Chapter IV

Art and Architecture

The cultural history of Arakan is best reconstructed through the diversity of forms found in its sculpture and architecture. It will be shown that these reflect not only the art of the immediate region - Bengal and the Pyu centres - but also the art of Southeast Asia in its widest sense. The whole gamut of northern and southern Indian influences, generally associated with the history of the better-documented schools of Indochina are equally apparent in Arakan. Although none of the Arakanese sites have been excavated, the assemblage of surface finds promises comparable rewards in the future.

The pre-Buddhist civilization of Dhammakaya was very probably based on the earlier Northern Indochinese/Yunnanese bronze-using culture commonly referred to as "zangsuman", a tradition which persisted in the minor arts throughout our period. The first evidence of Buddhism, a century after the establishment of Dhammakaya, is, surprisingly, that of a fully developed Mahayanaist cult, associated with kingship. Devacaktra (fig. 25,476) who, we assume, built the Mahamuni temple, promised his people rebirth in the Western Paradise of Amitabha, protection by the Hindu-Buddhist guardians of the four quarters, and continued prosperity through the incorporation in his pantheon of a pre-Buddhist earth-goddess, now renamed Vasudharā. Devacaktra's inspiration derived from the art and religion of the north-western fringes of the Gupta empire, soon to disappear in the wake of the Hun invasions.

The Mahamuni sculptures formulate the Candrā style which lasted until the end of the 6th century. The dominant material is the fine-grained warm red sandstone, possibly quarried in the
hills west of Mrdhaung. The ground behind the figures remains plain, in contrast to the jungly compositions of Indian sculpture. In fact, the bas-relief often tends to dominate, rising well above the figures, a trend also noticed in the early Buddhist sculpture of Śrīkṣeta, and, according to Luce, the survival of an earlier megalithic cult where the stone itself was the object of worship. It is possible that the Brahmāni in its original form was never completed: a dhāraṇī, just to be erected, is still unfinished. No other sculptural remains are to be found at Dhaibimāt, but in a single example of roller sculpture from Ayañṭā, an exciting return to modelling from life and the use of a third dimension only equalled in the finest painting at Ajayā can be seen. The earliest remains at Veṣalī and the surrounding area can be assigned to the early 6th century and remain close to the late Gupta style. Apart from Buddha images, there is evidence of an equally widespread Vaishnavite cult, and from the superior quality of the images we can infer royal patronage, inspired by the Imperial Gupta tradition. An image of Śrīva, iconographically derived from the late Gupta school of Bengal also belongs to this period.

After the middle of the 6th century, the Hindu art of Veṣalī parallels, in many respects, the Chākyaṅ style which emerged at Badami after the disintegration of the Maṇḍahupan empire.

1 Cortez suggested that the Chākyaṅs of Badami were northerners ousted southwestern by the Satavahana invasions, noting that "they had been heirs to the best Gupta tradition, so much so that early Chākyaṅ art is practically best Gupta art." "The Crisis of the Migration Period and other Key Problems" in Studies in the History, Religion and Art of Classical India (Wiesbaden 1984) p.13
The majority of Buddhist remains from the period are much cruder in conception than the Hindu images, indicating a popular cult. There is no implicit evidence of the Mahāyāna, and in style, a continuing contact with ŚrīNagarā throughout the 6th and 7th centuries is evident. Gradually the naturalistic rounded modelling of the Gupta Buddha image becomes abstract and angular, and drapery is all but forgotten. Sculptures connected with the royal function, notably the Śiva-śtambha depicting Indra and an abhāsānga plaque, illustrate the integration of ideals of Buddhist Cakravartin kingship at court.

The period of confusion following the fall of the Sānrad dynasty in 600 A.D. did not encourage the erection of monuments and the manufacture of images. With the reestablishment of a stable dynasty in 630 A.D., art forms became far more diversified. The red sandstone quarries were abandoned or exhausted, and grey sandstone, stucco and bronze became more prominent. After Hālavarvā, contact with northern India, in particular the Buddhist centres of Mālamā and Mahānā, was reestablished, resulting in the adoption of Pāla forms of Mahāyānaist art. The influence of Pālāva sculpture at Nalasaparum is seen in Vīgāṇi images by the end of the 7th century. A continuation of the Čāndālā art contact is especially apparent in architecture, but by now Čāndālā art had itself absorbed the aesthetic of southern India, a process hastened by the occupation of Badami by the Pālāva king Nārasiṃhavarman I (fl. 630-668), and paralleled in its own turn by the Buddhist art of ŚrīNagarā. Although northern Indian Tantrism had been accepted by the court by the first quarter of the 8th century, no remains have yet been discovered.
These multifarious influences do not seem to have been welded into a purely Arakanese art style. The very diversity of the remaining suggests factionalism within the society. The lack of evidence is largely due to the severe depredations which followed the fall of the dynasty soon after 729 A.D. The art of northeast Bengal from this period, however, shows the influence of Vajra and may reflect an attempted shift of the capital to the west.

Another half-century passed before a new dynasty was established at Vajra in 789 A.D. Almost constantly threatened by invaders, the sphere of influence is again reduced to northeast India, with the possible addition of Nepal and Tibet. Sātārajaya, with which the art has certain affinities, no doubt succeeded in cutting the south India link. During this period, Hindu female deities were again adopted as local guardians. The goddess Durgā was raised from her status as a dharmapāla and may have been associated with one of the more important local rivers. Her images, and a stylistically identical Vīṣṇu image, stiff and overlaid with decoration, show the influence of the 8th century Pāla Bengal. A short-lived settlement at Moanhung produced the Wunti shrine, dedicated in 876 A.D. to a Tantric form of Durgā, though to aid the king in defeating his enemies. Her images are highly stylized, in the manner of popular Himalayan art remote from its source of inspiration, with elongated erect figures and the distinguishing attributes emphasized. The same shrine contains an image of the Bodhisattva Vaiśravaṇa, in a form derived from north India and Nepal, but similar to his representation at Thoton.

Buddhist art during this period underwent a revival. Possibly the earliest crowned Buddha image in Southeast Asia, a beautiful bronze at Roudé Passe, shows Pāla influence, but the treatment of the body is softer and the facial features are peculiarly Arakanese.
“Votive Tablets” or “Votive Tablets Modelled on Padaung Stools” dating from the end of the period serve to show the last vestiges of the ancient-inspired art before the expansion of Pagan under Aniruddha and Anawrahta’s subsequent turning to the east for its Buddhist inspiration.

Catalogue raisonné

The Catalogue attempts to examine all sites, sculptures and minor antiquities discovered to date, and includes any published information regarding them, local tradition, and a comparative stylistic analysis. The sculptures are arranged iconographically and chronologically.

The Mahāmuni Shrine (Plates XLII-LIII)

The ceremonial centre...projected images of cosmic order onto the plane of human experience, where they could provide a framework for social action....Whenever, through the work of textual corruption or the technologically and stylistically biased reports of archaeologists, we catch a glimpse of the process of urban genesis, it is the integrative function of the shrine or cult which attracts our attention.

writes Paul Wheatley3, for whom the Mahāmuni shrine would ideally illustrate his theories of Asian urban origin.

The oldest and most revered Buddhist site in Arakan, the shrine has been the focus of the country’s history since its inception. Its magical image was sought as a prize by neighbouring kings, and it was the goal of pilgrims from all over the Buddhist world. Traditionally the shrine is said to have been built to house the image of the Buddha cast during his sojourn on the Bago hill...Hundreds of copies now sanctifying temples and pagodas in Arakan and beyond are reputed to be replicas of

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2 The Cult of the Four Guardians: A Preliminary Enquiry into the Origin and Character of the Ancient Chinese City (Edinburgh 1971) pp. 77-8

3 See App. 1 - “The Mahāmuni Tradition”
this first great and only faithful copy of the Master.

The shrine encompasses a hilltop at the northeast corner of the palace site. Nothing remains of the original structure apart from perhaps the massive walls of square-cut granular sandstone which form the first, second and third terraces, a large tank at the southeast corner of the first enclosure and a collection of stone sculptures. Even Perdrizet's description, written in 1881, differs radically from the state in which we find the shrine today.

Architecture (Plates XLII-XLIIL)

However, from aerial photographs it can be seen that the original plan closely resembles the present form. The shrine was contained within a rectangular wall, with openings at the four cardinal points, the most important being that at the east. The temple proper was square, set towards the west, and raised over two broad, almost square terraces.

No obvious Indian prototype for an image shrine over stepped terraces exists, although the development may be linked with that of the step-pyramid shrines discussed in detail below.

Arakshai, pp. 6-8 give the dimensions of the terraces as I, 695 x 472', II, 271 x 211'; III, 127 x 98'. Measurements taken in 1973 are I, 938 x 758'; II, 540 x 299'; III, 136 x 115'. These reflect the construction work undertaken some 60 years ago by the Arcahsa group under U Rai Syow Mii (ASB 1922-23, pp. 20-21). The site was visited again by the Archaeological Survey in 1959, when a number of new images were discovered among the debris on the terraces (ASB 1958-9, pp. 24-25).
The most likely origin may be found in the pre-6th century phases of the main temple (site 3) at Bīlāndi. Only two original architectural fragments, both carved from red sandstone, were found in 1975. The first, a saṅgaṇī arch on a lintel fragment, H.0.19m and 0.39m long, was uncovered during the clearing of the NE corner of the second terrace and is now lying at the NW corner. The little figure in the centre belongs to the late Gupta tradition. His whiskery hair, large earring, round face and downward-looking eyes and rather sensitive expression are all found among the saṅgaṇī figures at Bihārān. The arch above him is flattened at the apex, and the shape is repeated in the recess beyond. The saṅgaṇī motif is well-known in the art of Dehāravati and Yana, but the Mahāvīra fragment may well be the earliest example in Southeast Asia. The second fragment is now in the Shin monastery at Kyauktaw, and was possibly part of a pillar. 1.05m in height, it is decorated on two sides with a lotus medallion, headed around the centre and with an acanthus pattern outside.

Sculpture

Like the architectural fragments, all the Mahāvīra sculptures are made of fine-grained red sandstone. The one inscribed image, happily typical of the main group, is paleographically datable to the end of the 5th century. All the single-figure images are approximately 1.2m high, and consist of a raised unornamented ledge of about 0.3m, on which the figure is seated, backed by a plain slab, usually rounded at the top. The size of each figure varies according to the iconographic group: the Lokānātakas average about 0.51m, and the Bodhisattvas

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7 D. Mitra, Buddhist Monuments (Calcutta 1971) p.88
8 M. Benisti, Rapport sur le premier Art Kouch et l'Art Indien (Paris 1970) i.11, fig.249
9 J. C. Harle, Gupta Sculpture (Oxford 1974) figs 118,119,120 (Demonstr.)
The dyed and triad altars, while stylistically similar to the main group, have a total height of 0.7m, while the figures average 0.4m. As all these images but one have their bases broken or partially buried it was not possible to investigate the size of the terraces underneath. The relative thickness of the slabs, ± 0.35m at the base, suggests that they were originally placed within niches which were presumably inserted at regular intervals around the outer walls of the terraces, each according to its relative function and importance. Most of the sculptures exhibit a number of peculiar characteristics which allow us to determine the group to which they belong and suggest the original position. The most notable of these features are the ornate headresses, which will be discussed fully below. In the rounded faces, the smooth curves of the flesh, some elements of the costume, the naturalistic folds of the garments, and the serene balanced composition of the figures, we can trace a similarity with the late Gupta style. However, the motivation of the Mahayana sculptor, who sought to integrate a new religious cult with equally new conceptions of kingship, was quite different from that of his Indian counterpart. The Buddhist and Mahayana image-types were practically unknown in India and even China at this time. Emphasis on the importance of various Buddhist deities was changing so rapidly that artists of the period were usually unable to keep pace with the story-tellers. Thus the peculiarities of Mahayana sculpture were due not only to an adaptation of Indian forms in a new environment, but also to a highly individual interpretation of the rituals devoted to meditation and perception of the deities. Each image was designed to be seen alone, but recognized to be part

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10 A point aptly made by A. Roger, Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China (Harvard 1933) p.32
of the whole complex. Hence the distinguishing characteristics, in particular the headresses, are crude and highly decorative, in contrast with the bodies, idealized into almost angular forms which are quietly resolved within a circular composition, emphasizing the inspiration of the sikha. Apart from the headlresses, the costume of most of the images is almost identical. Each figure has large earring ornaments inserted in the loke. All have upper arm bands, usually not embellished, with a single forehead projection. The necklaces are rigid, wide and quite plain, and round the waist a kathmandu is always worn, tied at the front in various fashions. An adharambha is sometimes discernible about the hips. Most of these ornaments are common to the earliest Mahisattva images in India.\(^{11}\)

The present disposition of the sculptures differs from Forchhammer's description, and neither is any guide to their original placement. Some on view in 1885 are now lost, while others have been rediscovered since. The following is an analysis of all the available data:

Entragrama (Plate XLIIV a)

Red sandstone, extant \(\text{i.e. upper half, lower half now lost}\) \(\approx 1.25\) m. now painted and set in small shrine on third terrace, NE of central image, and worshipped as an 'ogre'. Not noticed by Forchhammer.

Arch. Saga 2277 (1952–53), 8181 (1958–9)

This unfinished image was probably intended to stand in a niche at the eastern entrance to the shrine. Standing in an easy sleeping attitude, the left arm is raised to the chest, and the right, falling by the side, holds a long sword. A phalliculū behind the head is decorated with two rows of the coil motif typical of the Mahāmuni

sculptures. The headdress is tall but unfinished, as is the necklace, also a row of coils. The lower garment appears to leave the legs naked in front, with a back flap falling naturally behind to above the ankles, held at the waist by a scarf hooked over the left hip, in the manner of the early Vānalī sculptures. The face, although unfinished, has bulging eyes and/broad mouth.

Néas (Plate XLIva)

(1) Perthamer No.10 (II terrace, west side) "The naked figure of a female (sic): right arm broken off from elbow; the outspread hood of a cobra rises from the head; size of stone 3'10" x 1'10".

(pl. No.5, fig 7)

Now in a small shrine of the lower terrace, west of the northern gateway.

(2) Arch Néas 2840 (1922-23), 3198 (1958-59)

ASE 1923, pl.1, fig 2 and p.59, 2nd terrace, N of 8 steps. Now 2nd terrace, N of 8 steps.

Apart from the left arm, which in (7) remains intact, both sculptures are identical and may have belonged around the base of the second terrace. Their inferior status in relation to the other devas is usually stated in the plain verses behind, reaching to forehead level, and rounded at the top, with extra rounded protrusions behind the

12 cf J.Boisselier, Lo Statuaire du Cambodge (Paris 1963) pp.21-5 and fig.43; Nguyen Phuc Long, "Les Nouvelles Recherches Archéologiques au Viêtnam" (Compilé par le Vicomte de Louis Bencické) Arta de la Séquence t.XXIII (1975) fig.597 "Figure représentant un Bouddhâ/ba de la lanje-heide porte aux du sanctuaire central du Udâna", (Art de l'Époque Udâna). The Mahârâja door guardian may also be compared with the dryâphala discovered recently within the citadel at Śrīnagara (Aung Thein Historical Sites ... pp.26-27); cf A.Copter, Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China (Ascona 1959), pp.240-1
shoulders. Iconographically, the figures are almost identical with those finishing the lintels at Prazat Payang described by Briggs as "human whāga shapes, with heads of five serpent heads. They have a coiffure with a storied crown, large ear buttons, bracelets and the Brahmānic cord in serpent." 13

Our human whāgas have five-headed canopies, plain brahmānic cords, plain necklaces, three-pointed crowns below the high and pointed emblems, and a stiff belt, tied at the front with the ends arranged in the form of a horseshoe. Each sits in jālāmaṇa with his left leg folded under, right knee raised with the foot drawn back to the centre and point ing to the side. One arm rests on the raised knee, the other, held at waist level, holds an object now not recognizable. The posture appears to have been widely accepted for human whāga figures: we find it again in the later so-called Śiva Rama image at Nālamāṇi".

Nagā

Forchhammer No.7, II terrace, south side. Represents a naked figure in the act of worshipping No.8 (a lokapāla?) The stone is broken and the figure is much damaged: over the head spreads the hood of a cobra.

PL.No.71, fig 4 (reprint, fig 2)
The same or a very similar image, very damaged, is now among a group of sculptures at the base of the ridge about 2km SSE of Mahārāmaṇi.

The face, with its 9-hooded whāga-canopy, is shown frontally, while the torso bends to the left, the right arm by the side and the left, broken at the elbow, apparently raised. The legs:

13 E.H. Briggs, op cit p.75
14 S.R. Weiner, "From Gupta to Pāla Sculpture" AA Vol XXXIV, p.178 and fig 55
depicted in profile, are in a kneeling position.\footnote{15}

Kishir (Plate XLIV)\footnote{16}

Not mentioned by Froehner; now II terrace, E side, S of stairway.
Dreadly damaged above the legs and broken at shoulder height. Extant 2. 0.63 m, figure 0.45 m.

Arch Mag 8166 (1935-9)

From the remains of the figure it can be seen to be squatting, legs widespread, the right foot slightly in front. There is no trace of the right arm; the left appears to have been raised, possibly carrying an important attribute, as the figure is slightly off-centre to the left. Plain bands are worn around the ankles, and the girdle around the hips has traces of decoration. The stomach seems to have protruded more than usual. Behind the figure the backslab is raised slightly in an unornamented surround, similar to those of the mega figures with whom, therefore, this may be considered. The attitude is reminiscent of the chubby squatting panier and Sekhès-mudha, personified attributes of Amura-Hušurwula. Found on either side of shrines and palace doorways in India and Ceylon.\footnote{16}

\footnote{15} In view of Mahayanaist connotations of the Mahâmuni sculptures, we should recall the story of the daughter of Sûgarà, the Nâga king, who, exiled from Buddha hood by her sex, presented the lord with a priceless gem, achieved supreme enlightenment and manifested herself as a (male) Bodhisattva (Buddhagayagñatika XI 31-3). The attitude of our Kishir suggests that she is presenting a valuable gift to a high personage.


\footnote{16} Jan (1977): This figure may preferably be described as a Lokapâla, perhaps the opposite number to the image of Kishir.}
Single figure images, main group. (Plates XLVII-XLIX)

Forchhammer, (Arch. pp. 12, 13) noticed nine of these and classified them as female, no doubt influenced by their graceful proportions which approach the ideal of the Victorian carver.

No. 5 (II terrace, east side) "Rude female figure with headdress, earrings, necklace, and rings around the upper arm; the arms are knocked off at the elbow; the stone is 3'8" high and 1'10" broad (see his plate No. IV, fig 2)

No. 6 (II terrace, southeast corner) "Rude female figure; right arm broken off, the left hand rests on the left knee; headress and ornaments similar to No. 4; the stone is broken in two; 3'10" high, 1'10" broad (see his plate No. IV, fig 3)

No. 9 (II terrace, west side) "Represents the same figure as No. 5;

size of the stone also the same."

No. 10 (II terrace, north side) A naked female figure, left arm broken off; size of stone 3'8" x 1'10" (see his plate No. V, fig 3)

No. 13 (I terrace, north side) "A female figure like No. 10.

No. 14 (I terrace, northeast corner) "A female figure like No. 5."

No. 18 (I terrace, southwest corner) "A female figure like No. 5."

No. 19 (I terrace, northwest corner) "A female figure like No. 18."

(1922-3, p. 29 and pl. I, fig 3; 1928-9, pp. 24-5; Arch. No. 2338, 2339, 2341 (1928-29), 8195, 8156, 8161, 8166 (1928-9).

Right of these remains, on the first terrace southwest corner, northwest corner on the northern side, west of the stairway and at the northeastern corner. Another was found among the group 25m away, and a headless, very weathered image near the tank may also belong in this series.
Although almost all distinguishing maṇḍūkas and attributes of
these figures are now lost, enough remain to show that the sculptor
was following an explicit iconographic text. All sit in a form
of ardha-vajra-prakāśa, with the right knee raised, feet pointing
forward and the left leg folded under, apart from one which has
the left knee raised. Each apparently performed a different
maṇḍūka or held distinguishing attributes, none of which are entirely
clear now, as in all cases but one, the upraised arms are broken
from the ribcage, where one arm rested on the knee, as was the case
in four instances, it usually remains intact. The one fully intact
image has the raised right hand passing through a round beaded
object which may be a rosary; another appears to have held with
both hands an object from which a string or rope dangles. These
possibly are an abhūmālā and a pātra, both Buddhists attributes.¹⁷

The group has no overt sexual characteristics and the broad-shouldered slim-waisted bodies
reflect a combination of masculine and feminine ideals.

The usual ornaments are worn, including a kajjikamala around
the waist which, where visible, is tied at the centre with a
single loop and the ends spread out, an adharambūda around the
hips, engraved to produce the effect of embossed metal. Noticeable
in the absence of the brahmanical cord (yajñapandava), which was
worn by the Śrīmaṇa kings described above. As part of Avalokiteśvara’s
costume, it was likewise absent in Indian art until the late
Gupta period.¹⁸

¹⁷ de Mollend, op cit pp.266ff.
¹⁸ ibid p.244.
The group is distinguished by wing-like round projections, decorated with rows of cells behind the shoulders. These perhaps illustrate the blazing glory which emanates from the body of a Bodhisattva, a Central Asian characteristic mentioned in the Sadāśaṃcapalitaka 19, but fully developed in the Amṛta-pañcaka-stuti 20. The headdress is a five-pointed crown, augmented by an upāśīṃa consisting of three coils tipped with a rounded projection sometimes decorated with geometric shapes and possibly with a distinguishing symbol in front. From the side of the crown and the upāśīṃa issue flower-like projections, and from these fly tripartite ribbon-like objects, curved at the ends. A similar headdress is described in another 5th century stūpa.

The description is typical of the krama stūpas, mixing precise detail with the fantastic in every sentence. Although in this instance the headgear belongs to the Bodhisattva Bhaisajyakompana, such iconographical details are fairly common in 5th century Mahāyāna literature. A similar text, now perhaps lost, would have been available to the Mahāmuni artist who has succeeded in an ingenious literal rendition in stone.

19 Karm trans. SBE Vol XXI, pp. 379-91; 397
21 Wang Mo No. 55; Chuan Yaow Weng Kao Sheng De Pù-wei Sheng; Deśapāyana XX No. 1161, trans in the Liu Sung by Kilagata; Sayer, op cit p. 203-4, ry Italics.
Single figure with nimbus (Plate 1)

Farak churner noticed two of these images, comparing them to his No.4, the dyed slab, where the figures also have nimbi behind the heads, see his No.11 (II terrace, northwest corner) "A naked female figure like No.4. Only one was found in 1976, on the first terrace, north side, west of the northern stairway.

The figure is distinguished by an elliptical unornamented prabhāvāli, decorated armband, and even more slender, elongated proportions than the previous group. The distinctive headdress is also narrower and higher, but closely resembles those of the other "bodhisattvas". Unfortunately, a thick coating of time has obscured the finer details, but an extra coil on the nimbus and a trefoil, pointed arrangement on the top can be discerned. The points of the crown appear to have been petal-shaped. The image probably represents a bodhisattva held in higher esteem than the others.

In the Amogha-pārśva-nāma, the two attendants of Anitākus, Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta, are given similar attributes. Avalokiteśvara is described as being

eighty millions or myriads of pajānas... at the base of his neck there is a round hole, the diameter of which is a hundred thousand pajānas. That hole contains five hundred magically created Buddhas, just like the Buddha Śakyamuni, each accompanied by five hundred bodhisattvas and innumerable gods as his attendants. Within the umbrage of light that surrounds his body are manifest the forms and the distinguishing attributes of all creatures in the five paths of existence. On his head is a celestial crown, fashioned with numerous gems, within which is a magically created Buddha, twenty-five pajānas tall.

Mahāsthāmaprāpta differs iconographically in that his celestial crown has five hundred jewelled lotuses. Each lotus has five hundred jewelled dishes; in each dish are manifest, in all their length and breadth, the look of the Paradises of the various Buddhas of the ten quarters.
The **upāja** on the crown of his head is like a **padmā** lotus blossom. On it there is a precious vase, filled with every sort of radiance to make manifest everywhere the Buddha’s work.  

Despite the fantastic proportions common to **kasyāstra**, the basic iconographical elements clearly correspond with those exhibited by our figure. The **Buddhavat**’s great height is emphasised by his slender figure and high headress; he has a halo, **upāja**, celestial crown and **surēca** of light emanating from his body. It is not clear whether there was a Buddha figure within the crown, but the jewelled lotusases and dates and **padmā** crown of **Maitreya** and **Prabhāsottama** are certainly possible. At the top of the headdress, under the line coating, a “vase filled with radiance” can perhaps be discerned. The **lokāpāla**s (Plates XLIV a (i), b,c and XIIa,b)

A Group of five images, stylistically divisible into three groups:

1. 2 full-scale figures, round, backslit. Probably identical to Vorchohmer No.15 (I terrace, east side) “A female (sic) figure in the same attitude and head-dress as No.1, but without the flag on the head; the left hand touches the upraised left knee and holds the spear.”

Arch Neg 8157 (1958-59)

Now both on the I terrace, W side, s and 5 of the stairway, lined and painted. Total H. 1.0m, figure 0.865m and 0.88m (partly buried), and 0.825m respectively.

These sculptures represent the **Buddhavat** images in **kasyāstra**, ornaments, crown and **upāja**. Each carries a sword in the right hand, and holds the right at waist level, palm facing outward. Their importance in relation to the preceding figures is emphasised by the collar-decorated **surēca**s emanating in a circular fashion from behind the face, and the elliptical **prabhottālī**, spread wing-like projections.

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ornaments at the upper corners and angles with floral motifs from which pointed rays spring upwards and ribbons hang down.

The similarity with the Bodhisattva head ornaments indicates that a closely related text was followed, without which it is difficult to explain the wing-like side projections. It should be noted, however, that a Bodhisattva crown showing a humanized eagle being carried aloft by a giant bird was known in the earliest Mahayanaist art. The coiled shape of the mäkha combined with the side elements could be a survival of this tradition. The pair may be identified as lokapālas by their swords, appropriate attributes for protectors prescribed in the Mahāyāna (XXI, 79) and still carried by guardians of the Mandalay Palace in the 19th century. They must originally have belonged to a group of four, who by the 5th century had become not only protectors but part of Indra's law-enforcing apparatus.

Minor Lokapālas (Plate XLVI.a)

Two small-scale figures with hīna backsab. (1) Forthcoming No.8 (II terrace, south side). "A male figure, flag on the head points east, otherwise similar to No.1; the portion

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23 A. Poujoulet, L'Art Boudhique du Gandhara (Paris 1905) plgs 320, 254, 341; pl.18, head from Mathura of Southern type, showing only the monster bird, is illustrated by J. Vial, La Sculpture de Mathura (Paris 1930) pl.XXVII.5. Soper, op cit pp.153ff connects the motif with the Zauv and Garuda legend. In India, the conflict between Garuda and the Hāsa can be seen to represent the opposing forces of the celestial and mother worlds.

24 J. George Scott and J.P. Hardiman, Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States Vol 1, Pt.2, (London 1907) p.132

25 see below, p. 208-10
of the stone not covered by the figure appears, to judge from the horizontal lines, to have contained an inscription, but no letters are now traceable. Size of stone, 3'10" high, 1'10" broad."

The image was not to be found in 1922, but was rediscovered in 1958 buried among the debris on the terrace. ASC 1958-9, p.24 and pls. 13 and 34; Arch Naga 216-21, 1958-9.

Now placed in a small shrine at the SE corner of the second terrace, base partially buried, extant H. 1.16m, H. of figure 0.51m, H. of flag 0.11m. From the photograph taken after its discovery in 1958, it can be estimated that the roughly dressed stone was 0.32m, giving the stone a total height of 1.48m.

Behind the figure on the upper portion of the stone are twelve lines of an inscription, with only a few legible letters. This must have continued on the base to above the socle, but only portions of three lines remain, the rest having flaked away. Of these, only the lowest portion is clear, but contains the name of the figure, Yáka-yáka-sangzę Puṣāṇa, in northern Gupta script of the second half of the 5th century. Puṣāṇa was one of the 28 Yáka generals led by Kuśera or Vaiśravana, the guardian of the north. He would therefore have originally been placed in a position subsequent to Vaiśravana, on one of the northern terraces. Iconographically he is essentially the same as the lokapālas, with some important differences: his smaller size, absence of a crown below the headdress (in accordance with his semi-divine status), the flag above his head and a simplified form of the

26 See above p.118; I am extremely grateful to Sayagyi U San Tin Aung who organised our expedition to Manămuni primarily to obtain new copies of this important inscription, and provided me with no less than five rubbings to copy from.

27 As listed in the Mahañagiy and Asañhdiya Suttas of the Digha Nikāya (Nos.20,21) of ORCP p.380 and n.14.

28 The Maha Shwe Daw, guarding the Royal Palace at Mandalay had flags over their heads, their various colours reflecting the colour of the side of the Heru-palace they protected.
aureole-nimbus arrangement. He probably once held a sword in
his raised left hand, his right arm, also raised, is broken at
the elbow. A lotus motif is engraved at the rear of the backslab.
(2) Refs. Forchhammer No. 1 (II platform, north side) "Stone slab
3’10” high, 1’10” broad; reliefs from 1’” - 7” thick; the flag on the
head points to the west; represents a male figure; it holds the
royal spear in the right hand." Now on the first terrace, E side,
N of the stairway. Extant H. 1.07m, H. of figure 0.5m, traces of
a flag (?) above the head.

The figure is in most respects identical to that of Fanādā,
but somewhat better preserved. He holds a sword in his right hand,
which rests on his raised knee; the other arm is broken, as usual
at the elbow. In place of the necklace, two straps pass over his
shoulders, twist over the chest and behind the arm, perhaps the
halberd for a quiver carried on the back.29 The girdle around his
hips resembles a chain, joined at the centre front with a square
buckle, beneath which he may have worn a short tunic.

Two other images mentioned by Forchhammer but now lost may have
belonged to the group of Yakṣa generals:
No. 2 (II terrace, SE corner) "Relief nearly effaced, the upper part
of the head traceable; the small flag on the head points to the east;
the headdress differs from that of No. 1; size of stone the same as
the preceding"; No. 3 (II terrace, east side) "Only the headdress
left of the stone with the head, which is the same as in No.1".

Full size figure with flag.

Not mentioned by Forchhammer, but cf. his No. 1 above. Now at the
SW corner of the second terrace; Extant H. 1.04m, H. of figure 0.79m,
flag .14m; whitewashed and painted.

29 cit. Dikshit, Lokarpur (ASI No. 55) pl. XVIII, b
The figure sits in a slightly different position than the others, his right knee raised and left leg folded, knee and toes touching the ground. In his right hand he holds a long spear, now broken at the top, while his left hand rests on the left thigh. He wears the usual ornaments, the armbands finishing in an upper point, and also plain anklets and a short tunic. The headdress has no crown, an upsida consisting of four narrow coils topped with a bulbous bun and a flag; from either side protrude two spikes. The coil-decorated sureoles sprout from behind the shoulders like wings, and the figure is backed by a plain rounded rosette finishing at eye level and squared at the base.

Triad (Plate LIIa)
Not mentioned by Fischhammer. *Arch Mag* 237 (1922-23).
Now on the first terrace, south side, west of the stairway, with the base buried. Extent H.0.5m. Estimated height of the base above the socle (from *Arch Mag*) 0.35m, giving a total of 0.9m.
The damaged backslab was horizontal or slightly rounded on top.

The three figures are seated with the right legs slightly raised in front. The central member has his right arm raised in front of the body, the hand unfortunately broken, the left is resting on the shin, palm probably inwards. The side figures once held long stalk-like objects, wider at the top, in their raised inner hands; the outer hands, now lost, were also raised in front.

Stylistically the triad appears to be slightly later than the main group of images. The figures are only half the normal size, the front feet do not point forward and the upsida is not coiled but two-tiered. However, the use of red sandstone and ornaments identical to those of the larger figures indicate that the sculpture
still belong to the Candra period. The side members, ornaments, 
necklace and head-dresses (apart from the armpits) are identical to 
the image tentatively identified as Mahākālīśvarāṣṭā, and despite 
the loss of their crowns and the distinguishing vase and Buddha 
my naśaśvara. Figure within them, be identified as Avalokiteśvara and 
Mahākālīśvarāṣṭā. The fans or cāmara held in the inner hands 
emphasize their function as divine attendants on Amitābha. Such 
triloka, inspired by the Amitābha-bhumisūrya were also produced 
in Chinese art at this period. Amitābha himself holds his hands 
in a similar pose to that found in late 5th century Chinese sculpture 
where the right hand is raised and the left held palm downward.
Instead of a nimbus, three flames issue from either side of his 
head, following the cāmini (15,17) where he is described as "sending 
forth brilliant rays". Although the flame device was not used 
everywhere, the six flames emitted from the shoulders remained part 
of the iconography of the Mahākāla image until at least the 14th 
century. A tradition preserved in the local chronicles recalls 
that after the installation of the Mahākāla image by King Candra- 
sūrya, its six-fold aureole rays would fade away when heretics 
worshipped, but when the faithful approached, the rays would flash

30 e.g. Soper op. cit. pp.130-1, describes inscribed triloka ofAmitābha 
with Avalokiteśvara and Mahākālīśvarāṣṭā dated between 550 - 581 
under the Northern Ch'ī. 
31 Terukata Arikawa and Saburo Matsumara Arts of Ch'ī — Buddhist Cave 
Temple's: new Researches (Tokyo 1972) p1.151, Amitābha Buddha, 
dated 483 A.D., under the Southern Ch'ī, unearthed at Mou-hai, 
Szechwan province. 
32 cf below pp. 348-51 and pl. LIX, LIX.
forth like the flashes of forked lightning. The rays are also said to have flashed forth in the evening. That the tradition was still current in the 19th century is apparent from an inscription on a votive bell installed at Mahāmuni in 1819.

Nying (Plate LIIa,b)

Only one of these was noticed by Forchhammer, "No. 4 (II terrace, east side). The slab is much damaged; two small figures are traceable in sitting posture; they represent Buddhas in their ordinary dress and attitude, and have been chiselled out of the original Nat figures by the emissaries of Anawrahta." 35

The slab is now on the first terrace, E side, south of the stairway. Total H. 0.76m. 8 of figures; 0.42m. Another, in better condition, is on the second terrace, south side, near the southeast corner. The figure on the left appears to have had both arms raised; the one on the left had the left arm raised. The right remains intact, restored

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33 Forchhammer, Arakan, p. 5

34 Capt. R.M. Wrighton "Account and drawing of two Burmese bells now placed in a Hindu temple in Upper India" Journal of the Asiatic Society (Dec 1933) p.1969, and note 6. The bell was plundered during the final Burmese War.

35 G.W. p.86, and a reference in the Mahāmuni Thawraw (Forchhammer p.6) where the King of Pagan, in the middle of the 10th century, is said to have sent two ministers to the Mahamuni pagodas with the instruction to "replace the stone figures of Nat by images of Buddha; but the King of Ava did not assent to this change and only two of the Nat figures were allowed to be chiselled into images of Buddha."
in front. The base is buried; Total H. above ground 0.52m, 
H. of figures 0.45m.

Arch No 8165 (1958-9)

The dyed figures are in all respects identical to the side
figures on the triad, and represent Avalokiteśvara and
Mahāsthānapārāśrīta. Similar pairs of Bodhisattva images were also
known in China at the same period^.

Function and significance

Through the "mark of textual corruption" apparent in
Arakanese traditional histories it is clear that from its esti-
ablishment as a Buddhist centre the Mahānuni shrine was intim-
ately connected with the function of Arakanese kingship. The
chronicles emphasize that its founder, King Mahāñandrasגūriya,
had all the qualities of a Dvāravartin king^.

The foundation

is inferred to be coincidental with the adoption of Buddhism by
the king, his court and the people of Arakan. This may have been
the case, as there is no firm evidence of Buddhism earlier than
the Mahānuni. The historicity of Mahāñandrasגūriya is doubtful,
but the name is suspicious in Arakanese tradition. The sculptural
remains point to the reign of Devananda, who ascended the throne
in 1244 A.D. and ruled for 23 years. The Candra dynasty had been
in power for c. 24 years, long enough to accumulate the wealth
and influence to build such a shrine.

After the conversion of the people by the Lord Buddha,
Mahāñandrasגūriya is said to have declared:

36 Super, op cit p.106 (Northern Wei 516-555) pp.127-8 (Eastern
and Western Wei 534-557); pp.130-1 (Northern Ch'li and Northern
Chou, 560-581)

37 ATF Vol.1. pp.287ff
"O lord who is the crown, light and glory of the three kinds of beings, if you wander about from place to place in distant countries, we shall have no one to pay homage to. Therefore for my own good and that of others, I would pray you to leave us an image of you."

Thus the Mahāmuni shrine and its great image were seen to unite in worship the three kinds of beings: the celestial deities, men and creatures of the nether world. This is analogous with the traditional function of the cakravarti king, who in the course of the abhīṣeka ceremonies was imbued with the power to control the heavenly and subterranean forces in order to ensure the prosperity of his kingdom.

Its position, NE of the palace site, is paralleled in many other major shrines in urban Buddhist centres in Southeast Asia and Sichuan, and may be associated with the royal ancestors.

A continuation of a pre-Buddhist cult tradition is evidenced by the importance of the Vasumāra hole dug in the presence of the image in the traditions connected with the shrine. It is said that the hole could not be filled up with the holy water poured in it by its votaries. Continued prosperity in the kingdom was seen to be guaranteed when the king, during the abhīṣeka ceremony, placed 90 coins issued by his predecessor and 90 minted to commemorate the new reign in the Vasumāra hole.

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33 See above, p. 82 and Fn. 42; F. Paris, "L'importance Rituelle du Hair-Do..." BIFAO, XXII, pp. 139ff. Mr. How Tin Kyi told me in 1976 that all the excavated Pyu cities have the main temple northeast of the palace.

The Mahāmuni 29, 60-5; 81-86 includes the northeast among the five directions (east, west, south, north and northeast) and it was apparently considered to have special sanctity; cf. also How 6.31, where quanlitì dì is the direction of purification prior to union with Brahman. In Hindu cosmology the northeast is governed by Čandra or Žume, which may also be significant considering the dynastic name of the Arakanese kings.

43 See above, p. 156.
Further evidence of a continuation of a pre-Buddhist cult is seen in the Nāga and Nāgī sculptures which presumably were once placed either around the base of the Mahāmuni shrine, or, as in Ceylon, guarding the steps to the entrance to the shrine proper! Their king, Vīrabha, would have been the Lokapāla presiding over the western quarter of the shrine and country. The male Nāga images were crowned, signifying their deification. As Soper has so succinctly explained:

The Nāgas were imagined, long before the coming of Buddhism and long after its disappearance in India, as snake-like demi-gods, whose proper home was, like a snake's, the bowels of the earth or under the water. Associated with great deposits of hidden wealth, like the dragons of the Phraengsald, and with the power of water, shown either in the torrent or the storm. As is the case of other demi-god categories, their relationship with men was imagined as an equivocal one, now beneficent and now destructive; the maintenance of a proper balance between these two extremes was held to be one of the functions of the Buddha and the Church.

And we might add, one of the functions of the king in an agrarian Buddhist society. In the more elaborate Mahāyāna affinities, the deified Nāgas appear among the eight classes of beings who listened to Śakyamuni's preaching.42

According to the Mahāmuni tradition, the stone figures placed towards the cardinal points kept away persons who approached the image house with evil intention.43 Their power was so strong that, even in the 11th century, Aniruddha sought to have them recut into Buddha images. By the 9th century, the four Lokapālas who guard the four quarters of the earth were also seen to protect the microcosm of the kingdom, as

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42 The other seven categories being Devas, Yakṣas, Gāndharvas, Asuras, Cīvūpas, Kinnaras and Mahorugas.
43 Forcheimer, p. 9
illustrated by the "Shūronsō National Safety". In motion, the "Sanskrit Stormtroopers" was recommended and was believed to bring immediate aid from the Four Lokapālas, who arrive accompanied by countless hosts of demons and can thus protect a country against national perils such as famine, invasion, plague, revolutions etc. The lokapālas also became part of a newly worked-out law-enforcement apparatus, headed by Indra in his heaven.

In the "Shūronsō National Celestial Mountains" the Four are Indra's adjutants, dividing up the world between them and making inspection tours as Buddhist festival days to examine the conduct of all living creatures from the king to the humblest insect. These reported to Indra and his gods as righteous people receive such as the appointment of guardian spirits to watch over their welfare. As the function of the king on earth reflected those of Indra in heaven, his four chief ministers of state came to be seen as representatives of the lokapālas. Following the Mahābhārata's description, the Four Mahāmaṇi Lokapālas carry wands in their hands; the minor lokapālas also fly flags over their heads, attributes still retained by the...
Min-łam who guarded the King in the Royal Palace at Mandalay.\(^7\)

The function of the Bodhisattvas, Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, and Avalokiteśvara, both in single images and in groups, is clearly stated in the early Maitreya literature. The oldest account is found in Lokavijaya's 2nd century translation of a version of the Longer Sūtra of the Buddha,:

Among all the Bodhisattvas these two are the holiest. They are ever thrown at the left and right sides of the Buddha of boundless purity,... discussing the affairs of the eight quarters, of the superior and inferior worlds and of the past, present and future. When the Buddha sends them as envoys to the countless Buddha-lands of the eight quarters,... the two Bodhisattvas fly thither.\(^8\)

Seen thus as ministerial envoys from the Western Paradise, conversant with the affairs of not only the eight quarters but also the heavens and the underworld, their connection with the king of Dvārakā, through their presence at Mahāmuni was particularly auspicious. By the 5th century, we see in the Antarāya-Devatā-saṃyoga that the two had also become messengers, accessible to the appeals of humanity, sending the divine host that sweeps down in welcome to the deathbed of the faithful. At Mahāmuni their presence therefore reminded the populace of the Paradise awaiting them should they, like the king, place their faith in Antarāya-Maitreya.

The paucity of iconographic detail in the ‘εξω’ group does not allow us to reconstruct their function conclusively. If the original number was ten, they may have been the Bodhisattvas connected with the Buddhas of the Ten Quarters of Space, the eight

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\(^7\) J. George Scott, op cit p.156

\(^8\) Pāli No.83, the Fo Shôa Wên-lông Ch'êng-chüe F'êng-lông Ch'êng Chüe P'iên-yêng Hsun-k'oei XII, No.361; Sepper, op cit pp.141,150
cardinal points gives up and down, a concept which attained pop-
ularity during the 5th century. However, the ten Devadāyas
(Chinese Shao-sheng), a class of devas vowed to protect Buddhism
and the Buddhists, is also a possibility. In the Kao-hsien caves
(1st half of the 6th century) they are depicted sitting in postures
identical to those of the Mahāmaṇi Bodhisattva, but lack the ornate
bead-strings. On the other hand, the figures may represent the
attendant Bodhisattvas at Amitābha's Sukhavati, "infinite in number."

The original position of the dyad and triad slabs, which appear
to be later than the main group, is puzzling. Their smaller scale
may indicate that they were placed in a small shrine or on one of the
terraces, or they may have been made after the identity of the
central image had changed, perhaps to that of Maitreya, and were
given an inferior status.

Why the central and uppermost image represented Amitābha
raises a number of interesting questions. Amitābha was never accepted
in Mahayana, and in India his worship was confined to the northern
fringes. His cult of a heaven of immeasurable light, accessible by
faith alone, presided over by a group of three divinities, has far
more in common with the Middle and Near East than with India, and
was probably a product of Kapāla influence. Its wide acceptance in
China and Japan (and, presumably, Arakan) was due to the belief that
nirvāṇa could be attained merely through Amitābha's almighty blessing
power, an "easy way" compared with the "difficult way" preached by

49 See pp. 199-200
50 ibid p. 277; Akiyama and Matsubara, op cit pl. 125
51 For Smaller Sukhāvatī-Yātra, 10: Takakusu, op cit p. 96
the Aryans, which relied on one's own power. The only other recorded Amihba image from Southeast Asia is the brass statue sent in the late 5th century, from Champa to the Liang court. For the previous two centuries, a sea route from the mouth of the Ganges to Funan had been known. It must have passed along the Andaman coast, and it is not surprising to find the same cult at two points on the way.

Although two centuries later the king was seen as a Bodhisattva, there is no evidence that in the late 5th century he was identified with Amithaba. The central position of the palace, as opposed to the shrine, suggests that secular considerations were dominant in the planning of Dhamaravi. However, from the close and cardinaly-oriented juxtaposition of the shrine, it could be inferred that the king's role was seen as that of a "vice-regent" of the central deity. Thus, his initial motivation in the design of the shrine was to ensure peace and prosperity for his people. He was keen to achieve this by the placating of the local earth-goddess, conveniently absorbed into Buddhism as Vamadeva, and by the importance given to Kuvera/Vaiśravana, lord of the dangerous northern direction and also the god of wealth through his installation as a Lokapalas, together with his generals.

In this context it is interesting to note that about the same time, Kasapa I of Ceylon had styled himself an embodiment of Kuvera in an effort to gain the support of the

53 In the bibliography Ch. 24 som jeg ob Ch. XIII (Tokyo 1956, p. 22, b.c.); Soper, op cit pp. 53-4, 126
54 Pelliot, "Le Kou-mou" BIFER III (1904) p. 276, n. 2
Both the Lokapālas and the Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthambapāriṣṭa ware used as a divine law-enforcement agency, with the power to grant favours to those pursing the guidelines laid down by the sacred and secular authorities. The ultimate reward, however, was rebirth in the blissful Western Paradise of Amitābha, where wealth and comfort were to be had and tell was unknown.

The continuity of the early Amitābha iconography is apparent in the first crowned Buddha image from Arakan, and the bronze images dating from the 10th - 19th centuries, copied from the Mahāprajā image as it appeared then. All retain the three flanges on either shoulder. The earlier specimens of the later group faithfully follow Chinese and Tibetan Amitābha- Amitāyus images in both iconography and style. Whether these were worshipped as Amitābha is uncertain. Early texts refer to the Mahāprajā image as Maitreya.


56. For the earliest of these see below, p. 388-389. For the bronze-gilt image found among the relics of the shrine and taken to Amarpura in 1734 Max and Berto Ferrare Buma (2nd ed. 1911) p. 254, fig. 241, III V1, *Our Museum* 1887, Vol. IV, pl. 11, fig. 4, and p. 219-220; "Crowned Buddha images in Burma*" *ARP* 1958, pp. 28-37 and pl. 64-66; *Ara Bebe 1956, 1967* (1911-14). The image closely resembles Amitābha sculptures from China and Tibet, e.g. F. Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism* (Paris 1929), pl. III "Amitāyus, Clay, Found in Honan, China"; XVI "Bronze, Tibetan"; XVII, d "Bronze-Gilt, Tibetan"; d with flanks on shoulders.

57. N.R. Ray, *Sankrit Buddha in Burma* (Calcutta 1936) p. 43, mentions two very early Burmese chronicles, the Mahañjīra Vaś Empīrī (Vol. I, p. 209) and the Pagan Rūpā Vaś Vīṣṇī (Vol. I, p. 918 of the Bernhard Free Library, Rangoon) which state that it is an image of Maitreya. The development of the Maitreya idea was characterized of the Theravāda Sarvāstivāda school, which is attested at Sarvestra by the 7th century A.D. (Ray, pp. 197f). According to U Wga (op. cit.) Burmese tradition assimilated the introduction of the Mahāyāna doctrine to the saint Ananga, who it is said, proceeded to Tuyita, and in the presence of Aminettaya received the Tantric doctrine and emanates in the 6th century. At Assagaya, Deśavamsi and Maitreya were symbolized in the same statue.

It is possible that after the fall of the Cambay dynasty and the subsequent neglect of the shrine, only vague memories of the Amithaba cult remained. The idea of Weitaya’s Tegu’s heaven would have been more acceptable to a Theravada community and differed only slightly from Sukhavati in the minds of the populace.

Thingyan-taung

(Plate. 572)

Ref ANS 1920-21, p.13

Thingyan-taung “Cemetery Hill”, a large mound thickly covered with ruins and debris, SW of the Wethali palace site in thus called because human bones have been found there from time to time. The villagers have no recollection of the place being used as a burial site, and the supposition is that it may have been the resting place of the kings of Vasili. As Duroiselle supposed, the tradition may be perfectly correct, as it was with regard to the vaults near the Payagyi at Srikastra which contained the remains of the Pua kings.

About thirty metres to the south of the main building on the top of the hill, now completely in ruins, are the remains of a circular structure built of stone, 18.67m in circumference. Access to it is gained by a covered stairway at the eastern side, in 1920 still partially covered by a vaulted roof which has now completely fallen in. Brick vaulting was also used at Srikastra, notably at the Hōt, and Lōmyatha, and East Zeya temples. Inside, an apsidal chamber, 3.2m wide and 3.5m deep was covered by a dome, the radius about 12m from the base of the structure. The roof has fallen in, filling the base of the chamber; facing the entrance is a colossal Buddha image, head
and arms now broken, measuring 1.25m from the thigh to the shoulder (see below pp. 245-6). Traces of curved mouldings are visible around the outer dome, repaired in places with brick at some relatively recent date. The average size of stone used was 0.42 x 0.26 x 0.13m. A curved stone fragment, constituting a right angle, the upper arm measuring 2.6cm and the lower 0.3cm, was found near the entrance to the stairway, and must have originally formed part of the balustrade. Similar rectilinear moulded balustrades are found on stairways in Ceylon architecture of the 5th - 7th centuries. The curved volute on the longer arm of the Thingyan-taung stone is similar in conception to the voluted wingstones which evolved in Ceylon during the period.

The stūpa-shaped image shrine did not gain wide acceptance in India. The circular structure around a Buddha image, with a covered entrance passage evolved at Nalanda from the circular "śālā-stūpa.

Several small ruined structures, either cubic or cylindrical in plan, among the ruins of Sarnath and Bodhgaya may have been shrines of this sort. In cave XXVI at Ajanta, are in a corner stūpas belonging to the fifth phase of the great stūpas of site III at Sālawar (late 6th-early 7th centuries), the stūpa itself has been hollowed out to form a cella. The only intact stūpas-shaped image shrines are found in the Thalaba district of Rajastahan, and again belong to the 6th and 7th centuries.

59 H. Becker Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India/Indochina 1966, p.29
60 F.R.H. Mayer "Stūpas and Stūpa-shrines" AA XXIV (1961), p.27
61 C.Mitra op cit pp.135,159-60
Like the Arakan votive stūpa, there are a square platform with mouldings, and a moulded, high cylindrical spire. It is possible that excavation of the lower portion of the Thinyain-kaung shrine may also reveal a square base.

This shrine type must have evolved in response to a development in the religion following the delification of the Buddha.

The type may have been alluded to in the Suvargabhūttamahāviṃśa:

Whoever should desire to do inconceivable honour to all the Buddhas and to know the profound sphere of all the Buddhas, he should approach that place, monastery [or cell] whose nature this excellent Suvargabhūta is preached ... Then he must enter, by entry into the sphere of the law, where there is this Stūpa, whose nature is the Law, profound, well-established. And in the midst of this Stūpa he will see the Buddha Sakyamuni expounding this Dharma in a pleasant voice.62

A functionary consecration of the Thinyain-kaung shrine, if any, may be explained in terms of a posthumous association of the Dhāraṇī of the Buddhist Dakṣarā king, a Dākṣarāvāna after his death, if not before, with the Dhāraṇī of the Buddha Sakyamuni, in Mahāyāna mysticism, the supreme king. The concept may have evolved from an earlier megalithic ancestor cult. Similar shrines at Beikthano, square in plan but with entrance through a passageway, were associated with burial urns,63 and architectural counterparts of the Thinyain-kaung shrine are found in the (often square) vaulted...

62 H.H. Beswick's trans. 1b.1-2, 6-7, vv.3-5 appear to be an interpolation.
63 Aung Thaw. Excavations at Beikthano (Rangoon 1960), p.91 (K.E. 14); p.99 (K.E. 18) facing east with a stepped passageway, of the south Indian megalithic grave site, with covered entry and similar dispersal of urn burials (described by H.H. Beswick, op cit). Note too, the Buddha's permission in the Maha-Garden-Buddha Sutta (S.D. Vol II,p.47) for the erection of stūpas over the remains of a Buddha, a Prekyoke Buddha, or a Dakṣarāvāna.
chapel of Śrīkapura, the prototypes for the old Burmese style "temple". Races has noted that at Pyin u Lwin were sometimes built near graves, by wives in memory of their husbands. In Arakan the Thingyan-taung type with a vaulted entry passage was still built under the Mrohun dynasty. A number to the south of Kyauktaw may belong to the early period.

The main structure at the top of the hill is now completely ruined, but various carved fragments give some idea of the original form. Among these were probably the pillar and a pillar-shaft now in Mrohun museum (described below). A capital of a pillar, carved on three adjoining faces with the half-lotus motif also noticed at Mahāmuni, was found near the entrance to the stūpa-shaped shrine.

Saw-thingyan-pi (Plate LV)

Saw-thingyan-pi = "the great golden hilltop" lies NE of the palace site, in the same relationship as the Mahāmuni is to Dhaikyi. The discovery of a san-ja-taung, possibly connected with the king's rain-making function at the site may further indicate that the

64 Goell I p. 544 and II p. 147.
65 ibid., p. 544, I p. 56. "mahāmuni sahtâya mahâ'pyâ, 958 A.D. 1736 A.P.
66 the most accessible being the large stūpa-shaped shrine on the first platform of the Chiththung-pura, near the present inscription shed, see Forchhammer, p. 21 and pl. 30.47.
67 ibid., p. 11. Time did not permit an examination of this site in 1975.
shrine was associated with the role of the king. Now a large steep mound covered with earth and trees, it is scattered with brick and huge stone slabs, extremely damaged life-size images and remains of many small Buddha images. Towards the base is a hole, partially blocked with debris, through which a small man can climb. U San Thein Ma, the headman at Wetauli, told me that inside are a number of enormous rooms, with bronze lamps and huge sculptures.

Shwe-mung-gyi over the centuries has attracted treasure hunters, who are reported to have been thwarted by the enormous stones and left poorer than when they arrived. Duriselle's planned excavation in 1923 did not eventuate, but U Cen, a Newari is said to have begun excavation, with the aid of a wealthy Arakanese banker, before World War II. Nothing is known of the outcome of his efforts, however.

The hilltop's reputation has been enhanced by a local legend, probably based on a substratum of truth. In the middle of the 10th century, after King Bulatandra had disappeared (?) in China his queen, Candadevi married a Waru tribeshman. The Pyu of Sriokatra, incensed at the tribesman's audacity, attempted to attack Wetauli but were enticed away by his brother and massacred. The spot where the property, gold, jewels, etc of the Pyu king and his army was buried is still known as Shwe-mung.

68 See below, pp. 286 ff and J.J. Meyer, Triologie Altindischer Wohntypen, Forts der Komm Abt. Arch. Mitt. 17, 1937, p. 16; Viejtatamsa's II, 155.1 "In an eastern direction from the king's palace, in a pure place, on a spot towards the northeast, the king should erect the auspicious shrine for Indra (to erect the Indra-Svaja)"
69 ASI 1920-21, p. 19
70 ibid and Dharmakirti Ramann, pp. 94-99
San Tho Hla has collected a number of interesting sculptures and architectural fragments from the site, most of which are in a shelter in his yard.

1) Siddharamas, with bulging eyes and two-layered carvings. Grey sandstone, incised around the nose and mouth.

The lion-headed rearing upasana guarding the entrance to Pallava motives at Mamallapuram and Kanchipuram have identical faces. The lion-headed rearing upasana guarding the entrance to Pallava motives at Mamallapuram and Kanchipuram have identical faces. The lion-headed rearing upasana guarding the entrance to Pallava motives at Mamallapuram and Kanchipuram have identical faces. The lion-headed rearing upasana guarding the entrance to Pallava motives at Mamallapuram and Kanchipuram have identical faces.

(2) Capital, grey sandstone.

Carved on three adjoining faces with a double lotus petal motif, a row of bows and a broad lion at the corners, interspersed with a variant of the double lotus motif. The addressed animal motif was widely used on columns from the Gupta period, but does not appear to have gained wide acceptance at Mamallapuram.

3) Flying Gandharva, surrounded by a beaded motif, part of a square panel. The figure is more suggestive of late Gupta than Pallava sculpture, particularly in its log-like feet.

(4) Fragment from upper part of façade, showing a portion of a reduction of the edifice. This trend is typical of the shrines at Badami, and was adopted by the Pallavas in the middle of the 8th century. The base of our fragment represents the southern barrel-vaulted roof, relieved in the centre with a high arch enclosing an open-lotus motif. Above this, three square projections suggesting pillars are surmounted by a beam, with another series of rectangular pillar diminutions on top.

(5) Another fragment with similar squared mouldings.


72 e.g. Zimmer, *ibid* pl.176, Ajanta, Cave XVII.
Other sculptures discovered at Sbal-boung include a small standing female image (p. 298). The architectural fragments indicate a contact with early Chuluyan and Pallava styles from the middle of the 7th century. A possible later date for the Shrnga-stambha suggests that the shrine remained in use during the last phase of occupation of Vasi, from the last quarter of the 8th century.

Letba-boung Plate 13)

A large mound at the east of Vasi village, now the site of a monastery popularly named after the huge stone slab in the shape of a Letker ("weaver's shuttle"). A mid-6th century votive inscription (p. 91) may have been found in a 'cave' at the base of the mound. Slabs, almost completely buried, are said to be the steps from which the ancient kings throw the powerful Areinamspear, and the sculptures scattered around are likewise said to represent ancient kings. These images, near life-size, appear to have been forora figures at the entrance to a large shrine.

(1) ASR 1930-31 p.16; Arch Rep (1958-9); extent 5.1.65m, h. .65m.

Headless male figure in semi-relief, arms broken below the shoulders, standing in trumbhuta pose. A girdle is tied in a knot at the left hip, the folds falling gracefully to the knee and ankle respectively.

(2) ASR 1930- 21; Arch Rep 1959 (1955-65)

Another similar figure, the upper portion almost completely flaked away, standing in a slight trumbhuta pose. He wears a high rounded head-dress, ears reaching to the shoulders, a girdle around the hips looped to the left with folds hanging down; the left hand rests on the hip, while the right holds a long staff, tall as the figure and widening at the top. The attitude suggests that he was a dvarapala, placed opposite no 1.
A similar slab, H. 1.65m, B. 0.65m, with a female figure in exaggerated trikānąręsța pose, H. 1.65m.

It is much damaged. The face is broken off, but there are traces of a high headdress and a plain nimbus behind. The right arm falls along the body, the hand being placed lightly on the leg just below the hip and seemingly holding a garment, the folds of which fall to the foot. A scarf around the hips tied at the front falls between the legs. The left hand is placed on the head of a much smaller figure, whose hands are in the attitude of adoration. It is facing the main figure, possibly with a halo surrounding the head and with the dress falling gracefully along its side and in front. The main figure may represent Gāndhāra or Yama, and could originally have been placed adjacent to a mūraṇa at the base of the torana of the shrine.

(4) Arch. Mag. 5118 (1958-9)

Damaged lower portion of a figure seated cross-legged on a plain pedestal, and wearing around the hips a belt decorated with geometric motifs. There is a long tenon below.

The body is treated naturalistically, the flesh firm and rounded, with a slight indication of the muscles.

Other sculptures found at Lethkhat-taung are described on p. 239 & 242.

The broken stone plinth after which the mound is named has, at irregular intervals on its upper face, double-recessed square indentations, apparently to hold the tenons of a series of such carved slabs, suggesting that mortar was not used for stone construction at that time.

* A peculiar Ṛgma which \textit{Percius Scissuell} tells me, is occasionally found in \textit{The Sculpture of the 5th and 13th-14th Centuries}.\"
Shanphawm Hill

Shanphawm Hill, west of Wetkli village, is thus called after its reputation of being the site of the fourth Buddhist synod73. One side of the hill has been cut into a series of wide terraces and the top is paved with bricks under which (according to U Aung Thein Co, who investigated) are large dressed stone blocks. Apart from the apparently solitary dharmagaha found at the site,(p.275), the only architectural fragment of note is a base of a square column closely resembling the two probably originating from Thinggnin-tang (p.224-2). The pillar has an extant height of 0.42m, each face measuring 0.33m across. On each face, the base has an ornate floral motif, the central petals on each side in the form of stylized birds, a device often found in western Cyprian sculpture. Over this, the first side has a male figure, left hand on hip, wearing a dhaung wound tightly above the knees; folds of a skirt tied around the hips fall naturally on either side; the second, a female figure, naked legs in profile, attended by a small dancing gajasimha figure, right hand on hip and head facing the toe of the thigh of the female; the third has another apparently female figure, wearing a garment incised with a ring pattern, falling at mid-calf level, and accompanied by a similar gajasimha figure while the fourth shows a pair of naked legs in profile and

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73 U Aung Thein Co, in a personal communication dated 28.3.74 says that Dhammawttha convened a Buddhist assembly in 639 A.D., inviting 1000 monks from different parts of Arakan and 1000 monks from Bago. Calamander was elected president and the assembly devoted themselves to an examination of theological literature for three years. His knowledge of the Arakanese chronicles is, of course, greater than mine, but he does not give any reference for this, nor is the account given in the NTV or Nya-wal's chronicle. It is probable that the tradition of a 4th synod is associated in Arakanese Buddhist historiography with the local resides of the Pyu and Arakanese kings to begin a new era in 639 A.D.
and another gaja. The pillars framing the figure differ from those on the other columns, having a square cross-section, a kwākā base on a lotus support and a band of decoration across the centre, consisting of a geometric motif within a beaded surround. Identical pillar bases are found on sculptured steles from Nagarjunakonda⁷⁵, where the attendant figures are conceived in the same manner as we find here, but lack the gaja figures more typical of northern sculpture. The central band, however, is peculiar to early Gālūkya sculpture⁷⁵.

Vanti hill

Vanti hill, almost a kilometre north of Shweyaungpara at Mrohunz, still covered with bricks, dressed stones and sculptures, was the site of a Hindu shrine traditionally built in 976 A.D. by King Papyru, consecrated by marriage to the Singhadura dynasty of Vediya. The shrine was dedicated to the female Vanti Nat, who assisted the king in driving out the Shan who invaded the country from the northeast. The two major sculptures from Vanti, statues of Durga with attendants in the medieval tradition of Bengal, can probably be identified with the Vanti Nat and would have been installed at that time. (pp. 278-80). The remaining sculptures belong to the older style and were possibly brought from the Wethali area. (pp. 262-4, 293). The Vanti Nat rose to prominence again when she is said to have thwarted a Paga invasion by the Mughals⁷⁶. The shrine was then repaired, and typically, the

⁷⁴ O.G. Samoally, op cit pl. XVII, XXXI, XL.
⁷⁵ A. Lippe, "Early Galukya Icona" J.A Vol. XXXIV, 4 (1972) figs 8, 12
⁷⁶ An Shwe Ba "Vanti Nat" SBSIX IX (1929) pt. 1, pp. 52-53; Flocy "On the History of Arakan" p. 51; H. B. Smart, Burma Rostrum - Ayahó District Vol A (Yangon 1917) p. 61; Forschungver. Asien, pp. 37-9 and pl. XXVI, No. 47.
the inscription commemorating the restoration in 1521 was
written on the reverse of an old plinth, itself originally used
for a 6th century inscription (pp.114-17 ).
Engaged column, from Tozarama Monastery, Noharrow; said to come
from Wetha; possibly from Thiruvainamalai. (Plates LII-LVIII)
Nohawar Museum, sandstone, H. 1.2m.
Rev. Anag Thaw, Historical Sites...., pp.122-3; Arch Negs B123,
B124,125 (1936-9).
Sculpted on three sides and broken at the top, this column
appears to have been engaged against a wall, at the entrance to
a shrine. The base had adorned, realistic elephant forequarters
at the corners, of which traces remain; in the centre of each
face is a *gajamukha*, with bulging eyes, teeth horribly bared and
a long curling mane. Very similar *gajas* found at Oo-So and
at Debravati have been associated with the art of Amravati.27
Here, however, the name is closer to the later southern school of
the Pallavas.28 The column base thus incorporates the main
elements of the shrine proper. Elephant *carvatis*, representing
the *Haggala*, which bear the weight of Mount Meru or Mount Kailasa,
are found at the base of Pallava *rathas*.29 The *gajamukhas* are
dimensions of the Pallava *upala* *carvatis*, an integral element

27 ABH t.1, pp.328-329 pl.LXXIIb (1944, Monument E) and P.Durant
in BIFOR XXXIX, 2 (1983) p.360 and pl.LXII, B (Nat. Park Plate)

28 Notably the curled noses of the *upala* pillar bases at Mamallap-
aram; see K.R.Sripivasan, Temples of the later Pallavas in P.
Chandra (ed.) Studies in Indian Temple Architecture (New Delhi
1975) p.110 (SUMER Katha 630-668 A.D.) lll (Ganeda Katha 670-
709 A.D.) 1112 (Thirumangai Katha 630-668 A.D.)

29 C.Sirimannavitti, Sanskrit Literature and Art - Mirrors of
Indian Culture (MAG 73) pp.6-8 and pl.III,9.
of the themes of gods and kings. The combination of both these elements is constantly repeated in Pallava architecture. Above the base, faced in an archway, stands Ganesha, on a small round lotus throne on the back of her makara vahana, her right hip thrust outward in a slight tribhanga pose, right arm carrying a fly-whisk held over the shoulder, and left hanging by her side. She wears a necklace, upper and lower armlets, anklets, and a belt hanging with jewels. A diaphanous skirt, flaring slightly above the ankles, shows the form of the legs clearly beneath in the manner of late 7th century Vesali sculpture. Her headdress is coiffed, with a bulbar chignon at the left of the head. No precise parallel can be found in Indian art, where each river goddess is normally one of a group of about five deities-in-residence. We are reminded of the only similar representation of a river goddess in Southeast Asia, Yamana, also framed within an archway, in a pre-Angkorian pilaster of the mid-7th century, described, but unfortunately not illustrated by Boisselier. Yamana here has been connected with the central Indian type found at Sirpur. Ganesha at Vethali, however, is iconographically closer to Western Chalukyan types, notably the Epitapha temple at Pattalaksal (c. 830 A.D.), where the goddess is similarly conceived, in the identical pose and wearing the same garments and headdress, with a white umbrella and accompanying gods.

83 A. Neel, Pallava Architecture, ASI New Imperial Series Vol.XXXIV, pls. 1D, 1N, IVII etc (Kailasanatha Temple, Kanchipuram)
The river godesses of Indian doorways are never depicted as they are in Southeast Asia, alone with an architectural frame.

The frame itself, as Beazelier suggested, is a reworking of the entrance of the temple. Again, the inspiration of Cālukya art is apparent at Vatsalī. The pilasters on either side follow the southern order which evolved under the later Pallavas but were fully developed by the Western Cālukya into the form we find at Vatsalī. The peda capital is a mass of ornate floral shapes, which develop, on the inner side, into rocky heads swallowing either end of the curved lintel. Again, the type is directly linked with the Ḫāpaśtha doorway. On the other two faces, identical half arches form a male figure appearing to step from behind. The body is elongated and little, the slightly tilted face with a curious expression giving the impression that he is about to surprise the river goddesses. The stance, inner leg straight and outer leg bent in front, the palms touching the vall at the back, is almost identical to that of a dānopāda figure set between two pilasters.

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83 A. Lippe, "Some Sculptural Motifs on Early Western Cālukya Temples," AJEE (1961) Fig. 2, hall entrance doorway. The pilasters here are quite different from those illustrated in M. Vernet, Les Palais des Princes de Cōtalī at Pavārī (Paris 1964) p. 66a, "Kottadāmalī (Bijapur) temple Ḫāpaśtha, porte extérieure, bas relief," and seem to belong to a different school altogether.

84 e.g., Viśnuśūdra (kirt of garland) with padubakṣapāla (lotus head) marking the top of the shaft, and over it the kimīra, (dish moulding), kumbha (pot), pāṭā or paṭā (capital) and phalāsa plinth, with drukṣapāla (backing) carrying the pāṭāka carved described by K. R. Shrivastava, op cit p.230.

85 A. Lippe, loc. cit.
On the inner face of the spandrels of the "Shore" temple at Mahakuta-purem. The Yeddi dharmapala also wears a high conical cap, possibly the "Scythian" type often adopted by temple guards in the south. He too has long earrings, a wide necklace, and a sash tied about the hips, looped across in front with one end hanging down, a southern fashion adopted by the Chalukyas at Aihole in the late 7th century.

Above the dharmapala is a reduction of the main body of an edifice of the type to which the column possibly belonged. The general shape suggests the form of a South Indian vimana. The lower portion appears to represent a mandapa running the length of the shrine in the form of a colonnaded hall on a plain plinth, with a barrel-vaulted roof relieved at either end with finials. The main body above is projected at the front, with a slab roof with upturned eaves on tall slender pillars, and with a great gopura-shaped false door, its upper edge decorated, half the height of the entire shrine. Behind this, the main body is recessed behind along the full length, with the same roof and pillars. An almost identical reduction above the lintel of the Dāmmsa doorways does not reflect the shape of the shrine proper but the slightly earlier Chalukyan form of Mahakuta.

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87 A.C. Gangoly, Andhra Sculpture (Hyderabad 1973) pl. XII (Magaljuna-Ramal; K.R. Srinivasan, op cit. pl.11A, (Airāvatēvara temple at Kanchipuram 750-772 A.D.)
89 G.Michell, op cit., Drawing 3 (Mahakuta Mahābhubesvara) and Drawing 4 (Mahakuta Mallikākēra).
Above the "shrine" is an equally large panel depicting a lotus, with curled feather-like petals, again in the Chihliyan style. The final panel, slightly recessed, has *upala* carvings at the corners, flanking a small figure of Garuda apparently emerging from a sea of intricate foliage. A similar motif is found above the doorway at Prayudha, although the *Veṭṭha* rendition is much closer to the Aśokan prototype.

It is clear that the shrine to which the column belonged was the result of Western Chihliyan influence in the late 7th or early 8th centuries, during the reign of Chamsacandra. The column no doubt formed part of the main doorway, while similar four-faced columns as described below supported the open *māyāpada* in front. The *dvāra-kūṭa* therefore need no longer be grouped together at the entrance, but were placed around the structural columns in an equally appropriate manner. The placement of the figures within a reduction of the doorway derived from early Pallava architecture, but was only fully realized in Southeast Asia. The column, as we have it, can be seen to illustrate in miniature the principal features of the temple proper: the elegant *veṭṭha* base, the ornate main doorway, the pillar-like *māyāpada* in front and possibly a double-storied *garbha-griha*.

Broken column, 7, from Thadingyin-kaung.

Mrozaung Museum, sandstone, B. Dm.

Perhaps ASB 1920-21 "base of a column with beautiful mouldings, which measures 2 ft. 4 in. square and 1 ft. 4 in. thickness" found at Thadingyin-kaung. Arch Revs 217(2), 217 (1920-21).

The column was supported by means of a round tenon below, and was...

carved on all four sides, with well-preserved sideburned elephants at the corners and Brahmans' heads between. Above the base on each side is a figure, broken at thigh level and framed between two pilasters. One side has, next to the elevated legs shown in profile, a vertical line of open lotus flowers alternating with buds arising from a knob in the manner of Nagarjunakonda relief sculpture. The other sides are extremely damaged but appear to have been similarly decorated.

The stūpa (Plate LX-LXII)

The general form of the stūpas at Bhāravatī and Veśālī can be ascertained by an examination of the votive stūpas and relief depictions of stūpas found in the area. No similar groups of votive stūpas have been found at Pyu sites. Although these were apparently produced over three centuries, the shape scarcely varies. Particularlynoticeable in its absence is the typical later form with Buddha figures in niches on the four quarters of the stūpa. The practice of decorating votive stūpas, however, was initially encouraged among the Sarvāstivādin and Mahāsāṃghikāna laity at Veśālī and Nagarjunakonda who expected, in return, religious merits for themselves and relatives and friends, increase in the power and longevity of the ruling monarch, or even nirvāṇa for...

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91 O. C. Gangoly, op cit, pls. XVIII, XXIX, XL.
93 N. Suzuki, op cit, pp. 57 and 83-84.
The earliest representation of a stūpa on a relief slab possibly found at Mahākūta by Porchhammer was similar to the Śrīśrīśa type, and, like the solid stūpas of Śrīśrīśura, has buttress terraces at the base. The main group of votive stūpas have a square lower base, usually decorated with a lotus petal moulding and with a cylindrical relic chamber in the centre. This is surmounted by a square terraced middle base, and a sube-shaped upper base, sometimes inscribed with the ye dhāraṇī formula below the stūpa. The square base is associated with both the Mahākāśikās and the Mālāśatrāśādibīdnas. The stūpa is high and cylindrical, with one or two plain bands around the centre. The karmikas are usually broken, but the stūpa on the Belanadi stūpa is surmounted by the "double thickness from which square teeth protrude in the four directions" of the Mahākāśikā stūpas. On the other hand, the round karmika of the Varamaha stūpa recalls the Sarvāstivādin type described as "a circular terrace on which to place trees for the suspension of bonneras." The obstrucikā (umbrellas) are missing in every case; however, one of the Krauk threading stūpas and the smaller stūpas in relief on the stūpa of the Mahākāśika appear to have replaced this by a lotus bud finial or gṛhastha. Other stūpas with no obstrucikā but a similar bud finial are miniature stūpas found in the relic chamber of the great stūpa at Vasupālam-

95 Ibid Taishō Insatkyō 1423, p. 697c and 1459, p. 692c.
96 Ibid Taishō Insatkyō 1435, p. 415c.
konda and on a stūpa in worship at a rail crossing at Amravati. The final may be the "urn of jewels" of the Mañjāravati stūpas. The presence of a seat or seats close to the Mahāyāna and probably the Mañjāravati stūpas during the 6th and 7th centuries can therefore be inferred. Similar votive stūpas have been found at Nālanjā and at Patanagiri in Orissa, datable to the same period.

"Stone sculpture within the compound of the Secretariat, Bassein" (Pai Bey Museum). (Plate LXa). Arch. Mag. 351 (1907-10)

Said to come from Arakan. Present whereabouts unknown.

The photograph shows a plain ledge, pedestal with arched recesses, and in relief a cylindrical stūpa, or a stepped square base, with deeply recessed koreśa, heavily hewing pavilions from the single shatam, not flying shatams. The type is connected with the early high cylindrical stūpas of Amravati and Ceylon, but, like the solid stūpas of Bākapura, adds, without terraces to the base.

Inscribed stūpas from the base of Selagiri. (Plate LXb, c)

Red sandstone, Total H (without missing sill) 1.16 m.

Square lower base in sand, at the corner of a mound S. of Selagiri. 1.61 x 1.61 m., H. 0.22 m., cylindrical relic chamber 0.18 m. diameter, 0.95 m. deep. Stūpa proper, in two detachable parts, now at Bombay museum. Found, 1885, probably new lost. Extent H. 0.5 m.

97 K.R. Subramanian. Buddhist Remains in India (Madras 1932), pl. 133a; Barrett, op. cit. 279, pl. XXVII.
98 Barrett, op. cit. 279, pl. 296
100 of D. Barrett, Sculptures from Amravati in the British Museum. (London 1934) pl. 11. H. Gait, Armand. "Evolution of the Chaitya Hall in Ceylon" in ZTVII, 1937 (174), pp. 7-60 and Figs. 2.4. 9
101 CMS 1. pp. 257-58
Paleographically datable to around the 6th century, the stūpa has attained elongated proportions with the addition of a wide lower base, with slightly recessed mouldings carved with a repeating intus-petal pattern, a middle base, upper half stepped steeply inwards, and a top base, inscribed on one side, vertically almost square, widened above and below. The cákṣa itself has three rounded steps below, and two superimposed plain bands around the centre, while the rounded kāmika has a double band decorated with a row of square beads.

Two inscribed stūpas from Nara village near Kyauktaw.

U Kyaw Zan Tha has sent me rubbings and drawings of two stūpas found in January 1976, both are paleographically datable to the 6th century.

(a) H. c. 0.75m: broken at top of cákṣa, lower and middle bases missing, otherwise identical to the Selagiri stūpa.
(b) H. c. 0.75m: lower base missing, otherwise identical to the Selagiri stūpa apart from the fact that the cákṣa appears to have at its apex a rounded bud finial, with bands at the base and centre.

Inscribed votive stūpa from Wesapura monastery, Nyaung (Plate LIX B)

Myaung Museum; Arch Mag 130-4365 (1946-47); refs Johnston op cit pp. 359, 363-4, 366; ASR pp. 30, 32 and App H. p.XXIII, No. 6; perhaps also 1926 p.26 and App II, p. 94, No. 7; see pl. CVLVIII.

Like most of the objects in the Wesapura collection, this stūpa probably came from the Kyauktaw area. The inscription, around the lower part of the cákṣa is paleographically datable to around the 6th century. The stūpa has a cube-shaped upper base, broken by four vertical bands, possibly representing buttress pillars, on each of the faces. The round kāmika is narrow and
broken at the top.

Votive stūpa from base of Thingyan hill, Wetnai.

Arch Neg No 2171 (1926-27) Ref ASC 1921, p.19; present whereabouts unknown.

Paleographically assignable to the 6th century, this stūpa resembles the Kyauktaw examples. The round kyaniko is broken, and the middle and lower bases are missing. In 1975, I noticed a lower base, decorated in the same manner as the Belayangiri base, near the stūpa-shaped shrine at Thingyan-teung. Three similar bases have been collected and placed in the garden beyond Thalmawadi monastery at Wetnai.

Votive stūpa from Mitchang. (Plate LXIIa)

Arch Negs 2691, 2692 (1925-6) "A stone pillar to the NW of the Shitthaung temple". Present whereabouts unknown.

Broken at the top of the stūpa and with the lower base, if any, missing, this stūpa is identical to those found at the older sites but has on two sides, in the lower half of the stūpa, either a stūpa or a torana in relief. There is no record of the reliefs on the remaining two sides. The toranas may represent in miniature the main gateway or entrance to the shrine, and was to become prominent in Pagan architecture.102 The stūpa in relief, too, could signify the corner stūpas placed above the base, like those of the fourth and fifth phases of the great stūpa of Site III of Miilanda, and later found also at Pagan.103 The stūpa in relief appears to be a miniature of this type, with a square stepped base, ro chattras and a ba-h design. The torana is a criviga-arch shape, with streamers (? ) flying at the top, and has, surprisingly, a

102 ORER I, pp.348-9
103 ibid p.340
flower within. In the absence of any inscription, it is difficult to date this type.

Votive stūpas from Luangprabang. (Plate LXIIX)

Four votive stūpas of stone have been gathered at the entrance to the Nongphara at Luangprabang. None are inscribed. Three resemble the usual Mehitall type, while the other has a peculiar elongated stupa suggesting that the stupa was reused from a Shiva linga.

The base has square floral motifs on each side. As Luangprabang did not become capital of Luang prabang until 1377 A.D., these stūpas may be archaic.

Buddhist Images (Plates LXXXIII-LXXXIV)

The earliest Buddha images represent the teacher seated, performing the orthodox mudrās - dharmachakrā, sometimes with the alms-bowl in the left hand, dhvāna or dharmamahāyog. Most are crude in conception, suggesting that they belonged to a popular cult, as distinct from a court tradition. This is further borne out by the large number of contemporary Buddhist votive stūpas and inscriptions. Stylistically they are very close to the art of Sātavatāktra of the 6th and 7th centuries, and none may have even been imported from there. The initial impression seems to have been the art of Nagarjunasaddhā, evidenced by the stūpas, where the right leg is placed over the left, a peculiarity typical of the schools of Eastern India, Ceylon and the Central and Eastern Indochinese Peninsula. But other "southern" features, particularly the draped robes held in the hand, suggest that this tendency to elongate is a late development, a 13th century and later.
left hand, are absent. The Gupta school soon imposed its aesthetic, together with a rigorous attention to correct representation of text-book ideals.

Where no model existed, however, the Arakan sculptor, like his counterpart in the stone medium, gave new life to the forms. The relief depicting Śākyamuni preaching from Palagiri, which may be connected with the Mahāvamsa court tradition, introduces figures conceived almost in the round, modelled from life, and the use of the third dimension only equalled in the finest painting at Ajanta.

A new and more diversified tradition of Buddhist image-making appeared after the middle of the 7th century. The Mahāyāna gained ground, strengthened by a firm link with Nalanda and monastic centres in Bengal, notably Maitamāl. Dominant image types of Bihar and Bengal, modelled on the great standing image at Nalanda and the Bodhagaya Mūravidya vajrāsana Buddha, were copied at Vesālī. The great Pāla steles illustrating the miracles of the Buddha's early life, centred around the enlightenment, were reproduced in miniature stone plaques. Similar trends are noticed in Thaton and Sriśṭhāpatana art until the 9th century. From the end of the 9th century this influence spread to Paśānā, whose greatest sculpture was to evolve from the Pāla style.

As the Buddha came to be seen as 'Universal Sovereign', seated images appear in Arakan, also derived from the Pāla style. As elsewhere in Southeast Asia, notably Srivijaya and Central Java, Pāla types were initially used for local Buddhist images. Although we know that Pantric Buddhism was patronized by the court during the first half of the 8th century, no images of the period connected with this cult have yet been uncovered.
with Bengal was spasmodic after this, but the influence of the Northern schools, including possibly that of Nepal, flourished again under the Singhasandra dynasty in the 10th and 11th centuries. The adoption of the Theravāda by the Burmans in the middle of the 11th century was soon reflected in Arakan, which from that time looked east rather than west for Buddhist inspiration.

Relief of Buddha Preaching the Law (Plate LIIIa)
Mrohawng Museum, from the base of Belagiri, opposite Kyauktaw.
Sandstone, H. 0.6m, B.0.4m, W. 0.16m; Arch Reg 5994 (1929-6);
Ref ASB 1924 pl.IV and pp.44-45.

This is the only surviving example of relief sculpture from the early period. The Buddha sits, bands in dhyānasana-mudrā, his right knee slightly raised, on an undecorated square throne.
At his feet sits a monk, richly ornamented, perhaps a king. It is tempting to identify the scene as the "conversion" of King Candrasāriya which traditionally took place after the Buddha arrived at Belagiri itself.105

104 We are reminded of the practice, unique to Arakan, of representing the seated Buddha with his right leg slightly raised. This is explained by a local legend embodied in the Mahāyāna tradition. As Gautama was about to leave Arakan, King Candrasāriya implored him to leave an image of himself. The image was made with the right leg raised, as it was when he was about to depart. The edicts are unique in Buddhist art.

105 The account of the Buddha's magical flight to Arakan and the consequent conversion of the king and country need not be seen as a reflection of the Ceylon tradition (Mahāvamsa I, 13-23), although this probably influenced the version we have now. The Suvagyābhojecttamantakam, ch.71 (which must have been the inspiration for much of the Mahāyāna iconography) instructs the king to erect within the palace a seat of the Law, on which a monk is to recite the edicts, while he himself, uncelled by his sovereignty, sits on a lower seat. In precisely the manner depicted in the Belagiri relief. Through the Bhāmas preached by the monk, Mahāyāna is thought to have entered the palace, the region will be protected etc. Moreover, in ch.14 it is stated that when the preacher, having recited the edicts, mounts the seat, various miracles take place upon him.)
It may however represent one of the better-known incidents in the life of the Buddha, such as the conversion of Nanda, a favourite theme of both Gandharan and early Andhra art and hence have been one of a series.

105 (continued from previous page)

It is the form of the Buddha, or a Bodhisattva, or a mere glow of light, appear on the seat itself. As the seat is known as the seat of the law, the law is embodied in the Prevailer or in the vision seen on the seat. Therefore in the relief, Shakyamuni is the embodiment of the law, and appropriately performs the Bhurjanayaksha. If Candrasiriya (or Devananda) had the Sudarshana Chakra, in mind when building the Mahabodi, he would have known of the meditation ceremony and have felt compelled to conduct one of his own. The tradition of the appearance of Shakyamuni at Keligiri could have originally have been seen to be one of the ensuing miracles. So, too, the “conversion of the country” in the Mahabodi tradition can be seen in terms of the sita, for it is promised therein that those who listen “will become non-returners in supreme and perfect enlightenment”.

When Duraiswami discovered the relief, he noticed nearby “three ornately carved pedestals” which he thought to be image bases, although the top surfaces were smooth. None were to be found during our brief inspection of the site in 1975. However, his description suggests that they could have been Durmukhina, made expressly for the preaching of such statues. This may also be the explanation of the many “monolithic thrones” discovered at Srivijaya, e.g., at Leptosperos. Arch. Naya UTT (1989-90) and at Hsin-ma-ko-wun-kin mound, SEP or Nevvavgi, ABS 1926, p. XII and pp. 21-73, ASI 1926,pl. LX (c) and p.129; Arch Naya 3465-62 (1989-90), 17, the stone thrones now at Wroclaw, at Shwevyu-gyi-pam, Arch Naya 3607 (1959-90). The use of stone for the seats suggests that these Buddhist functions, in Burma, were absorbed into an older megalithic tradition.

The relief is exceptionally high, the figures almost conceived in the round, and with an attention to detail indicating that living models and not textual illustrations, were used. The perspective follows the early Ajanta convention, as does the strangely abstract treatment of architectural or landscape forms behind the figures.\footnote{e.g. Ajanta cave 17, Buddha and Kanda from the antechamber; and the famous toilet scene in H.C. Gupta and B.P. Malhotra, Ajanta and Ellora, pl. A & 1}\footnote{cf. Lisselot, Femme de Thaïlande (Triboulot 1974) pl.42 and p.165}

The Buddha has an elliptical prabhavali, the hair consists of rows of coils, slightly lowered over the forehead, and only a slight cranial protruberance is noticed. The facial features are not Indian; the nose is long and the lips full, and might broadly be described as Arakanese.\footnote{cf. the report on the Ngai-lao (near Yung-ch'ang, Wei of the Mekong) in the Hwa Nan chu shu ch.116, f.5 recto, referring to the customs of the 1st century A.D. "Their chishtaites, who call themselves kings, have earings reaching down three inches below the shoulders. As for ordinary persons, (their earings) reach only to their shoulders." Luce noted that this trait was suggestive of influence from N.India, see his "The Tan (97-132 A.D.) and the Ngai-lao" JHNO XIV, II, p.126 and fn.6.}
The usharabanga falls gracefully forward over the left shoulder, and an usharabanga is apparent from the waist, exposing the knees.\footnote{\textcopyright{}}

The figure at the Buddha's feet is seated in a natural manner, legs loosely crossed with the knees raised, his left hand reaching to the right upper arm. His head is bent back slightly and his smile indicates that he is pleased with what he hears. His ornaments are those usually associated with royalty: jewelled necklace, upper armband and belt. The lower of the ears are distended to below the shoulders with heavy earrings.
and the hair curls from under the mūhaṅga in the Gupta manner, but far more realistic. The mūhaṅga itself comprises a lower diadem and three receding rounded tiers, decorated all over with a fine floral motif. Both the headress and earrings are found in Byū sculpture of the 6th-8th centuries.¹¹⁰

The relief is unique in Indian and Southeast Asian art. Such natural poses are almost unknown in Gupta sculpture, and were rarely achieved even at Amrīṣvara. There is no attempt to define muscles. The bodies present a continuous flowing surface, and the new problems of foreshortening from the outer knees to the thighs have been understood and masterfully dealt with. The illusion of space, achieved by the strange perspective indicated by the rhomboidal seat and the curiously modern architectural background was not attempted in contemporary or later sculpture elsewhere, although it was known, as we have noted, in Amarpā painting of the 5th-6th centuries.*

Head of Buddha (Plate LUZIR)
Leth Shin Monastery, red sandstone, H. 0.33m.
Although badly weathered, this fragmentary head is close to the ideal Gupta type. The face is gently rounded, the hair a series of rows of small-shaped curls only slightly dipping over the forehead. The lines around the neck are clearly delineated, and the ears modelled after those of the Mathorā Buddha images of the Gupta period.

¹¹⁰ The devotional stele from Halin, II Aung Thaw, op cit, p 13
Neared Buddha in Šikhīta, from Thaytay-taung (Plate LVa)

Mohanag Museum, red sandstone, H.0.36m.

Although the upper portion of the face and back of this image is broken, enough detail remains to show that its workmanship is far superior to those described above. Its provenance, the mound from which the 6th century copper-plate was retrieved, suggests that it may be associated with the religion of the queens of Arakan, who may have followed Buddhism while their husbands were Hindu.

The figure sits, in the usual position, on a single lotus throne, with intricately engraved petals. The back of the throne ends at the corners in sprouting makara heads, identical to Buddha throne at Šēkpetra111. Two small figures apparently carrying fly-whisks flank the throne, and probably represent Indra, to the right of the Buddha and Brahma (two or three heads are visible) to his left.

This arrangement is also well-known at Šēkpetra112. The condition of the body is more reminiscent of Gupta models in the rounded face and broad shoulders, but the misunderstood foreshortening betrays the local sculptor. The fingers and toes all of equal length, suggest that he was faithfully following a text, which, unfortunately, I have not been able to locate.113

111 e.g. the gilded relic casket from Khinba mound: Durand in ASI 1921 pp.175-6 and pls. XXVII(b),XXXVIII(c). A.D. Moy Culture of Southeast Asia fig 86 Aung Thaw, Historical Sites..., p.189.
112 e.g. the stone sculpture from East 542u temple ASI 1960, pp.116-7 pl.787 (4); Arch. Reg 615 (1962-3) U Aung Thaw ibid. p.9.
113 Neither Burnouf's Lists of the 32 major and 80 minor marks (Lotus App.VIII pp.55ff) or Foucher's Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary given this as one of the Languages of the Makrpan, but fingers of equal length are common enough in later Buddhist sculpture.
Inscribed base of seated Buddha image (Plate LXIIa)

Maragung Museum, from Vefālā. 
Red sandstone, H.0.50m.

Broken above the legs, folded in �ि¤ग¤¤ with the right leg over the left, sole upwards, and the left foot concealed, the remains of the bands possibly in धि¤ग¤ग्र. The undecorated throne, relieved by horizontal mouldings is inscribed at the base, allowing us to date this and other images with the same features in the 6th century.
Fragmentary seated Buddha (Plate LXIVb)

Lettok-taung monastery; red sandstone, extant H. O.16m.

Although broken almost in half at the middle, it can be seen that the figure is seated, right leg over left, in bhāmāsāra-mudrā, the right hand almost touching the ground in front of the knee.

A plain robed, in the manner of the Mahānadi deva figures, is indicated behind, and the seat is not decorated. Both the hands and feet are crudely conceived, with the fingers and toes merely divided by straight lines. Modelling of the flesh is not attempted.

The type is familiar at Śrīkapetra.\textsuperscript{114}

Headless Buddha in bhāmāsāra-mudrā (Plate LXIVb)

Lettok-taung monastery; red-grey sandstone, H.0.3m.

Again reminiscent of Śrīkapetra sculpture, the figure is performing bhāmāsāra-mudrā and sitting in visāma on an undecorated base sharply indented around the middle. Foreshadowing the drum-shaped thrones of later Burmese art. The indented shape, was, in all probability, an adaptation of the throne used by the Pyu kings, (buddha-nigha) known through its stylized depiction on the obverse of early Pyu coins. Almost no attempt has been made to define the hands and feet, and the flesh is treated in a hard, angular manner.

Buddha in dharmasamakārutā (Plate LXVb)

Myinnyaung Museum, from Lettok-taung; red-grey sandstone, H.0.35m.

The upper part of the back slab and the face of this image are badly damaged. What remains is the usual form of popular Buddha image, seated on a plain straight slab, the hands crudely depicted, "turning the wheel of the law". There is no trace of a garment, but a round halo is apparent behind the head.

\textsuperscript{114} o.g. AJI 1934–5, pl.49–50 and pl.XXI; Arch Reg 3766 of 1934–5.
Inscribed bronze Buddha image (Plate LVIII).
Mroaung Museum, "Iron Vatapli". H.O.21m.

This crude and headless image, again conceived in the Śrīnagarān manner, sits in visṣākha, the knees exceedingly wide-stretched, the right hand in dhāmasparśa with the fingers of the same length, the left carrying an alms-bowl. The lines around the neck and the garment, two lines from the left shoulder across the chest, appear to have been incised after casting. The plain seat has an inscription, almost entirely illegible, the first two strokes apparently the sign for siddhaṃ, and ye, with a tripartite ye in the late 6th-early 7th century manner.

Three seated Buddhas (Plate LIXa).
Mroaung Museum "from an old stūpa E of the Vatapli palace site".

Mustard or whitish sandstone, H. 0.16m, 0.26m, 0.195m.

This strange group, all seated in visṣākha and dhāmasparśa-mudrā on unadorned thrones, shows the complete stylization by elimination of detail foreboding by the previous images. The heads, all over large in proportion, are crowned by conical mūlasaras; the ears are large, flat, and reach to the shoulders, and there is no attempt to denote the hair. The three lines around the neck are sharply delineated but the body is not covered by any garment. Fingers and toes are all of the same length, although the feet are scarcely modelled. The bodies are conceived in a minimum of flat, almost geometric planes, only softening where absolutely necessary. All have long straight noses, curved eyebrows and a slight smile; in the two smaller figures the eyes are slanting. Similar figures, with a long seat, are common at Polo, some in the Pagan Museum having been dated to the late Pagan period, or about the 13th century. Unlike our examples, these have
Bronze Buddha image in bhumisparsa-mudrā (Plate LXVIII)
Original provenance unrecorded, probably Vaṭṭalī, Mehaung Museum
E. g. 0.3m.
Only the second bronze image from the early period yet found,
this so exactly resembles the large number from Śrī-Piṭhā116
that is may have been imported from there. The Buddha sits on a
plain seat, in the usual bhumisparsa-mudrā position, the robe fall-
ing over his left shoulder. The face is broad, the features Pyu,
the upāya a gentle protruberance, and the hair treated as a
series of raised circles, the hairline falling slightly to the
centre forehead.

Colonial Buddha Images
According to Beckel, the ancient notion of the all-embracing
Buddha, or Conqueror, inspired the production of colossal in India,
Ceylon, China, Burma and elsewhere117.

As far as can be seen, the two examples at Vatāli are con-
ceived in the same monumental terms as the well-known Ceylon and
Orissan colossal. The figures are carved from an enormous block
of stone, planes broadly treated with little or no relief from
details. The attitude is that of the victory over Mara, an example

115 E.g.: Sch. 86 ( Pullulā), ca. 850 A.D., 117 A.D. 116
116 e.g. the three bronze Buddhas from a gourd in the 2 bank of
Vindulakīn, No. 8051 (1929-30); AST 1929, pl. LI (e,f) and p.165
and inspiration to the devotees. In the absence of original heads it is difficult to date these sculptures. The use of a Thāpa
however, may indicate some time between the 6th and 8th centuries.

Colossal Buddha at Thingyain-thaung

ASS 1920-21, pp.18-19

This image was first discovered by Sen Shwe Bu and Duroiselle, within the attō-shaped shrine on Thingyain hill. They wrote:

'Facing the corridor... is a large stone altar on which rests an enormous stone Buddha, seated, and which appears to be carved from only one block; the dome, in coming down, has smashed the feet and the arms, but the body is almost intact; the lower portion is covered with debris; what can be seen of the figure measures, from the thigh to just above the shoulders where the neck is broken, four feet, and three feet across the breast from shoulder to shoulder. Large blocks from the altar have been torn away; and were it not that small blocks from the dome have more or less filled in the spaces thus formed, the statue would have fallen down itself.'

The statue is in much the same state today, although treasure hunters have attempted to gouge away part of the stomach.

Non-U Image, Vesālī.

ASS 1920-21, p.19; sandstone. (Plate LXIIa)

A colossal Buddha guards the main portal at the east of the palace at Wethali. It is not perfectly preserved, as Duroiselle supposed, the head and the hands having been repaired in the late Mrohaung style. As far as can be seen, the modelling of the body follows that of the smaller early Buddha images. The square altar, in part original, was made of bricks faced with dressed masonry, stepped in three diminishing courses at the base and with three expanding courses at the top. The statue is still in worship by the village people, who from time to time repair the shab erected over it.

Its function was probably the same as that of the massive image opposite the gate of the Pyu capital, described in the Mon Ḍīṣa (ch.X):
A great image seated in the open air, over a hundred feet high, and as white as snow.... If two persons go to low with each other, the king at once orders them to burn incense in front of the great image and ponder their faults; whereupon each of them withdraws. If a disaster should occur, or a pestilence, or war, or a disturbance, the king also burns incense facing the great image, repeats his transgressions, and takes the blame on himself. 118

Bronze Buddha under the Bodhi Tree. (Plate LXVIII.)


Here the standing Buddha has a detachable proboscis of some interest. In the centre is a Bodhi tree surrounded by a beaded border from which stylized flames issue. The apex is surrounded by a flaming cobra on a pedestal, flanked by two birds at the base.

Four rings attached behind the base indicate that the image was intended to be fixed to a wall. The figure itself is quite crude. The left arm is broken at the elbow, and the right hand is raised in uttharkarmamudrā. The folds of the inner and outer garments are scarcely indicated at the front, and behind, the robe falls towards the ankles. The amīraka is a double protuberance, slightly conical at the top, a shape quite common in the later art of Śrīkṣetra. 119 An almost identical Buddha figure was found during the Mahāpur excavations. Dikshiti notes at the time that Mahāpur was not the centre of a bronze making industry, and both images were probably imported from the Mathurāi region. Over 100 images.

118 A similar passage is also found in the Nār Pāyu History; see G. H. Luce, "The Ancient Pāyu," JESIS XXVII, p. 254.

119 cf. Arch Mag 959 (1911-12) "Bronze seated Buddha with elaborate toradoes recovered from the terrace of Bāmāwhāy." ASI 1911-12, pp. 142-5.
with similar distinctive treatment of the prabhavali were
discovered at the Salhan Vihara excavations. Rashid has dated
those with crueller treatment of the figures in the 8th century\textsuperscript{120},
and our image must have been imported at about the time of
Ānaswanta. Another Mahāyānaist image from Pago, also in the
vainamati style may have come there through Arakan\textsuperscript{121}.

Standing Buddha (Plate LXVIIIa)

Nalanda Museum

Fine whitish sandstone or shale; total H. 0.35 m. H. of figure 0.26 m.

This unusual figure stylistically belongs to a group including
Veṣu and Vīṣṇu (below pp. 273ff, 283ff.) The Buddha stands rigidly
erect, feet pointing forward, his left hand raised in abhaya-mudrā,
the right outstretched below in varadamudrā. The folds of the inner
and outer garments are indicated only at the neck, around the
wrists, the waist and above the ankles, where the garments can
scarceLy be distinguished from one another; the stiff, rather squat
body appears beneath the robes in the Ṛṣa style. Behind
is a plain oval halo, decorated with an attempt at ornate floral
arabesques reminiscent of Sarnath. The style, however, is far
removed from Sarnath, and must have reached Arakan via Nalanda.
The facial features, half-closed elongated eyes, eyebrows meeting
sharply at the middle, and the curved smile, are all close to
the Nalanda style.

\textsuperscript{120} op. cit. pp. 184ff.

\textsuperscript{121} Arch. J. 76-78-9, 1957-8: "From the relic chamber of Dharmawagaw
pagoda at Pago, bronze figure of a two-armed Bodhisattva
Lokanātha, seated in Lajjāvāsana on a double lotus stalk
against a finew-edges border. Total H. 7.25 in. Bottom
of pedestal embossed with 6 lines of Bagari within a disc."
The skirt of the robe flares outward as it descends, merging into an arc formed by the bottom hemline, a tendency noted by Griswold in Bālandā sculptures of the 7th century, and in copies in contemporary Dāravatā art. Here, unlike the majority of these images, the left (not the right) hand is in abhayamudrā and the other hand does not hold the robe. The solid proportions and absence of any attempt at drapery suggests that our image was based on the stucco tradition at Bālandā during the late 7th and early 8th centuries.

Crowned bronze image from Mathā (Plates LXIX-LXX)

Norhasang Museum, from a ruined stupa E of Thinyulkat, H. 0.42m. Bronze, nine perenn, gilded.

The crowned Buddha image represents, according to Krishan Chandra, "the particular school of Buddhist art which employed every conceivable artifice to proclaim the Buddha's sovereignty."

They first appear in the Stāla-stele of Bihar and Bengal, in Bālandā, in Abhayamudrā and Vaipāśasa.

122 "Imported Images and the Nature of Copying in the Art of Peru" Essays Offered to G.R. Osborn, Vol. II, p. 70. Griswold suggested that "all Bālandā images of this type are copies of one single statue that was a conspicuous object of worship at the renowned Indian seat of learning, perhaps the 60' tall copper figure of the Buddha standing upright which Hallan-trang saw in the six-storied pavilion there."

123 cf. Zimmer, op. cit. Vol II, p. 377; Wehler, 'From Gupta to Pala sculpture', JAA XXV, p. 179. The same model served Burmese sculpture until today, the most notable copies being the standing Buddha images in the niches of the Ananda temple at Pagan (c. 1105 A.D.) see, e.g., CEB, pls. 290b-d, 295, 296, etc. The rigid stance of these images is first noticed at Vesālī, for which Pāla influence may have reached Pagan.

symbolising the enlightenment, and surrounded by scenes of the Buddha's earthly life. In these, as at Veāhī, the ornaments are limited to the crown, necklaces and earrings. This is one of the most impressive sculptures in the Veāhī collection, both technically and iconographically. Conceived in the round, the figure sits in vajrāsana, in the attitude of Māravijaya, on an undecorated throne sharply twisted around the centre. The stūpa-shaped smooth uṣṇīṣa, surmounted by a jewel in the shape of a lotus bud, is surrounded by a five-pointed crown with short ribbons rising behind. The fillet at the base is beaded, and the intact triangular projections are decorated with floral motifs. The earrings take the form of four-petalled flowers, and two necklaces are worn, one beaded, around the neck, the other over the chest, a wide band beaded on either side and hung with jewels. Identical crowns, necklaces and earrings are common among the illustrations in the Cambridge University MS of the Ajījavatīka Pravāpaṃvita copied in 1015 A.D. Each of the shoulders has three flames, seemingly emitting from the flesh.

125 R.D. Banerji, Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture (Delhi 1953) p. 86 and pi. XVIII, XXIII.


127 Flames issuing from the shoulders of Buddha images indicate contact with the tradition of the Near and Middle East, and are found most frequently in Northwest Indian and Southern Chinese sculptures. cf. ibid Cat. I, No. 31 and pt. III, 6, 'Buddha Image in China', illustrating, according to Foucher 'Availokitaśvara in the form of the Buddha' in dhyānaṃdrī, monk's robes, āsā but no uṣṇīṣa, flames from the head, shoulders and elbows.
Unlike Pāla sculpture, the ornamentation, though impressive, does not overwhelm the figure.

The face is remarkable in that in photographs it appears to be too large for the body, but when viewed from below (the statue was obviously intended to be regarded in this way) this is not noticeable. In profile it can be seen that the model was not Indian, but a new racial type. A photograph taken of a woman living in Wothal in 1974 shows identical features: high forehead, long nose, hooded eyes, protruding lips and a prominent chin. However, most other people in the village did not have these characteristics (although long noses are more frequent among Arakanese than among Burmese) but I was not able to ascertain whether the woman came from one of the hill tribes, possibly the Šak. The finely-etched eyebrows, almost meeting at the centre, large downcast eyes and slight smile recall the sculpture of Sīlandi, although the modelling of the body is much softer than is usual in Pāla art. Here, the hands and feet are so fluid as to appear homeless. Again, the Cambridge NBC provides us with prototypes of the proportions, especially of the torso, with its broad chest and fine waist.

The image, obviously made in Arakan, provides evidence of a flourishing school of large-scale bronze-casting. The iconography was probably based on an illustrated manuscript similar to the Cambridge Aṣṭasāhasrā Prakṛtikomāni. The treatment of the facial features (although not the features themselves), the ornaments and the proportions could all be easily copied from such a source, but the more life-like face and flesh and the strange rendition of the robes are local innovations, not dependent on any Indian prototype.
The rendition of the monk's robes, by comparison, is sketchy, having been merely incised in after casting. The amāvakāṭi is folded and laid over the left shoulder in the manner of many seated Buddha images of the Pāla period, but also found in the Dvāravatī art of the 6th-7th centuries. The uttārāchasayika is denoted by a single curve at the waist and double lines above the ankles. In the crevice below the point where the legs cross is an indistinct design, which could either represent a veil or the folds of the garment. At the back of the image, although the necklaces are continued, there is no indication of garments at all. This suggests that this was one of the first crowned Buddhas on round bases, assuming that the immediate prototypes were Pāla stone reliefs. Bronze, as Griswold has pointed out, invites on round bases.

The "Right Scene" Plaques (Plates LXXII-LXXIII)

Three plaques in Arakan representing the scenes of the great miracles are known to me. As Gordon Luce has so admirably analysed their form and function, they will be discussed only briefly here. The earliest examples in Burma are terracotta plaques from Śrīksetra, but those from Pagan and Arakan are made of ḡawtika, translated by Luce as dolomite, but identified by

129 ibid p.99
Lowry as statite\textsuperscript{131} which occurs, according to Ohhhber, mainly in the Arakan-Naga region and the Myitkyina district\textsuperscript{132}. It is possible that these plaques were manufactured in Veśālī by the 9th-10th centuries, as they develop themes already apparent in earlier Pyu and Mon examples. The latest of the Arakan specimens compares with the best from Pagoṇ, dating around the 11th and 12th centuries.

Broken plaque from Veśālī. (Plate LXXIa)
Private collection, Mrohaung
Statite, Base 0.13m, H.0.20m
Broken along the left side, head of Buddha missing. Perhaps the earliest of the plaques, as the lotus throne rests on a simple architectural śrīmukha projection in the manner of their Mon and early Burmese terracotta counterparts, although these normally have the central figure enthroned within the Xoṅggaṇa temple, which here (and in all later examples) is replaced by the pipal tree. Behind the Buddha in an unornamented incised reredos, and the backslab is plain. The existing scene can be identified as:

\textit{cetiya}
\textit{PAKIRIVĀṆA}

\textit{standing Buddha}
\textit{BUDDHA}
\textit{MĀLAGIṆI ELEPHANT}
\textit{MĀṆAVIṬAYA}
\textit{dhermacakramuṇi}
\textit{FIRST SESSION}
\textit{pralambhāṇa}
\textit{PAKILEṆAYA}

\textsuperscript{131} \textit{Burmane Art} (London 1974) No.7
\textsuperscript{132} \textit{Mineral Resources of Burma} (London 1934) p.245
Eight Scene Plaque (Plate LXXI)
U Go Tha Tan's collection
Steatite, Base 0.06m, H. 0.095m.
Slightly more evolved than the former, this plaque introduces the
elephant/lion/hyâla motifs under the double lotus throne, a
development also noticed in the early Pagan terracottas. Behind
the Buddha Mâyavijaya can be seen a flaming halo and backrest of the
throne. The arrangement is normal:

STûPA
PANIKIRVĀNA
Pipal

MÂlÅJIKI
Standing Buddha, 2 elephant, BUDDHA
MÂJAVIJAYA

FIRST SERMON
seated, dharmacakranuvadana

PÂRÎLÊYÀKÂ RETREAT
prolonged silence, holding
bowl

DISCENCE FROM TAVATÌYÀ
Standing Buddha flanked by
indistinct figures

YAMAKAPÂTRIKIYÀ
seated, dharmacakranuvadana

NATIVITY
Baby, standing Mâyâ, Pajâpatî

The treatment is rather coarse and suggests mass manufacture.

Ten scenes and seven sites (Plate LXXII)
Private collection, Wroclaw, "from Wetkali"
Steatite, Base 0.13m, H.0.42m.
Broken at the top right and cracked at lower right.
This compares with the most complex and most beautiful of the later
Pagan "mudrâ" plaques, and apart from all the earlier scenes in-
corporates a number of important new additions.

(1) To the ostiya-Nandimārga, a figure on either side waving palm branches, and two pots holding flowers by the bed.

(2) The assault of Māra; one of his beautiful daughters flies at the top left, while four soldiers of his army attack under the outer branches of the pipal tree.

(3) A Bodhisattva on a lotus stands on either side of the central figure.

(4) The seven weeks of the fast, according to the later Jātaka version, are depicted in a central column. Following Luce, we identify these:

(a) In the upper tier, two standing Buddha figures, made indistinct, refer to the second week, when he gazed NE at his seat under the Bodhi tree, and the third week, which he spent pacing up and down the jewelled walk N of the Bodhi tree.

(b) The middle tier at the left (right of the central figure) the first week, seated in meditation, and at the right, the fourth week, spent in the House of Gems, NW of the Bodhi tree, meditating on the Abhidhamma.

(c) In the lower tier, right of the central figure, a seated Buddha carries a bowl - either Sujata’s offering, S of the Bodhi tree, on the eve of the enlightenment, or Tapussa and Bhallika’s offering, S of the Bodhi tree, at the end of the seven weeks. On the other side, the Buddha seated under Mucalinda, who protected the Buddha from rain SE of the Bodhi tree in the sixth week.
(5) Below the outer column an extra figure is added at either side. On the left, the Fasting, with two Devas distilling ambrosia near the ears; and on the right, the Buddha seated in Dhyanā under the hoods of the Mucalinda Nāga, a scene already shown on the middle tier, lower left (cf. OBEF III, pl. 401).

(6) The double lotus throne rises on a stalk and is supported by two eager Nāga kings who also hold burgeoning lotus stems, a detail first found at Mālandā in images of the Miracles of Śrāvasti, but never on Indian eight-scene steles.

(7) The upper part of the base of the throne has two kneeling figures, probably the Aggārasaka, Sāriputta and Mahānāma, along with the usual elephant/lion/girīḍa figures.

(8) The lower base now includes seven suspicious signs, reminiscent of the royal insignia. The two at the left are indistinct, the third a prancing horse, followed by the dharmasthāla flanked by deer, a walking elephant, a śravakasī, and a seated figure with one hand upraised, possibly representing a minister.

The four remaining outer scenes, clockwise from the top right, are the descent from Tavatiśa, the Yamakapāṭhahīra, Nativity and the Harilovavaka, the remaining two having been lost.

Jayā Lokasūthra (Plate LXXXIla)
Bronze, H. 0.98m.
U Oo Tha Thun's collection, "from Wethali".
This small worn bronze is the only Avalokiteśvara image yet

133 R.P. Panerji, op cit pl. XXIXb, c.
found in Arakan, although similar statues are known from Pagan.\textsuperscript{134}

Seated on a double lotus throne in \textit{kālīkāya}, he holds a lotus, now absent, in his left hand, and performs \textit{mudrām} with the other. The jewellery, proportions of the body and general style are comparable with the crowned Buddha from Wetali, with which it must be contemporary. An interesting feature in the use of silver inlay for the vertical mark on the forehead, the sacred thread over the left shoulder, and a dot on the right hand. The tall conical \textit{ṭāṭakūpa} headdress is also found in the Cambridge No. 39 of Poujouret’s Catalogue \textit{"Rāhuyātīna (sīr ma) Jānī (sīr Jaṭa) Lokantīkha"}.

The Bodhisattva Leaves the palace (Plate LXXIIib)

Monastery Collection, Mrohaung

Bronze, H. 0.17m.

This very unusual example of Buddhist folk art depicts a man on a horse, each hoof of which is held by an elongated figure, while another, staff in hand, holds the tail. Obviously this illustrates the \textit{makkhāกระทรวง} scene, the Great Departure from the palace. The figure on the horse is the future Buddha, attended by the groom Chandaka. The four figures holding the hooves are the devas who carried the horse through the sky lest there be any noise. The figures all slant backward, giving an impression of movement, and the whole rests on a rectangular base, now somewhat damaged.

In composition, a scene identical to this is found among the reliefs illustrating the life of Gautama in the Nanda temple at Pagan, following the \textit{Nāḍākārā}, the introductory chapter of the \textit{Jātaka} commentary.

\textsuperscript{134} GBVF Vol II, 19.2.6, Vol III, 11446a,b.
Aurāra Hīnduā. The simplicity of its conception and extreme stylization suggests a folk tradition of bronze manufacturing. The attendant figures are extremely elongated with no indication of flesh or garments. This elongation is accentuated by the conical headdresses worn by all the figures, similar to the peculiar conical wigs of some Buddha images found in monastery collections in Arakan, possibly dating from the Pagan period. This small bronze reflects the turn in Arakan to the Theravāda, as the country looked to the east, rather than the west, for its religious inspiration, after the 10th century. A very similar inscribed bronze image in the Darca Museum, the 11th century Revanta from Vajrāyogini depicting a conical crowned god on a horse surrounded by attendants, also on a rectangular base, suggests that the Arakan bronze was made in response to this Hindu cult, which, Luce has suggested, was introduced at Pagan through Kyanzittha's Puttikera queen.

Vaiśīṣāra on Muntimung (Plate LXXIV)
Sandstone; H.g 1.2m.

Although extremely weathered, this image can be identified as Vaiśīṣāra, a form of the Bodhisattva Mahāyāna. The Bodhisattva sits in anikṣuptikāsana on a plain throne supported by a cushion-like base. No trace of garments remains, but the strange tripartite headdress is placed at the top and sides. Both hands apparently rest on the knees with stylized lotus buds and almonds (?) rising behind on either

135 Nair 20, x.vii, 2nd N of central doors. Burolosle, 437 1914 pl.xxxiv (33) and p.87; ASR 1914 pl.iv fig 2; arch Megg 395 (1909-10), 571 (1907-8); Luce OBP II, pl.11, III pl.2996 "Your deus bear the hoovers to denon the sounds... Orana behind" 136 OBP I, pl.284–5 137 The Indian Buddhist Iconography (Calcutta 1965) pp.116-117, and fig.81 (Vaiśīṣāra in the Indian Museum.
side. An almost identical representation is found on one of the steles from Kalyâni Sûla at Thatihî. 138 The tutelary deity of the Nepalese Buddhists, Vâgîśvara was also worshipped in Bengal, and in Tibet as Mahârâjâlîla Mahâvâs. 139 The elongated proportions and flat, unsophisticated treatment of the body point to a regional school influenced by late Pâla and Nepalese art of about the 15th century.

Cunda

In v. 44 of the W face of the Shîkshapati inscription, describing the images which Abhâmasanda caused to be erected, Johnston read Cunda + Ādaśaka, and tentatively proposed that this passage referred to the chief Abhâmasanda. 140 However, Cunda never gained a position in the Buddhist hierarchy which would merit the worship of his image as the verse suggests. If we read Cunda + ādiśaka, the images referred to would portray the tantric goddess Cunda, well-known in India, and particularly in Southeast Bengal, from the 8th century. The earliest representation of this goddess is found among 8th century sculptures of caves no. 12 at Ellora. 141 Similar scenes

138 Arch. Rep. 7777 (1957-8), "Tall pillar W of N entrance path, carved at the broken top with a Buddha touching earth; two Bodhisattvas in tiers below seated with the right hand on knee."


140 op cit. p. 271. "While Cunda is, significantly enough, omitted from the list in the Agasthâna Sûla, I, pp. 22-26, he appears in Abhâmasanda's list in Sarvâvatnamandala, XVI, 91. Of the schools which knew three or four chief deities, only the Sarvâvatnavâla includes Cunda in this group, assigning him a place which justifies the expression of our text. It seems then that the Mahârâjâlîla used in Assam was represented either by the Mahârâjâlîla school which ultimately derived from that sect..."

Forms are depicted in the Cambridge MS No.141.1641 (Māyādevi māyānagaraja Cundā; Pāṭṭikara Cundānabha impose Cunda) and the Asiatic Society MS No. A151. Other images have been found at Patañjali, Cuttack dst. Orissa and at Chittagonj. The goddess Cundā is the Tantric Buddhist counterpart of the Brahmanical goddess Capi, with whom she shares a remarkably similar iconography. We have therefore our first indication of Tantric Buddhism in Arakan. Anandaśāstrī's inclusion of "Cunda and others, according to power" along with the Buddha and Bodhisattvas is significant in that he was the first, and perhaps the last king of Arakan to recognize this form of the religion. The absence of Tantric images in the Arakan assemblage supports this view. However, Cundā is included among the female deities represented on steles from Brikkola soon after the fall of Anandaśāstrī's dynasty, described below.

Vasundhārā

The pre-Buddhist earth-goddess was early incorporated into Buddhism as Vasundhārā. No image of her was found at Māhāmuni, but she was said to be propitiated there by her devotees nevertheless. Duraiselvam in 1980 discovered at Ahaung "the thoroughly Buddhist image of Vasundhārā, or mother earth, weeping her hair brought in a braid in front of her breast; this is, so far as I can remember, the oldest figure of the gracious goddess as yet found in Burma; she is often

142 A. Pouker op cit App.1 No.58 and App.2, No.32.

143 AStR Maya 61/293, 61/294, 61/311


seen carved in wood on the platform of pagodas, but she is standing. That of Vaisali is in a sitting position; the whole height of the stone is 20", the figure itself being 7 1/2" high; the breadth at the bottom is 3 1/2". The present whereabouts of the image is unknown, and no photograph appears to have been taken. The iconographic form is unknown in India, and derives from a full text well-known in Cambodia and Thailand, but rare in Burma, the 'Nāthamūgah'.

Here it is said that after Siddhattha, under the Bo tree, called the earth to witness, it emerged from the ground in the form of a woman, who placed herself before the Bodhisatta as if to say "O, Great Man, I know thou hast fulfilled the necessary conditions for the attainment of supreme wisdom, my hair is soaked with the water poured upon the earth to ratify thy gifts, and now I will squeeze it out." The earth squeezed her hair and disappeared, but the water flowing from it like the waves of the Ganges could not be withstood by Śāri's hosts, who fled and were scattered to the four points of the compass.\textsuperscript{106}

\textbf{Vaisnavite Images} (Plates LXXXIV-LXXV)

The number of images of Vipass found in the Vaisali area so far is comparable to and perhaps exceeds those of the Buddha. This is surprising when it is remembered that the inscriptions contain no mention of Vaisnavism. In fact, although Śrīśvarāra's poem...\textsuperscript{105}

claim that the first Coenra dynasty sprang from the lineage of Ṛṣi, Saivite remains are almost non-existent. However, local tradition in Burma retains memories of a Vīpuu cult later overwhelmed by Buddhism. The earliest is in the name of Ṛṣikarma-nye "Vīpuu city", the oldest urban site. In the 14th century, Buddhist Kyansitha found it necessary to claim to have been, in a former existence, a hermit named Bima, sent by the Buddha to build Pyu Śrīksetra, together with Bavaṭṭa, Indra, Vīivakarma and the king of Naga147. The same tradition is found in Mon origin legends of both lower Burma and Siam, and probably derives ultimately from Sri Lanka.148 Vīpuu images from Pyu and Mon sites mostly date from the 7th century149, and appear to owe their inspiration to the early medieval art of Southeastern India rather than to the classical art of the Imperial Gupta. The most favoured aspect was the Bhagavati mūrti, a form unknown in Arakan, but popular in pre-Angkorian and late Mon art, reflecting as it did Southeast Asian concepts of the universe. In Arakan, Vīpuu images almost invariably represent Vāsudeva, the style and iconography initially closely following Gupta art of the late 5th and early 6th centuries.

The worship of Vasudeva, hero-deity of the Magavate cult espoused by the Gupta emperors, gained ready acceptance by the Chandra dynasty, anxious to emulate the glorious imperial tradition. As in India, the most frequent sculptural form was the four-armed Visnu-murti, with the lower hands resting on the heads of the Sudharsana, "personified weapons", conforming with the Vaisnavism texts description.

In the 7th century, the influence of Southern India becomes apparent in the style and iconography of Vasudeva images. A new murti, with the god standing side by side with his consort Laksmi appears. This type is unknown in India but has been found at Sriksetra, and illustrates the gradual decline of Indian influence and the formation of a national style. After the 7th century, no new Vaisnavism, or indeed notable images are found, unlike other areas in Southeast Asia, where the Siva and Narasimha murtis became popular. The confused state of the country after the fall of the first Chandras, and the Mahasivaist predilections of the succeeding dynasty no doubt prevented their acceptance. Only one image, of about the 8th century, remains, its style reflecting a new but degenerate phase of Northern Indian influence coeval with the end of the Gupta dynasty.

Standing Vigni from Vantitaung. (Plate LXIXb)
MraukU Museum, red sandstone, H. 0.31m. from base of socle.
of. Arch Mag 4362 (1940-41), image at left.
The Vantitaung site has given us a number of images from different periods, but this may well have been brought from the Veilai area at any time after the 8th century. The figure is worn, headless, and the upper two arms have been broken at the elbows. A substantial portion (below the socle) now broken but apparent in the Arch Mag indicates that it was once inserted in a niche or placed on a pedestal.
Vippu stands erect in sampūladāsāsana, his lower hands resting on the hands of two chubby śabdoparāmās. The figure on the left grasps the god, his right arm passed over his body and holding a vajra which appears behind him at the right of his face. Behind his head is a circular projection, obviously a weathered calista, identifying him as Caityeśa. The figure at the right offers a cylindrical object, indicated at the centre, representing the pañcā of Sūḍāvīt. The usual ornaments are worn: a broad necklace (grapatiya) below which is a suggestion of the śrauśtra on the chest (not apparent in the photographs), upper and lower arm bands, the thick pañcāparās falling from the left shoulder round the right thigh. The overgulśa is absent, as is the case with other early Vippu images in Southeast Asia. The decorated bands pass around the lower torso, and a scarf drawn over the hips is draped again at mid-thigh level, knotted at each side with the loops and ends falling gracefully down. The body is well-proportioned and smoothly modelled; the decoration, though ornate, is tastefully restrained, and the drapery treated in a naturalistic manner. An attempt to relieve the static quality of the main figure is achieved with the dhūlāsāsana position of the śabdoparāmās and the contrapposto of their arms and attributes.

The immediate prototype of this image is found in 6th century Gupta sculpture at Mathura,159 where the treatment of the śabdoparāmās and minor ornaments is identical, although the pañcāparās is longer, reaching to the calves, and the fold of the choti is seen to pass between the legs and falls behind, exaggerating the crease between the thighs to give an appearance of sexuality. Similar ornaments and currents are found in the 6th century art of the early Cāleśvaras at

159 C. S. A. Archaeological Museum, Mathura, No. 65-13, illustrated in JASB 8, 138, pl. 1.
Badami. The earliest Viṣṇu in Arakan can therefore be dated in
the early 6th century, perhaps in the reign of Rājendrā.

Fragment of a small Viṣṇu image from Veṣāli. (Plate LXVb)
Mrohaung Museum
Red sandstone, H. 0.18m.

This small fragment belongs stylistically with the previous image.
While now only the portion below the waist and above the knees,
together with part of the lower left arm and the top of an śvastikajātra
head remains, the decoration and garments have not weathered, allowing
fuller reconstruction of the image type. The waistband has at the
centre an oval motif, decorated with indented scrolls, and a diamond
shape is seen over the right hip. The general effect is of embossed
metal. Around this, the vasā/parvāta is entwined, crossing and hanging
loosely over the right thigh. A scarf is stretched tightly across the
hips, and again draped below, knotted at each side, the folds
naturalistically depicted behind the legs. The chōttā is gathered
tightly around each thigh and is indicated by two incised lines above
the knees.

Head of Viṣṇu from Veṣāli. (Plates LXVI-LXVII)
Exact provenance unrecorded; Mrohaung Museum
Red sandstone, H.0.25m.

This is perhaps the most beautiful example of early Veṣāli sculpture,
and alone would justify excavation of the city site. The top of the
śakteśa is slightly damaged and the head broken at the base of the ears
and the top of the neck. The stone has flaked around the face, but
this does not obscure the calm, Venitian expression. The contours of

151 Especially Case 1, of Anuchin Uppe "Early Chalukya Icone",
Ad Vol XXXIV, 4, pp.273ff and Fig.23.
the face are gently rounded in the best tradition of the Gupta sculpture. The facial features are treated in the manner of Mathurā art of the 5th century: thinly delineated arched eyebrows, almost meeting at the centre, eyes partly closed and fleshy lips turned in a slight smile, aptly illustrating Harle’s definition of the Gupta style “a turning inward, an ability to communicate higher spiritual states”\(^{152}\). While the face compares with the well-known Visnu from Mathurā\(^{153}\), the kirtimukha, by which we identify the god, is more restrained. Below it, the hair is indicated by stylized squares in front, gradually becoming rectangular towards the ears. Behind the ears are two rows of three rings, the texture of the hair indicated in fine gradations. The fillet at the base of the mukha is decorated with an alternating oval/square pattern within beaded borders, a common Gupta convention. This is surmounted by three pata-pata protuberances, triangular with the sides curved outward, one at each side reaching halfway up the mukha, and one in the centre front three-quarters. Within these is a decoration, now very worn, but consisting basically of a rectangle below and a circle with scrolls on each side above. The mid-point of the mitre is marked by a simple band of enclosed squares, after which the shape curves slightly inward, to be surmounted by a plain projection and another oval/square band, this time within a linear border. The apex, partially broken, is plain and was probably flat.

No precise parallel appears in Indian art. The curved outline is typical of southern India, and a more developed, highly decorated version can be seen at Bādhāvī. The Visnu of the Āśāvāta temple at Beopur have similar but straight-sided mitres\(^{154}\).

\(^{152}\) Gupta Sculpture (Oxford 1974), p.8
\(^{153}\) National Museum, New Delhi, 262-242; see Harris, pp.18,44 and pl.49
\(^{154}\) Zimmer, Art of Indian Asia (New York 1962) Vol.II, pl.187
In pre-Khmer sculpture of the late 6th century, we find an almost exact counterpart, not in the Kirirom-mahasen of Vipppu, which are usually straight-sided and undecorated, but in the crowns of Bodhisattvas. Here, the hair is treated in an identical manner, as was indeed the case with the Phnom Da style of the early 6th century. The fillet is decorated with the same square/oval pattern, and is surmounted by three parinapaśa, differently decorated but no doubt deriving from the same prototype, the royal diadem.

Standing eight-armed deity (Plate LXXVIIIa)
Arch Reg 4256 (1940-41) "Found lying at the foot of Mahadeva hill, SE of Mohoasun".
The site and material unrecorded, but appears to be sandstone.
The shape and size of this great slab indicates that it was originally structural. The figure, erect in saṃstāpaṅgakāla is headless, but traces of an oval halo remain. Eight arms are distinct, the middle two at the right being broken, as are most of the attributes. The four lower arms are separated at the shoulder, the next pair joined to the upper of these at the elbow, and the uppermost pair are placed behind, slightly above the elbow. The effect is easy and well-composed.

156 Remarkably similar forms of crowns, for both gods and kings, are described in the Mahābhārata XIX, 10–156.
the attributes forming a visual circle, with the interest directed at the face at the top, showing that the sculptor was well-practiced at making multi-armed objects. The two upper arms hold rounded objects, pointed at the top, which could conceivably represent the conch and the lotus. Below, at the third right, is a long decorated staff, and the third left holds a ?r?kme. Govinda-Rao identified a similar relief at Bhandi with the attributes disposed in the same order, as Vakunatha.  

The figure is broad-shouldered, and tapers gradually towards the feet. The smooth contours, graceful proportions and refined quality of the ornaments show the influence of Gupta art. A scarf, plastically conceived, is looped at the right and hangs softly above the ankle. There are traces of the usual decorated waistband, a low-slung ?p?ma and perhaps a ?r?b?la. Similar treatment of the problem of the small ornaments and garments is found in Sanchi sculpture of the 5th-6th centuries.  

Visnu and Laks? (Plate LXXIXb) 
Nagpur Museum, "From Vaj?i". 
Red sandstone, H. 0.06m. 
A form of Visnu image unknown in India and previously only found

157 Elements of Hindu Iconography (NY 1968 reprint of Nasara 1924 ed.) Vol I pt. 1, p. 325 and pl. LXXXV.  
158 Sheila F. Meister, "From Gupta to Pala Sculpture" 44 Vol XXV, p. 172 and figs. 13-21; Karle, op cit pp. 42-43 and figs. 46-41.
at Śṛiṅgattra, represents the god standing side by side with Lakṣṇa. The equal stature given to Viṣṇu’s consort possibly reflects the status of women in Tibet-Burman society.

From Vaiṣṇava we have, in well-defined relief, the upper portion of a rounded slab with the head of Viṣṇu to the left, and that of Lakṣṇa at his right. Between them is a weapon, similar to that carried by Lakṣṇa at Śṛiṅgattra. The god is identified by his comparatively short, straight-sided mitra, and his consort’s hair is similarly arranged in a squarish chignon.

Standing images of Lakṣṇa-Katyāya in India are very few, and usually depict Lakṣṇa with one of her arms around the god’s neck, as described in the Viśnuśrīmatā of Hemalari quoted by Hemalari.

159 The best known of these is the one found by General de Seylidé in the garden of the Prome Railway Commissioners; see Arch. Baza. 45th (1900-1), 75th (1907-8); L. de Seylidé, Prome et Simuna p.57 and pl.XII, fig.2; Rey, Brahman. Gods... pl.15.2 and pp. 62-77, 147, 155-58, 69; Luck, GIEF, vol.I, pl.116 and n.694; King, Aethn. Historical Notes... p.25. For the remaining three: Arch. Baza. 57th (1934-5) “fragment of a stone sculpture found at Bent Zech temple”; the crowned figure on the right appears to be Lakṣṇa. On her right was a figure of Viṣṇu, all that remains being the uplifted left arm holding a conch; Luck, ñbb. 86; Arch. Baza. 62th (1908-9); at Kyaukka Thein shed, a stone relief, much defaced; from Yagunyan (no part of Mandalay Uthaingyi) showing four-armed Viṣṇu standing with Lakṣṇa by his side; Luck, ñbb. 5.86; Arch. Baza. 78th (1909-10); a similar relief from Poku Tak, 3 of the Baw hangyi, also at Kyaukka Thein, Luck, ñbb. 86.

160 Hemalari, Catamanga: Glimpses (Calcutta 1917), p.17; Bhattacharya pl.I. Representations of this image appear only after the 8th century, see Kalami Desai, Iconography of Viṣṇu (New Delhi 1973) pp.43-50 and fig.27 (Allahabad Museum, 9th century).
However, the Pāṇḍavaṇḍa Śīra gives a simple description:

"Lord Hari is to be meditated on as having the human body... He has four hands and is accompanied by Lakṣmī. In his right hands he holds the disc and the nask, and in his left ones the lotus and the conch. There should be his Gaurijā

It is possible that this text, which allows a certain freedom of interpretation, was used by the sculptors of Śrīdeśṭra and Vessalī.

Their features, where discernible, are finely modelled, the flesh rendered in the manner of Vessalī sculpture of the second half of the 6th century. The fragment provides further evidence of the contact between Vessalī and Śrīdeśṭra.

Massive Vīśṇu at Wethali village. (Plate LXXVIIIa)
Red sandstone; H. c. 2.00m.

This image was found buried in a garden near Lethkit-tsang monastery. The head is missing, the upper two arms are broken at the elbows, and treasure hunters have made a hole in the stomach and severely gauged the chest and the legs. Despite the condition it can be seen that the sculpture is as monumental in conception as the contemporary pre-Śrīmer Vīśṇu images.

The Svādhāsparaṇas under each of the back hands stand in the erect frontal position of the main image, their hands, where visible, clasped in front. Both wear tall, almost conical headdresses, and garments (not visible in the photograph) identical to those of the god. The figure to the right of the god has a rayed cakra behind, identifying

161 Pāṇḍavaṇḍa Śīra, Ceylon Oriental Series, LIV (Baroda 1931), 95c 12.37

162 Local tradition has it that when the stone is uncovered, calamity will befall the village. However, we were allowed to erect it with the help of our army escort, and once convinced that it was merely a "hindu idol", the villagers urgently assisted us, bringing water to wash the image and placing leaves on the top when the work was done.
Cakrādeva. This reversed position of the personified weapons is also noted in early Cāñkāyan art.\(^{163}\)

The Vātśeūdeva figure bears traces of the ornaments and garments noticed on the earlier images, although here the back panel of the šhoti can be seen ending above the ankles. This panel and the scarf at the waist are treated in a rigid unrelied manner. The same costume, treated in an identical manner, is found on the figures adorning the Dharmarāja ratha at Nāmallapuram. The body is elongated yet taut, the surfaces smooth and hard, unlike the naturalistic modelling of the earlier images. The transition from the broad and powerful shoulders and chest to the narrow waist, and again to the broad hips and long strong legs is well-controlled. No attempt is made to define the toes. Again, a comparison can be made with the Dharmarāja ratha figures.

Gopinatha-Bac, quoting the Vaśishṭhīyaśāstra, a 9th century text followed by the sculptors of Nāmallapuram and other rock-cut shrines, informs us that "the Ayudha-parvīsas .... should each have only one face with a pair of eyes, that the head should be adorned with the karuṇḍīkāja and that each of them should have only two hands held over the chest in atēnī pose... the weapon which each of them is intended to represent is shown over the crown worn on the head."\(^{164}\) No illustrations of this description, and I have not found any Indian example following the text as accurately as this Vēthali sculpture. Gopinatha-Bac's dating of the Vaśishṭhīyaśāstra is not important, as the Śīlamāṇaus by their nature incorporated the earlier traditions of older texts.

\(^{163}\) cf. J.N.Banerjea, Religions in Art and Archaeology (Lucknow 1968) p.26 and pl.III (Śrīṅga Vīṣṇa, Aiholes)

\(^{164}\) Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol.I pt.1, pp.78, 238-9. For an illustration of the karuṇḍīkāja, identical to that worn by the Ayudhāparvīsas on this sculpture, see his pl.VIII.
An engraved design was found on the reverse of the stone, in the lower right hand section. It appears to represent a sprouting lotus rhizome, an eternal theme in Indian and Southeast Asian art, symbolizing the impregnation of water by the heat of the sun to produce life on earth. A passage from the Vişṇudharmottaram shows Viṣṇu as the embodiment of this eternal principle:

"...know that the conch in the hand of the god is the sky and the sōda in to be the air and the gāda of that lord, the kast and lotus placed in the middle of the legs the water. Those chief elements forsaken by Ṛṣi 0 kiles, are soon split up, or Hari supports (them)."

The intention of the sculptor was obviously connected with this concept of Viṣṇu as preserver of the stability of the cosmic forces. The hidden position of the engraving suggests that it was connected with the installation ceremony.

The transition from Northern to Southern Indian inspiration already anticipated in the head of Viṣṇu in the Southeast Museum, is now complete. The evidence points directly to Mārakalipuram, specifically to the Dharmanāṭa viśṇu sculptures, carved during the reign of Narasimhavarman I Narayana (A.D. 628-668).

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165 This theme is beloved of all followers of A.K. Coomaraswamy, the most comprehensive exposition being that of F.D.K. Hasch in his monograph on The Golden Ganges (The Wives 1960).

166 Viṣṇudharmottaram, III, 58. Kramrisch's translation, p.111. According to this text, the earth goddess should be represented between the legs of the god, a detail often omitted even in Gupta sculptures.

167 K.R. Srikrishnan op cit, pp. 204-5, 210-9
or of Dharavijaya (c. 656-692 A.D.), Pallava influence in the
sculpture of the Malay peninsula and Thailand at this time is well-
known. However, these images do not adhere to the Pallava formula
with the same precision as the Arakan example, which was not subject
to the stimulating influence of the east-west trade route to the
same degree.\footnote{118}

Small Vīşṇu image at Wethali. (Plate LXXXIX)
From Khedaungyi; now at the house of U San Tha Hla in Wethali
village.
Red sandstone; H. 0.23m.

This weathered image, now headless and with the upper arms broken
at the elbows, has a tenon beneath indicating that it was made to
fit into a niche. The lower hands rest on two cylindrical shapes
reaching to mid-thigh. From the photograph it appears that the
object to the god’s right was once a cobra mounted on a stambha,
the smoother shape to the left was presumably the gada. The treatment
of the body and the garments is similar to that of the massive
Vīşṇu and places the image in the first half of the 7th century.

Late image of Vīşṇu. (Plate LXXIX)
Mrohaung Museum, original provenance unknown.
Sandstone; figure and attributes now lined and painted; H. c. 1.2m.

This image is the best preserved of the series, only the upper arms
having been broken at the elbows.

An elliptical undecorated prabhāsālī is behind the head. The
god’s right hand rests on a cobra with a floral motif within, supported
by a stambha with a square base and rounded capital, the left on a
gada with a lotus base, a body of diminishing coils and a ring at
the top. The ornaments are far more elaborate than those of earlier

\footnote{118} of G.J.O’Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsula Burma, (Ascona 1972) Ch.IV
passim.
images. The kīrānga-loksa is the curved type, the three-pointed fillet decorated with a row of tear shapes and the body decorated with successive rows of of simple motifs. The scarves formerly around the waist have been replaced by ornate bands, and the yādṛićśāla falls from the left shoulder around the right knee. The saumāna is looped twice, between the hips and from the upper right thigh around the left knee. The garment is rendered in an archaistic manner, with the back panel falling in three stiff tiers, although attempts have been made to denote drapery. Facial features are sharply defined, the arched eyebrows meeting in the middle, eyes slanting and half closed, the center ridge of the nose ending in a point, and the thin lips curved in a smile. The graceful proportions of the earlier images have been forgotten. The head is 1/5th of the height, the arms reach below the knees, and the legs are short.

While the image is basically dependent on earlier forms, a new wave of Northern influence is apparent. The proportions, facial features and elliptical prabhauḷi can be traced to the art of Nālandā during the late 7th and early 8th centuries. The hard surfaces and elaborate ornamentation are typical of early Pāla art or Pāla art at the same point.

A number of fragmentary images found in the Meohaung Museum found at Metnall probably also represent Vīṣṇu and will be included here. (1) Red sandstone, 0.16m high, headless torso, originally four-armed but upper arms broken, as usual at the elbows; legs below the knees are missing. The body is well-proportioned, with flesh gently contoured. (1944.)
(2) Red sandstone head, 0.10m. high, broken at the right, but with remains of a mitre and an ornate earring in the form of a coil. The mitre is similar in form to that of the large head from Vesali, but there are traces of decoration all over. Again, the face is well-rounded. (Pl. 18A.)

(3) Inscribed base of an image, grey sandstone, 0.35m. long. The socle is broken at the left and a tenon remains below, indicating that the image was to be placed in a niche. Two pairs of feet are all that remains of the image. In the original centre, the larger pair, pointing straight ahead, show that the central figure was standing erect in samapādāsthāna on a crudely depicted lotus, signifying his divinity. To his right, a much smaller pair of feet in the same position, with traces behind the legs of the usual garment, rendered in the rigid fashion of later Vesali sculpture. A similar figure was probably represented on the other side. The similarity with the massive Viṣṇu image at Wethali (pl. XXVIIIa) and the script on the base (unfortunately un decipherable) places this sculpture at the end of the 7th or beginning of the 8th century (pl. XXX).

Śāivite Images

Although the Chandra kings were reputed to be descendants of Śiva, Śāivite remains are few. The possible Śāivite connotations of the coin motifs have been discussed in the previous chapter. No anthropomorphous representations of Śiva nor Śiva Mārga have been found, but the shape of some of the votive aśāpas suggests that they may be rout Mārgas. The possible existence of at least one early Śiva temple, however, is borne out by a high relief sculpture of Śanidhā, the companion of Śiva, often depicted at the entrance
to Śiva shrines in India. The cult of Durga as Mahīśaśakti, adopted by the Guptaś in the early 5th century had spread by the 7th century to Bangladesh, where we find the immediate prototype of her image at Vaiṣṇava. A memory of her benign aspect is retained in the same Vaiṣṇava, a village north of Murshidabad. Two relatively late images of Durga from Wantiagong testify to the introduction of a Śakti cult, also from Bangladesh, by about the 9th century. 

Devārpāla Mandāśa on Sundarapara mount, Wethali (Plate LXXXII) Sandstone; total H. 1.83m., H. of figure 1.56m., b. at base 0.62m. The size and shape of this slab suggest that it was structural and from the nature of the image we may infer that it formed the base of a door jamb, part of the torana of an important Śivaite shrine.

The figure, in high relief, stands erect, with a slight inclination of the hips to the left, and arms hanging by the sides. The left hand holds a rosary, the right a long staff, widening towards the top, now broken, but conceivably once crowned with a trident. He may therefore be identified as Mandāśa (Vār. Mandāśa, Mandāśakarnā) mentioned in the Agni Purāṇa as one of Śiva’s assistants in human form, a doorkeeper carrying an ekāmālā (Śiva’s rosary) and a śrītrishūla169. According to the Manasāsvaramūndamudahaśi, Mandāśa accompanies Gaṇeśa on the right side of the east door of the temple170. Images of this kind first make their appearance in late Gupta art, and are, in India at least, confined to Śivaite temples.

comes to occupy the place of honour on the inside of the doorjamb, while the river goddesses, often on a smaller scale, are relegated to an inferior position on the outer side. We imagine this may have been the case at Wethuli.

Following the Epic and Purānic traditions of Vaikuntha, he is always depicted like Śiva, in Čandrahaṇḍamūrti. Thus the image is crowned with a jatāmukta, with a plain band over the forehead, following the natural shape of the head to the crown, from which protrudes a great upūṣya decorated with three rows of looped hair. This form is unknown in India, but has parallels in the pre-Angkorian style of Phnom Da, and is also noticed on some Bodhisattva figures from Mahānāmī. From either side of the head issue treasurers in the form of flames. The left ear has a long earring, comprised of a small circular shape from which falls a leaf on a short stem, the pārṇa-kāyāla. The other earring, inserted into the lobe, is large, circular, and has a stylized flower in the centre, obviously a pārṇaputra-kāyāla. Around his neck is a simple row of pearls.


172 Copinatha-rama, op. cit. II, 2 pp.438-439

173 e.g. cf. Dupont, op. cit. pl. XII "Ganges du Hari-Bara" and the Mahānāmi Boddhisattva illus. at pl. XIXII. Interestingly, the upūṣya has a treasurers in front; cf. too the crouching Lokapāla figura.

174 cf. Sivaramanarri, "Geographical and Chronological Factors in Indian Iconography" Ancient India No. 6 (Jan 1950) p.53 & figs. 37, 38.
makaśāra. Mahaśā, in his role as devapāla, wears a version of the Scythian "northern dress": a short pleated tunic, tied at the waist with an udārīkāhārī, and a long underskirt falling almost to the ankles. A scarf, passing loosely over the thighs, is tied, incongruously, below the right hip, the ends falling by the side, seems to be an afterthought, reminiscent of the Vīga images and more conventionally dressed guardians. This type of costume is worn by guardian images from a very early period, and probably was copied from the dress of temple guards at the time.\footnote{V. dehejia Early Buddhist Rock Temples (London 1972) pl. 23.}

The treatment of the figure follows the bhumi style: rounded face, broad-shouldered, tapering to a narrow waist and widening over the hips, with the drapery falling naturally over the body. Gupta influence is remembered but has become a formula, seen in the misunderstood tridāra posture and the unrelieved curves of the flesh.

Fragmentary Mahipamarini from Anakong village, near Wethali.

Site etc. unrecorded; present whereabouts unknown. (Plate XXXIII)


Arch Mag 2174 (1920-21); 2695 (1925-6); Luce, DNB I, p. 213 and fn. 65.

This fragment consists only of the lower half of a female figure, standing in hijākāhārī with the right leg placed over a crouching animal, head to right, identified by Durovelle as Mahiparna, the buffalo demon. A trident, probably held in the right hand, is planted in the back of the demon. The sculpture is broken at the sides, but the width of the base in proportion to the legs indicates that it
was wide enough to accommodate a multiplicity of arms. The socle has an unusual lotus throne carved under the figure itself, leaving the sides plain. A tenon beneath this shows that the image was originally placed in a niche.

An almost identical fragment, slightly better preserved and with eight arms, was found at Rangamati on the old Bengal-Assam road, and has been dated in the 7th century. Another inscribed image from West Bengal also belongs to the same period, but lacks the vitality of the other sculptures. This particular form of the Mahisamardini is rarely found in South India, and the Veṣālī sculpture illustrates the thrust of the cult eastwards in about the 7th century.

Small Mahisamardini from Wethali. Grey sandstone; Vrooha Museum, found during the wet season of 1974 "behind a hill in NE Wethali"; H.O.16; Base 0.02m.

The entire front of this image has split off in one piece, leaving only the outline of the figure. However, it can be seen that it was beautifully carved, the eight-armed figure on the same position as the previous sculpture, the attributes neatly depicted within the rounded background.

Two Durgā images from Wutlitung. (Plate LXIIb)
(a) Durgā, now at the Vrooha Museum.

Forschhammer, op cit p.38; "A stone slab, 3\(\frac{1}{4}\)" high and 2\(\frac{1}{2}\)" broad, it exhibits two female and one male figure, the image of a ball, a horse and a winged, monkey-headed being..."


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leaving the sides plain. A lemma beneath this shows that the
image was originally placed in a niche.

An almost identical fragment, slightly better preserved and
with eight arms, was found at Bangamati on the old Bengal-Mughal
road, and has been dated in the 7th century. Another inscription
image from West Bengal also belongs to the same period, but lacks
the vitality of the other sculptures. This particular form of
the Mahipamardini is rarely found in South India, and the
Veṣṇu sculpture illustrates the thrust of the cult eastwards in
about the 7th century.

Small Mahipamardini from Wethali.

Grey sandstone; Morassam Museum. Found during the wet season of
1974 "behind a hill in NE Wethali": H.O.1m; Bze 0.05m.
The entire front of this image has split off in one piece, leaving
only the outline of the figure. However, it can be seen that it
was beautifully carved, the eight-armed figure in the same position
as the previous sculpture, the attributes neatly depicted within
the rounded boulder.

Two Durgā images from Vamitasing. (Plate LXXIb)

(a) Durgā, now at the Morassam Museum.

Porchhammer, op cit p.36; "A stone slab, 3'4" high and 2'5" broad,
it exhibits two female and one male figure, the image of a bull,
a horse and a winged, monkey-headed being..."
Against the thick unornamented backlab, rounded at the top, the goddess stands rigidly erect, arms held stiffly by her sides, wearing only a plain neckband and a knee-length lower garment. Below her feet is a running horse. To her left is a similarly attired lady, whose vārānas appears to be the multi-faced Kārttikeya riding on his peacock; at her right, resplendent on a drum-shaped throne which bulges around the middle, sits her consort Śiva, in aja-millāma with a conical headdress, his only garment a flap between his legs, identified by the couchant bull under his throne. The goddess is similarly conceived to the image of Sarvāṇi, inscribed by Queen Prabhāvatī, wife of Deva-kheja, in the late 7th century, and found south of Comilla. Sarvāṇi also stands erect, but on a lion, in an identical costume, but with eight arms and flanked by two female attendants. Our image is a local interpretation of this form and was made after the reoccupation of Vaṭṭāṭi in the late 9th century, suggesting that the Śakti cult of early medieval Bengal made a brief impact on Arakan before the Buddhist revival of the 11th century. It does not conform to any known Śākta but Bhattacharyya remarked that Durgā images of East Bengal followed "some particular Śilpaśāstra which we have not been able to recover." (t) Durgā, in situ on Wamitsang. Forchhammer p.38 "... a stone slab 2'3" high and 2'6" broad; six figures are cut out in semi-relief: the central and highest is the image of a female deity standing upright on the back of a bull; she wears a simple dress around the loins; the hair is bound in a knot on top.

170 Bhattacharyya, Iconography... pp.204-4, and pl.LXX
171 ibid. p.199
of the head; the face is well-rounded, the nose prominent, the eyes straight, the cheekbones protruding; no other characteristics can be distinguished, the surface of the stone being much eroded by exposure. To the right is a male figure, only a foot high; the left leg is bent, the left hand rests on the knee, the outstretched arm bearing the weight of the body... He squats on the back of what appears to be a horse. To the left of the central figure is a female figure, somewhat smaller, but in all other features identical with its neighbour, beneath its feet is a winged creature in flying attitude, with a human body and a monkey's head; the hands are joined over the breast in the attitude of paying homage."

ABB 1940-41, pl.1 and p.12; Arch. Reg 4352 (1940-41)

The bull which Forchhammer saw under the central figure appears to be a standing elephant; his horse under the Suva figure is doubtful and has now broken beyond recognition. In other respects, the sculpture is almost identical to the former, but the garment worn by the female figure reaches to the ankles and the headdresses are lighter. Both may have originally belonged to the Hindu temple on Wanti-taung, traditionally said to have been built by King Puphyu of the Singhasandra dynasty of Vaishali in 5335 (976 A.D.) and dedicated to the worship of the female Wanti Mat who aided his in defeating the 'Nan' invasion. As all Hindu gods are known as mats in Arakan, the two Durgā images probably represent the Wanti Mat herself.

Dūrīya from Shit-ngh-sit-taung (Plate LXXVIIa)

Mṛhaung Museum; red sandstone, recently painted in parts.

160 JBSG IX, pt.1 pp.52-3; cf. Phyu'ro "On the History of Arakan", p.35
refs. Duraiselie, ASB 1923, p.1 fig.1 and p.28; Arch. peas 2228
(1922-23) 913830 (1958-9); Ray, Brah. Gods... pl.XIX fig.24 and pp.69-71;
Bhattacharji, Iconography...p.158; Tin Hla Thaw, Evolution of the Buddhist
CBP pp.78-9.
San Shwe Re discovered this image on Shin-an-daw-taung, about half a
mile SE of the old city walls of Mrauk, in about 1922. It is one of
the best documented Anahical images found in Burma, having been
discussed in detail by Duraiselie, Ray and Tace. The reverse face is
almost covered with a long inscription, rendered almost illegible by
knife-sharpening over the years\footnote{See above, pp.73-6 and pl.XV}
the 6th century. It is not certain whether the inscription is contemporary
with the image and I am inclined to think that it might be of a slightly
later date.

On the obverse face, Shiva is depicted riding in his chariot
drawn by seven horses, with the horse in the centre placed within the
single wheel. The figure of the chariot driver, Arupa, God of the Dawn,
is barely perceptible in front. The principal figure is much defeated,
but enough remains to show that the two hands, raised to the shoulders,
each carried a lotus on a stalk. The god has a high head-dress, surmounted
by a small round object (is this a tiny rudraśa?) long earlobes, and earrings
and a necklace. Over each shoulder are traces of a breastplate. Either
side is flanked by what appears to be a small hooded figure, which,
says Duraiselie, seems to be a female. The one on the right is carrying a
bow, and that on the left, a staff or arrow. It suggests that the two small
figures represent Rudra and Rudraśa. The legs of the main figure are hidden
from the knees down in the chariot. Depiction of the legs of Shiva
below the knees is forbidden in the Nataya-Parṇi, where it is stated
that the legs of the god were so long that Visvakarma could not see

\footnote{See above, pp.73-6 and pl.XV}
where they ended, and gave up making the first image at the knees.

The image itself conforms to the description in the same text, where it is directed that "the sun god should be placed on a car with one wheel and seven horses and he should have lotuses in his two hands. His lustré should be (purplish) like the inside of a lotus. The lotuses in his hands should rise over his shoulders. His body should be covered by armour or a breastplate, and he should be covered with two cloths. His feet should be invisible, being covered with ermine. He should have two attendants, viz: Danda, and Pīgala, with swords in their hands. The god Viśhṇu (Disposer, i.e. the god Brama) should be placed on one side with a pen in his hands."  

This form of Śāiśa image, with the Jaga hidden in the car, was, it appears, common in Eastern India, and especially Bengal, during the late Gupta period. The popularity of the sun-god cult, and its patronage by kings at this time, is attested by inscriptions, notably the Manasor stone inscription of the time of Ādityasena. The 6th century images almost identical to the Chinna-śaṅka-taṅka Śāiśa are known from Kāśipur (24 Parganas) and Deroā (Bogra District) in Bengal.

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Gupta sculptures from this area are comparatively rare, and these two would indicate that the sun cult was then at least as important as Buddhism and Vaishnavism. The Kēśipur Sārya had only three attendants, Arupa, and probably the arrow-shooting goddesses, while the Deoṛā Sārya is surrounded by Dāśī.

Pingsala, Arupa, Uḍā and Pratiyugā. However, the chariot in the Deoṛā image is represented in a manner identical to the Nokhunng example, with the central horse within the wheel, while the Kēśipur image has the wheel to one side. Both Bengal images have no backslab, but a large aureole behind the head, reaching below the shoulders. The sun-god cult therefore must have reached Arakan from Bengal. The Sārya image is stylistically comparable to the main Mahāmuni group. The figure fills only two-thirds of the height of the unornamented backslab, the elongated torso diminishes towards the small waist, and the flesh is firmly rounded. A date in the 6th century A.D. is therefore indicated.

Deoṛā (Plate LXXXIII,c)

Although Deoṛā was almost always considered as a dhīra-dūtī, a separate cult emerged in Pāla Bengal. Two images from Arakan are said to represent the goddess, neither, however, completely conforming to the known dhīra-bhūpanas. U. Co Tha Tha, however, says that the goddess Deoṛā is one of the Hindu Nats worshipped in Arakan, accompanied by two minor river deities, the Phyeirat Nat and Yarun Nat.

186 K.J. Bamerja, l.c., noted that the earliest Sārya image in South India can be placed only in the 7th century.
187 A.K. Malhotra "The River Goddess Deoṛā" Epigraphs Vol.6, 1921 pp.3-10
(1) Gañga *(Plate LXXXIIb)*
Mohuamung Museum, "from Wethali".
Sandstone (2) H.0.6 m.

The goddess stands erect on a plain rounded pedestal with an illegible inscription on the front; she is four-armed, the upper pair broken at the elbow, the lower hands resting on the heads of two chubby figures reaching to her knees, similar to the śatyāsurasāraṇas of the early Vārāhadeva images but without any distinguishing characteristics. She has her hair drawn back into a pointed chignon held by a wide decorated band, from which a long veil falls behind, long plain upper and lower bracelets and armlets, long earrings, a double-stranded necklace, an udarabanda, a wide belt decorated with a floral pattern, and a yajñotpūṣa (sic) over her left shoulder. Her lower garments comprise a longyi wound twice around the body and folded in front, and a scarf draped in front and hanging from either side. The drapery, although stiff, is not stylized; the head, 1/3th the height of the body and the arched seredon with a foliate pattern behind all connect this image with the Buddha and Viṣṇu images in the Mohuamung Museum. *(Plates LXVIII and LXXIVa).*

(2) Gañga from Yakha-taung *(Plate LXXXIIc)*
Stone, H. unrecorded.
ASR 1958-9; Arch Neg 8119 (1959-9)

An almost identical image, finely executed, but recently repaired; the two upper hands are raised in abhayamudrā but may be newly added; the main figure stands on a double-lotus pedestal, from under which a stalk rises from either side to support smaller but similar pedestals for the smaller figures, each of which has a round nāsabha behind, the inner arm raised and the inner leg slightly bent.
Pravala-stambhas (see also p. 316)

Two sculptures adopt an individual iconographic form derived from Gupta prototypes and connected with the Mon art of Dvaravati, but unparalleled elsewhere. Conceived in the round, they were originally placed on a column, suggesting that they may have been the focus of a circumambulation ritual.

(1) Image from Mindra-kyin (Plate LXXXIII)

Mrohaung Museum

Sandstone, extant H. 0.75m; broken below the waist of the central figure and badly damaged on the obverse.

Found at the village of Mindra-kyin, between Mrohaung and Lemyu, the sculpture is contained within an oval slab, broken below and carved on both sides. The obverse has a male figure standing in tumbaga pose; the right hand, raised to shoulder height carries a (slightly bent) oval object on a straight stalk, while the left curves downward to the thigh. There is evidence of a high headdress, and the usual royal ornaments and garments are worn: long earrings, necklace, upper and lower arm bands and wandawandi, a girdle with traces of a knot in front, and a scarf tied round the hips and looped at the right in characteristic Gupta fashion. Gupta influence is also seen in the rows of tight ringlets behind the headdress, the prominent trijumli marks around the neck, and in the soft modelling of the flesh. The figure is contained within a sixteen spoke wheel with a plain rim encompassing the entire back slab. The reverse has the other side of the wheel, rendered in identical fashion, but in place of the figure the hub has an oval beaded border, from within which a lotus rhiizome is seen to emerge, extruding to the top of the sculpture. The costume and quality of the carving may indicate a date in the 6th century.
286.

(2) Image from Shwe-daung-gyi (Plate LXXXIV)
Sandstone, H.0.6m.

Now with U San The Hla at Wetnai.
U San The Hla discovered this image at Shwe-daung-gyi in 1974 and has repaired and painted it before our visit in April 1975.
While most of the obverse is original, the upper part of the reverse has been carefully reconstructed and the figure itself has been crudely painted in black and yellow, partly obscuring some original detail. He stands in an awkward trishabaka pose, left hand on left hip, both feet pointing right; the right hand is raised to shoulder level, and carries a round object on a stalk, similar to that of the previous image. The body is short and chubby and the happy expression now overpainted in the round face gives it a very jolly expression. The hair is worn in the traditional Arakanese fashion, wound around the head in a series of diminishing coils; this may be the result of restoration, but a similar style is noticed in the Kyauktaw relief of Buddha preaching to a royal personage. Great pains have been taken to render the naked torso, the chest and stomach being carefully but crudely contoured. A short skirt falls from the hips to the knee, gathered and tied in front and draped to show the form of the legs beneath. The backskirt is again conceived as a wheel, with sixteen spokes contained within a plain border. Behind, a repeated abstract design rises from the base. The lower portion of the base itself is square in cross-section, with a rounded moulding in front, and a row of globules suggesting a stylized lotus throne behind. The transition to the upper base is achieved by a series of square mouldings which give rise to a platform, square in cross-section, with an abstract leaf-like shape rising from each corner. Between these
emerges the high cylindrical platform for the image in front, and the leaf design at the back. Too narrow to support the weight of the image proper, the shape of the base indicates that it was mounted on a pillar.

The posture of the figure, the wheel reredos and vegetation-ornamented reverse show a direct continuation of the iconography of the previous image. The treatment of the figure and the unusual base show that the sculptor had little or no contact with contemporary trends in Indian art, and the development of a purely local style is apparent. We may therefore place the image after the fall of Anandadahra to around the end of the 8th century and the establishment of the last dynasty at Vardila.

The stance of the figure stop the stambhas is that of a vakraparipada raising his hand to the clouds from which wealth (often in the form of a shower of gold coins, but originally water to ensure plentiful crops) was thought to fall. He is depicted thus in early Andhra riler sculptures and later on Gupta Swaya-stambhas of the 4th and 5th centuries, where adorns/ed figures with a surmounting cakra were placed on a square base upon a pillar.


188 The identity of these figures is still a matter of conjecture. Considering the present evidence they must be closely connected with the concept of the vakraparipada, cf. C.T. Karle, Gupta Sculpture (Oxford 1974) pp. 38, 40 and pls. 21 & 24; Stella Kramrisch Indian Sculpture, pl. 45; F.K. Arielawa "A note on the so-called Surya statue from Pavagadh" Bull. of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology No. 11 (1968); Joanna Williams "The Sculpture of Mandava" Archives of Asian Art XXXI (1970-71), p. 52.
The object held in the hand by both figures in the Arakan sculptures can be tentatively identified as Indra's vāyuṇa. An identical form is carried by Indra in Ajanta cave painting.189

The figures, therefore, very probably represent Indra, with whom the king was closely identified as okkāmnūṣa.

The combination of the anthropomorphic symbol of the divine king with the burgeoning lotus, symbol of water, contained within the solar wheel of the okkāmnūṣa, and a square base mounted on a column, represents, like the so-called Aśokan pillars, the Indo-Aryan concept of the cyclic course of universal life, and ultimately derives from Vedic literature. After Indra had slain the demon Vṛtra, thus releasing the waters, he separated heaven and earth by creating the great Stay, or pillar, creating space, and the sun arose for the first time, creating Time. Indra thus became the divine king, setting in motion the cosmic cycle which made order out of Chaos.

Creation was thus seen as a daily occurrence, for, as the sun's path was prepared by the cosmic Stay, or pillar separating heaven and earth, it was exactly at midday that the sun united with the summit of the pillar. It was at this moment that the sun, through the pillar, interacted with the waters to produce life on earth. By the same logic, every earthly king ruled by divine right of Indra, who was the supreme source of Dharma, the eternal cosmic law.190

189 M.R. Gupta and P.D. Mahajani, Ajanta Pillars and Aurangabad Caves (Bombay 1966) pl.11, Ajanta Cave No.17 "Indra flying down to earth to put Vishvantara to the test".

The creation cycle is central to the Rājasūya, the royal coronation ceremony. To fulfill his duty and to ensure rain, fertility and abundance in his kingdom, it was incumbent on the ruler to ritually reenact Indra's archetypal act of slaying the demon and erecting the cosmic pillar.

The basic symbolism of the great Stāya is encountered in many pillars, free-standing and in relief, throughout the history of Indian art. Irwin has shown how the "Āfokan" pillars, chosen by the emperor to propagate his own dharmas, illustrate the function of the Cakravartin king. Hence, in the Carnatic pillar, the surrounding rayed dharma represents the sun alighting on the Stāya, and the wheel of the Cakravartin king himself. The four lions, royal animals par excellence, are placed facing the four directions, the four cardinal points created when the great Stāya separated heaven and earth. Similarly, the lotus capital recalls the waters with which the sun must react. The aspirations of the imperial Guptas led to the reuse of "Āfokan" pillars and the creation of a new but archaistic type. The Kran Bhahagupta pillar, for instance, retains the rayed dharma above and the lotus capital, but introduces a pair of adorers anthropomorphic caubhara figures below the wheel, the motif borrowed from Andhra sculpture. Below the figures is a square platform, embossed at each corner with adorers lions facing the four quarters. The pillar's inscription records that this is a grāha-stambha or the god Viṣṇu indicating the incorporation of ancient elements by the more recent cult. The adorers figures, do not, however, necessarily represent Viṣṇu. The banner or flag for which the pillar

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191 J.J. Heesterman, The Ancient Indian Royal Coronation (The Hague 1957)

192 J. Williams, "A Recent Āfokan Capital and Gupta attitudes towards the past" AA XXXV, 3 (1973), pp.205ff.
was erected was Indra’s banner, traditionally regarded as having been presented to the god by Vishnu, the lord of Śrī, and believed to be “a source of vigour, which drives away all evil poisons.” Its erection, in a royal ceremony, was thought to ensure that the population would be free from danger and have an abundance of food, when the rains fell at the proper time.

This then is the prototype for the Śvāśa-stambha at Vessali, with their cakravartin figures set within the wheel of the rayed sun. The square base of the Sarn pillar is found again in the later stambha capital from Shwe-dawng-gyi (the earlier base, unfortunately, is lost). The corners of this base are accentuated by a leaf motif, probably symbolizing fertility throughout the land ensured by the cakravartin king. But the original concept is more explicit than the Hindu Gupta Śvāśa-stambha. At Vessali, the up-kings stand triumphantly in the middle of the composition wielding his mace and calls on the clouds to bring forth rain; the sun at the zenith unites with water, symbolized by the lotus capital, to produce life, illustrated by the lotus rhizome or leaves emerging behind.

Ganda, Ancient Indian Kingship... XII, pp. 26-29
were part of a shrine complex. Hökên, ideals of Chaoavatinn

kingship as preserved in the Buddhist literature written soon

after his death, became the model for later Buddhist kingship

in India, Ceylon and Southeast Asia. Thus the statue of Indra

as king of the gods and the macrocosmic counterpart of the earthly

king was retained in Buddhist countries even though, in competition

with Viṣṇu and Śiva, his importance waned in India itself. In

some rural communities in India, however, the Indraśvājaka is

still erected at the time of the monsoons to ensure fertility

and water for the coming season. In the Buddhist countries of

Southeast Asia, Indra, King of the gods, is thought to descend
to earth once a year, and after proper ceremony cause the monsoon


raise to fall at the appropriate time. The Burmese Thadingyut festival was also the time of the washing of the king's head, which would appear to signify an annual repetition of the abhiseka ceremony of the royal consecration installing the king as Indra's representative on earth.

The *Samaratthakamantakam*, a text which, we have seen, was followed by the ancient Arakanese kings in erecting royal shrines, states that theTurner of the Wheel of the Supreme Law (i.e., the Okravartin) is entitled to raise the great banner of the Law, and causes the supreme great rain of the Law to fall. This then is the significance of the Arakan dhavajastambha, and will be discussed in the context of the Okravartin abhiseka ritual below.

117 Bernot, *Les paysans Arakawaux...*, pp. 134-7 gives a fairly complete bibliography on the subject. Dr. Loots has drawn my attention to the relief depicting Indra and his rain falling over the heavens (= hatan frieze) and the earth to mark the end of the dry season on the main wall of the north facade of the north library at Bagan: Srei, *Angkor* (76 A.D.), ed. J. de Corseilles, *L'Art Khmer, Les Gravures Impostes de son Evolution* (Paris 1911) pl. XVII.

118 cf. Swe Yoe, *The Burmese, His Life and Customs* (London 1910 ed.) pp. 55-56, and B. Thang, "Burmese Kingship in Theory and Practice during the Reign of Mindon", *JRES* XIII (1959) p. 172, where according to the *Myinmar Min Okshikpya Boke*, King Mindon was bathed daily rather than bathed, royal ablutions being reserved for occasions like the Thadingyut festival. The king's hair was always dressed by the chief queen, and after her death the king combed his own hair. The custom of the royal ablution was also incorporated into Buddhist ritual. On the first day of the Thadingyut festival, the holy images and monasteries are ceremonially washed, while the following days the elderly people observe the eight and ten precepts while the young throw water at each other. See B. Swe Yoe's note on Collin's trans. of a 13th century Arakanese poem, *JRES* XIII (1959) pp. 224-31. For the practice at Mawlamyine, see Forchhammer, *Arakan* p. 8.

119 VI, *Ramakian's trans. p. 16*
Miscellaneous Images

Broken slab with female figure (? Gafgal). Now in Nibua-taung near Mrohaung, recently brought from Wethali. (Plate LXXXVa)

Red sandstone, H. 0.75m, Base 0.5m, Depth 0.25m.

Face broken, hands and cūkara repaired.

Apparently originally from the right-hand portion of a larger sculpture, the lady, standing in an exaggerated trirāhāga pose, holds in her left hand a cūkara which passes behind the head while the right hand hangs down. She wears a high chignon, held with two bands, long earrings, upper arm bands and anklets; her skirt, once supported by an ornate belt, slings tightly to her legs and flares slightly above the ankles. A round plinster in the corner of her niche is identical to those found in Cave VI at Ajāṭṭha. 269

Female figure from Wuntitaung (Plate LXXXVIa)

Sandstone, H. 0.45m.

Mrohaung Museum.

Perhaps Forchhammer p. 38 "Appears to represent Buddha sitting cross-legged, right hand over left knee, left resting on lap."

ASW 1941, Pl.1 and p.12; Arch Reg 4352 (1940-41)

The upper layers of the stone have almost completely flaked away, leaving no fine details. The figure sits, right leg crossed over the left, left arm resting on the knee and right broken at the elbow, wearing a high, three-tiered āsāṃphāga and long earrings. Behind her head is a circular nimbus, backed by an aureole repeating its shape and continuing by the side of the body, in the manner of some of the Mahāmoni sculptures.

269 M. Vatassé, Rapports entre le premier art Khmer et l'art Indien (Paris 1970) pl. 32, 34, 144 and 155
Female figure (Plate LXXXVII)

Red sandstone; H.0.57m; in U Nan Tha Hla’s shop, from Wokhsaungyi
Standing on a plain pedestal and without an ornamented backlet,
the figure stands erect, feet pointing forward. The entire
sculpture has been recently painted, and the portion between the
neck and the feet entirely reconstructed in the form of an
Arakanese lady in formal attire. The arrangement of her jdpanodar,
however, is interesting in that it corresponds exactly with that
of the pre-Rama figure offered from 11th century dated in the
first half of the 7th century. At the base of the headress is a
three-pointed crown.

Male figure from Anhsung village (Plate LXXXVI)
ASR 1920-21, p.19

Now at Wokhsaung Museum

Dunlop describes the figure as “one of high personage, for the
elaborate make-up or crest is well-preserved; but the face is gone;
the left ear is ornamented with a very large earring. The left arm
is broken near the elbow; the dress falls in graceful folds along
the left side. The right arm is pretty well preserved, but for the
hand... brought onto the thigh and, spreading out, is placed onto
the private parts. This image does not seem to belong to the Hindu-
Buddhist pantheon... it recalls the few erotic sculptures which
were found at Wokhsaung.”

Now the image has been completely "restored" with a thick coat of
plaster, only enough of the original shape remaining to allow us
to identify it. Another sculpture in the same unusual position
is an 8th century Buddhist sita without from Bodhgaya.

201 A.R.I.B.T., pl. 83: q 1nd Pl. LXXXVI.
202 L.M. M.S.S.61 R.B.Junanil, Eastern Indian School of Medieval
Sculpture (Delhi 1933) pl.LXXXVIIIa.
Miscellaneous Antiquities and Minor Arts
Abbeykya plaque and illumination vessel (Pt. LXXXVII)

Mrohaung Namas, "From a ruined stūpa (?) at Wetball."

Steatite plaque, 0.17m x 0.17m x 0.12m in depth.

Round-based bronze vessel, three bands around neck, H.o.0.17m, with detachable lid, H.o.0.13m.

This square plaque has a round indentation, 0.055m. in diameter, in the centre, surrounded by two concentric bands enclosing 43 lotus petals. Another band encloses twelve auspicious symbols, namely a śrāvaka diagram, a pair of fishers, a vase of abundance, an umbrella, an elephant head, a bull, a dhanu-stambha, a conch shell, a goose, a pair of fly whisks, a peacock and a deer. The corners are filled with lotus buds and leaves, the whole being surrounded by a beaded border. A bronze pot with a separate lid, whose rounded base fits precisely into the indentation, was found together with the plaque.

One is immediately reminded of the bārāvati plaques described by Bower293, who suggested that the figures on the plaque represented the royal regalia, the plaque as a whole being a maghaṅga representing the king as the centre of the universe. He also implied that the motifs on the bārāvati medallions were connected with this symbolism. In Arakan, too, certain of the plaque symbols are to be found on the early coins, and also on coins from other parts of Burma and Thailand. Although the Arakan and bārāvati plaques have at least eleven common symbols, their composition is somewhat different. The Thai examples are both square and rectangular, attempting a symmetrical design on either side, whilst in the bārāvati plaque the design radiates from the lotus, a common feature.

293 "The King of Sīrī bārāvati and his regalia" JSS Vol.1, pt.1, pp. 99-110
in Indian art.

While van Lohuizen-de Leeuw identified the Devaraja plaques as "toilet trays", I would suggest that their function was connected with court ritual, possibly with the abhīgeka ceremony of the coronation itself. The indentations in the centre are too shallow to hold powder effectively, and the material used is usually too porous to hold oil. However, they could well have supported round-based vessels of the type illustrated, and as such, have been used for ritual suspension.

It will be shown that the symbolism and function of the plaques and bronze vessel are directly connected with the askravartin concept and its dual orientation—mundane and supra-mundane. The king, seen as a god on earth, was given divine attributes and functions through his abhīgeka ceremonies and his regalia. After these ceremonies, the askravartin, or "world ruler" was believed to be the centre not only of the kingdom, but also of the universe, his regalia reinforcing the function of protector of the people and guarantor of their prosperity, enabling him to harness the forces of nature for their benefit. From the evidence we have, we may regard the nature of the abhīgeka ceremonies in ancient Arakan as lying...

204 Ibid., p.114

205 The Wathali plaque is made from a porous white sandstone, known in Burmese as sandaga, usually translated as dolomite, but probably steatite; the Devaraja plaques are made from dark-green clayey sandstone and clay.

206 The nature and evolution of the askravartin concept is well-known, see inter alia, J. Auboyer, La throna et son symbole dans l'Inde gujarate (Paris 1949); G. Cordés, La cité de royauté d'Inde (Serie Orientale 10a, V, 1952); J. Charny, "Ancient Indian Kingship from the Religious Point of View" Revue III & IV (1956-7); R. Heine-Geldern, Conceptions of State and Kingship in Southeast Asia (Ithaca 1956); J. Mair, L'Inde vue de l'Est; cultures Indiennes et Indigènes au Champ (Paris 1994) S. Paruiyans, op cit.
somewhere between the Brahmanic aхаaища of the мaлшaицa ritual, and the पमaоища of Нaявaишa Бuddhism. The earliest description of an Arakanese coronation ceremony, that of Datharaja (A.D. 1153-1169), shows that the injections of the शaतपaणa घaकaпa were only changed with regard to the interventions of the Arakanese Buddhist society from the Hindu class system. The traditional series of ritual aspersions continued to play an important part. The west face of the Shitt haung pillar inscription (V,7) recounts that at least by the late 7th century the king was considered to be a Bodhisatva. Paul Wul has admirably shown how Brahmanical ritual was absorbed into legends of the life of the Buddha as he came to be seen as a शaकaпaпaицa. Buddhist kingship in Southeast and East Asia, inheriting both the Brahmanical and Brahmanically-derived traditions of royal ascension, evolved its own ritual. While texts dealing with this ritual do not seem to have survived, later esoteric texts dealing with शaकaпaпaицa and Bodhisatva consecration describe what can only be a direct development from this tradition. Von Keesenapp's comparative study of ritual devotions established a considerable correspondence between the Indian पmаоища, the Javanese consecration of शaकaпaпaицa and the शaтивaища of East Asia undergone by Khubilai Khan. The common feature of these is a नaищa arrangement of symbols, either two or three dimensional, arranged around a product figure, i.e. a figure produced by the union of the properties of the symbols. The product figure is often a massa

207 cf. Tor. 1,1,3-5,3 and Sub. Saha B.C. "The Coronation of King Datharaja" JOREL (1923) pp.181-84. This episode is apparently recounted from a late chronicle, and the dates of Datharaja can only be regarded as approximate.
210 "Ein Initiationss-Ritus in buddhistischen Java" OZL 1936, pp.483-89, 1938 pp.201-43; "Buddhistische Mystizismen; die geheimen Lehren mitthen des Planimb-huamog" (Stuttgart 1943)
filled with water then used for the abhipaeka.211

The number of symbols is also significant in this context. In ancient India, the number twelve was considered to be a symbol of the reestablishment of the king's Dharma and his capacity to bring rain to his land.212

By analogy we should regard the qualities symbolized by the twelve figures on the vaishali plaque as being incorporated into the waters contained in the central kumbha during the consecration ceremony. When the king was anointed with these waters, we may assume that he was believed to have acquired the qualities inherent in the symbols to ensure his attainment of Dharma necessary for the well-being of his country. The symbols then must be regarded in the context of the king as a Bodhisattva, a sakayajna, and mediator between heaven and earth. All belong to the repertoire of auspicious signs and objects associated with divinity, but their significance differs with the context. A digression on the individual significance of each is necessary to appreciate their function in the ancient Arakanese consecration.

Kira Kaliha

The significance of the pahya-kalaha (kumbha, ghaṭa) in Southeast Asian art is quite familiar.213 To quote Comarasso, "the vase of

211 Pott, op cit pp. 61, 65, 69, 73
plenty...is clearly a life symbol, and the formal offering of such a vase can only be the expression of the wish that the recipient, or in general those present, may enjoy health, wealth and long life. The representation in art implies that similarly a desired instigation by suggestion of all the vegetative energies involved in the current conceptions of well-being; as a symbol it clearly belongs to the order of ideas characteristic of the ancient life cults of fertility and fruitfulness. 214 Garlands spill from either side, and a rounded object rises from within, reflecting the idea that wish-granting trees (kalpatarugas) grow out of the kalaśa placed on the pedestal in the akṣapātanī abhijñāka festival 215; the king, when anointed with the waters from the kalaśa, would have the power to grant the wishes of the people (for fertility, prosperity etc). The kalaśa on the plaque repeats the shape of the illustration vessel found together with it, round-based and with three bands 216 around the neck, which vises at the mouth.

Chakra

The umbrella as a symbol of royal power is well-known from early an-Iconic Buddhist art onwards. On the plaque it has a thick handle tapering towards the lower end, and a small shade surmounted by a square knob, and is decorated with streamers flying from either side.

214 Coomaraswamy, op cit, p.66-68
216 Serving the purpose of a magical fence, Coomaraswamy, op cit, p.68
Penzer regards the umbrella as symbolising the firmament, through its shape, and referred to Marga’s policy of bringing all India under his umbrella. In Kālidāsa’s time, the umbrella was seen as the symbol of the regalia par excellence. No other white umbrella should be raised on the earth conquered by a cakravartin; defeated kings were deprived of their umbrellas; it appeared as an auspicious mark on the feet of a cakravartin. In Southeast Asia the umbrella was sometimes thought to be the seat of a protective genius who favoured the king with his advice and in critical moments intervened on behalf of the dynasty. In the royal regalia, it no doubt symbolized the royal dominion and the protective function of the king.

The elephant good restrains the animal synonymous with terrestrial kingship and power, the vehicle of Indra, associated with the coming of the rains. Here, it is decorated with streamers, like the aṭkāṣṭa carried in royal processions depicted in the reliefs on Angkor and Borobudur. The aṭkāṣṭa appears among the attributes of many later Hindu and Buddhist divinities, notably the aṭkāṣṭa Tārā from Central Java, one of the “commanding Tārās.” It is also one of the auspicious marks said to appear on the king’s hand in the Mahābhārata (V.124.13). The Deccani ruler Vīsuvardhana III (fl.719-95 A.D.) was described by the title Trikṣṇu-Rākṣṣaḍa “elephant god of the three worlds.”

218 Saksamati, IX. 15
219 Ibid IV. 85
220 Ibid IV. 86
221 Heine-Selmers, op cit p. 10
223 G. Yazdani, The Early History of the Deccan (Oxford 1960) 1.47a
The Bull

The humped bull, royal insignia of the Candra dynasty and depicted on the main series of coins, is represented on the plaque seated on a pedestal, indicating that he was worshipped in that position. That the symbol does not necessarily denote the Śatīvate predilections of the dynasty has been discussed above. The importance of the bull in royal ritual has its origins in the Vedic ṛṣajñya ceremonies, where the ṛṣajñya in the offering to Ṛṣiras, king of the gods, was a bull. The king was believed to symbolically absorb the rūṣum (members of the royal household and bearers of the royal treasures, of the apṣah-puṣturna of later Indian kingship) and their cosmomythological correspondents, the gods to whom the sacrifice is offered, thus becoming possessed of the vital force demanded by his function. The Arthāśāstra (1.19) recommended that the king was to circumambulate a cow, calf and bull daily. Among the eighty minor marks (smāryārāgas) which distinguish the Buddha as a sākṣatkarāṇa we find Dvaghadhikāntagathā "he has the heroic bearing of a bull". In old Siam, the king annually circumambulated a sacred bull nine times, in a ceremony known as Chuan Chak Bo Khon. We suggest that a similar ceremony, believed to enhance the charisma of the king, was performed in ancient Arakan.

224 J.C. Bezemer, op cit, pp.49-53 and chart.
225 cf. Kayāmaḷikya Āpti I, 396rc. According to the Māyāvamśa, circumambulation of a cow and calf was believed to strengthen the invincibility of a king. The cow and calf motif is the symbol on the reverse of the Āptiśravita medallion illustrated but not identified by Boles (op cit). The belief may also have its origin in the ṛṣajñya ritual, where in the mātyavāḍhikāntagatya concerned with the safeguarding of the royal emprise in the work, the ṛṣajñya is a white cow reading a calf. (Bezemer, op cit pp.58-62)
227 H.Guaritch Yule, Siamese State Ceremonies (London 1931) p.295
Dhvaja-stambha

This symbol is depicted as a pole or pillar, on a round base, decorated around the circumference above the centre of the shaft, widening towards the square capital from which banners fall to either side. The shaft is crowned by a hollow, rounded construction. The pillar represents a dhvaja-stambha of the kind found at Mindrabyin and Wethali, erected by the askravartin to ensure the coming of the monsoons and thereby guarantee the fertility and prosperity of the country.

The Mahāvamsa (XI. 30-31) mentions a banner (kamānāka) among the list of auspicious objects sent by Aśoka to Devanāpiya Tissa on the occasion of his second abhiṣekha. The first in Ceylon in which the northern Indian form of a Buddhist askravartin consecration was performed. The Mahāvihāra (v. 124.13) and the Raghunātha (IV. 68) list banners among auspicious marks on a king's hands and feet.

228 E.M. Johnston, "Notes on some Pali words" JRAI 1931, pp. 589-90.
The conch shell is prized for its shape, particularly when the central crevice is turned to the right; it was among the gifts sent by Ashoka to Devanampiyatissa on the occasion of his parinibbāna. In the Vīpaṁkhamottama (III. 52) Varuṇa's conch is said to represent riches. The conch became associated with Kuvera, giver of riches and granter of wishes. In Southeast Asia, it was used in ritual as a trumpet, or as a vessel for sweet water. The winged conch or the Vesālī plaque is rare, but first appears at the Jain temple at Mathura, where it exudes coins or pearls, suggesting wealth from water. In Java, it becomes more intimately associated with the king. A winged Śat+kha standard carried in royal processions is depicted on the Borobudur reliefs, and the portrait statue of King Anuranana as Vīra holds a winged conch. The couch exuding vegetation was depicted on the older coins of Arakan, dating around the middle of the 5th century, and on contemporary and later coins from the Mon and Pinya kingdoms. The Saṃyutta-kiṃottama states that the caṅgamaṁva is entitled to blow the Supreme Conch of the Law, immediately before the passage concerning the raising of the banner of the Law, quoted above.

Nāga

The wild goose (geese Indicus), a water bird traditionally supposed to feed on lotuses, is associated with the monsoon rains, which its flight north to the Himalayas heralds, and is intimately

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230 Mahāvaṃsa XI. 27-36. Apparently traditionally the first consecration of a Buddhist king in Ceylon according to the Northern Indian caṅganamva ritual, as the list of gifts corresponds approximately with the articles required for the rājaśāhya according to the Sotapatha Buddhaya.
associated with Indra. In the later Sapphides and in Tibetan ritual, it is seen as नर्तकः, the soul or the spirit, typified by the pure white colour of the goose, and migratory like a goose.

Redland saw the hооse in the early megaliths of Ceylon as representing the 5th direction, the earth-heaven axis. The hооse is usually represented carrying flowers or jewels in his beak, which may be connected with the idea that offerings to the king and deceased progenitors were eaten by birds and thus taken to heaven.

In the Re Mahānāma state ritual of the Siamese kings, the hооse is seen as a vehicle between earth and Mt. Kailāśa, the abode of the gods. In the context of the plaza, the hооse should therefore represent communication between earth and heaven, the main function of the king. Indeed in the Rājagṛhārāma (XVII, 78) the king himself is described as the 5th direction.

The Pair of Fly Whisks

The fly whisks carried by king's attendants were placed around cult icons as early as the 5th century B.C. By the time of Kailāśa, a pair of fly whisks (कामक्ष) was together with the umbrella, the most important part of the regalia, from which the king could not be separated. The Mahābhārata (XVII. 46-47) explicitly states that "all kings, beginning from the Chauhanā, without exception should especially possess the two fly whisks and the white umbrella".

211 Dr. J.M. Rogers "The Goose in Indian Art and Literature" Indian Art and Letters Vol. 27 (1953) pp. 17-31
232 cf. F. Maas, "Barabudur" BERDO XXXIV 1935, P. 207
234 Goddess op cit p. 47
235 H.C. Guernic Melas, op cit p. 254
236 Aspélund, J. G. H., "Beginning of the Superstructure of Indian Temples" Studies in Indian Architecture, p. 81
237 Rājagṛhārāma III. 16, XIV.11
The Peacock and the Deer

The juxtaposition of these two unusual symbols would indicate that they may be interpreted together. I would suggest that they represent sun and moon, and emphasize the cosmological implications of the king's charma. Manu (VII, 497) states that the king was created from the essential particles of the eight great deus (who in later literature, become the guardians of the eight points of the universe), hence, he is the sun and the moon, fire and wind, Yama and Kuber, Varuna and Indra. Apart from the devatā, cosmological symbols do not appear early in art forms connected with the okāvatōn concept, such as the Budhapaśā and Jain Kṛtapuruṣa, nor are they specifically obvious in the Devāvatī plaque. The earliest literary evidence may be in the Jain Kalpaśāstra (II, 4) where queen Devāvatā dreams of the sun, moon and other auspicious objects before giving birth to a okāvatōn king. In Buddhist literature, the sun and moon first appear as marks on the feet of Buddha as okāvatōn in the Mahāpiṭaka sutta. The Bhavapīṭhasattva sutra specifically states that with the establishment of a Buddhist okāvatōn king

238 Bonda, op. cit. VI, 60-61 expands on this.

239 The peacock fans on the Devavatī plaque may have had some solar connotations, or the pair of royal chariots may, like the 19th century Burmese regalia, have also represented the sun and moon. Cf. R.C. Temple, "Notes on a Collection of Regalia of the Kings of Burma in the Aungmya Aungmya," The Indian Antiquary Vol. XXVI (Nov 1920) pp. 486-488, where a pair of white umbrellas on the right and left of the throne were named after the sun and moon.

240 W. H. Brown, Miniature Paintings of the Jain Kalpaśāstra (Washington 1934)

"the seasons, months, half-months and years will all be associated with the proper time. Day and night, planets, asterisms, moon and sun, will all move properly. In due time, showers of rain will fall on the earth."242

The Teštil plaque is one of the earliest examples of the peacock as a sun symbol. In India, it has always been seen as a royal bird, and has been considered to be the emblem of the Maurya dynasty. Following the Ceylon Chronicles, the Burmese and Arakanese histories have given the Mauryas a solar origin, from which they trace their own royal lineage. The peacock became the emblem of the Burmese kings in the Konbaung dynasty.

Maṇḍākini, "deer-marked" is one of the names for the moon in Sanskrit literature. In East Bengal, the Karadi of King Bhavadeva of 7th century Southeast Bengal was Śrī Abhikṣaṇaṇaśākha "new moon".243 Following Ceylonian and Gupta precedents, the Pyu and Arakanese kings included sun and moon symbols on their coins, associated with the Śrīpāta, sun symbols in a manner suggesting the king's link with the water (and wealth) producing heavens.

Śrīpāta

The development of the Śrīpāta motif and its significance on Southeast Asian coins has been described above. On the plaque, it is placed on a double lotus base, its outline reminiscent of the later Pyu coins, but with no enclosure in the square interior. A later development of this form is found on the Bhumipāda at Pagan.244 During the royal Abhiṣeka the goddess Śrī was considered to enter the king

242 Consumer's trans. pp.28 and 50 et al. my italics
243 D.C.Sircar "Asiatic Soc Plate of Bhavadeva" JASS, Letters, Vol. XVII (1951) pp.25-26, Abhikṣaṇa Maṇḍākini "Moon of Heaven" is also inscribed on an imitation Gupta coin of the 7th-6th centuries found at Mainamati (V. A. Khan, Mainamati, Karachi 1963) of pl. XXXV, figs. 31, 32
to ensure the fertility and wealth of the country, hence he is
deed, "possessed of Śrī". The Śrīvarāti plaque has, in place of
the Ārātāsā diagram, the anthropomorphic equivalent Śrī Lakaṃ,
being bathed with water by elephants.

The pair of fishes

The pair of fishes, mūru-pāla, obviously connected with the
fruitfulness of the waters, first appear on Buddhagāsas and Jānas
Ādhipatara among symbols associated with the Buddha and Mahāvyūha
as ekāyavāṇita. Fish are among the auspicious objects carried by
the Ādhipatta of the Amāra basement, in a procession modelled on
the abhīṣaka ceremony.

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245 Canda, op cit., pt.XIII, p.131; mahābhāgavata 1. 171.19, 21: Mahā-
vaṇḍa III, 36.

246 Although Śrī and Lakaṃ originally appear to have been independent
godsakes, they were truly merged by the Gupta period.

247 Although Ādhipata originally appear to have been independent

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E.g. the Buddhagāsas from Bodhagā, ASI I, pl.IV; the Ādhipatara
at the Jain stūpa at Mathura (since 1st-3rd centuries A.D.) see
V.A. Smith The Jain Stūpas and other antiquities at Mathura, ASI
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Imperial Series, Vol.IX, 1903.
Thus it is clear that the twelve symbols arranged around the central mound are intimately associated with the establishment of the royal Sharm, the king's given power to maintain the fertility and prosperity of his country. Although they are placed within a circle, the arrangement can be seen to be symmetrical, which may be significant, as the DVARVATI plaques also attempted a symmetrical design. Thus the Aus, representing the fifth direction and the king's earth-heaven link, is placed diagonally opposite the SŪPRA-KALASA, symbol of the products of that link. The pair of CĀMARAS, the king's immediate regalia, are opposite the white umbrella, the regalia item representing his entire domain. The okkāda and the bull, denoting the power of the authority of the king to regulate the country, are in contraposition to the symbols of the sun and moon, the regulators of the heavens.

The ĀIRTHA, emblem of the goddess of the earth embodied in the king, is opposite the DHARMAPRAMĀKH, which denotes the king's relationship with Indra and the heavens, and the pair of fishs, the earthly water symbol, is opposite the winged couch, the water symbol of a triumphant INVINCIBILITY. It could therefore be inferred that the arrangement suggests the turning of the Wheel of the Law which regulates the forces of heaven and earth to ensure prosperity. The country, moreover, was seen as a microcosm of the universe whose maintenance was likewise ensured by the Bhūyas of Indra. The centre of the plaque, the circular indentation on which the Kuvera filled with nectar was placed, can be seen to represent Mr. Meru, the axis of the world and the mythical abode of Indra, with whom the king was identified and whose functions he duplicated after the ABHISHEKA ceremony. The 10 petals

308 (continued)

decoration also carry ĀSAVATAM, ABHASA, ĀDHANA, MAHA, HANESA, KALASA of various sorts, SUHANNA, etc. as illustrated on the VEDALI ABHISHEKA plaque, symbols appropriate for offering either to a god or a god-king.
of the lotus flower around the circular indentation correspond to
the 13 triangles around the circular 'wheel' of the Nara emblem,
two-dimensionally constructed cosmic images still worshipped
throughout India. The outer circle enclosing the twelve symbols
represents the circular universe which Indra maintained throughout
his dharma, the dharma which was invested in the Arakanese
minister the king through the power of the twelve symbols absorbed
in the lustration waters.

In Hindu-Buddhist cosmology, the whole circular universe was
thought to be surrounded by an enormous rock-wall represented on
the plaque by the right-angled square headed border, enclosing an
ocean with four insular continents, each set in cardinal directions,
here symbolized by the lotuses set in each of the four corners.
The fifth direction, the earth-heaven axis, was of course, the king.

Returnimg to the Dwārakā plaque, we find that the same
symbolism, though depicted in a greater fashion, is quite apparent.
Boeles' supposition that the repetition symbols represented the
emperors cannot be justiciable.

249 A full discussion of these is found in Gopinatha-Rao, op cit
250 Sayadaw Ma U Sumdila Atoktha (Mandalay, n.d.) p.110, in Sarkisyan, op cit p.86
252 Such is the danger of using similar groups of symbols from
different contexts. Boeles' double interpretation of the central
lotus as a symbol 'wheel' and as Mt. Meru may be correct; his
identification of the remaining six symbols, viz. 4 elephants in
blue, 2 elephants in white, 2 elephants in blue, 2 elephants in
white, 2 elephants in white, etc. as 'household chieft' with the couch and
purāṇyadeva "general" with the abode is tenuous and leaves
him with five unexplained symbols.
Where the symbols differ they may still be explained in the context of the Sakramurti king as upholder of Dharma: the vamsas on the Dvaravati plaques thus represented the king's version of the vamsas of India, the tortoises are water symbols, and the rosaries and peacock fans are regalia. The prominence given to the kumbha suggests that it was likewise placed in the central hollow, and the anthropomorphic version of the abhigeka of Sri reinforces the idea that the plaques were used in the royal abhigeka rite. The fineness of detail on the Vasant plaque and the stricter attention to Indian models, both cosmological and graphic, suggests that it was made for the abhigeka ritual of one of the Chandra kings of Vasant and could therefore be dated in the ninth century. The Dvaravati plaque seems stylistically akin to images of the later 7th and early 8th centuries.253

Architect's Pluriset from Mathura (Plate LXVIIIa)
now at the Siam Monastery, Kyaiktio
H. 0.27m, Width 0.32m.
iron coated with bronze.

This object, found at the Mathura temple, is almost in all respects identical to the Gupta architect's pluriset now in the British Museum, found in the fama river in East Bengal and dated in the 6th century, described by Beekman as "having on the neck of the object... a plunger with a representation of a group of dancing figures reminiscent of the Ranganatian reliefs of the Ksham period at Mathura. The weight is framed in groups terminating in lotus buds which recall the pliable decorative plant form of ornamental Gupta sculpture in stone." The Mathura pluriset is broken in parts below the prongs. The group of

253 cf. e.g., Beekman, op cit pl. 56-58.
figures at the neck in the Rongai specimen is missing, although it may have been broken off, then repaired. The curved knobs are bipartite, the joint surmounted by a miniature stūpa or covered khākha. The knobs finish, similar, but more complex in outline, and in the "sprouting lotus rhizome" motif. The craftsmanship of the Mahānadi specimen is finer, with more attention paid to the minute naturalistic detail. The stūpas and absence of a "Bacchanalian relief" may indicate that it was used in Buddhist architecture. The two specimens are so similar that it is not inconceivable that they came from the same workshop.254.

**Bronze seal** (Plate LXXXVIII)

Mrohaung Museum, "Found at Akyab."

Diameter 0.12m.

This is a flat round object, surrounded by eleven hollow triangular projections. The lowest projection is squared to indicate the position of the nake when the seal is in use. Within appear to be the Pyu numerals for 50%. In reverse a ring is attached at the centre behind.

Although locally regarded as the seal of the ancient Arakanese kings, its function is uncertain. It may have been a merchant's seal for branding bales of cotton etc., or even slaves.

**Bronze bell** (Plate LXXXVII)

Monastery collection, Akyab, possibly brought from the Mrohaung district.

H. 0.13m, width at base, 0.14m.

The bell consists of three planes; two rounded half-oval shapes with a flat strip between, the shape reminiscent of Easton bells. On either side is a ring (for hanging round an animal's neck) such as


are found on bells at Chih-chai-shan. The lower portion is
decorated on both sides with adjoining rectangles, within which
are stalk-like shapes, bifurcating at the centre into two inward
curving whorls. This motif appears to be Dongsonian, but actually
only occurs at Chih-chai-shan, most frequently on the foreheads of
ceremonial oxen. The herring-bone hatching in relief is however,
the Dongsonian "bird pattern". This suggests the presence of an
early metal-using culture connected with Vietnam and North Vietnam;
the evidence at present is too scarce to allow further conjecture.

**Bronze lamps with bird motif**

Three hanging lamps said to have come from Vietnam are distinguished
by the use of a bird motif found not only on Indian temple lamps but
also on ex-voto from Vietnam. The bird motif may have some
connection with the kusaka as messenger between heaven and earth,
as appropriate symbol for a temple lamp.

*Lamp with bird and perforated base* (Plate XVIa)

Bronze, Hoang Ha Museum

N.O.11m

A bird in flight, now headless, at the apex of this lamp was
suspended by a hook over its back, and connected to the centre of
the oil-bowl by a pole. There are nine of the usual wick projections

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256 芽-栓 Ch'ing King Chih-chai-shan Ou-wo-willik Chih-chai-shan Pan-kao (Peking 1930) Vol.II, pl.1, 91, fig.3.

257 Ibid., pl.37 and 58-9; however a similar double-spiral motif appears on the bronze bell of Hnh-son and on some ornamental
plaques of the Dongsonian culture. See Études et Travaux, p.76
and pl.III, 2; also pp.135-6, 160

258 cf Cama, Arts and Craftsmen, p.141 and fig.104;

B. Bunsenberger and R.H. Binks, The Everyday Art of India (M.I, 1958)
p.72 Nguyen Pham Long, op. cit. figs. 228-229 (bronze birds) and 234
*"Lamp with birds"* Art and Ethnography, 1st-2nd centuries

Extensive birds are also found at each corner of the lid of the
bronze casket or incense burner from the Vienne Sambas find, and
surmounting a plaited terracotta incense burner from Ring-nam,
described by Tu Yuich Seang and R.H. Binks, in the Journal of the
Melaka Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol.XXXII, pt.IV (1952)
pp.19-32 and pl.4.
and the base is perforated in a manner resembling eight-legged amebas within squares. A similar casting technique is found in Tien bronze, and also in the Buddhist incense burner. 299.

**Hanging lamp surrounded by birds in flight** (Plate LXXIX)

Bronze, U On Tha Thon’s collection, found at Wathall.

This lamp can be seen to be a most successful blending of the early Vietnamese and Gupta styles. Under the lamp is a cinquefoil handle, decorated at the upper and outer angles with arabesques reminiscent of those adorning the architect’s plume. Nine recumbent triangular projections for wicks issue from the circular all-bowl, each originally alternating with a bird in flight, with wings outstretched.

The base has a wide decorated band perforated with circles. A much ruder lamp, similar in design and conception, was found at look and Sin 296. The neck ornament recalls the early Buddhist design, although this may be purely coincidental.

**Four-pointed hanging lamp with one bird** (Plate XX)

Bronze, U On Tha Thon’s collection, found at Jocofly.

The cross-section of this lamp resembles a four-pointed star with a bird over one point, the back part of the vessel in the form of a loop for suspension. The object is ingeniously weighted, the four points, each of which would hold a wick, balancing the bird. The bird itself is hollow, with perforations along the back suggesting wings. Feathers, stylized in a sophisticated manner. The lamp appears to have been cast using the oil-pottery method, possibly in two sections. The design, but not the execution, is comparable to the South Indian hanging lamp illustrated by Bussenberger and Robins.

295. [Nal]-chhi-lem, Rep. 11, pld. 11, fig. 2; Yun Song bronze, Loc cit 296. [Nal]-chhi-lem, Phuu lang on cit fig 748.
Stone bowls and plates

A number of large bowls and plates of greenish-grey igneous (?) stone have been found at Wethall and are now in monastery collections at Akab and Kyakwa, notably in the Sima monastery. The plates are flat, the rim slightly raised, with no decoration save for an incised line around the rim. The bowls are flat-based and the sides are slightly higher. The bowls measure between 0.20 and 0.285m in diameter, and the plates between 1.325 and 0.325m. All have been finely ground on the upper surface in the manner of "metropolitan polish" still known in the Gupta period or polished stone tools of the Neolithic.

Traditionally the plates are said to have belonged to the kings of Yeégé. The sak (flat) are recorded as having made similar bowls (see above p. 13). We may also compare the cruder megalithic stone basins (almsbowls) found at Sikyatra.262

Aryan Influence in Southeast Bengal (Plates LXXVII and XCIII)

A few sculptures found in the Comilla district, now at the Mainwali Museum, do not conform to the usual Pala-derived style of the region, but have some affinities with the Aryan style of the late 7th and early 8th centuries.263 A large decorous grey sandstone image of a standing female, recovered from a tank in Tarīn village, Comilla district in 1957, has the elongated proportions, erect stance and lower

262 J. Williams, op cit p.225
263 Two basins on the S. side of Pukhanna moor, S of the walls of Sr. Kastra, ASI 1902-3, p.237, fig. 43; Arch Seis 753-7 (1902-10) 768A-5 (1907-8); four basins at Pukhanna Mihbaya Thingying, L. de Seyde, L'Archéologie Indiase au Burmese-orient, p.294, Found at Samra, p.87, ASI 1911-12 pp.174-25; ASG 1915-20, pp.17-14; Arch Seis 7591-2 (1907-8); fragment of a basin still in use Lātīn in pagon, (between Sikyatra and modern Porela) Arch Seis 679 (1909-10).

264 The sculptures were first described by H. Nazha, op cit pp.191-1.
garments associated with the southern-influenced Arakan school.

Two small flanking figures apparently hold the stems of lotuses which reach to the top of the slab; the ground is otherwise plain.

Sandstone images are very rare in Southeast Bengal, but are the norm for large-scale images in Arakan.

A number of large soft grey shale steles found in a box chamber in the foundation of the middle stūpa at Kutia Mara, stratigraphically assignable to the first phase of that monument, represent a development in Mahāyāna art only hinted at in Arakan at the beginning of the 8th century. The first represents in high relief the Buddha in Viśnuottara, dharma-kāra-rūpa, seated on a lotus supported by a stalk rising from a dharma-kāla at a square base, from which emerge makaras on either side, sprouting stems of four lotus flowers on which female deities including Trāṇa and Cunda are seated. Viṣṇa kings standing on each makara head appear to hold bifurcating stalks which support the lotus seats of the four male figures on the upperground. The second stele has a four-armed Nāhasattva seated on a similarly supported lotus, having a haloed dancing female instead of the dharma-kāra and Viṣṇa kings. Three female deities (Trāṇa?) on lotuses and a lay worshipper are depicted at the base of the slab, and the kayavātā-bhudda-rājas or are placed around the main figure, seated on lotuses emerging from the main stem, next to which are a seated Cunda and a standing (? ) Hayagrīva, on similar seats. A number of fragments of similar steles were also found at Kutia Mara.

The stemmed lotus seat with supports for secondary figures is found in Arakan, notably in the Gangā image from Yakkatungr. The elongated Viṣṇu figures have no parallels in northern Indian schools but bear a strong resemblance to the Cāṇakya-inspired devapādas of the Taśasura column. Although the compositions of the steles has no Arakanese prototype, there is no precedent in Bengal either, suggesting
an indigenous development in response to the religious demands, modelled on scroll or wall paintings. A similar development is noticed in the Mahayanaist paintings of Śrīketta\textsuperscript{264}. The Comilla district sculptures must belong to the early phase of the Barikela school, which, like the coins minted in the area, owed its initial inspiration to Vaiṣṇava.

\textit{A Further Note on the Dharma-stambha.}

Since this chapter went to the typist, I received two books which further elucidate the origin and function of the Dharma-stambha. The first, J.P. Vogel’s \textit{La Sculpture de Mathura} (Paris 1930) illustrates pl.XXIX,a,b, an “Image du dieu Indra avec des Bhasa” at Mathura Museum. The image depicts Indra, broken at the waist, standing in the “sankalpamudrā” attitude with the right arm raised to shoulder height and the left at the hip, holding an object now broken, but probably a vajra (cf. Vogel’s plate XXXVIIa). The god was apparently once surrounded by bhasas, only one of which survives intact, appropriate underworld counterparts of the rain god. The reverse has a tree hanging with jewels, the Mathura counterpart of the encircling jambhala nozume round in the Arakamese sculptures, the jewels depicting the wealth produced on earth when Indra causes the rain to fall. It was this type, rather than the Bhran pillar, which was introduced to Arakan.

The second book, M.R. Beagley’s \textit{Vigana’s Flying Wheel: the Iconography of the Sudarshana-Chakra} (New York 1971), incorrectly identifies the Pagan and Bhan stambha-stackae as Vigana’s wheel-purushas but illustrates (figs 1-2) a number of similar figures which could conceivably represent Indra. Note, too, that the 6th century copper-plate gran- ite Vigayamına, from MallaBorgan, west of Burman in Bangladesh (\textit{ftp} XXIII pp.195-61) has on its seal a two-armed deity with a wheel back-
ground.

\textsuperscript{264} \textit{Rong Thaw Historical Sites... pp.26-27}