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PART II

Archaeological Survey of Burma

EPIGRAPHIA BIRMANICA

BEING

LITHIC AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS
OF BURMA

EDITED BY

CHAS. DUROISELLE

SUPERINTENDENT, ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY, BURMA CIRCLE

MÔN INSCRIPTIONS

Section II—The Mediaeval Môn Records

No. XII

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KALYĀNISIMĀ, PEGU

BY

C. O. BLAGDEN

RANGOON

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EDITOR'S NOTE.

The Editor regrets the delay in the issue of this volume, but the principal reason for this delay is explained by Mr. C. O. Blagden in paragraph 71 of the Descriptive Account, page 80.

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EPIGRAPHIA BIRMANICA

MÔN INSCRIPTIONS.

SECTION II.—THE MEDIEVAL MÔN RECORDS.

No. XII.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KALYĀNISIMĀ, PEGU.

Descriptive Account.

66. These inscriptions, originally engraved on ten upright stones, which are now represented by many more or less disconnected fragments, consist of two main parts: a Pāli text and a Mōn version of the same followed by certain supplementary matter also in Mōn. Only the Mōn portions are dealt with here. The Pāli text, with a translation and some notes, as well as an Introduction, was published in 1893 by Mr. Taw Sein Ko in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. XXII); and in the following years he appended thereto some valuable additional notes, under the title *Some Remarks on the Kalyānī Inscriptions* (*ibid.*, Vols. XXIII and XXIV). Both publications were also issued in separate form, the second one being further supplemented by a transcript in the Burmese character of the actual Pāli text, as it survives in a fragmentary state on the stones. For the text, as originally published, was based on two palm-leaf manuscripts, not on the stones themselves, the learned editor not having been able to use these owing to lack of time. Mr. Taw Sein Ko's labours have very greatly facilitated my task, and I have not hesitated to borrow freely from him when the necessity arose. I make this summary acknowledgment here, to cover all my indebtedness in this respect, rather than fill up space unnecessarily by repeating it in connection with every individual case. His treatment of the whole subject

also dispenses me from much that I might otherwise have had to say here; and that too is a just cause for gratitude on my part. I must add that without his translation of the consecutive Pāli text before me I could not, in the absence of other assistance, have produced an intelligible version of the Mōn fragments at all, so far as the first six faces of the record are concerned.

67. The Pāli text occupies three out of the ten stones on which the whole record is engraved; the remaining seven contain the Mōn version and supplementary matter. Speaking of the stones, Mr. Taw Sein Ko, in his Introduction to the Pāli text, states that "when whole, their average dimensions were about 7 feet high, 4 feet 2 inches wide, and 1 foot 3 inches thick," and that there were "70 lines of text to each face, and three letters to an inch." This, however, seems to be merely an approximate statement, for the number of lines varies on the different faces. All the stones have been broken into many fragments, of which about half seem to be lost. It has been my duty to piece together the Mōn portion that is still available on thirty-three fragments. This was no easy task, and without the help of Mr. Taw Sein Ko's translation of the Pāli text, it would, at the time when I took it in hand, have been (for me at any rate) a perfectly impossible one. The general correspondence of the two texts may be indicated thus:—

<i>Pāli Text.</i>	<i>Mōn Text.</i>
First stone, obverse (North)	Fourth stone, obverse (North), Face A.
First stone, reverse (South)	Fourth stone, reverse (South), Face B.
	Fifth stone, obverse (N.), Face C, to l. 48.
Second stone, obverse (N.)	Fifth stone, obverse (N.), Face C, from l. 49.
	Fifth stone, reverse (S.), Face D.
	Sixth stone, obverse (N.), Face E, to l. 38.
Second stone, reverse (S.)	Sixth stone, obverse (N.), Face E, from l. 38.
	Sixth stone, reverse (S.), Face F, to about l. 42.

Third stone, obverse (N.)	Sixth stone, reverse (S.), Face F, from about l. 42.
	Seventh stone, obverse (N.), Face G.
	Seventh stone, reverse (S.), Face H, to l. 8.
Third stone, reverse (S.)	Seventh stone, reverse (S.), Face H, from l. 8.
	Eighth stone, obverse (N.), Face J.

The end of the Pāli text almost coincides with the bottom of the obverse face of Stone 8 (Face J of the Mōn version). Thus the latter version takes up 50 per cent. more space than the corresponding Pāli, which is on the whole decidedly more concise. The supplementary matter, which has no counterpart in the Pāli, is distributed as follows:—

- Eighth stone, reverse (S.), Face K.
- Ninth stone, obverse (N.), Face L.
- Ninth stone, reverse (S.), Face M.
- Tenth stone, obverse (N.), Face N.

The final end of the record occupied some lines on the reverse of the tenth stone, but the upper part of the stone has disappeared, as has also happened in other cases.

68. In every case the bottom portions of the several stones, being still fixed in the ground in their proper relative positions, served as definite *datum* points, to which the separated fragments had to be adjusted. As a rule the text has been determined from two sets of ink-impressions and photographs of one of these sets. In one case [H (a)] a missing fragment of stone is represented only by an old ink-impression found in the office of the Archaeological Survey Department. In two other instances [A (b) and L (b)] similar old ink-impressions have preserved for us more of the original text than can now be seen on the stones themselves. These ink-impressions, made many years ago, had been produced as negatives by inking the face of the stones, and consequently had to be deciphered and photographed by transmitted light. As the paper was very brittle, and in fact already broken in some places, this could only be done after they had been carefully restored at the British Museum; but by these means a considerable part of the text has been preserved which would otherwise have been altogether lost. I am much indebted to Mr. Taw Sein Ko and his successor in office, Professor

C. Duroiselle, for information given by them which has greatly assisted me in determining the order of the severed fragments of this record. Owing to their help, always readily given, and to the existence of a parallel Pāli version of the greater part of the Mōn text, I succeeded in distributing all the fragments satisfactorily among the several faces to which they originally belonged. It has, therefore, been possible to take these original faces as units, denoting them by capital letters of the alphabet, and to indicate by small letters the actual fragments now existing. I have noted the presence of gaps occurring between the fragments, and also the size of such gaps when it could be determined with a reasonable approximation to accuracy. But in many cases nothing like an accurate indication could be given, as only a comparison with the Pāli text and its translation could enable one to estimate, and that not very closely, the amount of matter that had been lost. Having regard to the fragmentary state of the stones, which are of all sorts of irregular shapes and sizes, I have not thought it worth while to give here a full statement of their several dimensions. It suffices to say that the length of the lines, actually occupied by lettering, as measured on the ink-impressions of the few bottom portions of stones where some lines are completely preserved, varies between 3 feet (M) and 3 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches (F), intermediate cases being 3 feet 3 inches (K) and 3 feet $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches (E, G, and J).

69. The principal inscription was engraved in or after the year 841 of the Burmese Common Era (= 1479-80 A.D.), the latest date mentioned in it, and is therefore one of the later 15th century records. I have taken it here, out of its chronological order, for reasons of practical convenience. It is so long that it seemed best to give it priority of place, as otherwise it would perhaps have been necessary to split up the text of it between two parts of the *Epigraphia Birmanica*, with much resulting inconvenience to the reader. Further, as the Pāli text served in some measure to check the meanings of many of the words in the Mōn version, there seemed to be a special reason for dealing with it before proceeding to the other Medieval Mōn records, in which some of these words might be expected to recur. As regards the general character of these records, their script, spelling, and peculiarities of language, I may refer to what has been said in §§ 4, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 14, 16, and 17, reserving more detailed comment for a later occasion. In the Kalyāṇī inscriptions, the letters, which (as compared with the Early Mōn script) have a very modern appearance, measure about

$\frac{3}{8}$ inch in height. Letter *l* is $\frac{1}{2}$ inch to $\frac{3}{4}$ inch long. The interlinear space is about $\frac{5}{8}$ inch. The spelling is very irregular and shows the characteristics of a stage of transition. Thus one gets doublets such as *Siṅghuir* and *Siṅghuiw*. It is evident that final *r* and *l* were no longer sounded. Sometimes, as in the above case, *r* is written where *l* would have been etymologically correct; sometimes, as in the name of the month *mruikkasuil*, the reverse happens; but often *w* replaces both letters, as it normally does in Later Mōn. In fact the spelling of Medieval Mōn is about as chaotic as English spelling was in the Elizabethan age. But even from its very irregularities we derive valuable information as to the changes which had occurred and were proceeding in the pronunciation of the language, as the above cases clearly illustrate. Similarly, it is evident that by this time the inherent *a* in many closed final syllables had acquired the sound of an open variety of *o* (something like English *aw* in "law," or perhaps *o* in "not"). This is proved by such spellings as *gah* (E.M. *goh*, *gohh*, *goh*), while in a few cases we see that usage was still fluctuating and the sound is represented occasionally by the *anusvāra*, even in syllables where the final consonant is not a velar (e.g. N 13-15, *dakār*, *cwār*, *dandār*). Again such alternative forms as *tradah* and *tadah* indicate that the old infix *-ir-* was obsolescent in the 15th century: in the modern form of the language it survives in extremely few words, whereas in our Early Mōn inscriptions it is common enough. But I hope to deal with these matters more fully after the other 15th century inscriptions have been edited, rather than base any final conclusions on the evidence of a single record, even though it be as long as the present one.

70. The surviving fragments of the Mōn text of this record seldom constitute a continuous and intelligible narrative for more than a few consecutive lines. While for the most part resisting the temptation to restore in the text by conjectures of my own the parts that are lost, save where such restoration was practically certain, and the fact has been duly noted, I have felt bound to do something to render the English translation readable. Accordingly, in Faces A-F, I have used Mr. Taw Sein Ko's English translation of the Pāli text as a sort of mortar to cement together the fragments of the Mōn stones, without doing violence to the one or to the other more than the circumstances necessitated. Certain trifling verbal alterations have been made in the Pāli portions, in order to adapt them to the terminology which I had adopted in translating the Mōn. The portions of text

introduced from the Pāli have, in the translation, been put within square brackets, in order to distinguish them from the surviving Mōn fragments. This process of dovetailing had, however, its limitations. The Mōn text is by no means a close rendering of the Pāli (or *vice versa*). On the contrary, it is often more like an expanded paraphrase. In a good many cases I have found it impossible to fit the Mōn fragments into the framework of the Pāli version and have been compelled to present them in my translation in their fragmentary state and relegate the more or less corresponding passages of Mr. Taw Sein Ko's version of the Pāli into footnotes, where they will serve as a commentary to make the general course of the mutilated Mōn text more intelligible than it would otherwise have been. All this has involved an immense amount of trouble, and I have often had occasion to anathematize with heart-felt sincerity the vandals, whoever they were, who did their worst in breaking up this record.

71. The Text was already set up in print, the Translation based upon it and its Pāli counterpart (so far as the latter extended) was complete in manuscript, and a Descriptive Account had also been prepared, when an important discovery was made which threw a flood of light on Faces G to N, inclusive. My friend Mr. Robert Halliday, to whose continual assistance in the interpretation of the Mōn inscriptions I am so deeply indebted happened to read some portions of the Text over with a Mōn monk, U Thila wuntha by name, who presently identified them with the contents of a palm leaf manuscript which he had formerly read. This manuscript, which was work on *śīmās*, was found shortly afterwards in the Kahnyaw monastery at Kahnyaw village, Bilugyun, and another copy was discovered in the Bernier Free Library, Rangoon. Mr. Halliday was good enough to have the first manuscript (which I have called A) copied and personally to collate with the text of the second one (B). It turned out that the manuscripts include that portion of our record which began at the end of Face F and continue beyond Face N to the conclusion of the whole record. A comparison with the surviving portions of the fragmentary stone text showed that the manuscript copies, though by no means exact verbatim ones,—inasmuch as the spelling has been modernized and there are a great number of minor interpolations, omissions, and alterations—are nevertheless substantially true copies of the stone original, made at a time when the latter had not been broken in pieces and was still in a relatively good state of preservation.

Consequently the evidence of these manuscript copies was at once seen to be of very great value, and it has been considered imperative to print the continuous text of the manuscripts at the foot of the corresponding fragmentary Text of the stones and to rewrite the translation of Faces G–N accordingly. The introductory portion of the manuscript text, giving merely a very brief abstract of the main contents of the first part of the record and adding nothing thereto, has not been reproduced, nor has the conclusion, which deals with a number of *śīmās* unconnected with our subject. I have not attempted anything like a critical edition of the manuscript text, a task which would have been beyond my power, especially as only two manuscripts are available: my purpose has been merely to use them as secondary evidence complementary to the Text of the stones themselves. The discovery of this new material has, of course, inevitably caused some delay in the publication of our record, but has enabled me to produce a much more satisfactory treatment of it than would otherwise have been possible.

72. The principal inscription, besides being very long, is also to a large extent highly technical in character, being mainly concerned with minute details of Buddhist ritual, which (it is to be feared) will be of no very great interest to the general reader and are already on record in the Pāli text and its translation. The chief importance of the Mōn version is linguistic; it illustrates in considerable detail an interesting stage in the evolution of the language, more or less intermediate between the Early Mōn of Kyansitthā's inscriptions and the language of the present day. Still it may be convenient to mention here, very briefly, that its main purport is to relate the reintroduction, by the pious and learned King Dhammaceti of Pegu,—in these inscriptions always referred to by his other name, Rāmādhipati,—of a canonically valid monastic succession from Ceylon, where he held that such a succession had been preserved, while in Lower Burma the monastic order had long been split up into schismatical sects. The technical validity of such succession depends not merely on the ordination in due form of all concerned in handing it down by successive ordinations, but also on the previous proper consecration of the places where the ordinations are carried out. This condition involves many refinements, discussed at some length in our record, into which I need not enter here. Suffice it to say that when an adequate number of validly ordained monks had become available, King Dhammaceti caused them to consecrate in due form a *śīmā*, or

ordination site, at Pegu, to which he gave the name of Kalyāṇīśīmā in remembrance of the fact that the monks whom he had sent to Ceylon had received their reordination in a *śīmā* on the Kalyāṇī River in that island. Subsequently a large number of ecclesiastics of the Mōn kingdom submitted, on their own motion, to reordination at the hands of the monks who had been reordained in Ceylon, thus healing the existing schisms and reuniting the Order on the basis of a canonically valid succession. The king also, with the approbation of the Order, issued a set of rules to ensure that, for the future, ordination should only be performed on suitable persons, and that monks who did not conform to the canonical rules should leave the Order and become laymen. The principal inscription closes with a passage of some length wherein it is pointed out that in this course of conduct King Dhammaceti was but following the great examples set by Buddhist monarchs of olden time.

73. It would seem that in the reformations of Buddhism the civil power frequently took a very leading part, and that the problem of the relations between Church and State, never entirely settled in Medieval and Modern Europe, was solved *ambulando* in Buddhist Asia, whenever there was an orthodox monarch with power to carry out his ideas. It will be remembered, however, that in Dhammaceti's case there were special circumstances. He had been a monk himself, and his romantic history, including the celebrated incident of his escape from Ava with the Mōn princess whose daughter he subsequently married and whom he succeeded on the throne of the Mōn kingdom, is too well known to require repetition here. It is no wonder, therefore, that when he was king his influence over the ecclesiastical affairs of his realm was very strong, though it must be noted that our inscription throughout represents him as making suggestions, rather than issuing direct instructions, to the Order. If we take this as a fair statement of the situation, it represents a nicely poised balance of power, avoiding ecclesiastical autocracy on the one hand and Erastian absolutism of the civil authority on the other.

74. The general headings of the chief contents briefly referred to above are distributed in the principal inscription as follows:—

From the missing beginning of the record to A 15. King Asoka's reformation of the Buddhist Order; and the mission of Soṇa and Uttara to Suvāṇṇabhūmi.

A 16–20. Decline and fall of Thatōn; and introduction of purified Buddhism into Upper Burma.

A 20—B 31. Origin and consequences of the schismatical divisions of the Order in Burma, with special reference to the Mōn country.

B 32—D 51. King Dhammaceti's considerations as to the prerequisites for the healing of the schisms (viz. canonically valid reordination, involving duly consecrated *śīmās* or ordination sites), with a review of the Sinhalese reformations.

D 52—E 39. King Dhammaceti requests a group of monks to proceed to Ceylon for reordination. Arrangements for the journey; and departure of the monks in two ships.

E 39—F 21. Arrival of the ships in Ceylon; reception by the king of Ceylon, reordination of the monks, and departure of one party of them, who returned in safety to Rangoon.

F 21–42. Shipwreck of the other party of monks and ultimate return of some of them.

F 42–55. King Dhammaceti's reception of the first party of monks.

Missing portion and G 1–12. Preparations for the consecration of the Kalyāṇīśīmā. Dhammaceti's considerations as to the conditions for the valid consecration of *śīmās*.

G 12–35. Details of the actual consecration itself.

G 35—H 41 and part of the missing portion. Reordination of many monks by the monks reordained in Ceylon.

Part of the missing portion and J 1–26. Dhammaceti's message as to the qualifications of future candidates for ordination. Deprivation of monks who would not conform. Number of the monks reordained and novices newly ordained.

J 26–44. Conclusion: a review of former reformations and an aspiration that in after times all impurities in religion might be cast out by future kings and monks.

75. As indicated above, the story of the ecclesiastical mission to Ceylon is prefaced by a good deal of historical matter relating to earlier periods in the long history of Buddhism, and particularly to its vicissitudes in Ceylon and its introduction and development in Burma. The precise position of Suvāṇṇabhūmi is not beyond doubt, but its early missionaries, Soṇa and

Uttara, have long been claimed by Burma as the founders of their branch of the Church; and though the tale has been embellished with many legendary accretions in the course of ages, it can hardly on that account be dismissed as being altogether devoid of foundation. Evidence is gradually accumulating from various different quarters which tends to show that Indian influence made itself felt in Indo-China from about the beginning of the Christian era, or possibly even two or three centuries before that date; and there seems to be nothing antecedently improbable in the story of a Buddhist mission being sent there at a relatively early period, though it may well be hazardous at present to attempt to fix that date exactly. Subsequently the ecclesiastical relations of Burma were mainly with Ceylon and particulars are given of several cases of monks from the former country visiting the latter, and in some instances being ordained there. It is an interesting example of the solidarity of the Buddhist world of those days that one of the Ceylon monks who, in his turn, went to Burma and settled there, subsequently sailed to Malayadīpa and for a time became the spiritual preceptor of the king of that country. This is reported to have happened towards the end of the 12th century, and probably Malayadīpa represents the historic state of Śrī Vijaya, centring at Palembang in Southern Sumatra, which is known to have flourished as a Buddhist kingdom from the time of the Chinese pilgrim I Tsing (who visited it late in the 7th century) down to well in the 13th century. It is unfortunate that the Mōn text fails us here, for we should like to know the vernacular equivalent for "Malayadīpa." But perhaps we may legitimately infer it from the "Glass Palace Chronicle," which is in part based on our record and gives it as "Mallayu island" (p. 145). Our text contains Mōn forms of other geographical names. Thus "Rāmaññadesa," the Pāli name for the Mōn kingdom of Lower Burma at that period, is regularly rendered by "this Mōn (*rman*) country of ours," which incidentally furnishes us with an acceptable etymological basis for the Pāli term. Similarly, where the Pāli has "Kamboja," the Mōn has "Krom." These Kroms are mentioned on pp. 22, 45, of the composite volume *Sudhamma-vatīrājāvamsa* (Pak Lat, A. Budh. 2453). The second of these passages speaks of an army of them as coming from Chieng Mai, so that they were probably Laos or Shans rather than Cambojans. But the point is doubtful and has been learnedly discussed by Professor G. H. Luce in the *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, Vol. XII, Part I, pp. 39-45.

76. In the notes appended to my translation of the principal inscription I have drawn attention to any substantial differences between the Mōn and Pāli texts that I have noticed; and in such cases I have also endeavoured to see to what extent either of them was in agreement with the fragmentary Pāli text of the first three stones. But I have not attempted a thorough-going collation of this latter text with that of Mr. Taw Sein Ko, as (apart from my want of qualifications for such a task) it did not appear to come within the scope of my work as editor of the Mōn fragments. It would seem desirable that some Pāli scholar should eventually undertake it.

77. The entirely new matter contained on Faces K-N requires special mention. These faces contain fragments of three inscriptions which may be described as appendices to the principal inscription and are so closely connected with it that they are most conveniently included under the same general heading. The distribution of this supplementary matter on the last four stones has already been indicated in § 67. The fortunate discovery of the manuscript copies mentioned in § 71 has revealed its full purport, the beginning (and a good deal more) of each appendix having been lost on the stones themselves. The first one relates that after the consecration of the Kalyāṇisīmā, and (according to the manuscripts) beginning with the year 838 of the Common Era (1476-7 A.D.), a number of other *sīmās* were consecrated by the monks who had been reordained in Ceylon. This inscription then resolves itself into a long list of such *sīmās*, distributed over various towns and villages of the Mōn kingdom; and, subject to the loss of a few lines on the top of Face L (which are, however, preserved in the manuscripts), it continued in this strain till it came to an end on the 19th line of that face. Though in the main a mere catalogue, it has a certain topographical interest; and possibly local enquiry may enable some of these sacred sites to be identified even now.

78. The second appendix (Face M) describes the ceremonial that took place (according to the manuscripts in the year 839 of the Common Era, 1477-8 A.D.) in connection with the planting of a Bodhi tree and the enshrining of a relic and certain sacred statues in a *cetiya* in the immediate vicinity of the Kalyāṇisīmā. It seems probable that the Bodhi tree had been raised from seed brought back from Ceylon by the ecclesiastical mission, as mentioned in the principal inscription (Face F 51-2). As regards the relic, which is termed "relic of the exalted Buddha," I am not quite clear

in my mind as to what it really was. The Pāli version of the principal inscription (third stone, obverse) speaks of "an image of the Holy Tooth Relic"; but the corresponding Mōn passage (l.c., *supra*) says nothing about it, and it looks as if some words had been accidentally omitted there. On Face M we repeatedly find the words *dhāt patimārup*, which might mean either "relic consisting of an image" (i.e. of the above mentioned Holy Tooth, of Ceylon), or "relic and image." As our text in M 19, 23, and 31 separates the two words by a double stop and in M 22 by the expression *kwom ku*, "together with," I have treated them in my translation as two separate objects. Probably the "image" was the replica of the Holy Tooth in any case; the relic may have been some object closely associated with Buddha. It is interesting to note that the festival given in connection with the ceremonial enshrining of these objects included dancing, sword play, and the like, and subsequently the sacred objects received the solemn ablution that is usual on occasions of royal anointment (M 31-2). This inscription ends with l. 39 of Face M.

79. The third appendix (Face N) records in considerable detail the elaborate arrangements made (according to the manuscripts in the year 841 of the Common Era, 1479-80 A.D.) in connection with the ordination as monks of six hundred and one *sāmaṇeras* (deacons or novices), doubtless those mentioned at J 25 in the principal inscription. They were divided into six companies, each of which was put in charge of a prince or other high personage, who marshalled them; and they went in procession, in regular order, to the place of ordination. The end of the record, as shown by the manuscript copies, ran over into the upper part of the reverse face of Stone 10, but is not represented in the surviving fragments, as the upper part of that stone (as well as of several others) is lost.

80. Seventeen of the leading verifiable dates in the principal inscription have been calculated by Mr. Swamikannu Pillai, the learned author of "Indian Chronology" and "Indian Ephemeris," and a list of them appeared on p. 58 of the *Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma* (1922), while some explanatory statements are given on p. 14 of the same Report. Owing to an unfortunate inadvertence, Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, and 6 of the list have been attributed to the wrong A.D. years, and are therefore quite incorrect. No. 1 is of the Burmese year 837 (1475-6 A.D.) and Nos. 3-6 are of the year 838 (1476-7 A.D.), and all five fell in

1476 A.D. This unfortunate error led Mr. Swamikannu Pillai to contradict the distinct statement of our record (both Pāli and Mōn) that the month of Āṣāḍha was intercalated in the year in which date No. 4 falls, as was in fact the case. I have endeavoured in the notes to the Translation to give the equivalents of the leading dates of the record. But nothing very material from the historical point of view turns on any of its verifiable dates, as they merely record the precise times of incidents in the sending of the ecclesiastical mission to Ceylon (January, 1476), its adventures there in the spring and summer of that year, and the events that subsequently occurred, particularly the consecration of the Kalyāṇisīmā (November, of the same year).

81. The most important date in the whole record is, perhaps, the one which states that 2002 years of the Buddhist Era had elapsed when Dhammaceti ruled at Pegu (B 32; and in the Pāli, first stone, reverse), the Pāli also adding that it was the year 820 of the Burmese Era (1458-9 A.D.). This does not agree with the reckoning in Phayre's *History of Burma*, which on p. 84 gives 1460 A.D. and on p. 290 the Burmese year 822 as the date of Dhammaceti's accession to the throne, while the Mōn chronicles give other, divergent, dates. On this point the contemporary evidence of our record must be preferred. But as to the earlier dates that it contains, one cannot be sure that its authority for them is anything better than tradition and it seems hardly worth while to discuss them here. The one already referred to in § 75 in relation to the voyage of a Ceylon monk to Malaya-dīpa is connected in the Pāli text (first stone, obverse) with an event that fixes it in the reign of King Narapatijayasūra, i.e., according to Phayre (*op. cit.*, p. 289), A.D. 1167-1204 (cf. A 37-42); and the date given for the establishment of Pāli Buddhism at Pagan consequent on the Burmese conquest of Thatōn is the now generally accepted one, A.D. 1057 (A 19, and Pāli first stone, obverse). But Phayre (*op. cit.*, pp. 22, 37, 281) gives dates for the accession and death of the conqueror Anawrahta which are evidently derived from a different line of tradition and are certainly wrong. The date given in our record is at any rate compatible with the information hitherto made available from the 11th century inscriptions, and may be regarded as a good provisional approximation, until more precise evidence is produced.

82. In my translation I have generally given the proper names of persons in the form which they bear in the Pāli text. Where the Mōn form

differs, it can be found in the Môn text. I must here again record my grateful acknowledgments for the invaluable assistance of my friend Mr. Robert Halliday in providing me with the meanings of many Môn words that were not to be found in Haswell's *Vocabulary* and were not sufficiently determined by their context.¹ In a few cases where some doubt remained in my mind as to whether my own rendering of an ambiguous passage or Mr. Halliday's alternative version was the right one, I have ventured to put one of the two into the translation while relegating the other to a footnote, in the hope that future research may decide which, if either, is correct. The meanings of a certain number of words still remain undetermined, and on these I trust that we may get further light some day as research in Môn texts, ancient and modern, goes on and develops.

Text.

A

(Fragments a and b.)²

1.

 [Moggaliput]ta[ti]ssama[hā]the³ [twah t]u(y)⁴

2.

 kuim
 low i rau tila pu[iy] mahāthe Yasa i

¹ Mr. Halliday's own Dictionary, issued after my translation of the text (as originally drafted) had been done, has been of great help to me in rewriting the second part of the translation in the light of the new M.S. material.

² The beginning of the inscription, amounting to about ten lines, is lost. The two fragments here following do not join exactly at any point and both margins are missing. Accordingly, the dots are only an indefinite indication that something is lost, both at the beginnings and ends of the lines and in the middle between the two fragments, where they form two incomplete portions of a line. Fragment b is to the right and begins at l. 1, continuing to l. 30. Fragment a begins at l. 8 and goes on to the end of the piece.

³ The first three syllables have been restored from the Pāli version.

⁴ Or ku?

3. [c]w[o]h
 sun gah i nū mwoy crawek kitu [m]āk i cuiw ku cuip bape[n]
 (kitu)¹
4. [Moggal]-
 i[putt]atissamahāthe² i bicāranā mwoy tuy i pday kā anāga[t] ..

5. (nā)
 [pɔ]ay thān paccantarah ta gah³ tila puiy
 Mahindathe [ga]h i . (w)
6. dah
 tau rah rman ra i i pday kāla (tu)y tila puiy tipuin the ḥā ma
 twah bgah So[nathe Uttarathe]⁴
7. [bāya]p⁵
 kyāk Kelāsapow i [mwo]y lapāk gah i tau latu tmo[' i mwo]y
 lap[āk]
8. gah i het
 ṇah (i) . ruih kwon
 smiñ ma dah⁶ i rakuih brau ma tau pday mahā-
 sami[t] tuin tuñ tuy (i)
9. [kwo]n
 smiñ mwoy ktuiw dah rakuih [brau] smiñ gah
 tuy i kwom ku pariwā masun klañ gah tuin tuñ nū mahāmi[t]⁷
 ra i khā ga[h]

¹ Conjecturally restored.

² The first two syllables have been restored.

³ Here there are some letters looking like a repetition of *ta gah* (or perhaps *tawah*?) followed by something else, possibly merely i.

⁴ Restored with the help of the Pāli version.

⁵ Conjecturally restored, following the Pāli.

⁶ The first part of the missing passage looks something like *suit* or *puih*.

⁷ Error for *mahāsamit*.

10. gah da[h] jãd[isui]ñ ðā i ma gap
gwow sphek gmāk ma gluiñ nū gamluiñ
to' gah (pa) tuy bak bdau kle' rakuih ta gah ra i khā gah
rakuih
11. (ha) mik kuiw rakuih¹ gah
go' plan (b)w(ā)y (k)r(au) gah i uit janok² gah
tila puiy [ti]puin the ðā cut lar pumañ pumwoy tuy i ku mānih
[gamluiñ]³
12. [k]u[i]w dhar Brahma[jāl]asut (tuy) i
[la]juñ sadik kuiw ñaḥ gamlui[n] tuy i pa[n] (lñ)i(m)
. . . . [sarañ]asila⁴ ra i pda[y] k[āl]a gah i mānih turau cwoh lñim
gah [i go' gran ket]⁴
13. [lñi]m masun klañ tit pa gam-[i ra] i (pa) [t]aṁ
n(ū)⁵ gah [h]eñ samat kwon ñāk t(u)y⁶ ma (dah)⁷
. (thā)n raḥ rman gah i het [ma] ha mik kuiw
ka(nd)o(k) k[l]a barhu(m⁸ rap) [gah] i a
14. kduip rakuih jaku jadisuiñ (gah⁹ da)h k[sū] tuy
ñaḥ la(w tlu)ñ¹⁰ tau latū (kduip)
. . . (h) i atuiñ ru[p] gah kuim i la[tū k]duip [t]mo' [Tui]k Ga[lā]
(i jaweh)¹¹
15. (h) nwo[m t]au i i pa tañ nū ti[la] puiy [ðā ma
tlu]ñ p[t]an [sāsa]nā [pday thā]ñ [du]ñ rman (gah)
. (i) guiw tau pda[y] duñ rman l[ukau
kā ma lo'] san heñ ra i khā kāla ma jliñ

¹ The illegible part ends, apparently, in *h* and looks rather like *toh* (which would probably be an error for *to'*). But it may be some other word.

² The last syllable has been restored.

³ The first two syllables have been restored.

⁴ Probably the first of the lost words would be *dhar*.

⁵ There is no *ū* visible.

⁶ There seems to be a trace of a *u*.

⁷ Very doubtful, though the first letter must be *d* or *a*.

⁸ The final might be *p*. The next word is also doubtful.

⁹ Here there may be a stop, there being a small space available.

¹⁰ The initial might be *t*, and there is no *u* visible.

¹¹ Very doubtful.

16. ma da[k]o' ta[y]ān¹ ā [t]a(nah) [ku]im [lo](r i)
[y]ay (dwī kyā)m² to' ga[h]
. . . . [l]or i het bhay [k]anwor ba[y]uiw ma jno[k ma k]tuiw
dah kuim [law] i
17. gah tuim³ [lo]r i [thā]n raḥ [duñ] rman gah i ma
[du]in [duin ā ku]⁴ dar[h]a[t] gah da[h] uiw ra i
. [uiw da] ci i gam[-]i tu[y]
ma nisray t[au] raḥ rman i ma (tau)⁵ [t]au [pday thān] raḥ
r[m]an ga[h] i
18. (h) i ha [sam]ah ratha [tuy] i (sāsanā) [ma duin]
duin [ā k]u darhat [g]ah dah ā ra i⁶
. (Sūriyakumā)⁷ [ma du]ñ yamu smiñ Manohor
ma pkañ ra[ñ t]au duñ [Su]dhui[m] gah i sāsanā
.
19. [kyāk⁸ tr]ay [ma pa] par[i]nibbān i dah lñim t[urau klañ
cn]ā[m] (i) [sāsanā ma ta]ñ duñ rman da[h] lñim (pi)⁹
. [kyāk tr]ay ma pa parinibbān
dah lñim [turau k]lañ mwoy cnām i pday sa[kk]arāt¹⁰
.
20. [t]wah bgaḥ duñ Arimaddanapur ra i i [nor] (cnām¹¹ sāsanā
ma) [cuip] duñ Pukām gah i da[h]
. [5]3[2] i khā gah s[m]iñ Sirisa[ñghab]odhi-
Parakkamabāhu i ma caaḥ sāsanā

¹ Looks like *tahān*, but I think it must be the equivalent of L.M. *kayān*, *kayyān*, "to dispute."

² Very doubtful, especially the *d*, the *i* (which might be *t*), and the *y* (which might be *s*). Before the *d* there may be a stop. But probably the expression represents the L.M. *yat ji khyām*, "plague, pestilence."

³ Error for *kuim*.

⁴ The *u* is not clear.

⁵ Very doubtful: the initial is probably *t*, but there may be something subscript, and the vowel is quite uncertain.

⁶ The first letter of this missing passage appears to be *d* or *a*.

⁷ Traces of the last two syllables are visible: the rest has been restored from the Pāli.

⁸ Restored.

⁹ Very doubtful. But in view of the traditional chronology, as embodied in the Pāli version, the time would be 1382 years after the Council which sent out the missionaries and 1364 years after the establishment of Buddhism in the Môn country. Apparently the Pāli does not give the figure here.

¹⁰ Here appear to have followed numerals, the Pāli having 419.

¹¹ Very doubtful.

21. kāla gah i mahāthe Uttarā[juiw i acā¹ sm]i[n Pukām i s-ā² l]aṇwor (c)e(tī)³
 . . (tko)[' Siṅghuiw gah tuy i kwom [ku sañ g]am[lu]i[n cui[h ā do]k [kḥaṇ p]ḍay
22. puiy⁴ kwan rman i twaḥ mahāthe Ar[iyawāṃsa⁵ i mahā]the [A]ri[yawāṃsa] tun gah i
 [mahā]the Krabaṇ⁶ dam[y]oṇ [tu]n gah i twaḥ mahā[the Prā]ṇada[s]⁷
23. lokijjhān i [tila] puiy t(au) Sudhuim (i)
 . .⁸ [t]i[la puiy ā] twaḥ tnaṃ jray
 (tu)y i cau piṇḍapāt pḍay ḍuṇ [Sudhuim kuim] i tradah [t]ila puiy tu[y] i [y]ah
24. [ñ]ah ḍuṇ S[udhui]m ma ā banik pḍay [thān] (Magadha)⁹ i . . (t) . . . ma ā [ñ]āt tuy
 i [ñ]ah ma [tim] tradah tila [puiy] (ma)¹⁰ [go]' lok[ijjhā]n rwoṇ i (na)¹¹ gati
25. [sāma]ṇī mwoy kwān [ñ]ah twān Cha[pat] (pḍay raḥ Kusim)¹² ga[h] i [b]ak ā [t]ila puiy (th)e
 [Siṅghuiw¹³ gah i] sañ gamluṇ ma tau pḍay tko' Siṅghuiw smān cat ḥat m[w]ay

¹ The last syllable of the name and also the word *acā* are illegible, but the restoration is supported by the Pāli.

² The stop and the *s* are not quite certain.

³ Only the *e* is preserved: the rest has been restored from the Pāli.

⁴ It may be supposed that this word was preceded by *tila*.

⁵ Although it occurs twice in this line, the last syllable of this name is doubtful. But it is supported by the Pāli.

⁶ Or conceivably **bun*. The Pāli form is *Kappuṇḍaganagara* in the MS. But this does not appear to be the reading of the inscription itself, which has *bb* for *pp* and no visible *u*. So probably *Krabaṇ* is right after all.

⁷ Possibly we should supply *si* to end the name, as in the Pāli form in the inscription itself. (The MS. has **si*, apparently.)

⁸ The first part of the undeciphered passage looks rather like *yah yah*.

⁹ Very doubtful, but supported by the Pāli.

¹⁰ The *ma* is by no means clear: so far as appearances go, it might be *sa* or *i*.

¹¹ Very doubtful.

¹² Conjecturally restored on the basis of the Pāli version, but very doubtful.

¹³ Only the last three letters are visible, but the restoration is a safe one.

26. [Mahinda]th[e]¹ ma tluṇ ptan sāsana pḍay [t]ko['] Siṅghuiw
 ti[la p]u[iy to]'
 [Soṇa]th[e]¹ Uttarathe ma ā ptan sāsana[ā pḍay] Suwaṇṇabhum kuim ci gah tuy i
27. [kwān² ñ]ah Chapaṭo ga[h] i mhāthe Uttarāj(uiw) gah
 [kyāk] p[ḍay] tk[o]' (Siṅghuiw)³
 [kuim]⁴ i dapuin kwon ñah Chapaṭ[o] (gah khā) [t]ala puiy ma[hāthe]
28. (h) i ña[n ku k]alo jñāt (pu)i(y san dah uiw da ci i) [ñātipalibodha⁵ sdah]
 ' drasok cuit sda[h] tau ku ey di[k t]un i ey dik sdi
29. [S]iṅghuiw ra i [da]puin gah kat [b]atwon [uit] tuy (i)
 tuy he(n)
 . . (mahāthe Chapaṭo)⁶ ñah gah i i mahāthe Chapaṭo gah i kāla tu[y]
30. y i mahāthe Siwili kwon ñah Tāmal(itthi)⁷
 [mahā]the Tām(a)li[nda]⁸
 (Kāncipura⁹ mway i) [mahā]the Rāhula (kwon)
31. y i ti[la pam]ray masun ḍok [k]ḥaṇ [tuy c]au tlu[ñ cuip] ḍuṇ Kusim ra i ui(t)

32. (ta)g(u)in Pukā[m c]nām gah i [ha] ga[tāp tuy i mwō]y wah taguṇ pḍay wihā (ta)¹⁰

¹ Both these conjectural restorations are based on the Pāli and are practically certain.

² Conjecturally restored. Perhaps the spelling here should be *kwon*.

³ Conjecturally restored.

⁴ The initial letter is doubtful.

⁵ Hardly legible, but supported by the Pāli.

⁶ Conjecturally restored. The last of the missing words apparently ended in *a* or *o*.

⁷ Restored with the help of the Pāli version.

⁸ Or **mu*. The last syllable is restored.

⁹ Conjecturally restored on the basis of the Pāli, and extremely doubtful except the *ei* (which is certain).

¹⁰ Or possibly *ka*. Presumably this is the first part of the name of this *viḥāra*.

33. (Pukā)m¹ ra i mahāthe Uttarā[ui]w [tun ler i klā
tila puiy] to'
.
.
34. (to)' [ra i yo]' tila ta' [i akhā² tuy] a[cā
puiy ma ā] . (i)
.
.
35. (tila³ pu)iy mahāthe [arhan] (bā i ma)
hi[mu] Soṇathe i Utta[rathe]⁴
.
.
36. m-ah⁵ ma da[h] a[dhi]pat
da[h] u[iw⁶ da ci i puiy] ha mik h[uy]⁷
.
.
37. [sa]kkarāt [5]43⁸ ■ [h]eñ i
s[āsanā nū S]i[n]ghu[i]r i ma
.
.
38. (tila)⁹ [pu]iy to' [ñ]ah mas[u]n ga[h
bwoy] r(aw)en¹⁰ ma(r)¹¹
.
.

¹ Conjecturally restored, with the help of the Pāli version.

² Or, less probably, i khā.

³ Conjecturally restored.

Restored.

⁴ Apparently the first syllable of this word has been lost. One is tempted by the Pāli version to restore *bam-ah*, but this would be an unusual spelling for "Burmese," L.M. *bamā*, *ēhamā*.

⁵ Looks more like *uip*.

⁷ A pretty certain restoration.

⁸ The first numeral is quite obliterated. I follow the Pāli.

⁹ Conjecturally restored.

¹⁰ The *ra* may be *rau* and the *weñ* may be *geñ*. Possibly the two syllables (if the first is *rau*) form two words.

¹¹ Doubtful, but probable.

39. [mahā]the Rā[hula ñā]t [k]et
bhaṇḍayā brau
.
.
40. chī daw [tau kuim i ch]i
dar [ha mñan t]uy i i ti(la)¹
.
.
41. k n[-]ā tuy [i Rāhulathe
d]ok k[b]añ ā (cuip)¹
.
.
42. [y p]abeñ [t]uy i Rā[hu]la-
[th]e pa [gihi]bho(w)
.
.
43. khā gah Siwi[l]i[mahāthe] i
Tām[u]l[i]ndama[hāthe]¹
.
.
44. h tipuin [S]i[wili-
the i ku Tāmuli]nda[th]e²
.
.
45. [i rau wo'
gah t]un i ma pa ñāti(saṅgaha)³
.
.
46. [na
sda]nd[o]' [batwon san]
.
.

¹ Restored.

² The *u* is doubtful.

³ Conjecturally restored: *saṅg* seems to be traceable on the ink-impression. The Pāli has *ñāṭisaṅgahañ*.

(Fragment *c.*)¹

47. [Tā]m(u)l[indathe] (gah) : paā

48. (k)w(on)
 jmāp dakā upaḥ a(th)in amāt

49. (ti)la to' gah dok t tau !
 da[kā] to['] tak pa](t)

50. [ti]la puiy Siwilithe : do(k)
 [T]ām[u]lindathe tun : yo' [t]ila² pa[ccay]

51. wihā kambā twaḥ tila gah . .
 daḥ so' : inah Siwilithe ga[h] : rau] ww[o]' [T]ām[u]l[indathe]³

52. ha go' pa waciwiñat so' : het
 dratuy mramar [s]āsanā [ma sdah] (ey)⁴ [la]r (cuit)⁵

53. [Tā]m[u]lindathe gaḥ : sāk gah ra tila
 [ey] gaḥ mā [i] (sabhau)⁶ ṇaḥ [tu]y (ma tau tau)⁷ [pḍay dando']
 (batwon)⁸

¹ This fragment follows on pretty closely after the preceding piece. The left-hand margin being preserved, the amount missing at the beginnings of the first nine lines has been approximately calculated; but the dots at the ends of the lines are only a rough estimate.

² This missing piece looks like *pa cau*.

³ Restored.

⁴ This might be read *yra* or *yrau*.

⁵ Restored; the *i* is certain and the *cu* probable.

⁶ This looks as if it might be *sanā*.

⁷ Very doubtful. At first I was inclined to read *samaratha* (with the sense of "agree"), but after repeated and careful examination of the photograph and ink-impressions I concluded that this was not tenable. Another conceivable reading is *ma kat*, "who (have) learnt."

⁸ Conjecturally restored.

54. [ka]m saraṇ tanoh ra : ey ler spa ket [k]am
 saraṇ tano[h] ra gaḥ tu[y : pa t]am [nū gah tila pui]y
 Siw[ilithe]¹
55. saṇ to' dah pan buk ra : tila saṇ to['] tuy !
 [ma d]ah tnow [sāsanā ma tui]n [nū] Su[dhuim] ler mwoy bu[k]

56. atu(in) [t]now ma tuin nū Sudhuim gaḥ : tila to' tnow
 ṇaḥ ma cuip klā da[h] uiw ci (i) arhe' sā bamā to' gaḥ : [ti]la
 [to' ṇaḥ pi buk tno]w ṇaḥ ma cau nū Singhu[iw]

B

(Fragments *a* and *b.*)²

1. (mahāthe)³ [p]s[ā krom]

2. [n tanā] am(hu)⁴ a[m]rā jamn[ok]

3. [n] tu[y m]a da[h] bwok mahāthe pṣā [krom]

4. : bwok saṇ ma[hā]the pṣā krom ṇaḥ (ma) . .
 [pṣā krom ṇaḥ] (gaḥ) (kr) . .
 . (ma) lo' a

¹ Restored.

² There are about a dozen lines missing between this and the preceding piece. Fragment *a* is to the left and runs from l. 1 to l. 27. Fragment *b* begins at l. 4 and continues to l. 40. The gap between the two fragments has been approximately measured; but as both margins are lost, the amount missing at the beginnings and ends of lines, respectively, could not be estimated, and the dots in those positions merely indicate that an indefinite number of letters has been lost.

³ Practically certain, though only the last syllable is preserved.

⁴ Conceivably *ambu*.

5. [m] gaḥ tun i bwok sañ krom ñaḥ ma gaḥ i pa¹
he[t] [t]uy i [ma] d[ah] bwok mahā[the
pṣā] krom ga[h]
6. [bwok]² sañ tray arhan gamluñ ma tau pḍay raḥ
rman kuim ler i bwo[k] (sañ)³ [krom ga] i tuy i rman gamluñ to'
[g]a(h ci)⁴ i [i kh]ā gaḥ pḍay ḍuñ
7. [Siṅghui]r ler mwo[y] bwok i dah ā ḥā bwok ra i i
pḍay ḍuñ Ma[ttma] tun gaḥ i bwok sañ krom [le]r [mwoy
b]w[ok] i bwok s[añ]
8. bwok i bwok sañ Siṅghuir tu[y] ma dah [t]nor
Siwi[lithe le]r mwoy bwok i i ñ(ām⁵ sañ) [Siṅghuir tu]y ma dah
bwok
9. l(e)r⁶ i cui[r] yāt ma hāp puñ i khā ñaḥ ma
niman tanā tun i (pḍay) [sñi thān ñaḥ ha go'] hāp i cau [hāp]
(wihā)⁷ [kuim] i [tila p]uiy [to' gaḥ]
10. bwok sañ Siṅghuir tuy ma dah tñor t[w]aḥ
mahā[th]e [Tāmal]iñ[da ler] mwoy bwo[k] i ñām bwo[k] sañ acā
am[āt p]rer⁸ cuir [ma gaḥ]
11. Buddhawaṃsamahā[the] ma gaḥ gaḥ i acā gna[k]yāk
pḍa[y] Mat[ttma] ā tko' Siṅghuir tuy i kaleñ (cau⁹ tluñ cuip)
[ḍu]ñ Ma[ttma] (yra)¹⁰ ler [ñ]aḥ ma ā cuip (ra)
12. [kaṃ]m sarañ ku ñaḥ i [p]aā¹⁰ kaṃm sarañ tanah
heñ i [bwok] tila puiy ga[h ler Si]ṅghuir [mwoy b]w[ok] i bwok
tila pui[y] Mahāsā[m]i[mahāthe]¹¹
13. [m]w[o]y bwok i het gaḥ ra pḍay ḍuñ Mattma
gaḥ i [bwok] sañ [krom] mwoy bwok i bwo[k Si]ṅghuir [mas]un
bwok i turau bwok dah (uit)¹²

¹ Or possibly, but wrongly, *ba*.

² Restored, but practically certain.

³ Very doubtful.

⁴ Conceivably *ñah ma*, and the next word is extremely doubtful.

⁵ Or *lar*.

⁶ Or *biḥā*.

⁷ Conceivably *brer*, the more usual spelling (L.M. *brew*, "silk cloth").

⁸ It is doubtful, owing to a flaw, whether *cau* (or any other word) is here at all.

⁹ This may be read *ey*, but I do not see how that could come in here.

¹⁰ Looks like *ma ā*, which can hardly be meant.

¹¹ The last four syllables have been conjecturally restored.

¹² Or *uiw*?

14. [k]uim i ha go' [hu]y kam¹ sarañ kwom ku rañ sko[']
h]eñ [d]ah uiw da ci i dah uir nānā[nikā]ya [heñ ra i] uit pḍa[y]
nikā[ya] tila puiy
15. [m]a dah tau b[y]a[t]ta [p]aṭibala ma st[lu]ñ² cat ḥat
k . . . [ka]m sar[e]ñ³ ma gaḥ gaḥ ha mwoy [heñ ra i] tila to'
tuy i ma dah bwok bwok ga[h]
16. [byatta paṭi]bala⁴ ra gaḥ tuy i tila puiy to' gaḥ paā . . .
. [ma samut] sim ma kuiw upasa[mpada i pa]ā [kam
tanah h]eñ (ra) [i] i akhā [gaḥ] tila p[uiy]
17. [h] i al[um] gā[m]asim tu[y] ma cuin dah
t[au] go' sodhanā [t]uy [ayām]
pḍay [t]mo' ni[mit] gaḥ ku[i]m i so[dhanā]
18. [k]am ma pa tañ ku upasampadakam
ga[h] (to)' laṅguiw tun (gaḥ i ma)
[sodhanā] alum gāmas[im] heñ ma dah i (ket) ma i
19. [h gāma] kuim⁵ lar laksan ma (thuik)⁶
. thuik dah wis[u]m[g]āma kuim lor
i laksan ma iñah gaḥ [ha] go' cat ḥa[t]
20. ⁷ bway ma ji[p] kli[p]⁸ tuy i ñām
. [ni]sray ke[t tu]y [i pḍay] khana ma pa kam
ma [s]amut sim [gaḥ] i yām thān ma dah c[u]i[t]
21. (k) mañ lañ ma dah cuit gaḥ i trawuiw
. (da)h wi[su]m[gāma heñ] gaḥ tuy i pḍay
thān ma ha mwā[y ku] wi[su]m[gāmalakkha[ḥa]
22. [so]dhanā ket tuy i samut
. h kui[m ler i kam ma pa t]aṃ ku
upasam[padakam gaḥ paā] heñ ra i tila p[uiy]

¹ Conceivably *kaṃm*, though I can see no *anusvāra* symbol.

² Practically certain, though the *lu* is of peculiar shape owing to deficiency in interlinear space.

³ Error for *sarañ*.

⁴ The first four syllables have been restored.

⁵ Between *ui* and *m* there seems to be a small original flaw.

⁶ Conjectural, the only certain thing being the *i*. The initial might be *t*, or *th*.

⁷ Here there is something that might be *k* or *kā*.

⁸ Looks like *jim kliw*.

23. y sīm[āsāmka]rado[sā¹ ma] da[h]
 (m ma dak) rwoñ²
 1 pḍay baddha[sim ku gāmasi]m [gah ler³]
24. (sīmāsām)karadosa⁴ ha dah 1 pḍay
 [cuip⁴ tuy] a[khā] ma dak bad-
 dhasim 1 pḍa[y] gā[m]asi[m g]ah 1 (gāmasim)⁵
25. [wū]du[i]h⁶ [gah 1] rukkhasākhā(disambandha)⁷
 ke[t k]wo[m k]u
 gāmasim [ma dah da]tau ba[ddhasi]m ma sdak (wwo')
26. (') [1] ma sodhanā gāmasi[m]
 [gāma]sim [ma dah] datau
 baddhasi[m m]a sda[k] w[w]o[1] k]uim 1 sodhanā [t]
27. [u]pasam[pa]da(kam)
 [tun gah] 1 yā[m]
 na[dila]k[khaṇa jā]tassa[ra]kkha[ṇa] ga[h] (dah)

28. [tuy] ma (dah)
 [an]va[ddhamāsām] 1 anudasāham 1 [anupañcāham]

29. [jātassa]ra tu[y] (1 ha) [mwoy]
 ku na[dī]lakkhaṇa [1 j]ātas[saralakkhaṇa]⁸

30. [heñ] ra [1 tila to'
 la]ṅguw tun gah 1 (sodhanā)⁹

¹ After the *k* there seems to be an original flaw; or else we must read °kā°, which would be an error for °ka°.

² Written in abbreviated form, as if it were *arwo*, with superscript *ñ*.

³ The first three syllables have been restored.

⁴ Possibly *cui*.

⁵ Very doubtful.

⁶ The first syllable has been restored.

⁷ The last four syllables have been restored.

⁸ The last three syllables have been restored.

⁹ Restored.

31. (nwom) [go]¹
 [sag]ut kle' 1 so[dhanā]

32. [pa parinibb]ān¹ (gah) [b]ā
 [ñ]im ḥa cn[ām k]u[li] (lwon)

33. (bedāgama)² [t]akka byā[karaṇa-chanda-s]attha
 alank[āra]³

34. [bhās]ā [ma ka mwoy] (ma)⁴
 [dok peñ tau kwom] (ku)

35. [Mu]tti[mamaṇḍal]⁵ (gah)
 [babwoy⁶ dhar]⁷

36. [tila ṇ]aḥ Rā[mādhpati]⁸

37. [cuin skuim] (tau) [k]w[om]
 (ku) sa[mp]atti ma[s]u[n] . 1⁹

¹ The first three syllables have been restored.

² Restored with the help of the Pāli version.

³ Possibly *alamkāra*. Alternatively this might be written *alāṅkāra*, but I do not know whether the *anusvāra* symbol (if present at all) is intended to indicate a modified sound of the vowel.

⁴ Or *u*?

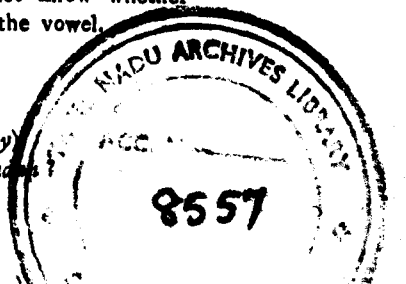
⁵ Or °maṇḍala, if the supposed *virāma* is an accidental mark.

⁶ Or *pabwoy*, possibly.

⁷ The next word seems to begin with *do* (perhaps *bodhi*?) or *bwo* (perhaps *bwoy*).

⁸ The last two syllables have been restored.

⁹ Possibly *prabā* or *trada*.



52. [t]au
 ɸuin ha go['] daɸut nimit ma gluiñ kuim i tarau dare[p] ga[h]
 sw[ā] na sti[m] ra [y]o[w] dah mā i mik pa ra i singhā[t]aka-
 sañthān (t)u[y] (gah)
53. (i) [pan] tlan
 jamlin kui[m] lor i n[i]m[i]t pan kuim daɸut i sm[ik]¹ pa ra
 sañthān masun [t]lan mā i ni[m]i[t] ma[s]un [d]aɸut i smik pa ra
 [t]ameñ tame[n] s[an]thān [ma glui]ñ mā i nimit [ma] (pa tam ku)
 ni[mit]
54. [ñ]ah swā na stim
 tarau darep [s]i[m] g]ah kuim i tameñ sañthān ler ha mwoy i
 ni[m]i[t] ma glui[ñ] ler sdaɸut mā i phuiw [m]a daɸut nimit ma
 gluiñ gah ha mwoy ra ²

C

(Fragments a and b.)³

1.
 (ñ) ma pha[h] (sāk wo')⁴
⁵
2.
 (u) [j]m[āp] j]m[āp] lap[āk ki]tu he[ñ i]
 mw[oy leh bray gū]⁶

¹ Looks like *smit*.² Here there is a decorative mark, like a four-petalled flower, apparently indicating the end of a paragraph. It seems probable, therefore, that there was nothing more in this line. In the bottom margin, between the double marginal lines, some letters have been inscribed, which do not seem to have anything to do with our text. I can only make out *kusalā dhammā*.

³ Fragment b is to the right and begins at l. 1, continuing to the end of this piece. Fragment a runs from l. 3 to l. 41. About ten lines appear to be lost between this and the preceding piece.

⁴ Conjecturally restored.

⁵ The number of dots at the beginnings and ends of the lines has been estimated in so far as the circumstances permitted, there being only one margin preserved.

⁶ The last three words have been conjecturally restored.

3. [mwoy]
 [ratha] sammādhārāpawecchana¹ gah i puwa
 bray ma [gū]²

4. [sammādhārāpawecchana³ gah i p]u[wa] b[ray ma gū gah
 ler] (ñ) [lw](on kā)⁴ lapāk kitu tu[y] i
 b[r]ay ra gū [m].

5. [bray gū k]u[im lar] i [pi p]i tñey mwoy le[h] bray [gū kuim lar i]
 (bā bā tñey)⁵ mwoy [l]eh [bray] gū [k]uim lar i ruih⁶ tadap
 (tñey)⁷
6. [h sama]wu[t]thi [gah] i pda[y] pan ki[tu ma tadak k]u wassa[kāla
 gah] (t)u(n)⁸ [pd]ay thān ma dah [c]n[i]h kuim lar i
 thā[n] ma [h]a se[ñ]

7. [la t]uy i twāk [tlo]⁹ ā kruñ ga[h] ra i khā gah sapui[ñ] gam-i
 [brau] [m mwo]y la[p]uh bā la[pu]h [k]uim [l]ar [y]ar
 ra s[t]dek ma gah (i)
 . . [sama]-¹⁰
8. [w]u[t]thi [gah] pi sāk dah uir da ci i pday kāla samawutthi tuy i
 [lapāk]¹¹ lapāk kitu bra[y] ma gū [m]w[o]y le[h] ga[h] i yarau
 [pday] (pan kitu ma tadak ku wassakāla gah)¹¹
9. [sapuiñ gam-i br]au ma twāk clo['] ā gah] ra tdek mā i kru[ñ g]ah
 mā [mahāna]d[i] heñ ra i pday k[ā]la [s]amawutthi tuy i cah
 ca[h tñey [bray] (ma gū mwoy leh gah i yarau pday pan)¹¹

¹ Substituting *v* for *w*, this is also the reading of the Pāli original on the stone, but the MS. from which Mr. Taw Sein Ko's first transcript was made seems to have had *sammādhārāpaccheda(vasena)*.

² Conjecturally restored.

³ The first five syllables have been restored.

⁴ Very doubtful, though the vowel after *lw* is certainly either *o* or *e*.

⁵ Conjecturally restored, but practically certain, from the Pāli version.

⁶ Perhaps wrongly written *ruih*.⁷ Conjecturally restored. But there may have been another *tadap* in front of it.⁸ Very doubtful, except the *u*.⁹ The initial does not seem to be *k*, as in L.M. *klo'*, nor yet *e*, as in ll. 9, 10, *infra*.

¹⁰ Restored.

¹¹ Both these portions have been restored. The second one is practically certain, but the first is conjectural.

10. [kitu] wa[ss]akāla gah + sapuñ dapuñ brau ma twāk clo' gah ra yar
[t]e[k ma] gah + kruñ gah mā ma[jjh]imanadi ra + pday kā
samawutthi tuy masun ma[s]u[n tney] (bray ma gū mwoy leh
gah + sapuñ)¹
11. [dip]u[i]n br[au ma] twāk clo' gah ra yar [t]d[ek] ma gah + kruñ
ga[h] mā kru[n sam]at ra + yarau pday kruñ [mwo]y tun gah +
pday kā ma dah [sama]wutthi ga(h sapuñ dipuñ brau ma twāk
clo')²
12. [g]ah [t]d[ek] + [khā kāla] ma da[h] dubbutthi tun gah ha tdek +
dubbu[tthi] gah ha señ [k]u³ bnat [dah u]ir da ci + gah kruñ
ma phah sāk ga[h] ler + ha
13. gah + pday kāla ma dah samawutthi gah + sapuñ tipuñ brau ma
[twā]k clo' gah + ha [t]d[ek] + pday kāla ma dah atiwutthi tu[y
ma] tdek + ati[wutthi]⁴
14. ga[h] + dah nadī ra ha [g]ap gor sgah + sabhau jātassara ma gah
[g]ah⁵ + (de)h dah ket aluir de[h] + ma mi[k k]uir⁶ ñah mwoy
mwoy ha go['] kanañ bda[h]
15. peñ tau + laca ma phah sāk ga[h] he[n + j]ātassara ma ga(h) . . .
. [ra]⁷ mwoy pday [k]āla ma dah sa[m]awutthi
gah + pday pan kitu wassa[kāla]⁸ [juī]-⁹
16. ñ tay kuim lar + dāk nwo[m] ma gah + deh [ā] cuip jā[tassara]¹⁰ . .
. (kui)m ra + jātassara gah ku deh go' ra + sama-
wutthi gah [p]i sāk (h)e(n)¹¹ [mahājāta]-¹²
17. ssara + majjhi[m]ajātassara + [kh]u[d]dakajātassara + pi sāk d(ah) . .
. [jāta]ssara mwoy tun gah + pday kāla ma dah
samawutthi gah tna[h]

¹ This passage has been conjecturally restored but seems fairly certain.

² This passage has been conjecturally restored.

³ Looks like *tu*; and if so written, it is merely an error for *ku*.

⁴ The last two syllables have been restored.

⁵ Looks rather like *wah*, but in any case it must be meant for *gah*.

⁶ Looks rather like *mit tuir*, but certainly meant for *mik kuir*.

⁷ Perhaps this is the last syllable of *jātassara*.

⁸ Conjecturally restored, but practically certain.

⁹ Conjecturally restored. Perhaps we should restore it *jo-*.

18. + dāk nwom + pday kā dubbutthi kuim lar + pday heman[ta]
. (kuim) lar + dā[k¹ h]a mwoy ga[h j]ā[tas]sara
gah (ler)² + [h]a s[e]ñ ku jā[tassara]³
19. y tun + pday kā ma dah sa[m]awutthi gah + pday [p]an ki[tu] (ma
tadak ku wassakā)la⁴ gah + dā[k¹ h]a mwoy + [p]day ma dah
atiwutthi gah dāk nwom + ga(h)
20. + thān puiy rman wwo' tun gah + dah tau atiwutthi . . (heñ) + (ma
twah) (ta)dah [thā]n puiy rman tuy ma [dah] atiwutthi
da[m]li ro + na galān acā attha[kathā]⁵
21. ta[d]ah [w]assakāla tuy ma dah pan kitu kuim (n) [twah] lar
p[ā]y attha[kathā] ra + pday [th]ā[n p]uiy rman wo' tun gah +
wassakāla gah + turau [k]itu
22. w[o] ma nw[om] ku ati[w]utth[i] gah tim ke[t] (m gah)
ha [s]eñ + bwoy ra[-]it bra[y] ma gluiñ mā + masun masun
[t]e[y bray ma] gū [mw]oy leh gah he[n]
23. atthakathā gah [u]ir da ci + pan [p]an [t]ney [bray sgū mwoy⁶ leh]
kuim lar + [p]i [pi] tney[y] bray sgū mwoy leh kuim lar + bā bā
tney bray [sgū mwoy leh] [bra]-⁷
24. y sgū kuim lar + laksan atiwutthi ra gah (heñ)⁸ (pp)āy⁹
(ma yaña)h¹⁰ cuip [ā ra + p]day thān puiy rman wo' tun gah +
pday [k]āla la[ch]or gah + pa[n pan] t[ney] (bray)¹¹
25. + [pi] pi tney [b]ra[y] ma gū mw[o]y leh le[r nwom +]¹² bā bā t[ney]
bray ma gū mw[oy] leh ler nwom + tadap tada[p tney] bray [ma
gū ler nwom] + [lachor] (lachor)¹³
26. l[uk]au cah tney [k]ui[m] lar + sak ku [sgut] (heñ) + yām lyah tney
ñi kuim mik pāk ha go' + uit [j]ano[k] akah gah (ma) [dlu snim]
uit ga[h]¹⁴

¹ Looks rather like *dāt*.

² Fairly certain, though it may be *heñ*, the *e* being quite certain.

³ Restored.

⁴ This restoration is quite conjectural, but the last word is almost certain.

⁵ Restored.

⁶ These two words have been restored, but are practically certain.

⁷ The parts in parentheses are very doubtful. The last one might be read *byāy ma tñah*.

⁸ Restored, but fairly certain. After this word one would expect *ma gū mwoy leh ler nwom*, but there does not seem to be room for all this.

⁹ Restored, but fairly certain.

¹⁰ Quite conjectural, though there seems to be a trace of the first letter.

¹¹ The first part of the portion represented by dots looks as if we might conjecture either *mat ray* or *pa tam*. Anyhow, the *t* seems fairly certain.

27. jawar tuy bray ma gū ler nwom : r[au] ga(h het)¹ [dah u]ir da ci
: thān pui[y] rman wo' gah : tadah ma n[wo]m ku a[ti]wu[tth]i
gah : [gap gor stim] ket ra : sāk gah pday thān)¹
28. [p]uiy rman wo' ga[h] yarau pday nadi jamno[k] (mwoy)² [k]uim
lar : [y]arau pday j[ā]tassara ja[nnok] mwoy kui[m] l[ar] [i na
prakā bray ma gū pday [kā]la [samaw]utthi [gah : hui]n [bray]
.....
29. (lā)³ snom ma gah : pday nadi jamn[o]k ma pha[h] sāk gah :⁴ pday
jātassa]ra jamnok ma pha[h] s[ā]k gah : pa udakukkhepa] tu[y :]
ka[m=ma pa tam ku] upa[s]a(m)[mpadakam ñah] (pa)
[sa]-⁴
30. [gut crawāt w]iney tam[-ah] pday (cuit tila ñah)⁵ [Rāmādhi]pa[ti]
ra [i] khā gah rau wo' gasap [cuit tkui]r⁶ da[h ku tila ñah
Rāmādhi]pati tun : [pday kāla ma]
31. laŋguiw gah : yarau pday gāmakhet
[ra] : pday gā[makhe]t ga[h : yā]m [pday] nimit[t kuim] (mañ)
[ket tuy : yām gam-i tuy ma tau pday nimit]⁷
32. gam-i tuy ma tau mañah ni[m]i[t] (gah)⁸
(hatthapah)⁹ : ha g[o'] kuir nañ chan¹⁰ : ha go' kuir bak ptit kle'
mañah gāmakhet tuy : samut]
33. m(uit)¹¹ sāk ga[h m]ā : parisawi[patti]¹²
: (mū het ma dah)¹³ [parisawipatti] (ro gah mā)¹⁴ [i yarau pday
gāmasim mwoy tuy ma] (twah)¹⁴
34. [t] gah ke[t] (t)uir¹⁵ nimit[t] (h)
pday nimit gah : gāmasi[m] mwoy [tanah nū gāmasim]
.. (wo' sgañ)¹⁶ (gap)¹⁷

¹ Purely conjectural.² A fairly certain restoration.³ Or possibly *na*.⁴ Restored, but practically certain.⁵ Conjecturally restored.⁶ Error for *kuir*.⁷ The last syllable is restored, but certain.⁸ Restored, and very doubtful.⁹ Restored. The last syllable is certain.¹⁰ Possibly *chaw*.¹¹ Probably this stands either for *samut* or *nimit*, preferably the former, the *i* being in that case accidental.¹² Restored.¹³ Rather doubtful.¹⁴ Very doubtful.¹⁵ Conceivably *kuir*.¹⁶ Very doubtful.¹⁷ Conjecturally restored.

35. g[o]r stawuir na ma ket
[gāmakhet] (wo' gah lāy¹ tuy ma smik kuir)²
.....
36. ku smiñ gah : stawuir
[tuy ma dah pday] (nimit wo' gah : het ma mik kuir)³
(mwoy)⁴
37. h ler ha (s)e(n)
..... (m)⁴ [dah baddhasim] [paḍwot sīmāsammutikañ]
38. gah [ha go']
(laceh) [ma dah pday nimit wo' gah : yām]
39. n(i)m⁵ dah
..... [tanah sgañ ler deh ha dah] (baddhasim sgañ)⁶ [ler
deh]
40. : da[h]
..... [kuim :] (yām ñah) [ma tau pday] [nimit gah :]
(kuir) .. (nd)⁷
41. (gā)
..... [ra :] sīmā[sammutikañ gah] (wagga)⁸ [dah uir
da ci :] (bwoy)
42.
..... [sīmāwipatti gah] luim ā tun (u
tila)
43.
..... [ma] (plor cuit) [tuy
:] khā tuy [ma] (spa sīmāsammutikañ)⁹

¹ Very doubtful.² The last three words are very doubtful.³ Very doubtful.⁴ Possibly *ma*.⁵ Or *nim*?⁶ Very doubtful.⁷ Before these two letters there seems to be *pa*.⁸ Or *wagga*?⁹ The last word, all but its first two syllables, is conjecturally restored.

44.
 (kuir) . . (kuim) (upati)
 (yām)

45.
 [r kuir tanah mā i dah wisumgām]¹

(Fragment c.)²

46. [upasampadakaṃ]³ ma ṇaḥ pa [p]d[ay]
⁴

47. [gāmakhe]t da c-āñ ma tau wūduih de[h]

48. [hatthap]aḥ gah p-or ku[ir pa] tuy i samut u[i]r
 [s]

49. [rukkhasākhā]d[isam]bandha⁵ [m]a nwom gah i ma da[h]
 saṅka(rar)u⁶ gah kuim nda i baddhasim ku gā[masim]

50. (sīmā)[wi]pat[ti]⁷ gah i sīm]āsa[mmu]ti[k]aṃ ga[h]
 i luim ma gaḥ rwoñ i sīmāsammuti[k]aṃ . . .⁸ [h]et luim [i] . (u)

¹ Or *gāma*?

² This fragment follows on pretty closely after the preceding piece: it is even possible that they overlap, though I think not.

³ The first three syllables have been restored. There is no final *m* visible.

⁴ There is no means of placing this small fragment exactly, both margins being gone and there being no clear junction with the preceding piece. Accordingly the dots are quite indefinite and indicate merely that there is something missing both at the beginnings and ends of the lines.

⁵ The first four syllables have been conjecturally restored, but seem fairly certain.

⁶ Or possibly *saṅkabhu*: either way it is an error for *saṅkarabhu*.

⁷ The first two syllables have been conjecturally restored and are doubtful: possibly it should be *parisawipatti*.

⁸ The omitted word looks like *gas*, which may be an error for *gah*.

D

(Fragments *a* and *b*).¹

1.

 (kl)
²

2.

 (upasampadakaṃ)

3.

 (gah ler pabwoy³ parisawi)[patti]

4.
 (t) [ma c]ui[n skuim tau kwom] (ku)
 (wis)u(m)[gām]akh[et ma cuin sku]i[m tau]
 kw[om] ku gā[ma]-

5. [lakkhaṇa]⁴ (kui)m [l]aw i pday
 mahājā[tassara] tuy ma ā [cuip]
 [tuy ma ā] c[ui]p samuddal]ak[khaṇa kui]m
 [la]w i . . .

6. (y) kaṃ to['] gah tun mā i
 pda[y] ba[ddhas]im ma (lu)i(m a)[t]uiñ
 (pday wisum)[g]ā[makhet ma cāk cdaḥ nū gāma-
 lakkha]a(ṇa)⁵

¹ About a dozen lines are missing between this and the preceding piece. Fragment *a* (on the left) runs from l. 4 to the end, *b* from l. 1 to l. 24.

² The number of dots is roughly estimated, especially at the beginnings of the lines, there being no margin preserved there.

³ Very doubtful; possibly *babwoy* or *bwoy*.

⁴ Conjecturally restored, but fairly certain.

⁵ Conceivably *lakkhan* i.

7. pda[y] jā[t]assa[r]a samat
[m]a ha [mw]o[y] ku jātassar[alakkha[n]a]
. [heñ dah uiw i het prakā ma phah]
8. (sāk gah)¹ (gah) ku[im ler] i bwo[y]
p[arisawipa]tti gah luim ā kuim u] (rau) ga[h]
. [bicā]ranā [mw]o[y] [gah i ma] (tadak tau ku) . . .²
9. [paris]awipat[t]i³ [ma nwom]
ga[h i tim] ket [r]a i kh[ā tila ñ]ah Rām[ādh]ipati i [m]
. [sīmāwipatt]i [parisawipatti i ma tadak t]au k(u)
[upasa]-
10. [mpada]⁴ (t) [ey g]ah i s[ā]k
[ww]o' ma [t]am-ah kweh ra i pday thā[n pui]y [rman] wo' i tila
. (gam-i i) [ma dah] t[īp]itakadhar i ma dah
byatta pat]ibala ga⁵
11. [thān rman] wo' ci i [k]u
ti[la pui]y ga[nācariya] gamluin [ci t]am[-]ah⁶ [t]au kwom
. [ey sap-or t]ila pu[iy] to' kuiw bicāranā]
12. (saman pubbāpara tuy i)⁷
[ey sap-or kuiw t]ila [pu]i[y to' phyui]h sa[g]ut cra[wāt]⁸
. [s]i[m] wwo[i] ñi i r[au w]w[o] tila [ñah Rām]ā[dh]ipa[ti]
13. [gamluin k]uiw sa[gut
crawāt] winay taṅgū sim wwo' ra i khā ga[h tila puiy g]aṇā-
[cariya]⁹ [bicāranā mw]oy i [p]ā[li i w]i[nay i] kwom
[ku] a-
14. [t]hakathā¹⁰ [sīmā]w[i]patti [p]ari[s]awi-
patti ma [nwo]m gah i tila puiy to[i] gaṇācariya [gamluin]
. (tu)y i [kuiw t]adah sīmā[wipatti ma] n[w]om
parisawipa-

¹ Conjecturally restored.² These dots may merely represent small circles put in to fill up superfluous space.³ The first two syllables have been restored.⁴ Restored.⁵ There is something after this: perhaps we should read *gah*. Or there may have been two dots to fill up space, and the next line may have had *h*, making *gah*.⁶ The original appears to have *tap-ah*.⁷ Very doubtful.⁸ The last syllable is restored.⁹ The last three syllables are restored.¹⁰ Restored.

15. [tti]¹² ñah laṇa(h) ra i [i kh]ā
la-i[t] tuy ma duñ ket ganap ti[l]a puiy [m]ahā[the]ra ga(mluin=
tuy)³ [tila ñah] Rā[m]ā[dh]ipa[ti g]ah kṣa[p] ra i
sāsanā
16. [mas]u[n] lñim cnām inah gah
i pday kāla lamah [g]ah i sāsanā k[yā]k t[r]ay dah [bā lñim⁴
tu]rau cwo[h pan cnām k]uim (i) . . . i(k)⁵ kuim (ha)⁶ ga-
17. (tāp)⁷ [uiw] (ra) oi i s[sāsanā] tuy ma
cap tau kwom [ku u]pa[s]ampada gah i [p]a ñam⁸ ma [s]lep [t]an
tau cuiw cui[p] (ra-it)⁹ [k]la masu[m¹⁰ lñim [c]nā[m]
ga[h] ro i tadah [s]ā-
18. [sanā]¹¹ [t]dī[k] lñeñ ma phah sā[k] wwo' gah i
puiy [ti]m [t]au [ku]im i ñā[ñ sāsanā t]u[y ma s]ac-ah i ma sak
(ku) [t]dīk¹² lñeñ i ma ha [mw]o[y] ku āsa(m)ñkā¹³ [gah i puiy ha
w]iparā
19. [pda]y sāsanā ky[ā]k tray heñ so[i] i dah
pui[y ma] ha sjuñ [s]duik p[d]ay kyāk t[r]a[y] heñ s[o] i [dah
pu]i[y ma ha r]au gau pday kyāk [tray heñ s[o]-
20. [i]¹⁴ [sak]¹⁴ ku tđik lñeñ i ma [h]a mw[o]y ku
āsa[m]ñkā ma [cuin] dah tau bija sāsanā ga[h] i pui[y m]a sgo[i]
(b) . . . (t) [r]aṇ [tuiw¹⁵ t]uy i upa[sam]pada[kam] tuy [i] (ma)¹⁶
dge-

¹ Restored.² The last word of the missing passage was probably *tila*.³ If the above reading is right, the *ñ* must be superscript over the *t*.⁴ Conjecturally restored on the basis of the Pāli text. The English translation of the Pāli version gives 2047, but this is due to a variant MS. reading: the inscription itself has *catusatthādikam*.⁵ The missing word looks a little like *atik*, or *bahik*.⁶ Possibly *ta*.⁷ Purely conjectural: whether it is admissible will depend in part on whether the preceding word is rightly read.⁸ Presumably for *ñāñ*.⁹ Or possibly *la-it*: the word is conjecturally restored.¹⁰ Error for *masun*.¹¹ Restored.¹² Hardly legible, but practically certain.¹³ Possibly *āsāñkā*.¹⁴ Restored.¹⁵ Or *kuiw*? But it looks more like *tuiw*.¹⁶ Or *ba*?

21. [t]¹ n(añ) lam-ow ga[h] i ma sgo' ta[l]ut ptuin
t[uy] i ma [sgo' tan t]au c[u]iw [c]uip ku ra[-]it² [kā]la masun³
lñim cn[ām]⁴ [i rau wo'⁵ ti]la ñaḥ k[ṣap tuy he]ñ i ga-
22.⁶ (tu)n i (nor)⁷ [c]nām tila pui[y] kyā[k] tray ma
pa par[inibb]ān gah i [ḥ]ā klam pi [c]wot⁸ turau cnām kuli lwon
ā (tuy) [tila pui]y [Mog]galipu[t]tat[iss]ama[hā]-
23. [the]⁹ [ti]la puiy Mahāmahindathe i [ku]iw clo' [ptan
s]āsanā [p]day tko' Singhuir i nū pa tam tila puiy Ma[hā]ma-
hinda[th]e [tko]¹⁰ [Singhu]ir gah i lu-
24. [kau]¹¹ (218 cnām)¹² i tñor dhammawādī tu[y] ma twa[h] pgaḥ
[M]ahāwi[h]āra[wāsīn]i[kāya] tuy i ma sak tu¹³ tḍik lñeñ [g]ah
[he]ñ i ma dget t[l] [tko]¹⁴
Singhu[ir i khā] (ma)
25. (h) [i s]m(i)ñ¹⁵ Waṭagāmaṇi [A]bhaya [j]naḥ plan i sm[in]
kla[n D]ā[li]y a¹⁶ tu[y] i go' plan krami[n] ḍuñ Anurādha[p]ū tuy i
[k]uiw kanaṁ A[bhayagiriwihāra]¹⁷
26. tau ku smiñ ma lw[o]n [t]uy pday [k]ā[la ma] smiñ
kya [kl]an da[pah tu]y i ma dau ā bdaḥ dmañ¹⁸ jareñ tila [p]ui[y]
lutau¹⁹ [cah pan cnām]²⁰

¹ Restored.² Possibly, though improbably, *ra-uīt*.³ Looks like *masun*, but the extra stroke is probably accidental.⁴ Looks as if it might have been *rwoñ* or *heñ*.⁵ Or *wwo'*?⁶ I am unable to complete the word of which the first syllable occurs at the end of the preceding line.⁷ Very doubtful, except the last letter. But I think the reading is right, though the form is E.M., the usual M.M. being *nū*.⁸ For *cwoh*, either in error or through assimilation with the *t* following.⁹ Restored.¹⁰ Or perhaps *tka'*.¹¹ Restored.¹² Conjecturally restored from the Pāli.¹³ Error for *ku*.¹⁴ Or perhaps *tka'*.¹⁵ Or *smiñ*.¹⁶ This appears to be the reading here. In the version based on Pāli MSS. the name is spelt *Dādhiya*, and a possible reading of the Mōn text is *Dāddhiya*. The Pāli inscription has lost the corresponding passage.¹⁷ Restored, except the first letter.¹⁸ For *dmāñ*.¹⁹ Error for *lukau*.²⁰ Restored on the basis of the Pāli version.

27. r kuiw [t]ila pui[y] dmā[n] ra i [t]ila puiy mahāthe
Mahātissa wo' gah i het duh ma da[h]¹ kulasaṁsatṭha . i
28. nū [Mahā]wihāra² ui[r i] pa tam nū gah kuim nda i
Mahāw(i)hāra[wāsībhikkhus]aṅgha³ ler [p]a u[i]w [kaṁ] tanah
h[e]ñ i A[bhayagiriwihārawāstībhikkhusaṅgha]⁴
29. (ha) [g]o' huy kaṁ [k]wom [k]u [rañ⁵ s]ka' he[n] ra
i [t]now bhikkhu sa[n] ḥā coh ga[h i] Mahāw(i)hārawā[si]bhi-
[kkhu]⁶
30. kuim ra i sa[n tuy] ma tau pday tko' Singhuir
ga[h] Mahāwihārawā[s]in[i]kāya lew [m]woy
31. [Abhayag]iriwihā[ra]⁷ ma dah gah i pi [klam mas]un co[h]
da[p]ah cnām ga[h ku]li⁸ lwo[n] ā tuy heñ i smiñ m[woy]
32. m i pday [k]āla ga[h] he[n] i smiñ ga[h] kanaṁ
Je[t]awanaw[i]hāra [t]uy i [s]j[un] sḍi[k] pday ti[tṭhi]⁹
33. (cu)[in]¹⁰ dah tau [p]āpami[tt]a i ma pa
da[t]au p[d]ay wihā Dakkhi[n]ārām [t]uy i plop low pday
[J]e[tawanawihāra]¹¹

¹ Looks like *dat*.² Or *wi*.³ Or possibly *wi*, if the extra stroke (which is certainly there) is accidental.⁴ Restored, with the exception of the first letter, on the basis of the Pāli version.⁵ Looks like *duñ*, but can hardly be anything but *rañ*.⁶ Or *wi*.⁷ The first three syllables are restored from the Pāli.⁸ Conceivably *kali*.⁹ Not quite clear, but practically certain.¹⁰ The first two letters are conjecturally restored.¹¹ Restored on the basis of the Pāli version.

34. [bhikkhu¹ sañ tuy m]a tau pḍay Mahāwihāra
kuim l[or i] kwom ku bhikkhu [sañ] tuy ma tau pḍa[y Abhaya-
giriwihāra]²
35. J[e]tawa[naw]i[h]ārawāsīnikā[ya ma] gah
nikāya [m]woy gah ktuiw dah tun i rau ga[h h]e(ñ)
36. [turaū kla]m² cñ[ām ñiña kui]m nda i bhi[kkhu
sañ] (pi dah)³ [t]au p[ḍay tko' Siṅghuīr gah]² Ma[h]āwihārawā[sī]
.
37. [nikāya³ l]er mwoy i [dah] ni[kāya]
. [nik]āya pi [g]ah⁴ i (m)
38. [ku]i[m nda i Mahāw]i[hāra]wā[s]i
. [ni]kāya bā (t)
39. [ma ha⁵ señ k]u [p]at[i]pa[t]
. ma cwin ba(puin)
40. m ku jala i [ma]
. sāsana [ma] (t)
41. [sm]iñ Sīrisaṅgha]bodhi-[P]arakka[mabāhu]⁶
.

¹ Restored.² Restored on the basis of the Pāli version.³ Restored.⁴ Looks like *wah*.⁵ The original looks like *ta*, which must be wrong.⁶ The parts in brackets are restored from the Pāli.

42. (ku)¹ [p]at[i]pat i pa[ṭipat]
43. ma [t]ḍik [l]ñeñ i [m]
44. (le) [l] dah] ma ha rau (gau)
45. [Mahākassapa]the² ma pa dra[tau]
.
- (Fragment c.)³
46. [Moggalip]u[t]ta[tissamahāthe]⁴
47. [k]u[im n]da i [yata]⁵ gam-[i
pāpa]bhikkhu ma dah adhammawādī gamluñ (ha)
48. (nikāya) ma dah nikāya [pi g]ah ler
ey spa nikāya mwoy tu[y] i yām yata gam-i ma [dah]
49. [h] kṣap tuy i pāpabhikkhu gamluñ
tuy ma dah adhammawād(i)⁶ gah i [pr]ām k[l]e' pa uit i yām
[ñah ma]
50. [ca]-ah [sās]anā [ra i] i [p]a⁷ tam nū [smi]ñ⁸
ga[h m]a ca-ah sās]anā kuim nda i [pḍ]ay [tka' Si]ṅghu[i]r ga[h
sāsana]ā tuy ma cap [t]

¹ Fairly certain, though the first letter is doubtful.² The first two syllables are restored.³ This fragment follows closely after the preceding piece. It is even possible that they overlap, to the extent that l. 46 may be a continuation of l. 45. But it is impossible to be sure of this because in this piece neither margin has been preserved. For the same reason the number of dots at the beginnings and ends of the lines could not be estimated, and the dots here given merely indicate that an indefinite amount is missing there.⁴ The parts in brackets are restored on the basis of the Pāli version.⁵ Or possibly *yati* originally, the stone being broken off just below the *t*. But see the next line.⁶ Or *āti*.⁷ Looks like *ma*, but that is probably accidental.⁸ Or *amñ*.

51. [c]uiw cuip [ku la]ma[h] ra " sāk gah het da[h] uiw da
ci " puiy spa [āyā]canā ku tila pui[y t]ipuin the(ra)
.
52. [sā]sanā nu' tka' Si[n]ghuir te' tuy " puiy skuiw cau
ptan sāsana pday [th]ān duñ pu[iy rman] wwo' (ra)² gah tuy tila
ñah Rāmādhī[pati]³

E

(Fragments *a* and *b*.)⁴

1. [sgo'] (ñāt na mat) " [sgo'] (pujau)
.⁵
2. [cetī] " Silāce[t]i " Kalyāñicetī " ta' gah [ler " tila
ey] ta' sgo[']
3. [sāk] ga[h] (" ja)wor kus[u]iw ma gluiñ sgo'
dah [t]au ku t[il]a pui[y ta']
4. (tila)⁶ puiy ta' ra " rau gah tila ñah pa āyācanā [k]u
tila puiy thera to[']
5. (wa) tuy ma pa kabut ma [s]-ā [d]u[n ket] rañ
upasa[m]pada ma cuin dah [t]au bija sā[s]anā
6. [S]iñgh[u]ir (mā) " upasam[p]ada tuy ma [tau]
pday santhān puiy [l]er " [ma] sak ku (āsankā)⁶

¹ Usually spelt *nū*, but there seems to be no second stroke.² Conceivably this might be a badly shaped single stop, but I think it is *ra*.³ The last two syllables are restored.⁴ About half a dozen lines appear to be lost between this and the preceding piece. Fragment *b* is to the right and begins at l. 1, fragment *a* begins at line 15, both continue to l. 27, which is almost illegible.⁵ The number of dots at the ends of ll. 1-26 is merely estimated.⁶ Conjecturally restored.

7. [ku] kwon gra[kū] tuy [ma nwo]m [pu]mi[k]
upasam[p]ada pday [j]areñ puiy [g]ah " p[uiy]
8. (kwa)n¹ wo' gah " [m]a sak ku āsañ[k]ā gah
[dah] tu[y " c]uiw cu[i]p [k]u ra[-it² kāla]
9. [p]u[i]y sgo' duñ [c]a kwe[t³ r]a " h[et] tuy
[m]a go' ā cu[ip t]ka[' Siñ]ghuir t[un]
10. [ky]āk [t]ray [m]a pa tañ ku Ratana[cet]i [t⁴ t]a
gah [l]er p[ui]y sgo' liñ[wor pujau ra " ph]ui⁵ [k]usu[iw]
11. m [t]au kwo[m k]u dhar rw[oñ] " [h]e[t] da[h]
u[i]w da [ci] " puiy [k]uiw wui[w] ku mahārāj sa[n ra " r]au gah
ti[la]
12. r[e]ñ ti[l]a [p]u[i]y thera hā cwo[h hā t]u[y] (he)ñ
" [t] s[w]a[k m]a s[p]u[jau dhā[t g]n[ih kyāk tr]ay ga[h t]do[n]⁶
13. [l]ā mwoy [m]a [cu]t [latū thū]pikā [td]o[n gah ler]
ñu[h] s[r]an klañ pan cwo[h " p]abeñ mwo[y sw]
14. (kh)i(duiw)⁷ nān [m]wo[y th]ar [p]i c[woh "]
s[n]i dh[āt m]w[oy th]ar pi cwoh [p]i [t] pān tha[r hā] klañ pi
daker " pk[au thar]
15. [ta] [l]er mwoy " [s]ā[i]
dh[āt pacer]⁸ [l]e[r m]woy " swa[k m]a pujau S[i]ripāda⁹ [r] bodhi
ga[m]luiñ ma pa [tañ k]u . . . (kh)

¹ Very doubtful.² Under the initial *a* (represented by the hyphen) there is a mark resembling a subscript *n*, is probably accidental.³ Looks rather like *kweh*.⁴ There seems to be no reason for a stop here.⁵ Error for *phuiw*.⁶ The Pāli seems to differ here.⁷ Very doubtful, and the second *i* looks like *i*.⁸ Perhaps *pajjher*.⁹ One or both of these *i*'s may be *i*.

16. [Ratanace]t[i] ta gah [l]e[r] [jam]n[ok m]as[u]n [c]w[oh] p[n]ān ma ha go' (c)u(t)¹ [th]ar ler masun cwoh i yāt l[wāk]² da[cā]mm (cwoh masun)³
17. pday tka' Siṅghui[r gah i yāt] (h t)au i [kambar b]aket mwo[y i k]ambar [s]āk thar mw[o]y i kambar a[prāk]k pi i taḃay (t)wo(r)
18. ksuim m[w]o[y] i pandi⁴ [t]wo[r] ks(u)iw (pi i) [t]aḃa[y twor sāy] k[l]e(p)⁵ lāy buiw ja[m]nok bā cwoh i paḃāk tmā' [p]an [paḃāk] (pañ)[gān]⁶ a[prāk turau]⁷
19. tuy heñ⁸ lik t[u]y m[a ptim [ti]la p[uiy ta'] ña[h Siṅghui]r [gamluin] rau wo' tila ñaḃ [pr]e[ñ] ra i [ti]la [ñah Rāmādhpati] bwoy [m]a r[e]h se san
20. datau pday tka' Siṅ[gh]uir i puḃasak[k]ā[r]a s[w]a[k m]a p[u]jau dh]āt gñih ma ey kui(w bak)⁹ wo' tu[n l]e[r i] k[u]iw go['] puḃau [dh]āt gñih heñ [ñi i] thera (bā cwoh bā ma ey kui)-⁹
21. [w] ā wo' tun [l]er kuiw [go'] ñāt dhāt gñih i kuiw go' [liñ]w[or dhāt] gñih kwom ñi i ra-īt ma go['] liñwor dhāt gñih tuy
22. ma pa datau [p]day Mahā[wih]āra tu[y i ma ruy] cah [k]e[t]¹⁰ i [m]a [s]a[k ku t]dik l]he[ñ] ga[h i p]a[y uda[k]u[kkhep]as(i)m¹¹ tuy ma [c]ireñ [le]r [p]day Kalyāṇigañ [tila]⁹
23. [puiy t]a' go' du[ñ] ke[t rañ] upasampada ñi i rau wo' til]a ñaḃ preñ li[k swak ma sku]iw ba[k ku s]aṇ [ta' g]amlu[i]ñ ra [i i] swak parañ [ma sku]iw bak ku smin] (ñuh)⁹
24. [s]ran bā [kl]aṇ [i lac]in mat [manik p]an [i ñuh] sran pan klaṇ p[i] cwoh i apān la[c]in [t]ur[au] ñuh [s]ran [tura]u klaṇ p[i] cwo[h] i [b]re[r kh]re tān [l]ak [s]ak [pan i] bre[r] a(pā)

¹ Very doubtful: the Pāli does not agree here.

² The *anusvāra* is doubtful and the final may be *t*.

³ Conjecturally restored.

⁴ Or *pandi*?

⁵ Conceivably *klem*.

⁶ Possibly *pagān* or *ma gān*.

⁷ The Pāli differs here.

⁸ Abbreviated *hñe*, the *ñ* being superscript over the *h*.

⁹ Conjecturally restored.

¹⁰ Looks like *tek*.

¹¹ Conceivably **stn*.

25. (t)¹ [m]w[oy i b]r[er sne]ñ tñ[e]k a[pr]āk bā i [b]rer la[m]cāk² lam-ek bā i b[r]er sneñ tne[k lam-]e[k mwoy i brer sāk thar mwoy]³ brer baket lam(-)e[k] ma
26. [y i] (m) . . [a] . [ā] (ka) . [r](i) [ap]rāk [mw]oy [i yāt a]prāk byau gamhih bā cwo[h] i [kaduiw dasok bā] (klaṇ) [h pre]ñ tu[y h]eñ i lik tanah thar [yā]
27.

 . [i] [au]⁴
- (Fragment c.)⁵
28. (puḃau)
⁶
29. [k]w[om k]u d[ik] (ey)
 (gah) [i kuiw]
30. [m] liñwor t[u]y (gah) [i p]d[ay Kalyāṇigañ] ma kyā[k tray] laḃ[o]h [jaku]
31. gah i smin Siṅghuir [kuiw r]u[y c]ah t[uy i p]day [jareñ tila pu]i[y sañ] ta[']
32. (ka)bu ñi i rau wo' ga[h t]u[y i [ti]la ña[h pre]ñ [li]k tanah [thar ma kuiw bak ku smin Siṅghuir]
33. [a]prāk bā c[w]oh bā i kle]p lā[y bui]w [sak]u[i]p bā c[w]o[h bā i] (p)[ret'] gam]h[ih pan c]w[oh pan]

¹ Or *k*.

² Looks like *lapcāk*, which would be impossible.

³ There should be a stop here, but none is visible and there is no room for one.

⁴ Only the tops of a few of the letters in this line are decipherable.

⁵ This fragment follows on pretty closely after the preceding piece.

⁶ Both margins being lost, and there being no other certain indications as to the exact position of this fragment, it is not possible to estimate how much is missing at the beginnings and ends of lines, respectively. Accordingly the number of dots in those positions is quite indefinite, and they have been put in merely to mark that something is missing, not to indicate its amount.

⁷ Conceivably *met*.

34. [kuiw] dān tuy h[e]ñ : uit ti[la] pui[y] therā ḥā
c]wo[h ḥā] : [kwom] ku [t]waḥ [ḥā] cwo[h ḥā] wo' [tun]
35. [ma skuiw] [ku s]aṇ [ñāḥ S]i[ñgh]uir [g]a[m]luiñ :
[parañ] ma kuiw bak [ku smin S]i[ñgh]ui[r] : [l]i[k tan]aḥ [th]ar ma
kuiw bak [ku s]m[in S]iñghuir]
36. [kanwor bay]u[i]w (da)¹ dah mā : het tu[y m]a ti[la t]a'
skuiw blaḥ nū ta[do]k : [het] ma skuiw [g]o' paccay pan [gah] . .
.
37. [cah mwoy ma pa t]aṇ [ku Mo]gga[l]āna[th]e [ga]h :
kwom ku twaḥ cah mwoy gah : [p]reñ kuiw ḍok kḥaṇ Rā[ma]d[u]-
[tān]
38. (dā) [kḥaṇ] C[itr]ad[utā]n ma ḍok ra : r[au g]ah tila ta'
ḍok kḥaṇ tuy heñ : kḥaṇ Rāmadutān [g]ah : sakkarāt [837] . . .
.
39. (māk)² cah [ḥā] c[r]awe[k] tñay can gah ma t(i)t³ nū pāñ
Yon : kitu phallaguin 8 crawek tñay sok gah [h]e[ñ]
40. [phallag]uin [gah h]eñ : [s]mi[ñ] Sīngh[ui]r [kuiw] cu[i]h
wāñ ḍuñ taluñ tila puiy sañ ta' tuy : lik tanah [th]ar tila ṇāḥ
R[ā]mādhpati]
41. [n sablu kwom] ku caḍān ku t[i]la puiy ta' ra : (pa pati)-
santhā[ra] ku tila puiy ta' [t]uy [heñ damāñ] da[t]au
42. (a)[tui]ñ [li]k swak tila puiy sa[n to]' ṇāḥ Sīnghuir tuy
t[i]la ṇāḥ ma [k]uiw ba[k] ga[h ler Citradutān]
43. [at]uin ga[n]ap cuit [t]ila ciñ batāñ ma dah cuit heñ [p]ui[y]
spa [b]a[k r]a gah tuy [kui]w paññān⁴

¹ Conceivably *ra*, or possibly we should run *da* on with *dah*; but though *dadah* is the L.M. form the M.M. forms (in this inscription also) are *tradah* and *tadah*. Cf. A 23, etc., C 21, etc.

² Restored in accordance with the Pāli text.

³ Perhaps *tīt*, but probably the extra mark is not original.

⁴ The next word is probably *tuy*.

44. [tila] sañ [ta'] ma [c]uip tlā gah [pti]m sm(i)ñ¹ [S]i[ñ]-
ghuir t]uai² ket kar(i)³ ma tim tarau ma (s)-ā⁴ [b]acu[i]p ḍuñ
Anur[ādhapū]
45. [cetī] : Mari[cawa]t[ti]c[e]t[i]⁵ : Dakkhinasākhā : Lohaprāsāt :
ta' gah ra : k[b]aṇ Rāmadutān tuy [ma]
46. [Walligām⁶ gah] (tun) ler t[i]ā kḥaṇ [ha' c]uip gah a[māt
Go]ru[c]i⁷ (dah pun ku) smin⁸ Sīnghui[r t]uy
47. [Sīnghuir]
. (sapu)[n] sala[n p]nān da[m]la sā[k]
48. [durā]sā[t] da[h] . . . [i]

(Fragment d.)¹⁰

49. [n] (i)¹¹ [dacām c]rawek]
.
.
.
.¹²
50. y tila ṇāḥ Rāmādh[pati] ma k]u[iw bak] : Rāmad[u]tān ma n-ā ga(h)
. (smin)¹³
.
.

¹ Or possibly *smin*.

² This L.M. spelling is exceptional here.

³ Or *kari*.

⁴ The reading looks like *ā*, but this may be an error for *s-ā*, or the letter may have received subsequent damage.

⁵ The Pāli MS. has **ei** for **ea**, but the actual inscription has lost this part of the text.

⁶ All but the last two letters are restored from the Pāli.

⁷ Almost certainly not *ta*, though it looks rather like it.

⁸ The Pāli MS. has *Garavi*, but the inscription has lost this part of the text.

⁹ Or *smin*.

¹⁰ This fragment follows on pretty closely after the preceding piece.

¹¹ Perhaps instead of *n* : we should read *nā*.

¹² The number of dots has been estimated.

¹³ The *m* is the only certain letter.

51. [ta' t]uy + [k]uiw preñ [kuiw d]amāñ datau piṇḍapāt ku tila puiy ta' ra + ku Rāma[du]tān [l]er + (preñ)¹ [w]
(ku sañ ñaḥ Siṅghuir) [ler] (Rāmadutān) [n]-(ā ku sañ) [ñāḥ]
52. [Siṅghu]ir [gamlu]i[n ra +] + [atuin m]a dah ganap tila c[i]ñ bat[ān heñ pui]y spa ba[k] ta gah [t]u[y tila s]aṇ [ta' kuiw patiñān]
. [tila puiy sañ ta'] [ma cui]p tlā to' + ma ā Anūrādhapū gah + cuip tluñ tuy + uit [t]ila [sañ ta' ma]
53. [tlu]ñ [k]bañ bā co' w[o'] + cuip [kwo]m [m]woy [h]ā[n uit] ra [c]i + puiy [g]ap gor [staḥaḥ dhāt gñih ra gah tuy + tñey aduit mwo]² craw[e]k dutiy³ asāt⁴ gah h]eñ + pok dhāt gñih tuy + taḥaḥ ti[l]a puiy [sañ] ta' bā co'
54. [k]w[om ku] Rāmadutān + C[itr]adutān [ra + tila puiy ta'] go['] liñwor [g]o['] yuiw [dhāt] gñih tuy he[n + tui]ñ lik [gakan tila ñaḥ Rāmādhpati ma gakan n-ā]⁵ gah + smiñ Siṅghuir bah sanā [t]u[y + dhāt gñi[h] cut lar pḍay sñ[i] dhā-
55. [t] thar [tila ñaḥ ma kuiw n-ā]⁶ tuy [+ cro]k (p)dor⁷ tdon ba[tān + p]abeñ thar + (p)a[d]āk⁸ + (c)wi [sablū thar] da[but] lar ga[t]a [dh]ā[t gñih] tuy + [taḥaḥ] kui[w] ti[la puiy bā co' thera b]ā [cwoh]⁹ b]ā kwom ku [R]āmadutān Citradutān laña(h)¹⁰ ra + [gata]
56. n(ū ga)h + atuin ga[ka]n [lik tila ñaḥ Rāmādhpati [ma d]aḥ [cu]i[t g]aḥ [h]eñ [+ puiy spa] ba[k] gah [tuy + smi]ñ Siṅghuir [p]-o[r amāt ñaḥ S]iñ[gh]uir [t]a' tuy [pḍ]ay + Kalyāṇigañ pḍay [th]ān cñih¹¹ kyāk tray ma la[b]o[h] jaku gah [h]eñ + [k]ui[w]
57. [dak ph]ā[n +] kanam prasāt [gañi galau lar ra] + [p]-or tila [puiy Wi]dā[gamathe] (tuy ra) [bhikkhu] (sañ ta' ma) [c-aḥ] (ma) [cāk cḍaḥ ā] (nū ayām māt) + [gar]ahā [pa]rū[pawāda tuy + ma] ti[u]ñ tau no¹² tñor sañ ma pa datau p[d]ay Ma[h]āw[i]hā[ra gah] ru[y ca]-

¹ Only *r* and *e* are certain.² Error for *mwoy*.³ There seems to be a *virāma*. If it is an accidental mark, read *dutiya*, which would be more normal.⁴ The actual reading appears to be *asāk*, which must be an error.⁵ Looks rather like *nwā*.⁶ Or *nā*?⁷ Possibly *bāor*.⁸ Possibly *badāk*.⁹ Perhaps *coh*.¹⁰ Or *lañat*? But cf. D 15, F 45, 49, 52.¹¹ Possibly, but improbably, *cñih*.¹² There may possibly be an *r* superscript over the following letter, making *ner*. But this is an E.M. spelling. Either way, the spelling here is unusual for this inscription.

58. [h] (g)o'¹ (bhikkhu) [sañ bā cwoh pan] (i)
[n ku tila puiy Saddhammakittimahāthe]² (i Wanaratanamahāthe + Pañca)[pariweṇawāsi]maṅgalamahā[the + Siha]rā[jayuwārājāca]riya-
[the]³ ta' gah ra + rau gah ciren [phān t]wān tu[y ruy]
59. [cah] (bhikkhu sañ) (i) [cah mwoy crawek] (kitu)⁴ [āsāt]⁵ tñay bu[ddhawa]
[tuy] + ku[i]w n[i]man [phyu]i[h s]aṇ [Siñ]gh[u]ir [bā cwoh pan ma skuiw] u[pasa]mpada⁶ gah + [p-o]r k[ui]w ku[iw] upasa[mpada] (ku)

F

(Fragments *a* and *b*).⁷

1. [mwoy mwoy]⁸
2. [gaḥ] ku [tila puiy ta' gamluin + tila ey ta'] (sañ) [gamluin gah]
3. [uim + dān tuy ma gaḥ] yamu (ra)⁹ [ey]¹⁰ (khā) [tila ey ta' ma]
4. [ey dīk mi]k kuiw d[ān] ku tila ey (to') [smiñ Siṅghuir k]uiw [yamu]
5. (yamu ma gaḥ Sīrisaṅghabodhisāmi gah)¹¹ [kuiw ku] tila [pui]y [M]oggallānath[e] + yamu ma [gaḥ Kittisīrimegha]sā[mi] gah kuiw ku ti[la] (puiy Kumārakassapathe)¹¹

¹ Conceivably *wo*.² The Pāli apparently has *Dhamma*.³ This (not *Sihaṭayā*) as in the English version of the Pāli is certainly right.⁴ Very doubtful. It might be *dutiya*, possibly.⁵ Or *asāt*?⁶ Perhaps *upasaṃmpada*.⁷ About ten lines appear to be lost between this and the preceding piece. Fragment *b* is to the right and begins at l. 12, continuing to the end of this piece; fragment *a* goes down to l. 21.⁸ The number of dots at the beginnings and ends of lines is merely estimated.⁹ Or perhaps *i*.¹⁰ The first of the illegible words may be *ket*.¹¹ The parts in parentheses at the beginnings of ll. 5-13 and ends of ll. 5-11 have been restored by means of the Pāli version.

6. (yamu ma gah Parakkamabāhusāmi gah kuiw ku tila puiy) [Ñ]āpasā-
[gara]the « ya[mu ma gah] B[uddhaghosāsāmi gah kuiw ku
Buddhawānsathe « yamu ma gah S]i[haḷadīpa](wisuddhasāmi gah
kuiw)
7. (ku Nandathe « yamu ma gah Guṇaratanadharasāmi gah kuiw ku)
[Rā]hu[lathe « yamu ma gah Jināla]ñkārasā[mi gah kuiw ku
Sumaṅgalathe « yamu ma gah Ratana]mālis[āmi gah] (kuiw ku)
8. (Dhammarakkhitathe « yamu ma gah Saddhammatejasāmi gah kuiw
ku Cūla)[sumaṅgalathe « yamu ma gah Dhamm]ārā[masāmi gah
kuiw ku Kassapathe « yamu ma gah Bhūwanekabāhusāmi] (gah
kuiw ku)
9. (Maṇisārathe «) [kḥaṇ
Rāmadut]ā[n tuy heṇ « kuiw yamu thera cah mwoy] (ma ḍok)
[kḥaṇ Citradutān tun « yamu ma gah] (Tilokagurusāmi gah)
10. (kuiw ku Mahāsiwalithe « yamu ma gah Sīri)[wanaratanasāmi gah
kuiw ku Sāriputtathe « yamu ma gah Maṅgalasāmi¹ gah kuiw ku
Sumanathe « yamu ma] gah Kalyāṇ[ītissa](sāmi gah kuiw)
11. (ku Cūlakassapathe « yamu ma gah Candanagirisāmi gah) [kuiw ku
Cūlanandathe « yamu ma gah Sīridantadhātusāmi gah kuiw ku
Soṇutta]ra[the « yamu ma gah Wanawāsītissa² gah kuiw ku]
(Guṇasāgarathe « yamu)
12. (ma gah Ratanālañkārasāmi gah kuiw) [ku Jawanapaññāthe « yamu
ma gah Mahādewasāmi gah kuiw ku Cūlasīwalithe³ « yamu ma
gah] Udu[mb]aragirisāmi gah kuiw [ku Dh]ammarāja[kathe⁴ «
yamu]
13. (ma gah Cūlābhayatissasāmi gah kuiw) [ku Candanasārathe «] (sāk)
[gah smiṇ Singhuir galān]⁵ (ptim ku)⁶ [tila puiy] (tuy heṇ «)⁷
[tila puiy thera cah mwoy « kwom ku Rāmadutān] . .

¹ The Pāli appears to have *Maṅgalatherasāmi*.² The Pāli appears to have *Wanawāsītissasāmi*.³ The Pāli appears to have *Cūlasīvalithera* on the stone.⁴ The Pāli appears to have *Dhammarājathera* on the stone.⁵ Conceivably *galān*.⁶ Very doubtful.

14. (tila)¹ [puiy] th[era cah
mwoy ma ḍok kḥaṇ Citradutān]² [liṇwor Sīripāda
ma tau pḍay kḍip tmo' Samantakūṭa³ tuy «] (cau) . (l)
[ḍuṇ Jayawaddha]-
15. (nanaguir)⁴ (« ma) [cui]h tluṇ
[cni]h Walligām]
. [cau tluṇ] [ḥā cawek] (kitu
gah)
16. [gah tila
ñāḥ Rāmādhīpati ḍuṇ ket paruiṇ tila] (puiy thera) [cah mwoy]
(ma) [ḍok kḥaṇ Rāmadutān]
17. [ey ma
p-or gah tuy «] tila pui[y ta' « ā cuip tka' Singhuir] (tuy)
.
18. (t) . . .
[wān ḍuṇ taluṇ tila puiy ta' mā « ha gap gor « jaku ey]
.
19. [pujau ceti
dhāt sok]⁵ kyāk tra[y gamyoṇ tuy] (« khā) [ey]
20. [ma cuih
cuip] ḍuṇ [Dguṇ gah « tila puiy thera cah mwoy ler pḍay] (ḍuṇ
Dguṇ kuiw ā dmān) . . . (klā)
21. [ñ tu]y
« [phyu]h [tila puiy ta' nū] (kḥaṇ) [kḥaṇ]

¹ Conjecturally restored.² The original may have *trī for *tra by a mistake of the engraver's.³ Perhaps *ku.⁴ Conjecturally restored.⁵ Conceivably *ta ma*.⁶ Perhaps *swok*.

22. (tila) [ey] (ta')

23. [kwom
 ku] (tamāy) [ey skuiw] (naā)

24.
 (tuy + kyā tam)[rāt ktuiw tuy]

25.
 (cau)
¹
- (Fragment c.)²
26. (cuip)
³
27. (cruñ)⁴

28. (smiñ)⁵ [Singhuir] (ma) [kuiw] (tluñ gah ra
 u)⁶ [kalēn cau ā tko'] (Singhuir)

29. (wihār gah)
 (go' ñāt)

¹ Only the tops of a few letters are visible.² This fragment seems to follow on pretty closely after the last piece, but is in such an exceedingly bad state of preservation that very little of it can be made out.³ The number of dots at the beginnings and ends of lines is quite indefinite: the amount that is missing could not be determined.⁴ Very doubtful, except the *cr*.⁵ Conjecturally restored.⁶ Very doubtful.

30. (pdok)
 ... [dhāt gñih kyāk tray]

31. (smiñ) (rmiñ paruiñ tuy u)¹
 [kuiw tluñ]

32.

33. (kuiw
 ku tila puīy)

34. (cñih
 Nāwuta)² ... (tila puīy)

35. [kitu basāk] (pan) [bramāk]

36. [tila
 puīy]

37. [tila puīy]
 [kitu jih mwōy bramok tñay]

38. [kitu jih pan bramāk
 tñay sok] (gah)

39.

40. [kwom ku]

¹ All the preceding words are very doubtful.² Very doubtful.

41. (tila puiy Maṅgalathe mwoy tun gah)¹ . .

 42.

 43.

(Fragment d.)²

44.

 (tuy : tila ñaḥ Rāmādhīpati cuip) .
 . . . (Dguñ)

 45.
 [kḥaṇ] kwom [ku Rāma]dutān tu[y]
 : ma cau tluñ nū Singhuir (m)a³ tau pḍay thān Dguñ gah : kuiw
 dā[n] han piṇḍapāt laṇa[h ra :] (yāt)⁴ [tičīwa]-
 46. (ra) [sanā] (bāp) [bā bā]
 (ku) [tila puiy ta' : pa] patisan[th]āra tuy : kuiw [p]and(ā)n
 [tar]au n-ā [th]ān dmāñ tila [p]uiy ta' ra : khā [g]ah ti[l]a ñaḥ
 [kuiw pa sabh]aṇ [c]a(nak) [pi] tñā[y] (tuy : tñay) [sī bapeñ ki]-
 47. [tu] (asut tñay)⁵ [br]a(u)b(bh)ati gah he[n] : (tuñ pa pujau gaṇḍiñ)⁶
 [tañ joñ ceti dh]āt sw[ok kyāk tray ra :] : tñay sok mwoy
 c[r]awek [gah : ti]la ñaḥ [kuiw baca sañ Dg[uiñ gam]luiñ ra : :
 [ku t] [tila ñaḥ]
 48. (preñ tuy : kuiw) [kuiw] dān ra : [: tñay aduit pi crawek gah] :
 (bwoy) [ma rui]h [s]e [r]au [g]au (heñ :⁷ dluñ) ca[h] mwo[y] dluñ
 ga[h] tila [ñ]aḥ [k]uiw [pr]eñ ph[y]er : swa[k] ma sapḍok tila
 p[ui]y thera cah mw[oy ra : :] (tñay) [can] (yaḥ lañū gah)

¹ Very doubtful.

² Or pa.

³ The stop is doubtful and the preceding word might be *keñ*.

⁴ This fragment follows pretty closely after the preceding.

⁵ Very doubtful.

⁶ Conjecturally restored.

49. [h]eñ [t]i[la ñaḥ tuñ tluñ] ra : [: tila puiy] ta' tuy [ma tuñ tluñ khā]
 ma cu[ip] c[n]ih¹ [Mahābu]ddharu[p] gah : tila [pui]y ta' d[u]i'
 d[māñ] laṇah t[uy] : t[il]a ñaḥ Rāmādh[i]pati gah : t[ñ]a[y] s[ok]
 dacām crawek kitu asut]
 50. [g]ah : [cuip sñi damāñ] tila ñaḥ pḍa[y Pugo ra :] : [ti]la ñaḥ
 cui[p Pugo tu]y ca[h c]ra[w]ek tñā[y] ad[u]i[t gah] h[en] : kui]w
 preñ phyer [dluñ] kanḍo' [bwoy] ma daḥ raḥ san kwo[m] ku twiñ
 [twuik ma gluiñ] (i)² [p-or smiñ tila gamluiñ] (tu)-³
 51. (y : kuiw) [cuih] (wāñ) . . (n)⁴ [tila p]ui[y t]a' ra : [t]ila puiy ta'
 cui[p] sñ[i ti]la ñaḥ tuy he[n] : khā ga[h] tila [p]u[iy ta'] (ptit)⁵
 ra(n) [c]an[dan] tuy [ma] (tuit buiñ)⁶ [dh]āt gñih kyāk tray
 [k]ui[m l]ar : t[n]ā[ñ jray bodhi : sla jray bodhi : ma jra]-
 52. [y bodhi ma gap] go[r stuiw kuim lar : tila puiy] ta' juin [kuiw ku
 tila ñaḥ laṇah ra : : sla pa[t k]at[iwat] tu[y ma huim akruim] smiñ
 Sīrisaṅgha[bodhi] Para[k]kamabāhu ma caaḥ s[āsanā] : sm[i]ñ
 Wi[jaya]bāhu ma caaḥ sāsānā : smiñ Parakkamabāhu
 53. [ma ca]aḥ [sāsānā] (i ma) [ñāḥ] (kanam) lar [na wohā ñ]aḥ [Siñ-
 ghuir] (ma) [tila puiy] (ta') [ñāḥ Singhuir kui]w ba[k] ga[h] l[er :]
 ti[l]a pu[iy ta'] k]uiw ku [t]i[l]a ñaḥ ra : : l]ik [pat]
 : cuin [dah] (suim gakan)⁷ [tila puiy sañ Siñ]-
 54. [ñghuir] (gam)(uiñ) [: kwom ku smiñ S]iñ[ghu]i[r ma h]i[mu]
 Bhūwanekabāhu gah ler : ti[la pu]iy [ta'] [ku]i]w ku tila ñaḥ ra :
 rau gah tila] (ñāḥ kwom) [ku ti]la puiy [ta'] (pa) [patisanthāra
 tuy heñ] (i) [tila puiy thera ca]-
 55. [h mwoy ku]i[m] ta[n]ah tanah h[e]ñ p-or smiñ tala gamluiñ tu[y :]
 na jnor na pha[m k]i[o'] [t]w[i]ñ t[wui]k⁸ ma glui[n g]ah : ti[la ñaḥ]
 [t]ila puiy [t]a' t[uy :]
 t]ila ñaḥ (ma kuiw)⁹

¹ Possibly *cuih*.

² Possibly *u* or *ra* i.

³ Very doubtful. There seems to be a *s* put at the end of the line to fill in a small spare space.

⁴ Very doubtful, perhaps *ptuin* or *btuin*, but the initial looks rather like *e*.

⁵ Doubtful reading.

⁶ Final *t* and *n* are doubtful. Perhaps we should read *buiñ*: see the translation and notes.

⁷ Looks like *eyen*.

⁸ Or possibly *twik*.

⁹ Here follows the version from the manuscripts mentioned in § 71.

MANUSCRIPT COPY OF TEXT EXTRACTED FROM THE *SLA PAT WAN SIM*.

« khā gah tala ṇaḥ Rāmādhīpati khyap kasap rau wwa' ra » upasampada ma s-aḥ gah tila puiai
thera cah mwai gwa' duḥ raḥ ra » pḍai thān puiai wwa' gah simmā ma s-aḥ ha dah uiw da ci «
pa ṇāḥ tila puiai saḥ ta' wwa' ma sgo' pa¹ uposatha pawārapakam² ma pa tam³ upasampadakaḥ
ro⁴ » puiai glāai dnāai mwai gāmakhet ma smaḥ mwai mān » pandhusim⁵ mwai ma s-aḥ puiai
sakuiw⁶ tila ta' wwa' ma⁷ smit tuai » tila puiai ta' wwa' ma sgo' uposatha pawārapakam ma pa
tam upasampadakaḥ roḥ » rau wwa' gah tila ṇaḥ khyap tuai heḥ » pḍai juiḥ gniḥ ā glāai
gāmakhet mwai ma dadak tau amat mwai ma himu Narasamsura⁸ gah » dadah ma smān
smuk mwai gah tim ket tuai » pḍai thān ma ṇan tau ku klā' sat amat Narasamsura¹⁰ gah tila ṇaḥ
kuiw taḥ ṇaḥ¹¹ taḥ jaḥ jaḥ¹² tuai kuiw¹³ khaṇham rup samit sim ra » yam twuiw gāmakhet gah
» cha ma dah amat Narasamsura¹⁰ gah huit ha mik kuiw dah samkara kom ku gāmakhet da s-aḥ
ma tau wut duh deh gah » khā karoh a pha-uit tuai » ruih chu ruih dun ma tau bwai smaw » ma
slep pa kuiw samkara gah le ṇaḥ taḥ jaḥ jaḥ¹⁴ kle' tuai » knāḥ chu knāḥ dun ma tau bwai latū
ma slep pa kuiw samkara gah le kuiw kut dan jaḥ jaḥ¹⁵ kle' pha-uit heḥ ra » pḍai thān tuai ma
khaṇham rup ma smit sim gah tun lew » pḍai ruih kuiw law » pḍai thān maḥaḥ ruih ma thuih dah
pḍai tma' nimit kuiw law » maḥaḥ tma' nimit kuiw law » kuw ṇaḥ taḥ jaḥ jaḥ¹⁶ kle' caruih dāk
karoh » law ja lagow ra » maḥaḥ h gah thān buḥ duh⁴ duh tuai » pkuim law taroh ra » paluit
thān samit sim gah tun lew » wihara tila puiai the cah mwai ma sgo' kluḥ dnāai kuiw law »
bhattachala kuiw law » waccakut¹⁷ kuiw law » thān ma buḥ dāk kuiw law » kanham law tuai heḥ »
niman¹⁸ weḥ duḥ taleḥ phyeḥ the¹⁹ cah mwai kuiw dnāai pḍai thān gah ra » pḍai khaṇham gah rau
wwa' tila ṇaḥ khyap tun » uit tila puiai cah mwai kom ku cah mwai¹⁰ kwah cah mwai wwa' gah
kuiw duḥ kuiw duḥ¹¹ raḥ upasampada s-aḥ gah ra » tuai puiai ma sp¹⁷ sim lamui¹⁸ tun » jaḥ law
huit smik dah ruih sānā » bwai duh anag » puiai smik s-aḥ jaḥ¹⁹ sun¹¹ » upasampada ma s-aḥ heḥ
kuiw dah kuiw ra » ayam mat garaha parupawāda²⁰ yaw ra smom²¹ ma » saḥ ma phah sāk gah mā
» puiai ha mik kuiw lup pḍai kam wwa' swa' » cha saḥ ma ha mwai kuiw garaha barupawāda caah
heḥ puiai mik kuiw lop kam swa' » rau gah khyap tuai heḥ cam bat mwai ra » kha ma cam bat
mwai gah pnaw thera cah mwai gah » pḍai thera mwai gah duh an ma jnok klāḥ ha mwai » nū
ma lon tuai klā ha duḥ upasampada gah » garaha ṇaḥ parupawāda ṇaḥ ma cuin dah mdu²² gah
tadah mnum kuiw law » puiai²³ tila puiai samat tun lew duh chanda s-aḥ gah ha mwai ra » ayam
mat garaha parupawāda ṇaḥ tadah mnum kuiw law » tim wat tuai tila puiai thera mwai mnum
kuiw gahara²⁴ gah kuiw law » twah tila gah mwai kuiw law » tila puiai smat s-aḥ⁴ ma nwaḥ kuiw
garaha kuiw law » saḥ tarau wwa' weḥ kle' tuai » thera le cah » tila puiai smat ma dah twah tila
thera gah lew trau » cha saḥ¹⁶ wwa' gah upasampada lew s-aḥ garaha parupawāda ṇaḥ ha mwai
ra » rau²⁵ ṇaḥ Rāmādhīpati phyeḥ law sannithān ra » akhā ma ṇan ku kālā ma samit
sim tun gah tila puiai Guparakkharathera²⁶ mwai gah yai ā gah tuai » tila puiai kom ku twah
tila puiai Sathapāla²⁷ gah cau dnāai wihā tila puiai tareḥ ra » tala puiai Sirisaḥghabhodhisāmi mwai
» Kittisimeghasāmi mwai » Parakkamabāhusāmi mwai » Buddhaghāsasāmi²⁸ mwai » Jinālaḥkārasāmi²⁹
mwai » Thenamālīsāmi³⁰ mwai » Saddhammathejasāmi³¹ mwai » Saddhammarānasāmi³² mwai » Cāwa-
negābāhusāmi³³ mwai » tila puiai jamnok le 9 » twah tila puiai Sirisaḥghabhodhisāmi mwai » tila
puiai Saḥgharakkhita twah tila puiai Kittisimeghasāmi gah » tila puiai Dhammawilāsa twah Bud-
dhaghosāsāmi gah » tila puiai Utrara » twah Jinālaḥkārasāmi³⁴ » tila puiai Uttama » twah Saddhamma-
tejasāmi gah tila puiai Dhammasāra tila puiai ṇaḥ¹⁴ wwa' heḥ » mnum tau pḍai thān wihā ma croḥ

¹ A omits.⁴ A roḥ.⁷ B san.¹⁰ For Narasura.¹³ A waccakutthi.¹⁶ The two preceding words must be due to a copyist's error.¹⁸ B lamui.²¹ B nwaḥ.²⁴ Error for garaha.²⁸ B Ratapāla.³² For teja.² A pāwā.⁵ B bandhusim, for baddhasim.⁸ B omits.¹¹ B omits taḥ ṇaḥ.¹⁴ B nimanta.¹⁷ Error for san.²⁰ For lamui.²³ A rā.²⁶ B tla.²⁹ Orig. has yosa.³³ For Saddhammāra.³ A ptam.⁶ B skuiw.⁹ B omits.¹² A has kuiw.¹⁵ A omits.¹⁹ B sapa.²² A barupa.²⁵ For pḍai.²⁷ For Gunayatanadharathera.³⁰ B vatthaharathe.³¹ Orig. has samit.³⁴ For Ratanaṇālī.³⁵ For Bhūwanakabāhu.³⁶ For Jinālaḥkāra.

G

1. (ksap)¹
2. (m ma) nwo[m] (gah ra) [ti]m mā » (sim)
3. (ti)m mā » sim [t]arem [g]ah ler lapok ha [tui]n » s[im t]ami (ler)
4. » sim [t]am[i le]r
gap gor sda[k] ha ti[m m]ā » [l]ap[o]k le[r] ha gap [gor
s]la(pok » sim) [tami] ler (ha ga)-
5. (p gor sdak)² (mi)k dak sim tami gah » tadah sim
tareḥ ma nwom gah ra [ha] tim mā » ma la[pok sim tareḥ] . . .
. ṇān ma lapo-

¹ Nearly thirty lines appear to be lost between this and the last piece. See the manuscript version.² Conjecturally restored.

law paluit thān ma samit sim gah ra » acā¹ ma skuiw samit gah » rau wwa' tala ṇaḥ Rāmādhīpati
khyap ra » yrau pḍai thān mwai gah smik samit sim tami ra » pḍai thān gah sim tareḥ ra ha mwai
mā » sim tami ṇaḥ smit gah ma dah ra » pḍai thān gah sim tareḥ ra nwaḥ mā » ajjhatarapadosa²
sambhedadosa kluḥ cuip ra dah uiw da ci » sim tmi ma samhit gah mā » ma ha dah saḥ ra » rau
gah heḥ dah³ uiw da ci » pḍai thān ma smik smit tami gah » pwa ma laphok gap gaw spa klā
tuai » sim tami ma smit gah ma sdah roḥ swa' rau wwa' khyap tuai heḥ » rau wwa' tila ṇaḥ Rāmā-
dhīpati (G 1) khyap tun » sabhau pawa ma laphok sim ma gah wwa' tun lew sjuḥ spa san » dnāai
khaḍḍasim⁴ tareḥ mnum dnāai mahāsim tare(2)m ma nwaḥ⁵ gah ra tim mā » sim tareḥ gah ra
tim mā sim tareḥ gah ma lapuik tuin ra » sim tami ma sdak gah lew sdak⁶ gwa' ra » dnāai
khaḍḍasim tareḥ » mnum dnāai mahāsim tareḥ mnum gah ra ha (3) tim mā sim tareḥ gah lapuik
ha tuin » sim tami lew sdak⁶ ha gwa' dnāai khaḍḍasim tareḥ » dnāai mahāsim tareḥ ra tim mā »
lapuik lew gap gaw lapuik (4) » sim tami lew gap gaw sdak » ha tim mā lapuik lew ha gap gaw
lapuik » sim tami lew ha ga(5)p gaw sdak rau wwa' gah law pḍai atthakathā gah ci » pḍai thān ma

¹ For akhā.² In the Pāli *ajjhatarapadosa*.⁴ Orig. has *maḍḍasim*.⁵ A mnum. B adds yaw after gah.⁶ B sdah.³ A omits dah and B adds tau to it.

6. [k] uiw [h]eñ « pda[y W]ima[tiwi]-
nodanī tu[n gah «] rau [w]o' gah tun « [t]ada[h kh]aṇḍasim
[t]are[m ma nwo]m [trawuir khaṇḍasi]m tarem « [n]
7. ñ kui[w] da[h] kuim « yām [p]ay
parikkhepa wihārasim ga[h] kui[m] lar « ma[n]aḥ pa[ri]kkhepa [wi]-
hā[ras]im [y]ām[m [thān] mwa[y] sa[bu]it
8. (ñ) gah « tipuin masun tu[r]au [kwo]m
ku ka[m]ma[wāt] sgo' da[t]au by[i] ā [tu]y s[go' lapo]k¹ mā «
[p]day thān ma d]atau [g]ah ra²
9. m tun nā³ « [p]day⁴ ta[ngū arā] (m)a⁵
lap[o]k⁶ sim wo' ga[h] « ma go'] datau [l]atū [th]ā[n sim tar]e[m⁷
g]ah kuim lar ma da(-)
10. (h) sim [tare]m ma nw[o]m « trawuiw
kha[n]da[sim] tarem « [t]rawuiw mahāsīm tar[em gah mā « ha señ
ku aṅga so'] « rau [gah]

¹ There is a space here, probably due to an original flaw.

² The *ra* seems to be written twice, but the first one may have been written over an original flaw and imperfectly erased.

³ Conceivably *nā*, but the traces of what might perhaps be a subscript *a* (represented by the hyphen) are very slight. ⁴ Between *p* and *y* there is an original flaw. ⁵ Or *pa*?

⁶ There are two original flaws here: one just before the *p* and the other between *o* and *k*.

⁷ Between *e* and *r* there is a blurred space probably due to an original flaw.

mik dak sim¹ tami gah « dadah sim tareñ mnuñ gah ra ha tim mā « ma lapuik sim tareñ lew fiāñ
ma lapui(6)k ha gwa' kuim « sim tami ma sdak gah lew fiāñ sdak ma ha gwa' kuim « sim tami
ma sdak gah lew fiāñ sdak ma ha gwa' kuim « dah uiw heñ pḍai wipattiwinodhanī² tun i gata³ rau
wwa' gah tun i dadah khaṇḍasim tareñ⁴ dadah mahāsīm tareñ mnuñ tawuiw i mahāsīm tareñ
« khā ma ha tim he(7)ñ kuiw dah kuim « yām pḍai parikkhepa wihārasim⁵ gah kuim law « māaḥ
parikkhepa wihārasim⁶ « yām thān mwai dabuit gah kuim law « tamā tamā bnat jāñ gah kanhañ
pha-uit tuai i jmāp jmāp kanha(8)ñ⁷ gah tila puin 5 tarau koñ ku kammawāt sgo' datau byi ā
tuai « sgo' lapuik mhā « pḍai thān ma datau gah yaw ra sim tareñ nwañ mā « sim tareñ gah ma
lapuik ha tuin mgaḥ gah snu(9)ñ tan hā « pḍai tawā arā ma lapuik sim wwa' gah « gwa' datau
latū thān sim tareñ gah kuim law « ma dah aṅga roñ ci « pawa ma tim dadah khaṇḍasim tareñ
mnuñ « mahā(10)ñ sim tareñ mnuñ tawuiw khaṇḍasim tareñ « tawuiw mahāsīm tareñ gah

¹ B omits *sim*. A omits *dak sim*.

² Error for *gah*, which should precede the stop.

³ Here we should insert *mnuñ tawuiw khaṇḍasim tareñ*.

⁴ Orig. has *wahāra*. ⁵ A inserts *gah klā « parikkhepaḍipārasim*.

⁷ B *tan*.

11. [t]t[i] heñ [d]ah tau « rau ga[h h]et
gah [l]ar pda[y] Wimatiw[i]noda[n]i dah ui[w da] c[i i] p[d]ay
ma sa[s]am[mut sim tami lamah gah go' kanan]¹
12. [m ra y]ar [sno]m tun mā « ma lapo[k]
ha tuin ma gah ci [n]w[o]m [tun nā] « rau ga[h l]ar c[uit t]u[y] «
pa[r]i[kam] t[u]y ma l]apo[k² sim g]ah « [rau]
13. [s]pa pday s[i]m gah ler [m]asun masun [hat]
caturah gah « [k]anañ ā na gapuiw ra « mañah [th]ān ma [spa
sim gah³ tun] le[r « w]ū[d]u[h h]e-
14. (ñ) (nū) [gah] « t[i]la [ñah] niman rañ tila
puiy sañ cah pan gah tuy « kui[w l]a[p]o[k] sim [ra « « akh]ā [ma
lapok] ga[h] « j[m]ā[p jmāp]
15. (h) tuy « kammawā[t] ler dapo[h] co' lor tuy «
mwoy m[w]o[y] c[w]o' mwoy mwo[y] leh « dapoh leh [paḍwot] (tu)-

¹ The *z* is between the two marginal lines.

² Looks like *lapot*.

³ There appears to be a large original flaw between the *g* and the *h*.

ha señ kuiw aṅga swa' « rau wwa' the lduiw gah uiw « galān the lduiw ma gah gah
lew rau ma yu(11)tti heñ dah tau rau gah gah pḍai wimatiwinodanī¹ dah uiw da ci «
pḍai ma samit sim tami lmuh wwa' gah « gwa' kanhañ pha-uit tuai « jmāp jmāp kanhañ gah
sgo' lapuik ā mhā « sim tare(12)ñ yaw sanwañ tun mhā ma lapuik ha tuin ma gah ci nwañ
tan hā « rau gah law cuit tuai parikam ma lapuik gah rau wwa' tila fiāñ Rāmādhīpati ma
kuiw cireñ « yām bnat thān ma (13) spa pḍai sim gah le 5 5 hat catturah gah « kapañ² ā na
gapuiw³ ra «⁴ gata (14) nū gah tila fiāñ niman rañ sañ ta' « cah pan gah klūñ lapuik sim ra «
akhā⁵ ma lapuik gah jmāp jmāp kanhañ heñ tila puai ta' gaja' cwa' ⁶ pḍai kanhañ ga(15)ñ tuai «
kammawāt 7 cwa' law tuai « mwai mwai cwa' mwai mwai leh 7 leh phaḍot tuai heñ « klo' ā kanhañ

¹ A *cimati « winodanī*.

² A *gān*.

³ A *gabuiw*.

⁴ There is a considerable omission in the MSS. here.

⁵ A *kāla*.

⁶ B *cum cum*.

16. (y) [pathama]¹ gah « [c]uiw c[ui]p k[ana]n r[ā]-[it]
c[n]or pathama¹ [gah] « lapok tuy [heñ] « clo' kanaan ra-[it] ma
dah cnor duti[ya] (te')² [tun]
17. [k]anañ ma dah [t]am cn[or] du[ti]ya gah ra « nū
kanaan tam cnor dutiya ga[h] « lapo[k] tuy [heñ] « clo' ā lapok
[kanaan] (tam) . .
18. (abwoy)³ [anu]lum [lapo]k tuin ā⁴ jmā[p] jmāp kanaan
cuip [kanat] « [nū] k[ana]n [k]anat a[bwo]y [patilum] jmā[p] jmāp
kanaan lapok] c[uih] . .
19. [l]apok tuy ra « « ma [l]ap[o]k sim wo' [gah] « tñey
sñi[sy]or dapa[h] « br[amāk] kitu m[r]i[kkasui]w⁵ [gah] h[en] « ma
lapok tuy « i]
20. « khā ma sa[m]mut ga[h] « rau [wo]' cire[n] tuy «
ma samut « yām bnat thān [ma s]pa sim gah « (sa)[tim]⁷ tuy
h[en] « da[kau] ler pan duih] . .

¹ The *th* in this word has a peculiar shape much like the *th* in the Myazedi inscription (see *Ep. Birm.*, vol. i, pt. i, plate iii, facing p. 55). As it is there used in the word *thar*, I do not think it is a *th*, although in *pathama* it ought (etymologically) to be one.

² Conceivably, but improbably, *wo'*.

³ Conjecturally restored.

⁴ What looks like an *anusūra* above the *ā* is probably a subsequent disfigurement.

⁵ Possibly *dapāh*.

⁶ Or *mruik*.

⁷ This word seems very doubtful; even the *t* might be a *k*.

s-āñ tun « rau gah nū knañ tam cnow (16) pathama gah cuiw cuip knañ la-it cnow pathama gah « ma
lapuik tuai heñ klo' ā kannañ la-it ma dah cnow dutiya tun « nū kanot¹ cnow dutiya « te' lapok ma
dah ceh kluñ tuai « cuip (17) kannañ ma dah tam cnow dutiya² te' ra « nū kapañ tam cnow³
dutiya gah lapuik tuai heñ « klo' ā lapuik kapañ tam cnow tatiya te' ra « na nai ma rau wwa' gah
nū kannañ tam (18) bwai anulum lapok tuin ā jmāp jmāp kannañ « cuip kanat bwai patilum jmāp
jmāp kannañ lapuik ceh kluñ cuiw cuip knañ tam « kannañ gah uit s-ah heñ « sim gah dah ma
(19) lapuik tuai ra « ma lapuik sim wwa' gah « thāi sñisaw dapañ mamāk gitu mrekkasuiw heñ
ma lapuik tuai « thāi aduit 8 mamāk gitu mrekkasuiw heñ ma samit sim (20) « khā ma samit gah

¹ A *kannañ*.

² Orig. has *tatiya*.

³ The following words (to *ra* « inclusive) occur only in B.

⁴ Not in the MS.

⁵ A *pa*.

⁶ A adds 8 «.

21. tmā' [d]wor pan ga[h] « phuiw t[uy] ma (pa) [tmā']
nimit [d]acām ga[h] « mik [kui]w nwom ta[me]ñ nū sa[n]thā[n] pan
tlan tuy « (dwor) [dwor gah] (p)a[dāñ]¹ (t)i(t)
22. [j]uk tu[y] « cruih tmā' (k)uiw² c[r]ui[h] tmā' gah «
[r]uñ calo' ā t[uy] « atuiñ³ ju[k] ma cui[h] gah heñ « [carit]⁴
calo' ā pday ti] (da «)⁵ carit ca-
23. (lo') snik kuiw simāmagga « calah ta[h]ah ga[h]⁶ j[ano]k mw[o]y
c[ā]a « la[y]o[h] mway c[ā]a « [k]aro[h] ca[l]o' [ā ti ra « « khā] ma
ka[r]oñ ā ti g[ah] «
24. ma[h]ah nimit[t] gah kuim « kuiw pday nimit[t] t[uy] ma sdah
s[im] t[am]i ga[h] kuim « ca[ah] jañah kle' [t]u[y] « ga[r]eñ
(tanam)⁷ [k]aroñ la[r] jar] lagar tuy «
25. (ga)h ler « gañi na [thor] na [ka-u]y ba[k]e[t] ta' gah t[uy] « na
y[ā]t bake[t] batā[n] g[ah] « (pū⁸ g[ā]ñi lar] (ra « «)⁹ [het t]uy ma
rui[h] se k[lyāk] « [j]mā-

¹ The initial of this word might be *b* or *p*.

² Conceivably *tuiv*.

³ There was probably an original flaw between *a* and *t*.

⁴ There was probably an original flaw between *c* and *r*.

⁵ Conceivably, but improbably, instead of *da* « one might read *ā*.

⁶ There was probably a small original flaw here.

⁷ Very doubtful: the *t* might be *k*, the *n* might be *r*, and the *m* possibly *p*.

⁸ Perhaps the two strokes under the *p* are accidental and we should read *pa*.

⁹ Very doubtful.

rau wwa' acireñ pa tuai samit « yām bnat thān ma spa sim gah samit tuai heñ dakau¹ pan duih
« tma' nimit 8 ma tuiw « akhā ma tuiw (21) tma' dow pan gah « phuiw tuai pa ma tma' nimit dacām
gah mik kuiw « nwañ tamed nū ñah ñi² nū santhān pan klañ gah dow gah phađāñ tit ñi ñi³ tuai ma
tuiw tma' tuai heñ « ket rañ (22) juk tuai cruih⁴ tma' kuiw cruih⁵ tma' gah ruñ calo' ā tuai atuiñ
juk ma cuiw gah heñ « ma caruih⁶ calo' p[ā]i ti ra « caruih⁶ ca(23)lo' tuai heñ yām mñah carik⁶ gah
heñ tuai kuiw simhāmaggañ « canah thabāñ gah « jnok mwai s[ā]a layah mwai s[ā]a « karoñ calo' ā
ti ra « khā ma karoñ ā ti gah ruih chu ruih dun kamat han⁷ ma spa kuiw s[ā]akarakamasim ma dah
tau (24) nimit gah kuim « kuiw p[ā]i nimit ma sadah sim tami gah kuim caah jañah kle' tuai «
karoñ kannañ law karoñ law jā lagaw tuai « cut bapēñ la « đāk ra « rau gah pa tuai heñ tma' nimit
(25) gah lew gñi na thaw na ga-uai phket ta' gah tuai « na yāt bkēt btāñ gah pū gñi law ra « huit

¹ A apparently has *dañ*.

² The three preceding words are clearly superfluous.

³ A *cruih*.

⁴ A *khruñ*.

⁵ For *carit*.

⁶ A *ñi ñi*.

⁷ B adds *ban*.

26. (p)
 . . ma peñ tau na (g)ara(y)¹ « na pnāñ na yāt p[l]ā[t] dakor
 snā da[hu]t lar [mañ]ah nim[i]t tu[y] « « tuy heñ [k]uiw t[i]la
 [puiy ta' skay ni]mi[t ra « « uit tma]' dacā-
27. [m]²
 . ma s[k]ay [sk]ay tlā ga[h tuy « tila p]uiy tā' lw[op p]da[y ru]ñ
 dw[or] s[i]m [t]e'³ « kajo['] pandah⁴ [h]atthapah tuy « [ti]la
 [pui]y [to'] d[mā]ñ⁵ [t]au ra « « »
28.
 ma[n]ah gāmakhet [g]ah « mni[h to]k ku[i]m lar ñah ma dok ciñ
 kuim lar « ñah ma dok k[s]e[h kuim lar]⁶ [d]atau ca[l]o' [ā]
 (pa-)[uit tuy] « jnor
29.
 [ñ] « da(p)uiw' a[k]rā a[k]rā ga[h cut ā] tuy « yata⁸ gam-i c-āñ
 ma t[w]āk tar[au h]et ma ha m[i]k k[uiw [l]w[op] pda[y taw]ui[w
 gāmakhet] gah « [kui]-

¹ The *g* looks like *w*, and the *y* might be *h*.

² Conjecturally restored.

³ There seems to have been an original flaw between the *t* and the *'*.

⁴ As this *d* is in the full form, it is probably not to be read *d*.

⁵ The *anusvāra* is a little doubtful, but it is needed here.

⁶ There is a small space here with faint marks on it which might be the remains of *nā* or *na*, but are probably merely accidental.

⁷ The doubtful letter may be *b* or even *w*.

⁸ Cf. B 49, D 47, 48.

ma reh seh kyāk « jmā(26)p jmāp tma' nimit gah kuim « na kquid jnow dhup sñau nuñ klah
 bapeñ tau na garai na pnāñ « na yāt plah¹ skaw snā da[hu]t law mñah nimit tuai heñ « kuiw tila
 ta' skai nimit ra « uit jmāp tma' 8 pi² lapuh tila ta' skai tuai bcuip tma' (27) ma skai klā te' tuai
 « tila ta' lop ā pda[hu]t tawuiw dow sim te' « gaja' palah hattapah tuai tila damāñ tau ra « khā gah
 atuiñ gāmakhet ma karoñ law tuai gah mñah (28) mñah gāmakhet gah mniñ tuik kuim law « ñah
 ma quik ciñ kuim law « ñah ma quik khyeh kuim law « datau calo' ā uit tuai jnow rāñ³ tāñ khon
 lew srāk dariñ ā tuai « pham kapu sa(29)ñ dapuiw akrā akrā cut ā tuai « yata gamhī s-āñ ma twāk

¹ A *lah*.

² 8 pi might be read *gap*; but the text on the stones shows that 8 must be read, though pi remains unexplained.

³ Error for *rāy*.

30. [w]¹ (mañ)² mway buin ñkan³ tuy « [yām p]d[ay]
 . . . [g]ah tun [le]r « [g]am-i c-āñ [t]uy phok [l]w[op] nwoñm tau
 pda[y] th[ā]n ma ranu[k] danda[n⁴ g]ah tu[y « k]ui[w⁴ dan]ā[y]
 (cat⁵ bat) [may tau ra « tu]y heñ mni[h]
31. (ma)² dr[e]p to[k] kui[m] lor « mniñ ma dok ks[eh kui]m lar « kuiw
 d[r]ep bui[k] krau gah ku ñah ma mañ mwoy [te]' tun « [d]apuin
 taya⁶ pday gāmakhet⁷ [w]o' [ler ha] mway [ra «] da[pui]n c-āñ
 ma slop [p]day gā-
32. makhet wo' ler ha mwoy ra « p[ui]y di[k] mañ mwoy [b]uin ñka[n⁸
 s]an ra « rau gah [ñ]ah ma [p]la[n] tlu[ñ] gah gah cui(p)⁹ tuy
 [h]eñ « [ma] kuiw t[il]a pui[y] t[ā] s]am[mu]t [sim rwoñ] « « [khā
 tila] p[ui]y to' ma [p]ad[wo]-
33. [t] kammawācā [tu]n [l]e[r] « [h]et [ma m]i[k k]u[iw] akkharawisuddhi
 da[h g]ah « ñah bā he[ñ] ma kuiw padwo[t m]wa[y m]way wā «
 (p)anduk¹⁰ dapa[h w]ā [tuy] he[ñ] si[m gah dah] ma [sa]mmut tuy
 ra gah] tu[y « pham k][o' twiñ twiuk¹¹ « dapuiw]
34. [k]ar[h]ā « kanu sañ ta gah [pi] leh heñ ma kuiw tuik « [p]i leh
 [h]e[ñ] ma kuiw ho drā « « sim [ma] sa[m]mut [t]uy wo' gah «
 [t]ila puiy to' ma ā t[k]o'¹² Siñgh[ui]r [ma ,ket upasampada]¹³
 pday udakuk]kh[epas]i[m « ma ñah cīr]e-

¹ Conjecturally restored.

² Error for *kñan*.

³ Written *dandañ*, but certainly meant for *dandan*.

⁴ Looks like *tuiw*.

⁵ This word seems to have been subsequently altered by some intentional disfigurement.

⁶ Presumably an error for *yata*.

⁷ Between *kh* and *t* there is an original flaw.

⁸ Error for *kñan*, as in l. 30.

⁹ Looks like *cuiñ*, but the mark in it is probably accidental.

¹⁰ Conceivably, though improbably, the initial may be *b*.

¹¹ The *u* is doubtful.

¹² The original appears to have *tto'*.

¹³ Conceivably *sañmp*.

tarau huit ha mik kuiw lop pda[hu]t tawuiw gāmakhet gah (30) bwai ma buin kñan tuai yām pda[hu]t
 tawuiw gāmakhet gah tun lew gami s-āñ phok nwañ tau pda[hu]t thān ranuk dalan gah tuai « kuiw
 glāi dnāi cam bat mwai tau ra « mniñ (31) ma drep tuik kuim law « mniñ ma quik ciñ khyeh kuim
 law « kuiw drep bak krau gah ku ñah ma mañ mwai te' tun « gami taya pda[hu]t gāmakhet wwa' ha
 mwai ra « gami s-āñ ma lop pda[hu]t gā(32)makhet wwa' lew ha mwai ra « puai di[k] mañ mwai buin
 kñan san ra « rau gah ñah plan gah gah cuit¹ tuai heñ « ma kuiw tila ta' samit roñ « kālā tila ta'
 ma phadot(33)t kammawāt gah tun lew « huit² smik kuiw akkharawisuddhā dah ñah bā heñ « ma
 kuiw phadot mwai mwai phadot 7 wā tuai heñ « sim gah ma samit tuai ra gah tuai « pham³
 klew twiñ twiuk dapuiw (34) karā kapu sañ ta' gah 3 leh heñ ma kuiw tuik « pi leh heñ ma kuiw
 ho drā « sim ma samit tuai gah « tila ta' ma ā taka' Siñghuiw « ma duñ upasampada pda[hu]t

¹ Error for *cuiñ*.

² A omits *u* *huiñ*.

³ A *māñ*.

35. ñ pday Kalyāṇiga[ñ g]ah « ma sammut het dah uiv da ci «
[Kal]yāṇi[s]i[m] gah [t]uy « ti[l]a ñah kui[w] lar [yam]u « « pa tam
nū ti[l]a sañ da [t]i' wo' ma cuip thūñ n[ū tk]o['] Siñgh[ul]ir
[kuim] ra [tlā ha] (g)atā(p)¹

36. sa(m)m[u]t s[i]m wo' [kuim l]er i tila puiv sañ to' [t]u[y « m]a cuin
da[h] tau gañ[i g]aṇācariya « lañ(n)uiv ga[h « h]e[']t ma sḍik
mlik² s]asa[nā s]an da[h uiv] da [ci] « upa[sampada tuy ma dget
tau pday puiv gah « ma dah tau]

37. [ā]sañkā gah « ha gap g[wo]r heñ ra « « pday jareñ tila [pu]iy tā'
[tu]y « [ma d]uñ rañ upasampada nū tko' Si[ñ]ghuir gah «] kuiw
pu[iy wo']³ d]u[ñ ket]⁴ upasampada] ra ñi « [rau gah g]ah [tuy «
ma gluñ⁵ ku leh heñ « thūñ ptim tau tila ñah [Rāmādhīpati ra]⁶

¹ The *g* looks something like *b*, and the *p* like *m*.

² Conceivably *sḍik mluik*, but no *u*'s are visible.

³ Or *go*?

⁴ Looks like *ket* but must be meant for *ket*.

⁵ The *g* looks like *m*, but in view of the context there can be little doubt that *gluñ* is right.

⁶ The *ra* is in the margin, between the double lines.

udakukkhepasim ma ñah¹ cire(35)² pḍai Kalyāṇigañ gah ma samit huit uiv da ci « Kalyāṇisiñ
gah tuai tila ñah law ymu ra « nū ma pa tam tila sañ ta' wwa' ma cuip kluñ nū taka'
Siñghuiw kuim ra i klā ha gatāp (36) samit sim wwa' kuim lew tila sañ ta' ma cuin dah tau gap³
gaṇācariya⁴ lūiw gah « huit ma sḍik mluik sāsnā san dah uiv da ci « upasampada ma dget tau
puiai⁴ puiai gwa' gah dah tau (37) āsañkā⁵ gah ha gap gaw heñ ra « pḍai jareñ tila ta' ma duñ
rañ upasampada nū taka' Siñghuiw gah « kuiw puiai gwa' duñ upasampada ñi ra « rau gah gah
tuai « ma gluñ ku leh heñ kluñ pa tim tala ñah Rāmādhīpati⁶ ra « tila ñah lew rau wwa' huiñ
plan ku tila ta' tun « dnāi tila ma nwañ tau saddhā ma mik duñ upasampada jareñ tila ta' ma
duñ upasampada ñah Siñghuiw gah duñ kuim ra « ñah ma ha mwai ku saddhā ha mik duñ
upasampada ñah Siñghuiw damāñ kuim ra « ñah ma mik sgo' duñ upasampada tnow ñah Siñghuiw
gah mā « lapa duñ gah tuai « ha gwa' si dadaw⁷ « tila ta' ma ha mik tnow upasampada ñah
Siñghuiw gah duñ heñ ra gah tuai « ai ḍik hwa' gwa' rān skuit « adhipaii sla pat winai ma cuin
dah tau ma mik kyāk trai gah heñ tila ai ta' khyap ket kuiw buin ra « upasampada ma cap tau
kuiw tila ai ta' āsañkā⁸ dah tau pḍai cuit mā⁹ « tila ta' duñ ket tnow¹⁰ upasampada ñah Siñghuiw
ra « « upasampada ma cap tau kuiw¹¹ tila ai ta' s-ah tau heñ dah mā⁹ « āsañkā¹² ha mwai ra dah
pḍai cuit mhā « tila ta' dmāñ kuim ra « rau gah tila ñah Rāmādhīpati huiñ plan¹³ ku tila sañ ta'
gamluiñ ra « gata nū gah rau wwa' tila ñah Rāmādhīpati khyap tun « tila sañ ta' ma dah
gaṇācariya lūiw nwañ pamik mik gwa' upasampada ñah Siñghuiw gah yañah « sabhau¹⁴ sla pat
winai ma gah tun lew pubbajā kuim lew « upasampada¹⁵ kuim lew « uppajhāi heñ ma dah tnañ «

¹ Orig. inserts *pḍai* here.

⁴ This should be *pḍai*.

⁷ Error for *chī daw*.

¹⁰ A omits *tnow*.

¹² B *balan*.

¹⁵ Orig. has *upasampada*.

² A *gañhi*.

⁶ Orig. has *sāsañka*.

⁸ A *sañkā*.

¹¹ A *ku*.

¹⁴ For *yañah* « *sabhau* A has *ymu* « *nul stuu*.

³ A *gāñḍācariha*.

⁶ Error for *Rāmādhīpati*.

⁹ A *mhā*.

¹² Orig. has *asañkā*.

H

(Fragments *a* and *b*.)

1. (rau) wo' tila [ñah]
.¹
2. [ā]cāriya i n(ū)
.
3. [r m]ā i pday udaku[k]khe(pasim)
.

¹ About twenty lines appear to be lost between this and the preceding piece. The dots at the ends of the lines are roughly estimated. Fragment *a* goes down to l. 18. Fragment *b* begins at the beginning of l. 16. See the manuscript version.

tila ta' wwa' ma cau nū Siñghuiw ta' wwa' tun lew ha ḍik cah cah¹ pīm « dah uiv da ci « pa
uppajhāi lew ha gwa' pīm « ma dah uiv pa ñah puiai spa tuai tila puiai sañ ta' wwa' ma sgo' dah
tnow upasampada ñah Siñghuiw ma thuih dah uppajhāi ñah gah puiai ma sgo' ket rañ tuai ma
sgo' kuiw uppajhāi ñah gamluiñ ma sgo' duñ tnow upasampada ñah Siñghuiw wwa' ro « rau gah tila
ñah khyap tuai p-ow kuiw ā ñi smān glāi danāi mwai ra « khā gah tila puiai Parakkamābhāsami
gah rau wwa' kluñ pa tim tila ñah « tila sañ mwai gah ymu tila Mhāsuwappasobhana gah yañah «
tila ma prai gah mhā ñah ma duñ upasampada ñah tnow Siñghuiw heñ « pūguiv ma cuin dah tau²
latjī kukkuccaka sikkhāgāma « arañaka appiccha « santuṭṭha « sallo « dhutaṅgara heñ gah tuai «
pa tim tala ñah khā gah tila ñah p-ow kuiw ā niman rañ tila gah ra « khā tila puiai ma kluñ
cuip jareñ tila ñah gah « (H 1) rau wwa' tila ñah smān ra « tila ai ma ā taka' Siñghuiw ma
duñ upasampada gah « mū pḍai sim tila ai ma duñ ma ci guin « ñah gah ma pa
uppajhāi « ñah gah ma pa (2) acāriya « nū tila ma duñ upasampada ñah Siñghuiw gah
« lamuh mwai ci wah ro « rau gah tila ñah smān ra « rau wwa' tila sañ plan tun «
ku tila ñah puiai ma duñ upasampada ñah Siñghui(3)w mhā « pḍai udakukkhepasim mā³
ñah cireḍ law pḍai Kalambu-jātassara jamnok⁴ gah heñ « guip 31 «⁵ tila puiai Wapparakkha⁶

¹ Probably error for *onasi*, or *wah*.

² The equivalent in the Pāli text for the passage from here to *dhutaṅgara*, inclusive, is *arañhāvāsī dhuṭaṅgadhara appiccho santuṭṭho sallekhi lajjī kukkuccako sikkhāgāmo byatto paṭibalo*.

³ Orig. has *mim*.

⁵ A omits *guin 31* «. The Pāli has *appamāssa ganassa santike*.

⁶ In the Pāli *Vanaratanandamahā pordāmahāsangharājānam*.

4. upa[j]hāy i tīla puiy Rā(hulabhaddhathe)¹
5. (plan) k[u] tīla fīaḥ u tīla [ñ]aḥ rmiñ
6. duñ [upasa]m[pa]da S[īṅgh]u[i]r ga[h i g]luiñ san
7. [r]
.. sāsanā tuy i t[ī]la puiy] kajo'² (k)wom³
8. . u . . . (l) (tu)y⁴ kuiw
akhwoñ ku tīla fīaḥ ra i akhā ma saṃmut (sim)⁴
9. fīaḥ Siṅghu[i]r [ñ]aḥ ma lwon tuy ga[h] i
tluñ cuip t[ī]la [ñ]aḥ ra i tīla fīaḥ

¹ Restored from the Pāli version.

² There is a small circle over the o, but I cannot imagine what function an *anusvāra* could perform there. Probably it is an error of the engraver's.

³ The initial of the next word was apparently either u or ū.

⁴ Conjectural restoration.

saṅgharājā jnok te' heñ ma pa (4) uppajhāi i tīla puiai Rāhulathe ma dah saṅgharājā lmuḥ ma pa cariya u was¹ ai nū² ma duñ upasampada fīaḥ Siṅghuiw gah u dah pā coh tarau wah ra³ u rau gah tīla puiai sah (5) plan⁴ u ku tīla fīaḥ tīla fīaḥ miñ lahuiñ tīla tuai mip cuit pūmah san dah tuai tīla fīaḥ kuiw niman tīla puiai ra u sañ ta' ma nwañ⁵ kuiw saddhāmālā u pamik⁶ (6) upasampada fīaḥ Siṅghuiw gluiñ san uiw da ci u tīla ai mik kuiw uppajhāi tuai mik kuiw fīaḥ gwa' duñ upasampada suiwi⁷ u tīla ai mwai kuiw⁸ datuai mramo(7)w sāsnā ra u tīla ai gaja' koñ⁹ fīi u rau gah gaḥ tuai tīla fīaḥ niman ra u tīla puiai tun lew u gabut sāsnā roñ ci u puiai gaja' san ra gaḥ (8) tuai kuiw akhoñ ku tīla fīaḥ ra u akhā ma smut sim gah tuai u tīla puiai gaḥ gaḥ pācāriyya gamluiñ mnuñ pamik duñ upasampada (9) fīaḥ Siṅghuiw ma huiñ kuiñ law u ku tīla fīaḥ ma lon tuai gah¹⁰ u kluñ cuip tīla fīaḥ ra u tīla fīaḥ koñ ku kuiw tīla sañ ta' gamluiñ ceh ā Kalyāṇisim ra u tīla sañ

¹ A gah.

² A mnuñ.

³ A adds ku.

⁴ A omits nū.

⁵ For u pamik A has pami.

⁶ A ra.

⁷ A gah.

⁸ A soh.

⁹ For kuiw A has heñ kuiñ.

¹⁰ B palan.

10. ' ma cau nū [Siṅghu]i[r] ler [i] tīla [ñ]aḥ [k]ui[w] n[ī]man plop pḍay
Kalyāṇis[im] ra i tīla p[uiy] Su[wanna](sobhanamahāthe)¹
11. h r[au] wwo' [tīla] fīaḥ huiñ [pl]an ku sañ [ma] cau nū Siṅghuir
[gamlui]ñ ra i [tī]la puiy sañ gamluiñ w[o'] gah u nw
12. [kñā] k[u]i[w] upasampada ra u khā gah rau ww[o'] tīla puiy sañ
Siṅghuir [to'] gamluiñ huiñ plan tun i tīla (a-)²
13. [ci] are[ñ] tuy tīla puiy to' fīaḥ tko' Siṅghuir ma [ku]i[w] upasa[mpada]
ku pu[iy] [gah] i mahār[ā](j)³
14. fīaḥ tko' Siṅghuir [t]uy ma sk[u]i[w] upasampada ku puiy gah [r]
la[n]gat puiy [sañ g]amluiñ ma t[au] pḍay [tko']
15. [yā]t ba[tāñ t]ā tu[y] i kuiw tau pḍay gihiliñga i khā ma tau pḍay
gi[hil]iñ[ga] gah tu[n] ler

¹ Restored on the basis of the Pāli version.

² Conjectural restoration.

³ Or possibly the final may be t, as in L.M.

ta(10)' ma cau nū Siṅghuiw lew tīla fīaḥ kuiw niman plop pḍai Kalyāṇisim ra u tīla the Suwanna-sobhapa ma spa uppajhāi gah lew tīla fīaḥ kuiw niman rañ pḍai Kalyāṇisim ra u khā ga(11)h rau wwa' tīla fīaḥ huiñ plan ku sañ ma cau nū Siṅghuiw gamluiñ ra u tīla sañ gamluiñ wwa' gah nwañ pamik kuiw ma mik duñ upasampada tnow fīaḥ Siṅghuiw gaḥ ci u tīla ai ta' (12) kñā kuiw upasampada gwa' ra u khā gah rau wwa' tīla puiai sañ Siṅghuiw gamluiñ huiñ plan tun u tīla fīaḥ p-ow kuiw ā duñ rañ upasampada fīaḥ Siṅghuiw ra gaḥ tuai u puiai ā duñ rañ¹ ra u u nāñ a(13)ci areñ tīla ta' fīaḥ taka' Siṅghuiw ma kuiw upasampada ku puiai gah u mahārāj² koñ ku kuiw tīla sañ ta' gamluiñ pañ mhiñ fīi u kālā tīla ta' (14) fīaḥ taka' Siṅghuiw ma skuiw upasampada ku puiai gah sāk wwa' tīla ta' pa huiñ u kālā puiai sañ gamluiñ ma tau pḍai taka' Siṅghuiw ma kuiw upasampada ku fīaḥ ma kluñ nū jamḍoi mñā ku fīaḥ ma pa sāk wwa' tuai ma kuiw roñ u pasāk ro u kuiw (15) yāt btāñ klā tuai kuiw tau pḍai gihibhau klā u³ khā ma tau pḍai gihiliñ gah tun lew u ai gihi ra gaḥ tuai pa wacibheda⁴ pamik fīaḥ

¹ A omits rañ.

² A omits u.

³ A mahāmarāt.

⁴ B wācibheda.

16. [tun l]e[r] (u)¹ [ha] señ i sabhau tuy [ma] duñ
upasa[mp]ada ma [g]aḥ [mā r c]adaḥ kle' gihiliñ(ga)
. [u]-²
17. pasampada rwoñ [i i] (t)[i](la ey to')² mik upasampada
. . . (t)[i](la) [ey to'] ra mi[k]
. [sā]-²
18. mañi tuy i puui ma sgo' [k]uiw u[pasa]m[pada]
. i
.
19. to' [s]addhā gaḥ tu[y] (i) sduñ ket [u]pasampada ra i pday [k]ā ma
(trak)³
.
20. k rwoñ i upasampada tami wwo' gaḥ i puui ha go' ba[k] sgaḥ tuy i
(t)u
.
21. [d]uñ [u]pasampada ta[m]i ra [c]i i atuiñ wa[h] tami wwo' ra smik
kuiw ruih cuih cuip (bnat)
.
22. sañ [ñ]aḥ tko' [Siñ]ghuir [t]o' huim plan [k]u puui tu[y] i i uit puui
ñāḥ [g]amluiñ ma (d)
.

¹ These words are the beginning of fragment b, which overlaps fragment a here.
² Conjecturally restored.

³ Very doubtful, except the *r*.

ra i ma kuiw pa wacibheda¹ gwa' (16) tun lew i huit s-āñ ha señ sabhau ma duñ upasam-
pada mḥa cāḍaḥ kle' gihiliñga tuai kuiw pa² sāmmapī klā pḍai dadāḥ sāmmapī gaḥ tau
tuai ma kuiw u(17)pasampada roñ i lamuh tila ai ta' mik duñ upasampada gaḥ ra i i mik
dah cmat ra dah mā i tau pḍai gihiliñga tuai gwa'³ gamhi dadāḥ i sā(18)mmapī klā tuai
puiai ma sgo' kuiw upasampada roñ i puiai gihi ra gaḥ tuai ma mik kuiw tim i i tila ta' pa
wacibheda⁴ wwa' tun lew lamah gaḥ tila (19) ta' saddhā dah tuai duñ upasampada ra i i pḍai
kāla gaḥ krau amit pawā acā pajhāi twaḥ ganāḥ ma byi plut gaḥ cuit gataḥ plan ā tuai i
upasampada tnam te' puiai ma ba(20)k roñ i upasampada tami wwa' puiai ha gwa' bak gaḥ tuai i
tuai wah tārem te' kuiw⁷ ma sruih gaḥ mā puiai ha mik kuiw dah i tila ta' saddhā gaḥ dah tuai i
(21) duñ upasampada tami ra ci i atuiñ wah tami ra i smik kuiw ruih cuih cuip bnat ayuk gaḥ
tuai i puiai ma mik kuiw pa wacibheda⁸ sāk gaḥ roñ i rau gaḥ tila ta' (22) ñāḥ tka' Siñghuiw i
huim plan ku puiai ra i uit puiai ñāḥ gamluiñ ma ā duñ upasampada wwa' gaḥ i puiai⁹ datau

¹ A wabheda, B wācibheda.

⁴ A bdah.

⁷ B omits te' kuiw.

² A inserts gamhi.

⁵ B omits tim i.

⁸ B wācibheda, A wacibhedabheda.

⁹ A wwa'.

⁶ Orig. has waci°.

⁹ A pḍai.

23. da[h] pja (bacibheda)¹ [s]āk gaḥ tuy i ti[l]a puui [t]o'² kuiw sañ[g]ā
p[l]an i gam-i puuiy t[uy] i kuiw [sar]a(ṇagamana)³
.
24. i tila puui [t]o' ma] kuiw up[asa]m[p]ada kuiw puui rwoñ i i rau
gaḥ ti[l]a puui [t]o' ma cau nū Siñghuir
.
25. ñāḥ gam[l]uiñ kuim [h]et saddhā gaḥ t[uy] i puui m[ik] duñ upasam-
pada t[n]or ñāḥ Siñghuir ra ci i atuiñ ācinna
. [Siñ]-⁴
26. [gh]ui[r] g[aml]uiñ kwo[m] k[lu] tila puui to' sa[ñ] ga[m]luiñ sama[h]⁵
saman tuy heñ i i pa tam nū tñay can dacit bra[mok]⁶
. [ka]-⁴
27. [j]o' dman [t]uy i atuiñ ācinna ñāḥ [S]iñghuir gamluiñ ma pa gaḥ
h[ēñ] i tila puuiy to' pa tuy i [pa t]am nū ti(la)
. [Suwappa]-
28. s[o]bhanamahāthe⁷ damli tuy i uit ti[l]a puui [to] ma cau nū
Siñghuir gamluiñ i ma pa tam tu⁸ tila puui S[īris]aṇ(ghabodhi-
sāmi)⁹ [upa]-¹⁰

¹ This (or possibly *pa bacci*) appears to be the reading.

² There is excessive space here, probably due to an original flaw.

³ Conjecturally restored by comparison with the Pāli version.

⁴ Conjecturally restored.

⁵ The final looks like *t*.

⁶ Restored. The month was Mārgasīrṣa.

⁷ Restored, so far as the part of the name at the end of the last line is concerned, from the Pāli version. The first half of the *o* must have been written at the end of l. 27.

⁸ Error for *ku*.

⁹ Restored on the basis of the passage in the Pāli version corresponding with F 5. The Pāli does not actually give the name here.

¹⁰ Restored.

pḍai gihiliñga gaḥ i tuai i puiai (23) dah pa wacibheda² sāk gaḥ tuai i tila ta' kuiw sāk plan i gami
puiai tuai kuiw sarapagamana sikkhāpada ku puiai tuai badāḥ gamhi sāmmapī ku puiai tuai heñ (24)
tila ta' ma skuiw upasampada ku puiai roñ i rau gaḥ tila ta' ma cau nū Siñghuir gamluiñ ra i khā
gaḥ tila ta' ma dah gapācariya gamluiñ rau wwa' gaḥ tun i uit puiai (25) ñāḥ gamluiñ saddhā dah
tuai i puiai ma mik spa upasampada tnow ñāḥ Siñghuiw ra ci i atuiñ ācinna ñāḥ Siñghuiw gamluiñ
gaḥ puiai spa dak ra i rau gaḥ tila ta' gaḥ ra i rau gaḥ tila sañ ma cau nū Siñ(26)ghuiw gamluiñ
koñ ku tila sañ ta' gamluiñ i smik pa upasampada gaḥ smah sman tuai heñ i i batañ tñai i
dacit mamok gitu mrekkasuiw gaḥ heñ i lukau 5 tñai tila ñāḥ Rāmādhīpati ga(27)ja' damāñ tuai
i atuiñ ācinna ñāḥ Siñghuiw gamluiñ ma pa gaḥ heñ tila puiai ta' pa tuai i pa tam nū tila puiai
mahāsāmi³ Dhammakitti gaḥ roñ i upajhāi ku tila the Suwappa(28)sobhanamahāthe damhik⁴ tuai
i uit tila ta' ma cau nū Siñghuiw gamluiñ i pa tam ku tila puiai Sirisaṇghabodhisāmi gaḥ alhāi

¹ A gihilinggaḥ, B gahi°

² Orig. has waci°.

³ A mahāchāpi.

⁴ B thamhik.

29. sampada : [tañ]ay [t]añay gah : tila [ñ]ah [Rāmā]dhipati kajo' dmāñ¹ : dān puñ dāk āhāra paccay : sablu sla [i]
30. c[ākh]i ka[yat] tu[y] : ma mañ cut lik [c]ad[won g]ah lew tila ñah preñ law : la[-i]t la[-i]t ma pa upa[sampada]
31. law² tila [ñ]ah preñ law : khā tñay ma sa[w ā g]ah : [s]miñ ti[la cāk]hī kaya[t] : pñāñ c[d]au p[re]ñ la[w] tuy : tila ñah
32. [a]cā guin : ma duñ upasa[m]pada tuy ga[h] (u) [dah b]ā kām [pan cw]oh sun ra : [u] khā ga[h] t[i]la [ñ]ah kuiw garañ ptim
33. [h]e[ñ] : tila puiy t[o'] ma duñ [up]asampada tami [gah] : bā kla[m] pan c[w]oh [s]u[n] t[i]la puiy t[o'] ma cau nū Siñghuir (l)e(r)
34. w pa upu[h p]day [K]alyāṇisim ñi : [r]a-it tila pu[iy to'] ma [pa upu]h tuy [gah] : dān pi[ñ]apāt [ler k]uiw

¹ Abbreviated, as if *ñdmā*, with superscript *ñ*.

² Or *law*, if the *e* was at the end of l. 30, as seems probable from the MS. text.

alhāai ma āwariya¹ tuai : ma kuiw upa(29)sampada ra : tañai tañai tila ñah Rāmādhīpati gaja' dmāñ : dān puñ dān āhāra beai pan : jablu sla dāk yāmakāla gah le tila ñah p-ow kuiw taruip tau sañ ta' ra : (30) cakhī dayah ma cut lik caḍon payām gah le tila ñah preñ law la-it l-it ma pa upasampada tuai gah : huit mik kuiw sādhuḥā gah pham klo' (31) le tila ñah preñ law la-it ma khā tñai ma saw ā gah : smiñ tala cakhī dayah pñāñ sḍau preñ law tuai : tila ñah tuin kluaḥ dūñ ra : khā ma quik 5 tñai gah : ñah ma pa tim tala guin ma pa (32) acā guin ma duñ upasampada tuai gah : dah 245 ra : khā gah tila ñah kuiw garañ ptim tila ta' gamluñ ñi : tñai si bapeñ gitu mrekkasuiw tñai aduit² wwa(33) heñ : tila ta' ma duñ upasam-pada tami gah : 245 : tila ta' ma cau nū Siñghuir lew 15 : uit tila bā kām 60 : wwa' mik kui(34)w upuh pḍai Kalyāṇisim ñi : la-it tila ta' ma pa upuh tuai gah : dān piḍapāt le kuiw :

¹ Error for *pa dāriya*.

² A omits *aduit*.

35. go' [k]uiw dā[n ñ]i : [pasāda] : cuit¹ [le]w kuiw pu[iy] g[o'] ga[t]u[i]w b[d]ah ñi : rau [g]ah : [ti]la ñah [gar]añ pti[m sañ g]amluiñ (i)
36. s[u]im kuiw aram par[i]wā : [kw]om [k]u amacca [s]enāpa[t]i gamluñ heñ cui[h ā] tuy : lah da[k]ar [sw]ak sañ b[ā] kām turau [cw]oh
37. khā ga[h] tila [s]añ bā kām [tu]rau [c]woh gah : cu[ip] tluñ tuy [pa] upuh ra : ra-it ti[l]a puiy to' ma pa upuh tuy gah : [piḍapāt] (ma kah mwo)-³
38. y [p]rakā : dāk [yā]makā : ta[r]uip tila puiy [t]o' tuy [h]eñ : tila puiy mwoy mwoy heñ : yāt s (bun panā)-³
39. [k] sat : [m]e[k] su[t] : p[n]ik cakkho : tḍo[ñ] : pabeñ : [p]aḍāk : dakor mom : [ku]iw dān kuiw tila [puiy]
40. ñ gah : [tila] puiy Suwa[ñ]as[o]bhanamahāthe ma pa upajjhāy ga[h] : kuiw [y]amu Kalyāṇi[ti]ssamahā[the]

¹ Only the second half of the *o* appears in this line: the first part must have ended the preceding one.

² I think the reading given is right, though there seems to be no need for the stop. The Pāli has *eittā ca pasādetum*.

³ Conjecturally restored.

puiai gwa' kuiw dān ñi : dayadhamma ma gap gaw skuiw dān kuim : kuiw puiai (35) gwa' kuiw dān ñi : pasāda cuit le kuiw puiai gwa' katuw badah ñi : rau gah tila ñah garañ pa tim sañ gamluñ tuai heñ : tñai si bapeñ gitu mrekkasuiw gah prah heñ tila ñah (36) suim aroñ pariwāra suim amāt senāpati gamluñ heñ ceh ā tuai : lah skaw swak sañ 2 kām 60 masun pā¹ upuh pḍai Kalyāṇisim gah tuai tila ñah dmāñ tau ra : (37) khā gah tila sañ bā kām 60 gah cuip kluaḥ tuai pa upuh ra : pḍāñ la-it tila ma pa upuh tuai gah : piḍapāt lāu piḍapāt tñai kwāñ yuih tḍan caḍa āhāra ma ka mw(38)ai prakā dāk yāmakā taruip tila ta' heñ ra : tila sañ mwai mwai gah : yāt sapā thap bā bā tau : sablu kḍom palā suim bi gāpuiw : bun panā(39)k² sat mhāai sut pñik³ cakkho : kḍuiñ babeñ phadāk dakaw mom kuiw dān ku tila ta' ra : akhā na ganap tila ta' ñah gamluñ(40)ñ gah tila the Suwappasobhanamahāthe ma pa upajjhāi gah kuiw ymu

¹ Error for *ma sapā*.

² Orig. has *pañāi*.

³ A *bapui*.

41. ['] : mañ dñāñ tau [p]day sim gah dam[l]i heñ ra : t[w]ah tila puīy
acā guīn bā klām pa[n] cwoh sun ga[h] l[e]w : d[u]ñ (ā)¹
(t)au [upasampada he]ñ² ra : acā guī[n]³
.

J

(Fragment a.)³

1.
[upasampada] (gah)⁴
2. [s]pa sor tu[y]
smay ca [y]ay ñah

¹ There may have been an original flaw here.² Abbreviated, with superscript ñ, as if *hñe*.³ About twenty lines appear to be lost between this and the preceding piece. But see the manuscript version.⁴ Both margins being lost, and there being in this case no other indications as to the amount missing at the beginnings and ends of lines, respectively, the number of dots is quite indefinite and merely denotes that something is missing, without indicating the amount.

Kalyāṇtissamahāthera « pa tañ nū gah kuīm ra « smiñ tala cakhi dayah ma klo(4r) mād dñāñ
pḍai sim damli heñ ra « twah tila sañ acā guīn 245 gah le duñ āt¹ upasampada heñ ra acā guīn da
s-āñ mā nwañ tau ku saddhā ma mik duñ upasampada lew duñ āt heñ ra « tina' catuṭha tuai ra «²
khā gah tila ñah Rāmādhīpati³ ptiñ : tila sañ ta' gamliñ tuai « uit pḍai jamnok thān ma dah
rañ man wwa' gah sāk wwa' tila⁵ ñah kuīw⁶ pa katika⁷ kuīw krak samwai uit ra « ma lon ā tuai
gah kuīw tuai ā ra « nū tala wwa' ma s-āñ gata gah « uit tila sañ ta' gamliñ ma gami ñah gata
wwa' « pūguīw ma gamhī gah⁸ ñāt ñah sjuñ squik gah heñ tila ta' gamhī ñi « pūguīw ma nwañ
ku sak wak « pūguīw ma dah kamlat damla ma dayah tah « pūguīw ma nwañ awai ma ha quik
peñ « pūguīw puit juiñ puit tai kun kwa kok kaḍok « yarau pūguīw mwai ñah ñāt bak katau
garuñ caruiw ha rau gau sdah mhā « pūguīw sāk gah lpa kuīw gamhī ñi khā tila twah ganañ mik
duñ upasampada tun « tila ta' skuīw upasampada sām sām heñ lapa kuīw upasampada ñi « pa
tiñ puai tuai pḍai sim camat pḍai Bago wwa' heñ « cireñ buin kñan tuai « parikkharā payyāñ
puai skuīw dān tuai puai sduñ upasampada « pa tau⁹ yañah ha señ tun « sām sām skuīw ket
upasampada ra yaw sdah mhā « mi ma ñah ñah ma duñ (J r) upasampada gah kuīm klo dñāt
kuīm « dakā upah ma duñ upasampada gah kuīm puai spa rājādan heñ « uit tila sañ gamliñ tun
« tila sañ ma dah twah jaku ta' gah (2) spa saw smai¹⁰ ca yai ñah lew lpa kuīw pa ñi¹¹ « spa horā
smai ca satā ñah lew lpa kuīw pa ñi « stuik¹² ca bacām¹³ khyū ca juiñ gñiñ¹⁴ juiñ yāt slāk¹⁵ ca nibā

¹ A comparison with the text of the stone fragment seems to indicate that the MS. text is corrupt here. Probably *āt* (both here and in the next line) should be *ā tau*.² This is evidently a note that has got into the text, but it serves to show where Face H ended.³ B *Rāma*.⁴ A *kuīm*.⁵ A omits *pa tau*.⁶ A *skuīw*.⁷ A *sāk*.⁸ A omits.⁹ B *kattika*.¹⁰ A *spha*.¹¹ A *dacām*.¹² B *tla*.¹³ A inserts *ñah*.¹⁴ A omits *lpa kuīw pa ñi*.¹⁵ A *joñ juiñ (?) juiñ*.

3. m[r]a « [yar]au [kā] ka[lw]on
m[w]oy gah « [g]arhah to' tuy s(gyōñ)¹
4. [t] ca [dhār² gat]e[r] (i ma ca)³ slor
la(b)w[or]⁴ (bdah)⁵ ca twor ka[n]⁶
5. [ga]rhah (p)ah⁷ (u) bl[āy l]a(m)l(āy) « ñik
smiñ ska' smiñ « ñah ma su[ñ c]a w[e]ñ [kh]
6. [jare]ñ ñi « [khā garh]ah t[uy] ma tluñ m[it]⁸
pa gam-i ku tila pu[i]y tā' tun ler « kuīw
7. [sa]rañ(agā)ma[n]a⁹ « sikkhā[p]ada « dah rañ tu[y h]eñ
tila puīy ta' [k]uiw pa gam-[i] ñi (i)
.
8. [pātimokkhasamwara]sila¹⁰ « [i]n[d]ri[yasañ]warasila « ājiwa-
[pār]isuddhis[i]la « paccayasannissitas[i]la « ga[h] le[r]
.

¹ Very doubtful, except the initial letter, though I think *gy* is all right. The vowel must be either *e* or *o*; the final is quite conjectural.² The *anusāra* is superfluous, but it seems to be there, no doubt as a vowel modifier indicating that the pronunciation of the word had approximated to what it is now in L.M. Cf. l. 12, *infra*, n.³ Very doubtful, perhaps for *i ma ca* should be read « *ā*.⁴ The *b* may be *p* or *h*, or perhaps *w*.⁵ The *b* might possibly be *t*, and the *h* may be *t*.⁶ After *n* comes either *e* or *o*.⁷ Very doubtful, perhaps *mañ*. The stops are not quite certain either. But the Pāli supports the reading *pañ*.⁸ Error for *mik*.⁹ Or *sarañāgamañ*.¹⁰ Restored with the help of the Pāli version.

« kanhañ pkau gamat galat ca taw bun (3) mra yrau kā¹ kalon mwai gah kharah ta' klon lamuin
ra gah kalon ma phah sāk gah « gamhī ma klon ra gah tila ai ta' lapa² kuīw mād jareñ jaku ñi «
gamhī ma pa krayā ha me phaḍo(4)t ca dhaw gatew ā slow lapow bdah ca tow kaneñ « coh badah
ca sro' sdu ā juiñ gñiñ ca tuiñ badah ca mreñ kamhiñ « gamhī ma dah sāk gah tila ta' lapa law
jareñ ñi « yām gamhī ma nhau rau ku (5) karhah ma gah blāai lamlāai « ñik smiñ³ ska' smiñ «
ñah ma suñ ca weñ khat lan li « tila ai ta' lpa law jareñ ñi « yām gami ma nwañ kuīw saddhā ma
kat baton kweh kweh gah heñ « tila ai ta' law (6) jareñ ñi « khā karhah ma kluñ smik pa gamhī
jareñ tila ai ta' tun lew kuīw deh phaton lik tuai kuīw phaḍot akhaw dah tuai kuīw deh baton (7)
sarapagamana sikkhāpada « dah rañ tuai heñ tila ta' kuīw pa gamhī ñi « sāmmapī mnuñ ayuk ma
quik pā coh smik duñ upasampada tun lew laksan parisuddhisila pan ma twah gaḥ (8) pātimukkha-
samwārasila « indriyasamwārasila « ājiwāparisuddhisila « paccayasannissitasila « gah lew phaton
sāmmapī kuīw lop cuit ñi klā ñi « sla pat pātimuk le nū tañ cuip knot kom ku aratha kom ku

A omits.

² A *ma pa*.³ A omits.

9. y : p[k]at sā[ma]ṇī [gah] tlā ṇī [u] sla pat khudda-sikkhā [l]er : pka[t] sāmaṇī [gah tlā] ṇī : de¹
10. (ṇī : i) ² sāma[ṇ]ī (ta' gah)³ [dōk] peṇ tau [k]u kwat sāk gah tuy : [til]a pui[y] tā' pti[m]
11. [k]yāk tray ma da(h cui)t⁴ gah heṇ : ti[la p]ui[y] tā' pa ṇī : [p]at[i]p[at] ⁵ tuy ma ha ga[p go]r ku (winey)⁶
12. (dah) nānānikāya [tuy] : ma l(am)ū⁷ [la]me(k)⁸ tau kwām⁹ [k]u ta[ḍuik] laṇēṇ ma phā[h sā]k w[o' ma] . [e]¹⁰
13. (saṇ ma) [t]au [p]āy t[k]o['] Si[ṇ]ghu[ir tuy : ma] dak saṇ[ā]¹¹ ma kaḥ swok ga[h heṇ]¹² : [tila] (ey ta')

¹ Or, less probably, *do*. But I cannot restore the rest of it.

² Only the *i* is quite certain.

³ Very doubtful, though I think it is right.

⁴ The original may have *ba*, which would be an error.

⁵ Very doubtful.

⁶ Only the *i* is certain.

⁷ Or *lamet*?

⁸ On the principles of transcription indicated in § 17 *supra*, this might have been rendered *kwām*. But it is clear from the more usual spelling in this record (*kwom*), as well as from the E.M. *kom* and L.M. *kom*, *kom*, that the *anusvāra* is here used as a modifier of the inherent vowel (as explained in § 16, *supra*), and consequently the transcription *kwām* is to be preferred. It appears from this and some other instances that this use of the *anusvāra* is not confined to syllables closed by velars. Cf. l. 4, *supra*, n.

⁹ Error for *saṇā*.

¹⁰ Possibly *o*.

¹¹ Abbreviated as in H 41.

adhipā(9)ai " ¹ pkaṭ sāmmaṇī ta' klā ṇī sla pat khuddasikkhā " pa kat sāmmaṇī ta' klā ṇī " desapa² apat³ lew kuiw sāmmaṇī gah pden klā ṇī " paccawekkhanā ma spa prabhok ca pheai pan lew kuiw sāmmaṇī ta' gah pden (10) ṇī " sāmmaṇī ta' gah quik pda tau ku kwat sāk gah tuai " tīla saḍ ta' pa tim puai " puai duḍ upasampada ra " uit tīla saḍ gamluṇḍ tun lew patipat ma gap gaw tau ku winaya³ sikkhāpuit (11) kyāk trai ma dah cuit gah heḍ tīla ta' pa ṇī " patipat ma ha gap gaw ku winai kyāk trai ma dah cuit gah tīla ta' lapa pa ṇī " ma lon tuai pḍai padesa raḥ man wwa' gah tīla gamluṇḍ huit ma (12) dah nānānikāya ra ma lamuai lme⁴ tau kom ku taḍok : heḍ ma phah sāk wwa' ma gwa' dah roḍ " nā wwa' ma s-ā gata uit tīla saḍ ta' gamluṇḍ saddhā gah tuai duḍ upasampada ṇāḥ Siḍghuiw ra ci " ṇāḥ daget (13) saḍ ma tau pḍai Siḍghuiw " ma dah : ṇāḥ kaḥ sok gah heḍ tīla ta' pa bak kom ṇī " mwai nikāai heḍ kuiw dah ṇī " nikāai tnah tnah lpa kuiw dah ṇī " rau gah cha mwai sarakattika

¹ A inserts *ya*.

² A *aphat*.

³ A *eiṇiya*.

⁴ A *lamnu lmeḥ*.

14. (heṇ) : u[i]t pda[y] jan[ok ra]ḥ [ḍu]ṇ [rman] w[o'] : ti[la ṇ]aḥ kuiw
15. [drap] (gasap spa)¹ [taget]

(Fragment *b.*)²

16. [drap] (gasap) [tuy :] (ma) tage[t] . . h (ra :) gam-[i laṇ]guiw (gah) . . . [l]
17. [mā :] tīla ṇāḥ [ku]i³w tau pḍay gi[hi]bhāw uit [ra : : a]rā gam-i laṇguiw tuy [ma] cw(u)in⁴ (pa)⁴ [puin antima](watthu)⁵

¹ In this line, after the first word, only the top portions of the letters are clearly visible and there is some doubt, therefore, as to the reading. Cf. the next line.

² This fragment follows on pretty closely after the preceding one, but it is impossible to join them exactly.

³ The *u* is rather curiously formed and may be merely an accidental stroke.

⁴ Conceivably *ba*. It is often hard to distinguish *p* and *b* in this inscription; but the former is the right letter here.

⁵ Restored on the basis of the spelling in the next line.

tīla ṇāḥ kuiw ptuai (14) heḍ " uit pḍai jamnok raḥ ḍuḍ man wwa' " tīla ṇāḥ ma kuiw ā glāai danāai cam bat mwai ra " rā gamhī ma pa tala drap kasap sro' sdu ḍik truh ḍik brau glau preḍ ta' gah tīla ṇāḥ kuiw garaḍ pa tim ra " tīla puai ta' ra si¹ slaḥ kle' (15) drap kasap spa daget gamhī ra sdaḥ mhā pa ra " tīla puai ta' pa ha dah mā : suim drap kasap heḍ pa gihibhau " sāk gah tīla ṇāḥ kuiw lan huiṇ ku gamhī gamluṇḍ ra " gamhī lāuiw slaḥ kle' (16) drap kasap tuai " ma daget gamhī ra " gamhī lāuiw slaḥ drap kasap ha dah suim kuiw drap kasap heḍ pa kle' gihibhau ra " arā gamhī ma swuin bapuin antimawatthu ma canah thaḥaḥ ku ṇāḥ gamluṇḍ gah (17) mhā " tīla² ṇāḥ kuiw tau pḍai gihibhau pha-uit ra " arā gamhī lāuiw ma swuin bapuin antimawatthu gah ha canah thaḥaḥ ku ṇāḥ " ³ garaḥa parāpawāda ṇāḥ ma nwaṇ tau gamhī ma dah sāk gah lew

¹ Apparently error for *siḥ*.

² The MSS. here insert *ta'*.

³ For the passage from here to *siḥ*, inclusive, A has only *garaḥa parāpawāda*.

18. [u]it ra i i gam-[i]
 la[n]g[ui]w gah i ma cwui[n]¹ (ba)² [pui]n antima[watthu ma] cuip
 ra-it [gah ha] se[n]³ i (ayāmi i)⁴ ga[rahā parūpawāda]⁵

19. ler ti[l]a ñaḥ bak kuiw
 tau pḍay gihi[bhāw uit ra i i] g[am]-i t[ui]y ma [pa sar] i ma pa
 hurā i ma kṣū ca joṇ gni[n joṇ yāt]
20. g[i]hibh[āw u]it ra i rau
 [ww]o' [t]aḍuik la[n]e[n] [sās]anā ma k[tui]w [dah gah] i tila [ñ]aḥ
 [Rā]mā[dhi]pa[t]i ca[aḥ k]le' pa u[it] tu[y]
21. [tila⁶ puiy sañ] to['] g[am]luiṇ
 [t]uy i ma cuiṇ dah t[au] g[ā]maw[ās]i i ar[ā]ñawā[s]i i ma d[ma]ñ
 t[au] pḍay [th]ān duṇ rma[n] ww[o'] gah i i n[ū] sa[-]
22. (kkarāt 838)⁷ [duṇ] t[un]⁸ u[pasampada]⁹ ñaḥ
 Si[n]ghu[ir] gah i cuiw cuip sakkarāt [841 sak] [kuiw] sg[u]t duṇ
 t[un]⁸ tau heṇ ra i khā gah tila [puiy]

¹ Here the *u* is not quite certain, though the trace of it, if it is that, is in the usual position.

² Error for *pa*. Conceivably it may be a much damaged *pa*.

³ A small circle over the *s* must be a subsequent disfigurement.

⁴ For *mi* i one might read *pi* i, *bi* i, *ti*, or *hi*. Perhaps it is an error for *ayām*.

⁵ Or *rup*. The end of the word has been conjecturally restored on the analogy of E 57.

⁶ Restored. ⁷ Conjecturally restored on the basis of the Pāli version.

⁸ There is no *u* visible. ⁹ A small circle over the *mp* is probably a subsequent disfigurement.

tila ñaḥ bak kuiw tau pḍai gahipati (18, uit « gamhi lñuiw ma swuin bapuin antimawatthu ma cuip
 la-it gah ha seṇ ra « ayām māt garaha parūpawāda ñaḥ lñuiw gah nwaṁ tau « ma siṁ balah kle'
 garaha parūpawāda ñaḥ gah lew ha samah ratha gami ma phah sāk gah (19) lew tila ñaḥ bak
 kuiw tau gahibhau ph-uit ra « gamhi ma pa saw ma pa horā « ma khyu ca juiṇ gnin juiṇ yāt tuik
 bacām lāk nibā « phatrayāpaw gami ma pa mitchājiwa² gah lew tila ñaḥ kuiw tau pḍai (20)
 gahibhau ph-uit ra « rau wwa' thaḍuik lañāñ ā sāsā katuw dah gah tila ñaḥ Rāmādhīpati caaḥ
 jañāñ kle' pha-uit tuai « uit sañ gamluiṇ ma tau pḍai thān duṇ rāḥ man wwa' gah kuiw pa nikāya
 mwaṁ uit ra « (21) tila sañ ta' gamluiṇ ma cuiṇ dah tau gāmawāsi arañawāsi ma d[ma]ñ thān duṇ rāḥ
 man wwa' gah « nū sa(22)kkarāt 838 « gitu mrekkasuiw 9 māk thāi can « tila puiṇ ta' ma duṇ kluṇ
 upasampada ñaḥ Si[n]ghuiw duiw cuip sakkarāt 841 sak = kuiw sgut duṇ kluṇ tau heṇ ra « khā gah tila

¹ Orig. has *gah pharapawādā*.

² For *micchā*.

23. m acā [g]uin [dac]ām klaṁ i [sañ]
 samat mwoy lak pan lñim [b]ā kla[m] turau [cwoh] sun i i uit
 a]cā guin dac[ā]m kla[m] wwo['] kuim i] khā ma duṇ [u]-
24. [pasampada]¹ (k)w[o]m pha[lā] suim sablu [bī gapui]w i [b]un
 panā[k sa]t i me² sut i tḍo[n] i] (p)abeñ³ i pni[k] tila ñaḥ kuiw
 dān u[it] i a]rā tila [to] tu[y] ma gap
25. k[r]au [t]un [s]āma[n] to' tuy ma lagña[t]⁴ khudda-
 sikkhā i pātimok i tu[y] tila ñaḥ [ma kui]w dān parikkharā ma
 kuiw duṇ upasa[m]mpada ler [tu]rau⁵
26. [r]ma[n] wwo' [ma d]u[n] upasampa]da Si[n]ghuir gah i
 dah [m]woy lak masun lñim turau klaṁ turau cwoh turau [ra i i]
 pu[wa] ma caaḥ s[ā]s[anā] s[ā]k wwo' tuy i]
27. [k]yāk tra[y] san d]ah uiw [da ci] i sāsānā tuy ma tau tau
 pḍay duṇ rman wo' ler i ma sak ku tḍuik lñe[n] i ma [s]ak ku
 āsañk gah k[u]iw da[h] tuy

¹ Restored.

² H 39 has *mek*.

³ Or *ba°*?

⁴ Error for *lagat*.

⁵ Here a small superfluous space has been filled in with four small circles.

sañ ta' ma tau pḍai thān duṇ man ma duṇ upasampada gah « yā(23)ñ acā guin dacām klaṁ « sañ
 smat mwai lak 4 lñim 265 « uit acā guin dacām klaṁ wwa' khā ma duṇ u(24)pasampada tuai gah «
 swak ma pa ticiwarik le yāt sñā tat pā pā tau kwam phalā suim sablu bī gabuiw bun panāk¹ sat
 mhāai sut kḍuiṇ² babeñ pnik « tila ñaḥ kuiw dān ma pñap uit ra « (25) trau⁴ wwa' tun sāmmapī ta' ma kat
 khuddasikkhā pātimuk ta' gah tila ñaḥ ma kuiw dān parikkharā ma kuiw duṇ upasampada lew «
 tarau klaṁ mwai « apāñ uit suim yām tila ta' ma tau pḍai tawuiw i aḥ (26) man wwa' « ma duṇ
 upasampada Si[n]ghuiw gah « dah mwai lak masun lñim tarau klaṁ tarau cōh tarau « pawa ma caaḥ
 sānā sāk wwa' tila ñaḥ Rāmādhīpati ma pa gah « huit ma sjuṇ sḍuik sāsnā (27) kyāk trai dah
 uiw dah ci « sāsapā ma tau pḍai duṇ man wwa' lew ma sak kuiw taḍuik lñeṇ ma sak kuiw asañkā

¹ Orig. has *panāai*.

² Error for *nāma*.

³ *Atidom*.

⁴ Error for *krau*.

28. [ñi] lor cuit [tuy] i ma [pa rwoñ i] pday kāla ma lwon t[u]y
te' [gah] i smiñ tuy ma nwom tau ku puin [h]ān ma jnok clah
ma cuip ra-[it i ma sɔ̃j] [k mli]-¹
29. [k] [Asoka]dhammarāt² [k]uim [lo]r i [pday] tka' Siñghuir [t]un i
smiñ³ mw[o]y tuy ma himu Sirisañghabodhi-Parakkamabāhu⁴ [ma]
sjuñ sɔ̃uik pday sāsānā kyāk [tray san] (gah kuim)⁵
30. [k]yāk tra[y] san [k]uim la[r i
s]m[i]ñ Para[kk]amabāhu ma sjuñ⁶ sɔ̃uik [k] pday [s]āsānā [k]yāk
tray san kui[w]⁷ lar i [u]it smiñ ta ga[h g]amluñ kuim i fiā[t]
ke[t] ta[d]u[ik] lañeñ [ma] ktuiw dah
31. n(a) ma sak ku ta[d]u[i]k
[l]añeñ heñ [i] het ma mi[k⁸ kui]w sās[s]anā kyāk tray tan [t]au
[l]ukau [k]ā ma lo' gah i [caa]h [t]au sās[s]anā tuy i pday [k]āla
ma [l]won
32. [mah]ā[the] Āna[n g]ah i (g)a(g)eñ⁹
[bhāw t]uy i dah smiñ mwo[y] ma himu Usinnara i pkañ [r]añ tau
[k]ramin [p]day [d]uñ B[ā]rānāsī i khā gah sās[s]anā tila puiy
kyāk tray Kassapa

¹ Conceivably *sɔ̃uik mliu*. At the end a small superfluous space is filled in with four small circles, as in l. 25.

² Restored with the help of the Pāli version.

³ Probably not *Siri*² (as it seems to be in H 28).

⁴ The last two words are somewhat doubtful, but I think they are right.

⁵ Error for *kuim*.

⁶ The original may have *mit*, in error.

⁷ Conceivably *gañeñ*.

gah dah tuai « cuiw cuip 5 lām snām heñ kuiw gwa' tan tau (28) fi « law cuit tuai ma pa roñ »
pɔ̃ai kāla ma lon tuai te' gah « smiñ mnuñ puin hān ma jnok clah ma cuip la-it pɔ̃ai ma sɔ̃uik
mliu(29)k pɔ̃ai sāsānā kyāk trai san « gah kuim law »¹ ma himu Asokadhammarāt kuim law « pɔ̃ai
laka' Siñghuir tun « smiñ mwai ma himu Sirisañghabodhi-Parakkamabāhu » ma sɔ̃uik mliuik pɔ̃ai
sāsānā kyāk trai san « gah kuim law » smiñ Pijayabāhu² ma sjuñ sɔ̃uik pɔ̃ai sāsānā (30) kyāk trai
san kuim law « smiñ Parakkamabāhu ma sjuñ sɔ̃uik pɔ̃ai sāsānā kyāk trai san gah kuim law » uit
smiñ ta' gamluñ kuim fiāt ket sɔ̃uik lñeñ ma ktuiw badah pɔ̃ai sāsānā kyāk trai tuai « (31) na ma
sak kuiw sɔ̃uik lñeñ heñ huit³ ma mik kyāk trai tun tau lukau kāla ma la' gah ma caah tau
sāsānā tuai heñ « pɔ̃ai kāla lon tuai » tila (32) mahāthe Anan gahēñ tau bhau samsrā⁴ dah smiñ
mwai ma himu Usinnara « pkañ rañ kmin duñ Bārānāsī » khā gah sāsānā tila puin kyāk trai

¹ The words *gah kuim law* seem to have been cancelled in the MS.

² For *Wijayabāhu*.

³ A omits.

⁴ A omits *bhau samsrā*.

33. (t)¹ c[uih² i tūy] (i)³ ma dah tau [t]aɔ̃uik lañeñ ga[h]
i s[miñ g]ah fiāt tau kuim i (wī)⁴ mwoy tuy sāsānā kyāk tray
[K]assapa ma [s]-ah gah i smiñ gah ha go' pa tuy i pa ga(tī)m⁵
34. [t]uy smiñ gah dmāñ tau i khā gah bodhisat [p]uiy das⁶ smiñ In i
buin casuiñ tau yassapat dip pday duñ swor Tā[w]at[iñ] ku[i]m i
da[s]ok yas[s]apat dip gah kle' lor kuiw t[u]y i het tuy [ma]
35. mi[k] kuiw [s]āsānā kyāk tray Kassapa (ma)⁷ c-ah gah i cui[h] tluñ
thā[n m]nihsalok wwā' tu[y i] (ma)⁸ ket [w]e[h l]amba tuy i
kwon [d]ewatau Mātali gah i kuiw pa r(ū)p⁹ cluiw kliñ da[my]oñ
mwo[y]
36. tuy i datay ket cluiw kliñ [g]ah tuy i cuih bahek [s]miñ Ussinnara
gah i i khā smiñ Ussinnara [t]uy (ma)¹⁰ duñ sajuñ pday ma
sacaah sās[s]anā tuy ga[h] i smiñ In dandō'¹¹ batwo[n s]miñ
Ussinna-
37. ra tuy i smiñ In ma tui[n p]lan ā duñ swa[r] Tāwatiñ i i rau [gah]
smiñ tamlā tamlā ma pa tam ku smiñ A[sok]adha(m)mmarā[t] ta
gah i pday ma caah [sāsān]ā gah i pa tau kabut heñ i i bodhi-
sat

¹ Or *h*?

² Conceivably *cuit*.

³ Either this or the preceding stop is superfluous, and probably this one is accidental or an error.
The spelling *tūy* may also be a slip.

⁴ Or *wi*? Is it an error for *ñi*?

⁵ The *t* may be *h*, and the *i* may be *ī*. Over the *g* there is a mark resembling a superscript *ñ*.
At the end of the line there are two dots (like a *visarga*) to fill up space.

⁶ The occurrence here of this E.M. spelling is curious. Is it a conscious (or subconscious)
archaism, a mere slip, or due to the *s* that immediately follows? Anyhow, it is an irregularity, even
amongst the general inconsistencies of this record in the matter of spelling.

⁷ Or *pa*, or *sa*?

⁸ Or *pa*?

⁹ Conceivably *rup*.

¹⁰ Or *pa*?

¹¹ Written with the full form of *d*, subscript, but the proper spelling should be *dandō*.

Mahākasapa tasui(33)t¹ ceh ā dah tau taɔ̃uik lñeñ gah fiāt tau kuim i wī mwai tuai sāsānā kyāk
trai Mahākasapa ma s-ah gah smiñ gah hwa' gwa' pa tuai pa gati (34) tuai smiñ gah damāñ tau i
khā gah Bodhisat puai dah smiñ In i buin casuiñ tau yassapat dip pɔ̃ai duñ swaw Tāwatiñ kuim i
dasuik yassapat dip gah kle' law kuiw tuai i huit (35) kuiw sāsānā kyāk trai Mahākasapa ma s-ah
gah i ceh kluñ thān mñih luik wwā' tuai i pa lweh lama mwai tuai i kon dewatau Mātali i kuiw
pa rup kluiw damyuiñ mwai (36) tuai datai ket kluiw kliñ mwai tuai i ceh bahek smiñ Usinnara
gah ra i khā smiñ Usinnara ma duñ sjuñ ma s-ah sāsānā tuai gah i smiñ In dalo' baton smiñ
Usinna(37)ra gah tuai i smiñ In tun plan ā swaw Tāwatiñ ra i rau gah smiñ tamlā tamlā ma pa

¹ A *tasuik*.

38. puīy ma dah In tun ler ı huin casuiñ tau yatsa[p]at dip pđay duñ
swa[r Tā]wa[t]i[n k]uim ı pa tau kabut pđay ma sacaah sāsa[nā]
heñ ı ı sāk gah [het d]ah uiw da ci ı tila ñaḥ Rāmādhīpa[ti] tu-
39. [n] ler ı atuiñ taget sapparuih ma phah sāk ta [g]ah ı [tg]et [b]ak
kwom [tuy] (pa)¹ puwa ma caah [sā]sanā sāk wo' ma pa rwo[ñ] ı
rau gah het [d]ah uiw d]a ci ı pđay kā [a]nāgat pđay[y] duñ
40. [Haṃ]sawatī tun gah ı smiñ gamluiñ tuy ma [n]w[o]m tau k[u]
saddhā ma sktuiw dah pab[wo]y² [k]rau³ ga[h ı] taḍui[k l]aṇeñ
sāsanā ma k[t]uiw dah [g]ah ra [y]ar ñāt ma gah ı ñāñ sāsa[n]ā
ma sac[-]ah [h]eñ ı pa wipa[r]ā
41. kw[o]m ñi ı ı [t]ila puīy ara[h]an ma pa ta[m] ku Moggaliputtatissa-
mahāthe ı Majjhan[t]ikathe ı ta gah gamluiñ tu[n] l[er ı] ñaḥ ma
dah ı ka[t]a ı kicca tuy ra [d]ah uiw da ci ı [c]asu[i]ñ ket ı⁴
[phala]samā-
42. pattisu[kh]a dmāñ go' tau [k]uim ı [h]et tuy ma smik kuiw sāsanā
jno[k] mar ga[h] ı da[sok ph]alasamāpatt[isukha]⁵ gah ı [k]arau
kle' tuy ı p[đ]ay sāsanā ma⁶
43. [sg]o' jnok mar ga[h] he[ñ ı]⁷ pa tau [k]abut⁸ [t]u[y] ı ı [sāk]⁹ ga[h]
h[e]t da[h] uiw da ci ı ti[l]a p[u]iy ga[m-i] sapparui[h] gamluiñ
tuy ı ma nwom tau ku saddhā pđay [s]āsanā

¹ Conceivably *ma* or *ı*.² For *babwoy*.³ Looks like *trau*.⁴ This stop seems to be superfluous.⁵ Apparently first written **khā* and then changed to **kha* by cancelling the *ā* by means of four small circles.⁶ The *ma* is followed by the first half of the *o* of the *sgo'* that begins the next line; then come two small circles to fill in the remaining space.⁷ Looks a little like *het*, but I think *heñ* ı is right.⁸ Looks like *kibut*, but the extra mark is probably accidental.⁹ Looks rather like *sāt*, but is certainly meant for *sāk*.

tañ ku smiñ Asokadhammarāt gah pđai gabut caah sāsnā pa tau gabut heñ Bodhisat (38) puiai ma dah In tun ı lew ı huin casuiñ yassapat dip pđai duñ swaw Tāwatīñ kuim ı pa tau gabut pđai ma caah sāsnā heñ ı sāk gah huit dah uiw da ci ı tila ñaḥ Rāmādhīpati tu(39)n lew atuiñ daget sapparuih ma phah sāk gah pa bak kom tuai ı pawā ma caah sāsnā sāk wwa' ma pa roñ rau gah huit dah uiw da ci ı pđai kāla anāgat¹ pđai duñ (40) Hāñsawatī tun ı gah smiñ gamluiñ mnuñ ku saddhā ma katuiw dah bwai krau gah sduik leñ sāsnā ma ktuiw dah gah ra ı yaw ñāt mgaḥ ñāñ sāsnā ma s-ah heñ pa wiparā (41) kom ñi ı tila arhan ma ptañ² ku Puggaliputtatissathe³ ı Majhantikathe ta' gah gamluiñ tun lew ı ñaḥ ma dah kata⁴ kicca tuai ra dah uiw da ci ı casuiñ phalasamā(42)pattisukha dmāñ gwa' tau kuim ı huit smik kuiw sāsnā jnok mow gah dasuik phala-samāpattisukha gah ı karau kle' tuai pđai sāsnā ma (43) sgo' jnok mow gah heñ ma pa tau gabut⁵ tuai heñ ı sāk gah huit dah uiw da ci ı tila sañ ta' gamluiñ ma dah gamhī sapparuih ı mñuñ

¹ A *ā* gah.² A inserts *dah*.³ For *Muggalī*.⁴ A *pañā*.⁵ A *bnat*.

44. [k]yā[k tray ma] strak tluñ [p]đay k]ā anāgat ga[h] l[e]r ı [p]đay
[s]ā[san]ā [t]uy ma sgo' c-ah ı pđay sā[s]anā ma sgo' jnok mar
gah ı tila puīy to' pa kabut kwom ñi ı¹

K

(Fragment a.)

1.
.²
2. sañ [tā' ma duñ] (ket upasampada)
3. (kwom) ku gā[makhet da c-āñ ma tau wū]du[ih deh] ga[h ı
rukkhād](isambandha)
4. [tun l]e[r ı gām]akhet tuy ma tau pđay c[ru]ih [t]ma'
ni[m]it [ma str]a(k dah baddhasim)

¹ This is the end of the main inscription, so far as preserved, and the manuscript version gives no more. But the Pāli has another short paragraph.² In this line only three or four undecipherable characters have been preserved. Here begins the first of the fragmentary appendices following on the Kalyāṇī inscription, proper. As there is nothing to correspond with them in the Pāli version, it is impossible to say how much is lost at the beginning; and as both margins of this piece are missing and it cannot be fitted in with fragment b, the number of letters lost at the beginnings and ends of lines are also unascertainable. The dots, therefore, indicate merely that an indefinite amount is missing in those positions. The manuscript version, now made available, will however serve to show approximately what the amount was.

kuiw saddhā ta' tun ı pđai sāsnā (44) kyāk trai ma krak pđai kāla anāgat gah lew ı pđai sāsnā ma sgo'¹ s-ah pđai sāsnā ma sgo' jnok mow gah ı tila sañ ta' pa gabut kom ñi ı nū cñāñ tila puin kyāk trai Sākyamūpī ma pa parinibbāñ gah ı khā ma dah bā lām bā gah cñāñ gah ı huit smik kuiw sāsnā kyāk trai saah law cuit tuai ı arā pūguīw ma nwañ ku saddhā ma mik gwa' duñ upasampadabhau s-ah gah ı tila ñaḥ Rāmādhīpati p-ow tila puiai the 22 ra ı kuiw ā duñ nañ upasampada nū taka' Siñghuiw ı jareñ tila puiai ta' ma ā duñ upasampada nū taka' Siñghuiw gah smik kuiw ñaḥ gwa' duñ ket upasampada law cuit tuai ı ñaḥ ma duñ upasampada gah lew huit smik kuiw gwa' pa kam ma ptañ uposatha pawāraṇa (K ı) gah ı sim tareñ tareñ tuai ñaḥ ma smik ma lon tuai ta' gah lew ha señ ku sim ma dah uiw dah ci ı tila ñaḥ Rāmādhīpati ı p-ow² (2) tila puiai ta' ma duñ upasampada Siñghuiw ta' gah tuai ı ma samit law sim ta' wwa' roñ ı pit sim ta' wwa' kuim ma smit mā ı gāmakhet tuai ma dah datau ı sim ma dah tami gah (3) kom ku gāmakhet da³ s-āñ ma tau wut duih deh gah ı rukkhādisambandha ma tau pđai ti kuim law ı ma tau pđai amhai kuim law ı caḍaḥ kle' tuai heñ khāi karoñ ti tuai ı pđai gāma dah dakau sim ma sadah tami gah (4) tun lew ı khāi gāmakhet tuai pa tau caruih tma' nimit ma krak dak bandhasim bwai gata gah kuiw gāmakhet ma tau mñāḥ kuim ı rukkhādisambandha ma nwañ gah

¹ A inserts *ma*.² B inserts *kuiw*.³ A omits.

5. (lar)¹ [simāmagga heñ] « khā [ma lapo]k tu[n l]er [i yām
ti ma tau pday] er[uih nimit]
6. (jmāp)² [jmāp³ kanan gah ma kuiw lapok] (byi)⁴ [ā pa]
uit « [khā] ma [samtun ler] (yām)⁴
7. (') tuy . . .⁵ [ma dak rwoñ « »] pda[y sim
gamluñ] ga[h K]alyā[nīsim mway heñ] (ma)
8. [sim] Ka[l]yā[nī « » kitu mruji[kkasuil cah ḥa
c]awe[k thay sok payām] (yah)⁴
9. (ma cau nū)⁴ [Siñghuir kuim] (i ma)⁴ [sam]i[t
sim ḥa « pday mahārām « » kitu mruji[kkasuil]
10. (khā klā tit)⁴ [tila puīy to' ma cau nū Siñghuir
kuim ma samit sim] . (ut)⁶ [mla] (skar)⁷
11. (upasamp)a[da Siñghuir (kuim ma) [sami]t sim [pan
duih] j[on kyāk] (mah tau⁸ « »)
12. [Siñgh]uir⁹ « p-o[r tilla [puīy acā sañ to'] (ma) [duñ
payañ Siñghuir to']

¹ Or *lar*.² Looks like *jmāw*.³ It looks rather like *heñ* or *heñ* i.⁴ Or *skan*. Perhaps these three words are the proper name of the *simā*.⁵ Or *mah thau*? This presumably refers to the great pagoda at Pegu. ⁶ Restored.⁷ Conjecturally restored.⁸ Very doubtful.⁹ The final may have been *h*.

caḍaḥ kle' tuai « karoñ ti tuai « canah thaḥaḥ (5) law simmāmagga heñ « khā ma lapuik tun lew
«¹ yām ti ma tau pḍai sruih nimit kuim law « yām ma tau māḥ kuim law « yām jaliñ 5 hatth « jnok
5 hat kapañ pḍai ti « na gapuīr tuai « (6) jmāp jmāp kapañ gah ma kuiw lapuik byi ā pha-uit «
khā ma samit tun lew « yām gāmakhet sdah dakañ sim ma dah tami « ḥaḥ ma² karoñ law pḍai ti
tuai gah « kuiw ḥaḥ datau wut duih kuiw māḥ mwai calo(?)³ tuai heñ ma dak³ roñ « pnaw sim
gamluñ gah Kalyāpī mwai heñ ma dah klā ra « sakkarāja « gitu mrekkasuiw 8 mamāk thāi aduit
« tila sañ ta' ma cau nū Siñghuiw heñ ma smit (8) sim Kalyāpīsim « gitu mrekkasuiw 12 cwek thāi
suik payām yah lau gah tila puiai ta' ma cau⁴ nū Siñghuiw kuim ma samit sim kyāk lāiñ « payām
thāi ceñ gah tila puiai ta' (9) ma cau nū Siñghuiw kuim « ma samit 2 pḍai mahārām « gitu
mrekkasuiw 13 cwek thāi sñisaw tila ta' ma cau nū Siñghuiw kuim « ma samit sim⁵ bhā mru « gitu
phawraguīn 13 cwek thāi (10) klā ha katau tila puiai ta' ma cau nū Siñghuiw ma samit sim⁶ mū
mla skaw « gitu cai 5 māk thāi 4 tila puiai ta' ma cau nū Siñghuiw kuim koñ ku tila puiai ta' sañ
Bago ma duñ (11) upasampada Siñghuiw kuim ma samit sim 4 duih juiñ kyāk muh tau nū ma pa
tam sakkarāt 838 « gah tila ḥaḥ Rāmādhīpati « paramamahādhammarājādhīrāt « p-ow tila puiai ta'
ma cau nū (12) Siñghuiw « p-ow tila puiai sañ ta' ma duñ payaḥ Siñghuiw ta' gah tuai « suim kuiw
guin danaḥ heñ ma kuiw samit sim jmāp jmāp⁷ duñ jmāp jmāp⁸ raḥ raḥ māñadesa wwa' « khā ma

¹ A omits from here to *samtun lew*, inclusive.² A *dah*.³ A inserts *ba*.⁴ Orig. has **maphā** (for **mahā**) and omits **jā**.⁵ A inserts 2426.⁶ Orig. has *cl*.⁷ Orig. has *suim*.⁸ A omits.

13. (h) « paṇḍit [jamnok mway mway tila ḥaḥ
kuiw] . . . (ā) [kwom « sim] (tuy)
14. [sim k]yā[k mahā]bu[ddharu]p [i sim pāñ]
(abeñ)¹ [i sim] (kari « sim)
15. [i s]i[m] ma[h bap]uñ « [sim ka' kluiw «]
[i]
16.

(Fragment *b*).²

17.
 (i sim) [b]a(r)a[h « sim mba] . [i]

18. (ta)rwo(t)³ « sim
mba ḥāñ « [sim] p[n]ā(n)

¹ Very doubtful. The same remark applies to many of the names of *simās* in the long list which follows below.² Probably very little is lost between this fragment and the preceding one, but they cannot be fitted together exactly.³ Or *(ta)rwoh*? Perhaps we should read *wā* for *ta*, as the MS. text does.

samt ga(13)h paṇḍit jamnok¹ mwai mwai tala ḥaḥ kuiw bak ā koñ « sim tila² puiai ta' ma samit
gah tun « sim kyāk kuiw sim ma tam³ « sim ma roñ⁴ lhok « sim caluik⁵ ciñ « sim gāmalañ « (14)
sim kyāk mahābuddharup « sim pāñ apuiw « sim kari « sim tam phā « sim kyāk ma tam jow⁶ « sim
mañ mrā « sim ḥuai ḥāai « sim muh⁷ kla but « sim samā gasā « sim jip brāai « sim muh ya tala
(15) « sim muh bapuñ « sim ka' kluiw « sim jalāai thaw « sim lañ paḍaḥ « sim jrai sapoai « sim
amāt sut « sim smiñ U Kwew « sim hāñ gām « sim prañ sā « sim ma sra ma leñ « sim jip dwoñ «
sim run wuin (17) sim barah « sim ma muin « sim kamā amāt « sim oñ bra sri « sim kon
blāai « sim pāñ tarau⁸ pā « sim pañ lāñ « sim māñ mrā « sim (18) wā rot « sim ma ḥāñ « sim pāñ
dabok⁹ « sim wiñ taw « sim ma bat « sim min taloñ¹⁰ « sim brau galā « sim leñ slop « sim señ

¹ A *paṇḍita* ma jnok.² B *ma rok*.³ B *muk*.⁴ Orig. inserts *ḥaḥ*.⁵ B *calhuin*.⁶ A *krau*.⁷ For *sim ma tam* B has *samt tam*.⁸ For *tam jow* A has *ptam jow*.⁹ B *da blok*.¹⁰ Or *talo*.

19. (i sim) mba sa¹ [i si]m gān [lon i s]im
[t]aguiw [tla] i s[i]m n̄
.
20. (pān) pan i [si]m ca[ga]n² i sim (bha)³ ba[k]e[t] i [s]i[m mba a] . .
[i s]i[m mba l]u[it i]
.
21. [k]aḍāk i sim mba lau (bān)⁴ i sim ar(h)a[n i sim a]poñ i s[i]m t[r]it⁵
(mba)⁶ sañ [i sim]
.
22. [s]im [thā]n⁷ k(wa)h⁸ [i si]m [mb]o' yage' [i s]im . .⁹ (mba g)rām i
[s]i[m] gatuim i s[i]m (a)¹⁰
.
23. [sim ad](wo)n i sim [a]jan i [s]im j[ray r]ā(t)¹¹ i sim [m]ba (cau)¹²
i sim kyāk¹³ rhū i sim pā[n] apu(h)¹⁴ i sim)
.

¹ Perhaps *sañ*.⁴ Possibly *tan*.⁷ Or *than*?⁹ Perhaps *a*, making *amba*. Or else *bha* or *bhu*?¹⁰ Or *d*?¹⁸ Under the final *k* (which has the *virāma*) there appears to be another *k*. I take this to be a later disfigurement. If it is the engraver's own correction, we must read =*karhū* for *rhū*.¹⁴ Or *aput*?² Possibly *carān*, or *cañan*.⁵ Possibly *trat*.⁸ Possibly *kmañ* or *kun*?¹¹ Or *rāk*?³ Possibly *a*?⁶ Possibly *mā*?¹² Very doubtful.

jā (19) sim ma sa " sim gon¹ lon " sim dhaguiw kla² " sim ṇaḥ slaḥ taluai³ " sim wā ḍāk " sim ma ḍā " sim tayu taswok " sim bhalim abah " sim ma bān " sim (20) pān 4 " sim cagan " sim a baket " sim ma asū " sim ma thuik " sim sneñ juk⁴ " sim khāñ mrah " sim srah wā " sim nāai " sim kyāk kwew " sim (21) kaḍāk " sim ma lau bān " sim arhan " sim apañ " sim krik ma sañ " sim dañ " sim kyāk thaw " sim kyāk tāñ⁵ quñ " sim mo' ⁶ aduiw " sim wā swā " sim bahā jnok " (22) sim thāñ knuh " sim mo yage' " sim bhu mla grām " sim gatuim " sim aḍam " sim mbo' ⁷ khot " sim kyāk ma talew " sim jrai mwai " sim kyāk prah " (23) sim aḍon " sim ajan " sim jrai rāk⁸ " sim ma cau " sim kyāk kana⁹ " sim pāñ apuh " sim lalom¹⁰ " sim pā babeñ

¹ A *gow*.⁴ A *jut*.⁷ B *moh*.¹⁰ A *lalon*.² Or *klam*?⁵ B *tam*.⁸ A *jrāai rāt*.³ A *khlan talai*.⁶ Or *mom*?⁹ B *kanā*.

24. ku[i]w c[lik¹ i] sim (danī) [i] si[m] sarui[m] i s[i]m sat da[ḍoñ]
sim mba . āy i si[m j]ra(y)² mba (p)ū i [sim] pa(g)ā³ i s[i]m
.
25. [sim] (p)āñ⁴ sandan⁵ i sim ban tu⁶ i pḍay (Bhimap)ūra⁷ i s[i]m
mahāsāmi Pago i s[i]m mahāsāmi Siṅghuiw i)
.
26. [sim b]uiw i si[m d]uiw da[n]i [i] sim [tw]ān (dhatek)⁸ i s[i]m ro]w
sā i sim jray (t)ayā i si[m] (c)[uiñ]⁹ i sim gataḥ¹⁰ pa[n]
.
27. [tar]h[i]m i sim] (k)are[h]¹¹ i s[i]m tar ka[lah i sim mbo' u] ḍwot i
[si]m [mbo' rāt i si[m twān bl]āy i sim m]
.
28. [kru]ñ ph(āñ nañ)¹² [i s]im dala[m] (t)as[āy]¹³ i [s]im ga[t]ui[m] phaḥ
i sim jray pṣā i [sim tikā i sim kho i] si[m] drañ thār [i sim] . .
.
29. [rāy siṅga' i] si[m pañ lāy i sim] (du)n¹⁴ jala i [sim] (wān¹⁵ ṇā)y¹⁶ i
[sim] (truk¹⁷ kanlaw) [i sim mah] ta jn(u) i sim [a]
.

¹ Or *clit*?⁴ Or *wān*?⁷ This might be read¹⁰ Or *bataḥ*?¹³ Or *kaḍay*?¹⁷ It is uncertain whether the initial and final consonants of this word are *h* or *t*, and the vowel*u* or *a*.² Or *jrah*?⁵ Perhaps to be read *sandan*.⁸ Or *gatek*, or *baket*?¹¹ Or *tareh*?¹⁴ Conceivably *wun*.¹⁵ Or *pān*?³ Looks like *pañā*, perhaps an error for *pañā*?⁶ Or *ta*?⁹ Or *khuiñ*?¹² Or *phañ janañ*, or *phañ nañ*?¹⁶ Or *jāy*?

sim mañ glon " sim kyāk tamlon " sim (24) kuiw klik " sim dhanī¹ " sim cā muiw " sim skañ noñ² " sim ma glāai " sim jrai ma pū " sim pañā " sim tan sran " sim ma señ " sim Rammapūra " sim tamuh tabuai " (25) sim pāñ saran " sim ban bān " pḍai Bhimapūra tun " sim mahāsāmi Pago " sim mahāsāmi Siṅghuiw " sim alha sarāai " sim buit kamā " sim jiñ jāñ " sim lagan phen " (26) sim buip " sim³ duiw danī⁴ " sim twān gatek " sim rāñ sā " sim jrai tayā " sim khuiñ⁵ " sim gataḥ pan " sim kyāk rāai man " sim tamrot " sim wañ tuin " sim (27) karhim⁶ " sim⁷ karheñ " sim taw kalah " sim mo' u ḍot " sim muh rāt " sim twān blāai " sim moh⁸ quñ " sim phaḍoñ⁹ " sim ma ya bāa " sim jinai " sim pāñ (28) kruñ phāñ pāñ " sim dalam tasāai " sim gatuim phañ " sim jrai phyā " sim tā " sim kho " sim drañ thaw " sim ma mañ sā " sim paluit quñ Muh Bī " sim mahā mañ (29) rāñ siḍgasū " sim pañ lāai " sim dun jala " sim wān ṇāai " sim kruk kaluiw " sim

¹ Written *dhanim*.⁴ Written *danim*.⁷ Orig. inserts another *sim*.² B *nwon*.⁵ B *khuiñ*.⁸ A *muh*.³ Error for *sim*.⁶ B *karim*.⁹ A *phaḍow*.

30. taḍo[n] : sim basah " pḍay Sreñ sim t[w]ā[n smīn] (cun suin¹ : sim drāt) [s]i[m] (h)ān² : sim parhāk (ga)
31. [n] gai³ : sim jra[y cah] : s[i]m kyā[k] ta[luy : sim rāy khañ⁴ : sim amāt Wji[jayasiha : s]i[m lagw]or glu : si[m mba] samiñ⁵ :
32. [t]ama[t th]ana : sim hāñ [t]al[un : sim] croñ : sim [gaḍuy⁶ : s]i[m b]a(nḍa)[n : sim] (saggakām) : [sim] la(t) : [si]m mbuiñ añi : sim saguim : s[i]m] (si)-⁶
33. [m s]r[o'] khyuit : s[i]m [mah] lwān : sim ma[h] chu k(w)e[t]⁷ : pḍay [Oguñ si]m (mah damru)⁸ : sim ma[h] du[n] : [s]im rak⁹ : s[i]m duiw canlan : [s]i[m] pubbā
34. w : sim du[i]w panah : sim goh dha[m]mārām : [s]im [tak] (nañ)¹⁰ : sim lāmbāt : sim [apa¹¹ gay : s]im [k]yā[k] (gnak)¹² : sim nelu lañ : sim dā[ñ lu] (si)-¹³

¹ Very doubtful, perhaps a proper name.² Or tāñ?³ This transcription treats a subscribed mark as accidental. If it is to be taken into account, the transcription would be ga añi.⁴ Or khañ?⁵ Or gaḍay?⁶ Conjecturally restored.⁷ Or kmet?⁸ Or damra?⁹ Or rat?¹⁰ Or nuñ?¹¹ Or sapā?¹² Or gnat? And perhaps the vowel may be u.¹³ Conjecturally restored.

muh ka¹ gnu " sim asek " sim galā quā² " sim muh nāt " sim gayāñ (30) cā ḍot " sim pḍai Sreñ tun " sim twān khun³ suin " sim dhrāt " sim hāñ " sim parāk gatā " sim tapuin pi bañā " sim balāai cah " sim pā(31)ñ gai " sim jrai cah " sim kyāk taluai " sim rāai khāñ " sim amāt " Wijayasiha " sim gagow gluñ " sim ma samiñ " sim ma dycñ " sim jrai lhoñ " sim (32) tama tan⁴ " sim hāñ tam⁵ luñ " sim croñ " sim gaḍuai⁶ " sim baran " sim saggadāai⁷ " sim lat⁸ " sim muai añi " sim saguim " sim dhammadu " sim kamā ma soai " si(33)m sro' khyuit " sim muh lwān " sim muh chu kneh " pḍai⁹ Laguñ tun " sim muh ba pru " sim muh dun " sim rak " sim duiw calan " sim pubbarām " sim kyāk ma sām kyo(34)w " sim duiw pnah " sim dugoh dhammarā " sim thak nañ¹⁰ " sim lamāk " sim aba gai " sim kyāk gnuk " sim nelu lñan " sim dāñ luin " sim

¹ A gā.² A tun.³ B cun.⁴ A tun.⁵ B tāñ.⁶ B gaḍai.⁷ A aggadāai.⁸ A lawāk.⁹ A sim.¹⁰ A nuñ.

35. m twān akhwon : [sim bal]ā : si[m d]ar[o]ñ [s]ā : si[m m]a[n]ga] : [s]im [k]ruñ¹ cra : sim camb(u)ñ : [sim duiw kh]awēñ : pḍay [Yat Khret² M]jah Smīn : s[i]m]
36. sum : sim ta[r] skem : [s]im pān : sim tko' iñi : sim jray nā(g)uir³ : [s]im dapuin b[r]au : pḍay (Tar)⁴ [sim] kyāk Rājādhira[t] : [sim] kyāk (thon : sim)
37. r : [s]im [kyāk] gatui[w] : sim damra' : si[m] amāt jray [n] pḍay [J]ray sim kamluiñ (tla)⁵ : [s]i[m] jip sa[y : s]im tar sanāñ : pḍay Klon Pal[ā]y s[i]m⁶ s]mi[ñ]
38. m pḍay [kruñ]⁷ smīn [Si]ñghuiw kuim : sim kyā[k] (m)ah[e]caram⁸ : pḍay Lañkā kruñ⁷ (T)ā[wa]ñ⁹ sim kruñ⁷ brāt : sim kruñ⁷ kawa : sim kruñ kamer " pḍay Sa . r. (si)-¹⁰
39. m [tā c]an(ā)ñ¹¹ : s[i]m gniñ (lā)n twān [smi]ñ [S]udasuim : sim adin a[dāñ] : sim baleñ : sim kyāk brau " pḍay Da(m)k[ā]k sim amāt [ok : s]im sapā : sim mba
40. [Buddhawā : sim] lateñ " pḍay Da[l]a sim [ky]āk [gn]i : [s]i[m] kuttī kwon (p)rā[k¹² : si]m (k)a[bāñ]¹³ : [si]m mba dui[ñ] : sim phyeñ : sim twān b[r]āk : sim [j]añam : sim brañ bra(u)¹⁴ : sim

¹ Or truñ?² Possibly Yak (or Lak?) and Khrek.³ Or buir, wuir, or dhuir?⁴ The initial may be k, the final may be n.⁵ Or kla, or klām?⁶ Originally sih, corrected to sim.⁷ Or krañ?⁸ Or pa°?⁹ Or Thā°, or Kā°?¹⁰ Conjecturally restored.¹¹ Or canañ?¹² Or brāk?¹³ Or tabāñ?¹⁴ Or bra?

pāñ taboñ " si(35)m twān akhlon " sim phalā " sim darhoñ sā " sim mañā " sim kruñ cra " sim damyuiñ " sim duiw kawēñ " pḍai Lakhlek¹ " sim muh smiñ " sim badow² glañ " sim jrai (36) sum " sim thaw skem " sim pān³ " sim kko' iñi " sim jrai nāguir " sim tamuin brau " pḍai Taw⁴ " sim kyāk Rājādhirañ " sim kyāk thon " sim wihā smiñ tha(37)w " sim kyāk gatuiw " sim damra' " sim amāt jrai " pḍai jrai sim gamluiñ roo " sim jip sai " sim ta sanhāñ " pḍai Klon Phalāai " sim smiñ Siñghuiw " si(38)m pḍai kruñ smiñ⁵ Siñghuiw kuim " sim kyāk pahecaram " pḍai Lañkā kruñ Kāwanna " sim krañ brāp " sim krañ kawa " sim kruñ⁶ kamew " pḍai kruñ Samriñ⁷ " si(39)m tā capāñ " sim gniñ yān twān smiñ smiñ Suddasuim⁸ " sim adin adāñ " sim baleñ " sim kyāk brau " pḍai Damkāk⁹ " sim amāt ot " sim sapā " sim ma (40) Buddhawā " sim lateñ " pḍai Dala " sim kyāk gniñ " sim kuttī twān " abrak " sim kabāñ¹⁰ " sim ma duiñ " sim

¹ B Lakhthek.² B padow.³ B bān.⁴ B Thaw.⁵ A omits.⁶ A krañ.⁷ Or Samriñ, possibly.⁸ A Suddasim.⁹ A Damkāai.¹⁰ A kañ bān.

41. [t]aba [pr]e + sim [s]ar(wa)y¹ + sim apha pañ + sim aḥat + sim
[g]ayāñ [tāk² + sim amā]t [tañ mrek³ + sim l]aṇa[n + sim b]a(k)⁴
[sreñ + s]im dan(d)ay⁵ + ⁶

L

(Fragments *a* and *b*.)

1. (mat) . (i)⁷
2. [kyāk ḥay]⁸ twan + sim
3. [si]m [khwā]y jnek⁹ + sim khwāy dwo[t]

¹ Or *sarwuy*, or *saruy*?² Or *tak*?³ Or *mret*?⁴ Or *ḥat*, or *ḥāk*?⁵ Or *danday*, or *danay*?⁶ This appears to have been the last line on this face in its original state. See the manuscript version, which says so.⁷ This fragmentary face is made up of two pieces, (*a*) to the left, ll. 7-18, (*b*) to the right, ll. 1-18. From l. 8 to l. 16 they practically joined, hardly anything being missing between them, at the time when the oldest extant estampage of (*b*) was taken. But since then the lower portion of (*b*) at the line of junction seems to have broken off. Besides this, there is a good deal of illegibility along the line where the pieces should meet. The amount missing between the end of Face K and what remains of Face L can only be estimated from the manuscript version.⁸ Possibly *mah*.⁹ Error for *jnok*.

phyed + sim twān brāk¹ + sim jadap + sim brāk bra + sim (41) taba bre + sim sarai + sim
apha² pañ + sim awat + sim gayāñ kāk + sim amāt tañ mrek + sim lāw + sim bāk sreñ
+ sim danai + tma' pañcama tuai ra +
pḍai Lhui³ + sim pāñ lhui⁴ + sim pāñ mapha⁵ + pḍai Dhanu Plu⁶ sim pā + pḍai Moriya +
sim amāt phāk + pḍai thān tala ḥaḥ ma dmāñ smiñ mwai + sim kyāk smiñ (L 1) mat
pi suim pā + pḍai Klon sim mwai + sim mwai ramlāai kyāk tun + sim smiñ ḥi daw dā +
sim kyāk tala lok + sim (2) kyāk mah⁷ tpan + sim bāk⁸ leñ⁹ + sim smiñ lok wañ + pāñ
tarau + pḍai Basim + sim kyāk¹⁰ smiñ¹¹ kyāk gā + sim duiw ḥi + kāk + sim kut lyeñ nāñ¹²
+ (3) sim khwāai jnok + sim khwāai dot + sim kyāk tma' + sim kamā buip + sim kyāk kalay¹³ +

¹ A *prāk*.² A *apa*.³ B *Luiñ*.⁴ B *luiñ*.⁵ A *mapa*.⁶ B *Danḍa Phlā*.⁷ A *muh*.⁸ A *bāñ*.⁹ B *lāñ*.¹⁰ A *kyā*.¹¹ Error for *sim*?¹² A *nāk*.¹³ A *kiai*.

4. (i) sim ca[ttā]¹ ḥuiñ [j]nok + sim ca[ttā]¹
ḥuiñ dwo[t]
5. (m sā)² [+ sim k]r[u]ñ [māñ] + sim [hāñ]³
(t)w[o]n⁴ + sim ky[āk]⁵
6. (pḍay)⁶ [Mram⁷ sim ja]mha(th)⁸ [+ sim camā'⁹]
+ sim [pāñ glāk] + si[m]
7. (ka)na sja⁹ sim (ja).(u)
 (gmi cah)¹⁰ sim [dan]i
(pajau)¹¹ [+ sim kyāk bi tagā + sim sm(iñ)¹²
8. (Koliya) + [sim] [smi]ñ l[oka]. [r] . . .¹³ [+ sim joñ
kyāk] r [+ sim dap¹⁴ chu¹⁵ + sim t]ar ma[ñ + o¹⁶ + pḍay
Candapūri¹⁷ + si[m] . o¹⁸

¹ Or *caḥka*?² Very doubtful.³ Or *hañ*, or *pāñ*?⁴ This may be an error for *kwon*.⁵ Conjecturally restored.⁶ Conjecturally restored, and extremely doubtful.⁷ Or *Mrim*?⁸ Or *jamha*?⁹ The preceding syllables are presumably part of some place-name.¹⁰ The preceding is written in small compressed characters and the reading is very doubtful. The last part may be *calēñ* i. For *gmi* we might read *smiñ* (with the *ñ* superscript over the *e*).¹¹ Or *paja*?¹² Conjecturally restored.¹³ Looks like *lokatrā*.¹⁴ Or *ḍāp*?¹⁵ Looks like *chwa*.¹⁶ A small mark here may be a paragraph mark. It seems to be like the cypher *o*.¹⁷ Or *ḥpūñ*?¹⁸ Or *e*.

sim muh dhau¹ chān lha + sim muh dhau gniñ samuiñ (4) + sim catta buik jnok + sim catta buik dot
+ sim tamyā sā + sim ka prañ drāai + sim meñ gañ² Konāguim + smiñ³ mañ ceh da³ khwañ + sim
pāñ jakwa(5)ñ sā + sim kruñ han + sim hēñ twon + sim kyāk gatorñ + sim bāñsā + sim kawah
glau + sim ganāñ dūñ + sim jammunā⁴ + 25 + (6) pḍai Samrim + sim jamhañ + sim camha'⁵ +
sim pāñ glāñ + sim jrai talāai + sim lāñ + sim (7) merañja + sim japuiw + sim baleñ + sim kyāk
kanhiñ + dakā ma khanhañ law krau + sim taniñ⁶ bajau + smiñ⁷ kyāk bi tagā + smiñ teja + 7 +
pḍai (8) Koliya⁸ + sim joñ kyāk smiñ lok phāai + sim joñ kyāk mah sgaw + sim smaw chu + sim

¹ A inserts *ñ* here.² This seems to be an error for *sim*.³ B omits.⁴ B *jamāñ*.⁵ A *jamha'*.⁶ To be read *tanñ*.⁷ Error for *sim*.⁸ A omits 7 +.⁹ A *Koliyañ*.

9. [mbo']¹ (mbak)² [i sim mba] (abat) [i sim smi]ñ W[isuk]amma
[i sim] mba [mbuiy] (thāw i sim)³ . . [p biw]⁴ i sim [dakā bhut]
i sim ca[u kamñān]⁵ i sim garok ga]
10. . . (kana) [i sim] (la)mba [phañ i sim tar] (kwan)⁶ [i sim] (mba)
[lau] i [si]m [t]wān [bar]⁷ ma(h)⁸ [i o⁹ i pday Sa]t(o)ñ¹⁰ sim [jo]ñ
kyā[k] sa(w)a i si[m pāñ s]a(w)a [i sim ca]dok]¹¹
11. [kyāk] (t) [i sim] (lo)w [kyāk a] [i sim tw]ān sagra
nañ[h i sim joñ kyāk celāsa] i s[i]m twān [mbuiy [de]wī i [sim
twān adan]¹² d[ot] i s(im)¹³
12. (tow) [i sim kyā]k banta(ji) [i sim] (kyāk) [sura
na]ñ i s[i]m kyāk] . . . [in] (h)ñ¹⁴ i sim pā]ñ ablū i [i sim]
(p)are(h)¹⁵ g)a[k i sim kyāk gapāt]¹⁶ i si[m b[i]
13. [sim as]ā[m cal]añ [i sim crep i sim d]anla[y smiñ] (i i sim duñ¹⁷
Tuik) [Galā i smim]¹⁸ (bra sa)[māñ¹⁹ i sim twān [smiñ
Bruim i] si[m mañ] cammha²⁰ [i sim jak ri] i sim duñ [lw] . .

¹ The first part of the missing portion looks like *t*.

² Very doubtful, particularly as to the vowel.

³ The *si* is certain, all the rest is more or less doubtful.

⁴ Or *ca*, *cañka*, or *caka*, and *mñān*?

⁵ Or *ca*, *cañka*, or *caka*, and *mñān*?

⁶ There is a mark under the *m* which I take to be accidental, though it rather resembles subscript *h*.

⁷ Here there seems to be an illegible mark something as in l. 8, *supra*.

⁸ Fairly certain.

⁹ Conjecturally restored.

¹⁰ The superscript mark interpreted as *ñ* looks like a *virāma*, which would however be incompatible with the vowel *e*. If it is to be considered accidental, we must read *pare*. I have taken it to represent *ñ*, as in the abbreviation of *heñ* (e.g., N 4).

¹¹ Very doubtful. There is a mark before the word, but this can only be accidental as there is no occasion for a stop there. The *g* might be *w*, the *pā* might be *ha*, and the *t* might be *w*.

¹² Very doubtful.

¹³ The *anusvāra* is quite clear, but perhaps we should write *cam mha*. Or the *h* might be a *b*.

tāñ mañ « p[đai] Candapurī « sim juiñ kyāk (9) mho' imak¹ « sim ma' bak « sim abak « sim smiñ
Wisukamma « sim ma muiai² dhāt « sim jip buiw « sim dakā bhut « sim cau kamñon « sim ma
garot gapuiw « sim mak (10) karān « sim³ lama pham « sim taw kun « sim ma lau « sim twān
bamñah « p[đai] Satuiñ « sim juiñ kyāk saw « sim pāñ thaw « sim ca]dok⁴ « sim juiñ (11) kyāk tā
« sim juiñ kyāk Asa]ñ sim twān sagrañ⁵ ñah « sim juiñ kyāk celāsa « sim muiai⁶ dewī « sim twān
dadān d[ot] « sim kyāk gahassa (12) tuiñ « sim kyāk dhandhaji « sim kyāk sū nen « sim kyāk li lāñ
« sim pāñ ablu « sim barok⁷ « sim kyāk gahat « sim bi khatā⁸ « (13) sim asāñ⁹ calāñ¹⁰ i sim
crep « sim dalāñ¹¹ smiñ « sim duñ Tuik Galā « sim twān sabra samāñ « sim twān smiñ Bruiñ «

¹ B *imyak*.

² A *ca]dot*.

³ A *khakā*.

⁴ Written *man*. A has *māñ*.

⁵ B *kwān saron*.

⁶ B *anhām* (or *arhām*?).

⁷ B *puiai*.

⁸ A *mui*.

⁹ B *clāñ*.

¹⁰ Orig. has *smiñ*.

¹¹ B *baron*.

¹² A *balāñ*.

14. (i) [sim p]ā[ñ ja] . . (m lwān)¹ [i sim mbo' bui]ñ « [sim mr]i(k tasum
i) [r] . . . (u) . . .² [ahet³ i sim mah] (sreñ)
[i i sim lag]an⁴ ph[en i sim] (t)ā⁵ ga⁶ i o⁷ i p[đa]y]⁸ . .
15. [ñ] (ji) (Gawampati) [i sim] j[on] kyā[k blañ
nāk] (i i) [p[đay] (Mat Lam]uim⁹ sim) [pāñ tara]ñ sabl[u¹⁰ i] si[m
mahāsā]mi [Siñghui]w i [sim] gayā[ñ ta]m[h]ā[k i q¹¹ i] (sim)¹²
16. [Singha](nikā)[y i j¹³ i p[đay] C]a(rot)¹⁴
[i sim] (joñ)¹⁵ [kyāk gam-i i sim] (klo')¹⁶ [drow¹⁷ i] sim mrañ [juñ i
q¹⁸ i p[đay] Jrā sim ca]dim¹⁹ samāñ i sim twān cala](dhi)²⁰
17. [i s]i[m] c[elā S]adhuim
sim [thāñ smiñ] (gra slañ²¹ i sim)²² [tka'] (careñ)²³ i si[m ñi dā]ñ
cā[n saruñ²⁴ i sim tabañ]²⁵ jno[k i sim k]rāy²⁶ ba

¹ The *w* may be *m*, and the *n* may be *r*.

² The *h* might be *t*.

³ Or *hā*?

⁴ Here there is a mark, much like the one in l. 8, *supra*.

⁵ Very doubtful.

⁶ The mark here somewhat resembles the numeral figure 3 of that period.

⁷ Conjecturally restored.

⁸ Here there is a mark rather like the one in l. 15 *supra*.

⁹ Or *Caroh*, or *Canot*? Or *Cane Cah*?

¹⁰ If rightly read, this is written in abbreviated form, like the *heñ* of N 4. It looks rather like *bo*.

¹¹ Or *tho*?

¹² Here there is a mark like the one in l. 15 *supra*.

¹³ Or *cadip*? Or *cau dip*?

¹⁴ Or *sluñ*?

¹⁵ Or *cagañ*?

¹⁶ Or *tabāñ*?

¹⁷ Possibly *kruñ*.

¹⁸ Or *lawan*?

¹⁹ Or *gam*?

²⁰ Looks like *p[điy]*.

²¹ Or *sabla*?

²² Or *drōñ*?

²³ Or *trāy*?

²⁴ Or *trāy*?

²⁵ Or *trāy*?

²⁶ Or *trāy*?

²⁷ Or *trāy*?

²⁸ Or *trāy*?

²⁹ Or *trāy*?

³⁰ Or *trāy*?

³¹ Or *trāy*?

³² Or *trāy*?

³³ Or *trāy*?

³⁴ Or *trāy*?

³⁵ Or *trāy*?

³⁶ Or *trāy*?

³⁷ Or *trāy*?

³⁸ Or *trāy*?

³⁹ Or *trāy*?

⁴⁰ Or *trāy*?

⁴¹ Or *trāy*?

⁴² Or *trāy*?

⁴³ Or *trāy*?

⁴⁴ Or *trāy*?

⁴⁵ Or *trāy*?

⁴⁶ Or *trāy*?

⁴⁷ Or *trāy*?

⁴⁸ Or *trāy*?

⁴⁹ Or *trāy*?

⁵⁰ Or *trāy*?

sim mañ cammha¹ « sim jak² ri « sim duñ Lwān (14) sim pāñ jarām lwan « sim mho' buiñ «
sim mruit sabhum « sim kyāk goh crañ « kruñ asaket⁴ « sim muh sreñ « sim lagan phen « sim ka'
gam « p[đai] Ya(15)ñ Nim « sim Gawampati Sadhuim « sim juiñ kyāk balañ⁵ nāk « p[đai] Mat Lam-
uim « sim pāñ tarañ sablu « sim mahāsāmi Siñghuiw « sim gayāñ tamlāk « sim p[đai] Grāñ « sim
miñ (16) Siñghanikāai⁶ « « 7 p[đai] Carot sim joñ kyāk gam-i⁸ « sim taka' druñ « sim mrañ juiñ «
« 9 p[đai] Jrāi « sim cau dip samāñ¹⁰ « sim twān cālagā¹¹ « « 12 p[đai] Mattama « sim tala nañ
men (17) « sim cela Sadhuim « sim thāñ smiñ pra lāñ « sim taka' cāñ « sim ñi dāñ cāñ « saruñ

¹ Or *cammba*.

² A *asagot*, or *asagok*.

³ A omits 2 «.

⁴ A *amāñ*.

⁵ B *juk*.

⁶ A *brañ*.

⁷ A *gamñhi*.

⁸ B *kwān cālaka*.

⁹ Or *mbo*.

¹⁰ B *Siñghanirāi*.

¹¹ A omits 3 «.

¹² A omits « «.

18. (m) [sim
kyāk mrah = sim] (dana) (t) [si]m [saṅgha jā]dap[pa = sim
mah a]nā[w = sim trui]n [u 9¹] + [s]i[m trər] + sim²

M

(Fragments a, b and c.)

1.
[tuy] (k)[ui]w [lar]³
2.
[Kalyāṇi]cetī (gah)⁴ [tuy =]
3.
[or] (mā)⁵ [uit k]u saṅ ga[m]lu]iṇ

¹ Here there is a mark which might possibly represent the numeral 4 (or 6).² There does not seem to have been another complete line below this one, so we must suppose that this record ended early in the next line, although there are a few traces of apparently unconnected letters that are barely visible under this part of the line. See the manuscript version.³ Above this line there are illegible traces of another one. Here begins the second of the fragmentary appendices. Apart from the evidence of the manuscript version, it is impossible to say how much of the beginning is lost: as there is apparently no lettering on the bottom part of the preceding face, the maximum loss may be roughly assessed at 25 lines. Face M has been pieced together out of three fragments: (a) to the right, from l. 1 to l. 20, (b) to the left, from l. 5 to l. 39 and (c) to the right, from l. 18 to l. 39 (which is the end of this face). The fragments do not fit precisely and there is a considerable gap in the middle, where they should have met.⁴ Very doubtful.⁵ Very doubtful. Perhaps tau.

« sim tabaṅ jnok = sim krāai pa sren = sa plaṅ = sim cau hān ruim damya¹ = sim rāai jā(18)m =
sim kyāk mrah = sim dana wāai = sim saṅgharājā² damya³ = sim muh anāṅ = sim truiṇ = 4 =
sim trew = sim muh hot = sim karuṁ⁵ = sim jayagiri = sim ple = sim plā lāt = sim sū =
nū snām tīla⁶ puin kyāk trai Sākyamūṇi ma pa parinibān gah = bā lāim 20 snām kali lon ā tuai heṅ =
pḍai sakkarāt = 838 = gitu mrekkasuīw 8 mamāk thāi adait gah = samit sim Kalyāṇi tuai heṅ = babwai
lweṅ tala ta' ma nwaṁ pamik smik gwa' duṅ upasampada ṇaḥ Siṅghuiw gah = duṅ ā tau⁷ babwai⁸
lweṅ heṅ ra = khā gah ma rau wwa' tīla ṇaḥ Rāmādhīpati-srīparamamahārājadhīrāt⁹ khyap ra = rā
tīla puiai ta' wwa' ma klo' taka' Siṅghuiw gah = pḍai Kalyāṇi heṅ huit duṅ upasampada dah uiw
da ci = sim tala¹⁰ puiai ta' ma samit¹¹ kuim lew Kalyāṇisim gah (M 1) tuai =¹² kuiw law ymu ra =
pḍai jareṅ¹³ Kalyāṇisim wwa' gah = ceti mwai ma tup¹⁴ tau rau Kalyāṇiceti pḍai taka' Siṅghuiw
ta' gah = puiai khaṇhaṁ pa tup ku (2) Kalyāṇiceti tuai gap gaw kuiw law ymu Kalyāṇiceti¹⁵ =
tnaṁ bodhi mwai skuiw tuir¹⁶ tuai Kalyāṇibodhi gah tuai = puiai skuiw law ymu = sāk gah ra puiai
sgo' cireṅ (3) law mhā = uit saṅ gamluṇṇ ma kluṇ pa kaṁ saraṅ¹⁷ pḍai sim wwa' kuim lew = sgo'

¹ A *dapya*.² B inserts «.³ A *damyu*.⁴ A omits 4 «.⁵ B *ka'ruai*.⁶ A *ti*.⁷ A *dān āt*.⁸ B *babwa*.⁹ A apparently has *°paramamahādhammarāṭṭrājadhīrāt*.¹⁰ A *tīla*.¹¹ A *smiṭ*.¹² B inserts *ma*.¹³ A inserts *sim*.¹⁴ A *tuai*.¹⁵ A omits *Kalyāṇiceti*.¹⁶ A omits.¹⁷ B *saṅ*.

4. (ku)
[saddhā gah] le[r =] s[go'] li[nwor] ey [pa]-
5. [rey]¹ (tīla ṇaḥ)¹ [Rāmā-
dhi]pati ks[ap t]u[y]
[he]n [t]īla [ṇ]aḥ [Rāmādhīpati = p-or]
6.
(k)won ti[l]a ṇa[h] Ba[ṇā Rām]
[cetī] [ra] = ja [Mindhāt ma cuin dah tau jamnok]
p[d]a-²
7. [y]³ [n d]ah tau
jamno[k pḍ]ay kwo[n t]īla [ṇaḥ] [klon] . .
[thā]n ma st[ui]w [bo]dhi thā[n tuy] ma st[uiw bodhi] w[o]-
8. (')⁴ ['] klo[n t]uy = [t]lān ma
stuiw [b]odhi [gah dak tuy = d[eh ta'] (l) [g]aṇ[i
galau lar ra = thān ma dak]⁴ c[eti] t[un l]er [=] . . (bwo)-⁵
9. (y)⁶ (y) [=] khā [ma] cuip
arā [ma sdaḥut] dla[m dhā]t [gah = d]ak ba[tu]y dla[m] dhā[t]
tuy = (aṅka)de [ra = kṣū teh] c[ut thar] s[r]an gaṇ[i
galau] lo[r ra = rau gah]

¹ Conjecturally restored.² There seem to be two dots (like a *visarga*) here, merely to fill up spare space.³ Conjecturally restored.⁴ Looks like *bak*.⁵ Possibly we should read *ha mwo*.⁶ Conjecturally restored.

lāow ai parai tau ceti¹ wwa' ra = uit saṅ gamluṇṇ mnuṁ (4) ku saddhā gah lew sgo' lāow ai
pa(5)rai ceti bodhi wwa' heṅ = rau gah tala ṇaḥ Rāmādhīpati khyap tuai heṅ = pḍai sakkarāja
839 = pa taṁ nū gitu bhat heṅ = tala ṇaḥ Rāmādhīpati = p-ow amāt mwai ma himu Krāai
Kamāṇ² ma cuin dah tau jamnok³ pḍai (6) kon tala ṇaḥ Baṇā Rām tuai = kuiw klon bak thān ma
stan⁴ ceti ra = Rāja Min⁵ ma cuin dah tau jamnok⁶ pḍai(7)ai kon tala ṇaḥ Baṇā U = Lak Woai
ma cuin dah tau jamnok mwai pḍai kon tala ṇaḥ Baṇā Barow = kuiw klon thān ma sakuiw⁷ bodhi
= thān ma skuiw⁸ bodhi wwa'(8) tun lew = babwai lweṅ heṅ deh ta' klon tuai dāiā⁹ ma stuiw bodhi
dak tuai = deh ta' lāk law aḍgaduīw ra = ghi lalau law ra = thān ma sdak¹⁰ ceti tun lew = babw(9)ai
lweṅ deh ta' dak tuin ā tuai = khā ma cuip arā ma dak glaṁ dhāt gah = dak pa tuai glaṁ dhāt
tuai lāk law aḍgaduīw ra = kasū teh cut law thaw san ghi lalau law ra = rau gah kanhaṁ tuai

¹ A inserts *ta'*.² B *Gamān*.³ A inserts «.⁴ A *skan*.⁵ Something seems to be omitted before *Rāja* (A *javā*) and has certainly been omitted after *Min*.⁶ A inserts «.⁷ Error for *satuīw*.⁸ Error for *stuiw*.⁹ A *dān*.¹⁰ A *sdah*.

10. [g]ah heñ [u dor] (gah)
[kanam]¹ (thān chāñ)² [j]o[k mway u] w[ū]du[i]h de(h)³ [u
sa]ñ (tu)y [kwom ku g]arhah [t]ruh b[rau] het mik . .
11. (calo)⁴ ā wūdui[h pa]-uit u b[woy
m]aṇa[h gati g]ah [grop ku ni]bā [pa-uit] (u) [bwoy pday gati sala
lar⁵ yāt k]amb(u) [pa-uit] u rau gah pr(eñ)
12. m(a) da[ḥu]t kyāk dhāt [g]ah [u
kanam]⁶ dlam̄ bā th]ap u dlam̄ tuy ma ci[c]wōn ma (ñah pa gap)
[gwo]r sdaḥ cui[t g]ah [kan]am̄ [tu]y u [m]luiw tuy [ma] ñah (bat)
na (kwo)-⁶
13. (w) (s)luy ma [ci]cwon [to]’ gah tui(m)⁷ lar [u]
(añ muy)⁸ to[’ gah] tui(m)⁷ [l]ar u (kwak) i . . (r) ra u ma-
(ñah) dlam̄ [bā thap gah] tun [ler u uit j]māp (dayoñ)⁹
14. [w] [g]aṇi [g]alau¹⁰ lar ra u rau nay ma
lwon [tuy] kuim [u na m]luiw ma ñah bat na (kwow)¹¹ . . (ci)-
[cwōn gah u] wūdui[h] (he)ñ ma gluiñ ku thap [kwak cal]o’ . .
15. [wūdui]h dlam̄ gah tun u dāk nūñ gara[y] mway tha[p u]
pnāñ [k]amak pnāñ dan(lāñ) [mway thap u] dhup [mway] tha[p
u rau gah g]aṇi lo[r uit ra u thān ma]

¹ Or *kanham*, or *kandam*?² Or *chan*?³ Looks like *gah* or *gapar*.⁴ Probably right, though it looks rather like *ra* i *laga*.⁵ Or *kanham*, or *kandam*?⁶ Or *two*?⁷ Probably an error for *kuim*.⁸ Or *an may*?⁹ Very doubtful: the middle consonant might be *k* or *l*, and the final might be *w*, e.g. *ḍakow*.¹⁰ Looks like *walau*.¹¹ Or *twow*?

heñ u pḍai thān ceti (10) gah heñ u dow gah khamhān thān chāñ jnok mwai u wut duih deh gah
sañ kom ku kharhah truh brau heñ mik kuiw gwa’ dñāñ gah tuai u kanham̄ tanhin (11) calo’ ā
wut duih pha-uit¹ bwai mñah² gah u bak grop yāt nibā pha-uit bwai pḍai sala yāt kamu pha-uit u
rau gah preñ tuai heñ u dow dñāi (12) ma³ thaput dhāt kyāk gah u khā gah khamhān glām̄ dhāt
bā thap u glām̄⁴ tuai ma cicon ma⁵ ñah gap gaw sdaḥ cui[t gah kanham̄ tuai u m]luiw jaman ñah
bat na to(13)w ma cicon kuiñ law u pkau ma cicon ta’ gah kuiñ law u kwak gōi law⁶ ra u mñah
glām̄ dhāt bā tap gah tun lew u uit jmāp dayuñ g(14)wī na yāt tuai u gōi lalau law rā u rau nai
ma lon⁷ tuai kuiñ u na m]luiw ma ñah bat na tow ma cicon gah wut duih heñ ma gluiñ u kuiw
thap kwak calo’ ā ra u u⁸ (15) wut duih glām̄ gah tun u dāk nuñ gara mwai thap u pnāñ kmak

¹ B *uit*.² B *khnam*.³ A *klon*.⁴ A *lamñah*.⁵ A *mi*.⁶ A omits.⁷ A omits.⁸ B inserts *tuai*.

16. (stuiw)¹ [bo]dhi (te)² ler [u kan]am̄ lor [arām kanā u sala³ lar]⁴ pday
[m]aṇa[h] u kwak lar⁵ j [u gañi gal]au [lar ra u
thā]n [tuy tila ñah Rāmādhīpa]-
17. [ti u kwom] ku amāt dakuip [p p]nān u [a]ram̄ [pariwā gam]luiñ ma
sdmāñ u [swa]k ma spa sa[bhañ m]⁶ (dhāt) [kyāk
tr]ay [gah ler] kana[m̄ lar] (ta)m(nak)⁷
18. (y)⁸ [rau] gah [k]anañ [t]uy h[e]ñ u [tñai] ti[ñ tñay b]uddha-
[wā gah u] dhāt [patimārūp]⁹ [kuim ler u
cīreñ ptuy¹⁰ low ku s](m)i(ñ¹¹ (t) . . [a]-¹²
19. mā[t da]kuip pnān gamlui[ñ] u atuiñ acī¹³ ar[eñ] (ñah ma) s(t)awā[k¹⁴
wāñ] phyuih dhāt u pati[mārūp] (u bodhi gah u huim)¹⁵ [lor]¹⁶ (kuiw
amāt dakuip pnā)n¹⁷ ta ga[h]
20. (heñ)¹⁷ u [y]ah lañū tñay brāpba[ti gah he]ñ u t[ila] ñah Rāmādhī-
pati kwo[m k]u¹⁸ (ñ u jak lon)¹⁹
. . (tuy u cui)h dmāw²⁰ tau pday ta[m]n(ak)²¹

¹ Conjecturally restored.² Or *wo*?³ Looks like *sal*.⁴ Looks like *larau*.⁵ There is something under the *r* that looks like a *g*, but is probably accidental, or may represent
an *i* belonging to the next line.⁶ Perhaps *mi*.⁷ Or *tamnuh*?⁸ Or *p*?⁹ The last of the illegible words might be *stuiw*.¹⁰ Or *btuy*?¹¹ Very doubtful: it might be *stuiw*.¹² Conjecturally restored.¹³ The original may (wrongly) have *acim*.¹⁴ Or *skawāk*?¹⁵ All these words are very doubtful.¹⁶ Or *lon*?¹⁷ Conjectural.¹⁸ Looks like *tu*.¹⁹ Or *lor*?²⁰ Error for *dmāñ*.²¹ Or *tamnuh*?

mwai thap u pnāñ dhalāñ mwai thap u dhup mwai thap rau gah gōi law uit ra u thān ma (16)
sakuiw¹ bodhi te’ lew khamhān law asām̄ kanā u sla² law pḍai mñah u kwak law muk āñ muai
u³ gōi lalau law ra u thān tla ñah Rāmādhīpa(17)ti u kom ku amāt dakuip pnān u param̄
pariwā⁴ gamluiñ ma dmāñ u swak ma spa sabhañ ma salom̄ dhāt kyāk trai gah⁵ le u kanham̄ law
tamnak jnok mw(18)ai ra u rau gah khamhān tuai heñ thāi tiñ thāi buddhawā gah dhāt
pattimārūp⁶ bodhi ma skuiw⁷ kuiñ lew u cīreñ pa tuai law ku smiñ wāñ matañ⁸ a(19)māt dakuip
pnān gamluiñ atuiñ acīreñ ma stawāt weñ phyeh dhāt pattimārūp bodhi gah u huim law ku dakuip
pnān ta’ gah tuai (20) heñ u yaḥ lāu thāi 5 gah heñ tala ñah Rāmādhīpati u kom ku aram̄

¹ Error for *satuiw*.² B *salah*.³ A omits all from “to” to “, inclusive.”⁴ Written *partimwā* (for *partwa*).⁵ A omits.⁶ B *patimārūp*.⁷ B *sakuiw*. Apparently the right reading should be *stuiw*.⁸ B *jataw*.

21. (ma kanam)¹ [lor gah ra] « rau ga[h tila ñah lwon] c[uih tuy heñ] «
 ui[t kwon t]ru[h] ti[la ñah]²
 . . [to'] gam[lu]ñ « [k]wom ku [smiñ] (wa)-³
22. (ñ jatañ)⁴ [amā]t [senā]pa[ti] gam[li]ñ ga[h « n]a carhā[y ky]āk
 sr[i] sabhañ cana(k) ma jno(k)
 . . (dhāt) [kwom ku pat]i[mār]u[p jray bodhi] ra
23. (ñ) [dhāt] « pa[t]i[mār]up « bodhi « ma cuip (te')⁵ [tuy] gah «
 dhā[t patimār]up (dhā)[t kyāk] kray⁶
 gah tuin lar ra « [b]o[dh]i⁷
24. (lew pday)⁸ d[la]m [ma] s[tu]i[w bodh]i [gah « ā da]būt lor ra « rau
 [gah da]būt lo[r] [dhāt bodhi] (heñ « sabhañ)⁹ [t]uy [ma] pa
 tañ ku (k)ān[chi]ñ¹⁰ « samā leh galā
25. (ñ ñah) [ma weñ] gdañ [snā]k « [ñah] ma we[ñ sa]jañ (sare)¹¹
 [lhor] « [ñah ma tuik le'] « [ma rap mw]a(y ga)
 (we)ñ¹² ra « kuir weñ tuy [h]eñ « [t]ñai sa[r ā] tuy « [t]ila ñah
 preñ [lar]

¹ Or *kandam*?² Conjecturally restored.³ Possibly *ga*.⁴ Very doubtful, perhaps *jataw*.⁵ Or *wo*?⁶ For *tray*.⁷ Here, by anticipation, follows the vowel symbol *e*, which is perhaps repeated at the beginning of the next line and there to be read as following the consonant before which it is placed, either as *e* or as part of *o*.⁸ Very doubtful.⁹ Doubtful, except the last letter.¹⁰ Looks like *tānchin*.¹¹ Very doubtful: possibly *sane* or *dane*.¹² Looks like *bañ* or *thañ*.

pariwāra¹ gamluñ jak lan ceh ā tuai « ceh damāñ tau pđai tamnak (21) ma khapañ gah ra « rau
 gah tala ñah cuih tuai « uit kon truh tala ñah gamluñ « kon brau tala ñah ta' gamluñ « koñ ku
 smiñ wa(22)ñ jatañ amāt sepāpati gamluñ gah « na carāai kyāk srī sabhañ sanak jnok klañ heñ «
 wāñ phyeh pā dhāt koñ ku kuiw pattimārur jrai bodhi ra (23) « akhā dhāt pattimā ma cuip te' tuai
 gah « dhāt pattimārur gah pđai thān salaw dhāt kyāk trai gah² tuin law ra « bodhi (24) sat³ le pđai
 glañ ma sakuiw⁴ bodhi gah ā thaput law ra « rau gah thaput law dhāt bodhi tuai « sabhañ ma pa
 tañ kuiw tachiñ samā leh « galā (25) ñah⁵ ma lweñ damāñ snāk « ñah ma weñ sañ sanew lhow «

¹ Written *paripāra*, or *parihara*.² This word is corrupt.³ Orig. has *ñā*.⁴ A inserts «.⁵ Error for *satiw*.⁶ A inserts *pa*.

26. (kuiw)¹ [mañ mway dhāt tuy « tila ñah] tui[n tluñ ra « mw]ay cawek
 [tñ]ay sok gah « (« akhā gah)² tila ñah cuih ā cui[p]³ thān [t]am-
 n(a)k⁴ (te')⁵ [t]un « acā sa-
27. [ñ ma]sun cwoh ga[h ni]man [t]u[y] « phāp ba[c]a [tu]y he[ñ «
 d]ayyadhar⁶ [ma] gap (gor skuiw dān)⁷ ler skuiw dān ra « yāt
 sanā (bā)p⁸ (bā)⁹ « mrek « sa[t « t]i-¹⁰
28. [la ñ]ah [kui]w d[ān] tuy « [sabhañ] ma pa [t]am [k]u [kānch]iñ¹¹
 [g]ah [le]r «¹² [k]uiw weñ [ā¹³ tau ra « tñay] ceñ ñi [h]eñ « tila ñah
 [Rāmā]dhi[p]ati « kwom ku ka[lo d]ñā-
29. [t] (aram) [pariwā] gamluñ tui[n ā bway] dlam [dhāt] ra « (khā
 g)a[h da]būt gatuw¹⁴ l[wi] mwa(m)¹⁵ tuy « tdo]ñ [b]atāñ
 ler cr(ā)k¹⁶ bdar lar [tuy] « da[b]u[t l]ar [dhā]t [p]ati[mā]-

¹ Very doubtful.² Conjectural: it might equally well be *pday kāla gah*.³ Or *cuiw*?⁴ Or *tamnuh*?⁵ Or *wo*?⁶ There seems to be an original flaw of the size of two letters (or four dots) after *dayya*.⁷ Very doubtful indeed, except the *w* and the *n*.⁸ Cf. F 46.⁹ Looks like *tau* (or *ta*?).¹⁰ Two dots, like a *visarga*, here merely fill in spare space.¹¹ Looks like *tānchin*.¹² There seems to be an original flaw, of the size of a letter, just before *kuiw*.¹³ The *ā* is almost certain: in any case the *a* symbol is certain and there is no room for much more.¹⁴ There appears to be an original flaw before the *w*. No *u* is visible, and the reading is doubtful but supported by the next line.¹⁵ The final might be *p* or *w*.¹⁶ The *anusvāra* is very doubtful.

ñah ma tuik le' ma rap lak ban preñ kuiw weñ tuai heñ thāi saw ā tuai « tala¹ ñah preñ law (26)
 kuiw mañ mwai dhāt tuai « tala ñah² tuin tluñ ra « mwai cawek thāi suik gah « yāñ lau tala
 ñah ceh ā cuip thān tamnak te' tun « acā sa(27)ñ 50 gah niman tuai « phāp baca tuai heñ « daya-
 dhamma lew gap gaw skuiw dān lew kuiw dān ra « yāt snā pāt tau mrek sat ta(28)la ñah kuiw dān
 tuai sabhañ ma ptañ kuiw tachiñ kuiw weñ tau ra «³ thāi ceñ ñi heñ tala ñah Rāmādhīpati koñ
 ku kalo dhā(29)t aram pariwāra⁴ gamluñ tuin ā pđai glañ dhāt ra « khā gah thaput gatuw lwi mām

¹ A inserts *tuin*.² A omits *preñ* to *ñah*, inclusive.³ A inserts *5*.⁴ Written *pariwāra*.

30. [rup]¹ la[t]ū gat[uiw] gah [ra] saha[ssadh]ā[rā] da[b]ut [lat]ū dhā[t]
tuy « bam(nah da)cām² (gah i)³ rap ket kanu [s]aṇ ga(p)ar⁴ stum
ma tmuy [t]au na thar « ma tmu[y t]au na [sra]-
31. [n] «⁵ ma t[mu]y [tau na] ra[t] ga[h] « r]au nay [ma] caro[h] smi[n] ma
duṇ abhi]sek (rau⁶ gah) [kui]m ra « [caro]h cut pḍay sahas-
sadhā[rā t]uy « (pa)⁷ abhi[s]e[k] tu⁸ dhāt « [pa]-
32. [timārup gah] ra « rau [gah pa tuy heṇ] « acā sa[n] dacām kuiw
paḍwat⁹ gāthā¹⁰ mano¹¹-u[dāna t]uy ma gaḥ anakajāti
[s]aṇ[s]āraṇ kuim ler « gā[thā ma] cuin dah tau (ba)-¹²
33. (cī)¹³-udā[na t]uy [ma] gaḥ yadā [have pātubhavanti dhammā «]
(g)ah¹⁴ [ku]i[m] (lar «) kuiw (paḍwat)¹⁵ [t]uy (heṇ)¹⁶ [« kui]w tuik
phaṇ « kuiw ho drā ra « rau ga[h pa t]uy « [« d]aḥ la[k mi]n

¹ Conjecturally restored.

² The bracketted portion is conjecturally restored.

³ Very doubtful.

⁴ Possibly wrongly spelt *gabar*.

⁵ Conjecturally restored.

⁶ Looks like *ru*, but probably the *u* mark is accidental and the *au* symbol obliterated.

⁷ Perhaps written *ba*.

⁸ Error for *ku*.

⁹ Or *paḍut*?

¹⁰ The last two letters look like *dah*.

¹¹ Extremely doubtful. It might be *ma nom*, or *ma nuom*.

¹² Very doubtful.

¹³ Very doubtful.

¹⁴ Very doubtful, possibly *ba*.

¹⁵ Fairly certain.

¹⁶ Very doubtful.

thaw tuai « kquīn biān lew srāk bdaw law tuai « thaḥut law dhāt [attimhā(30)rup latuiw gah «
sahassadhārā thaḥut latū dhāt tuai « bamnah dacām gah rap ket knu saṇ gapaw « satum « ma
tmuai tau na thaw « ma tmuai tau na sra(31)n « ma tmuai tau na rat gah « raṇ nai caruih smiṇ
ma duṇ abhiseka ru gah da kuim ra « caruih cut pḍai sahasadhārā tuai « pa abhiseka ku dhāt
pa(32)timārup gah ra « rau gah pa tuai heṇ « acā saṇ dakuip phaḍot gāthā ma dah mano-udān
tuai ma gaḥ anakajāti saṇsāraṇ¹ kuim lew² « gāthā ma cuin dah tau (33) udān ma gaḥ yadā
have pātubhantu dhammā gah kuim law « phuiw kuiw phaḍot tuai heṇ « kuiw tuik phaṇ kuiw ho

¹ A *taṇ sārān*.

² A *law*.

34. heṇ¹ [«] phyui[h d]aḥut lor [dhāt] pati[mārup «] pḍa[y d]aṇm dhāt
[ra «] da[ḥut] dhāt[t] tu[y he]ṇ « wūduih [dhāt p]atimār[u]p gah «
rū[p a]ggasāwa[ka] ḥ[ā « m]aḥ[ās]āwa-
35. [ka] dacā[m] cwoh « rup² [arhan br]au [ma go' et]adagga ca[h pi «
rū]p [u]paḥ [tr]u[h ma] go' [etadagga] cah mwoy « r[ūp]³ u[p]aḥ
brau ma go' etadagga cah [« rūp]⁴ mi [k]y[ā]k⁵
36. [tr]ay « rup mba kyāk tray « uit [k]u rup klam [cah] dacām (te')⁶
[t]uy « ma [sw]on [lar] na s[l]āk ma lāk lar na th[o]r ga[h] « reṇ
lor wūduih tuy he-
37. ṇ « [p]nān c[ḍau «] caṇ⁶ pu[j]au tuy « drāt [p]u]au mramar [ma] jar
[ra « tuy] he[ṇ] na tm[o] [l]aḥ ma j[nok] san [g]aḥ⁷ dar lar pān
ta[r]aṇ tuy « ma kuiw da[k] sui w duit [ra] « dak
38. sui[w] duit tuy [h]eṇ « khūp cal[o] [pān] masun ta[p⁸ ra «] bodhi tu[n
le]r [« tu]j[i]w akhā la[k] min gah heṇ « [ph]yuih lar pḍay ktoḥ
[t]uy

¹ The *e* is at the end of the preceding line.

² Or *rap*?

³ Or *rup*?

⁴ Here there are two dots, like a *visarga*, which merely fill up spare space.

⁵ Or *wo*?

⁶ Presumably an error for *cān*. There is a mark over the *c* which does not look as if it were a trace of an *anusvāra*.

⁷ Looks rather like *cah*.

⁸ Or *thap*?

drā ra « rau gah pa tuai « daḥ lak min (34) heṇ phyeh thaḥut law dhāt pattimārup « pḍai glaṇ
dhāt ra « thaḥut tuai heṇ wut duih dhāt pattimārup gah « rup aggasāwaka ḥā « rup mahāsāwa-
(35)ka 8o¹ rup asran brau ma gwa' ekatagga 13 « rup upaḥ truh ma gwa' ekatagga 12 « rup upaḥ
brau ma gwa' ekatagga 10 « rup mi kyāk (36) trai « rup ma kyāk trai « uit rup klaṇ cah dacām
wva' mwai mwai ma son na slāk « ma let law na thaw gah « raṇ law wut duih tuai he(37)ṇ «
pnān cḍau caṇ pa pū]au tuai drāt pa pū]au mramow jow ra « pa tuai heṇ tma' laḥ ma jnok klaḥ
san gah « daw law pān taraṇ glaṇ tuai ma kuiw dak sui w tuin ra « dak (38) sui w tuin duit tuai
dhup calo' pān masun thap ra « bodhi tun lew « tuik akhā lak min gah heṇ « phyeh law pḍai

¹ Orig. has *gaḥ*.

6. [« sāmaṇī] k[laṁ] gah « p-ap kuiw [s]miñ wañ [C]akkawāde preñ ra
 « sāmaṇī klaṁ ga[h «]¹ p-ap [k]uiw smiñ

7. (t) preñ ra [« s]āmaṇī k[laṁ m]woy gah « p-ap [k]ui[w² s]mi[ñ]
 wañ Ā[y] Gām Bin p[re]ñ ra « [« parikkharā]³

8. [klaṁ mwoy] (cwar⁴ «) pabeñ turau [k]laṁ mwoy « t[doṇ] turau klaṁ
 mwoy « dacun turau klaṁ mw[o]y « pn[ik] (c)

9. [ph]alā suim b[i] gapuiw [pan]āk [s]at ḥun jan « me[k] su[t] « turau
 k[laṁ] [mwoy] « rui[h] ku[iw] kui[w] s[miñ]⁵ (ta gah)

10. heñ « [t]ña[y sī] ba[pe]ñ kitu [ph]ārlaguin tñā[y brabb]at[ī] [y]aḥ
 lañ(ū)⁶ ga[h he]ñ⁷ ti[l]a ñaḥ⁸

¹ Conjecturally restored, but practically certain.

² Looks like *tuiw*.

³ The final syllable is conjecturally restored.

⁴ Or *cwar* (as in l. 14, *infra*) ?

⁵ Or *smiñ* ?

⁶ Or *lañu* ?

⁷ Looks like *gat tñ*.

⁸ The next word has the vowel *e* or *o* and may have been *lop* (or *lwop*).

preñ ra « sāmmaṇī klaṁ paap¹ kuiw smiñ² Sām Trāy³ preñ ra (6) « sāmmaṇī klaṁ paap⁴ kuiw
 smiñ Cakkawāde preñ ra « sāmmaṇī klaṁ paap⁴ kuiw smiñ wañ Cau Nūrasī⁵ preñ ra « sāmmaṇī
 klaṁ paap⁶ kuiw Cau Mhārā(7)⁷ preñ ra « sāmmaṇī klaṁ mwai gah paap⁴ kuiw smiñ wañ Ā
 Gām Bin⁸ preñ ra « parikkharā swak ma skuiw sāmmaṇī 6or gah tun lew sñā (8) 6or swaw « habed
 6or kquid 6or « dacun 6or «⁹ pnik cakkho 6or dakaw mom 6or « kwom (9) palā suim bi gapuiw
 panāk¹⁰ sat ḥun jan¹¹ mñāi sut tarau klaṁ mwai « ruih kuwsmiñ ta' gah¹² ma preñ ra « rau gah
 tala ñaḥ cireñ tuai (10) heñ « tñāi sī bapēñ phawraguin tñāi s yaḥ lāu heñ « tla ñaḥ lon ceh ā tuai

¹ A *p-ow*.

² A *Sā Trāsi*.

³ A *Nūrasī*.

⁷ B *Mhārā*.

⁹ A omits « dacun 6or ».

¹¹ A *ja*.

² A omits *smiñ*.

⁴ Orig. has *p-ow*.

⁶ Orig. omits.

⁸ A *Bgin*.

¹⁰ Orig. has *pandai*.

¹² Orig. repeats *ta' gah*.

11. [wih]āra [g]ah ra « [«] acā sa[ñ] masun cwoh ler « niman plop rañ
 pda[y th]ān [d]amāñ [l]ati¹ puiy [ta g]a(h)

12. (w)² ñaḥ weñ (p)r[o]ñ³ ra [«] « khā gah sm(i)ñ⁴ ta' tuy ma preñ
 phyer sāma[ñi] ta gah [«] jak cuih [ā] nū (pa)

13. (ñ)⁵ ma [t]wāk ga[t]a « ñaḥ [ma] y[o]k [d]akār⁶ mwam ma twāk
 ga[t]a « krau [dak]ar [gah ñ]aḥ ma yok (i)⁷ t[do]ñ [«] (pa)

14. gah [ñ]aḥ ma yok [sañg]ā [c]wār « [«] krau [g]ah ciñ klaṁ sā[m]aṇī
 [k]laṁ ma [do]k gah ma t[l]uñ [ra] « pday klaṁ⁸ [gah] kui[m] . .

 [da]-⁹
15. [ndā]r [k]uiñ « krau kluñ¹⁰ gah [ñ]aḥ ma [dandār] kamho[k] thar¹¹ [«]
 uit [s]āma[ñi] klaṁ wo' kuim « [slok]¹² tam-in [thūpārām]¹³

¹ Presumably error for *tīla*.

² Or *ñ* ?

³ Or *brōñ* ?

⁴ Or *smiñ* ?

⁵ Or *j*, or *w* ?

⁶ There seems to be no justification for the *anusvāra*.

⁷ This stop is clearly superfluous and may be merely an accidental mark.

⁸ Looks like *tlañ*.

⁹ Conjecturally restored.

¹⁰ Written in abbreviated form, as if *ñklui*; or the superscript *ñ* may be regarded as written over the following *g*.

¹¹ Or *tar* ?

¹² Looks like *ma slāk* corrected into *slok*.

¹³ The last syllable is conjecturally restored.

« ā dñāñ smaw kyā Kalyāṇi(11)wihā gah tuai « acā sañ 5o le niman plop rā thān dñāñ tīla ta' gah
 tuai « kuiw dān pīḍapāt ra « sabhañ sanak le preñ kui(12)w ñaḥ weñ gruiñ ra « khā gah smiñ
 ta' ma preñ phiyī sāmmaṇī¹ ta' gah jak ceh ā nū Bago ra « khā ma jak ceh gah mñā smiñ Bra
 Sāñ Dej² ma jak gata « lme(13)ñ ma twāk gah ñaḥ ma yuik dakaw mom ā gata « krau gah kquid
 babed dacun « krau gah ñaḥ ma yok twuiw palā « krau (14) gah ñaḥ ma yuik sñā swaw « krau
 gah ciñ klaṁ sāmmaṇī klaṁ ma quik kluñ ra « p[da]i klaṁ gah tun « ñaḥ ma dalaw gapew ā³ gata
 « krau gah ñaḥ ma da(15)law kquid « krau gah ñaḥ ma khalaw khamok thaw « uit sāmmaṇī klaṁ

¹ Orig. has *sa*.

A *Det*.

³ Orig. omits.

16. [basā] gah mā « [j]akhan jakhan [akr]ā a[k]rā gah [h]eñ [ma] (cut)¹
ā ra « « sāmapi [klañ smiñ] Sām [Trā]y² ma [p]reñ [ñ] (gah)³ . . .
.....
.....
17. [n]⁴ gah [s]awān « « [s]āmañi klañ smiñ Sām [K]rāy⁵ ma [p]reñ
gah lon ā tu[y] heñ « [s]āmma[ñ]i klañ [s]miñ (Cakkawāde ma preñ
gah « twāk tluñ tun « rameñ ma twāk)⁶
18. [g]ah tu[p]⁷ ra « [t]am-iñ gah thūpārām ku[i]m « sāmapi k[ī]am smiñ
Cakkawā[d]e ma [p]reñ gah lwon ā tuy heñ [ñ] (« sāmapi klañ Cau
Nwarasiñ ma preñ gah « twāk tluñ)⁸
19. tun [ñ] r]ameñ ma twāk gah tu[p ra «] tam-iñ=[g]ah⁹ sa[wā]n « «
[s]āmañi klañ [Cau] N(wa)rasiñ¹⁰ ma [p]reñ [g]ah lon [ā] (tuy heñ
« sāmapi klañ)¹¹
20. ma preñ gah t[w]āk [t]luñ tun « rameñ ma twāk [k] ga[h tu]p ra «
tam-iñ ga[h s]awān ku[i]m « « sāmapi [k]lañ C[au]
..... (ma preñ gah lon ā tuy)¹¹

¹ Very doubtful.

² Or *Krāy*? Apparently the latter is the reading in ll. 17, 26, *infra*.

³ Conjecturally restored.

⁴ Or *nda*, or *ndi*?

⁵ Or *Trāy*?

⁶ Conjecturally restored, only the first letter of the first word being traceable.

⁷ Looks like *tum*.

⁸ Conjecturally restored.

⁹ The *ñ* is superscript, and may be regarded either as over the *g* or the *m*. In the latter case this is just an abbreviation like the one of *heñ* in l. 4, *supra*.

¹⁰ Looks like *Nwara*^o or *Nūra*^o, though presumably these would be merely variant spellings of *Nara*^o.

¹¹ Conjecturally restored.

wwa' kuim « slok thamiñ thūpārām cam-añ ra « kwiñ kwiik ma ptam bāt sreai (16) basā mā «
jakhan jakhan akrā akrā heñ « ma cut ā ra « sāmapi klañ smiñ Sām Krāai ma preñ gah ma
kluñ krau gah ra « lmeñ ma twāk tup ra « tamiñ¹ (17) gah sadhēñ² « sāmapi klañ smiñ Sām
Krāai ma preñ gah lon ā tuai « sāmapi klañ smiñ Cakkawāde ma preñ gah ma kluñ ra « lmeñ
ma twāk (18) gah rup tup ra « tamiñ thūpārām kuim « sak smiñ gah « sāmapi klañ Cau Nūrasiañ
ma preñ gah tawāk kluñ (19) tun « lmeñ ma twāk gah tuai³ ra « thamiñ gah sawān sak kwiw⁴
smiñ gah « sāmapi klañ Cau Mhārāt (20) ma preñ twāk kluñ tun lameñ ma twāk gah tup⁵ ra «

¹ A *smiñ*.

⁴ Orig. has *sakuiw* (not *sak kwiw*).

² A *smān*. It should be *sawān*.

⁵ Orig. has *tun*.

³ For *tup*.

21. h[e]ñ¹ « [s]āmmañ[i] klañ mwoy smiñ² Āy [Gā]m [B]in ma preñ [ñ]
gah « twāk tluñ [tun « r]ameñ ma twāk [g]ah (tup ra «)³
.....
22. sāmapi turau [kl]am [m]w[o]y [ma gat]ah liñ tuy [g]ah [ñ] smiñ⁴ [t]o'
tu[y] ma [duñ duñ] sajuñ [s]āmañi [ta] gah (ñ)
.....
23. [c]w[o'] ra « [k]uiw [b]aca [ph]ā[p] ra « « a[khā] gah acā sa[ñ] masun
cwoh ga[h « par]i[bhok puñ tañay tu]y heñ [t]ila [ñah]
.....
24. sim⁴ ga[h] ra « « tila ñah [e]r [s]ui[m k]uiw aram [p]ariwā heñ «
[l]wop tau pday samut [sim]⁴ ra « [ñ] kh[ā] gah [s]āmañi [klañ] .
.....
25. [ñ] tuiñ rame[ñ] he[ñ kwo]k⁵ pt[u]iñ tu[y] « kiw⁶ tila to' [gam]-(i)⁷ ra
« gam-(i)⁷ [t]uy [he]ñ (t)ui(ñ)⁸ arā [d]amā[ñ] ga[h] kuiw cuih
dm[āñ] [ñ sāmapi klañ smiñ Sā]-⁹
26. [m] Krāy ma preñ¹⁰ [gah] « tuiñ[r]ameñ ra[m]eñ tw[o]k¹¹ [pt]uin tu[y]
« [k]uiw ti[la to' g]am-(i)¹² ra « « na na[y] wo' heñ « a
.....

¹ The *e* must have been at the end of the last line.

² Or *smiñ*?

³ Conjecturally restored.

⁴ Or *sim*?

⁵ Or (improbably) *twok*?

⁶ Error for *kuiw*.

⁷ Or *gam-i*?

⁸ Or *kuiw*? But this seems unlikely.

⁹ Conjecturally restored.

¹⁰ There is an original flaw between the *p* and the *e*.

¹¹ Error for *kwok*.

¹² Or (improbably) *gam-i*.

thamiñ gah sawān kuim « sak smiñ gah « (21) sāmapi klañ smiñ Ā Gā Bīn ma preñ twāk kluñ
tun « lameñ ma twāk tuai¹ ra « thamiñ sawān kuim « rau gah (22) sāmapi 6oi ma gatañ liñ
tuai gah « smiñ ta' mduñ sjuñ sāmapi ta' gah ā preñ law pđai thāñ dñāñ sāmapi 6oi gah (23)
ra « kuiw baca phāp ra acā gah « acā sañ 50 gah pa prabhuik puñ thāñ tuai « tala ñah niman plop
pđai (24) sim Kalyāñi ra « tala ñah le suim kuiw param pariwāra heñ lop tau pđai suñ ra « khā gah
sāmapi klañ smiñ² Bra Sāñ Dēt ma preñ gah (25) tuiñ lmeñ kok ptuin tuai « kuiw tila ta' gamhi
ra « gamhi ta' tuiñ arā dñāñ gah kuiw ā dñāñ plan ra « sāmapi klañ smiñ Sā(26)ñ³ Krāai ma
preñ gah tuiñ lameñ lameñ kok pa tuiñ tuai « kuiw tila ta' gamhi ra « na nai sāk wwa' atuiñ lmeñ

¹ For *tup*.

² Orig. has *sin*.

³ Orig. has *Sāai*.

27. [ñ] n(i)man¹ p[uiñ t]uy • [k]uiw ti[l]a to' gam-i uit [ra] • gam-i tuy
[he]ñ • tuñ ar[ā] ar(ā) ga[h k]uiw cuih dmāñ ra • • rau [ga]h . .

28. [ma dah] sa[uiñ s]m(i)ñ² Bra Sañ [D]e(ñ)³ gah • pabwoy rweñ [heñ]
• ñah bā [bā] k[wok] p[t]ui[n] tu[y • k]uiw t[i]la puiy [to' •] kuiw
u⁴⁵

¹ The usual and correct spelling is *niman*.

² Or *smiñ*?

³ If this is rightly read, it is written in abbreviated form, as if *ñde*, like *heñ* in various places (e.g., l. 4, *supra*). Otherwise we must read *De* or *Dem*.

⁴ Probably the lost word is *upasampada*.

⁵ The inscription continued onto the other side of the stone the bottom of which is, however, blank. Judging by the manuscript version, there were about 12 or 15 lines on the upper part, which is lost.

ma twāk tarau gata • he(27)ñ niman pa tuñ tuai kuiw tila ta' gamhi kle' pha-uit ra • gamhi tuai
atuiñ arā arā dnāi jaku kuiw ceh dmāñ ra • rau gah preñ tuai heñ • pñai sāmmapī klan̄ (28) ma
sdah sjuñ smiñ Bra Sāñ Det gah • babwai lweñ heñ bā bā kok pa tuñ tuai • kuiw tila ta' kuiw
upasampada khā ma kuiw upasampada gah • upajhāi mwaī • ñah ma phadot kammawāt • sām-
mapī mwaī tila ta' bā bā ma rap kammawāt ma skuiw upasampada • khā tñai bapeñ ā tuai gah •
smiñ tala jakhi kayah pham̄ klo' pñāñ sñau preñ law tuai tila ñah tuñ klud̄ ra • tila ta' ma skuiw
upasampada tun • pa tam̄ nū saw¹ tñai bapeñ gitu phawraguin tñai² 5 gah • duiw pan cawek³
phawraguin tñai can⁴ gah heñ ma tuai • phyām̄ tñai katau heñ ma tuai heñ • rau gah sāmmapī 6or
kuiw duñ upasampada tuai kuiw niman acā sañ pan kuiw twah dhaw pātimok ku ñah ma duñ
upasampada tami ta' gah • ma pa pujau acā sañ pan⁵ ma 6desa pātimuk⁷ ku ñah ma duñ
upasampada tami gah mhā • ku ñah mwaī mwaī yāt yāt snā bāt pan 4 tau • sat bā bā • kquid̄ •
mrek bā bā coh pasā • gitu phawraguin 5 cwek tñai 3 kuiw yah lñu⁸ gah • tala ñah Rāmādhīpati
ceh ā tuai • uit acā sañ 50 kom̄ ku⁹ ñah ma duñ upasampada tami tarau klan̄ mwaī gah •
na bhojuin ma ka mwaī prakā kuim̄ law • na capa ma ka mwaī prakā kuim̄ law • taruih tuai heñ
ku acā sañ mwaī mwaī heñ yāt sapā bāt bā bā tau • dakaw moñ mwaī mwaī mrek khamih bā bā
pasā • mrek kalā¹⁰ pan pan pasā • sat basi lñim̄ lñim̄ • kwom̄ palā sablu suim̄ bi gapuiw ðun
panāk¹¹ sat mhāi sut mwaī mwaī deydhamma ma phah sāk wwa' tala ñah kuiw dān ra • ku ñah
6or ma duñ upasampada tami tun gah • parai nū aṭhaparikharā ma lon tuai ma kuiw dān lew •
mreggalā bā bā pasā • sat basi pan pan klan̄ ma kuiw dān plan • rau gah kuiw dān tuai • tila
sañ 50 palāñ phyau pā ra • rau gah palāñ phyau acā sañ 50 tuai heñ • uit ñah ma duñ
upasampada 6or gah¹² tuiñ quid̄ gah bapeñ gah • bwai lameñ kuiw twāk tat¹³ ā tuai • tala ñah
Rāmādhīpati pa aruim̄ uih tamuih cuit tuai kuiw palāñ phyau pā thān damāñ tala puiai ta' ra •
pwa¹⁴ sāk wwa' tala ñah Rāmādhīpati ma pa gah • huit ma sjuñ sduik sāsñā san roñ • ñah ma
duñ upasampada gah bwai ma buin kñan mik kuiw dah tuai pawa sāk wwa' ma pa roñ • • bwai
krau tun lew yām̄ bnat ayuk tila ñah Rāmādhīpati¹⁵ mnuñ gah • ruih ruih sāmmapī ta' ma smik
duñ upasampada gah • rau nai wwa' heñ preñ tuai tla ñah Rāmādhīpati ma tuw¹⁶ ā upasampada
ra • rau¹⁷ gah huit dah uiw da ci • smiñ ma quik peñ tau kom̄ saddhā kom̄ ku pañā ma pkañ rañ
kamin quñ Hāñsawati babwai krau tun lew • kuiw dahat ku sāsñā kom̄ ñi • atuiñ sāk puiai
bacireñ wwa' heñ pa bak ñi • tma' sattama tuai ra •

¹ A sak.

² Orig. has *tuai*.

³ A *cathok*.

⁴ A 4.

⁵ A *pa*.

⁷ B *pātimukkha*.

⁹ A omits *ku*.

¹⁰ For *galā*.

¹¹ Orig. has *pandai*.

¹² B omits all from here to the next *upasampada* *gah*, inclusive.

¹⁵ Orig. has *Ramā*.

¹⁶ For *kuiw*.

¹⁴ Orig. has *pwai*.

⁴ A 2.

⁸ A has *lñah*.

¹³ For *tñ*.

¹⁷ A *huit*.

*Translation.*¹

[Reverence to the Blessed One, the Holy One, the Fully Enlightened One! May the excellent Religion of the Conqueror flourish and prosper and may reverence be paid to Buddha!]

The purification of the Religion of the Conqueror was effected by Rāmādhīpati, king of the Mōn country. An account of this event will be related. During the reign of Rāmādhīpatirāja, king of the Mōn country, the Religion of the Conqueror became purified.

Two hundred and eighteen years had passed away since the attainment of Parinirvāṇa by the Fully Enlightened One, the Sage of the Sakyas, when Dhammāsokarāja was inaugurated as king. In the fourth year² after this event, owing to Nigrodhasāmañera, the king had great faith in the religion of Buddha; and the gifts and honours to the monks greatly increased, while those to the heretics diminished. The heretics, for the sake of gifts and honours, embraced the ascetic life among certain monks, received the *upasampadā* ordination, and promulgated their own heresies, such as the Sassata heresy. Some took orders themselves, assumed the guise of monks, and taught their own heretical doctrines. All these heretics mixed promiscuously with, and resided among, the monks, who performed *uposatha* and such other ecclesiastical ceremonies. Owing to this circumstance, the Saṅgha considered that the *parisā* was corrupt, and would not perform *uposatha*. Therefore, for seven years, the performance of this ecclesiastical ceremony had ceased in the Asokārāma monastery.

¹ Owing to the fragmentary condition of the Mōn text, this translation has, for the sake of intelligibility, been based on Mr. Taw Sein Ko's version of the Pāli wherever the Mōn text makes default. Where both texts are available, any differences worthy of notice are mentioned in the notes. From the end of Face F a similar use has been made of the Mōn MS. copies mentioned in §§ 71, 77-9. For the same reason it has been found necessary in this inscription to place the numbers of the lines in accordance with the portions of the Mōn text that have been preserved, not where it might be presumed that a particular line originally commenced. The parts taken over from the Pāli and Mōn MS. texts have been enclosed in square brackets; and so far as they lie outside the scope of the Mōn fragments that have been preserved on the stones, they are not divided into numbered lines and can therefore be easily distinguished from the portions representing the actual fragments remaining on the stones themselves. Words conjecturally restored, or added in compliance with English idiom, or for the sake of intelligibility, have been put in parentheses. A mark of interrogation is added where the restoration may be regarded as doubtful.

² According to the traditional reckoning, this date will be 322 B.C., but there is some reason to believe that the usual reckoning antedates Buddha's death by about 64 years; so, for 322, we should probably say about 258 B.C.

On account of these circumstances, King Dhammāsoka became desirous of purifying the religion by removing the impurity, heresy, and corruption that had arisen in it, and secured the co-operation of Moggaliputtatissamahāthera. Having acquired, by study, the knowledge that the Fully Enlightened One was a Vibhajjavādi, and that those who professed the doctrines of the Sassata and other schools were heretics, the king convoked an assembly of all the monks. Those who held similar doctrines were commanded to form themselves into groups, and each group was dismissed, one by one. There were six millions of monks professing the religion, who, if asked what the belief of the Fully Enlightened One was, would say that he was a Vibhajjavādi, while the sinful, heretical monks, who declared that the Fully Enlightened One professed the doctrines of the Sassata and other schools, numbered sixty thousand. The king directed all the sixty thousand sinful monks to leave the order, and saying: "Now that the *parisā* has been purified, let the Saṅgha perform *uposatha*," returned to the city.

Therefore, Moggaliputtatissamahāthera performed *uposatha* in the Asokārāma monastery in the company of all the six millions of monks. This being concluded, he promulgated, in an enlarged and expanded form but on the lines indicated by the Blessed One, the treatise called Kathāvatthu, of which a summary had been expounded by the Blessed One.]

A

Moggaliputtatissamahāthera having preached,¹ [like as the venerable Mahākassapathera selected five hundred monks, in whom all passions were extinct and who had attained to the possession of the six *abhiññās* and the four *paṭisambhidās*, and convened the First Council, which sat for seven months,] (l. 2) and like as our lord the Mahāthera Yasa [selected 700 monks in whom all passions were extinct and who had attained to the possession of the six *abhiññās* and the four *paṭisambhidās*, and convened the Second Council, which sat for eight months; even so did he (Moggaliputtatissamahāthera) select 1,000 monks, in whom all passions were extinct and who had attained to the possession of the six *abhiññās* and the four *paṭisam-*

¹ The Pāli merely has "subsequently."

bhidās, and convened the Third Council, which sat for nine months]¹ (l. 3) from the first (day of the) waning of the month of Māgha until the full-moon (day of the month of Kārttika).² [At the conclusion of this Council,] (l. 4) Moggaliputtatissamahāthera reflected³ that in the future [the religion would be established in neighbouring foreign countries, and sent such Theras as Majjhantikathera with the injunction: "Do you establish the religion] (l. 5) in those neighbouring foreign countries." [Of these Theras, he sent] our lord Mahindathera [to establish the religion in the island of Tambapanni,⁴ and Soṇathera and Uttarathera to establish the religion in] (l. 6) the Môn country,⁵ [which was also called Suvannabhūmi.]

At the time when our lords the two monks, namely Soṇathera and Uttarathera (arrived?),⁶ [a king called Sīrimāsoka ruled over the country of Suvannabhūmi. His capital was situated to] (l. 7) the north-west of the Kelāsapow pagoda.⁷ One half⁸ of it was on a hill,⁹ one half¹⁰ [was built on a plain. This town is called, to this day, Goḷamattikanagara,]¹¹ (l. 8) because [it contains many mud-and-wattle houses resembling those of the Goḷa people.¹²

The town was situated on the sea-shore; and] an ogress who lived in the sea [was in the habit of] coming up [and devouring] every child of the king that was [born in the king's palace. On the very night of the arrival of the two Theras,] (l. 9) a child of the king was born (and) the ogress, saying¹³

¹ In the Môn this is apparently expressed in days, of which there must have been *two hundred and sixty-five*: the only thing legible being (at the beginning of l. 3) "five" preceded by the form of "ten" used as a multiplicand. The Pāli does not give the number of days.

² Conjecturally restored. This passage is not in the Pāli.

³ The Pāli has "foresaw."

⁴ Ceylon.

⁵ So far as can be conjectured from the fragmentary remains of the Môn text, it probably expressed itself in this way: "in Suvannabhūmi, which is the Môn country."

⁶ For all the preceding, the Pāli merely has "at that time."

⁷ Pāli, *Kelāsapabbatacetiya*. Explained as being near Bilin in the Shwēgyin District.

⁸ In the Pāli, "the eastern half."

⁹ Literally, "rock." But the word is used elsewhere in both senses.

¹⁰ In the Pāli, "the western half."

¹¹ Explained as being Taikkulā (Ayeththēma) in the Shwēgyin District. Here, most curiously, the Pāli text contains (on the stone) a Môn sentence, viz., *ḍuñ Tuik Galā rman ma dah tluñ krau krau to' gañ*, "The Mōns who came thereafter called it Tuik Galā." This does not appear in the manuscript text or translation as edited by Mr. Taw Sein Ko. See Plate I, l. 15, of his article in Vol. XXII of the *Indian Antiquary*. Cf. l. 14, *infra*.

¹² Probably the Môn order differed somewhat, but the only legible words are "the reason men," which seems to correspond to the "because" in the Pāli. The Goḷa (or Gauḍa) were the people of Eastern Bengal. Their name has become the Môn and Burmese appellation for all foreigners from the West.

¹³ In the Pāli, "knowing."

[that a child had been born in] the king's [palace], came up out of the sea together with a retinue of five hundred.¹ When² (l. 10) having (made?) were two lions, which were calculated to inspire terror and were more numerous than all the chased away the ogres. Then³ the ogres (l. 11) (not?) desiring to allow the ogres to return again (later on?),⁴ throughout the extent of the [country] our lords the two Theras set guards; and to all the people, [who had assembled together], (they) (l. 12) preached the law of the Brahmajāla-sutta, and delighted them all.⁵ Four (thousand?) the *saraṇasīla*.⁶ At that time sixty thousand people attained to the comprehension of [the Law] (l. 13) thousand five hundred came out (and) became monks. Thenceforward, in the Mōn country all young children,⁷ that were (born?) [on the anniversary day of that event, were named Soṇuttara.] In order to prevent the savage⁸ demons, (servants) (of Varuṇa?),⁹ (from seizing) them, (l. 14) men had to inscribe [on

¹ I.e. other ogres, as in the Pāli, which proceeds: "with the object of devouring it."

² Literally, "at that time." The Pāli goes on: "the people saw the ogress, they were stricken with terror and raised a loud cry. The two Theras, perceiving that the ogress and her attendants had assumed the exceedingly frightful appearance of lions, each with one head and two bodies, created (by means of their supernatural power) monsters of similar appearance, but twice the number of those accompanying the ogress, and these monsters chased the ogres and obstructed their further progress. When the ogres saw twice their own number of monsters created by the supernatural power of the two Theras, they cried out: 'Now we shall become their prey,' and, being stricken with terror, fled towards the sea." It does not seem likely that the Mōn text had room for all this and I can only give the fragments of it without attempt at restoration.

³ Or "when," lit. "at that time." The Pāli merely has: "In order to prevent the return of the ogres, the Theras established a cordon of guards around the country, and preached the Brahmajāla-sutta to the people, who had assembled together."

⁴ The reading⁵ and meaning are doubtful.

⁵ These last four words have no equivalent in the Pāli.

⁶ In the *lacuna* we must supply something like "took refuge in." The Pāli gives this passage somewhat differently: "At the conclusion of the sermon, 60,000 people attained to the comprehension of the Truth; 3,500 men and 1,500 women renounced the world, and the rest were established in the 'three Refuges' and the *sīlas*," adding, "Thus the religion was established in this Mōn country by the two Theras in the 236th year that had elapsed since the attainment of *parinirvāṇa* by the Fully Enlightened One." This addition has no equivalent in the Mōn text. (The date, according to the traditional reckoning, would be 308 B.C., but probably this is about 64 years too early.)

⁷ The Pāli has "princes." The Mōn has a *lacuna* after "born" in which this may have been expressed somehow.

⁸ Lit. "because not desiring to let the tiger demons."

⁹ This rendering (which is not paralleled in the Pāli) is somewhat uncertain. It is also not quite certain whether the fragments supplied from the Pāli text in the passage immediately following were all contained in the Mōn original.

palm leaves figures of the creatures with?) heads of ogres (and) bodies of lions [created by the supernatural power of the Theras?] and put them on (their heads?), [and also placed a stone engraved] in accordance with those (same) shapes upon the top of the hill¹ of Tuik Galā² (l. 15) remains (until now).

From the time that³ our two lords⁴ came (and) established the religion in the Mōn country it shone⁵ in the Mōn country for a very long while. (When) a long time⁶ (l. 16) (thereupon?) parties disputed (and) went apart (?),⁷ pestilences⁸ (and) because of a great calamity of famine which also arose, (l. 17) also, the Mōn country diminished⁹ in power. Owing to [these calamities,] the monks settled¹⁰ in the Mōn country, (or) who lived in the Mōn country, (l. 18) were unable and the religion diminished in power.

(During the time when?) Sūriyakumā, who bore the name of King Manohor, ruled the city of Sudhuim,¹¹ the religion¹² (l. 19) [This happened] a thousand and six hundred years from the attainment of Parinirvāṇa by the exalted Buddha¹⁴ (and) when the religion (had been)

¹ Lit. "rock"

² Cf. l. 7. The Pāli merely says "on the top of a hill to the north-east of the town," and adds "This stone" (literally, however, "figure, shape," Pāli *rūpam*) "may be seen to this day." This last sentence is perhaps represented by the *lacuna* in the Mōn ending with "remains." But the Mōn seems to have something more, the first (and only) word of which is unidentified, unless it corresponds with L.M. *lueh* and represents the above mentioned *rūpam*.

³ Lit. "beginning from."

⁴ I.e. the two Theras.

⁵ Presumably we must supply something like "had elapsed." The Pāli equivalent for this whole passage is: "Since its introduction, the religion flourished for a long time in the Mōn country. In course of time, however, the power of the Mōn country declined, because civil dissensions arose," etc.

⁶ I.e. split up. But the Pāli says: "and the extensive country was broken up into separate principalities, and because the people suffered from famine and pestilence, and because, to the detriment of the propagation of the excellent religion, the country was conquered by the armies of the seven kings."

⁷ Doubtful reading and meaning.

⁸ Lit. "went soft."

⁹ Or "sheltered." The Pāli seems to have no equivalent for this clause.

¹⁰ The Pāli here has: "were unable to devote themselves, in peace and comfort, to the acquisition of scriptural knowledge, or to the observance of the precepts; and the religion also declined." There is not room for all this in the Mōn.

¹¹ I.e. Thatōn.

¹² The Pāli merely has: "During the reign of Manoharī, who was also known by his princely name of Sūriyakumāra, the power of the kingdom became very weak."

¹⁴ 1056-7 A.D.

established (in) the Mōn country a thousand (three hundred and sixty-four years?)¹ A thousand six hundred and one years from the attainment of Parinirvāṇa by the exalted Buddha, in the year [419]² of the Common Era, (King Anuruddha established the religion in Pukām,³ which?)⁴ (l. 20) is called the city of Arimaddanapur.

From (the year when the religion?) reached the city of Pukām, it was⁵ (the year) 532.⁶ At that time King Sirisaṅghabodhi-Parakkamabāhu purified the religion (l. 21) (at) that time, the Mahāthera Uttarājīva, the teacher of the king of Pukām, in order to go and venerate the pagodas [of Ceylon], said, " (the island of?) Ceylon," and together with many monks went (and) embarked on a ship at [Bassein].⁷ Who was this Mahāthera Uttarājīva? (l. 22) Our (lord?) (was) a Mōn, a disciple of the Mahāthera Ariyavaṁsa. The Mahāthera Ariyavaṁsa, in his turn, [was a disciple of Mahākālāthera] (who was called the Mahāthera of Krabaṇ Damyoṇ?).⁸ The Mahāthera of Krabaṇ Damyoṇ, in his turn, (was) a disciple of the Mahāthera Prāṇadassī,⁹ [who was endowed with] (l. 23) *lokiyajjhāna*.¹⁰ Our lord dwelt at Sudhuim.

¹ The passage in parentheses has been added conjecturally by subtracting 236 (cf. note on line 12, *supra*), from 1600, there being no equivalent in the Pāli for this whole sentence.

² 1057-8 A.D. Cf. the note on the text.

³ Pagan.

⁴ There seems to be no room for the whole of the Pāli passage, which reads: "King Anuruddha, the lord of Arimaddanapura, took a community of monks together with the Tipiṭaka and established the religion in Arimaddanapura, otherwise called Pugāma."

⁵ It is not quite clear whether the Pāli, from here on, agrees exactly with the Mōn. It has: "One hundred and seven years after this event, or in the year 526 of the Common Era [= 1164-5 A.D.], King Sirisaṅghabodhi-Parakkamabāhu purified the religion in Laṅkāḍīpa (i.e. Ceylon). Six years after the latter event, or in the year 532 of the Common Era, Uttarājīvamahāthera," etc. It seems difficult to find room for all this amongst the fragments of the Mōn text.

⁶ 1170-1 A.D.

⁷ The Pāli makes him "set out for Kusimanagara, saying to himself: 'I shall embark in a ship with a great many monks.'" This will not fit into the Mōn text, which makes reference to Ceylon. Kusimanagara is the literary name for Bassein (in M. Mōn *Kusim*); cf. A 31.

⁸ The clause in parentheses is a conjectural restoration. I take *damyoṇ* (which means "black, dark") to be part of this place-name, though the Pāli has no equivalent for it. Cf. the note on the text.

⁹ Cf. the note on the text. The Pāli adds: "who lived at Sudhammanagara," i.e. Thatōn.

¹⁰ The Pāli adds "and *abhināḍā*" and mentions these qualifications after stating his "place of residence."

(At dawn?)¹ our lord would go (and) sweep the Bodhi tree (and) having (swept it?), would return (and) go on his alms-pilgrimage in the city of Sudhuim. (Such) being our lord's nature,² (one) morning, [while he was sweeping³ the Mahābodhi tree, certain] (l. 24) men of the city of Sudhuim, who were going to trade in the country of (Magadha?),⁴ having seen (him), [on their return, related what they had seen to the people of Sudhuim.] (Thus) people knew the fact that our lord indeed possessed *lokiyajjhāna*.⁵

.⁶ (l. 25) a *sāmaṇera*, a son of people⁷ of the village of Chapat (in the district of Bassein?)⁸ followed our lord (the Thera, who, embarking on a ship, sailed to the island of?)⁹ Ceylon. All the monks who lived in the island of Ceylon greeted (him) with particular enquiries.¹⁰ [As they were well disposed towards him, they said: "We are the spiritual successors of] (l. 26) Mahindathera, who came (and) established the religion in the island of Ceylon (you), our lords, [are the

¹ Or perhaps, "every morning." But either way, a monosyllabic illegible word after the supposed *yah yah* remains untranslated. The Pāli of this passage reads: "Being thus gifted, he would, every morning, proceed to Magadha and sweep the courtyard of the Mahābodhi tree in Uruvelā, return to Sudhammapura, and go on his alms-pilgrimage." Presumably the missing passage in the Mōn version contained some of these particulars.

² This inadequately represents *trāḍah*, lit. "being," which may include "state, condition," etc., and also have the sense of "fact." If the latter be its meaning here, it may be dependent on the verb *ñāḍi* and the passage may mean that the traders "witnessed the fact" of his miraculous performance.

³ The Pāli, as above, adds "the courtyard of." It also speaks of the men who witnessed the miracle as "traders, who lived in Uruvelā, and were on their way to Magadha from Sudhammapura." There is here a difference between the two versions, which I am unable to reconcile, the Mōn distinctly saying that they were *ṇaḥ duṇ Sudhuim*, "men of Sudhuim."

⁴ Or "of the Mahābodhi," the reading being very doubtful.

⁵ The two words at the end of the line have been left untranslated, as in the absence of the context it is impossible to determine the sense borne here by *gati*, a word of various shades of meaning (lit. "going").

⁶ The Pāli here has: "On arrival at Kusimanagara, Uttarājīvamahāthera embarked in a ship, accompanied by many other monks and by a *sāmaṇera*, whose age was fully twenty years. Who was this *sāmaṇera*? Why was he called Chapatasāmaṇera?" There is not room for all this in the Mōn version.

⁷ I.e. "natives of" Chapat. It may be that the *sāmaṇera* was himself born there also.

⁸ Doubtful; cf. the note on the text. The Pāli has: "His parents were natives of Kusimarattṭha while he himself was a pupil of Uttarājīvamahāthera. He was called Chapatasāmaṇera because his parents were natives of a village called Chapata in Kusimarattṭha."

⁹ Conjecturally restored with the help of the Pāli.

¹⁰ The Pāli has: "accorded him" (i.e. Uttarājīvamahāthera) "a meet reception."

spiritual successors of] Soṇathera (and) Uttarathera, who went (and) established the religion in Suvannabhūmi."¹ Having spoken (thus), [they conferred the *upasampadā* ordination on] (the *sāmaṇera*?) (l. 27) Chapato.²

The Mahāthera Uttarājīva, (having venerated?) the pagodas in the island of Ceylon, [made preparations to return to Pukām]. (Then) the monk Chapato³ [thought thus?]: "(When?) our lord the Mahāthera Uttarājīva (returns home, if I were to return home with him,?) (l. 28) by reason of being very near my brothers (and) relatives, there would be 'impediments caused by relatives'⁴ there would be happiness of mind for me, on the other hand.⁵ I should" (l. 29) Ceylon.

This monk, having completed all his studies⁶ people called (him the Mahāthera Chapato?).⁷ The Mahāthera Chapato, when⁸ [After reflecting thus, he appointed] (l. 30) the Mahāthera Sivili, a native of Tāmal(itthi?)⁹

¹ The Pāli adds: "Let us all, therefore, perform together the ceremonies incumbent upon the Order." There does not seem to be room for all this in the Mōn.

² The Mōn appears to call him, literally, "the son of people of Chapato," here.

³ Here the Mōn clearly has "the monk, son of people of Chapato." This is curious, as in l. 25, the place is spelt Chapat.

⁴ The Pāli has: "'I should not be able to enjoy that peace and quiet, which are conducive to the study of the Tipitaka together with its commentaries. It is, perhaps, advisable, therefore, that I should, with the permission of the Mahāthera, remain in Ceylon, and return home only after I have mastered the Tipitaka together with its commentaries.' Accordingly, Chapato asked permission from Uttarājīvamahāthera and remained behind in Ceylon. Uttarājīvamahāthera, accompanied by a large company of monks, embarked in a ship, and returned to Kusimanagara. Thence he proceeded to Pugāma" (i.e. Pagan), "and took up his residence there." It is quite impossible to find room for all this in the Mōn.

⁵ If this is the force of *tun*.

⁶ The Pāli has: "Meanwhile, the monk, Chapato, by dint of hard study, had acquired a knowledge of the Tipitaka together with its commentaries; and, as he had completed his tenth year in orders, he acquired the designation of Thera. Being now desirous of returning to Pugāma, he reflected thus: 'If I were to return home alone, and if, in the event of the death of Uttarājīvamahāthera, I did not wish to associate with the monks of Pugāma in the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies, how could I, in the absence of a *pañcavaggagana*, perform such functions separately? It is, perhaps, proper, therefore, that I should return home in the company of four other monks, who are well versed in the Tipitaka.'" There is not room for all this in the Mōn.

⁷ Conjecturally restored.

⁸ Perhaps one could conjecturally add: "the time came for him to return," etc. But it is impossible to be sure how much of the long Pāli passage above cited had its counterpart in the Mōn text.

⁹ Probably Tamluk in Bengal. The reading is doubtful in the Mōn but supported by the Pāli.

the Mahāthera Tāmalinda,¹ [the son of the Rājā of Kamboja,² the Mahāthera Ānanda, a native of] Kāncīpura,³ (and) the Mahāthera Rāhula, [a native of Ceylon, to accompany him]⁴ (l. 31) The five exalted lords, having embarked on a ship, arrived at the city of Kusim.⁵ All (l. 32) Not having been in time to observe [the *vassa*] (at) Pukām that year, (they) observed one *vassa* in a monastery [at Kusim. The site and walls of the monastery, where they spent the *vassa*, may be seen to this day, on the south side of Kusim. At the conclusion of the observance of the *vassa*, the Mahāthera Chapato celebrated the *pavāraṇā*, and, accompanied by the four Theras, set out for]⁶ (l. 33) (Pukām?).

Now the Mahāthera Uttarājīva [had died a few days] before our lords [arrived. On reaching Pukām, the Mahāthera Chapato heard that his own teacher, the Mahāthera Uttarājīva, was dead, and repaired to his tomb and performed such acts as that of making obeisance and asking the forgiveness of the deceased. He then took counsel with the four Theras, addressing them thus].⁷ (l. 34) "O my lords, when our teacher who (is departed?) (l. 35) (our lords, the two?) Mahāthera Arahans named Soṇathera (and) Uttarathera. [However, our teacher, the Mahāthera Uttarājīva, who was a native of the Mōn country, was formerly the sole head of the Church: but] (l. 36) now that (the

¹ Or "Tāmulinda." The Mōn spelling of this name varies.

² Not preserved in the Mōn; perhaps Kamboja or more probably the Shan and Lao States.

Cf. § 75.

³ Doubtful; the Pāli has Kāncīpura on the stone, though the M.S. has Kiñcīpura. The Mōn spelling *Kāncī* (for *Kāñci*) is irregular, but Mōn spelling often disregards the Indian rules of *sandhi*. The place is Conjeveram.

⁴ The Pāli proceeds; "and, embarking in a ship, returned to his native country. These five Mahātheras were well versed in the Tipitaka, and were learned and able; and, among them, Rāhulathera was the ablest and the most learned. On the arrival of these five Mahātheras at Kusimanagara, the time for journeying on to Pugāma was unseasonable, because of the approaching *vassa* and they, accordingly, observed their *vassa* at Kusimanagara."

⁵ Bassein.

⁶ It may be doubted whether all the above was in the Mōn.

⁷ The Pāli proceeds: "As the Mahātheras of Ceylon associated with our teacher, the venerable Uttarājīvamahāthera, in the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies, it is proper that we should now perform such functions after associating ourselves with the monks of Pugāma, who are the spiritual successors of Soṇathera and Uttarathera."

Burmese monks ?) ¹ have become supreme, we do not wish to associate ² [with them in the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies." Thus, through pride, the Mahāthera Chapaṭo declined to associate with the monks of Pukām in the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies, and he performed such functions separately.

It should be borne in mind that in the year] (l. 37) 543 of the Common Era, ³ [and the 124th year ⁴ that had elapsed since the introduction of the religion into Pukām in the Burmese country from Sudhuim in the Mōn country,] ⁴ the religion from Ceylon [was established at Pukām. At that time a king, called Narapatijayasūra, ⁵ was ruling in Pukām. He conceived a feeling of great esteem and reverence for the five Mahātheras, and, after having had a bridge of boats constructed on the great river Erāwatī, requested them to confer the *upasampadā* ordination on the many monks who desired to receive it. In consequence of this,] (l. 38) our lords, these five, (gradually increased ?) ⁶ (in) [influence and their following grew in numbers.

One day, the king ordered festivals to be held in honour of the occasion of his giving a great offering to the five Mahātheras. On that occasion] (l. 39) the Mahāthera Rāhula saw a [beautiful] dancing-girl, [and the loss of his delight in asceticism became burdensome to him. He longed to be a layman, and made preparations to carry out his object. The Mahāthera Chapaṭo and the three other Mahātheras repeatedly expounded religious discourses to him, and, in a body, entreated him to turn away from the course he had resolved to take. But] ⁷ (though they endeavoured to ?) (l. 40) prevent (him), they were not able to prevent (him). (Our ?) lords, [therefore, said: "Brother, we have expounded to you various religious discourses by way of admonition, and yet we have not been able to turn you away from your object. Such being the case, do you forbear to become a layman here, but go to the Mōn country and there embark for Malayadīpa, ⁸ where you may carry out your wish." Being repeatedly urged to adopt this course,]

¹ Doubtful: see the note on the text.

² Conjecturally restored. ³ 1181-2 A.D.

⁴ It seems more than doubtful whether the Mōn version had this sentence. At any rate, if it occurred, it must have been after, not before, the next one.

⁵ According to Phayre (*History of Burma*, pp. 50, 281) Narabadiṣiṭhu (or Narabadiṣiṭhū) reigned from 1167 to 1204 A.D.

⁶ Doubtful; see the note on the text.

⁷ The Pāli proceeds: "the religious discourses expounded by the four Mahātheras, by way of admonition, were of no avail in turning his mind. They, therefore," etc.

⁸ It is regrettable that the Mōn equivalent for this place-name (probably Southern Sumatra) has not been preserved. See § 75.

(l. 41) Rāhulathera [went to the Mōn country] ¹ and embarking on a ship, (reached ?) [Malayadīpa. ² Now the king of Malayadīpa ³ was desirous of learning the Vinaya, and Rāhulathera taught him the Khuddasikkhā together with its commentary, and instructed him in the meaning of the text of the whole of the Vinaya. The king was pleased with the Thera and presented him with] (l. 42) an alms-bowl [filled with many kinds of gems]. ⁴ Rāhulathera [accepted the gift,] ⁵ became a layman, [and married.

Subsequently, of these four Mahātheras, Chapaṭo died, and the surviving three Mahātheras, namely, Sivilimahāthera, Tāmulindamahāthera, ⁴ and Ānandamahāthera, continued to maintain the religion in splendour at Pukām.

One day, the king of Pukām, having conceived a feeling of esteem and reverence for the three Mahātheras, presented them with three elephants]. (l. 43) Then Sivilimahāthera and Tāmulindamahāthera [liberated their two elephants in a forest. But Ānandathera, saying to himself: "I shall make a present of my elephant to my relatives living in Kāñcīpura," proceeded to Kusim and shipped it off]. (Then ?) (l. 44) the monks Sivilithera and Tāmulindathera [said: "Why have you caused pain to an animal by making a present of it to your relatives? Your action is improper." Ānandathera replied: "Why, reverend sirs, have you spoken to me in this manner?" ⁵ (Buddha ?) ⁶ (l. 45) spoke thus: 'To do [kindness to] relatives [is a sacred duty.' The two Mahātheras continued: "Ānanda, you are indeed headstrong. If, brother, you will not accept] (l. 46) advice and admonition ⁷ [from elders like us, do you perform your ecclesiastical ceremonies separately, and we shall perform ours in like manner." Thenceforward, the two Mahātheras] (Sivilithera and ?) (l. 47) Tāmulindathera ⁸ performed [their ecclesiastical ceremonies separately and Ānandathera performed his likewise.

¹ It seems doubtful whether the *n-d tui* of the text is a remnant of this clause.

² It is regrettable that the Mōn equivalent for this place-name (probably Southern Sumatra) has not been preserved. See § 75.

³ It is doubtful whether our text had the equivalent of these words.

⁴ I have followed the more usual spelling of the Mōn version. The English translation of the Pāli MS. has Sivali, Tāmalinda, but I observe that the Pāli transcript from the actual stone gives Sivili.

⁵ The Pāli proceeds: "What! Reverend sirs, has not the Blessed One declared that kindness to one's relatives," etc.

⁶ It may be that Ānandathera is the subject of the following verb.

⁷ It is not clear whether this corresponds with the small Mōn fragment, which seems to mean "to instruct thoroughly." For one thing, it is difficult to see how the preceding space can have been filled in. But I cannot fit the words in elsewhere.

⁸ It is by no means certain that this name has been fitted in here correctly. The Pāli version does not repeat the names in this connection, and the Mōn is represented by two words, with a conjectural restoration between them.

In course of time, Tāmulindathera, for the benefit of his pupils, who were learned, wise, and able, said to] (l. 48)¹ all the laymen, nobles (and) chiefs, [and other classes, that came to his presence:]. (l. 49) the monks are laymen² (l. 50) our lord Sivilithera³ Tāmulindathera: "O my lord, (the acquisition of?) the requisites [by means of *vacīviññatti* was censured by the Blessed One: why have you procured the four requisites by means of *vacīviññatti*? Your action is improper]. (l. 51)"⁴ So spake Sivilithera. Thus [replied] Tāmulindathera: ["My lord, the acquisition of requisites by means of *vacīviññatti* was censured by the Blessed One when such property was for oneself; but, my lord, I] (l. 52) did not practise *vacīviññatti* [for myself;] it was for the sake of the benefit (and) advancement⁵ of religion (that I determined?)⁶"⁷ [Sivilithera again said to Tāmulindathera:] " (So it is thus that my lord?)⁷ (l. 53) Tāmulindathera speaks! As

¹ I have not been able to fit in the doubtfully read word *kwon* in this line. Perhaps it is part of the expression "pupils."

² I have been unable to fit the fragments of this line into a continuous context, owing to the uncertainty of the sense of *dok* and *tak pa(t)*. The Pāli version gives the following:—"O laymen, the monks are learned, wise, and able; but, because of their not being supplied with the four requisites, they are unable to devote themselves to the acquisition of scriptural knowledge, or to the observance of the precepts. Laymen, it is our desire, therefore, that these monks should be furnished with the four requisites. Should you undertake to do this, the monks would certainly be enabled to devote themselves to the acquisition of scriptural knowledge, or to the observance of the precepts." The Thera thus procured the four requisites by means of *vacīviññatti*. This word means "verbal suggestion."

³ The Pāli has: "Then Sivalimahāthera said to Tāmalindathera." I doubt if the Mōn represents this; it depends on the meaning of the doubtful word *do(k)*.

⁴ I cannot fit in the Mōn from *wihā* to *so*. It seems to have no equivalent in the Pāli, and the sense is not clear. *Wihā* means "monastery," *twah*, "pupils," "disciples," *tila* (presumably here in the genitive), "of my lord," *dah*, perhaps "should," or "must," *so*, probably "indeed," "certainly," but I can find no suitable meaning for *kambā* (which may mean "tank," or "twin," L.M. *kamā*), and another word is missing.

⁵ Literally, "increase."

⁶ The Pāli, after "but, my lord," proceeds: "the four requisites procured by me by means of *vacīviññatti* were not for myself. I thought that if my pupils, who are learned, wise and able, obtained the four requisites, and devoted themselves to the acquisition of scriptural knowledge, and to the observance of the precepts, the interests of the religion would be promoted; and therefore I procured for them the four requisites by means of *vacīviññatti*."

⁷ Doubtfully restored. The Pāli has the speech thus: "Brother Tāmulinda, is this your explanation? Do you perform your ecclesiastical ceremonies separately, and I shall perform mine likewise. Brother Tāmulinda, association in the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies is agreeable only when the parties taking part in the performance are of the same mind and opinions and are amenable to the advice and admonition of each other." It is clear that the Mōn order is different.

(it is) thus (that) my lord speaks, (the nature?)¹ of men who are steadfast² in the doctrine (and teaching?) [Do you perform]³ (l. 54) (your) ecclesiastical ceremonies separately, and I shall perform (my) ecclesiastical ceremonies separately," (he) said. Thenceforward our lord Sivilithera (and our lord Tāmulindathera)⁴ [performed their ecclesiastical ceremonies separately.

At that period there were in Pukām four distinct communities,] (l. 55) the monks formed four sects, (namely) the monks who were of the religious succession (of those) that came up from Sudhuim (were) one sect, (the others being) [the disciples of Sivilimahāthera, the disciples of Tāmulindamahāthera, (and) the disciples of Ānandamahāthera (respectively). Of these communities] (l. 56)⁵ the successors (of those) who came up from Sudhuim, being of the succession of those who (had) arrived first, were called *arhe' sā*⁶ by the Burmese, (while) the monks of the three sects of the succession of those who had returned from Ceylon⁷ [were called the Sīhaḷa fraternity and also the Pacchima fraternity, because of their later arrival.

Two of these three Mahātheras, namely Sivilimahāthera and Tāmulindamahāthera, passed away according to their deeds after maintaining the religion in splendour to the end of their lives; and Ānandathera, after spending fifty-four rainy seasons in maintaining the religion in splendour in Pukām, also passed away according to his deeds in the year 607 of the Common Era.⁸

A *sāmaṇera* called Sāriputta, who was a native of Padippajeyya village,⁹ in the province of Dala, went to Pukām and received the *upasampadā* ordination at the hands of Ānandathera. He studied both the Dhamma and the Vinaya together with their commentaries. Being thus well-versed in the Dhamma and the Vinaya, the fame of the learning, wisdom, and ability of the

¹ Doubtful reading.

² Doubtful reading and meaning. Another possibility is "who have learnt," "who have studied." If it were possible to read *samaratha* it might mean "agreeing," "concurring."

³ Restored from the earlier passage in the Pāli version of the speech.

⁴ Conjecturally restored to fit the context.

⁵ I cannot fit in the doubtful *atuiñ* at the beginning of the line.

⁶ The Pāli equivalent for these two Burmese words is *purima*. Evidently the meaning in both languages must be "prior, earlier." In this place the Pāli stone introduces the Mōn gloss *arhe' sā* *bamā to' gah*, "the Burmese called (them) *arhe' sā*." See *l.c.*, Plate I, l. 73.

⁷ This is the end of the legible part of Face A of the Mōn version; what follows is merely adapted from the Pāli, till we reach the beginning of the top fragment of Face B.

⁸ 1245-6 A.D.

⁹ Stated to be near Rangoon.

monk Sāriputta spread abroad. The king of Pukām heard about his fame, and reflecting, "If the monk Sāriputta is learned, well-informed, a seeker of knowledge, wise, and able, and if the members of his body are perfect, I shall do him honour by appointing him to be my preceptor," sent messengers to institute enquiries. The messengers sent by the king accordingly proceeded to enquire whether the members of the body of the monk Sāriputta were perfect. In the course of their enquiry, they found that one of the big toes of the monk was too short, and reported the result of their investigation to the king. The king, thinking inwardly, "The monk is not perfect in all the members of his body," presented him with a great many offerings, conferred on him the title of Dhammavilāsathera, and dismissed him with the injunction: "Do you maintain the religion in splendour in the Mōn country."

Dhammavilāsathera proceeded to the Mōn country, and taught the Dhamma and the Vinaya to a great many monks in Dala. The people of the Mōn country called, at the time, the fraternity of these monks at Dala the "Sihālapakkhabhikkhusaṅgha,"¹ and designated as the "Ariyārahantapakkhabhikkhusaṅgha" the fraternity of monks who were already in the country and were the ecclesiastical successors of Soṇamahāthera and Uttaramahāthera.²

There was a learned Mahāthera, belonging to the Ariyārahantapakkhabhikkhusaṅgha, who lived in a monastery situated near the mouth of a river in the Lakkhiyapura³ province called the Bakāsa, because of its teeming with fish, which served as food for paddy birds.⁴ Near the monastery was a market, and not very far from the latter was a settlement where a great number of Kamboja⁵ prisoners of war were located. On account of this fact, the market was called the Kamboja market,⁶ and the monastery was called

¹ Here the Pāli stone (*l.c.*, Plate II, l. 6) had another Mōn gloss of which only the words *rman to' gah*, "the Mōns called," have been preserved.

² Here the Pāli stone has another Mōn gloss, not very legible on the plate (*l.c.*, Plate II, l. 6) which may perhaps be read *bwok sañ tray arhan rman to' gah*, "the Mōns called (them) the fraternity of the noble arahans." This reading is supported by an ink-impression of the stone. Cf. B 6 n.

³ Stated to be identical with Lekkaik near Twantē in the Hanthawaddy District.

⁴ Here the Pāli stone has another Mōn gloss (*l.c.*, Plate II, l. 7) which may perhaps be read *pān kruṇ gah pān gapuṇ rman to' gah*, "the Mōns call this river-mouth Pān Gapuṇ."

⁵ The Mōn equivalent, as will shortly appear, is Krom. It has been supposed that Kamboja here means Shan or Lao; but as to this point see *J. Burma Research Society* (1922), Vol. XII, Part I, pp. 39-45, and §§ 75, *supra*.

⁶ Here the Pāli stone has another Mōn gloss (*l.c.*, Plate II, l. 8) reading *psā krom rman to' gah*, "the Mōns called it the Krom market."

the Kambojāpaṇavihāra,¹ because of its vicinity to the Kamboja market. The Mahāthera living in the monastery was, in like manner, called the Paṭhama-Kambojāpaṇavihārathera.² Subsequently, the designation Paṭhama-Kambojāpaṇavihārathera was changed to]

B

(Mahāthera of?) the Krom market.³ (l. 2)
⁴ (l. 3) who were the fraternity
 of the Mahāthera of the Krom market⁵ [At that period, because
 this Mahāthera of the Krom market was the oldest and most celebrated
 member of the Ariyārahantasaṅghapakkha in Dala, the whole of that fraternity
 was designated] (l. 4) "the fraternity of the Mahāthera of the Krom market."
 [In after times, the designation] "(fraternity of the Mahāthera?) of the Krom
 market" [fell into disuse, and the fraternity was called "the fraternity of the
 Krom market."⁶ However, the latter term, "fraternity of the Krom
 market," itself fell into disuse and people] (l. 5) called [it "the Krom
 fraternity."]⁷

¹ *I.e.* the monastery of the Kamboja market. The gloss here (*l.c.*, Plate II, l. 9) is *wihā psā krom rman to' gah*, "the Mōns called it the monastery of the Krom market."

² *I.e.* Superior of the monastery of the Kamboja market. The gloss here (*l.c.*, Plate II, l. 9) is *mathe* [for *mahāthe*] *wihā psā krom rman to' gah*, "the Mōns called him the Mahāthera of the monastery of the Krom market."

³ The Pāli equivalent is Kambojāpaṇamahāthera, and the words in parentheses are practically certain. There is here (*l.c.*, Plate II, l. 10) a gloss of which only the words *mahāthe psā*, "Mahāthera of the . . . market," are preserved.

⁴ I cannot fit in the words of l. 2 (see the text). Their meaning is obscure (except *jamnok*, "great") and they seem to have no equivalents in the Pāli, which proceeds: "A pious nobleman, called Sirijayavaddhana, who was living at Dala, built a monastery near a great lake and invited the Kambojāpaṇamahāthera to occupy it."

⁵ This part does not seem to be represented in the Pāli. It is evidently a reference to the monks of the monastery of which this Mahāthera became the head. The Pāli equivalent of their designation, which appears again in the next line, is Kambojāpaṇamahātherasaṅghapakkha. A gloss there (*l.c.*, Plate II, l. 12) reads *bwok sañ mahāthe . . . to' gah*, "(the Mōns) called (it) the fraternity of the Mahāthera (of the Krom market)."

⁶ The Pāli equivalent is Kambojāpaṇasaṅghapakkha. A gloss here (*l.c.*, Plate II, l. 13) reads *bwok sañ psā krom (rman) to' gah*, "(the Mōns) called it the fraternity of the Krom market." It is probable, though not quite certain, that part of the Mōn equivalent for the phrase "in after times" is contained in the word *to'*, "a long time."

⁷ The Pāli equivalent is Kambojasaṅghapakkha. Here the gloss is *bwok sañ krom rman to' gah*, "the Mōns called it the Krom fraternity" (*l.c.*, Plate II, l. 13).

Because people called [the Ariyārahanta fraternity in Dala,] which was the fraternity of the Mahāthera of the Krom market, "the Krom fraternity," (l. 6) all the Ariyārahanta fraternity¹ which was in the Mōn country also having been called "the Krom fraternity," all the Mōn so styled it.²

At that time, in the city (of Dala, there existed the Ariyārahanta fraternity and?) (l. 7) the Ceylon fraternity: two fraternities had been formed.³ In the city of Mattma,⁴ again (there were) the Krom fraternity, (which was) one fraternity, (and the Ceylon?)⁵ fraternities, (which were five?)⁶ (l. 8) fraternities. The Ceylon fraternity which was in succession to Sivilitthera (was) one (such) fraternity; the members of⁷ the Ceylon clergy who were of the fraternity of⁸ (l. 9) screened (themselves with a?) cloth to eat (their) rice. When people invited (them to a?) shed, they were not able to eat in the house, (but) returned to eat (in the) monastery.⁹ Our lords, these (monks), (l. 10) the Ceylon fraternity who were successors of the pupils of the Mahāthera Tāmalinda⁹ (con-

¹ The Mōn calls it *bwok san tray arhan*, from which it appears that *tray* corresponds to *ariya* in value.

² Apparently this is the meaning, though it is expressed in a roundabout way. The Pāli merely says, "the same designation was thenceforward applied to that fraternity in the whole of the Mōn country."

³ The words in parentheses are a purely conjectural restoration. There is nothing in the Pāli to correspond with this passage.

⁴ Martaban, Pāli Muttima.

⁵ The queried words in parentheses are conjectural restorations. In this whole passage the Mōn version seems to be more discursive than the Pāli, which has the following: "There were in Muttimanagara, the Kambojasāṅghapakkha, the Sihaṇasāṅghapakkha, whose members were the successors of Sivilimāhāthera, the Sihaṇasāṅghapakkha, whose members were the successors of Tāmulinda-mahāthera, the Sihaṇasāṅghapakkha, whose members were the successors of Ānandamahāthera, the Sihaṇasāṅghapakkha, whose members were the successors of Buddhavaṃsamahāthera, the preceptor of the queen, who went to Ceylon and received his *upasampadā* ordination there, and who, on his return, performed his ecclesiastical ceremonies separately in Muttimanagara, and the Sihaṇasāṅghapakkha, whose members were the successors of Mahāsāmimāhāthera, otherwise called Mahānāga-mahāthera, who visited Ceylon and received his *upasampadā* ordination there, and who, on his return to Muttimanagara, performed his ecclesiastical ceremonies separately." The corresponding Mōn passage ends in l. 13.

⁶ The meaning of *ñām* (if that is the right reading) is doubtful: cf. ll. 10, 20, *infra*.

⁷ Presumably we should restore "Sivilitthera" here, but possibly "Ānandathera," whose name is lost in the *lacuna*.

⁸ The precise meaning of this passage is not certain, as some of the words are doubtful and there is nothing in the Pāli to correspond with it. Presumably "not able" means "not allowed by their rules."

⁹ So spelt here.

stituted) one fraternity; the members of¹ the fraternity styled "teachers of the minister of the silk cloth screen"² (the fraternity?) (l. 11) called (after?) Buddhavaṃsamahāthera; (he was) the teacher of the queen in Mattma (and) went to the island of Ceylon; and on his return to the city of Mattma, (whatever?)³ persons came (to him, he would not perform his?) (l. 12) ecclesiastical ceremonies with them, (but) performed (his) ecclesiastical ceremonies separately. The fraternity of these clergy (of) Ceylon (constituted) one fraternity. The fraternity of our lord Mahāsāmimāhāthera⁴ (constituted) (l. 13) one fraternity.

Therefore in the city of Mattma there were one fraternity of the Krom clergy (and) five Ceylon fraternities, (making) six fraternities (in all?) (l. 14) (and) as (they) were unable to join with one another in ecclesiastical ceremonies, various sects arose into existence. In all these sects of clergy (l. 15) there were none⁵ that were wise (and) qualified to come (and) investigate (and) ascertain (matters concerning?) ecclesiastical ceremonies. The clergy⁶ of these various fraternities (l. 16) would say ["We, indeed, are wise and?"]⁷ qualified," and these clergy would perform (ceremonies such as?) consecrating a *simā*⁸ (or) conferring the *upasampadā* ordination, performing (such) ceremonies separately.⁹

At that time [some] clergy, [who, wishing to consecrate a *simā* on a *gāmakhetta* of whatever size, (and) having placed boundary marks] (l. 17) all

¹ The meaning of *ñām* is doubtful: cf. l. 8, *supra*, and l. 20, *infra*.

² The meaning is not quite certain, and it is not clear whether these were the successors of Ānandathera (following the order of the Pāli), or of Buddhavaṃsamahāthera, next mentioned.

³ This is doubtful owing to the uncertain reading and meaning of the word *yra*, which I tentatively associate with L.M., *yrau*, "any." The doubt extends to the next restoration in parentheses, though this receives support from the Pāli. If we read *ey* (for *yra*) the phrase might mean: "we who have arrived" But I do not see how this fits in.

⁴ Who also received his orders in Ceylon: see the note to l. 7, *supra*.

⁵ Here the Pāli has "who were well-versed in the Tipiṭaka."

⁶ The Pāli speaks of them as Mahātheras.

⁷ Restored with the help of the Pāli.

⁸ I have followed the English version of the Pāli in the spelling of this word; but the dictionaries have *simā* and this also appears on the stones of the Pāli text. As this discrepancy was not noticed until the present translation had already been set up in type, it has not seemed worth while to alter the spelling here and in the numerous other places where the word occurs. The M.M. form is *sim*.

⁹ Possibly the last clause should read "(and) would perform other (such) ceremonies." The Pāli has neither, but says "in a manner that appeared fitting to them."

round the *gāmasimā*, purified [it by inducting within the *hatthapāsa* the monks] if¹ within those boundary stones; [but they would not] effect purification [through the acts of inducting within the *hatthapāsa* the monks living outside the boundary, of receiving the declarations of assent of such of them as were absent, and of excluding such of them as merited exclusion. In such a *simā*] (l. 18) ceremonies such as the *upasampadā* ordination [would be performed.²

There were] some [clergy] again who purified all round the *gāmasimā*, who had to induct (?)³ [within the *hatthapāsa*, etc., the monks residing round that *gāmakhetta*, inside or outside the boundary.⁴ Therefore, whenever a *simā* was to be consecrated, they thought that it would be difficult to purify the whole of the *gāmasimā*]⁵ (l. 19) a *gāma* (also ?), the (proper ?) characteristics was properly a *visum-gāma*. Those characteristics they did not investigate (and) ascertain (l. 20) in a very subtle way.⁶ Members⁷ (of the clergy ?) having depended on⁸ At the moment of performing the ceremony of consecrating the *simā*, if (a piece of) land that suited (them) (l. 21) measurement⁹ that suited (them), boundaries (they would) say (it was ?) a *visumgāma*, and on land which was devoid of the characteristics of a *visumgāma*

¹ I take *ayām* here to be the same as L.M. *yām*.

² It seems to me very doubtful whether there is room in our text for all the contents of the above paragraph.

³ The reading and meaning are very doubtful here.

⁴ The Pāli has: "There were some monks who declared: 'If it is desired to consecrate a *simā* on a *gāmakhetta*, such consecration should be carried out after effecting purification through the acts of inducting within the *hatthapāsa*, etc., the monks residing round that *gāmakhetta*, who are inside or outside the boundary.'"

⁵ It is doubtful whether all the above can have been represented in our text. The Pāli proceeds: "and would not ascertain the true nature of the characteristics of a *visumgāma*. They, however, assumed that if a piece of land with its boundaries defined was granted by a king, that land was a *visumgāma*; and they would ask the ruling authorities to define the boundaries of a piece of land, which they had chosen and whose area would be sufficient for the consecration of a *simā*, or of a piece of land of larger area." I find it difficult to fit the fragments of our text into this.

⁶ Owing to the loss of the context, the meaning is in doubt.

⁷ As to the sense of *nām*, cf. l. 8, 10, *supra*.

⁸ It is doubtful whether this is the sense of *nisray ket*. In III A 9 *nisrey* seems to mean "to find a resting place."

⁹ The original includes the expression *mañ lam*, which is defined as "a measure equal to seven cubits," but how many of these units are referred to is doubtful.

. (l. 22) having been able to purify, (they would) consecrate
 also, and perform ceremonies such as the *upasampadā* ordination.¹

[There were some] clergy [who, holding the opinion that] (l. 23) there would be the flaw of confusion of *simās*² [if two *baddhasimās* were] (connected ?) [with each other by the branches of trees, etc., but]³ in the case of a *baddhasimā* and a *gāmasimā*, [or two *gāmasimās*,] (l. 24) there would be no (such) flaw of confusion of *simās*, in at the time for the constructing of a *baddhasimā* upon the *gāmasimā* (l. 25) around it, the (connecting branches of) trees, etc., get together with the *gāmasimā* which was (to be) the site of the *baddhasimā* that (they were) to construct (l. 26) who purified the *gāmasimā* purified the *gāmasimā* which was (to be) the site of the *baddhasimā* that (they were) to construct, [In such a *simā*] (l. 27) the *upasampadā* ordination [would be performed.

There were some clergy,] again, [who would not ascertain in every way] whether the characteristics⁴ of a river or the characteristics of a lake (were present ?) [(as) mentioned in the *pāli* and the *aṭṭhakathās*,⁵ and who, without ascertaining well the interpretation of the words mentioned in the *aṭṭhakathās*,] (l. 28) (which are ?) *anvaddhamāsam anudasāham anupañcāham*,⁶ [would in this excessively rainy region, the Mōn country, perform the *upasampadā*

¹ The corresponding Pāli passage has: "They would then consecrate the *simā* after effecting purification through the acts of inducting within the *hatthapāsa*, etc., the monks residing on the *gāmakhetta*, but without effecting purification in regard to the whole of the *gāmasimā*. In such a *simā* the *upasampadā* ordination would be performed."

² The Pāli has "mutual confusion."

³ The Pāli proceeds: "there would be no such confusion if a *baddhasimā* and a *gāmasimā*, or two *gāmasimās*, were connected with each other by the branches of trees, etc., would, whenever there was a *simā* to be consecrated on a *gāmakhetta*, perform the consecration without cutting off the branches of trees, etc., which connected that *gāmakhetta* with the others around it, but after effecting purification through the acts of inducting within the *hatthapāsa*, etc., the monks residing on that *gāmakhetta*." It does not appear that our text fits precisely into this, though the general purport is similar.

⁴ That is, as laid down by Buddhist rule for the special purpose in question. In order to fit in the fragments of our text, I have had to make small verbal modifications in the English version of the Pāli in this paragraph.

⁵ The canonical scriptures and the commentaries on them.

⁶ "Every fortnight, every ten days, every five days."

ordination in an *udakukkhepasimā* consecrated on a river or] (l. 29) lake devoid of the characteristics of a river or (the characteristics of) of a lake. (l. 30)¹

Some clergy, again, (purified ?) (l. 31) (were ?) able to cut away, purified²

[When] (l. 32) two thousand (and) two years had elapsed [since the Fully Enlightened One] achieved Parinirvāṇa,³ [there reigned in Hamsawati]⁴ (l. 33) (Veda scriptures ?),⁵ the sciences of logic, grammar, (and) prosody, rhetoric (l. 34) more than one language, perfect, together (with ?) (l. 35) the province of Muttima according to the Law (l. 36) His Majesty Rāmādhīpati⁶ [had exceedingly

¹ It is not clear whether our text contained anything represented by these dots. The first words legible in l. 30 are merely two particles.

² The Pāli corresponding with this paragraph has: "There were some monks who, whenever they wished to consecrate a *simā* on a *gāmakhetta*, would cut off the branches of trees, etc., that connected it with other *gāmakhetts*, and carry out their object through the acts of inducting within the *hatthapāsa* the monks residing inside or outside the boundary of that *gāmakhetta*, of receiving the declarations of assent of such of them as were absent, and of excluding such of them as merited exclusion. But whenever there was an *upasampadā* ordination to be performed in such a *simā*, the ceremony would be performed without cutting off the branches of trees, etc., which connected that *gāmakhetta* with others." It is more than doubtful whether our text had room for all this.

³ The Pāli also has "the 820th year of the Common Era," which may or may not have been in our text. This corresponds to 1458-9 A.D.

⁴ The Pāli here proceeds, in a somewhat different order: "Rāmādhīpati, who, assuming the title of Siripavaramahādhammarājādhīraja, ruled justly and righteously and afforded protection to the people of the Mōn country, which comprised the three provinces of Kusimamaṇḍala, Hamsavattimaṇḍala, and Muttimamaṇḍala. He was the lord of a white elephant, whose colour was like that of the white esculent water-lily, or of the *jasminum multiflorum*, or of the autumnal moon, and he was replete with faith and many other qualities. He was well acquainted with the languages of various countries, and with many manual arts, such as masonry and carpentry. He was, moreover, learned and well read, and was versed in the Tipitaka and the sciences of *takka*, *byākaraṇa*, *chanda*, *alaṅkāra*, astrology, medicine, and arithmetic, pertaining to the Vedas." (This last word seems to be for "Vedas.")

⁵ So literally, but it is apparently sometimes extended to the Buddhist Canon (which is, however, separately mentioned in the Pāli and probably was in our text). The translator of the Pāli takes the expression as qualifying these sciences, as it were "the Vedic sciences of," etc. Our text has the Pāli terms, slightly varied in order.

⁶ The Pāli here has "the king."

deep faith in the religion of the Teacher, and the following thoughts arose in his mind: "The *upasampadā* ordination is dependent on that of *pabbajā*, and the basis of the religion itself is the *upasampadā* ordination, which in order to be appropriate, inviolable, and valid must] (l. 37) be possessed of five characteristics,¹ [namely, *simāsampatti*, *parisasampatti*, *vatthusampatti*, *ñattisampatti*, and *anusāvanasampatti*. Of these characteristics there exist means of attesting the validity of *vatthusampatti* and *ñattisampatti*, owing respectively to the ability of a candidate for the pure form of the *upasampadā* ordination to fulfil the condition of the former, and to the accessibility of qualified *ācariyās*, who could recite the *kammavācā* with correct intonation."]² (l. 38) there are three characteristics [The king, in repeatedly investigating and considering the ruling of] (l. 39) the Vinaya [as regards the consecration of a *simā* which would be in conformity with the intention of the Blessed One, as interpreted by the authors of *aṭṭhakathās*, *ṭīkās* and *pakaraṇas*, consulted both the spirit and the letter of the following works, controlling the *aṭṭhakathā* by means of the *pāḷi*, the *ṭīkā* by means of the *aṭṭhakathā*, and the *pakaraṇa* by one another, and at the same time collating what was gone before with what came after:—the Vinayapāḷi, the Vinayaṭṭhakathā, the Vinayaṭīkā called Sāratthadīpaṇi, the Vinayaṭīkā called Vimativinodanī, the Vinayaṭīkā written by Vajirabuddhitherā, the Mātikaṭṭhakathā called Kaṅkhāvitaranī together with its *ṭīkā*, the Vinayavinicchayapakaraṇa together with its *ṭīkā*, the Vinayaṅgahapakaraṇa, the Simālaṅkārapakaraṇa, and the Simālaṅkārasaṅgaha.³

To the king, who] (l. 42) repeatedly [investigated and] considered [this question, the ruling of the Vinaya appeared to be thus:—"If it is desired to consecrate a *simā* on a selected site, whether it be a *paṇḍitaḥ* or a

¹ The original word is *sampatti*, which may be taken in the sense of "condition, excellence, attainment."

² It seems very doubtful whether our text had room for all the foregoing. The Pāli proceeds: "But by what criterion can I ascertain the non-existence of *simāsampatti* and *parisasampatti*?" In this English version of the Pāli there is an accidental omission of any reference to the validity of *anusāvanasampatti*; but the Pāli original adds it to the other two whose validity could be ascertained. Possibly our text put this part about "the three characteristics" after the other.

³ The above passage in the Pāli corresponds to an indefinite number of lines in our text, of which, those whereof any traces remain have been numbered 40 and 41 in the text; but as there is nothing translatable left in them, these numbers do not appear in the translation.

visumgāmakhetta]¹
 (l. 43) men (and) women, the fact that
 (l. 44) and the fact that it is a site (obstructing?)²
 (l. 45) (a *simā* ?), if there are boundaries of the sites, (and) a village headman³
 who (takes?) (l. 46)
 also the revenues of some portion, desire to give to (other persons?)
 (l. 47) give the other
 (that?) he may enjoy a new village whereof he may collect⁴ the revenues
 (l. 48) having (discoursed
 what they?) (to define who shall get?)⁴ the
 revenues. In a *visumgāmakhetta*, complete
 (l. 49) having taken the piece of land, if it suited them, (and?)
 the monks⁵ (should?) desire to make a *simā*, at the time when it was
 desired to make (it) (l. 50)
 other around. Having cut away the connecting branches of trees,
 etc., (and) having planted (boundary) marks around the piece of land where
 (they) desired to consecrate the *simā*, (when?)
 (l. 51) if (the way the boundary?) runs
 is difficult to apprehend, though the circumference of the figure should not
 run otherwise than, for example, a figure of three sides (or) four sides,
 in (l. 52) if the
 course of the boundary is easy to apprehend even though one cannot set

¹ It is difficult to fit the fragments of our text into the Pāli, which proceeds thus: "whose boundaries have been defined for the purpose of collecting revenue, and which possesses the following characteristics, namely, that it is inaccessible to men and women; that it is favourable to the exercise of the four *iriyapathas*; that it is not a place subject to noise; and that the usufructuary right exercised in respect of it is capable of supporting life;—the branches of trees, etc., connecting that *pakatigāmakhetta* or *visumgāmakhetta* with other *gāmakhetta*s should be cut down; and a number of boundary marks should be placed around the site selected for the consecration of the *simā*, should such *simā* be a *mahāsimā*, whose extent is difficult to apprehend and whose form is not well defined." Our text, while retaining some of these particulars, seems to expand others and introduce fresh matter.

² Reading and meaning doubtful.

³ Meaning doubtful.

⁴ Meaning doubtful owing to absence of the context.

⁵ I have neglected the doubtful word *yata*, as its meaning is undetermined. If it is to be read *yati* ("ascetic, monk"), it adds nothing to the translation, being merely a synonym of *gam-i*. But cf. G 29, where the reading is certainly *yata*. Another view is that *yata* means "any (monks)." Cf. D 47.

up many boundary marks, (and one) desires to make a triangular figure¹
 (l. 53) (of) four
 sides, set up four boundary marks. Should (one) desire to make a
 figure of five sides, set up five boundary marks. If (one) desires to make
 numerous circumferences of figures,² boundary marks
 (such as?)³ boundary marks
 (l. 54) (should) the circumference² of the figure not be
 (such that?) it is easy to apprehend the course of the boundary of the *simā*,
 (even) if one should set up many boundary marks, there would be no
 advantage in setting up those many boundary marks.⁴

[“The connecting branches of trees, etc., which are either within or without the boundary, should be cut down, and the extent of the *simā* clearly defined. Of all the monks residing within or without the boundary of that *gāmakhetta*, those who are worthy of the privilege should be inducted within the *hatthapāsa*, and the declarations of assent of those who are absent should be received, the remaining monks being excluded from the *gāmakhetta*. For the purpose of guiding travelling monks, guards should be stationed all round the *gāmakhetta*; and, in order to notify the fact publicly, flags and streamers should be planted at various places; and the boundaries should be proclaimed three times by the sounding of drums, conch-shells, and other musical instruments. Eventually, the *simā* should be consecrated by having the *kammavācā* read with proper intonation. The consecration of]

¹ I am not sure that I have rendered this rather obscure passage correctly. The corresponding Pāli proceeds, much more concisely: "If, however, it is desired to consecrate a *khuddakasimā*, whose form is triangular and whose extent is easy to apprehend, three boundary marks should be placed. But if the form of the *simā* to be consecrated is square or rectangular, four boundary marks would suffice; and if the form is a polygon, the number of boundary marks should be in proportion." I have taken *tameñ* in the sense of "boundary, circumference" (E.M. *tumwīñ* I F 17, *tumwīñ* IX D 5), not as connected with L.M. *tmeñ*, either in the sense of "different" or "a variety." The latter meaning would make an intelligible translation, but I do not see how it would be consistent with the Pāli version.

² Here again the word *tameñ* comes in. I am disposed to think that what I have rendered "numerous circumferences of" may really be meant to convey "polygonal," though I do not see my way to getting that sense out of the words as they stand. Another suggested rendering, taking *tameñ* in the sense of "different," is: "If it is desired to make different figures of many (sides)." But this seems more remote from the Pāli version.

³ Reading and meaning doubtful. The next word was probably a number.

⁴ The fragments of Face B end here, with a paragraph mark.

C

[a *simā*, which is attended by such ceremonies] (l. 1) as aforesaid,¹ [is inviolable and valid; and the *upasampadā* ordination and other ceremonies performed in such a *simā* are likewise inviolable and valid.

"The characteristic of an equable rainy season is, that during the four months of its continuance] (l. 2) (rain falls?) once (in) each half of a month" (l. 3) one² *sammādhārāpaveccana*, the fact that rain (falls?) (l. 4) *sammādhārāpaveccana*, the fact that rain falls (If after the lapse of?) half a month rain falls, [it is the characteristic of a deficient rainy season, and if] (l. 5) rain falls [once every four days,] or rain falls once every three days, or rain falls once [every two days, or rain falls] every [day, it is the characteristic of an excessive rainy season.

"If the season is (?)] (l. 6) an equable rainy season (and) during the four months connected with⁴ the time of Vassa, (whether) in a place that is a landing-place (or) a place that is not, (l. 7) (in) crossing a stream at that time the under robe of a nun should be wetted, as (one might) say⁵ [to the extent of] one finger (breadth) or two finger (breadths), [such a stream acquires the status of a *nadī*.] Now, equable (l. 8) rainy seasons (are) of three kinds⁶: if during an equable rainy

¹ It is of course impossible to be quite sure that these two words are rightly fitted in here.

² The English version of the Pāli, which is based on a variant reading here (see l. 3 of our text) after "continuance" proceeds:—"an uninterrupted shower falls once every half month, or every fifth day; that of a deficient rainy season is, that a shower falls after the lapse of a half month; and that of an excessive rainy season is, that the intervening period between one shower and another is less than five days, that is to say, rain falls every fourth, third, or second day, or every day (without interruption)." Our text expands somewhat. After "every half month" the original Pāli text on the stone adds "or every tenth day." For "the lapse of a half month" we must understand "an interval of more than half a month."

³ I can make nothing of the fragmentary *ratha*; *sammādhārāpaveccana* means, apparently, much the same as "an uninterrupted shower."

⁴ Or, simply, "of," like the use of L.M. *dadak tau*.

⁵ These four words are merely an idiom and might have been left untranslated.

⁶ The Pāli, which otherwise agrees fairly closely in this passage, does not appear to contain this sentence.

season (in which) rain falls once (in) each half of the month [during the four months connected with the time of Vassa] (l. 9) the under robe of a nun who crosses (a stream)¹ is wetted, that stream is a *mahānadī*.² If during an equable rainy season (in which) [rain falls once] every ten days [during the four] (l. 10) months of the time of Vassa the under robe of a nun who crosses (a stream)¹ is wetted, as (one might) say,³ that stream is a *majjhimānadī*.⁴ If during an equable rainy season (in which) [rain falls once] every five days, [the under robe] (l. 11) of a nun who crosses a stream¹ is wetted, that stream is a small stream.⁵

"If, again, in any stream, during an equable rainy season, [the under robe of a nun who crosses] (the stream)¹ (l. 12) is wetted, but during a deficient rainy season (it) is not wetted, inasmuch as a deficient rainy season is no criterion, [it should not be declared that] such a stream as aforesaid [is] not [a *nadī*,] (l. 13) (and if) during an equable rainy season, the under robe of a nun who crosses (the stream)¹ is not wetted, but during an excessive rainy season (it) is wetted, [inasmuch as] an excessive [rainy season is no criterion,] it is not proper to declare [such a stream] (l. 14) to be a *nadī*.

"The nature of a *jātassara*⁶ is (that) it arises spontaneously: it cannot be made by anyone digging (it), [but] (l. 15) is filled [with water that flows from all round it.] Such a lake as aforesaid (is) called a *jātassara*. [If in] a [reservoir of such description,] during an equable rainy season, during the four months of Vassa, (l. 16) there is water [sufficient for the purpose of drinking or washing] feet (and) hands, it attains to (the status of) a *jātassara*.⁷ It can be called a *jātassara*. An equable rainy season (is) of three kinds *mahājātassara*, (l. 17) *majjhimajātassara*, (and), *khuddakajātassara*, (are?) three

¹ The Pāli here adds "at any place."

² A big stream.

³ These four words are merely an idiom and might have been left untranslated.

⁴ A stream of medium size.

⁵ In the Pāli, *khuddakanadī*. It is curious that here the Pāli word is not given in our text, which translates it into its Môn equivalent.

⁶ That is, "a lake."

⁷ After this point our text parts company with the Pāli, which says nothing here about the three kinds of *jātassaras* (big, medium and small), or of equable rainy seasons.

kinds [If]¹ a *jātassara*, in an equable rainy season, (l. 18) contains water [sufficient] for [these purposes,] (but) during a deficient rainy season, (or) in winter [or summer,] there is not [sufficient] water, it is (nevertheless) a *jātassara*. (But it is) not a *jātassara* (if) (l. 19) during an equable rainy season, in the four months (connected with the time of Vassa?) there is no water, while during an excessive rainy season there is water (in it)

(l. 20) "Now this Mōn country of ours is an excessively rainy one, [but how can one] (declare that² the nature?)³ of this Mōn country of ours is chronically⁴ an excessively rainy one? According to the statement of the teachers (in) the Aṭṭhakathās (l. 21) the extent⁵ of the Vassa season is four months (thus it is?) stated in the Aṭṭhakathās. But in this Mōn country of ours the Vassa season (is) six months (How can one?)⁶ (l. 22) know (that?)⁶ it is excessively rainy (or?)⁶ not? (l. 23) Inasmuch as the Aṭṭhakathās say [that the characteristic of an equable rainy season is] that rain falls, at the very utmost, once every five days, (it follows that if) rain should fall once every four days, or rain should fall once every three days, or rain should fall once every two days, or (rain?) (l. 24) should fall (every

¹ The Pāli here proceeds : "If a lake, which satisfies such a condition when the rainy season is an equable one, does not contain water sufficient for the purpose of drinking or ablution when the rainy season is a deficient one, or during winter or summer, it should not be declared that such a lake does not acquire the status of a *jātassara*. If, during the four months of a rainy season which is an equable one, a lake does not contain water sufficient for the purpose of drinking or ablution, but satisfies this condition when the rainy season is an excessive one, such a lake does not acquire the status of a *jātassara*."

² The Pāli has : "but how could one know that its rainy season is an excessive one? That the rainy season comprises four months is thus declared in the Aṭṭhakathās :—'*yasmā hi vassānassa catūsu māsesu*.' But in this country of Rāmaññadesa the rainy season comprises six months."

³ Doubtful reading; and perhaps the doubtful word (*tadāh*) here means "the fact (that)" not "(that) the nature (of)."

⁴ Or "truly," "indeed"?

⁵ Or "state, nature," literally "being."

⁶ I am doubtful whether I have rightly added these words to our fragmentary text. The Pāli does not help, for it merely has : "Because it is said that the characteristic of an equable rainy season is, that rain falls every fifth day, methinks that the characteristic of an excessive rainy season is, that rain falls every fourth, third, or second day, or every day."

day?),⁷ that is called the characteristic of an excessive rainy season.⁸ is reached.

"Now in this Mōn country of ours (it) sometimes (happens that) (rain falls once?)³ every four days, or (l. 25) rain falls once every three days, or rain falls once every two days, or rain falls every day. Sometimes (l. 26) during ten days, too, without interruption, if the rays of the sun wish to penetrate somewhat, (they) are quite unable (to do so),⁴ throughout the whole expanse of the sky all is dark (and) dull⁵ (l. 27) pouring forth, rain falls. Inasmuch as it is thus, it is fitting to note that this Mōn country of ours is characterized by an excessive rainy season. Thus, in (l. 28) this Mōn country of ours, either in (the case of) a large *nadī*,⁶ or in (the case of) a large *jātassara*,⁶ as defined by⁷ the rainfall in an equable rainy season, though the rain (l. 29) may be⁸ if in such a large *nadī* as aforesaid (or) such a large *jātassara* as aforesaid, an *udakukkhepa* is made, persons (may validly perform?)⁹ such ceremonies as the *upasampadā* ordination."

¹ This restoration, though supported by the Pāli, seems rather doubtful, as there is perhaps hardly room for it.

² I can make nothing of the doubtful words here.

³ This restoration is conjectural, and it is doubtful whether there is room for it; but it seems to be required by the context and by the Pāli, which has : "In this country of Rāmaññadesa, sometimes once every fourth, third, or second day, or every day (without interruption), sometimes once every seventh or tenth day, the rays of the sun are invisible, and the sky becomes cloudy and murky, and a continuous shower of rain falls. Therefore it is established beyond doubt that the rainy season of Rāmaññadesa is an excessive one." It should be noted that our text is an expanded paraphrase, but says nothing about "every seventh (day)."

⁴ That is, "when there is no sunshine at all."

⁵ The words following in the ink-impression are doubtful, but may include "clouds," which cause the rainfall to flow (*jawar*, which I have rendered "pouring forth").

⁶ Here our text uses the Pāli technical terms for "stream" and "lake," respectively.

⁷ Literally, "by the kind of." The reference is to the tests mentioned in ll. 5-9, 15-18, though in the fragments of our text there is no specific definition of a *mahājātassara* preserved.

⁸ Perhaps, "deficient in that season"?

⁹ Conjecturally restored. The Pāli corresponding to this whole passage has : "For the reasons stated above, in this country of Rāmaññadesa, during the four months of an equable rainy season, when rain falls in the manner described, the under robe of a nun crossing a stream of such description, at any place, is wetted. On such a *mahānadī* an *udakukkhepasimā* may be consecrated; and the *upasampadā* ordination performed in it will be valid and inviolable. If, during the four months of an equable rainy season, when rain falls as described above, a lake of such description contains water sufficient for the purpose of drinking or ablution: on such a *mahājātassara* an *udakukkhepasimā* may be consecrated; and the *upasampadā* ordination performed in it will be valid and inviolable."

..... (l. 30) the ruling of the Vinaya was clear in (the mind of His Majesty ?)¹ Rāmādhīpati.² Then the following considerations occurred to His Majesty Rāmādhīpati:—"At the time that [it is desired to consecrate a *simā*] (l. 31) some [clergy], if upon a *gāmakhetta* within the *gāmakhetta*, if within the boundaries also (they ?) have (kept watch ?),³ if (there are) monks who live within the boundaries and (l. 32) monks who live outside the boundaries (and they) have not caused (them) to be brought (down into ?)⁴ the *hatthapāsa*⁴; (and) have not expelled (them) out of the *gāmakhetta*; (and they) consecrate (l. 33) if so, (there is) *parisavipatti* (why is it said that there is ?)⁵ *parisavipatti* ?⁵

"If⁶ in a *gāmasimā* (l. 34) planted boundary marks within those boundaries, a *gāmasimā* other than the *gāmasimā* (it is ?) (l. 35) proper (to define by getting ?) that *gāmakhetta* (the line which it is desired ?)⁷ (l. 36) to the king, (define ?) which is within (those boundaries; because one desires to ?).⁷ (l. 37) (not ?)

¹ Conjecturally restored.

² This sentence does not seem to be literally represented in the Pāli, which proceeds: "The following thoughts arose in the mind of Rāmādhīpati, to whom the valid manner in which a *simā* should be consecrated had appeared as described above:—There are some Theras who, wishing to consecrate a *simā* on a *gāmakhetta*, carry out their object by inducting within the *hatthapāsa* the monks residing inside the boundary, but without effecting purification through the acts of inducting within the *hatthapāsa*, etc., all the monks residing on that *gāmakhetta*. The consecration of such a *simā* by the Theras is invalid by reason of *parisavipatti*."

³ Doubtful reading and meaning.

⁴ Conjecturally restored.

⁵ Owing to the fragmentary state of our text, I have not been able to piece it together with the Pāli version, of which it seems to be an expanded paraphrase. The same applies to much of what follows.

⁶ The Pāli proceeds: "If, in order to alienate the revenue of a selected place, whose boundaries have been defined for the purpose of collecting revenue and which is situated on a *pakaṭṭigāmakhetta*, the boundaries are again defined and the place itself is given away by the ruling authorities: such a place acquires the status of a *visumgāmakhetta*. The consecration of a *baddhasimā* is consummated at the conclusion of the recitation of the *kammavācā*, and not merely by the proclamation of its boundaries. Therefore the land referred to above, which is situated inside the boundary, does not acquire the status of a *visumgāma*, because of its perpetually forming a part and parcel of the *gāmasimā*; nor does the *simā* become a *baddhasimā*, because the lands, both inside and outside the boundary, constitute but one *gāmasimā*."

⁷ Meaning doubtful.

..... is a *baddhasimā* reciting the service of the consecration of a *simā* (l. 38) cannot (part ?) which is within that boundary, if (l. 39) (still ?) is it cannot be said to be another (piece of land, it cannot be said to be a *baddhasimā* ?) (l. 40) to be If the persons who dwell within the boundary¹ (l. 41) inasmuch as the consecration of the *simā* is *vagga*² [the *upasampadā* ordination and other ceremonies performed in such a *simā*] (l. 42) are void [by reason of] *simāvipatti*.³ [There are also] (some) clergy, [who ask the ruling authorities to define the boundaries of some place selected by them, but which does not possess the characteristics of a *gāma*. Considering that such a place is a *visumgāmakhetta*,] (l. 43) when they have decided on it⁴ and the time has come for the consecration of a *simā*, (they do so ?) [by inducting within the *hatthapāsa* only the monks residing on the whole of the *pakaṭṭigāmakhetta*.] (l. 44)⁵ (l. 45) making (it) separate, to be a *visumgāma* [The consecration of the *simā* by these clergy is void by reason of *parisavipatti*. Therefore, because of *simāvipatti*,] (l. 46) the *upasampadā* ordination which they perform in [such a *simā* is invalid.⁶ There are also other clergy, who, wishing to consecrate a *simā* on a *gāmakhetta*, do not cut down the branches of trees, etc., connecting that *gāmakhetta* with] (l. 47) the other *gāmakhettas* which are around it,

¹ The Pāli has: "If all the monks residing on that very *gāmasimā*, who are deserving of the privilege, are not inducted within the *hatthapāsa*; if the declarations of assent of those who are entitled to send them are not received; if those who deserve exclusion are not excluded; and if only the monks residing within the boundary are inducted within the *hatthapāsa*; the consecration of the *simā* (attended by such ceremonies) is violable and not in accordance with the law."

² This word, which appears in the Pāli as *vaggam*, seems to mean something like "void."

³ That is, "by reason of the invalidity of its consecration."

⁴ The reading is doubtful. The Pāli has: "they select a site on it, and consecrate a *simā* by inducting," etc.

⁵ In this line there are only some doubtfully read and isolated words, such as "cause," "also," "revenue" (?), "if," which I have been unable to fit into any framework. Much the same applies to the next line. The Pāli proceeds as shown in the text.

⁶ The Pāli has: "the *upasampadā* ordination and other ceremonies performed in such a *simā* are invalid."

[but carry out their object after effecting purification through the act of] (l. 48) inducting [within] the *hatthapāsa* [the monks residing on that *gāmakhetta*. By reason of *parisavipatti*,] the consecration [of the *simā* by these monks is invalid. As] (l. 49) there is mutual confusion¹ [between two *baddhasimās*] because of their being connected by the branches of trees, etc., [so there is mutual confusion¹ between] a *baddhasimā* and a *gāmasimā*, [or between two *gāmasimās*, because of their being connected by the branches of trees, etc. By reason of] (l. 50) (*simāvipatti*?),² the consecration of the *simā* is void, (and) because the consecration of the *simā* is void,³ (the *upasampadā* ordination performed therein is invalid?).⁴

["There are other clergy, who perform the *upasampadā* ordination and other ceremonies in an *udakukkhepasimā* consecrated on rivers and lakes that are devoid of their respective characteristics (judged by the conditions prevailing) in the exceedingly rainy region of the Mōn country. By reason of *simāvipatti*, the *upasampadā* ordination and other ceremonies performed by these clergy are void. As to this exceedingly rainy region of the Mōn country: during the four months of an equable rainy season, when rain falls in the manner indicated above, the under robe of a nun crossing a river, at any place, may not get wet (provided that the prevailing conditions are normal); but owing to excessive rainfall in this country, the under robe will get wet. Judging, therefore, by the wetting of the under robe, when the rainy season is, as stated before, an equable one, how can it be correct to say that such a river acquires the status of a *nadī*? Again, during the four months of an equable rainy season, when rain falls in the manner indicated above, a lake may not contain water sufficient for the purpose of drinking or ablution (provided that the prevailing conditions are normal); but owing to excessive rainfall in this country, during the four months of the rainy season, it will contain water sufficient for the purpose of drinking or ablution. Judging, therefore, by the sufficiency of water in such a lake for the purpose of drinking or ablution, when the rainy season is, as stated before, an equable one, how can it be correct to say that such a lake acquires the status of a *jātassara*?]

¹ The English version of the Pāli says "junction," but the word *saṅkarabhu* appears to imply "confusion." The curious word *ndī* seems to be a particle. Cf. D 28, 36, 38, 47, 50.

² The Pāli proceeds: "the *upasampadā* ordination and other ceremonies performed in such a *simā* are void."

³ End of the fragments of Face C.

⁴ Conjecturally restored with the help of the Pāli.

D

["There are also some clergy, who, desiring to consecrate a *simā* on a *gāmakhetta*, cut down the branches of trees, etc., connecting that *gāmakhetta* with others, and carry out their object by inducting within the *hatthapāsa*, etc., all the monks residing inside or outside the boundary of that *gāmakhetta*. But whenever]¹ (l. 2) the *upasampadā* ordination [and other ceremonies are performed in such a *simā*, the connecting branches of trees, etc., of that *gāmasimā* are not cut down. The *upasampadā* ordination and other ceremonies of these clergy are, therefore, void] (l. 3) by reason of *parisavipatti*, [caused through the confusion (of boundaries) of such *baddhasimā* and *gāmasimā*. If, on the other hand, these clergy perform the *upasampadā* ordination and other ceremonies in a valid *baddhasimā*, or on a *pakatigāmakhetta*] (l. 4) which possesses [the characteristics of a *gāma*, or on] a *visumgāmakhetta*, which possesses (l. 5) [the characteristics of] a *gāma*, [or on a *mahānadī* possessing the characteristics of a *nadī*,] or on a *mahājātassara*² which attains to [the characteristics of a *jātassara*,] or [on a *samudda*,] which attains to the characteristics of a *samudda*, [they may constitute a Chapter,]³ (l. 6) those ceremonies, in a *baddhasimā* which (is void according to?) on a *visumgāmakhetta* which is devoid of⁴ the characteristics of a *gāma* (l. 7) on a small *jātassara* that has not the characteristics of a *jātassara* by reason of (such?) circumstances as aforesaid (l. 8) are void on account of *parisavipatti*." (Thus?)⁵

¹ No entire word is legible in l. 1 of this Face, though one may conjecture *kle*, which probably formed part of the expression "cut down," *supra*.

² The Pāli omits the *mahā*.

³ Owing to differences in syntactical order, I have not attempted to fit the fragments of our text, that follow on here, into the framework of the Pāli, which proceeds: "but the functions performed by them are void by reason of *parisavipatti*, caused through their having been ordained in a *simā* whose consecration was invalid for the reasons indicated above, or on a *visumgāmakhetta* that does not possess the characteristics of a *gāma*, or on a *khuddakanadī* that does not possess the characteristics of a *nadī*, or on a *khuddakajātassara* that does not possess the characteristics of a *jātassara*."

⁴ Literally, "separated from."

⁵ The Pāli here is somewhat more concise and has: "Then King Rāmādhīpati became aware of the existence of *simāvipatti* and *parisavipatti* of the *upasampadā* ordination and other ceremonies in Rāmāffadesa, and thought thus:—"

considered, (which were connected with?)
 . . (l. 9) came to know of (the *simāvipatti* and?) *parisavipatti* which existed.
 Then His Majesty *Rāmādhīpati* (thought thus?):—"The *simāvipatti* (and)
parisavipatti which are connected with the *upasampadā* ordination¹
 (l. 10) (to?) me, appear clearly thus. In this Mōn
 country of ours (clergy?) (monks?) who are
 well versed in the Tipiṭaka, who are learned (and) able.
 (l. 11) in this Mōn country, to our lords the leading
 monks² in general (it) appears I should urge
 our lords to consider (l. 12)
 having compared the older (and) the subsequent,³ I should urge our lords to
 lay down a ruling this *simā*."

Thus His Majesty *Rāmādhīpati*⁴
 . . . (l. 13) all give a ruling (based on the) Vinaya (as to the) erection⁵
 of this *simā*. Then our lords the leading monks considered
 the Pāli Vinaya together with (its *Atthakathās*?)⁶
 (l. 14) the *simāvipatti* (and) *parisavipatti* which existed, our lords the leading

¹ Here the Pāli has: "The *simāvipatti* and *parisavipatti* of the *upasampadā* ordination and other ceremonies appear to me in the manner indicated above. Now there are in *Rāmaññadesa* and *Haṃsavatinagara* many monks who are well versed in the Tipiṭaka, learned and able, and I am not appear to them in the same manner. It is, perhaps, advisable that I should ask all of them to investigate the subject by the light of the interpretation, literal or otherwise, of the Vinayapiṭaka together with its *atthakathās* and *ṭīkās*, to compare and collate the *atthakathās* with the *pāli* texts, the *ṭīkā* with the *atthakathās* and what follows with what is gone before, and to give an authoritative ruling, based on the Vinaya, as to the valid manner of consecrating a *simā*." It does not seem possible that our text can have contained all this.

² The original has *gaṇācariya* which must have the same sense as L.M. *acā guin*, explained by Haswell as "a head priest of a district, a bishop."

³ The reading is somewhat doubtful but is supported by the Pāli.

⁴ Presumably one must supply "thought," or the like. The Pāli merely proceeds: "All the monks who were well versed in the Tipiṭaka were accordingly asked to give an authoritative ruling, based on the Vinaya, as to the valid manner of consecrating a *simā*. Then, in compliance with the request of King *Rāmādhīpati*, all the monks who were well versed in the Tipiṭaka investigated the subject by the light of the interpretation, literal or otherwise, of the Vinayapiṭaka, together with its *atthakathās* and *ṭīkās*, and through repeated comparison and collation perceived the existence of *simāvipatti* and *parisavipatti*, and communicated to the king the result of their enquiry as to the manner prescribed in the Vinaya."

⁵ I am not sure that this is the sense of *taṅgā*. Perhaps it means a "straight" (or "direct") ruling (as to this *simā*).

⁶ Conjecturally restored.

monks in general (having?) gave (?) the nature of
 the *simāvipatti* which existed (and) the *parisavipatti*
 (l. 15)¹ In the end, when he had received the decision of our
 lords the Mahātheras² His Majesty *Rāmādhīpati* considered:
 "The religion (of the exalted Buddha should last?) (l. 16) five thousand
 years, these say. At the present time the religion of the exalted Buddha
 has (lasted) two thousand (and) sixty-four³ years
⁴ (l. 17) the religion, which is bound up with the
upasampadā ordination, how can⁵ it last until (the end?) of the period of
 five thousand years? The state⁶ of the religion (l. 18)
 (being) impure (and) corrupt, as aforesaid, (and) we being aware (of it)⁷ (if?)
 we do not exert ourselves so as to purify the religion from all impurity (and)
 corruption, (and) all manner of doubt,⁸ (l. 19) (we shall?) assuredly (be wanting
 in devotion?) to the religion of the exalted Buddha, we shall assuredly
 be wanting in affection to the exalted Buddha, we shall assuredly be wanting
 in reverence to the exalted Buddha

¹ I do not know the meaning of the word *lanah* near the beginning of l. 15. The word also occurs in E 55, F 45, 49, 52, where it does not seem to add anything substantial to the sense of the context.

² The Pāli merely has: "The king said to himself: 'The excellent compilers of *atthakathās* have declared that the religion of Buddha will last 5000 years; but alas,' " etc.

³ This agrees with the actual Pāli reading on the stone itself, but the MS. followed by Mr. Taw Sein Ko makes it 2047. Evidently the scribe was puzzled by the date, which cannot refer back to the time of Buddha's death but must run from the moment (traditionally 45 years earlier) when he received full enlightenment under the Bodhi tree and yields the date 1475-6 A.D. (= 837 of the Common Era of Burma; cf. E 38). Making this alteration, the Pāli proceeds: "only 2064 years have now passed away since the Enlightened One attained Buddhahood, and the religion has become impure, tainted with heresy and corruption, and the *upasampadā* ordination has also become invalid. This being the case, how can the religion last till the end of 5000 years?"

⁴ I cannot translate the doubtfully read words at the end of this line.

⁵ The word actually intended is not quite certain: cf. the text and note.

⁶ Or, "the fact?"

⁷ I have translated in this way in order to keep the sequence of the original: what is meant is, "if, being aware, of the corrupt state of the religion, we do not exert ourselves," etc. The Pāli has: "The king again reflected thus: 'Being aware of the impurity, heresy, and corruption, that have arisen in the religion, methinks that, in order to ensure the continuance of the religion to the end of the period of 5000 years, it is essential that it should be purified by resuscitating the pure form of the *upasampadā* ordination. However, if I do not exert myself, and remain indifferent, I shall be guilty of not having intense love for, or faith in, the Blessed Fully Enlightened One, and of being devoid of respect and reverence for him. It is, therefore, I think, expedient that the purification of the religion should be effected by me.'"

⁸ That is, as to its validity in all essentials.

..... (l. 20) (If?) we can introduce (?)¹ (and) plant an *upasampadā* ordination (which is free?) from impurity, corruption and all manner of doubt, (and) which is the seed of religion,²
 (l. 21) the shoot,³ which (we) can cause to sprout up, which can last until the end of the period of five thousand years."⁴

Thus⁵ did His Majesty reflect (l. 22)
 "When two hundred (and) thirty-six years⁶ had elapsed after the year that our lord the exalted Buddha achieved *parinirvāṇa*, our lord Moggaliputtatissamahāthera (commissioned?) (l. 23) our lord Mahāmahindathera (and) caused him to cross over (and) establish the religion in the island of Ceylon. From the time that our lord Mahāmahindathera (established the religion in?) the island of Ceylon, (during 218 years?)⁷ (l. 24) the orthodox succession, that is to say the fraternity of the residents of the Mahāvihāra (monastery), which was free from impurity (and) corruption, which practised
 the island of Ceylon.⁸ When⁹

¹ There are doubts about the reading and meaning here. The passage is not closely paralleled in the Pāli, which proceeds thus: "How shall I first call into existence the pure form of the *upasampadā* ordination, and establish it in this country of Rāmaññadesa? There are men having faith, belonging to good families, and desirous of receiving such *upasampadā* ordination. If, at my instance, they receive it, the religion will become purified through the existence of a pure form of the *upasampadā* ordination."

² I have not attempted to translate the doubtfully read *dget* at the end of this line. It may mean "to observe, to practise, to do," according to context.

³ I omit the doubtful *nan* which precedes *lam-ow*.

⁴ In spite of the *lacuna*, the general sense of the passage is plain, viz., that valid *upasampadā* ordination is a condition precedent to pure religion: the former is the seed, the latter the plant which is to endure for ages.

⁵ Normally, being expressed by *rau wo*, this must refer to what follows; the Pāli also has: "The following were the thoughts that arose in the mind of King Rāmādhīpati, who considered about the condition of the religion:—".

⁶ Traditionally corresponding to 308 B.C.; but see the note near the beginning of this translation.

⁷ Traditionally corresponding to 90 B.C.; but see as above. The figure, lost in our text, has been restored from the Pāli, which in this passage is fairly closely parallel, viz. "It is said that in the 236th year that had elapsed since the attainment of *parinirvāṇa* by the Fully Enlightened One, Mahāmahindathera, who was sent by Moggaliputtatissamahāthera, went to Tambapāṇḍīpa and established the religion. Devānāmpiyatissa, king of Sīhāḍīpa, conceived a feeling of esteem and reverence for the *thera*, and founded the Mahāvihāra monastery. During the period of 218 years that elapsed since the foundation of the Mahāvihāra the religion remained pure, and there was only one fraternity, namely that of the residents of the Mahāvihāra."

⁸ Presumably, following the Pāli, we must suppose that the *lacuna* preceding these words contained a statement that the Mahāvihāra fraternity was the only one in the island.

⁹ Or "Then."

..... (l. 25) King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi¹ Abhaya having conquered, in his turn,² the Klan king, Dāliya,³ (and) having again² acquired the sovereignty of the city of Anurādhapura,⁴ founded the Abhayagirivihāra (monastery)
⁵ (l. 26) had been with the king at the time when the king was defeated by seven Klans and ran away (and) had to dwell with our lord (the said monk) for [fourteen years]
 (the king) (l. 27) caused our lord (the monk) to dwell (in the said monastery). Our lord this Mahāthera, Mahātissa, by reason of the offence of associating with lay people
 [had been expelled] (l. 28) from the Mahāvihāra. Thenceforward,⁶ the fraternity of monks resident in the Mahāvihāra performed (their ecclesiastical) ceremonies separately (and the fraternity of monks resident in the Abhayagirivihāra likewise performed their ceremonies separately?) (l. 29) they were unable to associate (in such) ceremonies with each other.⁷ The succession of the twenty monks, the monks resident in the Mahāvihāra⁸
 (l. 30) the clergy who were in the island of Ceylon, the fraternity of the residents in the Mahāvihāra, one (fraternity?)

(l. 31) "Three hundred (and) fifty-seven years having elapsed [since] the coming into existence of the Abhayagirivihāra, a king [called Mahāsena ruled over the island of Ceylon for twenty-seven years.] (l. 32) At

¹ In the Pāli, "Vaṭṭagāmaṇi."

² Not in the Pāli.

³ The Pāli has: "Dādhiya, king of the Dāḷas," i.e., Tamils. Our text may have "Dāddhiya." Apparently "Klan" means "Tamil."

⁴ The Pāli has: "attained to kingship in Laṅkāḍīpa."

⁵ In this *lacuna* we must probably supply something like "there was a monk named Mahātissathera, who." The Pāli has: "After founding the Abhayagirivihāra monastery, this king was defeated by a confederacy of seven Dāḷa princes, and was obliged to fly the country and remain in hiding for fourteen years. (On his restoration) he invited a *thera* called Mahātissa, who had afforded him assistance during his exile, and presented the monastery to him."

⁶ For *nda*, cf. C 49.

⁷ The Pāli merely says: "Thenceforward the monks were divided into two sects, namely that of the residents of the Mahāvihāra and that of the residents of the Abhayagirivihāra."

⁸ Possibly one might translate: "the twenty successions of monks." I am not sure of the precise meaning of the phrase (which does not occur in the Pāli in either of these senses), but the word *now* refers to the transmission of ecclesiastical status in a particular line of succession. Possibly, however, *coh* is merely an error for *co*, and we should translate: "the two successions of monks," i.e., the Mahāvihāra and Abhayagirivihāra sects, respectively. This would agree much better with the Pāli version.

that time that king founded the Jetavanavihāra; (he) was fond of a heretic¹² [who] (l. 33) was an associate of wicked people and dwelt in the Dakkhiṇārāma monastery. (The king) caused him to enter into [the Jetavanavihāra] [Thenceforward, the monks of the Jetavanavihāra monastery detached themselves from] (l. 34) the monks who dwelt in the Mahāvihāra and also from the monks who dwelt in [the Abhayagirivihāra] [and thus] (l. 35) arose this one fraternity called the fraternity of the residents of the Jetavanavihāra. Thus (l. 36) [six hundred] years [had not yet³ elapsed since the establishment of the religion in the island of Ceylon, when] (there were three?) communities of monks in the island of Ceylon: the residents of the Mahāvihāra⁴ (l. 37) one fraternity, was the fraternity the three fraternities [Among these fraternities,] (l. 38) the residents of the Mahāvihāra [were extremely pure and orthodox; but the remaining] two fraternities [were neither pure nor orthodox]⁵ (l. 39) who were deficient in moral conduct who practised⁶ (l. 40)⁶ [Owing to this circumstance,] the religion [became impure and tainted with heresy and corruption.

¹ Or "heretics."

² It appears from the Pāli that the latter part of this *lacuna* must have contained something like "a monk named Tissathera, who." The Pāli further characterizes him as a man "of an intriguing and licentious character, but for whom he (*i.e.* the king) conceived a feeling of esteem and reverence."

³ I have followed the wording of the English translation of the Pāli. Our text here has the word *ñiṇṇa*, "a very little" (to which the Pāli *ñiṇṇa* apparently corresponds). Perhaps it means that the 600 years had all but elapsed. As Mr. Taw Sein Ko pointed out in a footnote to his translation, these 600 years elapsed two years before the termination of the reign of the king mentioned in l. 31, *supra*.

⁴ Here, no doubt, our text enumerated the other two fraternities, with, perhaps, some further description of them. This is not in the Pāli.

⁵ The Pāli proceeds: "In course of time, however, in the island of Ceylon, the number of the orthodox monks gradually decreased, and their sect became weak, while the unorthodox monks continually received fresh accession of strength owing to increased numbers. These heretical sects did not conform to the rules of the Order, and were followers of evil practices." Probably these last few words are represented by the beginning of l. 39 of our text.

⁶ I am not sure of the sense of *ku jala*. It might mean "with thorns," a figurative way of expressing the evils that had grown up in the Church. But this does not seem quite satisfactory, though the reading appears to be certain.

"In the 1472nd year that had elapsed since the establishment of the religion in the island of Ceylon, the 1708th year that had elapsed since the attainment of Parinirvāṇa by the Master, and the eighteenth year since the inauguration of]¹ (l. 41) King Sīrisaṅghabodhi-Parakkamabāhu [as ruler of the island of Ceylon, that king, by seeing the monks who, though professing the religion, did not conform to the rules of the order and followed evil] (l. 42) practices,² [became aware of the existence of the impurity, heresy, and corruption that had arisen in the religion, and he thought thus:—'If such an one as I, knowing the existence of] (l. 43) the impurity, [heresy, and] corruption³ [that have arisen in the religion, do not exert myself and remain indifferent in the matter of effecting its purification, it will be said of me that] (l. 44) (I) do not reverence (the Buddha?)⁴ [It is, perhaps expedient that I should afford support to the Mahāvihāra fraternity, who are orthodox, whose conduct is in conformity with the rules of the Order, and whose superior is] (l. 45) Mahākassapathera, who dwells [in Udumbaragiri; and that, as Asoka, king of righteousness, with the assistance of (l. 46) Moggaliputtatissamahāthera, afforded support to the great fraternity of exceedingly pure and orthodox monks who declared that the Fully Enlightened One was a Vibhajjavādī, and effected the purification of the religion by commanding the expulsion from the Order of the 60,000 impure and sinful monks who declared that the Fully Enlightened One professed the doctrines of the Sassata and other schools, even so should I purify the religion by commanding the expulsion from the Order of] (l. 47) all the impure monks who are unorthodox,⁵ [who do not conform to the rules of the Order and are followers of evil practices]⁶ (l. 48) (of) the three fraternities I should make one fraternity, (and) any monks⁷ who are"

¹ It may be doubted whether there was room in our text for all the foregoing chronological details. The date is 1164-5 A.D.

² Our text has the word *paṭipati* twice, presumably in correspondence with the Pāli *apaṭipatti-duppaṭipattiyo*.

³ Our text has the words as adjectives, no doubt qualifying *sāsana*, "religion."

⁴ The Pāli, after "that," proceeds: "my love for, or faith in, the Fully Enlightened One, and my respect and reverence for him, are not intense." Very likely our text had the substance of all this.

⁵ The Pāli has: "the large number of impure, unorthodox, and sinful monks," etc. As to *yata* (or *yati* ?), cf. B 49 n.

⁶ The Pāli continues: "and by constituting the fraternity of the residents of the Mahāvihāra the only sect (in my kingdom)."

⁷ Here *yata* occurs again.

"[The king]¹ (l. 49) having (thus?) reflected, entirely expelled all the impure monks that were unorthodox; any that (l. 50) purified the religion. From the time that these kings² purified the religion, the religion in the island of Ceylon was bound up with (l. 51) until the present time.

"Since³ (that) is so, we shall make a request to our lords the monks (l. 52) the religion from the island of Ceylon. We will cause them to return (and) establish the religion in this Mōn country of ours," His Majesty Rāmādhīpati said (and)⁴

[Accordingly King Rāmādhīpati invited the twenty-two Theras, headed by Moggalāna, and addressed them thus: "Reverend Sirs, the *upasampadā* ordination of the monks of the Mōn country now appears to us to be invalid. Therefore, how can the religion, which is based on such invalid ordination, last to the end of 5000 years? Reverend Sirs, from the establishment of the religion in the island of Ceylon up to the present day, there has been existing in that island an exceedingly pure sect of monks, who are the spiritual successors of the residents of the Mahāvihāra monastery. If, Reverend Sirs, you go to the island of Ceylon, and, after selecting out of the fraternity, whose members are the spiritual successors of the monks of the Mahāvihāra, a Chapter who are pure and free from censure and reproach, receive at their hands the *upasampadā* ordination in the *udakukkhepasimā* consecrated on the Kalyāṇī River, where the Fully Enlightened One enjoyed a bath; and if you make this form of the

¹ The Pāli proceeds: "acted accordingly, purified the religion, and caused a covenant to be entered into by the monks. In after times, with a view to purifying the religion, Vijayabāhurāja and Parakkamabāhurāja caused (similar) covenants to be made. From that time up to the present day, there has been existing in the island of Ceylon a sect of monks who are the spiritual successors of the fraternity of the Mahāvihāra, the exceedingly pure and orthodox sect, whose members conformed in a proper manner to the rules of the Order."

² Or "this king."

³ The Pāli has: "I (Rāmādhīpati) shall, therefore, invite in a respectful manner learned and qualified monks to receive the extremely pure form of the *upasampadā* ordination in the island of Ceylon, and to establish it in this country of Rāmādhīadesa. By inducing men of good family, who have faith and are desirous of taking orders, to receive it, and by thus calling into existence the pure form of the *upasampadā* ordination, the religion will become purified and free from impurity, and will last to the end of the period of 5000 years." It would seem that our text did not contain the whole of this.

⁴ End of the legible part of Face D.

upasampadā ordination the seed of the religion, as it were, plant it, and cause it to sprout forth by conferring such ordination on men of good family in this Mōn country, who have faith and are desirous of taking orders, the religion will become pure and last till the end of 5000 years. Reverend Sirs, by your going to the island of Ceylon, much merit and great advantages will accrue to you. Reverend Sirs, on your arrival in the island of Ceylon,]¹

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"(you) will be able (to see with your eyes?), (you) will be able (to venerate?) (l. 2) the ceti, the Silāceti, the Kalyāṇiceti, etc. My lords will be able to (l. 3) Thus a flood of much merit will be able to accrue to our lords (l. 4) our (lords?)." Thus did His Majesty make a request to our lords the Theras [To this the Theras replied: "Mahārāja, your excellent request is indeed in conformity with the law, because it is actuated by a desire to promote the interests of the religion]² (When we?) (l. 5) have taken steps³ to go (and) receive the *upasampadā* ordination, which is the seed of religion (in the island of?) (l. 6) Ceylon, (when the?) *upasampadā* ordination which is in our station,⁴ (is one?) that is free from

¹ It seems more than doubtful whether the whole of the above passage from the Pāli version can have been represented in our text, particularly as the substance of some of it appears lower down. It would seem that the Mōn text arranged the order differently. The Pāli, however, now proceeds, with some difference in detail: "an opportunity will be afforded to you of adoring and making offerings to the Holy Tooth Relic, to the Bodhi trees, headed by the one which was the southern branch (of the tree at Buddha Gayā), to the Ratanacetiya and other shrines, and to the Cetiya of the Holy Foot-print of the Blessed One on the top of the Samantakūṭa Hill. Therefore, Reverend Sirs, your great accumulation of merit will increase. For the reasons stated above, I beseech of you the favour of going to the island of Ceylon."

² It is doubtful whether our text contained the preceding, as it appears to be duplicated further on. The Pāli proceeds: "the visit to the island of Ceylon will increase our great accumulation of merit."

³ Literally, "done deeds."

⁴ That is, the status of a monk. But I am not clear as to the precise sense of *saṅghāna* here, as the Pāli *saṅghāna* has so many different meanings, and the Pāli version omits all this passage. It also seems possible to translate: "when the *upasampadā* ordination, in ourselves" (or "in our minds") "is free from doubt."

(doubt?) (we shall be able to confer it?) (l. 7) upon persons of (good) family who have the desire (to receive) the *upasampadā* ordination at our hands.¹ We (l. 8) these (persons?), which is free from doubt, until the end of the period (of 5000 years?) (l. 9) we shall be able to receive the doctrines, by reason of being able to visit the island of Ceylon (l. 10) we shall be able to venerate (and) make offerings to the holy sites, such as the Ratanaceti, the merit (l. 11) inasmuch as (Your Majesty's request?) is indeed in accordance with the law, it is fitting² (that) we grant a favour to Your Majesty." Thus (our) lords (the Theras spake?) (l. 12) our lords the twenty-two Theras.³ For the purpose of offering to the Tooth Relic of the exalted Buddha, an umbrella⁴ (l. 13) a to put on the top of the peak of the umbrella, (of the) value of a hundred (and) forty⁵ of silver, a [stone]⁶ alms-bowl, [embellished with sapphires of great value and having for its cover a pyramidal covering made of gold weighing 50 *phalas*; an alms-bowl, with stand and cover complete, made of gold weighing 60 *phalas*; a golden vase weighing 30 *phalas*; a dodecagonal] (l. 14) betel-box⁷ of

¹ Literally, "in our presence."

² I am not sure that this is the force of *san* here. The sentence might be taken to mean "we do indeed grant," etc., which is closer to the Pāli: "We, therefore, grant you the favour, and will visit the island of Ceylon." Saying thus, the Theras gave a promise."

³ I have not attempted to translate *reni* at the beginning of this line, as it may only be the last syllable of some word unknown. It might mean "arranged, marshalled," perhaps. The Pāli differs considerably here: "On receiving the reply of the Theras, the king directed the preparation of the following articles to serve as offerings to the Holy Tooth Relic—a stone alms-bowl, embellished," etc., omitting all reference to the umbrella.

⁴ Or "umbrellas"? Probably not: cf. l. 55, *infra*.

⁵ No unit of value is mentioned, but I presume that what is understood is identical with the *phala* of the Pāli version, which is really a unit of weight and would therefore be the same for silver as for gold. The Mōn equivalent is *daker* (l. 14), L.M. *dakew*, defined by Haswell as "a tical, a weight a little less than half an ounce, the hundredth part of a viss, a rupee." It might be possible to render the words in the text by "the value of the silver (being) 140," but I do not think that can be intended.

⁶ It is doubtful whether our text had this, or many of the details that follow, though the total in l. 14 shows that the same objects are enumerated in both versions.

⁷ I do not know the meaning of *nān*.

gold, (weighing)¹ thirty (*phalas*)¹; a reliquary of gold (weighing)¹ thirty-three (*phalas*)²; total two hundred (and) three *daker* of gold; golden flowers (l. 15) a; (and) a glittering³ reliquary. For the purpose of offering to the Holy Foot-print, the Bodhi trees, beginning with (l. 16) the Ratanaceti, etc., fifty large gilt waxen candles; fifty ungilded candles, eight(y-five?) dyed cloths,⁴

[For presenting to the Mahātheras]⁵ (l. 17) in the island of Ceylon, cloth one red *kambar*⁶; one golden coloured *kambar*; three motley *kambars*; (cotton?) *tabay*⁷ (l. 18) one bluish⁸ (three?) fleecy cotton *pandī*⁹; *sāy*⁹ cotton *tabay*⁹ twenty big boxes of twilled work;¹⁰ four stone pitchers; six earthenware¹¹ pitchers of motley colour;

¹ Our text leaves "weighing" and "*phalas*" to be understood, giving merely the numbers.

² The Pāli proceeds: "and constructed in the shape of a *cetiya*; a relic-receptacle made of crystal; a relic-receptacle embellished with pieces of glass resembling *masāragalla* gems; and golden flowers." The order of our text differs somewhat.

³ I am not sure of the meaning of *paccer* (here assumed to be L.M. *bcl*), but the reference seems to be to the last of the reliquaries mentioned in the Pāli version.

⁴ The Pāli has: "For the purpose of offering to the Ratanacetiya and other shrines, to the Holy Foot-print, and to the twenty-two Bodhi trees, the following articles were prepared:—85 canopies of various colours; 50 large gilt waxen candles; and the same number of small gilt waxen candles."

⁵ The Pāli proceeds: "of the island of Ceylon the following articles were prepared:—40 boxes containing cotton cloth of delicate texture: 20 silk and cotton upper robes of various colours, namely, red, yellow, motley, and white."

⁶ This is the Pāli *kambalam*, meaning either "a blanket" or "a woollen garment," in this case probably the latter. But it does not agree with the Pāli, which speaks only of cottons and silks.

⁷ The meaning of this word is undetermined, but it presumably refers to some kind of garment.

⁸ Or "dark blue"? The meaning has not been strictly determined.

⁹ The meanings of these words have not been determined.

¹⁰ L.M. *lāi* is the name of a species of reed with which such boxes are made. It appears from the Pāli that in this case they were betel-boxes; it has: "20 betel-boxes of motley colour, manufactured in Haribhūja; four stone pitchers; eight painted pitchers, manufactured in Cinadesa; and 20 fans manufactured in Cinadesa." But for the "eight" the real reading of the stone itself (and of one MS.) is "six," as in our text.

¹¹ The reading and meaning of *pangān* are doubtful; but cf. L.M. *pānān*, Burmese *pukan*, which denote earthenware dishes, bowls, etc.

..... (l. 19) a letter addressed to our lords (the clergy) of Ceylon in general thus did His Majesty prepare: "His Majesty Rāmādhīpati, with great veneration¹ (l. 20) dwelling in the island of Ceylon, these offerings for the purpose of offering to the Tooth Relic, which I (have) caused (to be sent?), let them be offered to the Tooth Relic. These² (twenty-two?) Theras (whom I have caused?) (l. 21) to go, let them view the Tooth Relic, let them adore the Tooth Relic also. After adoring the Tooth Relic, [and making offerings to it, the twenty-two Theras and their disciples will proceed] (l. 22) to elect [from among the fraternity] which dwells in the Mahāvihāra³ [a Chapter of monks] who are free from impurity (and) corruption,⁴ (and) in an *udakukkhepasimā* arranged on the Kalyāṇī River⁵ (l. 23) let our (lords?) (the said Theras) be allowed to receive the *upasampadā* ordination."⁶ Thus did His Majesty prepare a letter to be sent to the clergy in general.

For a present to be given to the king, [Bhūvanekabāhu, king of Ceylon,⁷ two sapphire] (rings,⁸ of the value of) (l. 24) two hundred (*phalas*)⁹ of silver, four ruby rings,⁸ (of the) value of four hundred (and) thirty (*phalas*)⁹ of silver, total, six rings, of the value of six hundred (and) thirty (*phalas*)⁹ of silver;

¹ We must, presumably, supply either "(for) the clergy," or "(for) the holy sites," in the latter case substituting "situated" for "dwelling." The Pāli, for this passage, has: "Rāmādhīpati, the Lord of Rāmādhīadesa and of the White Elephant, sent respectful greetings to Their Reverences the Mahātheras of the island of Ceylon, and thus addressed them by letter: 'Reverend Sirs, for the purpose of adoring the Holy Tooth and other relics, I have sent monks with offerings. Vouchsafe to afford them assistance in making such offerings.'"

² The corresponding Pāli has: "With the twenty-two Theras and their disciples, I have sent Citradūta and Rāmādūta together with their attendants. Vouchsafe, Venerable Ones, to afford them such assistance as they may require in seeing and adoring the Holy Tooth Relic, and making offerings to it. After seeing and adoring the Holy Tooth Relic, and making offerings to it," etc.

³ The Pāli has: "who are the spiritual successors of the residents of the Mahāvihāra monastery."

⁴ The Pāli has: "free from censure and reproach."

⁵ The Pāli adds: "where the Blessed One had enjoyed a bath."

⁶ The Pāli adds: "May it please the Venerable Ones to afford them assistance also in this matter," ending, "Thus was prepared a letter addressed to the Mahātheras of the island of Ceylon."

⁷ There was probably no room in our text for these four words.

⁸ The Pāli has: "sapphires" and two "rubies," without any reference to "rings," but our text is explicit on that point.

⁹ See the note on l. 13, *supra*. The Pāli has the word here also, but it does not give the total value of the jewellery, while our text does.

four (pieces of) *khre tān lak sak*¹ silk; (of) *apā*¹ silk, (l. 25) one; (of) variegated "parrot's wing"² silk, two; (of) black *lam-ek*¹ silk, two; (of) "parrot's wing" *lam-ek*¹ silk, one; (of) gold-coloured silk, one; (of) red *lam-ek* silk (one?)³ (l. 26) (of) one; twenty variegated fine *byau*⁴ cloths; two (hundred?) woollen coverlets⁵ were prepared. A letter (on a) gold tablet⁶

(l. 27) (l. 28) "(make offerings to?) (l. 29) together with my servants⁷ cause⁸ (l. 30) having worshipped⁹ on the Kalyāṇī River, where the exalted Buddha bathed¹⁰ (l. 31) the

¹ The meanings of these words are undetermined. It would appear that the Pāli here gives its account in a different order, beginning with the pieces of China cloth, which it specifies, and going on to the silk cloth, which it does not. Our text does just the reverse. But in neither do the items specified amount to the total given in the Pāli. Further, there are discrepancies of reading in the Pāli text of the stone itself as compared with the version on which the English translation is based, the former having *vakkhapittahatthapādathānesu* and *rattavaṇṇam matṭham ekam ghana-Cinapattāṇca*, while the latter has *gvakkhakatānitambapādathānesu* and *rattavaṇṇa-vāyimapupphikamekam pelava-Cinapattāṇca*. The English version reads: "four pieces of variegated China cloth, of great value, for making long mantles, which would cover the wearer from head to foot; three pieces of thick, embroidered, China cloth, of white and dark blue or ash colour; two pieces of plain, thick, China cloth, of white and dark blue or ash colour; one piece of plain, white, thick, China cloth; two pieces of green, thick, embroidered, China cloth; one piece of plain, green, thick, China cloth; two pieces of plain, black, China cloth; one piece of yellow, thick, embroidered China cloth; one piece of red, thin, embroidered, China cloth, of delicate texture; one piece of thin, embroidered, China cloth, of delicate texture, and of white and dark blue, or ash colour; in all 20 pieces of China cloth; the same number of variegated silk cloths called *pavitti*, and 200 mats wrapped up in leather cases."

² That is, "green." Apparently in L.M. this became *sneñ nich*, and, colloquially, *sich* (as in Haswell).

³ Doubtful, but indicated by the *y* at the beginning of l. 26. It is not clear whether an item has not been altogether lost in the *lacuna* that follows.

⁴ Meaning undetermined.

⁵ Or "blankets." But the Pāli says "mats."

⁶ The Pāli proceeds: "The letter addressed to Bhūvanekabāhu, king of Ceylon, was in import similar to that addressed to the Mahātheras of Ceylon, and was inscribed on a tablet of gold." Our text, however, not content with this summary statement, apparently gave the contents of the letter in some detail in ll. 27-32, *infra*. Unfortunately the greater part is lost.

⁷ The reference is to Rāmādūta and Citradūta (in the Mōn text *ḍutā*) whose names seem to be dimly discernible in this line, and who were sent along with the monks. See note on l. 20, *supra*.

⁸ Or, "give,"?

⁹ The Tooth Relic: see l. 21, *supra*.

¹⁰ Cf. note on l. 23, *supra*.

king of Ceylon having caused to be selected¹
in the presence² of our lords the clergy
(l. 32)"³

Having said thus,⁴ His Majesty prepared a letter (on a) gold tablet to be given to the king of Ceylon [Having thus prepared everything that was necessary, the king presented the twenty-two Theras with the following articles⁵:—twenty-two carpets made of Burma wool;] (l. 33) twenty-two variegated [leather rugs;] twenty-two variegated boxes of twilled work⁶ (with) covers; forty-four [boxes of] fine cotton cloth⁷ [for making the *tiṭṭhara* robes; and many other articles required for food and for medicinal purposes on the voyage. The twenty-two monks, who were the disciples of the Theras, were each] (l. 34) presented with [a piece of cloth called *kaṭiputta*, and a thick, embroidered, carpet manufactured in Burma.]

All the twenty-two Theras together with these twenty-two disciples [were consigned to the care of the two emissaries, Citradutān and Rāmadutān, into whose hands were likewise delivered the above-mentioned offerings intended for the Holy Relics, the letter and presents] (l. 35) to be given to the clergy of Ceylon, the presents to be given to the king of Ceylon, (and) the letter (on) a gold tablet to be given to the king of Ceylon. [Two hundred *phalas*⁸ of gold were given to the emissaries] (l. 36) in case scarcity of food should occur, so that our lords (the monks)⁹ should be secured from distress and should be enabled to obtain the four requisites
. (l. 37) The eleven [Theras,] headed by Moggalānathera, together with (their) eleven disciples were arranged to embark on Rāmadutān's ship;

¹ Cf. ll. 21, 22, *supra*, where, however, the selection of the ordination Chapter is left to the monks themselves. Our text may mean merely that the king is to allow the monks to make the selection.

² Cf. l. 7, *supra*, and note, as to the meaning. The reference is to the ordination of the monks by the Ceylon clergy.

³ The meaning of the doubtfully read *kabu* is undetermined.

⁴ The real meaning is that the king caused a letter "to this effect" to be prepared.

⁵ Our text may have expressed the foregoing somewhat more briefly, and it also gives the items mentioned first. In the Pāli the "44 boxes of fine cotton cloth for making *tiṭṭhara* robes" are mentioned first.

⁶ These were betel-boxes: see note on l. 18, *supra*.

⁷ This rendering is rather conjectural, so far as the Mōn words are concerned, but is supported by the Pāli.

⁸ See l. 14 n., *supra*.

⁹ The Pāli text does not appear to contain the words "and their disciples" of the English version.

. [while the remaining eleven Theras, headed by Mahāsīvalithera, together with their disciples,] (l. 38)¹ embarked on the ship of Citradutān.

Our lords having thus embarked, the ship of Rāmadutān, (in the year) 837² of the Common Era, [left the mouth of the Yoga³ River on Sunday, the eleventh day of the waning half of the month of Māgha,⁴ and went out to sea. The ship, in which Citradutān embarked, however,] (l. 39) left the mouth of the Yoñ⁵ on Monday, the twelfth day of the waning (half) of the month (of Māgha?).⁶ On Friday, the eighth day of the waning (half) of the month of Phālguna,⁷ (it) [reached, through skilful navigation, the port of Kalambu. When] (he) [heard the news (of the arrival of the ship), on the new-moon *uposatha* day of the month of] (l. 40) Phālguna⁸ the king of Ceylon sent down (people) to welcome our lords the monks⁹; (and) His Majesty Rāmādhīpati's letter (on) a gold tablet (having been read aloud?)
. [The king, having exchanged the compliments of friendship and civility with the Theras and Citradutān,¹⁰ arose from his seat, and with his own hands offered] (l. 41) betel together with camphor¹¹ to our lords, (and) having given a friendly welcome¹² to our lords, (appointed for them?) a dwelling-place¹³

¹ I can make nothing of the syllable *ḍā* with which this line begins.

² 1475-6 A.D.

³ *Yoga*, the form given in the Pāli text, is evidently based on the Mōn *Yoñ*; the reference is perhaps to the Bassein River.

⁴ Sunday, 21st January 1476 (old style).

⁵ Monday, 22nd January 1476.

⁶ Friday, 16th February 1476.

⁷ Friday, 23rd February 1476.

⁸ The Pāli has: "the eleven Theras and Citradūta," proceeding, "He was exceedingly delighted when he had heard the letter read out, which was inscribed on a tablet of gold, and brought by Citradūta, and which was sent by Rāmādhīpatimahārāja, who was replete with faith and many other good qualities and who, being a descendant of the Lords of White Elephants, was himself Lord of a White Elephant, which was possessed of all the characteristics (of such animals), and whose colour was very much whiter than that of a conch-shell, the *jasminum multiflorum*, the white lily, or the autumnal moon." It may be doubted whether all this was contained in our text.

⁹ Very possibly this clause did not occur here in our text as a similar statement is contained in the next line.

¹⁰ I assume that this is the meaning of *saḍḍān*, as the Pāli says "with camphor." But it is not the usual L.M. word and I have found no other authority for it.

¹¹ I take this to be the meaning of the doubtfully read *pa patisanthāra* of our text. The Pāli has not got an equivalent in this place, but expressed the same idea in l. 40, *supra*. Cf. F. 46, 54.

¹² The Pāli has: "He likewise had arrangements made for the entertainment of the Theras and Citradūta."

[On the following day] (l. 42) Citradutān [delivered to the Mahātheras of Ceylon the presents sent by Rāmādhīpatimahārāja] (and)¹ the letter which His Majesty had given (him) for our lords the clergy of Ceylon; [and the Mahātheras,] (l. 43) saying: "According to the desire of the Lord of the White Elephant, that (which) pleases his heart will we do," gave a promise.

[The eleven Theras, who embarked on the same ship as Citradutān, perceiving the non-arrival of their brethren who embarked in the same ship as Rāmādutān, reflected: "With the permission of the king of Ceylon, we shall remain in the island of Ceylon, awaiting the arrival of these Theras."]² (So) (l. 44) these monks, who had arrived first, informed the king of Ceylon (of their desire) and got a guide who knew the way (by) which (they) could go to Anurādhapura (There they visited and adored?)³ (l. 45) the cetī, the Maricavaṭṭicetī, the Dakkhinasākhā, and the Lohaprāsāt.⁴

Rāmādutān's ship [missed the route to Anurādhapura, and meeting with adverse winds, performed a difficult voyage, and it was not till Sunday, the ninth day of the waxing half of the month of Caitra,⁵ that she reached] (l. 46) Valligāma.⁶ Before the ship had arrived there, the minister Gorucī (had rebelled?)⁷ against the king of Ceylon. [At the time of the arrival of the

¹ I have not translated the doubtfully read word at the beginning of the line. If it is *atuiñ*, it means "in accordance with," and perhaps one would have to presume that something like "the message" stood before it.

² It may be doubted whether our text contained all the foregoing. The Pāli now proceeds: "They accordingly asked permission from the king, and remained there awaiting the arrival of the Theras who embarked in the same ship as Rāmādutān"; and does not say anything about the visit to Anurādhapura until after relating the arrival of the belated vessel, when it speaks of what they had seen there and of their return.

³ Conjecturally restored, to make the passage intelligible.

⁴ The English version of the Pāli has: "visited Anurādhapura and adored the Ratanacetiya, Maricivatticetiya, Thūpārāmacetiya, Abhayagiriketiya, Silācetiya, Jetavanacetiya, and the Mahābodhi tree, which was the southern branch (of the tree at Buddha Gayā), and saw the Lohapāsāda." But on the stone itself only the name of the Abhayagiri is distinctly legible, the stone being fragmentary in this place. It then proceeds: "They likewise, to the extent of their ability, removed grass, creepers, and shrubbery found growing in the courtyards of the various *cetiya*s, and cleaned their walls. After fulfilling such religious duties as were performed subsequent to making offerings, they returned and arrived at Jayavaḍḍhananagara." The *Dakkhinasākhā* of our text means the Bodhi tree which was the southern branch of the one at Buddha Gayā.

⁵ Sunday, 3rd March 1476.

⁶ The Pāli adds: "Now at Valligāma resided a Sinhalese minister, called Garavi, who had rebelled against the king." The minister's name, however, is lost on the stone itself, and probably the Mōn version has it correctly.

⁷ Though the reading is not quite clear, this rendering is almost certainly right.

ship, the younger brother of the king of Ceylon had proceeded by ship to the same village, accompanied by many other ships conveying armed men in order to fight the rebel minister. The latter was stricken with terror, and, being unable to defend himself, fled the village and sought refuge in a forest. The village having fallen into his hands,] (the younger brother of the king of?)¹ (l. 47) Ceylon [took up his residence there.] rebels,² (and) an army (of?) robbers [Owing to this circumstance, the king's brother withheld permission from the Theras and Rāmādutān, who were desirous of going to Jayavaḍḍhananagara. However, on the second day of the waning half of the] (l. 48) [month of] Durāsāt, [in the year 838³ of the Common Era, permission was obtained and the Theras and Rāmādutān left Valligāma. After passing five days on the journey, they arrived at Jayavaḍḍhananagara on the] (l. 49) eighth [day] (of the) waning (half of that month.)⁴

[When Bhūvanekabāhu, king of Ceylon, heard about the arrival of the Theras and Rāmādutān, he directed that a welcome be accorded to them. After he had heard read out the letter inscribed on a tablet of gold] (l. 50) which His Majesty Rāmādhīpati had sent and Rāmādutān had conveyed, [he was delighted, and, in the manner indicated above, exchanged with the Theras and Rāmādutān the compliments of friendship and civility,] (l. 51) and caused a dwelling-place (and) food⁵ to be arranged for our lords (the monks), and for Rāmādutān (he arranged?)⁶ [On the following day] Rāmādutān conveyed to the clergy of (l. 52) Ceylon [the letter and

¹ Conjecturally restored to preserve the continuity of the narrative. The Pāli has: "the king's brother."

² The meaning of *salan* is not quite certain. The Pāli here has: "The soldiers of the rebel minister remained in hiding at various places between Valligāma and Jayavaḍḍhananagara, and were a source of danger to the people who passed that way."

³ Saturday, 8th June 1476. This (as appears from l. 53, *infra*) was the first of the two months which in a year of intercalation would bear the name *Āṣāḍha*. The usual L.M. name for *Āṣāḍha* in an ordinary year is *Daguin* or *Dhaguin*, and it corresponds with the Burmese *Waso*.

⁴ Friday, 14th June 1476.

⁵ The text has *piṇḍapāt*, which implies food received in the way of alms by a Buddhist monk. This would not apply to the layman Rāmādutān. It may, therefore, be conjectured that a separate clause, referring to the arrangements made for him, followed and has been lost. But that is not quite certain, as the Pāli deals with both together in the words *therānaṃ Rāmādūtassa ca piṇḍapātāṃ ca paribbayaṃ ca dāpetvā, nivāsanaṭṭhānam adāsi*, which the English version renders, not too literally: "and had arrangements made for their entertainment."

⁶ Very doubtful: see the last note.

presents sent by the king who was the Lord of Hamsavatīnagara] (for the clergy of Ceylon?).¹ Saying, "According to the wish of the Lord of the White Elephant, will we do," the clergy gave a promise.

[After a month had elapsed from that date,] our lords the clergy who had arrived first, and had gone to Anurādhapura,² arrived.³ [The King of Ceylon now] said⁴: "All the clergy who (l. 53) came (in) ships, these two parties,⁵ (having now) come together, (it is) fitting that we should exhibit the Tooth Relic," and on Sunday, the first (day of the) waning (half) of the second (month of) Āṣāḍha⁶ (he) disclosed⁷ the Tooth Relic, and exhibited (it) to our lords, the two parties of clergy, (l. 54) together with Rāmadutān (and) Citradutān. Our lords having been enabled to worship the Tooth Relic (and) enabled to put (it) on their heads, the king of Ceylon, calling to mind the tenour of⁸ the letter which His Majesty Rāmādhīpati had sent (to him), put the Tooth Relic in the reliquary (l. 55) of gold which His Majesty had sent, and set up over it the white umbrella.⁹ The golden alms-bowl, the vase, (and) the golden betel-box¹⁰ (he) set up facing¹¹ the Tooth Relic (and)

¹ These words are doubtfully read, in l. 51: owing to the difference between Mōn and English syntax, the order of the translation has had to depart considerably from that of the text.

² In the Pāli here follows the passage given in l. 45 n., *supra*.

³ At Jayavādhananagara, as stated at the end of the Pāli passage referred to in the preceding note. It is evident from a comparison of the dates in ll. 51 and 53 that the interval could not have amounted to a month and did not exceed three weeks and a day at most.

⁴ There is nothing in the Mōn to correspond with these words till we get to l. 53, but they have been introduced here, partly from the Pāli, in order to present the narrative in an order intelligible to the English reader. The Pāli has "thought" instead of "said."

⁵ Or, "who came in these two ships."

⁶ Sunday, 7th July 1476.

⁷ Lit. "opened." The Pāli, after giving the date, has: "and the day on which *vassa* residence was entered upon, he had the whole of the tower containing the receptacle of the Holy Tooth Relic decorated, had a canopy of cloth put up, and had an offering made of scents, lights, incense, and flowers. The Mahātheras of Ceylon were set apart on one side, while the twenty-two Theras and their disciples, who had come by the two ships, together with Citradūta and Rāmadūta, were invited to be present. The Holy Tooth Relic, contained in a golden receptacle, was brought out in order that the twenty-two Theras and Citradūta and Rāmadūta might see and adore it, and make offerings to it."

⁸ Lit. "in accordance with."

⁹ No doubt the one mentioned in l. 12, *supra*, which the corresponding Pāli passage did not mention. Here, however, it has: "and had a white umbrella placed over it."

¹⁰ This box was mentioned, under a different name, in l. 14, *supra*. The reading is doubtful in both places.

¹¹ Or, "in front of."

exhibited (them) to the two parties of monks,¹ the twenty-two Theras, together with Rāmadutān (and) Citradutān²

Saying,³ (l. 56) "Hereafter, according to the message (in) the letter of His Majesty Rāmādhīpati, that (which) pleases his heart, will we do," the king of Ceylon gave orders to the Sinhalese ministers, and on the Kalyāṇī River, in the bathing-place (where) the exalted Buddha had bathed, (he) caused (l. 57) a raft⁴ to be built (and) a tower to be made⁵ (and) decorated.

(He) requested our lord Vidāgamathera to⁶ select monks who were pure and free from any degree of⁷ blame (or) reproach and who came of the succession of the clergy that dwelt in the Mahāvihāra; [and he accordingly selected a Chapter of] (l. 58) twenty-four monks [such as] our lords Saddhammakittimahāthera,⁸ [Vanaratanamahāthera,] Pañcapariveṇavāsimaṅgalamahāthera, (and) Siḥarājayuvārājācariyathera.⁹ Having thus arranged the raft¹⁰ (and) selected (l. 59) (the clergy?)¹¹ (on the) eleventh

¹ This refers to Rāmadutān's party and Citradutān's party, not to the Sinhalese clergy and the Mōn clergy.

² The meaning of *laṇat* (which appears to be the actual reading) is undetermined. If it were *laṇat*, that would mean "to practise," which does not seem to fit in here. Cf. D 15, F 45, 49, 52.

³ This word does not actually occur till the next line. Here the Pāli has: "Reverend Sirs, and Citradūta and Rāmadūta, may it please you to let me know the purport of the letter of the Lord of the White Elephant?" asked the king of Ceylon, who saying to himself: "Whatsoever may be the purport of the letter of the Lord of the White Elephant, I shall act accordingly," issued commands to the Ceylon ministers," etc. This is curious, as he had heard both letters already (ll. 40, 49, *supra*).

⁴ Or, "a bridge of boats," as the English version of the Pāli expresses it. It may be possible to construe our text, "the king of Ceylon gave orders to the Sinhalese ministers to cause a raft to be built (and) a tower to be made," etc., "on the Kalyāṇī River," etc., which makes no substantial difference in the sense.

⁵ The Pāli has: "A tower and a canopy of cloth were erected on the bridge, and various kinds of hanging awnings were likewise put up."

⁶ Or, literally, "having requested Vidāgamathera, selected," etc. But this must really mean that the actual selection was done by Vidāgamathera, not by the king personally, otherwise there is no sense in the request. Cf. note 4, *supra*, for a somewhat similar case.

⁷ The meaning of *ayām māt* is given as "measure, suitable quantity; just as, while." The first word appears to be the Pāli *āyāmo*, "length," the second perhaps *mattā*, "quantity," or else *mattam*, though the spelling of the word rather supports Schmidt's derivation from *mātikā* (*Buch des Rājāwan*, p. 29). But the Pāli here has *garahaparāpavāsamattavirahitam gaṇam*.

⁸ The Pāli has *Dhamma*.

⁹ Here the Pāli reading on the stone is as above, but the English version wrongly has *Siḥarājā*.

¹⁰ The usual meaning of *twān* is "village," but the *Akkharavidhāna* of the Mōn *Abhidhānapadīpikā* gives it as one of the equivalents of the Pāli *kullo*, "raft." Our Pāli text has *nāvāsaṅghāṭam*. It must have been a sort of pontoon.

¹¹ Doubtful reading. The Pāli has: "Having thus had a bridge of boats constructed and a Chapter of monks elected."

the title of [Tilokagurusāmi], (l. 10) to Sāriputtathera (he) gave [the title of Sīri]vanaratanasāmi, to Sumanathera (he) gave the title of Maṅgalasāmi,¹ [to Cūlakassapathera he gave] the title of Kalyāṇītissa- [sāmi], (l. 11) to Cūlanandathera (he) gave [the title of Candanagirisāmi], to Soṇuttarathera (he) gave the title of Siridantadhātusāmi, to [Guṇasāgarathera] (he) gave the title of Vanavāsītissa,² (l. 12) to Javanapaññāthera [he gave the title of Ratanālaṅkārasāmi], to Cūlasivaṭṭathera³ (he) gave the title of Mahādevasāmi, to Dhammarājathera⁴ (he) gave the title of Udumbaragirisāmi, (and) (l. 13) to Candanasārathera [he gave] the title [of Cūlābhaya-tissasāmi].

The king of Ceylon having thus addressed our lords,⁵ our lords the eleven Theras together with Rāmadutān [left Jayavaḍḍhananagara and returned to Valligāma.] (l. 14) Our lords the eleven Theras who had embarked on Citradutān's ship having adored the Holy Foot-print, which is on the top of the Samantakūṭa hill,⁶ [returned to] the city of Jayavaḍḍhanagara.

[The eleven Theras,] (l. 15) who had come down to the port of Valligāma, [embarked on Wednesday, the second day of the waxing half of the month of Bhādrapada,⁷ and] returning home, arrived [at the mouth of the Yoga River⁸ on Thursday,] the second (day) of the waning (half) of (that?) month [When] (l. 16) His Majesty Rāmādhīpati received the tidings that our lords the eleven Theras who had embarked in Rāmadutān's ship [had arrived at the mouth of the Yoga River,]⁹ (l. 17) (he) said: "[Considering that] (it was) I who urged [these Theras to visit Ceylon,] (and that) our lords did go to Ceylon [and that they are the inaugurators of the *upasampadā* ordination,] (l. 18) it (would) not (be) proper [to send any of my officials] to meet (and) welcome our lords. [It would, indeed, be appropriate that] I [should] myself [welcome them on my return from the town of Rangoon,]⁹ (l. 19) after having presented the *cetiya* of the Hair Relics of

¹ The Pāli has *Maṅgalatherasāmi*.

² The Pāli adds *sāmi*.

³ The Pāli (on the stone) has *°sivāṭṭi°*; in the English version, *°sivāṭṭi°*.

⁴ The Pāli (on the stone) has *°rājaka°*; in the English version, *°rājika°*.

⁵ The Pāli has no equivalent for the foregoing clause.

⁶ Literally "stone," or "rock." In actual fact it is a high mountain.

⁷ Wednesday, 21st August 1476.

⁸ See E 38 n. The date is Thursday, 5th September 1476.

⁹ In the Pāli called *Tigumpanagara*. The Mōn equivalent (l. 20, *infra*) is *ḍuṇ Dguṇ*.

the exalted living¹ Buddha [with a large bell made of brass, weighing 3,000 *tolas*.]² When I"³ [Agreeably with this thought, he wrote a letter, saying: "As I am]⁴ (l. 20) going to the town of Rangoon, (let?) our lords the eleven Theras (go and stay a while?) in the town of Rangoon." [And after making arrangements for their entertainment, he] (l. 21) caused our lords to be disembarked from [their sea-going] vessel [and conveyed to the town of Rangoon in river] boats.

[Meanwhile the eleven Theras, who embarked in the same ship as Citradutān, missed the appointed time favourable for returning to the Mōn country, because the king of Ceylon had said to them:] (l. 22) "My (lords?), [it is my desire to send an emissary to Rāmādhīpatimahārāja, the Lord of the White Elephant,] (l. 23) with presents (which?) I will send,⁵ [including a religious gift in the shape of an image of the Holy Tooth Relic, embellished with a topaz and a diamond, valued at a hundred *phalas*, which were constantly worn by my father, Parakkamabāhumahārāja. When the vessel, now being fitted out for my emissary, is ready, an opportunity will be afforded to her of sailing in the company of your ship. May it please your Reverences to postpone your departure till then!" The eleven Theras and Citradutān, therefore, waited for the emissary of the king of Ceylon and anchored their ship at the port of Kalambu. Meanwhile] (l. 24) a violent wind, [called *parāḍha*,] arose [and sank in the sea the large

¹ Explained in the Pāli as hair relics of Buddha "obtained during his life-time," in accordance with the well-known traditional story which localized the home of the two merchants Tapusa and Bhallika in Lower Burma and the enshrining of the hair relics in the Shwedagōn Pagoda, Rangoon. The Pāli here mentions the intended date of the presentation of the bell, viz. the full-moon day of Āsvayuja (Thursday, 3rd October 1476). See l. 47, *infra*.

² There seems to be some doubt as to what this weight amounted to. Taw Sein Ko in his additional notes (*Some Remarks on the Kalyāṇī Inscriptions*, I.A., Vol. XXIV, p. 332) says 120,000 viss, which seems unduly large. According to Childers (s.v. *tulā*, in his Pāli Dictionary) the *tola* contained 100 *phalas*. We know from E 14, *supra*, that a *phala* (in the Pāli version of our inscription) was equivalent to a tical (*daker*, L.M. *dakew*) of which there are 100 to the viss. Therefore, according to this reckoning, the bell weighed 3,000 viss. The point cannot be settled by actual weighing, as the bell was removed by Philip de Brito and lost at sea (*I.A.*, l.c.).

³ Probably our text differed somewhat in order from the Pāli and the sentence went on: "have presented the bell," etc.

⁴ The Pāli has: "visiting the town of Rangoon, may it please the Venerable Ones to remain in that town!" Our text is in bad preservation here, but from the little that remains it is clear that the sense intended is much the same.

⁵ This clause does not fit into the framework of the Pāli text, which has "with presents including," etc., but that is probably only due to a slight difference of order in our text. It is, however, very doubtful how much of the following details were represented in our text.

sea-going vessel, in which passengers had already embarked. When the king of Ceylon received the intelligence that Citradutān's ship had foundered in the sea, he said thus to the Theras and Citradutān: "If you have no ship, you might embark in the same ship as my emissary, and] (l. 25) (return home"?). [Accordingly, the Theras and Citradutān, together with his attendants, embarked in the same ship as the emissary of the king of Ceylon and left the port of Kalambu.

Sailing out to mid-ocean, the ship continued her course] (l. 26) (and reached?)¹ [the Strait of Silla, which lies between the island of Ceylon and Jambudīpa.² After three nights had elapsed since the ship left the port of Kalambu, she was wrecked by a violent storm, and, immersed in sea-water, she remained fast between the jutting peaks of rocks. All the passengers, realizing their inability to extricate the ship from amidst the rocks, collected all the timber and bamboos that happened to be in her, and,] (l. 27) (constructing?) [a raft of them, and embarking on it, crossed to the coast of Jambudīpa, which was close by.

Having lost the presents] (l. 28) which the king of Ceylon had given (him),³ [the emissary of the king of Ceylon returned to the island of Ceylon. The Theras and Citradutān, however, travelled on foot to Nāgapattāna,⁴ and there visited the site of the Padarikārāma] (l. 29) (monastery?) (and) (were enabled to see?)⁵ [and worshipped the image of Buddha in a cave constructed by command of the Mahārāja of Cinadesa on the spot, on the sea-shore, where] (l. 30) the Tooth Relic of the exalted Buddha was deposited⁶ [in the course of its transit to the island of Ceylon in charge of Daṇḍakumāra and Hemamālā, who were husband and wife. Thence they travelled on to the port of Nāvūṭapaṭṭana. At this port resided Mālimmarakāya and Pacculiya,⁷ two intendants of the port, who annually sent two ships for trading purposes (to the Mōn country). In doing so, they sent presents for Rāmādhīpatimahārāja, and] (l. 31) (the king?)

¹ The Pāli has "through."

² The mainland of India.

³ These words are not in the Pāli.

⁴ Negapatam.

⁵ These words are not represented in the Pāli, which has: "monastery, and there visited," etc.

⁶ I am not sure that the doubtfully read *pdok* can bear this meaning (which I have taken over from the Pāli version). Normally the word means "to load," and would apply rather to the act of putting the relic on the ship that was to take it to Ceylon. The whole of this passage (ll. 26-43) is almost entirely obliterated in our text.

⁷ These are, apparently, the names on the stone; not Mālimparakāya and Paccaḷiya, as in the English version.

(having heard the tidings?), caused (them) to come¹ (l. 32) [Owing to this circumstance, they] (l. 33) (gave our lords?) [food, clothing, and a residence, and treated them with much reverence. Citradutān was likewise provided with clothing, food, and lodging. The intendants of the port then said: "Reverend Sirs, when our ships start from this] (l. 34) (port of Nāvūṭa?),² [may it please] (our lords?) [to embark in them in order to be once more near the Lord of the White Elephant!" Accordingly, the four Theras, namely, Tilokaguruthera, Ratanālaṅkārathera, Mahādevathera, and Cūlābhayatissthera, and their four disciples resided with them. The remaining seven Theras, however, saying: "We shall embark, together with the seven monks, in a ship at Komālapaṭṭana," went and resided at that port.

On Wednesday,] (l. 35) (the fourth?) (day of the) waxing (half of the) month of Vaiśākha, [in the year 839³ of the Common Era, the three Theras, namely, Tilokaguruthera, Ratanālaṅkārathera, and Mahādevathera embarked in the ship belonging to Mālimmarakāya, while Cūlābhayatissthera embarked in the ship belonging to Pacculiya, and they left Nāvūṭapaṭṭana. Of these Theras,] (l. 36) our lords, [the three who embarked in the same ship, reached the mouth of the river, which has its source in the Nāgarāsi⁴ Mountain, on Friday, the twelfth day of the waning half of the month of Vaiśākha,⁵ and] (l. 37) our lords [arrived at Kusimanagara⁶ on] the first (day of the) waxing (half) of the month of Jyēṣṭha, the day (being) [Tuesday.⁷ Cūlābhayatissthera, however,⁸ reached the mouth of the river, which has its source in the Nāgarāsi Mountain, on Saturday, the thirteenth day of the waning half of the month of Vaiśākha,⁹ and arrived at Kusimanagara on] (l. 38) the fourth (day of the) waxing (half) of the month of Jyēṣṭha, the day (being) Friday.¹⁰

¹ I am not sure that I have fitted these words into their proper place. They have no precise equivalent in the Pāli, which, after "and," proceeds: "thus, because of their having exchanged with him, the compliments of friendship and civility, they conceived feelings of great respect and honour for him. Owing," etc.

² This appears to be the spelling in our text, but it is a doubtful reading anyhow.

³ The Pāli version gives full particulars of the date, which was Wednesday, 16th April 1477.

⁴ Negrais.

⁵ Friday, 9th May 1477.

⁶ Bassein.

⁷ Tuesday, 13th May 1477.

⁸ From this point there is a considerable divergence between the English version of the Pāli and the actual record on the stone itself, the former omitting everything from "reached" to "four monks." I have endeavoured to fill this lacuna from the transcript of ll. 63-64 of the Reverse Face of the second stone.

⁹ Saturday, 10th May 1477.

¹⁰ Friday, 16th May 1477.

[Thence, these four monks arrived at Hāmsavatīnagara¹ on Tuesday, the thirteenth day of the waxing half of the month of Āṣāḍha.]² (l. 39)³

[Of the seven Theras, who,] (l. 40) together with [the seven monks, went and resided at Komālapaṭṭana,] (l. 41) (our lord Maṅgalathera alone?) [accompanied by his own attendant monk, as well as by those of Vanaratana-thera, and Siridantadhātuthera, embarked in a ship commanded by Binda and left Komālapaṭṭana on Wednesday, the new-moon day of the month of Bhādrapada, in the year 841 of the Common Era.⁴ They reached the mouth of the river, which has its source in the Nāgarāsi Mountain, on Friday, the first day of the waxing half of the month of Kārttika,⁵ and, touching at Kusimanagara on Monday, the eleventh,⁶ eventually arrived at Hāmsavatīnagara on Friday, the fourteenth day of the waning half of the month of Kārttika.⁷ The remaining six Theras and the four young monks had died, as they were unable to obviate the consequences of demerit and the course of the law of mortality, to which all living beings are subject. Alas! "Whatever is material is subject to change and dissolution."

On Thursday, the eighth day of the waxing half of the month of Āṣvayuja,⁸ in the year 838 of the Common Era, Rāmādhīpatimahārāja, with the object of presenting a great bell to the *cetiya* of the Hair Relics,⁹ embarked on a barge surmounted by a golden spire, and, escorted by a number of boats, headed by golden boats, such as the *indavimāna*, proceeded to the city of Rangoon. On Tuesday, the thirteenth day of the waxing half of the month of Āṣvayuja,¹⁰ (when?) (l. 44) (His Majesty Rāmādhīpati arrived at Rangoon?), [he invited the eleven Theras who] (l. 45) had [embarked in the same] ship as Rāmādutān and had returned from Ceylon and were in the town of

¹ Pegu.

² Tuesday, 24th June 1477. This date is anomalous: one would expect Tuesday to be the 14th day of the waxing half of this month, not the 13th (which would normally be Monday). Probably the weekday is right in this case. The Pāli text, right or wrong, is however supported by the stone.

³ As this line is entirely illegible, it is impossible to fit it into the framework of the Pāli, which, however, runs on as shown. The same applies to ll. 42, 43, of which the numerals have, therefore, been omitted.

⁴ Wednesday, 15th September 1479.

⁵ Friday, 15th October 1479.

⁶ Monday, 25th October 1479.

⁷ Friday, 12th November 1479.

⁸ Or Āṣvina, L.M. *vah*. The date is Thursday, 26th September 1476

⁹ The Shwedagōn pagoda.

¹⁰ Tuesday, 1st October 1476.

Rangoon, (and) gave gifts by way of alms food¹ *ticivara* (cloths?) (l. 46) two mats² each to our lords, and having given (them) a friendly welcome,³ (he) had our lords sent on (their) way to their dwelling-place. Then His Majesty had [grand]⁴ festivals held for three days, and on the holy day of the full moon of the month (l. 47) (of Āṣvayuja?), the day (being) Thursday,⁵ (he) (went up to present⁶ the bell?) (at) the foot of the *cetiya* of the Hair Relics of the exalted Buddha. On Friday, the 1st of the waning (half of the month),⁷ His Majesty feasted all the clergy of Rangoon. To⁸ His Majesty, (l. 48) (having made arrangements, caused?) gifts to be given. On Sunday, the 3rd of the waning (half of the month),⁹ His Majesty, by way of showing reverence and veneration, had eleven boats prepared (and) decorated in order to convey our lords the eleven Theras.¹⁰ On Monday, (early in the morning, ?) (l. 49) His Majesty embarked¹¹; our lords (also) embarked,¹² (but) on reaching the landing-place of the Mahābudharūpa¹³ our lords stopped¹⁴ (there). His Majesty Rāmādhīpati, on Friday, the eighth (day of the) waning (half) of the month of Āṣvayuja,¹⁵ (l. 50) reached His Majesty's abode at Pegu. His Majesty having arrived at Pegu, on the tenth (day) of

¹ The Pāli has: "and served them with various kinds of delicious food. He likewise presented each of them with two couples of cloths for their *ticivara* robes." The meaning of *lanah* has not been determined: cf. D 15, E 55, F 49, 52.

² Meaning doubtful. Cf. H 39 n.

³ Cf. E 41, F 54.

⁴ So in the Pāli. The precise sense of *canak* has not been determined, and even the reading is not quite certain. It may be connected with the *cnak* of I D 49. The L.M. *sanak*, *sanak*, *snak* is used in the sense of "wedding." Cf. M 22.

⁵ The month is not named but must be Āṣvayuja. The date is Thursday, 3rd October 1476.

⁶ The Pāli has: "the great bell was conveyed to the quadrangle of the *cetiya* of the Hair Relics in order that it might be presented to it."

⁷ Friday, 4th October 1476.

⁸ The Pāli has: "and the king commanded that largess be given to paupers, way-farers, and beggars."

⁹ Sunday, 6th October 1476.

¹⁰ The Pāli has: "eleven boats were adorned in a reverent manner, and ministers were sent to escort the Theras. Having thus made preparations for escorting the Theras, Rāmādhīpatirāja left Tigumpanagara on the morning of Monday, the fourth day, and, reaching in due course Hāmsa-vatīnagara on Friday the eighth day, entered the bejewelled palace, which was his home." The Monday is the 7th October 1476.

¹¹ The text has *tuin thun*. Perhaps this means "came up (stream)," i.e., up the Pegu River.

¹² Explained as the Kyaikpun pagoda near Pegu, or (more probably) the colossal recumbent image of Buddha between the Kalyāṇisīmā and the Mahāceti at Pegu.

¹³ The meaning of *lanah* is undetermined. Cf. D 15, E 55, F 45, 52.

¹⁴ Friday, 11th October 1476.

the waning (half of the month), the day (being) Sunday,¹ had ferry-boats² prepared (and) decorated as was most fitting, with many xylophones,³ (and) ordered a number of leading chiefs (l. 51) to go down (and) welcome (and) (escort?) our lords.

When our lords had arrived at His Majesty's abode, our lords (unpacked and produced?)⁴ the sandalwood (powder which had surrounded?)⁵ the Tooth Relic of the exalted Buddha, branches of the Bodhi ficus, leaves of the Bodhi ficus, (and) seeds of the (l. 52) Bodhi ficus which were fit for planting, (and) our lords presented (them) to His Majesty⁶; a treatise⁷ relating how King Sirisaṅghabodhi-Parakkamabāhu purified the religion, how King Vijayabāhu purified the religion, (and) how King Parakkamabāhu (l. 53) purified the religion, which (treatise) had been composed in the language of the people of Ceylon (and) which our lords (the clergy) of Ceylon had given (them), our lords (also) presented to His Majesty; a writing⁸ containing (with instructions?) our lords the clergy of Ceylon (l. 54) with the king of Ceylon, named Bhūvanekabāhu, our lords (also) presented to His Majesty. His Majesty and our lords having thus exchanged friendly greetings,⁹ our lords the eleven Theras (l. 55) severally, (the king) ordered a number of

¹ Sunday, 13th October 1476.

² Presumably *kaṇḍo* is the L.M. *khadui*; but the identification is not absolutely certain.

³ Perhaps specifically xylophones, as described by Haswell, s.v. *twiñ twiik*. But it may here represent musical instruments in general; the Pāli has: "gongs and many other kinds of musical instruments."

⁴ The reading is doubtful here.

⁵ The reading is doubtful. The Pāli has: "a casket containing the sandalwood powder, with which the Holy Tooth Relic was besmeared, an image of the Holy Tooth Relic; some branches, leaves, and seeds of the Bodhi tree"; etc. It looks as if our text had inadvertently omitted some portion of this list of things. Possibly instead of *buin* we should read *buim*, "image" (Pāli *bimbam*), and presume that after the doubtfully read *tuit* the words *dhāt gñh kyāḥ tray* have been omitted.

⁶ The meaning of *lañah* is undetermined. Cf. D 15, E 55, F 45, 49.

⁷ I am not sure of the precise meaning of *kativat*. It may possibly have some relation to the *katikavattānam* which the Pāli has in the next clause (a clause which is, however, either fragmentary or omitted in our text). But the sense "a book of covenants" hardly fits in here.

⁸ The Pāli has: "a treatise setting forth the covenants entered into, at the solicitation of the said kings, by the clergy for the observance of the Order; a letter sent by the Sinhalese Theras and a therā; and a letter from Bhūvanekabāhu, king of Ceylon." It does not appear clearly from the fragments of our text, how much of all this was represented in it; but certainly not the whole. For "instructions" we should perhaps read "information."

⁹ Cf. E 41, F 46. The Pāli has: "Rāmādhīpatimahārāja accorded a gracious greeting to the eleven Theras, and commanded his ministers to escort each of them to his monastery with many flags and streamers flying, and with the sounding of gongs and many other kinds of musical instruments."

leading chiefs, with flags, (and) with many drums¹ (and) xylophones,² His Majesty our lords, His Majesty (gave?)³

[Then His Majesty Rāmādhīpati reflected in this wise: "The eleven Theras have received the pure *upasampadā* ordination; but as in this land of ours there is no pure *simā*,⁴ how can these Theras perform the ceremonies of the *uposatha*, the *pavāraṇā*, the *upasampadā*, and so on? (Let) us seek a *gāmakhetta* that can be guarded (and) cause these Theras to consecrate (thereon) a pure *baddhasimā*. Then these Theras will be able to perform the ceremonies of *uposathā*, *pavāraṇā*, *upasampadā*, and so on."

His Majesty,⁵ having thus reflected, went (and) investigated a *gāmakhetta* which was on the edge of the forest and belonged to a minister named Narasūra, (and) having taken note of the results of (his) enquiries, upon a site which was near the orchard⁶ of the minister Narasūra His Majesty caused a clearing to be made and a design to be prepared for consecrating a *simā*. As regards the boundaries of the *gāmakhetta* with (the land of) the minister Narasūra, inasmuch as it was not desired that there should be confusion with any other *gāmakhettas* that surrounded it, when (they) had trenched (it) around completely, (they) had to clear away the roots of trees

¹ The precise meaning of *klo* has not been determined. It is either a specific designation of some particular kind of drum (*pham*) or else the name of some other musical instrument used in conjunction with drums. Cf. G 33, and VIII A 6, IX A 10, F 34, G 4, H 46, K 5.

² Or "musical instruments," in general. Cf. l. 50 n., *supra*.

³ I am unable to restore the rest of this line. Here ends Face F, so far as it is decipherable from the ink-impressions available; and here follows the modernized copy of the text contained in the MSS. mentioned in § 71 on which the rest of the translation is based, in so far as the text on the stones themselves is deficient.

⁴ The Pāli, instead of the preceding clause, has: "In this city of *Harasavati* there does not exist any pure *baddhasimā*, nor any *mahānadī* possessing the characteristics of a *nadī*, nor any *mahājātassara* possessing the characteristics of a *jātassara*, nor any *gāmakhetta* whose purification can easily be effected."

⁵ The Pāli has: "Rāmādhīpatirāja accordingly sent his attendants to search for a *gāmakhetta* answering the description. During the course of their search, the king's attendants found on the skirts of a forest to the west of a great *cetiya*, called *Mudhava*, a *gāmakhetta* belonging to the minister Narasūra, which was small and could easily be guarded; and they reported accordingly to the king. Rāmādhīpatirāja personally inspected the site, and considered that it was a *gāmakhetta* which could easily be guarded and was an appropriate spot for the consecration of a *simā*. The ground of a selected place on that land was cleared of jungle, the site of the proposed *simā* was marked out, and a house was built in the middle of that site. The inside and outside of that house, as well as the site of the proposed *simā* and a selected place outside that site, were smeared with cow-dung. Then a fencing was erected enclosing the whole place on its four sides, and four openings with doors were constructed." For *Mudhava*, or *Shwe Maw Daw*, cf. K 11.

⁶ Or, according to the ordinary modern meaning of the words, "areca-nut" (or "betel-nut") "garden." This is not, however, specified in the Pāli version.

(and) the roots of bamboos¹ (on the ground) below which would be apt to cause confusion, and also to lop, cut (and) entirely clear away branches of trees (and) branches of bamboos above which would be apt to cause such confusion. On the site where (they) made a design for consecrating the *simā*, within the building and also on the land outside the building which was fitting, within the boundary stones and also outside the boundary stones, a general clearance had to be made (and) water poured into the trench,² making a wet ditch. Outside, the land being enclosed on the four quarters, (they) put doors. On the west of the site where the *simā* was to be consecrated (they) made a monastery for the eleven Theras to come (and) dwell in, a refectory, privy, and a place for bathing. Then (they) invited the eleven Theras (and) brought (them) to dwell on the site.

During these preparations His Majesty again reflected, in this wise: "All these eleven Theras together with (their) eleven disciples have been caused to receive the pure *upasampadā* ordination, (and) when we have made a permanent³ *simā*, purifying it because (we) wish it to be the root of religion, we desire that for the future it shall be perfectly pure and that it shall make a pure *upasampadā* ordination. But in so far as there exists (among these clergy) any occasion of censure or reproach, we assuredly do not desire that such a monk should be allowed to enter into these ecclesiastical ceremonies. Certainly we desire that only such clergy as are clearly free from censure or reproach should be allowed to enter into these ceremonies."⁴ Having reflected thus, (he) made enquiries, and upon enquiry ascertained that among the eleven Theras there was in one Thera a small fault, clearly not a great one, (dating) from before his reception of the *upasampadā* ordination, but still there were in him grounds of censure and reproach of a trivial nature, while among the junior monks, though there were no other intentional sins, yet there was some degree of censure and reproach. (Accordingly) the one Thera who was involved in censure, and also his disciple, and four other junior monks who were involved in censure,

¹ "Trees and bamboos" is a stock term for jungle vegetation in general.

² The Pāli, which differs somewhat in its order from the above, states that "a small trench, about a span in depth and the same in width, was dug."

³ Or, following the B reading, "and now when we have made a *simā*."

⁴ The Pāli, though agreeing in substance with the foregoing, differs in some details, particularly in the conclusion "because the inclusion of monks who are not free from censure and reproach, though they may have received the pure form of the *upasampadā* ordination, in the Chapter consecrating a *simā*, would in after times afford matter for objection to the enemies of the religion."

these six clergy were excluded. Ten Theras and six junior monks who were their disciples, these sixteen only (were admitted as) having an *upasampadā* ordination that was pure and being themselves free from censure or reproach. Thus did His Majesty Rāmādhīpati decree.

When it was near the time for the consecration of the *simā*, our lord Guṇaratanadharathera¹ said that he was sick and together with his disciple Sathapāla² returned (and) dwelt in his former monastery. Our lords Sīrisaṅghabodhisāmi, Kittisīrimeghasāmi, Parakkamabāhusāmi, Buddhaghosasāmi, Jinālāṅkārasāmi, Ratanamālisāmi, Saddhammatejasāmi, Sudhammārāmasāmi, and Bhūvanekabāhusāmi, nine senior monks, and our lord Sīrisaṅghabodhisāmi's disciple Saṅgharakkhita, our lord Kittisīrimeghasāmi's disciple Dhamma-vilāsa, our lord Buddhaghosasāmi's disciple Uttara, our lord Jinālāṅkārasāmi's disciple Uttama, and our lord Saddhammatejasāmi's disciple Dhammasāra, these fourteen monks, dwelt in the monastery which was built on the west of the site where the *simā* was to be consecrated.

At the time when the *simā* was to be consecrated, His Majesty reflected in this wise: "If at any place where it is desired to consecrate a *simā* an ancient *simā* does not exist at that place, the new *simā* (which) they consecrate comes into existence; but if at that place there exists an ancient *simā*, then by reason of the occurrence of the faults of overlapping and conjunction the new *simā* which is consecrated does not thus come into existence."³ That being so, on a place where it is desired to consecrate a new (one), it is proper first to perform the act of desecration:⁴ (then) the new *simā* which is consecrated will certainly come into existence."⁵ Having thus reflected, His Majesty Rāmādhīpati]

¹ I have followed the spelling of these proper names as given in the Pāli version.

² B has *Raṭapāla*. This disciple's name is not given in the Pāli version.

³ The word *śaḥ* has been taken as equivalent to L.M. *iṇuh*.

⁴ That is with a view to putting an end to any possibly existing ancient *simā*.

⁵ The Pāli here proceeds as follows: "The king accordingly had preparations made for performing the ceremony of desecrating the (existing) *simā* in accordance with the procedure expressly laid down in the *aṭṭhakathā*. 'Monks, an *avippavāsasimā* may thus be desecrated by means of the *tiṭṭhara*.' There are certain conditions to be observed by a monk desecrating a *simā*. The following are the conditions. Standing on a *khaṇḍasimā*, a *mahāsimā*, called *avippavāsasimā*, should not be desecrated; and similarly, standing on a *mahāsimā*, called *avippavāsasimā*, a *khaṇḍasimā* should not be desecrated. It is only when standing on a *khaṇḍasimā* that another *khaṇḍasimā* may be desecrated; and the same rule applies *mutatis mutandis* to the other class of *simā*. A *simā* is desecrated for two reasons, namely, (i) in order to make a *mahāsimā* of one which is originally a *khuddakasimā*, with a view that its area may be extended; (ii) in order to make a *khuddakasimā* of one which is originally a *mahāsimā*, with a view that sites for monasteries may be granted to others."

G

reflected [again, in this wise: "The conditions of the act of desecrating a *simā* are exceedingly difficult to fulfil. If (one) knows (that it is) the site of the existence of an ancient *khaṇḍasimā* (or) the site] (l. 2) of the existence [of an ancient *mahāsimā*, the ancient] *simā* [being known, the desecration of that ancient *simā* is effected (and) the new *simā* which is to be made can be made.]¹ (l. 3) If (one) [does not] know (that it is) [the site of the existence of an ancient *khaṇḍasimā* (or) the site of the existence of an ancient *mahāsimā*,] the desecration of the ancient *simā* is not effected (and) the new *simā* [cannot be made.]¹ If (one) is aware of the site of an ancient *khaṇḍasimā* (or) the site of an ancient *mahāsimā*, it is right to desecrate (it)] (l. 4) (and) right to make a new *simā*; (but) if (one) is not aware (of it), it is neither right to perform desecration nor yet is it right (l. 5) to make a new *simā*. [Thus is it stated in the *Aṭṭhakathā*: 'On a site where] it is desired to make a new *simā*, if the fact of the existence of an ancient *simā* is unknown, [it is impossible] to perform the desecration of (such) ancient *simā* so as effectually to desecrate (l. 6) (it) [and it is impossible effectually to make a new *simā*.']²

¹ Or, following B, "come into existence."

² In place of the foregoing passage the Pāli has: "If, at the place of desecration, the existence of both *khaṇḍasimā* and *mahāsimā*, called *avippavāsasimā*, is known, a *simā* may be desecrated or consecrated. If, however, the existence of a *khaṇḍasimā* is known, but not that of a *mahāsimā*, called *mahāsimā*, called *avippavāsasimā*, is known, but not that of a *khaṇḍasimā*, it is only by standing on side (the limits of an *avippavāsasimā*), that a *simā* may be desecrated; but by no means can it be consecrated. If, however, a *simā* is consecrated, there will be a junction of *simās*, and a *vihārasimā* formed. If the existence of both kinds of *simās* is unknown, neither desecration nor consecration should be effected. A *simā* is invalidated by means of the *kammavācā*, or through the declension of the religion, or because those, who do not know a *simā*, are incompetent to recite the *kammavācā*. Therefore, desecration should not be effected. Because it is said that it is only when (the different classes of *simās*) are well-known, that desecration or consecration may be effected, monks desiring to desecrate a *simā*, and who are aware of either the existence of an ancient *simā* or its extent, may, by stationing there duly qualified monks, desecrate an ancient *simā* or consecrate a new one. The interpretation appears to be that, if the extent of an ancient *simā* is unknown, that *simā* cannot be desecrated, nor can a new one be consecrated."

"But in the *Vimativinodanī* (it) is stated thus:¹ 'When (l. 7) it happens that the existence of an ancient *khaṇḍasimā* (or) the boundaries of an ancient *khaṇḍasimā*, [(or) the existence of an ancient *mahāsimā* (or) the boundaries of an ancient *mahāsimā*, are not known,] if both within the limits of the *vihārasimā* and outside the limits of the *vihārasimā*, a site of a stone's throw [is entirely marked out into plots, each of the size of a bedstead, and at all the plots] (l. 8) five (or) six monks with the *kammavācā*, having gone (and) stationed themselves in a continuous series, perform (the act of) desecration, [if there should be an ancient *simā*] on the site where (they were) stationed, (l. 9) would [not that ancient *simā* be effectually desecrated?] In the matter of the desecration of this *simā*, (it is) the ability to be stationed upon the site of the ancient *simā* that constitutes [the essential requirement: the fact of knowing of the existence of an ancient *khaṇḍasimā* (or)] (l. 10) an ancient *mahāsimā*, (or knowing) the boundaries of such ancient *khaṇḍasimā* (or) ancient *mahāsimā*, is surely not the essential requirement. [In so far as some Theras state (the case)] thus, [the statement of those Theras is] (l. 11) is right.'²

¹ The Pāli proceeds: "There are some Theras, who, in the case of such *vihārasimās*, would convene a Chapter of five or six monks, would station them in a continuous row of places, which are each about the size of a bedstead, and whose distances are determined by the fall, all round, of stones thrown, first from the extremity of the *vihārasimā*, and then towards the inside and outside of its limits, and would successively desecrate an *avippavāsasimā* and a *samānasamvāsakasimā*. If either a *khaṇḍasimā* or a *mahāsimā* exists on that *vihāra*, the monks, standing, as they do, in the midst of the *simās*, would, from a *mañcatṭhāna*, certainly desecrate that *simā*, and the *gāmasimā* would remain. In this matter, it is not essential to know the *simā* or its extent. But it is necessary for the reciters of the *kammavācā* to say: 'We shall desecrate the inside of a *simā*,' (and to act accordingly). It is stated in the *aṭṭhakathā* that those who are aware of the existence of a *khaṇḍasimā*, but not of that of an *avippavāsasimā*, are qualified to effect both desecration and consecration, and that thus, although the extent of a *mahāsimā* is unknown, desecration may be effected. On the authority of this statement, they say that at any selected spot on the remaining *gāmasimā*, it is appropriate to consecrate the two kinds of *simās* and to perform the *upasampadā* ordination and such other ceremonies. This dictum appears to be correct; but it should be accepted after due enquiry."

² The Pāli proceeds: "The interpretation of these Theras, therefore, appear to be correct. With regard, however, to the desecration of a *simā* with an ordinary, but not a great, amount of exertion, by those, to whom the performance of the ceremony is difficult because of their not knowing the existence of an ancient *simā* or its extent, it is said in the *aṭṭhakathā*: 'If both classes of *simā* are not known, the *simā* should not be desecrated or consecrated.' This dictum does not, however, mean to indicate that, although the existence of the *simā* to be desecrated may not be known, if great exertion is put forth that *simā* will not be desecrated. If, at a place where a new *simā* is desired to be consecrated, the existence of an ancient *simā*, or its extent, is unknown; if, at selected spots within and without the places suitable for the fixing of the boundary-marks of the new *simā* to be consecrated, allotments of space, each measuring about four or five cubits in length, are marked out in rows or groups; and, if duly qualified monks station themselves in the said continuous rows of the allotments of space, and effect the desecration of the *simā*, how can there be no desecration of the existing ancient *simā* at that place, and how can only the *gāmasimā* be not left?"

"Inasmuch as it is thus stated in the Vimatinodanī, if in consecrating this new *simā* (one) is able to mark out (the site) [entirely] into plots [and desecrate every one of such plots,] (l. 12) would the desecration [of an ancient *simā*,] if one existed, fail to be effected?" Having thus decided, [His Majesty Rāmādhīpati had arrangements made for] the ceremony of desecration in the [following] manner:—

[The extent of the land which was] (l. 13) to be made the inside of the *simā* was marked out with lime into quadrangular plots, each of five cubits (square), and outside the land where the *simā* was to be made, around¹ (l. 14) Then His Majesty invited our lords the fourteen monks and caused (them) to effect the desecration of a *simā*. At the time of the desecration (ceremony), for each of [the plots, our lords took their seat within the plot] (l. 15) and (read) the *kammavācā* at seven spots, at each spot once. Having recited (it) seven times, [(they) passed on to another plot. In this wise, from the initial plot of] (l. 16) the first [row] up to the final plot of the first row was desecrated and then (they) passed on to the final plot of the second row. [From the end of the second row (they) went on with the desecration till (they) arrived at] (l. 17) the initial plot of the second row.² From the initial plot of the second row, after desecrating (it), (they) passed on (and) desecrated the initial plot [of the third row. In this manner, from the initial plot (they)] (l. 18) proceeded in a forward order (and) desecrated each plot up to the end (and) from the end plot (they) came down in reverse order desecrating each plot until [(they) reached the initial plot. When all the plots had been exhausted, the *simā*] (l. 19) was (completely) desecrated. (As for) the desecration of this *simā*, (it was on) Saturday, the seventh (day of the) waxing (half) of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa³ that (its) desecration was concluded.

¹ About half a line is missing here on the stone and also in the MSS. The Pāli supplies the lacuna: "On the inside of the places, suitable for fixing the boundary-marks of the new *simā* to be consecrated, allotments of space of five cubits each in length and the same in breadth were marked out, and allotments of similar dimensions were marked out also on the outside; and by means of a line drawn with lime or chalk, rectangular spaces in rows were marked out." (I have italicized the missing words.)

² The Pāli proceeds: "When the number of rectangular spaces had been exhausted, the ceremony of desecrating a *simā* was concluded." It says nothing about a third row of such spaces.

³ Saturday, 23rd November 1476.

[(On) Sunday, the eighth of the waxing (half) of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa the consecration of the *simā* was performed.]¹ (l. 20) At the time when the consecration was to be performed, the following were the arrangements made for the consecration:—

The extent of the site, where the *simā* was to be made, having been marked, (at) the corners (facing) the four quarters [four² boundary stones were planted. When] (l. 21) these four middle stones [were planted,] it being an advantage to have eight boundary stones with a view to making (the plan) other than a four-sided figure, the middle of each (side) [was made] to bulge somewhat (outwards) [and stones were planted (there also). Bringing] (l. 22) a rope, (they) ran it round from stone to stone,³ and along the course of the rope a line was drawn on the ground. The line [having been] drawn, [outside the line] (l. 23) in order to make manifest the limit of the site of the *simā*, a trench was made in the ground, of the breadth of one span (and) the depth of one span. When the trench was made in the ground, [all trees, bamboos, grass (and) rubbish which would cause confusion of *simās* to arise,] (l. 24) both outside the boundary-marks and inside the boundary-marks where the new *simā* was to be, (they) cleared away altogether, and (they) made the trench into a wet ditch,⁴ [filling it with water. When this had been done, the boundary stones] (l. 25) were adorned with gold and vermillion,⁵ and were wrapped up (and) decorated with red (and) white cloth. In order to show

¹ Sunday, 24th November 1476. It would seem from the Pāli that this first day was taken up with the demarcation of the site, the actual ceremony of consecration only beginning on the following day. The Pāli passage corresponding with our text has: "On the 8th day, Rāmādhīpatirāja, in order to have the ceremony of consecrating a *simā* performed, visited the place in the morning and had the preliminary arrangements carried out in the following manner:—On the outside of the site selected for consecrating the *simā*, and facing the four quarters, four boundary-marks were fixed; in order to bring into prominence the advantage derived from fixing the boundary-marks in a form other than that of a four-sided figure, each of the additional four boundary-marks was placed at the end of a line drawn from the middle of the line joining each of the two corners facing the four quarters." This explains our text, which is somewhat obscurely worded.

² The MSS. have "eight." It may be that there is a lacuna after "four quarters" and that a short passage stating that four stones were planted (at the corners) preceded the statement that eight were planted in all. At any rate the MS. text cannot be right as it stands, and the emendation is supported by the Pāli version.

³ Or "from the face of one stone to the face of the next," the word rendered "face" being literally "chest, breast." Cf. K 4.

⁴ This rendering is somewhat conjectural as the reading and meaning of the words *gareṇ tanam* (or *kanam*, which would, however, be an unusual spelling for *kanam*) are doubtful. The Pāli has: "The small trench was smeared with mud, and some water was placed in it."

⁵ Literally, "red drug."

honour to Buddha, (at) every [boundary stone, umbrellas, streamers, tapers,¹ vases] (l. 26) full of decorations of plantain leaf,² candles,³ cloths,⁴ (and) mats were set outside the boundary-marks.

(This) having been done, (the king) caused our lords to proclaim⁵ the boundary-marks. [Our lords proclaimed] all the eight stones [three times⁶ until they arrived at the stone] (l. 27) which they had first proclaimed⁷ and then our lords entered into the building in the middle of the *simā*, took their seat on the *hatthapāsa* and remained (there).

[Then,⁸ along the trench of the *gāmakhetta*,] (l. 28) outside the *gāmakhetta*, men on foot, men mounted on elephants, and men mounted on horses took up their stations going all around, flags, [banners (and) pennants were set up (and) arranged, drums, conch-shells, and] (l. 29) clarions were distributed⁹ at intervals; in order to prevent other monks,¹⁰ who (might be) walking on the roads, from entering within the limits of the *gāmakhetta*, (l. 30) a secure watch was ordered to be kept; and in case other monks, afraid to enter within [the limits of] the [*gāmakhetta*,] should be remaining in

¹ I have followed the L.M. Dictionary explanation of *dhup sīau*, "packet of tapers." But the Pāli here has "lamps, incense," and it seems at least possible that our MS. text meant "incense, tapers."

² The Pāli has: "water-pots, whose mouths were covered and adorned with white water-lily flowers."

³ Or "lamps."

⁴ The meaning of *plāṭ* is undetermined. It may go with *yāt*, and in that case be the specific name of some particular kind of cloth.

⁵ The meaning of *skay* has been inferred from the Pāli, which says: "The preliminary arrangements connected with the consecration of the *simā* having thus been carried out, the nine Theras and the five young monks were invited, and the eight boundary-marks, commencing with the one in the Eastern quarter, were successively proclaimed."

⁶ The MS. text is corrupt here, but the Pāli version justifies the above rendering. It has: "The proclamation was continued till the first boundary-mark, which had previously been proclaimed, was reached. In this manner the boundary-marks were proclaimed three times."

⁷ There is nothing in the Pāli to correspond with what follows (to the end of the paragraph), and consequently there is nothing in it to throw light on the word *paṇḍaḥ*. It has been suggested that it means "apart" (cf. L.M. *sḍaḥ*) and we should then take it to mean that the monks took their seat a measured distance apart.

⁸ The Pāli is somewhat different: "On the following morning, flags and streamers were planted at various places around the *gāmakhetta* belonging to the minister Narasūra; drums, conch-shells, and other musical instruments were sounded; and the guards, mounted men, and swift messengers, who had been stationed for the purpose of stopping the progress of travelling monks, and of causing other monks residing on that *gāmakhetta* to be speedily excluded from it, were sent out to patrol all round it." As to the date, see l. 19, *supra*, n.

⁹ Though the Pāli has "sounded," I do not think *cut ā* can be made to bear that sense.

¹⁰ Cf. B 49 n., D 147, 48, and 1. 31, *infra*.

(some) secret place, a strict search was ordered to be made. (This) having been done, the men (l. 31) who ran on foot (and) the men who were mounted on horses (would) cause (them) to run away (and would) follow¹ after (them) (and then) say to the persons who kept watch, "There are no monks² within this *gāmakhetta*, (and) there are no other monks who would enter into (l. 32) this *gāmakhetta*. We are keeping³ a very secure watch." When the men returned saying this, their arrival caused our lords to consecrate the *simā*.⁴

When our lords recited (l. 33) the *kammavācā*, in order to secure literal exactness, two (of them) recited (it) each time,⁵ (and) when the full seven times had been completed, and (it) was stated that the *simā* had been consecrated, drums,⁶ xylophones,⁷ clarions, (l. 34) trumpets, and conch-shells were ordered to be sounded thrice, (and) thrice were shouts ordered to be raised. Inasmuch as this *simā* that had been (thus) consecrated was consecrated by our lords who went to the island of Ceylon and received the *upasampadā* ordination in an *udakukkhepasimā* arranged (l. 35) on the Kalyāṇī River, (it) was called the Kalyāṇīsimā; His Majesty gave (it) the name.⁸

After the arrival of these monks from the island of Ceylon and before (l. 36) the consecration of this *simā*, some of our lords of the clergy who were leading members (of the Order), owing to their great devotion to the religion (said): "That the *upasampadā* ordination which is observed amongst us should be subject to doubt, (is) not (a) proper (state of things). Let us receive the *upasampadā* ordination at the hands of⁹ our lords who have

¹ I have taken *buik* to be a variant spelling of *bak*, "to follow, pursue." I am not sure that my version of this whole passage represents the real construction, which may be that the men on patrol "were ordered to run after" (and drive away) any vagrant monks. It depends on the sense assigned to *kuiro*.

² I take the *taya* of the text to be merely an error for *yata* (as to which cf. l. 29 n., *supra*).

³ Or, "we kept."

⁴ Literally, "Thus saying the men who returned arrived, who" (or "which") "caused," etc. But the passage might be rendered alternatively, "when the men returning and saying thus arrived, our lords were caused to consecrate the *simā*." This rendering, however, takes no account of the *ma*. The general sense is determined by the Pāli: "It was only when the absence of other monks on that *gāmakhetta* had been reported, that the *kammavācā* relating to the consecration of a *simā* was read seven times with 'proper intonation, and that the ceremony of consecration was concluded.'" Throughout this whole passage the Pāli is much the more concise version.

⁵ Apparently together, simultaneously. The Pāli omits this detail.

⁶ As to *klo*, cf. F 55 n.

⁷ Cf. F 50 n., 55.

⁸ The Pāli omits "His name."

⁹ Literally, "in the presence of."

received¹ the *upasampadā* ordination from the island of Ceylon.”² Having spoken in this wise, many a time, (they) came (and) petitioned His Majesty Rāmādhīpati.³

[His Majesty on his part spoke thus to our lords: “In the case of monks who possess faith desiring to receive the *upasampadā* ordination at the hands of the monks who received the *upasampadā* ordination of the Sinhalese, let them receive it! Let those who have not faith (and) do not desire to receive the *upasampadā* ordination of the Sinhalese remain (as they are)! To those who wish to receive the *upasampadā* of the Sinhalese succession I cannot say ‘Do not receive (it)!’ (and so) forbid (them); (and) to monks who do not desire the *upasampadā* of the Sinhalese succession I cannot say ‘Receive (it)!’ (and) violently use them. Let my lords carefully consider the intention of the Vinaya, which is the will of the exalted Buddha. If the *upasampadā* attaching to my lords appears doubtful to (your) minds, let my lords receive the *upasampadā* of the Sinhalese. If the *upasampadā* attaching to my lords is pure (and) is not doubtful in (your) minds, let my lords remain (as you are).” Thus did His Majesty Rāmādhīpati reply to the lords of the clergy.

Then His Majesty Rāmādhīpati reflected in this wise:—“Some of the clergy who are leading men say (they) have the desire of obtaining the *upasampadā* ordination of the Sinhalese. (But there is) a condition in the book of Vinaya stating that both for the *pabbajjā* and the *upasampadā* the (office of) *upajjhāya* is the basis.⁴ Now inasmuch as our lords who have returned from Ceylon have not yet completed ten years (since their ordination), (they) are not yet qualified to be *upajjhāya*. That being the case, how can we proceed, so that these monks may obtain the *upasampadā* ordination of the Sinhalese succession, to get (some one) who is fit to be their *upajjhāya* and make him their *upajjhāya*, so that they may receive this *upasampadā* ordination of the Sinhalese?” His Majesty, having reflected

¹ Literally, perhaps, “received (and) brought.”

² The Pāli gives the above speech, slightly expanded, as the address made by the monks to the king, adding at the end of it: “and thus shall our ordination become pure.” It says nothing about “many a time.”

³ Here ends Face G.

⁴ The Pāli proceeds: “and it is decreed by the Blessed One that such an office should be conferred only on qualified monks, who, by reason of their having been ten years in orders, have acquired the status of a Thera. But these Theras received their *upasampadā* ordination this year only; and not one of them, therefore, is qualified for the office of *upajjhāya*. Whence can we get such an *upajjhāya*?,” etc.

thus, commanded that a search (and) enquiry (should) be made. Then our lord Parakkamabāhusāmīthera¹ came (and) thus addressed His Majesty: “(There is) a monk named the lord Suvannasobhana,² a worthy monk, one who received the *upasampadā* ordination of the succession of Ceylon, a man who is modest, remorseful, an observer of the precepts, a dweller in the forest, with few desires, easily satisfied, eradicating his sins, an observer of the *dhutaṅgas*.” (Thus) saying, (he) informed His Majesty.

Then His Majesty gave orders to go (and) invite that monk, (and) when our lord came into the presence of His Majesty]

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thus did His Majesty [enquire (of him): “When my lord went to the island of Ceylon and received the *upasampadā* ordination, in what *simā* did my lord receive it, how numerous was the Chapter (that ordained you), who acted as *upajjhāya*, who acted as] (l. 2) *ācariya*? Since [your reception of the *upasampadā* of the Sinhalese, how many years (have) now (elapsed)?” Thus did His Majesty ask, (and) the Thera on his part replied in this wise to His Majesty: “We received the *upasampadā* ordination of the Sinhalese] (l. 3) in the *udakukkhepasimā* [which they arranged in the great Kalambu *jātassara*, the Chapter (numbered) thirty-one,³ our lord Vanaratana,⁴ that great *saṅgharāja*,⁵ acted as] (l. 4) *upajjhāya*, our lord Rāhulabhadda,⁶ [who is now *saṅgharāja*, acted as *ācariya*. Since I received the *upasampadā* ordination of the Sinhalese, twenty-six years have (elapsed).” Thus did our lord reply] (l. 5) to His Majesty. His Majesty, on hearing [our lord’s saying, was exceedingly glad and His Majesty invited our lord (in this wise): “Inasmuch as (there are)] (l. 6) very many [monks, who possess pure faith and desire] to receive the Sinhalese *upasampadā* ordination, [I do desire to make my lord the *upajjhāya* and enable them to receive the *upasampadā* ordination. It is for my lord alone to work for⁷ the benefit (and) advancement of] (l. 7) the

¹ I have followed the Pāli version in the spelling of these names.

² The Pāli has: “and at the hands of a Chapter composed of innumerable monks”

³ I follow the Pāli in the spelling of these names.

⁴ The Pāli has: “the ex-Mahāsaṅgharāja.” This is implied in our MS. text.

⁵ The literal meaning of the MS. text, which is probably corrupt (as the two MSS. differ), would seem to be (in B): “My lord alone causes” (or “will cause”) “the benefit,” etc. It seems possible, however, that *mwai* here represents E.M. *moy* (not *moy*), in which case the sense would be: “Let my lord look” (or, “see”) “to the benefit,” etc. The A reading is certainly wrong.

religion. [Pray,] my lord, be seated together with (them)!"¹ [Thus saying, His Majesty invited (him). Our lord on his part, saying, "It is indeed a religious act, certainly we will take our seat (and perform it)."]² (l. 8) gave (his) consent to His Majesty.

At the time when the *simā* had been consecrated,³ our lords the leading monks, who desired to receive the *upasampadā* ordination (l. 9) of the Sinhalese [and] had [spoken to] His [Majesty (to that effect)] previously, approached His Majesty. His Majesty, [together with all the monks, went down to the Kalyāṇisimā,] (and) (l. 10) His Majesty caused [the monks] who had returned from Ceylon to be invited to enter into the Kalyāṇisimā. [His Majesty (also) caused] our lord Suvanna[sobhana, who was to act as *upajjhāya*, to be invited (and) brought into the Kalyāṇisimā.⁴ Then] (l. 11) in this wise did His Majesty on his part speak to the clergy who had returned from Ceylon: "Our lords, all these monks, [are desirous of receiving the *upasampadā* ordination of the succession of the Sinhalese. May my lords] (l. 12) vouchsafe to confer the *upasampadā* ordination (upon them)!"

Then the clergy from Ceylon answered in this wise: "[Your] Majesty [having exhorted (us) to go (and) receive the *upasampadā* ordination of the Sinhalese, we went (and) received it. As regards] (l. 13) the procedure according to which the clergy of the island of Ceylon conferred the *upasampadā* ordination upon us, O king [and all the clergy, pray listen!

¹ The king's speech is not given in the Pāli, which merely states that he "was extremely delighted, and invited the *thera* to assume the office of *upajjhāya* in respect of the monks desiring to receive the *upasampadā* ordination."

² The Pāli has the *Thera's* speech differently, thus: "Mahārāja, the *theras* of old, in whom human passion was extinct, disregarded their own interest in effecting the purification of the religion in foreign countries. Mahārāja, I will follow in the footsteps of these holy men, and even like them, will purify the religion."

³ The Pāli proceeds: "the monks, who had faith, and were learned and able, and who, being aware of the impurity of their previous *upasampadā* ordination, were desirous of receiving the form of ordination that had been handed down through a succession of the ordained monks of Ceylon, approached the king and renewed their former request. Having approached the king, they said: 'Mahārāja, now that a *simā* has been consecrated in a valid manner, and that a *mahāthera*, who is qualified for the office of *upajjhāya*, has been appointed, we are prepared to receive the Sinhalese form of the *upasampadā* ordination.' On the morning of Monday, the 9th day of the waxing half of the month of Mārgasīrṣa (= Monday, 25th November 1476), the king visited the Kalyāṇisimā accompanied by the leading monks. The nine *theras*, together with the five young monks, and Suvappasobhaphāthera, who was qualified for the office of *upajjhāya*, were invited and seated in the Kalyāṇisimā"

⁴ The Pāli proceeds: "Setting aside the leading monks, who were desirous of receiving the Sinhalese form of the *upasampadā* ordination, the king approached the *theras* who had visited the island of Ceylon, and having approached them, said to them thus," etc.

When the clergy] (l. 14) of the island of Ceylon were about to confer the *upasampadā* ordination upon us, (they said): 'The practice of us, the clergy who dwell in the island (of Ceylon, is this). [When we, the clergy who dwell in the island of Ceylon, confer the *upasampadā* ordination on persons who come from afar, (we) confer (it) after dealing with them in this wise. (You ask), 'How?'] (l. 15) First (we) [give] (them) white robes and establish them in the condition of laymen; and then when they are established in the condition of laymen, [(we) cause them to make the confession saying, 'I am a layman,' making a confession of their desire.] (l. 16) (This is done for) no other reason (than that) the essence of the reception of the *upasampadā* ordination (is) the separation from the condition of laymen [by first being made a *sāmaṇera* (and then) in the condition of *sāmaṇera* having the] (l. 17) *upasampadā* ordination conferred. [Now] my lords [say] you desire (to receive) the *upasampadā* ordination. [If] your desire [is genuine, (you) will first be established in the condition of laymen and then attain the ecclesiastical state of] (l. 18) *sāmaṇeras*, (so that) we may be able to confer the *upasampadā* ordination (upon you). [Your statement, 'We are laymen,' is an announcement that in making your present profession you (are)] (l. 19) sincere, so that you may obtain the *upasampadā* ordination.

"In time to come [(it may happen that by reason of your) colleagues, teachers, *upajjhāyas*, (or) disciples finding fault with (you, you) may change (your) minds (and say), 'We will follow (our) original *upasampadā* ordination,] (l. 20) we will not follow this new *upasampadā* ordination!'] [(But) we do not wish to let (you) reckon by (your) old seniority. If you are sincere, in] (l. 21) receiving the new *upasampadā* ordination, [we wish (you) to make profession (that you)] will reckon according to the new seniority until the end [of your days.]" Thus did the] (l. 22) clergy of the island of Ceylon reply to us; and all of us, who [went to receive the *upasampadā* ordination, said that we were established in the condition of laymen and] (l. 23) had to make a profession as aforesaid. Then our lords gave (us) monastic robes again, (and) when we had become ecclesiastics, made us profess the (three) refuges [(and) the (ten) precepts, and so made us *sāmaṇeras*, (and finally)] (l. 24) our lords conferred the *upasampadā* ordination upon us." Thus (said) our lords who had returned from Ceylon.

¹ The Pāli version of the above passage is in substance similar, though some details differ. But for what follows the Pāli merely has: "It was only when we had conformed ourselves to the custom of the *mahātheras* of Ceylon, that they conferred the *upasampadā* ordination on us."

[Then our lords who were the leading monks spoke in this wise:] (l. 25) "All [of us], inasmuch as we have professed our faith, we desire to receive the *upasampadā* ordination of the succession of the Sinhalese, [we will act]¹ in accordance with the custom [of the Sinhalese." Thus said our lords. The clergy who had returned from] (l. 26) Ceylon and all the other clergy being (thus) in agreement, from Monday, the ninth of the waxing (half) [of Mārgaśīrṣa,² during five days, His Majesty Rāmādhipatī] (l. 27) remained seated³ (and) our lords acted in accordance with the custom carried out by the Sinhalese, beginning with [our] lord [the Mahāsāmī Dhammakitti. The lord Thera Suvanna] (l. 28) sobhanamahāthera having been established as the permanent *upajjhāya*, all the Theras who had returned from Ceylon, beginning with Sirisaṅ[ghabodhisāmī,⁴ acted in turn as *ācariyas* in the conferment of the *upa*] (l. 29) *sampadā* ordination.

During the day His Majesty Rāmādhipatī remained seated⁵ (there), (and) [His Majesty continually caused] gifts of boiled rice, water, food, necessities, betel-leaves (and) [*yāmakā*⁶ water to be provided for the clergy.] (l. 30) His Majesty also appointed scribes who should write down (and) keep a register of particulars;⁷ [and for the purpose of eliciting the acclamation

¹ The Pāli has: "Then the large number of leading monks said: 'Reverend Sirs, since you yourselves received the pure form of the *upasampadā* ordination only after conforming to the custom of the *mahātheras* of Ceylon, even in this wise, do we, who are replete with faith, desire to receive it. Therefore, we are prepared to receive the pure form of the *upasampadā* ordination after conforming ourselves to the custom of the *mahātheras* of Ceylon.'"

² See l. 8, *supra*, note. The Pāli introduces the date in the next paragraph.

³ That is, "was present." Not in the Pāli.

⁴ The Pāli does not specify who began, but merely says "with the nine Theras who had returned from Ceylon as *ācariyas*, the *kammaṇḍā* being read by two of these Theras in turn."

⁵ Cf. l. 27, *supra*.

⁶ I follow the form used in l. 38, *infra*. The MS. version here uses the fuller form *yāmakāla*, but I suspect that the scribe is responsible for the alteration. The L.M. form is *yāma* and it seems not unlikely that the scribe wrote *kāla* in the sense of "time" (to go with the *gaḥ* that follows it). The original form is Pāli *yāmakālikam*, explained by Childers as "said to mean drinkables taken by priests after midday." Halliday explains *yāma* as "a sweet drink made with any sourish fruit such as lime, tamarind, etc., and plenty of sugar."

⁷ The word *caḍḍwon* (L.M. *caḍḍon*) is explained as meaning, literally, "a footstep," that being the method of measuring one's shadow in order to determine the time of day on which some specially important occurrence takes place. This method is apparently used by the monks to settle such questions as relative seniority of ordination in cases where both were ordained on the same day and the matter resolves itself into one of hours or even minutes. Here the scribes were to make an exact record of the proceedings of each ordination in turn accordingly. The Pāli, however, merely says that they "were appointed to note the number of monks that had received the *upasampadā* ordination."

"*sādhu*" after each conferment [of the *upasampadā* ordination, (l. 31) His Majesty provided [drums].¹ At the time when the sun was going to set, having arranged for leading nobles (and) scribes (to remain in attendance at the ordination), (and) for lamps, His Majesty [went up to the city. When the five days were completed,] (the number of)² (l. 32) leading monks who had received the *upasampadā* ordination was two hundred (and) forty-five. Then His Majesty sent word³ [to all these lords: "This Sunday, (being) the holy day of the full moon of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa,] (l. 33) may our lords who have received the new *upasampadā* ordination, (numbering) two hundred (and) forty-five, and our lords who have returned from Ceylon, [(numbering) fifteen, two hundred (and) sixty in all, be pleased] (l. 34) to perform *uposatha* in the Kalyāṇisimā! After our lords have performed *uposatha*, let [us present] gifts by way of alms, [let us] (l. 35) present [charitable offerings that are fit to be presented as gifts,] and (so) enable us to arouse feelings of pious satisfaction (in our own) mind!" In this wise did His Majesty send word to the clergy, [and early on the holy day of the full moon of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa His Majesty,] (l. 36) together with a retinue (and) with all the ministers (and) generals,⁴ having gone down (to the Kalyāṇisimā),⁵ spread mats for the two hundred (and) sixty clergy [who were to perform *uposatha* in the Kalyāṇisimā, and His Majesty remained (there).] (l. 37) Then, when the two hundred (and) sixty clergy had arrived, (they) performed *uposatha*. At the conclusion of our lords' performance of the *uposatha*, a [breakfast and fore-noon] meal [(with) cakes, preserved fruit, (and) food of divers] (l. 38) kinds, (together with) *yāmakā*⁶ water, were served to our lords. (To) each of the clergy [two sets of] cloths [(and) mats, a box for areca-nuts and a bottle of lime,] areca-nut (l. 39) [slicers,] a napkin, a paper fan,

¹ As to the word *klo*, cf. F 55 n. The Pāli has "drums, conch-shells, and other musical instruments were sounded."

² I follow the Pāli here, as the MS. text seems to be corrupt. (For *tiṃ tala* I should prefer to read *ṭṭala*). The Pāli specifies the five days as being "from the 9th to the 13th."

³ The Pāli fixes the date of the king's invitation being given to the monks as "Saturday, the 14th" (which was Saturday, 30th November 1476).

⁴ This is the original sense of *senāpati*. But it may well be that at Pegu in the 15th century (as in modern Siam) the word was differently applied and denoted civil officials, such as ministers.

⁵ The Pāli (which has the words in parentheses) proceeds: "and, having ordered the provision of seats and of water for washing the feet, awaited the arrival of the newly ordained Theras and the fifteen conductors of the *upasampadā* ordination ceremony."

⁶ Cf. l. 29, *supra*, n.

an umbrella, an alms-bowl, a water vessel, (and) a hemmed mat,¹ were given as offerings to our lords.

Then, in compliance with the wish of all the clergy,] (l. 40) the lord Thera Suvannasobhanamahāthera, who had acted as *upajjhāya*, was given the name of Kalyāṇitissamahāthera. [From this time forward² leading nobles (and) scribes went (and)] (l. 41) kept watch permanently in the *simā*. The disciples of our lords the two hundred (and) forty-five leading monks also went (and) received the ordination; [and other] leading clergy, [who were of good faith (and) desired to receive the *upasampadā* ordination, likewise went (and) received (it).³ Then His Majesty Rāmādhīpati⁴ sent word to all the clergy and throughout the whole extent of this Mōn country His Majesty caused them to make agreements (and) make appointments in this wise: "What is past, let it be done with! (But) as for other monks in the future, after these, let all clergy who ordain them hereafter see that the candidates

¹ There are several doubtful words in the above list of offerings. The Pāli has: "The following articles were then presented to each of the Theras:—two couples of cotton cloths of delicate texture for making *tīcvara* robes; a betel-box with cover, areca-nuts, nut-crackers, etc.; a palmyra fan; an umbrella made of the leaf of the wild date-palm (*phoenix sylvestris*); and an alms-bowl with cover and stand." I have rendered *saṇḍā*, as in F 46, by "mats," L.M. *snā*, but conceivably it may be the specific name of the cloth: cf. J 24, where the MS. reading is *snā*, and M 27. I have no authority for "sets" except the Pāli version, unless *tau* stands for it. The word "box" is supported by the Pāli (cf. J 24), but I have no other authority for it. The MS. text has *kbon*, evidently an error for *kbon*: cf. the reading on the stone (and also the MS. itself) in the parallel passage J 24; and cf. N 8, 13. The rendering "areca-nuts," though supported by the Pāli, is merely conjectural, being based on the assumption that the MS. *palā* (for *phalā*, as in J 24) is here a substitute for the Mōn *sat*, generically "fruit," but specifically "areca-nut." The expression "hemmed" (mat), which does not occur in the Pāli version, is not quite certain. Cf. M 29, N 13.

² The Pāli has: "Thenceforward, the king permanently stationed, in the neighbourhood of the Kalyāṇisimā, nobles and learned men for the purpose of serving food and furnishing the 'requisites' to the ten Theras, headed by Kalyāṇitissamahāthera, who, together with the five young monks, conducted the *upasampadā* ordination ceremony, as well as to the leading monks who had received their *upasampadā* ordination in the Kalyāṇisimā, and to the numerous monks who presented themselves for ordination. There were likewise stationed numerous scribes charged with the duty of recording the number of monks ordained; and musicians to sound the drum, conch-shell, and other instruments for the purpose of eliciting the acclamation of *sādhū* at the conclusion of each reading of the *kammanācā* relating to the *upasampadā* ordination. The ten Theras who conducted the ordination ceremony, the two hundred and forty-five monks who had received such ordination, and the numerous monks who were their disciples, conferred, day after day, without interruption, the Sinhalese form of the *upasampadā* ordination on other leading monks, who came and expressed a desire to receive it."

³ Here, according to the MS. version, ended Face H.

⁴ The Pāli has: "Rāmādhīpatirāja, of his own accord and with the approbation of the whole Order, despatched the following message to all the monks residing in the Mōn country: 'Venerable Ones, there may be men, who, though wishing to receive the *pabbajjā* ordination, are branded criminals,' etc."

for ordination are satisfactory, and then ordain them. Men who are branded, men who are notorious as thieves (or) robbers,¹ men who are not perfect in their limbs, men maimed (in) foot (or) maimed (in) hand, dwarfed (or) of small stature, (or) having crooked limbs,² if people see such a man (they) would imitate, laugh at, (and) mock, not reverence, (him). Do not permit such persons to be ordained! When (any) disciples desire to receive the *upasampadā* ordination, do not confer it privily: first inform us (so that the case can be) examined in the *simā*, here in Pegu. When definite arrangements have been made, we will present the monastic requisites and will support the ordination. But if (you) do not act thus, but confer the *upasampadā* ordination privily, the mother (and) father of those who receive]

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such *upasampadā* ordination, [as well as (their) relatives, and likewise their lay supporters, will be visited by us with royal penalties.

"Clergy³ in general, (and) clergy who are your own disciples, (that)] (l. 2) have been practising medicine and making a living by tending people's diseases, [suffer (them) not to do (so)! (Such as) practise astrology (and) make a living by observing people's nativities, suffer (them) not to do (so)! (Such as) make a living by⁴ (or) by embroidering⁵ the borders of women's skirts (or) the borders of robes, (or) by⁶ (or) making ornamental designs,⁷ (or) carving the handles of knives (and)] (l. 3) cleavers, (and) [following] one (or other) of such occupations

¹ The Pāli adds: "or escaped prisoners, or offenders against the Government, or old and decrepit, or stricken with severe illness," etc.

² The Pāli adds: "or are, in short, persons whose presence vitiates the *parisā*."

³ The Pāli gives a long list of various occupations (not always quite the same as those in our text) and reserves to the end the injunction against allowing offenders to live amongst the well behaved monks. It begins: "There are sinful monks who practise medicine; and others, who devote their time to the art of numbers, carpentry, or the manufacture of ivory articles, or who declare the happy or unhappy lot of governors, nobles, and the common people, by examining their horoscopes or by reading the omens and dreams that may have happened to them."

⁴ The meaning of *stuiḥ* and *baṇḍā* (A *daṇḍā*) has not been determined. ⁵ Or, "painting."

⁶ The meaning of *nibā* has not been determined, though it appears from M 11 that it was some kind of material suitable for covering the outside of the *gati* there described. In this place the MS. text inserts *yāt* before it, which looks as if the copyist took *nibā* to be the name of some kind of cloth. The word *lāḥ* can mean "to paint, smear, overlay."

⁷ The meaning of *gamat* has not been determined; *phau* literally means "flower."

live as laymen do [all the time—my lords, do not suffer monks who exercise such callings to dwell among you! Monks who acquire material wealth,¹ (l. 4) make a living by [the recitation of] the Dhamma with a loud voice, (or) by² (or) acquiring [spindles of] cotton thread,³ [(or) by going down (into the fields) (and) acquiring paddy (and) rice, (or) going to the edge of the forest (and) getting pepper,⁴ do not harbour monks of that sort among you! If monks associate with] (l. 5) laymen (that are) gamesters, dissolute youths, servants of the king, companions of the king, men who spend their lives in drinking (and) playing [dice⁵, —my lords, do not harbour (them) among you!

“If monks are possessed of sincere faith and truly study (religion), (then), my lords, harbour (them)] (l. 6) among (you)! When laymen come to (you), my lords, desiring to become monks, cause [them to learn to write, and when (they) have recited the alphabet, make them learn] (l. 7) the confession of faith in the Three Refuges, and the (ten) precepts.⁶ When (they) have become qualified, let my lords permit (them) to become monks.

[“*Sāmaṇeras* who have attained the age of twenty (and) are desirous of receiving the *upasampadā* ordination should first be thoroughly instructed in the principles of the four *parisuddhisīlas*, namely] (l. 8) the *pātimokkhasamvarasīla*, *indriyasamvarasīla*, *ājīvapārisuddhisīla*, and *puccayasannissitasīla*, (l. 9) the *sāmaṇeras* should first be taught [the book of the Pātimokka from beginning to end together with (its) meaning and interpretation,] the *sāmaṇeras* should first be taught the book of the Khuddasikkā, [the *sāmaṇeras* should first be caused to commit to memory the discourse of

¹ The MS. reading *pakrayā ha me* is corrupt, as is also the corresponding *phatrayāpāw* in l. 19, *infra*. In both places it should probably be amended into *pa kriyā pāw*; but it is not quite certain whether this means “acquire material wealth” or “practise unbecoming professions.”

² The meaning of *slor labwor*, and also the reading of this last, are doubtful.

³ The Pāli has: “There are monks who visit cotton fields and preach the Dhamma with long intonation, and trade in the cotton which they happen to receive as offerings.”

⁴ The meaning of *tuiñ* here has not been determined, and the reading is probably corrupt. The Pāli has: “There are monks who visit fields of hill-rice, rice, barley, etc., and preach the Dhamma, and trade in the grain which they happen to receive as offerings. There are monks who visit fields of capsicum and preach the Dhamma, and trade in the capsicum which they happen to receive as offerings. There are monks who trade in many other ways.”

⁵ The word *khat* by itself should mean “cowries”; “dice” is *khat paḥ*. The meaning of *lan li* has not been determined; *lan* means “to go from place to place.”

⁶ The Pāli proceeds: “and eventually, Venerable Ones, confer the *pabbajjā* ordination on them.” Our text uses the word *gam-i*, “monk,” but clearly the novice is here meant.

ecclesiastical offences, and the *sāmaṇeras*] should [also be caused to commit to memory the *paccavekkhana* concerning the use of the four requisites.] (l. 10) When the *sāmaṇeras* have become fully qualified in (all) such learning, our lords should inform [us, (and) we (shall) support their *upasampadā* ordination. May all the clergy on their part] (l. 11) carry on [a course of conduct conformable to the Vinaya and Sikkhapāda] of the exalted Buddha and pleasing (to him)! [Do not follow] a course of conduct that is not in conformity with the Vinaya [of the exalted Buddha and is not pleasing (to him), my lords!

“In the past, in this Môn country, all the clergy, by reason of] (l. 12) the existence of various sects, were in a state of confusion, together with impurity (and) corruption, as aforesaid. [From henceforward all the clergy, having professed true faith, have received the *updsampadā* ordination of the Sinhalese: (therefore) in conformity with the practice] (l. 13) of the clergy, who dwell in the island of Ceylon, in wearing (their) robes and shaving (their) hair, let my lords [follow (them in those matters also)! Let there be a single sect! Let not divers sects arise!”

Having caused a message in these terms to be drawn up,] (l. 14) His Majesty caused [investigation (and) search to be made] throughout the whole extent of this Môn country [regarding monks who were possessed of goods, paddy (and) rice, male slaves, female slaves, cattle (or) buffaloes, (and) His Majesty caused word to be sent (to them in this wise):—

“My lords, give up (and) surrender] (l. 15) (your) goods, [if you] would observe (the conduct of) [monks. If my lords fail to do (so), (then) with (your) goods follow the life of laymen!” Such was the message His Majesty sent round to all the monks.

Some monks surrendered (and) gave up] (l. 16) (their) goods and observed [the (rule of) monks. Some monks did not surrender (their) goods, (but) with (their) goods had to abandon (the Order and enter) the lay state. In the case of monks who had committed grave offences that were of public notoriety,] (l. 17) His Majesty made (them) all live in the lay state. As for some monks who had committed grave offences [that were not of public notoriety, His Majesty expelled monks who were to that extent open to censure and reproach and made them live as laymen,] (l. 18) all (of them). Some monks who had committed serious offences that did not reach the extreme point, [but were unable to put away] such degree of censure and

reproach as there was, [such monks as aforesaid] (l. 19) His Majesty expelled (and) made (them) all live as laymen.¹ Monks who practised medicine, who practised astrology, who made a living by embroidering² the borders of skirts (or) the borders of robes, [(or) by (or)³ acquired material wealth,⁴ these monks who lived sinful lives His Majesty made to live in] (l. 20) the lay state, all of them.

Thus did His Majesty Rāmādhpati entirely purge (and) expel the impurity (and) corruption of religion that had arisen, and [caused all the clergy who were in this Mōn country to form one single sect.] (l. 21) All the clergy, who dwelt in villages (or) in the forest, who lived within this Mōn country, from the (l. 22) year 838 of the Common Era, [the ninth of the waxing (half) of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa, the day (being) a Monday, our lords] came (and) received the *upasampadā* ordination of the Sinhalese until the year 841 of the Common Era, without intermission they kept on coming (and) receiving (it).

At that time our lords [the clergy dwelling in the Mōn country who received this *upasampadā* ordination amounted] (l. 23) to eight hundred leading monks (and) fourteen thousand two hundred (and) sixty-five young monks.⁵ When all these eight hundred leading monks [had] received the (l. 24) *upasampadā* ordination, [His Majesty presented each of them with [two sets of robe cloths⁶ for making *ticivara* robes;] a box⁷ for areca-nuts, with betel-leaves (and) a bottle of lime; areca-nut slicers; a napkin; an

¹ The Pāli equivalent of this passage is : "Some of the monks, owing to their being imbued with faith, gave up all such possessions and conformed themselves to such conduct as was in accordance with the precepts; while other Theras did not endeavour to give up all their possessions, and they left the Order. There were some monks who had flagrantly committed *pārājika* offences: these were requested to become laymen. There were others, whose commission of *pārājika* offences had not been proved, but whose reproachable and censurable conduct was difficult to be justified: these were asked to become laymen." Both texts use the term *antimavattthu* for this class of offences.

² Or, "painting": cf. l. 2, *supra*, and note.

³ The meaning of *tuik bacām* and *nībā* is undetermined. As to these words and *lāk*, see l. 2, *supra*, n.

⁴ The text is corrupt and the meaning doubtful: cf. l. 3, *supra*, n.

⁵ That is, "minor clergy." The Pāli here adds; "and the total number of both classes of monks was fifteen thousand and sixty-five."

⁶ The meaning of *tat* and *tau* is not strictly determined. The position of the latter suggests that it is used merely as a numeral auxiliary. The former is evidently an error for *bāp* (cf. F 46, H 38). The Pāli speaks of "cotton cloths of delicate tissue." See the variant reading in H 38.

⁷ Cf. H 39, *supra*, n.

umbrella¹; an alms-bowl²; (and) a fan.³ In the case of the clergy on whom it was fitting [to confer titles, His Majesty in every case conferred titles.] (l. 25) Subsequently His Majesty presented the (monastic) requisites to the *sāmaṇeras* who had studied the Khuddasikkhā (and) the Pāṭimokkhā, and made (them) receive the *upasampadā* ordination, (to the number of) six [hundred and one. The full total of the clergy dwelling within the bounds of] (l. 26) this Mōn [country] who received the Ceylon *upasampadā* ordination was fifteen thousand, six hundred (and) sixty-six.

The matter of the purification of the religion having been thus accomplished, [His Majesty Rāmādhpati, because he delighted] exceedingly [in the religion] (l. 27) of the exalted Buddha, (expressed the hope): "Now that the religion which is in this Mōn country has been freed from impurity (and) corruption and freed from doubt, may [it be able to endure for five thousand years!]" (l. 28) (Thus) did (he) set his mind (and) do.⁴

In former times there was a king who was possessed of great wealth (and) supreme majesty, who delighted [in the religion of the exalted Buddha exceedingly, by name] (l. 29) Asokadhammarāja.⁵ In the island of Ceylon, again, there was a king named Siri-saṅghabodhi-Parakkamabāhu, who also delighted exceedingly in the religion of the exalted Buddha,⁶ [(and) a king Vijayabāhu who also delighted in the religion] (l. 30) of the exalted Buddha exceedingly, (and) a king Parakkamabāhu who also delighted exceedingly in the religion of the exalted Buddha. All these kings saw the impurity (and) corruption which [had] arisen [in the religion of the exalted Buddha, and] (l. 31) because (they) desired to enable the religion of the exalted Buddha to endure for a long time free from impurity (and) corruption, (they) purified the religion.

¹ The Pāli adds: "made of the leaves of the wild date-palm (*Phoenix sylvestris*)."

² The Pāli adds: "with a stand and cover."

³ The Pāli has: "a palmyra fan."

⁴ It does not seem quite certain that this is the right rendering. Conceivably the words of the text might mean: "So did he set his heart that it should do." The sentence is really the equivalent of the Pāli *manasi nidhāyāhāsi*, rendered above by "expressed a hope" in order to introduce the passage.

⁵ The Pāli adds that he "became agitated in mind at the sight of the impurities that had arisen" in religion; and continues: "he solicited the assistance of Moggaliputtatissathera and effected the purification of the religion by expelling 60,000 sinful monks from the Order."

⁶ The Pāli adds: "Seeing the impurities of the religion, agitation arose in his mind and he expelled numerous sinful monks who held heretical doctrines; he effected purification by sparing the single orthodox sect, whose members were the spiritual successors of the residents of the Mahāvihāra."

In time past [the Lord] (l. 32) Mahāthera Ānanda, changing (from one) state of being (to another), became a king named Usinnara, holding sway in the city of Benares. At that time the religion of the exalted Buddha Kassapa (l. 33) had [declined,] but though that king saw that (it) was impure (and) corrupt, that king did not take action by diligently securing the purification of the religion of the exalted Buddha Kassapa; (l. 34) that king remained (indifferent?).¹ At that time our Bodhisattva was King Indra. Though in the enjoyment of celestial bliss in the heavenly city of Tāvātimsa, (he) forsook the delights of celestial bliss because (l. 35) (he) desired to effect the purification of the religion of the exalted Buddha Kassapa, (and) came down to this world of men. Assuming the guise of a hunter, (he) caused the *deva* Mātali to take the shape of a black wild dog,² (l. 36) and, leading this wild dog,³ (he) came down (and) terrified King Ussinara. Then King Ussinara gave a pledge for the purification of the religion, and King Indra instructed King Ussinara, (l. 37) and King Indra ascended again to the heavenly city of Tāvātimsa.

Thus³ did the kings of old, beginning with King Asokadhammarāja exert themselves in the purification of the religion; (and) our (l. 38) Bodhisattva, who (at that time) was Indra, although in enjoyment of celestial bliss in the heavenly city of Tāvātimsa, (also) exerted himself in the purification of the religion. Therefore⁴, His Majesty Rāmādhīpati, in his turn, (l. 39) also observing (and) following after the practice of the pious ones afore mentioned, thus did the deeds that he did in effecting the purification of the religion. Inasmuch as (that) is so, in time to come, in the city of (l. 40) Hāmsawatī, may all the kings that are possessed of faith who shall arise into being hereafter, on seeing the impurity (and) corruption of religion that may arise, also diligently exert themselves so as to effect the purification of the religion! (l. 41) Our lords the Arhats too, beginning with Moggali-

¹ This is a conjectural rendering based on the Pāli, as the reading of the stone is doubtful and that of the MS. is corrupt.

² Or "wolf." But the Pāli has "dog." The Mōn expression rendered "wild dog" applies in particular to the jackal.

³ This passage, down to "Therefore" (not inclusive), has no equivalent in the Pāli.

⁴ The Pāli proceeds: "King Rāmādhīpati, the Lord of the Mōn country, following respectfully in the footsteps of the virtuous, purified the religion with a view that it might last till the end of 5,000 years. For having purified the religion in the manner described above, I, Rāmādhīpati, have acquired merit, which is inexhaustible as Nirvāpa, the state of purity and quiescence."

puttatissamahāthera¹ (and) Majjhantikathera, though they were men who had performed their (last) deeds (and) had therefore attained to the enjoyment of *phalasamāpattisukha*¹ (and) (l. 42) (were able) to remain (thus) permanently, (yet) because (they) desired to further the advancement of the religion, (they) turned their backs upon the bliss of *phalasamāpattisukha*,² (and) in the cause of (l. 43) the advancement of the religion, (they) exerted themselves. Inasmuch as (that) is so, may our lords, all the virtuous monks, who are possessed of faith in the religion of (l. 44) the exalted Buddha, (and) who³ shall come in future time, may our lords also exert themselves in the purification of the religion (and) in the advancement of the religion!⁴

[Two⁵ thousand (and) twenty years after the year when the Lord of Merit, the exalted Buddha Sakyamuni, achieved *parinirvāṇa*, having determined to effect a purification of the religion of the exalted Buddha, as regards the persons who were possessed of faith (and) desirous of obtaining the pure state of the *upasampadā* ordination, His Majesty Rāmādhīpati urged 22 Theras to go (and) receive (and) bring the *upasampadā* orders from the island of Ceylon, (and) determined that people should be able to obtain the *upasampadā* ordination from the clergy who had gone (and) received it from the island of Ceylon; (and) in order that those who received the *upasampadā* ordination might be able to perform (ecclesiastical) ceremonies such as the *uposatha* (and) *pavāraṇā*,]

¹ Not mentioned in the Pāli.

² Literally, "the happiness of the fruition of attainment," i.e., of spiritual peace.

³ The "who" refers to the monks (of Hāmsavatīpura, as the Pāli adds).

⁴ Here ends Face J, which is the last face of the main inscription. The Pāli version adds the following, which has no equivalent in the Mōn text: "If this is done, the beings who are immersed in the whirlpool of the three forms of existence, will be enabled to cross (to the other shore), or to free themselves from the conditions of sin and suffering, or to attain the pure and excellent and supreme Buddhahood, which is embellished with the attributes of the wise and is the fruition of supreme exertion." In this passage there is a difference between the MS. version of the Pāli text and the actual reading on the stone, the former being *adhībodhi-budhalālitaṃ lālitaṃ* and the latter *amate vibudha lālita lālitaṃ*.

⁵ Here begins the first of the appendices to the principal inscription, as preserved in the MS. text.

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[seeing that the ancient *simās*, which had been consecrated¹ in times past, were not (valid) *simās*, His Majesty Rāmādhīpati urged] (l. 2) the clergy who had received the [Sinhalese] ordination [to consecrate these *simās*. (In the case of) all the *simās* which were (to be) consecrated, (where) there was (already) a *gāmakhetta*, (in) the new *simā*] (l. 3) together with other *gāmakhetta*s surrounding it, connections of branches of trees and the like,² [both on the ground and in the air, were cleared away, the ground was trenched, (and) within the *gāma* that was to be the site³ of the new *simā*,] (l. 4) a *gāmakhetta* was established within the ambit⁴ of the boundary stones where the *baddhasimā* was to be. [Then with respect to the *gāmakhetta*s outside also, the existing connections of branches of trees and the like were cleared away, (and) the ground was trenched, to indicate] (l. 5) the limits of the *simā*. At the time of the desecration (ceremony), [both] (on) the land that was within the ambit⁴ of the boundary marks [and that which was outside (them), plots of 5 cubits in length (and) 5 cubits in width (were marked out) on the ground with lime and] (l. 6) each plot was desecrated, going evenly over them all. At the time of the consecration, [(on) the *gāmakhetta* that was to be the site⁵ of the new *simā*, they trenched the ground (and) caused persons to be placed around (it and) patrol (it);] (l. 7) and so (they) established (the new *simā*).

Among all the *simās* the Kalyāṇisimā (was) the one that [was made first. (It was in) the year (838)⁶ of the Common Era, (on) the eighth of the waxing (half) of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa, the day (being) Sunday,⁷ that the clergy who had returned from Ceylon consecrated] (l. 8) the Kalyāṇi *simā*. On the twelfth of the waning (half) of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa, the day (being) Friday,⁸ (at) the time of dawn, [our lords who had returned from Ceylon consecrated the *simā* of the Thousand Buddhas. In the afternoon our lords] (l. 9) who had returned from Ceylon consecrated two *simās* in the Mahārāma. [On the thirteenth of the waning (half)] of the

¹ Taking the *smit* of the MSS. to be an error for *smit*.

² Cf. B 25, 50, C 49, and (for this passage generally) G 8 *seqq.*

³ Taking the *datau* of the MSS. to be an error for *datau*.

⁴ Cf. G 22 as to the word *cruih*, literally "chest."

⁵ Reading *datau* for the *dakau* of the MSS., as in l. 3, *supra*.

⁷ Sunday, 24th November 1476. But see G 19 n.

⁶ Omitted in the MSS.

⁸ Friday, 13th December 1476.

month of Mārgaśīrṣa, [the day (being) Saturday,¹ the clergy who had returned from Ceylon consecrated the Bhā Mru² *simā*. On the thirteenth of the waning (half) of the month of Phālguna,] (l. 10)³ our lords who had returned from Ceylon consecrated the Muh⁴ Mla Skar *simā*. [On the fifth of the waxing (half) of the month of Caitra, the day (being) Wednesday,⁵ our lords who had returned from Ceylon, together with our lords the clergy of Pegu who had received] (l. 11) the Sinhalese (form of the) *upasampadā* ordination consecrated *simās* at the four quarters of the foot of the Mah Tau pagoda.⁶

[Beginning with the year 838 of the Common Era, His Majesty Rāmādhīpati-paramamahādhammarājādhīrāja urged our lords who had returned from] (l. 12) Ceylon (and) urged our lords the teachers of the Order who had received the Sinhalese (form of) ordination,⁷ [together with the various Chapters,⁸ to consecrate *simās* (in) every town (and) every district of the Môn country. At the time of the consecrations] (l. 13) His Majesty caused some great scholar to attend also in every case.⁹

The *simās* [that our lords consecrated were the Kyāk Kuiw¹⁰ *simā*, the Ma Tam¹¹ *simā*, the Ma Roñ Lhok¹² *simā*, the Calhuin Ciñ¹³ *simā*, the

¹ Saturday, 14th December 1476.

² "Monastery of the Stockade."

³ The reading is doubtful on the stone and corrupt in the MSS. It may perhaps mean to indicate the time of day or else "when they first went out." The date appears to be Wednesday, 12th March 1477.

⁴ The reading is doubtful. The word *muh* means "nose, point, cape, fringe"; *skar* (L.M. *shaw*) may mean "mat, sugar, glue."

⁵ Wednesday, 19th March 1477.

⁶ The biggest pagoda at Pegu.

⁷ The phrase here used is *duñ payan Singhvir*, which might also mean "who received the Ceylon monks."

⁸ Presumably the various local groups (*saṅghas*).

⁹ The phrase might mean that the king caused every great scholar to attend.

¹⁰ This may mean "Buddha gives." But the word *kuiw* may also be merely the conjunction "and" linking the name of this *simā* to that of the next one. The matter is complicated by a difference of reading between the two MSS. in what immediately follows.

¹¹ The word *ma* (on the stone *mbo*) literally means "father" and is part of the name of some of the *simās*, while some others are called *mbo*, "mother." It is not clear what distinction, if any, these two terms may be supposed to import, but the second one commonly refers to the principal part of anything, or something that is large or full-grown. The word *tam* means "beginning, principal." MS. B here has a variant reading which would seem to mean that "it was the Buddha *simā* that was consecrated first," or as the principal one, but this is probably corrupt.

¹² B has *rok*, "to repay"; *lhok* is unexplained.

¹³ If *calhuin* is for *caluñ*, this would mean "elephant tethering-post." The alternative *caluik* means "to shake."

Gāmalañ *simā*,] (l. 14) the *simā* of the Mahābuddharūpa,¹ the Pāñ Abeñ² *simā*, the Kari³ *simā*, the [Tañ Phā]⁴ *simā*, the Kyāk Ma Tañ Jow⁵ *simā*, the Mañ Mrā⁶ *simā*, the Nuai Nāai⁷ *simā*, the Muh Kla But⁸ *simā*, the Samā Gasū⁹ *simā*, the Jip Brāai *simā*, the Muh Ya Tala¹⁰ *simā*,] (l. 15) the Mah Bapuñ¹¹ *simā*, the Ka' Kluw¹² *simā*, [the Jalāai Thaw¹³ *simā*, the Lañ Paḍoñ¹⁴ *simā*, the Jrai Sapoai¹⁵ *simā*, the Amāt Sut¹⁶ *simā*, the *simā* of Prince U Kwew, the Hān Gām¹⁷ *simā*, the Prañ Sā¹⁸ *simā*, the Ma Sra Ma Leñ¹⁹ *simā*, the Jip Dwoñ *simā*, the Run Wuin²⁰ *simā*,] (l. 17) the Baraḥ *simā*, the Mba²¹ [Muin] *simā*, [the Kamā Amāt²² *simā*, the Oñ Bra Sri²³ *simā*, the Kon Blāai²⁴ *simā*, the Pāñ Tarau Bā²⁵ *simā*, the Pañ Lāñ²⁶ *simā*, the Mañ Mrā²⁷ *simā*, (l. 18) the Tarwot²⁸ *simā*, the Mba Nāñ²⁹ *simā*, the Pnāñ³⁰ [Dabok] *simā*, [the Wihā Taw³¹ *simā*, the Ma Bat³² *simā*, the Min

¹ Cf. F 49.

² Pāñ, "mouth." The next word is a doubtful reading; the MS. *apuiw* suggests an original *apew*, both unexplained.

³ "Jungle Guide." Cf. E 44.

⁴ As to *tañ*, see note on last line; *phā* may mean "mountain-jack" or "side."

⁵ *Tañ jow* (for which A has *ptañ jwaw*) may perhaps mean "head of the creek."

⁶ *Mañ*, "to wait for, to watch"; *mrā*, "to prosper, to gain."

⁷ "Divers prawns."

⁸ Cf. l. 10, *supra*, n. (but B has *mut*, "face"); *kla* means "tiger," and *but*, "to grind."

⁹ If *gasū* can be taken to stand for *kasū*, the name would mean something like "expert in writing (painting, etc.)."

¹⁰ *Ya* is the "wax of the dammer-bee"; *tala* means "lord."

¹¹ *Bapuñ* (also *bapēñ*) is the name of a tree, *Erythrina indica*.

¹² Perhaps "Dog's Neck." But in J 36 "dog" is *cluiw* (not *kluw*); and *ka'* may mean "an isolated piece of ground."

¹³ "Golden Bud."

¹⁴ *Lañ* apparently means "to melt."

¹⁵ "The Banyan Tree of the Nest."

¹⁶ *Amāt* is "minister" and *Sut* may be a proper name (but it also means "silk" and "sutra."

On the stone l. 16 is entirely lost; it must have begun about here.

¹⁷ *Hān*, "company"; *gām*, "to step."

¹⁸ *Prañ*, "to send; bank, slope"; *sā*, "to spread; to be light; borax; company, following."

¹⁹ Cf. l. 13, *supra*, n.; *sra*, "to be sore"; *leñ*, "to carry on the hip; to nourish; to be destroyed."

²⁰ *Run*, "to be intractable"; *wuin*, "joists."

²¹ Cf. l. 13, *supra*, n.

²² This may be the proper name of a person.

²³ "Junction of Two Roads."

²⁴ Cf. l. 15, *supra*, n.

²⁵ Or, perhaps, *wā rwot* (*wā*, "an open plain").

²⁶ Cf. l. 13, *supra*, n. It is difficult to see how the usual meaning of *ñāñ*, "as," can be appropriate here.

²⁷ "Candle" (or "lamp"). For *dabok*, B has *da blok*.

²⁸ *Wihā*, "monastery"; *taw*, "handle, stalk, side." ²⁹ *Bat* means "adhesiveness; likeness."

Taloñ¹ *simā*, the Brau Galā² *simā*, the Leñ³ Slop *simā*, the Señ Jā⁴ *simā*,] (l. 19) the Mba Sa⁵ *simā*, the Gāñ Lon⁶ *simā*, the Taguiw Tla⁷ *simā*, the [Nāñ Slañ Taluai]⁸ *simā*, [the Wā Dāk⁹ *simā*, the Ma Nā *simā*, the Tayu Taswok¹⁰ *simā*, the Bhalim Abaḥ *simā*, the Ma Bāñ *simā*, the] (l. 20) Pāñ Pan¹¹ [*simā*,] the Cagan¹² *simā*, the Bha¹³ Baket¹⁴ *simā*, the Mba [Asū]¹⁵ *simā*, the Mba Luit¹⁶ *simā*, [the Sneñ Juk¹⁷ *simā*, the Khāñ Mrah¹⁸ *simā*, the Srañ Wā¹⁹ *simā*, the Nāai Sāai²⁰ *simā*, the Kyāk²¹ Kwew *simā*, the] (l. 21) Kaḍāk²² [*simā*,] the Mba Lau Bāñ²³ *simā*, the Arhan²⁴ *simā*, the Apoñ *simā*, the Trit²⁵ Mba Sañ *simā*, the [Dañ] *simā*, [the Kyāk Thaw²⁶ *simā*, the Kyāk Tāñ Duñ²⁷ *simā*, the Mo'²⁸ Aduiw *simā*, the Wā Swā²⁹ *simā*, the Bahā Jnok³⁰ *simā*,] (l. 22) the Thāñ Kwah³¹ *simā*, the Mbo'³² Yage' *simā*, the [Bhu] Mba Grām³³ *simā*, the Gatuim³⁴ *simā*, the [Aḍam] *simā*, [the

¹ Or Talo'; *min*, "to gather in the arms."

² "Indian Woman." But *brau* is also the name of the cocoanut palm and its fruit.

³ Cf. l. 15, *supra*, n.; *slop* may mean "to enter."

⁴ *Señ*, "to be withered; to be true"; *jā*, "fishing net, lattice."

⁵ Possibly Sañ, but the MSS. have *sa*.

⁶ Perhaps "Most Valiant."

⁷ Perhaps cf. L.M. *gaguiw*, *daguiw*, "stump" (also "thunder") or *tagaw*, "ginger"; and possibly *tla* (for *tala*, "lord," etc.) or *kla*, "tiger." The MSS. have *kla*, "garden," or *klañ*, "hundred."

⁸ *Nāñ*, "person"; *slañ*, "to be dazed" (variant *khlañ*, "to glow, to shine"); *taluai*, "the Otaheite gooseberry."

⁹ *Wā*, "plain" (or, perhaps, "paper kite").

¹⁰ "Hairy Maggot."

¹¹ Perhaps Carān or Caban.

¹² "Red."

¹³ MSS. *Thuih*.

¹⁴ *Sneñ*, "wing"; *juk*, "cord" (variant *jut*, "bone").

¹⁵ *Mrah*, "to spread abroad; to praise; to be merry."

¹⁶ *Srañ*, "dry land, shore bank"; *wā*, "plain."

¹⁷ *Nāai*, "lord, master"; *sāai*, "bee."

¹⁸ *Kyāk*, "Buddha, pagoda, worshipful object."

¹⁹ "Crow."

²⁰ "Arhat" (if the reading is right; but the *h* is doubtful).

²¹ MSS. *Krik*.

²² *Tāñ*, "to pull" (variant *tañ*, "beginning, capital," etc.); *duñ*, "city, country, kingdom."

²³ Cf. l. 13, *supra*, n.

²⁴ "Great Monastery."

²⁵ *Thāñ*, "to set upright; a jail"; for *kwh* the MSS. have *knuh*, "turtle," which may possibly be right.

²⁶ Cf. l. 13, *supra*, n.

²⁷ *Bhu* is a doubtful reading; for *mba*, cf. l. 13, *supra*, n.; *grām*, "to put up a barrier" (also, in combination, "to be waste, to be desolate").

²⁸ "To beat."

Mbo' Khot¹ *simā*, the Kyāk Ma Talew *simā*, the Jrai Mwai² *simā*, the Kyāk Prah³ *simā*,] (l. 23) the Aḍwon *simā*, the Ajan *simā*, the Jray Rāt⁴ *simā*, the Mba Cau⁵ *simā*, the Kyāk Rhū⁶ *simā*, the Pāñ Apuh⁷ *simā*, the [Lalom]⁸ *simā*, [the Pā⁹ Babeñ *simā*, the Mañ Glon¹⁰ *simā*, the Kyāk Tamlon *simā*, the] (l. 24) Kuīw Clīk¹¹ [*simā*,] the Danī¹² *simā*, the Saruim¹³ *simā*, the Sat Daḍon¹⁴ *simā*, the Mba [Gl]āy¹⁵ *simā*, the Jray Mba Pū¹⁶ *simā*, the Pañgā¹⁷ *simā*, the [Tan Sran]¹⁸ *simā*, [the Ma Sem¹⁹ *simā*, the Rammapūra²⁰ *simā*, the Tamuh²¹ Tabuai *simā*,] (l. 25) the Pāñ Sandan²² *simā*, the Ban Tu²³ *simā*.

At Bhimapūra, the *simā* of the leading monks of Pegu, the *simā* of the leading monks of Ceylon, [the Alha Sarāai²⁴ *simā*, the Buit Kamā²⁵ *simā*, the Jiñ Jām²⁶ *simā*, the Lagan Phen²⁷ *simā*,] (l. 26) the Buip²⁸ *simā*, the Duiw

¹ A measure of four dronas.

² "One Banyan Tree."

³ "To be quick; to fall."

⁴ Or *rāk*, "a cabin." (Fray is "banyan tree").

⁵ "Grandchild; to return" (but the reading is not certain).

⁶ Possibly for *sū*, "to measure."

⁷ Cf. l. 14, *supra*, n.

⁸ Perhaps L.M. *lalan*, "peace, rest."

⁹ "To be in company with; a species of dove."

¹⁰ *Mañ*, "to wait for, to watch over; red deer"; *glon*, "to pass through; a crest, tuft."

¹¹ "Give pigs."

¹² Perhaps L.M. *ḍnī*, *gnī*, "cushion, pillow; the Queen Lagerstroemia," or *ḍnī*, "a husband's sister."

¹³ "Mud" (or "to help").

¹⁴ Perhaps L.M. *khāḍon*, "brinjal" (*sat*, "fruit").

¹⁵ Doubtful reading (L.M. *glāai* means "to seek").

¹⁶ *Pū* may mean "dove" or "to wind around with cord or cloth."

¹⁷ For Pañgā, probably L.M. *pañā*, "the wild nutmeg."

¹⁸ *Tan*, "to be stable; to be cheap; an interval"; *sran*, "silver, money."

¹⁹ "Siamese, Shan."

²⁰ This is plainly a place-name, but not being preceded by the word for "in" or "at" it leaves us doubtful whether the particular *simā* was situated at this place or merely named after it. It is not stated where the numerous *simās* specified in ll. 13-25 were located, but it may be presumed that they were in the neighbourhood of Pegu, the capital of the kingdom. From l. 25 onwards other towns are expressly mentioned.

²¹ "Broom."

²² Cf. l. 14, *supra*, n. But the true reading here may be *wāñ*, "a species of mint."

²³ *Ban* may mean "to embrace," and *tu*, "a snail" (but the latter is a doubtful reading).

²⁴ *Sarāai*, "soldier; wild beast."

²⁵ *Buit*, "diamond; Veda; to throw; to swoop"; *kamā*, "tank."

²⁶ *Jām*, "to sew."

²⁷ The first word may be L.M. *laggan*, "love."

²⁸ "Teal Duck."

Danī¹ *simā*, the Twān Dhatek² *simā*, the Row Sā³ *simā*, the Jray Tayā⁴ *simā*, the Cluiñ *simā*,⁵ the Gataḥ Pan⁶ *simā*, [the Kyāk Rāai Man⁷ *simā*, the Tamrot *simā*, the Wañ Tuin⁸ *simā*, the] (l. 27) Tarhim⁹ [*simā*,] the Kareh¹⁰ *simā*, the Tar Kalah¹¹ *simā*, the Mbo' U ḍwot¹² *simā*, the Mbo' Rāt *simā*, the Twān Blāy¹³ *simā*, the [Moh Duñ]¹⁴ *simā*, [the Phaḍon¹⁵ *simā*, the Ma Ya Bña¹⁶ *simā*, the Jinai *simā*, the Pāñ] (l. 28) Kruñ Phāñ Nañ¹⁷ *simā*, the Dalam Tasāy¹⁸ *simā*, the Gatuim Phām¹⁹ *simā*, the Jray Pṣā²⁰ *simā*, the Tikā²¹ *simā*, the Kho *simā*, the Drañ Thār²² *simā*, the [Ma Mañ Sā]²³ *simā*, [the *simā*²⁴ to the West of the town of Muh Bī, the Mahā Mañ] (l. 29) Rāy Siñga²⁵ *simā*, the Pañ Lāy²⁶ *simā*, the Dun Jala²⁷ *simā*, the Wān Nāy²⁸ *simā*, the Truk Kanlaw²⁹ *simā*, the Mah Ta Jnu *simā*, the [Asek] *simā*, [the Galā Duñ³⁰ *simā*, the Muh Nāt³¹ *simā*, the Gayāñ] (l. 30) Taḍon³² *simā*, the Basah *simā*.

¹ *Duiw*, "hill"; and cf. l. 24, *supra*, n.

² *Twān*, "village." *Dhatek* may be L.M. *gatek*, "saw, club, mallet." It appears that there are two villages thus named.

³ "Light Basket" (L.M. *rau*, "a kind of basket made of open work; a football made of rattan wicker-work").

⁴ Possibly *Thayā*.

⁵ Perhaps L.M. *caluñ*, "to put on; the post to which an elephant is tied" (cf. l. 13, *supra*, n.).

But the reading is in doubt. The variant *khluñ* means "pond, lake; to go beyond."

⁶ *Gataḥ*, "to turn round or over; to turn back; to burst; thunder"; *pan*, "four; to shoot."

⁷ "Môn mustard plant (or radish)."

⁸ *Wañ*, "to cease; enclosure; pool"; *tuin*, "to ascend, to increase."

⁹ Perhaps *Karhim*. ¹⁰ Perhaps *Tareh*. ¹¹ "Whip, goad."

¹² *ḍwot* is L.M. *ḍot*, "small." For *mbo'* cf. l. 13, *supra*, n. ¹³ "Young Men's Village."

¹⁴ "Fringe of the Town" (unless *moh* in the MS. represents an original *mbo'*).

¹⁵ "To be weary." ¹⁶ *Ya*, "wax of the dammer-bee"; *bña*, "ricefield."

¹⁷ *Pāñ kruñ*, "mouth of stream (or creek)." The rest is a doubtful reading, and might be read *phām neñ* or *phām janañ*. *Phāñ* means "a raft" or "a beam fixed along the side of a boat";

phām, "a drum"; *nañ*, "to bring"; *neñ*, "a ḥn."

¹⁸ Perhaps *Kasāy*. Either way the meaning may be "fringe, border."

¹⁹ "Beat Drum." ²⁰ "Banyan Tree of the Market."

²¹ "Commentary" (on the Buddhist Scriptures). ²² "Golden Horn (or Peak)."

²³ As to *mañ*, cf. l. 23, *supra*, n.; *sā*, "to spread; to be light; borax; a following, a follower."

²⁴ Or "*simās*," for it is not clear whether this may not be intended to localize the names that follow.

²⁵ *Mahā*, "great." It seems not impossible that *mañ* here may represent *maṅgala*, "blessing" (but cf. l. 23, *supra*, n.). *Rāy* may mean "mustard, radish" (cf. l. 26, *supra*, n.).

²⁶ *Pañ*; "to lift up"; L.M. *lāai*, "to become loose; to be dissolved; line, streak; tiger grass."

²⁷ "Thorny bamboo." ²⁸ *Wān*, "dressed laterite"; L.M. *nāai*, "various; here and there."

²⁹ Or *Kruk Kanlaw* (as the MS. text seems to imply). The first word means "Chinese; mango."

³⁰ *Galā*, "Indian"; *ḍuñ*, "city, country."

³¹ *Muh*, "noise, point, end of cape"; *Nāt*, "to see."

³² *Taḍon* may be identical with the *Daḍon* of l. 24, *supra*.

At Syriam, the Twān Smīñ Cun Suin *simā*,¹ the Drāt² *simā*, the Hāñ³ *simā*, the Parhāk [Gatā]⁴ *simā*, [the Tapuin Pi Bañā⁵ *simā*, the Balāai Cah⁶ *simā*, the Pāñ] (l. 31) Gai⁷ *simā*, the Jray Cah⁸ *simā*, the Kyāk Taluy⁹ *simā*, the Rāy¹⁰ Khañ *simā*, the *simā* of the Minister Vijayasiha, the Lagwor Glu¹¹ *simā*, the Mba Samiñ¹² *simā*, [the Ma Dyon¹³ *simā*, the Jrai Lhoñ¹⁴ *simā*, the] (l. 32) Tamat Thana¹⁵ [*simā*,] the Hāñ¹⁶ Talun *simā*, the Croñ¹⁷ *simā*, the Gaḍuy¹⁸ *simā*, the Bañan¹⁹ *simā*, the Saggakām²⁰ *simā*, the Lat²¹ *simā*, the Mbuiñ Añi *simā*, the Saguim²² *simā*, the [Dhammadu] *simā*, [the Kamā Ma Soai²³ *simā*, the] (l. 33) Sro' Khyuit²⁴ [*simā*,] the Mah Lwān²⁵ *simā*, the Mah Chu Kwet²⁶ *simā*.

At Rangoon, the Mah Damru²⁷ *simā*, the Mah Dun²⁸ *simā*, the Rak²⁹ *simā*, the Duiw Canlan³⁰ *simā*, the Pubbā[rām]³¹ *simā*, [the Kyāk Ma Sām Kyow³² *simā*,] (l. 34) the Duiw Panah³³ *simā*, the Goh Dhammārām³⁴ *simā*, the Tak Nañ³⁵ *simā*, the Lāmbāt³⁶ *simā*, the Apa Gay *simā*, the Kyāk

¹ "Village of Prince Cun (variant Khun) Suin."

² "To scatter, to sow."

³ "To save." But possibly the true reading is Tāñ (cf. l. 21, *supra*, n.) or Thāñ (cf. l. 22, *supra*, n.).

⁴ Gatā, "the under part of anything."

⁵ "The Three Monks of the Prince" (P).

⁶ "Ten springs (or fountains)."

⁷ Pāñ, "mouth"; gai, "mortar, pounder; cucumber."

⁸ "Ten Banyan Trees."

⁹ "Otaheite Gooseberry."

¹⁰ Cf. Rāai (l. 26, *supra*, and note). Perhaps Khañ should be Khāñ.

¹¹ "Dark Grotto (or Cave, or Ravine)."

¹² Samiñ may mean "turban."

¹³ Possibly for dayuñ, "post."

¹⁴ Jrai, "banyan tree"; lhoñ, "to sail."

¹⁵ Perhaps "Touch the Lute." (But thana, L.M. *thaya*, may also mean "wall plate".)

¹⁶ Cf. l. 30, *supra*, n.

¹⁷ Perhaps "Built."

¹⁸ Possibly Gaḍay.

¹⁹ A doubtful reading: L.M. *bañan*, "kernel of nut." The variant *baran* of the MSS. means "spotted."

²⁰ Perhaps "Heavenly Delight."

²¹ "Fresh."

²² Perhaps "Warm" or "Warmth."

²³ Kamā, "tank."

²⁴ "Dead Rice (in the fields)."

²⁵ Mah is the same as muh (cf. l. 10, *supra*, n.); lwān may possibly be connected with L.M. *kawān*, "Martaban camphor wood" (but can hardly be the same word). Cf. also L. 13-14.

²⁶ Probably L.M. *chu kwit*, "wood apple."

²⁷ Perhaps L.M. *damru*, "a sound"; but the reading is not quite certain.

²⁸ "Bamboo Cape," or "Fringe of Bamboos."

²⁹ Or Rat (which may mean "floor beam; precious gem; to reap").

³⁰ Perhaps "Sandalwood Hill."

³¹ "Ancient (or Eastern) Park (or Monastery)."

³² Sām, "eunuch"; kyow, "to peep."

³³ "Jackfruit Hill."

³⁴ "Cave of one who delights in the Law" (or "of the Park (or Monastery) of the Law").

³⁵ Tak, "to strike"; nañ, "to bring" (the variant *nuñ* means "water pot").

³⁶ L.M. *lamāt*, "one of a religious order inferior to the monks (a person who separates himself from family life and pledges himself to keep the eight precepts)." This identification is not quite certain: cf. the form *lumbāc* in I E 15, which throws some doubt on it, perhaps. But medieval Mān spelling is very irregular and a confusion between *b* and *ḥ* (after *m*) seems possible.

Gnak¹ *simā*, the Nelu Lañ *simā*, the Dāñ Lu[in]² *simā*, [the Pāñ³ Taboñ *simā*, the] (l. 35) Twān Akhwon⁴ [*simā*,] the Balā *simā*, the Daroñ Sā *simā*, the Mañga *simā*, the Kruñ⁵ Cra *simā*, the Cambuiñ⁶ *simā*, the Duiw⁷ Khawēñ *simā*.

At Yat Khret⁸ Mah Smīñ, the [Badow Glam]⁹ *simā*, [the Jrai] (l. 36) Sum¹⁰ [*simā*,] the Tar Skem¹¹ *simā*, the Pāñ¹² *simā*, the Tko'¹³ Iñi *simā*, the Jray Nāguir¹⁴ *simā*, the Dapuin Brau¹⁵ *simā*.

At Tar,¹⁶ the Kyāk Rājādhīrāt *simā*, the Kyāk Thon *simā*, the [Wihā Smiñ Thar]¹⁷ *simā*, (l. 37) the Kyāk Gatuīw¹⁸ *simā*, the Damra' *simā*, the Amāt Jray¹⁹ *simā*.

At Jray, the Kamluīñ Tla²⁰ *simā*, the Jip Say *simā*, the Tar Sanāñ²¹ *simā*.

At Klon Palāy, the *simā* of the King²² [of Ceylon.] (l. 38) also [the *simā*] in the King²³ of Ceylon's creek, the Kyāk Mahecaram²⁴ *simā*.

At Lañkā Kruñ²⁵ Tāwappa,²⁶ the Kruñ²⁷ Brāt²⁸ *simā*, the Kruñ²⁹ Kawa³⁰ *simā*, the Kruñ Kamer *simā*.

At Sa[m]r[im],³¹ the] (l. 39) Tā Canāñ³² [*simā*,] the Gniñ³³ Lān³⁴ Twān Smiñ Sudasuim³⁵ *simā*, the Adin Adāñ *simā*, the Baleñ³⁶ *simā*, the Kyāk Brau³⁷ *simā*.

¹ Gnak means "to sink deep in the mire." But the reading is doubtful.

² Dāñ, "to jump"; luin, "to tread upon."

³ "Mouth."

⁴ Akhwon, "tax, revenue." As to *twān*, cf. l. 26, *supra*, n.

⁵ Kruñ, "stream, creek."

⁶ Perhaps Cambiñ.

⁷ "Hill."

⁸ This place-name is doubtful: see the text.

⁹ Glam, "chamber."

¹⁰ "Ficus Indica."

¹¹ Tar, "stalk, handle"; skem, "to grasp."

¹² Pāñ, "to ask leave respectfully; (in certain combinations) an expert in art or craft."

¹³ "Island."

¹⁴ "Banyan Tree of the Town" (but the reading is doubtful).

¹⁵ "Nun."

¹⁶ This place-name is doubtful: see the text.

¹⁷ "Monastery of the Golden Prince."

¹⁸ "Seat; board."

¹⁹ "Minister of the Banyan Tree."

²⁰ Kamluīñ, "well"; tla, "lord, master" (but this word may perhaps be read *hla*, "tiger," or *hlañ*, "hundred")

²¹ Perhaps L.M. *snāñ*, "star."

²² Or "Pahecaram."

²³ Or "Prince."

²⁴ Perhaps Thāwappa, or Kāwappa.

²⁵ "Stream, Creek."

²⁶ "Plantain, banana."

²⁷ Possibly Krañ.

²⁸ Or Samri.

²⁹ "Bat; short prop."

³⁰ Tā, "palmyra palm; a measure of length (= 7 cubits); to beckon to stop"; canāñ, "burning" (but the reading is doubtful).

³¹ "Side."

³² This is a doubtful reading, but the MS. variant *yāñ*, "vehicle," seems out of place here.

³³ "Village of Prince Sudasuim."

³⁴ "To go astray."

³⁵ Cf. l. 18, *supra*, n.

At Damkāk, the Amāt Ok¹ *simā*, the Sapā² *simā*, the Mba (l. 40) Buddhawā³ *simā*, the Lateñ⁴ *simā*.

At Dala, the Kyāk Gni⁵ *simā*, the Kuttī⁶ Kwon Prāk⁷ *simā*, the Kabāñ *simā*, the Mba Duiñ⁸ *simā*, the Phyeñ⁹ *simā*, the Twāñ Brāk¹⁰ *simā*, the Jañam *simā*, the Brañ Brau¹¹ *simā*, the (l. 41) Taba Pre *simā*, the Sarway¹² *simā*, the Apha Pañ *simā*, the Aḥat *simā*, the Gayāñ¹³ Tāk¹⁴ *simā*, the Amāt¹⁵ Tam Mrek¹⁶ *simā*, the Lañan¹⁷ *simā*, the Ḥak Sreñ¹⁸ *simā*, the Danday¹⁹ *simā*.²⁰

[At Lhuiñ,²¹ the Pāñ²² Lhuiñ²³ *simā*, the Pāñ²⁴ Mapha²⁵ *simā*.

At Dhanu Plu,²⁶ two *simās*²⁷: at Moriya, the Amāt Phāk²⁸ *simā*; in the place where His Majesty dwells, one *simā*,²⁹ the Kyāk Smin]

L

Mat [Pi³⁰ *simā*, two in all.³¹

At Klon, one *simā*, the³² Ramlāai Kyāk *simā*, the Smin Ñi Daw Dā³³

- ¹ Amāt, "minister"; ok may be a proper name (or possibly L.M. *dk*, "parent").
- ² Sapā, "the skate (fish); to be dim-sighted; (and in combination) arm, breast."
- ³ "Wednesday."
- ⁴ "Sinew, muscle."
- ⁵ "Rat; mouse."
- ⁶ Probably Pāli *kuṭṭi*, "hut, cell."
- ⁷ Perhaps L.M. *prāk*, "spotted, variegated."
- ⁸ "Heron, stork."
- ⁹ "To turn aside."
- ¹⁰ "Village of the Water-Dipper."
- ¹¹ Or Bra.
- ¹² Or Saray.
- ¹³ "Wood-oil Tree."
- ¹⁴ Or Tak.
- ¹⁵ Cf. l. 39, *supra*, n.
- ¹⁶ Mrek, "red pepper." As to tam, cf. l. 13, *supra*, n.
- ¹⁷ Perhaps cf. L.M. *lāu lān*, "lonely."
- ¹⁸ Perhaps L.M. *bak*, "to pass over" (but it may be *bāk*, "to hoe; to spin (as a top); to peck," or *bat*, "to measure; to be delicate." Sreñ means "to wither; a swinging cradle."
- ¹⁹ Or Danday, or Danay.
- ²⁰ Here ends Face K.
- ²¹ Or Luit (which may mean "bulb" but is here a place-name).
- ²² Cf. K 14 n.
- ²³ Or Mapa.
- ²⁴ Or Dapḍa Phlū.
- ²⁵ Presumably the two next following are meant.
- ²⁶ Presumably this last is a proper name: cf. l. 40, *supra*, n.
- ²⁷ The MSS. have *smin mwai*, "one prince," which I have taken to be an error for *sīm mwai*.
- ²⁸ "Prince with Three Eyes."
- ²⁹ I have taken this as referring back to the two *simās* mentioned after Dhanu Plu.
- ³⁰ The word *mwai* seems to be unnecessarily repeated here, and it is not clear why the preceding words *sīm mwai* occur at all, as the *simās* mentioned do in fact total up to six. But perhaps for Ramlāai we should read Ramlāk ("the *simā* overlooking the pagoda").
- ³¹ Ñi, "to be even, to agree"; daw, "to shut"; ḍā, "to be shallow."

simā, the Kyāk Tala Lok¹ *simā*,] (l. 2) the Kyāk Bay² Twan [*simā*],³ the [Ḥāk Leñ]⁴ *simā*, [the Smin Lok Wañ⁵ *simā*, total six.

At Bassein, the Kyāk⁶ *simā*, the Kyāk Gā⁷ *simā*,⁸ the Duiw Ñi⁹ Kāñ *simā*, the Kut Lyeñ Nāñ¹⁰ *simā*,] (l. 3) the Great Khwāy *simā*, the Small Khwāy *simā*, [the Kyāk Tma'¹¹ *simā*, the Kamā Ḥuip¹² *simā*, the Kyāk Kalay¹³ *simā*, the Muh Dhau Chāñ Lha¹⁴ *simā*, the Muh Dhau Gniñ Samuiñ¹⁵ *simā*,] (l. 4) the Great Catta¹⁶ Buiñ¹⁷ *simā*, the Small Catta¹⁸ Buiñ¹⁷ *simā*, [the Tamyā Sā¹⁹ *simā*, the Ka Prañ Drāai²⁰ *simā*, the Mañ Gañ Konāguim²¹ *simā*, the Mañ Ceh Da Khwañ²² *simā*,²³ the Pāñ Jakwam] (l. 5) Sā²⁴ *simā*, the Kruñ Māñ²⁵ *simā*, the Hāñ²⁶ Twon²⁷ *simā*, the Kyāk [Gatoñ] *simā*, [the

- ¹ Perhaps "Lord of the World."
- ² Perhaps L.M. *hai*, "a leguminous plant (pea, bean, etc.)"; the variant readings *mah*, *muh*, mean "nose, cape, fringe."
- ³ Twan, "straight"; the variant *tban* means "dried preserves."
- ⁴ As to *bāk*, cf. K 41 n.; *leñ* means "to perish, dissolution." The variant readings are *bāñ*, "to warm oneself; to give birth"; *lañ*, "to melt."
- ⁵ Lok and wañ may be proper names, or possibly L.M. *luik*, "world"; wañ, "to cease (of rain); enclosure, fence; pool."
- ⁶ "Buddha," etc. The variant *kyā* means "wind."
- ⁷ Gā, "a clog put upon the necks of criminals; a lineal measure."
- ⁸ The MS. reading is *smin*, which I have assumed to be an error for *sīm*, translating accordingly. Otherwise this and the preceding *simā* would be combined into one and the total number of *simās* at Bassein would be 24, and not 25 as stated at the end of l. 5, *infra*.
- ⁹ Duiw, "hill"; ñi, "a little (in quantity)."
- ¹⁰ Kut, "to cut off"; nāñ, "a bamboo frame over a cooking place" (the variant *nāk* means a Nāga).
- ¹¹ "Stone, rock, mountain."
- ¹² "Teal Duck Tank."
- ¹³ The variant *klai* means "a root resembling a yam."
- ¹⁴ Chāñ, "to love"; lha, "a leaf."
- ¹⁵ Gniñ, "shadow; jungle; the loins, the waist."
- ¹⁶ Or Cakka.
- ¹⁷ Buiñ, "a pickle condiment; a large species of deer."
- ¹⁸ Tamyā, "urine"; as to sā, cf. K 16 n.
- ¹⁹ Ka, "fish; short prop"; prañ, "to send; bank, slope"; drāai, "the porcine deer."
- ²⁰ As to mañ, cf. K 23 n.; gañ, "to be caught (of falling objects); an ape; the sea"; Konāguim is the Buddha Koṇāgamana.
- ²¹ As to mañ, cf. K 23 n.; ceh, "to descend."
- ²² As in l. 2, *supra*, I have taken *smin* to be an error for *sīm* here also.
- ²³ Pāñ, "mouth"; as to sā, cf. K 16 n.
- ²⁴ Perhaps "Potter's Creek" (but the MSS. have the variant *han*, which (in combination) means "rubbish."
- ²⁵ "To save" (but the word may perhaps be *hañ*, "stocks (for boat-building); granary," or *pāñ*, "mouth."
- ²⁶ Possibly for *kwon*, L.M. *kon*, "child."

Bāhāsā¹ *simā*, the Kawah Glau² *simā*, the Ganañ Duñ³ *simā*, the Jammunā⁴ *simā*, 25.]

(l. 6) At Mram,⁵ the Jamhañ *simā*, the Camā' *simā*, the Pāñ Glāk⁶ *simā*, the [Jrai Talāai]⁷ *simā*, [the Lān *simā*, the] (l. 7)⁸ [*simā*,] the [Japuiw] *simā*, [the Baleñ⁹ *simā*, the Kyāk Kanhiñ¹⁰ *simā*; created by laymen subsequently:]¹¹, ¹² the Danī¹³ Pajau¹⁴ *simā*, the Kyāk Bi¹⁵ Tagā *simā*, the Smiñ [Teja]¹⁶ *simā*, [7.

At] (l. 8) Koliya, the [Joñ Kyāk]¹⁷ Smiñ Lokatrā¹⁸ *simā*, the Joñ Kyāk¹⁷ [Mah Sga]r *simā*, the Dap Chu¹⁹ *simā*, the Tar²⁰ Mañ²¹ *simā*.

At Candapūri, the [Joñ Kyāk]¹⁷ (l. 9) Mbo'²² Mbak *simā*, the Mba Abat²³ *simā*, the *simā* of Prince Visukamma,²⁴ the Mba Mbuiy²⁵ Thāw *simā*, the [Ji]p Biw *simā*, the Dakā Bhut²⁶ *simā*, the Cau Kamñān *simā*,

¹ Probably for L.M. *bhāsā*, "a system of religion; language; a mode of practice."

² Glau, "ox, cow."

³ Duñ, "town, country."

⁴ Or Jamūnā. Perhaps this represents the name of the Jumna River (which is, however, Yamunā in Sanskrit and Pāli).

⁵ This is all that is clear on the stone, but the name may be Mrim, or perhaps Samrim (the MSS. have Samriñ). In K 38 there is mention of a place with a somewhat similar (or the same) name.

⁶ Pāñ, "mouth," and perhaps *khalāk*, "valley, bay" (*glāk*, "to take out with the hand," does not seem appropriate).

⁷ "Drooping Banyan Tree."

⁸ It is not certain whether there should be here a place-name or the name of a *simā*. The reading on the stone is fragmentary and rather doubtful, but what there is of it cannot well be reconciled with the MS. text.

⁹ "To go astray."

¹⁰ "Bell."

¹¹ This reads rather like an interpolation. Anyway, the total 7 given in the next line does not square with the items mentioned, and there is something on the stone here which does not tally with the MS. text.

¹² For the unintelligible passage here, see the text.

¹³ Cf. K 24 n.

¹⁴ "Small Bottle," or "Bengal Quince."

¹⁵ "Foot of Buddha (or pagoda, etc.)."

¹⁶ The reading is doubtful. It might be Lok Trā (perhaps a proper name of a prince, *smiñ*). The MS. reading is Lok Phrāai.

¹⁷ "Wooden Fence."

¹⁸ Or possibly Tan, as to which cf. K 24 n. Tar, L.M. *taw*, "stalk, handle; side."

¹⁹ Cf. K 23 n. But L.M. *taw mhan* means "penholder."

²⁰ There seems to be an illegible letter here.

²¹ Perhaps Abak. The MS. text seems to have got the name of this, or the preceding, *simā* twice over, with variations.

²² Visvakarman, the celestial architect.

²³ Mbuiy may mean "lady." The next word is doubtfully read but may be the name of Bañā Thau, the mother-in-law and immediate predecessor of Dhammaceti.

²⁴ "Temple Founder"; *dakā*, "lay (benefactor)"; *bhut*, "temple containing images."

the Garok Ga[puiw]¹ *simā*, the [Mak] (l. 10) . . kana² *simā*, the Lamba Pham³ *simā*, the Tar Kwan⁴ *simā*, the Mba Lau⁵ *simā*, the Twān Bar⁶ Mah *simā*.

At Satoñ,⁷ the Joñ Kyāk⁸ Sawa *simā*, the Pāñ⁹ Sawa *simā*, the Caḍok¹⁰ *simā*, the [Juiñ] (l. 11) Kyāk⁸ T¹¹ *simā*, the Low¹² Kyāk [Asaḥ] *simā*, the Twān Sagra¹³ Nañah *simā*, the Joñ Kyāk⁸ Celāsa *simā*, the Twān Mbuiy Dewī¹⁴ *simā*, the Twān Adan ḍwot¹⁵ *simā*, the [Kyāk Gahassa]¹⁶ (l. 12) Tow¹⁷ *simā*, the Kyāk Bantajī *simā*, the Kyāk Sura Nan *simā*, the Kyāk Lin Lūañ¹⁸ *simā*, the Pāñ Ablū *simā*, the Pareñ Gak¹⁹ *simā*, the Kyāk Gapāt²⁰ *simā*, the Bi²¹ [Khatā] *simā*, (l. 13) the Asām²² Calañ *simā*, the Crep *simā*, the Danlay Smiñ²³ *simā*, the *simā*²⁴ of the town of Tuik Galā,²⁵ the [Twān Sa]bra Samāñ *simā*,²⁶ the Twān Smiñ Bruim²⁷ *simā*, the Mañ Cammha²⁸ *simā*, the Jak Ri²⁹ *simā*, the *simā*³⁰ of the town of Lw[ān], (l. 14)

¹ Garok, "hollow between hills, pass"; *gapuiw*, "lime, chalk."

² The first letter in this line looks more like *ī* than anything else.

³ "Hunter of the Drum" (unless the second word is his name).

⁴ Or possibly Kun (which means "hill"). As to *tar*, cf. l. 8, *supra*, n.; *kwan* might be a variant spelling for *kwon*, "child," or *twān*, "village," or else some unidentified word.

⁵ "Arrow" or possibly "Lao," the name of a Tai race in Northern Siam.

⁶ Or Bari.

⁷ Presumably Sittang.

⁸ Cf. l. 8, *supra*, n.

⁹ "Mouth."

¹⁰ Possibly L.M. *khaḍok*, "the four-toothed porcupine." It is just possible that that is also the actual reading.

¹¹ The MS. variant Tā cannot fill the whole of the blurred space here.

¹² Doubtful reading. The MSS. have *juiñ*, which presupposes an original *joñ*, but I cannot see it. Asaḥ was the name of an early Mōn king.

¹³ Twān, "village"; *sagra*, "sugar."

¹⁴ Cf. l. 9, *supra*, n. Dewī (Sanskrit and Pāli *devī*, "goddess, queen") may be used as a proper name here.

¹⁵ A possible reading is Bhadan. ḍwot means "small."

¹⁶ This MS. reading does not appear to be consistent with the corresponding (but indecipherable) marks on the stone.

¹⁷ "Cotton." But the reading is doubtful. If the word is *ton*, it may mean "castor-oil plant; a circumstance" or may be the L.M. *tuiñ*, "a measure of distance (two and a third miles); post; a kind of basket."

¹⁸ Very doubtful reading. See the text for a possible variant.

¹⁹ Very doubtful: see the text.

²⁰ Cf. l. 17, *supra*, n.

²¹ Or Gahat.

²² Perhaps L.M. *asām* (or *arhām*), "enclosure in which a Buddhist temple stands." The next word may conceivably be read *calāñ*, "pinnacle."

²³ Or "simās."

²⁴ Smiñ, "king, prince, governor."

²⁵ Cf. A 7, 14.

²⁶ The stone wrongly has *smim* (for *sim*) here. Twān means "village."

²⁷ "King Brahma's Village." Or Cam Mha; or the *h* might be read as a *k*.

²⁸ Jak, "to drag"; *ri*, "pestle; axle." The MS. variant *juk* means "cord."

the Pāñ Ja[rā]m Lwān¹ *simā*, the Mbo' Buiñ² *simā*, the Mrik Tasum *simā*, [the Kyāk Goh Crañ Kruñ] Ahet³ [*simā*], the Mah Sreñ⁴ *simā*, the Lagan⁵ Phen *simā*, the Tā'⁶ Ga⁷ *simā*.

At [Yañ] (l. 15) Jim,⁸ the Gawampati [Sadhuim *simā*],⁹ the Joñ Kyāk¹⁰ Blañ Nāk¹¹ *simā*.

At Moulmein, the Pāñ Tarañ Sablu¹² *simā*, the *simā* of the leading monks of Ceylon, the Gayāñ Tamhāk¹³ *simā*, 3, the *simā*¹⁴ [at Grāñ, the Smiñ] (l. 16) Siñghanikāy¹⁵ [*simā*], 2.

At Carot, the Joñ Kyāk Gam-i¹⁶ *simā*, the Klo' Drow¹⁷ *simā*, the Mrañ Juiñ¹⁸ *simā*, 3.

At Jrā, the Cadim¹⁹ Samāñ *simā*, the Twān Caladhi²⁰ *simā*, [2.

At Martaban, the Tala²¹ Nañ Men *simā*,] (l. 17) the Celā Sadhuim²² *simā*, the Thān Smiñ Gra Slañ²³ *simā*, the Tka' Careñ²⁴ *simā*, the Nī Dāñ Cān Saruñ²⁵ *simā*, the Great Tabāñ²⁶ *simā*, the Krāy²⁷ Ba [Sren Sa Plañ]²⁸ *simā*, [the Cau Hān Ruiñ²⁹ Danya³⁰ *simā*, the Rāai³¹ Jā]m [*simā*], (l. 18)

¹ "Mouth of the granary of Lwān."

² Perhaps L.M. *buiñ*, "elephant grass; to surround."

³ Pagoda of the Cave of the Bank of the Ahet Stream."

⁴ Cf. K 41 n.

⁵ Perhaps L.M. *laggan*, "love." Cf. K 25.

⁶ Or Kā'.

⁷ Or Nim.

⁸ Cf. l. 8, *supra*, n.

⁹ "Mouth of the Betel-leaf Gate."

¹⁰ Or possibly Tamhāk, in which case the two words would mean "Crooked Wood-oil Tree."

¹¹ Or "simās."

¹² "Prince of the Ceylon sect," or "Royal *simā* of the Ceylon sect."

¹³ Cf. l. 8, *supra*, n.; *gam-i* means "monk."

¹⁴ *Klo'*, "garden" (or the possible reading *tko'*, "island"). *Drow* may be read *Dron*. Both these variants are supported by the MS. text.

¹⁵ *Juiñ*, "foot" (but our text usually spells *joñ*).

¹⁶ Or Cadip; or the Ca may be Cau.

¹⁷ The final vowel may be *ā*; and it is possible that the *dh* may be meant for a *g*.

¹⁸ "Lord, master."

¹⁹ Thatñ.

²⁰ *Thān*, "place"; *smiñ*, "king, prince." The rest may be proper names, but *slañ* means "to be dazed." The variant reading *sluñ* means "high, exalted."

²¹ Or Cagañ. *Tka'* means "island." The MS. reading *cāñ* means "fowl."

²² *Nī*, "even, to agree"; *dāñ*, "to leap"; *cāñ* may be connected with L.M. *gacāñ*, "to put forth effort"; *saruñ*, "to step over" (but the possible reading *sarañ* means "deed").

²³ Or Tabāñ.

²⁴ Or Trāy.

²⁵ *Plañ* may mean "to melt," but also "couch, throne."

²⁶ *Cau*, "grandchild; to return"; *hāñ*, "company"; *ruiñ*, "to help."

²⁷ Or Dapya, which seems improbable.

²⁸ "Mustard plant; radish."

the Kyāk Mrah¹ *simā*, the Dana [Wāai]² *simā*, the Sañgha Jādappa³ *simā*, the Mah⁴ Anāw *simā*, the Truin *simā*, 4; the Trer *simā*, the [Muh⁴ Hot] *simā*,⁵ [the Karuñ⁶ *simā*, the Jayagiri⁷ *simā*, the Ple *simā*, the Plā⁸ Lāt *simā*, the Sū⁹ *simā*.]¹⁰

[Two¹¹ thousand and twenty years having elapsed after the year when the Lord of Merit, the exalted Buddha Sakyamuni, achieved *parinirvāṇa*, in the year 838 of the Common Era, on the eighth of the waxing (half) of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa, the day (being) Sunday, the Kalyāṇisimā was consecrated¹²; and in due order the clergy who were desirous of receiving the *upasampadā* ordination of the Sinhalese went (and) received (it) successively. At that time His Majesty Rāmādhipati-srīparamamahārājādhīrāt reflected in this wise:

"Inasmuch as these our lords who crossed over to the island of Ceylon received the *upasampadā* ordination on the Kalyāṇī (river), the *simā* that]

M

[our lords consecrated has likewise been styled the Kalyāṇisimā] and given [(that) name; (so,) in front of this Kalyāṇisimā, it is fitting that we should build a *cetiya* like unto the Kalyāṇī-cetiyas¹³ of the island of Ceylon and] (l. 2) call it the Kalyāṇī-cetiya and [give it (that) name. We will (also)

¹ "Famed, approved, praised."

² *Wāai*, "manure."

³ *Sañgha*, "monastic community." The next word is unexplained and rather doubtful. The MSS. get over the difficulty by reading *sañgharājā*, etc. This would refer to some head of the Order. But I cannot see it on the stone, though the final stroke of the *gh* is curved so as to resemble *r* somewhat.

⁴ "Nose; cape; fringe."

⁵ Here ends our rubbing of Face L.

⁶ Variant *Ka' Rūai*.

⁷ "Victory Hill."

⁸ "A large kind of horse-fly."

⁹ "To measure."

¹⁰ Here ends the first of the appendices.

¹¹ Here begins the second appendix in the MS. text.

¹² Sunday, 24th November 1476. Cf. G 19 n.

It seems doubtful whether this should be plural. The MS. text of this passage, as shown by a comparison with the stone fragment that follows, is not free from corruption.

have a Bodhi tree planted and call it the Kalyāṇī Bodhi and give it (that) name. If we can thus arrange (matters),] (l. 3) all the clergy [who come to perform their functions (and) ceremonies in this *simā* will be able to venerate (and) adore this *cetiya*; and all the clergy who are possessed] (l. 4) of faith will be able to venerate (and) adore [this¹ Bodhi (tree).]"

(l. 5) His Majesty Rāmādhīpati having reflected [in this wise, in the year 839 of the Common Era, beginning with the month of Bhādrapada,]² His Majesty Rāmādhīpati ordered [a minister named Krāai Kamāñ,³ who was chief among] (l. 6) the children of His Highness⁴ Bāñā Rām, [to have a site prepared for the establishment of] the *cetiya*, (and) [Rā]ja Mindhāt, who was chief among [the children of His Highness⁴ Bañā U, (and) Lak Woai, who] (l. 7) was chief among the children of His Highness⁴ [Bañā Barow,] to have a site prepared for planting the Bodhi (tree).

(l. 8) Having [in due course] prepared the site where the Bodhi (tree) was to be planted and having constructed the *ṭlañ*⁵ where the Bodhi (tree) was to be planted, they [plastered (it with) cement (and)] decorated (it). The site where the *cetiya* was to be built [they] likewise [in due course built up.] (l. 9) When the time arrived for setting up the relic chamber, (they) constructed the relic chamber and [plastered] (it with) cement, hewed (and) carved (it), applied gold (and) silver, (and) decorated (it). [Having] thus [made (it), upon the site of the *cetiya*,] (l. 10) in the middle (they) made a great building in tiers. Around it, for the clergy together with the laity, men and women, [to be, (they) made steps] (l. 11) going all around (it). The outside of the *gati*⁶ (they) covered all over with *nibā*⁷; throughout the inside of the *gati*⁶ (they) hung white cloth. [Having] thus prepared

¹ The MS. text here inserts "*cetiya* (and)," which seems otiose but may nevertheless be right.

² The sixth month of the lunar year, which in this particular year ran from Saturday, 9th August, to Sunday, 7th September, 1477.

³ Or Gamāñ.

⁴ The same term is used as that which I have elsewhere rendered by "His Majesty." Apparently it could be used of other princes (unless these were all deceased kings).

⁵ This word usually means "side," which does not seem very much in point here. The MS. copyists seem to have thought so too and substituted a word meaning "altar," which is inconsistent with the reading on the stone.

⁶ This word (which has a variety of meanings connected with the idea of "going") seems to denote here some kind of gangway or passage. Perhaps it was a kind of grand stand for the accommodation of the public at the ceremony that was to take place.

⁷ Precise meaning unknown; it may be some kind of cloth. This seems to have been the copyist's view as he inserts *yāf* before it. Cf. J 2 n.

(it), [in the middle of the place] (l. 12) where the holy relic was to be set, (they) constructed a two-fold¹ chamber, and decorated the chamber with fitting workmanship as seemed good (to them). (With) jasmine flowers which they fashioned with cotton,² [(they) decorated (it); (with)] (l. 13) copper³ [flowers] (they) also decorated (it); yak's tail fans (they) likewise hung [up as ornaments]. Outside the two-fold¹ chamber, all the pillars [were wrapped in cloth (and thus)] (l. 14) adorned; and in the former fashion⁴ (with) jasmine flowers which they fashioned with cotton⁵ (they) decorated (them) all round, hanging (the flowers) around in many rows. (l. 15) Around the chamber (were) watering pots, one row; hanging lamps⁶ (and) lamps⁶ set around,⁷ one row; (and) tapers,⁸ one row; thus (did they) adorn (it) all.

(At) the place where (l. 16) (they) were to plant the Bodhi (tree), (they) constructed a pavilion (and) hung (it)⁹ inside (and) outside, (and) hung up [strings¹⁰ of yak's tail fans,] (by way of) adorning it. (At) the place where His Majesty Rāmādhīpati (l. 17) together with the ministers (and) chiefs of the army, (and) all the retinue were to be, in order to hold the festival [of the dressing]¹¹ of the relic of the exalted Buddha, (they) constructed [a great] pavilion.

¹ I imagine the chamber had a double layer of walls, inner and outer.

² There are two words here as to which there is some doubt, and which recur in l. 14, *infra*. The first one seems to be *bat*, of which the only recorded meanings are "adhesiveness" and "likeness." I have taken it to mean "imitated." The other word is a doubtful reading. I have taken it to be *twow*, L.M. *tow*, "cotton." But if it is to be read *kwow*, it might possibly be L.M. *kaw*, "glue," and the phrase might mean "stuck on with glue." It has also been suggested that it may be L.M. *kwuñw*, in the sense of "chisel," though its usual meaning is "spade" or some such digging implement.

³ The reading is almost certain and before it there is a trace of the word *phau*, "flower." The latter is supported by the MSS., which however omit the word for "copper."

⁴ Presumably this means with the same scheme of decoration as described in l. 12, *supra*; but it might perhaps mean in antique fashion.

⁵ Cf. l. 12, *supra*, n.

⁶ The word also means "candles, tapers."

⁷ Doubtful reading and meaning: possibly we might take it for a variant of L.M. *dalān*, and translate "altar candles."

⁸ This word also means "presents for the monks, arranged in the form of a cone or pyramid."

⁹ Presumably with cloth, as in l. 11, *supra*.

¹⁰ Reading *juk*: the first letter seems to be *j* on the stone, and the MS. *muk* supplies the rest of the word.

¹¹ This does not seem a very appropriate meaning, but is the only one recorded for the *salom* of the MS. text. One would have expected some word meaning "to enshrine," and the word may be an error for *salaw*.

(l. 18) (When they had) thus constructed (the necessary buildings), (then) on Wednesday, the day preceding the holy day,¹ the relic,² image, [and the Bodhi (tree) that was to be planted,] were placed (and) arranged for all the [Wañ Jatañ?] ³princes, (l. 19) ministers (and) chiefs of the army, according to their order of walking in procession (in) conveying the relic, image, (and) Bodhi (tree); (and) the chiefs of the army were informed. (l. 20) Early in the morning of Thursday,⁴ His Majesty Rāmādhpati [together with all his retinue] set out (and) came down⁵ and occupied the pavilion (l. 21) which had been built. His Majesty having thus come down,⁵ all the sons of His Majesty (and) all [the daughters of His Majesty,] together with all the Wañ (l. 22) Jatañ ⁶princes, ministers, (and) generals,⁷ with the glory (and) splendour of a great festival,⁸ [came down⁵ (and) conveyed] the relic together with the image (and) the Bodhi ficus.

[(At) the time] (l. 23) of the arrival of the relic, image, (and) Bodhi (tree), the relic (and) image were set up [at the place (where)] the relic of the exalted Buddha [was to be put;] (and) the Bodhi (tree) (l. 24) was placed [in] the chamber where the Bodhi (tree) was to be set. When (they) [had] thus placed the relic (and) the Bodhi tree, there was a festival, including ⁹dancing girls, Indian¹⁰ dancers, (l. 25) men making a display with shields (and) daggers, men doing sword play,¹¹ men fencing¹² (with) staves, wielding ¹³ , (who) gave a display. (When they) had been made

¹ One of the four holy days of the lunar month. It appears from l. 26, *infra*, that the particular holy day of which this was the eve was the full-moon day, which latter fell on a Thursday. As no month is mentioned, one cannot be quite certain of the date; but the first month that fulfils the conditions is Mārgasīrṣa, and probably this Wednesday was Wednesday, 19th November 1477.

² Cf. § 78.

³ Here in the MS. text are two words which probably ought to be read *wañ jatañ* (or *jataw*) and presumably denote some rank or office; cf. ll. 21-22, *infra*. I have taken these two words as qualifying *smiñ*.

⁴ Probably Thursday, 20th November 1477. Cf. l. 18, *supra*, n.

⁵ *I.e.* left the town and went to the place where all these preparations had been made.

⁶ Doubtful reading. Cf. l. 18, *supra*, n.

⁷ Cf. l. 19, *supra*, and H 36 n.

⁸ Cf. F 46 n. The meaning of *klah* is "distinct." It presumably merely qualifies *jñok*.

⁹ Literally, "which began with."

¹⁰ L.M. *galā*, primarily the people of the part of Bengal known as Gaur (Sanskrit *Gauḍa*, Pāli *Gōḷa*, cf. A 8 n.), but nowadays defined as "a native of any country west of Burma." The Burmese equivalent *kulā*: seems to be derived from the Mōn form of the word.

¹¹ The meaning is doubtful. It seems possible that the first word, doubtfully read *sare*, is derived from the Burmese word for "soldier" (cf. L.M. *sarāi pñān*, "soldier"); the second one means "to move lengthwise, to throw (as a spear)." The two together may be descriptive of some kind of military display or evolution.

¹² Literally, "striking."
¹³ The meaning depends on what follows and there is here a *lacuna*. If the MS. text can be trusted we must substitute "wrestling" for "wielding," but unfortunately it is clear that this text omits part of the original, and it may have introduced extraneous matter.

to give a display, (and) the sun had declined, His Majesty having arranged (for men) (l. 26) to guard the relic, His Majesty returned home.¹

(On) the first of the waning (half of the month), the day (being) Friday, at that time,² His Majesty came down³ (and) arrived at the place of the pavilion⁴ again. Having invited (l. 27) the fifty teachers of the Order, (he) provided (them) with food (and) gave⁵ (them) such gifts as (were) fitting to be given as charitable offerings: (to each one) two cloth mats,⁶ red pepper, (and) areca-nuts.⁷ His (l. 28) Majesty, having given (these as) gifts, caused the festival, which included⁸ dancing girls, to proceed. In the afternoon, His Majesty Rāmādhpati, together with (his) family (and) kinsfolk (and) (l. 29) all (his) retinue, went up to the relic chamber. Then (having) set up a stand⁹ (and) cushion hemmed [with gold,]¹⁰ and having set a white umbrella over it, (they)¹¹ installed the relic (and) image (l. 30) upon the stand.⁹ The "ablution of a thousand streams" was performed over the relic; the eight Brahmins, holding right-voluted¹² conch-shells adorned with gold, adorned with silver, (l. 31) and adorned with gems, as though pouring the ablution on a king receiving the royal anointment,¹³ similarly poured ablution in the ceremony of "a thousand streams," and performed the royal anointment¹³ on the relic (and) (l. 32) image.

When this had been done, eight teachers of the Order had to recite the solemn verse [being] the mental ejaculation called *anekajāti saṃsāram* and

¹ Literally, "went up." Cf. the use of the correlative *cuih*, "to come down," in ll. 20, 21, 26.

² These words are doubtful, but the alternative "early in the morning" given in the MS. text seems to be inconsistent with the few traces of letters visible on the stone. The date was probably Friday, 21st November 1477. Cf. l. 18, *supra*, n.

³ Cf. l. 21, *supra*, n.

⁴ The one mentioned in ll. 17, 20, *supra*.

⁵ It is not clear why this word should be in the form *skuiw* (which usually gives a future or potential shade of meaning) instead of the ordinary *kuiw*. It may be simply an error of the draftsman or the engraver; the MS. text has altered it to *kutw*.

⁶ Or "cloths (and) mats," or "robes (and) mats." Cf. F 46, H 38, J 24, N (in the conclusion, after l. 28).

⁷ The objects mentioned are probably to be regarded as the grammatical objects of the verb "having given" in the following line, but in order to keep as far as possible to the original order, I have split up the phrase

⁸ Cf. l. 24, *supra*, n.

⁹ Or "couch, seat, board."

¹⁰ Cf. H 39 n., N 13. Perhaps it was a hemmed mat of cloth of gold.

¹¹ No subject is mentioned. It may conceivably have been the king himself, the person last mentioned.

¹² Cf. IX A 41 n. The term there is Pāli, while here the same thing is expressed in Mōn words.

¹³ Sanskrit *abhiṣeka*, literally "sprinkling." It might be better to render it by "royal lustration," but the ceremony corresponds with the anointment practised at the coronation of European kings.

the solemn verse being the verbal¹ (l. 33) ejaculation called *yadā have pātubhavanti dhammā*.² Having had (these) recited, (the king)³ caused the drums to be beaten (and) shouts to be raised (by the assembled multitude). When this had been done, at the time when Pisces was *lagna*⁴ (l. 34) (they)⁵ installed the relic (and) image in the relic chamber. Having installed the relic, all around the relic (and) image, statues of the two Chief Disciples⁶ (and) the (l. 35) eighty Great Disciples, statues of thirteen female Arhats who had attained pre-eminence, statues of eleven male devotees who had attained pre-eminence, statues of ten female devotees who had attained pre-eminence, a statue of the mother of the exalted (l. 36) Buddha, a statue of the father of the exalted Buddha, in all one hundred (and) eighteen statues, which were cast in brass and overlaid with gold, were arranged all around. (l. 37) Having ceremonially burnt⁷ candles, (they) ceremonially scattered⁸⁹ perfumes; and when (that) had been (done), (they) closed the mouth of the doorway¹⁰ with a very big flat stone, which (they) overlaid (with) bricks. Having overlaid (it with) (l. 38) bricks, (they) roofed (it with) a five-fold vault. As for the Bodhi (tree), (they) planted (it) at the time when Pisces (was) *lagna*¹¹; (they) put (it) down in the hole and (l. 39) planted (it).

Then (they) set up umbrellas (and) streamers,¹² burnt candles, poured libations with¹³ perfumed water, (and) set small pagodas around.¹⁴

¹ Very doubtful reading; the MS. text omits it altogether.

² These two Pāli phrases are the beginnings of solemn utterances attributed to Buddha himself immediately after his attainment of supreme wisdom. (Cf. *Dhammapāda*, XI (*Farāvagga*), and Commentary; *Vinayapiṭaka*, *Mahāvagga*, I, 1.)

³ Though there is no subject expressed, the verb *kūtu*, "caused," implies one, and presumably it would be the king, as he promoted the whole affair.

⁴ That is, tangential with the eastern horizon. Cf. IX A 12 tr. n.

⁵ Cf. l. 29, *supra*, n.

⁶ Sāriputta and Moggallāna.

⁷ Or, literally, "burnt (and) offered."

⁸ Or "scattered (and) offered."

⁹ The meaning of *jar* (or *majar*) is undetermined. It might possibly be "liquid," but this would be inappropriate, because superfluous, in the context of l. 39, *infra*.

¹⁰ The entrance to the relic chamber. I take this to have been at the top, not at the side, and that the flat stone was laid on the top of it, and over it a five-layered vaulting of brickwork.

¹¹ Cf. l. 33, *supra*, n.

¹² The foregoing nouns may be in the singular.

¹³ Cf. l. 37, *supra*, n.

¹⁴ L.M. *tanret ben* are small pagodas built on the base of a large one. Here ends Face M, concluding the second appendix.

[(From)¹ the year 839 to the year 841² of the Common Era, His Majesty Rāmādhpati sent word to the dwelling-places³ of *sāmañeras* desirous of the *upasampadā* ordination, (as follows): "In accordance with the ordinance⁴ which we communicated to our lords as to the proper course of instruction, let (our) lords promote (such) studies and report to us: (then) we will cause the *sāmañeras* to receive the *upasampadā* ordination in the Kalyāṇī(simā)." Thus saying, His Majesty Rāmādhpati sent word.

When the year 841 of the Common Era arrived, the *sāmañeras* having studied in accordance with what it was proper that they should study, including⁵ the Khuddhasikkhā (and) the Pāṭimokkhā, the whole company⁶ came (and) informed His Majesty Rāmādhpati. Then His Majesty caused the *sāmañeras* to be called together (and) made (them) recite; (and) when His Majesty had heard the *sāmañeras* recite, there being six hundred (and) one⁷ who were able to recite correctly, (he) caused six halls to be built within the Kalyāṇīsimā (as) lodgings suitable for the six hundred (and) one *sāmañeras* to lodge in, (and) had (them) hung (with) awnings. For the 50⁸ leading monks who were to confer the *upasampadā* ordination on the six hundred (and) one *sāmañeras*, (he) had lodgings built and curtains hung, while within the Kalyāṇīsimā (he) had curtains set all around (and) mats spread throughout, and around the Kalyāṇīsimā, for all the people who were to be there (he) had pavilions⁹ built, cloth hung, curtains set all around, (and) mats spread throughout.

In the pavilion where His Majesty was to stay together with his retinue to celebrate the festival of the 601 *sāmañeras* who were to receive the

¹ Here begins the third appendix in the MS. text.

² 1477-78 to 1479-80 A.D.

³ Literally, "places."

⁴ Cf. the passage between our Faces H and J, J 1, 5-10.

⁵ Literally, "beginning with."

⁶ The reading *satta* seems to be corrupt. In the E.M. inscriptions it occurs (V 43, 44) in the sense of "creatures, sentient beings," but in M.M. this would be archaic, probably, and it does not seem to fit the context very well. It would be possible to read *sat=ta*, but that gives a similar sense. I have assumed that it stands for *sattha* (Pāli *sattho*, "troop") which I have not, however, found recorded as a Môn word.

⁷ Cf. J 25, of which this whole appendix is in effect an expansion (§ 79).

⁸ MS. A wrongly has 5.

⁹ I do not know the meaning of *dasām*. It seems not impossible that this is an error for *asām*, which word appears to owe its origin to a confusion between Sanskrit *āśrama*, "hermitage," and *ārāma*, "pleasure garden, park," Pāli *ārāmo*, especially (in the latter language) as a place for religious gatherings, and even a monastery. Cf. L 13.

upasampadā ordination, (he) had curtains (and) awnings hung (and) mats spread. Having made these preparations, (he) caused the 50 leading monks who were to confer the *upasampadā* ordination on the 601 *sāmaṇeras*, to be invited: the number of these monks who had come back from Ceylon was 17, (namely) the leading monk Saddhamma, 1; Dhammakitti, 1; the leading monk Tilokagaru, 1; the leading monk Parakkamabāhu, 1; Maṅgalathera, 1; the leading monk Buddhaghosā, 1; the leading monk Guṇarataṇadhara, 1; the leading monk Nerataṇalaṅkāra, 1; the leading monk Taratanamāli, 1; the leading monk Saddhammateja, 1; Dhammarāmasamī, 1; Mahādevathera, 1; Culābhayatisathera, 1; Nāṇapaṇḍitamahāthera, 1; Vijayabāhupaṇḍicaparivenamahāthera, 1; Sirilaṅkāguṇavutti, 1; Sirilaṅkābuddhathera¹: total of those who returned from Ceylon, 17. Then our lords the leading clergy of Pegu: the leading monk Udummara²; the leading monk Srirāmarājaguru; the leading monk Buddhadivākara³; the leading monk Rataṇagiri; the leading monk Saddhammarājaguru; the leading monk Saddhammadhara; the leading monk Suvāṇṇapaduma; the leading monk Tipitakadhara⁴; the leading monk Anumadassī; the leading monk Dhammarājika; the leading monk Sāmantapāsādika; the leading monk Saddhammavijaya; total 15⁵ of our lords of Pegu. Then again the forest]

N

dwellers⁶: the Saṅgharāja⁷ [Sammaṇa; the leading monk Lamuñjusa⁸; Vinayapajjota; the leading monk Saddhammavijayasenaṇapati; the leading monk Passaṇ; the leading monk Sivali; the leading monk] (l. 2) La⁹; the leading monk Saddhammapajjota; the leading monk [Silapajjota; the leading

¹ The MS. text has *°buddhalo*, which I take to be a copyist's error for *°buddhathe*. For variant (and in some cases more correct) forms of some of these names, cf. F 5-13, 34-41, and the section between F and G.

² Or Dudummara.

³ Or Buddhaditakara.

⁴ Here MS. B inserts "the leading monk Ra," which can hardly be his whole name, unless it is a Mōn name (not Pāli like the others).

⁵ There are actually only 12 names (besides the one given in the last note), so the copyists have evidently dropped some.

⁶ Monks leading a secluded life in the forest. Cf. J 21.

⁷ Chief of the Order in a country, or some part of it. Cf. H 3, 4 (MS. text and tr.).

⁸ Or Lamuñjasa.

⁹ This name is also a suspiciously short one.

monk Saddhammavilāsa; the Mahāthera Uttamhā; the leading monk Saddhammasiri; the leading monk Dhammadassī; the leading] (l. 3) monk Piyadassī; the leading monk Sāsanapajjota; the leading monk [Aṅgulimhā; the leading monk Guṇasāgara: ,¹ total eighteen.

Having thus invited] (l. 4) fifty teachers of the Order, on Wednesday, which was the day preceding the full-moon (day) of Phālguna,² [(the king) entrusted all the *sāmaṇeras* to the charge of leading nobles³ including ministers (and)] (l. 5) generals,⁴ (and) caused (them) all to change (their) status.⁵ One hundred *sāmaṇeras* (he) entrusted to Prince Bra Saṁ Deñ⁶ [to prepare; one hundred *sāmaṇeras* (he) entrusted to Prince Sāṁ Trāy⁷ to prepare;] (l. 6) one hundred *sāmaṇeras* (he) entrusted to Prince Wañ⁸ Cakkawāde to prepare; one hundred *sāmaṇeras* (he) entrusted to Prince [Wañ⁸ Cau Nūrasīñ⁹ to prepare; one hundred *sāmaṇeras* (he) entrusted to Cau Mhārāt]¹⁰ (l. 7) to prepare; one hundred (and) one *sāmaṇeras* (he) entrusted to Prince Wañ⁸ Āy Gām Bin to prepare.

The requisites [to be given to the 601 *sāmaṇeras* (namely) six] (l. 8) hundred (and) one sets [of monastic robes,] six hundred (and) one alms-bowls, six hundred (and) one umbrellas, six hundred (and) one staves, [601 paper] fans, [601 hemmed mats,]¹¹ (l. 9) six hundred (and) one boxes for areca-nuts¹² together with bottles of lime, areca-nut slicers, knives, spoons, (and) napkins, (were) counted out (and) given to these leading nobles [who were preparing (the *sāmaṇeras*).

His Majesty having made these arrangements,] (l. 10) (on) the holy day of the full moon of the month of Phālguna, the day (being) Thursday,¹³ early in the morning, His Majesty [came down and went to stay to the

¹ I do not know the sense of *buin* (variant *buit*) *lgan*. Unless it represents the name of an individual monk, there is one name missing in this third list.

² Wednesday, 23rd February 1480.

³ Cf. H 31.

⁴ Cf. H 36.

⁵ That is, into the full monastic condition.

⁶ There is some doubt as to the reading of this name (cf. the texts) but the probability seems to be that it was *Deñ*, which one copyist first misread *Dej* and another further transformed into *Dei*.

⁷ In ll. 17-26, *infra*, the form appears to be *Krāy*.

⁸ This seems to be a title. Cf. M 21-22.

⁹ There is some doubt as to the true reading of this name: cf. ll. 18, 19, *infra*, and the note on the text.

¹⁰ This evidently represents *Mahārāt* (= *Mahārāja*). MS. B has *Mhārāj*, but that cannot have been the reading on the stone, where the final letter is *t* not *j*.

¹¹ Or "cushions."

¹² On this, and the whole passage, cf. H 38-39, *supra*, n.

¹³ Thursday, 24th February 1480.

northward of the Kalyāṇī] (l. 11) monastery, invited the fifty teachers of the Order to enter into their lodgings, [gave them alms-food, and arranged a grand festival with] (l. 12) men sporting (and) competing.

Then the leading nobles, who had arranged the *sāmaṇeras*, set out from [Pegu. When they set out, Prince Bra Sāñ Dej¹ led the way. The order] (l. 13) of their marching² (was thus): men carrying the hemmed mats³ led the way; after the mats (came) men carrying the umbrellas, [alms-bowls, (and) staves; after them, men bearing the areca-nut boxes⁴; after] (l. 14) them, men carrying the monastic robes. Then came a hundred elephants with a hundred *sāmaṇeras* mounted on them. Among the hundred, [men wearing caps⁵ led the way, after them (came) men] (l. 15) wearing *kluin*,⁶ (and) after the *kluin*⁶ (came) men wearing gilt hats. All these hundred *sāmaṇeras* also wore [plain] peaked turbans. [Musical instruments, including⁷ the *bāt*, *sreai* (and)] (l. 16) *basā*,⁸ were severally disposed at intervals in the procession.

The hundred *sāmaṇeras* arranged by Prince Sām Trāy⁹ [came next; the order of (their) going (was) similar; (their) turbans (were)] (l. 17) variegated in colour.¹⁰ The hundred *sāmaṇeras* arranged by Prince Sām Krāy⁹ having passed by, the hundred *sāmaṇeras* arranged by Prince [Cakkawāde came along in their turn. The order of (their) going] (l. 18) (was) similar; (their) turbans were peaked likewise. The hundred *sāmaṇeras* arranged by Prince Cakkawāde having passed by, [the hundred *sāmaṇeras* arranged by Cau Nūraśiñ¹¹ came along] (l. 19) in their turn. The order of (their) going (was) similar; (their) turbans (were) variegated in colour.¹⁰ The hundred *sāmaṇeras*

¹ As to the correct form of this name, cf. l. 5, *supra*, n.

² The text has *gata*, "in front," here, apparently; but the MSS. may be right in reading it as *gah*, and I have left it untranslated.

³ Cf. l. 8, *supra*, n.

⁴ Cf. H. 38-39, *supra*, n.

⁵ L.M. *khapeai* is defined as a "fez," and was therefore a somewhat tall cap.

⁶ The meaning of *kluin* has not been determined, but presumably it was some kind of head gear. The copyists of the MSS. have arbitrarily altered it into *kluin*, "umbrellas."

⁷ Literally, "beginning with."

⁸ *Bāt* (Sanskrit *vādya*) is any musical instrument and the word may be used here merely as a generic of the next two; *sreai* is a wind instrument, the "ken" or Lao organ, a kind of Pan pipes, and *basā* either goes with it adding nothing to it, or is some other undetermined kind of musical instrument.

⁹ The correct form seems to be *Krāy*, as in ll. 17, 26.

¹⁰ Doubtful meaning, based on the sense of L.M. *dawān*.

¹¹ Cf. note on l. 19 of the text.

arranged by Cau Nwarasiñ¹ [having] passed by,² [the hundred *sāmaṇeras*] arranged by [Cau Mhārāt]³ (l. 20) came along in their turn. The order of (their) going (was) similar; (their) turbans (were) also variegated in colour.⁴ The hundred *sāmaṇeras* arranged by Cau [Mhārāt having passed by,] (l. 21) the hundred (and) one *sāmaṇeras* arranged by Prince Āy Gām Bin came along in their turn. The order of (their) going (was) similar; [(their) turbans (were) also variegated in colour.⁴ Thus] (l. 22) did the six hundred (and) one *sāmaṇeras* change their status⁵ (and) the leading nobles who accepted the charge of those *sāmaṇeras* [went (and) arranged (them) in the lodgings of those 601 *sāmaṇeras*,] (l. 23) (and) caused (them) to be provided with food.

Then, when the fifty teachers of the Order had partaken of the day's boiled rice,⁶ His Majesty [invited (them) to enter into] (l. 24) the *simā*; and His Majesty, together with (his) retinue, also entered into the consecrated *simā*.⁷ Then the hundred *sāmaṇeras* [arranged by Prince Bra Sāñ Det]⁸ (l. 25) were called up in (their) order and were made monks. Having become monks, (they) were sent off to lodge again in their several lodgings, [(and) the hundred *sāmaṇeras*] arranged [by Prince Sām] (l. 26) Krāy were called up in successive order and made monks. In this way, [in accordance with the order of their going in procession, (they)] (l. 27) were invited to come up and our lords were all made monks. When they had become monks, (they) were sent to lodge in their several lodgings. Thus [was it arranged. Among the hundred *sāmaṇeras*] (l. 28) who were under the charge of Prince Bra Sām Deñ, in regular order two by two were called up and our lords (the ordaining monks) were caused to confer [the *upasampadā*⁹

¹ Cf. note on l. 19 of the text.

² The MS. omits the preceding clause and its text is corrupt here, as it is in the middle of l. 18, *supra*, where the text of the stone serves as a check on it. But from the general similarity of all these descriptions it is easy to restore the true reading.

³ Cf. l. 6, *supra*, n.

⁴ Cf. l. 17, *supra*, n.

⁵ Cf. l. 5, *supra*, n.

⁶ That is, the day's meal, taken just before mid-day, as distinguished from breakfast.

⁷ I am not sure that this is the meaning, as it involves an abnormal order of the words. But "into the consecration of the *simā*" does not make good sense: the business in hand was not the consecration of the *simā*, which had already been done, but the ordination of these novices into fully ordained monks.

⁸ Cf. l. 5, *supra*, n.

⁹ The first letter of this word is the last thing legible on the estampage from the stone, and the end of Face N must have been a few words further on. What follows is preserved only in the MS. and must have been inscribed on the reverse of the same stone, the top part of which is now lost.

ordination (upon them). At the time of the conferring of the *upasampadā* ordination, (there was) one *upajjhāya*, a person who recited the *kammavācā*, (and for) each *sāmaṇera* (there were) two monks, holding the *kammavācā*, to confer (on him) the *upasampadā* ordination.

When the day closed, His Majesty, having arranged (for the presence of) leading nobles, scribes, drums, (and) lights,¹ returned home. Our lords, who were to confer the *upasampadā* ordination, did so from the afternoon of the full-moon day of the month of Phālguna, the day (being) Thursday,² until the fourth of the waning (half) of Phālguna, the day (being) Monday³; it was noontide when they had finished.

When the 601 *sāmaṇeras* had thus been made to receive the *upasampadā* ordination, four teachers of the Order were invited to preach the doctrine of the Pātimokkha to the persons who had received the new *upasampadā* ordination. There were offered to the four teachers of the Order, who preached the Pātimokkha to the persons who had received the new *upasampadā* ordination, to each of them four cloth mats, two barrels⁴ of areca-nuts, (and) two viss of red pepper.

On the fifth of the waning (half) of the month of Phālguna, the day (being) Tuesday,⁵ early in the morning, His Majesty Rāmādhīpati came down and all the 50 teachers of the Order together with the six hundred (and) one persons who had received the new *upasampadā* ordination were entertained⁶ with viands of divers kind and food of various sorts, each of the teachers of the Order (being given also) two cloth mats, one hemmed mat, two viss of black pepper, four viss of Indian pepper, a thousand *basī* fruits,⁷ a box for areca-nuts and betel,⁸ together with a bottle of lime, areca-nut slicers, (and) a napkin, the aforesaid pious gifts being presented as offerings by His Majesty. To the 601 persons who had received the new *upasampadā* ordination, besides the "eight requisites" which had already been bestowed, were also given two viss each of Indian pepper (and) four hundred *basī*

¹ Cf. H 30-31 and n.

² Thursday, 24th February 1480.

³ Monday, 28th February 1480.

⁴ Or "tubes." Or else some high numeral (100 or 1000) has been omitted by the copyists and the word *kūin* is used in the sense of "umbrella," which seems less likely here.

⁵ Tuesday, 29th February 1480.

⁶ Literally, "pour out," but I suspect *taruip*, "to feed," was the original reading.

⁷ Perhaps some sort of areca-nuts.

⁸ Cf. H 38-39, *supra*, n.

fruits.¹ Having thus been presented with gifts, the 50 teachers of the Order were dismissed home. When the 50 teachers of the Order had been thus dismissed home, all the 601 persons who had received the *upasampadā* ordination, according to ,² were made to depart in due order, and His Majesty having regarded them with gladness caused them to return to their dwelling-places.

Such deeds as these did His Majesty Rāmādhīpati do, because he took great delight in religion; desiring that those who received the *upasampadā* ordination should be firm (and) steadfast, did (he) do such deeds as these. Hereafter, also, for the term of life of His Majesty Rāmādhīpati, (for) every *sāmaṇera* who shall desire to receive the *upasampadā* ordination His Majesty Rāmādhīpati will make preparation in like manner to have the *upasampadā* ordination conferred. Inasmuch as that is so, may the princes who are replete with faith and with wisdom, who shall wield the sovereignty of the city of Hānsāwati hereafter, also impart strength to religion! According as we arranged this, (so may they) follow after!] ³

Postscript as to the dates in the preceding translation.

83. Excepting the anomalous case noted at F 38, the verifiable dates in the inscriptions of the Kalyāṇisīmā, when collated together, fall into a consistent scheme or series running from January 1476 to the end of February 1480. When rendered into dates of the Julian (or Old Style) calendar by the methods explained in Irwin's *The Burmese Calendar* (London, 1901), this scheme involves the following elements:—

(i) The first day of the waxing half of the month of Caitra (*i.e.* the first day of the *lunar* year) fell in the years 1476-79 on the following dates: (a) Saturday, 24th February 1476, (b) Saturday, 15th March 1477, (c) Wednesday, 4th March 1478, (d) Sunday, 21st February 1479.⁴

¹ Perhaps some sort of areca-nuts.

² I do not understand *kuin gah bapē*.

³ End of the seventh stone of the Mōn text, as stated in the MSS., and of the last of the appendices.

⁴ As the Burmese calendar reckons the commencement of the year (with a view to giving the year its serial number) purely by *solar* reckoning, the initial dates of Caitra, together with a variable number of other dates in that month and sometimes even in the next month, fall into the close of the preceding year of the Common Era; in these cases they fell in the years 837 to 840. Hence Sunday, the ninth of the waxing half of Caitra, 837 (E 45), fell on Sunday, 3rd March 1476; and Wednesday, the fifth of the waxing half of Caitra, 838 (K 10), fell on Wednesday, 19th March 1477.

(ii) The year 838 was reckoned as a *wa-gyi-tat* year, i.e. not only was the month of Āśāḍha intercalated (as appears from a comparison of the dates in E 48, 53, and subsequent dates of the same year) but Jyestha was given an extra day, making it a month of 30 days, instead of its normal 29.

(iii) The year 841 was reckoned as a *wa-nge-tat* year, i.e. Āṣāḍha was intercalated but Jyestha had only 29 days.

The intervening years were, of course, ordinary years, without any intercalation at all. Now it is to be observed that the above elements of the calendar exemplify both under (ii) and (iii) distinct breaches of the rule stated in para. 64, p. 13, of Irwin's work. But in para. 65 of the same page he notes that the actual practice of the calendars frequently differed from that rule in the period 1738-1900 A.D.; and it is evident from our record that the same was the case in the last quarter of the 15th century.

