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SAMERCHAI POOLSUWAN

THE ICONOGRAPHY AND SYMBOLISM OF THE PACCEKA BUDDHAS IN THE ART OF PAGAN

INTRODUCTION

In Buddhist literature can be found descriptions of three types of "fully awakened beings": Omniscient Buddhas, their enlightened disciples or *arhants*, and a lesser order of Buddhas called, in Pali, Pacceka Buddhas (Skt. Pratyeka). The first two types are well known in studies on Buddhist art, but the last one has not yet adequately received the attention it merits. The Pacceka Buddhas are those whose insight into the "Four Noble Truths" of Buddhism had been gained through self-enlightenment, but who were unable to explain these noble truths to others. They preferred to adopt a solitary, ascetic, and meditative life after their enlightenment. The existence of the Pacceka Buddhas is rooted in a very early stratum of Buddhist literature.[1] Their role, however, is not central to Buddhism, since they neither proclaim the supreme teachings nor do they encourage monasticism.

The Pali canon and its commentaries are the major sources for our knowledge of the Pacceka Buddhas, including their spiritual natures, physical characteristics, ascetic tradition, and path to realization. Additional information can also be gathered from other relevant sources. Contained in the *Khaggavisana-sutta* (hereafter Khvs) of the *Sutta-nipata* (hereafter Sn), believed to be one of the oldest parts of the Pali canon,[2] are forty-one verses, which are most likely associated with Pacceka Buddhas. These verses[3] – each echoing, in a similar fashion, the virtue of the solitary life – are commented on, with their relation to the Pacceka Buddhas clearly indicated, in another part of the Pali canon, the *Culla-niddesa*.[4] Analogous writings mentioning the Pacceka Buddhas are also found in a hybrid San-

The author is grateful to Saya U Aung Kyaing, former Deputy Director General, Myanmar Department of Archaeology, Thein Tun Oo, and Jamroon Thammada for their great assistance with reading and translating the mural inscriptions vital to this study. Thanks are extended to Hiram W. Woodward Jr., Donald M. Stadtner, Nandana Chutiwongs, and Paritta Chalermpow Koanantakool for their critical comments on earlier drafts of this manuscript that tremendously enhanced its improvement; Frank Gillespie for English proof of an earlier draft of the manuscript; and Win Ko and Than Zaw for field assistance. The research was supported by the Thailand Research Fund (Grant BRG5080018).

1 Martin G. Wiltshire, *Ascetic Figures before and in Early Buddhism: The Emergence of Gautama as the Buddha* (New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1990); Reginald A. Ray, *Buddhist Saints in India: A Study in Buddhist Value and Orientations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 213–50; and Ria Kloppenborg, *The Paccekabuddha: A Buddhist Ascetic* (Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society, Online Edition, 2006).

2 N. Jayawickrama, "A Critical Analysis of the Sutta Nipata (Part 3)," *Pali Buddhist Review* 2, no. 1 (1977): 14–41; K. R. Norman, *Pali Literature* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983), 65; and K. R. Norman, *The Group of Discourses*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Pali Text Society, 2001), 162.

3 For a translation of the *sutta*, see, for example, Norman, *The Group of Discourses*, 5–9.

4 Mahamakutarajavidyalaya, *Phra-sutra Lae Atthakatha Plae* [A translation of the sutta texts and their commentaries] (Bangkok: Mahamakutarajavidyalaya Press, 2525 [1982]), 67:509–628 (*Khaggavisanasutta-niddesa*).

skrit text, the *Mahavastu-avadana* of the Mahasanghika-Lokottaravadin Buddhist School,[5] and in a Middle Indo-Aryan Gandhari Buddhist text, written in the Kharosthi script of probably the first century CE.[6] The commentary to the Pali Khvs verses, composed by Buddhaghosa in the fifth century CE, ascribes the verses to utterances of the Pacceka Buddhas concerning the state of mind that accommodated their enlightenment. The commentary attributes these sayings to individual Pacceka Buddhas and provides their names and full biographies.[7]

A complete set of the verses contained in the Pali Khvs was also incorporated into the *Paccekabuddhapadana* (hereafter Pb) chapter of the *Apadana* text (hereafter Ap),[8] belonging to a relatively late stratum of the Pali canon.[9] The Ap version has an extra verse, a counterpart of the Khvs's first verse, added at the beginning of the set. The introductory and concluding sections of the Pb clearly associate the verses with the Pacceka Buddhas, as the story was told to the elder Ananda by Buddha Gotama himself. Another long account of the Pacceka Buddhas in the Pali canon is found in the *Isigili-sutta* (hereafter Is) of the *Majjhima-nikaya*.[10] The text begins with the Buddha explaining to monks that Mount Isigili, in contrast to other mountains around Rajagaha, has not had its name changed and has been the abode of the Pacceka Buddhas. He then lists the names and describes the qualities of the Pacceka Buddhas who used to reside there. A counterpart of the Is account is found in the *Ekottarika-agama* (hereafter Ea), preserved only in a Chinese translation, from the original Prakit text, made by Zhu Fonian in 384–85 CE.[11]

As described in the Pb, the Pacceka Buddhas, in their former existences, had deposited good deeds in the previous Omniscient Buddhas, but they had not yet become *arhants* under the guidance of the Buddha's teaching. Being so scholarly and full of wisdom, they achieved full enlightenment during a period when the Omniscient Buddha's teaching was not available, after they understood the truth of the world, which is a state of suffering.[12] Existence of the Pacceka Buddhas only during an *asunya-kappa* (a world cycle for the Omniscient Buddhas, who came into existence one after another) is confirmed in the *Madhuratthavilasini*, a commentary on the *Buddhavamsa*, part of the *Khuddaka-nikaya*.[13] Further information from the *Paramatthajotika*, a commentary on the Sn, adds that the Pacceka Buddhas could come into existence only during a period within an *asunya-kappa* when the teachings of the previous Omniscient Buddha had completely lapsed and the enlightenment of the future Omniscient One had not yet taken place.[14] According to the Ea account, the Pacceka Buddhas who resided on Mount Isigili rose up into the sky to attain their nirvana and immediately had their bodies spontaneously cre-

5 Émile Senart, *Le Mahavastu: Texte sanscrit publié pour la première fois et accompagné d'introductions et d'un commentaire* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1882), 1:357–59.

6 Richard Salomon, *A Gandhari Version of the Rhinoceros Sutra: British Library Kharosthi Fragment 5B* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000).

7 *Phra-sutra Lae*, 46:104–245 (*Paramatthajotika*).

8 Ibid., 70:237–399 (*Apadanas*).

9 Salomon, *A Gandhari Version*, 5.

10 *Phra-sutra Lae*, 22:332–35 (*Isigili-sutta*).

11 Bhikkhu Analayo, "Paccekabuddhas in the *Isigili-sutta* and Its *Ekottarika-agama* Parallel," *Canadian Journal of Buddhist Studies* 6 (2010): 5–36.

12 *Phra-sutra Lae*, 70:237 (*Apadana*).

13 Ibid., 73:466 (*Madhuratthavilasini*).

14 Ibid., 46:111–12 (*Paramatthajotika*).

mated after receiving an announcement from the gods of the Pure Abodes that in two years' time a Tathagata (an Omniscient Buddha) would appear in the world.[15] A similar account is also found in the *Mahavastu-avadana*.[16] The point that the Pacceka Buddhas could not coexist with the Omniscient Buddha is, thus, confirmed in the Pali, original Prakit, and old Sanskrit sources mentioned above. The *Manorathapurani*, a commentary on the *Anguttara-nikaya*, says that the Pacceka Buddhas, as well as the Omniscient Buddhas and the Universal Monarchs, were born only in the Middle Country (Majjhimadesa) of the Southern Great Continent (Jambudipa).[17]

The Paccekka Buddhas were praised by Buddha Gotama on several occasions. According to the Pb, the Buddha claimed that, apart from himself, no one is equal or superior to the Pacceka Buddhas.[18] The latter are, therefore, superior to the Buddha's monk-disciples but rank lower than the Omniscient Ones, such as Gotama and his predecessors. This hierarchy correlates with the accumulation of *paramitas* (perfections) by these supreme beings toward their enlightenment, during a period of at least four, two, or one *asamkheyyas*[19] and a hundred thousand *kappas* for an Omniscient Buddha, a Pacceka Buddha, or a chief disciple of the Buddha.[20] According to the *Mahaparinibbana-sutta*, Buddha Gotama honors the Pacceka Buddhas as belonging to one of the four types of *thuparaha-puggalas*.[21] The other three types of these superior beings include Omniscient Buddhas, their chief disciples, and Universal Monarchs. The Buddha encourages the erection of stupas, to be worshipped by all people, to commemorate their deaths.

According to the *Paramatthajotika*, a Pacceka Buddha was not necessarily born into a high social caste, that is, either the *Khattiya* (Skt. *Ksatriya*) or *Brahmana* (*Brahmin*); he could be born into the *Vessa* (Skt. *Vaisya*) caste but never into the lowest caste, *Sudda* (Skt. *Sudra*). By contrast, the Omniscient Buddhas and their chief disciples were born only into the first two mentioned castes. Unlike the Omniscient Buddhas, the Pacceka Buddhas do not possess a complete set of the bodily auspicious characteristics of a Great Man, comprising thirty-two major and eighty minor characteristics. As described in the Sn commentary, it is normal for a Pacceka Buddha to possess the outward appearance of an ascetic, with his hair and beard two fingerbreadths long and equipped with the eight requisites of an ascetic (*samanaparibhoga* – three robes, bowl, razor, needle, girdle, and water strainer); this made him look like a senior monk a hundred years old.[22] At the time of his enlightenment, a Pacceka Buddha could instantly achieve such an ascetic appearance, if he wished. Some Pacceka Buddhas are described by their unpleasant aspects, such as being humpbacked,[23] being of old age and wearing worn robes,[24] or looking like a leper.[25]

15 Analayo, "Paccekabuddhas in the *Isigili-sutta*."
16 Senart, *Le Mahavastu*, 1:357–59.
17 *Phra-sutra Lae*, 32:189 (*Manorathapurani*).
18 Ibid., 70:237 (*Paccekabuddha-padana*).
19 An *asamkheyya* is a set of the innumerable successive world cycles.
20 *Phra-sutra Lae*, 32:213 (*Manorathapurani*).
21 Ibid., 13:310–11 (*Mahaparinibbana-sutta*).
22 Ibid., 70:287 (*Apadana*).
23 Ibid., 33:124 (*Manorathapurani*); ibid., 25:500 (*Samyuttanikaya-sagathavagga-atthakatha*).
24 Ibid., 59:175 (*Pabbajitavihethaka Jataka Atthakatha*); ibid., 25:500 (*Samyuttanikaya Sagathavagga Atthakatha*).
25 Ibid., 44:494 (*Suppabuddhakutthi Sutta Atthakatha*).

After his enlightenment, a Pacceka Buddha preferred to live in solitude or join a community consisting of only the enlightened ones of his type. The number of locations, mentioned in the texts, in which Pacceka Buddhas gathered together are few, notably Mount Isigili near Rajagaha,[26] the Isipatana Forest near Benares,[27] and the grotto named Nandamulaka (or Nandamula) on Mount Gandhamadana in the Himava Forest.[28] As described in the Sn and Ap commentaries, all Pacceka Buddhas residing on Mount Gandhamadana assembled in the *uposatha* ceremony, a ceremony for recitation of the *vinaya* rules, which was held twice a month, and on the arrival of a new member of their community. Although choosing to live in solitude, Pacceka Buddhas established contacts with laypeople for the benefit of the latter. They were regarded as "a good field of merit" to the degree that people doing good deeds for them would be assured of happiness and prosperity in their present and future lives.[29] The Pacceka Buddhas occasionally taught people to conform to a morally righteous way of life that would result in their rebirth in a heaven.[30] There were also instances in which Pacceka Buddhas guided people toward their ordination and suggested to them some fundamental practices of ascetism.[31]

Pacceka Buddhas are only rarely represented in Buddhist art. The fact that they did not proclaim the supreme dhamma could have resulted in less motivation on the part of devotees to create and worship representations of these Buddhas. Moreover, images of them may not be easily discernible from those of Buddha's monk-disciples, given that these two types of beings are similar in terms of their physical appearance. Presented in this article is a rare circumstance, the earliest extant example in Southeast Asia, where the images of the Pacceka Buddhas are epigraphically identified. They are found in the murals of the Thambula-hpaya Temple (monument 482) at Pagan, central Burma, datable to the thirteenth century. This key evidence securely confirms the iconographic types and the symbolism associated with the Pacceka Buddhas in the Buddhist art of Pagan. With their iconography thus securely based on this firm ground, the article aims to identify other examples in Pagan of the same type of enlightened beings, those without inscriptional identification. It also attempts to discern their symbolic function adopted in the broader cultural context of the art at Pagan during the early second millennium CE.

26 Ibid., 22:333 (*Isigiri-sutta*).

27 Ibid., 34:44 (*Manorathapurani*).

28 Ibid., 46:133–34, 70:292–93.

29 Many examples of such can be found in *Dhammapadatthakatha* (ibid., 43:395–99, 519–52).

30 In the *Gandhara-jataka-atthakatha* is this sentence: "it is a tradition of the Buddhas, the Pacceka Buddhas, Buddha's disciples and the Bodhisattas to preach" (ibid., 59:327). For examples of the Pacceka Buddhas who preached, see *Aditta-jataka-atthakatha* (ibid., 59:573–84) and *Sivalitherapadana-atthakatha* (ibid., 72:345).

31 For example, see the following: *Ratana-sutta-atthakatha* (ibid., 39:273); *Darimukha-jataka-atthakatha* (ibid., 59:27–44); and *Sonaka-jataka-atthakatha* (ibid., 62:128–56).

THE THAMBULA-HPAYA TEMPLE

Approximately two miles east of the old city of Pagan, in and around the village of Minnanthu, is located a dense cluster of more than one hundred Buddhist monuments made of brick. Most of them are datable to the late dynastic period of Pagan, during the thirteenth century.[32] A corpus of epigraphic records found in situ attests to the significance of the area during this time, as it was religiously active and housed the headquarters of one of the major Buddhist ecclesiastic sects of Pagan, the Aran.[33]

Situated in this cluster of monuments, about a quarter mile north of the village, is the temple that is the focus of this study, the Thambula-hpaya (monument 482) (N 46.310, E 11.080) (fig. 1). Facing east, the temple is a large four-sided brick structure topped with a *sikhara* (mountain peak) roof, with extensions from its main shrine forming the anterior entrance hall as well as the south, west, and north vestibules and porches.[34] Surviving on the south wall of the shrine's east vestibule is an original inscription in ink recording the erection of the temple under the royal patronage of Princess Thambula (the queen of King Uzana of Pagan) in 1255 CE.[35] Four images of colossal seated Buddhas in the earth-touching gesture, recently renovated, preside in the temple's main shrine. Their backs are set against the walls of a large, square brick column that supports the building's superstructure at the center of the shrine, thus leaving an ambulatory space that both surrounds it and connects the shrine's four vestibules.

Decorating the temple's interior are original murals, most likely dating from the time the temple was constructed. Most of them are provided with original inscriptions in ink, in both Pali and Old Burmese. In the anterior entrance hall of the temple, the main passage to the shrine, the murals adorn all the walls and the vaulted ceiling. Although the ceiling murals have been heavily damaged, there are surviving peripheral parts depicting, in a repetitive fashion, images of past Buddhas, each portrayed seated in the *maravijaya* pose and contained within a frame of the lotus-petal shape. The murals on the ceiling's center – probably depicting a pair of the Buddha's footprints, in conformity with the Pagan tradition of the period – have completely flaked off. A pair of large divine figures, possibly representing the Bhodhisattas Metteyya and Lokanatha, are portrayed in the *lalitasana* pose on the hall's west wall, symmetrically flanking the entrance to the shrine.[36]

32 Pierre Pichard, *Inventory of Monuments at Pagan*, 8 vols. (Paris: UNESCO, 1992–2001), vols. 2 (1993) and 3 (1994).

33 Than Tun, "Mahakassapa and His Tradition," in *Essays on the History and Buddhism of Burma*, ed. Paul Strachan (Whiting Bay, Isle of Aran, UK: Kiscadale Publications, 1988), 85–100; for various donation inscriptions found in the area and dated to the Pagan dynastic period, see Tun Nyein, *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava: Translation, with Notes* (Rangoon: Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1899).

34 For a layout and architectural details of the temple, see Pichard, *Inventory of Monuments at Pagan*, 2:300–303.

35 Paul Strachan, *Pagan: Art and Architecture of Old Burma* (Whiting Bay, Isle of Aran, UK: Kiscadale Publications, 1989), 132.

36 Depicting these two bodhisattas flanking the Buddhist shrine was a common practice in the Pagan mural tradition. Sculptural parallels can be found in the same architectural context of the Pagan temples. Murals in temple 1091 at Pagan and temple 13 at Sarle (a small village about twenty miles south of the more well-known town of Sale) have short inscriptions mentioning the names of these bodhisattas: Metteyya is depicted to the right of the temple's Buddha image and Lokanatha is to the left of the image (Saya U Aung Kyaing, former Deputy Director General, Myanmar Department of Archaeology, provided the author with a reading of these inscriptions, September 2011).

Confirmed by several surviving ink inscriptions, the murals on the east, south, and north walls of the temple's entrance hall illustrate detailed episodes from the biography of the future Buddha Metteyya. Identifiable scenes include, for example, his life as a bodhisatta in the Three Palaces (fig. 2), his renunciation, his first sermon (fig. 3), his preaching in the Tavatimsa Heaven (fig. 4), and the assembly of his monk-disciples on Mount Gandhamadana (fig. 5). The Metteyya story depicted in the murals was primarily based on one of the post-canonical Pali accounts, the *Anagatavamsa*, composed in Sri Lanka.[37] The illustration of Metteyya's life represented by this set of murals is the only one of its kind to survive at Pagan and to date from its dynastic period.[38]

Murals in Thambula's shrine comprise three main themes: different Bodhi trees as background to the four colossal Buddha images; past Buddhas on the walls; and various episodes from the life of Buddha Gotama in his previous and present existences in the south, west, and north vestibules. Based on its characteristics, the Bodhi tree depicted behind the image of the Buddha on the east wall can be identified as an *asvattha* (*Ficus religiosa*), under which the present Buddha Gotama attained his enlightenment. The trees depicted under different designs behind the shrine's other three images of the Buddha could represent the Bodhi trees under which the first three Buddhas who preceded Gotama in the present world cycle had attained their enlightenment. Moving clockwise in chronological order, the images on the south, west, north, and east walls of the shrine stand respectively for Buddhas Kakusandha, Konagamana, Kassapa, and Gotama.

Two sets of past Buddhas are illustrated in the murals of the Thambula Temple: the twenty-eight Buddhas of the Pali *Buddhavamsa* text and the innumerable Buddhas (fig. 6). The twenty-eight Buddhas are represented by large-scale icons, each portrayed seated in *dharmachakra mudra*, arranged chronologically clockwise in a single row around the lower part of the shrine's walls. Their identifications and biographic details are provided, according to the textual account, in long Pali inscriptions written in ink, located beneath the images. The twenty-eight *Buddhavamsa* Buddhas include Buddha Gotama himself; the twenty-four enlightened predecessors of Gotama, starting with Dipankara Buddha, who had given Gotama, during his previous existences, the predictions for his enlightenment to come;[39] and the three Buddhas who preceded Dipankara in the same world cycle.[40]

Filling the upper part of the shrine's walls, rising immediately above the row of the twenty-eight Buddhas, is a grid, each of whose cells contains smaller, identical images of the innumerable Buddhas. Each Buddha is portrayed seated in the *maravijaya* pose. An account of the innumerable Buddhas – whose existences preceded the twenty-eight *Buddhavamsa* Buddhas and whom Gotama in his previ-

37 J. Minayeff, ed., "Anagatavamsa," *Journal of the Pali Text Society* (London) (1886): 33–53.

38 Another set of murals that narrates the biography of Metteyya is found in Pagan monument 225 (Mya-daung-ok-kyaung), an old brick monastery located near Nyaung U, north of the old city of Pagan; the monument is dated epigraphically to 1442 CE, that is, after the Pagan dynastic period. See Tun Nyein, *Inscriptions of Pagan*, 37–47; Pichard, *Inventory of Monuments at Pagan*, 1 (1992): 339–41; and Samerchai Poolsuwan, "Buddhist Murals Illustrating Unusual Features in Temple 36 at Sale and Their Cultural Implications," *Journal of Burma Studies* 19, no. 1 (2015): 145–97.

39 The Buddhas of the whole series include Dipankara, Kondanna, Mangala, Sumana, Revata, Sobhita, Anomadassi, Paduma, Narada, Padumuttara, Sumedha, Sujata, Piyadassi, Atthadassi, Dhammadassi, Siddhattha, Tissa, Phussa, Vipassi, Sikhi, Vessabhu, Kakusandha, Konagamana, and Kassapa.

40 The three Buddhas are Tanhankara, Medhankara, and Saranankara.

ous existences had met and in whom he had deposited good deeds but from whom he did not obtain a prediction for his future enlightenment – is given in one of the old Pali sources, the *Sotattagi-nidana*, believed to have been composed in Sri Lanka.[41] Since the text was certainly known at Pagan during its dynastic period,[42] it could have served as a textual reference for the innumerable Buddhas, normally portrayed accompanying the twenty-eight *Buddhavamsa* Buddhas, in the temple murals of Pagan, such as at Thambula-hpaya and elsewhere, during the thirteenth century.

Depicted on the side walls of the Thambula-hpaya's south, west, and north vestibules are murals in large rectangular frames illustrating one or more episodes from the life of Gotama. The *Nipata-jatakas* series, narrating his previous lives, is also depicted, in the lower part of the frame. At the top of the east vestibule's wall, above the apex of the main entrance to the shrine, is a mural depicting the demise of the Buddha, the *Mahaparinibbana* scene (fig. 7). It is included in the series illustrating the "Eight Great Life Episodes" of the Buddha. The other scenes of the series, except the enlightenment scene, which is absent, are distributed among the murals of the west and north vestibules (fig. 8). Also portrayed in the murals in the south, west, and north vestibules are scenes of the Buddha's "Seven Weeks' Retreat" after his enlightenment (fig. 8). Just as the enlightenment episode of the Buddha is missing from the "Eight Great Life Episode" series, the first-week retreat of the Buddha at the Bodhi tree is not represented in the second series of murals portraying the Buddha's "Seven Weeks' Retreat," in conformity with the Pagan mural tradition during the thirteenth century.[43] Other major episodes of Gotama illustrated at Thambula-hpaya include, for example, the Buddha's barge trip to Vesali and the celebrated almsgiving (*Asadisadana*) provided to him and his monk-disciples by King Pasenadi and his Chief Consort (fig. 9), on the east and west walls of the south vestibule.

Of greatest significance to the main thesis of this study are the two scenes located on either side of the vaulted ceiling of the passage that connects the temple's entrance hall and main shrine. Long glosses in ink, in Pali and Old Burmese, located immediately below them, confirm that the scenes represent stories of the Pacceka Buddhas. The murals provide us a rare opportunity to understand the iconography and symbolic meaning associated with portrayals of the Pacceka Buddhas in the art of Pagan.

The mural in the southern half of the passage's ceiling (fig. 10) shows numerous ascetic figures, portrayed identically and arranged in rows one on top of another. Each of them, monk-like with shaved heads and hands in the *dharmachakra mudra*, is seated under a grotto-like structure. A row of trees depicted at the top of the composition creates a forest atmosphere for the scene. In the northern half of the passage is a mural with a similar composition (fig. 11), that is, identical seated ascetics arranged in rows. The ascetics in the latter setting, however, are not sheltered under a grotto-like structure but, instead, are surrounded with floral motifs. Also, instead of a row of trees at the top of the composition, the canopy of a large tree is depicted.

41 Culla Buddhaghosa Thera, *Sotattagi-mahanidana*, trans. into Thai by Banjob Bannaruji (Bangkok: Wat Suthatthepvararam, 1983).

42 See a discussion on this issue in Samerchai Poolsuwan, "The Pagan-Period and the Early-Thai Buddhist Murals: Were They Related?," *SUVANNABHUMI* 6, no. 1 (2014): 27–65.

43 See an investigation of this mural tradition of Pagan in Samerchai Poolsuwan, "After Enlightenment: Scenes of the Buddha's Retreat in the Thirteenth Century Murals at Pagan," *Artibus Asiae* 72, no. 2 (2012): 377–97.

The ink inscription accompanying the scene in the southern section of the ceiling has been extensively damaged, and several parts have faded away (fig. 10). Still, surviving legible parts remain informative enough to confirm that it consists of seven lines of writing, divided into two sections: the longer, first section written in Pali, and the shorter, subsequent one in Old Burmese. The Pali part of the inscription provides a long quotation extracted from one of the Pali canonical sources, the Is. Probably so that the inscription could fit into the space allotted to it, only the second half of the Is text is quoted. The Is account, which has been entirely translated into English,[44] describes the names and qualities of the Pacceka Buddhas who used to reside on Mount Isigili, near Rajagaha. Some geographic keywords that are still discernible in the fragmentary Old Burmese part of the inscription – for example, Anotatta, Himava, and the Cave on a Golden Mountain – suggest that this passage, in its complete form, might have described the abodes of the Pacceka Buddhas on Mount Gandhamadana in the Himava Forest. The description might have been based on a fuller account to be found, for example, in both the Pali Pb and Kvs commentaries. A translation of the corresponding part of this commentarial account follows:

> After having passed through the seven mountain ranges (in the Himavanta) – namely: Cullakala, Mahakala, Nagapalivethana, Candagabbha, Suriyagabbha, Suvannapassa, and Himava – one reaches to the Gandhamadana Mountain, which is the residence of the Pacceka Buddhas. On one particular slope of the Mountain is located the Grotto named Nandamulaka, which comprises three caves: Suvanna-, Mani- and Rajata-guha; all of them are the abodes of the Pacceka Buddhas.[45]

It is likely that the second part of the inscription described the scene above it, that is, the Pacceka Buddhas residing at their abode, the Nandamulaka Grotto on Mount Gandhamadana in the Himavanta.

The inscription for the scene in the northern half of the ceiling remains largely legible (fig. 11). It comprises two sections: the longer, first section written in Pali, and the shorter, second one in Old Burmese. The passage in Pali quotes the introductory and concluding sections of the Pb text.[46] The text's opening verse, a parallel to the first Kvs verse, is quoted. The verses from the Kvs that also appear in the Pb are omitted. All the Kvs verses and the Pb first verse end with the refrain "*eko care khaggavisanakappo*," which means either "one should wander alone like the horn of the rhinoceros" or "one should wander alone like the rhinoceros."[47] It certainly reflects the attitude of people who live in solitude. The Pb text clearly ascribes the verses to utterances of the Pacceka Buddhas. The Burmese part of the inscription, which refers to the scenes above it, clearly describes the assembly of the Pacceka Buddhas in the shade of the blooming Manjusaka tree, located in front of the Jewel Cave. It must be

44 Bhikkhu Nadamoli, trans., *The Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Majjhima Nikaya*, ed. and rev. Bhikku Bodhi (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2009), 931–33.

45 *Phra-sutra Lae*, 70:292–93 (*Visuddhajanavilasini*).

46 A complete English translation of these two sections of the text can be found in Kloppenborg, *The Paccekabuddha*, 9–10.

47 For a dispute over the translation of this refrain, see K. R. Norman, "Solitary Like a Rhinoceros Horn," *Buddhist Studies Review* 13, no. 2 (1996): 133–42; and D. T. Jones, "Like the Rhinoceros, or Like Its Horn? The Problem of Khaggavisana Revisited," *Buddhist Studies Review* 31, no. 2 (2014): 165–78.

the Manjusaka tree that is depicted above the assembly of the Pacceka Buddhas. This part of the inscription could have been based on the Pb and Kvs commentaries, a translation of which is given here:

> Located in front of an entrance to Mani-guha, the middle cave, is the Heavenly (Manjusaka) Tree, one yojana in height and the same in diameter. The Jewel Hall is located on its branches to accommodate an assembly of the Pacceka Buddhas, which is held on every full-moon and new-moon days and on the arrival occasion of a new member of their community. On such occasions, the Tree is always in full bloom, with the hall readily prepared for the congregation of the Pacceka Buddhas by winds blowing to clean up the place, to level the floor, to sprinkle water brought from the Anotatta Lake, and to bring all sweet scents of flowers from the Himavanta. Seats are always readily prepared for all the Pacceka Buddhas.[48]

Based on the organization of the Thambula-hpaya's murals as described here, it is clear that the murals depicting stories of the Pacceka Buddhas occupy a strategic location in the temple between the other two sets of murals, one in the temple's entrance hall illustrating the biography of the future Buddha Metteyya and the other in the temple's shrine and vestibules portraying stories of the past and present Buddhas. It may have been the Pagan artist's (or artists') intention to depict the existence of the Pacceka Buddhas at an interim period after the epochs of the past and the present Buddhas and before the existence of the future Buddha Metteyya.

HPAYA-THON-ZU TEMPLE

Another Pagan temple that is central to this study, the Hpaya-thon-zu, is located a short distance southwest of the Thambula-hpaya (N 46.210, E 11.000). There, another set of murals illustrating the stories of the Pacceka Buddhas can be seen. This north-facing temple comprises three square brick towers of medium size (Pagan monuments 477, 478, and 479), aligned on the east–west axis and on an elevated rectangular brick platform (fig. 12).[49] The towers were built in a similar fashion, with the shrine of each topped with a *sikhara* roof and having extensions that form the anterior entrance hall, lateral vestibules, and posterior blind niche. Enshrined on a high pedestal in the central and western shrines of the temple are colossal Buddha images in the *maravijaya* pose, made of brick and stucco. The presiding Buddha image of the same size and pose on the old brick pedestal in the eastern shrine of the temple is a recent addition. The three towers of the temple are united by the ambulatory passages to form a coherent architectural compound, the only example of its kind to be found on the whole Pagan plain.[50] The temple and its murals can be dated stylistically to the thirteenth century.[51]

Original murals adorn the interior of the eastern and central towers as well as the corridor connecting these two architectural elements of the temple. In the central tower, they appear only in the shrine

48 *Phra-sutra Lae*, 70: 292–93 (*Visuddhajanavilasini*).

49 See a layout and architectural details of the temple in Pichard, *Inventory of Monuments at Pagan*, 2:291–96.

50 Ibid.

51 Strachan, *Pagan*, 129–32; and Pichard, *Inventory of Monuments at Pagan*, 2:291–96.

room, lateral vestibules, and the corridor connecting the shrine with its anterior entrance hall. The fact that no original murals appear in the western tower and the anterior entrance hall of the central tower indicates that work on the murals of the temple was stopped before their completion. Also confirming this fact is the mural, depicting a scene of the Buddha's funeral, that was left unfinished on the north wall of the corridor connecting the eastern and central shrines.[52]

The interior of the entrance hall of the Hpaya-thon-zu's eastern tower is adorned with narrative and decorative murals. Main themes of the narratives include the *Jataka* series and the "Eight Great Life Episodes" of the Buddha; they are depicted on the east and west walls, as well as in the niche on the east wall of the entrance hall (figs. 13, 14). Only six of the Buddha's eight episodes are depicted in the murals: nativity, descent from Tavatimsa Heaven, taming of the Nalagiri elephant, *Yamaka-patihariya* (the twin miracle), first sermon, and *Parileyya* (the Buddha's retreat at Kosambi). Another episode from the Buddha's life, the Buddha's demise or *Parinibbana*, is portrayed on the south wall in the passage connecting the eastern and central shrines; that scene is largely damaged. The enlightenment episode of the Buddha at the Bodhi tree is not included. Portrayed on the wall opposite the Buddha's *Parinibbana* is the scene depicting the Buddha's funeral mentioned above.

On either side of the Buddha *Parinibbana* and funeral scenes are scenes depicting episodes of the Buddha meditating during the "Seven Weeks' Retreat" after his enlightenment. The Buddha's episodes at Animisa-cetiya in the second week and Ratanacankama-cetiya in the third week are depicted on the south and north walls of the corridor's eastern end (figs. 15, 16). His episodes at Ratanaghara-cetiya in the fourth week and Ajapala-nigrodha in the fifth week are depicted on the north and south walls of the corridor's western end (figs. 17, 18). It is likely that the other two scenes of the set – Mucalinda during the sixth week and Rajayatana during the final week of the Buddha's retreat – had been planned for the two walls at the eastern end of the corridor connecting the central and western shrines of the temple; however, these murals were never completed. In accordance with the Pagan mural tradition of the thirteenth century,[53] the episode of the Buddha's first-week retreat at the Bodhi tree probably was not planned for this series of murals.

The narrative murals of the Hpaya-thon-zu thus far described, although distributed in two partially separated architectural spaces of the temple, are nonetheless coherently organized. This could also be the case for another set of narrative murals distributed along the main axis of the temple; the three shrines are coherently aligned along this axis. The set includes the murals of the lateral vestibules of the shrines and of the corridors connecting them. They were probably meant to make a symbolic connection between the three shrines of this unique temple. Unfortunately, the murals based on the complete program were never executed in full scale. It is, therefore, an aim of this study to reconstruct the entire mural program, comprising the existing as well as the hypothetically reconstructed narratives.

52 See illustration of the temple's unfinished murals in Pichard, *Inventory of Monuments at Pagan*, 2:295.

53 See an investigation on the Pagan mural pattern illustrating the "Eight Great Life Episodes" of the Buddha and his "Seven Weeks' Retreat" after enlightenment in Poolsuwan, "After Enlightenment."

The vestibule murals of the Hpaya-thon-zu's eastern shrine described stories of the twenty-eight *Buddhavamsa* Buddhas (figs. 19–22). Within a large rectangular frame on each wall of the vestibules are figures of the Buddhas, all portrayed seated in *dharmachakra mudra* and arranged in two rows. Small figures located below the image of each Buddha briefly illustrate his biography; they concern his renunciation, when he left the palace by using a specific vehicle, and his tonsure. Exceptions were made for the first three Buddhas: under each of them is an assembly of monk-disciples (fig. 19).[54] Eight Buddhas are represented on each of the east vestibule's walls, and six on each of the west vestibule's walls. The Buddhas are chronologically arranged on each wall, from left to right on each row and from top to bottom; the series starts on the south wall in the east vestibule and moves to the north wall, then continues in the same arrangement in the west vestibule.

The murals in the corresponding vestibules of the Hpaya-thon-zu's central shrine depict episodes from the life of Gotama, the present Buddha, one on each wall of the vestibule. At the center of the frame on each wall is a large figure of Gotama in the *maravijaya* pose. He is surrounded by a number of worshipping devotees – royal personages, devas, laypeople, monks, or a combination of these. Since there are no inscriptions in ink accompanying the scenes, they can be identified only on the basis of their iconography. The mural on the south wall of the shrine's east vestibule (fig. 23) could represent the episode when Gotama is preaching to King Bimbisara and his courtiers; the king himself is represented by the second largest image of the scene, a seated royal personage in worshipping gesture located to the right of the Buddha. The story could have been drawn from *Nidanakatha* of the *Jataka* commentary,[55] widely known at Pagan during its dynastic period as a prime literary source for the Buddha's biography.[56] On the north wall of the same vestibule, the mural scene could represent another episode of Gotama, from the *Sakkapanha-sutta* of the *Dighanikaya* (fig. 24).[57] According to the *sutta*, while staying at the Indasalaguha (Cave), amid the assembly of gods, the Buddha discoursed with Sakka (a deva in worshipping gesture, seated to the right of the Buddha) after being lulled by songs and music offered to him by Pancasika (a deva playing a harp, seated to the left of the Buddha). The specific stories of the scenes on both walls of the shrine's west vestibule (figs. 25, 26), although most likely representing episodes from Gotama's life, cannot be precisely identified.

The murals illustrating the stories of the Pacceka Buddhas are found on the vaulted ceiling of the passage connecting the temple's eastern and central shrines. Because they share some essential iconographic characteristics with the murals of the Thambula-hpaya described above, their identification as the Pacceka Buddhas is, thus, definitely confirmed, although no inscriptions in ink have been found. Here, at Hpaya-thon-zu, the scene of the Pacceka Buddhas gathered under the Manjusaka tree is portrayed on both slopes of the middle part of the vaulted ceiling (fig. 27). Above the rows of the Pacceka

54 This is because the biographic details of these first three Buddhas – that is, Tanhankara, Medhankara, and Saranankara – including the types of vehicles for their renunciation, are not given in the *Buddhavamsa* and its commentary.

55 *Phra-sutra Lae*, 55:137 (*Jatakatthakatha*).

56 For a detailed investigation of the Buddha's biography as illustrated in the art of Pagan, see Gordon H. Luce, *Old Burma – Early Pagan* (New York: J. J. Augustin Publisher, 1969), 1: parts B and C; and Samerchai Poolsuwan, "The Buddha's Biography: Its Development in the Pagan Murals vs the Vernacular Literature in the Theravadin Buddhist Context of Southeast Asia," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (forthcoming).

57 *Phra-sutra Lae*, 14:121–43 (*Sakkapanha-sutta*).

Buddhas, along the midline of the ceiling, appears a much eroded depiction of the Manjusaka tree. On the sloping sides of both ends of the ceiling are depictions of the aggregation of the Pacceka Buddhas in their cavern residence at the Nandamula Grotto, on Mount Gandhamadana (fig. 28).

The Pacceka Buddhas murals at Hpaya-thon-zu are strategic in the sense that they are located on the temple's main axis on which the three shrines are aligned, between the two sets of narrative murals, that is, the *Buddhavamsa* past Buddhas in the eastern shrine's lateral vestibules and the biography of Gotama in the central shrine's corresponding vestibules. Symbolically, the Pacceka Buddhas murals could represent the intermediate period between existences of the previous Buddhas on the one hand and that of the present Buddha Gotama on the other.

An encompassing hypothesis could then be offered for the meaning of the Hpaya-thon-zu's western shrine, as being a part of the symbolism represented by the entire temple compound. The symbolism illustrates the continuation of the Buddhist religion through successive enlightenments of the Omniscient Buddhas, with the intervening periods between their existences reserved for the enlightenments of the Pacceka Buddhas. Suggested by the themes of the existing murals, the Hpaya-thon-zu's eastern shrine could stand for the existence of the previous Buddhas, to be followed by the existence of the present Buddha Gotama, symbolized by the temple's central shrine. In this context, the western shrine of the temple is likely to represent the existence of the future Buddha Metteyya.

Following this line of thinking, the hypothetical murals of the western shrine's lateral vestibules should illustrate the biography of Metteyya, based on the Pali *Anagatavamsa* text,[58] as already evident in a comparable context of the murals of the Thambula-hpaya described above. In order for the corridor connecting the central and western shrines to signify the interim period between the existences of Gotama and Metteyya, murals illustrating the stories of the Pacceka Buddhas should have been planned for its vaulted ceiling, to be parallel to the murals on the vaulted ceiling of the corridor connecting the temple's eastern and central shrines. Hence, the Hpaya-thon-zu Temple, with its three shrines interconnected to form a coherent architectural compound, may symbolize the eternity of the Buddha's teaching via enlightenments, in the successive order of the past, present, and future Buddhas, with the intervals between their periods reserved for the enlightenment of the Pacceka Buddhas.

58 Minayeff, "Anagatavamsa," 33–53.

PAGAN TEMPLE MURALS: THE BUDDHA'S FOOTPRINTS

Worshipping footprints of the gods or of the religious founder was an established cult in various belief traditions of ancient India. Evidence is found in Brahmanism, Jainism, and Buddhism.[59] In early Buddhist art of the Indian continent, footprints of the Buddha, usually in pairs, could be the objects of worship in their own right or signify the Buddha's presence in narrative scenes of his life. The latter is associated with the concept of aniconic representations of the Buddha, adopted in some early Buddhist traditions. For example, they appear in the relief sculpture of the Buddha scenes on the Ajatasattu Stone Pillar from Bharhut, dating from the second century BCE.[60] At Tirat in Pakistan is found a pair of footprints, cut into a stone slab, which is epigraphically attributed to Sakyamuni and dated to the first century BCE.[61] A pair of the Buddha's footprints engraved on a natural rock at Kirinta at the southern tip of Sri Lanka, dating epigraphically from the first century BCE, confirms an early spread of the cult associated with the Buddha's footprints from the Indian continent onto the island.[62]

The tradition of creating and worshipping the Buddha's footprints was long lasting in both India and Sri Lanka. Several later examples of this type of representation include those at Nagarajunakonda in southern India, which date epigraphically from the mid-third century CE,[63] numerous instances at Anuradhapura in Sri Lanka dating from the seventh to eighth century CE, and many others. Auspicious signs on the soles of the footprints indicate that they belong to the Great Man. Whereas earlier examples of the Buddha's footprints contain only a few signs, later examples contain more. The auspicious signs on the Buddha's sole in early examples include the *cakka* (a wheel), the *svastika* (an equilateral cross with its four legs bent at 90 degrees), the *triratana* (the three-jewels symbol), and the *bhaddapittha* (the throne). Provided in two Pali sources composed in Sri Lanka, the *Samantabhaddika*[64] and the *Jinalankara-tika*,[65] is a list of the complete set of the 108 auspicious signs that appear on the Buddha's soles.

Throughout its dynastic period, between the mid-eleventh and the late thirteenth century, Pagan was one of the centers for the production of the Buddha's footprints. They appeared in both mural and sculptural forms. The cult associated with worshipping them would have reached Pagan from either India or Sri Lanka. As seen in the murals of Pagan, a pair of the Buddha's footprints normally was placed at the center of the vaulted ceiling of the main passage in a manner that the Buddha's toes point toward

59 Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *Elements of Buddhist Iconography* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935), 17; and J. Auboyer, "A Note on 'the Feet' and Their Symbolism in Ancient India," in *Kusumanjali, Sivaramamurti Commemoration Volume* (Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 1987), 1:125–27.

60 David L. Snellgrove, ed., *The Image of the Buddha* (Paris: UNESCO, 1978), 30.

61 A. M. Quagliotti, *Buddhapada* (Kamakura: Institute of Silk Roads, 1998); and Virginia M. Di Crocco, *Footprints of the Buddhas of This Era in Thailand and the Indian Subcontinent, Sri Lanka, Myanmar* (Bangkok: Siam Society, 2004), 10–11.

62 Di Crocco, *Footprints of the Buddhas*, 12.

63 A. Ghosh, ed., "Explorations and Excavations," *Indian Archaeology, 1955–56: A Review* (New Delhi: Bengal Offset Works, 1956), 23–24 and pl. XXXIX, C; H. Sarkar, "Some Aspects of the Buddhist Monuments at Nagarjunakonda," *Ancient India* 16 (1960): 65–84 and pl. XXXVIII; and Di Crocco, *Footprints of the Buddhas*, 14–15.

64 It is a commentary on the Anagatavamsa. See a synopsis of the text in Di Crocco, Footprints of the Buddhas, 38–40.

65 Compiled by Buddharakkhita Thera in Sri Lanka in 1156 CE. K. R. Norman, *Pali Literature: Including the Canonical Literature in Prakrit and Sanskrit of All the Hinayana Schools of Buddhism* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983), 157.

the temple's main shrine. Found in the Loka-hteik-pan Temple are the earliest surviving murals representing this motif, dating tentatively from the first half of the twelfth century (fig. 29).[66] Numerous later examples of the motif can be found in temples scattered throughout the Pagan plain. A sculpted pair of the Buddha's footprints is enshrined in the western entrance hall of the Ananda-guhpaya-gyi Temple, dating from the early twelfth century,[67] conforming to the pattern of the Buddha's toes pointing toward the temple's main shrine.

As a rule, the Buddha's footprints from the Pagan period are adorned with a complete set of the 108 auspicious signs,[68] as described in the two post-canonical Pali texts mentioned above. These auspicious signs, each contained in a cell of the grid, are arranged in the footprint following the order given in the texts. Starting from below the Buddha's big toe and moving to the other toes, the signs are arranged in a spiral fashion, from the outermost ring to the inner ones, toward a *cakka* at the center. The Buddha's footprints of this type, with a complete set of the 108 auspicious signs, could have been a genuine Pagan invention, since no other earlier examples of the type from elsewhere are known. The auspicious signs on the Buddha's footprints include all major physical components of the universe, from the human world up to the highest Brahma realm.[69] They symbolize the cosmic nature of the Buddha.

From around the second half of the twelfth century onward, a new element was added to the iconography of the Buddha's footprints at Pagan, that is, a row of seated ascetics, most likely representing the Pacceka Buddhas, encircling the footprints (fig. 30). These ascetics were portrayed identically, appearing as monks with their heads shaved and hands in the *dharmachakra mudra*, following the iconography of the Pacceka Buddhas depicted in the murals at Thambula-hpaya discussed above. This new iconography symbolizes the existences of the Omniscient Buddha (represented by his footprints) and the Pacceka Buddhas, perceived in a hierarchically comparative sense. The symbols representing the physical universe in its basic structure contained in the Buddha's footprints suggest that the symbolism of focus is, in fact, a cosmological one.

As confirmed in the Pali sources discussed earlier, it is imperative that all the Omniscient and Pacceka Buddhas be born and enlightened in the same country, the Majjhimadesa of Jambudipa.[70] Their periods of existence, however, did not overlap each other within an *asunya-kappa*.[71] Therefore, their beings can be theoretically made to contrast with each other in the cosmic sense of time rather than in the sense of space. Basically, the composition could be said to illustrate symbolically the temporal dynamics within an *asunya-kappa*, concerning the alternative presence of the Omniscient Buddha and the Pacceka Buddhas. The hierarchical arrangement of their representations – center versus periphery – suggests the superiority of the former over the latter.

66 Bohmu Ba Shin, *The Lokahteikpan* (Rangoon: Burma Historical Commission, Ministry of Union Culture, 1962), 40.

67 Luce, *Old Burma – Early Pagan*, 1:147.

68 Ma khin lin Myint, "The Study of Anagatavamsa Atthakatha" (PhD diss., Department of Oriental Studies, University of Yangon, Myanmar, 2005); see examples in Luce, *Old Burma – Early Pagan*, 3: pls. 92–93.

69 See the *Samantabhaddika*'s account of these auspicious symbols in Ma Khin lin Myint, "The Study of Anagatavamsa," 99–104.

70 *Phra-sutra Lae*, 32:189 (*Manorathapurani*).

71 Ibid., 46:111–12 (*Khaggavisana-sutta-atthakatha*); 70:237 (*Apadana*).

A few notable examples of murals in Pagan from the thirteenth century demonstrate the artists' intention to take the symbolism described above to a higher level of cosmological complexity. They are on the vaulted ceilings of the main entrance passages to the shrines of three temples, all located within the Pagan Archaeological Zone: Winido-hpaya Temple (monument 659) (N 47.060, E 11.040) (fig. 31),[72] Chauk-hpaya-hla-nge Temple (monument 141) (N 51.265, E 13.240) (fig. 32),[73] and Pagan monument 2149 (N 48.250, E 7.660) (fig. 33).[74] These murals, which form a trio based on their shared iconographic motifs, some unique to them, would have been accomplished by artists who shared a common idea of the cosmological symbolism associated with the presence of the Omniscient and Pacceka Buddhas. A description of these extraordinary murals follows.

Set within a circular border on the vaulted ceiling of each temple, at the end near the temple's shrine, is a standard depiction of a pair of the Buddha's footprints surrounded by a row of the Pacceka Buddhas. Located at the opposite end of the ceiling, away from the shrine, is a Universe scene. The latter is portrayed with Mount Meru at its center surrounded respectively by the Seven Rings of Mountains, the Great Ocean, the Four Great Continents, and the Universe's Wall. The scene achieves its full expression in the murals at Winido-hpaya. The corresponding scene in Pagan temple 2149 is abbreviated; it does not include the Great Ocean and the Four Great Continents. In the murals of the Chauk-hpaya-hla-nge Temple, the Universe's components are reversed: the Seven Rings of Mountains encircle the Great Ocean and the Four Great Continents. The Universe scene of the latter temple shown in figure 32 flaked off almost completely sometime after the photograph of it was taken by the author in 2009; this occurrence obviously indicates the endangered status of the Pagan murals.

At Mount Meru in the Winido-hpaya's cosmology is a depiction of a seated divine in the royal ease pose. He raises his left hand to his chest in the teaching gesture and lets his right hand rest on his knee, probably in *varadamudra*; his head is turned away from the temple's shrine. The god is probably Sakka, who ruled over the Tavatimsa Heaven. The murals at this point in the cosmological scene in the other two temples have completely flaked off.

The murals displaying this iconography could provide a symbolic extension to the idea of temporal dynamics of the Universe, associated with the existence of the Omniscient and Pacceka Buddhas. The Universe scene with no signs of any type of enlightened beings could signify a *sunya-kappa*, the world cycle that does not accommodate the enlightenment of any Buddhas. Its location on the side of the ceiling farthest from the temple's shrine, also with the divinity turning his head toward the exterior of the temple, suggests that the *sunya-kappa* is less significant in Buddhist terms than the *asunya-kappa*, represented by the scene of the Buddha's footprints surrounded by a row of the Pacceka Buddhas.

72 See a layout and architectural details of the temple in Pichard, *Inventory of Monuments at Pagan*, 3:156–60.

73 See ibid., 1 (1992): 220–21.

74 See ibid., 8 (2001): 112.

ANANDA-GU-HPAYA-GYI TEMPLE

Gracefully adorning the arid plain of Pagan – outside the old city, walled and moated, near its east gate – is the celebrated Ananda-gu-hpaya-gyi Temple (N 47.150, E 7.200) (fig. 34). It ranks among the biggest and most magnificent Buddhist sanctuaries of medieval Pagan. Construction of the temple is normally attributed to Kyanzittha, one of Pagan's greatest kings, who ruled the kingdom during the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.[75] Enshrined in niches on the walls of the corridors, vestibule halls, and passages of the temple are numerous stone reliefs of the Buddha. Most of them can be dated stylistically to the time the temple was constructed in the early twelfth century.[76]

In each of the temple's vestibule halls are sixteen relief sculptures that represent the life story of Gotama, from his conception to *Mahaparinibbana*.[77] Another set of narrative sculptures, comprising eighty scenes of the Buddha's life, adorns niches of the two lowest tiers on four sides of the outer wall of the outer corridor. Arranged chronologically clockwise, the episodes of the latter series conform to the systematic narration of the Buddha's life as told in the *Avidure-nidana* section of the *Nidanakatha*, an introductory part of the Pali *Jataka* commentary.[78] The series narrates the Buddha's life from when he was the Bodhisatta god in the Tusita Heaven accepting the invitation of devas for his final incarnation until he was enlightened beneath the Bodhi tree. Starting with the first niche on the bottom tier in the northern section of west corridor's outer wall, the series progresses along the entire tier, then continues in the same pattern on the tier located immediately above it.

Apart from these identifiable examples, the majority of the sculptures of the temple cannot be definitely linked to a specific episode of the Buddha's life or to any other systematic narrative series.[79] Most of them depict a seated Buddha, either in *bhumisparsa* or *dharmachakra mudra*, frequently accompanied with a predella scene, which shows seated worshipper(s). These "floating" sculptures, not securely included in any definite narrative themes, enshrined in niches on the inner wall of the outer corridor and on both walls of the inner corridor, have been provisionally classified as belonging to the devotional series.[80] That the long sculptural series representing the *Nidanakatha* story in the outer corridor has survived in good condition and in the original order suggests that the sculptures in the corridor of the temple, probably including the devotional series, have not been much altered from their original arrangement, almost one thousand years ago.

75 Luce, *Old Burma – Early Pagan*, 1:357–73.

76 See many examples of them in ibid., 3: pls. 278–323.

77 Ibid., 1:364–67, 2:135–41, and 3: pls. 298–312.

78 See illustrations and explanations for them in C. Duroiselle, "Stone Sculptures in the Ananda Temple at Pagan," *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report* (Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1913–14), 63–67; Luce, *Old Burma – Early Pagan*, 1:153–71 and 367, 2:127–34, and 3: pls. 278–97; and Donald M. Stadtner, *Ancient Pagan: Buddhist Plain of Merit* (Bangkok: River Books, 2005), 108–14.

79 Identification made for some of the sculptures enshrined in the temple's shrines is provided in Luce, *Old Burma – Early Pagan*, 1:371–72, 2:141–42, and 3: pls. 313–15. Some sculptures, probably from mixed origins, in niches on side walls of the cross passages of the temple, can also be identified for their depicted stories (ibid., 1:368–70, 2:143–49, and 3: pls. 318–23).

80 Ibid., 1:367–68.

Amid the devotional sculptures of the Buddha on the inner walls of the temple's outer corridor, there are seven sculptures that are truly extraordinary iconographically. Each of them depicts a monk-like ascetic in a seated posture, with his short hair curled and no evidence of either an *usnisa* or a radiant (conical knob) on top of his skull (figs. 35–41). The absence of these two iconographic motifs clearly removes these sculptures from being usual representations of the Buddha. In this set of sculptures, the ascetic(s) is portrayed with his right hand on his chest, palm turned completely inward, the fingers curved naturally with tips of the thumb and the middle finger touching to form a circle. This right-hand pose is the reverse of the standard explanation gesture of the Buddha, in which the palm is turned completely outward. The ascetic's left hand either rests on the lap palm upward or performs the earth-touching gesture. In comparison with the corresponding standard *mudras* of the Buddha, the first may be recognized as half-*dhyana* and the latter as reverse-*bhumisparsa*. Depicted on the predella below each sculpture is a scene of worshipper(s) who could be monks, kings, or other royal personages.

The ascetic sculptures in the Ananda Temple were first fully identified and illustrated in Gordon H. Luce's magnum opus, *Old Burma – Early Pagan*.[81] Luce, although concerned with the iconographic peculiarities of the sculptures, nevertheless identified them as representing Gotama, the present Buddha. He did not, however, provide any further explanations or iconographic clues concerning the underlying reason for the anomalies that were selectively applied only to sculptures of Gotama in this particular set, and not to others of him that are enshrined in the same temple. The latter conform to the standard iconographic prescriptions for the Buddha, that is, presence of the *usnisa* and radiant, and standard *mudras* (fig. 42).

The seven sculptures that concern us here are enshrined in the niches distributed on four sides of the inner wall of the temple's outer corridor. Reading clockwise, starting from the main entrance passage on the western side of the temple, they appear as follows: (1) west side, second tier from the bottom, north of the entrance (in half-*dhyana mudra*; four seated monk-like ascetics, two on each side of the predella, facing each other) (fig. 35); (2) north side, bottom tier, east of the north entrance (in reverse-*bhumisparsa mudra*; king and queen (?) seated on the left facing two court ladies on the right of the predella) (fig. 36); (3) east side, third tier from the bottom, near northeast corner (in reverse-*bhumisparsa mudra*; a monk-like ascetic seated at the center of the predella) (fig. 37); (4) south side, third tier from the bottom, near southwest corner (in half-*dhyana mudra*; two monk-like ascetics seated on the right facing two royal personages seated on the left of the predella) (fig. 38); (5) south side, bottom tier, second niche west of the southeast corner (in reverse-*bhumisparsa mudra*; seated male royal personage at the center, flanked by two monk-like ascetics seated on the left and two court ladies seated on the right of the predella) (fig. 39); (6) south side, third tier from the bottom, west of the southeast corner (in half-*dhyana mudra*; two monk-like ascetics seated on the left facing two royal personages seated on the right of the predella) (fig. 40); and (7) west side, second tier from the bottom, near the southwest corner (in half-*dhyana mudra*; four monk-like ascetics, two on each side of the predella, facing each other) (fig. 41).

81 Ibid., 1:367, 2:143, and 3: pls. 316–17.

In Pagan, a male depicted in monk's robes with his head shaved and no presence of an *usnisa* and radiant, as observed in the sculptures under discussion, normally represents a monk-disciple of the Buddha. What clearly demarcates these sculptures from portrayals of a Buddhist monk are their unusual hand gestures – that is, reverse explanation, half-*dhyana*, and reverse-*bhumisparsa* – not generally used for the iconography of the Buddha's disciples. They are comparable to, although not exactly the same as, the standard hand gestures of the Buddha. The imagery of the ascetics suggests that their status is in between that of the Buddha and his disciples. The *bhumisparsa mudra* itself is of particular importance since its association with the Buddha's enlightenment has been firmly established in Buddhist iconography. Therefore, there are good reasons, on iconographic grounds, to believe that these seven novel ascetic sculptures of the Ananda Temple at Pagan were meant to represent self-enlightened beings whose status is lower than that of the Buddha but higher than that of his disciples, that is, they are Pacceka Buddhas. In keeping with this interpretation, they are the earliest representation of the enlightened beings of this type so far known to us in the art of Pagan.

Whether the seven sculptures are themselves narrative is another matter to consider. The variation, in terms of numbers and types of the personages, observed in the predella scenes suggests that the sculptures could have represented different Pacceka Buddhas whose stories are depicted in the predella scenes. Detailed biographies of the Pacceka Buddhas, who lived before the enlightenment of Gotama, are systematically narrated in one Pali source, the *Visuddhajanavilasini*, a commentary on the Ap.[82] In these biographies, the Pacceka *bodhisattas* came from different social backgrounds: the majority of them were the former kings of Banares; several were the kings of lesser countries; and in a few instances they could be noblemen, princes, or a son of a rich man. The biographies also provide examples showing that the Pacceka Buddhas sometimes formed a company to guide a Pacceka *bodhisatta*, their friend or brother in previous existences, to pursue the ascetic way of life that eventually led him to self-enlightenment. It could be the case that some of these biographies are depicted in the predella scenes of the seven ascetic sculptures, although the exact story cannot be identified for each of them.

82 *Phra-sutra Lae*, 70:246–388 (*Paccekabudda-padana-atthakatha*).

CONCLUSION

Pacceka Buddhas attained a unique status in the philosophy of Buddhism. They were the foremost and incomparable beings, in the spiritual sense, born within an *asunya-kappa* between the times of the teaching of the Omniscient Buddhas. Their qualities and habits conformed to those of *rsis* or *sramanas*, that is, solitary wandering ascetics in ancient India.[83] According to Pali sources, their enlightenment was the culmination of spiritual achievements, collectively attained under the guidance of the previous Omniscient Buddhas.[84] In turn, the Pacceka Buddhas possessed an ability to guide a Buddha-to-be, in his previous existences, to conform to the ascetic way of spiritual training.[85] The paths to salvation of these two types of self-enlightened beings were, thus, harmoniously integrated with each other along the temporal progression within an *asunya-kappa*. Although not proclaiming the supreme dhamma to the world, the Pacceka Buddhas could advise people how to conform to a morally righteous way of life, during a period when the teaching of the Omniscient Buddha was not available, that eventually led them to next existences in a heaven. In the materialistic sense, people depositing meritorious deeds in the Pacceka Buddhas were assured, in turn, of prosperity in their present and next existences.

Worshipping the Pacceka Buddhas was motivated by Buddha Gotama himself, as he included them among the four types of *thuparaha-puggala*.[86] In keeping with this, a tradition was established to erect stupas to commemorate these supreme beings, including the Pacceka Buddhas. The fact that the tradition was widespread in ancient India, with quite a number of these stupas surviving in various places, is attested by the records of two Chinese pilgrim monks who traveled widely on the continent, Fa Hian between 399 and 412 CE and Hiuen Tsang between 629 and 645 CE.[87] A rock inscription dating from the first century CE in the Kurunakala district of Sri Lanka also mentions the existence of the stupa of the tenth Pacceka Buddha.[88] Related to this cult of worship, representations of the Pacceka Buddhas could have been created among sacred icons of various Buddhist traditions.[89] However, there are rather few known examples of depictions of the Pacceka Buddhas, especially in early Buddhist art. This could be due to the fact that the Pacceka Buddhas, given their silence on proclaiming the supreme dhamma, were less popular than their Omniscient counterparts, who are frequently represented. Moreover, their iconographic characteristics might not be easily distinguished from those of monks and other types of ascetics depicted in Buddhist art. One of the convincing clues in identifying the Pac-

83 Ray, *Buddhist Saints in India*, 213–50.

84 *Phra-sutra Lae*, 70:237 (*Paccekabuddhapadana*).

85 There are some examples in the *Jataka* stories: ibid., 59:27–44 (*Darimukkha Jataka-atthakatha*) and 62:128–56 (*Sonaka-Jataka-atthakatha*).

86 Ibid., 13:310–11 (*Mahaparinibbana-sutta*).

87 Samuel Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World* (London: Trubner & Co., 1884), 1:xlii–xliii, xxxvi, and liv; 2:73, 131, 209.

88 It implies that there was a list of Pacceka Buddhas to be worshipped at that time in Sri Lanka; Wiltshire, *Ascetic Figures before and in Early Buddhism*, 50.

89 For example, a scene depicting the final demise of the Pacceka Buddha before the advent of Gotama is found among the bas-reliefs at Borobudur, Java (ibid.).

ceka Buddhas, especially where there is no epigraphic or narrative evidence, is the solitary nature and habitat hinted at iconographically; for example, each of them is individually portrayed in a cavern niche.

Using this iconography as the basis of identification, depictions of the Pacceka Buddhas have been found in Pagan: among the cave scenes in the murals at Abe-ya-dana Temple (Pagan monument 1202)[90] and in the relief-stucco scenes at Taung-pon-loka-natha Temple (Pagan monument 315).[91] These two monuments can be dated to the twelfth century. These examples, heavily inspired by Pala art and iconography from northeastern India, display an obvious inclination toward Mahayanism.[92] Besides these examples related to northern Buddhism, at Pagan there is imagery of the Pacceka Buddhas, developed in a genuinely Theravada context, that is, based principally on the Pali canonical and commentarial sources. In the latter religious setting, manifestations of the Pacceka Buddhas appear in three different forms: as sacred icons in their own right; playing a supporting role in some Buddhist narratives; and as a part of the cosmological symbolism.

Seven sacred sculptures of the Pacceka Buddhas are identified, on iconographic grounds, among the numerous stone reliefs at Ananda Temple. They probably represent some of the Pacceka Buddhas whose biographies are accounted for in the Ap commentary. Episodes related to their biographies may be depicted in the predella scenes of the sculptures. Since the Ananda's Pacceka Buddhas are represented by only a small number of sculptures, they would have achieved a lesser status compared with Gotama's, who appears much more frequently in the imagery of the temple. Nevertheless, their qualities or path to enlightenment must have inspired the commissioner of the sculptures, probably King Kyanzittha himself, to whom the construction of the Ananda Temple has been attributed.[93] A legendary account also says that the king established the temple to resemble the Nandamulaka Grotto,[94] a residence of the Pacceka Buddhas.

Some narratives related to the Pacceka Buddhas are found in the murals of Pagan monuments 1192 (Naga-yon-hpaya) and 657 (Than-bu-de-hpaya). In the Naga-yon murals, dating from the early twelfth century, a Pacceka Buddha is found in one of the *Jataka* scenes on the inner wall of the temple's corridor;[95] his identification is confirmed by the accompanying ink inscription. The Pacceka Buddhas are also found in the narrative scenes in the murals of the Thanbude-hpaya (fig. 43). The main theme of the murals, confirmed epigraphically, concerns happiness and prosperity in a heaven that personages have gained from the meritorious deeds they had deposited, in their last existences, in the Pacceka Buddhas or the monk-disciples of the Buddha. The stories were drawn mainly from the commentaries of the *Vimana-vatthu* and *Dhammapada* texts. In these narratives, the roles of the Pacceka Buddhas hardly can be distinguished from those of the Buddha's monk-disciples. Metaphorically, all of them consti-

90 Nandana Chutiwongs, "The Iconography of Avalokitesvara in Mainland Southeast Asia" (PhD diss., University of Leiden, 1988), 118; see details of these cave scenes in Luce, *Old Burma – Early Pagan*, 3: pls. 231–37; note that the iconography of a monk-like ascetic depicted in one of the Abe-ya-dana's cave scenes (Luce, pl. 231a) is identical to one type of the Ananda sculptures representing the Pacceka Buddha (half-*dhyana mudra*).

91 Luce, *Old Burma – Early Pagan*, 1:356; 3: pls. 256–57.

92 Ibid.

93 Ibid., 357–72.

94 Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce, *The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma* (London: Oxford University Press, 1923), 110.

95 Luce, *Old Burma – Early Pagan*, 1:319.

tute the "superior field of merit," worthy for deposition of good deeds by devotees, who shall receive in return a luxurious life in a heaven.

Novel in the Pagan Buddhist iconography during the thirteenth century is a cosmological symbolism elucidating the temporal dynamics of the world cycle, an *asunya-kappa*, in relation to the existences of the Omniscient and the Pacceka Buddhas. At Thambula-hpaya and Hpaya-thonzu Temples, the depictions of the Pacceka Buddhas are arranged between two other sets of murals, one representing the biographies of the bygone Buddhas and the other concerning the biography of the following one. The setting symbolizes temporal progression within an *asunya-kappa*, with enlightenment of the Pacceka Buddhas seen as possible to be obtained during the period after the duration of the previous Omniscient Buddha's teaching and before enlightenment of the future Buddha. Also depicted on the vaulted ceiling of the entrance passage to the main shrine of a typical Pagan temple, during the period of concern, is a pair of the Buddha's footprints, which represent the cosmic Buddha, surrounded by the Pacceka Buddhas. This hierarchical arrangement of the symbols representing these two types of enlightened beings suggests that, in the Pagan Buddhist ideology, the existence of the Omniscient Buddhas was deemed to be of greater importance than that of the Pacceka Buddhas, within the same *asunya-kappa*.

Truly fascinating in the Buddhist iconography at Pagan is an extension of the symbolism described above that is found in the ceiling murals of temples 141, 659, and 2149; there, a scene of the physical universe is portrayed vis-à-vis that of the Buddha's footprints, surrounded by the Pacceka Buddhas. The Universe scene is farther from the temple's shrine than the latter one. This composition suggests a contrast between the two types of world cycles: a *sunya-kappa*, without the presence of any types of enlightened beings, represented by a Universe scene; and an *asunya-kappa*, with alternative presences of the Omniscient and the Pacceka Buddhas, represented by the Buddha's footprints surrounded by the Pacceka Buddhas. The setting suggests that the latter type of world cycle is of greater Buddhist value than the former one.

GLOSSARY

Ajātasattu
Anāgatavaṃsa
Aṅguttara-nikāya
Anurādhapura
Apadāna
Arañ
Asadisadāna
asaṃkheyya
Avidūre-nidāna
Bhārhut
bhūmisparśa-
bhūmisparśa-mudrā
Bimbisāra
Brāhmaṇa
Buddhavaṃsa
Cullakāḷa
dharmachakra-mudrā
dhyāna
Dīghanikāya
Dīpaṅkara
Ekottarika-āgama
Gandhamādana
Gāndhārī
Himavā
Indasālaguhā
Jambudīpa
Jātaka
Jinālaṅkāra-ṭika
khaggavisāṇakappo
Khaggavisāṇa-sutta
Kharoṣṭhī
Khuddaka-nikāya
Koṇāgamana
Kṣatriya
lalitāsana
Lokanātha
Madhuratthavilāsinī
Mahākā a
Mahāparinibbāna
Mahāparinibbāna-sutta
Mahāsaṅghika-Lokottaravādin
Mahāvastu-avadāna
Maṇi-guhā
Majjhima-nikāya
Mañjūsaka
Manorathapūraṇī
māravijaya
Nāgapaliveṭhana
Nālāgiri
Nandamūlaka
Nidānakathā
nipāta-jātakas
nirvāṇa
Paccekabuddhā-padāna
Pāli
Pañcasika
Paramatthajotikā
pāramitās
Pārileyya
Parinibbāna
Rājagaha
Rajata-guhā
Rajāyatana
Ratanacaṅkama-cetiya
ṛṣis
Sakkapañha-sutta
Sakyamunī
Samantabhaddikā
śikhara
Sotattagī-nidāna
śramaṇas
Śūdra
Sutta-nipāta
Tathāgata
Tāvatiṃsa
Theravādin

thūpārahā-puggalas
Tirāt
uṣṇīṣa
Vaiśya
varadamudrā
Vesāli
Vimāna-vatthu
Visuddhajanavilāsinī
Yamaka-pāṭihāriya

Fig. 1 Thambula-hpaya Temple, south side, constructed 1255 CE. Photograph by the author

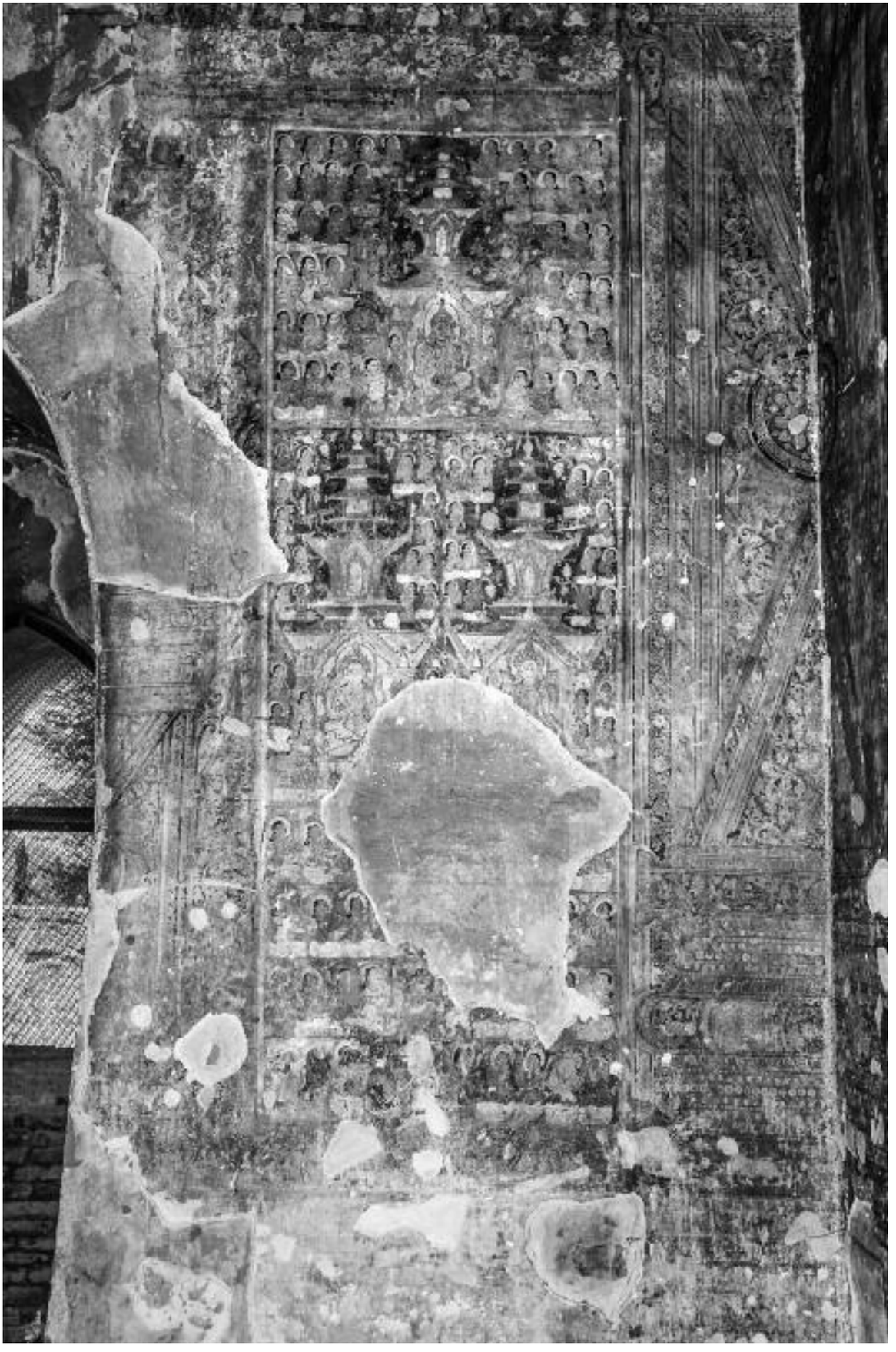

Fig. 2 Metteyya Bodhisatta in the Three Palaces, eastern section of the north wall, entrance hall, Thambula-hpaya Temple. Photograph by the author

Fig. 3 The first sermon of Metteyya, with ink inscription narrating the story, southern section of the east wall, entrance hall, Thambula-hpaya Temple. Photograph by the author

Fig. 4 Metteyya preaching in the Tavatimsa Heaven, northern section of the east wall, entrance hall, Thambula-hpaya Temple. Photograph by the author

Fig. 5 Assembly of monk-disciples of Metteyya on Mount Gandhamadana, upper part of the north wall, entrance hall, Thambula-hpaya Temple. Photograph by the author

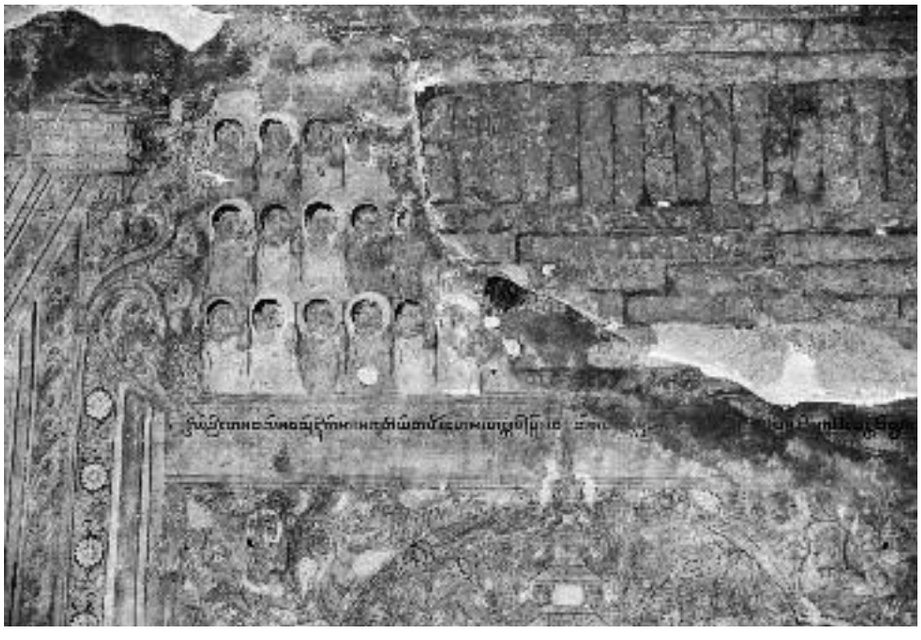

Fig. 6 Inumerable Buddhas (above) and the *Buddhavamsa* Buddhas with larger icons (below), northern section of the south wall, ambulatory corridor, Thambula-hpaya Temple. Photograph by the author

Fig. 7 *Mahaparinibbana* scene, east wall of the east vestibule, Thambula-hpaya Temple. Photograph by the author

Fig. 8 Buddha scenes on the west wall of the north vestibule, Thambula-hpaya Temple: Aninisa Cetiya (top left); Ratanaghara-cetiya (bottom left); Preaching of the Buddha in the Tavatimsa Heaven and his descent from the Heaven (right); and *Nipata-jatakas* in the rows along the lowest part of the frame. Photograph by the author

Fig. 9 Buddha scenes on the west wall of the south vestibule, Thambula-hpaya Temple: *Asadisadana* provided to the Buddha and his monk-disciples by King Pasenadi and his Chief Consort (left); Rajayatana-cetiya (top right); Mucalinda (bottom right); and *Nipata-jatakas* in the rows along the bottom part of the frame. Photograph by the author

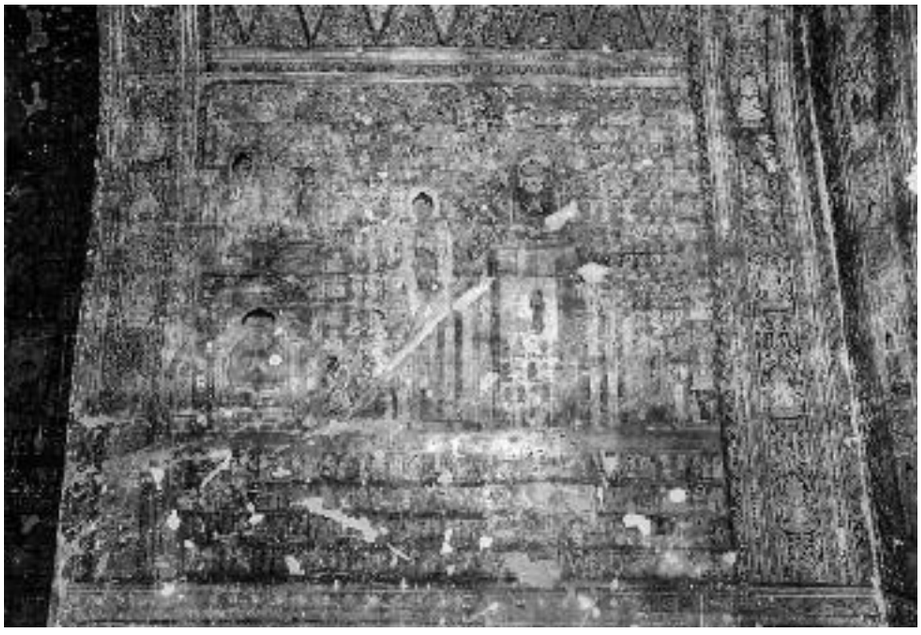

Fig. 10 Pacceka Buddhas in their abodes, the caves at the Nandamula Grotto on Mount Gandhamadana, southern slope of the vaulted ceiling of the passage between the entrance hall and the main shrine, Thambula-hpaya Temple. The inscription in Pali below the scene provides a quotation from the *Isigili-sutta*; toward the end of the inscription is its Old Burmese counterpart. Photograph by the author

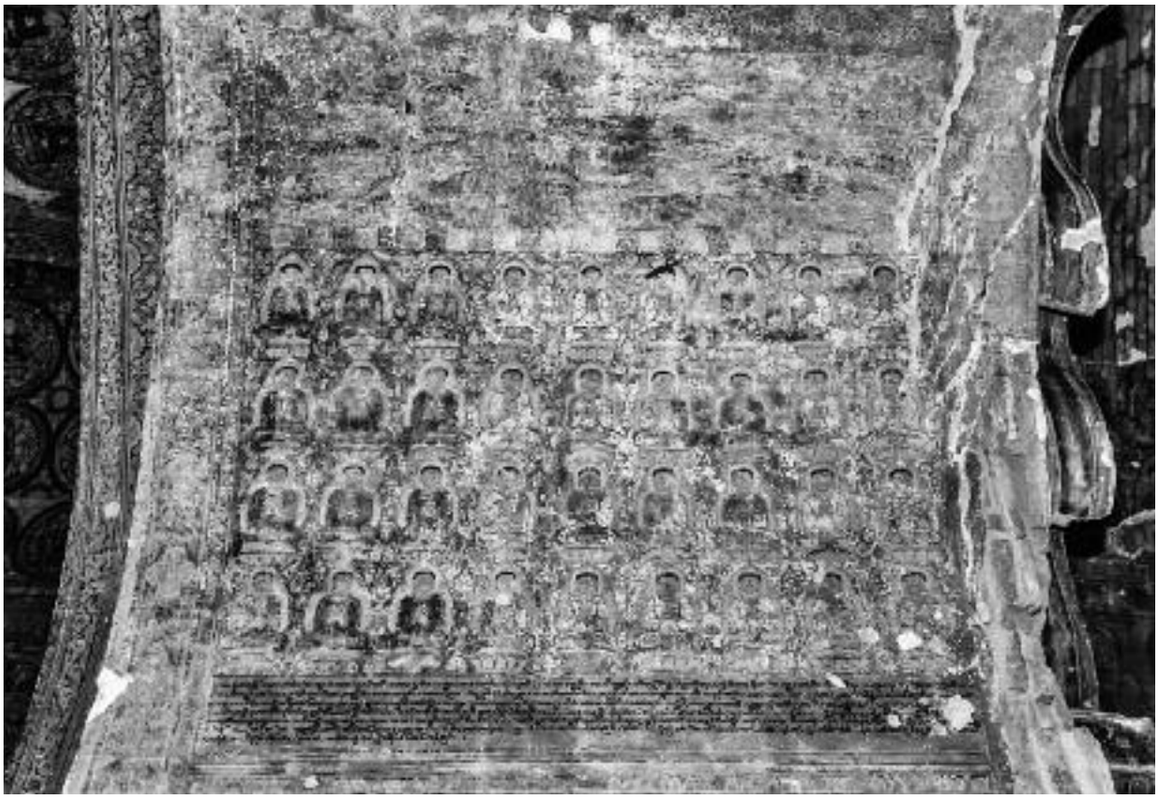

Fig. 11 Assembly of the Pacceka Buddhas in the shade of the Manjusaka tree at the Nandamula Grotto on Mount Gandhamadana, northern slope of the vaulted ceiling of the passage between the entrance hall and the main shrine, Thambula-hpaya Temple. The inscription in Pali below the scene provides a quotation from the *Apadana* text; toward the end of the inscription is its Old Burmese counterpart. Photograph by the author

Fig. 12 Hpaya-thon-zu Temple (Pagan monuments 477, 478, 479), northwest corner. Photograph by the author

Fig. 13 The murals on the east wall of the entrance hall, eastern tower, Hpaya-thon-zu Temple: past Buddhas (in the top row); *Nipata-jatakas*; and scenes of the "Eight Great Life Episodes" of the Buddha. Photograph by the author

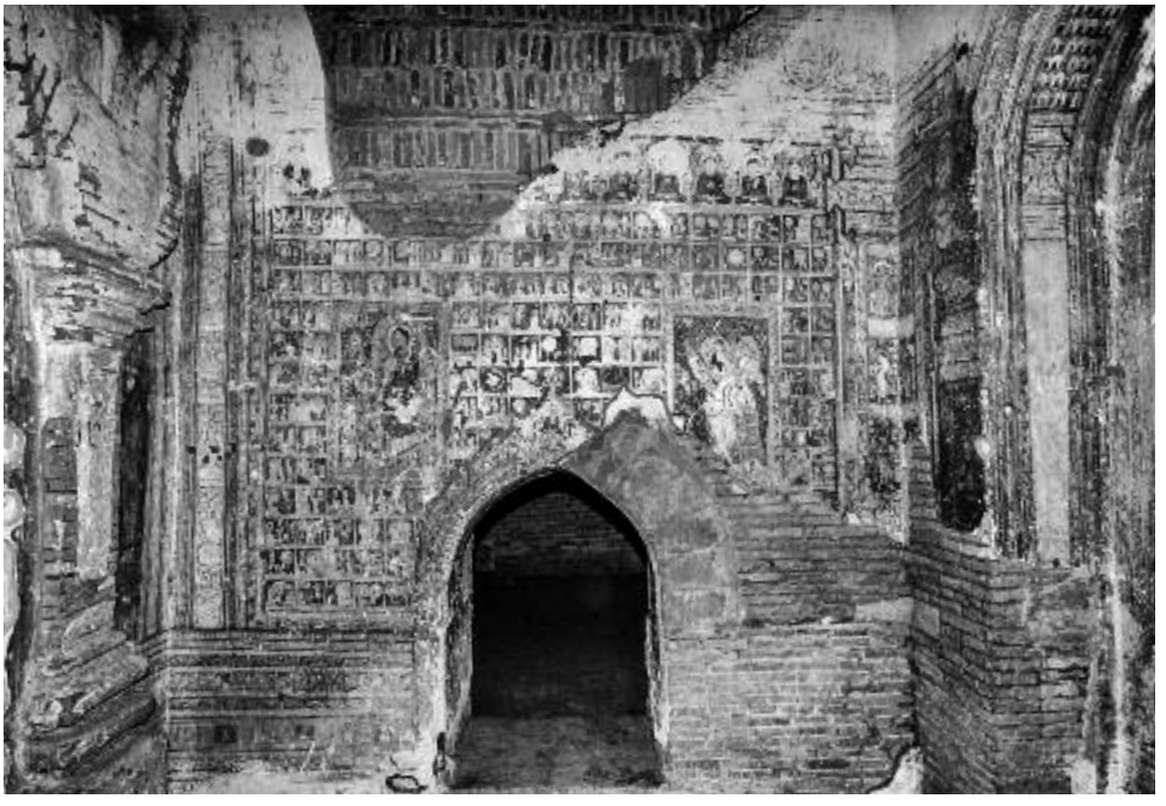

Fig. 14 The murals on the west wall of the entrance hall, eastern tower, Hpaya-thon-zu: past Buddhas (in the top row); *Nipata-jatakas;* and, scenes of the "Eight Great Life Episodes" of the Buddha. Photograph by the author

Fig. 15 Animisa-cetiya, south wall, eastern end, corridor connecting eastern and central towers, Hpaya-thon-zu Temple. Photograph by the author

Fig. 16 Ratanacankama-cetiya, north wall, eastern end, corridor connecting eastern and central towers, Hpaya-thon-zu Temple. Photograph by the author

Fig. 17 Ratanaghara-cetiya, south wall, western end, corridor connecting eastern and central towers, Hpaya-thon-zu Temple. Photograph by the author

Fig. 18 Ajapala-nigrodha, north wall, western end, corridor connecting eastern and central towers, Hpaya-thon-zu Temple. Photograph by the author

Fig. 19 *Buddhavamsa* Buddhas, south wall, east vestibule, east tower, Hpaya-thon-zu Temple. From left to right and top to bottom: Tanhankara, Medhankara, Saranankara, Dipankara, Kondanna, Mangala, Sumana, and Revata. Photograph by the author

Fig. 20 *Buddhavamsa* Buddhas, north wall, east vestibule, east tower, Hpaya-thon-zu Temple. From left to right and top to bottom: Sobhita, Anomadassi, Paduma, Narada, Padumuttara, Sumedha, Sujata, and Piyadassi. Photograph by the author

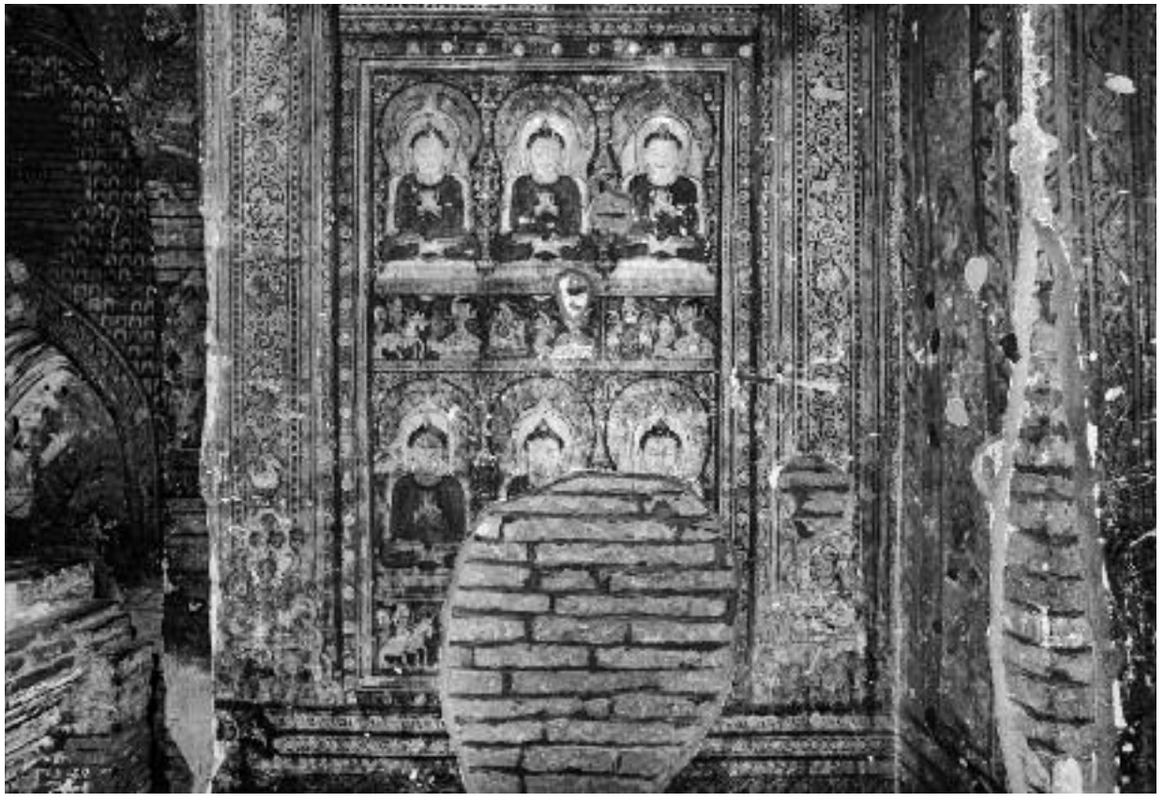

Fig. 21 *Buddhavamsa* Buddhas, south wall, west vestibule, east tower, Hpaya-thon-zu Temple. From left to right and top to bottom: Atthadassi, Dhammadassi, Siddhattha, Tissa, Phussa, and Vipassi. Photograph by the author

Fig. 22 *Buddhavamsa* Buddhas, north wall, west vestibule, east tower, Hpaya-thon-zu Temple. From left to right and top to bottom: Sikhi, Vessabhu, Kakusandha, Konagamana, Kassapa, and Gotama. Photograph by the author

Fig. 23 Buddha Gotama preaching to King Bimbisara, south wall, east vestibule, central tower, Hpaya-thon-zu Temple. Photograph by the author

Fig. 24 *Sakkapanha-sutta*, north wall, east vestibule, central tower, Hpaya-thon-zu Temple. Photograph by the author

Fig. 25 Buddha's episode, south wall, west vestibule, central tower, Hpaya-thon-zu Temple. Photograph by the author

Fig. 26 Buddha's episode, north wall, west vestibule, central tower, Hpaya-thon-zu Temple. Photograph by the author

Fig. 27 Assembly of the Pacceka Buddhas in the shade of the Manjusaka tree at the Nandamula Grotto on Mount Gandhamadana, vaulted ceiling, central part, corridor connecting eastern and central shrines, Hpaya-thon-zu Temple. Photograph by the author

Fig. 28 Pacceka Buddhas in their abodes, the caves at the Nandamula Grotto on Mount Gandhamadana, vaulted ceiling, eastern end, corridor connecting eastern and central shrines, Hpaya-thon-zu Temple. Photograph by the author

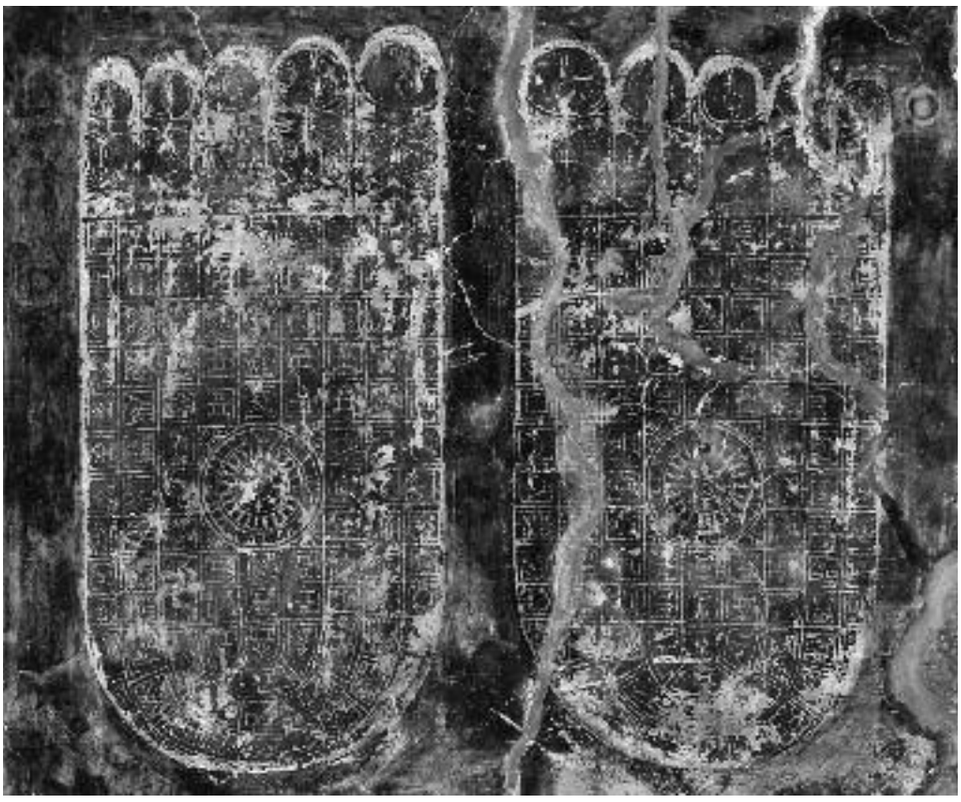

Fig. 29 Pair of the Buddha's footprints, ceiling, entrance passage, Loka-hteik-pan Temple, dated tentatively to the first half of the twelfth century. Photograph by the author

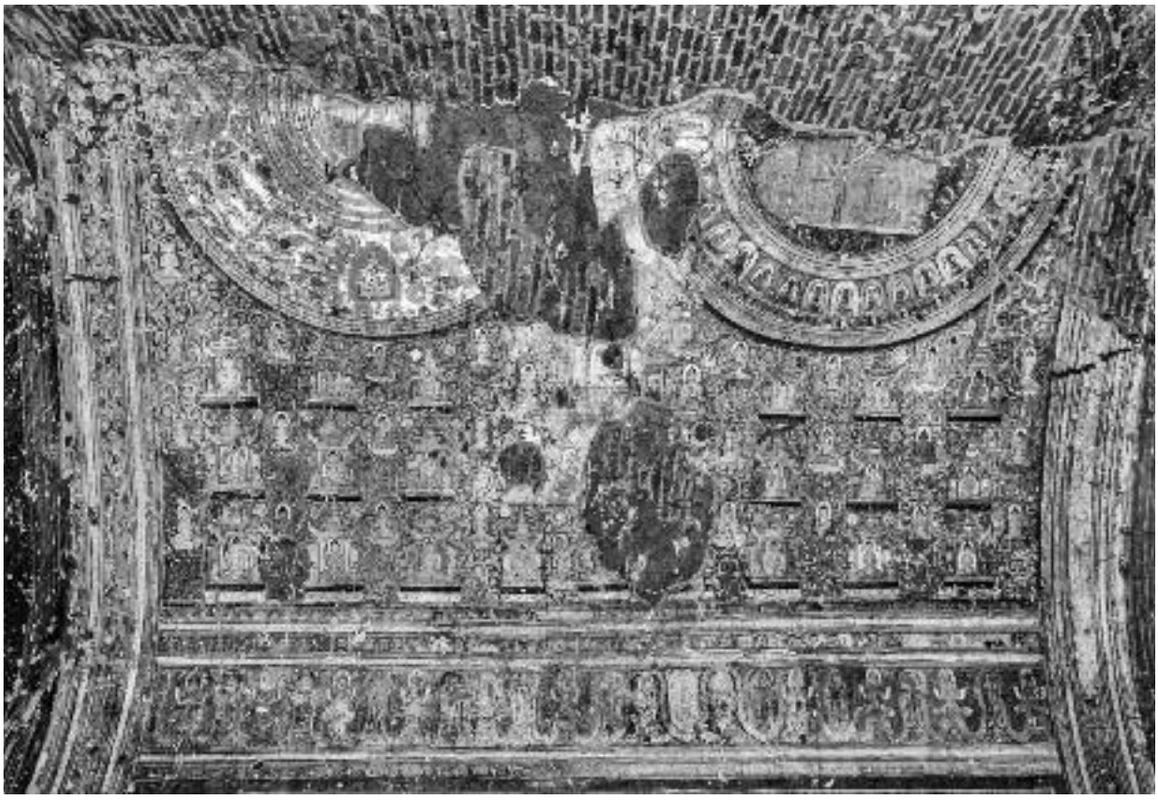

Fig. 31 A Universe scene portrayed opposite a scene of the Buddha footprints surrounded by a row of the Pacceka Buddhas, ceiling, entrance hall, Winido-hpaya Temple (Pagan monument 659). Photograph by the author

Fig. 30 Pair of the Buddha's footprints surrounded by a row of the Pacceka Buddhas (with detail of the Pacceka Buddhas shown below), ceiling, entrance passage, Pagan temple 1148, thirteenth century. Photograph by the author

Detail of fig. 30. Photograph by the author

Fig. 32 A Universe scene portrayed opposite the Buddha's footprints surrounded by a row of the Pacceka Buddhas, ceiling, entrance passage, Chauk-hpaya-hla-nge Temple (Pagan monument 141). Photograph taken in 2009; the current condition of the mural is much more damaged with the Universe scene almost completely flaked off. Photograph by the author

Fig. 33 A Universe scene portrayed opposite the Buddha's footprints surrounded by a row of the Pacceka Buddhas, ceiling, entrance passage, Pagan monument 2149. Photograph by the author

Fig. 34 Ananda-gu-hpaya-gyi Temple (Pagan monument 2171), east face, early twelfth century. Photograph by the author

Fig. 35 Pacceka Buddha (?) in half-*dhyana mudra*, west side, second tier from the bottom, north of entrance, inner wall, outer ambulatory corridor, Ananda-gu-hpaya-gyi Temple. Photograph by the author

Fig. 36 Pacceka Buddha (?) in reverse-*bhumisparsa mudra*, north side, bottom tier, east of entrance, inner wall, outer ambulatory corridor, Ananda-gu-hpaya-gyi Temple. Photograph by the author

Fig. 37 Pacceka Buddha (?) in reverse-*bhumisparsa mudra*, east side, third tier from the bottom, near northeast corner, inner wall, outer ambulatory corridor, Ananda-gu-hpaya-gyi Temple. Photograph by the author

Fig. 38 Pacceka Buddha (?) in half-*dhyana mudra*, south side, third tier from the bottom, near southwest corner, inner wall, outer ambulatory corridor, Ananda-gu-hpaya-gyi Temple. Photograph by the author

Fig. 39 Pacceka Buddha (?) in reverse-*bhumisparsa mudra*, south side, bottom tier, second niche west of southeast corner, inner wall, outer ambulatory corridor, Ananda-gu-hpaya-gyi Temple. Photograph by the author

Fig. 40 Pacceka Buddha (?) in half-*dhyana mudra*, south side, third tier from the bottom, west of southeast corner, inner wall, outer ambulatory corridor, Ananda-gu-hpaya-gyi Temple. Photograph by the author

Fig. 41 Pacceka Buddha (?) in half-*dhyana mudra*, west side, second tier from the bottom, near southwest corner, inner wall, outer ambulatory corridor, Ananda-gu-hpaya-gyi Temple. Photograph by the author

Fig. 42 Enlightenment of Gotama in standard Pagan iconography, with Sakka blowing his auspicious conch-trumpet, Vijayuttara, on one side of the Buddha, and Brahma holding a parasol on the other side, south side, second tier from the bottom, near southwest corner, outer wall, outer ambulatory corridor, Ananda-gu-hpaya-gyi Temple. Photograph by the author

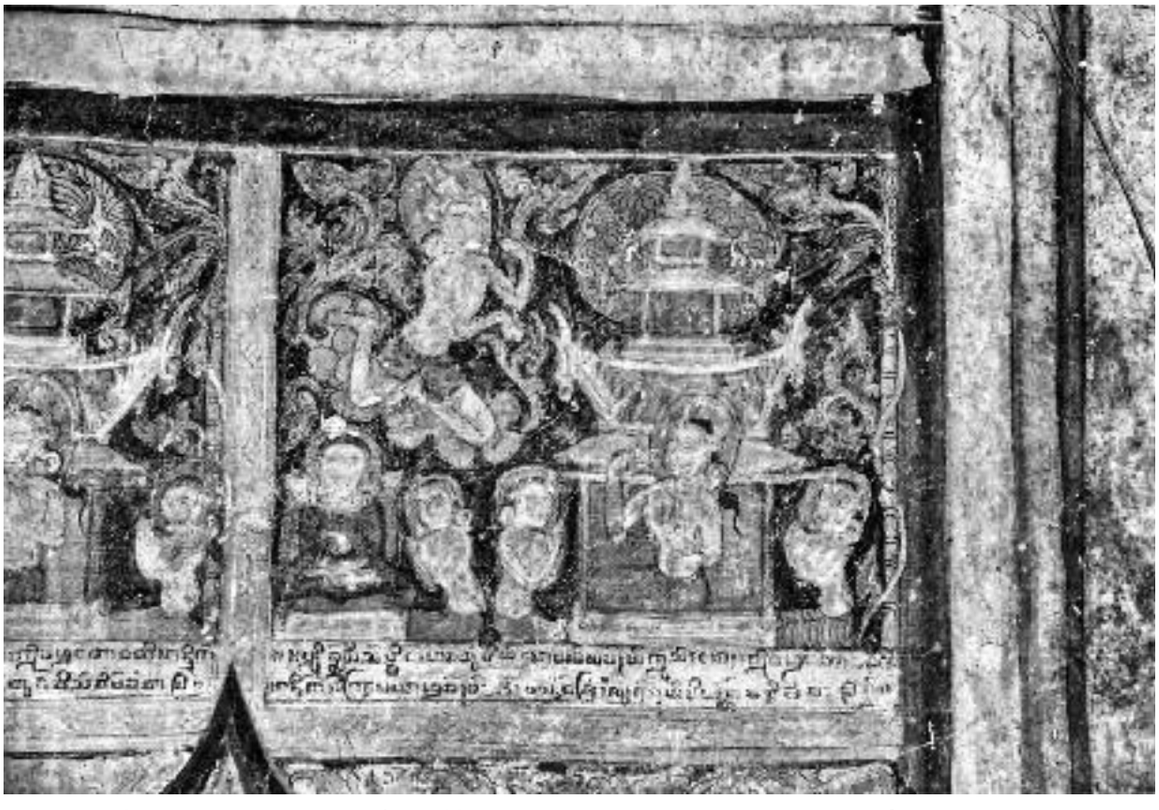

Fig. 43 A lady giving alms to the Pacceka Buddha has gotten in return her luxurious next life in the Tavatimsa Heaven, south wall, west vestibule, Than-bu-de-hpaya Temple. Photograph by the author

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