

RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS OF BURMA

A.D. 1000 - 1300 *

by

Than Tun

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 alms 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 *Mahāparinibbāna*. 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 plu so tantuiñ*¹— 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 them². 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 *tantuiñ 4 myaknhā*—four sided walls, complete with *tamkhā 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 *tantuiñ mikā*⁶ 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 *tantuiñ nhaethap*⁸—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

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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

houses were built for *cāsan*⁹ students. Sometimes a banyan tree which had been grown from a seed imported from Bodh Gaya would also be enclosed in a magnificent wall¹⁰. There were also walls made of stone¹¹. Within the wall, *caṅkram*¹²-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 monk¹³. *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 them¹⁴. 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 instances¹⁵ where it is mentioned that the platform is made in the shape of a *kalāsa* pot. Perhaps this refers to the plinth moulding of the platform wall¹⁶.

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 myaknhā*¹⁷. Inside a four sided *kū* there were always four images of the Lords¹⁸ 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*¹⁹- the bodily relics, were enshrined. The walls of the *kū* would be painted either with *khlyu pan*²⁰- floral designs, or *chanpu*²¹-pictures of the Lord or with scenes from the *Jātaka*²². One record says that as many as 14,619 Buddhas were painted on the wall²³. A *kū* thus painted would be known as *kū prok*²⁴-the variegated cave. *Athwat*-the spires,

9. Pl. 152⁵

10. Pl. 232³

11. Pl. 390¹⁵

12. Pl. 73⁸, etc.

13. Pl. 97²², Pl. 102⁸, Pl. 126⁵⁴, Pl. 152⁵

14. Pl. 97^{22.3}

15. Pl. 73⁷, Pl. 80⁷, Pl. 194⁷, Pl. 220⁶, Pl. 234⁶, Pl. 247⁸, Pl. 249¹⁶

See also Daw Mya Mur: "The Kalasa Pot", *JBRs*, XXII, ii, pp 97-8

16. See Diagram 1. Sectional View of the Platform Wall at *Anantasāra*'s *Le-myaknhā* Pagoda. Compare it with Diagram 2. Sectional View of the *Ananda* Enclosure Wall

17. Pl. 507¹⁴

18. Pl. 275²⁰, Pl. 423^{8,29,49}

19. Pl. 17⁸, Pl. 196^{2,3}, Pl. 73⁸, Pl. 78b⁷, Pl. 80^{10,12}, Pl. 191b¹¹, Pl. 194⁸, Pl. 249¹⁷, Pl. 265²⁰, Pl. 279^{1,5,7}, Pl. 308²¹, Pl. 381^{17,18,19}, Pl. 390¹⁰

20. Pl. 221²⁶. See Diagram 3. From the Wall Painting at *Wakkri an kū prok*

21- Pl. 73¹⁵, Pl. 80¹³, Pl. 194^{11,12}, Pl. 238⁸, Pl. 364¹⁶

22. Pl. 194¹³, Pl. 248¹⁷

23. Pl. 105a⁷

24. Pl. 218a¹¹



I a



I b



II a



II b

DIAGRAM
DIAGRAM

I a b Sectional View of the Platform Wall at *Anantasūra's Lemyakhū Pagoda.*

II a Sectional View of the *Ananda Enclosure Wall.*

II b Front View of II a



DIAGRAM 3 FROM THE WALL-PAINING AT WAKKRIAN KŪ PROK

of these *kū* were usually made of copper²⁵ weighing from about 40²⁶ viss to 130²⁷ and gilded²⁸. Above the *athwat* there was the *thī-* umbrella, sometimes made of gold and studded with precious gems.²⁹

Cetī 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 Decmeber 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 stucco³⁰.

Another form of pagoda is *puthūiw*³¹. It is impossible to state the difference in shape or style between *cetī* and *puthūiw*. It was also a solid pagoda with the same form of spire as of a *kū*. The term *puthūiw* is also used for miniature pagodas for enshrinement, made of gold, silver, ivory, sandalwood, etc³². We also find mention of *puthūiw nī*³³the red pagoda, and *puthūiw-prok*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*³⁵-the Indian monastery. Most of the monasteries however were built of wood with *sac nay muiv*³⁶-thatch roof , or with *mwan*

25. Pl. 80¹⁷, Pl. 97¹², etc.

26. Pl. 73¹⁶, Pl. 80¹⁷

27. Pl. 194¹³

28. Pl. 105a¹⁰, Pl. 194¹³, Pl. 249²¹, etc.

29. Pl. 73¹²

30. Pl. 80⁹⁻¹⁷

31. Pl. 8b⁴, Pl. 9¹¹, Pl. 19a²¹, etc.

32. Pl. 308¹⁹

33. Pl. 389a³

34. Pl. 377b⁴

35. Pl. 646, Pl. 97^{22,25,26}, Pl. 132b^{14,15}, etc. For ground plans of these brick monasteries see W.B. Sinclair: "Monasteries of Pagan", *JBRs*, X, i, pp.1-4

36. Pl. 428²⁸

*khon ta cwari*³⁷- 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 *kloñ prok*³⁸- the variegated monastery, or *panpu kloñ*³⁹- monastery of wood carvings. The *Kula kloñ* were usually adorned with such decorations and extensions as *calac*⁴⁰- 'flame pediments' over doorways and windows, *prāsai*⁴¹- multiple roofs, *chanwari*⁴²- 'elephant entrance', i. e. porch, *uchak*⁴³- front extension, *tulik*⁴⁴-? assembly hall, and *pwat tuiñ*⁴⁵- polished pillars. Quite close to these monasteries were built other buildings like *sim* - the ordination hall, *piṭakatuik* - library, *dhammasā* - preaching hall, *tanchon* - rest house, *carap* - alms house, *kappiyakuñ*-store house, etc., for the details of such constructions, the following extract about an establishment that was finished on 17 Decembeer 1223, is examplary⁴⁶.

At this place (around) the tank called *Amanā* (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 *kalasā* 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 *Kyaktaniñ*-? Sun God. There was a gold image of the Lord cast of 30 (ticals) of gold, a silver image of the Lord cast of 50 (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. 390¹². See also Pl. 2053, Pl. 2853

38. Pl. 60b²

39. Pl. 153a¹⁵

40. Pl. 64⁶, Pl. 153a⁴, Pl. 1645⁶, Pl. 2053, Pl. 234^{10,16}, Pl. 246³, Pl. 2836, Pl. 2853
Pl. 2884, Pl. 307c^{3,4}

41. Pl. 85², Pl. 165b⁵, Pl. 234¹⁶, Pl. 282¹², Pl. 2836¹⁶, Pl. 2859¹⁰, Pl. 2884,
Pl. 2917, Pl. 313a⁵, Pl. 382², Pl. 428³¹

42. Pl. 646, Pl. 246³

43. Pl. 1646⁴⁵, Pl. 234¹⁶, (*uthwak*), Pl. 2836 (*uthwak*)

44. Pl. 2836

45. Pl. 147a¹¹

46. See Diagram 4. The Plan of the *Anantasūra* Loving Couple's Establishment at *Amanā*, Pagan, A.D. 1223. The author is indebted to U Swe and his team of the Burma Historical Commission for this excellent diagram.

PLAN OF THE RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENT AT ĀMANĀ,
PAGAN, BY ANANDASURA AND HIS WIFE IN (A. D. 1225)

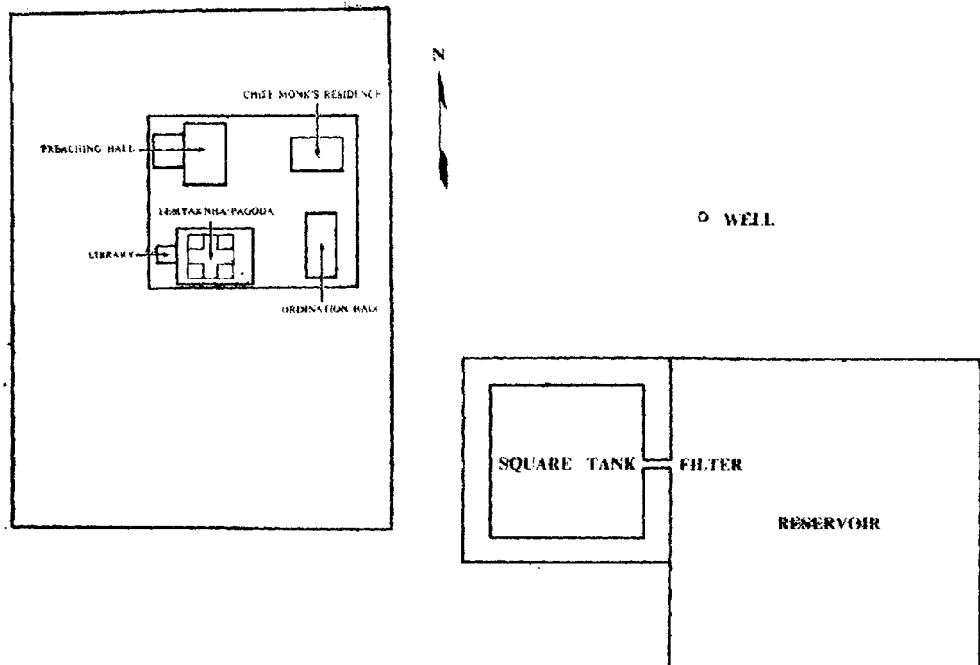


DIAGRAM 4

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 *jātaka*. (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 *Piṭaka*—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 our Lords practising piety out of love for the Religion might abide. That our noble Lords might be at ease for water, a well also was dug and built of bricks. A square tank built of bricks was also (made). To the east, a large tank also was (made) with two levels. That the water might enter, pipes and troughs also were beautifully made. All around the tank, a garden was created. Outside the monastery within a fine enclosure (we) made a large and pleasant *tanchon*-rest house, magnificently (decorated) with all sorts of figures, where all good people coming from the four quarters might be at liberty to stay, to sleep or to stand. West of it (we) also made a permanent *carap*-alms house, of 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 *Acawkrwam*, daughter of King *Uccanā* and Queen *Suñlāla* founded an establishment in A.D. 1248 at Minnanthu, Pagan, and left a very

47. Pl. 736-31. See also *JBR*, 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 *piṭaka*, 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:	
Grand total of silver	1747 (ticals) 3 <i>pay</i>
Grand total of <i>khwak</i>	74 viss
Grand total of loincloths	113 pieces
Grand total of gold for the spire of hollow-pagoda	23 ticals.
Grand total of quick silver	92 ticals
Grand total of paddy	1867½ (baskets)
Grand total of areca nuts	2 <i>kaḍuñ</i> and 1160
Grand total of black pepper	7½ (? viss)
Grand total of salt	7½ (? viss)
Grand total of copper (for the spire of the hollow-pagoda)	66 viss.

On the (copying) of the *Piṭaka*:

Grand total of silver	2027 (ticals)
Grand total of rice	504 ⁹ / ₁₆ (baskets)
Grand total of paddy	2309½ (baskets)
Grand total of salt	110 (viss)
Grand total black pepper	²³ / ₃₂ (viss)
Grand total of areca nuts	10 <i>kaḍuñ</i> and 4870

On the repairing of the old monastery with "flame pediments":

Grand total of silver	758¼ ticals 4 <i>luñ</i>
Grand total of <i>khwak</i>	8 viss
Grand total of loincloths	68 pieces
Grand total of paddy	504 baskets
Grand total of areca nuts	2200

On the building of the library:

Grand total of silver	215 ticals
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On the building of the big brick monastery with front extension:

Grand total of <i>khwak</i>	306 viss
Grand total of silver	392¾ (ticals)
Grand total of loincloths	45 pieces.

On the erection of an enclosure wall:

Grand total of silver	432 $\frac{3}{4}$ (ticals)
Grand total of <i>khwak</i>	20 viss
Grand total of <i>khwak</i> 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 <i>luñkhra</i>
Grand total of <i>khwak</i>	13 viss
Grand total of copper	30 (viss).

On the building of the *Tanmhwān* brick monastery:

Grand total of silver	215 ticals
Grand total of <i>khwak</i>	9 viss ⁴⁸ .

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 *dāyākā* 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 <i>kū</i>	7 (ticals of silver)
Given to the painter who painted the <i>kloñ</i>	12 (ticals of silver)
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	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ticals of silver
Cost of plaster for doors and archways of the <i>kū</i> and the <i>kloñ</i> is 3 cups of <i>khwak</i> at	13 (ticals) of silver
For 5 cattle	20 (ticals of silver)
For the purchase of powder	5 ticals of silver

48. Pl. 164. See also *JBR5*, XXVI, i, p. 57 and XXX, i, pp. 329-30, n. 105

For trays	5 ticals of silver
Cost of honey--22 <i>tanak</i>	77 ticals (of silver)
Cost of milk--248 <i>tanak</i>	25 ticals (of silver)
Cost of mortar	320 (baskets) of paddy
For 300 stone bricks	30(baskets) of ?store-paddy
Given to the pounders for crushing the plaster	120(baskets)of? store-paddy
For the masons	140(baskets)of? store-paddy
For the painters	54(basket s of? store-paddy
For the ? adzers and wood-carvers	20(baskets)of? store-paddy
Cost of paddy--4 baskets at	1 tical (of silver)
For bringing in the ...	38 ticals (of silver)
For the spire of the <i>kū</i> , copper $1\frac{1}{2}$ viss at	3 ticals of silver
$1\frac{1}{2}$ (ticals)of gold	12 ticals of silver
3 ticals of quick silver	2 ticals of silver
Wages for the spire of the <i>kū</i>	10 (ticals) of silver
Cost of iron	10 (ticals)of silver
For the purchase of rafters, crossbeams and eaves-board for the <i>kloñ</i>	20 (ticals) of silver
Cart hire for dragging timber	10 (ticals) of silver
Cost of orpiment, vermilion, minium, chalk, ? <i>kyaktañuiy</i> , gum-lac and plumbago altogether	50 (ticals) of silver
Given to the image-makers for 10 standing Buddhas	10 (ticals)of silver
Given to the painters	20 (ticals) of silver
Given to the workers in quick silver	1 lower garment 1 waist band
Given to the image-makers	1 fine black cloth 1 waist band
Given to the painters	1 lower garment 1 waist band.
For 30 carpenters	30 lower garments 30 waist bands
Given to 4 masons	4 pieces of cloth 4 waist bands
To the image-makers	1 horse
To the mason-carpenter	1 horse 2 lower garments 2 waist bands
Bricks from 2 kilns to construct the promenade of the <i>Kulā kloñ</i>	60 (ticals) of silver
Cart hire	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 <i>Kulā kloñ</i>	1 tical of silver
• For a block of stone for the door threshold	1½ (ticals) of silver
Wages of the masons who constructed the <i>Kulā kloñ</i>	3½ (ticals of silver)
Cart hire 1 <i>khlap</i> of <i>khwak</i> 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 ⁴⁹	

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 Shwegu inscription we know that a fairly big hollow-pagoda could be completed within seven months. The building of Shwegu started on Sunday 17 May 1131⁵⁰ 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 *samaruiw*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 *Ñanapaccaya* 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*S, XXVI, i, p. 56; ? Staircase. See *JBR*S, XXX, i, p. 330 n. 110.

52. Pl. 105a1-20. See also *JBR*S, XXVI, i, pp. 56-7

53. Pl. 2771-9.