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 Chiangmai 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 PHROHMSEN - 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 Cedluang, 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 Phromsen 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 Cedi-yod. 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—Chiengmai in the 14th—15th century. Extracts are given in Appendix I.

Mr. F. Schreiber of Chiengmai lent me on several occasions Vol. 4 of Dr. O. Fischer's work on the Art and Archeology of India and beyond. 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


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

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 Phakasen 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 Claey's 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

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 Cedi-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, Jinakalamalini, 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

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6. Jinakalamalini was written by the monk RATANAPANNA in Chiengmai 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 Chiengmai in 1578 resulting in a religious reformation without reducing the people to slavery.
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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 Chiangmai. Part III carries on the study throughout the first period of Thai supremacy in the North which terminated with the Burmese occupation in 1575—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 Chiangmai—features which are distinctive of Vat Ced-yod. In the light of the uncompromising 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 (TVCOY) 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 TVCOY 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 (c) — 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.
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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 Aεahη 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 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 Män Bidyalabh, and to Mr.C.M. Anderson for correcting and editing the text of my typescript; also to Luang Chakrapani (Vissudh 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 - 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, viharn (assembly-hall) -
length east to west 23 m. 00

Centre, cedi with 5 pyramids and 2 stupa
on upper terrace 21 m. 08

At west end, an unterraced, vaulted
extension of cedi 6 m. 50

Add to this the unroofed space between
 cedi and viharn 6 m. 50
Ground plan of The Seven Spires and subsidiary buildings.
Plan of the central plan of the Seven Stories.
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 61 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 neplikium. 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 นัก 4, a wooden building on piles, which provides accommodation for Phra Phornosen 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 มินน - the traditional rājā-yatana 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, — Vajirasana or Bodhipatana.
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 Animesa 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 gable-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. Claey's 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, Chiangmai, 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. Comparing the façade at Ced-yod with that of the Mahabodhi at Pagan, we observe that the former is surmounted by two stupā, 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 Ced-yod of the two central stupā 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 mortarin g: 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

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 Thancai ปฏิสนธิ 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 thevâdâ (Pali: Devatâ). 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 paryankâsana; 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. 418. 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 *maravanija* deserves attention - Chiensan 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 *harn*, finely carved and of slender proportions, tapering to a *finials* 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 Keo even though they may not have actually been placed in the *viharn*.

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 cast on to the entrance to a similar vaulted-chamber in the two eastern

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

*maravanija* – 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 the Seven Spires.
Entrance to central Shrine at East end of platform.
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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 x 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 voussoirs 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 stupas.
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 *kudru* of India, singly or in pairs throughout; in the angle sections the *kudru* 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; the pinnacle, (missing on the central pyramid), is a pile of rings which diminish in diameter up to the *finiāle*. 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 *finiāle* added, the height would have been only about one third of that of Cedi-Juang, the central monument of Chiangmai.

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 *Animitisaceti* and the *rajāyatana*. The number of scattered bricks on the outer perimeter suggest that the whole site (approx. 245 m. x 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-ceti*. The ruin consists of two massive piles of brick with traces of stucco ornamentation, but the connecting arch has vanished.

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, Chiangmai, 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. 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.

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 uposath (bot) in 1510 which measured 38 m. x 16 m. compared with the small existing bot 11 m. x 7.

Some bricks in the ground between the outer and inner gates are said to mark the site of the Library for the Scriptures — homontien — built originally by King Tilok in 1477 and rebuilt by King Muang Keo in 1515.

The nikrodh (ficus bengalensis) under which the Buddha rested near the goat-herd's hut — one of the traditional seven sites commemorating the Enlightenment known as ajapala-nikrodha — 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.

The Temple Tank Mučalind 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.

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. rhak cik is "Barringtonia 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 2½ 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 Klaos 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, Mu'calind 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 Cedi-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 (Svankalok). 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

25. idem p. 23.
"The caitya of Bhaja and Bedsa, both around 175 B.C.; those of Kondane and Ajanta (cave 10) of 2nd century; those of Nasik and Manmoda, 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 caitya 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, Bhaja, India.
Bodhgaya before restoration in 1880.
Bodhgaya after 1880.
THE SEVEN SPIRES

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 stupad… in fact, the wooden temple-towers transformed into stone.”

It is clear that this extract introduces the most essential features of Vat Ced-yod — the pyramids, the stupad, 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 stupad 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 finial.

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 thunderbolt, there is a circular blue stone with white veins, the surface scored with concentric circles, believed to be Huien Tsung's Bluestone, 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 (Mahasambo'dhi) 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 medieval times. In short, pre-500, 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 Mahabo'dhi 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. 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. Further east, in the lower part of Siam (then known as Dvaravati), Buddhist sites have been discovered at Phong Tûk and PhraPATHOM which date from the seventh century; and Lvo (modern Lopburi) at the same period sent a Mon Princess, Čamadevi, 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. 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 Shwezigou. He was also responsible for effecting the first restoration by the Burmese at Buddhagaya. 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.
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(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 sikharā 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 1315, 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 Ode-yod. Fischer's description is as follows: 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

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 (Lyo), 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 Khmer of Lyo 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, Sabhādhisiddhi 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 Polonnarnu 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. It was enlarged by King Sabbhadhisiddhi 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, Medhanka, 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 Phraya lam 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.
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). 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.
aboriginal city of Kumbām 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. 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. In 1303, Kumbām was given the title of "city" (nakhon) together with a cedi with contained 60 gilded statues — probably the embryo of the recently renovated pyramid Cedi-silīam. 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

38. v. JKM 120 also Coedes, op. cit. Documents p. 90 and p. 106 note (5).
40. JKM 119 " " " p. 90 (3).
41. JKM 120 " " " p. 90 (5).
usurped his throne for short periods during his reign of 23 years. 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 Lanathai, giving Chiegnmai 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 Kïna (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 Martabam 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 Kïna therefore applied to Udumbara also; but the monk, Ananda, whom Udumbara sent to Chiegnmai, proved uncertain of his qualifications and suggested that Kïna apply to Dhammaraj for Sumana himself to come up north. 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

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

**VAT PHRA YUN**

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 *stele* 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-nyo 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 Pupphārūma) when he moved his quarters there from Lampun; Ratanapāṇīṇa tells us nothing about the shrine on the mountain and merely notes that the Pupphārūma 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" (Phara 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. JKM 127-132.
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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 stūpa and was reckoned the finest monument in Chiengmai. The original rājakūta 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 Chiengmai 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).
In the year of the pig, C.S. 817 (1455) he founded a Monastery for the Mahathera Uttamapaṇīṇa north-west of Nabbisi-rājadānī (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.\[59\]

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 Ratanapaṇīṇa 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 Ratanapaṇīṇa's successor to clear

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56. ref. JKM 136 for Uttamapaṇīṇa.
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 Uttamapāṇa 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; in alignment with the cedi.

Although all our authorities are silent concerning the design of Vat Cey-rod 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 Sihalabhikkhu with both king and people. The artisans who built Vat Cey-rod 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 Phrayān 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 Chiangmai’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, radiat-
ing 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 Aiho as which evolved into the pyra-
mid 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 Tsang saw at Gaya.

It should be added that Chiangrai also possesses a *Vat Ced-
yod* — a short distance outside the city, west of Lampang road. The
*cedi* reproduces the Chiangmai shrine on a smaller scale and in a
modified form, omitting the two smaller vaulted corridors which
have proved unsatisfactory in Chiangmai, 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 Chiangmai) and,
in proportion to its size, is wider and better lighted than that in the
main corridor at Chiangmai. 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 finial 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, Chiangrai.
place of the panels and bas-reliefs at Chiangmai. The pit at the west end of the terrace is common to both shrines, but at Chiangmai it is rectangular instead of square. No lamman 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 Library 60 contains no chronicle of either temple.

No study of Buddhist architecture in Chiangmai 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 Kûna, Tilok and his great grandson, Muang Keo, to dynamic ecclesiastics such as Samana and Medhankara (possibly also Utanapaima) 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 Phraya-rin, Cedi-kuang and Cedi-yod. Chiangmai 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. Suthep 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 Kûna, King Tilok and King Muang Keo.

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 (Tilokarat), a noted warrior and statesman, known officially as H.M. Siridhamma-čakka-vat-tilokarat, who reigned at Chiengmai as ninth sovereign of the Mengrai dynasty. During his reign the Chiengmai pilgrims who, since their return from Ceylon under Medhankara were staying at Vat Phrayun 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. The palace was named Vat Rajamon. They ordained many monks in accordance with the Ceylon rite.

JKM 135. Gives a similar eulogy of King Tilok under whose patronage 500 novices were ordained by the three Mahatthera 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.

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 Rattanavana 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 Phrayun.

*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-saktyadhikarana 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 Ānāmangala ordained the king (was his upajhāya) 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

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63. V. Coedés, p. 106. Note (1) suggest 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.

64. V. Coedés, 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, Abhayasārāda: 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 Uttamapaṇīṇa 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 Suthep, 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 Animesacchi (Buddha's stance), north east of the Bodhipallang and at no great distance from it; the Ratanacongkrom (Buddha's cloister); north, the Ratanakhlang, reum keo (the jewelled treasury); north west, the aja palanigrodha (the goat-herd's hut under the Bengal fig); east, the muqalind (the tank near the Cik shrub - Barringtonia); south-east, the rajayatana (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 Tam-nan.

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 (Sangyanâ) by a group of over 100 monks (Sangha) at Vat Bodhârâm in Nabisi (Chiangmai). As Patron of religion, King Tilok built a mondop for the Council in Vat Bodhârâm 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 Ramphting (*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 tamnan.

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 Chiengmai, 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 Saddhammasanthira, 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 Nānasiddhi to the 11 Chiengmai monks named in the Tamnan, 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 Chiengmai 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 Pupphavasi of Suan Dok 1011. The presents consisted of 100,000 in gold together with countless silk robes. *JKM 158.* confirms the dimensions of the *cadi* at Chiensgen. 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 Saddhammasan-thira, 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 *mon Dop* 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 Bodharam abbot.


*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. Coedes, 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 Saddhammasanthira, with the office of Chief Chaplain and invited senior mahathera from Haripunjaya (Lampun), Khelanga (Lampang), Chiengrai, Svangkhaburi to a meeting in Vat Padeng together with 120 monks to recite the Dhammacakkappavatana, Mangalaparittta 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 therā 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 Bodharam: on the 9th day of the waxing tenth month (uthiyā) 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 Dhammadesanabodi hall which he had built to receive the sandal-wood Buddha in Vat Maha Bodharam. 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 Bodharam. 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, Mahasarabhanga, Chief Chaplain, first in Vat Maha Bodharam and then in Vat Padeng, with the title Phra Sangharaja. The title, Mahaswami, was given to the therā in Vat Mahadeviyarāma. King Kes Klao ruled Lannathai with justice.

JKM 186. Confirms.

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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.
Այս հատվածում չկան կարևոր դեկրիտեր կամ տեղեկություններ, որոնք կարևոր կամ կիրառական իրականացվեն։ Հատկանիշները կարող են դասավոր լուծումներ կամ ռեժիմներ լինելու համար, այնուամենայնիվ, դրանք չեն ներկայացվել այս հատվածում։
ปรากฏผลการทดลองทั้งหมดได้รับการควบคุมโดยมาตรฐานและเครื่องมือ

หลักการ เบื้องต้น ปรากฏผลคงที่หลักการในการตรวจ (ศาลรัฐ)

การปฏิบัติตามผลการประชุม การกำหนดความเป็นไปตามมาตรฐาน

การแสดงผลความเหมาะสมในการปรับปรุง

orgetown ปรับปรุงตามการปรับปรุงตามมาตรฐาน

ปรากฏผลที่เหมาะสมในการปรับปรุงตามมาตรฐาน
พระราชบัญญัติเครื่องหมายทางราชการ (ฉบับที่ 2) พุทธศักราช ๒๔๘๖

ข้อ ๑ พระราชบัญญัตินี้ให้ใช้บังคับตั้งแต่วันที่ประกาศในราชกิจจานุเบกษา

ข้อ ๒ ในพระราชบัญญัตินี้ ความในมาตรา ๓ แห่งพระราชบัญญัติเครื่องหมายทางราชการ พุทธศักราช ๒๔๗๕ ให้หมายความว่า ถ้าจะใช้เครื่องหมายทางราชการ อันเป็นเครื่องหมายทางราชการ ที่มีไว้เป็นเครื่องหมายทางราชการในราชอาณาจักร ต้องมีเครื่องหมายทางราชการที่มีไว้เป็นเครื่องหมายทางราชการในราชอาณาจักร

ข้อ ๓ การจัดทำเครื่องหมายทางราชการ ให้เป็นไปตามหลักเกณฑ์ที่กำหนดไว้ในมาตรา ๔ แห่งพระราชบัญญัติเครื่องหมายทางราชการ พุทธศักราช ๒๔๗๕ ซึ่งแก้ไขเพิ่มเติมโดยพระราชบัญญัตินี้

ข้อ ๔ การจัดทำเครื่องหมายทางราชการให้มีไว้เป็นเครื่องหมายทางราชการในราชอาณาจักร ต้องมีเครื่องหมายทางราชการที่ใช้สำหรับเครื่องหมายทางราชการในประเทศต่าง ๆ ที่มีไว้เป็นเครื่องหมายทางราชการ

ข้อ ๕ การจัดทำเครื่องหมายทางราชการให้มีไว้เป็นเครื่องหมายทางราชการในราชอาณาจักร ต้องมีเครื่องหมายทางราชการที่ได้รับอนุญาตจากพนักงานเจ้าพนักงานที่มีอำนาจหน้าที่เกี่ยวกับการจัดทำเครื่องหมายทางราชการในราชอาณาจักร

ข้อ ๖ เมื่อมีการจัดทำเครื่องหมายทางราชการให้ได้รับอนุญาตจากพนักงานเจ้าพนักงานที่มีอำนาจหน้าที่เกี่ยวกับการจัดทำเครื่องหมายทางราชการในราชอาณาจักร ต้องมีเครื่องหมายทางราชการที่ใช้สำหรับเครื่องหมายทางราชการในประเทศต่าง ๆ ที่มีไว้เป็นเครื่องหมายทางราชการ

ข้อ ๗ การจัดทำเครื่องหมายทางราชการให้มีไว้เป็นเครื่องหมายทางราชการในราชอาณาจักร ต้องมีเครื่องหมายทางราชการที่ได้รับอนุญาตจากพนักงานเจ้าพนักงานที่มีอำนาจหน้าที่เกี่ยวกับการจัดทำเครื่องหมายทางราชการในราชอาณาจักร

ข้อ ๘ การจัดทำเครื่องหมายทางราชการให้มีไว้เป็นเครื่องหมายทางราชการในราชอาณาจักร ต้องมีเครื่องหมายทางราชการที่ได้รับอนุญาตจากพนักงานเจ้าพนักงานที่มีอำนาจหน้าที่เกี่ยวกับการจัดทำเครื่องหมายทางราชการในราชอาณาจักร

ข้อ ๙ การจัดทำเครื่องหมายทางราชการให้มีไว้เป็นเครื่องหมายทางราชการในราชอาณาจักร ต้องมีเครื่องหมายทางราชการที่ได้รับอนุญาตจากพนักงานเจ้าพนักงานที่มีอำนาจหน้าที่เกี่ยวกับการจัดทำเครื่องหมายทางราชการในราชอาณาจักร

ข้อ ๑๐ การจัดทำเครื่องหมายทางราชการให้มีไว้เป็นเครื่องหมายทางราชการในราชอาณาจักร ต้องมีเครื่องหมายทางราชการที่ได้รับอนุญาตจากพนักงานเจ้าพนักงานที่มีอำนาจหน้าที่เกี่ยวกับการจัดทำเครื่องหมายทางราชการในราชอาณาจักร
(๔) จัดตั้ง วัฒนธรรม การเรียนรู้ ตามพระพุทธปฏิบัติ ยก
พระองค์ขอเสวยสิ่งศรัทธานั้นท่องเที่ยว พระราชาธรรม พระราชพง
สวางรักษา เรียนเรียนโทศีลธรรมด้วยเห็น

(๕) ปัจจุบัน ฮัชพันไดรั้ง ที่สำคัญไม่ ฮัชพันไดรั้ง
พระพุทธปฏิบัติอย่างพระพุทธบาทสมาธิ สำเนาฮัชพันไดรั้ง ที่ศัก
ตระหนัก (นิโคม เรียกอย่างตัวไทย เท่านั้นเรียกไม่ดี)

(๖) ปฏิบัติ มุนีชนทั้งนี้ ที่สำคัญไม่แตกกันมิพระพุทธ
รับในสมมุติพระพุทธบาทสมาธิ ผ่านองค์ ๗ ชาต ยกการ
ประกบพระเสียร์ สมชัย พระนาภิกิต สำเนา มุนีชนทั้งหมดยงนั้นที่สำคัญ
มากที่ศักตระหนักตระหนักได้

(๗) สำคัญ ราชการเกิด ที่สำคัญไม่เกิด พระพุทธปฏิบัติ
ยนพระองค์ตามกระบวนสมเด็จสมเด็จพระผู้เจ้าชาย สำเนาที่สำคัญไม่
ราชการเกิด ที่สำคัญได้เห็นพระเจ้าเกิด ๗ ชาต

คู่ม่าคงสร้างพระประทานทรงหิ้ง ไนขกระหว่างกาแพงสมภูระ
และพระเจดีย์ สร้างบริบูรณ์ทักษะการสร้าง พระองค์ได้กระทั่งการสอน
พระราชาพระรามนับนั้น ๆ สร้างพระเจ้าได้สร้าง (คัตถราศ) ทรง
ราชาสิ่งพระประทานสมเด็จสมเด็จพระผู้เจ้าชาย ใกล้ กะทัน
สมเด็จเจ้าพระได้สร้างทวาร์ทองให้ปรากฏดุษฎีก่อนทุกครั้ง ทุก
สมเด็จเจ้าพระราม เหมือนเข้มเหมือนเมีย คู่ม่าราศ ๗๕ สร้างพระองค์
พระเจ้าโลกราช (คัตถราศ) ทรงบรมนาคีนั้นผนึก และสร้างบนทุก
คือ หลักพระไตรภูมิกายที่กระทำจะท้องที่นั้นในที่มหายาภิรมย์อย่าง และ
หยาณรูปของผู้ผลิตที่ ๔ มีภาพประกอบส่วนที่รวบรวมตามหลักการโดยเฉพาะ

พระ.singleton มหันตมเหตุการณ์เพื่อให้เห็นในภาพ

ปรากฏการณ์ช้างคมเหนือและคำศัพท์ในภาพ

พระ.mahamuni ที่มีการรวมต่อเนื่องซึ่งหมายในภาพ

พระราตกษัตริย์ (คิลอยา) ที่ทรงสร้างหุบเหมยไม่สามารถที่จะสร้างได้

พระเจ้าโดยการ (คิลอยา) เดินธุรกิจธุรกิจไม่สามารถที่จะสร้างได้

พระราตกษัตริย์ (คิลอยา) เดินธุรกิจธุรกิจไม่สามารถที่จะสร้างได้

พระราตกษัตริย์ (คิลอยา) เดินธุรกิจธุรกิจไม่สามารถที่จะสร้างได้

พระราตกษัตริย์ (คิลอยา) เดินธุรกิจธุรกิจไม่สามารถที่จะสร้างได้

พระราตกษัตริย์ (คิลอยา) เดินธุรกิจธุรกิจไม่สามารถที่จะสร้างได้

พระราตกษัตริย์ (คิลอยา) เดินธุรกิจธุรกิจไม่สามารถที่จะสร้างได้

พระราตกษัตริย์ (คิลอยา) เดินธุรกิจธุรกิจไม่สามารถที่จะสร้างได้

พระราตกษัตริย์ (คิลอยา) เดินธุรกิจธุรกิจไม่สามารถที่จะสร้างได้
ในปัจจุบัน คุณภูมิวัฒนธรรม เป็นการกลับสู่ศิลปะทางวัฒนธรรม
แห่งหนังชีวิต ปัจจุบัน กล้ากล้า ได้รับการ พร้อมกับโค้ด
โดยทั่วไป การตั้งบ้านเรือนให้แก่ชุมชน ซึ่ง พระเมืองแก่
พระมหากษัตริย์และพ่อค้า พระเจ้าครูธรรมการศึกษา
โดยพระมหาเศรษฐีเสียงดั่งดังในเมืองนครชัยภูมิ นามบุตรชื่อ
เมืองราช ๓  เมื่อถึงเมืองราช ๓๒ พระมหาเศรษฐีพระเมืองแก่เจ้า
ได้ศึกษาแห่งหนัง โดยก่อน ๘๐ ปี อย่าง ๒๐ ปี ภายใต้พระยุทธ
แลกยาที่ในศิลปะไทยรามิดกัน อย่างประทับ อย่าง ๔๐ ปี
พระบาทพระพิตปัญญาบรรพบุรุษ พระเจ้าครูธรรมการศึกษา
(คติธรรม) และ
เบื้องหน้าเรื่องที่อยู่ในสถานที่อยู่ตรง ๘ 花开บายาร์ ๔๐ ศักดิ์กับ
เมืองมหากษัตริย์สมัยที่ผ่านมา พระเมืองแก่เจ้าที่จัดทำ
พระรามาธิบดี ได้ทรงเร้างพระราชนิทรรศารัตนาการ คือ พระพิรุฬ
เนื่องมาถึงทางภูมิปัญญาตุลย์ เล็กย์ ประทับฐานใจในพระ
โอ้ อุสาน เมื่อผู้ศึกษาราช ๓๒ พระเมืองแก่เจ้าพระราชนิทรรศภักดี
สมเด็จพระพุทธสุมาภิบาลมหาดไทย พระราชนิทรรศภักดี
จิตรลดา
ราชนิทรรศภักดีวิจิตรมณีภูปภูมิมณีแห่งจากต่างๆ ประทับฐาน
สมเด็จพระราชนิทรรศภักดี ใหญ่กว่าร้านหน้าภูมิที่อยู่ในพระ
โดยการ ๑๐ อาศัยที่ ๒๙ กา เมื่อผู้ศึกษามีการเจรจาระบุตาม
บุคคลที่ ปรารถนาที่จะรักษา สมเด็จ คืน พระเมืองแก่เจ้าขอ
ต่อมา ปรากฏไปในภาค ตั้งจุดเสียห้องกุดบ้านโดยพระองค์
เมื่อผู้ศึกษามีการณ์ เพื่อปรารถนา เดิน ๒ ชั่ว ๓ ค่า ณ อาทิศ
ประกาศของคณะรัฐมนตรี ลงวันที่ ณ ณ ปี พุทธศักราช ๒๔๙๑ ซึ่งพระบาทสมเด็จพระปรมินทรมหาภูมิพลอดุลยเดช บรมนาถบพิตร โปรดเกล้าฯ ให้ประกาศตามมาตรา ๔๑ ของรัฐธรรมนูญแห่งราชอาณาจักรไทย ลงวันที่ ๒๔ ธันวาคม พุทธศักราช ๒๔๗๕ ให้ประกาศในราชกิจจานุเบกษา.

พระบาทสมเด็จพระปรมินทรมหาภูมิพลอดุลยเดช บรมนาถบพิตร ทรงพระกรุณาโปรดเกล้าฯ ให้ประกาศตามมาตรา ๔๑ ของรัฐธรรมนูญแห่งราชอาณาจักรไทย ลงวันที่ ๒๔ ธันวาคม พุทธศักราช ๒๔๗๕ ให้ประกาศในราชกิจจานุเบกษา.

ประกาศของคณะรัฐมนตรี ลงวันที่ ณ ณ ปี พุทธศักราช ๒๔๙๑ ซึ่งพระบาทสมเด็จพระปรมินทรมหาภูมิพลอดุลยเดช บรมนาถบพิตร โปรดเกล้าฯ ให้ประกาศตามมาตรา ๔๑ ของรัฐธรรมนูญแห่งราชอาณาจักรไทย ลงวันที่ ๒๔ ธันวาคม พุทธศักราช ๒๔๗๕ ให้ประกาศในราชกิจจานุเบกษา.

พระบาทสมเด็จพระปรมินทรมหาภูมิพลอดุลยเดช บรมนาถบพิตร ทรงพระกรุณาโปรดเกล้าฯ ให้ประกาศตามมาตรา ๔๑ ของรัฐธรรมนูญแห่งราชอาณาจักรไทย ลงวันที่ ๒๔ ธันวาคม พุทธศักราช ๒๔๗๕ ให้ประกาศในราชกิจจานุเบกษา.

ประกาศของคณะรัฐมนตรี ลงวันที่ ณ ณ ปี พุทธศักราช ๒๔๙๑ ซึ่งพระบาทสมเด็จพระปรมินทรมหาภูมิพลอดุลยเดช บรมนาถบพิตร โปรดเกล้าฯ ให้ประกาศตามมาตรา ๔๑ ของรัฐธรรมนูญแห่งราชอาณาจักรไทย ลงวันที่ ๒๔ ธันวาคม พุทธศักราช ๒๔๗๕ ให้ประกาศในราชกิจจานุเบกษา.

พระบาทสมเด็จพระปรมินทรมหาภูมิพลอดุลยเดช บรมนาถบพิตร ทรงพระกรุณาโปรดเกล้าฯ ให้ประกาศตามมาตรา ๔๑ ของรัฐธรรมนูญแห่งราชอาณาจักรไทย ลงวันที่ ๒๔ ธันวาคม พุทธศักราช ๒๔๗๕ ให้ประกาศในราชกิจจานุเบกษา.

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ประกาศของคณะรัฐมนตรี ลงวันที่ ณ ณ ปี พุทธศักราช ๒๔๙๑ ซึ่งพระบาทสมเด็จพระปรมินทรมหาภูมิพลอดุลยเดช บรมนาถบพิตร โปรดเกล้าฯ ให้ประกาศตามมาตรา ๔๑ ของรัฐธรรมนูญแห่งราชอาณาจักรไทย ลงวันที่ ๒๔ ธันวาคม พุทธศักราช ๒๔๗๕ ให้ประกาศในราชกิจจานุเบกษา.

พระบาทสมเด็จพระปรมินทรมหาภูมิพลอดุลยเดช บรมนาส
ประกาศคณะกรรมการพิเศษ

ตามที่ พระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว โปรดเกล้าฯ ให้กระทำตามที่
พระราชบัญญัติการพิเศษ 2505 ให้สมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว
ทรงพระกรุณาโปรดเกล้าฯ ให้กระทำตามที่ประกาศ
ของข้อบังคับกรมการพิเศษ 2505 พระบาท
ทรงพระกรุณาโปรดเกล้าฯ ให้กระทำตามที่
ประกาศกรมการพิเศษ 2505 زا ๘ ค่าหน่วยพัน
พระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว โปรดเกล้าฯ ให้กระ
ทำตามที่ประกาศกรมการพิเศษ 2505 ซึ่ง
พระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว
ทรงพระกรุณาโปรดเกล้าฯ ให้กระทำตามที่
ประกาศกรมการพิเศษ 2505 ย้า ๘ ค่า
พระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว
ทรงพระกรุณาโปรดเกล้าฯ ให้กระทำตามที่
ประกาศกรมการพิเศษ 2505 ซึ่ง
อัณณีจำหล้า บัดนักเก้าธารดิ์ดิ่งไปมาแล้ว หากผู้ใดพบผูก
ได้ เพราะปรากฏเจ้าคนเสียใหญ่ไป ถ้าหากวันนั้นถ้าพร้อมจะข้าม-
ธนังิมานนก เจ้าผู้จำหล้าไปข้ามไปได้โดยไม่พบผูกจมเลยใหญ่
อยู่ในคันแระรู จับผูกถ้าจะสิ้นรานโคจรบกพร่องก็จะจะเย็นร่างเรี้ยว
พระปกสังข์ก็จะมาถ่านกัน อาทิเช่นผู้ทั้งรวบรวมยามแต่
เดือนนั้น แต่เห็นคำผูกอันจำกอกบดประกอบเรี้ยว เพราะจกได้
ข้อบายยกบดพระพุทธศักรา
เมื่อพระองค์ตร้าพวกนั้นแล้ว ก็ให้
ปรับชั้นขันนิชญิมานนก แล้วบรรเจิดตร้าคมพวกพระพุทธศักรา
แล้ว ถ้าแทนพระผูกชั่วษาบุญครกตอพระพุทธศักรา
เหล่านั้นนะบรรเจิดตร้าเป็นพระคริษฐา
ชั้นนั้น ต่อมาตร้าไบรัญญ์อันเดิมตร้ามิตรราวกับพระพุทธศักรา-
ศักราบิณีศักราณกับพระศักราณกับพระศักราณกับพระผูก
พระองค์โดยณพระผูกชั้นหนึ่ง องค์
พระไบรัญญ์ให้กระทั่งได้ชั่วษาบุญก็จะกู้พระทุกคน บัดนั้น
เราก็ปรับชั้นขันนิชญิมานนก มีพระราชาพวงนันเถร มหาภิกษุ
พระเมืองเก้าธารดิ์ดิ่งไปมาเก้าธารดิ์ดิ่งไปมาเก้าธารดิ์ดิ่งไปมา
โค ( พระธรรม ) อยู่ตร้าบันกันมา
cกนภิกษุพระราชาชักน ให้ชรภ artificially แปลหนังสือ
หยงไบรัญญ์ให้กิจ พระรวมพระผูกชั่วษาบุญก็จะกู้
พระผูกชั้นหนึ่ง พระผูกชั้นหนึ่ง พระผูกชั้นหนึ่ง พระผูกชั้นหนึ่ง
เนื้อไบรัญญ์ คงเห็นนะ ฉันนะกับดุ ฉะนี้หรือไบรัญญ์
การณ์ใหญ่มากมายนั้น พระนั่นธาระเหมืองเก้าธารดิ์ดิ่งไปมาเนื้อ
ประกาศตั้งคณะทำงานเริ่มต้น:

เหตุผลในการตั้งคณะทำงานเริ่มต้นเป็นการสนับสนุนและยกระดับผลการจัดการของРА

ในประเทศทั้งหมดที่เข้าร่วมโครงการฯ จึงจำเป็นต้องตั้งคณะทำงานเริ่มต้น

ดังนี้

1. คณะทำงานเริ่มต้นที่สามารถส่งผลให้การจัดการมีประสิทธิภาพ

2. คณะทำงานเริ่มต้นที่สามารถส่งผลให้การจัดการมีประสิทธิภาพ

3. คณะทำงานเริ่มต้นที่สามารถส่งผลให้การจัดการมีประสิทธิภาพ

4. คณะทำงานเริ่มต้นที่สามารถส่งผลให้การจัดการมีประสิทธิภาพ

5. คณะทำงานเริ่มต้นที่สามารถส่งผลให้การจัดการมีประสิทธิภาพ

6. คณะทำงานเริ่มต้นที่สามารถส่งผลให้การจัดการมีประสิทธิภาพ

7. คณะทำงานเริ่มต้นที่สามารถส่งผลให้การจัดการมีประสิทธิภาพ

8. คณะทำงานเริ่มต้นที่สามารถส่งผลให้การจัดการมีประสิทธิภาพ

9. คณะทำงานเริ่มต้นที่สามารถส่งผลให้การจัดการมีประสิทธิภาพ

10. คณะทำงานเริ่มต้นที่สามารถส่งผลให้การจัดการมีประสิทธิภาพ

11. คณะทำงานเริ่มต้นที่สามารถส่งผลให้การจัดการมีประสิทธิภาพ

12. คณะทำงานเริ่มต้นที่สามารถส่งผลให้การจัดการมีประสิทธิภาพ

13. คณะทำงานเริ่มต้นที่สามารถส่งผลให้การจัดการมีประสิทธิภาพ

14. คณะทำงานเริ่มต้นที่สามารถส่งผลให้การจัดการมีประสิทธิภาพ

15. คณะทำงานเริ่มต้นที่สามารถส่งผลให้การจัดการมีประสิทธิภาพ

16. คณะทำงานเริ่มต้นที่สามารถส่งผลให้การจัดการมีประสิทธิภาพ

17. คณะทำงานเริ่มต้นที่สามารถส่งผลให้การจัดการมีประสิทธิภาพ

18. คณะทำงานเริ่มต้นที่สามารถส่งผลให้การจัดการมีประสิทธิภาพ

19. คณะทำงานเริ่มต้นที่สามารถส่งผลให้การจัดการมีประสิทธิภาพ

20. คณะทำงานเริ่มต้นที่สามารถส่งผลให้การจัดการมีประสิทธิภาพ

21. คณะทำงานเริ่มต้นที่สามารถส่งผลให้การจัดการมีประสิทธิภาพ

22. คณะทำงานเริ่มต้นที่สามารถส่งผลให้การจัดการมีประสิทธิภาพ

23. คณะทำงานเริ่มต้นที่สามารถส่งผลให้การจัดการมีประสิทธิภาพ

24. คณะทำงานเริ่มต้นที่สามารถส่งผลให้การจัดการมีประสิทธิภาพ

25. คณะทำงานเริ่มต้นที่สามารถส่งผลให้การจัดการมีประสิทธิภาพ

26. คณะทำงานเริ่มต้นที่สามารถส่งผลให้การจัดการมีประสิทธิภาพ

27. คณะทำงานเริ่มต้นที่สามารถส่งผลให้การจัดการมีประสิทธิภาพ

28. คณะทำงานเริ่มต้นที่สามารถส่งผลให้การจัดการมีประสิทธิภาพ

29. คณะทำงานเริ่มต้นที่สามารถส่งผลให้การจัดการมีประสิทธิภาพ

30. คณะทำงานเริ่มต้นที่สามารถส่งผลให้การจัดการมีประสิทธิภาพ

คณะทำงานเริ่มต้น

นายกฯ ให้การทั่วไปในประเทศต่างๆ หัวหน้าคณะทำงานเริ่มต้น 30 องค์ ให้

สำนักงานคณะกรรมการขับเคลื่อนและส่งเสริมการพัฒนาการจัดการเริ่มต้น

กองทุนพัฒนาการจัดการเริ่มต้น

คณะทำงานเริ่มต้น

นายกฯ ให้การทั่วไปในประเทศต่างๆ หัวหน้าคณะทำงานเริ่มต้น 30 องค์
ให้ยานพระปรมิณ์พิบูลสงคราม อนุปรายณ์ได้ในสุพรรณบุรีแผน
ท้องถิ่นหน้า ๑๐๐ ปี ว่า "พระพรหมมหามณีโสภาประชุมพิทักษ์
ธรรมพิจารย์ ศิลปะชื่อดังยุคเรา มหาวิทยาลัยอุบลราช
ศิลป์การเมืองแห่งปัจจุบันใด จบมาได้โดยปฏิบัติการ
ประมุขโคประจา" เมื่อราชานะพระพิมพ์ศิลปศาสตร์ เศรษฐยิ่งวิ
ทรงสมกิ่งรักการศึกษาไม่ทานาทานแห่งพระมหาสมาคม
และพระราชน จานนาที่ไม่ทานาที พระมหาสมาคมได้ทั้งหมดร่วมกันห้องใหญ่
เสียงดนตรีพัฒนาตกแต่งขึ้นหน้า เมื่อปีพุทธศักราช
เก่าชนนพศิรินมิตร ๑๐ ปี ปราสาท เกียรติภูมิ ๔ โตเกียรชัย องต่อ
พระพิรุฬห์กิตติจารย์ ๓๐๒ พระราชบัญญัติธุรกิจ ๒๑๕ ใน
ศาราชเดือนนี้ พระมหาสมาคมได้สร้างพระมหาหอทรงสิ้น
และ กองพระเรียกหอพระพิรามรอนภิษ บลงพิการ ธุรกิจกิตติจารย์ ๒๑๕ พระ
มหาสมาคมยิ่งวิ ให้ดำเนินการบัตรอิมม在生活中 ไปยังราชานะ
เอาพระพิรุฬห์กินสนทน์ ซึ่งพระมาประเด็นสี่จักร และนิตย์
ในนั้นนิ่ง ๔ ชั่วโมง จ่าทรงใหญ่ เกียรติภูมิเป็นโดยชื่อศิลป์
อย่างสมัครแทนที่ทรงนี่ยกข้อมูลว่าข้อมูลการ  dateFormatter ศิลป์
โดยประกันการอนาคต วิจัยชื่อว่ารายละเอียดชื่อแนะไม่เรียบร้อย
คงจะไม่ แต่ให้ 그냥อธิบายไปเมื่อการโน่น พระแทนจันทน์จงได้
ประกาศรัฐบาลในแบบแผ่นความหลัก ครอบคลุมการเมือง จุติการ
๒๑๕ พระมหาสมาคมจึงให้ราชานะพระพิรุฬห์ปฏิบัติขันธ์นาม 
จากเมืองพุทไธ (ที่มา) มาประกาศว่าในสุพรรณปราสาทท่อนเจดยา
ประมวลภาพประกอบ

ในตอนทำใจฐาน แสดงให้ทราบว่าจะมีการเกิดสิ่งใดๆไม่ได้ แต่ถ้ามีการอนุรักษ์ทางด้านการผลิต

อย่าง มีการตระหนักถึงปัญหา ในหัวเชื่อระบบเครื่องหมาย ที่จะต้องใช้

ขามบุญ เพราะองค์ตั้งที่เดินทางดูจะเป็น 3 คำ คือความถูกต้อง

ของมาส และศักดิ์พระเจ้า 30 กุฎิ ต้องจัดการ จดหมาย 30 พระ

เมื่อก่อน เกณฑ์เท่ากับมีประกันที่ไม่ประกัน

ศรีษะมือใจแสดงให้ทราบว่าจะมีการเกิดสิ่งใดๆไม่ได้ แต่ถ้ามีการอนุรักษ์ทางด้านการผลิต

“พระพิทักษ์” ของคนในตอนทำใจฐาน ในการจดหมาย 30 ประ

นิในขณะ 30 คา ทุกวันที่ 30 ต่อ蒋介石ห้าพระกรรศ์พระ

สิ่งที่ทำให้เครื่องทำอยู่ มีการมายไก่ 30 ปุย อยู่อย่างเดียว 3 ขาน 3 คา

ปุย ปัจจุบัน จดหมาย 30 พระกรรศ์ฐาน ในการทำหน้าที่ คุก

ชนะสมชัยไม่ได้

พร้อมเจ้าภาพ รับบัตร ทดแทนในกลาย ราช คือ ประดิษฐาน

เกิดตั้งลูกเธอแปลกแล้ว พระสามารถของพระองค์ มีการงา พระ

เมื่อเกิดเกสรเดิมลูกขาดพระกรรศ์ เลยถึงธุรกิจบัตรแทนในเมืองชัย

ไทย แทนพระราชาบัตร เป็นใหญ่ในสถานที่ไทยประเทศ เบนราชองค์

เมืองไทย 32 พระองค์ช่วยในสอนนักธรรมธรรม ศักดิ์พระ

โดยมีธุรกิจในปีพระองค์ได้อาหารที่

มหากาพย์อย่างนั้นเมื่อหนึ่งพระองค์ ดันอยู่ในตอนทำใจฐาน

ให้กระทบการอธิบาย พระทำสางเกต ใบบรรณาการ จงกลับ
โปรดทราบว่า สรรพสิ่งวิชาการนี้ แสดงจารานพระมหาบรมยอดใน
สมชothersที่ถามอยู่ที่หน้าหนึ่งว่า พระมหาจักรวาล เมื่อจดสิ่งราว
อัศกร ปาน ซึ่ง 3 ค่ำ วันจันทร์ พระมหาดายพระเมืองเกาะกลาง ให้
อธิการนนพระวิริยชัยออกResourceManager ให้กระทบปั่นกระกรรม
บุญบุญกระทำอย่าง เบื้องสูงในพระพุทธการกิจหน้าของทาง
แสดงเสถียรพระเมืองเกาะกลางจนพระค์เช่นนี้ ก็ให้อธิการนนพระ
มหาบรมยอดประยุทธ์พระธุรกิจสร้างไว้ในอยู่ตลอดหัวโฟราม
เมืองเช่นนี้ แต่ไปประดิษฐ์ไว้ในสุวรรณปราสาทตามกล่าวพระ
วิหารในเมืองหรูหราซี้ เพื่อให้ราษฎรปฏิบัตินี้ได้ทรงพลัง
พุทธข้าจากกลางdhcp ได้ใครๆทับถมบอนยนถิดพระบรมช่างให้
ทั้งไป

แสดงอธิการนนพระบรมยอดมณฑลที่ จัดยีการเมืองหรูหราซี้
ขยับได้เป็นประชานในอุทัยสุขติการภัย ต่างระสังหวนไตรบิณ
และยีเป็นบันทิรมณฑลสิ่งต่างมีดั่ง ให้ออกกิจการเหล่านี้ในพระพุทธการล่า
แสดงเสถียรพระเมืองเก่ากิจหน้า ได้ถ้อยคำกิจหรือประรับอุปถัมภ์ให้
กิจภัณฑ์อธิการนน เบื้องต้องประกอบจน

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.
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 (Hmawwaza) 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 Chiangmai, 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-nga of Wetti-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.........

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72. Owing to the short vaulted corridor at the west end of Vat Ced-yod terminating in the wall behind the Phra Tanhnu 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 Chiengmai and Chiengrai, was undoubtedly a reproduction of the terrace-pit for a fig-tree, as at Gaya. (E.W.H.'s comment).
"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 Phrayūn, 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."

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"for the arch."

Corbel-steps in corbelled arch

vertical resultant

vertical resultant

Resultant

Resultant

L. Cambiaso

4.6.49