CHAPTER TWO

THE 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 praṣasti, which provide the framework for the political history. Of the four extant praṣasti, 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 praṣasti, 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 praṣasti 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 communications\(^1\). 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 Pālākataka.

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 portfolio 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 Mahâmunî 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 inscriptions on the east face of the Shâlthaujâg pillar and the reverse of the Gârya 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 Arab, the script appears to have developed along fairly independent lines after the fall of Vaiśali, at the end of the century, and shows independent contact with Anthapura. The South Indian derived Pâla script used for Pâli inscriptions, similar to other Southeast Asian scripts of about the 6th century, is used once for recording a religious text. Only two 6th century inscriptions remain, in a completely different script, revealing renewed contact with the northern Buddhist areas, notably Mathurâ. One Pâla inscription from Sandowayi 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 Shâlthaujâg 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 Amâhdâdâna's prabhâcit, which contains the invaluable dynastic lists, to c. 729 A.D. Thus the copper-plate inscription, which records a land grant made by Mâdhâna's queen in the 11th
year of the reign, can be similarly assigned to a 507 A.D., and
the votive inscriptions of Mibhasara's queen and Vāravīḍa 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 prāṇāṅgaś 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
Ānandavardhana’s prāṇāṅgaś. The influence of Pali, the result of
contact with the Theravāda of Śrīlanka 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
Māhāvīraśāstra, provides further evidence of contact with
the Southern schools. The Pyu inscription from Sandway 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 area. An Austro-Asiatic substratum can perhaps be
discerned in village names with Lak and Lakk, from *Lak "limbing
stick". Hence, in Ānandavardhana’s prāṇāṅgaś, rājvakkt (1.56),
Mahakāsanta (1.36), Bhāravivaraṇaśāla (1.60) and in the copper-
plate śrikāṭājāta (1.14). Lakk is still retained in a few villages

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2 I am grateful to John Gell, of the Burmese Department at SOAS, and
to David Bradley, Linguistics, ANU, for their suggestions.
3 cf. A.H. Beal "Race and Culture Complex in Bengal" in Social Research
in East Pakistan (ed. P. Benschmidt) (Dacca 1961) p.123
names in the area, notably, Uralikha and Viralikha, both near Wetall. By the 5th century the impact of Tibeto-Burman migrations is seen mainly in the names of the queens of the Cunda rulers. Thus "kov" the proto-Western Tibeto-Burman "house", and the Tibeto-Burmese female suffix "de", in Kintondi, Rindaldevi and Kimajuridvi of the copper-plate, and Kimeyanka on the 6th century bell inscription. In the last name, you may be a rare root for neither found in some Tibeto-Burmese languages. The gift-village of the copper-plate, Debōgutta, could conceivably be derived from Sanskrit Bīguttara, "northern or upper direction", the intrusive nasal due to Tibeto-Burmese influence, as for instance, in Satanasikha, the "classical" name for Shwebo, derived by some from Pall śīka or sīka. Again in the copper-plate, two words connected with irrigated rice agriculture have counterparts further west. Bengali jōlī "channel", also found in Assam in the Guākuchi grant as jōli "channel", appears in Śrīlakajolā, one of the boundaries of Debōgutta village. Vādā McCormick, another boundary, is derived from Bengali kallī "canal", kall and kōlā are still used for "stream" in northern Assam, notably more frequently towards the Bangladesh border. Vādā may be derived from Prakrit/ Pall vādika, "crooked, bent", again introducing a before k. Another Prakritism is noticed in "Vādā", in a proper name of 1.5 of the votive inscription from Syālamah in Sarnāwa district.

Within each group, the inscriptions have been arranged chronologically. The usual Epigraphics Indice 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.

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4 P.C. Choudhury, Civilization of the People of Assam (Guwahati 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 a after a final e, a raised comma has been used.

The Prakrits

The Shitthaung Pillar

The framework of the history of Arakan is found in the inscriptions of the Shitthaung pillar. 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 ancestor but also the wealth of the man who erected it. The pillar is said to have been brought from Vessali to Meiktila, and placed at the northern entrance of the Shitthaung-para ("shrine of 50,000 images") by King Minchin, the 12th of the Mrauk-U dynasty, who reigned over Arakan from 1531 to 1595. It fell during the bombardment in the Second World War and has been re-created in a cage near the same entrance. The pillar is square, rising to a height of 3.1m 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 DalaHmat and in the early sculpture of Vessali; the stone exhibits no ornamental designs.

5 First noticed by Forchhammer, Arakan... p.20
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 (0.3m 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-rotated 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 ekaśravatīn monarch (wheel) holds sway. The motif constantly appears in
ancient Arakamede art, and is discussed more fully below (pp.152-1,265-92).

At the upper end of the wheel is a square hole sunk into the stone, 0.13m deep, 0.75m long and 0.81m broad; next follows a circular cup-like hole 0.13m 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 0.7m, 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 Dharmachakra, the lotus and the couch, 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 (St. torana) forcibly calls to mind the "turning of the wheel of the Law", the essential function of the Buddhist Cakkavatasa 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 axis of the lintel was depicted as merging into the pillar, on which, as we will see, the continuity of the Dharmachakra of the Arakamede Cakkavatasa kings was recorded.

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

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6 See J. Irwin, "Arakan Pillars; a reassessment of the evidence" I The Burlington Magazine Vol. CVII (Nov 1973) pp.706-20 and p.18 to be published in the same journal late in 1976. K. Shorto has suggested that similar octagonal steles found at various archaeological sites in Burma may be 'slating' markers of the centre of a city. ("The SC Pyre...", ANOAS XXIII (1963) p.91)
around the upper portion is identical to that of the obikku on the
lintel, the lotus petal in each corner suggesting that the effect
of the royal power 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 Mahakāndi temple, and was taken to
Veṣali before the time of the second inscription. Its significance
was still remembered in the 16th century, when Minhla had it re-erected
at his remarkable royal shrine, the Shwethalya-paya.

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 emphasized. 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 Aśoka, whose himself could produce
only a royal father and grandfather. By implication, therefore, the
eruction, 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 country.".

The East Face (Plates VII and IV)

In Pla. COMMVT-VII, Arch Maga 213X-6 (1920-21)

Forschammer's note... 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 1900s, 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 Forschammer 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, as is doubled after rs in marga. The script closely resembles that of the 6th century Gupta copper-plates of Bengal and, like the earlier of these, retains some 5th century characteristics. The letters are small, averaging about 8 mm in height, and are neatly written. The beakmarks, 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 Vattara Bell (1776 A.D.) once at the northeast corner of the third platform of the Mahauni pagoda described by Forschammer op cit pp.IX-12. Hence "To warn 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 Gondax near at Gondalath and let the Vattara 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.N. Dani Indian Palaeography (Oxford 1963) pl.XI, 3
initial σ ((QStringLiteral) which occasionally appears as an apparently variant local form (하시는) not found elsewhere, and a form of medial ẖ which, apart from taking the actual superscript curve to the left (ካ), is also depicted as an ornate angular scroll (ץ), seemingly a direct development from the style of the Meharkali Posthumous pillar inscription of Candrā. Ζα has the left arm shorter than the right (자는), 꼴 is a circle (_circle), 껍 has the left arm curved (_curve), 꾰 takes both the 5th and 6th century forms (_casti ), 꾰 is tripartite, with a slanting right half and left half curved outward in the 6th century manner (_casti ). 꾰(_casti,_casti,_casti ) and 꾰 (_casti ) 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 Bhūmicaṇḍra or Bhūmi- caṇḍra, who, as we will see later, ruled between c. 549-520 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 Ṛṣṭhika to Veśāli. 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 Pragāyotīṣa where Haryupāṣvaraṇa is recorded as having performed two horse sacrifices at this time. On the other hand, it may be

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9 CII III. pl.XXIA
10 B.M.Morrison, Political Control and Cultural Regions in Early Bengal (Cuasoc 1970) pp. 77ff.
that the disruption was caused by an invasion of Tibeto-Himalayan speakers from the east as the linguistic evidence of later inscriptions appears to indicate.

The West Face (Plates X and XI)

Professor of Anækandara, 9th regnal year

Although Forchhammer (op cit p.20) first brought this inscription to the notice of scholars, it was not until 1905, when Durandell sent an apparently inferior set of rubbings to the Government Epigraphist in India, that a preliminary account was published in ASI 1925-26 pp.136-8 and ASR 1925-26, pp.27-30 and 59-62.

A number of misconceptions found in this reading have been perpetuated by some Indian scholars. Under the instigation of Professor Lucas, a new set of rubbings, prepared by his able assistant U Selin 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. Chakravarti, one-time Government Epigraphist for India, Johnston made an almost complete annotated transliteration of the inscription intended for Epigraphia Birmundica. 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 ASOS XI (1944) prepared by Lucas "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 JB IV (pls.CCCXVIII and CCCXIX), together with a bibliography. Although the importance of the inscription was now recognized, it was not until P.C. Siriwardena's article "Inscriptions of the Caudras of Arakan" in SI XXII made new observations about the date and edited three new Caudra 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 Su in his paper "Anandacandra's Sanskrit Inscription" in the Union of Burma Journal of Literary and Social Sciences Vol. II, 3 (Sept 1969) and again by the "Journal of Higher Education", the enthusiastic student of Arakanese culture U San Thaung in his book "Anandacandra'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 Vatavesadēva's inscription at Nikandā, noting however the difference in the form of चन which in the Nikandā inscription is of the older type, whereas in the other, the resemblance to an ordinary चन 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 at east Bengal, namely the Asatāc Society Plate of Bhavadeva and his two unpublished Salban Vihāra plates.12 Morrison has shown that the Devas must have ruled between c. 685-765, Bhavadeva being the 1st King of the Dynasty13. The only notable difference between the Arakan and Bengal styles at this period is the letter ฐ which Anandacandra writes ढ or न and Bhavadeva ठ or ठ14.

11 Of Sondhmarikar's list No. 2109; E7 XX pp.37ff.
12 D.C.Sircar, "Copper-plate inscription of King Bhavadeva of Devaparvata" JAS Letters XVII (1951) pp.88-91; Daní op. cit p.35 and pls. XII and b, no.9; P.I.Khan, Mathurati, a Preliminary Report on theRecent Archeological 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 Harsha's conquests and which continued after the establishment of the Pala empire.

Another noteworthy peculiarity is the sign given to consonants when they occur at the end of a hemistich, in place of the विस्तार used at Mālānā. Thus क (१०) १.२२, क (१०) ११.२६, ष (१३) ११.३०, औ (१०) ११.३२, ए (१३) ११.३३, ए (११) ११.३६, ए (१३) ११.३८, ब (११) ११.३५, र (१०) ११.३१, ए (११) ११.३७, ए (१०) ११.३८. Johnson quoted as precedents for this, the Bodhagaya inscription of Mahānāman, 11.2 and 6, for final म, and 1.13 for final न. These considerations, too, would indicate a date in the first half of the 8th century.

Bhairavat attributed a more precise date, noting that Yasovarman reigned from c. 725-54 A.D. and assigned the Mālānā inscription to c. 759 A.D. thereby dating Ṭambacandra's prakāsha in the same year. Internal evidence unnoticed by both Johnston and Bhairav also supports the date. V.61 records that Āṇandacandra sent gifts to the "noble congregation of monks in the land of King Śilamegha". This king can be identified as ajjagoda IR of Ceylon (71.727-66) whose throne name was Śilamegha14.

Johnston has noted that the 65 verses exhibit "a rather daggari style marked by several selections." A prose sentence is interpolated between verses 45 and 46. The first verse is almost completely illegible; the rest are ordinary aṣṭamah (śoka), except verses 40, 61, 63, 64 and 65 in upajāti, 52 and 59 in mixed śabdajñāna and āhārasthā and 32, 42, 47 and 62 in uṣmantālasaka. Pada 2 of verse 44 in uṣmantālasaka metre ends in a short syllable instead of a long one, which, the learned editor writes, was "a licence which Śivageyha also

14 Śilamegha I, 46, 61-65, cf Geiger's revised list in his Cultures of Ceylon ed. R. S. Coudert (Kielshausen 1960) p. 285
allowed himself" (Sanadāvara vii, 68). The remainder of the peculiarities inconsistent with the classical Sanskrit metre are all common in BH verse. Notable are a short vowel remaining short before a in v.24, before ā in v.32 and before ə in v.51. In v.18 the ā in "harmāṇə" has been shortened for metrical reasons. The first pāda of v.20 is hypometric. There are some cases of double adhi, in one of which a long syllable has also been shortened to suit the metre, namely v.46, Ṛkārakaṇa for Ṛkārakānō, v.47 Camāšānāhī for Camāśāndhī, v.49 pādāyāmayānākā for "pādāyānākā", and in v.51, the compound "rājājānākā" is presumably meant for "rājājānākā". Again because of the metre, the nominative ending -ə has been shortened to -a, e.g. v.41, ānandamīrṇa for ānandamīrṇa, and v.62, Śrīvajjapattamavarṇālīpa for "po. In v.21, nagara is treated as masculine, and in v.30, upabhoga as neuter. ānojana is written as ānojana in 326, 326 and 43b. kusamana occasionally used for kusamana, in 33a treated as neuter, the āndrakā for āndrakā, and the āndrakā for āndrakā. 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 āndrakā after the tenth akṣara in 1.3 marks 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 inventory verse,
Hence his tentative reading of Bodhisattva (which cannot be confirmed) in 1. 1 would be part of an incantatory stanza to the Buddha, and śrañja in the middle of 1. 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, Śraddha dhāraṇa 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 Kālhana's Rajatarangini. The legible names of the six kings who each rule for 120 years suggest a Purānic tradition which did not survive the rewriting of the chronicles by Theravāda Buddhist

historians at a later date. This is followed by a list of rulers with more realistic reign lengths, distinguished by a preponderance of non-Dravidian names, suggesting a semi-historical tradition of events taking place in the 3rd to 4th centuries A.D. The first of these is Chandragupta, who is said to have reigned for 27 years. Johnston was inclined to equate him with Chandravirya of the Chronicles, which gives 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 into account the varying methods of computing time, 146 may well be correct. The Aranamalai historians, in the later period at least, paid great attention to chronology, thereby establishment of eras and the proper order of the seasons necessary to the maintenance of fertility and prosperity was guaranteed. In any case, Chandragupta 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 Agaveta 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 non-Indian, and some are doubtful readings, the list running:

Rishyapā (1), 23 years
Kaveri, a queen, 7 years
Omavirya, son of the preceding, 20 years
Jaga (1), 7 years
Lezazi, 2 years

A form of unilinear descent is noticed in the relationship between Kaveri and Omavirya. 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 a.d. 650. Taking 1,060 years to be correct, it appears that the first reign was calculated to begin in a.d. 650 B.C., coinciding with the first year of the era initiated by Gautama Buddha's grandfather, King Minama, in 691 B.C. 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 Vesali 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 Mahāvamsa tradition, into the later chronicles. This was most conveniently said to have taken place during the reign of Candra Sriya, who, as we have seen, was very probably the semi-historical progenitor Candradaya of the inscription. The length of the

16 A.M. Irwin, The Burmese and Arabo-Moslem Calendars (Rangoon 1909) p. 2; of the St Roy P. Nilander The Life or Legend of Gautama, the Buddha of the Burmese (London 1880) vol. 11, p. 155.
Dvācendra, dynasty founded by Candrasārya 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 Veṣālī from about 788-1059 A.D. The Candra dynasty of the inscription can be seen to have ruled from c 370-600 A.D., initially at Dvācendra and later at Veṣālī. Thus, adopting Ulrich's chronology, we have:

1. Dvācendra 55 years c 370-425 A.D.
2. Bāḷacandra 20 " " 425-445 "
3. Bāḷacandra 9 " " 445-454 "
4. Devacandra 22 " " 454-476 "
5. Yaḷacandra 7 " " 476-483 "
6. Candrabhanu 6 " " 483-489 "
7. Puṇimacandra 7 " " 489-496 "
8. Bṛhatacandra 24 " " 496-520 "
9. Mitacandra 55 " " 520-575 "
10. Vīra or Vīracandra 3 " " 575-578 "
11. Pratīcandra 12 " " 578-590 "
12. Prthvīcandra 7 " " 590-597 "
13. Dhṛticandra 3 " " 597-600 "

The name of the founder of the dynasty, Dvācendra, may, as Johnston suggested, be the equivalent of modern Burmese dawd /"region/ 17
The Sanskrit names of all the following kings indicate increased Indian influence at court, possibly the result of Gupta invasions further west. Dvācendra 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 Dvācendra (Skt. Dhānyaśvati, Burmese Dbyihgyawadi) where the archaeological evidence points to occupation in the late 5th and early 6th centuries. Nothing is mentioned of the

17 luxc assures me that the statement "its Sanskrit equivalent would apparently be जयम्," in the text, p. 340, is a misprint.
shift of the capital to Vesali, which apparently took place at the begin-
ning of the 6th century. The name of Candraghanta suggests that he
was a reunifier of the country, and he must have ruled during a period
of confusion which led to the move southward. The remaining kings are
generally described with the usual clichés, although it is noteworthy
that both Devavarm and Mitra varman are likened to Indra, the divine
royal prototype of Buddhist kingship in Southeast Asia. During the
long reign of the renowned Mitra varman, 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
Madhura and to the early Chalukyan art of Badami.

The Candra kings are said to have sprung from the line of Iśa,
which must mean Siva, although descent from Siva is not met with in
Indian tradition, and Śivite remains from the period are few. However,
a contemporary king of funen and Chenla, Bhavavarman (6 350–600)
claimed to be a "protégé of Siva" and also to belong to a lunar (Candra)
dynasty. 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 Candra of northern Aryan. It should
be noted also that at this time the Varan 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
Śrīśaṅka of Śrīśaṅka led to a treaty between Harṣavardhana of Kannūj and
Bhavavarman of Prajñāgotiṣa, circumstances which no doubt affected
Aryan at the time.19

Khanavaran (6 56–607) whose capital, Kāśvapura, has been identified as
modern Sumber Proi Kuk (Candhā, Independence States... pp.69–70), a site
with which the early sculpture of Aryan has certain stylistic affin-
ities

19 Cf. XXX p.451
The inscription implies that after the fall of the Candrasena 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 Pā崖a image inscription do not conform with the Pā崖eśvara list. First comes Mahāvidya, king of Pā崖purā, 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 Old Āśaka. The question has been discussed by Lévi who successfully identified the list of places in the Mahāvidya, 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., Naranagūra, but the Burmese MSS. read Paramāṇa and Pā崖purā, and the Thai have Paramāṇa and Pā崖purā; the best authenticated form of the variants is Pā崖purā, 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 Katabola survived in the name of the island of Katabela. Immediately below this on the coast Ptolemy placed a centre of commerce called Barakura, which may be equated with Pā崖purā. Johnston therefore suggested that the site of the town would lie on the coast between Akyab and Katabela, and thought that modern Prome, on the Arakanese bank of the Naaf river, the traditional border between Bengal and Arakan, would be most likely. Prome (Prome, Paujil) appears in the curious list of the 196 ancient and modern cities in Arakan, 99 or each side of the Ganges Nāff (Kaladan river) given in the Arakanese MS of the Saddhaṭṭhāṇapakaranam.

22 "Ptoleææe, le Mittela et le Śrīvatsathā" in Études Asiatiques (Paris 1923) pp. 23-25
This identification would appear to be almost certainly correct, as directly opposite Bruma, on the west bank of the Naaf, we find the village of Barapara. 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. Vrajajap (or Vrajajap) was followed by Savīra (2), accorded the curious epithet of Vīrakajirīṣa. Johnston suggested that Vrajajap 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 15 years may not be coincidental, but artificial. The number twelve represents the reestablishment of the king's dharmas and his ability to bring forth rain, and it is likely that the court astronomer, faced with a dearth of information almost a century later, imposed this suspicious reign length on half-remembered kings to indicate the continuance of royal

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21 Forchhammer, Archea pp. 61-67
During this period, if we accept Sirca's dating of the inscription, it can be shown that the following king, Dharmasura, attained the throne in 639 A.D., that is, one year after the introduction of the Gupta era, the Burmese common era, said in the Arakanese chronicles to have been arranged in conjunction with the Pāyu kings. The era apparently also inaugurated a new wave of Indian influence. Contact with the Mahāyāna centres of northern India is apparent both from the script and the content of the inscription. The safety of the land routes after Harsha of Kannuj, himself a follower of the Mahāyāna, would have been a major factor in popularizing this form of the religion. Dharmasura was followed by Vaivarsakā (fl.c 653-665), the grandfather of Anandavasudeva, again described as Indra among monarchs. He is said to have originated in the Deer family, which recalls the Pura dynasty of East Bengal, whose date Morrison gives as c. 635-762.

12. J.M. Haskell, "The Symbolic Significance of the Number Twelve in Ancient India," JAS XXI (1962-63) pp.88-98. He notes, however, that the Mahâvâsas XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX, XXXI, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXV, XXXVI lists a number of kings who ruled for only 12 years, and that traditions did exist in which the tenure of rulership was fixed for a twelve-year period. In the province of Câllicara, about 60 miles 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 Câllicara 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. CPR III, p.330; A.M.B. Irvin, op cit p.269

24. op cit p.25
However, the family is more fully described with reference to 
Śrīśrīdharmaśāntaka in v.62 as śrīśrīdharmaśāntaka and in v.63 as Śrīśrīdharmaśāntaka. Johnston assumed that the term referred
to the egg of Brahmā, and deduced an origin for the family from
Brahmā and Manū, the latter the traditional progenitor of the ten lines
of kings, thus claiming a pure Kṣatriya origin for the dynasty.
Barnett disagreed, equating Śrīśrīdharma with Śrīharana "bird", thus seeing
Śrīśrīdharma as synonymous with Śrīharana-vāhaka or Śrīharana-vāhaka.
However, in Burmese, the śrīśrīdharma appears to have been one of the
more important royal lines in both Pagan and Burmese history.

The word dānakāśālasyaṇītā recalls the six Paramitās and
suggests that Vajraśakti was a follower of the Mahāyāna.

Vajraśakti was succeeded by Dharmaśalya, who ruled for thirty-
six years. Coins issued by him have been found as far apart as Kwayde,
near Ayeyawady, 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
got to the Tūṣita 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, Narendravāja, who reigned for only two years and nine
months. Another son of Vajraśakti, Dharmaśrī, possibly by a
different queen, then came to the throne. He is described as "belong-
ing to the lineage of the Lord" (śrīvīva), a title not shared by
his immediate predecessors, but used of the earlier Candras dynasty.

His name, and another allusion to the moon in the epigraph dvaramahā-
vyavasana, "moon of valiant kings" suggests that his mother was connected
with the earlier dynasty. In the inscription, the correct Sanskrit
75 e.g. 290, pp. 30-39
form of his name is used, but his coins bear the Prakritic form
Dhema, 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 Upādānakā in v.54. The reference to Cunda and
the Muhikavatās in v.47, Dhāraparvata in v.54 show that he too
was a follower of the Mahāyāna. He did not, however, neglect the
local Brahman, the bearers of Sanskrit culture at court, building
the four mūtakas named after himself, provides with land, servants
and musicians. The Brahmans of Somatisa, mentioned in v.56 may
have originated from that famous Indian centre. He also repaired
"past" 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 Ānandāśaya vihāra mentioned in v.46 is retained
today by the monastery at Letkhet-toung in Methali village. He
caused to be made Buddha images in metal, ivory, wood, stucco and stone,
and innumerable votive stūpas in clay, a practice also attested at
Mainamati, where hundreds of tiny clay stūpas containing relics and
stamped with texts were found during the Salban Vihaṇa excavation.
The reference to gold and silver stūpas 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 metals. 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 Ānandamarga.

27 I have seen many bronzo open-sided square shrines containing Budha
images in monastery collections in northern Arakan. Stylistically
they appear to belong to the Pyagō 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 Pagán.

Anandasamudra 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.25) Anandasamudra's Buddhist affiliations led him to welcome monks from "diverse places" presenting them with copper bowls and silk (1) robes (v.53) The connection with the Buddhist centres of Malavikā, Majulasa, 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 rent (Rakamakara) a cow elephant and brilliant robes (of silk?) to the noble bhikkhus there (v.61). In later centuries at least, the Cittakasas (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 Ceylon. Alschmutzha (fl. 1113-1150/60?) 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 metro in this sense (v.53 and 61). This would certainly have been most unorthodox, but may reflect at aspect of the China silk trade which has not yet been investigated. The inscription ends with an account of Anandasamudra's marriage to Dhami, daughter of Manadhira, King of Than Baptist (v.62) whose capital was Sir Pottana (v.65) The manner in which the union is described shows that it was a matter of exceptional importance. It appears that Manadhira had responded to a request by the

28) Huttman, Iconography... pp. 118-134, OBD II, pls. 475-6, III pp. 110-1
Arakanese king, and that a treaty of "happy friendship" ensued.

Arakan may well have been threatened from the south, where the Pala citadel of Sonkṣetra were at the height of their power, or from the east, where the invasions of Yasovarman I of Funan had unsettling repercussions in southeast Bengal, leading to the downfall of the Pālas and the rise of the Devas. The union, therefore, may have been seen as of strategic value - a strategy which, it seems, did not succeed, as we hear no more of the dynasty after the inscription, and archaeological remains dateable to the ensuing century are scarce. The identification of Vīrayudha is uncertain. The country is not mentioned in Indian inscriptions, although the capital and its variants (Koke, Tonya, Tama) often occurs in place names on both sides of the Bay of Bengal. The ruling family is said to have sprung from the Sailendras line, which suggests a South Indian origin. It is tempting to suggest that Sailendras was meant, inferring that the family traced its origin to the Parājiga Sailendras, or whose power was centred at Śrīśailam on the Krishna river, almost halfway between the mouth and the Gātika capital of Pālam. Records "river 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 breasts. The name Nakshatra is only mentioned once, again in the south, where it was borne by the composer of the Veḷḷaipāḷiyan plates. The strong influence of Gātika art


[32] *South Indian Inscriptions II*, p.908
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 Bilakka may be modern Chaukgilla, 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 padhāni.

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.
v.4. (1) tato rī (yaj)ad - [ta] -[ma]jaśata d(e)va
[abāste - - 2] bhāṅgālo varṣāyā vidāvākākṣe sataḥ ||

v.5 [pr]jra(v)ṛtho(ṇ)pl uśagālo (5) lokāṃgrāhatatpurṣaḥ
[rajya]ḥ 2 tena kṛtām taṣa[ma]GU vargavrīdātītām sataḥ ||

v.6 Ṛṣyāyana nāmā tato rājā lok.-[janita]-ya (6) kīt|
Cakrādīṭapī ṛguyā varṣāyā vidāvākākṣe sataḥ ||

v.7 Tunis Bahubali bhūkṣṇa [pa] jñor dhrityaoviśeṣānāḥ |
Kṛtā ca kṛtī (7) tena rājya vargavrīdātīkṣaṃ sataḥ ||

v.8 Tato Dṛgājapī ṛguyā varṣāyā viṣitākṣa[ma]n
[Ca]kāra.- -[ta]śa rājya var[ya] (8) viṣitākṣe sataḥ ||

v.9 t(a)ya[ya] Viṣrava-deva-pravāhan 2 = mahābhūta |
viśāvadā[ny]- - - - - - - rājya kṛtā ||

v.10 (9) Tato Candradya naṃ bhūkṣṇa nāḥaṇaṃnataḥ |
Saptaviśāṣṭi varṣāyā rājya yenaṃmaśākṛtākṣaṃ ||

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Para 3 artha here is possible but very archaic.

3 Read rājyaḥ

3 EMJ read cakāra... ILS suggested cakrādīṭapo, although there is no clear trace of a long vowel after the first r, and rī would be a mistake for ri.

4 EMJ Alternatively the reading in d is viśāvadānyo, in which case there is no word for year.

5 ILS presumably read Dṛgājapī.

6 EMJ read T(a)ya[ya]... ILS suggested taṇya - -denaḥ

7 ILS. The first syllable of this phāsa is possibly ya, the second perhaps ka.
v.11 Appavata- (10) māhād divam sat tv anekāhā

v.12 Tatpācān appavāra - - - - (11) savyam viśārādāḥ

v.13 Vibhūyatān bhūpatīn cārtā dāna ... (12) tiḥ

v.14 Niśvāpya9 tato devi abhimāni .... |

v.15 (13) Saptābhāna tato rūpam ca kārārīvamūrtyām12]

v.16 Jivaṁvaya,13 tato bāhūḥ ca sāvasattvahīṁhatāḥ |

10 Kṣetram read "ksētraṁ/taḥ"
11 Kṣetram read "ksētraṁ/taḥ"; LDB "Appavēya"
12 LDB Comparison with verse 420 suggests that the poet wrongly took mahād as a feminine vowel-stem.
13 For Jivaṁvaya
10. EM: read **Lo**\(^{2}\)\(^{3}\) but LBS suggested that the first vowel is a short curve above the \(\text{l}\) to the right, somewhat like the \(\text{f}\) in *spāṭha* in the inscription of Yasovaman, line 12 (S.I. XX, p.43). A similar \(\text{f}\) is also found in the Tipserah grant of Vakasena at E.I. XV 301-15; N.Chakravarti loc cit p.369

11. A syllable is missing here, EM: read *\(\text{v}\)*\(\text{[p\text{a}] [\text{a}] [\text{i}] [\text{a}]\)*, while LBS suggested a reading of *\(\text{prep}\)*\(\text{[p\text{a}] [\text{a}] [\text{a}] [\text{h}] [\text{a}]\)* the Vedic perfect of *\(\text{pad}\)*, is unusual in Classical Sanskrit. *\(\text{Nāriṇā}, \text{"new", \text{"young} is also possible.}

12. for *\(\text{pataḥ}\)*

13. EM: the \(\text{f}\) in *\(\text{kārttikā}\)* has been shortened for metrical reasons.

14. EM: *\(\text{ṣaṃ}\)*\(\text{ānāṃ[\text{S}]\text{ṣaṃ}\)* presumably means *\(\text{a} \geq 60\)*, not *\(\text{a} \geq 16\)*. 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)

15. EM: read *\(\text{y[\text{a}] [\text{h}] [\text{h}]\)*. The actual *\(\text{a}\)* is doubtful.

16. EM: The reading in 6 looks like *\(\text{y[\text{a}] [\text{h}] [\text{h}]\)*, and it is not certain what the correct reading is. LBS: the stone has *\(\text{y[\text{a}] [\text{h}] [\text{h}]\)*, but a syllable is lacking to make up the metre. \(\text{v[\text{a}] [\text{h}] [\text{h}]\)* here appears to be an anomalous aorist *\(\text{v[\text{a}] [\text{h}] [\text{h}]\)*.

17. EM: the first pada of v.30 is hypometric. *\(\text{bhāgā}\)* is a possible synonym of *\(\text{bhāgā}\)*, the prefix having the slight force of *\(\text{addition}*.}
v.21 Tenu nippādha mavakramā 22 avargapassunaaryahanāśītan |
Paṭhapadeśātiḥ sābh(20)ni kṛṣṇam rājyam yuṣāवī(23) |
v.22 Kṛṣṇacandra rataḥ śrīnām nīdāvaśārāṇām rājarśanī |
Evaṃ avargapacchām(21)pratīkām divvā yato mahīpatī | |
v.23 Taurāmn navābhito rājā | [3]Bālāscandra 24 mahādeśikaḥ |
Kṛṣṇā kārttisāyaḥ = (22)nā[1]ṃ su avargah yato 'tūtatīmī | |
v.24 Devendra Sakhro 'tubhīr Devacandra mahīpatī |
Tato dvāvāśārāṇām(25) rājyam kṛtya tu avargabhāk | |
v.25 Saptavāmpika teṣāmā 26 Yajñacandra prakṣrittataḥ |
Sundrabandhaḥ tato loke gṛṣṭa- (24) nīvatsararājyabhāk | |
v.26 Prativāyan uditaḥ candro Bālācandra 27 tato 'parāḥ |
Gṛṣṭa devamānagāya eva rājyam apyaṃ (25) tu nītravān 28 |
v.27 Oṣāvābhātī varṣāṇi rājyam sādhbhāya nātīmī |
Bālācandraḥ tato yāte dīvyaḥ suvaṃ svātpaye | |
v.28 [Bālācandraḥ rataḥ khyāto nīyathārānāvāśayaḥ] |
Paṭhapadeśātiḥ abhāniḥ sa 'tubhā rājā Mahādevat | |
v.29 Abhāni-(27) yikam teṣāmā 29 Viryacandra nariśvaraḥ |
[Paṭhu āvāṃdha] varṣāṇi Prītacandra mahīpatī | |
v.30 यथास्मात् सत्सारणीषु यथाः प्रयोगेनाप्रैति बुद्धिस्वागतः

v.31 ज्ञानार्थिनः करुद्दर्शनः तस्मात् सर्वा निर्देशार्थः

v.32 इश्वरस्वा - जः प्राध्यायत्त्वम् तस्मिन् तपस्यः

v.33 तस्मात् पदमन्बरः पुरुषोपर्वः

v.34 वर्यात्पशस्याः यो रजः

v.35 सत्सारणाम् सत्सारणाम् विरात मां पुरुषोपर्वः

v.36 (34) कृष्णार्थिनः करुद्दर्शनः करुद्दर्शनः तस्मात् पदमन्बरः

v.37 भक्तिनिधिनः यो वेश्यतः भक्तिनिधिनः

30 ESI 'upabhoga' is treated as muter
31 ESI read 'triphidin'
32 ESI A character has been erased after 'ishvaya', thus in it read 'ishvaya' phonographically phonographically, and gets a short before it.

In b read '福田', However, ESI suggested 'gopada' as an indication - gopada - would grammatically introduce a short syllable before tr and make the pada a syllable too long. Hence the better course is to read 'gopada' 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 sanubh for upajya
34 ESI read both 'Purupura' - and 'Purupura'. The rubbings seem to give Purupura, however of 'pra' in 1.357 1.47; 2.4 1.6.6 44
35 ESI The pada is hypocoristic. 34 ESI suggested 'bhuvan' as an alternative reading. 35 ESI read 'tapasvah' 36 māyika may be a proper name or a word indicating kinship. 37 ESI read 'tapasvah'

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v.36 Pratipālya jagat sarvah rājyaḥ ृजनासुरसर्वः
Dhānamālāmañjukto ācāralokah sa yātvān ||

v.39 Śrīdharmaṣyathāṣyukto lokānugrahatatparyah ||
(37) Tatraśeṣāt abhavaś śiṁgho Śrīdharmaṣyagho nāgah ||

v.40 Saśtriṇāpahūn tabāṅga upabhogaḥ rājyaḥ chārmaṇa rājyaḥ ca jayaś ca sālaḥ ||
Rutae-(38) trayānugrahaṁjñaurodaya sa ācāralokah Tuṣitah prayātah ||

v.41 Narānāgunaṁjñayopāḥ tānatrūpa mahāvah||
(39) Sanvādānāhikāḥ rājyaḥ bhaktāḥ vargadvaṁ saśāl ||

v.42 Pārśvanāhā samabhaṁ vijayāvargāḥ jaktittayagraṃpah\footnote{43}
(40)yābāhuvaṁyapraśīhaḥ ||
Yo Varṇaṣaktiṁsaṁsaṁvānāṃstithita-
prabhāvāḥ ||\footnote{44}

v.43 Śrīmālāḥ sūgakah\footnote{45} Varṇāḥ bhaktāḥ rājyaśrīyamānāṇāḥ uṣyāḥ ||
Dvāva sutavare rājyaḥ pāveśāvā avargā prayātavān ||

\footnote{40} EBM read goñāha[cf. 33]]
\footnote{41} for goñrākha
\footnote{42} LSA suggests mahāpupah, but there is no sign of a medial ्a. We suggest mahāpapāḥ, a word coined from mahā, "earth", with the possessive -pāḥ suffix and meaning "owing the earth". There is a faint trace of a vertical to the right of the ्a, which may be the remains of an ॅ vowel mark.
\footnote{43} LSA At the end of 1.39 there seems to be a faint trace of ṹi. Another syllable is missing at the beginning of 1.40.
\footnote{44} EBM of verses 44 and 62, one should probably understand Vajraṣaktikutuṁ pīḍa" for "mātrikā".
\footnote{45} cf. v.154 above, where the poet seems to have taken mahāca as a feminine vowel stem. Here, apparently, Śrīdharacandra is treated as a nominative, cf. v.62c and v.63a.
\footnote{46} EBM read goṣṭha, cf. 33b and 38b.
v.44 Yas tatau(42)tasthā
pratisthānimaukṣa-
Ratnāyutiprasarasaśčātipādpaṣaṇāḥ

Ānandacandraḥ
bhavanikavāsū(43) "titina
Ānandayaūyaśayā vairatanaśvīhama

v.45 (Ośe ca Karmaname rājā antyenaṇā Jayāgirī)
(44) Pravṛumnāvānām furūgā tejas bāhūnaṃ bhruti ||
Tama māhaṃ(45)śahāgama parahitaśvānādhiṣṭīḥ
avarān-
(45) jyaprathamasaṃvataścaraṇṇaḥ prabhūti yuvād ni navandbāhā
evāyaśtrākāriśāniteścātipītāmś ca(46)jīvāvām sarvāna
prabodhānāmadamaparyārthāna lochatā pravāpyaṇe

v.46 Ānandacayanāmāno vihāra(47)ṇaṃ kāritāḥ |
Bārīśaḥ saṇḍhiḥ aparipāṇāḥ kṣetraṃcahīṃ vī aha ||

v.47 Sugataśeṭhitvānāṃ(48) ārāmaṇāḥ ca sakṣitaḥ
Pratāhātmandhācāryāḥ kāraṇa saṃkāraṇāṣṭāḥ ||

v.48 Sītāvāni bhāṣyobhāni kāhānācāryamāṇā ca |
Kāraṇā mādniraya bhāravādāhīṣaṃprāśataḥ ||

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47 It should, presumably be taṃsātah. Again, anārthā for aścāna.
48 "manda" for "manda" the nominative ending -a shortened to -a to suit that metre.
49 LBB Apparently to be corrected to stākāras.
50 LBB read Prasāmēṣu ʊṇa
51 Character deliberately erased.
52 LBB [The poet has used] double onāḥi shortening bāhūnaṃ caṃkāḥ to bāhūnaṃcaṃkāḥ to suit the metre, cf.v.49
v.49 Paññāraṃ 51/52(50) mayāśakā 53 Pustakalin 55 rathau ca
Sugatasratimāh sammukā kāritāṃ śāntavirātipā 56 |

v.50 Kṛtānuśiṣyā 57| kṛtānuśiṣyāni bīrhanā caityakarmāṇaḥ |
Saddharmaśrutakāś ārya tekhita bhūṣaṇaḥ satā |

v.51 Sva(52) vāpyārājastānanāṃ poimānā dārmatrakṣāryaḥ |
Nityāṃ 58 ārājṣārgaśāryaḥ uddhā bhūpo 'tīrṣādhayā |

v.52 (53) ādau pāpyātāḥ puruṣādāhacchāsa
Saddharmaśāpyāṃ prati tundakāṃ 59 bahūn |
Dine dīne savajamā(54) numodātāmarāhīcābhārakāriṇāmātābā |

53 E.W. read pāddāru, and suggested that it "may be the name of a peculiar kind of wood, or it may be image made of leather and vellum," which is unlikely. The medial ū is quite clear and Monteyne-Williams, o. v. paū gives the lexical meaning as pānu gluomatā, the clustered Fig known in Pāduś inscriptions as the Bodhi Tree of Koḷākatana - see ÖBB III, p.321. However, if the compound in b, perhaps we should translate as ivory, an animal product suitable for image making.

54 E.W.: for mayā śaktāḥ; the long syllable has been shortened to write the metre. LB. noted that the poet may possibly have meant to write mayā śaktāḥ. Note the paūārā isolated used for pānuārā.

55 E.W. Pustakā is presumable "cluster" here, and ṣaṭiku "stone." terracotta is more appropriate for the former.

56 LB. The stone has kārīśānāṇu, read kārīṣāṇu. There is an indication of a second ā however.

57 Probably Saddharmaśāpyāṃ ṭukā is suggested here, of 52b


59 None of the recorded meanings of hāpāka fits here; possibly for ṣāpyānā. LB. the actual reading seems to be pātyākā, though the letter below y is not clear. Varṣika "hare" (found in Sanskrit and Kannaree lexii from ṣāpyā, hence ṣāpi ṣāpyā) occurs in the sense of a holding or portion of land, forming part of an estate in the Vānava Rāmacandra's Thana grant of Ācā 1194 (EB XIII, p.179)
v.53.  
Lauhāpātrāpy onēūrī samnetrakṣavaraṇī. 60 ca |
Nā(55) hādeśa-gatānāh ca bhākṣyaṁ gacchati āsana āsana  ||

v.54.  
Dānupāramitā hiṇā mā ne bhavatu jantuṣu  |
Tassād uṇāsī(56) kenopi sarvastvajñātīṣvāvitaṁ 61  ||

v.55.  
Padoṣākārṇāvagāvase bhṛṣṭabhrtyasamamvitaṁ  |
Vāśyavādākamasāvyuṣtam kā(57) rathā na prāraṇaiṣṭayam  ||

v.56.  
Somāṭīrtheśu vihārīe naṁśa cānanda-dhāvaṇaḥ  |
Ananda-vināśanti(58) Naulakṣe ca naṁśa smṛtya  || 64

v.57.  
Pallakkavanakhuve 'pi Bauṁagke pārvanāhākau 65 |
Vṛthikā 65 vividhārāśām 66(59) kāritaḥ satyavārmanīçṛt   ||

v.58.  
Pratyahāre bhaktāsālīyāṁ sadā sastrei pravartitaṁ  |
Ativedūrī ca kāurcaśām 67(60) t prāgino moritādaśāṁ 68  ||

60 EKJ. The first certain instance of neîrī in the sense of silk.  
cf. Rājagṛhāsā, VII, 36. There is no reason why this shouldn’t  
be good cloth.

61 EKJ: ārthātājaṁ.

62 There is no evidence of a superscript ρ; however Somāṭīrthā seems  
seem  

63 LBG: the p has been almost entirely cut out.  
LBG: read marāthā. EKJ: apparently these two words are in addition  
to the four of the previous verse.

64 EKJ: In 2 presumably read "pāvaśāke and in b read "nēmāke. LBG:  
the reading of the rubbing is possibly "nāśākāre and Bauṁagke.

65 see B.C.Sircar: Indic Epigraphical Glossary, s.v. vṛthi, vṛthi,  
"a territorial unit, the subdivision of a district".

66 The stone is broken here.

67 α is missing through breakage of stone.

68 EKJ: read sadā as moritādaśā as a compound is hardly possible.  
LBG: also read moriṣṭā.
v. 59 Dvīkṣādāvamārgadāvāpyādārāsaṅkhyāpyāte | 
Mahāsannātana-vikāravikārakābhavanav 
| 
Pujñā(61)mahāsannātaparavāpyapahā 
| 
pratīkṣānaśaṇkhaṃ śaktikāpyāt 
bhūpatiyo. 70)

v. 60 Pūrvarṣījeśtā yuṣṭiṣā devapāś(62) āsāṃtīrthinirūpāṇa71 | 
Śaṅkhyā bhūpatiyo tathārthā bāṃkṛtā āsāṃtīrthā yunah ||

v. 61 Bhamāparaṃ kṣetra-kālā(63)ittamakā72 bhūpasya netropiyaśaṅkaravāṁ || 
Śaṅkhyāvāpyāpyāya hi nāyātiyo73 deśa Śila-(64) kṣetramanurūpayasya]||

v. 62 Vīkhyāśāyaurvagunaadhavaśānaścittānuga śiva(na)-śiva-(65) vīkhyāśāyā 
| 
śivagunaśivaparāśrayasya | 
Śrīśrīparāpatanamakā śaktinara|| 
śeṣendrā dadau aśa-(66) kanyaṃ paramārūpo ||

Aparā ca ||

v. 63 Āmāmanasāraṇaḥ kṣetrapāḍivaśaya 
Śrīdharma-(67) jātāyaśānavandaśaya || 
Śrūtvā vaca dharmakṣērtayuktak 
Śaṅkhyāvāpyavāpyasūdā(68) kahe ca||

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69 ELI: Is a presumably read (pankṣṣena, and in k read śānta. 
LDH: The reading of the rubbing is possibly [nāyātiyo] and Āmāmanasāraṇa.  
ELI: read [nāyātiyo].  
70 LDH: read śaktikāpyāt, bhā.  
71 Vācana omitted. This śīrṣākāpyāt can only mean 'heretic'. Probably the poet want to write śīrṣākāpyāt, in the sense of śīrṣākāpyāt.  
72 LDH: I do not know if kṣetrapāḍivaśaya is to be taken seriously.  
73 ELI: [nāyātiyo in c is old, and śīrṣākāpyāt would be better. Although 
74 ELI: one must understand that śīrṣākāpyāt bhā.  
75 ELI: immeasurable metrically, is indicated.
82.

v.64 Bhaktiprājyena prayāvacāh
Śatvāndhraravamśadhbhapārthivvama \\
Śrīnanna-(69)hothravamharṣānikena \\
Kalyāṇārātravat vapiṣṭhaena ||

v.65 Viśvēśhavu tvaññenena(70) kṛtvā \\
Śrīpatanātīahyakṣiḍāsena \\
Śrīinnadheśā svamastibhaktvā \\
Sādāpiṣṭha-(71)hīṣamabhāṣṭiyuktā ||

(1.72) Śrī[k]irtisandupo[rpa] viṣayā
(1.73) ekādiśama"śrīde

75 The inscription ends with three double dagās, between the first pair of which is a sign, identified by Barnett as a "Cauca 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 aṣṭiśī inscription (see below, p. 99 ) and the 6th century Vedaśī bell (below, p. 99 ) which definitely belongs to the first Candra dynasty, and appears to be merely a decorative element marking the end of the inscription.

76 Ed: The form ekādiśama 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, 844, who says these forms are only authenticated so far in Jain Prakrit works. For other instances note the apportion amīśas of the colophons to Sundaracaritā XI and VIII (ed. A.N.Upadhye, Bombay, 1938), colophons to XI, XII and XIII.
(v.4) Then the king (Mahān...?)...ruled for 120 years (v.5) There was a king, Purvamasta (?), zealous in being kindness to the world; he reigned afterwards for 120 years. (v.6) Then a king, Śājīyāna by name,...ruled for 120 years. (v.7) After him, the able Rādhagall, eminent for stout-heartedness, reigned 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 Candrasēva by name, approved by the good; he made the kingship his own for 27 years. (v.11) The Appavata kings, rivers 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 Śīkṣāyappā, bestowing bounty... reigned in righteousness for 23 years. (v.14) Then Queen Kāverī, beautiful... for seven years after him, made the kingdom free from foes. (v.15) After, Oṃātya, her son, a wise politic king, ruled for 20 years, the performer of deeds of glory. (v.16) Then a king named Jugga, who benefitted all beings, was likewise established on the throne for seven years. (v.17) Then the able king named Līkaṭa, 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 (1038). (v.19) After that, at a later time, there was one possesses of righteousness and fortune, puissant, sage, Dvān 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.23) Then the fortunate Bhūmacandra reigned 20 years; having thus known the pleasures of Paradise, the king went to heaven. (v.23) After him, Bhāmacandra, 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 Śataha king of the gods, after ruling 32 years, enjoyed heaven. (v.25) After him, the renowned Vajracandra reigned seven years. Then Candraśāntaka enjoyed a reign of six years in the world. (v.26) Then arose Bhūmacandra, a second moon on earth; he reigned with righteousness for seven years. (v.27) The politic Bhūmacandra, having enjoyed kingship for 24 years, then went to gain heavenly happiness. (v.28) Then the renowned Bhūmacandra, who removed strife by policy, reigned like Mahendra for 55 years. (v.29) After him, King Vṛcasandra reigned three years; then King Pṛti-candra (ruled) for 12 years. (v.30) After that, King Pṛthivendra, constantly following the royal law enjoyed the pleasures of kingship for seven years. (v.31) After him, King Bhūmacandra 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 (Īśva), who bore the name Candrad and whose glory was as delightful as the moon, when counted up will be verily 230. (v.33) Afterwards, Manava, king of Puraempura then had a righteous reign of 12 years. (v.34) Also, the king named Yaśodhara, 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 Srotāśena, recalling as having ruled 12 years; slaying Mātuka, he enjoyed the happiness of prosperity in kingship. (v.36) Then King Pṛmamāruda 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 god's (Īśva) lineage, Vajraśakti, who because of his devotion was like a Vajrīna.
Possessing beauty, virtue and other qualities, he went to the world of gods having protected the entire universe for a reign of 16 years. After him there was a brave king, the fortunate Dharmaśrīva, attended by fortune, religion and victory, intent on doing kindness to the world. 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 Tūtata heaven. That king’s good son, the lord of the earth, Harivarājya, also enjoyed the kingship for two years and nine months. There arose one belonging to the lineage of Iśva (Śiva), a conqueror of troops of enemies, gaining great majesty by manifestation of the three poerous, a son of valiant kings, son of Vajrākṣaṭ, the fortunate Dharmaśrīva, having majestically celebrated puissance. 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. His son Anandaśrīva is victorious, having the lotuses of his feet reddened by the brilliant gleams of gems in the garlands of the disciples of reverence 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. [He is like Karpa in bounty and also Yudhīghira in truthfulness, Pradūvama 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. Many monasteries named Anandaśrīva 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 images containing relics of the Buddha, Bodhisattvas, Monks 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 (Sagata) made of ivory, wood, terracotta and stone. (v.50) Innumerable clay arisya 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 statues made of gold and silver, and having peregrines of goodly gone. (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 vases 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 music-books. (v.56) The Ananandashava monastery at the residence of the Somatitha Brahmans, and also the monastery called Amanasvaran at Naulakha are recorded. (v.57) In the quarter called Filaaka, formerly named Duragha, 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 Vajrakosamangadagasa [and ] at that named Vajrocanaalokavakra, the king has dug two delightful wells named after (first) the monastic communities (belonging to the plane) called Nuppipta and Same. (v.60) The temples of
and holy places built by former kings which had perished
have also been restored by him, who is wise. (v.61) A seat of the law
(pulpit), an elephant and robes, brilliant to the eye, have been dispatched by the king to the noble consecrations
of monks in the land of King Śīlāngka. (v.62) Out of regard for the
renowned quality of valor, religion and fame of the monarch sprung
from the Deva and egg-born lineages, the king of the Fortunate
Theravatins, making devout obeisance, gave [to him ] with the
highest respect his daughter Śrīsā. Moreover: (v.63-64) Having heard
the speech of Manuśandra, monarch of the earth, son of the egg-
lineage of Fortunate righteous kings, [speech ] fraught with meaning
and helpful to the religion and with all the qualities of valor,
(high) descent and beauty — the king sprung from the Śākendhra
lineage, the Fortunate and highly prosperous Manuśandra, 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 Śrīsā, a gem among women, endowed with incomparable
fortunes.

(11. 70-73) In the eleventh year, the Fortunate victory (is) declared
accomplished.

34 i.e. non-Buddhist
35 Probably one of the beautifully carved stones Shākendhra still to
be seen at Kyauktaw and Mraukūng, see below, p. 236-7, n. 96
36 Shākendhra may here denote a particular kind of elephant, as a "small
elephant" would certainly not be a bukan appropriate for the
fostering of the export trade.
37 Johnston prefers "brilliant robes of silk"
The North Face (Plates XII-XIII)

by pls. CCCX-CCCXII

Johnston, Some Sanskrit Inscriptions... pp. 373-3

This face of the Shitthong 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 Ho Kay, now rubbings taken in 1973 and 1975, and an eye-copy made at the same time. Professor D.G. Burnard, to whom I sent photographs of the better rubbings, made some valuable comments on the dates, and offered new suggestions on the readings.

The first inscription, of about four lines, is almost completely defaced. The peculiar form of medial כ 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., כא (1.4), מ (1.2) and (1.4). There may have been a date at the end of the last line, before the double ב, i.e., ג כ 7 מ 7 8. 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 indistinct 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 Gupta 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 Pundravidya dynasty of Bengal.
notably with the epigraphs from the time of Govindasandra (11.2 1050-55 A.D.), with which it shares a tendency to elongated main verticals turned to the right. Thus the \( \text{大象} \) is found only rarely in Bengal records after the 9th century or beginning of the 10th, while \( \text{牌} \) \( \text{牌} \) has a form not generally found earlier than the close of the 10th century, \( \text{牌} \) does not offer any difficulties for the 10th century. However, with the lower link curved towards the left, is not usually found in Bengal earlier than the Beka-Palikara Vaisastra image inscription of Govindasandra. It is interesting to note that this inscription uses both \( \text{牌} \) and \( \text{牌} \) with the lower link turned towards the left, while the slightly earlier Kultur inscription of the same king uses \( \text{牌} \) of the old type and also \( \text{牌} \) of the older type, resembling somewhat the form found in the Shitthawng inscription. A few peculiarities of Western Indian inscriptions of this period are also noticed, namely \( \text{牌} \) (2. col. 1.61) and \( \text{牌} \) (2. col. 1.38), found for instance in the Grant of VII Jala (1053 A.D.), a chief of the Satyana 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 letter

40 BI XXVII, of Plates facing pp. 25 and 26
41 BI XXXII, pp. 74-76 and Plates facing pp. 74-75
line we read सकर्ष्टि, सत्ताधालोपमेण in the third, सिद्धार्थावर्मानाः at the end of the fourth, and सकर्ष्टि at the end of the sixth. Johnston reads कर्ष्टियज्ञाः at the end of the 7th, although it is impossible to see how.

The next inscription begins in line 6, with सुभस्ति ग्रंथि, and then the name of a town, which with great reserve may be read as अद्याग्रग, and ग्रंथि is again discernible at the end of the line. In 1.9, we have निद्धिः 1-परे श्री सिद्धार्थावर्माशास्त्रेयद्रा श्री (कलमा-). That this is the name of a king of Arakan is confirmed by two coins from the Koyadeho hoard bearing the name श्री सिद्धार्थावर्माशास्त्रेय. That we are dealing with another inscription about Buddhists appears from 1.10, where we read कपिलसा (अंश) अद्याग्रागा शास्त्रेयाः शिव. In the next line we have सत्ताधालोपमे दिने कर्ष्टियज्ञाः (शिवान्त) and in 1.11, श्री सिद्धार्थावर्माशास्त्रेय d-मन्त्रकवर्माशास्त्रेय is mentioned again. Капи is possible towards the middle of 1.13, and in 1.16, again only possible, सिद्धार्थावर्माशास्त्रेय शास्त्रेय. There are traces of another proper name in 1.19, with श्री ग्रंथि (शैलक).

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 शास्त्रेयd-मन्त्रकवर्माशास्त्रेय's inscription, applies to श्री सिद्धार्थावर्माशास्त्रेय or to his predecessor, श्री सिद्धार्थावर्माशास्त्रेय.

The next inscription, which may be a continuation of the second, as the head is similar, begins with 1.20 or 23. The writing is in three columns, each containing seven or eight characters in a line, and 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  श्रीं मन्त्र कपिलसा
41  श्रीं मन्त्र कपिलसा
42  #reka#da#a vijayā
inerring that this section is dealing with the conquests of the
king, in many countries. We have māya for mayā; the meaning of
dānā is not clear.

arekaśadā could also be read Arekaśadā, māra#ha(#) and māra(#)
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:

----bhāmā-aga

abhava†i yāya - jata

yakṣapura-rajā

Yakṣapura is the ancient name of the Mon capital of Thaton captured
by Aniruddha of Pagan in 1057 A.D.33 This tantalizing 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 signā, we may read:

22  -ha mūlā[la] [aśā]

23  ga[la][yā] Śrī Govindaśandra

perhaps a reference to Govindaśandra 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
divines:

37  devate[ḥ krt[as] - - -

38  tṛṭṭṭṭṭṭya devo - - -

33  18 pl.IV 356, 355 (upper inscription), 41 (lower inscr.) Date
n. 1050 A.D.
34  SBEP I, p.23
Towards the end of the column 13 a reference to Brahman.

1.38  brahma-ṣa
77  yo - tā[śa]l[yagā]
60  [[faded]]
61  agnir[aud]āṣa

Agni occurs elsewhere in the inscription, at the left column, in 1.44, 54, 60, 61 and in the middle column, 11.44-50. Its meaning is not clear in this context40, although if we take pradaśa 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 Śīlaṃga- and ending with -rājasandra, possibly tracing their line to the earlier Candra kings. They may be reasonably equated with the dynasty mentioned in the chronicles as founded by Mahataisingandra in 780/947, a half-century after the fall of Anandadhrā. 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, Mahataisingandra is said to have rebuilt Vedi, on the site of an older capital, and late 8th century sculptures found there confirm this. The great hero of the dynasty, Culataisingandra, is said

40 That Agni was worshipped in Southeast Bengal at the time, as Ta[śa]l[yagā] is evidenced by the land grant given in favour of the god in Śri Candra's Paschimabag Plate. See D.C. Smith, op cit pp.33, 36.
41 Bijayā, R.A.N. Dir., 37 pradāsah-pallam
42 cf. ASR 1930-31, p.17 Shaṁkarmas Ramana, p.84 NYT p.280.
to have sent an expedition to Chittagong in 953, when the Candra dynasty of Southeast Bengal was gaining power and prestige under Śrīśāmanā. Soon after his return he set out for either China or Tapu, suggesting a threat from Yé-lǐ45. After his failure to return, his queen, Candra-devi, married two more tribemen in succession, indicating that the hill tribes were becoming urbanised, taking advantage of the confused state of the country. Yé-lǐ was abandoned, the country invaded by Shans and Pyu, while the Mons of Pegu occupied the south for eighteen years. A new capital was eventually established at Pyin in (Yinch) with the aid of the Saks (Thais). 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 Pagan. The situation is reflected in the archeological remains at Yé-lǐ, 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 platform suggests that the Śrīśāmanā king was motivated in the same way as was Ānanda-senāna. The mid-11th century was again a period of great stress in the country, and the dynasty was under pressure from Pagan, where Ashina (r. c. 1041-77) was attempting to unite Burma for the first time. Both the Burmese and the Arakanese chronicles

44 of Camille Golvin, Monographies Zoologiques particulières du Monde (Paris 1904) p. 273
45 Pégou "On the History of Arakan" JASS XIII, 1 (1894) p. 42; Tō 391-7, 1294, 1173, 1562. It is noteworthy that many of the Arakanese mentioned in Pagan inscriptions were slaves.
refer to his incursions into Arakan, which seem, however, to have eventually retained semi-autonomous status. In the West, the Candra dynasty of Southeast Bengal had fallen, or was about to fall, threatened by the Varamma and the Pitam. The Cola raids into Bengal in 1013-13 had also no doubt weakened the Candas; the great Cola raid of Southeast Asian ports in 1025, although apparently not actually including Arakan, would have disrupted her important sea-trade.

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 5th century, re-establishing Piyai 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 punyat kings owing their allegiance to pagan and ruling in the new capital of Pyinsa. The pindamic 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)

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 Porchhammer, op cit, p.6; Uhryre, op cit; P.38: GPC pp.86, 95, 99. It should be noted that while the Arakansese place Antuvaka in the 10th century, the Burmese chronicles vary between 1025-1035 and 1033-77. The differences may again be attributed to the computation of time according to the various calendars (India, Feb cit) and to the general confusion in Arakan after the fall of Piyai.

47 cf CSEP I, p.14; Coedes, Indianised States...pp.220-3.
Inscription on the reverse of the Shiva jata from Shig-du-lit-tausc

(Plate XV)

Described by Johnston (loc cit p. 367) as "the separate inscription
in COGLIII, wrongly identified on p. 36 as the two-faced inscription
from Hunsinhuang.

This inscription appears to be the only remaining fragment in the
Arakan collection. The stone, measuring 3.0 x 0.5m, has some thirty
lines of writing, widely spaced, with small neat letters measuring between
1.5-1.8cm, excluding the ornate medial vowel. The face is very badly
weathered, and completely erased in parts where it was used as a knife-
sharpenor.

The characters closely resemble those of the east face of the
Shitthaung pillar. The handwriting is 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
Pu scripts. However, the forms appear to be derived from the eastern
Gupta style of the 5th-6th centuries. Medial s is unusual, resembling
the i of the Shitthaung east face, ( ), while i is
normal ( ) and is ( ., 1.13), as is s ( ., 1.5); i has an exaggerated
curvature ( ), e is florid ( ) and o ( ., 1.19)
as even more so ( ., 1.1). The Arakanese forms of i and o were
used throughout the 6th and 7th centuries, are quite clear. ye has a
slight footmark to the left, which first appears in Bencol in the 6th
centurya, and ya has the left member curling outwards, pointing to the
same period. z has a large bulge to the left ( ), also
characteristic of other 6th century Arakanese epigraphs. We may there-
fore assign the inscription to around the 6th century, possibly to the
latter half.

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a6 Dani, op cit pl. XI, 3
Johnston read five or six words, evidently from an inferior rubbing. We can however, verify prabhāṣā[da] in 1. 1, and śāyājñā Śrī 
Cāṇḍaśāyānāvaram in 1. 14. That we are again probably dealing with 
Buddhists can be inferred from dharmas in 1. 4 and saṃdharmas in 1.19.
The inscription does not begin with any of the usual stanzas, suggesting 
that 1. 1 is not the beginning. It may contain another genealogical list, 
although it is not certain whether the kings mentioned were connected 
with the Candra dynasty. Prabhāṣāunda could well have been one of the 
three Candras not mentioned on the west face of the Shitthong pillar, 
and Śrī Cāṇḍaśāyānāvaram 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 
5th and 8th centuries, repeating as they do the same formula, 
usually known as the Buddhist creed, throughout the period. The 
formula, the gāthās believed to have converted Māriputra as recorded 
in the Vinayasūryapātha in Pali, was seen as the embodiment 
of the Law. Thus in the śāyājñā-praṇītā-saṃmānā śāyājñā, the verse, named 
the prāṇītā-saṃmānā gāthā was praised 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

\[\text{\textsuperscript{19}}\] M. Oldenburg (London 1906) X, 35-9, XII, 35-6. The history and 
variants of the gāthās have been discussed by H. Burnouf, Le Lotus du 
Bouddha Lal II (Paris 1892), pp. 327-36; A. Yuma, "Noten on the 
Prāṇītā-Saṃmānā Śāyājñā" (in Japanese) Journal of Indian and Buddhist 
\[\text{\textsuperscript{20}}\] H. Schopen, The śāyājñā-praṇītā-saṃmānā gāthā (Kathmandu 1972), type-

so often found in Arakan on images, on plaques encased within stūpas, or inscribed stone slabs fixing structural stūpas or inscribed on smaller votive stūpas. The form of the gīthā in Arakan is usually a combination of the Pānga Pāśaka verse ye dhammā hetuprabhava tessāt hetu Tathāgato āha |

tessāt ca yo nirodho evanvādī nahanānana | 51

and the Pāṭhamurānamsaprabhādy gīthā
ye dhammā hetuprabhava hetuḥ tegāb Tathāgato by avaśā |
tegāb ca yo nirodha evanvādī nahanānanana | 52

For instance, a typical example from Thimiyaw:
ye dhammā hetuprabhava hetuḥ āb tegāb Tathāgato by avaśā |
tessāt ca yo nirodha evanvādī nahanānanana |

50 I-tsing refers to the practice of putting the gīthā inside “images on caitya” (I.Tsing’s translation 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., B.Mitra, Pāṭhamitāt Mārakam (Calcutta 1971), pp.66,89, 231, 236, 243 and 246.

51 Of these gīthās which arise from causes The Tathāgata has declared the cause and that which is the ceasing of them — This the great aesthetic declares

This form of the gāthā is identical to that of the Sanskrit reconstruction of the Tibetan MBS. of the Ṛgveda, namely, the "Ṛgveda" version. It is interesting in that here, the seeker of merit is instructed to build a stūpa 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 Śrīnagar, usually on the base of a Buddha image, both the paleography and the form of the gāthā follow the Vesālī type of the first half of the 6th century. The use of the gāthā was discontinued at Vesālī after the end of the 6th century when the Candan Dynasty fell, and in southern Arakan slightly later. Only one fragmentary inscription remains from the confined period which follows, apparently a text, exhibiting a great amount of Pali influence. The single votive inscription of the succeeding "Pālaia" 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 Yuanan during this period (i.e. 7th-8th centuries) usually stamped on bricks and placed within a stupa consisted of the "ye dharm" formula and Tantric dhārapāla, showing, in the form of the verse and the script, a strong resemblance to the Arakanese votive inscriptions.

53 K.A. desri, "Ṛṣi-Śākuntāśhā Śākunī, etc" (Madras 1958) p.26
54 See, e.g., Arch. Mag 1049 (1905-26). Both normally omit the Sanskrit in brackets.
55 W. debeschel, "Sanskrit Inscriptions from Yuanan" Monumenta Sinarum, Vol.XI (1907) pp.1-10. See, e.g., "Brick from Shao-11 7/1", p.31 and pl.88, which reads:

1. [ ] samāja ye dharma
2. hetuprakāra hetu-
3. a tātē; Tathāgata
4. yu svadāc eph chu ya
5. nirodha eva va
6. māhārāmaṇa
7. (cont.)
It would appear that a common tradition was shared by Arakan, East Bengal, Assam, Yunnan and the Pyu centres, which points to an interchange of Buddhist clergy, if not to trade relations.

**Votive inscriptions found in the vicinity of Bhumibavati.**

Slab at Selagiri (Plate XVIIb)

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

ASR 1958-59, pl.40, p.76; Ban Tha Aunp Script of Arakan, pl.19;

present whereabouts unknown.

Forchhammer discovered this two-line inscription among the ruins of Selagirisvati, traditionally built by Candravriya, 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 Rhitthaung pillar and the Surya image, notably in the form of the superscript vowels ö and ë, which have the exaggerated parallel horizontal lines noticed above (äö. 1.1; ëë, 1. 2) and a similar subscript form of øe. (ûë. 1.1). Medial 5 is a short vertical attached to the right of the headmark and medial 6 has the headmark in the form of two top curves with an extra slanting superscript stroke (ûë. 1.2). The tripartite ye has both arms bent, the left curving outwards (ûë. 1.1). Cerebral 9 closely resembles dental 2a, with an enlarged loop at the left. (ûë. 2.2), a peculiar form also noticed in the 6th century inscriptions of Assam.²⁶. As is the usual Arakanese form derived from the 5th century Gupta style and also found in Assam (ûë.), while ma, found only in conjunct, has two diagonal strokes separating at the headmark.

²⁵ (cont.) The script, called Hsü-t'ao, (according to Liefenthal) came to China with Tantara in the 7th and early 8th centuries, when Amoghavajra vested holiness in the Indian scripts and sounds.

²⁶ SI XXX p.286
a form not found in East Indian inscriptions (ןְבִיָּא אַלְכְּוָכְּ). The remainder of the consonants are identical to types found in Bengali epigraphs of the 5th and early 6th centuries (Dani, pl.X, 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 gāmā, but with Full ṭāṭā as for ṭāṭā ca.

1. ye dharmā hetu bhavaḥ netuḥ ś ca tathāgata [h]y avadat ca
tāṭā ca
2. [ya] nirodha śvamvādā [mahārājajñā[p

1 After Forchhammer's photograph
2 For amāvāsa

Inscribed votive stūpa from Selaširī (Plates XVIII, LX) 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 1.1. The use of yo ( الشمال) for yo š (north) in 1. 2, and the insertion of a redundant aṅkara in 1. 3. The tandaśas 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 (north 1. 1), o (north 1. 2), a (north 1. 2) and u (north 1. 1).
Ms is more cursive than in the Bengal epigraphs ( √ , 1 , 3) as is ṣa ( ṣa , 1 , 2) and ṣa is written with one stroke instead of two ( kersa , 1 , 3). Ye has become quadrangular ( √ ye 1 , 1). The paleography generally suggests a date in the first half of the 6th century.

The verse again consists of the ye ṭhāra ṭhātan, identical to the earlier Selagiri inscription, apart from miro[ho] for miro[ha], which is vemetic.

TEXT

1. | || ye ṭhāra ṭhātaghrebhava ṭhātan teṣā[na] 
2. Tathāgato bhavīṣyaḥ teṣaḥ ca ye niro[ho] 
3. eva[ho] yeḥ sa mahāśravazaḥ[ya] || ||

1 from the stone, rubbings and a photograph
2 redundant amasa[ṇa], no doubt through the contamination of the following patan,
3 for ṣa
4 redundant aṣapana.

Inscription from Mihintale (Plate XV)
unpublished

This inscription, said to have been found at Mihintale, about 6 km. north of Mahāvihāra, 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 Thei 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 also vertical, as found in the 6th century Bengal copper-

at Dągert, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Reader (New Haven 1963) p. 30, where miro[ho] also occurs, again, unmetricaly, in the Mahāvihāra version of the verse.
plates. Medial य rejoins the extended linear headmark (）、e is sometimes a curve (ठ, cf. ॥ ए) and o is normally a curve to the left and a short right horizontal from the headmark (॥३२००). A date in the 6th century is again indicated. As regards orthography, न is doubled after र.

The first four lines of the inscription contain the usual पढ़ार, with अड़त substituted for अड़्त of the previous inscriptions. Both words are found in similar Indian votive epigraphs between the Gupta and the Pāli periods. The remaining five lines are almost illegible, although it seems that 1. 3 has वाल्मिक कुमार वर्मिक to the beginning and आद्रेक in the middle of 1. 7, indicating that the cūsīśa whence the slab came was donated by a devotee.

TEXT
1. ये देवर्मा [ступ]प्रथमानाए
2. खेतनृं तैसी[स] तथाकथा भवेयो
3. तैसी ca yo niśākha
4. स्वात्सी नानात्तमा[स] [स] ।

1. from a photograph of a rubbing
2. written slightly below the line
3. for अनासुध्र

Two inscribed votive śāstra from Meera village near Kyawtaw (Plate XVII c.d.)

Unpublished

My friend U Kyaw Zan kindly sent me rubbings and drawings of two votive śāstras discovered in 1976. The inscriptions, both on one side of the upper square base, 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. 31
Each gives the first pâda of the ye dharmâ stupa; apparently the
scribe felt that this was enough to sanctify the stûpa.

The script shows slightly more local development than those
described above: dhâ is a circle; bhâ has both vertically joined
separately to the headmark (५) and pa has an extra line to the
left from the headmark (५ pa). Ye is again quadrangulate,
developing a more cursive form than that found on the Solagiri
stûpa (५ and ५). A date around the middle of the 6th
century might be appropriate. r is doubled after r in both cases.

TEXTS

First stûpa
1. || ye dharmâ¹ bound²
2. prabhava³ heta⁴ || |

Second stûpa
1. || ye dharmâ heta prabhava⁵ heta || |

1 from rubbings
2 for dharmâ
3 for heta
4 for prabhava
5 for heta
h

Native inscriptions from the vicinity of Vesali.
Inscription of the time of Mitacandra (pl.XVIII)
D.C.Sircar, "Inscriptions of the Candra of Arakan" ET XXXII,3(1957)
pp. 103-109; ASB 1958-59 pl.87
San Tha Aung, pl.15
Now at Bamarung Museum

The inscription is engraved on a slab recovered from a ruined
at *Yndydhong or Unhisaka hill at Vessali. The cblab measures
14.5 x 38 cm., is damaged at the top, obliterating a few characters, and
has five lines of writing.

Sircar proposed that the paleography of the inscription closely
resembled the 5th century Kalibari-Sultangar plate of the Gupta year
120 (439 A.D.) and the Belgran plate of the Gupta year 128 (446 A.D.)[39]
with some influence from the script of the Faridpur plates of Dharm-
ditya and Gopacandra of the 6th century[40], noting that *y[...] and
hz ( cf. ) and medial i ( cf. ) 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 centuries[41]. The
inscription may therefore be dated paleographically in the first half
of the 6th century. Hz with a vertical line and a curve opening up-
wards to the left is a local development; a similar vertical is some-
times noticed in or ( cf. 1.2), and the form of ia is often more
cursive than noticed in East Indian records ( cf. 1.2).

The language of the inscription is corrupt Sanskrit, probably
influenced by B.N.C. manuscript conventions. Thus we have *paramapatikaya
for *paramaparikayā. Of orthographical interest is the feminine name
Candirasīya for Sanskrit Candrasīra, which may be compared with names
like Śrīyādevī found in Indian epigraphs[42]. In deyya-dharmas (1.5), we
have Bālī deyya for Sanskrit deyya. A double nasəl is used in

[39] IHC Vol.XII, pp.167ff and Plate; R I Vol.XXIX pp.195ff and Plate;
Vol.XXI pp.8ff and Plate
Bhadradri's List, No.1724, op cit p.20ff and Plate.
[41] E.g. the Vemalh rock inscription of Surendravarman (c 770-94 A.D.)
E.J. XXXI, p.61ff, Vol.XXI, pp.62ff
[42] E.J. XVIII, p.68
The first of the two expressions has been retained before the following as of svayam. Some consonants following m have been reduplicated as was the rule in Eastern India.

The first two lines of the inscription contain the ye dharma stanza, in the form found in the Mahabharata avadana III, 65.8-9. The remaining three lines apparently mention that the structure to which the slab belonged was the gift of the lay-worshipper (parivopapadika) named Saktivah Candrasriya, who was the queen (devi) of the illustrious Mitrasandra. The letters in the king's name are damaged, but the reading is certain. The purpose of the grant is quoted as "the svayam or kta... of all beings", there being no space for more than two or three letters after svayam or svayama at the end of 1. 5, although the expression expected here is svayama/nirvishayata, the letters svay/ktama in our record possibly stand for svayama with the letters jayatiya lost at the end of the line. This is the earliest stone inscription confirming the dynamic list on the west face of the Shitthamang pillar.

**TEXT**

3. Śrī Mitra[ndraya] candrasvatar parisvayā devi Śavīsah
5. deyya dhamma[ṇ]ah samyavavāsavānambhāsa

---

1. from rubbings
2. for pārthivasa
3. for rā
5. for nā
6. for śatā

---

La Mahabharata, ed. E. Senart, III (Paris 1887) pp. 56. VI-67.7; cf. F. Elgerton, op cit, p. 30; A. Vayyana, op cit p. 147
Translation

11. 3-5

This is the pious gift of the queen of the fortunate king Mitracandra, (who is) illuminated by the moon. (The queen) by name Śāvitišā Chandraśrīyā, who is a devout lay-worshipper (of the Buddha) for (the acquisition) of the best [1 knowledge] by all creatures.

Inscription of Vīrācandra (Plate XXV)

Sisir, loc cit; ASB 1938-39 pl.28; San Tha Aung loc cit pl.16.

Nlobeung Museum

The inscription, on a stone slab measuring 25 x 10.5 cm., was found at a raised caitya on the ridge southeast of the outer walls of Uṣaśī. The paleography of the record resembles that of the inscription of Mitadīnā's queen. Medial 3 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 west. which may be a development from the early ornate forms α (1. 1, αα, 1. 3). ζα (ς) 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 Mitacandra's successor, Vīrācandra, the Virya of the Shitthawm 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 Buddhā is written with b, which in Eastern India and v were generally written with the same sign from the 7th century. y is used for n in several cases. Final m has been changed to sawguk in sawguk (1. 3) and final k in sawguk (1. 2) to n (instead of h) before the following n in sawguk.

64 e.g. cf. p.26 in 1. 3 of the Barganga inscription at EI XXX, pl. facing p.67
The inscription consists of two stanzas in Pali metre. It is stated that the fortunate Vīracandrāda, constructed a hundred Buddha-stūpas, out of his love for the Sārya-Bhima, 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 Skithawng pillar inscriptions.

TEXT

1. Sāryasārjāma (mārāge pātrah sevāthe vīhāra bhāhūcā)
2. parātthasaśāhāmāhāmāhāmāhāmāhīcī cetiṣā
dhāraṁ caviṣeṣu
dhāmaṁ caviṣeṣu

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 Vīracandrāda, whose heart is fully set on exertions for effecting good for others [and] who obtained sovereignty through righteousness (Dharma).

Inscription from Payaγi (Plate XXXIa)

The inscription, in four lines, on a stone slab measuring 27 x 16.5 cm., damaged at the right, was found at Payaγi shrine, north of the palace at Vāsīlī, and is 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 ḍh is introduced for the first
time (तिथि 1306, 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. Ye 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
विक्रम पौर्णिमा version, like the Managam Gold(137,653),(934,836)
Plates from Śrīpētra, where the identical formula is also found, we have "प्रहणः प्राचीन" in l. 163.

\text{\textsuperscript{1}}

1. || ye dhamm̄a hetupabhavā
2. hetu[ā] tattvād [vathāgato] ⟷ Eha
3. tattvāc ye nirodha
4. eva[āvām] mahāśāmat[v || ]

\text{\textsuperscript{1} from the stone and from rubbings}

Inscribed \textit{stūpa} from Tezarama monastery (Plates XXiib, LXiib)
IS COILIC; Arch Neg 4365 (1940-41); Johnston, "Some Sanskrit In-

Like the rest of the Tezarama collection, this stone may also have
originally come from Vessāli. The inscription, around the lower part
of the \textit{stūpa}, comprised two lines, but only a portion of the first line
is legible and consists of the first \textit{pāddha} of the ye dhamm̄a pāṭhā.

\text{\textsuperscript{63} cf. EI V, pp.101-2}
It can be seen, however, that ya takes the form noticed in the
Payaqyi inscription, ja is an upright oval shape, and hə is
written with two separate verticals ( \( \text{ṣ} \) ), indicating a date
after the middle of the 6th century.

Inscribed stūpa from Thicyrintawn (Plate LXIII)

Arch Reg 2171(1920-21); ASR 1901, p.19

Size unrecoed; not to be found in 1975

The inscription, on the upper square base of the stūpa, con-
sists of two lines, the second broken at either end. The letters are
small and neatly engraved, with a tendency to squared shapes, e.g.
ja, jə, hə and əə. The takes the form which developed in
Bengal in the 6th century ( \( \text{ṣ} \) ); ya is still trilpartite and hə is
written with one stroke, with a slight angle at the right turn.

These features pre-date the inscription of Upendravarman's queen, and
suggest a date before the middle of the 6th century. The extent
portions of the inscription contain the usual gāma, with little
full influence.

TEXT

1. ye dhar[mā] hetoprabhavāhetuḥ teṣaḥ Tath[ā]gato...
2. ... nirodho evaṁśī mabā...

---

1 from the photograph
2 for "gato"

---

Inscription from Thicyrintawn (Plate XXB)

Arch Reg 13669 (1967-8); San Tān Māg, Vol. IV pl.17

Krohning Museum

The inscription, consisting of four lines on a well-preserved rect-
angular stone slab, was found on Thicyrintawn hill, on a ridge southeast
of the outer walls of Yezālī. The script shows some development from
the Thinkyitaw stone; 专项行动 has an extended vertical (Eastern),
may have two strokes from the headmark (Northern), yet has two
separate arms, the left turning outwards (Western) and he is
also written with two strokes (Eastern). A date in the third
quarter of the 6th century, towards the end of Mihisendra’s reign,
is therefore indicated. The inscription consists of the gāhvā in
its most common form.

TEXT

1. ḍaṭhe daḥma hetuprathāvā betuḥā
2. teṣṭhī Tathāgato avadat |
3. teṣṭhī ca yo nirodho (1) evahāvāh mahāsarmanāpya |

1 From the stone and from a photograph

Fragmentary inscription from Thinkyitaw (Plate XXa)
unpublished

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 - 7 cm., and closely resemble those of Virasandra’s inscrip-
tion, apart from nodal Ś which is the more common right vertical.
The language again shows full influence in debag 1. 4 for Sanskrit
deṇga. The first three lines consist of parts of the usual gāhvā,
breaking after hetu in l. 2, where the engraver has written duttaga,
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 wording
is not at all clear.
1. || ye dharma hotupraṃbhavā
2. teṣāḥ [hetūḥ ] dattepyah Tathā
3. gataḥ [by avadat ] || - - - -
4. - - - - deyyo dharmaḥ ||

1 from the stone and from rubbings

Inscription, 1 from Letkhat-taung (Plate XXC)
ASE 1958-59, pl.39; San Tha Ann, 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 has 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 Thingyanthaung inscription, notably in the form of the śl (Ś), while gu has a prominent serif attached to the left vertical (ū). The letters ya and sa do not have the cursive quality found in the inscriptions of Sthitendra's time and later (ṃ ḡu, ṣ).

A date around the middle of the 6th century is therefore suggested.

The inscription consists of the usual verse, with a[ṃapauḥ ] for śramapauḥ.

TEXT
1. ye dharmaḥ hotupraṃbhavā hetūḥ teṣāḥ Tathāgato
2. ściya aya dat ⊖ teṣāḥ ca yo druho evadviḥ mahānaṃ mapo ||

1 from rubbings
Inscriptions from Southern Arakan
Kyaukpyu (Plate XXVII)

IB CCOULIIa. "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 1920, p.181-2, it came from Gangaywana village, Kyaukpyu district; Arch Neg 3864 (1940-41); ASB 1958-59, p.41; San Tha Aung, low dst pl.13

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 Vešāḷī towards the middle of the 6th century, although the letters are large, uneven and carelessly engraved: thus ma(igy,gy), ye(ギノ,ギョ), and ha(f,ka,he). Sa takes a new form derived from the normal 6th century type (サ,サ) and 92 resembles the eastern Indian rather than the Arakanese form (サ,サ,サ). 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 1.4, and 5, possibly followed by a proper name, in the middle of 1.5. The inscription provides some evidence of the extent of the influence of Vešāḷī over southern Arakan during this period.

TEXT
1. [ye] dharmā hetuprabhavā hitum
2. [te] gha Tathāgato.............ye nirodh[oc]
3. evahvātī mahārūna[ga]
4. - - - pasuta - - nāma -
5. ........ Sri = pratī...........


Inscription from Laxi, Sandwani district (Plate XXVIIa)

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 YeShi in the mid-6th century, although it is closer to the eastern Indian form in one case (ෂශ්). යු and ප් (ඝ, න) are close to the Kyauknya type, and a date in the same period is suggested. The gāthā in the first three lines has ṇahi "pākhana" for "probhāya", and ācārt is preferred for the usual ācārt.

The latter portion of the third line is illegible, but 1.4 records the donation of a stūpa by a lay-worshipper (upāsaka) named Śrīyya. The name is reminiscent of Śrīvīlā Candraśīrīya, Mitraśīrīya's queen, and may be compared with names like Śrīyadeva in Indian epigraphs, with y doubled after a preceding r in this case.

TEXT¹

1. | | ye dharma hetupāsya hetu[ä] teśa[ä] ₂
2. Tathāgato iy avocat ye nirodha evāḥ
3. vāsi² mahāśrīmāna[p] || - - - -
4. upāsaka Śrīyya ʒūgpag ṇyātvā ...........

¹ From the photograph
² For "vāśī" Ʒ For Śrīyya

Inscription from Mālumaw (Plate XXVIIb)

18 CCLXXXI: G.E. Frier, in Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1879, pp. 201-2 and pl. VIIb; Johnston, loc. cit., pp. 359, 362-3, 366, 383 and pl. IV, fig. 2; ASB 1935-36 pl. 42; San Tha Aung, loc. cit., p. 120.

See II XXVIII, p. 64
This inscription, seven lines on a stone obtained from a cavity in a hill near Ngaimaw village, Kowlu 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 symbols \( \text{N} \) and \( \text{N'} \) are the normal northern forms, and \( \text{Y} \), may be compared with the peculiar shape found on the Seinsiri stele, \( y \) has become quite cursive \( \text{Y} \). In the proper name in l. 3, an unusual form of initial \( i \) is found \( \text{II} \), resembling a but no doubt connected with the Pyu form of the 5th-7th centuries appearing in U Mya's chart \( \text{II}, \text{I} \), derived from the southern variety during the same period \( \text{II} \). A similar form is found in the Pyu-dung hall inscription discussed below. These developments probably took place towards the end of the 6th century, when Pyu 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 \( \text{addhaya} \) and words for \( \text{Delta} \). It would seem that Theravāda influence from Sāṃskṛta was in the process of supplanting Sāṃskṛta influence from the north. Two donors are mentioned, their names, unfortunately, are not clear, but the Tibeto-Burmese female prefix \( \text{hm} \) noticed in the copper-plate is possible in one case, and the suffix \( \text{bhuma} \) 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. \( \text{I ye dhammā letap-ahava} \) rhema


II4-7 could be translated as: "The lay-worshipper Maśga (?) and the lay-worshipper Sākimavanna (?) caused to be made this ɐṭ quarterly for the welfare of [their] mother and father.

Inscribed bell from Pauktawbyin, now at Akyab monastery (Plate XXII) Sam 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 Veśali, 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 əyda of a ɐṭ quarterly. 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 Kinnęyanas, 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 s instead of m + svarāṇa.
The inscription ends with the so-called "garuḍa" symbol, found
at the end of the 8th century dating inscription and Anandacandra's
prāśśati. The two lines record the dedication of the bell, which is
apparently described as a nārāṇa-bhūta, 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, pha and
pha, and ca and ka are scarcely distinguishable.

TEXT
1. mātā pitarap [paṅgarthana] Kīrmeyya [sana Dhi]nagap ~ ~ nama ||
2. ~ ~ nārāṇaḥ yad datvam [sacnvarī] svarāṇa ||

1 (sac)nārāṇa is a doubtful reading

Translation
Obeisance... for the welfare of [my] mother and father, Kīrmeyyan(?)
[and] Dhiṇa... this nārāṇa bell with a sweet sound is given.

Inscribed bell from Pyuasaung (Plate XXIII)
JBS CCLI,1; Archaeol. Moes. 2331-3 (1980-81), 425 (1940-41); H.Krishna Sastri
in ASB 1919, pp.356, 37; ASI 1915, pl.1, 9.27; Johnston, loc.cit., pp.365-7, 366-7, 366, 382 and pl.IV, fig 21; San The Aung, loc.cit. pl.124; Dami,
loc.cit. pl.XXII; Aircar, loc.cit. pp.193-4.

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

This small bronze monastery bell was discovered by U San Shwe Bu
at Pyuasaung village, 10 km. north of Wetthali. The bell, 9.8 cm. high,
has an outer diameter of 10.5 cm. and an inner diameter of 9.5 cm.,
and weighs 168.7 gm. It has been damaged in two places, so that the
none of the donor is illegible and one other character is destroyed.

The inscription, in two neatly written lines around the mouth, is palaeographically assignable to the pre- or early Mitraicra period, that is, around 500 A.D. "Ri" is a circle, "me" and "sa" have the usual Assamese forms, and "ga" is still tripartite, with the left arm curved inward. Johnston identified the latter part of the first line and the second as "a common Mahayana formula which can be traced from the 5th 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. devadharma 'ya Sasvabhāga - - yena hi tatra pujyante tad
   bhavanty mārtaṇḍavāyuvaśāsanaṃ tātā

2. caryopayāmyāmām sarvamuktvāty ca acottaraśāvāyate iva iva

---

1 From the ball and inked impressions
2 Read yat eṣārā

**Translation**

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

---

Although Johnston considered that the ball might be assigned to the first half of the 7th century, and was followed in this by Dad, 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.
The inscription, around a broken pillar about 0.5 m high, was found at a site traditionally said to have been erected by a ruler named Śāryaśandara on the ridge east of the Visālī 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 Visālī. The characters show some development from the 6th century inscriptions, although the same tripartite form of ṁu is retained, as well as the older h. Medial ā is the later dāḍīya shape (ढ) and medial κ and χ are also slightly more developed (क्ष, च्च, छ्छ), n resembling subscript y rising to the level of the top 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 forms of m (ः) also show 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 Pāli influence than is usual further west. The inscription appears to contain a Buddhist tract, the passages which can be read being:

1.2 ................. sarvāḥ bhū ".............dhamma ca
1.3 ................. sekkhī ca tu dayata saṁpa" ....dhamma mūktdāthiko
1.4 ................. [sa]ñjāna(bh)dhimavyanuyya" ....vijayaṃ bhūtena
1.5 ................. dvāre phusantu sīvarutta(h)
1.6 ................. sāvāna añgha ti ||
Temporary cursive inscription from Vesālī (Plate XXV)

Arch Mag. 5573 (1969-70), unpublished

This inscription, which presumably came from a ruined cistipa was found near the northwest Vesālī wall.

Thanks are due to Mon Bo Say, Conservator of the Archaeological Survey of Burma at Pagan, 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 Smitthaung pillar inscription. The letters are more square in form, and can be compared with those of the inscriptions of the Khunja dynasty of Bengi in the late 7th century. In line 6, gā has the right arm sloping and the left curving, unlike the later kālīka form found in Bengal, and gā in line 10 retains a loop to the left. The double dāngha also retain their earlier form, the first member curving inwards as in the earlier Vesālī inscriptions. After the final double dāngha is a symbol consisting of a circle with four v-shapes, above and below, on each side, followed by two double dānghas. A similar symbol follows the ānandacandra prābhatī. It has been suggested that this is a bird symbol, as ānandacandra described himself as dvāpaya, "born of the divine egg", hence of the lineage of the divine bird (ī Garva). 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 Ānandacandra, the father of

---

Ananta-pundra. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Two complete verses remain, the first in Praśāntiśākhi verse, the second a śloka. In 1.7, we have prakṛtśākhi for prakṛtiśākhi.

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 Lalitaśaṅkumārttika67 and of dedicatory inscriptions in Bengal, and later, Pāṇḍa and Meghnaṃg68.

TEXT

1. 1
2. - - - padapāda| pūryaḥ maṇḍāpar atva
3. lañç yone rājāya caityaṁ niṇāpayya tesa
4. thavaśākaraśa hi pāman | āyupu-
5. taraṇagopānācañca kavira rupi
6. t satvāäh pravāhant cau khāhā trima-
7. laśpanāh || jati prajvalita
8. gherai bhojako suvarṇaḥ pā-
9. rak śīvashākamāhārāśi
10. avane tiṣṭhati pālaka i-
11. ti ||

1 śloka is a doubtful reading.

Translation

1. Through the unequalled merit which has been gained by me here today, having constructed a caftya, 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 caftya] 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 Mahāsāgara 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 plate

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
Marin 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 coins. As the portion above the seal measured only 1 cm. and the portion above 5 cm., Sirnar estimated that two lines had been lost from the obverse at the top, and similarly that 7 or 8 abjans 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 ṭ.

The inscription was dated in the 11th regnal year of the issuer of the charter, presumably a member of the Candra dynasty. According to Sirnar, 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. 3-6 are described as pātī-Saṇḍhyāśa (meditating or favoured by the feet) of their predecessors, as Pumumāchaśōṣa (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 Mahānāḍihīrāja, indicating independent and imperial status in the Gupta age. Their names occupied the final

70 cf also the Gunaihar 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 Dvāścandra, (c. 370-825), Bājacakandra being mentioned in l. 2, Bālacandra in l. 3, Devacakdra, born of Kintomdevī in l. 4, Vajmacakdra, born of Kimaldevī in l. 5, Candrabandha, born of Sukanyādevī in l. 6, Bhūtacakdra, born of Kayaevī in l. 7, and Bhūticandra, born of Kalyāṇadevī in l. 9. Sircar, on the basis of the inscription from the time of Niticandra, suggested that as that king was a professd 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 Śaṅkuttagrama, Kimmājuvedī was indeed the queen of Bhūticandra, as the paleography of the inscription points to the beginning of the 6th century, and Niticandra's queen was named Śāvītāh Candrabāriyā. The names of the queens can be read in l. 5-8, the queen's name in l. 3 being damaged. Thus we have the name of the dominatrix queen, and the king's mother, grandmother, great-grandmother, great-great-grandmother and great-great-great-grandmother: Kimmājuvedī, Kalyāṇadevī, Kayaevī, Sukanyādevī, Kimaldevī and Kintomdevī. The similarity of the names prefixed with kām with the name of the mother of the donor of the Pauktawhin bell should be noticed; their possible Tibetan-Burman affinities 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 period?

71 e.g. the Duti Plates of Bhasaravarman, ET 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 Čehgata was granted by Kismājudevi in favour of a vihāra built by herself. Although Sirac 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. Kismājudevi was doubtless a Buddhist, although her husband and his ancestors appear to be described as Śālvas. As we have noticed elsewhere, there is practically no evidence of Śālvas in the archaeological assemblage, the state religion at the time of Devacandra, at least, having been a form of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Śālve ritual may have been confined to certain court ceremonies necessary to legitimate kingship, but incompatible with Buddhism, performed by a small group of Brahmanas. The income derived from the gift village was meant to be utilized on behalf of the Three Jewels, Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha (Ratnātārayaśayaśaya) in respect of the cātusgata, the four necessities of the Buddhist priest. A damaged passage in ll. 12-13 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 (Lagāṅgata Jetavanāvāśista-viracandudita arghabhikṣushkhya .... sampradāna). The gift village

12 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 "yielding 3,000" (Dehghutta, rstiti-bhariko 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) × 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 meant. The boundaries of Dehghutta, rstita are described in 11. 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 (śīla-pabhktā) and a mango tree, while Vañgēkhalla, a stream or canal, lay on the west.

The reverse of the plate begins with 1. 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 (bharmi, bhīlāgāti) and out of great respect for the royal donor (amajbhadanti). This is followed in 11. 15-20 by five of the well known imprecatory and beneficary stanzas identical to those found in the early 6th century inscriptions of Bengal. The name of the Prime Minister (mahāmantri) Bhāgaddīyādāna occurs at the beginning of 1. 21. The last line of the record contained the date, the 12th regnal year of the king. If we accept Sircar's dates for the Śrīcandra kings, the inscription would have been written in c. 97 A.D., eleven years after Bhūtisandra came to the throne.

74 DPPP, s.v. mentions that there were at least two monasteries by that name in Śrī Lanka.
75 of S.M.Morrison, op cit pp.78-9
Of the geographical names, Ḍhāguttagrama 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 Vesâli. If our interpretation of the name (Ḍīg-aṣṭara) is correct, it was probably towards the northwest, and Vaṅgenkhalla therefore a tributary of the Kaladan river in the vicinity of the present-day Bann-chaung (Bann-chaung).
First side

1.  ..............................................
2.  ..............................................
3. 3 s tatśāṇṇānūṇyaitaḥ paramamāheśvaro mahādevyaṁ śrī[kin].......
   rādevyaṁ utpanno [Mahārā[a]]. ........................
4. 4 s tatśāṇṇānūṇyaitaḥ paramamāheśvaro mahādevyaṁ śrīkintomdevyaṁ
   utpanno mahā[r[a] ............................
5. 5 s tatśāṇṇānūṇyaitaḥ paramamāheśvaro mahādevyaṁ śrīkindsādevyaṁ
   utpanno [mahārā] ..............................
6. 6 s tatśāṇṇānūṇyaitaḥ paramamāheśvaro mahādevyaṁ śrīśukanyādevyaṁ
   utpanno [mahē] ............................... 1
7. 7 s tatśāṇṇānūṇyaitaḥ paramamāheśvaro mahādevyaṁ śrīkṣaudyaṁ
   utpanno mah[a[r[a] ............................

1 After Sirca, 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 mahārājaśāhirljā Śrīkṣa̯oukandya
   tatyā puranā tatśāṇṇānūṇyaitaḥ paramamāheśvaro mahādevyaṁ śrī......
   devyaṁ utpanno mahārājaśāhirljā Śrīkṣa̯oukandya. 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 “dhirljā Śrīkṣa̯oukandya”
6 The original record may have read here “jādhirljā Śrīkṣa̯oukandya”
7 The lost syllables may have been “jādhirljā Śrīkṣa̯oukandya”
8 We may suggest the restoration of the lost akṣaras as “jādhirljā Śrīkṣa̯oukandya”
9 The lost syllables may be restored as “jādhirljā Śrīkṣa̯oukandya”
8. s tattādāyukṣaman paramanjñēsvaṁ mahād-asya śrīkalyāṇapadevīṁ utpanno ................... 10
9. svaparākulasamudkhavān narendrānu tadancarānāṁ ca bhavigato yathārtham anu...................... 11
10. kuṇalayutam sahitam ca vakti sarvān viditam etad astu vo yadhā pareṇa 12
11. svā kārītavahāre ratnatraiyopayogya catuspratayayanimitāṁ bhagnasphūṭi[ta].................... 13
12. Kimmājutevā āgatākṣataletaevamavāvāistaṁviracatuddhīśaryā bhikṣātmāgamā .......................... 14
13. saṃpradāna 15 Dēguttaśāmā ttri sāhasrika-praṇo nisqupto yasya sīmā pūrveṇa ......................... 16
14. śrīlakkṛjñā śilāpaṅktir śtrak vṛkṣaṁ ca pāścinena vahgekkhallaṁ uttarej 17
15. tadd bhavaddhir dharmāśhīlāṁ āsaṁva(d-ba)hūmanē ca paripālanyo 'pi ca [ ] Yāṁ īha dattani "conom 18

10 The syllables lost here were possibly mājñēśvīrtā[daṁ śrīkalyāṇaṁ
11 The reading may have been ammāyatī bhāmāyatī
12 The expression may also be yathāpārāṇa
13 The intended reading seems to have been bhugna spāsīta mahākārī
14 It is impossible to restore the lost akṣaraṁ
15 The word saṃpradāna apparently stood at the end of a compound expression which was an adjective of āparāṇa
16 The word dākeśīyaṁ appears to have occurred at the end of the line.
17 The intended word is uttornāma which must have been followed by the indication of the northern boundary of the gift village.
18 The lost syllables would be puru narendrāin āyatiṇī
16. dharmārthasaṁskarāṇi dharmānīlabhājan prīṣa gauravāc
ca māyaṁ ānugṛta phalāni tān||19 ..................20
17. dyate ca punah punah yasya yasya yaśca bhūmis tasya tasya
tadā phalam [†]21pū...........................22
18. yatnādy rakṣa Yudhīṣthira mahīś mahīmatāḥ śreṣṭha. dānāc
chreṇo'nuśāsanam [†] Sva.......................23
19. yo hareta vasuniharām sa viśṭhāpaṅ kriṣṇir bhūtvā pitrībhīs
sāha mājjati [†] Sā............................24
20. svarge sodati bhūmidaḥ ākeśtā ānunanta ca tāny eva narake
vaset 25 ........................................

21 mahāmantri Reśādityyadāso

22  ||26|| rājya samā [t ll āsāgaḥ śu ]

19 Metre: Upāḷāti (Indrāvaśī and Upendravaśī),
20 The lost akṣaras can be restored as Bahubhir vasūdhā datā
21 The metre of this stanza and the following verses is Anupūbh
22 The lost syllables are "ravāddā mahājātibhyo"
23 The lost akṣaras can be restored as datāḥ puna datāḥ vā.
24 The lost syllables were no doubt "śīkha varga sahaerānī"
25 After this, the akṣaras datokaḥ cātva may have been irized,
26 Between the double datās, there is the sign or two concentric
   circles.
The "Pyu" Inscriptions

The palaeography of two inscriptions found in Arakan is not analogous to the usual Northeast Indian scripts. The first, found near Sandoway, is in the script described by Lane as Pyu "Tirou" 16, 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 Êriketa than to those of Halin. Contact with Êriketa is also noticed in the coins; and in some sculptures found at Vesail. Two routes connected the Pyu capitals with Arakan: the "Myawadonyu" road, traditionally built by a Pyu king with the intention of invading Vesail 17 over the Arakan Yoma via Mt. Victoria to the Lemro River, and the Taunggup Pass route, which connected Êriketa and Sandoway. The Pyu "Tirou" inscriptions, found on the route between the Taunggup Pass and Sandoway, suggested to Lane that the Pyu may have opened up a port in that area to facilitate connections with Tārralipi and the Orissan coast, thus avoiding the rocks and islands off Negris. 18 Arakanese chronicles and oral traditions remember various Pyu attacks on Sandoway and

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76 personal communication, May 20, 1972, and his "Phases of Old Burma (in press)"; cf. Daul, op cit, pp. 281-287
77 See Leve, B. "Myawadonyu Road" ASB 1920-21, pp. 39-40
78 personal communication, Jan 5, 1974
Vešali7). 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. The Myat Pyu Reader p.76

"stone, 2' x 1½' x 6" (sic) at the village of Tonaka, on Thalu chang-
ning river, about thirty miles from Sandoway town. Sent by A.H. Bricks, Offic.
Commissioner, Arakan Division, Akyab, to Dr. D.H. Hulsch (sic for
E.Hiltsch), Government Epigraphist, Mairas, 29 October 1894. There
is no record of Hiltsch's reading, if any.

There are five lines of Pyu Tipul script, each followed by a line
in the so-called "interlinear Brahmi" common to many Pyu inscriptions.
We have only The Myat's eye-copy to work with, hence much of the translit-
eration is doubtful: there may be confusion between the letters ṭa, pa,
pha, ḍa and ḍa, all of which are angular with equal arms. ḍa and ḍa,
both consisting of two loops opening to the right, may have been con-
fused 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 The 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 Skyetna, rather than Faun, is apparent and to be
expected in the geographic context. The benchmarks are the usual linear
type, but the much rarer notched type 82 is noticed with ṭa (ṭ, ru. 1.1)
The medial vowel usually read as i (s, al. 1.2) is a curve to the
right, attached to a line benchmark, of the type found in the 7th century
Pyu Tipul inscrip-

79 Freya "On the History of Arakan" JASS 1884, p.38; Peking Epigraphist
28p-39p. Somalitibhapisagansya In Forchhammer, Arakan, p.1; Ban
Shaw Du "Legendary History regarding the Origin of the Name Myak-U
or Monukd" JGOS VI (1916)pg.225-229, "Hauyewmuyos Road" JASB
1915-16, pp.92-94
80 cf. Dami, op cit p.23
ions of Śrīṅgātra. Another form, with the usual curve to the right and
an upward twist, is also noticed (2 f. 1.). Medial & are also
found, both attached to subscript verticals, & having a curve opening
upwards at the left ( s 1. 2), & having a curve opening down
to the right ( s 1. 2). When k is combined with a letter, the
letter slants towards the left, e.g. in 1.2 s s uu eho & u h s
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 a. 2 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."

In 1. 2 we have
ch: 1 for ca: 'likeness, image'
pa: 'to give'
vo: '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 1. 5 could be read
as numerals. By comparison with BM 1244, pl. IX and U Nya's chart83 we have

81: Abb. p. 221
82: Ap 8 Vol.1, pt.1, p.62. p.1. I have used Blagden's system of trans-
literation, apart from using ou and och for his och and och.
83: ASS 1926-29
200 and 8 or 9. Taking this in the so-called "Burmese Era" of 638 A.D., we have 906/7 A.D. - the period of the decline of SriKsetra.83

The so-called interlinear Brahmī 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, the most common combination of letters, are two dots, possibly indicating a vicary 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 च, of the Maukkan gold plates.

While not all the letters can be identified, many are common to inscriptions from Eastern Bagan from the 1st to 3rd centuries A.D.84. Aung Thaw has already pointed out that the architecture of this area influenced the early Pyu architecture of Bagan during this period. To the Pyu, 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 purpose.85 Perhaps a development of this function is found in the "Secret Writings" of the Arakanese priests, where numerals and other signs had alphabetical equivalents.86

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83 Aung Thaw, Historical Sites in Burma, p. 33
84 My colleague David Bradley's recent (unpublished) researches into the sacred flute, widely used among Tibetan-Tibetan peoples to convey linguistic meaning through tones, often in religious ceremonies, have led me to suppose that the interlinear Brahmī 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 1294 BY/1837 A.D., has been published by the Department of Higher Education, Palsein, (n.d.)
Piyu 'Pali' Inscription from Wantitaung (Plate XXX)

Mrohunang Museum


This inscription is on the reverse of a large rectangular grey schist stone slab with a 16th century Burmese inscription on the obverse. The history of the stone itself is interesting. It was found on Wanti 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 Vasali. The script and the general character of the inscription are remarkably similar to the Pali inscriptions found at Sríperumbudur.

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, Panam, Dehravati and Malaya. Demi 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 letters. 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 beadedness, although in the Wantitaung inscription, which is

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16 e.g. the inscribed stone slab found near Budhawgyi pagoda at ASI 1931, p. LXVIII (i) and Pinto, J.A. 1917-13; Elin Maung Co., "The Old City of Sīrīpura" Selections from Pāla Pāli Pali, 1972, pp. 167ff and Plate 1. (in Pāli); the Nuangang gold plates, KT V, p. 301ff and the Kinbogin gold MS edited by Lu Po Min in ASR 1938-39, pp. 19ff

17 Demi, op cit, pp. 290-1, 286
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 ꝰ and ꝯ, and initial ꝰ, ꝱ, ꝲ and ꝳ are more elongated than at
 Buccara, one of the factors accounting for the widely spaced lines.
Dashes between words found here also occur on the Rakhawgyi stone.

Initial ꝰ (Ẽ ‖ 1.1) has the same form as that of the Rakhawgyi
inscription, which is unusual in that the lower hook rejoins the
vertical, a tendency only noticed in the 6th century rock inscriptions of
Som Lanka (cf Dani, pl.XIX, 11). Medial ꝰ apparently has three forms:
the usual horizontal slanted slightly inward to the right (Ẽ ‖ 1.1); combined with ꝱ (Ẽ ‖ 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 (Ẽ ‖ a†, 1.2) rather like the
common medial ꝰ. The latter, while reminiscent of the ornate vertical
medial ꝰ 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 ꝰ in an elongated superscript loop, more
curved at the left (Ẽ ‖ 1.1)Medial ꝰ is extremely ornate, a spiral winding
towards the right (Ẽ ‖ 1.1). Medial ꝳ (Ẽ ‖ a†, 1.2) is the
curved vertical type, about the height of the letter again; e the usual
southern left curve ending in a curl (Ẽ ‖ tte, 1.2); ꝳ, again
southern, has two top curves (Ẽ ‖ 1.1). Of the consonants, the waved
horizontals found in many letters of the Maunggam and Khinbag˘
plates are less apparent in the Rakhawgyi stone and not at all at Wanti-
taung. The style generally agrees with the south Indian influenced style
current in Southeast Asia during the late 6th and early 7th centuries.
De (ţ1.2) shows a slight development from the Basawgry stone in that the curve extends well beyond the vertical. In combination with ͜ and ͜, it takes new forms which may also be compared with the Basawgry style. The unusual initial and final decorative marks are also found in the Khirbughā plates (Plate I, 1.1 and Plate V, 1.3) and the Basawgry 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-constituents (ucchhajāti) of a Buddha, as found in the Mahāvīraśāstra Viṣṇuṭra of the Majjhima Nikāya and also in the Catuḥśloka Kiśaka of the Abhimukha Kiśaka. The same excerpt appears in the Khirbughā MS, VI 3–VII 1, and IX 3–X 3. The inscription is therefore an important link between Sravastī and northern Avadhā, 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 Theravādī sect which had loose ties with Sravastī.

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

First Section

tathāganto aṣṭabha[ca]tamo pā-


I am grateful to Professor Pace for his identification and transliteration of the text.
Second section

1. ...

2. [ Khípa savase te paññhñato ime āsavā aparikkhīpāti tatra vata mā samapo vā] brāhmaṇa vā devo vā [māra vā kovi vā lokasmiḥ sahasamena pañcicodōsasati] nīmittenetah bhikkhave na

3. salmanupasāmi

   1 for uṣārājñi
   2 for tathāgato
   3 for mātātthi

Translation

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 Āsama have not destroyed these Āsama. I see no grounds, monks, to show that any recluse or Brahma, that any Deva or Māra or Brahmā can with justice make this charge.

Sākhka-lipi (Plate XXXII)

The mysterious script known as Sākhka-lipi is found in a wide variety of contexts among medieval Indian ruins. According to Professor Erraz, it is merely an elaboration of the current script, made so ornate as to appear incomprehensible. In Arakan, the only example was found on the hidden upper side of a listel fragment recently found at Yeθil and now in the Mrhaung Museum, and is interesting in that a Sākhka (cone) 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

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89 Following Lu Pe Min (ASB 39/3 p.203) we have used the translation of F.L. Woodward in the Book of Gradual Sayings, Vol.III, pp.9-10.

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

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

The Image Inscription

The Mahānuni Image Inscription (Plates XXXIIIa)

ASB 1958-59, pl. 33 and 34; Arch Nag 8264 (1958-59); below, p. 200-1

This, the only ancient inscription yet discovered at the Mahānuni temple, consists of three lines on the plinth of an image originally noticed by Percheron 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 form, as do most of the letters, e.g. म, ल and ए 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. य as in the transitional form, developed from the flat-based tripartite type, with a distinctive triangle at the left (मए)sylvania. A similar transition is made in the inscriptions of Kumra 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 Paranā, one of the 28 Yakṣa generals led by Kumra, 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

|| Yākṣapada Paranā - nī - ca - wile

⁹¹ J.G.de Casparis, (Indonesian Palaeography Leiden 1975) pp. 81-2 and pl. IIIa

⁹² Dani pls. X, 2 and XII, 2; Fleet CII III, pp. 53-4; E 7 II, p. 210
Inscribed base of a Buddha image from Vesāli (Plate XXXIVc)
Mrohawng Museum

below, p. 241.

This fragmentary inscription consists of portions of two lines at the front of the base of the image, and measures 8 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 ०, a curve to the left from the headmark and a slanting line to the right (० ḍ̐, l. 2), also found on the coins of Prātīcandra (c. 575-600). ye has the left arm looped.

The language appears to have been nearly correct Sanskrit, as no full influence is noticed. The first line must have consisted of the ye dīvam 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 Stūpetra. The second line recorded the donation of the image, however, the name of the donor is now lost.

1. ........[illegible evāvāśi mahāra ......

2. ......ye kārayati ...........

Inscribed plinth (Plate XXXIVc)

Mrohawng 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 Prātīcandra’s queen.

Jeyo dinanā ye ̆ parāvāśastika(ayā)

This is the pious gift of the devout lay-worshipper......
Inscribed base of a Buddha image (Plate XXXIVa)

Mrohsun Museum; cf. below, p. 273

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

Fragmentary Vigna image inscription (Plate XXXIII)

Mrohsun Museum

of below, p. 273

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. श्र (५) and श्र (६५) 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 Devacakrā to Vāraḥaprabha, are supplemented by two analogous series from southeast 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 श्रवणaka coins (Plate XXXVII)

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

Devacakrā (Plate XXXVIII, 1, 2)

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

(1) The inscription on the reverse reads च त ध व ए in 5th/6th century Nāgarī, and can be compared with the scripts of the Gupta
copper plates found in Bengal (Dami, pl.XI, 2-3). Pliny was wrong in suggesting a reading of DAMA for this coin 93.

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

YAJNACANDRA (Plate XXXVIII, 3)

Only one coin is known and has not yet been published. The inscription reads यज्ञचांद्रय. Ys is tripartite; the upper portion of the letter is now unfortunately obliterated. J is the three-armed type, and the subscript D resembles the cursive form, both common in Bengal in the 5th and 6th centuries. The lower loop of the letter, however, rises to join the J vertically. This form of the conjunct is unknown elsewhere.

CANDRABANDHU (Plate XXXVIII, 4)

Only one coin is known and has not yet been published to date. On the obverse, in two lines, CANDRABA (O J C) and (X)NHI (O).
The script also corresponds to that of the Sunananda rock inscription of Candravarma and the 5th century Gupta copper-plates (Dami XI, 1-2).

A separate sign for R is noted.

BHUMICANDRA (Plate XXXVIII, 5-7)

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

(1) On the obverse, in two lines, BHUMICA (O J N) and NURA (O). The palaeography again closely resembles the script current in Bengal during the late 5th and early 6th centuries, and the early Arakan votive inscriptions. While N has a linear headmark, which is surmounted by a triangular shape. This transition took place in Bengal during the 6th century.

(2) The inscription reads BHUMICANDRA (O J N O). The 5th is a variant type noticed by Dani among the Bengal copper-plates of the

93 "Coins of Arakan, of Pegu and of Burma" Numismatica Orientalis 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 BHUMI, in a similar script can be read, followed by two indistinct letters, probably CAMRA.

**Nāgācandra (Plate XXVIII, 8)**

Johnston ascribed this coin to Nāgācandra, but in the light of the new finds it belongs both stylistically and palaeographically to Nāgācandra. The inscription reads $\帽 \hat{r} \hat{r}$ $\hat{r} \hat{r}$. While the $\hat{r}$ is the same form as found on the 6th century Bengal copper-plates, the subscript $\hat{r}$ falls from the left vertical rather than the right.

**Mitacandra (Plate XXXIX, 1-14)**

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

**Viracandra (Plate XXXIX, 15-19)**

On the larger denominations, medial $\hat{r}$ is always superscript, curled either to the right or left ($\hat{r}$, $\hat{r}$), and on specimens of the smaller denominations, the vertical medial appears, as 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; as has three forms: the early straight vertical, the later vertical with a tick to the left of the base, or a variation of the.

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94 See, e.g., *Ibid*, Figs 6, 22
never form with the vertical bent slightly to the right (இ,ீ, ஞ). The latter two are found on the Nikaman plates of Bhaskarasvarman, datable to the early 7th century (Paniał, Pl.XI, 4). The serif becomes more curvise in some cases. It is remarkable that so many variations occurred during the short three-year reign of Viracandra.

**Prithivicandra (Plate XI, 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 Feyer, who read PRITHIVICANDRA with the help of Pratapadasa Gosh. Feyer also reproduced the coin and read the inscription as PRITYICANDRA.

Medial ய is sometimes superscript and sometimes long (ய, ய); medial ட is usually the rounded superscript form (டு) or a variation of it (எூ).

The ப出入境 is both open and closed at the top; ட is usually the northern form, but the Devanagari looped variety is also noticed (ட, ட). Subscript ப出入境 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 (ீ ,ீ).

**Prithivicandra (Plate XI, 7-8)**

On the west face of the Shitthang pillar inscription the name of this king is written Prithivicandra, on the coins we find PRITHIVICANDRA and PRITHI, both acceptable variants.

Medial ட is superscript and rigid (ट) as well as vertical (ट). ட is superscript (ट), ட 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 Indian Acastian.

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resembles the local form of superscript \( nə \) ( ꜋ ) noticed among the coins of \( \text{Pratihara} \). It 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 Gupta plate of \( \text{Samudra Gupta} \), of the mid-7th century, and in the copper-plates of \( \text{Harshavarman} \).\(^{96}\)

\( \text{Narasimha} \) (Plate XI, 12-13)

Only three coins of this last king of the \( \text{Chandra dynasty} \) are known. It is the northern \( \text{bipartite} \) variety, with a vertical vowel to the left, whereas \( \text{bha} \) is written as a larger circle over a smaller ( ꜋ ꜋ ꜋ ).

This is an adaptation of the southern form noticed also in the \( \text{Srivijaya bell inscription} \) and in the \( \text{Samboda Stone} \). The slight influence of southern scripts in the coins of the last three kings of the dynasty must be noted.

\( \text{Srivijaya} \) (Plate XI, 13)

This formerly unknown king reigned during the confused period after the fall of the \( \text{Chandra} \). He is represented by only one unpublished coin, inscribed ꜋ ꜋ ꜋ ꜋ ꜋ ꜋ ꜋ ꜋ ꜋ ꜋ ꜋ ꜋ ꜋ ꜋ ꜋ ꜋ ꜋.

The first part of the \( \text{na} \) is lost, but the right vertical slants outwards, a trend first noticed in Eastern India in the early 7th century, \( \text{Nishantpur} \) plates of \( \text{Dharmaraja} \); \( \text{na} \) in the \( \text{bipartite} \) variety which came into favour in Bengal in the late 7th century (Dawi, pl.XI,3). Medial ꜋ ꜋ is the superscript circle noticed before, while ꜋ retains the 6th century bipartite form common in \( \text{Southeast Asia} \) during the 7th century.\(^{97}\)

The only coins known from the dynasty of \( \text{Narasimha} \) are those issued by \( \text{Dharmavijaya} \) and \( \text{Pratihara}. \)

\(^{96}\) Fleet, C.I.J. III, 256-7: VII 157-8

\(^{97}\) Dahi, pl.XX,13 (Ang Chumrik inscription of \( \text{Jayavarman} \), 667 A.D.): pl.XXII,11,12 (Ty Dhuthom Mon inscription and VIII Mahayang inscription, both 7th century)
Dharmavijaya (Plate XL, 15-16)

On the coins, the name is written DHARMAVIJAYA. The vertical of श ( श ) is extended below the letter towards the right. Superscript ष is a short vertical with a triangular headmark ( ष ). These features are found in the late 7th and 8th century inscriptions of Deva kings of East Bengal (Dani pl.11,6). Certain early 7th century archaeisms are retained. श is the triangular variety with the base sloping to the right ( श ). व is the three-armed variety with its lower arms bent down ( व ) and श is still the tripartite form with an outer curl at the left curve ( ष ).

Bharhutendra (Plate XLI,1)

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

Sri Shabagadisendra (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 Jayapalendra. The script is similar to that of the north face of the Shihansung pillar inscription, and the coin can be assigned to one of the kings mentioned there, Sri Shabagadisendra. The inscription is written in two well-spaced lines. The first line has श्री ( śrī ) in the centre, the second, श्रीमानसिद्धार्थ (śrīmaṇṇaśiṭṭhāṭha). Palaeographically 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.177.
centuries. There are only slight differences from the script used in
the copper-plates of the Chandra of East Bengal during the first half
of the 11th century, and all the forms may be found in the Bongar
grant of Mahipāla 199.

Duli and Bongar coins minted in East Bengal

The 'Yārikriya' 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 'Yārikriya'
coins, after Hayre's first tentative reading 100. His reading was
slightly altered by Duli to Yārikriya 101, and this was accepted by
Diyakmed and Bottem 102. Johnston queried these readings, but offered
no alternative. Barnett suggested either Carikota or Buni Kota 103,
and Christina's reading of a later degenerate specimen was Bujakara 104.

Duli, who had access to the hoards found during the Naimanati excavation
read Bujakara 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
Syriac hoard published by McDowell as variants of Bujakara; a mistake
for Bujakara, the letters w and t being transposed. He further stated

199. cf Duli, "Mainamati Plates of the Chandras." Pakistan Archaeology
III, 1961, pp. 94-95; S.N. Chatravrati, "Development of the Bengal
alphabet from the fifth century to the end of Mahamadon rule" 42(I)
Letters, Vol.IV, 1938, pp. 351-381. See also fig. 11 (p. 369) col. VII
Bongar grant of Mahipāla (c. 995-1043 A.D.), EVol. XIV, pp. 127ff;
100. op cit p. 39.
102. op cit supra. p. 99; A.M. Bottem, Col. of Farah, John Cabinet, Assam p. 578
103. In D.W. McDowell, "Eight Coins of Arakan from Syriac" Karitamato
Chronicle, XXI, p. 630.
that the Mianamati coins were discovered at a level which clearly belongs to the Buddhist Candras rulers of East Bengal, and therefore, "all the coins that have been so far read as Yarikriya and attributed to the Candras rulers of Amanu should now be read as Prriyka and ascribed to the Candras rulers of East Bengal." This theory supposes a gap of three centuries in the series, and cannot be supported by stylistic or paleographic evidence. As we have seen, Anandavacana or his immediate successors were deposited around the middle of the 8th century, and Dani himself has given the date of the first Candras king of Samata and Padga, Trilokvacakana, as 900 A.D..

Dani's student, Harinur Rashid, queried the hypothesis on the grounds that the "Yarikriya" coins were recovered from levels definitely associated with the 8th century early Deo kings of East Bengal. Phayer dated the coins to the 8th/9th centuries A.D. but, as did Johnston, Smith assigned them to the 9th-10th centuries A.D. While McDowell, on the basis of the eighth Syriak coins, placed them in the period between the fall of the first Candras dynasty (c. 500 A.D.) and the ascension of Anandavacana (c. 720 A.D.)

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

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115 JASI XXIV, pp. 141-2
117 cf alt p. 20
118 cf alt p. 372
119 Cat of Coins in the Indian Museum, p. 331
120 cf alt p. 231
indicating palaeographic 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, Žrūkēla, is to my mind the most satisfactory, and as his
thesis is not yet published, his arguments will be summarized here in
the light of the recently discovered Arakan epigraphs.

The old readings may be analysed thus:

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phryve</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>ri</td>
<td>kri</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cunningham</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ri</td>
<td>kri</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ri</td>
<td>kri</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>3/10th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barnett</td>
<td>ca</td>
<td>ri</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>ca</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<td>ri</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>ro</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramachandra</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>ry</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dani</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>ra</td>
<td>5/11th</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is little controversy over the second and third letters: the
former being read by all except Ramachandra 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 Paridpur
plates of the 6th century112, the Midnapur plates of Bhāskaraśarma of
the 7th century113 and other Eastern Indian epigraphs of the same period114.

113 ET XIII, pp.65ff
114 op cit p.74, op cit fig.2, cols IV, V, VI
115 Indian Antiquity, XII, p.29ff.
The third letter, a variety of ka, initially with a slant at the base of the vertical (ක) is the same as that found in the Pover MS of the early 6th century. The form is rare in Bengal, and hence the slant was mistaken for the vowel r. On the later Mahasmati coins the character becomes the fully developed looped variety of ka, with a tick to the right, as found in the Mithanpur and Kendra plates. The medial ś is very clear on the Mahasmati and Sylhet coins, and Dani's reading of this element is correct.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bengal copper-plates 5th-6th centuries (after Dani, Chakras-Verti)</th>
<th>Veśālī copper-plate beginning c. 6th</th>
<th>Inscriptions Early Late Harikela Harikela</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a ḫa ḫi ḫi 惛 惛</td>
<td>ḫi ḫi 惛 惛</td>
<td>ḫi ḫi 惛 惛</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha ḫi ḫi ḫi ḫi</td>
<td>ḫi ḫi ḫi ḫi</td>
<td>ḫi ḫi ḫi ḫi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

116 Dani, loc. cit. 114, 5; 8, XIII, pp. 73-75; JASBS I, No. 6, pp. 89-91
117 JASBS XVI (1930) Num.Suppl. XVIII, p. 65, pl. XIII a-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 "Akara dynasty" (Plate XIV,11-14)

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

1. Lalitākara (Banerji's pl.XIII,1)
2. Paryākara (pl.XIII,4)
3. Pradumnākara (pl.XIII,5)
4. Antākara or Ananda (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 6th/7th century levels at Mainamati seems to support the above reading and postulation of an Akara dynasty.119

Johnston (p.372) considered that these coins "may follow fairly closely on Anandamitra". Although the reproductions of these few coins are poor, the script appears to lie between those of the Khaḍga copper-plates and the Bādal pillar inscription of Māgadhapāla, that is, in about the middle of the 9th century.120

118 JASB NS VI (1920) Num. Suppl.XXIII, pl.85, pl.XIII.3-7
119 cf Harinar Bashti, op cit p.96
120 cf Dani, pl.XI,3; S.K. Chakravarti, op cit sig II, cols. V and VI.