

WIDER BAGAN

The **ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute** (formerly Institute of Southeast Asian Studies) is an autonomous organization established in 1968. It is a regional centre dedicated to the study of sociopolitical, security, and economic trends and developments in Southeast Asia and its wider geostrategic and economic environment. The Institute's research programmes are grouped under Regional Economic Studies (RES), Regional Strategic and Political Studies (RSPS), and Regional Social and Cultural Studies (RSCS). The Institute is also home to the ASEAN Studies Centre (ASC), the Singapore APEC Study Centre, and the Temasek History Research Centre (THRC).

ISEAS Publishing, an established academic press, has issued more than 2,000 books and journals. It is the largest scholarly publisher of research about Southeast Asia from within the region. ISEAS Publishing works with many other academic and trade publishers and distributors to disseminate important research and analyses from and about Southeast Asia to the rest of the world.

WIDER BAGAN

Ancient and Living Buddhist Traditions

Elizabeth H. Moore

Contributing authors Win Maung (Tampawaddy) • Win Kyaing

Maps by Kyaw Nyi Nyi Htet • Kyaw Soe Htun

First published in Singapore in 2023 by
ISEAS Publishing
30 Heng Mui Keng Terrace
Singapore 119614

Email: publish@iseas.edu.sg
Website: bookshop.iseas.edu.sg

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute.

© 2023 ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore

The responsibility for facts and opinions in this publication rests exclusively with the authors and their interpretations do not necessarily reflect the views or the policy of the publisher or its supporters.

ISEAS Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

Name(s): Moore, Elizabeth H., author.

Title: *Wider Bagan* : ancient and living Buddhist traditions / Elizabeth H. Moore.

Description: Singapore : ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute, 2023. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: ISBN 9789814951197 (paperback) | ISBN 9789814951999 (PDF)

Subjects: LCSH: Buddhist antiquities—Myanmar—Pagan. | Pagan (Myanmar)—History.

Classification: LCC DS529.2 M82

Cover design by Lee Meng Hui

Typesetting and index by Stephen Logan

Printed in Singapore by Mainland Press Pte Ltd

Cover photo:

The west facade of the Ta Mok Shwe-gu-gyi in Kyaukse displays the temple's remarkably preserved stucco. Above the entry, the door pediment and main side columns are decorated, plus the beam and upper main pediment. On the side half-pediments, an animated *makara* sweeps upward across the *saing-paung* (ox-haunch) resting on a broad side column. The wall မာရဘင် (*marabein* or *marabin* from Pali, “to prevent danger from destroying”) is filled with roundels, such as the *chinthe* highlighted on the cover. Garlands are above and teardrop-shaped *sein taung* below. With this iconography connecting west to Bagan, and other elements pointing east to the Shan Plateau, Ta Mok Shwe-gu-gyi illustrates the unique local heritage of *Wider Bagan*. (Photo by contributing author U Win Kyaing.)

*Dedicated to
the Crocodile and the Tiger*



Contents

<i>List of Maps</i>	vii
<i>List of Valley Maps by Township</i>	x
<i>Foreword by U Win Maung (Tampawaddy)</i>	xiv
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xv
Chapter 1 – Introduction	1
Chapter 2 – Inscriptions, Walls and Water	26
Chapter 3 – Temples and Images	70
Chapter 4 – Memory of Tutelary Individuals, Monks and Kings	123
Chapter 5 – Gazetteer of the River Valleys	174
Chapter 6 – Significant Nodes and Phased Chronology	324
<i>Appendix – List of Village, Town and Site Names</i>	391
<i>Bibliography</i>	400
<i>Index</i>	432
<i>About the Authors and Cartographers</i>	455

Maps

Overview Maps

Map Showing the River Valleys of Myanmar	2
Map of the Distribution of Attributes in the Four Phases	387
Map 22.0 Traditional Historical Division of Myanmar into Sunāparanta and Tampadipa	325
Map 23.0 Expanding the Traditional Division to Highlight other Kingdoms	327

City Maps

City Map 1 Multiple Walled Areas of Ta Loat (Loke) Myo	213
City Map 2 Sri Ksetra Showing the Proximity to Pyay	247
City Map 3 Amyint	258
City Map 4 Hlaingdet and Hlaing Htet Temple in the Samon River Valley	281
City Map 5 Myinkyidaing, Myingondaing Kyet-ma Shwe-gu Temple, Ywar Mone Gyi and Ywamon Shwe-in Shwegu Pyawbwe Temple	289
City Map 6 Allakappa (Allagappa)	335
City Map 7 Mekkhaya	360

Valley Maps

Valley Map 1.0.1 Extreme North Ayeyarwady River Region	175
Valley Map 2.0.2 Upper Ayeyarwady River Valley Region (Kachin State) (Bhamo/Shwe Gu)	178
Valley Map 2.2.2 Upper Ayeyarwady (Shan State) (Namkhan/Mabein)	180
Valley Map 2.1.2 Upper Ayeyarwady (Katha, Tigyaing)	182
Valley Map 2.4.2 Upper Ayeyarwady at Thabeikkyin and an Inset of Tagaung	186

Valley Map 2.3.2 Upper Ayeyarwady River Valley (Singu/Madaya/Patheingyi)	194
Valley Map 2.5.2 Upper Ayeyarwady (Kanbalu, Wetlet, Sagaing)	196
Valley Map 3.7.3 Middle Ayeyarwady (Aungmyaythazan, Chanayethazan Pyigyitagon, and Amarapura) at Mandalay	200
Valley Map 3.9.3 Middle Ayeyarwady (Sagaing)	204
Valley Map 3.3.3 Middle Ayeyarwady: Sagaing (Myinmu)	208
Valley Map 3.2.3 Middle Ayeyarwady (Myingyan, Ngazun)	210
Valley Map 3.5.3 Middle Ayeyarwady (Natogyi/Taungtha)	216
Valley Map 3.6.3 Middle Ayeyarwady (Nyaung U)	220
Valley Map 3.12.3 Middle Ayeyarwady (Chauk, Seikphyu, Yenangaung)	224
Valley Map 3.1.3 Middle Ayeyarwady (Magway)	226
Valley Map 3.4.3 Middle Ayeyarwady (Natmauk, Taungdwingyi)	230
Valley Map 3.10.3 Middle Ayeyarwady Valley: Magway Division (Salin)	234
Valley Map 3.8.3 Middle Ayeyarwady (Pwintbyu, Minbu)	238
Valley Map 3.11.3 Middle Ayeyarwady (Yesagyo, Pakokku)	242
Valley Map 4.0.4 Lower Ayeyarwady (Pyay)	244
Valley Map 5.0.5 Delta Ayeyarwady Region	250
Valley Map 6.0.6 Upper Chindwin	252
Valley Map 7.0.7 Lower Chindwin	254
Valley Map 8.0.8 Mu River Valley Region	266
Valley Map 9.0.9 Samon Valley (Mahlaing, Meiktila, Thazi, Pyaw Bwe)	276
Valley Map 9.1.9 Samon River Valley: Mandalay (Natogyi, Myittha, Wundwin)	282
Valley Map 9.2.9 Samon River Valley (Tada-u, Sintgaing, Kyaukse, Twangan)	286
Valley Map 10.0.10 Myit Ngeh River Valley	296
Valley Map 11.0.11 Maw and Yaw River Valley Region	300
Valley Map 12.0.12 Kissapandi River Valley	306
Valley Map 13.0.13 Sittaung River Valley	308
Valley Map 14.0.14 Inlay Valley Region	312
Valley Map 15.0.15 Dawei Tanintharyi River Valley Region	316
Valley Map 16.0.16 Lower Thanlwin (Salween)	320
Valley Map 3.0.3 Middle Ayeyarwady (Kyaukpadaung)	342

Valley Maps by Township

Amarapura	3.7.3 Middle Ayeyarwady (Aungmyaythazan, Chanayethazan Pyigyitagon, and Amarapura) at Mandalay	200
Aungmyaythazan	3.7.3 Middle Ayeyarwady (Aungmyaythazan, Chanayethazan Pyigyitagon, and Amarapura) at Mandalay	200
Ayadaw	8.0.8 Mu River Valley Region	266
Bhamo	2.0.2 Upper Ayeyarwady River Valley Region (Kachin State) (Bhamo/Shwe Gu)	178
Bilin	16.0.16 Lower Thanlwin (Salween)	320
Chanayethazan	3.7.3 Middle Ayeyarwady (Aungmyaythazan, Chanayethazan Pyigyitagon, and Amarapura) at Mandalay	200
Chauk	3.12.3 Middle Ayeyarwady (Chauk, Seikphyu, Yenangyaung)	224
Chaung-U	7.0.7 Lower Chindwin River Valley Region	254
Dawei	15.0.15 Dawei Tanintharyi River Valley Region	316
Hpa-An	16.0.16 Lower Thanlwin (Salween)	320
Htantabin	13.0.13 Sittaung River Valley	308
Kale	6.0.6 Upper Chindwin River Valley Region	252
Kanbalu	2.5.2 Upper Ayeyarwady (Kanbalu, Wetlet, Sagaing)	196
	8.0.8 Mu River Valley Region	266
Katha	2.1.2 Upper Ayeyarwady (Katha, Tigyaing)	182
Khin-U	8.0.8 Mu River Valley Region	266
Kyaukpadaung	3.0.3 Middle Ayeyarwady (Kyaukpadaung)	342

Kyaukse	9.2.9 Samon Valley (Kyaukse, Sintgaing, Tada-U, Ywangan)	286
Lewe	13.0.13 Sittaung River Valley	308
Mabein	2.2.2 Upper Ayeyarwady (Shan State) (Namkhan/Mabein)	180
Madaya	2.3.2 Upper Ayeyarwady River Valley (Singu/Madaya/Patheingyi)	194
Magway	3.1.3 Middle Ayeyarwady (Magway)	226
Mahlaing	9.0.9 Samon Valley (Mahlaing, Meiktila, Thazi, Pyaw Bwe)	276
Mawlamyine	16.0.16 Lower Thanlwin (Salween)	320
Meiktila	9.0.9 Samon Valley (Mahlaing, Meiktila, Thazi, Pyaw Bwe)	276
Minbu	3.8.3 Middle Ayeyarwady Region (Pwintbyu, Minbu)	238
Mingin	6.0.6 Upper Chindwin River Valley Region	252
Monywa	7.0.7 Lower Chindwin River Valley Region	254
Mrauk-U	12.0.12 Kissapandi River Valley Region	306
Myaing	7.0.7 Lower Chindwin River Valley Region	254
Myaung	7.0.7 Lower Chindwin River Valley Region	254
Myeik	15.0.15 Dawei Tanintharyi River Valley Region	316
Myingyan	3.2.3 Middle Ayeyarwady (Myingyan, Ngazun)	210
Myinmu	3.3.3 Middle Ayeyarwady: Sagaing (Myinmu)	208
Myitkyina	1.0.1 Extreme North Ayeyarwady River Region	175
Myittha	9.1.9 Samon Valley (Natogyi/Myittha/Wundwin)	282
Namkhan	2.2.2 Upper Ayeyarwady (Shan State) (Namkhan/Mabein)	180
Natmauk	3.4.3 Middle Ayeyarwady (Natmauk, Taungdwingyi)	230
Natogyi	3.5.3 Middle Ayeyarwady (Natogyi/Taungtha)	216
Nattalin	4.0.4 Lower Ayeyarwady (Pyay)	244
Ngapudaw	5.0.5 Delta Ayeyarwady Region	250
Ngazun	3.2.3 Middle Ayeyarwady (Myingyan, Ngazun)	210
Nyaungshwe	14.0.14 Inlay Valley Region	312

Nyaung-U	3.6.3 Middle Ayeyarwady (Nyaung U)	220
Pakokku	3.11.3 Middle Ayeyarwady (Yesagy, Pakokku)	242
Pale	7.0.7 Lower Chindwin River Valley Region	254
Pathein	5.0.5 Delta Ayeyarwady Region	250
Patheingyi	2.3.2 Upper Ayeyarwady River Valley (Singu/Madaya/Patheingyi)	194
	3.7.3 Middle Ayeyarwady (Aungmyaythazan, Chanayethazan Pyigyitagon, and Amarapura) at Mandalay	200
Pauk	11.0.11 Maw and Yaw River Valley Region	300
Pwintbyu	3.8.3 Middle Ayeyarwady Region (Pwintbyu, Minbu)	238
Pyawbwe	9.0.9 Samon Valley (Mahlaing, Meiktila, Thazi, Pyaw Bwe)	276
Pyay	4.0.4 Lower Ayeyarwady (Pyay)	244
Pyigyitagon	3.7.3 Middle Ayeyarwady (Aungmyaythazan, Chanayethazan Pyigyitagon, and Amarapura) at Mandalay	200
Sagaing	2.5.2 Upper Ayeyarwady (Kanbalu, Wetlet, Sagaing)	196
	3.9.3 Middle Ayeyarwady (Sagaing)	204
	8.0.8 Mu River Valley Region	266
Salin	3.10.3 Middle Ayeyarwady Valley: Magway Division (Salin)	234
Saw	11.0.11 Maw and Yaw River Valley Region	300
Seikphyu	3.12.3 Middle Ayeyarwady (Chauk, Seikphyu, Yenangyaung)	224
Shwebo	8.0.8 Mu River Valley Region	266
Shwegu	2.0.2 Upper Ayeyarwady River Valley Region (Kachin State) (Bhamo/Shwe Gu)	178
Singu	2.3.2 Upper Ayeyarwady River Valley (Singu/Madaya/Patheingyi)	194
Sintgaing	10.0.10 Myit Ngeh River Valley	296
	9.2.9 Samon Valley (Kyaukse, Sintgaing, Tada-U, Ywangan)	286

Tabayin	8.0.8 Mu River Valley Region	266
Tada-U	9.2.9 Samon Valley (Kyaukse, Sintgaing, Tada-U, Ywangan)	286
Tatkon	13.0.13 Sittaung River Valley	308
Taungdwingyi	3.4.3 Middle Ayeyarwady (Natmauk, Taungdwingyi)	230
Taunggyi	14.0.14 Inlay Valley Region	312
Taungtha	3.5.3 Middle Ayeyarwady (Natogyi/Taungtha)	216
Taze	8.0.8 Mu River Valley Region	266
Thabeikkyin	2.4.2 Upper Ayeyarwady at Thabeikkyin and an Inset of Tagaung	186
Thaton	16.0.16 Lower Thanlwin (Salween)	320
Thayet	4.0.4 Lower Ayeyarwady (Pyay)	244
Thazi	9.0.9 Samon Valley (Mahlaing, Meiktila, Thazi, Pyaw Bwe)	276
Thegon	4.0.4 Lower Ayeyarwady (Pyay)	244
Tigyaing	2.1.2 Upper Ayeyarwady (Katha, Tigyaing)	182
Tilin	11.0.11 Maw and Yaw River Valley Region	300
Twantay	5.0.5 Delta Ayeyarwady Region	250
Waingmaw	1.0.1 Extreme North Ayeyarwady River Region	175
Wetlet	2.5.2 Upper Ayeyarwady (Kanbalu, Wetlet, Sagaing)	196
	8.0.8 Mu River Valley Region	266
Wundwin	9.1.9 Samon Valley (Natogyi/Myittha/Wundwin)	282
Yamethin	13.0.13 Sittaung River Valley	308
Yedashe	13.0.13 Sittaung River Valley	308
Yenangyaung	3.12.3 Middle Ayeyarwady (Chauk, Seikphyu, Yenangyaung)	224
Yesagyio	3.11.3 Middle Ayeyarwady (Yesagyio, Pakokku)	242
	7.0.7 Lower Chindwin River Valley Region	254
Yinmabin	7.0.7 Lower Chindwin River Valley Region	254
Ywangan	9.2.9 Samon Valley (Kyaukse, Sintgaing, Tada-U, Ywangan)	286
Zay Yar Thi Ri	13.0.13 Sittaung River Valley	308

Foreword

According to the Myanmar Buddhist record, Buddhism and Buddhist art existed not only at the Bagan capital but also spread out across the whole Myanmar country. Devotees, however, have frequently repaired Bagan art, making it difficult to prove that Bagan Buddhism expanded from the capital. Now, *Sayarmagyi* (the author) has studied the spread of Buddhist art to the wider area by studying temple architecture, inscriptions, mural paintings, stucco, walls, water features and the promotion of the Sasanā by ancient kings and monks. Evidence has been traced along the main river valleys such as the Ayeyarwady, Chindwin, Samon and others. She has also communicated with local people and encouraged local appreciation of cultural heritage. Her research in the Wider Bagan area has revealed many places with previously unknown ancient architecture, inscriptions, Buddhist images, *andagu* and *nat* veneration from the Bagan period. *Wider Bagan* will be a very valuable book for future researchers of Burmese Buddhism.

U Win Maung (Tampawaddy)
Sagaing, 3 March 2020

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my great thanks to the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute for their research support during the periods of fieldwork and study for this book. Throughout the process of research and writing, Dr Terence Chong, Deputy Chief Executive Officer, has always been available for discussion, making perceptive comments that have helped formulate the direction of this book. Other staff, especially Fong Sok Eng, Research Officer, those in the Archaeology Unit of the present Temasek History Research Centre (THRC), the rotating groups of scholars, plus the quiet and resources of the library with its welcoming staff have been greatly appreciated. To ISEAS Publishing, and especially Stephen Logan, my gratitude for their patience and experience in dealing with the texts, tables, maps and images I have sent. In Myanmar, I extend my sincere gratitude to the Department of Archaeology, Ministry of Religious Affairs and Culture, for their travel permissions and assistance, particularly then Minister Thura Aung Ko, Director General U Kyaw Oo Lwin, then Assistant Director General U Thein Lwin and the staff at the Bagan Branch. Working with contributing author U Win Kyaing, Kyaw Nyi Nyi Htet and Kyaw Soe Win from the Field School of Archaeology (Pyay) on the maps was a great experience, seeing the hundreds of inventory attributes laid out on maps of the river valleys and ancient cities of Wider Bagan.

The comments made by the two anonymous reviewers raised valuable points on duplications and the overall structure that were of great help in revising the manuscript. Following this, the chapter-by-chapter comments of Dr Lilian Handlin provided not only many alerts but wisdom on wider contexts that I have tried to address, plus a gratefully received publication assistance to ISEAS enabling the many maps and images not only to be included but to also be in colour.

In Yangon, I am grateful for the steady help of Nay Myo, Library Manager at the E. Moore Library, and in the Department of Anthropology, Yangon University, Prof Mya Mya Khin, Hla Maw Maw, Cathy Tun and others who have fielded my many and often obscure searches. The Zaykabar Museum Chairman, Zay Zin Latt, and Zay Thiha I likewise thank for their consistent encouragement and support. Additionally, the museum staff Khin Ma Ma Mu, Nan Kyi Kyi Khaing and Sulatt Win, I am grateful to for helping me locate temples and explain artefacts from

votive tablets to Bagan pottery and *bilu* or ogres. In Budapest, I am grateful to János Jelen for discussions and reactions at intermittent points of this writing. Finally, I thank the Alphawood Foundation (Chicago) for funding the Southeast Asian Art Academic Programme (SAAAP) at SOAS (London), for the Alphawood Scholarships, which has underpinned my my In-Region Liaison post and a new generation of Myanmar scholars. While not directly involved in this book, I am grateful for the SOAS Alphawood assistance to help maintain the E. Moore Library during a crucial phase, where many of the books and articles used in this book are safeguarded, plus the alumni and scholars interested to accompany me and to discuss with me on trips and at conferences.

The Wider Bagan inventory upon which this book is based has not been documented previously. The great majority of sites were suggested by contributing author, traditional architect and independent scholar U Win Maung (Tampawaddy), whom I first met in 1990 at the Yankin flat of U Maung Maung Tin (Mahaweiza). His introduction to the Ven. Sitagu Sayadaw (Ashin Nyanissara) in Sagaing and then to numerous presiding monks and local scholars at Buddhist sites throughout this study have been invaluable in understanding the processes and values of religious continuity. Many other points, insights and photographs, especially in relation to Pakhangyi, but other prehistoric and historic areas as well, came from suggestions and excavations of contributing author U Win Kyaing, Director, Department of Archaeology, Principal of the Field School of Archaeology in Pyay. At Tagaung, I thank U Min Han, who first introduced me to the site in 2003, returned with me in 2017 and whose patience opened up reading the stone inscriptions. Many introductions have assisted immeasurably from individuals in each area, particularly Ashin Dham Meik Sara at Allagappa and Zaw Myo Oo at Sagu (Saku), plus others at many sites, including Nay La Win Oo at Kyaukpadaung near Mt. Popa. Intermittent discussions with the late Minbu Aung Kyaing and his son Myo Nyunt Aung at Bagan were important, as were visits with Phyopyae Koko to document sites with a clear GIS perspective. Visiting and discussing with local villagers in some cases did not result in ancient artefacts or inscriptions, but brought forth monks, elders and historians able to explain the story of the temple, monastery or shrine at that place. My great thanks to all of those individuals in many villages, towns and cities for their insights on the ancient and living Buddhist traditions. These present perceptions of the past have been an important corollary in understanding the Buddhist patronage and practices of the eleventh to thirteenth century CE.

Elizabeth H. Moore
London, January 2023