

**Reassessment of the “Pyu” face of the Myazedi Inscriptions of Pagan,  
with comparative notes on Mon, Burmese, and Tibetan palaeography**  
**- A preliminary account – DO NOT CITE -**

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## 1. Introduction

“Pyu” is a label for a number of inscriptions exhibiting fairly similar alphabetical scripts of ancient Indian decent, traditionally thought to represent a single – extinct – language. These “Pyu” inscriptions are associated with archaeological sites of an ancient civilisation situated in central areas of today’s Burma/Myanmar (roughly, late –1<sup>st</sup> millen-nium C.E. & during the whole +1<sup>st</sup> millennium C.E.), also commonly called “Pyu”.

The Myazedi or Rajaguma/Rājakumār(a-) inscriptions (dated with an equivalent of 1112 C.E.), found near the Myazedi Pagoda in the Pagan area in today’s central Burma/Myanmar, are two virtually identical four-faced inscribed pillars. The texts are inscribed in the languages “Pyu” (?!), Old Burmese, Old Mon, and Pali – one text on each of the four faces in one of the four languages, respectively. As the content of the texts written in these different languages is, by and large, the same, the pillar could be called “The Stone of Pagan” (after “The Stone of Rosetta”).

Discovered in 1886/87 C.E., the subsequent decipherment was finally published in 1919 C.E. However, contrary to the inscriptions in the other three languages, the “Pyu” face has, actually, never been thoroughly deciphered – in the narrow sense of “decipherment” – but rather tentatively interpreted through comparison of the lexical items and their occurrences with those in the texts written in the other three languages. C. O. Blagden, who did this pioneering work, summarised this state – that has not been changed afterwards until today – with the following words (Blagden 1917:37):

The study of “Pyu” epigraphy begins with the Fourth text of the Myayedid inscription of Pagan, which was discussed in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for April 1911. From a comparison of that Text with the corresponding Pāli, Burmese and Talaing [i.e. Mon – U.K.] versions, the greater part of the “Pyu” alphabet was ascertained and a number of “Pyu” words were identified, some with certainty, others with more or less probability. From these data and from the syntax of the language, so far as it was exemplified in that one text, the inference was drawn that the language was a Tibeto-Burman one that had been in contact with Talaing. It was therefore provisionally assumed to have been the vernacular of the Prome district in ancient times, and the name “Pyu” was attached to it [sic., read “it” – U.K.] as a convenient label.

This knowledge obtained with this method sufficed to answer the concerning historiographic questions: The content turned out to be, by and large, identical with that of the texts in the other languages. Yet, the interpretation of substantial parts of the writing system and, thus, the phonemic system, and, hence, the lexicon remained unsolved. A paper by R. Shafer (1943) did not provide a solution to these questions, because of what his comparative lexical approach as well as his sketchy grammatical description remained highly speculative. Thus, with respect to the linguistic questions, the “decipherment” has not been satisfactory at all. Than Tun of Rangoon University summarised the previous research on “Pyu” in 1958:

WE COULD ADD NOTHING yet to what C. O. Blagden has to say on Pyu script and vocabulary except in some minor points where U Tha Myat [...] thinks that he could improve on Prof. Blagden.” (Than Tun 1958; capital letters as in the original)

Note that Than Tun has not even mentioned Shafer’s publication and that he was obviously sceptical concerning Tha Myat’s alleged improvements. I agree with the opinion of Than Tun.

If one takes the publication of a glossary of “Pyu” with some comments by C. I. Beckwith in 2002 C.E. (the most recent publication regarding “the Pyu language” known to the presenter) to be representative of the state of the research on “Pyu”, it showed that there has not been any (substantial) progress in the decipherment of the “Pyu” face in the meantime, too. Thus, from a linguistic perspective, the interpretation(s) of the “Pyu” face of the two stones provided hitherto remained unsatisfactory. A similar statement seems to hold for the remaining “Pyu” inscriptions, but because of the limited time available the presenter was not able to systematically and thoroughly review them as well as the related literature.

In the talk, I will attempt to show for the first time how the Pyu face of the two pillars had to be read in detail, i.e. how the writing system and, thus, the phonemic system and, in turn, the lexicon and the grammar, respectively, could be interpreted. Based on this, I will explain because of what **I think the language of the language of the “Pyu” face had to be classified as belonging to the Burmic branch of Burmese-Yiic (within Tibeto-Burman) – despite the heavy influence of other, genetically and structurally unrelated contemporaneous languages of the area on all aspects of the structure of this archaic Burmic language.** (I will extend my claim to at least one of the remaining other “Pyu” inscriptions.)

In addition, during my presentation I will reveal parallels between the “Pyu” writing system and the respective writing systems of the languages Khmer, Mon, Burmese, Tibetan, and Bengali – which all have common roots in the ancient Indian script(s) and share similar principles.

## 2. The Script

Beginning in the 4<sup>th</sup> century C.E., in a process of vernacularisation of writing, the late Brahmi script(s) diversified, at first only in Southern India. There we find the rise of several related local scripts, collectively labeled “Grantha”, designed to write several indigenous Dravidian languages, the official languages of, e.g., of the Kadamba or Pallava dynasties. The scripts used in Southeast Asia today are all considered to relate back to these Southern Indian historic scripts.

In Northern India, at the same time, there was still one unified script, the Gupta script. But starting from around the 6<sup>th</sup> century C.E., also here began a process of diversification of the scripts; a major group emerging here is labeled “Siddham”. Amongst the varieties of that script we find the ancestors of the Tibetan script, of the Bengali-Assamese script(s), as well as of the Devanagari script. The Siddham script is the script of late Buddhism in India; it was used in India from the 6<sup>th</sup> till the 12<sup>th</sup> century C.E. – and is still used today, e.g., in Tibetan and Japanese Buddhist monasteries for stylistic purposes.

It has often been maintained that “the Pyu” script was directly related to the Grantha script (either to its Pallava or Kadamba varieties). But, in fact, this is not so clear. (i) The same claim has also been made with respect to the other early scripts in Southeast Asia. Those scripts seem, indeed, to be closely related with each other and with Grantha – considerably closer than to the “Pyu” script(s). (ii) There are different regional and temporal varieties of the “Pyu” script(s). Taking the script of the Myazedi inscription as a reference point, the varieties found in Arakhan / Rakhain (cf. San Tha Aung 1975) are probably best characterized as being midway between this Myazedi “Pyu” script and the Siddham script. The script of the urn

inscriptions from Sri Ksetra as well as that from Halin, are, in turn, halfway between the Arakhan (Rakhine) inscriptions and the Myazedi “Pyu” script. In other words, all those varieties other than the Myazedi “Pyu” script – that precede the latter a few centuries – show, apart from their Grantha characteristics, also more or less strong affinities with the Siddham script. On the other hand, the Myazedi “Pyu” script, still clearly being a distinct script, reproduces the style found in the inscriptions written in the languages Old Mon, Old Burmese, and Pali that is typical for Pagan. (By the way, regarding the latter cases, the ink inscriptions of these languages are, to my opinion, more similar to the Grantha derivatives found in other parts of Southeast Asia than the lithic inscriptions do. – The latter seem still to show a slight stylistic Siddham influence.)

According to a suggestion by Blagden, which is based on the evidence for the “Pyu” language from the urn inscriptions, the writing of that language started about the 7<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup> century (Blagden 1917:43) – not earlier, as it has sometimes been maintained elsewhere, e.g., by Tha Myat (1963:22). To my knowledge, until today, no evidence has been revealed to suggest an earlier date than the one proposed by Blagden (*ibid.*).

However, judging from the archaeological evidence, the “Pyu” script – i.e. the script found within the archaeological “Pyu” culture – had already been used several centuries prior to the writing of the “Pyu” language, for writing Pali (and Sanskrit in Arakhan/ Rakhine; cf. San Tha Aung 1975), with a probable starting time around the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries C.E. (Aung Thaw 1968:61 and Stargardt 1990:291ff.).

As the Myazedi inscription is probably the latest existing attestation of the “Pyu” language and as all languages change in the course of time, it is of utmost importance to be aware of the time differences of several centuries between (i) the creation of the script, (ii) the application of that script to the “Old Pyu” language and (iii) the preparation of the Myazedi inscription written in the “Late Pyu” language.

### 3. The phonemic system(s)<sup>1</sup>

In the following account, I will deal exclusively with the symbols found in the (Late) Pyu face of the Myazedi inscription. The conventional letters represent Old Pyu phonemic values and the bold letters represent the phonemic values of Late Pyu. Italic letters represent the transliteration (to the left of the graphs). Symbols in brackets indicate that there is no evidence for the concerning letters; “Ø” indicates that there is no evidence for the concerning phoneme(s).

*Chart of the consonants occurring in the onset:*

|              |                                       |               |  |              |
|--------------|---------------------------------------|---------------|--|--------------|
| k            | kh                                    | g             | gh                                     | ñ            |
| k > <b>k</b> | k <sup>h</sup> > <b>k<sup>h</sup></b> | g > <b>k</b>  | g <sup>ñ?</sup> > <b>k<sup>h</sup></b> | ŋ > <b>ŋ</b> |
| (c)          | ch                                    | j             | (jh)                                   | (ñ)          |
| Ø            | s <sup>h</sup> > <b>s<sup>h</sup></b> | z? > <b>s</b> | Ø                                      | Ø            |

<sup>1</sup> Following Shafer (1943), I will use “Old Pyu” to label the “Pyu” script and/or language of the urn inscriptions and “Late Pyu” to label the language and/or script of the “Pyu” face of the Myazedi inscription. “\*Proto-Pyu” refers to a non-attested reconstructed stage preceding Old Pyu.

|       |  |       |                                   |                               |
|-------|--|-------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (ṭ)   | th   | ḍ     | ḍh                                | (ṇ)                           |
| Ø     | t <sup>h</sup> > t <sup>h</sup>              | d > t | d <sup>h</sup> ? > t <sup>h</sup> | Ø                             |
| t     | th   | d     | dh                                | n                             |
| t > t | t <sup>h</sup> > t <sup>h</sup>              | d > t | d <sup>h</sup> ? > t <sup>h</sup> | n > n                         |
| p     | ph   | b     | bh                                | m                             |
| p > p | p <sup>h</sup> > p <sup>h</sup>              | b > p | b <sup>h</sup> ? > p <sup>h</sup> | m > m                         |
| y     | r  | (l)   | v                                 | ḅ                             |
| j > j | ṛ > ṛ /<br>ṛ <sup>w</sup> ? > ṛ <sup>w</sup> | Ø     | ṵ <sup>w</sup> ? > ṵ <sup>w</sup> | w > w /<br><sup>m</sup> b > b |
| s     | h  | ḷ     | ḷ                                 | A                             |
| s > s | h > h  | ḷ > ḷ | ḷ > ḷ                             | ḷa > ḷa                       |

→ an additional diacritic symbol (Tibetan: 'a-chung): ' ? > [+ voice]

The chart shows that the voiced obstruents of Old Pyu became devoiced in Late Pyu<sup>2</sup>, a feature found especially among Mon-Khmer languages of the area (but not in Modern Standard Burmese). Cf., e.g.:

d-t<sup>h</sup>-g-d datha'gada \*/ta.t<sup>h</sup>a.ga.ta/, 'the Tathāgata, i.e. the historical Buddha'

cp. **Pali**: *tathāgata/o*, from which it is apparently a direct loan in Late Pyu.

The writer of Late Pyu used obviously the sound values of Late Pyu for his transcription of that lexeme, including the voicing of *g* that was, in the unmarked case, devoiced. The voicing is indicated by the additional diacritic symbol ' [+ voice], that seems to have had a similar function like the (Old) Tibetan 'a-chung . In contrast to (Old) Tibetan, the Pyu diacritic symbol seems to have been applied – apart from few exceptions – only to the voiced obstruents of Old Pyu / the devoiced obstruents of Late Pyu. Considering the correspondences between Late Pyu and Pali, there are irregularities regarding the usage of this diacritic symbol. It had never been never applied to the item:

<sup>2</sup> For the sake of convenience, from now on I will omit the citation marks of "Pyu" etc.

bv-d<sup>h</sup> bvadha \*/pou.t<sup>h</sup>a/ ‘Buddha’,

cp. Pali: *buddha/o*, not attested for Old Burmese of the Myazedi inscription in which another form is used to refer to the Buddha, **Modern Standard Burmese**: *buddha* /bou[ʔ].dá/ (MLC 1993) or rather /bóu.dá/ (U.K.)

I think this is not too surprising – at least if one assumes that this original loan from Pali had already been indigenised in Late Pyu.

The chart also shows that (Late) Pyu did apparently not possess an obstruent series with the features [PLACE: palatal]. Cf. e.g.:

pdv-<sup>u</sup>g p’dva-s’gu \*/pa.d<sup>u</sup>v.o.s[ə].<sup>l</sup>ga/ ‘words, speech; sermon’;

cp. **Modern Spoken Burmese**: *pud* /póu[ʔ]/ ‘word, stop; classifier for pieces of writing’ and *pada* ‘word’ (MLC 1993), MLC relate both to **Pali**: *pada* – which might be a Pali form that is/was only used in the Burma region – I could only find **Pali**: *vaco* ‘voice, word’;

The **Pyu** ligature *dv* was apparently intended to synthesise the **Pali** phoneme sequence /c/ (that Pyu did not possess); the *u* in *pud* can easily be explained as progressive rounding of the preceding (bi-)labial /p/;

The 2. part of the compound relates to **OB+**: *cakā* ‘language’ (cp. **SB**: *cakāḥ* /z[ə].gâ/), the graph *u* apparently symbolises the schwa of the first syllable, in a somewhat deviant arrangement.

Late Pyu did possibly possess a series of (pre-)aspirated nasal phonemes<sup>3</sup> and, possibly, also (pre-)aspirated rhotic approximant phonemes. Those alleged phonemes would be those sounds represented in the Pyu script as clusters of a preceding *h* or *s* plus a following letter representing the corresponding unaspirated phoneme. I conclude from this that Old Pyu, i.e. the language for which the Pyu script was designed, still possessed the concerning phonemic clusters. That indeed such a process of fusion of spirants and plain obstruents to aspirated obstruents between Old and Late Pyu happened is attested – at least regarding *s* – by the following two examples:

ʔ-<sup>i</sup>sn: asniḥ \*/ʔə.hní/ ‘year’,

cp. **Proto-Loloish**: \*/s-nik H/ ‘year’ (Bradley 1979), **Old Burmese (Myazedi)**: *anhac* ‘year’, and **Modern Standard Burmese**: *nhac* /<sup>h</sup>ni[ʔ]/ ‘year’ (MLC 1993);

Compared to the proposed form \*/ʔə.hní/, a form with the prosodic structure ??\*/ʔə.sə.ní/ seems, at least from an areal-genetic perspective, to be highly unlikely.

ʔ-<sup>au</sup>S t astau **Proto-Pyu**: \*/sətu<sup>p</sup>~sətu<sup>w</sup>/ > **Old Pyu**: \*/[ʔə]t<sup>h</sup>ow/ > **Late Pyu**: \*/ʔət<sup>h</sup>ou/ ‘stūpa’;

cp. **Old Burmese (Myazedi)**: *athot* ‘spire’ but more likely is: ‘stūpa’ – U.K., **Mo-**

<sup>3</sup> Such nasals, that are also found in modern Burmese, have often erroneously been called “devoiced”.

*dern Standard Burmese: athū* /tʰu̯/ ‘special, extraordinary, [super – U.K.]’ (MLC 1993);

With respect to this item, similarly as in the case above, a prosodic structure like *??\*/tə.sətʰu̯/* seems highly unlikely, too;

Compare the etymology with a similar one in *SW Dajic*: e.g. *Standard Thai: ywad* /jɔt/ means ‘tip, top, summit, peak; (quint)essence; picked, crack; excellent, outstanding; perfect, faultless’ (Iamwamedh 1997), but in *Lanna Tai ywad* /jɔt/ can apparently also mean ‘spire’ (apart from meanings like ‘top, treetop, adornment on top of some-thing’), as attested in the name of Buddhist temples *vāt cēd ywat* /wat cet jɔt/ ‘temple-seven-spire’ (possibly derived from an earlier *vāt cedīy ywat* ‘temple-cedi-spire’). However, this etymological change is obviously not restricted to the region; cp. e.g. *German: Spitze* ‘spire, top; point; super, best’.

Given (i) there is no question about the aspiration of /tʰ/ in the last example and (ii) that both processes are basically identical, it is clear – at least for the concerning *s* in Pyu – that the concerning nasals in Late Pyu have to be considered as being (pre-)aspirated, not as being just voiceless.

As indicated in the chart above, /ɹ/ and /ɹʷ/ are probably two different phonemes and, as already pointed out, there might have existed also a phoneme /<sup>h</sup>ɹ/ in Late Pyu. /ɹ/ and /ɹʷ/, together with /j/, /w/, and /l/, are the only five phonemes that could appear in second position within a syllable onset cluster in Late Pyu, similar to Old Burmese. However, due to the limited material available and to the preliminary stage of the investigation, regarding /ɹ/, /ɹʷ/, and /w/, it is not (yet) always clear how to identify them. This is, basically, because of two factors:

(i) These three supposed phonemes (in second position of clusters) seem to have been represented by *v* . /w/ is distinguished from the other by putting a diacritic dot underneath *v* , but this apparently was not done consistently. This dot and its placement is, at least formally, identical with the [+voice] symbolising diacritic dot that I introduced above in relation with the Tibetan script. However, even more striking is the case of the Bengali script – another derivate of the Siddham script and, in addition, the immediate neighbour of the Arakan/Rakhain variety of the Pyu script. If one puts such a diacritic dot underneath the letter *b* , one gets the letter *r* ; but if one puts there, instead, a short dash, one gets the letter *v* .

(ii) In Late Pyu, the consonant phoneme /w/ in second position in an onset cluster (as well as [ʷ] of /ɹʷ/) seem to be in the process to become a parts of the following (nuclear) vowels. But this process is apparently not complete at the Myazedi stage of Pyu.

#### *Chart of the vowels of Late Pyu*

|                                       |  |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| /i <sub>1</sub> / , /i <sub>2</sub> / | /u <sub>1</sub> /, /u <sub>2</sub> /         |
| /e <sub>1</sub> /, /e <sub>2</sub> /  | /[ə]/   /o <sub>1</sub> /, /o <sub>2</sub> / |
| /a <sub>1</sub> /                     |  |

The /x<sub>1</sub>/ phonemes apparently present the vowel system of Old Pyu, i.e these are the vowels represented by specific adscript (vowel) letters, except *ai* . The /x<sub>2</sub>/ vowels have developed

from merger with preceding *v* /w/ or [w̥] (from /ɹ̥w/) and/or with *ŋ* /N/ in coda position. (Final /N/ must have had a status in Old Pyu comparable to /N/ in Modern Standard Burmese of today (cf. Dubach Green 2005:7ff.). Final *h* seems to have symbolised a prosodic aspect within the rhyme or the syllable: glottal and/or pitch-related.)

Since the whole situation of the development of the rhyme/ the vocalic nuclei is too complex to be covered in this handout in detail, let me just sketch the main idea. (I will describe this situation in the presentation in further detail.) The emerging /x<sub>2</sub>/ vowels entered – at least parts – of the vocalic domains of each of the corresponding /x<sub>1</sub>/ vowels. For some lexical items the emerging /x<sub>2</sub>/ vowels seem to have merged with the /x<sub>1</sub>/, but in most cases they apparently became distinct. This could happen, as far as I can see, with respect to four basic alternative aspects (or the combinations of these four basic alternatives): vowel quantity, vowel quality, phonation type (remember the devoicing of the Old Pyu voiced obstruents), as well as pitch. I think, at this point of the investigation, I can rule out the vowel quantity option. Therefore I think the most likely solution is a combination of the differentiation of the concerning vowels with respect to vowel quality (probably including diphthongisation), phonation type and pitch. This combination looks much like a classical Mon-Khmer register complex. Anyway, at the moment I cannot give a theoretical answer to this question. Such a complex situation demands a thorough investigation, including comparison with areally/structurally and/or genetically related languages with respect to all three aspects. As such an investigation had not been possible hitherto, in the transliteration/ transcription below, I have impressionistically tried to make the phonemes and the vowel letters amongst the lexical items fit with each other, at best what I could do. (But there was no time left to systematically investigated the question of phonation types and pitch. – Pitch does by far not always correspond to pitch/tone in Standard Burmese.) Of course

#### 4. Evidence for **contact with Dajic** and Mon-Khmer languages

Borrowings from Dajic:

ḃ: baṅḥ ‘thousand’, cp. *\*Proto-Dajic*: \*/b(an) A2/ (cf. Luo 1997)

ḃ̇: biṅḥ ‘to complete, finish; AUX: to be, become, happen’, cp. *\*Proto-Dajic*: \*/ben A1/ ‘to be’ (Li1977), *Classical Shan*: *pin* ‘to be, exist, have existence, become’ (Cushing 1914);

ḋ̇: diṅ ~ ṭ̇: tiṅ ‘place, earth, country’

cp. *\*Proto-Dajic*: \*/din A1/ ‘soil, earth’ (Luo 1997), Shan/Dehong /lin<sup>6</sup>/ (ibid.); *\*Proto-Tibeto-Burman*: \*/m-ləj ~ m-lej/ ‘earth, ground, soil, mud, country’ (Matisoff 2003), Matisoff cites only Meithei and Burmese varieties, i.e. languages from an area where Dajic languages (in particular Shan) were once/are still spoken.

ḥ: saṅḥ ‘to order’, cp. *\*Proto-(SW+C?)Dajic*: \*/saṅ B1/ ‘to bid, order’, evidence from Northern Dajic languages possibly indicates an earlier \*/tr(aṅ) B1/, (cf. Li 1977)

A loan into Dajic:

ḃ: baṅḥ ‘to give’, there is an unquestionable *\*Tibeto-Burman* etymon that Matisoff reconstructed as \*/(s-)bəj-(n)/ ‘to give’ – next his \*/(s-)ter/ ‘give, (causative)’ – (Matisoff 2003), that might even indicate a *\*Sino-Tibetan* etymon (cf. *ibid.*:200) cp. *Classical Shan: pan* ‘to give’ (Cushing 1914)

Apart from lexical evidence for contact with Dajic languages there is also lexical evidence for contact with Mon-Khmer languages, in particular with Old Mon, as expected. (I will show the details in the glossary that is still in progress.)

Regarding the syntax, the contact situation is even more pronounced, for contacts with Dajic as well as for those with Mon-Khmer, in particular Old Mon. By and large, it can be said that Late Pyu deviates from mainstream Tibeto-Burman patterns at least as much as, e.g., the Karenic languages do. (I have not looked systemically for concerning contacts [regarding the interpretation presented here] yet.) Word order is very fluid on the clause/sentence level; it is more fluid than in Modern Standard Burmese – Pyu seems to be neither strictly VO nor OV. To some degree, this word order fluidity expands also into the phrase structure. I attribute this “fluidity” directly to the contact influence mentioned above. On sentence level, the OV character seems to be triggered by loans like – to give an example – *ḃ̇: biṅḥ* ‘to complete, finish; AUX: to be, become, happen’ (see above); this item seem also to have been important for the word order on phrase level. To give an example for a loan from Mon-Khmer, *m ma*, a marker for relative constructions, is a loan from Old Mon; it seems to trigger certain calque phrase structure patterns.

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<sup>4</sup> This list includes sources that I have used for the Pyu glossary (in progress, not attached here).



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**Appendix: The transliterated text and the close translation**

*DRAFT – NOT FOR CITATION*

1. ၁-r-r--<sup>i</sup>s-<sup>i</sup>r--r-r--d-t<sup>h</sup>-g-d---b---ḍ----b:---ḃ:---pḍv--<sup>u</sup>g----ḍ:--b--tv---t<sup>h</sup>v---<sup>a</sup>ṽ<sup>u</sup>  
r r siri r r datha'gada ba 'do bañḥ biñḥ pa'dva + sgu 'daḥ ba tva<sup>5</sup> thva sāvu  
siḷi tat<sup>h</sup>agata pa do pé pí padṭ<sup>w</sup>ḥ + səga dá pa tṭ<sup>w</sup>ḥ t<sup>h</sup>ṭ<sup>w</sup>ḥ sawu  
prosperity The Buddha HON HON give AUX sermon I M VI C XX
2. t<sup>h</sup>--hr--<sup>i</sup>?-<sup>i</sup>sn:---ḃ:---ty:---t<sup>h</sup>--ḍ--(||)<sup>6</sup>-<sup>y</sup>--<sup>i</sup>ṫ--<sup>i</sup>ṗr:---<sup>i</sup>r-m-d<sup>h</sup>-n-bv--<sup>i</sup>?--<sup>ṁ</sup>---ḃ:---<sup>i</sup>s--||  
tha hrañ asniḥ biñḥ t'vañḥ tha'dañ (||) yañ tiñ priḥ rimadhanabva a + mi biñḥ si ||  
t<sup>h</sup>a <sup>h</sup>ṭṭé ?ə<sup>h</sup>ní pí twé t<sup>h</sup>ə + de je ti + p.ṭi ṭimat<sup>h</sup>anapṭ<sup>w</sup>o ?ə + mi pí si  
& VIII year AUX leave EMPH this country Arimaddanapur<sup>7</sup> 3.P<sup>8</sup> + name AUX N
3. <sup>i</sup>sr--<sup>i</sup>tr-<sup>h</sup>ḃ-<sup>v</sup>-n-<sup>i</sup>ḍ' -ty-d<sup>h</sup>-m-r-j--<sup>i</sup>?-<sup>ṁ</sup>--<sup>i</sup>s--||--<sup>i</sup>?-ḍ:--<sup>i</sup>ṫ---ḃ:---<sup>i</sup>?-<sup>v̇</sup>:--<sup>9</sup>-m-  
sri tribhu'vanadiñtyadhamaraja ami biñḥ si || a'doḥ ṭe bañḥ avoḥ ma  
sri ṭip<sup>h</sup>uwonatitjat<sup>h</sup>amaṭasa ?əmi pí si ?ədó ṭe pé ?əwó mə  
king Tribhuvanādityadhammarāj name AUX N that and HON lord wife
4. -y:--<sup>i</sup>tr-<sup>i</sup>ṫ-g-<sup>v</sup>-d-s-g-ḍ-<sup>i</sup>v̇---ḃ:---<sup>i</sup>s--<sup>i</sup>?-<sup>ṁ</sup>--||--<sup>aṁ</sup>--<sup>i</sup>?-s:--r-j-<sup>u</sup>-m--ḃ:  
yaḥ triḷoga'vadasaga'de'vi biñḥ si ami ḍhau asaḥ rajaguma biñḥ  
já ṭiḷḷokawotasakadewi pí si ?əmi t<sup>h</sup>əu ?əsá ṭasakuma pí  
(wife) Trilokāvaṭamsikādevī AUX N name that son Rājakumār AUX
5. <sup>i</sup>s--<sup>i</sup>?-<sup>ṁ</sup>--||--<sup>i</sup>?-<sup>v̇</sup>---tr:--kr----<sup>ḣ</sup>:---ḃ:---<sup>ṗ</sup>:--<sup>i</sup>ṫ:--||--<sup>aṁ</sup>---ḃ:--m-y:---ḃ:--<sup>i</sup>ḥ---t-<sup>10</sup>-ḍ--(||)<sup>11</sup>  
si ami || avañ traḥ kra hoḥ biñḥ pañḥ toḥ || ḍhau bañḥ mayaḥ biñḥ hi ta'dañ (||)  
si ?əmi ?əwo ṭá kṭ<sup>w</sup>o hó pí pé tó t<sup>h</sup>əu pé məjá pí hi tə + de  
si name lord royal village III AUX give LOC that HON wife AUX die EMPH

<sup>5</sup> Blagden transcribes *v* following another consonant letter in a ligature in most cases as *ū* (Blagden 1919:62ff.).

<sup>6</sup> Face B omits this stop // .

<sup>7</sup> Following Blagden (ibid), I render toponyms and personal names as they appear in Old Burmese.

<sup>8</sup> 'third person, possessive'

<sup>9</sup> Originally, Face A appears to have had *?-v̇*: . The markings that symbolise the vowel sign *o* are apparently added at a later time. Face B seems to have had *?-v̇*: right from the start. The visarga indicates tone sandhi of the morpheme with the meaning 'lord' that is elsewhere consistently written *?-v̇* .

<sup>10</sup> Face A seems to show *t* , which doesn't make sense to me because of what I preliminarily assume that the "subscript dot" was caused by damage; Face B shows the expected form *t* .

<sup>11</sup> Face A omits the stop // .

6. (b:)<sup>12</sup>--m-y:--ʔ-d/tr-<sup>13</sup>--tr:--kr--ḥ:---ḃ:--p:---tb:---b:--m-y:--ʔ-s:--r-j-ḡ-m--ʔ-ṽ--||  
 (baḥ) majah ad/tra trah kra hoḥ biḥ paḥ tbaḥ baḥ mayah asah rajaguma avan ||  
 (pé) məjá ʔətɿa tɿá kɿ<sup>w</sup>o hó pí pé tóu pé+məjá ʔəsá ɿasakuma ʔəwo  
 (HON) wife royal.vassal royal village III AUX give LOC HON+wife son Rājakumār lord

7. ḏ<sup>ah</sup>--b:---tḏ:--ḥsn:---tsv---hr---ḃ:---t-ḏ---||(o||)<sup>14</sup>-ḃ:--ḥsr:--ḃ:--ḥn:--ḥt:--ḥ--ʔ--m̄t--ḏv  
 ḏhau baḥ t'daḥ sniḥ tsva hraḥ biḥ ta'daḥ ||(o||) biḥ sriḥ biḥ: hniḥ: hliḥ: hi a mtu 'dva  
 t<sup>h</sup>ou pé tэдá səní tə+sou<sup>h</sup>ɿe pí tə+de pí sɿi pí hni hli hi ʔa mətou dou  
 that HON lord year I x XX VIII AUX EMPH AUX king AUX ill very? die not finish LOC

8. ʔ:--||--ḏ<sup>ah</sup>---b:---m-y:--ʔ-s:--r-j-ḡ-m---ḃ:---s--ʔ-m̄--||--ʔ-ḏ  
 ro || ḏhau baḥ mayah asah rajaguma biḥ si ami || a'din  
 ɿó t<sup>h</sup>ou pé məjá ʔəsá ɿasakuma pí si ʔəmi ʔədi  
 time that HON wife son/child Rājakumār AUX si name this

9. ḃ:--m̄<sup>au</sup> t---m---ḏ<sup>ah</sup>--tḏ:--ʔ-<sup>15</sup>-ʔ-k̄t:--ʔr:--ḏ---ḃ:--m̄<sup>au</sup> ḏ----h:---d:-ḏ---||--ḏ<sup>ah</sup>---b:  
 biḥ mtau ma ḏhau tḏaḥ to aklehjroḥ 'din biḥ mdau haḥ daḥ'daḥ || ḏhau baḥ  
 pí mətou ma t<sup>h</sup>ou tэдá to ʔəklés.ɿó+ḏí pí mə+dou há tá+de t<sup>h</sup>ou pé  
 AUX nourish REL that lord LOC favour+do AUX re-+N (thing) EMPH that HON  
 member

10. bv-d<sup>h</sup>--ʔ-c<sup>h</sup>:--ḃ--br-ḏ-m--t<sup>h</sup>--tv--ḃ:---s---ky:--||--ḏ<sup>ah</sup>---b:---bv-d<sup>h</sup>---ḃ:---t:  
 bvadha achah bo bradima tha tva biḥ se kyah || ḏhau baḥ bvadha biḥ tuḥ  
 pout<sup>h</sup>a [ʔəs<sup>h</sup>á+po]+pratima t<sup>h</sup>a tou pí se kjá t<sup>h</sup>ou pé pout<sup>h</sup>a pí tú  
 Buddha [image+form]+image gold LOC AUX order EMPH that HON Buddha AUX LOC

11. t<sup>h</sup>mv:--ʔ:---ý+n---ḃ:---tḏ:--ʔ:--||--ý--(b:)<sup>16</sup>-bv-d<sup>h</sup>--t<sup>h</sup>---b:-r:---s--ḃ:  
 thmvaḥ loḥ yaḥ+na biḥ tḏiḥ toḥ || yaḥ (baḥ) bvadha tha baḥ+rah sa biḥ  
 t<sup>h</sup>əmóu ɿó jε+na pí tэдí tó jε (pé) pout<sup>h</sup>a t<sup>h</sup>a pé+ɿá sa pí  
 present time thus AUX say LOC this (HON) Buddha gold lord/ son AUX  
 Buddha

<sup>12</sup> Face A omits *b:* .

<sup>13</sup> Face A shows *d* , Face B shows *t* .

<sup>14</sup> Face A has *||o||* , occurring at the end of the line; Face B omits *o||* .

<sup>15</sup> Face A has *ʔ* , which might indicate sandhi; Face B exhibits the expected form *ʔ* .

<sup>16</sup> Face B omits this *b:* .

12.  $\xi$ ---m--bv:---b:---ʔ-ṽ---p:--- $\xi^h$ -- $\xi^h$ --||--y:---tr:--kr----h̄:---b̄:---b̄:  
 se ma bvaḥ bañḥ avañ pañḥ che cho || yañ traḥ kra hoḥ biñḥ bañḥ  
 se ma pōu pé ʔəwo pé s<sup>h</sup>e s<sup>h</sup>o ja tʃá+kɪ<sup>w</sup>o hó pí pé  
 order REL BEN HON lord give s<sup>h</sup>e EMPH this vassal+village III AUX give

13. m--bv:--||--y:---b:--hr----t<sup>h</sup>--ʔ-ṽ---p:--- $\xi^h$ --||-- $\overset{am}{d}$ --- $\overset{am}{t}$ :---b:---tḍ:--b̄:---kṛ'  
 ma bvaḥ || yañ bañḥhra tha avañ pañḥ che || ḍhau loḥ bañḥ t'ḍaḥ biñḥ kriñ  
 ma pōu je pé+ɹa t<sup>h</sup>a ʔəwo pé s<sup>h</sup>e t<sup>h</sup>əu ʃó pé tədá pí kɪ  
 REL BEN this Buddha/gold lord give s<sup>h</sup>e that time HON lord AUX great  
 lord

14.  $\overset{fi}{d}$ - $\overset{fi}{d}$ ---b̄:--- $\overset{fi}{h}$ ---h---pr--- $\xi^h$ ---h---(pr)<sup>17</sup>-- $\xi^h$ ---b̄:--- $\overset{i}{s}$ --||-- $\overset{am}{d}$ ---ʔ- $\overset{fi}{d}$ :--tr:-b̄:  
 ḍha'daḥ biñḥ ṇu ha pra cho ha (pra) cho biñḥ si || ḍhau a'do traḥbañḥ  
 tə+de pí ṇu ha pɪ<sup>w</sup>o s<sup>h</sup>ó ha (pɪ<sup>w</sup>o) s<sup>h</sup>ó pí si t<sup>h</sup>əu ʔədó tʃá+pé  
 EMPH AUX ex- good do EMPH good (do) EMPH AUX N that that HON  
 claim

15. m(-)h- $\xi^h$ -<sup>18</sup>-|--tr:-b:--mv-g- $\overset{fi}{t}$ -bv-d- $\overset{fi}{d}$ -s- $\xi^h$ -<sup>19</sup>-|---tr:-b:-- $\overset{au}{s}$ - $\overset{c}{m}$ - $\overset{fi}{d}$ --b- $\overset{fi}{d}$ -<sup>20</sup>  
 m(a)hathe | traḥbañḥ mva'gaḷubvadañsa the | traḥbañḥ saumedha ba'diñ  
 m(ə)hat<sup>h</sup>e tʃá+pé mougaḷupoutatisa+t<sup>h</sup>e tʃá+pé sɔumet<sup>h</sup>a+padi  
 Mahāther HON Muggaliputtatissatther HON Sumedha+Pañḍit

16. |--tr:-b:--vr-hm-b--|--tr:-b:--vr-hm- $\overset{fi}{d}$ - $\overset{fi}{y}$ :<sup>21</sup>-|--tr:-b:--sv--|--tr:-b:  
 | traḥpañḥ vrahmaba | traḥbañḥ vrahmadeyo: | traḥbañḥ sva | traḥbañḥ  
 tʃá+pé wɹahmapa tʃá+pé wɹahmadejó tʃá+pé sou tʃá+pé  
 HON Brahmadepāl HON Brahmadiv HON Son HON

17. s-g- $\overset{i}{s}$ -ṽ-r---b- $\overset{fi}{d}$ --||-- $\overset{am}{d}$ ---tr:-b:---s-g<sup>fi</sup>-<sup>22</sup>-tv--ʔ-h̄ $\eta$ -<sup>23</sup>-- $\overset{fi}{d}$ ---ḍv---tḍ:  
 sagasi'vara ba'diñ || ḍhau traḥ-bañḥ sañgha tvo ahñu diñ 'dva t'da:  
 sagasiwaɹa+pədi t<sup>h</sup>əu tʃá+pé sek<sup>h</sup>a to ʔəhṇu ti dou tədá

<sup>17</sup> Face B omits this *pr* .

<sup>18</sup> Face B has *mh- $\xi^h$*

<sup>19</sup> Face A has *mv-g- $\overset{fi}{t}$ -bv-d- $\overset{fi}{d}$ -s- $\xi^h$*

<sup>20</sup> Face A has [*sv*]-*m̄*-*d<sup>fi</sup>-b- $\overset{fi}{d}$*

<sup>21</sup> Face A has *vr-d- $\overset{fi}{y}$* :

<sup>22</sup> Face B appears to exhibit *S-g<sup>fi</sup>* .

<sup>23</sup> This is a doubtful reading.

18. 𑀓--𑀢:--𑀢:--𑀓<sup>h</sup>--𑀓:--𑀓𑀲--||--𑀓<sup>𑀢</sup>--𑀢:--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--  
 tu bañḥ biñḥ cha toḥ t'dva || ḍhau biñḥ ta'dañ mayah asaḥ raja  
 tu pé pí s<sup>h</sup>a tó tədou t<sup>h</sup>ou pí tə+de məjá ʔəsá ʔasa  
 water give AUX image LOC EMPH that finish EMPH wife son Rāja-
19. 𑀓--𑀓--𑀢:--𑀢:--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--||<sup>24</sup>--𑀢:--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--  
 guma biñḥ si ami ma || biñḥ stabana bvadha<sup>26</sup> tha biñḥ se 'go astau tha biñḥ  
 kuma pí si ʔəmi ma pí sətəpəna pout<sup>h</sup>a t<sup>h</sup>a pí se go ʔətou t<sup>h</sup>a pí  
 kumār AUX *si* name REL AUX enshrine Buddha gold AUX order temple stupa gold AUX
20. 𑀓--𑀓--||--𑀓<sup>𑀢</sup>--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--||<sup>27</sup>--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--  
 ta'dañ || ḍhau 'go ahlau piñḥ sañḥ ro || samanaḥon kra tañ | rabai kra tañ | jiñ  
 təde t<sup>h</sup>ou go ʔəhḥou pí sé ro samənaḥo kṭ<sup>w</sup>o tē rəpē kṭ<sup>w</sup>o tē kṭi  
 EMPH that temple donation AUX order time Sakmunalon village one Rapāy village one Hen-
21. 𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--||--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--  
 vva kra tañ || yañ traḥ kra ho 'diñ biñḥ 'diñ'dañ || yañ bañḥ mayah asaḥ  
 wou kṭ<sup>w</sup>o tē jē tṭá kṭ<sup>w</sup>o ho di pí di+de jē pé+məjá ʔəsá  
 viiv village one this vassal+village III put AUX EMPH this HON+wife son/child
22. 𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--||--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--  
 rajaguma yañ 'go bvadha avañ t'dva biñḥ chai ta'dañ || yañ ra biñḥ 'diñ cho || yañ  
 rasakuma jē go pout<sup>h</sup>a ʔəwo tədou pí s<sup>h</sup>e təde jē ʔa pí di+s<sup>h</sup>o jē  
 Rājakumār this temple Buddha/ lord BEN AUX order EMPH this pray AUX EMPH this
23. 𑀓--𑀓:--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--𑀓--  
 ma gañḥ pra bvaḥ savenodene brene biñḥ biñḥ pañḥ chai naḥ tiñ pḥañḥ pa  
 ma ké pṭ<sup>w</sup>o pōu sawenodene prene pí pí pé s<sup>h</sup>e ná ti pḥé pa  
 REL 1.SG do BEN omniscience wisdom AUX com- give make/ ? (place) become HON?

<sup>24</sup> Blagden notes a blur instead of // in Face A (Blagden 1919:63, fn.1).

<sup>25</sup> Face A has just *b<sup>i</sup>*; the diacritic symbols have probably been omitted because of lack of space.

<sup>26</sup> Blagden transcribes *gūdha* but adds in fn. 3 “For *Būdha*” (Blagden *ibid.*).

<sup>27</sup> Face B has //.

<sup>28</sup> Face A has been retouched; I read the concerning graph in Face B as /*j<sup>h</sup>c<sup>o</sup>*, in line with Blagden (*ibid.*:63).

<sup>29</sup> Face A clearly had originally *r* (*the n being a later correction*), but

<sup>30</sup> Face A is blurred at this place, possibly because of damage.

<sup>31</sup> Face A is blurred at this place, possibly because of damage.

<sup>32</sup> Face B has *ḥ<sup>h</sup>*, possibly because of damage.

24a.  $\dot{y}$ ---tr:-<sup>33</sup>t' --mtv---kn:----đ---g̃--s:---t̃<sup>34</sup>-|---g̃---p̃t̃----t̃--( )<sup>35</sup>-g̃--<sup>u</sup>r:---t̃--( )<sup>36</sup>  
 yañ traḥ tiñ mtva knaṅḥ 'dva gi saḥ le | gi p̃li le ( ) gi srūḥ le ( )  
 jε t̃ɹá t̃i mətəu kəné dou ki sa: le ki p̃li le ki srú le  
 this vassal (place) BEN people PL my son/ or my grand- or my kins- or  
 child son/child man

24b. mr----j----h̃t̃<sup>37</sup>--t̃<sup>38</sup>--ỹ  
 mra ja lhu le yañ  
 m̃ɹa k̃ɹa h̃lu le jé  
 [human other person also this  
 being]

25. bv-d<sup>fi</sup>---ʔ-ṽ--g̃:---h̃ t̃:--t̃:---m--đ̃' --|---g--h̃n' --c̃<sup>h</sup>-g--br---p̃d̃---m--t:--ṅv:--bv:--||  
 bvaḥa avaṅ gaṅḥ h̃liṅḥ toḥ ma 'diñ ga hniñ chiga bro p'da ma taḥ nvaḥ bvaḥ ||  
 pout<sup>h</sup>a ʔəwo ké h̃l̃i tó ma di ka hni s<sup>h</sup>ika p̃ɹ<sup>w</sup>o p̃əda ma tá ṅóu bóu  
 Buddha lord I ? BEN REL put if ? harm violence do EMPH? REL PL? BEN

26.  $\dot{y}$ ---b̃:---bv-d<sup>fi</sup>--A-r̃-m̃-đ̃-y---đ̃-b:-đ̃-c̃<sup>h</sup>:----t̃' ---tmv--m---p̃:---c̃<sup>h</sup>-c̃<sup>h</sup>:---r-r-2<sup>39</sup>  
 yañ bañḥ bvaḥa arimede'ya 'dañ-baḥ'dichinḥ tiñ tmva ma pañḥ che + cho: r r  
 jε bé pout<sup>h</sup>a ʔarimeteja de + pá + di + sí ti t̃əməu ma pé s<sup>h</sup>e + s<sup>h</sup>ó  
 this HON Buddha Arimittiyā Tavatimsa? (place) present not give? EMPH

Close translation:

1-2a: Prosperity! 1628 years have elapsed after The Venerable Buddha gave (his last) sermon.

2b: This country, named Arimaddanapur,

<sup>33</sup> It is hard to decide if the graph on Face A is *tr:* or *kr:* , but Face B clearly shows *tr:* at this position.

<sup>34</sup> (The photo of the rubbing of) Face A exhibits a dot to the right of *t̃* , in an aberrant position; as Face B does not show this dot, I assume that it is the manifestation of damage, not of the writing system.

<sup>35</sup> Face A omits this stop.

<sup>36</sup> The short horizontal curved line  $\frown$  above *t̃* appears only in Face A. It might be interpreted as an equivalent to the standard symbol for a stop / , possibly added after the completion of the inscription; a similar curved line appears above the final stop // in line 26 of Face A. Face B has the regular stop / .

<sup>37</sup> The the reading of the subscript letters *t̃* and *u* is doubtful.

<sup>38</sup> Judging from the general Pyu writing conventions as well as from comparison with the inscriptions in the other three languages, I would have expected a stop here but neither Face A nor Face B seems to show it.

<sup>39</sup> Probably because of lack of space, face A has just  $\frown$  , instead of *r-r-2* .

- 3a: has a king – Tribhuvanādityadhammarāj is the name.
- 3b-4a: And that is the noble lord’s wife – Trilokāvaṭamsikādevī is the name.
- 4b-5a: That son – Rājakumār is the name.
- 5b-5c: As the noble wife, who had been given three vassal villages by the king, died,
- 6: the lord gave the vassals of the three vassal villages of the noble wife to the noble wife’s son.
- 7-8a: At the time (when) that lord, (who) had been king for 28 years, was very ill, having not yet died,
- 8b: that noble wife’s son with the name Rājakumār,
- 8c-9a: remembering that that lord had nourished (him) and done favours,
- 9b-10a: ordered/made that noble Buddha image of pure gold for (him).
- 10b-11a: When (lit. “the time”) (he) presented that [noble] Buddha to (him), (he) thus spoke to (him):
- 11b-12a: “This golden Buddha, I / the lord’s son have ordered/made (I) give to you / the noble lord.
- 12b-13b: These three villages of vassals that (I) was given (I) give to this golden Buddha as (their) lord.”
- 13b-14a: (At) that time the great lord exclaimed: “Well done, well done!”
- 14a-18a: In front of those venerable (Buddhist) monks, the venerable chief monk, the venerable Muggaliputtatissather, the venerable Sumedha Paṇḍit, the venerable Brahmadeṭṭhā, the venerable Brahmadiṭṭhā, the venerable Son, (and) the venerable Saṅgasenavara Paṇḍit, the lord poured (lit. “gave”) water onto the image.
- 18b-20a: That being finished, the wife’s son, who is called Rājakumār, enshrined the golden Buddha (in a temple) and ordered/made the golden stupa of the temple.
- 20b-22a: When (lit. “time”) this temple donation was ordered/made, this noble wife’s son, Rājakumār, put the three villages Sakmunalon, Rapāy, and Henvuiv (to) this temple pagoda [or: temple and pagoda] (he) had ordered/made for the lord,
- 22b-23: and prayed thus: “Be this what I did the cause of giving to (me) omniscience and complete wisdom!
- 24-26: On behalf of these vassals (who) I put (to) this Buddha that I dedicated to the lord, if people – my sons, my grandsons, my kinsmen, or other persons – do harm or violence to (them), (they) should not be given the presence of this noble Buddha Arimittiyā.

