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RELIEFS OF VISHNU ANANTASAYIN: VAISHNAVISM OF THE PYU, MON, AND BURMESE¹

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Abstract: Vishnu Anantasayin refers to a reclining Vishnu representing the creation of the universe. Reliefs of Vishnu Anantasayin have been found in Sri Ksetra of the Pyu, Thaton and Hpa-an of the Mon, and Pagan of the Burmese. They correspond in a cross-legged reclining Vishnu with the head to the left and lotus seats for the Hindu Trinity emerging from the reclining Vishnu's navel, with Vishnu as the supreme one. Sculptures of reclining Vishnu have been found in India since the 4th century C.E. They were popular in south India as the principal image of Vishnu temples. Reliefs of Vishnu Anantasayin in Myanmar reflected Vaishnavism (Vishnuism) and accompanied Buddhism for the purpose of the royal cult in which Buddhist kings in Myanmar often claimed to be an incarnation of Vishnu.

The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang stated that mainland Southeast Asia in the seventh century consisted of Sri Ksetra of the Pyu, Pegu (Kamalanka) and Dvaravati of the Mon, Isanapura, Mahachampa, and Yavanas.² The book was written by a disciple of Hiuen-Tsiang, a Chinese monk who departed China for India in 629 C.E. and returned in the year 664 C.E. There were three main ancient civilizations in Myanmar prior to the Pagan Burmese, namely, Pyu, Arakanese,



Figure 3.1 & Plate 3.1: Sandstone relief of Vishnu Anantasayin, Kalakan village, Sri Ksetra dated around the 9th century. Redrawn from G. H. Luce, *Phases on Pre-Pagan Burma, Languages and History*, Vol. II, plate 50.

a



b



c



d



e



Plate 3.2: Relief of Vishnu Anatasayin depicted on sandstone lintels in South-east Asia usually has only Brahma seated on a lotus throne emerging from the reclining Vishnu's navel; such as **a:** My Son E1, Vietnam (the 7th century); **b:** Prei Kmeng style of Cambodia (half of the 7th century); **c:** Baphuon style of Cambodia (the 11th century); **d:** Nakhon Ratchasima, Thailand (the 10th century); and **e:** Wat Si Sawai, Sukhothai, Thailand (the 12th century). Da Nang Museum of Cham Sculpture, Vietnam; Phnom Penh National Museum, Cambodia; and Phimai and Ramkhamhaeng national museums, Thailand.



Plate 3.3: Sandstone relief of Vishnu and Lakshmi, Kalakan village, Sri Ksetra dated to the 8th century, Sri Ksetra Museum, Myanmar.

and Mon. The Pyu or Piao were the people who had occupied the central part of Myanmar since the early centuries C.E. Although their main religion was Theravada Buddhism influenced by that of Andhra Pradesh, it coexisted with animistic cults and Vaishnavism (Vishnuism). The latter was clearly shown by sculptures of Vishnu, such as standing and reclining Vishnus found in Sri Ksetra. Furthermore, Pyu kings during the 7th to 8th centuries had a name ending with the suffix *vikrama*, such as King Suriyavikrama, King Harivikrama, and King Sihavikrama who passed away in 688, 695 and 718, respectively.³ The term *vikrama* was derived from Vishnu, the protector, and an alternate name of Vishnu in Hindu scripture.⁴ *Vikrama* in Sanskrit is a male name and commonly refers to one who is wise, brave, strong, and victorious. Names of Pyu kings with the suffix *vikrama* reigned after those with the suffix *varman*, which

was also a common suffix ending names of Pallava (6th - 9th centuries) and Khmer monarchs.⁵ Vishnuism was prominent from the beginning of Hinduism in India but from the 7th century onward, Shaivism became more dominant.⁶



Plate 3.4: Terra-cotta plaque of the early relief of Vishnu Anantasayin found at Bhitargaon, Uttar Pradesh (the 4th century C.E.). Indian Museum, Kolkata, India.



Plate 3.5: Sculptures of the reclining Vishnu at the Shore temple (top) and at Mahishamardini mandapa in *Yogasayana-murti* (bottom), Mamallapuram.

Vishnu is sometimes called Narayana [Moving on the Waters or Abode of Man]⁷ and generally seen as the preserver, protector of creation, and the maintainer of the universe. His incarnation in different forms aims to destroy evil persons. Vishnu sleeping on the serpent Sesha or Ananta-Shesha, the king of the naga, is visualized as creation, the source of the universe. According to legend, during the involution of the universe, Vishnu slept on the giant serpent named Sesha [Remainder] or Ananta [Endless] that floated upon the Milky Ocean. When Vishnu awoke and found the universe was bare of everything, he meditated to re-create the universe and a flower lotus emerged from Vishnu's navel. Then the earth came out from the petals of the lotus. So the navel of Vishnu became the source of creation.⁸

A stone relief of Vishnu Anantasayin was found at Kalakan village, Sri Ksetra, the important city of the Pyu dated from the 5th to the 9th centuries. Vishnu was portrayed reclining on the serpent Ananta (or makara?) with crossed-legs and his head to the left. Vishnu has two or four arms and a lotus stalk rising from his navel. The lotus stalk divides into three lotus thrones for three Hindu gods from left to right, Brahma with four arms seated in *vajrasana* [diamond pose or full-lotus posture or cross-legged sitting

posture]; Vishnu, four-armed in *ardhaparyankasana* [the pose of royal ease]; and Shiva in the same posture. The size of the stone is 15 ½ × 14 ½ inches (38.75 × 36.25 centimeters) (see **Figure 3.1 and Plate 3.1**).⁹ This Vishnu Anantasayin of the Pyu is unique and was locally created as there were no reclining Vishnu images found in India and other countries in Southeast Asia with lotus seats arising from his navel for the Hindu Trinity with Vishnu supreme; for example, Vishnu Anantasayin in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Thailand (see **Plate 3.2**). The relief perhaps had a connection with north India where *vajrasana* is a sitting pose of either the Buddha or Hindu images.

Two other stone sculptures of a standing four-armed Vishnu on Garuda were also found in Sri Ksetra. One has a two-armed Lakshmi standing on a lotus throne to his left (see **Plate 3.3**). The other depicted only Vishnu with his upper right hand holding the *chakra*; the upper left, a conch; the lower left resting on a club; and the lower right holding a fruit before his body.¹⁰

Hindu images are not generally made reclining except for Vishnu, who can be portrayed standing (*sthanaka-murti*), sitting (*asana-murti*), or reclining (*sayana-murti*).¹¹ *Murti* means a form, an image, or representation.¹² These images of Vishnu can be divided into four categories; namely, *yoga*, *bhoga*, *vira* and *abhicharika*, depending on the desire of worshippers. The first category is for self-realization; the second is for worldly desires and enjoyment; the third for strength or military prowess; and the fourth for the defeat and death of enemies. The appropriate location of their temples also differs; temples of the *yoga* type should be in calm and quiet surroundings. Those of the *bhoga* category should be within villages and towns in order to give happiness to all devotees. A temple of the *vira* form of Vishnu can be built either inside or outside villages and towns, whereas the *abhicharika* form is considered inauspicious to enshrine within towns and villages.¹³ Reclining Vishnus of these four categories are called *Yogasayana-murti*, *Bhogasayana-murti*, *Virasayana-murti* and *Abhicharikasayana-murti*. *Yogasayana-murti* and *Bhogasayana-murti* are normally portrayed half-reclining; the former has two arms while the latter has four¹⁴ parallel to that of the *Virasayana-murti*. Two arms of the *Virasayana-murti* hold the *shankha* and *chakra*, while the third supports the head and the fourth stretches along the leg. They all include Brahma sitting on a lotus rising from the navel of Vishnu.¹⁵ Vishnu sculptures can be further classified into three classes - superior (*uttama*), middle (*madhyama*), and inferior (*adhama*) according to number of subordinate gods, such as his consorts, Sri and Bhru, and other beings relating to the central Vishnu.¹⁶ The *Yogasayana* type lacks Sri and Bhru probably because Vishnu was in deep meditation and did not need consorts to massage his feet; on the other hand, it is considered proper for the *Virasayana* type to have the full complement of gathered gods. The *Bhogasayana* type is more formal with Sri at the head and Bhru at the feet. There are no attendant deities in the *Abhicharikasayana* type as it is considered a strong taboo. Vishnu in this type has his head pointing to the north,¹⁷ and his body lies completely flat on the serpent.

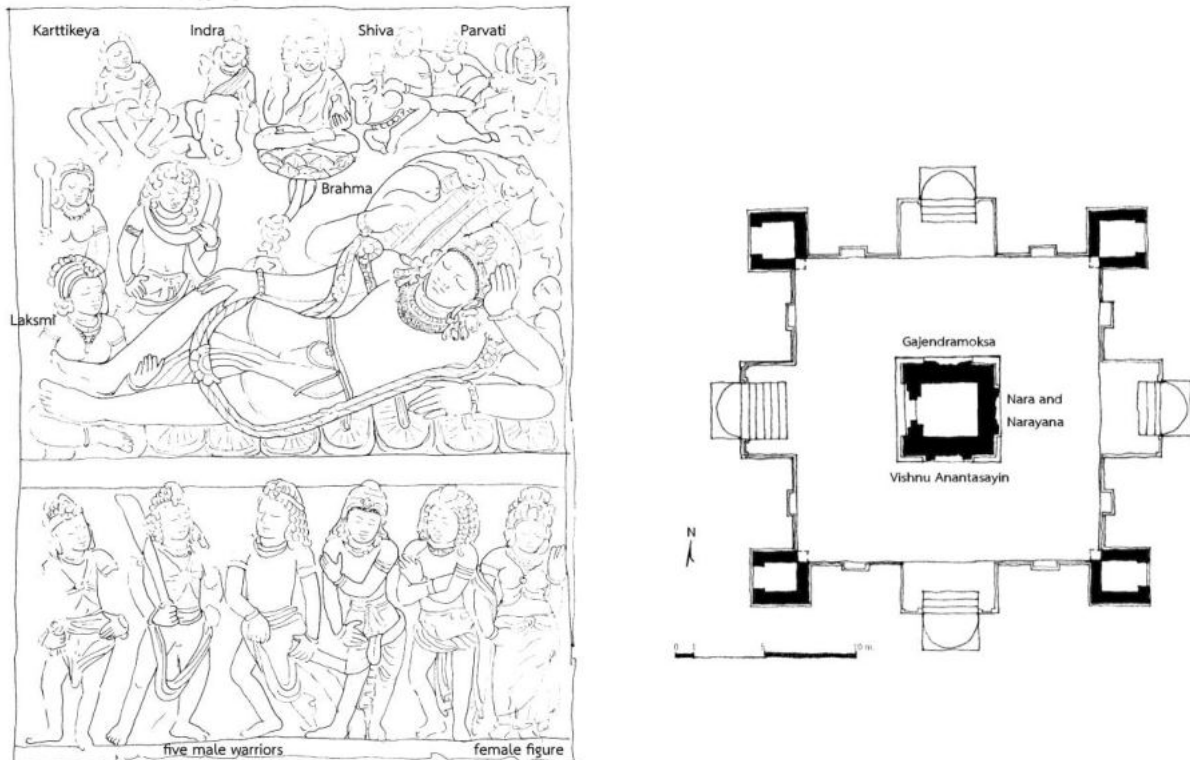
While the head of other three categories likely turns towards either the south or the east, which have been considered the appropriate directions when one sleeps according to *silpavastushastra* (ancient Indian science for architecture). According to this science, when sleeping, one should never point the head to the north as it would disturb the blood system and lead to health problems. Because the north pole of a human being is located at the head, it should not lie against the north pole of the earth. Reclining Buddha images in Myanmar are also divided into four types according to the direction of the head of the image. Only the one with the head pointing to the north represents the parinirvana of the Buddha, called Mahapari-nibban Buddha image.¹⁸

Vishnu Anantasayin images were rare in north and east India but more important in the south where they were generally enshrined as the principal image of Vishnu temples. Reclining images of Vishnu in India were made no earlier than the 4th century, such as a terra-cotta plaque of a half-sitting and half-reclining Vishnu on a serpent, from Bhitargaon, Uttar Pradesh in north India, dated to the 4th century C.E. (see **Plate 3.4**).

The evolution of Vishnu Anantasayin images in north India was not parallel to those in the south; for instance, Vishnu in the north had four arms from the beginning (at cave 13, Udyagiri caves, Madhya Pradesh) as well as included Brahma rising from the lotus. On the other hand, those in the south had two arms and did not include Brahma until nearly the 8th century C.E. Furthermore, a lotus flower was not necessary rising from Vishnu's navel in the early images, such as the one at the Undavalli temple, Guntur district, Andhra Pradesh, dated to the 7th century C.E.¹⁹ A good example of a reclining Vishnu image in north India is a stone relief on the south wall of Dasavatara temple, Deogarh dated around 500 C.E. in late Gupta style. The reclining Vishnu has four empty arms and rests on the cosmic serpent, seven-head Ananta Sesha, with the head to the right. Lakshmi, his consort, is massaging his right leg. Above is a row of divinities; namely, Karttikeya (Skanda) on a peacock; Indra on an elephant; Brahma on a lotus; Shiva and Parvati on Nandi; and a person with a garland. Below the reclining Vishnu are a row of five male warriors and a female figure, which can signify the Pandava brothers and Draupadi of the Mahabharata (see **Figure 3.2**).²⁰

However, Nandhita Krishna suggested two of these warriors are probably Madhu and Kaitabha (two demons of Hindu mythology), and the others are the attributes of Vishnu, while the female figure is Gadadevi.²¹ The Vishnu Anantasayin of Dasavatara temple represents Vishnu as the creator (Aniruddha). There are four aspects of Vishnu that later formed a Vaishnavism (Vishnuism) concept; namely, Krishna Vasudeva, Samkarsana (the destructive aspect), Pradyumna (the preserving aspect), and Aniruddha (the creative aspect).²² The reclining Vishnu at Dasavatara temple has the head pointing to the east, which probably is one of popular directions for reclining Vishnu images (see **Figure 3.3**). Those in south India often turn toward the south or southeast; for instance, Vishnu sculptures at Mahishamardini mandapa (Mahisamandapa) (7th century) and the Shore temple (early 8th century), Mamallapuram as well as at Vaikunta Perumal Temple (8th century), Kanchipuram (see **Plate 3.5** and **Figure 3.4**). The first represents Vishnu in *Yogasayana-murti* of the middle class (*madhyama*). Vaikunta Perumal

Temple has three stories for the central shrine, which enshrines an image of Vishnu in sitting, reclining and standing on the first, second and third floors, respectively.



Figures 3.2-3.3: Relief of Vishnu in *Bhogasayana-murti* located on the south wall of Dasavatara temple, Deogarh (left) and architectural floor plan of the temple (right). Redrawn from J. C. Harle, *Gupta Sculpture* and Susan L. Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India*.

There have been very few Vishnu Anantasayin images found in Bengal; only five have been found so far. Three are from West Bengal, two from northern Bengal, and none from eastern Bengal. For example, the Anantasayin Vishnu from Dinajpur district, northern Bangladesh, has been dated to around the 11th/12th century C.E. It was made of black basalt and measured 22.9 × 50.8 centimeters (see **Figure 3.5**).²³ It has some correspondence with those of the Pyu and Mon, as Vishnu has four arms with crossed legs and Brahma, Shiva and Vishnu seated on lotuses; however, Brahma is seated on a lotus rising from Vishnu's navel and to his right are Shiva and Vishnu, respectively.

The Vishnu Anantasayin relief of the Pyu corresponds to those of the Mon in Lower Burma and the Burmese of Pagan as the reclining Vishnu has crossed legs, the head to the left and a lotus stalk divided into three lotus seats for the Hindu Trinity, Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva from left to right. It possibly inspired those of the Mon and Burmese, as the cross-legged sitting posture or full-lotus posture was popular in north India rather than in the south. The civilizations of the Pyu and Mon existed in parallel periods, and they both accepted Theravada Buddhism from south India. Sri Ksetra at that time was a few miles from the sea and not far from Thaton

and other Mon ports. It was thus an entrepot on the trade route by sea between China and India²⁴ and had land routes to connect with north India. There is no information about the head direction of these reliefs of reclining Vishnu except that of Pagan. The reliefs were likely housed at Vishnu temples and perhaps originally represented *bhogasayana-murti* with the aim of prosperity and worldly wishes. They were later mixed with *virasayana-murti* for royal prowess, since reliefs of four-armed reclining Vishnu of the Mon hold his attributes, and one of the reliefs was made by a royal patron.

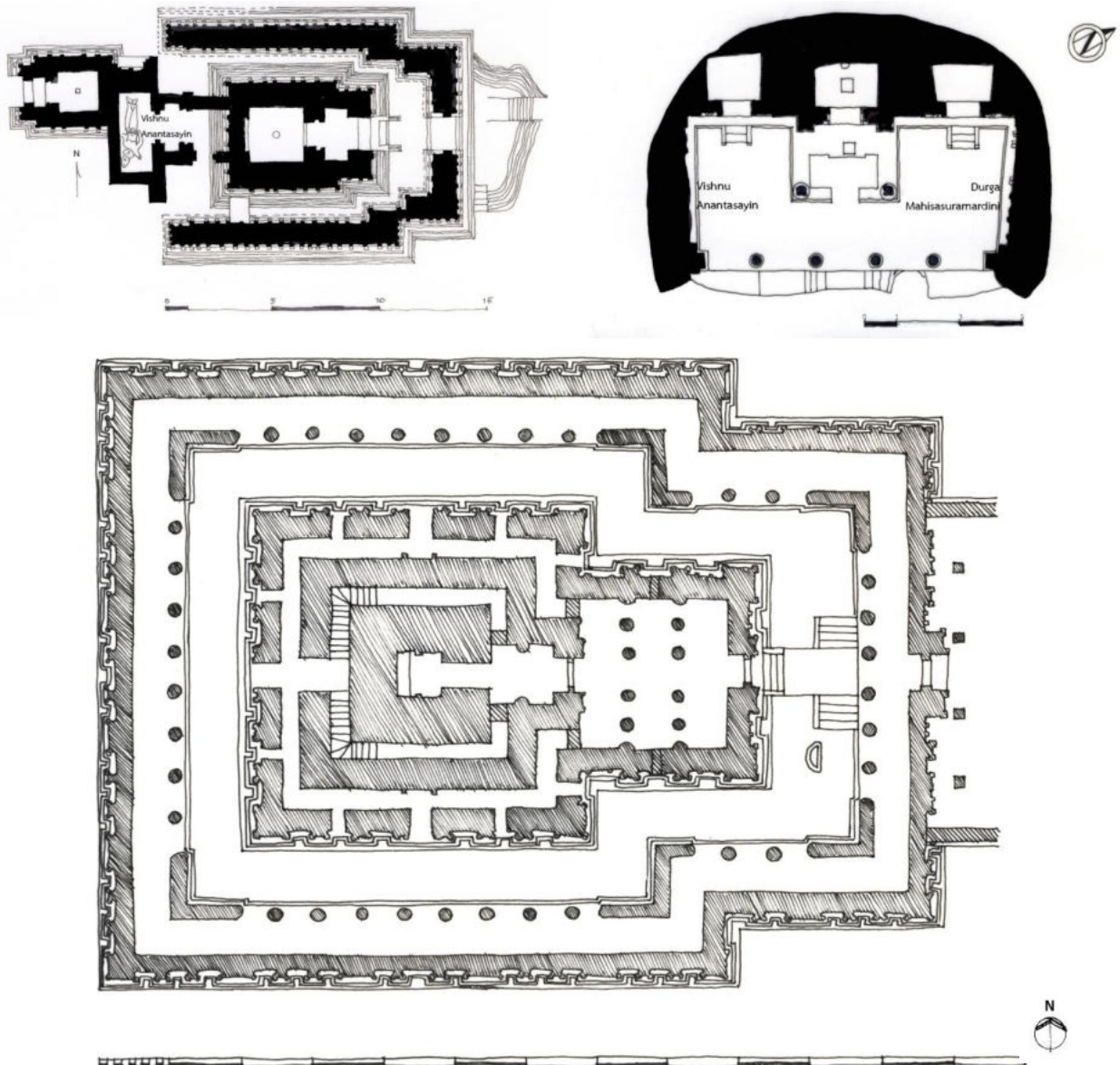


Figure 3.4: Architectural floor plans of the Shore temple (top left); Mahishamardini mandapa (top right) Mamallapuram, and Vaikunta Perumal temple, Kanchipuram (bottom). Redrawn from Susan L. Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India*; K. R. Srinivasan, *Cave-Temples of the Pallavas*; and A. H. Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture, Part III*.

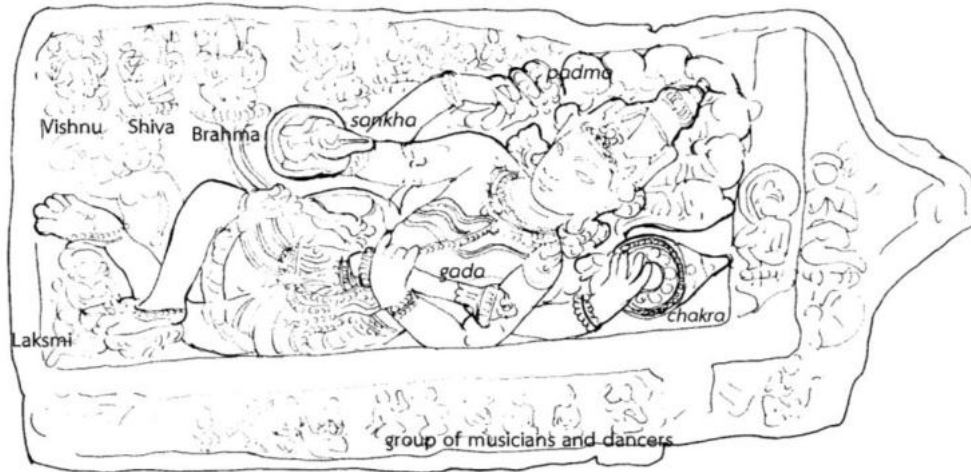


Figure 3.5: Relief of Vishnu Anantasayin depicted on black basalt, Dinajpur district, northern Bangladesh. Redrawn from Enamul Haque and Adalbert J. Gail, ed., *Sculptures in Bangladesh*.

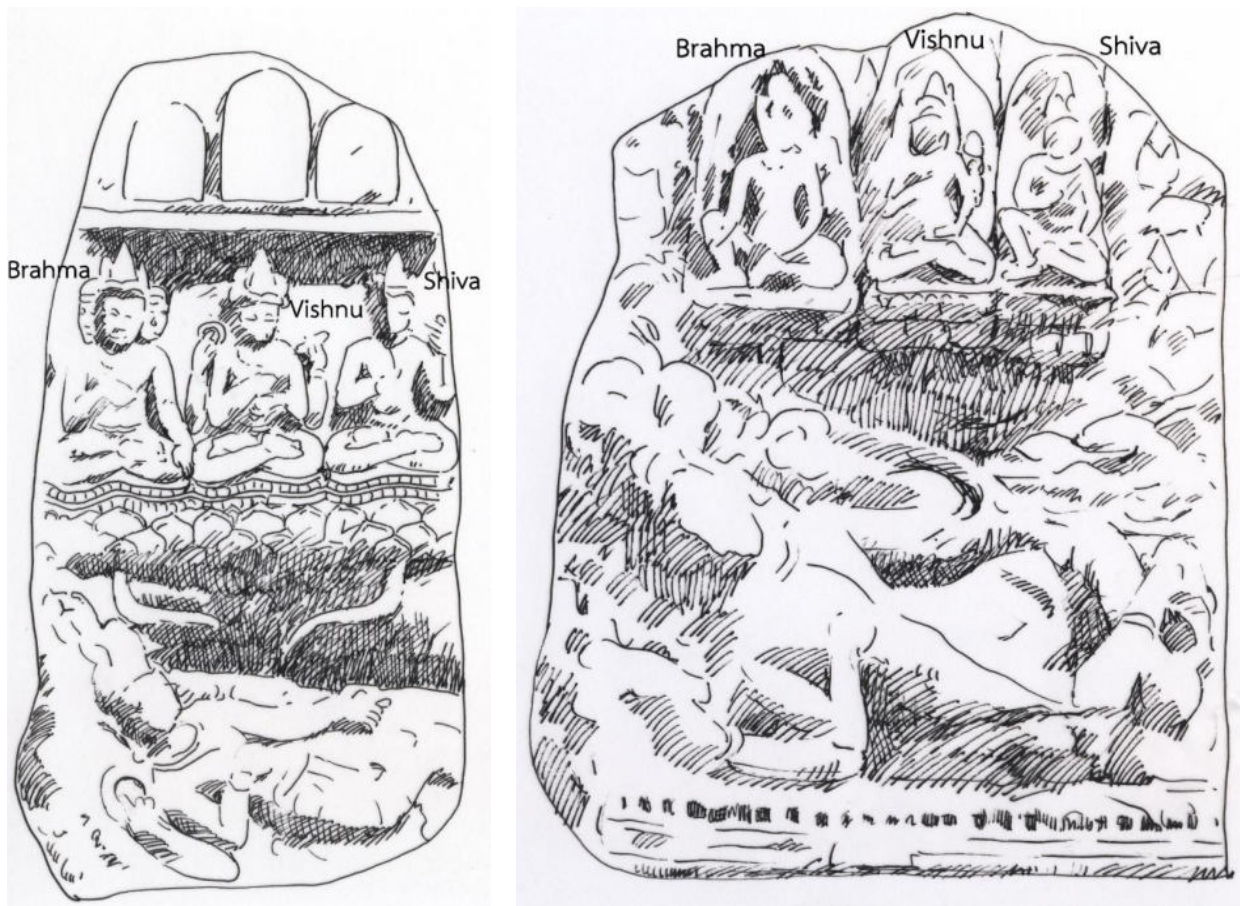


Figure 3.6: Two stone reliefs of Vishnu Anantasayin found in Thaton of the Mon. Redrawn from G. H. Luce, *Phases on Pre-Pagan Burma, Languages and History*, Vol. II, plates 89-90.



Figure 3.7: Sandstone relief of Vishnu Anantasayin discovered in Hpa-an. Redrawn from Pamela Gutman, “A Burma Origin for the Sukhothai Walking Buddha”.



Plate 3.6: Brick and stucco relief of a reclining Vishnu after renovation at the principal niche, Nat-hlaung Kyaung temple, Pagan.

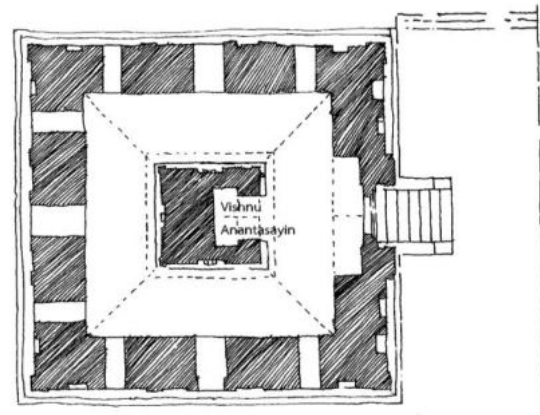


Figure 3.8: Architectural floor plan of Nat-hlaung Kyaung temple, Redrawn from Paul Strachan, *Imperial Pagan*.

There are three stone reliefs of Vishnu Anantasayin of the Mon. Two stone reliefs found in Thaton were dated around the 9th century and were larger than that of the Pyu. The first and second are 55 × 105 centimeters and 135 × 90 centimeters, respectively. The first Mon stone

relief had three tiers - below is the four-armed Vishnu sleeping on the serpent Ananta; the Hindu Trinity is in the middle; and three plain arching slabs are on the top. The reclining Vishnu holds his attributes, such as *sankha* [conch], *chakra* [discus] and so on. The Hindu Trinity is portrayed with Brahma to the left with two arms and three visible heads; Vishnu at the center with four arms; and Shiva with two arms on the right. They are all crowned and seated in *vajrasana* [full-lotus posture]. The plain arching slab above Vishnu is the highest (see **Figure 3.6**). The second Mon stone relief of four-armed Vishnu Anantasayin has two tiers without the arching slab on the top. The Hindu Trinity portrays Brahma and Shiva to the left and right seated in *ardhaparyankasana* [the pose of royal ease] with arching back-slabs, while Vishnu is in the center in *vajrasana* [full-lotus posture] with a pointed arching back-slab. Vishnu and Brahma have four arms whereas Shiva has only two (see **Figure 3.6**).²⁵

The third stone relief of Vishnu Anantasayin of the Mon was found at Kawgun cave, Hpa-an and was likely created later than those of Thaton since it is more developed and has more details. Four-armed reclining Vishnu holds his attributes; namely conch (*sankha*), mallet (*gada*), wheel (*chakra*) and probably lotus or amalaka fruit. The serpent Ananta has seven heads, and there are three double-lotus seats on stalks for Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva from left to right. It also includes a four-armed Ganesha at the feet of the reclining Vishnu; a small figure of a man on a horse at the side of Brahma; a small linga next to Shiva; and worshippers or donors at the base of image (see **Figure 3.7**). This sandstone relief was found together with two sandstones picturing the Buddha descending from Tavatimsa Heaven. The three reliefs were made by a Mon queen of Martaban.²⁶

The brick and stucco relief of Vishnu Anantasayin in Pagan was located on the central niche of Nat-hlaung Kyaung temple dedicated to Vishnu around the 11th century. The temple faces to the east and is located inside the inner Pagan city to the south. Vishnu and Ananta serpent turn their heads to the left, and therefore point their heads to the south. Above is a row of the Hindu Trinity seated on lotus thrones; from left to right, Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva (see **Plate 3.6** and **Figure 3.8**).²⁷ This Vishnu Anantasayin of the Burmese was probably inspired by either that of the Pyu or those of the Mon. The Vishnu temple in Pagan was previously restored by Vishnu devotees from various parts of India;²⁸ however, according to a Tamil-Sanskrit inscription in Tamil characters dated to the 13th century, the temple was supported by devotees from south India. The inscription was discovered at Myinpagan [old Pagan area]. The inscription recorded that a native of Cranganore on the Malabar Coast in Kerala in south India made a mandapa and gave a door as a gift to a Vishnu temple in Pagan. Gordon H. Luce suggested that perhaps there was another Vishnu temple at the old Pagan area (Myinpagan) that was possibly built by an ex-Pagan king named Makuta.²⁹ While Niharranjan Ray believed the Vishnu temple mentioned in the inscription was Nat-hlaung Kyaung, the only Vishnu temple which has remained in Pagan.³⁰

Reliefs of Vishnu Anantasayin reflected Vaishnavism in Myanmar. Vaishnavism coexisted with Buddhism with purposes for royal ceremonies and authority as a god king and a source of prosperity. The Vishnu cult was associated with Buddhism as the former claimed the Buddha was one of Vishnu's avatars. Buddhism also adopted Vishnu as a guardian god of the Buddha. In Sri Lanka, Vishnu is a chief divine attendant of the Buddha and Vishnu shrines are located in many Buddhist temples.³¹ Kings of the Pyu, Mon and Burmese often referred to themselves as Vishnu and Vishnu was one of the gods who built Sri Ksetra. Sri Ksetra, referring to the Fortunate Field, existed from around the 5th to the 9th centuries and was situated in the Nawin River valley of the Prome district in central Myanmar. It has several names, such as Thayekhittaya (the Burmese pronunciation of Sri Ksetra), Yathe Myo [City of the Hermit], Old Prome (or Pyay meaning capital) and Hmawza (a recent name). Yathe Myo [City of the Hermit] came from a legend that after the parinirvana of the Buddha, several divinities, saints and the naga king built the city of Sri Ksetra for King Duttabaung; namely, Vishnu, Gavampati (patron saint of the Mon), Indra (king of gods), Visvakarma (celestial architect), Katakarma (Doer of the Deed) and the king of the naga (representing the ancient earth-cult). Sri Ksetra thus had a shape of a circle.³² Duttabaung in Pyu refers to the great king and was the founder of the Vikrama dynasty.³³ Graves holding stone urns with the ashes of the Vikrama kings (dated between 7th - 8th centuries) have been found outside the Sri Ksetra city wall to the northwest, south of Payaygi Pagoda.³⁴ Beikthano Myo [City of Vishnu] of the Pyu to the north of Sri Ksetra was also associated with Vishnu since according to a myth, Princess Panhtwar, who ruled the city, was Vishnu's sister in her former life. The city was thus named Beikthano Myo [City of Vishnu] and Panhtwar Myo.³⁵ However, Stargardt stated that nothing symbolized a cult of Vishnu at Beikthano except the conch shell appearing on Pyu coins and on the potsherds excavated. She also suggested that the name Beikthano probably was given by the Pyu of Sri Ksetra at some time after the 5th century.³⁶ On the other hand, almost every mound excavated at Sri Ksetra found evidence of Buddhism or Vaishnavism.³⁷ Pagan kings, such as King Kyanzittha, also claimed that they were avatars of Vishnu. The name of other Pagan king, namely, King Narasingha Uccana or Naratheinhka (reigned 1231-1235), was parallel to an avatar of Vishnu, Narasimha.³⁸ Buddhist kings referred to themselves as Vishnu, as the latter relates to the sun and water, the sources of prosperity that are represented by *chakra* and *sankha* [conch], Vishnu's attributes. Vishnu is referred to as a solar deity in the *Rig Ved*. The sun is the symbol of the supreme principle because it is the center of the universe. The rising sun lights the whole world and is compared to the Buddha's birth.³⁹ The Pyu and Burmese kings were called King of the Rising Sun as they descended from Mahasamanta, the founder of the Solar Sakyan family of the Buddha.⁴⁰ Probably because of this, the royal palaces of the Pyu, Mon and Burmese were usually located at the center of the capitals, which were enclosed by walls and a moat; namely, Halingyi, Beikthano, Sri Ksetra, Hanthawaddy, Thaton and Pagan. Water was another essential for the Pyu and Burmese as their economy was based on agriculture that depended on rainfall.

Furthermore, Pagan and three important Pyu cities, namely, Halingyi, Beikthano and Sri Ksetra were located in a dry zone where annual rainfall was less than the amount of water needed for wet rice cultivation. The Pyu and Burmese needed irrigation systems for their agriculture. The king claimed to be an avatar of Vishnu, the god related to water and hence could cause the presence or absence of rain and be the guarantor of prosperity for the country.

Conclusion

A sculpture of Vishnu Anantasayin was first created in India and the concept spread to Myanmar and Southeast Asia. It represented creation and prosperity as well as a relation to water, symbolized by the serpent Ananta and the conch (*sankha*), one of Vishnu's attributes. The first relief of Vishnu Anantasayin in Myanmar was found at Kalakan village, Sri Ksetra and was probably made by the Pyu. It was locally created as above the reclining Vishnu is seated the Hindu Trinity with Vishnu at the center and the supreme one. This kind of arrangement has not been found in India and other countries in Southeast Asia. The Pyu relief likely provided inspiration to those of the Mon and Burmese. Reliefs of Vishnu Anantasayin in Myanmar probably depicted *bhogasayana-murti* with the aim of prosperity and worldly desires, and later the Mon mixed it with *virasayana-murti* for royal prowess. The reclining Vishnu of the Mon holds his attributes. One of them was made by a queen of Martaban. Buddhist kings of the Pyu and Burmese often claimed themselves to be Vishnu and associate with the sun and water, sources of prosperity of the country.

Notes and References:

1. The author is very grateful to Dolina Millar who kindly edited the article and Professor Dr. Enamul Haque who kindly includes it in this volume of the Journal of Bengal Art.
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3. Pan Hla, Nai, *Archaeological Aspects of Pyu, Mon, Myanmar* (Yangon: Thin Sapay, 2011), p. 28.
4. Wikipedia, "Vikrama (Name)", accessed on November 19, 2018, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vikram_\(name\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vikram_(name)).
5. Pan Hla, Nai, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
6. Paul Michel Munoz, *Early Kingdoms of the Indonesian Archipelago and the Malay Peninsula* (Singapore: Editions Didier Millet Pte Ltd., 2006), p. 67.
7. Susan L. Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India* (New York: Weatherhill, 1993), p. 210.
8. Heather Elgood, *Hinduism and the Religious Arts* (New York: Cassell, 1999), pp. 55, 59 and Nanditha Krishna, *The Art and Iconography of Vishnu-Narayana* (Bombay: Taraporevala, 1980), p. 14.
9. Gordon H. Luce, *Phases on Pre-Pagan Burma, Languages and History*, Vol. I, II (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 148 and plate 50.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 148 and plate 49.
11. Shodhganga, "Chapter III: Concept of Sculptural Design", p. 30, accessed on November 20, 2018, http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/69303/11/11_chapter%203.pdf.
12. Susan L. Huntington, *op. cit.*, p. 723.
13. Shodhganga, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-32.
14. However, T. A. Gopinatha stated that Vishnu in *Bhogasayana-murti* type has either two or four arms. See T. A. Gopinatha, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Volume I, Part I, reprinted ed., (New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1914), p. 92.
15. See Nanditha Krishna, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
16. T. A. Gopinatha, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
17. K. V. Soundara Rajan, "The Typology of the Anantasayi Icon", *ArtibusAsiae*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (1967), pp. 68, 75-76.
18. Chotima Chaturawong, *The Architecture of Mon Buddhist Monasteries in Lower Burma* (Bangkok: E. T. Publishing, 2011), p. 191.
19. Nanditha Krishna, *op. cit.*, p. 105.
20. Vasudeva S. Agrawala, *Gupta Art (A History of Indian Art in the Gupta Period 300-600 A.D.)* (Varanasi: Prithivi Prakashan, 1977), plate 55, p. 113.
21. Nanditha Krishna, *op. cit.*, p. 103. However, Cunningham stated these five figures do not connect to Vishnu.
22. Alexander Lubotsky, "The "Sarvatobhadra" temple of the Visnudharmottarapurana and the Visnu temple at Deogarh", in *Ritual, State and History in South Asia Essays in Honour of J. C. Heesterman*, ed. A.W. van den Hoek, D.H.A. Kolff, M.S. Oort. Leiden, etc. (1992), 199-221, p. 5, accessed on November 19, 2018, https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/bitstream/handle/1887/2668/299_022.pdf;jsessionid=60E5CFC2484297F2E531213835F80BC8?sequence=1.
23. See Enamul Haque and Adalbert J. Gail, ed., *Sculptures in Bangladesh* (Dhaka: The International Centre for Study of Bengal Art, 2008), pp. 214-215, pl. 200.
24. Maung Htin Aung, *A History of Burma* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), p. 8.
25. Gordon H. Luce, *Old Burma-Early Pagan*, Vol. I, pp. 170-171 and plates 89-90. A stone sculpture of sitting Shiva was also found in Thaton.
26. Pamela Gutman, "A Burma Origin for the Sukhothai Walking Buddha", in *Burma Art and Archaeology* (London: The British Museum Press, 2002), pp. 37, 40-41.
27. See Gordon H. Luce, *Old Burma-Early Pagan, Vol. I* (New York: J.J. Augustin Publisher, 1969), p. 219; Pierre Pichard, *Inventory of Monuments at Pagan*, Vol. VI (Stirlingshire, Scotland: Kiscadale, EFEO, UNESCO, 1995), pp. 236-239; and Donald M. Stadtner, *Ancient Pagan* (Bangkok: River Books., 2005), 144-145.
28. Niharranjan Ray, *Brahmanical Gods in Burma* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1932), p. 35.

29. Gordon H. Luce, *Old Burma-Early Pagan*, Vol. I, pp. 218-219.
30. Niharranjan Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
31. Pamela Gutman, "Ancient Arakan, Vol. I, II" (Ph.D. dissertation, The Australian National University, 1976), p. 261.
32. Gordon H. Luce, *Phases on Pre-Pagan Burma, Languages and History*, Vol. I, p. 49.
33. Maung Htin Aung, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
34. Gordon H. Luce, *Phases on Pre-Pagan Burma, Languages and History*, Vol. I, p. 126.
35. Aung Thaw, *The Excavations at Beikthano* (Rangoon: Ministry of Union Culture, 1968), p. 3.
36. Janice Stargardt, *The Ancient Pyu of Burma*, Vol. I (Singapore: PACSEA, Cambridge in association with the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1990), p. 145.
37. Gordon H. Luce, *Phases on Pre-Pagan Burma, Languages and History*, Vol. I, p. 50.
38. Gordon H. Luce, *Old Burma-Early Pagan*, Vol. I, p. 219 and fn. 101.
39. Ardrian Snodgrass, *The Symbolism of the Stupa* (Ithaca: Southeast Asian Studies, Cornell University, 1985), p. 24.
40. Pamela Gutman, "Ancient Arakan, Vol. I, II", p. 143.

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