

VOLUME III

PART I

Archaeological Survey of Burma



EPIGRAPHIA BIRMANICA

BEING

LITHIC AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS
OF BURMA

EDITED BY

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SUPERINTENDENT, ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY, BURMA CIRCLE

MŌN INSCRIPTIONS Nos. IX—XI

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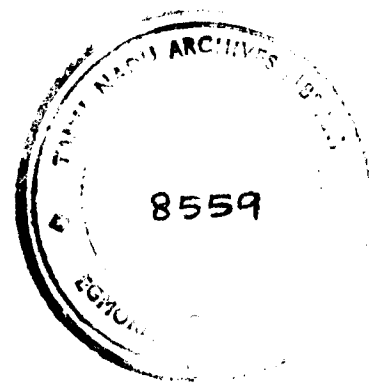
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EPIGRAPHIA BIRMANICA

MÔN INSCRIPTIONS.

No. IX.

AN INSCRIPTION FOUND NEAR THE THARABA GATE, PAGAN.

Descriptive Account.

54. This inscription has been noticed in *Reports of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma*, (1912) pp. 14, 15 and (1916) pp. 22, 23, but no portion of it has hitherto been published. The stones on which it is engraved are preserved in the Pagan Museum, and in the Catalogue of 1906 they are numbered 1, 2, 6, 7, 8 and 9. They consist of two large four-sided columns and fragments of, apparently, three others. The dimensions of the stones, as given in the Catalogue, are as follows:—No. 1: height, 7 feet; breadth, 3 feet. No. 2: height, 7 feet 9 inches; breadth, 3 feet. No. 6: height, 2 feet; breadth, 1 foot 9 inches. No. 7: height, 2 feet 3 inches; breadth, 2 feet 6 inches. No. 8: height, 2 feet 5 inches; breadth, 2 feet 9 inches. No. 9: height, 2 feet 9 inches; breadth, 2 feet 6 inches. I have given letters to the several faces of the stones and fragments containing legible parts of the inscription. So far as regards Faces A—H (corresponding to Nos. 1 and 2 above), there is no difficulty about the order. But the remaining portions, Faces J—S, are hard to arrange, and some doubt remains in my mind as to whether the order I have put them in is the right one. Professor Duroiselle informs me that my Faces J—M (= Pagan Museum Nos. 7 and 6) are parts of one column, N, O (= P.M. No. 8) part of another, and P—S (= P.M. No. 9) part of a third. Assuming that that is so, the inscription must originally have comprised at least six columns, of which the first, preceding Faces A—D, is entirely lost. This conclusion seems unavoidable, inasmuch as Face A is plainly not the beginning of the record. In that case the original must have extended to over 1,000 lines, of

which less than half have been preserved. But even the remnants that we have got make this inscription by far the longest of the Early Mōn records.

55. The space actually covered by lettering, as measured on the ink-impressions, is as follows:—Face A, 6 feet 1 inch by 1 foot 8 inches; B, 5 feet 10 inches by 2 feet 2 inches; C, 5 feet 10 inches by 1 foot 8 inches; D, 5 feet 6 inches by 2 feet 2 inches; E, 6 feet 1 inch by 1 foot 4 inches; F, 6 feet 2 inches by 2 feet 1 inch; G, 6 feet 2 inches by 1 foot 5 inches; H, 6 feet 1 inch by 2 feet 2 inches; J, 4 feet by 1 foot 3½ inches; K, 2 feet 3 inches by 1 foot 3 inches; L, 3 feet 10 inches by 1 foot 4 inches; M, 1 foot 9 inches by 1 foot 2½ inches; N, 1 foot 10½ inches by 1 foot 3 inches; O, 1 foot 4½ inches by 1 foot 3 inches; P, 1 foot 5 inches by 1 foot 2½ inches; Q, 1 foot 4½ inches by 2 feet 4 inches; R, 1 foot 11 inches by 1 foot 3 inches; S, 1 foot 10 inches by 2 feet 4 inches. The letters resemble in their general type those of the preceding inscriptions. Their height varies slightly, between ½ and ¾ inch, in the several faces, letter *t* is about ¾ inch long, and the interlinear space is generally between ⅞ inch and 1 inch. The inscription is, on the whole, in a bad state of preservation. Though a good deal of what remains is quite legible, a considerable part is extremely difficult to read and would have been practically undecipherable but for one of the characteristic peculiarities of this record, namely its many repetitions. The fact is that, in spite of its great length, this inscription is of a disappointingly monotonous character. The same formulae occur again and again with wearisome iteration. But this has made it possible in many cases to read with virtual certainty many obliterated passages, which it would otherwise have been quite impossible to reconstruct. The text has been determined from three sets of ink-impressions and a set of photographs of one of them.

56. The record is concerned with the elaborate ceremonial attending the building of a great palace at Pagan. Buddhist monks and Brahmins, besides a variety of officials, chiefs, and other persons, took part in the proceedings, and a good deal of ritual was involved in them. The Brahmins were constantly engaged in bringing water of lustration in vessels of gold, silver, brass, and earthenware. The monks held a service of blessing and protection. The whole affair was spread over many days of several months, and the precise times when the various actions took place are generally exactly indicated. Unfortunately no year date is to be found in the fragments that remain. I submitted details of the dates to Mr. Robert Sewell, a great

authority on Indian chronology (to whose help in this matter I am very much indebted); and he informs me that, within the period covered by Kyansitthā's reign, the end of the year 1101 A.D. and the early part of 1102 best fit the particulars given.¹ But in some cases there are difficulties, and until we are in possession of more precise information as to the method of working the Burmese calendar at this period, some doubt must remain on the subject. It is to be hoped that the point may eventually be settled by a comparison of the dates of the early Burmese records. A good deal turns on this question of the date of our inscription. It has been suggested, with much probability, that the palace built on this occasion was erected for the special purpose of Kyansitthā's royal anointment (*abhiṣeka*); and it is a fact that the buildings described in the record are such as would be appropriate to an occasion of that kind. They apparently constituted what was technically termed a "fivefold pavilion" (*pañcaprāsāda*), and included amongst their subsidiary structures an "ablution pavilion," which in itself seems to point to some such purpose. On the other hand, in the portions of the record that have been preserved, there is no definite statement that such was their purpose, nor is the ceremony of anointment mentioned at all. If the date above suggested is correct, it seems difficult to connect this palace with Kyansitthā's anointment, for it appears rather improbable that such an important ceremony would be postponed for so many years after his accession to the throne. This seems the less likely when we compare III C 12-14 (including the variants in IV and V) and VI 28, which passages refer expressly to the royal anointment. It is true that they speak of it in the future, as part of Buddha's alleged prophecy about the king. But that is, after all, merely a matter of form, and it seems probable that the event had actually happened before these inscriptions were set up. In that case it must have occurred before June 3rd, A.D. 1093 (§ 45), the probable date of No. VI, which is the earliest of Kyansitthā's dated records.

57. It is hardly possible to give, within a reasonably small compass, any summary of the ceremonies performed in connexion with the building of this palace. For all details the translation can be consulted. The great day was that of the royal procession described in F 13 *seqq.*, when the king, named

¹ The equivalent dates given in the notes to the translation are all based on this assumption. They have been kindly worked out for me by Mr. Sewell, to whom I must here express my grateful thanks for having taken so much trouble in the matter and given me the benefit of his very special knowledge of the subject. For details, see particularly B 11, C 17, 21, 29, D 42, E 21, F 1, 12, 13, 35, G 9, 15, H 8, J 31, L 6, 9.

only in this passage (F 28, 29, 41, 44), appeared with a large retinue to honour the work with his presence. Here the narrative is vivid and contrasts with the somewhat monotonous repetition of stereotyped ceremonial that constitutes the bulk of the record. The fragmentary faces N, R and S enter into details of the decorative architecture of some portions of the palace, a subject of considerable interest, though the meanings of some of the words used are still doubtful. Indeed, the whole inscription teems with technical terms of which I am as yet unable to determine the precise sense. I have received much valuable assistance in this matter from Mr. Robert Halliday and Professor Charles Duroiselle, but in spite of their kind help, and after many revisions and much labour devoted to the study of this difficult record, I must regretfully admit that many of its problems still remain unsolved. Their solution demands a more intimate acquaintance with the details of Indian ritual and architecture than I can hope to acquire, and I can only suggest that a comparative study of these highly technical matters may perhaps in the future throw further light upon the doubtful points.

58. Although the inscription contributes a fair amount of fresh lexicographical material, yet owing to its many repetitions the new words contained in it are less numerous than might have been expected from its great length, and, for the reasons already stated, many of them are not yet capable of exact determination. I fear that to the ordinary reader this record will seem of comparatively little interest, and I must confess that I have sometimes felt that it did not repay the amount of work necessarily involved in the editing of it. But in a collection of this kind one must take the rough with the smooth; and there is always a possibility that even a somewhat arid document, like this one, may eventually turn out to contain material that is valuable from some point of view, though not obviously so at first sight.

59. One or two matters arising incidentally may perhaps with advantage be singled out for special mention here. The great importance attached to the Brahmans, and the syncretism which is involved by their co-operating in harmony with Buddhist monks in the ceremonies here described, may be considered worthy of notice, though the phenomenon is in no way singular, being in fact characteristically normal in Siam and Camboja to this day. It seems probable that these Brahmans were Vaishnava (A 2 tr.) and it would appear that some of them came from the Môn country (H 12). It is, at any rate, quite certain that Môn notables took a fair share in the transactions connected with the building of the palace (B 14, 42, G 23) alongside

of the Burmese ones; and it is clear that, though members of a conquered race, they had a recognized status and were by no means merely hewers of wood and drawers of water. This is the first occasion, too, on which we find them specifically mentioned in this collection of records by their ancient ethnic name, *Rmeñ*, from which the modern form *Môn* is (through the medieval *Rman*) quite regularly derived. Here also, for the first time, occurs the ethnic name of the Burmese, under the form *Mirmā* (B 42, D 24, H 12). Whether this is a faithful representation of the name by which the Burmese called themselves at this time, or whether the word, occurring as it does in a Môn text, has been modified in any degree by Môn linguistic influences, is a matter which I must leave to be dealt with by those who may hereafter study the Early Burmese inscriptions.¹

Text.

A

1.
2. (t tñey blaḥ han)² (pa brat cindran moh)⁴
3. (jlow)⁵ [luḥac ku kon brāt tḥow] (sāl diñkar)⁶
4. [lñor ku pkāw thar] pneñ [duleñ saṃbhuc duleñ pññ khal ma]
5. [crok ku pneñ] goḥ [ma lñor] (tūy *) [piryām] (goḥ kuñ) [tirla' poy mhā]-
6. [ther Arahan ket ku tirley saṅgha dūmpoh] [sāl sla] (kupa)-
7. (r' han) [sthān ma skir]⁷ sruñ jiñjuñ jirkoy [ḥā]r jiñjuñ yas [jiñjuñ a]-
8. [tas] siṅghāsīn ku jiñjuñ prāsāt [pan] ku jiñjuñ prā[sāt bi]-
- * 9. rlup ku jiñjuñ juñ dal ku jījāp⁸ jiñjuñ atas [muk goḥ ut]

¹ Cf. *Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma*, (1920) para. 36.

² There may be traces of a line above this one.

³ Very doubtful. The first letter may be the end of *plī* (in one rubbing there seem to be traces of *l* and *s*). After *han* possibly we might supply *nār* : cf. B 34, C 31, E 41, J 10.

⁴ Conjectural restoration, inferred from the words legible in the next line.

⁵ Conjectural restoration.

⁶ Extremely doubtful.

⁷ Very doubtful: see A 29 *infra*.

⁸ Perhaps *skir*.

⁹ Conceivably *jirjāp*.

10. [mñah] (ma kel) sāl sla (darka)s¹ goh girluk ut pham [klo' murā i]-
 11. (')[señ sgac si]ngir [pgoh² kakā³ tapiw ku ut] c-eñ
 12. (da we)l = pli[t tñey go]dhul lagna = [bumnah] (sañkrān)⁴ [ta goh ma dindi]-
 13. [ñ lwar tik pham kinta = bumna]h hurā to' ar [tuk dek] (ma)⁵ spaḍo-
 14. [t parit = de]h rañ tlūñ dek goh tūy]⁶ [dek] k[la]s [th]ar k[la]-
 15. [s] s[re]ñ [kl]as [slūy] ta goh [deh] reñ lar (jāp sthān) [l⁷ m]aṅgal
 16. [han] prāsā[t jnok = k]u prā[sāt cind]row⁸ [pān = ku prāsāt birlu]-
 17. p [ku j]ñjñu⁹ juñ djal tūy = dek k[las ti] pa[n lñim ku kinlo']
 18. [sañ diñcām goh deh] r[e]ñ lā[r] ha[n dirmoñ t]i[rley sañ]gha pan [lñi]-
 19. [m da ma spaḍo]t parit [rum]ñās goh ku ut rāja[sthān = yañ tirlē]-
 20. [y sañgha] (sum tum) [diñcām tirla' poy sañghatther] (ma das) [pardhān⁹ ma]
 21. {spaḍot} parit [rum]ñās [kom ku gumir pan lñim] [goh] .[i] .[l]
 22. dirmoñ tirlēy [sañgha] ma pi(r)dhān di[ñc]ā[m goh =] diñka[r snal diñcā]-
 23. [m] = gñk k[sā]¹⁰ diñcām = kwir di[ñcām = dek kla]s kla[m diñcām] (=)¹¹ [ki]-
 24. [nl]o['] sañ k[la]m diñcām de[h] reñ lar (han) [sthān dirmoñ] [tirlēy sa]-
 25. gha kla[m diñcām ku ti]rla['] poy mhāthe[r] [Arahan ma spaḍot]
 26. parit pḍey = han sthān dirmoñ tirlēy sañgha klām diñcām goh]

¹ Very doubtful.² There may be an *r* superscript over the next letter (which itself is doubtful). Cf. A 33, F 35, G 4, H 46, K 6.

K 6.

³ Very doubtful. Cf. E 27, J 2, 9. ⁴ Perhaps *na*.⁵ The final letter seems to be *ñ*. Possibly one might restore *yan*.⁶ The last letter seems fairly certain. I doubt if we can restore *ma skil*, which would fit the context but does not seem to be supported by the ink-impressions.⁷ Here, and elsewhere, there is a doubt as to whether this word is spelt with a *d*. Cf. B 8, 23, F 39, and (in a different context) B 13, C 27, 34, D 23, E 30, F 23, 26, G 25, H 13, J 3.⁸ The *r* is doubtful. But cf. A 22, 35, 46, H 34.⁹ Possibly *ka*. Or the subscript letter might conceivably be *y*. But probably the text is right.¹⁰ This stop is doubtful: it might really be some short word, such as *ku*.

27. [d]i[ñkar snāl] kla[m diñcām gl]i[k] (kṣū)¹ [klām diñcām kw]ir [klām diñcām] (= bo)-
 28. [y tlañ mi]r[mo]k [m]uk [dirlec jnok] goh [kindam dirmoñ kyek mo]-
 29. [y ma nom ku ā]s [ma ñin kindam thic ma ñin guñi]² (kupa)³ [ku glik]
 30. [bumteñ] (= ma pḍar)⁴ [ku tḍoñ bumteñ = goh ma ñin sāl ku] (asthar⁵ ta)-⁶
 31. [sar⁷ antūl ā]s [goh ma] ñi[n dumoñ⁸ rūp kyek thar moy = rūp]
 32. [tirlēy] [Gawam]pa[ti moy = ku sla pat wi]ne[y sut] abhi(dhamma⁹ p)i . .
 33. (=) cip pi pahir gi[r]luk¹⁰ pham sgac siṅgir pgoh¹¹ kakā (ha)-
 34. (n) kyek [thar t]irley Gawa[m]pa[ti] = [ku ut tirlēy sañgha pan lñi]-
 35. [m] kla[m diñcām ma] ti[r]la['] poy [mhāther A]ra[han] da[s pirdhān] (=) [sa]-
 36. [mbe]ñ jey sabhañ = sambeñ ka[ñsāsū]r = sambeñ rāja[sūr] = [ku u]-
 37. [t sambeñ gri]¹² = sa[mbe]ñ [leñ kalan yañ] sañ = [p]aṇḍit (sum tum)
 38. [ut pḍey] rumñās [cut pkāw thar sirwiñ p[n]e[n] duleñ lño[r]
 39. [āc sarapa]si[l ku [p]arit [maṅgal] = p[d]e[y rum]ñās wūr ut pa[n]
 40. [tlañ =] kāl [goh ti]rla' poy mhā[ther Ara]han tāw bo[y]
 41. tlañ pirlit ku[ta]¹³ boy t]lañ [mi]rmo[k = ra]p [k]inlo' [sañ da]-
 42. (kkhināwat)¹⁴ [ku dek k]las [th]ar sreñ [slūy ti ma d]e[h] reñ [lar]¹⁵
 43. [kin]ta [tirla] p[oy m]hā[ther]r Araha[n = bla]h goh t]rla['] poy mhā]-
 44. [the]r Ara[h]an ki[l sar]apa[si]l bla[h = ut g]umir [pan lñim klām]
 45. [diñcām] d[m]oñ [tāw pḍey rum]ñās ku tirla poy mhāther [Ara]-
 46. [han ma das p]ir[dhān paḍot p]arit [maṅ]al [= p]aḍot par[it] (ma)-
 47. (ṅal goh bla)[h = c]i[p-piryām d]umhic pi pahir mṣun nād]i (b)[ir]- (tañ)¹⁶

¹ See the note on this word in A 23 *supra*.² Perhaps *gañi*.³ The reading is doubtful. Perhaps the same word is to be read in A 6-7 *supra*, where it is still more problematical.⁴ If rightly read, the subscript *d* is in a form somewhat like the more simplified variety of subscript *d*, much as in *Arimaddanapur*, Myazedi 3. Conceivably, instead of *ma pḍar* one might read *undar*, but I prefer the former.⁵ Somewhat doubtful, but probable.⁶ The *ta* might be *ma*, etc.⁷ The vowel is doubtful, it might be *i*.⁸ Possibly *dumoñ*, a bad spelling.⁹ Blurred, but probable.¹⁰ Possibly *girluk*.¹¹ Conceivably *p-oh*. See A 11 n.¹² Perhaps *gri*.¹³ Cf. I G 5.¹⁴ The reading is very doubtful.¹⁵ Or *lar*. The *l* seems pretty certain. Nothing else is visible.¹⁶ In this whole line the lower portions of the letters are cut off. But the restorations, though to some extent conjectural, seem pretty certain; for *mṣun* one may have to read *mṣūn*.

B

1. (t tnam phā pl)¹
2. (se)ñ [u goh ma] . . .
3. ² ti [muk ti]r[dey hān
tl]añ [mirmo]-
4. [k u muk tirdey hān] t[lañ] r³ [u muk tirdey hān tl]añ
[pirli]-
5. [t u muk tir]de[y hān tlañ c]i[n kiñta] (han)⁴ [ti prāsāt jnok] u[t]
6. [mşun] hā[n goh tun p-hum ku] dek kla[s th]ar sr[eñ] (p-hum bla)⁵
[sāl] di[n]kar
7. [cut] p[k]ā[w thar sirwiñ pneñ duleñ] u [goh ma bum]nañ [hurā samā
sni' lñor u]-
8. [t sthān mşun hān goh u b]l]ah [goh] ha[n ti prāsāt cindrow pan] ku
[ti' mu]-
9. [k juñ dal] ut sthān [mşun hān goh u p-hūn ku dek klas th]ar sreñ
[p-hūm]
10. (da bla)ñ⁶ [sāl] [di]ñ[kar cut pkāw th]ar s[i]r[wiñ pneñ duleñ] u
bumnañ hurā sa[mā sni']
11. [t]un [l]ñor [ut sth]ā[n mşun] (da goh wel) u [cip bār mirmok
kintu kārti]-
12. [k tñey candraw]ār u [sambeñ gri sambeñ leñ kalan yañ] s(a)ñ⁷ [i⁸
bumnañ h]u[rā]
13. sa[m]ā [sni' s]u[n] tu[rñ u ku bumnañ ma sdindiñ] (lwar ta)⁹ [go]h
[sluk sirpuñ s]u[khūy] [c]-
14. [ndro]w [sukhūy u]l[ār] glik ku[cthom bumte]ñ u b[l]ah [g]oh (rme)ñ¹⁰
k[lañ b]ā[r cwa]-

¹ All very doubtful readings.² Somewhere in this illegible passage there must, I think, have been another *muk tirdey hān*, unless B 5 covers two out of five places referred to.³ The last part of this doubtful passage looks like *ñ lñir*, though the vowel is not certain and conceivably the *ñ* might be *w*.⁴ This seems probable.⁵ Very doubtful. Alternatively it might be *ti mleh*.⁶ Very doubtful. It might be *mleh*; or the supposed *da* might be merely an accidental mark.⁷ Looks like *suk*, but the mark below may be accidental.⁸ There seems to be only a single stop here.⁹ Though these letters are illegible, I think the reading is practically certain.¹⁰ Fairly certain.

15. [s turow « ma] (ciŋgin)¹ [klas slūy . klas] (ti ta goḥ suṃ ku)² glik
ku[choṃ buṃ]te-
16. [n «] b[l]aḥ [goḥ lwar ḥā]r (ma) [guñi ku glik buṃteṃ pund]ar k[u
tḍoṃ buṃteṃ «]
17. [ut lw]ar [ḥār goḥ ḍeḥ luṣāl klas thar sreñ «] k[l]as [slūy] (ma
ñah) [ciñ]-
18. [gin goḥ tūy « klas] (ti³ goḥ) [klaṃ ḥār cwas « ut k]las [ta] goḥ
[ḍeḥ] lu[ḥac ku]
19. [pkāw] (b)[rā](c kmow sla caḍūñ da⁴ tik pham kinta « [goḥ ma
buṃnah hurā to' ār]
20. [tuk ḍek] (p-huṃ) [jiñjuṃ jirkoy jiñju]ṃ [yas jiñju]ṃ [atas]
21. [ku ut] (ku) [jiñjuṃ c-eñ] (i)⁵ [ku ut] (ku) [kiryā suṃ tuṃ « blaḥ]
goḥ yañ jiñjuṃ ji-
22. [rkoy] (i)⁶ [jiñjuṃ yas jiñjuṃ atas] (ku) [jiñjuṃ c-eñ cas ḥār goḥ
moy]
23. [hān « kir](r)[yā] [prāsāt jnok moy hān « prāsāt cindrow
pan]
24. (pan) [hān « prāsāt birlup moy hān « jiñjuṃ muk siŋghāsin moy hā]-
25. [n « jiñjuṃ muk] (cirmuk) [moy hān « jiñjuṃ juṃ dal moy] hān («)
26. [jiñjuṃ muk] t[ir]ḍe[y hān tlañ] (mirmok moy) [hān « jiñjuṃ mu]-
27. [k tīrḍey hān t]aṃ pīrl[it] (moy hān) [« jiñjuṃ muk tīrḍey]
28. [hān] tlañ [c]i[n kinta]' [moy hān] (« ut clec)⁷ [tlañ mirmok ḍeḥ
reñ lā]-
29. [r moy hān « ut cl]e[c tlañ]⁸ [ḍeḥ reñ l]ār [moy hān «
ut cle]-
30. [c t]aṃ pīrl[it ut clec tlañ ciñ] k[inta ḍeḥ reñ lār mirmoy⁹ h]ā[n
mirmoy]⁹
31. [hān « ut cas duṃ]poḥ [hān goḥ ḍeḥ pa brā]t ci[ndran luḥac ku
kon brāt]

¹ Fairly certain.² Very doubtful; *suṃ ku* might be *sluk*.³ Looks rather like *tī*, but may be *ta*: this part of the text is in bad preservation.⁴ This seems to be the same phrase as in C 24, D 20, G 29, J 7, K 14, L 24. The first word, here illegible, has a subscript *m* under its initial letter (which might be a *t*). Its final may possibly be *e*. The *sla* seems fairly certain and so does the *ḍ*, but the rest is very doubtful.⁵ The stop is doubtful. Perhaps it is really *da*, in which case it might also be possible to read the immediately following *ku* and the one at the beginning of the line, as *kum*. There are traces of dots over them which may represent the *anusvāra*.⁶ This stop is also doubtful and might be an accidental mark or *na*.⁷ The last word seems fairly certain. The stop is quite conjectural.⁸ The last letter seems to be *r*. Cf. B 4.⁹ The *r* is very doubtful.

32. (tbow)¹² [de]k [k]as [thar sreñ dek kinlo] sañ [ma cut
ku tarñ]
33. (sno' jiljup³ ") [sā]l [dīnk]ar [pkāw] thar [sambhuc⁴ du]leñ pneñ
duleñ [d]eh [r]e-
34. (ñ lār)⁵ [tūy bl]ah [" han nār d]e[h pa brāt cindran m]oh
[j]ow [l]u[hac ku]
35. [kon brāt tbow pdey goh pūñ⁶ khal ma crok k]u p[n]eñ [sambhuc⁷
du]leñ deh
36.⁸ [dek klas th]ar sreñ tūy sāl d[akar] c[ut pkāw thar
sirwiñ]
37.⁹ [go]h [ma buññ]ah h[u]rā [lño]r nār c[ip] p[iryām]
dumhi]c ti(k)¹⁰
38.¹¹ [tñey] go[dhuli¹² lagna buññah hurā samā to']
p[-hū]m¹³ [j]i[nju]ñ [jirkoy]
39. [jñjuñ yas jñjuñ [a]ta[s cut k]i [d]ek [klas thar sreñ]
40. [dek kinlo' sañ ma cut tarñ sñō' j]i[ljip " b]lah go[h de]h p-hūm]
.
41.¹⁴ [jñjuñ] [ki]rryā [sum tūm c]-eñ [da] ta
[go]h ut [mleh] " [blah]
42. (goh) [jñ]jeh mirmā jñjeh r[(m)]eñ [jñ]je]h
[ti]rc(u)l¹⁵ " [jñ]jeh (mañ)
43.
44. [goh ut]
45.
. [dek kinlo]-
46. [sañ ma cut tarñ sño' jiljip]

¹ Conjectural restoration. From here to the end of B the beginnings of the lines are broken off.
² The last letter seems to be *ñ*. Perhaps one might restore " *reñ*. Or some other verb (such as *cut* or *ket*) may have been written.
³ Or, perhaps, *jiljip*.
⁴ Or, perhaps, *sambhuc*.
⁵ Conjectural restoration.
⁶ Or *pūñ*.
⁷ Or *sambhuc*.
⁸ The missing words probably included some word like *ket*.
⁹ Possibly one might restore *pneñ duleñ*.
¹⁰ The word *tik* seems reasonably certain. What follows looks rather like *pa* in one or two of the impressions. One might conjecture *pham* or, alternatively, *pan*.
¹¹ If the conjectural restoration *pan* is accepted in the last line, it would seem likely that *pahir* should be restored here. But the space available seems to be rather small for the two words. Probably, however, *pit* is right.
¹² Or *godhuli*.
¹³ Or *p-hum*.
¹⁴ The last word may be *ut* or *ku*.
¹⁵ Or, perhaps, *tircal*.

C

1. (khal ma) [cro]k [ku pneñ¹ " cut kil dek klas thar sreñ] (sāl di)-
2. (ñkar)² [cut pk]āw [thar sirwi]ñ [pneñ duleñ]
.³
3. [ci]p=[piryām] du[mhic] pi [pahir mñun nādi] (bum-
nah) [hurā]
4. sa[m]ā [to' p-hum jñjuñ jirkoy jñjuñ] (yas ku) [ut kiryā prā]-
5. [sāt ku] ji[nju]ñ su[m tūm c-eñ] (p-hum tūy)
[ut] (bla)h
6. lñ[or ku] pk[āw thar pneñ] [duleñ]⁴ [cas dum]poh
[hā]-
7. [n] (goh mleh " blah goh sambeñ)⁵⁶ (ket) [dek parit
kla]-
8. s [th]ar [ma de]h (reñ lār)⁷ [h⁸ de]h (tluñ rum-
bas han)⁹ [ji]-
9. ñjuñ [i]r[ko]y [jñjuñ yas blah de]h ru[mbas] (ut) [jñjuñ kiryā sum]
10. [t]uñ mleh " blah go[h buññah hurā samā to'] (p-hum kirryā)¹⁰ [goh
ku de]-
11. k k[las thar sreñ antul¹¹ jñjuñ jirkoy] (goh blah)¹² [" cip=p]i[ryā]-
12. [m dum]hi[c u](ssājoga)¹³¹⁴ " (goh ma) [buññah hurā]
(samā to' p-hu)-¹⁵
13. (m) [kil dum]poh [li](cut tūy blah¹⁶ ") [jñjuñ jirkoy jñjuñ]
14. [yas jñjuñ atas ta goh] (b) (n) (mey)
15.¹⁷ (goh) [mleh] " [bl]ah [goh y]añ [jñjuñ sum t]uñ " (ku)
[kirryā]¹⁸

¹ With this restoration cf. B 35. The last word in the preceding line must have been *pūñ* or *pūñ*.

² Conjecturally restored; but the *r* seems pretty certain.

³ Probably the first part of the missing passage read *sambhuc duleñ*.

⁴ The last of the missing words may be *ut*.

⁵ Almost certain.

⁶ The first of the missing words (being a continuation of the title *sambhuc*) apparently begins with *je* (cf. A 36). But the rest does not appear to be *sambhuc* here.

⁷ Very doubtful.

⁸ The first of the missing words looks like *kyon*, or *kyey*. If it was the latter, we may suppose that *sañgha* came next. The last of the missing words was probably *goh*, unless we are to assume *cas dum]poh* after the supposed *sañgha*.

⁹ Very doubtful, especially the *han*.

¹⁰ Fairly certain.

¹¹ Or *antul*.

¹² Very doubtful.

¹³ Doubtful. But cf. C 17, E 15, J 31.

¹⁴ Looks as if it might be *añgār*, but is very doubtful.

¹⁵ Or, perhaps, *p-hu*.

¹⁶ Very doubtful. And of course *tūy* might be *tuy*.

¹⁷ Looks like *to'*. At any rate the final seems pretty certain.

¹⁸ Possibly *ha*.

16. (n) prāsāt [ta goh ku d] . . . n¹ [si] . . . [ku kiryā suñ tuñ c-eñ]
(d) . . .² . . . [k].[r]³
17. . . . (k) [ut mleḥ⁴] (mṣun) [mirmok kintu] (māgha⁴ ussājoga sniscā)-
18. [r] (goh) [bumnaḥ hu]rā [to' p-hum⁵ jñjuñ jirkoy jñjuñ yas]
19. [jñjuñ atas ta goh⁶ ku] [lah]⁶ (p-hum) [ku dek klas thar]
20. sreñ (tūy⁷ blaḥ pa puḥaw)⁸ [pkāw thar] p[ne]ñ [duleñ blaḥ goh] . .
21. (kic) ta(m)⁹ [jñjuñ ta goh] (c-eñ)⁴ [mleḥ] (mṣun) [mirmok kintu
phalla]-
22. [gun] t[ney ādittawā]r [cip] pi[ryām dūm]hi[c pi] pa[ha]r [mṣun nāḍi
de]h
23. (ār) [tuk dek] (pa) (ti¹⁰)¹⁰ (sirteñ) (t).(k).(t) . . . (n)¹¹
[klas tha]-
24. [r sreñ slūy] (n han peñ) [klas ta goh deḥ] (reñ lar ku pkāw
(brāc)
25. (kmow sla caḍūñ da)¹² [n] (goh ma) [deḥ lusā¹³ antū¹³ lwar] (ma
sloṃ na)¹⁴
26. (ku) [glik bumte]ñ [pudar¹⁵ ku tḍoñ bumteñ¹⁶ bumnaḥ] (ma) [dindiñ
lwar ta]
27. [goh sluk sukhūy cindrow] (n kdeñ bnas)¹⁶ [ār] (kinta) [n blaḥ] (goh)
.
28. [go]h [bumnaḥ]¹⁷ [ār kinta n] (goh ma) deḥ [ār tu]k
[d]e[k]
29. dek goh [tlūñ]¹⁸ cip [tūy¹⁹ blaḥ n deḥ] r[eñ lar] m[l]eḥ [n han turo]-
30. w [m]i[r]mok kint[u] pha[l]lagun t[ñ]e[y] ca[n]drawār [ḥār nāḍi tmin
han]

¹ Looks like *duman* or *dupaṇ*. I cannot explain it. The next word looks as if it might have been *sinta* or *sinma*, or something like that, also unintelligible.

² Looks something like *daḥ*.

³ Conceivably *dañkar* or *dintar*.

⁴ Very doubtful.

⁵ Or *p-hum*.

⁶ Looks like *rap rumlah*; but either or both of the *r*'s might be a *d*, the *p* might be *m* or *s*, and the *m* is doubtful. The *lah* seems pretty certain. The next word is also very doubtful.

⁷ Or *tuy*.

⁸ Or *pūḥaw*.

⁹ Very doubtful, except the *t*, which is practically certain.

¹⁰ The missing word looks like *dñas*.

¹¹ All this passage is exceedingly doubtful, including the stop. But *sirteñ* seems at least probable. The rest may be *tak tnak* n. Cf. C 42.

¹² Cf. B 19, D 20, G 28, J 7, K 14, L 24.

¹³ Or *antū*.

¹⁴ Both words doubtful, though *sloṃ* seems probable. After it there is a little spare space and there may be a trace of a short letter, which could only represent *na*.

¹⁵ Conceivably, but improbably, *pundar*.

¹⁶ Very doubtful. The first word might conceivably be *gon*. But cf. E 2, 33, F 48.

¹⁷ The missing word does not seem to be *hurā*.

¹⁸ Or *tlūñ*.

¹⁹ Or *tuy*.

31. (nār) [d]eḥ pa brā[t cindran moḥ] jlow [l]u[ḥac] k[u kon brāt tḥo]-
 32. w sāl diṅkar cut pkāw thar pneñ duleñ sambhuc¹ duleñ « goḥ
 33. [ma s]ambeñ gr[i] sambeñ l[e]ñ [k]ala[n ya]ñ² sañ [buṁn]aḥ [hu]rā
 sa[mā]
 34. [to'] sluk s[i]rpuñ s[u]kh[ū]y cin(d)row³ su[khū]y u[lā]r [na ku] gl[ik]
 35. ku[ch]om bumteñ « go[h ma ār] lñor nā[r tuy « ut] di[s cas]
 36. [go]ḥ deḥ [p]a brā[t] ci[ndran] lu[b]ac ku [k]o[n] brā[t] t[b]o[w] . .
 (rumlah)⁴
 37. [pkā]w thar pn[ā]ñ duleñ [sambhuc duleñ] deḥ [klas th]ar sreñ de-
 38. [k k]inlo' sañ ma cu[t=t]am sño' ji[l]j[i]p [ta go]ḥ d[eḥ re]ñ [sura]-
 39. [p tūy] blaḥ « cip=[p]i[ryām] dum[hi]c [b]ā[r] n[āḍi] ḥār pāt tmi[n
 goḥ]
 40. bu[mn]aḥ [h]urā to' [cu]t [p]kā[w thar] si[r]wiñ pneñ duleñ [k]et de-
 41. k klas thar sreñ deḥ kinlo' [s]añ [m]a cu[t] ta[m sño'] [ji]-
 42. [l]jip [g]oḥ [s]ān [rumbas lñor] ut di[s cas t[ūy] bla[h « s]ir[te]-
 43. (ñ) ti tak t[n]ak [m]le[h « h]an piryām goḥ kuṁ de[h] p[is] gi[nhāl]⁵
 44. (dñah sāl)⁶ biñc[al] ji[n]ju[ñ] t]a goḥ [m]l[e]ḥ « [c]up p[i]ry[ā]m
 dumhic [m]o-
 45. (y pahir mo)y⁷ [nād]i tmin deḥ khāl sin[d]ra['] ji[n]ju[ñ] ta goḥ
 46. (tūy) deḥ [« han p]i[ryām] d[u]m[h]i[c [go]ḥ [ku]m deḥ ket

D

1.
⁸
 2.

 3. . . (deḥ klas thar sreñ)

¹ Possibly *sambhuc*.² Looks rather like *yūñ*, but the extra stroke is probably accidental.³ It is very doubtful whether there is any trace of a *d* here. Perhaps *cinrow* is the more probable reading in this passage.⁴ Exceedingly doubtful, though the *r* seems fairly certain.⁵ Possibly *gindāl*.⁶ The restoration is somewhat conjectural, though it seems to be supported by one of the impressions. In any case it is probable, and the *l* seems pretty certain.⁷ Fairly certain, owing to the context.⁸ There may be traces of another illegible line above this one.

4. (l) . . . (u goh ma bumnaḥ hurā ket dek klas thar sreñ
dek kinlo' sañ)¹
5. (ma cut taṁ sho'² jiljip) [deh]
6.
7. (nāḍi) (paṇḍit u)
8. (ci) [deh] . [i]
9. [ket] (sla)³ (ku)
[jiljup]
10. (bumnaḥ ci) (phl)
11. (ñ) (tūy) [blāḥ deh]
12. [br]
 . . . (ket ku)
13. (sirsūl) [deh sūl
mleḥ u han pīryām dūmhi]-
14. [c] (c-eñ)⁴ (gumīr ma)
[spadot parit] (wūr) [ut] (pa)-
15. (n) [tlañ] (ku) [s](iñghāsīn reñ pḍey goḥ mleḥ)⁵ [u]⁶ [mirmok=
kintu phal](l)a[gun tñey] (su)-
16. (krawār⁷ goḥ deh) [ket dek klas thar sreñ] (ta goḥ) [deh] (lop
rumbas han) [jñ]-
17. [jñ jirkoy jñjuñ yas jñjuñ atas sñ]ghāsīn [ku ut jñjuñ] (sum tum
c-e)ñ
18. (mleḥ) [u tñey goḥ kum c]ip=[pīryām dūmhi]c bār [pah]ar b[lah
d]e[h ār] (tuk dek)⁸ (sirsū)-
19. (l)⁹ (atthar¹⁰ sut ma) (u blāḥ ket)¹¹ [klas] thar [diñcām
klas sreñ diñcām kla]-

¹ Everything after *hurā* is merely conjectural restoration, though probable enough.

² Conjectural restoration, depending on the correctness of the reading *jiljip*, which is not quite certain. ³ Looks like *tas* or *wās*. ⁴ Conceivably *emeñ* (as in J 29), but probably not.

⁵ All very doubtful: *reñ pḍey* might conceivably be *mañ mey*, *mleḥ* might be *blāḥ*.

⁶ Probably the word for "nine" is contained in this missing passage.

⁷ Doubtful.

⁸ Doubtful: *tuk* might be *ket*, and *dek* is very uncertain.

⁹ Very doubtful. The word might be *sīsūl*, or something else.

¹⁰ Or *attar*, or *attara*?

¹¹ All very doubtful.

20. [s slūy klaṁ diñcām klas ti klaṁ diñcām u] (han) [peñ klas ta
goḥ deh] (crok pkāw b)[r](āc)
21. (kmow sla caḍū)[ñ] (da)¹ [tūy] u [goḥ ma] d[eh] k[e]t klas thar klas
sreñ] (goḥ) [deh lusāl]
22. (hantūl lwar pan² ma) [deh guñ]i [ku gl]i[k buñteñ ma deh pudar
ku t]d[on b]u[ñteñ goḥ ma buñ]-
23. [naḥ ma dindiñ lwar ta goḥ slok sukhūy cindrow ut] (kum u yañ)
[klas slūy klas ti ta goḥ]
24. (ñāḥ) . . . (ginlas³ ku mirmā ma rap sinrañ)⁴ [ta goḥ] (ku⁵ ma)
[ciñgin] (dakep)⁶ ñāḥ ma [ciñgi]n ta
25. (goḥ sluk glik sirpoñ) [kuchom buñteñ juk sok buñteñ] u (goḥ ma)
[bumnaḥ hurā]
26. (ma) (ā
bat ār) [kinta] (u goḥ ma ār)
27. [tuk] de[k] (u dek goḥ tūñ) [cip tūy u deh] lo[p reñ lār jinreñ]
(sthān ma si)-
28. (sūl)⁸ [u han pīryām dūm]hic goḥ [kum]
(ut)⁹ skil
29. (bal)[i] (Indra ku) [ut dewatāw] (gum)l(u)ñ¹⁰ [ci] deh [kindam]
t[ū]y [kil] (bali mleḥ yiyā') t(ū)-¹¹
30. y (reh)⁶ [buddharūp] (ma nom)⁶ [ḍey dūñ Arimaddanapūr wo' ci]
(u) (lah) i(t)¹² [lah]
31. [pneñ] (buñka) [sañbhuc¹³ k](l)[o'] (twiñ) tñey [goḥ] k[um] deh pa
p[ū]jāw jāp ut] (mleḥ u blāḥ) [goḥ]
32. (dān nidhi kil) (cut pi sthān mleḥ)¹⁴ [u cip=pīryām
dūm]hic pan nāḍi tmin] (da)⁶ d[eh]
33. (pis)⁶ [jiljup]¹⁵ ku sarbtagan¹⁶ marmal ta goḥ mleḥ u han turow
nāḍi tmin goḥ deh plo]-

¹ Cf. B 19, C 24, G 28, J 7, K 14, L 24.

² The word *pan* is particularly doubtful.

³ The vowel of the second syllable might be *u*.

⁴ Possibly *sindrai*; cf. F 23, 24, H 44.

⁵ Perhaps *kum*.

⁶ Very doubtful.

⁷ Possibly *ñāḥ* or *pan*, preferably the former.

⁸ Extremely doubtful: *ma si* in the last line might be *pampi*.

⁹ The last part of the missing passage looks rather like *jayā*. But I can make nothing of it.

¹⁰ The second *u* is very doubtful.

¹¹ All very doubtful except the *t*.

¹² Look like *igiti* or *j-it*.

¹³ Or possibly *sañbhuc*.

¹⁴ All very doubtful, except perhaps the last word: *cut* might be *ut*, and the rest is quite uncertain.

¹⁵ Perhaps *jiljup*.

¹⁶ Perhaps, though improbably, *sarwā*, or even *sarwā*.

34. [p jiljūp ku] (bdi')¹ [sarbbagan² marm]al ta goh [m]leh [v] ha[n
moy pahir tmin] (goh) [deh]
35. [crok tdoñ binteñ b]ār [u han] jīñ[ju]ñ [jirkoy bār u tdoñ binteñ mo]-
36. [y han jīñju]ñ ya[s u tdo]ñ [binteñ moy] ha[n jīñjuñ atas] (u goh
ma) [burñ]-
37. [nah hurā ket dek klas thar sreñ ku dek kinlo' sañ ma cut tam
sño' jil]-
38. [jūp³ u goh ma paḍot sñan rumbas tūy u goh ma girkar ku jiljūp]⁴
(ku lwis) . . .
39. [sruñ jīñjuñ jirk]oy [ku sru]ñ [jīñjuñ yas ku sruñ jīñjuñ
atas]
40. [si](nghāsin) [de]h gir[kar ku sla jilju]p (ku lwis tūy) [goh] ma [tun
ket]
41. (ta) [goh tun] g[irkar u] (girkar)⁵ [jiljup] (ku lwis)
[ta goh m]leh [u sño'] . . .
42.⁶ . . . [qđ]alā⁷ [ci d]eh [plo]p l[ār ut jijāp tlañ mleh
u cas mirmok=kintu phal](l)a-
43. [gun tñey sniscarwār⁸ cup piryām dūmhic moy pahar turow nādī]
(brisa)⁹ [l]a(gna)
44. (goh ma) [tirla poy mhāther Arahan kú ut trey] (sañgha)
45. (r) [ut]

E

1. [u cip=piryām] (dūmhic) [pahir] (pi) [nādī] (tmin)
2. (h kden bñas ār kinta tik pham klo')¹⁰
3. (k) (jīñjuñ u)

¹ Very doubtful, except the *b*, which seems fairly certain.² As in the preceding line, see note.³ Perhaps *jiljup*.⁴ The last letter of the missing passage seems to be *l*.⁵ Perhaps *sñi*.⁶ This seems to be the reading, though of course in a barely legible passage it is difficult to be sure that it is not *mesa*.⁷ Very doubtful. Cf. C 27, E 33.⁸ Perhaps *jup*.⁹ Very doubtful.¹⁰ Looks like *paṇḍalā* or *maṇḍalā*.

4. (goh ār tuk dek) (snāl) [ji]-
5. [ñjuñ ta goh] (deh)
6. [deh pa brāt cindran luḥac ku kon brāt tḥo]-
7. [w sāl dīnkar pkāw thar pneñ duleñ sambhuc dule]-
8. [ñ] (tūy blah)
9. [tlūñ]¹ (cip) [tūy u]
10. (u goh ma) [būñnah hurā to'] (ket) [dek klas tha]-
11. [r sreñ dek] (kinlo' sañ ma ñin cut tam)² [sño']
12. [jilji]p [goh ma paḍot sñan rumbas tūy p-hum ut]
13. (snāl) [jīñjuñ ta goh mleh u blah goh sāl]
14. [dīnkar]:(lñor) [pkāw thar sirwiñ pneñ duleñ u cip piryā]-
15. [m ussājogga candrawār] (deh)³
16. (pis tmo' sñāl) [jīñjuñ ta goh jāp ut mleh u han]
17. [piryām goh kuñ u] (crūñ)⁴ (jīñjuñ) . . .
18. [ut pan tlañ u] (tlañ) [ut jīñjuñ]
19. [jīñjuñ] (k) [jīñjuñ prā]-
20. [sāt birlip⁵ u ut] (jīñjuñ⁶ goh) [deh] . (ū) . [tūy blah]
21. [u han pīrpiñ kantu⁷ phalagun tñey brahaspati]-
22. (wār moy) [nādī] t[m]i[n] de[h surap thar d]eh la[k pa]-
23.⁸ [han jīñjuñ yas u tñey goh kuñ] (bār)
24. [pahir] (pi) [nādī p][op jīñjuñ] . . .⁹ (u han) [piryām goh]
25. [kuñ p-hūm thiwās jīñjuñ jirkoy j]iñjuñ [yas ji]-
26. [ñjuñ atas ku ut jīñjuñ] [suñ tuñ c-eh] (da) u [goh ma buñ]-
27. [nah] (sañkrān)¹⁰ [to'] (u)¹¹ [gu]ñi lwa[r] pudar ku [td]oñ [bu]-
28. [nteñ u hantūl] lwar ta goh deh lusāl klas thar
29. [sreñ u klas slūy]¹² ma ñah [ciñgin] goh [pi cw]as pi da u
30. [būñnah ma dīndi]ñ [lwar ta goh slok sukh]ūy cindro-
31. [w]¹³ [ku glik kuchom buñteñ u juk sok]

¹ Or *tlūñ*.² Except for the *i*, *ma ñin* is doubtful; but the rest is nearly certain.³ Perhaps *dek*.⁴ Perhaps *crūñ*.⁵ Perhaps *birlup*.⁶ Doubtful. There may be a *ta* between it and *goh*.⁷ Perhaps *kintu*. But there is no clear trace of an *i*.⁸ The last part of the missing passage looks like *pat*, or *pdat*. The first letter in the line is illegible, and this throws some doubt on the end of the preceding line also. Cf. E 47 *infra*.⁹ Presumably we must restore *yas* or *atas*.¹⁰ Doubtful. But cf. A 12, J 2, 9.¹¹ There seems to be a stop here, though none is needed.¹² Perhaps *sluy*.¹³ Looks like *u deh na*, which I cannot fit into the context satisfactorily, though I have attempted to translate it on the assumption that the stop is misplaced.

32. [bur^{teñ} bla^h go^h] hurā [bu^mna^h] (daksān¹ phlac² me)[khalā]
 33. [bn]as k[d]eñ³ [ti]k ā^r pham [kinta go^h ma] ā^r tuk de-
 34. [k * kindrow] (ma) [ā]r [tuk dek go^h] * [han ji]-
 35. [ñjuñ ta go^h] deh[h pa brā]t [cindr]an [pi cw]as d[um]po^h]-
 36. [h] d[irmon] * [s]ā[di]ñka[r pi cw]as [dum]po^h * [dek kla]-
 37. s k[lañ] pa[n] cwas di[ñe]ā[m] * pkāw [thar] pi cwas d[um]po^h]-
 38. [h *] p[n]e[ñ] dul[e]ñ pi cwa[s dum]po^h * sam[bhu]c [duleñ]
 39. [p]i [cw]as [dum]po^h * de[k kin]o' [sañ ma cut]=tam
 40. [sno' jilji]p g[o]h [pi cwas d]um[p]o^h da [* han]
 41. [nā]r d[in]kar snāl p[kāw] thar p[n]eñ duleñ [p]ūñ [khal ma]
 42. [crok] ku p[neñ * ut ta] g[o]h deh^h r[e]ñ surap
 43. [lār tūy] bla^h * de[k ma] de[h]h ā^r tu]k [go^hh]
 44. [tlūñ] ci[p t]ū[y *] cip=[p]ir[yām godh]ul[i] la[gnā] go^h [deh]-
 45. [h] p-hūm thiwās jiñjuñ [ji]rko[y *] jiñjuñ ya[s * ji]-
 46. ñjuñ a[ta]s * ku u[t ji]ñjuñ s[um]⁴ tu[m] c-eñ wū[r u]-
 47. t pa[n] t[l]a[ñ] mle^h [ñ] ha[n p]ir[y]ā[ni] go^h ku[m] lak] (mat)⁵
 48. (han p)[i](ryām go^h ku)[ñ]⁶

F

1. k⁷ [t]ney sukrawār
 go[h kum moy]
 2. [nādi] (mina⁸ lagna) [sni rā]jasthān go^h *
 mi[m]o[y]⁹ hān go^h
 3. deh [tuip tinla^h thar tinla^h sreñ tinla^h slūy * [u]t cas hān go^h
 row go^h-
 4. (h)¹⁰ [ti]nla[h thar t]inla^h sre[ñ ti]nla^h slūy p(umpi)¹¹ pumpi deh tuip
 * tney go^h kum deh [ñ]
 5. [jiñjuñ ji]rko[y] jiñjuñ yas jiñjuñ atas * bla^h go^h deh khāl ut
 [jiñjuñ sum tum]

¹ Doubtful: the *d* might be *r*, or something else. The *s* may be *y*.

² The final may perhaps be *w*.

³ Cf. C 27, E 2.

⁴ Possibly, but improbably, *sām*.

⁵ It is not quite certain that the initial is not *p*, though a cross-bar is certainly visible. But it might be accidental. Perhaps cf. E 22-3 *supra*.

⁶ In this line only a few traces of the tops of letters and superscript symbols remain, but their appearance justifies this conjectural restoration.

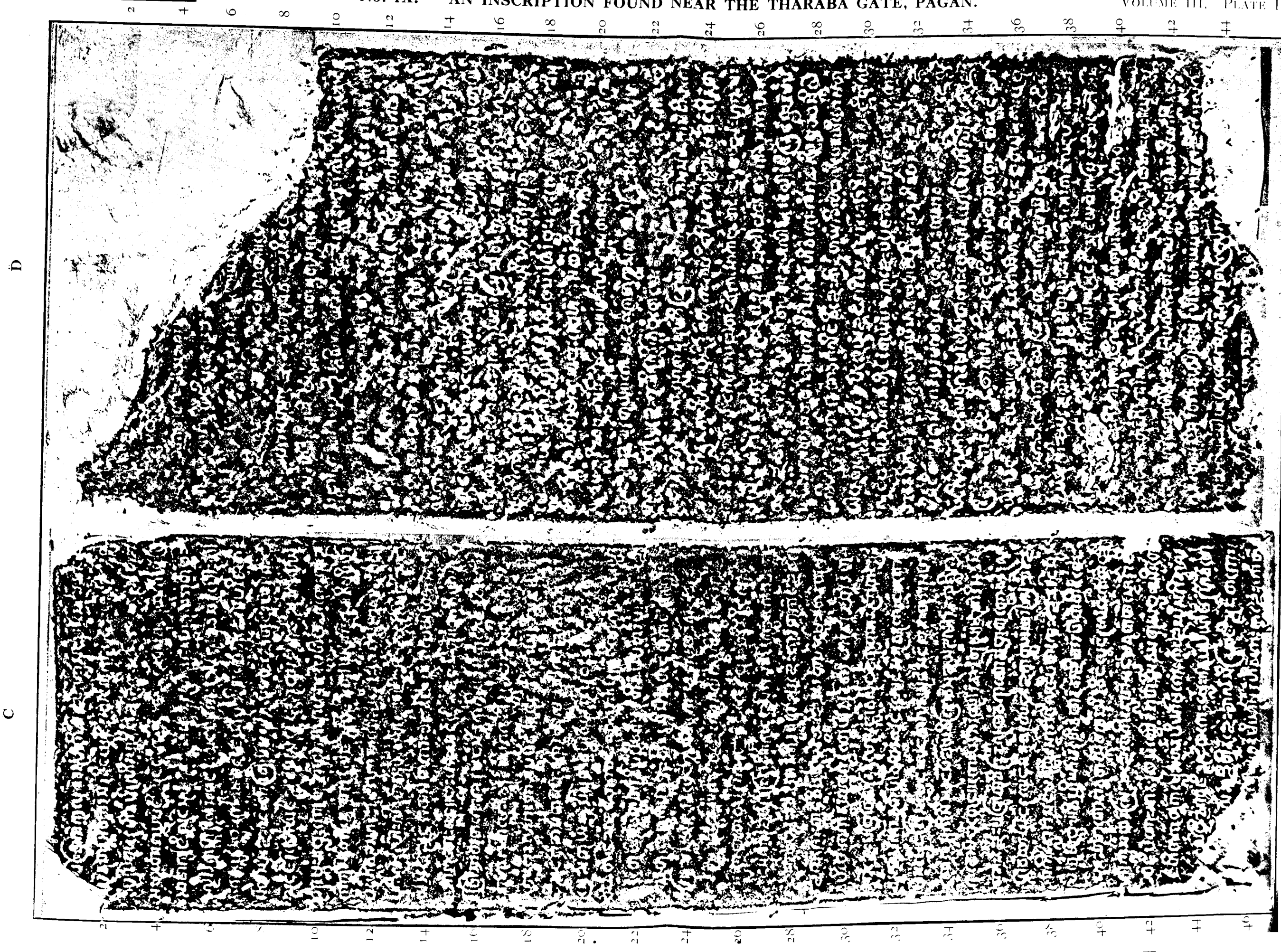
⁷ Possibly *kum*, but more probably the end of *cirwek*.

⁸ Very doubtful reading.

⁹ Possibly *mīrmay*.

¹⁰ Doubtful; possibly *kum*.

¹¹ Looks rather like *pumwa*.



AN INSCRIPTION FOUND NEAR THE THARABA GATE, PAGAN.

F

24 **F**

6. [c-e]ñ mleh * han pi[ryām goh] kum deh giw tam jiñjuñ jirkoy
jiñjuñ [yas jiñjuñ]
7. [at]as deh sāl tin[l]ah thar tinlah sreñ tinlah s[lūy] * ut jiñju[n] ta
goh pumpi ta-
8. p deh sāl s[m]oh jirnok ku ki[ntāl] jiñjuñ ta g[o]h * [d]eh [giw] ku
glik ma deh
9. [sūl j]ey[yale]kha goh mleh * [t]ol ma deh pūr jiñ[j]uñ ta goh
sumwat kumā-
10. [rī] kon [b]um[n]ah kon kñ(u)m¹ (ma t)leñ² goh [ma kindam] klarñ
diñcām tno[l] t(ū)y³ da goh
11. [ma] burmah [h]urā pad[ot] sām [rumbas tūy bl]ah [g]oh [ma] deh
pūr jiñjuñ ta goh [mle]h
12. [tñ]e[y] goh kum pi nāđi tmīn mīna lagna [deh y]uk [pt]āw lar
jiñjuñ jirkoy bā-
13. r jiñjuñ yas jiñjuñ a[t]as singhā[s]in han tīngūr srūñ deh kum k[u]m
* tñe-
14. y [go]h kum cip moy pahar turow nāđi tirla l[m]om pun yān cīñ *
no-
15. r (d)inđār⁴ jinreñ Jetawan goh [lop ptāw] cīñ [han k]inta ra[n]
kinl(ū)ñ⁵ Pukā-
16. m p[d]ey kumbeñ (ma sar)⁶ [go]h * yañ ña [lwar ku lw]ar (yā)n⁷
goh [l]op [t]āw boy
17. [k]ro[w] cīñ yān * boy cīñ ki[nta goh] yañ cīñ bintāñ [ma yimo']
Erāwan(a)-
18. mahāwijeyyabajrabhū[m ma duk piñ ku ut] ki[ryā] j[mā](p) [ma tmūy
na] thar [imā]-
19. s [ma ñ]i[n] lak na [rat ma] kah [m]oy [p]ra[kār] goh ma (tā)[w]⁸
bār lum]pek go-
20. [h y]añ k[s]eh yān [ma] d[u]k piñ [k]u [k]iryā [r]iñ[gah th]ar [ma
yā]s [ma] ñin [lak na ra]-
21. [t ma kah moy prakār] (goh ma)⁹ [tāw cuhāñ] * ut sambeñ grī
sambeñ leñ
22. [kalan yañ sañ ma tlūñ kom ku] tirla' poy gna smi]ñ [dhammarāja
goh lah] ñah

¹ Possibly *kñm*.⁴ Conceivably *riñdār*.⁶ Very doubtful.⁸ Looks like *warāw*.² Possibly *pa* and *klen*.⁵ Possibly *kinlūñ*.⁷ Presumably right, though it looks like *wagen*.⁹ Looks like *kom*.³ Possibly *tuy*.

23. [ma rap s]inrañ¹ (ta)² goh lah [sluk sirpūñ³ sukhyū] cindrow sukhyū
ulār glik ku-
24. [chom juk sok] bi[n]t[ēn] ut mle[h] [u] blaḥ [goh] ṇaḥ ma rap si[n]rañ¹
(ta)⁴ goh [sambe]-
25. ṇ [grī sambeñ leñ kaḥan y]añ sañ [trāp] (d)[u]msac⁵ kla pñāñ burinaḥ
hurā ṇaḥ ma]
26. le[p kindam sni' to'] s[l]ok [sirpu]ñ⁶ [sukhyū] ci[n]drow sukhyū ulā[r
(wak)⁷
27. [ut kiryā]⁸ na ku [glik]⁹ bi[n]t[ēn] ku[chom binteñ juk sok binteñ
" cut]
28. [pk]āw thar sirwiñ p[n]e[ñ] duleñ " lā]or [āc] war [nor tirla poy gna]
s[m]i[ñ] Śrī]
29. Tri[bhū]wanāditya[dhammarāja] l[mom] pun bi(r)[boy]¹⁰ sa(lār)¹¹ " blaḥ
[go]h [burinaḥ] hu-
30. rā [ñ]aḥ [ma] lep k[indaṁ sni'] to['] ār pa] p[ū]jāw nār ro]w ney
[tu]m]lā(r=)ku¹²
31. cut ki[l] de[k kl]as [thar sreñ blaḥ goh burinaḥ hu]rā ṇaḥ [ma] lep
ki-
32. ndam [sñ]i' suñ tu[m] tlūñ [s]ān [cut dek p]ari[t] klas thar sre[ñ h]an
sruñ
33. [ta] goh [blaḥ " cut pañcarat (jāp ut) [sruñ ta goh ku] pūñ dek
[to](h)-
34. h cumhā[l] " blaḥ [go]h g[ir]luk¹³ ut pham [klo'] (m)urā [ta]pi[w]
iseñ gumriñ lā¹⁴
35. (th)ar¹⁵ [mhāsār] s[gac] s[iñgīr pg]ohh¹⁶ ka[k]ā(r=)u[t] ba[l=lab]aḥ
hī [tr]ā[k] " [cu]p pīryām

¹ Perhaps *sindran*.² Looks like *ti*, but the supposed *i* is badly shaped and may be due to accidental damage.³ Or, perhaps, *sirpuñ*.⁴ Here there is no trace of any *i*, but the *t* is blurred.⁵ Conceivably, but less probably, *ruṁsac*.⁶ Looks rather like *wakam*. Conceivably the initial might be *dh*. But cf. G 25.⁷ Possibly, but improbably, *kiryā*.⁸ The *r* is very doubtful.⁹ It is exceedingly doubtful whether there is an *r* at all. The blur over the *k* may be accidental or may stand for *m*, making *kum*. But if the true reading is *tum* I think it must be regarded as being meant for *tum*.¹⁰ It is not certain whether *lā* should be joined to what follows it.¹¹ Looks like *bar* (or even *gar*).¹² Might be *p-ohh*. Cf. A 11, 33, G 5.¹³ Possibly *giriñt*.¹⁴ Or *sirpuñ*.¹⁵ Perhaps *glik*.¹⁶ Looks like *satap*.

36. dūmhic bār [pah]ir has[ta]¹ na[kṣatra me]thuna lag[n]a cruñ jñjuñ
jirkoy jñju-
37. ṇ [yas] jñjuñ atas " ha[n=taim] dir[k]as j[i]ñjuñ [ta] goh deh pūr
ku glik
38. bi[n]t[ēn] " blaḥ [g]oh jñjuñ juñ dal [jñjuñ] prāsāt j[no]k j[i]ñjuñ prā-
39. [sāt cind]row pa[n] jñju[n] prāsāt b[ir]l[up] ku u[h]² jñjuñ suñ tuñ
deh gī-
40. w ku glik binteñ deh [c]ut [pañcarat tūy de]h [c]ut pūñ ku dek toh-
41. h [cumhāl bl]aḥ [u] deh cruñ³ [ut] mleḥ [u] kāl cr]uñ [rā]ja[s]thā[n]
goh [ya]ñ t[u]m-
42. [wāy] ju[m]win [ma] (ād)[i] (nor)⁴ [thar sreñ bley] (kbā)l sattara[t
ma] kah [mo]-
43. [y pr]akār [ci] deh [tlūñ] (twāy)⁵ (ku) [gna
smin Śrī Tribhū]-
44. wanādityadhamma[rāja] [rā]ja[s]thān] j[eyabhūm
" han ji](ñju)-⁶
45. (ñ)
46. [t]
. (hantū)-
47. [l lw]ar [ta goh]h deh lusā[l] klas thar sre[ñ] kla[s] slūy klas t[i]
.⁷
48. ci[ñgin] b[n]as k[dā]ñ⁸ deh reñ [su]ra[p] lār [tūy " cu]p pīryām
dūmhic]

G

1. [khal ma nom]⁹ ku [pn]eñ cu[t] k[i]l de[k] klas [thar sreñ]
2. [sāl diñk]ar cut pkāw thar sirwiñ [pne]ñ [duleñ] " (goh)
3. [ma burinaḥ hurā ṇ]aḥ ma lep kindam [sñ]i' to' [lā]or [n]ār " [lñor
nār]

¹ Perhaps (but improbably) *hasā*.² The reading appears to be *uh*, which can only be a slip for *ut*.³ Probable, though not certain. Cf. I C 26.⁴ Very doubtful.⁵ Looks a little like *goh*, but probably *kdāñ* is right. No *d* is visible, the stone being apparently broken off here. Cf. C 27, E 2, 33.⁶ In the preceding line we must assume *pūñ*.⁷ Conceivably *cruñ*.⁸ Nearly certain.⁹ Possibly one should restore *ma ṇaḥ*.

4. [tūy blaḥ cip=p]iryām [godhul]i lag[n]a [tik phaṁ klo' piw siṅgi
pgoh]¹
5. [kakā](r=)[² goḥ ma buṁnaḥ hu]rā [to' ār p-hūm jiṅjuṁ jirko]y
[jiṅju]-
6. [n yas jiṅjuṁ atas] jiṅjuṁ prāsā[t p-hūm j]iṅ[ju]ṁ [p]rāsāt
7. [bi]rl[up ku ut jiṅju]ṁ su[m] tu[m] mleḥ " p-hū[m] tūy blaḥ sāl
di[nk]ar [cu]-
8. [t pkāw thar suṁ]bhu[c dule]ṁ pneṁ du[l]e[n] ḥno[r u]t [j]āp ji[n]ju-
9. [n ta] goḥ [mleḥ " tñ]ey [sni]scar³ ḥār cirwek [pi] pahir [blaḥ
sum]be-
10. ḥ ka[n]sā[sūr⁴ sum]beṁ (rā)[jirsū]r⁵ s[umb]eṁ [ripu](saddano)⁶
- [sumb]e[n] mhā](chatt)i⁷
11. [sumbeṁ prajñālaṅkāṛ ku buṁn]aḥ hu[rā to' rumb]as [ku] dek [pa]-
12. [rit klas] thar [sreṅ] bla[h de]ḥ kīr sr(ū)ṁ⁸ [ma] st[ui]p⁹ n]idhi' pa[n]
13. [han pan dis jiṅjuṁ] ya[s goḥ] p[d]ey tro[n] sl(ū)y¹⁰ [pan go]-
14. [h deḥ cut thar] s[r]e[n] ut ra[t ma] kaḥ [mo]y [p]rakār [go]-
15. [h ma gīw ku glik binte]ṁ " [cip=p]iryām du[mhic p]i [pah]ar [mo]-
16. [y nādi] (karka)¹¹ [lagna] " [ut sumb]e[n] gri su[mbe]ṁ [l]eṁ [kalan'
yaṅ]
17. [saṁ buṁnaḥ hurā to' tūn¹² s]ā[n rumbas ku] dek pari[t kla]-
18. [s thar sreṅ tūy¹³ goḥ] (ma)¹⁴ [ti]p [n]i[dh]i [pan goḥ ut pan]
19.¹⁵ (" han) [tñey ma] cr[u]ṁ [rājasthān Pukām goḥ kuṁ] (" da)-
20. [p tñey sīl mirmok laḥ] (dap)¹⁶ [tñey sīl cirwek]
21. [laḥ tirla poy mhā]ther [A]ra[han ku t]i[rley saṅgha suṁ]
22. [tuṁ lop du](m tāw)¹⁷ han [p]d]ey [Jetawan nor] sar [tñ]e-
23. [y ma lop du](m goḥh)¹⁸ ko[n ṇaḥ jnok rmeṁ.ku] ko-
24. [n ṇaḥ jnok]¹⁹ [paṇḍit to' slok]
25. [sukhū]y [cindrow wak ut kiryā na ku glik²⁰ binteṁ kucho]-

¹ Possibly *p-oh*. Cf. A 11, 33, F 35, H 46.

² There seems to be a very distinct *r* superscript over the stop. But it may be accidental. Cf. A 11, 33, F 35.

³ Conceivably *sāscar*.

⁴ Or *sur*.

⁵ The initial might be *a* or *ga*. The middle *r* is doubtful. The last syllable may be *sur*.

⁶ The *s* might be *m*. The *n* might be *ḍ*.

⁷ Possibly *mhāsakti* or *mhāsatti*.

⁸ Or *sruṇ*.

⁹ Conceivably, but improbably, *stūip*.

¹⁰ Perhaps *sluy*.

¹¹ The first *h* seems pretty certain.

¹² Perhaps *tun*.

¹³ Perhaps *tuy*.

¹⁴ The reading *ma* is nearly certain.

¹⁵ Probably we should restore *dis*, or possibly *ilaṅ*.

¹⁶ Fairly certain, both here and at the end of the preceding line.

¹⁷ Almost certain.

¹⁸ The final *h* is doubtful; but there is something there.

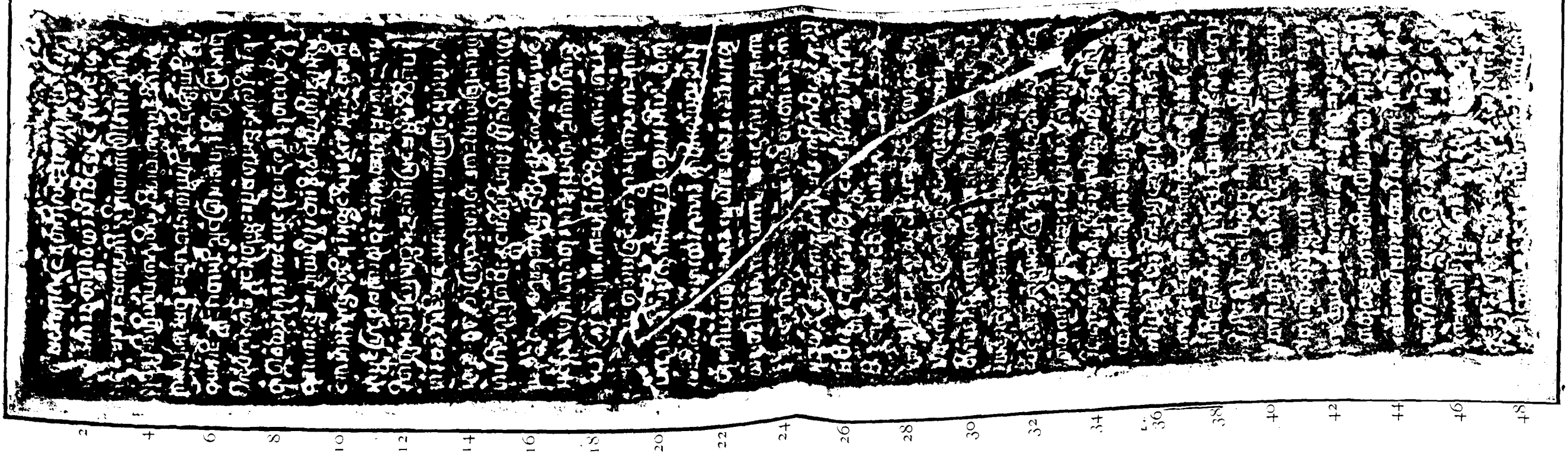
¹⁹ The first part of the missing passage-

dhyaṁ, which seem improbable readings.

H



G



26. [m bi]nte[n̄] j[u]k sok binte[n̄] (u ka)[ñi'¹ lw]ar [ku glik²]
 27. [binte[n̄] pudar ku tdo]ñ [binte[n̄] u hantul³] (lwar ta goh rusāl)⁴
 28. [klas thar sreñ ku klas slūy ti ma ñah] (ciñgin)⁵ [u han peñ kla]-
 29. [s ta goh deh crok pkāw brāc] (kmow) [sla] (cađũñ da)⁶ [u blah]
 (goh)⁷
 30. ti[k pham̄ ki]n[ta u] go[h ma kon ñah jnok ta goh ku pađit]
 31. [yañ s]añ [to' ar tuk dek u dek] (goh tlūñ cip tūy)⁸ [deh]
 32. [reñ lār dek klas thar sreñ slūy ti dek ki]n[o' sañ ma cu]-
 33. [t tam] s[ñ]o[ñ] jiljup] deh reñ [lār han sñi' ma spađot pa]-
 34. [rit goh tūy blah u cip=piryām sgāl tñey tirla poy mhā]-
 35. [ther Arahan ku tirley sañgha ma spađot par]i[t ta goh]
 36. [lop dmoñ han sñi' ma spađot parit ta goh u goh ma]
 37. [kon ñ]ah j[n]ok [ta] goh ke[t dek klas thar sreñ slū]-
 38. y ti de[k k]i[nlo'] sañ [ma cut tam sño' jiljup goh]
 39. pir[guin⁹ kil] jā[p tūy blah u go]h [ma p]añ[đit yañ] sañ
 40. [to' cut pkāw] tha[r] sir[wiñ pn]eñ duleñ lñor āc pa-
 41. r[i]t l[ñor tūy b]lah goh [ma tirla po]y [mhāth]e[r Arahan]
 42. [ku trey sañgha ta] goh pađo[t] pa[rít bl]ah u [pađo]t pari-
 43. [t tūy] blah goh ma tirla [poy mhā]ther Arahan [ku ti]-
 44. [r]ley sañgha [ma] pađo[t] pari[t ta goh kum ket ku d]e-
 45. [k par]it kinlo' [s]añ [ma] nom [ku] tam sño' ji[l]jup u
 46. goh ma lop rumba[s drāc rinsāc wūr] (ut pan) [tlañ rā]-
 47. jasthān goh mleñ u goh ma ti[t tūn nor go]h u [g]oh
 48. [ma] (d)[moñ tā]w [kanta rañ¹⁰ goh ma kil] de[k parit] (ku)¹¹ . . .

H

1. (reñ)¹² [lar brāt cindran han jiñjuñ jirkoy jiñjuñ yas jiñjuñ
 atas]
 2. [siñghāsīn han jiñjuñ prāsāt birlup u han jiñjuñ juñ dal] (u) [han]
 (jiñjuñ prā)-

¹ Possibly *kuñi'*. The usual form is *guñi*. Cf. A 29, B 16, D 22, E 27, J 4.

² Perhaps *glik*.

³ Or *hantul*.

⁴ Or possibly *lusāl*. The exact words in this restored passage are a little doubtful, but something of the kind must be supplied.

⁵ Or, less probably, *reñ lar*; the passage is blurred.

⁶ The *sa* is doubtful. The next letter may be *đ*. Cf. B 19, C 24, D 20, J 7, K 14, L 24.

⁷ Conceivably *deh*.

⁸ This restoration is practically certain.

⁹ The mark taken for *u* may be accidental.

¹⁰ Possibly *ruñ*.

¹¹ Very doubtful. The next letters look rather like *sa la*.

¹² Almost certain.

3. (sāt pan « ut) [j]āp ta (goh) [sāl diñkar] (cut pkāw)¹ [thar pneñ duleñ sambhuc]²
4. [duleñ «] deḥ [re]ñ [lar dek klas thar sreñ dek kinlo' sañ ma] c[ut tam]
5. [sñō' jiljup] (goh)³ [tūy blaḥ « ci]p-p[ir]yām dūmhiç (moy)⁴ [pahir mo]y [nādi tmi]-
6. [n goḥ ma buñ]aḥ hu[rā ṇaḥ ma lep kind]aḥ [sñi' to' ket dek klas thar sreñ]
7. [dek k]inl[o' s]aḥ [ma] d[eḥ re]ñ lār (ti goḥ ma deḥ)⁵ [sān rumbas j]ā[p ut ku j]i[n]juñ
8. [ta goḥ «] b[l]aḥ [goḥ ma deḥ l]aḥ [or pk]ā[w thar s]i[rwiñ pneñ duleñ jāp ut] (mleḥ «) [ha]-
9. [n] tñ[ey] ādi[ttawā]r goḥ kuñ c[ji]p-p[ir]yām d[uñh]i[c moy pahi]r⁶ (bār)⁷ [nādi tmin]
10. [go]ḥ lā[or] [n]ā[r «] han nek pa brā[t cindran] (boy⁸ d)[ir]moñ sāl diñkar] (surap)⁹ [pkā]-
11. w [th]ar [pne]ñ [duleñ sambhuc duleñ « goḥ ma sambeñ gri¹⁰ sambeñ leñ] (kalan yañ)¹¹
12. [s]aḥ [b]u[mnaḥ] hu[rā mirmā¹² ma lep k]i[n]daḥ sñi' (rmeñ)¹³ ma [lep kindam sñi' slok¹⁴ sirpuñ¹⁵]
13. [sukhūy cindrow sukhūy¹⁶ ulār] (na)¹⁷ k[u gl]ik [kuchom burte]ñ [juk sok burteñ] (u)
14. [g]oḥ [ma buñ]aḥ hurā ṇaḥ [ma lep kindam sñi'] c[ut kil dak klas thar sreñ tūy blaḥ]
15. [goḥ ma deḥ l]aḥ [o]r [nek mleḥ] « [han pi]r[y]ā[m go]ḥ (kuñ deḥ cut) [bintil han]
16. [sth]ā[n ma s]k[ir] sruñ¹⁸ jñjuñ [ji]r[koy bār jñjuñ yas jñjuñ atas siñghāsīn ku]
17. [s]thā[n ma skir sruñ¹⁹ jñjuñ [ut m]u[k pan tlaḥ mlēḥ] [blaḥ goḥ sambeñ pra](jñā)[lānkār²⁰]

¹ Almost certain.² Perhaps *sambhuc*.³ These four words are very doubtful. The first might be *ta* or *wā*, the third possibly *blaḥ*.⁴ Possibly *pahar*.⁵ Conceivably, but improbably, *pan*.⁶ Possibly *moy*.⁷ Quite doubtful, though the *r* seems certain.⁸ Possibly *gri*.⁹ This restoration is almost certain.¹⁰ Possibly *mānā*.¹¹ Very probable.¹² Perhaps *sluk*.¹³ Perhaps *sirpuñ*.¹⁴ Both here and at the beginning of the line the spelling may be *sūkhūy*, though it seems improbable.¹⁵ Possibly *sruñ*.¹⁷ Practically certain.

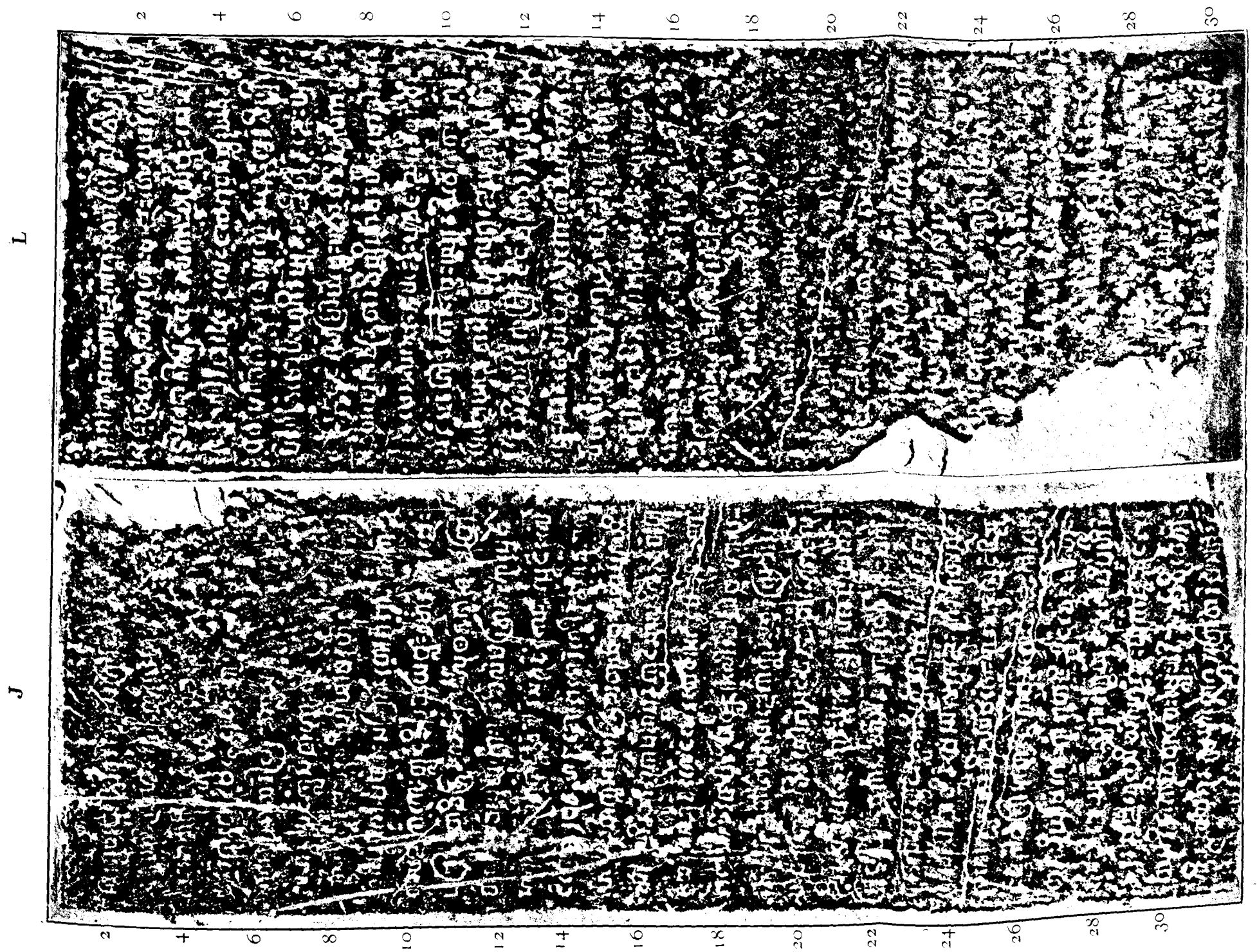
18. k[et t](n)[ak thar] (moy)¹ [tak² juk sreñ] d(u)m(poḥ³ tūy) [goḥ ma buñnaḥ hurā] (to' pa)-
19. (dot)⁴ . . (c)⁵ [tūy cut kil dek klas thar sreñ tūy blaḥ goḥ ma sambeñ pra]-
20. (jñā)[lānkār⁶ baley⁷ mleḥ « baley⁸ tūy blaḥ deḥ] (pat) [tnak thar]
21. [ktāc sumoḥ bintil goḥ « deḥ ktāc sumoḥ tūy goḥ ma sambeñ prajñālaṅkā]-
22. [r ke]t [t]i[n]laḥ thar ma] (deḥ) [luḥac ku] . [i] (sla bil baket)⁹ [tol ma sumwa]-
23. [t] ku[mārī kon] b[uñnaḥ] (kon kñum)
¹⁰ (tūy) [blaḥ sambeñ prajñā]-
24. [lā]kār [crok] (na) (tūy)
25. blaḥ g[oh] (kwir tar¹¹ buwut mo)-¹²
26. [y] (s)
27. [sruñ jñjuñ] (jirko)-
28. [y trūs] (goḥ ma) (kwir tar buwut)
29. [y deḥ] (āc) [h](an) (ket kwir)
30. (tar buwut) [jñjuñ yas «] dak¹³ (lār) [tūy] blaḥ¹⁴
31. [sambeñ] (leñ kalan ku) [buñnaḥ hurā] s[u]ñ tuñ [k]e[t dek klas thar sreñ dek ki]-

¹ Almost certain.² Cf. I C 50.³ Fairly certain.⁴ The first part of this word looks something like *ā* (or *ā*, or *sa*); the final might be *n* or *w*. I have not succeeded in identifying it.⁵ Practically certain.⁶ Possibly *buley*.⁷ This passage is very doubtful: *baket*, a mere conjecture, looks more like *ma ket*, but I do not see how to construe the latter here.⁸ Cf. F 10. But the words in that passage do not seem to correspond exactly with the few traces of letters that can be made out in the present indecipherable passage. Here a large piece of the surface of the stone has flaked off, leaving big gaps in this and the next seven lines.⁹ Conceivably *wā*, both here and below. The word *kwir* is quite illegible here and in H 28, 29, but has been added on the analogy of H 38.¹⁰ Perhaps *ba*.¹¹ The initial looks like *du* or *ru*, and the *k* has a mark under it. But this and the supposed *n* may be accidental.¹² Conjectural.

32. [nlo' sañ ma cut tam sño']ji[li]p s]ān [rumbas ki]l [han sthān ma skir' sruñ¹]
33. [jiñjuñ jirkoy trūs] goh [tūy] b[l]ah² « go[h ma sambeñ] pra[j]ñālañkār sambeñ] (a)³
34. . . . (rā)[c' t]r[āp⁴ bissukar pa p]i[rdhān « goh] ma kala[n siy⁵ k]ir [sruñ ji]ñjuñ [ji]-
35. [rrko]y [trū]s goh [mle]h [« han sthān ma de]h [skir sruñ]ñ [ji]ñ-
[ju]ñ [ji]rkoy br[ow]
36. [goh buññ]ah [hurā] t[o'] sān [rumbas tūy] [lah goh ma k]ala[n
k]e[ñ go]h ki[r mleh] «
37. [han sthān sruñ jiñjuñ yas « buññah hu]r[ā] pa[do]t sā[n rumb]as
[tūy « kalan] sā
38. [ket kwir t]a(r buwut m)[oy' k]ir bl]ah [« de]h t-eh k]ir ducām kil]
(cas hār la-⁶)
39. (cut go)[h pan hān «] (ma) [k]ir ducām kil] (moy lacut⁷ goh moy)
[hān «]
40. r[ow ma ki]r [ducām] ki[l han] sru[ñ jiñjuñ jirkoy trūs goh «
row] goh
41. [kuñ] de[h k]ir ducām ki]l ha[n sruñ jiñjuñ jirkoy brow « han
sru]ñ ji[ñjuñ]
42. [yas « han] s[ruñ jiñju]ñ ata[s «] si[ñghāsin] « han sruñ jiñjuñ
[at]as dir[la]-
43. [c cirmuk « kāl go]h [ku](m) u[t j]ā[p] tla[ñ b]u[mñah] hurā to'
pa[do]t] sā-
44. [n rumbas tūy] « [go]h [ma sambeñ k]ala[n yañ sañ t]rāp [du]m-
[sac] ma rap [sinrañ]¹⁰
45. [de]h [t-]e[h kuñ kuñ wū]r¹¹
[ut jāp] mu[k] pa[n] tlañ
46. (tik) [pham klo]¹²
sgac [siñgir pgoh¹³]
47. [h « han tñey go]h
k[um moy] pa[hir hā]-

¹ Possibly *skir*.² Possibly *sruñ*.³ Looks rather like *u*, *gu*, or *rd*.⁴ The unidentified symbols look rather like *ñāñ*, or . . . *bhi*.⁵ Looks rather like *trā pham*.⁶ Or *st*.⁷ Almost certain.⁸ Or *li*.⁹ Perhaps *sindran*.¹⁰ Conceivably *wur*.¹¹ Or *liut*.¹² Possibly *pho*.

AN INSCRIPTOIN FOUND NEAR THE THARABA GATE, PAGAN.



48. [r] (nāḍi)
 (i)¹

J

1.²
 2. [k³ tñey] (buddhawār)⁴ [buṁṇaḥ saṅkrān] (slok sirpuṇ)⁵
 3. (sukhūy cindrow) [na] (ku) [glik] (kuchom binteṇ ju)-
 4. (k) [sok binteṇ] (• guṇi) [lwar ku] (glik binteṇ •)
 5. [pudar ku tḍoṇ binteṇ • hantūl⁶] (lwar ta goḥ deḥ ru)-
 6. [sāl klas thar s]re[n̄ slūy] (ti ma ñaḥ ciṅgi)-
 7. (n) [• han peṇ] klas [ta goḥ deḥ] (crok pkāw brāc)
 8. (kmow sla' ca)[d](ūñ da)⁷ [• cip=piryām dūmhi] (tik ār)
 9. [pham kinta] (•) [goḥ ma buṁṇaḥ saṅkrān to' ār tuk de]-
 10. [k • dek go]ḥ t[ūñ cip tūy] blaḥ [• han] (nā)[r] deḥ
 11. [pa brāt⁸ cindran moḥ jlow] luḥac [ku kon] brā-
 12. [t thow pḍey goḥ pūñ kh]al [ma] c[rok ku] p[neṇ]
 13. [sāl] (diṅkar cut) [pkāw thar saṁbhuc duleṇ] pne[n̄ dule]-
 14. [n̄] (goḥ ma) [buṁṇaḥ hurā to' ār lñ]o[r nā⁹ • cut] ki-
 15. [l dek] k[las thar sreṇ tūy blaḥ • han] (muk) [si]-
 16. [ñghās]i[n̄ ku ut muk pan t]iāñ [sāl] di[n̄kar] (cut) [pkā]-
 17. [w thar • saṁbhuc duleṇ pneṇ duleṇ •] (goḥ ma) [buṁṇaḥ] (to)-
 18. [• ār lñor jāp ut mleh • lñor tūy blaḥ] (goḥ ma)
 19. (buṁṇaḥ hurā) [to' ket] dek [klas thar sreṇ slū]-¹⁰
 20. [y ti • dek kinlo]' sa[n̄ ma cut tam sño' jil]-
 21. [jip] (•) [goḥ ma de]ḥ [t-e]ḥ [sān rumbas han] (ti ma) [kīr]
 22. [sruṇ jñjñ muk siṅghāsin] (•) [ku sruṇ jñjñ muk]

¹ There are only traces of the tops of a few superscript letters to indicate that there was a line here.

² Nothing legible; it may even be doubted whether there was a line here at all.

³ Probably the final of *ciruwk*.

⁴ Almost certain. Between *bu* and *ddha* the spacing is unusually wide owing to a fissure in the stone which seems to be an original flaw and also affects to some extent the following lines down to l. 7.

⁵ Conjectural restoration based on parallel passages such as B 13, G 24, etc. This applies to the ends of all the lines down to l. 10.

⁶ Or *hantul*.

⁷ Cf. B 19, C 24, D 20, G 29, K 14, L 24.

⁸ Between *brā* and *t* the spacing is unusually wide owing to an original flaw which also affects the next few lines, especially l. 14 (between *goḥ* and *ma*), l. 15 (*e* and *de*), l. 16 (*ñghā* and *sin*), and l. 17 (*r* and *n*).

⁹ Or *nār*. In either case presumably an error for *nār*.

¹⁰ Or *slu*.

23. (wūr ut) [pan tlañ mleh « cip=piryām dūmhic] (m̄su)[n nādī]
 24. (moy) [pāt tmin] (messa)¹ [lagna deh kīr ut sruñ]
 25. (ta goh) [mleh « han pīryām goh kum] [sruñ jīñju]-
 26. [ñ atas prāsāt jnok] (pan) [goh ci deh kīr mleh] (a)
 27. [han pīryām goh kum ut jīñjuñ cmeñ²] (pan) [tlañ]
 28. (goh ci) [deh yuk mleh « tñey goh kum pi pahir]
 29. (bār)³ [nādī cmeñ s]i[n]gha [l]ag[na deh yuk jīñju]ñ [a]-
 30. [tas diñkow ta go]h m[leh « diñcām cirwek]
 31. [kintu phal](l)[agun ussā]o]g[ga sukrawār]
 32.

K

1.
 2. (ut pan tlañ)⁵ [mleh « deh]
 3.
 4. (« cip=piryām) [dūmhic m̄sūn⁶ nādīy⁷ tmin]
 5. [lagna deh tik ut pham klo'] . .
 6. (sgac) [siñgir pgoñ kakā](r=)[murā tapiw i]-
 7. (señ ku ut) [bil=labah h]i [trāk goh ma de](h yu)-
 8. (k) (blāy)⁸ [ku] (tin) [kir mleh « tñey goh]
 9. (kum) [bumnah sañkrān to' slok] su[khūy cindro]-
 10. [w na ku glik⁹] ku[chom binteñ j]u[k sok bi]-
 11. [teñ « guñi' lwar ku g]i[k binteñ « pudar ku]
 12. [tđo]ñ [binteñ « hantūl lwar ta go]h ru[sāl kla]-
 13. [s thar sreñ klas slūy ti¹⁰ ma ñ]ah ci[n]gin¹¹ ha]-
 14. [n peñ] k[las ta go]h [deh crok pkāw] (brāc «)
 15. (kinow¹² sla cađūñ da)¹³ [« cip=piryām dūmhic] (bār pahir)

¹ Rather doubtful: in one ink-impression it looks somewhat like *besabha*.

² Perhaps an error for *c-eñ*.

³ Doubtful. So far as the mere reading goes it might be *m̄sūn*, possibly.

⁴ Only traces of the tops of letters are visible, nothing legible.

⁵ Conjectural restoration; but there seems to be a trace of *tlañ*.

⁶ Or *m̄sūn*.

⁷ Or *nādīy*.

⁸ Very doubtful, though the *l* and *y* seem certain.

⁹ Or *glik*.

¹⁰ A mark here resembling a single stop is probably accidental.

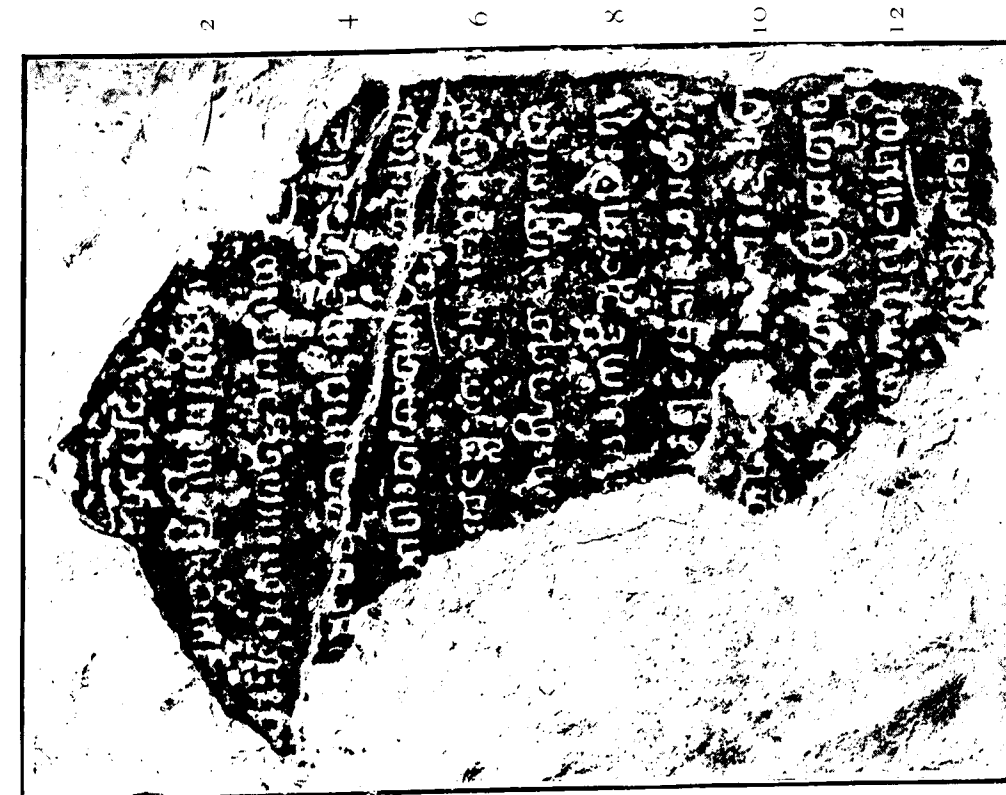
¹¹ There may have been a double stop here.

¹² Looks like *kmāw*. But the final may be *c* and the vowel *o*.

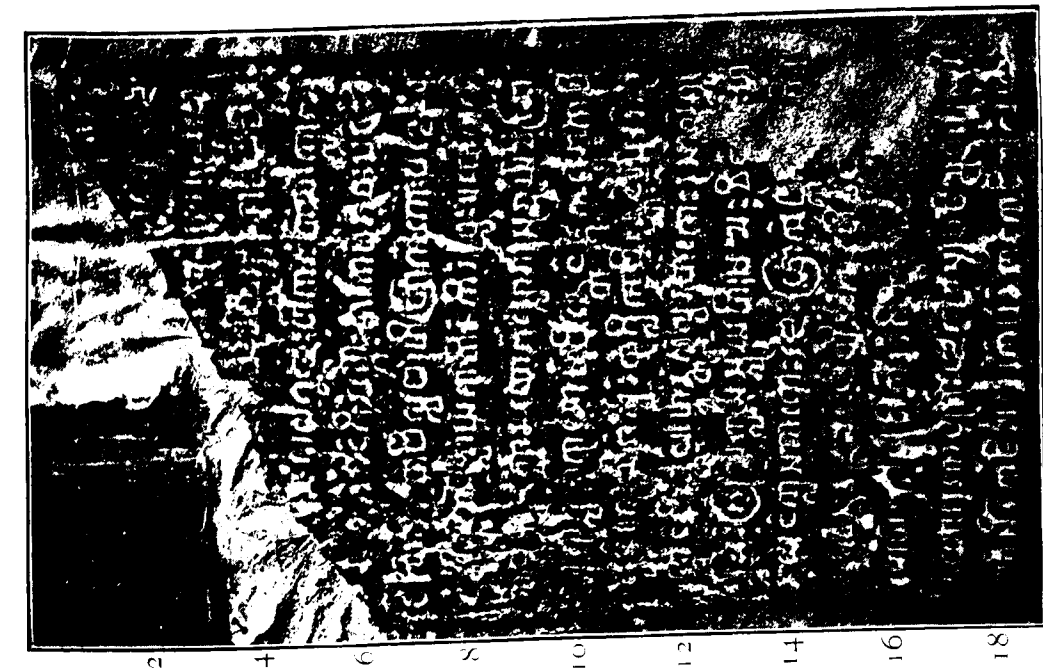
¹³ Cf. B 19, C 24, D 20, G 29, J 7, L 24.

AN INSCRIPTION FOUND NEAR THE THARABA GATE, PAGAN.

M



K



PART I]

MÔN INSCRIPTIONS

16. [mo]y [nā]d[iy¹ tuik² pham kinta³ goh ma burmah] (saṅkrā)-
 17. n [to¹ ā]r [t]u[k] de[k] (ma) [sp-hūm³ jīn]u[n] (atas)⁴ [si]-
 18. [ŋghā]sin k[u jīn]u[n] (muk pan tlañ ku)⁵ [jīn]u[n]

L

1. [hu]rā [t]o' [ket] de[k klas thar sr]e[n̄ ɿ cip=piryām]
2. [dumhic godhulī] lagna goh̄ [ma de]h̄ [t-eḥ p]-(hū)[m dirlec] (ju)-
3. (ñ dal) [ku tinr]aṅ [juñ dal goh̄ tuy bl]aḥ [goh̄ ma] (deḥ)
4. [ār lñor ku pneñ du]leñ j[āp] u[t mle]h̄ ɿ han] (cas)
5. [pi mirmok kintu' cey tñey buddhawār cip=piryā]-
6. [m dumhic moy] pahir [mşün nādī tmin d]eḥ [yuk]
7. [tinrañ juñ dal prāp mle]h̄ ɿ (han) [pi cirwek kintu']
8. [cey tñey cand]rawār cip-pi[ryām dumhic moy] (nādī)
9. (tmin)⁶ [mesa lagna goh̄ ma d]eḥ [puc jñjuñ] .(ir).
10. . . (ñ) [pan hān goh̄ mle]h̄ ɿ [mşün⁷ cirwek kintu' ce]-
11. [y tñey buddhawār methuna lagna deḥ] (yuk prāsāt) . .
12. [siṅghāsin ku triñ ji]ñ [muk wūr ut] (pan tlañ)
13. (mleḥ) [ɿ han tñey buddhawār goh̄ kuñ cip=piryām dumhic]
14. [pi pahir blaḥ] (kanya)⁸ [lagna goh̄ ma deḥ] (yuk)
15. [i]. [ut] (pan tlañ mleḥ ɿ mşün⁹ cirwe)-
16. (k) [kintu'] (cey tñey buddhawār goh̄ kuñ)
17. (bricika¹⁰ lagna) [goh̄ ma kīr sruñ jñjuñ]
18. [skir sopān] [is]
19. (burñnaḥ sañkrān)
20. (to' slok sukhūy cindrow na ku glik kuchom bum)-¹¹
21. (teñ juk sok bumteñ ɿ guñi' lwar ku glik bumte)-
22. (ñ pudar ku tdoñ bumteñ) [hantul lwar goh̄ deḥ rusāl]
23. (klas thar)¹² [sreñ] (klas slūy ti ma ñaḥ ciṅgin ɿ han)

¹ Or *nāḍiy*.

² There seems to be a " here, unless it is an accidental mark.

⁸ Or *sp-lum*.

¹ Conjectural, though there are traces of what seems to be an initial *a*.

⁵ The preceding words seem almost certain.

7 Or ~~perit~~.

⁶ Conjectural. It might conceivably be *cmēn*.

⁸ Doubtful, but I do not see what else it can stand for. It should be ~~longer~~.

⁹ Illegible, but there is only room for a short word and no other seems appropriate here.

¹⁰ Very doubtful.

²¹ This line and the next are conjecturally restored from the few traces of letters that are visible, the restoration being based on the analogy of other passages, such as B 13, G 24, etc.

¹² Conjectural restoration, but quite certain. The beginnings of the lines from and after l. 20 are broken off, and most of what remains is blurred and almost illegible.

24. (peñ klas ta goḥ deḥ) [crok ku pkāw] (brāc kmow)
 25. (sla caḍūñ da)¹ [cip-piryām dūmḥic]
 26.
 27.
 28.
 29.
 30.

M

1. [duleñ pneñ] (duleñ)²
 2. (tūy) [blah * cip-piryām dūmḥic] (han)
 3. [. . buñnah hurā to] ke[t dek klas] tha[r sreñ de]-
 4. [k kinlo' sañ ma cut t]am [sño'] [jiljip go] [ma deḥ]
 5. [sopān ta goḥ tūy blah * goḥ ma] l[ño]-
 6. [r] (pkāw thar pneñ)³ [dul]eñ [b]lah [goḥ ussājoga sukrawā]-
 7. [r] [goḥ tik ut pham kl]o' [goḥ]
 8. (goḥ) [ma y]uk j[i]ñ[j]u[ñ sopā]n [ku]
 9. [pan t]aṇ m[l]eḥ [h]an cas [bā]r [ci]-
 10. [rwek kintu'] (cey)⁴ [tñey] (buddha)[w]ar⁵ [han nār] deḥ [pa brā]-
 11. [t] (cindran moḥ jlow) [luḥac ku kon br]ā[t] t[b]o[w]
 12. (pḍey goḥ pūñ khal ma crök) [ku pn]eñ [s]ā[l dī]-
 13. [ñkar] (lñor ku pkāw thar pneñ)⁶ [dul]eñ [goḥ ma] (buñnah)

N

1. m(uk)⁷ [ciñ] . . (s⁸ tñ)⁹
 2. . . [y] j[ā]p [ut t]am [han] . [l]

¹ Cf. B 19, C 24, D 20, G 29, J 7, K 14.

² In one of the ink-impressions there are perhaps traces of a line above this one. The stone having been broken off on the left side (and as regards ll. 1-4 on the right also) the amount of loss has been roughly estimated and the beginnings of the lines restored when it seemed possible.

³ Merely conjectural.

⁴ The month is quite conjectural.

⁵ Possibly *candrawar*. The last syllable should be *wār*, but does not seem to be.

⁶ The words in parentheses in the first part of this and the last two lines are quite conjectural, being restored on the analogy of other passages in the inscription.

⁷ The vowel is doubtful and the *t* might be *k*, so the word might be *mat*.

⁸ This short word looks like *das*, but even the final letter is not absolutely certain.

⁹ The *ñ* seems fairly certain, the *s* probable, then comes a vowel which must be *e* or *o*. But I cannot fit it here into any probable context.

¹⁰ The ends of ll. 1-3 are lost.

24. (peñ klas ta goh deh) [crok ku pkāw] (brāc kmow)
 25. (sla caḍūñ da)¹ [cip=piryām dūmhic]
 26.
 27.
 28.
 29.
 30.

M

1. [duleñ pneñ] (duleñ)²
 2. (tūy) [blah = cip=piryām dūmhic] (han)
 3. [. . būmnaḥ hurā to'] ke[t dek klas] tha[r sreñ de]-
 4. [k kinlo' sañ ma cut t]aṁ [sño'] [jiljip go] [ma deh]
 5. [sopān ta goh tūy blah = goh ma] l[ño]-
 6. [r] (pkāw thar pneñ)³ [dul]eñ [b]lah [goh ussājoga sukrawā]-
 7. [r] [goh tik ut pham kl]o' [goh]
 8. (goh) [ma y]uk j[i]ñ[j]u[ñ sopā]n [ku]
 9. [pan t]aṁ m[l]eh [h]an cas [bā]r [ci]-
 10. [rwek kintu'] (cey)⁴ [tñey] (buddha)[w]ar⁵ [hañ nār] deh [pa brā]-
 11. [t] (cindran moh jlow) [luḥac ku kon br]ā[t] t[b]o[w]
 12. (pḍey goh pūñ khal ma crok) [ku pn]eñ [s]ā[l di]-
 13. [ñkar] (lñor ku pkāw thar pneñ)⁶ [dul]eñ [goh ma] (būmnaḥ)

N

1. m(uk)⁷ [ciñ] . . . (s⁸ tñ)⁹
 2. . . [y] j[ā]p [ut t]aṁ [han] . [l] . . .

¹ Cf. B 19, C 24, D 20, G 29, J 7, K 14.

² In one of the ink-impressions there are perhaps traces of a line above this one. The stone having been broken off on the left side (and as regards ll. 1-4 on the right also) the amount of it has been roughly estimated and the beginnings of the lines restored when it seemed possible.

³ Merely conjectural.

⁴ Possibly *candrawar*. The last syllable should be *wār*, but does not seem to be.

⁵ The words in parentheses in the first part of this and the last two lines are quite conjectural being restored on the analogy of other passages in the inscription.

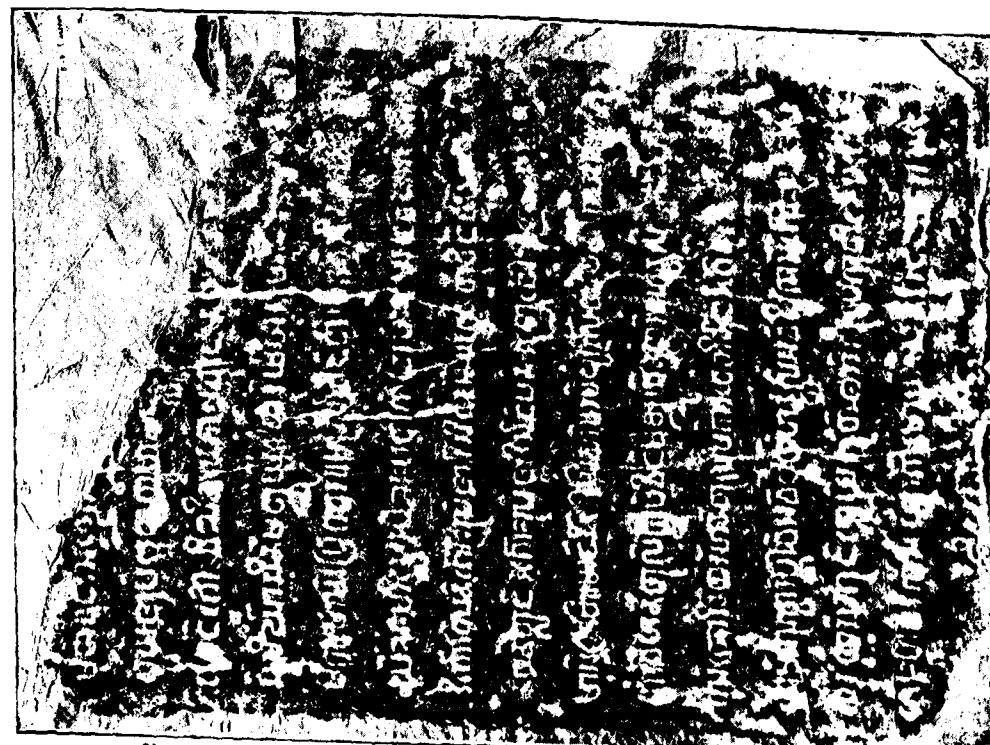
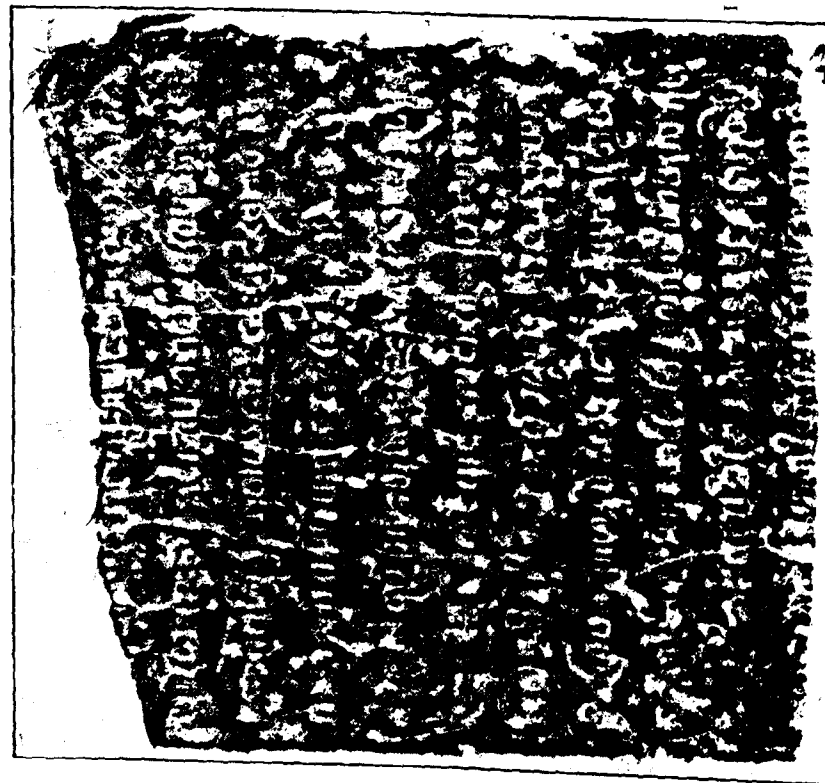
⁶ The vowel is doubtful and the *t* might be *k*, so the word might be *mat*.

⁷ This short word looks like *das*, but even the final letter is not absolutely certain.

⁸ The *ñ* seems fairly certain, the *z* probable, then comes a vowel which must be *e* or *o*. I cannot fit *ñey* here into any probable context.

⁹ The ends of ll. 1-3 are lost.

AN INSCRIPTION FOUND NEAR THE THARABA GATE, PAGAN.



PART I] MÔN INSCRIPTIONS

3. (cre)ñ¹ go[h] ci ñi[n lak]²
4. [s si]ñghāsīn [ma tmūy na thar yimās] (ma ñin lak na rat)³
5. [ma ka⁴ moy] pra[kār] * [han tumwiñ] (tirtāw)⁵ [singhāsīn] (nom)⁶
6. [rup ñaḥ ma rinleḥ rup] ña[h] ma tik pham rup ñaḥ ma]
7. diñko[w p]an go[h] ru[p] jādisiñ pan * han tumwiñ] (tirtāw)⁸ [hā]-
8. [n p]an [t]lañ [da] goḥ rup [jā]disiñ pan [ut=ta goḥ] (ci tmūy na tha yi)-⁹
9. māś [com * yañ dindāy th]ar [u rup byāl thar ḥar lumpek] (pa tu)-¹⁰
10. [tāw h]antul [kdi]p c[i]ñ ma [tmūy na thar * hantul] (byāl goḥ ma)-
11. [kar to]ri[n thar han]tu[l makar torin thar goḥ]
12. (no)[m k]u (lwā)r p[k]āw sac [b]. .¹¹ [hantul sac dirkas goḥ] (rūp)¹²
ḥip)
13. [thar ḥā]r [ma] guñ [bley ut ḥar lumpek tirḍey hān]
14. [goḥ pkāw dirkas jnok moy]
15. [goḥ]

1. (ut mleḥ * blaḥ goḥ ḍeḥ)
2.
3. (' tinrañ) [ut] (pan goḥ) [ci ḍeḥ] (cruñ mleḥ *)
4.
5. (laḥ tūy blaḥ) ḍeḥ (sāl diñkar) [ḍeḥ] (out pkā)-
6. (w thar sambhuc) [duleñ pneñ duleñ * goḥ ma buñnaḥ hurā] (ñaḥ)
7. (ma lep) [kiñdam sñi' to']

¹ Very doubtful, except the ñ.
² After *lat*, which is fairly certain, the next word seems to be *mat* or *pat*. Cf. E 22, 47.
³ Conjectural restoration, but fairly certain.
⁴ For the more usual *kaḥ*.
⁵ Rather doubtful.
⁶ Very doubtful.
⁷ The first of the undecipherable letters may be *r*, perhaps with *n* subscript.
⁸ Even more doubtful than in l. 5 *supra*.
⁹ Conjectural restoration.
¹⁰ Very doubtful. But cf. R 11.
¹¹ Conceivably *bi*, though I cannot trace any *i* over the *b*.
¹² In this line only traces of the tops of letters are visible.

8. (r) . . (mleḥ) ■ [han pi cirwek kintu] ¹ [tṇey]
9. (wār) [pi pahir mṣūn nādī] ² [lagna ■ piryām goḥ]
(kum)
10. [ut] . [r].
11.

P

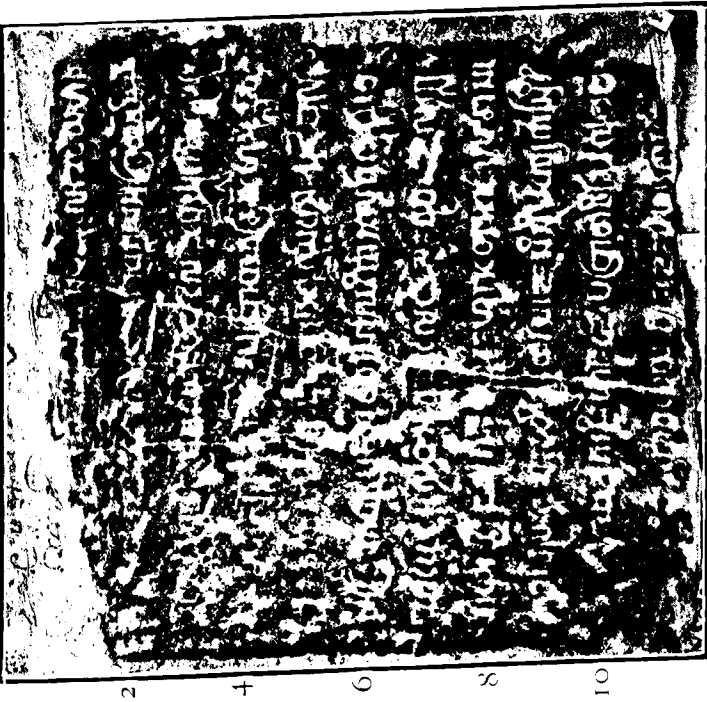
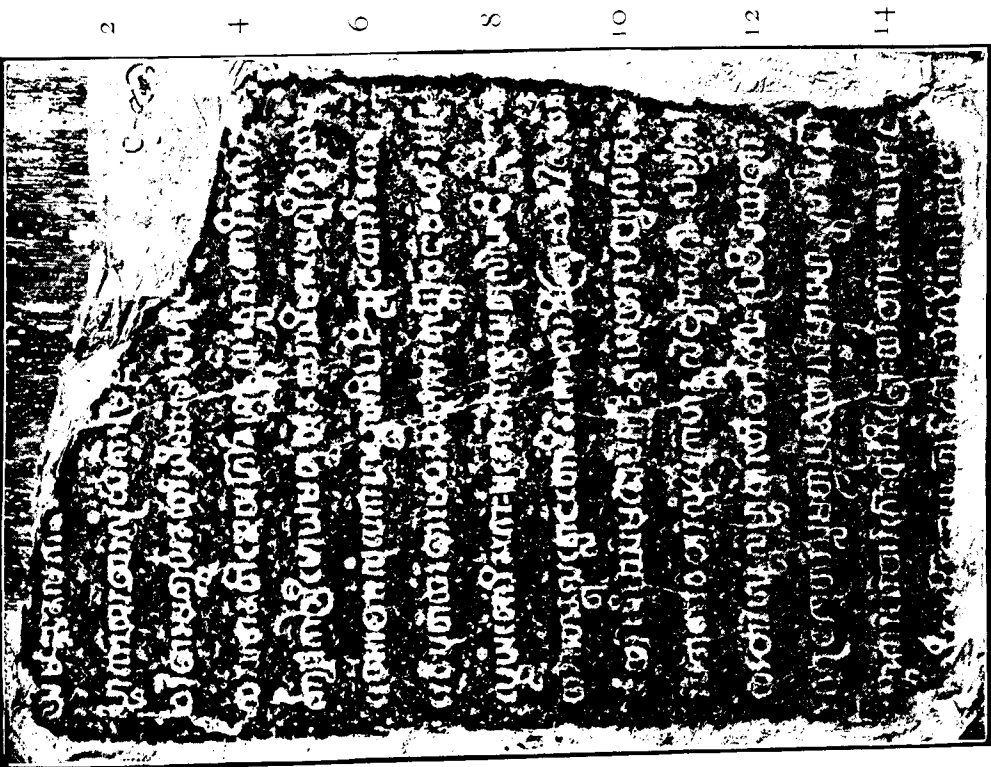
1. [k ³ tṇey sukrawār pi nā]-
2. [dī] [pḍey goḥ]
3. [deḥ pa brāt cindran moḥ jlow]
4. [luḥac ku kon brāt tḥow pḍey goḥ pūn khal]
5. [ma crok ku pneṇ] [sāl diṇkar lṇor ku pkāw]
6. [thar pneṇ duleṇ sambhuc duleṇ deḥ cut dek kla]-
7. [s thar sreṇ] (■ goḥ ma) [buṇinaḥ hurā to' lṇor nār ■]
8. [lṇor tūy] (blāḥ reṇ) ⁴ [tinlaḥ thar ma deḥ sisip kyek sri ⁵ di]-
9. (siṅghāsin) ⁴ [goḥ deḥ pa brāt cindran luḥac ku]
10.
11. (kon brāt) [tḥow pḍey goḥ deḥ sāl diṇkar]

Q

1.
2. (dek klas
thar sreṇ)
3. (tūy blāḥ) [deḥ] [ut
mleḥ ■ deḥ]

¹ The final syllable looks as if it might be *sāl*. Possibly the month may have been *Āṣāḍha*.
² Looks rather like *bricchā*.
³ No doubt this is the final of either *mirmok* or *cirwek*, but the word cannot be deciphered.
⁴ Very doubtful.
⁵ Possibly *sri*.

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4. [ut
mleh jāp ut] [jāp ut]
.
5. [dēh sāl diñkar
dēh] (dēk klas thar sreñ)
6. (lñor) [tūy blaḥ « cip=
piryām godhuli lagna]
.
7. (ket) [dēk klas thar sreñ slūy ti]
.
8. (burmaḥ hurā ñaḥ) [ma lep kindam sni' to' lñor pkāw
thar sirwiñ pneñ duleñ sumbhuc duleñ]
9. (k) [ku ut jāp prāsāt mleh «
dumpoḥ mirmok kintu']
10. [dēh] (yuk jñjuñ brow)
.
11.
.
.¹

R

1. [y ma ñin lak]
2. [mhākar th]ar ḥār lu[mpek « ma] (duk piñ)²
3. [ḥār ma tmūy na th]ar [yimās] (ma rap³ pa pujāw)
.
4. [thar « h]an [tirdey hān hantūl] c[le]c [torin] (goh)
5. [kyāk] sri [moy ma tmūy] na [th]ar [y]i[mās ma] gñi [ku rat puñ]-
6. re[y] « [ḥār] lu[m]pek [hantūl k](d)i[p j]ñju[n] tor[in] (goh rup)
7. de[wa]put thar [ḥ]ār [ma pa sādhuḥā]r [ku pkāw jumwan thar] (han)
8. [pḍey to]ri[n goh ma nom ku bley] tu[lāy tinlah] (brāt)
9. thar [« h]antūl cloñ tori[n goh tar cinroh thar] (mimoy⁴ «)

¹ Only doubtful traces of tops of letters are visible.
² Conjectural, though *du* seems fairly certain.
³ Perhaps *rup*.

⁴ Conceivably *mimoy*.

10. . . [thar yimās ma nom ku] d[indāy thar rup byāl thar] (bā)-
 11. [r] (pa)¹ [tutāw bā]r lu[mpek hantū] byāl goh rup mhākar]
 12. [thar bār hantū]l [mhākar thar bār goh rup bip thar bār]
 13. [ma guñ ku t]ar sla ma [tmuy² na thar yimās hantū] (dirpoh)
 14. [mh]ā[kar th]ar [bār goh tar cinro]h tha[r bār ma nom cloñ]
 15. (torin) [tirdey hān] (goh) [pkāw dirrkas] (thar)³

S

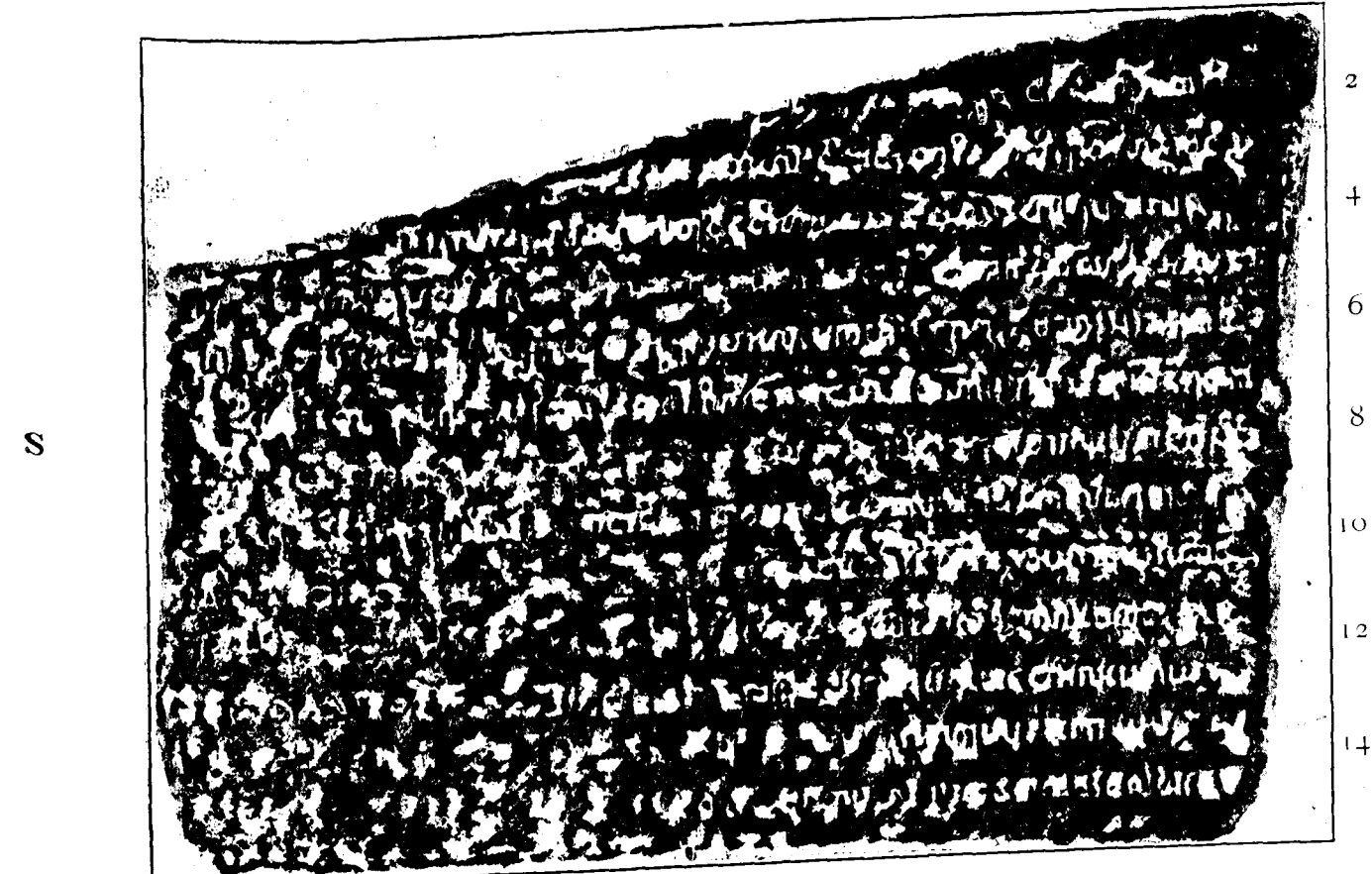
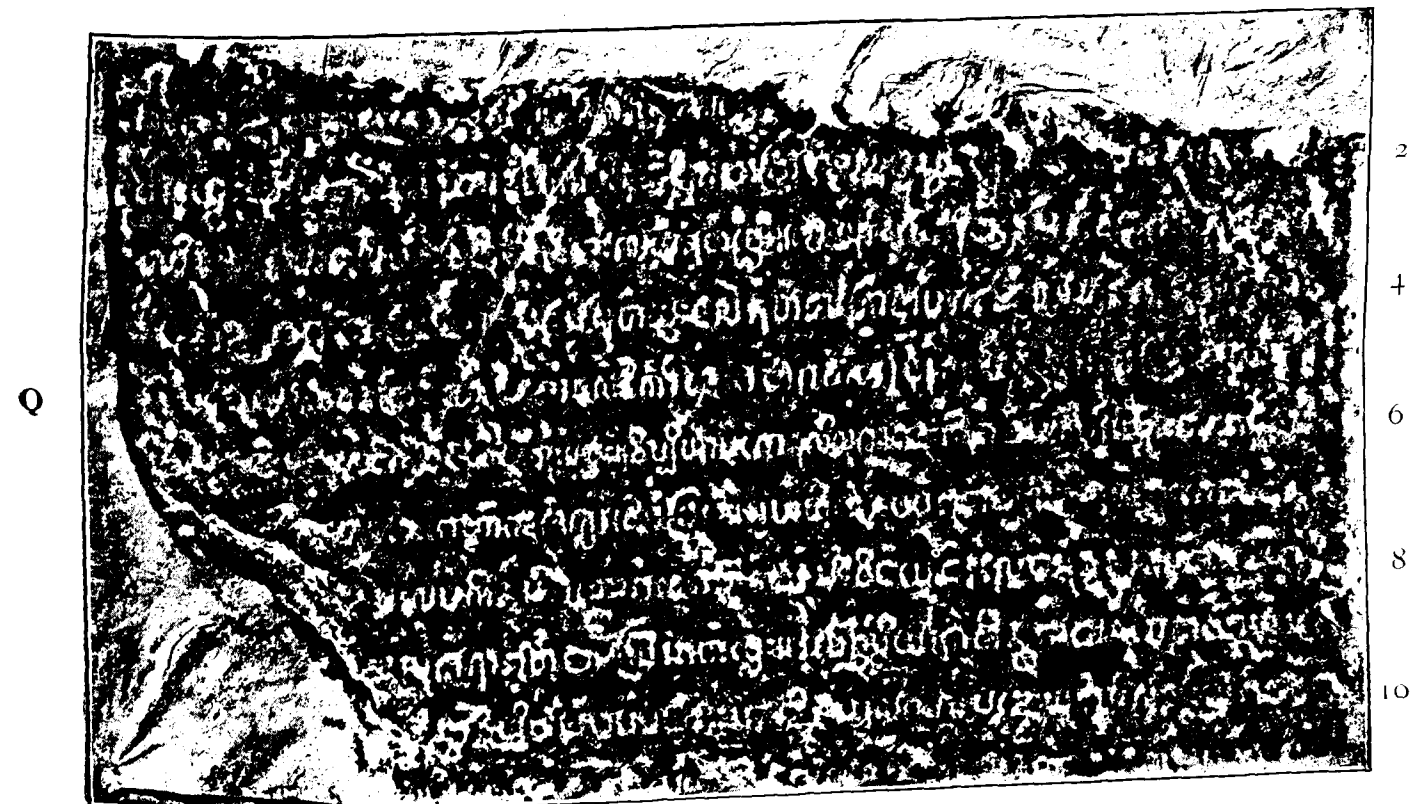
1.
 2. [clec] (diññal) . . [clec]
 3. [gantul⁴ makar
 goh jññuñ torin] (siñghāsīn dhar) [gantul⁴ jññu]-
 4. [ñ] (torin goh) (goh *) [tuñwiñ tirtāw]
 (siñghāsīn goh) [rup ñah ma rinleh]
 5. (rup ñah ma tik pham) [rup jādisiñ] (ñah ma) [rinleh
 goh] (c) [bār] (lumpek ku cloñ) [gantul] (c)
 6. [goh hantul] [goh] [uppal] [uppal bār lumpek
 goh klo' dey]
 7. [bār lumpek] (dirkas) (ut kwik)
 (n) [ut] (kwi)-
 8. (k) (ñ si) (n)
 [gantul] (slar pi) [ut bār lumpek jādisiñ]
 9. (ci) [jādisiñ brow] (ma
 cuheñ) [bār lumpek] . . . (k) [dirlac ut ta goh]
 10. [ci deh] [r]
 [clec di] [clec] [jāp diñkow]
 11. (dirlac) [bār lumpek ti]

¹ Looks like *par*=, with the *r* superscript over the *t* following, but I suspect that the supposed *r* is merely an accidental disfigurement. Cf. N 9.

² Possibly *tmuy*, though I can see no trace of the extra stroke.

³ Only the top portions of the letters are visible in this line.

⁴ Or *gantul*, and so elsewhere in this fragment, which is in such a poor state of preservation that it is impossible to be sure of minute details like this.



12. (ma cuheñ) [bār lumpek]
 13. [pan diñkow]
 14. (goñ)
 . . (tañ) . . (clec) (n tañ) [clec diññal] (tañ clec)

Translation.

A

. (after sunset?)¹ (made, in honour of Nārāyaṇa,² a decoration of plantains (such as is termed) "ox nose")³ adorned⁴ with young plantains (and) sugarcane (spread mats?) (l. 4) . . . made offerings of⁵ golden flowers, altar candles, altar oblations,⁶ boiled rice in cup-shaped vessels⁷ with candles stuck in it, and thereupon (they) worshipped.⁸

At that time, too, our lord the Chief Monk (l. 6) Arahan⁹ brought seven lords of the Church¹⁰ spread (leaves around on?)¹¹ the places (appointed) for the digging of the holes (for) the pillars of the two sides, the

¹ The time is somewhat doubtful, the reading being uncertain.

² The suggested reading *nār* is conjectural and it is not certain that it stands for Nārāyaṇa, i.e. Vishnu. But cf. the references in the note on the text and compare them, as well as B 37, C 35, F 30, G 3, H 10, J 14, M 10, and P 8, with the parallel passages with *nek* in H 10, 15.

³ The term "ox nose" is at present applied to a kind of streamer hanging down from a pole. The whole of this passage in parentheses has been conjecturally restored on the analogy of parallel passages. The sense of the word *cintran* is not absolutely determined, but it must have been some decorative arrangement. Its relation to the L.M. *brāt cheran*, a small sweet kind of plantain, is not clearly made out.

⁴ I assume that *lubbac* is the L.M. *labat*, not *labak*. If it were the latter, we might translate "hung with" instead of "adorned with." As either version would fit into the context, it is impossible to determine definitely which is the right one.

⁵ Literally, "worshipped with," but the word is also used directly in the sense of "offer." Cf. E 14, H 8.

⁶ These oblations probably consisted of food stuffs. The altar was probably a small portable wooden one.

⁷ This descriptive phrase represents the term *pūñ khat*. The vessels are small, sometimes cut out of wood, sometimes made of leaves. Cf. B 35, C 1, E 41, G 1, J 12, M 12, P 5.

⁸ Alternatively this phrase (from "and") might perhaps be rendered "which they offered," but that seems somewhat superfluous and pointless.

⁹ A Chief Monk is mentioned in Myazedi 18 and in I A 43 *seqq.* The one spoken of here, whose name was Arahan, is known from other sources. It would seem that in VI 26 the word *arahaṇ* cannot be a proper name, being qualified by the word *gumluñ*.¹⁰ Buddhist monks.

¹¹ It is doubtful whether the word *sla* here means "leaves" or is to be taken with *sāl* to mean simply "spread," because the next word *kupar* is uncertain, both in meaning and reading: cf. A 10, 29.

yas pillars, the *atas* pillars (of?) the *siṅghāsin*,¹ and the pillars of the four pavilions, and the pillars of the ablution pavilion, and the *juṇi dal*² pillars, and all the *atas* pillars of the front.³ All (l. 10) the men (who gave the lotus leaves for them to?) spread, sounded all the drums⁴ blew⁵ and all⁶ other (l. 12)⁶

At sunset, *godhulī* (being) *lagna*,⁷ the *saṅkrāṇ* Brahmins,⁸ who carried litters, beat the foremost⁹ drum. The Brahman astrologers¹⁰ went (and) drew water for the reciting of the *paritta*.¹¹ Having brought the water, they arranged the water (in)¹² vessels of gold, vessels (l. 15) of silver (and) vessels of copper (at each place where?) the blessing¹³ (was to be given?): at the

¹ This passage teems with the kind of technical terms which constitute one of the great difficulties of the inscription. The distinction between *yas* and *atas* has not been determined. Perhaps it is one of position merely, the one word meaning "back" and the other "front." It is a curious coincidence which meanings seem inappropriate here. The *siṅghāsin* was probably the throne room and I imagine *juṇi* mentioned in A 16 and elsewhere. It does not seem certain that the *yas* and *atas* pillars here referred to are confined to those of the *siṅghāsin*, but it seems probable. Cf. B 24, D 15, 17, 40, F 13, H 2, 16, 42, J 15, 22.

² I am disposed to identify *dal* with L.M. *daw* and interpret it as meaning "central," but this is quite uncertain at present. The force of *juṇi* is not clear. Cf. A 17, B 9, 25, F 38, H 2, L 3, 7, L 3, 7, the "central hall" and "central door." But it is difficult to make that meaning fit B 9, where *juṇi dal* follows *muk*.

³ Conceivably we might translate "of that face." Cf. the use of *muk* in A 28, B 3-5, 8, 24-27, H 17, 45, J 15, 16, 22, K 18, L 12, N 1.

⁴ Here follow a number of unexplained words doubtless having reference to various musical instruments and the sounds produced by them. Cf. A 33, F 34, G 4, H 46, K 5, and VIII A 6 tr. n. In III C 16 I conjecturally rendered *siṅgir* by "resounding."

⁵ Here again musical instruments appear to be mentioned: cf. the passages cited in the preceding note. The word *tapiw* may perhaps mean "trumpet" or "clarinet." But in that case *piw* in G 4 must be something else.

⁶ As to *wel*, see I B 21 tr. n.

⁷ The term *lagna* generally means the position at the eastern horizon of some constellation mentioned, usually in this inscription one of the zodiacal signs. It does not appear, however, that *godhulī* is a constellation, but rather a mist or haze which at certain times of day (varying with the seasons) arises from the earth. In this case the evening is definitely indicated.

⁸ The reading *saṅkrāṇ*, though doubtful here, seems to be supported by E 27, J 2, 9, K 9, and L 19. Possibly it stands for Sanskrit *saṅkrānti*, and these particular Brahmins were specialists in calculating the times of the entry of the sun into the several signs of the zodiac. It seems to be a curious refinement in view of the mention of astrologers in the very next sentence.

⁹ Or "the drum" (or "drums"? "in front"; unless this is a technical term for some special kind of drum or for one that served some special purpose in this ritual. Cf. B 19, E 33, G 30, J 9, K 16.

¹⁰ Literally it would be "astrologer Brahmins," i.e. the Brahmins who specialised in that science, the study of which was probably confined to Brahmins. Our idiom prefers the other order.

¹¹ A Buddhist ritual formula or order of service invoking protection. Cf. A 39 n.

¹² In this frequently recurring phrase there is no preposition expressed defining the relation between the water and the vessels. It is, of course, obvious, but the idiom is curious. ¹³ Cf. A 39 n.

great pavilion, and the four *cindrow*¹ pavilions, and the ablution pavilion, and the *juṇi dal*² pillars. Water (in) four thousand earthenware vessels and eight conch (l. 18) shells they arranged at the dwellings of the four thousand lords of the Church³ who were to recite the *paritta*⁴ outside and throughout the palace; (and as for all?) the eight lords of the Church, our lords the monks of the Church (who were to be?) the leaders (l. 21) in reciting the *paritta* outside, together with the four thousand monks,⁵ the dwellings of the eight leading lords of the Church, eight mats,⁶ eight (figured?)⁷ cloths, (and) eight spades; water (in) a hundred and eight vessels (and) (l. 24) a hundred and eight conch shells, they arranged (at?) the dwelling places of a hundred and eight lords of the Church, with our lord the Chief Monk Arahan, who were to recite the *paritta* within, at the dwelling places of those hundred and eight lords of the Church (l. 27) (they arranged) a hundred and eight mats,⁸ a hundred and eight (figured?)⁸ cloths, (and) a hundred and eight spades.

Towards the east side of the front⁹ of the great hall, (they) made a sanctuary,¹⁰ furnished with seats,¹¹ which (they) made fittingly, which (they) decorated (round about?)¹² with white (l. 30) cloth (and which they shaded?)¹³ with white umbrellas.¹⁴ Then (they) spread¹⁵ rugs on the top of the seats.¹⁶ Then (they) set (thereon) a golden statue of Buddha, a statue of the

¹ The word *cindrow* (or perhaps *cindrow*) is used in this inscription in two distinct sets of contexts. Here and in B 8, 23, and F 39 it applies to the four pavilions which were apparently at the four sides of the "great pavilion." In B 13, C 27, 34, D 23, E 30, F 23, 26, G 25, H 13, J 3, K 9, and L 20, it is applied to an article of dress. It is not clear whether the sense is identical, related, or quite different. In the second use L.M. has *caron*, but the meaning has not been determined (*Dhammaceti*, p. 88, l. 22). In this use it may refer to the material of the article of dress or to its form or its ornamentation.

² Cf. A 9 n.

³ Cf. A 6 n.

⁴ Cf. A 14 n.

⁵ The illegible word is presumably the predicate here, e.g. "(they) provided the dwellings . . . (with) eight mats," etc.

⁶ The word *snāl* defining the mats here (and in A 27 and E 41) is presumably a derivative of *sāl*, "to spread," and probably identical with L.M. *snā*, "the leather used by Buddhist priests to kneel upon," though there is nothing here to indicate that leather is the material of our mats. In L.M. *dakaw snā* is a general term for "mats."

⁷ The reading and meaning are doubtful, but in the Kalyāṇī inscription the word *ksū* occurs in this or a similar sense (either "painting" or "embroidering"). For "cloths" one might perhaps say "garments."

⁸ As in A 22, 23.

⁹ Or, possibly, "at the eastern corner of the face." The word for "hall" here is *dirlec*; whether it is to be identified with the great "pavilion" (*prāṇat*) seems doubtful.

¹⁰ Or "sacred dwelling" or "dwelling of Buddha."

¹¹ Or "a seat."

¹² Cf. A 6 n. My rendering is based on the idea that the doubtful word *kupar* may be identical with L.M. *gapaw*. Haswell has *gapaw ar*, "to go around."

¹³ There is no question as to the general sense here, but some doubt about the precise reading.

¹⁴ Or "a white umbrella," the number being left undetermined.

¹⁵ The meaning of the doubtfully read *tasar* is undetermined. ¹⁶ Or "seat," as before.

Lord Gawāmpati, with books of the Vinaya, Sutta, (and) Abhidhamma¹
(l. 33)

At three *pahir*² (they) sounded the drums³ (and) blew⁴ (in honour of?) the golden Buddha, the Lord Gawāmpati and all the four thousand one hundred and eight lords of the Church of whom our lord the Chief Monk Arahan was the leader. The (l. 36) *samben jey sabhañ*, *samben kaisāsūr*, *samben rājasūr*, with all the *samben grī*, *samben leñ*, *kalan yañ sañ*,⁵ (and) all the scholars, within (and) without, offered⁶ golden flowers (and) altar candles, (and) reverently (l. 39) asked for the *saranasīla*⁷ and the *paritta* of blessing,⁸ within (and) without around all the four sides. At that time our lord the Chief Monk Arahan stood⁹ at the western side facing towards the eastern side (and) holding a right-voluted¹⁰ conch shell (l. 42), together with water (in) vessels of gold, silver, copper, (and) earthenware, which they arranged in front of our lord the Chief Monk Arahan.

Then our lord the Chief Monk Arahan gave the *saranasīla* and all the four thousand one hundred and eight monks (l. 45) remained standing¹⁰ within

¹ The three main divisions of the Buddhist Canon. The second half of the third name is not distinctly legible but can be safely inferred from the context.

² It would seem that theoretically the *pahir* or *pahar* consisted of 7½ *nāḍi*, each *nāḍi* being 24 minutes of mean time, so that the *pahir* was exactly three hours by the clock (a water clock in former days). Probably, however, the count began in practice at actual sunrise and sunset, and three *pahir*, indicated by three strokes on a special gong, meant that the time was just nine hours later, round about 3 p.m. or 3 a.m. (as here) but varying of course slightly according to the season.

³ Cf. A 11 n. and the passages there cited.

⁴ These are all titles of officials or functionaries. The titles *samben* and *kalan* also appear in old Burmese inscriptions, the former in the form *sambyañ*. It is probable that the *kalan yañ sañ* performed duties which brought them into specially close relations with the monkhood (*sañ*, *sañgha*). The word *jey* is probably the Pāli *jeyya*, "elder, senior, master," and *sabhañ* means "festival," *grī* probably merely honorific titles. Cf. B 12, C 7, 33, F 21, 24, 25, G 9-11, 16, 31, 39, H 11, 17, 19, 21, 23, 31, 33, 44.

⁵ The word rendered "offered" might be rendered "set." Cf. B 7, 10, 32, 36, 39, 40, 46, etc. The meaning of *siruiñ* has not been determined. In this inscription it only occurs as part of this formula (cf. B 7, 10, 36, C 2, 40, E 14, F 28, G 2, 40, H 8). Probably it is an epithet of the golden flowers. In that case it might be connected either with L.M. *sriñ*, in the sense of "slender, delicate," ceremonially over an object which is to be blessed, or perhaps with L.M. *swiñ*, "to wave" we must take the word with *pneñ*, translating "waved altar candles."

⁶ The *sarapa* is the formula of adherence to the Buddha, the Law and the Church.

⁷ Cf. A 15, 46. It is possible that the reference is to some part of the *Maṅgalasutta*, which was used as a *paritta*.

⁸ It does not seem certain that *taw* here means "to stand." It might simply mean "stayed, remained." So too in A 45 *infra*.

⁹ That is, twisted in the opposite direction from the normal. Such shells, being very rare, were regarded as particularly precious and lucky, and were accordingly used at the anointment (*abhiṣeka*) of kings in India.

¹⁰ Cf. the last note but one.

(and) without, with our lord the Chief Monk Arahan, who was the leader in reciting the *paritta* of blessing. Having recited the *paritta* of blessing, at the auspicious time of three *pahir*, five *nāḍi*,¹ (at) night

B

Then the ground of the front of the middle of the eastern side, (l. 4) the front of the middle of the² side, the front of the middle of the western side, the front of the middle of the side of the front gable-end, (on?) the ground of the great pavilion: all these five spots³ they proceeded to bathe⁴ with water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver. (Having bathed them?) (they) spread mats, (and) (l. 7) offered⁵ golden flowers (and) altar candles. Then the Brahman astrologers expert⁶ in house-building worshipped (at) all the five places. Thereafter, on the ground of the four *cindrow*⁷ pavilions and the ground of the front of the *juñ dal*,⁸ all those five places, (they) bathed with water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver. (Having?) bathed (them), (l. 10) (they) spread mats, (and) offered⁹ golden flowers (and) altar candles. The Brahman astrologers expert¹⁰ in house-building proceeded to worship (at) all those five places (also?).¹¹

On the second of the waxing (half) of the month of Kārtik, the day (being) Monday,¹² the *samben grī*,¹³ *samben leñ*, *kalan yañ sañ*,¹⁴ (and)

¹ Cf. A 33 n. The proceedings narrated in A 33-47 occupied two hours, roughly 3 to 5 a.m.

² Reading and meaning doubtful: see note on the text. I imagine the reference must be to the back of the building, which in that case was probably the southern end of it.

³ Owing to the fact that most of l. 2 and the first half of l. 3 cannot be deciphered, it is not certain whether these five places are all mentioned in the text as we now have it: perhaps the first of them has been lost. I do not profess to understand exactly what they all represent, but have endeavoured to translate literally. Cf. B 26 *seqq*.

⁴ By "bathe," here and elsewhere, is no doubt meant a ceremonial lustration.

⁵ Cf. A 38 n.

⁶ I presume this is the meaning; not "(and) the experts." Cf. the variant formula in F 25-26, 30, 31-32, G 3, H 6, 12, 14, and also C 4, 10, 12, 33.

⁷ Cf. A 16 n.

⁸ Cf. A 9 n.

⁹ Cf. A 38 n.

¹⁰ Cf. B 7 n.

¹¹ The reading is doubtful and the precise force of *wel* (if it is to be read here) is not absolutely determined. See I B 21 tr. n. and cf. III A 23, VIII A 21, 26, B 4, IX A 12.

¹² If the year in which these events happened is A.D. 1101, the particulars of this date do not fit. It appears that Kārttika, as a mean lunar month, was intercalated in that year and the second waxing of the intercalated Kārttika was a Thursday, that of the true Kārttika a Saturday.

¹³ The same as *grī* in A 37, the two forms being used interchangeably in this inscription (there may sometimes be a doubt as to which reading is the true one). Cf. C. 33, F 21, 25, G 16, H 11.

¹⁴ See A 37 n.

all the Brahman astrologers (l. 13) expert in house-building, with the Brahmans who were to carry the litters, wore loincloths, *sukhūy cindrow*, *sukhūy ulār*, (and) *kuchom* skirts of white (colour).¹ Then (there were) a hundred and twenty-six Mōns,² who carried³ the vessels of copper (and) vessels (of earthenware, with⁴?) white *kuchom* skirts; (l. 16) then (followed) two litters, (which were?) adorned with white cloth⁵ (and) shaded with white umbrellas. (On) both⁶ the litters they laid⁷ the vessels of gold (and) silver, the vessels of copper which they had carried, (and) the vessels (of earthenware?), a hundred and twenty.⁸ All those vessels they adorned with (l. 19) flowers of the *brāc kmow* (and) leaves of the *cadūñ*,⁹ (and they) beat the foremost¹⁰ drum.

Then the Brahman astrologers went (and) drew water . . . (and bathed?)¹¹ the side pillars, the *yas* pillars, the *atas*¹² pillars, and all the other pillars, together with all the appurtenances.¹³ Then (they arranged) the side pillars, (l. 22) the *yas* pillars, the *atas* pillars, and the other twelve pillars (together in) one place, the . . . appurtenances¹⁴ of the great pavilion (in) one place, (those of) the four *cindrow*¹⁵ pavilions (in four?) places, (those of) the ablution pavilion (in) one place, the pillars of the front of the *singhāsīn*¹⁶

¹ The words in italics (all referring to articles of costume) have not been strictly determined. Cf. A 16 n. and I C 24 tr. n. It would appear that *kuchom* indicates a long flowing loincloth such as *ulāra*, "noble, excellent" (used of fine clothes). The word *ulār* probably represents Pāli that the epithet "white" applies to all the articles of dress specified.

² The reading here is not absolutely certain, but Mōns are represented in this inscription as playing a fairly prominent part in the ceremonial. The present instance is the earliest mention of them in this collection of records. Cf. B 42, G 23, H 12.

³ The reading is supported by the occurrence of the same word two lines lower down. It means, in particular, "to carry on the shoulder."

⁴ Or, perhaps, "wearing."

⁵ The word is the same as the one for "skirt" in the preceding line. The primary meaning seems to be "cloth," and the litters appear to have been covered with white cloth or drapery.

⁶ The reading seems to be, literally, "all the two litters." Perhaps this means "all over the two."

⁷ Or "set."

⁸ It is not quite certain whether a full-stop should not be put after "silver" and a comma (instead of a full-stop) after "twenty." Also it is doubtful whether instead of "the vessels . . . twenty" we should not simply say "those vessels (were) a hundred and twenty," reading *ta* instead of *ti*.

⁹ This phrase occurs also in G 29, J 7 and K 14, and probably C 24, D 20 and L 24: in all these cases the reading is more or less doubtful. Whether *brāc* stands for "plantain" (which is else-

sense of "grass," whether the doubtfully read *da* at the end of the phrase is the particle *da* or the leaves were used decoratively, are points which have not yet been determined satisfactorily.

Conceivably *kmow* goes with *sla cadūñ*, meaning "bunches of *cadūñ* leaves." Cf. K 15 n.

¹⁰ Or "the drum" (or "drums"?) "in front." Cf. A 13 n.

¹¹ Or, perhaps, "wherewith to bathe." Cf. A 8 n.

¹² See the preceding note. Cf. A 16 n.

¹³ Or, perhaps, "ornaments."

(in) one place, (l. 25) the pillars of the front of the (audience hall?)¹ (in) one place, the *jun dal* pillars² (in) one place, the pillars of the front of the middle of the (eastern?)³ side (in) one place, the pillars of the front of the middle of the western side (in one place?), the pillars of the front of the middle (l. 28) of the side of the front gable-end (in) one place. (All the *clec*⁴ of?) the eastern side they arranged (in) one place, all the *clec* of the⁵ side they arranged (in) one place, all the *clec* of the western side, (and) all the *clec* of the side of the front gable-end, they arranged, each (in) one place.

(At) all these seventeen places they made a decoration of plantains⁶ adorned⁷ with young plantains (l. 32) (and) sugarcane, (and set?) water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver (and) water (in) conch shells wherein (they) put cleaned rice (and) *dubbā* grass,⁸ (and) spread mats, (with) golden flowers, altar oblations,⁹ (and) altar candles. Having (arranged them?), they made, in honour of Nārāyaṇa,¹⁰ a decoration of plantains (called) "ox nose,"¹¹ adorned¹² with (l. 35) young plantains (and) sugarcane, (and) within it (set) boiled rice in cup-shaped vessels¹³ with candles stuck in it, (and) altar oblations, (and) they (brought?) water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver, spread mats, (and) offered¹⁴ golden flowers (and altar candles?). Then the Brahman astrologers worshipped Nārāyaṇa.¹⁵ At the¹⁶ auspicious time (l. 38)¹⁷ *godhulī* (being)

¹ This interpretation seems probable, if the reading can be relied on. Cf. H 43.

² Cf. A 9 n.

³ The reading is doubtful, but seems highly probable. Cf. B 3 *seqq.*, a fairly parallel passage. Here, as there, I have merely attempted a literal translation, without having a very clear idea of what parts of the buildings are denoted by the several technical terms.

⁴ A *clec* was apparently an addition placed in front of a building and forming a covered, two-roofed or three-roofed, arched entrance to the building. It differed from a portico in that the latter is generally placed at the centre of the frontage, while a *clec* occupied (sometimes) almost the entire frontage. However, they seem in some cases to have been very numerous, e.g. III C 12, where, however, the reference seems to be to a number of distinct portions or sections of a building, each crowned with multiple superimposed roofs. Cf. also IX R 4, S 2, 14.

⁵ The illegible word (or probably two words) would appear to be the same as in B 4.

⁶ Cf. A 2 n.

⁷ Cf. A 3 n.

⁸ I am inclined to think that the shells (or shell) contained water with grains of rice (that is white husked rice) and *dubbā* grass (L.M. *dajip*) in it. Another view is that the shell rested on a layer of grains of rice and throws doubt on the interpretation "*dubbā* grass." But some of the places where the latter word is mentioned seem to favour that interpretation. See particularly D 33, 34, 38, 40, 41.

In the last three it would appear that flour (presumably mixed with water) was stirred with leaves of this grass for ceremonial purposes.

⁹ Cf. A 4 n.

¹⁰ Cf. A 38 n.

¹¹ Or "an," if the precise time is not mentioned: the reading of the next few words is doubtful.

¹² It is doubtful whether, after "time," we should go on with "(and) beat the foremost drum," or with "at the stroke of four *pahīr*, at sunset." See the note on the text.

lagna,¹ the expert² Brahman astrologers bathed³ the side pillars, the *yas* pillars, (and) the *atas* pillars,⁴ applying⁵ water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver (and) water (in) conch shells wherein (they) put cleaned rice (and) *dubbā* grass.⁶ After that, they bathed (l. 41) (and) all the rest of the pillars (and) appurtenances.⁷

Then (there was?) Burmese singing, Mōn singing,⁸ *tircul* (?)⁹ singing, singing
 (l. 44) all
 water (in) conch shells wherein (they) put cleaned rice (and) *dubbā* grass

C

(boiled rice in cup-shaped vessels with?)¹⁰ candles stuck in it, offered¹¹ water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver, (spread mats?),¹² offered¹³ golden flowers, altar candles, (and altar oblations?)¹⁴

(l. 3) At the auspicious time of three *pahar*, five *nādi*¹⁵
 the expert² (Brahman?) astrologers bathed¹⁶ the side pillars, the (*yas*?)⁴ pillars (together with?) all the appurtenances⁷ of the pavilions,¹⁷ and all the other pillars (Having bathed them?)
 all, (l. 6) (they) offered¹⁴ golden flowers (and) altar candles
 . . . (at?) all the seventeen places.¹⁸ (Then the *sambēñ*?)

¹ Cf. A 12 n.

² Cf. B 7 n.

³ Cf. B 6 n.

⁴ Cf. A 8 n.

⁵ Or "(and) offered," or "(and) set." But I incline to the view that the text describes the process of ceremonial lustration with water in vessels and shells, or a shell.

⁶ Cf. B 33 n.

⁷ Cf. B 21 n.

⁸ Instead of "singing" we might say "songs," "(then there were) Burmese songs," etc. The reading *rmeñ*, "Mōn," though not quite clear in the text, is made practically certain by the word *mirmā*, "Burmese." This is the first time the latter are specifically mentioned in these records. Cf. D 24 and H 12.

⁹ The meaning of *tircul* (or *tircal*) has not been determined. In *Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma*, (1920) para. 36, Professor Duroiselle suggests Chulya (Chola, Cola), but in that case one would expect *circul* (see also §§ 24, 51, and VIII A 10).

¹⁰ The word for "boiled rice" must have occurred at the end of the preceding line. The rest is not very legible, though made fairly certain by what follows.

¹¹ Or "set" (cf. A 38 n.); or "gave," or "applied," if it was a case of lustration.

¹² Conjecturally restored.

¹³ Cf. A 38 n.

¹⁴ Cf. A 4 n.

¹⁵ Cf. A 33 n.

¹⁶ Cf. B 4 n.

¹⁷ Or "pavilion," the number being indeterminate. But probably all are included here.

¹⁸ Cf. B 21-31.

. . .¹ (brought?) the *paritta*² water (in) vessels of gold, which they (arranged?) They (came and sprinkled on?) (l. 9) the side pillars (and) *yas*³ pillars; and then they sprinkled all the pillars (and) appurtenances.⁴ After that, the expert Brahman astrologers (bathed the appurtenances?) with water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver on the top⁵ of the side pillars.

At the auspicious (l. 12) time of (dawn, on Tuesday, thereupon the expert?)⁶ Brahman astrologers (bathed?)⁷ (the several objects above mentioned) seven times the side pillars, the *yas* pillars, the *atas* pillars,⁸ (l. 15) After that, all the pillars (with?) the appurtenances (in?) the pavilions, and
 . . . , and all the other appurtenances all together.

On the (fifth?) waxing of the month of (Māgha, at dawn, on Saturday?)⁹ (l. 18) the Brahman astrologers bathed the side pillars, the *yas* pillars, (and) the *atas* pillars, and having (bathed them?)¹⁰ with water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver, (they) offered golden flowers (and) altar candles. After that, (they) (l. 21) all the other bases of the pillars.

On the (fifth?) waxing of the month of Phallagun, the day (being) Sunday, at the auspicious time of three *pahar*, five *nādi*,¹¹ they (went and?) drew water (the ground?)
 (fixed pegs?),¹² vessels of gold, (l. 24) silver, (and) copper. (In the mouths of)¹³ the vessels they (arranged flowers of the *brāc know* and leaves of the *cadūñ*?).¹⁴ (Then?) they laid¹⁵ (the vessels) on the top of the litters

¹ Cf. A 36. Here the text is hardly legible and the rest of the official titles cannot be deciphered with certainty.

² Holy water: cf. A 14 n.

³ Or, possibly, simply "on."

⁴ Cf. A 8 n.

⁵ Cf. B 21 n.

⁶ It is not certain that the doubtfully read *ussāyoga* means "dawn" (cf. C 17, E 15, J 31, M 6); the word taken to mean "Tuesday" is also doubtful; the word rendered "expert" is fairly certain.

⁷ Cf. B 7 n.

⁸ Cf. A 8 n.

⁹ The reading is doubtful. The date may be Tuesday, 25th January, A.D. 1102. The word rendered "dawn" is doubtful.

¹⁰ Fairly certain.

¹¹ Cf. A 33 n. The form *pahar* is really a better spelling than *pahir*. The hour here would apparently be about 4-44 p.m. The fifth waxing of Phālguna, however, began about 1-13 p.m. on Sunday, 23rd February 1102, and strictly speaking, as a calendar date, would be connected with the following Monday, as the rule is that the day takes its number from the lunar day (*tithi*) current at sunrise.

¹² Very doubtful. The preceding word, which apparently reads *sirteñ*, may have some meaning like "straight, level, even, tight."

¹³ Very probable. Cf. D 20, G 28, J 7, K 13, L 23.

¹⁴ From the analogy of the passages cited in the last note, it is probable that they stuck flowers and leaves into the mouths of these vessels. Cf. B 19 n.

¹⁵ Cf. B 17 n.

(which were covered with ?)¹ white cloth (and) shaded with white umbrellas. The Brahmans who carried the litters (l. 27) wore *sukhūy cindrow*² (and carried javelins³ and ?) went (in front ?). After that, the⁴ Brahmans went in front. (Then ?) they⁵ went (and) drew water; and when the water had arrived, they arranged it.⁶

On the sixth (l. 30) waxing of the month of Phallagun, the day (being) Monday, (at) two *nādi*⁷ precisely, they made (in honour of Nārāyaṇa ?)⁸ a decoration of plantains (called) "ox nose" adorned⁹ with young plantains (and) sugarcane, spread mats, (and) offered¹⁰ golden flowers, altar candles (and) altar oblations.¹¹ Then (l. 33) the *sambēn grī*, *sambēn leñ*, *kalan yañ sañ*,¹² (and) the expert¹³ Brahman astrologers, wore loin cloths, *sukhūy cindrow*, (and) *sukhūy ulār*, with *kuchom*¹⁴ skirts of white. Then they went (and) worshipped (Nārāyaṇa ?).¹⁵ (At) all the ten points¹⁶ (l. 36) they made decorations of plantains adorned with young plantains (and) sugarcane (and presented ?)¹⁷ golden flowers, altar candles, (and) altar oblations.¹¹ Water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver, (and) water in conch shells wherein (they) put cleaned rice (and) *dubbā* grass,¹⁸ they arranged in readiness.¹⁹

At the auspicious time of two *nādi*, two *pāt*,²⁰ precisely, (l. 40) the Brahman astrologers offered²¹ golden flowers (and) altar candles, brought water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver (and) water (in) conch shells wherein (they) put cleaned rice (and) *dubbā* grass, (and) sprinkled (and)

¹ Fairly certain.

² The rendering is conjectural. There is no word for "carried," so far as I can see. I assume that the reading is *kēñ bñas* as in E 2 (E 33 *bñas kēñ*, F 48 *bñas kēñ*), which may be connected with L.M. *bñuh kaññā* (and *kaññāñ*), "a kind of spear" (probably a "forked spear," I suppose with more than one point). Possibly it might mean that "the javelin men went in front," particularly if one read *gōñ*, "brave," instead of *kēñ*. But I do not favour this interpretation or reading.

³ The word defining the particular kind of Brahmans here referred to is illegible.

⁴ Probably = "people," not the Brahmans who carried the litters, though it may have been.

⁵ Presumably in some definite place or places.

⁶ This would apparently be about 6.32 a.m. on Monday, 24th February, or alternatively about 7-4 p.m. At the former hour the sixth waxing (which began 6 hours 52 minutes after mean sunrise) was not current, at the latter it was. See A 33 n.

⁷ Cf. A 2 n.

⁸ Cf. A 3 n.

⁹ Or "set"; cf. A 38 n.

¹⁰ Cf. A 4 n.

¹¹ Cf. A 37 n.

¹² Cf. B 7 n.

¹³ Cf. A 16 n., B 14 n.

¹⁴ Cf. A 2 n. Here the reading is quite certain and only the interpretation is in doubt. It is possible that *nār*, when used after *lior*, "to worship," is merely an auxiliary verb. But then, that interpretation will not fit the cases of *nār* coming after the preposition *han*, "to," "in honour of," and such a case occurred only four lines back. On the whole I incline to the Vishnu interpretation.

¹⁵ Usually the reference is to eight points of the compass together with the zenith and nadir; perhaps it can be taken here in a less precise sense.

¹⁶ Cf. B 33 n.

¹⁷ Doubtful reading and meaning.

¹⁸ Or "arranged near by."

¹⁹ A *pāt* is one-fourth of a *nādi*, i.e. six minutes.

²⁰ Or "set"; cf. A 38 n.

²¹ Cf. A 38 n.

worshipped¹ (at) all the ten points. Then (they) levelled² (l. 43) the ground (and) fixed the pegs.³ At that time, too, they pounded *ginhāl*⁴ (in order to spread ?)⁵ the *biñcal*⁶ of the pillars.

At the auspicious time of (one *pahir*, one ?)⁷ *nādi*, precisely, they the⁸ of the pillars (l. 46) and they At that auspicious time, too, they brought

D

. (water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver ?)
. (l. 4) (Then the Brahman astrol-
ogers brought water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver (and) water (in) conch
shells wherein (they) put cleaned rice (and) *dubbā* grass ?).⁹ They
. (l. 7) (*nādi* ?) (scholars ?).
. they
. brought (leaves
and ?) *dubbā* grass (l. 10)
. (the Brahmans ?)
. Then they (brought ?) (l. 13)
. (writing ?) they wrote.

At the auspicious time (other ?)
. (monks who were to ?) recite the *paritta*¹⁰ (around ?) all (the
four ?) sides (and the *siñghāsīn*,¹¹ arranged within it ?).¹² On the th¹³
waxing of the month of Phallagun, the day (being Friday (l. 16) they ?)
brought water (in) the vessels of gold (and) silver, they (entered and sprin-
kled on ?) the side pillars, the *yas* pillars, (and) the *atas*¹⁴ pillars (of ?) the

¹ Or "reverently sprinkled," taking *lior* as used by way of auxiliary. The meaning of the word *sān* before *rumbas*, "to sprinkle," has not been determined, however.

² Doubtful: see C 23 n.

³ The reading is certain here, and the sense nearly certain.

⁴ Perhaps *gindāl*. The meaning has not been determined.

⁵ Reading doubtful.

⁶ Meaning undetermined.

⁷ Nearly certain.

⁸ The sense of *khāl siñdra* is undetermined. Cf. F. 4, 5.

⁹ Up to here all is more or less conjectural. Cf. B 32, 33.

¹⁰ Cf. A 14 n.

¹¹ Cf. A 8 n.

¹² Or, perhaps, "kept watch within it."

¹³ Presumably the "ninth," Friday, 28th February, A.D. 1102.

siṅghāsin, and all the other pillars. That day too, at an auspicious time after two *pahar*, they went (and drew water?) (writing?) (l. 19) (silk mat which?)¹ (Then they brought?) eight vessels of gold, eight vessels of silver, a hundred and eight vessels of copper, (and) a hundred and eight vessels of earthenware. (In?) the mouths of these vessels they (stuck flowers of the *brāc kṃow* (and) leaves of the *cadāñ*?).² Then they brought the vessels of gold (and) vessels of silver, (and) they laid (them) (l. 22) (upon four litters,³ which?) they adorned with white cloth (and) which they shaded with white umbrellas. Then the Brahman, who carried the litters, all wore *sukkhū cindrow*.⁴ The vessels of copper (and) vessels of earthenware, (they?)⁵ (to) the Burmese who (bore swords⁶ and who?) carried⁷ Those who carried (them) (l. 25) (wore?) white *kuchom*⁸ (skirts?) (and) white hair bands.

Then the Brahman astrologers (who?) (went?) in front. (Then they went?) (and) drew water. (The water having?) arrived, they went in (and) arranged (it) in front of (the place where they were to write?)⁹ (l. 28) At that auspicious time, too, (all?)¹⁰ (they?) were to give (as) offerings (to Indra and¹¹ all?) the gods, they made, and gave (as) offerings¹² the statues of Buddha (that are?) in this city of Pagan, (both?) (and?) (with) (l. 31) candles, (fried grain?),¹³ oblations,¹⁴ (and) musical instruments?),¹⁵ that day, too, they worshipped all.¹⁶ (Then?) (they) (gave offerings of treasure?)¹⁷ (and set them in the?) three places.

¹ Very doubtful. Possibly the meaning of *sut* here is Sutta. But even the reading is doubtful.

² Cf. B 19 n., C 25 n.

³ Cf. B 17 n.

⁴ Cf. A 16 n.

⁵ The meaning of *ginlas* (or *ginlus*) has not been determined and there is a short word missing before it.

⁶ The meaning is very doubtful, but seems more likely if it is possible to read *sinrañ*. For "sword" Haswell gives L.M. *sjāñ*. In Myazedi 29, *sinrañ* means "act, deed," which seems inappropriate here. Could *rap sinrañ* possibly mean "had charge of the works"? Cf. F 23, 24, H 44.

⁷ Meaning and reading of *dakap* are doubtful: in L.M. the word means "tongs."

⁸ Cf. B 14 n.

⁹ Or, perhaps, "in front of the three places"; cf. D 32.

¹⁰ Probably the missing word refers to some kind of offerings to be used in the worship of these divinities.

¹¹ The reading is doubtful here: see the text.

¹² Or "parched rice," a recognised form of offering, L.M. *baka*.

¹³ Cf. A 4 n.

¹⁴ Very doubtful, though both *klo* and *twiñ* are used elsewhere in this connexion. It might mean that the ritual of offering was accompanied by instrumental music.

¹⁵ Or, perhaps, "they worshipped everywhere," or "they performed all the rites of worship."

¹⁶ The order is peculiar, the object preceding the verb. But as no subject is expressed and the object is expressed by two words (perhaps to be rendered "offerings and treasure") the order may be justified. Still, the *lacuna* throws doubt on the rendering.

At the auspicious time of four *nāḍi*, precisely,¹ they (pounded?) the *dubbā* grass with all manner of fragrant perfumes. At six *nāḍi*, precisely, they put in (l. 34) the *dubbā* grass (and?)² all the fragrant perfumes. At one *pahar*, precisely, they stuck up two white umbrellas for³ the pillars of the two sides, one white umbrella for⁴ the *yas* pillars, (and) one white umbrella for⁵ the *atas* pillars. (Then?) the Brahman (l. 37) astrologers brought water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver, and water (in) conch shells wherein (they) put cleaned rice (and) *dubbā* grass.⁶ Then (they) recited⁷ (and) sprinkled. Then (they stirred?)⁸ with *dubbā* grass (and) rice meal?)⁹ the holes (for) the side pillars, and the holes (for) the *yas* pillars, and the holes (for) the *atas* pillars (l. 40) (of?) the *siṅghāsin*,⁴ they (stirred?) with leaves of *dubbā* grass (and) rice meal?). Then they proceeded to bring (and) proceeded to (stir?). (stirred?) the *dubbā* grass (and) rice meal together?). Rice (grains) they put in at all the sides.⁹

The tenth waxing of the month of Phallagun, (l. 43) the day (being) Saturday, at the auspicious time of one *pahar*, six *nāḍi*, (Taurus? being) *lagna*,¹⁰ (thereupon) our lord the Chief Monk Arahan and all the exalted (ones¹¹ of the Church?) all

¹ Cf. A 33 n. As "two *pahar*" was mentioned in D 18, we must, I suppose, assume that the times now specified are after sunset.

² Reading and meaning doubtful, perhaps "applied."

³ Or "on."

⁴ Cf. A 8 n.

⁵ Cf. B 33 n.

⁶ I.e. some form of ritual. The sprinkling was, of course, part of the ritual used in consecrating the building operations. Cf. C 42 n.

⁷ Rendering doubtful. I assume that *girtar* is the L.M. *dakuiw*, *thakuiw*, but am not certain of it.

⁸ Not quite certain, but assumed to be L.M. *wuih*, usually applied to broken rice steeped in water for milling or pounding, and to the batter or flour-like product. A sort of rice porridge, in fact. The Malay *tipong tawar*, a mixture of fine rice flour and water used in magical lustration ceremonies for averting evil influences and sprinkling on objects to be consecrated, is closely analogous. It is applied by means of a bundle of leaves.

⁹ There are so many *lacunae* and doubtful passages in the above account that the details of the procedure are by no means clear. Provisionally I am disposed to think that it all refers to the places where the holes for receiving the bases of the various pillars were sunk. Into these holes the different substances, perfumes, etc., were probably put and stirred with bundles of *dubbā* grass (the rice porridge being added while this was being done).

¹⁰ Presumably Saturday, 1st March 1102. The lunar date, "tenth waxing," ended about 10-45 a.m. that morning. If, as is to be supposed, the time mentioned is 5 hours 24 minutes after observed sunrise, that would make it about 11-11 a.m. mean time. Aries was *lagna* (i.e. on the eastern horizon) till 11-45 a.m., when Taurus became *lagna*. It is possible that we ought to read *mesa*, "Aries," not *brisa*, "Taurus," but the latter seems to be indicated by the blurred and broken letters on the ink-impressions.

¹¹ Probably merely honorific for monks in general, not necessarily some that were more exalted than their fellows.

E

..... At the (auspicious?) time of *pahir*, (three?) *nāḍi* (precisely?) (carried javelins went in front (and) beat drums?)¹ pillars. (l. 4) (went (and) drew water?) (the *snāl*?) of the pillars, (they) They made a decoration of plantains adorned with young plantains (and) sugarcane,² (l. 7) spread mats, (and offered) golden flowers, altar candles, (and) altar oblations,³ (when the water?)⁴ had (arrived?), (l. 10) (Then?) the Brahman astrologers (brought?) water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver, (and) water (in) conch shells wherein (they) put cleaned?) rice (and) *dubbā* grass.⁵ Then (they) recited⁷ (and) sprinkled, and bathed all (l. 13) (the *snāl*?) of the pillars. Thereafter, (they) spread mats (and offered?)⁸ golden flowers (and) altar candles.

At the time of (dawn?)⁹ (on) Monday¹⁰ (they (l. 16) pounded with stones?)¹¹ all (the *snāl*?) of the pillars.¹² At that time, too, (they erected?)¹³ (the pillars at?)¹⁴ all the four sides. (The) (side?) all the pillars (l. 19) the pillars the pillars of the ablution pavilion¹⁵: all (those pillars?) they¹⁶

At full moon of the month of Phalagun, the day (being) Thursday (l. 22), (at one?) *nāḍi* precisely,¹⁷ they prepared¹⁸ gold, they applied¹⁹ (it?)

¹ Cf. E 27 n. Here, too, no word for "carried" is legible. As to *klo*, cf. VIII A 6 n. and the passages cited in IX A 10 n.

² The meaning of *snāl* here and in E 13, 16, has not been determined. One would suppose that it was something that was "spread" (*snāl*) over the surface of the pillars, perhaps a coating or covering of some sort. ³ Cf. A 3 n. ⁴ Cf. A 4 n.

⁵ Conjectural, but probable, as a similar formula is used repeatedly elsewhere. However, the Brahmins bring water in the very next line, so it may be something else (or some person) that "arrived." ⁶ Cf. B 33 n. ⁷ Cf. C 42 n., D 38 n.

⁸ As regards the omitted word, cf. A 38 n. The word for "offered" here is a different one. ⁹ Cf. C 12 n. ¹⁰ This would be 3rd March, but details are lacking.

¹¹ Or, perhaps, "pounded the stones of the *snāl*," if stone entered into the composition of the latter (E 4 n.). But the reading is also not beyond doubt.

¹² Or, perhaps, "the *snāl* of all the pillars." ¹³ The reading is doubtful. ¹⁴ Cf. A 8.

¹⁵ The moment of the full moon of Phālguna occurred on Wednesday, 5th March 1102, at 7 hours 56 minutes after mean sunrise, i.e. 1-56 p.m. It could not be connected with Thursday. "One *nāḍi*" points to 6-11 a.m. Presumably the day was Thursday, 6th March, at 6-11 a.m., the morning following full moon.

¹⁶ Or "made ready." But cf. C 39 n. I take this "gold" to be gold leaf for coating the pillars.

¹⁷ Presumably by coating the pillars with it. But the *lacuna* leaves the meaning somewhat uncertain.

..... on the *yas*¹ pillars. That day, too, (at two?) *pahir*, (three?) *nāḍi*, (they) put in² the (*yas*?)³ pillars. (At?) that time, (l. 25) too, (they) bathed⁴ the side pillars, the *yas* pillars, the *atas*⁵ pillars, and all the other pillars. Then the (*sāṅkrān*?)⁶ Brahmins decorated litters (and) shaded (them) with white umbrellas. (l. 28) Upon the litters they laid⁷ vessels of gold (and) silver, (and) vessels of copper which they carried, thirty-three (of them).⁸ The Brahmins who carried the litters wore (their?)⁹ *sukhāy*, *cindrow*,¹⁰ (l. 31) together with white *kuchom*¹¹ skirts (and) white hair bands.

Then the (*daḥsān*?) Brahman astrologers¹² (girdles?)¹³ and javelins¹⁴ and) went (and) beat the foremost¹⁵ drum, and then went (and) drew water. (l. 34) (After they had?)¹⁶ gone (and) drawn the water, they made, for¹⁷ the pillars, decorations of plantains¹⁸ (making) thirty-seven booths,¹⁹ spread thirty-seven mats, (and offered) water (l. 37) (in) a hundred and forty-eight vessels, thirty-seven golden flowers, thirty-seven altar candles, thirty-seven altar oblations,²⁰ (and) water (in) the thirty-seven conch shells wherein (they) put cleaned (l. 40) rice (and) *dubbā* grass²¹; to Nārāyaṇa²² (they offered)

¹ Cf. A 8 n.

² Presumably into the holes made to receive their bases.

³ Or *atas*? There is a *lacuna* here.

⁴ The meaning of *thiwas* has not been determined: the word occurs again, in a similar context, in E 45. One view is that it means "(and) swept," L.M. *tvah*, but this would normally correspond with an E.M. form in *-as*, not *-ās*. Perhaps it denotes some part of a pillar.

⁵ Cf. A 8 n.

⁶ Cf. A 12 n.

⁷ Cf. B 17 n.

⁸ I think the translation is right, but it does not seem clear whether there were thirty-three vessels in all, or thirty-three of each sort, or merely thirty-three copper ones, the number of the gold and silver ones being left to the imagination. Further, it might be possible to render the passage: "Upon the litters they laid the vessels of gold (and) silver. The vessels of copper which (they) carried were thirty-three (in number)." If we assume that the stop after *sreā* is wrong, one might with less hesitation adopt the version given in the translation.

⁹ See the note on the text.

¹⁰ Cf. B 14 n.

¹¹ Cf. A 16 n. and I C 24 tr. n.

¹² The reading and meaning of *daḥsān* are doubtful: possibly "of the right," or "of Southern India." In this place the word for "astrologer" for once precedes the word for "Brahman," contrary to the usual order observed in the inscription.

¹³ The reading and meaning of the word left out before "girdles" being doubtful, some doubt is also thrown on the latter. The last part of it might possibly be the L.M. *khalā*, "to lean on," and not "girdle" (*mekhalā*) at all. If the version adopted is right, the missing word probably meant something like "were girt with" or "wore."

¹⁴ Cf. C 27 n. ¹⁵ Or "the drum" (or "drums") "in front." Cf. A 13 n.

¹⁶ The meaning of *kindrow* is not quite certain, but I connect the word with *krow*, "behind, after" (E 17), and *krāw*, probably "hereafter" (VIII A 30, B 1, 2).

¹⁷ That is, I presume, "in honour of," not that the pillars were necessarily to be housed in the booths; though, for aught I know, they may have been.

¹⁸ Cf. A 3 n.

¹⁹ Literally, "dwellings." I suppose small decorative sheds are indicated. The word is used here like a sort of numeral coefficient following after *brāt cindran*. Cf. H 10 n.

²⁰ Cf. A 4 n.

²¹ Cf. B 33 n.

²² Cf. A 2 n.

mats,¹ golden flowers, altar candles, (and) boiled rice in cup-shaped vessels with candles stuck in it.²

All these they arranged (and) placed (l. 43) in readiness³; (and) when the water which they had gone to draw, had arrived, at the time (when) *godhulī* (was) *lagna*,⁴ they bathed⁵ the side pillars, the *yas* pillars, the *atas*⁶ (l. 46) pillars, and all the other pillars around all the four sides. At that time, too, (they) applied⁷ (At that time, too, ?)

F

. (On the waning?), the day (being) Friday, too, at one *nādi*, (Pisces being *lagna*?)⁸ the palace. (In) each place (l. 3) they buried gold leaf, silver leaf, (and) copper leaf. (In) all the ten places they thus buried gold leaf, silver leaf (and) copper leaf, all three in each case.⁹ That day, too, they¹⁰ the side pillars, the *yas* pillars, (and) the *atas*⁶ pillars. Then they¹¹ all the other (l. 6) pillars. At that time, too, they wrapped the bases of the side pillars, the *yas* pillars, (and) the *atas* pillars; they spread gold leaf, silver leaf, (and) copper leaf (on them). (On) all those pillars they spread (them in) three layers equalling in extent the whole bottom¹² of the pillars. They wrapped (the bases of the pillars) with cloth whereon they (l. 9) wrote a "writing of success."¹³ The thread wherewith they bound up the pillars, tender maidens, young damsels,¹⁴ daughters of Brahmins, had spun (it and) made

¹ Cf. A 22 n.

² Cf. A 5 n.

³ Cf. C 39 n., E 22 n.

⁴ Cf. A 12 n.

⁵ Cf. E 25 n.

⁶ Cf. A 8 n.

⁷ Cf. E 22 n. If the doubtful reading *mat* is right, *lak* may mean "(they) inlaid jewels." But it is not clear that the word here is not the same as the one at the end of E 22, which does not seem to be *mat*.

⁸ On Friday, 7th March 1102, which was the second waning of Phālguna, Pisces (*mīna*) was *lagna* till 7-6 a.m. "One *nādi*" after observed (or true) sunrise would be 6-11 a.m. Cf. A 12 n., 33 n.

⁹ I take this to be the force of the doubled *pumpi*, if that is the true reading.

¹⁰ The sense of *khal* has not been determined: cf. C 45 n., E 5.

¹¹ Cf. the last note.

¹² In I 4 25 *kintāl* (L.M. *gata*) is applied to the soles of the feet. Whether it here means the under surface of the base of each pillar or includes the whole surface of such base, I am not quite sure.

¹³ The text has *jeyyalakha*, of which this seems to be a possible meaning. (Another is "record of victory.") I presume that some auspicious formula is indicated.

¹⁴ Perhaps one should add "of high degree," in order to bring in the associations of the word *kumārī*.

(it on) a hundred and eight spools.¹ Then the Brahman astrologers recited² (and) sprinkled, and after that they bound up the pillars.

That day, too, at three *nādi* precisely, Pisces (being) *lagna*,³ they set up the pillars of the two sides (l. 13), the *yas* pillars, (and) the *atas* pillars (of?) the *siṅghāsīn*,⁴ (vertically in their holes?).⁵ That day, too, at one *pahar*,⁶ six *nādi*, the lord abounding in piety⁷ rode on an elephant. From⁸ in front of the Jetawan⁹ (he) made the elephant enter in front of the¹⁰ of Pagan (l. 16) within the (lower?)¹¹ walls. The palanquin men with the (riding?)¹² litters entered behind the riding elephants.¹³ (Alongside of?) the leading elephant, (went) a white elephant named Erāwan(a)-mahāwijeyyabajrabhūm, which was completely arrayed with all (sorts of) ornaments made of shining gold (l. 19) set with gems of divers kinds, on both sides, (and) a riding horse completely arrayed with ornaments (and) trappings of shining gold, set with gems of divers kinds (appertaining thereto?).¹⁴ All the *sambhān grī*, *sambhān leñ*, (l. 22) (and) *kalan yañ sañ*,¹⁵ both those who came with our lord the king of the Law,¹⁶ and those who bore

¹ Or, conceivably, "(of) 108 strands," which practically comes to the same thing. For "where-with they bound up" one might perhaps say "which they wound round," if the thread is conceived as apart from and used to bind the cloth.

² Cf. C 42 n., D 38 n.

³ Cf. A 8 n.

⁴ Cf. F 2 n. "Three *nādi*" would be about 6-59 a.m.

⁵ The meaning of *han tiṅgūr* has not been absolutely determined; I assume *tiṅgūr* to be connected with the *tugur* (or *tugūr*) of III C 15 and L.M. *dagū*, "straight."

⁶ Cf. A 33 n.

⁷ That is, the king: he has the same title in I D 44; and cf. also I A 9. We may assume that this was a courtly formula, like "our most religious and gracious king," "his gracious Majesty," and the like.

⁸ The meaning of *diṅḍār* (or *riṅḍār*?) has not been determined. It seems barely possible that it may be the L.M. *lanā*, *kayā*, "shed," "pavilion," but I am not prepared to accept this identification without further evidence.

⁹ No doubt a building, and probably a monastery, named after the historical one where Buddha sometimes resided: cf. I A 15. It is mentioned again in IX G 22.

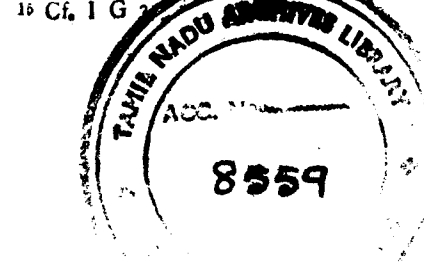
¹⁰ The meaning of *rañ kinlūn* has not been determined. It may refer to some building (as, apparently, does the word *rañ* in G 48), perhaps a reception hall, and that seems to be the more likely interpretation. On the other hand we may be tempted to compare the *rañ klūn* of VIII A to (where it appears to mean "came," though the passage is unfortunately preceded by a *lacuna*) and of IX A it appears to mean "brought": cf. L.M. *rañ klūn*, "to go out to meet," *rañ klūn nañ*, "to bring." In that case it might possibly mean that the king rode his elephant in front of the concourse of the people of Pagan who had come to attend him. But in that case one would have expected a word for "people."

¹¹ The reading is doubtful but probable.

¹² Or "elephant," there being no plural particle, so that it may refer exclusively to the elephant on which the king rode. But then, why style him "the leading elephant" immediately afterwards, if there were no other riding elephants? Possibly *kiṇta* may mean merely that alongside the king's riding elephant, "which led the procession," came the white elephant and the caparisoned horse.

¹³ I take *cuḥān* to be the L.M. *chen*. Perhaps, however, we should translate: "With the leading elephant went alongside." It seems highly probable that the white elephant and the horse were in fact led alongside of the leading elephant, the one on the right and the other on the left.

¹⁴ Cf. A 37 n.



swords,¹ all wore loincloths, *sukhūy cindrow*, *sukhūy ulār*, *kuchom* skirts, (and) white hair bands.² Then those who bore swords,¹ the *sambēñ* (l. 25) *grī*, *sambēñ* *leñ*, *kalan yañ sañ*, *trāp dumsac*, *kla pñāñ*,³ (and) the Brahman astrologers, who were versed in house-building,⁴ wore loincloths, *sukhūy cindrow* (and) *sukhūy ulār*, (adorned?)⁵ with all (sorts of) ornaments, together with white skirts, white *kuchom*, (and) white hair bands. (They) offered (l. 28)⁶ golden flowers (and) altar candles, (they) made obeisance⁷ (and) asked a boon⁸ from our lord King Śrī Tribhūwanādityadhammarāja, abounding in piety,⁹¹⁰ Then the Brahman astrologers who were versed in house-building went (and) worshipped Nārāyaṇa¹¹ in the ancient manner,¹² and (l. 31) offered⁶ water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver. Then the Brahman astrologers who were versed in house-building all came (and) (made) lustrations?,¹³ putting the *paritta*¹⁴ water (from) vessels of gold (and) silver in the holes,¹⁵ and put five (sorts of) gems (in each of?)¹⁶ the holes, together with boiled rice (and) fresh (l. 34) milk.¹⁷ Then (they) sounded all the drums blew¹⁸ (and) all the host shouted.¹⁹

¹ Doubtful interpretation. Cf. D 24 n.

² It seems possible that "white" may apply to all these articles of apparel; as to which, cf. B 14 n.

³ It is possible that *trāp* goes with *sañ*; and if *sañ* stands for "clergy," *trāp* may mean "of the Lord," i.e. "of Buddha." Alternatively, *trāp dumsac* may mean "the chiefs of the *dumsac*." But as the sense of *dumsac* (or *rumisac*) has not been determined, the point remains in doubt. Cf. H 34, 44. The next two words, literally "tigers of the army," presumably denote military officers.

⁴ Cf. B 7 n.

⁵ The reading and meaning are almost certain, and they make good sense. Cf. G 25.

⁶ Cf. A 38 n.

⁷ Or, perhaps, "worshipped." But from its close juxtaposition with the next word ("asked") I think it must be inferred that the two are to be taken together and *lior* here merely indicates the respectful manner and attitude accompanying the making of a request to a royal personage.

⁸ Or, perhaps, "permission, authority." It would depend on the meaning of the words left untranslated, *infra*.

⁹ Cf. F 14 n.

¹⁰ The reading and meaning of *birboy salār* are doubtful. It has been suggested that they mean that the king was asked as to "where they should place" the offerings mentioned in the preceding line. If the true reading is *satap* (not *salār*), presumably the meaning is that the king was really and truly pious (cf. L.M. *satap*, "upright, righteous") and we might render the phrase, "in accordance with righteousness."

¹¹ Cf. A 2 n.

¹² Taking the reading *tumlā* to be for *tumlār*, this seems to be the meaning, unless it can be interpreted by "as before."

¹³ The force of *sañ* is undetermined: cf. C 42 n. The word is generally accompanied by *rumbas*, *rumbas*, "to sprinkle," but that does not suffice to decide its meaning. ¹⁴ Cf. A 14 n. and C 7.

¹⁵ No doubt the holes made to receive the bases of the pillars. I imagine that the water was poured or sprinkled into these holes, and to make that clearer I have put "from" vessels of gold and silver.

¹⁶ The reading is not quite, but nearly, certain.

¹⁷ Perhaps the boiled rice was boiled in the fresh milk. But cf. F 41 n.

¹⁸ Cf. A 11 n. To this must be added that *gumrīñ* means "to make a noise," and *mhāñār*, "a great sound."

¹⁹ Rather doubtful, but one does not see what else it can mean. Cf. K 7.

At the auspicious time of two *pahir*. Hasta (being) the lunar mansion (and) Gemini (being) *lagna*,¹ (they) built up the side pillars, (l. 37) the *yas* pillars, (and) the *atas* pillars.² On the lotus bases of those pillars they wound white cloth. Then, the *juñ dal*³ pillars, the pillars of the great pavilion, the pillars of the four *cindrow*⁴ pavilions, the pillars of the ablution pavilion⁵ and all the pillars, they bound up (l. 40) with white cloth, (and) having put the five (sorts of) gems and put boiled rice with fresh milk,⁶ they built them all up. At the time of the building of the palace,⁷ gifts (and) presents, (for example of?)⁸ gold, silver, pearls, (coral?),⁹ the seven (sorts of) jewels,¹⁰ of divers (l. 43) kinds, they came (and presented?)¹¹ (to?) King Śrī Tribhūwanādityadhammarāja the palace of Jeyabhūm.¹² On (the pillars?) (l. 46) (upon?) the litters they laid¹³ vessels of gold (and) silver, vessels of copper, vessels of earthenware (which they?) carried, (and) the javelins¹⁴ they arranged in readiness.¹⁵ At the auspicious time

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(offered boiled rice) in cup-shaped vessels together with candles,¹⁶ offered¹⁷ water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver, spread mats, (and) offered¹⁷

¹ Cf. A 12 n., 33 n. The time was apparently six hours after true sunrise, i.e. about 11-47 a.m. On that day (cf. B 2 n.) Mithuna was *lagna* from 11-16 a.m. to 1-16 p.m., but the lunar mansion (*nakṣatra*) Hasta was no longer current, having ended at 3-30 p.m. on the preceding afternoon. This is one of the several cases in these dates which seem to throw some doubt on the correct identification of the year or the applicability of the reckoning employed. Cf. E 22 n.

² Cf. A 8 n.

³ Cf. A 9 n.

⁴ Cf. A 16 n.

⁵ Cf. A 8.

⁶ Cf. F 34 n. But the reading here supports the translation given and is rather against the alternative suggested in the note.

⁷ Or "while the palace was being built." I take *crūñ* to be (at any rate primarily) a verb, though as such it may also perhaps be capable of being used as a verbal noun. Cf. G 19.

⁸ Cf. I C 26. Literally the words seem to mean "beginning with," and the usage is parallel to that of the L.M. *ma patañ*, *ma ptañ*.

⁹ Doubtful reading and meaning, but cf. L.M. *gwa*, *dwā*, and perhaps Pāli *paṇḍalā*, from which the Mōn forms may have been derived.

¹⁰ Cf. III C 19, VIII A 15 tr. n.

¹¹ The reading is not quite certain, but nearly so.

¹² Cf. IX C 27 n.

¹³ Cf. C 39 n.

¹⁴ Cf. VIII A 2.

¹⁵ Cf. B 17 n.

¹⁶ Cf. A 4 n. It would appear from that passage (and others there cited) that the candles were stuck in the vessels (probably in the rice which they contained). Here the words "offered boiled rice" are conjecturally inserted from the preceding line, which is missing.

¹⁷ Cf. A 38 n.

golden flowers (and) altar candles. Then the Brahman astrologers who were versed in house-building worshipped Nārāyaṇa.¹ When (they) had worshipped Nārāyaṇa, (l. 4) at the time (when) *godhulī* (was) *lagna*² (they) beat drums (and) blew³ Then the Brahman astrologers went (and) bathed the side pillars, the *yas* pillars, the *atas* pillars,⁴ the pillars of the pavilions, bathed⁵ the pillars of the ablution pavilion, (l. 7) and all the pillars together. Having bathed (them), (they) spread mats, offered⁶ golden flowers, altar oblations,⁷ (and) altar candles, (and) worshipped⁸ (at) all the pillars.

On Saturday the second waning, after three *pahir*,⁹ the *sumbeñ* (l. 10) *kañsāsūr*, *sumbeñ rājirsūr*, *sumbeñ rīpusaddano*, *sumbeñ mhāchatti*, *sumbeñ prajñālankār*,¹⁰ and the Brahman astrologers, sprinkled with *paritta*¹¹ water (from) vessels of gold (and) silver, and then they dug holes wherein to bury four treasures (l. 13) at the four sides of the *yas* pillars: within four copper chests they put gold, silver, (and) all (sorts of) jewels of divers kinds, which (they) wrapped up with white cloth. At the auspicious time of three *pahar*, one (l. 16) *nāḍī*, (Cancer?) being *lagna*,¹² all the *sumbeñ grī*, *sumbeñ leñ*, *kalan yañ sañ*,¹³ (and) the Brahman astrologers, proceeded to sprinkle¹⁴ with *paritta*¹⁵ water (from) vessels of gold (and) silver, and then buried the four treasures (at) all four (l. 19) (sides?).¹⁶

Also, (on?) the days when the palace of Pagan was being built,¹⁷ both (on) every holy¹⁸ day of the waxing and (on) every holy day of the waning (moon), our lord the Chief Monk Arahan¹⁹ with all the lords of the Church (l. 22) entered (and) dwelt inside the Jetawan.²⁰ From

¹ Cf. A 2 n.

² Cf. A 12 n.

³ Cf. A 10 n., 11 n.

⁴ Cf. A 8 n.

⁵ Cf. B 4 n. It is not clear whether the preceding word should be plural, and it seems possible to take the two together in the sense of "the bathing pavilion." But this does not seem to be mentioned elsewhere and appears to be a less probable rendering.

⁶ Or "worshipped all the pillars." They may have made obeisance to the pillars after their ceremonial lustration and consecration, as mentioned above.

⁷ Cf. A 33 n. This would be nine hours after actual sunrise, presumably. But Saturday, 8th March 1103, was the third waning, the second having ended at 1-13 p.m. the previous day.

⁸ Some of these titles are doubtfully read: see the text and notes thereon, and cf. A 37 n.

⁹ Cf. A 14 n.

¹⁰ Cf. A 12 n., A 33 n. The *lagna* is doubtfully read.

¹¹ Cf. A 37 n.

¹² Cf. C 42 n.

¹³ Cf. A 14 n.

¹⁴ Conjecturally restored on the analogy of F 13. In both places the word (*dis*) refers primarily to the four quarters, the four principal points of the compass (or rather of the heavens).

¹⁵ Cf. F 41. Here the word *crūñ* seems to be used distinctly as a verb.

¹⁶ That is, the *uposatha* days, of which there are four in a lunar month: the eighth waxing, full moon, eighth waning, and new moon.

¹⁷ Cf. A 6 n.

¹⁸ Cf. F 15 n.

sunset of the day that (they) entered (and) dwelt there, children¹ of Mōn chiefs and children of chiefs (and) the scholars wore (l. 25) *sukhāv cindrow*² adorned³ (with) all (sorts of) ornaments, together with white skirts, white *kuchom*,⁴ (and) white hair bands. (They) decorated litters with white cloth (and) shaded (them) with white umbrellas. Upon (the litters they laid?),⁵ (l. 28) vessels of gold (and) silver and vessels of copper (and) earthenware which they (carried?).⁶ In the mouths of these vessels they stuck flowers of the *brāc know* (and) leaves of the *caḍūñ*.⁷ Then they beat the foremost⁸ drum. Then the children of the chiefs,⁹ with the scholars (l. 31) (and) *yañ sañ*,¹⁰ went (and) drew water. When the water (had arrived),¹¹ they arranged water (in) vessels of gold, silver, copper (and) earthenware, (and) water (in) conch shells wherein (they) put cleaned rice (and) *dubbā* grass,¹² they arranged (it) at the houses¹³ where the (l. 34) *paritta*¹⁴ was to be recited.

At the time of midnight, our lord the Chief Monk Arahan, with the lords of the Church who were to recite the *paritta*, entered (and) dwelt in the houses where the *paritta* was to be recited. Then (l. 37) the children of the chiefs¹⁵ brought water (in) the vessels of gold, silver, copper, (and) earthenware, (and) water (in) the conch shells wherein (they) put cleaned rice (and) *dubbā* grass, (and) reverently presented (it to) each (of them). Then the scholars and *yañ sañ*¹⁶ (l. 40) offered¹⁷ golden flowers (and) altar candles, (and) reverently asked for¹⁸ the *paritta*. When (they) had reverently (asked for it), then our lord the Chief Monk Arahan with the exalted (ones)¹⁹ of the Church recited the *paritta*. When (they) had recited the *paritta*, (l. 43) then our lord the Chief Monk Arahan, with the exalted (ones) of the Church who had also recited the *paritta*, brought *paritta* water (in) conch shells with²⁰ cleaned rice (and) *dubbā* grass. (l. 46) Then (they) entered

¹ Presumably sons of chiefs or notables are meant. But the phrase might be interpreted to mean leading men of Mōn race (not merely their sons). Immediately afterwards one would expect Burmese to be mentioned, but the reading (which is not clear) does not seem to admit of this.

² Cf. B 14 n.

³ Cf. F 26.

⁴ Cf. B 14 n.

⁵ The reading, though not quite clear, must represent something of this kind. Cf. B 17 n.

⁶ Probable, as being supported by parallel passages: cf. B 15, 18, F 29, F 48.

⁷ Cf. B 19 n. Or "the drum" (or "drums")? "in front." Cf. A 13 n.

⁸ Cf. G 24 n. Or "the *yañ sañ* scholars"? But cf. A 37 n.

⁹ A restoration supported by several parallel passages.

¹⁰ Or "house"; but in view of G 36 I think the plural must be intended, though there is no plural particle here.

¹¹ Cf. G 24 n.

¹² Cf. A 14 n.

¹³ Cf. A 38 n.

¹⁴ Cf. G 31 n.

¹⁵ Or "made obeisance (and) asked," as I have rendered it at F 28. They would, of course, make the usual obeisance to such a high ecclesiastical dignitary.

¹⁶ Literally, "which were with."

¹⁷ Cf. D 44 n.

(and) sprinkled (and) scattered (it broadcast?)¹ around (all the four?) sides of the palace. Then they went out from thence. Then they stopped in front of the hall.² Then they gave *paritta* water (to?)

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. (arranged?) a decoration of plantains³ for⁴ the side pillars, the *yas* pillars (and) the *atas* pillars (of?) the *singhāsīn*,⁵ for the pillars of the ablution pavilion, for the *jun dal* pillars,⁶ (and) for (the pillars of the four pavilions.⁷ At?) each of (these?) (they) spread mats, (offered?)⁸ golden (flowers?),⁹ altar candles, (and) altar (l. 4) oblations.¹⁰ They arranged water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver, (and) (water) (in) (the?) conch shells wherein (they) put cleaned rice (and) *dubbā* grass.¹¹ At the auspicious time of (one?) *pahīr*, one *nādī*, precisely, then the Brahman astrologers, who were versed in house-building, brought water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver (l. 7) (and) water (in) conch shells, which they arranged (on the ground. Then they?)¹² sprinkled¹³ all the pillars. After that, they offered¹⁴ golden flowers (and) altar candles (everywhere?).¹⁵

On that Sunday, too, at the auspicious time of one *pahīr*, (two?)¹⁶ *nādī*, precisely, (l. 10) (they) worshipped Nārāyaṇa.¹⁷ To the Nāgas¹⁸ (they) made a decoration of plantains (for?)¹⁹ a dwelling place, spread mats, (and set in readiness?)²⁰ golden flowers (and) altar oblations.²¹ Then the *sambēh*

¹ The meaning of *vināś* is undetermined. As regards the procedure, it seems likely that they sprinkled the water and scattered the grains of rice.

² Probably of the monastery, as I presume it to be, where they lodged on these occasions: cf. G 32.

³ That is, "in honour of." Or it may be, "at" or "on," and so in the rest of this passage.

⁴ Cf. A 8 n.

⁵ Cf. A 8. Presumably these are the four *cindrow* pavilions of A 16, set at the four sides of the principal or great pavilion.

⁶ The words in parentheses in the preceding passage are nearly certain.

⁷ Cf. A 4 n.

⁸ Or, perhaps, "which they arranged around. Then they."

⁹ As regards the omitted word, cf. A 38 n. The word for "offered" here is a different one.

¹⁰ Or, perhaps, "they all offered . . . golden flowers (and) altar candles."

¹¹ The reading is doubtful. The date was presumably the fourth waning of Phālguna, 9th March 1102.

¹² The interpretation is not quite certain. Possibly the reference is to the cosmic dragon discussed in Halliday, *The Talains*, pp. 25-27. But there is some appositeness in propitiating the Nāgas, as guardians of the realms below ground, when one is about to invade their domain by digging holes.

¹³ The reading is doubtful, perhaps it should be *moy*, "one," in which case the words "dwelling place" would perhaps be toned down to the mere value of a numeral auxiliary. Cf. E 36 n.

¹⁴ Cf. C 38 n. Here the alternative meaning "set near by" seems rather more likely.

¹⁵ Cf. A 4 n.

gri, *sambēh lēn*, (*kalan yañ sañ?*),¹ the Burmese² Brahman astrologers versed in house-building, (and the Môn ones?) versed in house-building, wore loincloths, (l. 13) *sukhāy cindrow*, (and) *sukhāy ulār*, with white *kuchom*³ skirts (and) white hair bands. Then the Brahman astrologers versed in house-building offered⁴ water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver, and then they worshipped the Nāgas. At that time, too, they put sand on (l. 16) the places where (they) were to dig the holes for the pillars of the two sides, the *yas* pillars (and) the *atas* pillars (of?) the *singhāsīn*⁵ and the places where (they) were to dig the holes for the pillars (on) all the faces of the four sides. Then the *sambēh prajñālaṅkāra*⁶ brought (a?)⁷ gold peg (fixed with seven?)⁸ silver cords. Then the Brahman astrologers, (having recited (l. 19)?),⁹ offered⁴ water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver, and then the *sambēh prajñālaṅkāra* (leant on?)¹⁰ (the peg?) and having (leant on it?) they (pressed?)¹¹ the gold peg (and) (patted?)¹² the sand smooth.¹³

When they had (patted it?) smooth, then the *sambēh prajñālaṅkāra* (l. 22) brought gold leaf which (they?) adorned with (leaves of the red *bil*, and?)¹⁴ thread which (tender maidens?),¹⁵ young damsels,¹⁶ daughters of Brahmans (had spun?)¹⁷ Then the *sambēh prajñālaṅkāra* stuck (with?) (l. 25). Then

¹ Cf. A 37 n. The reading here is supported by other passages and is almost certain.

² Alternatively, "the Brahman astrologers, the Burmese who (were) versed in house-building, (and the Môn?) who (were) versed," etc. But on the whole it seems more likely that the version in the translation is right and that a distinction is being drawn between Brahmans of the Burmese part of the country and Brahmans of the Môn portion.

³ Cf. B 14 n.

⁴ Cf. A 38 n.

⁵ Cf. A 8 n.

⁶ Cf. A 37 n.

⁷ The numeral is not quite certain, nor is it clear whether the word *taḥ* that immediately follows is to be taken to mean "fixed with," or possibly as a mere numeral auxiliary, in which case one would simply say "with."

⁸ The word "seven" is not quite certain.

⁹ Reading doubtful.

¹⁰ I have assumed a connexion with L.M. *phalai* (cf. *ḍacun balai*), which is by no means certain. It has been suggested that the right meaning here is "pulled." All this also refers to the recurrence of the word in this same line.

¹¹ Doubtful reading and meaning. It has been suggested that the word means "pulled up" or "pulled out."

¹² It has been suggested that the phrase means that they "polished (the peg) smooth with sand." But in that case one would expect a preposition for "with." The word is repeated in this line.

¹³ Or "level," and so below.

¹⁴ Very doubtful. If rightly read, it is presumed that *bil* represents the *bilva* or *vilva*, L.M. *bī*, "Bengal quince." The epithet "red" is also doubtful.

¹⁵ Doubtful, but it occurs in the parallel passage, F 10.

¹⁶ Cf. F 10 n.

¹⁷ Cf. F 10, from which the words "had spun," here illegible, have been supplied. From this point on there is a big gap affecting the text down to l. 31.

(a spade with a turned handle?)¹ the holes
 for the male² (l. 28) (side?) pillars. Then
 (a spade with a turned
 handle?), they (asked of?)³
 (brought a spade with a turned handle?)
 the *yas* pillars.⁴ When (they had built them up?),⁵ (l. 31) the
samben (*leñ* and *kalan*⁶ and?) all the Brahman astrologers brought water
 (in) vessels of gold (and) silver, (and) water in conch shells wherein (they)
 put cleaned rice (and) *dubbā* grass,⁷ (and) sprinkled⁸ on the places where
 (they) were to dig the holes for the male⁹ side pillars.

Then the *samben prajñalakkār*, *samben* (l. 34)⁹ (and the
 chief?)¹⁰ architects, took the lead.¹¹ Next, the *kalan siy* dug the holes for
 the male side pillars. When the Brahman astrologers had sprinkled¹² on the
 places where they were to dig the holes for the female side pillars, the
kalan keñ dug. (l. 37) At the places for the holes of the *yas* pillars, the
 Brahman astrologers recited¹³ (and) sprinkled,¹⁴ and the *kalan sã* brought a
 spade with a turned handle¹⁵ (and) dug.¹⁶ They dug (and) excavated,¹⁷
 (giving twelve strokes?)¹⁷ (at) the four places (which they?) dug (and)
 excavated, (giving one stroke at each place?).¹⁸ (l. 40) As they dug (and)
 excavated at the holes for the male side pillars, so also they dug (and)

¹ See the note on the text. L.M. but means "to turn with a lathe." Conceivably *tar buwub* might mean "a drill," but in view of H 38 I think it is more likely to describe the kind of digging instrument or spade (*kwir*) employed on this occasion.

² In the *Lokasiddhi*, quoted in Halliday, *The Talaiings*, pp. 24, 25, the principal posts of a house are named "king post," "queen post," "minister post," etc. In Burmese treatises on architecture these wooden pillars are distinguished as "male" and "female" timbers, the latter being somewhat larger at the bottom than at the top, whereas the former are of uniform thickness throughout, not tapering like the others. Probably this is also the distinction referred to here.

³ Doubtful reading.

⁴ Cf. A 8 n.

⁵ Doubtful reading, but cf. A 37 n.

⁶ Cf. B 33 n.

⁷ Cf. C 42 n.

⁸ Cf. H 27 n.

⁹ See the note on the text.

¹⁰ Cf. F 25 n. The present passage seems to support the second alternative suggested in that note.

¹¹ Cf. A 20.

¹² Cf. C 42 n.

¹³ Cf. H 26 n.

¹⁴ Cf. H 19, where, however, the reading is not quite certain.

¹⁵ It is curious that there is no conjunction or other word introducing *kir*. Could it be a mere numeral auxiliary here? That seems rather improbable.

¹⁶ L.M. *dacuin* appears to mean "to scratch up," e.g. earth in digging, so the pair of words really only means "to dig," though I have added "excavated." No doubt *kil*, "to give," which it in its primary meaning for convenience of rendering.

¹⁷ The meaning is not quite certain. In H 39, and I am not quite sure what it really means. Are we to suppose that there were three persons, each of whom delivered a stroke of the spade at each of four different places? Or that twelve persons delivered, each of them, one stroke at each of the different places?

excavated at the holes for the female side pillars, at the holes for the *yas* pillars (and) at the holes for the *atas* pillars (of the?) *singhāsīn*,¹ (and) at the holes for the *atas* pillars of the audience (l. 43) hall.²

At that time, too, (at) all the sides, the Brahman astrologers recited (and) sprinkled.³ Then the *samben* (and?) *kalan yan sañ* (and the?) *trāp dumsac*⁴ who bore swords⁵ they⁶ also around all the fronts of the four sides (l. 46)
 (beat?) drums blew
⁷ On that day, too, at one *pahir*, two (*nāḍī*?)⁸

J

.⁹
 the day (being) (Wednesday?),¹⁰ the *sañkrān*¹¹ Brahmans (wore loincloths (l. 3) (and) *sukhūy cindrow*?) together with (white *kuchom*?)¹² skirts (and) white hair bands. (They) (decorated?) litters with (white cloth and?) shaded (them) with white umbrellas. Upon (the litters they?) laid¹³ (l. 6) vessels of gold, silver, copper (and) earthenware, which they carried?). In the mouths of these vessels they (stuck flowers of the *brāc kmow* (and) leaves of the *caḍaṇ*?).¹⁴ At the auspicious time (they went (and) beat?) (l. 9) the foremost drum.¹⁵

Then the *sañkrān* Brahmans went (and) drew water, (and) when the water had arrived, they made in honour of Nārāyaṇa¹⁶ a decoration of plantains (called) "ox nose"¹⁷ adorned with young plantains (l. 12) (and) sugar-cane (and) within it (set) boiled rice in cup-shaped vessels¹⁸ with candles stuck in it, spread mats, (and) offered¹⁹ golden flowers, altar oblations,²⁰ (and) altar candles. (Then?) the Brahman astrologers went (and) worshipped Nārāyaṇa. Having offered²¹ (l. 15) water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver, (they) spread mats (and) offered²² golden flowers, altar oblations, (and) altar

¹ Cf. A 8 n.

² Cf. A 28 n., B 25 n.

³ Cf. C. 42 n.

⁴ Cf. A 37 n., F 25 n.

⁵ Doubtful interpretation. Cf. D 24 n.

⁶ Cf. A 33 n.

⁷ Or, very likely, "their"

⁸ Cf. A 11 nn.

⁹ See the note on the text.

¹⁰ Cf. A 12 n.

¹¹ The reading is not quite certain, but see J 31 n.

¹² Cf. A 16 n., B 14 n. The words in parentheses accompanied by marks of interrogation throughout this passage have been restored on the analogy of parallel passages and are fairly certain.

¹³ Cf. B 17 n.

¹⁴ Cf. B 19 n.

¹⁵ Or "the drum" (or "drums") "in front."

¹⁶ Cf. A 13 n.

¹⁷ Cf. A 2 n.

¹⁸ Cf. A 3 n.

¹⁹ Cf. A 4 n.

²⁰ Cf. A 38 n.

candles at (the front?) of the *siṅghāsīn*¹ and all the faces of the four sides.² (Then?) the Brahmans (l. 18) all went (and) worshipped.³ When (they) had worshipped, (the Brahman astrologers?) brought water (in) vessels of gold, silver, copper, (and) earthenware, (and) water (in) conch shells wherein (they) put cleaned rice (and) *dubbā* grass.⁴ (l. 21) Then they sprinkled⁵ on (the ground where they were to?) dig⁶ the holes for the pillars of the front of the *siṅghāsīn* and the holes for the pillars of the faces (around all?)⁷ the four sides.

At the auspicious time of (five?) *nāḍī*,⁸ (l. 24) (one?) *pāt*,⁹ precisely, (Aries being?)¹⁰ *lagna*,¹¹ they dug all these holes. At that time, too, the holes for the four *atas* pillars of the great pavilion,¹² they dug. (l. 27) At that time, too, they set up all the (other?)¹³ pillars of the (four?)¹⁴ sides. That day, too, at three *pahīr*, (two?)¹⁵ *nāḍī*, Leo (being) *lagna*, they set up the *atas* pillars (l. 30) of the corners.

(On) the eighth waning of the month of Phalagun, at dawn¹⁷ (on) Friday,¹⁸

K

. (all four sides?),¹⁹ they (l. 3)

¹ Cf. A 8 n.

² The word rendered "front" is the same as that which I have translated by "faces," viz. *mukh*, literally "face." I presume it to mean a side or façade of a building, facing in any direction. The word also occurs in A 9, 28, B 3-5, 8, 24-27, H 17, 45, J 22, L 12, and probably N 1. I am not quite clear as to what difference, if any, there is between it and *ilak*.

³ Or, perhaps, "the Brahmans went (and) worshipped everywhere," i.e. at each of the places above referred to. Cf. D 31 n., H 8 n., L 4 n.

⁴ Cf. B 33 n.

⁵ In view of what follows, this seems to be the right rendering, but one would have expected *shir* (as in H 16, 17, 32, 35, etc.) rather than *shir*.

⁶ Or "at all." The reading is not quite certain.

⁷ Cf. A 33 n.

⁸ The reading is not certain, it might be "Taurus."

⁹ The reading "four" is not quite certain. Assuming it to be right, one might conceivably take it with "pavilion." But it seems clear that there was but one "great pavilion," flanked by four subsidiary ones: cf. A 16 n.

¹⁰ This rendering assumes that the *cmen* of the text is an error for *c-mn*. If it is not, I do not know what the word means.

¹¹ Doubtful reading.

¹² The word *cmen* occurs here again in quite a different connexion, and perhaps in a different sense.

¹³ This would presumably be Friday, 14th March 1102. But the eighth waning of Phālguna ended 2 hours and 12 minutes after mean sunrise (i.e. about 8-12 a.m.) on the preceding day.

¹⁴ Doubtful reading.

. At the auspicious time of five *nāḍī*,¹ precisely, (being) *lagna*,² they beat all the drums (l. 6), blew (and?) the whole host shouted.⁴ Then they (set up?) (and rose and dug?)⁵. That day, (l. 9) (too?), the *saṅkrān*⁶ Brahmans wore *sukhāy cindrow*, together with white *kuchom*⁷ skirts, (and) white hair bands. (They) decorated litters with white cloth, (and) shaded (them) with (l. 12) white umbrellas. Upon the litters (they) laid⁸ vessels of gold (and) silver, (and) vessels of copper (and) earthenware, which they carried, (and) in the mouths of the vessels they stuck flowers of the *brāc* (l. 15) *kmow* (and) leaves of the *cadūñ*.⁹

At the auspicious time of (two *pahīr*?), one *nāḍī*, (they) beat the foremost¹⁰ drum. Then the (*saṅkrān*?)¹¹ Brahmans went (and) drew water (wherewith to?)¹² bathe the (*atas*?)¹³ pillars of the *siṅghāsīn*¹⁴ (l. 18) and the pillars (of the faces of the four sides and?)¹⁵ the pillars

L

The (Brahman)¹⁶ astrologers brought water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver. At the auspicious time (when) *godhulī* (was) *lagna*,¹⁷ they bathed the *juñ dal* hall¹⁸ (l. 3) and the *juñ dal* door,¹⁹ and then they went (and) offered²⁰ altar candles everywhere.²¹

On the thirteenth waxing of the month of Cey, the day (being) Wednesday, at the auspicious (l. 6) time of one *pahīr*,²² five *nāḍī*, precisely, they set up the *juñ dal* door²³ On the third waning of the

¹ Cf. A 33 n.

² Cf. B 38 n.

³ Cf. A 11 n.

⁴ Cf. F 35 n.

⁵ There are two or three doubtful words here.

⁶ Cf. B 17 n.

⁷ Cf. A 12 n.

⁸ Cf. A 16 n., B 14 n.

Unless that is a mere

⁹ Cf. B 19 n. There seems to be a stop here between *brāc* and *kmow*.

Almost certain.

error, it is an indication that the two words cannot be taken closely together.

¹⁰ Or "the drum" (or "drums") "in front." Cf. A 13 n.

¹¹ Almost certain: at any rate there is no doubt as to the general sense.

¹² Cf. A 8 n.

¹³ Nearly certain.

¹⁴ The word for "Brahman" must have ended the preceding line.

¹⁵ The same word (*dirlec*) occurs in A 18, while H 42 has the variant spelling *dirlac*. The meaning "hall" is not absolutely certain.

¹⁶ Cf. A 9 n. Perhaps, therefore, we should translate, "the central hall and the central door."

¹⁷ Cf. A 4 n.

¹⁸ Or, perhaps, "and they all . . . candles." Cf. D 31 n., H 8 n., J 18 n.

¹⁹ The thirteenth waxing of Caitra, as a mean *tithi*, expired 16 hours and 30 minutes after mean sunrise on Wednesday, 2nd April 1102. The time given here is 5 hours, presumably after true sunrise, i.e. 10-49 a.m., which fits in correctly.

²⁰ The meaning of *prāp* is undetermined. Perhaps it means "in its place."

month of Cey, the day (being) Monday, at the auspicious time of one (*nāḍi*, (l. 9) precisely?), Aries (being) *lagna*,¹ they (chiselled?)² the³ pillars (at all?) the four places.

(On the) fifth waning of the month of Cey, the day (being) Wednesday, (and) Gemini (being) *lagna*,⁴ they (set up the?) (pavilion?) (l. 12) *siṅghāsin*⁵ with the *triṇ jīṇ muk*⁶ around all (the four sides?). On that Wednesday, too, at an auspicious time after three *pahir*, (Virgo being?) *lagna*,⁷ they (set up?) (l. 15) (at?) all (the four sides?). (On that fifth waning of?) the month (of Cey, too, the day (being) Wednesday?), , (Scorpio being *lagna*?),⁸ (they) dug the holes for the pillars . . . (l. 18) (to dig the steps?)⁹ (the *saṅkrāṇ*)¹⁰ Brahmins wore *sukkhūy cindrow* together with white *kuchom*¹¹ skirts (l. 21) (and) white hair bands. (They) decorated litters with white cloth (and) shaded (them) with white umbrellas?).¹² Upon the litters they laid¹³ (vessels of gold?) (and) silver, (and) (vessels of copper (and) earthenware, which they carried. In (l. 24) the mouths of these vessels they?) stuck flowers (of the *brāc kmow* (and) leaves of the *caḍūṇ*?).¹⁴ At the auspicious time

M

. altar (oblations,¹⁵ and altar)¹⁶ candles
. At the auspicious time (l. 3).

¹ The third waning was current for some hours after sunrise on Monday, 7th April 1102. The time here is presumably 24 minutes after observed sunrise, i.e. 6-11 a.m. The sign mentioned was *lagna* till about 6-14 a.m. ² Meaning not quite certain. ³ Perhaps we should supply "side" here.

⁴ The fifth waning was current for about half the day, from dawn, on Wednesday, 9th April. Mithuna was *lagna* from 9-6 to 11-6 a.m. on that day. ⁵ Cf. A 8 n.

⁶ The meaning of this expression is undetermined. It has been suggested to me that the first word may be identical with L.M. *truiṇ*, "to wander about," and the second with L.M. *juin*, "foot," so that the meaning would be something like "the ambulatories of the four sides," something like cloisters or covered walks, in fact.

⁷ The time given is after 2-47, and (it may be presumed) before 3-11 p.m., when the first *nāḍi* would strike. The sign named was *lagna* from about 3-6 to 5-6 p.m.

⁸ The several preceding phrases in parentheses, though queried, are reasonably certain. The zodiacal sign named was *lagna* from about 7-6 to about 9-6 p.m. that day.

⁹ Or "stairs." But the meaning is not quite certain.

¹⁰ Cf. A 12 n. ¹¹ Cf. A 16 n., B 14 n.

¹² The preceding lengthy passage in parentheses is fairly certain, being supported by many parallel passages. ¹³ Cf. B 17 n. ¹⁴ Cf. B 19 n.

¹⁵ Cf. A 4 n. ¹⁶ The preceding words in parentheses are restored from parallel passages.

. . . the Brahman astrologers brought water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver, (and) water (in) conch shells wherein (they) put cleaned rice (and) *dubbā* grass.¹ Then they² the steps.³ Then (they) offered (l. 6) (golden flowers and?)⁴ altar (candles?),⁵ and at dawn⁶ (on) Friday beat all the drums⁷ Next (they) set up the pillars of the steps and (l. 9) (at the?) four sides.

On the twelfth waning of the month of (Cey?),⁸ the day (being) Wednesday?),⁹ they made in honour of Nārāyaṇa¹⁰ a decoration of plantains (called "ox nose")¹¹ adorned with young plantains (and) sugarcane, (l. 12) (and) (within it (set) boiled rice in cup-shaped vessels with?) candles (stuck in it?), spread mats, (and offered¹² golden flowers, and?) altar (candles?). Then (the Brahman astrologers?)¹³

N

(the front of the gable-end?)
. all the bases (on?)
(l. 3) set¹⁴
. (of?) the *siṅghāsin*,¹⁵ which was made of shining gold, (which was set with gems?)¹⁶ of divers kinds. Around the¹⁷ of the *siṅghāsin* (there were?) (l. 6) figures of men who danced, figures of men who beat drums, (and) figures of men who; (at) the four corners, four figures of lions. Around the¹⁸ of the four sides, four figures

¹ Cf. B 33 n.

² Presumably the illegible passage stated that they sprinkled the ground where these structures were to be erected. ³ Cf. L 18.

⁴ Conjecturally restored on the analogy of other passages.

⁵ Cf. C 12.

⁶ Cf. VIII A 6 tr. n.

⁷ Or, perhaps, "Monday."

⁸ Cf. A 3 n. This and the next few passages in parentheses with question marks are conjectural restorations, but fairly certain ones.

⁹ The word "astrologers," if it occurred at all, would be in the next line, which is missing.

¹⁰ Or "inlaid," perhaps with jewels. Cf. E 22 n., 47 n.

¹¹ Cf. A 8 n.

¹² Conjectural restoration, but fairly certain.

¹³ The word *tumvīṇ* appears to mean "something which surrounds." In I F 17 I have rendered it (in the variant spelling *tumvīṇ*) by "enclosure." The reading of the next word is not quite certain, and if it is rightly read *tirtāw* (as in S 4), I am not quite sure what it means here. Generally it appears to mean "dwelling-place, abode," as in I D 13, F 12, 21. Here, perhaps, it means "site." In some way or other, we must, I suppose, imagine that round the *siṅghāsin* there was something (possibly an entablature, frieze, or the like) on which there were the figures mentioned in the following line, probably in relief rather than in the round. But as it is not quite certain whether *siṅghāsin* means "throne room" or "throne," it is difficult to form a clear conception of what the arrangement was really like.

of lions, all (made of pure¹ shining gold?). (l. 9) Golden *dinday*,² golden figures of *byāl*,³ (on) both sides (stood?)⁴ above an elephant's head⁵ which was made of gold. Above (the *byāl*?) (were) archway *makaras*⁶ of gold, above the archway *makaras* of gold (l. 12) with (bulbs?),⁷ flowers, (and) fruit⁸ Above the fruit (and?) water-lilies, two golden (figures of geese?),⁹ holding pearls, (on) both sides; in the middle a great waterlily flower (l. 15)

O

. all Then they (l. 3) all (the four?) doors, they built up. (and then?)¹⁰ they (spread mats?) (and) they offered¹¹ golden (l. 6) flowers?) altar (oblations¹² and?) altar candles. Then the Brahman astrologers (who were versed in?) house-building¹³ On the third waning of the month of¹⁴ the day (l. 9) (being) at three *pahir*, five *nādī*,¹⁵¹⁶ (being) *lagna*¹⁷ at that time (too?) all

¹ Cf. I E 5, 7. In I E 40 and VIII A 12, 29, the word appears to mean "only."

² Meaning undetermined: cf. VIII A 18. It seems to have been some ornamental feature of the architecture here. Perhaps the phrase should be rendered: "the *dinday* (were of) gold."

³ Meaning undetermined. Perhaps from Sanskrit *vyāla*, which means "snake, beast of prey, tiger, hunting leopard, vicious elephant," etc.

⁴ Reading and meaning are not quite certain. If correctly read, it is the same phrase that has been conjecturally rendered "to make a stand" in I G 6.

⁵ Or "the head of an elephant": it is not clear whether a whole elephant or only the head of one was portrayed here.

⁶ The *makara*, a mythical marine monster, is a common theme of architectural decoration, often in highly elaborate forms, and particularly over arched openings, such as doors. Something of the sort seems to be indicated here.

⁷ Both reading and meaning are somewhat doubtful.

⁸ Possibly the doubtful word here is the name of the "bilva" or "vilva" (cf. H 22 n.), with which Kyansitthā had, through his mother, an ancestral connexion (cf. VIII B 16) that may help to account for its appearance here.

⁹ Or "teal ducks." There is not much doubt as to the reading, cf. the very similar passage, R 12, 13.

¹⁰ All the passages in parentheses accompanied by queries are somewhat doubtful.

¹¹ Cf. A 38 n.

¹² Cf. A 4 n.

¹³ Cf. B 7 n.

¹⁴ Possibly Āṣāḍha.

¹⁵ Cf. A 33 n.

¹⁶ Possibly Scorpio.

¹⁷ Cf. A 12 n.

P

. the day (being) Friday, at three *nādī*,¹ (l. 3) within it they made a decoration of plantains (called) "ox nose,"² adorned with young plantains (and) sugarcane, (and) within it (set) boiled rice in cup-shaped vessels³ (l. 6) with candles stuck in it, spread mats, (and) offered⁴ golden flowers, altar candles, (and) altar oblations,⁵ (and) they offered⁶ water (in) vessels of gold and silver. (Then?) the Brahman astrologers worshipped Nārāyaṇa,⁷ (l. 9) (and) having worshipped, (arranged?)⁸ gold leaf, which they (fitted together into?),⁹ a *kyek srī*¹⁰ (the *siṅghāsīn*?),¹¹ they made a decoration of plantains adorned with (young plantains and?) sugarcane, (and) within it they spread mats

Q

. (water in vessels of gold and silver?)¹⁰ (l. 3) they all. They all, (at) each they each (water in vessels spread mats, they (wor- of gold and silver?) (l. 6) shipped?) At the time (when) *godhulī* (was) *lagna*,¹¹ (brought?) water (in) vessels of gold, silver, copper, (and) earthenware (the Brahman astrologers?) who were versed in

¹ Cf. A 33 n.

² Cf. A 3 n.

³ Cf. A 2 n.

⁴ This is a different word from the preceding "offered." Cf. A 38 n.

⁵ Doubtful reading.

⁶ The meaning of *siṅghāsīn* has not been definitely determined.

⁷ This was apparently some ornamental architectural feature, the precise nature of which I have not been able to ascertain. Generally the word means "glory," and it may here refer to something like a halo. Cf. R 5.

⁸ Cf. A 8 n.

⁹ This fragment is in a particularly bad state of preservation and all the passages in parentheses with question marks are more or less doubtful, though supported by the analogy of other parts of the inscription.

¹⁰ Cf. A 12 n.

house-building,¹ offered² golden flowers, altar candles, (and) altar oblations³ (l. 9) and all the pavilions.

(On) the seventh waxing of the month of they (set up the female pillars?)⁴

R

set⁵ golden *makaras*⁶ (on) both sides, which (were completely?)⁷ (l. 3) two made of shining gold, (which held (and) offered?)⁷ of gold.

In the middle, above the arched *clec*,⁸ a *kyūk srī*⁹ made of shining gold (and) adorned with noble gems. (l. 6) (On) both sides, above the capitals¹⁰ of the archway pillars, two golden (figures?) of devas in the act of blessing,¹¹ with golden flowers (in) bouquets within the arch, together with hanging¹² pearls, (and) golden (plantain?)⁷ leaves. (l. 9) Above the apex of the arch (was) a golden scroll,¹³ . . . of shining gold, together with golden *dindāy*.¹⁴ (Two?)¹⁵ golden figures of *byāl*¹⁴ (stood on?)¹⁶ both sides. Above the *byāl* (were) two golden figures of (l. 12) *makaras*; above the two golden *makaras*, two golden figures of geese¹⁷ holding stalks¹⁸ (and) leaves made of shining gold; above (the trunks?)¹⁹ of the two golden

¹ Cf. B 7 n.

² As regards the omitted word, cf. A 38 n. The word for "offered" here is a different one.

³ Cf. A 4 n.

⁴ Cf. N 3 n.

⁵ Doubtful reading.

⁶ Literally, "heads," though there is some slight doubt as to the reading.

⁷ Or "approving."

⁸ The meaning is doubtful. Possibly it means "pearl tracery," or the like. I imagine a connexion with L.M. *talāi*, "to droop, as the branch of a tree," but perhaps we should compare the *tinlāy* of VIII A 18.

⁹ The precise meaning of *tar cinroh* is doubtful. It appears to have been some ornamental feature placed high up in the decorative scheme here described. If *mimoy* (or *mirmoy*) is to be read after it, it would seem to imply something like "in each case," as if this decorative scheme were repeated in several parts of the building.

¹⁰ Cf. N 9 n.

¹¹ Cf. N 10 n.

¹² The reading is not quite certain.

¹³ Doubtful reading, though nearly certain.

¹⁴ Cf. N 12 n.

¹⁵ Doubtful meaning.

makaras, two golden scrolls forming the apex (l. 15) (of an arch?)¹ In the middle (a golden?) waterlily flower

S

. a *clec* (of mirrors?)² a *clec* (l. 3) above the *makaras*³ (were) the pillars of the arch⁴ (of the *siṅghā-sin*⁵; right?) above the pillars of the arch Around the⁶ (of the *siṅghāsin*?) (were) figures of men who danced, (figures of men who beat drums?),⁷ figures of lions the (men who?) danced (on) both (sides of the apex?)⁸; above the (l. 6); above the lotus (and) lotus⁹ (on) both sides¹⁰ in (on) both sides (waterlilies?) (all)¹¹ all above (the three?)¹² (on) both sides, a lion (l. 9) an (attendant?)¹³ lioness (on) both sides the hall,¹⁴ all these they a *clec* (and) a *clec* (at) each corner

¹ The reading is quite conjectural. Assuming it to be right, I do not take this *torin* to be the main primary arch of the structure termed *clec* here described, but the arched apex or finial of the decorative scheme grouped over it.

² As to *clec*, cf. B 28. If the next word is correctly read, it may refer to the method of ornamentation by inlaying small pieces of mirror glass.

³ Cf. N 11.

⁴ Or, perhaps, "porch."

⁵ Cf. A 3 n.

⁶ Cf. N 5 n. The reading seems to be pretty certain here.

⁷ Cf. N 6, which supports the doubtfully read passage here.

⁸ The translation "apex" may not be applicable here. The word *cloā* is applied to pagoda spires, and the like, and here it is not quite clear what we have to deal with. Cf. R 14.

⁹ Possibly lotus buds, and lotus flowers, or some particular species of lotus. The word seems, however, to be specially applied to the blue lotus, though also to other waterlilies.

¹⁰ The meaning of *klo* here is not certain. A possible connexion with L.M. *kla* suggests itself; but that means "garden," and unless figuratively applied to this floral decoration it seems out of place here.

¹¹ Here there appears to be a word, *kwiik*, which may mean "ponds" and seems to occur again after the next "all." It gives rise to the same sort of difficulty of interpretation as the word *klo*, above, and the reading is doubtful.

¹² Doubtful reading. The next word seems to be *slar*, of which I cannot give the meaning.

¹³ Cf. F. 21 n. Here we have *cuhēn*, a variant spelling of the word I rendered "appertaining thereto" or, alternatively, "alongside."

¹⁴ Cf. A 28, H 42, L 2.

... hall (on) both sides ... (l. 12) ...
 ... (appurte-
 nant?) (on) both sides ...
 ... four corners ...
 ... (the base?) ... *elec* ...
 (the base?) of the *elec* of mirrors, the base of the *elec*

No. X.

THE SHORTER INSCRIPTION OF THE SHWEZIGON PAGODA, PAGAN.

Descriptive Account.

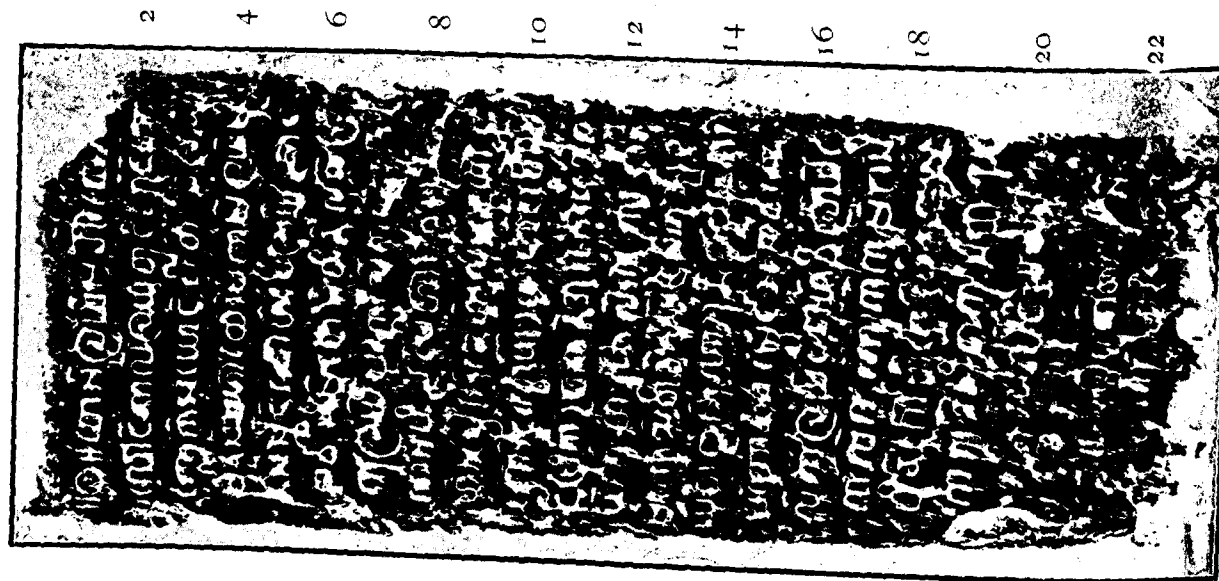
60. This is an inscription of four lines written immediately below the bottom lines of Faces E-H of No. I, in that order. Just below it, again, on Face F, is a short Burmese record which has already been published in *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava*, where it has been dealt with under No. I (1)-(8). The lines of No. X are of the same length as those which precede them, and the letters are of much the same type but not so regularly formed and in some cases slightly larger. The spelling of some of the words is incorrect and ll. 2 and 3 are in part badly preserved and of doubtful interpretation. In fact, like many short inscriptions, this record presents some serious difficulties, quite out of proportion to its length. It registers a royal donation, probably of lands, to the pagoda. Possibly ll. 2 and 3 may contain some of the proper names of the lands so granted; but on the other hand, some of the words used seem to be descriptive, and it is doubtful whether the symbols that have been taken to be numerals are rightly so interpreted. Further, the reading *Jeyabhūm* in l. 2 is not quite certain. Assuming it to be correct, it seems reasonable to suppose its identity with the *Jayabhūmi* of VIII A 2, which is there located to the North-East of Pagan and the *Jeyabhūm* of IX F 44.

61. This brief record naturally tells us little that is new. It is chiefly interesting as evidence that the impulse which caused so many Mōn inscriptions to be set up in the reign of Kyansittha did to some slight extent survive him. But it is impossible to say for how long, for the royal donor King Śrī Tribhuvanādityapawaradhammarāja (in this record apparently spelt *aditya*^o) cannot be identified. This royal name was borne by at least

^o Again the same word, as in the preceding note.

No. XI.

AN INSCRIPTION FOUND AT
KYAUKSE.



No. X.

THE SHORTER INSCRIPTION OF THE SHWEZIGON
PAGODA, PAGAN.



PART I.]

MÔN INSCRIPTIONS

69

four kings of Pagan, viz. Alaungsithu (A.D. 1112-60), Narapatisithu (1167-1204), Nandaungmya (1204-27), and Uzana (1243-8). The Burmese inscription engraved immediately below No. X is dated in the year 611 of the common Burmese Era (A.D. 1249-50), and its style of writing is decidedly different from (and in my judgment, less archaic than) the style of Nos. I and X, which latter have much more in common. No. X, therefore, must fall somewhere between 1112 and 1248, and probably nearer the earlier than the later date.

Text.

1. [o smin] Ś[r]i Tr[i]bhuwanādityā[p]awara[dh]amma[r]āja¹ ti (m)a² k(e)l [d]ān (i)³ ku gy[e]k⁴
2. [J]eya(bh)u(m)⁵ ti ma rhāk gu⁶ pok (ta)w⁷ 1000 i ti [ta]k (sh)iy⁸
3. (70) i ti (m)ri (6)000 i [ti] (ra) . . (dā)n (5)00 i ā(gh)ā (p)awa⁹
4. (.)¹⁰ smin (m)a¹¹ prey mā cut dek i o i . . .

Translation.

King Śrī Tribhuwanādityāpawaradhammarāja, the lands which (he) gave¹² as a (pious) donation to the pagoda¹³ of Jeyabhum,¹⁴ lands which¹⁵ 1000¹⁶; lands (for) building (houses?),¹⁷ (70?); *mri*¹⁸ lands,

¹ Or °rāja i.

² No crossbar visible: looks like *pa*. The next symbol is blurred and has a mark above it: perhaps we should read *parāka kal* instead of *ma kel*.

³ There ought not to be a stop here, and it is doubtful whether in fact there is one.

⁴ Misspelling for *kyek*.

⁵ Conceivably *jeyacu*.

⁶ Perhaps a misspelling for *ku*, or else it forms a word with the next syllable.

⁷ Conceivably *wāw*.

⁸ A blur below the *s* (which letter is itself not quite certain) is my only justification for assuming the former presence of a subscript *ā*.

⁹ These two words are very doubtful. The *gh* might be a *y* and the *p* an *m*. Either way, I can make little or no sense out of them.

¹⁰ There is a space here, but it is uncertain whether anything was ever engraved on it.

¹¹ No crossbar visible: looks like *pa*.

¹² The reading is doubtful. Alternatively, "gave arable lands," but in any case the syntax is peculiar and was perhaps influenced by Burmese. Normally the object does not come between subject and verb in Early Môn.

¹³ Or "Buddha."

¹⁴ Doubtful reading.

¹⁵ I can make no sense of the omitted words: *rhāt* presents an unusual combination of letters. Mr. Halliday suggests that it may be for *sāk*, "to break up"; *pok* might mean "to open"; *taw* is a doubtful reading.

¹⁶ All the supposed numerals are more or less doubtful. Assuming them to be rightly read, it is to be supposed that they refer to the areas of the lands according to some understood unit of measurement.

¹⁷ Conjectural reading. Perhaps *tat* is an error for *dak*, which really means "to build." Cf. the converse case of *gyek* in l. 1.

¹⁸ Meaning undetermined.

(6000?); lands (pious donation?)¹ (500?);² The exalted king bowed³ down (and) poured out water.⁴

No. XI.

AN INSCRIPTION FOUND AT KYAUK SÈ.

Descriptive Account.

62. This inscription covers a surface of 3 feet 9 inches in height by 1 foot 5 inches in breadth, as measured on the ink-impression. It is in a bad state of preservation, the stone on which it is engraved having evidently weathered considerably, and the last few lines are practically illegible. The letters are of much the same type as those of the other inscriptions in this Section, but are rather variable in size, ranging between $\frac{1}{2}$ inch and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in height. Letter *t* is 1 inch to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch long, and the normal interlinear space is about the same, save that after l. 20 there is a space of nearly 2 inches and after l. 21 less than an inch. The text has been determined from three ink-impressions.

63. It records the foundation of a *baddhasima* at Kyauk Sè, in the inscription called Klok Sa, which spelling affords some indication as to the contemporary pronunciation of that place-name. The *baddhasima* in question was set up by the Chief Monk of the locality with the assistance of certain other persons specified in the record, whom he apparently dedicated to that service. Further, a grant of land made by some local official or officials to the founder was by him transferred to his foundation. The Chief Monk records these facts in this inscription, the legible portion of which apparently ends with the usual wish that the merit accruing from the deed may enure to the benefit of all sentient beings.

64. So far as it can be deciphered, this inscription contains no date, but by virtue of some of its spellings it may be inferred that it is later than those which precede it in this Section, such a form as *jra'ku* reminds one more of 15th century orthography than of the 11th century form *jirku*. But in other words the spelling is still quite archaic, and the point must not be

¹ Very doubtful reading.

² The meaning of the omitted words is undetermined. Perhaps *pa-wa* (if rightly so read) means "deed."
³ The word *mā* is defined in Haswell's vocabulary as "to kneel, with the head bowed down."

⁴ As a libation, calling the earth to witness the grant.

⁵ But apparently it was set up before the fall of the Pagan kingdom (circa 1300 A.D.): see ll. 4-5.

unduly pressed. Apart from its bad preservation, which throws considerable doubt on a good deal of its contents and particularly on the reading of the proper names in it, this record does not offer many difficulties; but on the other hand it contributes very little in the way of new lexicographical material.

Text.

1. "o" wo' ey mahāthe[r] . .
2. loñ [k]āl ey tlūñ dmon (han)
3. Klok Sa yoñ wo(') ey
4. [mun]as [m]ahāther [B]ukām e[y] mu-
5. nas smiñ (g)o[h] ma ey croñ
6. [b]a(d)dha[s]i[m] [wo' tinlūy jra](')-¹
7. [ku ey] (ma)² [kloñ] (ku kyek)³
8. [wo' piñjañ Mahā](de)[w] (mba de)-
9. h [mbo' deh] [l](wa')⁴ [deh] . .⁵
10. [mbo'] (Na) [Lwoy] (Ya Wāñ kon)
11. [Na Mrik] (Na Ga)[n] Dā (goh da) [e]-
12. [y cu]t [kel] (i)⁷ [ku kyek] (.)⁸
13. (ma)⁹ kloñ tin[lūy jra](')ku(') e-
14. y t[i] b[ñ]a' [m]ahā(dā)n (7 bnañ kar)¹⁰
15. [ma] (k)on [sambeñ daleñ k]e-
16. l ku e[y] (go)h ci ey
17. kel [ku ky]ek k(u)m rāsi
18. [pu]in go[h] (jen pūjāw)¹¹ . . (m)¹²
19. [carit] ku sa(kala)¹³
20. (satwa¹⁴ guñ)(ui)ñ da ("o" . .)
21. (k) [t]
22. (n)

¹ The ' is very doubtful, but cf. l. 13.

² Or *ku kyek*, but cf. l. 12.

³ I am not certain whether the illegible character here is a monosyllabic name, or merely the first half of the o of the initial word of the next line. Such a division sometimes occurs and it seems probable here, though on the other hand it is odd the person's own name should be omitted.

⁴ The G might be K, and the a, u.

⁵ There should be no stop here, but there seems to be one.

⁶ It is doubtful whether there was anything here; perhaps merely a stop.

⁷ Possibly *pa*.

⁸ Very doubtful reading, though *jen* seems probable.

⁹ Probable.

¹⁰ Very doubtful.

¹¹ Purely conjectural.

¹² Very doubtful.

¹³ Purely conjectural.

Translation.

I,¹ the Chief Monk ..lon,² when I came to dwell at³ Klok Sa,⁴ I (l. 4) informed the Chief Monk of Pagan, I informed the king there,⁵ that I was building a *baddhasīma*. These (are the persons) who together with⁶ myself worked (for this temple?)⁷: (l. 8) the junior monk Mahādeu,⁸ his father, his mother, his (grandfather?),⁹ (. . ?) the mother of Na Lwoy, Ya Wān, son¹⁰ of Na Mrik, Na Gan¹¹ Dā: these I (l. 12) dedicate to the temple, who worked together with¹² myself. The great (donation?) of (7 measures of?)¹³ arable land, which the *kon sambeñ daleñ*¹⁴ gave (l. 16)

¹ My rendering hardly gives the force of *wo'*, which seems to go with *ey*, "I," making something like "I here." It seems a curious construction, and possibly one could interpret it to mean: "This (is) I, the Chief Monk," who is recording these matters. But cf. l. 3, where this would hardly fit in.
² Presumably this is part of the Chief Monk's name or possibly the name of his former place of residence.

³ The preposition is very doubtfully legible, but seems to be required here.

⁴ I take the syllable *yoñ* which here follows to be a variant spelling of the particle *yañ*, not as part of the name of the locality. If it were the latter, it would be possible to take *wo'* with it and not with *ey*, and the objection to the alternative rendering in note 1 above would be removed.

⁵ Presumably this is the force of the (doubtfully read) *goh*. If it were permissible to neglect the stop after it, we might omit "there" and proceed: "and then I built a" (or "this") "*baddhasīma*." If *wo'* "(this)" is construed with *baddhasīma*, we should then have to proceed: "(The persons) who," etc., "(for this temple?) (were) (l. 8)," etc.

⁶ One of the chief difficulties in this inscription is the sense to be attached to the word *tinlūy*, which also occurs in l. 13. It might perhaps mean "on behalf of." I have been unable, as yet, to trace it elsewhere. If it were possible to find some other meaning for it which would enable *wo'* to be construed with *baddhasīma* (as "this *baddhasīma*"), it would be more consistent with the stopping, which is, however, somewhat erratic anyhow. If we read *pa* instead of *ma* in l. 7, we must translate: "(that I) caused to work (for this temple?)," etc. It also depends on the meaning of *tinlūy* whether such a rendering is at all possible. On the whole, *ma* seems the more probable reading.

⁷ The word *kyek* (cf. ll. 13, 17) means any worshipful thing or person, very often "Buddha"; here presumably it refers to the *baddhasīma*.

⁸ This name, like most of the proper names in the inscription, is rather doubtful: in all these cases the text should be referred to. The word rendered "junior monk" is *piñjāñ* (L.M. *payyāñ*), plainly identical with the Burmese *pañcāñ* (ပဉ္စာ), which Judson in his dictionary refers to *pañca aṅga*, on account of the five qualifications of a monk there enumerated. The E.M. spelling is peculiar.

⁹ Doubtful reading and meaning. If one read *mbe'*, it might perhaps mean "elder sister."

¹⁰ Or "child," the sex not being indicated.

¹¹ As to this name, see the note on the text.
¹² See note 6 above. If we read *pa* instead of *ma*, the meaning would be "to work," instead of "who worked."

¹³ Very doubtful reading and meaning. I conjecture that *kar* (if rightly so read) is a unit of measurement, probably referable to the amount of land that could be sown with a certain quantity of grain, or worked by one man, and I suppose the word to be connected with Sanskrit *karma*. This is in some degree confirmed by the *Abbharavādhāna* of the Mōn *Abhidhānappadīpī* in its explanation of the Pāli *karisaṃ* as "one *brah*, a piece of land suitable to be sown with four *ambayas*."

¹⁴ I do not know whether *kon* is to be taken as "son," "child," or "children," of the *sambeñ daleñ*, or as making the latter pair of words (which apparently are an official title) into a plural. I am inclined to prefer the last alternative. For the title, cf. IX A 35-37: *daleñ* is presumably the word for an altar, often a portable one; elsewhere *daleñ*, M.M. *daleñ*, but whether the *leñ* of IX A 37 is a shortened form of the same word, I cannot say.

to me, I also give to the temple. (May?) the accumulation of merit, (offering (and) worshipping?)¹ (conduct?) for (all (l. 20) beings?).²

POSTSCRIPT TO SECTION I.

65. The above record concludes the list of those which can with certainty be classed as Early Mōn inscriptions in the present collection. The Mōn text of the Myazedi inscription, which really belongs to the same category, has been dealt with in *Ep. Birm.*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 53-8, but should be read in connexion with the inscriptions of this Section. In point of date it comes between Nos. IX and X above. The numerous but very short inscriptions of the Ānanda pagoda plaques (*ibid.*, Vol. II) also fall into the Early Mōn period; and there are a few Mōn inscriptions in Siam, as yet unpublished, which seem to belong to the same or (in one case at least) an even earlier epoch.

¹ The reading is very doubtful here, but I think "offering" is fairly certain; very likely what I have rendered "worshipping" really also refers to the offering, that is to the creation and endowment of the foundation recorded in this inscription.

² Doubtful reading. See § 63 *ad fin.*

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N23.3

