

miracles of the Lord Buddha during his life time, known as “Astamahapratiharya” in a Sanskrit term, which took place at different localities - so called “Atthathana” (the eight stations) in vernacular Pali - in the middle country of the Indian Continent; the eight stations include: Lumbini for the nativity, Bodhgaya for the enlightenment, Varanasi for the first sermon, Savatthi for the *Yamakapatihariya*, Sankassa for the descent from the Tavatimsa Heaven, Rajagaha for the taming of *Nalagiri* elephant, Kosambi for the offerings by the monkey and the *Parileyya* elephant, and Kusinara for the nirvana or final departure. Based on its iconography and art style, the illustration of these eight great miracles of the Buddha in Pagan arts would have been derived mainly from its proto-type in the older Pala arts of northeastern India<sup>14</sup>.

The duality of *Satthathana* and *Atthathana* scenes is evident in the arts of Pagan on votive objects made of clay and of a kind of soft stone known in a Burmese term as *Andagu*<sup>15</sup>, as well as in murals that adorned the inner walls of many cave temples (*Gu-hpaya* in Burmese). On votive objects, a figure of the Lord Buddha seated cross legged in *bhumisparsa-mudra*, with the *Bodhi*-tree and sometime a canopy structure - reminiscence of the *Mahabodhi* sanctuary at Bodhgaya - at the background, centers the composition; this main icon represents *Maravijaya*, the enlightenment moment of the Blessed One at the *Bodhi*-tree, and as well his meditation during the next following seven days, thus counting for the corresponding episodes in the

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<sup>14</sup> See for instances: J. C. Huntington. Pilgrimage as image: the cult of the Astamahapratihariya, part II. *Orientations*, 1987, 18(8): 56-68; R.L. Brown. Bodhgaya and South-east Asia. In *Bodhgaya: the Site of Enlightenment*. Bombay: Marg Publications. 1988, pp. 101-24; C. Bautze-Picron. *The Buddhist Murals of Pagan*. Bangkok: Orchid Press. 2003, pp. 7-20; the notable difference in terms of iconography between Pagan and Pala scenes of *Astramahapratiharya* is in the case of the *Parileyya* scene, in which only the monkey appeared in the Pala's scene while both the monkey and the elephant existed in the Pagan's scene; the latter representation is in accord with the narration in a Theravada commentary on *Dhammapada* text.

<sup>15</sup> See: G.H. Luce. *Old Burma – Early Pagan*. New York: J. J. Augustine Publisher. 1970, Vols. II (pp. 171-5) and III (pp.400-5).

*Atthathana* and *Satthathana* sets, respectively. The Buddha sitting cross legged is surrounded by scenes representing the rest of the events in both sets. The nirvana scene of the *Atthathana* set was always posited on top of the composition, while the rest six scenes in each set were arranged vertically - three to the left and three to the right - on both sides of the *Maravijaya* Buddha icon, with the *Satthathana* scenes always on the inner sides and those of *Atthathana* on the outer sides of that main Buddha icon.

A comparable concept of scene arrangements for *Satthathana* and *Atthathana* is also noticed in murals at Pagan, in which the principal Buddha image(s) of the main shrine of a cave pagoda, normally seated cross legged in *bhumisparsa-mudra*, signified the *Maravijaya* episode of the Lord Buddha, as well as his meditation during the following seven days, thus the mural representation of these two events is not required. The mural scene for nirvana usually adorns the apex of the front wall of the anterior vestibule above a passage to the main shrine. The rest of the scenes, six in number for each set, were distributed on walls of the posterior and the two lateral vestibules of a four-sided pagoda. There are two opposite side walls in each vestibule, all together six in the three vestibules mentioned, just enough space to portray the *Satthathana* and *Atthathana* scenes not yet represented symbolically, one from each set on each wall, with a *Satthathana* scene always on the inner side (closer to the main shrine) and that of *Atthathana* on the outer side of the same vestibule wall. Such pattern of scene arrangement can be seen in many Pagan temples of the thirteenth century CE, noted here for examples in monuments 447 (*Le-myet-hna-hpaya*), 534 (*Sa-pwe-tin*), 539 (*Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi*), 664 (*Ma-la-phyi-hpaya*) and

676 (So-hla-wun-hpaya), all located at proximity to the modern *Minnanthu* village, about two miles east of the old Pagan City.

The scenes of the Great Lord at *Satthathana* were usually portrayed in Pagan murals under certain standard iconographic compositions, which could promptly urge their learned audiences to understand the scene, hence a portrayal of the standing Buddha facing to the tree with a victory throne underneath it is for *Animisa Cetiya* in the second week, the Buddha in a walking position is for *Ratanacankama Cetiya* in the third week, the Great Lord seated in meditation in a tiered-roof pavilion is for *Ratanaghara Cetiya* in the fourth week, the Buddha seated under a shade of the tree sometime with the presence of three daughters of Mara in their temptation to the Buddha or with the presence of the goats is for *Ajapala-nigrodha*, a territory of the goat keepers, in the fifth week (in some instances, a figure of the Brahma God was inserted into this particular scene to represent another episode, the invitation of the Mahabrahma God, *Sahampati*, for the Buddha to preach to the world, which took place as well at *Ajapala-nigrodha*, but at a time subsequent to the retreat period of the Buddha), the Buddha protected under a hood of the Naga is for *Mucalinda* in the sixth week, and the seated Buddha surrounded by four divine personages, each offering him a bowl, sometime with two lay people offering him a meal, is for *Rajayatana* in the seventh week.

In Pagan mural tradition, narrating scenes were normally arranged either sequentially or chronologically clockwise round the main shrine room. In a four-sided pagoda that faces east, a narration usually begins either on the east or on the south wall of the main shrine room, then ran forth clockwise; an obvious example of such

can be perceived for a case of the 28 previous Buddhas portrayed sequentially in murals of the main shrine, found in monuments 447, 534 and 676, mentioned earlier. Interestingly, quite a different system of scene arrangement was detected in murals portraying the *Satthathana* episodes in vestibules of the same Pagan monuments. If getting started on east wall of the south vestibule, then moving forth clockwise round the main shrine to end at the north vestibule on its east wall, one can then perceive an arrangement of the *Satthathana* scenes sequentially as: (1) *Rajayatana* of the seventh week, (2) *Mucalinda* of the sixth week, (3) *Ajapala-nigrodha* of the fifth week, (4) *Ratanaghara Cetiya* of the fourth week, (5) *Ratanacankama Cetiya* of the third week, and (6) *Animisa Cetiya* of the second week. The order is, however, reversed between (1) and (2) in Pagan monuments 539 and 664.

Although, one might imagine that the *Satthathana* scenes in those monuments mentioned would have been intentionally arranged anti-clockwise by their artists, a serious problem stills remain: how could have the very same artists just adopted quite an opposite system on arranging the sequence of the 28 Buddhas portrayed in murals in the same monuments? Moreover, the arrangement of the *Satthathana* scenes in monuments 539 and 664 is not anyway in an absolute agreement with the anti-clockwise concept.

For us to perceive the true ideology for the arrangement of the *Satathana* scenes in Pagan temples, we should keep in our mind the fact that the *Satthathana* scenes were originally programmed for their symbolic interconnection with the Buddha image presiding the main shrine, which represents the meditation of the Blessed One on his victory throne under the Bodhi-tree during his first week of the retreat. It is,

therefore, logical to hypothesize that the scenes for the following six weeks which were located in the vestibules, peripheral to the presiding Buddha image of the main shrine, would have been programmed intentionally in a layout context of the temple to symbolize their geographic connection with the Bodhi-tree.

The exact directions of the other six stations for a retreat of the Buddha from the *Bodhi*-tree are given in several Pali commentaries, however, with no single text of which providing a complete account on the matter. The *Jataka*'s and the *Apadana*'s commentaries<sup>16</sup> mention only three: *Aimisa Cetiya* on the northeast, *Ratanacankama Cetiya* on the north, and *Ratanaghara Cetiya* on the northwest of the *Bodhi*-tree. A commentary on the *Mahavagga* of the *Vinaya Pitaka*<sup>17</sup> gives additional two for *Ajapala-nigrodha* and *Mucalinda*, on the east and the southeast of the *Bodhi*-tree, respectively. In *Atthasalini*<sup>18</sup>, a commentary on the *Abhidhamma Pitaka*, The locality of *Ratanaghara Cetiya* which is in accord with the *Jataka*'s and the *Apadana*'s commentaries was mentioned. In vernacular texts, the *Pathomsombodhi* and the *Malalamkara-vatthu*, a completed account on the issue is given, which might have been accomplished by drawing various pieces of information from earlier Pali texts mentioned.

In Figure 1, locations of the six stations for the Buddha's retreat in relation to the *Bodhi*-tree are modeled based on information from the Pali texts, and compared with those represented by murals in the layout context of a Pagan temple. Clearly, there are some architectural limitations that obstruct a complete consensus between the

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<sup>16</sup> See: Mahamakutarajavidiyalaya. *Phra-sutra Lae Atthakatha Plae* [A translation of the Sutra texts and their commentaries]. Vol. 55, pp. 124-30; Vol. 70, pp. 152-9.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., Vol. 6, pp. 17-29.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., Vol. 75, pp. 7-39.

two patterns, even if their concordance might have been intentionally programmed for at the first place. From the information given above, one can see that a four-sided pagoda with its vestibules facing to all cardinal directions could not accurately accommodate a geographic representation for some of the six stations in murals, in relation to the *Bodhi*-tree (symbolized by the enshrinement of the presiding Buddha image in the shrine room). Since the scenes for the six stations neighboring to the *Bodhi*-tree were normally distributed only on walls of the south, west and north vestibules in most Pagan monuments, an accurate representation in the geographic sense of the station located east of the *Bodhi*-tree, the *Ajapala-nigrodha*, could not be satisfactorily obtained. Aside from all these technical difficulties, one can truly appreciate the conformity between the locations of the scenes in the temple's layout and their geographic correspondences mentioned in the Theravada texts, as can be clearly perceived in Figure 1. By the investigation so far, it is appropriate at this point to conclude that many Pagan temples, especially those of the 13<sup>th</sup> century CE, were intentionally programmed to symbolize the middle country of *Jambudipa*, the Southern Continent, with location of the *Bodhi*-tree at its heart represented by enshrinement of the presiding Buddha image of the sanctuary; this center of worship is surrounded in the inner circle by symbols of the other six stations of the Buddha's retreat adjacent to the *Bodhi*-tree, and in the outer circle by symbols of either six or seven stations of the *Atthathana* set, all located in the middle country of *Jambudipa* beyond vicinity of the *Bodhi*-tree.

### III. Iconography of the Buddha issuing ray of six colors in Pagan murals

It has previously been mentioned that the Pali commentaries on *Jataka* and *Apadana*, a prime literary source for narrating the life's episodes of the Lord Buddha in Pagan arts, do not describe the episode of the Great Lord in the fourth week after the enlightenment when he was radiating the ray of six colors from his body while considering the last division of the *Abhidhamma*. It is not so surprising, therefore, to find that a mural representation of this majestic episode is quite rare at Pagan. Nevertheless, there are a few notable examples of such found in Pagan monuments 505, 539 and 664, all located in proximity to the modern *Minnanthu* village. The scene appears singular on east wall of the entrance hall inside Pagan monument 505 (Figure 2), and as a part of the *Satthathana* set in Pagan monuments 539 and 664 (Figures 6a, 9 and 14a).

The particular scene of our concern shows the Great Lord seated cross-legged in *dhyana-mudra*, a meditation gesture, in a tiered-roof pavilion, with flames of different colors radiated from his body into all directions. This iconographic composition, which conforms to a narration in the *Atthasalini* text for the fourth week meditation of the Buddha after his enlightenment, has usually been misinterpreted by scholars in Pagan arts as representing the twin miracle, *Yamakapatihariya*, at Savatthi<sup>19</sup>; the radiation coming upwards and downwards from the Great Lord's body, thus, has been misled as the energetic fire and the flow of water issued from the opposite parts

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<sup>19</sup> See such interpretation in: C. Bautze-Picron. *The Buddhist Murals of Pagan*, pp. 46-7 (plate 45); D. M. Stadtner. *Ancient Pagan*. Bangkok: River Books. 2005, p. 273.

of the Great Lord's body, a characteristic of the twin miracle described in the Pali texts - for example the *Dhammapada*'s commentary.

The *Satthathana* scenes appear in murals of monument 539 in two sets. the first set which narrates a complete episodes during the seven weeks of the Buddha's retreat appeared on south wall of the entrance hall (Figure 9), while those of the second set which comprise only six episodes from the second week onwards exist in duality with the *Atthathana* scenes on side walls of the south, west and north vestibules (Figures 3-8). The duality of *Satthathana* and *Atthathana* scenes - as well as the iconographic peculiarities detected in some of them - found in Pagan monument 539 are characteristics shared in Pagan monument 664 as well (Figures 11-16). Based on epigraphic evidence, monument 539 would have been erected in the first half of the thirteenth century before CE 1248<sup>20</sup>, while monument 664 was founded in CE 1274<sup>21</sup>. By their chronology, it may be likely that mural paintings found in vestibules of monument 664 were programmed after those found in vestibules of monument 539, taking for granted that the buildings and their paintings were contemporaneous, which is most likely.

On south wall of the entrance hall of monument 539, a complete narration on the life episodes of the Lord Buddha during the seven weeks after his enlightenment were depicted above a large icon of the seated Buddha (Figure 9) which is located adjacent to another large icon of the standing Buddha; the lower parts of these two large Buddha icons have been much eroded. The retreat episodes, week by week, were portrayed in seven rectangular frames, in which five were arranged horizontally

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<sup>20</sup> P. Pichard. *Inventory of Monuments at Pagan*. UNESCO. Vol. II (1993), pp. 376-83.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., Vol. III (1994), pp. 167-70.

on the upper row and the rest two put below symmetrically on both side of a large icon of the seated Buddha mentioned. All frames on the upper row contain the Buddha figures in a sitting position, while those two below show the Blessed one either in his standing or walking posture. Some *Satthathana* scenes can be accurately identified by their iconographic appearance, i.e. the standing Buddha gazing at the *Bodhi*-tree in the lower left frame is for *Animisa Cetiya* in the second week of the retreat, the walking Buddha in the lower right frame is for *Ratanacankama Cetiya* in the third week, the Buddha seated in a tiered-roof pavilion in the fourth frame (from left) on the upper row is for *Ratanaghara Cetiya* in the fourth week, and the Great Lord seated under a hood of the Naga King in the first frame of the upper row is for *Mucalinda* in the sixth week. It is also likely that an illustration in the middle frame of the upper row, showing the Buddha seated amidst divine worshippers, might represent a retreat episode of the Great Lord in his first week after the enlightenment when all divines were gathering together to offer him their gratitude. Based on the tradition of Pagan murals, in which scenes for the fourth and the fifth weeks, as well as those for the sixth and the seventh weeks, were usually paired together, the *Ajapala-nigrodha* scene may presumably be assigned to the last frame on the upper row, and the *Rajayatana* one to the second frame on the same row. The most striking iconographic feature of this set of *Satthathana* scenes is found in a case of the fourth week scene, the Buddha seated in *dhyana-mudra* in a tiered-roof pavilion, *Ratanaghara*, is radiating flames of different colors from his body, which is well in accord with the *Atthasalini* text; although, the colors have been much faded out traces still remain.

Since the paintings in the south, west and north vestibules of monuments 539 and 664 were programmed exactly in the same manner as previously mentioned, they shall be considered together here. On each wall of the vestibule in each monument, two large scenes were paired together, with that from the *Satthathana* set always portrayed on the inner side of the wall closer to the main shrine, and that from the *Atthathana* set on the other side of the same vestibule wall. The enlightenment moment of the Blessed one and his meditation in a week following it were not represented in the murals. The *nirvana* scene appears on the apex of the anterior wall of the east vestibule in monument 664 (Figure 10); the same scene is, however, lacking in monument 539. Among the six *Atthathana* scenes distributed on walls of the south, west and north vestibules (those for enlightenment and nirvana not included) of the monuments, the iconographic composition of each is clear enough for us to identify the episode, although some iconographic peculiarities do exist. The notable case for such peculiarities is in the scene of the *Yamakapatihariya* at Savatthi (Figures 8b and 16b); a figure of the seated Buddha in teaching gesture centers a composition, flanked asymmetrically to his left and right by the other two figures of the Great Lord in walking and standing postures, respectively; all the Buddha figures are flamed. That particular scene might represent a part of the *Yamakapatihariya* event when the Great Lord was multiplying his body which then appeared in various attitudes, as narrated in the *Dhammapada* commentary<sup>22</sup>. At the lower left corner of the scene is a figure of the heretic who was pretending to fly which is a clear approval for the scene of *Yamakapatihariya* at Savatthi<sup>23</sup>. The iconographic

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<sup>22</sup> Mahamakutarajavidyalaya. *Phra-sutra Lae Atthakatha Plae* [A translation of the Sutra texts and their commentaries]. Vol. 42, pp. 304-7.

<sup>23</sup> This heretic is the teacher *Nigantha Nataputta* who at the time of the Buddha Gotama claimed himself the omniscient one. According to the *Dhammapada* text, the rich man of Rajagaha placed a sandal wood bowl on a

composition of this particular scene was deviated from the standard manifestation for the *Yamakapatihariya* scene in Pagan murals, in which a seated Buddha that centers the composition is flanked symmetrically on both sides by pairs of other Buddha figures in different attitudes (Figure 17).

The peculiar iconographic compositions are noted in the *Satthathana* scenes of the third week at *Ratanacankama Cetiya* (Figures 7a and 15a), as well as of the fourth week at *Ratanaghara Cetiya* (Figures 6a and 14a). For the fourth week scene, the Buddha seated in *dhyana-mudra* in a tiered-roof pavilion, *Ratanaghara*, is radiating flames in all directions from his body. As mentioned earlier, the scene has been misinterpreted by scholars as representing the twin miracle at Savatthi<sup>24</sup>. To accept such previous interpretation, one would have encountered a serious iconographic problem. Based on the *Dhammapada*'s commentary<sup>25</sup>, the Buddha performed the miracle of water and fire which was another part of the *Yamakapatihariya* while he was walking to and fro in the jeweled walk, *Ratanacankama*, not while he was seated in meditation as depicted in the Pagan murals of interest; a proper representation of this very event can be found in the early Buddhist arts of the Gandhara school in Afghanistan, dating to the late third or the

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high pole and challenged any holy person to bring it down. *Nigantha Nataputta* was among those who is eager to acquire it, though he could not fly. He, thus, played a trick by pretending to fly, with many of his disciples seizing him according to the pre-concerted plan while shouting that the object is too trifling to worth their teacher's afford. This action, however, failed to convince the rich man to offer him the bowl. Later on, one of the Buddha's disciples, *Pindola Bharadvaja*, with a suggestion from *Moggallana*, rose in the air by his supernatural power and brought the bowl down. The Buddha blamed *Pindola* for such action and forbade all his disciples to perform such cheap miracle. With this new rule of the Sanga, the heretics thought that their chance was coming to gain superiority over the Lord Buddha. Knowing such evil attempt of the heretics, the Buddha then announced that he shall perform the great twin miracle, *Yamakapatihariya*, which going to take place at Savatthi. This is the beginning story of the *Yamakapatihariya* at Savatthi episode.

<sup>24</sup> C. Bautze-Picron. *The Buddhist Murals of Pagan*, pp. 46-7 (plate 45); D. M. Stadtner. *Ancient Pagan*, p. 273.

<sup>25</sup> Mahamakutarajavidyalaya. *Phra-sutra Lae Atthakatha Plae* [A translation of the Sutra texts and their commentaries]. Vol. 42, pp. 287-332.

early fourth century CE<sup>26</sup>. It is also worthy of note that the scene of our concern appears on the inner side of the north wall of the west vestibule, a proper location in the Pagan's mural tradition to portray the scene of the fourth week retreat of the Buddha (Figure 1). Moreover, the exact *Yamakapatihariya* at Savatthi episode has already been represented by a scene on the outer side of the east wall of the north vestibule, as already investigated.

The *Atthasalini* text also provides another interesting piece of information that the Great Lord performed *Yamakapatihariya* to declare his Buddhahood to suspicious *devas* at the end of the second week of his retreat after the enlightenment<sup>27</sup>, instead of at the end of the first week as narrated in the *Jataka*'s and the *Apadana*'s commentaries. The *Atthasalini*'s account on that particular issue would help us to decipher the meaning of a difficult scene appeared on the inner side of the west wall in the north vestibule of monuments 539 and 664 (Figures 7a and 15a). Although, its location is proper in Pagan's mural tradition to illustrate the episode of the Great Lord in his third week after the enlightenment (see Figure 1), the iconographic composition of the scene here appears as if it represented another *Yamakapatihariya* scene. Its similarity to the scene of *Yamakapatihariya* at Savatthi on the east wall of the north vestibule of the same monument is notable, except that all Buddha figures in our case now are not flamed and the icon of the heretic who is pretending to fly on the bottom left corner of the scene, which is a signature for the *Yamakapatihariya* at Savatthi scene, is lacking. The interpretation offered here is that the scene of our

<sup>26</sup> See an illustration in: J. C. Huntington. Sowing the seeds of the lotus: a journey to the great pilgrimage sites of Buddhism, Part III. *orientations*, 1986, 17(3): 32-46.

<sup>27</sup> Mahamakutarajavidiyalaya. *Phra-sutra Lae Atthakatha Plae* [A translation of the Sutra texts and their commentaries]. Vol. 75, pp. 32-3.

concern represents two successive events: the Blessed One had performed a twin miracle at the end of the second week by multiplying his body which then appeared under various attitudes; the walking in meditation included among these attitudes also represents another successive event when the Great Lord was walking to and fro in meditation at *Ratanacankama Cetiya* in the third week of his retreat. The non-flamed Buddha icons as appeared in the scene agree with what mentioned in the *Atthasalini* text that the *Chabbannaransi* only got its chance to radiate from the Great Lord's body after he had mastered the last division of the *Abhidhamma* in the fourth week of his retreat after the enlightenment. The same reason is also applied for the scene of *Yamakapatihiariya* at *Savatthi*, in which all figures of the Buddha in various attitudes are flamed.

It has earlier been mentioned that the arrangement of the *Satthathana* and *Atthathana* scenes, six in number for each set, in the south, west and north vestibules of monuments 539 and 664, is in concordant with the general pattern detected in various other Pagan monuments, except that there is a reverse in order between scenes for the sixth and the seventh week stations in the *Satthathana* set. Figure 1 clearly illustrates that the alteration of pattern found in both monuments makes the geographic representation for both stations in the layout context of the building more accurate. It is quite interesting that the directions from the Bodhi-tree of the sixth and the seventh stations, the *Mucalinda* and *Rajayatana*, respectively, are not mentioned in the *Jataka*'s and the *Apadana*'s commentaries, the main sources for Pagan artists to narrate the episodes of the Buddha in their murals; an account for them, however, does exist in a commentary text on the *Mahavagga* of the *Vinaya Pitaka*<sup>28</sup>. The more

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<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, pp. 17-29.

accurate arrangement of the *Satthathana* scenes depicted in murals of monuments 539 and 664, thus, suggests that their artists or commissioners of the paintings would have researched the Pali texts for a narration of the Buddha's episodes far beyond the *Jataka*'s and the *Apadana*'s commentaries, in the same cultural context as for the iconographic alteration according to the *Atthasalini* text of the *Ratanacankama* and *Ratanaghara* scenes found in the same monuments.

Although, there is evidence that murals in monuments 539 and 664 narrated the episodes of the Buddha during his third and fourth weeks after the enlightenment according to the *Atthasalini* text, the rest of *Satthathana* scenes remain in agreement with the *Jataka*'s and the *Apadana*'s commentaries, thus confirming that the latter two Pali commentaries were also in use for narration in the paintings. Obvious evidence is seen in case of the *Ajapala-nigrodha* scene, in which the temptation of three daughters of the Mara: *Tanha*, *Raga* and *Arati*, was portrayed; such story was not narrated in the *Atthasalini* and the *Mahavagga* of the *Vinaya Pitaka* as well as in the latter's commentary, but can be found in original texts in the *Jataka*'s and the *Apadana*'s commentaries<sup>29</sup>.

Mural paintings in Pagan monuments 539 and 664 clearly illustrate how a narration on the biography of the Lord Buddha *Gotama* could have been fabricated into a more elaborate and complete form, from pieces of information gathered through various Theravada canonical texts, amidst some contradictions that do exist among them. Such practice would have been kept persistent in the Theravada Buddhist traditions of Southeast Asia since the very old date, resulting collectively in

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., Vol. 55, pp. 124-30; Vol. 70, 152-9.

the development of a more complete account on the biography of the Lord Buddha, as seen for examples in the vernacular *Pathomsombodhi* and *Malalamkara-vatthu* texts mentioned earlier. Such later Theravada literature on the Buddha's episodes, therefore, should not have been solely perceived as an innovative work by any particular Buddhist scholar in any particular period of time, but is more proper to be dealt with as a final product of the successive long term development of the narrative.

### Caption for Figures:

**Figure 1:** Comparison between geographic localities of the seven stations (*Sattathana*) suggested in Theravada texts and those represented by murals in the layout context of a Pagan temple. The latter pattern is modeled after Pagan monuments 539 and 664. Dotted arrows represent a reverse in order between the scenes for the sixth and the seventh stations found in many other Pagan monuments.

**Figure 2:** The Lord Buddha issuing ray of six colors at *Ratanaghara* in the fourth week meditation after the enlightenment; east wall, entrance hall, monument 505.

**Figure 3\*:** (a) *Mucalinda* scene, (b) *Parileyya* scene; east wall, south vestibule, monument 539.

**Figure 4\*:** (a) *Rajayatana* scene, (b) taming of the *Nalagiri* elephant scene; west wall, south vestibule, monument 539.

**Figure 5\*:** (a) *Ajapala-nigrodha* scene, (b) first sermon scene; south wall, west vestibule, monument 539.

**Figure 6\*:** (a) *Ratanaghara Cetiya* scene (the Buddha is issuing ray of six colors), (b) nativity scene; north wall, west vestibule, monument 539.

**Figure 7\*:** (a) *Ratanacankama Cetiya* scene (scene for the *Yamakapatihariya* at the end of the second week of the Buddha's retreat included), (b) descent from the *Tavatimsa* Heaven scene; west wall, north vestibule, monument 539.

**Figure 8\*:** (a) *Animisa Cetiya* scene, (b) *Yamakapatihariya* at *Savatthi* scene; east wall, north vestibule, monument 539.

**Figure 9:** Complete set of the *Satathana* scenes; south wall, entrance hall, monument 539.

**Figure 10:** *Nirvana* scene; east wall, east vestibule, monument 664.

**Figure 11\*:** (a) *Mucalinda* scene, (b) *Parileyya* scene; east wall, south vestibule, monument 539.

**Figure 12\*:** (a) *Rajayatana* scene, (b) taming of the *Nalagiri* elephant scene; west wall, south vestibule, monument 664.

**Figure 13\*:** (a) *Ajapala-nigrodha* scene, (b) first sermon scene; south wall, west vestibule, monument 664.

**Figure 14\*:** (a) *Ratanaghara Cetiya* scene (the Buddha is issuing ray of six colors), (b) nativity scene; north wall, west vestibule, monument 664.

**Figure 15\*:** (a) *Ratanacankama Cetiya* scene (scene for the *Yamakapatihariya* at the end of the second week of the Buddha's retreat included), (b) descent from the *Tavatimsa* Heaven scene; west wall, north vestibule, monument 664.

**Figure 16\*:** (a) *Animisa Cetiya* scene, (b) *Yamakapatihariya* at *Savatthi* scene; east wall, north vestibule, monument 664.

**Figure 17\*:** standard representation in Pagan murals for the *Yamakapatihariya* at *Savatthi*; west wall, south vestibule, monument 711.

- \* (a) scene on the inner side (closer to the main shrine) of the vestibule wall,
- (b) scene on the outer side of the same vestibule wall as (a).

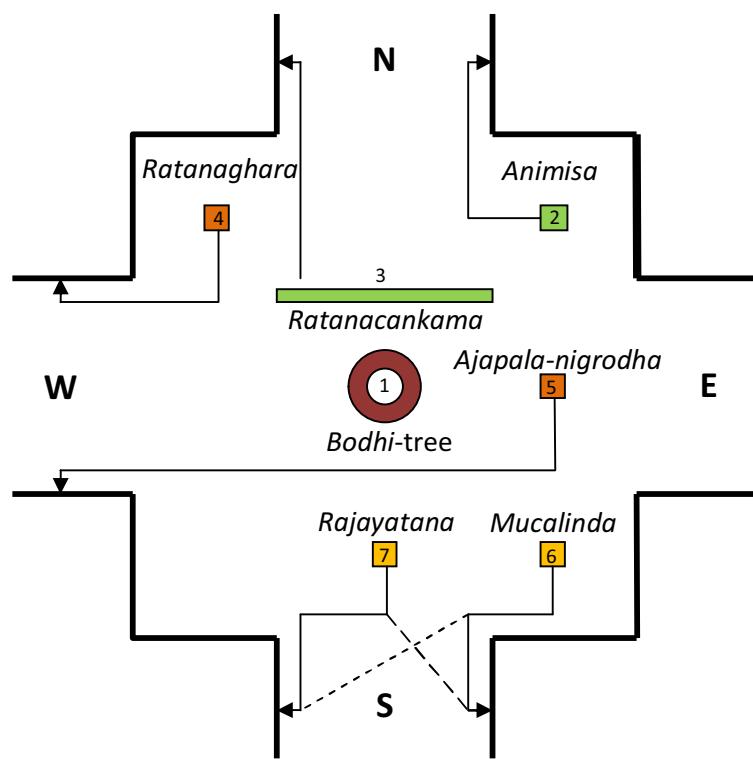


Figure 1:



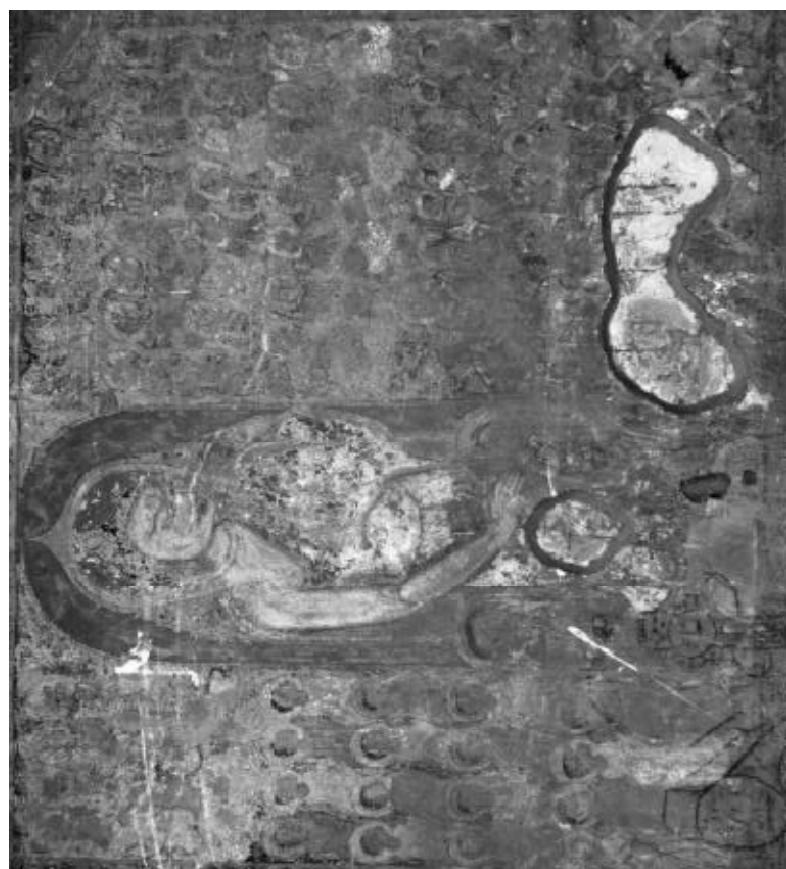
Figure 2



Figure 3



a



b

Figure 4



b



a

Figure 5



a



b

Figure 6

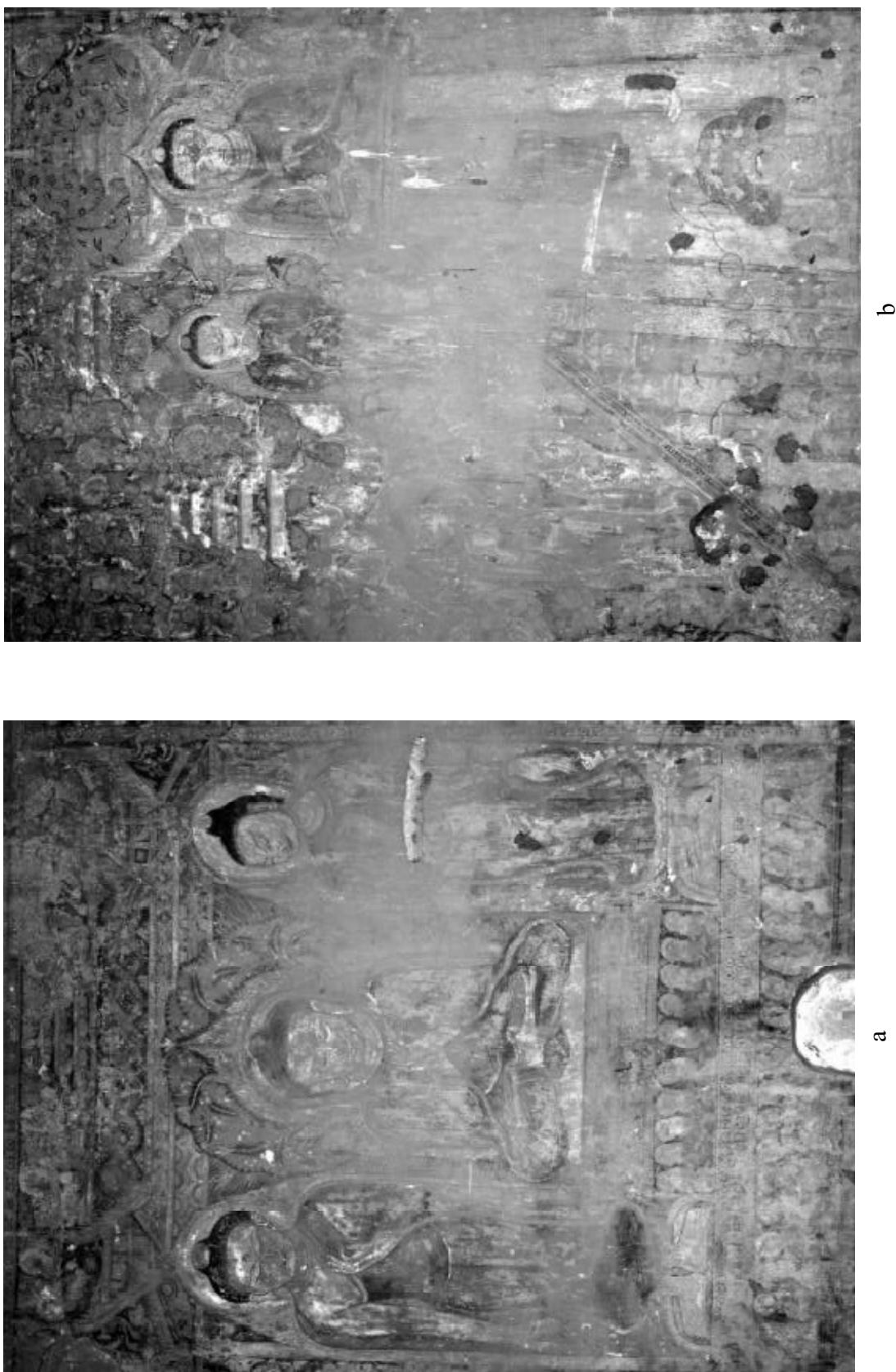


Figure 7



Figure 8



Figure 9



Figure 10



Figure 11



Figure 12



Figure 13



Figure 14



Figure 15



Figure 16



Figure 17