

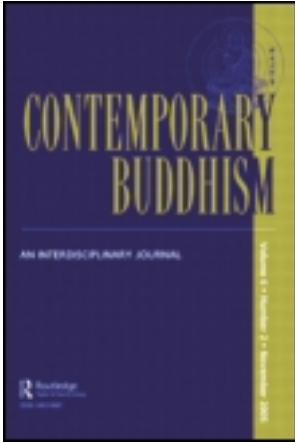
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THE SACRED GEOGRAPHY OF DAWEI: BUDDHISM IN PENINSULAR MYANMAR (BURMA)

Elizabeth Howard Moore

The paper opens by recounting the beginnings of Buddhism in Dawei as preserved in local chronicles and sustained in stupas marking the episodes of the chronicle narrative. The chronicles start with a visit of the Buddha whose arrival triggers a series of events bringing together pre-existing tutelary figures, weiza, a hermit and offspring born of a golden fish, culminating in the establishment of the first Buddhist kingdom circa the eighth to tenth century CE. The enshrinement of sacred hairs gifted by the Buddha also includes patronage by a king of the 'Suvāṇṇabhūmi' lineage. Associated with the monks Sona and Uttara from Sri Lanka sent by King Asoka's son Mahinda, 'Suvāṇṇabhūmi' literally can refer to the archaeology of Thaton, a walled site in the present day Mon State, or, as is the case here, more widely to the missionary tradition associated with Asoka (Sao Saimong Mengrai 1976). The third story in the establishment of the Buddhist king at Thagara is the longest of the chronicle, the tale of a royal hunter who failed to capture a golden peacock for the queen. The hunter became a hermit living by a pond with a golden fish and as he urinated in the pond, two children were born from the fish. The boy becomes the first Buddhist king of Thagara, 11 km north of Dawei, where artefacts from survey and excavation confirm the chronology of the chronicle, with the closest archaeological parallels found not at the ancient sites of the Mon State but to the first millennium CE Buddhist 'Pyu' heritage of Upper Myanmar which is notably absent in the chronicle compilation.

The Dawei¹ chronicle has many aspects common to others though the narrative is unusual in the prominence of tutelary guardians and hermits and the tropes of a golden fish and peacock embedded in pagodas and village names around Dawei. The sites of the story, the ancient pagodas of Dawei, flank the north to south course of the Dawei River. Their sustenance until the present highlights insularity of Dawei culture, a guardedness provoked by fluctuating political control by Bamar, Mon and Thai rule from the tenth to nineteenth century.

The Dawei chronicle

Many local chronicle histories or *yazawin* in Myanmar name a site visited by the Buddha. The Dawei *yazawin*, however, contains a sequence of sites laid out across the landscape, with place names and pagodas in Dawei charting the narratives contained in the chronicle. This article centres on the early parts of the chronicle beginning with the arrival of the Buddha, particularly the nurturing of the first Buddhist king of Thagara by the hermit Gawinanda for it is through the hermit that a Buddhist lineage is created.

The compiler of the current publication of *Dawei Yazawin* was Shwe Wei Ei, the pen name taken by a Dawei author and teacher after retirement in 1972 (Shwe Wei Ei 2005: v). Shwe Wei Ei cites six previous compilations, from 1895 to 1937, although does not name any surviving copies of the manuscripts (Hsaya Maung Gyi 1923, 1924; Pazundaung-hsaya-kha 1895). He notes the many additions to the chronicle over time, with inclusion of Yun, Shan, Myanmar and Mon kings. He also records aspects of the nineteenth-century British occupation and Japanese occupation during World War II, explaining his desire to keep knowledge of the Dawei culture intact. The compilation was published in an era of intense insurgency in the region and thus may also have been prompted by concerns for the preservation of the history. As Shwe Wei Ei (1974: vi) notes, the Dawei *yazawin* is not so much a history of the town of Dawei as of the heritage of the Dawei *Sāsana*. As such, it authenticated oral tradition and like the historical writing (*tamnan*) of Lanna is not only significant in explaining and justifying the Buddhist heritage but in recording the acceptance of the people who shared the stories (Dhida Saraya 1982, 64–65).

This paper begins with a summary of stories at five key places in the first two episodes of the chronicle: the mountains of Weimithaka (presently Ganantaung) and Mi Ohn Taung (formerly Indriya/ei-thein-drya/Taung), and the ancient cities of Aunghawadi (presently Kalein Aung), Dhat Weh and Thagara. The meaning of four of these five place names can be associated with events in the narrative, suggesting that they derive from the story but also worth noting as their continued use keeps the ancient tale alive. Weimithaka connects to the Sacred Hairs given by the Buddha in the use of ‘wei’/wei/ and ‘mi’/mi/ to share and gather. Mi Ohn Taung /hmi/ /ohn:/ refers to the mountain where the hermit reclined on a pillow. Indriya Taung is the ‘mountain of sense faculties, mental and physical phenomenon that control their respective sense bases’. Aunghawadi is the ‘place of victory’ and Dhat Wei roughly means ‘whirling relic’ (Myanmar Language Commission 1993, 476, 338, 375, 636; Ministry of Religious Affairs 2000, 89). One derivation for the place name of Dawei is from the Mon for the cross-legged posture of the Buddha on Weimithaka (Than Swe 2004, 76–77). ‘Dawei’ is also said to derive from local production of tungsten swords (Dar-wei) and the Thai word for cane (Ta Wine) an abundant export from the port. ‘Thagara’ has not been translated.

This is followed by a discussion of the archaeological and historical aspects of the sites and an attempt to assess the chronicle inclusions in relation to the archaeological evidence. While I have tried to simplify this account for the sake of clarity, it is filled with places and names particular to Myanmar and many local to Dawei. Indeed, it is in this specificity that the article is intended.

The founding narrative: Buddha and the hermit

The Dawei chronicle opens with a visit of the Gotama Buddha in his 11th Waso (Pali *vassa*, English ‘rains retreat’) to the flattened peak of Wemithaka (Ganantaung) on the edge of a lake west of Ye Byu, 19 km north of Dawei (14°14’29.47”N, 98°11’8.92”E). Buddhist sages, hermits, royal, tutelary and ancestral figures are all part of the Buddha’s conferral of Sacred Hairs. Upon arrival, the Buddha first meets the Kumbhanda *nat bilu* or tutelary ogre who lives near Wethawunna hill on the north side of Wemithaka. He then meets the sage Gawampati and lastly, Durakha *nat*, a local spirit whose name comes from the fragrant Durian fruit (*Durio zibethinus* Murr). Gawampati was unable to locate any fruit to offer to the Buddha whereupon the Duraka *nat* offered a *nat-thit-thi* or ‘spirit fruit’, the durian of the *nat*’s name. Following this, the Kumbhanda *bilu* offered a ‘sone-pi-ya’ (‘sone-pa-dat’ in Myanmar and ‘saung-da’ in Dawei), a *bein-nya-thi* (jackfruit, *Artocarpus heterophylus* Lamk) (Shwe Wei Ei. 1974, 2; Winn Myintzu personal communication, May 2011.)² Both are highly aromatic fruits, a

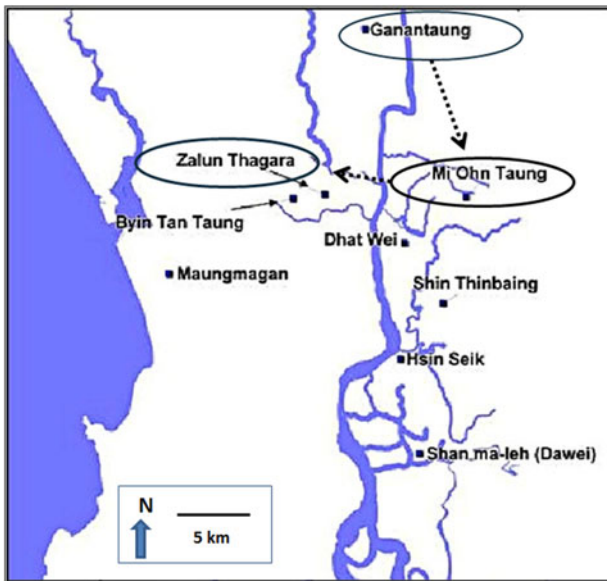


FIGURE 1
Map of Dawei showing sites mentioned in text. Drawing by the author.

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common use of natural markers such as herbs, strange flowers and fruits to highlight the power and auspiciousness of the natural landscape (Robson 2011, 7). A similar example is found in the Mon chronicle in an itinerary of the Buddha. One stop is made to Dawei where he is offered seven *pyizin* (*pyi-sin*, *Antidesma bunius*) flowers and in Lamphun, a hunter offers him *kyazu* fruit (*Terminalia citrina*), with *haritaka* (yellow myrobalan) and *bhuñjati* (eat) giving rise to the place known as *Kharibuñja* (Tun Aung Chain 2010, xviii–xix).

The Buddha then predicts future greatness of King Naruti, son of Durakha *nat* and ruler of a city north of Wethawunna hill where Sacred Hairs of three previous Buddhas Kakusandha, Konagamana and Kassapa are enshrined. He foretells the building of a city there called Aungthawadi (Kalein Aung, 75.6 km north of Dawei, 14°37'29.69"N, 98° 7'59.42"E) and the subsequent donation of pagoda *hti* or umbrella by King Siharaja and his son Banuraja of Thaton (Suvannabhūmi) (16°56'6.38"N, 97°21'17.45"E) (Shwe Wei Ei 1974, 2; Than Swe 2004, 69). Dawei chronicles record Aungthawadi's lifespan as *circa* 754–914 CE (116–276 ME) (Than Swe N.D.).³

With this prediction and at the request of Gawampati, the Buddha left two footprints at Nabule (14°17'33.24"N, 98°2'55.58"E) and gave three Sacred Hairs. These were enshrined at Aungthawadi (Kalein Aung) and the Shwe-taung-sar stupa at Hpaya Gyi pagoda in Dawei town (Shwe Wei Ei 2005, 2–4; Than Swe 2004, 93–96). The Buddha then left the region and King Naruti erects the stone *Hsu-taung-pyi hsan-taw-shin* pagoda or 'Hair relic wishing-fulfilling pagoda' at Aungthawadi. At the consecration enshrining the Hairs, Naruti and his queen do not donate images of the Buddha but golden images of *Meh-taw* and *Ga-mei Bo-taw* or 'grandmother and father' tutelary spirits while their son the prince donates golden images of *weiza* to guard the enshrined relics (Shwe Wei Ei 1974, 5–6).⁴ As this distinction between the donation of the *weiza* and *bo-taw* images shows, while in some cases, lay practitioners are called '*bodaw*' (Rozenberg 2010, 44) in the Dawei chronicles this term is used to refer to tutelary or ancestral spirits. The relic enshrinement ceremony draws in tutelary, ancestral and *weiza* lines seen in the Durakha *nat* and Kumbhanda *nat bilu* who give the Buddha large fleshy seed-rich fruits of the locality, *meh-taw* and *bo-taw* ancestral, and *weiza* images, respectively. In the inclusion of these different lines, ancestral and chthonic are united but subordinate to Buddhism in the conversion of mounds into stupas protecting the territory in which they lay (Shorto 1967, 140). While this hierarchy is debatable given the visual prominence of *nats* and other animistic aspects of the Dawei chronicle, it is an obvious one given the Buddhist institutionalisation within a *yazawin* structure.

The Aungthwadi stupa is completed with the hoisting of the *hti* or umbrella donated by King Siharaja and his son Banuraja of Thaton to the summit. With the tiered metal *hti* taking its form from royal crowns, the hoisting of the crown act is associated in Myanmar with political suzerainty (Moore 2000, 286). The presence of the sage Gawampati is also noted in the chronicle, like the crowning of the stupa by the Thaton king emblematic in this context of the Suvannabhūmi

missionary line of King Asoka. In Myanmar the sending of monks from Sri Lanka by King Asoka's son Mahinda is particularly linked to Thaton in national histories. In Dawei, however, it is common to find a portrait of King Asoka at pagodas, a custom not seen in Upper Myanmar. This alludes to a common tradition traced to Sri Lanka, but its use in the chronicle is ambiguous as it specifically cites King Siharja and his son Banuraja. The relic sent to Shwe-taung-sar stupa at Hpaya Gyi as with most of the pagodas in Dawei proper, does not figure in the tale of the hermit Gawinanda described here and the expanding Buddhist landscape of *circa* the ninth to thirteenth century CE. Although patronage of the Gawinanda sites often came from and still comes from the town, it is in the small villages on the northern fringes of the town described below that the trail of Gawinanda and the ancient city of Thagara is located.

Mi Ohn Taung (Indriya Mountain)

Having heard the prediction of the Buddha at Weimithaka (Ganantaung), the sage Gawampati, Duraka *nat* and Kumbhanda *nat bilu*, point to Mi Ohn Taung (Indriya Mountain), 8 km southeast, proclaiming how the kings of Zimme, Yodaya, Yun, Naruti of Aungthwadi and hundreds of thousands of soldiers will guard the religion there (Shwe Wei Ei 1974, 8). The four kings (Zimme (Chiengmai), Yodaya (Ayutthaya), Yun (a Shan ethnic group) and Naruti) and the accompanying soldiers journey to Mi Ohn Taung by a miraculous chariot (*zan-jin*) to erect a stupa images on Indriya (now Mi Ohn Taung) in order to bring peace to the region (Shwe Wei Ei 1974, 19–23). Mi Ohn Taung was known at that time as Indriya Taung, a place of meditation of *lawki* or mundane *weiza* capable of *iddhi pada* or miraculous feats such as prolongation of life, prediction, alchemy or cabalistic practices (Mendelson 1961; Myanmar Language Commission 1993, 480; Myat Kyaw and San Lwin 2002, 300; Rozenberg 2010, 50, 120; Tosa 2012, 314). The practices of the Mi Ohn Taung *weiza* are not detailed, but the visit implies purification through offering *soon* (a meal) to five *ārāhat* (*arhat*), the necessary number to constitute an order (Ministry of Religious Affairs 2000, 284; Myanmar Language Commission 2003, 390; Shwe Wei Ei 2005, 20). The *soon* is followed by the erecting of a stupa and enshrinement of one of the hair relics gifted by the Buddha with offerings of images by the kings to complete a *narawat*, a custom with objects made of the appropriate materials arranged in a circle linking that place to auspicious planets (Maung Htin Aung 1959, 12–13; Myanmar Language Commission 2003, 221). The Zimme king offers a six inch emerald image, the Yun king a six inch image of *meilla*, a coating such as lacquer or enamel, while Naruti king offers a six inch image of *than-the*, iron purified to give it alchemic powers (Maung Htin Aung 1962, 47; Shwe Wei Ei 2005, 23–24; Stevenson and Eveleth 1966, 755).

The events at Mi Ohn Taung re-iterate the role of the relic-imbued sites and *weiza* as interlocutors, as ambiguous or in opposition during times of change (Dhidha Saraya 1982, 128; Schober 2012, 284, 289). During the visit of the Buddha to Wemithaka (Ganantaung), he receives gifts from the local tutelary guardians,

foretells the future greatness of Aungthawadi (Kalein Aung), donates Hairs and negotiates the introduction of a Buddhist era. At Mi Ohn Taung (Indriya Taung), the donation and consecration mark another step in the process of transition, amalgamating existing *weiza* practices into a wider Buddhist community. Mi Ohn Taung, literally 'recline pillow mountain' refers, however, to a third narrative, the story of the hermit Gawinanda. A small stupa now sits on top of the small cave where the stone ledge inside is said to be where the hermit slept on the mountain.

As these details highlight, Shwe Wei Ei's compilation of Dawei's founding story unites places with chthonic tutelary spirits and sages, *lawki* and *lokuttara* practices and astrology with offerings to the stupa alluding to planets. The pre-existing *weiza* elicit careful attention by the four kings and soldiers bringing news of the Buddha's visit. Shwe Wei Ei does not identify certain episodes with monastic scribes in the different locations or present alternate versions of events. These might allow, for example, identification of the role of the Mi Ohn Taung *weiza* in the erection of a stupa and thus clarify whether the *weiza* are subsumed by the royally patronized contingent from Ganantaung with the hairs gifted during the visit of the Buddha, or if the passivity of the Mi Ohn Taung *weiza* and the inclusion of a *narawat* in the consecration of the new stupa glosses over inter-monastic rivalry that may have been present (Tosa 2012). The Mi Ohn Taung episode brings the narrative of the Buddha's visit to a close. Located south of the mountainous area of Aungthawadi (Kalein Aung) at the start of the Dawei River, the erection of the stupa on Mi Ohn Taung also moves the narrative into the immediate vicinity of present day Dawei.

The role of the hermit Gawinanda

The Gawinanda tale begins with the wish of a Queen of Hmaing-kayi (Bhumidewa Nagara) to possess a golden peacock. The court is said to be the city



FIGURE 2

Painting of Gawinanda at Zayawadi monastery, Dawei by Ba Tun Tin.

of Bakayi-that-tutwin, possibly Bokpyin (14° 5' 59.92"N, 98° 21' 0.24"E) or Myitta (14° 9' 45.44"N 98° 30' 56.53"E). The prince Maung Nwa (Mr. Bull) is sent in search of the bird after none of the court hunters have succeeded, moving in vain from village to village but unable to catch the elusive creature. In a long tale, he travels throughout the Dawei region, a memory retained in village names such as Daung Shaung ('peacock hiding'), 1.8 km northwest of Thagara, Daung Ngu ('peacock standing on a peninsula') and Daung Hlut ('freed peacock') (Shwe Wei Ei 1974; Than Swe (Dawei), pers. comm. November 2009; January 2011). The golden peacock and the bull (the hermit as Maung Nwa [Mr. Bull]) are understood locally to be the Buddha-to-be in previous lifetimes; locales on the east of the Dawei River have 'peacock' names and ones on the west 'bull' ones. For example, the mountain-top monastery of Min Yat on the west side of the river roughly translates as 'king stopped' and refers to the wanderings of the Buddha-to-be in a previous lifetime as a bull.⁵ Unable to capture the golden bird, rather than returning defeated to the palace, Maung Nwa becomes a hermit by the name of Gawinanda and lives by a pond near Weithawunna hill, the place of the earlier visit of the Buddha.

During his wanderings, one of the places the hermit sleeps is Mi Ohn Taung (Indriya Mountain). At this time, Thagyamin (Indra, Sakka, king of the *nats*) sends a female *nat* spirit to become a golden *Ngakoma* fish in the pond. As the hermit urinates in the pond, the fish in due course issues two eggs from which a human boy and girl are born. The dried body of the golden fish is said to have been kept over the generations by the *gana-wi-moat gaing* (Ganavimut Gado) or sect of Shwetaung founded in the early twentieth century (Than Swe 1999). While the hermit sleeps in the cave on Mi Ohn Taung, the fish spirit is said to have come to him in a dream. Later, Gawinanda finds the children, raising them with milk flowing from his fingers (Shwe Wei Ei 1974, 33–40, Than Swe 2004, 66). As the children grow older, Shin Araham, a travelling monk, gives the hermit a relic that he passes to the male child, Shin Zan, a conferral the chronicle dates to 886 CE (Than Swe 1996/2004, 66). At the protests of the young girl, Shin Zaw, the hermit returns to the monk who gives him a second relic. Gawinanda then seeks advice from the king of Kalein Aung who advises him to enshrine them in a pagoda. The hermit and the two children make a vow at 'Weithawunna' pond, site of the future Dhat weh or 'flying relic' stupa. Shin Zan's relic is enshrined at Dhat Weh and Shin Zaw's across the river at Shin Zalun, the future walled city of Thagara. The narrative concludes with the coronation of Shin Zan as Thamandaraza, the first king of Thagara *circa* 751–908 AD (113 (123)–270 (276) ME).

Comparing Gawinanda and Gawampati

Shin Zan is crowned king but the most active agent in this episode is the hermit Gawinanda. In this, Gawinanda recalls in several respects the sage Gawampati of Thaton. As stated, Dawei's founding story opens by bringing tutelary and ancestral spirits together with Gawampati to honour the visit of the

Buddha. Gawampati is initially the 'outsider', but it is he together with the local Durakha *nat* and Kumbhanda *nat bilu* who makes offerings to the Buddha. He brings both his Suvāṇṇabhūmi reputation and implicitly, in the propagation of Buddhist rule, the Asokan missionary tradition later filled at Dawei by Gawinanda.

While in general Buddhist tradition, Gawampati dies of his own will soon after the Buddha's demise, in Mon accounts, he had a previous life in Lower Myanmar, born of the union of an alchemist and a female *naga* which he recalls during his lifetime as Gawampati and invites the Buddha to visit Thaton (Maung Htin Aung 1959, 11). Born of the union of a *naga* and hermit, Gawampati has been called a transformed guardian deity, paralleled at Dawei in the birth of the two children from the golden fish (Shorto 1967, 136). There are several parallels in the Gawinanda and other stories including birth, bovine allusions, supernatural abilities and this connection to place. The birth of the king of Thagara from golden fish recalls the birth of Upagupta from a golden fish, raised, as were the twins of the Dawei story, by a hermit (Strong 1991, 212). Like Maung Nwa, Gawampati has bovine associations and an ability to instigate an uncommon response from natural forces. He has been called the 'messenger' of the Buddha and yet was the teacher of the first king of Thaton. Similarly the hunter Maung Nwa as the hermit Gawinanda was teacher to Maung Zan, the future founding king of Thagara. Finally, Gawinanda is present when a stupa is erected to enshrine relics at the site of Shin Dhat Wei ('flying relic') while two twelfth-century CE inscriptions of the Bagan king Kyanzittha, in a previous lifetime as Vishnu, foretell the presence of Gawampati at the founding of the first millennium CE 'Pyu' walled city of Sri Ksetra (18°48'44.64"N, 95°17'20.60"E) (Moore 2004, 7; Pe Maung Tin and Luce 1960, 14; Taw Sein Ko and Duroiselle 1919, 114).

Just as Gawampati disappears from the Dawei chronicle after enshrinement of the Buddha's Hair Relics, Gawampati leaves the Suvāṇṇabhūmi record. At Dawei, the establishment of Buddhist rule at Thagara is part of the 'second wave' of propagation, the Gawinanda story. Likewise, it is the monks Sona and Uttara who are credited with the establishment of the Buddha's teachings at Thaton (Bischoff 1996–2011). Both the arrival and later waves of propagation—the presence of the living Buddha versus propagation by missionaries associated with the lineage established by Sona and Uttara—are part of the Dawei narrative. This two-part sequence is not seen at all early Buddhist sites in Myanmar, but is found at the significant Pyu site of Sri Ksetra and the Mon Suvāṇṇabhūmi Thaton—and suggests an importance of Dawei, at least in local perception, on a par with Sri Ksetra and Thaton. At Sri Ksetra, the Buddha foretells during a visit of the building of a city later ruled by the offspring of a hermit and a deer (Pe Maung Tin and Luce 1960, 8, 13). At Thaton, the Buddha visits at the request of Gawampati; the founding of the city stems from the offspring of a hermit and a *naga* but the founding of the royal lineage follows the missionary arrival of the monks Sona and Uttara. The founding of the *Sāsana* in Dawei by 873 AD (235 ME) is likewise associated with the Asokan and Suvāṇṇabhūmi tradition of Thaton through the hermit Gawinanda (Than Swe 1999, 11). Given this role, Gawinanda is

logically the principal tale re-iterated in the naming and history of pilgrimage places around Dawei. The story is also replicated with great imagination in paintings dating from *circa* 1950 to the present at virtually all Dawei pagodas and monasteries. The paintings are on large metal sheets and boards suspended from under the eaves of long covered walkways of Dawei, a custom introduced with the 1826 CE British occupation of Lower Myanmar that replaced narrative pagoda wood-carvings (Fraser-Lu 2001, 149–151).

The Dawei chronicle has many more sub-tales than these, each a complex story drawing in the principal pagodas of Dawei town and surrounding villages. In the sequence presented here, however, Buddhism is introduced by the visit of the Buddha with the ensuing propagation subsuming existing *weiza* groups and finally, the founding of the royal lineage merging the cultural identity with Buddhist rule. At Wemithaka (Ganantaung), previous Buddhas, tutelary spirits, ancestral figures and ogres as well as a Mon king of Suvannabhūmi and his son are present. At Mi Ohn Taung (Indriya Taung) other, potentially rival groups are subsumed and at Dhat Weh-Thagara a royal line established not on an isolated mountain-top but a lowland walled site ideally situated to access inland and maritime trade. Each site of the chronicle draws further potency from events, the repetitions being both additive and cumulative to unambiguously relay the message of transfer (Tambiah 1970, 207).

In their location, naming and commonplace discourse, the chronicle sites imbue the landscape with palpable reminders within local social memory. From mountains to lakes and the fragrant flowers and fruits noted above that were offered to the Buddha, these special places point to deeper and unseen meanings of the land (Robson 2011, 7). As the multiple significances of the actual places are integrated with Buddhism, they take on a unique character through the local geography and ecology of Dawei.

From Aungthawadi at the rising point of the Dawei River to Mi Ohn Taung near a small river leading over the mountains to Thailand, and the site of Thagara with its access to both the river and the sea, their geography underlines the economic and cultural connections of Dawei in all directions. This is seen in the brief descriptions below of four sites, in their geographical setting and at the two sites at Thagara that have been archaeologically explored, in the artefacts and excavated remains. To put the Thagara artefacts in the context of Myanmar as a whole, this is preceded by a summary of one of the most often discussed aspects of Dawei archaeology and one alluded to above, the differences in the first millennium CE 'Mon' and 'Pyu' Buddhist sites of Myanmar.

Mon and Pyu material culture

Despite the many religious links between Dawei and Thaton noted above, the ecology and material culture of each is different, with Thagara's archaeology connected to Tibeto-Burman 'Pyu' sites in Upper Myanmar. This is at first sight unusual as Thaton is 320 km north of Dawei and the nearest major Pyu site of Sri

Ksetra is 640 km from Dawei. Thaton and Dawei are alike in being large walled cities in areas of high precipitation surrounded by rice lands. However, the lateritic landscape of Thaton is not seen in Dawei. Laterite was (and is) quarried at Dawei but used to carve architectural elements such as cylinders or finials for stupas rather than to build ramparts, a common trait in the early walled Mon sites around Thaton. This architectural use is seen in an undated set of cylinders discovered at fields near Daung Shaung just north of Thagara, one of the places where the hunter Maung Nwa searched in vain for the golden peacock to take back to the queen.

Is Dawei's early Buddhist culture related to first millennium CE walled sites of 'Suvannabhūmi' recorded in Mon language chronicles in the nearby present Mon State of Myanmar and Central Thailand or is it connected to the more distant Upper Myanmar 'Pyu' sites? The Dawei peoples are recognized as a distinct ethnic group, the area having its own dialect said to be descended from a combination of indigenous words and terms found on twelfth-century CE Bagan inscriptions. This suggests an identity within the Tibeto-Burman groups of Myanmar first millennium CE whose inscriptions have not yet been found. Artefacts from Upper Myanmar and areas of Lower Myanmar south of Yangon along with the present day Mon State are commonly labelled Pyu and Mon, respectively, typing artefacts found in geographical zones to ancient ethnicity. The many presumptions embedded in this definition of archaeology, history and nation by ethnicity—Austro-asiatic Mon-Khmer and Tibeto-Burman Pyu—continue to be debated (Aung-Thwin 2005; Moore 2009, 2011; Phasook Indrawoath 2004). Mon sites in Lower Myanmar and in Central Thailand have some traits in common such as walls but Pyu walls are brick with massive gates with abundant use of distinct terracotta burial urns *circa* 15–40 cm high. Similar urns have not been found to date at 'Mon' sites south of Yangon and around the Gulf of Muttama (Martaban) with walls often made from laterite blocks. The multiple walls around of Thagara and the artefacts from the site, however, are strikingly similar to those of the Pyu sites. Common artefacts include urns, beads and coins, and votive tablets. In addition, aspects of the Dawei dialect, songs, dance and funerary customs, have led to popular association with the ancient Pyu and hypotheses of the 'Dawei Pyu' culture.

Another factor in assessing Mon versus Pyu influence at Dawei relates to later centuries when control of the strategically located port shifted between more dominant Tibeto-Burman Bamar (Burmese), Mon and Thai kingdoms to the north and east. During the ninth to thirteenth century CE, Bagan (Pagan), the capital of Upper Myanmar was predominantly Bamar, a Tibeto-Burman group seen as either supplanting, succeeding or merging with a number of Tibeto-Burman groups including the Pyu. A twelfth-century inscription at Bagan has four faces inscribed with roughly the same text in Mon, Bamar (Myanmar), Pali and Pyu, indicating the presence or at least memory of these different ethnic groups at that time. During this period, Dawei provided access to the Andaman Sea for the inland based Bagan kingdom, important enough to merit sending of an officer to the

area noted in an inscription on the reverse of a votive tablet donated by a governor of the twelfth-century CE King Kyanzittha. From the fifteenth to nineteenth century CE, control of Dawei fluctuated between Upper Myanmar, Mon and Thai powers (Moore 2011, 32). The sixteenth-century CE Thai control is commonly related to trade increases following the Portuguese taking of Malacca in 1511 CE, with the British rule from 1826 CE likewise in part a hedge against rival European presence in other parts of the region.

This later history of Dawei as a political ‘prize’, is important for understanding what is included and omitted in Shwe Wei Ei’s compilation of the Dawei chronicle. As the complex chronology demonstrates, attributing Dawei culture to Mon or Pyu or any other single group is simplistic. Second, during many centuries Dawei was to some degree at least subject of Bamar centres which may account for the absence of the preceding Pyu ancient cities of Upper Myanmar in the installation of the Buddhist king of Thagara. The Dawei people relate their ancient past to the Pyu as ‘Dawei Pyu’, not a provincial outpost subject to a larger centre of Upper Myanmar. As can be seen in the following description, the inclusion of the Mon King of Thaton and his son in the opening episodes of the chronicle is at odds with the artefacts and the history of political control of Dawei and most likely merely alludes to a Suvannabhūmi tradition, with the naming of specific rulers being a trope understandable by local readers in this context. The underlying insularity and localization of the chronicle is supported by the following summary of the archaeology of four key sites.

Selected archaeological sites

Of the four sites mentioned in the chronicle—Aungthwadi, Mi Ohn Taung, Shin Dhat Weh and Thagara—two have been surveyed for archaeological artefacts. The one excavation to have been carried out in the region was at Thagara in 1999–2000 where objects dating to the first and early second millennium CE were recovered.

Kalein Aung (Aungthawadi)

Kalein Aung (Aungthawadi), 64 km north of Dawei at the rising point of the Dawei River, is the first city named in the Dawei chronicle. The name is said to derive from the Kalica bird, a local *nat* transformed into a bird disguise as it shouted ‘Aungthawadi’ (Than Swe, personal communication, January 2008). Accumulated sand deposition from the Dawei River as well as previous periods of insurgency has obscured many parts of the city wall enclosing an area of *circa* 3.24 hectares. In a 1999–2000 survey, one brick mound was identified as the palace and another structure as the Nan-Oo or ‘main palace’ pagoda. Parts remain of a sizeable outer wall and moat, one face flanking the Kalein Aung stream (Ngwe Ngwe Soe 2000). Artefacts found included small pottery vessels, possibly urns and large lead and tin coins (Aung Myint and Pe Nyan, Personal communication,

August 2003; Robinson and Shaw 1980, 35–37). The coins are worth detailing for the particulars of their unique local form and iconography. They are also noteworthy as their sixteenth- to nineteenth-century dating underlines the continued habitation at Aungthawadi (Kalein Aung). Further, with the coins found at sites throughout the local region, they emphasise the significance of the Dawei River to facilitate interchange.

The most of abundant source of the three coin types documented at Kalein Aung is the ancient site of Weidi (13°58'54.29"N, 98°10'39.37"E), 11 km south of Dawei. One variety is made of lead, recorded in a light (3 to 4 g) and heavy (11 to 14 g) variety, about 6 cm in diameter and weighing more than 300 g. The coins are stamped with a *hintha* bird (*hamsa* or Brahminy duck) on the obverse side. The meaning of the Myanmar script on the reverse has not been deciphered. The second type is made of tin, again about 6 cm in diameter but weighing only 30 g. Some bear raised Myanmar script on the reverse reading 'Maha-thukan-ga-nagaran, or 'city (of) great happiness'. On these, the obverse bears a design of lotus buds in water, a mythical animal, or a *naga*, three lower rows of lines with the rim marked with small *bindu* or dots. A third type, of either design is mixed tin and lead and a few coins bear other animals such as a cock and a horse. Missionary records from the eighteenth century describe large coins and nineteenth-century correspondence mentions the measuring out of large tin coins by the basket for sizeable transactions. However, the selection of animals, artistry of design, royal affiliation and production process all remain to be identified. Similar coins have not been identified elsewhere in Myanmar or neighbouring countries, re-iterating the distinctiveness of Dawei's sacred geography and archaeology.

Mi-ohn-taung

Mi Ohn Taung (14°10'39.30"N, 98°13'25.54"E) is located 10 km northeast of Dawei, accessible in the dry season by jeep. 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 (Dawei University teachers, personal communication, 2004; Japanese-printed map 95J4 of Tavoy District, 1912–13, 1:50,000). During a 2006 survey, in addition to the pagoda on the summit, a hermit having stayed on the hill for thirty years identified a swing for the local *nat*, the cave where Gawinanda had slept and the well he used. At the base of the hill is another pagoda, Shin Thinbaing, where the hermit of the chronicle, Gawinanda, reputedly hung his robe.

The pagoda on top of the 180-metre-high hill is said to have been completed in 705 CE (67 ME) according to the chronicle record. A local monk repaired it in 1769 CE, and in 1975 its ordination hall was consecrated through donations from Zayawadi monastery, one of the most prosperous in Dawei. The Zayawadi donation is of note also for its example of the frequent interchange between urban and rural pagodas and monasteries. This pattern is seen not just in patronage to the stupa on the summit but around the foot of Mi Ohn Taung

where villagers say that long ago princes from Thailand established three villages to maintain the temple, tasking the people and their descendants with the responsibility for maintaining the pagoda. In the 1950s a wealthy man in the area reputedly purchased about 10 hectares for the pagoda with other adjacent areas also donated until in recent years the government permitted rubber plantations and a monk from another part of the country received permission to set up a *taw-yar-sa-khan* or meditation centre on land which the local people see as belonging to the pagoda (Winn Myintzu personal communication, December 2012). Given these donations and the continued use of the site, verifying the antiquity of the places associated with the hermit is not feasible. This is also the case at the site of Dhat Weh.

Shin Dhat Weh

Shin Dhat Wei or 'whirling relic' is located at Maungmeshan ($14^{\circ} 9'41.85''\text{N}$, $98^{\circ}11'56.39''\text{E}$), 3 km east of Thagara on the opposite bank of the Dawei River. Maungmeshan, named in the Dawei chronicle, is traditionally the place where the 'brother and sister slipped away' with 'maung' and 'me(h)' referring to the two children born of the hermit and the golden fish and 'shan' a shortening of 'shaung', perhaps alluding to the children momentarily eluding the watchful eye of the hermit who raised them (Than Swe, personal communication, January 2011). The pagoda is on an eroded 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 and linking it with Thagara. The Maungmeshan road and jetty are not dated but survey has revealed a number of brick layers in the raised road



FIGURE 3

Painting of building of Shin Dhat Wei (flying relic) pagoda showing the Thagara pagoda in the distance by Ba Tun Tin.

feature, where in the absence of any absolute dates or inscriptions, with larger bricks on the lower courses associated with first millennium CE habitation. Traces of ramparts may exist on the southwest edge of the Dhat Weh mound but archaeological mapping has yet to be undertaken.

Thagara

Thagara is known locally as Myohaung or 'old city'. It is a large mound (approx. 1600 × 1100 m) in a lowland rice-producing area with access to the Dawei River and the Andaman Sea (14°10'28.57"N, 98°10'2.61"E, 16 m above msl, Launglon Township, 11.6 km north of Dawei). Streams flank the Thagara mound on the north and south, providing access to the Dawei River on the east. Dawei receives 5842 mm of rain per annum, most between May and October, when Thagara is often accessible only by boat. The elevated mound, however, remains dry. This topography, along with its setting within a rich agricultural area, with water and land routes north to Upper Myanmar, west to the sea and east over the mountains, give a pragmatic rationale to its choice as the site for the coronation of Shin Zan as Thamandaraza, and the start of the first Thagara dynasty *circa* 751–908 AD (113 (123)–270 (276) ME).

This period, the second half of the first millennium CE during which the chronicle places coronation of the Thagara king, saw the construction in Upper Myanmar 'Pyu' areas of large walled sites that like Thagara had good access to inland water routes. The walls, in combination with canals and the use of small streams and creeks adjacent went hand-in-hand with the establishment of monastic communities, expansion of wet rice cultivation, specialised production areas and the establishment of Buddhist kingship. This 'cultural package', while not yet documented to the extent—or antiquity—that has been possible in Sri Lanka or Central India, sees a strong case for not only a tandem development of water management, urbanization and the spread of Buddhism via monastic-lay exchange networks but an active and perhaps central role played by monastic communities rather than being a royal prerogative (Coningham 1995, 225; Shaw and Sutcliffe 2003, 73). Evidence of monastic communities at first millennium CE walled cities of Myanmar is seen in brick structures excavated at Beikthano (20° 0'35.23"N, 95°22'58.73"E) and Winka (17°13'34.79"N, 97° 4'16.07"E) near Thaton where multi-chambered buildings were identified as monasteries (Aung Thaw 1968; Moore and San Win 2007, 216). However, these remains only hint at what were undoubtedly many wooden monasteries associated with each and every brick stupa and temple. Thus in both Upper and Lower Myanmar, the establishment of monasteries, water management and agriculture worked in tandem in the founding and prospering of Buddhist kingdoms. As the *weiza* of Mi Ohn Taung were brought within the founding story of the Thagara kinship, in a pattern similar to that seen in Sri Lanka, the former communities appear to have become wealthy feudal landlords and as explained above, a pattern retained until the recent past (Coningham 1995, 222)

This tandem development of the landscape in conjunction with social and religious change is illustrated well at Thagara. There are four to five earthen ramparts (10 m wide on the north, 25 m on the south) around the inner and outer areas of Thagara. The presence of many walls on one side of the site is similar to that seen in the Mon State at sites such as Kyaikkatha (17°21′53.91″N, 96°55′1.74″E) and Thaton. The higher ground earthworks enabled lower areas to freely drain in times of flood, acting as water retention basins to reduce inundation levels (Moore and San Win 2007, 209; Pelzer 1968, 275). The Thagara outer wall (1600 × 1100 m) is flanked by moats (10–25 m in width). The curvilinear ramparts encircle the mound, broken with four ‘gates’. While absolute dating of the multiple walls around Thagara has yet to be undertaken, finds of large finger-marked bricks during the 1999–2000 excavations begin to date at least some of these to the same era as establishment of the royal line *circa* the eighth to tenth century CE.

Two further linear ramparts are seen on the mound itself: a rectangular wall (745 × 640 m) enclosing the presumed palace (SGR2, 7.45 × 6.40 m) and Shin Zalun stupa and a second around the so-called Kayat Pyin cultivated quarter on the east side of the mound adjacent to remains of a what was probably a brick jetty. Three monasteries flank the ancient site, a large number for its size. The Western Monastery is the best patronised today while on the southeast is the *Myo-haung ah-shei* or Ancient city front stupa and on the north the *Hsin-panit* (Elephant compound), a Rakhine monastery said to be the earliest.

Just south of the walled site is a wide tract of flat rice-growing land, known as Myo Kyo Koe, where in the low bunds surrounding the rice fields, a large number of terracotta urns have been found through ploughing by farmers. The small vessels are 15–50 cm in diameter and *circa* 11 cm in height, found in clusters of two to three urns in a layer of black ashy soil some 8–10 cm below the surface. The urns contain ash and bones, in some cases large fragments 6–10 cm in length. A few urns contain one to two small blue to violet coloured glass beads, 1 mm thick and 2 mm in diameter. In 2010, a further area south also began to yield urns, adding urgency to the need for archaeological survey and protection of the area. The urns parallel the mortuary custom of the Pyu sites of Upper Myanmar where a large number of terracotta urns have been found in tracts and in other cases in the foundation of brick structures. The use of urns, however, has yet to be documented in the ‘Mon’ sites south of Yangon and in the present day Mon State.

Two structures were unearthed during 1999–2000 excavations by the Department of Archaeology, Ministry of Culture. At SGR1, close to the northern wall, a northeast oriented brick structure (8 × 6.4 m) overlying a habitation layer was found. An entry platform, inner and outer enclosures and a square upper terrace (3.5 m) were defined (Ngwe Ngwe Soe 2000). It is thought that this was a temple for a guard post protecting the north flank of the site. The second, SGR2, was a long (10 m) rectangular brick ‘palace’ building with an east entry into a single-chambered hall and four small rooms in a row on the west. The structure is attributed to the late sixteenth century AD, but a survey by the author and local scholars documented underlying foundations with different alignments and

finger-marked bricks. In addition, two habitation layers were identified in the 3.5 m stratigraphy (Ngwe Ngwe Soe 2000; Than Swe n.d.). As there are no radiocarbon dates for Thagara or any of the walled sites around Dawei, dating remains comparative. The use of large finger-marked bricks is associated with first millennium CE walled Buddhist sites but dies out by the tenth to eleventh century CE as bricks become smaller and the broad surface either left plain or marked with stamps (Moore and Aung Myint 1991–1992). The location of the palace site at the centre of the walled site parallels the pattern seen at Pyu walled sites of Upper Myanmar, a pattern of centrality which continues up to the nineteenth-century CE construction of Mandalay palace.

The most venerated and arguably the oldest part of the site is Zalun (Thalun) stupa just inside the northeast corner wall. The stupa is located on an isolated hillock that has not been excavated to determine the original topography; today the land rises to 20 m from a low of 5 m on the southwest. Although the walls make a continuous enclosure today, the segments were probably built quickly and repeatedly in times of need. There has been no excavation of Shin Zalun, but a number of artefacts have been found during survey. These include large terracotta beads (*circa* 3–4 cm in length) and grinding or muller stones similar to ones from seventh- to ninth-century CE Dvaravati Buddhist walled sites in Thailand and the walled site of Kyaikkatha in the present day Mon State (Moore and San Win 2007; Phasook Indrawooth 2004).

Another piece from Thagara is an image of the Buddha (13 cm) in bronze or possibly a tin-lead alloy with traces of copper. The image is shown seated in *pralambanāsana* or 'European posture' in a seated position with legs recumbent, and the right arm, now broken, probably raised in the *Abhaya* mudrā with open palm facing forward. The left is lowered with palm open and inscribed with a rough *Dharmacakra* or 'wheel of law'. 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. It is similar although somewhat cruder than seventh- to ninth-century CE Dvaravati examples, with another parallel seen in an image from Twante (16° 55' 3"N, 95° 46' 51"E) an area in the delta south of Yangon with several early Buddhist sites (Luce 1985, Volume 2, 76(b)) and a bronze image of a similar date, size and posture was recovered from the Upper Myanmar Pyu site of Beikthano in 2003.

Finds from the Kayat Pyin quarter include glazed wares reflecting later Thagara kings: the Second dynasty 996–1076 AD (357–438 ME) and the Third Zalun dynasty 1562–1742 CE (924–1105 ME) (Than Swe n.d.). Pieces include a greenish-yellow 'hip flask' (18 cm height, 8.5 cm diameter) with a small mammal shape draped over the top. Another piece is a fifteenth- to sixteenth-century AD Si Satchanalai ware made for pouring water that depicts a hunched man (8 cm) with a long knot of hair toting a sack (Kawthala 1995; Than Swe (Dawei) pers. comm. 2006). More than sixty gold pieces such as bracelets, bangles and a sash or *salweh* were found in 1987 but then disappeared (Kawthala 1995; Than Swe (Dawei)

personal communication, 2006). Significant finds have also been recorded at Byin (Myin) Htin Taung, a slightly elevated hill (42 m) just west of the walled site of Thagara. A large number of stone and glass beads have been found, including finished and unfinished round and oval spheres, tubes, biconical shapes and flat ovals (2 mm–2.3 cm). The beads are made of green-blue glass, carnelian, and other black, chocolate and cream coloured semi-precious stones. Tubular beads are opaque, coloured deep red, brown, cream, and blue. Silver coins, terracotta beads, smoking pipes and some sixty gold objects (e.g., bracelets, bangles, necklaces, sashes) have also been documented, although most of the latter sadly were exported (Kawthala 1995; Than Swe (Dawei) personal communication).

Conclusion

Thagara has yielded the richest concentration of first millennium CE artefacts of all the sites around Dawei. The seventh- to ninth-century CE seated image of the Buddha, with parallels to images of the Pyu city of Beikthano in Upper Myanmar and also images from Twante south of Yangon and Nakhon Pathom in Central Thailand, is simple and crudely made but significant in its obvious local production. The large finger-marked bricks and beads have parallels again at other first millennium CE sites elsewhere in Myanmar and in Central and southern Thailand. The later glazed ceramics demonstrate the continued habitation of Thagara and underline its prime trading position with riverine and maritime access.

The finger-marked bricks, encircling walls, beads and terracotta urns all find their closest comparison not in the sites of the Mon State or the Dvaravati sites of Central Thailand but to the distinct first millennium CE Pyu culture of Upper Myanmar. Surface finds of small silver coins in the east sector of Dawei reinforce this similarity for the symbols on the coins are those seen on Pyu coins. This is not the case with the material culture of the Mon sites, where urns are not seen, walls are typically constructed of laterite, different combinations of symbols are seen on coins, and the style of the image of the Buddha differs. As noted above, the inclusion of the Thaton king in the Dawei chronicle is best explained as an allusion to the Asokan tradition rather than a literal reference that is in keeping with the absence of artefacts linking the Dawei sites to those of the present day Mon State.

There are at present no first millennium CE absolute dates or inscriptions from the Dawei sites and with the exception of the two excavated structures at Thagara, all the stupas and monasteries continue to be venerated making assessment of their chronology reliant on stylistic analysis. Comparative artefacts from survey and excavation dating from *circa* the seventh to at least the eighteenth century are compatible with the founding date of 116 Myanmar Era (889 CE) and continued chronology given of the Dawei chronicle. The artefacts compare most closely with the material culture of the Pyu sites of Upper Myanmar, one which is notably absent in the chronicle. The wealth of the finds also testifies to Thagara's culminating role in the chronicle as the founding site of the Thagara

royal line. While much of the chronicle concerns negotiation between different groups from tutelary figures to *weiza*, these accounts are narrated by Shwe Wei Ei as preambles to the consolidation of the first Thagara dynasty, thus tying Buddhism to the whole sequence of the chronicle. The absence of any mention of the Pyu sites may reflect later periods of Upper Myanmar domination of Dawei or, as it is the Pyu cities which begin the royal lineage of national chronicles such as the *Glass Palace Chronicle* compiled in the early nineteenth century, be seen in light of this and other national chronicles which ignore the founding of Buddhism in Tanintharyi Division (Pe Maung Tin and Luce 1960). It is also during the nineteenth century that the end of the monarchy brought a widening of Buddhism, with the rise of lay *weiza* linked to the change (Pranke 2011). The emphasis on *weiza* and tutelary deities in the Dawei chronicle may also date to nineteenth-century compilations, although unlike the monastic traditions in Upper Myanmar closely tied to the court at Mandalay, the southern peninsula has always remained a relatively distanced area economically, politically and culturally. Future research on the south may generate new paradigms linked to the inter-regional networks connecting maritime and overland areas.

The Thagara artefacts and stupas, *nats*, tutelary deities, sages, hermites and *weiza* are all part of the sacred geography and institutionalisation of Buddhism particular to Dawei. Places and events carry 'tradition' from one site to the next, arenas for resolution (or omission) of tensions inherent in the changing role of Buddhism (Lukens-Bull 2003, xiii). The chronicle authenticated well-known oral tradition marked by the sites of the narrative. The general chronology set out in the chronicle stands up well against archaeological evidence at a series of sites familiar in local tradition bolstering the evidence through which to define and interpret the early history of Buddhism in Dawei.

The sacred geography of Dawei is not the same as the *places* of ancient habitation but a instead a landscape which is part of a wider geographical, social and economic whole. Sites are empowered by their place in the landscape and provide waypoints to navigate through each particular landscape (Tilley 1994, 32–34). The narrative's movement brings particular points into a spatial narrative, and as is the case in Dawei, memorialised a very broad perception of time and reality in the designation of particular sites. The places share a power conferred by their naming. As spaces of enactment they need not be divorced from the trade networks underlying their selection—from the rising of the Dawei River to locations along the river linking east to Thailand and west to the sea.

The pattern set by the Buddha's visit continues throughout the chronicle: arrival of a spiritual figure, conferral of relics, gathering of eminent personages and enshrinement of the relics and images in a stupa. The relic-imbued stupa brings place and practice together. Commonly understood in Myanmar as the living presence of the Buddha, the stupa is the mediating agent unifying local and global practice (Shorto 1977; Stewart 2007, 159, 168–169). The chronicle tropes draw upon South Asian, Mon and Upper Myanmar models, but the dominant characters and of course places are local.

The aim in this paper is not to establish a hierarchy between chronicle and empirical narratives but to highlight the ongoing dialectic between them. Ingold likens this process to that of the knowledgeable hunter able to pick up subtle indications on his forays that are absent in the archaeologist's site report (Ingold 1993, 153). Kalein Aung, Mi Ohn Taung, Dhat Weh and Thagara possess such pointers, kept alive in by patronage during many political fluctuations. In this accommodation to and use of change, Dawei's sacred geography demonstrates the specificities that facilitated the rise and continuation of local Buddhist cults and sites throughout Southeast Asia.

NOTES

1. There is no single commonly agreed system of Romanization for Myanmar words. Common use spellings are used for place names in this article following John Okell's System of romanization (Okell 2000). Contemporary place names are used with alternative spelling in brackets so for example, Dawei (Tavoy) and Inwa (Ava). Where pronunciation is ambiguous, the phonetic spelling as used in the Myanmar Language Commission (2003) has been inserted between two angled lines, as in *Indrya/ei-thein-drya/*. Definitions of the Tibeto-Burman Pyu and Bamar, and Austro-Asiatic Mon are discussed within the text.
2. The *nat* is also linked to Nabule Stream on the Dawei coast (Than Swe, personal communication, January 2008).
3. ME is Myanmar Era, subtracting 638 from Gregorian year calculations.
4. *Weiza*, derived from the Pāli *vijjā*, literally knowledge, is an ambiguous term as it refers to range of monastics and lay persons adept at many variable combinations of *lawki* and *lokuttara*, mundane and supramundane expertise (Rozenberg 2010, 44, 47). *Lokuttara* includes the nine aspects: the four paths, fruitions and liberation from mundane existence (Myat Kyaw and San Lwin 2002, 190).
5. The Buddha was a buffalo in the Mahisia Jātaka and a bull in the Ayyakālaka, Nandivīsāla, Mahālohita and Sārambha jatakas.

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