

ART. X.—*Some Account of the Senbyú Pagoda at Mengún, near the Burmese Capital, in a Memorandum by CAPT. E. H. SLADEN, Political Agent at Mandalé; with Remarks on the Subject, by COL. HENRY YULE, C.B.*

The circumstances which led to the transmission of this Memorandum, will be stated in the appended remarks.

“*Senbyoo*” *Pagoda (at Mengoon).*

1. The Pagoda was built in the reign of king *Bodo Piyah*,<sup>1</sup> in the Burmese year 1178 (A.D. 1816), by his grandson, NOUNGDAU GYEE, now known as *Bagyeedau Piyah*,<sup>2</sup> which specifies his relationship as paternal uncle to the present reigning king.

2. It is situated at *Mengoon*, on the west bank of the Irrawaddy, a couple of hundred yards only from the huge brick ruin which is known as the *Mengoon* pagoda.

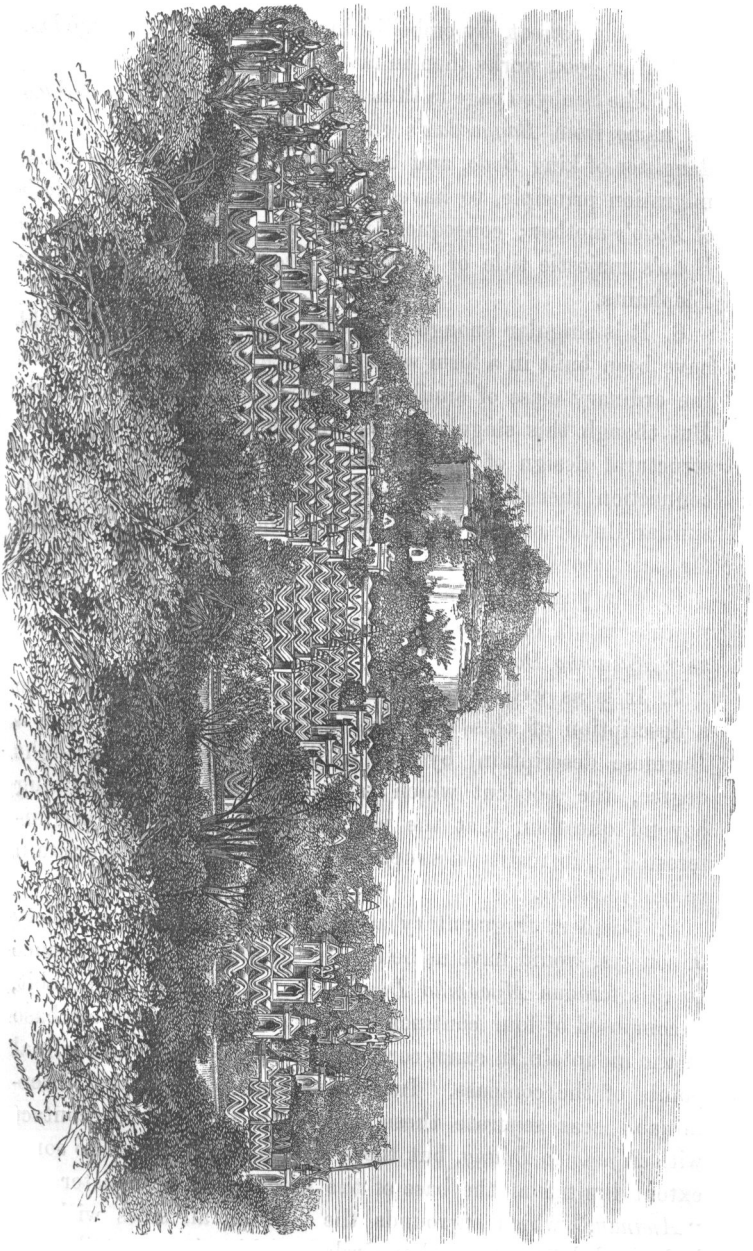
3. *Mengoon* was a place of comparatively little note, until raised into importance by king *Bodo Piyah*, who made it his favourite retreat, and conceived and founded the monster pagoda which has given or taken its name from the place of its creation.<sup>3</sup>

4. King *Bodo*'s partiality for the place, or his extensive building propensity seems to have been necessarily imitated by those about him, so that it soon became a conventional undertaking on the part of members of his family (and of his government too) to add to the importance and sanctity of the

<sup>1</sup> *Bhodau Phra* is the title given to the king who reigned from 1781 to 1819, called by Symes, who visited his court, *Minderawji Prow* (Mantarágyi).—H. Y.

<sup>2</sup> *Phagyi-Dau* is the title of the king who reigned 1819-1837, and in whose time our first Burmese war took place.—H. Y.

<sup>3</sup> *Mengún* is on the west bank of the Irawadi, about six or seven miles from *Mandalé*, the present capital. An account of the great pagoda there will be found in the Narrative of Major Phayre's Mission, p. 168.—H. Y.



*Senbyŏng Pagoda. (From a Photograph.)*

fashionable retreat, by embellishing it with shrines, pagodas, and other good works then in favour with the king.

5. The Senbyu pagoda thus rose into existence. It derives its name from *Bagyeedaw's* chief queen, who was a granddaughter of king *Bodo*, and believed further, under the transmigration principle, to have been a revivification in the flesh of *Bodo's* mother; consequently she was privileged to assume *Bodo's* majestic title of "*Senbyoo Shen,*" or Lord of White Elephants.

6. It is singular enough that this pagoda (*Senbyoo*) should have been built in a form which at once distinguishes it from the ordinary class of similar structures throughout Burmah. But though this singularity is somewhat unaccountable, the structural design of the pagoda is evident enough; and its connection therefore, in an architectural point of view, with similar Buddhistical remains in Java and elsewhere, can be so far satisfactorily traced.

6. The pagoda is intended to be a complete symbolical representation or model of Mount Meru, known to Burmans as "*Myenmho Doun.*"

7. It is as well perhaps that I should enter briefly into a description of this cosmical mountain (that is to say, a Burmese description) by way of illustrating, in some slight degree, the woodcut which is annexed, and of explaining beyond question, that the pagoda, about which we are interested is, in reality, a simple representation of the mountain to be described.

8. Burmese fragmentary accounts, collected from a variety of sources, would have us believe in the first place, in reference to this famous *Myenmho Doun*, that the earth we inhabit, is composed of four continents, which lie at the extreme base of the mountain, in exact correspondence with the four cardinal points of the compass. Insurmountable barriers, and interminable seas separate these continents from direct contact with *Myenmho Doun*, but these seas and barriers are to some extent limited at the base of the mount by the monster fish "*Ananda,*" which surrounds the hill on all sides with its body, and defines a complete circle by taking its own tail in its

mouth.<sup>1</sup> This fabulous monster fish, which is regarded as the outer guard, barrier, or defence to the mountain itself, is represented at the *Senbyoo* pagoda by a large outer circular wall, eight feet in height, four in thickness, and 750 yards in length or circumference.

The five (or rather six) concentric terraces, which are seen in the photograph to rise one above and inside the other, are representations of the five regions, continents, or countries, which surround the hill in concentric gradations from its base upwards.

The continents are called in Burmese—with reference I imagine only to the manner in which they are represented in drawings or models—“*Aleyne gna Sen*,” or the five concentric gradations.

Each continent takes its name from the guard stationed in it for its defence, or rather for the defence of the mountain itself, against the attacks of the fallen angel or Nat “*Athooya*.”

Ascending from the base the

1st Continent is called *Nāgāh*.

2nd    ,,        ,,        *Kālōn*, sea-dragon or fabulous bird.

3rd    ,,        ,,        *Gōmbān* “*Beloo*,” or man devouring  
monster of the Gomban tribe.

4th    ,,        ,,        *Yēthā* “*Beloo*,” of the Yatha tribe.

5th    ,,        ,,        *Gundāpāh*,<sup>2</sup> from the Nat, or spirit,  
or fairy of that name.

The fifth, or uppermost terrace, is surmounted by the *Sōōlāmānēē*<sup>3</sup> pagoda, which in turn has continents or terraces stretching out from its base, above which rise the several

<sup>1</sup> Is not this the Midgard Serpent Jörmungand of the Edda, “that holding his tail in his mouth encircles the whole earth.” (Translation of the Prose Edda, 410.)—J. F.

<sup>2</sup> These names restored from Burmese alteration are, I imagine, *Asura*, *Nāga*, *Garuda*, *Kumbhānda*, *Yaka*, *Gandharva*.—H. Y.

<sup>3</sup> I find on reference to a Burmese book, that *Soo-la-mā-nee* is the name of a *pagoda* far up in the celestial regions, and worshipped by the *Nats*. I do not know the meaning of the word. From Sladen’s note I do not understand whether the name is given to the great central structure of the *Senbyoo* pagoda, which in fact represents Mount Meru, or whether there is a separate building which carries the name of *Soo-la-mā-nee*. The *real* *Soo-la-mā-nee* in heaven is said to be three *Yojana* high, so in the model at Mengun, it would, or ought to be proportionably small, if compared with the representation of Mount Meru.—A. P. ФАЙЕР.

*Paradises*, in which reside spiritual beings of the Nat, angel, or fairy tribe.

9. This description of the hill and its belongings might be enlarged on, and lengthened out into almost unlimited detail; but with very little advantage as regards the architecture of the *Senbyoo* Pagoda, with which we are at present principally concerned.

10. The only discrepancy I find in connecting the pagoda with the description given above, is that it represents *six* instead of *five* concentric terraces.

The sixth terrace, though as evident as daylight, is ignored, or accounted as nought, by those on the spot, who affirm that the bottom or basement terrace (though it is a terrace as much as any of the rest, and ascended by a flight of steps, similar in all respects to those attached to the other terraces) does not count, and is no real terrace at all. It is hardly reasonable to suppose that the extra terrace was tacked on by mistake, but I can readily believe in the aptitude and inclination of the Burmese artist or architect to disregard the mere trifle (as it would appear to him) of being particular as to correct definition or representation, if by the addition of a mere terrace or two, he could in any way beautify the original design, or make up for loss of height or other structural deficiency.

11. I have already said that the outer circular wall of the *Senbyoo* pagoda (which represents the monster whale *Ananda*) is about 750 yards in circumference. The first or lower terrace at the base of the pagoda, has by rough measurement, a circumference of 400 yards.

The height and distance of each concentric terrace, above and apart from the other, is uniformly and respectively five feet; and each terrace is ascended on four sides, corresponding with the points of the compass, by flights of steps, leading under elaborately formed porticos of masonry, and stuccoed decorations.

Each terrace too is girt or supported by a wavy serpentine parapet, which I understand to represent the mountain barriers which separate the several continents of *Myenmo-Doung*.

The wavy pattern idea in mortar bears a strong and rather ingenious resemblance to various paintings I have seen, by Burmese artists, who aspire to depict hills and mountain scenery.

The parapets are flanked, or rather connected at regular distances, by arched pillars, the archway of each containing a niche, or open space, in which the guardian monster deity, or Běḷōo, sits and defies all enemies.

If the photograph which I send is looked into, it will be seen that a gentleman who was with me at the time the picture was taken, has kindly contributed his mite to science by perching himself upon the top of one of the masonry mountains which form the parapet of the terrace. The natural proportions, thus given, will be of more service I hope (by a comparison of parts) in estimating dimensions, than any unprofessional measurement or estimate of my own.

In fact, so clear is it to me that the architectural relationship, as regards design, between this pagoda and other similar structures in Java, or northern India, has been fully established and accounted for, that the necessity for correct measurement, by way of elucidating what has hitherto been supposed doubtful, no longer exists.

The photographs might have been better. They were taken on dry plates (Beer process), under rather unfavourable circumstances. The wind blew so freshly during the time of exposure, that the camera and other apparatus would have disappeared altogether, unless held in position. This too, in one instance, whilst a view was being taken from the top of the whale Ananda's back.

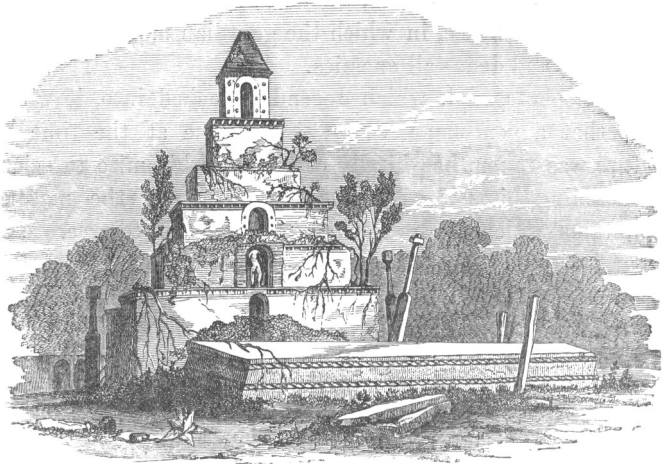
EDWD. H. SLADEN, Captain,  
Political Agent.

*Mandalay, 6th Jan., 1868.*

*Remarks.*

In a paper describing what I had seen of architectural remains of Hindu character in Java, which was read before the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in October, 1861, there occurred the following passage in reference to that magnificent monument of Buddhism, the Boro Bodor:—

“Mr. Fergusson, who gives a good account of the Boro Bodor in his Handbook of Architecture, considers it to be a kind of representation of the great Buddhist monasteries, which are described in the Ceylonese writings as having been many stories high, and as containing hundreds of cells for monks.



Sat-Mehal Prásáda.

In Tennent's Ceylon (vol. ii. p. 588) there is a woodcut of a singular pyramidal building at Pollanarua, called the *Sat-mehal Prásáda*, or 'Seven Storied House,' which in a rough way is quite analogous to the Boro Bodor.

“But the structure nearest to it in general design, that I have seen or heard of, was one visited by Mr. Oldham and me in 1855, at Mengún, above Amarapúra. It was thus described from my journal :—

“Further north there is an older Pagoda of very peculiar character. The basement which formed the bulk of the structure consisted of seven concentric circular terraces, each with a parapet of a curious serpentine form. These parapets rose one above and within the other like the (seven) walls of Ecbatana described by Herodotus. . . . In the parapet of every terrace were at intervals niches looking outwards, in which were figures of *Náts*<sup>1</sup> and warders in white marble, of half life size. A great

<sup>1</sup> “Burmese *Devatas* or genii.”

circular wall enclosed the whole at some distance from the base. It was difficult to ascertain the nature of the central structure, so shattered was it by the earthquake. The whole (though round instead of square in plan) had a great general resemblance to the large ancient pyramidal temple in Java called Boro Bodor, as described by Raffles and Crawford; but this Mengún structure was not, I think, very old, and I doubt if the resemblance was more than accidental. At the foot of the hills, some hundred yards to the westward, there was another Pagoda of similar character, which we did not visit.”<sup>1</sup>

I retract the notion that the resemblance was purely accidental. It is one of many analogies between Burma and Java in architecture, arts, and manners, of which the history is unknown, though some of them doubtless came from India with the religion which was once common to both. One idea struck me after seeing the Burmese edifice, which I will mention. This is, that both it and the Boro Bodor were meant, in a way, as symbols of the great World-system of the Buddhists, Mount Maha-Meru surrounded by its seven concentric ranges of mountains. Nor is this inconsistent with Mr. Fergusson's theory of Boro Bodor. For these monasteries themselves were probably types of Mount Meru. In Tibet, we are told, “Every orthodoxly constructed Buddhist Convent Temple either *is* or *contains* a symbolic representation of the divine regions of Meru, and of the Heaven of the Gods, Saints, and Buddhas rising above it into the Empyrean of Nirwana.”<sup>2</sup>

The above passage had attracted Mr. Fergusson's attention, and some two years ago he requested me to obtain more particulars about the terraced structure at Mengún. I accordingly applied to my old friend Colonel Albert Fytche, who had recently succeeded Sir Arthur Phayre in the government of our Burmese provinces, requesting him to obtain some further particulars of the building, and if possible a photograph. Colonel Fytche took up the matter with characteristic energy and goodwill, and obtained from the intelligent assistance of Captain Sladen the memorandum which precedes these remarks, and two pho-

<sup>1</sup> *Mission to Ava in 1855*, p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> *Koepfen, Die Religion des Buddha*, ii. 262.



tographs of the structure.<sup>1</sup> The papers, owing to accidental circumstances, reached me only a few days ago.

It will be seen that Captain Sladen confirms the suggestion that the Burmese Monument was specifically designed to represent Mount Meru, but he finds some difficulty in reconciling the existence of *six* terraces with the supposed symbolization of Meru and its *five* zones. The fact is, however, that there are, as I noted in 1855, and as Captain Sladen's own photographs very clearly show, not six but *seven* terraces. And it is seven that the subject which I imagine to be typified demands.

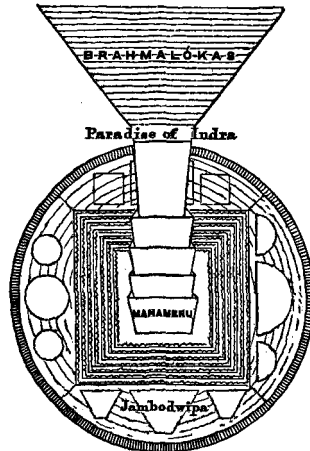
The details of the orthodox Buddhist Cosmography will be found in Mr. Spence Hardy's Manual (see pp. 3, 12 *seqq.*), but its essential features may be described in a few words. The centre of the system is Mahá-Meru, encircled by seven concentric ranges of mountains, which are divided by as many seas, and gradually diminish in height from the centre outwards. Round these focal ranges the heavenly bodies revolve. Between the last and lowest of these ranges and an eighth external range (called by the Singhalese the *Sakwalagala*) extends the salt ocean, in which are situated the great islands, or continents rather, of the inhabited earth. The *Sakwalagala* is the ring-fence and hoop of the whole system.

It is not, therefore, I apprehend, Mahá-Meru alone, distinguished into five zones, which is typified by this Burmese monument; but the whole system to its utmost bound. The Central Dagoba is Mahá-Meru; the seven terraces with their mountainous outline of parapet are the seven rocky ranges; the jungle-grown plain below is the circumambient ocean, wherein lie Jambudwípa and the other great islands; and Captain Sladen would perhaps have felt more confidence in the stability of his camera, had he perceived that instead of balancing it uneasily, "*with fixed tripod in the scaly rind*" of "*the whale Ananda's back*," he and it were planted on the *Sakwalagala*, the adamantine girdle of the Cosmos!

No better illustration of the subject can be given than the

<sup>1</sup> I desire here to express my obligation to both these officers for this interesting communication.

Tibetan representation of the Mundane system, which appears in Giorgi's *Alphabetum Tibetanum* (Pl. I. p. 472), and from which I have made the accompanying reduction of the essential features. The text informs us that the original was done in colours by Yondé Lahuri, a Tibetan painter, in the Shap-rang monastery at Lhassa.



Tibetan Mundane System.

What a strange parallel, one may observe in passing, is afforded by Mahá-Meru with its Terraces, the Paradise of Indra, that crowns it, and the many heavens rising in clime over clime far above it to culminate in the "Empyrean of Nirwana," to Dante's Mountain of Purgatory with its Seven Zones, surmounted by the Table Land of the Terrestrial Paradise, whence he ascends through the nine Celestial Spheres to the Vision of the Candida Rosa and the ineffable glory!<sup>1</sup>

Though no other similar monument has become known to us in Burmah, it is probable that analogous symbols exist there in some form or other.

As regards Java, Buddhism, I believe, has left no record

<sup>1</sup> Nay, how near to Dante's wonderful Image of the Great Rose even come the Visions of a Chinese Buddhist monk in the fourth century: "In the seventh month of the nineteenth year, at eventide, he again had a vision of the Holy ones. The form of Amita filled the span of Heaven; all the saints looked forth from the Halo that encompassed him. . . . Moreover Yuanfasé beheld a stream of water bright as light which fell from above, and parted into fourteen branches," etc. (Schott, *über den Buddhismus in Hoch-Asien und in China*, p. 99).

"E vidi lume in forma di riviera  
Fulvido di fulgore intra duo rive  
Dipinte di mirabil primavera

"E si come di lei bevve la gronda  
Delle palpebre mie, così mi parve  
Di sua lunghezza divenuta tonda

"Sì soprastando al lume intorno intorno  
Vidi specchiarsi in più di mille soglie  
Quanto di noi lassù fatto ha ritorno."

— PARADISO XXX.

except in architecture and sculpture ; it is unknown to surviving literature or tradition. But in the Island of Bali we find a curious transcript preserved, though blurred indeed and corrupted, of Javanese religion before the Mahomedan conversion ; and there both Buddhism, of a sort, and Brahminism still exist. Now, it is curious with regard to the Meru symbolism, of which Boro Bodor is such a splendid instance, to find that a particular vestige of this symbolism still lingers abundantly in Bali. Mr. Friederich in his "*Preliminary account of Bali*," after speaking of sundry kinds of temples in the Island, proceeds :

"Finally, in every house there is a multitude of miniature temples called *Sanggar* (*Sangga* of Crawford). Among these you find a MERU, a temple with a succession of roofs rising pyramidally one over the other, which is dedicated to Siva. . . . . The apex of the Merus, as well as of the other little temples, is usually crowned with an inverted pot, or even with a tumbler, a circumstance that at first seemed to me strongly suggestive of Buddhism, for it looked like an adumbration of the cupola (or waterbubble), which is the distinctive mark of all Buddhist temples. The Sivaïtes will not, however, allow this, though they can give no explanation of such an ornament."<sup>1</sup>

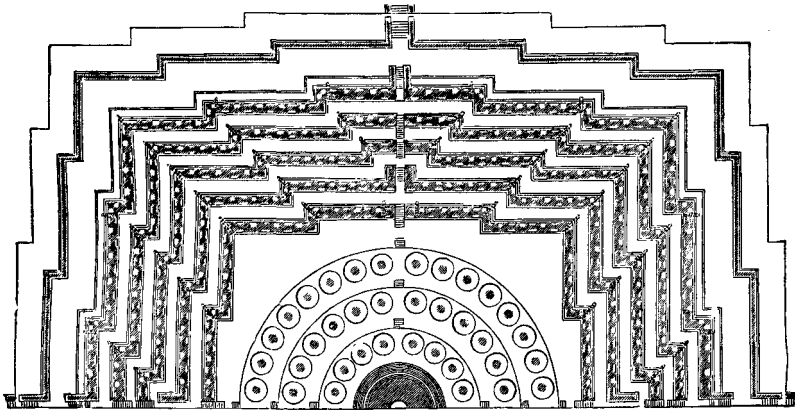
As accident has brought me to speak of Boro Bodor, I should like to recall attention to the very interesting observations of W. von Humboldt on the symbolism of that wonderful structure, with the view of eliciting information which I have not been able to obtain from any source accessible to me.

The construction of Boro Bodor is clearly shown in the woodcut at p. 535 of Vol. II. of *Fergusson's History of Architecture*. It is, omitting minutiae, a pyramidal structure rising in seven successive terraces from a square base.

The first of these terraces is low, narrow, and without parapet, and is now covered with soil. The second terrace is higher and of considerable width, forming a basement for the

<sup>1</sup> In the *Transactions of the Batavian Soc. of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. xxii. p. 33. Captain Joseph Cunningham also alludes to the "*Jain Models of Meru*" (in *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, xvi. 755).

highly decorated structure which rises out of it. This consists of five successive terraces, each surrounded by an elaborate architectural screen, so that between every two of these screens there is formed a corridor running round the four sides of the building. The fifth terrace forms a wide platform, from which again rise three low concentric circular terraces, bordered by as many concentric rings of small dagobas. In the centre, a larger dagoba of about thirty feet diameter forms the apex and crown of the edifice.

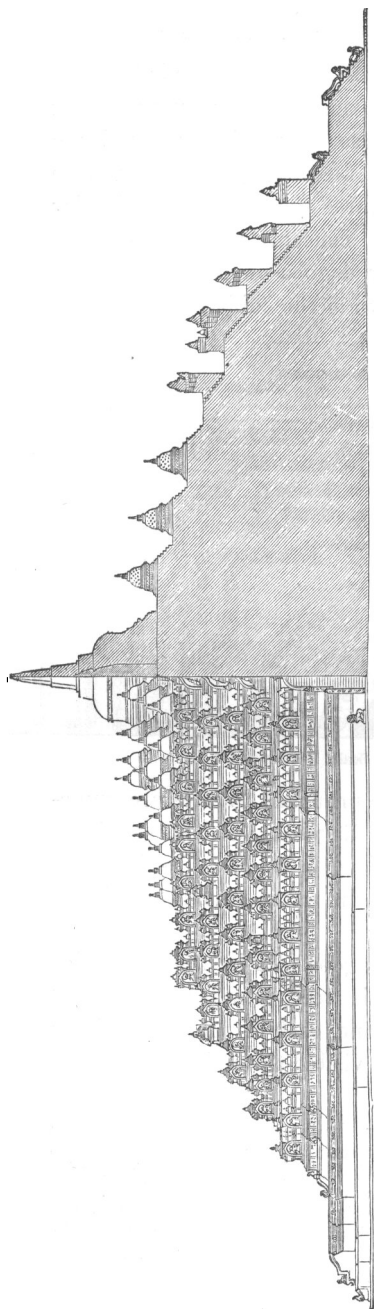


Plan of Temple of Boro Bodor. Scale, 100 feet to 1 inch.

In the outer face of each of the principal terraces are numerous niches crowned by miniature dagobas; and these niches have all been occupied by cross-legged Buddhas, whilst both sides of the corridors are carved in an astonishing series of sculptures.<sup>1</sup>

The construction of the small dagobas, 72 in number, which form the three concentric rings, is very peculiar. They are hollow cages or latticed bells of stone, each of which contains a meditative Buddha immured, and visible through the diamond openings of the lattice.

<sup>1</sup> The number of these niches is stated on the face of Raffles's plate as 136, a mistake for 436, which last number is that stated by Mr. Fergusson. But 436 would give an uneven number to each side (109), a circumstance inconsistent with the design. I make the niches by the plan to be 440, or 110 to the side. But it seems probable that the real number of niches, or at any rate of images, was 108 to the side, that being a number in high and sacred esteem among the Buddhists as well as the Hindus. It will be seen that the number of figures in the concentric circles above is  $72 = \frac{2}{3}$  of 108.



Elevation and Section of Temple of Boro Bodor.  
From an unpublished Plate intended for Sir Stamford Raffles' "History of Java."

In the Mengún pagoda we see that all seven terraces and parapets are alike in character. But in Boro Bodor only the five principal terraces and parapets are of homogeneous character; the two lower terraces or steps seem only to form a plinth or platform for the monument. Probably, therefore, the type of the pyramidal structure here is that which Captain Sladen supposes to be represented at Mengún, viz., Mahá-Meru alone with its five zones; whilst the circular steps above represent what a former quotation terms "the Heaven of the Gods, saints, and Buddhas, rising above it into the Empyrean of Nirwana."

I will quote here the general remarks of W. von Humboldt on the types of Boro Bodor, which undoubtedly set forth the spirit of its symbolism, though probably his genius expresses it with a precision beyond the consciousness of the builders: "One

sees that the idea of the structure develops gradually from below upwards. In the six four-square terraces are set forth the innumerable Buddhas in living contact with the world and with men. Even that quadrangular form which presents the images of the Holy Ones respectively to the four quarters of the heavens is not without significance. With the introduction of the circle begins the reference to Heaven, and here also the symbolism recedes more and more from the corporeal. The bas-reliefs, with their groups and countless figures, disappear; the Holy Ones remain in their loneliness, severed from contact with the earthly, and in a position of the deepest abstraction. Access to them is closed; to the eye only it is open through the latticework. In the crowning Dome the Holy One himself has also vanished; all imagery ceases, and that which is hidden there even the eye cannot approach. Such a process of ascent from multiplicity and division to unity and indivisibility lies in all Buddhist symbolism. The highest of the Three Worlds is styled the World without form or colour. And the incarnated Buddhas, supreme in all Three Worlds, lose in the highest even their names.”<sup>1</sup>

The Buddhas of the Boro Bodor are represented in five different attitudes. Thus the immured ones all exhibit one peculiar action, and the images on each of the four sides of the pyramid respectively exhibit one peculiar action. The five attitudes are as follows:—

1. On the EAST side—The left hand rests, with the palm up, on the sole of the foot turned upward. The right hand hangs with the palm turned in, and in contact with the right knee (viz., *the usual attitude of Gautama Buddha*).
2. On the SOUTH side—The left hand as before. The right hand also hangs in contact with the right knee, but with the palm turned out.
3. On the WEST side—Both hands rest in the lap with the palms upwards.
4. On the NORTH side—Left hand as in 1 and 2; the right hand raised from the wrist with the palm open and outward.

<sup>1</sup> *Kawi Sprache I*, 126.

5. The IMMURED FIGURES—Both hands raised opposite the breast, as in an attitude of teaching.

Humboldt comes to the conclusion that these five classes of figures represent the Five Celestial or Dhyáni Buddhas, belonging to a system which became known to Europe through Mr. Hodgson's memorable researches.

The attitudes in all cases, and the quarters of the heaven in the case of the four Boro Bodor figures which face those quarters, correspond to those assigned to the Dhyáni Buddhas by the Northern Buddhists.

The attitude of the Buddhas on the East corresponds to that of Akshobhya, who, in the Northern system, is the Regent of the East; the Southern attitude is that of Ratna Sambhava, the Regent of the South; the Western, that of Amitábha, Regent of the West; the Northern, that of Amogha Siddha, Regent of the North.

The attitude of the Immured Buddhas is that of Vairochana. This Dhyáni Buddha, according to Mr. Hodgson, is seldom seen; but when he is represented he is placed on the East, close on the right of Akshobhya. Pallas also assigns both of these personages to the East.<sup>1</sup>

Those who have become acquainted with Buddhism in Burmah and Ceylon, where the books contain no trace of the Dhyáni Buddhas, will be slow to believe that those are the beings represented here, or that they were ever known in Java. And yet this last conclusion would be quite erroneous; for Mr. Friederich found the names of several of the personages of that system in a Sanskrit inscription from the temple of Tumpang in Java,<sup>2</sup> and apparently executed about the twelfth or thirteenth century. He has also seen reason, in the alphabetic character used, to believe that the influence under which these remains were produced came from Gangetic India. Still the key of the symbolism of Boro Bodor must surely be that very singular

<sup>1</sup> *Sammlungen*, ii. 86. Pallas knows the names of these as "the Five Beneficent Burkhans," but not their character, apparently, as distinguished from the Earthly Buddhas, or their relation to these.

<sup>2</sup> In the province of Surabaya and district of Malang. There are various finely sculptured images also at this temple, which, from the descriptions given, appear to represent persons, male and female, of the Dhyáni Buddha system (see *Batavian Transactions*, xxvi. 84-5).

device of the Caged Buddhas, so costly to execute, and yet repeated seventy-two times. And why should Vairochana occupy so distinctive a position?

Would not that be a more satisfactory and striking interpretation which Humboldt rejected, viz., that the four Buddhas, throned in their open niches and dominating the four sides of the cosmical pyramid, are the four Past Buddhas of this Kalpa, Krakuchanda, Konagamani, Kasyapa, and Sakya; while he of the upper dagobas is Maitreya, the Buddha of the Future, patiently abiding his development hidden in the heaven *Tusita*? To determine this, light is wanted on several points, which I have not been able to obtain. The chief of these points regards the characteristic attitudes assigned to the whole of the five human Buddhas.

I cannot find certain information in respect to any but Sakya and Maitreya. And it is remarkable that, in their cases, when we compare the characteristic attitudes of the Earthly Buddhas with that of these Dhyáni Buddhas, which are supposed to be the celestial reflexion of each, these do not correspond as we should expect.<sup>1</sup> The earthly and heavenly couples are supposed to run as follows:—

*Earthly* —1. Krakuchanda. 2. Konagamani. 3. Kasyapa.

*Heavenly*—1. Vairochana. 2. Akshobhya. 3. Ratna Sambhava.

*Earthly* —4. Sakya. 5. Maitreya.

*Heavenly*—4. Amitábha. 5. Amogha Siddha.

Now the well-known attitude of Sakya is that which belongs not to Amitábha, but to Akshobhya; and the attitude of Maitreya<sup>2</sup> is that which belongs not to Amogha Siddha, but to Vairochana. I may add that there seems reason to suppose the attitude assigned to Kasyapa to be that which pertains to Amogha Siddha.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is noticed by Humboldt, *u.s.*

<sup>2</sup> See Pallas, *Sammlungen*, Vol ii, Plate iii., Fig. 1; and Plate ix., Fig. 2.

<sup>3</sup> For Pallas assigns this attitude to *Divongarra* (Dipankara), "the Ruler of the preceding World-period," who, along with Sakya and Maitreya, forms the triad, called by the Tibetans *Dissum Sanyi*, "The Three Lordly ones;" and in Mongol *Gurban Tsagan Burchan*, "The Three White Gods" (*Sammlungen* ii., 85). But, according to Schott, the third member of the group receiving these titles is not Dipankara, but the immediate predecessor of Sakya, or as Pallas himself says, "the Ruler of the preceding World-period," *i.e.* Kasyapa. So I suppose Kasyapa to have the attitude of Amogha Siddha, or of the northern figures of Boro Bodor (See Schott, *Ueber den Buddhismus*, p. 40).



These characteristics would identify the Caged Buddha with Maitreya, which quite answers to the hypothesis; whilst the eastern figure would be Sakya and the northern one Kasyapa.

But in the only precedents I can refer to, viz., the Ananda temple at Pagán, and General Cunningham's description of the great Sanchi Tope, Sakya looks to the North and Kasyapa to the West.<sup>1</sup> Is there then any precedent for the arrangement which would place Sakya to the eastward and Kasyapa to the North?

A third question will be as to the existence, on the Buddhas of Boro Bodor, of those distinctive symbols which Mr. Hodgson has brought prominently to notice. It would appear, from an allusion in his paper in vol. xviii. of the Society's Journal, as if he had identified some of these symbols on drawings of the Boro Bodor images; but I am not quite clear that this is meant, and I have no access to the former papers therein referred to. Indeed, I should not have presumed to touch these questions, in a position where I have so little access to necessary books, had not the receipt of Captain Sladen's memorandum given me so fair an occasion to bring forward the subject.<sup>2</sup>

A splendid work in illustration of Boro Bodor was in preparation eight or ten years ago at the expense of the Dutch Government, but I have never heard of its completion. If the figures of Boro Bodor should really prove to belong to the Dhyáni Buddha system, it is probable also that those figures sculptured on the exterior of the adjoining very remarkable Temple of Mundot, which I took for Brahminical divinities, really belong to the same system.

H. YULE.

*Palermo, April 17th, 1869.*

<sup>1</sup> I have not the "*Bhilsa Topes*," and do not know whether General Cunningham gives the characters by which he distinguished the different Buddhas. And unfortunately I made no note of the distinctive positions in the Ananda.

<sup>2</sup> I have not the Journal nor the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society accessible, but I have a copy of Mr. Hodgson's paper from vol. xviii., which he kindly sent me some years ago, accompanied by tracings of the Dhyáni Buddhas and Bodhisatwas. It is well known, and indeed apparent from that paper, that he does not acknowledge the distinction so often made between Northern and Southern Buddhism. Even if the Java buildings proved to belong to the Dhyáni system, however, it would not settle that question, as Friedrich's researches seemed to point to a movement from Bengal towards Java in the middle ages, which might have introduced the Dhyani system into the island without at all affecting the Indo-Chinese countries which received their Buddhism from Ceylon at an earlier date.

*Note by J. FERGUSSON, F.R.S.*

I have not the least wish or intention to dispute the theory put forward by Capt. Sladen and Col. Yule in their remarks, that the Senbyú Pagoda is intended to represent the mythical Mount Meru. I would, nevertheless, like to be allowed to explain that I think its peculiarities may be accounted for on much more mundane and less recondite grounds. The absence of any plan or section makes it a little difficult to speak with any certainty on the subject, but the photographs, with Capt. Sladen's descriptions, are probably sufficient to enable us to avoid any material error.

The central object at Senbyú will be easily recognized as one of those buildings to which we are accustomed to apply the names of Dagoba or Tope. If it contained a relic, the former designation would be correct; if it marked a sacred spot, or commemorated some sacred event, the latter would be the correct term. We do not in this instance know that it was erected for either the one purpose or the other, and it may therefore be designed to represent Mount Meru. If it does so, however, this is the first instance that has come under my notice of a Dagoba being so applied. There is certainly nothing in its external appearance that would lead any one to suppose that any difference existed between this one and the other Topes found so frequently in either Burmah or India.

Since the publication of General Cunningham's book on the Bhilsa Topes in 1854, we have become perfectly familiar with the form of Topes surrounded by detached rails. All that group are, or were, so enclosed; and from this and other examples, we may infer that the enclosing rail was an essential adjunct to the Tope. At Amravati the Tope was enclosed by two concentric rails, which still remain. My conviction is that there was a third, or inner rail, which has perished with the central building, but this is not important. In Ceylon, many of the Topes are surrounded by three concentric circles of pillars, which I do not doubt were the analogues of the continental rails. The temple at Boro Buddor, in Java, consists

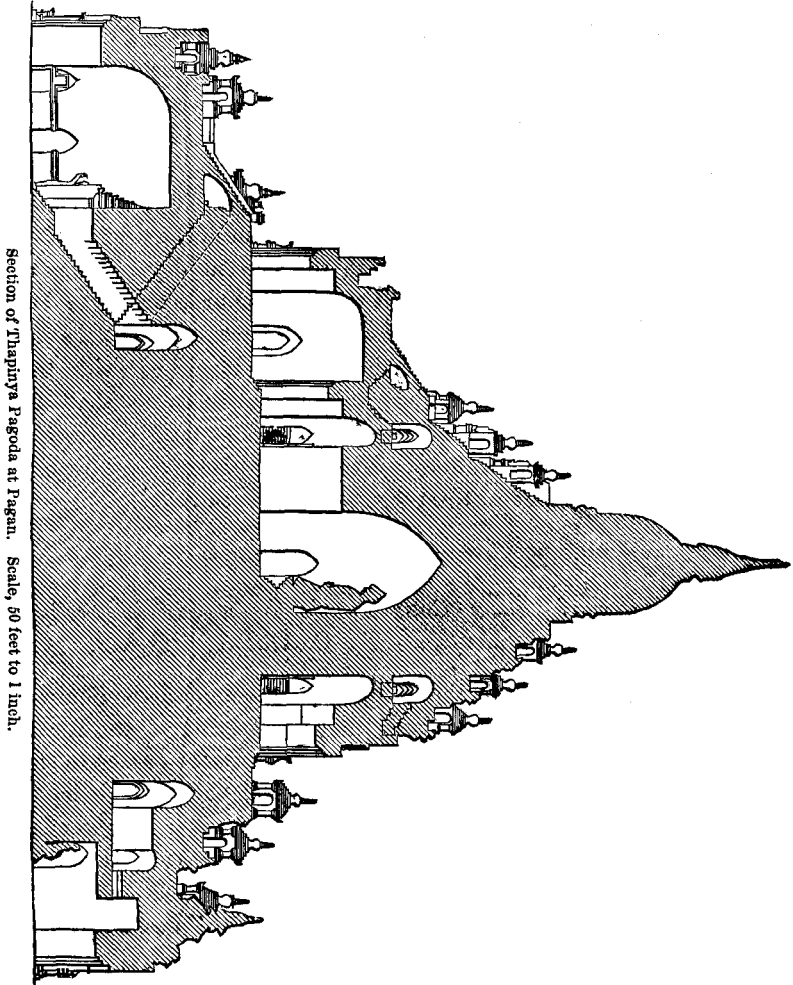
of a central group of Topes surrounded by five enclosures, which though square, or at least rectangular in plan, are in reality nothing but sculptured screens similar in purpose to those that surrounded the Amravati Tope. At Senbyú we have six, and in spite of the evidence of my senses, I believe that only six terraces were intended, though the photograph seems to show seven. The priests, however, may therefore have been right when they assured Capt. Sladen that the lower storey did not count. If this is so, then the Dagoba formed the seventh storey of the temple. For myself, I am quite content with the fact that we have here a Tope with six enclosing rails, without seeking for any further symbolism at present.

There is, however, another series through which we arrive at a similar conclusion, though by a different road. There are in Babylonia and Assyria a large group of temples of pyramidal form, consisting of terraces placed one above and within the other, and rising through three or seven stories. The temple at Mugheyr is the typical example at present known of the three-storeyed temples; that called the Birs Nimroud, of the seven-storeyed. But there are others at Nimroud in Assyria, and at Khorsabad which have similar arrangements, and the seven walls of Ecbatana, alluded to by Col. Yule were no doubt reminiscences of the same forms. In my "History of Architecture" (ii. 518), I pointed out the connexion between the buildings on the banks of the Euphrates with those on the Irawaddy, long before I was so familiar with the subject as I now am, and every subsequent discovery has only seemed to confirm me in this conviction.

The Sat Mehal Prásáda at Pollanarua was a seven-storeyed Pagoda in every respect analogous to these. The Maha Lowa Paya at Anuradhapura one with nine storeys. So was the temple at Boro Buddor which was also of nine storeys. But the temples most in point are those at Pagan. All the larger temples there, the Ananda, the Thapinyu, the Gaudapalen are seven-storeyed,<sup>1</sup>—six terraces and a ziggarat, or cell,

<sup>1</sup> Yule's "Mission to Ava," p. 35 *et seqq.* See also my "History of Architecture," II. 516 *et seqq.*

with a spire at the top. These, it is true, are all square, or at least rectangular. This one at Mengún is circular, but that distinction is really of little importance, and to my mind the difference between the two is only what we should expect from



the six or seven centuries which have elapsed between the dates of their erection. One other point in these Senbyú enclosures deserves notice. It is their wavy or serpentine

form. It may sound fanciful, but my impression is, that it is really intended to recall the form of a serpent. At least, at Nakon Vat in Cambodia, all the ridges of the roofs and all the borderings of the pathways, were wavy serpents, generally seven-headed, but with the bodies of real snakes. Here it is so conventional that without the knowledge of what happened further east we should not dare even to suggest such a theory.

To my mind the most interesting peculiarity of the Mengún Pagoda is that it forms a connecting link—which has hitherto been missing—between the square and circular forms of these seven-storeyed Pagodas. With the assistance it affords I now see—dimly it must be confessed—the outline of the whole series, from the temple at Mugheyr to the present day. Many of the links in this series are still wanting to our knowledge; but I have no doubt that they exist, and I feel confident that as photography spreads we shall soon be furnished with the required information. When this is obtained we shall be enabled to write one of the most curious and interesting chapters which remain to complete our knowledge of the history of the ancient architectural forms of Southern Asia.

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*Some Remarks upon COL. YULE'S Notes on the Senbyú Pagoda at Mengún.* By C. HORNE, F.R.A.S.

With reference to the interesting account of the Senbyú Pagoda at Mengún, read at the last meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, and more particularly with reference to the remarks by Col. Yule on the Buddhas of the Boro Bodor, I would, with the greatest deference to the writer, beg to offer some suggestions derived from personal observation of the manner in which many groups of figures of Buddha (Sákya Muni) are sculptured in Bengal and the North-West Provinces of India.

*First*, as to the number of times of representation. I may remark that the ceiling of the interior of the great tope or tower of Budh Gaya is divided into many hundreds of little spaces, in each of which Sákya Muni in his conventional atti-

tude is represented. If I remember rightly, the ground-work is of a pale yellow, whilst the figures are of an uniform ochreous brown. There is, however, no variety of position in the figure, and I believe that Gen. Cunningham ascribes the ceiling to about 1100 A.D. The painting is very much faded, and the ceiling of a much later date than the body of the building.

*Secondly*, as to the positions of the figures. I have before me a small square memorial stupa from Buddh Gaya, of no great antiquity, but evidently copied from a more ancient one, surmounted by a tapering finial of nine circles, upon the sides of which are depicted in relief, in niches, four of the favourite positions in which that great social reformer is often sculptured, viz., begging, expounding, blessing, and contemplating. To these is often added a recumbent figure of Buddha entering "Nirvána," or annihilation; and often one of Mâyá, his mother, holding the Sál tree at the time of his birth.

1. On the stone in question. To the East (I say East, although the sides are all precisely the same, because there is an inscription on it beneath the figure, and because the principal sides of every Buddhist erection, as far as I am aware, faced the East; and, thirdly, because Buddha is there represented as blessing), is a sitting figure of Sákya Muni in the act of blessing, both hands being raised before him with joined palms, turning outwards, and the soles of the feet turned upwards, showing the chákra upon them.
2. To the West, or opposite side, Buddha is expounding or demonstrating, with the hands in close proximity, and the soles of both feet still upward, as in the first position.
3. To the North, he is sitting contemplating in the position as described in posture No. 1. of Col. Yule, viz., the left hand lying, palm upwards, open on the right up-turned sole; whilst the left hangs down on the right knee, palm inwards.

4. To the South, he is sitting with his hands folded one over the other in his lap, *i.e.* between his heels (or in some other stones that I have seen, on *both the up-turned soles*), supporting his begging pot.

I have never heard it contended by any one that these various figures, or rather positions of the same figure, represent different Buddhas, nor do I think it likely that they do so; but that they are merely as I remarked in the commencement, different attitudes of Sákya Muni, in which that of teacher occupies the most prominent place.

The suggestions which I would therefore wish to throw out are—1. That the numerous figures of Buddha on the Pagoda of Boro Bodor all represent the same person. 2. That the building was erected in honour of Buddha, the teacher, as he sat “Turning the wheel of the Law,” or expounding his doctrines, or in the act of blessing.

The attitude No. 1 of Col. Yule would then represent Buddha as in contemplation under the Bo tree.

No. 2 would represent him expounding.

No. 3 would show him as a mendicant, for I find the begging pot to be often omitted, although it is placed in the general representation of Buddha in all Thibet (*vide* Capt. Austin’s paper, J. A. S. of Bengal, vol. xxxiii., p. 152).

No. 4 would represent him in the act of blessing, whilst the principal or immured figure is either in the act of teaching or perhaps blessing.

Gen. Cunningham, in his Bhilsa Topes, has shown the conventional method of expressing by the hands the act of teaching, *viz.*, the placing of the first finger of the right hand in a peculiar manner on those of the left, which leads me slightly to doubt the certainty of “both hands raised opposite the breast as in an attitude of teaching” representing that act.

I have also seen standing figures of Buddha—generally with the begging pot, which holds so conspicuous a place in

his scanty accessories, and I cannot but believe that the one and the same person is represented in many ways.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So far as my experience goes, the conclusions I have arrived at are entirely in accordance with Mr. Horne's suggestions. At Ajanta, for instance, especially in Cave 19, Buddha is represented in all these four attitudes, and so frequently, but with such similarity of form and emblems, that I hardly think it can be doubted but that one and the same person only is meant to be represented. The same thing occurs at Kenheri and elsewhere in the western caves, yet I never heard it suggested that these figures were intended to represent any other person than the one Sākya Muni.—J. F.

UPPER NORWOOD, *June 23, 1869.*