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Claudine Bautze-Picron. The Murals of Temple 1077 in Pagan (Burma) and their innovative Features. 2010. hal-00638395

**HAL Id: hal-00638395**

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Submitted on 4 Nov 2011

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## THE MURALS OF TEMPLE 1077 IN PAGAN (BURMA) AND THEIR INNOVATIVE FEATURES\*

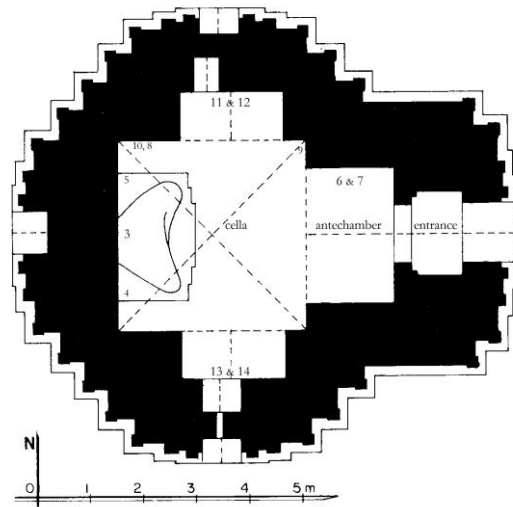
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### Introduction



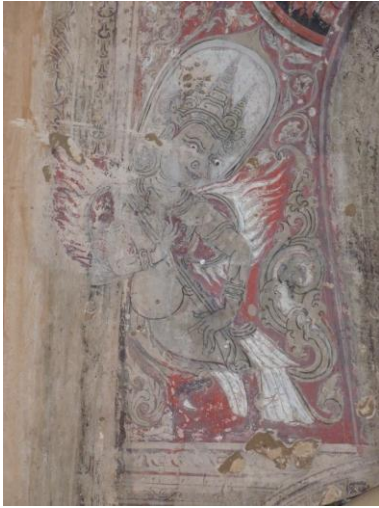
**Fig. 1**

Temple 1077 in Pagan belongs to the category of "small monuments" of the site and was probably erected towards the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century (Fig. 1). It stands between the Irrawady and the main road, south of Myinkaba and at the northern limit of Pagan Myo-thit.<sup>1</sup> Its ground plan opens towards the East and includes an entrance hall, an antechamber and a cella with two recesses or niches (Fig. 2). The cult image



**Fig. 2**

has been restored in the recent years (Fig. 3)<sup>2</sup> whereas murals once entirely covered the walls and the ceiling; today, the upper part of the walls and the ceiling have lost their ornamentation and the brick construction has become visible. Large parts of the murals in the antechamber have been similarly damaged (Fig. 6). What remains allows, however, observing that an elaborated iconographic program was here depicted.



**Fig. 4**



**Fig. 5**



**Fig. 3**

The eastern wall of the antechamber (i.e. the façade wall) has remained plain whereas two panels cover both side walls illustrating *jātakas* (Figs 6-7). The northern wall (facing thus South) includes 16 x 16 vignettes, thus amounting to 256 depictions (Fig. 6) whereas the southern wall includes 15 rows of 17 vignettes, i.e. 255 pictures. Paintings were apparently left here unfinished since the faces are only drawn without any further detail and since the tales have not been labelled although space has been reserved for that purpose at the bottom of all vignettes (Fig. 7). The footprints which used to be painted on the ceiling and were still seen and mentioned by PIERRE PICHARD in 1994 have now disappeared.<sup>3</sup>

Tiny images of the Buddha teaching, i.e. displaying the *dharmacakrapravartanamudrā*, covered all walls of the cella (Fig. 8) and most probably also the vault – taking into consideration the better preserved ornamentation which survived in other monuments. Only traces remain of the dummy pillars which used to be painted in the corners (Figs 9-10).<sup>4</sup> The cult image (Fig. 3) leans back on a painted throne adorned with a couple of *kinnaras* who stand on either side of the nimbus drawn under the foliage of the Bodhi tree (Figs 4-5).<sup>5</sup>



**Fig. 6**



**Fig. 7**

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**Fig. 9**



**Fig. 8**

**Fig. 10**



**Fig. 11**



**Fig. 12**



**Fig. 13**





**Fig. 14**

## The iconographic program of temple 1077 and other monuments of the site

New or modern as it may appear, the iconography illustrated on the walls of monument 1077 recalls topics depicted in other 'small' temples all distributed South or East of Old Pagan. The closest comparisons can be made with the Loka-hteik-pan constructed South of the old city, near to its walls, and with monument 1150 which is located North West of monument 1077 and shares with the Loka-hteik-pan (monument 1580) the fact of being open to the North, i.e. towards the city. Further, but secondarily, similarities will be here noted with temples 2103 & 2157, both located East of Pagan. Parts of the iconography illustrated in the Loka-hteik-pan, which is the oldest temple among those considered here, were thus variously integrated in a small number of temples of small size constructed in the course of the twelfth and the thirteenth century. Temple 1077 introduces, moreover, features which will find their way in thirteenth-century temples at Minnanthu (monuments 505 or 577 for instance).

The most interesting feature of the painted ornamentation, however, is the very particular iconographic program displayed in the niches of the northern and southern walls of the cella (Figs 11 & 13). It reproduces the program painted in the antechamber of monument 1150 where two panels face each other: there, the ascent of Mount Meru followed by the teaching at the top of the universe and the descent there from is depicted on the right when entering the monument and the Buddha flanked by two monks seated within a shrine and teaching to a group of eight deities symmetrically distributed around him is seen on the left.<sup>6</sup> The position of the two panels in relation to the cult image is the same in both monuments, i.e. the ascent/descent scene is at the proper left and the teaching scene at the proper right of the Buddha image.

In temple 1077, both murals of the north and south walls of the cella present the very same structure, i.e. a large scene occupies the centre of the composition and is framed by a series of superimposed square panels showing the Buddha at various moments of his life, a further horizontal panel occupying the upper part of the mural (Figs 12 & 14). These moments belong to two sets of moments, the 'eight great miracles' and the 'seven stations' or 'seven weeks' which share a common scene, i.e. the Awakening not included among the painted scenes but represented through the cult image of the temple (Fig. 3). In its broad lines, the ornamentation of temple 1077 is in fact related with the painted program of the Loka-hteik-pan, a temple which can be dated in the beginning of the twelfth century and which does not include the depiction of the 'seven stations' but includes a clear distribution of the 'eight great miracles' program on the main wall of the shrine behind the cult image. The composition of the Loka-hteik-pan mural is further inherited by two small twelfth-century temples (2103 & 2157) located between Old Pagan and Wetkyi-in<sup>7</sup> where a slight change has already been introduced with the depiction of four *caityas* in the mural of monument 2157 – a probable link to the two *caityas* worshipped in the world of the gods which are painted in the upper part of the eastern wall in the Loka-hteik-pan.<sup>8</sup>

This phase – to be dated in the first part of the twelfth century – was directly related to the iconographic tradition of Bihar and was followed by the attempt at integrating within a single harmonious program the two sets of moments mentioned above. Many monuments in Pagan or Sale reflect this attempt in having square panels distributed on the side walls of the cella whereas the main wall, behind the cult image, remains then only adorned with an

elaborate throne under the tree and the images of Moggalāna and Sāriputta.<sup>9</sup>

A further step in the evolution is illustrated in monument 1077: it does not separate the sets from each other but scenes from both series merge into one single coherent and

clear depiction of Sākyamuni's life. Although much remains to be done concerning a precise chronology of undated monuments at Pagan, we can suggest that this phase belongs to the late twelfth or the thirteenth century.



**Fig. 15**



**Fig. 16**



**Fig. 17**



**Fig. 18**

Four *caityas* are painted in the upper row of the side scenes of the cella (Figs 15-18) and four scenes from the 'great events cycle' are depicted at the very same level (North wall: Birth, Pārileyyaka forest [Fig. 12: scenes 3 & 8]; South wall: Nālāgiri, First sermon at Sarnath [Fig. 14: scenes 5 & 10]), preserving a pairing (Birth, Pārileyyaka forest) (Fig. 12: scenes 3 & 8)

that was initially observed in the Indian program which had been the prototype to the ornamentation in the Loka-hteik-pan and monuments 2103 and 2157. Another pairing relates the great miracles at Sāvatti to the descent from Mount Meru at Sankassa: it is indeed after the display of miracles that the Buddha decided to visit his mother and the gods on top of Mount

Meru. Both scenes are depicted one above the other (up: Sankassa, down: Sāvatti) in the above-mentioned monuments; in Loka-hteik-pan, moreover, the Buddha saying farewell to Pasenadi at Sāvatti is depicted in the lower right corner, right below the scene of the sermon on Mount Meru.<sup>10</sup>

Here, in monument 1077, the model created in the Loka-hteik-pan has thus been practically reproduced on the north wall (Fig. 12): the Great Miracle (scene 7) is followed by the period of teaching above Mount Meru (scene 2) and the descent at Sankassa (scene 1) which is the main scene of the wall. In continuation also with the program observed at the Loka-hteik-pan (or earlier in India), the Parinibbāna occupies the upper part of the southern wall (Fig. 14, scene 2), which was always its position when included within the single set of the ‘eight great events’. The Buddha’s followers extremely suffered from the absence of their Master when he sojourned on Mount Meru, a period which might thus also have been perceived as a preparation to the Parinibbāna. Both episodes mark indeed the absence of the Buddha from the human world; hence both episodes are depicted in the upper part of the walls, well above the human level (scene 2 in Figs 12 & 14).<sup>11</sup>

The remaining six panels illustrates the last six stations: two panels (scenes 4 & 9 in Fig. 12) on the northern wall most probably refer to the second and third weeks having followed the week spent in the shade of the Bodhi tree after the Awakening (first week here symbolized by the cult image); on the facing wall (Fig. 14), we recognize the fourth week spent meditating at the ‘House of Gems’ (scene 9), the Buddha protected by Mucilinda (sixth week)(scene 4) and the offering of honey by the two merchants Tapussa and Bhallika (seventh and last week)(scene 3). In this program, the fifth week during which Māra sent his daughters in order to seduce the Buddha has not been illustrated.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, the ‘War of Relics’ is depicted in a succinct manner:

two mounted elephants are profiled on either side of Doṇa shown legs standing apart and hands up, the most traditional attitude of this wise Brahmin who put an end to the dispute of the eight kings around the Buddha’s relics (scene 6).

As mentioned above, four *caityas* are depicted in the upper panels (Figs 15-18), all flanked by two profiled worshippers among whom one recognizes a pair of *nāgas*, which would a priori allow identifying here the monument standing at Rāmagrāma which stood under the custody of *nāgas* before its relics were transported to Sri Lanka (Figs 15 & 12: scene 5).<sup>13</sup> Two further *caityas* are probably the Dussa-thūpa and the Cūlāmaṇi, respectively worshipped by the Brahmās and the Devas; they hide the garments worn by the future Buddha when leaving the city of his forefathers and his hair cut at this occasion and are depicted in the upper right and left corners in the Loka-hteik-pan mural.<sup>14</sup> I would basically tend to recognize them in those which are here in the eastern upper corners, facing thus each other (Figs 16-17).<sup>15</sup>

The fourth unrecognized *caitya* faces then the Rāmagrāma monument, both in the western upper corners; it is worshipped by two fully dressed male characters of an enigmatic nature on which we shall return below (Figs 18 & 14: scene 8). It is however worth mentioning that such heavily dressed men are depicted on the north wall inside Nanda-ma-nya-hpaya (monument 577) in the depiction of the ‘war of relics’ (Fig. 32), a scene which faces the *nāgas* worshipping the *caitya* of Rāmagrāma seen on the south wall in the same temple (Fig. 33) above a probable depiction of Aśoka’s visit to the monument. In both monuments, two similar scenes are thus depicted facing each other, which lets surmise that the scene in monument 1077 (Fig. 14: scene 8) since also facing the Rāmagrāma *caitya* (Fig. 12: scene 5) might be in some way related to the ‘war of relics’ (also clearly illustrated here in Fig. 14, scene 6).

Concerning more particularly this scene (Fig. 14: scene 8), could it then be that it illustrates the worship of the secret underground *caitya* built by King Ajātaśatru and Mahākāśyapa? Let us shortly remind that Mahākāśyapa collected the Buddha's ashes from seven out of the eight original *caityas* – the only one preserving its relics being precisely the

monument erected at Rāmagrāma,<sup>16</sup> and that they were preserved in an 'underground chamber' said to be 'shrines for the eighty disciples'.<sup>17</sup> These two structures, the Rāmagrāma *stūpa* (Fig. 12: scene 5) and the monument erected by Ajātaśatru and Mahākāśyapa contain thus together all ashes of the Buddha's body.

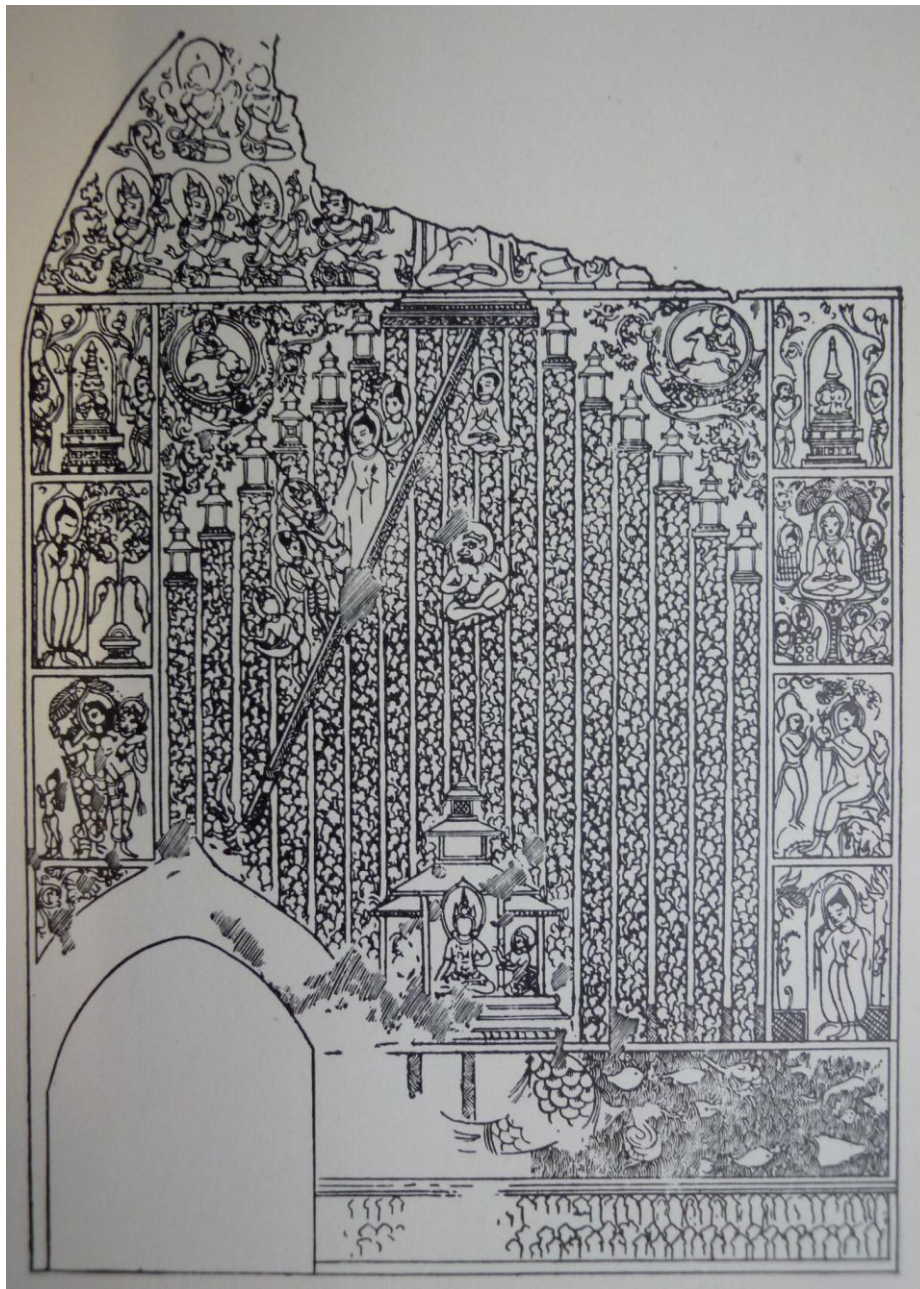


Fig. 19

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## North wall (Figs 11 & 12)

The Northern wall depicts the universe: the seven circular continents are depicted in cross section and decreasing height around Mount Meru. We observe, nonetheless, that eight such cross sections are depicted on either side of the vertical axis and that only six (i.e. twelve) support the shrine dedicated to the spirit of the continent. Indeed and as seen in the upper part of the mural, Mount Meru rests upon four such cross sections. A similar composition is

noted in monument 1150 where the Buddha teaching on Mount Meru sits on the wonderful stone Paṇḍukambala above such five 'pillars', the three central ones coinciding with the cosmic mountain, the two external ones belonging to the group of the seven continents.<sup>18</sup> Each of the six external cross sections supports the depiction of the shrine dedicated to the spirit of this continent.<sup>19</sup>



**Fig. 20**

Today the upper part of the wall has lost its ornamentation and only five gods worshipping the Buddha are still visible at our left (Fig. 20); they are seen in profile, kneel and venerate the Buddha with hands folded in front of them and holding flowers. Although the mural was already much erased when CHARLES DUROISELLE reproduced a drawing of it in the *Annual*

*Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for the Years 1935-1936* (Fig. 19), it was still possible to recognize that an image of the teaching seated Buddha was depicted right above the universe and that the left – and most probably also the right – group of listeners included six or seven characters.



**Fig. 21**

The lower part of this universe hides in the cosmic ocean Siddanta painted in the lower part of the mural where animals like snake or lobster swim (Figs 21 & 12: scene 1b). Although the left part of the mural has here disappeared and although the scene is interrupted by a deep niche, a tall fish swimming around the three central pillars is still visible; as such, it was observed in

the other depictions of Mount Meru in the paintings of Pagan<sup>20</sup> and can eventually reminds of the *nāga* king ruling on the cosmic waters and residing in its deepest darkness, both the fish like the *nāga* being water creatures.<sup>21</sup> Mountains are painted below the Siddanta, probably referring to the mythical range of mountains or *cakkavāla* which encircles the universe.



Fig. 22

The Buddha walks down the ladder accompanied by gods (Fig. 22): the divine musician Pañcaśikha opens the procession, walking down in front of Brahmā and Sakka, the first god being white-skinned and the second holding his conch or *śankha*. The Buddha and a further unidentified attendant, perhaps Mātali or Suyāma, follow them.<sup>22</sup>

Two characters are painted behind the group, seated and turned towards them; both are depicted as if hovering with the

cross-sections of the continents behind them. The monk is most probably Mahāmoggallāna seated in *padmāsana* and hands folded in a veneration gesture; the trustful disciple had paid a visit to the Buddha when the later resided on Mount Meru, enquiring at the request of the people about his return to earth.<sup>23</sup> As to the character seated under him, he appears at a first glance more enigmatic since this is apparently the only surviving of this image among the murals of Pagan. The slanting position of his seat made of or covered by

a tiger-skin is probably indicative of a movement; moreover, he is a demonic figure holding apparently a weapon in the left hand and a circular attribute in front of the breast with the right hand.

However, we read in the *Samyutta Nikāya* that both gods Suriya and Candimā when being abducted by Rāhu sought refuge next to the Buddha.<sup>24</sup> Further, the *Trai Phum* or “Three Worlds”, a cosmological text written in Sukhotai in AD 1345 includes a lengthy description of this event in chapter 4 which deals with the realm of the Asuras: “the *asura* king ... [who] is the most powerful, the strongest, and the bravest of all the kings of the *asura* ... larger than the devatā in the heavens ... [climbing up] to the top of Yugandhara mountain range”, where he waits for the Sun and the Moon who both search the Buddha’s protection. “... When the sun and the moon travel to where Rāhu awaits them, he sometimes opens his mouth and suddenly seizes them with his mouth. Sometimes Rāhu covers them with his fingers, and sometimes he keeps them under his chin or his armpit ...”<sup>25</sup>

This description lets suggest that the white disk held by the Asura in front of his breast might well be the moon or/and the sun. Moreover, the same text includes a description of the “sun, which dwells in a castle situation on a golden carriage that has golden accessories and is decorated with a gem called sapphire and emits a

thousand beautiful rays. The golden carriage is drawn through the air by one thousand horses...” and of “the lord who is the moon [who] dwells in a castle on a carriage made of the gem called *mañiratana*. This carriage is drawn by five hundred horses...”<sup>26</sup>

Turning to later Thai murals and manuscript illuminations, we encounter the same scene in the Berlin *Trai Phum*, dated AD 1776<sup>27</sup> or, for instance, in the Wat Ratchasittharam in Thonburi, a monument painted towards the end of the eighteenth or beginning of the nineteenth century,<sup>28</sup> or the Wat Thong Thammachat, a temple of the third reign.<sup>29</sup> In all examples, like in temple 1077, the attention of Rāhu is apparently turned towards the Moon-god.<sup>30</sup>

Returning to temple 1077 – and here also DUROISELLE’s drawing (Fig. 19) proves to be very precious since the roundel at our right is today partly faded (Fig. 24) –, we observe that if the Sun-god accordingly sits on a horse, the animal which traditionally draws his carriage in South Asian art since the very first depictions of the god, the Moon-god sits on an elephant, which reflects a tradition unknown in India. The moon- and sun-disks can be adorned with two kneeling figures like in *Loka-hteik-pan* or with the hare and the horse (?) like in monuments 798 (*Pya-tha-nge*) and 1150, or the hare and the peacock, a motif which is part of the Burmese tradition till the present day.<sup>31</sup>



Fig. 23



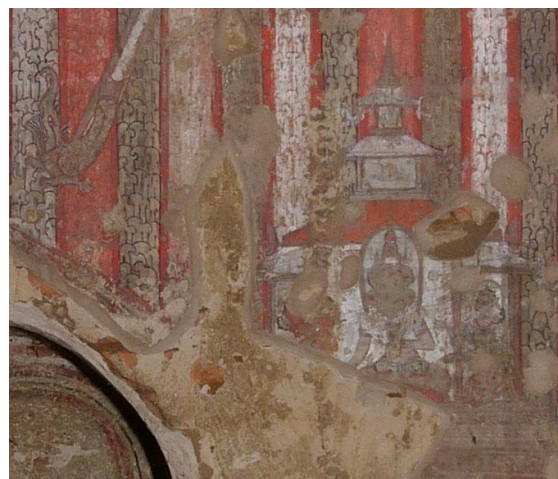
Fig. 24



The Sun-God sits on a horse (Fig. 24), the Moon-God, much better preserved, on an elephant (Fig. 23), which might possibly refer to the tale of the rabbits and elephants: in this tale, the moving reflect of the moon in the water convinces the elephant that he and his herd must abandon the shore of the lake where they have come to drink and where the rabbits are thus let in peace; the lunar disk is adorned with the image of the hare in monument 1150, referring to the story of Sakka having placed in this position the hare who had been willing to sacrifice his body for feeding Sakka (*Jātaka* 316).<sup>32</sup>

Another enigmatic scene is painted in the lower part of the universe, right above the fish hidden in the water (Fig. 25): a pavilion shelters a god-like male figure flanked by two attendants, one, female, still visible at his left and one, now much damaged but of apparently red skin (and probably also female) at his right. The central figure holds an attribute similar to the one presented by the demonic figure seen above him while perhaps displaying the gesture of generosity or *varadamudrā* with the open right hand. Again, looking at later Siamese painting, we might speculate that Yama is here depicted, as Lord of the Hells.<sup>35</sup> However, we should refer to other Pagan murals contemporary to those of temple 1077 and which also include such a depiction.<sup>36</sup>

Both medallions rest on the back of a large *makara* whose body follows a circular line in an elegant movement; foliated scrolls arise out of the open mouth of these fantastic creatures, a motif encountered in South Asian art since the very beginning. Very clearly also, the *makara* constitutes a chosen motif in temple 1077: it is also painted at the bottom of the ladder (Fig. 25)<sup>33</sup> and forms the legs of the bed on which the Buddha reclines at his Parinibbāna (Fig. 31) and it heralds the presence of dragons at the bottom of the ladders in later Thai painting.<sup>34</sup>



**Fig. 25**

In the depth of the cosmic ocean the endless fish (or snake) winds around Mount Meru. This motif is generalised in the two depictions of the universe encountered in Pagan, i.e. down below Mount Meru as here in temple 1077 (Fig. 21) or below the depiction of the future Buddha lying on the cosmic waters and dreaming.<sup>37</sup>

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## South wall (Figs 13 & 14)



**Fig. 26**

Whereas the mural on the South wall reminds in its structure of the similar painting on the eastern wall in the entrance hall of monument 1150, its central scene differs from it in two major aspects: first, the Buddha is here bejewelled and second, the eight divine characters listening to his preaching show very particular facial features and wear unusual garments and head-dresses (Figs 14: scene 1, & 26). Most striking indeed is the fact that these eight characters as well as those worshipping a *caitya* in the square panel in the upper right corner are heavily dressed (Figs 14: scene 8, & 18). Their body is

completely hidden by a thick cloth made of superimposed layers of changing colours; those layers can form broad curves which meet on the front or undulate all around the body. Those putting on the first type of dress wear their hair tight atop the head whereas those being dressed in the second fashion have all their hair standing on end. All have their mouth slightly open with teeth visible, all have also their eyes widely open.

This way of dressing is extremely rarely encountered: such characters appear wearing the first type of dress and having their tight atop the head in the Nanda-ma-

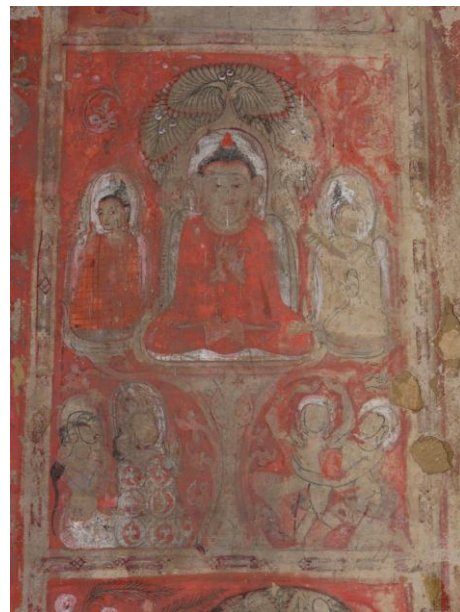
nya-hpaya (monument 577) and the Ka-tha-pa-hpaya West (monument 505) where the scene including two of them is a scene of worship of a *caitya* similar to the one depicted here in Fig. 18.<sup>38</sup> Three rows in the upper part of the north wall of the Nanda-ma-nya-hpaya (Fig. 33) show them in what is probably a depiction of the ‘war of relics’. Eight such standing figures converge in two groups in the lower row; another group where ten of them stand behind mounted horses is distributed in the row above on either side of Doṇa and six

other ones are depicted kneeling and probably worshipping relics in the upper row.<sup>39</sup> More often, mounted elephants are introduced in the so-called ‘war of relics’, like here in monument 1077 (Fig. 27). The presence of such characters in relation to this fundamental episode in the history of the Buddhist community, symbolizing the diffusion of the Buddhist thought in all directions of space, lets us surmise that they represent the rulers arguing about the possession of the relics.



**Fig. 27**

The depiction of rulers has adopted during a long period the very same prescript: they are bearded, wear long hair rolled at the nape of the neck, have the body, in some cases only the upper part,<sup>40</sup> covered by a dress. The textile is most generally adorned with roundels, squares, octagons, or trefoil-shaped motifs reminding of the ornamentation painted on the ceilings of the temples,<sup>41</sup> as for instance the image of King Pasenadi in the depiction of the Sāvatti Miracle (Fig. 28). Similar motifs adorn the skirt of women of high rank whereas the attendants wear a striped cloth,<sup>42</sup> or embellish the cushion put behind the Buddha.<sup>43</sup> The altogether different dresses worn by the Buddha’s devotees in monument 1077 – and in the



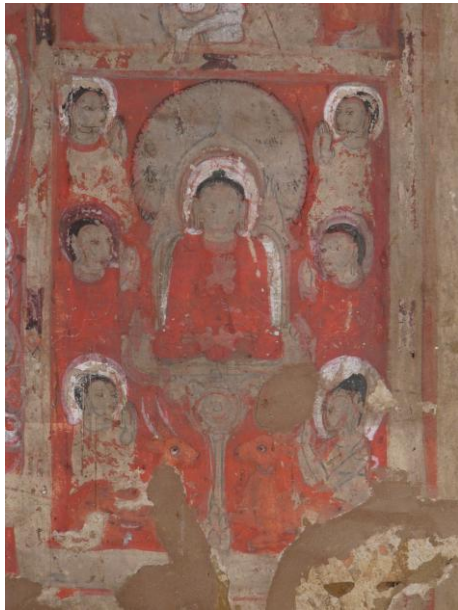
**Fig. 28**

Nanda-ma-nya-hpaya and monument 505 – together with their very peculiar ‘frightening’ facial features and hair-dresses here let surmise that these are eventually ‘foreigners’ who are depicted, people who were new in the plain of Pagan.

Painters might have attempted here a new visual interpretation of the ‘ruler’ motif; as mentioned above, the depiction of the ruler followed for a fairly long time the Indian rendering of the motif illustrated at its best in eleventh- and twelfth-centuries monuments like the Patho-hta-mya or Kubyauk-gyi in Myinkaba. The dress seen in monument 1077 announces the fashion known by much later eighteenth-century murals and nineteenth-century photo-

graphs, i.e. the body is fully dressed and the skirt opens on the front, letting free space for the feet to be seen. In both periods also, i.e. now in the thirteenth and then in the eighteenth centuries, the garment is adorned with broad horizontal bands of various colours and motifs.<sup>44</sup>

We can here exclude the identification of this scene (Figs 14, scene 1, & 26) with the Buddha depicted as a teacher to the sermon on Mount Meru, since the teaching at the centre of the universe has been depicted in the upper part of the north wall as mentioned above (Fig. 19). Moreover, gods listen to the Buddha at this occasion – and gods do not show facial features or hair-dresses as seen here. Besides, the Buddha is never depicted with ornaments



**Fig. 29**

A further peculiar feature is the presence in the upper part of this mural of two images of the teaching Buddha, clad as a monk, but without any *uṣṇīṣa*,<sup>45</sup> and seated on a cushion made of monstrous heads or animals. The multiplication of images as indicator of the Buddha's supremacy has always been referring to the 'Great Miracle' which took place at Sāvatti (Fig. 28), and, as mentioned below, it is also in the region that he showed himself as *cakravartin* to all kings. We cannot, therefore, exclude the possibility that this

in any of the known depictions of this scene in Pagan murals.

This panel does not illustrate a common teaching scene; the Buddha sits in a pavilion and is flanked by Moggalāna and Sāriputta – the only representation in the temple of this triad who is generalized in Pagan; he is bejewelled; he teaches neither to monks (compare with the monks painted in Figs 14, scene 10, & 29) nor to rulers who had very specific roles in his life (compare with King Pasenadi in scene 7 on the northern wall: Figs 12: scene 7 and 28); this teaching is moreover source of festivities with dance and music as seen in the lower part of the mural (Figs 14: scene 1b, & 30).



**Fig. 30**

way of depicting the universal presence and power of the Buddha has also been used for depicting another moment of his life where he was confronted with personages like Kapphina or Mahākappina (see below).

What can be, indeed, here surmised is that we have one of the very earliest – if not the earliest – representations of the so-called 'Jambupati Buddha', an expression which as such is wrong,<sup>46</sup> or at least of its prototype, i.e. the story of King Kapphina<sup>47</sup> narrated in *Avadānaśataka*, tale 88.

Kapphiṇa is there the prototype for the king Jambupati and the Buddha transforms himself in a king *cakravartin* in front of all rulers of the area of Śrāvastī, following which the King Kapphiṇa becomes the Buddha's devotee:

“Alors Bhagavat, s’attendant à la venue du messenger, transforma Jetavana en ville des dieux faite de quatre espèces de pierres précieuses et admirable à voir. Il y installa les quatre grands rois comme portiers, (y fit apparaître) des éléphants semblables à Airavata, des chevaux semblables à Bâlâhaka, des chars semblables à Nandighoṣa, des hommes semblables au Yaxa Vyâḍa ; enfin Bhagavat lui-même se transforma en roi Cakravartin ; et un trône [aux lions] d’or s’éleva à la hauteur de sept arbres tâla, sur lequel siégea Bhagavat.”<sup>48</sup>

And Kapphiṇa's own words are in the Pâli version:

“Je vis le Buddha assis, tel que le soleil levant, resplendissant comme un rocher d’or, éclatant comme un arbre divin, comme la lune accompagnée des étoiles, à la tête de ses auditeurs, et comme Vâsava brillant dans la séance des dieux.”<sup>49</sup>

A further tale related to king Mahākappina appears in the commentary to the *Dhammapada*, verse 79,<sup>50</sup> the king is there said to have belonged in an earlier life to a village of thousand weavers who once

offered shelter, food and dresses to thousand Pratyekabuddhas who were passing through their place.<sup>51</sup> As a consequence, the villagers were reborn in the world of the gods (Tāvatiṃsa) before living as landlords at the time of the Buddha Kassapa where again they donated dresses to the bhikkhus. After another passage through the divine world, they were reborn at the time of the historical Buddha with Mahākappina as their king; all of them became then disciples of the Buddha who recalled at that occasion the clearly fundamental offering of dresses made in their earlier lives.<sup>52</sup> In this narrative, however, the Buddha is and remains a monk.

Be that as it may, we can only offer here a tentative identification for this panel which seems to draw simultaneously elements from the Kapphiṇa and from the Mahākappina stories while making use of a pattern borrowed from the ‘great Miracle’ iconography. I would suggest here that the eight hearers to the bejewelled Buddha are possibly Mahākappina and his subjects who had donated in earlier lives dresses to Pratyekabuddhas or to monks at the time of Kassapa, and who were consequently rewarded by becoming gods – the heavy garment being a hint at their initial profession and this not excluding the possibility that the inspiration found its source in garments worn by newcomers in Pagan.

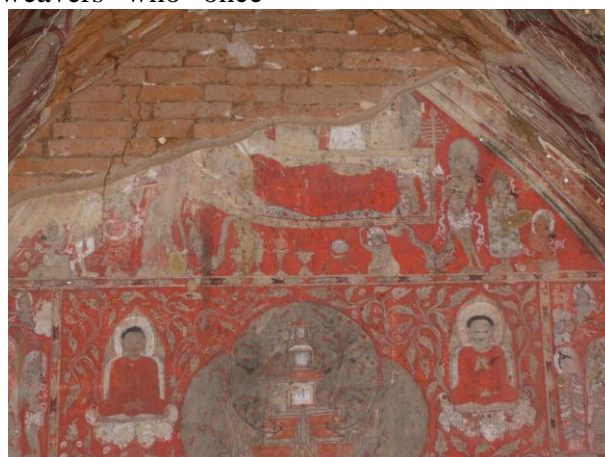


Fig. 31

## Conclusion

The murals of temple 1077 belong to the tradition introduced in the Loka-hteik-pan of depicting with grandness the period spent by the Buddha on Mount Meru during the rainy season and in introducing this scene in the sanctuary. As a matter of fact, the accent has been put on the depiction of the universe for the very first time in the Loka-hteik-pan, opening the way to a full range of such depictions found till the present day in Thailand. The tradition was pursued in monument 1150 where the Sermon to the gods (and the Buddha's mother) is located at the proper right of the cult image and faces a depiction of the Buddha as master of the universe, both panels covering the walls of

the antechamber. In temple 1077, the same overall composition is transposed in the sanctuary, but with significant signs of modernity. Indeed, new iconographic elements are here introduced which will find their way in Thailand at a later time, see for instance the *makara* at the bottom of the ladder, or Rāhu threatening sun and moon. Moreover, the sermon scene on the wall at the Buddha's proper right is utmost unusual in depicting the bejeweled Buddha as a teacher to a group of characters dressed in a very particular fashion – and we hypothesized here that the scene can be seen as referring to a story which was a prototype to the later 'Jambupati Buddha' story.



Fig. 32



Fig. 33

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\* I am thankful to EVA ALLINGER and to GEORG NOACK for having answered various questions, and to CRISTOPHE MUNIER for suggestions made concerning the manuscript of this paper. All photos are courtesy of JOACHIM K. BAUTZE, apart from figs 2 (after PICHARD 1994, p. 319) and 19 (after DUROISELLE 1938, pl. XXXI-d).

<sup>1</sup> PICHARD 1994, maps 1 and 2 at the end of the volume.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.*, fig. 1077f p. 320 for the state of conservation before restoration.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 320; also the tangent circle pattern mentioned by PICHARD has practically disappeared today.

<sup>4</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 2003, pp. 120-123. What is to be seen in monument 1077 can be compared to the same better preserved ornament in monument 1150 (*ibidem*, fig. 227).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127.

<sup>6</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 2008, figs 9-10.

<sup>7</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 2003a, figs 3-4 & p. 183.

<sup>8</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 2008, figs 4-5 & pp. 146-7.

<sup>9</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 2003a, figs 8-9 or 10-12 for instance.

<sup>10</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 2008, fig. 8 & p. 146.



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<sup>11</sup> See also STRONG 2001, p. 113.

<sup>12</sup> For such a depiction, see BAUTZE-PICRON 2003a, fig. 39. Concerning the seven weeks, see STRONG 2001, pp. 77-81 and the rich bibliography on pp. 163-4; for the depiction of the seven weeks in Pagan, consult BAUTZE-PICRON 2003a, pp. 39-44. The identification of scenes is not always very easy due to at times the lack of details or the similarities in the depiction, compare for instance scenes 9 and 4 on the northern wall (Fig. 12); the awkward presence of the standing Buddha in panel 9 on the south wall (Fig. 14) where one would expect him seated within the pavilion remains also unexplained for the moment (a more detailed study of the evolution of the Buddha vita in the Pagan murals would here be welcome and probably help to understand such a scene which eventually refer to the period of pacing up and down a 'jewelled cloister' which preceded the meditation in the 'house of gems', see BAUTZE-PICRON 2003a, p. 40).

<sup>13</sup> On this monument, see STRONG 2004, pp. 126-7.

<sup>14</sup> See above note 8.

<sup>15</sup> A reason for suggesting this identification, still a hypothesis, is the fact that these two *caityas* are profiled on a white and red background respectively, which reminds of the two monuments having precisely these colours in the Loka-hteik-pan, where the Cūlāmaṇi is red and the Dussa-thūpa white-beige (for colour plates, see BAUTZE-PICRON 2008, figs. 4-5).

<sup>16</sup> STRONG 2004, pp. 127-131.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 128, after the *Glass Palace Chronicle*.

<sup>18</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 2003a, fig. 52; BAUTZE-PICRON 2008, fig. 11.9 & p. 145.

<sup>19</sup> See BAUTZE-PICRON 2008, p. 144.

<sup>20</sup> And not exclusively in the depiction of the universe like in monument 1077, but also in the representation of the dreams of the future Buddha, see BAUTZE-PICRON 2003b & 2009.

<sup>21</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 2003b, p. 349; 2009, pp. 427-8.

<sup>22</sup> Both are mentioned in the *Dhammapada* commentary (BURLINGAME 1969, p. 53). Brahmā holds the pole of the umbrella (*chattrā*) which is seen above the Buddha's head as if being held by this attendant.

<sup>23</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 2008, figs 3 & 6 (Loka-hteik-pan) showing Mahāmoggallāna kneeling at the feet of the Buddha teaching on Mount Meru, and fig. 11 (Pya-tha-nge, monument 798) where the monk kneels at the proper left of the Buddha. The monk is also standing in the murals of the Tayok-pyo-hpaya-gyi (monument 539) (two murals), or of the Ma-la-phyi-hpaya (monument 664, dated AD 1274) and monument 647 (all unpublished). Let us remember that the monk was sent by his companions to the Buddha in order to enquire about his return on earth among them (MALALASEKERA 1960, II, pp. 544-545). His close companion Sariputta also received the Buddha's teaching during the latter's stay on Mount Meru at Lake Anotatta; the scene is depicted with particular care in the Kubyauk-gyi in Myinkaba (BAUTZE-PICRON 2003a, figs 54-55 & p. 54) (MALALASEKERA 1960, II, pp. 1116-1117).

<sup>24</sup> *Samyutta Nikāya* I.2.1. 9-10 (BODHI 2000, pp. 144-146) ; MALALASEKERA 1960, II, pp. 735-736.

<sup>25</sup> REYNOLDS/REYNOLDS 1982, pp. 109-112; COEDÈS/ARCHAIMBAULT 1973, pp. 65-67. Quotation after REYNOLDS/REYNOLDS p. 110.

<sup>26</sup> REYNOLDS/REYNOLDS 1982, pp. 109-110; COEDÈS/ARCHAIMBAULT 1973, p. 65.

<sup>27</sup> REYNOLDS/REYNOLDS 1982, eighth plate between pp. 244 and 245.

<sup>28</sup> *Wat Ratchasiththaram* 1982, p. 88 showing the complete mural with Rāhu left of the Buddha's head. The murals were painted during the first reign (1782-1809) and partly repainted during the third one (1824-1851) (JAISER 2009, p. 118).

<sup>29</sup> JAISER 2009, p. 120.

<sup>30</sup> The scene also occurs in the Wat Mai Thepnimit, a monument of the late Ayutthaya period repainted during the first half of the nineteenth century (JAISER 2009, p. 116) and the Wat Chaiyathid, painted in the second quarter of the same century (*Wat Chaiyathid* 1991, p. 64 showing the wall behind the cult image with the scene painted on either side of the Buddha's shoulders) where its interpretation has apparently underwent a deep transformation: in both cases, the eclipse-maker runs indeed behind a female character, reminding of Hanuman's love for a mermaid whom he pursued in the Khmer *Rāmayana* (*Ramaker*) and of an episode of Hanuman's youth when taking the sun to be a ripped mango he tried to snatch it and was confronted with Rāhu (for a twentieth-century illustration of Hanuman trying to snatch the Sun-god in its Cambodian variant, see ROVEDA/YEM 2009, p. 222).

<sup>31</sup> In monument 798, the horse is well preserved in the right roundel whereas the hare has practically disappeared (BAUTZE-PICRON 2008, fig. 11). As such, hare and peacock, I identified the pair of animals in monument 1150 (BAUTZE-PICRON 2008, p. 146); the right roundel is erased and it is impossible to offer a definitive identification. However, OSHEGOWA (1988, p. 91) reproduces a drawing of the mural in which she puts a horse in place of the peacock; since her drawing seems to reproduce a better preserved mural than the one which I saw in 1996, I would here suggest to follow her identification and thus correct BAUTZE-PICRON 2008. For nineteenth-century depictions of the pair hare/peacock in roundels on either side of Mount Meru see HERBERT 2002, fig. 8.5 (also illustrated in MENZIES 2001, cat. 48 p. 68) (AD 1886), and HERBERT 1993, p. 56 (with both animals turning

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towards the Buddha). Though enigmatic, the presence of the elephant facing the horse reminds that both animals belong to the *cakravartin* and as such they will be painted in a similar twentieth-century composition in the Wat Pathumkongka in Bangkok – where the white animals are the three-headed Airavata and the horse Uccaiḥśravasa standing in pavilions on either side of Mount Meru.

<sup>32</sup> COWELL 1990, pp. 36-37; BEAL n.d., II, p. 60. And for the tale of the rabbits and the elephants herd included in the *Hitopadeśa*, see JOHNSON 1848, pp. 75-76 and WILKINS 1886, pp. 175-8.

<sup>33</sup> As already observed by LUCE 1969-1970, vol. I, p. 240 who supposed a Singhalese influence. *Makaras* already adorn the lower part of the balustrades flanking a stairway in ninth-century Javanese architecture (SNODGRASS 1992, figs 200. a & c); *makaras* or other fantastic creatures related to the waters refer in this context to the divine rainbow which brings together the divine and the human worlds (but which refers also to the rains sucked by the sun eight months long before pouring back on earth during the monsoon: *ibidem*, pp. 282-295).

<sup>34</sup> In the Wat Thong Thammachat for example (*Wat Thon Thammachat* 1982, p. 61).

<sup>35</sup> Compare for instance to the scene showing the god judging the dead and their deeds in the Berlin manuscript: WENK 1965, pl. VI; REYNOLDS/REYNOLDS 1979, ninth unnumbered plate between pp. 244 and 245.

<sup>36</sup> Unfortunately, these murals are unpublished, they are to be found in monuments 224, 539 (twice), 647 and 664, and in monument 101 in Sale where three pavilions with ‘gods’ are painted at the bottom of the universe. Because they are distributed in the lower part of the mural, but still above water level, they occupy a position held in later Thai paintings by the Asuras, said to live in the waters and whose palaces can be painted at water level, see REYNOLDS/REYNOLDS 1982, eighth unnumbered plate between pp. 244 and 245.

<sup>37</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 2003a, figs 32, 52; 2003b, fig. 5 & pp. 349 (notes 11-12) and 360 (note 39); 2009, figs 1-2, 8 & pp. 427-9; 2008, fig. 11.9.

<sup>38</sup> The panel is included in the second row, left of the Buddha, upper part, see BAUTZE-PICRON 2003, pl. 7.

<sup>39</sup> For the complete wall, see PICHARD 1994, fig. 577p, p. 38; ONO/INOUE 1978, fig. 3.

<sup>40</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 2003a, figs 24-26, 48, 57, and 27 (with a shawl-like garment covering the upper part of the body). This dress is named ‘wu’loun’ by SHWEI KAIN: THA: 1951, pp. 12-18. The author who was assistant to CHARLES DUROISELLE most probably reproduces on his plate 3 (between pp. 14-15) one of the two characters depicted here in Fig.18 (information kindly given by GEORG NOACK).

<sup>41</sup> See PICHARD 1993 for a study of such motifs.

<sup>42</sup> BAUTZE-PICRON 2003a, figs 29-30 (with stripes and roundels) or 33.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, figs 35, 38, 44, 47, 53, 55

<sup>44</sup> ONO/INOUE 1978, figs 191, 196, 197, 228 for instance: clearly also, such dress is worn by people belonging to the court or of high rank.

<sup>45</sup> A feature which, to my knowledge, has not yet been explained and is also encountered among the sculptures of the Ananda (LUCE 1969-1070, vol. III, plates 316-317 & vol. II, p. 143).

<sup>46</sup> For a discussion of the expression, see BAUTZE-PICRON 2010, pp. 122-124.

<sup>47</sup> SKILLING 2005, pp. 3-4 (my thanks go to HIRAM WOODWARD who brought my attention to this paper).

<sup>48</sup> FEER 1891, pp. 336-340; p. 337: the Buddha transforms the Jetavana in a divine city, changes himself into a *cakravartin* and sits on a golden throne.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 341.

<sup>50</sup> FEER 1891, pp. 342-349.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 343 for the quote on the dresses.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 347.