

Dawei Buddhist culture: a hybrid borderland

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Dawei is both hybrid and borderland, its Buddhist culture a stylistic and territorial puzzle. Far from the ‘heartland’ yet passed from one major polity to another over the centuries, its pagodas and monasteries provided a physical and aesthetic means to asserted distance and accommodate ‘other’. Some objects and ideas were imported; others grafted the new onto local forms to produce hybrid styles, while others are uniquely local.² Is Dawei culture similarity or a new unification of the cultural diversity of Pyu, Bagan, Sri Lanka, Sukhothai and Ayutthaya?

This report argues the contrary, that Dawei resilience in the face of continual threats sustained a local cultural personality that has survived until the present. The question is addressed by first classifying the sites of Dawei into four cultural zones and then discussing the extraordinary range of artefacts from these zones by material.³ This is preceded by a chronological summary to illustrate the often turbulent history and local chronicles.



Figure 1. Glazed wares from Sin Seik, circa 15-17th century CE, paintings by Myint Aung, Ministry of Culture, June 2010.

Dawei urban and cultural significance

The earliest illustration of the process of accommodation and separation described above can be seen in the ‘Dawei Pyu’ of the first millennium CE.⁴ The majority of these come from the large site of Thagara⁵ [tha ga ra/] founded in 754 CE (116 ME), with the only text source being the Dawei chronicles. Thagara fills many of the criteria for assessing ‘Pyu culture’: curvilinear walls, bricks, architecture, urns, beads, coins and votive tablets like those of Upper Myanmar.⁶

However, the Thagara urns, beads and coins are very different in form and possibly use, from those of Upper Myanmar. In addition, Thagara objects show influence from not only Upper Myanmar but also Sri Lanka, Thailand and Malaysia.⁷ A significant number of 'Pyu' urns have been documented at Min Yat monastery and some fine votive tablets in private collections reportedly come from Mokti, but in both cases the provenance is not certain. There are less well known parallels to northwest Malaysia sites such as Bujang, including large marked bricks, ritual structures, glass beads and votive tablets of at least *circa* 400-800 CE.⁸

Tenth to Sixteenth Century

(See Appendix 2, Preliminary Later Chronology)

Documentation for Dawei history expands greatly in the 10th century CE when chronicles record a dynasty from Tak ruling at Dawei. There are 9-13th century CE votive tablets and fine sandstone sculptures in Bagan styles. A dynastic line also ruled at Taungkwe on the Dawei Peninsula from 1228-1390 AD (590-752 ME).⁹ However, Sukhothai-style objects are also found at Dawei, suggesting that was it a valued yet contested area prompting continual attempts at governorship by Upper Myanmar Burmese and Thai.

In the Hanthawaddy period (1287–1539 CE), the city of Weidi was founded (1390 CE (752 ME)) along the estuary of the Dawei River separating the peninsula from the mainland side connecting to Thailand.¹⁰ Just before, in 1350 CE, however, Ayutthaya's power extended to Tavoy.¹¹ The most abundant artefacts of this era are large tin and lead coins, a form of trade exchange unique to Dawei. The manufacture of these lasted a number of centuries, highlighting widening international trade and including the 16th century CE Portuguese acquisition of Malacca. Later records mention that iron was obtained from the mountains between Myanmar and Thailand and processed in special villages near Tavoy while the tin from Tavoy took the place of copper in certain alloys.¹² All the archaeology suggests Dawei was nominally controlled for its port but culturally remained independent, protected by trade with links in all directions.

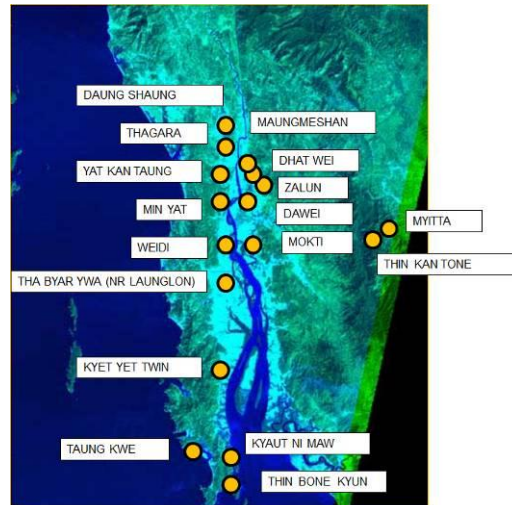


Figure 2. Map of main sites in Dawei cultural zones of Thagara, Dawei Town, Mokti and Dawei Kyun Swe (peninsula)

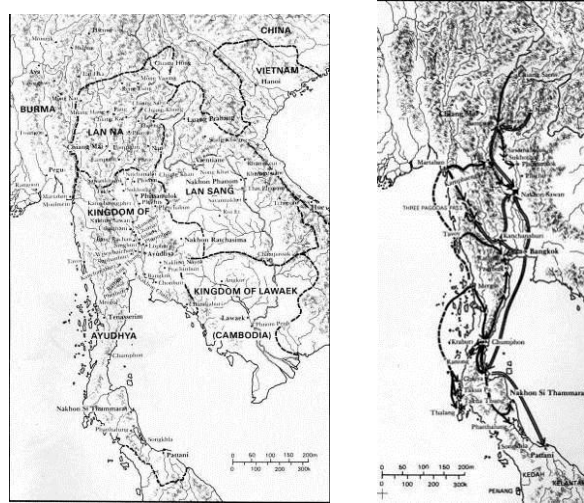
Sixteenth to Nineteenth Century Tavoy

Dawei was continually being contested by Upper Myanmar Burmese, Mon and Thai. In 1541, King Tabinshwethi of Toungoo controlled the territory between Malacca to the Siamese frontier at Tavoy.¹³ Maps of the 16th century T'ai world include the Dawei area and in later centuries Dawei was often a starting point for invasions of Thailand. In 1593, for example, King Nareusuan (r. 1590-1605) successfully attacked Tavoy and Moulmein.¹⁴ (see Map 1 below).

During the late 16th to early 17th century, some sources say that Dawei was part of Siam but others note that in the reign of king Anaukpetlun from 1606 AD, that the Burmese extended their control to Tavoy.¹⁵ His 1614 control did not reach Tenasserim, however, as Portuguese in the service of Siam were stationed there.¹⁶ In the 1740-1757 CE civil war, the destruction of the palace at Bago (Pegu), along with devastation of cultivated lands led to a depopulation that affected not only Mon regions but areas further south such as Tavoy.¹⁷

Tavoy was taken by the Burmese and in 1760 seized by the Konbaung King Alaungpaya who launched his attack on Siam via Tavoy.¹⁸ Some sources note that from 1727-1743 AD, governors of Martaban and Tavoy were killed or driven out by local rebels, with others more specific that in the Mon uprising of 1740, Burmese governors fled to Ayuthaya.¹⁹ In the midst of these conflicts, the ancient city of Mokti [mou' hti:] was founded in 1417 AD (779 ME) and the present city of Dawei was founded in 1754 CE (1116 ME) under King Min-neh-hla.²⁰ Artefacts of the 13th to 18th century found in Dawei reflect the constantly shifting control. Some images are clearly imports while others appear to be local adaptations of Thai, Burmese and possibly Lao styles.

Dawei was under British rule from 1824, with repeated attempts to retain and strengthen support of the Mandalay court. A Dawei delegation was sent by town elders in 1874 CE (1236 ME) to supplicate Mindon. The king responded and Dawei received the *Maha-loka-marazein* image prompting expansion of the large Hpaya Gyi pagoda and building of a new city wall. A large terracotta pipe (18 x 40 cm) at Hpaya Gyi museum dates to this era. In the richly endowed monastic quarter around the Hpaya Gyi, the Sayadaw of Zayawadi monastery began promoting the Pali *Pariyatti* teachings by the end of the century.²¹



Map 1 Dawei region on map of T'ai world in 1540 CE and 1785 CE invasion of Thailand (after Wyatt 1986, pages 87, 150)

In the early 19th century, the British saw Dawei as far from the capital and for a brief time was governed through Penang:

"The furthest cities, from the Capital [were] Myeik and Dawei, where the administration was little... When the first Anglo-Myanmar war started on the 5th March 1824 by declaration of war by the British Government, a force was sent against Dawei and Myeik... during 1825, although hostilities still continued, the administration of the two southernmost districts, Dawei and Myeik, was entrusted to the Governor of the Prince of Wales Island (Penang)." ²²

(A) Dawei Cultural Zones

The Dawei artefacts extend 100 km north to south, from Aungthawaddy to Thayetchaung.²³ Selected sites are classified here into four cultural zones shown in the map above (Figure 2):

- Thagara-Dhat Wei [/tha ga ra/ - /dha' we:/]

- Dawei town
- Mokti [/mou' hti:/]
- Dawei Kyun Sweh (Peninsula) [/kjoun hswei/]

Artefacts from these sites are then compared according to material: stone, terracotta, laterite, bronze-silver-tin-lead, and later glazed wares. Other goods were brought in by immigrants and those made of perishable materials have not survived. The Tanintharyi region has long exported salted fish and prawns (*ngapi*) to Upper Myanmar and is known in Thailand for its cane products.²⁴ In the last fifteen years, the cultivated acreage of rice, coconut oil and rubber and the level of animal husbandry have greatly increased.²⁵ Many immigrants came to the region in the nineteenth and twentieth century to take up rubber planting, and during the tin price boom of 1924-1927 to explore the tin and wolfram deposits of Dawei.²⁶ Exploration and mining continue to be part of the economy today.²⁷

(1) Thagara-Dhat Wei zone

a. *Thagara Setting and dynasties*

Thagara is known locally as Myohaung or 'old city'. It is a large mound (*circa* 1600 x 1100m) in a lowland rice-producing area with access to the Dawei River and the Andaman Sea.²⁸ There are four to five earthen ramparts (10m wide on the north, 25m on the south) around the inner and outer areas of Thagara. The outer curvilinear ramparts encircle the mound and have four 'gates'. There are at least two inner quadrangular walls, one around the Shin Zalun Zeidi [/shin zalun zei di/] and the central palace (7.45x6.40m) and the second around the so-called Kayat Pyin cultivated quarter adjacent to the old port and the Dawei River.²⁹

Finds from this quarter include glazed wares which may reflect two later lines of Thagara kings recorded in Dawei chronicles: the Second 996-1076 CE (357-438 ME), and the Third Zalun dynasty 1562-1742 CE (924-1105 ME).³⁰ There were also more than sixty gold pieces such as bracelets, bangles and a sash or *salweh* that were found in 1987 but then disappeared.³¹ Significant finds have also been recorded at Byin (Myin) Htin Taung [/pjɪn (mjɪn) htɪn taun/], a slightly elevated hill just west of the walled site of Thagara.

b. *Dhat Wei setting*

Shin Dhat Wei or 'whirling relic' is located at Maungmeshan (/maun me shaun/ 14.10°N, 98.12°E), three kilometers east of Thagara in a rice-growing area on the opposite bank of the Dawei River.³² The pagoda is a mound on the edge of an upland area 1.5 km from the river bank, with

important remnants of an old brick road and jetty leading to the river edge. Traces of ramparts may exist on the southwest edge of the Dhat Wei mound. The Maungmeshan road and jetty are not dated but survey has revealed a number of brick layers in the raised road feature.

Small fish from the river and streams in the area supplement local incomes. On the east, the Thaban (Maungmeshan) Chaung breaches the Tanintharyi Range into 'tin hill' and 'big hill', with the valley leading over the mountains to Thailand.³³ The connections between Thagara, Dhat Wei and other sites are found in many Dawei chronicles and later history.³⁴

c. Thagara Excavated structures

The three most elevated parts of the Thagara walled area are Shin Zalun pagoda on the northeast, the central palace (SGR2) and Nan Oo Zeidi. The palace was one of two structures (SGR1, SGR2) excavated in 1999-2000 by the Department of Archaeology, the other being a small guard temple on the north of the site. Finds were made but no radio-carbon dates obtained and the artefacts do not give a clear chronology.³⁵ SGR2 has been rebuilt several times with different alignment of the entry hall which together with finds of finger-marked bricks and two habitation layers in the 3.5m stratigraphy indicates earlier habitation.³⁶

d. Thagara cemetery site and urns

South of the Thagara walled area is the Myo Koe Kon [/mjou. kou: koun:/] cemetery where a large number of terracotta urns (15-50 cm diameter, 11 cm height) have been unearthed. In 2010, a further area of urn burials was identified just south of Myo Koe Kon.³⁷ The pots are found in rice field bunds, some at about 8-10 cm below the surface and others nearly at surface level.³⁸ They are arranged in groups of 2-3 in a bed of black ashy soil. The ratio of ash and bone in the urns varies from no bone fragments to sizeable pieces of bone. The urns contain few other objects: 1-5 small blue, deep violet or red glass beads, 1mm thick and 2mm in diameter. These small urn beads are distinct from the larger beads found within the walled area of Thagara. Private collections with multiple long strings of the tiny beads from the urns highlights the existence of large tracts of urns that have been unearthed by farmers over many decades.³⁹

Both the Myo Koe Kon and recently discovered areas of urn burials are several hundred meters south of the walled site. To date, no urns have been documented inside the walls and none in association with structures

as seen at Pyu sites in Upper Myanmar. Nonetheless, there are considerable tracts of rice fields with large numbers of urns whose proximity to Thagara indicates cultural links. The urns may be of high status individuals, with the combination of bone and ash possibly suggesting a pattern of monastic burial only later followed by cremation and deposition of urns.⁴⁰



Figure 3. Location of Thit-seh-bin (top) and Shwetaung (lower) monastery in relation to Dawei town (left)

(2) Dawei town zone

a. *Setting and Thit-seh-bin monastery*

The 1754 CE (1116 ME) town of present Dawei is located east of the Dawei River and west of a north-south area *circa* 23 meters MSL versus the 14 meters of the town. The river has a high sedimentation rate and is prone to flooding, with heavy rainfall (5842mm per annum) from May to October. While the town has expanded the urban area has not spread widely and it remains surrounded by rice fields.⁴¹ An exception is the area around the new international airport, where development is spreading to areas such as the Thit-seh-bin monastery dating to 1883 CE (1245 ME) and rebuilt in 1929 CE (1291 ME) at Thit-seh-bin Kyaung (/thi' sei pin gjaun/ 14° 4'40.45"N, 98° 12'44.28"E) two kilometres north east of Dawei. (Figure 3)⁴² It is notable that the monastery was founded only seven years after the 1238 ME (1876) arrival of the *Maha Lokamarazein* image requested from King Mindon in Hpaya Gyi pagoda. Glazed wares including blue and white decorated shard found 6-8 km east of Dawei at Taung Bo may date from this era or somewhat earlier.⁴³

The Shanma-leh-swe quarter east of the town center is on the south part of the mound and the walled site of Sin Seik with the Ora-galon pagoda traditionally dated to the 10th century on the northern tip of the mound.⁴⁴ Construction of the new airport in recent years has brought a

number of Sukhothai and Ayutthaya style 13th to 17th century CE artefacts to light from Sin Seik.



Figure 4. Painting on relief from main shrine room of Yat Kan Taung, Dawei. The young man guarding the bull informs the town officer of the arrival of three monks to the mountain.

Another important site is north of Dawei on the Thagara road, called Yet-kan-taung (/ja' khan taun/). Its name is derived from a local legend of the arrival of three *arahats* or monks to the mountain and the giving of relics to and Shin Zan of Thagara (Figure 4). Other elements such as a bull and the presence of the hermit Gawinanda also link the mountain to the Dawei chronicle.⁴⁵ The archaeology of the peak is not yet explored but survey by the author in January 2011 confirmed a laterite quarry on the north side is the probable source of many ancient laterite pieces. Large ring-shaped features in the banks of laterite parallel the size and form of the large (*circa* 30-50 cm in width, 20-30 cm thick) as-yet undated donut-like artefacts noted from various locations around Dawei town. These are detailed further below in the section describing laterite artefacts.

(3) Mokti zone

a. *Setting and Shwetaung monastery*

Mokti is located 9.6 km south of Dawei, with the Sawwa hillock to the south. Both are on the Pauktaing creek that flows into the Dawei River with rice cultivation both east and west of the site. Of particular note along the road from Dawei to Mokti is Shwetaung monastery (14° 3'49.10"N, 98°13'21.94"E) and the somewhat later large (*circa* 74 m) reclining image of the Buddha, the Shwe-thar-lyaung pagoda (14° 3'38.50"N, 98°13'22.80"E) some two to three kilometres southeast of Dawei town.

The first Shwetaung Sayadaw came back to Dawei from Mandalay to the Thayetchaung monastery in 1855 (1217 MC) and then moved to Shwetaung in 1884 (1246 ME). The monastery was first called *Thuwanna-babada* as the monks beautified the landscape and planted crops, and also *Kya-in-gaing* or

‘lotus pond gaing’. The *gana-wi-moat gaing* (Ganavimut Gado) or sect of Shwetaung founded in the early 20th century remains one of the nine official *gaing* recognized under the 1990 laws of Myanmar.⁴⁶

The Mokti sites are on a slightly elevated ridge at the foot of the eastern Tanintharyi Range separating Dawei from Thailand. Early twentieth-century accounts note the antiquity of the Mokti image, a stone and a *Bodhi* tree but it was not until the analysis of aerial photographs by Aung Myint that the ramparts were clearly identified.⁴⁷

Mokti is a rectangular walled feature *circa* 800m east to west and north to south. There are remnant ramparts, some triple, on the east, north and south. On top of the middle wall on the east wall is a shrine for the (*Ta*) *Taing Byin Taung* (/htan) tein pj̄in htaun./) or ‘outside wall corner’ tree spirit *nat*.⁴⁸ To the south is Shwe Kuu Taung (Sawwa hill, 400m north-south) with multiple remnant ramparts around the hill. Between Mokti and Shwe Kuu Taung is Pashu (Ashu) Kyauk (/paju: (aju:) pj̄au’ hpaja:/) whose large image is said to have frightened away invading Malay troops around the 15th century CE.

In the 11th century reign of Kyanzitha, a governor of the Bagan king deposited a number of votive tablets at Mokti and finely carved sandstone sculptures of likewise date to this era. Recent survey of Paw Daw Mu pagoda opposite Shin Mokti has yielded a large number of early Bagan votive tablets, and well made bronze objects indicating Mahayana or Vajrayana sects are kept at the Mokti Monastery.⁴⁹

(4) *Peninsula zone*

The 60 km Dawei Peninsula zone (55 km north to south) is west of Dawei town and the Dawei River. It consists of a central mountain axis flanked by foothills and an alluvial zone on both the river and ocean sides. Until the building of the bridge across the Dawei River 33 years ago, the peninsula was isolated from Dawei town.⁵⁰ The peninsula varies in altitude from 15-18 m around Dawei town to 373 m (1288 ft) on the mountains of the southern tip. The Peninsula zone differs from the other zones in three respects:

- Topography: the other zones are alluvial adjacent to the Dawei River but the Peninsula includes clay, mud, alluvial and mountain peaks.
- Soils: the other zones have brown alluvial soils but peninsula soils vary from the clay and swampy around Weidi, to topsoil on Min [man] Yat Taung (/min: ja’/ 180 m), and rocky dune forest soils around Taungkwe (/htaun. kwe/ 300 m).⁵¹

- Economy: the other zones are rice growing and urban areas but the peninsula (except for Weidi) is mostly fishing and selling of sand.

Five sites are included in this zone:

- Min Yat (/min: ja'/ 14°12N, 98°74E) opposite Dawei town
- Weidi (/wei di/ 13°59N, 98° Kyet-yet-twin 10E) south of Min Yat at the head of the Dawei River estuary
- Taungkwe (/htaun. kwe/) on the southern peninsula, west side
- Kyet-yet-twin (/kje' je' twin:/) on the southern peninsula, east side
- Thin Bone Kyun (/thin boun kjun:/) on the southern peninsula, east side

Min Yat and Taungkwe are on mountain tops while Weidi is clayey and alluvial flat land west of the Dawei River. Kyet-yet-twin is on an alluvial cove on the east at the tip of the peninsula and Thin Bone Kyun is an island off the southern tip

Min Yat roughly translates as 'king stopped' and refers to the Buddha in a previous life as a bull as used in Dawei chronicles. This is in contrast to Thagara-Dawei-Mokti place names that refer to previous lives of the Buddha as a peacock, also derived from Dawei chronicles.⁵²

Weidi is the only walled site in the Dawei Peninsula zone. Recently, rice cultivation has increased so now large areas of Weidi grow rice. Combined with the archaeological damage to the site in the 1960s during insurgency occupation, few remains are seen at surface level of Weidi.⁵³ The founding of the city is dated to 1390 AD (752 ME) in Dawei chronicles.⁵⁴ The town probably played an active role in trade increases of the 15th to 17th century, with ruler ship of Thagara and Taungkwe (752 ME) moved to Weidi in the late 14th century CE.

Taungkwe is a fort site located on the southern tip of the Dawei peninsula, forty kilometres south of Dawei town. It is little explored but stone fortifications and support the chronicle founding in 1228-1390 AD (590-752 ME).⁵⁵ It is on a promontory overlooking Nyaw Byin cove, a strategic vantage point to monitor seaborne trade.⁵⁶ Taungkwe is dated to the early 13th century CE (590 ME) when it was called Kyet Hlwet-ywa and moved to Weidi following a line of four rulers. Records also link it to a visit by Narapasithu in 1204 CE (566 ME) and six mounds which are still visible at the site.⁵⁷

Kyet-yet-twin (/kje' je' twin:/) is on a cove on the east side of the peninsula opposite Taungkwe. One valuable find is an inscribed stone slab (813 ME, 1451 CE). Other artefacts near Taungkwe and Kyet-yet-twin include a stone implement (25 cm,

possibly natural) perhaps for polishing. There are also terracotta and glazed pot sherds from the area. The name is said to mean ‘chicken scratch hole’, perhaps in reference to the inscription or other local markings.

Thin Bone Kyun is an island off the south tip of the peninsula. It is known for its late Bagan votive tablets. The small island is rocky, said to explain its name of ‘Stone slate island’.

(B) Artefact classification and comparison

(a) *Stone and glass*

Stone Tools

A large number of stone tools were found during expansion work on the Dawei Hospital during the 1980s in the Shanma-leh-swe quarter east of the town center. Most were discarded after excavation but a few were preserved in the Hpaya Gyi Museum.⁵⁸ Most are polished, some shouldered and one is a polished slate implement. Other tools have been found at Thagara and a number have collected by the chief monk at Min Yat Taung. These are thought to have come from sites around Min Yat, including the numerous monasteries that lie along the north-south road to Weidi.⁵⁹

As there are more than 80 tools recorded from all parts of Dawei, it is probable that many others have yet to be documented.⁶⁰ The tools probably date to the Iron Age but Neolithic and Iron Age exploration is possible. For example, cave sites at Lang Rongrien (9.13°N, 98.53°E) near Krabi on the west coast of Thailand 700 kilometers south of Dawei, have yielded habitation goods showing habitation over 25,000 years ago. These included Pleistocene contexts and as pottery and polished adze/axe blades post-dating the post-Pleistocene sea level maximums some 6,000 - 5,000 years ago.⁶¹

Bagan Sculpture

Five Bagan stone sculptures have been found at Mokti. All appear to be Hindu in contrast to the Bagan period votive tablets housed at Hpaya Gyi Museum and those from Paw Daw Muu pagoda kept at Mokti Kyaung or monastery.

- Four guardian statues are said to have once marked the four corners of Mokti walls. One is now at Lantaw just outside Mokti’s north wall. The image is a four-armed relief Vishnu (now painted as Shiva) on a 1.4 meter stone slab. The figure wears a heavy necklace with multiple pendants, a design similar to one worn by Maya on a stone plaque at the late 11th century AD Ananda Pagoda at Bagan. Other parallels to the

- Ananda are seen in a kneeling attendant at the base of the slab similar to attendants on stone plaques in the corridors.
- Another slab (*circa* 40 cm ht) housed at Hpaya Gyi Museum is said to come from Mokti. The slab is broken but a central figure with arms raised holding attributes and two attendants can be seen on the face. The figure is unclear with one interpretation being a depiction of Ganesh.⁶²
 - Additional Bagan sculptures include a torso of Ganesh (25 cm high, 26 cm wide) and 2 hands (29 cm and 16 cm) with multiple rings. One hand holds a conch or lotus, and the other a flywhisk banded with rosettes.
 - A finely carved torso (80 cm) also with rosettes can be compared to images of Thagyarmin from the Shwezigon and the Ananda.⁶³ It has also been suggested that due to the elaborate *bilu-pan-sweh* (floral decorated ogre) belt, that the image is that of the female deity Sarasvati (Thurathati).⁶⁴



Figure 5. Alabaster image of Thagyarmin as *sima*, Thit-she-bin Monastery (*c.* 60 cm, left); Heger 3 'frog' bronze drum, Shwetaung Monastery (*c.* 45 cm ht, right)

Stone miscellaneous artefacts

Other stone artefacts include 2 moulds for metal ornaments, grinding stones and muellers:

- A provisionally Hanthawaddy period mould is an 8 cm square stone block incised with a hoofed animal for making a coin.
- An undated, provisionally Pyu or earlier mould is a block (10 x 6 cm) incised with a human face with large eyes and round mouth decorated with multiple spiral motifs.⁶⁵ The mould was recovered from a cave hear the ancient walled site of Tanintharyi along with some decorated pot sherds. Other decorated pots were recorded in the same area.⁶⁶

- Flat stones at Thagara and elsewhere around Dawei that are seen as *yonis* may be grinding stones. Also from Thagara is a 15cm broken polished and concave curved roller or Mueller, like Kyaikkatha and Dvaravati pieces.⁶⁷

A number of alabaster or marble sculptures dating to the Inwa or later eras are recorded in Dawei. Notable examples are the 19th century *Maha-loka-marazein* marble image, attendant figures and statue of Thurathati donated by King Mindon housed in the Hpaya Gyi pagoda. There are also a rare collection of *bilu* and Thagyarmin (ogre and Sakka) statues (*circa* 60 cm ht) used as *sema* around an ordination hall at Thit-seh-bin Kyaung just northeast of Dawei, noted above as dating to 1883 CE (1245 ME).⁶⁸

In summary, there are significant and distinct stone artefacts throughout the Dawei chronology. While wood and ceramic pieces from Dawei underline links to Thailand, the stone pieces highlight continued interaction with Bagan and later Mandalay. During colonial rule, the creation of numerous pagodas and monasteries in Dawei provided vital civic space, places where all levels of society could mix freely.⁶⁹ These also provided areas of cultural and religious independence in the active ties with centers of Buddhist teaching in Upper Myanmar.

(b) Laterite

A number of new laterite finds were recorded from 2007-2009. These include:

- A 20cm head of the Buddha from Maungmeshan similar to laterite sculptures from the Mon State and Bujang in Kedah, Malaysia.
- At Min Yat Taung, a slim torso and folded legs (*circa* 1 m ht) of an image of the Buddha are venerated today (Figure 6).
- A large squared edge ring (25 x 15 cm) with slight ridges on the sides comes from the old university campus in the Shanma-leh-swe quarter of Dawei Town.
- A thicker donut like ring (82.5 x 20 cm) is from Yat-kan-taung (Figure 6). This and other pieces probably are from the quarry noted in the description of Dawei town sites above, not as previously thought, from the Mon State laterite cultures.⁷⁰
- Three laterite rings (24 cm dia, 6 cm ht), a terracotta lid (60 cm) and terracotta finials were found at Weh-kyi-taung monastery in the Shanma-leh-sweh quarter on the east side of Dawei.
- Three anthropomorphic laterite figures (60 cm ht) and other pieces such as blocks and a ring (35 cm dia) Kyat-yat-twin, near Kyauk-ni-maw,

Launglon Township (Figure 6). An inscribed stone kept at Min Yat monastery is also from Kyat-yat-twin.



Figure 6. Laterite finds from Dawei (top): Yat-kan-taung quarry site with incised ring, donut-like ring from Yat-kan-taung monastery donated to Hpaya Gyi museum collection in 1904 (c.80 cm dia); (bottom) image of the Buddha from Min Yat (c.1 meter ht) and anthropomorphic figure Kyat-yat-twin

The new finds and the quarry area substantially change the picture of local production and use of local laterite in the Dawei Cultural region. It is thought that the laterite rings were for pagoda construction although they are large and heavy so worth more exploration for *in situ* finds. Given the new finds and quarry, four other laterite pieces may also be local:

- Shin Zalun, Thagara: rounded bowl (circa 40 cm dia)
- Shin Mokti, *takeh* or back support of the main image of the Buddha (1.5m slab).⁷¹
- Pashu (Ashu) Kyauk south of Mokti, boat-shaped object (circa 1m in length)⁷²
- Daung Shaung, north of Thagara, 4-tiered laterite rings that are the top of a stupa buried in an isolated clump of palm trees

In summary, laterite is reasonably common in the Dawei Cultural region, particularly in Dawei town zone near to the quarry. The local production of multiple rings to make small stupas and the making of large rings for architectural purposes has not been recorded in the laterite-rich areas of the

present day Mon State. Its use in Dawei is significant but given the lack of comparative examples, at present dating remains unclear.

(c) Beads

The abundant beads from Thagara are of two types:

- Very small (1-3 mm) blue and occasional red beads are found in urns from the cemetery on the south outside the site.
- Medium (1-3 cm) finished and unfinished beads are found in the Kayat Pyin sector on the east side within the Thagara walls. These suggest a workshop or more likely, a trading area. They include round and oval spheres, tubes, bi-conical shapes and flat ovals (2-23 mm). These may have been used for beaded girdles.⁷³ The beads are green and blue glass, carnelian, and other black, chocolate and cream coloured semi-precious stones including amber. An oval black stone intaglio with a bull (1.5 cm) was also found. The tubular beads are opaque with a dull surface. They are deep red or terracotta, yellow brown, milk white, cream, sky blue. The occasional dark blue bead may indicate cobalt inclusions.

In summary, beads are abundant at Thagara but not yet other Dawei sites. However, the urns from Dawei include only 1-3 very small beads.

(d) Terracotta

Pottery

Urn is the most documented pottery vessel from the Dawei region but as described above, a few small vessels and oil lamps were excavated at SGR1 temple site at Thagara. The urns are significant as they link the Dawei Cultural region to those of the Upper Myanmar Pyu.⁷⁴ All the urns are 13-17 cm in height, without turned lip. They vary in length of neck, body shape and decoration

Urn was previously recorded only at Thagara and thought to be one shape similar to a vessel from Twante. However, urns have now been excavated at Byin (myin) Htin Taung near Thagara and at Min Yat. Some of the Min Yat urns were excavated during renovations and others were donated to the present Min Yat Sayadaw from some of the many other monasteries lining the road near Min Yat.⁷⁵ There are also many pot sherds at Min Yat but it is not clear if they are from urns or other vessels.



Figure 7. Urn types, top row Type 1 and 2, bottom row, Types 3-5.

At least five urn types can be defined:

1. Short elongated neck (*circa* 4 cm) with 3-4 horizontal bands. Some are incised on the shoulder with twelve down-turned *bodhi*-leaf motifs similar to pots found at Twante and at an encased stupa at Bagan.⁷⁶
2. Long elongated neck with more deeply incised or stamped and more elongated *bodhi* leaves.
3. Short to medium neck on flattened globular urn painted with red lines.
4. Medium to long neck and very slightly flattened globular urn with groups of rouletted vertical lines decorating the shoulder
5. Short rounded neck on rounded urn decorated with an overall net-like low relief motif.

Votive tablets

Many Pyu and Bagan votive tablets have been found at Mokti but only two a few (but fine) Pyu period votive tablets Thagara that were found a number of years ago and lack provenance. It is open to debate therefore, whether indeed the find site was Mokti.

There are also some weathered post-Bagan tablets from Thin Bone Kyun. However, to date, votive tablets have not yet been found at Weidi, Min Yat or Dawei town. Some Mokti tablets (8.7 x 6.9cm) depict a seated Buddha in *Bhumisparsa* mudra with the throne flanked by makras, the mythical *byala* or feline-like figures and stupas.⁷⁷ Others are 12.5-14 x 10 cm high with a single image of the Buddha in *Bhumisparsa* mudra flanked by four bulbous stupas and the reverse stamped with a *bodhi* leaf. Both types are similar to Pyu period tablets from Sriksetra and Rakhine; the *makara* and *byala* type has also been found at Yarang in Pattani.⁷⁸

There are also a number of early Bagan tablets. Two *circa* 13 x 8cm were found in 1924 inscribed a governor of Kyanzittha's reign (1084-1113 CE).⁷⁹ These are similar to a horde of tablets unearthed during renovations of Paw Daw Mu stupa.⁸⁰ The Paw Daw Mu tablets (9 x 7 cm) have a pointed apex, narrow rim and flat base. They display a single image of the Buddha in *Bhumisparsa* mudra under a *sikhara* and arch, with the Buddha usually flanked by 4 to 6 stupas on a plain ground. Two additional broken tablets are wider (15 cm). These depict the Buddha, again in *Bhumisparsa* mudra surrounded by multiple seated images of the Buddha.

Miscellaneous terracotta

Other terracotta finds include beads or loom weights (3-4 cm in length) from Thagara and Min Yat. There are also a number of clay 'balls' the size of a small tennis ball (5 cm diameter) from Min Yat. These may have been used for firing pottery but there are no traces of burning on the balls.

In summary, terracotta artefacts are abundant in the Pyu and Bagan periods. These are mainly Pyu-type urns and Pyu and Bagan-type votive tablets. However, the urns are notably different from Pyu urns in form, decoration and contents. Terracotta wares continue to be produced in Dawei, with water-throwing pots for the Thingyan festival similar to some of the painted urns from Min Yat. While the terracotta artefacts are a mixture of locally made and imported goods, in later eras most appear to be imported goods and are described below under Glazed Wares.

(e) *Metals*

Silver

Small (*circa* 1 cm in diameter) coins decorated with *Srivatsa* and *Bhaddapitha* were recovered in the Shanma-leh-swe quarter. A large number of the tiny silver coins were found in a terracotta vessel in 1967, with many sent to the Department of Archaeology in Yangon and eight kept in the Hpaya Gyi Museum.⁸¹ Similar coins are found at Thaton.⁸² The Dawei coins are not found in urns as in Upper Myanmar, perhaps suggesting a local variation in the use of the burial urns.

Bronze

Bronzes are rare in the Dawei Cultural region with the majority of pieces being images of the Buddha from Thagara and Mokti. Many are seated images and

many pieces are from Northeast India, Sri Lanka and Thailand dating to *circa* 11-18th century CE.

- One locally made image (13 cm ht) of the Buddha from Thagara dates to the 5-8th century CE. It may be an alloy of lead and copper.⁸³
- Another Thagara image (7.5 cm) in the *Dhyani* mudra, has a flame or *sirispatha Ushnisha*, and small flat hair curls. It is seated on a throne (11 cm) with *Makaras* and a *Kirtimukha*. The style is Polonnaruva (993-1235 CE) pieces in Rakhine, where they are attributed to the Late Polonnaruva. A further seated image is similar to ones of the Late Polonnaruva period (993-1235 CE) found in Rakhine.⁸⁴
- A flat teardrop Sukhothai-style image of the walking Buddha (6 cm) is also from Thagara. The image is reversed, so probably part of a mould.⁸⁵
- A crowned image of the Buddha seated upon a tri-lobed throne with *deva* kneeling at the base is similar to 18th Ayutthaya images.⁸⁶
- Two bronze Ayutthaya-style (14-17th century CE) heads of the Buddha (4-5 cm ht).⁸⁷ Also from the area of the new airport are several round bronze bells (2-5 cm diameter).⁸⁸
- A single foot on round double lotus stand (15cm diameter and height) was found long ago by the previous Sayadaw of Mokti Monastery and kept there today by the present Sayadaw. The style is late Pala from Bihar 11-12 century CE.⁸⁹
- A bronze ritual object (27 cm long), possibly a *vajra* is also an old find retained at the Mokti Monastery.⁹⁰ The form and style indicate Vajrayana or Mahayana practices of Bihar 11-12 century CE.



Figure 8. Bronze foot and ritual object kept at Mokti monastery.

In addition to these examples, there is also a bronze Heger 3 drum kept at Shwetaung monastery (Figure 5). The drum is sometimes considered to be ‘the original’ but at other times, drums in Zayawadi Monastery and the Catholic Church are rumoured to be the original and the Shwetaung piece an

imitation.⁹¹ The Shwetaung drum, thus undated, is finely made, fitting closely with the 'Karen frog drum' type. In addition, it has been repaired carefully suggesting it has passed through several generations, with a crack on the tympanum also appearing weathered.⁹² The controversy surrounding its dating highlights its rarity and suggests the pieces were brought in by migrating families in the 18th or 19th century CE.

Lead and tin

Later centuries saw rising demand from India for products that Dawei could easily supply such as tin and scented woods. The significance of Myeik (Mergui) also rose so that in the eighteenth century, it was considered second only to Bago (Pegu) in the ports for receipt of goods from Madras.⁹³

The dual role of objects in commodity and currency trade introduced with cowries in the early first millennium CE continued with the abundant production in Dawei of large coins made of lead and tin. Missionary records from the 18th century mention the coins when, as seen in the history above, Dawei was at times a separate kingdom. Nineteenth century correspondence describes the measuring out of large tin coins by the basket for sizeable transactions.⁹⁴

Weidi has to date been the richest source but the coins are found from Dawei to Myeik.⁹⁵ Only a few of the lead and tin coins contain dates in inscriptions around the rim but all are generally dated to the 15-18th century CE. A number of coins may be lead and tin alloy, with the large size and low metal value protecting them from edge clipping or re-melting seen with gold and silver coins.⁹⁶

The lead coins are stamped with a *hintha* bird (Brahminy duck) or possibly a peacock or *karaweik* on one side.⁹⁷ Many of the bird motifs are finely made, balancing of lines of the bird's beak with those of the feathered tail, and the scripts on the reverse of the coins generally carefully crafted.⁹⁸

The tin pieces are 6-7 cm in diameter and *circa* 30 gm in weight. Recently found tin coins from the river near Sin Seik have a rooster-like bird on one side and the name 'Dawei' on the reverse. The bird denotes the founding date of Dawei town, 1116 ME by the mnemonic 'oh-aw-aw-the' (1-1-1-6).⁹⁹



Figure 9. Tin coin with rooster and 'ta-weh' on the reverse; 6-7 cm dia, Than Swe Collection.

Most tin coins, however, have a central lotus-animal-*naga* motif with three lower rows of dots or wavy lines.¹⁰⁰ Writing is found on the reverse of most coins; the script is modern Myanmar reading *Maha-thukan-nagaran* or city of great happiness.

In summary, while much remains to be learned of the early use of iron and bronze at Dawei, some objects such as the bronze drum at Shwetaung point to an active trade circuit perhaps bringing in exotic items not able to be produced in Dawei. In later centuries, there is mention of the use of tin in place of copper in alloys and the distinctive large tin and lead coins from Weidi and Sin Seik.

(f) *Glazed wares and wooden sculptures*

Glazed wares from Thagara and other sites

Some of the 11th to 17th century CE glazed wares from Thagara may be trade wares but most are different from Thai wares and also pieces attributed to Bago (Pegu). The one vessel with vessel with clear analogies in Thailand is a water pouring vessel in the shape of a hunched man (8 cm) with a long knot of hair toting a sack associated exclusively with Sawankhalok (Si Satchanalai) 15-16th century CE wares.¹⁰¹

Probable Hanthawaddy or Inwa era pieces (15-25cm in height) come from the new airport area adjacent to Sin Seik.¹⁰² They are said to be urns as one was reported to have contained bones. They include a heavy dark brown red-bodied vessel that has thick vertical 'ribbons' pressed onto the surface and another vessel with a well-proportioned tapered body that has traces of gilding (Figure 1). Other pieces are also unusual, one a possibly reworked brown globular vessel with a tall bulbous neck. Other pieces from Sin Seik similarly are of red clay and low-fired earthenware but with dark brown glaze.

One piece with a pale green-ivory glaze is a 'hip flask' (18 cm height, 8.5 cm diameter), a vase shaped piece with a small mammal draped over the top. Made

of red clay, it is coated with a pale greenish yellow glaze and is a probably low-fired earthen ware with tin-opacified white lead glaze with added copper to make it greenish in appearance. One portion of the upper body where the glaze is thin and may have been wiped appears reddish.¹⁰³ Other unprovenanced pieces have a more cream-coloured glaze. These include a small rounded pot faceted in a gourd-like manner and a squat yet elegant vessel topped with a short neck and flared spout made of dark red clay.¹⁰⁴

There are also a number of glazed sherds and pots from other sites around Dawei. These include a green sherd from Min Yat and pieces stored in the Hpaya Gyi Museum, most collected a number of years ago. Many of these appear to be wasters, possibly indicating local production.¹⁰⁵ The pieces include three shallow green-glazed dishes and bowls with slight edge to the bottom foot, 14.5, 16.5 and 14 cm in diameter. The three thickly potted pieces have dull orange-red, reddish and orange bodies, collected in Kalein Aung (Figure 11).

Three other bowls with a thick greenish-white glaze come from Maungmagan beach where the former curator Dawei Kyaw Min suggested they might be 200 year old Portuguese or locally produced wares. The 18 cm vessel has a thick glaze on a low bowl with an everted rim and three firing marks on the interior (Figure 12). A transparent black-glazed bowl (12.5 cm dia) donated by the Dawei nationalist U Ba Shin in 1920 was estimated at that time to date to one hundred years ago.



Figure 11. Shallow bowls from Kalein Aung, Hpaya Gyi Museum; donated by U Tun Myat, Dawei Trading Company in the early 20th century.



Figure 12 Green glazed bowls from Maungmagan (15, 18 and 28 cm diameter), Hpaya Gyi Museum, from land of U Pyo Leh.

In summary, there are rich collections of both early terracotta pieces and later glazed wares found at sites all over Dawei. Many are made of red clay and some may be wasters. The consistent distinctiveness throughout the chronology, as well as the continued production of low-fired and sun-baked vessels, strongly suggest local production. More exploration and documentation is needed, however, to understand the interaction with potters of other areas, particularly given the Mon, Upper Myanmar and Thai pattern of fluctuating rule from the 16th to 19th century CE.

Later images of the Buddha

There are a number of unprovenanced wooden pieces probably of more recent eras in the Hpaya Gyi museum. These include several 2-5 cm high bronze heads of the Buddha, one of Sukhothai style, another with a softer modelling of the face possibly early Inwa and a third with a well made crown on the forehead and back of the head indicating 18th century CE Thai influence.

There are also numerous wooden gilded images of the Buddha, an intricately carved *takeh*, images of the Buddha, a votive shrine with six faces with images and a 3-dimensional stupa. The small (20 cm) stupa is gilded and decorated with glass mosaic, their thinness and large size suggesting early rather than late Konbaung period. The piece recalls miniature stupas from Thailand made during the 19th to early 20th century CE.¹⁰⁶ One standing gilded brass image (80 cm ht) suggests a combination of Thai and Lao influences.



Figure 13. Decorated images of court minister and officials, c. 80 cm, mid 19th century, Hpaya Gyi Museum (right image with Curator U Htay Lwin Kyaw, son of Dawei Kyaw Min)

Two seated images of the Buddha are hollow lacquer, including several well made images of the Buddha probably dating to the Inwa period. One is decorated with curved lines of raised lacquer recalling Amarapura style images.¹⁰⁷ Other figures include four finely made wooden images of a minster and male and female court officials. The figures are painted white and decorated with raised lacquer decoration and small pieces of glass mosaic on the upper garment. In general type, the figures recall many other standing images made of wood in the late 19th century, but the fineness of the carving and the small glass mosaics point to its elite production.¹⁰⁸ The variety of materials and styles provide useful evidence of continued local community-based production in tandem with trade networks to Upper Myanmar, Thailand and Laos.

Conclusions

Today's community heritage

Community remains a strong element of present Dawei culture. This can be seen in the local dialect, songs and the neighbourhood-village public role in important festivals in Dawei town and surrounding pagodas. The founding story of many of these is woven into the founding story of Thagara involving a prince, Maung Nwa ('Mr. Bull') who becomes a hermit. From the union of the hermit and a *Nakoma* fish, the first dynasty of Thagara emerged. As noted above, on the Weidi side of the Dawei River, place names are traditionally seen to refer to the Buddha's previous life as a buffalo king versus his life as a royal peacock on the Dawei side of the river.

Thus at the Nabule-set-daw-ya on the coast north of Maungmagan, footprints of the Buddha and the bull are found. The pagoda annually celebrates the previous lives of the Buddha as well the visit of the Buddha to Dawei and the leaving of a relic at the request of the hermit Gawampati.¹⁰⁹ The pagoda also, however, has a footprint of a bull recalling the epic of Maung Nwa and the founding of Thagara. Awareness of the pagoda's heritage is an integral part of the celebrations.



Figure 14. Footprints of the Buddha and the bull at Nabule-set-daw-ya pagoda. Photos courtesy Zaw Thura, Dawei University.

Another example of the living presence of local heritage rather than a precise temporal chronology is seen in Dawei town at the Tazaung-mon (October-November) Full Moon 'Procession of the 28 Buddhas'.¹¹⁰ The communities of the 28 Buddhas Procession are not just the townspeople but villagers from many surrounding townships; each area contributes and then travels to town for the Procession. This festival is seen all over Myanmar but in Dawei, however, it includes the 28 Buddhas plus images of the 19th century CE *Maha-loka-marazein* image of the Buddha and the Wathondari *nat-thami* as well as the ancient Shwe-taung-sa stupa of Hpaya Gyi pagoda. The transformation of the streets into a processional way is highlighted by the particular character of Dawei. Located in the rainy area of Tanintharyi, the tea shops and markets are often located in open-front covered shops rather than sidewalks and streets. Thus the sudden filling of the streets with families lining the streets is striking - the entire town becomes a public encounter.

As these two examples illustrate, archaeological awareness is not prevalent in Dawei. A small group of dedicated historians, teachers and families such as that of Dawei Kyaw Min's son at the Hpaya Gyi museum have been documenting the chronicle and artefact histories of Dawei. The town was for the most part far from the British-era work of the Department of Archaeology. Largely absent therefore is the empirical stress on chronology, strata and hierarchy of the past that characterized much colonial archaeology.¹¹¹ Accordingly, the ancient heritage remains enmeshed in present veneration with both working to sustain the other. Without the ongoing local cultural individuality, the ancient remains are endangered and in need of safeguarding through a local branch of the Department of Archaeology.

The southern peninsula of Myanmar is commonly given a minor place in defining the traditional sequence of the country's archaeology. Dawei was not just the borderlands in this early era but central in a world where 'being a border' was at the heart of change.¹¹² Influences were grafted on to Dawei culture and yet kept on the threshold of local identity. This can be seen from the 'Dawei Pyu' urns to the alabaster *biluand Thagyarmin sima* of the late Konbaung era at Thit-seh-bin monastery. As local rulers shifted between compliance and confrontation, outlying polities reaffirmed 'other' but in the end served to reinforce the singularity of Dawei culture.

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Appendix 1 Dawei Place name Transcription¹¹³ and Local Meaning¹¹⁴

Common Romanization	Myanmar	Transcription
Byin (myin) htin-taung	ပိုင်(ပိုင်)ထင်တောင်	/pjɪn (mjɪn) htin taun/

Dhat Wei	ဝါတ်ဝဲ	/dha' we:/
Kyet-yet-twin	ကြက်ယက်တွင်း	/kje' je' twin:/
Kyweh-sat-ywa	ကျွဲစပ်ရွာ	/kjwe: sa' jwa/
Lantaw	လုံဒေါင့် (ထောင့်)	/hlan daun. (htaun.)/
Maungmeshan	မောင်မယ်ရှောင်	/maun me shaun/
Min [man] Yat	မင်းရပ်	/min: ja'/
Mokti	မုတ္တီး	/mou' hti:/
Myo Koe Kun	မြို့ကိုးကုန်း	/mjou. kou: koun:/
Nabule	နဘုလယ်	/na bu. le/
Ora-galon Hpaya	ဩရဂဠံဘုရား	/o:ra. galoun hpaja:/
Pashu (Ashu) Kyauk Hpaya	ပသျှူး(အရူး)ကြောက်ပျောက်ဘုရား	/paju: (aju:) pjau' hpaja:/
Paw Daw Mu Hpaya	ပေါ်တော်မူဘုရား	/po to mu hpaja:/
Sawwa	စော်ဝ	/so wa/
Shanma-leh-swe	ရှမ်းမလည်ဆ	/shan: ma le hswei:/
Shin Zalun Zeidi	ရှင်ဇလွန်စေတီ	/shin zalun zei di/
Sin Seik	ဆိုင်ဆိပ်	/hsin hsei'/
(Ta) Taing Byin Taung	(တံ)တိုင်းပြင်ထောင့်	/(htan) tein pj in htaun./
Taungkwe	ထောင့်ကွယ်	/htaun. kwe/
Thagara	သာဂရ	/tha ga ra/
Thin Bone Kyun	သင်ပုန်းကျွန်း	/thin boun kjun:/
Thin Kyun Ywa	သင်းကျွန်းရွာ	/thin: kjun: jwa/
Thit-seh-bin Kyaung	သစ်စေးပင်ချောင်း	/thi' sei pin gjaun/
Weh-kyi-taung Kyaung	ဝဲကြီးတောင်ကျောင်း	/we: kyi: taun gjaun /
Weidi	ဝေဒီ	/wei di/
Ya-Ngeh (Thayetchaung)	ရင် (သရက်ချောင်း)	/ja. nge (thaje' gjaun/
Yat-kan-taung	ရပ်ခံတောင်	/ja' khan taun/
Ye-nan-taung	ရေနန်းတောင်	/jei nan: taun/

<i>Dawei</i>	ထားဝယ် (ကြိုင်)	Local pronunciation 'Tavoy' in Thai, the harbor that sells cane
<i>Yat Kan Taung</i>	ရပ်ခံတောင်	Mountain [where <i>Arahats</i>] stopped to accept [offering, a relic of the Buddha]

<i>Thagara</i>	သာဂရ	Place name in Jatakas
<i>Daung Shaung</i>	ဒေါင်းရှောင်	Peacock slips away
<i>Dhat Wei</i>	ခါတ်ဝဲ	Whirling relic
<i>Kyun Swe</i>	ကျွန်းဆွယ်	Dawei Peninsula
<i>Maung Mae Shaung</i>	မောင်မယ်ရှောင်	Brother & sister slip away
<i>Min Yat</i>	မင်းရပ်	[Buffalo] King [Buddha in previous life] stops
<i>Weidi</i>	ဝေဒီ	Place name
<i>Laung lone</i>	လောင်းလုံး (ထွေးလုံး)	Derived from term 'htwe-lon', two entwined buffaloes fighting
<i>Kyet Yat Twin</i>	ကြက်ယက်တွင်း	Chicken scratch hole
<i>Taung Kwe</i>	ထောင့်ကွယ်	Hide behind mountain
<i>Kyauk Ni Maw</i>	ကျောက်နီမော်	Red stone peninsula (prominence)
<i>Thin Bon Kyun</i>	သင်ပုန်းကျွန်း	Stone slate island
<i>Mokti</i>	မုတ္တီး	Place name
<i>Thin Kan Tone</i>	သင်းကန်းတုံး	Wood piece
<i>Myitta</i>	မေတ္တာ	Loving Kindness
<i>Zalun</i>	ဇလွန်း (ဇောလွန်း)	Derived from the longing of Shin San for her brother Shin Zaw in Dawei chronicle

<i>Ora-galon</i>	သရဝဋ်	Duke (from Tak, Thailand) Garuda in Dawei chronicle
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Appendix 2 Preliminary Dawei Chronology

707 CE (69 ME)	King Naruti of Aungthawaddy enshrines relics Buddha at Shwe-daung-zar pagoda, Hpaya Gyi pagoda	Than Swe 2005 ¹¹⁵
8 th century (116 ME)	Founding of Thagara	Than Swe 2004 ¹¹⁶
c.751 - 908 CE	King Thamandaraza dynastic line Thagara	Than Swe 2004
c.995- 1076 CE (357 – 438 ME)	King Bannya Oo dynastic line Thagara	Than Swe 2004
10 th century	Line of Tak princes	Kon Win Dat pagoda
1084-1113 CE	Mon by governors of Kyanzitha's reign	Votive tablets
1155 CE (517 ME)	Founding of Sin Seik or Maha Thukanagaran	Than Swe 1996 ¹¹⁷
1488 CE	Ayutthaya took over Tavoy part of 15 th century trade increase from 1511 Malacca Portuguese	Wyatt ¹¹⁸ 1984: 86
c.995- 1076 CE (357 – 438 ME)	King Byathabaik of Zalun dynastic line Thagara	Than Swe 2004
1228-1390 CE (590-752 ME)	Dynastic line Taungkwe (HtaungKweh) - Kings Kanikawet (Kyet Hlwetywa), son Kanidhathuu, son Kanihdayan, son Kanihdathan, son Kanihdawa, son Sawthura	Than Swe 1996: 122
1287 CE (Post Bagan) - 1369	Dawei under Mon rule	Aye Sandi 1999 ¹¹⁹
1350 CE	Ayutthaya rule extended to Tavoy	Hall 1981: 192 ¹²⁰
1390 CE (752 ME)	Founding of Weidi, King Sawthura, son Sawyaung, son Shethwayaung, son Shwenantiek, son Einshetmin	Than Swe 1996: 122
14-15 th century CE	Thagara dynastic line - King Shin Zan (Nandiya) and Queen Saw Mya Dewi, son Bala Saw Yan Naing (Than Swe 1996: 122

	Sawthila min)	
1417 CE (779 ME)	Founding of Mokti	Than Swe 2004
1516 CE (878 ME)	King Nayaenda of Bumidawa-nagaya repairs Shwe-daung-zar pagoda	Than Swe 2002
1506 -1541 -- 1564 to 1599 CE	Part of Toungoo kingdom	Aye Sandi 1999
1541 CE	King Tabinshweththi of Toungoo controlled between Malacca to Siamese frontier at Tavoy	Reid 1988: 109 ¹²¹
1590-1605 CE	Part of Siam during reign of Naresuan (r. 1590-1605) or of his successor, Ekathotsarot	Wyatt 1986: 104
1593 CE	Nareusuan successfully attacked Tavoy and Moulmein	Hall 1981: 299
1754 CE (1116 ME)	Founding Dawei (Thayawaddy) by King Min-neh-hla	Aye Sandi 1999, Than Swe 2004
1740–1757 CE	Tavoy taken by Siamese during Burmese civil war; Mon uprising Burmese governors fled to Ayuthaya	Andaya 1992: 446 ¹²² , Hall 181: 479 Than Tun 2010:7 ¹²³
Early 1760 CE	Alaungpaya seized Tavoy (and Martaban, Tenasserim, Kui, Phetburi, and Ratburi) prior to his attempt to retake Ayutthaya	Hall 1981: 433, Wyatt 1986: 133
1761 CE (1124 ME)	King Minshinzaw (Shwe-daung-zar) of Dawei (receives revenues (‘eater’) Shwe-daung (‘golden mount’).	Than Swe 2007
1763-1776 CE	King Sinbyu-shin wars with Thailand over Dawei, Myeik regions	Aye Sandi 1999
1765 CE	Burmese control Tavoy Invasion route to Ayutthaya Tavoy-Chumphon-Phetburi	Wyatt 1986: 134
1782-1819 or 1785 CE	Bodawpaya route Ratburi-Phetburi-Chumphon	Aye Sandi 1999, Wyatt 1986: 149
1787 CE	Rama I attack on Tavoy, siege, withdrew	Wyatt 1986:152
1791 CE	Rama I and Mon forces occupy Tavoy but Burmese armies superior	Wyatt 1986: 153
1824 CE	Tenasserim ceded to British	

1874 CE (1236 ME)	Dawei requests Maha-law-ka-maya-zain image from King Mindon	Than Swe 2002
1974 CE	Mon State and Tanintharyi Divisions created with Dawei as capital Tanintharyi	
1989 CE	Name changed from Tavoy to Dawei and Tenasserim to Tanintharyi	

¹ I gratefully acknowledge the assistance and encouragement for this research from the Department of Archaeology, Museum and Library, Ministry of Culture. I further thank U Than Swe (Dawei), U Kyaw Kyaw Htay and Zaw Thura and Zaw Moe Win of Dawei University. All errors, however, are my own.

² I thank Than Zaw Oo, Deputy Director, Department of Archaeology, National Museum and Library, for suggesting the term ‘hybrid’ for Dawei.

³ Appendix 1 is a list of Dawei place names with the common Romanization, Myanmar script and phonetic transcription. The second part of the Appendix gives the usual interpretation of meaning, most derived from Dawei chronicles.

⁴ Local pronunciation ‘Tavoy’ in Thai, the harbor that sells cane; pers.communication U Than Swe (Dawei), 03.01.11

⁵ Place name in Jatakas; pers.communication U Than Swe (Dawei), 03.01.11. Thagara may also be derived a Pali word meaning ocean. In Mahayana texts, there is a dragon king known as Sagara with a wise daughter who died at the age of eight. This recalls the sage Gawampati who in an earlier existence died at the age of eight (Moore, E. 2005; Soothill 1975).

⁶ Nyunt Han et al. 2007: 15-16. The criteria are Entry gates, Enclosing walls , Large bricks to construct walls, palace, religious buildings, Marked bricks (circa 45 cm long, 10 cm thick, Urns with bones and ash, Terracotta pottery, Beads (terracotta, semi-precious stone), Silver and gold coins, Gold objects, Buddha images and other Buddhist objects in terracotta, silver, gold and bronze, Pyu scripts used to write Pyu and Pali

⁷ See Moore and Than Swe 2006, Moore 2007 for details of earlier chronology.

⁸ Nik Hassan 2007, Map 1, p. 52; Map 2, p. 53 and pp. 44-8; Moore, Early landscapes, 2007

⁹ Than Swe 1996: 122

¹⁰ Than Swe 1996: 122

¹¹ Hall 1981: 192

¹² Reid 1988: 109 citing Sangermano 1833:159, Cox 1821: 29 amongst his sources.

¹³ Hall 1981: 288

¹⁴ Hall 1981: 299

¹⁵ Hall 1981:428

¹⁶ Hall 1981:382

¹⁷ Than Tun 2010:7

¹⁸ Hall 1981: 433, Wyatt 1986: 104, 133

¹⁹ Andaya 1992: 446, Hall 181: 479

²⁰ Aye Sandi 1999, Than Swe 2004

²¹ Than Swe 1999: 172-174

²² Aung Myo, *Police Administration* 2007, p. 28, 42

²³ The first arrival of Buddhism to Dawei is linked to the bringing of Sacred Hairs to Aungthawaddy. These relics connect to the Shwe-taung-zar stupa at Hpaya Gyi pagoda in Dawei, with prehistoric and early Buddhist artefacts have been documented in the eastern part of the town (Shanma-leh-swe). Two of the relics are linked to King Kyanzar who is said to have thrown them into the air, one stopping over Weithawunna Lake at Shin Dhat Weh ('whirling relic') pagoda and the other over Shin Zalun (Khin Su Win. *An Urban Land Use Study of Tavoy Town*. MA Dissertation, Department of Geography, University of Yangon, Yangon, 1958), p. 12).

²⁴ Aye Sandi 1999; Mills, 1997, *Swinging Pendulum*, p.48

²⁵ Ratana (Dawei) *Dawei* Volume 1, 2007, p. 115

²⁶ Mills, *Swinging Pendulum*, 1997, p.48

²⁷ Dawei University Paper Reading, 2004

²⁸ 14.09°N 98.20°E, 16 meters above msl, Launglon Township, 11.6 km north of Dawei.

²⁹ Moore, E. and Aung Myint. Finger-marked designs on ancient bricks in Myanmar. *Journal of the Siam Society*, 1991, 79: 2: 81-102,; Author Survey 09.05)

³⁰ Than Swe N.D. *Chronology of Dawei Ancient Cities* [t

³¹ Than Swe 1997: 12

³² The name is taken from the Dawei chronicles and is seen as the place where the brother and sister slipped away. Than Swe, pers.communication, January 2011.

³³ Dawei University 2004. The place name Thaban Chaung is taken from a Japanese printed version of Map 95J4 of Tavoy District, 1912-13, 1:50,000.

³⁴ The principal chronicle of Dawei, *Dawei Yazawin*, is that of Shwe-weh-ei, cited by Dawei Kyaw Min's *Dawei Culture* (ထားဝယ်ယဉ်ကျေးမှုအခြေခံထားဝယ်ကျော်မင်း) , Sayadaw Bhandanta Kawthala's *History of Dawei Ancient Cities*, Aung Myint's and Than Swe's publications (Ngwe Ngwe Soe 1999). All these publications are in Myanmar, with the joint article by Moore and Than Swe (2006) being the first account of ancient Dawei in English.

³⁵ SGR1 mound is a ritual structure, excavated to natural soil at a depth of 3.35m. The unearthed brick structure (8 x 6.4 m) has an entry platform with an inner and outer enclosure and a square upper terrace (3.5m) oriented to the northeast overlying a habitation layer. Finds from the mound included small bells of lead and silver (5cm) with *bodhi* leaf clappers, a child's bracelet (5 x 14 cm) at a depth of 30cm, a rusted iron *bodhi* leaf (12 x 5 cm) at 28cm, small oil lamps, pots and bricks. Many pots and bricks were fragments.

SGR2 is near the centre of Thagara walled site and in the middle of the present village. It is a long (10m) rectangular brick building with an entry on the east, a single-chambered front hall and four small cells in a row at the back. Based the small size of the bricks and the layout, the palace has been attributed to the 15th century CE. (Ngwe Ngwe Soe *Thagara Ancient City. First Excavation and Field Survey (1999-2000)* (in Myanmar). Yangon: Archaeology Department Report, Ministry of Culture, 2000, Item no. 120.)

³⁶ Ngwe Ngwe Soe *Thagara* 2000; Than Swe Palace at Thagara. 2005 (Unpublished)

³⁷ Than Swe, pers.communication, 30 December, 2010.

³⁸ Moore and Aung Myint Finger-marked bricks, 1991:93; author personal observation, November 2009.

³⁹ Than Swe Collection, Dawei, 2010.

⁴⁰ As seen in Northeast Thailand documented by Tambiah 1970/2007: 179-200

⁴¹ The Dawei dialect is spoken in the townships of Launglon, Dawei, Thayetchaung and Ye Pyu.

⁴² Survey by Zaw Thura (Dawei University) followed by survey by the author, January 2011.

⁴³ Dawei University Collection documented by U Than Swe, 2011.

⁴⁴ Than Swe 2004: 113-116.

In chronicles Sin Seik is called Bhumidewa Nagara ruled by the sister of the king of Thagara. Chronicles also record a 10th to 11th century CE line of Thai princes from the Tak region ruling at Dawei noted earlier. These began with Ora-galon (276-291 ME, *circa* 914 CE) and lasted seventy years. The prince Ora-galon founded Ora-galon pagoda and had a palace in Sin Seik. Sin Seik had two enclosures, a curved surrounding wall and a quadrangular wall on the east around the pagoda. Later names reflect links to Bagan, the 'Dvaravati Shan (Sham)' and the 18th century AD King Hsinbyushin.

⁴⁵ My thanks to Htwe Htwe Win on the labels on the paintings, pers. Communication, January 2011.

⁴⁶ Gutter 2001: 10, Than Swe 1999

⁴⁷ Imperial Gazetteer 1908, p.438; Moore, E. and Aung Myint, 1991;

⁴⁸ The shrine was renovated in 1995 and is a continued place of veneration. Shwe Kuu Taung presiding monk recalled other laterite blocks and a number of polished stone tools being found (personal communication to the author and Than Swe (Dawei) 08.2004).

⁴⁹ Before the finding of the votive tablets in the 1920s and the present name Paw Daw Mu (to show or come out), the small stupa was known as 'hill of tent and bow' (Le-koat-kon လေးကုတ်ကန် in Myanmar ကုတ် in Dawei). The structure was rebuilt in the 1960s, and like the Hpaya Gyi Museum building has eight sides. This may reflect the construction of Kaba Aye Pagoda in Yangon around this time (Winn Myintzu, personal communication from local villager, 11.2009). The old name suggests that the Bagan presence was as much to control Dawei as to avoid Malay incursions. (Mills, *Swinging Pendulum*, p.40)

⁵⁰ Than Swe (Dawei), personal communication, 11.2009

⁵¹ The ecology of Weidi is indicated by its name, roughly translated as 'shallow whirlpools'. Weidi wealth indicated by chronicles. The spelling of the second syllable changed over time (ဝဲဝိ or ဝဲဒိ).

⁵² Shwe Wei Ei 1974, Than Swe (Dawei), personal communication, 11.2009, 01.2011. The Buddha was a buffalo in the Mahisia Jātaka and a bull in the Ayyakālaka, Nandivīsāla, Mahālohita and Sārambha jatakas.

⁵³ Aung Myint, personal communication, 08.03; Pe Nyan, personal communication. 08.03

⁵⁴ The dynastic line of Weidi included King Sawthura, his son Sawyaung, his son Shethwayaung, his son Shwenantiek and his son Einshetmin. Than Swe 1996: 122.

⁵⁵ The dynastic line of Taungkwe (HtaungKweh) included Kings Kanikawet (Kyet Hlwet-ywa), his son Kanidhathuu, his son Kanihdayan, his son Kanihdathan, his son Kanihdawa, and his son Sawthura who became ruler of Weidi. Than Swe 1996: 122.

⁵⁶ The fort may also have traded produce such as cashew nuts, for which it is known today, along with the small fishing village of Nyaw Byin on the cove below Taung-

kwe. Dawei chronicles recount a separate genealogy for Taung-kwe (Kyet Hlwet-ywa) ruled during Alaungsithu's time by King Kanikawet. After rule by four successive sons, the last in the line, Sawthura moved to Weidi in the 15th century AD (752 ME) (Than Swe 2005:109). A large mound at the site is believed to cover the old palace building.

⁵⁷ Initial survey of the site was by Zaw Thura (Dawei University). The author and U Than Swe (Dawei) surveyed in December 2003. Follow up visits have been made by Zaw Thura (Dawei University) since 2004. A calendar donated by Taungkwe villagers to Zaw Thura (2004), now in Hpaya Gyi Museum shows photographs of Hsin-Oo Taung-thein ('glazed pot mound'); Nan-taw-taung ('palace mound'); Pitaka-taung ('library hill'); Kyaung-taung ('monastery hill'); Kyauk-si-lan ('stone road'); and Hsin-pyuu-yan-neya ('gathering place white elephants').

⁵⁸ The Hpaya gyi Museum building dates to 1962, with its eight sided structure recalling that of Kaba Aye Pagoda in Yangon. The museum was founded in 1975 with the loan of the collection of the famed 1920s balloonist U Kyaw Yin following his demise. It was then curated by his son U Kyaw Min, whose book on Dawei culture (see Bibliography) was a pioneering work still prized for its content. The present curator, U Ngwe Lwin Kyaw is the son of Dawei U Kyaw Min. As both U Kyaw Yin and U Kyaw Min were well known to the Hpaya Gyi Trustees, it was agreed to house the family collection. This arrangement continues today although the Trustees have recently allocated 10 *lakh* towards constructing a new and larger museum to house the valuable collection. Ngwe Lwin Kyaw, Than Swe, Zaw Thura and Zaw Moe Win, personal communications, 11.2009.

⁵⁹ Zaw Thura, survey and personal communication, 11.2009.

⁶⁰ The finds include 15 tools from Thagara, 36 from Min Yat, 12 from Dawei town, 2 from Ya-Ngeh (Thayetchaung), 4 from Kyweh-sat-ywa (Thayetchaung), 2 from Thinkyun-ywa (Thayetchaung), 3 at Dawei Museum, and 6 from the Na-bu-leh region on the coast. Zaw Thura, 2010 (in press)

⁶¹ Anderson 1988:43,56

⁶² U Myint Aung, Ministry of Culture, 30/12/2010

⁶³ Luce 1969: Vol. 3. Pl. 176 (a, b), 279 (a,d), 280, 300(d), 319 (e); 1985, Vol. 2: Pl. 46 (b), 47 (b).

⁶⁴ U Myint Aung, Ministry of Culture, 4/6/2010, based on similar Bagan period pieces elsewhere.

⁶⁵ The face is similar to a *circa* 3rd century CE face of a human figure stamped more than 30 times on an urn from Tagaung near the border with Yunnan and thus may be a pre-Bagan artefact.

⁶⁶ Donated by Dawei University students Maung Maung Zin, Ngwe Maung, Min HtunYu Aung, Aung Thin Hlaing, Ya Min Aung, Zaw Win Lwin and Soe Nweh to the university, 01.2006

⁶⁷ Moore and San Win 2007, Phasook Indrawooth 2004

⁶⁸ Survey by Zaw Thura (Dawei University) followed by survey by the author, January 2011.

⁶⁹ Douglass et al. 2008:13

⁷⁰ Zaw Thura (Dawei University), personal communication, 11.2009.

⁷¹ Aung Myint personal communication, 10.12.03; H. L. Shorto 2002; Than Swe 1996/2004.

The *takeh* is said to be the raft for a wooden image of the Buddha from Sri Lanka that came to Bassein, Kyaikto and Kyaikkami (Amherst) and Dawei. No one at the first

three sites to the north could pull the raft to shore, but when it arrived at Dawei a pious old nun had only to tie a thread to the raft and was able to draw it to the shore.

Since the 1950s period of insurgency in the area, the statue has been kept in the relic chamber (*htarpanar*) of Shin Mokti. The laterite *takeh* is the backdrop for the image although due to offerings of gold leaf and upkeep, this is not visible today

⁷² Popular lore says the laterite bowl was floated south by the queen of Thagara with medicines to cure the insanity of the Mokti king after drinking poisoned water from a still well. The medicines cured the illness, the two married, and the Mokti king ruled.

⁷³ U Than Swe (Dawei) and U Win Maung (Tampawaddy), personal communication, 2008

⁷⁴ Few urns have come to light in recent excavation of Dvaravati sites in Central Thailand, although finger-marked bricks are seen. (Stephen Murphy, personal communication, 11.2009). No urns have yet been confirmed in archaeological work in the Mon State which recalls the urn absence in Dvaravati burials.

⁷⁵ Information on the pottery sherds and urns from Min Yat courtesy of Zaw Thura (Dawei University), personal communication 11.2009. See Zaw Thura 2009, 2010 (in press)

⁷⁶ Luce, *Old Burma-Early Pagan*, Vol.1, p. 20)

⁷⁷ Than Swe (Dawei) Collection.

⁷⁸ Pe Nyan, Yangon Collection

⁷⁹ In 1155 AD (517 ME), King Alaungsithu anchored at Maungmagan beach 20 kilometres west of Thagara. The name Maungmagan refers to the women of the court enjoying the beach. (Aye Sandi 1999)

For the single figure tablets see Gutman 2001:57; Htwe Htwe Win 2007 figs. 134, 143; Mya, Vol.1, fig.2, 10-15, 22, 60b and Vol.2 figs. 18, 21 and 78-80; Pattaratorn 2000: 183.

Figures 78-80 in Mya (Volume 2: 57-60) are the reverse, and front and reverse of inscribed tablets from Mokti. Tablet no.78 inscription contains six lines of Mon-Burmese script stating that it was donated by Anantajeyyabikran, governor of Dawei and servant of Kyanzittha (*Sri tribhuvanadityadhammaraj*). The inscription on the second tablet is seven lines of Mon, the donor being an official named Yikhi bearing the wish that he becomes a disciple when his Lord becomes a Buddha. The larger tablets are similar to ones from Bagan depicting ten seated images of the Buddha cited by Mya Vol.2, figs.11, 68.

⁸⁰ Luce 1969, p.26. The figure is seated in *pralambanâsana* with the right arm, now broken, but probably raised in the *Abhaya* mudra. The left is lowered with palm open and inscribed with a rough *Dharmacakra*. The robe covers only one shoulder, smoothly draped over the body, the edges marked by a single incised line. The head of the image is solid, although breaks on the chest and along the legs show that these are hollow.

⁸¹ The handwritten label by Dawei Kyaw Min for the coins in the Hpaya Gyi museum dates to 10-09-67. He notes that three 'milk measures' (*noe-si*) of coins were found in the terracotta pot. As the common measure for milk today is *circa* 300 ml, a large number of the small Pyu-style silver coins were recovered from this quarter of Dawei.

⁸² T. Tan, personal communication, Yangon, 12.2009

⁸³ The image is seated in *pralambanâsana* with the right arm, now broken, but probably raised in the *Abhaya* mudra. The left is lowered with palm open and inscribed with a rough *Dharmacakra*. The robe covers only one shoulder, smoothly draped over the body, the edges marked by a single incised line. The style is similar to Dvaravati images from U Thong and Ku Bua, Kanchanaburi and Twante (Luce 1985 Volume 2, p. 76(b)).

⁸⁴ The head has small flat hair curls and bears a flame or *sirispatha Ushnisha*. The image is in the *Dhyani* mudra, seated on a throne with inward facing *Makaras* and a *Kirtimukha* at the apex. The image of the Buddha is close, in the folding of the *sanghati* and the flame *Ushnisha* (Aung Ngwe Collecion, Thagara, 2005; Gutman 2001, p.156-157).

⁸⁵ Hpaya Gyi Museum

⁸⁶ This style is also seen in an adorned wooden image wearing shoes in Hpaya Gyi pagoda (Moore et al. 1995: 245-6).

⁸⁷ Hpaya Gyi Museum and Than Swe Collection.

⁸⁸ Than Swe Collection, 2007

⁸⁹ Also in the *htarpanar* was an early 20th century AD gilded wooden *dagondaing* or prayer post (25cm height) topped with a gem-encrusted peacock.

⁹⁰ Courtesy Taik Kyaung monastery, Mokti; Than Swe and Zaw Thura, Dawei, 2006-2007

⁹¹ Use of the Zayawadi drum to call the rains is locally recalled in 1970 but not thereafter. Zaw Thura and Winn Myintzu, Shwetaung monastery, 02.01.2011, 25.02.2011, 29.02.2011 pers.communication

⁹² The tympanum protrudes cleanly over the edge of the drum, with three of the original four frogs still intact. The mantle is decorated with alternating bordered bands of small raised lozenges and vertical lines, while the tympanum bands include birds, fish and radiating petals of flowers. The raised central 8-pointed star overlies an embossed round petal design with three petals between each point of the star. The sections have been joined with a simple raised vertical line rather than the more elaborate tree sometimes seen on this type of drum (Shwetaung monastery, January 2011).

⁹³ Mills, *Swinging Pendulum*, Pp, 42-45

⁹⁴ Robinson and Shaw *Coins*, p. 42

⁹⁵ Pe Nyan, personal communication, 07.2009

⁹⁶ Aung Myint (Forestry), personal communication, 12.2009

⁹⁷ Robinson and Shaw, *Coins*, p.35.

⁹⁸ Robinson and Shaw illustrate one of these, inscribed in "Persian" on the reverse and indicating a link with the Malay states (*Coins*, p. 37). The coins are recorded in a light (3 to 4gm) and heavy (11 to 14gm) variety with larger pieces thought to be weights. These are about 6cm in diameter and weighing more than 300gm.

⁹⁹ Than Swe Collecion, Dawei, 11.2009

¹⁰⁰ Robinson and Shaw *Coins*, p.37, 40; Temple 1913:103, 1931:71-2

¹⁰¹ Kawthala 1995, Than Swe (Dawei) Pers.comm. 2006

¹⁰² Than Swe Collection, Dawei, 11.2009

¹⁰³ Louise Cort, pers.communication from photograph, 03.2010

¹⁰⁴ Pe Nyan Collection, Yangon, 2008

¹⁰⁵ Don Hein, pers.communication from photograph, 01.2011

¹⁰⁶ McGill 2009: 145, Fig.66

¹⁰⁷ McGill 2009: 105, Fig.31

¹⁰⁸ Compare for example the less polished carving and large pieces of glass mosaic on standing male figure (140 cm) in a gesture of respect in the Asian Art Museum Collection. McGill 2009: 84, Fig.10

¹⁰⁹ Also in some sources given a bovine context

¹¹⁰ Than Swe *Hpaya Gyi*, 2002, p.115-121; Ratana (Dawei), *Dawei*, 2007, p.67-69

¹¹¹ Kallen, Anna and Anna Karlstrom, 2010

¹¹² Balibar. *The Borders of Europe*, 1998, p.218

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- ¹¹³ Myanmar Language Commission. 1993. *Myanmar-English Dictionary*. Yangon: Department of the Myanmar Language Commission, Ministry of Education.
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