

# Ayutthaya and Burma \*

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## **Abstract**

The paper aims to compare city layouts of Ayutthaya, Hanthawaddy, and Toungoo, capitals of the Siamese, Mon, and Burmese during the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries after the fall of Pagan and Angkor. Historic city of Ayutthaya had an irregular shape and was surrounded by three rivers. The inner city with the royal palace to the northwest also consisted of several canals used for transportation and water supply. There were Buddhist temples in both the inner city and outer areas. While Hanthawaddy city of the Mon was established by King Byinnya U to the east of the Pegu River. It was enclosed with walls and had a shape of a sixteen-sided polygon with eight city gates. The royal palace was likely built at the center of the inner city whereas the Shwe Mawdaw, the most important pagoda, was situated outside the inner city to the west. Hanthawaddy was changed to a shape of a square in the reign of the Burmese King Bayinnaung who transferred the Burmese capital from Toungoo to Hanthawaddy around 1553. Hanthawaddy of King Bayinnaung was designed after the model of Toungoo or Ketumati with a shape of a square enclosed with walls and moats. The two cities consisted of the palace at the center, twenty city gates with five gates on each side, and ten streets to connect the gates on the north to those of the south and those of the east to those of the west. They also had four pagodas each at the corner of the city. This comparison provides the understanding of culture and characteristics of the Siamese, Mon, and Burmese.

**Keywords:** Ayutthaya | Hanthawaddy | Pegu | Toungoo | Ketumati

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## 1. Introduction

Myanmar and Thailand have long been centers of Buddhism since the early century. Although after the collapse of Buddhist Dvaravati in the tenth century, several parts of Thailand became under the rule of Hindu and Mahayanist Khmers. Thailand was intermediate zone between the two empires, the Buddhist Pagan to the west and the Hindu Khmer to the east. Later, states and kingdoms emerged in Thailand were thus mixed influence of the Mon, Burmese, and Khmer, such as Sukhothai, Lanna, and Ayutthaya during the thirteenth to the fourteenth centuries. In particular Ayutthaya situated in the lower part of the Chao Phaya plain was not far from Nakhon Pathom, Suphanburi, and Lopburi, former centers of Dvaravati and Khmer rules in central Thailand.



Fig 1: Thailand and Myanmar showing Location of Ayutthaya, Hanthawaddy, Toungoo, and important cities

## 2. Historic City of Ayutthaya

Historic city of Ayutthaya was founded by King U Thong in 1350/51. It was situated on the meeting plain of the three rivers, namely Chao Phaya, Lopburi, and Pasak and had some distance, around 100-110 kilometers, from the present Gulf of Thailand. Its location provided great benefits for rice planting, natural defense against invaders, and access to the sea. Ayutthaya city was created differently from those of the Khmer as it had an irregular shape with Chao Phaya, former Lopburi, and Pasak rivers as moats surrounded the city to the west and south, north, and east, respectively. Furthermore, the city consisted many canals running from the north to the south and from the east to the west with their mouths connected the Chao Phaya, former Lopburi, and Pasak rivers (see Fig. 2-3). These canals could be used for transportation within the city. On the other hand, Khmer cities were usually built in a shape of a rectangular or a square enclosing with city walls and moats. At the center was a temple. The cities often contained ponds or *baray* or *trapang* in a rectangular shape to collect water for drinking and household use. The Khmer empire had power over several parts of Thailand during the eleventh to the twelfth centuries; however, central Thailand became independent a short period in the mid-twelfth century. They became under the Khmer rule again during the reign of King Jayavaraman VII (1181-1218). Being under the Khmer rule, cities in a shape of a rectangular or a square with a temple at the center were constructed in central, northeastern, and southern Thailand, such as Ratchaburi, Suphanburi, Ayodhya, Phetchaburi, Muang Sing, and Phimai in Korat (see Map 1). Even historic towns of Sukhothai and Chiang Mai had a shape of a square and surrounded by city walls and moats. Historic town of Sukhothai was probably built by Pho Khun Srinaonamthom under the Khmer rule of King Jayavaraman VII (1181-1218). Whereas Chiang Mai inspired by Sukhothai was created later by King Mengrai during the thirteenth century.

The main purpose of choosing this location for Ayutthaya city was likely its advantage of natural defense, fertility, and water supply for agriculture, in particular rice, rather than sea trade. When King Tabinshwehti invaded Ayutthaya in 1548, his invasion was not successful because of the location advantage of Ayutthaya. As his whole troops found difficulty to cross the rivers to sack Ayutthaya at the same time. Some troops took up arms at the surrounding areas and could not wait there for long since they were flooded out during the rainy season<sup>1</sup>. Furthermore, when Ayutthaya was emerged in 1350/51, maritime trade of people in Southeast Asia with Europeans was not yet prosperous. It was the period of Kublai Khan (1260-1294) of

<sup>1</sup> So Yokpha and Sunet Chutintharanon, trans., (1999). "*Suek Tabengshwehti lae Suek Burengnong*, [Tabinshwehti and Bayinnaung Wars]," by U San Yeng, in *Phama An Thai* [Burmese Read Thai], (Bangkok: Matichon Publishing House, 2nd ed. p.52.

the Mongol Empire who founded the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368) of China. The Mongol Empire extended its territories to several parts of Asia and Eastern Europe as well as sacked many kingdoms in Southeast Asia; for example, Pagan in 1277 and 1283 and Khmer empire in 1283. King Jayavarman VIII (1243-1295) of Cambodia at that time decided to survive his rule by paying tribute to China. The Portuguese, the first European traders in Asia, started to dominate maritime trade with the orient in the fifteenth century. They reached India in 1498 and Canton in 1514 as the first European of China, captured Malacca in 1511, and had a permanent trading post at Macao by 1559. The Europeans had extensive overseas exploration from the end of the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries which was known as the age of discovery or the age of exploration. Prior the fourteenth century, many capitals of states and kingdoms in Asia were not necessarily located immediately next to the sea as seaports; for instance, Beijing and Nanking the capitals of Yuan (1271-1368) and Ming (1368-1644) dynasties of China; Thanjavur and Gangai-kondacholapuram of medieval Chola (the 10th to 11th centuries); Anuradhapura (377 BCE. to 1017 CE.) and Polonnaruwa (1055-1212/15) of Sri Lanka; Pagan of Burma (the 9th to 13th centuries); and Sambor Prei Kuk (Isanapura, the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 7<sup>th</sup> centuries), Angkor (Yasodharapura, the 9<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries), and Angkor Thom (the 12th to the 15th centuries) of Cambodia. The basic consideration for location of the capitals in these periods was natural defense against invaders and fertility of the surrounding areas for agriculture. However, these capitals usually had a land or river route to connect with a seaport for access to the sea. Seaports had disadvantage from storms, flood, and easy access from naval troops of raiders.

Before the historic city of Ayutthaya was established, the area was not yet surrounded by the three rivers as an island, King U Thong, the founder, cut canals and changed directions of the former Lopburi and Pasak rivers to become as moats surrounding the city to the north and east. Originally, the former Lopburi River flowed from the north and turned to the west and met the Chao Phraya River in the northwest; they together turned to the east and flowed down to the south. Whereas the former Pasak River (presently known as Hantra Canal) came from the north, turned to the northeast of the present Ayutthaya, and did not enclose the city. Historians believed that the old city of King U Thong, named Ayodhya, was situated to the east of the current historic city of Ayutthaya. Ayodhya had a form of a rectangular parallel to Suphanburi (Suphanburi) established in the corresponding period under the Khmer rule. Although Ayutthaya was emerged after the collapse of the Khmer empire and

the city had an irregular shape. The second and third kings of Ayutthaya, King Ramesuan (1<sup>st</sup> reign 1369-1370 and 2<sup>nd</sup> reign 1388-1395) and Phra Boromrachathirat I (Khun Luang Pha Ngua 1370-1388) constructed Wat Phra Ram in 1369 and Wat Maha That [Temple of the Great Relic] around 1374, respectively. They are situated at almost the center of Ayutthaya city parallel to the principal temple at the center of Khmer cities. Their principal pagodas [a mound like structure] enshrined the Buddha's relics and were built in a *prang* style influenced by the Khmer *prasat*. During the reign of King U Thong, Ayutthaya city probably had no temple at the center; however, Wat Thammikarat, an old temple, was located to the north of the inner city. While Wat Phutthai Sawan, Wat Phanan Choeng, and Wat Pa Kaeo (Wat Yai Chai Mongkhon) were situated outside the city to the south, southeast, and east, respectively (see Fig. 2). Wat Phutthai Sawan was previously a palace area of King U Thong before transferring to a new place to the northwest of Ayutthaya city where Wat Pha Si Sanphet stands at present. King U Thong donated his former palace area to construct a Buddhist temple.

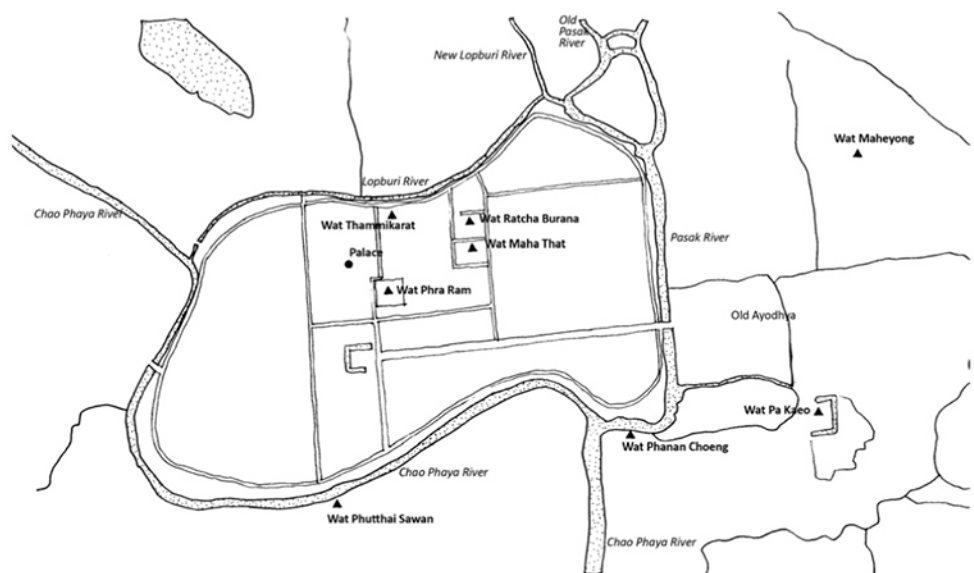


Fig. 2: Historic city of Ayutthaya surrounded by three rivers and having Buddhist temples inside and outside the inner city

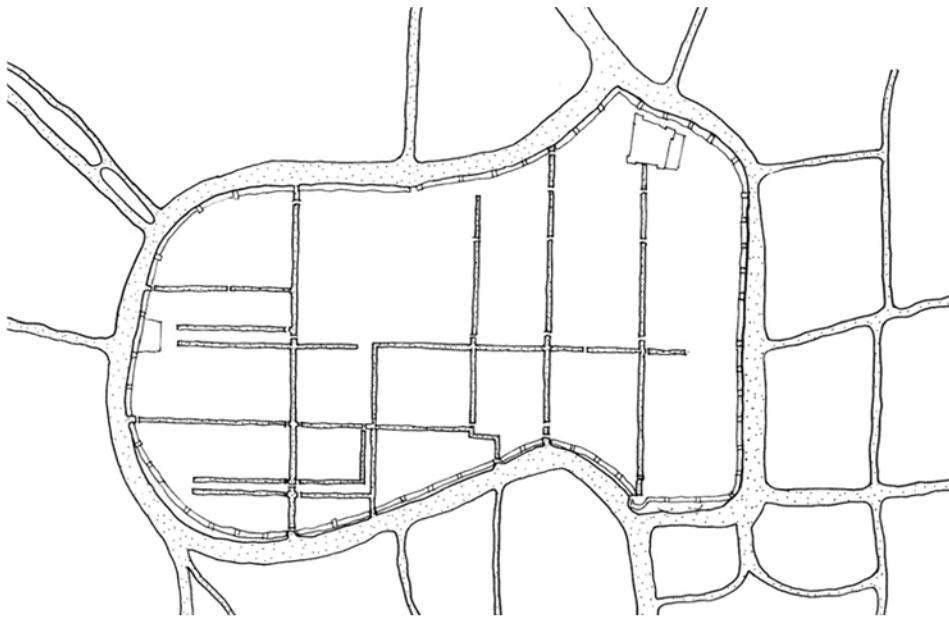


Fig. 3: City of Ayutthaya contained several canals inside the city.  
Redrawn from Map of Ayutthaya by Engelbert Kaempfer in 1690

There were five temples in Ayutthaya which contained the pagoda in a *prang* style enshrining relics of the Buddha referring to Phra Maha That [the Great Relic] or Phra Sri Ratana Maha That [the Great Jewel Relic]; namely, Wat Maha That, Wat Phra Ram, Wat Ratcha Burana, Wat Phutthai Sawan, and Wat Samarakot<sup>2</sup> or Wat Samana Kottharam (see Fig. 4-7). The three former were constructed inside the inner city while the two latter were established outside the inner city to the south and to the east, respectively. Furthermore, the principal *prang* pagoda at the four former composed of a gallery enclosure and were aligned on the same axis of a vihara to its front and an ordination hall to its rear, except that of Wat Phra Ram which had viharas to both its front and rear. The *prang* pagoda, the most important architecture in the compound, was symbolized Mount Meru, the center of the universe. These *prang* style, an axis, and gallery enclosure shared similarities with those of Khmer temples in both Thailand and Cambodia, such as Muang Tam (10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century) (see Fig.8), Phnom

<sup>2</sup> Winai Phongsriphan. (2008). *Phannana Bhumisathan Phra Nakhon Sri Ayutthaya* [Description of the Site of the Historic City of Ayutthaya], Bangkok: Usakane. p.105.

Rung (10<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century), and Phimai (11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century) in Thailand and Bapuon (middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century), Angkor Wat (early 12<sup>th</sup> century), Banteay Samre (first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century), Beng Mealea (middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> century with later addition), Preah Khan (late 12<sup>th</sup> century), Banteay Kdei (late 12<sup>th</sup> to early 13<sup>th</sup> century), Ta Prom (late 12<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> century), and Bayon (late 12<sup>th</sup>-late 13<sup>th</sup> century) in Cambodia.

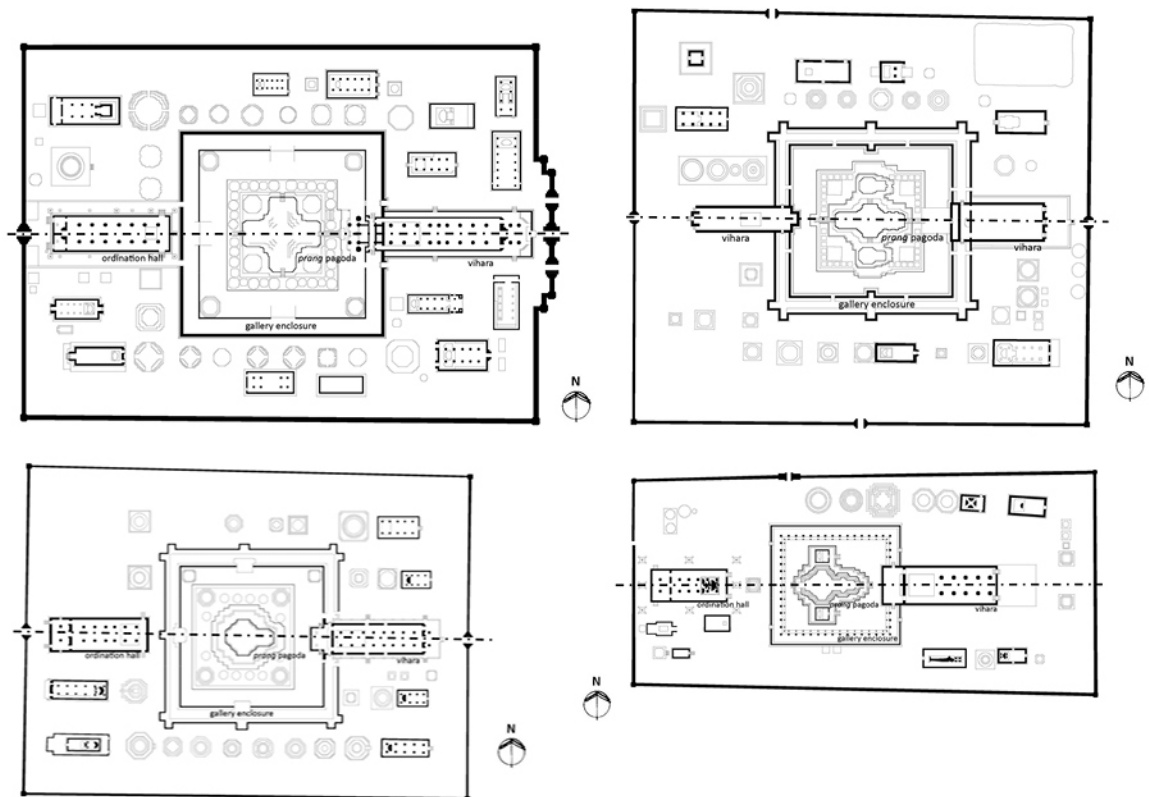


Fig. 4-7: Layout of Buddhavas (public area) with an axis at Wat Maha That, Ayutthaya. (top left), Wat Phra Ram (top right) Wat Ratcha Burana (below left), and Wat Phutthai Sawan (below right), Ayutthaya Redrawn from Phraratchawang lae Wat Boran nai Changwat Phra Nakhon Sri Ayutthaya [Palaces and Temples in Phra Nakhon Sri Ayutthaya].

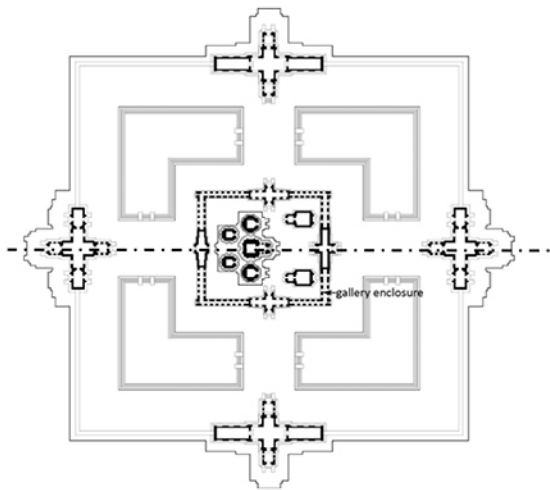


Fig. 8 Layout of Prasat Muang Tam (10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century) with an axis, Buriram.

Redrawn from Anuvit Charernsupkul, *Prasat Muang Tam: Kansueksathang Prawattisat Sathapattayakam* [The Architectural Design of Prasat Muang Tam].

During the early Ayutthaya period, it was likely the tradition that one king built one *prang* pagoda enshrining the Buddha's relics called Phra Maha That [the Great Relic] or Pha Sri Ratana Maha That [the Great Jewel Relic], namely:

1. The first king, U Thong (1350/51-1369) constructed Wat Phutthai Sawan outside Ayutthaya city to the south.
2. The second king, Ramesuan (1<sup>st</sup> reign 1369-1370 and 2<sup>nd</sup> reign 1388-1395) built Wat Phra Ram almost at the center of Ayutthaya city and completed in the following reign of King Phra Boromrachathirat I.
3. The third king, Phra Boromrachathirat I (Khun Luang Pha Ngua 1370-1388) constructed Wat Maha That (the temple of the Great Relic) to the east of Wat Phra Ram.
4. The seventh king, Borommachathirat II (Chao Sam Phraya) (1424-1448) established Wat Ratcha Burana to the north of Wat Maha That around 1424.

Wat Maha That was considered as one of the most important temple of Ayutthaya as it was the living place of the *sangharaja* (the head of sangha) of the left side (Left Side Supreme Patriarch) of the town-dwelling order (*khammavasi*). During the early Ayutthaya period, monks were normally divided into town-dwelling (*kammavasi*) and forest-dwelling orders (*aranyavasi*). The latter likely had two centers located outside the inner city to the east, namely Wat Pa Kaeo and a group of temples to the north, such as Wat Pradu, Wat Kudidao, Wat Samanakot, and Wat Maheyong (Mahiyang Khana). However, in later period, the town-dwelling order was divided into left and right sides which the latter included Wat Pa Kaeo.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See Winai Phongsriphan, ed., (2016). *Ayothaya Sri Ram Thep Nakhon Bovorn Dvaravati*, vol. 1, Bangkok: The Thailand Research Fund. p.198.

Wat Maha That was located to the east of the palace inside the historic city of Ayutthaya. The temple compound was divided into Buddhavas or public area to the east and Sanghavas for dwelling place of monks to the west. Buddhavas area was enclosed with walls and had four gates, three gates as the main entrance to the east and another gate to the west (see Fig. 4). Buddhavas area was corresponded to a Khmer temple as important architecture, namely a vihara, a pagoda in a *prang* style, and an ordination hall were aligned in an east-west axis. The *prang* pagoda was also surrounded by a concentric circumambulation gallery and consisted the principal tower at the center and smaller towers at the four corners (see Fig. 9-10).



Fig. 9: Gallery enclosure surrounded the *prang* pagoda at Wat Maha That.

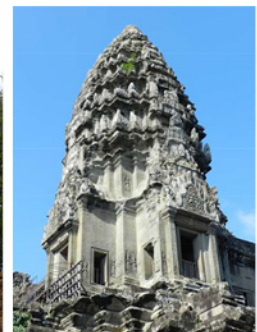


Fig. 10: Similarity of a smaller *prang* pagoda at Wat Maha That (left) and a smaller *prasat*, Angkor Wat, Cambodia (right).

While the sangharaja of the right side (Right Side Supreme Patriarch) of the town-dwelling order lived at Wat Pa Kaeo (Wat Yai Chai Mongkhon) located outside Ayutthaya city to the east. At the beginning, the temple was built by King U Thong as a center of forest monks who ordained and studied under a school of Vanaratana Maha Thera of Sri Lanka.<sup>4</sup> It probably was a school of Vanaratana Mahasvami of Amaragiri (a branch of Udumbaragiri order) who was the sangharaja of Sri Lanka during the reigns of King Bhuvanakabahu IV (1341-1351) to King Parakramabahu V (1344-1357), Gampola period. There were at least three maha theras whose names or titles were Vanaratana in Sri Lanka, namely Vanaratana Medhankara of Vijayabahu Parivena built by King Vijayabahu II (1186-1187); Vanaratana Mahasvami of Amaragiri;

<sup>4</sup> Somphorn Yupho. (1968). "Wat Yai Chai Mongkhon," in Phraratchawang lae Wat Boran nai Changwat Phra Nakhon Sri Ayutthaya [Palaces and Temples in Phra Nakhon Sri Ayutthaya]. Bangkok: Fine Arts Department. p.55.

and Sri Rajaguru Vanaratana Mahasami of Keragala Pirivena. The first wrote two well-known Pali texts, *Jinacarita* and *Payogasiddhi* while the third was the *sangharaja* during the reign of King Parakramabahu VI (1412-1467). The term *vana* in Pali refers to a forest and *ratana* means a gem, precious thing. Vanaratana thus refers to a gem forest or *pa kaeo* in Thai. Vanaratana school of Ayutthaya could possibly come from Lower Burma rather than directly from Sri Lanka as there were Mon monks who came to re-ordain in Sri Lanka under Mahavihara school, such as Buddha Wangsa Thera, Maha Naga Thera, and Suwannasophon Thera, the third monk was re-ordained in 1450 under the preceptor of Sri Rajaguru Vanaratana of Keragala Pirivena.<sup>5</sup> Pa Kaeo school later was widespread, King U Thong (1350/51-1369) appointed the head of the monastery with the title of Somdet Phra Vanaratana and a rank of the *sangharaja* of the right, likely of the forest-dwelling order at that time. While the head of the city-dwelling order had the title of Somdet Phra Phuttha Khosachan and as the rank of the *sangharaja* of the left.<sup>6</sup> Although Wat Pa Kaeo was previously one of a forest-dwelling order during the reign of King U Thong, its architectural layout was corresponded to that of a town-dwelling order, for example Wat Maha That. Wat Pa Kaeo later named Wat Yai Chai Mongkhon was divided into Buddhavas or public area and Sanghavas or private area for monasteries of monks. The Buddhavas was enclosed with wall and had the bell-shaped pagoda as the principal architecture of the compound. The pagoda had a gallery enclosure and was aligned together with an ordination hall and a vihara on an east-west axis (see Fig. 11). The temple was likely surrounded with moats as the present condition there were moats enclosed the temple to the north, east, and south. The current bell-shaped pagoda with Sinhalese inspiration was renovated by King Naresuan (1590-1605) referring to the second period of Ayutthaya architecture to cover the former one constructed by King U Thong. During this second period, an ordination was often located to the front or east of the pagoda and a vihara was situated and faced to the rear or the west of the pagoda. The bell-shaped pagoda of Sinhalese style came to Ayutthaya via Sukhothai during the reign of King Borommatrailokkanat (1448-1488) who shifted the capital to Pitsanulok, the former capital of late Sukhothai period, and resided there for 25 years.<sup>7</sup> The king having Sukhothai's royal blood attempted to control Ayutthaya territory to the north.

<sup>5</sup> See *The Kalyani Inscription Erected by King Dhammaceti at Pegu in 1476 A.D. Text and Translation.* (1892). Yangon: The Superintendent, Government Printing. pp.94-95.

<sup>6</sup> Gomphorn Yupho. "Wat Yai Chai Mongkhon," in *Phraratchawang lae Wat Boran nai Changwat Phra Nakhon Sri Ayutthaya* [Palaces and Temples in Phra Nakhon Sri Ayutthaya]. p.55.

<sup>7</sup> See *ibid.*, p.58.

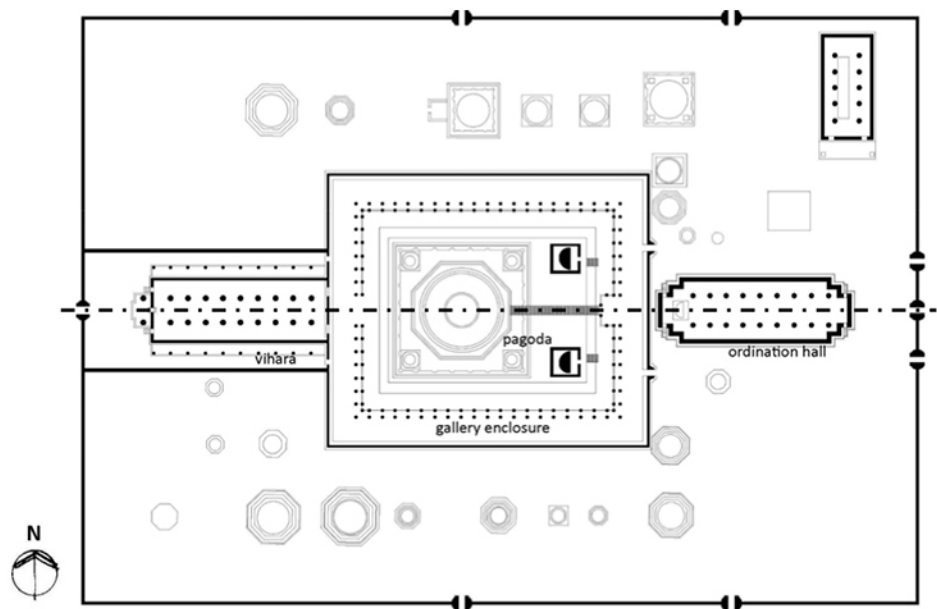


Fig. 11: Layout of Buddhavas (public area) with an axis at Wat Pa Kao (Wat Yai Chai Mongkhon), Ayutthaya.

Redrawn from Phraratchawang lae Wat Boran nai Changwat Phra Nakhon Sri Ayutthaya [Palaces and Temples in Phra Nakhon Sri Ayutthaya].

When Ayutthaya was built in 1350/51, the Mon in Lower Burma was independent under King Banyan U (Binnya U) with Martaban as the capital. King Banyan U (Binnya U) transferred the capital to Hanthawaddy in 1369, the year that King U Thong of Ayutthaya passed away.<sup>8</sup> Although it had no source of information to provide the king's reasons, there were several significant historical events occurring during this period. Yuan dynasty of China was replaced by Ming dynasty in 1368 which was the final year of the Burmese King Sawmunnit ruling Pagan and thereafter ended the Pagan dynasty. Thadominbya (Tha-tou-min-phyay) who claimed to have Pagan's royal blood established Ava around 1364-1365. Furthermore, the new kingdom of Ayutthaya to the east of Martaban started to be more powerful, King U Thong conquered Angkor Thom in 1369. Even though Ayutthaya had power over the Khmer in a short

<sup>8</sup> See Suraphon Damrikun. (2011). *Chedi Chang Lom kap Prawattisat Banmueang lae Phraphutthasasana Lankawong nai Prathetthai* [Chang Lom Pagoda and History as well as Buddhism of Lanka Sect in Thailand]. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press. p.94.

period, numerous Khmer war prisoners were taken to Ayutthaya. The kingdom also began to expand its influence to the north, King U Thong marched in force to sack Songkhao (Pitsanulok) under the territory of Sukhothai. There might have some agreement between Sukhothai and Ayutthaya, King U Thong returned Songkhao (Pitsanulok) to King Lithai who decided to transfer the capital of Sukhothai to Pitsanulok and lived there from 1362/63 to 1369 until King U Thong passed away. The location of Hanthawaddy was also likely more appropriate than that of Martaban as Martaban was a seaport being easy to access by naval forces of invaders from the sea. Furthermore, Hanthawaddy was located more inside the inner land, between the other two Mon centers, Bassein (Puthein) and Martaban, and still had access to the sea via Pegu River (see Fig. 1). It was thus more sufficient to govern the country. There were three centers of Ramannadesa or the country of Ramans (Mon), namely Bassein (Puthein), Hanthawaddy, and Martaban which each consisted of thirty-two towns.

According to Emmanuel Guillon, Martaban, the former capital of Ramannadesa had one gate to the north, two gates to the west, and ten gates to the east. The south was harbor.<sup>9</sup> However, it does not know where exactly the city was placed as the geography of the area in the present had a hill aligned from the northwest to southeast at almost the center which divides the area into two parts, one to the west of the hill and the other to the east next to the Salween River.

### 3. City of Hanthawaddy

Hanthawaddy city established by King Binnya U in 1369 had a shape of a sixteen-sided polygon enclosed with walls and eight city gates. At the center was a royal palace. The city was situated to the east of the Pegu River and had the Shwe Mawdaw Pagoda outside the inner city to the west (see Fig. 12). Distance from Hanthawaddy city to the Gulf of Martaban via the Pegu River was parallel amount as that from Ayutthaya to the Gulf of Thailand via the Chao Phaya River. According to a legend, Hanthawaddy had been founded by the Mon king, Thamala (သမလင်) since 825 CE. It had a square shape enclosed with walls which each side contained five city gates, total twenty gates.<sup>10</sup> Shwe Mawdaw Pagoda was also claimed to

<sup>9</sup> Emmanuel Guillon. (1999). *The Mons, A Civilization of Southeast Asia*. Bangkok: The Siam Society. p.162.

<sup>10</sup> Another legend claimed that the perimeter of Hanthawaddy city was 1,897 cubits. It consisted of 6 large and 16 small city gates which 2 large and 5 small gates were on the east, 3 large and 8 small gates on the west, and one large and 3 small gates on the north. See Yin Hlaing. (2009). *ယဉ်လွင်၊ မောင်၊ ပုံသဏ္ဌာန်မျိုးစုံ ရှေးဟောင်းမြန်မာ့ရိုးစနစ်ပုံ* [Shapes of Ancient Cities in Myanmar]. Yangon: စာပေဓိမာန်. p.206.

be built by King Thamala (သမုလမင်း) to enshrine the Buddha's hair relics. Whereas another legend stated that the pagoda was built since the Buddha time to enshrine his sacred hair which the two Mon merchants received from the Buddha when they visited India.<sup>11</sup> In Mon, the pagoda was known as Kyaik Mawdaw referring to the Pagoda of Mawdaw (name of a city). Mawdaw previously called Madhawa (မဓဝါ) and later became Muta (မူတား).<sup>12</sup> Name of Hantawaddy came from the legend that the city in the ancient time was completely submerged in the sea. When the Buddha and his disciples flew over the area, the Buddha saw a tiny piece of land appeared above the sea. As the land was so tiny, the space was not enough for even two hintha birds [a mythical creature] to stand side by side. The female hintha had to perch on the back of her mate. Over several hundred years, the delta expanded and this patch land became a hillock known as Hinta Hill (Hintakoun ဟင်္သာကုန်း). The city which included this small hill was thus named Hantawaddy.<sup>13</sup>

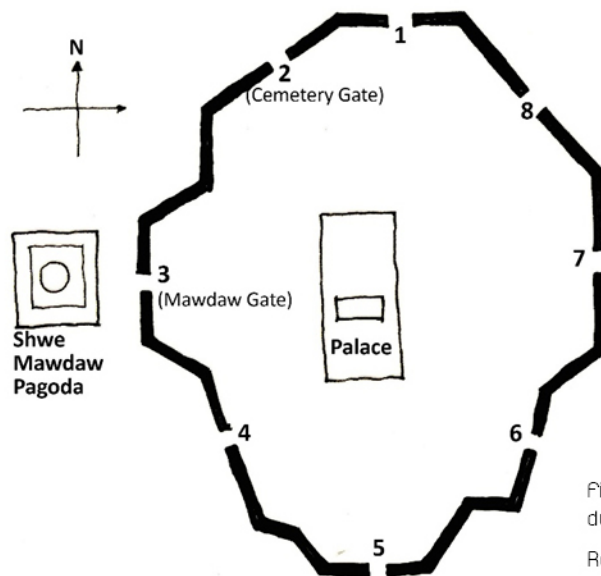


Fig. 12: City layout of Hanthawaddy during the reign of King Binnya U  
Redrawn from ဟံသာဝတီ [Hantawady].

<sup>11</sup> Khin Myo Chit. (1996). *A Wonderland of Pagoda Legends*. Yangon: Hla htay Garpay. p.39.

<sup>12</sup> Magha မာဃ, (1976). "ဟံသာဝတီခေတ် ထင်ရှားသော ဘုရားစေတီများနှင့် သာသနာရေး အဆောက်အဦများ." [*Buddhist Pagodas and Architecture during the Hanthawaddy Period*]," in ဟံသာဝတီ [Hantawady]. Yangon: နှလုံးလွှဲ. pp.37-38.

<sup>13</sup> Khin Myo Chit. *A Wonderland of Pagoda Legends*. p.39.

Before King Binnya U shifted the capital to Hanthawaddy, the city already included Buddhist architecture and statues, such as Shwe Mawdaw Pagoda (ရွှေမော်ခေတ်ပုရား) and Shwetalyaung reclining Buddha (ရွှေဘေသာလျောင်း). Shwe Mawdaw Pagoda was located on a small hill and had parallel characteristics to the Shwedagon Pagoda in Yangon. They are a bell-shape pagoda surmounted octagonal bases and surrounded by two rings of small pagodas. The pagodas have no *harmika*, a small square platform located on the summit of the anda or dome. Pagodas without a *harmika* normally was the characteristic of Mon and Burmese architecture (see Fig. 13). Furthermore, Shwe Mawdaw Pagoda and other ones which enshrined relics of the Buddha in Myanmar usually have not been a part of any monasteries. However, they were often surrounded by monasteries, living places of monks, the Buddha's disciples.



Fig 13: Current Shwe Mawdaw Pagoda, Hanthawaddy.

Shwetalyaung is a large reclining Buddha image pointed the head to the east established by a Pegu governor, Migadippa III (တတိယမိဂါဒိပ္ပမင်း), around 1321 during the reign of King Thihathu (ပင်းယမင်းသီဟသူ) (1312-1324), a Shan ruler, at Pinya.<sup>14</sup> However, other source claimed that the image was built in 994 CE.<sup>15</sup> The term “*talyaung*” in Burmese refers to pleasant reclining which most of reclining statues in

<sup>14</sup> Yin Yin Mun. (2014). လှိုင်ယဉ်မွန်, ပဲခူးလမ်းညွှန် [Guide to Pegu]. Yangon: ရှေးဟောင်းသုတေသနနှင့် အမျိုးသားပြတိုက်ဦးစီးဌာန. p.25.

<sup>15</sup> Aung Thaw. (1972). *Historical Sites in Burma*. Yangon: The Ministry of Union Culture, Government of the Union of Burma. p.107.

Myanmar have been *talyaung* or a pleasant reclining type. This statue type points the head to the east or west or south whereas the Maha Pari-nibban type has the head pointing to the north and represents the dead of the Buddha.<sup>16</sup> The statue was originally protected by a wooden pavilion which later was rebuilt with more permanent structure.

One of important Mon kings of Hanthawaddy was King Dhammaceti or Ramadhipati (1459/70/72-1492) who used to be a monk. The king was after a role model of King Ashoka, India. Following his example, the king constructed monasteries and pagodas, such as Shwegukyi Pagoda and Kyaikpon Buddha statues in Payathonzu village [Three Pagoda village] and Shwe-aung-ywe Pagoda. The king also supported the ordination and purification of monks in the country of the Mon. Shwegukyi Pagoda (ရွှေဂူကြီး) is located in the Payathonzu village [Three Pagoda village] to the west of the Pegu River and to the southwest of Hanthawaddy inner city.

Around 1472, King Dhammaceti sent a group of architects, carpenters, woodcarvers, and artists to Bodh Gaya, India to observe and measure the architecture of Mahabodhi temple complex in order to imitate and build in Hanthawaddy. The original Mahabodhi temple in India representing the place of the Buddha's enlightenment was too far for pilgrims from Lower Burma to visit and pay respect. Mahabodhi temple complex also includes seven sacred places where the Buddha spent a week each for meditating after enlightenment. King Dhammaceti and his royal family thus established the Shwegukyi Pagoda compound imitating the Mahabodhi temple complex consisting seven sacred places (see Fig. 14). Three sacred places which were considered important were donated by King Dhammaceti, his chief queen, and his son, namely Shwegukyi Pagoda, Rajayatana Cetiya, and Ratanacankama Cetiya, respectively. The rest were donated by the king's officials.<sup>17</sup> Shwegukyi Pagoda was represented Mahabodhi tree where under the Buddha attained enlightenment and spent the first week. Its base included glazed terracotta plaques depicting demons from the army of King Mara who tried to tempt the Buddha from meditation (see Fig. 15).

<sup>16</sup> Chotima Chaturawong. (2011). *The Architecture of Mon Buddhist Monasteries in Lower Burma*. Bangkok: E.T. Publishing. pp.191-192.

<sup>17</sup> Yin Yin Mun. ယဉ်ကျေးမှု၊ ပဲခူးလမ်းညွှန် [Guide to Pegu]. pp.50-51.



Fig. 14: Current condition of the Shwegukyi Pagoda



Fig. 15: A glazed terracotta plaque depicting King Mara's soldiers adorned at the base of the Shwegukyi Pagoda



Fig. 16-17: Ratanacankama Cetiya which has been renovated (left) and the Kyaikpon Buddha Images (Four-side images) (right).

Rajayatana Cetiya was built by the king's chief queen as it associated with a Mon legend and the Shwe Mawdaw Pagoda. It symbolized the Rajayatana tree where under the Buddha spent his seventh week. According to a legend in Burma, two (Mon) brother merchants, Tapussa and Bhallika from Ukkala (present Yangon) offered the Buddha the rice-cakes and honey under the Rajayatana tree (*Buchanania latifolia*) in India at the end of the seven weeks. The Buddha gave them eight of his hairs as a

present for worship. Two brothers returned to Burma and gave the Buddha's hairs to King Okkalapa who established a pagoda to enshrine these relics on the Singuttara Hill where relics of other previous Buddha had been already enshrined. The pagoda was known as Shwedagon [the Pagoda of Dagon].<sup>18</sup> Other legend also claimed that some of these hair relics were also enshrined at the Shwe Mawdaw Pagoda in Hanthawaddy.<sup>19</sup> While Ratanacankama Cetiya or the jewel walk was donated by King Dhammaceti's son, Binnya Ram (see Fig. 16). During the third week after attaining enlightenment, the Buddha did meditation walk back and forth between the Bodhi tree and the spot on the northeast where the Buddha stood and stared the tree on the second week.

The other four sacred places built by King Dhammaceti's officials included Animisa Cetiya, Ratanaghara Cetiya, Ajapala Cetiya (Ajapala Nigrodha), and Mucalinda Cetiya (Mucalinda Lake), symbols of the four spots that the Buddha spent during the second, fourth, fifth, and sixth weeks, respectively.<sup>20</sup>

To the north of the Shwegukyi Pagoda was the Kyaikpon Buddha Images [Four-side images] (ကျိုက်ပွန် (လေးမျက်နှာ) ဘုရားကြီး) established in 1475. It included the four large sitting Buddha statues representing the three former and the present Buddhas, namely Kakusandha, Konagamana, Kassapa, and Gautama Buddhas of the present *bhadrakalpa* [auspicious aeon]. The four statues were placed back to back against a square structure which upon was surmounted by a small pagoda of a Mon style (see Fig.17) The statues were situated to the west of the Pegu River and outside the Hantawaddy inner city to the south.

Following King Ashoka's model to purify Buddhist monks. In 1475, King Dhammaceti sent monks to re-ordain at a water sima, a place of ordination floating on the Kalyani River in Sri Lanka. After they came back to Hanthawaddy, the king established the first Kalyani Sima or Kalyani ordination hall named after the Kalyani River in Sri Lanka. There were 9 large Kalyani Simas and 107 small ones in Hanthawaddy. Country of the Mon had total 290 Kalyani Simas.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Janaka Bhivamsa, Ashin, (1997). *The Illustrated History of Buddhism*. Yangon: The Young Men's Buddhist Association (YMBA), story 15.

<sup>19</sup> Khin Myo Chit. *A Wonderland of Pagoda Legends*. p.48.

<sup>20</sup> See Yin Yin Mun. *ယဉ်ယဉ်မွန်, ပဲခူးလမ်းညွှန်* [Guide to Pegu]. p.51.

<sup>21</sup> Magha မာဃ. (1976). "ဟံသာဝတီခေတ် ထင်ရှားသော ဘုရားစေတီများနှင့် သာသနာရေး အဆောက်အဦများ [Buddhist Pagodas and Architecture during the Hanthawaddy Period]," In *ဟံသာဝတီ* [Hantawady]. Yangon: နှလုံးလှ. p.62.

King Dhammaceti also established the Shwe-aung-ywe (ရွှေအောင်ဇွဲ) Pagoda around 1483 to enshrine the Buddha's hair and tooth relics which the king received as a gift from Sri Lanka. The pagoda was placed on a small hill to the southeast of the Shwe Mawdaw Pagoda and thus known as the small Shwe Mawdaw. During the reign of King Bayinnaung, the pagoda was given the name Chulamani (စူဠာမဏိ) parallel to the pagoda enshrining the Buddha's hair on the Tavatimsa Heaven. The king also donated a new umbrella and covered the pagoda in gold.<sup>22</sup>

Furthermore, King Dhammaceti donated seven Buddhist monasteries in Hanthawaddy, namely, Bha Kouh (Cave Monastery), Bha Nandaram, Bha Wizzaram, Bha Asokaram, Bha Pup-pharam, Bha Weluwoun, and Bha Dattikaram.<sup>23</sup> The term *bha* in Mon refers to a Buddhist monastery.

Hanthawaddy city layout was changed to be a square shape during the reign of King Bayinnaung (1551-1581) who transferred the Burmese capital of Toungoo or Ketumati to Hanthawaddy, the previous Mon capital, in 1553, although King Tabinshwehti (1531-1550) had already attacked and successfully seized Hanthawaddy since 1539. Reasons that King Bayinnaung shifted the capital, firstly, because the Burmese king was interested in the wealth from maritime trade. Hanthawaddy was closer to the sea rather than Toungoo which situated to the north. The end of the fifteenth to beginning of the sixteenth century was the period that maritime trade between the west, namely Europe and Middle East and the east, namely China, Japan, Southeast Asia and South Asia started to be prosperous. By the time that Portuguese took Malacca in 1511, Ayutthaya controlled Tenasserim coast with several seaports on the Bay of Bengal. Secondly Hanthawaddy had more flat land and likely more rain than Toungoo since Toungoo was flanked by mountain ranges both to the east and west. Thirdly Hanthawaddy was considered as the auspicious ground of victory for King Bayinnaung who defeated Smin Htaw Yama in a single combat outside the walls of Hanthawaddy in 1552. Smin Htaw Yama was a Mon ruler who revolted and took over Hanthawaddy in 1550. King Bayinnaung built Mahaceti (the Great Pagoda) at this auspicious ground of victory in 1560. And lastly King Bayinnaung would like to harmonize Mon and Burmese.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Yin Yin Mun. ယဉ်ယဉ်မွန်, ပဲခူးလမ်းညွှန် [Guide to Pegu]. pp.21-22.

<sup>23</sup> Dhammaceti ဓမ္မဇေတဝီ. (1965). Moulmein: သမာဆန္ဒီ. p.65.

<sup>24</sup> Khin Maung Nyunt, (1998). "Pegu as an Urban and Commercial Centre for the Mon and the Myanmar Kingdoms of Lower Myanmar," in *Port Cities and Trade in Western Southeast Asia*. Bangkok:

Hanthawaddy City of King Bayinnaung was situated to the east of the Pegu River and to the west of the former Mon Hanthawaddy. The city had a square shape and enclosed with brick walls and moats and had twenty city gates, five gates on each side (see Fig. 18). There are ten streets running between the gates on the north to the south and those on the east to the west.<sup>25</sup> Names of the city gates were called after Burmese important cities, such as Toungoo, Inwa, and Prome and vassals of Hanthawaddy, for example, Tenasserim, Ayutthaya, Martaban, Puthien, Linzin [Vientiane, Laos], Tavoy, Chiang Mai, Mogaung, and Mohnyin. The city had the royal palace at the center with the Shwe Mawdaw Pagoda to its northeast and the Shwe-aung-ywe Pagoda or the Chulamani Pagoda to the east. The city also consisted of four smaller pagodas, each at the city corners (see Fig. 19).<sup>26</sup> Although the Audience Hall at the royal palace was located at the western part of the palace compound, the royal throne was likely faced to the east which refers to the front in Burmese. Furthermore, the Right (south) and Left (north) buildings for the king's officials and military officers were also constructed to the east or front of the Audience Hall (see Fig. 20). It was parallel to the Audience Hall of Mandalay Palace built later in the nineteenth century and having the Right and Left audience halls to its front or the east. The square shape of Hanthawaddy was likely inspired by the city of Ketumati (Toungoo) which was situated to the west of the Sittaung River.

.....  
Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University. p.23.

<sup>25</sup> The account of Cesar Fedrici, a merchant of Venice, who travelled to Pegu and Martaban in the late 1560s stated about city gates and streets in the city of Pegu that *"it hath no drawe-bridge, yet it hath twenty Gates, five for every square on the Walls,....the Streets thereof are the fairest that I have seene, they are as straight as a line from one Gate to another, and standing at the one Gate you may discover to the other, and they are as broad as ten or twelve men may ride a-breast in them: and those Streets that be thwart are faire and large, these Streets, both on the one side and the other, are planted at the doors of the Houses with Nut trees of India...."* Master Thomas Hickock, trans. *"Account of Pegu,"* In *SOAS Bulletin of Burma Research*, Vol. 2, No. 2, Autumn 2004, p.141. The information was corresponded to an account of Pegu written by Ralph Fitch, a London merchant, see *"An Account of Pegu in 1586-1587,"* *ibid.*, p.170.

<sup>26</sup> Small pagodas at the four corners were built by King Bayinnaung see Magha မာဃ, *ဟာသာဝတီခေတ် ထင်ရှားသော ဘုရားစေတီများနှင့် သာသနာရေး အဆောက်အဦများ* [Buddhist Pagodas and Architecture during the Hanthawaddy Period], p.75.

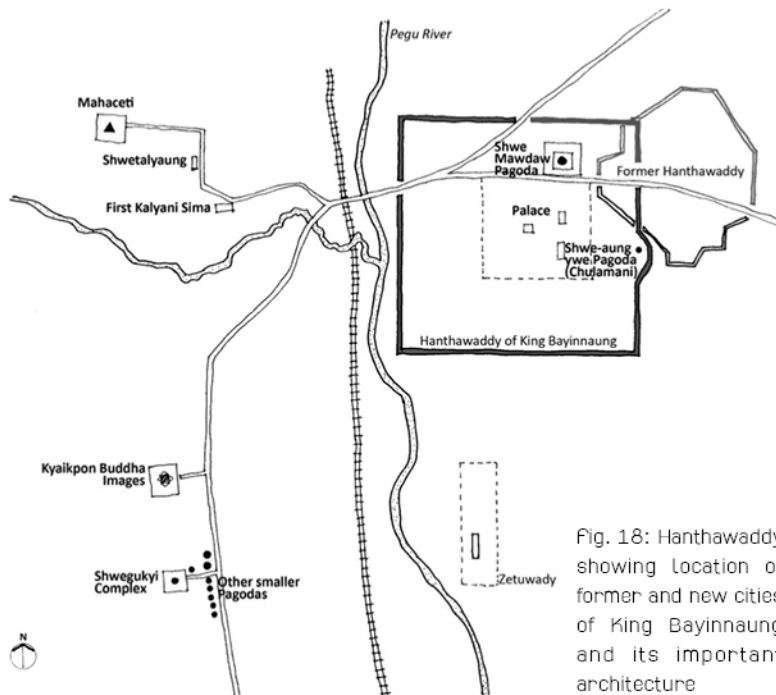


Fig. 18: Hanthawaddy showing location of former and new cities of King Bayinnaung and its important architecture

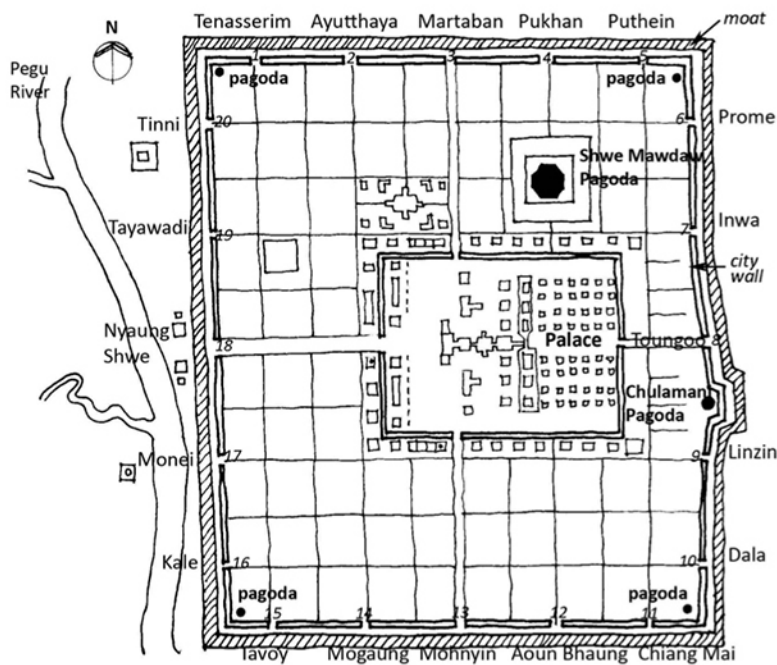


Fig. 19: City layout of Hanthawaddy during the reign of King Bayinnaung  
Redrawn from Kala, U ကုလား, ဦး, မဟာရာဇဝင်ကြီး, ဒုတိယအုပ် [The Great Chronicle of Kings, Vol. II].

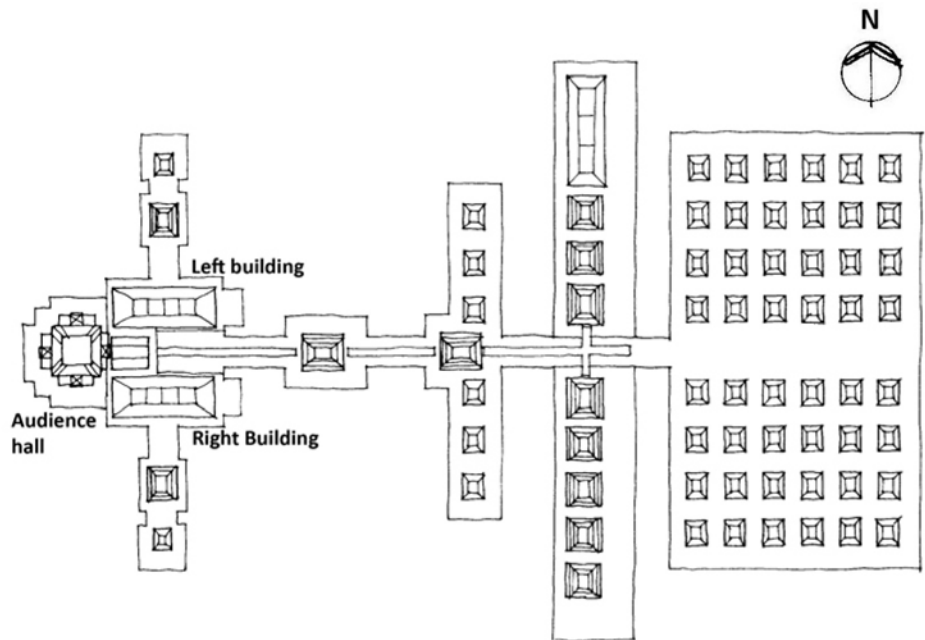


Fig. 20: Assumption of the royal palace, Hanthawaddy during the reign of King Bayinnaung, Left and Right buildings located to the east of the Audience hall

Redrawn from Minhswe မင်းဆွေ, ပုဂံရှေးဟောင်းသုတေသနပြတိုက် [Archaeological Museum of Pagan].

#### 4. City of Toungoo (Ketumati)

The city had a square shape surrounded by moat and marsh enclosures as well as city walls with twenty city gates, five gates on each side. In front of each gate, there was an ordination hall, total twenty ordination halls. The city consisted of a palace at the center and a large pond named Le-kjun-kan-taw to the southwest. The inner city also contained a pagoda named Shwe Hsandaw Pagoda (ရွှေဆံတော် or the Hair Relic Pagoda) to the south of the royal palace and four smaller pagodas, each at the four corners. There were ten streets running between the gates from the northern wall to those on the southern wall and between those from the eastern wall to those on the western wall (see Fig. 21).<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Mya Thaung (Ketumati). (2010). မြသောင်း (ကေတုမတီ), ကေတုမတီ (တောင်ငူ) မြို့တည်နန်းတည် နှစ် (500) ပြည့် ပုံရိပ်လွှာများ [500<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Ketumady (Toungoo)]. Toungoo: s.n. pp.18-32.

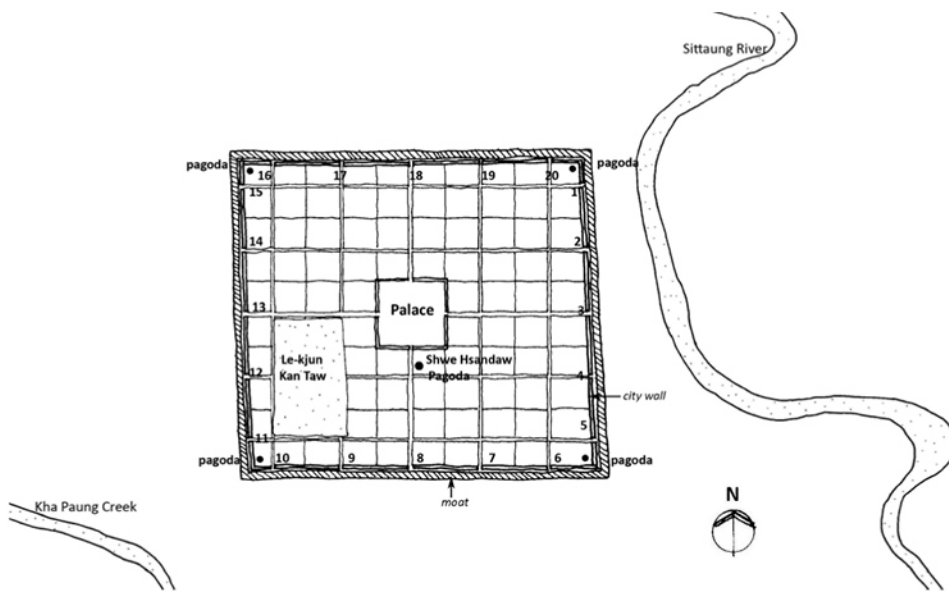


Fig. 21: City layout of Ketumati (Toungoo)

Redrawn from Google map and Mya Thauung (Ketumati), မြသောင်း (ကေတုမတီ), ကေတုမတီ (တောင်ငူ) မြို့တည်နှစ်တည် နှစ် (500) ပြည့် ဝုရိပိဿယျား [500<sup>th</sup> Anniversay of Ketumady (Toungoo)].

## 5. City Layouts of Toungoo and Hanthawaddy and Vastu Purusha Mandala

The Burmese city layouts of Toungoo and Hanthawaddy shared similar concepts of Vastu Purusha Mandala of India and the Holy Field of China but rather be more relevant to the former. Vastu Purusha Mandala is a metaphysical square plan illustrating how the Vastu Purusha (a cosmic man) pinned down by Brahma and Gods which the center is ruled by Brahma, the supreme one, and the outer grids by other gods (see Fig. 22). The square plan of Vastu Purusha Mandala offered several guidelines for design space and buildings with concentric space and the eight directions. Square plans of Vastu Purusha Mandala can be either even or odd number of modules and vary from one grid, such as the size of a man's foot for an altar to over one thousand grids for a city layout (see Fig. 23).<sup>28</sup>

As Toungoo and Hanthawaddy contained five city gates on each side, they likely consisted of 10x10 modular grids or 100 square grids (even numbers of modules) which is suitable for complex building and settlement according to the guideline of

<sup>28</sup> Kathleen Cox. (2000). *Vastu Living*. New York: Marlowe & Company. p.45.

Vastu Purusha Mandala. Furthermore, even numbers of modules were generally used for temples, spiritual and community centers. While odd numbers of modules were considered suitable for residential and civic buildings as well as settlement.<sup>29</sup>

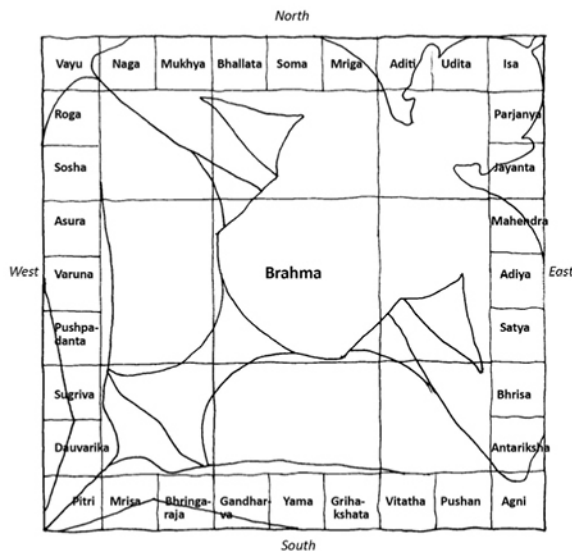


Fig. 22: Vastu Purusha Mandala  
Redrawn from Kathleen Cox, *Vastu Living*.

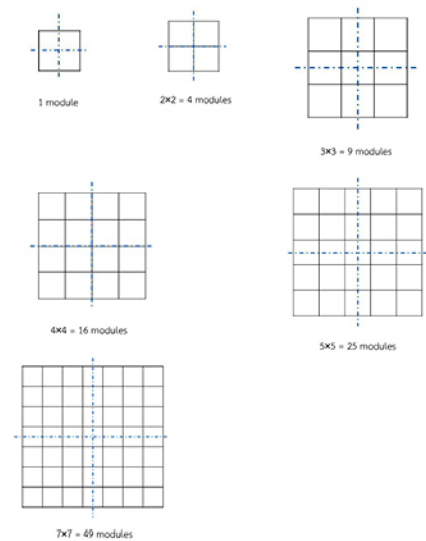


Fig. 23: Various square plans of Vastu Purusha Mandala in even or odd number of modules.

Whereas the Holy Field concept (the magic square) of China were based on a square which is basically divided into nine equal parts which is also considered as one type of Vastu Purusha Mandala. The Holy Field concept corresponded to the “*well field system*” which a square *li* contained nine squares of land which the central square was the public field of the eight surrounding square fields of the eight families. This nine square pattern likewise resembles the Chinese script for the term well (see Fig. 24).<sup>30</sup> Number nine was also a symbol of the Chinese emperor.<sup>31</sup> It was used for many purposes throughout Chinese history, such as city layout. Zhou Li: Kao Gong Ji [Records of Craftsmen of Zhou Rituals] described characteristics of the ideal capital city that it was created in a shape of a square

<sup>29</sup> Sashikala Ananth. (2001). *Vaastu: A Path to Harmonious Living*. New Delhi: Lustre Press. pp.28-29.

<sup>30</sup> Alfred Schinz. (1996). *The Magic Square: Cities in Ancient China*. Stuttgart: Axel Menges. p.71.

<sup>31</sup> Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt. (1997). *Liao Architecture*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. p.401.

with nine li long and three city gates on each side. There were nine north-south and nine east-west streets inside the city (see Fig. 25).<sup>32</sup> Zhou Dynasty was dated from 1027 to 256 BCE. The best example of this Chinese city layout was Beijing during the Yuan dynasty. This Chinese ideal city layout can be any square patterns which numbers of modular grids must be multiplied by 3, such as 6 (3x2) x 6 (3x2); 9 (3x3) x 9 (3x3); and 12 (3x4) x 12 (3x4) (see Fig. 26). Toungoo and Hanthawaddy consisting of 10x10 modular grids (100 square grids) were thus not fitted to this concept but associated with Vastu Purusha Mandala. The two cities also had a royal palace at the center and an important pagoda within the city as well as four small pagodas at the four corners or at the northeast, southeast, northwest, and southwest directions. According to Vastu Purusha Mandala, the center and these four directions relates to the five elements, namely space, water, fire, air, and earth which are ruled by the gods, namely, Brahma, Isa, Agni, Vayu, and Pitri, respectively.<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, these center and four directions associate with the five planets, namely, Kate (center), Mars (southeast, Tuesday), Saturn (southwest, Saturday), Sun (northeast, Sunday), and Rahu (northwest, Wednesday-night), in the Burmese astrology which was borrowed from that of Hindu. Kate is considered as the chief of planets and benefic while these four planets are malefic. Because of this, the royal palace was placed at the center and the four pagodas were built at the four corners to prevent against unfavorable influence which might be caused from the Mars, Saturn, Sun, and Rahu (see Fig. 27). Whereas the four planets at the cardinal directions are considered benefic, namely, Moon (east, Monday), Mercury (south, Wednesday-day), Jupiter (west, Thursday), and Venus (north, Friday).<sup>34</sup>

However, Toungoo and Hanthawaddy had streets connecting between north-south and east-west city gates parallel to an ideal capital of China.

<sup>32</sup> Yinong Xu. (1997). *The Chinese City in Space and Time: The Development of Urban Form in Suzhou*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. p.34.

<sup>33</sup> Kathleen Cox. *Vastu Living*. pp.47-51.

<sup>34</sup> Maung Htin Aung. (1962). *Folk Elements in Burmese Buddhism*. London: Oxford University Press. p.15.

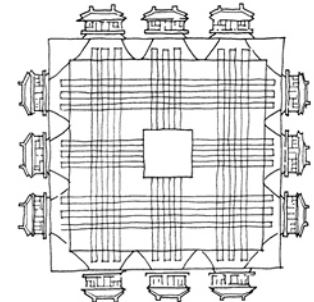
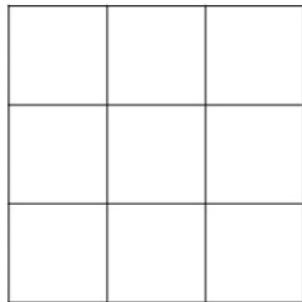


Fig. 24: Nine equal parts of the Holy Field concept (left) resembles the Chinese script for the term well (right).

Fig. 25: Ideal Chinese capital city of Wangcheng (the royal Zhou capital) appeared in the Sanli tu jizhu dated to the mid-tenth century.

Redrawn from Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, *Liao Architecture*.

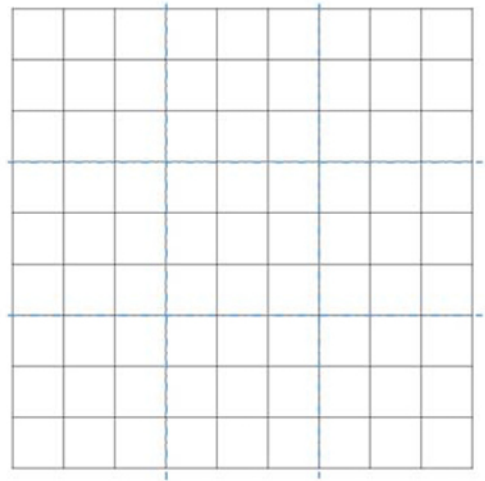
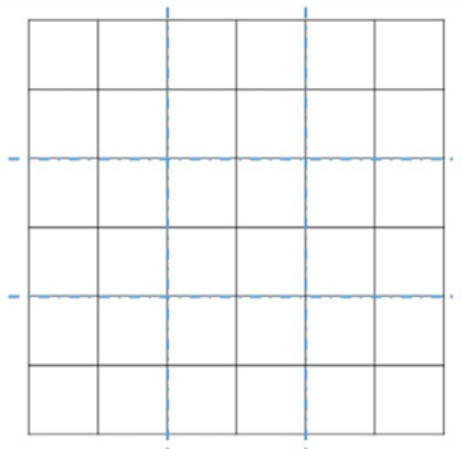
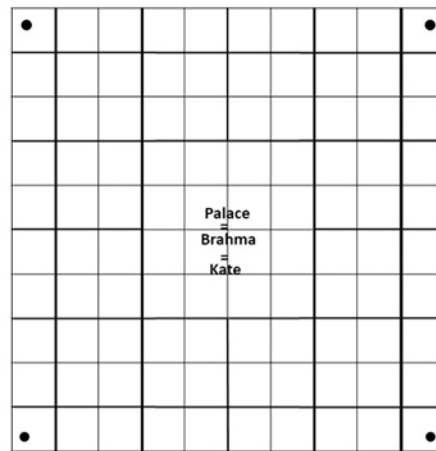


Fig. 26: Square patterns which numbers of modular grids can be multiplied by 3, for example  $6 \times 6$  (left) and  $9 \times 9$  (right).



Northwest <b>Vayu</b> Air	North <b>Soma, Kuber</b>	Northeast <b>Isa</b> Water
West <b>Varuna</b>	Center <b>Brahma</b> Space	East <b>Surya</b>
Southwest <b>Pitri</b> Earth	South <b>Yama</b>	Southeast <b>Agni</b> Fire

Northwest <b>Wednesday (night)</b> Rahu	North <b>Friday</b> Venus	Northeast <b>Sunday</b> Sun
West <b>Thursday</b> Jupiter	Kate	East <b>Monday</b> Moon
Southwest <b>Saturday</b> Saturn	South <b>Wednesday (day)</b> Mercury	Southeast <b>Tuesday</b> Mars

Fig. 27: The design of Toungoo and Hanthawaddy with the palace at the center and pagodas at the corners (top) was likely associated with Vastu Purusha Mandala where the center and the four corners represent the five elements (below left). They also aim to have the palace at the location of the chief of planets (Kate) and the four pagodas to protect from the malefic planets at the four directions in Burmese astrology (below right).

*Historic city of Ayutthaya was emerged in 1350/51 at the lower part of the Chao Phaya River plain. It was established in an irregular shape surrounded by three rivers as moats and had canals running between north-south and east-west for transportation within the inner city. Ayutthaya city had location advantage for agriculture, natural protection from invaders, and access to the sea for trade. Although Ayutthaya was constructed differently from former Khmer cities, it con-*

sisted of Buddhist temples at almost the center of the inner city as those of the Khmer. These temples were built by different kings and periods to enshrine the Buddha's relics at a prang pagoda which was inspired by the Khmer prasat. They also resembled Khmer temples as a prang pagoda was enclosed by a gallery and aligned in the east-west axis with a vihara to the front and an ordination to the rear. Whereas Hanthawaddy city of the Mon was built by King Byinnya U in 1369 in a shape of a sixteen-sided polygon with eight city gates and a royal palace at the center. It became a square during the reign of Burmese King Bayinnaung who shifted the capital from Toungoo (Ketumati) to Hanthawaddy in 1553. Ketumati provided inspiration to the design of Hanthawaddy which had a shape of a square surrounded by walls and moats; twenty city gates, five gates on each side; royal palace at the center; a pagoda inside the city and four smaller pagodas at the four corners. It was probably planned according to guidelines of Vastu Purusha Mandala. The comparison of city layouts of Ayutthaya, Hanthawaddy, and Toungoo reflects people way of living and culture. Ayutthaya provided an example of Siamese landscape which has long been shaped by rivers and canals. Whereas the Burmese landscape and city layouts have been more concentrated on land rather than water ways. The Mon and Burmese have contacted directly with the Indians since the early era. Indian inspiration of Vastu Purusha Mandala reflected in the design of city layouts of Toungoo and later Hanthawaddy. The role model of King Ashoka provided an example rule to King Dhammaceti. Whereas, Siamese of Ayutthaya likely received influence of India via the Khmers.

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