OF the many bizarre contradictions that mark the dominant tendencies of the present age, none is more striking than that now presented in the distant Orient. On the one hand, the armies of Europe, equipped with all the machinery of modern military science, may be seen engaged in the systematic destruction of the art and civilisation of the Orient, whilst at the same time peaceable and scholarly countrymen of these vandals may be observed putting forth every effort, employing their utmost ingenuity, and shrinking before no obstacle or sacrifice, to rescue or restore the ruins of the works of art that have been left standing in these countries from precisely similar catastrophes in former centuries. It would almost seem as if this strange and mournful destiny were ordained to impend forever over the creations of humanity. Is it not the acme of irony that almost at the very moment when we are called upon to lament the destruction of so many conspicuous works of Chinese art, the intelligence should reach us from the most distant quarters of Asia of the discovery of highly important relics of extinct civilisations? It is now the ruins of Babylon or Armenia, now cities unearthed from the desert sands of Eastern Turkestan, now the dazzling discoveries of the Pamir plateaus, that excite the wonder of the scholars of Europe, and put before them for solution an endless number of problems on which their ingenuity will be exercised for many generations to come.

Recently the situation has taken an altogether new turn, and one of great significance for the development of Oriental science. The enormous treasures which have been brought to light in remote Eastern Asia are placing new obligations on the patrons of

1 I take pleasure in thanking my colleague, Dr. Georg Huth, for the valuable assistance he rendered me in the preparation of this article.
Oriental science. Western Asia has been and is now being ex-
plotted to the full. Such, however, has not been the case with In-
dia, Central and Eastern Asia; and it is now high time that the
numerous problems here presented should also be approached with
enthusiasm, and above all that more abundant means should be
placed at the disposal of investigators for this purpose. The
amount needed is not great. In fact, it is far less than is almost
daily incurred in the purchase of Greek and Roman antiquities. A
comparative statement of the prices regularly paid for classic relics
and curios and of the sums necessary for carrying out extensive
scientific expeditions in Middle, Eastern, and Southern Asia, would
afford an instructive illustration of the neglectful treatment which
some branches of knowledge have suffered through the over-indul-
gence accorded to others. Yet many of the Cinderellas which have
been so maltreated would, in the garments which are their natural
right, exhibit a beauty that would far outshine and even put to
shame the charms of their more richly appareled sisters. Indian
archaeology is one of the sciences that have been little worked, yet
bear within them the promise of rich discoveries. Nevertheless,
the researches which have already been carried out in this field
have led to discoveries of great significance, of which we shall here
mention but the two following:

1. The fact of very general interest that Indian art has been
definitely shown to be a continuation of Roman provincial art, and
is thus immediately connected with the ramifications of the art of
antiquity, in other words that it has played in Further Asia the
same part which Byzantine art played with reference to the later
Mediæval art of the Orient.

2. The fact, of importance especially for our knowledge of In-
dia, that Indian archaeology, both directly by inscriptions and in-
directly by the style, details, and leading motifs of its sculpture,
contains important data for determining the chronology of entire
historical epochs, for which the literature of India, by reason of
the utter lack of historical sense so characteristic of the Indian
race, contains no chronological data whatever.

But if Indian archaeology in itself is a greatly neglected depart-
ment of inquiry, much more so is the art of Further India, although
naturally it should be expected that the enormous extent of the
monuments of Further India would secure for them above all others
a more immediate and general interest. But, while the archaeo-
logical booty awaiting the systematic exploration of the ruins of
the ancient capitals of Cambodia and Siam is something enormous,
yet even these treasures are surpassed by those of Burma, the former vast extent of whose celebrated capital, Pagan, may be inferred to-day from the hundreds of ruined temples which dot the road leading toward Mandalay, and of which many are still so well preserved that worship may be held in them.

**EARLY HISTORY OF BURMA.**

To be able to appreciate the importance of these monuments for the history of Burma and Further Asia as a whole, we must first take a cursory glance at the political development of the Burmese people, using for our purpose both the native Burmese historical tradition and the parallel narratives of Chinese sources, and taking into account also the data which the ethnography and local history of the adjacent nations furnish. The appellation "Burmese" by which the entire country is known to-day belonged originally to a single tribe only, a member of a larger group of kindred tribes, all of which gradually fell under the leadership and influence of more highly civilised Indian immigrants and gathered ultimately about a centre which became the political and religious (Buddhist) capital of the whole. In their oldest history, the following periods of development are particularly notable:

1. Colonists from Eastern Bengal carried Aryan civilisation into the land and founded the state of Tagaung, on the upper banks of the Irawadi River. The royal family of Tagaung, according to Burmese tradition, was descended from the famous king of Western India, Asoka, of the Maurya dynasty, of the third century before Christ. The destruction of this kingdom followed upon the irruption from the north of hordes of the Shan race.

2. After the destruction of Tagaung, a second kingdom was established at Old Pagan in the immediate vicinity, by Aryan colonists from Western India. After sixteen kings had ruled in this kingdom, a conflict in the reigning family and an invasion of the Shans brought about the dissolution of this realm also.

3. Descendants of the last king of the country found their way to Prome, on the lower banks of the Irawadi River, and founded there also a kingdom.

4. From there colonists proceeded up stream toward the north and founded on the same river, about 483 after Christ, the city of Srikshetra, and subsequently in the immediate vicinity of the latter, New Pagan, which gradually absorbed all the Burmese elements on the upper as well as the lower banks of the Irawadi River.
This new and powerful kingdom of Pagan reached its zenith in the reign of the mighty king Ano-ya-hta-so (1010-1052 A. D.), one of the most unique and remarkable personalities that ever occupied a Buddhistic throne. Filled with the idea of uniting all forms of Buddhistic religion under a single ruler, he entered into an alliance with all the Buddhistic kings of Western and Further Asia, and requested them to forward to him Buddhistic relics, objects of art and culture, manuscripts, etc., and to render him homage as the overlord of their church and the representative of the purest form of their faith. It was unavoidable under these circumstances that he should have come into violent conflict with some of the foreign Buddhistic princes.

His most embittered enemy was Manuha, the king of the Mon nation, which dwelt on the western coast of Further India, on the Gulf of Martaban, and which had received its culture and political organisation from Dravidian settlers from Southern India. In the capital, Thahton, of this nation lived the Canon of the pure, Southern Buddhistic Church, and it was toward him that the attention and urgent requests of the Burmese king were particularly directed. The ruler of the Mon nation, who had already detected certain worldly ambitions in the spiritual aspirations of Ano-ya-hta-so, refused to deliver into his hands the celebrated and ancient collection of canonical writings in the possession of the Mons. In addition to this, certain ancient and antagonistic national traits stood between the Mons and the Burmese. As it was, a war was inevitable, and it took place in the year 1050. King Manuha was defeated, and carried off a captive with his entire family to Pagan, where to the end of their lives they were compelled to perform the duties of slaves of the temple.

Shortly after, a second expedition was sent out by King Ano-ya-hta-so toward the northeast, for the purpose of securing from Gandarit, a country presumably situated there, certain precious relics, notably the tooth of the founder of Buddhism, which was supposed to be hoarded in this region, and to investigate the nature of the north Buddhistic influence at its very source. He came no farther, however, than Yun-nan, the southwestern-most province of China, where he secured, instead of the desired tooth, a Buddha statue specially consecrated by contact with the holy tooth. King Ano-ya-hta-so sent out his third and last expedition to Ceylon to procure from that country the famed tooth of which he was in search; yet his hopes here also were blasted.

Remarkable is Ano-ya-hta-so's ambition of erecting in his cap-
ital, Pagan, temples in the precise style of architecture of the Buddhistic countries from which the numerous precious relics to be stored in them were procured, an aspiration which was likewise zealously cultivated by all his successors. It is owing to this practice of the Burmese rulers that there is now spread before us in that boundless expanse of ruined temples that dot the plains of Pagan, a collection of all the multifarious styles of architecture of all the various countries of Buddhism,—a phenomenon which stands signally alone in the history of religious architecture, and the significance of which is immeasurably enhanced by the fact that the majority of the original structures imitated in the temples of Pagan have vanished from the countries of their origin without leaving so much as a single vestige behind. When we reflect that the dynasty of Ano-ya-hta-so occupied the throne of Burma for a single century only (ending with the year 1279), the vast area of temples which they erected, the numbers of which reach into the thousands and some of which are of colossal size, is only calculated to fill us with unbounded amazement, particularly when we learn that the erection of many of these gigantic structures extended through two or three generations of rulers.

Witness is borne to the surpassing splendor and magnificence of many of these structures by the celebrated Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, in the thirteenth century, according to whom "golden images of the disciples of Buddha, golden models of the sacred localities of Buddhism, golden images of the fifty-one predecessors of the king of Pagan and of the king himself with his entire family," were among the adornments of the temple of Manggalachait-yam, the last to be constructed.

It was inevitable that the erection of so many magnificent temples should have exhausted the financial resources of the state of Pagan, and after the completion of the last temple the proverb became current among the people: "The pagoda is finished and the country ruined." With financial exhaustion in the interior arose political complications without. The expansion policy of the Burmese rulers was a source of endless boundary disputes with China, and after the latter country fell into the hands of the Mongolians it ultimately led to a Chinese invasion of Burma. According to the report of Marco Polo, the horses of the Mongolian cavalry fled precipitately before the elephants of the Burmese warriors; but the Mongolian general commanded his troops to dismount, to tie their horses to trees and to attack the elephants vigorously with arrows.
The elephants having been partly killed and partly put to flight by the wounds they had received, the Mongolians again mounted their horses and defeated the Burmese with fearful slaughter. Thus, in the year 1279 A. D. the flourishing kingdom of Pagan came to an end.
THE TEMPLES OF PAGAN.

We shall now take a survey of the knowledge which we possess concerning the structures of Pagan. Strange to say, in spite of their great number and size, and in spite of the fact that they are situated along the road leading to the modern capital of Burma, Mandalay, in sight of nearly all travellers that have visited this
country, they have never received more than cursory mention. The only praiseworthy exception to this neglect is the case of the scholarly editor of the newest edition of Marco Polo's *Travels*, Henry Yule, whose photographic reproduction and plans of the main temple and the district of the ruins, made in 1853, form up to the present day the sole genuinely scientific material at our command. Val-

![Dome of the Ananda Temple at Pagan. (See frontispiece.)](image)

uable supplements to this material were furnished by Nöting, a member of the Indian Geological Survey, who brought from Burma and presented to the Royal Ethnological Museum at Berlin a collection of photographs, glazed ware, and sculptures.

But the greatest advance in the scientific exploration of the ruins in the vicinity of Pagan, which, as we have seen, have re-
mained almost untouched archaeologically, was made by the expedition of Herr Thomann, in the year 1899. This expedition brought to light an amazingly large number of important facts. The mere recital of the objects discovered and brought back will give us
some dim conception of the extraordinary value of the collection in question. This collection comprises the following objects:

1. Paper casts of not less than 142 inscriptions containing nearly 4500 lines, among them one of 105 lines with an English translation by Burmese scholars and officials.

2. Not less than 193 casts of glazed reliefs representing scenes from the former existences of Buddha.
3. Antique original sculptures of stone.
4. Antique original sculptures of bronze.
5. Antique original sculptures of wood.
6. 46 casts of sculptures from a celebrated temple.
7. Not less than 376 frescoes from five different temples, representing various episodes of the Buddha legend.
8. Not less than 144 negatives of photographic views of all the large temples and ruins of Pagan, Prome, Rangun, and other localities, of the panorama of Pagan, and finally of numerous native types.
9. 80 photographs with negatives from one of the most celebrated temples, representing scenes from Buddha's life.
10. Materials excavated from a Buddhistic stupa (a memorial dome-like structure).
11. Plans, etc. English translations of several extremely valuable Burmese writings of an important historical character.
12. Wood carvings.
13. Artistic and industrial miscellany, paintings on silk, etc.
14. Weapons, articles of clothing, etc.
15. Burmese Punch and Judy show.

The great value of the collection consists in the fact that it contains an enormous number of original frescoes and casts of sculptures and glazed reliefs, absolutely all the accessible inscriptions to be found in Pagan (some of enormous extent, partly transcribed into modern Burmese with English translations), numerous important and valuable plans and maps, and finally a number of valuable and hitherto entirely unknown religious, political, and historical documents with English translations. It will be seen that the collection affords material for the investigation of the political, religious, and artistic history of Burma that could scarcely be conceived of higher value from a scientific point of view, or of greater interest to persons of education.

In order to show the extraordinary wealth and comprehensiveness of Thomann's collection, we shall enter more into detail with regard to some parts of it, though of course mentioning only a very few of the numberless large and small temple ruins.

One of the favorite subjects of the representations which adorn the temples is the legend of Buddha's life. Long rows of painted Buddha images are to be seen separated by fantastic decorations, relieved by pictures of worshipping devotees. The different surfaces are separated by painted columns, the architectural styles of
Nam Temple at Pagan, Built by the Mon King, Manuha.
which reveal Western Indian influence. All of these decorative accessories have been worked out in colors extraordinarily delicate in harmony, the details of which are sometimes very minute; the chief colors are a dull chrome and ochre yellow, a deep brown, delicate light green, and vivid claret. The technique of the fresco is the same in style as that of the European fresco, and reveals some extremely remarkable details into which we cannot enter here. The fact is to be specially remarked, however, that the older a temple is the more perfect the technique of the paintings contained in it. The later pictures, of which one copy is found in the collection, form a marked and almost ludicrous contrast with the old,—a state of affairs which is sufficiently familiar to us from the history of West Indian art. The technical procedure in the production of a painting of this sort is the same as that of the paintings of Hither India, and their details are of great importance for the history of style.

Thomann's collection contains 376 frescoes, of which 265 treat of scenes from the 550 prior existences of Buddha, and have been taken from a temple built in the eleventh century. The legends of the reincarnation of Buddha, the so-called Jatakas, are immensely popular subjects and recur again and again in the temples of Pagan. Entire walls are divided into numerous small compartments, each of which contains a representation of a scene from some such Jataka, with an appropriate inscription, usually giving: (1) the name of the Jataka in the sacred Pāli language of the Southern Buddhists; (2) the personality or form in which Buddha was re-born, in Burmese; and (3) the number of the Jataka in the canonical collection of the Southern Buddhistic legends. Above the square compartments in which the Jatakas are represented, runs a richly decorated frieze extending to the ceiling. Thomann's collection contains nine specimens of such friezes. Whole walls may be constructed from the frescoes and friezes in this collection.

The same legends are represented on the glazed ware which Nötzling presented to the Berlin Museum. His collection numbers 100 pieces taken from the temple of Manggalachaityam, which was the last to be constructed. Thomann's collection contains 193 specimens of this work from the Ananda temple, one of the most magnificent structures of Pagan, dating from the eleventh century.¹ This temple is remarkable for its mixed architecture, of which no less than four styles are represented. In the first place, its ground plan represents a Greek cross; it is surrounded by covered corri-

¹ See the Frontispiece to this number of The Open Court.
dors massively built, in the outside walls of which niches have been built containing glazed work representing Jataka stories and executed in correspondence with the Northern Buddhistic form of these details, but having inscriptions referring to the Pāli texts of the Southern Buddhists. The details have been unquestionably carried out on the same theories as the frescoes of the Jatakas. This same Ananda temple also contains in one of its inner colonnades, sculptural ornamentations in the shape of eighty large reliefs hewn out of hard volcanic rock, being representations of Buddha's entire life from birth to death. These sculptures show Southern Indian (Deccanese) influence, which constitutes the fourth element of the mixture of styles above referred to. All these reliefs, which are represented in Thomann's collection by photographs, are accompanied with valuable inscriptions in Burmese, of which Thomann is the only one to have made copies, transcriptions, and English translations. The frescoes of Buddha's life found in four temples of the twelfth century also deserve mention; of these, Thomann's collection contains not less than 102, one of which, representing the birth of the Buddha infant in the Lumbini Grove, is especially beautiful.

There is no need of calling special attention to the incalculable value of these various representations of the Jatakas and of Buddha's life, for the iconography of Buddhism. The matter contained in the inscriptions to these frescoes alone sheds a vivid light upon the detailed modes of representation of Buddhistic art in its most varied phases.

The isolated inscriptions are also of great importance. Their value for the ancient religious and political history of Burma has already been emphasised, and we may here call attention to their importance for the history of the temple architecture of Pagan. We have every reason to believe that much valuable information will be obtained from them, relative to the Western models of which the famous structures of Pagan are imitations, and also concerning the relics which they contain.

The great variety of the styles of architecture mentioned above in connexion with our sketch of Burmese history also deserves emphasis. We find in the temples of Pagan the architectural styles of Northern India, of Bengal, and of Southern India, not to mention the Grecian influence noticeable in the plan of the Ananda temple. It is a remarkable fact that one of the structures of Pagan, the Bodhi temple, was constructed in imitation of the celebrated temple of the same name at Buddha-Gaya, the most sacred site of
Buddhism, and we know from a Burmese inscription found in Buddha-Gaya that this latter temple was restored and rebuilt by the same Burmese dynasty that erected the temple at Pagan. Proof of still older relations of Further India with Buddha-Gaya is furnished by the fact that gems taken from the last-mentioned place have been found in Tagaung, the above-mentioned capital of the oldest Burmese state. The presence of terraces in several of the temples of Pagan recalls to mind further the stupendous foundations of the Buddhistic temples of Boro-Bodur on the island of Java.

All the temples of Pagan are built of bricks with the exception of two, which are of stone and quite peculiar in style. The latter are said to have been erected by the Mon king, Manuha, who had been carried to Pagan as a prisoner of war, or rather by his followers, who had been taken captive with him. It is also interesting to learn that Thomann's casts of one of the four main pillars and of one of the corner pillars of one of these two temples have undoubtedly been made in the Northern Indian, or so-called Tantra, style of architecture, as is shown by their representation of three-headed gods with lotus flowers. This also accords with the fact that the capital city of the Mon nation, Thahton (Sanskrit, Suvarnadvipa), was the seat of the Tantra Buddhism, that the famous North Buddhistic church father, Atisa, studied in this city, and that the Tantra school of Buddhism still persists in the Nat-cult of the modern Dirmans. One of the two temples in question, the Namphaya, which is still well preserved in all its parts, shows the same style as the ruins of Thahton.

Another point which reveals the high value of Thomann's collection is its wonderful contribution to our knowledge of that dynasty of Pagan which enjoys the distinction of having been the first in history to have united under one dominion all the Burmese races, and by its uninterrupted warfare upon the neighboring nations of Further and Hither India to have created a distinctive, conglomerate civilisation.

Philology also has profited by Thomann's work, for the inscriptions which it contains will contribute greatly to our knowledge of the written and spoken language of the Burmese from the ninth to the thirteenth century after Christ.

Further, the value of Thomann's collection is not limited to the archaeology and the religious history of Further India alone, but, as we have seen, also sheds a flood of light upon the history of the development of the religious architecture of Hither India.
The close connexion which is here shown to have existed between the Buddhistic art of Hither and Further India is a strong confirmation of the opinion which has been lately gaining ground that in the artistic development of the different Buddhistic countries of Gandhara and Hither India, Cambodia and Pagan, Eastern Turkestan, China; and Thibet, we are concerned with single stages merely of one great and comprehensive artistic development which is to be conceived as a coherent organic whole, and is to be studied accordingly.

It has frequently been remarked that the artistic products of the Far Orient do not appeal to our æsthetic sense, and consequently exert on us none of that chastened and ennobling influence which the products of Greek antiquity have exercised on European culture; but it is to be observed that the lack of æsthetic pleasure to be derived from this source is amply recompensed by the immense practical advantage which is bound to result from a careful study of the minutest phases of Asiatic civilisation. Psychologically as well as historically such studies cannot fail to bring about a broader and deeper insight into the character of those nations of the Orient with which modern commercial and industrial development are daily bringing us into more intimate and more various connexion.