AN AVERAGE BURMAN, if he had had the means, took on himself the responsibility of supporting the Religion. Building pagodas both solid and hollow, monasteries both of bricks and of wood and others like the ams house, the rest house, the library, the reservoir, etc. were taken as contributory towards the long life of the Religion until the end of 5000 years after the Mahaparinibbāna. Although Pagan and its environs is full of brick ruins, we gather from the inscriptions that there were more of wooden buildings in olden times. Our primary concern here is to recount how these buildings were made as described by the donors themselves.

A donor in A.D. 1192 selected a site just beside a reservoir at Amanā and enclosed it with ut-ti phu so tantuin⁴--a wall entirely of bricks, for the construction of a big and pleasant monastery. Another donor spent 10,000 ticals of silver on building a monastery, a hollow pagoda and a wall around them. An inscription of A.D. 1248 mentions that the wall alone cost a total of 432½ ticals of silver³. It must have been a fairly large enclosure wall as the establishment contained two monasteries, a library and hollow-pagoda with four gates. Some of the enclosure walls were circular⁴ but usually they were rectangular or square as they are referred to as tantuin 4 myaknhā--four sided walls, complete with tanikha muk doors and gateways⁵. These enclosures are essential not only to distinguish the holy place from its surroundings but also to protect the buildings from fire. A donor in A.D. 1262 called his enclosure tantuin ninkā⁶ a fire proof wall. Perhaps he remembered that as a young man he had seen the whole city of Pagan burnt to ashes in A.D. 1225⁷ and therefore he must have decided then that if he founded an establishment it ought to have adequate protection from fire. Some donors built tantuin nhachap⁸ -double enclosures. The inner one was for shrines and the outer one was usually for building monasteries. In one case as much as twenty boarding

*Read at the seventh Annual Research Conference of the Society on 24 XII 59 with U Wun in the Chair

1. Pl.125, Pl.737, Pl. 1947, Pl.2206, Pl. 2323, Pl. 2344, Pl. 2478, Pl. 24916,Pl. 3909
2. Pl. 181-3
3. Pl. 16442-3
4. Pl. 697
5. Pl. 3909, Pl. 4239
6. Pl. 2052
7. Pl. 122a2
8. Pl. 737, Pl. 1525, Pl. 1947, Pl. 2838, Pl. 39014-15

JBRS, XI II, ii, Dec. 1959
Copyright © 1998 - Myanmar Book Centre & Book Promotion & Service Ltd, Bangkok, Thailand.
houses were built for cāsaṅ students. Sometimes a banyan tree which had been grown from a seed imported from Bodh Gaya would also be enclosed in a magnificent wall. There were also walls made of stone. Within the wall, cānakram—a platform, was made as the foundation of a hollow or solid pagoda although there were exceptions when it was made as the promenade adjoining a monastery since walking to and fro seems to be the only form of physical exercise befitting a gentle monk. Asawat's wife when making a platform attached to her monastery in A.D. 1236 said that she used bricks from two kilns at the cost of 60 ticals of silver in addition to 22 ticals for carting them. For bringing in the timber, probably for roofing, she spent 6 ticals more. In the case of a platform for a hollow pagoda, we have seven instances where it is mentioned that the platform is made in the shape of a kalāśa pot. Perhaps this refers to the plinth moulding of the platform wall.

On such a platform was built a kū which is the derivative of Pali guha meaning a cave and therefore it is a hollow pagoda made in imitation of a natural cave. Some kū had four gateways and thus acquired the name of kū 4 myakhnā. Inside a four sided kū there were always four images of the Lords placed back to back in the centre, representing the four Buddhas of this present kappa. The centre block around which the images were placed was the relic chamber where sarīradhātu—the bodily relics, were enshrined. The walls of the kū would be painted either with khyu pan—floral designs, or chaṅpa—pictures of the Lord or with scenes from the Jātaka. One record says that as many as 14,619 Buddhas were painted on the wall. A kū thus painted would be known as kū prok—the variegated cave. Athwāt—the spires.

9. Pl. 1525
10. Pl. 2323
11. Pl. 39015
12. Pl. 736, etc.
13. Pl. 9722, Pl. 1028, Pl. 12654, Pl. 1525
14. Pl. 9722
15. Pl. 737, Pl. 807, Pl. 1947, Pl. 2206, Pl. 2346, Pl. 2478, Pl. 24916
17. Pl. 507,14
18. Pl. 27520, Pl. 4238,29,49
19. Pl. 178, Pl. 1953, Pl. 738, Pl. 78b, Pl. 8010,12, Pl. 191b11, Pl. 1948, Pl. 24917, Pl. 26520, Pl. 2791,5,7, Pl. 30821, Pl. 38117,18,19, Pl. 39010
20. Pl. 22126. See Diagram 3. From the Wall Painting at Wakkri an kū prok
21. Pl. 7315, Pl. 8013, Pl. 19413,12, Pl. 2388, Pl. 36416
22. Pl. 19413, Pl. 24817
23. Pl. 105a7
24. Pl. 218a11

JBRs. XLII, ii. Dec. 1959

Copyright© 1998 - Myanmar Book Centre & Book Promotion & Service Ltd, Bangkok, Thailand.
DIAGRAM I a b Sectional View of the Platform Wall at Anantasūra's Lemyaknhā Pagoda.

DIAGRAM II a Sectional View of the Ananda Enclosure Wall.

II b Front View of II a

Copyright 1998 - Myanmar Book Centre & Book Promotion & Service Ltd, Bangkok, Thailand.
DIAGRAM 3    FROM THE WALL-PAINTING AT
* WAKKRIAN KU PROK *

Copyright© 1998 - Myanmar Book Centre & Book Promotion & Service Ltd, Bangkok, Thailand.
of these kū were usually made of copper\textsuperscript{25} weighing from about 40\textsuperscript{26} viss to 130\textsuperscript{27} and gilded\textsuperscript{28}. Above the athwāt there was the thī- umbrella, sometimes made of gold and studded with precious gems.\textsuperscript{29}

Ceti is another form of pagoda but solid in structure. To build a cetī, firstly a platform would be made in much the same manner as for erecting a kū. The following extract from an inscription dated A. D. 1227 gives us a rough idea of what sort of relics were enshrined in a cetī.

On Wednesday 22 December 1227, (the following) are enshrined in the cetiya: the bodily relics of the Lord; the image of the Lord made from the branch of the sacred banyan tree; the image of the Lord cast in gold; the image of the Lord cast in silver; the image of the Lord made of crystal; the image of the Lord made of ivory bezoar; and the image of the Lord made of sandalwood. (Underneath) all these relics and images are spread gold cushions and silver cushions and they are covered with gold umbrellas. Parched rice of gold, parched rice of silver, gold chandeliers and silver chandeliers are also offered. When these gems are enshrined, the (relic chamber) is closed with bricks. After this, wonderful and magnificent figures of deva and various beings are made with stucco\textsuperscript{30}.

Another form of pagoda is puthuiw\textsuperscript{31}. It is impossible to state the difference in shape or style between cetī and puthuiw. It was also a solid pagoda with the same form of spire as of a kū. The term puthuiw is also used for miniature pagodas for enshrinement, made of gold, silver, ivory, sandalwood, etc\textsuperscript{32}. We also find mention of puthuiw nī\textsuperscript{33}-the red pagoda, and puthuiw-prok\textsuperscript{34}-the variegated pagoda. These names imply that these pagodas were painted either in one colour or in many colours but not either entirely white or gold as a modern Burman would like to see a pagoda.

The houses for the monks were called kloñ and if it was a brick building it was known as Kula kloñ\textsuperscript{35}-the Indian monastery. Most of the monasteries however were built of wood with sac ṅay muiw\textsuperscript{36}-thatch roof, or with mwan

\textsuperscript{25} Pl. 80\textsuperscript{17}, Pl. 97\textsuperscript{12}, etc.
\textsuperscript{26} Pl. 73\textsuperscript{16}, Pl. 80\textsuperscript{17}
\textsuperscript{27} Pl. 194\textsuperscript{13}
\textsuperscript{28} Pl. 105a\textsuperscript{10}, Pl. 194\textsuperscript{13}, Pl. 249\textsuperscript{21}, etc.
\textsuperscript{29} Pl. 73\textsuperscript{12}
\textsuperscript{30} Pl. 80\textsuperscript{9-17}
\textsuperscript{31} Pl. 8b\textsuperscript{4}, Pl. 911, Pl. 19a\textsuperscript{21}, etc.
\textsuperscript{32} Pl. 308\textsuperscript{19}
\textsuperscript{33} Pl. 389a\textsuperscript{3}
\textsuperscript{34} Pl. 377b\textsuperscript{4}
\textsuperscript{35} Pl. 646, Pl. 97\textsuperscript{22,25}, Pl. 132b\textsuperscript{14,15}, etc. For ground plans of these brick monasteries see W.B. Sinclair: "Monasteries of Pagan", JBRS, X, i, pp.1-4
\textsuperscript{36} Pl. 428\textsuperscript{28}
khoi ta cwan—high and grand roof. In some cases the monastery would be profusely decorated and painted so that it would be known by the name of khoi prok—the variegated monastery, or panpu khoi—monastery of wood carvings. The Kula khoi were usually adorned with such decorations and extensions as calac—'flame pediments' over doorways and windows, prasat—multiple roofs, chanwad—'elephant entrance', i.e. porch, uchak—front extension, tulik—assembly hall, and pwat tuin—polished pillars. Quite close to these monasteries were built other buildings like sim—the ordination hall, piyakatuik—library, dhammasa—preaching hall, tacho—rest house, carp—alms house, kapplyakut—store house, etc., for the details of such constructions, the following extract about an establishment that was finished on 17 December 1223, is exemplary.

At this place (around) the tank called Amana (Minranthu), (we) planted a monastery enclosure which is full of toddy palms. (We) then enclosed it in two lines of walls all made of brick and within (these) walls upon a fine platform (the plinth of which) is in the shape of a kalasa pot, (we) constructed a hollow-pagoda. When enshrining (that) hollow-pagoda (we) encased the relics of the Holy Body in a sandalwood casket and, put it within a crystal casket, a red sandalwood casket, a gold (casket), a silver (casket), a red copper (casket) and (lastly) within a stone (miniature) pagoda. (Moreover, we) offered reverently and set therein cushions of gold, cushions of silver, parched rice of gold, parched rice of silver, gold chandeliers and silver chandeliers. As for the stone (miniature) pagoda, it was painted and criss-crossed with copper wire. The spire was made of gold. Above the spire (we) set up a gold umbrella, hung with pearls and coral. (We) wrapped (the whole miniature pagoda) up to the spire with seven folds of cloth and on the cloth was stamped the gold seal of Kyakta (Sun God). There was a gold image of the Lord cast of 30 (ticals) of gold, a silver image of the Lord cast of 30 (ticals) of silver and a gilt image of the Lord made of marble. Over these also (we) spread gold and silver umbrellas. (We) enshrined all those various things. In the (chamber) of the hollow-pagoda, (we) made four images of the Lord placed back to back and thus each

---

37. Pl. 390. See also Pl. 205, Pl. 285
38. Pl. 60b
39. Pl. 153a
40. Pl. 64b, Pl. 154a, Pl. 164, Pl. 205, Pl. 234, Pl. 246, Pl. 283, Pl. 285
41. Pl. 85, Pl. 165b, Pl. 234, Pl. 282, Pl. 283, Pl. 285, Pl. 297, Pl. 313, Pl. 382, Pl. 428
42. Pl. 64b, Pl. 246
43. Pl. 164, 165b, Pl. 234, (uthwak), Pl. 283, (uthwak)
44. Pl. 283
45. Pl. 147a
46. See Diagram 4. The Plan of the Anantasira Loving Couple's Establishment at Amana, Pagan, A.D. 1223. The author is indebted to U Swe and his team of the Burma Historical Commission for this excellent diagram.
facing a cardinal point and (also) made them shine wondrously with gems. Many (more) images were placed (around) the walls. (On the walls) were beautifully painted the (scenes from) 500 jataka. (For adorning) the spire of the hollow-pagoda with an ornament we weighed and cut off into the hands of the copper-smith 47 viss 8 buih and 4 ticals of copper; 7 viss 9 ticals were lost in (the course of the work) and the net (weight of the spire) was 40 viss 7 buiy and 5 ticals. The amount of sterling gold included was 39½ ticals and of liquid quick silver 159 ticals. With all these precious things (we) caused the spire of the hollow-pagoda to shine. (We) also made (a copy) of the three Pitaka—the accumulation of the Law. Where the congregation of those who would listen to the Law might assemble, (we) made a pleasant hall of the Law built of stone bricks. At the place of preaching the Law, (we) made a gold throne. Above the throne, (we) set up a gold umbrella and above it also (we) made a canopy. A large and pleasant monastery—the residence of our Lord the Elder also was made, where all good people desiring nirvana might receive instructions. In the surrounding place outside the inner wall (we) also made a row of monasteries where the Lords practising piety out of love for the Religion might abide. That our noble Lords might be at ease for water, a well also was dug and built of bricks. A square tank built of bricks was also (made). To the east, a large tank also was (made) with two levels. That the water might enter, pipes and troughs also were beautifully made. All around the tank, a garden was created. Outside the monastery within a fine enclosure (we) made a large and pleasant tanchoi-rest house, magnificently (decorated) with all sorts of figures, where all good people coming from the four quarters might be at liberty to stay, to sleep or to stand. West of it (we) also made a permanent carap-alms house, of bricks where good people wishing to give alms might give alms. On the outskirts of the city (we) also made a stone house built solidly of brick. For the comfort of the Lord, the Law and the Order who are in this monastery, (we) have left there many attendants. In order that all the people coming from the four quarters might fulfil their wants, (we) also dug a well solidly built of brick. In order that all these good deeds made by (us)—the loving couple, may last through out the 5000 years of the Religion, (we) made many arrangements. In order that repairs be continuously done on our behalf, that (the premises) may be cleansed, that the regular offer of food, oil-lights, betel and flowers be always made to the Lord and the Law and that the rice alms be given to the patient noble Lords, (we)—the loving couple, dedicated the following (slaves)47.

Princess Acawkram, daughter of King Uccana and Queen Swinlula founded an establishment in A.D. 1248 at Minnanthu, Pagan, and left a very

47. Pl. 736-31. See also JBRs, XXVI, i, pp 55-6.
interesting account of the expenditure on that work. The establishment consisted of a hollow-pagoda with four images of the Lord, a library with a complete set of the pīṭaka, a preaching hall, a big monastery with multiple roofs, a big brick monastery with front extension and an enclosure wall all around them. The expenditure was as follows:

On the the construction of the hollow-pagoda:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of silver</td>
<td>1747 (ticals) 3 pay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of khowak</td>
<td>74 viss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of loincloths</td>
<td>113 pieces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of gold for the spire of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hollow-pagoda</td>
<td>23 ticals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of quick silver</td>
<td>92 ticals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of paddy</td>
<td>1867½ (baskets)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of areca nuts</td>
<td>2 kaṭun and 1160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of black pepper</td>
<td>7 ³/₄ (viss)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of salt</td>
<td>7 ½ (viss)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of copper (for the spire of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the hollow-pagoda)</td>
<td>66 viss.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the (copying) of the Pīṭaka:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of silver</td>
<td>2027 (ticals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of rice</td>
<td>504 9/₁₆ (baskcts)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of paddy</td>
<td>2309½ (baskets)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of salt</td>
<td>110 (viss)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of black pepper</td>
<td>23 ⅛ (viss)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of areca nuts</td>
<td>10 kaṭun and 4870</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the repairing of the old monastery with “flame pediments”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of silver</td>
<td>758½ ticals 4 luṁ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of khowak</td>
<td>8 viss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of loincloths</td>
<td>68 pieces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of paddy</td>
<td>504 baskets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of areca nuts</td>
<td>2200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the building of the library:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of silver</td>
<td>215 ticals</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the building of the big brick monastery with front extension:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of khowak</td>
<td>306 viss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of silver</td>
<td>392³/₄ (ticals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of loincloths</td>
<td>45 pieces.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On the erection of an enclosure wall:

- Grand total of silver: \(432\frac{3}{4}\) ticals
- Grand total of *khwak*: 20 viss
- Grand total of *khwak* on cart hire: 53 viss
- Grand total of loincloths: 12 pieces
- Grand total of paddy: 182 baskets

On the construction of the *Cuḷamani* (pagoda):

- Grand total of silver: \(44\frac{3}{4}\) ticals
- Grand total of gold: 3 *luṅkhra*
- Grand total of *khwak*: 13 viss
- Grand total of copper: 30 (viss).

On the building of the *Tanmhwan* brick monastery:

- Grand total of silver: 215 ticals
- Grand total of *khwak*: 9 viss

Here we find that making a copy of the *Piṭaka* is more costly than erecting a hollow-pagoda and to spend a little over one third of the price of the *Piṭaka* would enable one to assume the title of *dāyakā* the founder, of a big monastery with “flame pediments”. The enclosure wall costs nearly as much as the monastery. As rice, salt, pepper, areca nuts and loincloths are mentioned in the cost, it seems that workers were given free food and clothing during the construction of the establishment. Another inscription of A.D. 1236 gives a detailed account of the wages and expenses, as follows:

- Given to the blacksmiths: 4 ticals (of silver)
- Given to the painters who painted the *kū*: 7 ticals (of silver)
- Given to the painter who painted the *kloñ*
- For the purchase of rafters: 7 ticals (of silver)
- Given to the woodcarvers: 30 ticals (of silver)
- Given to the image-makers: 20 ticals (of silver)
- For painting the walls: 2 ticals (of silver)
- For painting the ? shrine: 2 ticals of gold
- Cost of wood for the ?out-house: 10 ticals of silver
- Cost of a monolith: 3½ ticals of silver
- Cost of plaster for doors and archways: 13 ticals of silver
  - of the *kū* and the *kloñ* is 3 cups of *khwak* at

For 5 cattle: 20 ticals of silver
For the purchase of powder: 5 ticals of silver

---

48. Pl. 164. See also *JBR*, XXVI, i, p. 57 and XXX, i, pp. 329-30, n. 105
For trays
Cost of honey 22 tanak
Cost of milk—248 tanak
Cost of mortar
For 300 stone bricks
Given to the pounders for crushing
the plaster
For the masons
For the painters
For the ? adzers and wood-carvers
Cost of paddy—4 baskets at
For bringing in the...
For the spire of the kū, copper 1½ viss at
1½ (ticals) of gold
3 ticals of quick silver
Wages for the spire of the kū
Cost of iron
For the purchase of rafters, crossbeams
and eaves-board for the kloñ
Cart hire for dragging timber
Cost oforpiment, vermillion, minium,
chalk, kyaktañuiy, gum-lac and plumbago
altogether
Given to the image-makers for 10
standing Buddhas
Given to the painters
Given to the workers in quick silver
Given to the image-makers
Given to the painters
For 30 carpenters
Given to 4 masons
To the image-makers
To the mason-carpenter
Bricks from 2 kilns to construct the
promenade of the Kulā kloñ
Cart hire

5 ticals of silver
77 ticals (of silver)
25 ticals (of silver)
320 (baskets) of paddy
30 (baskets) of ?store-paddy
120 (baskets) of ?store-paddy
140 (baskets) of ?store-paddy
54 (baskets) of ?store-paddy
20 (baskets) of ?store-paddy
38 ticals (of silver)
1 tical (of silver)
12 ticals of silver
2 ticals of silver
10 (ticals) of silver
10 (ticals) of silver
20 (ticals) of silver
10 (ticals) of silver
10 (ticals) of silver
20 (ticals) of silver
1 lower garment
1 waist band
1 fine black cloth
1 waist band
1 lower garment
1 waist band.
30 lower garments
30 waist bands
4 pieces of cloth
4 waist bands
1 horse
1 horse
2 lower garments
2 waist bands
60 (ticals) of silver
22 ticals (of silver)
Cart hire for dragging timber for the promenade  6 ticals of silver

Wages given to the adzers  10 (ticals) of silver

* For making the doors of the Kulā kloñ  1 tical of silver

* For a block of stone for the door threshold  1½ (ticals) of silver

Wages of the masons who constructed the Kulā kloñ  3½ (ticals of silver)

Cart hire 1 khlap of khwak at  2 ticals of silver

For 1350 areca nuts  2 ticals of silver

For 4 baskets of paddy  1 tical of silver

For 1 piece of white cloth  1 tical of silver

...stones for the door threshold

The painters, carvers and image-makers who decorated the finished building were equally as important as the masons, carpenters and blacksmiths who built it. It would be of interest to know why the master mason and image-maker were given horses. As in the illustration given above, the workers seem to enjoy free food and clothing during their work on the establishment. It is a pity that we do not know how long it took to finish these establishments. But from the evidence we have from the Shwe gu inscription we know that a fairly big hollow-pagoda could be completed within seven months. The building of Shwe gu started on Sunday 17 May 1131 and everything was completed on Thursday 17 December 1131. Another donor gives an interesting list of dates as follows:

When the rising sun cast 9½ foot-steps (of shadow) on Monday 16 December 1236, the hollow-pagoda was enshrined. It was finished after (the lapse of) 28 days (i.e. on 13 January 1237). On the day the hollow-pagoda was enshrined a well was dug. On Friday, 25 January (1237), the enclosure wall was built. It was finished on 10 February (1237). The golden spire of the hollow-pagoda was set up when the rising sun cast 9½ foot-steps (of shadow) on Monday 17 February (1237). (On the walls of) the hollow-pagoda were painted 14619 Buddhas and scenes from 550 Jātaka. The painting was started on Friday 7 March (1237) and finished on Monday (? 24 March 1237). The monastery was also finished. The Hall of the Law was finished. The throne of the Law was finished. A bell was cast of 106½ viss of copper. The spire of the hollow-pagoda (weighed) 55½ viss of copper and was coated with 46 ticals of gold. The gold for coating four images of the Lord placed back to back was 20 (ticals). Five houses for the students were constructed. The small hollow-pagoda on the north wall was also

49. Pl. 971-29. See also JBR S, XXX, i, pp. 327-9, n. 105
50. Pl. 1 and 2. See also JBR S, X, ii, p. 67, XXII, iii, p.151, and XXVI, i, p.54
painted. A ruined solid-pagoda within (the enclosure of) the monastery was repaired. Three banyan trees were planted. Three water closets were made. A *samaruiv* 51 was also built. The *Piṭaka* was also finished. An application (? to the king) was made on Monday 13 April (1236). The dedication was made on Friday 25 November (1236). The hollow-pagoda was enshrined on Monday 16 December (1236). On Monday 14 May 1237, the minister ͞Nanapaccaya dedicated slaves52.

As the donor was a minister, the application he made was probably to the king for the grant of a site for his intended religious establishment. From the date of application to the date when he gave land and slaves to the finished establishment a little over a year elapsed.

Thus from the illustrations given above we find that a fairly big religious establishment consisting of a pagoda with many monasteries and other religious buildings around it and enclosed with a brick wall would take roughly a year under normal conditions to complete. We find that a building started on the eve of the Mongol invasion was left unfinished for fifteen years. 53 Usually the enclosure wall was constructed first. Sometimes double enclosures were made with the idea that the inner compound was to be reserved for the Lord and the Law and the outer area for the Order. The donors took great care to transform such enclosed areas into delightful gardens with reservoirs and palm trees. Then within the inner wall, not necessarily in the centre, they built the pagoda either solid or hollow in structure. Hollow-pagodas seem to be more popular as they provide four walls on which the scenes from the *Jātaka* could be painted as a decoration. Moreover, the paintings are the most striking and effective means of convincing the common folk of the merit of giving alms and of meditation. Right in the centre of the chamber of the hollow-pagoda, a place was made to receive the relic. The relics were encased and four images of the lord were placed back to back around that encasement so that pilgrims coming to the shrine from four directions might find a semblance of the Lord who showed them the way to nirvana. Mostly the images were gilt, glimmering in the poor light of the oil-lamps against the background of the dark cave-like construction of the shrine. In the vicinity of the shrine a depository for the law written on palm leaves, was built. A preaching hall and an ordination hall would also be added to the premises. The chief monk of the establishment would probably get a separate building within the inner wall. In the outer compound were the buildings for the monks, for the lay devotees, for storing provisions and for the slaves of the establishment. In fact many of these establishments served as educational institutes and as such they have remained until the present day in Burma.

---

51. ? Lavatory. See *JBR*, XXVI, i, p. 56; ? Staircase. See *JBR*, XXX, i, p. 330
n. 110.

52. Pl. 105a 1-20. See also *JBR*, XXVI, i, pp. 56-7