Chapter VI

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Script in the Mrauk-U Age
(A.D. 1430 to A.D. 1785)

The Mrauk-U age in Arakan followed the Lemrot age. Long-gret, the last capital of the Lemrot period was destroyed by constant wars. King Man So Mwan, ruler of Arakan took refuge at Gaud in India in A.D. 1406, but Man Kha Ri who was the younger brother of king Man So Mwan, and a governor of Sandoway, was able to reconquer the ruined city after twenty two years. In the year A.E. 791 (A.D. 1428) king Man So Mwan took possession of the lost city back with the help of both Man Kha Ri and Sultan of Gaud in India. He ruled for two years more in the ruined city which was the last capital of Lemrot period. Then the king founded a new city which was named Mrauk-U in A.E. 792 = A.D. 1430. the Mrauk-U period, regarded as Golden Age in Arakanese history, lasted for 355 years from A.D. 1430 to A.D. 1785. No less than 48 kings ruled in this period. In the history of Arakan the Mrauk-U age was of great significance. It is learnt from the chronicles that the territory of Arakan during the Mrauk-U age was somewhat different from what it is now, and it covered twice the area of the present day state during the hey-day of its glory and greatness. The golden days of Mrauk-U city, those of the 16th and 17th centuries, were contemporary to the days of the Tudor kings, the Moghuls, the Ayuthaya kings and the Ava (Inwa), Taungoo and Hanthawaddy kings of Myanmar. Foreign relations formed an important factor in the Mrauk-U period of Arakanese history.

The Mrauk-U age may be divided into three phases. In the first phase 12 rulers ruled for 101 years, in the second phase 9 rulers ruled for 107 years and in the third phase 18 rulers ruled for 146 years respectively till Bodawphara invaded Arakan. The most important kings of this period were Man So Mwan and Man Bā. Buddhism and Brāhmanism during this age flourished as usual but Mohamedans as also the Europeans like the Portuguese entered Arakan. For the Mrauk-U

1. San Tha Aung, U, Arakanese Coins, (Burmese), Yangon, 1979, p. 32.
4. We find the name Man Pan or Man Pan Kn in some inscriptions of Mrauk-U period. This Man Pan or Mon Pan Kn seems to have been mentioned as Man Bā, Man Bong or Man Bā Kn in the chronicles of Arakan. See WantT-nat Stone Image inscription, below, pp. 216-7, Ka-lon-taung Phara Pillar inscription, below, pp. 231-4.
period we have a large number of epigraphical records even more than the preceding periods, i.e., the Dhanyawady, Vesāli and Lemrot respectively. Before Bodawphara had conquered Arakan (Rakhine) in 1785, reliable sources show that throughout the domain of Mrauk-U city, a former capital seat of 48 kings for 355 years, innumerable shrines, stūpas and votive structures were erected on almost every hilltop by rulers or private individuals, and such colossal shrines like Shitthaung, Kothaung, Htukkanthein etc, could be constructed by powerful rulers. Dr. Forchhammer stated that "In durability, architectural skill, and ornamentation the Mrohaung (Mrauk-U) temples far surpass those on the banks of the Arrawady." Generally speaking, within the compounds of the structures, we find inscriptions were engraved on the completion of shrine, stūpa or caitya etc, the materials being stone or brick with auspicious, precatory and imprecatory verse and prose. And, sometimes we find writing even on pedestal of images.

Because of the fact that our dissertation is primarily based on epigraphic data, we saw to it that not a single epigraph is left out from our purview. So we now think it unnecessary to point out that the 'picture is even more clouded as we still do not have access to a corpus of early Arakanese inscriptions.....' But, contrary to what is noticed in epigraphs discovered from India where political anecdotes like conquering of neighbouring countries dominate the theme of a large number of inscriptions, the Arakanese inscriptions, barring a few, gave details mostly about some sort of donations or grant of land to one or other religious establishments.

The above phenomenon is noticeable in every phase in Arakanese history, namely, Vesāli, Lemrot or even Mrauk-U. This will be evident from the following illustration. About five inscriptions that bear dates ranging from A.E. 955 = A.D. 1594 to A.E. 971 = A.D 1609, have recently come to our notice. The above dates suggest that all these inscriptions were issued during the reign of king Man Rājā Kṛi (A.D. 1593-1612). It is significant to note that though one of the above inscriptions, namely, the Pan-zee-mraung Stone Slab inscription dated (A.E. 971 = A.D. 1609) describes the king Man Rājā Kṛi as having


assumed a second name 'Narādhipati' and enjoyed the title of 'Shwenanthakhan Sannīthakhan Bhawashan' meaning possessor of 'wealth, red elephant and imperial status' (L. I. 5-6) and ruling over many countries of west including Hanthawady (Pegu) and Tharechettarā (Prome), the principal object for engraving this inscription is to record the donation of plots of land measuring upto 6 Shaings of land⁷ (equivalent to about 38.4 acres) for the construction of a monastery, named Triratanamuni Ratanawimala. Similarly, contents of the four other inscriptions relate to either the donation of plots of land or the rebuilding of a shrine.

From the above references it is clear that the main purpose for engraving the early Arakanese inscriptions is to record donation of plots of land or other valuables befitting the occasion. It is remarkable to note that though the kings of Arakan (like their counterparts in early India) aspire to be great empire-builders by extending their territories among the circle called Mandalā,⁸ yet they seem to consider this sort of achievement as immaterial – what they termed more worthy is the attaining of glory in the next world i.e., in heaven, for which almost all, including kings and members of aristocracy yearn for performing meritorious deeds like gifts of valuables to religious establishments.

So we have seen that the contents of the majority of the inscriptions are, basically, religious in nature. Yet, information in regard to foreign relations – either friendly or hostile – can also be gleaned from a number of inscriptions. The inscriptions which give us some hint in this regard include the (I) Ale-ni-bhū-zā Phara Stone Slab inscription dated A.E. 906 = A.D. 1544,⁹ (II) Thun-kan-cu Phara Stone Slab inscription dated A.E. 918 = A.D. 1556,¹⁰ (III) Ka-lon-taung Phara Pillar inscription dated A.E. 943 and 947 = A.D. 1581 and 1585,¹¹ (IV) Pan-zee-mraung

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7. Donation of plots of land measuring upto 20 Shaings (= 128 acres) is refered to in the Ale-zeti Stone Slab inscription of Queen Shan Htwe, dated A.E. 1002 = A.D. 1641. See also below, pp. 252-6.
9. The inscription refers to the governor of Chittagong as looking after a piece of land which was to be donated by the king (apparently king Man Bā Krē of the chronicle who ruled from 1531 to 1553 A.D.) to a shrine. See also below, pp. 217-8.
10. This inscription refers to king Man So's visit to Ceylon. King Man So of this inscription, seems either king Min Tikkā or king Man So Hla of the chronicles. See below, pp. 226-7
11. In this inscription mention is made of the sending of arms and ammunitions to Mron kingdom (Tripura) and Thak locality (Chakma territory). See also below, pp. 231-4.
Script and writing developed to a great extent in the Mrauk-U period. Forms of letters became refined and polished, which are perceptible in epigraphic documents found in abundance. Rulers and common people who were mostly Buddhists issued these inscriptions. Most of these inscriptions are dated. Apart from the inscriptions, we have a large number of coins with legends on them. They are either in gold or silver. From both inscriptions and legends on coins, we can trace the development of the script in which the current forms of letters in Arakanese are noticeable. Palaeographical features of the unpublished inscriptions, arranged chronologically, are described below for a proper understanding of the Arakanese script in the Mrauk-U period.


A colossal seated Buddha image at the Pan-kun-thein shrine in Mrauk-U is in situ. Theravada Buddhists of Arakan and other people respect the image. On the front side of the throne the image bears an inscription consisting of two lines with letters of larger sizes. Second line of the inscription is badly damaged. Forms of the letters are of square type. The script is Rakkhawanna Akkhara (Arakanese script). Early specimens of the letters in Arakanese script and early forms of Arakanese words are noticeable in the record. In L. 1, the date (Thakrac) has been recorded in both word and numerical notations. The first line may be read as "Tha-krac 8ra7 khu syiā- man-nye-san htu-tho-phu-rā-tai,n" which means the name of Sir Man (Nye?) San who sculpted and erected the image in A.E 807 (Arakanese Era). But second notation of 807 is used in word rā instead of the sign for 0. Such a usage is often found in Arakanese inscriptions. Rā in Arakanese stands for 100. So 8rā7 means 8

12. This inscription informs us king Narādhipati's (i.e. king Man Rājā Kṛi) acquisition of Hanthawady and Tharechettarā. See also below, pp. 242-6.

13. This inscription gives a list of victims killed by the invaders and the places where the victims were killed. The invaders appear to be Burmese army, because the Arakanese people called the Burmese as 'Auk-thar' even today. See also below, pp. 263-4.

14. Similar style of writing which is mixture of both word and numerical notation, is also found in some inscriptions. Perhaps this is also a style of writing in Arakan at that time. See Gyo-phrā-tnaung Bronze Buddha image inscription, supra, pp. 164-5.
As regard the Pan-kun-thein shrine, U Shwe Zan stated that "Pankunthein is located somewhere in the eastern foothills of Sangahdaung. The 11ft high stone image of the Lemro period is now housed in this temple. The pedestal has two lines of an inscription of the Lemro period. King Mong Hla Rājā shifted this image to the present site from Longgret. It was originally placed on top of Sangahdaung hill, and called Sudaw Pan Para."15 Danyawati Aung Zay Ya also revealed that "in Pankunthein Phara the Buddha image was caused to be sculpted out of a large stone by king Man So Mwan alias Man Htu Rājā on 877 A.E corresponding to A.D. 1525. On the pedestal of the image an inscription with Rakkhawanna Akkhāra is inscribed recording donation of Man Hla Rājā."16 But in the inscription we do not find any proper name mentioned by the above writers. The possibility is that the inscription we find at present is only a fragment, the major portion being damaged due to ravages by man and nature.17 In L. 2, the words do not convey the full implication but the dedication seems to be related to the king and his subjects, (Tha-lak-ma-(yam?) man-man-shan-le.....ra-ce-thov).

With regard to the forms of the letters used in this inscription it may be noted that consonant ka is formed by the double semi-box joined horizontally with mouths opened downwards. Kha is of a semi-box with mouth opened to the left and with a loop inwards at the base. Nga (ňa) is formed by semi-square with mouth opened to the right. Ca has a dent inwards at left in the square form of the letter. Sa (cha) has two limbs joining horizontally, at left limb with mouth opened to the left and a small box is formed inwards at the base of left limb. Nya (ňa) has two limbs joining horizontally, at the left with mouth opened to the left and at the right with mouth opened upwards, and a shorter line dangling at the base of left part being attached downwards. Ta has two parts joining horizontally, the right part is formed by mouth opened downwards. Hta (tha) has only double box joining lengthwise. Pha is of semi-box with

15. Shwe Zan, U, op cit, p. 119.
17. Otherwise, the record for the inscription containing the name Sir Man (Nye) San, seems to mean only for the sculptor but not for donor.
mouth opened upwards and a loop inwards at the right. **Ma** has a loop inwards at the base. **Ra** has a curve dangling outwards at the left and the head is flattened. **La** has two mouths, one mouth opened downwards at the left and the other opened upwards at the right. **Wa** (ya) is of only square. **Tha (sa)** has also two mouths; one mouth opened at the left and the other opened upwards at right.

The medial vowels and conjuncts of the inscription resemble the forms found in the inscriptions of Lemrot period. The mark for punctuation is given by two dandas as we have seen in the Vesāli and Lemrot inscriptions. However, the script of the succeeding Mrauk-U age, derived from the Lemrot, tends to be more refined and polished, with an inclination to present letters in a roundish form, that we possess abundantly in epigraphs. The text\textsuperscript{18} of the inscription is as follows:

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L. 1. || Tha-krac 8ra7 khu syia man-(nye)-san htu-tho phu-rā-tai ||
L. 2. || Tha-lak-ma-(yam?) man-man-shan-le ... ra-ce-thov ||
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**Translation:**
Sir Man (nye?) San caused to sculpt out and erect this Buddha image in A.E. 807 = A.D. 1445. The dedication is intended with regard to the king and his subjects!

2. **San-kar-taung Phara Stone Slab Inscription of Mahāthilawantha,** Sandoway Tsp. (Vol. II, Pl. LXXX). Now in situ; **Script:** Rakkhawanna Akkhara. **Language:** Arakanese; **Date:** A. E. 813, 818 = A. D. 1451, 1455; **Unpublished.**

As mentioned above, from the northern site of Arakan a large number of epigraphic records in Arakanese language and Rakkhawanna Akkhara, are being discovered from the premises of the shrines or stūpas. Recently we found an inscription near San-kar-taung Phara. It is situated on Ma-ee-chaung (Ma-ee creek) in the district of Sandoway, where lies the shrine called San-kar-taung Phara constructed quite in early times. The inscription appears to record the dates of construction and completion of the shrine. The stone inscription measuring 2' in length and 1'.6" in breadth seems to be a fragmentary one because the lines of the lower portion perhaps remained incomplete and every line of right side has been slightly weathered. But eleven lines are legible with a few letters damaged in some cases. The letters of the inscription are not proportionately executed. The letters of the upper portion are slightly smaller than those of the lower portion.

\textsuperscript{18} From estampage prepared by author.

\textsuperscript{19} For date 807.
Fortunately, the donor's name of the shrine is given in L. 2 and two different dates are separately written in Ll. 3 and 8 that seem to mark the dates of the beginning of the construction and the completion of the shrine. It is interesting to note that before the beginning of the text, a sign of zodiac is significantly marked on top of the inscription. Such a sign of zodiac has been very seldom found in other inscription from Arakan. In L. 2, we find the name of Mahāthīlawanta who donated the shrine in A.E. 813. In the history of Arakanese literature, Mahāthīlawanta is a celebrated scholar and poet, and a monk of venerable talent. He is the author of the "Ma-hā-thī-la-wan-tha Sum-ma-ca" verse. But on the other side of Rakhine Roma range, the same name in the Ava period of Burmese history is found. It is also claimed that he was a renowned composer in Upper Burma.

Ll. 3 and 4 indicate that the work for the construction of the shrine took six years. Ll. 5-8 seem to state that on Wednesday, waxing moon of Nanyun month, A.E. 818, there was a sacred arrangement for a ceremony to sanctify the shrine with the participation of 20 members of the Sanghā, i.e., monks. This tradition still prevails in Arakan. The last three lines (Ll. 9-11) contain an imprecatory stanza that, "whoever would cut down a tree or even a branch of a tree from the premise of the shrine, would go down to hell." However, the letters contained are more rounded ones than those used in the Pan-kun-thein Buddha image inscription. Medial vowel and consonant forms are usually characterised by the same features as seen in the Lemrot period. The text of the inscription is as follows:

L. 1. A-da-ha-ka bha-wa-ka-taing-aung ... 
L. 2. Tha mahāthīlawanta kaung ... 
L. 3. Va-ka 813 khu tu-an-te-tha-te ... 
L. 4. Krauk-(nā)-ti thin-te-tha ... 
L. 5. Kha-(nā)-lum thum-pat-(nā)-ti ... 
L. 6. Thu-di-nā-tha-rak-nak-tha-wa ... 
L. 7. Bu-ta-hā-ne-twan than-khā-hac-sal ... 
L. 8. Tha-kkarac 818 khu nan-yun-la-san ... 
L. 9. Thac-ta-pan thac-khak-ta ... 
L. 10. Khu-kov-chov 6 thū-kā nga 
L. 11. Rai-a-dhai-hneik khan-le-ce ||

20. Such a zodiac sign seems to have been taken as an auspicious symbol, meant for the construction of the shrine. Otherwise, this is a specimen of Añ sign which seems to be a deterrent for the destruction of the shrine.


22. From estampage prepared by author.
Translation:
It is up to heaven called Bhawak. The completion of the work for the construction of the shrine which was donated by Mahāthālīwantha took six years. The ceremony to sanctify the shrine, was held in the presence of 20 members of the Sangha, i.e., monks in the sacred arrangements on Wednesday, waxing moon of Nanyun month, A.E. 818. Whoever would cut down the tree or even a branch of tree, would go down to the hell!


A famous shrine called Nankyar Thein, is situated on the high way between Minbra and Mrauk-U, in the circle of Mrauk-U township. It stands on the west bank of the Lemrot, which once played an important role in Arakanese history. At present the shrine houses a number of Buddha images either seated or standing. Among them, there is an image seated on the pedestal on the right side of the entrance through the eastern gate. On the backside of the pedestal, an inscription bearing three lines of writing is noticeable. Although the letters in some cases are badly damaged, the date is clearly legible. The characters of the inscription belong to Rakkhawanna Akkhara and the language Arakanese. In the beginning of the first line, we may read the date 830 (A.E.) – Thakrac 830, which corresponds to A.D. 1468. The following part of the first line may be read as "A-twan-le ta-bhak hlu-to-mi" meaning to donate one part of the paddy farm. In L. 2, we may read "San-phru-shan-man" which means the king who possessed white elephant, who donated (farm for dedication to the image). San-phru-shan-man who was a powerful king during Mrauk-U age, has been known to us from the narration of the chronicles as follows:

King Ba So Phpu alias Sanphushanman ascended the throne on A.E. 823 corresponding to A.D. 1459, and he who took in all round advantage, dealt with the important affairs not only in the territories of Arakan but also abroad that was ruled by the Sultan kings of Bengal. During the reign-period he received Tipitakas from Ceylon (Sri Lanka). In

23. The title of the Sanphrushanman is amply found in the coin legand of the Mrauk-U period. See below, pp. 275 ff.
25. Sandamalalinkarn, Ashin, op cit. p. 32; Okkhantha, A.S, op cit. p. 79; San Tha Aung, U, op cit. p. 34.
1459 he regained Chittagong and repaired and renovated a large number of stupas and monasteries, and enthusiastically built new stupas of Ratansanrwe, Ratanathinga, Mahabodhi and thirty-one Buddha images and monasteries at Mrauk-U city and outlying area. His Buddhist activity was immense. He issued the coin named Kalima. During his reign, the progress of literature reached its zenith and among the verses and proses, "Rakhine-man-tha-min-e-chan" (the song of Arakanese princess), composed by a famous Adhu Min Nyo who was a court-composer, is very popularly known even today. But he was assassinated by his son – Dolya alias Mokhu Shah in 1481.

The remaining words of third line seem to state the boundary mark of the farm that stretched up to Long-gret in the South. The initial vowels, consonants and punctuation mark etc in this inscription are the same as found in the Pan-kun-thein and San-kar-taung inscriptions in Mrauk-U period. The text of the inscription is as follows:

L. 1. Tha-krae 830 . . . a-twan-le ta-bhak hlu-to-mū . . .
L. 2. . . . . san-phū-shan-man . . . . . . . . phyak-thaw . . . the-ce-ko-ce | | |
L. 3. Taung-le long-grek a-phar-hi . . . . .


There is a large lake called as "Lak-say-kan" (or Lak-se-kan) on the southern side of the Mrauk-U. With its embankment formed by natural hill ranges, this lake is about 100 acres wide connecting two hill ranges, the western gate known as Lak-say-kan gate is 24' in length, 17' in height and 8' in thickness. It is said that in case of raid from an enemy from the south of the palace, this gate was to be used to flood the plains in the north to deter the enemy. On a hill known as Ga-nan-chap-taung

26. Sandamalalinkara, Ashin, op cit, p. 31; San Tha Aung, U, op cit, p. 34; Okkhantha, A.S, op cit, p. 79; Shwe Zan, U, op cit, p. 29.
27. San Tha Aung, U, op cit, p. 34; Sandamalalinkara, Ashin, op cit, p. 32; Okkhantha, A.S, op cit, p. 80.
28. San Tha Aung, U, op cit, p. 34; Okkhantha, A.S, op cit, p. 79.
29. San Tha Aung, U, op cit, p.34; Okkhantha, A.S, op cit, p.79; Shwe Zan, U, op cit, p.29.
30. The distance of the place from Long-gret which was once an old city, is about 2 miles from the Nankyar Thein (shrine) where the present inscription is now situated.
31. From estampage prepared by author.
32. Shwe Zan, U, op cit, p. 136.
near the western gate of the lake, Buddha images were donated by a venerable monk named Thiri Thancanyutha from Wathai temple in A.E. 844 corresponding to A. D. 1482. From the shrine containing images, a stone slab bearing inscription on both sides has been found. The obverse has twenty three lines with a date 844 (Thakrac) while the reverse bears only nine lines. The characters of this inscription also belong to Rakkhawanna Akkharā (Arakanese script), which is formed in rounded form. The language is Arakanese. The main contents of the inscription may generally be divided into three phases. The first phase refers to donation of Buddha images by the chief monk. In the second phase mention is made of the source of income to be owned by the images and Phara (shrine) (Wai-tu-kan-than-ghi-ka), and the staff associated with the shrine. The third phase refers to the boundaries of the farm and implements to be used, for the maintenance of the images and shrine. It is stated that a chief monk who installed the images, was not an ordinary monk but was respected even by the kings of the country (Man-tov-the pu-ija dhei-tho).

With regard to the construction and donation of the Buddha images, shrines and stūpas in Arakan, it is obvious that participation of Sangha (monk) community, in addition to that of kings and common people is a necessary pre-requisite. In Ll. 10,21,22 on the obv, and L. 5 on rev., we find the word Tanka which means currency. At present the word Tanka is still used in Arakan. The forms for initial vowels, consonants, medial vowels and conjuncts etc in this inscription, are of rounded types. The letters used in this inscription seem to show more developed forms than those of the Pan-kun-thein Buddha Image, San-kar-taung Phara Stone Slab and Nan-kyar Buddha Image inscriptions in the Mrauk-U period. The forms of letters are also similar to the current forms of Arakan. Sign for punctuation mark is given by one vertical line in Ll. 7,8,9,11,15 of obv. and L. 8 of rev. and two vertical lines in Ll. 6. The text of the inscription is as follows:

**Obverse**

L. 1. Tha-krac 844.
L. 2. Tan-saung-mū . . . . .
L. 4. Man-tov-the pu-ija dhaik
L. 5. Tho thi-la-te-zā-tov-phran
L. 6. Tauk-pa-dha-tho || Wa-the-kyuang-kri-(i)
L. 7. Tan-khwan tha-phwe-phrac-dha-tho | Thī-ri-than-ca
L. 8. Nyu-tha a-me-to | Hi-tho bhun-kri-the | Lak

33. From estampage prepared by author.
Translation: On Tan-saung-mu month, 844 (A.E.), the images were donated at Lak-se-kan lake by a monk named ThTri thancanyutha who is respectable and shining in good morality, and who is also a chief at Wathe temple. For the construction of the images, there is an amount of 210 Tanka owned by the images and shrine, of which 10 Tanka is for Pan-tan-kri who would arrange the flowers for Buddha, and Tan-mrag-khat who is sweeper at the shrine, and A-lup-kywan who is a slave at the shrine. And a plot of land measuring 1 Shaing (Le-ta-shaing) (equivelent to 6.4 acres) is to be worked out by them from among a plot of land measuring 6 Shaings (38.4 acres) from the place of Om-lak-nge by farm-implements like one Tu-ran, one Ka-ra-ha and one Dhi-mauk. The boundary of the farm dedicated to the four images is to stretch up to the lands of Chaung-tha in the north, Hla-la-ha-chaung in the east, La-ha-chaung in the south and Pai-kaing-chaung in the west. In regard to the land dedicated to the three Buddha images at So-bhu-ran-rwa village, Tanka 40 is for Man-thu-ddha land, Tanka 80 for Ma-me land, 4 Chap for Man-dhat land and 5 Chap for Man-thu-ddha land. It was bought at a total cost of 130 Tanka. The land owned by the images and shrine is a plot of land measuring 5 Shaings (32 acres). Total sum of amount is 210 Tanka. The images and shrine also own a plot of land measuring 5 Shaings (32 acres) from the place of Om-lak-nge by farm-implements like four Pauk-tu (mattock), one Kri-nan (whip), four Dha-ma (big knife), one Tu-ran (ground hoe), one Pa-ra-ha, one Dhi-mauk (small knife) are included. It is constructed by Cai-kri-than-wan.


This seated Buddha image in bronze was originally discovered by a fisherman on 7th Tankhu month, A.E. 1350, from a creek
near Pharapaw quarter of Mrauk-U. He sent it to Pharapaw Kyaung Houng where the image is now preserved at the monastery. A line consisting of 20 letters on the pedestal of the image is written in roundish forms which are neatly uniform. The line extends about 45 cm. in length. The size of the letters is between 1 cm. x 1.5 cm. The script of the inscription is Rakkhawanna Akkhara and the language Arakanese in older forms of words. The object is to record the joint donation of the image by two generals who are Ga Mwe and La Gan.

The spelling of words used in the inscription seems to be based on local pronunciation at that time. For instance, i.e, Tha-kka-rat for Tha-krac, Bav for Bo and Da-ka-kyak for Dā-kā-cā would be incorrect in older forms. The form of the second notation for 4 in 846 is also akin to modern Arakanese number 9. The most interesting point to note here is that at the end of the line, the Pali word Dānapati has been used instead of the corresponding word in Arakanese. Dānapati in Pali means those who give donation. The two generals, according to tradition, were in Dacca as governors. They donated the image during their tenure of office as provincial governors at Dacca (now in Bangladesh), but on their return to Mrauk-U, the image was brought along with them. In this inscription the forms for consonants, medial vowels and conjuncts are the same as those used in the Ga-nan-chap-taung Phara Stone Slab inscription. Sign for punctuation mark is used by two dandas at the end of the line. The text of this inscription is as follows:


Translation:

General Ga Mwe and general La Gan are donors of the image in 846 era (A.E.).


34. It is of interest to note that about A.E. 846 (A.D. 1484) mentioned in the inscription, governors from the court of the king of Arakan ruled over parts of the present Bangladesh from the provincial capital of Dacca (Dhaka) in Bangladesh. The date, mentioned in the inscription, indicates that the king would be Dolya alia Sanphru-shanman of the chronicles. See Sandamalalinkara, Ashin, op cit., Vol. V, pp. 35-6.


36. From estampage prepared by author.
This Buddha image initially discovered from a cave of Pha-ra-ni stūpa near Kin-seip village in Mrauk-U, was removed to the stūpa standing on the hill of Ta-pin-ting-mrot-row. The image was called Pha-ra-ni Phara (Pha-ra-ni Buddha image) by the people of Arakan. The inscription on the pedestal contains three lines of writing with smooth letters of rounded forms of Rakkhawanna Akkhara. The language is Arakanese. The date at the beginning of first line is usually written in numerical notations, but the amount of donations in currency and the donated quantity of rice are written in words. In the following part of second line and front part of third line, the donor shares his meritorious deed in the invocation of the earth as the vow. In this inscription the older form of the initial vowel for a has been used. Consonant forms are of the rounded types, similar to the forms found in certain inscriptions of Mrauk-U period. Medial vowels and conjunct forms are usually written in the same way as seen in the previous inscriptions of Mrauk-U period. The text of the inscription is as follows:

L. 1. Tha-krac 851 tan-kā ta-rā-nga-sai le-chap
L. 2. (San?)-nga-rā-khu-na-sai nga-kaung-hmu-kov wa-thim-ta
L. 3. Ra hnan shan-thak-thi auk-a-wī-ci a-hatak-bha-wak a-kyo-wī-i

Translation:
In 851 (A. E.) I share my meritorious deed which is Tanka (currency) 154 and rice 570, in the invocation of the earth as the vow, for the dedication upto Bhawak heaven from Awīci hell.


A stone slab inscription was discovered originally from Tha-rak-aup-wa-rij-taung shrine about 1 mile east of Mrauk-U. Now it is preserved in Mrauk-U Museum. The inscription consists of lines of writing on three faces. Both the obverse and upper faces belong to Arakanese script while the reverse is written in Arabic. There are ten lines on the obverse, three lines in upper portion on the obverse and eight lines on the reverse. The letters in Arakanese script are in older forms. Old

37. U Tha Tun, U, cit., p. 18.
38. From estampage prepared by author.
39. If it records the rice, it appears to have been mentioned in terms of its weight in Taung or Thait or Bho. 570 Taungs is equal to 16031.25 pounds, 570 Thaits is equal to 1335.93 pounds and 570 Bhoos is equal to 333.98 pounds. See Nyanathara, U, op cit., p. i.
Arakanese words are also noticeable. The sizes of letters in upper portion on the obverse are slightly larger than those of the lower portion. The object of the inscription is to record the donation of a piece of land by the king in favour of a Buddhist fraternity for maintenance of the shrine. L.l.-2 on the obverse contains the name of Sanphrushan40* who donated the land, on Sunday, full moon of Nanyun month, A.E. 857. Arakanese kings at that time used to exhibit their imperial status by pronouncing ownership of white elephant,41* as indicated by the Buddha image inscription from Nankyar Thein. The present epigraph refers to king's donation in L. 4 (Phu-ran kaung-hmu). In Ll. 4-5, the imprecatory words claim that non-prestige and non-longevity would happen to whoever would destroy the shrine or the image. The three lines in upper face record an amount of money i.e., 64 Tanka (currency) to have been paid for the land to be owned by the image and shrine (Than-khi-mri). However, the upper face was perhaps re-inscribed later as a postscript, which is written in small letters. The feature of the characters and words, are basically the same as those used in the previous inscriptions of Mrauk-U period. Mark for punctuation is given in this inscription by three vertical lines (L. 5). The text42* of the inscription is as follows:

**Obverse face**
L.l. ṭha-krac 857 na-my-on-la-pre43* ta-lan-ka
L.2. ṃw-nil kā-dhi-phauk-kan-kov san-prū-shan
L.3. Thā-na-thā-phu-ra-shimn-kā a-ce-mrī-kā-(35?)
L.5. Thā-thū-kā phun-ma-kri a-thak-ma-she-ci-tho mre-tha-co-mri phrac-ci-tho || Thī-ha
L.7. Lak-hnan-pi-the | No-ko-thu-kri-mā-pi-ta-yauk | Te-lan
L.8. Ta-yauk thu-ngai-ta-yauk ka-ma-thin-ta-yauk
L.9. She-taw-kham thu-to-ta-yauk kyo-thā-duh-thi-than-khi-ta-kā
L.10. Sha-chap-kā thim-ma-thu-hi-i

**Upper face**
L.1. Kak-tha-ka-mrī-kov
L.2. Tan-kā 64 chap pi-i
L.3. Than-khi-mrī

40. The date in the inscription indicates that the king would be Dolya alias Sanphrūshanman of the chronicles. See Sandamalalinkara, Ashin, op cit., Vol. V, pp. 35-6.

41. Such titles in the coin-legend of Mrauk-U period abound and in some coins, the issuers assumed certain titles which meant that they enjoyed ownership not only of white elephant but also of red elephant. See below, pp. 275 ff.

42. From estampage prepared by author.

43. For Nan-yun-la-pre.
A ruined wall in the northern part of the present Mrauk-U runs from north to south. According to tradition Khran Keik Pi\textit{taka} Library was situated there during the hey-day of Mrauk-U period (A.D. 1430-1784).\textsuperscript{44} Near the ruined city wall, there is a shrine (Phara) on the hill named Khran Keik Amrint Taung, from where an inscription was discovered. It has twenty three lines of writing with damaged letters in major parts. The characters of the inscription belong to Rakkhawanna Akkhara and the language Arakanese. The object of the inscription is to record donation of land for the shrine by the great ruler of Rakhine,\textsuperscript{45} together with Minister Sankai. Two different dates are separately written in L.1 and 20 that seem to mark the dates of the beginning of construction and completion of the shrine, i.e., A.E. 861 and A.E. 918. The system of recording two such dates, one for the beginning and the other for completion of a construction, is also found in the record of San-kar-taung Phara stone slab inscription. But in this record the two dates do not seem to refer to the reign of one king.

According to chronicles, the date 861 belongs to the reign of king Ca Lan Ga Thu while the date 918 falls within the reign of king Man Teik Khå.\textsuperscript{46} It is interesting to note that in L.l 11-13, his donation is construed with reference to the divinities of Thakrā, Brāhmā, Ru-kkhasov (who rules over the forest), Bhum-ma-sov (who rules over the land), Å-kå-tha-sov (who rules the whole space of the sky) and the Nāga king (who rules over Nāgas under water). This order abounds in later inscriptions. In L.l 14-18, it is stated that all creatures of this world would share the merit accrued from his donation. It is imprecatory that "who would destroy the shrine (kaung-hmu), would go down to the hell called Awči." We may read again the expression \textit{Rakhine-pre-shan} in L. 21, which means the ruler of Rakhine kingdom (Arakanese kingdom).\textsuperscript{47} In

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{44} Shwe Zan, U, \textit{op cit.}, p. 103.
\item \textsuperscript{45} The date mentioned in inscription indicates that the king would be Ca Lan Ga Thu of chronicles. See Sandamalalinkara, Ashin, \textit{op cit.}, Vol. V, pp. 37-8.
\item \textsuperscript{46} San Tha Aung, U, \textit{Arakanese Coins}, 1979, p. 42.
\item \textsuperscript{47} This inscription which mentioned two titles e.g., Rakhine-man-kri in L. 5, and Rakhine-pre-shan in L. 21 seems to record two rulers of Arakan i.e., king Ca Lan Ga Thu and king Man So Hla of chronicles. See San Tha Aung, U, \textit{Arakanese Coins}, 1979, pp. 36 and 42.
\end{itemize}
LI. 22-23, again the donor imprecates that, "who would destroy it, would not be unyoked under the sin of hell, even though the Buddha would preach him." The letters for vowels, consonants and conjuncts usually resemble those found in the preceding inscriptions of Mrauk-U period. But in this inscription writing is evenly performed with letters in more rounded forms than those of preceding records of the Mrauk-U period. The text of the inscription is given below:

L. 1. Tha-krac 861 khu ta .......
L. 2. ....... kov. tik ...kā ... the ... cac
L. 4. V ... twan a-mri-taung-kov a-sov-ra-tho
L. 7. A-uptak-kā ... a-krā-taung-bhak-the-kā
L. 9. ... yaung-dhi-a-krā t-thov-tho-kaung-hmu-the-kā thā-tha-na-ngā
L. 15. Hmu-kov wi-tha-te ....... the ngā-hnan-tu a-kyo-ra-ci-thā lī
L. 17. ... the-tho ... bhi-shac-pā tan-sai-pā than-ci-tho man-hlyan .... ci-a
L. 18. ... a-wi-ci-ahtai nga-rai-lē-ci-tho ...... phrac-thov
L. 19. ....... ū-hlyan-phrac-le-ka ...... hmē-ka-nyap-phran
L. 20. Tha-kka-rāj 918 khu twan-te-to-mu ..... ta-kum-va-kā taung-kyuang- twan
L. 21. ... m-shwe-kyuang-na-tam-kyuang-tam ... 6 ra-khine-pre-shanc-ma-lag-lū-i
L. 22. A-paing-than-gan-thā-kku-thu-man-kā ... thu ... htak-kam-phrac-rwe-phā-rā-chwat-le-ma-kywat-ci
L. 23. ... ngā-kaung-hmu-kov phyak-thū-kā-ka .... ci ...

9. Peik-the-rap Pillar Inscription, Kyauktaw, (South face)

As we mentioned above, a monolith pillar inscription from Peik-the-rap in Kyauktaw contains lines of writing on four faces of which three faces recorded dates. The inscription on the western face does not bear any date. Letters of the inscription, however, are defaced in some parts. Among the four faces, three faces remain in a better condition as the eastern face is slightly damaged. All the characters of the pillar inscription are damaged.

48. From estampage prepared by author.
49. See supra, p. 179.
belong to Rakkhawanna Akkhara and the language Arakanese. The object of the inscription on the southern face seems to record existence of religious slaves to serve the shrine named Kyauktaw Phara. The date 865 (A.E.) in the first line is clearly legible but the name of the issuer or donor is not stated in the inscription. Ll. 3-16 seem to indicate that the family of U-jit-ngai-aung would work for a plot of land measuring 1 Shaing (equivalent to 6.4 acre) by a pair of buffaloes. The produce from the field would be shared between the Kyauktaw shrine and the family. The family would have to take care of the shrine by lighting of candle etc. (Than-put-le-tan nga-shan-le-cā). The expenditure for lighting of candle would be ten Tankā (Tan-kā ta-sai-cī), and ten Tankā would be provided for the family (Nga-shan-cā).

Another family of Nga-than-bu would work for a plot of land measuring 1 Shaing-field by a pair of buffaloes and a pair of bullocks. The produce of the field would be shared between the Kyauktaw shrine and the family. But only two Tankā would be provided for the shrine. The families perhaps served as religious slaves of the Kyauktaw shrine.50 The following lines also suggest existence of religious slaves, the names of the families being different. We may read in Ll. 30-31 that two middle fields at the north stretched upto the boundary of stūpa in Golden Temple of Mīwa (Mī-wa rwi-kyawng ceti-ta-phak-paing-lease-te). The characters in the inscription look like squarish in form, and the language used is also noticeable in old form. However, the forms of the letters are the same as those found in the record of the east face on the same pillar. The text51 of the inscription is as follows:

L. 1. Tha-krac 865 khu ta-paung-lsa
L. 2. N 14 ryak kra-ththa-pa-tti-ni kyaung
L. 3. Hlwat-i lwat-tho-khā kyaung
L. 4. Taw-phu-rā-tīwan u-jit-ngai-aung-ngai ta-i
L. 5. M-hthaung kywai-ta-shaing lai-ta
L. 6. Shaing-lup than-put-le-tan nga
L. 7. Shan-le-cā kyaung-taw-phu-rā
L. 8. Hniek-lkaung sī-mi-hngi-hā-the tan-kā ta
L. 9. Sai-ta-se-cī-thum (chac?)-thum-hnac
L. 10. chap-sī-mi-hngi ta-sai-cī-hyun-phat
L. 11. Ta-sai-cī nga-shan-cā kyaung-taw-phu
L. 12. Rā than-khi-te-pru-tho-bhu-rā-mā nga

50. It seems that the practice for employing religious slaves (Bhu-rā-kywan) perhaps was in vogue in Arakan at that time as many inscriptions during the Mrauk-U period, mention the religious slaves for the employment in the shrines or monasteries.

51. From estampage prepared by author.
10. Shwe-taung Zeti Stone Slab Inscription, Vesāli
(Vol. II, Pl. LXXVIII). Now in situ; Script: Rakkhawanna Akkhārā; Language: Arakanese; Date: A.E. 881 = A.D. 1519; Unpublished.

The find-spot of this stone slab inscription is situated near the ruined Vesāli site in Arakan. It was found from a stupa named Shwe-taung Zeti. Now it is in situ. It is known to us that the stone slab was made originally to cover the enshrined place of the stupa on Shwe-taung hill. The inscription consists of twelve lines of writing with a blank portion of squarish shape in the middle after five lines of writing. The blank portion was perhaps meant for putting in relics and materials used for worship. The characters of the record are evenly written in Rakkhawanna Akkhārā, and the language Arakanese. The inscription records the donation in favour of the stupa (cā-tī)52 by the king53 so that some sort of merit accrues to his daughter (Thmi-to).54 Thmi-to in Arakanese stands for own daughter even today. The donor aspires to share the merit to someone who would serve for the maintenance of the stupa, and to imprecate those who would destroy it. In L. 2-4 the donor's imprecation point that "those who would destroy and take away the properties of the stupa, would be killed

52. The word cā-tī or zā-tī in old time of Arakan appears to be the same as the word Ce-tī or ze-tī used currently in Arakan.
53. The date mentioned in the inscription indicates that the king would probably be Tha Jā Ta of the chronicles. See Sandalalalinkara, Ashin, op. cit., Vol. V. p. 41.
54. Similar word is found in the inscription of Ka-lon-taung Phara Pillar. See below, pp. 231-4.
by the meeting of the eight calamities and ten punishments, and, by the
divinities who would be there in the heaven called Bhawak and the hell
called AwTci. And they would stay for 5000 years of religious durability in
the hell. Those who would serve the stūpa, would escape from meeting
the eight calamities and ten punishments, and they would get a longevity
with wealth and enjoyment in life (I. 8-12).

The characters in the inscription are mostly of rounded
forms, which may similarly be noticeable in certain records of the middle
Mrauk-U period. But in some cases, especially in those for initial vowel
marks for a, ā and u, earlier forms seem to have been retained. Initial
vowel a looks like double English number 3 joined by a bar at the middle.
Initial vowel ā attached extra semi-circle to the parent letter at the right.
The form for initial - u in uca has two semi-rounded types joining
vertically, the upper mouth opened to the left and the lower mouth opened
to the right, but lower part is slightly bigger than the upper one. Other
forms of the letters of the inscription do not bear any peculiarity.

Punctuation mark is redundantly written by one vertical line with
the exception of a double dança in only L. 4. The text55 of the inscription is
given below:

L. 1. Tha-kkra 881 khu na-tto-la-pre 4 ta-hu-ni thmT-to-kov rai-rwe | Ča-ti-kaung
L. 3. Tan-se-pā-than-rwe | Thē-cē-tho | Auk-kā-a-wa-ci a-dhak-bha-wak-caung-tho
L. 6. Kaung-a-hlu-pTrwe | Pū-so-tha-kā pru
L. 7. Ct-tho | Ma-pru-ka nga-kyin-tho | A-kin
L. 8. kya-rwe thi-cē-tho ku-thol-kaung-hmu
L. 12. Shai-the-phrac-cē-tho |

11. Wantī-nat-kwan Stone Slab Inscription, Mrauk-U
(Vol. II, Pl. LXXXIX). Preserved in Mrauk-U Museum; Script:
Rakkhawanna Akkharā; Language: Arakanese. Date: A.E. 883
= A.D. 1522; Unpublished.

From Wantī God hill (or Wantī Natkwan as called by the
local people) in Mrauk-U, an inscription engraved on stone slab has been
discovered. It is situated to the north-east of the ruined palace site of
Mrauk-U. Tradition claims that the image of goddess on Wantī hill is the
guardian of settlements and warfare. Now the inscription is exhibited in

55. From estampage prepared by author.
Mrauk-U Museum. The stone slab bears writing on two sides. On one side the writing is Arakanese language, on the other the inscription is written in Sanskrit language.\(^56\) The Arakanese record is written in Rakkhawanna Akkharā, the Sanskrit one being in Pyū script.\(^57\) The inscription in Arakanese consists of five lines. The letters are coarsely formed of rounded type. The object of the inscription is to record donation of a plot of land measuring 5 Shaings (equivalent to 32 acres) in favour of the deity by members of a family consisting of five persons (father and four sons) from Lothokauk village. The date is written in words, and the word 'ra' for 9 rak (9 day) in second line is omitted. More interesting to note here is that on the left side of the inscription a sign of horoscope seems to have been engraved as we found a similar sign in the San-kar-taung Phara Stone Slab inscription from Ma-ee Chaung.\(^58\) Palaeographical features of the letters do not show any peculiarity. Initial vowel marks, consonants and conjuncts are identical with those found in the preceding inscriptions of Mrauk-U period. Forms for consonant letters ca, na, and ra seem to follow earlier specimens of the writing. Punctuation mark is given by three vertical lines, but the first line is bent. The text\(^59\) of the inscription is as follows:

L. 1. Tha-krac shac-rā-shac-se-thum-khu ta-pov
L. 2. Twe-la-sut 9(ra) k60 bu-tu-ni-twan (lo-tho-kauk?)
L. 3. Rwā thā-bha-ngā-yaук le-ngā-shaing-hnan wan-ti
L. 5. A-phrac-tum (]

Translation:
A plot of land measuring 5 Shaings (equivalent to 32 acres) was donated as an act of propitiation in favour of the Wonti goddess by a family of five persons (father and four sons) from Lothokauk? village on Wednesday, 9, wanning moon of Tapovtwe month, 883.


About 16 miles from Mrauk-U or 4 miles to the northeast of Pātaw village, there is a hill range called Pātaw taung-tan (hill range of

56. U Tha Tun, U, op cit., p. 27.
57. See supra, p. 135.
58. See supra, pp. 193-5.
59. From estampage prepared by author.
60. Omitted ra in rak.
It runs from north to south. At the foot of the hill range, precisely at a place called U-tu-khan-zaing, a natural rock is inscribed with letters which are not uniform in size. The inscription contains seven lines of writing. The rock measures $11'$ in length, $4'.2''$ in breadth and $2'.10''$ in thickness. The script belongs to Rakkhawanna Akkharā and the language Arakanese. E. Forchhammer wrongly noted it as Burmese script. The letters are too defaced to enable restoration of the text. The side facing the east is covered with letters and the inscription is dated *Thakkrac 886* (A. D. 1524) in the first line. The object of the record is to record donation of a plot of land measuring 10 Shaings (equivalent to 64 acres) to the Utu Nat (seasonal deity) by king Ko Ca Pa Ti. The letters are coarse and not uniform in sizes. The letters in the upper portion are clearly smaller than those of the lower lines. The remaining words of the inscription help us in understanding the purpose of the record although the stone slab is defaced and broken into parts.

The inscription is written in old Arakanese words which were used in the Mrauk-U period. The first two lines contain a date and L1 3-4 refer to the donation of the land and the name of the donor, Ko-ca-pa-ti who was a ruler of Arakan during the Mrauk-U period. But the period of rule of king Ko Ca Pa Ti (A.D. 1513-15) does not tally with the date given in the inscription. E. Forchhammer and U Tha Tun Aung on the basis of the Maharajawantawkrī, have given the reign period as the years 885-887. And the last three lines contain the imprecatory text in which the donor cursed those who would destroy the property donated in favour of the seasonal deity. The letters of the inscription are almost of square type. Initial vowel form for *a* prefers the arrow headed-form at the right limb joined to the English number 3. Initial vowel form for *u* is formed by a square loop at the upper part, but lower part is a slant vertical line dangling downwards. Other forms for vowels, consonants and conjuncts are identical to those of certain inscriptions of early Mrauk-U period. The text of the inscription is given below:


62. We find the name Ko Ca Pa Ti in the inscription. This name Ko Ca Pa Ti seems to have been mentioned as Gajāpatī in the chronicles. See San Tha Aung, U, *Arakanese Coins*, p. 37; Sandamalalinkara, Ashin, *op cit.*, Vol. V, p. 40.


65. From estampage prepared by author.
King Ko Ca Pa Ti donated a plot of land measuring 10 Shaings (equivalent to 64 acres) to the Utunat (seasonal deity) on Sunday, 8, waxing moon of Wakhaung month, 886. May those who would destroy it, would deface works, would go down to hell called Awaci and would be the stumbling block in the hell!

13. Peik-the-rap Pillar Inscription, Kyauktaw, (North face)

As we mentioned above, a monolith stone pillar has been found from Paik-the-rap in Kyauktaw. The pillar bears writing on four faces. The north face of the pillar contains twenty two lines in Rakkhawanna Akkhara and Arakanese language. The characters used are written in square type, which are closely identical to the forms found in the east and south faces of the same pillar. The words are of old Arakanese forms. The date 887 in L. 15 is clearly legible. The object of the inscription is to record donation of a plot of land. But LI. 15-17 refer to the Queen Man Sov Lat who ascended throne on Saturday, waxing moon of Thankran month, 66* 887. She donated a plot of land measuring 2 Chap 1 Thuka 68* (possibly equivalent to 14.4 acres). Another information is that a stūpa was donated by king 68* in the royal estate to the western site of Kyauktaw city during the time of Mm Phru from Ava (LI. 18-21). The forms for vowels, consonants and conjuncts etc are similar to those used in other faces of the same pillar. The punctuation mark is given by two vertical lines as seen in certain inscriptions of the early Mrauk-U period. The text 69* of the inscription is as follows:

66. The word 'Thankran' month is the same as Tan-khoo or Ta-koo month in Arakan.
67. The word '1 chap' is equated with a plot of land measuring 1 Shaing, (6.4 acres), '1 Thuka' with a plot of land measuring 1.6 acres. See Nyanathara, U, op cit., p. 62.
68. The date in the inscription indicates that the king would probably be Man Khaung Rājā. See San Tha Aung, U, Arakanese Coins, pp. 38-9.
69. From estampage prepared by author.
Translation:

It is one side of later religious land. The half of one side land is for teacher of king and another half is for three temples. This result of meritorious deed would be bestowed to the kingly brother and sister three times and to me at one time. It would be accrued to those who would repair it. May those who would destroy it, would undergo not to be unyoked under the sin of hell even though every Buddha would preach him, and to be swallowed by the earth, to be killed by the lightning, to go down to four inferior places, to go into the hell called Awaci and to be the stumbling block in the hell. The Queen Man Sov Lat who ascended on the throne on Saturday, 7, waxing moon of Thankran month, 887 A.E, donated a plot of land measuring 2 Chap, 1 Thuka (equivalent to 14.4 acres) in favour of the religious purpose. A stupa was donated by king on the royal estate of the western site of Kyauktaw city during the time of Man Phru from Ava. May those who would destroy the stūpa, would go down to four inferior places and hell!

14. Peik-the-rap Pillar Inscription, Kyauktaw, (West face)

The west face of the stone pillar from Paik-the-rap in Kyauktaw, bears an inscription consisting of twenty five lines of writing, the lower portion being badly damaged. The script is Rakkhawanna Akkhara in square forms and the language used is Arakanese with old specimens of words. Neither the information in regard to land donation nor the name of the issuer of the inscription are included in the text as we have frequently found in the previous inscriptions. Almost the entire inscription records the imprecatory text. The letters contained in this inscription are mostly of square type. The inscription does not bear any
date. The letters resemble those written on the north face of the same pillar. The forms of the letters for initial vowels, consonants, and conjuncts are also of the same as used in the three faces of the same pillar. The text of the inscription is as follows:

L. 1. Tha-tha-nä nga-htaung caung-tha-nat-myä
L. 2. I-ngä-i thkä-thghä than-chh-kov phyak
L. 3. Tha-thh-kä nat-lü-ma-plac thak
L. 4. Thkä a-wih-ci a-hta-nga-rai nac-lü-ci
L. 5. Tha-tye-mlei-pum-lum-nya krum-ma-ka
L. 6. Tho bhu-rä-man-tov chwat-lai ma-kywat
L. 7. Ce-tho bhu-rä shac-shaung chwat-shai ma
L. 8. Kywat-tat-tho nga-rail-thac-ngut plac-ce
L. 10. Le lü-kaung-ma-plac a-kyov a-kan
L. 11. A-kwa a-kun a-nu a-wai a-rail cak-cak-cov
L. 12. Ta-hnap-hnap plac-ce-tho i-ta-pä-kä
L. 13. Phu-taung-taung-kä taung-kä-rwä
L. 15. Te mov-krov-pac-ce-tho kyä-cä
L. 16. Ce-tho bhi-lü-cä-ce-tho min-kyuang
L. 17. Cä-ce-tho iwe-ce-tho nu-ce-tho
L. 18. Thwi-khai an-ce-tho a-plac-shac-pä
L. 19. Tan-se-pä hnaac-sai .............
L. 20. H-mam-pä .............
L. 21. Lä-kä-bä .............
L. 22. Gre-ce-tho .............
L. 23. Tho .............
L. 24. Ma-a .............
L. 25. Tye .............

Translation:

It is known to the deities who are looking after the 5000 duration of Buddha Thāthanā. May those who would destroy my donation in the favour of the Buddhist religion, would undergo and stay always in the hell called Awči, not to be unyoked under the sin of hell even though Great Buddha would preach him, to be the stumbling block in hell, to be broken man, blind man, concave man, convex man and so on! Even though they would come back in the form of human beings, may they would undergo to be swallowed by the earth without getting any food while begging from village to village, to be killed by the lightning, to be eaten by the tiger, to be eaten by the ogre, to be eaten by the crocodile, to die by vomiting blood, to be faced by eight calamities and ten sins!

15. Kant-chup-taung-rwā Stone Slab Inscription, Taunggouk Tsp

Script: Rakkawanna Akkhara; Language: Arakanese; Date: A.E. 888 = A.D. 1527; Unpublished.

Recently an inscription was discovered from Kant-chup-taung village situated on Tan-lwe-chaung (Tan-lwe creek) in the present

70. From estampage prepared by author.
township of Taung-gouk. The inscription is now preserved in Tan-lwe-chaung monastery. The slab appears to be fragmentary; the lower portion being perhaps broken off. The inscription is well engraved in rounded specimen of writing. The extant portion contains 7 lines with damaged letters in some places. The area covered by lettering is 50 cm. x 30 cm. The interval between lines is about 0.5 cm. and the size of the letter runs 5 cm. x 3 cm. The date 888 (L. 1), Ta-paung-la – Ta-paung month (L. 2) and Ca-nin-nak – Saturday (L. 3) remains intact. Again the word Tan-lwai-phu-rā in line 2, is legible that appears to mean the donation or erection to or in the Tan-Iwai shrine. The word te-tha-te in L. 5 seems to point to an erection either of a stūpa or of any other structure.

However, the full meaning is not conveyed due to damaged letters in some places. The script of the inscription belongs to Rakkhawanna Akkharā, and the language is Arakanese. Consonant forms for 'ca,' 'na' and 'ra' follow the old style of writing. Consonant ca has a dent outwards at the left. Consonant na is formed by serpentine type with a bar stretched horizontally at the base. Consonant ra has a curve dangling outwards at the left limb. Other forms of the letters do not bear any peculiarity. They are the same as those found in the inscriptions of the early Mrauk-U period. The text of the inscription is given below:

L. 1. Tha-kkrae 888 khu tan
L. 2. Lwai phu-rā-thi ta-paung-la ta
L. 3. Twi-pra ca-nin-nak that-twan?
L. 4. Sai-le ...........
L. 5. ...... te-tha-te
L. 6. Kā-hnac sai-khu-(thapu?)-dha-rwa
L. 7. Te-twan-cha ....

16. Nat-maw-kyauang-krī Stone Slab Inscription, Taunggouk Tsp,

I am thankful to Rev. U Pannacara Saradaw who kindly permitted me to use the estampage which was in his possession in 1999. According to him, this inscription in fragmentary condition was originally discovered from a ruined stūpa in the compound of Nat-maw Kyaung-krī at Nat-maw village in Taunggouk township. It is at present preserved at Nat-maw Kyaung-krī. The inscription is engraved on a stone slab broken off in upper part of right and in lower part of left. The four lines have gone with broken part in upper right. The area of lettering field

71. From photograph contributed by U Pannacara Saradaw from Sittwe, Arakan State.
measures 2\textquoteleft in height (from bottom to top), 2\textquoteleft. 3\textquoteright in width (side to side) in broadest areas, and the interval between lines is about 1\textquoteright in breadth. The letters are uniform in size. The total lines of writing are eleven in number but upper four lines are not legible due to damaged condition. Ll. 5-8 have a better condition with minor damages at right parts while the last three lines (Ll. 9-11) remain intact.

The object of the inscription is to record the king's order to erect a stūpa, which is rarely found in the details of the inscriptions in Arakan. It seems that in L. 9 the word "Man" would be a governor who ruled over Taunggouk, who also issued an "order." The order was issued on waxing moon of Nattaw month, 897 (A.E.) (Ll. 10-11). The signature of 'Man' is found only in this inscription. This inscription bears two dates in separate lines which appear to record the date of an order issued by the governor i.e. 897 (L. 10), and 898 being the date of completion of the structure (L. 5). It is also interesting to note that not only the king but also the governor in Arakan enjoyed the epithet that indicates "wealth and imperial status of golden palace ownership" at that time, \textit{(Shwe-nan a-shan bha-wa-shan man-ta-rā in L. 7).}

Fortunately, the donor's name of the stūpa appears in line 8. He is a governor named Thihapati. It seems that he ruled over Taunggouk which is situated far from Mrauk-U palace. The characters of the inscription are in almost rounded type, being similar to those found in certain inscriptions of middle Mrauk-U period. But forms for \textit{a} appears to retain old form, having a double English number 3 with a bar at the middle. Consonant \textit{na} seems to be an early form but \textit{na} in \textit{nattaw} in line 10 has its vertical line at the base becoming little straightened in lieu of slanting. Consonant \textit{ra} has a curve dangling at the left. Other letters are more or less the same as those of the previous inscriptions of the Mrauk-U period. The text of the inscription is as follows:

\begin{itemize}
\item 72. The order is issued by 'Man' who would be governor in Taunggouk, because Taunggouk is situated in the southern part of Arakan, far from Mrauk-U which was the capital seat of Arakanese rulers during the Mrauk-U period.
\item 73. Such a title 'Shwe-nan-a-shan' is amply found in the coin legend of Mrauk-U period. See below, pp. 275ff.
\item 74. There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the data contained in the chronicles of Arakan that during the date 898 (A.E.) mentioned in the inscription, governor Thihapati was ruling in Taunggouk which is situated in the southernmost region of Arakan.
\item 75. From photograph contributed by U Pannacara Saradaw from Sittwe, Arakan state.
\end{itemize}
The object of the inscription is to record a judgement of the religious case between Thomakhandhi and architect Nga Hla Phru in front of Mahāwinaya Saradaw who was respected by many rulers of Arakan. And the Saradaw appears to have possessed the degrees of Thāthanadāya, Thāthanadāyada, Thāthanunugaha and Thāthanākara (Ll. 4-6 in obverse). At that time the degrees perhaps were regarded as very high standard for the Sangha community of Arakan. For the judgement of the case, two persons named Nga Na Mrak and Nga Hla Phru who were

76. There seems to be a good ground that in connection with the religious cases the chief monk of the Sangha community perhaps delivered the judgment in Arakan at that time.
disrobed from monkhood, are included as witness (Ll. 13-14 in reverse). At last the monk Thomakhandhi was declared winner in this case. The word *Lu-htwak* in this record is strangely found, which seems to mean those who were disrobed from Buddhist monkhood. No peculiarity of the letters in this inscription is found, but the forms of *a*, *na* and *ra* are noticeable as the same as in the previous inscriptions of Mrauk-U period. The forms for conjuncts are formed by juxtaposing, similar to those of certain inscriptions in the early Mrauk-U period. The punctuation mark is shwon by one vertical line. The text of the inscription is as follows:

**Obverse**

L. 1. Tha-kkarac 905 . . . .
L. 2. I/an tha-tan-kywat l ni a-man-man
L. 3. Tov-i hman-kan-ma-kit phrac-taw-mu-tho |
L. 5. Ga-hā thā-thā-nā-ka-ra phrac-taw-mu-tho ta-ra-man-mrat |
L. 7. . . . sa-rā shwe-kyuang tho-ma-khan-dhi-ān mu-cāi than-ga
L. 8. (Jā) nga-hla-phru-hnan ta-rā-sov-kra-the | Mu-cāi-than-ga-jā-ka-kā
L. 10. Lat-thé | Man-praung-kai-ma-srā nga-shan shwe-kyuang-ka-kā
L. 11. Than-ka-jā-a-sek-sek-tov-ka-the kyaung-kyā-pi-rov
L. 12. Paing-rov ma-hi-hū-rwe sov-lat-the | Thāk-hthe-lai mu
L. 14. Htwak mrov-kyaw-cā nga-hla-phru | The-thū-tov-the nga
L. 15. Taing-cā-tho-khā a-paing-lai-ma-pru a-kyā-lai
L. 16. Ma-taung-phu | Mu-cai-lū-htwak mrov-kyo-cā thak
L. 17. The-sov-tho-khā | Mu-cai-than-che nga-lat

**Reverse**

L. 1. . . . . . . . . 
L. 2. Bhu-ma . . . . a-khā
L. 3. Ra . . saung-ma-kọt hu-rwe-le
L. 4. . . sov-the | San-khre-hnan
L. 5. . . the-thauk-pauk
L. 6. . . tho-kraung-thai kaung-hmu
L. 7. . . than-che-the | Thu-thak-the-sov
L. 8. Tho-ca-kā-kov ā-ma-khan-rwe sov
L. 10. Pro-ca-kā-hnan . . ka-san-khre
L. 11. . . the-ma-sov-tho-kraung . .
L. 12. . . prauing-kai-ma srā-than-ka nga-shan shwe
L. 13. Kyaung-tho-ma-khan-dhi-kov a-aung
L. 14. Pe-taw-pru-the | Man-tham-aung-kyauung
L. 15. Tam-taing-thov mogh | Hi-lo-ga-ko . .

77. From estampage prepared by author.
18. Wantī-nat Stone Image Inscription, Mrauk-U, (Obv-side) 
(Vol. II, Pl. XCVI). Preserved in Mrauk-U Museum; Script: 
Rakkhawanna Akkhara; Language: Arakanese; Date: A.E. 905 
= A.D. 1543; Unpublished.

A stone slab bearing an image called Natrup (God or 
Godess) was discovered from Wantī-nat hill in Mrauk-U. Now it is 
preserved in Mrauk-U Museum. The inscription is engraved on both sides 
(obverse and reverse). The script of the inscription is Rakkhawanna 
Akharā on obverse and Nāgarī on the reverse. The measurement of 
lettering area on the obverse is 48 cm. from top to bottom and 48 cm. 
from side to side. The space between lines varies from about 2 cm. to 3 
and the sizes of letters are not uniform. In the middle of the 
inscription, a blank space apparently stands under seven lines. The 
language of the record is Arakanese in obverse, but the first four lines of 
upper portion is strangely written by numerical notations which are not 
known to us. Such a type of writing in numerical notation is generally 
found in the signs of horoscope and zodiac or in the forms of Aṅ 
inscriptions.

The four lines of lower portion are badly damaged in many 
cases. The date 905 in L. 5 is clearly readable. The object of the 
inscription seems to record the construction of an image of a god by king 
Man Pan Krī (Man Bā Krī in the chronicle), and donation of three pairs of 
buffaloes and a lakh candles in favour of the God. According to 
Arakanese chronicles, the king Man Bā Krī ruled for 22 years (A.D. 1531-
1553), and played a very important role in Arakanese history during 
second Mrauk-U period, and his meritorious deeds in religious affairs are 
immense. In this inscription, the letters are written in rounded forms 
which closely resemble those found in the Wan-ti Nat-kwan inscription. 
Initial vowels, consonants and conjuncts are similarly identical to those 
found in certain inscriptions of the middle Mrauk-U period. But initial 
forms for a, ā, i, consonants ca, na and ra are comparable to earlier forms 
of Rakkhawanna Akkharā. Other peculiarities are not discernible. The 
text of the inscription is given below:

78. U Tha Tun, U, op cit., p. 33.
81. From estampage prepared by author.
Three ruined stupas stand on a hill about 100' high, which are situated about half a mile to the eastern site of the old palace in Mrauk-U. They are traditionally called upper Nibbuja, middle Nibbuja and lower Nibbuja respectively. The tradition reveals that the word Nibbuja is derived from Pali word Nara-puja meaning "respected by people."

A stone slab with an inscription was discovered near the middle Nibbuja on the hill. Now it is preserved in Mrauk-U Museum. The slab is broken in lower portion but it contains nineteen lines of writing, with some damaged letters in some lines. The inscription measures about 65 cm. x 53 cm. in the writing field, which bears Rakkhawanna Akkhara and Arakanese language. The letters in the inscription are small and uniform in size and are in a more rounded form than before. The space between the lines measures about 2 cm. and the size of the letters is about 2.5 cm. x 1.5 cm. The object of the inscription is to record donation of land to the shrine for religious merit. The plot of land at Taung-pran-tan-kup, measuring 13 Shaings (equivalent to 83.2 acres) looked after by the noife n of governor of Chittagong, is donated by the king with the ceremony of pouring libation water on the ground (Ll. 2-5). Pouring of libation

82. See also Shwe Zan, U, op cit., p. 96.
83. There is a good ground to believe that Chittagong perhaps was ruled by the Arakanese governor at that time. See also Okkantha, A.S, op cit., pp. 81-7.
84. The date in the inscription indicates that the king would probably be Man Bā Kṛī of the chronicles. See San Tha Aung, U, Arakanese Coins, pp. 39-41.
Another plot of land at a hilly area (Taung-twan-to-khwat-le) measuring 10-shaings (equivalent to 64 acres) looked after by the general and minister Nga-shwe-khan, is donated by the king (Ll. 9-12). References seem to indicate that the above order of the king was to be executed by Than-taw-san who is messenger and Than-taw-cha who is the commentator. Ll. 13-19 are badly damaged, with a few remaining letters which do not convey any meaning. The letters look more developed in rounded form than those found in certain inscriptions of early Mrauk-U period, but linguistically words still are of old forms. Punctuation mark is shown by either one or two vertical lines. The text of the inscription is as follows:

Translation:
With pouring of libation water on the ground in a ceremony performed at the Sangha, a plot of land at Taung-pran-tan-kup, measuring 13 Shaings (equivalent to 83.2 acres) which was looked after by the governor of Chittagong, is donated by king to the shrine. The shrine would own it. My order is that Ajaungnge is to be the messenger (Thantawsan), and son of the commissioner Pwanshwebhasan who is to be the commentator (Thantawcha). A plot of land measuring 10 Shaings (equivalent to 64 acres) belonging to hilly area on the western ground which was looked after by the general and minister Ngashwesan, is also donated by the king.

85. From estampage prepared by author.

An inscription inscribed on a stone slab, was discovered from Tha-rak-ta-pan-taung-maw Phara in Mrauk-U. The inscription is about 54 cm. x 38 cm. in lettering area. The space between lines is about 2 cm., and the size of letters runs 1.5 cm. x 2 cm. Now it is preserved in Mrauk-U Museum. The inscription is a well-preserved one, only four letters being damaged in line 6. The inscription contains seventeen lines written in Rakkhawanna Akkhara and Arakanese language. The letters are small and uniform in size, more developed in rounded type. The object is to record donation of a piece of land to the shrine (Phara) by the Buddhist monk – Ariyawantha who is a king's teacher. 

65 Peculiarities of the letters are not remarkable. In the inscription the forms for initial vowels, consonants, conjuncts etc are usually identical with those found in the inscriptions of the middle Mrauk-U period. Older forms of the letters of a, ca, na and ra still are noticeable in old forms. Forms for punctuation mark are given by one or two vertical lines. The text of the inscription is given below:

L. 1. Rwe-wan-chaung-mā ta-tan-lup
L. 2. Tha-krac 907 wā-soy-lsut 11 rak 1 nwē-ni
L. 3. Phu-ran-sriyā a-rī-yā-wan-than naung-pru-tho-kaung
L. 4. Hmu phu-rā-twan-dhā-tho than-chī-kā | Khi-rā-pan
L. 6. Nga-pan-tū-rge . . . . ran | Nwā-ta-shaing
L. 7. Tan-kā-ngā-sai | Ca-rap-than-chī ta-sai || I-hmya
L. 9. Dhi-mov a-co-ra-tho man-a-ca-hi-tho than-gha-rā
L. 11. Mya-tov-tha chi-pan-pā-tho-thī-kā ngā-han-n-a
L. 15. Le ma-kywat-pē-ta a-wa-ci a-dhe-le chan-taing
L. 17. Tan-kā-le-se ||

Translation:

It would be at Rwewan stream. It is a later donation of the preacher - Ariyawantha of the king, on Sunday, waning moon of Wasov month 907 Thakrāc (A.E.). The

66 The date in the inscription indicates that the king would probably be Man Bē Krī of the chronicles. See San Tha Aung, U, Arakanese Coins, pp. 39-41.

67 From estampage prepared by author.
donated land would be a plot of 1 Shaing field (6.4 acres) in Khirāpan land which would be
worked out by a family of Nga Pin Ngai and Nga Pan Tu .......... by a pair of bullocks and
wages of 50 Tankā, and 10 Tankā would form an advance. May those who would support such
donation of land, including the chief abbot of Sangha, the king and his courtiers, would do as I
would be rewarded result of meritorious deed! May those who would intend to destroy it,
would always stay in the hell called Awaci, even though the great Buddhas would enlighten
the world! It is a family of Nga Rwe and 40 Tankā.

21. Adhi-pa-dhi-hṭi-zetṭ Stone Slab Inscription, Mrauk-U
(Vol. II, Pl. IC). Preserved in Mrauk-U Museum; Script:
Rakkhawanna Akkhara; Language: Arakanese; Date: A.E. 910
= A.D. 1548; Unpublished.

In the northern direction of the present Mrauk-U, there is a
hill called Kran Keik Taung, where a ruined stūpa stands. The stūpa
named Adhi-pa-dhi-hṭi-zetṭ was constructed along with caves. One of
these caves yielded this inscription. Now it is preserved in Mrauk-U
Museum. The inscription engraved on stone slab bears three lines of
writing. The inscription measuring 53 cm. x 13 cm. is coarsely written in
larger size of letters on the face which looks like wavy strips. The space
between the lines runs about 5 cm. and the size of letters bears a
measurement about 3 cm. x 4 cm. The total number of letters in this
record is 26. The script of the inscription is Rakkhawanna Akkhara and
the language as usual is Arakanese. The object of the inscription is to
record donation of the new dhi (Hṭi - umbrella) for the stūpa. In first line
the date 910 Thakrac is clearly readable, and L. 2-3 record the
completion of a new Dḥī among three Dḥīs on the stupas (Hṭi means
umbrella in Arakan). In the inscription it seems to use letter ḷha for ḷta in
accordance with local pronunciation of Arakan. The ligature letter ḷ in
last line is formed like a coiled type with an upper line stretched long to
the left.88 Other peculiarities are not seen in this inscription. Punctuation
mark at the end of the text is given by two vertical lines. The text89 of the
inscription is as follows:

L. 1. Tha-kra-c 910 khu nat-taw lsan 8 krā-tha
L. 2. Pa-ti-ni dhi thum-myo-v-twan tak-cī-pi
L. 3. Dḥī-the-kā-prī-i ||

Translation: The construction of new Dḥī (Hṭi) among three Dḥīs (umbrella on the stūpa)
has been completed on Thursday, waxing moon of Nattaw month, 910 thakrac (A.E.).

88. Such a letter ḷ is amply found in certain inscriptions of Lemrot and Mrauk-U periods of
Arakan. It is not an initial vowel form for ḷ but perhaps a ligature letter for ḷ. Besides
the ligature letter ḷ, other letters ḵnai̇t, ṛwe etc are also ligature letters which are not
included in the vowels and consonants of Rakkhawanna Akkhara. See chart XXV.

89. From estampage prepared by author.
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Our thanks are due to Mr Min Thein Zan of Minbra, who sent the rubbing of this inscription to us. According to him, this stone inscription was originally discovered from Taung-phrū-taung hill near Pan Mraung, situated on the eastern bank of famous Lemrot river. Presently, it is preserved in Aungmangala monastery at Pan Mraung. The stone has four faces of which three faces are inscribed. The script is Rakkhawanna Akkhara and the language Arakanese. The first face measuring 27 cm. x 21 cm., contains eight lines, the second face 26 cm. x 19 cm. with seven lines and the third face 21 cm. x 16 cm. with only five lines respectively in the lettering areas. The size of letters runs about 2 cm. x 3 cm. The letters are smooth and uniform in size. The object of the inscription is to record donation of a piece of land demarcated by boundaries to the shrine (Phara) by king Man Krī So.90

The first face contains the date 913 on which the king donated the land stretching its boundaries. The second face could also contain details of the boundaries but it is not legible because of inferior condition of this part of the rubbing. The third face has only imprecatory text. In this inscription the letters show the rounded forms which appear to be of a more developed type in the Rakkhawanna Akkhara. Form for initial vowel ī looks like current letter ī. Letter na retains old type, and 'ra' is also the same as the early type during Mrauk-U period. A notable letter in this record is 'ar(h) of Krar in L. 8 of the first face. Such an articulated writing of the letter 'ar' at that time is rarely found. Other letters are more or less the same as those in certain inscriptions of the middle Mrauk-U period. The text of the inscription is as follows:

First face
L. 1. Tha-krac 913
L. 2. Khu prā-thov
L. 3. La-pre-ne phu
L. 4. Shan-man-kri-30
L. 5. Hlu-taw-mu-the taung

-----------------------------------------------

90. During the date 913 (A.E.) mentioned in inscription, king Man Bā Krī was ruling over Arakan. Therefore, the possibility is that the names Man Krī So and Man Bā Krī seem to point to only one king but who used two names. See San Tha Aung, U, Arakanese Coins, pp. 39-41; also Sandamalalinkara, op. cit., Vol. V, pp. 44-77.

91. From estampage prepared by author.
L. 6. Phru-a-nauk-phak  
L. 7. Twan mrauk-kā-tha  
L. 8. Rak-chaung-a-krar

Second face  
L. 1. Taung-phak . . 
L. 2. ... a-khrar . . 
L. 3. . . 5 k t-thwa . . 
L. 4. . . dak . . . . . . 
L. 5. Gon-dhai-dak-thi . . 
L. 7. Te-nai-dak |

Third face  
L. 1. T-kaung 
L. 2. Hmu-kov-phya 
L. 3. K tha-thū-kā 
L. 4. Auk-a 
L. 5. Wf-ci hnaikkya-cē-tho

Translation:  
King Man Kri So donated the land to shrine on full moon of Prathov month 913 Thakrac (A.E.). On the west of Taung-phru it would separate the stream of Tharak-chaung .......... May those who would destroy this donation would fall into hell called AwTci!

23. Rwak-nyo-taung Phara Stone Slab Inscription, Sittwe  

This inscription engraved on a stone slab was discovered from a stūpa near Hrwī Pan Khine village at Yo Chaung creek in Kyauktaw township. It is popularly known as "Rwak-nyo-taung inscription." Now the inscription is preserved in U Wilatha monastery at Sittwe. The measurement of the slab is about 55 cm. in length (bottom to top), 26 cm. in breadth (side to side) in writing area, and the size of letters runs 2 cm. x 2.5 cm. A circularly girder-line is rimmed around the corner outside the whole inscribed area, and upper portion of the girder-line depicts the design of twin curls. Total written lines of the inscription are 15 in number with slightly damaged parts in the last three lines. The script is Rakkhawanna Akkharā and the language Arakanese. The object of the inscription is to record donation of land for maintenance of the shrine (Phara), regarded as a Buddhist meritorious deed (Than-khi-ka).  

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93. According to the Buddhist tradition of Arakan, the donation of Than-khi-ka (or Tan-ghi-ka) means to all Sangha community. People generally intend to aspire for more merit what they donate to Sangha than a personal monk.
The characters are in rounded forms, which point to further development of Rakkhawanna Akkhara. The language belongs to early specimen of writing in the Mrauk-U period. The form of initial vowel a seems to be a variety of the usual one. English number 3-shape is formed at left limb with a semi-circle attached at the right. The forms for consonant ca, and ra retain earlier ones. Other forms are not peculiar. The text of the inscription is as follows:

L. 1. Tha-kkra 915 kha ta
L. 2. Paung-la-pre tha-tan
L. 3. Ni-ka rum-shan-rum-shan
L. 4. Ma kaung-hmu-twan than
L. 5. Kkhi-le lai-shaing ta
L. 7. Nwā-khrauk-khu te-the
L. 8. Sa-mi-sov hlwa-mā-thak
L. 9. Kha-pran-le thum-shaing-kov
L. 10. Nga-rtha-phur-twan than-kkhi-te
L. 11. I-than-kkhi-ka-kov phya
L. 13. Phur . . . ma-kywat
L. 14. . . . . . rauk
L. 15. . . . . . . . . . ci.

Translation:

In favour of Ka-rum-shan-rum-shan shrine, on full moon day of Tapaung A.E. 915, the donation would include a plot of land measuring 4 Shaings (equivalent to 25.6 acres), 100 Tanka, 100 paddy (possibly 100 Taungs in Arakanese) and 6 bullocks. And a plot of land measuring 3 Shaings (equivalent to 19.2 acres) of Thak-kha-pran at Samisov would be donated in favour of Nga-rtha-phur shrine. May those who would destroy those donations owned by religion, would (go to the hell called Awčči)!


We are thankful to Sir Kyaw Kyaw Hla who kindly sent the estampege of the inscription. According to him, this inscription engraved on sand-stone slab, was discovered by a gardener named Maung Kyaw Sein, when he was digging the ground in search of water. The place yielding the inscription is situated near Dukkant Thein shrine on the north of Mrauk-U. At present the inscription is well preserved in Mrauk-U

94. From estampege prepared by author.

95. 100 Taungs of paddy in Arakan are equal to an amount of 460 pounds of paddy in English weight and measurement system. See Nyanathara, U, op. cit., p. i.
museum. The slab measures about 103 cm. in length (bottom to top), 50 cm. in width (side to side), and 22 cm. in thickness. The inscription contains twenty seven lines of writing. The letters in rounded forms are smoothly executed and akin to current letters. The script is Rakkhawanna Akkharā and the language is Arakanese bearing specimens of old words. The object of the inscription is to record donation of land by king Man Jo (Man So) alias king Thīri Thūriyadhamaṇa Rājā in favour of Dukam Kyaung (Dukam monastery), on Thursday, 5 waxing moon of Tawthālan month, 915 Thākka-raj (A.E.).

In Ll. 2-3, the name Man Jo (Man So) alias Thīri Thūriyadhamaṇa Rājā, who is donor, appears to be king Man Bā mentioned in the chronicle.96 We know from the chronicle that king Man Bā (Man Pan in the inscriptions)97 ruled over Arakan from A.E. 893 to 915 corresponding to A.D. 1531-1553.98 But we find the name Man So in the Thum-kan-cu stone slab inscription which was inscribed in 918.99 Man So of the Thu-kan-cu stone slab inscription, who went to Sri Lanka (Thein-khov), seems to be the ruler Man So Hla mentioned in the chronicle.100 The word "Shacthaung" "cñoGoooc;" in Ll. 4 and 5,8 of this inscription and L. 3 of Am-taw-thein Phara Stone Slab Inscription, clearly identify the current word "cñoGoooc;" "Shac-thaung or Shitthaung" from the name of the Shitthaung shrine which is still used in Arakan. The word "cñoGoooc;" appears to mean not only the 80000 images but also an astrological six number which is a Friday fortune, because Arakanese elders were fond of the six number.101

In the formation of the letters, initial vowel form for a is indicated by a development of the Rakkhawanna Akkharā, which is a English number 3-type at the left limb and the right limb is formed with a half round and a loop at the base of the right limb. Consonant ca shows a

96. See Sandamalalinkara, Ashin, op cit., pp. 44-77. But according to him, Man So Hla donated the Dukkan Kyaung (Dukkan monastery), see Ibid., p. 79.
developed form, with a loop inwards at the left of the letter. Na has a loop at the left on the middle and a vertical line at the lower is straight vertical. Ra retains the old form, with a curve dangling at the left of the letter. Other forms for consonants and medial vowels are the same as those found in certain inscriptions of the middle Mrauk-U period. Conjuncts are shown by juxtaposing letters on each other. Punctuation mark is indicated by one vertical line. The text\textsuperscript{102} of the inscription is as follows:

L.1. Tha-kka-raj 915 taw-tha-lan-isan
L.2. Ngū-raj 5 tak-ri-ta-pov nga-nū-(ff)-twan thē-ri
L.5. Thaung-taung-khṛ-hnan dhā-wai-shan-sa-rā-mṛ-cak-cha kyaun
L.8. Ng-ta-bhauk | Mrauk tuṅg-khṛ-Fran-rā-mṛ a-nauk-hnan shac-thau
L.9. Ng kwai-lam-ri-cl-a-pha wā-hnae-pram | Cai-maung-twan a-shi chau
L.10. Ng-thā-ngai | Taung cai-maung-chaung | A-nauk tha-rī-chaung mrau
L.13. Ng-thā-pran-lwm | Mun-pran-rwā a-shi tha-rī-chaung | Taung mun-chaung a-nauk
L.15. Lum-a-kun | Pan-tha-mā-rwā-twan a-shi pi-kauk-chaung tva
L.16. Ng kwai-lam anauk chaung-taing-chaung mrauk-than-lai-the-twa
L.17. Ng sai-taing-mūn-rwā-khwan dāk-khwān-thaing-khṛ-rwā-twan a-shi
L.18. Pi-kauk-chaung tuṅg nga-krai-taing mrauk a-nauk tau
L.19. Ng ran-mrauk kwai-tam-hāi-twan-pran a-lum wak
L.20. Put-sham-rwā a-shi wak-pu-lam-pac-taung-hī-htup
L.22. Chaung | Taung-phrā-lai ta-shaing-thum-chaung-kov pai
L.24. Ma-rwā-rwā-twan a-shi gac-sā-bha-na-śā-mrac
L.25. Taung-po-laip-chaung lak-wai-tak-hnan kra
L.26. N-chaung rī-shiov a-nauk yo-pan-lai mrau
L.27. K mrauk-rā-taing-chaung-taing kwam-prat

25. Pan-ze-μrauṅg Stone Slab Inscription of Warathambodhi
Script: Rakkhawanna Akkharā; Language: Arakanese; Date:
A.E. 916 = A.D. 1554; Unpublished.

From a Simā (ordination hall) named Taung-phī-lā at the compound of Warathambodhi monastery in Mrauk-U, a short stone pillar with lines of writing, has been discovered, and then it was shifted to Mrauk-U Museum. The inscription is fragmentary in nature, the lower portion being damaged. The remaining portion refers to the donor's name.

\textsuperscript{102} From estampage contributed by Sir Kyaw Kyaw Hla from Mrauk-U, Arakan.
The inscription bears the measurements of 26 cm. in length (bottom to top) and 25 cm. in breadth (side to side). The size of letters is about 1.5 cm. x 2 cm. The inscription contains six lines written in a rough manner. The script belongs to Rakkhawanna Akkhara and the language is Arakanese. The object of the inscription is to record donation of either the pillar or Sima hall by Warathambodi. In this inscription the rounded forms of letters are noticeable. Initial vowel forms for a and u point to earlier forms, but u shows a little development towards the Rakkhawanna Akkhara (present script). Consonant forms for ca and na (L. 6) and ra (L. 1) are also of the earlier types of Mrauk-U period. The text of the inscription is given below:

L. 1. Tha-kkrac 916 khu wa-ra
L. 2. Tham-bo-dhī kaung-hmu
L. 3. Nga-kaung-hmu-ko phak-thā
L. 4. Thīb-kā a-wi-ji-kyā-ci-tho
L. 5. Nga-nyov-thā u-ka-ngai raung-the

Translation:
It is a donation of Warathambodi in 916 Thakkrac (A.E.). May those who would destroy my donation, would go into the hell called Awiji! It is sold by Nga Nyov Thā. Two legs.

26. Thun-kan-cu Phara Stone Slab Inscription, Pranyoung village
(Vol. II, Pl. CIV). Preserved in Pran-young-kyun; Script: Rakkhawanna Akkhara; Language: Arakanese; Date: A.E. 918 = A.D. 1556; Unpublished.

Thun-kan-cu (a group of three tanks) is situated on the southern bank of Pan Mraung Krī stream, between the famous Shwe Kyan shrine and Pran Young village, in Minbra Township. The inscription was discovered from the ruined stupa near Pran Young village. It is now preserved in Pran Young monastery. The inscription is engraved on a sandstone slab bearing twenty lines of writing. The stone slab measures 90 cm. in length, 40 cm. in width in lettering field, and its thickness is 15 cm., and the space between lines is about 3 cm. The characters of the inscription are uniformly executed. The script is Rakkhawanna Akkhara and the language is old Arakanese. The right sides of the first eight lines at upper portion and right sides of last three lines at lower portion are

103. In the date A.E. 916, king Man Tikkha of second royal member of second Mrauk-U period, was ruling over Arakan. It seems that Warathambodi mentioned in the inscription appears to be a distinguished monk according to the formation of the name of Arakanese Buddhist tradition.

104. From estampage prepared by author.
badly damaged. The object of the inscription is to record donation of land to the shrine (Phara). The donated land is from the Kyauk-ca-rac ground (Kyauk-ca-rac-pran) which seems to have been situated at a place not far from where the shrine existed. From this inscription, more interesting to note is that the land donation has been made with the consent of the king Man So who went to Ceylon, (Thin-khov-rauk-bhu- ran) (L. 9-10). The features of letters show a specimen of the development of Rakkhawanna Akkhara which is formed in rounded type. Vowels, consonants, conjuncts etc, are the same as those of certain inscriptions in the middle Mrauk-U period, but the consonants ca, na and ra retain earlier forms. The text of the inscription is as follows:

L. 1. Tha-krac 918 khu ....
L. 2. Ca-rac-kan-wa-le bhu-rā ....
L. 3. Taung-ngai-kov-tho-taung ....
L. 4. Rai kyauk-ca-rac-pran ....
L. 5. A-khrā mrauk-thov-le ....
L. 6. Mwī-bha-an-chaung-ngai ...
L. 7. A-khrā-kov than-chī-te ....
L. 8. I hmat-pā-kun | Nga shwe ....
L. 9. Chī-le-kov thin-khov-rauk
L. 10. Bhu- ran man-so-kov so-rwe tha
L. 12. Twan kyaung-rā kan-rā-kov than-chī
L. 13. Te-i bhu-rā mrauk-ka-san-tin
L. 15. A-khrā a-shī-bhak-kov tan-kā-ta-sai pa
L. 16. Sov-ta-hte myak-thut-ta-hte a-thī
L. 17. Pran tan-kā-ta-chap-pī-i a-paung
L. 18. Thaw ta-sai-thum-chap pī-i than-chī ... 
L. 19. 1 a-paung-thaw tan-kā ....
L. 20. Le-hnaa-shaing thum ....

Translation:

In 918 (A.E.), with the consent of king Man so who went to Ceylon (Thinkhow), the land is donated to the shrine. The boundaries of the land would stretch to Kyauk-ca-rac-pran on the south, and to Mwibhanchaung on the north beside the shrine, to Nyakrwak khai stream on the north. The land on the east would pay cost of 10 Tankā. One blanket, one towel and 1 Tankā are needed for the preparation (of the land). Total 13 Tankā would be paid. The total donation to shrine would be ... 13 Tankā and a plot of land measuring 2 Shaings (equivalent to 12.8 acres) ..........

105. The date in the inscription indicates that the king would probably be Man So Hla of the chronicles. See San Tha Aung, U, Arakanese Coins, pp. 42-3.

106. From estampage prepared by author.

This Buddha image in bronze, discovered in Mrauk-U, was carried to Sittwe, and now it is preserved in the Shwe Zet monastery in Sittwe. The image with the inscription engraved on its pedestal is traditionally known to have been adored in the royal court in the early days of Arakanese rulers. The pedestal is inscribed on both the front and back sides. The script is Rakkhawanna Akkharā and language Arakanese. The front line contains only the donor's name as Shwe San Oo, and the line on the back states the date on which casting of the image was completed. The characters are uniform in rounded form. The name Shwe San Oo seems to be a commoner because we know that in 939 king Man Pha Laung was ruling in Mrauk-U. Initial vowels, consonants, conjuncts are closely identical to those of the inscriptions found in the middle period of Mrauk-U. The punctuation mark is given by two slanting vertical lines at the beginning and end of the text on the back side. The text of the inscription is as follows:

**Front side**
L. 1. Shwe San Oo

**Backside**
L. 1 || Tha-ka-rac 939 pra-thov-la-pre ta-nan-ga-nwe-ne-pri-the ||

**Translation:**
Shwe San Oo. It is completed on Sunday, full moon of Prathov month, 939 Thakarac (A.E.).


We are thankful to Saradaw U. Pannacara from Sittwe, who kindly permitted me for taking photograph of this inscription from his collection and the necessary rubbing when the present author went for a field-study in 1999. According to him, the stone stūpa is reported to have been discovered from an embankment of the tank near the monastery in Chaung-nak village in Kyaukphru township. Now its preservation is under


109. From estampage prepared by author.
the Chaung-nak monastery. The inscription was engraved circularly on a votive miniature stone stūpa which is a kind of the stūpa found amply in the Vesāli period. The stūpa has four square faces at the base and two rounded shapes at the middle and upper portions. And two girder lines contain on the middle portion, of which one is between two rounded shapes and the other between the middle rounded shape and square faces. The inscription is inscribed on four square faces, upper rounded shape and two girder lines.

The inscription is a unique one because such a kind of writing on the votive miniature stūpa is perceptible only in Vesāli period. This type of inscription is rarely found in the Mrauk-U period. It appears to have been reinscribed on the stūpa which remained from the Vesāli period. The sizes of the letters are larger and uniformly written on the four square faces but the sizes of the letters on rounded portion are slightly smaller than those of the four square faces. The script is Rakkhawanna Akkharā. The language is Arakanese, mainly used in the middle Mrauk-U period. The object of the inscription is difficult to determine because of the use of local dialect and local pronunciation. It is interesting to note that construction of a stūpa in Arakan usually points to religious aspiration, but the object of this inscription is far from a religious theme, and bears account relating to animal and alcoholic accounts. Our surmise is that the object is perhaps to record the invocation of the Nat (deity) for the field which was once in vogue in Arakan.

The letters are more or less the same as those used in the middle Mrauk-U period. Initial α looks like consonant da type at left part but right part is formed by half-rounded limb attaching, and a curve inwards at the lower part of right limb. This type is in consonance with the later form of Rakkhawanna Akkharā. Initial u is shown by serpentine type with two half-rounded forms joining, but lower form is larger than the upper one. Consonant ca has a dent at the left part of the letter. This form is noticeable during earlier type of Mrauk-U period. Ja is formed by half-square type with a mouth to the right and a short slant line putting inwards in the mouth. Na looks like serpentine type with larger head at upper part and lower vertical line bends down to the right and a small loop at the left of middle limb. Ma prefers a pellet-like inwards to a vertical line or a loop inwards which is usual. Ra has a curve dangling at the left, which is an earlier type. Other forms for consonant are not indicative of

110. See supra, pp. 58ff.
any peculiarity. Medial vowel forms are shown as before. Conjuncts are pointed by juxtaposing forms on each other. Punctuation mark is indicated by one or two vertical lines which are frequently seen in those of certain inscriptions in the Mrauk-U period. The proposed reading of the text\textsuperscript{111*} of the inscription is given below:

**First square face on lower part**

L. 1. Tha-kkraj 941 khu tam
L. 2. Saung-mu la-su
L. 3. T ta-rak kra
L. 4. T-ththa-pa-te-ni
L. 5. Nak-le-tum-twan
L. 6. That

**Second square face on lower part**

L. 1. Ka-lam-kran-thā
L. 2. Ta-chap | Kyaug
L. 3. Saug-cā nga-prai |
L. 4. Nga-man-hla | Nga
L. 5. Kyo | U-raj |
L. 6. Nga-bhru-htwā |

**Third square face on lower part**

L. 1. .. tha-ko (lai-bho)
L. 2. Pi-thai || Tan-kā a
L. 3. Baung-tho le-ra-na
L. 4. K-sai || An-ki-ngā
L. 5. Hte || Paung ta-sai ||
L. 6. Kywai-ta-kaung wak

**Fourth square face on lower part**

L. 1. le-kaung || Krak-thum
L. 2. Sai | A-rak-ta-sai
L. 3. Ngā-avu-khak ||
L. 4. A-taing-jā-kā
L. 5. Kam-go-thā ta-cha
L. 6. P || Bhru-chaung-thā

**Rounded shape on upper part**

L. 1. . phru | Man-rwī-tum | (kaung)-man | Man-rwī-taung | Man-rwī-pu |
L. 2. . ta(n) | Nam-thu-ran | Nga-pum-(ngai) | Nga-rwī-(sun) | Nga-bauk-(tuv) |

**Rounded shape on upper girder**

L. 1. Nga-man-hla | Nga-rwī-tov | Nga-htim | Nga-khi-tov | Thu-kyauung |
L. 2. Thu-kri-(nga-ka) | Man-ba-thu-kri-nga-tho-kriį |

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\textsuperscript{111} From photograph contributed by U Pannacara Saradaw, Arakan.
29. Ka-lon-taung Phara Pillar Inscription, Mrauk-U, (Five faces)  
(Vol. II, Pl. CVII). Preserved in Mrauk-U Museum; Script:  
Rakkhawanna Akkharä; Language: Arakanese; Date: A.E. 943,  
947 = A.D. 1581, 1585; Unpublished.

The original find spot of this pillar inscription is situated  
near Sap Kyā village about 8 miles from Minbra town. It was recently  
discovered from the Lemrot river by the inhabitants of the village lying on  
the western bank of the river. In 1969 it was first removed to Ze-ya-thu-kha  
monastery in Minbra, but the wrongdoers suddenly stole it away.  
Fortunately it was again recovered near Mrauk-U. Presently its  
preservation is under the control of Mrauk-U Museum. The stone pillar,  
fragmentary in nature, measuring 2.6\text{\textperthousand} in length and 3\text{\textperthousand} in roundness has  
five faces with the inscription, and each face contains five lines. The  
script is Rakkhawanna Akkharā and the language Arakanese. The letters  
are in rounded forms. The measurement of lettering area of each face is 19  
cm. in length and 50 cm. in breadth. The space between the lines is about  
3 cm. and the size of the letters is about 1.5 cm. in height and 3 cm. in  
breadth.

The model of text-writing shows the stamp of a talented  
author, which is very advanced and very significant. The letters are  
uniformly executed. Old words of the Mrauk-U period have been used.  
The two different dates are seperately written in L. 3 in fourth face and L.  
5 in fifth face which seem to mark the dates of the beginning of the  
construction, and completion and donation of the image and monastery.  
The object of the inscription is to record donation of the image and  
monastery by a Lokadewi couple. They donated a Buddha image and a  
Golden Cedawan monastery in favour of a venerable Uttamatejo monk  
who possessed a great reputation and highly praised in Tipitaka literature.

In the beginning of the first line of the first face, we may  
read as Na-mo-ta-ththa-\text{\textperthousand} which means to take refuge in Buddha. We may  
observe that the word 'om\text{\textperthousand}' frequently found in the beginning of verses in  
the inscriptions of the Vesāli period, has been replaced by the word 'Na-  
mo-ta-ththa-\text{\textperthousand}' in this period.\text{\textperthousand}According to Arakanese chronicles, after  
the twelve royal number of first Mrauk-U period, king Man Bā's rule was  
regarded as the inaugurator of the second Mrauk-U period. But, in the first  
face of this inscription, however, eleventh royal number has been referred  

\text{\textperthousand}112 See Selāgiri Votive Stūpa inscription, Kyautkaw, Vesāli Parākāri Stone Slab inscription,  
Vesāli, etc, supra, pp. 75 and 85.
to before king Man Bā’s rule\(^{113}\) (L. 2-4 first face). Of the couple, who are donors, the wife’s name is given as Lokadewi\(^{114}\) who is a second daughter of the second son of the king Man Pan. She is said to have been beautiful and charming, perfect in the five qualities and possessed enormous wealth (L. 2-4, third face). But her husband’s name has gone with the broken part in L. 1 of fourth face. However, the possibility is that he belonged to the royal line of king Salankathū who was seventh in descent of the first Mrauk-U period (L. 5, third face). It seems that he was the great grandson of king Salankathū.\(^{115}\)

Lokadewi’s father who is a second son of king Man Pan,\(^{116}\) exported arms and ammunitions upto Mron kingdom (now Tripura)\(^{117}\) crossing Thak (Chakma) kingdom (now in Bangladesh) (L. 2-5, second face). In last paragraph it is observed that, with their joint approval, in 943 (A.E.) they made the erection of Buddha image on Ka-lon-taung hill situated to the east of Pho-khaung-taung hill and constructed the monastery called Golden Cedawan (Shwe Kyaung Ce-da-wan) on the conclave-place of the foot hill situated on the southern side of the Buddha image. They donated them in favour of venerable Uttamatezo monk. The donation is made on Wasov month, 947 Thakkraj (A.E.). The find spot of the stone pillar is far from the Ka-lon-taung hill mentioned in the inscription. The Sap Kyā village and its surrounding area are not hilly but only plain ground with alluvial soil. The name Ka-lon-taung hill is known only in Mrauk-U. We do not know why this stone pillar inscription was found from the river near the Sap Kyā village at a distance of about 12 miles from the original site of Ka-lon-taung hill in Mrauk-U.

\(^{113}\) We find the name of Man Pan in the inscription. This Man Pan appears to be the Man Bā or Man Bā Krī of chronicles. See Sandamalalinkara, Ashin, \textit{op cit.}, Vol. V, pp. 44ff.

\(^{114}\) We find the similar name Lokadewi in the Ale-zet Stone Slab inscription of Queen Shan Htwe. See \textit{below}, pp. 252-6.


\(^{117}\) According to Arakanese chronicles king Man Pha Laung brought the whole of the Chittagong district under his sway, and also occupied a large portion of Noakhali and Tripura. See Okkantha, A.S, \textit{op cit.}, p. 88; see also Sandamalalinkara, Ashin, \textit{Ibid.}
Initial vowel form for \(a\) is formed with the half circle of the left limb, its mouth being pointed to the left and right limb attached by bar at the middle. Initial vowel \(\bar{a}\) is added by extra half-circle at the right of \(a\). Initial \(u\) is similar to those found in certain inscriptions of middle Mrauk-U period. Consonant forms are more or less the same as those found in the middle Mrauk-U period. But consonant \(\text{ta}\) is noticeable in this inscription, which is formed with a half circle and mouth opened to the right, and a hook dangling downwards. Other forms of the letters are not distinctive except the consonant letters \(ca, na\) and \(ra\) which bear earlier forms. The punctuation mark is given by two vertical lines. The text of the inscription is as follows:

**First face**
L. 1. Na-mo-ta-ththa-ti || Mrauk-u mrov-hnac
L. 2. Lwan-li-prî-tho bha-so-mwan-a-ca-hi-tho
L. 3. 11 sak-tho man-tov-i a-sum-hnaik-phrac
L. 4. Tho-bha-wa-shan man-pan-i thâ-to-kri-phrac
L. 5. (Tho?) bhu-ran-man-ti-khâ-i thâ-to a

**Second face**
L. 1. Ngai-phac-tho bhon-lak-run pa-nyâ-pa-ji-bhan-hnan
L. 2. Prai-cun-tho man-kri-shwe-nyov-the || Bha-wa-shan man-pan
L. 3. I-thâ-tho a-lat-phrac-tho thak-prai
L. 5. Khri-to-san-rwe lak-nak-thwan-to-pru-tho

**Third face**
L. 1. . . . . . . . . . . . i tha-hmî-to-phrac
L. 2. Tho a-san-ngi-pâ-hnan pre-cun-tho ci
L. 3. T-cin-hlan cham-hla-tho lo-ka-de
L. 4. W'Ta-me-hi-tho thmî-to a-lat-hnan ai

**Fourth face**
L. 1. (Mrac?)-hnaik khre-to-chya-tho a-khâ
L. 2. Htha-mi maung-hnam-hnaik-pâ nîi-nây-kra-rwe
L. 3. Thak-krac 943 khu phov-kaung
L. 4. Taung-i a-she-phak ka-lon-taung
L. 5. Hnaik bhu-râ-te-to-mu-i bhu-râ

**Fifth face**
L. 1. Taung-bhk-chai-twan shwe-kyuang-ce
L. 2. Da-wan-sauk-to-pru-rwe pi-ţa
L. 4. U-tta-ma-te-jo ma-hâ-dhe-ar thak-kraj
L. 5. 947 khu wâ-sov-la-twan kyaung-hnan-bhu-râ

118. From estampage prepared by author.
Translation:

(We) take refuge in the Buddha. After previous eleventh ruler at Mrauk-U namely king Man So Mwan, came the monarch Man Pan whose eldest son is king Man Tikha, youngest son is king Re Nyov. The second son is ....... who made the exportation of arms and ammunitions upto Mrone kingdom (now Tripura) crossing Thak kingdom (Chakma now in Bangladesh). The wife of the couple who are donors, is known as Lokadewi who is more beautiful and charming, perfect in the five qualities and in the wealth of luxury. She is the second daughter of the second son of king Man Pan. With their joint consent, the couple made the erections of Buddha image on Kalontaung hill situated to the east of Phokhaungtaung hill, and the Golden Cedawan monastery at concave-place to the south of the hill from the Buddha image in 943 (A.E.). They donated them on Wasov month, 947 Thakkraj (A.E.) to a venerable Uttamatezo monk who is highly regarded in Tipitaka literatures.

30. Pathin Kyaung Bronze Buddha Image Inscription, Sittwe


The bronze seated Buddha image was initially discovered in Mrauk-U, and then carried and adored at U Maung Tha Zan's house at Kyay Pan Krī quarter in Sittwe city for some time, but after U Maung Tha Zan passed away, his daughter donated it to Pathin monastery where it is at present preserved. On front side of pedestal of the seated Buddha image, it contains only one line which is written in Rakkhawanna Akkhārā and Arakanese language. The letters are typically formed in rounded specimens of middle Mrauk-U period. The date 953 in the beginning of the line is clearly readable. The object of this inscription is only to record casting of the image. No peculiarity of the letters is discernible. Forms of vowels, consonants, conjuncts etc are identical to those of certain inscriptions of the middle Mrauk-U period. The mark for punctuation is shown by two vertical lines at the end of the text. The text119 of the inscription is as follows:

L. 1. Tha-kkrac 953 khu ta-paung-la-san 11 rak thauk-krā-ni thwan-i ||

Translation:

It has been cast on Friday, waxing moon of Tapaung month, 953 Thakkrac (A.E.).

31. Paung-taw-zetī Stone Slab Inscription, Mrauk-U

(Vol. II, PI. CIX). Preserved in Mrauk-U Museum; Script: Rakkhawanna Akkhārā; Language: Arakanese; Date: A.E. 954 = A.D. 1593; Unpublished.

Mrauk-U and its surrounding areas have yielded a large number of inscriptions. An inscription engraved on a stone slab, was

.................................................................

119. From estampage prepared by author.
recently discovered from Paung-taw Zeti (Paung-taw shrine) in Mrauk-U. Now it is exhibited in Mrauk-U Museum. The measurement of the lettering area of the stone slab is 50 cm x 53 cm. The size of the letters is about 1.5 cm. in height and 3.5 cm. in breadth and a gap between the lines measures about 2.5 cm. The script is Rakkhawanna Akkharā and the language Arakanese. The letters are uniformly executed. The inscription contains seventeen lines of writing with minor damages in some lines. The object of the inscription is to record the measures taken for the exchange of land by king Man Pha Laung.120

In the first line, the word 'Tan-khu-la-haung' seems to be an older word which corresponds to the word 'Dutiya Tankhu' (second Tankhu month) in current Arakanese months.121 In L. 8, the numerical notation for a plot of land measuring 101 Shaings at Hngak-kri-chauung seems to mean only 11(10 + 1) Shaings because the total measurement of land mentioned in the inscription is only a plot of land measuring 15.3 Shaings (L. 9). Possibility is that the word ten 10 is first written and then followed by 1. So, what have been written as 101, should actually be taken as 10 (+) 1, i.e., 11. We have seen such a usage in certain inscriptions of the early Mrauk-U period.122 The letters of the inscription show a slight development of the rounded form. Initial vowel forms for a and ā are of more developed letters, but forms of the consonants ca, na and ra are of the earlier ones. Other forms for vowels, consonants, conjuncts etc are the same as found in the inscriptions of middle Mrauk-U period. Punctuation mark is indicated by one or two dandas. The text of the inscription is as follows:

L. 1. Tha-kkrəj 954 khu tan-khu-la-haung la-san
L. 2. 3 rak thauk-krə-ni-hnaik | Bhu-ran ma
L. 3. N-pha-laung-the | Bhu-ran man-cak-krə-the te
L. 4. To-mu-tho | Than-ghi-luai-gar kwam-chauung
L. 5. Twan 1 the-lup can-prwam-taw-twan ta-shaing
L. 6. Ta-phak-lup kyauk-to-twan 3 pa-wā-lu

120. According to Arakanese chronicles the reign period of the king Man Pha Laung extended from A.E. 933 to A.E. 955. See Sandamalalinkara, Ashin, op cit., Vol. V, pp. 82-96.


122. See Pan-kun-thein Buddha Image inscription, supra, pp. 191-3.

123. From estampage prepared by author.
L. 7. P pi-ton-twan 1 the-lup hngak-kri-chaung-twan |
L. 8. 101 shaing-lup kywe-to-twan 1 shaing-lup ta-pha
L. 10. P tov l sai shaing 3 pa-wā-lup-tov-the a-we-mā-hi
L. 11. Le-tho-kraung bhu-ran man-pha-laung-the pau
L. 12. Ng-taw-a-pā re-kaung-khwan-twan man-lai
L. 13. Tov-hnan-pha-rwe than-ghī-te-to-mu-i lai-dā-to
L. 14. V-rwe pi-lā-the-kā taung-mat-cam-tā
L. 15. Le-wā-tov-rwe pe-lā-the ||
L. 16. Ce-tf-daw a-pā-twan lai 4
L. 17. Shaing ta-phak-lup-hi-i

Translation:

King Man Cakkra\textsuperscript{124} donated a plot of land measuring 1 Shaing (equivalent to 6.4 acres) at the place of Lwan-chaung, a plot of land measuring 1.5 Shings (9.6 acres) at the place of Can-prwan-taw, a plot of land measuring 3 pa-wā land (4.8 acres) at the place of Kyauk-taw, a plot of land measuring 1 Shaing (6.4 acres) at the place of Pi-ton, a plot of land measuring 11 Shings (70.4 acres) at the place of Hngak-kri-chaung. The total measurement of land comes to 15.3 Shaings of which a plot of land measuring 13.3 Shaings are far from Paung-taw shrine. Therefore, on Friday waxing moon of second Tankhu month, 954 Thakkraj (A.E.), king Man Pha Laung took the measures for the exchange of above lands with the lands nearer the shrine at Nga-ra-kauk ground. He would pay excess cost for the land of Taung-mat-can-ta. The land near the shrine would be a plot of land measuring 4 Shaings (37.6 acres).

32. \textit{Shitthaung Stone Slab Inscription of King Narādhipati}

\textit{Shwenanshan, Mrauk-U, (Vol. II, Pl. CX). Preserved in Shitthaung Shrine, Mrauk-U; Script: Rakkhawanna Akkhara; Language: Arakanese; Date: A.E. 955 = A.D. 1594; Unpublished.}

The inscription was initially found from a compound of a Brahmana house (Hindu house) in the eastern side of Mrauk-U.\textsuperscript{125} Now it is exhibited at Shitthaung shrine in Mrauk-U. The inscription measures 39 cm x 58 cm. in writing area. The gap between the lines is about 3 cm. and the sizes of letters measure about 2 cm x 3 cm. The inscription has 9 lines of writing, and a portrait of enthroned king is depicted over the writing field. The posture of king on the throne, as is seen, compares favourably with the description of the contents of the inscription. The object of the inscription is to record donation of land from the village named Kan Pran to Brahmana Puṇāmanidhauk by king Narādhipati.

The letters are uniform in size. The script is Rakkhawanna Akkhara and the language Arakanese. The first line contains the date 955

\begin{itemize}
  \item[124.] King Man Ckkra ruled over Arakan from A.E. 926 to A.E. 933 according to Arakanese chronicles. See Sandamalalalinkara, Ashin, op cit., Vol. V. pp. 81-2.
  \item[125.] U Tha Tun, U, op cit., p. 47.
\end{itemize}
on which the king notified the order to donate the land. The date 955 corresponds to the reign of both king Man Pha Laung and king Man Rājā Krī during second Mrauk-U period. But, according to line 3 of this inscription, king Man Rājā Krī seems to have issued this order because Ll. 3-4 say that it is right to fulfill a desire in Wasov month. According to the chronicles, king Man Pha Laung passed away in Waso month, 955 (A.E.), and his son king Man Rājā Krī ascended the throne on the same year.126

The king would order Nga Ru Ā and Nga Rai Kku who would be messengers to intimate Puṇāmanidhauk about the donation of land (Ll. 7-8). The order would mean that two messengers would not have to accept any bribe from the Brāhmaṇa Puṇāmanidhauk (Ll. 8-9). In this inscription the letters are shown in rounded form, and usually resemble specimens of letters of middle Mrauk-U period. The particular letters for a, ā, ca, na and ra still maintain earlier forms, and consonant letter dha is also found to be an earlier form. Other forms are the same as those found in the middle Mrauk-U period. The punctuation marks in Ll. 1 and 9 are indicated by two vertical lines, and Ll. 5, 7 and 8 are given by only one vertical line. The text127 of the inscription is as follows:

L. 1. Tha-krac 955 khu || Ta-pov-twe-la-san nga
L. 2. Rak 4 ni na-rā-dhi-pa-ti shwe-nan-shan min-to
L. 3. Mū-tho wā-sov-la-twan a-lov-to-prai-mai
L. 7. Cā-ci-hū-rwe kam-pai-htā-the she-to-kham nga-ru-ā | Nga-rai-kku
L. 8. Hnac-yauk a-tham-cha-the | Tham-kyā-tham-pauk htn-mran a
L. 9. Taung-a-hmat ma-yū-pi-i ||

Translation:
The king Naradhipati Shwe Nan Shan who ascended throne in Wasov month, would donate a plot of land measuring 5 shaing 3 pawā128 (36.8 acres) from Kan Pran village to Brahmāṇa Puṇāmanidhauk who predicted to the king. On Wednesday, waxing noon of Tapovtwe month, 955 (A.E.), the king issued an order that two messengers Nga Ru Ā and Nga Rai Kku would intimate Puṇāmanidhauk about the donation of the land. The king's order would mean that the messengers would not have to accept any bribe.

126. The title of Naradhipati is amply found in the Mrauk-U period. The date mentioned in the inscription indicates that the king would be Mn Rājā Krī of Chronicles. See Sandamalalinkara, Ashin, op cit., Vol. V, p. 143.

127. From estampage prepared by author.

128. A plot of land measuring 1 Shaing is equated with 4 Pawās, therefore, 3 Pawās would be three-fourth of 1 Shaing land, i.e., 4.8 acres. See Nyanathara, U, op cit., p. i.
33. Am-taw-thein Phara Stone Slab Inscription, Mrauk-U  
(Vol. II, PL CXI). Preserved in Mrauk-U Museum; Script:  
Rakkhawanna Akkharā; Language: Arakanese; Date: A.E. 958  
= A.D. 1597; Unpublished.

An-taw-thein Phara (holy molar tooth relic shrine) stands  
on northern hillock of Phokhaung Taung range. It is situated about 100ft  
distant on northeastern side from the famous Shitthaung shrine. It may be  
regarded as one of the most famous shrines of Arakan. The shrine  
underwent repairs and renovations. It is stated that king Man Rājā Kṛī  
rebuilt it in A.D. 1597, encasing the original pagoda built by king Man  
Hla Rājā in A.D. 1521. For having encased Buddha molar tooth relic,  
which was brought from Ceylon (Sri Lanka) by king Man Bā Kṛī, the  
shrine is known as An-taw-thein Phara.129* An inscription engraved on a  
stone slab has been discovered from the shrine and now it is preserved in  
Mrauk-U Museum. The measurements of the record are about 24 cm x 45  
cm in lettering area; a gap between lines is 3 cm. The sizes of the letters  
varies about 1.5 cm x 2 cm.

The letters are strangely written between lines, but square  
forms are uniformly noticeable. Script of the inscription is Rakkhawanna  
Akkharā and language Arakanese. The object of the inscription seems to  
record the rebuilding of the shrine. The first line contains the date 958  
corresponding to A.D. 1597 when king Man Rājā Kṛī is known to have  
been ruling.130* A strange word Ne-ta-pa-wā in L. 2 seems to indicate a  
time for the rise of the sun which would be 9 ante meridiem (9 a.m.).131*  
The last two lines of the inscription are badly damaged in major parts. But  
the remaining word in L. 4 is clearly readable as An-taw-twan (at An-taw  
shrine). Forms for letters are square in shape, which are indicative of  
earlier forms and more akin to those found in certain inscriptions of  
Lemrot and early Mrauk-U periods. Initial vowel a has a double square  
forms with bar joining at the middle. Consonant ka has two semi-square  
limbs with mouths downwards. Kha is formed with mouth to the left and  
a loop inwards at the base. Sa shows a square attached to the right and its  
left limb looks like the letter kha. Nya indicates two semi-square forms:  
the right limb with mouth opened upwards and the left limb with mouth  
opened to the left and a short diagonal vertical line dangling downwards

129. Shwe Zan, U, op.cit., p. 57.
130. Ibid.
131. The word of Ne-ta-pa-wā means a quarter of a day, full day-time spanning from 6 am to  
6 pm, therefore, Ne-ta-pa-wā is a one-fourth of a day, i.e., 9 am.
at base. *Ta* is formed by a square type at left and semi-square limb at right with mouth opened downwards.

*Na* has a short curve on the top and straight vertical line downwards with a knot at the centre of the line. *Pa* is of a semi-square type with mouth upwards. *Ma* has a loop inwards the letter. *La* has two limbs joining with mouth opened upwards at the right limb and mouth opened downwards at the left limb. *Wa* is of only square type. *Tha* is the same as the upper limb of the letter *nya* except short diagonal vertical line at the base. Conjunct forms are formed by juxtaposing letters on each other. The mark for punctuation is indicated by three vertical lines at the beginning of the text. The inscription is dated in 958 (A.E.) corresponding to A.D. 1579 but the forms are more akin to those of Lemrot and early Mrauk-U periods. The text

L. 1. ||  958 khu ta-pov-twe la-san 11
L. 2. . k ta-na-li-ne tak-ne-ta-pa-wā
L. 3. . chin-twan shac-thaung-bhu
L. 4. . . . . . an-taw-twan lam
L. 5. . . . . . . hlū-the

Translation;

( It would be donated to the Antaw shrine ?) on 9 A.m (Netapawā) Monday, waxing moon of Tapovtwe month, 958 (A.E.).

34. Kyauk-saip-dhat Zeti Stone Slab Inscription, Puññākywan Tsp
(Vol. II, Pl. CXII). Preserved in Puññākywan; Script: Rakkhawanna Akkharā; Language: Arakanese; Date: A.E. 964 = A.D. 1602; Unpublished.

The inscription engraved on a slab of sand stone, was discovered from a stream situated near a stūpa called Kyauk-saip-dhat Zeti of Kyauk-saip village in Puññākywan township. The stone slab appears to have fallen down from the stūpa on the top of the hill. Now the inscription is preserved in the Dhamma hall near the market in Puññākywan town. The lower portion of the inscription has been badly damaged, but the upper portion seems to be in a better condition with a few lines still readable. The inscription measures about 65 cm x 50 cm. Out of the lettering area, girder shaped line is circularly depicted on the rim and an upper girder line is ornamentally made by twin designs. The inscription contains twenty lines of which seven lines are legible with minor damages. The letters are of uniform in rounded type. The script of

132. From estampage prepared by author.
the inscription is Rakkhawanna Akkhara and the language used is Arakanese. The object of the inscription appears to be a land donation. Unfortunately, the donor's name has gone with damaged portion.

Ll. 3-7 state that (the donor) is more powerful and glorious than other kings. He is a brother-in-law of king Man Pha Laung and a son-in-law of Mrauk-U Queen. But in 964, mentioned in L. 1 of this inscription, we know that king Man Rājā Kṛṣṇa was ruling over Arakan.\textsuperscript{133} The forms of the letters are specimens of developed Rakkhawanna Akkharā. Initial \(a\) shows a development, a type like letter \(da\) for left limb and a semi-circle at the right with a loop at the base of right limb. \(Ca\) shows a developed form, with a loop inwards at the left of the letter. \(Na\) has a loop at the left on the middle but a vertical line at the lower is straightened down. \(Ra\) retains an old form, with a curve dangling at the left of the letter. Other forms for consonants and medial vowels are the same as those found in certain inscriptions of the middle Mrauk-U period. Conjuncts are indicated by juxtaposing letters on each other. Punctuation mark is indicated by a vertical line. The text\textsuperscript{134} of the inscription can be read thus:

\begin{verbatim}
L. 1. 964 khu wā-kywat hsi dhi-ppa-dhi
L. 2. A-shan a-sov-ra-taw-pru-tho a
L. 3. Shan tho man-ta-kā-tov-htak a-iwan-bhun
L. 4. Tan-kho-pa-re-taw-hnan pre-sun-swā-hta-thov
L. 8. N-thov phrac-thov man-lat
L. 9. ...
L. 10. taung-i-ca ...
L. 11. ...
L. 12. ...
L. 13. ...
L. 14. ...
L. 15. ...
L. 16. u-raj-taw-rwā ...
L. 17. ...
L. 18. tai-taw-pru-i ...
L. 19. Yai-lai a-hetak wa-thu-kov-the
L. 20. tov-the ...

\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{133} Sandamalalinkara, Ashin, \textit{op cit.}, Vol. V, p. 143.

\textsuperscript{134} From estampate prepared by author
35. **Tha-rak-auk-zet Stone Slab Inscription of Upalawan, Mrauk-U,**
*(Vol. II, Pl. CXIII). Preserved in Mrauk-U Museum; Script:
Rakkhawanna Akkharā; Language: Arakanese; Date: A.E 967 =
A.D. 1605; Unpublished.*

This inscription was initially found from a stūpa of Tha-rak-
auk Phara in Mrauk-U. Now it is preserved at Mrauk-U Museum. The
letters of the inscription are coarse and are not uniform in size. The
inscription bears nineteen lines of writing with a minor damage in L. 16.
The object of the inscription is to record the order of (the king) in regard
to the donation of land in favour of the shrine, when Upalawan who is
wife of Ajikhanthukri, executes land-donation. The word *Ajikhanthukri*
may perhaps be a chieftain for correspondence or a chief staff for servants
employed under the king. Words in some cases are not uniformly
recorded. Spellings of names of husband and wife, are differently written
i.e., *A-khan-thu-kri-ma-ya U-pa-lwan* in Ll. 5-6 and *A-cī-khan-thu-kri-
ma-ya U-pa-la-wan* in Ll. 16-17. It is also perhaps a case of miswriting
that the word *Than-chī* in L. 6, is the same as *Than-khī* in L. 18 with
different spellings. The letters of the inscription is a rounded type, having
resemblance with those found in certain inscriptions of the middle Mrauk-
U period. Initial *a* seems to have a developed form. Initial *u* looks like the
serpentine type. No peculiarity is seen in the consonants, medial vowels
and conjuncts. Punctuation mark is given by one vertical line. The text of
the inscription is as follows:

L. 1. Tha-kkrāj 9
L. 2. 67 khu wā-so
L. 3. V la-san 10 ra
L. 4. K ta-lan-ga-ni
L. 5. A-khan-thū-kri-ma
L. 6. Yā u-pa-lwan than-chī
L. 7. Mre-hu-rwe blyauk-tho
L. 8. Kraung a-than-cha-the-kā
L. 9. Kyaung-wan-a-hlu-than
L. 10. Khā-mre shan-rwe pi-lā-the
L. 11. Kā lak-rwe-can
L. 12. Mi-pauk-thwe
L. 13. Na 1 yauk j A-ji
L. 14. Khan a-ngai ra-ja-thū-ra
L. 15. Kov ra-ja-(ci)-prū-kov wī-rwe
L. 16. . . . ri-cī a-khrā-ka a-cī-khan

135. It seems that such a wrong writing in words *(A-khan-thū-kri-ma-ya U-pa-lwan* in Ll. 5-6 and *A-cī-khan-thū-kri-ma-ya U-pa-la-wan* in Ll. 16-17), is due to the negligence of the engraver.

136. From estampage prepared by author.
L. 17. Thū-kri-ma-ya u-pa-la-wa
L. 18. N than-khT-mre ri-ci-a
L. 19. Krā ka-the pe-taw-pru-i

Translation:
When wife of Ajikhanthukri executes land-donation in favour of the shrine on Sunday 10 waxing moon of Wasov month 967 Thakkraj (A.E.), Mi Pauk Thwe and Ra Ja Thū Ra claimed the land. (The king) would order Upalawan who would be paid upto the water-course along the land.


A fragmentary stone slab inscription inscribed on two sides (obverse and reverse), was originally discovered from a compound of a monastery called Triratanāmuṇi Ratāṇawimāḷā at Cha-twan-gyaing in Pan-zee-mraung (stream of flower market). It is situated on the northern direction of Mrauk-U. The inscription is presently preserved in Mrauk-U Museum. The right part of upper portion of the obverse has been badly damaged. The sixteen lines have gone with broken part. The reverse contains thirty-one lines of which twenty-two lines have also broken off. Beyond the girder shape a line is circularly written, being badly damaged in the middle portion. The inscription has a total of twenty-two lines on the obverse and thirty-one lines on reverse. The measurement of the inscription on obverse runs 75 cm. in length (from bottom to top) and 76 cm. in breadth (from side to side) in the broadest areas of writing field. The interval between lines is about 3 cm. and size of the letters runs about 2 cm x 3 cm. The letters are of uniform size. The script is Rakkhawanna Akkharā and the language Arakanese.

The object of the inscription is to record donation of land with its boundaries, and imprecation by the chief priest named Thurānāgara whom the king respected. From the middle of the second line to the sixth, we find a florid eulogy of the king Narādhipati who is also known as king Mān Rāja Krī. The king Narādhipati assumed the title of Shwenanthakhan Samnīthakhan Bhavashin, indicating his wealth, ownership of red elephant and imperial status. In Mrauk-U period there were a number of rulers who enjoyed this title. It is stated that the king

138. We find such a title in the legend on coins of the Mrauk-U period. See below, pp. 278ff.
ruled over many countries and Hanthawadi and Tharechettarā (Ll. 2-4). From the middle of the eighth line to the seventeenth, it contains the boundaries of the donated land but accurate marks of the boundaries on north, west and east, have gone with broken parts of the right side. From the eighteenth on obv. to the middle of the nineteenth on rev., it is the description in imprecatory words in which a Pāli verse is included.

In Ll. 21-27 on reverse, it is stated that the donor would share meritorious result of the construction of a monastery named Tri-para-nā-mu-ṇī Ra-dā-na-wi-mā-lā, with those who are human beings, heavenly beings and Brahmās, and those who dwell beneath Awāći hell and topped Bhawak heaven, and those who live in a lakh crore worlds, including king Sanphrūśan Narāḍhipati, and all creatures and their relatives who are living in water, land, forest and sky, and with all deities who are looking after Thāthānā (Buddhist religion). It is stated that "May those who are looking after Thāthānā, would look after my donation instead of me!" (Ll. 27-29 on reverse). In last portion (Ll. 29-31) it is stated that it is a donation of venerable Thurānāra monk who lives in the monastery built by king Man Tikkha. The monk was revered by king Sanphrūśan Rājā who succeeded as sixth reigning king of Mrauk-U. What is vertically written in the rim, means an order to Naung Taw Nga Swe who is son of Thu Khaung Kyaw Htan. On right side, what is vertically written, indicates that the Queen intends to make a gift of something to Nga Nyov, who is literate.

In this inscription the forms for initial vowels, consonants, medial vowels and conjuncts etc are more or less the same as those found in the inscriptions of the middle Mrauk-U period. Initial vowel form for 1 indicates a similar letter to that found in the inscriptions of Khūn-kaik-ama-rin-taung Phara, Tha-rak-ta-pan-taung-maw Phara, and Taung-phru-taung Phara. Initial vowel u is of serpentine type. Consonant ta is

139. Many countries mean the countries situated to the west of Arakan, but the names of the countries are not exactly specified. Possibility is that the countries would perhaps be Chittagong and Tippera (now Tripura).

140. Hanthawadi is present Pegu and Tharechettarā is a place around Prome (Pyā), currently in Myanmar (Burma).

141. We know of the reign period of the king Man Tikkā from A.E. 915 to A.E. 918 according to chronicles of Arakan. See Sandamalalinkara, Ashin, op cit., Vol. V, p. 77.

142. Sixth reigning king of the Mrauk-U (second phase) in Arakan, is Man Rājā Krī of chronicles. See Ibid., p. 143.
similarly noticeable in the letter that is seen in the inscriptions of Than-ganak Mound and Ka-lon-taung Phara. On the reverse of this inscription, punctuation marks have been used in many lines by either one danda or two dandas, even in unnecessary places. The text⁴³ of the inscription is as follows:

**Obverse**

L. 1. Tha-kkraj 971 khu to-tha-lan
L. 2. La-sut 6 rak bu-ta-hu-ni mac-chi-mā
L. 3. Ta-rov prai-kṛī-myā a-paungh-hnan han-thā-(wa-tī)
L. 4. Tha-re-chyat-ta-rā prai-kṛī-kov a-sov-ra-taw-mū-(tho man-ta)
L. 7. C-che-mu-ran-dhau-cā mu-ran-dhat sa-rā-taw rā-ma-mu-so
L. 8. V-bhov-bhum-kṛī wat-kyaug-jā-ti-wa-dhi kyan-mrauk-ka ..
L. 10. Chaung-wa-hlan a-khārā-taing-aung hū-taw-pru-the thu ..
L. 11. Khā rśā-hnac-rwā a-che-bhāk 6 k-shāing rśā-mrauk ..
L. 12. shāing 9 mu-sov-bhov-bhun-kri-wat-kyau-g-taw jā-ti-ran ..
L. 15. Taw-pru-the pan-thum-chaung-mā san-phru-shan-man-tā-rā hū-taw ..

**Reverse**

L. 1. .......... kya-ce-tho-dhi
L. 2. .......... wak-rwe-the-le-ce
L. 3. .......... thā a-mat-thaw a-mat-phyak-ce
L. 4. .......... kai-thov-phrac-ce-tho man-thā-man
L. 6. .......... tho | A-sit-myov-khāi-rwe the-le-ce-tho ca
L. 7. .......... cā-myov-khun-rwe the-le-ce-tho hlan-myov-cu-rwe
L. 8. .......... rwe the-le-ce-tho | The-thaw-lai-a-pai-lai-mā ..
L. 9. .......... bhu-rā-ta-kā-khraw-rwe ma-kyaw-cē-tho | Mi-mi-i

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143. From estampage prepared by author.
In accordance with the order of king Naradhipati (who owned wealth, red elephant ownership and imperial status), who ruled over many countries in the West, and Hanthawadin and Tharartha, the boundary of donated land would stretch up to the stupa in Watkyaung monastery of the monk from Mu-sov-bho village ... on north, up to Rehlwai stream on south, ... on west. (It would be) a plot of land measuring 6 Shaings (38.4 ares) between two villages on north, and up to the stupa in Watkyaung monastery of the monk from Mu-sov-bho village. Maha Uparaja (prince) who is son of king Sanphrushan, would donate at Phak-khwap-sip. King Sanphrushan would donate at Pan-thum-chaung. One third of (land) in Thak-kai-kyan would be donated in favour of Thanchika (religious purpose). Its boundary stretches up to Repranseik towards the east of the stupa.

May those who would support my donation, would become rich man instead of poor man, minister instead of minister's son, king instead of prince, Cakkra Ratana appearance instead of king and acquisition of meritorious result together with me! May those who would destroy the land donation in favour of religion, would stay in Awicci hell for a lakh Kappa years, and would become maggot even after coming out from the Awicci hell. I would pay the meritorious result for the donation of a monastery named Triratanamuni Ratanaawimâla to those who are human beings, heavenly beings and Brâhmâs living between top Bhawak heaven and beneath Awicci hell, and within a lakh crore worlds, including king Sanphrushan Naradhipati, and with their relatives to all creatures who are living in water, land, forest and sky, and to all deities who are looking after Thathanâ (Buddhist religion). May those who are looking after Thathanâ would look after my donation instead of me! It is a donation of venerable Thuranara monk from the monastery donated by king Man Tikkha. The monk is respected by king Sanphrushan Râjâ who succeeded as the sixth reigning king (of Mrauk-U age).
Left vertical line on obverse
It would order to Naung Taw Nga Swe who is son of Thu Khaung Kyaw Htan …..

Right vertical line on obverse
The Queen would make a gift of something to Nga Nyov who is literate and ……...


The inscription engraved on a stone slab with a damaged portion in last line was initially discovered from a stupa in Mrak-rit-kywan village in Mrauk-U. At present it is preserved in Mrauk-U Museum. The inscription measures 45 cm. x 50 cm. in writing field. Its interval between lines is about 4 cm. in breadth, and the size of the letters measures about 2 cm x 3 cm. The characters are in rounded form. The letters are typically uniform in size. The script is Rakkhawanna Akkhara and the language Arakanese. The object is to record donation of land by king Waradhammarāja who is known as king Man Kha Maung in the chronicles.144* The king assumed the titles of Shwenanthakhān Sanphṳ̃t̄akhān Sanmūthakhān Shanbhawashan indicating wealth, white and red elephants' ownership and imperial status (Ll. 2-4).145*

The king issued orders to the ministers i.e., Ku-lā-a-twan Cac-chī, Shwe-cun-tat-krī, Mu-jun-dā, A-daung-myū, Le-tat-mū Ka-tov, Ma-cin-haung-cā and Mo-lit Sin-gha-ti146* who would arrange for the land donation for religious purpose. The donated land would stretch upto a plot of land measuring two Shaings (12.8 acres) from kyan-tin's field in Kya-khut-taung city. At present we do not know where Kya-khut-taung city was situated. In the beginning of the first line, it contains a separate rounded letter like 0. The letters of the inscription indicate a more developed form. Initial vowel form for a shows a step towards development but consonant forms dha, na and ra look like earlier ones of the Mrauk-U period. The punctuation mark in this inscription is given by only one danda. The text147* of the inscription is as follows:

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145. Apart from three titles, he enjoys an extra title Shanbhawashan which is rarely found in the inscriptions of Arakan during the Mrauk-U period.

146. It seems that these posts perhaps were highly regarded at that time.

147. From estampage prepared by author.
On Saturday, waxing moon of Wakhaung month, 980 Thakkaraj (A.E.), king Shwenanthakan Sanphrithakhan Sanmthakhan Shanbhawahan Waradhammaraja issued an order to ministers i.e., Ku-la-a-twan Cac-chT, Shwe-cun-tat-kn, Mu-jun-dā, A-daung-myā, Le-tat-mū Ka-tov, Ma-cin-hraung-ca and Mo-lit Sin-gha-ti who would arrange for the donation of land in favour of religious purposes. The donated land would include a plot of land measuring two shaings (12.8 acres) from kyan-tin land in Kya-khut-taung city.

There is a garrison with three terraces situated near the old palace on the north site in Mrauk-U. This garrison on hill as it is situated, was positioned during the hey-day of Mrauk-U kings to tackle the enemies in case of battles. The force under "Zundat" (commander) of palace guards, was stationed on this nearest hill from the palace for the security of the royal capital. An inscription engraved on both sides of a stone slab was discovered from the garrison hill (Zundat hill). The inscription contains thirty lines on the obverse and twenty lines on reverse. The inscription is now preserved in Mrauk-U Museum. The slab measures 159 cm x 69 cm. in the broadest areas of writing field on obverse. An area of writing field on reverse measures about 120 cm x 80 cm. The sizes of the letters are not uniform, the letters of upper portion are larger than those of the lower portion. The largest size of the letter is about 3 cm x 4.5 cm. and the smallest one 1 cm x 1.5 cm. The script of the inscription is Rakkhawanna Akkharā and the language Arakanese.

The object of the inscription is to record donation of land and gardens to Shwe-kyuang and Shwe-kyuang-thein-kyuang by Zundat Lakkyāpyanchi (commander Lakkyāpyanchi). And the imprecation is floridly written in lower portion on the obverse. This inscription and Ale-zetī stone slab inscription of Queen Shan Htwe contain detailed
The dates of the inscription are separately given as 984 in L. 1 and 987 in L. 10 on the obverse, and 984 in L. 1, 987 in L. 4, again 984 in L. 10 and (1007?) in L. 17 on the reverse. It seems that the commander Lakkyāpyanchī made different donations on different dates. It states that he made the donations of a plot of land measuring 5 Shaings (32 acres) in the place of U-ractaung, 1 garden of betel-nut tree in the place of Caing-wa, 1 garden of betel-nut tree in the place of Ta-pru-chaung, a half (of 1 garden?) of water-coconut tree in the place of Cai-maung and a big jar to Shwe Kyaung monastery in 984 (Ll. 1-6). He donated 10 Ngwe (Rupee) for Piṭakat and 10 Ngwe (Rupee) for lighting lamp in Shwe Kyaung (Ll. 7-9). Again in 987 Thakkraj (A.E.) he donated a half (of 1 garden?) of water-coconut tree in the place of Cai-maung, two gardens of betel-nut tree in the place of Ta-pru-chaung, and 30 Ngwe (Rupee) to Shwe Kyaung Their Kyaung (Ll. 10-15). From the tenth line to the last line of the middle of obverse, it is only imprecatory text written in long prose.

On the reverse the left half of second line and that of the last line are badly damaged. So, the name of the donor is not clear. Remaining half of the second line perhaps refers to the sons of Nga Shwe Kri and Nga Twat who would make libation of water for the donation or would receive an order of the donation (by their fathers). A half of a plot of land measuring 1 Shaing (6.4 acres) of water-coconut tree would be apportioned to Shwe Kyaung and Shwe Kyaung Their Kyaung for another half of it on Tuesday waxing moon of Tothalan, 987 (A.E.). For the arrangement of the donation an order was issued to two persons – Nga Hla Khaung who is the son of Nga Chan Shwe, and Khaung Cac (Ll. 5-9 on reverse). In 984 Thakkraj (A.E.) Lakkyāpyamchī donated many religious slaves. The phrase and phraseology and style of the language show more affinity to those of present Arakan. The forms of letters tend to be more refined and polished with an inclination to present the alphabet in roundish form. No peculiarity of the letters is seen in this inscription. Form for vowel a shows a developed type, but again consonant letters na and ra maintain earlier traits. Conjuncts are indicated by juxtaposed letters. Punctuation mark is not used in the inscription. The text of the inscription is as follows:

148. See below, pp. 252-6.

149. Apart from the word Tankā for currency, we may observe the word Ngwe which is also meant for the currency.

150. From estampage prepared by author.
Obverse
L. 1. Tha-kkraj 984 khu twan zun-dat-lak-kyā-pyan
L. 2. Kyā shwe-kyuang-twān than-chī-tai-the-kar u-ra
L. 3. C-taung-twān le-ngā-shaing caing-wa-twān
L. 5. U-yai cai-maung-twān oh-ta-bhak tam
L. 6. . . . . . . . caing-o-kṛī-ta-lun
L. 8. Kat a-twān than-chī-tai-the ngwe 10 u-ta-chaung
L. 10. Tha-kkraj 987 twān zun-dat-lak-kyā
L. 11. Pyan-chī shwe-kyuang-thein-kyuang-twān than
L. 15. N gar-ngwe 30 ngā-i than-chī-ko-phyak 6 thū-the phrac
L. 17. Bhe-shac-pā dan-sai-pā to-the kov-ga-ca-rwe thar-mre-mrac-tī-krwa
L. 19. Čī-tha-tai than-thā-rā-hnaik-laś thin-sov kā-la-thut ro-rū-wa ma
L. 20. Hā-ro-rū-wa than-kha-ta ma-hā-than-kha-ta ma-hā-tā-pan-na
L. 27. N-lai lū-to-ma-wān | Pan-nū pan-ma a-ca-hi 6 nū-khran ru-khran kyi-khran swā
L. 28. N-khran kan-khran nar-pa-khran twan-khran a-na-myov-tov-the rauk
Reverse
L. 1. Tha-kkraj 984 khu nat-taw lsa
L. 2. N 9 rak 1 ni hūi-to-pru-the
L. 3. . . . . . . . lai than-ga-shwe-kri-hna nga-twat
L. 4. (Re-ca?)-cha-the thā-kkraj 987 to
L. 5. Tha-lan-lsan 1 rak 3 ni hūi-to-pru-the
L. 8. Twan-та-bhāk than-chī-tai-the nga-chan she
L. 10. Tha-kkraj 984 lak-kyā-pyan-chī shwe-kyuang-twān
L. 11. Čū-than-chī-tai-the-kar cai-lai-i-rā ta-aim-htaung
L. 12. Pwe-lam ta-aim-htaung hai-swe ta-aim-htaung an-ku-tyā
L. 13. Ta-aim-htaung mu-thā ta-aim-htaung phun-taw-ra ta-aim
L. 14. Htaung dū-lā-thāmi-thā-bhā 3 k śī-the-thāmi-thā-bhā 3 k
L. 15. Tha-kkrajaj 987 twān shwe-kyuang-thein-kyuang
L. 16. Tha than-chī-tai-the phā-lā ta-aim-htaung ma-nī 1
L. 17. Yauk maw-lī-thā-mi-thā-bhā 4 k thā-kkraj (1007?) khu-twa
L. 19. Ta-aim-htaung mrt-dī ta-aim-htaung lā ta-aim
L. 20. . . . . . . . htaung . . . .
Translation: Obverse

In 984 Thakkraj (A.E.) Jundat (commander) Lakkyāpyanchī would donate a plot of land measuring 5 shaings (32 acres) in U-rac-taung, 1 garden of betel-nut tree in Cai-gwa, 1 garden of betel-nut tree in Ta-pru-chaung, a half garden of water-coconut tree in Cai-maung and a big jar to Shwe Kyang monastery. The commander Lakkyāpyanchī would donate 10 Ngwe (Rupee) for Pīṭaka (library) and 10 Ngwe (Rupee) for lighting lamp in Shwe Kyang monastery. In 987 Thakkraj (A.E.) commander Lakkyāpyanchī would donate a half garden of water-coconut tree in Cai-maung, two gardens of betel-nut tree in Ta-pru-chaung .......... 30 Ngwe (Rupee) to Shwe Kyang Thein Kyang. May those who would destroy my donation, would become burdened with 96 heavy diseases, 8 calamities, 10 punishments upto their sons, great sons, great grand sons, great great grand sons and great great great grand sons, and would crumble in begging and begging by holding cup on hands, and would go down into 8 slices of great hells, namely Theinso, Kallahut, Roruwa, Mahāroruwa, Thanhkata, Mahāthanakhata, Mahātaphanna and Awici, and 106 slices of small hells for an unaccountable times where flaming fire is gruesomely lighting! May they would not even hear about what many Buddhas would get enlightenments while they would be staying in the hells! Even if they would come out from the-hells. May they would become the likes of Tirisan, Athurikal and Pritti for an unaccountable times! Even if they would become human beings, May they would face on the diseases of leprosy, madness, crippling, blindness, deafness, and paralysis! May they would experience to what Man Nan Thū's imprecation contains!151*

Reverse

On Sunday, waxing moon of Nattaw month, 984 Thakkraj (A.E.), the donation would be made with the pouring of libation water by sons - Nga Shwe Kri and Nga Twat. A half plot of land measuring 1 shaing garden of water-coconut tree would be donated to Shwe Kyang monastery and another half for Shwe Kyang Thein Kyang on Tuesday, waxing moon of Tothalan month, 987 Thakkraj (A.E.). An order was issued to two persons - Nga Hla Khaung who is son of Nga Chan Shwe, and Khaung Cac for making the necessary arrangement pertaining to the donations. In 984 Thakkraj (A.E.) commander Lakkyāpyanchī would make members of Cailai Ira family, Pwelam family, Haiswe family, Ankutya family, Muthā family, Phumtawra family, Dula family consisting of three persons, parents and son, SIthe family of three persons consisting of parents and son as religious slaves to be employed at the Shwe Kyang monastery. And in 987 Thakkaraj (A.E.) Phāla family and a family of four members, the names of two of whom are Manī, Mawla and parents would be made as religious slaves to be employed at the Shwe Kyang Thein Kyang. In 1007? Thakkraj (A.E.) the members of the Nga Dum family, Mrutdi family, Ila family ....... would be made as religious slaves who would work for the Shwe Kyang Thein Kyang.


This inscription engraved on four faces of a short stone pillar is now in possession of U Pannacara Saradaw of Mahāmuni Monastery in Sittwe city – capital of Arakan. The pillar is reported to have been found by a villager named U Aye Tun Oo in 1347 (A.E.), from Tha-row-to

151. It seems that Man Nan Thū's imprecation perhaps was in vogue at that time. We find the same record in the inscriptio of Kan-che village Sīmā Pillar. See below, pp. 256-7.
mound on the north near Ra-ba-dan village, situated in Rambre township in the southern site of Arakan. The short stone pillar measures about 13/" in length, 5/" in width each of first and third faces and 4/" in width each of second and fourth faces. The first and third faces of the Pillar contain three lines of writing each while the second and fourth faces have two lines each. The letters are uniform in size and are rounded in form. The script belongs to Rakkhawanna Akkharâ and the language is Arakanese.

The object of the inscription is to record donation of a farm from Lak-pan-pran ground by Nga Swai Kai who may perhaps be a chieftain in the village. A notable information is yielded from the record that Man Nyo was a governor of Ramâbre during the reign of king Man Ha Ri alias Thîri Thudhamma Râjâ in Mrauk-U palace,152â in 990 Thakkrac (A.E.) (L. 1-3 in first face). The date 990 corresponds to A.D. 1619. The second face states that the donated farm is from the ground named Lak-pan-pran. For the donation of the farm, Nga Swai Kai discussed the matter in the monastery with those who were eligible for the coinheritance of the farm (L. 1-3 in third face and L. 1-2 in fourth face): In this inscription the forms for vowels, consonants, conjuncts etc are identical to those found in the inscriptions of the middle period of Mrauk-U age. The medial vowels and conjuncts are the same as before. The text153 of the inscription is as follows:

**First face**
L. 1. Tha-âkrac 990 hti saung
L. 2. Man-ha-êî ran-prai-câ
L. 3. Man-nyo lak-hatak

**Second face**
L. 1. Ta-paung la-twan
L. 2. Lak-pam-pran le 9 154*

**Third face**
L. 1. Kan-thû-kri nga-swai-kai
L. 2. Kyaung-twan a-mwe-câ
L. 3. Tov-hman nyi

**Fourth face**
L. 1. Nyâ-rwe than-chê
L. 2. Te-the

153. From estampage contributed by U Pannacara Saradaw.
154. Such a writing in numerical notation for 9 instead of the word 'ko' is frequently found in the inscriptions of Lemrot and Mrauk-U periods.
Translation:

On Tapaung month, 990 Thakkrac (A.E.), Nga Swai Kai who is the chieftain, would donate the farm from Lakpanpran ground after a discussion at the monastery with those who have a stake in the coinheritance of the farm during the reign of king Man Ha RJ and when Man Nyo was the governor of Ramprai (Rambre).

40. Ale-zet T Stone Slab Inscription of Queen Shan Htwe, Mrauk-U
(Vol II, Pl. CXVIII). Preserved in Mrauk-U Museum; Script: Rakkhawanna Akkharā; Language: Arakanese; Date: A.E. 1002 = A.D. 1641; Unpublished.

This inscription was discovered from the foot of the hill situated at Ale Zet T (middle stūpa) on the north of Mrauk-U. At present it is preserved in Mrauk-U Museum. The inscription bears forty eight lines of writing on only one side, with minor damages in Ll. 23, 46, 47 and 48. The stone slab is typically designed in oval shape for the lettering area. Out of the lettering area a rounded line looks like a girder. A break at centre is vertically extended upto top from the middle, and lower line of the break bends towards the right side. The front face looks like a division of three parts. The inscription measures 140 cm. x 75 cm. in the broadest area of writing field. The interval between lines extends about 3 cm. and the size of the letters measures about 1 cm. x 2 cm. The letters are typically written in full rounded type. Perhaps, a gifted artist was employed for engraving the text. It seems that the Queen Shan Htwe herself undertook composition of the text which happens to be the best specimen of inscriptional literature so far found in the early and middle periods of Mrauk-U period.

According to the chronicle in Arakan Queen Shan Htwe who was the wife of king Man Kha Maung during second phase of Mrauk-U period, is known as Dhamma Devī because of capable recitation of Tipiṭaka by heart, as Loka Devī because of her beauty and gentle mind, and was a great Dayikama of Ratanabon pagoda. The object of the inscription is to record the erection of the stūpa named Ale Zet T (middle stūpa), the construction of a monastery, and the donation of plots of lands in different places by the Queen Shan Htwe of Mrauk-U palace. Very interesting to note here is that she (Queen Shan Htwe) donated an amount of one lakh of pure silver coins for the constructions of stūpa and monastery and their maintenance (L. 45).

155. We find a similar name in the Ka-lon-taung Phara Pillar inscription. See supra, pp.231-4.

In regard to Queen Shan Htwe, the information included in this inscription is that "Shan Htwe who was a queen of Mrauk-U palace, had been known as a niece of Waradhamma Rāja who had the appellation Sanphrūthakhān Sanmūthakhān, a mother of Mahā Thīrīthudhamma Rāja who also owned the appellation Sanphrūthakhān Sanmūthakhān, a younger sister of Man Kri Swā who again owned the appellation Sanphrūthakhān Sanmūthakhān, a mother of Mrauk-U queen, also a mother of southern palace-queen and a mother-in-law of king Narādhipati who owned the appellation Sanphrūthakhān Sanmūthakhān, (L1. 3–9)." Many kings in Mrauk-U period seem to enjoy the epithet of "Sanphrūthakhān Sanmūthakhān" indicating white and red elephants' ownership. In L1. 7–19. The inscription states the erections of stūpa and monastery and donations of many plots of lands in different places. From the middle of L. 17 to that of L. 44, the precatory and imprecatory text is given in detail by a long sentence. In the concluding four lines (from the middle of L. 45 to the end), mention the persons who would be religious slaves and employed at the stūpa, the monastery and the lands donated by her.

With regard to the letters, initial vowel form for \( a \) looks like the English number 3-type to the left and right limb is formed by a half circular type attaching to the left limb and a loop inwards at the base of right limb. Initial \( ā \) has extra half circular type attaching to the right limb of letter \( a \). Initial \( ā \) has extra half circular type attaching to the right limb of letter \( a \). Initial \( ī \) is the same as that found in certain inscriptions of the middle Mrauk-U period but the present form is more circular.

Consonant \( ca \) does not have a dent at the left limb, but a loop inwards is formed at the left limb. \( Na \) seems to retain the earlier type but the form looks like a more circular type. \( Ra \) has a curve dangling downwards at the left of the letter. Consonant \( lakrī \) has vertically two limbs with mouths to the right but the upper limb is circular while the lower limb is squarely formed, and a break between the two limbs is shown in the centre at left. This form is nowhere found so far in the inscriptions of the Lemrot and Mrauk-U periods, which is still used in Arakan. Medial vowels and conjuncts do not have any remarkable peculiarity but the forms in this inscription are more circular. The text\(^{158}\) of the inscription is as follows:

157. See below, pp. 284ff.

158. From estampage prepared by author.
Translation:

On Wednesday, waxing moon of Tapovtwai month, 1002 Thakraj (A.E.), Queen Shan Htwe who is a niece of king Waradhamma Raja who owned the appellation Sanphruthakhan Sanriithakhan, a mother of king Maha Thlrithudhamma Raja who also owned the appellation Sanphruthakhan Sanriithakhan, a younger sister of king Man KrT Swa who also owned the appellation Sanphruthakhan Sanriithakhan, a mother of Mrauk-U queen, also a mother of southern palace-queen, a mother-in-law of king Narapatikri who owned the appellation Sanphruthakhan Sanriithakhan, made the erection of Ale Jatf (middle stupa) and construction of monastery in a plot of land measuring 1 Pwa (4.8 acres) exchanged with a plot of land measuring two shaings (12.8 acres) in accordance with Buddhist codes. The donated lands would be a plot of land measuring 1 Shaing (6.4 acres) at Taung Nyo, a plot of land measuring 20 Shaings (128 acres) at Tethwa, a plot of land measuring 20 Shaings (128 acres) at Rakkhutaing, a plot of land measuring 10 Shaings (64 acres) at Taungchaung, a plot of land measuring 5 Shaings (32 acres) at Raikyawrap, a plot of land measuring 5 Shaings (32 acres) at Phwaitamrac Kywansan, a plot of land measuring 2 Shaings (12.8 acres) at Kywansan of Aumkywantopran, a plot of land measuring 1 Shaing (6.4 acres) at Mariwa, a plot of land measuring 1 Shaing (6.4 acres) at Laung Chaung and a plot of land measuring 2 Shaings (12.8 acres) at Tabhakranpran, and 2 gardens at Catirap of Tapruchaung and 1 garden upto the forest from Pamwetaw Taung. The donation would be aspired to last for five thousand years of Buddhist era.

May those who are unjust rulers, prime minister, general, army and army personnel, who would destroy these donations, would go beneath and die in the hells called Theinsov, Kalathut, Thankhata, Cula Rawriwa, Mahā Rawriwa, Cula Tāppanna, Mahā Tāppanna, Awći, and 320 small hells, namely decomposed hell, ash heat hell, dog bitten hell, stone machine hell, sword hell, sharp thorny tree hell, flesh-broken hell, icy hell, full sharp iron-stick hell, mountain rolling hell, Uthada hell, Nerathikkha hell, Yamalotika hell, etc,
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Lokakunbhin hell! May those would take the lives of Prittas – Pritta without being lips, Pritta who would be eating decomposition and feces, Pritta who would be eating bodies of dead and decomposed elephants and human beings, Pritta who would be micro-mouth like a hole of needle, Pritta who would be living in water his half of body and on land with other half, Pritta who would be eating automatically his self-body by his nails sharpened like razor edge, Pritta who would possess a body like mountain, Pritta who would be sometime poor and sometime rich, Pritta who would be the dirtiest without food, Pritta who would possess hairs like needle, Pritta who would possess one leg, Pritta who would possess many legs, Pritta who would possess one hand, Pritta who would possess many hands, Pritta who would not possess any eye, Pritta who would possess many eyes, Pritta who would possess mouth with fire coming out from that mouth and Pritta who would possess (big tube) inside stomach!

In accordance with Pali verse - "A-ttaṁ-da-tta pa-ra-dan-dham khyam-pi kyanā than-chā-khaṁ pa-re-ta-tto ta-hā ki-mi-li-kā," even if those would come out from the hells and Prittas, May those would again undergo following sins – 96 diseases, 25 calamities, 16 dangers, 32 ill-fatednesses, imprecations to what the rulers have cursed, great afflictions to what bad men have been cursed! May those would be killed by those deities and ogres who are looking after over four great islands and two thousand small islands, the deities and dragons who look after over five big rivers and five hundred small rivers, the deities and ogres who keep an eye over the mountains named Hemawanta, Mranhmov and Thatarabban, the heavenly beings and Brāhmās who live in six slices of heaven and sixteen slices of Brāhmā!

May those would not get any wisdom even if the Buddhas who would enlighten like unaccountable dusts of sand on the sandbars of the banks of the oceans, would preach among them, would get to what the rulers have cursed! May those who would look after my donations, would get following rewards – rich deities and rich men in every life Paccekabuddha, Rahana and millionaires! It would be donation of an amount of one lakh of pure silver coins for the expenditures or the erections of stupa and monastery, and maintenance for them. I would make the three members of the family of Kalara – sons and father, three members of Caithelauk – sons and father, Uyai .........., three members of Dolayā – sons and father, three members of Pruseinprū – sons and father, one person of Myaponra, three members of Lopalonyā – sons and father, .... member of Adaung .........., as religious slaves to be employed at the places donated by the Queen Shan Htwe.

41. Kan-che village Simā Pillar Inscription, Mrauk-U

This inscribed pillar (probably Simā pillar), was discovered from the compound of a ruined stūpa named Ce-pran-thū-kri Phara, near Kan-che village in Mrauk-U.159 But, when the present researcher went there in 1999, it was found in bushes about half a mile to the south of the original find spot. The pillar looks like a cylinder. The upper half portion of the pillar stood outside the ground while the lower portion was underneath the earth. An inscription is circularly engraved on the upper portion. The script is Rakkhawanna Akkhara and the language Arakanese. The sizes of the letters are not uniform. The letters of the lower lines are larger (measuring about 5 cm. in length and 8 cm. in

159. U Tha Tun, U, op cit., p. 61.
breadth) than those of the upper ones. The object of this inscription is to record donation of land and a pair of buffaloes in favour of the shrine by a donor named Than Taw Swe. The usual imprecatory text is included in the concluding portion. The writing shows a development of the specimen of rounded form, but some forms are like early types in appearance. No notable peculiarity is seen in this inscription. The forms for vowels, consonants and conjuncts are the same as those found in certain inscriptions of the middle Mrauk-U period. The text of the inscription is as follows:


Translation:
In favour of the stūpa Than Taw Swe made a donation of a plot of land measuring 1 Shaing and a pair of buffaloes on Tuesday, 1, waning moon of Prathov month, 1007 (A.E.). May those who would take or destroy it, would undergo to what Man Nan Thu's imprecation would include! The donation of the buffaloes would be enjoyed during successive generations.

42. Mahāmuni Copper Plate Inscription, Kyauktaw Tsp (Two parts) (Vol. II, Pls. CXXa-CXXd). Preserved in U Ba Thaung's Disposal in Rwā-ma-pran village; Script: Rakkhawanna Akkhara; Language: Arakanese; Date: A.E. 1035 = A.D. 1673; Unpublished.

We are thankful to Mr Ba Thaung (Thu Mrat Mahā Aungmre) from Rwā-ma-pran village, who kindly sent us two Xerox-copies of copper plates which are records of donation to Mahāmuni Phara (shrine). According to him, these two copper plates were discovered from the bank of Tharī Chaung stream (Thīrimā Nādi in the tradition of Arakan) near the famous Mahāmuni shrine, where the bank of the stream suffered from erosion. Many such plates appear to have existed there in large number, but unfortunately the major erosion has emptied them. Both the copper plates have broken on left sides, but fortunately the date remains unweathered. The first plate measures about 18 cm. in length, and 14 cm. in upper portion and 10 cm. in lower portion in breadth, which bears 13 lines of writing on the obverse and 14 lines of writing on reverse.

160. Perhaps the name Than Taw Swe is a commoner, because during the date mentioned in the inscription king Thatomantara was ruling over Arakan. See Sandamalalinkara, Ashin, op cit. Vol. V, p. 239.

161. From estampage prepared by author.

162. We find the same record in the inscription of Zun-dat Hill stone slab. supra, pp.247-250.
The measurement of the second plate is about 18 cm. in length, and 19 cm. in upper portion and 17 cm. in lower portion in breadth, which contains 14 lines of writing on the obverse and 13 lines of writing on reverse. The letters of the inscription are uniform in size, and are damaged in some lines.

The script of the inscription belongs to Rakkhawanna Akkharā and the language is Arakanese which is an early specimen of the words. The object of the inscription is to record donation of many objects including pieces of diamonds, rubies, gold, silver, money etc, to Mahāmuni shrine by Narabotikri163 from Ban Kyī village. It is interesting to note that the kinds of diamond for the donation include Blue Diamond (Cin-prā) and for weighing of gold it uses the unit called tula164. With regard to the letters, initial a is formed by a semi-round type with mouth to the left, and right semi-rounded portion attaches to the main body and a loop at the base of right portion curtailed inwards. In some cases, both the left and right portions contain loops at the base. Consonant ca has two types; one with a dent at the left and the other with a loop inwards. The former is earlier than the latter. Na is of early type formed with a head by horizontal line, and its leg bends down to the right. Ra has a curve dangling down at the left part with right vertical line prolonged. Conjuncts look like cursive forms in some cases. Punctuation mark is given by one or two vertical lines. In some lines the marks of plus sign and multiplication sign contain behind or before the numerical notation. This inscription on copper plates is important for the reconstruction of the history of the Mahāmuni shrine in Arakan.


The inscription was originally found from a stūpa named Pin-nai-chaung-car Zetë (stūpa of Pin-nai-chaung governor), about 2 miles from Mrauk-U. Now it is preserved in Mrauk-U Museum. It bears seventeen lines of writing of which right parts of lines 9-17 being badly damaged. The measurement of the inscription runs 65 cm. x 60 cm. in the broadest areas of the lettering field. The letters are small, measuring about

163. During the date mentioned in the inscription king Sandathudhamma Rāja was ruling over Arakan. Therefore, the name Narabotikri is a distinguished monk according to the formation of name in Arakan. See Sandamalalinkara, Ashin, op cit., Vol. V, p. 241.

164. A Tula is usually a unit used for weighing articles.
1.5 cm. x 2 cm. The gap between lines measures about 3 cm. The writing is not uniform, letters of the upper portion being slightly larger than those of the lower portion. The script is Rakkhawanna Akkharā and the language Arakanese in old form. The object of the inscription is to record donation of land for religious purpose to the monasteries, i.e., Caida Kyaung and Thein Kyaung. Ll. 7-14 mention religious slaves employed in the monasteries and farm properties. Ll. 15-17 mention donations of paddy and money for Northern and Southern monasteries. The characters of the inscription in rounded form show a development of the Rakkhawanna Akkharā, but some forms, particularly for initial vowel a, consonants na and ra are the older ones noticed in the early Mrauk-U period. Other forms do not indicate any peculiarity. The punctuation mark is given by one vertical line. The text of the inscription is as follows:

L. 1. Pin-nai-chaung-car hla-phru-lan-ma-ya kaung-hmu |
L. 2. Tha-kraj 1050 wā-khaung-la-sut 15 rak 1 ne
L. 3. Twan pin-nai-chaung-cā hla-phru-ma-yyā-ma le-c
L. 4. Ai-dā-kyuang-twan than-ghi-ka-te-the-kā caik
L. 5. Tan-tan-tap a-nauk-bhak-cā-a-wan tha-ke-chaung
L. 6. Lak-shā-nā-twan le-se-shaing kyaung-ma khu-nac
L. 7. Shaing thein-kyuang 3-shaing kyaung-man-kywan-kā kyo
L. 16. 5 chap-te-i taung-kyuang-twan-kā kamp-yak-lyan-pan-pra ... .

Translation: It is the donation of governor Hla Phru couple from Pin-nai-chaung. On Sunday, 15 waning moon of Wikhaung month, 1050 thakraj (A.E.), a wife of governor Hla Phru of Pin-nai-chaung would donate a plot of land measuring 10 Shaings from Thakechaung, west of Caiiktantantap, in favour of religious purpose. The land would be shared between two monasteries, a plot of land measuring 7 Shaings (44.8 acres) to Caidā Kyaung and a plot of land measuring 3 Shaings (19.2 acres) to Thein Kyaung. There would be slaves from Kyiom family, Jorapāta family, ..., Hari family, a person named Maung Shwe, a person named Aung Swe to be employed at the monastery, and the properties would include 11 ground hoes (Tūran) and 1 mattock (Paukți). There would be slaves from ...family, a person named Hari, a person named Ngiți, Aung Phru family, and Thangali family to be employed at Thein Kyaung, and the properties include 1 ground hoe (Tūran) and 1 Lakyak. For the northern

165. From estampage prepared by author.

166. This is a very peculiar word in usage because such an expression for certain quantity of paddy is found only in this inscription. Perhaps one Phalar (cup) is equal to the capacity of one Bhoo which is equal to about an amount of 0.35 pounds.
monastery, donation would be equal to the amount of paddy measuring 100 cups (Phalar)\textsuperscript{166}\ldots\, 5 chap\textsuperscript{167} (Rupee) and 5 chap (Rupee) for the southern monastery if the tank would be damaged.

44. Kaladan-car-zet\textsuperscript{T} Stone Slab Inscription of Kaladancar, Mrauk-U Tsp, (Vol. II, Pl. CXXII). Preserved in Mrauk-U Museum; Script: Rakkhawanna Akkhara; Language: Arakanese; Date: A.E. 1071 = A.D. 1709; Unpublished.

This inscription engraved on a stone slab, was discovered from Kaladan-car-zet\textsuperscript{T} (stupa erected by the Governor who ruled Kaladan ambit) situated to the eastern side of Bound-dwat quarter in Mrauk-U. Now it is preserved in Mrauk-U Museum. The inscription measures 77 cm x 40 cm in the broadest areas of the lettering field. The sizes of the letters are uniform, measuring about 1.5 cm x 2 cm, and the space between lines runs about 3 cm. The script of the inscription is Rakkhawanna Akkhara and the language belongs to Arakanese. The object of the inscription is to record the order of the king Sandawijiya\textsuperscript{168} and the petition made by the Governor of Kaladan. Initial \textit{a} resembles that found in certain inscription of the Mrauk-U period. The consonants \textit{na} and \textit{ra} are similar to the older forms found in the early Mrauk-U period. Other forms do not indicate any peculiarity. The text\textsuperscript{169} of the inscription is as follows:

\begin{verbatim}
L. 2. Gu-la-dan-zar than-taw-au-tan-hlyan
L. 3. A-mi-pha-râ maw-kwan-hla pi-pâ-ra-the
L. 4. Kyaung-thun a-the-thar câ-ra-hnan
L. 5. Tha-kkra 1071 khu wâ-khaung-lsut
L. 6. 14 rak ca-ni shwe-nan tha-khan-bha
L. 7. Wa-shan san-da-wi-ji-ya râ-jâ mi
L. 8. Taw-mu 6 a-mat-taw-ca
L. 9. C-kai-kfî la-yâ-mrai mro-câ mat
L. 10. Taw cac-kai-kri la-wai mrai-mro-(câ?)
L. 11. Mat-taw shwe-taung-jar-the a
L. 12. Mat-taw myâ-tov thar-taw-gu-la
L. 13. Dan-zar than-taw au-tan-the pre-taung
L. 14. Rat-u-tan-khar-thû-kri myo-kyaw-can-i
L. 15. Kyaung-twau gu-ru-tan than-chi-kan tan
L. 17. A-bhov la-ca-ka-zâ-di-yan-the khu-nac-chat
L. 18. Le-ta-rar-sov-the krauk-chat paung-ta-se
L. 19. Thun-chat-kum-pri a-râ-krwan-tha-hnya tov
\end{verbatim}

167. The word \textit{Chap} is equally termed as the word \textit{Tankâ} for the currency in Arakan.


169. From estampage prepared by author.
Translation

As Governor of Kaladan (Kaladan-zar) puts forward the petition to king Sandawijiya who enjoyed the title of the ownership of golden palace and imperial status, the king issued the following order to the ministers who are Governors of left and right parts of the city, and to the governor of Shwe Taung, on Saturday, waning moon of Wākhaung month, 1071 (A.E.). In favour of the petition of Governor of Kaladan, they would manage to maintain the rest amount of 57 Tangar after making expenditure amount of 13 Chat in the monastery of Myo Kyaw San who is a chieftain of the southern gate of the city. 7 Chat and 6 Chat spent for the field, and the amount of 13 Chat in the repairing of stūpa. The Governor applies also the petition to the chief monk who resides in the Kyaung Thic monastery (New monastery) among 107? Members.

45-48. Tezārāma-zeti Stone Slab Inscriptions, Mrauk-U
(Vol. II, Pls. CXXIII-CXXVI). Preserved in Mrauk-U Museum;
Script: Rakkhawanna Akkharā; Language: Arakanese; Date: A.E. 1073 = A.D. 1712 (first inscription); A.E. 1078 = A.D. 1716 (second inscription); A.E. 1078,1080 = A.D. 1717, 1718 (third inscription); A.E. 1080 = A.D. 1718 (fourth inscription);
Unpublished.

In the northern direction of Mrauk-U, there lies a famous stūpa on a plain ground, erected by king Sākingathū in A.E. 856.170 It is called Tezārāma-zeti by local people because of its situation near Tezārāma monastery in which a reverend chief monk whose name was Tezarama, resided. The monk founded a separate Buddhist sect which is still in vogue in Arakan as Tezarama sect.171 From the premises of the stūpa, four inscriptions engraved symmetrically on stone slabs, were discovered and now they are preserved in Mrauk-U Museum. The models and measurements of the four stone slabs are identical. The upper portions of all the four slabs look like a triangular design tapering up, and base portions are plain and flat. The rims of the slabs are depicted with dots like bead in three sides except the bases.

The inscriptions generally bear a measurement of 88 cm x 82 cm. First inscription contains twenty-two lines, the second twenty-four lines, the third thirty-five lines, and the fourth twenty-five lines

170. See Shwe Zan, U, op cit., p. 74.
171. Ibid.
respectively. The script used in the inscriptions is Rakkhawanna Akkharā and the language Arakanese. The objects of the inscriptions are to record grants of lands in favour of the Tezarama monastery by king Sandawijaya who enjoyed title that indicates the ownership of golden palace and imperial status. The land grants include paddy fields and water-coconut tree gardens located in different places. The letters are of rounded type which are the same as those used in the third Mrauk-U period (A.E.1000-1146 = A.D.1638-1784). Initial a shows a developed form. Consonant forms for na and ra still retain the earlier ones found in the middle Mrauk-U period. Other forms do not indicate any peculiarity.


The three parts of the inscription were kindly brought to our notice by Saradaw U. Pannacara from Sittwe. It is engraved on a stone stūpa at Man-pran-zetf in Man-pran village, Kyaukphru township in Arakan. The measurements of the parts are actually not known, but each part of the inscription contains about five lines with minor damages in some lines. The letters are uniformly engraved. The script of the inscription is Rakkhawanna Akkharā and the language Arakanese. The object of the inscriptions appears to be donation of land and other materials in favour of the shrines. The date on the third face is not clear which may be read as either 1067 or 1091.

The letters of the inscriptions show specimens of Rakkhawanna Akkharā, which are closely similar to the current letters of Arakan. The features of the letters are more rounded forms than those found in certain inscriptions of the middle Mrauk-U period. Initial vowel form for a has developed into rounded type, which is closely akin to the current specimen of writing. Consonant forms are also similar to the current forms used in Arakan. But the form for the consonant ra still retains an old type which was used in the middle Mrauk-U period. Medial vowel marks and conjuncts are also the same as those used currently in Arakan. The only peculiarity is that the language of the inscription appears to be an old dialect which was used in the middle Mrauk-U

172. Such a title is amply found in the legend on coins of the Mrauk-U period. See below, pp. 275ff.
period in A.E. 893-1000, (A.D. 1531-1638). The texts\textsuperscript{173}\ of the inscription is given below:

\textbf{Face - 1}
L. 1. Tha-kkraj 1067? khu tan-khu-la ....
L. 2. Twai-la-prai sap-kyar-pran-le (15)-taung-khan
L. 3. (8)-khu-nwā .. ngwī-1-chat than-je-ta-lum kṛī-phā
L. 4. Lā-pa-kan-krī .. k-ta-lak ....
L. 5. .... kaung-hmu-twān ....

\textbf{Face - 2}
L. 1. .... ra-da-na-ran-aung-hphar-wa-twan 1067?ta-po
L. 2. .... ta-kaung-myov .......
L. 3. .................
L. 4. Srā-kaung-hmu-dwan-mam-rwe-te-the .........
L. 5. (la)n-ma-yā-hmā chaung-krī-phyā-le-30-khan-(le-than-čī-te-i)

\textbf{Face - 3}
L. 1. .. thim-tha-mut-i wā-sov-lsan 6-k ! ni-thin-i ||
L. 2. Bran a-nauk-bhak-chaung-gri .. yaug-le 30 ..
L. 3. . maung-ta-lum lan-khwan-ta-sū we 3 lum pan-da-lyā 38
L. 4. . prwe than-ga-phwat-pyai wa-htu-gam than-ghī-te-i maung-hruṭ-ma
L. 5. . to-bran-taug-ran-le 10 khan kaung-myov-hnan aung-hla-la

50. \textbf{Than-chaung-rwā Stone Slab Inscriptions, Rambre Tsp}
\textit{(Vol. II, Pls. CXXVIIa-CXXVIIIb). Now in situ; Script: Rakkhawanna Akkhara; Language: Arakanese; Date: A.E. 1136 = A.D. 1774; Unpublished.}

Two parts of an inscription, brought to our notice by Saradaw U Pannacara of Sittwe, were discovered from Mahāmratmuni shrine in Than-chaung village in Rambre township.\textsuperscript{174}\ The inscription is engraved on stone slabs of which one slab has the shape of a flower-bud with ornamental design, and the other is a plain slab. The measurements of the stone slabs are not known. The part of the slab having the shape of a flower bud has five lines of writing and the other contains four lines which are badly damaged in the upper portion on right side. The letters are smoothly executed. The script is Rakkhawanna Akkharā which is similar to the present script, and the language is Arakanese which is also the same as the current dialect. The object of the inscription is to record renovation of the shrine. The date 1136 in line 3 of first part, is clear. The letters used in this inscription show an illustration of the full-fledged

\textsuperscript{173}. From estampage prepared by author.

\textsuperscript{174}. Rambre is situated towards the southernmost part of Arakan, and the surrounding of the town has yielded many ancient materials including some inscriptions which are of stone or brick and palm-leaf manuscripts also.
specimens of the Rakkhawanna Akkharä. The features of the letters are the same as those of the current ones still used in Arakan. Both this inscription and Shitthaung Phara stone slab inscription dated A.E. 1146, indicate that the Arakanese script by that time had fully developed. Punctuation mark is indicated by two vertical limes (L. 3 of first part). The text\textsuperscript{175} of the inscription is as follows:

**First face**

L. 1. Ko-jā
L. 2. Tha-kka-ra
L. 3. J || 1136
L. 4. Ma-hā
L. 5. Mra-mu-ni

**Second face**

L. 1. Ma-hā-mra...
L. 2. Bhu-rā-je-(ti)...  
L. 3. Taw-ko htap-mam-(rwe)
L. 4. A-thac-lup-the

51. Shitthaung Stone Slab (Auk-thar-that) Inscription, Mrauk-U  
(*Vol. II, Pl. CXXIX*). Now whereabouts unknown; Script: Rakkhawanna Akkharā; Language: Arakanese; Date: A.E. 1146 = A.D. 1784; Unpublished.

An inscription, dated 1146 (A.E) which coincides with the time when the Arakanese kingdom lost its independent identity, was discovered from the compound of Shitthaung Phara in Mrauk-U. Whereabouts of the record are not presently known to us. The inscription measures about 30 cm. in length (bottom to top), 26 cm. in width (side to side). The gap between lines is about 2 cm. and the size of letter measures about 3 cm. \times 2 cm. The inscription is fragmentary in nature, but is well preserved. The inscription contains eight lines. The sizes of the letters are uniform and neatly executed, and the features of the letters in the inscription point to the rounded types which are currently used in Arakan. The script is Rakkhawanna Akkharā which is currently prevailing in Arakan, and the language is Arakanese which shows specimen of the current dialect. The object of the inscription is to record a list of victims killed by the invaders, and the places where the victims were killed. The invaders appear to be the armies who were Burmese, because Arakanese people call the Burmese *Auk-thar* even today, (*Auk-thā-that-khai-tho-ne-rā-hnan-lū-myā*). These invaders appear to be the armies who invaded

\textsuperscript{175} From estampage prepared by author.
Arakan in A.E. 1146, corresponding to A.D. 1784. It is very interesting to note that such a kind of information is nowhere to be found in Araknese inscriptions.

In the formation of the letters, initial vowel form for a shows its left limb of half rounded type and mouth at the left, and its right limb of half rounded type attaching to the left limb, but a loop which is frequently found in certain inscriptions of Mrauk-U period, is not appended. Initial ā is formed with extra semi-rounded limb attaching to the letter a at the right. Consonant forms including ca, na, and ra which retain older types upto a decade before A.E. 1146, illustrate changed forms which are current in Arakan. Medial vowel marks are the same as those current in Arakan since the Lemrot period. The forms of conjuncts are indicated by juxtaposing letters on each other, which are regularly found from the Lemrot period. The form for punctuation mark is shown by only a vertical line (L. 2). The script in this inscription is totally the same as that currently prevailing in present Arakan. It, therefore, appears that the full-fledged development of the script now used in Arakan took place sometime between A.E. 1136 and 1146. The text of the inscription is as follows:

L. 1. Tha-kka-rāj
L. 2. 1146 | Khu-hnac
L. 3. Auk-thā-that
L. 4. Kha-tho ne-rā-hnan-lū-mya
L. 5. Kyin-kywan-twān aim-shai
L. 6. Man-rai-phaw-thū-hnan lū-a-myā
L. 7. To-that-the tha-rak-aup-a
L. 8. Rap-hnaiā


177. From estampage contributed by U. Pannajota.
A large number of inscriptions belonging to Mrauk-U period (A.E. 792-1146 = A.D. 1430-1785), have been found throughout Arakan. Some inscriptions are dated, but some have been damaged due to ravages of nature and men. The damaged portion in these records could have contained the dates. A number of such inscriptions are now collected in Museums and private possessions. For the study of origin and development of Arakanese script, it is imperative to make a search for the peculiarities of the letters used in these inscriptions which are almost untouched and unpublished.

1. The first of these inscriptions known as Pran-hla-rwa Stone Slab Inscription (see Vol. II, Pls. CXXXVIIa-CXXXVIIId), is fragmentary in nature. It was discovered from Pran-hla village near Daung-taung-ro hill range in Kyauktaw township. Now the inscription is exhibited in Mrauk-U Museum. The slab has four faces of which the first contains 9 lines, the second ten, the third five, and the fourth face contains 5 lines respectively. The script is Rakkhawanna Akkhara and the language Arakanese. Initial a has two types: first with two vertical lines, the left one being bent slightly, with a bar joining the two at the middle; and the second looking like English numerical 3s with a short bar joining the two 33 at the middle. The former is older than the latter. Consonant ca has a dent at the left limb. Na has a big head, the leg bending down to the right. Ra has a curve dangling at the left limb but the right vertical is shorter and the head flattened. Palaeographical features of this inscription indicate a date about the second quarter of the fifteenth century A.D. i.e., A.E. 792-893 = A.D. 1430-1531 which falls within the first phase of the Mrauk-U period.

2. An inscription engraved on a terracotta Buddha image, known as So-nan-man-phrase Zeti Terracotta Inscription (see Vol. II, Pl. CXXXVIII), was discovered from So-nan-man-phrase Zeti in Mrauk-U. Such terracottas were found there in large number. The inscribed image under consideration is now well preserved in the Mrauk-U Museum. Consonants ca, na and ra retain older forms in Rakkhawanna Akkhara. The donor's name is written as So-nan-man-phrase in the last line. On palaeographical consideration, this terracotta inscription may be dated about the last quarter of the fifteenth century A.D. i.e., A.E. 844-854 corresponding to A.D. 1482-1492.
3. The *Man-tha-mee-mraung Stone Slab Inscription* (*Vol. II, Pl. CXXXIXa-CXXXIXb*), fragmentary in nature and discovered from Man-tha-mee-mraung (princess stream) in Mrauk-U, is at present exhibited in Mrauk-U Museum. The stone slab is engraved on two sides. The obverse has 17 lines and the reverse 16 lines of writing. The letters are uniformly executed. The script belonging to Rakkhawanna Akkhara is formed in semi-rounded type. The language is Arakanese. Initial *a*, and consonants *ca*, *na* and *ra* are indicative of older forms found in certain inscriptions of the early Mrauk-U period. Palaeographical features tend to date the inscription sometime about the second quarter of the sixteenth century A.D. i.e., A.E. 792-893 = A.D. 1430-1531, which falls within the first phase of Mrauk-U period.

4. A fragmentary inscription engraved on stone slab, named *San-wan Phara Stone Slab Inscription* (*Vol. II, Pl. CXL*), was discovered from San-wan Zeti. It lay in the compound of Man-ga-la-man-aung shrine in Mrauk-U when the present author went there for field work in 2001. The right side of the inscription in twelve lines is badly damaged. The inscription in Rakkhawanna Akkhara and Arakanese language, seems to record donation for a stūpa or land for attaining religious merit. The sizes of the letters are a little larger and uniform in shape. Initial vowel *a* retains the older form, and consonant *ca* becomes somewhat rounded, but consonant *na* and *ra* continue the older forms which are found in certain inscriptions of the early Mrauk-U period. On palaeographical consideration, this inscription may be attributed to the period about the second quarter of the sixteenth century A.D. i.e., A.E. 792-893 corresponding to A.D. 1430-1531.

5. Another inscription engraved on stone slab, known as *Phara-hla Phara Stone Slab Inscription* (*Vol. I, Pl. CXLI*), was discovered from Phara-hla shrine situated in the northwestern site of Mrauk-U. The slab is inscribed on both sides. Both the obverse and reverse have six lines. The slab is now preserved in the Mrauk-U Museum. The extant letters, damaged in many places, are indicative of the forms which were used in the middle Mrauk-U period. Initial *a* has two arms vertically at left limb but the right limb is formed by only one arm which seems to be a comparatively later form. Consonant *ca* does not have a dent, but a loop inwards at the left. *Na* and *ra* retain old forms as seen in previous inscriptions of the Mrauk-U period. Palaeographical features allow us to suggest a date around A.E. 897 corresponding to A.D. 1535, when king Man Bā Kṛṅ was ruling over Arakan.
6. An inscribed stone, partly buried under earth, (Mog-taw-taung Stone Inscription), was discovered from a garden at the foot of Mog-taw-taung hill near Kant-tha-rī village about 5 miles south of Mrauk-U, (Vol. II, Pl. CXLIIM). The findspot lies very near the place where the U-tu-khan-zaing Rock inscription was found. Now the inscription is in situ. It contains five lines of writing which are badly damaged in some portion, because the stone was used as a knife-sharpener. The script of the inscription is Rakkhawanna Akkharā and the language Arakanese which seems to bear specimens of older words. Ligature letter ı looks like a coiled-spring with a small curve inwards, the left portion being formed by a serpentine line sloping down. Consonant na has a projected head and the leg is diagonally dangling down. Ma prefers a dot inwards to a horizontal bar. Ra is of an earlier form with a curve at left and the right vertical line is in the manner of sloping down. On palaeographical consideration, this inscription may be placed around a date about the second quarter of the sixteenth century A.D. i.e., A.E. 893-915 corresponding to A.D. 1531-1553.

7. the Htut-kant-thein Stone Slab Inscription (Vol. II, Pl. CXLIII), showing a developed specimen of Rakkhawanna Akkharā, was discovered from Htut-kant-thein shrine in Mrauk-U, and preserved in Mrauk-U Museum. The inscription with six lines consisting of letters having uniform size, is still legible and characterized by circular shape which shows an illustrative development towards Rakkhawanna Akkharā. Consonant ca is without a dent outwards, but with a loop inwards. Na shows a little development with a small head and a large middle limb and a short lower limb dangling downwards. Ra also shows a little developed form with a curve at the left, the right vertical line being elongated. Forms of other letters do not illustrate any peculiarity. On palaeographical ground, this inscription may be dated sometime in the third quarter of the sixteenth century A.D.

8. Taung-phru-lay-myak-hnā shrine situated on the northwestern site of Mrauk-U, yielded an inscription engraved on the five faces of a stone pillar. It is known as Taung-phru-lay-myak-hnā Phara Stone Pillar inscription (Vol. II, Pls. CXLIVa-CXLIVd). It is now preserved in Mrauk-U Museum. The inscription, bearing 26 lines on the first face, 23 lines on the second, 25 lines on the third, 22 lines on the fourth and 2 lines on the top respectively, is written in Rakkhawanna Akkharā and Arakanese language. The language used in this inscription shows a developed specimen which is written by quaternary words of a poetic diction. The expression Na-mo-ta-ththa-bha-ga-wa-to in first line
of the first face, means "I take refuge in the Buddha." This kind of expression is found only in the standard verses in Arakan. In the formation of the letters, initial a is of a developed form, with two arms at left limb and one arm on the right. Initial u has two semi-rounded limbs vertically; upper limb with mouth to the left and lower arm with a mouth to the right, which is similar to current form of the letter u. Ca prefers a loop inwards to a dent outwards, but a dented shape is also perceptible in this inscription. Na and ra are of early forms of the Mrauk-U period. Palaeographical features may point to a date about the last quarter of the sixteenth century A.D. i.e., A.E. 953 corresponding to A.D. 1591.

9. Nar-laip-taw Zeti Stone Slab Inscription (Vol. II, Pl. CXLV), engraved on a stone slab, was discovered from Nar-laip-taw Zeti, about seventeen miles to the north of Mrauk-U and is now preserved in the Mrauk-U Museum. Extant lines of this fragmentary inscription, on a very rough face, are 18 in number. The inscription in Rakkhawanna Akkharā and Arakanese language, is badly damaged. Initial a shows a developed form, with two arms at left limb, and one arm at the right, and a loop at the base of right limb. Ca has a dent outwards at the left line. Na and ra are similar to those found in the inscriptions of the middle Mrauk-U period. This inscription can also be attributed to a period about the last quarter of the sixteenth century A.D.

10. Rī-tan-khā-phara-taung Zeti Stone Slab Inscription (Vol. II, Pl. CXLVI), bearing Rakkhawanna Akkharā and Arakanese language, was discovered from a Zeti (stūpa) on the top of a hill situated at Rī-tan-khā Phara near Kyauk-raic-ke quarter in Mrauk-U. Now it is preserved in Mrauk-U Museum. The inscription contains twenty two lines of writing, the right side of each being defaced. The letters are ununiform in size. Consonant ca has a loop inwards. Na and ra retain older forms which are found in middle period of Mrauk-U. Palaeographical features are indicative of the period about the last quarter of the sixteenth century A.D. i.e., A.E. 933-955 that corresponds to A.D. 1571-1593.

11. The Mahāhti Phara Stone Slab Inscription (Vol. II, Pl. CXLVII), was discovered from Mahāhti Phara (shrine), about 2 miles from the place of the Crocodile-shape Rock inscription, and about 5 miles from Mrauk-U. The inscription bearing Rakkhawanna Akkharā and Arakanese language, has twelve lines of writing but the last three lines have been totally damaged and every right side of upper nine lines, is also weathered. The letters in rounded type are uniform in size. Consonant na has small head with little larger limb at the middle and the lower leg
bends down diagonally. Consonant *ra* has a curve dangling down at the left, the right vertical line being elongated, and head flattened. On palaeographical consideration, this inscription on stone slab may be placed around A.E. 955 = A.D. 1593, when king Man Pha Laung was ruling in Arakan.

12. Another fragmentary stone pillar inscription, being damaged in major part, known as *Ratanapon Zeti Stone Pillar inscription* (Vol. II, Pls. CXLVIIa-CXLVIIIb), was discovered from Ratanapon stūpa in Mrauk-U and is now preserved in Mrauk-U Museum. The characters of the inscription are smoothly executed and the script is Rakkhawanna Akkharā. The language is Arakanese. In this inscription we find the name Lokadewa who may be a queen named Shan Htwe. Initial *a* and consonant *ca* are developed and similar to forms which are found in certain inscriptions of the middle Mrauk-U period. Initial *a* has two arms vertically at left limb and the right limb is formed by one arm. *Ca* prefers a loop inwards to a dent outwards. *Na* has a large head, and thick limb at middle, diagonal leg being bent down to the right. *Ra* has a curve at the left, which is similar to an earlier form. Palaeographical features indicate a date of about A.E. 975 corresponding to A.D. 1613.

13. The *Aung-lan-taung Stone Slab Inscription* (Vol. II, Pl. CXLIX), was discovered from a stūpa at the foot of Aung-lan-taung hill near a lake named Auk-tha-kan in Mrauk-U. The inscription, fragmentary in nature, contains one line which is inscribed in Rakkhawanna Akkharā and Arakanese language. Fortunately the name Thuja mentioned in the inscription, appears to be that of a female donor. The script used in the inscription is early Rakkhawanna Akkharā, which is written in rounded type. Consonant *ja* is of semi-rounded form with a mouth to the right. On palaeographical consideration, this inscription may be placed around a period about the second quarter of the seventeenth century A.D. i.e., A.E. 893-1000 = A.D. 1531-1638.

14. The *Vesali Wall Stone Slab inscription* (Vol. II, Pls. CLa–CLb), was discovered from a mound situated near a ruined stūpa on northwestern wall in old Vesāli, and it is now preserved in Mrauk-U Museum. The inscription contains 8 lines on front face and 10 lines on left, bearing Rakkhawanna Akkharā and Arakanese language. The letters on left face show sign of more damages than those on the front face. Initial *a* has two arms vertically on left limb, and the right limb is formed with a half loop joining the left body. *Ca* has a dent outwards on the left line. *Na* is of a developed form. *Ra* is of older type which is used in early
Mrauk-U period. Palaeographical features suggest a period about the second quarter of the seventeenth century A.D. i.e., A.E. 893-1000 = A.D. 1531-1638.

15. The Rambre Nge Votive Stūpa Inscription (Vol. II, PIs. CLIa-CLIb), was discovered from Rambre Nge village in Rambre township, according to Saradaw Rānacara who kindly permitted me to study the record. The inscription, damaged badly, is in Rakkhawanna Akkharā and Arakanese language which bears specimens of older words. Initial a and consonant na seem to be earlier forms which are similar to those found in middle Mrauk-U period. Medial vowel marks and conjuncts resemble those of middle Mrauk-U period. Palaeographical features may indicate a date about the second quarter of the seventeenth century A.D. i.e., A.E. 893-1000 = A.D. 1531-1638.

16. A stone slab inscribed on two sides, known as Ha-rī-taung Phara Stone Slab Inscription (Vol. II, PIs. CLIIa-CLIIb), was discovered from Ha-rī-taung Phara in Mrauk-U. Now it is preserved in the Mrauk-U Museum. The stone slab, fragmentary in nature, has two sides which are inscribed, but many lines have been badly damaged due to ravages perpetrated by nature and men. The script of the inscription belongs to Rakkhawanna Akkharā and the language is Arakanese. The forms of the letters show developed specimen of Rakkhawanna Akkharā. Initial a has two semi-rounded arms vertically to the left, and the right limb is formed by a half rounded loop attaching to the main body. Ca has developed with a loop inwards at the left line. Na is formed with a little larger head which is seen in early specimen of writing. Ra has a curve dangling down at the left limb, but right vertical line is elongated and end of the vertical line at bottom is curled upwards. This form is presumably of a later type. On palaeographical consideration, this inscription on stone slab may be attributed to the second quarter of the seventeenth century A.D. i.e., A.E. 1000 which corresponds to A.D. 1638.

17. The Ji-na-man-aung Phara Stone Slab Inscription (Vol. II, Pl. CLIII), was discovered from Ji-na-man-aung Phara in Mrauk-U and now is preserved in Mrauk-U Museum. The inscription, fragmentary in nature, contains five lines which are ununiform in size. The script is Rakkhawanna Akkharā and the laguage Arakanese. The letters of upper two lines are clearer compared to those of the lower three lines which are not legible. On palaeographical consideration, this inscription may tentatively be dated about the third quarter of the seventeenth century A.D. i.e., A.E. 1014-1036 = A.D. 1652-1674.
18. The Thak-taw-ra Phara Stone Slab Inscription (Vol. II, Pl. CLIV), was discovered from Thak-taw-ra Phara in Mrauk-U, and is now exhibited in Mrauk-U Museum. The inscription is fragmentary in nature. Only 5 lines on the upper portion are legible. The script is Rakkhawanna Akkhara and the language Arakanese which is similar to those used during third phase of the Mrauk-U period. The characters of the inscription are uniformly executed. The forms of the letters show a developed specimen of writing. Initial $a$ has two semi-rounded arms to the left limb vertically and right limb is formed with half rounded loop attaching to main body. Consonant $ra$ has a curve dangling down at the left and the right vertical line being elongated and curled upwards. Palaeographical features indicate a date about A.E. 1038 corresponding to A.D. 1676.

19. Two inscriptions known as Kattaw Thein Stone Slab Inscriptions (Vol. II, Pls. CLV-CLVI), were discovered from Kattaw Thein (or Ka-do Simā) about 5 miles from Mrauk-U. The second slab is mutilated in the upper left part but the first slab is in a better condition. The letters are uniformly and beautifully executed. The script and language are specimens of current system of writing and usage of words. Initial $a$ has two semi-rounded arms vertically with a half semi-rounded arm joining the main body. Consonant forms for $ca$, $na$ and $ra$ have also developed, and resemble the forms which are now used in Arakan. Medial vowel signs and conjuncts are the same as current forms in Arakan. Punctuation mark is given by one or two vertical lines. On palaeographical consideration, these two inscriptions on stone slab may be dated about A.E. 1072 corresponding to A.D. 1710.

20. The San-kar-taung Buddha Image Inscription was discovered on the central figure of the three images on the hill called San-kar-taung Phara (Vol. II, Pl. CLVII). The Buddha is in seated posture. It is written by one line as "A-twan-wan-khan-nyo" which appears to be the name of a councillor. The script is Rakkhawanna Akkhara and the language Arakanese. The letters in this inscription resemble those used in current specimens of writing. But initial $a$ is of an earlier type. On palaeographical consideration, this inscription engraved on backside of the Buddha image, may point to a period about the second quarter of the eighteenth century A.D. i.e., A.E. 1072-1093 = A.D. 1710-1731 which belongs to the third phase of the Mrauk-U period.

21. The Chan-pran Phara Stone Slab Inscription (Vol. II, Pl. CLVIII), fragmentary in nature, was discovered from Chan-pran Phara
near Chan-pran village about 7 miles from Minbra. The inscription is now in pieces due to ravages perpetrated by nature and men. The three pieces of the slab which have survived contain an inscription in rounded forms. The script is Rakkhawanna Akkharā and the language belongs to Arakanese which is similar to those used in later Mrauk-U period. But initial a looks like an earlier form; with English number 33 joined by a bar at the middle. Consonant ra has a curve dangling down at left limb, and right vertical line is elongated. Palaeographical features point to a date about the second quarter of the eighteenth century A.D. i.e., A.E. 1072-1099 = A.D. 1710-1737.

22. The Kwan-taing-shan-ma Stone Slab inscription (Vol. II, Pl. CLIX), is engraved on a stone slab, and is now preserved in Sittwe Cultural Museum in Sittwe. Only eight lines are perceptible in the inscription which is damaged in the upper portion and lower portions. The script belongs to Rakkhawanna Akkhara and the language Arakanese. The forms of the letters are similar to those found in later Mrauk-U period. Initial a, consonants ca, na and ra are developed in forms which are akin to those used in later Mrauk-U period. On palaeographical consideration, this inscription may be placed sometime about the last quarter of the eighteenth century A.D. i.e., A.E. 1000-1146 = A.D. 1638-1784.

23. The Dhammathukha Kyaung Buddha Image Inscription (Vol. II, Pl. CLX), containing two lines of writing on back side of Buddha image, was discovered from a ruined stūpa on the foot of Kyin-taung Phara in Minbra and is now preserved in Dhammathukha monastery in Minbra. The script is Rakkhawanna Akkharā and the language is Arakanese. The letters are uniformly executed in rounded type which is noticeable in the inscriptions belonging to the later Mrauk-U period. The word Phrar for Bura or Phara is similar to that used in early period of the Mrauk-U. The forms of the letters resemble those found in the later Mrauk-U period. On palaeographical consideration, this inscription may be ascribed a date about the last quarter of the eighteenth century A.D. i.e., A.E. 1000-1146 = A.D. 1638-1784.

24-27. The Ram-pauk-taung-rwe-rwā Stone Slab Inscription (Vol. II, Pls. CLXIa-CLXIb), fragmentary in nature, was discovered from a Simā of Ram-pauk-taung-rwe-rwā village in Rambre township, according to Saradaw Runnacara who kindly allowed me to examine this inscription. This inscription is very uniformly and neatly executed, and the letters in small size are of rounded forms which are seen in developed specimens of writing in Rakkhawanna Akkharā.
The language is Arakanese. The inscription contains five lines in first part and fourteen lines in the second. The forms of the letters are the same as those found in the later Mrauk-U period. Initial a, consonants ca, na and ra, all seem to have developed in rounded forms which resemble those used in the later Mrauk-U period. Palaeographical features may indicate a period about the last quarter of the eighteenth century A.D. i.e., A.E. 1000-1146 = 1638-1784.

28-29. Four Simā pillar inscriptions known as Thein-taung-rwā Pillar Inscriptions (Vol. II, Pls. CLXII-CLXV), were discovered from Thein-taung village in Rambre township and are now in situ. Such pillars with inscriptions are found throughout Arakan. According to Theravada Buddhism the pillars were constructed in the Simā (ordination hall) in which monks would be ordained in particular ceremonial ritual. The four pillars seem to have been donated by four villages in group-donation because four different village names are written on the four pillars. The inscriptions consist of one line on each pillar with the script in Rakkhawanna Akkhara and in Arakanese language. The forms of the letters are entirely rounded specimens of writing, which are similar to current forms of Arakan. Medial vowel marks and conjuncts of the inscription are stylistically written. Consonant ra shows a totally developed form which is the same as the current form of the letter. On palaeographical consideration, these pillar inscriptions may be dated to a later period about the last quarter of the eighteenth century A.D. i.e., A.E. 1000-1146 = A.D. 1638-1784.
Palaeography of Coin Legend; Mrauk-U Period

We know of a large number of coins of the Vesāli period of Arakan. They do not bear any date. Coins of the Mrauk-U period, however, contain date referable to the Arakanese era. They have been discovered throughout Arakan. Mrauk-U coinage may be regarded as a milestone in the history of coinage of Arakan. In contrast to the coins of the Vesāli period, which bear such symbols as Śaṅkha, and Trident and Bull, coins of the Mrauk-U period do not bear symbol on either side. This phenomenon marks a departure from the earlier period. Dates on the coins of the Mrauk-U period help us in reconstructing the chronology of the rulers of Arakan.

Mrauk-U period witnessed 48 rulers who ruled over Arakan for 355 years. Twenty two of the forty eight rulers struck coins which are generally in silver although three rulers viz. Man Rājā Kṛi, Man Kha Maung and AbhayaMahā Rājā (mentioned as Mong Raja Gree, Mong Khamoung and Abhaya Maha Rajā by U Shwe Zan) struck both silver and gold. We also know of some kings who issued coins twice. Metrologically coins of the Vesāli period may be divided into four categories weighting about 7.5, 6.5, 4.5 and 2.0 gms respectively. They are about a full modern rupee in size. The diameter of a full modern rupee is about 3 cm, and the anna size measures about 2 cm in diameter. But the weights and dimensions of the coins found in the Mrauk-U period varied between 10-7.5 gms in weight and between 2.8-3 cms in diameter. The coin of modern rupee size is about 10 gms in weight and 3 cm in diameter.

The early coins of Mrauk-U which refer to three kings (from Man Rājā Kṛi or Solimshā to Thīri Thudhamma Rājā), have legend in Arakanese on one side, and Arabic and Bengali on the other. Only a coin belonging to Ba So Phru is inscribed on both sides in Arabic.

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3. Ibid. p.83.
5. San Tha Aung, U, op cit, 1979, p. 4.
Man So Mwan (Naramithla Rājā), Man So Ao (So Mwan Rājā) and seventeen kings (from Narapatikī to Mahāthamata) struck coins with legend which are only in Arakanese on both sides. Besides the coins struck by the kings, there are some coins of the Mrauk-U period, which were perhaps issued by the Governors or administrators from places far from the Mrauk-U palace – the capital seat of Arakanese kings. The places, where the Governors and administrators ruled, seem to be Chittagong and Dhaka on the west and Sandoway, Taunggouk and Rambre on the south. They seem to have issued their titles or names on the coins. It seems that even some governors of the Mrauk-U period issued coins in more than one type. With regard to the following coins, legends would be analysed from the point of view of development of the letters and the rulers who issued the coins with Arakanese legend during the Mrauk-U period.

1. **Legend on Shwenanthakhan Naramithla Rājā's coin**

   **Date: A.E. 795 = A.D. 1433, (Vol. II, Pl. CLXVI).**

   I am thankful to Mr. U Shwe Zan who kindly handed over to me three photographs of coins from his collection. According to him, these three coins which belong to Naramithla, Somwan Rājā, and Uritaw Tharithū, were received from U Maung Oo Kyaw who is a coin-collector in Mrauk-U. These coins are earlier than those found previously of the Mrauk-U period of Arakan. It is strange that both sides have Arakanese legend and language. The coins of the Mrauk-U period of Arakan, bearing legend in Arakanese on one side, and Arabic and Bengali on the other were previously regarded as earlier issues.

   This coin in silver, contains legend in four lines on each side which bear similar contents. The topmost line contains date 795 which is referable to the Arakanese era. The date corresponds to A.D. 1433 which falls within the reign period of king Man So Mwan according to Arakanese chronicles. It contains 'Shwenanthā' in the second line, 'Khanramit' in the third and 'Hlarājā' in the fourth respectively. Thus the legend refers to "795 Shwenanthakhan Naramithla Rājā" alias Man So Mwan who seems to be the first founder of Mrauk-U city. According to Arakanese chronicle, Man So Mwan took refuge at Guad in India for 22 years and after taking possession of the lost city, he founded a new city which was named Mrauk-U in A.E. 792 (A.D. 1430).

7. San Tha Aung, U, op cit. 1979, p. 32.
Forms of letters of the coin legend are almost the same as those found in the inscriptions of the Mrauk-U period. Consonant \(ja\) is of a half round type with a mouth opened to the right. \(Ta\) has two limbs; left limb is of a circle while right limb is formed by a semi-circle with its mouth put downwards. \(Na\) has a knot at left on the centre of the letter, and its leg being bent down to right; head prefers a long line to a half loop. \(Ma\) has a loop inwards at base with two protruded slants upwards at the left and right. \(Ra\) has a curve dangling at left and its right vertical bent down. \(Tha\) is formed with two circular limbs; left limb with a mouth opened to left and right limb with a mouth opened upwards. Medial vowel form for \(ā\) in \(rā\) is of an angle attaching to the parent letter. Conjoint forms are given by juxtaposing on each other. The important point is that the coin dated A.E. 795 (A.D. 1433) shows full-fledged use of Rakkhawanna Akkhara as the sole script for the coin-legend in the 15th century A.D. in Arakan.

2. Legend on Shwenanthakhan Somwan Rājā's coin


After Naramithla Rājā's coin, we know of a coin with Arakanese legend on both sides, which belongs to Shwenanthakhan So Mwan Rājā. It is dated A.E. 877 (A.D. 1515). This coin is in possession of U Shwe Zan of Yangon. The legend is in four lines on each side. The topmost line can be read as '877,' second line as 'Shwenantha,' third line as 'Khansomwa' and the fourth one as 'Nraja' respectively. The date of the coin coincides with the rule of Man So Ao in the chronicle.\(^8\) According to Arakanese chronicle, apart from the name Man So Ao we know of other three names, i.e., Thlrithu, Jalatta Somwan and Jalasha also.\(^9\) In the coin legend, consonant \(kha\) in \(khan\) is of semi-rounded type with mouth opened to the left, and a loop put inwards at base. \(Ca\) in \(co\) (or \(so\)) is of a circle with a loop inwards at the left limb. This form seems to be a later one. Medial vowel \(ō\) in \(co\) (or \(so\)) has a semi-circle at left and a long curve attached to right; left limb is separated from the parent letter while right limb joins the parent letter. The rest of the letters are basically the same as those found in the legend of Naramithla's coin.

\(^8\) Sandamalalinkara, Ashin, op cit., Vol. V, p. 41.

3-4. Legend on the coins of Naradhippati Solimshā and Sanphrushan
Naradhippati Solimshā, Dates: A.E. 955, 963 = A.D. 1593, 1601,
(Vol. II, Pls. CLXVIII, CLXIX).

These coins of Naradhippati Solimshā and Sanphrushan
Naradhippati Solimshā (mentioned as Swaleim Shah by Vasant
Chowdhury), which are struck in gold and silver and inscribed with
Arakanese legend on one side (Rev.) and Arabic and Bengali on the other
(Obv.),10* were discovered in Arakan. The dates 955 and 963 (A.E.)
appearing on the coins, fall within the times when Man Rājā Kri ruled in
Arakan. According to San Tha Aung, this king issued coins twice, in two
different names and dates i.e. Naradhippati Solimshā dated on A.E. 955
and Sanphrushan Naradhippati Solimshā dated on A.E. 963.11* The first
coin is 8.7 gms in weight and 2.5 cm in diameter and the second one is 9.3
gms in weight and 2.7 cm in diameter.12* Script and language on the Obv.
are Arakanese in rounded form. The date of the first coin is written on the
bottom while that of the second one is on the top.

Consonants kha, ca (sa), ta, pa, ma, la and tha found on
both the coins are mostly similar to those found in certain inscriptions of
the Mrauk-U period. Consonant dha prefers a dent inwards at base to an
inside loop, which is an earlier form in the Rakkhawanna Akkhara. Na
looks like a serpentine type with a knot at left on the centre. Ra has a
curve dangling outwards at the left and the right vertical is shortened in
the second coin. Medial vowel marks and conjuncts are the same as those
found in some inscriptions of the Mrauk-U period, but from the point of
view of palaeography they appear to be earlier specimens of the letters
used during the Mrauk-U period.

5. Legend on Naradhippati Uritaw Tharithū's Coin

This coin, struck in silver, is now in possession of U Shwe
Zan in Yangon. Previously, some scholars from Arakan considered
Naradhippati Uritaw Tharithū as identical with king Cakkrawaday
mentioned in Arakanese chronicle.13* The coin on the basis of which the
identification had been suggested does not bear any date and has

13. Ibid, pp. 42-43;
Arakanese legend on one side, and Arabic and Bengali on the other.\(^{14}\) Fortunately, the coin under consideration belonging to Narādhippati Uritaw Tharithū bears the legend in five lines and is dated 956 (A.E.). The legend is Arakanese on both sides. According to Arakanese chronicle, king Man Rājā Kṛī ruled over Arakan in A.E. 955-974 corresponding to A.D. 1593-1612.\(^{15}\) We know of two categories of coins issued by the Man Rājā Kṛī with titles "Narādhippati Solimshā and Sanphruśhan Narādhippati Solimshā."\(^{16}\) Besides, the word Uritaw in Ll. 3 and 4, means 'an uncle' in Arakanese dialect. So, the above coin cannot be regarded as an issue of a king. Most probably it was struck by a governor or administrator far from Mrauk-U. Our surmise is that this coin perhaps belongs to a governor who had been in the administration of Chittagong region and in power to strike the coin under the king Man Rājā Kṛī. The first line of the coin legend in Arakanese script and language, contains date 956 (A.E.), the second Narādhippa, the third tiuri, the fourth tawthari and the fifth line thū or (tha) respectively. Thus the legend on this coin can be read as "956, Narādhippati Uritaw Tharithū."

Initial vowel \(u\) has two limbs joining vertically in rounded form, upper limb with a mouth opened to the left and the lower limb with a mouth opened to the right. The lower limb of the letter prefers a circle to a slanting vertical which is found in certain inscriptions of the Lemrot and early Mrauk-U periods. This form shows a development in Rakkhawanna Akkharā. Consonants \(ta, dha, na, ra\) and \(tha\) are basically the same as those found in the previous coin legend. Medial \(ā\) in \(rā\) is of a curve attached to the parent letter. Medial \(i\) in \(ri\) is a circle on the head of the letter \(ra\). Medial \(o\) in \(to\) is the same as that of \(so\) found in the Narādhippati Solimshā coin legend. Conjunct \(ppa\) in second line is slightly strange because the lower \(pa\) looks like a long vertical attached to the upper letter with two upward curves to the left and right at the base. The important point of this coin is that we come to know of an exact date A.E. 956 = A.D. 1594 for the Uritaw coins.

\(^{14}\) San Tha Aung refers to the legend in Nāgarī on the other side of the coin. But the lower lines on the reverse appear to be written in Bengali script current in the 16th century A.D. See San Tha Aung, U, \(op\ cit., 1979, pp.42-43.\) See Chowdhury, Vasant, 'The Arakani Governors of Chittagong and Their coins, \(op\ cit., pp.\) 145-156.

\(^{15}\) San Tha Aung, U, \(op\ cit., 1979, pp. 44-46;\) Sandamalalinkara, \(op\ cit., pp.\) 143ff.

\(^{16}\) See above p. 278.
6. Legend on Narādhippati Uritaw Mahātharithū's Coin
(Vol. II, Pl. CLXXI); Undated.

According to San Tha Aung this coin was issued by king Cakkrawaday of chronicle.17* The difference between the above-mentioned coin and the present one is that in the legend Tharithū has been replaced by Mahātharithū. It seems that the issuer of the coin is the same as Tharithū.18* Perhaps the two types of coins were issued from different places, i.e., Arakan and Chittagong. The legend on the above-mentioned coin is only in Arakanese on both sides while the present coin has legend in Arakanese on one side, and in Arabic and Bengali on the other. The forms of letters on Arakanese legend resemble those used in the legend on Narādhippati Uritaw Tharithū. Consonant ma has a loop inwards with verticals upwards at left and right. Ha in ḥa is formed with two horizontal limbs, left limb with mouth upwards and the right limb with mouth downwards. No other letter shows any peculiarity in this coin. Palaeographical features of the legend on Narādhippati Uritaw Mahātharithū coin point to a date sometime after A.E. 956 (A.D. 1594).

7. Legend on Narādhippati Uritaw Mahāthithūra's Coin
(Vol. II, Pl. CLXXII); Undated.

Another coin with Arakanese legend on one side and Arabic and Bengali on the other, was discovered in Arakan.19* This coin contains five lines of writing. The first line possibly bore a date which is not legible. San Tha Aung opines that this coin is referable to king Man Phalaung (A.E. 933-955 = A.D. 1571-1593).20* But, Vasant Chowdhury considered that the entire series containing the names "Uritaw" were issued by the governors of the Chittagong region.21* From palaeographical point of view, however, this coin may not be far in point of time from the above-mentioned coin referring to Narādhippati Uritaw Mahātharīthū. The coin legend may be read as Narādhippati Uritaw Mahāthithūra. Initial vowel u is similar to that found in the above-mentioned Uritaw coin legend, but the lower limb of this letter is slightly enlarged. The rest of the

18. Cf. coin of Solimsha, supra, p. 278.
20. Ibid.
letters in Rakkhawanna Akkhara are the same as those found in legend of coins belonging to the middle Mrauk-U period.

8. Legend on Narādhippati Uritaw Mahānandabhaya's Coin


Legend on this coin is in five lines in Rakkhawanna Akkhara on one side (rev.), and two lines above in Arabic and two lines below in Bengali on the other (obv.). The topmost line of the rev. legend contains the date 960 which is referable to the Arakanese era. The date corresponds to A.D. 1598. The rev. legend contains 'Narādhippa' in the second line, 'Tiuritaw' in the third, 'mahānanda' in the fourth and 'bhaya' in the fifth line respectively. Thus the full legend can be read as "960 Narādhippati Uritaw Mahānandabhaya" who seems to be an uncle of king Man Rājā Kṛ, the most powerful ruler of the Mrauk-U period.

Some scholars of Arakan identify the issuer with an uncle of king Man Hti of the Lemrot period. According to them the date in the topmost line could be read as 660 (A.E.) corresponding to A.D. 1298. Secondly, the name Mahānandabhaya appears to be same as that of an uncle of king Man Hti of Arakanese chronicle. San Tha Aung's opinion is that this coin belongs to a date 660 (A.E.) when king Man Hti ruled in Arakan. It falls in the Lemrot period. But Vasant Chowdhury pointed out that this coin was issued by a governor of Chittagong, who is mentioned as 'Narādipati Urudaw Mahā Sihasūra' in a full unit coin and 'Sūla Mahā Rājā' in a half unit coin. They belong to the Mrauk-U period.

However, reading of the date 660 (A.E.), seems to be doubtful. The first sign of the date may be taken as numerical notation for 9, and we can compare it with the notation for 9 in the Sanphrūshan Narādhippati Solimshā coin dated 963 (A.E.) and Sanphrūthakhan Sanmūthakhan Mantrakārī Ushoungshā coin dated 981 (A.E.). The letter 9 looks like a curve dangling at the right, and left slanting vertical drawn

22. Chowdhury, Vasant, op cit., p. 146.
back to the left. We do not know of any other governor called Mahanandabhaya during that date in Mrauk-U period.

The language of the legend of this coin, particularly on the obv., resembles that used in Mrauk-U period. For instance, the word *Urītaw* in L. 3, means "respected uncle" even in current sound of Arakanese, but *Narādhippati* in L. 2, probably points to an "epithet" indicating "Lord of Human Being," i.e., king, at that time. The word *Narādhippati* abounds in records of the Mrauk-U period. The reverse of the coin bears legend in Arabic and Bengali characters as seen in certain coins of the Mrauk-U period. However, the word *Taw* in *Urītaw* reminds us of the suffix "taw" used in *Ayana Kaunghmutaw* of Vesāli Lamp inscription.

The letters of the legend on the obv. particularly *ma, ra* and *ha* are identical with those used in certain inscriptions of the Mrauk-U period. Initial *u* has a serpentine type with two limbs joining vertically, which is amply seen in the Mrauk-U period. Consonant *ta* and *na* resemble those found in some coins of Mrauk-U. Consonant *dha* is of circular type with a dot inward above the lower base. It is apparent that the letter *dha* had been inherited from the form found in the later period of Lemrot, the similar form being noticeable in the later Mrauk-U period. *Pa* is of semi-rounded character with a mouth opened upwards. Consonant *bha* and *ya* are also identical with those found in certain inscriptions of Lemrot and Mrauk-U periods. Medial vowel signs for *ā* in *rā* and *hā*, and *i* in *ti, dhi* and *ri*, basically resemble those found in the Lemrot and Mrauk-U periods. Conjunct *taw* points similarly to the suffix-form found in the *Ayana Kaunghmutaw* of Vesāli Lamp inscription. Thus the letters used on the obv. are Rakkhawanna Akkhara, while on the rev. the legend is in Arabic and Bengali. Therefore, we may observe that the coin is actually tri-scriptual in character. Palaeographical features suggest a date not later than the 16th century A.D.


A coin bearing the name of Cūlamahārāja, was discovered in Arakan. It does not bear the representation of bull on the obv. and Śrīvatsa on the rev. Instead it has only legend in three lines inscribed on


full space of the coin. On one side the legend is inscribed in Arakanese script (Rakkhawanna Akkhara) and on the other with forms of Arabic and Bengali, similar to coins of the Mrauk-U period. San Tha Aung,28 U Aung Tha Oo,29 U Shwe Zan,30 Okkantha31 and others commented upon this coin and thought that this coin belonged to Cūlacandra mentioned in the chronicles. According to chronicles, Cūlacandra who ruled over Arakan in about A.D. 957, was drowned to death at Cape Negrais on his return from Tagaung. If this coin would belong to king Cūlacandra of the later period of Vesāli, then we could assume that Arakanese script (Rakkhawanna Akkhara used presently in Arakan) had developed even before A.D. 1000 in Arakan, and that remarkable changes took place in the development of script from about that period.

Mr V. Chowdhury, however, points out that this coin, issued on a half unit, bears a different name "Sūla Mahā Rājā" instead of "Senabadi" a title which belonged to an uncle of Selim Shah, a governor of Chittagong in the year 1598 A.D.32 Besides the obv. bears the name Hillal Shah, "the great lion hero," in Arabic. A large number of this type of coins belonging to Hillal Shah have been found in Bengal and Bengali source recorded Hillal Shah as "Senabadi."33

On the obverse, consonant ca has a dent inwards the letter at left with its rounded parts of rest at right. Ja is a developed form from that of the 7th-8th century of Bengal.34 Ma has a loop inside the letter with both protruded verticals shortly upwards on both sides. Ra has a hooked type dangling at the left with the vertical of the right extended downwards. La has two half rounds joining but left part opened

30. Shwe Zan, U, op cit., p. and pl. 144.
33. Aung Zan, U, op cit., p. 143.
34. See Dani, A.H. op cit., pl.xix, fig. 5.6.
downwards and the right part upwards. *Ha* has two semi-circles joining but left part opened upwards and right part opened downwards. Medial vowel mark for *ā* in *jā, rā* and *hū*, is given by a bar bent and extended at the right. Medial *ū* in *cū*, has two vertical lines under the letter but right vertical is slightly longer. The legend reads *cūla* in the upper line, *mahā* in the middle line and *rājā* in the lower line. However, the letters used in the coin legend seem to be similar to those used in the Mrauk-U period of Arakan. On palaeographical ground, the coin may, therefore, be dated around the 16th century A.D.

10.11. Legend on Sanphrūshan Waradhammarājā Ushoungshā and Sanphrūṭhakhan Sann̄īthakhan Mantrakrī Ushoungshā's Coins

*Dates: A.E. 974, 981 = A.D. 1612, 1619, (Vol II, Pls. CLXXV - CLXXVI).*

These coins struck in both gold and silver, with Arakanese legend on one side and three lines above in Arabic and three lines below in Bengali on the other, were discovered in Arakan. These coins belonging to king Man Kha Maung's reign, bear dates 974 and 981 (A.E.) which correspond to A.D. 1612 and 1619. With regard to Man Kha Maung, the chronicle sources mention that "king Man Kha Maung who was fond of fighting and skillful in navigation, fought the Portuguese forces and drove them away up to the Sandwip island when they entered Arakan, and he conquered the city of Dacca and a large territory in Bengal. His achievement was immense and with pride and affection of the people of Arakan, he is remembered as a hero. Besides, when he was prince at young age, he tried plots three times to kill his father in collusion with the court-bard Uggāpyan who was an eminent verse-writer, but attempts were in vain. He built a large number of caityas, stūpas, monasteries in Arakan, and issued coins twice with the names Sanphrūshan Waradhammarājā Ushoungshā dated 974 (A.E.) and Sanphrūṭhakhan Sannīthakhan Mantrakrī Ushoungshā dated 981 (A.E.)." 

The specimens of forms of letters are more or less similar to those used in the inscriptions and those found in certain coins of the middle Mrauk-U period. But initial *u* in the first coin is formed with a large head at upper limb, the lower limb being formed like a

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serpentine type. This form is noticed only in this coin legend, and is not found in the inscriptions of the Mrauk-U period. Consonant \( \text{j}a \) is the same as that of Cūlamahārājā coin legend. Medial vowel \( a \) is formed with a short curve or long curve attached to the parent letter. Conjuncts are given by juxtaposing the letters as we found in certain coin legends of the Mrauk-U period. No other letter is found having any peculiarity.

12. Legend on Sanphrūthakhān Sannīthakhān Thīrithudhammarājā's Coin, \( \text{Date: A.E. 984} = \text{A.D. 1622}, (\text{Vol. II, Pl. CLXXVII}). \)

This coin belonging to king Man Harī alias Thīrithudhamma Rājā in the Arakanese chronicle was also discovered in Arakan. The coin is made of silver, weighing about 9-10 gms and 3-3.1 in diameter.\(^{38}\) The coin bears Arakanese legend on one side and three lines each above and below in Arabic and Bengali on the other. Manrique's travel accounts brought to light the political activity of Arakan in the 17\(^{th}\) century A.D. and that of the Arakanese king Man Harī who was marked by Manrique as a 'Future Universal Monarch.' During Manrique's six mouths stay in Mrauk-U, a Catholic Church was established in the suburb of Daing-gyi.\(^{39}\) M. Collis wrote the book "The Land of the Great Image," which is based on Manrique's experiences of travelling in Arakan and about the king Thīrithudhamma Rājā. The king who maintained naval power as did his ancestors, made closer relation with the Dutch who were attracted by the large Dutch Store built by the king in Mrauk-U. He issued coin under the name Sanphrūthakhān Sannīthakhān Thīrithudhammarājā dated A.E. 984 corresponding to A.D. 1622. In the Arakanese legend, letters are written in rounded type which is similar to that found in the inscriptions of Mrauk-U period. No letter has any peculiarity. Consonant \( \text{r}a \) is of rounded form with a curve dangling at left, and right vertical being bent and shortened, with flattened head. This form retains earlier type, similar to that found in the Lemrot and early Mrauk-U periods. Medial vowels and conjuncts are not strange.

13. Legend on Cactakoungman's Coin
(\text{Vol. II, Pl. CLXXVIII}, \text{Date: A.E. 991} = \text{A.H. (Hijri) 1038}).

According to Chowdhury and U Aung Zan, this coin is a bilingual quarter coin with legends in Arabic and Arakanese which

38. San Tha Aung, U, op cit., 1979, p. 82, col. 1.
mentions one "Sultan Shadgaon" in Arabic with the date 1038 in Hijri which is 991 B.E. (Burmese Era). It is worth noting that the coin is the first one in the governor series where Hijri era appears on coin.  

Previously, scholars interested in the study of coins from Arakan identified this coin and the coin of Manbanthankhayā coin as issued by king Man Bā of chronicles. This coin contains three lines each in Arakanese legend on one side and in Arabic on the other. It is struck in silver and issued possibly in only quarter series. The coin bears 'cac' in first line, 'takoung' in the second and 'man' in the third. Forms of the letters are in rounded type which is found in inscriptions and coin legends of the middle or later Mrauk-U period. Consonant ka is formed with a double rounded type with mouths downwards. Ca is of a full round form with a loop inwards which is similar to that used in certain coins of later period of the Mrauk-U. Ta has two circular limbs; left limb is a circle while the right rounded limb has a mouth downwards. Ma has a loop inwards, which is a later form. Palaeographical features, however, suggest a date about the middle or later Mrauk-U period, i.e., A.D. 991 = A.D. 1629.

14,15. Legend on Sanphrūṭhakhan Narapatikri's Coin and Sanphrūṭhakhan Sannīthakhan Narapatikri's Coin

Date: A.E. 1000 = A.D. 1638, (Vol. II, Pl. CLXXIX-CLXXX).

These coins illustrate a change from the practice of using Arabic and Bengali to Arakanese only for coin legends. The date A.E. 1000, found in the coins falls within the reign period of Narapatikri. This king seems to have issued two series of coins, i.e., a full unit coin with the name of Sanphrūṭhakhan Sannīthakhan Narapatikri and a half unit coin with the name of Sanphrūṭhakhan Narapatikri. According to Arakanese chronicles, he ascended the throne in A.E. 1000 corresponding to A.D. 1638. He was regarded as a cruel king of Arakan. King Man Harī (Thīrūṭhudhammarājā) was assassinated by minister — Narapati who was the lover of his queen Nat Shan Me. Narapati killed a large number of king Man Harī's relatives including the king's brother. A large number of royal kinsmen fled to Chittagong for safety. King Narapatikri died in A.E. 1007 after reigning for 7 years in Arakan.

40. Chowdhury, Vasant, op cit., p. 151; See also Aung Zan, U, op cit., p. 144.
42. Ibid., p. 50, pls. 34-35.
43. Okkantha, A.S, op cit., p. 95.
The coin under consideration contains four lines each on obverse and reverse of the first coin and five lines each on obverse and reverse of the second in Rakhawanna Akkharā and Arakanese language. The letters used are in rounded form which resemble those found in previous coins of the Mrauk-U period. First letter $I$ of numerical notation 1000 looks like English number 3, which is an early form of Rakhawanna Akkharā. Consonant form for $na$ has a loop at left on centre with slanting vertical at lower limb and a short horizontal at head of the letter. Other forms of letters are the same as the letters of the early Mrauk-U coin legends.


This coin with a date 1007 (A.E.) which corresponds to A.D. 1645, was discovered in Arakan. The name of the issuer of the coin is quoted as Thatoemantarar in the chronicles. This coin, struck in silver, bears Arakanese legend on both sides, containing five lines of writing on each side. The letters are specimens of rounded type, noticeable in certain inscriptions of later Mrauk-U period. Out of writing area there is a circular line and series of dots are put outside the circular line. Letters used on the coin are not found to have any peculiarity though there are differences in usages like $tarar$ for $trar$ in line 5 and $Sannāthakhan Sanphrūthakhan$ for $Sanphrūthakhan Sannāthakhan$ in the upper lines. Another point is that this is the last coin with the title Sanphrūthakhan Sannāthakhan. Succeeding royal issuers enjoyed the title Shwenanthakhan on their coins.

17. Legend on Shwenanthakhan Candathudhammarajar's Coin


This coin in silver dated A.E. 1014 (A.D. 1652) contains four lines with Arakanese legend on each side. The titles of Sanphrūthakhan Sannāthakhan which are found in some previous coins, have been replaced by the title of Shwenanthakhan from this coin. Instead of legend in Arabic and Bengali on one side of the coin, we have Arakanese legend on both sides. Regarding issuer, we know from some chronicles that "in case of failure of court-competition on A.D. 1660, the prince Shah Shuja who was a son of Shahjahan (Mughal king in eastern India at the time), took refuge under Arakanese king in Mrauk-U. Then the prince was killed when he plotted against king Candathudhamma. This event came to the notice of the Mughal king who thereupon occupied the Chittagong region in A.D. 1666. Arakan lost the Chittagong territory and coins struck with Arabic and Bengali legend on the reverse were
not minted any more.\textsuperscript{44} The forms of letters generally resemble those found in previous coins of the Mrauk-U period. Consonant \textit{ca} is of a developed form, having a loop inwards but \textit{na} and \textit{ra} retain earlier forms. \textit{Dha} prefers a dent inwards at base to a loop inside. The two dots of conjunct letter \textit{jar} has vertical shape after the parent letter. This type is found also in the coin of Samnithakhan Sanphruthakhan Thatovmantarar. Conjunct \textit{mma} in L. 4 is somewhat strange. The lower \textit{ma} looks like a loop dangling from the upper one, with a bar protruded to the left. This type of \textit{mma} seems to have been in use in the early period of Rakkhawanna Akkharā. Nummerical notation for \textit{1} of 1014 is like the English number 3, an early form of Arakanese numerical notation for \textit{1}.

\section*{18. Legend on Manrethankhayā's Coin} (Vol. II, Pl. CLXXXIII), Undated.

This coin struck in silver, perhaps belongs to half unit series with Arakanese legend on one side and Arabic on the other. The Arakanese legend of the coin was read by San Tha Aung and others from Arakan, as "\textit{Manbanthankhayā}".\textsuperscript{45} Arther Phayre also had identified it as a coin of Man Bā of the 16\textsuperscript{th} century A.D. But Vasant Chowdhury mentioned it as that of "\textit{Man Ray Than Khaya}".\textsuperscript{46} However, the letters \textit{bha} and \textit{ra} used in the Lemrot and Mrauk-U periods, are easy to be mistaken. The possibility is that the left limb of \textit{ra} looks like a curve dangling downwards from the head at left and the right vertical is slightly longer downwards while the right limb of \textit{bhu} is only a semi-box or semicircle with a mouth downwards. Therefore, second letter of first line seems to be \textit{re} instead of \textit{bhan}, because there is not enough space for the conjunct \textit{nga} after the letter \textit{bhu}. With regard to this coin, U Aung Zan opines that "under Sanda Thudhamma Rājā (1652 A.D.), the reigning Sitetagaung Mong issued coins with Hijri date 1062 and an inscription 'Sultan Chatagong, Mubaraz Shah' in Arabic and \textit{Mong Re Thin Khayar} in Arakanese. Quite a large number of these coins have been surfaced and this governor was believed to be the last Sitetagaung Mong under Arakanese rule of Chittagong."\textsuperscript{47}

\vspace{1cm}
46. Chowdhury, Vasant, \textit{op cit.}, pp. 148, 153; See also Aung Zan, U, \textit{op cit.} p. 144.
47. See also Aung Zan, U, \textit{Ibid}. 
In case of the formation of the letters, consonant *kha* is of a semi-rounded type with mouth opened to the left, and a loop inwards at the base. *Ma* has a loop inwards at the base with protruded two short lines at left and right. *Ya* is a double semi-rounded type with mouths upwards. *Tha* has two limbs joining, left limb with mouth opened to the left and right limb with mouth upwards. The forms of the letters are noticeably developed in more rounded type which is mainly used in the middle or later Mrauk-U period. On palaeographical ground, this coin may be attributed to a date not later than the 17th century A.D.

19. The coin of *Shwenanthakhan Waradhammarājar* (see Vol. II, Pl. CLXXXIV) was discovered in Arakan. It contains the date A.E. 1047 (A.D. 1685) with Arakanese legend on both sides. Specimens of the letters are generally similar to those used in the Shwenanthakhan Candathudhammarājar's coin. Numerical notation for 4 is formed by vertical at upper limb and the lower limb bent down diagonally to the right. Notation for 7 looks like a serpentine type. No other letter indicates any peculiarity.

20. Another coin bearing legend *Shwenanthakhan Kalamadhatmantarā* (see Vol. II, Pl. CLXXXV) dated A.E. 1059 corresponding to A.D.1697, was also discovered in Arakan. This coin has Arakanese legend on both sides with five lines each. The forms of letters are the same as those found in certain inscriptions and coins of the Mrauk-U period. Numerical notation for 5 is a semi-rounded form with mouth opened to the left and the lower limb prolonged to the right at base. Other forms are the same as before. According to chronicles the king who disrobed monk from monkhood, became issuer of this coin.

21. The coin of *Shwenanthakhan Candawimalarājā* (see Vol. II, Pl. CLXXXVI) dated A.E. 1062 (A.D. 1700), is inscribed with Arakanese legend on both sides which are the same in content. The coin bears four lines on each side. The letters used in the coin are more or less the same as those found in previous coins and inscriptions of the Mrauk-U period. Although consonant *ca* took a step of development, *na* and *ra* still maintain the specimens of early type of writing in Rakkhawanna Akkharā. *La* has two limbs horizontally but the left limb is smaller than the right one. Numerical notation for 6 is of a semi-rounded type with mouth opened to the right, and a loop put inwards. Notation for 2 looks like a slanting line to the left at base. This form is similar to a form of notation for 5 which is found in the above-mentioned coin. No other letter is found with any peculiarity.
22. A coin with legend **Shwenanthakhan Candawijayarājā** (see Vol. II, Pl. CLXXXVII), was discovered in Arakan. The coin has four lines with Arakanese legend on each side, and a date A.E. 1072 (A.D. 1710) is written on the top. Letters contained in the coin do not show any peculiarity excepting a few cases. They are the same as those noticeable in the above-mentioned coins. Numerical notation for 2 resembles the form which is a notation for I used currently in Arakan. The letters are formed in more rounded type which is akin to current letters of Rakhawanna Akkhārā in Arakan. Na and ra still retain the old forms.

23. The **Shwenanthakhan Candathūriyarājā's coin** (see Vol. II, Pl. CLXXXVIII), in silver contain the date A.E. 1093 (A.D. 1731) in four lines with Arakanese legend on each side. The topmost line records the year in Arakanese era and the lower three lines the legend. Forms of letters are of the rounded type which is used in Mrauk-U period. Still na and ra are exhibit older forms. Numerical notation for 3 is formed by a curve at upper limb with mouth opened to the left and the lower vertical bent down to the right. No other form is noticeable with any peculiarity worth mentioning.

24. A silver coin bearing the legend **Shwenanthakhan Narapawararājā** (see Vol. II, Pl. CLXXXIX), was discovered in Arakan. The date 1097 (A.E.) (A.D. 1735) appears in the top, and three lines are written in Arakanese legend in the lower portion. Characters look like specimens of writing in the middle Mrauk-U period. The letters are more or less the same as those found in the coins and the inscriptions of the Mrauk-U period. Consonant ja looks like an early form, a left vertical with a protruded line diagonally at right. Na and ra still are of early forms in Rakhawanna Akkhārā. Numerical notation for 9 has a short curve inwards at the upper limb. The rest of the letters do not have any peculiarity.

25. A coin with the legend **Shwenanthakhan Candawijalarājā** (see Vol. II, Pl. CXC), was also found in Arakan. This coin in silver has the date A.E. 1098 corresponding to A.D. 1736, on the top and the four lines with Arakanese legend are written in the lower portion. The forms of letters belong to Rakhawanna Akkhārā, which are formed in rounded type used mainly in Mrauk-U period. La has two equal limbs horizontally with left mouth downwards and the right mouth upwards. Consonants ja, na, and ra are of early forms of Mrauk-U period. Numerical notation for 8 is similar to the consonant letter for ga, having
mout downwards. Other letters are the same as those found in previous coins of the Mrauk-U period.

26. Shwenanthakhan Madarajāja’s coin (see Vol. II, Pl. CXCI), was also discovered in Arakan. The king who issued this coin is quoted in the chronicles. The coin made of silver bears four lines of writing with Arakanese legend on each side and the date A.E. 1099 (A.D. 1737) on the top. The letters are uniformly executed in rounded type which is found in the Mrauk-U period. The letters are similar to those found in certain coins and inscriptions of Mrauk-U period. Consonant da looks like the English number 3 but consonants na and ra still retain specimens of old Rakkhawanna Akkhara in the Mrauk-U period. The rest of the letters do not have any peculiarity.

27. A coin bearing legend Shwenanthakhan Naraabhayarāja (see Vol. II, Pl. CXCII), was discovered in Arakan. This coin, struck in silver, usually contains the date A.E. 1104 (A.D. 1742) on the top and in the lower three lines are written the name of the issuer in Arakanese script which is similar to that found in the Mrauk-U period. The forms of letters generally resemble those which are found in some coins and inscriptions of the Mrauk-U period. Initial a has two limbs, the left limb looks like the English number 3 while the right limb is of an angle attached to the parent letter. Numerical notation for 4 looks like an angle with the base line prolonged. Notation for 1, consonants ja, na and ra are of the same forms which are noticeable in early specimens of the Rakkhawanna Akkhara.

28. Another coin made of silver, bearing the name of Shwenanthakhan Candaparamarāja, (see Vol. II, Pl. CXCIII), was found in Arakan. This coin also contains four lines of Arakanese legend on each side, with the date A.E. 1123 (A.D. 1761) on the top. The script and language are Arakanese and similar to those used mainly in the middle Mrauk-U period. Forms of letters are uniformly executed, which are more or less similar to those of the coins of the Mrauk-U period. Consonants ja, na and ra still are of early forms while ca shows a step towards development of Rakhwanna Akkhara during the Mrauk-U period. Numerical notation for 2 in 1123, looks like a slanting line to the left at base. Other forms are not of any peculiarity whatsoever.

29. Shwenanthakhan Abhayamahārāja’s coin (see Vol. II, Pl. CXCIV), struck in both gold and silver, were discovered in
These coins were issued two decades before Arakan lost her independent identity. As usual, there are four lines of writing on each side in Arakanese and the date A.E. 1126 (A.D. 1764) is written on the top. Forms of letters generally continue as those which are found in previous coins. But, in some coins initial \( a \) looks like the form used currently in Arakan, left limb being like the English number 3 and the right curve joining the parent letter with a small curve inwards at the base. This form takes a step towards development in Rakkhawanna Akkharā. Apart from the letters \( ja, na \) and \( ra \), the rest of the forms generally resemble those used currently in Arakan.

30. This coin bearing legend **Shwenanthakhan Candathumanarājā** (see Vol. II, Pl. CXCIV), was discovered in Arakan. It was struck in silver with four lines of writing in Arakanese. In the topmost line is written the date A.E. 1135 (A.D. 1773). The characters belong to Rakkhaawanna Akkharā and the language is Arakanese, which are used mainly in the Mrauk-U period. The forms of letters are similar to those found in previous coins noted above. Consonants \( ja, na \) and \( ra \) are of early forms of the Mrauk-U period. Numerical notation for \( 3 \) is similar to the form used currently in Arakan. Other forms do not indicate any peculiarity.

31-32. The coins of **Shwenanthakhan Candathaditharājā** and **Shweprethakhan Dhammarajrājā** (see Vol. II, Pls. CXCVI-CXCVII), discovered in Arakan, were struck in silver bearing dates A.E. 1139 and 1140 (A.D. 1777 and 1778) on the top lines and the legend written in Rakkhawanna Akkharā and Arakanese language in the lower three lines. Many kings of the Mrauk-U period bore the title of Shwenanthakhan meaning 'Lord of Golden Palace' but this issuer with the title of Shweprethakhan in the second coin, seemed to have enjoyed the additional title 'Lord of Golden country' which is found only in this coin. The forms of letters used in the coins are the same as those found in certain coins and inscriptions of the Mrauk-U period. Consonant \( dha \) in the second coin, has a dent inwards at base, which is an early form in Mrauk-U period. Consonants **ja, na** and **ra** still maintain the old forms which are early specimens of Rakkhawanna Akkharā in the Mrauk-U period. Numerical notation for \( 9 \) in the first coin is of a more rounded type with mouth opened to the right and base line prolonged. Conjuncts are

49. Ibid., pl.48 (Lower coin).
written by juxtaposing the letters on each other, but the lower \textit{ma} of \textit{mma} in the second coin, is the same as that found in the coin of Sanphrūthakhan Sanmīthakhan Thīrīthudhammarājā. No other form has any peculiarity.

33-34. These last coins of Mrauk-U period, bearing the names of Shwenanthakhan Mahāthamatarājā and Shwenanthakhan Aggopunyajorājā (see Vol. II, Pls. CXCVIII-CIC), were found in Arakan. According to Arakanese chronicles they were one and the same king who issued the coins twice. The first coin was issued in A.E. 1144 with the name of Shwenanthakhan Mahāthamatarājā. But, in accordance with the suggestion of the ministers and eminent monks, "that the name of Mahāthama which was that of the first founder of this world, does not fit for the king," he issued another coin with the title of Shwenanthakhan Aggopunyajorājā in the same year during the traditional coronation ceremony.\(^50\) Letters contained in legends of the coins are not different forms from those found in previous coins of the Mrauk-U period. Consonants \textit{ja}, \textit{na} and \textit{ra} still retain the old forms of Rakkhawanna Akkharā. They do not develop like those used currently in Arakan. After two years from the date of issue of these coins, Arakan lost independence and was occupied by the Burmese. Bodawphaya conquered Arakan in 1146 (A.E) corresponding to A.D. 1785. Since that year, Arakan ceased to have an independent coinage.

Letters used in legends of coins of the Mrauk-U period are similar to those employed in inscriptions of the same period. But since most of the coins are dated, successive development of forms of letters in Rakkhawanna can be easily traced with the help of legends of coins ascribable to the period under consideration. Unfortunately, all the letters are not represented in coin legends.

\(^{50}\) San Tha Aung, U, \textit{op cit}, 1979, pp.68-69.
Chronology of the rulers of the Mrauk-U period: Metrological and other details of the coins issued by some of the rulers

(Table I)

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<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Relations</th>
<th>Name of King</th>
<th>Reign Period</th>
<th>Name of Issued Coin</th>
<th>Legend on Coin</th>
<th>Kind of Metal</th>
<th>Weight of Coin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1  | Son of Razathu                     | Man So Mwan (Narameithla/So Mwan Khan) | A.E. 792-795  
A.D. 1430-1433 | Shwenantalthakan  
Narameithlaraj | Arakanese  
Silver | | |
| 2  | Younger Brother of Man So Mwan    | Man Kha Rt               | A.E. 795 – 821  
A.D. 1433 - 1459 | | | | |
| 3  | Son of Man Kha Rt                  | Ba So Phru               | A.E. 821 – 844  
A.D. 1459 - 1482 | Kalima Shah  
Persian  
Silver | | 10 Gm | |
| 4  | Son of Ba So Phru                   | Man Do Lyi               | A.E. 844 – 854  
A.D. 1492 - 1494 | | | | |
| 5  | Son of king Man Kha Rt              | Ba So Nyo                | A.E. 854 – 856  
A.D. 1492 - 1494 | | | | |
| 6  | Son of king Man Do Lyi              | Man Ran Aung             | A.E. 856       
A.D. 1494 | | | | |
| 7  | Maternal Uncle of Man Ran Aung     | Salangathu              | A.E. 856 – 863  
A.D. 1494 - 1501 | | | | |
| 8  | Son of Salangathu                  | Man Raja                | A.E. 863 – 875  
A.D. 1501 - 1513 | | | | |
| 9  | Son of Man Raja                     | Gazapati                | A.E. 875 – 877  
A.D. 1513 - 1515 | | | | |
| 10 | Younger Brother of Salangathu       | Man So Ao                | A.E. 877       
A.D. 1515 | Shwenantalthakan  
Sonwamrjii | Arakanese  
Silver | | |
| 11 | Son of king Man Do Lyi              | Thazata                 | A.E. 877 – 883  
A.D. 1515 - 1521 | | | | |
| 12 | Younger Brother of Thazata          | Man Khaung Raja          | A.E. 883 – 893  
A.D. 1521 - 1531 | | | | |
| 13 | Son of king Man Raja                | Man B Kri (Man Ban)     | A.E. 893 – 915  
A.D. 1531 - 1553 | | | | |
| 14 | Son of Man B Kri                    | Man Tikkha or Man Diga  | A.E. 915 – 917  
A.D. 1553 - 1555 | | | | |
| 15 | Son of Man Tikkha                   | Man So Hla               | A.E. 917 – 926  
A.D. 1555 - 1564 | | | | |
| 16 | Younger Brother of Man So Hla       | Man Cakkrii (Cakkrawady) | A.E. 926 – 933  
A.D. 1564 - 1571 | | | | |
<table>
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<th>Name of King</th>
<th>Reign Period</th>
<th>Name of Issued coin</th>
<th>Legend on Coin</th>
<th>Kind of Metal</th>
<th>Weight of Coin</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Son of King</td>
<td>Man Ba KrT</td>
<td>A.E. 933 – 955, A.D. 1571-1593</td>
<td>Naradhipati Solamshā / Samprāthakhan Naradhipati Solamshā</td>
<td>Arakanese Arabic Bengalī</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>9.6 Gm, 9.9 Gm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Son of Man</td>
<td>Man Rāja KrT</td>
<td>A.E. 955 – 974, A.D. 1593-1612</td>
<td>Sanprāthakhan Waradhamma Rāja / Uchoungshā</td>
<td>Arakanese Arabic Bengalī</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>9.2 Gm, 9.6 Gm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Son of Man Rāja KrT</td>
<td>Man Kha Maung/ Waradhamma Rāja Uchoungshā</td>
<td>A.E. 974 – 984, A.D. 1612-1622</td>
<td>Sanprāthakhan Waradhamma Rāja / Uchoungshā</td>
<td>Arakanese Arabic Bengalī</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>9.2 Gm, 9.6 Gm</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Son of Man Kha Maung</td>
<td>Thīri Thudhamma Rāja / Man Ha Rī</td>
<td>A.E. 984 – 1000, A.D. 1622-1638</td>
<td>Sanprāthakhan Waradhamma Rāja / Thīri Thudhamma Rāja</td>
<td>Arakanese Arabic Bengalī</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>9.1 Gm, 9.6 Gm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Son of Thīri Thudhamma Rāja</td>
<td>Man Cane (Thato Meñia)</td>
<td>A.E. 1000, A.D. 1638</td>
<td>Samprāthakhan Waradhamma Rāja / Man Cane</td>
<td>Arakanese Arabic Bengalī</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>9.3 Gm-10 Gm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Great grand Son of Thazata</td>
<td>Narapāti Rāja (Ngakutahala)</td>
<td>A.E. 1000 – 1007, A.D. 1638-1645</td>
<td>Samprāthakhan Waradhamma Rāja / Narapāti Rāja</td>
<td>Arakanese Arabic Bengalī</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>9.8 Gm, 10.2 Gm</td>
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<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Son of Narapāti Rāja</td>
<td>Thadomantā Rāja</td>
<td>A.E. 1007 – 1014, A.D. 1645-1652</td>
<td>Samprāthakhan Waradhamma Rāja / Thadomantā Rāja</td>
<td>Arakanese Arabic Bengalī</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>9.9 Gm-10 Gm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Son of Thadomantā Rāja</td>
<td>Candaṭhūdhamma Rāja</td>
<td>A.E. 1014 – 1036, A.D. 1652-1674</td>
<td>Candaṭhūdhamma Rāja</td>
<td>Arakanese Arabic Bengalī</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>9.5 Gm-10 Gm</td>
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<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Son of Candaṭhūdhamma Rāja</td>
<td>Uggabala Rāja / Thīri Thudda</td>
<td>A.E.1036 – 1047, A.D. 1674-1685</td>
<td>Candaṭhūdhamma Rāja</td>
<td>Arakanese Arabic Bengalī</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>9.5 Gm-10 Gm</td>
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<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Younger Brother of Uggabala Rāja</td>
<td>Waradhamma Rāja</td>
<td>A.E. 1047 – 1054, A.D. 1685-1692</td>
<td>Candaṭhūdhamma Rāja</td>
<td>Arakanese Arabic Bengalī</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>9.5 Gm-10 Gm</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>Elder Brother of Waradhamma Rāja</td>
<td>Maridhūdhamma Rāja</td>
<td>A.E. 1054 – 1056, A.D. 1692-1694</td>
<td>Maridhūdhamma Rāja</td>
<td>Arakanese Arabic Bengalī</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>9.5 Gm-10 Gm</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>Younger Brother of Maridhūdhamma Rāja</td>
<td>Candaṭhūriyadhāma Rāja</td>
<td>A.E. 1056 – 1058, A.D. 1694-1696</td>
<td>Candaṭhūriyadhāma Rāja</td>
<td>Arakanese Arabic Bengalī</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>9.5 Gm-10 Gm</td>
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<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Son of Candaṭhūriyadhāma Rāja</td>
<td>Ngatun Nawrahta</td>
<td>A.E. 1058, A.D. 1696</td>
<td>Candaṭhūriyadhāma Rāja</td>
<td>Arakanese Arabic Bengalī</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>9.5 Gm-10 Gm</td>
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<td>Other lineage</td>
<td>Maruppiya</td>
<td>A.E. 1058 – 1059, A.D. 1696-1697</td>
<td>Candaṭhūriyadhāma Rāja</td>
<td>Arakanese Arabic Bengalī</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>9.5 Gm-10 Gm</td>
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<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Other lineage</td>
<td>Kalamadhath</td>
<td>A.E. 1059 – 1060, A.D. 1697-1698</td>
<td>Candaṭhūriyadhāma Rāja</td>
<td>Arakanese Arabic Bengalī</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>9.5 Gm-10 Gm</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>Son of Candaṭhūriyadhāma Rāja</td>
<td>Naradhipati</td>
<td>A.E. 1060 – 1062, A.D. 1698-1700</td>
<td>Candaṭhūriyadhāma Rāja</td>
<td>Arakanese Arabic Bengalī</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>9.5 Gm-10 Gm</td>
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<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>Relations</td>
<td>Name of King</td>
<td>Reign Period</td>
<td>Name of Issued Coin</td>
<td>Legend on Coin</td>
<td>Kind of Metal</td>
<td>Weight of Coin</td>
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<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Great grand father in Tha-domantäri</td>
<td>Candawimala Räjä</td>
<td>A.E. 1062 - 1068 A.D. 1700-1706</td>
<td>Shwenanthakhan Candawimalaräjä</td>
<td>Arakanese Silver</td>
<td>9.9-10 Gm</td>
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<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Great grand father in Candathummaräjä</td>
<td>Candathūrīya Räjä</td>
<td>A.E. 1068 - 1072 A.D. 1706-1710</td>
<td>Shwenanthakhan Candathūrīyaräjä</td>
<td>Arakanese Silver</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>Other lineage</td>
<td>Candawijaya Räjä</td>
<td>A.E. 1072 - 1093 A.D. 1710-1731</td>
<td>Shwenanthakhan Candawijayaräjä</td>
<td>Arakanese Silver</td>
<td>9.9-10 Gm</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>Son-in-law of Candawijaya Räjä</td>
<td>Candathūrīya</td>
<td>A.E. 1093 - 1096 A.D. 1731-1734</td>
<td>Shwenanthakhan Candathūrīyaräjä</td>
<td>Arakanese Silver</td>
<td>9.5-10 Gm</td>
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<td>37</td>
<td>Son of Candathūrīya</td>
<td>Narādhipati</td>
<td>A.E. 1096 - 1097 A.D. 1734-1735</td>
<td>Shwenanthakhan Narādhipati</td>
<td>Arakanese Silver</td>
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<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Younger Brother of Narādhipati</td>
<td>Narapawara</td>
<td>A.E. 1097 - 1098 A.D. 1735-1736</td>
<td>Shwenanthakhan Narapawara</td>
<td>Arakanese Silver</td>
<td>9.8 Gm</td>
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<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Stepbrother of Narapawara</td>
<td>Candawijala</td>
<td>A.E. 1098 A.D. 1737</td>
<td>Shwenanthakhan Candawijalaräjä</td>
<td>Arakanese Silver</td>
<td>9.7-10 Gm</td>
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<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Younger Brother of Narapawara</td>
<td>Madaraj</td>
<td>A.E. 1099 - 1104 A.D. 1737-1742</td>
<td>Shwenanthakhan Madarāj</td>
<td>Arakanese Silver</td>
<td>10 Gm</td>
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<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Uncle of Madaraj</td>
<td>Nara Abhayya</td>
<td>A.E. 1104 - 1123 A.D. 1742-1761</td>
<td>Shwenanthakhan Naraabhayaräjä</td>
<td>Arakanese Silver</td>
<td>9.6-10 Gm</td>
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<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Son of Nara Abhayya</td>
<td>Thīrāthi</td>
<td>A.E. 1123 A.D. 1761</td>
<td>Shwenanthakhan Thīrāthi</td>
<td>Arakanese Silver</td>
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<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Younger Brother of Thīrāthi</td>
<td>Candaparama</td>
<td>A.E. 1123 - 1126 A.D. 1761-1764</td>
<td>Shwenanthakhan Candaparamaräjä</td>
<td>Arakanese Silver</td>
<td>9.7-8 Gm</td>
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<td>44</td>
<td>Brother-in-law of Candaparama</td>
<td>Abhayamahē Rūjā</td>
<td>A.E. 1126 - 1135 A.D. 1764-1773</td>
<td>Shwenanthakhan Abhayamahērūjā</td>
<td>Arakanese Silver</td>
<td>9.9-10 Gm</td>
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<td>Brother-in-law of Abhayamahērūjā</td>
<td>Candathumana</td>
<td>A.E. 1135 - 1139 A.D. 1773-1777</td>
<td>Shwenanthakhan Candathumanaräjā</td>
<td>Arakanese Silver</td>
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<td>Other lineage</td>
<td>Candawimala</td>
<td>A.E. 1139 A.D. 1777</td>
<td>Shwenanthakhan Candawimalaräjä</td>
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<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Other lineage</td>
<td>Candathudithi / Dhammaraj</td>
<td>A.E. 1139 - 1144 A.D. 1777-1782</td>
<td>Shwenanthakhan Candathudithi Dhammarājā</td>
<td>Arakanese Silver</td>
<td>9.8 Gm</td>
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<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Other lineage</td>
<td>Mahāśahamata / Aggopunyajñērījā</td>
<td>A.E. 1144 - 1146 A.D. 1782-1784</td>
<td>Shwenanthakhan Mahāśahamatarājā Aggopunyajñērījā</td>
<td>Arakanese Silver</td>
<td>7.5-6 Gm</td>
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(I) Palm-leaf Manuscripts *(Vol. II, Pls. CCa-CCIb)*

In the following lines is described, in brief, the topics relating to (i) Palm-leaf manuscripts, (ii) Ribbon manuscripts, (iii) Añi inscriptions, (iv) Scroll manuscripts and (v) Numerical inscription.

(i) First of all we take up the subject on the Palm-leaf manuscripts found in Arakan. The contents of these manuscripts vary in their detail. Some manuscripts record events relating to early dynastic history of Arakan; some again deal with religious and other topics. But the manuscripts that we possess give details about two interesting aspects about early Arakan. In one set of Palm-leaf we find details about the family life of the kings of Arakan during Mrauk-U period. These manuscripts record events relating to the time or period when the kings were born anú also record astrological details about the new-born king *(Vol. II, Pls. CCA-CCd)*. The other set of manuscripts narrate details about the intricacies of Pāli Grammar *(Vol. II, Pls. CCIa-CCIb)*. The script used in these manuscripts is Arakanese (Rakkhawanna Akkhara) which was in vogue during the Mrauk-U period. The language is also Arakanese. There is no peculiarity in the script of these manuscripts. The letters found in inscriptions are also noticed in this type of manuscripts.

(ii) Ribbon Manuscripts *(Vol. II, Pls. CCII-CCXIV)*

In early period the manuscripts prepared in Palm-leaf needed to be collected in a bunch. This bunch of manuscript was bound together by means of a piece of Ribbon, which is made, generally, of fine silk. The piece of Ribbon was not wide enough; but its length surpasses sometimes more than twenty feet. We find writing by means of needle and thread on the little space that the piece of Ribbon provides. The contents of the writing indicate that the manuscripts, tied in a bunch, were donated by one or the other individual, mostly commoner, or sometimes even by monks. The contents are usually written in verse, but sometimes in prose also. The script used in these Ribbon-manuscripts is Arakanese (Rakkhawanna Akkhara) and the language is also Arakanese. The script happened to be the same as found in Arakanese inscriptions of the period.

(iii) Añi Inscriptions (or a kind of obscure script) *(Vol. II, Pls. CCXV-CCXXI)*

Majority of the Añi inscriptions were engraved on stone. Besides stone, materials like Palm-leaf, Thin plate of bamboo and paper were used for writing the Añi inscriptions. The specimens of 'Añi' is used for both good and derogative sense. The contents of these inscriptions
relate chiefly to astrological or magical details with which some sort of merit will be accrued or any adverse situation can be avoided. The contents were written in at least two ways – by means of (I) alphabet and (II) numerals. The alphabet used in An inscriptions is Arakanese (Rakkhawanna Akkharā) and the numerals are also Arakanese. Arakanese is the language of these inscriptions.

(iv) Scroll Manuscripts (Vol. II, Pls. CCXIIa-CCXIIIb)

Paper is the chief material on which the contents of the Scroll manuscripts are written. All the specimens of this type of manuscript are collected from South Tripura. In terms of subject-matter the Scroll manuscripts are also divided into two types. In one type, we find the exposition, in brief, of the Nibbāna Sutta. So it is obvious that the donor or writer of this type of manuscript happened to be a pious Buddhist – may be a monk or a lay disciple of the Buddhist order. In another type of manuscript we find details about Arakanese medicine for treatment of various kind of diseases. The script used in these Scroll manuscripts is Arakanese (Rakkhawanna Akkharā) and the language is also Arakanese. There is no difference between this script and the ones found in contemporary Arakanese inscriptions.

(v) Numerical Inscription (Vol. II, Pl. CCXXIV)

In Numerical inscriptions no alphabet is used, we find only numerals. These numerals are sometimes used for solving arithmetical problem. These inscriptions containing the numerals are sometimes found engraved on stone. These are also written on paper, thin plate of bamboo etc. These numerals are like present day Arakanese numerals; but there are also traces of their older forms.
Early Specimens of the Script in Arakan can be divided into four categories. Firstly, Brāhmī script in the Dhanyawady period is the same as that of Old or Archaic Brāhmī in India. Specimens of this script are found in the inscriptions of Pan-zee-mraung-pha Rock of Fat Monk Image and Taung-pauk-krī Rock, datable to about the 2nd – 1st century B.C. Secondly, Late Brāhmī script of the Vesāli period resembles that used in the Gupta period in India, during the period between the 4th and 6th century A.D. Thirdly, Siddhamātrikā script in the last quarter of the Vesāli period is analogous to that used in eastern India, during the 7th – 9th century A.D. Fourthly, Rakkhawanna Akkhā (Arakanese script) which was probably derived from South India via Sri Lanka, was being used from the 9th or 10th century A.D. and is still used in Arakan. The initial vowels in Brāhmī script of Arakan are found in only three letters: \( a, \bar{a} \) and \( o \), five letters of Late Brahmī: \( a, \bar{a}, i, u \) and \( e \), seven letters of Siddhamātrikā: \( a, \bar{a}, i, \bar{i}, u, e \) and \( o \), and then ten letters of Rakkhawanna Akkhā: \( a, \bar{a}, i, \bar{i}, u, \bar{u}, e, ai, o \) and \( aw (au) \) respectively.

**Initial vowels:**

1. \( \text{A} \): Initial vowel sign for \( a \) in Brāhmī script, is formed by straight vertical at right and two left arms separated (chart. I, fig. 1, col. 2). This form, though occasionally used in India, is somewhat different from that found regularly in Indian inscriptions of the Pre-Christian period. \( A \) in Late Brāhmī script has a curve downward at left with straight vertical at right (chart. II, fig. 1, col. 3), but \( a \) in the inscription of Kyin-taung-phara stone slab, has vertical at right with bar sloping down to the right and the left limb with hooked type dangling downwards (chart. II, fig. 1, col. 4). This form is not found elsewhere in the Arakanese inscriptions of the Vesāli period, nor even in eastern India and Bangladesh. \( A \) of Siddhamātrikā consists of curves in the left limb and this limb is joined by a middle bar with the slightly slanting right vertical limb, (chart. IV, fig. 1, cols. 37-38). Four types of \( a \) in Rakkhawanna Akkhā have been found: (1) first type is of the same form as found in the Shitthaung Pillar inscription of Anandacandra (chart. V, fig. 1, cols. 12 and 14), (2) second type is formed by double 3-shaped figures without any bar at the middle (chart. IV, fig. 1, col. 41), (3) third type is formed by joining bar at the middle, (chart. V, fig. 1, col. 3), and (4) the fourth type has 3-shaped figure at left and a semi-rounded limb joined to the main body at right.
(2) A: Initial vowel \(\bar{a}\) in Brāhmī script, is formed by two left arms separated and a bar on the top of the vertical to the right (chart. I, fig. 2, col. 2). \(\bar{A}\) of Late Brāhmī has a cursive limb extended to the left from the bottom of vertical (chart. II, fig. 2, col. 6). The cursive limb in the letter \(\bar{a}\) found in the Vesālī Parākṛi Stone Slab inscription is, however, more elongated (chart. III, fig. 2, col. 18). \(\bar{A}\) of the Siddhamātrikā has a vertical on the right joining the letter \(a\) with a horizontal short line at top, as is also the case in the medial \(\bar{a}\) (chart. IV, fig. 2, cols. 37-38). In Rakkhawanna Akkharā \(\bar{a}\) has two forms: first one has two parts joined by a short bar at middle and the former part is like a half oval type but the latter is a long serpentine line attached to the top of the vertical (chart. IV, fig. 2, col. 40), the second one has either curled vertical line or a circular sign attached to the main body (chart. VI, fig. 2, col. 8).

(3) I: I in the Vesālī fragmentary Caitya inscription has two dots on the small convexed curve (chart. IV, fig. 3, col. 36), while only three dots are used in the Shitthaung Pillar inscription of Anandacandra (north face) (chart. IV, fig. 3, col. 38), both of which belong to the Siddhamātrikā script. In Rakkhawanna Akkharā I looks like a double consonant \(ka\) vertically and short vertical line dangling downwards (chart. V, fig. 3, col. 12).

(4) I: \(\bar{I}\) of Late Brāhmī has two dots either to the left or to the right of a curved line extending to the right at bottom (chart. III, fig. 4, cols. 24 and 26). In the inscription of Apaung-daw Bell and Bhanṭā Stone Slab inscription of Dhammavijaya, we have found the dots in \(\bar{I}\) to the right while in the Nga-lon-maw Stone Slab inscription dots are to the left. In Siddhamātrikā \(\bar{I}\) is formed by only four dots (chart. IV, fig. 4, cols. 37-38). \(\bar{I}\) in Rakkhawanna Akkharā has a loop dangling inwards at the right part of the base of the main body and a semi-circle running upwards with a bend at the end to right (chart. V, fig. 4, col. 11).

(5) U: Sign for \(u\) of Late Brāhmī is of serpentine type, found in the Ohtein Stone Slab inscription (chart. III, fig. 5, col. 22), but the curve at the bottom is a semi-circle as found in the inscription of Nga-lon-maw Stone Slab (chart. III, fig. 5, col. 26), Bhanṭā inscription of Dhammavijaya (chart. IV, fig. 5, col. 35). The latter form is the same as that found in the \(u\) in Siddhamātrikā (chart. IV, fig. 5, cols. 38-39). In Rakkhawanna Akkharā \(u\) has two types: the first one is with semi-rounded form of upper limb but lower limb is formed by only a vertical line (chart. VI, fig. 5, col. 4), while the second one is with two semi-
rounded forms of upper and lower limbs (chart. VI, fig. 5, col. 10), the former being earlier than the latter.

(6). **E**: Initial *e* in Late Brāhmī is generally formed by the triangular type, tapering downwards at the right base (chart. II, fig. 6, col. 3), which is the same as that used in the Gupta period in India. The sign for *e* in Siddhamātrikā in the Shitthaung Pillar inscription of Ānandacandra (north face) is formed with a short vertical limb at left which is joined by a V-shaped line which again is brought down vertically, having at the lower end a short hook towards left (chart. IV, fig. 6, col. 38). In Rakkhawanna Akkharā *e* has a mouth at right with two short parallel bars on each side but the vowel *e* in the Vesāli Moat Triangular Stone Slab inscription has acute angles (chart. IV, fig. 6, col. 40), while other forms are formed either by a square or by a circle.

(7). **O**: Initial vowel *o* in Brāhmī form is like roman capital letter 'Z' type, (chart. I, fig. 9, col. 2). We do not find any initial vowel *o* in the inscriptions of Late Brāhmī script of the Vesāli period. *O* in the Shitthaung Pillar inscription of Ānandacandra (north face), looks like English numeral sign for 3, with the upper curve bigger than the lower one, (chart. IV, fig. 9, col. 38), which belongs to the Siddhamātrikā script. We have not seen any initial vowel *o* in any inscription of the Rakkhawanna Akkharā upto the end of the Mrauk-U period. We do not find forms for the full-vowels *ai* and *au* in Arakanese inscriptions with which we are concerned.

**Consonants**

(8). **Ka**: Consonant form for *ka* in Brāhmī script is crossed type with equal arms (chart. I, fig. 11, cols. 1-2). This form is the same as found in the Mahasthān Stone Plaque inscription, Bogra district, Bangladesh. *Ka* in Late Brāhmī has a horizontal line bent on either side with straight vertical (chart. II, fig. 11, col. 1), which is noticeable in the Nga-lon-maw Stone Slab and some other inscriptions (chart. III, fig. 11, col. 26). Siddhamātrikā *ka* is formed with the curve on the left of the vertical growing into a triangular loop and the right curve developing a downward tick which lengthens into a bent vertical (chart. IV, fig. 11, col. 36). In Rakkhawanna Akkharā *ka* has two types: one is formed with double semi box-figures joined (chart. V, fig. 11, col. 2), and the other is formed with double semi rounded figures (chart. VI, fig. 11, col. 2), the former being earlier than the latter. But *ka* in Paik-the-rap Pillar inscriptions (chart. VI, fig. 11, col. 9 and 14), and Am-taw-thein Phara Stone Slab inscription (chart. VIII, fig. 11, col. 33), looks like box-type
even after introduction of rounded type of letters in the Mrauk-U period. The completely rounded type for ka which is still used in Arakan, is found in the inscriptions of Tan-chaung-rwā Stone Slab and Shitthaung Stone Slab (chart. VIII, fig. 11, cols. 47-48).

(9). **Kha**: Brāhmī kha found in the Taung-pauk-krī Rock inscription, has a triangular loop at the foot of the vertical (chart. I, fig. 12, col. 2). Kha in Late Brāhmī has a triangle at the base of the right vertical and short slant at left vertical outwards, and slight curve upwards at the end (chart. II, fig. 12, col. 3). Round-topped Siddhamātrikā kha is formed with a hook at the end of the left limb and right limb has the hollow triangle which is the mātrā (chart. IV, fig. 12, cols. 36-39). Kha in Rakhawanna Akkharā is of a semi-box type with a mouth opened to the left and a loop inwards at the base (chart. V, fig. 12, col. 3), but kha found in the San-kar-taung Phara Stone Slab inscription and subsequent inscriptions shows generally the rounded-type of the letter (chart. VI, fig. 12, col. 2).

(10). **Ga**: Ga in Brāhmī is of angular type, which is found in the Taung-pauk-krī Rock inscription (chart. I, fig. 13, col. 2). Late Brāhmī ga has flattened head with shorter slant on the base of left vertical and right vertical bent slightly to the right (chart. II, fig. 13, col. 3), but ga in Vesāli Votive Stūpa inscription has at the end of left slant bent upwards (chart. II, fig. 13, col. 5), and the end of left slant which is found in the Thānkyittaw Hill Stone Slab inscription looks like a hook dangling downwards (chart. III, fig. 13, col. 19). Siddhamātrikā form for ga is generally the same as that found in Late Brāhmī script (chart. IV, fig. 13, cols. 36-39). Ga in Rakhawanna Akkharā is of either box or round type with a mouth opened downwards (chart. V, fig. 13, col. 3 and chart. VI, fig. 13, col. 4).

(11). **Gha**: Brāhmī form for gha is flat-bottomed type with long vertical at the left (chart. I, fig. 14, col. 2). Gha in Late Brāhmī is of a tripartite type with a mark at the head of left limb outwards (chart. II, fig. 14, col. 6). This form is rarely found in the Vesāli period. In Siddhamātrikā the form for gha looks like the same as found in certain inscriptions of early Vesāli period (chart. IV, fig. 14, cols. 36-37). But gha in the Shitthaung Pillar inscription of Ānandaendra (north face) has a curve below which after bending a bit upwards turns to right in the lower direction and then it is joined by the vertical (chart. IV, fig. 14, col. 38). Gha in Rakhawanna Akkharā has a curve protruded outwards at the left limb with the flat-bottomed type at base (chart. V, fig. 14, col. 4). This
form is generally similar to that found in the Late Brāhmī and Siddhamātrikā script during the Vesālī period.

(12). Na or Nga: Consonant ṇa is always represented in conjunct with consonants. Only the upper limb of the letter is noticeable as in case of ṇka and ṇga (chart. II, fig. 15, col. 3 and chart. IV, fig. 15, cols. 36-37). The form for ṇga (ṇa) in Rakkhawanna Akkharā is also the same as that found in Late Brāhmī and Siddhamātrikā, but the early form is found in semi-boxed type, (chart. V, fig. 15, col. 2), while the later form is in semi-rounded type (chart. VI, fig. 15, col. 2).

(13). Ca: Brāhmī ca is with a semi-circular loop at lower end of vertical (chart. I, fig. 16, cols. 1-2). Ca in the Late Brāhmī script is of beaked type (chart. II; fig. 16, col. 6). Siddhamātrikā form for ca is distinctly a beaked type with a small headmark above (chart, IV, fig. 16, cols. 37-38). Ca in Rakkhawanna Akkharā has a dent inwards at left in the square form of the letter (chart. V, fig. 16, col. 3), but later form for ca in the Rakkhawanna Akkharā has either a dent or a loop inwards in rounded form of the letter (chart. VI, fig. 16, col. 2 and chart. VIII, fig. 16, col. 35).

(14). Cha or Sa: Brāhmī cha of gaccha has a double loop at the base (chart. I, fig. 17, col. 2). Cha in Late Brāhmī has a circle at the lower half of the vertical of the letter ca (chart. II, fig. 17, col. 6), having similar form in the inscription of the Queen of Nītīcandra. In Siddhamātrikā cha has a smaller left loop with bigger loop at the right and slanting vertical line crossed (chart. IV, fig. 17, cols. 37-38). In Rkkhawanna Akkharā sa (cha) has a semi-square with a mouth opened to the left, and a loop is formed inwards at the base of left part, and a box being attached to the left limb (chart. V, fig. 17, col. 4). But later form for sa (cha) in Mrauk-U period is formed in rounded type (chart. VI, fig. 17, col. 2).

(15). Ja: Brāhmī ja in conjunct bja is a tilted type under ba, but ja in ji has only two arms instead of either three arms or double curves which is not found in Old Brāhmī (chart. I, fig. 18, col. 1). Late Brāhmī ja have three types: the first has three arms with a notched semi-circle dangling downwards (chart. II, fig. 18, col. 3), second type has the curvatures of lower and middle horizontal lines with bar elongated, and the third type is formed with lowest horizontal line consisting of a hook while middle horizontal has been turned downwards (chart. IV, fig. 18, col. 35). The third type has remarkably been changed from that used in
the early Vesālī period in the Late Brāhmī. And the third type of ja is the same as that found in the Siddhamātrikā script (chart. IV, fig. 18, cols. 36-39). Rakkhawanna Akkharā form for ja, (chart. V, fig. 18, col. 5) is formed in the half box-type with a mouth at right and pellet-like loop inwards and short slanting line protruded from the pellet-like loop inwards. But ja in the Rakkhawanna Akkharā which is found in Mrauk-U period, is used in rounded type (chart. VI, fig. 18, col. 4).

(16). Na or Nya: Na in Brāhmī has left vertical with the triangular type at right (chart. I, fig. 20, col. 2). Late Brāhmī form for ſa of ſa has two arms with a broader space between the arms (chart. II, fig. 20, col. 4). Siddhamātrikā ſa is a symbol of two curves, open to the left; the upper curve is smaller while the lower is greater (chart. IV, fig. 20, col. 37). But ſa in the Shitthaung Pillar inscription of Ānandacandra (north face), is formed by two curves, the right end of the curves is lowered downwards with a slant towards the left (chart. IV, fig. 20, col. 38). Nya (ňa) in the Rakkhawanna Akkharā is of serpentine vertical line towards the left with hook on the top of left and rounded loop on top of the right limb (chart. IV, fig. 20, col. 40). But nya (ňa) found in the Lemrot period has a double semi-square joined together with a mouth opened to the left and the mouth of right part being opened upwards, with a shorter diagonal line dangling from the left of the base (chart. V, fig. 20, col. 3). Nya found in the Mrauk-U period is generally styled in the rounded type of the letter (chart. VII, fig. 20, col. 17), and lower leg of the letter nya in the inscription of the Shitthaung Stone Slab, is bended and elongated to the right at the base (chart. VIII, fig. 20, col. 48).

(17). Ta: Brāhmī ta found in the Taung-pauk-kṛi Rock inscription, is of a semi-circular type (chart. I, fig. 21, col. 2). Ta in the Late Brāhmī has two arms extended at left with the mouth downwards (chart. II, fig. 21, col. 6). This form is rarely found in the Vesālī period. Ta in Siddhamātrikā form is a half-rounded curve opened to the right and the head is a bit flattened (chart. IV, fig. 21, col. 37), but ta in the Shitthaung Prasasti of Ānandacandra (north face) has the top stroke after forming a curve turned leftwards; at this point it bends slightly below right and after depicting a short vertical forms of an acute angle, the lower limb being drawn horizontally (chart. IV, fig. 21, col. 38). In Rakkhawanna Akkharā ta, a semi-rounded curve is formed in the upper limb, while the lower limb is of serpentine type with a short bar to the right at base (chart. VII, fig. 21, col. 17).
(18). **Tha** or **Hta:** Late Brāhmī *tha* of conjuncts is oval shaped (chart. II, fig. 22, col. 6). **Tha** in the Siddhamātrikā is the same as that of the Late Brāhmī form of the letter *tha* (chart. IV, fig. 22, col. 36). In the Shithaung Pillar inscription of Ānandacandra (north face), however, *tha* is formed by a simple roundish sign (chart. IV, fig. 22, col. 38). Rakkhawanna Akkharā *hta (tha)* has a double box-type joining vertically. The upper limb is formed with a mouth opened to the right, the lower limb having a mouth to the left (chart. V, fig. 22, col. 4), but in *hta (tha)*, found in the Thakyamuni Phara Stone Slab inscription of Thu-h-tay-ngapyaung, base line of lower limb has been elongated to the left (chart. V, fig. 22, col. 6).

(19). **Da:** **Da** in Late Brāhmī has two arms separated upwards and downwards at the right with a knot at the centre on the left (chart. II, fig. 23, col. 6). **Da** in Siddhamātrikā has two types; the first type is the same as that of the Late Brāhmī (chart. IV, fig. 23, col. 35). The second type is drawn from top to bottom in a leftward slant, then it shows a curve; from the right end of the curve a downward stroke is drawn with a hook towards right (chart. IV, fig. 23, col. 38). We do not find any form of letter *da* in the Rakkhawanna Akkharā.

(20). **Dha:** We find the consonant form for *dha* in the Late Brāhmī, which is the same as that used in the Siddhamātrikā, having lower semi-circle with a loop inside, the similar form being noticed in inscriptions of Bengal, (chart. II, fig. 24, col. 6 and chart. IV, fig. 24, col. 38).

(21). **Na:** Late Brāhmī *na* has two arms with broader space between the two arms (chart. II, fig. 25, col. 3), which is similar to that found in the Siddhamātrikā (chart. IV, fig. 25, cols. 35-37), but *ṇa* in the Shitthaung Pillar inscription of Ānandacandra (north face) has a short hook dangling at the right arm (chart. IV, fig. 25, col. 38). Rakkhawanna Akkharā *ṇa* has three vertical arms but the middle vertical is longer with a short hook dangling from the right arm at the base (chart. IV, fig. 25, col. 40).

(22). **Ta:** **Ta** in Brāhmī is of an angular form with two lower arms appending towards the bottom (chart. I, fig. 26, col. 2). Late Brāhmī *ta* has two arms with right arm prolonged, (chart. II, fig. 26, col. 3). This form is similar to that found in the Siddhamātrikā of late Vesāli period (chart. IV, fig. 26, cols. 36-39). **Ta** in Rakkhawanna Akkharā has a loop at left with a vertical line at right (chart. IV, fig. 26, col. 40), but
right limb found in the inscription of Vesālī Lamp is formed with semi-rounded curve joining to the main body (chart. IV, fig. 26, col. 41).

(23). **Tha or Hta**: Brāhmī *tha* is formed with a circle having a dot within (chart. I, fig. 27, col. 2). **Tha** in Late Brāhmī is of oval type with mid-line inside, and either the upper half or the lower half is enlarged (chart. II, fig. 27, cols. 3 and 14). But *tha* in the inscriptions of Vīrācandra and Apaung-daw Bell, has a short line protruded from the right base (chart. III, fig. 27, cols. 17 and 25). Siddhamātrikā *tha* has three types: first type is the same as found in the Late Brāhmī form, second type shows below the bi-furcation of the vertical limb on the left limb projected upwards while at right it is slanted a bit (chart. IV, fig. 27, col. 37), the third type shows the acute angle formed with the right limb by a short headmark (chart. IV, fig. 27, col. 38). **Hta (tha)** in Rakkhawanna Akkharā is formed with two box-types joined lengthwise (chart. IV, fig. 27, col. 40).

(24). **Da**: The Brāhmī form for *da* is of an angular type at right which is similar to the form found in the inscriptions of Asoka in India (chart. I, fig. 28, col. 2). **Da** in Late Brāhmī is of hooked type dangling downwards (chart. II, fig. 28, col. 3). Siddhamātrikā *da* is nearly angular type with a short vertical attached to the top of the lower curve (chart. IV, fig. 28, cols. 37-39). Rakkhawanna form for *da* has half of a loop dangling on the right side with a shorter bar on the head (chart. IV, fig. 28, col. 40), but *da* found in the inscriptions of Lemrot and early Mrauk-U period, is generally formed with a double semi-boxed type represented vertically (chart. V, fig. 28, col. 6).

(25). **Dha**: Brāhmī form for *dha* in Taung-pauk-kṛi Rock inscription, looks like the Roman capital letter 'D' (chart. I, fig. 29, col. 2). Late Brāhmī *dha* is generally of oval type with either upper half or lower half enlarged (chart. II, fig. 29, cols. 3 and 13). This form is similar to that found in the Shiddhamātrikā script (chart. IV, fig. 29, cols. 37-39). Rakkhawanna Akkharā *dha* has either a dent or a loop at the base of rounded form (chart. IV, fig. 29, cols. 40 and chart. VI, fig. 29, col. 7).

(26). **Na**: *Na* of Brāhmī form, has a horizontal bar at base with a straight vertical upwards (chart. I, fig. 30, col. 1-2). In *na* of Late Brāhmī form, there is a loop at left, which is similar to that of Siddhamātrikā script (chart. II, fig. 30, col. 3), but Siddhamātrikā form has a headmark (chart. IV, fig. 30, col. 37). In *na* of Rakkhawanna Akkharā, early form is formed with larger head and a loop at left looks
like a knot (chart. V, fig. 30, col. 3), while the later form is formed with small head (chart. VIII, fig. 30, col. 47).

(27). **Pa**: In **pa** of Brāhmī, angular type is formed with its left vertical prolonged (chart. I, fig. 31, cols. 1-2). Late Brāhmī **pa** has rounded limb at left with right vertical (chart. II, fig. 31, col. 3), which is similar to that found in the Siddhamātrikā script (chart. IV, fig. 31, cols. 36-38), but the form for **pa** found in the Shitthaung Prāsasti of Ānandacandra (north face) consists of a slanting left limb, the mid-limb is horizontally drawn and it is joined by the right vertical limb; the top of the left limb is extended towards left a bit horizontally (chart. IV, fig. 31, col. 38). Rakkhawanna Akkharā form for **pa** has rounded base with two equal verticals (chart. IV, fig. 31, col. 40), but in the Lemrot period the form is formed with a semi-box but mouth upwards (chart. V, fig. 31, col. 3), while in the Mrauk-U period the form is with a rounded base (chart. VI, fig. 31, col. 2).

(28). **Pha**: Late Brāhmī form for **pha** has a loop inwards at the right, its left limb having a short line protruded from the base downwards (chart. II, fig. 32, col. 6). **Pha** in Siddhamātrikā, which is found in the Shitthaung Pillar inscription of Ānandacandra, (north face), has in its left limb an angular motif which joins the right curve at the lower extremity (chart. IV, fig. 32, col. 38). Rakkhawanna Akkharā **pha** is formed with a loop inwards at the right limb (chart. V, fig. 32, col. 3).

(29). **Ba**: **Ba** in Brāhmī is square type (chart. I, fig. 33, cols. 1-2), used in the early centuries of the Christain era. Late Brāhmī **ba** in **bu** is square type with a dent at the left, which is rarely found in Late Brāhmī during the Vesālī period (chart. III, fig. 33, col. 17). Siddhamātrikā **ba** looks like a triangle with a projection below from the right limb (chart. IV, fig. 33, col. 37), but **ba** in the Shitthaung Pillar inscription of Ānandacandra, (north face), is formed with a curve at the left; it is joined by a slanting vertical line which is projected a bit above the joined portion of the curve (chart. IV, fig. 33, col. 38). **Ba** in the Rakkhawanna Akkharā is of square type with upper bar dented inwards (chart. V, fig. 33, col. 10), but the form in the Mrauk-U period is the rounded type (chart. VI, fig. 33, col. 2).

(30). **Bha**: Brāhmī **bha** has the straight vertical with a horizontal line to the left which again is joined by a short vertical at the left (chart. I, fig. 34, col. 2). **Bha** in Late Brāhmī generally looks like an angular curve at left with vertical at right (chart. II, fig. 34, col. 3), but in
cases the left limb has a small hook (chart. III, fig. 34, cols. 19-20) and in some again it has a neck and the left limb shortened (chart. II, fig. 34, col. 4). **Bha** in the inscription of Ohtein Stone Slab has a slanting line at left with straight vertical at right (chart. III, fig. 34, col. 22). In Siddhamātrikā **bha** the left limb after forming an acute angle is extended horizontally towards right, the concluding portion of which is drawn vertically in a slanting pose and forming a short curve it turns downwards (chart. IV, fig. 34, cols. 36-39). Rakkhawanna Akkharā **bha** has double semi-rounded limb joining each other; the left limb having a mouth to the left and the right limb with a mouth downwards (chart. IV, fig. 34, col. 40), but the type found in the Lemrot period is squarely formed (chart. V, fig. 34, col. 4) while the type in the Mrauk-U period is in the rounded specimen of writing (chart. VI, fig. 34, col. 2).

(31). **Ma**: Brāhmī **ma** has a loop at the bottom with an angle upwards (chart. I, fig. 35, col. 2). Late Brāhmī form for **ma** has an acute angle at right with a slant downwards at left (chart. II, fig. 35, col. 3). In **ma** in the Siddhamātrikā script the base slopes to the right vertical, forming an acute angle (chart. IV, fig. 35, col. 36). **Ma** in Rakkhawanna Akkharā has either a loop or a bar inwards (chart. IV, fig. 35, col. 40), but **ma** in the Vesāli Lamp inscription does not contain any loop or bar inwards (chart. IV, fig. 35, col. 41).

(32). **Ya**: **Ya** in Brāhmī form is of tripartite type with a little long vertical upwards from the centre (chart. I, fig. 36, col. 2). In Late Brāhmī we find four forms of **ya**: (i) **ya** is with a loop inwards from the left arm and an acute angle at the right with the vertical slanting slightly outwards the right top (chart. II, fig. 36, cols. 5,11), (ii) **ya** has a loop outwards from the left arm (chart. II, fig. 36, col. 6), (iii) **ya** of a tripartite type with a dangling outer curl from the left arm (chart. II, fig. 36, col. 5), and (iv) **ya** of a hooked type dangling at the left outwards with an acute angle at the right (chart. II, fig. 36, col. 5). **Ya** in Siddhamātrikā script takes a development from that used in the Late Brāhmī during the Vesāli period, having bipartite form showing the curved form of the left limb turning flat at the base finally joining the right slanting limb (chart. IV, fig. 36, cols. 36-37), but **ya** in the Shitthaung Pillar inscription of Ānandacandra looks like a square design (chart. IV, fig. 36, col. 38). In Rakkawanna Akkharā, the form for **ya** looks like a double semi-box with two mouths upwards and the base flattened (chart. V, fig. 36, col. 4), but **ya** in the inscriptions of Vesāli Moat Triangular Stone Slab and Vesāli Bronze Lamp, and that found in the later period of Mrauk-U period, is a
double semi-rounded type with two mouths upwards and the base rounded (chart. IV, fig. 36, cols. 40-41 and chart. VII, fig. 36, col. 17).

(33). Ra: In Brahmī script, form for ra has an angular break at the centre of the vertical (chart. I, fig. 37, cols. 1-2). Ra in Late Brahmī is a straight vertical which is found in the early phase of the Vesālī period (chart. II, fig. 37, col. 3), but the later form has a short slant to the left at the foot (chart. II, fig. 37, col. 13). Siddhamātrikā form for ra is shown in a vertical slanting line at right with a short slant from the base projected upwards towards left (chart. IV, fig. 37, cols. 37-38). In Rakkhawanna Akkhara the form for ra is of a serpentine type, and this form seems to be a earlier type, the only difference being the presence of a serif mark (chart. IV, fig. 37, col. 40), but the later form of ra in Rakkhawanna Akkhara has a curve dangling at left and the right vertical slanted (chart. V, fig. 37, col. 3). The latest developed form for ra which is found in the inscriptions of Than-chaung-rwā Stone Slab and Shitthaung Stone Slab, is the same as that used still in the Arakanese script (chart. VIII, fig. 37, cols. 47-48).

(34). La: Brahmī form of la is rounded type at bottom with a little curve outwards to the left (chart. I, fig. 38, col. 2). La in Late Brahmī has two types; the first type has a hook appended to left with straight vertical (chart. II, fig. 38, col. 2), the second type has left arm broadened, (chart. II, fig. 38, col. 4). Siddhamātrikā form for la is formed with a curve in the left limb which joins the right vertical through a mid-bar (chart. IV, fig. 38, cols. 37-39). La in Rakkhawanna Akkhara has two limbs, having two mouths, one opened downwards at the left and the other upwards at the right, but the letter is squarely formed in the Lemrot period (chart. V, fig. 38, col. 4), which is the earlier form while the latter one in the Mrauk-U period is formed in rounded design (chart. VI, fig. 38, col. 2).

(35). Va or Wa: Brahmī form for va is with a circle having vertical on the top (chart. I, fig. 39, col. 2). Va in Late Brahmī is of bulged form at left with triangular head-mark (chart. II, fig. 39, col. 3). Siddhamātrikā va is of a bulged form at left with its base flattened (chart. IV, fig. 39, col. 37), but va of the Shitthaung Pillar inscription of Anandacandra, (north face), is a looped form which is joined with the right slanting vertical at its lower end. At the extended vertical at the top there is a short head-mark sign (chart. IV, fig. 39, col. 38). Wa (va) in Rakkhawanna Akkhara is formed either with a box (chart. V, fig. 39, col.
4), or a circle (chart. VI, fig. 39, col. 2). The former form is earlier than the latter.

(36). Sa*: Late Brāhmī form for sa has two types; the first type has a loop with a vertical downwards (chart. II, fig. 40, col. 3), and the second type has flattened top with triangular loop at left and its vertical represented in a straight form (chart. II, fig. 40, col. 12). Siddhamātrikā sa is of round-topped form joining the right vertical through a bar (chart. IV, fig. 40, col. 37), but sa in the Shitthaung Pillar inscription of Ānandacandra has two forms which are similar to those found in the Late Brāhmī script (chart. IV, fig. 40, col. 38). We do not find any form of sa in the Rakkhawanna Akkharā.

(37). Sa: We do not find any letter for sa in Brāhmī script in Arakan, though the form is represented in Brāhmī inscriptions of India in the pre-Christian period. Sa in Late Brāhmī, has three forms; first form has a loop at left with acute angle at right (chart. II, fig. 41, col. 6), second form is with enlarged loop at left and its right is with a curve being slightly rounded (chart. II, fig. 41, col. 14), and the third form has the mid-bar joining the two verticals at left and right (chart. III, fig. 41, col. 22). The third form is the same as that found in the Siddhamātrikā script (chart. IV, fig. 41, cols. 36-37). But sa which is found in the Shitthaung Pillar inscription of Ānandacandra, has the looped variety (chart. IV, fig. 41, col. 38). We do not find any letter for sa in the Rakkhawanna Akkharā.

(40). Sa or Tha: Brāhmī form for sa is formed with a hook at left (chart. I, fig. 42, cols. 1-2). Form for sa in late Brāhmī has a triangular loop at left with an acute angle at right (chart. II, fig. 42, col. 3), but in some cases the left triangular loop is replaced by a circle (chart. II, fig. 42, col. 13). Siddhamātrikā sa shows at its base a curve with a mouth below before joining the right vertical limb (chart. IV, fig. 42, cols. 36-37), but the form for sa in the Shitthaung Pillar inscription of Ānandacandra (north face), is basically a loop at left and is joined with a slanting vertical at right (chart. IV, fig. 42, col. 38). Tha (sa) in Rakkhawanna Akkharā, which is found in the inscription of Vesālī Moat triangular Stone Slab, has a square loop over the letter and lower limb looks like a serpentine (chart. IV, fig. 42, col. 40), but later form for tha (sa) has lengthwise two limbs; the left limb with mouth opened to the left (chart. V, fig. 42, col. 4) and the right limb with mouth opened upwards (chart. VI, fig. 42, col. 2). The former is earlier than the latter.
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(41). Ha: Form for ha in Brāhmī is rounded type with a bar at right vertical outwards (chart. I, fig. 43, col. 2). Late Brāhmī form for ha has six types: (i) ha with left hook at the base (chart. II, fig. 43, col. 3), (ii) ha with an extra short slanting vertical from the base at right (chart. II, fig. 43, col. 4), (iii) ha with a loop at the left (chart. II, fig. 43, col. 9), (iv) ha with a loop at left and a short slanting vertical at right. This form is noticeable in some early inscriptions from Assam (chart. II, fig. 43, col. 14), (v) ha with two separate verticals hanging down from the head-mark (chart. II, fig. 43, col. 11), and (vi) ha with its left arm bent and with an appending hook at the right bottom (chart. II, fig. 43, col. 5). Siddhamātrikā ha curves its sides in an ornamental bend with its right hook falling in a beautiful curl (chart. IV, fig. 43, cols. 36-39). Rakkhawanna form for ha has a half rounded part on the top of the right outwards, joining the main limb rounded at lower part (chart. IV, fig. 43, col. 40). This form is previous to a Rakkhawanna Akkhara which is still used in Arakan. But the form for ha which is found in certain inscriptions of the Lemrot and Mrauk-U period, has lengthwise two limbs: the left limb with mouth opened upwards (chart. V, fig. 43, col. 4) and the right with mouth opened downwards (chart. VI, fig. 43, col. 2). The first form is earlier than the second one.

(42). Lakṛī: Lakṛī in Rakkhawanna Akkhara, which is not found in Early Brāhmī, nor in Late Brāhmī, nor even in Siddhamātrikā scripts, has vertically two limbs with mouths to the right but the upper limb is circular while the lower limb is of a square type, and a small break between the two limbs is shown in the centre at left (chart. VIII, fig. 44, col. 40). This form is very rarely found even in the Mrauk-U period, which is still used in Arakan.

**Medial Vowels**

(1). Ā: Medial vowel mark for ā in Brāhmī script, which is found in the inscription of Taung-pauk-krī Rock, is formed with a horizontal bar mostly at the top to the right side (chart. X, fig. 1, col. 2), but in ā of pā and ḥā, the horizontal bar is shown at the left tops to the right (chart. X, figs. 12,28, col. 2). Medial vowel ā in Late Brāhmī has three types; first type is formed with a curve attached to the main letter at right (chart. XI, fig. 1, col. 3), second type has a hook slanting to the right on the head of the letter (chart. XI, fig. 1, col. 6), and the third type is formed with a slant to the right on the head of the letter (chart. XIII, fig. 22, col. 16). Siddhamātikā form for medial ā has a full-length vertical extended from head to the bottom on the right of the letter (chart. XV, fig. 1, col. 35). Sign for medial ā in Rakkhawanna Akkhara found in the
inscription of the Vesāli Moat Triangular Stone Slab, is of long serpentine type from the top of the letter (chart. XVI, fig. 5, col. 38), but medial ā from the Vesāli Bronze Lamp inscription and subsequent forms are either half circles or half boxes, from the top of the letter at left (chart. XVI, fig. 1, col. 39).

(2). I: Medial i in Brāhmī is formed with a short angle on the top to the right side (chart. X, fig. 2, col. 1 and fig. 7, col. 2). Late Brāhmī sign for medial i has a short slant or slightly long slant to the left (chart. XI, fig. 2, col. 1 and fig. 4, col. 3), but medial i in the inscription of Vesāli Mound Stone Slab shows a long and ornate slant to the right (chart. XI, fig. 4, col. 4). Medial i in Siddhamātrikā is formed with long slant extended to the bottom of the letter on left (chart. XV, fig. 2, col. 35). Medial i in Rakhawanna Akkhara as given in the inscription of Vesāli Moat Triangular Stone Slab is a curve on the head of letter with mouth opened to the left (chart. XVI, fig. 8, col. 38), but in later inscriptions of Lemrot and Mrauk-U periods, mark for medial i is either of a box or a circle on the head of letter (See Mahāhti Crocodile-shape Rock inscription, p- 174 and Shwe-taung Zeti Stone Slab inscription, p- 205).

(3). Ī: Medial vowel mark for I in Brāhmī is of two short verticals put on the head of the letter (chart. X, fig. 3, col. 2). Medial Ī in Late Brāhmī has three types; first one is semi-circle turned upwards but right limb prolonged and the left turned inwards (chart. XI, fig. 8, col. 3), second one is more cursive, a semi-circle with mouth to the right and lower limb turned inwards (chart. XI, fig. 20, col. 6), and the third one has a semi-circle with mouth to the left and lower limb turned inwards (chart. XII, fig. 1, col. 13). Medial Ī in Siddhamātrikā is formed with long slant extended to the bottom of letter on right (chart. XV, fig. 3, col. 35). Medial Ī which is found in the inscriptions of Lemrot and Mrauk-U periods, is either a box or a circle on the head of the parent letter with a bar inwards (See Mahāhti Crocodile-shape Rock and Shwe-taung Zeti Stone Slab inscriptions, pp. 174 and 205).

(4). U: Medial u in Brāhmī is formed with a short angle or vertical dangling downwards (chart. X, figs. 20,25, col. 2). Medial u in Late Brāhmī has three types; first type in tu is of hooked type dangling below the letter (chart. XI, fig. 5, col. 3), second type is shown as a short vertical under the letter (chart. XI, fig. 12, col. 3), but in some cases the short vertical has a short slant to the left at the base (chart. XI, fig. 9, col. 4), and the third type has a curve to the left under the letter (chart. XIV, fig. 2, col. 25). Siddhamātrikā medial u is a short hook dangling from the
base and its mouth opened to the left (chart. XV, fig. 4, col. 35). Medial \textit{u} in Rakkhawanna Akkhārā has a short vertical downwards (chart. XVI, fig. 2, col. 38), but later type for medial \textit{u} has a bar to the right from the vertical at base (See Bhū-taung-kwe Stone Slab inscription, p. 158).

(5). \textbf{U}: Brāhmī sign for medial \textit{u} is of two short verticals under the letter (chart. X, fig. 13, col. 2). In early Brāhmī inscriptions from India medial \textit{u} is sometimes given by a pair of horizontals at the right bottom of the parent letter, as in case of \textit{kū}. Medial \textit{ū} in Late Brāhmī is of hooked type dangling below the letter (chart. XI, fig. 6, col. 3), but medial \textit{ū} of \textit{bhū} in the Vesāli Copper Plate inscription is of a long slant to the left under the letter (chart. XI, fig. 31, col. 6). Siddhamātrikā \textit{ū} has the same type as found in the inscriptions of the Late Brāhmī script (chart. XV, fig. 5, col. 35). Sign for medial \textit{u} in Rakkhawanna Akkhārā has two vertical lines under the letter but sometimes the right vertical line has a short bar to the right at base (See Bhū-taung-kwe Stone Slab inscription, p. 158).

(6). \textbf{E}: Medial vowel sign for \textit{e} in Old Brāhmī is formed with a horizontal to the left on the top (chart. X, fig. 4, col. 2). Late Brāhmī medial \textit{e} has two forms; one is formed with a slant to the left on the top of letter (chart. XI, fig. 3, col. 5), but in some cases the slant is formed with a curve downwards on the top (chart. XII, fig. 2, col. 9), and the other is a hook slanting to the left from the head of the letter (chart. XI, fig. 8, col. 6). Siddhamātrikā sign for medial \textit{e} is a slanting stroke or merely a curved bar towards left (chart. XV, fig. 6, col. 35). Form for medial \textit{e} in Rakkhawanna Akkhārā is of a long curve and ornate form with curling top onwards at left (chart. XVI, fig. 3, col. 38), but later form for medial \textit{e} which is found in the inscriptions of Lemrot and Mrauk-U periods, is either a semi-box or a semi-circle with mouth opened to the right, and its form is separated from the main body at left (See Bhū-taung-kwe Stone Slab inscription, p. 158).

(7). \textbf{Ai}: We do not find any vowel mark for medial \textit{ai} in the inscriptions in Old Brāhmī, Late Brāhmī and Siddhamātrikā scripts, but medial vowel \textit{ai} in Rakkhawanna Akkhārā is marked by only a slant on the top of the letter (See Lemrot and Mrauk-U inscriptions).

(8). \textbf{O}: Medial vowel sign for \textit{o} in Brāhmī is a crossed bar (chart. X, fig. 2, col. 2). Late Brāhmī sign for medial \textit{o} has two types; first type has a slant to the left upwards and a bar or a curve at right (chart. XI, fig. 18, col. 3), and the second type has two slants separately
to the left and right on the head (chart. XI, fig. 9, col. 6). Medial o in Siddhamātrikā has two types; first type has a slanting stroke or merely a curved bar towards left and a bar or a curve at right (chart. XV, fig. 7, col. 35), and the second type has a slant on the head of letter and a curve at right (chart. XV, fig. 7, col. 35). In Rakkhawanna Akkhārā medial vowel o in the inscription of Vesāli Moat Triangular Stone Slab has a long curve at left and a long serpentine curve at right (chart. XVI, fig. 1, col. 38), but later type for medial o is represented by a semi-box or a semi-circle at left and a semi-box or a semi-circle at right, the left limb with mouth opened to the right and the right with mouth opened downwards (See Lemrot and Mrauk-U inscriptions).

(9). Au or Aw: We do not find any medial vowel sign for au in inscriptions in Old Brāhmī and Late Brāhmī scripts. Siddhamātrikā medial au consist of a small curve at the head of the slanting stroke after forming medial o (chart. XV, fig. 8, col. 35). Sign for medial aw (au) in Rakkhawanna Akkhārā, has an extra half curve with mouth opened to the right on the right limb of letter after forming medial o (See Lemrot and Mrauk-U inscriptions).

Conjuncts are mostly juxtaposed, the two letters concerned being placed vertically, as are found in the inscriptions of Dhanyawady, Vesāli, Lemrot and Mrauk-U periods. Conjuncts found in the inscriptions of the Lemrot and Mrauk-U periods, are mostly the same as those found in present script of Arakan. Punctuation marks are also similar to those used currently in the Arakanese script, having one or two vertical lines at the beginning or end of the text. Anusvāra is represented only by a dot on the head of letter, and sign for om which is found in some inscriptions of the Vesāli Period, is not available in the inscriptions of the Lemrot and Mrauk-U periods, but perhaps Namothaththa is replaced for the sign of om. The Visarga is represented by two dots or globes as in Indian inscriptions.