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I n a period of rapid changes, the restoration and reconstruction of aspects of the past require a complementary programme which preserves structures in their antique state. Admittedly, satisfying the differing needs of the living monastic communities, researchers and archaeologists, and tourism and development, is not a simple task, but an important one to undertake, so that part of the cultural patrimony of Myanmar is preserved for future generations.

The monasteries of Mandalay exemplify the changing architectural traditions of the Yatanabon and early colonial period.<sup>1</sup> Each of the types described here can be seen in other parts of Myanmar but there is a natural concentration within the last Konbaung capital. The following is a survey of variations in architecture and patronage, some individual *kyaung* (Buddhist monasteries) and other compounds or *taik*.

The monasteries have been classified into "classic" examples, private apartments converted into monasteries, and those incorporating Western and other foreign design features. It is the frame of the building, described as the basic post and lintel skeleton, which is considered rather than the decorative carvings that were added later. The dimensions of the buildings used by by the master carpenter to calculate the overall and particular size of the monastery parts were made using measures based on parts of the body, specifically that of the donor.<sup>2</sup> This was also the case for monasteries built of brick, where decoration such as stucco was also added to a structure which in many respects followed the wooden prototypes. This was not so much the case for the brick monasteries of Pagan which followed Indian models.<sup>3</sup>

In undertaking this survey of monasteries, another aim is to call attention to the question of monastic preservation in Myanmar. It is a delicate issue, for many monasteries continue to be occupied. Even when an old *kyaung* has fallen into disuse, it is generally within a compound, and thus under monastic authority. But several of these buildings, such as Thin Gaza *kyaung*, are in urgent need of repair. The difficulty of initiating and carrying out preservation work while a monastery is in use is not a new problem: for example, conservation work on the Queen's monastery, Myadaung *kyaung* (built in 1885), was undertaken on the order of Lord Curzon.<sup>4</sup>

A related, and equally complex question, is that of restoration versus rebuilding; creating a new structure or preserving an old one. Atumishi, the 'incomparable' monastery, departed radically from previous plans, having five graduated terraces rather than a *pyat-that*. All but the masonry foundation was burnt in the late nineteenth century. Reconstruction is now underway to make a wide and broad hall which can be used for large religious gatherings. This has necessitated changes in the original plan, with 106 concrete columns rather than the original 246 wooden ones.

In the reconstruction of Mandalay palace, concrete was also used to replace original wooden columns, for reasons of cost and longevity.<sup>5</sup> In the case of Atumishi, however, there is no part of the reconstruction which will preserve the original appearance of the building. The directives to rebuild are exclusively aimed toward a new structure, rather than preserving the antique appearance of the building. This raises both archaeological concerns, and questions relating to the preferences of Myanmar and foreign visitors.

#### The "classic" monastery plan

The term "classic" is used for monasteries with an axial plan. Paralleling changes in palace architecture from the Nyaungyan period, this style may have been influenced by Mon styles of lower Burma.<sup>6</sup> Maha Damika Shwe Kyin Taik, Shwe In Bin Kyaung Taik, and Thin Gaza Kyaung are three examples of the classic monasteries. Characteristically, the chambers of these monasteries have clear physical and functional separations, but opinions and definitions vary on the name, use, and orientation of the buildings.

It is often presumed that virtually all monasteries of this type were oriented east-west, with the east or main entry staircase reserved for the chief monk or the king.<sup>7</sup> This is indeed the case with the three classic monasteries mentioned above. The earliest surviving monastery in the region is On Ton Pin Shwe Kyaung, which is constructed in wood, and oriented north. It dates to 1769 A.D., and is located in Myaing township, Magwe, northwest of Pakkoku. Of the examples cited here, the monasteries converted from apartments are oriented east, north, and south; while the Western-style group is oriented east, west and north.

At the easternmost end of the axial plan is the *hpaya-saung*, which houses the principal image of the Buddha. As it was crowned by a multi-tiered *pyatthat* some authors simply call this shrine room the *pyat-that* or *pyat-thatsaung*. This chamber is often connected to the main prayer room, the *saung*- *ma-gyi* or *kyaung-ma-gyi*.<sup>8</sup> However, some early Mandalay monasteries such as Thin Gaza, lack this connecting passage, or *sanu-saung*. <sup>9</sup> The connecting chamber has also been called the *zinkyan* or *zing-gyan* but this is more correctly the open verandah surrounding the main rooms.<sup>10</sup>

The *sanu-saung* connected architecturally, but was also a reception room - "an enclosed verandah used as a reception chamber, and here offerings are received and intercourse carried on between the Priest and his supporters."<sup>11</sup> The *hsaya-daw* also used it to receive donations for the monastery.<sup>12</sup>

Likewise, the *saung-ma-gyi* - the largest part of the monastery - has also been described in different terms. For instance, the two-part living quarters and devotional area of the central hall is often called the *maraphin*.

"its floor slightly raised above the level of the verandah which surrounds the whole building. In the centre is the *Raja-palindaw* or throne, on which is placed a large image of Gaudama. The chamber contains the numerous offerings of the people, consisting chiefly of lamps, chandeliers, clocks, candle-sticks, lacquered boxes in which the sacred books are kept, mats, carpets, easy chairs, and other articles both for use and ornament."<sup>13</sup>

The division of the *maraphin* ("fence dividing a hall into two parts") created an east and a west half, with the floor in the middle of the room raised by two or three steps and usually surrounded by a fence.<sup>14</sup> In this part of the chamber, gifts were received, teaching carried out, and sermons given. The other part, the western portion of the room, was reserved as the sleeping area of the monks.

At the opposite end of the platform from the shrine room, a storeroom or *baw-ga-saung* may be found. It was also sometimes used as living quarters for students. Other buildings noted on this end of a classic layout are the *kabyin*, a refectory, or housing for the novices, *anauk-saung*, literally "Western quarters".<sup>15</sup>

Just as variations in plan developed, so did the roof designs of all the structures. Despite differences in the tiered *pyat-that* (which crowns the *hpaya-saung*,), it was often the *saung-ma-gyi* roof that varied the most. Some, such as the *ein daw kaung*, were customarily reserved for the buildings of royalty or high dignitaries.<sup>16</sup> One example of this is seen at the Sa Daw Wun Min Kyaung within the Nan Oo Taik.

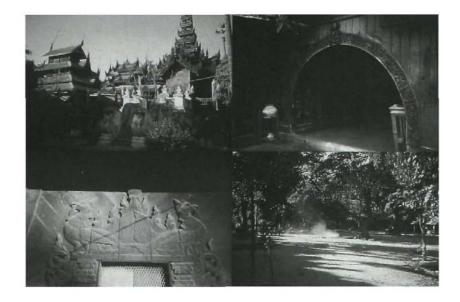






## Maha Damika Shwe Kyin Taik

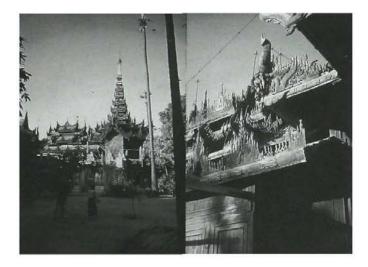
The "kyin" in the name of this monastery comes from a village of the same name, although "kyin" is also commonly used to refer to a particular Buddhist sect. It is a royal monastery built by King Mindon, and since 1993 has been reconstructed by U Win Maung (Tampawaddy). Although there are additional buildings in the compound, the plan follows the classic axial layout.

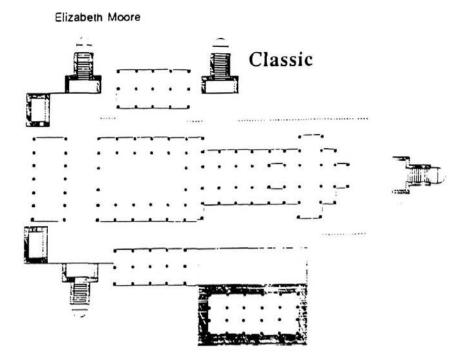


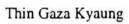
### Shwe In Bin Kyaung Taik

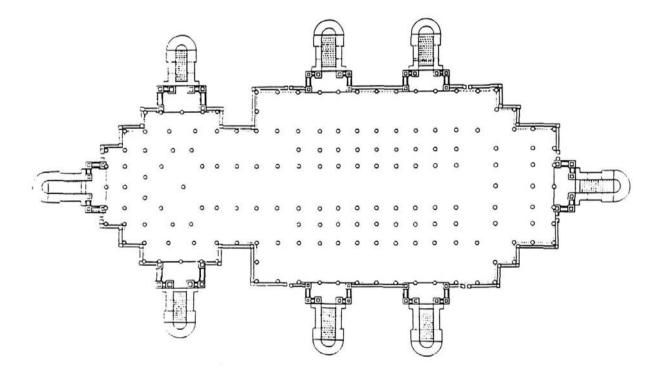
This monastery, which was patterned on a royal monastery, was built by a Chinese merchant married to a Burmese woman of royal blood, after the British annexation of upper Myanmar. Prior to the annexation, the construction of such a large building along royal lines would not have been allowed, but British rule brought with it changes in sumptuary laws. In addition, the jade merchant, U Set Shwin, made a donation, and commemorated it with a stone inscription in 1895 A.D..<sup>17</sup>

Although Shwe-in-bin ("in-bin" tree, *Dipterocarpus Obstusifolius*) follows the classic plan, the broad and round arch which forms part of the passageway between the monastery storeroom and the main hall is commonly considered "Chinese", a common perception which may simply reflect the donor's race.<sup>18</sup> It is somewhat ironic that this monastery, despite its unusual history, is often cited as the typical Myanmar monastery.<sup>19</sup>









Shwe In Bin Kyaung Taik

courtesy U Win Maung (Tampawaddy)

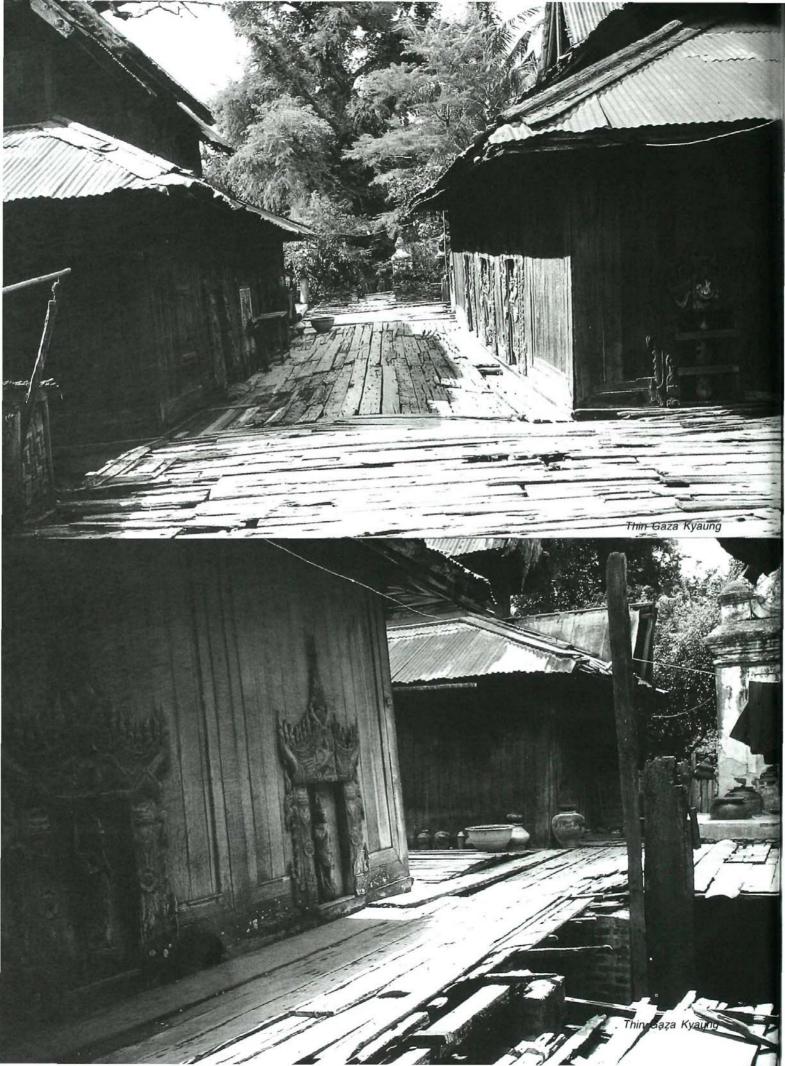
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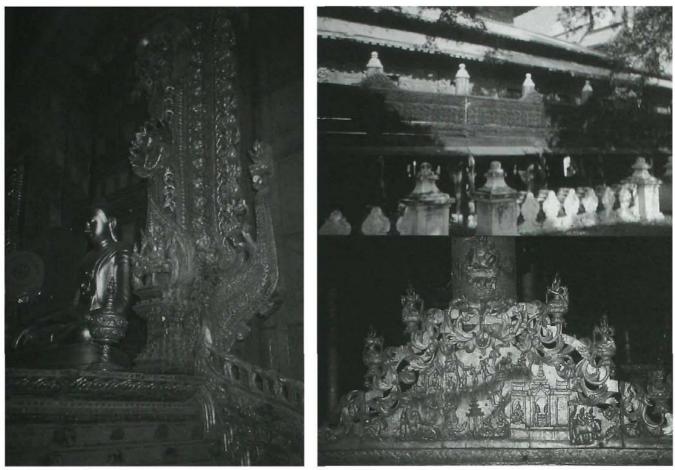
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# Thin Gaza Kyaung

Like Shwe Kyin, Thin Gaza ["Sangha Raja"] wasbuilt during Mindon's reign, by the Minister of Forests. Located at the top of Thin Gaza Creek, the monastery was donated to the Thin Gaza Sayadaw (the Chief Monk), from whose name the monastery derived, and who remained at the monastery.

The plan of this monastery also follows the axial layout: the presence of four stairways, two on the north, one on the south and one on the east, reflects the status of the patron. This is one of the unusual aspects of Shwe In Bin, in having a total of eight staircases, a feature traditionally reserved for royal monasteries (although the royal monastery of Atumishi has six).<sup>20</sup>





Shwe Nan Daw Kyaung

### Private apartments converted to monasteries

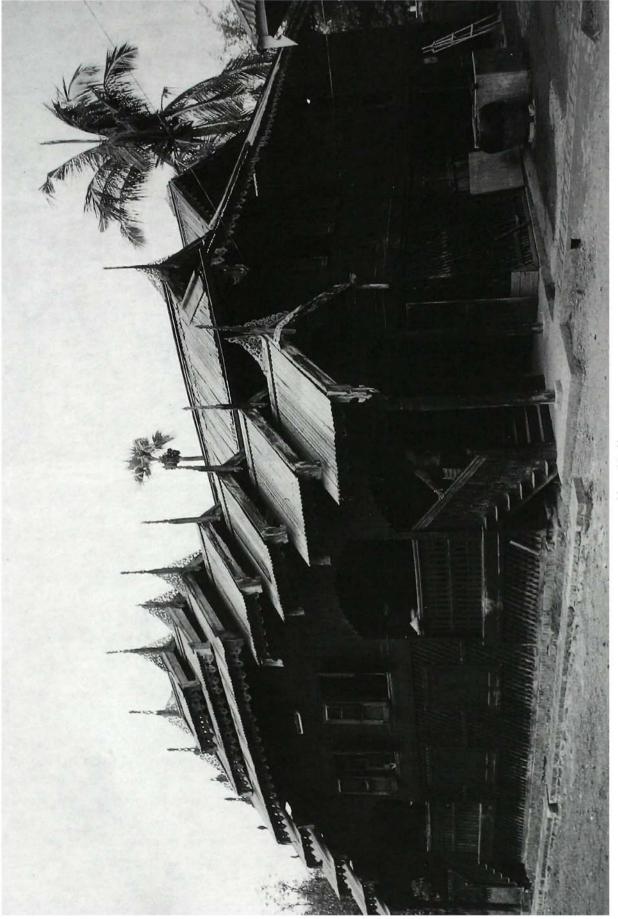
These monasteries are often more intimate in their proportions, which is a reasonable description of the gilded interior of the well-known Shwe Nan Daw Kyaung. The original apartment had areas for a shrine, living, and storage, making conversion possible to suit these functions within the monastery. Layouts varied but generally followed the traditional domestic design, while the main element requiring change was the addition of decorative woodcarving appropriate to a monastery.

In addition to Shwe Nan Daw Kyaung, three other monasteries of this type are also described: Yamethin Kyaung in Inn Kan Taik, Pin Tha Kyaung, and Sa Daw Wun Min Kyaung in Nan Oo Taik. Although all were a part or whole of royal apartments, with the placement of rooms around a core area, they are similar in layout to common Myanmar living spaces as well.<sup>21</sup>

### Shwe Nan Daw Kyaung

During the reign of King Thibaw, he donated this monastery that served as a side monastery to the centrally-placed Atumishi within the outer enclosure wall of the compound.<sup>22</sup> It had originally been part of the palace at Amarapura, and was shifted to Mandalay to become the royal apartment of King Mindon. After the death of King Mindon on 1 October 1878, it was moved to its present site on 18 November 1883.<sup>23</sup>

The monastery has neither a *hpaya-saung* nor a *baw-ga-saung*. As was often the case when additional monasteries were included within a compound, the overall placement and arrangement of rooms have been governed by pre-existing buildings.



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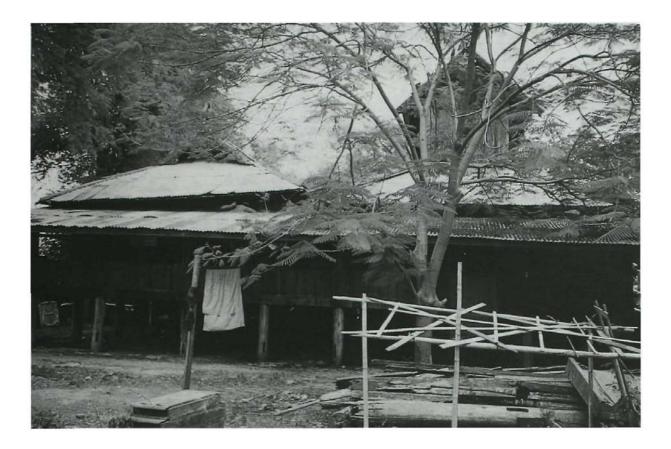
### Inn Kan Taik: Yamethin Kyaung

Rare examples of glass mosaic partitions, brought from royal apartments at Amarapura, are protected within this monastery. More than twenty monasteries are said to have been built along the eastern outside wall of Mandalay Palace, forming the whole of the street for some four kilometres leading south from Mandalay Hill.<sup>24</sup>

The old partitions of Yamethin Kyaung were once part of a minor queen's (Yamethin) apartments. It now faces north, although the original orientation is difficult to determine, as the old portion is only part of the building. However, when an entire monastery or residence was moved, even several times, the layout would remain fixed. One reason for this might have been a reluctance to shift columns into a new position. The column at the northeast corner will always remain the northeast, even if the building is disassembled and moved - it would never be used as the southwest corner column, for example.<sup>25</sup>



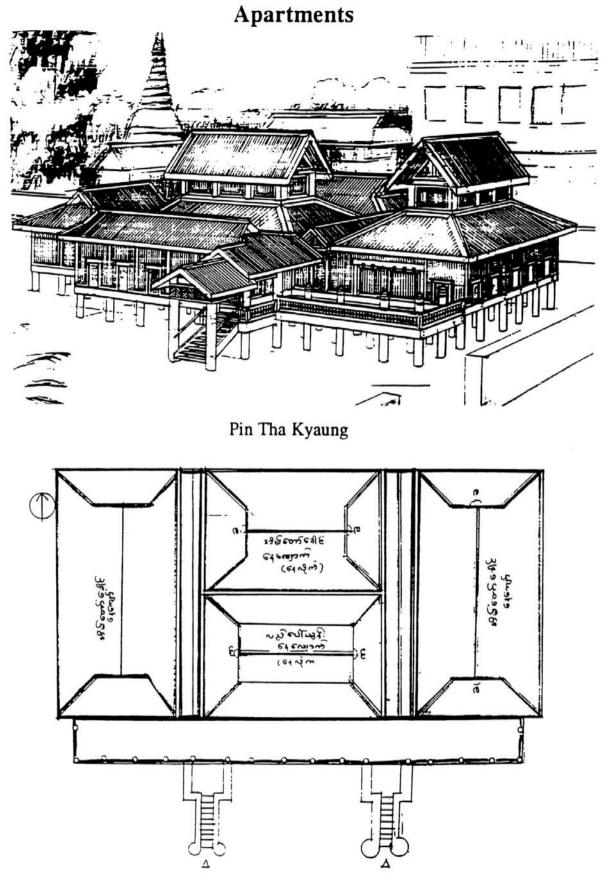




### Sa Daw Wun Min Kyaung in Nan Oo Taik

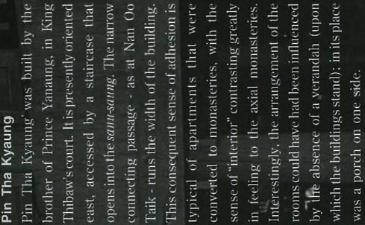
This monastery takes its name from its patron, the royal cook ("sa daw") in the court of King Thibaw. It was first located in the east quarter [nan oo] of the palace, then shifted to the west of Mandalay hill. Subsequently it was moved to the myat-payat [gold-beating] district of Mandalay, before being moved once again to its present location, southeast of Ananda, to the south of Payagyi [Mahamuni] pagoda. It is presently oriented south, a common orientation for houses, with two remaining staircases. The roof style at this monastery, known as *Ein Daw Pon Kaung*, is seen only after the Amarapura period, and the four columns and three bays of the building indicate that traditionally the roof should have two tiers.

Elizabeth Moore



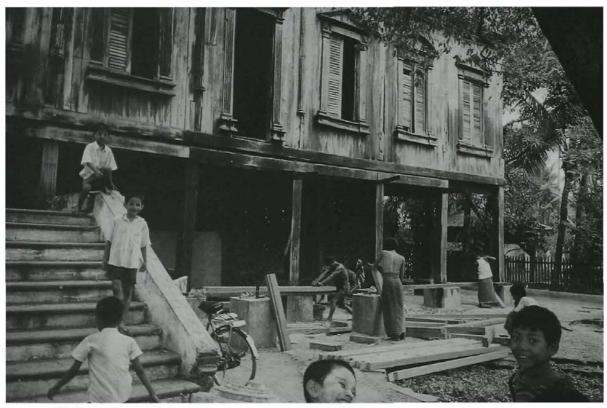
Nan Oo Taik

courtesy U Win Maung (Tampawaddy)



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Pin Tha Kyaung



Thakawun Kyaung Taik

### Western-influenced monasteries

This is perhaps the most diverse group of monasteries, both in materials and layout, with plans that varied considerably. While the classic and apartment monasteries are constructed of wood, with a fairly regular set of chambers, Western-influenced monasteries may be made of brick, stucco or wood, or a combination of all three. Foreign influences were not restricted to those from the West. At Thakawun Kyaung Taik, for example, the wood carving includes a number of Chinese as well as Western motifs.

To an even greater extent than with the apartments that were converted into monasteries, the three distinct buildings of the classic plan are combined within one structure. In addition, the dominance of roof and column in the classic monastery disappears, most obviously in the masonry monasteries.



### Thakawun Kyaung Taik

The most well-known example of this group of monasteries influenced by the West is the wooden Thakawun Kyaung Taik. This monastery, of Minister Kin-wun min-gyi, was built in 1885, following his visits to Europe. It is oriented to the north, and is surrounded by a brick wall, once a teak stockade, around the twelve-and-a-half acres of land.

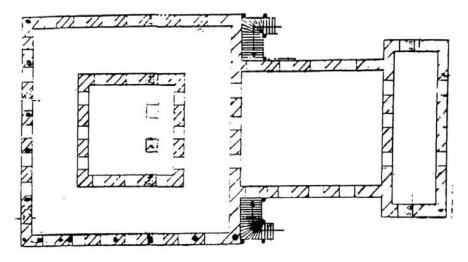
The four-storey teak building rests on 108 square teak posts. All chambers have been combined within a single building. Western motifs include a French eagle on the east and west facades, carved lattice work doors, and a spiral staircase in the north west (Rahu corner) room.<sup>29</sup> Other Western elements included brass bolts, porcelain candle holders, and a circular library on the top storey resembling a European summer house or gazebo. These were mixed with Chinese meander patterns and a range of Burmese designs, from floral motifs, to peacocks and *hintha* birds.

Some sources state that the buildings were designed by Burmese architects on the advice of the Minister, after visits had been made to England, France, and Italy.<sup>26</sup> Other authors contend that the building was designed by the Italian, Comodo, and Frenchman, Bonvallein, the architects of Mindon.<sup>27</sup> A further viewpoint, combining both, suggests that the minster, after retiring, hired the foreigners to build the monastery.<sup>28</sup>

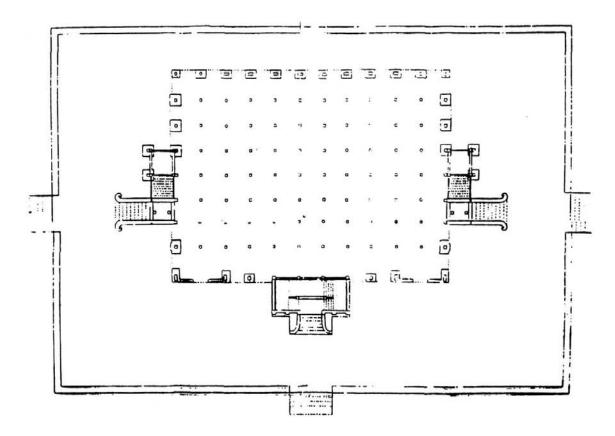


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# Western



Yaw Atuin Wun Min Taik



Thakawun Kyaung Taik

# courtesy U Win Maung (Tampawaddy)

in his metaphorical "Trade Wars". Likewise, Alwin Reamillo combines Philippine and other Southeast Asian folk artifacts to celebrate the cultural affinities of the region. Norberto Roldan uses folk objects to evoke a grassroots setting, as well as to allude to particular social conditions such as militarisation in the large sugar plantations in the Philippine countryside.

This direction in alternative indigenous materials creates an artistic economy of the simple, humble, and accessible. But soon it will increasingly come up against a contrary direction seen today in affluent First World countries, such as Japan, which is high-technology art dependent on state-of-the-art photography, computer printing, and communications. This contrary direction which produces its own brilliant works may also attract Southeast Asian artists but such postmodern art-making necessarily requires a dynamic technological and economic infrastructure which may not have been achieved yet in all countries of the region but which is fast becoming a global objective. Thai artist Panya Vijinthanasarn's statement in the second ASEAN Workshop Symposium on Aesthetics shows a sharp insight into this issue: "One who lets his life depend too much on technology will become too fragile that he cannot spend his life in a simple way... Man cannot judge which way suits him best, to live in a material world or in a simple correspondence with nature." (The Aesthetics of Asian Expressions, 1994: p.42)

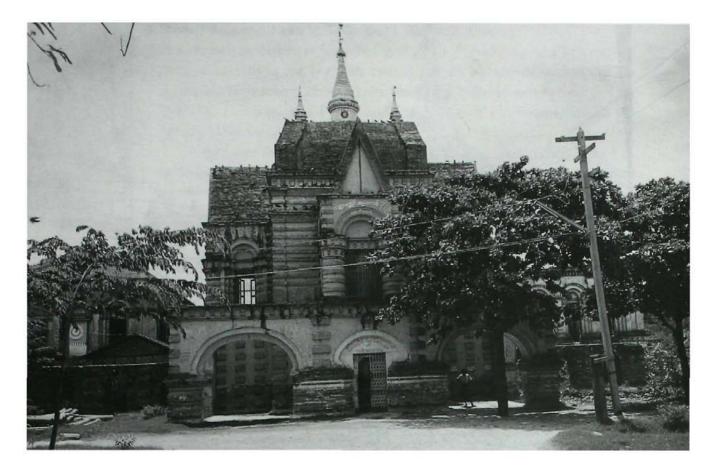
### The Photorealist Trend

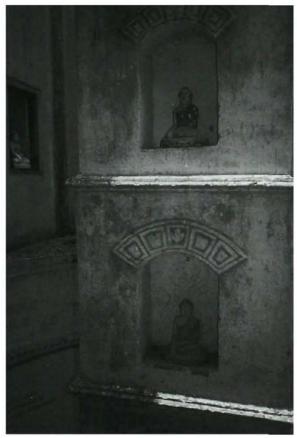
Figurative painting retains a redblooded vigor among the artists of the region, as in the fervid expressionist works of the master Affandi and the folk genre that was spearheaded in Indonesia by the strong popular styles of Sudjana Kerton, Djoko Pekik and Hinda Gunawan. This genre fell into disfavor after the attempted coup and collapse of the Sukarno government in 1965 because the subsequent government associated it with radical populism, which is a newer phenomenon, focused on the urban setting.

According to Indonesian art critic Jim Supangkat, photorealism which appeared in Indonesia in the early Seventies was the reaction of a group of painters to decorative art considered by art writer Kusnadi as the distinctive feature of modern Indonesian art. Photorealism, making use of an oil painting technique rather than the airbrush, is used in hyperrealism. (Supangkat, Art and Asia Pacific Sample Issue 1993: p.24). More than a style, it usually combines stunning technical excellence with trenchant political comment. One of its foremost practitioners. Dede Eri Supria is known for his striking paintings of the concrete urban or cardboard jungle often subverted by the figure of a sleeping homeless waif. His figurative skills in precisionism are put to good use in depicting inhuman structures that partition space and imprison or rule over the human individual.

Photorealism bears a relation to surrealism since both basically exhibit a relentless realism. The borders between the two may be blurred, as in the paintings of Agus Kamal. But while the photorealism of Dede Eri Supria has a cutting sharpness of line and tone, the surrealism of Agus Kamal has a softer quality that comes from the subtle use of tone and tonal contrasts. Rather than realism as such, their works, in which the order of the real is subverted by elements of surprise, approach the alternative political aesthetics of the defamiliarisation of the real. This also applies to the paintings of Lucia Hartini in which women are transformed from passive objects of the male gaze to active subjects which challenge their gase. In the Philippines, a kind of visionary realism in which converge the past, present and the utopian future is found in the works of Edgar Fernandez, such as the bound mother and child suspended in space against the Philippine flag in "Yesterday, Today, and Dream".



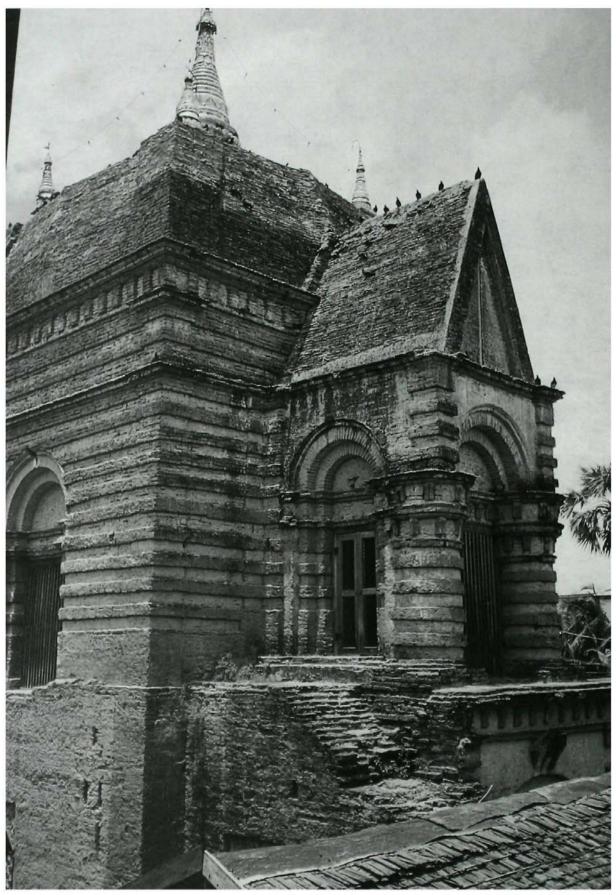




### Akabat Myin Wun Min Gyi Kyaung

Another brick structure, Akabat Myin Wun Min Gyi Kyaung - built by Mayor Akabat, the Minister of Horses (*myin*) in King Thibaw's court - presents a very different appearance with its alternating bands of protruding and recessed yellow and red brick. Its curving staircases are reminiscent of those at Shwe Ye Saung Kyaung Taik.

Originally, there were five buildings, but the central one is now gone. Oriented to the west, the large prayer room (6 x 3 bays) sits west of residential and shrine rooms, with a store to the east.<sup>32</sup> It has been commented that the living space of brick monasteries, in comparison with their wooden counterparts, tended to be "comparatively narrow and windows are too small, that the interiors are dark".<sup>33</sup>



Akabat Myin Wun Min Gyi Kyaung

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### Shwe Ye Saung Kyaung Taik: Maha Bandula Kyaung

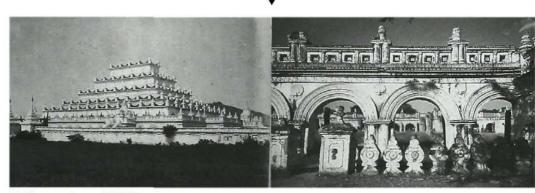
The elegant proportions of Shwe Ye ["gold painted"] Saung Kyaung Taik merited mention by Bird in the late 19th century.<sup>34</sup> In its history, the monastery has undergone numerous periods of rebuilding. It is believed to date back to 1791 A.D. (the 10th waxing of Pyatho, 1153 ME) when it was *We-yan-san-hlut*, the queen's monastery.

It was burnt down in 1884 A.D., and rebuilt in a French style in 1889 A.D. by Minister U Phi, remnants of which can be seen in the design of the curved masonry staircases on the main, north face of Maha Bandula Kyaung. At this time, the Maingkaing Sayadaw from Salin was given the monastery. It was damaged during the British Evacuation in 1941 A.D. and repaired by U Saing and Daw Saw Tin in 1959 A.D. under the guidance of Reverend Mingun Sayadaw. The building now contains residential quarters and a shrine room, all arranged around a central courtyard.

### Maha Atula Weh Yin [Atumishi] Kyaung Taik Gyi

The last monastery in this group is Maha Atula Weh Yin [Atumishi] Kyaung Taik Gyi, which is known as the "incomparable" monastery in reference to its size. Even though the palace covered a greater spread of land, no single building could compare to the size of Atumishi.<sup>35</sup> It was originally built of brick, stucco and wood, a combination seen beginning in the Amarapura period with the library built by King Bowdapaya in the northwest corner of the city.<sup>36</sup> Its construction began in 1859 A.D. (1221 ME) as one of the seven founding buildings of the new city of Mandalay, and finished in 1877 A.D. (1239 ME). It, therefore, took much of the lifetime of King Mindon to build, only for it to be burned down in 1892.

Atumishi bears no relationship to King Mindon's palace. It is similar, although larger and with five rather than three tiers, to the King's Privy Council building. The use of the combination of wood and brick found at Atumishi began only during the Amarapura period. With a flat roof, it seems the five graduated terraces served to replace a *pyat-that*. Its design is considered unique, particularly in the size of the structure (363 x 208 feet). The question of whether it is Western or not in design origins remains valid, despite having been described as being a combination of Burmese and Italian design.<sup>37</sup>



1890's, courtesy of SOAS



### Conclusion

The richness of the monastic architecture in Mandalay was the product of concentrated patronage during the last part of the Konbaung dynasty, with the number of alternatives a notable feature. All designs had to meet the simple, but fundamental combination of accommodation and ritual needs of the monastic community. If the *pagoda* can be said to have been dedicated to the Buddha, it was for the *sangha* that the monastery was intended.

Royal monastic dedications have long been a part of Myanmar tradition. It is noted that "Alaungsithu when he came on a progress round his kingdom repaired the weirs, canals, tanks, streams, pagodas and ordination halls which Anawratha had constructed". Also, lands donated for monasteries differ from lands used by pagodas (which are often founded on sacred or magical spots). For example, it is difficult to cite a monastic parallel to the story of the site chosen for the Shwezayan pagoda, east of Mandalay: it is believed that the pagoda was constructed on the ground where the ear-ring of Sawmunhla fell.<sup>38</sup>

Both *pagoda* and monastery had communal aspects in their layout related to the main image of the Buddha. In the case of the *pagoda*, there was - by the late 19th and early 20th century - not a great deal of variation seen in the central structure. the *stupa*. This has been seen as "an acceptance of the *stupa* as itself an icon and an equivalent of the Buddha".<sup>39</sup> In contrast, however, was the development of the *pagoda* platform around the central *stupa*, so that a wide range of devotions to not only the Buddha but ancestral and animistic spirits could be accommodated. In this sense, it seems that ritual innovation was met through architectural elaboration, not in the central *stupa*, but in the creation of new chambers in the precinct surrounding it.

In the case of the monastery, a different architectural process appears to have occurred. Structures remained constant by definition, but a number of different layouts were built within which the needs of the monastery might be satisfied. These included housing the monastic community and their central image of the Buddha, providing room for teaching, and encouraging the support and involvement of the lay community. Thus the core of the design and the first to be built was the *saung-ma-gyi*, with areas for the central image, prayer and teaching, and sleeping. The *hpyaya-saung* could be incorporated into the *saung-ma-gyi*, as was often the case in private apartments converted into monasteries and Western-influenced monasteries.<sup>40</sup>

The contrasts between *pagoda* and monastic architecture at the end of the 19th and early 20th century are not intended to imply explanation of changes within either religious sphere. The purpose is more self-contained, to call attention to the survival, and need for preservation, of the range of monasteries in Mandalay today, and to emphasize the eclecticism present within this one aspect of later Myanmar architecture.

[The above is an edited version of a paper that Dr Elizabeth Moore presented at the Conference on *Myanmar and Southeast Asian Studies*, 15-17 November 1995, Yangon]

# Glossary

baw-ga-saung	Storeroom, or sometimes, living quarters, in a monastery; traditionally located on the opposite end of the monastery platform.
hintha	Mythical bird, often associated with the hamsa or goose; the mount of Brahma, but also found in Buddhist jataka stories, and seen adorning the top of prayer post in monastery compounds.
hpaya-saung	Principal shrine room in a monastery. Literally translated as 'lord-room'.
hsaya-daw	Refers to the chief abbot or monk of a monastery. Literally translated as 'lord-royal'.
kyaung	A Buddhist monastery
pyat-that	Tiered roof, characteristic of Burmese architecture, used particularly to crown a shrine room or throne room, but also seen, for example, over gateway into the palaces at Ava and at Mandalay.
sanu-saung	referred to, architecturally, as a connecting passage-way; or as the room of the chief monk/abbot in relation to its common function.

# References

- <sup>1</sup> For a more general discussion of this question, see "The royal cities of Myanmar, 14-19th century, with reference to China". In Scott, R., Guy, J., eds. *South East Asia & China: Art Interaction and Commerce.* Colloquies on Art & Archaeology in Asia no.17, Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art. SOAS, London: 101-117. Moore, E.
- <sup>2</sup> Fraser-Lu, Sylvia. Burmese Crafts, Past and Present. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press. 1994:84
- <sup>3</sup> Oshegov, S., Proskuryakova, T. Architecture of Indochina. Moscow, 1988: 29 & Fraser-Lu, Sylvia. Burmese Crafts, Past and Present. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press. 1994:14.
- <sup>4</sup> Report on archaeological work in Burma for the year 1901-2, Government Printing Office, Rangoon. 1902:14. Now gone, Myadaung kyaung, is one of many monasteries lost to fire.
- <sup>5</sup> Moore, E. The Reconstruction of Mandalay Palace: an interim report on aspects of design. Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (BSOAS). 1993. (LVI, 2): 335-50.
- <sup>6</sup> Shwebo palace, for example, is strikingly different in plan from Bago's Hanthawaddy palace. The chronicles state that the style of palaces in Upper Burma, up through the First Ava Period, including Pagan and Pinnya, were taken from the style of the Pyu Tagaung period. Buildings were arranged in a complex, touching each other. Residential structures, however, continued to be built in the traditional style, thus preserving the old Upper Burma custom. For example, the house of Kin Wun Min Gyi follows this pattern. U Kala's chronicle records how at Ava, when the Nyaungyan prince came to rebuild the palace burned by the Shan princes, that he wanted to rebuild it in the old Shwebo style, but the monks pronounced that this had already

been donated to the Buddha, so he therefore chose to build in the Mon style of his father.(U Win Maung (Tampawaddy), personal communication, July 1995.)

- <sup>7</sup> eg Bird, George. Wanderings in Burma. 1987:78; Oshegov, S., Proskuryakova, T. Architecture of Indochina. Moscow, 1988: 25
- <sup>8</sup> The latter term is used by Tilly, H.L. *Wood-carving of Burma*. Rangoon: Government Printing Office, 1903:16. His description is of the Salin monastery on the west of Mandalay Hill, built by the Salin Princess in 1876.
- <sup>9</sup> U Win Maung (Tampawaddy), personal communication, July 1995.
- <sup>10</sup> The first use is from Tilly, H.L. Wood-carving of Burma. Rangoon: Government Printing Office, 1903. The second is Fraser-Lu, Sylvia. Burmese Crafts, Past and Present. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press. 1994:84
- <sup>11</sup> Bird, George. Wanderings in Burma. 1987:79-80.
- <sup>12</sup> Oshegov, S., Proskuryakova, T. Architecture of Indochina. Moscow, 1988: 25
- <sup>13</sup> Bird, George. Wanderings in Burma. 1987:79-80.
- <sup>14</sup> Oshegov, S., Proskuryakova, T. Architecture of Indochina. Moscow, 1988: 25
- 15 ibid, 1988:80
- <sup>16</sup> Cho Oo, A Study on the Simple Dwelling Spaces of the Common People in Myanmar. Department of Architecture, Yangon Institute of Technology. June 1992: 36-7.
- <sup>17</sup> Fraser-Lu, Sylvia. Burmese Crafts, Past and Present. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press. 1994:109.

U Myint Aung. "Shwe-inbin; an architectural legacy", *The Working People's Daily*, October 22, 1979, p. 5.

- <sup>18</sup> U Win Maung (Tampawaddy), personal communication, July 1995.
- <sup>19</sup> Oshegov, S., Proskuryakova, T. Architecture of Indochina. Moscow, 1988: 24
- <sup>20</sup> U Maung Maung Tin, personal communication, July 1995. T
- <sup>21</sup> see for example illustrations in the following: Fraser-Lu, Sylvia. Burmese Crafts, Past and Present. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press. 1994:Fig.14; Cho Oo, A Study on the Simple Dwelling Spaces of the Common People in Myanmar. Department of Architecture, Yangon Institute of Technology. June 1992:64-69; Myo Myint Sein, Bithuka Pyinna. Yangon Institute of Technology, 1966.
- <sup>22</sup> The question of central and side monasteries is an interesting one, and although the arrangement seems clear in this case, a monastery map of Mandalay has yet to be completed. The mapping of the placement and chronology of central and side monasteries could form one element in an informational and spatial database a Geographical Information System for the whole of Myanmar. A system of information such as this would facilitate understanding of not only the hierarchy of each element but their relationship and their place in the cultural cycles of Myanmar.
- <sup>23</sup> Than Tun, Dr. Conservation of Wooden Buildings in Japan and Burma, paper read at the Burma Symposium held by the Burma Research Group under the auspices of the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. n.d.p.1

- <sup>24</sup> Oshegov, S., Proskuryakova, T. Architecture of Indochina. Moscow, 1988: 23.
- <sup>25</sup> U Win Maung (Tampawaddy), personal communication, July 1995.
- <sup>26</sup> Shweman Tin Hla, "Thakawun Monastery", Forward, August 1984:29-30.
- <sup>27</sup> Dumarcay, J., *The Palaces of South-East Asia: architecture and customs* (ed. M.Smithies), Singapore, Oxford University Press. 1991:14.
- <sup>28</sup> Fraser-Lu, Sylvia. Burmese Crafts, Past and Present. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press. 1994:11.
- <sup>29</sup> Shweman Tin Hla "Thakawun Monastery", *Forward*, August 1984:31-32. The best example is a replacement, carved by U Win Maung (Tampawaddy) in the 1960s for the Department of Archaeology restoration.
- <sup>30</sup> U Maung Maung Tin, personal communication, July 1995.
- <sup>31</sup> U Win Maung (Tampwaddy), personal communication, July 1995.
- <sup>32</sup> This monastery has been known by the township name since 1957, Maha Di Beh Yin Tun Aung Meh Tha Zar Myo Nai.
- <sup>33</sup> Than Tun, Dr. Conservation of Wooden Buildings in Japan and Burma, paper read at the Burma Symposium held by the Burma Research Group under the auspices of the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. n.d.p.3.
- <sup>34</sup> Bird, George. Wanderings in Burma. 1987:80.
- <sup>35</sup> U Win Maung (Tampawaddy), personal communication, July 1995.
- <sup>36</sup> One advantage of combining the brick with an inner structure of wood was that the thickness of the walls could be lessened. U Win Maung (Tampawaddy), personal communication, July 1995.
- <sup>37</sup> Shwe Mann Tin Hla. The wonderful features of Atumashi Monastery, *in Forward*. 1 November 1984, 23/2:36-39.
- <sup>38</sup> Searle, H.F. Burma Gazetteer: the Mandalay District, volume A. 1928:49,52.
- <sup>39</sup> Shorto, H. The Stupa as Buddha Icon in South East Asia *in Mahayanist Art After A.D.900*, Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Colloquies on Art & Archaeology in Asia No.2. 1972:75-81.
- <sup>40</sup> Some devotional trends parallel to those in evidence at pagodas appear to have existed within the monastery - veneration of images of the abbot or *sayadaw* being another icon-centred example which continues to this day.

All Photographs by Elizabeth Moore, except Page 29 : Atumishi in the 1890's (SOAS collection)

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