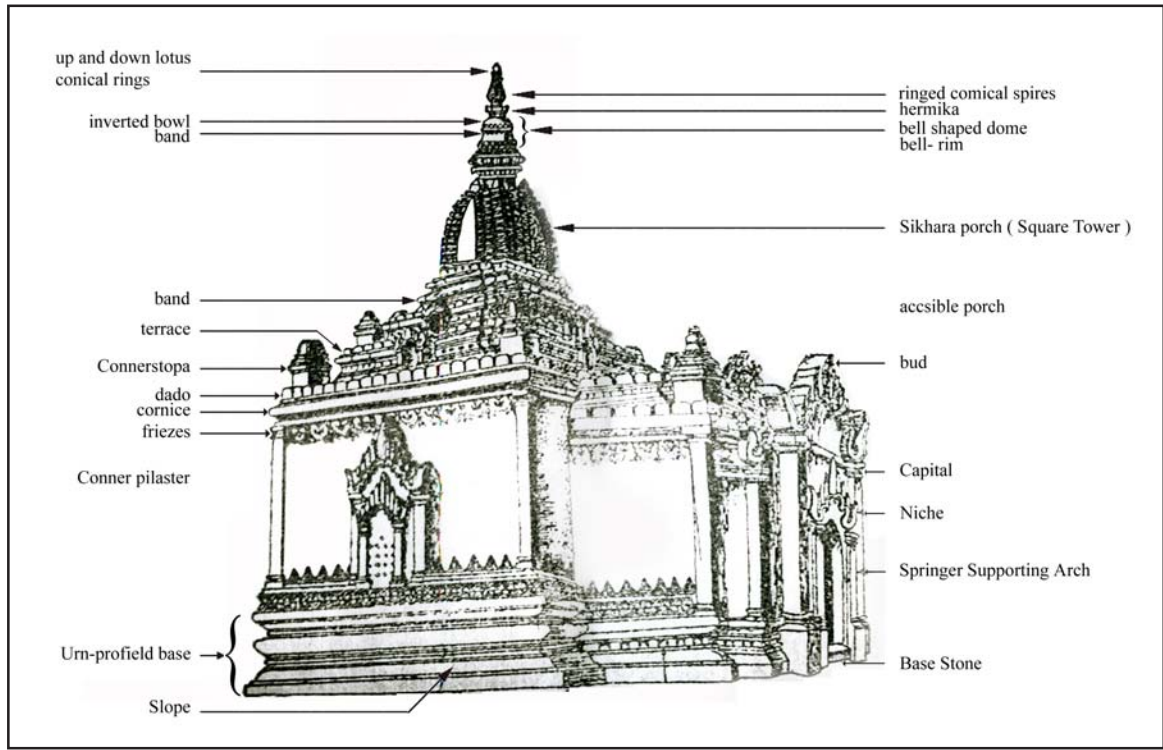


Source: Reproduced from Dr. Than Tun, "Sketches of Myanmar History",  
 Golder Tibliee, UHRC, Yangon.  
 Remark: Adapted from Yi Yi, Conditions of Myanmar (1752-1885), 1973

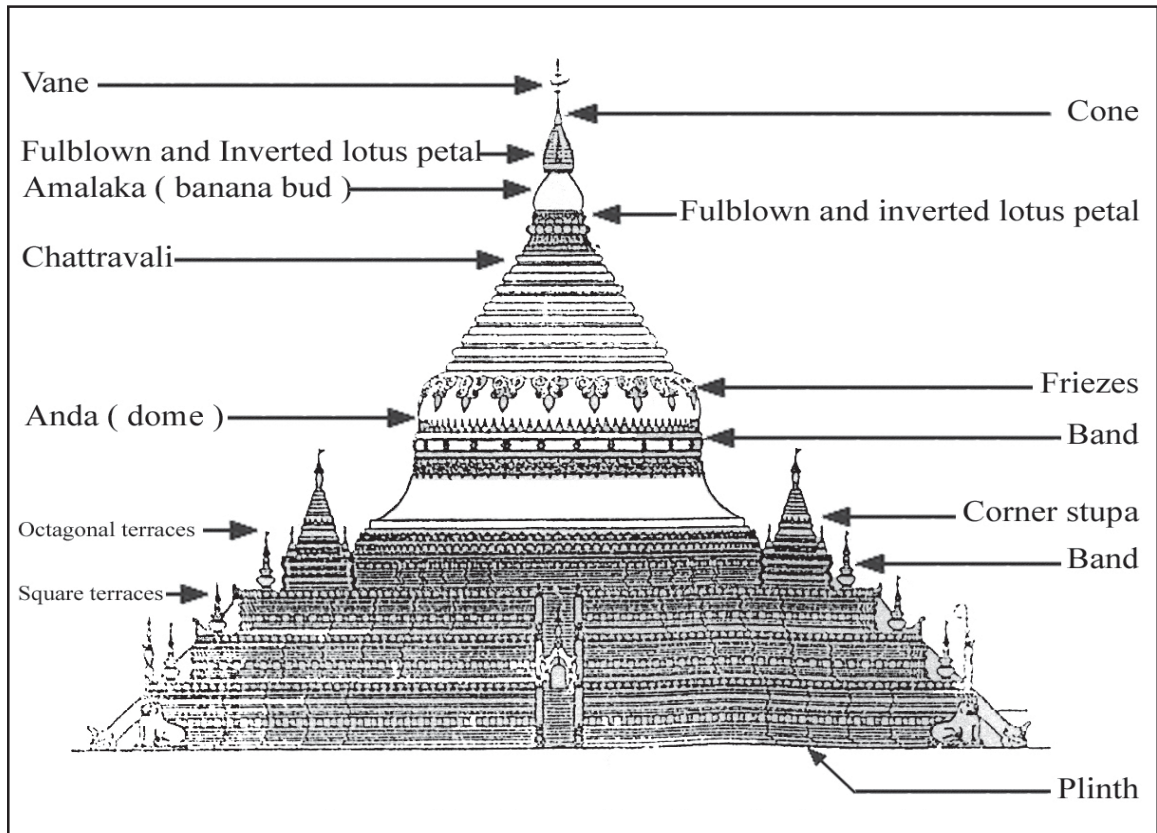
## **Drawings**



(A) Cave Temple of Bagan Period



**Source:** Minbu Aung Kyaing, Bagan Khit Bi-thu-kar let-yar Myar, Bagan Architecture, Yangon, Sarpay beik-man Press 1981 repaired and translated by Tint Lwin.

**(B) Stupa of Bagan Period**

**Source;** The Shweisikhon Pagoda, Naung-U, Pagan Period Pagoda and buildings  
P.138



1. The hirido style of Saing performer, *Shwe Kaing Thar, Sin-yin Htow-phwe Hmu*,  
Kyi Pwar Yay Press, May 1975



2. The Two Vertical position of hairknot flaps. (Gaung Baung Sa) Early Konbaung at  
Anada Brick Monavtery



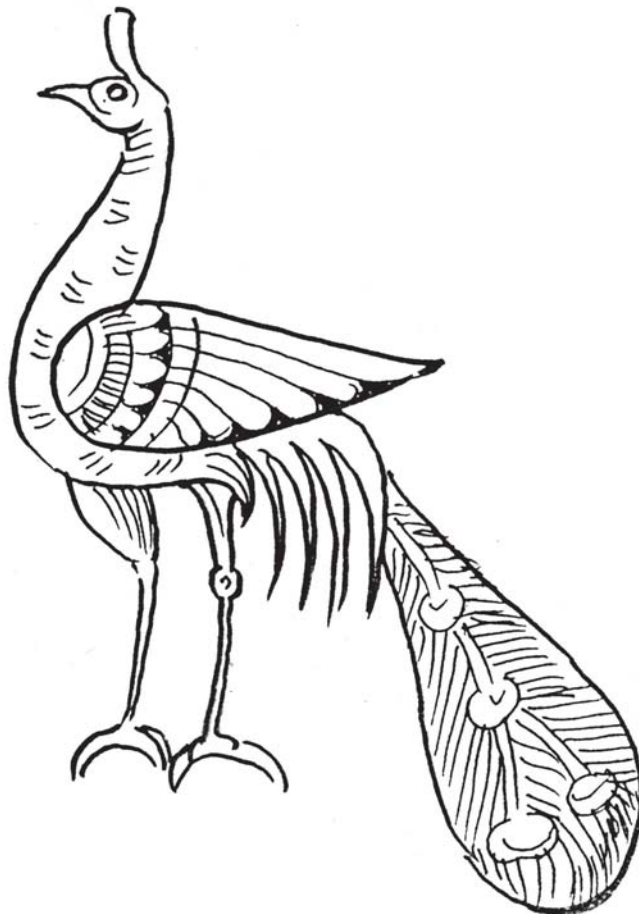
3. A figure of peacock, Mya Thein Tan (121) Cave Temple  
(The drawing helped by U Aye Myint, Myanmar Art & Designer)



4. Headress of an official, L.T.P Mansjuri 1977

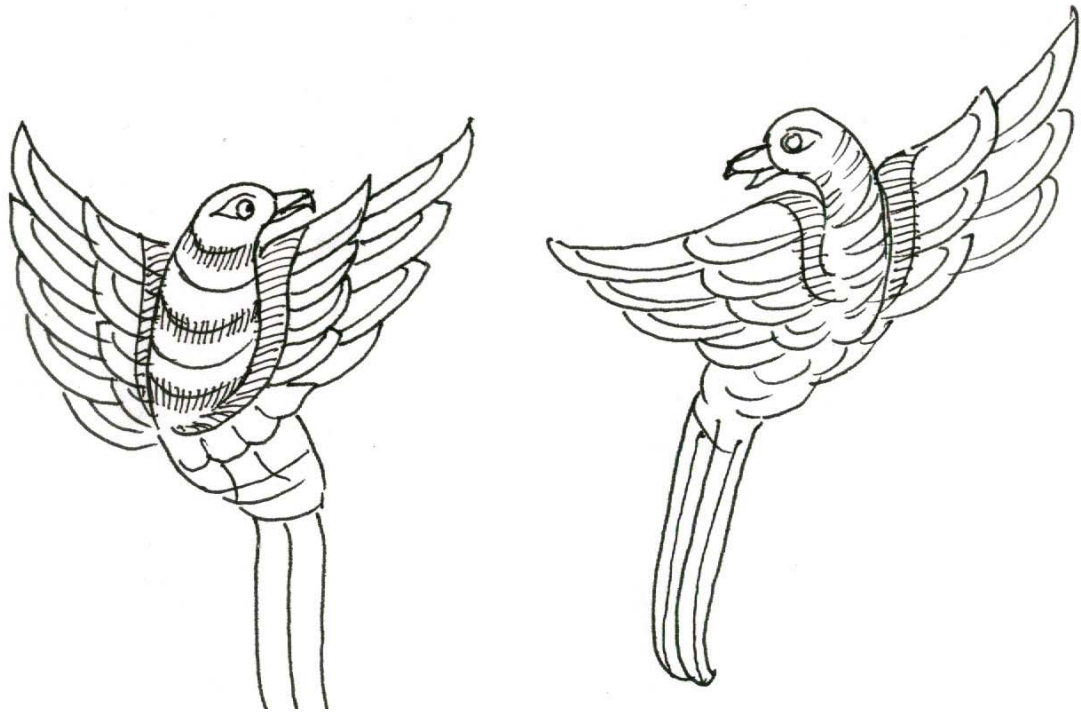


Animal figure of a peacock, Mya Thein Tan Cave Temple, Pakhangyi



5. Animal figure of a peacock, Mya Thein Tan Cave Temple, Pakhangyi  
(The drawing helped by U Aye Myint, Myanmar Art & Designer)





6. Animal figure of a parrot  
(The drawing helped by U Aye Myint, Myanmar Art & Designer)



Keinnari over arch



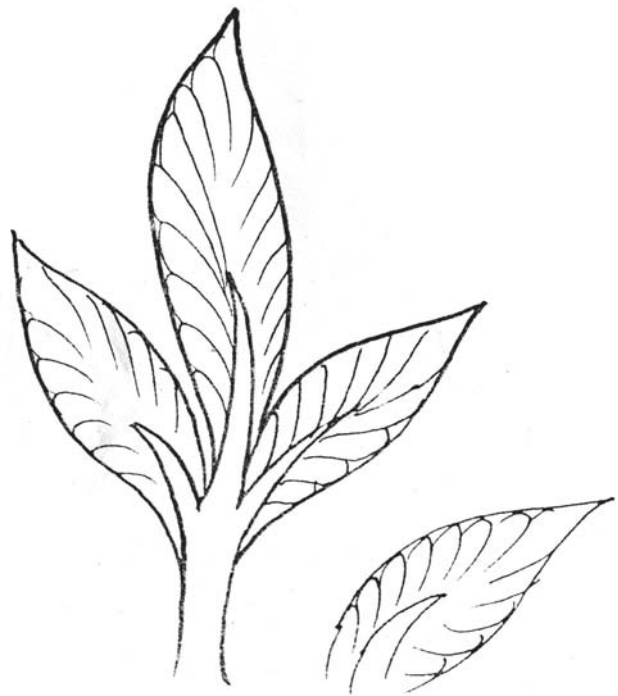
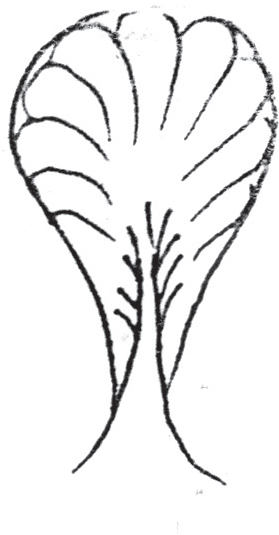
Keinnari over arch

Ma Au - Shwe Mu Htaw Pagoda Compound  
Front Face Pagoda

7. Animal figure of a keinnara (Mythical human with wings)  
(The drawing helped by U Aye Myint, Myanmar Art & Designer)

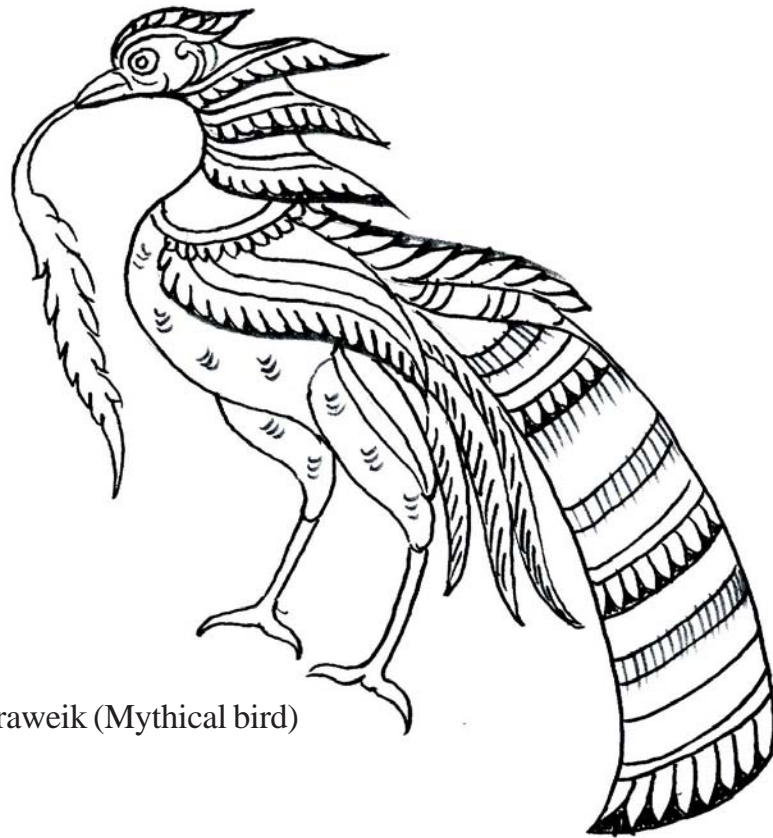


Labe Kyaw Swar Sima



Tree

8. Trees of peculiar form, Mya Thein Tan (121)  
(The drawing helped by U Aye Myint, Myanmar Art & Designer)



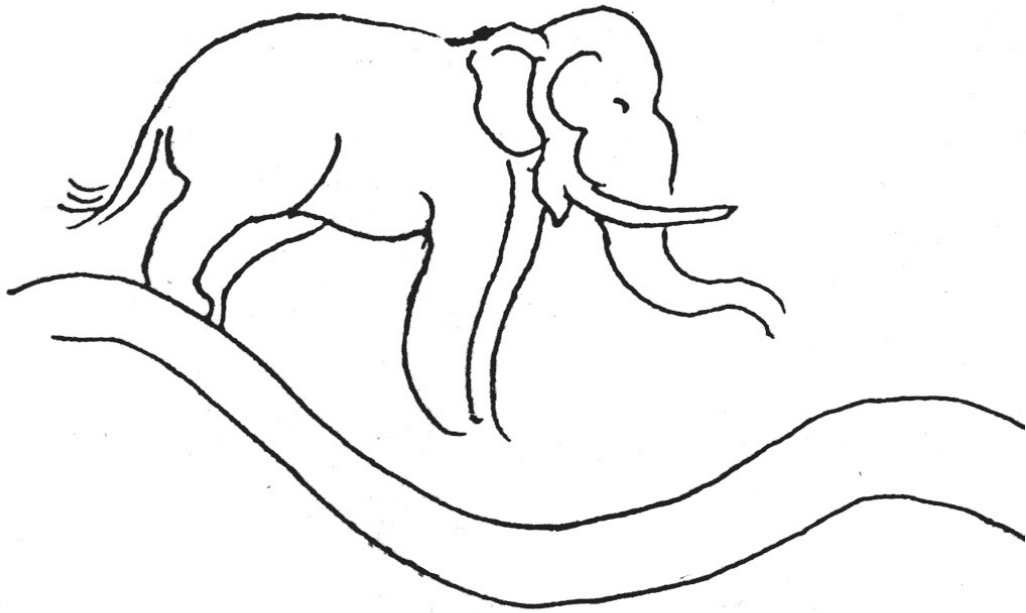
Karaweik (Mythical bird)



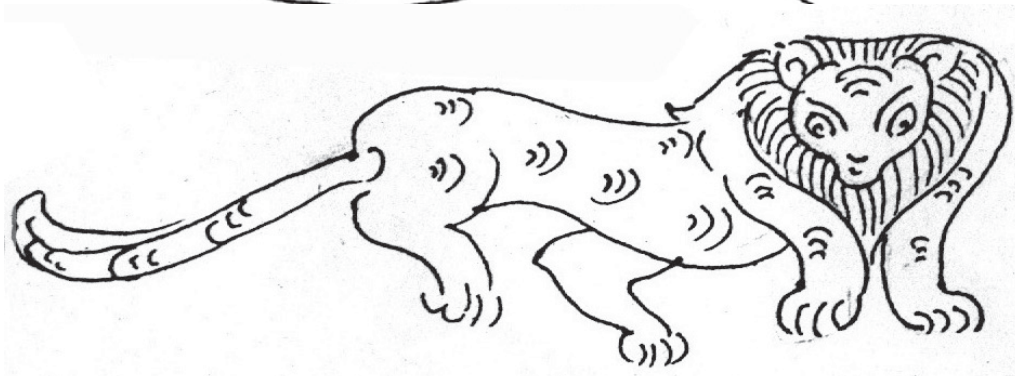
Mya Thein Tan

9. A camel-Like animal, Lawka Hman Ku Temple.(No.153)  
(The drawing helped by U Aye Myint, Myanmar Art & Designer)





10. Animal drawing of elephant, Lawka Hman Ku Temple (No.153)



11. Animal drawing of Lion, Lawka Hman Ku Temple (No.153)  
(The drawing helped by U Aye Myint, Myanmar Art & Designer)



Lion's Head  
Horns of Toe  
Mane  
Bushy Tail  
Samari



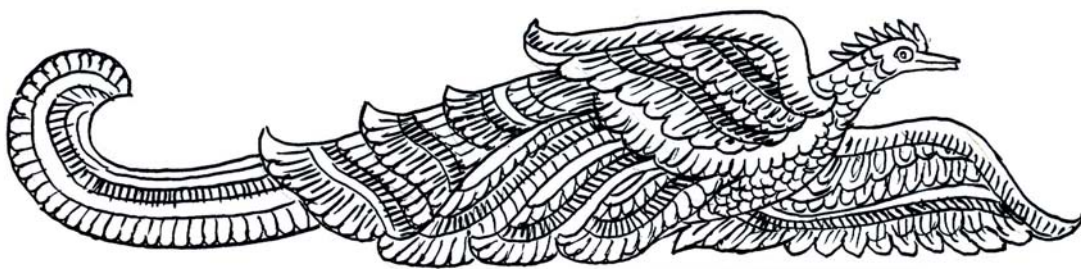
12. Animal drawing of lion, Lawka Hman Ku Temple (No.153)  
(The drawing helped by U Aye Myint, Myanmar Art & Designer)



13. Animal drawing of Gocon, Lawka Hman Ku Temple (No.153)  
(The drawing helped by U Aye Myint, Myanmar Art & Designer)



14. Animal drawing of a Keinnara bird with human Lawka Hman Ku Temple(No.153)  
(The drawing helped by U Aye Myint, Myanmar Art & Designer)



Karaweik

Law-ka-hman-ku

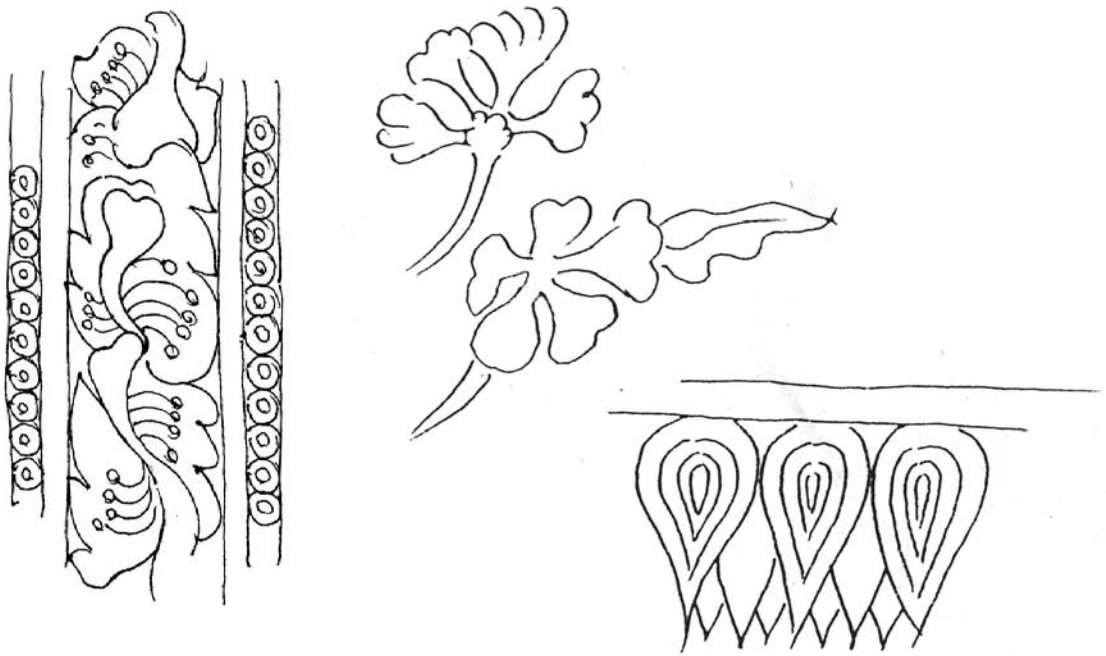
15. Animal drawing of Karaweik bird, Mua Thein Tam Temple.



16. A drawing of Pein Pim (Peinm tree) , Kan-yoe Chaung Thire Hsu Tam.



17. A drawing of with flat leaves. Kan-yoe Chaung Thire Hsu Tan.  
(The drawing helped by U Aye Myint, Myanmar Art & Designer)

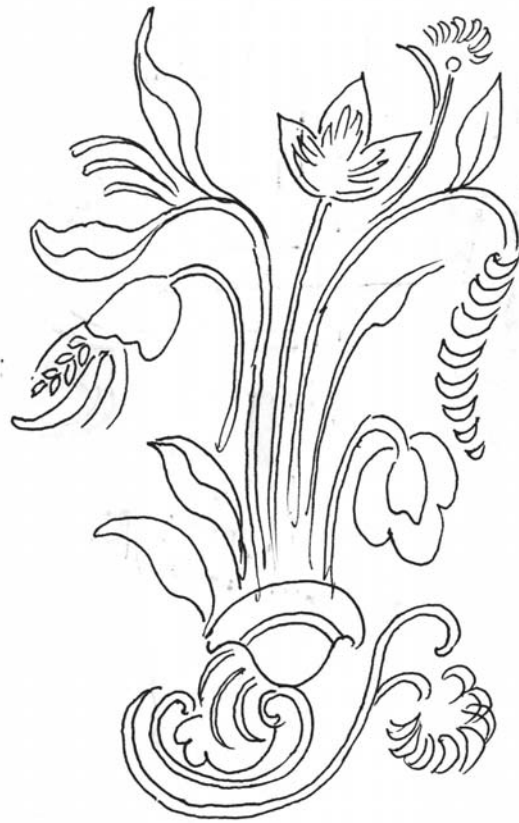


18. A floral design at Ma-Au North Shwe Bon-than Temple.



19. Kanot floral designs, Larba kyaw Swar at Myay Khe Taung Village.  
(The drawing helped by U Aye Myint, Myanmar Art & Designer)





Shin Pin Pwint Lin

20. Impressive folral design.

(The drawing helped by U Aye Myint, Myanmar Art & Designer)





### Deity holding Lotus

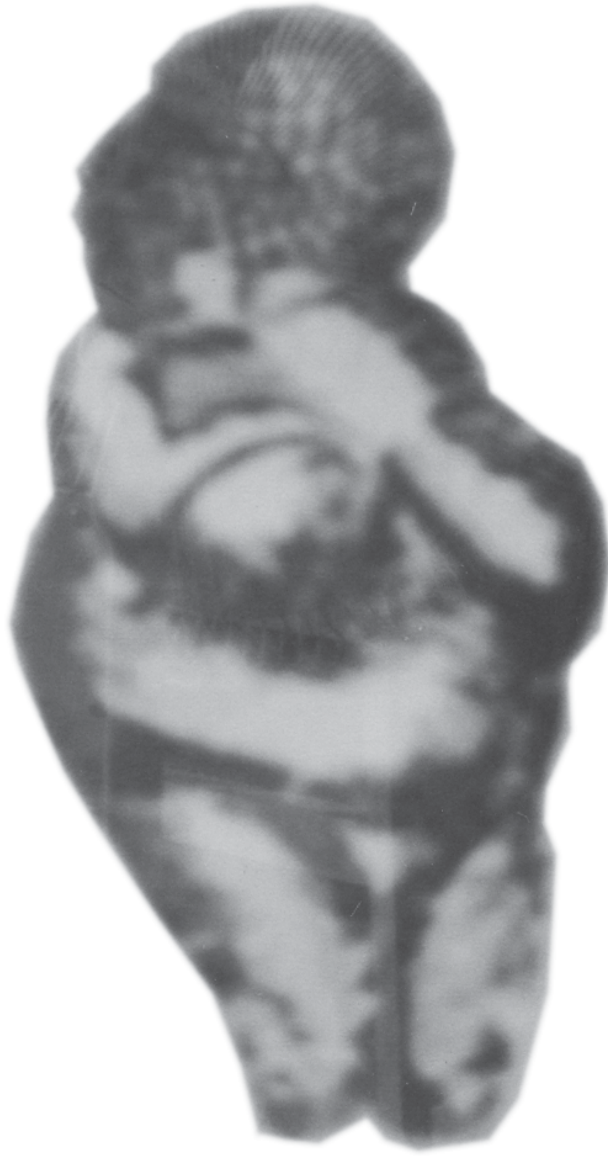
Nagayon Cave Temple No(126)

21. (a) The floral design hold by a Deity.

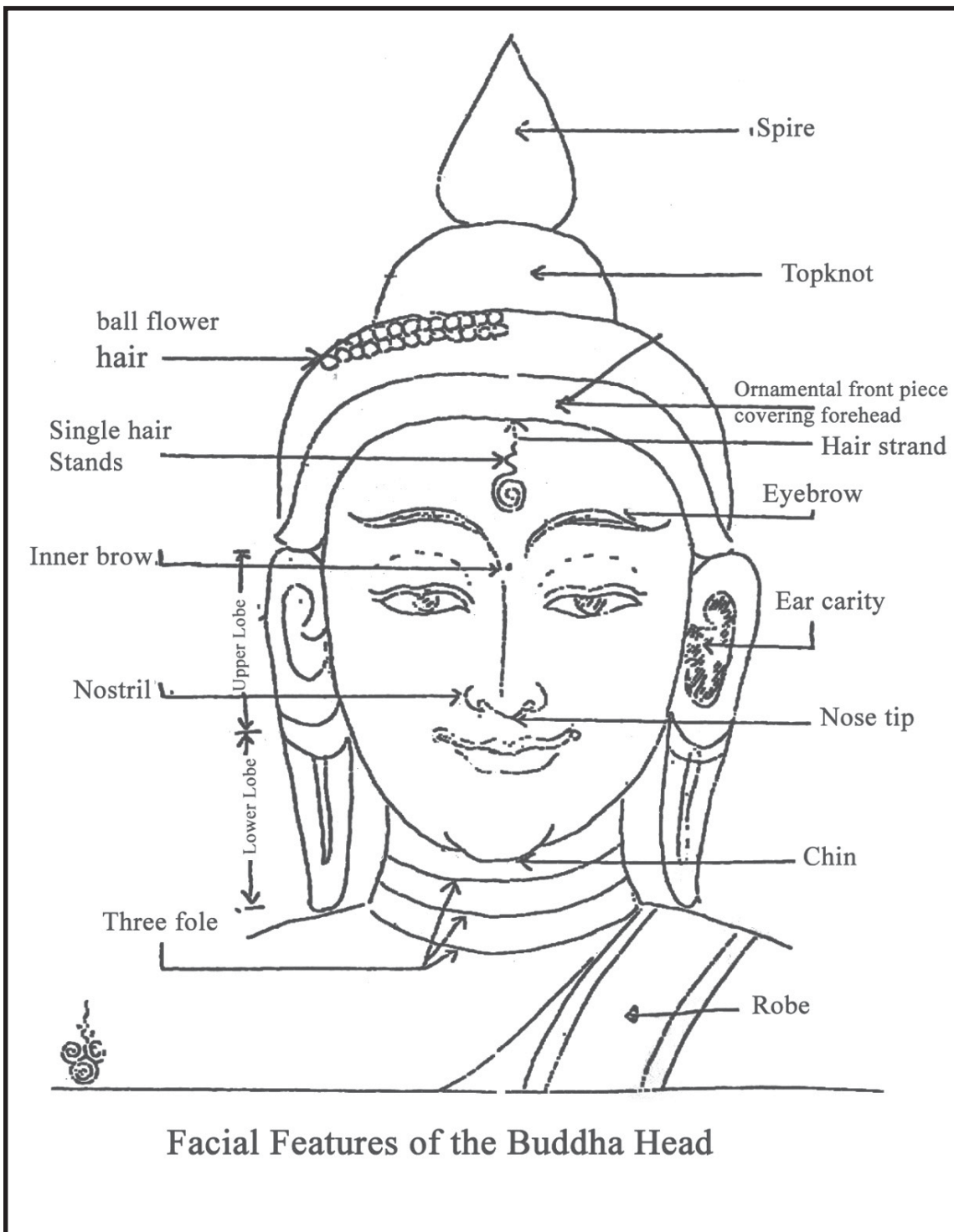
(The drawing helped by U Aye Myint, Myanmar Art & Designer)



Law Ka Hman Ku Cave Temple (153)  
21. (b) A Deity holding umbrella.  
(The drawing helped by U Aye Myint, Myanmar Art & Designer)



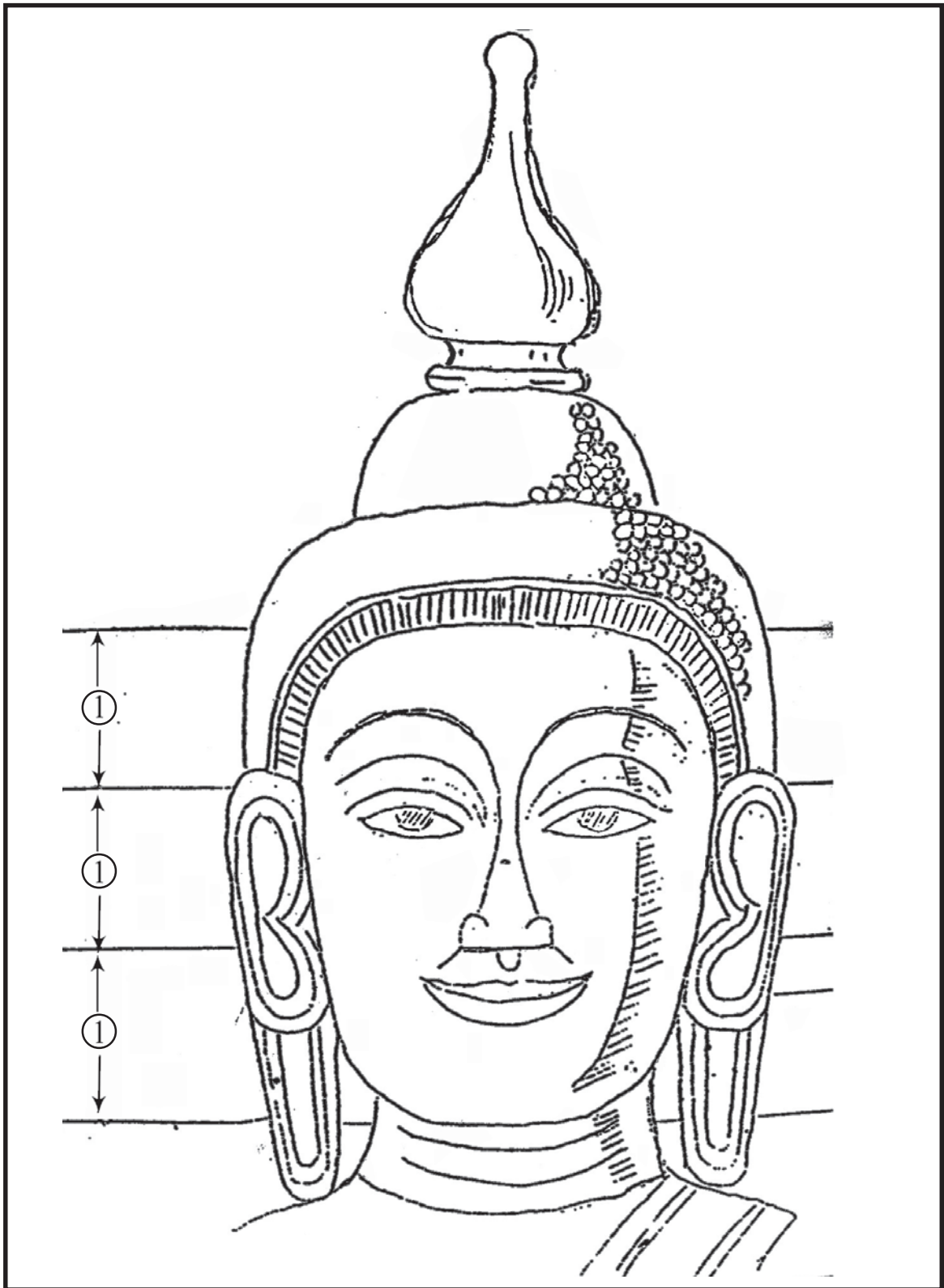
22. The figure of pregnant woman, the Earliest form of Worship, Magdlemian culture period of France



Facial Features of the Buddha Head

23. Facial features of Buddha head.  
Source: Mg Mg Tin & Win Mg (Tampawady), Buddha Images of Successive Periods, typescript, p.6





24. The head of Buddha image in Bagan Period.

**Source:** Mg Mg Tin & Win Mg (Tampawady), Buddha Images of Successive Periods, typescript, p.6





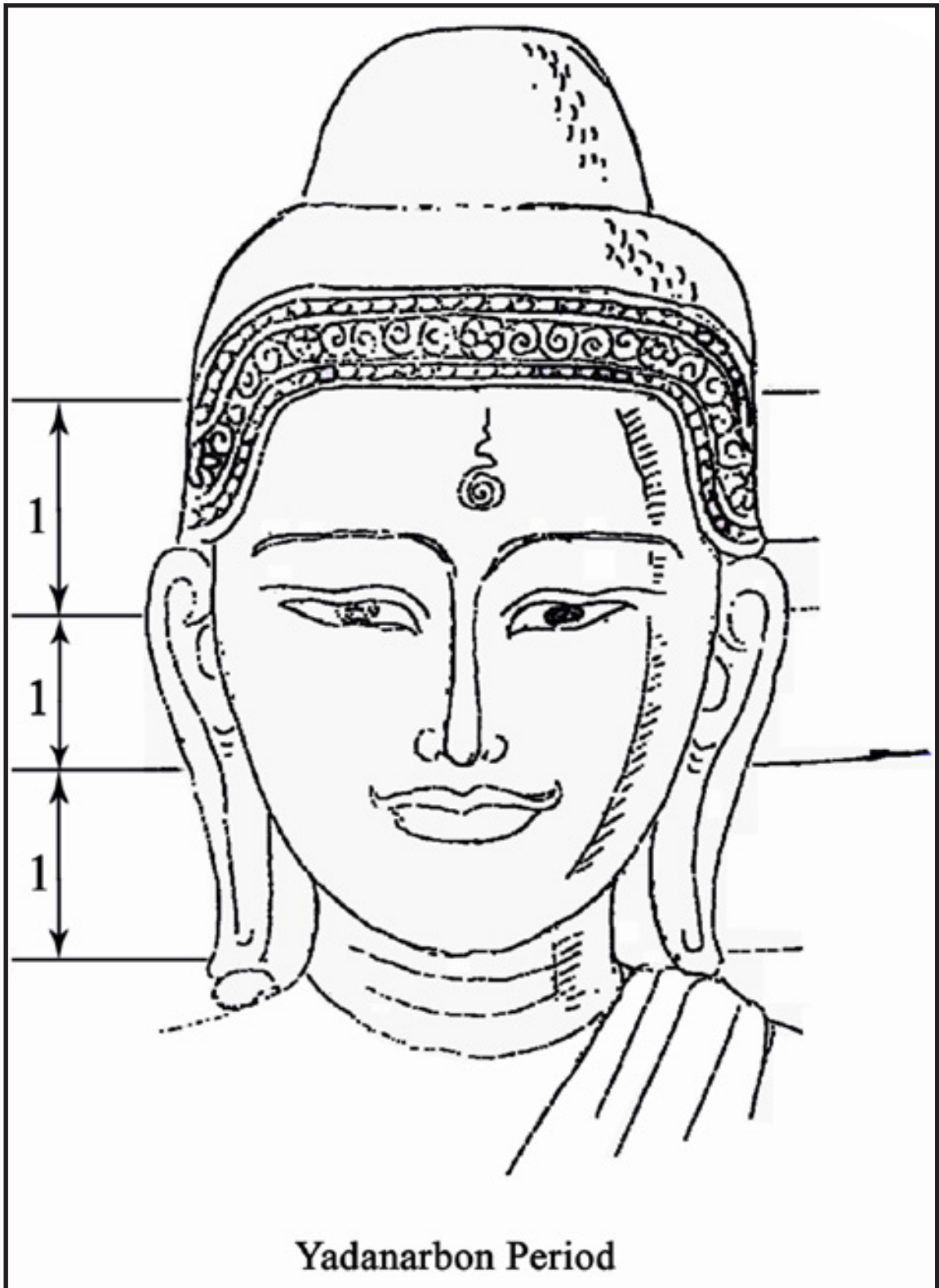
25. The head of Buddha image in Innwa Period.

Source: Mg Mg Tin & Win Mg (Tampawady), Buddha Images of Successive Periods, typescript, p.7



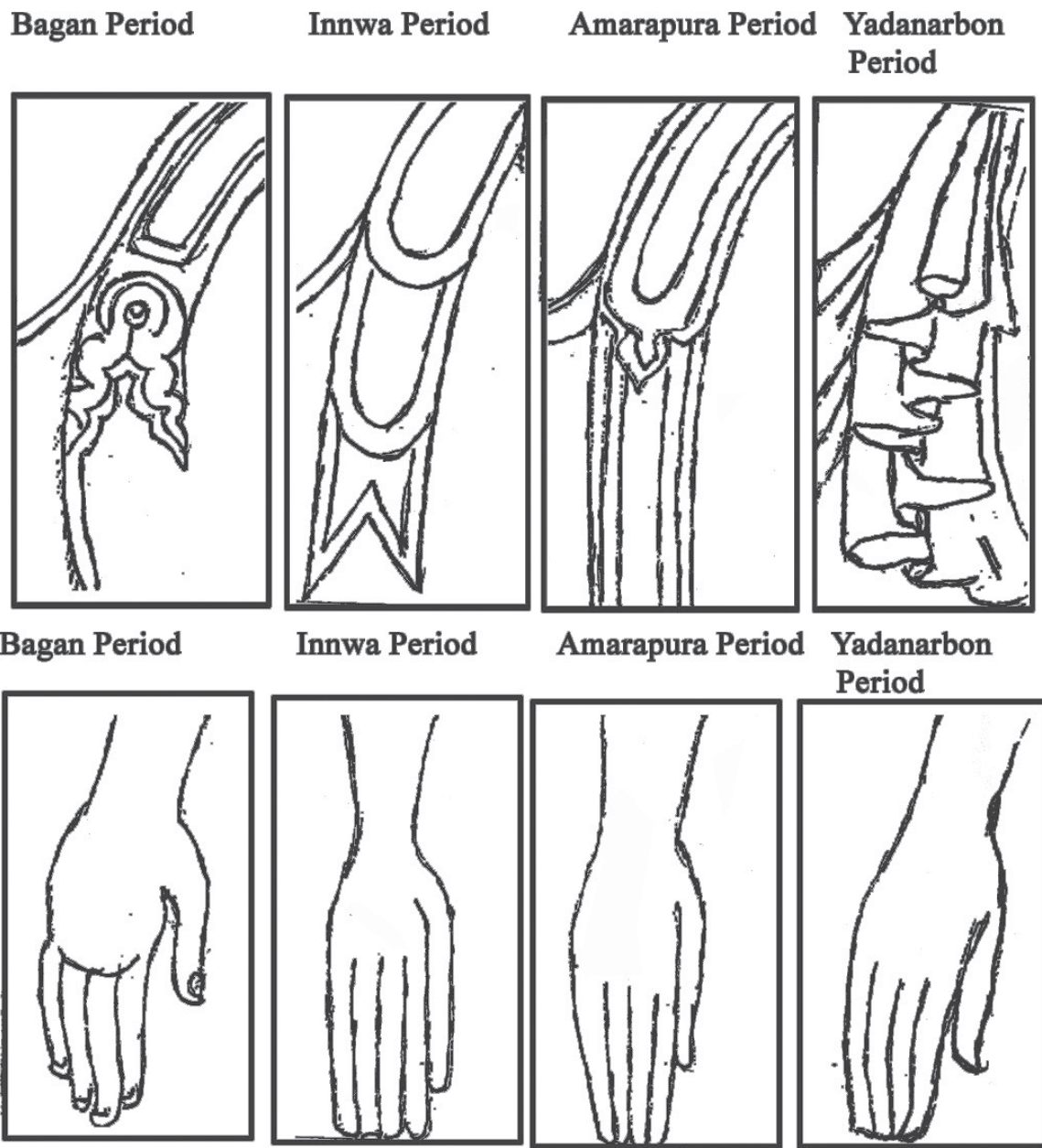
26. The head of Buddha image in Amarapura Period.

Source: Mg Mg Tin & Win Mg (Tampawady), Buddha Images of Successive Periods, typescript, p.7



27. The head of Buddha image in Ratamabom Period.

Source: Mg Mg Tin & Win Mg (Tampawady), Buddha Images of Successive Periods, typescript, p.8

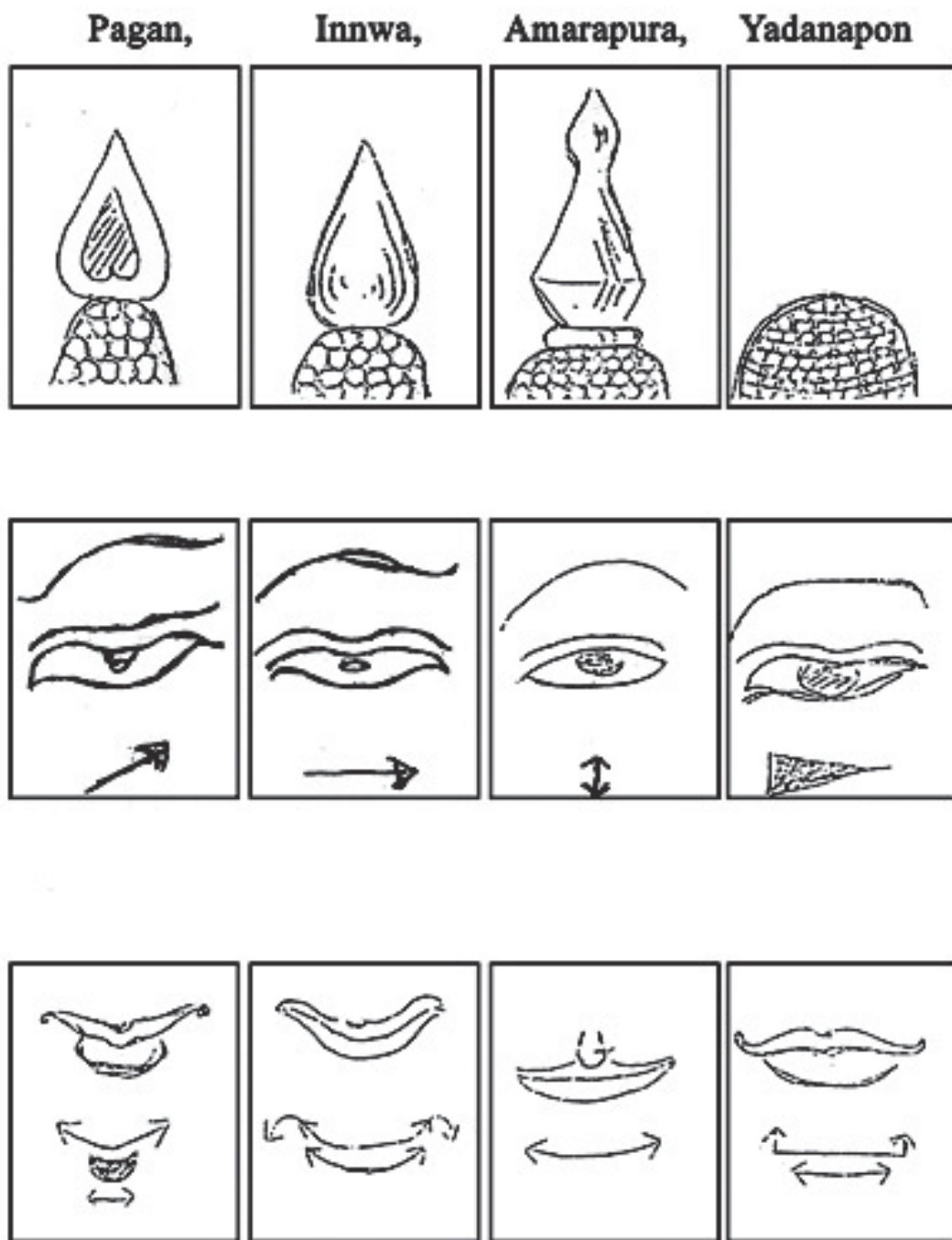


**Comparative forms of Thimgan robe of the Buddha Images and Hands**

28. Thigan robes and of the hands.

Source: Mg Mg Tin & Win Mg (Tampawady), Buddha Images of Successive Periods, typescript, p.8



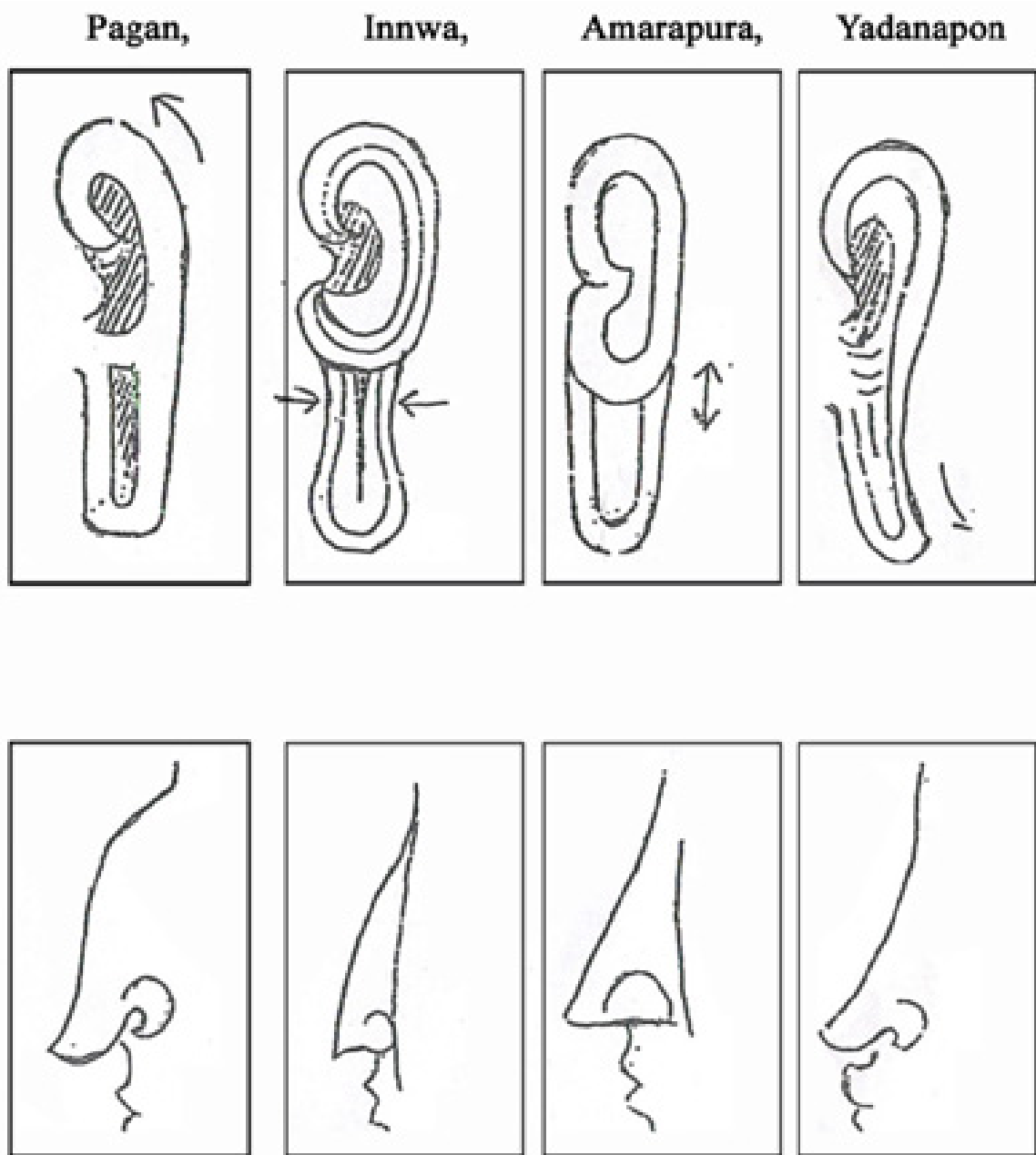


**Comparisons of spires, eyes and mouth**

29. Hairknot, eyes

Source: Mg Mg Tin & Win Mg (Tampawady), Buddha Images of Successive Periods, typescript, p.9





**Comparisoms of ears and noses**

30. Mouth of the noses and ears

**Source:** Mg Mg Tin & Win Mg (Tampawady), *Buddha Images of Successive Periods*, typescript, p.9

## Appendix (1)

### List of Stupas with enclosures wall in Pakhangyi

Serial No	Stupa No	Title		Period
		Unknown	Known	
1	2	3	4	5
1	3	●		
2	4	●		
3	6	●		
4	9	●		
5	13		Nyaung Pin Thar	Innwa
6	20	●		
7	33	●		
8	42		Thauk-Taw Gaw	Ratanabon
9	47		Konbaung	
10	50	●		
11	52	●		
12	69		Shin Pin Peè Chet	Ratanabon
13	72			
14	74	●		
15	77	●		
16	95	●		
17	105	●		
18	111	●		
19	117	●		
20	118	●		

1	2	3	4	5
21	119	●		
22	121		Mya Their Tan	Konbaung
23	122	●		
24	129	●		
25	130	●		
26	133		Sabe - yon	Konbaung
27	143		Hsu Taung Pyae	Konbaung
28	137	●		
29	138	●		
30	139	●		
31	142	●		
32	143	●		
33	172	●		
34	176	●		
35	179	●		
36	200		Shwe Paung Sin	
37	181	●		
38	184	●		
39	185	●		
40	190		Naga - Yon	Innwa

**Source:** Tint Lwin (10-10-2004) Field Record

## Appendix (2)

### List of Monastery with enclosure wall in Pakhangyi

Serial No	Name of Monastery	Type of Enclosure Wall		Location	Re-mark
		Single	Double		
1.	Phaung Taw Oo		●	South-east of police station	-
2.	Ratanabhomi-mi	●		South of Phaung Daw Oo	-
3.	Kyauk kar	●		South-west of Kyaung Taw Gyi	-
4.	Khè-lu		●	South-west of Kyaung Taw Gyi	ruined
5.	Kyaung-Thit	●		North of Kyaung Taw Gyi	-
6.	Myauk Pyin		●	North of City Wall	-
7.	Thet Ywar	●		North-west of Thet Ywar Village	-
8.	Ywar Thar	●		East of Ywar Thar Village	-
9.	Thian Si		●	North-west of Hsin Chaung Village	-
10.	Pakhan gyi kyaung Taw gyi		●	West of Pakoku - Yesagyio Motor Road	-

**Source:** Tint Lwin and Hla Myo Tint (Department of Archaeology in Pakhangyi Museum (12-10-2004) Field Record

### Appendix (3)

#### List of Cave Temples of Bagan Period in Pakhangyi

Serial No	Stupa No	Title	Measurement			Donor	Remark
			West-East	North-South	Height		
1.	55	Yadanar Myitzu	26'	22'	20'	Rebuilt King Mindon (1853-78)	
2.	78	Unknown	34'	29'	30'		
3	82	Unknown	35'	25'	27'		
4	89	Myat Paung Myitzu	41'	41'	65		
5	106	Unknown	22'	22'	35'		
6	167	Gotama	39'	36'	60'		
7		Si thu Shin	90'	90'	75'	King Narapati-Sithu (AD1173-1210)	Heighest Stupa

**Source:** Tint Lwin and Hla Myo Tint (Department of Archaeology in Pakhangyi Museum (4-May-2003), (3 July 2003) and (6 August 2003) Field Records

- There are only 4 stupas with titles.



**Appendix (4)**

**West Opening Ta-wa-gu Pagoda in Pakhangyi**

Serial No	Stupa No	Period	Measurement			Type		Location
			West-East	North-South	Height	Stupa	Temple	
1.	11	Innwa	14'	14'	38'	●		Hsinchaung and Chaung pya
2.	9	Innwa	33'	33'	43'		●	North of 150 from Ywathit
3.	15	Colonial	22'	20'	28'		●	North East of Khontalin Ywa
4.	16	Innwa	26'	24'	35'		●	North East of Khontalin Ywa
5.	18	Konbaung	11'	11'	18'	●		North East of Khontalin Ywa
6.	32	Innwa	24'	24'	40'		●	
7.	34	Innwa	22'	14'	30'	●		
8.	55	Bagan	26'	22'	20'	●		Sithu-Shin
9.	58	Innwa	20'	20'	35'	●		Sithu-Shin
10.	173	Innwa	20'	20'	25'		●	Phaung Taw Oo

**Source:** Tint Lwin and Hla Myo Tint (Department of Archaeology in Pakhangyi Museum (3-July-2003) Field Record

- 6 inches above is taken as a feet.

## Appendix (5)

### List of Stupas with unknown title of Innwa Period in Pakhangyi

Serial No	Stupa No	Measurement			Location
		West-East	North-South	Height	
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	1	25'	28'	44'	Ywar-thit Village
2.	2	32'	30'	27'	East of Stupa (1)
3.	3	27'	27'	30'	East of Stupa (2)
4.	4	23'	22'	20'	North of Stupa (3)
5.	5	15'	15'	16'	within Enellosure wall of Stupa (4)
6.	6	28'	27'	35'	North of Ywar-thit School
7.	8	31'	30'	40'	Within enclosure of stupa (6)
8.	9	33'	32'	43'	North of Ywar-thin School
9.	10	19'	19'	30'	Head stream
10.	11	14'	14'	30'	Between head stream of Hsin Chaung Village
11.	12	25'	20'	30'	Hsin Chaung village
12.	16	26'	24'	35'	North of stupa (156)
13.	19	26'	21'	15'	Precint of Museum
14.	21	11'	11'	23'	North of stupa (20)
15.	25	11'	11'	12'	Hsin Chaung Monastery
16.	27	9'	8'	11'	100 feet East of Stupa (26)
17.	28	13'	12'	10'	Side of Pakokku-Monywa motorcar road
18.	30	21'	21'	35'	Close to North of Stupa (29)
19.	32	25'	25'	40'	North of Yadanar Bhumi Monastery
20.	33	27'	27'	35'	Within the precincts of Phaung Daw Oo Monastery
21.	34				In front of Phaung Daw Oo Monastery

Serial No	Stupa No	Measurement			Location
		West-East	North-South	Height	
1	2	3	4	5	6
22	35	22'	21'	18'	Within the precincts of Phaung Daw Oo Monastery
23	38	27'	27'	18'	Close to the East of Stupa (37)
24	40	20'	20'	21'	Close to the North of Stupa (39)
25	41	16'	15'	18'	Close to the North of Stupa (40)
26	43	22'	22'	28'	Within the precincts of Thauk Taw Gaw Pagoda
27	44	18'	15'	20'	North of Sarita Nannery
28	51	20'	15'	25'	Within the Yard of Pakhan Dispensary
29	63	27'	26'	75'	Within the precincts of Sithu-Shin Pagoda
30	68	22'	22'	30'	Within the precincts of Sithu-Shin Pagoda
31	68	22'	22'	30'	West of Stupa (67)
32	79	5'	12'	18'	Within the Yard of Myauk-pyin Monastery
33	80	27'	20'	20'	North of stupa no.(79)
34	81	19'	19'	21'	East of Myauk-pyin Monastery
35	83	19'	19'	12'	Close of South of Stupa (82)
36	84	24'	22'	28'	South of Japan Agricultural Training School
37	91	22'	19'	30'	East of Stupa (88)
38	92	22'	21'	30'	North West of Stupa (89)
39	93	19'	18'	14'	North of Stupa (89)
40	94	19'	18'	14'	East of Ywar Thar Monastery
41	95	19'	19'	25'	North of Ywar Thar Ywar Oo Monastery
42	96	23'	23'	35'	Middle of Ywar Thar village

Serial No	Stupa No	Measurement			Location
		West-East	North-South	Height	
1	2	3	4	5	6
43.	99	25'	20'	25'	West of Ywar Thar village
44.	100	31'	20'	17'	North of Stupa (98)
45.	101	16'	16'	20'	North of Japan
46.	102	18'	15'	12'	North of Japan
47.	103	17'	16'	25'	North of Stupa (102)
48.	104	27'	25'	35'	East of Stupa (102)
49.	105	29'	21'	23'	East of Stupa (104)
50.	107	12'	8'	17'	North plot of land of Ywar Thar
51.	108	9'	8'	9'	North of Ywar Thar
52.	109	19'	19'	25'	North of Ywar Thar
53.	110	12'	8'	12'	North of Stupa (109)
54.	111	21'	20'	30'	North of Ywar Thar
55.	112	13'	9'	13'	South East of Thak village
56.	113	12'	8'	13'	North of Stupa (109)
57.	114	19'	19'	22'	West of Stupa (113)
58.	115	21'	16'	18'	North East of Stupa (114)
59.	116	28'	21'	30'	Beside the Pakokku-Yesago Road
60.	117	24'	24'	30'	North of Thet village
61.	118	26'	24'	35'	North of Stupa (117)
62.	119	19'	17'	28'	East of Pakokku-Yesago motorcar road
63.	122	28'	28'	32'	North of Stupa (121)
64.	136	16'	16'	30'	South of Petaw monastery
65.	138	40'	40'	43'	West of Stupa (137)
66.	139	38'	38'	45'	East of Stupa (138)
67.	140	22'	20'	25'	North West of Stupa (139)
68.	141	40'	40'	18'	South of Taung Min monastery
69.	143	24'	19'	30'	North of Taung Min monastery

Serial No	Stupa No	Measurement			Location
		West-East	North-South	Height	
1	2	3	4	5	6
70	144	23'	19'	30'	Close to the North of Stupa (143)
71	145	15'	15'	22'	North West of Taung Min monastery
72	146	12'	12'	18'	North West corner of Stupa (145)
73	147	10'	10'	10'	South of Kyaung taungyi
74	152	10'	10'	15'	South East of Pakhangyi Railway station
75	156	9'	9'	11'	North West of Pakhangyi Railway station
76	157	18'	18'	25'	North East of Pakhangyi Railway station
77	158	16'	16'	26'	North of Stupa (157)
78	159'	18'	17'	22'	East of Railway Quarter
79	160	11'	11'	16'	South West corner of Kyaung-taw-gyi
80	162	11'	11'	16'	North of 143 distance from one hundred feet
81	162	11'	11'	16'	East of 142/143 distance from one hundred feet
82	168	17'	16'	32'	West of Htan Ta Pin Quarter
83	169	9'	9'	13'	North West corner of Htan Ta Pin Quarter
84	170	13'	12'	18'	North of Stupa (169)
85	173	20'	20'	25'	Within the precincts of Phaung Daw Oo monastery
86	177	25'	20'	23'	North of Stupa (176) distance from one hundred feet
87	178	24'	24'	35'	North of Stupa (177)
88	179'	28'	28'	40'	North of Stupa (78)
89	188	41'	41'	45'	East of Khe Lu monastery
90	191	53'	52'	64'	East of Khe Lu monastery
91	193	18'	10'	12'	South of Pakhan Lutai (Cementary)
92	196	19'	26'	28'	North West of Pakhan Gyi Railway Station
93	197	23'	16'	15'	North East corner of Pakhan Gyi Museum
94	198	34'	32'	18'	North of north city wall
95	199	34'	32'	22'	Close to the North of Stupa (198)

**Source:** Tint Lwin and Hla Myo Tint (Department of Archaeology in Pakhangyi Museum (4-May-2003), (3 July 2003) , (6 August 2003) , (5 April 2004), (11 August 2005) and (19 August 2006) Field Records  
- There are only 4 stupas with titles.



## Appendix (6)

### List of Stupas and Cave Temples of Innwa Period in Pakhangyi

Serial No	Stupa No	Title	Measurement			Location
			West-East	North-South	Height	
1.	88	Khanda-Thein	26'	26'	45'	North of stupa (87)
2.	13	Nyaung-pia thar	24'	23'	23'	Kone-ta-lin south village
3.	190	Nagayon	18'	14'	20'	within precincts Khe-lu Monstrary
4.	49	Phayani	33'	30'	35'	South of Stupa (150) from Sithushin
5.	46	Phaya Net	23'	19'	21'	Sithushin North of Myazigon
6.	73	Mya Thein Tan	41'	41'	61'	East of citywall from 320 yarday
7.	56	Shin Ma Taung	36'	35'	95'	Within precincts of Sithushin
8.	23	Shin Aung Myin	25'	22'	18'	Middle of Sin chaung Ywa
9.	24	Shin Aung Din	20'	16'	16'	Close to the North of Stupa (23)
10.		Shit Myet Hnar				
11.	165	Shwe Bon Thar				South of Pyithar Ywa Quarter
12.	85	Lone Taw Gyi	89'	86'	120'	Corner of North East of Ywathay-wa
13.	71	Ledi	32'	32'	37'	North of Pakan motor road from 300 yds
14.	42	Thauk Taw Gaw	29'	24'	32'	North of Sariya nun mon
15.	22	Aung Taw Mu	26'	24'	35'	Inner of Panthaku Monastery
16.	76	Oke Kyaung	28'	20'	30'	Corner of North East Winmana Door

Only stupa with little and metioned in this table end of 111 Innwa period stupa. Remaining 95 stupas hence no letter.

**Source:** Tint Lwin & U Soe Myint (4-8-2004), (3-7-2005) Field Record

**Appendix (7)**

**List of Nyaung-yan Period Stupas in Pakhangyi**

Serial No	Stupa No	Title	Measurement			Location	Remark
			West-East	North-South	Height		
1.	194	unknown	18'	18'	25'	100 feet east of stupa (193)	Headless Buddha Image
2.	195	Yoke-Sone Kyaung	24'	24'	25'	300 feet east of stupa (194)	Buddha Image Repaired
3.	200	Shwe Daung Sin Pagoda	29'	34'	45'	west of Pakoku motor road	known to have built by Min Shin Saw

**Source:** Tint Lwin & U Soe Myint (5-8-2004), (3-7-2005) Field Record

**Appendix (8)**

**List of Title unknown stupa of Konbaung period in Pakhangyi**

Serial No	Stupa No	Measurement			Location
		West-East	North-South	Height	
1.	7	50'	30'	40'	North of Stupa (6)
2.	18	12'	12'	18'	West of Stupa (17)
3.	20	8'	8'	15'	Within the yard of Panthaku Monastery
4.	26	12'	7'	12'	North of Stupa (25)
5.	29	13'	11'	15'	South West of Yadanabonmi Monastery
6.	31	15'	15'	20'	North of Stupa (30)
7.	36	30'	23'	15'	North of Paung Taw Oo Monastery
8.	37	7'	6'	10'	North East of Stupa (36)
9.	39	21'	20'	18'	South of Nun School
10.	47	36'	36'	35'	South of Pylonchanthar
11.	72	18'	15'	25'	East of Citywall (East)
12.	98	11'	11'	22'	North East of Kantaya Paya
13.	123	12'	12'	25'	Close to the East Stupa (122)
14.	124	8'	8'	15'	East of Stupa (123)
15.	125	10'	10'	12'	South of Stupa (124)
16.	128	16'	17'	25'	North of Sima from Stupa (127)
17.	129	12'	12'	18'	Corner of North East Stupa (128)
18.	130	14'	17'	16'	North of Thansi Monastery
19.	132	24'	24'	35'	Close to the north of Stupa (130)

Serial No	Stupa No	Measurement			Location
		West-East	North-South	Height	
20.	135	23'	21'	28'	North of Sutaung Pyae
21.	142	15'	15'	30'	South of Taung Min Monastery
22.	149	12'	10'	15'	South of 148 from 20 feet
23.	130	11'	12'	14'	South of 149 from 20 feet
24	151	10'	10'	14'	South of 150 from 20 feet
25	153	23'	23'	30'	Corner of North East from railway station 300'
26	155	26'	26'	32'	West of 30' from railway station
27	176	22'	22'	28'	East of Kyaung daw gyi from 200 feet
28	181	29'	30'	35'	Corner of South East Kyaung daw gyi
29	182	20'	22'	25'	Close to the month of Stupa (181)

**Source:** Tint Lwin & U Htay Win Mg (Curator of Pakhangyi Museum) Field Record (24-10-2002) and (4-6-2004)

**Appendix (9)**

**List of stupas with titles of Konbaung period in Pakhangyi**

Serial No	Stupa No	Title	Measurement			Location	Remark
			West-East	North-South	Height		
1.	97	Kan-ta-yar	26'	26'	32'	North East of Japan School	
2.	53	Kyaun-Lein	63'	46'	110'	Within the precincts of Si thu shin paya	
3.	48	Kwyet-kwyet hsu	56'	54'	60'	South of Si thu shin paya	
4.	148	Gu-gyi	30'	30'	20'	Corner South West Kyaung daw gyi	
5.	133	Sabè-yon	10'	10'	15'	North of Thansi Monastery	
6.	134	Hsu Taung Pyae	18'	17'	38'	Between the Pakangyi and Hsin Chaung village	
7.	52	Tin Pyin Pyae	36'	25'	38'	North of clinic	
8.	126	Nagayon	15'	25'	20'	North of 121 Pagoda compound	
9.	50	Babè	36'	36'	40'	Corner of West from Sithushin	
10.	45	Mya-zi-gon	69'	67'	65'	Close of South of Phaya-net Ceti	
11.	141	Mya Thein Tan	30'	28'	37'	Close of East of Thansi Monastery	
12.	75	Shwe Moke Htaw	25'	23'	30'	South East of Pakhangyi High School	
13.	154	Lawka Hman Ku	13'	13'	28'	Corner South West of Pakhan Rail Station	
14.	131	Taw Ta Pan	26'	26'	40'	North East of Thanse Monastery	

Remark - Referring to field record made during the field trips (18-4-2003 to 25-1-2004)



## Appendix (10)

### The 101 names of peoples according to U Kan-tha

1. Myan-ma	27. Panala-ha	53. Waw-kazapan	79. Kathi
2. Talaing	28. Hkawa	54. Kàn-yan	80. Myet-hna-me
3. Shàn	29. Sapein	55. Kan-myin	81. Kyei
4. Ywàn	30. Sein	56. Kachin	82. Pon-nà
5. Gywan	31. Labù	57. Thet-kahtè	83. Baw-di
6. Chwan	32. Tanù	58. Labé	84. Eein-pat
7. Chun	33. Kayin	59. Hein-du	85. Kadu
8. Kala	34. Lamyin	60. Yei-thu	86. Kin-kyei
9. Yo-daya	35. Sin-gyan	61. Pin-wa	87. Lin-zaw
10. Pateik-kaya	36. Kyan-dan	62. Meik-hsa	88. Tayaw
11. Yahkaing	37. Ok-tha	63. Lawi	89. Thon-don
12. Htà-wei	38. Lin-ti-ka	64. Yei-hswà	90. Lantu
13. In-kyei	39. Pyòn	65. Lin-lei	91. Lahauk
14. Tanin-thayi	40. Hkòn	66. Meik-thei	92. Hpok-tha
15. Zaw-gi	41. Pat-takè	67. Kan-so	93. Yan-man
16. Hku	42. Thu-htè	68. Thi-go	94. Bya-ba
17. Chei-zok	43. Lin-hsaung	69. Kan-ti	95. Chin
18. Tayok	44. Thu-yaung	70. Da-wi	96. Lawaik
19. Tayet	45. At-tha	71. Zàw-ka	97. Thok-htan
20. Lin-thet	46. Ok-tha-ya	72. Tàw-ka	98. Pan
21. Pàn-thei	47. Pin-ka	73. Zei-dok	99. Ma-lein
22. Pàn-daùng	48. Wadet	74. Lahok	100. Lin
23. Thu-hli	49. Yei-mi-twet	75. Thayet	101. Pyaw
24. Tayà-thi	50. Kan-zet	76. Thet	
25. Ha-yi	51. Taung-thu	77. Labé	
26. San-da	52. Pyu	78. Taung-la	

**Source:** U Tin, The Royal Administration of Burma (Translated by Euan Bagshawe Foreword by Michael Aung Thwin, Ava Publishing House, 2001, Bangkok, Thailand, p. 137)

## Appendix (11)

### Thaw Tar Pan Cave Temple (131) Ink Inscription

Shwe Min Wun, Shwe Thar Lyaung, U-wa-mar ni, Shwe Yi Myaw, have been *Auk Chin HGnet* (hornbill) in former existences; have built Dhammasoka Centi; As directed by Deities Thaw Tar Pan and Loka-nat, Wa Wa Zar Kan, Pakhan-Say-thu-Shin was built by King Narapati-say thu.

When Bodhisatta was *Auk Chin Hgnet* (hornbill) in his former existences Shwe Tan Tic Pagoda was built by King Alaung Say Thu in the places where Bodhisatta had dwelt.

Ponnya Khittam Le Kaing Kyaung Taw Yar

Bodhi Thai An Ceti Taw

Warakana-Shwe Maw Daw

Ah-bantaw-Kyaik-pun

Sa ba ka tha kyaik kha mi

Ei thu ma char Kyaik Hti Yoe

Ei we daya Mottama Mya Thein Tan

Se ta mar thaw Zin Kyaik

A Sein te ya zin mai la bone

Man Mar Yoha Ta-loke Pyi Tooth relic

Aye Wun mar na Yodaya Pyi hair relic

Mon Tho Thu Tha Htar we Myo hair relic

Sunaparanta Taing, Tan Yi Taing, Kan Paw Za Taing, Yan Thae Taing such Taings are governed by Ah Laung Taw; as prophesied, Buddha Guna Rakhine Pagoda will be carried to Myanmar.

All creatures starting from Maha Thamata Min to Khattiya races, Okegar Mukha Min and eighty four thousand sakyans:

Sasana will flourish in Thi Ho Kyun (Ceylon); Sasana will rise as the sun; my relics will be enshrined and build Cetis and will be revered, has been prophesied.

**Source:** Thaw Ta Pan Cave Temple, Stupa No (131) painting inscription copied on (31-7-2003) starting from North Wall clockwise (Tint Lwin, Hla Myo Tint, Archaeology Department of Pakhangyi Museum and curator U Htay Win Mg, (31-7-2003) Field Record)

## Appendix (12)

### Twenty eight Buddhas and the Bodhi Tree

No	Name of Buddha	Bodhi tree	Botanical Term
1.	Tanhamkara	Sattalpannt	Echites Scholaris
2.	Medhankara	Kimsuka	Butea monosperma (Flame of the forest)
3.	Saranankara	Patali	Bignonia Sunveolens(Trumpet flower)
4.	Dipankara	Kapitana	Thesposia populneoides
5.	Kondanna	Salakalyani	Lannia Grandis
6.	Mangala	Naga	Mesua Ferrea(Iron-wood tree)
7.	Sumana	Naga Mesua Ferrea	
8.	Reveata	Naga	Mesua Ferrea
9.	Sobhita	Naga	Mrsua Ferrea
10.	Anomadassi	Ajjuna	Pentaptera Arjuna(argentum)
11.	Paduma Mahasona	Bignonia Indica	
12.	Barada1	Mahasona1	Bignonia Indica
13.	Padumuttara	Salala	Pinus Insularis (Sweet scented pine)
14.	Sumedha	Nipo	Nauclea Cadamba(Asoka)
15.	Sujata	Velu	Bambusa Vulgaris Longispatha (bomboo)
16.	Piyadassi	Kakudha	Terminalia Arjuna
17.	Atthadas	Compaka	Michelia Champaka
18.	Dhammadassi	Rattakuravaka	(Red Ameranth) Stereospermum fimbriatum

No	Name of Buddha	Bodhi tree	Botanical Term
19.	Siddhattha	Kanikara	Pterospermum acerifolium (yellow folwer)
20.	Tissa		Asana Pantaptera Tomentosa
21.	Phussa	Amalaka	Phyllanthus Emblica(myrobalam)
22.	Vipassi	Patali	Bignomia Sunveolens (Trumpet flower)
23.	Sikhi		Pundarika Mangifera indica (White mango)
24.	Vessabhu	Sala	Shorea robusta(Sal tree)
25.	Kakusandha	Sirisa	Acacia sirisa
26.	Kinagamana	Udumbara	Ficus Glomerate (Fig tree)
27.	Kassapa	Nigrodha	Ficus Indica (bamuum tree)
28.	Gotama	Asattha	Ficus Religiosa (Bo tree)



### **Notes on Bibliography**

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But there are still about 200 stupas, half of the wall paintings and some stone age artifacts to be studied. Besides, there also laequerware objects, Sar-Taik-Tit-tar (trunks) and Pay-sar-Htoke (palm-leaf manuscript) in the monastries at Sink-kaing village, around the vicinity of Pakhangyi, There are also over 20 stupas of Nyaungyan

period style in Anyar-taw Ywar and Chaung-kauk area in Pakhangyi Protected Zone waiting for further research. And further, the pottary works in Thak village should also be studied. Since it had existed since encient times.

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"History of Tharakhan Pagoda Parabaik," No.15(A) now in possession of Turator U Htay Win Mg, Pakhangyi Archaeological Museum.

**Ink painting inscription**

"Thaw Ta Pan Ink Inscription," Stupa (131), Pakhangyi , Yesagyo Town Ship

"Zatar Taw Pon Ink Inscription," stupa (46), Phaya Net Temple, West of Sithu Shin Pagoda.

**Stupa and Temple**

Aung Taw Mu, Near Hsin Chaung village,

Ba-bè, Southeast of Sithu Hsin Pagada

Cave Temple (106), Pakhangyi, Yesagyo Township

Cave Temple (165), Shwe Bon Thar, Pyi Tharyar Quarter, Pakhangyi

Cave Temple (167) Gautama, Pakhangyi Museum, Yesagyo Township

Cave Temple (23), Shin Aung Myin, Hsin Chaung village

Cave Temple (42), Thauk Taw Gaw, Pakhangyi, Yesagyo Township

Cave Temple (46), Phaya- net, near south of Eithu Hsin Pagoda

Cave Temple (49), Paya Ni near Southeast of Sithu Hsin Pagoda

Cave Temple (56), Shin Ma Taung, Pakhangyi, Yesagyo Township

Cave Temple (78), near Myauk Pyin monestry at Pakhangyi, Yesagyo Township

Cave Temple (82), East of Myauk Pyin Monastery, Pakhangyi

Cave Temple(101) North of Japan Forestry Training School, Pakhangyi, Yesagyo Township

Cave Temple(194), Title Unknown, East of Stupa (193), Pakhangyi, Yesagyo Township

Encased Pagoda, North of Ywar Thar Village

Hsin- Gu, Kyet-tu- yway Gu, West of Pakhangyi Kyaung Taw Gyi

Hsu Taung Pyae, East of Sabeyon Stupa, Pakhangyi, Yesagyo Township

Hsu Taung Pyae, East of Sa-be-yon Stupa (133)

Kan Yoe Kyaung Thone Hsu Tan, Northeast of Pakhangyi Museum

Kan-tayar, Northeast of Japan Forestry Training School

Khanda Thein, Ywar Thar Village, Pakhangyi, Yesagyo Township

Kyauk- sa-ga Cave Temple, Thiri-Pyitsayar, Bagan

Kyaung Lein, Sithu Hsin Pagoda Campus

Lawka Hnan Ku, Southeast of Pakhangyi Station,

Ledi Pagoda, Between Pakhangyi and Pakhannga Motor Road

Lone-Taw-Gyi, Ywar Thar village, Pakhangyi, Yesagyo Township

Mingalan Zedi, Bagan

Mya Thein Tan, East of Pakhangyi City wall

Mya Thein Tan, East of Than-si Monestry

Myat - Paung- myintzu, build by Na-ya-pa-ti Sithu,



Mya-Zin-Gon, West of Phaya-net, Pakhangyi, Yesagy Township

Nagayon, Kyauk-mann-dat, North of Stupa (121)

Pyi Lone Chan Thar (or) Kywet Kywet Hsu, South of Sithu-Hsin Pagoda

Sa-be-yon, Between Pakhan and Hsin Kyaung & Village,

Shit- Myat-Hnar (or) Gyoe Pyay-non-pyay, Kone Ta Linn village, Pakhangyi, Yesagy Township

Shwe Daung Sin, East of Pakhangyi Electroicity Factory

Shwe Moke Htaw, Southeast of Pakhangyi State High School

Stupa (24) , Shin Aung Din

Stupa(13), Kone Ta Linn village, Pakhangyi, Yesagy Township

Thaw Tar Pan, Between Pakhangyi and Hsin Kyaung village

Tin Pyin Pyae, Southwest of Sithu Hsin Pagoda

Yandana Myintzu, Si Thu Hsin Campus, Pakhangyi

Yoke Sone Kyaung (or) Zat Sone Kyaung. Pakhangyi, Yesagy Township

### **Wall Painting**

A king among his attendants at Vesali, Myay Khae Taung Village, Laba Kyaw Swar Sima

Anyeint and Circus performance, Larba Kyaw Swar Sima, Myay Khae Taung Village

Bodhisatta King Naymi making deeds of merit, Myay Khae Taung Village, Laba Kyaw Swar Sima

Buddha figurines and audience in celebration, with Myanmar Saining, Tin Pyin Pyae Temple Pakhangyi

- Ceiling Painting of intertwining Nagas pattern (Mythical serpents), Ma Au Village, Pakhangyi Protected zone.
- Ceiling of eight-petal flowers with projecting corners (Kho-Nan-Choe) Yoke Sone Kyaung, Pakhangyi
- Ceiling of Kanote flower pattern, Mya Thein Tan Temple, Pakhangyi
- Ceiling Painting in available space Wazo Pagoda Ordination Hall, Yesagy Myo
- Ceiling painting of Central lotus intertwined like elephant tusks type
- Ceiling Painting of circular flowers Nga Mome Kone village Line of Stupas
- Ceiling painting of flowers symbolizes Mount Meru
- Ceiling painting of Hsin Swe win Shet Baho Kyar Htup Waing-second stage
- Ceiling painting of Hsin Swe Wun Shet Baho Kyar Htup Waing Gyi pattern
- Ceiling Painting of Makara's scales floral pattern, Yoke-Sone-Kyaung, Pakhangyi
- Ceiling Painting of west Nagayon Chan-Thar-Gyi Pagoda, Yesagy Myo
- Ceiling painting with Free hand drawing of lotus (Not purely circular), YanAung Myin Temple Pakhangyi, Yesagy Township
- Ceiling painting with Gant-gaw flower ceiling painting (Mesua Pendunculata)
- Ceiling painting with Images of Stupa (78), Pakhangyi, Yesagy Township
- Ceiling painting with Kyo-gyi-cheik design pattern, Larba Kyawswar Sima, Myay Khè Taung, Pakhangyi
- Ceiling painting with Multi-layer petal lotus symbolizing Mount Meru, Lawka, Hman Ku Temple, Pakhangyi, Yesagy Township
- Ceiling painting with The lotus bloom symbolizing the heavenly sky, Khomda Thein Temple, Yesagy Myo

Ceiling painting with Layered-petal central lotus interturned like elephant tusks of Stupa  
(43), Pakhangyi

Circular lotus with many layers of petal and with a prominent slamen pattern, ceiling  
painting

Foreign national holding a weapon, Phaya Ni Cave Temple, Pakhangyi

Inside Pakhangyi Museum Buddha Image

King Thigyar-min and Brahmar Deities offering flowers to Lord-Buddha, Myay  
Khae Taung Village, Laba Kyaw Swar Sima

King kosambi giving audience to his courtiers, Myay Khae Taung Village, Laba Kyaw  
Swar Sima

Lord Buddha and Bodhi tree, Mya Thein Tan Temple, Pakhangyi, Yesagyo Township

Mount Meru surrounded by seven ranges and seven oceans, Larba Kyaw Swar Sima,  
Myay Khae Taung Village

Multi-Layer petals lotus, petals intertwined like elephant tusks, framed by a rhombus of  
unequal sides

Myanmar floral works and Lord Buddha with his Arahant disciples, Thaw Ta Pan Cave  
Temple

Myanmar King attending Hluttaw, Khanda Thein Temple Yesagyo Myo

Ogre Ponnaka, holding the reins of the horse, Myay Khae Taung Village, Laba Kyaw  
Swar Sima

Ordination ceremony of monks in the Kalayani river, Khanda Thein Temple, Yesagyo  
Myo

Painting a Pasoe with Spot Design

Pala-le Elephant King offering flowers of the Buddha, Myay Khae Taung Village, Laba Kyaw Swar Sima

Poch of Painting with Lord Buddha and his right-hand and left-hand disciples, Thaw Ta Pan Cave Temple

Ponnaka orge counting Ein-na-wadi (Naga Princess), Kan Yoe Chaung Thone Su Tam Temple, Pakhangyi

Rakhine worshiped by King Maha Kyein Buddha Image

Saris wearing women with bare breasts, Phaya Ni Cave Temple, Pakhangyi

Tar Yar Dawi (Queen of the Constellations) wearing Kyo Gyi Acheik Htamein, Cave Temple (78), Pakhangyi

The Buddha blessing the deities and human at Maha Kusala mountain, Myay Khae Taung Village, Laba Kyaw Swar Sima

The Buddha receiving offerings from citizen of Sanghasa-na-go, Myay Khae Taung Village, Laba Kyaw Swar Sima

The Buddha's remain carried away a palanquin, Mya Thein Tan Temple, Pakhangyi, Yesagyo Township

The footprint of Lord Buddha and Zatar Taw Pon ink inscription, Phaya Net Temple

The gate-keeper couple, Larba Kyaw Swar Sima Myay Khae Taung Village

The Lord Buddha spending under the Tamar tree, Larba Kyaw Swar Sima, Myay Khae Taung Village

The two dancers seem to be executing the duet dance, Myay Khae Taung Village, Laba Kyaw Swar Sima

The wife pulling the beard of her husband, Wazo Thein Temple, Yesagyo Myo

- Two count ladies on the way to offer swoon and flowers, Myay Khae Taung Village,  
Laba Kyaw Swar Sima
- Two youths carrying two cocks, Myay Khae Taung Village, Laba Kyaw Swar Sima
- Vision of hell, Shwe Phone Pwin Pagoda, Yesagyo Myo
- Wall Painting a Deity paying homage to Lord Buddha with flower offerings
- Wall Painting an old man executioner wearing red Pasoe carrying a sword Than Hlyet,  
Wazo Temple, Yesagyo
- Wall Painting of a Deity offering flowers to the Buddha, Stupa 131, Thaw Ta Pan Temple,  
Pakhangyi
- Wall Painting of A Deity sitting and offering, Dagun Kokkar dicorative pennant and sort  
of streamer, Thaw Ta Pan Temple, Pakhangyi
- Wall Painting of a drawing never-yet-seen, Nyima Thone Phaw Pagoda
- Wall Painting of A King among the floral decoration, Phaya Net
- Wall Painting of A King in his reign of Kingdom, Nga, Mone Kone Village, Pakhan  
Region
- Wall Painting of a man with a fierce appearance or a deity holding Than-hlyet, Mauk-  
ka-lan village
- Wall Painting of A woman-snake charmer, Nyi-ma-thone-phaw Pagoda
- Wall Painting of Lord Buddha dwelling in Jetavana Monastery in the interior north wall  
of Thaw Ta Pan Cave Temple
- Wall Painting of Saing Waing (Myanmar Orchestra, Myay Khae Taung Village, Yesagyo  
Township
- Wall Painting of the Anyeint performance of Aung Myay Lawka Pagoda in Khin Mon  
Village, Chaung Oo Township



Wall Painting of the Brahmar Diety in the act of offering flowers and umbrellars.

Wall Painting of the conragation of a hundred and one kingdom's chiefs, Shin-pin Pwin-lan Temple, Pakhangyi

Wall Painting of the figure of a muscular man, Ngi Ma Thone Phaw Pagoda

Wall Painting of the Strange being coming out from foliage, Nagayon Temple, Stupa (126), Pakhangyi

Wall Painting with A Brahmin and his followers, Shin-pin Pwin-lan Temple, Pakhangyi

Wall Painting with A man with a topknot hair, holding a sword and wearing a Pasoeof waving lines Acheik design

Wall Painting with a young prince in a mood of delight, Stupa 130, Tawa Gu Temple, Pakhangyi

Wall Painting with a youth in a dance act, Stupa 108, Ywa Thar Village in Pakhan

Wall Painting with Arc of the moon, Thaw Ta Pan Cave Temple, Pakhangyi, Yesagyo Township

Wall Painting with Jetavana Monastery and the figure of royal cavalry soldier Thaw Ta Pan Cave Temple

Wall Painting with King Vesantara donating his royal horses and elephants, Mya Thein Tan Temple, Pakhangyi, Yesagyo Township

Wall Painting with Lord Buddha receiving homage from the King and his courtiers, Thaw Ta Pan Cave Temple

Wall Painting with two lover in a playful mood, Phaya-ni Temple, Pakhangyi

## Iconography

Nwar Htain Buddha Image, Nwar Htain Village, Yesagy Township

The Eight Great Event of a Buddha's career, Upali Sima, Near Bagan

The Andagu Eight Scenes, Shwezigon Pagoda, Nyaung Oo

Taw Htwet Kyi Image, Ananda Cave Temple, Bagan

Head of Taw Htwet Kyi Image, Ananda Cave Temple, Bagan

Nat-pa-Lin Nga Hlaing Kan Bronze Image Nga Hlaing Kan Village, Bagan

Gautama Image, Stupa (165), Pakhangyi, Yesagy Township

Gautama Buddha Image, Stupa (78), Pakhangyi, Yesagy Township

Late Bagan Baddha Image, Phaya-ni Image, Stupa(49), Pakhangyi Yesagy Township

An Image at Tin Pyin Pyae Pagoda, Stupa (52), Pakhangyi, Yesagy Township

An Image at Larba Kyaw Swar Pagoda, Myay Khae Taung Village, Yesagy Township

An Image at U Htwon Pyae Pagoda, Htin Tan Quarter of Yesagy Myo

An Image at Phaya Net Pagoda, Stupa (46), Pakhangyi, Yesagy Township

An Image of Nyaungyan period, Stupa (182), Pakhangyi Yesagy Township

An image of Innwa period, Stupa (108), North of Ywar Thar Village, Pakhangyi

A Buddha Image at Ywar Thar village, Stupa (113), Pakhangyi Yesagy Township

A Buddha Image at Ywar Thar village, Stupa (110), Pakhangyi Yesagy Township

Image of the Buddha at the Nagar-Yon Cave Temple, Stupa(126), Than-si Monastery,  
Pakhangyi Yesagy Township

A Buddha Image, Stupa (32) North of Ratanabhumi Monastery, Pakhangyi Yesagy Town-  
ship

A Buddha Image of Konbaung period, Stupa (130), North of Than Si Monastery,  
Pakhangyi Yesagyio Township

A Buddha Image of Ratanabon period, Thaw Ta Pan Temple Stupa (131), Pakhangyi  
Yesagyio Township

A Buddha Image of Ratanabon period, Stupa (135), North of Su Taung Pyae, Pakhangyi  
Yesagyio Township

Hse-ta-mie-nyein Let-pwar-shin Image, Swoom Oo Ponnya Shin Pagoda of Sagaing  
Hill

Image of Buddha in the Mogaung Cave Temple, Shwe Oo Min Pagoda Mound Pakhangyi  
Yesagyio Township

A Buddha Image at Wazo Thein, Ywar Poe Quarter, Yesagyio Myo

A Buddha Image at Wazo Thein, Ywar Poe Quarter, Yesagyio Myo

Image on the elephant throne, Khanda Thein Cave Temple, Ywathar Village, Pakhangyi

Phaung Taw Oo Image of Buddha, Southeast corner of Phaung Taw Oo Monastery,  
Pakhangyi

A standing Buddha Image, Kan Swe Oo Min, Pakhangyi

A Buddha Image at Muak-kalan, Mauk Ka Lan Village, Pakhangyi

A standing wooden Buddha Image, Pakhan-nge Kyaung Taw Gyi, Yesagyio Township

Pitaka Taik Standing Image, Pakhangyi U Phoe Toke Kyaung Taw Gyi

A standing Image at Dipinkara Temple, Ywar Roe Quarter, Yesagyio Myo

A reclining Image of Buddha, Kan Swe Oo Min, Pakhangyi

Bronze Buddha figurine, Shit Myet Hnar Stupa, Pakhangyi

Bronze Standing Buddha Figurine Shit Myet Hnar Stupa, Pakhangyi

Bronze Buddha in Bhunphassa mudea posture Shit Myet Hnar Stupa, Pakhangyi

Bronze Image of Nagayon Buddha Shit Myet Hnar Stupa, Pakhangyi

A Buddha Image of Bagan Period, Pakhangyi Museum, Yesagy Township

A Buddha Image of Pinya Period, Pakhangyi Museum, Yesagy Township

Sagyin marble Image of Buddha, Pakhangyi Museum, Yesagy Township

Sagyin marble Image of Nyaungyan Period Pakhangyi Museum, Yesagy Township

The bronze Image with Makeik crown Pakhangyi Museum, Yesagy Township

Bronze Image of Inn Pagoda, Down Town of Pyay Myo (Archaeological Report (1958-59)

Bronze Image (Received from U Tin Win, Seik-ta Thu-kha Quarter, Yesagy Myo)

Taung Oo Sand-stone Image (Right Knee) Pakhangyi

Phaung Taw Oo Sandstone Image, Stupa (32), Phaung Taw Oo Monastery, Pakhangyi Yesagy Township

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