

## THE BUDDHA LIFE STELAE IN THE ANANDA TEMPLE IN PAGAN AND THEIR RELATION TO PALA ART

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### Introduction:

The Ananda temple in Pagan in Central Burma was completed around 1100 CE<sup>1</sup> under King Kyanzitta; it is one of the outstanding temples of the middle period of the Pagan kingdom, both for its unique and original architecture and for the profusion of its sculptural decoration, comprising a plethora of *jataka* plaques on its upper terraces, four colossal Buddha sculptures in the main hall, and a wealth of stone sculpture in the temple corridors.

Temple chronicles and oral traditions relate that the creation of the temple was motivated by visiting Indian monks reporting that they lived in a cave; the temple is said to be modelled after the description of this cave, identified with the Ananta cave temple in Udayagiri near Bhubaneswar in Orissa (Duroiselle 1915, 61 – 66). This legend already points to an Indian connection for the design and artwork of the temple.

Among the sculptures in the temple, a series of stelae depict the life story of the Buddha. This life cycle is unique in Pagan, where sculptural art mostly shows the Buddha in various *mudras* and *jataka* stories, while mural paintings focus on the Eight Great Events, following the *asta-maha-pratiharya* iconography.

This essay will trace the iconographic and stylistic connections of the Ananda life cycle with the Pala period art of Eastern India, and review the question how far this work is dependent on Indian models and artistic conventions.

### The temple building:

Located just outside the walls of the ancient city, the Ananda temple (**Plate 33.1**) is a square building of 90 × 90 m, built on a cruciform ground plan around a massive brick core with porches and entrance halls in the four directions, and a gilt spire that reaches a height of over 50 m (**Plate 33.2**). Over the centuries, the temple has undergone multiple repairs and restorations, most recently after a serious earthquake in 1975, but it is supposed to have preserved its original form and decoration.

The sanctum is formed by recesses in the central brick core, creating four central halls opening towards the entrance corridors in the cardinal directions. The central halls hold four colossal (over 10 m high) wooden statues of the past Buddhas; these figures are ancient, but have been much restored and reworked. Subsidiary statues (mostly modern) and religious

paraphernalia are arranged around the central Buddhas and in the corridors. The central halls receive only little light through small windows above and in the surrounding corridors; this gives the deep interior of the temple a cave-like feeling (**Plate 33.3**).

The central halls are encircled by two concentric corridors that are dotted with niches holding Buddha statues and other sculptures, from ground to high up under the ceiling (**Plate 33.4**). There are well over a thousand statues in these niches, mostly Buddhas in various *mudras*, highly repetitive and of little artistic merit. Of much higher artistic value and art-historical interest are the stelae depicting events from the life of the Buddha in the corridors, and several related works in the central halls.

The architecture of the Ananda is clearly indebted to Eastern Indian models; the ruins at Paharpur, Comilla and Vikramasila have been identified as precursors or inspiration for the Ananda temple, at least for its ground plan. But the architecture also comprises numerous Burmese elements, going back to Mon traditions and innovations, resulting in a monument sui generis and without precedents of comparable visual impact in India (Duroiselle 1937, 6 – 8; see also Yule 1858, 40 – 47 for architectural details of the building).

#### **The stelae with the Buddha life cycle:**

The stelae with the Buddha life cycle are located in the outer corridor in two tiers of niches, the lower one at eye level;<sup>2</sup> the scenes are identified in (modern<sup>3</sup>) glosses affixed below. There are altogether 80 stelae – measuring ca. 115 × 70 cm – depicting the life story of the Buddha up to the Enlightenment. This sculptural life cycle is unique in Pagan where sculptures mostly depict the Buddha in various *mudras* (primarily *bhumisparsha* and *dharmacakra*), while the Buddha life is shown in murals, with the Eight Great Events or more extended depictions of the Buddha's life story becoming frequent after the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

The material of the stelae is a stone of undetermined colour and consistency. Most of the stelae are in a good state of preservation, with only a few showing minor damages; however, all stelae are presently painted with multiple coats of a deep ochre colour, and extensive gilding has been applied to all figures and many other parts,<sup>4</sup> apparently over a plaster grounding that obscures the actual state of the sculptures and any damages and repairs;<sup>5</sup> this also distorts the outline of faces, in some cases to a considerable extent.

#### **Previous research and literature:**

The Ananda temple was first described by a member of the British mission to the Burmese court after the Second Anglo-Burmese War of 1852–53 (Yule 1858, 36 – 47). The description focuses on the architecture and decorative details of the building, which are seen as closely related to Indian models: “nearly all ... the details of work ... at Pagan must have had an Indian origin” (Yule 1858, 45). However, Yule does not mention any sculptures except the four Buddha statues in the central halls.

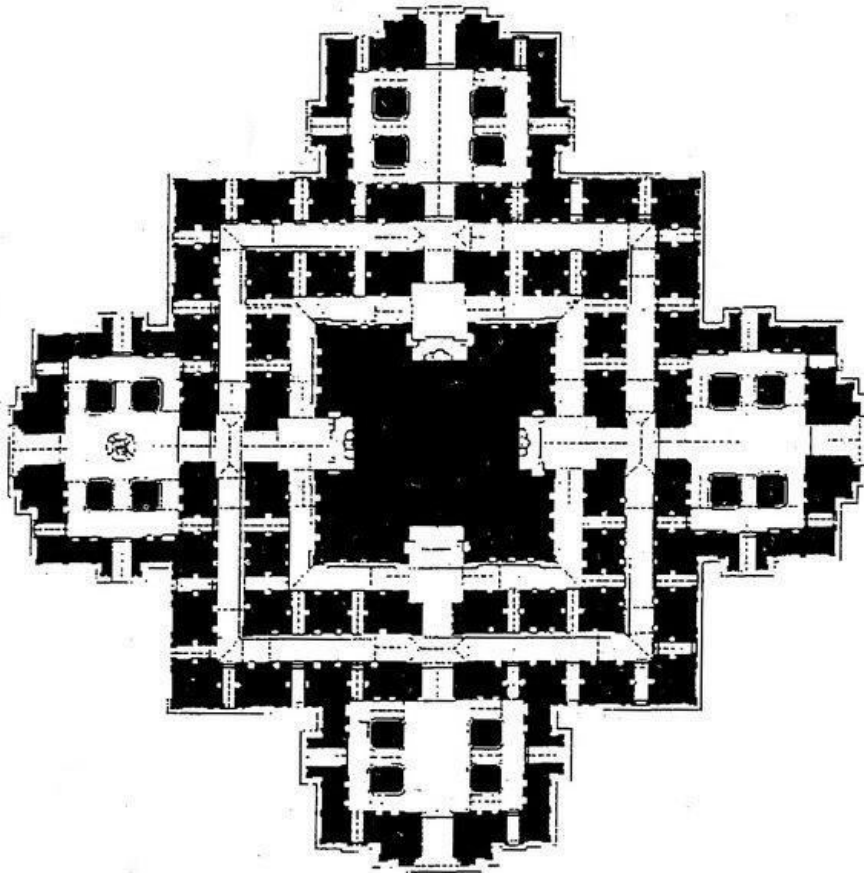
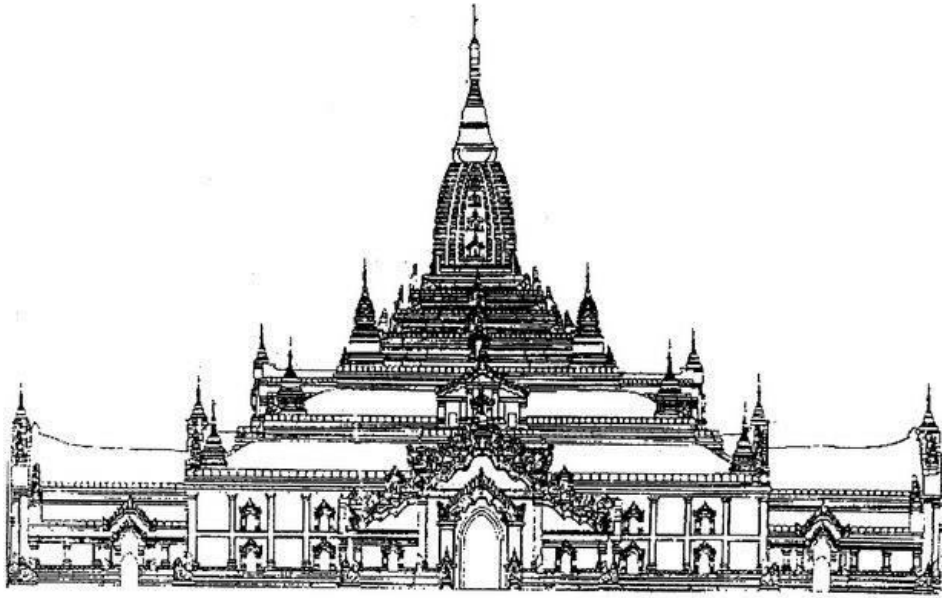


**Plate 33.1:** Ananda temple, general view.

The life cycle sculptures of the Ananda temple were simultaneously published in 1914 by Ch. Duroiselle in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey (Duroiselle 1915), and by K. Seidenstücker in the *Journal of the Ethnographical Museum in Hamburg*, Germany (Seidenstücker 1914); the only later scholarly publication of the stelae is found in Luce 1959. More recently, an overview of the life cycle with good photographs can be found in Stadtner 2005, 108 – 114.

Both Seidenstücker and Duroiselle identified the Nidanakatha as the textual source of the life cycle. This late canonical work from the introduction to the commentary on the jataka tales describes the Buddha's life story—with numerous poetic embellishments—from his residence in the Tushita heaven prior to his last Birth to the Enlightenment, but does not mention any post-Enlightenment events or Miracles; it is traditionally ascribed to the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE Indian translator and philosopher Buddhagoshā. An English translation has been published in Rhys-Davis 1878.

Karl Seidenstücker, a German neo-Buddhist, worked in the Hamburg Ethnographic Museum on photographs only. His publication includes a translation of the Nidanakatha into German, and focuses on the correspondence between text and sculptures, and on religious aspects of the life cycle.



**Plate 33.2:** Ananda temple, ground plan and elevation (after Yule 1858, plates 5 & 8).



**Plate 33.3:** Ananda temple, central hall with Buddha of the past.



**Plate 33.4:** Ananda temple, view of the outer corridor.



Fig 05a Maya bathed in Anotatta lake



Fig 05b Conception



Fig 05c Nativity



Fig 05d 2nd Encounter-sickness



Fig 05e Last hairdressing



Fig 05f Great Departure



Fig 05g Renunciation - discarding jewels



Fig 05h Buddha touching the earth



Fig 05i Temptation by Mara's daughters

**Plate 33.5:** Selected scenes from the Life cycle: **a.** (Scene 4) Maya bathed and anointed by devas; **b.** (Scene 7) Dream of Maya; **c.** (Scene 12) Birth in Lumbini; **d.** (Scene 31) Second Encounter--sickness; **e.** (Scene 35) The Buddha's servant dressing his hair for the last time; **f.** (Scene 42) Great Departure; **g.** (Scene 46) Great Renunciation -- discarding the jewels; **h.** (Scene 74) Touching the earth, earth goddess appearing; **i.** (Scene 78) Temptation by Mara's daughters.



**Plate 33.6:** Hairstyles, jewellery, garments and crowns depicted on the Ananda life cycle (after Duroiselle 1915, plates xxxviii and xxxix).



**Plate 33.7:** Iconography related to Indian art; **a.** Cutting the hair in renunciation (scene 47); **b.** Emaciated Buddha (scene 59).



**Plate 33.8:** Palaces and thrones in the backdrop of the stelae (scenes 39, 69, 79).



**Plate 33.9:** Mara's daughters dancing (detail from scene 78).

Charles Duroiselle was the superintendent of the Archaeological Survey (ASI) in Burma; his long essay on the life cycle and the other artwork in the Ananda temple (Duroiselle 1915) comprises a description of all stelae and a translation of the glosses.<sup>6</sup> Concerning the art history of the life cycle, he states that “these sculptures are late mediaeval and ... were executed by Indian “ ... artists”. However, his comments on the artistic quality of the sculptures were rather unfavourable; he saw “endless repetitions” in the sequence of the stelae, and while admitting that “some figures ... show a high degree of skilful “ ... workmanship”, he concluded that “the work is almost entirely devoid of imagination” (Duroiselle 1915, 69).





Fig 10a-1



Fig 10a-2



Fig 10a-3



Fig 10b



Fig 10c



Fig 10d

**Plate 33.10:** Stelae un-related to Indian models; **a.** “Pagoda” roofs (scenes 25, 26, 27); **b.** Maya travelling to Lumbini (scene 11); **c.** The Buddha walking to Rajgir (scene 52); **d.** The Buddha collapsing from his mortifications (scene 60).



**Plate 33.11:** Burmese *kendi* (scenes 37, 74) and harp (scene 6).

Half a century later, G. H. Luce included in his magisterial summary of a lifetime of research on Pagan a detailed comparison of the Ananda life cycle with depictions of events from the Buddha life in Indian art and in other monuments in Pagan, identifying parallels and differences in iconography and scene selection (Luce 1969, vol. I, 153 – 182). Luce does not explicitly address the question whether Indian or Burmese artists had been employed for the work, but he acknowledges its strong reliance on Indian conventions and artistic traditions.

**The Ananda life cycle – structure and overview:**

The altogether 80 stelae of the cycle illustrate the life story of the Buddha, from his residence in the Tushita heaven prior to his last rebirth up to the Enlightenment, following closely the Nidanakatha; however, probably fewer than 70 of the present stelae are original.<sup>7</sup> The

following table shows the storyline and the number of scenes for each episode in the cycle (disregarding the four ‘intrusive’ stelae identified by Duroiselle).

<b>pre-Departure events (33 stelae)</b>	Residence in Tushita	(1)
	Maya’s dream and conception	(8)
	Maya’s sojourn to Lumbini	(2)
	Birth	(6)
	Childhood events	(6)
	Adolescence	(5)
	Four Encounters	(4)
	<b>Departure (12 stelae)</b>	Palace life
	Departure	(7)
<b>post-Departure events (31 stelae)</b>	Renunciation	(5)
	Austerities	(7)
	Fasting and Sujata episode	(7)
	Grass cutter episode	(5)
	<i>Maravijaya</i> and Enlightenment	(6)

The Ananda life cycle thus disregards the *asta-maha-pratiharya* iconography and resulting structure of the life story: roughly the same number of scenes shows events before and after the Great Departure, and there is no particular emphasis on the “Great” Events of Birth and Enlightenment, while the First Sermon, *Parinirvana* and all Miracles—Gift of Honey, Subduing Nalagiri, Descent from Heaven, and also the all-important Miracle of Twins—are omitted.

This is quite surprising, as the “Eight Great Events” was the only iconographic model in actual use in contemporaneous India, and was certainly well known in Burma from contacts with Buddhism’s holy sites in Bihar; also, at the time of the construction of the Ananda, “Eight Great Events” lifecycles were already present in Pagan in the Andagu stelae (Bautze-Picron 1999) and on murals (Poolswant 2017).

However, several scenes illustrating post-Enlightenment events (Fist Sermon, Death and *Parinirvana*) and Miracles—the Gift of Honey, the Miracle of Twins, the Descent from the *Trayastrimsa* heaven—are depicted on stelae of similar size and style in the central halls and in the porticoes in the Ananda temple (Duroiselle 1915, 68 and 94 – 97; Stadtner 2005, 101 – 104 and 114). This shows that these events were important enough to the Ananda artists (or patrons) to merit depiction in additional sculptures. It seems that they were not included in the sequence of 80 stelae in the corridors because the intention there was a faithful illustration of the textual source.



**Plate 33.12a:** Reworked or replacement stela; **a.** The King shows the bodhisattva to a hermit (scene 20).



**Plate 33.12b:** Reworked or replacement stelae: **b.** Mandalay-period wood architecture (scenes 10, 38, 40).

This is also indicated by the fact that the Ananda life cycle illustrates many of the poetic embellishment of the Birth story in the Nidanakatha; altogether 11 stelae show events connected with the Birth of the bodhisattva, beginning with the Sleep of Maya and continuing with her Journey to the Himalaya, the Bath in the holy Anottata lake, Anointment by devas, Maya's Sleep (again) and Dream, Telling of the dream, Maya Guarded by devas, Maya Asking permission to visit her parents, the Journey to Lumbini, and finally the Birth of the bodhisattva. By contrast, in Indian art only Maya's Dream and the Birth are depicted; only in Gandharan sculpture we also find depictions of the journey to Lumbini. Further on in the Ananda life cycle, the palace life of the bodhisattva and his Great Departure are shown in 12 stelae (scenes 34 – 45), and the Grasscutter episode is expanded into five—visually highly repetitive—scenes (scenes 69 – 73).

To illustrate the style of the artwork and its peculiarities of iconography and style, **Plate 33.5** shows a selection of scenes from the cycle; from top left to right and then down they are:

**Plate 33.5.a** (Scene 4): Maya bathed and anointed by devas; this scene is nowhere shown in Indian art, but follows Indian iconographic models in the presentation of semi-nude, voluptuous female figures.

**Plate 33.5.b** (Scene 7): Dream of Maya; here the elephant is not descending from above (as in all Indian depictions of this event), but is shown crouching below Maya's bed;<sup>8</sup>

**Plate 33.5.c** (Scene 12): The Birth in Lumbini; as in the standard Indian iconography, Queen Maya is depicted as *salabhanjika*, grasping an overhanging branch, while the bodhisattva emerges from her right side. She is supported by her sister, with gods—traditionally seen as Brahma and Indra—in attendance.

**Plate 33.5.d** (Scene 31): Second Encounter—sickness; the bodhisattva is seated on an elaborate throne on a chariot drawn by a single horse. Encounters with old age, death and a monk follow on visually almost identical stelae, the only difference being in the minuscule figure at bottom right.

**Plate 33.5.e** (Scene 35): The Buddha's servant dressing his hair for the last time; this scene illustrates a rather minor event from the life story; it is however described in some detail in the textual source (Rhys-Davis 1878, 168–169). As already stated, Indian art avoids the illustration of such peripheral events.

**Plate 33.5.f** (Scene 42): The Great Departure; this scene follows the usual Indian iconography, where the horse's hoofs are supported by devas to prevent the sleeping palace from awaking. Flying gods observe the scene, flying being indicated—as in Indian art—by upward bent legs.

**Plate 33.5.g** (Scene 46): Great Renunciation—the bodhisattva discards his jewellery; the outdoor setting of the event is indicated by a tree behind the bodhisattva; most other scenes in the cycle are set against palaces or elaborate thrones, even if they actually occur outdoors (such as the Grasscutter episode, scenes 69 – 73).

**Plate 33.5.h** (Scene 74): Touching the earth, with the earth goddess appearing from below; in Indian art the Buddha in *bhumisparsa mudra* usually signals Enlightenment, but this is not the case here, as there follow four more scenes with the Buddha in this *mudra* before the final Enlightenment in scene 80.

**Plate 33.5.i** (Scene 78): Temptation by Mara's daughters; Mara's daughters are shown dancing below the throne, while the bodhisattva remains unperturbed in mediation.

#### **Relation to Indian models and artistic conventions:**

Many features of the life cycle—both visual details and the overall iconography—are immediately recognisable as identical or at least closely related to Indian art of the Pala period. As can be seen in **Plate 33.5**, the Nativity and the Great Departure follow the standard Indian iconography; the semi-nude voluptuous females in these scenes (**Plate 33.5.a,b,c**) are also based on Indian models. Several details also point to close connections with art from India: The curiously curved heads of the horses in scenes 42 – 45, 48 – 50 (**Plate 33.5.f,g**) and several

others are clearly based on Pala period art,<sup>9</sup> while the depiction of foliage and trees in scenes 35, 46, 74 (**Plate 33.5.e,g,h**) is more reminiscent of Pala period manuscript painting (and Indian painting in general) than sculpture. Jewellery, semi-transparent garments (in particular the girdle holding the *dhoti*), hairstyles and crowns of the various actors in the Ananda stelae (**Plate 33.6**) could all have been directly taken from Indian art; the hairstyles in particular point to a connection with works from Orissa<sup>10</sup> and/or the Indian East coast further south.

Cutting the hair in Renunciation (scene 47, **Plate 33.7.a**) is also frequently shown in Pala-period Indian manuscript painting, but not in sculpture; there are a few Gandharan sculptures showing this event, and it occurs only twice in the so-called Sarnath stelae of the Gupta period.<sup>11</sup> The Emaciated Buddha (scene 59, **Plate 33.7.b**) is rarely seen in Indian art except in Gandharan sculpture; from the Pala period there are only a few examples in illustrated manuscripts and in late Pala sculpture from Easternmost Bengal (Bautze-Picron 2008).

The design of the palaces and thrones in the backdrop of the Ananda stelae (e.g., scenes 28, 39, 47, 66, 69, 79, **Plate 33.8**), with their strings of pearls and the typical crossbar with fantastic animals to the left and right of the halo seem direct copies from Pala sculptures or bronzes. Also, the dancing daughters of Mara at the bottom of scene 78 (**Plate 33.9**) seem to be directly taken from Pala-period stelae of the Eight Great Events.<sup>12</sup>

However, at the same time a number of details and stylistic features in the stelae cannot be related to Indian models and conventions. This includes the multi-tiered “pagoda” roofs illustrating the various palaces for Siddharta’s princely life (scenes 25 – 27, **Plate 33.10.a**), and depictions of material culture, such as the Burmese harp in scene 6 and the *kendi* (water pot with spout) in scenes 37 and 74 (**Plate 33.11**); the chariot in the Encounter scenes (scenes 30 - 33, **Plate 33.5.d**), clearly a South-East Asian design; and the litter with its carriers for Maya’s journey to Lumbini (scene 11, **Plate 33.10.b**). In India the latter scene occurs only in Gandharan sculpture, where the conveyance is a wagon. The Buddha collapsing from his mortifications (scene 60, **Plate 33.10.d**) has to the best of my knowledge only been shown in Indian art in a 8<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> century ivory from Kashmir;<sup>13</sup> it is highly unlikely that the Ananda artists could have seen this (or similar) artwork.

Most importantly, on scene 52 walking of the bodhisattva is indicated by ‘moving’ feet—i.e., one foot is slightly raised and moved forward towards the viewer, with the knee bent (**Plate 33.10.c**); this is nowhere found in Indian art and must be considered a Burmese innovation. It was obviously overlooked by Duroiselle, when he found the Ananda life cycle “devoid of imagination”.

### Summary and Conclusion:

The table below summarizes the analysis in the preceding sections.

**Related to Indian art-styles are:**

- Iconography of major scenes (Birth, Departure, Enlightenment)
- Thrones and palaces (stelae backdrops)
- Treatment of trees, foliage, flowers
- Depiction of females
- Crowns, hairstyles, jewellery, *dhotis*
- Curved heads of horses

**Features unrelated to Indian models:**

- Iconography of unusual scenes
- Pagoda-style roofs
- Burmese harp and *kendi*
- Walking shown in ‘moving’ feet
- Chariot in Encounter, litter for Maya
- Repeated *bhumisparsha* in pre-Enlightenment scenes

In terms of numbers, the vast majority of the life cycle stelae shows features that can be related to Indian art styles and conventions, particularly if doubtful stelae (i.e., reworked or replacement items) are discounted. Most of the iconography and stylistic details of the Ananda life cycle are clearly based on Indian models. However, these are not lifeless copies, but genuine artworks in this specific style; the artists must have had direct and intimate knowledge of and exposure to Indian art styles and iconography, and must have been trained in this style by Indian masters.

At the same time, a number of features are not related to Indian conventions and models; this includes (i) the overall structure of the life cycle, in particular the absence of any emphasis on the “Great” events and the omission of all miracles, (ii) details reflecting Burmese material culture, and also (iii) innovations that cannot derive from Indian art, such as the ‘moving’ feet to indicate walking. All this was clearly overlooked by Duroiselle, when he deemed the Ananda sculptures uninspired, lifeless formalistic copies of Indian models.

Also not related to Indian art is the inclusion of scenes of minor or no importance to the life story; scenes such as the last hairdressing of the bodhisattva (35), the bodhisattva calling for horse and groom (39), the bodhisattva standing in renunciation (50) have no models in Indian art. The repeated use of the *bhumisparsha mudra* in pre-Enlightenment scenes (scenes 58, 59, 61, 62, 74, 75, 77, 78, 79) also deviates from Indian conventions, where this iconography is reserved for the scene showing victory over Mara and the Enlightenment (scene 80 in the Ananda cycle).

There are also no Indian models or precursors for the expansion of some episodes into several scenes; from the end of the Gupta period onwards Indian art focused on the Eight Great Events of the Master’s Life, and at the time of the Ananda temple there were thus no models available for the three stelae showing Maya in the Himalaya; for the five post-Birth scenes (including reception of the newborn on a leopard skin, which has never been shown anywhere in Indian art); and for the two stelae with the walk to and the crossing of the Ahoma river.

Finally, the Ananda life cycle follows its textual source closely—sometimes almost verbatim—and up to small details, to the extent that several stelae differ only in minor details



and seem visually repetitive: the Grasscutter episode comprises the five scenes 69 – 73, showing the offer of grass, the Buddha then holding the grass, carrying it along, preparing to throw it, and finally throwing it down; this is nowhere found in Indian art, even though the specific textual source of the Ananda life cycle (and also several other similar compilations, such as the *Lalitavistara*) with equally numerous embellishments were well known and quite popular.

Taken together, this puts in doubt Duroiselle's assumption of the stelae being the work of Indian artists. Rather, it seems to me that the Ananda life cycle is a Burmese work, reflecting Burmese Buddhist culture and the concerns of its Burmese patrons, while at the same time deriving its inspiration from Indian art styles and iconographic conventions. Whether the sculptures were executed by Indian or Burmese artists seems to me a moot point here—they could have been produced by Indian artists working under the direction of Burmese patrons and designers, or by Burmese artists who had received a thorough training in and exposure to Indian art styles and conventions.

Personally I tend to the latter version; it seems to me that imported Indian artists would not have shown details of Burmese material culture—such as the chariot in the Encounter scenes, or Maya's litter—in such a natural way; also, if these were works by Indian artists, one would instead of the Burmese *kendi* in scenes 6 and 74 rather expect a *lota* (the Indian spoutless round water pot), and instead of the Burmese harp in scene 37 there should be a typical Indian musical instrument. Indian artists would probably also not have done the 'moving' feet in scene 52.

However, a conclusive solution of this question (if possible at all on the basis of visual inspection of the artwork only and without additional historical evidence) would require an examination of the life cycle sculptures without paint and gilding, so that all intrusive stelae (on basis of material, size, design, carving details), any repairs and additions, and distortions from the plaster grounding under the gilding could be identified. This will of course not be feasible in foreseeable future, as the Ananda is a living temple,<sup>14</sup> where the stelae are physically inaccessible and can be only viewed from the front. The conclusion of this essay must therefore remain tentative.

**Illustrations credits:** Black and white photographs of the Ananda stelae (**Plates 33.5.a,b,d,e,f; Plates 33.8 – 33.12**) are from Duroiselle 1915, plates xxxi – xxxvii; for hi-res scans of the original photographs see [http://seasite.niu.edu/burmese/Cooler/80Scenes/80\\_scenes\\_of\\_buddhas\\_life.htm](http://seasite.niu.edu/burmese/Cooler/80Scenes/80_scenes_of_buddhas_life.htm). The ground plan and elevation in **Plate 33.2** "...has used plates 4 and 8 from Yule..." 1858; **Plate 33.6** is based on plates xxxviii and xxxix in Duroiselle 1915. All other illustrations are the author's photographs, taken in 1998.

#### Notes and References:

1. Duroiselle 1915 gives 1090 CE as date of completion; other publications put this at 1080 CE or 1105 CE.
2. To protect against theft and vandalism, steel bars and wooden frames with meshed wire have been fitted to the niches, making research and photography difficult.

3. These glosses were affixed sometime around the year 1900 (Duroiselle 1915, 70); not all of the glosses identify the concerned stelae correctly.
4. This was already the case in the early 20<sup>th</sup> c. (Duroiselle 1915, 70); painting and gilding has obviously been repaired regularly afterwards.
5. Damages to several stelae have been noticed in Duroiselle 1915, 94: “A few of the steles in the corridor showed unmistakable signs of having been broken or damaged and crudely repaired”.
6. In a later publication Duroiselle dealt with the monument’s history, architecture and decoration in general (Duroiselle 1937).
7. Four stelae were already identified as ‘intrusive’ by Duroiselle, based on irregularities of the subject matter in regard to the timeline of the life story; these pieces also show different stylistic features—in particular in the design of the thrones and palaces behind the figures. Several more stelae could also be later (modern?) replacements of damaged or lost originals, such as scene 20, **Plate 33.12.a**, where the figures are clumsy and inorganic compared to the other stelae, and particularly all those with depictions of carved gables resembling Mandalay-period wood architecture (scenes 10, 38, 40, **Plate 33.12.b**), as there is no evidence of this architecture for the Pagan period. In scene 40 the dress of the bodhisattva—with the typical flared shoulders of Mandalay period sculptures—is also suspicious. Several stelae with faces that resemble Burmese sculpture of later periods (scenes 21, 55, 64, 70 – 72, and others) might also be later replacements; however, this could also be the result of the shaping of the plaster grounding under the (modern) gilding.
8. Here the artist seems to have followed the text of the Nidanakatha: The “white elephant ... entered the golden mansion, and thrice doing obeisance to [Maya]’s couch, ... gently struck her right side”. (Rhys-Davis 1878, 150).
9. See Mevissen 2013, Figs. 5.10 and 5.13, for 12<sup>th</sup> century examples from West Bengal and Bangladesh; this treatment of the horse head occurs in Indian art only in Bengal and Orissa in the Pala period.
10. The hairstyles shown in **Plate 33.6** are particularly reminiscent of the 64 yoginis in the Hirapur temple near Bhubaneshtar.
11. See Williams 1975, fig. 1 and fig. 5. For a general overview of the evolution of depictions of the Buddha life and of the *asta-maha-pratiharya* iconography see Wicks 1997; its impact on later art production in India and beyond is discussed in Poell 2011.
12. See Huntington 1987, fig. 8, for the same scene on the famous stele in Jagdishpur (near Nalanda).
13. Now in the Cleveland Museum; see <http://www.clevelandart.org/art/1986.70>.
14. The Ananda is in fact the most venerated and most visited of all monuments in Pagan; the annual temple festival in January draws thousands of devotees from near and afar.

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