

The Kings of the Hpayahtaung Urn Inscription

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The Hpayahtaung Urn Inscription in Pyu--inscribed on a stone urn 1.07 m high and 2.64 m in circumference found in the precinct of the Hpayahtaung Pagoda in Sriksetra on 18 March 1993---is of some significance for the study of Pyu language, history and culture. In five lines, it provides a text of 1127 letters of which 1050 are readable, more than twice the length of the well-known Rajakumar Inscription which has 480 letters. A reading of the Hpayahtaung Urn Inscription was made by Than Tun (Myanmar Historical Commission), Nyein Maung (Department of Archaeology) and San Win (Universities Historical Research Centre) but it has remained unpublished. The Inscription has remained unstudied except by San Win.¹

A basis for the study of Pyu is provided by the Rajakumar Inscription, an inscription ca. AD 1112 with parallel texts in Pyu, Myanmar, Mon and Pali. C.O. Blagden's study of the Pyu text, started in 1911 and culminating in 1919,² provided a glossary of 98 Pyu words, with the meaning of some words tentative. Blagden also studied the four short inscriptions in Pyu inscribed on four stone urns recovered from the Hpayagyi Pagoda in Sriksetra and from the study derived the names of three kings---Harivikrama, Sihavikrama and Sūriyavikrama--- together with their ages and the dates of their deaths as well as the Pyu words for day and month, and the numbers 2,4,5,6,7,9 and 10. The dates on these inscriptions were expressed in an era which Blagden surmised to be the Sakkaraj starting in AD 638 which was later used in inscriptions of the Bagan period and which would locate the kings in the late 7th century.³

Robert Shafer's further study of the Rajakumar Inscription as well as of the Hpayagyi urn inscriptions produced a glossary of 114 words as well as some rules of syntax, e.g. pronouns precede the noun, adjectives probably follow the noun unless a pronoun precedes, direct and indirect objects usually precede but may follow the verb. In addition, Shafer made a distinction between the language of the Rajakumar Inscription and that of the Hpayagyi urn inscriptions, terming the former Late Pyu and the latter Old Pyu.⁴

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Some words of Blagden's and Shafer's glossaries --- e.g. *go* cave-pagoda; *tda:*, king; *tha*, golden; *pri:* city; *bradima*, image; *sagha*, the Buddhist Order -- as well as various numbers appear in the Hpayahatung Urn Inscription. Other words derived from Sanskrit or Pali --- e.g. *anagha*, blameless; *abrameya* < *aprameya*, infinite; *asama*, incomparable; *harami* < *pārami*, perfection; *mahagaruna* < *mahākaruna*, great compassion; (*ho:*) *radana* < *ratana*, (Three) Gems --- can also be distinguished. Our current knowledge of the Pyu vocabulary is quite inadequate for an understanding of the Hpayahatung Urn Inscription and a linguistic study extending the known Pyu vocabulary would have to precede any other study of the inscription. Nevertheless, since names are the most accessible part of the inscription, I attempt a tentative and provisional study of the kings whose names are mentioned in the Inscription.

In the early part of the Inscription, beginning in the last third of line 1 and continuing to the first third of line 2, there is a brief king-list. My reading of the excerpted text is:

line 1 *tī tlu:* u pu sri *tda:* *bā:* sri u *bhū* hi ti hna ti sdi ti tdi kvi u nbu:
pau *bā:* u kti: *tda:* *bā:* ti u hi ti hna ka sri de va mi tra *bā:* kvi u nbu: pi tu
knu pau *bā:* u (t) l o: *tda:* *bā:* ti u *bhū* hi ti hna ka sri harivi () hra ti ya
kbo: ti tma *bā:* kvi u

line 2 mrau nga: pau *bā:* u tlo *tda:* sri u *bhū* snu: si ha vi kra ma ti ya:
ti kdi: ti plj u sda *bā:* kvi u nbu: ti ki: tgi bra hma pau *bā:* u ba *tda:* *bā:* tni
u hi ti hna ka sri sū ri ya vi kra ma *bā:* kvi u varo tlo *bā:* u plau to tko: pau
bā: u kdi si ge () *bā:* tni u *bhū* snu: sri bri thu vi kra ma ti ⁵

A feature of the Hpayahatung Urn Inscription is the lack of the punctuation marks used in the Rajakumar Inscription except at the beginning and at the end, making it difficult to determine where sentences begin and end. On the other hand there is an abundance of the word *ti* as can be seen in the excerpted text. Of *ti* Blagden says, "apparently a particle of relation, corresponding sometimes to our preposition 'in'," ⁶ while Shafer gives its meaning as "(prep.) in; for; on (a certain day)." ⁷ Patently the meaning given by Blagden and Shafer cannot be applied to all the *ti* in the text. Whatever its meaning I have found it convenient to

think of *ti* generally as a device marking off words and phrases and so use it for the purpose of this article.

The excerpted text gives the names of six kings, so identified by the word *tda:* *bā:* which precedes their names. The word *tda:* denoting Sri Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja (Thiluh Mañ of the inscriptions and Kyansittha of the chronicles), occurs four times in the Rajakumar Inscription, twice as *tda:* (lines 9 and 17) and twice as *bā:* *tda:* (lines 7 and 13, *bā:* being an honorific particle. The word *tda:* *bā:* also occurs at the beginning of each of the four Hpayagyi urn inscriptions, the difference between *bā:* *tda:* and *tda:* *bā:* helping Shafer to posit a grammatical change and distinguish between Late Pyu and Old Pyu. ⁸

The six kings are thus named in the excerpted text:

1. *tda:* *bā:* sri u bhu hi ti hna ti sdi ti tdi

(Sri Sdititdi)

2. *tda:* *bā:* ti u hi ti hna ka sri de va mi tra: *bā:*

(Sri Devamitra)

3. *tda:* *bā:* ti u bhu hi ti hna ka sri ha ri vi ---

(Sri Harivikrama)

4. *tda:* *bā:* sri u bhu snu: si ha vi kra ma

(Sri Sihavikrama, i.e. Sri Simhavikrama)

5. *tda:* *bā:* tni u hi ti hna ka sri su ri ya vi kra ma ba:

(Sri Sūriyavikrama, i.e. Sri Sūryavikrama)

6. (*tda:*) *bā:* tni u bhu snu: sri bri thu vi kra ma

(Sri Brithuvikrama, i.e. Sri Pr̥thuivikrama)

While the names of kings 2-6 are clearly Sanskrit or Pali- Sanskrit, that of king 1 is not too clear. There are two other names with a similar ending in the Inscription:

1. *va:* *bā:* ka ti ddi sri ja tra ta ta *bā:* (line 2)

2. *sda* *bā:* kda pbe ti ddi ji nda kti ndra (line 4)

Perhaps the prefixes *va:*, *bā:* and *sda bā:* indicate that they were high officials. Their names may be rendered as:

1. Katiddi Sñ Candradatta (or Cattradatta?)
2. Kdapbetiddi Cintagatindra.

There is also another name in the Hpayagi urn inscriptions with a similar ending. Blagden numbered the inscription D1 and read the first part as:

tda: bā: u hi sū ri ya vi kra ma bā; uv (o): bā: k(d) i ba: (tā:) ti (pl)i

With another urn (numbered C) definitely assigned to Sūriyavikrama, Blagden speculated that the urn contained the relics of Sūriyavikrama's relatives – possibly his wife (*uvo:*) and his grandchild (*pli*).⁹

However, would it not be more natural to suppose that the urn would bear the name of the person whose relics it contained as well as indicate his/her relationship to Sūriyavikrama? The most likely group of words for consideration as a name is that which Blagden read as (*ta*) *ti* (*pl*) *i*. My own reading of it is (*ta*) *ti ddi* giving the name *Tatiddi*.

Are the names with the ending *tiddi* Pyu or Sanskrit? It is hard to be certain. But if the assumption is that high officials as well as kings adopted or were conferred Sanskrit-Pali names, then the following could be possibilities (with *tiddi* < *dādhiti* = devotion or splendour):

Sdititdi	=	Astididhiti
Katiddi	=	Gadidhiti
Kdapbetiddi	=	Gatasprhadidhiti
Tatiddi	=	Dadidhiti

The Hpayagi urn inscriptions provide the name of three kings who appear in the king-list of the Hpayhtaung Urn inscription: Harivikrama, Sihavikrama and Sūriyavikrama. Together with their names the inscriptions provide their ages and the dates of their death. As interpreted by Blagden, these were:

Sūriyavikrama died 5th month year 50
aged 64 years

Harivikrama died 24th day 2nd month year 57 654-695 AD
aged 41 years 7 months 9 days

Sihavikrama died 4th day 2nd month year 80
aged 44 years 9 months 20 days.¹⁰

The succession of kings as given by Blagden was patently at odds with that provided in the Hpayhtaung Urn Inscription and San Win reinterpreted the Hpayagi urn inscriptions in the following manner:

Harivikrama died 9th day 7th month year 41 Myanmar calendar
aged 57 years 2 months 24 days 622-679 AD

Sihavikrama died 20th day 9 month year 44
aged 80 years 2 months 4 days

Sūriyavikrama died year 64
aged 50 years 5 months.¹¹

Perhaps a slight amendment needs to be made for Harivikrama and Sihavikrama. Blagden in his study of the Hpayagi urn inscriptions identified the words *hni* as "two" and *kni* as "seven".¹² But Shafer remarked, "Although accepting Blagden's partial identification of *kni* as 'seven' and *hni* of urn B1 as 'two' yet their correspondence with TB [Tibeto-Burmic] languages in general would be better if the meanings were reversed."¹³

Reference must be made to another Pyu inscription, much mentioned but, it seems, inadequately studied. The Wetgaungkangon Inscription, inscribed on the pedestal of a Buddha image with head missing found at Wetgaungkangon in Sriksetra, was first mentioned in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1927-28* which reported.

The inscription in well-cut letters on four sides of an oblong pedestal is in two languages: Sanskrit (sometimes not quite correct) and Pyu. The Sanskrit phrases are very short, consisting of two words mostly, sometimes three or even one word; each is followed by a long explanation in Pyu.¹⁴

Later, a study of the Sanskrit text was made by a Mr. Dikshit who noted:

I have been able to read the extant portion of the Sanskrit inscription on the Buddha statue. It yields 8 complete verses in the

Vamsasthavila metre and the Pyu words interspersed between the two Sanskrit expressions are literal translations or, in some cases, longer explanations of Sanskrit originals.... The sense of the inscription, as I see it, is to record the erection of this statue (?) by the prince Jayacandravarman. In the first sloka is mentioned the creation in one day of two cities (one of which must be Hmawza) where apparently the venerable Guha or Guhadipa was preaching and who was apparently the religious instructor of Jayacandravarman himself. The younger brother of the prince named Harivikrama (who was possibly ruling in the other city) was also associated (in the gift?)¹⁵

In the Wetgaungkongon Inscription the Sanskrit phrase *pura dvaya*, "two cities," is followed by the Pyu words *ti pri: kni*¹⁶ With *ti pri:* meaning "city", *kni* would mean "two", supporting Shafer's suggestion for reversing Blagden's identification of the Pyu "two" and "seven". The amendment to the Hpayagyi urn inscriptions would then be:

Harivikrama died 9th day 2nd month year 41 Myanmar Era 629-679 AD
aged 52 years 7 months 24 days
Sihavikrama died 20th day 9th month year 44
aged 80 years 7 months 4 days.

In both the Hpayhtaung Urn Inscription and the Hpayagyi urn inscriptions a phrase or phrases intervene between the word *tda: ba:* (king) and the name of the king. They are elaborate in the Hpayhtaung Urn Inscription, less so in the Hpayagyi urn inscriptions. The following provides a comparison (the Hpayhtaung first, the Hpayagyi second):

1. tda: ba: Sri u bhū hi ti hna ti Sdititdi
2. tda: ba: u hi ti hna ka Sri Devamitra
3. tda: ba: ti u bhū hi ti hna ka Sri Harivikrama
tda: ba: u hi tra hna ka Harivikrama
4. tda: ba: Sri u bhū snu: Sihavikrama
tda: ba: u bhū snu: Sihavikrama
5. tda: ba: tni u hi ti hna ka Sri Sūriyavikrama

tda: ba: u hi Sūriyavikrama

6. tda: ba: u bhū snu: Sri Brithuvikrama

There are two words in the Rajakumar Inscription which bear on these phrases: *hi* and *tra*. The word *hi*, given the meaning "to die" in the glossaries, appears twice in the Inscription (lines 5 and 7) once to refer to the death of Trilokavatamsakadevi, wife of the king and mother of Rajakumar, and the other to mention the king's sickness "nigh into death" – and has *siy* as the corresponding word in the Myanmar text.

The word *tra* is given the meaning "goods, ornaments," in Blagden's and Shafer's glossaries, Blagden suggesting a possible origin in the Sanskrit *dravya* (property). It occurs only once in the Rajakumar Inscription (line 6) and refers to the possessions and the three villages of slaves which the king gave to Rajakumar on the death of his mother. The corresponding word in the Myanmar text is *tanchā*, and in the Mon *kiryā*.

With the word *u hi* used only for Harivikrama and Sūriyavikrama while the word *u bhū snu:* was used for Sihavikrama, Blagden expressed doubt that *hi* meant "die" or "death" in the Hpayagyi urn inscriptions.¹⁷ But Shafer had no such qualms and declared, "It is the only meaning found for the word in the Myazedi [i.e. Rajakumar] Inscription and is the verb most to be expected on a funerary urn." He considered that the word *bhū* of *u bhū snu:* had the same meaning, explaining it thus:

Since, at a later date, the kings of Pagan seldom died in bed, we might guess that king Sihavikrama was assassinated. But it seems unlikely that either his successor or his relatives would advertise the fact. More likely is that it [i.e. *bhū*] is a euphemism for "die".¹⁸

Blagden made no attempt to explain the phrase *tra hna ka* which preceded Harivikrama's name in the Hpayagyi urn inscription, but Shafer did so, extending the meaning of the word *tra*.

While the translation of *tra* in the Myazedi [i.e. Rajakumar] inscription as "goods, ornaments" appears safe, one may doubt that this word had the same meaning in [Hpayagyi] Urn A inscription. It is unlikely that it refers to the gift of the king's

goods to another, as this would have to be told in the next two unknown words.... The most plausible is that *tra* translated the Burmese [Myanmar] word [*kriyā, kariya*] in both its meanings, "appendages, utensils" and "deed, action" and that the first meaning applied in the Myazedi inscription but the second in Urn A inscription, perhaps lauding the king's good deeds.¹⁹

I do not think Shafer's interpretations, made before discovery of the Hpayahaung urn, remain valid in the context of the Hpayahaung Urn Inscription. While the word *hi* could well bear the meaning of "death" in the context of individual funerary urns, it can hardly do so in a list of former kings, the fact of death being so obvious that its mention would be a superfluity. Instead of death, perhaps *hi* expresses a quality or attribute of the king.

The possibility of there being homonyms in Pyu is indicated by the word *tra*: in the Rajakumar Inscription. It has the meaning of "slave" as well as that of "monk" in the compound word *tra: bā:*. Cannot the word *hi* then have a meaning other than "death"? In the Wetgaungkangon Inscription the Sanskrit phrase *ekānta ṛta* (absolutely right) is followed by the Pyu words *tā sca u pa hi*.²⁰ If *tā sca* were to correspond to the Sanskrit *ekānta*, *u pa hi* would have the meaning of *ṛta*, "right, true."

With the phrase *u bhū hi* used for Sdititdi and Harivikrama, together with the use of *u bhū snu:* for Sihavikrama and Brithuvikrama, Shafer's identification of *bhū* as a euphemism for death is obviously an error. The parallel is not between *hi* and *bhū*, but between *hi* and *snu:*. Although like *hi*, *snu:* could be an expression of the king's quality or attribute, it remains unclear why *hi* should be used of some and *snu:* of others.

Shafer's extension of the meaning of *tra*, given as "goods, ornament" by Blagden, to also mean "deed, action" would seem to be a forced interpretation made on the basis of a single occurrence of *tra* in a Hpayagi urn inscription and without knowledge at all of the meaning of the following word *hna ka*. It involves taking *kiryā*, the word corresponding to *tra* in the Mon text of the Rajakumar Inscription, and giving it the meaning of Pali *kiriya*, "action, performance, deed."

Actually, subsequent Mon and Myanmar use of *kiriya* does not emphasize the meaning of deed or action, the modern Mon *kiryā gañ*, meaning "ornament, decoration, trinkets," and *kiryā bā* "necessaries, constituent parts, furniture, implements, apparatus"²¹ and the modern Myanmar *kiriya* meaning "tool, implement, instrument."²²

The word corresponding to *tra* in the Myanmar text of the Rajakumar Inscription, *tanchā*, has the modern meaning of "ornament" as well as "implement, tool, instrument," and the use of *tra* to mean "ornament" would seem to be confirmed in another short Pyu inscription. Inscribed in a beautiful hand on the back of a terracotta votive tablet depicting the Buddha in the *dhyānāsana* position with hand lifted to the breast in the *dharmacakra mudra* found at Sriksetra, the inscription reads, *yā tra hna dra mra u phu*.²³ If *phu* is taken to be derived from the Pali *puñña*. Sanskrit *punya*, "meritorious deed", then the inscription may be rendered as, "This ornament [is] the meritorious deed of Hnadramra," or, if the word *hna* is taken as a title of some sort, "This ornament [is] the meritorious deed of *hna* Dramra." Interestingly enough, there is a word close to *hna dra mra* in line 1 of the Hpayahaung Urn Inscription, *hna dra m(u)*.

In any case, *tra* does not seem to be of much significance, being present only in the Hpayagi urn inscription in combination with *hna ka* and not at all in the Hpayahaung Urn Inscription.

The word *hna*, appearing on the votive tablet mentioned above, also appears in line 4 of the Hpayahaung Urn Inscription in a compound word *hna bā:* followed by the words *tni do: ja klo ro tlo* and then by the name *sda bā:* Kdapbetiddi Cintagaṇindra. The word *hna ka* or *hna* would seem to be a title of some sort, perhaps one with a religious connotation like the *dāyaka* (donor) of the Bagan inscriptions which occurs in combinations like *kloñ tāyaka* (donor of monastery)²⁴ and *pitakat tāyaka* (donor of the Pitakas).²⁵ It is associated with *u hi* and not with *u bhū snu:* and seems to be of lesser significance than *u hi*, being omitted in the Hpayagi urn inscription of Sūriyavikrama.

In the excerpted text of the Hpayhtaung Urn Inscription, the names and titles of Kings 2 to 6 are preceded by a short phrase thus:

- 2 pau bà: u kdi: tda: bà: ... Devamitra
- 3 pau bà: u (t) lo: tda: bà: ... Harivi (krama)
- 4 pau bà: u tlo tda: bà: ... Sihavikrama
- 5 pau bà: u ba tda: bà: ... Sūriyavikrama
- 6 pau bà: u kdi si ge - (tda:) bà: ... Brithuvikrama

The word read *pau* here is read as *ḍhau* by Blagden in the Rajakumar Inscription. Of the reading Shafer comments:

The lack of original cerebrals in Tibeto-Burmic and the rarity of the occurrence of his [Blagden's] *ḍh* (in only one word) also casts doubt on its existence as a separate phoneme. It looks very much like Old Pyu *p*, but as Late Pyu does not have the same pronounced bulge to the left it probably is not *p*.²⁶

For his *ḍhau* Blagden provides the meaning:

a demonstrative, meaning "that", or simply used where we should use the definite article "the" in referring to something previously mentioned or well known ... (Early Burmese *thuiw*, *thiw*)²⁷

Whether read *ḍhau bà:* or *pau: bà:*, the meaning would be the same, "that king," referring, in the Hpayhtaung Urn Inscription, to the king mentioned previously in the king-list.

Blagden gave two meanings for the word *u*: "(1) to connect numerals with a noun; (2) after words in the genitive relation."²⁸ Shafer, after making a closer study, said, "Although *u* ... occurs most often in the text where it could be taken for a genitive, yet there are difficulties with such an interpretation" and gave another meaning to *u*, that of a third person pronoun.²⁹ For the purpose of a study of the king-list of the excerpted text I consider the meaning of *u* as a genitive -- i.e. *pau bà: u* = "that king's" -- quite adequate, even though Shafer's meaning -- i.e. *pau bà: u* = "that king, his" -- would provide greater correctness.

Looking at the words which follow *pau bà: u*, they are:

2. *kdi:*
3. *(t) lo:*
4. *tlo*
5. *ba*
6. *kdi*

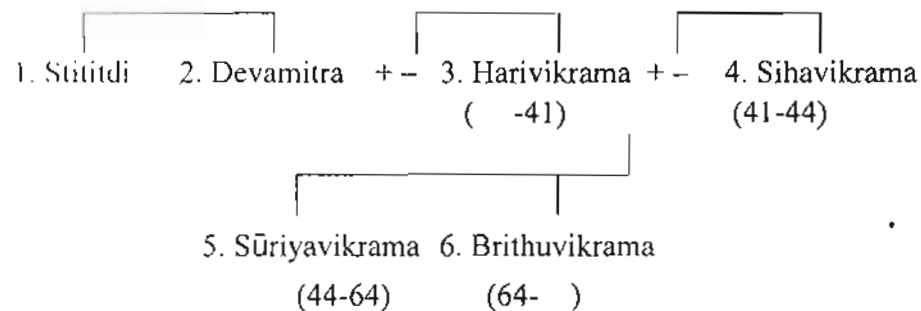
I consider these words to be kinship terms expressing the relationship between a king and his successor, and, assuming a stonecutter's error in the cutting of the tone marks, would reduce the five terms to three: *tlo*, *ba* and *kdi*.

Five kinship terms appear in the Rajakumar Inscription: *maya:*, wife (according to Blagden, Shafer gives its meaning as "queen"); *sa:*, son; *pli*, grandchild; and *sru:* kinsman.³⁰ None of these occur in the king-list, and the following identifications of the three terms of the king-list are arbitrary, subject to revision.

I start with the relationship between Harivikrama and his successor Sihavikrama. Harivikrama died in year 41 aged 52 and was therefore born in Year -10. Sihavikrama died in year 44 aged 80 and was therefore born in Year -36. With a difference of 26 years in age, it would be natural to conclude that Sihavikrama was Harivikrama's uncle. However, I am reluctant to make that conclusion because Harivikrama was in the same relationship to his predecessor Devamitra (*tlo*) as Sihavikrama was to Harivikrama. I do not know at what age Devamitra ruled and when he died, but it is difficult to think of his being succeeded first by an uncle, and then by a granduncle. So, despite the age difference of 26 years I would like to think of Sihavikrama as the brother-in-law of Harivikrama and Harivikrama as the brother-in-law of Devamitra.

Sihavikrama's successor Sūriyavikrama died in year 64 at the age of 50 and therefore was born in Year 14 when Harivikrama was 24 years old and Sihavikrama 50. I think of him as Sihavikrama's nephew, the son of his sister and Harivikrama. Suriyavikrama was not a minor but 27 years of age when Harivikrama died in year 41. Why he did not succeed his father but his uncle did is, of course, a mystery.

With *tto* identified as "brother-in-law" and *ba* as "nephew", I identify *kdi* as "younger brother". Based on these identifications, a dynastic chart would take the following form:



The king-list makes Sdititdi the founder of the dynasty. It is very well possible that there was another dynasty preceding that of the king-list and that Stititdi, whose name does not sound very royal, was an official in that previous dynasty.

The name which stands out in the king-list is that of Harivikrama. First bearer of the Vikrama name, it seems that his reign was so distinguished that his successors all took the name of Vikrama. It is also possible that it was Harivikrama who adopted or established the era which was used in the Hpayagyi urn inscriptions.

Perhaps Harivikrama was quite young when he came to the throne. If so, Sihavikrama, 26 years his senior and an official in the court of Devamitra, could have been a valuable ally in asserting his claims against that of the Devamitra family. That would account for Sihavikrama's continuing influence in the court of Harivikrama, an influence so great that he ascended the throne at the age of 77 on the death of Harivikrama.

Was Brithuvikrama who succeeded Sūriyavikrama his full brother or a half brother, Harivikrama's son by another queen? The words *si ge* () between *pau bā: u kdi* and *tdq: bā:* in the text might be a further clarification of the relationship between Sūriyavikrama and Brithuvikrama.

Sūriyavikrama had another younger brother who died during his reign-- the Tatiddi of the Hpayagyi urn inscription who died at the age of 35.

Even if the provisional identifications which I have made of *tto*, *ba* and *kdi* are erroneous, one feature stands out in the king-list-- the total absence of a son succeeding a father. Without the principle of primogeniture firmly established court politics tends to be complex and disruptive. Despite the long reign of Sūriyavikrama, and presumably that of Harivikrama, one has to suppose continual intrigues and struggles at the court of Sriksetra.

NOTES

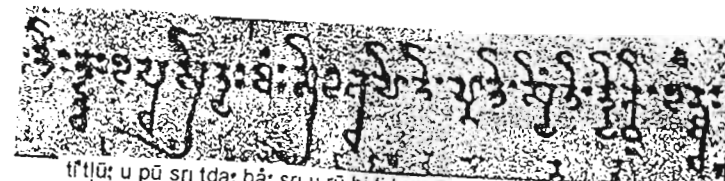
1. San Win, "Hpayabtaung Pyu kyauksa i yetsewe," (Date of the Hpayabtaung Pyu Inscription). *Myanmar Historical Research Journal* 2 (June 1998), 1-6; San Win, "The Date of the Phaya Htaung Pyu Inscription," *Indo-Asiatische Zeitschrift*, 415, 2000-2001, 120-125.
2. C. O. Blagden, "A Preliminary Study of the Fourth Text of the Myazedi Inscription," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1911, 365-388; C. O. Blagden, "The Pyu Face of the Myazedi Inscription," *Epigraphia Birmanica*, 1 (1919), 59-68.
3. C. O. Blagden, "The Pyu Inscriptions," *Epigraphia Indica* 12 (1913-14), 127-132, reprinted *Journal of the Burma (Myanmar) Research Society*, 7 (1917), 37-44. Later scholars have questioned Blagden's identification of the era as Sakkaraj. San Win thinks the era is not Sakkaraj but the Gupta era beginning in AD 319 (San Win, "Hpayabtaung", 4). Than Tun is of the opinion that the era is the Saka era beginning in AD 78 (Than Tun, "Myanmar History: A Humanities Approach," *Asian Research Trends*, 4 (1994) 58).
4. Robert Shafer "Further Analysis of the 'Pyu' Inscriptions," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (1942-43), 313-366.
5. My reading differs in some points from that of Than Tun *et al*, for which see Appendix.
6. Blagden, "Pyu Face", 66.
7. Shafer, "Further Analysis", 361.
8. Shafer, "Further Analysis", 357.
9. Blagden, "Pyu Inscriptions", 40-41.
10. Blagden, "Pyu Inscriptions", 43.
11. San Win, "Hpayabtaung", 3; San Win, "Date", 122.
12. Blagden, "Pyu Inscriptions", 42.
13. Shafer, "Further Analysis", 338.

14. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1927-28* Calcutta: Government of India, 1931, 128.
15. G. H. Luce, "The Ancient Pyu", *Journal of the Burma (Myanmar) Research Society*, 27(3), (1937), 243.
16. U Tha Myat, *Pyu hpatsa* (Pyu Reader) Yangon: National Press, 1963, 43. A photograph of an estarnpage of the relevant portion is available in *ARASI, 1927-28*, Plate LIV (g).
17. Blagden, "Pyu Inscription", 40.
18. Shafer, "Further Analysis", 339.
19. Shafer, "Further Analysis", 338.
20. Tha Myat, *Pyu hpatsa*, 43.
21. R. Halliday, *A Mon-English Dictionary*, Bangkok: Siam Society, 1922.
22. *Myanmar-English Dictionary*, Department of the Myanmar Language Commission, 1993.
23. Thiripyanchi U Mya *Sheihaung okhkwet yokpwa hsindudaw mya* (Votive Tablets of Burma), Yangon: Department of Archaeology, 1961. II, 31, Plate 60 (c).
24. *Sheihaung Myanmar kyauksa mya* (Ancient Myanmar Inscriptions. Yangon: Department of Archaeology, 1972-90. III 171; Plate 280. *Inscriptions of Burma [Myanmar]*, Oxford; 1933-57.
25. *Sheihaung*, III 131; Plate 264.
26. Shafer, "Further Analysis", 316.
27. Blagden, "Pyu Face", 63.
28. Blagden, "Pyu Face", 64.
29. Shafer, "Further Analysis", 328.
30. Blagden, "Pyu Face", 64-68; Shafer, "Further Analysis", 360-363.

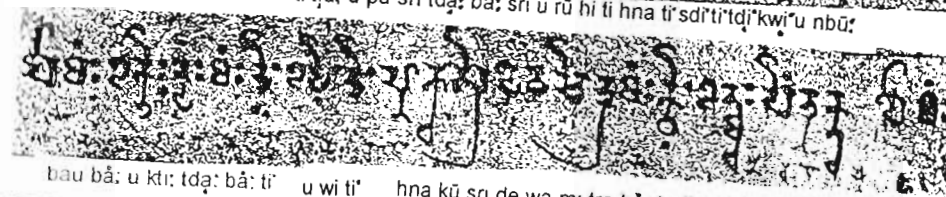
MHRJ (11), June 2003

APPENDIX
King-List of the Hpyahtaung Urn Inscription
Reading by Than Tun, Nyein Maung and San Win

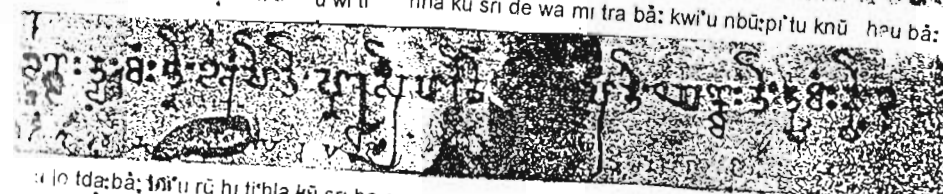
Line 1



ti'ljū; u pū sri tda; bā; sri u rū hi ti hna ti' sdi' ti' tdi' kwi' u nbū;

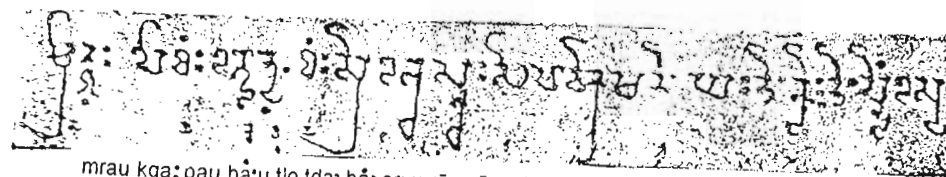


bau bā; u kti; tda; bā; ti' u wi ti' hna kū sri de wa mi tra bā; kwi' u nbū; pi' tu knū hau bā;

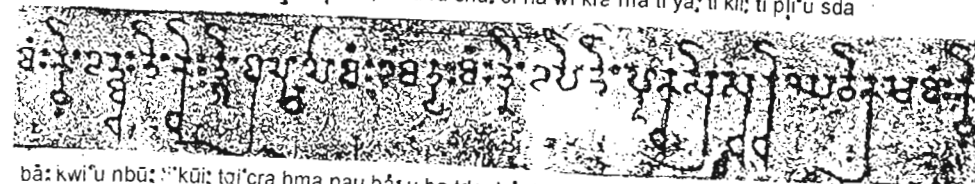


u lo tda; bā; tni' u rū hi ti' hla kū sri ha ri wi hra ti' ya kbo; ti' tma bā; kwi' u

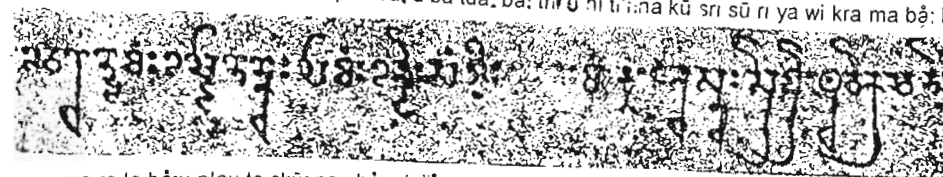
Line 2



mrau kgā; pau bā; u tlo tda; bā; sri u rū snū; si ha wi kra ma ti' ya; ti' kli; ti' pli' u sda



bā; kwi' u nbū; kūi; tgi' cra hma pau bā; u ba tda; bā; tri' u hi ti' na kū sri sū ri ya wi kra ma bā; kwi'



u wa ro lo bā; u plau to skū; pau bā; u kdi' si gē ro tda; bā; tni' u rū sdū; sri cri thu wi kra ma ti'

Hpayhtaung Pyu Urn Inscription

PLATE - A

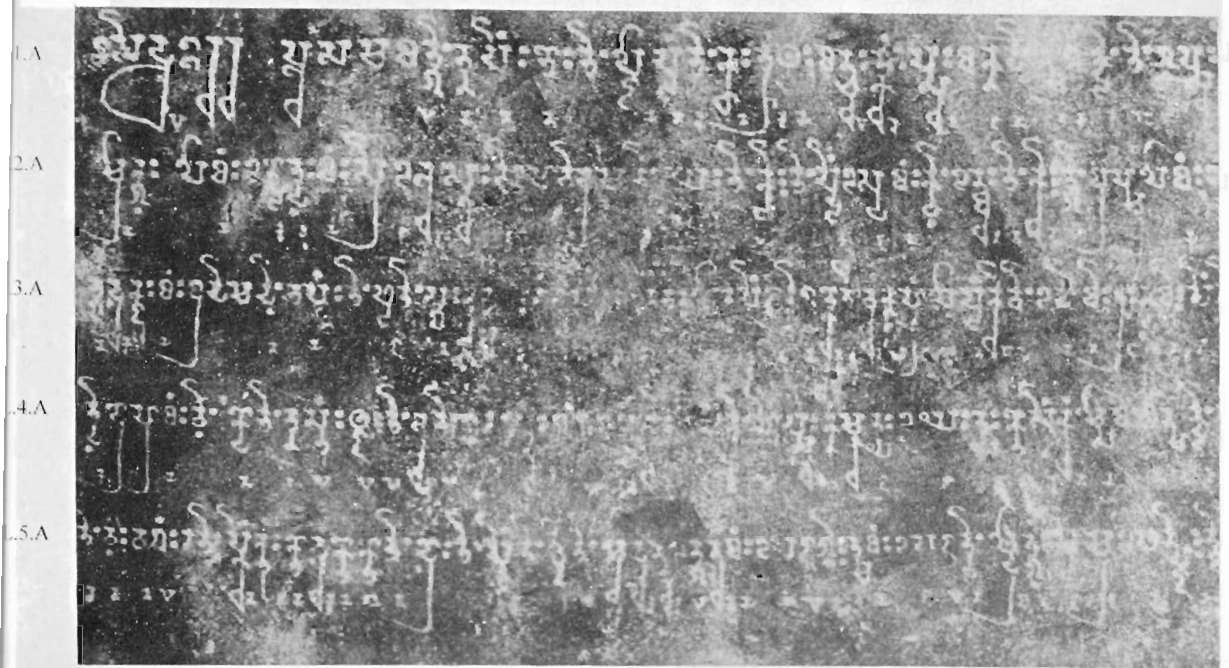


PLATE - B

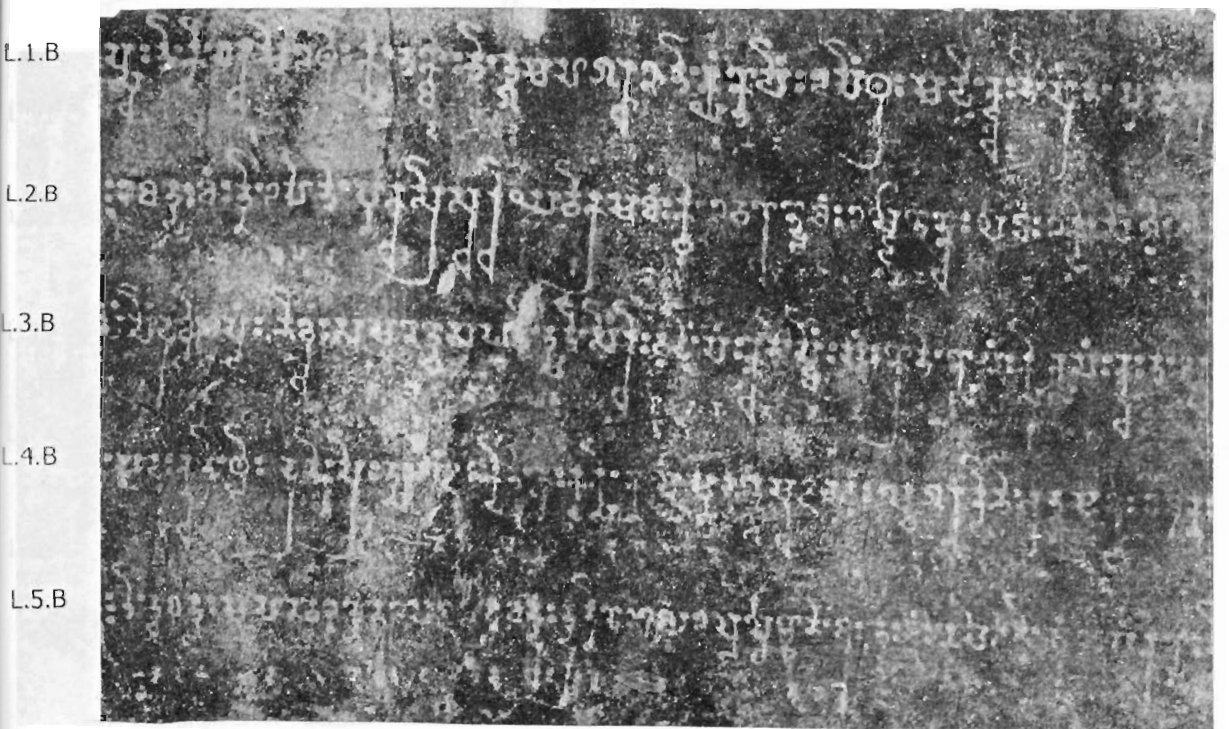


PLATE - C

L.1.C

L.2.C

L.3.C

L.4.C

L.5.C



PLATE - D

L.1.D

L.2.D

L.3.D

L.4.D

L.5.D

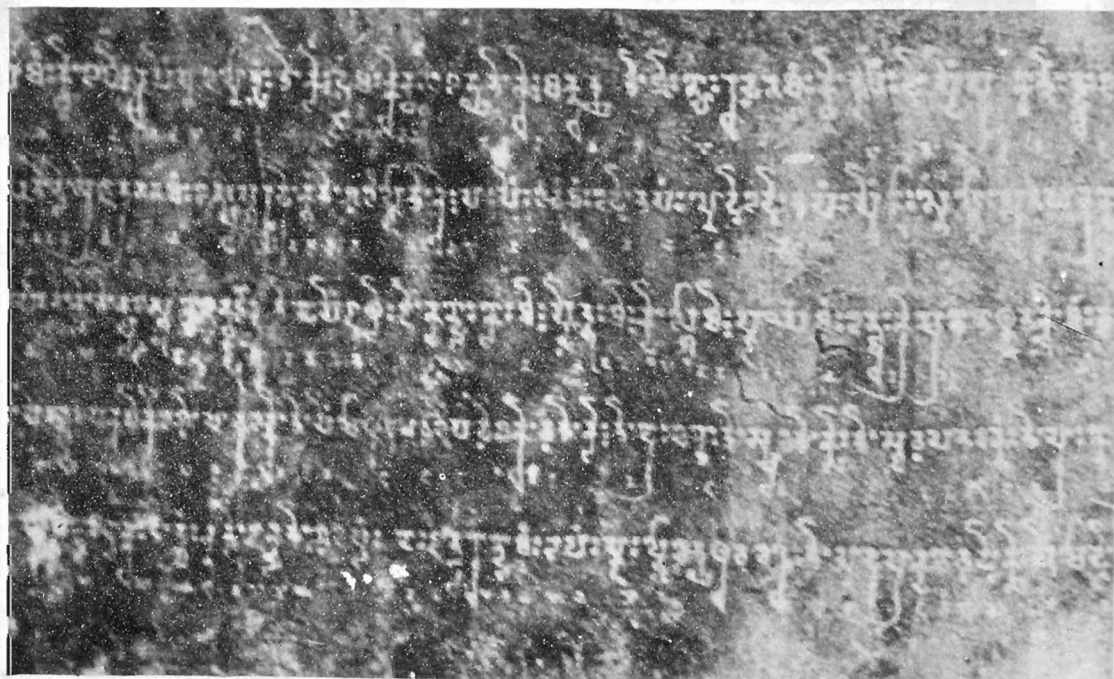


PLATE - E

L.1.E

L.2.E

L.3.E

L.4.E

L.5.E

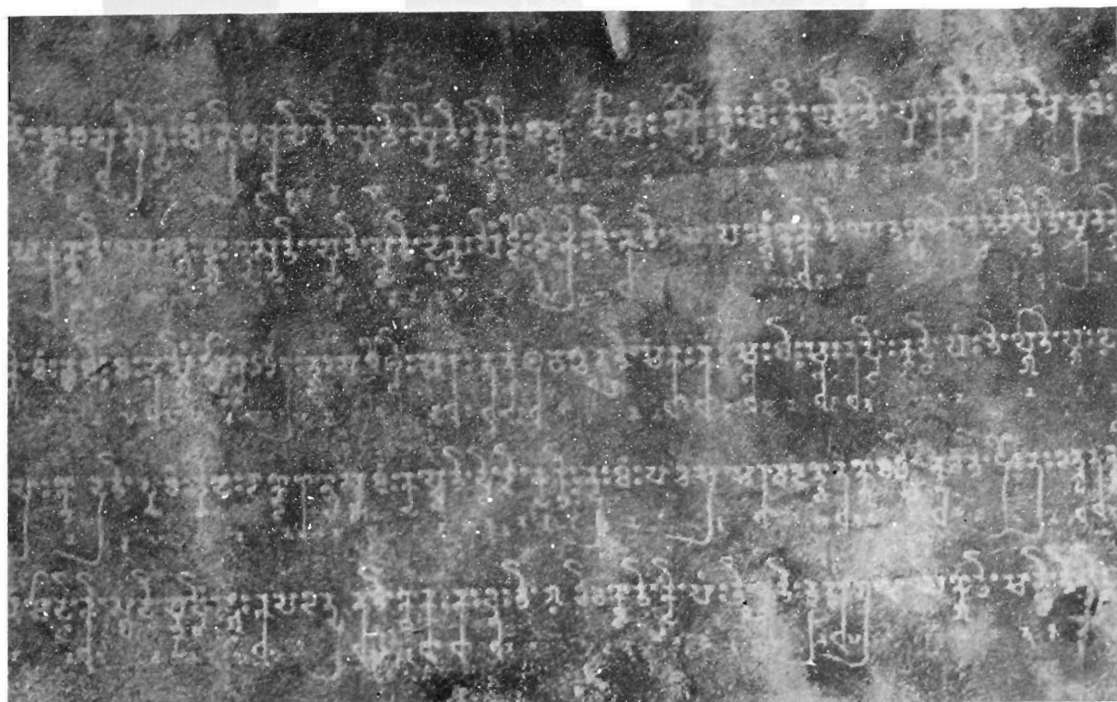


PLATE - F

L.1.F

L.2.F

L.3.F

L.4.F

L.5.F

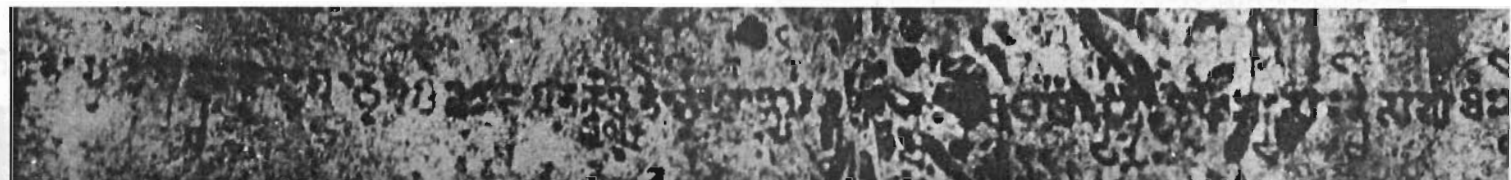




L.1.A Sidda RR A sa ma ba tgi° tna pi°: to: ti° plau pla ti° kū: trū: tha: ba nmu: tkū: psū: ba kna di° nma go Kji° ti° ga
m m y n n y t r t k y m n (y) (i) (n) (t) (k) (n)



L.1.B psū:ti° kdi° (ba) ra mi u thmi: kyi° ta kbo: ti° tga ma ha ga rū ṇa ti° kyā kto pi° u pi° thra: ma di° klū: ti° phra ti° hna dra mu ṇu:(kto)
y t m j w y n n



L.1.C t(i) gā wā(. . .) (Kū) ba ta kḷā khyā ti° wi° lo ho: (. . .) b (ū) dha bā: kda (tu) ya u kda: tu yā sda sa: tli sa gha bā:
r n n (i)



L.1.D Kwi° u bi : ku pi° hna u hna u tsã:ti° kli : ɣ°ũ ba: kkui kwã kwi° u nya ti° kui : ba ktu nya ti° gi: ho: ra ɖa na bá: kwi° tja pi°: ɖi° pd°i ptu kto ti° t̃ũ: u pũ

(n) m (n) (k) r (n) (l) m t ñ k k (j)



L.1.E Sri tɖa: bi: Sri u rū hi ti° hna ti° sdi° ti° tɖi° kwi° u nbũ: hau bi: u kti : tɖa: bá: ti° u wi° ti° hna kũ Sri de wa mi tra bá: kwi°

j j r m k m r y r m y



L.1.F u nbũ: pi° tu knũ hau bá: u lo: tda: bá: ti° u rū hi ti° hlai kũ Sri Hariwi (Krama bá:) hra ti° ya kbo: ti° tma bá: Kwi° u

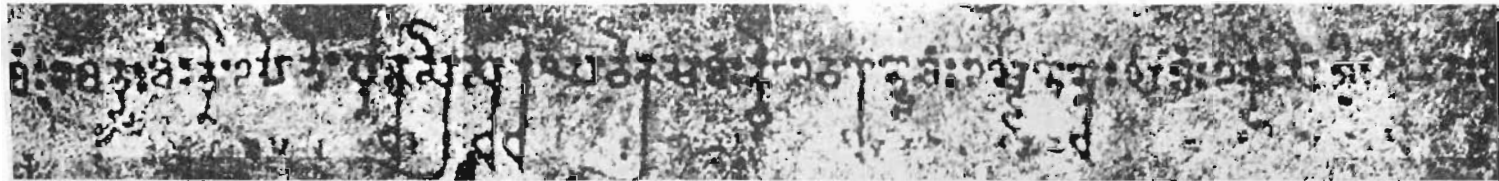
n r m d y y l r m j n n (j) j



L.2.A mrau kga: pau bā: u tjo tda: bā: sri u ru snu: Siha Wikrama mi° ya: ti° kli : ti° pli° u sda bā: kwi° u nbu: ti° kui : tgi° bra hma pau bā:

n y k w y j j

t j y n n y



L.2.B u ba tda: bā: tni° u hi ti° hna ku Sri Suriya Wikrama bā: kwi u wa ro tjo bā: u mlau to tko: pau bā: u kdj si ge: ro:

y

m

m



L.2.C tda: bā: tni u ru snū: Sri Bri Thu Wi Krama ti° ya: nma mya ba. tkui : ti° wā: bā: kū ti

k

(n)



L2.D dli^o Sri Jatranana bā: u nm̥u: p̥gu ra dri kb̥a ti^o g̥a u pjau ti^o kui : ha: pi: u w̥a bā: u ɟi^o ta p̥ā: h̥ne di u ɟi^o ta p̥ā: pti^o sdo: sta mgau a

(y) n n j n y y n n y y



L2.E na ga dra kto ti^a ya u nga: tga: tmo sda ti^a pda ti^a pda ti^a da kda: pia lo: li kri : ti^a ku ya: pa u tga kto kkui ti^a ya ta kbo: ti^a tma ta ti^a pti^a

m *j* *k* *m* *m n r* *j m y j n j*



L.2.F ti^o pdra ta kgi : ti^o tna: Bu da bā: kwí^o u co ti^o ya:(sa) ga dū kkui^a ti^o kni^o ba (ci^o). kwí^o u nya (ti). . . . tdi ba do bá: u wo: t(da): ti^o pri: kha wi^o

$\begin{matrix} & k & n \\ \end{matrix}$ $\begin{matrix} y \\ \end{matrix}$ $\begin{matrix} & k & j & y & j \\ \end{matrix}$



L.3.A t̃ba dū k̃u: b̃a: b̃ra d̃i ma d̃i^o ta p̃a: t̃i^o p̃hla t̃i^o p̃ba: (kū) (kū) na ta: pau: p̃i^o (ña) t̃i^o ga tkūo t̃i^o tū k̃lu hra sau pl̃a k̃ūi w̃i^o u d̃i b̃i: dra: k̃d̃a b̃i :

n k y n y j n n y n j t (j) w



L.3.B m̃i^o (m̃i^o) dra Khli : (u) pl̃a: k̃i Khū: sa ma ne tco sa gha (ti) tma t̃i^o si ri: w̃a d̃i pa: k̃kū t̃i^o p̃bi: pa: kro t̃i^o kso p̃a: k̃si ksa p̃a: k̃du: t̃a s̃ja: p̃a:

n j n n



L.3.C t̃i^o pla t̃i^o p̃i^o h̃ja: u ri : k̃wa t̃i^o g̃a u k̃ja t̃i^o k̃wi : (ga) (l̃a:) du pla bra(mma) (tl̃ū:). . . . kl̃a u wa:(ya) (ma) sa:(pi) u d̃i: t̃d̃a ta p̃a:



L.3.D ti° kji ti° kmu u sgu kno u twa lo: ti° da pi ja thli: ji° kda tjo: klo: bi : pdi tnu: bi : kdi° sgau bi : pja yǎ bā: u nbū: kri mru to to thja ta kbi° bā: wa bi :
 r n n n t n m n n n n m n n n n j n

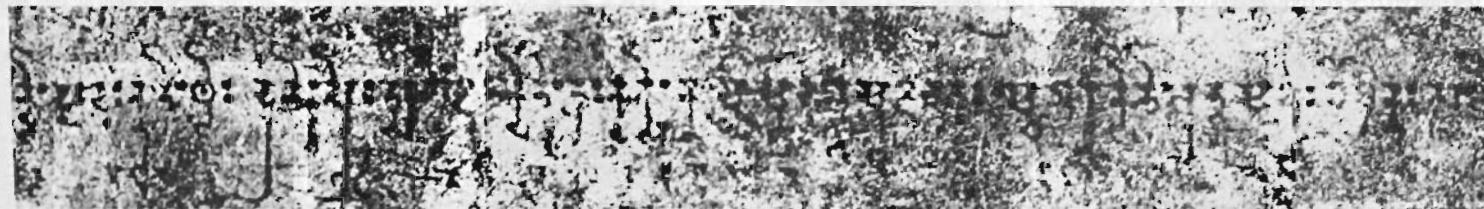


L.3.E ba: dū pgi pdau kda la lā tro: tja: pa go thli: pa rā: tu tu thū wa ce tya ti° ma kū: kū: mū: bi : mū: nu hli: kja dlī° pā: ti° pgau ti° pba: do: kū pa
m m n n m m y y n n m

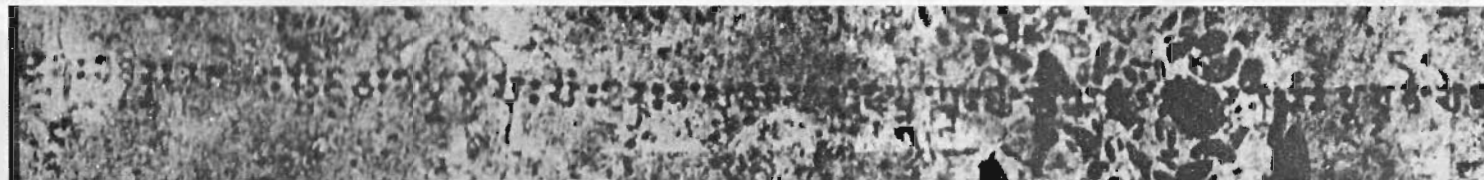
[illegible]



L.4.A tdi dro hra bā:wi° kdo ti° tna Stā: thja: ti° nū ti° yā ti hi° psū: Kni mū tya: u ya: tya: Kto si Kū msau bi go nma Kli°
k j y n m y m m m m j j j y r y t



L.4.B dā: dā: Ktu ti thli: dra ti pri: tsa: pi° nā te kdi ti° tra: kda ksi ksa myau m(sa) da mu pū ja u wā: ga ra kdi ti° du ngu ma klau: go ba kta:
m



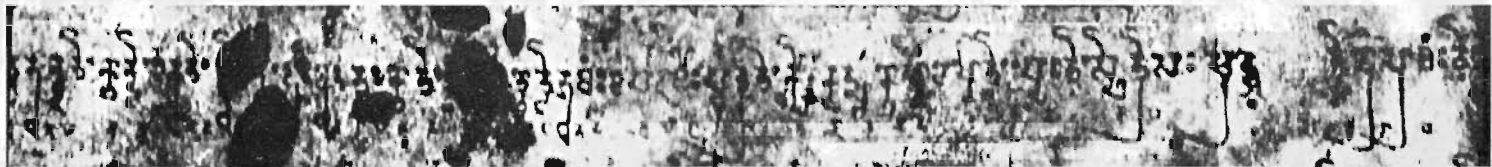
L.4.C (sa). . . ma ja wa: u hnau ti° pri: pi: ce kda: ti° (pu) wā u pa tda kga (tā) tā hja hja ti° pri: du



L.4.D u pa ku bi kui u gi^o ha dra u kui ti^o hi^o mau thra: ma wa u ha gi ba kui^o (wa) ti kli: ti dro:(ce) kto: ti smu u wi^o Ksi: ti^o sba wa pa ta bu knā: ti^o hra: kto dra
 m j (n) j j n j n j j k d y



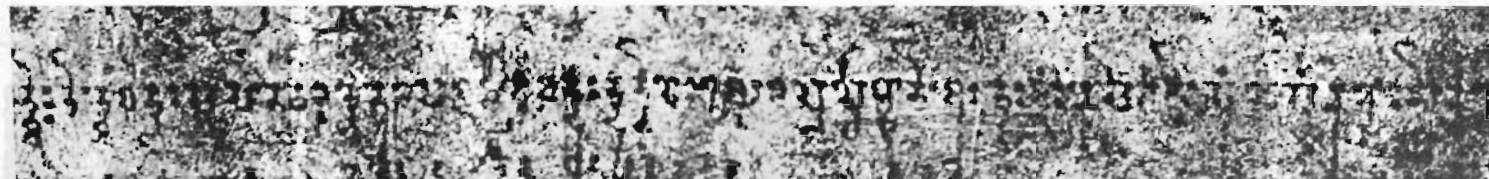
L.4.E ti^o hna bā: tri do: ja klo ro tjo sda bā: kda pbe ti^o dli^o ji^o kda kti : tdra: bā: pa ce mra me ra wa u tco nū Kgo ba khmi Knū de ti^o dro: nra: u tbū nu kja ti
 k m n n j y j m t y k y n t



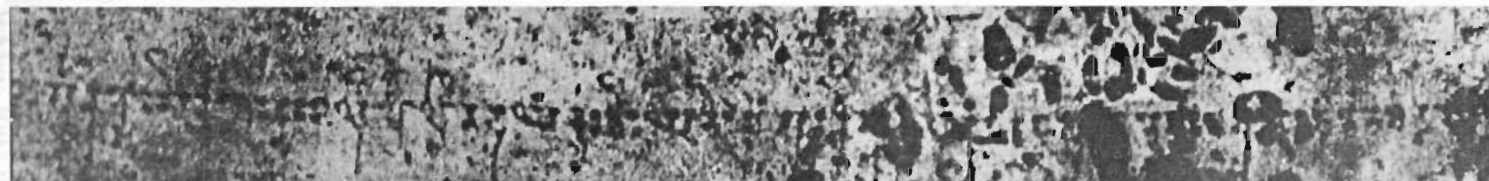
L.4.F kwo kl^o u kū ti^o . . j(u): bū: t(sa): kwo ti^o . . (two) ti : nu bā: u pa ja bo: pdra tru ti kyi : kda nhala kto hni^o u hno ti^o pda: ti sphi tri sa: mra nga
 n y n y m j j n k p



L.5.A ti wa: wa bā: ta ti° pkūi Ktu: u Kto du kto ti° dro: ti° pni ti° wno ti° mu dya tdu u nga tu bā: u pa ja gi : tma bi: u pa ja tdi mdro tga mli mra u phatahji :
n n n m n n k k y n k m r y m (y) y j m n (j) j j



L.5.B tbi : ti° tga ba nla ma ha na wa u tce nu u pa ja lo tlo ba tdu: tdra tdi do (nma) ba: u pla plo tco ti bu: tda: ba: ne mi (u) ti° pla kra pla kra
k j d m t j j k t



L.5.C kdo: ti° kwi ba: kdu: u mre hlo hlo na dru yā nga: ti ya ti hi (ma:) kni ta ta bā: wa



L.5.D kca ku: ti tbâ: knu ti (la) tga ti ga u pla: do: ja ndeu ro tlo bâ: u pâ: pja: pgo ce tya thu wa u ru: ti h(na) dra mra kda wo wa di ksi
m r m m m j j r



L.5.E kuisba di ptu pli° tga: ku pa u nhra nu ti° kwo ku: ku: khnu: ti ga khi ce kļo ti kdi pâ: ti tgu ti° tra a bra me ya kgo ti° ma kļi ti° tgi :
n n m k t (p) y m



L.5.F Si da Si da Si da Sā d u Sā d u Sā d u kļi : kļi : kļi : R R

Dating the Hpyahtaung Pyu Stone Urn Inscription

San Win*

On the 18th of March 1993, a team of the Old Sri Kṣetra Exploration Group belonging to the Archaeological Research Department (of the Union of Myanmar) found an urn made of stone at the exploration plot no. 31 which is in the premises of the Hpyahtaung Pagoda near the village of Hmawza. Thus, this inscription was named "Hpyahtaung Pyu Inscription". This urn is about 3^{1/2} feet high and has an approximate circumference of 8^{2/3} feet.¹ Around the urn, there are five lines of Pyu inscriptions which contain 1127 characters. Apart from 77 characters, which are either faint or destroyed, the remaining 1050 characters could be read. It is very difficult to translate the exact meaning of the inscription. However, our team tried the best to read the words so that we could find out when the inscription of this urn was written. We compared the human names, numbers and vocabulary with the other four urns which were explored much earlier.

The most distinguished words in this "Hpyahtaung Pyu Inscription" are the names. The following are the names stated in the lines accordingly:

No.	Name		Line
1.	Sri Deva Mitra Bā:	သိဒ္ဓေဝမိတြဗ္ဗံ	Line no. 1
2.	Sri Harivi (Krama Bā:)	သိဟရိဝိ (ကြမဗ္ဗံ)	Line no. 1
3.	Sri Siha Vikrama Bā:	သိသိဟဝိကြမဗ္ဗံ	Line no. 2
4.	Sri Sūriya Vikrama Bā:	သိသုရိယဝိကြမဗ္ဗံ	Line no. 2
5.	Sri Brithū Vikrama Bā:	သိဗြိစ္စိထုဝိကြမဗ္ဗံ	Line no. 2
6.	Sri Jatra Tata Bā:	သိဇတြတတဗ္ဗံ	Line no. 2
7.	Sri (Ā) ditya Vikrama Bā:	သိ(အာ)ဒိတျဝိကြမဗ္ဗံ	Line no. 3

Since all names start with the word "Sri" and end with the word "Bā:" these can be concluded as the kings' names. With the exception of

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¹ *The Working People's Daily*, 2nd April, 1993.

nos. 1 and 6, i.e. Śrī Deva Mitra Bā: and Śrī Jatra tata Bā:, all the other names have Vikrama. Apart from three names (among the above mentioned seven names), the rest are already known through some stone urns of "Śrī Kṣetra"² which were explored much earlier.

We are able to make a list of the kings in serial order as follows:

1. Hari Vikrama
2. Siha Vikrama
3. Sūriya Vikrama
4. Brithū Vikrama
5. (Ā) ditya Vikrama

So, it is proven that the "Vikrama Dynasty" existed during the Sri Kṣetra.

The first name in this list, viz. Hri Vikrama, is already known as the founder of Śrī Kṣetra City according to the "Buddha's Throne Inscription" which was explored in 1928 at Hmawza Wet-gaung-kan hill. In 1928, the Archaeological Department explored a stone statue of Buddha at the above mentioned place.³ At all four sides of the throne there are Pyu inscriptions in which the names of the kings Jeya Chandra Varman and Hari Vikrama are mentioned. The inscription was roughly translated at that time in 1928 saying that both kings, Jeya Chandra Varman and Hri Vikrama, built their cities on the same day. Both of them were the pupils of the hermit Guha Dipa. Hri Vikrama was younger, but mightier than Jeya Chandra Varman. Although they were contemporary kings ruling their own kingdoms simultaneously, both kings expected that the friendship between them and their subjects would last forever because of the teachings of their hermit-teacher.⁴

Therefore, based on the above mentioned inscription it was temporarily concluded (in 1928): The younger king Hari Vikrama was mightier than the older king Jeya Chandra Varman, and logically the

² *Archaeological Survey, Burma (Myanmar), Report of the Superintendent, Rangoon (Yangon), Government Printing, 1912, pp. 7, 11, 12; Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1911-12, edited by Sir John Marshall, Calcutta, Superintendent Government Printing, India, 1915, p. 147.*

³ *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1927-28, edited by H. Hargreaves, Calcutta, Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1931, pp. 127-128.*

⁴ G.H. LUCE, *The Ancient Pyu, Journal of the Burma (Myanmar) Research Society, Vol. XXVII, Pt. III, December 1937, pp. 243-244.*

mightier king would built the larger city. Hence, King Hari Vikrama built the city of Śrī Kṣetra at the beginning of the 4th century A. D.⁵

There is another stone inscription which supports that the Vikrama Dynasty had ruled Śrī Kṣetra. In the year 1911, the Archaeology Department explored four stone urns at about 70 yards south of Hpayagyi. This inscription was named "Four Stone Urns Inscription". The Pyu stone scripts on those urns are the same as the scripts of this "Hpayahthaung Urn".⁶ The Pyu stone inscription on the four urns was roughly translated (in 1911) as:

- (1) In the year 35 (A. D. 673) the relatives of King Sūriya Vikrama died.
- (2) In the 5th month of the year 50 (A. D. 688) King Sūriya Vikrama died.
- (3) On the 24th day of the 2nd month of the year 57 (A. D. 695), at the age of 41 years, 7 months and 9 days, King Hari Vikrama passed away.
- (4) On the 4th day of the 2nd month of the year 80 (A. D. 718), at the age of 44 years, 9 months and 20 days the king Siha Vikrama died.⁷

Since all kings have the name Vikrama it was concluded (at the time) that the Vikrama Dynasty existed. Now, in the "Hpayahthaung Inscription", together with the above mentioned three kings, two more kings with the name Vikrama, namely Brithu Vikrama and (Ā) ditya Vikrama, are found. According to the "Hpayahthaung Inscription" the names of the kings are listed as Hari Vikrama, Siha Vikrama, Sūriya Vikrama, Brithu Vikrama and (Ā) ditya Vikrama accordingly. So, we conclude that the Vikrama Dynasty started with Hri Vikrama and ended with (Ā) ditya Vikrama. In other words, Hari could be the founder of the Vikrama Dynasty. As mentioned earlier, the translators of the "Buddha's

⁵ Than Tun, *Ancient History of Burma* (in Myanmar), Maha-Dagon Press, Rangoon (Yangon), 1964, p. 41.

⁶ *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1911-12, op. cit. (note 2), p. 147.*

⁷ C.O. BLADGEN, *The Pyu Inscriptions, Journal of the Burma (Myanmar) Research Society, Vol. VII, Pt. I, 1917, pp. 37-44; U Tha Myant, Pyu Reader, A History of Pyu Alphabet* (in Myanmar), National Press, Rangoon (Yangon), 1963, pp. 50-51.

Throne Inscription" concluded that Hari was the founder of Śrī Kṣetra City.

In the "Four Stone Urn Inscription" the age of the kings as well as the time when they died are recorded for the kings Hari, Siha, Sūriya. By using those dates we had to estimate when the "Hpayhtaung Inscription" was made. Therefore, we had to recheck whether the previous translations as well as the dates of estimation done in the year 1911 on the "Four Stone Urns Inscription" were correct or not.

In that translation, Sūriya Vikrama ruled earlier than Hari Vikrama, and therefore, the translation does not match the "Buddha's Throne Inscription", which was explored 17 years later in 1928 and where it is written that Hari Vikrama was the founder of Sri Kṣetra City. Besides, we also doubt the method of calculation they used to convert the Pyu years into A. D. Since the Pyu scripts in that "Four Stone Urns Inscription" (as well as in the "Buddha's Throne Inscription" and in the "Hpayhtaung Pyu Inscription") are the same as the Gupta scripts used in the 4th century A. D., it is very logical that the Gupta Calendar might have been applied by the Pyus too, that means either 319 years or 320 years must be added to the Pyu years to get the years in A. D. Hence, we conclude that the translation as well as the method of conversion done in the year 1911 is wrong.

After using the new method of conversion, the "Four Stone Urns Inscription" should be newly translated as:

- (1) On the 9th day of the 7th month in the (Pyu) year 41 King Hri Vikrama died. His age was 57 years, two months and 24 days.
- (2) On the 20th day of the 9th month of the (Pyu) year 44 King Siha Vikrama died. He was 80 years old.
- (3) In the (Pyu) year 64 King Sūriya Vikrama died, at the age of 50 years and 5 months.

In our translation of the "Four Stone Urns Inscription" Hri became the first king, Siha was the second and Sūriya was the third. The "Hpayhtaung Pyu Inscription" states the same way. Therefore, we conclude that our translation of the "Four Stone Urns Inscription" is correct.

In the "Hpayhtaung Pyu Inscription" all names of the kings are written on the same urn. So, we believe they were written in the serial order. On the other hand, in the "Four Stone Urns Inscription", each urn is for a particular king. Therefore, it is difficult to conclude that they are in serial order. Besides, it cannot be ruled out that because of the translation error, the dates of their age became the date of their death. We believe, the new dates fixed by us are correct because they match the serial order on the other stone scripts. Apart from that, according to our estimated dates, by adding either 319 years or 320 years to the Pyu years to convert the years in A.D., we found out that:

- (1) Hari Vikrama died in the year A.D. 360.
- (2) Siha Vikrama died in A.D. 363.
- (3) Sūriya Vikrama died in A.D. 383.
- (4) Brithu Vikrama....
- (5) Āditaya Vikrama died in A.D. 403*

According to these dates, we can conclude that Āditaya Vikrama died in A.D. 403. Hari Vikrama (reign: A.D. 320-360) might have built the city of Sri Kṣetra in the middle of the 4th century A.D. After his death, Siha Vikrama (reign: A.D. 360-363) and Sūriya Vikrama (reign: A.D. 363-383) ruled Sri Kṣetra in the late 4th century A.D. In the translation of the "Buddha's Throne Inscription" which was explored in 1928 at Hmawza Wet-gaung-kan hill, it was also concluded that King Hari Vikrama might have built the city of Śrī Kṣetra.

In the "Hpayhtaung Inscription" the names of five Vikrama kings are in serial order, namely Hari, Siha, Sūriya, Brithū and (Ā) ditya. Brithū succeeded Suriya, and (Ā) ditya was the last king of this Vikrama Dynasty. Since all the kings' names are on the urn, we have to conclude that the remains of the last king were in the urn. In other words, the remains were of (Ā) ditya. In the line where the name Śrī (Ā) ditya

* Dr. Than Tun is in favour of using the Saka Era (of A.D. 78-79) to change the years of death into Anno Domini and in that case the list would be: Hari Vikrama died in AD 120, Siha Vikrama died in AD 123, Suriya Vikrama died in AD 143, Brithu Vikrama died in ... Āditaya Vikrama died in AD 163.

Sūriya died in the Pyu years 41, 44 and 64 (A.D. 360, 363 and 383), respectively, and provided that the reign of the last two kings was 20 years, it can be presumed that (Ā) ditya died in the Pyu year 84 (A.D. 403). Since the inscription on the urn could have been written only after the death of the king, we can estimate that this inscription was made in the early years of the 5th century A.D.

In conclusion we would like to point out that the urn explored at the exploration plot no. 31 in the premises of the Hpayhtaung Pagoda near the village of Hmawza on 18th March 1993 is the urn of King (Ā) ditya Vikrama and the inscription was most probably written at the beginning of the 5th century A.D. (Ā) ditya was the fifth king after Hari who was supposed to be the founder of Śrī Kṣetra City.

The inscriptions on the urns of Hari Siha and Sūriya ("Four Urns Inscription", explored in 1911) are very short. The inscription on the urn ("Hpayhtaung Inscription" found by us in 1993) consists of five lines and 1127 characters. Since there are names of seven kings it can be regarded as an important historical document.

Unfortunately, we do not know the details of the inscription. However, we are able to correct the translation of the "Four Stone Urns Inscription" explored in 1911. The correction is:

- (1) In the (Pyu) year 41 (A.D. 360) King Hari Vikrama died. His age was 57 years, two months and 24 days.
- (2) In the (Pyu) year 44 (A.D. 363) King Siha Vikrama died. He was 80 years old.
- (3) The beloved wife of King Sūriya Vikrama (the queen) died. She was 35.
- (4) In the (Pyu) year 64 (A.D. 383) King Sūriya Vikrama died, at the age of 50 years and 5 months.

Earlier, most of the historians were confused and they concluded that there might have been two kings with the name Hari Vikrama in the Śrī Kṣetra Dynasty; one would have been the founder of Śrī Kṣetra City whose name is mentioned in the "Buddha's Throne Inscription" and the other would have been the one mentioned in the "Four Stone Urns Inscription". Because of the wrong translation of the "Four Stone Urns Inscription" scholars believed that there was another Hari Vikrama in the

Śrī Kṣetra Dynasty who ruled the kingdom after the death of Sūriya Vikrama. Now we are able to abolish the above mentioned hypothesis because of the "Hpayhtaung Inscription". Both names are for the one and only Hari Vikrama who is also mentioned in this "Hpayhtaung Inscription" as the first king of the Vikrama Dynasty. In other words, he was not only the founder of Śrī Kṣetra City but also the founder of the Vikrama Dynasty. The Vikrama Dynasty ruled Śrī Kṣetra City from the 4th century A.D. to the beginning of the 5th century A.D.

However, we are not fully satisfied with our research because we would find out only numbers, names and some vocabulary of this "Hpayhtaung Inscription". One day, when one can read and translate the details of this inscription, a better history of the Vikrama Dynasty and Śrī Kṣetra City will be found out.

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