

THE SEVEN SPIRES

A SANCTUARY OF THE SACRED FIG TREE AT CHIENGMAI

By

E. W. Hutchinson, M.B.E.

INTRODUCTION

VAT CED-YOD, formerly known as BODHARAM, raises problems connected with the date of its construction, its unusual design and striking decoration, which had already attracted my attention in the years before the last war. I had however little to show in justification for my numerous excursions there other than a pile of photographs which, while illustrating the ruins, afforded no clue to their origin or workmanship. Thus, Vat Ced-yod remained an enigma to me during my absence from Chiengmai throughout the war; but upon my return in January 1947, I was able to resume my investigations under more favourable conditions. I found the site no longer overgrown and abandoned, as in 1940; the inner courtyard had been cleared of rank vegetation and its south-west end was ready for occupation by young monks, the senior monk — PHRA PHROHMPHEN — being occupied with the collection of funds for restoring the dilapidated *viharn*. With his assistance, sanction was obtained from the senior Pali scholar at Vat Cediluang, PHRA MAHAMUN, for me to study a palm-leaf manuscript containing the Chronicle (*Tamnan*) of Vat Ced-Yod. Both of these Buddhist dignitaries have treated my requests for elucidation of the text with the greatest consideration and Phra Phromphen has invariably welcomed my visits to the monastery and has seconded my efforts to take accurate measurements.

H.H. Prince Dhani Nivat, Kromamun Bidyalabh, has given practical proof of his interest in my work by lending me his own

copies of two books which I have been unable to replace in my post-war library, but which are essential for a study of Vat Ced-yod.¹ His Highness has always found time, during my short and rare visits to Bangkok, to give me the benefit of his advice and assistance which, on my last visit, included the loan of notes (furnished by the Department of Archeology at Patna) on the Sanctuary at Buddhagaya: these I have utilized in the extracts below. For these and all his many kindnesses I am profoundly grateful to the Prince.

Mr. Lu Pe Win of the Archeological Survey in Mandalay very kindly presented me last year with a picture of the Mahabodhi at Pagan.

Signor Feroci of the Fine Arts Department made sketches for me and notes on the towers at Aihole in the Deccan.

Thanks to an introduction from Mr. J.S. Furnival of Rangoon, I have received some valuable notes from Mr. G.H. Luce concerning the temples at Pagan, some of which appear to have served as models for the design of three important temples in Lampun-Chiangmai in the 14th - 15th century. Extracts are given in Appendix I.

Mr. F. Schreiber of Chiangmai lent me on several occasions Vol. 4 of Dr. O. Fischer's work on the Art and Archeology of India and beyond.² Authority to reproduce copies of two of his plates has been sought: No. 158, the rock temple at Bajra; Plate 174, the Pyramid at Gaya before the repairs of 1880 which should be compared with the photo of Gaya after 1880 - (copy purchased from the Department of Archeology in India). The two photos

1. *Documents sur l'Histoire Politique et Religieuse du Laos Occidental* extrait du B.E.F.E.O. vol. XXV (1925) Hanoi by Professor G. Coedès.

L'archéologie du Siam (1925) Hanoi by Monsieur J.Y. Claeys.

2. *Kunst Indiens, Chinas und Japans*, Vol. 4.
Kunstgeschichte von Otto Fischer Propylaen Verlag,
Ullsteinhaus, Berlin, 1928.

afford an eloquent comment on the extent of the restoration which was carried out in accordance with a small stone model of mediaeval times.³

In preparing my English version of the extracts below from Fischer's German text concerning the rock-temples and the Pagan period, I was indebted to Mr. Schreiber for helping me grasp and reproduce the exact meaning of the original.

Mr. On Maung assisted me with the measurements at Vat Ced-yod and drew the plans to scale, rendering assistance also in typing. Nai Puk Phakasem transposed the Lao text of the palm-leaf manuscript into Siamese and typed it for me; he was also helpful in establishing contacts with the local Buddhist authorities for their advice regarding the relative position of the seven traditional sites visited by Buddha after the enlightenment; he even furnished me with extracts from the *Phongsawadan Yonok*.⁴ But for the loyal co-operation of these two Buddhists of Chiengmai, the material in my hands for the completion of this paper would have been insufficient when the time came for me to leave Chiengmai finally at the end of May.

Marchese L. Cambiaso, in answer to my appeal, has kindly prepared a translation of the technical language employed by Monsieur Claeys in reference to the use of the *radiating arch* at Vat Ced-yod with which he concludes his study of Siamese Architecture.⁵ In the course of our talk last month, the Marchese illustrated the meaning of the term *horizontal thrust* in this connection by reminding me of the habit of the Romans in classical times of selecting a rocky site for their bridges, so that, where possible, each end of the bridge rested on a natural anchorage capable of yielding the resistance required to maintain the wedge-shaped bricks of the arch firmly in their place and so prevent the

3. *V. Gazetteer of Gaya district* ch. 3
by L.S.S. O'Malley, I.C.S. Calcutta, 1906.

4. Ch. XIX compiled by Phya Prachakit Koracak. Bangkok 1907.
(PY. in the text)

5. V. Appendix II

collapse of the bridge when subjected to the vertical thrust of traffic passing over it. This principle should be borne in mind when examining the arches at Vat Cēd-yod.

I am indebted to another old friend, Phya Vinit Vanandon, for the correct botanical identification of two trees and a small plant which occur in connection with the traditional list of the seven localities visited after the Enlightenment beneath the Sacred Fig-tree (*Ficus religiosa* – *Moraceae*).

In tendering my grateful acknowledgements to all who have helped me, I desire in particular to emphasize the debt which I owe to Professor Coedès for the masterly exposition, chronological tables and, above all, for the notes appended to his translation into French of the Pali works, *Jinakālamālini*, *Cāmadevivamsa*, *Sāsanavamsa* (Ch. IV);⁶ of an 8th century Mon Inscription from Lopburi, also of two inscriptions in Pali and one in Pali-Thai at Lampun – collected together into the single volume, already mentioned, entitled *Documents sur l'histoire politique et religieuse du Laos occidental...extrait du B.E.F.E.O. Vol. XXV (1925)* (Hanoi by Professor G. Coedès). In a preface, written in Bangkok 26 years ago, Coedès presented his work in the form, not of a history of Northern Siam, but rather – as the title suggests – of Documents (practically unknown in Europe at that time), but which – when translated – would provide a solid taking-off ground, he believed, for fresh research in regions still only partially explored. That

6. *Jinakālamālini* was written by the monk RATANAPANNA in Chiangmai during the years 1516 - 17 (V. JKM 169). He was then about 43 years old. (V. *Documents*, pp. 5-6)

Cāmadevivamsa written by the monk, BODHIRAMSI, mid-15th century, is a religious epic of the Mon period in Lampun (V. *Documents*, pp. 12 seq.)

Sāsanavamsa, a legendary religious chronicle, mentions the pilgrimage to Ceylon in 1424, also the alterations to the cedi at Vat-luang, Lampun, but dates them 1463, not 1469 (JKM). Gives very brief account of Bureng Naung's conquest of Chiangmai in 1578 resulting in a religious reformation *without* reducing the people to slavery.

volume has been constantly in my hands and has, in fact, performed precisely the service which its author intended.

The result is the present essay which is divided into five sections. *Part I* gives a description of Vat Ced-yod and the outlying buildings including the two plans and measurements. *Part II* follows briefly the development of Buddhist art in India and Burma with the aid of extracts from Fischer and O'Malley; then, with the help of JKM and of the extant remains in Lampun, its progress is traced up to the end of the 13th century when the Mon kingdom of HARIPUNJAYA (Lampun) was conquered by Mengrai and his Thai from Chiengmai. *Part III* carries on the study throughout the first period of Thai supremacy in the North which terminated with the Burmese occupation in 1578 — actually the final half-century is a blank, since I found nothing later than 1527, the last date in JKM. The place to be assigned to Vat Ced-yod in the religious history of the North is then determined. I find difficulty in assigning Vat Ced-yod to a period before the mid-fourteenth century when certain features of Pagan design appeared in Lampun and were repeated in the following century in Chiengmai — features which are distinctive of Vat Ced-yod. In the light of the unpromising statement in paragraph 5 of the Chronicle to the effect that a monastery was first founded by King Tilok and that the Fig-tree was planted by him later at this monastery on the site now occupied by Vat Ced-yod, I can see no alternative to dating that temple in the second half of the fifteenth century. *Part VI* contains my analysis of the Chronicle (TVCY) in 12 paragraphs under each of which is a note regarding the corresponding paragraph in JKM. A comparison of the two sources points to the conclusion that TVCY is a free translation, often amplified, of the passages in JKM which refer to Vat Ced-yod. Among other similarities, both sources come to an end on the same date and with the same information. *Part V* consists of a transcription into Siamese of the original Lao text of the manuscript, inscribed with a style on palm-leaves, probably the latest of a series of rescripts in which copyists' errors are likely to accumulate: e.g. the mistake in Tilok's age (para. 6)

and the incorrect total ordinations (para. 10 (d)). Omissions and interpolations by copyists of both JKM and TVCY are probably responsible for puzzling discrepancies between the two mss, viz. :-

a. Omission by JKM 143 of the *Sangāyanā* and Library described in TVCY 6. and dated 1477. JKM however refers back to them forty years later in p. 168.

b.c. Addition of a *viharn* in 1455 on the South side by TVCY 5. and of the *viharn* adjoining the *cedi* in 1518 TVCY 10 (e) – both omitted by JKM which however dates the great sanctuary “*Mahāvihāram edesi*” 1576 ; and in 1518 mentions two *viharn* built in other temples, but not the *viharn* adjoining the *cedi* at Vat Ced-yod (JKM 143 and 174).

It will be observed that TVCY fails to record even the building of the *cedi* – let alone any comment on its unusual design.

The gap which occurs in both mss between the years 1455 and 1476.7 – a period of 21 years passed over in complete silence both as regards contemporary events and progress of building at Vat Ced-yod – gives rise to the suspicion that a whole page of the JKM manuscript may have been lost before the JKM became the main source for the Chronicle.

Apart from amplifying JKM’s reference to the foundation of Vat Ced-yod, the Chronicle is of value, if only for clarifying the ambiguous language in which JKM refers to that foundation for the first time – a reference which Professor Coedès, on the authority of H.R.H. the late Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, took to mean that the Seven Spires were already standing on their present site at the time when King Tilok planted his tree, i.e. in 1455. The Professor now considers that TVCY gives a better translation of the Pali than that given on p. 111 of his *Documents sur l’Histoire Politique et Religieuse du Laos Occidental...* extrait du B.E.F. E.O. Vol. XXV (1925) (Hanoi, by Professor G. Coedès) *Part VI* includes the Siamese text of the Chronicle together with Appendix.

The study which follows of Buddhist expansion in Lannathai under the impetus of the Ceylon-pilgrims of Chiengmai concerns a period in the history of the North which was first made known to western students twenty-four years ago through the medium of Coedès' *Documents* above-mentioned, a volume which has been my constant companion during the past months. It is only fitting therefore that the study in which that work has borne fruit should be dedicated to the genial *Aṅkhn* and master of historical research in Further India, Professor G. Coedès, whose work, it is hoped, may soon become available to a wider circle through the medium of translation.

It is also hoped that, when improved facilities enable the reproduction of the interesting illustrations in *Sthāpatyakam*⁷ an opportunity for a second edition may arise, in order to revise the faulty chronology which attributes the building of Vat Ced-yod to influence from Pagan in the reign of King Anurudh (i.e. first-half of the eleventh century)

S. Rhodesia, July 1949

E.W. HUTCHINSON.

P.S. Grateful acknowledgements are also due to His Highness Prince Dhani Nivat, Krom Mūn Bidyalabh, and to Mr.C.M. Anderson for correcting and editing the text of my typescript; also to Luang Chakrapani (Visudh Krairiksh) for preparing a revised edition in Thai of the Lao Tamnan Vat Ced-yod.

7. *Sthāpatyakam* published Bangkok 1946. The erroneous chronology was repeated in an article on p. 16 of the "Standard" of 19th February 1949.

PART I

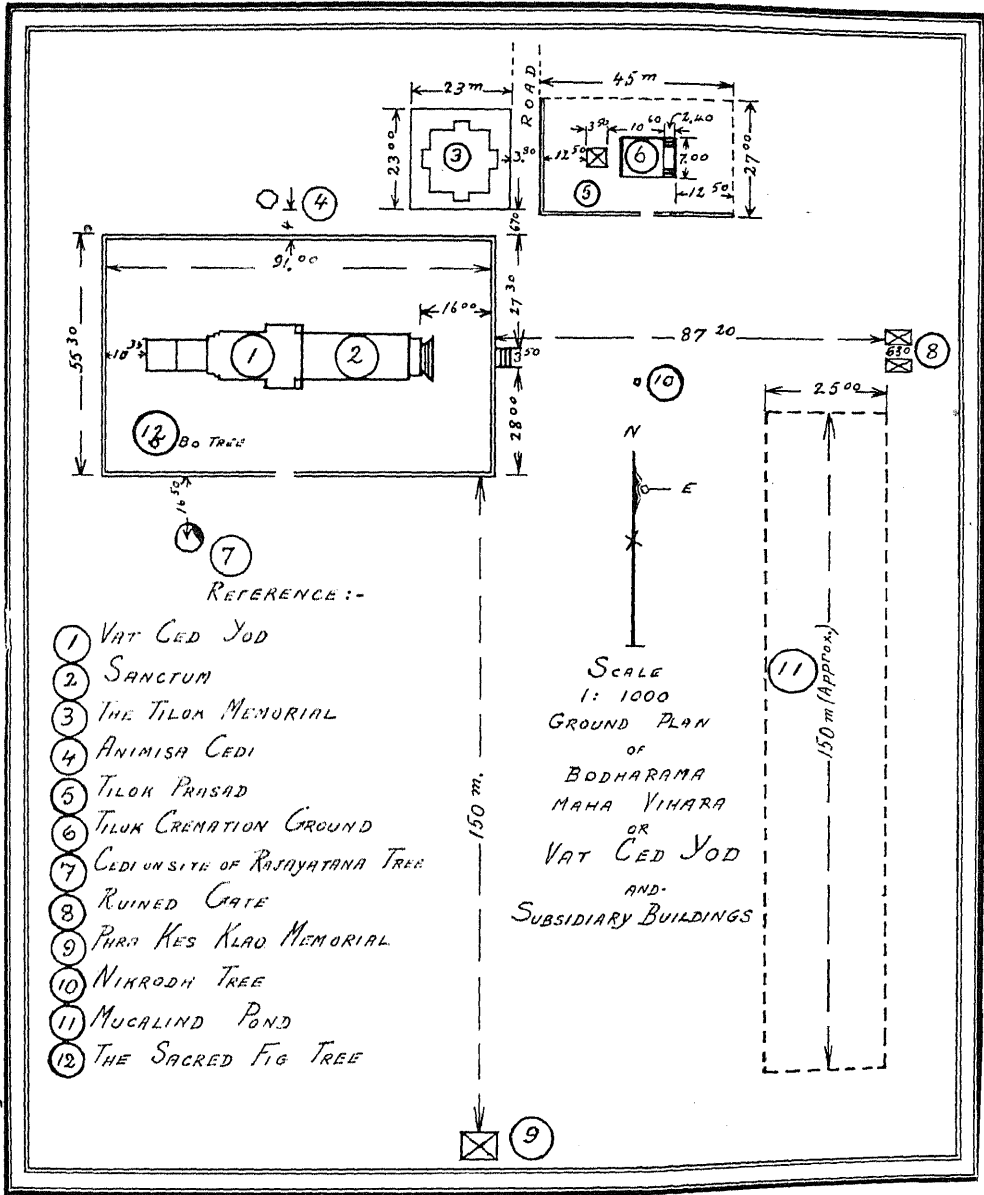
Description of Vat Ced-yod

The visitor should take the north road, leave the city by the white-elephant gate and pass the curious monument of that name on his right: if he then looks north west across the field in the direction of Mt Suthep, a vague mass of bluish-grey masonry and spires will be discerned indistinctly against the dark belt of forest that lies between the fields and Mt Suthep.

In order to examine this unusual building at close quarters, it is necessary to leave the main-road at *Lion Cage* monastery วัดกุงสิงห์ — some 4 k.m. from the centre of the city — and follow a cart track for another kilometre or more through the scrub (generally practicable for motor-cars). The track bears west but bends south eventually in order to skirt some habitations, then enters a narrow defile between (east) a high, embanked terrace — the reputed site of King Tilok's cremation — and (west) a steep mound surmounted by the tall *cedi* and *stupa* to commemorate that King. The track then comes out onto an open, grass-covered clearing bounded (west) by a modern wall 54 m. in length. This is the eastern wall of a courtyard (54 m x 91 m) in the centre of which stands the "SANCTUARY OF THE SEVEN SPIRES" which is dimly visible from the main road north of the city.

The central portion of this courtyard is occupied by a plinth composed of laterite blocks, apparently unmortared, standing 1 m. 25 above ground-level and supporting the following buildings:—

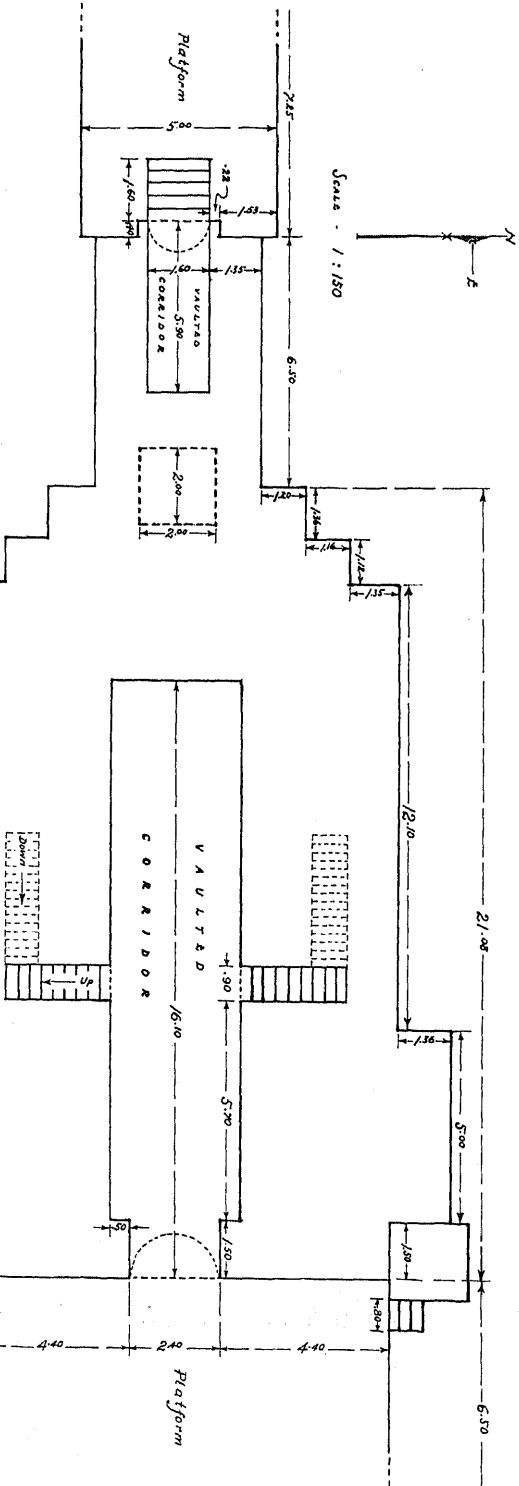
At east end, <i>viharn</i> (assembly-hall) —	
length east to west	23 m. 00
Centre, <i>cedi</i> with 5 pyramids and 2 <i>stupa</i>	
on upper terrace	21 m. 08
At west end, an unterraced, vaulted	
extension of <i>cedi</i>	6 m. 50
Add to this the unroofed space between	
<i>cedi</i> and <i>viharn</i>	6 m. 50



Ground plan of The Seven Spires and subsidiary buildings.

VAT BOBHARANA MAHA VIHARA
OR
CED VOD

GROUND PLAN



Plan of the central plinth of the Seven Spires.

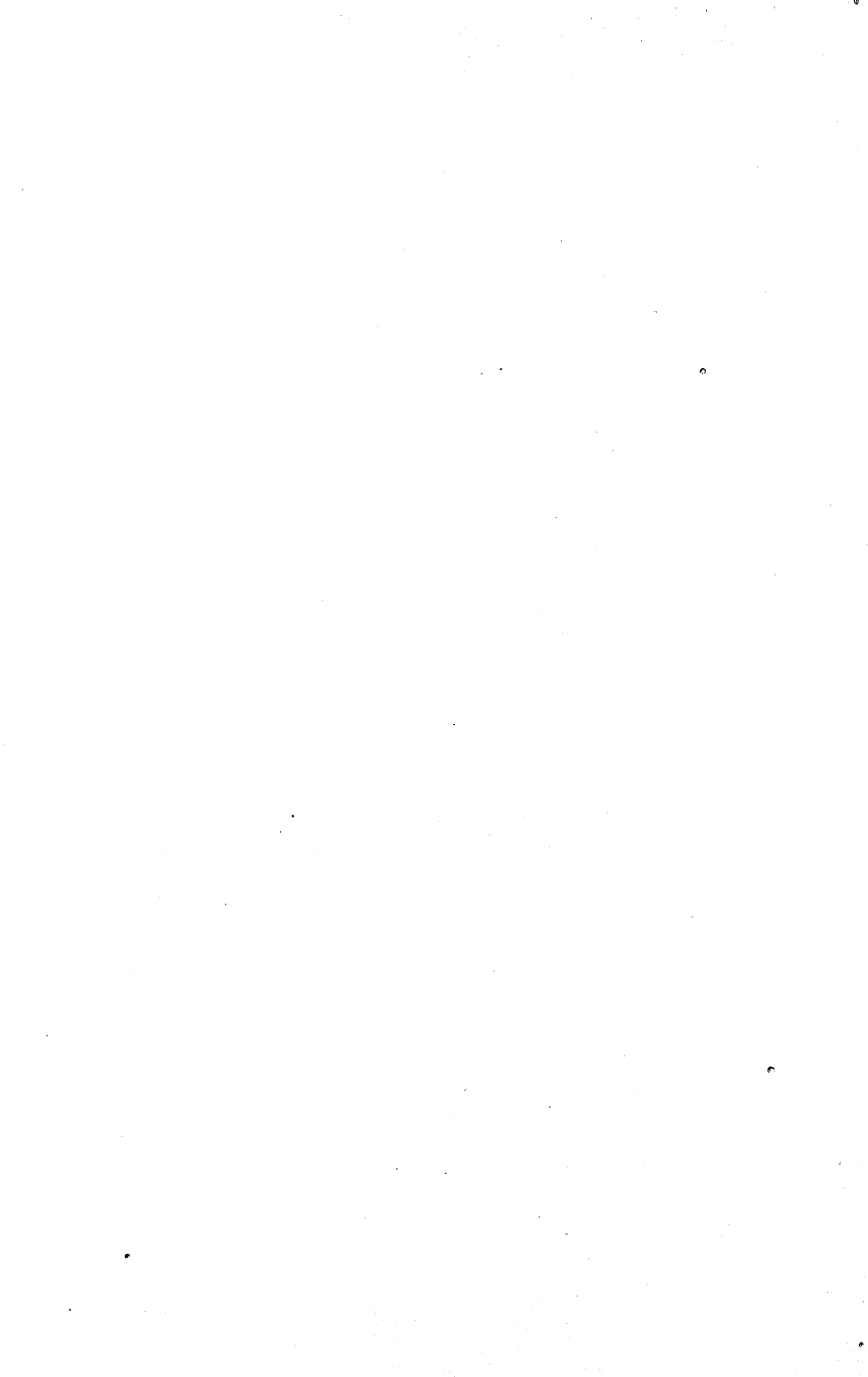
De



The Seven Spires E. Façade



The Seven Spires E. Vault.



the total length of the plinth from east to west is therefore 57 m. 08. At the west end of the plinth is an unroofed platform 7 m. 25 in length which gives access to the vault by 8 steps. The total length from east to west of the whole monument 64 m. 33 is more than four times that of its width, which never exceeds 15 m. even at the two bays and is generally 11 m. 20, but tapers to 5 m. on the west platform. Dimensions such as these leave ample space for other buildings on the north and south sides of the courtyard.

The Courtyard.

East end. There are a few young Mango trees on the right as we enter; on the left, a Jack tree and a grove of young *nephelium*. Against the east wall is a modern cloister with cement floor and tiled roof, extending from the entrance-gate, midway down the the east wall, to the south east corner.

South side. In between the south east corner and a small opening in the south wall is the monks' quarters ဂူ , a wooden building on piles, which provides accommodation for Phra Prohm-sen and a few young monks and *nen*. A young *ficus religiosa* of some twenty years growth fills the space between this building and the opening in the wall: outside the wall, at a short distance from the opening, is a small circular tower in ruins near the supposed traditional site of the Mimosops tree မိမောပ - the traditional *rājāyatana* tree. Towards the south-west corner, mid-way from it and from the *cedi*, stand the remnants of a very ancient but now stunted Fig-tree, believed to be the parent of the younger Fig-trees round about and to be descended from the actual stem brought from Ceylon in the fifteenth century, of which a shoot was planted by King Tilok.⁸ Beneath it is a slab - the traditional DIAMOND THRONE.⁹

West end. Adjacent to it, but nearer to the centre of the west wall are two trees, a jasmin and a palm, both fully-grown;

8. v. TVCY, para. 5.

9. The throne on which Buddha sat, -
Vajrasana or *Bodhi pattana*.

in the north-west corner is another Fig-tree corresponding in size to the one near the monks' house.

North side. The main object of interest, aside from several young mango trees, is a heap of earth, bricks and masonry piled to the top of the north wall near the centre where it is said that some monks' cells once existed: it is considered by some that in early days a traditional "Jewelled-cloister" - *Ratanacongkrom* - passed through this site, connecting it with the octagonal pavilion of brick and plaster just outside the enclosure wall, (before the present wall was put up) which is held to represent the traditional *Animisa cedi*, the site on which the Buddha stood for seven days after his Enlightenment and before pacing the Jewelled Cloister. It is popularly known as such, and contains a modern figure of the Standing Buddha, some two feet high, in sandal-wood painted black.

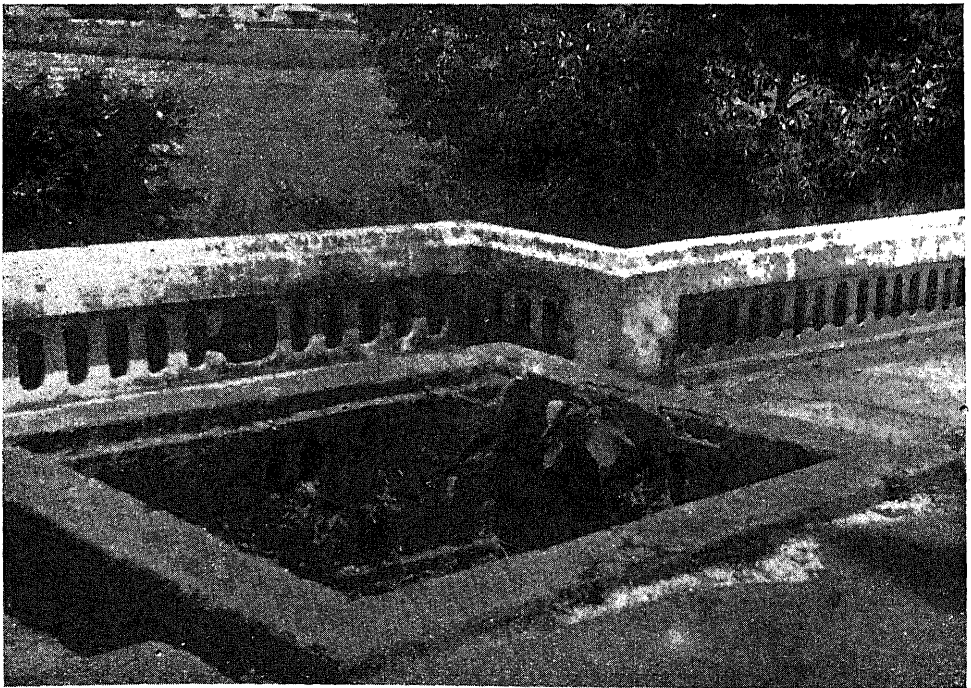
Access to the shrine is by two small stairways of brick, .80 m. wide, on each side of the plinth, giving on to the, now unroofed, platform between *cedi* and *viharn*. The rough gale-roof of thatch with supporting posts, which formerly concealed the east façade of the *cedi* have now been removed, thereby revealing the extent of the dilapidation threatening the east façade behind which, at no great depth, brick gives place to the original laterite of the structure. The reason for refacing the east façade with bricks, laid less carefully than elsewhere, is less apparent than in the case of the north and south walls where the laterite surface required a brick facing for supporting the stucco figures with decorate them; but the decoration ends with the figures in the north-east and south-east re-entrants, leaving the east façade round the vaulted archway bare. The bricks, of which it now consists, are ill-set and apparently unmortared; but behind, at no great distance, is solid laterite which supplies all the support required horizontally for maintaining the great vaulted corridor intact under the vertical weight of the pyramids above. The vault is 16 m. 10 deep and the piers of the entrance arch in the centre of the façade are 3 m. 60 high and support a radiating (Roman) arch with a rise of 1 m. 68 and a span of 2 m. 40. Claeys points out that the bricks which now serve as a



Exit of stairway onto the platform East and West pyramids.



South East, Face of the Seven Spires showing stupa.



The Seven Spires, Chiengmai, showing the pit behind the central pyramid.

facing to the arch have not even been moulded wedge-shape at the angle required to obtain an accurate semi-circle.¹⁰ Comparing the façade at Céd-yod with that of the *Mahabodhi* at Pagan, we observe that the former is surmounted by two *stupa*, one at each corner; whereas at Pagan there are four, distributed evenly along the frontage of the terrace above the façade. This poses the question whether the absence at Céd-yod of the two central *stupa* above the entrance to the vault may not have deprived the eastern end of the vertical thrust needed. Otherwise, the damage to the east façade may perhaps be due to unsymmetrical brick-laying and careless mortaring; or again to some flaw in the original pose of the laterite blocks, such as one is tempted to hold responsible for the ruinous condition of the two dogs-leg stairways which take off from the north and south walls of the vault at a distance of 5 m. 70 from the entrance and emerge from under the north-east and south-east pyramid respectively onto the upper terrace: their width is barely sufficient to admit a big man and they traverse the solid laterite walls which are 2 m. 42 in depth between the wall of the vault and the exterior wall.

The vault terminates in a bare wall without pendentives: in front of the wall is a large Buddha in dingy painted apparel, a similar image rests on the ground in front: neither appear to possess any claim to special age or interest.

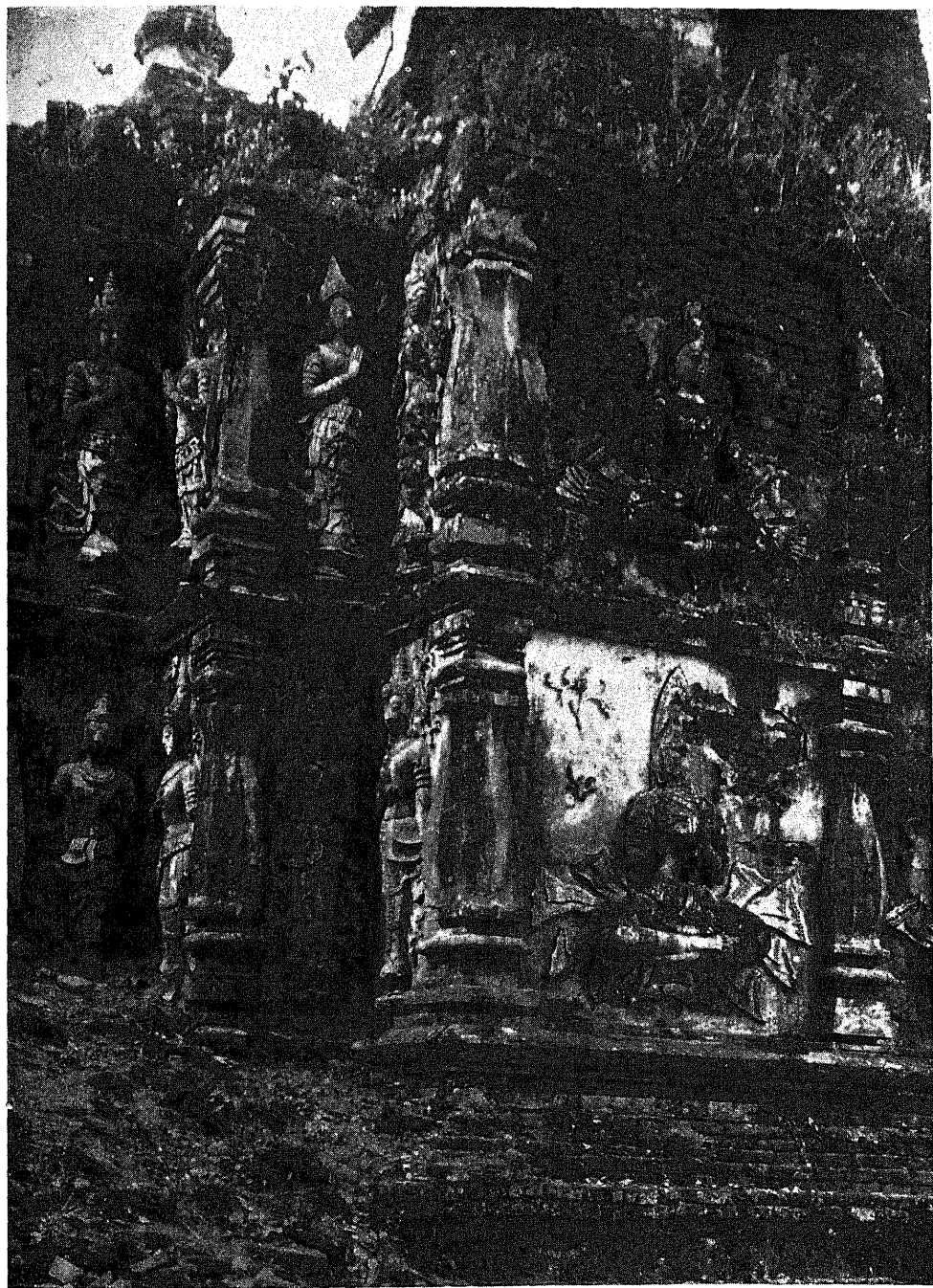
West of the vault, a reduction on the width of the *cedi* from 11 m. 20 to less than 6 m. at the point of junction with the unterraced western extension is effected by means of three reentrants of 1 m. 25 on both north and south sides. At the junction of the *cedi* with the western extension, in the centre, is a pit 2 m. 00 square at its mouth on the western extremity of the terrace and the laterite walls are in good alignment: they are believed to extend down to below ground level, as at Pagan, where they appear to have served to drain off the rain-water from the terrace. At the corner where the western extension joins the south-west wall of the main

10. *op. cit.* pp. 445-447 v. appendix.

shrine is a pile of earth and rubble extending up to a breach in the south wall of the pit at its mouth. The damage to the south wall of the pit was caused some 37 years ago by the fall of a Fig-tree which had grown up in the pit to a size which the authorities considered to be a menace to the structure. Phra Promhsen remembers how, in his boyhood, the tree was removed under orders from the Governor. Its uprooting was undoubtedly the cause of the above-mentioned damage to the south wall of the pit and has left its mark in the pile of earth etc. up which it is possible to climb to the terrace as an alternative route to the ruined stairways.

The western extension consists of an unterraced vault 5 m.90 from the entrance to the image on a ledge at the end (similar to those in the east vault) which is known as *Phra Thançai* พระทันใจ because it was made in a single day. The laterite arch rests on piers 2 m. 30 with a rise of 1 m. 20 and a span of 1 m. 60, on either side of which is a pilaster and beyond it a shallow re-entrant to the north and south sides of the external walls of the vault, which were faced with brick and decorated in the same way as the walls of the main *cedi*. The external dimensions of the west extension, 6 m. 50 in length and approx. 5 m. 80 in width, the height estimated about 5 m. — is not easy to measure owing to the ruinous and overgrown condition of the upper surface above the vault, which is 5 m. 90 in length, 2 m. 40 wide and 3 m. 50 high, — inside measurements. Although lacking in precision, these measurements show walls of considerable solidity with corresponding thickness in the roof carried by them; it may be questioned however whether this vaulted extension possesses the same rigidity as the central portion of the main shrine under the pyramids, a doubt which is reinforced by the flimsy appearance of the western end. The open platform beyond it is also in bad repair.

One feature of the monument which deserves to be perpetuated for the benefit of posterity by means of plaster mould, if nothing better can be done, is the stucco ornamentation of the outer walls both of *cedi* and west extension. As stated above, the laterite walls were faced with brick and coated with plaster. A



Standing figures on North-East walls.



Seated figures on North-East walls.

horizontal moulding divides each wall-face into an upper and a lower panel. The panels are separated vertically by bulging plaster pilasters which rest directly upon the laterite and are each adorned with elaborate mouldings round the base and capital. The centre of each panel has been excavated sufficiently to contain a brick filling which serves to support a human figure in high relief and richly clothed in the traditional style prescribed for the type of angelic being known as *thevadū* (Pali: *Devatā*). Vestiges exist of at least 70 figures of which 29 have either been dislodged or otherwise perished. Of the remaining 41 figures, those in the re-entrant stand 2 m. or more high; the remainder are seated in the posture *paryankāsana*: the larger figures measure 1 m. 25, the smaller ones 1 m. 05 from knee to knee, measurements from crown to toe being 1 m. 68 and 1 m. 60 respectively. The standing figure which Claeys described in detail stands 2 m. 45 high and is particularly well-preserved and suitable for perpetuation in the form of a plaster moulding, which could be preserved among the artistic treasures of the nation. Claeys compared these figures with the stucco ornamentation of a *mandop* at Vat Trapang Tong at Sukhothai.¹¹ The flat background of the panels in many cases is engraved with the outline of flowers and tendrils, which enhance the life-like effect of the reliefs: similar decoration is to be seen in the form of mural frescoes in Pagan, the origin of which will be discussed later.

The disparity in age, observable in the trees and buildings grouped around the *cedi* occurs also in the *viharn*. It is possible that the original *viharn* was not built until 63 years after the *cedi* and replaced an earlier Hall erected by King Tilok to the south of the present building which itself is now being rebuilt, the perishable materials employed being such that rebuilding is necessary and has probably been effected every century since 1518, the date assigned by the Chronicle to the earliest *viharn* on the plinth.¹²

11. v. op. cit. p. 416. This *mandop* appears to have been replaced now by a crude gilded pavilion.

12. v. TVCY. 10 (e) JKM 143 however appears to date both *cedi* and *viharn* in the year 1476.

The building now under repair is a poor example of the usual type. At the west end is a large Buddha in plaster in the attitude of *samadhi*, but a smaller bronze figure at its side in the posture of *maravijai* deserves attention ¹³ - Chiengsen style, fingers of the right-hand unequal in length. The bronze stand, 0 m. 28 high, has a serrated upper rim. Another furnishing of distinction is a tall pulpit ¹⁴ *พระมณเฑียร*, finely carved and of slender proportions, tapering to a *finiale* consisting of four tiers of graceful, dove-cot gables: the panels of the three upper tiers are adorned with gilt *kudu*. These two objects of distinction serve to recall the sumptuous furnishings of four centuries ago when Vat Bodharam, as it was then known, contained the Sandal-wood image from Phayao, the *patimakor* Buddha from Cambodia and a golden *patimakor* cast by King Muang Koo even though they may not have actually been placed in the *viharn*.¹⁴

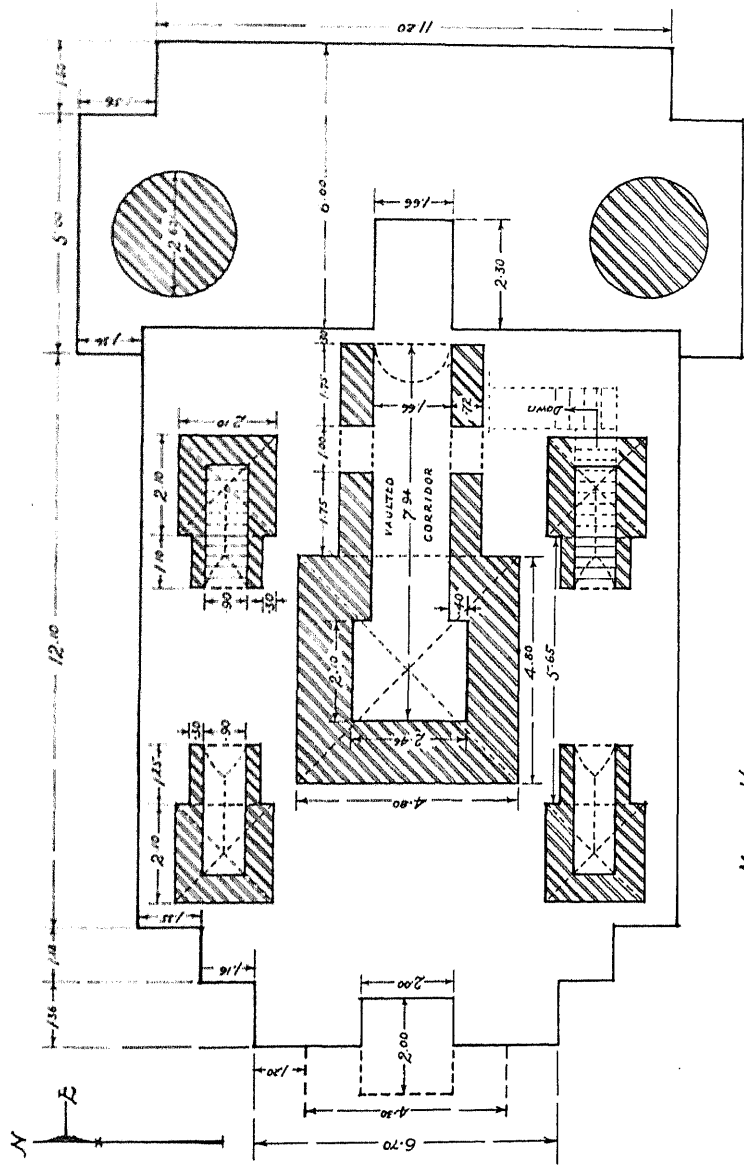
Before we examine the upper terrace, we may note two holes in the ground, 25 cm. in diameter, near the narrow stairways of approach to the plinth. At first sight, the modern framework of cement around the aperture is suggestive of a drain; but they are regarded locally as an anchorage for the two temple-poles, long since vanished.

The dimensions of the upper terrace correspond with those beneath, viz. - 21 m. 08 from the pit at the west end to the parapet above the east façade. The terrace is 8 m. 50 above ground-level. The first object on the terrace, east of the pit-head, is the central pyramid, 4 m. 80 sq. at the base. At a distance of a metre from each of the four corners stand the four satellite pyramids, 2 m. 10 at the base, each provided with an arched (corbelled) entrance to a small vaulted chamber - that of the two western pyramids faces east on to the entrance to a similar vaulted-chamber in the two eastern

13. *samadhi* - hands folded in lap, as in a trance.

maravijai - rt. hand on knee, as having attained victory over evil.

14. v. TVCY 10 (f), 11 (a), and para. 8 respectively. The latter however was placed in the *uposoth* until its removal to Lampun.

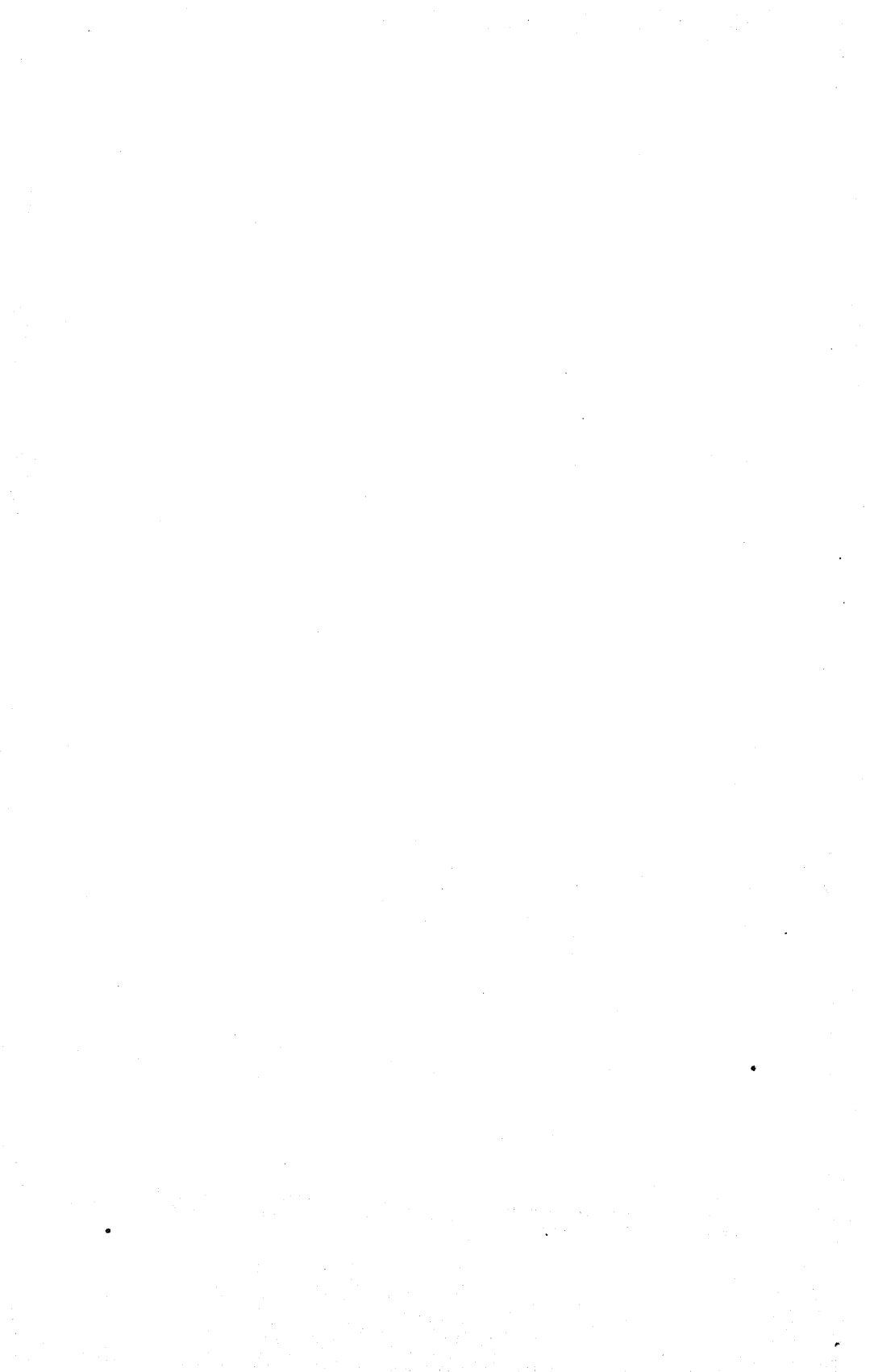


PLAN OF
UPPER PLATFORM
SCALE: 1:150

VAT BODHARAMA MAHA VIHARA
OR
CED YOD

Plan of upper platform the Seven Spires.

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Entrance to central Shrine at East end of platform.



pyramids, that of the eastern pyramids faces west. Two of these small vaults form a canopy over the steep, narrow, stairways on the north and south sides of the vaulted corridor below, which emerge through the north east and south east pyramids respectively and face on to a minute shrine in the corresponding arched vault of the north west and south west pyramids. The base of the central pyramid also contains a vaulted chamber, 2 m. 46 × 2 m., inside the pyramid, which is entered from the east end by a vaulted corridor 4 m. 80 long. The radiating arch at the entrance is set upon piers 1 m. 78 high and has a rise of 0 m. 85: the maximum height is 2 m. 63 with a span of 1 m. 66. The pilaster which guards the entrance on the north side is intact and similar to those on the walls below; but the corresponding pilaster on the south side is missing and the wall behind it is in ruinous condition — this would seem due possibly to the absence of any compensating support, either at the side or above, the roof of the vault being unterraced and the side-walls thin and not even solid, being broken on both north and south sides by an open, metre-wide door-space, rectangular in form.

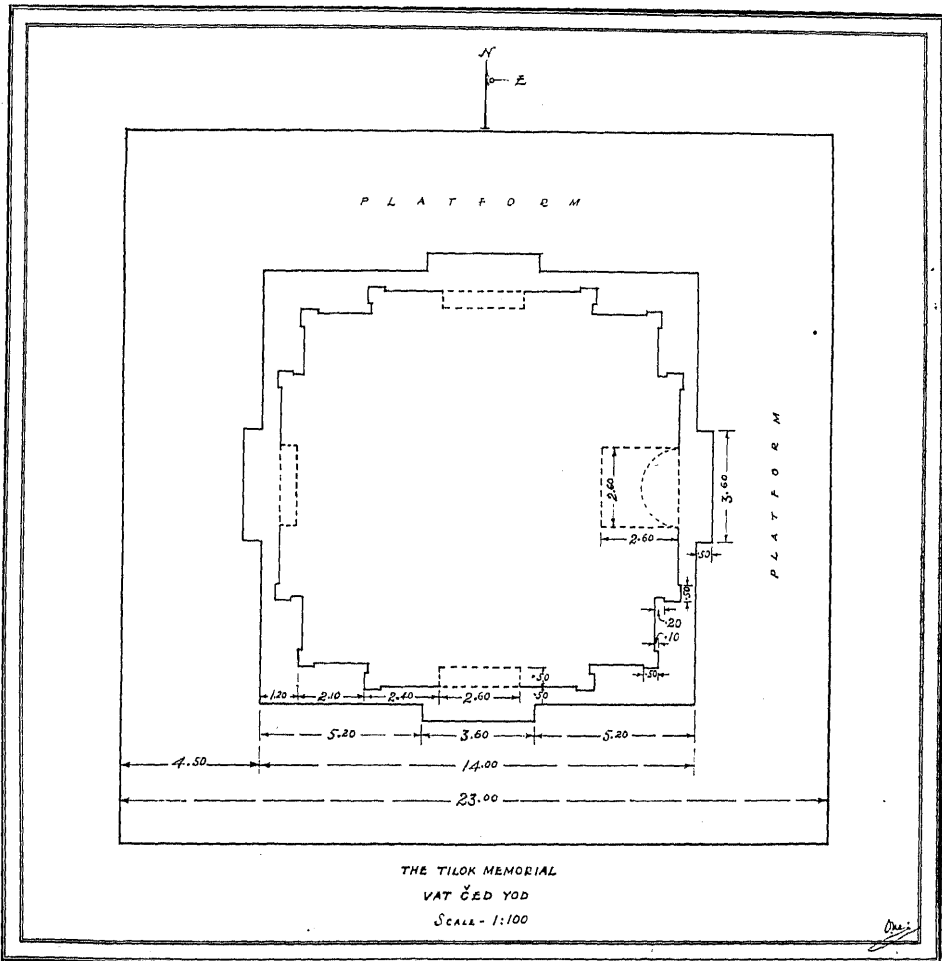
The vaulted chamber at the base of the central pyramid is the *sanctum* and women are requested by a notice (on the walls of the lower corridor) to abstain from penetrating to it. It contains a large Buddha in plaster of similar appearance to those below but, so it appears, of greater antiquity — the right hand is broken and there are other signs of crumbling.

From the *sanctum* we emerge on to an open platform (of the same width as the vault) which extends for 2 m. 30 out towards the centre of the lower terrace — this eastern end being somewhat lower than the rest: it contains a *stupa* over each bay as well as the projecting platform. The laterite *vousoirs* of the *stupa* are arranged in a circle, 2 m. 60 in diameter at the base, in 20 rows one above the other, gradually diminishing in diameter as they ascend bell-like to the square base of the plastered terminal shaft. The lower end of this shaft resembles a mushroom, above which five rings taper to a cone at the summit. The shaft forms the sole decoration of the two *stupa*.

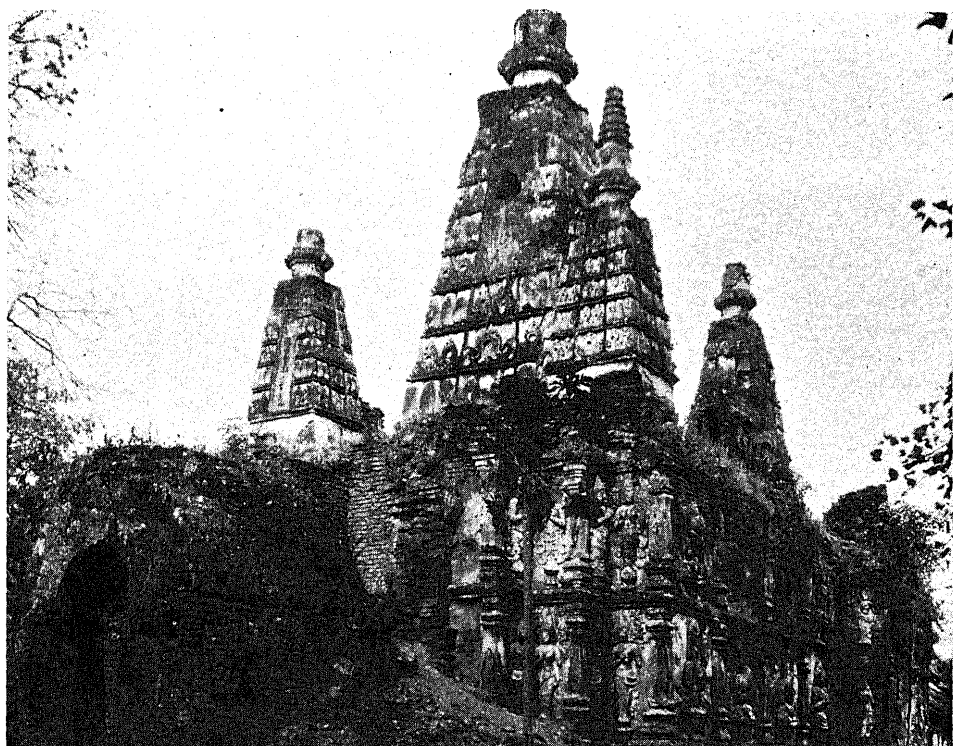
The five pyramids however are all decorated in the same style, although the thick stucco coating has become detached in some places and left the laterite blocks exposed: — remains of the fallen stucco litter the courtyard. The pattern is as follows:— each wall of a pyramid is divided by two deep channels vertically into three upright sections which, as they ascend, diminish in accordance with the natural taper of the pyramid. The vertical sections are divided horizontally by twin fillets of fine leaves — eight on the central and five on the satellite pyramids. The result is eighteen panels on each wall of the latter and twenty-seven on each wall of the central pyramid. The central panels are decorated with the *kudu* of India, singly or in pairs throughout; in the angle sections the *kudu* alternates with a design suggestive of three bulbous, rectangular lozenges, side by side. The shaft above the pyramid bellies into a bulbous pot-pumpkin ornament;¹⁵ the pinnacle, (missing on the central pyramid), is a pile of rings which diminish in diameter up to the *finiale*. The central pyramid, without this pinnacle, stands 8 m. 50 above the terrace and 20 m. 00 above the ground. Even with the missing pinnacle and *finiale* added, the height would have been only about one third of that of Cedi-luang, the central monument of Chiengmai.

A number of subsidiary sites and ruins exist outside the existing enclosure in addition to the two small shrines, already mentioned, that mark the traditional sites of *Animisacedi* and the *ra jayatana*. The number of scattered bricks on the outer perimeter suggest that the whole site (approx. 245 m. × 180) may have been enclosed with a wall which took off from the ruins of a great entrance-gate,¹⁶ 87 m. 20 due east of the entrance in the existing wall and on the same axis as the *viharn-cedi*. The ruin consists of two massive piles of brick with traces of stucco ornamentation, but the connecting arch has vanished.

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15. This object will be familiar to those acquainted with the decoration of the *sikhara* at Aihole.
 16. This may be identical with the gate and wall ordered by King Tilok when the original buildings were planned. v. TVCY para. 5.







Corbelled entrance to Shrine.



Ruin of East gateway to precincts.



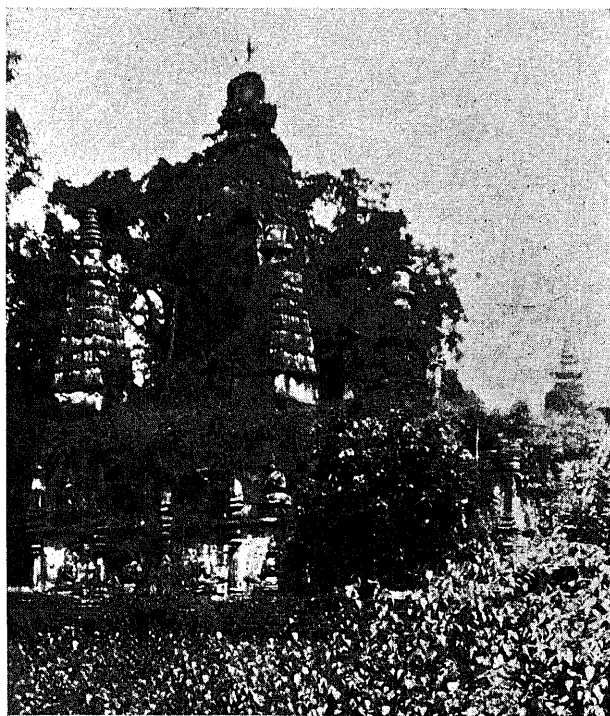
*Reliquary of King Muang Kes Klao within the precincts of the
Seven Spires.*



The same.



*The Seven Spires, Chiengmai, detail of
the Tilok Stupa.*



*South-West Face of the Seven Spires, showing
central pit for Bo tree.*

The tall monument to King Tilok, west of the defile at the entrance, was built by his successor and grandson, Phra Yod Chiengrai after King Tilok's death in 1478.¹⁷ The base of the *cedi* is 23 m. sq. — the style is a replica on a small scale of the great Cedi-luang completed by Tilok. The fine *stupa* was gilded by the great-grandson Phra Muang Keo in 1516.¹⁸

On the east side of the ravine, overlooking the road, is a small octagonal pavilion of brick and plaster, now in ruins, which is said to have served to support King Tilok's funeral urn before the cremation; a short distance to the east is the actual cremation ground on which King Phra Muang Keo built the *uposoth (bot)* in 1510 which measured 38 m. x 16 m. compared with the small existing *bot* 11 m. x 7.¹⁹

Some bricks in the ground between the outer and inner gates are said to mark the site of the Library for the Scriptures — *ho montien* — built originally by King Tilok in 1477 and rebuilt by King Muang Keo in 1515.²⁰

The *nicrodh* (*ficus bengalensis*) under which the Buddha rested near the goat-herd's hut — one of the traditional seven sites commemorating the Enlightenment known as *ajapāla-nigrodha* — is located by the monks in the same area, near the Library, despite the statement in the Temple Chronicle that it was to be commemorated in the north west corner.²¹

The Temple Tank *Muṅgalind* to the east of the shrine is still to be seen in the same area of the shrine, slightly north for a line drawn between the ruined outer gate and the entrance to the modern enclosed courtyard and on its bank are still to be seen the *mai cik* bush associated with the traditional site.²²

17. v. TVCY 7.

18. v. TVCY 10 (c)

19. v. TVCY 8 and JKM 151

20. v. TVCY 8 and 10 (c)

21. v. TVCY 5.

22. v. TVCY 5. *rhaik cik* is "Barrintonia acutangula".

Lastly, at a distance of 150 metres to the south of the modern enclosure wall is a ruined rectangular brick building, 4 m. x 5 m. 30 standing some $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. high with a flat roof (design unknown) which is overgrown by a fig tree which is gradually causing the bricks to disintegrate. Three walls are of brick without door or window, but the fourth, facing east, is completely open, in the form of a wide-spanned radiating arch with a rise of 1 m. 26 above the piers on either side 1 m. 90 in height and 0 m. 70 square. The three solid walls have less depth and no buttresses of any sort; consequently the survival of the flat-roofed structure for four centuries is a matter for surprise, if the popular notion is correct that it was built by King Kes Klao as a reliquary for his ashes, (d. 1533). The floor is bare earth. It crowns a low knoll — with a pool below.

The soil to the east is very swampy for some distance in the direction of the Temple Tank, *Mucabind* which, at one period may possibly have extended in this direction.

PART II

Development of Buddhist
Architecture in Northern Siam

The origin of the numerous architectural and artistic features of Vat Ced-yod must be sought in a survey of the development of Buddhist art from the earliest beginnings in India. To quote a recent saying of Coedès.: **23**

“Buddhism appears to have opened the way “for the diffusion of Indian culture; the statues of Buddha (Amaravati style) discovered at Pong Tuk and Khorat in Siam; at Dong-Duong in Annam; at Palembang in Sumatra; in Java and Borneo, are all landmarks that attest the limits reached by Hindu expansion in its beginning..... they preceded the institution of official Civa worship with its cult of the royal *lingam*. As for Vishnu worship, it did not make its appearance before the 5th century.”

Among the illustrations in Dr. Otto Fischer's book (to which reference has already been made) is a reproduction of one of the earliest known Buddhist buildings, Asoka's *stupa* at Sanci in N. India after its restoration in the first century B.C., by which time it had been surrounded by other structures.²⁴ Among the surviving remains are the carved stone gates and balustrade below the mound and, upon its summit, the stone chamber for relics which, with the mound, is without doubt the forerunner of the bell-shaped *stupa* of Ceylon — replicas can be seen at Vat Mahadhatu, Sajjanalai (Svan-kalok). There are but few buildings in the open which have survived exposure to the elements as have those at Sanci: we are therefore fortunate that there still exist in India rock-temple *caitya* excavated in rocky hill-sides which have survived intact and may be assumed to represent the type of Buddhist temple in vogue two thousand years ago in India. Fischer wrote of them: **25**

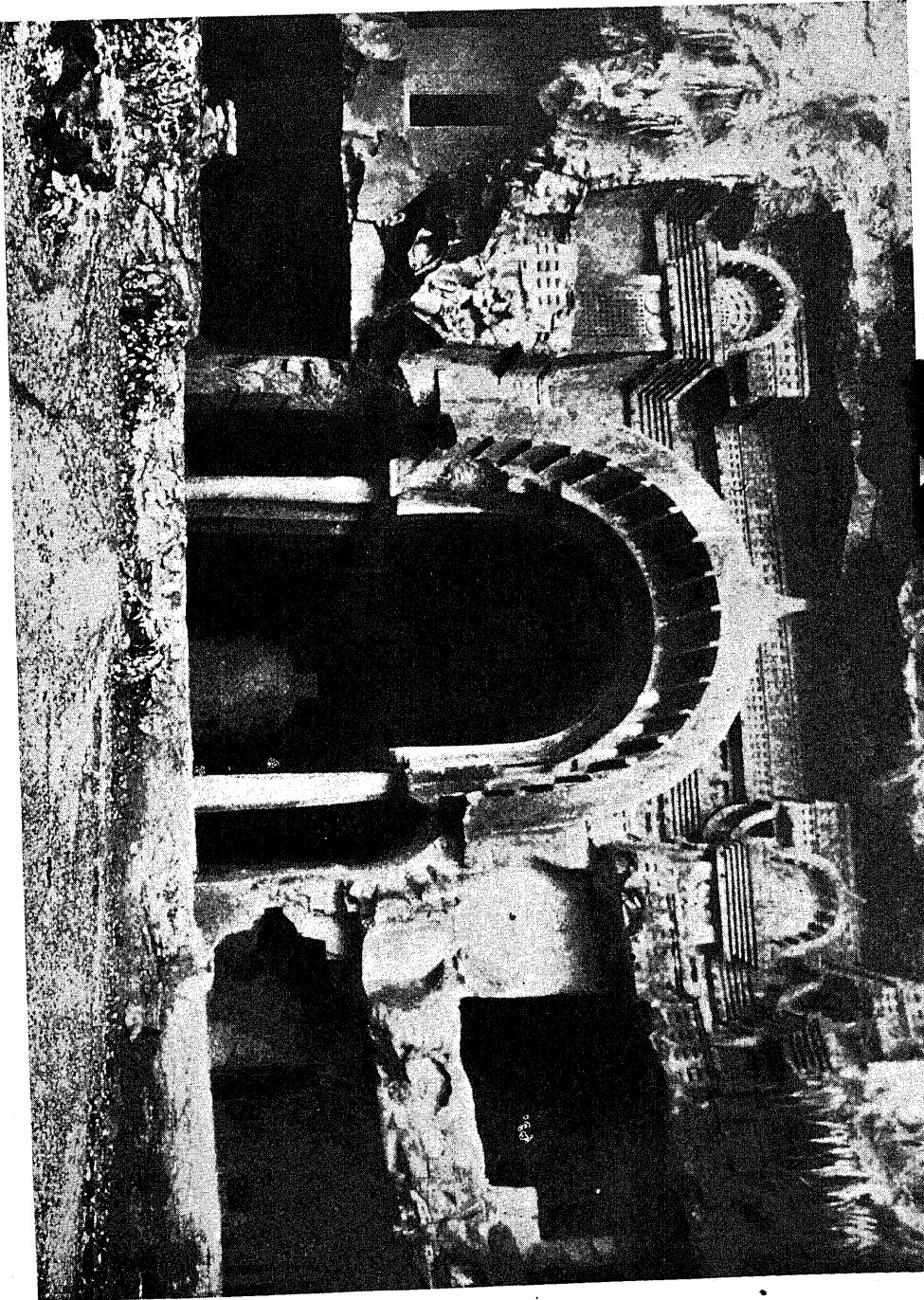
23. V. Coedès, *Histoire ancienne des états hindouisés* pp 200-3.

24. Fischer, op. cit. pp. 22, 35.

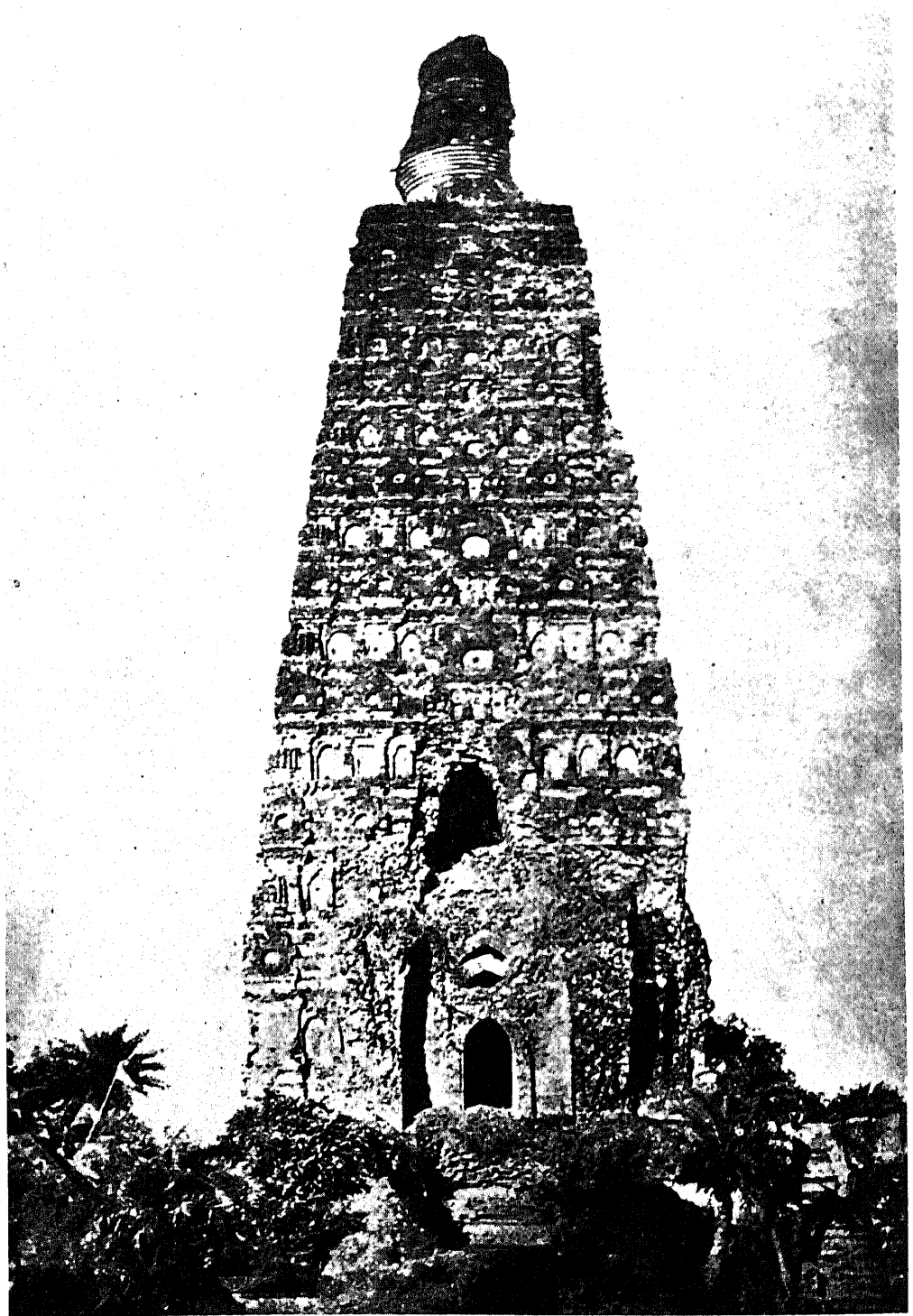
25. idem p. 23.

“The *cailya* of Bhaja and Bedsa, both around 175 B.C.; those of Kondane and Ajanta (cave 10) of 2nd century; those of Nasik and Mammota, 1st century are all of similar type, — a series of plain octagonal pillars (without either base or capital) support the barrel-like vault and continue in a semicircle behind the *stupa*, leaning slightly inwards. At Karli, around 80 B.C., these pillars are superseded by octagonal columns with strongly bulging base, bell-shaped capital.... the abacus projecting above them with huge sculptured elephants and their riders.... In all these Halls, the entrance façade is much more richly decorated than the interior from which it is sometimes.. separated by a vestibule... rich in structural as well as decorative designs..... more particularly in the motif of the horseshoe arch above the entrance and the enormous “sun-windows” which are often placed in the upper windows as well, in rows, in the upper stories.” Fischer proceeds

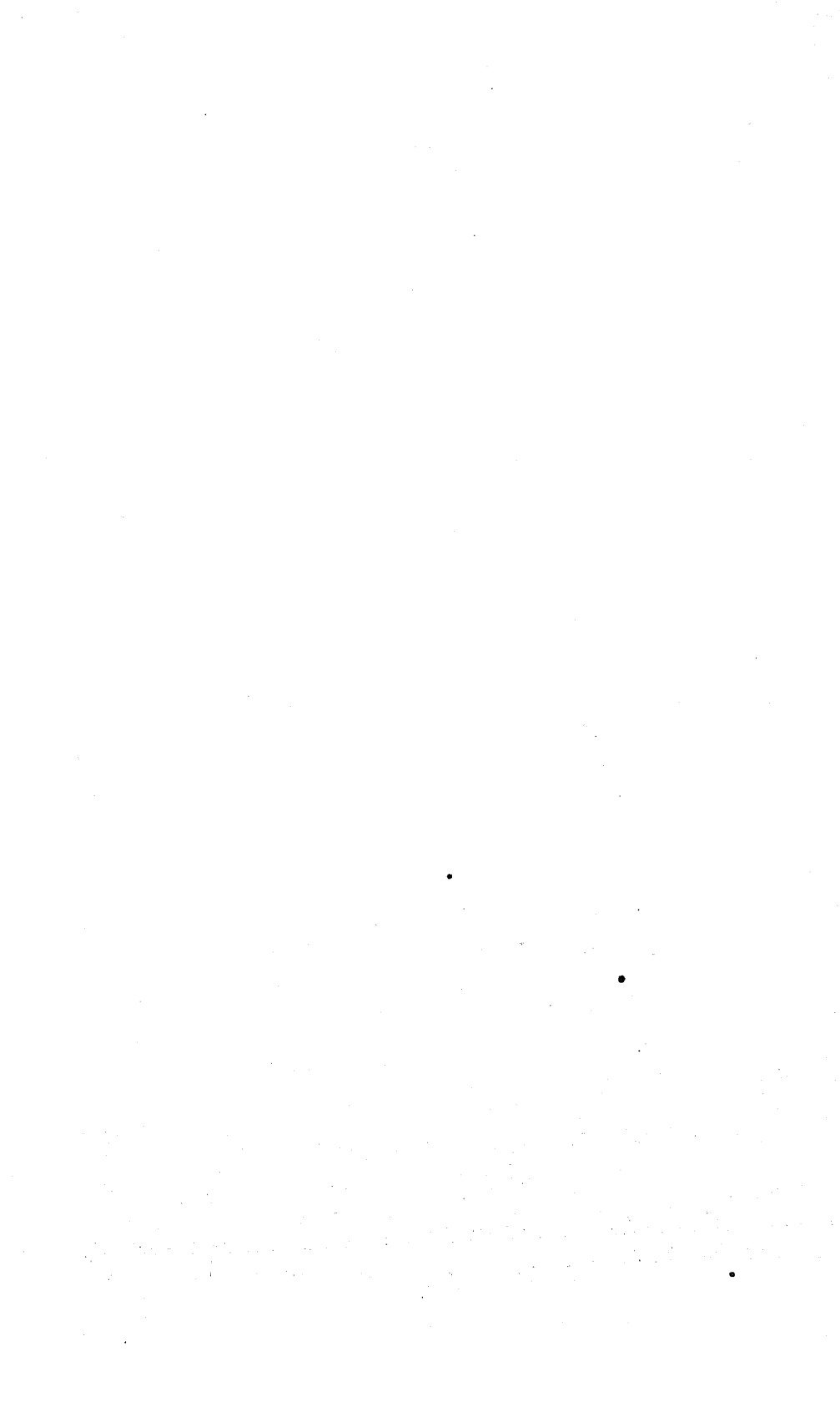
“Several stone buildings afford proof that the form of the *cailya* was frequently reproduced in free-standing temples — in particular, a Durga temple at Aihole in the Deccan (6th century), surrounded with a pillared colonnade. Furthermore, rectangular temples exist in which the statue of the deity stood close to the back wall, — often in a niche, — with the addition of an open vestibule. As a rule they are heavy, rather unwieldy buildings, constructed out of large blocks of hewn stone, with flat or slightly sloping roofs and are but sparsely ornamented with reliefs.... Just as the vestibules prefigure a later development, so also some of the temples at Aihole already carry small towers in stone above the sanctuary, several stories high Evidence that such pyramid-like towers, many tiers high, were already in existence at an earlier date comes down to us from the Kusana period in the form of the famous thirteen-towered wooden tower which Kaniska erected at Peshawar upon a five-tiered plinth — a tower attaining a height of almost 195 m. The original *Mahabodhi* (Buddhagaya) must have been of a similar type when first

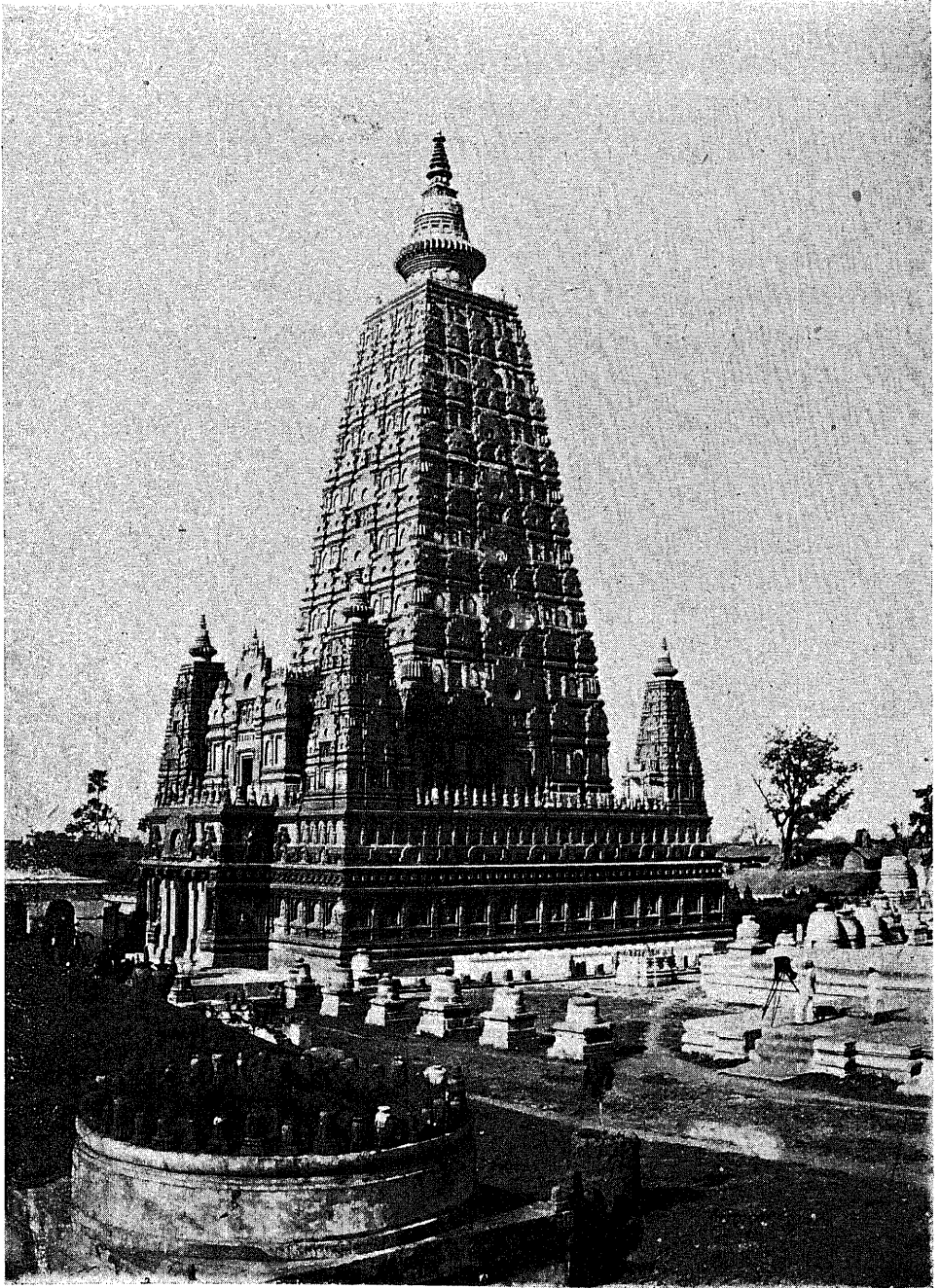


Rock Temple, Bhaia, India.



Bodhgaya before restoration in 1880.





Bodhgaya after 1880.

built, possibly in the 2nd century B.C. or at the beginning of the Gupta period, on the spot before the sacred Fig-tree where the Buddha received enlightenment. Even at that early period it appeared, we may suppose, much the same as after the renovation in 1105 and 1298 — a steep pyramid of nine stories, the proportions diminishing as it ascends; the walls decorated in regular sequence with pilasters, cornices, blind-arches and blind horseshoe-windows; the crown, a gigantic finiale which supports the slender spire of a *stupa*..... in fact, the wooden temple-towers transformed into stone.” 26

It is clear that this extract introduces the most essential features of Vat Ced-yod — the pyramids, the *stupa*, the sacred image against the back wall, the circular holes in the sides of the pyramid and in the stairway vault. The sun-windows, the horseshoe arch (imitated in the radiating arch), if not also the vestibule indicated by the platform on the terrace (6 m. deep from the parapet of the façade to the step of .60 m. up to the level of the rest of the terrace) decorated with the two *stupa* at North-East and South-East end. All these features were already features of Buddhist architecture in India before the first Indian colonists began to emigrate into the various overseas territories of South-East Asia.

We must now examine the *mahabodhi* at Gaya in greater detail since it served the Burmans, who repaired it in 1105, as a model for their own *mahabodhi* in Pagan (built in 1215, if not half a century earlier) — a model which we shall see was reproduced at Chiengmai later on in Vat Ced-yod. The account which follows is extracted from Ch. 3 of the *Gazetteer of the Gaya District* by L.S.S. O'Malley, 1906, supplemented by the notes furnished in April 1948 by Mr. K.R. Srinivasar, Superintendent of the Department of Archeology, Patna.

26. Fischer, op. cit. pp. 34, 35. Apparently by a slip, Fischer's text includes the date of the latest renovation, 1880, with those of 1105 and 1298. His note on p. 174 however expressly states that the final renovation in 1880 introduced alterations which gave the tower a completely different appearance and that the photo on p. 174 was taken prior to that date.

The *mahabodhi* of Buddhagaya consisted of a main tower, 180 ft. high, in the form of a slender pyramid of nine stories — the corner angles of each story decorated with an *amalaka*. The tower springs from a square platform, at the four corners of which are similar, but smaller, towers — each tower surmounted by a bulbous, fluted lower member which supports the finiale.

The porch on the east side is a late addition. As Huien Tsung described the shrine in the seventh century, it was built of bluish brick with a facing of plaster: the walls were covered with figures in relief.

The sacred Fig-tree, immediately west of the monument, is known to have been cut down at least three times before 600 A.D. when a new tree was planted and surrounded by a wall 25 ft. high. This is understood to mean that the original ground site for the tree was abandoned and that the new tree was planted on a terrace, built 30 ft. above ground-level and enclosing the lower registers of the pyramid, supporting the four smaller towers at each corner. This is presumably as Huien Tsung saw it in the seventh century and, in fact, the tree blown down during a storm in 1876 was growing on the terrace; but the terrace in his time was probably lower.

In 1861 traces were discovered of a succession of platforms underneath the high terrace. In 1880 General Cunningham, who supervised the restoration, found two large remnants of an ancient tree which he regarded as remnants of the tree cut down in the seventh century. The remnants were directly underneath the present position of the sandstone slab, *Vajrasana*, which, it seems evident, was raised to its present position when the tree was planted on the terrace, circa 600.

In addition to the *Vajrasana*, or Diamond Throne, which, as the first name indicates, possessed strength to resist a thunder-bolt, there is a circular blue stone with white veins, the surface scored with concentric circles, believed to be Huien Tsung's Blue-stone, which he saw outside the Assembly Hall.

North of the monument the General also discovered 22 truncated columns, some 3 ft. high, each marked with a letter of Asoka's alphabet — remains of the Jewelled Cloister on the spot where Buddha walked for seven days after his Enlightenment (*Mahasambodhi*) under the sacred tree *bodhi*.

The restoration in 1880 was carried out in accordance with a small stone model of the temple as it was in mediaeval times. In short, pre-600, there was a Fig-tree growing on the ground just west of the pyramid: the terrace was built with the object of protecting the tree from desecration. Thus, the so-called drainage pit immediately west of the main pyramid at Ced-yod and at the *Mahabodhi* in Pagan would appear to represent a pit for the sacred fig-tree and constitutes yet another common feature between those two shrines and the parent shrine at Gaya.

The Mon of South Burma and West Siam who were Buddhists as early probably as the sixth century looked to Gaya for the model of their temples and built pyramids until, with the spread of Islam in India, Ceylon tended to become the centre for the diffusion of Buddhist influence in south-east Asia and the *bell-stupa* of Kandy replaced the pyramid of Gaya as the architectural symbol of the Faith. This corresponded with the rise of the Hinayana and eclipse of the Mahayana in that area. In Burma, fragments of the Pali canon have been found on the pre-Burmese site of Prome and date from about the sixth century.²⁷ This shows that the influence of Ceylon was already active, even at that early date: indeed, as early as the 5th century the Ceylonese saint, Buddhaghosa, is reputed have died at Thaton.²⁸ Further east, in the lower part of Siam (then known as Dvaravati), Buddhist sites have been discovered at Phong Tuk and Phra Pathom which date from the seventh century; and Lvo (modern Lopburi) at the same period sent a Mon Princess, Camadevi, who carried Mon civilization and Buddhism to Haripunjaya (modern Lampun) then inhabited by their uncultured kinsmen, the Lwa. The dynasty she established

27. V. Coedès, *Histoire ancienne* op. cit. p. 77.

28. V: Coedès, *Documents* op. cit. p. 18 seq.

in the North was still ruling at the time when Lvo was overrun by Suryavarman I in the middle of the 11th century and became a western bastion of the Cambodian empire for the next three hundred years.²⁹ Haripunjaya however resisted attacks both from the Khmer, and also from Anuruddha on the West, where he was busy extending his newly won kingdom of Pagan. Having conquered the Mon of Thaton and Pegu, Anuruddha invited them, as good Buddhists, to help him eradicate heresy in Pagan, so as to unite Burma in a singly Hinayanist community. The success of his policy resulted in pilgrimages of Burmese monks to Ceylon who brought back with them a knowledge of both doctrine and architecture, as practised in Ceylon.

The full fruit of Anuruddha's policy was seen during the reign of his successor, Kyanzitha (1086-1112 approx.) who completed two temples founded by his father – the Ananda and the Shwezigon. He was also responsible for effecting the first restoration by the Burmese at Buddhagaya.³⁰ This Hinayanist renaissance is described by Fischer as follows :—

“From 1050 onwards, for more than two centuries, Pagan was a focus of great activity, innumerable temples and monuments to the Buddhist religion being built.... For the most part they were tiered pyramids on a square base, each, whether temple or stupa, crowned with a lofty spire which bore witness to the Faith and invoked a Blessing. The originals would appear to have been sought out and the structural plans to have been copied in every place within the orbit of Buddhist culture. *Dagobas* from Ceylon side by side with the *mahabodhi* tower from Buddhagaya, set high upon an enormous cubic plinth.”

“The original in India was itself repaired by kings of Burma twice within two centuries. One of the largest of these constructions and the most remarkable is the *Ananda* temple

29. V. Coedès, *Documents* : op. cit. p. 18 seq.

30. V. Coedès, *Histoire* op. cit. p. 200-203.

(1082-90), built on much the same general lines as the temples in Cambodia, with the exception that, at the Ananda, no walls of enclosure, no courtyards, no galleries exist, but just a cube-like block and, above, a succession of sloping roofs which soar upwards towards the *sikhara* in the centre — its slender *stupa*-spire serving to unite and draw up all the roofs towards it. Four great vaulted corridors with pointed arches project some ways beyond the main block and intersect crosswise at its axis. Outside, the continuity of the horizontal roof-line is broken by high gable-spires; that of the roof-diagonals by *stupa*-turrets mounted upon them.” 31

This spate of temple-building only died out completely when the Mongols occupied Pagan in 1287. It is thought however that 1215, the date assigned for the *mahabodhi* by the late authority of the Glass-Palace Chronicle, might well be ante-dated at least half-a-century to a period when creative activity was greater. In any case, the idea of giving the *cedi* a solid cubic base, similar to the terraced base of the Gaya pyramid, undoubtedly came to Pagan through the agency of the Burmans (who restored it in 1105) and made its appearance there in the *mahabodhi* of Pagan during that century: two centuries later it was brought to Lampun, as will be shown later. Similarly, the blind vault and vaulted corridor, a reflection of the early rock-temples, found its way to Pagan and reappeared there at the *mahabodhi* and That-byin-nya, etc.

The mural frescoes, another feature of the Pagan temples, deserve consideration in connection with the ornamentation of the exterior mural panels at Ced-yod. Fischer's description is as follow: 32

“In a number of temples at Pagan..... mural frescoes are found dating from the 11th to the 13th century: they represent a style which perhaps was characteristic also of the oldest Thibetan painting and probably had some connection with the school of Nalanda..... The backgrounds resemble a

31. Fischer, op. cit. p. 65.

32. Fischer, op. cit. p. 59.

carpet woven with conventional patterns of trees and creeper-tendrils, while the figures in the foreground seem to be moving..... their supple and graceful bearing points to an Indian origin... The play of the tendrils on the background, interlacing with the richly decorated figures, gives an air of caprice to their movements. Details such as the pointed noses, the curved lines of the lips, eyelids and eyebrows.... depicted in 3/4 profile, serve to connect this style of painting, both with the past — as we see them depicted in the ceiling frescoes of the Kailasa temple at Elura (8th century)... and with the present... as we see them depicted in the style, still practised, of drawing in Burma, Siam, Java and Bali.”

Thus Pagan, until its downfall in 1297, became a focus for Hinayanist Buddhism in Burma (including western Dvaravati — annexed by Burma). It will be recalled that when Burma occupied western Dvaravati (Pegu, Thaton etc.) and the Khmer at the same time took eastern Dvaravati (Lvo), the northern Mon lands of Haripunjaya and Khelanga (Lampun and Lampang) retained their independence until the end of the thirteenth century. We read however of frequent clashes between the northern Mon and the Khmer³³ of Lvo whose unsuccessful attempts to capture Haripunjaya were commemorated by the pyramid of *Vat Kukut*, erected by Adityaraj, the successful Mon champion, on the western outskirts of Haripunjaya and restored by his successor, Sabbādhisiddhi in 1218.³⁴ *Vat Kukut* is the earliest Buddhist monument, so far as we know, still extant in northern Siam. Claeys has pointed out certain affinities in the decoration of *Vat Kukut* and the *Prāsāda* of Polonnarua in Ceylon which he traces to the influence of the Mon pilgrims who visited Ceylon.³⁵ The Mon influence at Pagan, active in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, gave place to native Burmese artistry which — as we have seen — was still in process of being formed by external influences and, so far as we know, had no direct

33. V. CDV (256) seq. Coedès, *Documents* op. cit. p. 162.

34. V. CDV (256) seq. Coedès, *Documents* op. cit. pp. 22, 192.

35. V. Claeys, op. cit. p. 435.

contacts with the Mon of northern Siam, whose form of artistic expression remained the same slender brick tower, whether pyramid or octagon, of their ancestors. The graceful brick pyramid in a corner of the temple enclosure at Vat Mahadhatu, Lampun, is said to be a replica of one built in 1063 as a shrine for the famous relic which gives its name to the temple.³⁶ It was enlarged by King Sabbādhisiddhi and, two centuries and more later (1447) was enclosed within the existing *stupa* (one of the finest examples of the bell-*stupa* in the country) by King Tilok and the Thera, Medhan-kara, during the great Buddhist renaissance in the North. This will be noted later in due course: suffice it to mention here that the first monument so far as we know built by the Thai on the Pagan pattern of a solid cubic base for the tower was the Phrayūn temple, also in Lampun, which the Thera Sumana constructed on the Pagan plan, after residence in Burma. This was in 1369, some two centuries after the renaissance period in Pagan, the fruit of which was kept back from contact with Siam until then by two circumstances — the simultaneous destruction of the Pagan dynasty by the Mongols and of the Haripunjaya Kingdom of the Mon by the Thai at the end of the thirteenth century. The disorganization which accompanied these events in northern Siam and the religious revival in Siam will be examined in Part III of this study, together with the expansion of Northern Siam under a series of benevolent Thai kings who left their people a tradition of Buddhist faith and practice which has survived to this day in the care given to maintaining some of the great sanctuaries they built. •

36. JKM 115 and Claeys, op. cit. p. 434.

PART III

The Thai Period in Northern Siam
XIV - XVI century

The Thai period opens in the district known as *Yonaratha* on the Mekok river at a distance of some 250 kilometres north-east of Lampun. The Thai from south Yunnan beyond Chiengrung were continuing their southward expansion during the 13th century when, in 1267, a grandson of the former chieftain of Chiengrung, the 23 years-old *Mengrai*, founded a city near the junction of the Melao with the Mekok, calling it Chiengrai after himself. A quarter of a century later, the same man was destined to establish the Thai kingdom of Lannathai with a new capital a few miles north of Lampun from which he had expelled the last Mon king, Yiba. Mengrai began by extending his hold over the various northern principalities: in 1269 he captured Chiengkong on the Mekong at the mouth of the river Meing which waters the rich Phayao plain: in 1273 he completed his hold over Yonaratha by founding a town in the north-west corner at Fang, less than 200 km. due north of Lampun: in 1274 he swung south-east and captured Nan. Having thus consolidated his position he was able, twelve years later, to make a pact on equal terms with Ngam Muang, Thai chief of Phayao, and with Ramkhamheng Thai king of Sukhodaya. He thereby covered himself against the possibility of attack from either north or south while engaged in removing all trace of the old Mon kingdom. With this in view, he first prepared the ground by means of the fifth-column activities of his agent, Fu, in the Mon capital: in 1292 he attacked with his army, fired the city and expelled King Yiba who fled south, leaving nothing to survive him but his name which is still associated with the hill from which he looked back, as he fled, to see his city in flames (*Doi Ba*).³⁷ A few years earlier Mengrai appears to have approached within a few miles of the Mon stronghold when he occupied the Nonghoi-Saraphi area and founded the

37. v. JKM 118-119.

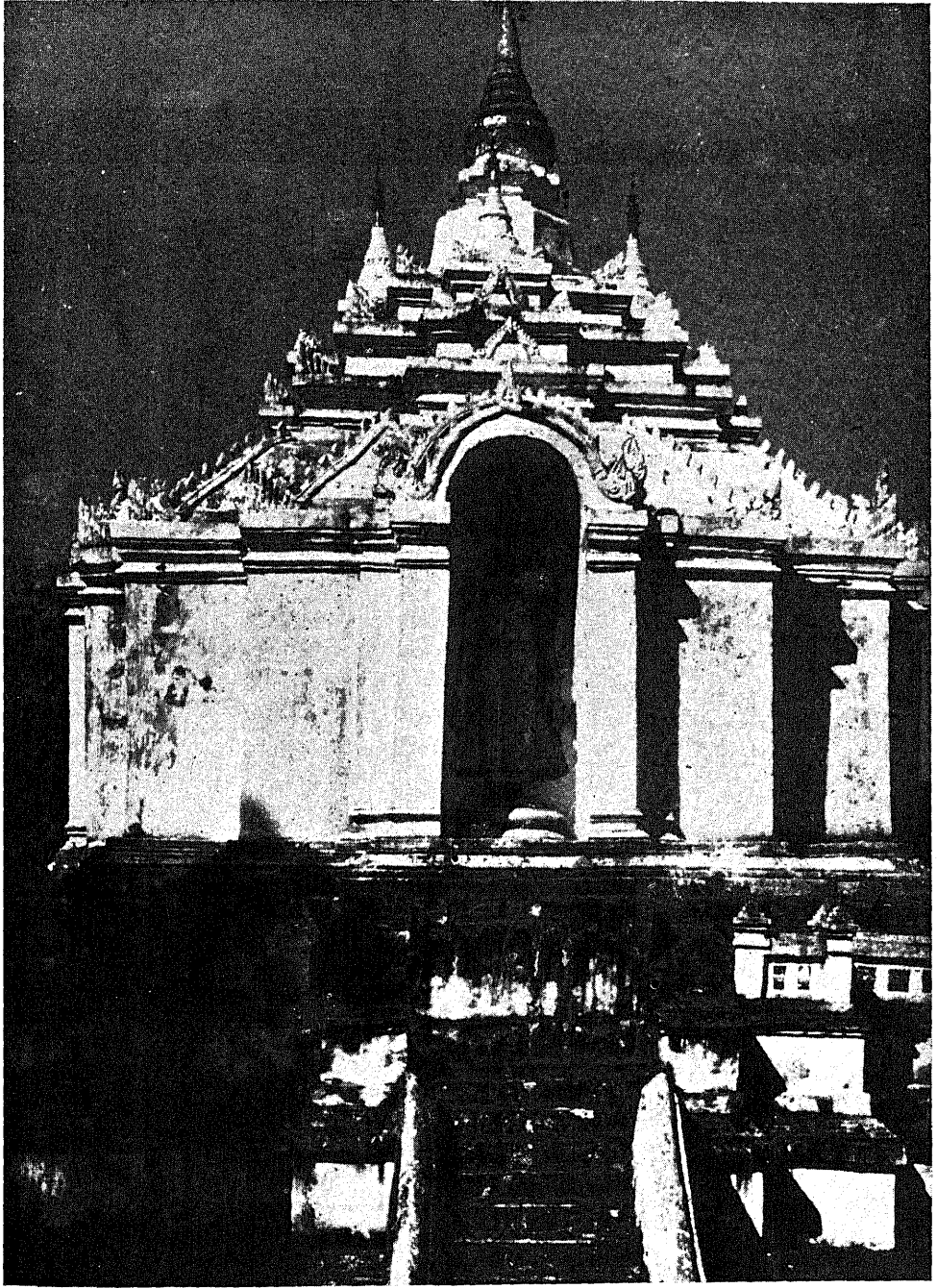
abortive city of Kumkām³⁸ which, however, was not to become the new Thai capital any more than was Lampun; this, as its name Chiengmai implies, was a new city. Chiengmai was founded in 1296, a short distance east of Uechupabbata the so-called "Sugar-cane" mountain now known as Suthep after the hermit Vasudeva who founded the Mon capital six centuries before the new Thai city came into existence.³⁹ In 1301, the Thai city of Lampang was built on both banks of the Mewang river replacing the Mon town Khelanga on the west bank.⁴⁰ In 1303, Kumkām was given the title of "city" (*nakhon*) together with a *cedi* which contained 60 gilded statues — probably the embryo of the recently renovated pyramid Cedi-siliam.⁴¹ Mengrai is said to have both built and lived in Vat Chiengman: the present *cedi* is a *stupa* the base of which is surrounded by a row (on each face) of life-size elephants — head and fore-legs — in high relief, resembling the *chang-lom* models of the same period, extant at Sukhodhaya; this *stupa* is of uncertain date, but it is probably of the fourteenth century, the *stupa* of Ceylon then taking the place held in Mon times by the pyramid. In 1325, a city was built at the confluence of the river Mekok with the Mekong; the foundation of Chiengsen followed in 1327 and in 1331 of Vat Phra-luang (Klang vieng) in the centre of the city. In Chiengmai, Vat Phra Singh was founded in the middle of the century and Vat Suan-dok in the third quarter. The first half of the century was occupied with the family feuds which threatened to wreck the dynasty after Mengrai's death in 1311. His successor only reigned for a few months and then returned to Chiengrai, his former home. His son, (Mengrai's grandson) Senapu, was thus left to face the rivalry of an uncle, two cousins and a younger brother who in turn

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38. v. JKM 120 also Coedès, op. cit. *Documents* p. 90 and p. 106
note (5).
39. JKM 104 and Coedès, op. cit. *Documents* p. 73 .. (4).
40. JKM 119 " p. 90 .. (3).
41. JKM 120 " p. 90 .. (5).

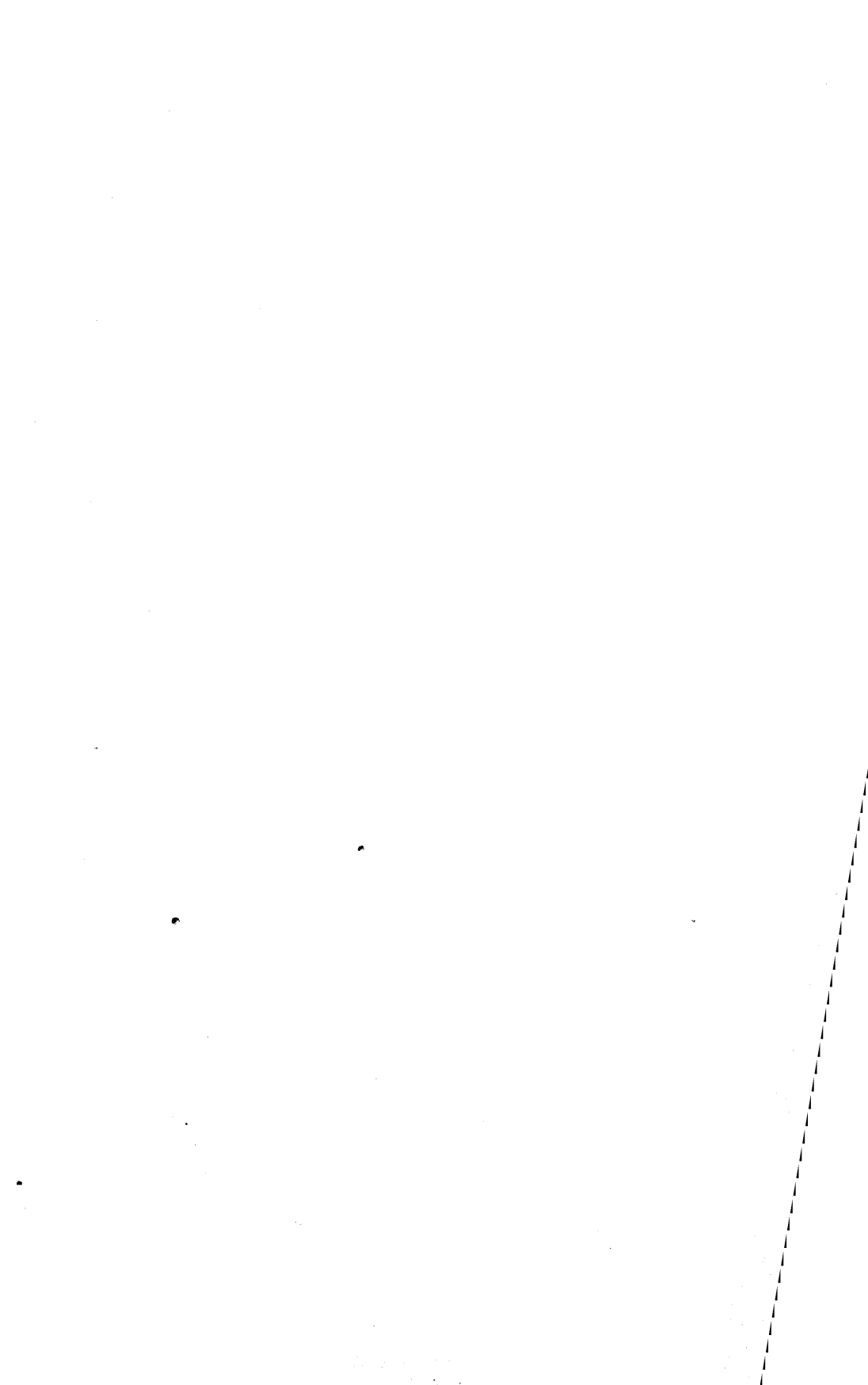
usurped his throne for short periods during his reign of 23 years. ⁴² His son's reign of two years ended with his death in 1336 when the fifth member of the dynasty, Phayu (1336-1355), began the first of a series of beneficent reigns which firmly consolidated the fortunes of Mengrai's family as rulers of Lannathai, giving Chiengmai a wall and a moat.

Another circumstance, unconnected with the disorganisation of the country after Mengrai's death, which may possibly have retarded religious development was the uncertainty felt by the monks concerning the validity of their ordinations in the absence of any direct or indirect authority from Ceylon. King Kūna (1355-1385) was aware of the importance of this question and saw the way to solving it by the same method as had been adopted by Dhammaraj, King of Sukhodaya. Dhammaraj, on learning that a Burmese monk, Udumbara had been to Ceylon and had actually landed at Martaban on the return journey, applied to Udumbara for the services of a monk ordained directly by him with the authority Udumbara had obtained in Ceylon. The latter complied by ordaining and sending to Sukhodaya the Thai monk Sumana who happened to be studying at the time in Burma. King Kūna therefore applied to Udumbara also; but the monk, Ananda, whom Udumbara sent to Chiegmai, proved uncertain of his qualifications and suggested that Kūna apply to Dhammaraj for Sumana himself to come up north. ⁴³ The application was successful and Sumana left Sukhodaya for the north in 1369 and took up residence in Lampun, bringing with him a relic which he had found buried in the soil. Sumana not only set all minds to rest regarding the validity of his

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42. JKM 121-2 and Coedès, *op. cit. Documents* p. 94 note (5).
The Chronology is that of JKM which differs frequently from P.Y. (e.g. Mengrai's death 1317 instead of 1311) P.Y. reckons each usurpation by his kinsmen as a separate reign.
43. JKM 123 & 125, also P.Y. p. 191 quoted by Coedès, *Documents* p. 95 note (6) which gives 1331 as the date of Udumbara's arrival in Ceylon.



Wat Phrayün. Lampun.



Orders, but earned the respect of posterity as the temple-builder who gave Vat Phra Yün to Lampun and introduced a new feature into the temple architecture of the North.

VAT PHRA YÜN

The new principle embodied in the *cedi* is none other than the high, massive block we have already seen at Vat Ced-yod where it carries both pyramids and *bell-stupa* on the terrace; here the terrace is occupied by a single *stupa*, small in proportion to the cyclopean plinth on which it is set. Each face of this enormous block of laterite and brick is provided with a steep flight of steps up to a giant figure of the standing Buddha in a blind vault. The whole monument is in excellent condition at the present time. In the courtyard is an inscription engraved on a *stèle* of red sandstone 0 m. 95 high × 0 m. 55 wide which begins with a eulogy of King Kūna in Pali then in Thai describes how Sumana came to reside at Lampun, the great welcome accorded to him and then his collaboration with the king in building the monument to enclose his relic (to which miraculous powers are attributed). Characteristically, no mention is made of the design; the whole interest centres upon the four figures of the standing Buddha which were evidently suggested by some model Sumana had seen elsewhere, to judge from the only important corruption in the text, which reads:—

“Soon after his arrival the Mahathera pondered over.....
.....with the image of Buddha standing upright on the last
wall..... which craftsmen in former days had constructed.....”

These words undoubtedly refer to some monument seen by Sumana during his visit to Pagan for study prior to his ordination by Udumbara. The inscription does however refer to the laterite used in the construction :— 44

44. v. Coedès, *Documents* . . . op. cit. pp. 197-201 for the inscription and translation.

“The Mahathera gave notice to the laity of both sexes, well-to-do people and to all the well-informed, that they were to search for laterite and fashion it.”

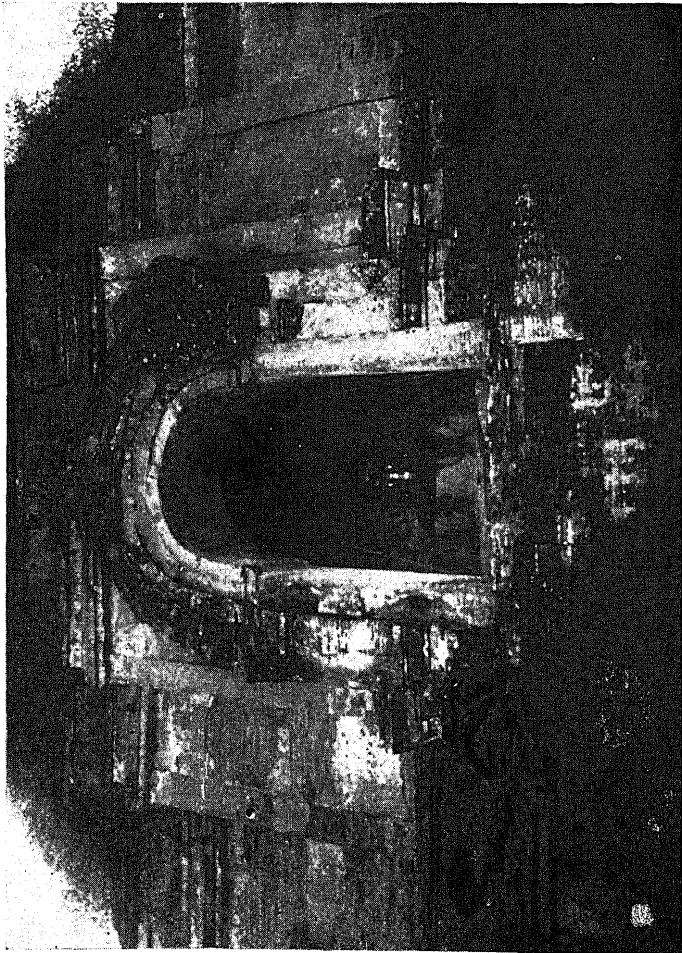
Later, we shall find the same laterite at Vat Cedi-luang and, in still greater quantities, at Vat Ced-yod; we shall also find the same heavy rectangular base, the same radiating arches and blind vaults and — in the case of Vat Ced-yod — vaulted corridors which penetrate deep into the heart of the structure. The fact that these features are found in the three temples mentioned, — all built within little more than a century after Sumana’s arrival, — points to a common source of inspiration which, it is suggested, may have come from the memories and, possibly from the plans, which Sumana may have brought back with him from Pagan. The That-byin-nyo⁴⁵ and the Mahabodhi temples at Pagan are particularly indicated.

The records leave us in no doubt that the sacred object which a shrine was built to contain provided the builders with more interest than the form which the shrine was to take; and second to this came the decoration of the *stupa* with gold-leaf; but details of the structural design are seldom mentioned. We see it again in Phya Prajākit’s brief mention of the temple on Suthep being built in 1386 to house the duplicate of Sumana’s relic which was preserved on the mountain ten years after Sumana had transferred the original to Vat Suan-dok (*The Puppārāma*) when he moved his quarters there from Lampun; *Ratana pañña* tells us nothing about the shrine on the mountain and merely notes that the Puppārāma was built on the site of a royal garden donated by King Kūna. Similarly, he tells us nothing about the crypt built at Vat Phra Singh for the reception of the treasured “Ceylon Buddha” (*Phra Sihing*) during the reign of the seventh member of Mengrai’s line, Sen Muang Ma (1385-1401), but devotes six whole pages to the peregrinations of the sacred image and to the jealousies it occasioned among the princes of Siam, nearly leading to war between North and South as well as between Chiengmai and Chiengrai.⁴⁶

45. v. *Journal Burma Research Socy.* 1918. plates 6 & 9.

46. JKM 127-132.





The Cedi Luang, Chiengmai.

VAT CEDI-LUANG

The last recorded work of King Sen Muang Ma was to begin building a royal pavilion (*rājakūta*) in the centre of the city in 1401, the year in which he died. The widow was left with the unfinished work on her hands. Her son, Sam Fang-ken (1401-1441), was only 12 years old when his father died and another ten years had to elapse before his coronation: although a good warrior, he was a heretic buddhist. These facts may help to account for the fact that the *rājakūta* was not completed until 1438.⁴⁷ Furthermore, the building cannot have given complete satisfaction since, in 1478, King Tilok (1441-1487) enlarged it from 54 to 70 m. wide on each face and added 8 m. to the height which finally attained 90 m. by the addition of a single graceful *stupa* and was reckoned the finest monument in Chiangmai. The original *raja-kūta* owed its origin to the tale of some merchants returning from Burma: they said that the shade of King Kūna had appeared to them one night in camp with a request for Sam Fang-ken to raise a tower in the heart of Chiangmai which would be visible at a distance of 4 km. from the city, and so open to him the gates of paradise which were closed to him by reason of the many lives he had taken when hunting.⁴⁸

Whatever form the *rājakūta* had at its inception, the final appearance of the finished building, in 1438, 54 m. wide on each face and 82 m. high, shows that an effort had been made to comply with the alleged message of Kūna's shade and enlargement forty years later cannot have altered the main design, which as the ruin reveals, is a massive rectangular block (considerably higher than it is wide) with steep stairways up the sides of the lofty plinth (laterite and brick) to a narrow terrace which contours the building at the base of the great blind-vault with radiating arch which forms the sole decoration of each of the two still intact faces (N. and E.), each vault containing a giant Buddha. The graceful

47. JKM 134 and Coedès, *Documents* p. 103 note (6).

48. PY. p. 206 JKM 134 and JKM 143, and Coedès, *Documents* p. 104 note (1).

In the year of the pig, C.S. 817 (1455) he founded a Monastery for the Mahathera Uttamapañña north-west of Nabbisirājadhāni (Chiengmai) on the bank of the Rohininadi stream (Huey Chankien) in a pleasant position upon high ground. ⁵⁶

The same year he planted a fig-tree raised from a layering which the pilgrims had previously taken in Ceylon off the southern branch (of the sacred Fig-tree) and (brought back and) planted at the foot of Mt. Devapabbata (Suthep). ⁵⁷

The planting of the tree earned for the monastery the name of Mahābodhārāma. Having planted the tree, the King had everything arranged around it as (though) around the Fig-tree under which Māra was overcome: the slab (Diamond-throne) and the seven sites visited by Buddha after his Enlightenment) were all included.

In the year C.S. 838, year of the monkey (1476) the King had a great sanctuary (*mahāvihāra*) constructed in this monastery."

Phya Prajakit merely states in his sixth chapter that:—

"In the year of the pig, C.S. 817. the expedition against Luang Phrabang being unsuccessful, the army returned to Chiengmai and orders were given for planting a fig-tree of Ceylon and for building a cathedral (*maha-aram*) with boundary posts duly consecrated, under the name of Vat Bodharam Mahaviharn." ⁵⁸

The temple chronicle follows Ratanapañña quite closely, save its omission of the last sentence. The emphasis it gives to non-existence of the temple at the time when the fig-tree was planted reads somewhat as an attempt by Ratanapañña's successor to clear

56. ref. JKM 136 for Uttamapañña.

57. O'Malley, op. cit. refers to a bas-relief over the E. gate at Sanchi showing the original transportation of a shoot from the tree at Gaya to Ceylon many centuries before the Ceylon shoot was taken to Siam.

58. P.Y. ch. 19.

up the ambiguity in his text: as such, it appears to be worthy of respect, since it voices local opinion acquainted with the shrine. An important fact is the presence of Uttamapaṇṇa on the site, at the time when building began. He was the younger of the two Thera whom Medhankara succeeded in persuading to leave Ceylon in 1424 and accompany the the pilgrims to Siam. If he personally had no first-hand knowledge of Pagan, there were six Burmese monks with the party and the possibility cannot be dismissed that he received a plan of the *mahabodhi* at Pagan from them. In 1455 he must have been over 60 years of age when the work was begun.

As the temple is some distance from the city, it is probable that the old monk on the spot had control of the building operation; in which case the delay of 21 years between the planting of the tree in 1455 and construction of the main shrine in 1476 may have been due in some way or other to his age. If the *viharn* which the Temple Chronicle tells us was ordered to be built in 1455 to the south of the fig-tree was ever erected, it was probably no more solid than the existing *viharn*, now under renovation, and ready after 63 years to make way for the new one erected in 1518;⁵⁹ in alignment with the *cedi*.

Although all our authorities are silent concerning the design of Vat Ced-yod and its decoration, the origin can be traced with some degree of confidence to models in Pagan, made available to the builders in Chiengmai through the contacts established as a result of the pilgrimage of monks from both Siam and Burma to Ceylon, the models being reproduced in Lampun and Chiengmai thanks to the popularity of the pilgrims and Sihalahikkhu with both king and people. The artisans who built Vat Ced-yod appear to have been less careful in laying the bricks than was Sumana who had actually been in Pagan himself before attempting to build Vat Phrayün in the fourteenth century. Furthermore, they would seem to have been ignorant of the principles governing the use of the radiating arch. All was well so long as they were content to

59. TVCY. 10 (e).

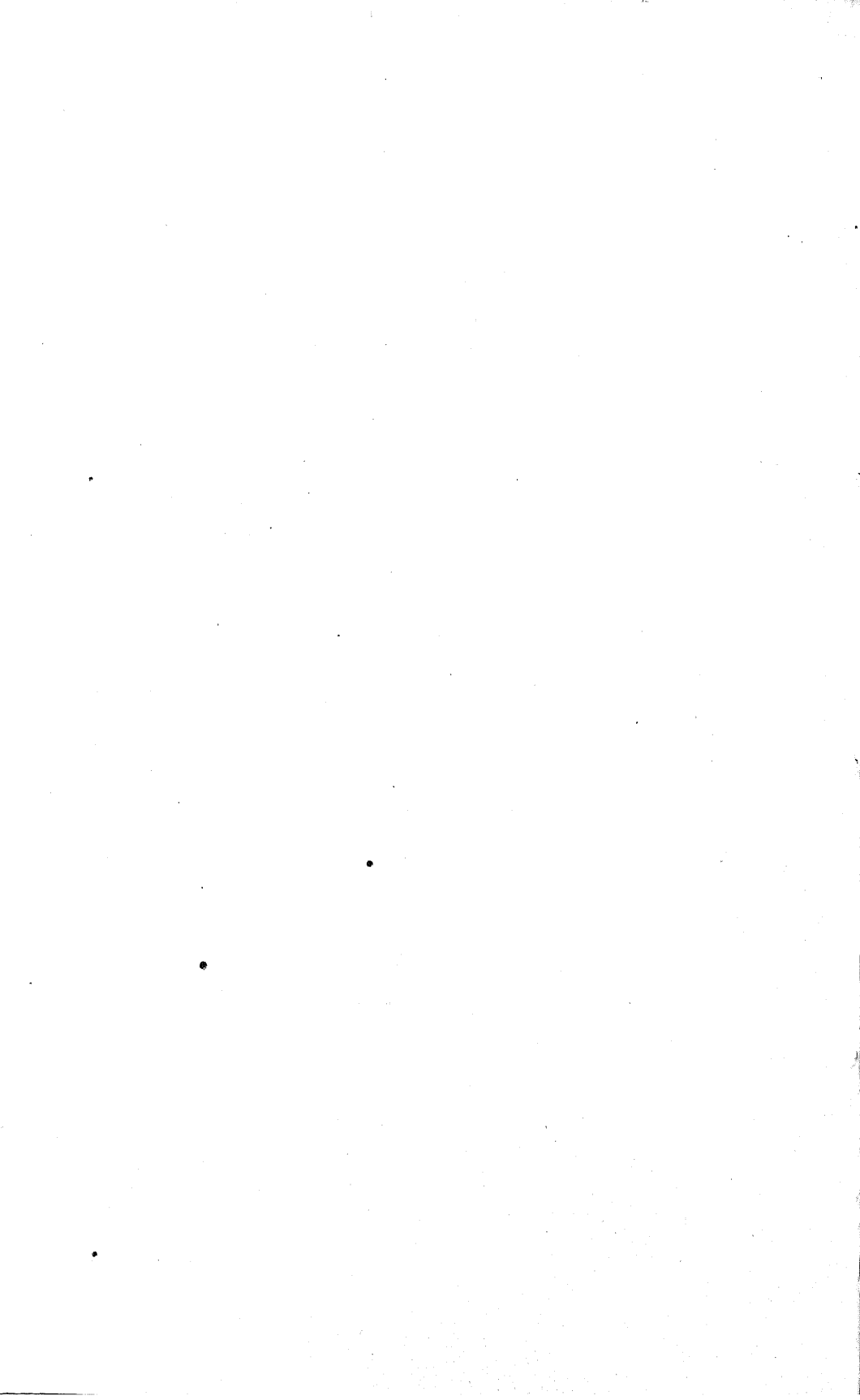
reproduce the general features of the *mahabodhi*; but they came to grief when they made additions and modifications of their own — e.g. the smaller vaulted corridors on the west front and on the terrace where they also omitted two of the four *stupa* — which indicates that over-confidence tended to spoil some of the work undertaken during the last century of Chiengmai's golden age before the Burmese occupation in 1578.

Given the inclination of the original designers in Pagan to reproduce the salient features of the earliest Buddhist art, it is possible to trace a connection between the vaulted corridors, radiating arches and blind vaults with the rock chambers, horseshoe arches, sun-windows at Bhaja and Ajanta; the pyramids with the towers above the sanctuary at Aihole which evolved into the pyramid of Gaya and were imitated by the Mon of Dvaravati and then by the Burmans at the Mahabodhi; the laterite blocks — to imitate the "blueish-grey bricks" which Huien Tsung saw at Gaya.

It should be added that Chiengrai also possesses a *Vat Cedi-yod* — a short distance outside the city, west of Lampang road. The *cedi* reproduces the Chiengmai shrine on a smaller scale and in a modified form, omitting the two smaller vaulted corridors which have proved unsatisfactory in Chiengmai, also one of the stairways. The single stairway to the terrace takes off at the south-west end of the vaulted corridor, (instead of farther east — as in Chiengmai) and, in proportion to its size, is wider and better lighted than that in the main corridor at Chiengmai. The terrace is differently arranged — the main tower being flanked on the north and south sides by three equidistant urn-like bases supporting a small, elongated bell-*stupa*, somewhat similarly mounted and crowned with the familiar five tapering rings; but in place of the cone, an elongated finiale in plaster carrying a *hti* of five tapering filigree crowns (gilded). The whole monument has been recently plastered, so that no trace remains visible of the material, below the plaster, of which the structure is composed — brick is therefore presumed. The figure in the vault at the west end of the corridor is a recumbent Buddha: a standing Buddha occupies the centre of each wall of the *cedi* in



Wat Ced Yod, Chiengrai.



place of the panels and bas-reliefs at Chiengmai. The pit at the west end of the terrace is common to both shrines, but at Chiengmai it is rectangular instead of square. No *tamnan* containing the chronicle could be traced either at the Temple itself or at the Governor's office: the list of documents relating to northern history and enumerated by Coedès as part of the collection in the National Library⁶⁰ contains no chronicle of either temple.

No study of Buddhist architecture in Chiengmai would be complete without some reference to the great number of religious foundations — many possessing great charm and dignity — which invite comparison with the number of similar establishments at Rome — proportionate to the relative size and importance of the two cities. In a Buddhist country, it is true, the incentive of 'merit' to be derived from such works of benefaction may be more potent than in Christian countries: without however the material support rendered by kings such as Kūna, Tilok and his great grandson, Muang Keo, to dynamic ecclesiastics such as Sumana and Medhankara (possibly also Uttamapañña) who organized the merit-makers, the meritorious achievement must have fallen far short of the rich harvest which has survived to this day in shrines such as Vat Phrayūn, Cedi-luang and Ced-yod. Chiengmai in the 15th and 16th centuries was fortunate in being the home of three religious fraternities of which one, the Ceylon fraternity ('Sihalabhikkhu') inherited a tradition of religious activity from the Ceylon pilgrimages. It may be of interest to recall the successful and no less dynamic appeal addressed in our own day by the late Phra Srivichai to all classes in the north: the meritorious action he proposed to them was to dig a motor-road up the east face of Mt. Sutinēp in order to facilitate pilgrimages to the relics in the mountain sanctuary. The response to his summons was surprisingly unanimous, but the work would have lacked permanence, but for the wisdom of the Government then in power who undertook to survey and, ultimately to metal and maintain the road. May Lannathai never lack inspired teachers to stimulate the interest of the people in meritorious action for the common good and may the rulers never fail to co-operate in the true tradition of King Kūna, King Tilok and King Muang Keo.

60. Coedès. *op. cit. Documents* p.p. 172-174.

PART IV

Analysis of Tamnan Vat Ced—yod and JKM.

“THE CHRONICLE OF VAT MAHABODHARAM
NOW GENERALLY KNOWN AS VAT CED—YOD”

Eulogy of the founder, King Tilok (Tilokaraj), a noted warrior and statesman, known officially as H.M. Siridhamma-čakkavat-tilokaraj, who reigned at Chiengmai as ninth sovereign of the Mengrai dynasty.⁶¹ During his reign the Chiengmai pilgrims who, since their return from Ceylon under *Medhankara* were staying at Vat Phrayūn in Lampun, were invited by the king to Chiengmai. The king, as their patron, had converted a palace for their use in Chiengmai, pending the completion of Vat Patal Noi and Vat Padeng Luang.⁶² The palace was named Vat Rajamon-dien. They ordained many monks in accordance with the Ceylon rite.

JKM 138. Gives a similar eulogy of King Tilok under whose patronage 500 novices were ordained by the three Maha-thera on the banks of the Mephing river.

JKM 135-7. Recounts the pilgrimage to Ceylon under the three Thera. 25 monks left Chiengmai in 1423 and were accompanied to Ceylon by 8 Cambodian monks: six Burmese monks joined the party. All received ordination by the Ceylon clergy in 1424 on a raft in the Kalyani river. The original party did not reach home in Chiengmai until 1430 after devoting five years to ordinations in the south.

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61. V. Coedès, op. cit. *Documents* note 5 p. 107.
Tilok, b. 1409 forced his father to abdicate in 1441 with the consent of the clergy.
62. V. Coedès, p. 106, note (1) suggests that *Vanaratana*, the name of the chief Ceylonese monk may have been corrupted into *Ratanavana* and *Rattavana* by pilgrims who gave his name to their temples in Siam.

The pilgrims were in Lampun in 1432, but no mention is made of their stay in Vat Phrayūn.

JKM 138. Foundation of Vat Padeng Noi (Rattavana = red, not Ratanavana = gem-forest).⁶³

2. All these monks vied in zeal to build up the new *cedi* over the old one (containing the Great Relic) which was enclosed out of sight within it. The King then built a pavilion for anointment northwards of the great Reliquary.⁶⁴ He invited his teachers *Medhankara* to Vat Padeng, whom he created a *mahaswami* and lengthened his name to *Atula-saktyādhikarana* as a mark of respect, at the celebrations in honour of the Great Relic.

JKM 140. Locates the Pavilion for anointment on the north side of Vat-luang and dates its construction immediately after completion of the great *stupa*, the foundations of which were dug around the ancient *cedi* – (thus enclosing it in the *stupa*)

3. His Most Excellent Majesty, Tilok, had the pious desire both to confirm and propagate the Faith and also to do honour to his parents. His Majesty accordingly appointed the Queen-mother to be Regent and proceeded to take the vows and tonsure of a monk in the presence of a throng of senior clerics. Phra Maha Nāna-mangala ordained the king (was his *upajjhāya*) and Phra Maha Atula-saktyadhikarana, the Mahathera, sponsored him (was his *kammavācācārya*). The period of His Majesty's retreat is uncertain prior to resumption of the kingly functions.

JKM 141. The account of the king's monastic service (undoubtedly at Vat Padeng, the seat of his sponsor and master) is identical in both sources, but TVCY lacks precision in

63. V. Coedès, p. 106. Note (1) suggest that *vanaratana*, the name of the chief Ceylonese monk may have been corrupted into *Ratana-vana* and *Rattavana* by pilgrims who gave his name to their temples in Siam.

64. V. Coedès, p. 108, note (2) "For JKM, the great relic always signifies "Vat-luang Lampun". The same practice in TVCY may indicate connection with JKM.

the chronology given by JKM – 1445, the death of the king's exiled father; 1449, expedition against Nan; followed by death of the Queen-mother.

4. In 1451 King Tilok constructed an *uposoth* (bot) in honour of his father and mother at Vat Padeng where both had been cremated. The site occupied 40 sq. metres of land and the space around it was enclosed with spears. Before fixing the boundary posts, the king filled the space with soldiers; he then pronounced the formula in Pali, which was intoned by the Mahathera Atula-saktyadhikarana in person. The king then gave a great fête which lasted seven days and nights.

JKM 142. Describes the consecration in similar terms, adding that during the year 1452 many sons of good family received ordination within the limits fixed by King Tilok, – the first to be ordained being the Thera, Mahānārada.

This was followed in 1453 by similar ordinations beginning with the Mahathera, Abhayasārada: in these cases however the sponsor was Atula-Saktyadhikarana and the master, Maha Meghiya. Since that time until today (1516) the Sect of Ceylon Buddhists have conferred ordination on all who desired it, no matter from what city they came.

5. “Thereafter, all the monks who had been to Ceylon unceasingly practised ordinations in the Chiengmai district in accordance with the Buddhist religion. They extolled the merits of whosoever plants a *Bodhi* tree (*Ficus religiosa*). Hearing their discourse, the king believed in it and expressed a desire to plant such a tree himself. The king's officers were despatched to look for a suitable place and they discovered the site where the *Mahābodharam* now stands. The ground was accordingly levelled and a monastery founded there for the Mahathera Uttamapañña in park-land on a knoll overlooking Rohini stream, north-north-west of the city Nabisi-rajadhani, that is to say, Chiengmai. Then, in the year of the Pig, C.S. 817, King Tilok took a shoot of a Bodhi tree grown by monks

at a temple near Mount Devaparvata, that is to say Mount Suthetp, from seed collected from the right-hand branch of the Mahabodhi tree in Ceylon: this the king planted in the (grounds of the) monastery he had built there. Hence the name Mahabodharam. In order to reconstruct the scene where the Lord attained enlightenment for the first time, the king gave orders to commemorate the seven sites, as in the Middle Land (India) where the Lord overcame Phya Vasavadi-mara, namely the *Bodhipallang*, a slab finely decorated under the Bodhi tree with an image of the Buddha in sitting posture; the *Animisa-ccedi* (Buddha's stance), north east of the *Bodhipallang* and at no great distance from it; the *Ratanacongkrom* (Buddha's cloister); north, the *Ratanakhlung*, *reun keo* (the jewelled treasury); north west, the *ajapālanigrodha* (the goat-herd's hut under the Bengal *ficus*); east, the *mūcalind* (the tank near the Cik shrub - Barringtonia); south-east, the *rajāyatana* (the Mimosops tree). On the south, a *viharn* was later built; there was also a gate and wall. When all was completed the King caused a great celebration to be held at the temple.

JKM 143. Omits the names of the seven sites, also the *viharn* on the south side, together with the gate wall.

JKM 143. Adds that a great sanctuary was built in this monastery in 1476, of which there is no mention in the Tamnan.

There is a strange gap of 21 years in JKM and of 22 years in TVCY which suggests the loss of a page in the original m. s.s.

6. In the year 1477 King Tilok summoned a council for the revision of the scriptures (*Sangāyanā*) by a group of over 100 monks (*Sangha*) at Vat Bodhārām in Nabisi (Chiengmai). As Patron of religion, King Tilok built a *mondop* for the Council in Vat Bodhārām in order to spare the monks any inconvenience. Phra Dhammadinna, Abbot of Vat Patal-noi, was at the head and

the council lasted a year. King Tilok built a Library (*Ho Mondien*) to contain the Three Baskets of the Scriptures. This was the eighth Council of Revision and there were great celebrations in honour of the Scripture and Library.

King Tilok died at the age of 71.

JKM 151. Gives the correct date of Tilok's death at the age of 78 in the year 1487. *PY.*, p. 255 agrees with that date and gives the full list of his military campaigns against Ayudhya, Nan, Phrae and Luang Phrabang.

JKM 143-4. Omits reference to the Council for revision of the Scriptures which *PY.* p. 243 confirms was held 1475-77 under the presidency of Phra Dhammadinna of Vat Patal; *JKM 168* refers back to the Council of 1477 when relating repairs effected by King Muang Keo to the Library built by Tilok at the time of the Council forty years earlier.

7. Phra Yod Chiengrai, Tilok's grandson known during his reign as King Sirisaddhamma, succeeded as 10th in Mengrai's dynasty. With his army he carried the casket containing King Tilok's remains to Vat Maha Bodharam and cremated them there. After the cremation, he erected a *stupa* to contain the ashes and thereafter invited the whole population unceasingly to do honour to them.

JKM 151. Confirms, giving 1487 as date of Phra Yod Chiengrai's accession, also 1495 as date of his abdication after a reign of eight years. His death eleven years later at the age of 50 is also given by *JKM* - 1506.

King Yod Chiengrai founded Vat Ramphing (*Tapodārām*) in 1492.

8. After reigning eight years the king retired in favour of his son, Phra Muang Keo, 11th in Mengrai's dynasty.

In the year 1510 King Muang Keo gave a plot of land 120 m. × 80 m. in exchange for ground in Vat Maha Bodharam measuring 60 m. × 36.25 m. understood to be the site of King Tilok's

cremation ground upon which he built an *uposoth* measuring 38.75 m. × 16.25 m. Before setting up the boundary-stones, the king and queen-mother had a golden image (*patimakor*)⁶⁵ of the seated Buddha cast in the attitude *samadhi* and of the same standing height as the king: the image was placed in the *uposoth*.

JKM 154. Dates the image 1510, but adds that it contained pure gold to the weight of the king and was composed of solid gold plates welded together, but not of solid gold throughout. *JKM* dates the construction of the *uposoth* in the following year and gives different measurements for the site while confirming those of the land given in exchange. *PY. 262* follows the order of dates in the *tannan*.

9. King Muang Keo invited twenty-two monks learned in the scriptures to meet at Vat Maha Bodharam for the ceremony of setting up the boundary-stones of the *uposoth* — 11 from Chiangmai, 1 from Lampun, 1 from Chiengrai, 3 from Chiengsen, 2 from Payao, 2 from Lampang, 1 from Nan, 1 from Svangkhaburi. Phra Abhayasārada, head of the sect, aged 57, presided with Phra Sadhammasanthira, aged 47, Abbot of Vat Maha Bodharam. After the ceremony King Muang Keo presented the monks with valuable gifts and invited them to ordain many hundreds of youths as monks within the boundary stones.

JKM 155-6. Adds the name of Ñānasiddhi to the 11 Chiangmai monks named in the Tannan, giving a total of 23 in all. *JKM* adds that the ordinations took place up to the full moon and that later the King performed all the ceremonies of the rainy season in order to add to the merit already acquired by his father and great-grand-father.

10. In the year 1515 King Muang Keo invited monks of the three sects in Chiangmai under the leadership of the Abbot of Vat Maha Bodharam to accompany him to Chiengsen where he founded a *mahacedi* and *viharn* in the centre of the town. — the *cedi* was 30 m. at the base and 50 m. high. King Muang Keo then had boats

65. The *patimakor* was removed to Lampun 1527. v. par. 12.

made at the Altar-island and invited 108 monks from outside the city together with those who accompanied him from Chiengmai under the Abbot of Vat Maha Bodharam to ordain novices on the island sand-bar — 223 were ordained within those watery limits; then the monks of Chiengsen met and ordained 370; thereafter the monks of Suan Dok ordained a further 460 — in all 1011 ordinations. The king and queen-mother expended much in gifts — 100,000 *tamlung* in silver alone — at Chiengsen, and much also at Chiengrai. The king invited many ordinations to be performed by the monks assembled on Sunday the 14th day of the waxing sixth moon upon his return.

JKM 157-9. Specifies 23 monks of the Ceylon sect from Chiengmai, a number increased to 108 by additions from other places, who conferred 235 ordinations at Altar-island; the Nagaravasi sect conferred 370; the Pupphavāsi of Suan Dok 1011. The presents consisted of 100,000 in gold together with countless silk robes. *JKM 158.* confirms the dimensions of the *cedi* at Chiengsen. ⁶⁶

10 (b). King Muang Keo observed one day that Vat Padeng was dilapidated owing to the absence of a chief to give directions. The King felt it would tend to enhance his own religious reputation if the Chief Abbot of Vat Maha Bodharam, Phra Saddhammasanthira, were to be invited by him to be Principal in Vat Padeng to restore it and attract monks to come there to learn the Pali teachings which came from Ceylon. He accordingly had the *mondop* in the outskirts of Vat Padeng repaired and invited the chapter to ordain 255 youths as monks.

JKM 164-5. Confirms and describes the nature of the repairs which consisted in removing King Tilok's Pavilion from Vat Chai Siriphum to Vat Padeng as residence for the Bodhārām abbot.

66. Coedès, *op. cit.* p. 93 notes (7) (8), p. 122 note (1).
Vat Phra Luang Klang Vieng. founded by Mengrai's grandson, Senapu, in 1331, four years after he had founded the city.

JKM 166 concludes by adding that since the year 1511 ordinations had been held solely within the limits of the new *uposoth* at Vat Maha Bodharam; but in 1517, King Muang Keo renewed the gilding, tiles and *nagas* in Vat Padeng with a view to hastening the installation there of the Abbot of Bodharam and to revert to the use of Vat Padeng for ordinations instituted by King Tilok in 1452 on the site where Tilok cremated his parents. This took place in 1517 when 255 novices were ordained at Vat Padeng with the Abbot of Vat Maha Bodharam presiding. A brick wall round the city was begun.

10 (c). Another day, King Muang Keo observed on a visit to Vat Maha Bodharam that repairs were needed at the Library for the Scriptures which his great-grandfather had erected there, at the council for revision of the Scriptures. The King then took his great-grand-father's golden *jata* crown for a goldsmith to convert into gold leaf for plastering on to the Library-tower. The Abbot of Vat Maha Bodharam, Phra Saddhammasanthira, presided over a chapter of 40 learned monks who preached the Scriptures in honour of the Library; the king, during the great fête which lasted a month, incited the populace to do honour to the *stupa* his father had set up as a shrine for King Tilok's ashes.

Phra Abhayasārada died in the year of the rat; his cremation was celebrated in the year of the ox. ⁶⁷

JKM 168. States that the ancient Nagarakuta of Tilok, of his father and of himself was converted into a Library.

JKM 169. Confirms the death of Abhayasārada and his cremation between the years 1515 and 1517 and adds:

“And why? The reason being that it was I who made the great fête with the permission of the chief abbot of Vat Maha

67. Coedès, *op. cit.* p. 129, note (2) and p. 130, note (1), explains the apparent inconsequence of introducing the reference to Abhayasārada's date and cremation by suggesting that the fête, like the disposal of the crown, was a device for raising money for restoring the ruined Library.

Bodharam, whose new pavilion at Vat Padeng was not finished and in consequence I had spent these two years (1515-17) in composing the work of this nature entitled *Jinakalamalini*"

10 (d). The king then invested the *mahathera*, Phra Saddhamma-santhira, with the office of Chief Chaplain and invited senior *mahathera* from Haripunjaya (Lampun), Khelānga (Lampang), Chiengrai, Svankhaburi to a meeting in Vat Padeng together with 120 monks to recite the Dhammacakkappavatana, Mangalaparitta and Mahasamayasutta during three days. He invited the Chief Chaplain with 80 monks to a feast in the palace and, in the afternoon, to ride in procession in a decorated howdah while the 80 monks went into the *mondop* in procession with processional objects of great value. The king also had the Chief Chaplain's names engraved on a golden plate and read out aloud.....

JKM 169-170. Confirms with sundry additions in the year 1518.

10 (e). In the same year the king built the principal *Vihara* and added it to the *Phra-cedi* at Vat Bodharam - 1518.

JKM 174. Makes no mention of Vat Maha Bodharam, but states that work was begun this year on great *vihara* at both Vat Phra Singh and Vat Cedi Luang.

10 (f). King Muang Keo had the Sandal-wood Buddha brought from Phayao and placed it in Vat Chai Siribhum; but on the arrival of an envoy from Sri Ayuthia, it was removed to Vat Suan Dok as Vat Chai Siribhum was under repair. The envoy from the South paid obeisance to the sandal-wood image at Vat Suan Dok and it remained there some years.

JKM 181. Confirms that the statue came from Phayao, but says that it had been brought from there once before in Tilok's reign and taken back. *JKM* omits mention of Vat Chai Siribhum.

11 (a). In the years 1522 King Muang Keo had the *patimakor* image of Buddha from Cambodia placed in a fine golden pavilion in Vat Maha Bodharam and had the *Cariyapitaka* recited by 36 *thera* versed in the scriptures and presided over by the Chief Chaplain. The King attended in person from the 8th day of the waxing moon to the full moon.

JKM 183. Confirms and slightly amplifies but omits name of image.

11 (b). In the year 1525 King Muang Keo had the sandal-wood Buddha transferred from Vat Suan Dok to Vat Maha Bodhāram: on the 9th day of the waxing tenth month (*thutya*) he had the big image of the sandal-wood Buddha made by King Senapu and brought from Chiengsen transferred from Vat Suan Dok and placed in the Dhammadesanabodī hall which he had built to receive the sandal-wood Buddha in Vat Maha Bodhāram. The same year on Thursday the tenth of the waxing moon in the 5th month King Muang Keo died. His eldest son succeeded him (below in 11c).

JKM 185. Merely states that the great statue of sandal-wood was set up in the *uposoth* at Vat Maha Bodhāram. No mention of Senapu's model. *JKM* agrees that Muang Keo's son succeeded him.⁶⁸

11 (c). On the 5th day of the waxing moon, Wednesday, of the 8th month 1526, the Chief Chaplain died in Vat Padeng. The new king, Phra Muang Kes Klao, 12th in Mengrai's dynasty, appointed his personal chaplain, Mahasarabhangā, Chief Chaplain, first in Vat Maha Bodhāram and then in Vat Padeng, with the title Phra Sangharaja. The title, Mahaswami, was given to the *thera* in Vat Mahadeviyarāma. King Kes Klao ruled Lannathai with justice.

JKM 186. Confirms.

68. Coedès, *op. cit.* p. 139, note (4) TVCY. supports JKM against PY. p. 277 assertion that King Muang Keo died childless and that Kes Klao was his younger brother.

ภายหลังพระองค์ได้ทรงวัดทางหลายมวดยาตาตนอยและตรวจคน
 มหาวิหาร เบนตน พระภิกษุตั้งฆตงหลายเถตานนได้พระเจ้าติโลกราช
 (ติตกราช) เบนราชปถมภกเตวัก บวชกตบตรเบน ภิกษุฝ่ายตั้งหวดระ
 วงศ์ตั้งกาเบนอนมาก พระภิกษุเถตานนกวอมกนัด้วางปฏิตั้งขรณ
 พระเจดีย์โบราณ ครนพระเจดีย์น โบกปนทาปนด้เวจบริบรณแถว
 พระเจ้าติโลกราช (ติตกราช) จึงให้ด้วางอภิเชกหงหงนในทคัชนเหนือ
 แห่งมหาธาตุนนแถว จึงให้มนนตพระมหาเมษกรเถรอนเบนพระอาจารย์
 แห่งพระองค์ มาเพอ จะกระทำ สัมนตตมาภิเชกใน รัตนมหาวิหาร วัดบา
 แถงหวดง โดยเครื่องบริขารอนนคเาเบนอนมาก จึงถวายนามว่า พระ
 อตุตตด้กตยาศิกรณมะหาถัมเถร แถว จึงกระทำกรณตองพระมหา
 ธาตุนนด้วยเครื่องด้กการบูชาเบนอนมาก

ด้มเด็จพระเจ้าติโลกราช (ติตกราช) จึงมีพระราชหฤทัย พระราช
 ประสงค์ให้เบนค้ำถันทายาท แถมพระราชประสงค์คยอจะให้ตอง
 พระคุณแห่งพระราชบิดาแถพระวชมารดาแห่งพระองค์ พระองค์กมอบ
 พระราชสัมนตไว้แก่พระราชมารดาแถว ก็ด้ตจออกบวรพชาอปด้มบท
 ทรงผนวชด้บพุทธค้ำถันชาวควราวในบนน มีพระภิกษุตั้งฆเบนอนมาก
 พระมหาญาณมังกตเถรผู้มออายุเบนพระอุปัชฌาย์ พระอตุตตด้กตยาศิ
 กรณมะหาเถรเบนพระกรรมวาจาจารย์ พระองค์บวชอยู่นานเท่าใด
 ไม่ปรากฏ แถวกตถาผนวช มาด้วยราชสัมนตตงเดิม ครนอยมอถง
 บัจจตักกราช ๙๓๓ พระองค์รับตั้งให้ด้วางอุปัถถหงหงน ด้ระขงทม
 ๒๐ วา โดยรอบถวาย ให้แถตตอมตด้วยกุนตาวุชอินเบนระเบียบแห่งหอ
 กอรวเหล็กในรัตนมหาวิหารวัดบาแถงหวดง เมอจะผูกด้มานน

เชิงคอยเทวบรรพต คอยคอยดีเทพ พระมหากษัตริย์จึงให้เอาศพพญามหาโพธิมาปลูกไว้ในอารามอันพระองค์สร้างนั้น ดังแต่นั้นสืบมาจึงปรากฏนามว่า วัดมหาโพธาราม เหตุว่าพระมหากษัตริย์ได้ปลูกไม้มหาโพธิไว้ในอารามนั้น ดังนพระองค์จึงมีพระบรมราชโองการรับสั่งให้ตกแต่งสร้างถนนให้เป็นประดจดังสถานที่ เมอครั้งพระพุทธเจ้าได้ตรัสพระดำพิชญ์ขึ้นแรกให้สร้างถ้ำตัดมหาถ้ำถ้ำให้ครบ ๗ แห่ง ใหม่อาคารเต็มอนมหาโพธิ์สถานที่ พระพุทธเจ้าจุญพระยาอโศกมหาราช อันมีในมชฌิมประเทศในครั้งก่อนนั้น

พระองค์ จึงได้ ทรงสร้าง ถ้ำตัดมหาถ้ำถ้ำ ทั้ง ๗ นั้น ไว้ในวัดมหาโพธาราม วัด ๗ ยอดท่น ถ้ำตัดมหาถ้ำถ้ำ ๗ แห่ง ปรากฏต่อไปนกล่าวคือ :-

(๑) ปฐุม โพธิปลดงกั ที่โพธิปลดงกันั้น มีพระพุทธรูปนั่งสมาธิเพชร พระหัตถ์ขวาพาตชาชวา พระหัตถ์ซ้ายวางคก มชชวา พระมารวิชัย ถ้างโพธิปลดงกันั้นประดับประดาวิจิตรงามต่าง ๆ

(๒) ทศย อนิมลัถัก ทอนมถเจดียนน มีพระพุทธรูปยืนตามพระเนตรทางตั้ง หยอนพระหัตถ์ทั้งสองตั้งชอนกนททองนอย ชอพระถวายนเตร ถ้างอนิมลัเจดียนนเห็นเอียงไปทิศตะวันออกเล็กน้อย แห่งโพธิปลดงกัไม้สุไถดงก

(๓) ตติย จงกรมเด็ฐฐู ที่จงกรมนั้น มีพระพุทธรูป ยกพระบาทขวา หยอนพระหัตถ์ทั้งสองตั้งแนบขาทางตั้งขวา ชอพระเดินจงกรม ถ้างจงกรมนี้ไว้ทิศเหนือพระเจดยเจดยอด

(๔) จตุศักรัตนฉวี ที่เรือนแถวถนน มีพระพุทธรูปยืน ยกพระหัตถ์ขวาข้างซอมนกทวารวดี พิจารณาธรรม มชอวา พระราฟงสร้างรัตนฉวี เรือนแถวหน้าทิศตะวันตกเฉียงเหนือ

(๕) ปณฺจมี อชปาดนิโครธ ที่โคนต้นไม้ อชปาดนิโครธ มีพระพุทธรูปนั่งยกพระหัตถ์ขวาห้ามมาร สร้างอชปาดนิโครธ ทิศหนตะวันตก (นิโครธ เรียกว่าต้นไทรโยก ไทยเหนือเรียกไม้สูง)

(๖) ฉฏฐิ มุจลินทยจ ที่โคนต้นไม้ ผลึกหินมีพระพุทธรูปนั่งสมาธิพระหัตถ์ขวาซอมนพระหัตถ์ซ้าย นาคชดอง ๗ ขด ยกกนกวงปรกพระเศียร มชอวา พระนาคปรก สร้างมุจลินทที่ระหนองนาท โคนต้นไม้ผลึกทิศตะวันตกเฉียงใต้

(๗) สัตตมํ ราชายศน์ ที่โคนไม้เกดสน มีพระพุทธรูปนั่งยกพระหัตถ์ขวามารับผลส้มอินพระอินทร์เอามาถวาย สร้างถ้ำถ่านทไมราชายศน์ น ทิศหนใต้แห่งพระเจดีย์ ๗ ยอด

ต่อมาจึงสร้างพระวิหารหลังหนึ่ง ในอารามนันทงกาแพงดอมรอบและประตู สร้างบริบูรณ์ทุกประการแล้ว พระองค์ได้กระทำกรณดองพระอารามนบนการใหญ่ยิ่ง สมเด็จพระเจ้าติโลกราช (ติตกราช) ทรงอาราธนาพระสงฆ์ทั้งหลาย ข้าราชการต่างพระไทรปิฎก คือ กระทำตั้งคายนาพระไทรปิฎกทั้งล้อมให้เรียบร้อยถูกต้องตามพุทธรวจนะ ที่วัดมหาโพธาราม เมืองเชียงใหม่เมื่อปี จดศักราช ๘๓๘ ส่วนพระองค์พระเจ้าติโลกราช (ติตกราช) ทรงรับเป็นศาสนูปถัมภก และสร้างมณฑปคือ หอพระไทรปิฎกที่กระทำตั้งคายนาในวัดมหาโพธารามถวาย และ

๔ มีให้พระภิกษุสงฆ์ได้รับความลำบากประการ
 ไต่ นายพระสงฆ์ มพระมหาเถรองค์เป็นเจ้าคณะใหญ่ เป็นอุปชฌาย
 อาจารย์แห่งภิกษุทั้งหลายในศาลานาราม คชวดีบาตาดนอย ขอพระ
 ธรรมทนมหาเถร เป็นประธานแต่คณะสงฆ์ทั้งหมด ในการกระทำ
 ธรรมน ทานกเดอกเอาภิกษุสงฆ์ผู้ทรงพระไตรปิฎกร้อยกว่าองค์กระทำ
 ดังคายนานานได้บหนึ่งจึงดำเรจ เมอกระทำดังคายนาดำเรจบรรบริวณแด
 พระเจ้าติโลกราช (ติตกราช) ทรงสร้างหอมณเฑียรธรรมทไวพระไตร
 ปิฎก แดวกทำการนตของหอพระมณเฑียรธรรมและพระไตรปิฎกเป็น
 การใหญ่หตวงมาก การกระทำดังคายนารวมครวณเป็นครั้งที่ ๘
 พระเจ้าติโลกราช (ติตกราช) เดอวยราชด้มบคในเมืองนอบูรี เชียงใหม่
 มีพระชนมายุได้ ๗๑ ปี ทรงชราภาพกเดยจคิเด็คไปสู่ทอโลก

คอมามพระยาองค์หนึ่งเป็นหลาน คือ พระยอดเชียงราย ได้
 พระนามเมอราชาภิเษกวา พระเจ้าศรีดีทธรรม มหาบรมจักรวคิราชา-
 บพิตร ได้เดอวยราชด้มบคแทน เป็นพระมหากษัตริย์ในเมืองเชียงใหม่
 เป็นใหญ่ในตานนาไทยประเทศ เป็นราชวงศ์เมงรายท ๓๐ พระองค์จ
 ได้เด็คจนพตเห็บพระคพแห่งพระอัยกาธิราช พระเจ้าบุ ไปสู่วัดมหา
 โพธาราม แดวกอญเชญพระบรมคพถวยพระเพดิงในวัดมหาโพธาราม
 ทนบนเป็นการครกกรน ครนเด็จการถวยพระเพดิงแดวกอญเชญพระอญ
 บรรจไวเป็นกาเร็จ คงแดนนมาพระองค์กพาเอาพดกนกรชวอาน
 ชาวเมืองทงหลาย แดเงานายชาราชการ มาถวยดักการบุชวาเป็น
 นวนค

ในปีชวด จตุศักราช ๘๕๔ พระองค์ได้รับสั่งให้สร้างพระอาราม
 แห่งหนงชอตโปคาราม ก่อด้วย อดรวัง พระองค์ได้เสวยราชสมบัติ
 ได้ ๘๒ แล้วได้ทรงมอบราชสมบัติให้แก่ราชบุตร ชื่อ พระเมองแก้ว
 ทรงพระนามเมอราชาภิเชกกว่า พระเจ้าศรีธรรมจักรวตคตกปนตาคาราช
 ได้เป็นพระมหากษัตริย์เสวยราชสมบัติในเมืองนครเข็ญใหม่เป็นราชวงศ์
 เมงรายท ๑๑ เมื่อจตุศักราช ๘๗๒ พระมหากษัตริย์พระเมองแก้วเจ้า
 ได้จัดทนต์แห่งหนง โดยกว้าง ๓๐ วายว ๒๐ วา ถวายเบณฑพระอาราม
 แดกเอาที่ดินในวัดมหาโพธาราม โดยกว้าง ๑๙ วาคอกคืบ ยาว ๓๐ วา
 มพระราชประสงค์จะทรงสร้างพระอุโบสถในที่นั้น โดยเจ้าพระราชหฤทัย
 ว่าเป็นทถวายพระเพลิงพระบรมศพ พระเจ้าติโลกราช (ติลกราช) แดก
 เปดขนเอาแล้ว จึงสร้างอุโบสถกำหนดกว้าง ๘ วาคืบ ยาว ๑๘ คีอกคืบ
 เมอขมทนต์มาทอุโบสถวัดมหาโพธาราม พระเมองแก้วเจ้าเป็นมหากษัตริย์กับ
 พระราชมารดา ได้ทรงสร้างพระมหาสุวรรณปฏิมากร คือ พระพุทธรูป
 หนึ่งตำริตั้งเทากบถ้วนพระมหากษัตริย์แล้วเจียน ประดิษฐานไว้ในพระ
 อุโบสถนั้น เมอบจตุศักราช ๘๗๓ พระเมองแก้วเจ้ามพระราชศรีทราชจก
 ฎกพทนต์มาทอุโบสถวัดมหาโพธาราม อันพระองค์สร้างนั้น จึงทรง
 อารานาพระองค์มอกรบรพระไตรปิฎกมาแต่เมืองต่าง ๆ ประชุมกันที่
 วัดมหาโพธาราม เมอจะฎกพทนต์มา ให้ตั้งป่าถ่านนิมคทงกนกำหนด
 โดยกว้าง ๑๐ วาคอก ยาว ๒๘ วา เมอด้มมตด้มานนแล้วจึงสอบถาม
 ด้วยบาตว่า ปุรตถิมาข ทด้ย กนิมคต ดงน พระเมองแก้วเจ้าบอ
 ด้วยบาตว่า ปาถาโน ฆนเค ดงนจนคตคตงแปดถ่านโดยพระองค์เอง
 เมอด้มมตด้มาครวณน เป็นประกา เดือน ๒ ฆน ๓ ค้า วนอาทศย

ประกอบด้วยอัสตดัดนักษตฤกษ์ดาวมา พระอภัยดำรง พระราชาคณะ
 ผู้ใหญ่ กับพระดีถีธรรมรัตน์ วิกรมหาเถร เจ้าอาวาสวัดมหาโพธารามเป็น
 คู่สอด พระสังฆมหคบิดาต้นนวดนแดมพรรษาอายุเบนอนมาก เบนองคท
 รอบรูพระไตรปิฎกทุกองค์ เจ้าคณะใหญ่มี ๒๒ องค์ คือ พระสังฆมค
 เถร ๑ พระพรหมทศเถร ๑ พระสังฆวิเชียร ๑ พระญาณรังษ ๑ พระ
 ธรรมวงษา ๑ พระทบงกรเถร ๑ พระอนันตเถร ๑ พระดีถีรังษ ๑
 พระสังฆภคเถร ๑ พระพุทธานิจจเถร ๑ พระวิเชียรบุญญา ๑ ดิบเอด
 องคนอยู่ในเมืองเชียงใหม่ พระญาณมคค อยู่เมืองหริภุญชัย
 พระญาณดงการ อยู่เมืองเชียงราย พระญาณวิดาศ์ ๑ พระญาณ
 ดีถี ๑ พระดีถีธรรมรังษ ๑ ดำรงคนอยู่เมืองเชียงแค้น พระรัตน
 บุญญา ๑ พระศีลวิดาศ์ ๑ ด้ององคนอยู่เมืองพะเยา พระจันทรังษ ๑
 พระรัตนบุญญาเถร ๑ ด้ององคนอยู่เมืองเขตางนครด่าปาง พระอุปคต
 เถร อยู่เมืองนนทบุรีนาน พระเทพจพเถร อยู่เมืองด่างคบุรี พระ
 มหาเถร ๒๒ องค์ มาดีถีมหคบิดาพร้อมกันในวัดมหาโพธาราม ในเวด
 นนพระอภัยดำรงของคเบนพระราชาคณะใหญ่ อายุได้ ๕๗ พรรษา พระ
 ดีถีธรรมรัตน์ วิกรมหาเถร เจ้าอาวาสวัดมหาโพธาราม อายุ ๔๗ พรรษา
 เมอดมมคิดมาบริบูรณ์แล้ว พระเมืองแกวจึงทรงถวายจตุปัจจัยมค
 เบนอนมากแดพระสังฆเถรจแกว พระองคกอาราธนาพระสังฆทงหลาย
 กระทำอุปถัมภ์กรรม บวชกตบุตรหลายร้อยองค์ ให้เบนภิกษภว
 ในพระพุทศาดนำในพทชดมาใหม่ نن คงเคเดอน ๖ ขน ๖ คา ๖ นพ
 ๖ มมะแมจนคตอดถึงเดอน ๖ เพญ จึงเถรจบริบูรณ์

ถึงบจอ พระมหากษัตริย์เมืองแควเสด็จยাত্রาไปเมืองเชียงใหม่
ทรงให้หมื่นตพระภิกษุสงฆ์ในเมืองเชียงใหม่ไปด้วยพระองค์ทรงตามคณะ
มีพระรัตนตรัยธรรมดั่งวิกรมหาเถร เจ้าอาวาสวัดมหาโพธารามเป็นประธาน
เมื่อจวนจะถึงบจอเขาได้บุกถนน พระพุทธศาสดานางแดง ๒๐๕๘ พรรษา
ตรงกับจุลศักราช ๘๗๗ พระเมืองแควสร้างมหาเจดีย์และมหาวิหารที่
ตามกตางเมืองเชียงใหม่ เดือน ๕ แรม ๑ ค่ำ วันศุกร์ พระเจดีย์นั้นกวาง
๓๕ วา สูง ๒๕ วา เมื่อก่อกสร้างพระเจดีย์วิหารอยู่นั้น พระองค์มี
พระราชศรัทธาจะอุปถัมภ์บวชกรรมบวชกุลบุตร จึงให้ผูกเรือขนานใน
ประเทศข้างยอดเกาะ บัดถึงกทปะ คือเกาะดอนแทน ให้หมื่นตพระสงฆ์
เมืองนอกกับพระสงฆ์ไปแค่เชียงใหม่ ประมาณ ๓๐๘ องค์ มีพระรัตน-
ตรัยธรรมดั่งวิกรมหาเถร เจ้าอาวาสวัดมหาโพธารามเป็นประธาน ให้บวช
กุลบุตรเป็นภิกษุสงฆ์ในพระพุทธศาสนา ๒๓๕ องค์ ในอุทกเขปได้มานั้น
ต่อจากนั้น ภิกษุที่อยู่เมืองเชียงใหม่ประชุมบวชกุลบุตรในเรือขนานนั้น
๓๗๑ องค์ ต่อจากนั้นฝ่ายบุพการามล้วนดอกไม้บวชกุลบุตรในเรือขนาน
นั้นอีก ๕๐๒ องค์ รวมพระภิกษุบวชใหม่ ๓๐๓๓ องค์ สิ้นเศ็จพระเมือง-
แควกับพระราชมารดากระทำบุญกุศลที่เมืองเชียงใหม่ สิ้นถึงของ
ไทยทานน้อยใหญ่เป็นอันมาก นับแต่ตั้งเงินตั้งไปแล่นค้าดังแดงเสด็จ
กลับสู่เชียงใหม่ กระทำบุญกุศลในถนนเป็นอันมากแดงเสด็จมาสู่เมือง
เชียงใหม่

พระองค์จึงได้นิมนต์พระสงฆ์ประชุมบวชกุลบุตรเป็นอันมาก ใน
เดือนออก ๕ ค่ำ วันอาทิตย์ ต่อมาจวนหนึ่งพระเมืองแควทรงคำนึงใน
พระราชหฤทัยว่า วัดรัตนมหาวิหารเป็นที่ประดิษฐานพุทธอัญจะไทรมีถูก

อนมาจากดงกา บดินกเก่าแก่ชำรุดทรุดโทรมลงมาก หาผู้ใดจะอุปถัมภ์
 มิได้ เพราะว่าเขาเจ้าคณะผู้ใหญ่มิได้ ถ้าหากเราหมื่นเจ้าพระดีชธรรม-
 ด้สนฐิรมหาเถร เจ้าอาวาสวัดมหาโพธารามไปได้ให้เป็นที่เจ้าคณะผู้ใหญ่
 อยู่ในดงนั้นแล้ว อุปถัมภ์พระนารายณ์รัตนมหาวชิราวุธจะเจริญรุ่งเรือง
 พระภิกษุสงฆ์จะมาอยู่ด้านถนน อาศัยเวียงพุทธวจนะบาตอนมาแต่
 ดงกานน ดังหพคำสอนอนมาจากดงกาก็ปรากฏรุ่งเรือง เราก็จักได้
 รัชอวยกย่องพระพุทธานุภาพ เมื่อบริการทรงรับฟังฉะนี้แล้ว ก็ให้
 ปฏิสังขรณ์ซ่อมแซมมณฑป และ บริเวณแห่งรัตนมหาวชิราวุธมณฑป
 แล้ว ก็ให้หมื่นเจ้าพระดีชเจ้ามาบวชอุปสมบทเป็นพระภิกษุภวาระ ๒๕๕ องค์
 ครั้นอนยามหนึ่ง พระเมืองแก้วเสด็จไปวัดมหาโพธารามทอดพระเนตร
 เห็นหอมณเฑียรธรรมที่ไว้พระไตรปิฎก ซึ่งสมเด็จพระอริยวงศาคตญาณ
 ตั้งไว้ ถัดธรรมไตรปิฎกนั้นแล้วสมเด็จพระอริยวงศาคตญาณแห่งเรา
 มหาราชเจ้าพระบรมศาสดาปลื้มพระทัย พระองค์ได้นิมนต์พระมหาเถร องค์
 พระไตรปิฎกให้กระทำสังคายนาให้เป็นการถูกต้องตามพุทธวจนะ บดิน
 เราคอร์ปฏิสังขรณ์ซ่อมแซม มหาราชเจ้าพระบรมศาสดา มหาภคต
 พระเมืองแก้วยกเอาชฎามหามงกุฏ คือ (พระจอมคำ) อันทรงดับกมลมา
 ตงแต่พระอริยวงศาคตญาณ ให้ช่างทองตบแต่งเปิดแผ่น มาปิดทองคำ
 หอพระไตรปิฎกนั้นแห่งดงกานน พระองค์ก็ให้อาราธนาพระดีช ๕๐ รูป
 ดอนแต่คือนองครุพระไตรปิฎกทุกองค์ มีพระดีชธรรมด้สนฐิรมหา
 เถร เจ้าอาวาสวัดมหาโพธารามเป็นประธาน ให้แต่งตั้งพระธรรมเทศนา
 แห่งพระไตรปิฎก ดงแต่เดือน ๓ ขึ้น ๘ ค่ำ ปีฉลู ฉดองหอไตรปิฎกเป็น
 การอันใหญ่มากนิกแล้ว พระมหาภคตเมืองแก้วพาเอาไพร่พลชาวเมือง

ทงหลาย ไปถวายสักการบูชานมัสการพระมหาสถูปอันพระราชบิดาสร้าง
 ไว้ ในประเทศทวารวดีพระอริแห่งดนมเด็จพระอัยกา พระองค์ทรง
 ดัดบงพระดีทธรรมเทศนาเรื่องพระพุทธรูปที่ ต่งเตเตอน & ชน ๘ คา
 ดตอดถึงเตอน & เพ็ญจึงได้รู้ ถ้วนพระอภัยสารทระ ราชาคณะใหญ่หน
 กัดนอายุดับชนมรณภาพไปแต่เมื่อบชวด ครนถบถุดถวายพระเพลิง
 พระศพพระอภัยสารทระเสร็จแล้ว พระมหากษัตริย์เมืองแควมพระราช-
 หลุทัยใคร่ทรงอภิเชกพระดีทธรรมด้นฐิรมหาเถร เจ้าอาวาสวัดมหา
 โพธารามให้เป็นทพระราชครูใหญ่ จึงให้เด็กนิมนต์เอาพระมหาเถร
 กงคเฒ่าองค์แก่นมาแต่เมืองหริภุญชัย เมืองเขตางนครด่าปาง เมือง
 สว่างคบุรี มาประชุมในรัตนวิหาร เด็กนิมนต์พระสงฆ์ ๓๒๐ องค์ ให้
 สวดมนตมกคตปริตรและธรรมจกกปวคดนลด์ตร แะมหาสถมยด์ศตรถวน
 ดำวณ ครนถวณเตอน ๒ ชน ๓ คา บชชาติ เวตาเข้าใหม่มนต
 พระดีทธรรมด้นฐิรมหาเถร เจ้าอาวาสวัดมหาโพธารามกับพระสงฆ์
 ๘๐ องค์ ให้กระทำภคกัจฉนในพระวชนมณเตียรแห่งพระองค์ ครน
 เวตาเขนตงแถวจนมนตพระดีทธรรมด้นฐิรมหาเถร ชนลู่พระวอน
 ประดับงามวิจิตรและถวายสักการบูชามากแถว ก็ให้พระมหาเถรไป
 สูดมทาวิหารพร้อมกภิกษุสงฆ์อนเบนบริวาร ๕๐๐ องค์ อาราชนา
 พระมหาเถรชนลู่ปราสาทอนวจตร เบองหนาวพทษดมาทพระอัยกาธิราช
 สว่างนนแถว จึงให้พระราชบุตรแะมหาพราหมณ มหาเศวษฐิถถวาย
 นาดสรกภิเชกพระมหาเถรเจ้าเสร็จแถว เด็กนิมนตพระมหาเถรทเบน
 เจ้าคณะน ๘๐ องค์ ให้เข้าไปในมณฑปแถวกระทำการสักการบูชาพระ
 ๒๔๒ ๒๕๒ ๒๖๒ ๒๗๒ ๒๘๒ ๒๙๒ ๓๐๒ ๓๑๒ ๓๒๒ ๓๓๒ ๓๔๒ ๓๕๒ ๓๖๒ ๓๗๒ ๓๘๒ ๓๙๒ ๔๐๒ ๔๑๒ ๔๒๒ ๔๓๒ ๔๔๒ ๔๕๒ ๔๖๒ ๔๗๒ ๔๘๒ ๔๙๒ ๕๐๒
 ๒๙๒ ๓๐๒ ๓๑๒ ๓๒๒ ๓๓๒ ๓๔๒ ๓๕๒ ๓๖๒ ๓๗๒ ๓๘๒ ๓๙๒ ๔๐๒ ๔๑๒ ๔๒๒ ๔๓๒ ๔๔๒ ๔๕๒ ๔๖๒ ๔๗๒ ๔๘๒ ๔๙๒ ๕๐๒
 ๒๙๒ ๓๐๒ ๓๑๒ ๓๒๒ ๓๓๒ ๓๔๒ ๓๕๒ ๓๖๒ ๓๗๒ ๓๘๒ ๓๙๒ ๔๐๒ ๔๑๒ ๔๒๒ ๔๓๒ ๔๔๒ ๔๕๒ ๔๖๒ ๔๗๒ ๔๘๒ ๔๙๒ ๕๐๒

ให้อ่านพระนามพระมหาเถรเจ้า อันจารึกเขียนได้ ในสุพรรณบัฏแผ่น
 ของคำอ้อนหนัก ๓๐๐ บาท ว่า “พระพรหมมหาดำมดี โดกราชครูจุฬามณีน
 ธรรมวงษ์ ศักตยสุตฺตชยฺยตฺตวาท มหาภูมิดีหะวงษ์ระ ตั้งฆปรีนายกรตฺตวณนา
 ธิปติวระสุมณเฑาะมคฺคฺตฺตบญฺจวันโต รัชณาใดย ไครบฎีก ธรรมเมธีกร
 ปรมคิโดกาจารย์” เมื่ออาราธนาพระมหาเถรเจ้าด้วดจบแล้ว เจ้าภิกษุด้งมี
 ทงหมตคกรกระทำคาถาอนุโมทนาทาทแห่งพระมหากษัตริย์ และพระราช
 มารดา เมื่อดวยอนุโมทนาแล้ว พระมหากษัตริย์ก ให้นมนตพระด้งมทม
 ด้ยงคแตะมพหุด้ต ด้วดพระม้งคตปรีตวอกหนหนง เม่ออกิเชกพระมหา
 เถรเจ้านนเดือน ๖ ขน ๑ คา บิชาติ เวดบายยาม ๕ ใต้ฤกษ์ชอ อดด้วณ
 พระพุทศค้ำดนำดวงด้ว ๒๐๒๒ พรรษา ด้วงกับจุตคักกราช ๙๙๐ ใน
 คักกราชด้ยวณน พระมหากษัตริย์ได้ด้วงพระมหากิหารหตวง แตะ
 กอพระเจดยทวตมหาโพธารามขนอก ถึงบมะด้ง จุตคักกราช ๙๙๓ พระ
 มหากษัตริย์พระเมองแก้ว ให้นาคกรบณกาศบด อ้ำมาตย์ ไปอาราธนา
 เอาพระพุทศรปแก้นจันทน ๓นพระมาปด้นทด้วงนหน มาแต่เมองพะเยา
 ในวณเดือน ๕ ขน ๙ คาวนอาทิตย เอามาประดิษฐานไว้ทวตไชยศรัถิม
 อยมามชำนานทตกรงศรัยชยาขนมาขอนมด้การ ฝ่ายด้นอ้ำมาตย
 ใต้ปรักษาหารอกนว่า วดไชยศรัถิมนยงกาดงชอมแซมไม่เรยบรอยค
 ดงนหนจอญเชฎฐพระแก้นจันทนแดงไปประดิษฐานไว้ทวตบปวาราม ด้วณ
 ดยอกไม้ ด้วให้น่ำราชทตไปนมด้การในทนน พระแก้นจันทนนจได้
 ประดิษฐานอยู่ในวตบปวารามหตายปี ครนอยู่มาถถึงบมะเมย จุตคักกราช
 ๙๙๔ พระมหากษัตริย์จงให้อาราธนาพระพุทศรปปฏิมากรอันเอามา
 จากเมองกัมพูชา (เขมร) มาประดิษฐานไว้ใด้ววรรณปราสาทอันวิจิตร

ในวัดมหาโพธาราม แดงจึงให้อารามพระมหาเถรองค์ที่พระไตรปิฎก
 ๓๐ องค์ มหามหาราชครูเป็นประธาน ให้แสดงธรรมเทศนามภพพระ
 จรรยาปิฎก พระองค์ตั้งบงตงแต่เดือนชน ๘ ค่ำ トラบถเดือนเพญ
 จงเดี่ยว บชาดวยพระจวร ๓๖ คู ถึงประกา จุดศักราช ๘๘๗ พระเมอง
 แกวมเบนพระมหากษัตริย์ ให้อารามพระพุทธรูปแก่นจันทน์ไปประ
 ดิษฐานไว้ทวมหาโพธาราม ในประกาศักราชเดยอกน เดือน ๓๐ ทุติษ
 ชน ๘ ค่ำให้อารามพระพุทธรูปแก่นจันทน์องค์ใหญ่ อันพระเจ้าแผ่นดิน
 ด้รัง ได้มาจากเชียงแสนน นอกจกจากดบปฉารามด้วนดอกไม ไป
 ประดิษฐานไว้ใน “ธรรมเด่นาบดี” วิหาร อันด้รังไว้ด้หรับพระจันทน์
 “พิมพ์” องคนในวัดมหาโพธาราม ในประกา จุดศักราช ๘๘๗ ปีเดย
 นน เดือน ๕ ชน ๓๐ ค่ำ วันพฤหัสบดี ด้มเด็จพระมหากษัตริย์เมองแก
 ด้ด้จตุ้ด้วรคตเทวโลก พระชนมายุได้ ๕๘ ปี อยุ่มาถึงเดือน ๘ ชน ๕ ค่ำ
 วันพุธ บัจอ จุดศักราช ๘๘๘ พระมหามหาราชครู ในวัดนมหาวิหาร จุ
 มรณะดับชนชไป

ครนพระเจ้าศรีธรรมจักรวัดตตกปนตตาศิราช คือ กษัตริย์เมอง
 แก้วด้ด้จตุ้เทวโลกด้ พระราชบุตรของพระองค์ มพระนามปรากฏว่า
 พระเมองเกษเกล้าไคเบนมหากษัตริย์ ด้ดยราชด้มบคแทนในเมองเชียง
 ใหม่ แทนพระราชบิดา เป็นใหญ่ในแดนนาไทยประเทศ เป็นราชวงศ์
 เมงรายที่ ๓๒ พระองค์คงอยในทอนเบนมรรมิกราช ด้ดยราชด้มบค
 โดยยุติธรรม ในปีพระองค์ไคด้ดยราชด้มบคนน พระองค์ไคอาราม
 มหาด้ารภักคเถรอนเบนครแห่งพระองค์ อนอยุ่ในวัดมหาโพธารามน
 ใ้กระทำการอภิเชก พระมหาด้ารภักคเถร ในวัดนมหาวิหาร จังถวย

พระนามว่า พระตั้งมหาชาติเรียเถร แด่ถวายนามพระมหาเถรน้อยใน
 วัดมหาเทวยารามน้อยทิศเหนือหน้า พระมหาสงฆาม เมื่อดุสิตกราช
 ๘๘๘ บกน ๒ คา ๑๖๖๖๖๖ พระมหาภคตยพระเมืองเกษเกล้า ให้
 อาราธนาพระภิกษุตั้งสองครทอบริวจนะนน ให้กระทำอุปถัมภ์กรรม
 บวชกตบตรหลายร้อย เป็นภิกษุภาวะในพระพุทศาคัดนามายตั้งกาวงค์
 แด่ถวมเตจพระเมืองเกษเกล้าเจ้านครพงคเซียงใหม่ ก็ให้อาราธนาพระ
 มหาสุวรรณปฏิมากรอันพระราชบิดาร้างไว้ในอุโบสถวัดมหาโพธาราม
 เมืองเซียงใหม่ แห่ไปประดิษฐานไว้ในสุวรรณปราสาทท่ามกตวงพระ
 วิหารในเมืองหริภุญชัย เพื่อจักให้ราษฎรพดบ้านพดเมืองได้หว่านพืช
 พันธุ์ชาวดังตงาม หรือได้กระทำกุศลกิจวาทนบ้น้อมสักการบูชาให้
 ทวไป

แด่อาราธนาพระมหาญาณมงคลเถร วัดอโศการามเมืองหริภุญ
 ชัยนครให้เป็นประธานในหมั่งตั้งกาวงค์ ชำระต่งด่างพระไตรปิฎก
 แด่ขออุปถัมภ์กรรมตั้งมาตมตติ ให้ถูกตองตามหลักในพระพุทศาคัดนา
 แด่ถวมาเพญูกัดเบเนอเนกนยนน กตาดด้วยคานานหรือประวดควดเจดยอด
 กหมตเพยงเทาน เถวกมตวยประการณะน.

N.B. It is regretted that the original spelling of the earliest mss. extant is not altogether trustworthy. Standard spelling has therefore been adopted here.

ED.

APPENDIX I

NOTES ON PAGAN

(Extract from Notes by G.H. Luce)

There are certain peculiar features about the Pagan temple (*Mahabodhi*) some of which may not be original. It stands in the heart of the old city of Pagan and has doubtless been "repaired" many times, sometimes clumsily.⁶⁹

It is freely modelled on the old Buddhagaya temple in India which itself was twice repaired by the Burmans of the Pagan period; once in the reign of Kyanzittha (1087-1113 A.D.)⁷⁰ and again at the end of the dynasty in 1295-8.⁷¹

In recent years the Burmans have again repaired the temple... but photos taken of the ruined *sikhara* before repairs show a typical Pagan arch and relieving arch. (V. Plate XXV of Harvelli's *Study of Indo-Aryan Civilisation*).

Note that the radiating arch (usually pointed, rarely square) is invariably found in all arches, roofs and corridors of the Pagan period, except those of very small dimensions, e.g. *niches* where corbelling occurs. This use of the radiating arch, which first occurs in the Pyu shrines at Sri-Ksetra (Hmawza) and one or two Mon cells at old Pegu — possibly antedating the oldest extant radiating arches at Nalanda..... is a hallmark of Pagan architecture, but by the time the Burmans conquered Chiengmai, they themselves seem to have forgotten the radiating arch.... After the founding of Ava in 1365, its use hardly ever occurs in the plains of Burma.

69. In the absence of definite records, it is impossible to estimate how often the temple has been repaired. The last time was probably not much more than half a century ago, at most. To preserve a stucco-surfaced monument in good condition in the tropics, an overhaul is probably required every century. Buddhagaya, after five centuries of neglect under the Mogul dynasty in 1880 was in the last stage of decrepitude, as the photos show (*E.W.H.'s comment*).

70. V. *Epigraphia Birmanica* Vol. 1, pt. 2 Old Mon Inscription VIII: face 'a' lines 4-8.

71. *Inscriptions of Burma*, portfolio III plate 299.

There are quite a number of temples at Pagan with overgrown *sikhara* of the Buddhagaya type — i.e. *sikhara* which dwarf everything below it, compared with the usual large cubic block, surmounted with three receding terraces leading up to a *sikhara* (a comparatively minor feature, rarely more than approx: 15 ft. high). One of these overgrown *sikhara*, the Kubyauk-ngè of Wetty-in, on the east bank of the Shwe Chaung, is in other respects a typical Mon temple. Such temples were common in Kyanzittha's reign, but after his death Burmese models soon triumphed over the Mon....

The *Mahabodhi*: On the west side of the upper storey is a lower crenellated terrace with no obvious way of access, about 15 ft. below the main terrace. It drains towards the centre, where there is a catchment tank for a circular well which goes down to ground level and issues through an arched brick outlet leading to a small square brick reservoir in the north-west corner of the enclosure. At the west end, one can pass through an arched passage under the "well" 72

72. Owing to the short vaulted corridor at the west end of Vat Ced-yod terminating in the wall behind the *Phra Tan'cai* image, there is no exit on ground level for the terrace pit which at Pagan was used as a well, though its place in the design, as at both Ced-yod Chiangmai and Chiengrai, was undoubtedly a reproduction of the terrace-pit for a fig-tree, as at Gaya. (*E.W.H.'s comment*).

APPENDIX II

J. V. Claeys on the Radiating arch.

(*L'Archéologie du Siam*, p. 445, 1.15 – p. 446, 1.8)

“The most striking feature in the construction of the semi-circular vaults (at Vat Ced-yod) is the adoption by the builders of the Roman Arch-stone (wedge-shaped *voussoir*). The only other instances of this in the whole of the Indo-China peninsula are the two already mentioned in the course of this Survey. 73

The sole alternative to this system is to use corbel-steps (corbelling); i.e. the corbels, – whether bricks, laterite or sand-stone blocks, – are laid horizontally in successive layers, each layer over-stepping the one below and, thereby, forming a series of cantilevers which are held in equilibrium by the masonry of the super-structure. This form of construction keeps the resultant thrust practically vertical.

The vaulted arch, on the other hand, brings into play the horizontal components in the parallelogram of forces; to counteract them, a massive wall, abutments, or buttresses are necessary, so as to make sure that the resultant of *all* forces (in the parallelogram) lie well within the compass of the masonry foundations.

Western architects, with a view to reducing the thickness of the abutments, had recourse to a device which consisted in piling up a mass of masonry on top of them: the effect of this upon the vertical component is to narrow the angle of inclination considerably. As the object of the device is to increase the weight vertically, it has led, since mediaeval and renaissance times, to a gradual increase in spires, pinnacles, bell-towers, and such-like architectural ornaments crowning the buttresses (and roofs) of our cathedrals.

73. Vat Phrayün, Lampun and Cedi-luang, Chiangmai.

Incidentally, this digression upon the static equilibrium of an arched vault is not entirely valueless, since it demonstrates that the corner towers at Vat Ced-yod fulfilled the function required of them according to the standards of architecture in the West.

It is difficult even to hazard a guess as to how it came about that the builders managed to adhere so closely to the laws of equilibrium: from the aesthetic point of view however our feeling is that they have satisfied our conception of what is harmonious and logical.

According to General de Beylié, this vault was built on the Persian or Mongol system practised by the Chinese in Turkestan, which requires no timber supports for the arch."

