

NOTES ON MON EPIGRAPHY

II

CHRISTIAN BAUER

INSTITUTE OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE
FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT
MAHIDOL UNIVERSITY

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1. Three inscribed votive tablets from Saraphi (Chiangmai)

Two votive tablets, inscribed in Old Mon, and hitherto unpublished have been on display at the King Narai National Museum in Lopburi ever since they were acquired by the Museum in 1980; they originate from a site in Saraphi district, Chiangmai, and can be dated to around the 12th-13th centuries, probably antedating most of the Lamphun inscriptions.¹

In 1985 R.L. Brown published a concise presentation of the Southeast Asian artefacts in the possession of the Los Angeles County Museum.² This account included another votive tablet, also inscribed in Old Mon of the same period, said to have come from a site in Chiangmai which, judging by its epigraph, must have been a series. Brown did not mention the corresponding two images of the Lopburi Museum and dated it to the 12th to 13th centuries.³

Palæographically these votive images antedate the other inscriptions from Lamphun as well as Jm.45 from Wieng Mano, Chiangmai.⁴

The inscriptions, located on the upper rim of the pedestal, are in Old Mon and show the name of the Thera repre-

sented. The names engraved on all three votive tablets are names of Arahants, namely Piṅḍola-bhāradvāja, Bhaddiya and Jotiya respectively.⁵

Tablet 23/2523 is a fragment, measuring 11.5 cm in height, 12 cm wide; tablet 24/2523 is complete, measuring 25.5 cm in height. The height of the tablet at the LA County Museum is given by Brown as 25.9 cm.

The text of 23/2523 [Plate 1b] reads:

trala 'ey piṅḍolabhāradwājatthera

The text of 24/2523 reads:

trala 'ey bhad[-]jatthera

The inscription on the third tablet from the Los Angeles County Museum of Art reads as follows [Plates 1a, 1c]:

trala 'ey jotiyatthera

The title or honorific, *trala 'ey* 'my Lord', a term of reference and address to monks in Mon, and its borrowing into epigraphic Thai, has been discussed elsewhere, *trala* meaning 'master, lord' and '*ey* being the pronoun of the first person singular 'I, me'.⁶ The spelling *trala* — corresponding elsewhere to *tarla*', *tirla*', *trala*' and minor variants thereof for which to consult *DMI* and *NME I* — conforms to the spelling of all the other occurrences in the late Old Mon inscriptions from Lamphun.⁷

Noteworthy is the form *'tthera*, for *'tthera*, in all three tablets; how this spelling convention is to be interpreted remains to be seen.⁸

Problematic is also the spelling of *Bhaddiya* in 24/2523 as *bhad[-]ja*.

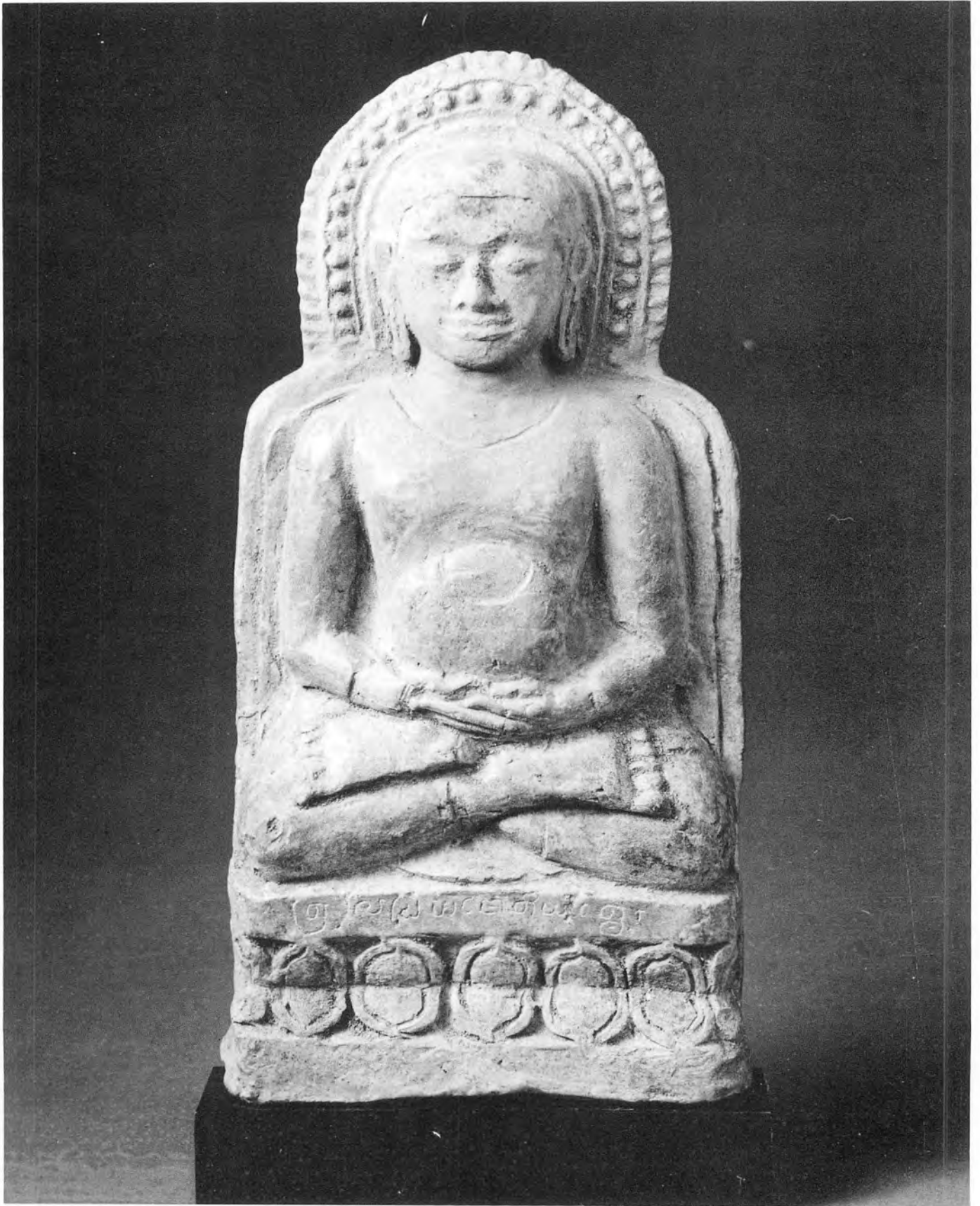


Plate 1a : Inscribed votive tablet, Chiangmai, 12th-13th c. Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Reproduced by permission (see p. 78).



Plate 1b : 23/2523 Votive image from Saraphi. King Narai National Museum, Lopburi, inscribed in Old Mon.



Plate 1c : Mon Inscription on rim of votive tablet, Chiangmai. Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Detail. Reproduced by permission (see p.78).

In a relative chronology of Mon inscriptions from Northern Thailand, palæographically the Saraphi series would have to be placed first.⁹ The following characteristics should be noted:

23/2523

- na* the base is unnotched, an archaic feature found in earlier inscriptions but not elsewhere in Lamphun
- bha* noteworthy here is footmark at the left limb which originated in a triangular form; although its remnant points outward — archaic varieties have an inward curl — the pronounced serif to which the vowel *ā* is attached is again an archaism

- tha* although in all three cases a subscript, the mid-line is an archaic feature lost in later Lamphun varieties
- ya* notice the pronounced serifs / hooks on the upper middle and right arms, missing elsewhere in the Lamphun inscriptions where these are either missing or simple short (horizontal) serifs
- ja* this akṣara looks contemporaneous with the Lamphun inscriptions, the middle horizontal, the 'arm', not attached, but compare this feature with the Pali Jātaka glosses from the East Hpetleik at Pagan where this feature also occurs
- da* sans-serifed presumably because of the context *jā*

LA County Museum tablet

- 'ey* the Los Angeles tablet shows a pronounced notched base of the initial vowel *'e*; the virāma on *-ya-* is clearly legible, unlike 23/2523 and 24/2523.

Stylistically interesting is the absence of a deictic incipit (*wo'*) such as *wo' trala 'ey ...* 'this is my Lord...'

2. ၈၇.38 / Dw.38

This clay votive tablet from Mon Nang, Choburi, now at the King Narai National Museum, Lopburi, has hitherto gone unnoticed. It is the first Mon inscription to be found in the eastern part of Thailand. However, given the number of known Mon-Dvāravatī sites in Eastern Thailand, its recovery is hardly surprising.

The votive tablet features on its obverse a seated Buddha and on its reverse the text given below. The tablet measures 7 cm [height] by 8 cm [length, at bottom; 7 cm at top]. Palæographically it can be dated to ca. the 8th to 9th centuries. The tablet is registered with the FAD not as an inscription—hence no record exists in the National Library—but as an artefact. The inscription on its reverse reads:

- (1) *kyāk puñ* [
- (2) — [*t*]rala [

"this Buddha image is the work of merit [...] (of) Lord [...]".

3. ၈၂.1 / Sp.1

This inscription is engraved at the cave entrance to a Buddhist sanctuary at Tambol Khao Wong, Phra Phutthabat district, Saraburi; it has been published a number of times.

Previous readings contain a number errors, both in its decipherment and its grammatical interpretation; given its difficulty, both palaeographically as well as lexically, this is not unexpected.

The inscription can be dated to the 6th c. but a firm relative chronology remains to be established; Shorto supported such a date in 1971 and again in 1973/1979.10

The three-line inscription measures 50 cm in length by 15 cm in height [Plate 2a, b, c]. Its existence was known by 1971 when it was, for the first time, referred to in print in *DMI*. A FAD survey-team, guided by Bhuthorn Bhumadhon, registered the inscription in 1979.¹¹

- (1) *kmun* 'anurādhapur ko 'k[] *kandar janjih*
 (2) *ranleh kom-nāh ḍoñ pa[] tanāy sinādh[a]*
 (3) *hān-naḥ toy lop ḍey wo'*

"(1) the King of Anurādhapura and [...] his wife sang (2) and danced together with the people [...] (?) (3) (...) and (then) entered here [the cave sanctuary]."

Vocabulary:

<i>kmun</i>	'to rule'
'anurādhapur	'proper name'
<i>ko'</i>	'[particle]'
<i>kandar</i>	'wife'
<i>janjih</i>	'to sing'
<i>ranleh</i>	'to dance'
<i>kom-nāḥ</i>	'to associate', 'person'
<i>ko nāḥ</i>	'together with, and', 'person'
<i>ḍoñ</i>	'town, city, country'
<i>hān-naḥ</i>	'place (?)' and '[unknown]'

Two words in this inscription are illegible, in line 1 *ka[]* and the akṣaras following *pa[]* in line 2; in the first case *ka* may simply be a scribal error due to the rough surface which does not lend itself to writing, and originally it may have been the initial of the word *kandar*. The second is impossible to guess given the obscure context: both of the following words *tanāy sinādh[a]* — which may also be read as *sināw[a]* — are unknown.¹²

A number of words and segments in this inscription are most problematic.

Medioclusters are not written as ligatures, or conjuncts, — that is, as subscripts — in the case of *janjih* 'to sing' and *ranleh* 'to dance', while in *-nd-* in *kandar* 'wife' is written as a ligature. Noteworthy is that homorganicity in medioclusters is not noted, as for instance in *janjih* which is attested elsewhere in the OM corpus as *jañjeh*. Minor syllables are neutralized to *-a-* in *janjih* and *ranleh*. Note should also be taken of the variant vocalism in 'to sing' *janjih*, elsewhere OM *jañjeh*.

Uncertain is the interpretation of *kom-nāḥ* or *ko mñāḥ*. The latter reading can be accepted if *ko* is interpreted as a weak form. This would, however, imply variation between weak and strong forms in the same grammatical context: in line 1 *ko' kandar* 'and his wife' but *ko mñāḥ* 'and the people' in line 2. Occurrences of *mñāḥ* 'person, human being' — quite likely to be a contaminated form, OM *nāḥ* 'person' and OM *manis*,



Plate 2a : Sp. 1 Old Mon inscription (6th c.) Khao Wong, Phra Phutthabat, Saraburi.

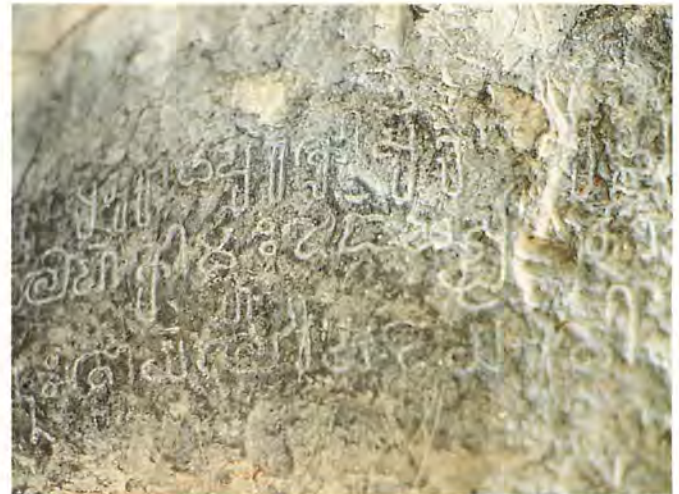


Plate 2b/c : Sp. 1, detail top right (above), left half (below)



Plate 2d.



Plate 2e



Plate 2f : Sp. 1, detail left half.

manus, *mānus* 'human being' < Skt. *manuṣa*, *manuṣya*, *mānuṣa*, P. *manussa*, *mānusa* — are rare in Mon and usually confined to contexts in which 'humans' OM *mñah* are contrasted with 'divine beings' OM *dewatāw* or 'spirits, dæmons' OM *kindok*. OM *mñah* may be used as a collective or generic form.

Alternatively, the segment may be read as *kom ñah* in which *kom* 'to assemble, associate [with]' is part of a serialized verb construction consisting of *janjih ranleh kom*, but such a construction is exceptional: elsewhere in the epigraphic OM corpus *kom* always commands the noun-clitic / preposition *ku*, *ku'*, *ko'*.

The segment *hānnaḥ* is also problematic; first of all, it is not certain that *hān** has a long vowel *-ā-*, and should not be read as *hān**; secondly one cannot be sure that *hānnaḥ* is to be interpreted as two words *hān # naḥ*. An argument in favour of the latter interpretation is that reduplicated medials (geminales) are unknown in OM, unless they are loans. If this interpretation is correct, the reading of *kom-ñah* in line 2 could be supported because orthographic medioclusters *-CC-* could be interpreted here — as they are sometimes elsewhere in the OM corpus — as representing phonologically *-C # C-*, in other words representing a notation in which a word-boundary is not marked.¹³ The meaning remains to be determined; the verb *toy* 'to be finished; [marking completion]' in the following segment *toy lop dey wo'* 'then entered here' implies the presence of a verbal group in what precedes. It is tempting to amend *naḥ* to *neh* for the demonstrative 'this' (< Khmer) and to regard *hān* as a strong form of *han*, *hin* 'place, location'.¹⁴

The entire construction *toy lop dey wo'* [line 3] conforms to grammatical rules for which there is evidence only at later stages.

4. နဂ.7 / Nw.7

This stupa, recovered from a site in Nakhorn Sawan and now on display at the King Narai National Museum, Lopburi, was discussed in *JSS* LXXIX, 1. I had so far not proposed a reading—with exception of the word *ne' / nai'* under discussion—because there remain still some doubts about the decipherment of some segments; but the reading proposed by Champa/Thoem warrants correction. Champa/Thoem date the stupa to ca.8th–9th c. The object was not recovered during controlled excavations but was a chance-find by Dr. Samnuan Palawatwichai of Chainat. Its provenance is a site called Thap Chumphol (now Tambol Nong Krot), in Muang district of Nakhorn Sawan, and appears to be part of an ensemble.¹⁵ It measures 37 cm in height. It was registered by the FAD in 1980. A reading was published for the first time in 1981.¹⁶

The inscription consists of two lines, around the lower rim of the stupa, the upper line in Mon, the lower in Pali (*ye dhamma formula*).¹⁷

(1) *ne' kyāk pun tra[la] [] wihār*

"this stupa is the work of merit of the Lord (of) [—] *vihāra*"

I have discussed the problem of *ne'* / *nai'* 'this' before; what I had not pointed out so far concerns a problem of word-order, similar to the one we encounter in an Isan Mon inscription.¹⁸ It could well be that *ne'*—which I regarded on earlier occasions as suspiciously Khmer—is attached to *kyak* 'Buddha, sacred being/object', in other in pre-nominal position (to be translated here as "this sacred object [stupa]"). This would, however, conform to pre-Angkorian word-order. If this assumption can be corroborated by other evidence, it would point to Khmer-Mon bilingualism on the northern periphery of the Chao Phraya basin by the 8th c.¹⁹ Another unresolved issue is the title *trala* 'lord, master'.

5. Liaisons

In *NME I* I referred to junctural spellings, or instances where phonological liaison was encoded in the orthography, forms such as OM *wo C-* which consist of the deictic *wo'* followed by the initial consonant of the following word; in this case, the glottal stop was subject to elision. Besides the cases mentioned, further cases are attested in the glosses at the Kubyauk-gyi [AD 1113], involving the strong verb OM *das* 'to be [in existence]' and the Lokahteikpan, where a final glottal stop *-'* /-ʔ/ is assimilated with the velar stop of the following word-initial *k-* /k-/. In the Nipāta selections on the west wall of the shrine (Luce/Ba Shin pp.89-90, glosses 35-54).²⁰ The glosses are set formulæ consisting of a number followed by *nipāt* and the name of the Jātaka, followed by *bodhisat das* and a variable. The verb *das* shows two forms, the strong form *das* and the weak form *da*. The rule of assimilation with the initial of the following word is simple: if the initial of the following word is *s-* the final *-s* of the *das* is lost. In all other environments the final *-s* of *das* is retained. The following cases are attested in the glosses (Figure 1) :

Kubyauk-gyi	Gloss #
<i>das smin</i>	42, 43, 50, 51, 52
<i>da smin</i>	36, 46, 48, 49
<i>das dewataw</i>	44
<i>das nah</i>	35, 47
<i>das risi</i>	37, 40, 53
<i>das kon</i>	54
<i>das 'amat</i>	38, 39, 41
Lokahteikpan	Gloss #21
<i>w[o kyek] tre[y]</i>	29
<i>m[e]t[teya]</i>	

Figure 1

Liaison, however, is not only attested as elision in OM but also as assimilation, as in the case of *smin dewatāw* [I.A.48] where the final velar nasal *-ñ* of *smin* 'prince, king' is as-

similated with the following alveolar *d-*. Assimilation of finals and initials is orthographically encoded in OM epigraphy by junctural spellings, that is, by writing the initial of a word as a subscript attached to the phonological final of the preceding word, as if both segments were to be interpreted as a CVCCVC word; these forms are listed in Figure 2a.

Junctural form	Segmental form	Location
<i>pundān</i>	<i>puṇa # dāna</i>	VIII.A.28
<i>mippār</i>	<i>mip # pār</i>	VIII.B.12
<i>sacchu</i>	<i>sac # chu</i>	VIII.B.12
<i>cuttam</i>	<i>cut # tam</i>	IX.E.39
<i>sminnek</i>	<i>smin # nek</i>	Kyazin #22
<i>smin sudassana</i>	<i>smin # ...</i>	Kyazin #24

Figure 2a

From this more complex patterns may have been derived, as shown in Figure 2b.

Junctural form	Segmental form	Location
<i>mirmokkintu</i>	<i>mirmok # kintu</i>	IX.D.42
<i>cippiryām</i>	<i>cip # piryām</i>	IX.C.3, E.1, 14
<i>sattirachān</i>	<i>sat # tirachān</i>	VIII.B.8
<i>gappumas</i>	<i>gap # pumas</i>	VIII.A.14
<i>cmattā</i>	<i>cmat # tā</i>	I.A.41

Figure 2b

The second instance in Figure 2b can be contrasted with a segmental form *cup # piryām* [IX.C.44].

In two cases grammatical markers have been thus attached, /-a/ (for absolute questions) in OM *cmattā* [I.A.41], and /mə-/ (a weak form for the clause-subordinating marker /ma?/) in OM *pokamma* 'imo' '... Pagan which is called...' [VIII.B.14]. Junctural forms such as these and other cases of liaison imply the encoding of features of the spoken language in these epigraphs, especially stress-placement. In other words, a limited number of suprasegmental features may be deduced from inscriptions. What these are is the subject of future investigation.

6. [s-] Supplementa

In my discussion of the OM [s-] prefix marking the 'hypothetical' I referred to the Jātaka illustrations on the Ananda at Pagan.²² Such a reference was necessary because only these illustrations provide evidence for OM [s-] having also an aspectual value ('ingressive, preparative').

However, the Ananda plaques in question were not reproduced in the two earlier publications; they appear here as Plates 3, 4 and 5.²³ Figure 3 shows Duiroselle's annotations of the plaques.

Both rows in Plate 3 show excerpts from two narrative sequences of the Mūgapakkha and Śyāma Jātakas respectively. The middle panels in Plate 3 (Duroiselle #28 and #90) contain a gloss with an [s-] inflected verb. In both cases the panel with the [s-] inflected verb is followed by a plaque where the action initiated in the earlier panel has already been accomplished.

In Plate 4 only the following plaque is added because the ones preceding the gloss in which the [s-] inflected verb occurs is not part of the same scene. Plate 5 shows only those plaques in which the glosses have [s-] inflected verbs; the preceding and following plaques are not part of the same scene.

My argument put forward in the Shorto Festschrift that OM [s-] not only marks 'futurity' [tense] and 'irrealis' [modality] but also 'ingressive, non-completive' [aspect] was based on evidence from these Ananda plaques. The different narrative frames reproduced here, either in sequence (Plates 3 and 4) or in isolation (Plate 5), can be divided into scenes in which the actions have not yet been initiated, in which the action has already been initiated, and in which the action has already been terminated (Figure 4).

<i>action not yet initiated (intention)</i>	<i>action initiated</i>	<i>action accomplished</i>
27	28 [s-]	29
89, 90 [s-]	—	91
183 [s-]	—	184
249 [s-]	—	250
—	285 [s-]	286
#	64 [s-]	#
189 [s-]	#	#
224 [s-]	#	#
267 [s-]	#	#

Figure 4

As can be seen in Figure 4, in three instances does a gloss containing an [s-] inflected verb occur in a scene in which the action is shown to have already been initiated.²⁴

In Plate 4 the left column shows plaques containing [s-] inflected verbs, while the right column shows scenes where the initiated action (left column) has been accomplished.

Complication arises in the interpretation of [s-] when comparing [s-] inflected forms and non-inflected forms in the same grammatical context, such as plaques #961 (Duroiselle #159), #715 (Duroiselle #183) and #621 (Duroiselle #90):

māhos mun cow [#961]
māhos mun na s'ār [#715]
syām mun slop grip [#621]

The problem encountered here is three-fold: in the same grammatical context we find variation between (i) inflected [#715, #621] and uninflected forms [#961], (ii) variation between subordinated forms [#715] and those which are not

[#961, #621], and (iii) the narrative representations on the plaques themselves exhibit variations.

Out of a total of 389 Mahānipāta plaques on the Ananda, verbs occur 357 times (116 different verbs are attested). These are listed in the appendix. The context cited gives also the prepositions and serialized verb constructions.

The analysis of narrative syntax in pictorial representations is a field which may be explored in the future; for instance, can specific verbs be associated with specific gestures or the location of elements within a frame? How are aspectual values represented, or conversely, how can aspectual values be inferred from pictorial representations of actions?

It was also noted in the earlier articles that the [s-] prefix has an orthographic variant *si-* if the base-initial is /s-/; it was stated earlier that the orthographic minor vowel *-i-* marked a vowel-colouring which is environmentally conditioned (a high front vowel surrounded by front consonants). An instance was cited where the base-initial was a back-consonant /k-/, yet the [s-] prefix is written in that instance as *si-*, as in OM *sik'im* 'shall smile'.

However, this does not apply to all /k-/ base-initials since we have an OM form *sk[ut]tir* 'to rouse' [III.C.16], a 'causative' (infix [-ə-]) of the 'hypothetical' (prefix [s-]), derived from the base OM *ktir*.²⁵

I have also encountered a case of variation, OM *summāñ* ~ *simmāñ* [Sutta glosses, Paṭthamya, (a) xxxiii and xxxviii, Luce 1975, p. 143, 144, (b) xxii, Luce 1975, p. 141], a causative form derived from the base OM *smāñ* 'to ask'. It may simply be a case of analogy where the causative infix /-ə-/, written *-u-* in this particular environment (prelabial), follows the generalized pattern of the [s-] prefix, having *si-* as its orthographic variant. Problematic is the reduplication of the medial /-m-/, as if, in the case of *-um-*, we dealt with a causative infix [-m-] conditioning a minor syllable vowel; this is problematic insofar as the causative prefix [p-] in Khmer, and its variants, has an allomorph [-m-] for bases with complex initials CC- > C-m-C.

7. វង់ Addenda

One of the striking differences between the Jātakā glosses on the Lokahteikpan [1115], Aloyi' [1130] and those found at the Kyazin concern — apart from spellings — the variation in the use of the locative preposition 'at, in, &c.' OM *hān, han, hin*.²⁶ The context of the glosses (the 28 Buddhas) reads:²⁷

[name] *pluh* (*han*) chu [name of tree] '(The Buddha [name])
 blossomed at the
 [name] tree'

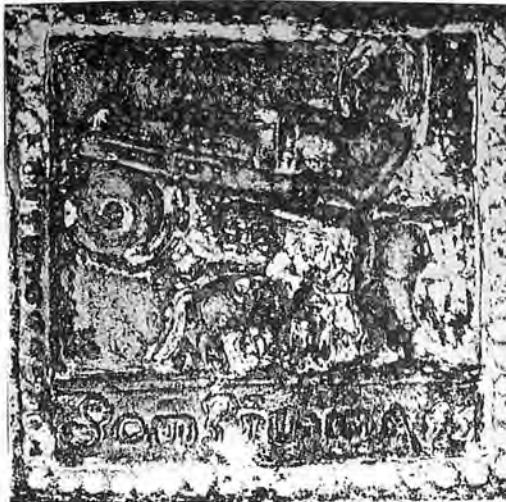
In the Kyazin glosses no preposition can be found at all whereas the glosses in the Aloyi' show minimal variation (14.29%, or 4 cases, having the preposition *han* in the "28 Buddhas"); on the Lokahteikpan we find maximal variation (57.14% having *han*, or 16 cases out of 28). Figure 6 shows a



27.—(The charioteer) conveys Temiya.



28.—(Temiya) descending on to the ground.



29.—He tries his strength.



89.—Syāma ministers to his parents.



90.—Syāma informs (his parents) he is going to enter the forest.



91.—Syāma enters the forest.

Figure 3. Duroiselle's annotations [Plate 3]

27. Outside the palace, the charioteer places Temiya on a chariot and conveys him to the cemetery for burial. One of the horses can be seen; the other, alongside of him, being invisible[.] On the chariot, in front, the charioteer, and behind him Temiya.

89. The two blind parents are seated in the hut; Sāma ministers to them: after his excursion in the mountain, he brings back fruits for them.

28. The charioteer has gone to dig a grave near by. Temiya, having been still for so long, wonders if he has any strength left; to ascertain, he gets down from the chariot. *He is in the act of descending*; his left leg is already outside, his foot resting on a stone. In front, a horse, quite diminutive.

90. One day, having brought back fruits, he informs his parents that he intends going to the forest to bathe and bring back water.

29. When on the ground, he tries his strength; to do so, he seizes the chariot by its hinder part and lifts it up as if it were a toy. The horse may be seen under the chariot.

91. Sāma is beloved by all the beasts of the forest; some deer generally follow him wherever he goes. He is seen here leaving his parents and entering the forest— indicated by one tree—followed by the deer.



183.—Mahosadha tells (the king) that he is going (to Uttarpañcāla).



184.—(Mahosadha) enters the city of Pañcāla.



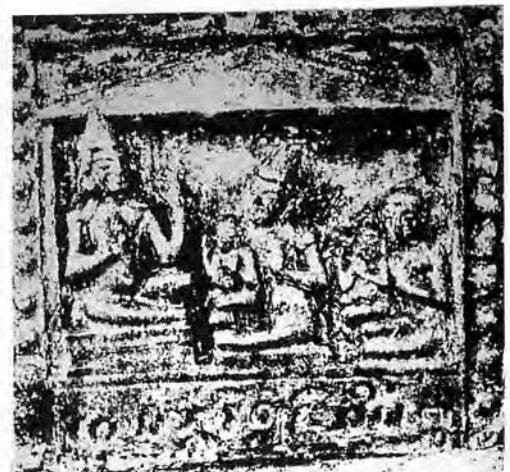
249.—Vidhura tells (Punnyakkha) he is ready to go (with him).



250.—Punnyakkha carries away Vidhura.



285.—Vessantara goes to see his father.



286.—Vessantara comes and attends respectfully on his father.

Figure 3 [Plate 4].

183. Mahosadha, knowing that King Vedeha is determined to go to Panñcālā, evolves a whole plan by which not only shall Vedeha get the Panñcāla princess, but also see the discomfiture of his enemy Cūlanii; *he is asking leave* to proceed before the king; in front of the king Mahosadha with, behind him, three attendants.

249. Having thus settled his affairs and taken leave of the king Vidhura informs the yakkha *he is ready to go* with him.

285. When everything is over Vessantara, accompanied by his wife and children, goes to visit his father. Vessantara, then Jāli, his son, and near the boy Maddii carrying Kaṇhajinā on her hip.

184. He goes ahead of the king in order to arrange everything on the way against the rapid and safe return of the king. He has reached Pañcāla, and is being received.

250. Puṇṇaka is eager to get the heart of Vidhura in order to win the hand of the fair Nāga maiden. He mounts his horse, which is endowed with reason and can fly; he bids Vidhura to take hold of his tail, and, springing up in the air, takes his flight over the Himālayas. Under the horse are represented the peaks of the Himālayas.

286. Vessantara and Maddi respectfully take leave of King Sañjaya, after informing him of their resolve to go to the Vindhyas with their two children.



64.— They (the two attendants) bring the alms bowl (and) give it (to Mahājanaka).



189.— Mahosadha enters the king's house.



224.— (Bhūridatta) asks his father leave to observe the *silas*.



267.— (Vessantara) asks for gold to give alms.



159.— Mahosadha informs (that is about) to return (home).

Figure 3. Duroiselle's annotations [individual plaques; Plate 5]

64. After four months he reflects that the proper place for an ascetic is, not a palace, but the wilderness. So he resolves upon leaving the palace, and bids the two servants bring him yellow robes and an almsbowl. In the casket held by the first servant are the robes. The other is holding the bowl.

224. Having seen the glories of Tāvātimsa, Bhūridatta is disgusted with his birth as a nāga, and resolves to gain heaven by the observance of fast and of the precepts (silas). He is asking from his father permission to observe the silas. The king and the queen are seated, he is standing in front of them. The snake over the head of a figure always shows that figure is a nāga.

159. Having settled everything, Mahosadha takes leave of the girl's parents. He is on the right, with his hands uplifted in the oriental salute; the father is in the middle, the mother on the left.

189. He repairs to Cūḷani's palace, and explains to him that the people are so very sorry to lose their homes that it will be impossible to build the palace in the city, and therefore asks permission to build it outside. Permission is granted. On the left, Cūḷani; in front of him, Mahosadha, who holds something in each hand, which is not easy to make out; the text, moreover, gives no hint as to what these things are.

267. As the queen one day was crossing the Merchant's quarter, she felt her time had come; a lying-in chamber was hastily improvised, and there the Bodhisattva was born. As soon as he was born, he put out his hand, asking: "Mother, is there anything for me to give in alms?" She placed in his hand a purse of a thousand coins. The mother is on the bed; near it the usual pan of fire. It will be seen the scene is not faithful to the text, the queen should be placing the purse in his hand; instead it is handed over by a palace lady. The child is on the right, standing, and can be made out by the small top-knot on his head, which is worn by most children in Burma.

synoptic chart of the occurrences of the weak form OM *han* in the glosses accompanying the 28 Buddhas (where '√' marks an occurrence of *han*, '—' its absence, and '[]' lacunæ).

No.	Jātaka	Alopyi'	Kyazin	Lokahteikpan
1	Tanhaṅkara	√	[]	—
2	Medhaṅkara	√	—	—
3	Saranaṅkara	√	—	√
4	Dipaṅkara	—	—	√
5	Koṅḍañña	√	[—]	√
6	Maṅgala	—	—	[]
7	Sumana	—	—	—
8	Revata	—	—	√
9	Sobhita	[]	—	[]
10	Anomadassi	—	—	[]
11	Paḍuma	—	—	[]
12	Nārada	—	—	√
13	Paḍumuttara	—	—	[]
14	Sumedha	—	—	√
15	Sujāta	—	—	[]
16	Piyadassi	—	—	√
17	Atthadassi	—	—	√
18	Dhammadassi	—	—	√
19	Siddhattha	[]	—	√
20	Tissa	[]	—	[]
21	Phussa	—	—	[]
22	Vipassi	[]	—	√
23	Sikhī	[]	[]	√
24	Wessabhū	—	—	√
25	Kakusandha	—	—	√
26	Konāgamana	[]	[]	√
27	Kassapa	—	[]	√
28	Gotama	—	[]	[]

Figure 5

In the Ananda plaques we find consistent *han* –marking with certain verbs. These are listed in Figure 6.²⁸

OM <i>hin</i>		
<i>pcan</i>	'to send'	570
<i>mun</i>	'to tell'	579
<i>ḍmoṅ</i>	'to reside, stay at'	796
<i>stik</i>	'to lie down'	900
<i>tluṅ</i>	'to come'	903, 908
OM <i>han</i>		
<i>s-cis</i>	'to descend'	565
<i>maṅ sil</i>	'to keep the precepts'	755
<i>s-ār</i>	'to go'	816
<i>tluṅ</i>	'to come'	818
<i>bāt</i>	'to hide'	868

Figure 6

How this can be interpreted remains to be seen; could this be indicative of an historical development, or do we deal here with stylistic variation? Noteworthy is OM *mun* (#579) 'to tell' occurring with the locative particle *hin* where one would expect the preposition OM *ku* ~*ku'* ~*ko'*.

8. Finals

In his "From Lamphun to Inscription No.2", SSN III, 1, 1987, 2-6, Vickery quoted me correctly in saying that the reduplication of final consonants in Mon is confined to Lamphun inscriptions (13th c.).²⁹ However, sifting through Pagan glosses and votive tablets (11th- 12th c.) I came across a form OM *dass* for the standard form OM *das* 'to be [in existence]'. This form *dass* is attested in tablet #74e.³⁰

In the Wimantu glosses of the Pahtoṭhāmya a form *kill* for *kil*, *kul*, *kel*, *keil* is attested [#7, Luce 1975, p. 217], as is a form *rinlehh* for *rinleh* [ibid., #10, Luce 1975, p. 218]. The latter variant may be due to analogy with regular spellings of final /-h/ combining visarga and final -h, that is, -*hḥ*.³¹

Noteworthy are other peculiar forms of spelling phonologically open syllables, that is, syllables marked as loan-words since OM word-structure does not permit open syllables, the canonical forms being OM CVC, CCVC, CCCVC, CVCVC, CVCCVC, CCVCVC, and CCVCVC. In the case of Sanskrit *śrī*, Pali *srī* one finds two different forms on three votive tablets: #26f *sriy* [OBEP II.20], and #26e / #27a *srih* [OBEP II.20]. Both conventions for writing long vowels in final position are also attested in Khmer, but the existence of parallel forms need not necessarily indicate borrowing in this case. Final -h spellings for phonologically open syllables (loan-words) are also attested in the Mahānīpāta-Jātaka plaques on the Ananda, such as *kiryāh* (#801, #826, #918) for *kiryā* (#802), and *maddih* (#819) for *maddī*. Duroiselle has commented upon the latter without, however, drawing parallels to Khmer.³²

9. Errata

In *NME I* the following errors should be corrected:

1. In Figure F, p. 50, for 'Kd.24' read 'Kd.29'.
2. Page 54, for 'AD 771' read 'AD 775'.
3. In note 29, p. 69, I claimed that *phgat phgan* is not attested in Old Khmer, contra R.K. Headley; it does occur once in the so-called 'Mango Grove inscription' of the 14th c. from Sukhothai [K 413 / Sd.3 / old inventory number #4]. This inscription is, however, one of the first Middle Khmer inscriptions.
4. Michael Vickery pointed out to me in correspondence (5 May 1992) that my statement in note 9, page 68, in *NME I* is misleading. The sentence should read: "One might argue that *wo*', especially the cliticized form *wo*, is linked to the following noun, as is the case with *neh* in Pre-Angkorian Khmer..."

PLATES:

	Head V	Prep	V ₁	V ₂	Location
1. Saraphi	bar				731
2a. Sp.1	bib,at				566, 692, 785
2b. Sp.1, right section	bib,at	ku			546, 550, 551, 553, 554,
2c. Sp.1, left section					555, 556, 557, 558, 732
2d. Sp.1, upper left section	bicār				658, 660, 661, 662, 663,
2e. Sp.1, middle left section					664, 665, 667, 671, 811
2f. Sp.1, lower left section	bir				641, 642
3-5 The 16 plates (Plates 3 to 5) featuring a selection of the Jātaka plaques on the Ananda at Pagan have been taken from the first edition of <i>Epigraphia Birmanica</i> , Volume II.2, by Charles Duroiselle (Rangoon, Superintendent, Government Printing, 1921, reprinted 1962) [see also Figure 3 for Duroiselle's annotations]. The following plates are reproduced here:	bir			tun	828
	bram				586
	buhic				783, 865
	bulāh				702
	buton				682
	ca				612a, 686, 861
	cip				769, 837, 839, 848, 850,
					854, 855, 856, 857, 883,
					886, 887
	cirmil				901
	cis	nor			609, 807
	scis	han			565
	cow				735, 768, 795, 805
	cow			'ār	899
	cow	nor			714
	crit				612
	cup				884
	ḍuk				822, 915
	dak				876
	dak			rin 'ār	874
	dal				881
	dindu				608, 573, 609a, 644
	dmoñ				746, 917
	dmoñ			kinrom	700
	dmoñ	hin			796
	dmoñ	pḍey			842
	drep				830
	duḍac				787
	duñ				896
	gja'				853
	gñi'				567
	gulāñ				812, 844, 898, 910
	gulāñ	ku			572, 613, 626, 643, 717,
					729, 758, 770, 771, 819,
					846, 867
	gulāñ	na		s'ār	780
	jak				763, 832
	jilit				878
	jilik			tun	829
	jin	ku			723
	kās				602
	kḍañ				873
	ket				610a, 678, 719, 720
	kew				632
	khil				747
	khut				778
	kinlon				590
	kil				649, 651, 652, 655, 690,
					776, 794, 800, 801, 802,

Plate	Plaque #	Duroiselle #	Jātaka	OM[s-] verb
3	564	vii.a	Mūgapakkha	—
3	565	vii.b		s-cis
3	566	vii.c		—
3	620	xx.b	Śyāma	—
3	621	xx.c		s-lop
3	622	xx.d		—
4	715	xliii.a	Mahā- ummaga	s'ār
4	716	xliii.b		—
4	780	lix.b	Vidhura paṇḍita	s'ār
4	781	lix.c		—
4	816	lxviii.b	Vessantara	s'ār
4	817	lxviii.c		—
5	721	xliv.c	Mahā- ummaga	s-lop
5	756	liii.a	Bhūridatta	s'ār
5	798	lxiii.d	Vessantara	s-kil
5	601	xv.b	Janaka	si-kil
5	691	xxxvii.b	Vessantara	non- inflected V

APPENDIX

List of verbs occurring in the Ananda plaques [Pagan, 11th c.]

Head V	Prep	V ₁	V ₂	Location
'āc				806
'āc	na		s-kil	798
'ār				772
s'ār	han			816
'or				587
'or			bicār	742
bās				911
bāt	han			868

Head V	Prep	V ₁	V ₂	Location	Head V	Prep	V ₁	V ₂	Location
				815, 826, 827, 831, 833, 836, 852, 872, 880, 895, 918	phum				618
				808	pindoñ				704, 736, 825
				897	pindoñ			weñ	724
kil			nā	760, 761	pindoñ				703
kil	ku		tun	745	pinrih				620
kiñkan				713, 757, 775	pkak				786
kiñkan	ku			656, 657, 718	ptiñ				610
kindañ				875	pubar	ku			727
kinkāl				599	pujāw				628, 733
kinkan	ku			728a	pumun				734
kir				722	pyuñ				847
kmin				637	pyuñ			'ār	730
kñā			cow	569	rāñ				542
krow				688	raleh				764
kumin				562, 737, 748, 752	rañ				705
kurow				849, 889	rañ			cip	790
kuta			tit	820	rañ			cow	777
kya	ma - ma	bicār	lñor	740	rañ			pyuñ	629
let				689	rañ			sikil	601
lñor				633, 677, 904, 907, 912	rañ			tluñ	743
lop				585, 614a, 622, 654, 716, 759, 834, 860, 862	rañ			tun	793
lop			ma'ir	858	rañ		tluñ		821
slop				721	rañ		tluñ	cip	765
lot				890, 909	rin			lop	792
lukow				611a	rin			tit	564
luño'				600	rin'ār				877
ma'ir				571, 602a, 646	rin'ar				781
man				824	sah				892
mañ	han			755	sik				809
may				804	sjiñ				687
mḍac	ku			712	smāñ				568, 578, 589, 638, 640, 685, 699, 707, 726, 738, 739, 774, 788, 835, 882
mey				583, 597, 636, 645	soh				684, 697, 754, 773
mun				744	sthān	ku			586
mun			cow	691	stik	hin			900
mun			slop	621	sutik				617
mun	hin			579	su'er				701
mun	na		sūār	715	suruh				659
mun pān		s'ār	mañ	756	tāw				694, 845
ñāc				598, 614, 762	tāw			bicār	741
ñāc			tluñ	863	tāw			gulañ	781
niman				538, 639	tal				708
nimit				766	ti[-]	nor			709
pa dhañmayut				710	tit			'ār	823
pa' himo'				541, 651a, 799	tit	nor			916
pa mañgala				693	tim				767
pa saccakiryā				631	tin				588, 623, 749, 870, 885, 920
pan				625	tin	nor			871
passenā				803	tit				596
pat				906	tit	nor			576, 728, 859
paṭisan				539, 615, 647, 797, 750	titey			ptit	619
pcan	hin			570	tluñ			cip	902, 905
pdas				784	tluñ			ket	563

Head V	Prep	V ₁	V ₂	Location	Head V	Prep	V ₁	V ₂	Location
tluñ			mey	813	tos				779, 789
tluñ			munas	810	tos	ku			574, 791
tluñ			munas	814	tubaḥ	ma		tur	611
tluñ			siw	817	tuk				624
tluñ			smāñ	698	tun				866
tluñ			smāñ	711	wāñ				725, 864
tluñ			wec	560	weñ				695
tluñ				894	wet				543
tluñ	han			818, 903, 908	wiñ	ku			577, 653
tluñ	nor			696	yām				627, 630, 879
					yok				582, 891

ENDNOTES

This article is a sequel of my "Notes on Mon epigraphy", *JSS* LXXIX, 1, 1991 [1992], 31-83. In transliterated texts parentheses indicate lacunæ, that is, supplied akṣaras which are defaced in the original, brackets indicate amended readings of partially defaced akṣaras. Forms of citation refer to *Epigraphia Birmanica* and to the FAD inventory.

I wish to gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Mrs. Manita Khueankhan, curator of the King Narai National Museum at Lopburi, Mr. Bhuthorn Bhumadhon, the former director of the National Museums at Lopburi and Bangkok, and Mr. James Di Crocco for help with the reproductions of the Ananda plaques.

The frontispiece of this article [Plate 1a], an inscribed votive tablet from Saraphi, Chiangmai, as well as the detail of its inscription [Plate 1c], are reproduced here with the permission of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Both the author and the Honorary Editor of the *JSS* are indebted to the LA County Museum for granting this permission and for providing a print of the tablet registered as M. 83.254, *Los Angeles County Museum*, gift of F. Neustatter. Copyright © 1992 Museum Associates, Los Angeles County Museum. All rights reserved.

ABBREVIATIONS:

- BBHC — *Bulletin of the Burma Historical Commission, Rangoon.*
 BSOAS — *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.*
 EB — *Epigraphia Birmanica, Rangoon, Government Printing, 1919.*
 DMI — H.L. Shorto, *A Dictionary of the Mon inscriptions from the sixth to the sixteenth centuries. London, Oxford University Press, 1971.*
 FAD — *Fine Arts Department, Ministry of Education, Bangkok.*
 IT — *Inscriptions in Thailand, Bangkok, FAD, The National Library, 1986, 5 vols.*
 JA — *Journal Asiatique, Paris.*
 JBRIS — *Journal of the Burma Research Society, Rangoon.*
 JSS — *Journal of the Siam Society, Bangkok.*
 MKS — *Mon-Khmer Studies.*

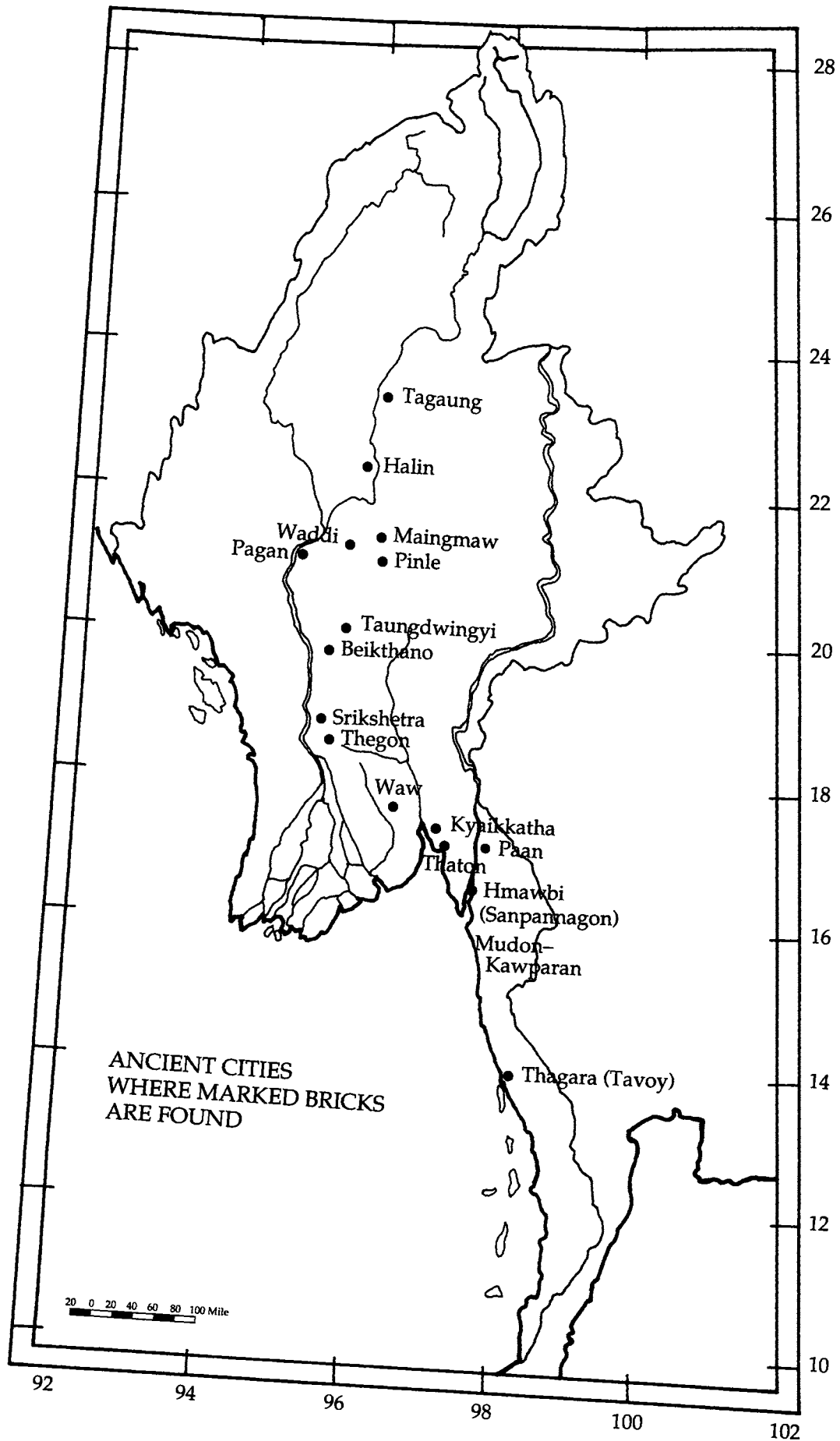
- NME — "Notes on Mon epigraphy", *JSS* 1991ff.
 OBEP — G.H. Luce, *Old Burma – Early Pagan, Locust Valley, NY, J.J. Augustin, 1969-70, 3 vols.*
 SSN — *Siam Society Newsletter, Bangkok.*
 MM — *Middle Mon (14th-16th c.)*
 OM — *Old Mon (6th-13th c.)*
 PA-Khm. — *Pre-Angkorian Old Khmer*

1. They were presented to the Lopburi Museum by Mr. Suddhiphong Maiwan, and are said to originate from Ban Pak Kong, Saraphi.
2. Cf. Robert L. Brown, in *Arts of Asia* XV, 6, 1985, 115-6, ill. *80.
3. Similar votive tablets have been reported from U Thong since the 1960s; some of these are inscribed not in Mon but in Pali; see the survey and excavation report *รายงานการสำรวจและขุดแต่งโบราณวัตถุสถาน, ก.ท.ม., กรมศิลปากร 2509 [Bangkok, FAD, 1966]*, notably ill.37 recto, ill.38 verso inscribed *metoyyakoceti* # and ill.35 recto — the inscribed obverse is not shown but transliterated as *sāriputtau*; ill.36 recto, inscribed obverse not shown and reportedly illegible. This set, however, is to be dated much earlier than the Saraphi series. The Saraphi tablets appear also to be similar to the ones purportedly from Sri Kṣetra; see a reproduction thereof in HRH Damrong Rajanubabh, *Journey through Burma in 1936, Bangkok, River Books, 1991*, [page 196, fig. 5].
4. This inscription was dated by Luce and Shorto to the 10th and 11th century respectively, in any case still antedating the Lamphun series. Cf. A.B. Griswold and Prasert ṅa Nagara, "An inscription in Old Mon from Wieng Manó in Chiangmai province — Epigraphic and historical studies No.6", *JSS*, LIX, 1971, 153-6; also *IT*.II. How this comparatively early date may be reconciled with art historical evidence remains to be seen; Dorothy H. Fickle in her *Images of the Buddha in Thailand*, Singapore, Oxford University Press, 1989 dates a Buddha image in grey lime stone, at the Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri [Nelson Fund 35-33], reproduced on the cover, and termed "Mon

art, central Thai style", discussed on pp. 30-2, to the seventh century.

5. See G.P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, London, Pali Text Society, ¹1938, ²1960, ³1974. *Jotika* is given as an alternative name for *Jotiya*.
6. Cf. my "L'épithète du Maître et son origine mōne", in: F. Bizot, ed., *Le chemin de Lan̄kā*, Paris and Chiangmai, Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient, 1992, pp.277-285.
7. These are Lb.1 to Lb.7. For further references see the recent second revised and updated edition of the inscriptions from the Hariphunchai National Museum in Lamphun, edited by จำปา เมืองเจริญ, เทิม มีเทิ้ม, คงเดช ประพัฒน์ทอง *ศิลาจารึกในพิพิธภัณฑสถานแห่งชาติ หริภุญชัย ก.ท.ม., กรมศิลปากร, 2534*. [Champa Yueangcharoen, Thoem Mitem and Khongdet Prapatthong, *Inscriptions from the Hariphunchai National Museum, Bangkok, FAD, 21991*]. The first edition was published under the title *วิเคราะห์ศิลาจารึกในพิพิธภัณฑสถานแห่งชาติหริภุญชัย ก.ท.ม., กรมศิลปากร, 2522 [An analysis of the stone inscriptions from the Hariphunchai National Museum, Bangkok, FAD, 1979]*. The readings of the Mon inscriptions published in the appendix to the second edition cannot be relied upon. Reproductions only, without transcriptions, can be found in *IT* II. Incomplete transcriptions, based on rubbings only, were first published by R. Halliday in collaboration with C.O. Blagden as "Les inscriptions mon de Siam", *BEFEO* XXX, 1930, 81-105, plates VIII-XVIII.
8. Unless it is interpreted as a single akṣara *tha*, so far not attested elsewhere.
9. The terminology follows A.H. Dani, *Indian Palæography*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1963, although Dani does not discuss epigraphic material from Southeast Asia after the 12th c.
10. *DMI*, p. ix and xxxiii, and "The linguistic protohistory of mainland South East Asia", in R.B. Smith and W. Watson, eds., *Early South East Asia*, London, Oxford University Press, 1979, pp. 273-8.
11. It was published for the first time, in Thai, by Thoem Mitem and Champa Yueangcharoen in Bhuthorn Bhum-

- dhon and Somchai Na Nakhorn Phanom, eds., [*The earliest inscriptions from Lopburi and surrounding areas*], Bangkok, FAD; Lopburi, King Narai National Museum, 1981, and subsequently in *Silpakorn* XXVIII, 3, 1984, 53-7. A revised reading, though still erroneous, was proposed by Thoem in *IT*.II:42-7.
12. It is tempting to equate *sinādh[a]* at the end of line 2 with PA-Khm. *sinādhā* which Jenner glosses in his *Chrestomathy of Pre-Angkorian Khmer: Lexicon of the dates inscriptions* (Honolulu, University of Hawaii, Department of Indo-Pacific Languages, 1981) as 'hermit', without, however, providing an etymology.
 13. See H.L. Shorto "Notes on Mon epigraphy", *BSOAS*, XVIII, 1956, 344-352, here p. 344; lack of encoding word--boundary occurs especially in cases in which the final of the first word and the initial of the following word are homorganic.
 14. *nah* for *neh* may not necessarily be a scribal error but a weak (unstressed) form; the main stress should be expected to lie on *toy*.
 15. Another [Pali] inscribed stupa was recovered from the same site; for a complete list of inscribed terracotta stupas see my "Notes on Mon epigraphy [I]", *op.cit.*
 16. The reading by Champa Yueangcharoen and Thoem Mitem appeared in อนุสรณ์ ภูมิชน, สมชาย ณ นครพนม, (บรรณารักษ์การ) จารึกโบราณวัตถุแรกพบที่ลพบุรีและใกล้เคียง. ก.ท.ม. กรมศิลปากร พิพิธภัณฑ์สถานแห่งชาติ สมเด็จพระนารายณ์มหาราช, ลพบุรี, Bhumathorn and Somchai Na Nakhorn Phanom, eds., [*The earliest inscriptions from Lopburi and surrounding areas*], Bangkok, FAD; Lopburi, King Narai National Museum, 1981, pp. 34-7; it was reprinted in *IT*.II:95-9.
 17. The reading of the second [Pali] line is omitted here.
 18. See "Notes...[I]", pp.00-00.
 19. See my "Numismatics, dialectology, and the periodization of Old Mon", *MKS* XVI-XVII, 1987-88 [1990], 155-76, Errata *MKS* XVIII-XIX, 1991 [1992], 358-9, where I referred to R.L. Brown's work on Mon *dharma* *macakra*; Brown assumes an early onset of Khmer influence on the art of the Chao Phraya basin (7th-8th c.). It is also worth recalling Coedès' hypotheses regarding language-shift in the Chao Phraya basin during the 12th to 14th c. See his "Nouvelles données sur l'histoire de l'Indochine centrale", *JA* CCXLVI, 1958, 125-42.
 20. Cf. Luce, G.H. & Ba Shin. "Pagan Myinkaba Kubyaugkyi temple of Rājakumār (1113 A.D.) and the Old Mon writings on its walls", *BBHC* II, 1961 [1965], 277-416.
 21. Ba Shin, *The Lokahteikpan — Early Burmese Culture in a Pagan temple*, Rangoon, Burma Historical Commission, 1962, pp.89-90, West wall of the shrine, Nipāta selections.
 22. See my "Old Mon [s-]" in J.H.C.S. Davidson, ed., *Austroasiatic Languages — Essays in honour of H.L. Shorto*, London, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1991, 41-9, and "OM [s-] Addenda", *MKS* XVIII-XIX, 1992, 250-3. The former contains an error in Figure 5: for item 5 (plaque #756) read Duroiselle reference number 225 (and not 224, as stated).
 23. Duroiselle's annotations to the plaques (*Epigraphia Birmanica* II.2) have also not been reproduced in their entirety in my contribution to the Shorto Festschrift; they are found here in Figure 3. On the other hand, Duroiselle's annotations and translations of the glosses are not given here; the reader is referred to the Shorto Festschrift [Figure 6]. The following additions should be noted [these include all those glosses embedded in narrative sequences]; in my earlier articles on OM [s-] I listed only cases of [s-] inflected verbs, and not those without inflections embedded in the narrative context [the first figure refers to Duroiselle's gloss number, the second to the number actually incised on the plaque]: 27/564 *rin tit temi*, 29/566 *biḥat dirhat*, 89/620 *syām pinrih 'abo' 'aba*, 91/622 *syām lop grip*, 184/716 *lop duñ pañcāl*, 250/781 *puñṇayak rin 'ār widhir*, 159/691 *mahos mun cow*.
 24. The symbol # in Figure 4 indicates that a plaque from the same scene does not exist. The reproduction of Duroiselle number 28, taken here from the second printing of *EB* II.2, is not sufficiently clear.
 25. The causative OM *kutir* can be reconstructed as proto-Mon *kaCter, where -C- is a labial, and the OM orthographic minor vowel -u- representing the vocalization of that former labial infix (H.L. Shorto, in conversation, 2 June 1990).
 26. See my contribution to the *Felicitatio volume for Prasert na Nagara*, edited by Uraisi Varasarin, Bangkok, Silpakorn University, 1991, pp.134-141). The following errata should be noted: p.137.2, second occurrence of han, read: hān; p.137.fn.2, for *tirḍet*, read: *tirḍey*; p.137.fn.3, read: hān; p.137.17, read: marking; p.137.20, for *hət, hut*, read: *hən, hum*; p.139. Fig.3b, in gloss #903, for 'abo', read: *kon*. I also mentioned that *han, hin* was the only instance of -a- / -i- variation in minor syllables (the common variation being -a- / -i- / -u-); in the Ananda plaques we find also *bar, bir* 'to to look at, gaze'. A synoptic arrangement of the glosses can be found in G.H. Luce "Pali and Old Mon ink glosses in Pagan temples." *JBRSL* LVIII, 2, 1975, 117-280 [here pp. 219-30].
 27. Spelling variation is not taken into account here; variants of the verb 'to blossom' include *plo* (Kyazin), *pluh* (Alopyi) and *ploh* (Lokahteikpan).
 28. The variation OM *han ~hin* appears to be dialectal but may also be related to sentence stress, with the form OM *han* representing a weak form /hən/.
 29. It is not true, though, that all finals are written with reduplicated consonants rather than virāma; we thus find variation of the kind 'ey ~ eyy.
 30. The reference number follows Luce's catalogue raisonné in *OBEP*, volumes II [p. 67] and III [plates].
 31. It is not inconceivable — but unlikely given the absence of typographic errors elsewhere in Luce's transcriptions — that the form in question may be due to a typographic error for *rinlehh* since the preceding word is *jiñjehh* 'to sing'. Most of the frescoes published by Luce in 1975 have not been included in *DMI* which is based, in most cases, on amended readings.
 32. *EB* II.1 (1921), p. 102. Duroiselle observed that -h spellings occur only in final position of the word in a plaque.



Map 1