Some Sanskrit Inscriptions of Arakan

By †E. H. JOHNSTON

(PLATES III–V)

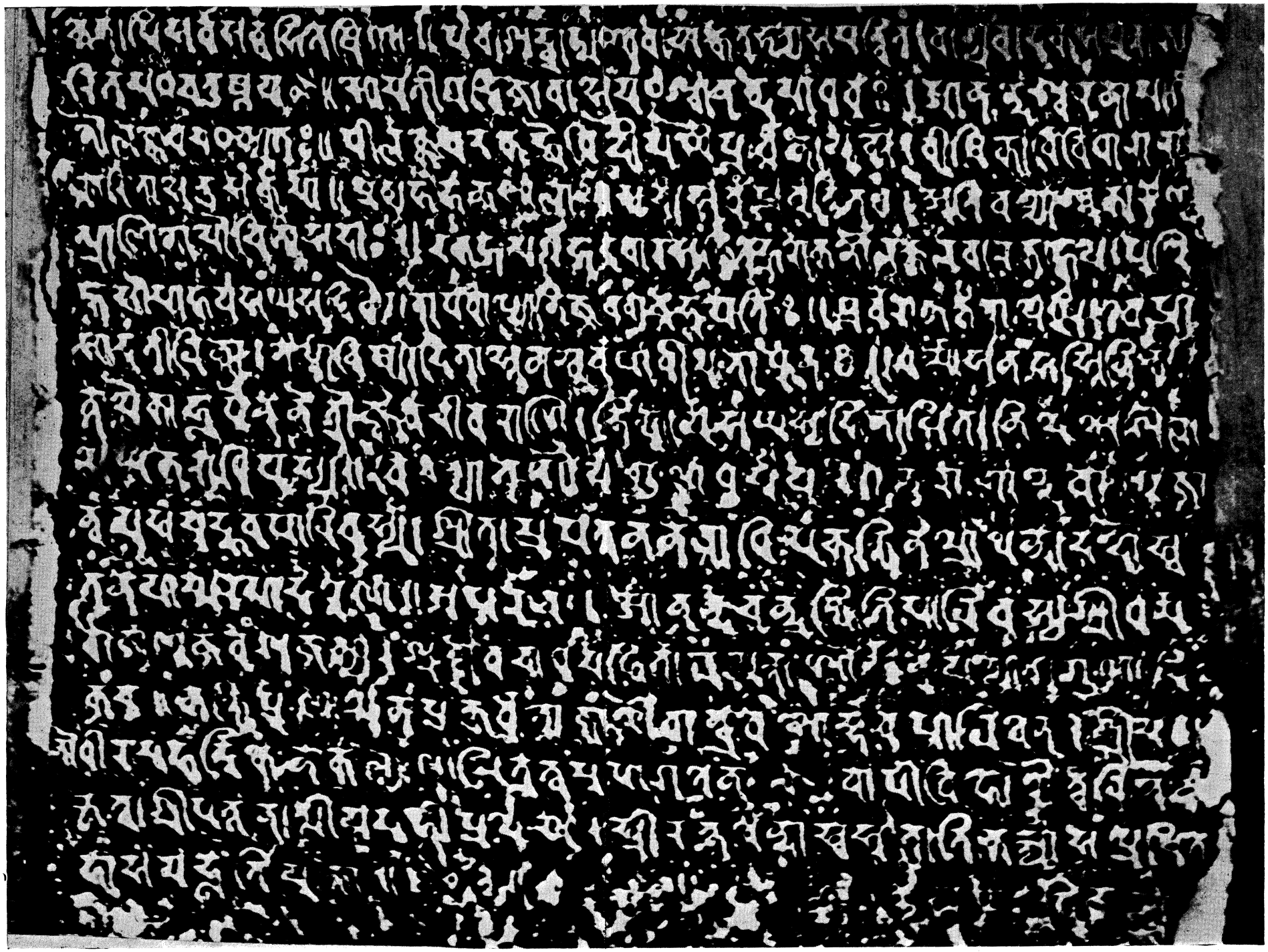
INTRODUCTORY NOTE

PROFESSOR E. H. JOHNSTON'S sudden death in October, 1942, was a grievous blow to Oriental research. Sir Richard Burn, called in by the authorities of Balliol College to go through his papers, found amongst them a rough manuscript article and other material on the Sanskrit inscriptions of Arakan, together with correspondence on the subject with Mr. G. H. Luce and other scholars who had supplied him with rubbings and photographs. As will be seen from the following letter to Mr. Luce, dated the 15th August, 1942, Professor Johnston was contemplating the preparation of this work for publication:

"I have not yet heard what is your opinion about publishing some of the Arakanese results now. Life is short and uncertain these days, and it will hardly be possible to get anything out in *Epigraphia Birmanica* for years to come. What I should like to do is to publish Ānandacandra's inscription, omitting all I have said in the draft about the palæography and just mentioning the others, with a brief account of the coins and of the historical conclusions. For one thing it might attract the attention of linguists and lead to some ideas about the vernacular names; e.g. what language is *Sevihreh*, assuming my reading to be correct? The fuller consideration of details could then be reserved till *Epigraphia Birmanica* is ready to come about.

"I am hopeful that some day I may get more out of some of the other inscriptions than I have so far, e.g. I was looking the other day at what I called in my draft paper the 'separate inscription' and realized at once that it has a name *Prabhācandra* in the first line (I suspect that this is not the beginning of the inscription), and about the middle I can read *bhūpālaḥ Śrī Caṇḍakeyūra-varmma*. Who were these people? Local lords in the interregnum between the Candra dynasty and Vajraśakti? Quite possible palæographically on my dating of it. One day I may get a few consecutive words out of several other lines. I suspect it of containing some sort of genealogical list.

"The coinage I am still in difficulty about. The typical Candra coinage is certainly connected with Veṅgī, and it is the earlier conch-shell and *vardhamāna* coins that beat me. The two I put at the head of the photograph are certainly the original design, but the actual specimens may be much later. The type seems to occur all over Burma and even in Siam, and it seems, from Sir R. Temple, in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1927 and 1928, that similar coins were struck in Calcutta for a king of Burma some time before 1823; but I have not checked his references yet. Do you know a pamphlet he refers to by Captain C. H. White, printed at Akyab in 1892, 'Notes and References to a Selection



Praśasti of Ānandacandra on Pillar at Shitthaung Pagoda, Mrohaung (West face), lines 57–72.

of Symbolical and Historical Coins of Arakan' ? Temple says it is in the India Office, but probably it is quite ungetatable at present. What I have written about these coins wants much reconsideration. I have got evidence from Madras of the association of the *vardhamāna* and conch-shell with Lakṣmī, unfortunately only about the ninth century A.D."

Professor Johnston had not put the finishing touches to his work, and it would not have been possible to publish his MS. but for the generous labour of Mr. Luce and Dr. Barnett. Mr. Luce deciphered the often difficult handwriting and made a clean typescript copy, querying anything about which he was doubtful. Dr. Barnett checked Professor Johnston's reading of the inscriptions and provided English translation and necessary notes, which are all marked by enclosure in square brackets.

Professor Johnston's article, besides its palæographic interest—his remarks on this subject have *not* been omitted—is of historical importance, as giving the first solid foundation for the study of ancient Arakan, and as indicating the valuable results likely to be achieved by full-scale archæological excavation at Vesālī, Mrohaung, and other sites.

J. A. S.

Part I. The Inscriptions

The early history of Arakan is still a complete blank in the histories, all that is known of it being dynastic lists in late Chronicles, which, as will appear below, cannot be relied on for either names or dating, and the coins of a few kings which have yet to be arranged in chronological order. If scholars have neglected this province hitherto, that is largely due to its geographical position on the confines of India and Burma. Not unnaturally the historians of the latter country have hitherto directed their efforts to elucidating such facts as can be ascertained about Burma proper, and the scanty resources available to the Burmese Archæological Service have not been adequate to undertaking serious excavations in Arakan. Indologists on the other hand have felt little interest for an area in which, even at the period dealt with here, Indian civilization was not a natural product, but was imposed on the country from without. The existence of one long inscription in Sanskrit, however, has been known for some time, though it has not yet been edited, and it is proposed to bring together here such epigraphic and numismatic material as is available for the period previous to A.D. 1000.

The following inscriptions in Sanskrit have been examined by me, all in rubbings belonging to the Rangoon University, except that from the Sandoway district, which I have read from the original stone :—

(1) A votive inscription in two lines on a monastery bell found at Vesālī near Mrohaung (Plate IV, 1) ; for establishing the reading of certain doubtful characters use has been made of photographs supplied by the Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Burma. The bell has been damaged in two places, so that the name of the donor is illegible and one other character is destroyed.

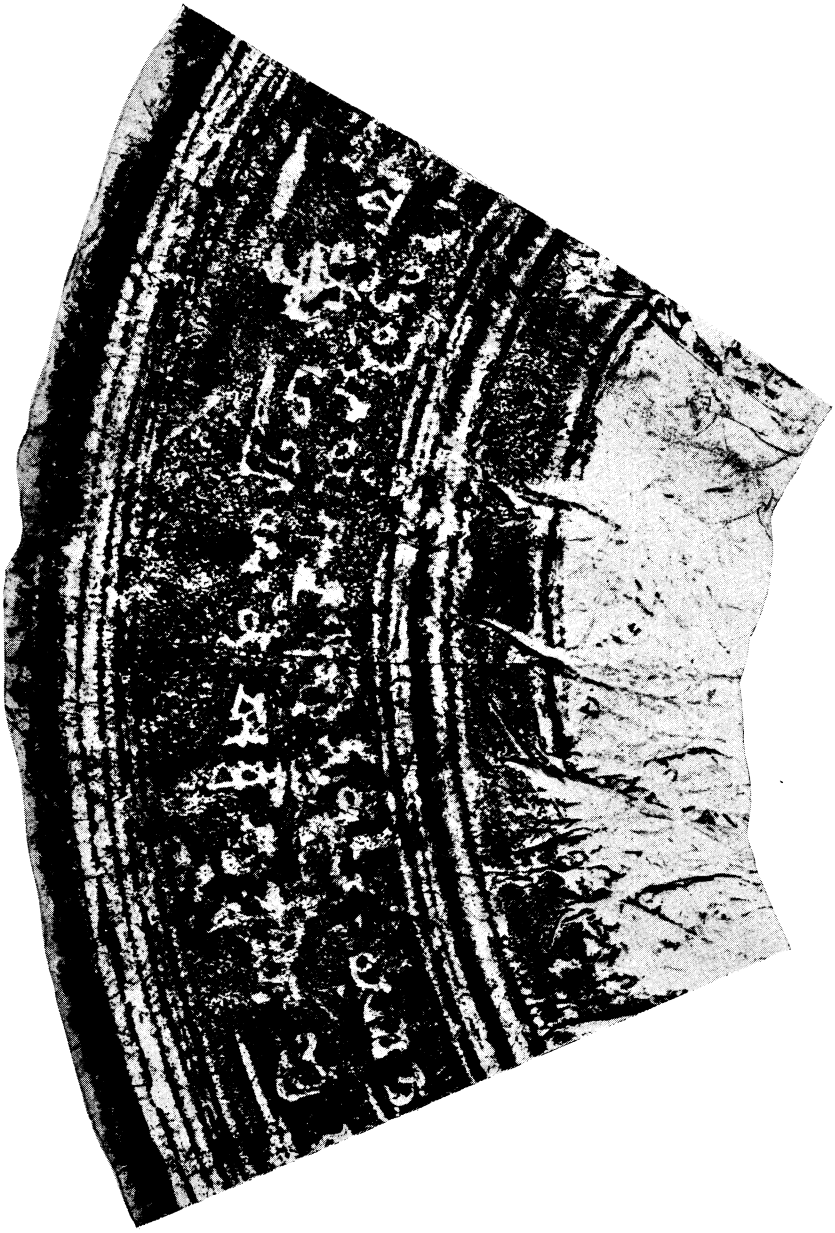




FIG. 1.—INSCRIPTION ON BELL FROM VESĀLĪ.







FIG. 2.—INSCRIPTION ON STONE FROM SANDOWAY.

It is said to be now at Akyab in the charge of the Honorary Archæological Officer.

(2) A votive inscription on a stone obtained by Colonel G. E. Fryer in 1872 from a cave near Nga-lun-maw, Kwelu circle, Sandoway district, and published (but not read) by him with a very poor eye-copy in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1879, p. 201. The stone, which measures approximately 17·4 × 14 cm. and is 2·4 to 2·7 cm. thick, passed at his death to the Royal Asiatic Society, who have recently deposited it on loan in the Museum of the Indian Institute, Oxford; another stone from the same neighbourhood with the *ye dharmā* verse on it should also be with the Society, but has not been traced so far. The surface of the stone has scaled off in parts, making it impossible to be sure about the reading of the fifth line (Plate IV, 2).

(3) The *ye dharmā* verse inscribed round a small stone stūpa at the north-west entrance of the Tejārāma monastery, half a mile north of Mrohaung. Apparently the whole verse was inscribed in two lines, but only a portion of the first line is legible with certainty.

(4) A thirty-line inscription, now in the inscription-shed at Mrohaung, which was found half a mile east of that town, two furlongs east of the Middle Bazaar, at Wunhtitaung Hill. Part of the inscription is irretrievably lost, and I can only read occasional words of the rest with any certainty, not enough to determine the nature or object of the record; unfortunately no proper name has been identified by me, but an attempt to read it from the stone, instead of from a rubbing, might conceivably lead to greater success.

(5) Most important of all are the inscriptions on a pillar now at the Shit-thaung pagoda at Mrohaung, its original position being unknown. The oldest inscription, of about 100 lines in a small neat script, is on the east face; some of it is destroyed, and the rest is so rubbed that nothing consecutive can be made out from the rubbing, though prolonged examination of the actual stone might produce a tolerable reading for the lower part. Of about the same date are four lines on the top end of the north face. The west face has a *praśasti* of 71½ lines in honour of a king called Ānandacandra, which is fairly well preserved and can mostly be read with certainty. A short account of it, based evidently on an inferior rubbing, was given by Hirananda Sastri in the *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India for* 1925–6, pp. 146–8. I should acknowledge here the help I have received in reading this inscription from a reading of the last fifty lines prepared some years back by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India, for the Archæological Survey of Burma, which was unfortunately never revised for publication. I have therefore thought it proper not to quote it when our results differ. This record is of capital importance for the early history of Arakan, as the correctness of the dynastic list which it gives is corroborated by the coins to a considerable extent; we thus have a reliable skeleton framework, going back 359 years from some date early in the eighth century A.D., with some information, possibly not equally sound, for the preceding 188 years. For reading this inscription

I have made use of two excellent rubbings belonging to the University of Rangoon; in a number of cases, where one is not clear, the other gives the doubtful character more legibly. I have also had at my disposal photographs taken many years back by the Archæological Survey, but these appear to have been taken after the marks on the surface had been filled in with some white substance for greater legibility, and this process was not carried out with sufficient accuracy for the photographs to be usable with safety, except in a few instances, where their indications have corroborated readings of which I might otherwise have been in doubt. In a few lines the last few characters have been cut away at some later date, perhaps when the pillar was removed from its original site and had to be fitted into a new position (Plate III).

Beneath this inscription are two short lines in a later hand (about tenth century ?), whose purpose is not clear to me. On the north face the early inscription is followed by several later inscriptions, in an untidy hand of the tenth century, which have been considerably damaged, and though I have read a number of words, these are not enough to enable me to attempt a reading of them; as in the case of the east face, much more could probably be done by expert examination of the actual stone. The total number of lines in these is sixty-nine. Finally there is an inscription, almost entirely illegible, on the top of the pillar, but the very few readable letters on it do not justify any positive conclusions about its date, except that it is probably not distant in time from those just mentioned on the north face.[1]

The palæography of these inscriptions is of considerable interest, and allows certain inferences to be drawn as to the nature of Indian influence in Arakan. When these inscriptions are compared with the few which have been published from Burma proper, the curious point arises that the scripts used in Arakan, unlike those in Burma, all find close analogies with those current in North-Eastern India, and I propose dates accordingly in this paper in consonance with the principles which would be applied to inscriptions from that part of India. The justification for this procedure lies in the results, namely, a logical development of the alphabets and a coherent scheme of dates, covering a number of centuries; the parallelism is so exact that we need hardly assume any substantial "time-lag" for the introduction of changes; that assumption would in the circumstances make it necessary to postulate a time-lag of similar length in all cases throughout a period of five centuries.

The first three inscriptions, which are of a purely religious character, belong to a tradition other than that which characterizes the remainder; the traces of this tradition in Eastern India have not hitherto been fully recognized.[2] The bell-inscription, which I take first, is shown by its forms for

[1] [Prof. Johnston succeeded in deciphering many letters of the inscription on the north face, but his results were too fragmentary to be published.]

[2] For these three the plates in the excellent paper by Dr. S. N. Chakravarti, *JASB.*, iv, 1938, pp. 352–391, on the development of the Bengali character should be consulted. But his view that inscriptions can be dated by consideration of one or two crucial characters is only valid when datable records are available in such numbers that development can be traced from

the letters *ka* and *śa* and its tripartite *ya* to be probably not later than A.D. 650. Other indications, particularly the forms of *sa* and *ma*, suggest the unlikelihood of its being much earlier, but the script has some unusual features, partly archaic. *Da* has the curve rounded, without the point on the left of the curve or the later short cross-stroke at the end of it, and *dha* is a small complete circle. The vowel *u* is added to *t* by bringing the end of the consonant round in a curve and up to the top line, a development of a form hitherto best known from earlier inscriptions in Central and Southern India,[1] but, as will be shown, characteristic of this epoch in Bengal. For *ma* the left-hand down-stroke turns to the right almost at once, and the short stroke at the bottom left-hand corner, which is usually horizontal, slopes upward so as to form a sharp re-entrant angle with the down-stroke. The letter *sa* has at the left a triangle, much larger than in Bühler, Pl. IV, cols. 11 and 12, so that the top of it reaches the cross-line at the top of the letter. Initial *i* consists of two dots or small nicks, one vertically above the other, which are clearly visible in the photograph but hardly to be distinguished in the rubbing, followed by a member closely resembling *da*. Unfortunately there are no examples of *la* and *ha*, which have marked peculiarities on the Sandoway stone, but the one occurrence of *jñā* suggests the possibility that *ja* was beginning to undergo the change of shape which occurred in the second half of the seventh century.

This script is closely akin, both in general character and in respect of these peculiarities, to two of the Faridpur copperplates, Nos. 1722 and 1724 of Bhandarkar's list. The authenticity of the two latter, as well as of a third, No. 1723 of the same list, which was doubted at one time, appears now to be generally accepted; I confess, however, to feeling doubts about No. 1723. No. 1722, issued by Dharmāditya in the year 3, and No. 1724, issued by Gopacandra in the year 19, should be genuine in view of their peculiar relationship to the bell-inscription, and Gopacandra's may perhaps be the earlier; but No. 1723, issued by Dharmāditya without any mention of the year, differs considerably in script, and I do not take it into consideration here, though I would not venture without a personal examination of the plate definitely to stigmatize it as a later forgery. 1722 has *tu* in the form mentioned above, the two places where it should occur in 1724 being illegible in the reproduction, and the same form of *u* is found in 1722 for *du* and *śu*. In 1724 *dha* (ll. 19 and 22) is circular, but larger in proportion to the other letters than on the bell; but in 1722 it is usually slightly elliptical, e.g. l. 21, but less often it is a semi-oval (both forms in l. 2). *Sa* has the triangle on the left in both plates; but while it is normal in Gopacandra's, there are two instances, ll. 14 and 19, in 1722, where the triangle is enlarged and the apex reaches right up to the top line, as in the bell. *Ma* is nearly normal in 1724, but shows the beginning of the

decade to decade; this condition is not satisfied for the period in question, and in general it is desirable to take account of as many letters as possible.

[1] Bühler, *Ind. Palaeogr.*, pl. iii, cols. 17 and 19, and pl. vii, cols. 1 and 11; see also D. C. Sircar, *Successors of the Sātavāhanas* (University of Calcutta, 1939), pp. 328 ff., a second century inscription from Ellura in H.H. the Nizam's Dominions.

process whereby the bell form was reached; 1722, on the other hand, has it in a form even more exaggerated than the bell, and in l. 20 for instance the point of the angle is only just below the main line, being thereby related to the occurrences on the Sandoway stone which will be discussed later. In both plates *va* is more or less triangular in shape; while, however, in 1722 the apex never reaches the top line, in 1724 occasionally, e.g. l. 3, it not merely reaches the top line, but shows a tendency for the two sides not to meet on or before reaching the top line, thus resembling *rvvā* of the bell, but in no case so pronounced as in the *vā* of *avāptaye*. There are also certain differences: in 1724 *śa* has a normal form with rounded top (Bühler, Pl. IV, cols. 5 to 10), but in 1722 the central bar is curved upwards at each end, so as to give the top half of the character the shape of a horizontal oval. Initial *i* occurs in the archaic form of Bühler, Pl. IV, col. 5, consisting of two small circles followed by a downstroke with a short crosspiece at the top. The interesting forms of *la* and *ha* are discussed below in connection with the Sandoway stone.

It would have been desirable also to compare the scripts of the Damodarpur copperplates, Nos. 1271, 1272, 1286, 1307, and 1550 of Bhandarkar's list, which bear dates running from 124 to 224 of the Gupta Era, but the photographs published in *Epigraphia Indica*, xv, so seldom enable the letters to be seen clearly, that the use of this evidence is hazardous. Of letters whose shapes can be accurately determined, Plates I, III, and IV, all have *tu* in the form discussed above, except that in Plate I the bottom of the *u* is square, not rounded, and the same *tu* recurs in the Nandapur copperplate (G.E. 169, Monghyr district of Bihar, *Ep. Ind.*, xxiii, pp. 52 ff.); the *u* of *nu* on Plates III and V is indicated, as in the bell and in l. 18 of Dharmāditya's plate of the year 3, by prolonging the downstroke of the consonant in a straight line instead of making it curve left-handed. For the peculiar initial *i* of the bell I can only quote an inscribed brick (*Ep. Ind.*, xxiv, pp. 20–2), recently discovered at Nālandā, which is dated 197 (evidently Gupta Era) and which proclaims its eastern origin by its forms of *ṣa*, *sa*, and *ha*, thereby differing from the similar bricks previously discovered at Nālandā and Gopalpur (*Ep. Ind.*, xxi, 194 ff., and *JRAS.*, 1938, 547 ff.). Here the letter is identical with that on the bell. *Tu* does not occur on the brick, which, however, has a similar *u* in *du*, as in 1722. As is pointed out below, this initial *i* recurs on the Sandoway stone and in Ānandacandra's *praśasti*, but with the members in the reverse order.

These comparisons are sufficient to prove that we are dealing in the bell with a script which was derived from Eastern Bengal, descending possibly from a variety slightly later than any of those described. No help can be derived from the shape or ornamentation of the bell in the present state of our archæological knowledge, and I would suggest that, if the date is fixed on the palæographical evidence as somewhere in the first half of the seventh century A.D., the margin of error is likely to be small.

The stūpa-inscription is so badly preserved that caution is necessary in drawing conclusions, and it may have been incised by a somewhat careless

workman. The letters *ya*, *bha*, and *va* appear to be exactly as in the bell; *dha* is probably a narrow upright semi-oval, and the exact shape of *rmma* is obscure on the rubbing. The letter *pa* was evidently rounded at the bottom left-hand corner, while in the bell it is rounded in two cases and squared in the other two. It is better to deal with *ha* under the Sandoway stone, but *tu* was probably as in the bell, if we may presume that the end of the *u* has been lost. The indications of letters in the second line are quite uncertain, and my suggestions in the reading below may be mistaken. The date is probably about the seventh century.

The Sandoway stone comes from an area which is and has always been less subject to the influence of India than the Akyab district, and this is apparent in the palæography of the inscription, whose script clearly descends from that of the bell or from a similar type, but has developed on lines of its own in a new environment. The letter *dha* remains the same small circle, the *u* of *tu* is indicated in the same way, and there is the same alternance of the squared and rounded *pa*. *Ta* consists of two straight downstrokes proceeding from the top line and slightly sloping, a form which develops out of the letters *ta*, *tra*, and *tna* as seen in l. 21 of Gopacandra's inscription, where the two lines meet at the top with a tendency to separate; much the same shape is to be found in Nīticandra's coins (Pl. V, Nos. 6–9). The peculiar forms of *ma* and *sa* evidently derive from the script of the bell, and *ya* is a hitherto unknown development of the tripartite *ya*, with the peculiarity that in l. 1 the left-hand member has been turned the wrong way round, as may be seen by comparison with the occurrences in ll. 2 and 6. In l. 4 I read initial *i*, taking it to be the form found on the bell with the members reversed, as this development is found in the last line of Ānandacandra's inscription. The two short horizontal strokes after *yi* in l. 6 I understand as final *ṁ*; at least there seems to be no other possible explanation of them. The one letter which shows a more modern style, and is not merely a deformation of an older form, is *bha* in l. 1, which belongs to the type found in Ānandacandra's inscription. The most interesting letters are *ha* and *la*. The four occurrences of the former are all slightly different: three have a straight downstroke, one with an upward hook to the left from the bottom, and the other two more rounded so as somewhat to resemble a capital J, while the fourth has a slightly curved downstroke with an upward curve to the left at the bottom rather like the two preceding cases. Evidently we have here a derivative of the archaic forms depicted in Bühler, Pl. III, col. 17, and Pl. IV, col. 1, where *ha* has very much the shape of the figure 5; it still survives not only in Bhīmavarman's Kosam inscription (*Ind. Culture*, iii, pp. 177 ff., G.E. 130), but also, somewhat modified, as late as the Nālandā brick of G.E. 197. The down-curve straightens out in the Paharpur copperplate (G.E. 159, Bhandarkar's list No. 2037), the Nandapur copperplate (Monghyr district of Bihar, G.E. 169, *Ep. Ind.*, xxiii, pp. 52 ff.), the Gunaighar grant of Vainyagupta (G.E. 188, from Tipperah, Bhandarkar's list No. 2038), and the Faridpur copperplate, while Dharmāditya's plate of the year 3 has a normal

western form (cf. Bühler, Pl. IV, cols. 7 and 8); Gopacandra's grant shows in l. 24 a form in which the downward stroke is nearly straightened out, like *h* in *hya* on the stone, and in l. 22 one in which it is quite straightened out so as to resemble *h* in the first *he* of the stone. The lineage of this letter is thus quite clear, and the same shape has been recognized in the inscription on a Buddha-statue found at Hmawza (*Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1928–9, p. 108, and Pl. LI (*b*)). Similarly the letter *la* retains essentially the older form given by Bühler, Pl. IV, cols. 1–3 and 5–6, and S. N. Chakravarti, fig. v, col. 1. The Faridpur copperplates usually have a more modern form, but the older type occurs once at l. 12 of Dharmāditya's inscription of the year 3. The script of the stone thus clearly derives from scripts current in Eastern India during the Gupta period, and shows no novelty except the *bha*, which probably originated in India about A.D. 650; the difficulty in dating it lies in deciding how long it would have taken for the script in isolation to have developed its marked peculiarities. On the whole I consider it might be as late as A.D. 800, but hardly later, since the other stone from the same locality, now missing, shows according to the eye-copy a script which has been determined by later influence from Bengal, and there should be a substantial gap between the two.

The remaining inscriptions contain fewer peculiarities from the Indianist's point of view, but one curious feature is the tendency of the letters to grow larger in the course of time. Those on the west face of the pillar measure 8–11 mm. in height, and on the separate inscription about 9–13 mm., while the height on the earlier inscription of the north face is 12–16 mm., on Ānandacandra's 16–19 mm., and on the later inscriptions of the north face, where the variation in size is considerable, about 21–29 mm. To fix the date of the earlier inscriptions by palæographic considerations is not possible, as I cannot read enough of them to form a complete alphabet. The script of the west face seems fairly close to that of the Maukhari inscriptions as given by Bühler, Pl. IV, cols. 11 and 12, and it probably belongs to the sixth century A.D., though it might be as late as early in the seventh century. The same remark applies to the other two, though I should expect, if they could be read more fully, that they were slightly later. All that can be said about these inscriptions is that there appears to be nothing in them which would surprise us in an inscription originating from Eastern India; thus the inscription on the west face of the pillar and the separate inscription both write a tripartite *ya* with the left-hand member curling round outwards instead of inwards as in the Paharpur copperplate (G.E. 159, Bhandarkar No. 2037, Rajshahi district, Bengal), the Gunaighar grant of Vainyagupta (G.E. 188, from Tipperah, Bhandarkar No. 2038), the Amauna grant of Nandana (G.E. 232, Gaya district of Bihar, Bhandarkar No. 1310), the Nālandā brick of G.E. 197 referred to above, and the Arakan coin of Dharmavijaya discussed below; and *tu*, if rightly identified by me on the west face of the pillar, appears also in the same form as on the bell and the other inscriptions already discussed. The eastern bipartite form of *ya* with the bulge at the bottom evidently developed from

a cursive form of the outward-curling tripartite *ya*, as appears from the form in line 29 of Gopacandra's copperplate. The short inscription on the top end of the north face seems to write *ya* with the left-hand loop curling inwards and with the same *ma* as on the bell; these two points and the larger size of the letters lead me to infer a somewhat later date for it than for the other two.

It is, however, fortunately easy to place the important inscription of Ānandacandra. Obviously it is closely related to, but later than, the Aphsad inscription of Ādityasena (*Corpus Inscr. Indicarum*, iii, pp. 200 ff.); the substantial difference is in the form of *ja*, which at Aphsad shows the first beginning of the change effected in the second half of the seventh century, whereas on the Mrohaung pillar the change has been carried through. The script of Yaśovarmadeva's inscription at Nālandā, which belongs undoubtedly to the first half of the eighth century (*vide* Bhandarkar's List, No. 2105), is almost entirely identical with that of Ānandacandra's inscription, both in the form of the letters and in style of writing. The most substantial difference is in the form of *jya*, which in the Nālandā inscription is of the older type, whereas in the other the resemblance to an ordinary *ya* is most clearly brought out in the example at the beginning of l. 45. This script, as has been pointed out by others, goes back to the Bodhgaya inscription of Mahānāman (*CII.*, iii, pp. 274 ff.; G.E. (?) 269). Among noteworthy peculiarities are the peculiar forms given to consonants when they occur at the end of a hemistich, in place of the virāma used at Nālandā. Thus *k*, l. 23; *t*, ll. 26 and 38; *n*, l. 36; *m*, l. 31. As precedents for this I can only quote the Bodhgaya inscription of Mahānāman, ll. 2 and 6, for final *m*, and l. 14 for final *t*, and the Paharpur copperplate of G.E. 159 for final *m*. Initial *ī*, ll. 29 and 39, consists of two small circles with what more or less resembles a modern Devanāgarī subscript *u* below and a crescent above the line. There is only one instance of initial *i*, namely in the closing word of the inscription, whose shape has already been described and appears to be a speciality of Arakan. These considerations would naturally lead us to place the inscription in the first half of the eighth century, and for other reasons probably fairly near the beginning of the century. For we have coins of a number of the kings mentioned in the inscription, and two of those, those of Devacandra and Dharmavijaya, can be approximately assigned on palæographic grounds to the first half of the fifth and seventh centuries respectively. Now Deva is recorded as ruling twenty-two years; the interval from his death to Dharmavijaya's accession is 177 years; Dharmavijaya ruled thirty-six years; and Ānandacandra succeeded nineteen years after his death and had completed the ninth year of his rule at the time of the inscription. The maximum interval between the coins of Devacandra and Dharmacandra is 235 years, and between the coins of Dharmavijaya and the inscription of Ānandacandra is sixty-four years. It seems, therefore, hardly possible to put the latter much later than A.D. 700. Further, if we compare this script with that on the coin of Dharmacandra, father of Ānandacandra (Pl. V), the difference is such that we

must infer that it was a recent importation into Arakan, probably direct from Nālandā. There are moreover four later coins, which used to be in the cabinet of Mr. Prafulla Nath Tagore, but whose whereabouts are unknown; they were published by R. D. Banerji in *JASB.*, Numismatic Supplement XXXIII, vol. xvi N.S., 1920, with poor reproductions and readings which are decidedly speculative. So much of the script as can be clearly determined from the plate appears to be in direct continuation of the Ānandacandra tradition.

The later inscriptions on the north face of the pillar are in a Bengali script of the tenth century A.D., very similar for instance to Bühler, Pl. IV, col. 23, which should be dated A.D. 931 in accordance with Bhandarkar's list, No. 53: some forms resemble those of Mahīpāla's Bangarh copperplate (*Ep. Ind.*, xiv, 329 ff.), but in the main the script has a more antique appearance. I cannot, however, discuss it in detail, as I have been unable to form a complete alphabet from the inscription, in which also the letters are badly cut and vary considerably in shape. A characteristic letter of the inscriptions is *ra*, a downstroke with a sharp hook at the bottom to the left; this form appears to have been in use for a relatively short period, as may be seen from S. N. Chakravarti, loc. cit., fig. v, col. 8.

The inferences to be drawn from the somewhat complicated palæography of these inscriptions are best considered at a later stage, after their language and contents have been treated. The bell-inscription follows a common Mahāyāna formula, which can be traced from the sixth century onwards for as long as Buddhism prevailed in India. It is unfortunate that the bell has been badly damaged just where the donor's name is written, but if I am right in reading the first syllable as *Mya*, it would seem unlikely that the name was Sanskritic in form. The stūpa-inscription has the well known *ye dharmā* verse, and is not well enough preserved to show any peculiarities there might be in it. On the Sandoway stone the *ye dharmā* verse is in Sanskrit, but so incorrectly written as to imply that Sanskrit was little known in South Arakan. The dedicatory lines are unfortunately difficult to read; the donors' names are uncertain, but clearly not Sanskritic in form, and it is impossible even to conjecture what the object dedicated was. The language of this part is presumably meant to be Pali, to judge from the verb *akārayi*; but even the form of this word is uncertain, as the two short parallel horizontal lines after the last letter might indicate *ṁ*, and if so, it should be conjectured that a *su* has been omitted. *Kusala* for *kuśala* should also be noted. If the language is Pali, we can only conclude that South Arakan, unlike north, had derived its Buddhism from Burma proper.

Nothing to the point can be said about the other inscriptions earlier than Ānandacandra's, except that the few words I have read show them to be in Sanskrit; these do not indicate their substance, and I have been unable to detect any certain proper names. In the separate inscription, l. 11, there may be a proper name before the words *bhūpa[tiḥ] pṛ[thivī]*, which are legible, but I cannot make anything out of it that will hold water. Ānandacandra's *praśasti*

consists of sixty-five verses, in a rather doggerel style marred by several solecisms; a prose sentence is interpolated between verses 45 and 46. Not enough of the first verse is legible to be worth recording; the second appears to be in ordinary anuṣṭubh śloka, as are all the rest, except verses 40, 61, 63, 64, and 65 in upajāti, 52 and 59 in mixed indravaṁśa and vaṁśastha, and 32, 42, 44, and 62 in vasantatilaka. By a licence which Aśvaghoṣa also allowed himself (*Saundarananda*, vii, 48 *c*), pāda 2 of verse 44 in vasantatilaka metre ends in a short syllable instead of a long one. A short vowel remains short before *sv* in verse 24, before *tr* in verse 32 as emended by me in the notes, and before *śr* in verse 51. The first pāda of verse 20 is hypermetric. In verse 21 *nagara* is treated as masculine, and in verse 30 *upabhoga* as neuter. In verse 18 the *ṛ* in °*kartṛṇāṁ* has been shortened for metrical reasons. There are some cases of double saṁdhi, in one of which a long syllable has also been shortened, again to suit the metre, namely verse 46, *vihārāneka* for *vihārā anekāḥ*, verse 49, *paśadārumayānekā* for °*mayā anekāḥ*; and in verse 51 the compound °*rājatānekān* is presumably meant for °*rājatān anekān*.[1] In two cases, again because of the metre, the nominative ending *-o* has been shortened to *-a*, verse 44 *Ānanda-candra* for °*candro*, and verse 62, *Śrītāmrapattananarādhipa* for °*-po*; in 42, therefore, one should probably understand *Vajraśaktisuto vīra*° for °*sutavīra*°, and I am not sure that the following line should not be divided *Śrīdharmacandra* (i.e. for °*candro*) *mahimāprathitaprabhāvaḥ*, except that there is no authority for *prath* with *ā* later than the Ṛigveda.[2]

For convenience of reference I have numbered the verses and assumed that the double daṇḍa after the eighth character in line 3 marks the end of the second verse; if there were only one verse it is difficult to find a long metre ending — ∪ — ∪ —, and we should have to presume an introductory sentence in prose, followed by one invocatory verse. From the remains it seems that if I am right in counting two verses, the inscription started with two invocatory stanzas, one perhaps to the Buddha, and one to Hindu deities, as *trilocana* should refer to Śiva. The indications in the first line are consistent with reading *Bodhisatva* near the beginning of the first line, but only the letter *sa* is certain. The next forty-three verses give a list of the kings of Arakan, divided into three periods, early (partly at least mythical) in sixteen verses, the thirteen kings of the Candra dynasty in fourteen verses, and the later kings in thirteen verses. The length of the early period is given as 1,060 years, taking *ṣaḍḍa-śādhikam* to mean "plus 60"; if "plus 16" had been meant the reading would have been *ṣoḍaśādhikam*, and we are authorized to take *daśa* in the sense of "decade" by *Manu*, vii, 116. In either case, however, it is impossible from what can be read to say how this total was arrived at. Much of the earlier part is illegible, including verse 3 dealing with the first reign. Then follow

[1] [In v. 49a the poet may possibly have meant to write °*mayā naikāḥ*, and in v. 51a *rājatān naikān*. But in v. 46b, even if we correct to *naika*, we cannot save him from the reproach of barbarism.]

[2] [See notes *in loco* and translation.]

five reigns of 120 years each; the only certain names of kings are the fourth and fifth, Bahubalin and Raghupati. The next king appears also to have reigned 120 years. We then probably leave the region of myth with Candrodaya, who is said to have reigned twenty-seven years, and it is tempting to equate him with Candrasūrya of the Arakan Chronicles, which give his accession date as A.D. 146; if the length of reigns in the inscription is to be trusted—and it should be in my view, at least from the Candra dynasty onwards—the date of his accession ought on the chronology accepted here to fall in the last quarter of the second century. The Chronicles may have preserved some recollection of fact at this point, but the names of Candrasūrya's successors, all beginning with Sūrya and reigning till 788, are clearly mythical. After Candrodaya the Aṇṇaveta kings reigned for five years; the name suggests indigenous rulers. The name of the next king is lost, and he is said to have reigned for the improbable period of seventy-seven years. Of the following names some are doubtful readings, and several are un-Indian, the list running:—

Riṁbhyappa (?), 23 years.
Kūverāmi or Kūverā, a queen, 7 years.
Umavīrya (?), husband of the preceding, 20 years.
Jugna (?), 7 years.
Lāṅkī, 2 years.[1]

If we have at present no means of checking the historicity of this list, the case is quite different with the Candra dynasty, the coins of six of them having been found as described in the Appendix, and it is to be hoped that when excavation is regularly undertaken in Arakan, the series will be completed. The founder of the dynasty had the curious name of Dveṅ Candra, which perhaps survives in the word Taing, prefixed in the Chronicles' account to the name Candra for the first nine kings of the line, as its Sanskrit equivalent would apparently be *Tuiṅ*. The Sanskritic names of all the kings, except the first, and the scripts used on their coins suggest that they maintained close contact with India. On the other hand the type of the coinage has no parallel among Indian coins, and the only changes that it shows are of minute details. The first king is recorded in the inscription as embellishing and fortifying the capital; but no name is given to it. If we are to follow the Chronicles, its Indian name was Vaiśālī, which is perhaps suggestive of the part of India from which the ruling family came. The probable date for the beginning of the dynasty is between A.D. 330 and 360; it may be therefore that we are dealing with a family of adventurers who left North Bihar when the Guptas had finally established their dominion there. The list of the kings is as follows:—

1. Dveṅ Candra, 55 years. He is said to have conquered 101 kings.
2. Rājacandra, 20 years.
3. Kālacandra, 9 years. Taw Sein Ko reported the existence in the Phayre

[1] [See notes below.]

Coin Cabinet of a coin bearing this name (*Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1910–11, p. 92). The name is given as No. 5 of the Chronicles' list for this dynasty, where also he is said to have reigned 9 years.

4. Devacandra, 22 years. Coins of this king, inscribed *Deva* (misread by Phayre as *Dama*), are extant.

5. Yajñacandra, 7 years.

6. Candrabandhu, 6 years. The name suggests some doubts about his legitimacy.

7. Bhūmicandra, 7 years.

8. Bhūticandra, 24 years.

9. Nīticandra, 55 years. The coins of this king, inscribed *Nīticandra* on the large coins and *Nīti* on the smaller ones, occur more frequently than those of any other king. Probably he was the most powerful king of the dynasty.

10. Vīryacandra, 3 years. On the coins his name is given as *Vīra*.

11. Prīticandra, 12 years. Coins of this and the next two kings exist.

12. Pṛthvīcandra, 7 years.

13. Dhṛticandra, 3 years.

The dynasty of thirteen kings thus lasted for 230 years, and though the only kings who can be tentatively identified in the account given by the Chronicles are Dveṅ Candra and Kālacandra, yet we find there the same length given to the dynasty, 230 years, from 788–1018; twelve kings are named, but the title Candra is not given to the last three, in whom is possibly preserved a muddled recollection of later kings. It would seem that the Chronicles derived ultimately from an authentic list, which has survived in a form corrupted beyond hope of restoration.

The inscription suggests that after the fall of the Candra dynasty conditions were confused in Arakan, with the rule reverting partly to indigenous kings. First comes Mahāvīra, king of Pureppura, who ruled for twelve years. The name of the town is of great interest, as it appears to give us the correct form of a place mentioned in the Pali *Niddesa*. The passages in question were discussed by S. Lévi in an article in *Études Asiatiques*, vol. ii, pp. 1–55. *Mahāniddesa*, pp. 154 and 415, has a list of places, part of which Lévi successfully identified by comparison with Ptolemy on the coast of Burma. One of these places, which he could not identify (p. 25), is given in the edition according to the Sinhalese MSS. as Naranapūra,[1] but the Burmese MSS. read Purapura and Parapūra, and the Siamese have Parammukha and Parapura. It can hardly be doubted that this place is that called Pureppura in this inscription, and the retention by the Burmese MSS. of a form so close to the later name reinforces the view that insufficient value is often given by editors of Pali texts to the readings of Burmese MSS.[2] The best authenticated form of the variants is Parapura, and that this was the real form of the name in earlier

[1] Neither this name nor its variants are recorded in Malalasekhara, *Pali Proper Names Dictionary*.

[2] For another case, also a proper name, see *JRAS.*, 1939, p. 225, n. 2.

days is suggested by a comparison with Ptolemy. Lévi (p. 22) took the view that the name of Ptolemy's river Katabeda survives in the name of the island of Kutabdia. Immediately below this on the coast Ptolemy places a centre of commerce called Barakura, which may reasonably be equated with Parapura ; an exact identification of the town is a matter for the excavator, who should look for a site between Akyab and Kutabdia (what about Pruma ?) with remains going back to the beginning of the Christian era.

Mahāvīra was succeeded by two kings whose names indicate a non-Indian origin, Vrayajap (or Brayajap), twelve years, and Seviṅreṅ (?), twelve years. The latter is accorded the curious epithet of Māvukaghātin, for which a conclusive explanation is not forthcoming. I would suggest that Māvuka is a term of kinship and indicates the previous king, Vrayajap. The next king is called Dharmaśūra ; he reigned for thirteen years. There is no trace of any of these four kings or of their successors down to Ānandacandra in the Chronicles, unless they have some connection with the last three kings of Vaiśālī, who do not bear the name of Candra. Or it may be that Vaiśālī ceased to be the capital of a large kingdom after the collapse of the Candra dynasty and that the later kings were merely petty local lords, the stronger of whom asserted their right to issue coinage. In any case the Chronicles had allotted so much space to a fictitious dynasty of Dhānyavatī that they had to place the Candra kings more than four centuries too late and left themselves no room for the later rulers.

The next king, Vajraśakti, sixteen years, is the first of the family to which Ānandacandra belonged. He is described as originating in the *deva* family, which is more fully described with reference to Ānandacandra in verse 62 as the *devāṇḍaja* family, and in verse 63 as the *Śrīdharmarājāṇḍaja* family. The exact meaning of these terms is far from clear, but it is natural to refer the last-mentioned one to the egg of Brahmā, and to deduce an origin for the family from Brahmā and Manu, the latter being the traditional progenitor of the ten lines of kings. The epithets then would do no more than claim a pure Kṣatriya origin for the dynasty.[1] The word *dānaśīlādisaṃyukta* recalls the six Pāramitās and suggests that Vajraśakti was a follower of the Mahāyāna. Vajraśakti was succeeded by Śrīdharmavijaya,[2] who ruled for thirty-six years ; the coins with the mutilated inscription *rmmavijaya* should evidently be ascribed to him. He also is shown to have been a Buddhist by the allusion to his reverence for the Three Jewels in verse 40. The last line of this verse records that after death he went to the Tuṣita heaven, and possibly we ought to see here a suggestion that the king was a Bodhisattva incarnate ; this idea recurs frequently in the Buddhist countries to the east of India.[3] The next king was Narendravijaya, son of the last, who ruled only two years and nine months and was succeeded by a son of Vajraśakti. Verse 42 leaves his name uncertain ;

[1] [This is an error. *Aṇḍaja* = *Khacara* = " bird ", and *Aṇḍaja-vaṁśa* is synonymous with *Khacara-vaṁśa* or *Jīmūtavāhanānvaya*, a race on whom see *E.I.*, xix, pp. 179 ff.]

[2] [*Śrī* is only a prefix : the real name is *Dharmavijaya*.]

[3] Cf. La Vallée Poussin, *Mélanges ch. et b.*, i, p. 378.

it might be either Vīranarendracandra or Śrīdharmacandra.[1] The latter, however, is indicated by the coins labelled Dhammacandra. The Prakritic form *Dhamma* is odd; no sign of a superscript *r* is traceable, but *Candra* appearing in Sanskritic form does not correspond to *Dhamma*. He reigned sixteen years and died after nominating his son Ānandacandra as his successor.

The rest of the inscription recounts the virtues and good deeds of this king up to the ninth year of his reign, and presents a number of interesting points. He was evidently a Buddhist by personal religion and calls himself an *upāsaka* in verse 54, but following the Indian tradition of religious impartiality he did not neglect the Brahmans in his display of liberality. Moreover the references to Bodhisattvas in verse 47 and to *dānapāramitā* in verse 54 show that he was a follower of the Mahāyāna, as was clearly the case also with his grandfather Vajraśakti and with Śrī Dharmavijaya. This confirms the evidence of the bell-inscription that the Mahāyāna prevailed in North Arakan; incidentally it should be noted that no information on this point is to be obtained from the Chinese pilgrims Hsüan-tsang and I-tsiṅg. The orthography of the purely religious inscriptions suggests that this form of religion had been introduced from Eastern Bengal, and possibly the reference to the Tuṣita heaven, where Maitreya resides, in verse 40 should be held to show the influence in this area of the Vijñānavāda school, who were especially devoted to him. The mention of Cunda and the rest in verse 47 probably refers to the chief *śrāvakas*; while Cunda is, significantly enough, omitted from the list in *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, i, pp. 23–6, he appears in Aśvaghoṣa's list in *Saundarananda*, xvi, 91. Of the schools which know three or four chief Sthaviras, only the Sarvāstivāda includes Cunda in this group,[2] thus assigning him a place which justifies the expression of our text. It seems then that the Mahāyāna in Arakan was represented either by Mahāyānist Sarvāstivādins[3] or by a Mahāyānist school which derived ultimately from that sect, such as the Vijñānavādins, who took from it much of their dogmatics. Ānandacandra also followed a practice, which is well known from further east, in giving his own name to new foundations: thus the Ānandodaya *vihāras* of verse 46, and the Ānandamādhava and Ānandeśvara *maṭhas* of verse 56. The inscription recounts at length all the different materials of which he had Buddha images made; among these is a reference to countless images of clay, presumably of the same type as the votive plaques which have been found in such numbers in Burma. Verse 52 is not clear because the essential word, *taṇḍaka*, is not known to have any meaning suitable to the context; the reference is clearly to something, in the course of which or after which there was religious teaching, and this suggests either some form of theatrical representation or religious dance, or else feasts given to the religious community.[4] The names of several places at which religious buildings were erected or tanks dug are mentioned

[1] [Or rather, *Dharmacandra*.]

[2] Przyluski, *Le Concile de Rājagṛha*, p. 302.

[3] Cf. Przyluski's discussion of this point, op. cit., pp. 362–5.

[4] [See, however, note *in loco* and translation.]

in verses 56–9, which are mostly non-Sanskritic in form and presumably unidentifiable nowadays.

Two kingdoms are mentioned with which Ānandacandra had relations. Verse 61 records gifts to the *bhikṣus* in the country of king Śilāmegha, who is otherwise unknown,[1] and verses 62 to 65 describe twice his marriage to Dhendā, daughter of a ruler who is said to be king of Śrītāmrapattana in 62, but of the land of Śrīpattana in 65 ; his family is named as Śaivāndhra, possibly suggestive of an origin in the Deccan.[2] The manner in which this marriage is mentioned shows that it was a matter of exceptional importance, and makes it therefore possible that the king of Śrīkṣetra is meant ; but a definite identification cannot be put forward at present. Alternatively, is Ptolemy's Sambra a mistake for Tambra, and if so, does it indicate Śrītāmrapattana ?

Immediately below the inscription are two lines in a later hand, more or less contemporary with that on the north face of the pillar. Whether they are intended to have any connection with Ānandacandra's *praśasti* is not clear. The form *ekādaśama* is odd ; but similar forms are found in the other late inscriptions, and it possibly shows Prakrit influence.[3]

After Ānandacandra there is a gap of at least two centuries before the inscriptions on the north face of the pillar, and the only material that falls within this period consists of the four coins already mentioned, formerly in Mr. P. N. Tagore's cabinet, which may follow fairly close on Ānandacandra, and of the coin, No. 22 of Plate V, which shows a different type of script. Unfortunately it cannot be read with certainty : Phayre (*Coins of Arakan*, Pl. II, No. 10) suggested *Yarikriya*, and V. Smith (*Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Pl. XXX, 11) *Yārikriya* ; but the first letter cannot possibly be *Yă*. The next two letters may well be *rikri* and the last may be *ya*, as in my plate, or *ma*, as in V. Smith's reproduction. Till a better specimen is found it is best to leave the reading as an unsolved problem, and not to suggest any date for it. From the evidence, however, it does look as if there were a gap in the kings of Arakan at some time in this period, which may have been due to Nan-chao domination ; but this is not a point on which I am competent to express a definite opinion.

Turning now to the remaining inscriptions, that on the top of the pillar has very few letters at all visible, and all that can be said of it safely is that the script is undoubtedly late. On the north face below the four lines of the earlier inscription, there is a series of inscriptions, amounting to sixty-nine

[1] [This name seems to point to Ceylon, where *Silāmeghavaṇṇa* (in Sinhalese *Salamevan*) was a title borne by several kings.]

[2] [See the translation below. The *śrī* prefixed to the name of the city is unessential : the name is *Tāmrapattana*, which conceivably may be Tāmraliptī. Śrīkṣetra seems to be out of the question.]

[3] Cf. Pischel, § 449, who says these forms are only authenticated so far in Jaina Prakrit works. For other instances note the apparatus criticus of the colophons to *Saundarananda*, xi and xviii, and *Varāṅgacarita* (ed. A. N. Upadhye, Bombay, 1938), colophons to xi, xii, and xiii.

lines, when counted on the right side. Parts of them are entirely gone; the rest is written in a slipshod hand, sufficiently rubbed to make reading of it chancy. There appear to be at least three inscriptions, all in much the same script. The first occupies the first seven lines, only the last few letters of each line being at all legible. The third line ends *caturddaśame*, the fourth *Siṁgha*(or *hā*)*vikramaśūra*, and the last word of the inscription is *kṛtarājyaḥ*. The next inscription begins in l. 8 with *svasti śrī* and then apparently the name of a town, which with great reserve might be read as Avāyapurā. Line 9 has a proper name, the certain letters being *tiśūracandra*(*ṁ* ?) *de . ṭharā*; earlier in the line the remains suggest *Śrī Siṁghag*(?)*aṇap*(?)*a* before *ti*. That we are dealing with another inscription about Buddhists appears from l. 10, where can be read *saṁghāgatā b*(?)*auddha*, preceded perhaps by *āryya*. In the next line we have, certain but not very clear, *caturddaśame bde kṛtarājya*, and in l. 12 *Sihā*(or *gha*)*vikramaśūracandr*(*āya vi* ?). There is a certain parallelism in phrasing therefore between the two inscriptions, but the second is slightly fuller than the first. The remains are too small for exact inferences to be drawn; it is not clear if the phrase "in the fourteenth year", in which the same irregular ordinal occurs as at the foot of Ānandacandra's inscription, applies to Siṁghavikramaśūracandra or his predecessor, Siṁghagaṇapatiśūracandra. From this point very little can be read with certainty, and it is not clear where the second inscription ends. That a new inscription does begin some lines later seems a reasonable inference from the fact that from l. 23, if not earlier, the writing is in three columns, each containing seven or eight characters in a line; the arrangement is perhaps clearest in ll. 34 and 35, where *vinmukhīkṛ* ends 34 and *taśatruḥ*, the rest of the compound, is to be found in the letters seventh to fifth from the end in 35. The division of the text was not accurately judged, with the consequence that the right-hand column continues for five lines below the other two. A competent epigraphist, working on the stone instead of on rubbings, should be able to produce a fair reading of the right-hand column from l. 30, and of the other two from about l. 40. The contents of this last inscription may be somewhat unusual, as I read in lines of the left-hand column *lupati* | *idam mayā kṛtaṁ*. In these circumstances all that can be deduced for the present from these inscriptions is that North Arakan again produced in the tenth century a dynasty of some importance, whose personal names ended in Śūracandra, and two of whom were probably called Siṁghagaṇapatiśūracandra and Siṁghavikramaśūracandra.

A. *Inscription on Western Face of Pillar at the Shitthaung Pagoda, Mrohaung, Arakan*

Note.—Doubtful letters are enclosed in square brackets, and letters which cannot be read are replaced by a dot. Omitted characters, when restored, are shown in angular brackets: thus, < >. 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 in the body of the text. [To

mark the elision of initial *a-* after a final *-o* a raised comma has been used, e.g. *'tinītimān* (v. 23d).]

[Verses 1–3 are not transcribed.]

4. . . . . (4) tato ri[ṣya ?]d . . . jagata . . . |
. . . . .[1] bhūpālo varṣa[ṁ] viṁśādhikaṁ śatam ||
5. [.arvaryavi ?] [2] mahīpālo (5) lokānugrahatatparaḥ |
Rājyaṁ tena kṛtaṁ [tasm]ād varṣaviṁśottaraṁ śatam ||
6. . . . nāmā tato rājā lok . . jani . . . (6) vat | [3]
Cakāra [4] . . . rājyaṁ varṣa[ṁ] viṁśādhikaṁ śatam ||
7. Tasmād Bahubalī bhūbhṛt [pu]nar dhairyyaviśāradaḥ |
Kṛtaṁ ca kṛti- (7) nā tena rājyaṁ viṁśā[bd]ikaṁ [5] śatam ||
8. Tato Raghupatī[r] [6] bhūpaḥ surūpo nītivi[kramaḥ] |
[Cakāra] . . . [taṁ] rājyam va[rṣa]- (8) viṁśottaraṁ śatam ||
9. Ta[sya] vi [7] . . . . .aṁra[tya]po [8] mahābalaḥ |
Viṁśābdā[ny] . . . . [rājyaṁ] . . . . . kṛ[tam] ||
10. (9) Tataś Candrodayo nāma bhūpālaḥ sādhusammataḥ |
Saptaviṁśati varṣāṇi rājyam ātmasātkṛtam [9] ||
11. Aṇṇaveta- (10) mahīpālā dānaṁ datvā tv anekadhā |
Bhuvi lokasukhaṁ jñātvā [paṁcābdāni] [10] divaṁ gatāḥ ||
12. Tatpaścān nṛpavara . . . . (11) caryāsu viśāradaḥ |
Cakāra mati[māṁ] rājyam abdāni saptasaptatiḥ ||
13. Riṁbhyappo bhūpatis tasmāc caran dāna . . . . (12) tiḥ |
Tryadhikaṁ viṁśad abdāni rājyaṁ puṇyena nītavān ||
14. Kūverāmi [11] tato devī dānaśīla . . . . |
(13) Saptābdāni tato rājyaṁ cakārārivivarjitām [12] ||
15. U[mavīrya]patis [13] tasyās tato bhūpo 'tinīti<mān |>
<Rā-> (14) jyaṁ viṁśati varṣāṇi cakāra mahimākṛtī [14] ||
16. J[u]gnah[vayas [15] . bhū]bhṛt sarvasatvahitārthakṛt |
Sa[pta] <saṁva-> (15) tsarāṇy evaṁ tadā rājye pratiṣṭhitaḥ ||

[1] The name looks like *Narappagmāśva.*

[2] [Possibly the true reading may be *Purvartho 'pi.*]

[3] [For *vat* Professor Johnston gives an alternative *kam.*]

[4] [A possible reading here is *cakārārīṁtapo.* There is no clear trace of a long vowel after the first *r*, and *rī* would be a mistake for *ri.*]

[5] Alternatively the reading in *d* is *viṁśādhikam*, in which case there is no word for " year ".

[6] Presumably read *Raghupatir.*

[7] [Traces of the eight letters of the first *pāda* survive. The second is *ta*, the third perhaps *sya*, the fourth *vi*, the last two apparently *devaḥ.*]

[8] [The first syllable of this *pāda* is possibly *vaṃ*, the second perhaps *ka.*]

[9] [As the rubbing shows, the true reading is definitely *tenātmasātkṛtaṁ.*]

[10] [There seems to be no trace of a vowel *ī* on the rubbing.]

[11] [Possibly *Kūverāpi.*] [12] Read °*vivarjitam* in *d.*

[13] [The first two letters of this *pāda* look more like *Oṁppa-*. Possibly, too, the stone-cutter has omitted a *visarga* before *patis.*

[14] *Mahimākṛtī* is an odd compound. [Comparison with verse 42d (see note on latter) suggests that the poet wrongly took *mahimā* as a fem. vowel-stem.]

[15] If the pillar has been correctly read in *a*, it should read *Jugnāhvayas.* [It has *Jugnahvayas tato bhūbhṛt.*]

17. Lāṅkīnāmā [16] tato rājā kṛtvā varṣadvayaṁ kṛtī |
Rājyaṁ v[ipu] [17] . . (16) vīraḥ krameṇa tridiv[ah]itaḥ [18] ||
18. Kathyate varṣasaṁkhyātra devānāṁ kulakartṛṇāṁ |
Eteṣāṁ bhūbhṛtāṁ n[ū]n[aṁ] (17) sahasraṁ ṣaḍdaśādhikam [19] ||
19. Tatpaścād apare kāle puṇyalakṣmīyuto balī |
Dveṅ Candranāmako dhīmāṁ (18) yo 'bhūt bhūbhṛtām patiḥ [20] ||
20. Nṛpaikottaraśataṁ jitvā puṇyato bāhuśālinā |
Prākārakhātasaṁyuktaṁ (19) nagarā[bhūṣa]ṇaṁ kṛtam [21] ||
21. Tena niṣpādya nagaraṁ svarggasaundaryahāsinam |
Paṁcapaṁcāśad abdā- (20) ni kṛtaṁ rājyaṁ yasasvinā [22] ||
22. Rājacandras tataḥ śrīmāṁ viṁśavarṣāṇi rājyakṛt |
Evaṁ svargasukhaṁ (21) jñātvā divaṁ yāto mahīpatiḥ ||
23. Tasmān navābdiko rājā [K]ālacandro [23] mahardhikaḥ |
Kṛtvā kīrttimayī<ṁ> (22) mā[l]āṁ svargaṁ yāto 'tinītimān ||
24. Devendreva Sa[kr]o [24] 'bhūd Devacandro mahīpatiḥ |
Tato dvāviṁśavarṣāṇi (23) rājyaṁ kṛtvā tu svargabhāk ||
25. Saptavārṣikas tasmād [25] Yajñacandraḥ prakīrttitaḥ |
Candrabandhus tato loke ṣaṭsa-(24)mvatsararājyabhāk ||
26. Pṛthivyām uditaś candro Bhūmicandrās [26] tato 'paraḥ |
Sapta samvatsarāṇy eva rājyam puṇyena (25) ta nītavān [27] ||
27. Caturviṁśati varṣāṇi rājyaṁ saṁbhujya nītimān |
Bhūticandras tato yāto divyaṁ sukham avāptaye ||
28. (26) Nīticandras tataḥ khyāto nītyutsāritavigrahaḥ |
Paṁcapaṁcāśad abdāni so 'bhūd rājā Mahendravat ||
29. Abdatra-(27)yikas tasmād [28] Vīryacandro nareśvaraḥ |
[Ta]to dvādaśa varṣāṇi Prīticandro mahīpatiḥ ||
30. Sapta<sa>ṁvatsarāṇy a-(28)smāt Pṛthvīcandreṇa bhūbhujā |
Rājyopabhogaṁ saṁbhuktaṁ nityaṁ dharmānuvarttinā ||

[16] [The rubbing seems to give *Līṅkī°*. The first vowel is a short curve above the *l* to the right, somewhat like the *ī* in *sphīta°* in the inscription of Yaśovarman, line 12 (*E.I.*, xx, p. 43.)]

[17] [The stone seems to have *prapa-*.]

[18] In *d* possibly *tridivaṁ gitaḥ*; in any case read *tridivaṁ gataḥ*.

[19] *Ṣaḍdaśādhikaṁ* presumably means " + 60 ", not " + 16 ". In either case it is not clear how the total is made up from what can be read of the inscription.

[20] The reading in *b* looks like *yo bhūt bhū°*, and it is not certain what the correct reading is. [The stone certainly has *yo bhūt bhū°*, but a syllable is lacking to make up the metre.]

[21] Pāda *a* is hypermetric. In *d* the consonant fourth letter is either *bh* or *s*, and the next syllable should contain either *r* or *ṣ* because of the following *ṇa*, but looks more like *sva* than anything else. The reading adopted seems the only possible one, though *ābhūṣaṇa* in this sense is unrecorded. [The rubbing is in favour of reading *nagarāsūtraṇaṁ*, which may be an error for *nagarasūtraṇaṁ*.]

[22] Read *yaśasvinā* in *d*.

[23] The *k* in *Kālacandro* is badly formed, but the reading is definitely not *Bālacandro; Rālacandro* is just possible.

[24] Read *Devendra iva Śakro*. [25] [A syllable is lacking in this *pāda*.]

[26] Read *Bhūmicandras*.

[27] Line 26 begins *tanītavān*, but *ta* is marked above for erasure. [Line 26 begins *nanītavāṁ*.]

[28] [This *pāda* is a syllable short.]

31. Jagaddhṛtiṁ karoty a[smā]<d> Dhṛ-(29)ticandro narādhipaḥ |
Prajām apālayat tasmāt tṛbhir [29] varṣair divaṁ gataḥ ||
32. Īśānvayaprabhavaṁ ṣoḍaśa (30) bhūpatīnāṁ
Candrābhirāmayasasām [30] iha Candranāmnām |
Triṁśā[dh]ikaṁ pragaṇitāni satadvayaṁ [31] syād
Varṣāṇi rājyaśubha-(31)bhogakṛtāni nūnam ||
33. Tataḥ paścān Mahāvīraḥ Pureppuranareśvaraḥ [32] |
Tena dvādaśavarṣāṇi dharmarājyaṁ (32) kṛtaṁ tadā ||
34. Vrayajapnāmāpi [so] [33] rājā dvādaśābdāni bhūvibhuḥ [34] |
Bhuktvā rājyasukhaṁ vīras tata svargopa-(33)bhogabhāk ||
35. [Seviṁreṅ] bhūpatis tasmāt smṛto [35] dvādaśakarṣikaḥ [36] |
Rājyasampatsukhaṁ tena bhuktaṁ Māvukaghātinā [37] ||
36. (34) Kṣitiṁ rarakṣa dharmeṇa Dharmaśūras tato nṛpaḥ |
Trayodaśābdasaṁpūrṇṇe svargaṁ yā[t]o maharddhikaḥ ||
37. Bhaktimān iva bhaktyā (35) vai [38] yo vajrīva mahībhṛtāṁ |
Vajraśaktis tata [39] [kh]yāto rājā devānvayodbhavaḥ ||
38. Pratipālya jagat sarvaṁ rājyaṁ ṣo-(36)ḍaṣa [40] vatsaram |
Dānaśīlādisaṁyukto devalokaṁ sa yātavān ||
39. Śrīdharmajayasaṁyukto lokānugrahatatparaḥ |
(37) Tatpaścād abhavad dhīraḥ Śrīdharmavijayo nṛpaḥ ||
40. Ṣaṭtriṁśad abdāny upabhujya rājyaṁ
Dharmeṇa nītyā ca jayena caiva |
Ratna-(38)trayānusmaraṇābhiyogāt
Sa devalokaṁ Tuṣitaṁ prayātaḥ [41] ||
41. Narendravijayenāpi tatputreṇa mahīpat<eḥ> [42] |
(39) Navamāsādhikaṁ rājyaṁ bhuktaṁ varṣadvayaṁ satā ||

[29] Read *tribhir*.

[30] A character has been erased after *īśānvaya*. In *a* read *Īśānvaya prabhavatrayodaśabhūpatīnām*, and note a short before *tr*. In *b* read °*yaśasām*. [We should read °*ṣoḍaśa*. The emendation *-trayodaśa-* would gratuitously introduce a short syllable before *tr-* and make the *pāda* a syllable too long. The better course is to read *ṣoḍaśa* and risk the possibility that the author's reckoning was wrong; moreover, he may have intentionally omitted the names of some kings who were too insignificant for mention.]

[31] [Read *śatadvayaṁ*.]

[32] Just possibly one should read *Purempura-*, instead of *Pureppura-*. [The rubbing definitely gives *Purempura-*.]

[33] The inscription in *a* has *Vrayajapnāmāpi so*, with marks above *pi* to cut it out. It should probably read *Vrayajapnāmako*. [*So* would be ungrammatical. Read °*nāmāpi yo rājā*. The *pāda* is hypermetric.]

[34] [The rubbing gives *bhovibhuḥ*.]

[35] [In *a* the name may be read as *Doviṁreṅ*. In *b* the letters on the stone may be read as either *smṛto* or *smṛtā*; they should be *smṛto*.]

[36] Read °*vārṣikaḥ*.

[37] *Māvuka* may be a proper name or a word indicating kinship.

[38] Possibly *yo*, not *vai*.

[39] Read *tataḥ*. [40] Read *ṣoḍaśa*.

[41] [The stone has *prayāt*, with a final *t*.]

[42] *Mahīmat*. is also possible, and there may be a *r* or *u* below *p* or *m*. One would expect *mahībhṛtā*. [The rubbing gives *mahīpat-*, with possibly faint traces of *-eḥ*.]

42. Īśānvayaḥ samabhavad vijitārivargaḥ
Śaktitrayapra<ṇa> [43]-(40)yalabdhamahāpratāpaḥ |
Yo Vajraśaktisutavīranarendracandraḥ
Śrīdharmacandramahimāprathitaprabhāvaḥ [44] ||

43. Śrīmā-(41)n ṣoḍaṣa [45] varṣāṇi bhuktvā rājyaśriyaṁ nṛpaḥ |
Datvā sutavare rājyaṁ paścāt svargaṁ prayātavān ||

44. Yas tatsu-(42)taṁ [46] praṇatabhūpatimaulimālā-
Ratnadyutiprasararaṁjitapādapadmaḥ |
Ānandacandra bhuvanaikayaśo-(43)'tituṅga
Ānandayaṁ jayati vairitamovibhūma [47] ||

45. Dāne Karṇṇasamo rājā satyenāpi Yudhiṣṭhiraḥ |
(44) Pradyumnaiva [48] rūpeṇa tejasā bhānuvad bhuvi ||

Tena mahārājādhirājena parahitotsukadhiyā svarā-(45)jyaprathama-saṁvatsarataḥ prabhṛti yāvad ā navamābdāt svakṛtakāritānumoditāni sucaritāni sa-(46)tvānāṁ darśanaprabodhānumodanapuṇyavistaram icchatā pravakṣyaṁte ||

46. Ānandodayanāmāno vihārā-(47)neka kāritāḥ |
Dāsadāsībhiḥ sampannāḥ kṣetragomahiṣaiḥ saha ||

47. Sugatabodhisatvānāṁ (48) Cundādīnāṁ ca śaktitaḥ |
Pratimādhātumaccaityāḥ kāritā raukmarājatāḥ ||

48. Rītīmayāni bi-(49)mbāni kāñsatāmramayāni [49] ca |
Kāritāni munīndrasya bhārasaṁkhyāpramāṇataḥ ||

49. [Paśa]dāru-(50) mayānekā [50] pusta[ś]ailās [51] tathaiva ca |
Sugatapratimāḥ saumyāḥ kāritās [sā]dhucitritāḥ [52] ||

50. [Mṛtpa]. [53] (51) kṛtasaṁkhyāni bimbāni caityakarmaṇaḥ |
Saddharmapustakāś cāpi lekhitā bahuśaḥ satā ||

51. Sau-(52)varṇṇarājatānekān padmān sadratnakarṇṇikān |
Nityaṁ śrīdhātupūjārtham adād bhūpo 'tiśraddhayā ||

52. (53) Dadau prahṛṣṭaḥ suviśuddhacetasā [54]

[43] [At the end of line 39 there seems to be a faint trace of *ṇa*.]

[44] [See note on v. 15d above, p. 374. Apparently our poet treated *Śrīdharmacandra* as a nominative. Cf. notes on v. 62c, p. 379, and on v. 64c, ib.

[45] Read *ṣoḍaśa*.

[46] It should presumably be *tatsutaḥ*.

[47] [Apparently to be corrected to *-vibhūmā*.]

[48] Read *Pradyumna iva*.

[49] Read *Kāṁsya*°.

[50] *Paśadāru* may be the name of a particular kind of wood, or it may be a compound implying images made of leather (?) and wood. [Read in *a mayānekāḥ* or *mayā naikāḥ* (see above, p. 367 n. 1).]

[51] *Pusta* is presumably " plaster " here, and *śaila* " stone ".

[52] [The stone has *kāritāsādhu*°. Read *kāritāḥ*.]

[53] The rubbing shows *mṛtpahā* with the *hā* marked for omission ; the following character is only faintly indicated on the rubbings. Perhaps *Mṛtpakvā*°. [The reading of the rubbing seems to be *mṛtsaṁhā*°.]

[54] [The rubbing seems to give *suvisuddha*° by error.]

Saddharmapūjāṁ prati taṇḍakān [55] bahūn |
Dine dine sarvajanā-(54)numoditān
Narādhipo dharmakathānurāgataḥ ||
53. Lauhapātrāṇy anekāni sannetracīvarāṇi [56] ca |
Nā-(55)nādeśāgatānāṁ ca bhikṣūṇāṁ gauravād dadau ||
54. Dānapāramitā hīnā mā me bhavatu jantuṣu |
Tasmād upāsa-(56)kenāpi sarvasatvahiteṣiṇā [57] ||
55. Paṁcāśadbrāhmaṇāvāsaṁ kṣetrabhṛtyasamanvitaṁ |
Vādyavādakasaṁyuktaṁ kā-(57)ritaṁ maṭhacatuṣṭayam ||
56. Somatīrthadvijāvāse maṭhaś cānandamādhavaḥ |
Ānandeśvaranāmāpi [58] (58) Naulakk[e] ca maṭha smṛtaḥ [59] ||
57. Pīlakkavanak[u]hve 'pi Domaghe pūrvanāmakau [60] |
Vīthikā vividhārām<āḥ> [61] (59) kāritā setusaṁkramā [62] ||
58. Pratyahaṁ bhaktaśālāyāṁ sadā satraṁ pravarttitaṁ |
Ativadhyāś ca kāruṇyā- [63](60)t prāṇino mocitāsadāḥ [64] ||
59. Ḍa[ṁ]kaṅga margaṅga ḍ[u]vārasaṁjñite
Bhūrokanaulakkalavārakāhvaye |
Puṇḍi-(61)ṅgasomāhvayasaṁghasaṁjñikau
Manāpavāpy[au] [65] nijakhāna bhūpatiḥ [66] ||
60. Pūrvarājakṛtā ye'pi devaprā-(62)sādatīrthikā<ḥ> [67] |
Naṣṭā niṣpāditās tena sarvathā dhīmatā punaḥ ||
61. Dharmāsanaṁ hastiniko-(63)ttamaikā
Bhūpena netrojvalacīvarāṇi |
Bhikṣvāryasaṁghasya hi nā[y]itāni [68]
Deśe Śilā-(64)meghanarādhipasya ||

[55] None of the recorded meanings of *taṇḍaka* fits here; possibly for *tāṇḍavān*. [The actual reading of the rubbing seems rather to be *vaṇṭakān*, though the letter below *ṇ* is not clear. *Vaṇṭaka*, "share" (found in Sanskrit and Kanarese lexx.; from √*vaṇṭ*, whence Hindi *bāṇṭ*) occurs in the sense of a holding or portion of land forming part of an estate in the Yādava Rāmacandra's Thana grant of Śaka 1194 (*E.I.* xiii, p. 199).]

[56] The first certain instance of *netra* in the sense of silk; cf. *Raghuvaṁśa*, vii, 36.

[57] Read °*hitaiṣiṇā*.

[58] [The *p* has been almost entirely cut out.]

[59] [Read *maṭhaḥ*.] Apparently these two *maṭhas* are in addition to the four of the previous verse.

[60] In *a* presumably read °*vanakāhve*, and in *b* read °*nāmake*. [The reading of the rubbing is possibly °*vaḍakuhve* and *Daumaghe*.]

[61] [The *-ā* of the last syllable is fairly certain; and the stone-cutter probably did not add *-ḥ* to it.]

[62] *Saṁkramā*, feminine, is odd; or should it be °*saṁkramāḥ*? [The latter alternative is preferable.]

[63] *-Ā-* is missing through breakage of stone.

[64] Read *sadā*, as *mocitāsadāḥ* as a compound is hardly possible. [Also read *mocitāḥ*.]

[65] [The rubbing gives *-vāpyo*.]

[66] Read *nicakhāna*.

[67] Read °*tīrthikāḥ* in *b*. [*Tīrthikāḥ* can only mean "heretics". Probably the poet meant to write *tīrthakāḥ*, in the sense of *tīrthāḥ*.]

[68] I do not know if *hastinikā* is to be taken literally. In *b* read *netrojjvala*°. *Nāyitāni* in *c* is odd, and *dāpitāni* would be better.

62. Vikhyātaśauryaguṇadharmayaśonurāgād
Devāṇḍajā-(65)nvayasamudbhavapārthivasya |
Śrītāmrapattananarādhipa bhaktinamro [69]
Dhendā[ṁ] dadau sva-(66)tanayām paramādareṇa ||
Aparaṁ ca |

63. Ānandacandrakṣitipārthivasya
Śrīdharma-(67)rājāṇḍajavaṁśajasya |
Śrutvā vaco dharmahitārthayuktaṁ
Śauryānvayatyāgaguṇā[dh]i-(68)kaṁ ca ||

64. Bhaktipraṇāmena prakurvatājñāṁ
Śaivāndhravaṁśodbhavapārthivena |
Śrīma . . [70] (69)nodhīramaharddhikena
Kalyāṇamitratvam upāgatena ||

65. Vāpīvihārau tvaritena (70) kṛtvā
Śrīpattanātmīyamahīpradeśe |
Strīratnadhendā svasutātibhaktyā
Saṁpreṣite-(71)hāsamabhūtiyuktā || -iti [71]

(line 72) śrī [kī]rttisaṁpū[rṇa] vijaya
(line 73) ekādaśame 'bde

[TRANSLATION

(Verse 4) . . . the king [reigned] 120 years. (V. 5) [There was] a king . . . zealous in doing kindness to the world; he reigned afterwards for 120 years. (V. 6) Then . . . a king named . . . reigned for 120 years. (V. 7) After him again [was] King Bahubalī, eminent for stoutheartedness; that able man ruled for 120 years. (V. 8) The king Raghupati, fair of form, heroic in policy, reigned . . . 120 years. (V. 9) His . . . puissant . . . reigned [1]20 [years]. (V. 10) After him [was] a king, Candrodaya by name, approved by the good; he held the kingship for 27 years. (V. 11) The Aṇṇaveta kings, bestowing bounty in manifold wise, after experiencing worldly pleasure on earth for 5 years went to heaven. (V. 12) After that an excellent king . . . eminent in religious practices, possessing wisdom, reigned for 77 years. (V. 13) After him, King Rimbhyappa, practising bounty . . . reigned in righteousness for 23 years.

[69] One must understand that °*narādhipo bhaktinamro*, which is impossible metrically, is indicated.

[70] No doubt *Śrīmanmano*°. [Apparently *Manodhīra* is the king's name (see translation, below). This name is rare; but it was borne by, e.g. the composer of the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates.]

[71] The letter before *iti* is not clear, but is similar to the character found in the same position in the bell inscription. [How and where Professor Johnston found the word *iti* is not clear, for it is not on the rubbing. Ānandacandra's inscription ends with the word *bhūtiyuktā* followed by three double *daṇḍas*, between the first pair of which there is a Garuḍa-symbol (see Plate I), which is appropriate in the edict of a king claiming to belong to the "Bird-tribe". Another example of this symbol occurs, e.g. in Govindacandra's Saheth-Maheth plate (*E.I.*, vol. xi, pp. 20 ff.).]

(V. 14) Then Queen Kūverāmi (? Kūverā), [practising ?] bounty and good deeds, for 7 years after him made the kingdom free from foes. (V. 15) Then Umavīrya (?), her husband (?), a very politic king skilful in his majesty (?), ruled for 20 years. (V. 16) After him a king named Jugna, who benefited all beings, was then so established on the throne for 7 years. (V. 17) Then the able king named Lānkī (? Līṅkī) after reigning 2 years, . . . a valiant man, in course of time went to heaven. (V. 18) Here is stated the number of years of the ancestral monarchs : [the number of years] of these kings verily is 1,016 (? 1,060). (V. 19) After them [there was] in later time one who possessed righteousness and fortune, puissant, sage, Dveṅ Candra by name, who was a lord of kings. (V. 20) He, strong of arm because of righteousness, conquered 101 kings, and built a compact [1] (?) city furnished with walls and moat. (V. 21) He, possessing glory, having constructed the city, which laughed at the beauty of Paradise, reigned for 55 years. (V. 22) Then the fortunate Rājacandra reigned 20 years ; having thus known the pleasure of Paradise, the king went to heaven. (V. 23) After him, Kālacandra (?), a very prosperous and exceedingly politic king, who reigned 9 years, went to heaven after making [for himself] a garland of glory. (V. 24) Like Śakra the Lord of the Gods was King Devacandra, who then after reigning 22 years enjoyed heaven. (V. 25) After him Yajñacandra was renowned, reigning 7 years. Then Candrabandhu enjoyed a reign of 6 years in the world. (V. 26) Then arose Bhūmicandra, a second moon, on earth ; he reigned with righteousness for 7 years. (V. 27) The politic Bhūticandra, after enjoying kingship for 24 years, then departed to gain celestial happiness. (V. 28) Then there was the renowned Nīticandra, who removed strife by policy ; he reigned like Mahendra for 55 years. (V. 29) After him King Vīryacandra reigned for 3 years ; then King Prīticandra [ruled] for 12 years. (V. 30) After him King Pṛthvīcandra, constantly following religion, enjoyed the pleasures of kingship for 7 years. (V.31) King Dhṛticandra after him supported the world ; he protected [his] people, and then after 3 years went to heaven. (V. 32) The years spent in happy enjoyment of kingship by the 16 monarchs sprung from the lineage of the Lord (Īśa = Śiva), who bore the name Candra and had glory delightful as the moon, when counted up will verily be 230. (V. 33) Afterwards Mahāvīra [was] king of Purempura (?); he then had a godly reign for 12 years. (V. 34) Also the king named Vrayajap, a valiant lord of the earth, after tasting the happiness of kingship for 12 years, thereupon enjoyed the pleasures of Paradise. (V. 35) After him King Seviṅreṅ (?) is remembered as having reigned 12 years ; slaying Māvuka (?), he enjoyed the happiness of prosperity in kingship. (V. 36) Then King Dharmaśūra protected the earth in accordance with religion ; highly prosperous, on the completion of 13 years he went to Paradise. (V. 37) Then [was] the indeed devout famous king sprung from the gods' lineage, Vajraśakti, who because of his devotion was like a Vajrin (Indra) among monarchs. (V. 38) Possessing bounty, virtue, and other [qualities], he went to the world of the gods after

[1] See above, note on text.

protecting the whole universe in a reign of 16 years. (V. 39) After him there was a brave king, the fortunate Dharmavijaya, attended by fortune, religion, and victory, zealous in doing kindness to the world. (V. 40) After enjoying kingship for 36 years because of religion, policy, and victory, through practising remembrance of the Three Jewels he passed away to the Tuṣita heaven. (V. 41) That king's good son Narendravijaya enjoyed the kingship for 2 years and 9 months. (V. 42) There arose one belonging to the lineage of the Lord (Īśa = Śiva), a conqueror of troops of foemen, gaining great majesty by manifestation of the three powers,[1] a moon of valiant kings, son of Vajraśakti, the fortunate Dharmacandra, having majestically illustrious puissance. (V. 43) The fortunate king, after enjoying a prosperous reign for 16 years, made over the kingdom to [his] excellent son, and afterwards passed away to Paradise. (V. 44) His son Ānandacandra is victorious, having the lotus-flowers of his feet ruddied by the outpouring of gleams from gems in the garlands of diadems of reverently bowing monarchs, exceedingly lofty in glory unique on earth, causing gladness, potent over (?) the darkness of foemen. (V. 45) [He is] a king equal to Karṇa in bounty, likewise a Yudhiṣṭhira in truthfulness, like Pradyumna in beauty, in splendour like the Sun on earth.

The good deeds done by that Emperor, whose thought yearned for the welfare of others, from the first year of his reign until the ninth year, whether done by himself or caused to be done and approved [by him], because he desired for living beings an abundance of merit through enlightenment of vision and acceptance, will be declared.

(V. 46) There have been built many monasteries named Ānandodaya, provided with men and women slaves, together with lands, kine, and buffaloes. (V. 47) There have been made golden and silver chapels containing images and relics of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and of Cunda and others according to power. (V. 48) There have been made images of the Lord of Sages (Buddha) composed of brass, bell-metal, and copper according to the measure of weight and number. (V. 49) There have been made many pleasing [and] well decorated effigies of the Buddha composed of . . . wood, plaster, and stone. (V. 50) Innumerable (?) clay . . . effigies of a chapel-structure [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 many lotus-flowers made of gold and silver and having pericarps of goodly gems. (V. 52) The king, rejoicing with very pure spirit, because of his delight in religious discourses bestowed day after day many shares [in land-estates ?] approved by all people for the purpose of the worship of the Holy Law. (V. 53) He has out of reverence given many copper bowls and robes of good silk (?) to friars coming from divers places. (Vv. 54–5) " Let not the perfection of bounty towards creatures fail me " : [with this intention] therefore he, seeking the welfare of all beings, though he was only a lay-worshipper, caused to be built four monasteries

[1] Viz. lordship, counsel, and enterprise.

lodging 50 Brahmans, provided with lands and servants, furnished with musical instruments and musicians. (V. 56) The monastery [named] Ānandamādhava at the residence of the Brahmans of Somatīrtha and also the monastery called Ānandeśvara at Naulakka are recorded. (V. 57) At [the place] called Pīlakkavanaka, formerly named Domagha (?), also there have been constructed streets, various pleasances, causeways and passages. (V. 58) Every day a session has constantly been carried on in the dining-hall; and because of his mercifulness capital offenders have always been released. (V. 59) At [the place] styled Ḍaṅkaṅgamargaṅgaḍuvāra (?) [and] that named Bhūrokanaulakkalavāraka (?) the king has dug two delightful wells entitled Puṇḍiṅga and Somasaṅgha (?). (V. 60) Gods' temples and holy places built by former kings which had perished have also been completely restored by this wise [king]. (V. 61) A pulpit, an excellent cow-elephant, [and] brilliant robes of silk [?] have been dispatched by the king to the noble congregation of friars in the land of King Śilāmegha. (V. 62) From love for the renowned quality of valour, religion, and fame of the monarch sprung from the divine Bird-lineage, the king of the fortunate Tāmrapattana, making devout obeisance, gave [to him] with the highest respect his daughter Dhendā.

Moreover :—

(Vv. 63–4) On hearing the speech of Ānandacandra monarch of the earth, scion of the Bird-lineage of fortunate righteous kings—[speech] fraught with meaning helpful to religion and abundantly marked by the qualities of valour, [high] descent, and bounty—the king sprung from the Śaiva-Andhra lineage, the fortunate highly prosperous Manodhīra,[1] fulfilling his command with devout obeisance, entered into happy friendship [with him]. (V. 65) Having promptly made a well and a monastery in the district belonging to his fortunate city, he sent here with extreme devotion his daughter Dhendā, a gem among women, provided with peerless ornaments.]

B. *Inscription on Bell from Vesali*

This is a votive inscription on a small bell found at Vesālī, near Mrohaung, Akyab district, Arakan, and now preserved at Akyab, in the keeping of U San Shwe Bu, Hon. Archæological Officer for Arakan.

1. deyadharmmo 'yaṁ Śākyabhikṣo . . . yac atra [2] puṇyaṁ tad bhavatu mātāpitṛpūrvvaṅgamaṁ kṛtvā-

2. cāryyopādhyāyānāṁ sarvvasatvānāñ ca anuttarajñānāvāptaye . ti [3]

[*Translation.*—" This is a pious offering of the Buddhist friar . . . May the merit that is therein be for the gaining of supreme knowledge by teachers, tutors, and all beings, in company with [his] mother and father."]

[1] It seems necessary to take *manodhīra* thus as a proper name, regarding *maharddhikena* as qualifying it (cf. *narādhipa bhaktinamro*, above, verse 62).

[2] [Read *yac cātra.*]

[3] [The letter before *ti* is certainly *i*, though of an unusual type, resembling a *u*. A similar letter occurs in Inscr. C below, line 4.]

C. *Inscription on Stone from Sandoway*

This is a votive inscription on a stone obtained by Colonel G. E. Fryer in January, 1872, in the cavity of a hill near Ngalunmaw, Kwelu circle, Sandoway district, Arakan (*vide Proc. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1879, p. 201), and now on loan from the Royal Asiatic Society at the Museum of the Indian Institute, Oxford.

1. . . ye [1] dharmma hetuprabhava hetu
2. teṣāṁ Tathāgata hy avocat [2] teṣāñ ca yo
3. nirotha evaṁvādi mahāśraṇa ||
4. upāsak[ā] [3] Ma[ī]gā upāsa-
5. k. [Sā]koma[vamma]m akāra-
6. yi = mātapitāku-
7. sala ||

[*Translation.*—" The Buddha has declared how the consciousness-moments arising from causes are caused, and how they are to be suppressed: thus spake the Great Ascetic. The lay-worshipper Maïgā (?) [and] the lay-worshipper Sākomavamma (?) caused to be made [this object] for the welfare of [their] mother and father."]

Part II. Early Coins of the Kings of Arakan

Only small numbers of early Arakanese coins *in situ* have been discovered hitherto, and the best collection is in the British Museum, a representative selection of whose coins is reproduced in Plate V by permission of the Department of Coins and Medals. The majority of them, figs. 5–21, are of the same general type: obverse a humped bull lying down with the name of the king above, placed in a circle with a row of beads outside; reverse a pattern, of which more later, with the sun and moon above, again in a circle with a row of beads outside. The bull, except in figs. 5 and 20, has a row of beads round its neck, the number varying for each king. Similarly there is a line of a varying number of beads below the pattern on the reverse. The shape of the pattern on the reverse shows a continuous development which, even without the dynastic list in Ānandacandra's *praśasti*, would enable them to be placed in chronological order. This list, palæographic considerations and the details alike prove Deva's coin (fig. 5) to be the oldest of the series. In this case, and in this alone, the bull has been placed in the centre of the obverse, and leaves insufficient place for the inscription, which accordingly has the appearance of having been added as an afterthought. Further, there is no chain of beads round the bull's neck, but the symbols of the sun and moon appear, though now much worn and indistinct, on the reverse. There remain to be placed figs. 1–4. At the top of the obverse, squeezed in between the beading and

[This formula should read thus: Ye dharmmā hetuprabhavā hetuṁ teṣāṁ Tathāgato hy avocat teṣāñ ca yo nirodhaḥ evaṁvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ.]

[2] [The stone has only *avoca*.]

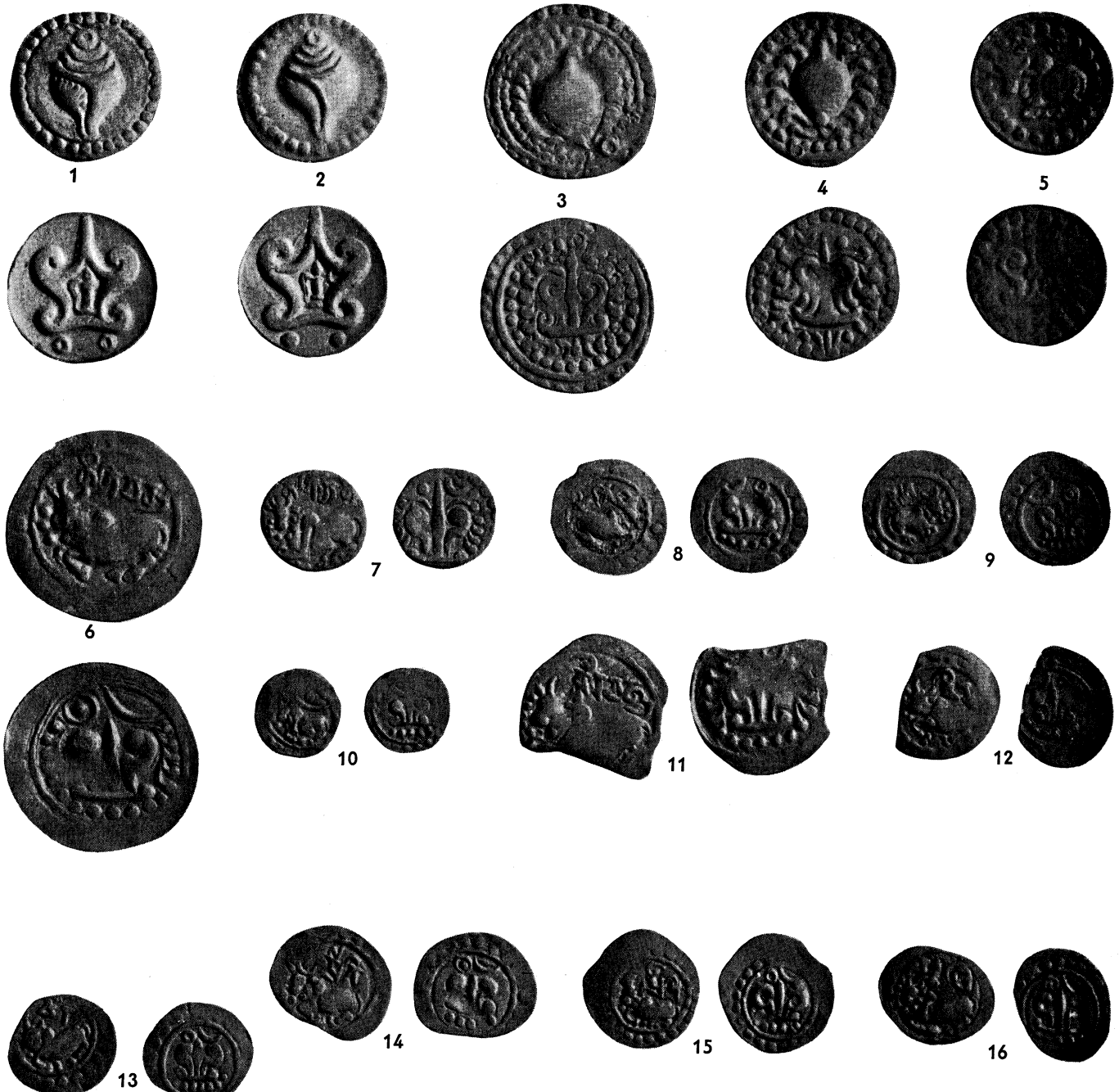
[3] [The stone reads *upāsaka*.]

the central figure on the last of these, there is an inscription of four characters, hitherto unnoticed, which is not as clear in the plate as on the coin itself, but is far more obvious in Phayre's reproduction (*Coins of Arakan*, Plate II, fig. 11). The first two letters give *Deva*, in exactly the same script as in fig. 5; the last two are not clear, but are probably *candra*. The reverse has the sun and moon symbol of the Candra dynasty. The manner in which the inscription is inserted on figs. 4 and 5 makes it probable that Devacandra was the first king of Arakan to place his name on the coinage. This reason alone is enough to justify the conclusion that Taw Sein Ko was wrong in reading *Kālacandra* on the coin mentioned above (p. 368 f.). Fig. 3 is closely related to fig. 4 in general pattern, but has no inscription on the obverse; the symbols of the sun and moon appear to be discernible on the reverse. This coin must therefore be very close in date to No. 4, and may belong to Kāla or Deva Candra. Discussion of Nos. 1 and 2, very similar coins and in particularly good condition, is more speculative. The obverse has a conch-shell in a circle of beads; in No. 1 the turn-in of the shell has teeth-like markings, absent in No. 2, and there are two loops of what is apparently a ribbon at the top of the shell, this feature being almost obliterated in No. 2. The reverse has a pattern, which is familiar to us on many of the more ancient Indian monuments, such as Sanchi, and which I have tried to show elsewhere [1] to be a *vardhamāna*. In the centre is an *aṅkuśa* (?) with a disproportionately long hook, and No. 2 has also a small crescent on the right of it, resembling the moon in the other coins. For the *vardhamāna* in this form I may particularly compare the specimen in the right hand quarter of the *āyāgapaṭṭa* figured on Pl. IX of V. Smith's *The Jaina Stupa and other Antiquities of Muttra*,[2] which shows in the interior something like a bud on a stalk in place of the *aṅkuśa*. It may be more than a coincidence that a good relief of a conch-shell was found also at Muttra, illustrated ibid., Pl. LXXI, fig. 7. If we compare the reverses of Nos. 1 and 2 with that of No. 3, is it not clear that the latter has developed out of the former? The relationship is obvious, and the close connection between the reverses of No. 3 and Nos. 5 ff. do not allow room for Nos. 1 and 2 to have developed out of the remaining coins, as can be seen from the latest stage of the evolution, as known to us at present, in Nos. 20 and 21. With this result assured, we can then realize that the obverse of Nos. 3 and 4 is merely the shell of Nos. 1 and 2, turned the other way up and stylized with much extra embellishment. Accordingly coins Nos. 1 and 2 must be the earliest of the series. This conclusion is corroborated by a coin which is intermediate in type between Nos. 1 and 3; there is no specimen of it in the British Museum, and I only know it from the indistinct illustration in Phayre, ibid., Pl. II, fig. 9, and cannot therefore discuss it in detail.

As regards the origin of this coinage, it is remarkable how few Indian coins present any analogy with it. One might compare the reverse of No. 5

[1] *JRAS.*, 1931, 588 ff.; 1932, 393 ff.; and 1933, 690.

[2] Also Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura*, Pl. LIV *b*.


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DYNASTY.

with the appearance of a similar symbol on the Kulūta coin of Vīrayaśas, reproduced on Pl. XVI, 4, of Allan, British Museum Catalogue, *Coins of Ancient India*; but if the latter is rightly assigned to the first century A.D. there is a gap of some three centuries between them. The recumbent bull, presumably a Śaivite emblem, is also rare on Indian coins; of early ones I can only quote the Mālava coins, particularly V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, i, Pl. XX, 18, while those of Śaśāṅka (ibid., Pl. XVI, 12, and Allan, B.M. Cat., *Coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, Pl. XXIII, 14, 15, 16, and Pl. XXIV, 1) are much too late.

The coins shown are as follows :—

Nos. 1–2. The earliest coins, discussed above.

No. 3. Early coin of the Candra dynasty.

No. 4. Deva Candra. Similar to preceding.

No. 5. Deva. Earliest coin with the bull on obverse.

Nos. 6–9. Nīti Candra and Nīti. There are numerous types, with two main divisions, those with the bull headed to the left on the obverse, and those with the bull headed to the right; the emblems of the sun and moon are similarly transposed on the reverses. There is a large silver coin resembling No. 6 in the possession of the Archæological Survey, Burma, with the bull headed to the right (Pl. V, No. 22).[1] In the coinage of the other kings the bull is invariably headed to the left.

No. 10. The smallest coin of the series, with apparently no inscription. From the type of the reverse it seems to belong to Nīti Candra.

Nos. 11–13. Vīra Candra and Vīra. The moon is to the right on the reverse in Nos. 11 and 12, and to the left in No. 13.

Nos. 14–15. Prīti. Moon to the right.

No. 16. Pṛthvi. Moon to the right.

Nos. 17–18. Dhṛti Candra and Dhṛti. Moon to the left.

No. 19. -rmmavijaya (read Dharmmavijaya).

No. 20. Dhamma Candra. Note the increased stylization, the absence of the bead necklet on the bull, and the curious shape of the hump. Moon to the left.

No. 21. Reading of inscription uncertain. Note the curious shape of the bull's hump, only paralleled in No. 20; this is also the only coin showing the bull's tail turning back at the end, instead of under the rump as in all other cases. Moon to the right.

[No. 22. Nīti Candra. See above.]

[1] [This coin was presented to the Phayre Museum by Maung Kyaw.]