

CHAPTER TWOTHE INSCRIPTIONS

The inscriptions found in Arakan, dating between the 5th and 11th centuries enable us to reconstruct, in a fairly broad sense, the history of the period. The most important are the royal edicts, the *praśastis*, which provide the framework for the political history. Of the four extant *praśastis*, three are inscribed on the Shitthaung pillar, a monolith which appears to have been part of a royal cult designed to ensure the prosperity of the country through the continuance of the royal *dharma*. Hence they contain invaluable dynastic lists of the various royal lines, which the other evidence can only embellish. Unfortunately, only one *praśasti*, that of Anandacandra, written in c 729 A.D. is completely legible. For Anandacandra and his immediate predecessors, however, the supplementary information on the religion, economy and foreign relations is the most complete indigenous record of the period from Burma.

The votive inscriptions, exclusively Buddhist, reflect the nature of the popular religion between the 6th and 8th centuries, and also provide evidence of royal patronage from at least the middle of the 6th century. The inspiration was Mahāyānist, although increasing Theravāda influence is apparent from the early period. The single copper-plate, in the manner of similar inscriptions found in Bengal, reveals to some extent the economic and political organisation of the state. The few inscribed images which can be dated paleographically provide a frame of reference for the dating of uninscribed sculptures, while the inscribed coins confirm and supplement the *praśasti* king lists and enhance our knowledge of the paleography.

The paleography of the inscriptions is of considerable interest, and allows certain inferences to be drawn as to the nature of Arakan's relations with the surrounding areas. As de Casparis has pointed out, the spread of a particular type of script is not an automatic consequence of political expansion but is due to the mobility of the scribes. Such mobility is of course conditioned by the nature of central control in providing security for regular communications¹. Thus, in the stone inscriptions of Arakan, we find a number of conventions unusual in their Indian counterparts but common in manuscripts, and it was certainly through these that new forms of writing were introduced. On the other hand, when the central control was weak, in outlying areas such as Sandoway, a tendency to develop new forms in isolation is noticed, along with the introduction of some forms from political centres other than the north, principally Śrīkṣetra.

Although Johnston, with a limited number of inscriptions at his disposal, proposed that all the scripts were analogous with those current in Northeast India, he was only partially correct. His theory must of course, be modified, for since he wrote, a great number of new inscriptions have been discovered in East Bengal (now Bangladesh) and Assam, and in Burma proper, where epigraphic studies have been given an impetus since the publication of the *Inscriptions of Burma* portfolios by Rangoon University. A.H.Dani's *Indian Paleography* has now provided epigraphists with accurate and instant reference to the scripts of India, Southeast Asia and Ceylon. Of particular use in the study of Arakanese inscriptions are his plates XI and XXII, which deal with the inscriptions of Bengal and Burma. Dani's precise

¹ *Indonesian Paleography* (Leiden 1975) pp.1-2

terminology in his glossary of terms has been adopted here wherever possible.

The earliest inscription, on an image at the Mahāmuni shrine, is in the script used by the Guptas in central India in the second half of the 5th century. While certain central Indian characteristics are retained in the first half of the 6th century, notably in the two earliest *praśastis* on the east face of the Shitthaung pillar and the reverse of the Sūrya image, the forms generally belong to the script used in Bengal and Assam during that period. A certain amount of local development is discernible from around the middle of the 6th century, from which time a few Southern forms are noticed, chiefly in the coin inscriptions. In the south of Arakan, the script appears to have developed along fairly independent lines after the fall of Veśālī, at the end of the century, and shows independent contact with Śrīkṣetra. The South Indian derived Pyu script used for Pali inscriptions, similar to other Southeast Asian scripts of about the 6th century, is used once for recording a religious text. Only two 8th century inscriptions remain, in a completely different script, revealing renewed contact with the northern Buddhist areas, notably Nālandā. One Pyu inscription from Sandoway district, recognizable by the tonal marks and "interlinear Brahmi" appears to be a provincial and rather late example of its kind. The remaining epigraph, the North face of the Shitthaung pillar, is again in a script derived from East Bengal in the mid-11th century, perhaps also influenced by the style of Western India.

None of these inscriptions has been dated in any known era, but paleographical considerations and internal evidence allow us to assign Ānandacandra's *praśasti*, which contains the invaluable dynastic lists, to c 729 A.D. Thus the copper-plate inscription, which records a land grant made by Bhūticandra's queen in the 11th

year of the reign, can be similarly assigned to c 507 A.D., and the votive inscriptions of Niticandra's queen and Vīracandra to the first half and the last quarter of the 6th century. The remaining epigraphs can be approximately dated in relation to these, and by comparison with Indian and Pyu scripts.

The language of the majority of the inscriptions is Sanskrit. The earliest *praśastis* are too damaged to permit further comment, but the remainder, throughout the period, show that the style was influenced by B.H.S. grammatical and metrical manuscript conventions, particularly apparent in the 6th century votive inscriptions and in Ānandacandra's *praśasti*. The influence of Pali, the result of contact with the Theravādins of Śrīkṣetra and probably Ceylon, can also be seen in the Sanskrit votive inscriptions, particularly those from southern Arakan, where contact with the Pyu centres was more frequent. The single Pali inscription, an extract from the *Mahāsīhanāda Suttanta*, provides further evidence of contact with the Southern schools. The Pyu inscription from Sandoway district, as far as can be seen, is a fairly late example of that language.

The non-Sanskritic proper names in the inscriptions give us a broad, but not conclusive, indication of the various linguistic influences in the area². An Austro-Asiatic substratum can perhaps be discerned in village names with *lak* and *lakka*, from **lak* "digging stick"³. Hence, in Ānandacandra's *praśasti*, *Naulakka* (1.58), *Pilakkavanaka* (1.58), *Bhūrokanaulak'ala* (1,60) and in the copper-plate *śrīlakkājolā* (1.14). *Lakka* is still retained in a few village

² I am grateful to John Okell, of the Burmese Department at SOAS, and to David Bradley, Linguistics, ANU, for their suggestions.

³ cf A.H.Dani "Race and Culture Complex in Bengal" in *Social Research in East Pakistan* (ed. P.Bessagnet) (Dacca 1964) p.123

names in the area, notably, Umalakka and Viralakka, both near Wethali. By the 6th century the impact of Tibeto-Burman migrations is seen mainly in the names of the queens of the Candra rulers. Thus **kim* the proto-Western Tibeto-Burmese "house", and the Tibeto-Burmese female suffix **ma* in Kimtomdevī, Kindaldevī and Kimmājuvdevī of the copper-plate, and Kimmāyanna on the 6th century bell inscription. In the last name, *yan* may be a rare root for mother found in some Tibeto-Burmese languages. The gift-village of the copper-plate, Deṅgutta, could conceivably be derived from Sanskrit Dig-uttara, "northern or upper direction", the intrusive nasal due to Tibeto-Burmese influence, as for instance, in Ratanasiṅkha, the "classical" name for Shwebo, derived by some from Pali *sīkha* or *sīgha*. Again in the copper-plate, two words connected with irrigated rice agriculture have counterparts further west. Bengali *jōla* "channel", also found in Assam in the Guākuchi grant as *jōlī*⁴, appears in Śrīlakkajolā, one of the boundaries of Deṅgutta village. Vaṅgenkhalla, another boundary, is derived from Bengali *khal* "canal". *Khal* and *khali* are still used for "stream" in northern Arakan, notably more frequently towards the Bangladesh border. *Vaṅgen*^o may be derived from Prakrit/Pali *vaṅka*, "crooked, bent", again introducing *ṅ* before *k*. Another Prakritism is noticed in *°vammam* in a proper name of l.5 of the votive inscription from Ngalunmaw in Sandoway district.

Within each group, the inscriptions have been arranged chronologically. The usual *Epigraphia Indica* procedure has been followed, although the historical implications have been treated more fully than is usually the case in that journal. The text of each inscription has been separately footnoted.

⁴ P.C.Choudhury, *Civilisation of the People of Assam* (Gauhati 1966)p.365

Doubtful letters are enclosed in square brackets, and letters which cannot be read are indicated by a dot. Omitted characters, when restored, are shown in angular brackets, thus < >. To mark the elision of initial *α* after a final *o*, a raised comma has been used. e.g. the west face of the Shitthaung pillar, v.23d, 'tinītimān.

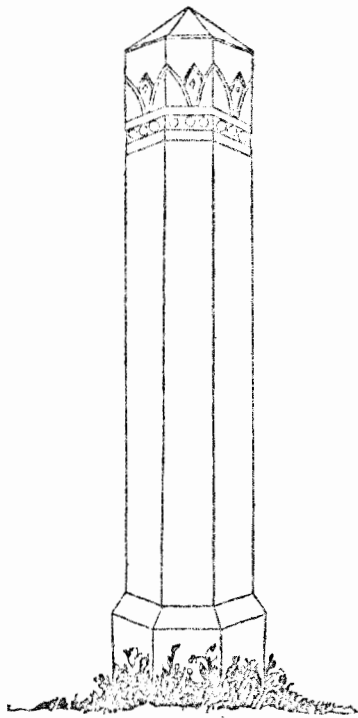
The Prasastis

The Shitthaung Pillar

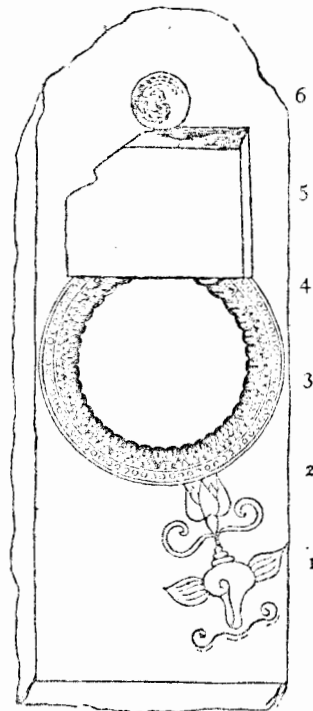
The framework of the history of Arakan is found in the inscriptions of the Shitthaung pillar⁵. The erection of such a stone, specifically to record the history of the institution of kingship, may have its foundation in an older megalithic tradition, where the upright stone represented not only the ancestors but also the wealth of the man who erected it. The pillar is said to have been brought from Veśālī to Mrohaung, and placed at the northern entrance of the Shitthaung-para ("shrine of 80,000 images") by King Minbin, the 12th of the Mrauk-U dynasty, who reigned over Arakan from 1531 to 1553. It fell during the bombardment in the Second World War and has been re-erected in a cage near the same entrance. The pillar is square, rising to a height of 3.3m from the socket; each side is .7m broad. Three sides have been covered with inscriptions; that facing the east is almost entirely defaced; the inscription on the north side is also badly damaged; the western face inscription is best preserved. The south side has not been inscribed. The material used is the fine-grained red sandstone common at Dhaffāvati and in the early sculpture of Veśālī; the stone exhibits no ornamental designs.

⁵ First noticed by Forchhammer, *Arakan*...p.20

No. 6.

*Stone pillar Shitthaung Pagoda*

No. 7.

*Stone sculpture Shitthaung Pagoda*

Once opposite the pillar, but now lying nearby, is an octagonal red sandstone column, described by Forchhammer as 2.7m high above the ground, but probably originally slightly higher. The circumference around the base measures 1.8m (0.23m to each side); towards the apex there is a band of decoration consisting of an enclosed row of dots and a double lotus petal motif, with a major petal at each of the eight corners.

Close to the pillar lies a large red-sandstone slab, 3.6m long, 1.5m broad and 0.25-0.3m thick. At the lower end, depicted in relief, is a wavy line suggestive of water, from which rises a right-voluted winged conch shell with a lotus flower growing from the aperture, the tip of the petals touching the outer edge of an ornately carved wheel, its outer rim enclosing a circle of dots, and the inner rim comprising a double lotus petal motif. The design suggests the fertility and prosperity (lotus) which arises from the waters (waves and conch) when the *cakravartin* monarch (wheel) holds sway. The motif constantly appears in

ancient Arakanese art, and is discussed more fully below (pp.152-3,285-92)

At the upper end of the wheel is a square hole sunk into the stone, 0.13m deep, 0.78m long and 0.81m broad; next follows a circular cup-like hole 0.1m deep and 0.15m in diameter, while the reverse of the stone shows only a rough hewn surface. As the sides of the inscribed pillar also measure .7m, Forchhammer suggested that the stone slab, which must have been from 6-7m long but is broken off above the cup-like hollow, was originally a lintel or architrave: the square hole capped the inscribed pillar forming the left-hand post of the entrance gate; the circular hollow received the revolving axis of a swinging door; that portion of the lintel which exhibits the *dharmacakra*, the lotus and the conch, protruded over the north side of the inscribed pillar to counterbalance the weight of the opposite part of the slab (now broken off) which formed the actual lintel over the entrance, and the octagonal pillar constituted the right-hand post of the entrance. The construction of the gate (Skt. *torāṇa*) forcibly calls to mind the "turning of the wheel of the law", the essential function of the Buddhist Cakravartin king, to whom was given the power to regulate the celestial and terrestrial forces in order to control the coming of the rains which would ensure the continuing prosperity of the kingdom. Hence, the *cakra* of the lintel was depicted as merging into the pillar, on which, as we will see, the continuity of the *dharma* of the Arakanese *cakravartin* kings was recorded.

The form of the pillar on the opposite side is also not without significance. In common with other pillars associated with *cakravartin* kingship, it is eight-sided, symbolising the eight directions of the microcosmic country and the macrocosmic universe⁶. The decoration

⁶ See J. Irwin, "'Asokan' Pillars; a reassessment of the evidence" I *The Burlington Magazine* Vol CXV (Nov 1973) pp.706-20 and pt. IV to be published in the same journal late in 1976. H. Shorto has suggested that similar octagonal steles found at various archaeological sites in Burma may be *indakhīlas* marking the centre of a city. ("The 32 Myos..." *BSOAS* XXVI (1963) p.589)

around the upper portion is identical to that of the *cakra* on the lintel, the lotus petal in each corner suggesting that the effect of the royal *dharma* was to be felt in each of the eight corners.

This symbolism, implicit in Indian notions of kingship, was to become explicit in Southeast Asia, where Indian kingship was a phenomenon introduced to enhance the power of ambitious local rulers. There is no way of ascertaining whether the column and lintel were made at the time when the pillar was first inscribed. However, the use of red sandstone for all three parts suggests that the *torana* was originally constructed before the writing of the second inscription in A.D. 729 as red sandstone is extremely rare in Arakanese sculpture after about the middle of the 7th century. It is tempting, therefore to suggest that the *torana* was constructed at the eastern entrance of that most important shrine, the Mahāmuni temple, and was taken to Veśālī before the time of the second inscription. Its significance was still remembered in the 16th century, when Minbin had it re-erected at his remarkable royal shrine, the Shitthaung-para.

The inscribed pillar can be inferred to have had a legitimizing function for the ruling dynasty. It will be shown that each of the three inscriptions was written during a period of stress, when the country was under pressure from outside, and the continuing power of the royal law was emphasised. From the west face, it is clear that the descent of the ruling line (subject in all cultures to a multitude of hazards) was not considered as important as the claim to sovereignty of the king himself. The relationship of one ruler to the former is only stressed in the case of Anandacandra, who himself could produce only a royal father and grandfather. By implication, therefore, the erection, and even more, the inscription of the pillar, were part of

an ancient mystical tradition intimately connected with the function of the king and the well-being of the country⁷.

The East Face (Plates VIII and IX)

IB Pls. CCCXLVI-VII, Arch *Negs* 2137-8 (1920-21)

Forchhammer *Arakan*.... Pl. V

This, the earliest inscription, is now almost completely illegible. It appears to have weathered considerably since the rubbing which Johnston used, taken in the early 1940's, and many of the letters of the slightly better preserved lower portion were obliterated by concrete when the pillar was re-erected after the war. However, with the aid of the photograph taken by Forchhammer and an examination of the stone itself, a fairly complete alphabet can be reconstructed.

The *language* is Sanskrit, but no words of importance nor any proper names are discernible. As regards *orthography*, *ga* is doubled after *ra* in *margga*. The *script* closely resembles that of the 6th century Gupta copper-plates of Bengal⁸ and, like the earlier of these, retains some 5th century characteristics. The letters are small, averaging about 8-11mm in height, and are neatly written. The headmarks, where discernible, are triangular, although the linear form is also noticed. The 5th century forms are noticed in the vowels, notably

⁷ Another related tradition is recorded in the mystical inscriptions of the Yattara Bell (1778 A.D.) once at the northeast corner of the third platform of the Mahāmuni pagoda described by Forchhammer *op cit* pp.10-12. Hence "To cause rulers of the towns and villages in the four cardinal directions to be panic-stricken, let a pagoda, provided with four archways (facing the four cardinal points) be constructed at Gōndaw dhāt at Gōnlaton; and let the Yattara Bell be hung and struck at the eastern archway, and the enemies from the east will be panic stricken and quit by flight," etc etc

⁸ A.H.Dani *Indian Paleography* (Oxford 1963) pl.XI, 3

initial *a* (𑀅) which occasionally appears as an apparently variant local form (𑀆) not found elsewhere, and a form of medial *i* which, apart from taking the actual superscript curve to the left (𑀇), is also depicted as an ornate angular scroll (𑀈), seemingly a direct development from the style of the Meharauli Posthumous pillar inscription of Candrabhadra⁹. *Ta* has the left arm shorter than the right (𑀉), *tha* is a circle (𑀊), *dha* has the left arm curved (𑀋), *pa* takes both the 5th and 6th century forms (𑀌𑀍), *ya* is tripartite, with a slanting right half and left half curved outwards in the 6th century manner (𑀎). *La* (𑀏, 𑀐, 𑀑) and *ha* (𑀒) take unusual forms derived from the 6th century Bengal copper-plates. The inscription may therefore be paleographically dated to the end of the 5th or beginning of the 6th centuries, and was presumably written during the reign of either Bhūmicandra or Bhūtīcandra, who, as we will see later, ruled between c 489-520 A.D.. It is evident that the script had been in use for some time beforehand, possibly for as long as a century.

The archaeological evidence from this period suggests that this was the time of the transfer of the capital from Dhāñāvati to Veśālī. This is difficult to explain in historical terms. To the west, small kingdoms were emerging following the disintegration of the so-called later Gupta empire in Eastern India: Devaparvata, west of the mouth of the Meghna river in modern Bangladesh, and Prāgyotiṣa where Nārāyaṇavarman is recorded as having performed two horse sacrifices at this time¹⁰. On the other hand, it may be

⁹ *CII* III, pl.XXIA

¹⁰ B.M.Morrison, *Political Control and Cultural Regions in Early Bengal* (Tucson 1970) pp.26ff.

that the disruption was caused by an invasion of Tibeto-Burman speakers from the east as the linguistic evidence of later inscriptions appears to indicate.





The West Face (Plates X and XI)

Prāśasti of Ānandacandra, 9th regnal year

Although Forchhammer (*op cit* p.20) first brought this inscription to the notice of scholars, it was not until 1925, when Duroiselle sent an apparently inferior set of rubbings to the Government Epigraphist in India, that a preliminary account was published in *ASI* 1925-26 pp.146-8 and *ASB* 1925-26, pp.27-30 and 59-60.

A number of misconceptions found in this reading have been perpetuated by some Indian scholars. Under the instigation of Professor Luce, a new set of rubbings, prepared by his able assistant U Sein was sent to Professor E.H.Johnston at Oxford. With the aid of an unpublished reading of the last fifty lines prepared by Dr.N.P.Cakravarti, one-time Government Epigraphist for India, Johnston made an almost complete annotated transliteration of the inscription intended for *Epigraphia Birmanica*. The break in publication due to the war, and Johnston's sudden death in 1942 led to his posthumous article "Some Sanskrit Inscriptions of Arakan" in *BSOAS* XI (1944) prepared by Luce "from old notes on the backs of envelopes" and with an excellent translation and further annotations of the transcription by Professor L.D.Barnett. A good rubbing was published in *IB* IV (pls.CCCXLVIII and CCCXLIX), together with a bibliography. Although the importance of the inscription was now recognized, it was not until D.C.Sircar in his article "Inscriptions of the Candras of Arakan" in *EI* XXXII made new observations about the date and edited three new Candra inscriptions that any significant progress in its elucidation was

made. The work of Johnston and Sircar was brought to the notice of Burmese scholars by U Myint Swe in his paper "Ānandacandra's Sanskrit Inscription" in the *Union of Burma Journal of Literary and Social Sciences* Vol. II, 3 (Sept 1969) and again by the Director-General of Higher Education, the enthusiastic student of Arakanese culture U San Tha Aung in his book *Ānandacandra's Inscription*, published by Rangoon University in 1976. The present reading and interpretation has been largely based on Johnston's work, and much of Barnett's excellent literal and perceptive translation has been retained.

The *characters* of the inscription show less local development than those of the 6th and 7th century epigraphs. Johnston (p.365) placed the script at the beginning of the 8th century, on the basis of its striking similarity to Yaśovarmadeva's inscription at Nālandā, noting however the difference in the form of *jya* which in the Nālandā inscription is of the older type, whereas in the other, the resemblance to an ordinary *ya* is clearly brought out in 1.45¹¹. A date in the first half of the 8th century is further confirmed by a comparison with the early 8th century copper-plates of east Bengal, namely the Asiatic Society Plate of Bhavadeva and his two unpublished Salban Vihāra plates¹². Morrison has shown that the Devas must have ruled between c 685-765, Bhavadeva being the 4th king of the dynasty¹³. The only notable difference between the Arakan and Bengal styles at this period is the letter śa which Ānandacandra writes  or  and Bhavadeva  or .

¹¹ cf Bhandharkar's List No. 2105; *EI* XX pp.37ff.

¹² D.C.Sircar, "Copper-plate inscription of King Bhavadeva of Devaparvata" *JASB Letters* XVII (1951) pp.88-91; Dani *op cit* p.135 and pls. XIa and b, no.6; F.A.Khan, *Mainamati, a Preliminary Report on the Recent Archaeological Excavations in East Pakistan* (Karachi 1963) p.19; now at Mainamati Museum.

¹³ *Political Centres and Cultural Regions in Early Bengal* Tucson 1970, pp.24-25

During this period, many discrepancies between the styles of Bihar and Bengal were eliminated, a process which no doubt was the result of Harṣa's conquests and which continued after the establishment of the Pāla empire.

Another noteworthy peculiarity is the form given to consonants when they occur at the end of a hemistich, in place of the *virāma* used at Nālandā. Thus *k* (क) 1.23, *t* (ट) 11.26, 38, 45, *n* (न) 11.36, 41 and *m* (म) 11.31, 57. Johnston quoted as precedents for this, the Bodghaya inscription of Mahānāman, 11.2 and 6, for final *m*, and 1.14 for final *t*, and also the Paharpur copperplate of G.E. 159 for final *m*. These considerations, too, would indicate a date in the first half of the 8th century.

Sircar attempted a more precise date, noting that Yaśovarman reigned from c. 725-54 A.D., and assigned the Nālandā inscription to c. 729 A.D. thereby dating Ānandacandra's *praśasti* in the same year. Internal evidence unnoticed by both Johnston and Sircar also supports the date. V.61 records that Ānandacandra sent gifts to the "noble congregation of monks in the land of King Śīlamegha". This king can be identified as Aggabodhi IV of Ceylon (fl.727-66) whose throne name was Śīlamegha¹⁴.

Johnston has noted that the 65 verses exhibit "a rather doggerel style marked by several solecisms." A prose sentence is interpolated between verses 45 and 46. The first verse is almost completely illegible; the rest are ordinary *aruṣṭubh ślokas*, except verses 40, 61, 63, 64 and 65 in *upajāti*, 52 and 59 in mixed *indravaṁśa* and *vaṁśastha* and 32, 42, 47 and 62 in *vasantatilaka*. Pada 2 of verse 44 in *vasantatilaka* metre ends in a short syllable instead of a long one, which, the learned editor writes, was "a licence which Aśvaghoṣa also

¹⁴ *Cūlavāṁsa* I, 46.41-67. cf Geiger's revised list in his *Culture of Ceylon* ed. H.Beichert (Wiesbaden 1960) p.225

allowed himself" (*Saundarananda* vii, 48c). The remainder of the peculiarities inconsistent with the classical Sanskrit metre are all common in BHS verse. Notable are a short vowel remaining short before *sv* in v.24, before *tr* in v.32 and before *śr* in v.51. In v.18 the *ṛ* in *°kartmāṅ* has been shortened for metrical reasons. The first pāda of v.20 is hypometric. There are some cases of double saṁdhi, in one of which a long syllable has also been shortened to suit the metre, namely v.46, *viḥārāneka* for *viḥārā anekah*, v.47 *Cundādīnām* for *Cundā adīnām*, v.49 *paśadārumayānekām* for *°mayā anekah*, and in v.51, the compound *°rājatānekān* is presumably meant for *°rājatān anekān*. Again because of the metre, the nominative ending *-o* has been shortened to *-a*, e.g. v.44, *Ānandacandra* for *°candro*, and v.62, *Śrītāmrapattananrādhipa* for *°-po*. In v.21, *nagara* is treated as masculine, and in v.30, *upabhoga* as neuter. *Ṣoḍaśa* is written as *ṣoḍaśa* in 326, 386 and 43b. *Anusvāra* occasionally used for *visarga*, in 33a *tataṁ* for *tataḥ*, 44a *tatsutaṁ* for *tatsutaḥ* and in 49a *°mayānekām* for *mayānekah*.

Only a few characters are legible in the first three lines. Johnston suggested that these contain two verses and the beginning of a third, and that the double *daṇḍa* after the tenth *akṣara* in l.3 marked the end of the second verse. If, he says, there were only one verse, it would be difficult to find a long metre ending in *__~__*, and we should have to assume an introductory sentence in prose followed by one invocatory verse.

Hence his tentative reading of Bodhisattva (which cannot be confirmed) in l. 1 would be part of an invocatory stanza to the Buddha, and *trilocana* in the middle of l. 2 should refer to Śiva in a stanza to Hindu deities. Verse 3 apparently deals with the first reign; nothing is legible apart from, perhaps, *Buddha dharma* at the beginning.

The first legible section of the inscription recalls the earlier chapters of the mythical account of the ancient history of Kashmir given in Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅginī*¹⁵. The legible names of the six kings who each rule for 120 years suggest a Purāṇic tradition which did not survive the rewriting of the chronicles by Theravāda Buddhist

¹⁵ cf. Stein trans, Vol.I, Introduction, pp.66ff

historians at a later date. This is followed by a list of rulers with more realistic reign lengths, distinguished by a preponderance of non-Sanskritic names, suggesting a semi-historical tradition of events taking place in the 2nd to 4th centuries A.D. The first of these is Candrodāya, who is said to have reigned for 27 years. Johnston was inclined to equate him with Candrasūriya of the Chronicles, which give his accession date as A.D. 146, noting that if the length of reigns given in the inscription is to be trusted, the date of his accession would fall in the last quarter of the second century. However, taking in to account the varying methods of computing time, 146 may well be correct. The Arakanese historians, (in the later period at least) paid great attention to chronology, whereby the establishment of eras and the proper order of the seasons necessary to the maintenance of fertility and prosperity was guaranteed. In any case, Candrodāya appears to have been a local chieftain, considered to be the progenitor of the royal line, and may have had some contact with Indian conceptions of kingship. After him, the Aṅṅaveta kings, whose name suggests an indigenous form of leadership, ruled for five years. They were followed by a king whose name is now lost, who reigned for the unlikely period of 77 years. Most of the following names are un-Indian, and some are doubtful readings, the list running:

Rimbhyappa (?)	, 23 years
Kūverā, a queen,	7 years
Omavīrya, son of the preceding,	20 years
Jugna (?),	7 years
Lānkī,	2 years

A form of matrilineal descent is noticed in the relationship between Kūverā and Omavīrya. The length of the reigns of the ancestral monarchs is said to have been 1,060 years, although from the information given in the inscription it is not possible to see how this is

reached. However it is known that the succeeding dynasty ruled for 230 years, completed as we will see, in c 600 A.D. Taking 1,060 years to be correct, it appears that the first reign was calculated to begin in c 690 B.C., coinciding with the first year of the era initiated by Gautama Buddha's grandfather, King Einzana, in 691 B.C.¹⁶. This era, still known in Burma, could have been chosen to illustrate the contemporaneity of the royal ancestors with those of the Buddha, a tendency which was to become more pronounced in the later chronicles.

The following section deals with the Candra dynasty, the historicity of which is confirmed by the coins issued by the 4th to 13th kings and by two votive inscriptions, discussed below. The inscription states that the 16 kings of the dynasty ruled for 230 years. The list however, gives only 13 names, although their reign periods add up to 230 years. This is possibly because three kings of the dynasty, who may have ruled for only a few weeks or months, have been omitted from the list. It is interesting to note that the Candra dynasty of Veśālī mentioned in the chronicles, also reigned for 230 years, from 788-1018 A.D. None of the names of the twelve kings of this dynasty correspond with those of the inscription. Johnston noted that "it would seem that the chronicles derived ultimately from an authentic list, which has survived in a form corrupted beyond hope of restoration." However, it is possible that the confusion resulted from the incorporation of the account of the Buddha's visit to Arakan, the core of the Mahāmuni tradition, into the later chronicles. This was most conveniently said to have taken place during the reign of Candrasūriya, who, as we have seen, was very probably the semi-historical progenitor Candrodaya of the inscription. The length of the

¹⁶ A.M.B.Irwin, *The Burmese and Arakanese Calendars*, (Rangoon 1909) p.2; cf the Rt Rev P.Bigandet *The Life or Legend of Gaudama, the Buddha of the Burmese* (London 1880) Vol.II,p.133.

Dhaññavatī dynasty founded by Candrasūriya of the chronicles was therefore artificially extended to include all the kings reigning up till the foundation of the dynasty we will meet on the north face of the pillar, who also ruled at Veśālī from about 788-1050 A.D. The Candra dynasty of the inscription can be seen to have ruled from c 370-600 A.D., initially at Dhaññavatī and later at Veśālī. Thus, adopting Sircar's chronology, we have

1.	Dvañcandra	55 years	c 370-425 A.D.
2.	Rājacandra	20 "	" 425-445 "
3.	Bālacandra	9 "	" 445-454 "
4.	Devacandra	22 "	" 454-476 "
5.	Yajñacandra	7 "	" 476-483 "
6.	Candrabandhu	6 "	" 483-489 "
7.	Bhūmicandra	7 "	" 489-496 "
8.	Bhūticandra	24 "	" 496-520 "
9.	Nīticandra	55 "	" 520-575 "
10.	Vīra or Vīryacandra	3 "	" 575-578 "
11.	Prīticandra	12 "	" 578-590 "
12.	Pr̥thvīcandra	7 "	" 590-597 "
13.	Dhṛticandra	3 "	" 597-600 "

The name of the founder of the dynasty, Dvañcandra, may, as Johnston suggested, be the equivalent of modern Burmese *taing* /*tuin*/ "region"¹⁷

The Sanskritic names of all the following kings indicate increased Indian influence at court, possibly the result of Gupta invasions further west. Dvañcandra is said to have conquered the usual number of 101 kings, and to have built a city complete with walls and a moat. The city can now be identified as Dhaññavatī (Skt. Dhānyavatī, Burmese Dhinnyawadi) where the archaeological evidence points to occupation in the late 5th and early 6th centuries. Nothing is mentioned of the

¹⁷ Luce assures me that the statement "its Sanskrit equivalent would apparently be *Tuin*," in the text, p. 368 is a misprint.

shift of the capital to Veśālī, which apparently took place at the beginning of the 6th century. The name of Candrabandhu suggests that he was a reunifier of the country, and he must have ruled during a period of confusion which led to the move southwards. The remaining kings are generally described with the usual clichés, although it is noteworthy that both Devacandra and Nīticandra are likened to Indra, the divine royal prototype of Buddhist kingship in Southeast Asia. During the long reign of "the renowned Nīticandra, who removed strife by policy" the archaeological remains bear witness to a burgeoning of artistic activity which partly owes its inspiration to the late Gupta art of Mathurā and to the early Cālukyan art of Badami.

The Candra kings are said to have sprung from the line of Īśa, which must mean Śiva, although descent from Śiva is not met with in Indian tradition, and Śaivite remains from the period are few. However, a contemporary king of Funan and Chenla, Bhavavarman (c 550-600) claimed to be a "protégé of Śiva" and also to belong to a lunar (Candra) dynasty¹⁸. The conquests of this king had far-reaching effects in mainland Southeast Asia and may have contributed to the instability which led to the downfall of the Candras of northern Arakan. It should be noted also that at this time the Varman dynasty in Assam were devotees of Śiva, although they claimed descent from the god Viṣṇu. At the beginning of the 7th century, the expansionist policies of King Śasāṅka of Gauḍa led to a treaty between Harṣavardhana of Kanauj and Bhāskaravarman of Pragjyotiṣa, circumstances which no doubt affected Arakan at the time.¹⁹

¹⁸ E. Aymonier, *La Cambodge* t. III, p. 413; A. Barth, "Inscriptions sanscrites du Cambodge" *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Comptes-Rendu des Séances, Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, (Paris 1895) pp. 8-21, *Han Chey B*, st. 3. The tradition was apparently enlarged upon later by Īśānavarman (c 616-627) whose capital, Īśānapura, has been identified as modern Sambor Prei Kuk (Coedès, *Indianized States...* pp. 69-70), a site with which the early sculpture of Arakan has certain stylistic affinities.

¹⁹ *EI* XXX p. 291

The inscription implies that after the fall of the Candra dynasty in c 600 A.D., conditions were confused in Arakan, with the rule reverting partly to indigenous kings, although other evidence from this period, the names of the kings on a coin and the Sūrya image inscription do not conform with the Shitthaung list. First comes Mahāvira, king of Purempura, said to have ruled for twelve years. Johnston noted that the name of the town is of great interest as it appears to give the correct form of a place mentioned in the Pali *Niddesa*. The question has been discussed by Lévi,²⁰ who successfully identified the list of places in the *Mahāniddesa*, pp.154 and 415, by comparison with Ptolemy on the coast of Burma. One of the places which he could not identify is, according to the Sinhalese MSS, Naranapūra, but the Burmese MSS. read Parapūra and Purapura, and the Thai have Parammukha and Parapura; the best authenticated form of the variants is Parapura, and that this was the correct form of the name is suggested by a comparison with Ptolemy. Lévi took the view that the name of Ptolemy's river Katabeda survived in the name of the island of Kutabdia. Immediately below this on the coast Ptolemy places a centre of commerce called Barakura, which may be equated with Parapura. Johnston therefore suggested that the site of the town would lie on the coast between Akyab and Kutabdia, and thought that modern Pruma, on the Arakanese bank of the Naaf river, the traditional border between Bengal and Arakan, would be most likely. Pruma (Phrūma, Phyumā) appears in the curious list of the 198 ancient and modern cities in Arakan, 99 on each side of the Gacchaba Nadī (Kaladan river) given in the Arakanese MS of the *Sabbāthānapakaranam*

²⁰ "Ptolémée, le Niddesa et le Brhatkathā" in *Études Asiatiques* (Paris 1925) pp.23-25

(*Sarvasthānaprakaraṇa*)²¹. This identification would appear to be almost certainly correct, as directly opposite Pruma, on the west bank of the Naaf, we find the village of Parapāra. The mouth of the Naaf would have been an ideal port and trading site, offering refuge from the storms of the Bay of Bengal and lying also on the easiest land route between Arakan and Bengal. It is likely that a ruler of this area, with its economy based mainly on maritime trade, would seek to extend his territory to the rich alluvial plains of Arakan when opportunity allowed.

Whether Mahāvīra succeeded in this for long is uncertain. The inscription mentions two successors whose names indicate non-Indian origins, but apparently offer no clue to their ethnic identification. Vrayajap (or Brayajap) was followed by Sevinreñ (?), accorded the curious epithet of Māvukaghātīn. Johnston suggested that Māvuka is a term of kinship and indicates the previous king; it may also be the name of a local deity with whom the king was thought to have a special relationship.

That these three kings are each given a reign of 12 years may not be coincidental, but artificial. The number twelve represents the reestablishment of the king's *dharma* and his ability to bring forth rain, and it is likely that the court scribes, faced with a dearth of information almost a century later, imposed this auspicious reign length on half-remembered kings to indicate the continuance of royal

²¹ Forchhammer, *Arakan* pp. 64-67

dharma during this period²². If we accept Sircar's dating of the inscription, it can be shown that the following king, Dharmasūra, attained the throne in c 639 A.D., that is, one year after the introduction of the *Cūlasakarāja*, the Burmese common era, said in the Arakanese chronicles to have been arranged in conjunction with the Pyu kings²³. The era apparently also inaugurated a new wave of Indian influence. Contact with the Mahāyānist centres of northern India is apparent both from the script and the content of the inscription. The safety of the land routes after Harṣa of Kanauj, himself a follower of the Mahāyāna, would have been a major factor in popularising this form of the religion. Dharmasūra was followed by Vajrasakti (fl.c 652-665) the grandfather of Ānandacandra, again described as Indra among monarchs. He is said to have originated in the *deva* family, which recalls the Deva dynasty of East Bengal, whose dates Morrison gives as c. 685-765²⁴.

²² cf J.W. Spellman, "The Symbolic Significance of the Number Twelve in Ancient India" *JAS* XXII (1962-63) pp.80-88. He notes, however, that the *Mahāvamsa* XXXIII.103, XXIV.73 XXIV.68 XXV.75 lists a number of kings who ruled for only 12 years, and that traditions do exist in which the tenure of rulership was fixed for a twelve-year period. In the province of Quilcare, about 60 miles NE of Cape Comorin, there was a traditional twelve-year reign for kings, at the end of which a great festival was held when the king was required to cut off as much of his own flesh as possible, and to end the ceremony by cutting his own throat. Similar customs prevailed at Calicut on the Malabar coast, where the practice of the king's ruling for twelve years and then cutting his own throat existed into the 18th century.

²³ *OBEP* III, p.330; A.M.B. Irwin, *op cit* p.2

²⁴ *op cit* p.25

However, the family is more fully described with reference to Ānandacandra in v.62 as *devāṇḍaja* and in v.63 as *Śrīdharmnarājāṇḍaja*. Johnston surmised that the term referred to the egg of Brahmā, and deduced an origin for the family from Brahmā and Manu, the latter the traditional progenitor of the ten lines of kings, thus claiming a pure Kṣatriya origin for the dynasty. Barnett disagreed, equating *ṇḍaja* with *Khacara* "bird", thus seeing *ṇḍajavaṃśa* as synonymous with *Khacara-vaṃśa* or *Jīmūtavāhanāvaya*. However, in Burma, the *ṇḍajavaṃśa* appears to have been one of the more important royal lines in both Pyu and Burmese history²⁵.

The word *dānaśīlādisomyukta* recalls the six Pāramitās and suggests that Vajraśakti was a follower of the Mahāyāna.

Vajraśakti was succeeded by Dharmavijaya, who ruled for thirty-six years. Coins issued by him have been found as far apart as Kwyede, near Akyab, and at Mainamati in the Comilla district. That he too was a Buddhist may be inferred from a reference to the Three Jewels in v.40. The last line of this verse records that after his death he went to the Tuṣita heaven, which Johnston was inclined to regard as a suggestion that the king was considered a Bodhisattva incarnate. The idea, of course, is well-known in Southeast Asia, and recurs frequently throughout Burmese history. Vajraśakti was succeeded by his son, Narendravijaya, who reigned for only two years and nine months. Another son of Vajraśakti, Dharmacandra, possibly by a different queen, then came to the throne. He is described as "belonging to the lineage of the Lord" (Īśa = Śiva), a title not shared by his immediate predecessors, but used of the earlier Candra dynasty. His name, and another allusion to the moon in the epithet *vīranarendra-candra* "moon of valiant kings" suggests that his mother was connected with the earlier dynasty. In the inscription, the correct Sanskrit

²⁵ e.g. *GPC*, pp.30-39

form of his name is used, but his coins bear the Prakritic form Dhamma, which does not correspond to the Sanskrit form of Candra. He apparently made over his throne to his son before his death. Ānandacandra, in the ninth year of whose reign the inscription was written. The remainder therefore deals with the good deeds and virtues of that king. He was evidently a Buddhist by personal religion, and calls himself *upāsaka* in v.54. The reference to Cundā and the Bodhisattvas in v.47, *dānapāramitā* in v.54 show that he too was a follower of the Mahāyāna. He did not, however, neglect the local Brahmans, the bearers of Sanskrit culture at court, building the four *mathas* named after himself, provided with land, servants and musicians. The Brahmans of Somatīrtha mentioned in v.56 may have originated from that famous Indian centre. He also repaired "deva" shrines (apparently Hindu) and other holy places built by former kings. His main exertions, however, were the building of Buddhist foundations and the commissioning of objects of worship. The name of the Ānandodaya *vihāras* mentioned in v.46 is retained today by the monastery at Letkhat-taung in Wethali village²⁶. He caused to be made Buddha images in metal, ivory, wood, stucco and stone, and innumerable votive *caityas* in clay, a practice also attested at Mainamatī, where hundreds of tiny clay *stūpas* containing relics and stamped with texts were found during the Salban Vihāra excavations. The reference to gold and silver *caityas* containing relics and images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas etc, recalls the *stūpa*-shaped shrines of the earlier period enclosing Buddha images, and it is possible that models of these were made in precious metals²⁷. The lotus flowers

²⁶ Although the name Ānandacandra does not appear in the modern Arakanese chronicles, it is still known in local tradition. A pre-war ferry still plying on the Kaladan river is charmingly named the Ānandacandra.

²⁷ I have seen many bronze open-sided square shrines containing Buddha images in monastery collections in northern Arakan. Stylistically they appear to belong to the Pagán period, but probably continue an older tradition.

of gold and silver made for the worship of the blessed relics have no counterparts in contemporary Indian or Southeast Asian art, although reference may be made to the articulated lotuses in bronze found in Bengal and at Pagán²⁸.

Ānandacandra continued the ancient custom of a daily open court at which his subjects could air their disputes, and as a good Buddhist, released capital offenders (v.58) Ānandacandra's Buddhist affiliations led him to welcome monks from "diverse places" presenting them with copper bowls and silk (?) robes (v.53) The connection with the Buddhist centres of Nālandā, Mainamatī and Ceylon appears to have been considered the most important, although economic and strategic motives may also have influenced the sending of the gift of a preacher's seat (*dharmāsana*) a cow elephant and brilliant robes (of silk ?) to the noble *bhikṣus* there (v.61). In later centuries at least, the *Cūlavamsa* (LXXVI, 17-25) records that there was a flourishing trade in elephants between Ceylon and Burma, as the tuskers suitable for state and war elephants, as well as a source of ivory, were very rare in Ceylon²⁹. Alaungsithu (fl. 1113-1155/60 ?) is said to have done away with the old custom of presenting an elephant to every vessel presenting gifts, no doubt the practice referred to in this verse. Johnston suggested that the robes presented to these monks were made of silk, this being the first instance of *netra* in this sense (v.53 and 61). This would certainly have been most unorthodox, but may reflect an aspect of the China silk trade which has not yet been investigated. The inscription ends with an account of Ānandacandra's marriage to Dhendā, daughter of Manodhīra, king of Tāmrappattana (v.62) whose capital was Śrī Pattana (v.65) The manner in which the union is described shows that it was a matter of exceptional importance. It appears that Manodhīra had responded to a request by the

²⁸ Bhattasali, *Iconography*...pp.45-53; *OBEP* II, pls.425-8, III pp.190-3
²⁹ cf Geiger, *Culture of Ceylon* (Wiesbaden 1960) p.127

Arakanese king, and that a treaty of "happy friendship" ensued. Arakan may well have been threatened from the south, where the Pyu of Śrīkṣetra were at the height of their power, or from the west, where the invasions of Yaśovarman of Kanauj had unsettling repercussions in southeast Bengal, leading to the downfall of the Khaḡgas and the rise of the Devas³⁰. The union, therefore, may have been seen as of strategic value - a strategem which, it seems, did not succeed, as we hear no more of the dynasty after the inscription, and archaeological remains datable to the ensuing century are scarce. The identification of Tāmrappattana is uncertain. The country is not mentioned in Indian inscriptions, although Tāmra and its variants (Tāmba, Tampa, Tamma) often occurs in place names on both sides of the Bay of Bengal. The ruling family is said to have sprung from the Śaivāndhra line, which suggests a South Indian origin. It is tempting to suggest that Śaivāndhra was meant, inferring that the family traced its origin to the Purāṇic Sailāndhras, or whose power was centred at Śrī Śailam on the Krishna river, almost halfway between the mouth and the Cālukyan capital of Badami. Whendā "giver of milk", a corrupt Sanskrit form, also does not occur in Indian inscriptions, but is an apt name for a princess of south India, where according to early Tamil poetry, the sacred power of the chaste woman was believed to reside in the milk-producing breasts³¹. The name Manodhīra is only mentioned once, again in the south, where it was borne by the composer of the Velūr-pālaiyan plates³². The strong influence of Cālukyan art

³⁰ A.M.Choudury, *Dynastic History of Bengal* (Dacca 1967) pp.6-8

³¹ W.O'Flaherty *The Hindu Symbolism of Cows, Bulls, Stallions and Mares* AARP 8 (Dec 1975); G.L.Hart, *The Poems of the Ancient Tamil and their Sanskrit Counterparts* (University of California Press 1975)

³² *South Indian Inscriptions* II, p.508

on the Arakanese remains of this period would further suggest that the marriage was the culmination of an established contact with south India.

Of the place names mentioned, none are immediately identifiable. It may be suggested that the site of the pleasure gardens at Pilakka may be modern Chaungpila, on the ridge north of the city wall, where the cool breezes temper the heat of summer.

Immediately below the inscription are two lines in a later hand, more or less contemporary with that on the north face of the pillar. It is uncertain whether they were intended to have any connection with Ānandacandra's *praśasti*.

For convenience of reference, while the text is arranged and numbered marginally according to the verses, the line of the inscription is also noted in brackets. Johnston and Barnett's notes have been retained where applicable, and are indicated by the initials preceding them.

TEXT

- v.4 - - - - (4) tato ri[śya?]d - - [sa?] -ja[na] jagata d[e]va|
 [Mahātma - - -?] bhupālo varṣaṁ viṁśādhikam śataṁ ||
- v.5 [Pu]rva[rtho]'pi¹ mahīpālo (5) lokānugrahatatparaḥ |
 Rājyaṁ² tena kṛtaṁ tas[m]ād varṣaviṁśottaraṁ śataṁ ||
- v.6 Śaṭyāyana nāmā tato rājā lok--janita-ṣa- (6) kāt|
 Cakārārīmtapo³ rājyaṁ varṣaṁ viṁśādhikam śataṁ ||
- v.7 Tasmād Bahubalī bhūbhṛt [pu]nar dhairyaviśāradaḥ |
 Kṛtaṁ ca kṛti-(7)nā tena rājyaṁ viṁśa[bd]ikam⁴ śataṁ ||
- v.8 Tato Raghupatiṛ⁵ bhūpaḥ surūpo nītivikra[maḥ] |
 [Cakāra]- - -ta[m] rājyaṁ var[ṣa] (8) viṁśottaraṁ śataṁ ||
- v.9 Ta(sya) Viśratadevyā⁶(vaṅka]⁷- - mahābālaḥ |
 Viṁśabdā[ny]- - - - - --rājyaṁ kṛtaṁ
- v.10 (9) Tataś Candrodayo nāma bhūpālaḥ sādhusammataḥ |
 Saptaviṁśati varṣāṇi rājyaṁ yenātmasātkṛtaṁ ||

¹ *Puru + artha* here is possible but very archaic.

² Read *Rājyaṁ*

³ EHJ read *cakāra...*; LDB suggested *cakārārīmtapo*, although there is no clear trace of a long vowel after the first r, and rē would be a mistake for rī.

⁴ EHJ Alternatively the reading in *d* is *viṁśadhikam*, in which case there is no word for year.

⁵ LDB presumably read *Raghupatiṛ*.

⁶ EHJ read *Ta[sya]vi.....*; LDB suggested *tasyavi - -devaḥ*

⁷ LDB. The first syllable of this *pāda* is possibly *vaṅ*, the second perhaps *ka*.

- v.11 Aṅṅaveta-(10) mahīpālā dānaṃ datvā tv anekadhā |
 Bhūvi lokasukhaṃ jñatvā [pañcābdāna]⁸ divam gatāḥ ||
- v.12 Tatpaścān nṛpavara - - - - (11) caryāsu viśāradaḥ |
 Cakāra matimāṃ rājyaṃ abdāni saptasaptatiḥ ||
- v.13 Rimbhyappo bhūpatis tasmāc caran dāna(12) tiḥ |
 Tryadhikaṃ viṃśad abdāni rājyaṃ puṇyena nītavān ||
- v.14 Kūverāpi⁹ tato devī dānaśīla |
 (13) Saptābdāni tato rājyāṃ cakārārivivarjitām¹⁰ ||
- v.15 [Omavīrya] patis¹¹ tasyās tato bhūpo 'tinīti <mān |>
 <Rā-> (14) jyaṃ viṃśati varṣāṇi cakāra mahimākṛtī ||¹²
- v.16 Jugnāhvayas¹³ tato bhūbhṛt sarvasattvāhitārthakṛt |
 Sa[pta] <saṃva> (15) tsarāṇy evaṃ tadā rājye pratiṣṭhitāḥ ||

⁸ for *pañcābdāni*

⁹ EHJ read *kūverāmi*

¹⁰ EHJ read °*vivarjitām*

¹¹ EHJ *Umāvīrya*; LDB *Omāvīrya*

¹² LDB Comparison with verse 42d suggests that the poet wrongly took *māhimā* as a feminine vowel-stem.

¹³ for *Jugnāhvayas*

- v.17 Lāṅkīnāmā¹⁴ tato rājā kṛtvā varṣadvayaṁ kṛtī |
Rājyaṁ papā[da]¹⁵(16)vīraḥ krameṇa trīdivaṅgitaḥ¹⁶||
- v.18 Kathyate varsasāṁkhyātra devānām kulakarṣṇām¹⁷ |
Eteṣām bhūbhṛtām n[ū]n[ām](17) sahasraṁ ṣaḍdaśādhikam¹⁸||
- v.19 Tatpāścādi apare kāle punyatakṣmīyuto balī |
Dvaṁ¹⁹Candranāmako dhīmaṁ(18) yo bhuvi bhūbhṛtām patiḥ²⁰||
- v.20 Nṛpaikottaraśataṁ jītvā punyato bahuś[ā]linā |
Prakārakhātasaṁyuktaṁ(19) Nagarā[bhūṣa]ṇaṁ kṛtaṁ²¹||

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- 14 EHJ read *Laṅkī* but LDB suggested that the first vowel is a short curve above the *l* to the right, somewhat like the *ī* in *sphīta*° in the inscription of Yaśovarman, line 12 (E.I. XX, p.43). A similar *ī* is also found in the Tipperah grant of Lokanātha at E.I., XV 301-15; N.Chakravarti *loc cit* p.369
- 15 A syllable is missing here. EHJ read *v*[ipu], while LDB suggested a reading of *prapa-*; *papā[da]* the Vedic perfect of *√pad*, is unusual in Classical Sanskrit. *Navīna*, "new", "young" is also possible.
- 16 for °*gataḥ*
- 17 EHJ: the *ṛ* in °*karṣṇām* has been shortened for metrical reasons.
- 18 EHJ: *Ṣaḍdaśādhikam* presumably means "+ 60", not "+ 16". In either case it is not clear how the total is made up from what can be read of the inscription (cf p.41 and n.16 above)
- 19 EHJ read *Dvaṅ*. The medial 'e' is doubtful.
- 20 EHJ: The reading in 6 looks like *yo bhūt bhū*°, and it is not certain what the correct reading is. LDB: the stone has *yo bhūt bhū*°, but a syllable is lacking to make up the metre. *Bhuvī* here appears to be an anomalous aorist "was".
- 21 EHJ: the first *pāda* of v.20 is hypometric. *Abhūṣaṇa* is a possible synonym of *bhūṣaṇa*, the prefix having the slight force of "additional".

- v.21 Tena niṣpādyā nagaram²² svarggasaundaryahāsinam |
Pañcapanācāśad abdā(20)ni kṛtaṃ rājyaṃ yaśasvinā²³ ||
- v.22 Rājācandras tataḥ śrīmāṃ viṃśavarṣāṇi rajyakṛt |
Evam svargasukham(21)jñātvā divyaṃ yāto mahīpatiḥ ||
- v.23 Tasmān navābdiko rājā [B]ālacandro²⁴ mahardhikaḥ |
Kṛtvā kīrttimayī<ṃ >(22)mā[1]ām svargaṃ yato 'tinītimān ||
- v.24 Devendreva Sa[kr]o 'bhūd Devacandra mahīpatiḥ |
Tato dvāviṃśavarṣāṇi(23) rājyaṃ kṛtvā tu svargabhāk ||
- v.25 Saptavarṣikas tasmād²⁶ Yaḥñācandraḥ prakīrttitaḥ |
Candrabandhus tato loke ṣaṭsa-(24) mvatsararājyabhāk ||
- v.26 Pṛthivyām uditaś candro Bhūmicandrās²⁷ tato 'paraḥ |
Sapta samvatsarany eva rājyaṃ puṇyena(25)ta nītavān²⁸ ||
- v.27 Caturviṃśati varṣāṇi rajyaṃ sambhujya nītimān |
Bhūticandras tato yāto divyaṃ sukham avāptaye ||
- v.28 (26)Nīticandras tataḥ khyāto nītyutsāritavigrahaḥ |
Pañcapanācāśad abdāni so 'bhūd rājā Mahendravat ||
- v.29 Abdatra-(27) yikas tasmād²⁹ Vīryacandro nareśvaraḥ |
[Ta]to dvādaśa varṣāṇi Prīticandro mahīpatiḥ ||

22 *nāgara* is treated as masculine.

23 EHJ: read *yaśasvinā*.

24 EHJ suggested *Kālacandro* or possible *Rālacandro*, however, the reading *Bāla*^a is confirmed by a comparison of the rubbings.

25 EHJ: read *Devendra iva Śakro*

26 LDB: a syllable is lacking in this *pāda*.

27 EHJ: read *Bhūmicandras*

28 EHJ line begins *tanītavān*, but *ta* is marked above for erasure; LDB line begins *nanītavān*.

29 LDB This *pāda* is a syllable short.

- v.30 Sapta<sa> mvatsarāṇy a-(28) smāt Prthvīcandreṇa bhūbhujā |
Rājyopabhoga³⁰ sambhuktaṁ nityaṁ dharmānuvarttinā ||
- v.31 Jagaddhṛtiṁ karoty asmād Dhr(29)ticandro narādhipaḥ |
Prajām apālayat tasmāt trībhīr³¹ varṣair divaṁ gataḥ ||
- v.32 Īśānvaya[-]³² prabhavaṁ ṣoḍaśam(30)bhūpatīnām Candrābhiramaya-
śasām iha Candranāmnām |
Triśā[dh]ikaṁ pragaṇitāni [ś]atadvayaṁ syād
Varṣāṇi rājyaśubha(31) bhogakṛtāni nūnam ||
- v.33 Tataṁ³³ paścān Mahāvīraḥ Purempure³⁴ nareśvaraḥ |
Tena dvādaśavarṣāṇi dharmarājyaṁ(32) kṛtam tadā ||
- v.34 Vrayajapnāmāpi yo rājā³⁵ dvādaśābdāni bhovibhuḥ |
Bhuktvā rājyasukhaṁ vīras tata svargopa(33) bhogabhāḥ ||
- v.35 Śevihreṇ bhūpatis tasmāt smṛto dvādaśakarṣikāḥ³⁷ |
Rājyasampatsukhaṁ tena bhuktaṁ Māvukaghātīnā³⁸ ||
- v.36 (34) Kṣitiṁ rarakṣa dharmeṇa Dharmasūras tato nṛpaḥ |
Trayodaśābdasāmpūrṇṇe svargaṁ yāto maharddhikāḥ ||
- v.37 Bhaktimān iva bhaktyā(35) vai yo vajrīva mahībhṛtām |
Vajrasaktis tata³⁹ khyāto rājā devānvayodbhavaḥ ||

30 EHJ °*upabhoga* is treated as neuter

31 EHJ read *trībhīr*

32 EHJ A character has been erased after *īśānvaya*, thus in *a* it read *Īśānvaya prabhavatrayodaśabhūpatīnām*, and note *a* short before *tr*. In *b* read *yaśasām*. However, LDB suggested °*ṣoḍaśa* as the emendation - *trayodaśa* - would gratuitously introduce a short syllable before *tr* and make the *pāda* a syllable too long. Hence the better course is to read °*ṣoḍaśa* and risk the possibility of the author's reckoning being wrong; moreover, he may have intentionally omitted the names of some kings who were too insignificant to mention.

33 *anusvāra* for *viṣarga*

34 EHJ read both Pureppura - and Purempura-. The rubbings seem to give Purempura; however cf *mpa* in l. 33 ॥ 1.47; ॥ 1.66 ॥

35 LDB The *pāda* is hypometric. 36 LDB suggested *Dovinreṇ* as an alternative reading. 37 EHJ read °*vārṣikāḥ* 38 *Māvuka* may be a proper name or a word indicating kinship. 39 EHJ read *tataḥ*

- v.38 Pratipālya jagat sarvaṃ rājyaṃ ṣo(36)ḍaṣavatsarām⁴⁰ |
Dānaśīladisaṃyukto devalokaṃ sa yātavān ||
- v.39 Śrīdharmajayasaṃyukto lokānugrahatatparaḥ |
(37)Tatpaścād abhavad dhīraḥ Śrīdharmavijayo nṛpaḥ ||
- v.40 Ṣaṭtriṃśad⁴¹ abdāny upabhuja rājyaṃ dharmeṇa nītyā ca jayena caivā |
Ratna-(38) trayānusmaraṇābhiyogāt sa devalokaṃ Tuṣitaṃ prayātaḥ ||
- v.41 Narendravijayenāpi tatputreṇa mahīmat⁴² |
(39) Navamāsādhikaṃ rājyaṃ bhuktaṃ varṣadvayaṃ satā ||
- v.42 Īsānvayaḥ samabhavad vijitārivargaḥ Śaktitrayapra<na>⁴³
(40)yalabdhamahāpratēpaḥ |
Yo Vajraśaktisutavīranarendracandraḥ ⁴⁴ Śrīdharmacandramahimāprathita-
prabhāvaḥ ||⁴⁵
- v.43 Śrīmā(41)n soḍaṣa⁴⁶ Varṣāṇi bhuktvā rājyaśriyaṃ nṛpaḥ |
Datva sutavare rājyaṃ paścāt svargaṃ prayātavān ||

⁴⁰ EHJ read *ṣoḍaṣa* (cf. 32b)

⁴¹ for *ṣaṭtriṃśad*

⁴² LDB suggests *mahīpateḥ*, but there is no sign of a medial *e*. We suggest *mahīmatā*, a word coined from *mahī*, "earth", with the possessive *-mant* suffix and meaning "owning the earth". There is a faint trace of a vertical to the right of the *ta*, which may be the remains of an *ā* vowel mark.

⁴³ LDB At the end of l.39 there seems to be a faint trace of *na*. Another syllable is missing at the beginning of l.40.

⁴⁴ EHJ cf. verses 44 and 62. One should probably understand *Vajraśaktisuta vīra* for *sutavīra*.

⁴⁵ cf. v.15d above, where the poet seems to have taken *mahimā* as a feminine vowel stem. Here, apparently, *śrīdharmacandra* is treated as a nominative, cf. v.62c and v.64c.

⁴⁶ EHJ read *ṣoḍaṣa*. cf. 32b and 38b.

- v.44 Yas tatsu(42)taṁ⁴⁷ pranatabhupatimaulimala-
 Ratnadyutiprasararaṁjitapādapadmaḥ |
 Ānandacandra⁴⁸ bhuvanaikayaśo-(43) 'tituṅga
 Ānandayaṁ jayati vairitamovibhūma ⁴⁹||
- v.45 Dāne ca Karnnasamo rājā satyenāpi Yudhiṣṭhiraḥ
 (44) Pradyumnaiva⁵⁰ rūpeṇa tejasā bhānuvad bhuvi ||
 Tena mahārājādhirājena parahitotsukadhiyā svarā-
 (45) jyapraathamasaṁvatsarataḥ prabhṛti yāvad ā navamābdāt
 svakṛtakāritānumoditāni sucaritāni sa(46)tvānām darśana
 prabodhānumodanapurṇavistaram icchatā pravakṣyante
- v.46 Ānandodayanāmāno vihārā(47)neka⁵² kāritāḥ |
 Dāsadāsībhiḥ sampannāḥ kṣetragomahiṣaiḥ saha ||
- v.47 Sugatabodhisattvānām(48) Cundādīnām ca śaktitaḥ
 Pratimādhātumaccaityāḥ kāritā raukmarājatāḥ ||
- v.48 Rītimayāni bi-(49)mbāni kāṁsatāṁramayāni ca |
 Kāritāni munīndrasya bhārasaṁkhyāpramāṇataḥ ||

47 EBJ It should, presumably be *tatsutaḥ*. Again, *anusvāra* for *viṣarga*

48 °candra for °candro: the nominative ending -o shortened to -a to suit that metre.

49 LDB Apparently to be corrected to *vibhūna*.

50 EBJ read *Pradyumna iva*

51 Character deliberately erased.

52 EBJ [The poet has used] double sandhi shortening *vihārā anekāḥ* to *vihārānekāḥ* to suit the metre, cf.v.49

- v.49 Paśudāru⁵³(50) mayānekām⁵⁴ Pustaśailas⁵⁵ tathaiva ca |
Sugatapratiṁhāṅ saumyāṅ kāritās sādhuḥcitritāṅ⁵⁶ ||
- v.50 Mr̥tsam̥hā?<ra>(51) kṛtasam̥khyāni bimbāni caityakarmanāṅ |
Saddharmapustakās⁵⁷ cāpi lekhitā bahuśaṅ satā ||
- v.51 Sau(52) varṇnarājatānekān padmān sadratnakarṇṇikān |
Nityam⁵⁸ śrīdhātupūjārtham adād bhūpo 'tiśraddhayā ||
- v.52 (53)Dadau prahr̥ṣṭaḥ suviśuddhacetasā
Saddharmapūjām prati taṇḍakān⁵⁹ bahūn |
Dine dine sarvajana(54) numoditān narādhipo dharmakathānurāgataḥ ||

- 53 EHJ read *paśadaru*, and suggested that it "may be the name of a peculiar kind of wood, or it may be images made of leather and wood," which is unlikely. The medial *u* is quite clear and Monier-Williams, *s.v.* *paśu* gives the lexical meaning as *Ficus glomerata*, the Clustered Fig known in Paṅān inscriptions as the Bodhi tree of Koṅāgamana - see *OBEP* III, p.321. However, cf. the compound in b, perhaps we should translate as ivory, an animal product suitable for image making.
- 54 EHJ: for *mayā anekāḅ*; the long syllable has been shortened to suit the metre. LDB noted that the poet may possibly have meant to write *mayā naikāḅ*. Note the *anusvāra* again used for *visarga*.
- 55 EHJ *Pusta* is presumable "plaster" here, and *śaila* "stone". "terracotta" is more appropriate for the former.
- 56 LDB. The stone has *kāritāsādhu*^o, read *kāritāḅ*. There is an indication of a second *s* however.
- 57 Probably *Saddharmapūṇḍarika* is suggested here, cf 52b
- 58 EHJ: a short vowel remains before *śr*.
- 59 None of the recorded meanings of *taṇḍaka* fits here; possibly for *tāṇḍavan*. LDB the actual reading seems to be *vantakan*, though the letter below *ṅ* is not clear. *Vantaka* "share" (found in Sanskrit and Kanarese lexx; from *√vant*, hence Hindi *bānt*) occurs in the sense of a holding or portion of land, forming part of an estate in the Yādava Rāmacandra's Thana grant of Saka 1194 (*EI* XIII, p.199)

- v.53 Lauhapātrāṅy anekāni sannetracīvarāṅi⁶⁰ ca |
Nā(55)nādeśagatānām ca bhikṣūṅām gaṇavād dadau ||
- v.54 Dānapāramitā hīnā mā me bhavatu jantuṣu |
Tasmād upāsa(56) kenāpi sarvasatvahiṣeṣipā⁶¹ ||
- v.55 Pañcāśabrāhmaṇavāsaṃ kṣetrabhṛtyasamanvitam |
Vādyavādakasaṃyuktam kā-(57)ritam mathacaṭuṣṭayam ||
- v.56 Somatī⁶²[rthe⁶²lvijāvāse mathaś cānandamādhavaḥ |
Ānandeśvaranāmāpi⁶³(58) Naulakke ca matha smṛtaḥ ||⁶⁴
- v.57 Pīlakkavanakuhve 'pi Daumaghe pūrvanāmakaḥ⁶⁵
Vīthikā⁶⁵ vividhārāmā⁶⁶(59) kāritā setusaṅkramā<h> ||
- v.58 Pratyahaṃ bhaktaśālāyām sadā satraṃ pravarttitaṃ |
Ativadhyaś ca kārun<ā>⁶⁷(60) t prāṇino mocitāsadhā⁶⁸ ||

60 E.H.J. The first certain instance of *netra* in the sense of silk. cf. *Raghuvamśa*, VII, 36. There is no reason why this shouldn't be good cloth.

61 E.H.J.: read °*hitaisiṇa*.

62 There is no evidence of a superscript *r*; however *Somatīrtha* seems meant.

63 LDB: the *p* has been almost entirely cut out.
LDB: read *mathah*. E.H.J.: apparently these two *mathas* are in addition to the four of the previous verse.

64 E.H.J.: In *a* presumably read °*vanakāhve* and in *b* read °*nāmake*. LDB: the reading of the rubbing is possibly °*vaḍakuhve* and *Daumaghe*.

65 see D.C.Sircar *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, s.v. *vīthi*, *vīthī*, "a territorial unit, the subdivision of a district".

66 The stone is broken here.

67 *a* is missing through breakage of stone.

68 E.H.J.: read *sadā* as *mocitāsadhā* as a compound is hardly possible.
LDB: also read *mocitāh*.

- v.59 Dañkaṅgamargaṅgaḍuvārasamjñite Bhūrokanaulakkalavārakāhvaye |
Puṇḍi(61)ṅgasomāhvayasamghasamjñika u Manāpavāpyau⁶⁹ nijakhāna
bhūpatiḥ ⁷⁰||
- v.60 Pūrvarājakṛtā ye'pi devaprā-(62) sādātīrthikā<ḥ>⁷¹ |
Naṣṭā niṣpādītās tena sarvathā dhīmatā punaḥ ||
- v.61 Dharmāsanaṁ hastinikā(63)ttamaikā⁷² bhūpena netrojivalacīvarāṇi |
Bhikṣvāryasamghasya hi nāyitāni⁷³ deśe Śīla-(64) meghanarādhipasya ||
- v.62 Vikhyātaśauryagunadharmayaśonurāgād Devāṅdajā-(65)
nvayasamudbharapārthivasya |
Śrītāmrappattanarādhipa bhaktinamro⁷⁴
Dhendāṁ dadau sva-(66) tanayām paramādareṇa ||
Aparaṁ ca |
- v.63 Ānandacandrakṣitipārthivasya
Śrīdharma-(67) rājāṅdajavaṁśajasya |
Śrutvā vaco dharmahitārthayuktaṁ
Śauryānvayatyāgaguṇādi(68) kaṁ ca ||

69 E.H.J.: In *a* presumably read °vanakāhve, and in *b* read °nāmake.
L.D.B.: The reading of the rubbing is possibly °vaḍakuvhe and
Daumaghe.

70 E.H.J.: read nicakhāna .

71 *Visarga* omitted. L.D.B. *Tīrthikāḥ* can only mean "heretics". Probably the
poet meant to write *tīrthakāḥ*, in the sense of *tīrthāḥ*.

72 E.H.J.: I do not know if *hastinikā* is to be taken seriously.

73 E.H.J. : *Nāyitāni* in *c* is odd, and *dāpitāni* would be better. Although
yi could be read as *pi*, the *na* is quite clear.

74 E.H.J.: one must understand that °narādhipo bhaktinamro, which is
impossible metrically, is indicated.

- v.64 Bhaktipraṇāmena prakurvātājñam
 Śaivāndhravamsōdbhāv apārthivena |
 Śrīmanma-(69)nodhīramaharddhikena
 Kalyāṇamitratvam upāgatena ||
- v.65 Vāpīvihārau tvaritena(70) kṛtvā
 Śrīpattanātmīyamahīpradeśe |
 Strīratnadhendā svasutātibhaktyā
 Saṃpreṣite-(71)hāsamabhūtiyuktā ||⁷⁵

(1.72) Śrī[kī]rttisampū[rṇa] vijaya

(1.73) ekādaśame⁷⁶'bde

⁷⁵ The inscription ends with three double *daṇḍas*, between the first pair of which is a sign, identified by Barnett as a "Garuda symbol" "appropriate in the edict of a king claiming to belong to the 'bird-tribe'". The symbol also appears at the end of the fragmentary *caitya* inscription (see below, p. 99) and the 6th century Veśālī bell (below, p. 95) which definitely belongs to the first Candra dynasty, and appears to be merely a decorative element marking the end of the inscription.

⁷⁶ EHJ: The form *ekādaśama* is odd, but similar forms are found in the other late inscriptions (i.e. north face of the pillar) and it possibly shows Prakrit influence, cf. Pischel, §449, who says these forms are only authenticated so far in Jaina Prakrit works. For other instances note the *apparatus criticus* of the colophons to *Śaundarananda* XI and XVIII (ed. A.N.Upadhye, Bombay, 1938), colophons to XI, XII and XIII.

TRANSLATION

(v.4) Then the king (Mahātma...?)...ruled for 120 years (v.5) There was a king, Purvartha(?) zealous in doing kindness to the world; he reigned afterwards for 120 years. (v.6) Then a king, Saṅyāyana by name,...ruled for 120 years. (v.7) After him, the able Bahubali, eminent for stoutheartedness, ruled for 120 years. (v.8) Then king Raghupati, fair of form, heroic in policy, reigned 120 years. (v.9) ...his puissant... ruled...120 years. (v.10) Then (was) the king Candrodaya by name, approved by the good; he made the kingship his own for 27 years. (v.11) The Aṅṅaveta kings, givers of countless gifts, having experienced earthly pleasure on earth for five years, went to heaven. (v.12) After that an excellent king...eminent in religious practices, possessing wisdom, reigned for 77 years. (v.13) After him, king Rimbhyappa, bestowing bounty... reigned in righteousness for 23 years. (v.14) Then Queen Kūverā, bountiful...for seven years after him, made the kingdom free from foes. (v.15) After, Omavīrya her son, a most politic king, ruled for 20 years, the performer of (deeds of) glory. (v.16) Then a king named Jugna, who benefitted all beings, was likewise established on the throne for seven years. (v.17) Then the able king named Liṅkī, a young man, having held the kingdom for two years, in due course went to heaven. (v.18) Here is now proclaimed the number of years of the ancestral monarchs; verily 1060 (1016?). (v.19) After that, at a later time, there was one possessed of righteousness and fortune, puissant, sage, Dvaṅ Candra by name, who was a lord of kings. (v.20) He, strong of arm because of righteousness, conquered 101 kings, built a city (which was) adorned by surrounding walls and a moat. (v.21) Having constructed the city, which laughed with heavenly beauty, he, possessing fame, reigned for 55 years.

(v.22) Then the fortunate Rājacandra reigned 20 years; having thus known the pleasure of Paradise, the king went to heaven. (v.23) After him, Bālacandra, a very prosperous and exceedingly politic king, who reigned nine years, went to heaven after making a garland of glory. (v.24) Then King Devacandra, like Śākra king of the gods, after ruling 22 years, enjoyed heaven. (v.25) After him, the renowned Yajñacandra reigned seven years. Then Candrabandhu enjoyed a reign of six years in the world. (v.26) Then arose Bhūmicandra, a second moon on earth; he reigned with righteousness for seven years. (v.27) The politic Bhūticandra, having enjoyed kingship for 24 years, then went to gain heavenly happiness. (v.28) Then the renowned Nīticandra, who removed strife by policy, reigned like Mahendra for 55 years. (v.29) After him, King Vīryacandra reigned three years; then King Prīticandra (ruled) for 12 years. (v.30) After that, King Pṛthvīcandra, constantly following the royal law enjoyed the pleasures of kingship for seven years. (v.31) After him, King Dhṛticandra supported the world; he protected his people, then after three years went to heaven. (v.32) The years spent in happy enjoyment of kingship by the 16 monarchs sprung from the lineage of Īśa (=Śiva), who bore the name Candra and whose glory was as delightful as the moon, when counted up will be verily 230. (v.33) Afterwards, Mahāvīra, king of Purempura then had a righteous reign of 12 years. (v.34) Also, the king named Vrajaḥap, a valiant lord of the earth, having enjoyed the happiness of kingship for 12 years, thereupon enjoyed the pleasures of Paradise. (v.35) After him, King Sevinreṅ, recalled as having ruled 12 years; slaying Māvuka, he enjoyed the happiness of prosperity in kingship. (v.36) Then King Dharmaśura protected the earth in accordance with the law; greatly prosperous, on the completion of 13 years he went to heaven. (v.37) Then was the devout famous king, sprung from the gods' (=Deva) lineage, Vajraśakti, who because of his devotion was like a *Vajrin*

(=Indra) among monarchs. (v.38) Possessing beauty, virtue and other qualities, he went to the world of gods having protected the entire universe for a reign of 16 years. (v.39) After him there was a brave king, the fortunate Dharmavijaya, attended by fortune, religion and victory, intent on doing kindness to the world. (v.40) After enjoying kingship for 36 years, by reason of religion (*dharma*) policy and victory, and through practising remembrance of the Three Jewels, he passed away to the Tuṣita heaven. (v.41) That king's good son, the lord of the earth, Narendravijaya, also enjoyed the kingship for two years and nine months. (v.42) There arose one belonging to the lineage of Īśa (Śiva), a conqueror of troops of enemies, gaining great majesty by manifestation of the three powers³³, a moon of valiant kings, son of Vajraśakti, the fortunate Dharmacandra, having majestically celebrated puissance. (v.43) That fortunate king, having enjoyed a prosperous reign for 16 years, handed over the kingdom to [his] excellent son, and afterwards passed away to Paradise. (v.44) His son Ānandacandra is victorious, having the lotuses of his feet reddened by the brilliant gleams of gems in the garlands of the diadems of reverently bowing monarchs, exceedingly lofty in fame unequalled on earth, causing gladness, rising (like the sun) above the darkness of his foes, elevated above the legions of his enemies. (v.45) [He is] like Karna in bounty and also Yudhiṣṭhira in truthfulness, Pradyumna in beauty and like the sun on earth in splendour. The good deeds done by that emperor, whose thought yearned for the welfare of others, from the first year of his reign until the ninth year, whether done by himself or caused to be done, and approved [by him] because he desired for living beings an abundance of merit, through enlightenment of vision and acceptance will be declared. (v. 46) Many monasteries named Ānandodaya have been built, provided with men and women slaves, together with fields, kine

³³ viz. lordship, counsel and enterprise

and buffaloes. (v.47) There have been made gold and silver *caityas* containing relics of the Buddha, Bodhisattvas, Cūṇḍā and others according to power. (v.48) There have been images of the lord of sages (= Buddha) composed of brass bell metal and copper, according to the weight, number and size. (v.49) There have been made many pleasing [and] well-executed images of the Buddha (Sugata) made of ivory, wood, terracotta and stone. (v.50) Innumerable clay *caitya* models [have been made] and also books of the Holy Law have been caused to be written by the good [king] in large numbers. (v.51) The king, with exceeding faith, has constantly given for the purpose of worship of the blessed relics, numerous lotuses made of gold and silver, and having pericarps of goodly gems. (v.52) The king, rejoicing with very pure spirit, because of his delight in religious discourses, bestowed day after day many shares, approved by all the people for the purpose of worship of the Holy Law. (v.53) He has out of reverence given many robes and copper bowls to monks coming from divers places. (v.54) "Let not the protection of bounty towards creatures fail me": [with this intent] therefore, he, seeking the welfare of all beings, although he was only a lay-worshipper, caused to be built four monasteries, lodging 50 Brahmans, provided with fields and servants, furnished with musical instruments and musicians. (v.56) The Ānandamādhava monastery at the residence of the Somatīrtha Brahmans and also the monastery called Ānandēśvara at Naulakka are recorded. (v.57) In the quarter called Pīlakka, formerly named Daunagha, he made an area with various pleasure gardens and a walk on the causeway. (v.58) Every day a session has been held in the dining hall; and because of his mercifulness, capital offenders have always been released. (v.59) At the place styled Ḍaṅkaṅgamargaṅgaḍuvāra [and] at that named Bhūrokanaulakkavāraka, the king has dug two delightful wells named after (for?) the monastic communities (belonging to the places) called Puṅḍiṅga and Soma. (v.60) The temples of

gods³⁴ and holy places built by former kings which had perished have also been retored by him, who is wise. (v.61) A seat of the law (? pulpit), ³⁵ an excellent cow elephant³⁶ [and] robes, brilliant to the eye³⁷ have been dispatched by the king to the noble congregation of monks in the land of king Śilāmegha. (v.62) Out of regard for the renowned quality of valour, religion and fame of the monarch sprung from the Deva and egg-born lineage, the king of the fortunate Tāmrappattana, making devout obeisance, gave [to him] with the highest respect his daughter Dhendā. Moreover: (v.63-64) Having heard the speech of Ānandacandra, monarch of the earth, scion of the egg-lineage of fortunate righteous kings, [speech] fraught with meaning and helpful to the religion and with all the qualities of valour, [high] descent and bounty - the king sprung from the Śaivandhra lineage, the fortunate and highly prosperous Manodhira, fulfilling his command and devout obeisance, entered into happy friendship[with him]. (v.65) Having promptly made a well and a monastery in the district belonging to his fortunate city, he sent here with extreme devotion his daughter Dhendā, a gem among women, endowed with incomparable fortune.

(11. 72-73) In the eleventh year, the fortunate victory (is) declared accomplished.

³⁴ i.e. non-Buddhist

³⁵ Probably one of the beautifully carved stone *dharmāsana* still to be seen at Kyauktaw and Mrohaung, see below, pp. 236-7, n. 105

³⁶ *Hastinikā* may here denote a particular kind of elephant, as a "small cow elephant" would certainly not be a tusker appropriate for the fostering of the export trade.

³⁷ Johnston prefers "brilliant robes of silk"

The North face (Plates XII -XIII)

IB pls. CCCL, CCCLI

Johnston, *Some Sanskrit Inscriptions...* pp.372-3

This face of the Shitthaung pillar comprises a series of inscriptions, of which none can be read with any certainty due to the condition of the stone. However, a slight advance on Johnston's tentative readings of certain sections has been possible with the aid of a rubbing taken some 50 years ago, now in the possession of Mon Bo Kay, new rubbings taken in 1973 and 1975, and an eye-copy made at the same time. Professor D.C.Sircar, to whom I sent photographs of the better rubbings, made some valuable comments on the date, and offered new suggestions on the readings.

The first inscription, of about four lines, is almost completely defaced. The peculiar form of medial *i* noticed on the east face occurs towards the end of 1.2. The few legible characters also have forms found on the east face, e.g. *ca* (1.4), *mu* (1.2) and *va* (1.4). There may have been a date at the end of the last line, before the double *danḍa*, i.e. 6731 754. It is therefore likely that this inscription was contemporary with that of the east face, if not part of it.

Below this is a series of inscriptions, amounting to 69 lines when counted on the right side. Parts of them are entirely gone; the rest is written in an untidy hand, sufficiently worn to make reading of it uncertain. There appear to be three inscriptions, all in much the same script. The *paleography* of the inscriptions suggests that most forms derive from the Gaudīya or proto-Bengali style prevalent in Bengal retaining some old forms side by side with later developments and also introducing a few forms in contemporary West Indian scripts. An almost complete alphabet can be reconstructed by comparison of the inscriptions with the inscriptions of the Candra dynasty of Bengal,

notably with the epigraphs from the time of Govindacandra (fl.c 1020-55 A.D.)³⁸ with which it shares a tendency to elongated main verticals turned to the right. Thus *ta* (𑒧) is found only rarely in Bengal records after the 9th century or beginning of the 10th, while *ṇa* (𑒦) has a form not generally found earlier than the close of the 10th century. *śa* does not offer any difficulties for the 10th century³⁹. *Bha*, (𑒧𑒃) however, with the lower link curved towards the left, is not usually found in Bengal earlier than the Betka-Paikpara Vāsudeva image inscription of Govindracandra. It is interesting to note that this inscription uses both *ta* and *bha* with the lower limb turned toward the left, while the slightly earlier Kulkuri inscription of the same king uses *bha* of the old type and also *ta* of the older type, resembling somewhat the form found in the Shitthaung inscription⁴⁰. A few peculiarities of Western Indian inscriptions of this period are also noticed, namely *a* 𑒧 (R. col. 1.61) and *ga* 𑒧𑒃 (R.col. 1.38), found for instance in the Grant of Vijjala (1053 A.D.)⁴¹, a chief of the Saṅyāna in the Thana district of Bombay state.

The inscription may therefore be assigned, on grounds of paleography, to the middle of the 11th century, and we can further infer a continuing contact with Bengal from the 9th century, and perhaps with Western India, possibly via the sea route, at least in the 11th century.

The first inscription occupies seven lines, only the last four letters of each line being at all legible. At the end of the first

³⁸ A.H.Dani, "Mainamati Plates of the Candras" *Pakistan Archaeology* No.3 (1966) pp.22-25; D.C.Sircar, *Epigraphic Discoveries in East Pakistan* (Calcutta 1973) pp.49ff.

³⁹ S.N.Chakravarti, "Development of the Bengali Alphabet from the Fifth Century A.D. to the End of Muhammadan Rule" *JASB Letters*, Vol. IV (1938) pp.362 and 372 col VI (Badal Pillar Inscription of Nārāyana Pāla)

⁴⁰ *EI* XXVII, cf Plates facing pp.25 and 26

⁴¹ *EI* XXXIII, pp.71-76 and Plates facing pp.74-75

line we read *cakarārī*, *caturdaśame* in the third, *Śiṅghavikramaśūra* at the end of the fourth, and *rakṣokā* at the end of the sixth. Johnston read *kṛtarājyaḥ* at the end of the 7th, although it is impossible to see how.

The next inscription begins in line 8, with *Svasti śrī?*, and then the name of a town, which with great reserve may be read as *Avāyapurā*, and *śrī* is again discernible at the end of the line. In l.9, we have *rā[jyāḥ]- purā- Śrī Śiṅghagaṇḍapatiśuracandra de[śa]-ra*. That this is the name of a king of Arakan is confirmed by two coins from the Kwyede hoard bearing the name Śrī Śiṅghagaṇḍacandra. That we are dealing with another inscription about Buddhists appears from l.10, where we read *kṛta (sada) saṅghāgatabauddha idaṃ*. In the next line we have *caturdaśame bde kṛtarājya (dattaṃ)* and in l.12, *Śrī Śiṅghavikramaśūracandra* is mentioned again. *Kesari* is possible towards the middle of l.13, and in l.16, again only possible, *Śiṅghaśūracandra-devamahārājyaḥ*. There are traces of another proper name in l.19, with *Śrī---ṣū-(ca)ndra*.

Johnston noted that there is a certain parallelism between the phrasing of the two inscriptions, but that the second is slightly fuller than the first. It is not clear if the phrase "in the fourteenth year" in which the same irregular ordinal occurs as at the foot of Ānandacandra's inscription, applies to Śrī Śiṅghavikramaśūracandra or to his predecessor, Śrī Śiṅghagaṇḍapatisūracandra.

The next inscription, which may be a continuation of the second, as the hand is similar, begins with l.22 or 23. The writing is in three columns, each containing seven or eight characters in a line, an arrangement not met with in other epigraphs of this type. Only certain sections are at all clear. Thus, in the left column we have:

1.40 *idaṃ māya kṛtaṃ*
41 *---iva daśadeśa*

42 *arekadeśa vijayān*

inferring that this section is dealing with the conquests of the king, in many countries. We have *māyā* for *mayā*; the meaning of *daśa* is not clear.

Arekadeśa could also be read *Anekadeśa*, *na*(𑀧𑀭𑀭𑀭) and *na*(𑀧𑀭𑀭𑀭𑀭𑀭) being easy to confuse in this script. If it is the former, we may have the name of the country in the 11th century.

In the centre column, between 11.43-4 to the left and 11.45-6 to the right, we have:

----*bhūmi--śya*

dbhavati yāśa - jātā

yākṣapura--rājā

Yākṣapura is the ancient name of the Mon capital of Thatôn,³⁸ captured by Aniruddha of Pagan in 1057 A.D.³⁹ This tantalising passage at least indicates a connection between the Mon and Arakanese kingdoms in the middle of the 11th century.

At the head of the right column, which may begin a new sentence as the central column ends with a double *daṇḍa*, we may read:

22 - *-ha mahārāja [śim]*

23 *gha[yā] Śrī Govindracandra*

perhaps a reference to Govindracandra of the Candra dynasty of East Bengal, which fell about the time the inscription was written. In the same column, slightly lower, there may be a reference to gods or kings:

37 *devataṁ kṛta[m] - - -*

38 *tāttaśya devā - -*

³⁸ *IB* pl.IV 358⁴, 359⁴(upper inscription), ⁴³(lower inscr.) Date c. 1050 A.D.

³⁹ *OBEP* I, p.23

Towards the end of the column is a reference to Brahmans,

1.58 *brahmanau--ṣu*

59 *yo - ta[dra]gniṣu*

60 *deśa - - - -*

61 *agnipradeśa- - -*

Agni occurs elsewhere in the inscription, at the left column, in 1.44, 54, 60, 61 and in the middle column, 11.49-50. Its meaning is not clear in this context⁴⁰, although if we take *pradeśa* to mean a single country⁴¹, we may have the name of part of the kingdom, or a small neighbouring kingdom which had been recently conquered.

Although a few words and phrases can be read in the remaining portions of the inscription, they contain nothing of historical or orthographical interest.

The inscription introduces a new dynasty to the history of Arakan, with names beginning with *Siṅgha-* and ending with *-śūracandra*, possibly tracing their line to the earlier Candra kings. They may be reasonably equated with the dynasty mentioned in the chronicles as founded by Mahataingcandra in 788/9⁴², a half-century after the fall of Ānandacandra. The names in the chronicle lists bear little resemblance to those of the inscription, perhaps because of the variety of throne names, popular names and posthumous names given to each Burmese king. However, the historical data conforms with archaeological and external sources. Thus, Mahataingcandra is said to have rebuilt *Veśālī*, on the site of an older capital, and late 8th century sculptures found there confirm this. The great hero of the dynasty, Culataingcandra, is said

⁴⁰ That *Agni* was worshipped in Southeast Bengal at the time, as *Vaiśnāvāra* is evidenced by the land grant given in favour of the god in Śrīcandra's Paschinbag Plate. See D.C.Sircar, *op cit* pp.33, 36.

⁴¹ Edgerton, *B.H.S. Diet.* sv *pradeśa-rājan*

⁴² cf *ASB* 1920-21, p.17 *Dhaññavatī Razawin*, p.84 RYT p.280

to have sent an expedition to Chittagong in 953, when the Candra dynasty of Southeast Bengal was gaining power and prestige under Śrīcandra⁴³. Soon after his return he set out for either China or Tagaung, suggesting a threat from Ta-li.⁴⁴ After his failure to return, his queen, Candradevi, married two Mro tribesmen in succession, indicating that the hill tribes were becoming urbanised, taking advantage of the confused state of the country. Veśālī was abandoned, the country invaded by Shans and Pyus, while the Mons of Pegu occupied the south for eighteen years. A new capital was eventually established at Pyinsa (Pañca) with the aid of the Saks (Thet). From around the beginning of the 11th century, Arakan became increasingly "Burmanised" as can be noticed in the frequent use of Burmese names and titles in the king lists of the chronicles, and the names of Arakanese in inscriptions in Pagán⁴⁵. The situation is reflected in the archaeological remains at Veśālī, which show a gradual limiting of Indian influence to the northeast, particularly to Bengal, and an increasing contact with central Burma.

The very use of the Shitthaung pillar for a new *praśasti* suggests that the Siṃghacandra king was motivated in the same way as was Ānandacandra in c 729. The mid-11th century was again a period of great stress in the country, and the dynasty was under pressure from Pagán, where Aniruddha (fl. c 1044-77) was attempting to unite Burma for the first time. Both the Burmese and the Arakanese chronicles

⁴³ A.H.Dani. "Mainamati Plates of the Candras" *Pakistan Archaeology* III (1969) pp.3⁴-5.

⁴⁴ cf Camille Sainson, *Nan-Tchao Ye-che: Histoire particulière du Nan-Tchao* (Paris 1904) p.273

⁴⁵ Phayre "On the History of Arakan" *JASB* XIII, 1(1844) p.49; *IB* 391²⁹, 15²⁷, 42¹⁰, 117a⁶, 188²³. It is noteworthy that many of the Arakanese mentioned in Pagán inscriptions were slaves.

refer to his incursions into Arakan, which seems, however, to have eventually retained semi-autonomous status⁴⁶. In the west, the Candra dynasty of Southeast Bengal had fallen, or was about to fall, threatened by the Varmans and the Pālas. The Cola raids into Bengal in 1013-23 had also no doubt weakened the Candras; the great Cola raid of Southeast Asian ports in 1025, although apparently not actually including Arakan, would have disrupted her important sea-trade⁴⁷.

The north face of the Shitthaung pillar may therefore have been written by a king who traced his line, if not to the old Candra kings, at least to the family which gained power around the end of the 8th century, reestablishing Veśālī as the capital and barely managing to survive the tumultuous events of two centuries. The king could have been a legitimate member of the old family, attempting to counteract from the old capital the influence of puppet kings owing their allegiance to Pagán and ruling in the new capital of Pyinsa. The *praśasti* is a cry for help from the old capital, the last gasp of an "Indianised" line, and the last Sanskrit inscription in Burma.

Inscription on top of the pillar (pl.XIV)

IB CCCLIIa

The remaining inscription, on the top of the pillar, consists of about ten lines of writing, now rendered almost completely illegible due to scoring and general weathering. The few letters remaining appear to have been inscribed by the same hand as the lower portion of the north face.

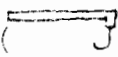






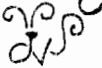

⁴⁶ cf Forchhammer, *op cit*, p.6; Phayre, *op cit* p.38; GPC pp.86, 95, 99. It should be noted that while the Arakanese place Aniruddha in the 10th century, the Burmese chronicles vary between 1002-1035 and 1044-77. The differences may again be attributed to the computation of time according to the various calendars (Irwin, *loc cit*) and to the general confusion in Arakan after the fall of Veśālī.

⁴⁷ cf *OBEP* I, p.14; Coedès *Indianised States...*pp. 142-3

Inscription on the reverse of the Sūrya image from Shin-ngè-det-taung
(Plate XV)

Described by Johnston (*loc cit* p.367) as "the separate inscription; IB CCCLIII, wrongly identified on p.38 as the two-faced inscription from Wuntitaung.

This inscription appears to be the only remaining *praśasti* in the Arakan collection. The stone, measuring 1.0 x 0.45m, has some thirty lines of writing, widely spaced, with small neat letters measuring between 15-18mm, excluding the ornate medial vowels. The face is very badly weathered, and completely erased in parts where it was used as a knife-sharpener.

The *characters* closely resemble those of the east face of the Shitthaung pillar. The headmarks are triangular and well-defined, while the medial vowels are more ornate, often the height of the letters themselves, suggesting influence from the southern-Indian inspired Pyu scripts. However, the forms appear to be derived from the eastern Gupta style of the 5th-6th centuries. Medial *ā* is unusual, resembling the *ī* of the Shitthaung east face, ( *hā*, 1.27), while *i* is normal ( *si*, 1.13), as is *e* ( *de*, 1. 5); *ū* has an exaggerated curl ( *sū*, 1.5,  *yū*, 1.15), *o* is florid ( *so*  *do* 1.19) *au* even more so ( *sau*, 1.1). The Arakanese forms of *la* and *ha* used throughout the 6th and 7th centuries, are quite clear. *ra* has a slight footmark to the left, which first appears in Bengal in the 6th century⁴⁸, and *ya* has the left member curling outwards, pointing to the same period. *Sa* develops a large bulge to the left (), also characteristic of other 6th century Arakanese epigraphs. We may therefore assign the inscription to around the 6th century, possibly to the latter half.

⁴⁸ Dani, *op cit* pl. XI, 3

Johnston read five or six words, evidently from an inferior rubbing. We can however, verify *Prabhāsa*[ndra ?] in l. 1, and *bhūpālah Śrī Caṇḍakeyūravarmma* in l. 14. That we are again probably dealing with Buddhists can be inferred from *dhamma* in l.6 and *saddharmma* in l.19. The inscription does not begin with any of the usual stanzas, suggesting that l. 1 is not the beginning. It may contain another geneological list, although it is not certain whether the kings mentioned were connected with the Candra dynasty. Prabhācandra could well have been one of the three Candra not mentioned on the west face of the Shitthaung pillar, and Śrī Caṇḍakeyūravarmma a friend or foe.

The Votive Inscriptions

The largest group in the collection, the votive inscriptions, reflect the nature and spread of Buddhist practices in Arakan between the 6th and 8th centuries, repeating as they do the same formula, usually known as the Buddhist creed, throughout the period. The formula, the *gāthā* believed to have converted Sāriputra as recorded in the *Vinaya-Piṭaka*⁴⁹ in Sanskrit Buddhism was seen as the embodiment of the Law. Thus in the *Ārya-Pratītyasamutpāda sūtra*, the verse, named the *pratītyasamutpāda gāthā* was proclaimed by the Buddha in response to Avalokiteśvara's request for a demonstration of Dharma. Its presence was thought to sanctify a text or a votive structure, and thus it is

⁴⁹ ed. H. Oldenburg (London 1929) XL. 28-9, XLI. 35-6. The history and variants of the *gāthā* have been discussed by E. Burnouf, *Le Lotus de Bonne Loi II* (Paris 1852), pp. 521-26; A. Yuyama, "Notes on the Pratīsamutpādagāthā" (in Japanese) *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies (Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū)* Vol. XX (Dec 1971) pp. 448(48)-444(52); G. Schopen, *The Āryapratītyasamutpāda [gāthā] Sūtra*, typescript (Paris Ontario 1973) 8pp.

so often found in Arakan on images, on plaques encased within *stūpas*, on inscribed stone slabs facing structural *stūpas* or inscribed on smaller votive *stūpas*⁵⁰. The form of the *gāthā* in Arakan is usually a combination of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* verse
 ye dhammā hetuppabhavā tesāṃhetuṃ Tathāgato āha |
 tesāñ ca yo nirodho evaṃvādī mahāsamaṇo ||⁵¹

and the *Prajñāpāramitāratnaguṇasaṃcaya gāthā*

ye dharmā hetuprabhavā hetuṃ teṣāṃ Tathāgato hy avadat |
 teṣāṃ ca yo nirodha evaṃvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ ||⁵²

For instance, a typical example from Thinkyitaw:

ye dhamma hetuprabhavā hetu[ṃ] teṣāṃ Tathāgato hy avadat |
 tesāñ ca yo nirodho evaṃvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ ||

⁵⁰ I-tsing refers to the practice of putting the *gāthā* inside "images on caityas" (J.Takakusu's trans of *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago* A.D. 671-695 (London 1886, Indian reprint, 1966) p.150-151. Archaeological evidence supporting this is particularly plentiful in Eastern India, see e.g. D.Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments* (Calcutta 1971), pp.66,89,231,236,243 and 246.

⁵¹ Of these *dharmmas* which arise from causes
 The Tathagata has declared the cause
 And that which is the ceasing of them -
 This the great ascetic declares

⁵² cf. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, ed. P.L.Vaidya (Dharbhanga 1960) 261. 14-15; *Dāśabhūmīśvara*, ed. R.Kondō (Tokyo 1936) 219.6-7; *Gaṇḍavyūha*, ed.D.T.Suzuki, H.Idzumi (Kyoto 1949) 548.14-15; *Lañkāvatāra*, ed.B.Nanjio (Kyoto 1923) 376.2-3; *Saddharmapundarīka* ed. H.Kern and B.Nanjio (St.Petersburg 1912, repr.) 487.8-9; *Sukhāvataṅgyūha*, ed. F.Max Müller, B.Nanjio, *SBB*158.4-5; *Suṅgīkrāntavikrāmi* ed. T.Matsumoto (Tokyo 1956) 99.10-11; *Mahāvastu* ed. E.Senart III (Paris 1897) 461.15-16.

This form of the *gāthā* is identical to that of the Sanskrit reconstruction of the Tibetan MSS. of the *Āryapratītyasamutpādasūtra*⁵³ which is interesting in that here, the seeker of merit is instructed to build a *caitya* and recite the *gāthā*.

The amount of Pali and Sanskrit influence varies slightly with each of our examples, although Pali influence was to increase towards the end of the 6th century. When the verse in its Sanskrit form appears at Śrīkṣetra, usually on the base of a Buddha image, both the paleography and the form of the *gāthā* follow the Veśālī type of the first half of the 6th century⁵⁴. The use of the *gāthā* was discontinued at Veśālī after the end of the 6th century when the Candra dynasty fell, and in southern Arakan slightly later. Only one fragmentary inscription remains from the confused period which follows, apparently a text, exhibiting a great amount of Pali influence. The single votive inscription of the succeeding "Aṇḍaja" dynasty, paleographically datable to the beginning of the 8th century, shows the influence of a later Mahāyānist tradition resulting from renewed contact with Buddhist centres in northern India. It should be noted that the Sanskrit votive inscriptions from Yünnan during this period (i.e. 7th-8th centuries) usually stamped on bricks and placed within *caityas* consisted of the "*ye dharma*" formula and Tantric *dhāraṇīs*, showing, in the form of the verse and the script, a strong resemblance to the Arakanese votive inscriptions⁵⁵.

⁵³ N.A.Sastri, *Ārya Śālistambha Sūtra*, etc (Madras 1960) p.26

⁵⁴ See, e.g., Arch Neg 3069 (1925-26). Both normally omit the *anusvāra* in *hetuḥ*.

⁵⁵ W.Liebenthal, "Sanskrit Inscriptions from Yünnan" *Monumenta Serica*, Vol.XII (1947) pp.1-40. See, e.g., "Brick from She-li T'a", p.31 and pl.Vb, which reads:

1. || namaḥ ye dharmā
2. hetuprabhava heto-
3. n teṣāṃ Tathāgato
4. hy avadat eṣā cha yo
5. nirodha evaṃvadi
6. mahāśramaṇaḥ

(cont.→)

It would appear that a common tradition was shared by Arakan, East Bengal, Assam, Yünnan and the Pyu centres, which points to an interchange of Buddhist clergy, if not to trade relations.

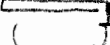
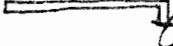

Votive inscriptions found in the vicinity of Dhaññavatī.





Slab at Selagiri (Plate XVIIb)

Forchhammer, *Arakan*, p.14 and pl.VII, 3;

ASB 1958-59, pl.40, p.70; *San Tha Aung Scripts of Arakan*, pl.19;

present whereabouts unknown.

Forchhammer discovered this two-line inscription among the ruins of Selagiricetī, traditionally built by Candrasūriya, on a block of sandstone about 30cm. long. He noted that it once might have formed part of the throne of an image, and that the script was the oldest of its kind then found in Burma. Paleographically, the inscription is similar to those of the east face of the Shitthaung pillar and the Sūrya image, notably in the form of the superscript vowels *e* and *i*, which have the exaggerated parallel horizontals noticed above () *he* 1. 1;  *dī*, 1. 2) and a similar subscript form of *-y*, ()

hya 1. 1). Medial *ā* is a short vertical attached to the right of the headmark and medial *o* has the headmark in the form of two top curves with an extra slanting superscript stroke ( *ro*). The tripartite *ya* has both arms bent, the left curving outwards ( *ye* 1. 1). Cerebral *ṣa* closely resembles dental *sa*, with an enlarged loop at the left, ( *ṣā*), a peculiar form also noticed in the 6th century inscriptions of Assam⁵⁶. *Ha* is the usual Arakanese form derived from the 5th century Gupta style and also found in Assam (), while *ma*, found only in conjunct, has two diagonal strokes separating at the headmark,

⁵⁵ (cont.) The script, called Hsi-t'an, (according to Liebenthal) came to China with Tantra in the 7th and early 8th centuries, when Amoghavajra vested holiness in the Indian scripts and sounds.

⁵⁶ *EI* XXX p.289

a form not found in East Indian inscriptions (𑀧𑀸𑀓 *rmā* 𑀧𑀸𑀓 *mvā*). The remainder of the consonants are identical to types found in Bengal epigraphs of the 5th and early 6th centuries (Dani, pl.XI, 2,3). The inscription therefore may paleographically be assigned to around the beginning of the 6th century.

The lines consist only of the usual Sanskrit *gāthā*, but with Pali *teṣāñ ca* for *teṣāṃ ca*.

TEXT¹

1. ye dharmā hetuprabhavā hetu[m̄ teṣāṃ Ta]thāgato [h]y avadat <|>
teṣāñ ca
2. [yo] niro[dh̄o e]vam²vādi [mahāśra]maṇa[ḥ ||]

¹ After Forchhammer's photograph





² For *anusvāra*

Inscribed votive *stūpa* from Selagiri (Plates XVIIb, LXb)

unpublished

now at the southern ("Golden") monastery at Kyauktaw.

The inscription consists of three lines on one side of the square upper base of the *stūpa*, and covers an area of 25cm. x 12.5cm, the letters varying from 1-2 cm in height. That the scribe was inexperienced, and probably illiterate is suggested by the false start made above l. 1, the use of *no* (𑀧𑀸𑀓) for *yo* (𑀧𑀸𑀓) in l. 2, and the insertion of a redundant *aṣkara* in l. 3. The headmarks are linear, and the ornate medial vowels are replaced by simplified forms similar to those used in Bengal in the 6th century; e.g. *e* (𑀧 *he* l. 1), *o* (𑀧 *to*, l. 2) *ā* (𑀧 *thā*, l. 2) and *u* (𑀧 *tu*, l. 1).

Ma is more cursive than in the Bengal epigraphs (, 1. 3), as is *ṣa* (, 1. 2) and *śa* is written with one stroke instead of two (, 1. 3). *Ya* has become quadrapartite (, 1. 1). The paleography generally suggests a date in the first half of the 6th century.

The verse again consists of the *ye dharmā gāthā*, identical to the earlier Selagiri inscription, apart from *nirodho* for *nirodha*, which is unmetrical⁵⁷.

TEXT¹

1. || ye dharmā hetu²prabhavā hetuṃ teṣāṃ
2. Tathāgato hy avadat <|> teṣaṃ ca yo niro[dho]
3. eva[m]va³⁻⁴dī mahāśramaṇa[h] <||>

-
- 1 from the stone, rubbings and a photograph
 - 2 redundant *anusvāra*, no doubt through the contagion of the following *hetuṃ*.
 - 3 for *vā*
 - 4 redundant *akṣara*,
-

Inscription from Minthachaung (Plate XVI)

unpublished

This inscription, said to have been found at Minthachaung, about 6 km. north of Mahāmuni, appears to have been incised on a stone slab 21 cm. x 30 cm. The slab could not be located in 1975, and I am grateful to U San Tha Aung, who gave me a xerox copy of his rubbing. There are nine lines of untidy writing, now apparently very damaged, as the impression has only a few distinct letters. Enough remains, however, to make a few observations on the paleography. Initial *e* is triangular, with the right side vertical, as found in the 6th century Bengal copper-

⁵⁷ cf Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Reader* (New Haven 1963) p.30, where *nirodho* also occurs, again, unmetrically, in the *Mahāvastu* version of the verse.

plates. Medial *u* rejoins the extended linear headmark (∇ *tu*), *e* is sometimes a curve (\int *he*, cf. \int *ye*) and *o* is normally a curve to the left and a short right horizontal from the headmark (∇ *dho*). A date in the 6th century is again indicated. As regards orthography, *m* is doubled after *r*.

The first four lines of the inscription contain the usual *gāthā*, with *avocat* substituted for *avadat* of the previous inscriptions. Both words are found in similar Indian votive epigraphs between the Gupta and the Pāla periods⁵⁸. The remaining five lines are almost illegible, although it seems that l. 5 has *caitya bauddha* towards the beginning and *akārayi* in the middle of l. 7, indicating that the *caitya* whence the slab came was donated by a devotee.

TEXT¹

1. || ye dharmma [hetupra]²bhavā
2. hetum³ teṣā[m] Tathāgato hy avoca-
3. t <|> teṣāñ ca yo nirodha
4. evaṃvādī mahāśramaṇa[h ||]

-
- 1 from a photograph of a rubbing
 - 2 written slightly below the line?
 - 3 for *anusvāra*
-

Two inscribed votive *stūpas* from Meewa village near Kyauktaw (Plate XVII c,d)

Unpublished

My friend U Kyaw Zan Tha kindly sent me rubbings and drawings of two votive *stūpas* discovered in 1976. The inscriptions, both on one side of the upper square bases, are almost identical, although the first, written in larger letters, averaging 2.5 cm. in height, is in two lines covering an area of 24 x 11.5 cm., while the second, in letters averaging

⁵⁸ cf. A.Yuyama, *op cit* p.51

1.8 cm, is in one line within a delineated surround, 30 x 7 cm. Each gives the first *pāda* of the *ye dharma* stanza; apparently the scribe felt that this was enough to sanctify the *stūpas*.

The script shows slightly more local development than those described above: *dha* is a circle; *bha* has both verticals joined separately to the headmark (𑀢) and *pa* has an extra line to the left from the headmark (𑀣 *pra*). *Ya* is again quadrupartite, developing a more cursive form than that found on the Selagiri *stūpa* (*ye* 𑀤 and 𑀥). A date around the middle of the 6th century might be appropriate. *m* is doubled after *r* in both cases.

TEXTS¹

First *stūpa*

1. || ye dharmma² hetu³
2. prabhava⁴ hetu⁵ ||

Second *stūpa*

1. || ye dharmmā hetuprabhava⁴ hetu ||

-
- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| 1 | from rubbings |
| 2 | for <i>dharmmā</i> |
| 3 | for <i>hetu</i> ^o |
| 4 | for <i>prabhavā</i> |
| 5 | for <i>hetuḥ</i> |
-

Votive inscriptions from the vicinity of Veśālī.

Inscription of the time of Nīticandra (pl.XVIII)






D.C.Sircar, "Inscriptions of the Candras of Arakan" *EI* XXXII,2(1957)
pp. 103-109; *ASB* 1958-59 pl.37

San Tha Aung, pl.15

Now at Mrohaung Museum

The inscription is engraved on a slab recovered from a ruined

stūpa at Thinkyittaung or Unhissaka hill at Veśālī. The slab measures 14.5 x 38 cm., is damaged at the top, obliterating a few *aṣkaras*, and has five lines of writing.

Sircar proposed that the paleography of the inscription closely resembled the 5th century Kalaikuri-Sultanpur plate of the Gupta year 120 (439 A.D.) and the Baigram plate of the Gupta year 128 (448 A.D.),⁵⁹ with some influence from the script of the Faridpur plates of Dharmāditya and Gopacandra of the 6th century⁶⁰, noting that *ya* () and *ha* () and medial *i* () are not found in Bengal records later than the 6th century, and that the script may also be compared with Assamese records of the late 5th and early 6th centuries⁶¹. The inscription may therefore be dated paleographically in the first half of the 6th century. *Ha* with a vertical line and a curve opening upwards to the left is a local development; a similar vertical is sometimes noticed in *ca* ( 1. 2), and the form of *ma* is often more cursive than noticed in East Indian records ( 1. 2).

The language of the inscription is corrupt Sanskrit, probably influenced by B.H.S. manuscript conventions. Thus we have *paramopāsikasya* for *paramopāsikāyāḥ*. Of orthographical interest is the female name Candraśrīyā for Sanskrit *Candraśrī*, which may be compared with names like Śrīyādevī found in Indian epigraphs⁶². In *deyya-dhamma* (1. 5), we have Pali *deyya* for Sanskrit *deya*. A double nasal is used in

⁵⁹ *IHQ* Vol.XIX, pp.12ff and Plate, *EI* Vol.XXXIX pp.195ff and Plate; Vol.XXI pp.81ff and Plate

⁶⁰ Bhandarkar's List, No.1722, *Ind.Ant.*Vol.XXXIX pp.195ff and Plate; Bhandarkar's List, No.1724, *op cit* p. 204 and Plate.

⁶¹ e.g. the Umachal rock inscription of Surendravarman (c 470-94 A.D.) *E.I.* XXXI, p.67ff, Vol.XXX, pp.62ff

⁶² *E.I.* XXVIII, p.64

dharmma'yam and *satvānām anu*° (l. 5). The mute *m* at the end of the first of the two expressions has been retained before the following *s* of *sarvva*. Some consonants following *r* have been reduplicated as was the rule in Eastern India.

The first two lines of the inscription contain the *ye dharmmā*° stanza, in the form found in the *Mahāvastu avadāna* III, 63.8-9⁶³. The remaining three lines apparently mention that the structure to which the slab belonged was the gift (*deyya dharmma*) of the lay-worshipper (*paramopāsikā*) named Sāvītām Candraśrīya, who was the queen (*devī*) of the illustrious Nīticandra. The letters in the king's name are damaged, but the reading is certain. The purpose of the grant is quoted as "the *anuka*(or *кта*)*ma*... of all beings", there being no space for more than two or three letters after *anukama* or *anuktama* at the end of l. 5, although the expression expected here is *anukamajñānsāvāptaye*. The letters *anuk(кта?)ma* in our record possibly stand for *anuttana* with the letters *jñānāya* lost at the end of the line. This is the earliest stone inscription confirming the dynastic list on the west face of the Shitthaung pillar.

TEXT¹

1. ye dharmmā hetuprabhavā hetu[ṁ] teṣā[ṁ] Tathāga[to]
2. āha <|> teṣāṁ ca yo nirodho evaṁvādī [Ma]hāśramaṇa[h] <||>
3. Śrī[Nīticandra]sya candravat parthīnasya² devī Sāvītām
4. candraśrīyānāma pare³[mo]pāsikasya
5. deyya dharmma'yam sarvvasatvāpāmanakama

1 from rubbings
 2 for pāṛthivasya
 3 for ra
 5 for nā

4 for ° ttva
 6 for ° tta

63

Le Mahāvastu, ed. E.Senart, III (Paris 1897) pp.56. VI-67.7; cf. F.Edgerton, *op cit*, p.30; A.Yuyama, *op cit* p.447

Translation

ll. 3-5

This is the pious gift of the queen of the fortunate king Nīticandra, (who is) illuminated by the moon. (The queen) by name Sāvītaṃ Candraśrīya, who is a devout lay-worshipper (of the Buddha) for (the acquisition) of the best [? knowledge] by all creatures.

Inscription of Vīracandra (Plate XIX)

Sircar, *loc cit*; ASB 1958-59 pl.38; San Tha Aung *loc cit* pl.16.

Mrohaung Museum

The inscription, on a stone slab measuring 25 x 10.5 cm., was found at a ruined *caitya* on the ridge southeast of the outer walls of Veśālī. The paleography of the record resembles that of the inscription of Nīticandra's queen. Medial \bar{a} is in many cases indicated by a curve opened towards the right and placed at the head of the consonant, a rare form in inscriptions from further west⁶⁴ which may be a development from the early ornate forms ($j\bar{a}$ { 1. 1, $h\bar{a}$, 1.3). $\dot{N}a$ (\mathcal{M} 1. 1) has a more cursive form than in the previous inscription. The general appearance suggests a difference of only a few decades between the two, which is supported by internal evidence, the second having been inscribed during the reign of Nīticandra's successor, Vīracandra, the Vīrya of the Shitthaung inscription, who reigned only three years. The record may therefore be paleographically assigned to about the last quarter of the 6th century. It is interesting to note that *Buddha* is written with *b*, while in Eastern India *b* and *v* were generally written with the same sign from the 7th century. \dot{N} is used for *n* in several cases. Final *m* has been changed to *anusvāra* in *maṇḍanaṃ* (1. 3) and final *k* in *samyak* (1. 2) to *n* (instead of \dot{n}) before the following *n* in *sandhi*.

⁶⁴ e.g. cf. $\dot{s}ka$ in 1. 3 of the Barganga inscription at EI XXX, pl. facing p.67

The inscription consists of two stanzas in *anuṣṭubh* metre. It is stated that the fortunate Vīracandradeva constructed a hundred Buddha-*stūpas*, out of his love for the *Satya-dharma*, with his own money. The king is described as having obtained his sovereignty through *dharma*, which is important in the light of the nature of the Shitthaung pillar inscriptions.

TEXT¹

1. Satyadharmāna(nu)rāgeṇa kṛtaṁ svārtheṇa bhūbhujā <|>
2. parārthaghaṭanodyogasamyannihita cetisā <||>
3. Śrī Vīracandradeveṇa mahīmaṇḍalamaṇḍanaṁ <|>
4. dharmmādhigatarājeṇa Buddhastūpaśata[ṁ ceti]² <||>

¹ from rubbings

² D.C.S. The traces of the letters may also suggest the reading *kṛtaṁ*, but this word occurs in l. 1 and would therefore be redundant, although *ceti* does not suit the metre.

 Translation.

A hundred Buddha-*stūpas*, which are the ornament of the earth, have been made out of love for the true Law, and with his own wealth by the fortunate king Vīracandradeva, whose heart is fully set on exertions for effecting good for others [and] who obtained sovereignty through righteousness (*dharma*)

Inscription from Payagyi (Plate XXXIa)

ASB 1958-59, pl.43; San Tha Aung, *loc cit*, pl.22

The inscription, in four lines, on a stone slab measuring 27 x 10.5 cm., damaged at the right, was found at Payagyi shrine, north of the palace at Veśālī, and a site still revered by the local inhabitants. The script is unusual, in that while many older forms are retained, the 6th century Eastern Indian form of *ha* is introduced for the first

time (५ he, l. 1). There are traces of the older triangular head-marks in some letters, and the style is generally cursive with free-flowing ornate medial vowels. *Ya* is tripartite, with the left arm turned inwards, which disappeared in Bengal in the 5th century and in Nepal in the early 6th century, indicating a date in the first half of the 6th century.

This is the first instance where the formula follows the *Vinaya Piṭaka* version. Like the Maunggun Gold Plates from Śrīkṣetra, where the identical formula is also found, we have °*pabhavā* for °*ppabhavā* in l. 1⁶³.

TEXT¹

1. || ye dhammā hetupabhavā
2. hetu[m] teṣāṃ Tathāgat[o] <|> āha
3. teṣāñca yo nirodha
4. eva[m]vādī mahāsāmaṇ[o] ||]


¹ from the stone and from rubbings

Inscribed *stūpa* from Tezarama monastery (Plates XXIb, LXIb)

IB CCCLIIc; Arch Neg 4365 (1940-41); Johnston, "Some Sanskrit Inscriptions..." pp.359, 362-3, 366; ASB 1941, pp.29, 32 and App.H, p.XXIII, no.6, perhaps also 1926, p.26 and App.G, p.54, no.7.

Like the rest of the Tezarama collection, this stone may also have originally come from Veśālī. The inscription, around the lower part of the *aṇḍa*, comprised two lines, but only a portion of the first line is legible and consists of the first *pāda* of the *ye dharmā gāthā*.





⁶³ cf. EI V, pp.101-2

It can be seen, however, that *ya* takes the form noticed in the Payagyi inscription, *dha* is an upright oval shape, and *ha* is written with two separate verticals (), indicating a date after the middle of the 6th century.

Inscribed *stūpa* from Thingyaintaung (Plate LXIa)

Arch Neg 2171(1920-21); ASB 1921, p.19

Size unrecorded; not to be found in 1975

The inscription, on the upper square base of the *stūpa*, consists of two lines, the second broken at either end. The letters are small and neatly engraved, with a tendency to squared shapes, e.g.  *ga*,  *ha* and  *ye*. *Tha* takes the form which developed in Bengal in the 6th century (); *ya* is still tripartite and *ha* is written with one stroke, with a slight angle at the right turn. These features pre-date the inscription of Nīticandra's queen, and suggest a date before the middle of the 6th century. The extant portions of the inscription contain the usual *gāthā*, with little Pali influence.

TEXT¹

1. ye dhar[mmā] hetuprabhavā hetum teṣaṃ Tath[ā]gāto²...
2. ... nirodho evaivādī mahā...

¹ from the photograph


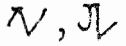


² for ° *gato*

Inscription from Thinkyitaw (Plate XXb)

Arch Neg 13669 (1967-8); San Tha Aung, *loc cit* pl.17

Mrohaung Museum

The inscription, consisting of four lines on a well-preserved rectangular stone slab, was found on Thinkyitaw hill, on a ridge southeast of the outer walls of Veṣālī. The script shows some development from

the Thinkyitaw stone; *tha* has an extended vertical (, *ma* has two strokes from the headmark (, *ya* has two separate arms, the left turning outwards () and *ha* is also written with two strokes () A date in the third quarter of the 6th century, towards the end of Nīticandra's reign, is therefore indicated. The inscription consists of the *gāthā* in its most common form.

TEXT¹

1. || () ye dharmma hetuprabhavā hetu[m]
2. teṣāṃ Tathāgato hy avadat |
3. teṣāṃ ca yo nirodho (|) evaṃvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ ||

¹ From the stone and from a photograph

Fragmentary inscription from Thinkyitaw (Plate XXa)

unpublished

Mrohaung Museum

This inscription, four lines on a grey sandstone slab measuring 22 x 11 cm. was also found at Thinkyitaw. The stone has been badly damaged in various places, rendering parts of lines 2, 3 and 4 illegible. The letters are carelessly engraved, varying in height from 1 - 2.5 cm., and closely resemble those of Vīracandra's inscription, apart from medial *ā* which is the more common right vertical. The language again shows Pali influence in *deyyo* l. 4 for Sanskrit *deyo*. The first three lines consist of parts of the usual *gāthā*, breaking after *hetuṃ* in l. 2, where the engraver has written *dattenam*, marked for deletion, as it obviously belongs in the second verse. The end of l. 3, and l. 4 record a religious donation, although the reading is not at all clear.





TEXT¹

1. || ye dharmma hetuprabhavā
2. teṣāṃ [hetuṃ] dattenāṃ/ Tathā
3. gato [hy avadat] || - - - -
4. - - - - deyyo dharmmā ||

¹ from the stone and from rubbings

Inscription, ? from Letkhat-taung (Plate XXC)

ASB 1958-59, pl.39; San Tha Aung, *loc cit* pl.21

The inscription, two lines on a broken stone plaque, was presumably found at Letkhat-taung. In 1973 I was told that an inscription had been taken from the entrance to the original shrine, now buried in front of the monastery, and this appears to be the only published inscription whose provenance is not stated. The script closely resembles that of the Thingyaintaung inscription, notably in the form of the *tha* (), while *ga* has a prominent serif attached to the left vertical (). The letters *ya* and *ma* do not have the cursive quality found in the inscriptions of Nīticandra's time and later ( *ye*,  *ma*). A date around the middle of the 6th century is therefore suggested. The inscription consists of the usual verse, with *s[amaṇaḥ]* for *śramaṇaḥ*.

TEXT¹







1. ye dharmmā hetuprabhavā hetuṃ teṣāṃ Tathāgato
2. <hya ava >dat <|> teṣāṃ ca yo nirodho evaṃvādī mahāsa <maṇo||>

¹ from rubbings

Inscriptions from Southern Arakan

Kyaukpyu (Plate XXVII)

IB CCCLIIId. "Votive inscription sent from the office of the Deputy Commissioner, Kyaukpyu, Arakan. Now at the Archaeological Office, Mandalay." Luce notes that if it is the stone slab referred to at *ASB* 1913, p.25 (para 58), and *ASI* 1930, pp.181-2, it came from Gangaywama village, Kyaukpyu district; *Arch Neg* 3264 (1940-41); *ASB* 1958-59, pl.41; *San Tha Aung*, *loc cit* pl.18

The slab, of hard-textured sandstone, is damaged at the top and the upper part of the right side. There are eight or nine lines of writing, only the first five of which are at all legible. The script is derived from that of Veśālī towards the middle of the 6th century, although the letters are large, uneven and carelessly engraved: thus *ma*(, , *ye*) and *ha*() *hā, he*). *śa* takes a new form derived from the normal 6th century type ( *śra*) and *va* resembles the eastern Indian rather than the Arakanese form (,  *vā*). A date in the second quarter of the 6th century is indicated. The first four lines contain a barbarous contraction of the usual verse, while the remainder must have consisted of the record of a dedication, as we have *nāma* towards the end of l. 4, and Śrī, possibly followed by a proper name, in the middle of l. 5. The inscription provides some evidence of the extent of the influence of Veśālī over southern Arakan during this period.

TEXT

1. [ye] dharmmā hetuprabhavā hetuṃ
2. [te]ṣāṃ Tathāgato.....yo nirodh[o]
3. evaṃ<vā>dī mahāśrama[ṇaḥ]
4. - - - pasuta - - nāma -
5.Śrī - prati.....

Inscription from Lamu, Sandoway district (Plate XXVIa)

unpublished

U San Tha Aung kindly sent me a copy of his photograph of this inscription, apparently a stone slab with four lines of writing visible towards the top, and perhaps three or four more lines below. The script is again close to that of Veśālī in the mid-6th century, although *ma* is closer to the eastern Indian form in one case (𑄛). *Śrā* and *vā* (𑄚, 𑄛) are close to the Kyaukpyu type, and a date in the same period is suggested. The *gāthā* in the first three lines has Pali °*pabhavā* for °*prabhavā*, and *avocat* is preferred for the usual *avadat*. The latter portion of the third line is illegible, but 1.4 records the donation of a *stūpa* by a lay-worshipper (*upāsakā*) named Śrīyya. The name is reminiscent of Sāvītaṃ Candraśrīya, Nīticandra's queen, and may be compared with names like Śrīyadevī in Indian epigraphs⁶⁴, with *y* doubled after a preceding *r* in this case.

TEXT¹

1. || ye dharmmā hetupabhavā hetu[m] teṣa[m]
2. Tathāgato hy avocat yo nirodha evaṃ
3. vādi² mahāśramaṇa[ḥ] || - - - -
4. upāsakā Śrīyya³ stūpaṃ kṛtvā

¹ from the photograph

² for °*vādī*

³ ? for Śrīyyā

Inscription from Ngalunmaw (Plate XXVIb)

IB CCCLIIe; G.E.Fryer, in *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1879, pp.201-2 and pl.VIIb; Johnston, *loc cit*, pp. 359, 363-4, 366, 383 and pl.IV, fig.2; ASB 1958-58 pl.42; San Tha Aung, *loc cit*, pl.20.

⁶⁴ See *EI* XXVIII, p.64

This inscription, seven lines on a stone obtained from a cavity in a hill near Ngalunmaw village, Kwele circle, Sandoway district, was sent to the Museum of the Indian Institute, Oxford, before the war. The script exhibits a certain amount of local development, perhaps indicating decreased contact with the north. Thus while the *tu* (𑀮), *ma* (𑀭) and *he* (𑀧) are the normal northern forms, and *śra* (𑀲), may be compared with the peculiar shape found on the Selagiri *stūpa*, *ya* has become quite cursive (𑀹_{yo}). In the proper name in l. 3, an unusual form of initial *i* is found (𑀱), resembling *u* but no doubt connected with the Pyu form of the 5th-7th centuries appearing in U Mya's chart (𑀮, 𑀱), derived from the southern variety during the same period (𑀮). A similar form is found in the Pyedaung bell inscription discussed below. These developments probably took place towards the end of the 6th century, when Veśālī itself was occupied with matters other than control of distant areas. The inscription may therefore be assigned to the last quarter of the 6th or beginning of the 7th century. The first three lines contain the usual formula, with several omissions and mistakes. The remaining dedicatory lines are difficult to read, and show strong Pali influence, e.g. in the verb *akārayi* and *kusala* for *kuśala*. It would seem that Theravāda influence from Śrīkṣetra was in the process of supplanting Sanskrit influence from the north. Two donors are mentioned, their names, unfortunately, are not clear, but the Tibeto-Burman female prefix *kim*^o noticed in the copper-plate is possible in one case, and the suffix *°varman* would indicate a certain amount of Pali influence. The object dedicated for the welfare of the donors' father and mother is not mentioned, but in view of the large collection of similar plaques from *stūpas* we may infer that this is meant.

TEXT

1. | ye dharmmā hetuprabhava¹ hetum

2. teṣāṃ Tathāgata hy avoca<t> tesāñ ca yo
3. nirotha² e<vañ>vādi³ mahāśra<ma>ṇa<ḥ>
4. upāsaka⁴ Maṅgā upasā
5. k. Sākima[⁵vamma]m akāra
6. yi = mātapitāku-
7. sala ||

¹ for °vā, or the long vowel may have coalesced with the following superscript e.

² for °dha

³ for °dī

⁴ for °kā

⁵ Johnston's reading, but not at all clear.

IL 4-7 could be translated as : "The lay-worshipper Maṅga (?) [and] the lay-worshipper Sākimavamma (?) caused to be made [this *stūpa*] for the welfare of [their] mother and father.

Inscribed bell from Pauktawbyin, now at Akyab monastery (Plate XXII) San Tha Aung, *loc cit*, pl. 25 and p.133.

This bronze monastery bell was found at Pauktawbyin, near the south-west corner of the outer wall of Veśālī, in 1973. U Tin Oo kindly sent me his excellent photographs, and I was able to examine the bell in 1975. About 11.5 cm. high, the inner diameter of the mouth is 9.9 cm. and the outer diameter 11.5 cm. The shape resembles the *aṇḍa* of a *stūpa*. Similar, but uninscribed bells have been discovered in Andhra Pradesh and the shape is still used for bells in Burma today.

The two lines of writing around the centre are damaged in places particularly in the first line where a number of words are missing. The engraving was neatly and carefully done. The language is Sanskrit, but at least one personal name, tentatively read as Kimmāyanna, is

obviously connected with the names of the Candra queens given in the copper-plate. That the scribe was not writing an Indic name is seen from the use of double *m* instead of *m* + *anusvāra*.

The inscription ends with the so-called "garuḍa" symbol, found at the end of the 8th century *caitya* inscription and Ānandacandra's *praśasti*. The two lines record the donation of the bell, which is apparently described as a *nārāghaṇṭa*, although the term has no lexical meaning.

The paleography is remarkably similar to that of the copper-plate, which can be dated in c 507 A.D.. In the present inscription, *gha* and *ya*, and *ka* and *na* are scarcely distinguishable.

TEXT

1. mātāpitroḥ [puṇyārthaṃ] Kimmaya[nna Dhī]nayoḥ - - - nama ||
2. - - nārāghaṇṭā yad datteyaṃ (sa)sarire¹ svaraṃ ||

¹ (sa)sarire is a doubtful reading

Translation

Obeisance.... for the welfare of [my] mother and father, Kimmayanna(?)
[and] Dhīna..... this nārā bell with a sweet sound is given.

Inscribed bell from Pyedaung (Plate XXIII)

*IB CCCLIII*f; *Arch Negs* 2331-3 (1922-3), 4375 (1940-41); H.Krishna Sastri in *ASB* 1919, pp.56, 37; *ASI* 1919, pt.1, p.27; Johnston, *loc cit*, pp.358-9, 360-2, 366, 382 and pl.IV, fig 2; San Tha Aung, *loc cit* pl.24; Dani, *loc cit* pl.XXII; Sircar, *loc cit* pp.103-4.

Now with U San Shwe Bu's wife at Akyab.

This small bronze monastery bell was discovered by U San Shwe Bu at Pyedaung village, 10 km. north of Wethali. The bell, 9.8 cm. high, has an outer diameter of 10.5 cm. and an inner diameter of 9.5 cm., and weighs 458.7 gm. It has been damaged in two places, so that the

name of the donor is illegible and one other *akṣara* is destroyed.

The inscription, in two neatly written lines around the mouth, is paleographically assignable to the pre-or early Nīticandra period, that is, around 520 A.D.⁶⁵ *Dha* is a circle, *ma* and *sa* have the usual Arakanese forms, and *ya* is still tripartite, with the left arm curved inwards. Johnston identified the latter part of the first line and the second as "a common Mahāyānist formula which can be traced from the 6th century onwards for as long as Buddhism prevailed in India." The dedication, by a monk for the benefit of his spiritual preceptors, etc, and his mother and father, is an interesting comment on the persistence of family ties in monastic life.

TEXT ¹

1. deyadharmma 'yam Śakyabhikṣo - - - yac ²atra puṇyam tad
bhavatu matapitrpūrvvaṅgamaṁ kṛtvā-
2. cāryyopādhyāyānāṁ sarvvasatvānāṁ ca anuttarajñānāvaptaye iti :||

¹ from the bell and inked impressions

² Read *yac cātra*

Translation





This is a pious offering of the Buddhist monkMay the merit that is therein be for the gaining of supreme knowledge by teachers, tutors and all beings, especially his mother and father.

⁶⁵ Although Johnston considered that the bell might be assigned to the first half of the 7th century, and was followed in this by Dani, who proposed the late 7th century, Sircar has rightly pointed out that the crucial letters are not met with in Bengal inscriptions after the 6th century.

Fragmentary Pillar Inscription from Thinkyitaw (Plate XXIV)

EI XXXII, pp.103ff and plate opposite p.109

Mrohaung Museum

The inscription, around a broken pillar about .5 m high, was found at a *stūpa* traditionally said to have been erected by a ruler named Sūriyacandra on the ridge east of the Veśālī city walls, which may be correct. A coin bearing the name of this king, stylistically belonging to the mid-7th century and paleographically similar to the inscription was recently found at Veśālī. The characters show some development from the 6th century inscriptions, although the same tripartite form of *ya* is retained, as well as the older *h*. Medial *ā* is the later *daṇḍa* shape ( *vā*) and medial *u* and *ū* are also slightly more developed ( *yu*,  *bhū*), *u* resembling subscript *y* rising to the level of the top *mātrā* of the consonant to its right. A local development appears to be a serif at the top of both these signs, a tendency noticed once in subscript *y* in the inscription of Vīracandra. The form of *m* () also shows some modification when compared with the earlier inscriptions, and is not generally noticed in Eastern Indian inscriptions. The language is Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, with more Pali influence than is usual further west. The inscription appears to contain a Buddhist tract: the passages which can be read being:

1.2 sarvāṃ bhū°dhamma ca

1.3sekhino ca tu dayatu saṃpa°dhammo mahiddhiko

1.4[sa]ṃvo(bo)dhimavayanniyu°viṣayam bhūtena

1.5dvāre phusantu sivamutta[ṃ]

1.6sādhu sādhu ti ||

Fragmentary *cāitya* inscription from Veśālī (Plate XXV)

Arch Neg 5973 (1969-70), unpublished

This inscription, which presumably came from a ruined *cāitya* was found near the south-west Veśālī moat.

Thanks are due to Mon Bo Kay, Conservator of the Archaeological Survey of Burma at Pagán, for his preliminary reading.

The inscription is on a stone slab, measuring 18 cm x 23 cm, broken at the top. Eleven lines remain, the first and part of the second lines being too damaged to read. The characters are slightly earlier than those of the west face of the Shitthaung pillar inscription. The letters are more square in form, and can be compared with those of the inscriptions of the Khaḍga dynasty of Bengal in the late 7th century⁶⁶. In line 8, *gha* has the right arm sloping and the left curving, unlike the later *kuṭila* form found in Bengal, and *sva* in line 10 retains a loop to the left. The double *daṇḍas* also retain their earlier form, the first member curving inwards as in the earlier Veśālī inscriptions. After the final double *daṇḍa* is a symbol consisting of a circle with four v-shapes, above and below, on each side, followed by two double *daṇḍas*. A similar symbol follows the Ānandacandra *praśasti*. It has been suggested that this is a bird symbol, as Ānandacandra described himself as *devāṇḍaja*, "born of the divine egg", hence of the lineage of the divine bird (? Garuḍa). This interpretation is doubtful, as the symbol occurs frequently in manuscripts merely to denote the end of the passage.

The inscription can therefore be assigned to the late 7th or early 8th centuries, possibly to the reign of Dharmacandra, the father of

⁶⁶ cf Dani *op cit* Plates XI, 5.

Ānandacandra. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Two complete verses remain, the first in *Vasantatilakā* metre, the second a *śloka*. In 1.7, we have *prahīnāḥ* for *prahīnaḥ*.

The inscription commemorates the construction of a *caitya*. The lines now lost presumably contained a verse and gave the name of the donor, possibly with his genealogy. There is no indication in the text of the sect for which the *caitya* was built. The sentiments, however, are typical of Buddhist Sanskrit literature, notably the *Lakṣacaityasamutpatti*⁶⁷ and of dedicatory inscriptions in Bengal, and later, Paḡān and Mrohaung⁶⁸.

TEXT

- 1.
2. - - - padaṇa[m̐] || | puṇyaṃ mayāptam atu-
3. laṃ yam ihādya caityam niṣpādya tena
4. bhavasāgarato hi pāram | tṛṣṇā-
5. taraṅgabhr̥śacañcalaraudranādā-
6. t satvāḥ prayāntu sukhinas trima-
7. laprahīnāḥ || | yāti prajvalitaṃ
8. ghoram̐ bhedako rauravam̐ pā-
9. ram̐ divyakalpasahasrāṇi
10. svarge tiṣṭhati pālaka i-
11. ti ||

¹ °bhr̥śa is a doubtful reading.

⁶⁷ T. Rajapatirana, *Svarṇavarṇāvadāna*, translated and edited, together with its Tibetan translation and the *Lakṣacaityasamutpatti* (Ph.D. thesis, A.N.U. 1974); cf. v.1 of the inscription with pp.119-120, pts. l and m, and v.2 with p.125, pt.q.

⁶⁸ See e.g. Khalimpur Copper-plate inscription of Dharmapāla, *JASB* Vol.LXIII, pt.1, pp.39ff; *EI* IV pp. 243ff, verses 14 and 18; Ghosrāvān Rock Inscription of the time of Devapāla *JASB* Vol.XVIII, pt.1, pp.492-501, *IA* Vol.XVII, pp.307-312, v.15.

Translation

1. Through the unequalled merit which has been gained by me here today, having constructed a *caitya*, may beings go forth happy, free from the three impurities, beyond the ocean of becoming, from the fierce roaring of the great agitation of the waves of craving, to the further shore.

2. The breaker [of the *caitya*] goes to a terrible and flaming hell, and the protector goes to heaven (for thousands of heavenly aeons.)

Fragmentary Copper-plate Grant (Plates XXVIII-XXIX)

EI XXXVII, pp.61-66

This inscription was edited in *EI* by D.C.Sircar, many of whose valuable notes are reproduced here. The copper-plate was discovered in a mound near the outer limits of Veśālī, about half a kilometre west of the point where the road to Mrohaung cuts through the walls. The practice of engraving royal land grants on copper-plates, although common in India, is comparatively rare in Southeast Asia. The Arakanese plate borrows the form of the 5th/6th century grants of Southeast Bengal, which generally consisted of a single plate with a large seal fixed to the left margin and the lines of writing running the length of the plate⁶⁹ as in the present case.

A strip has been cut off from the top and right hand side of the plate, presumably when the finder attempted to test for gold, which is particularly deplorable as the names of the reigning king and all his ancestors have thus been lost. The extant plate measures 31.5 cm. in length, and 22 cm. in height. A circular seal affixed to the left

⁶⁹ B.M.Morrison, *Political Centres and Cultural Regions in Early Bengal* (Tucson 1970) pp.58ff

margin has a diameter of about 13 cm. According to Mon Bo Kay, who examined the plate, the design in the centre represented a seated bull surrounded by a lotus motif, similar to the seated bull on the obverse of the inscribed Arakanese coins⁷⁰. As the portion above the seal measured only 1 cm. and the portion above 5 cm., Sircar estimated that two lines had been lost from the obverse at the top, and similarly that 7 or 8 *akṣaras* were lost from the side.

The paleography of the record generally accords with the 6th century style of the east face of the Shitthaung pillar and the earlier votive inscriptions. As we have noted above, certain of the proper names mentioned perhaps indicate that the ruling dynasty spoke a western Tibeto-Burmese language. As regards orthography, *b* is represented by *v*.

The inscription was dated in the 11th regnal year of the issuer of the charter, presumably a member of the Candra dynasty. According to Sircar, following Gupta precedent, the reigning monarch was represented as a descendent of the founder of the family through a number of successive generations. Lines 1-8 appear to have originally contained the names of eight kings, the last being the issuer of the grant. The six kings mentioned in ll. 3-8 are described as *pād-ānudhyāta* (meditating or favoured by the feet) of their predecessors, as *Paramamāheśvara* (a devout worshipper of Maheśvara, i.e. Śiva) and as born of a particular *mahādevī* (queen, or chief queen). The kings enjoyed the title of *Mahārājādhirāja*, indicating independent and imperial status in the Gupta age. Their names occupied the final

⁷⁰ cf also the Gunaigarh plate of Vainyagupta, (c. 508 A.D.) which had an identical seal, *ibid.* p.60.

part of each line, and are now missing. However, the names appear to have been written in four syllables, a characteristic of the Candra kings.

It is not improbable that the genealogy began with Dvañcandra, (c. 370-425), Rājacandra being mentioned in l. 2, Bālacandra in l. 3, Devacandra, born of Kimtomdevī in l. 4, Yajñacandra, born of Kimdaldevī in l. 5, Candrabandhu, born of Sukanyādevī in l. 6, Bhūmicandra, born of Kyaudevī in l.7, and Bhūticandra, born of Kalyāṇadevī in l. 9. Sircar, on the basis of the inscription from the time of Nīticandra, suggested that as that king was a professed Buddhist, the present record was written during the reign of his predecessor, Bhūticandra. While it was possible, in Southeast Asia at least, for a king to embrace both Buddhism and Hinduism, it would seem that the donor of Deṅguttagrama, Kimmājuvdevī was indeed the queen of Bhūticandra, as the paleography of the inscription points to the beginning of the 6th century, and Nīticandra's queen was named Sāvītañ Candraśrīyā. The names of the queens can be read in ll. 4-8, the queen's name in l. 3 being damaged. Thus we have the name of the donatrix queen, and the king's mother, grandmother, great-grandmother, great-great-grandmother and great-great-great-grandmother: Kimmājuvdevī, Kalyāṇadevī, Kyaudevī, Sukanyādevī, Kimdaldevī and Kimtomdevī. The similarity of the names prefixed with *kim*° with the name of the mother of the donor of the Pauktawbyin bell should be noticed; their possible Tībeto-Burman affiliations have been mentioned above. The name Kalyāṇadevī and Sukanyādevī suggest contact with Sanskrit tradition from the second half of the 5th century, which is further borne out by other epigraphical and sculptural evidence. A very similar form of genealogy is also found in the inscriptions of the kings of Assam during the same period⁷¹

71

e.g. the Dubi Plates of Bhaskaravarman, *EI* XXX, pp.287ff

Lines 9-10 state that the king issuing the charter addressed the rulers of his own family and other dynasties in respect of the grant, while ll. 10-13 record that a village called Deṅgutta was granted by Kimmājuvdevī in favour of a *vihāra* built by herself. Although Sircar interpreted this passage to mean that she must have taken the king's permission in making the gift and apparently compensated the state for its loss of revenue, it would seem that, as in Arakan today, women were able to own land and to dispose of it as they saw fit. Kimmājuvdevī was doubtless a Buddhist, although her husband and his ancestors appear to be described as Śaivas⁷². As we have noticed elsewhere, there is practically no evidence of Śaivism in the archaeological assemblage, the state religion at the time of Devacandra, at least, having been a form of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Śaivite ritual may have been confined to certain court ceremonies necessary to legitimize kingship, but incompatible with Buddhism, performed by a small group of Brahmans. The income derived from the gift village was meant to be utilized on behalf of the Three Jewels, Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha (*Ratnatrayōpayogāya*) in respect of the *catuspratyaṅga*, the four necessities of the Buddhist priest⁷³. A damaged passage in ll. 12-123 suggests that the gift village was placed in charge of the fraternity of the holy monks of all lands including the Elders of Jetavana, who were already in the monastery and who might dwell there in future (*āgatānāgata Jetavanavāsistha-viracaturddiś aryabhikṣusaṅgha sampradāno*). The gift village

⁷² The inscription of Vainyagupta mentioned above begins with an invocation to Mahādeva (= Śiva) but, like the present charter, records a gift of land for the maintenance of a Mahāyāna *vihāra*.

⁷³ i.e. robes, food, bedding and medicine.

called *Deṅgutta* is described as "yielding 3,000" (*Deṅguttanāmā ttrisāhasriko grāmo*). It is not clear whether this refers to the standard coin, or to baskets of rice. If it were the former, the gross product of the village would be 7.6 gm. of silver (the standard coin) x 3000, i.e. 22.8 kg. of silver, and the revenue, by analogy with Indian practice at this time, might amount to 1/4 of this. It is not clear which Jetavana monastery is referred to here, although the establishment at Śrāvasti (modern Set Maheth, U.P.) may be meant⁷⁴. The boundaries of *Deṅguttagrāma* are described in ll. 12-13, the final lines of the obverse, although as the ends have been cut off the details of the northern and eastern limits are lost. In the south, there were Śrīlakkajolā, probably a channel, a row of stone boulders (*śilā-paṅkti*) and a mango tree, while *Vaṅgeṅkhalla*, a stream or canal, lay on the west.

The reverse of the plate begins with l. 15, and contains the request of the issuer of the charter to the effect that those addressed should protect the gift out of love of the Law (*dharmā-bhilāṣāt*) and out of great respect for the royal donor (*asmadbahumānāt*). This is followed in ll. 15-20 by five of the well known imprecatory and benedictory stanzas identical to those found in the early 6th century inscriptions of Bengal⁷⁵. The name of the Prime Minister (*Mahāmantrin*) *Reṅgādityadāsa* occurs at the beginning of l. 21. The last line of the record contained the date, the 11th regnal year of the king. If we accept Sircar's dates for the Candra kings, the inscription would have been written in c. 507 A.D., eleven years after Bhūticandra came to the throne.

⁷⁴ *DPPN*, s.v. mentions that there were at least two monasteries by that name in Śrī Lanka.

⁷⁵ cf B.M.Morrison, *op cit* pp.78-9

Of the geographical names, Deṅguttagrama cannot be identified with any modern village, but to produce such an income it must have been in the alluvial plain to the west of Veśālī. If our interpretation of the name (> *Dig-uttara*) is correct, it was probably towards the northwest, and Vaṅgenkhalla therefore a tributary of the Kaladan river in the vicinity of the present-day Yann-chaung (Rann-chaung).

TEXT¹*First side*

1. ²
2.
3. ³ s tatpādānudhyataḥ paramamāheśvaro mahādevyām śrī[kim]---⁴
radevyām utpanno [Mahārājā].....⁵
4. s tatpādānudhyātaḥ paramamāheśvaro mahādevyām śrīKintomdevyām
utpanno mahā[ra]⁶
5. s tatpādānudhyātaḥ paramamāheśvaro mahādevyām śrīKimdaldevyām
utpanno [mahārā]⁷
6. s tatpādānudhyātaḥ paramamāheśvaro mahādevyām śrīSukanyādevyām
utpanno [mahā]⁸
7. s tatpādānudhyātaḥ paramamāheśvaro mahādevyām śrīKyaudevyām
utpanno mah[ārā]⁹

¹ After Sircar, with emendations

² Lines 1-2 are completely cut off. If really the first two rulers of the dynasty were mentioned here, as suggested above, the lost passage was probably*paramamāheśvaro mahārājādhirāja śrīDvañcāndras tasya putras tatpādānudhyātaḥ paramamāheśvaro mahādevyām śrī..... devyām utpanno mahārājādhirāja śrīRājacandra*. The name of the capital of the family may have been mentioned at the beginning with the fifth case ending.

³ The upper part of a number of syllables in this line is cut off.

⁴ The reading of the queen's name is uncertain.

⁵ The lost *akṣaras* may have been °*dhirāja śrīKālacandra*°

⁶ The original record may have read here °*jādhirāja śrīDevacandra*°

⁷ The lost syllables may have been °*jādhirāja śrīYajñacandra*°

⁸ We may suggest the restoration of the lost *akṣaras* as °*nājādhirāja śrīCandrabandhu*°

⁹ The lost syllables may be restored as °*jādhirāja śrīBhūmicandra*°

8. s tatpādānudhyātaḥ paramamāheśvaro mahādevyām śrīKalyāṇadevyām
utpanno¹⁰
9. svaparakulasamudbhavān narendrāms tadanucarāms ca bhaviṣyato
yathārham anu.....¹¹
10. kuśalayutaṁ sahitaṁ ca vakti sarvān viditam etad astu vo yathā
pareṇa¹²
11. sva kārītavihāre ratnatrayopayogāya catuspratrayanimittaṁ
bhagnasphuṭi[ta].....¹³
12. Kimmājudevyā āgatānāgataJetavanavāsisthāvīracāturddisāryya
bhikṣusaṅgha¹⁴
13. sampradāno¹⁵ Deṅguttanāmā ttri sāhasriko grāmo nisṛiṣṭo **yasya**
sīmā pūrveṇa.....¹⁶
14. Śrīlakkājolā śilāpaṅktir āmra vṛikṣas ca paścimena Vaṅgeṅkhalla[ḥ
uttare]¹⁷
- Second side*
15. tad bhavadbhir dharmmābhilāṣād asmadva(d-ba)humānāc ca
paripālanīyo 'pi ca [*] Yān īha dattani ~-~---¹⁸

- 10 The syllables lost here were possibly *mahārājādhirāja śrīBhūticandra*
- 11 The reading may have been *anunayati bōdhayati*
- 12 The expression may also be *yathāparēṇa*
- 13 The intended reading seems to have been *bhagna sphuṭita saṁskār
ārtham ca śrī*
- 14 It is impossible to restore the lost *akṣaras*.
- 15 The word *sampradāna* apparently stood at the end of a compound
expression which was an adjective of *grāmāḥ*
- 16 The word *dakṣiṇena* appears to have occurred at the end of the line.
- 17 The intended word is *uttareṇa* which must have been followed by
the indication of the northern boundary of the gift village.
- 18 The lost syllables would be *purā narendrair dānāni*

16. dharmmārthayaśaskarāṇi dharmmābhilāṣaṇ nṛipa gauravāc
ca mayā ¹py anujñāta phalāni tāni ||¹⁹²⁰
17. dīyate ca punaḥ punaḥ yasya yasya yadā bhūmis tasya tasya
tadā phalam [|*]²¹Pū.....²²
18. yatnād rakṣa Yudhiṣṭhira mahīm mahīmatām śreṣṭha . dānāc
chreyo'nupālanam [|] Sva.....²³
19. yo hareta vasundharām sa viṣṭhāyām kṛimir bhūtvā pitṛibhis
saha majjati [|*] Ṣa.....²⁴
- 20 svarge modati bhūmidah ākṣeptā cānumantā ca tāny eva narake
vaset ²⁵
- 21 mahāmantri Reṅgādityadāso
- 22 ||²⁶|| rājya samva [t ll āṣāḍha śu]

19 Metre: *Upajāti* (*Indravajrā* and *Upendravajrā*).

20 The lost *akṣaras* can be restored as *Bahubhir vasudhā dattā*

21 The metre of this stanza and the following verses is *Anuṣṭubh*

22 The lost syllables are °*rvadattām dvijātibhyo*

23 The lost *akṣaras* can be restored as *dattām para dattām vā*.

24 The lost syllables were no doubt °*ṣṭim varṣa sahasrāni*

25 After this, the *akṣaras dūtakaś cātra* may have been incised, though they are cut off.

26 Between the double *daṇḍas*, there is the sign of two concentric circles.

The "Pyu" Inscriptions

The paleography of two inscriptions found in Arakan is not analogous to the usual North-east Indian scripts. The first, found near Sandoway, is in the script described by Luce as Pyu "Tircul"⁷⁶, that is, the South Indian influenced script adapted to the peculiarities of the Pyu language, and recognizable by the tonal marks and "interlinear Brahmi". The second, on the reverse of a Burmese inscription of about the 16th century, is written in a script adapted from a similar source, usually used by the Pyus for texts. The "Pyu" scripts were apparently introduced into Burma around the 4th century A.D., and although used for over 600 years, remained extremely conservative in character. However, minor changes reflecting developments in Northern and Southern Indian scripts during the 6th and 7th centuries can assist our dating.

The Arakan "Pyu" inscriptions are closer to the Pyu inscriptions of Śrīkṣetra than to those of Halin. Contact with Śrīkṣetra is also noticed in the coins and in some sculptures found at Veśālī. Two routes connected the Pyu capitals with Arakan: the "Buywetmanyō" road, traditionally built by a Pyu king with the intention of invading Veśālī⁷⁷ over the Arakan Yoma via Mt. Victoria to the Lemro River, and the Taunggup Pass route, which connected Śrīkṣetra and Sandoway. The Pyu "Tircul" inscription, found on the route between the Taunggup Pass and Sandoway, suggested to Luce that the Pyu may have opened up a port in that area to facilitate connections with Tāmralipti and the Orissan coast, thus avoiding the rocks and islands off Negrias⁷⁸. Arakanese chronicles and oral traditions remember various Pyu attacks on Sandoway and

⁷⁶ personal communication, May 20, 1973, and his *Phases of Old Burma* (in press); cf Dani, *op cit* pp. 241-247

⁷⁷ San Chwe Eu "Buywetmanyō Road" *ASB* 1920-21, pp. 39-40

⁷⁸ personal communication, Jan 5, 1974



Veśālī⁷⁹. The kingdoms must have been in contact between about the 5th and 9th centuries, and the coins and inscriptions suggest an interchange of traders and monks.

The "Sandoway Pyu" inscription. (Plate XXXI)

ref. *Tha Myat Pyu Reader* p.78









"Stone, 2' x 1/2' x 6" (*sic*) at the village of Tondaw, on Thalu chaung river, about thirty miles from Sandoway town. Sent by A.R.Bricks, Offg. Commissioner, Arakan Division, Akyab, to Dr.D.E.Hubzch (*sic* for E.Hultzsch), Government Epigraphist, Madras, 29 October 1894." There is no record of Hultzsch's reading, if any.

There are five lines of Pyu Tircul script, each followed by a line in the so-called "interlinear Brahmi" common to many Pyu inscriptions. We have only Tha Myat's eye-copy to work with, hence much of the transliteration is doubtful: there may be confusion between the letters *dha*, *pa*, *pha*, *la* and *ha*, all of which are angular with equal arms. *ja* and *na*, both consisting of two loops opening to the right, may have been confused in the eye copy. Of the eight tones of Pyu, seven are recognized by a series of dots, which may not have always been noticed by Tha Myat. With the compound consonants, the lower letter often takes a different form and cannot be positively identified.

On the whole, the script appears rather provincial and rather late. The influence of Śrīkṣetra rather than Halin is apparent and to be expected in the geographic context. The headmarks are the usual linear type, but the much rarer notched type ⁸⁰ is noticed with *ra* ( *ra*, 1.1) The medial vowel usually read as *i* ( *di*, 1. 2) is a curve to the right, attached to a line headmark, of the type found in the 7th century Pyu Tircul inscript-

⁷⁹ Phayre "On the History of Arakan" *JASB* 1844, p.38; *Rakhaing Yāzawinthit* pp. 280-309; *Sarvasthānaprakāraṇa* in Forchhammer, *Arakan*, p.7; San Shwe Bu "Legendary History regarding the Origin of the Name Myauk-U or Mrauk-U" *JBRS* VI (1916)pp.223-225, "Buywetmanyō Road" *ASB* 1920-21, pp.39-40

⁸⁰ cf. Dani, *op cit* p. 23

ions of Śrīkṣetra. Another form, with the usual curve to the right and an upward twist, is also noticed ( di 1.). Medial *u* and *ū* are also found, both attached to subscript verticals, *u* having a curve opening upwards at the left ( 1. 2), and *ū* having a curve opening down to the right ( , 1. 2). When *u* is combined with a letter, the letter slants towards the left, e.g. in 1.2  ?su:  'nu and hu  . too must be a local development as it does not occur in the Myazedi inscriptions. Medial *o* is of the usual type with two top curves. This southern initial *o* used for the gen. prefix *u*  ,  ⁸¹ is the only initial vowel found.

The first line of the inscription may not be the beginning, as it lacks the conventional marks occurring at the commencement of other Pyu inscriptions. There seem to be no Sanskrit or Pali derived proper names or terms. Only a few known Pyu words have been identified, and our interpretation, as Blagden said of his translation of the Pyu face of the Myazedi inscriptions, "must be regarded as somewhat tentative and provisional"⁸².

In 1. 2 we have	cha°	? for ca°	'likeness, image'
	pā°		'to give'
	ro°		'when'
	u pra		'by this deed'

The inscription then may possibly refer to the donation of an image to a religious establishment.

The last two characters before the stop sign in l. 5 could be read as numerals. By comparison with Bühler, pl. IX and U Mya's chart⁸³ we have

⁸¹ *ibid.*, p. 244

⁸² *Ep. B* Vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 62, n. 1. I have used Blagden's system of transliteration, apart from using *ca* and *cha* for his *cha* and *chha*.

⁸³ *ASB* 1958-59

200 and 8 or 9. Taking this in the so-called "Burmese Era" of 638 A.D. we have 846/7 A.D. - the period of the decline of Śrīkṣetra⁸³.

The so-called interlinear Brāhmi common to many Pyu inscriptions has long puzzled scholars. Here the same pattern persists, letters often being repeated in an apparently haphazard fashion. In (iv), after *ma* *ma*, the most common combination of letters, are two dots, possibly indicating a *visarga* tone mark. Some characters may conceivably be numerals: in (iv) is a sign similar to the later signs for 2 or 3 (२) in (v) the Pyu 7 (၇) of the Maunggan gold plates.

While not all the letters can be identified, many are common to inscriptions from Eastern Deccan from the 1st to 3rd centuries A.D.. U Aung Thaw has already pointed out that the architecture of this area influenced the early Pyu architecture of Beikthano during this period. To the Pyus, who had not at this time developed a script of their own, writing must have seemed to have rather mystical qualities, and in some form, memory of these early letters was retained. They were used in their interlinear context from at least the 6th century, possibly for some religious purpose⁸⁴. Perhaps a development of this function is found in the "Secret Writings" of the Arakanese priests, where numerals and other signs had alphabetical equivalents⁸⁵.

⁸³ Aung Thaw, *Historical Sites in Burma*, p.33

⁸⁴ My colleague David Bradley's recent (unpublished) researches into the gourd flute, widely used among Tibeto-Burman peoples to convey linguistic meaning through tones, often in religious ceremonies, have led me to suppose that the interlinear Brahmi of the Pyu inscriptions is actually a transcription of the tones for such an instrument, and will be discussed more fully at a later date.

⁸⁵ a palm-leaf MS, *Secret Writings, by numerals and other signs generally in vogue in Arakan in ancient days (in Burmese)* dated 1247 BE/1887 A.D., has been published by the Department of Higher Education, Rangoon, (n.d.).

Pyu 'Pali' Inscription from Wuntitaung (Plate XXX)

Mrohaung Museum

Possibly Forchhammer, *Arakan*, p.38 and *Akyab District Gazeteer, Vol.A* p.63, later confused in the literature with *IB CCCLIII* (Johnston's 'separate inscription'.)

This inscription is on the reverse of a large rectangular grey sandstone slab with a 16th century Burmese inscription on the obverse.

The history of the stone itself is interesting. It was found on

Wunti hill, the site of a late Hindu shrine. The stone seems originally

to have been used for the inscription under discussion; at a later

period it was used as a sculpture pedestal; on the obverse there are two square indentations, about 75 cm. apart, typical of the plinths










found at Veśālī. The script and the general character of the inscription are remarkably similar to the Pali inscriptions found at Śrīkṣetra.⁸⁶

This script is usually described as being derived from the Kadamba script of the 5th or 7th centuries A.D. The general style, however, is very close to the whole range of 6th century inscriptions of Southeast Asia, from Java, Funan, Dvāravatī and Malaysia. Dani has pointed out that the main influence on this style was the south-eastern coast of India, with traces from the west coast appearing in a few letters⁸⁷. Our inscription is the northernmost example of this script, and hence the first epigraphic evidence we have for the spread of south Indian influence in the area. The letters are characterised by line headmarks, although in the Wuntitaung inscription, which is

⁸⁶ e.g. the inscribed stone slab found near Bawbawgyi pagoda at *ASI* 1911, pl.XLVIII (1) and Finto, J.A. 1912-13; Sein Maung Oo, "The Old City of Śrīkṣetra" *Selections from Pyinnyapadatha*, 1972, pp. 1633ff and Plate 7, (in Burmese); the Maunggan gold plates, *EI* V, p.101ff and the Khinbagôn gold MS edited by Lu Pe Win in *ASB* 1938-39, pp.12-22

⁸⁷ Dani, *op cit*, pp.230-1, 236

in very bad condition, there may be a slight tendency to the triangular headmarks of the north. The super- and subscript looped verticals of medial *i* and *ī*, and initial *a*, *k*, *r* and *u* are more elongated than at Śrīkṣetra, one of the factors accounting for the widely spaced lines. Gaps between words found here also occur on the Bawbawgyi stone.

Initial *a* ( 1. 1) has the same form as that of the Bawbawgyi inscription, which is unusual in that the lower hook rejoins the vertical, a tendency only noticed in the 6th century rock inscriptions of Śrī Lanka (cf Dani, pl.XIX, 11). Medial *ā* apparently has three forms: the usual horizontal slanted slightly inwards towards the right ( *nā* 1. 1); combined with *jj* ( 1. 1) it has a superscript vertical rising from the middle arm and looped to the left, a tendency noted in the southern Indian inscriptions and their Southeast Asian counterparts from the 5th to the 7th centuries (e.g. 5th century Kadamba, Dani XVI, 1.2; 7th/8th south Indian XVIII, 1.7; 6th century Indochina XX, 11. 7,10); and a subscript curve to the left ( *sā*, 1. 2) rather like the common medial *u*. The latter, while reminiscent of the ornate vertical medial *ā* of other 6th/7th century Southeast Asian scripts (cf Dani pl.XXI 3 (West Java) and pl.XXII, II (Pra Pathom)) may be a mistake on the part of the engraver. Medial *i* is an elongated superscript loop, more curved at the left ( 1.1) Medial *ī* is extremely ornate, a spiral winding towards the right ( *ti*, 1.1). Medial *u* ( *su*, 1.2) is the curved vertical type, about the height of the letter again; *e* the usual southern left curve ending in a curl ( *tte*, 1.2); *o*, again southern, has two top curves ( *to* 1.1). Of the consonants, the waved horizontals found in many letters of the Maunggun and Khinbagôn plates are less apparent in the Bawbawgyi stone and not at all at Wuntitaung. The style generally agrees with the south Indian influenced style current in Southeast Asia during the late 6th and early 7th centuries.

Da (1.2) shows a slight development from the Bawbawgyi stone in that the curve extends well beyond the vertical. In combination with \bar{a} and u , s takes new forms which may also be compared with the Bawbawgyi style. The unusual initial and final decorative marks are also found in the Khinbagôn plates (Plate I, 1. 1 and Plate V, 1. 3) and the Bawbawgyi stone (1. 3) and appear to derive from a manuscript tradition.

Two portions of the inscription remain. Both belong to the same section of a text dealing with the four self-confidences (*vesārajjāni*) of a Buddha, as found in the *Mahāsīhanāda Suttanta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* and also in the *Catukka Nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*⁸⁸. The same excerpt appears in the Khinbagôn MS, VI 3- VII 1, and IX 3- X 3. The inscription is therefore an important link between Śrīkṣetra and northern Arakan, confirming in part the evidence of the late chronicles and local traditions which mention contact between the two centres. It also explains, to a certain degree, the extent of the influence of Pali in some of the Sanskrit inscriptions of the period. We may infer that the inscription was written by a member of a Theravādin sect which had close ties with Śrīkṣetra.

The inscription is edited from rubbings made at Mrohaung in 1973 and 1975, and from the stone.

First Section

1. cataves[ā]rajjāni yehi ve[s]ārajjahi samannāgato
tathāgato² asabha[nthana]ṃ pa-
2. [ti]jānāti parisāsu sihanādam nadati brahma[cakkaṃpa] vuttetīti³

⁸⁸ *Majjhima Nikāya* I, PTS ed. pp.71-2; *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, PTS ed. pp.8-9. I am grateful to Professor Luce for his identification and transliteration of the text.

Second section

1.
2. [Khīṇa savassa te paṭijānato ime āsavā aparikkhīṇāti tatra vata
mañ samaṇo vā] brāhmaṇo vā devo vā [māro vā koci vā lokasmiṃ
sahadhammena paṭicodessatīti nimittametañ bhikkhave na
3. sa]manupassāmi

¹ for *vesarajjehi*

² for *tathāgato*

³ for *vattetīti*

Translation⁸⁹

The four confidences: These are the confidences of a Tathāgatha possessed of which the Tathāgatha knows his place as the leader of the herd, utters the lion's roar in the companies and sets rolling the Brahma-wheel....

You who claim to have destroyed the *āsavas* have not destroyed these *āsavas*. I see no grounds, monks, to show that any recluse or Brahman, that any Deva or Māra or Brahmā can with justice make this charge.

Śaṅkha-lipi (Plate XXXII)

The mysterious script known as Śaṅkha-lipi is found in a wide variety of contexts among medieval Indian remains. According to Professor Sircar, it is merely an elaboration of the current script, made so ornate as to appear incomprehensible⁹⁰. In Arakan, the only example was found on the hidden upper side of a lintel fragment recently found at Veśālī and now in the Mrohaung Museum, and is interesting in that a *śaṅkha* (conch) is depicted at the end of the short inscription. The only other instance of this script in Southeast Asia known to me is the so-called 'signature' of

⁸⁹

Following Lu Pe Win (*ASB* 38/9 p.20) we have used the translation of F.L.Woodard in the *Book of Gradual Sayings*, Vol.III, pp.9-10.

Another translation by T.W. Rhys Davies is found in *The Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol.I, p.48





⁹⁰ "Introduction to Indian Epigraphy and Paleography" *J.of Ancient Indian History*, Vol.IV (1970-71), pp.116-17

Pūrṇavarman on his rock inscription at Ci-Aruteun in West Java⁹¹.

The Image Inscriptions

The Mahāmuni Image Inscription (Plates XXXIIIa)

ASB 1958-59, pls.33 and 34; Arch Neg 8164 (1958-59); below, p. 200-1

This, the only ancient inscription yet discovered at the Mahāmuni temple, consists of three lines on the plinth of an image originally noticed by Forchhammer and rediscovered in 1958. The script is the oldest found in Arakan, and is extremely important for the dating of the early phase of the shrine. The letters are neatly written and angular, with triangular headmarks. The medial vowels take the normal Gupta forms, as do most of the letters. *ma* , *la*  and *sa*  while derived from the forms found on the 5th century eastern Gupta inscriptions, exhibit a certain degree of local development which was to continue throughout the 6th century. *ya* is the transitional form, developed from the flat-based tripartite type, with a distinctive triangle at the left ( *yā*). A similar transition is made in the inscriptions of Kumāra Gupta I, towards the middle of the 5th century⁹². The inscription may therefore be paleographically dated to the same period.

The inscription gives the name of the image as Panāda, one of the 28 Yākṣa generals led by Kuvera, guardian of the north. This is the earliest occurrence of the name in Burma and is known also in later Mon and Burmese traditions.

The inscription reads

|| Yākṣasenāpati Panāda - mi - ca -- māle

⁹¹ J.G.de Casparis, *Indonesian Paleography* (Leiden 1975) pp.81-2 and pl.IIa

⁹² Dani pls.X, 2 and XII, 2; Fleet *CII* III, pp.53-4; *ET* II, p.210

Inscribed base of a Buddha image from Veśālī (Plate XXXIVc)

Mrohaung Museum

below, p. 241.

This fragmentary inscription consists of portions of two lines at the front of the seat of the image, and measures 3 cm. at the widest point. The characters are small and neatly engraved, and the script is characteristic of the second half of the 6th century. Notable is the superscript form of *i*, a curve to the left from the headmark and a slanting line to the right (ḍ *di*, l. 2), also found on the coins of Prīticandra (c. 578-90). *ya* has the left arm looped.

The language appears to have been fairly correct Sanskrit, as no Pali influence is noticed. The first line must have consisted of the *ye dharma* verse, although only part of the latter portion remains. The verse was probably inscribed in order to sanctify the image, a practice well-known in India and also at Śrīkṣetra. The second line recorded the donation of the image, however, the name of the donor is now lost.

1.n[i]rodaḥ evaṃvādi mahāśra

2.ye kārayati.....

Inscribed plinth (Plate XXXIVb)

Mrohaung Museum

This one line fragmentary inscription is on the narrow face of a flat grey sandstone slab which appears to have been the plinth of an image. The inscribed portion measures 23 cm. x 3.5 cm. The characters are neatly written, measuring about 1 cm. in height, in the script of the first half of the 6th century. The inscription records the gift, no doubt of the image, by a devout lay-worshipper. The phrasing is similar to the last two lines of the inscription of Nīticandra's queen.

deyo dhammā yaṃ paraṃ<c>pāsika(sya)

This is the pious gift of the devout lay-worshipper.....

Inscribed base of a Buddha image (Plate XXXIVa)

Mrohaung Museum; cf below, p. 243



This almost illegible inscription is on the base of a bronze seated Buddha image. Only the first letter, *ye*, is certain, and can be paleographically placed in the second half of the 6th century.

Fragmentary Viṣṇu image inscription (Plate XXXVIII)

Mrohaung Museum

cf below, p. 274

The few discernible untidy characters of this inscription on the base of a fragmentary image appear to be the right-hand portion of the upper line, as a single letter below could indicate a missing second line.

Ra () and *ye* () date the image to the end of the 6th or beginning of the 7th centuries.

The Paleography of the Coins


The inscribed coins, an extremely conservative series from Devacandra to Dharmacandra, and supplemented by two analogous series from south-east Bengal, serve to confirm the paleographical dating of the inscriptions and are among the most important historical sources. While the last function is treated in detail in the next chapter, the paleographical considerations are best dealt with here.

The conch and śrīvatsa coins (Plate XXXVII)

This series, which precedes the common bull and śrīvatsa type, is not generally thought to be inscribed. However, Johnston (pp.383-4) read DEVA, followed possibly by CANDRA, on the obverse of at least one of the coins, in a script identical to that of the later Deva type.

Devacandra (Plate XXXVIII, 1,2)


This and all the following coins are the common bull and śrīvatsa type.

(1) The inscription on the obverse reads  DEVA in 5th/6th century Nāgarī, and can be compared with the scripts of the Gupta

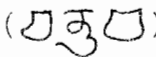

copper plates found in Bengal (Dani, pl.XI, 2-3). Phayre wrongly suggested a reading of DAMA for this coin⁹³.

(2) A second coin recently found in Arakan reads DEVA, as above, and is followed by two indistinct letters, probably CANDRA.

Yajñacandra (Plate XXXVIII,3)

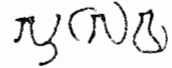

Only one coin is known and has not yet been published. The inscription reads  YAJÑACANDRA. *Ya* is tripartite; the upper portion of the letter is now unfortunately obliterated. *Ja* is the three-armed type, and the subscript *na* shows the cursive form, both common in Bengal in the 5th and 6th centuries. The lower loop of the letter, however, rises to join the *ja* vertical. This form of the conjunct is unknown elsewhere.

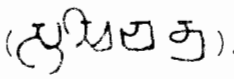
Candrabandhu (Plate XXXVIII,4)

Only one coin is known, and has not been published to date. On the obverse, in two lines, CANDRABA () and (N)DHU (). The script also corresponds to that of the Susania rock inscription of Candravarman and the 5th century Gupta copper-plates (Dani XI, 1-2). A separate sign for *ba* is noted.

Bhūmicandra (Plate XXXVIII,5-7)

Three new coins, also unpublished, are attributed to this king.

(1) On the obverse, in two lines, BHŪMICA () and NDRA (). The paleography again closely resembles the script current in Bengal during the late 5th and early 6th centuries, and the early Arakan votive inscriptions. While *mi* has a linear headmark, *ndra* is surmounted by a triangular shape. This transition took place in Bengal during the 6th century.

(2) The inscription reads BHŪMICANDRA (). The *bhū* is a variant type noticed by Dani among the Bengal copper-plates of the

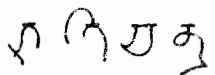
⁹³ "Coins of Arakan, of Pegu and of Burma" *Numismata Orientalia Vol. III*, p.1, p.28

of the latter half of the 5th century, while the *mi* is the usual 5th/6th century type.











(3) Only BHŪMI , in a similar script can be read, followed by two indistinct letters, probably CANDRA.

Bhūticandra (Plate XXVIII,8)



Johnston ascribed this coin to Nīticandra, but in the light of the new finds it belongs both stylistically and paleographically to Bhūticandra.

The inscription reads  . While the *bh* is the same form as found on the 6th century Bengal copper-plates, the subscript *ū* falls from the left vertical rather than the right.




Nīticandra (Plate XXXIX, 1-14)

Coins belonging to this long-lived king are numerous and vary considerably in their script⁹⁴. Linear headmarks are preferred, Medial *ī*, always superscript, is either a circle () , a u shape, () or two curves with prominence given to the right () . Medial *ī* descends to the level of the headmark, the mid-point or the entire length of the *ta* (, , ) . The curve of *ca* either joins the headmark at both ends or meets (, ) ; *-ndra* has either a hook or a curve to the right, (, ) . While some of these peculiarities are archaic, most reflect the late 6th century style of Bengal (Dani, pl.XI,3)

Vīracandra (Plate XXXIX, 15-19)





On the larger denominations, medial *ī* is always superscript, curled either to the right or left (, ) , and on specimens of the smaller denominations, the vertical medial appears. *va* usually follows the older form found on the 6th century copper-plates, the two verticals attached separately to a linear headmark, but is sometimes a triangle; *ra* has three forms: the early straight vertical, the later vertical with a tick to the left of the base, or a variation of the





⁹⁴ See, e.g., *ibid*, figs 6,22

newer form with the vertical bent slightly to the right ( ,  , ). The latter two are found on the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman, datable to the early 7th century (Dani, pl. XI, 4). The *ndra* becomes more cursive in some cases. It is remarkable that so many variations occurred during the short three-year reign of Vīracandra.

Prīticandra (Plate XL 1-6)





At least eight coins of two denominations belonging to this king are known. The specimen most frequently reproduced was first published by Latter, and was reproduced by Fryer, who read ARITACANDRA with the help of Pratapacandra Ghosh. Phayre also reproduced the coin and read the inscription as PRĪTICANDRA⁹⁵.

Medial *ī* is sometimes superscript and sometimes long ( , ); medial *ī* is usually the rounded superscript form () or a variation of it ().



The *pa* is both open and closed at the top; *t* is usually the northern form, but the Decani looped variety is also noticed ( , ). Subscript *ra* makes the usual angle from the right of the letter, and is occasionally a vertical with a straight foot-mark, a form not noticed elsewhere ( , ).

Pr̥thvicandra (Plate XL, 7-8)

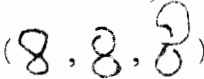
On the west face of the Shitthaung pillar inscription the name of this king is written *Pr̥thvicandra*, on the coins we find PR̥THIVĪCANDRA and PR̥THI, both acceptable variants.

Medial *ī* is superscript and florid () as well as vertical (), *ī* is superscript (). *ri* takes the southern round curved form opening to the left () unknown in Bengal during this period but common in the Southeast Asian scripts influenced by South India. Another type


⁹⁵ T. Latter, "Coins of Arakan: the Symbolical Coins" *JASB* Vol. XV (1846) pp. 238-40; G. E. Fryer, "Note on an Arakanese Coin" *JASB* Vol. 41 (1872) p. 202; Phayre, *op cit* p. 28 (coin No. 2) and pl. II, fig 2

resembles the local form of superscript *ra* () noticed among the coins of Prīticandra. *th* takes the shape found in the 6th century copper-plates of Bengal, but was apparently sometimes written with two loops from a right vertical (). A similar form is noticed in the spurious Gayā plate of Samudra Gupta, of the mid-7th century, and in the copper-plates of Harṣavardhana⁹⁶.

Dhrticandra (Plate XL 10-12)

Only three coins of this last king of the Candra dynasty are known. *ti* is the northern *kuṭīla* variety, with a vertical vowel to the left, whereas *dhṛ* is written as a larger circle over a smaller (). This is an adaptation of the southern form noticed also in the Pyedaung bell inscription and in the Sandoway Stone. The slight influence of southern scripts in the coins of the last three kings of the dynasty must be noted.

Sūriyacandra (Plate XL,13)

This formerly unknown king reigned during the confused period after the fall of the Candras. He is represented by only one unpublished coin, inscribed .






The first part of the *su* is lost, but the right vertical slants outwards, a trend first noticed in Eastern India in the early 7th century Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman; *ra* is the serpentine variety which came into favour in Bengal in the late 7th century (Dani, pl.XI,5). Medial *i* is the superscript circle noticed before, while *ya* retains the 6th century bipartite form common in Southeast Asia during the 7th century⁹⁷.

The only coins known from the dynasty of Ānandacandra are those issued by Dharmavijaya and Dharmacandra.


⁹⁶ Fleet, *C.I.I.* III, 256-7; VII 157-8

⁹⁷ Dani pl.XX,13 (Ang Chummik inscription of Jayavarman, 667 A.D.): pl.XXII,11,12 (Pra Pathom Mon inscription and Vāt Maheyang inscription, both 7th century)

Dharmavijaya (Plate XL, 15-16)


On the coins, the name is written DHARMMAVIJAYA. The vertical of *dha* () is extended below the letter towards the right. Superscript *r* is a short vertical with a triangular headmark (). These features are found in the late 7th and 8th century inscriptions of Deva kings of East Bengal (Dani pl.XI,6)⁹⁸. Certain early 7th century archaisms are retained. *va* is the triangular variety with the base sloping to the right (). *ja* is the three-armed variety with its lower arms bent down () and *ya* is still the tripartite form with an outer curl at the left curve ().

Dharmacandra (Plate XLI,1)

On the coins, the name reads DHAMMACANDRA, indicating Pali influence. There are no outstanding features in the paleography, although it might be noted that the vertical of *dha* does not protrude below the letter ().

Śrī Siṅghagandacandra (Plate XLI,3⁴)

Two unpublished coins of this king are known. While stylistically they belong to the previous group, the paleography places them long after the fall of Ānandacandra. The script is similar to that of the north face of the Shitthaung pillar inscription, and the coin can be assigned to one of the kings mentioned there, Śrī Siṅghagandapatisūracandra.

The inscription is written in two well-spaced lines. The first line has ŚRĪ  in the centre, the second, SIṂGHAGANḌACANDRA,



Paleographically all the letters can be equated with the proto-Bengali script of the late 10th and early 11th

⁹⁸ It is noteworthy that coins of Dharmavijaya were found during the Mainamati excavations in strata assignable to the Deva kings. See below, p. 173

centuries. There are only slight differences from the script used in the copper-plates of the Chandras of East Bengal during the first half of the 11th century, and all the forms may be found in the Bāngarh grant of Mahīpāla I⁹⁹.

Bull and Śrīvatsa coins minted in East Bengal

The 'Yarikriya' coins (Plate XLI, 5-10)

This, the largest group of coins, was not minted in Arakan as was previously thought, but in East Bengal. The general description and historical implications are dealt with more fully in the next chapter. In the literature, the coins are usually referred to as the 'Yarikriya' coins, after Phayre's first tentative reading¹⁰⁰. His reading was slightly altered by Smith to Yārikriya¹⁰¹, and this was accepted by Bidyabinod and Botham¹⁰². Johnston queried these readings, but offered no alternative. Barnett suggested either *Carikota* or *Harikota*¹⁰³, and Ramachandran's reading of a later degenerate specimen was *Paṭikerya*¹⁰⁴. Dani, who had access to the hoards found during the Mainamatī excavation read *Paṭṭikera* on some coins, and regarded this as the name of the mint from which they were issued. He also regarded the eight coins from a Sylhet hoard published by McDowell as variants of *Pariketa*: a mistake for *Paṭikera*, the letters *ra* and *ta* being transposed. He further stated

⁹⁹ cf Dani, "Maināmati Plates of the Chandras" *Pakistan Archaeology* III, 1969, pp.22-55; S.N.Chakravarti, "Development of the Bengal Alphabet from the fifth century to the end of Muhammadan rule" *JASB Letters*, Vol.IV, 1938, pp.351-391. See his fig.II (p.369) col.VII Bāngarh Grant of Mahīpāla I (c.995-1043 A.D.); *ET* Vol. XIV pp.324ff; *JASB* Vol.LXI, pp.77ff.

¹⁰⁰ *op cit* p.30

¹⁰¹ *Cat. of Coins in the Indian Museum* p.331, pl.XXX.10.

¹⁰² *ibid* Suppl. p.99; A.W.Botham, *Cat. of Prov. Coin Cabinet, Assam* p.573

¹⁰³ in D.W. McDowell, "Eight Coins of Arakan from Sylhet" *Numismatic Chronicle*, XX, p.230

¹⁰⁴ B.C.Law, Vol.II, p.217, pl.V, 1

that the Mainamatī coins were discovered at a level which clearly belongs to the Buddhist Candra rulers of East Bengal, and therefore, "all the coins that have been so far read as *Yarikriya* and attributed to the Candra rulers of Arakan should now be read as *Paṭikera* and ascribed to the Candra rulers of East Bengal¹⁰⁵." This theory supposes a gap of three centuries in the series, and cannot be supported by stylistic or paleographic evidence. As we have seen, Ānandacandra or his immediate successors were deposed around the middle of the 8th century, and Dani himself has given the date of the first Candra king of Samatāṭa and Vaṅga, Trailokyacandra, as 900 A.D..

Dani's student, Harunur Rashid, queried the hypothesis on the grounds that the "Yarikriya" coins were recovered from levels definitely associated with the 8th century early Deva kings of East Bengal¹⁰⁶. Phayre dated the coins to the 8th/9th centuries A.D.¹⁰⁷, as did Johnston¹⁰⁸. Smith assigned them to the 8th-10th centuries A.D.¹⁰⁹, while McDowell, on the basis of the eight Sylhet coins, placed them in the period between the fall of the first Candra dynasty (c.600 A.D.) and the accession of Ānandacandra (c. 720 A.D.)¹¹⁰.

Rashid, however, indicated that although all the 'Yarikriya' legends are basically the same, the script varies considerably,

¹⁰⁵ *JNSI* XXIV, pp.141-2

¹⁰⁶ Harunur Rashid, *The Early History of Southeast Bengal in the light of Recent Archaeological Study* Ph.D. thesis (unpublished) Cambridge, 1968.

¹⁰⁷ *op cit* p.30

¹⁰⁸ *op cit* p.372

¹⁰⁹ *Cat of Coins in the Indian Museum*, p.331

¹¹⁰ *op cit* p.231

indicating paleographic development over a long period. He noted that the script, while deriving from those of East Bengal, seems to have developed on independent lines more akin to the scripts of Arakan¹¹¹. His reading, *Harikēla*, is to my mind the most satisfactory, and as his thesis is not yet published, his arguments will be summarised here in the light of the recently discovered Arakan epigraphs.

The old readings may be analysed thus :-

Authority	Legend				
	1st letter	2nd letter	3rd letter	4th letter	
Phayre	ya	ri	kri	ya	8/9th cent.
Cunningham	a	ri	kri	ya	" "
Smith	yā	ri	kri	ya	8/10th
Barnett	ca	ri	ko	ta	""
"	ha	ri	ko	to	""
Ramachandran	pa	ṭi	ke	rya	""
Dani	pa	ṭi	ke	ra	10/11th

There is little controversy over the second and third letters: the former being read by all except Ramachandran and Dani as *ri*, and the basic element of the latter has always been read as *k*. *ra* here is almost universally the form with a slant at the foot, as found in the Faridpur plates of the 6th century¹¹², the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman of the 7th century¹¹³ and other Eastern Indian epigraphs of the same period¹¹⁴.

¹¹¹ *op cit* p.349
pp.476ff.

¹¹³ *EI* XII, pp.65ff

¹¹⁴ cf Dani, *op cit* pl.XI, ll.3,4; Chakravarti, *op cit* fig.2, cols IV,V,VI

¹¹⁵ *Indian Antiquary*, XXI, p.29ff

¹¹² *Ind Ant* XXXIX, pp.195ff; *JASB* NS VII,

The third letter, a variety of *ka*, initially with a slant at the base of the vertical (𑀓𑀔𑀕) is the same as that found in the Bower MS of the early 6th century¹¹⁶. The form is rare in Bengal, and hence the slant was mistaken for the vowel *ṛ*. On the later Mainamatī coins the character becomes the fully developed looped variety of *ka*, with a tick to the right, as found in the Nidhanpur and Khadga plates¹¹⁷. The medial *e* is very clear on the Mainamatī and Sylhet coins, and Dani's reading of this element is correct.

The initial and final letters, *ha* and *la*, clearly derive from scripts current in Eastern India during the Gupta period, but subsequently developed marked peculiarities in isolation. These are best illustrated by the following chart:

	Bengal copper-plates 5th-6th centuries (after Dani, Chakra- Varti)	Veśālī copper-plate beginning c. 6th	Inscriptions of Nīti- & Viracandra	Early Harikela	Late Harikela
la	𑀓 𑀔 ^{lā}	𑀓 ^{lā} 𑀔	𑀔	𑀓𑀔𑀓	𑀓𑀔𑀓
ha	𑀕 ^{hā} 𑀖 ^{hī}	𑀕 𑀖	𑀕 ^{he} 𑀖 ^{hā}	𑀕𑀖𑀕	𑀕𑀖𑀕

The script shows a development from the 6th/7th century style of Arakan, and reflects changes noted in the epigraphs of Southeast Bengal in the 7th and 8th centuries and later. Rashid, has, quite correctly, suggested that the new reading, Harikela, represents the name of the mint or

¹¹⁶ Dani, *loc cit* 114,5; *EI* XII, pp.73-76; *MASB* i, No.6, pp.89-91

¹¹⁷ *JASB* NS XVI (1920) Num.Suppl. XXXIII, p.85, pl.XIII 3-7

or country of issue of the coins, and must be equated with the well-known ancient division of Bangladesh by that name. The important historical implications of this new reading will be discussed below.

Coins of the "Ākara dynasty" (Plate XLI, 11-14)

This series, of unknown provenance, consists of four inscribed bull and *śrīvatsa* coins, introducing, according to R.D.Banerji's reading, the following four kings of an "Ākara dynasty" assignable on paleographic grounds to the 10th century A.D.¹¹⁸

1. Lalitākara (Banerji's pl.XIII,3)
2. Ramyākara (pl.XIII,4)
3. Pradyumnākara (pl.XIII,5)
4. Antākara or Annākara (pl.XIII,6)

Banerji's reading cannot be confirmed from his rather indistinct reproduction of the coins, but the discovery of two better preserved specimens with the legend of Lalitākara from the 8th/9th century levels at Maināmati seems to support the above reading and postulation of an Ākara dynasty¹¹⁹.

Johnston (p.372) considered that these coins "may follow fairly closely on Ānandacandra". Although the reproductions of these few coins are poor, the script appears to lie between those of the Khadga copper-plates and the Bādal pillar inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla, that is, in about the middle of the 9th century¹²⁰.

¹¹⁸ *JASB* NS XVI (1920) Num.Suppl.XXXIII,p.85,pl.XIII.3-7

¹¹⁹ cf Harunur Rashid, *op cit* p.346

¹²⁰ cf Dani, pl.XI,5; S.N.Chakravarti,*op cit* fig II, cols.V and VI.