
by

K. J. Whitbread

B. A. (Hons) London

Pagan, classical name Arimaddanapur, on the left bank of the vast Irrawaddy River, for centuries the only great highway of the country, lies over 460 river-miles north of Rangoon and was in the 12th century the proud and flourishing capital of Burma.

Geographically within the dry-zone of Upper Burma it experiences average daily temperatures of over 90°F, cooling to around 70°F at night and receives between 25-40 inches of rainfall during the S. W. Monsoon season (May — October). For the greater part of the year it is extremely arid, an area covered by a scrub of thin stunted trees and prickly bushes, abounding in dried-up watercourses that only run after a shower. Even in the 12th century it was being called tattadesa — 'the dry country'.

The date of its foundation and early history still remain obscure. According to the Burmese chronicles, a series of quasi-historical texts handed down through the years in manuscript form, it developed from a cluster of villages into a larger unit by A. D. 849 when its chief, Pyinbya, enclosed it with a wall, the remains of which can still be seen at the Sarabhā Gate. Much of the original wall has been washed away by the river and annual flooding, but both inside and outside the city walls there are magnificent temples, stupas and monasteries, mainly of brick, evidence of her greatness as a centre of mainly Theravāda Buddhism, art, culture and administration.

Burma has been described by countless travellers from the 14th. century as the country "par excellence" of pagodas. No work of merit is so richly rewarded as the building of a pagoda and the title payataga continues to rank high in Burmese society. The builder gains much merit thus ensuring a happy transmigration, for at death Buddhists believe an individual assumes a new form to enjoy an existence which is more or less happy according to the amount of good or bad that has previously been performed.

"Na hi dhammo adhammo ca ubho samavipākino,
Adhammo nirayaṁ neti, dhammo pāpeti suggatin ti"

"Is it not true, his proper fruit from right or wrong shall spring?
Right leads to heaven, unrighteousness a man to hell must bring."

1 Sud-est Atlantique, L. Frédonic, Paris, 1964, Pl. 41.
2 Ayogahara Jātaka. No. 510.
As it avails little to repair a previous dedication unless it is to one of the great shrines, new pagodas raise their spires to the sky, cheek by jowl with older shrines which a little care would save from crumbling into another mound of brick. Nowhere is this more evident than at Pagan where an area of approximately 25 square miles is richly carpeted with the remains of Buddhist monuments of many types.

The early religion of Pagan was a mixture of corrupt Mahāyāna Buddhism of the Northern School which used Sanskrit as its medium, nāga (snake) worship with its priests the Ari³, and spirit worship. Our knowledge of the first king of Burma, Aniruddha, (A. D. 1044—1077) is based largely on conjecture. The Chronicles tell us he extended his dominions eastwards into the Shan States, westwards into Arakan and southwards to Thaton. In Ceylon the Buddhist king Vijayabahu I under attack from the Colas requested and obtained financial help from Burma and later supplied full texts of the Pāli Tipiṭaka held in such high esteem in Pagan. Pāli now superseded Sanskrit as the language of the sacred texts and the Mon king, members of the royal family, monks and skilled craftsmen of all kinds uprooted from Thaton, settled down to work for their new Burmese masters.

Fired by religious zeal, the kings of the Pagan dynasty, members of the royal family, courtiers and well-to-do laymen inaugurated an era of prolific temple building over the next two centuries. Thousands of stone inscriptions were set up in or near pagodas recording the meritorious deeds of the donors, royal events, and dedications of slaves and ricelands to specific pagodas. Many contain the prayers and aspirations of their donors followed by fearsome curses describing the fate awaiting anyone so ill-advised as to destroy the work of merit. The temples were embellished with stucco, wall-plaques, wall-paintings and sculpture. In A.D. 1287 however, the Pagan dynasty was to fall prey to the well-disciplined and seasoned soldiers of the Mongols. The city was looted and pillaged by the invaders. She had risen, flourished and fallen and was now destined to become what she has remained ever since, a ghostly city of ruined temples, a quiet backwater where pagoda slaves and their descendants faithfully tended the shrines in their care. Future kings of Burma chose other sites for their capitals but members of the Court, high officials and the laity came to worship at the famous shrines on festive occasions and villagers in the many small hamlets dotted over the huge area, plied their respective trades, one of the most important of which was the manufacture of lacquerware⁴.

Two English officials who led missions to the Court of Ava, Michael Symes in 1795⁵ and John Crawfurd⁶ in 1827 made only passing reference to the city and gave cursory accounts of their visits, probably because they were hurriedly made during intervals they were able to snatch from public duties.

⁴ Meisterwerke Burmanischer Lackkunst, Dr. Gernot Prunner, Hamburg, 1966.
⁵ An Account of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava, 1795. London, 1800, 1969 (?).
⁶ Journal of an Embassy from the Governor General of India to the Court of Ava, 1827. London, 1834.
Colonel Yule, Secretary to Arthur Phayre during the 1855 Mission, however, devotes a whole chapter to the ancient capital and has left us a fine account of its contents.

After the Third Anglo-Burmese War 1886 and the period of civil unrest that followed it, numbers of travellers made their way north to see the recently acquired area of Upper Burma formerly under the control of the Burmese king. Their books contain fascinating contemporary accounts of the country and very good photographs of the old cities of Burma showing famous pagodas, royal buildings and exquisitely ornate wooden monasteries many of which have since been destroyed. The Irrawaddy Flotilla Company ran an efficient service of mail and cargo steamers twice a week between Rangoon and Mandalay (1897) offering passengers comfortable accommodation. The journey took approximately 8 days upstream and 5 days downstream according to the season of the year and the state of the river. Those wishing to visit Pagan disembarked at Nyaung-U some 6 miles upstream and made the last part of the journey on foot, on horseback, by pony or ox-cart along sandy tracks shaded here and there by welcome acacia and other flowering trees of the dry-zone.

For administrative convenience Burma at that time was a Province of India staffed by civil service officers many of whom came to love the country and begin research into its history, language, art and culture, either as part of their job or in their leisure hours. In India the Archaeological Department had been tackling the Herculean task of listing monuments and writing monographs on the archaeological remains in the sub-continent, but little was done in Burma. By 1889 the Department had begun to lose favour in Government circles and a period of retrenchment began. Burma was left without a Surveyor. Lord Curzon, the new Governor General of India, however, in his speech to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta on the 1st. February, 1899 announced that he was going to pursue an active policy during his term of office and encourage the promotion of archaeological study, research on and preservation of relics of the past. From 1902—1926 the Burma Archaeological Department published its own annual reports. They were for a time merged with those of India but after the separation of Burma from India in 1937, they resumed publication until the Japanese Invasion in 1942. Since Independence in 1948 they have appeared only in Burmese.

One man whose line of duty took him to Pagan, not as a traveller but as a soldier on active service against the Japanese in the re-occupation of Burma 1944—45, was Field Marshal Sir William Slim, Commander of the British XIV Army. His forward units had reached the Irrawaddy in February 1945 and a Sikh patrol which had been secretly landed on its eastern bank, reported there were no Japanese soldiers south of the town. Thanks to the

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7 A Narrative of the Mission sent by the Governor General of India to the Court of Ava, 1855. London, 1858, 1869.
able deception measures of one of his generals, the Japanese evacuated Pagan and moved their troops up-river. Had the Japanese High Command not changed the disposition of their forces, doubtless in the ensuing battle, many gems of Mon and Burmese architecture would have been razed to the ground. It is very easy to understand how this very human Commander felt, as after an enervating and exhausting campaign through the dense tropical jungles of the Manipur-Burma border, he and his troops descended into the drier central plain of Burma and saw for the first time the cooling waters of the Irrawaddy and Pagan on the opposite shore, the golden and white spires of her temples shimmering in the heat. "To watch across the great river as dawn breaks over ancient Pagan is to hold one's breath at so much beauty. Pagan once the proud capital of Burma was in all its glory at the time of the Norman Conquest, now silent, ruined and deserted it is still very noble and beautiful. Its 1200 temples, madder red or ghostly white rise like some fantastic pyramids or turreted fairy castles, others in tapering pagoda spires from the sage-green mass of trees against the changing pastel blues, reds and golds of sunrise." Such must have been the scene too when a certain Herr Thomann 46 years previously suddenly turned up.

The Thomann Affair.

Although certain aspects of the climate at Pagan have done much to preserve many of its monuments in a remarkably good state after the passage of ten centuries, exposed as they have been to the fierce heat of day, cooling at night, the weathering effects of wind and rain and to earthquake tremors from time to time, it is Man himself who has sought to destroy and desecrate, sometimes during periods of internal strife, but more often than not out of personal avarice and greed.

Lack of repair has resulted in many temples falling, brick by brick to become mounds of earth covered with a patina of earth on which small bushes struggle for existence. The more tenacious climbing plants and shrubs have thrust their roots and tendrils amongst the ruins clawing at any projecting piece of stucco or ledge for support thus weakening many a doorway and wall. Masonary has cracked, fallen and broken. Treasure hunters for centuries have disembowelled Buddha images and the inner chambers of pagodas to discover the valuables deposited therein by the pious. Countless objects have been removed by raiders, thieves, villagers, globe-trotters and vandals and the former glories of some painter's or mason's art ruined by enthusiastic villagers armed with brushes and buckets of whitewash!

Professor Gordon Luce, the Burma epigraphist, still pre-eminent in his field, now over 80 but putting in a full-working day in his wonderful library in the peace and solitude, charm and equable climate of Jersey in the Channel Islands writes "In 1899 Th. H. Thomann, accompanied by C. von

Dietrich, J. Muller, Meurer, Ronkel and Kugelmeyer, left their signatures on walls which they defaced (small temples ¼ mile west of the Htilominlo), were caught, expelled and some of the loot recovered. Frescoes were sawn off and the Wetkyi-in Kubyaukgyi irreparably damaged. ¹⁰

Of his visit Thomann tells us "As we had been recommended to the British Indian Government by the German Foreign Office, we enjoyed every courtesy and facility for the first few months, but with the change of the chief administrative officer of the district, there began a period of less pleasant times for us. His successor immediately showed that he was not at all well-disposed towards German people. We were everywhere and at all times accused of doing wrong. We had previously exchanged flag and cannon signals with the extremely helpful Captain of the British river steamer with whom we had travelled from Rangoon to Nyaung-U whenever he passed. In the end this was disallowed 'as it would alarm the natives' and then one day when the saluting gun 'went off by itself' as the steamer made its way downstream, it was finally confiscated. It was in the end thought expedient to place a 7 man Sikh guard around our peaceful dwelling until our departure." ¹¹

Thomann and his party had taken up residence in a monastery on the bank of the Irrawaddy River near Pagan in June 1899. They pursued their 'archaeological researches' diligently for three months and then news of their activities reached the ears of the District Commissioner, Myingyan. Disatisfied with Thomann's answers to his questions, he ordered a search to be made of their quarters, opened an enquiry and placed a police guard around their monastery. It transpired that Thomann and his party had removed some hundreds of jātaka wall-paintings, sculptures and much else from pagodas at Pagan intending to send everything back to Germany. In the event some of the treasures they had taken were recovered and the party was expelled from Burma in November 1899. The official records of the period help us to gain a clearer picture of the escapade.


From: H.M.S. Mathews Esq., Officiating Revenue Secretary to the Govt. of Burma.

To: The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

I am directed to inform that in June 1899 a party of five persons under the leadership of a Mr. Thomann Gillis landed in Burma and proceeded to the ancient city of Pagan in the Myingyan District. The party produced no credentials at Rangoon and made no communication to the Local Government, but it has since been ascertained that Mr. Thomann Gillis claims to have been deputed for Archaeological research by the Royal Museum of Ethnology at Berlin.

For three months the party remained at Pagan carrying on their operations without arousing the suspicion of local officers. At the beginning of October, however, when visiting Pagan, the District Commissioner ascertained that the party had been removing a number of articles of veneration to Buddhists and of great archaeological value from pagodas or Buddhist temples which are a feature of Pagan.

As Mr. Gillis, on being taxed with this, concealed some facts while admitting others, his temporary premises were searched, and it was found that the acts of spoilation had been numerous and extensive. The Deputy Commissioner then placed a police guard to watch the operations of the party and opened an enquiry.

In the course of his enquiry it was elicited that amongst other sacred and valuable articles, a number of tiles representing incidents in the life of the Buddha had been chiselled out of the walls of one pagoda and removed by the party at night in order to avoid detection.

Under the orders of His Honour the Lieutenant Governor, the Govt. Advocate was consulted as to the prosecution of these so-called explorers under the Penal Code. The Government Advocate advised that a prosecution would lie for damaging a sacred edifice under Section 295 of the Indian Penal Code, but at the same time he pointed out that there would be some difficulty in proving guilty knowledge, and that a conviction might not in consequence be obtainable.

In view of this advice and as the valuable properties had been recovered, His Honour the Lieutenant Governor after full consideration, decided it would be better not to take action under the Penal Code. At the same time it appeared to him desirable that Herr Gillis and his party should not be allowed to remain in the country and thus obtain further opportunities for continuing their depredations.

They had shown that they were bent on securing by underhand and unprincipled means objects of value, the removal of which would undoubtedly wound the feelings and insult the religion of devout Buddhists. Sir Frederic Fryer, therefore, decided that the so-called exploring party should be expelled from the country, and in pursuance of this policy they were ordered to remove themselves from Burma under Section 38 The Foreigners Act III of 1864.

Under these orders the party which consisted of Herr Gillis, leader, and Messrs. Meurer, Dietrich, Runkel and Kugelmeyer left Rangoon by steamer on the 16th. November, 1899. I am to explain that Herr Gillis and his party claim to be German subjects and that this report is made to the Government of India because Herr Gillis intimated before he left Burma that he intended to complain to the German Government of the manner he had been treated in Burma.

The Lieutenant Governor thinks it doubtful whether Herr Gillis will, on reflection, make any complaint as his conduct must be regarded with the gravest disapproval by any civilised Government. Nevertheless, as it is possible that Herr Gillis will complain, the Lieutenant
Governor considers it expedient to acquaint the Government of India with the facts of the case.

The letter was transferred to the Foreign Department for disposal No. 2924, Calcutta, 16th. November, 1899 and a covering letter forwarded to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, dated 11th. January, 1900 was signed by Curzon and six other officers.  

Back in Germany Thomann set about finding a buyer for his ill-gotten antiquities and was ready to sell them to any institution or museum that was ready to meet his initial exorbitant price. After protracted negotiations the Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde purchased his collection in 1906 for the not inconsiderable sum of Reichs Mark 60,550. Fortunately the "Sammlung Thomann" survived the devastating air attacks made on Hamburg during the Second World War and representative pieces are on display in the Museum's gallery devoted to South East Asia.

Again after much delay, for Thomann was always on the move in the years before the First World War, he published a book on his Burma visit in 1923 and presented to the general reader and more particularly to those interested in the art, culture and architecture of a far-away exotic eastern land, quite a detailed survey of his travels with many good photographs of Burma and Pagan at the turn of the 19th. century.

The greater part of the book is devoted to Pagan and its temples but he included chapters on the Buddhist Clergy, Burmese customs and festivals, the Shwe Dagon Pagoda, Rangoon and the Andaman Islands. There are 98 photographs, 10 coloured plates interleaved with the text and an almost unreadable map of Pagan at the back. In places it is scientifically unreliable, for example, he calls the Wetkyi-in Kubyaukgyi Pagoda, the Kube Zat, and talks about two non-existent temples, the Kubyauktha or Kalaku Paya, instead of the Theinmazi. It is, however, easy to understand how confusion over unfamiliar and often very similar-sounding names arose. Thomann was very much a pioneer, lacked the professional linguistic skills this kind of research demands and no doubt had to rely on numbers of local inhabitants whose knowledge and command of English may have been rather limited. He quotes few sources of his information, is regretfully silent about personal observations of the trip and even omits to inform the reader when it was made.

He must have been a colourful figure of the times. A perusal of the bulky correspondence that took place in Germany while he was trying to sell his collection, reveals here and there sidelights of his personality. Impetuous if he did not receive speedy replies to his flow of letters, written on all sorts of odd pieces of paper from wherever he happened to be at that moment, easily annoyed by what he thought were delaying techniques of bureaucratic officials, ruthless to obtain his own ends, painstaking, for the photographs his party took were very good and his book obviously demanded
much hard work, he certainly was a man with a flair for organization. The hardships and difficulties involved in the types of journeys he undertook were innumerable.

"The Thomann Affair" urged the Government to take steps to prevent a re-occurrence of such depredations and caretakers were appointed to watch over 127 buildings in Pagan protected by Government. Detailed instructions were issued by the District Commissioner, Myingyan and the Government Archaeologist to village headmen and pagoda durwans and a public notice was framed and circulated warning curio-hunters that the police had powers to arrest anyone caught pilfering a pagoda and would take out legal proceedings against any such person.

From 1902 the Burma Archaeological Department, despite their meagre staff and totally insufficient finances, began a programme of research and conservation of which they must justifiably be proud. Their reports make frequent reference to the deterioration of wall-paintings and the restrictions imposed on their labours by a paucity of funds. Fortunately the policy of systematic examination and conservation of the monuments these devoted officials began, is being maintained by the present Burmese Government, albeit once again on a shoe-string budget.

The jātaka and their popularity in Burma.

Tradition asserts that the Buddhist Canon, the Tipiṭaka, was compiled after the demise of the Buddha around 483 BC at the Council of Rājagaha, was further developed a hundred years later at the Council of Vesāli, and completed in its essential parts at the Third Council under the aegis of the great Indian king Aśoka. Its texts are written in Pāli, a vernacular of the kingdom of Magadha, that became the sacred language of the scriptures, a language not directly derived from Sanskrit but a mixed dialect with several stages of development. It is still widely studied in the Buddhist countries of S. E. Asia and by scholars elsewhere interested in Indology and Buddhism. The Pāli Text Society, London, since its inception in 1882 has published scholarly editions of the texts and produced a large number of translations.

The Sutta Piṭaka has as the tenth book of the Khuddaka Nikāya, a collection of stories concerning the former existences of the Buddha, the jātaka. Originally it was a metrical composition divided into sections according to the number of verses each jātaka contained. Just when the jātakas in their present form came into existence is impossible to say but it is generally assumed that the stories have been handed down through the centuries by oral tradition and that this commentary with its verses became what is now known as the Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā — a translation into Pāli of the commentary as remembered in Ceylon.

The stories form part of the ancient pre-Buddhist traditions of India and throw a flood of light on the social, political and religious life of the people

13 ASB Section III 1912—13, para. 9.
in those far off times. They give us an insight into popular Buddhism as all are based on the dogma of karma, showing how the Buddha in his former lives displayed one or more of the great virtues, kindness, bravery or self-sacrifice, for example. They lay stress on the impermanence of all worldly things, on the vanities of the world, on the fickleness of women, and on the benefits to be enjoyed by those who practise alms-giving and other virtuous deeds. They also portend the fate awaiting those who transgress. From times immemorial the Buddhist Clergy have used this ready-made teaching material to explain to the laity by means of these amusing, pleasant, and instructive tales, specific Buddhist teachings and a whole gamut of stories illustrating lessons of life. In Burma it is usual to speak of the "550 jātakas", but modern books list only 547. Professor V. Fausböll edited the Jātaka in Pāli for the first time in 1877 (six volumes and an index)\textsuperscript{15} and an English translation was made under the general guidance of Professor Cowell between 1895—1913\textsuperscript{16}. Durorff published a German translation in Leipzig in 1908\textsuperscript{17}.

When the commentary came to Burma poses many as yet unsolved problems. We do know, however, that by the 10th. century A. D. when the Burmese king Aniruddha descended into Lower Burma, the Mons were well-versed in Pāli. Later when the Singhalese king provided Burma with the full Tipiṭaka, the jātakas became an extremely popular motif for temple decoration, either in wall-painting or terra-cotta form, at Pagan and elsewhere. Particularly fine sets were found in Mon at the Ananda Pagoda, the E. and W. Petleik Pagodas and the Myinkaba Kubyaukgyi. Burmese sets were made to embellish other temples during the era of great temple building by artists and craftsmen serving the Burmese Court, amongst whom were Mons and Indians from Lower Burma. The only ones thoroughly Burmese in character are the jātakas painted according to local artistic tradition in 1820 at Amarapura in the Pathodawgyi Pagoda.

Whilst artists and scribes were busy at their labours, learned members of the Buddhist Clergy in the seclusion of peaceful monasteries and scholars already familiar with the Pāli text of the jātakas, set about composing pyo — a Burmese verse form used almost exclusively in the 15th. century to narrate a jātaka story in elegant phrases and recherché vocabulary to delight the ear, sometimes at the expense of meaning, of members of the Burmese court. Many of these skilful compositions have become Burmese classics and are assiduously studied in universities and schools in Burma. Two outstanding prose writers U Awbatha and the Nyaunggan Sayadaw later translated the jātakas into flowing Burmese prose. The 19th. century saw new literary activity in Burma in the form of drama. "Zat" long plays

\textsuperscript{17} Jātakam, das Buch der Erzählungen aus früheren Existzen Buddhas, Leipzig, 1908.
and the shorter popular "pyazat" were written often with specific jätaka themes or contained a story in which frequent allusion was made to jätaka situations or personalities. Touring theatrical companies presented cycles of the Ten Great Jätaka, or excerpts from particularly well-loved stories and held village and town audiences enthralled by the poignant portrayal of tragic scenes, the comic capers, wit and repartee of the clowns and by the brilliant classical dancing of the troupe leaders.

The popularity of the jätakas has been further increased by the representation of well-known characters and scenes on silver and lacquerware betel boxes, drinking vessels, bowls, tables and trays, on silk scrolls and folding manuscripts and by the wood-carvers, bronze workers and embroidery makers in manifold ways. Traditional wedding gifts and presents given on other important occasions are still exquisitely embellished with intricate and beautiful patterns showing jätaka scenes.

The Theinmazi Pagoda and its paintings.

Thomann describes a square ruined two-storeyed temple with a vestibule through which he came upon a corridor surrounding a central portion on three sides topped by a sikhara. The entrance hall was irregularly covered with jätaka paintings and the niche, archways and other walls had formerly been richly decorated with standing and seated paintings of the Buddha, scenes of the Buddha's life mythical animals, numerous deities and other ornamental designs. (Plates 38, 39, 40, 63, 68, 69). He called this temple the Kubyauktha Pagoda.

Although its enclosure wall is now dilapidated, the temple itself is in a fair state of preservation for it has recently been repaired by the Archaeological Department. An iron-grill door has been fixed to the main entrance and the other entrances have been blocked with honeycombed brick walls. The outside was originally decorated with fine stucco carvings a great deal of which still remains intact. Inside, of the four Buddha statues against the central pillar, only one, a standing image on the northern side remains undamaged. Mural paintings, scenes from the life of the Buddha and jätakas with descriptive legends once decorated the various walls but many have deteriorated and fallen down, whilst other parts were removed by Thomann. A stairway in the eastern passage leads to the top of the eastern vestibule and first terrace. Low flights of steps on each side then lead directly into a square sanctum above the main hall containing a seated Buddha image facing east. There is no evidence available regarding the date of the temple or about its donor.

18 Burma. Max and Bertha FERRARS, 2nd Ed. 1901, contains many fine photographs of the artistic skills of Burmese 19th century craftsmen.
19 Pagan, pp 51—54.
20 For this up-to-date information concerning the Theinmazi Pagoda I am indebted to U Aung Thaw, Director, Archaeological Survey, Burma.
The identification of the Hamburg paintings came under review in my discussions with Professor G. H. Luce who has spent a lifetime studying the history and culture of the Pagan Dynasty as reflected in its monuments and inscriptions. Short of an on-the-spot examination — regrettably out of the question until more normal international relations exist between Burma and the outside world — he feels fairly sure that many of the Thomann pieces come from a very fine early Burmese temple c. 1200 A. D., the Theinmazi Pagoda. A comparison of two maps of Pagan showing pagoda sites with Thomann's well-nigh illegible folding map at the end of his book, would seem to indicate that the location of the Kubyauktha and the Theinmazi coincide.

The Theinmazi was listed as No. 17 in the Pagan-Myoma Circle and had Buddha images, writings on the walls and paintings. It was later one of the shrines placed under the control of the two caretakers responsible to the Thugyi (headman) of Pagan and its contents are recommended to visitors who may be able to spend more than a few hours at Pagan. A few photographs of its wall-paintings were taken in 1918 in pursuance of the policy to "perpetuate, both by photographs and by traced copies, coloured according to the originals, all the frescoes that are now extant at Pagan or elsewhere in Burma so that these interesting relics may not be allowed to disappear without record" 21. A few photographs of its wall-paintings were taken in 1918 in pursuance of the policy to "perpetuate, both by photographs and by traced copies, coloured according to the originals, all the frescoes that are now extant at Pagan or elsewhere in Burma so that these interesting relics may not be allowed to disappear without record" 21.

The jātaka paintings, each measuring approximately 20 x 25 cms, show in simple stylized forms, the central characters in one of the stories of the Buddha's former existences. Two figures are commonly shown, both with haloes, the Bodhisatta to the left on a small dais, hands slightly raised, and on the right either a kneeling or a seated figure, hands raised or pressed, palms together in an attitude of adoration.

The Bodhisatta is variously clothed according to the particular role he assumed in the story: in regal dress with a crown of 3 or 5 tiers, large ear and neck ornaments, armlets, bracelets, shoulder threads, a decorated cloak-like upper garment and a patterned loincloth or in the more simple garb of a thin jacket and plain or striped loincloth. The hair may be piled high on the head giving a butterfly-like effect, combed into a beehive style or pulled into a neat chignon at the nape of the neck. The figures have been outlined in black showing a minimum of bodily contours and eyebrows, eyes, mouths, sharp noses and little goatee beards have been drawn in making some rather grim of aspect; the whole effect distinctly un-Burmese, but rather Indian in character.

Representations of the Bodhisatta as an animal are slightly less stylized. Deer stand prancing on their hind legs, monkeys stand or kneel in adoration, paws raised, and the bulk of an elephant adequately fills one or two squares. The artist's conception of the mythical animals nāgas (serpents), chinthé (lions) and kinnara (half-bird — half-human creatures) is far less decided.

22 A.S.B. 1918. p 29, para 61 and plates.
The birds, crows, owls, quails and vultures, however each have their set forms, the hamsa (Brahminy ducks) look plump and well-fed and one or two of the parrots have mischievous looking eyes. Flanked by banana trees, a conventional central tree from whose foliage peers a gently smiling countenance portrays the Bodhisatta as a tree spirit. Each picture contains an umbrella, a device employed by artists and sculptors to indicate the presence of the Holy One.

The frequent recurrence of an almost identical physionomy, the limited number of attitudes and the predominating yellow-ochres, browns, dark reds and black, do not contribute very much to relieve the monotony of the paintings. Only the greens still stand out brilliantly from the otherwise dull hues. Even in their pristine state the walls cannot have been outstandingly colourful and the poor lighting conditions within the temple as dictated by the architect would make many of them difficult to see. Except in a few cases, the art of painting in Burma did not attain the high degree of perfection found in India, Ceylon or China and this set of jātakas can in no way compare in beauty, design, execution and colouring with those that still adorn, for example, the Wetkyi-in Kubyaukgyi and Winidho Pagodas at Pagan. Like most of the other jātaka collections their place is more of historical than artistic interest. They were executed on wall-surfaces which had probably been left to dry. For adhesive purposes the pigments were mixed with water and a binding substance, generally the gum of the Melia Indica (Nim tree), but for black the gall of a certain fish was used. U Mya further reminds us that the work can in no way be called 'frescoes' rather 'tempera' painting.

At the base of each picture within a black-edged frame, is an ink-gloss giving the name of the jātaka in Pāli, followed by the identification of the Bodhisatta in Old Burmese with sometimes a verb and a sentence-final particle. The Burmese letters, large and slightly cursive, uneven in size and shape, have been painted in with a thick brush. The scribe continued his lettering outside and underneath the frame if there were too many words to fit the space provided or he found his letters were too large. The jātaka order follows Fausboll fairly consistently but there are discrepancies in titles. These may be variously ascribed to an artist's working from a different recension to the Singhalese version, to local variations, to mis-copying, to human error and to the limited knowledge of the scribes themselves. There can be no doubt artists laboured under trying conditions: poor illumination from outside, the flickering of oil-lamps inside, awkward wall-surfaces at different heights and angles, and probably were racing against time to fulfil the orders of an all-powerful nobleman. It is not surprising therefore that the standard of workmanship should sometimes suffer and human errors creep in, for we read in an inscription dated the equivalent of A. D. 1237 that the painting of a kū(temple) including 14619 pictures of the Buddha and the 550 jātakas took only 3—4 days to complete.

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24 Inscriptions of Burma. Portfollio I, Pl. 105a, lines 6—8.
From a stylistic point of view, the art and architecture of Pagan, although N. E. Indian in its general patterns, shows its own artistic and decorative art forms where local craftsmen have later added their own touches to borrowed concepts. Cultural relations between Burma and Eastern India were well-established during the Pagan Dynasty. Large numbers of terracotta votive tables have been unearthed, merchants plied their trade with Bengal and Pagan kings sent missions to the holy site at Bodhgāya. Despite the fact that Mahāyānist cults having been introduced into Burma were being practised by a section of the inhabitants, Pagan turned to Ceylon for guidance and inspiration in all things spiritual and under the aegis of the Buddhist monarchs, Theravāda Buddhism triumphed, leaving in its wake the outstanding cultural heritage which is Pagan.

The decipherment of the ink-glosses and reconstruction of the walls.

When I was first invited to work on this material at the invitation of Dr. Gernot Prunner, Curator of the S. E. Asian Section at the Museum, he and his Staff were rescuing the paintings from a storeroom, picking out those needing repair, cleaning and chemically treating the rest before each was placed in a plastic bag and stacked book-like on metal shelving. At some time or the other each piece has been imbedded in a thick mould of plaster of Paris and given a black surround. Thomann had plates (13 x 18 cms) taken of them and it was from these that I made my first contact prints. I was then able to obtain a tentative set of readings before examining the originals.

Compared to hundreds of inscriptions and other ink-glosses of the Pagan period, whose carefully made letters are a credit to the skill of the scribes of yore, these glosses proved difficult and challenging. The walls in 1899 were in a bad state. After the paintings had been removed all had flaws in them of one kind or another: cracks, flacked off portions, erased letters, sections stained by rain rivulets streaming down from a defective roof, and parts broken off during removal, transportation and handling. Occasionally, enough ink had seeped through the first layer of plaster so that when it had rubbed off, ghostly shadows of the letters were visible enough for me to read the gloss. Whoever made the plaster casts was sometimes none too careful either, for some initial, final and subscript letters have been obliterated by the mould or its border!

I then unearthed from the mass of Thomann's photographic plates, two (24 x 30 cms.) reproduced in his book (Thomann Nr. 230, 229) and a third (Thomann Nr. 228), not included, a careful examination of which proved that the Hamburg jātaka wall-paintings came from this pagoda. The Museum very kindly placed a darkroom at my disposal and so began a battle to produce enlargements which might enable me to match these pictures with my contact prints and the originals and perhaps even cull further readings from the otherwise illegible ink-glosses on many of the paintings. As the enlargements built up and were pieced together, it soon became apparent both these wishes would in part be fulfilled. If according to the photographic experts "Plate 230 will be very difficult and demand an enormous amount of
trial and error" then Plate 228 must surely be a photographer’s nightmare. Very little detail can be seen even when it is held against a high-powered lamp, so black is it. Parts of the chemical surface have deteriorated and other areas have been damaged by dampness which has crept between the plate and its supporting glass, for it had been broken and repaired in the dim past too. Undaunted by such a wealth of technical problems, I began tests and finally by giving each small section exposure times of 40 minutes under the enlarger, over a period of six months built up the third part of the wall in prints.

I was now able to assign each jātaka to its rightful place on the wall, identify and decipher parts of the originals which had been damaged and from my ‘new walls’ read the glosses under pictures the Museum does not possess. I have thus been able to establish that the Museum has the bulk of the jātakas from 251—547 with relatively few omissions. Plate 228 contains 124, plate 230 another 168, a total of 292, and plate 229 shows part of an arch with six crowned figures, beyond which there lies another jātaka wall largely destroyed. From the iconography of the 27 squares that remain, it is possible to identify them as the earlier numbers of the collection. This and no doubt other walls once held the remainder from 1—250 thus providing the pagoda with a complete set. No ink-glosses are discernable on Plate 229. They may have perished or never have been written. The wall-numbering follows the Fausböll order fairly consistently but is at times erratic. Jātakas 263, 296, 355, 356, 421, 436 and 490 have been missed out. They may well have been placed elsewhere, but 436, for example, was not given its rightful place on the wall! Of the 292 wall spaces, the Museum has 260, 253 of which I have identified. The remaining 7 are far too badly damaged for accurate identification. Jātaka 86 is the only example in the Museum of a jātaka from the earlier section. There is no trace of the other 32 pieces and the fate of the other parts is not known.

The Old Burmese words in the glosses show no marked departure in orthography from forms already constant in the 13th. century, but the spelling of the word Jātaka — jac — lends itself to speculation that we might here have an early example of this form from Pagan. Elsewhere in Pagan it is usually spelt — jāt — as in the Petleik Pagodas c 1070, the Shwezigon c 1086, the Shwekyawng Kubyaukte c 1110, the Ānanda 1105, and the Nagayon 1190. The Mingalazedi c 1250 and the Wetkyi-in Kubyaukgyi among others have — jāt — The spelling — jac — occurs in Kyaukse at the Nandawye Pagoda and in Mekhaya at the Shwezigon Pagoda, sometimes as an odd intruder, even — cac — occasionally.

As may be expected, in archaic Burmese there are inconsistences in spelling and many minor discrepancies involving length of vowel, substitution of a different vowel, omission or insertion of a consonant or consonants and

25 On a recent photograph of this wall kindly supplied by U Aung Thaw. 25 complete squares and the fragments of 10 others remain in situ. The lower part of the wall has been destroyed laying base the original bricks.
the scribe frequently has difficulty with the more complicated Burmese letters used in writing Pāli words. In the jātaka titles he shows a marked preference for using k for g and g for k but follows conventional 13th. century orthography for his Burmese words. There are very few human errors. A list of some of the more blatant discrepancies in jātaka titles is also given.

The complete set of readings of the ink glosses beneath each jātaka is given below in the order they occur on the two reconstructed walls according to the following plan:

**Reading of the ink gloss**
**Translation and identification of the Bodhisatta**
Fausböll title — *Jātaka* number — (Thomann plate number)

NIM indicates that the piece is not in the Museum collection or identification from the remaining odd pieces is quite impossible.

Letters in capitals have been read from the wall-photographs I made and are no longer visible on the originals.

Letters enclosed by brackets indicate uncertain readings.

S. E. indicates probable scribe's error.

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**Plate 228.**

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**Row 1.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reading of the ink gloss</th>
<th>Translation and identification of the Bodhisatta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. broken *(Saṃka)*ppa jac rasiy,phlac e'</td>
<td>The Bodhisatta was an ascetic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samkappa — 251 — (245)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Tilamuṭṭhi jac charyā phlac e</td>
<td>The Bodhisatta was a teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tilamuṭṭhi — 252 — (53)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. MANIKANDA jac rasiy,phlac te</td>
<td>The Bodhisatta was an ascetic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Kuṇḍakakucchisindhava jac mrañ (kun)sañ</td>
<td>The Bodhisatta was a Sindh horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuṇḍakakucchisindhava — 254 — (255)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Sīva jac kiy phlac e'</td>
<td>The Bodhisatta was a paroquet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suka — 255 — (87)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Marapānā jac kunsañ</td>
<td>The Bodhisatta was a merchant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jarudapāna — 256 — (187)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Kāmanicanda jac mañ phlac</td>
<td>The Bodhisatta was a king</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gāmanicanda — 257 — (222)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Mandhātu jac sakkratiy phlac</td>
<td>The Bodhisatta was a universal monarch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandhātu — 258 — (106)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Divītivaccha jac rasiy,te</td>
<td>The Bodhisatta was an ascetic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiriṭavaccha — 259 — (174)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
10. D(ü)ta jac...
The Bodhisatta was a king
Düta — 260 — (195)

11. PADUMA JAC SATHIY...
The Bodhisatta was the son of a richman
Paduma — 261 — NIM

12. Mudupāṇi jac man te
The Bodhisatta was a king
Mudupāṇi — 262 — (188)

Row 2.

13. illegible on photograph. Probably Lola jātaka
The Bodhisatta was a pigeon
Lola — 274 — NIM

14. Ruci jac khuiw phlac te
The Bodhisatta was a pigeon
Rucira — 275 — (86)

15. Gurudhamma jac man te
The Bodhisatta was a king
Kurudhamma — 276 — (133)

16. Ro(m)a jac...
The Bodhisatta was a pigeon
Romaka — 277 — (208)

17. Mahisa jac kl(waw) te
The Bodhisatta was a buffalo
Mahisa — 278 — (190)

18. Sattavatta jac khuiw te
Satapatta — 279 — (32)
The Bodhisatta was a pigeon

19. illegible — probably Puṭadūsaka jātaka — 280 — NIM

20. illegible — probably Abbhantara jātaka — 281 — NIM

21. Seyha jac man phlac te
The Bodhisatta was a king
Seyya — 282 — (217)

22. Vaḍḍhakisūkara jac nat
The Bodhisatta was a deity
Vaḍḍhakisūkara — 283 — (116)

23. Siri jac rasiy,te
The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
Siri — 284 — (102)

24. Manisūkha ra...
The Bodhisatta was (an ascetic)
Manisūkara — 285 — (223)

Row 3.

25. Kāmapota jat sacpaṅ nat
The Bodhisatta was a deity
Kāmavilāpa — 297 — (175)
26. Udumbara jac sacpan nat
   The Bodhisatta was a tree deity
   Udumbara — 298 — (34)
27. Komāyaputta(tta) jac pumna ...
   The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
   Komāraputta — 299 — (99)
28. illegible — probably Vaka jātaka — 300 — NIM
29. illegible, all broken — probably Cūlakāliṅga — 301 — (242)
30. Mahā-assaroja jac mañ
   The Bodhisatta was a king
   Mahā-assāroha — 302 — (215)
31. Ekarāja jac mañ phlac e
   The Bodhisatta was a king
   Ekarāja — 303 — (173)
32. Daḍara jac nāgā mañ te
   The Bodhisatta was the Nāga king
   Daddara — 304 — (101)
33. Silavimaṅsa jac rasiy,
   The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
   Silavimaṃsana — 305 — (189)
34. SUJĀTA JAC AMAT PHILAC
   The Bodhisatta was a minister
   Sujāta — 906 — NIM
35. PALĀSA JA(T) SACPAṆ NAT
   The Bodhisatta was a tree deity
   Palāsa — 307 — NIM
36. (Ca)vasakuna jac tokryā
   The Bodhisatta was a woodpecker
   Sakuṇa — 308 — (95)

Row 4.

37. Tittīra jac rasiy,te
   The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
   Tittīra — 319 — (131)
38. Succa jac sacpaṆ na(T)...
   The Bodhisatta was a tree deity
   Succaja — 320 — (52)
39. Kuṭidūsa jac cāthyantoṅ
   The Bodhisatta was a weaver-bird
   Kuṭidūsaka — 321 — (83)
40. Du(tha)ra jac khranśiy te
   The Bodhisatta was a lion
   Duddubha — 322 — (18)
41. Brahmaratta jac rasiy,te
   The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
   Brahmadatta — 323 — (123)
42. Cammasāțaka jac kunsān
   The Bodhisatta was a merchant
   Cammasāțaka — 324 — (51)

43. Podha jac phwat phlac t(e)
   The Bodhisatta was a monitor lizard
   Godha — 325 — (249)

44. Kakkāru jac sacpān nat
   The Bodhisatta was a tree deity
   Kakkāru — 326 — (36)

45. Kākātiya jac mañ te
   The Bodhisatta was a king
   Kākāti — 327 — (19)

46. Anu(SOCIYA) jac rasiy,te
   The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
   Ananusociya — 328 — (250)

47. Kālabāhu jac kiy te
   The Bodhisatta was a paroquet
   Kālabāhu — 329 — (40)

48. Silavimaṃsa jac puṃnā
   The Bodhisatta was a Brahman
   Silavimaṃsa — 330 — (48)

Row 5.

49. Kantarika jac uwaw te
   The Bodhisatta was a Koel (Indian ankoo)
   Kanḍari — 341 — (81)

50. Vānara jac myok te + +
   The Bodhisatta was a monkey
   Vānara — 342 — (13)

51. Kuntani jac mañ phlac te
   The Bodhisatta was a king
   Kuntani — 343 — (177)

52. Amba jac sakrā te + +
   The Bodhisatta was Sakka
   Ambacora — 344 — (15)

53. Gajagumba jac amat phlac
   The Bodhisatta was a minister
   Gajakumbha — 345 — (68)

54. Kesava jac rasiy te
   The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
   Kesava — 346 — (193)

55. Ayātakuța jac maņsāmaņ
   The Bodhisatta was a prince and a king
   Ayakūța — 347 — (90)

56. Araņaka jac rasiy,te
   The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
   Araņņa — 348 — (82)
57. Sandhiseda jac maṁśāmañ
The Bodhisatta was a prince and a king
Sandhibheda — 349 — (98)
58. Devatāpaṁha jac sukhamiN
The Bodhisatta was a wiseman
Devatāpaṁha — 350 — (14)
59. Manikutdala jac man
The Bodhisatta was a king
Manikutdala — 351 — (73)
60. Sujāta jac sukrWay
The Bodhisatta was a rich man
Sujāta — 352 — (54)

Row 6.

61. Ahikundaka jac kunsan
The Bodhisatta was a merchant
Ahigundika — 365 — (39)
62. Kumbita jac lhañkunsañ
The Bodhisatta was a carter
Gumbiya — 366 — (41)
63. Śāliya jac sukrway te
The Bodhisatta was the son of a rich man
Śāliya — 367 — (42)
64. Ta(casä)ra jac sukrway te
The Bodhisatta was the son of a rich man
Tacasāra — 368 — (228)
65. Mittavinda jac natsā te
The Bodhisatta was a deity
Mittavinda — 369 — (35)
66. Palāsa jat rhuy wampay
The Bodhisatta was a golden Mallard
Palāsa — 370 — (16)
67. Dighadikosala jac maṁśā
The Bodhisatta was a prince
Dighitrīkosalā — 371 — (144)
68. Mikapota jac sakrā te
The Bodhisatta was Sakka
Migapotaka — 372 — (157)
69. Müsika jac disāprāmok
The Bodhisatta was a world-famous teacher
Müṣika — 373 — (143)
70. Culladhanuggaha jac sakrā te
The Bodhisatta was Sakka
Culladhanuggaha — 374 — (152)
71. Kapotaka jac khUiw te
The Bodhisatta was a pigeon
Kapotaka — 375 — (6)
72. Avariya jac rasiy,te
The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
Avāriya — 376 — (91)

Row 7.

73. Suci jac panphay te
The Bodhisatta was a smith
Sūci — 387 — (33)

74. TUNDILA JAC WAK (PHLAC E)
The Bodhisatta was a pig
Tundila — 388 — NIM

75. Suvannakakkata jac puṣṇā te
The Bodhisatta was a Brahman
Suvannakakkataka — 389 — (155)

76. Mayha jac sukhray rasiy,
The Bodhisatta was born in a rich man's family and became an ascetic
Mahyaka — 390 — (169)

77. Dhajavihedhana jac sakrä te
The Bodhisatta was Sakka
Dhajaviheṭha — 391 — (111)

78. Bhisapupphi jac rasiy,te
The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
Bhisapuppha — 392 — (96)

79. Vighāśāda jac sakrä te
The Bodhisatta was Sakka
Vighāśa — 393 — (163)

80. Vatthaka jac ṇum phlac te
The Bodhisatta was a quail
Vatṭaka — 394 — (79)

81. Kāka jac khuiw te +
The Bodhisatta was a pigeon
Kāka — 395 — (71)

82. Kukku jac amat te
The Bodhisatta was a minister
Kukku — 396 — (21)

83. Manoja jac khaṇsiy,
The Bodhisatta was a lion
Manoja — 397 — (57)

84. Sutana jac sacsükri te
The Bodhisatta was an army general
Sutano — 398 — (43)

Row 8.

85. Dantudhamma jac amat te
The Bodhisatta was a minister
Dalhadhamma — 409 — (212)
86. Somadatta jac sakrā te
The Bodhisatta was Sakka
Somadatta — 410 — (80)

87. Susima jac prūhi te
The Bodhisatta was a chaplain
Susima — 411 — (158)

88. Goṭasimbal(jac sacpan nat
The Bodhisatta was a tree deity
Koṭasimbal — 412 — (76)

89. Dhūmakāri jac sukhamin te
The Bodhisatta was a wiseman
Dhūmakāri — 413 — (38)

90. Jakara jac rasiy,phlac te
The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
Jāgara — 414 — (1)

91. Kummāsapāṇḍi jac maṅ phlac
The Bodhisatta was a king
Kummāsapāṇḍi — 415 — (72)

92. Parantapa jac maṅ phlac te
The Bodhisatta was a king
Parantapa — 416 — (61)

93. Kaccānava(gotta jac sakrā
The Bodhisatta was Sakka
Kaccānī — 417 — (213)

94. ATHASADDA JAC RASIY, TE
The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
Atthasadda — 418 — NIM

95. Sulassa (jac) toñdhic nat
The Bodhisatta was a mountain deity
Sulasā — 419 — (204)

96. Sumaṅkala jac maṅ te
The Bodhisatta was a king
Sumaṅgala — 420 — (74)

97. Padakusa(la) jac bhīlūma (te)
The Bodhisatta was an ogress
Padakusalamāṇava — 432 — (134)

98. illegible — probably Lomasakassapa — 433 — NIM

99. Cakkavāka jac wampay te
The Bodhisatta was a wild goose
Cakkavāka — 434 — (209)

100. Halidhāri jac rasiy, te
The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
Haliddirāga — 435 — (119)

Sāmūka jac nwālā te
The Bodhisatta was a bull
Samugga — 436 — (162)
Not on the wall-photograph.

101. Pūtimaṇḍa jāc nat phlac e'
The Bodhisatta was a deity
Pūtimaṇḍa — 437 — (127)

102. Diḍira jāc khā phlac te + +
The Bodhisatta was a partridge
Tittira — 438 — (92)

103. Mittavinta jāc nat phlac e
The Bodhisatta was a deity
Mittavinda — 439 — (37)

104. Kaṇha jāc punṇā phlac te
The Bodhisatta was a Brahman
Kaṇha — 440 — (88)

105. Catuposatha jāc mañ te
(a)mata appears under mañ — may be scribe's error for amat
The Bodhisatta was a king
Catuposathika — appears in Vidhurapaṇḍita — 545 — (100)

106. SAṆKHA JAC PUMṆĀ RASY, TE
The Bodhisatta was a Brahman ascetic
Saṁkha — 442 — NIM

107. Cūlabodhi jāc paripacām phlac
The Bodhisatta was a wandering ascetic
Cullabodhi — 443 — (146)

108. Kaṇhadīpāyana jāc rasy,
The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
Kaṇhadīpāyana — 444 — (85)

Row 10.

109. Mātiposa jāc chañ te
The Bodhisatta was an elephant
Mātiposaka — 455 — (75)

110. CUNHA jāc mañ phLAc te
The Bodhisatta was a king
Juṅha — 456 — (244)

111. Dhammadeputta jāc nat te
possibly scribe's error = deva
The Bodhisatta was a deity
Dhamma — 457 — (229)

112. Udaya jāc sakā phlac te
The Bodhisatta was Sakka
Udaya — 458 — (122)

113. Pāṇiya jāc mañ phlac te
The Bodhisatta was a king
Pāṇiya — 459 — (9)

114. Yudhaṇḍacaya jāc mañsāmañ rasy,
The Bodhisatta was a prince who became an ascetic
Yuvaṇḍaya — 460 — (159)
115. Dasaratha jac mañ phlac te
The Bodhisatta was a king
Dasaratha — 461 — (124)

116. (SAMVA)raka jac amat te
The Bodhisatta was a minister
Samvara — 462 — (104)

117. Supāra jac iliysay (phlac e)
The Bodhisatta was a boatman — mariner
Suppāraka — 463 — (121)

118. Cūlakūla jac uwaw phlac e
The Bodhisatta was a Koel
Cullakuṇāla — 464 — (45)

119. (Cha)ttasāla jac nat ph(lac e)
The Bodhisatta was a deity
Bhaddasāla — 465 — (55)

120. SAMUDDAVĀNIJA ...
The Bodhisatta was (a carpenter)
Samuddavāṇija — 466 — NIM

Row 11.

121. Cūlanārada jac rasiy,te
The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
Cullanārada — 477 — (254)

122. Dhūta jac rasiy,phlac te
The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
Dūta — 478 — (211)

123. Kaliṅka jac amat phlac te
The Bodhisatta was a minister
Kāliṅgabodhi — 479 — (94)

124. TaKKāri jAC PROHIT
The Bodhisatta was a chaplain
Takkāriya — 481 — (214)

125. illegible ... probably Akitti — 480 — (241)

126. Ruru(ka) jac chat phlac te + +
The Bodhisatta was a sambur
Ruru — 482 — (216)

127. Sārabha jac saman phlac te
The Bodhisatta was a deer
Sarahhamiga — 483 — (154)

128. illegible. probably Sālikedāra — 484 — NIM

129. Candakinnarī jac kannarā phlac te
The Bodhisatta was a kinnara
Candakinnara — 485 — (145)

130. MAHĀUKKU (SA JAC) ...
The Bodhisatta was a lion
Mahā- ukkusa — 486 — NIM
131. U(THÄ)LA JAC PRÜHIT TE
The Bodhisatta was a chaplain
Uddālaka — 487 — (231)
132. ... JAC ... probably Bhisa — 488 — NIM

Row 12.

133. Bhikkhāparamparāyika jac rasiy,
The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
Bhikkhāparampara — 496 — (207)
134. (Mātaṅga jac pumṇā) rasi(y),
The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
Mātaṅga — 497 — (206)
135. Cittasambhūta jac rasiy,te
The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
Cittasambhūta — 498 — (192)
136. Sivika jac mañ phlac te
The Bodhisatta was a king
Sivi — 499 — (176)
137. ... (Sirim)anḍana jac (ras)i(y),
The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
Sirimanda — 500 (232)
138. illegible probably Rohantamiga — 501 — NIM
139. Haṁsa jac wampay mañ phlac e
The Bodhisatta was the goose-king
Hamsa — 502 — (147)
140. Sattikumbha jac kiy phlac te
The Bodhisatta was a paroquet
Sattigumbara — 503 — (148)
141. Bhallāṭika jac mañ phlac te
The Bodhisatta was a king
Bhallāṭiya — 504 — (65)
142. Somanassa jac mañ rasiy,
The Bodhisatta was a king and an ascetic
Somanassa — 505 — (66)
143. Campeyya jac nāga rāja
The Bodhisatta was the king of the Nägas
Campeyya — 506 — (219)
144. illegible, probably Mahāpalobhana — 507 — NIM

Row 13

145. (Chaddanta) jac chan phlac te
usual spelling = chañ
The Bodhisatta was an elephant
Chaddanta — 514 — (238)
146. illegible, probably Sambhava — 515 — NIM
147. illegible, probably Mahākapi — 516 — NIM
148. Danārakkhasa jac ... Dararakkhasa in Fausböll.
The Bodhisatta was featured in the Mahā-ummagga jātaka — 546 — (107)

149. Panḍānāgārāja jac kulun . . .
    The Bodhisatta was the garuḍa king
    Panḍāra — 518 — (185)

150. Sambula jac rasiy,phlac te
    The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
    Sambula — 519 — (60)

151. illegible. probably Gaṇḍatīndu — 520 — NIM

152. illegible. probably Sarabhaṅga — 522 — NIM

153. illegible. probably Tesakuṇa — 521 — NIM

154. Alambusa ja(c) puṃnā rasiy,phlac te
    The Bodhisatta was an ascetic.
    Alambusa — 523 — (149)

155. illegible. NIM — odd jātaka inserted here

156. ... la jac nāgā ph(lac te probably, but broken)
    The Bodhisatta was the Nāga king
    Saṃkhapāla — 524 — (233)

Row. 14

157. illegible . . . ma(ū) . . .
    The Bodhisatta was a king
    Kusa — 531 — (236)

158. Soṇanāḍa ja(c)rasiy,phlac te
    The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
    Sona-Nanda — 532 — (210)

159. Cullahaṇsa jac wampay man te
    The Bodhisatta was king of the geese
    Cullahamsa — 533 — (153)

160. Mahāhaṇsa ja(c)(rhu)y wampay
    The Bodhisatta was a golden Mallard
    Mahāhamsa — 534 — (103)

161. Sudhābhojana jac saṭhiy
    The Bodhisatta was a treasurer
    Sudhābhojana — 535 — (20)

162. Guṇāla jac uwaw phlac e'
    The Bodhisatta was Koel
    Kuṇāla — 536 — (62)

163. Mahāsutasoma jac maṅ phlac e
    The Bodhisatta was a king
    Mahāsutasoma — 537 — (48)

164. Phuraloṅ temi te
    The Bodhisatta was Temi
    Mūgapakkha — 538 — (259)

165. illegible. wall-destroyed here.

166. illegible. wall-destroyed here.

167. illegible. wall-destroyed here.

168. illegible. wall-destroyed here.
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| 1. **Mahāpa(nā)da jat sakrā**  
The Bodhisatta was Sakka  
Mahāpanāda — 264 — (247) |
| 2. **Khurappa jac tuiwcoṁ**  
The Bodhisatta was a forester  
Khurappa — 265 — (44) |
| 3. **VĀTAGGASINDHAVAJACMRAṆ**  
The Bodhisatta was a horse  
Vātaggasindhava — 266 — NIM |
| 4. **Kakkaṭa jac chaṁ phlac e**  
The Bodhisatta was an elephant  
Kakkaṭa — 267 — (140) |
| 5. **Ārāmadūsa jac sukhamin**  
The Bodhisatta was a wise man  
Ārāmadūsa — 268 — (183) |
| 6. **Sujāta jac maṁ phlac e**  
The Bodhisatta was a king  
Sujāta — 269 — (128) |
| 7. **Ullūka jac wampay te**  
The Bodhisatta was a goose  
Ullūka — 270 — (112) |
| 8. **Udāpāṇadūsaka jac pūmnā rasiy,**  
The Bodhisatta was a Brahman ascetic  
Udāpāṇadūsaka — 271 — (116) |
| 9. **Byaggha jac nat phlac e**  
The Bodhisatta was a deity  
Vyaggha — 272 — (126) |
| 10. **KACCHAPA JAC RASIY**  
The Bodhisatta was an ascetic  
Kacchapa — 273 — NIM |

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The Bodhisatta was a bull  
Sālūka — 286 — (162) |
| 12. **Lābhagaraha jac suhrṛyā**  
The Bodhisatta was a teacher  
Lābhagaraha — 287 — (191) |
| 13. **MACCHUTHĀNA JAC SŪKRWAY**  
The Bodhisatta was born in a rich man’s family.  
Macchuddāna — 288 — NIM |
| 14. **Nānācanda jac maṁ TE**  
The Bodhisatta was a king  
Nānāchanda — 289 — (200) |
15. Silavimānsa jac rasiy,
The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
Silavimamsana — 290 — (4)

16. Bhaṭraghataḥbhedā jac sakrā
The Bodhisatta was Sakka
Bhadraghaṭa — 291 — (132)

17. Supatta jac klī te +
The Bodhisatta was a crow
Supatta — 292 — (67)

18. Kāyanaccāṭura jac puṃnā
The Bodhisatta was a Brahman
Kāyavicchinda — 293 — (164)

19. Jambu jac sacpañ nat
The Bodhisatta was a tree-deity
Jambukhādaka — 294 — (28)

20. Anda jac sac (PĀṆ NAT)
The Bodhisatta was a tree-deity
Anta — 295 — (84)

21. CHA VA K A JAC C ANDĀLA PHLAC
The Bodhisatta was a low-caste man
Chavaka — 309 — NIM

22. Seyha jac puṃnā rasiy,
The Bodhisatta was a Brahman ascetic
Seyya — 310 — (224)

23. PICūmanDaka jac nat te
The Bodhisatta was a deity
Pucimanda — 311 — (239)

24. Kassamandiya jac puṃnā rasiy,
The Bodhisatta was a Brahman ascetic
Kassapamandiya — 312 — (109)

25. Khanḍivadi jac RASIy, te
The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
Khantivādi — 313 — (64)

26. Lohakumbhi jac rasiy,
The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
Lohakumbhi — 314 — (105)

27. Sabbamaṇsā jac sethiy
The Bodhisatta was a treasurer
Sabbamamsalābha — 315 — (165)

28. Sasa jac yun te +
The Bodhisatta was a hare
Sasa — 316 — (137)
29. Matarodana Jac Rasiy, 
The Bodhisatta was an ascetic  
Matarodana — 317 — NIM

30. Gana Vira Jac Sukhuiw  
The Bodhisatta was a thief  
Kañavera — 318 — NIM

Row 4.

31. Kokāli Jac amat te  
The Bodhisatta was a minister  
Kokālika — 331 — (18)

32. (),adhalithi Jac amat te  
The Bodhisatta was a minister  
Rathalaṭhi — 332 — (243)

33. Godha Jac amat te  
The Bodhisatta was a minister  
Godha — 333 — (142)

34. Rācovāda Jac rasiy, +  
The Bodhisatta was an ascetic  
Rājovāda — 334 — (11)

35. Siha (ka Jac) Khraṇsiy,  
The Bodhisatta was a lion.  
Jambuka — 335 — NIM

36. Brahmachatta Jac sukhamin amat  
The Bodhisatta was a wise minister  
Brahachatta — 336 — (172)

37. Pita Jac rasiy,(TE)  
The Bodhisatta was an ascetic  
Pitha — 337 — (110)

38. Thusa Jac prahīt te  
The Bodhisatta was a chaplain  
Thusa — 338 — (139)

39. Bāveru Jac uṭoṇ  
The Bodhisatta was a peacock  
Bāveru — 339 — (252)

40. Viseyha Jac sathly  
The Bodhisatta was a treasurer  
Visayha — 340 — (230)

Row 5.

41. Vera (broken on plaque) ... sākha Jac disāprāmuik  
The Bodhisatta was a world-famous teacher  
Venasākha — 353 — (198)
42. Uraka jac puṁnā te +
The Bodhisatta was a Brahman
Uraga — 354 — (46)

43. Luṭukiki jac chań te
The Bodhisatta was an elephant
355 omitted from wall
356 omitted from wall
Luṭukika — 357 — (8)

44. CULADHAMMA JAC MAŃSA
The Bodhisatta was a prince
Culladhammapāla — 358 — NIM

45. Suvaṇṇamika jac samān
The Bodhisatta was a deer
Suvaṇṇamika — 359 — (25)

46. Sussūnti jac kalun te
The Bodhisatta was a garuḍa
Sussondi — 360 — (160)

47. Vaṇāroha jac nat
The Bodhisatta was a deity
Vaṇāroha — 361 — (171)

48. Śilavimāṇsa jac puṁnā
The Bodhisatta was a Brahman
Śilavimāṇsa — 362 — (156)

49. Hirī jac seṭhiy te
The Bodhisatta was a treasurer
Hirī — 363 — (49)

50. Khajjopana jac sukhamin
The Bodhisatta was a wise-man
Khajjopanaka — 364 — (50)

Row 6.

51. Setaketu jay chryā prahi(t)
The Bodhisatta was a teacher
Setaketu — 377 — (97)

52. Darīmukha (jac) maṅ rasiy,
The Bodhisatta was a king and later ascetic
Darīmukha — 378 — (186)

53. Neru jac r(h)uy wampay te
The Bodhisatta was a golden Mallard
Neru — 379 — (138)

54. Āsaṅka jac ray te ++
The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
Āsaṅka — 380 — (49)

55. Migalopa jac laṅṭa ++
The Bodhisatta was a vulture
Migalopa — 381 — (113)
56. Sirakārakaṇi jac sāthiy
   The Bodhisatta was a treasurer
   Sirikālakaṇṇi — 382 — (178)

57. K(A)KKU(T)A JAC KRAK...
   The Bodhisatta was a cock
   Kukkuṭa — 383 — NIM

58. Dhammadhaja jac nhak te
   The Bodhisatta was a bird
   Dhammaddhaja — 384 — (108)

59. NandiyaMI JAC samañ te
   The Bodhisatta was a deer
   Nandiyamiga — 385 — (179)

60. Kharaputta jac sakṛā te
   The Bodhisatta was Sakka
   Kharaputta — 386 — (63)

Row 7

61. GICCHA JAC LAṆ(TA)...
   The Bodhisatta was a vulture
   Gijjhā — 399 — NIM

62. Dabbapupphi jac nat phlacr e
   The Bodhisatta was a deity
   Dabbhapuppha — 400 — (59)

63. Dasanna jac pumnā sukhamin
   The Bodhisatta was a wise Brahman
   Dasannaka — 401 — (77)

64. Suttabhastu jac pumnā sukhamin
   The Bodhisatta was a wise Brahman
   Sattubhasta — 402 — (202)

65. ATTHISENAKA JAC PUMNĀ
   The Bodhisatta was a Brahman
   Aṭthisena — 403 — NIM

66. Kabi jac myok te
   The Bodhisatta was a monkey
   Kapi — 404 — (115)

67. Vaka jac rasiy,te
   The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
   Bakabrahma — 405 — (2)

68. Kandhāra jac mañ (phlac) e
   The Bodhisatta was a king
   Gandhāra — 406 — (194)

69. Mahākabi jac myok
   The Bodhisatta was a monkey
   Mahākapi — 407 — (89)

70. Kumbhikāra jac uiwthin te
   The Bodhisatta was a potter
   Kumbhakāra — 408 — (29)
71. Cediya jac puṇnā te
The Bodhisatta was a Brahman
Cetiya — 422 — (10)

72. Indriy jac rasīy,te
The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
Indriya — 423 — (72)

73. Aditti jac mañ phlac E
The Bodhisatta was a king
Āditta — 424 — (203)

74. Aṭṭhāna jac rasīy,te
The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
Aṭṭhāna — 425 — (130)

75. Dīpika jac rasīy,TE
The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
Dīpi — 426 — (184)

76. Kacca jac lañta phlac e
The Bodhisatta was a vulture
Gījha — 427 — (182)

77. Dīghāvu jac mañ phlac e
The Bodhisatta was a king
Kosambiya — 428 — (246)

78. Mahāsukā jac kiy te
The Bodhisatta was a paroquet
Mahāsuva — 429 — (120)

79. Cūlasukā jac kiy te
The Bodhisatta was a paroquet
Cūlasuka — 430 — (70)

80. Hārita jac rasīy,te
The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
Hārita — 431 — (56)

81. Nikrodha jac . . iy chañ ñra(Y)
The Bodhisatta was a poor woman’s son
Nigrodha — 445 — (201)

82. Takkala jac suñay t(e)
The Bodhisatta was a young man
Takkala — 446 — (5)

83. Dhammapāla jac puṇnā te
The Bodhisatta was a Brahman
Mahādhammapāla — 447 — (93)

84. Kukkuṭa jac krañ te
The Bodhisatta was a cock
Kukkuṭa — 448 — (30)
83. Mathadhakunḍalī jac rasiy,
   The Bodhisatta was a Brahman
   Mathadhakunḍalī — 449 — (117)

86. Pilāratosiya jac sakrā
   The Bodhisatta was Sakka
   Bilārikosiya — 450 — (125)

87. Cakkavakka jac wampay te
   The Bodhisatta was a goose
   Cakkavāka — 451 — (22)

88. Bhūripānha jac sukhamin
   The Bodhisatta was a wise-man
   Bhūripānḥa — 452 — (17)

89. Mahāmaṅka jac puṃnā rasiy,
   The Bodhisatta was a Brahman ascetic
   Mahāmaṅgalā — 453 — (3)

90. Ghātapāṇḍita jac man
   The Bodhisatta was a king
   Ghāṭa — 454 — (151)

Row 10.

91. Kāma jac puṃnā phlac te + +
   The Bodhisatta was a Brahman
   Kāma — 467 — (181)

92. Jananithi jac maṅ te + +
   The Bodhisatta was a king
   Janasandha — 468 — (251)

93. Mahāgāṇha jac sakrā te
   The Bodhisatta was Sakka
   Mahāgaṇha — 469 — (31)

94. Kosiya jac sakrā te
   The Bodhisatta as Sakka
   Kosiya — 470 — (27)

95. MENDAKAPAṆHA JAC . . . . .
   The Bodhisatta was Mahosadha
   Meṇḍakapaṇha — 471 — NIM

96. Mahāpaduma jac maṅ rasiy,
   The Bodhisatta was a king
   Mahāpaduma — 472 — (114)

97. Mittāmitta jac amat + +
   The Bodhisatta was a minister
   Mittāmitta — 473 — (23)

98. Ambu jac cantāla phlac e
   The Bodhisatta was a low-caste man
   Amba — 474 — (129)

99. PHANDANA JAC SACPAṆ NAT (PHLAC E')
   The Bodhisatta was a tree deity
   Phandana — 475 — NIM
100. JAVANAHAÑSA JAC.....
The Bodhisatta was a golden goose
Javanahamsa — 476 — NIM

Row 11.

101. SURUji jac sakrā TE
The Bodhisatta was Sakka
Suruci — 489 — (197)

102. Mahāmora jac......
The Bodhisatta was a peacock
Mahāmora — 491 — (167)

103. TACCHASŪKARA JAC SACPAÑ(NAT)
The Bodhisatta was a tree deity
Tacchasūkara — 492 — (237)

104. Mahāvānija jac lhañ kunsañ
The Bodhisatta was a carter
Mahāvānija — 493 — (199)

105. SāDHīna jac maṁsāmañ te
The Bodhisatta was a prince
Sādhīna — 494 — (76)

106. Dasabrāhmaṇa jac sukhamin
The Bodhisatta was a wise-man
Dasabrāhmaṇa — 495 — (161)

Row 12.

107. PAñCAPAndita jac sūkrway
The Bodhisatta was a rich man
Pañcapaṇḍita — 508 — (227)

108. Hatthipāla jac puṁnā te
The Bodhisatta was a Brahman
Hatthipāla — 509 — (7)

109. Ayokhara jac maṁsā rasiy,
The Bodhisatta was a prince who became an ascetic
Ayoghara — 510 — (135)

110. Kimchanda jac rasi(y,phl)ac e
The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
Kimchanda — 511 — (141)

111. Kumbha jac sakrā phlac te +
The Bodhisatta was Sakka
Kumbha — 512 — (12)

112. Jayaddisa jac maṁsā phlac e
The Bodhisatta was a prince
Jayaddisa — 513 — (24)

Row 13.

113. Cūlasutasoma jac mañ phlac
The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
Cullasutasoma — 525 — (26)
114. Nilanīla jac rāsiy, phlac e
The Bodhisatta was an ascetic
Nalini — 526 — (220)
115. Ummādantī jac maṁ phlac e
The Bodhisatta was a king
Ummadantī — 527 — (69)
116. Mahābodhi jac puṁnā rasiy,
The Bodhisatta was a Brahman ascetic
Mahābodhi — 528 — (47)
117. Soṇaka ja(c) maṁ ph(l)ac te
The Bodhisatta was a king
Sonaka — 529 — (58)
118. Sakicca ja(c) puṁnā rasiy, te
The Bodhisatta was a Brahman ascetic
Saṅkicca — 530 — (136)

Row 14.

119. purhāloṁ vidhurīr pantit
The Bodhisatta was Vidhurapaṇḍita
Vidhurapaṇḍita — 546 — (260)
120. purhāloṁ poradatā te
The Bodhisatta was Bhūridatta
Bhūridatta — 543 — (257)
121. puḥraloṁ nārada te
The Bodhisatta was Brahmā
Mahānāradakassapa — 545 — (256)
122. illegible on wall-photograph — NIM
123. puḥraloṁ maṁ vi(s)aṁtrā
The Bodhisatta was a prince
Vessantara — 547 — (258)
124. illegible on wall-photograph — NIM
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Remaining wall completely destroyed.
In addition to the jātaka paintings, the Museum also possesses more than 100 other fragmentary pieces of decorative painting, parts of larger panels, scenes and friezes. There is no accurate record available to identify the temples from which they were removed: some, it is thought also belong to the Theinmazi, others may have come from small temples E. and W. of the Lemyethna Pagoda, Minanhu, E. of Pagan, an area containing a number of pagodas whose walls are adorned with Tāntīc-style paintings.

There are standing Bodhisattvas and their consorts, saktis, in various attitudes, dressed in simple garments but wearing a wealth of ornamentation, ear-ornaments, elegant head-bands, neck-pieces, armlets and bracelets. Others show cross-legged seated figures with elaborate head-dresses set against floral backgrounds. Each panel is surrounded by one or more decorative borders containing a mass of floral and geometrical patterns endless in variety and charm.

From amongst the foliage appear ducks, parrots, fierce-looking demon-like mythical animals and other grotesque figures giving the impression of one vast wall of movement. The artists left no nook or cranny unadorned, no square without its mass of figures, no border without its infinite leaf and scroll decoration. Even medallions within a border were given a central motif of an animal or bird. Reconstruction of these walls is unfortunately out of the question for many of the pieces are badly weathered, have been broken or are missing.

Whilst in no way condoning the vandalism of Herr Thomann and his party, it must be remembered that his was only one of the many examples of the depredations of travellers and archaeologists who have taken unfair advantage of local conditions and of an unique opportunity to acquire art treasures and exhibits to fill their residences and museums. Buddhists may perhaps find some solace in the knowledge that Thomann died in somewhat unexplained tragic circumstances in 1924 and feel that he reaped his just reward. Perhaps it is fitting that a Queen of Pagan should have the last word:

"May all those who destroy or rob any of these my works of merit be stricken with many ailments, suffer great miseries, and be short-lived in this human existence within seven days, falling which within seven months, falling which within seven years. As human beings may they become ghosts. May they be separated from their dear wives, dear sons, dear husbands. May all their wealth and happiness be destroyed without remainder and melt away. May they be visited by the king's danger. May the thunderbolt fall on their houses. May they be visited by the dangers of water, fire and all the other great dangers. When they die, in due course, may they be cooked in the Avīci Hell within the earth for as many times as there are particles of earth from Nyaung — U to Thiripitsaya. From Avīci may they be cooked in the 8 great hells and in the 16 minor hells. May they suffer untold miseries escaping from hell to ghostland, from ghostland to hell without returning a second time to this human world."

Such was the curse of Queen Phwā Jaw, a lady of Minwaing near Pagan, written in A.D. 1271 on the occasion of her act of merit when she presented amongst other things katha rohes (cotton cloth supplied by the laity from which robes for the Buddhist monks are made), offerings of slaves, gardens and paddy lands to the service of the Buddha.

My research on this material has produced a number of interesting results:

1. The ‘Thomann Collection’ of jātaka wall-paintings appears to have been removed from the Theinmazi Pagoda, Pagan.
2. On grounds of iconography and orthography, they are certainly not from the Wetkyi-in Kubyaukgyi as was for a long time thought.
3. The set is incomplete: some are in situ, the Museum has 260 jātaka paintings and over a 100 fragmentary pieces of wall-painting, and many have been lost or destroyed.
4. Partial reconstruction of the inner walls has been achieved using photographic techniques.
5. An interesting collection of early 13th. century Burmese ink glosses has been rescued.

Quite the most important discovery, however, came about as so often happens, somewhat by chance as the result of a subsidiary project I began whilst waiting to examine the Theinmazi originals.

One snowy winter afternoon as I was checking through the 800 or so glass photographic plates taken during the Thomann trip, I came across 4, reproduced in his book as plates 29—32, labelled "Kube Zat Tempel". Noticing that these jātaka walls had ink-glosses and a wealth of other Burmese legends under the 28 Buddhas, smaller panels and 16 large side-panels, I built up these two walls in photographs measuring approximately 7 feet by 3 feet. Once again the technical difficulties on account of the state of the walls in 1899, the poor condition of the plates, cracked and broken parts, and other snags posed special problems of photography. Long exposures of 30 minutes were often necessary to obtain a print 18 x 24 cms. Alas sections still defy decipherment.

I made as complete a set of readings from the photographs as possible and then one morning during a working holiday with Professor Luce, I was shown a photograph of the damaged walls of the Wetkyi-in Kubyaukgyi. The full significance of my work in the darkroom immediately became apparent and to our intense delight, we saw on my photographs the lower halves of the walls before Thomann removed them. Professor Luce and the late Colonel Ba Shin had many years previously read all the extant glosses in situ: I was now able to supply over 300 more of the jātaka readings and some of the very difficult side-panels. They had both despaired of ever obtaining the remainder of the legends, but here they now were thus enabling a fuller account of the temple and its contents to be written up. Our findings will appear in due course in Artibus Asiae. The fate and whereabouts of the lower halves of these walls is, alas, not known.

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of the S. E. Asia Section of the Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde; for technical photographic advice to Fräulein U. Jonas of the Photographic Department; for the use of darkroom facilities and workroom to the Museum authorities and for my original initiation into the fascinating realm of Burmese epigraphy as an undergraduate to my Sayagyi, Professor G. H. Luce, whose patience, meticulous scholarship and infinite erudition make near illegible readings suddenly all become so very easy.

Short bibliography:

Abb. 1  The Theinmazi Pagoda. Pagan, Burma.  Print from a Plate taken in 1899. (Th. Nr. 175)
Abb. 2A
Sudhābhōjana jātaka No. 535. (Th. Nr. 20)

Abb. 2B
Kanha jātaka No. 440. (Th. Nr. 88)
Abb. 3 A
Mittavinda jātaka No. 369. (Th. Nr. 35)

Abb. 3 B
Luṭukika jātaka No. 357. (Th. Nr. 8)
Abb. 4
Kapota jac khiw te Kapota jātaka No. 375. (Th. Nr. 6)

Abb. 6
Kacchānavagotta jac Sakrā Kaccāni jātaka No. 417. (Th. Nr. 213)
Abb. 5  Takkala jac suñay t(e)  Takkala játaka No. 446. (Th. Nr. 5)

All prints made from the original photographic plates of Herr Th. H. Thomann by the author.