

**THE INSCRIPTION OF VAT TRABĀṆ JĀṆ PHŌAK**  
**(Face I, 1380 A.D.; Face II, 14th century, date uncertain)**  
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by

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A few years ago, while escorting some distinguished European visitors on a tour of the gardens of the Grand Palace at Bangkok, Prince Subhadradis Diskul noticed two old stone inscriptions standing in the 'grotto' of the artificial hill known as Mount Krailāsa. He later called them to the attention of Mr Prasāra Puṇṇpragōṇ of the National Library, and Prasert ṇa Nagara. They are still in the place where Prince Subhadradis found them. We are indebted to the kindness of H.H. Prince Dhāninivat Kramahmūn Bidyālābh for taking us to inspect them in February 1970, and for obtaining the gracious permission of H.M. the King to photograph them. We must thank Professor Hans Penth of the University of Chiang Mai for taking the photographs for us.

In the present article we shall discuss the larger of the two inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> As Prasert ṇa Nagara observed, this is the long-lost inscription discovered in 1908 by the Crown Prince Vajirāvudh, the future King Rāma VI, in a ruined monastery west of Sukhodaya known as Vāt Trabāṇ Jāṇ Phōak (วัดพระพังช้างเผือก), 'the Monastery of the White Elephant's Pond'.

The stone, which is 1.29 m. in height, 51 cm. in width, and 19 cm. in thickness, with a tenon 39.6 cm. wide at the bottom, is fractured in such a way that the rounded top is preserved only on Face II. A large amount of Face I is missing, including the top and much of the left side. Face I (Fig. 1) has 40 lines, or fragments of lines, of Siamese, written in the Sukhodayan script; it is impossible to say how many more lines are missing at the top. Face II (Fig. 2), which is virtually complete, has 17 lines of Pali verse written in the Khmer

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1) We hope to publish the other one later.

script called Khôm. Both faces, transcribed by Mr Prasāra Puṇpragòṇ into modern Siamese letters, are published in *Śilpākara*, XII/3, p. 94 ff. To his transcription of Face I, he has added a version in modernized spelling, and Prasert ๓a Nagara has contributed a number of glosses; to Face II, Mr Prasāra has added a version in which the text is divided into hemistichs and pādas, while Mahā Sēṇ Manavi-dūra provides a Siamese translation.

Prince Vajirāvudh, in his 'Account of a Tour in the Land of Braḥ Rvaṇ', tells how he discovered this inscription.<sup>2</sup> Upon leaving Vāt Sabān Hin (No. 21 on Map 3, JSS LVII/1, p. 33), he and his party retraced their steps to go and see Vāt Trabāṇ Jān Phōak, which stood beside the footpath leading up to the Lesser Footprint Hill (Khaṇ Braḥ Pāda Nōy; *ibid.*, No. 22). There they found the ruins of a small stupa; several laterite columns, with lotus capitals, 'of rather mediocre workmanship', which were all that remained of the uposathāgāra; a two-tiered pedestal which may have been intended for a large Buddha image; and, lying half-buried in the earth among the bushes, an old stone inscription. The stone was rounded at the top; its height was a little over two cubits (ศอก) and a span (คืบ), i.e. a little over 1.25 m.; its width, one cubit, i.e. 50 cm.; and its thickness, 8 inches, i.e. 19 cm.; the width of the tenon at the bottom was one span and 7 inches, i.e. about 40 cm. There was writing on both faces. On the face that had been sunk in the ground the writing was quite well preserved; it was in Khôm script; and later on, when the Prince Patriarch Vajirañāṇa was consulted, he said the text was a description of a Buddhapāda (Buddha's Footprint), written in characters of Rāmañ type, and with several mistakes in spelling. The other face, which was in Old Siamese, was very difficult to read, as it was broken in several places and partly obliterated by rain. In order to decipher it Prince Vajirāvudh enlisted the aid of the Braḥ Garū Cau Gaṇaḥ Sukhodaya, the primate of the monkhood in the Sukhodaya region, who had had some experience in reading Old Siamese; but he was not able to make very much out of it. At the beginning there was a

2) สมเด็จพระโอรสาธิราชเจ้าพี่ยาเธอกรมภูษามการ, เรื่องเที่ยวเมืองพระร่วงรัตนโกสินทร์ศก ๑๒๖, Chapter VI (p. 85 ff. of the 1909 edition).

date: ศักราช ๑๒๘๖ ปีชวด, 'śakarāja 1296, year of the tiger'; the designation of the month was illegible; then came ๙ ค่ำ, 'ninth day'; then a lacuna; then ราชามหารัชมรณ ..... เสียชีวิตไปแล้ว, '..... rājā Mahādharmma ..... died.' Farther on there was a name, นางคำเมีย, 'Hnān Gām, the wife', but her husband's name was illegible. Lower down there was a reference to วัดนางคำ, 'Vāt Hnān Gām'. They concluded that Vāt Hnān Gām was the old name of Vāt TraḬbān Jān Phök, and that it had been founded by that lady. They also noted that the date śakarāja 1296 (=1374/5 A.D.) was just 13 years after Mahādharmarājā invited the Mahāthera Mahāsāmī to to come from Rāmaññadesa to settle at the Mango Grove Monastery at Sukhodaya<sup>3</sup>. They concluded, further, that the text describing the Footprint must have been copied from some old book, but the copyist, not being a learned man, copied it blindly and made several mistakes. He was perhaps a Mōn, or else someone who had studied under Mōn teachers, because at that time (i.e. since the arrival of the Mahāthera Mahāsāmī) the Mōn monks, who had learned to imitate the practices of Sinhalese orthodoxy, were held in great respect at Sukhodaya. Apart from these conclusions, Prince Vajirāvudh believed that the inscription was of little or no historical value.

Nevertheless he must have sent it to Bangkok, just as he did with other inscriptions discovered in the course of the same trip; for there can be no possible doubt that it is the same stone which now stands in the grotto of the artificial hill in the grounds of the Royal Palace. The dimensions of the latter are practically identical to those given by Prince Vajirāvudh; and just as he says, the face written in 'Khôm' script is in good condition, while that in Siamese is badly mutilated. Evidently the stone suffered some further fracture, either in transit to Bangkok or after its arrival, for the date at the beginning has vanished except for the words (๙)มออกเก้า (I/4), 'in the third [month], on the ninth day of the waxing moon', corresponding to the illegible designation of the month, followed by ๙ ค่ำ, 'ninth day', in Prince Vajirāvudh's account; and the statement about the death of

3) For the Mahāsāmī's arrival at Sukhodaya, and other events of 1361, see Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art* (Bangkok, 1967), pp. 35-37.

'Mahādharmma . . . . . ' has vanished too. ทนางคำเม้ง, 'Hnān Gām, the wife,' is a false reading of ทนางคำเม้ง, 'the Aunt Princess Gām did' at I/8 (in the Sukhodayan script, ท can easily be confused with น, and ม with ย). In the portions of the stone that now survive, there is nothing that looks like 'Vāt Hnān Gām'; but perhaps there was once a reference to วัดทนางคำ, 'Monastery of the Aunt Princess Gām', now lost. As we shall see, the Princess was not the founder of the monastery, but its restorer.

We are indebted to the kindness of Mr Roger Billard of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient for calculating the opening date. Supposing that the Brah Garū read it correctly, Mr Billard informs us, it should correspond to Thursday, January 11, 1375 A.D. (Julian), or perhaps either one day earlier or one day later; but he adds that he has not enough comparative material for this period to be certain.

It is a pity that the portions of this date which the Brah Garū saw have disappeared, as well as the reference to the King's death. If they had been preserved, they might settle the controverted question of the date of Mahādharmarājā I's death.<sup>4</sup>

Of course we cannot rely on the Brah Garū's reading of the lost passage, since we know that he went wrong in some of those that survive; besides, even if we accept it, we have no guarantee that the inscription ever said the King died in that year. Nevertheless the various elements of the date in the Brah Garū's reading, plus what we can now read, make a coherent whole, somewhere between January 10 and 12, 1375 A.D. (Julian), and we know of no definite evidence that Mahādharmarājā I did not die at that time. On the one hand the earliest possible date for his death is 1368; on the other, as we shall see in a moment, it is clear from the passage at I/22 ff. that he must have died some years before 1380.

4) See Prasert ๓ Nagara in *Social Science Review*, June 1966, p. 50; Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, p. 39 f. According to Jinakālamāli, Mahādharmarājā I's death occurred after Paramarājā conquered Kāmpōja (in this context, *Lopburī*; the event must be his seizure of the throne of Ayudhyā in 1370), but before he took Jayanādapūra (in this context: *Bisnuloka*, which he did in 1375); see BEFEO XXV, pp. 47 and 100.

## FACE I

The purpose of Face I is to record the dedication of a new vihāra, apparently the building whose ruins Prince Vajirāvudh took to be the remains of an uposathāgāra. The stone would naturally be set up beside it, which is where the Prince discovered it.

In the inscription (I/22) the place is designated as an 'arañika' (=araññaka), a Forest Monastery, i.e. an establishment of Araññavāsī or Forest-Dwelling monks. Its location, nearly 3 km. from the walled city of Sukhodaya, would easily qualify it as such; and its proximity to Vāt Sabān Hin which Rāma Gāṃphēn designates as an 'arañika' in Inscription I, suggests that it may have had some connection with it.

According to I/28 f., the vihāra was dedicated in mahāsakarāja 1301, culasakarāja 741, a year of the goat, on the second day of the waning moon of the eleventh month, Wednesday in the Khmer reckoning, and a 'Plök sǎn' day in the *Tai* reckoning. Mr Roger Billard, to whom we are again indebted, informs us that the year in mahāsakarāja and culasakarāja, the day of the week, and the *Tai* name of the day are all in accord with one another, and correspond to Wednesday February 22, 1380 A.D. (Julian), and there is a discrepancy in the designation of the month, which, in order to agree with the other elements, should be *fourth*, not eleventh. Mr Billard therefore suggests that เดือนสิบเจ็ดแรมของคำ, second day of the waning moon of the eleventh month, might be a false reading for เดือนสี่ (ปักข์?) แรมของคำ, second day of the waning moon of the fourth month.<sup>5</sup> As an examination of the stone shows that the reading is fairly certain, we conclude that the engraver must have made a mistake, and that the vihāra are really dedicated on Wednesday February 22, 1380 A.D. (Julian).

The ruler of Sukhodaya at that time was Mahādharmarājā II, who had been forced to capitulate to King Paramarājā I of Ayudhyā a year or two before. He was therefore reigning as a vassal of Para-

5) Letter from Mr Billard, dated March 1, 1970.

marājā at the time the inscription was composed. That is why he is referred to simply as 'the Ruler' (I/24, I/30), rather than by some more elaborate title such as those used by his father Mahādharṃarājā I.

The dedication of the vihāra was preceded by a series of works of restoration and maintenance, which began on the opening date of the inscription, probably, as we have seen, around January 11, 1375 A.D. (Julian). The building which housed the principal statue of the Buddha was evidently badly decayed, so that the statue was exposed to the weather. First an honorific parasol (chattrā) was made for the statue; then a vihāra was built to shelter it; the statue was restored; several families were assigned as servants to look after the monastery; and provision was made for 'the Buddha image, the stupa and the cetiya' to be cleaned regularly.

\* \* \*

Princess Gām, who appears to be taking the lead in the operations, is termed 𑀘𑀓, i.e. 𑀘𑀓, the Aunt, or, to be more precise, the elder sister or half-sister of either parent. We are not told whose 𑀘𑀓 she was; but when an inscription calls a person by a relationship-term without further qualification it can generally be assumed that the person is related in that manner either to the author of the inscription, which does not make sense in this context, or else to the Ruler. Princess Gām would therefore be the elder sister or half-sister of the Ruler's father Mahādharṃarājā I (*Lü Tai*), or else of his mother, who was a princess of Nān.<sup>6</sup> If we adopt the first supposition, which seems the more probable, Princess Gām was a daughter of King *Lō Tai*.

Someone else, who speaks in the first person (𑀓𑀲) at I/12 f., also participates in the operations at the monastery, apparently as a joint donor with Princess Gām: he is probably her husband. He seems to be the same man who is described as 𑀘𑀓𑀲𑀓, 'the Ruler's uncle' at I/24 and I/30 (in the first case, after Princess Gām; in the second case, before

6) See JSS LVII/1, p. 67.

her). In the context the designation *ลุง*, which, strictly speaking, means 'a parent's elder brother', may be given him simply because he is the husband of the Ruler's *พี่*, aunt, though it is probable that he too is related to the Ruler. If he seems to be playing a lesser role in the operations, it may be because Princess *Gāṃ* is of higher rank.

'This Forest Monastery,' says a mutilated passage (I/22-23), 'had been falling into ruin since the time of the late Mahādharmarājā. This ..... merit to [*or*: meritorious work of ?] the eldest brother, His Highness (ท่าน, for ท่าน), Brah Śrī Rāja-orasa, the lord of this Mōaṇ Sukhodaya, ..... ' (.. วรณนี้ในสหกัณฑ์แห่งวันหาธรรมราชาชุกอนแลอนนี้ ..... บุนพี่ชายท่าน พระศรีราชาเรารสเจ้าเมืองสุโขทัยนี้ ....)

The first statement shows that the monastery had been abandoned during the reign of Mahādharmarājā I, which began in 1347. If he himself had founded it, we should have expected him to keep it going as long as he lived, and to provide whatever maintenance might be needed. So we shall probably be safe in assuming that someone else had founded it before Mahādharmarājā I came to the throne.

The rest of the passage, because of the lacunae, lends itself to two entirely different interpretations.

If อนัน refers to Princess *Gāṃ*'s work of restoring the monastery, the author doubtless means that the merit resulting from her work is to be transferred to His Highness Brah Śrī. Merit of this sort is usually transferred to someone who is dead; พี่ชาย (พี่ชาย) would mean an elder brother of the Ruler; and Mahādharmarājā II may easily have had an elder brother who died before he himself came to the throne, though we have no knowledge of such a person. The name Śrī is too commonplace to help identify him. Rāja-orasa, 'king's son', would mean he was a son of Mahādharmarājā I; and the title 'lord of this Mōaṇ Sukhodaya' might mean that Mahādharmarājā I, while still ruling the kingdom, had turned over the administration of the city or province of Sukhodaya to him.

On the other hand ဓမ္မံ could refer to the forest monastery, and the author could mean that it was the meritorious work (ပုဒ်) of H.H. Braḥ Śrī, i.e. it had been founded by him. In that case, if the monastery was founded before 1347 (as we have suggested), Braḥ Śrī would be too old to be a son of Mahādharmarājā I; he would have to be a son of Lō Tai; and we should understand နိဗ္ဗာန် to mean the eldest brother or half-brother of Princess Gāṃ. We know that in 1340 Lō Tai appointed his son Lü Tai (Mahādharmarājā I)—who was apparently his eldest son by his chief queen—to be uparāja at Śrī Sajjanālaya, where he completed his celebrated treatise *Traibhūmi-atthakathā* in 1345.<sup>7</sup> Lō Tai may have appointed another son, Braḥ Śrī, as lord of the city or province of Sukhodaya at about the same time. If these guesses seem plausible, we might be tempted to identify Braḥ Śrī with the mysterious Nvva Nāṃ Tham (*Ngua Nam Tom*), who seized the throne around 1346 and reigned until he was dislodged by Lü Tai in a sharp battle in 1347.<sup>8</sup> That is no more than a guess, but it might explain why Mahādharmarājā I (Lü Tai) allowed the monastery to fall into ruin, and why no one dared restore it until after his death.

We may recapitulate the chronological probabilities: the monastery had been founded some time before 1347; Princess Gāṃ started to restore it in 1375; and the culminating act, the dedication of the vihāra, occurred in 1380.

7) See Coedès, BEFEO XVII/2, pp. 8, 9, and note 4 p. 8.

8) Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, p. 29 f. The term *ngua* (ငှာ), which shows that he was the fifth son of his father, might appear to be an obstacle to the proposed identification. But if he was the eldest son of Lō Tai by the same mother as Princess Gāṃ, while Lō Tai's first four sons were by different mothers, Princess Gāṃ might still call him her eldest brother, နိဗ္ဗာန်.



## TEXT

ด้านที่ ๑

คำจารึก

๑. .... พ ...
๒. .... แกม
๓. .... มหาสกก
๔. .... (สา)มออกเก่า
๕. .... (กุ) ตีคำไท ๘๘
๖. .... พระทศพิทธร
๗. .... เมืองสุโขทัยอน
๘. .... ญิกใสปานางคำเยย
๙. .... ทงพระนีไคหินหนา
๑๐. .... นอินตุพระเปนเข้าหน
๑๑. .... เอา..อกทวยพระทวยปานา
๑๒. .... นน..เรटकทำเปนจกตรกั
๑๓. .... เราเลงคูประเยย..ชระญาณกวาโสภางาม
๑๔. .... (พ)ระพุทธรูปสัพตงจกัจรรจาญมหวทวย
๑๕. .... จิงถวยบิญจกปรตีสถแลวจิง...กวาใน
๑๖. .... ข่างมาฆ่าโทงหลายปานางคำเยยมีใจสรรราน (กั)
๑๗. .... จกั ไครกทำพระพิหารสถานพระพุทธรูปเจ้าจุง
๑๘. .... รงงามปานางคำจิงไห้ไปตามต๊ะปะองทวยพระมหา
๑๙. .... มหาสงฆราชาวาชอบพแล้วจิงไห้ไปตามหาเถร ซี..

๒๐. .... รมีชีเถรณีแล้วทันพระมหาเถรสงฆราชารังมา  
 ๒๑. .... พระทานรัง ไซให้ซึ่งว่วางชนตาเบื่องชายกอ  
 ๒๒. .... รณิกนีไสหกพังแต่ชวัมหารมราชายุกอนแลอนัน  
 ๒๓. .... บุนพือายทานพระศรีราชเอารสเจ้าเมืองสุโขทัย  
 ๒๔. .... คำเยื้องขุนหากรังไซให้นายผุ่หนึ่งชีอัยอินท  
 ๒๕. .... ญชระพระพุทธรูปสถูปเจดีย์ทรงพระพิหารัง  
 ๒๖. .... ถึงกันแดงพยาบารสีบเรื่อนแดงกวาคคปกค  
 ๒๗. .... คำทุกเขาไหคนแดงสงเข้าพระเรื่อนนึ่งต่างคนจิง  
 ๒๘. .... ปานางคำทำพระพิหารในปีมแมมหาศกราชไค ๑๓๐๑ ปี  
 ๒๙. (จุล)ศกราชไค ๗๔๑ ปี เดือนสิบเอกแรมสองกำหนดขอมวนัพุ  
 ๓๐. ทชหนไทวณนเปิ้ลกสนนอนัน คีทนกัหันากลไคกรกไค. ลุงขุน  
 ๓๑. แลปานางคำมิใจสรวรธาหนกัหันานุสาสนาในพระ(เปนเจ้าทรง)ภิ  
 ๓๒. กสฺสงฆทรงจ้งหนัแห่งทานชีเถรธรรมวิสาธ.....สกัวัน  
 ๓๓. แลวจิงหาภิก (สุ) สงฆเถรานุเถรทงเมืองมกนัมา (ไทว่น) นิง  
 ในอา  
 ๓๔. วาสองงกาสจ้งหนัจฉองโอยทานไคเรชีพงเลองคบริสชา  
 ๓๕. รถัวนสรวรพศตบัพระธรรมทงทสชาติอนัไฟเราะหนกัหัน  
 ๓๖. หา.....พาคพินเเตร (สงง) พลล.....  
 ๓๗. ....นารก.....สวรวกนิรพานสถาน  
 ๓๘. อนันนี้.....วสานพาย..... (น)างไคเสวยราชไสไห  
 ๓๙. ญ.....รณิกนีญาไคไห.....  
 ๔๐. ....

## Translation

[First two lines illegible except for a few letters at the end.]

[I/3-8.] ..... Mahāsakka  
[rāja] ..... in the third month, on  
the ninth day of the waxing moon<sup>9</sup> .....  
..... kuṭi valued at 89 .....<sup>10</sup> ..... the  
Ten Royal Qualities<sup>11</sup> ..... Mōaṇ  
Sukhodaiya, which ..... Forest-Dwellers.

[I/8-15.] The Aunt, Princess Gām<sup>12</sup>, .....  
..... and also this holy statue. She obtained a stone of a thick-  
ness of ..... Feeling compassion for the  
statue of the Lord, ..... I took<sup>13</sup> [the stone?],  
and, after talking<sup>14</sup> with the monk<sup>15</sup> and with the Aunt Princess [Gām]  
....., I cut it to make a parasol<sup>16</sup> to shelter  
[the statue] ..... I gazed upon the statue, .. [the perfection]<sup>17</sup>  
of pure wisdom, and said it was splendidly beautiful .....<sup>18</sup>,  
as if the image of the Buddha were about to converse and smile and  
and laugh with [us].

9) Probably January 11, 1375; see above, p. 160.

10) There is no way of telling whether there was one kuṭi (hut for a monk to live in) or several; perhaps the plural is more likely (I/5). Nor is there any way to guess the value, since only the first two digits (89) survive.

11) The Dasabiddharājadharmas are the ten qualities which a king is supposed to exhibit.

12) The name means 'gold'. In several passages, but not all, the lady's name is followed by the word *yia* ('to do', 'to make'). It may be, therefore that her name was Gām Yia; but in most cases *yia* seems to be a verb, or an intensive auxiliary ('did' perform such and such an action). Cf. below, note 23.

13) We have supplied the pronoun before 'took' (əṇ, I/11), since the speaker is obviously the same man who speaks in the first person at I/13.

14) Conjecturally restoring *əṇ* (I/11) as *uəṇ*.

15) Or monks. If the singular is intended, it may be the Thera Dharmavisāla mentioned at I/32.

16) Perhaps the parasol (chattra) was like the spire of a Sukhodayan stupa—a tall inverted cone, ringed with mouldings to represent the tiers of an honorific parasol. It would be made mainly of masonry, covered with stucco, but the lowest tier would be made of a thick stone to support the weight above it.

17) We conjecture that *yū* ... at I/13 should be restored as something like *yū*, 'example', *yūyūyū*, 'most excellent', or *yūyūyū*, 'most beautiful'.

18) sc. 'and life-like'?

[I/15-16.] . . . . . Then, making the five-fold prostration<sup>19</sup>, [the Aunt Princess Gāṃ] said that . . . . .<sup>20</sup> all her elephants, horses and servants.

[I/16-21.] The Aunt Princess Gāṃ, her heart filled with very great zeal, . . . . . desired to build a vihāra as a residence for the image of the Lord Buddha, making it . . . . . beautiful.<sup>21</sup> The Aunt Princess Gāṃ then sent word asking to consult<sup>22</sup> with the Braḥ Mahā [therasaṅgharājā]. The Braḥ Mahātherasaṅgharājā, saying he approved, sent for a therā named . . . . . [and] a therā named Thera Ñi. Then the Braḥ Mahātherasaṅgharājā himself came<sup>23</sup> to . . . . .<sup>24</sup> the statue. He ordered a craftsman named Nvva to design a left eye and model it.<sup>25</sup>

[I/22-23.] . . . . . This Forest Monastery had been falling into ruin since the time of the late Mohādharmarājā. This . . . . . merit to [or: meritorious work of ?] the eldest brother, His Highness Braḥ Śrī Rāja-orasa, lord of this Mōaṅ Sukhodai, . . . . .

[I/24-28.] [The Aunt Princess] Gāṃ and<sup>26</sup> the Ruler's Uncle assigned a certain overseer named Āy Inda . . . . . to clean the Buddha image, the stupa, and the cetiya<sup>27</sup>, as well as the vihāra

19) peñcāṅgapraṭiṣṭha (I/19), a prostration performed with forehead, forearms, and knees touching the ground.

20) sc. 'was presenting the monastery with' ?

21) The lacuna at I/18, ending with ၁, should perhaps be restored as နန္ဒိယံ or the like. The expression which we have rendered as 'making it . . . . beautiful' takes the form of a wish in the original: 'May it (the vihāra) be [lasting and] beautiful!'

22) တောင်း (I/18); တောင်း, 'to ask'; စဉ်း, 'to consider'; ပေး, 'to decide', to 'aim'. Or perhaps (က = ကစ), 'to join', and ပေး, 'to plan'.

23) လာ (I/20), 'did come'. The word လာ, 'to make', is used several times in this inscription as an emphatic auxiliary, which may best be omitted in translation. Cf. ပေး, above, note 12.

24) sc. 'to inspect' ?

25) Probably the statue was made of brick and stucco, and its left eye had been damaged. The craftsman was told to design (ဆွဲ, literally 'to draw') a new left eye and to execute (လုပ်, 'to make', 'to build') it in the proper material.

26) ညီ (I/24), if that is the right reading; a possible meaning of the word is 'and', which fits the context.

27) ceti (I/25), i.e. cetiya. The word 'cetiya', though often used interchangeably with 'stupa', means any reminder of the Buddha, such as a bodhi tree, a Footprint, a stupa, or an image. In the present context it probably means the Footprint (see p. 170), since it can hardly mean either the statue or the stupa, both of which have just been mentioned.

..... assigned ten families as caretakers to sweep the monastery and to brush the ... [every] night and every morning, assigned one family to take food to the monks, and each person then ....

[I/28-37.] The Aunt Princess Gāṃ built the vihāra in the year of the goat, Mahāsakarāja 1301, [Cu] lasakarāja 741, in the eleventh month, on the second day of the waning moon, Wednesday in the Khmer reckoning, a 'plök sann' day in the *Tai* reckoning, which was an extremely auspicious day, when the time of good omen arrived ... With hearts full of very great zeal to uplift the religion of <sup>28</sup> the Lord Buddha, the Ruler's Uncle and the Aunt Princess Gāṃ, and also the monk named Thera Dharmavisāla who receives almsfood from them ..... a single day.<sup>29</sup> Then, having invited monks, theras and anatheras from all over the kingdom, they came to do homage to them for a day, and to present them with food in the āvāsa; the dedication ceremony was held; they offered the monks alms [consisting of] the Three Garments and the Accessories in full<sup>30</sup>; they listened to the Dharmma of the Dasajāti<sup>31</sup>, which is extremely sweet to hear; ..... xylophone, vīṇa and conch-trumpets; fire-works ..... refuge ..... heaven and nirvāṇa!

[I/37-40.] This place ..... in the future<sup>32</sup> ..... [Whatever kings<sup>33</sup>] succeed to the throne, may they uphold<sup>34</sup> ..... this Forest Monastery! May it not be .....!

28) The word វ្ត, which usually means 'in', is sometimes used for 'of', especially in reference to exalted personages. This usage derives from Khmer, in which វ្ត is equivalent to Siamese ๖๖. See Guesdon, *Dictionnaire cambodgien-français*, II, 907; Coedès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, III, Paris, 1951, p. 20 note 7.

29) sc. they give him almsfood without missing a single day?

30) A monk's Three Garments (ត្រីវស្ស, I/34; Pali, ticīvara) are the undercloth (antaravāsaka), the robe (uttarāsāṅga) and the shawl (saṅghātī). The Eight Accessories (parikkhāra) consist of the Three Garments plus the following: almsbowl; razor or nail clipper; needle; belt; water-filter.

31) The last ten Jātakas.

32) Restoring វ្ត... (I/38) as វ្ត... In spite of the lacunae, it is not difficult to recognize the passage I/37-40 as an exhortation to future rulers to maintain and protect the monastery which the Princess has just restored. Such exhortations frequently conclude inscriptions which record the founding or restoration of religious establishments.

33) Conjectural restoration; see the preceding note. (The word វ្ត cannot refer to Princess Gāṃ, as there is no room for the word វ្ត.)

34) ឡ (I/37) is equivalent to ឡ, 'uphold'.

## FACE II

The text of Face II, written in Pali verse (anuṭṭhubha), describes a Buddhapāda, a replica of the Buddha's Footprint.<sup>35</sup> The concluding passage transforms the description into a declaration of homage to the Buddhapāda, which was very likely recited at the ceremony when it was dedicated.

The Buddhapāda itself has disappeared, but it seems to be mentioned at I/25: it was doubtless the 'cetiya' which, together with the statue of the Buddha and the stupa, Princess Gāṃ made provision to have cleaned regularly (see p. 168 and note 27).

Face II is not necessarily contemporary with Face I. We doubt if it should be attributed to the influence of the Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja who came to Sukhodaya from Rāmaññadesa in 1361 (called Mahāsāmī Mahāthera in Prince Vajirāvudh's book). Inscription VI, which he composed, is in very good Pali,<sup>36</sup> while the Pali of the present inscription, as the Prince Patriarch Vajirañāṇa observed, is faulty. This kind of Pali reminds us more of the Mahāthera Sumana, a Sukhodayan monk who studied in Rāmaññadesa much earlier, and who established the first Order of Forest-Dwelling Sīhalabhikkhus at Sukhodaya in 1341 at the request of *Lō Tai*.<sup>37</sup>

Mahādharmarājā I founded quite a number of Footprints, but it is unlikely that he founded this one, for he was too well acquainted with Pali literature for us to believe that he would install such a poorly written text beside it. Most likely it was founded before his accession, though not very long before. It is doubtful if the cult of Footprints was known at all at Sukhodaya before Sumana's time, he and his companions probably introduced it there, for the traditions of the Sīhalabhikkhus of Rāmaññadesa, among whom they studied,

35) See Griswold, *The Architecture and Sculpture of Siam*, in *The Arts of Thailand*, Bloomington, 1960, pp. 98-99.

36) *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*. Vol. I, p. 111 ff. This inscription, which was apparently not known to Prince Vajirāvudh when he wrote his book, was brought to Bangkok in 1909.

37) See Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, pp. 15, 16, 41. For Sumana's incompetence in Pali, see Professor Coedes's comment at BEFEO XXV, p. 195, paragraph 5.

stemmed in large part from Pagán, where it is well attested as early as the 11th century.

We conclude that the Buddhapāda described in Face II was founded after Sumana's return to Sukkhodaya from Rāmaññadesa, but before Mahādharmarājā I's accession. We have already concluded, on the evidence of Face I, that the monastery was founded before his accession. We now suggest that the Buddhapāda was founded at the same time as the monastery, at a date between 1341 and 1347.

If the Pali verses were recited when it was dedicated, they would naturally be inscribed on a stone slab which would then be set up beside it. Supposing this was the same slab shown in Fig. 1, which is possible but not certain, we should assume that Face II was inscribed between 1341 and 1347, and that Face I was left blank until 1379 when Princess Gāṃ used it to record her work in restoring the monastery.

It may be objected, however, that the writing on Face II occupies less than half the prepared surface, whereas that on Face I occupies practically all of it. Would the original founder of the monastery have selected such a large stone for a relatively short inscription, and then left so much of the surface unused? It seems more likely that he set up another slab, now lost, one face of which he inscribed with a record of his meritorious work in founding the monastery, and the other with the Pali verses describing the Buddhapāda. If that is right, we should assume that his inscription was broken or defaced by the time Princess Gāṃ restored the monastery, that she caused her own work to be recorded on a new slab (Fig. 1), and that she used the other side of this new slab (Fig. 2) to have the Pali text copied out from the old one.

## TEXT

๑. ๖ ปาเทสุ ยสฺส ชาทานิ เทว จกฺกานิ มเหสิโน เอกเมก
๒. มปิ เอเตสุ สหสฺสารํ สเนมิกํ สพฺพากาเรหิ สมฺปนฺนํ สุ-
๓. สณฺจํ สนาภิกํ ตสฺส ปาทเลเสว สมฺภุตานิ อิมานิ จ
๔. สิริวจุโฆ จ โสวตฺถิ นนฺทิวฏฺฐวฏฺฐกํ อกฺุโส เจว ปาสาทิ-
๕. ..ณฺจวฺทฺธมานํ เสนตฺตตฺถจ ชคฺโค จ ตาลวณฺณํ จ วิชฺณี
๖. โมรหตฺถกมฺมตฺถิํ ปตฺโต ทามมณฺนิมฺปิจ อุปลํ นิลรตฺต-
๗. ณฺจ ปทุมมฺปิ ตเถว จ สมฺพุทฺโธ ปุณฺณปาติณฺจ ปุณฺณพมฺภุจ
๘. หิมวา จกฺกวาพา จ นชตฺตา เมรุตฺตริยจฺนทิมมา จตุโร จ มหาทิ-
๙. (ปา) ทุวิสสฺสปริตฺตกา ทกฺขิณาวฏฺฐสฺสํ จ สปริโส จกฺกวตฺติ จ
๑๐. ยมกํ เหมมจฺฉณฺจ จกฺกรชฺชณฺจ กุมฺภิลो สตฺตคฺกคา มหาเสลา
๑๑. ตถา สตฺตมฺหาสรา ปฏฺฐาโก สํสุปฺภิกิํ สุวณฺณวาลพิชนิ
๑๒. สุวณฺณสีหพยฺคฺโข จ วลาโห อตฺตโปสโธ วารโณ
๑๓. ปิจ สพฺเพ เต ราชสทฺเทน อวฺหยา เกลาสพฺพโต หสฺสํ
๑๔. จากฺวาโก จ วาสฺกิ เอราวโณ กรวิโก สุวณฺณภมฺโร.....
๑๕. กุกฺกุสุโร โกณฺโฆ หรินาวา จตุมฺมุขา กิณฺณโร กิณฺณริปฺกฺชิ
- ชีวณฺชิ-
๑๖. วกฺนามกา ฉกฺกามาวจฺรา โลกา พฺรหฺมโลกา จ โสฬส อฏฺฐตฺตร-
๑๗. สทํ ตสฺส มงฺกลานิ อิมานิ จ ปรีวารานิ จกฺกสฺส จกฺกปาทำ นมามิหํ ๖



## Text Romanized

(1) pādesu yassa jātānī	dve cakkānī mahesino
ekameka(2)mpi etesu	sabassāraṃ sanemikaṃ
sabbākārehi sampannaṃ	su(3)saṇṭhānaṃ sanābhikaṃ
tassa pādatale sv'eva	sambhūtānī imānī ca
(4) sirivaccho ca sovatthi	nandivaṭṭavataṇsakaṃ
aṅkuso c'eva pāsādo	(5) ... ṇca <sup>38</sup> vuddhamānakaṃ
setachattaṇca khaggo ca	tālavaṇṭaṃ ca vijinī
(6) morahattakamuṇhisam	patto dāma maṇimpica
uppalaṃ nilaratta(7)ṇca	padumampi tath'eva ca
samuddo punnapātiṇca	punṇaghaṭo ca (8) himavā
cakkavālā ca nakhattā	meru suriyacandimā
caturō ca mahādi(9) (pā)	dvisahassaparittakā
dakkhiṇāvaṭṭasaṅkho ca	saparisocakkavatti ca
(10) yamakaṃ hemamacchaṇca	cakka dhajjaṇca kumbhilo
sattagaṅgā mahāselā	(11) tathā sattamahāsārā
paṭāko sūmsu pātāṅki	suvaṇṇavālabijānī
(12) suvaṇṇasīhabyaggho ca	valāho-ass'uposatho-
vāraṇo (13) pica sabbe te	rājasaddena avhayā
kelāsapabbato haṇso	(14) cākavāko ca vāsuki
erāvaṇo karaviko	suvaṇṇabhamaro ...
... <sup>39</sup> (15) kukkusūro koṇco	harināvā catummukhā
kiṇṇaro kiṇṇaripakkhi	jīvaṇṇī(16)vakanāmakā
chakāmāvacarāloka	brahmaloka ca soḷasa
aṭṭhuttara(17)sataṃ tassa	maṅgalānī imānī ca
parivārānī cakkassa	cakkaṇṇadāṃ namāmihaṃ// <sup>40</sup>

38) For possible restorations of the lacuna at the beginning of II/5, see below, p. 180, no. 7.

39) For a possible restoration of the lacuna at the end of II/14, see below, p. 187, nos. 77, 78.

40) The *ṇa* is several times written as a ไม้หน้าออกเสียง over the consonant that follows: vataṇsakaṃ (line 4), aṅkuso (ibid.), saṅkho (line 9), sūmsupātāṅki (line 11), haṇso (line 13); but it is written as a conjunct in gaṅgā (line 10), maṅgalānī (line 17). Maṇi, pāti and dhaja are construed as neuters (maṇimpica, line 6; pātiṇca, line 7; dhajjaṇca, line 10).

### Translation

On the footsole of the Great Sage, on each of whose feet there is a wheel having a thousand spokes, with tyre and hub, and in every way complete and well made, these things appear :

Sirivaccho and sovatti, nandivaṭṭa, vataṇsakam, añkuso as well as pāsādo and . . . , vuddhamānakam and setachattam and khaggo and tālavaṇṭam and vijinī, morahatthakam, uṇhīsam, patto, dāma and also maṇi, and uppalam-nīlarattam and likewise padumam, samuddo and puṇṇapāti and puṇṇaghato, himavā and cakkavālā, nakkhattā, meru, suriyacandimā and caturo-mahādīpā, dvisahassaparittakā, and dakkhiṇāvattasaṅkho and saparisocakkavatti and yamakam-hemamaccham, cakka and dhaja, kumbhilo, sattagaṅgā, mahāselā, likewise sattamahāsarā, paṭāko, sumsu, pātāṅki, suvaṇṇavālābijanī, suvaṇṇasīha and byaggho and valāho-asso and likewise uposathovāraṇo, all (four) called by the name of King, kelāsapabbato, haṇso and cākavāko, vāsukī, erāvaṇo, karaviko, suvaṇṇabhamaro, . . . . . , kukkusūro, koṇco, harināvā, catummukkhā, the birds kinnaro and kinnari, (the bird) named jīvañjīvaka, the six kāmāvacarālokā, and the sixteen brahmalokā.

These are the hundred and eight auspicious marks, and they are accessory to that wheel.

I make obeisance to the wheel-marked Foot.

### Interpretation

In the Canonical accounts in the *Dīghanikāya*—the *Lakkhaṇa-suttanta* and the *Mahāpadānasuttanta*—only one mark on the Buddha's footsoles is mentioned: a wheel 'with a thousand spokes, with tyre and hub, and in every way complete and well divided.'<sup>41</sup> The Commentarial literature, however, adds a lot of accessory marks. The *Mahāpadānasuttanta-aṭṭhakathā*, which we shall refer to as MASA, lists nearly 40 and implies that there are many others.<sup>42</sup> The complete list of 108 is given in the *Jinālaṅkāra-ṭīkā* (abbrev.: JT). This work, a sub-commentary on the Pali poem *Jinālaṅkāra* or 'Adornments of the Conqueror', is thought to have been composed in Ceylon between the 8th and the 11th century.<sup>43</sup>

JT evidently served as a guide for many generations of designers of carved or painted Footprints in Southeast Asia. As a rule the Footprints made at Pagán in Burma from the 11th to the 13th century (Fig. 3), and in Siam from the 14th century on (Fig 4), have the wheel as the most conspicuous mark, with the accessory marks placed around it in rectangular compartments arranged in rows (or, less often, in concentric circles). It seems the marks were based more on the lists in JT and similar texts than on direct imitation of any one model. While they are usually 108 in number, they are not necessarily placed in the same order; and indeed not all the marks are the same from one Footprint to another, for a fair number of the Pali terms on the list can be construed in more than one way.

The archeologist U Mya has made a detailed study of several stone Footprints carved at Pagán in the 11th and 12th century (e.g. Figs. 3-a, b), comparing the marks on them one by one with the list in JT, and with a similar list in the *Anāgatavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā* (AVA). The latter, a commentary on the *Anāgatavaṃsa* or 'History of the

41) See Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part II, London, 1910, p. 14; Part III, London, 1921, p. 137 f.

42) See U Mya, *A Note on the Buddha's Foot-prints in Burma*, Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1930-34, p. 323.

43) U Mya, *ibid.*, pp. 322 ff.; cf. Mañalasekera, *The Pali Literature of Ceylon*, pp. 110-111.

Future', lists only 107 accessory marks, but is otherwise similar to JT, using either an identical or a synonymous term for almost every mark. U Mya gives the meaning of the terms as they are generally glossed in Burma, and shows that, when they are understood in this way, the marks on the Footprints correspond very closely to them.<sup>44</sup> In themselves, as he observes, a good many of these terms are ambiguous: without the glosses and the Footprints to refer to, he would often have been left in doubt as to their interpretation. Some of the terms are construed in the Burma glosses as compounds referring to a single mark, but could equally well be split up and construed as referring to more than one; and a name that meant one sort of object to the author of JT might mean another sort to the designer of a Footprint. Such differences in interpretation and depiction would make it easy for divergent traditions to grow up at different times and places.

The later Siamese tradition, while agreeing with the Burmese in the main, differs from it in a number of instances. The two best-known texts in Siam that deal with the marks on the Buddha's footsoles were both composed in Bangkok in the 19th century. The first, entitled **Brah Mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa**, was composed at Vāt Rājapūraṇa in 1814 by Samtec Brah Vanaratta (abbrev. SV), who later became Saṅgharāja and resided at Vāt Mahādhātu. The second, entitled **Brah Paṭhamasambodhikathā**, was composed at Vāt Jetubanārāma in 1845 by the Prince Patriarch Paramānujita Jinorasa (abbrev.: PJ).<sup>45</sup> The first is said to be based on JT, while the sources of the second are not given.

SV gives a list of the marks in Pali, with a gloss in Siamese for each; PJ gives them in Siamese only. They are not numbered in either SV or PJ, but we have assigned them numbers as best we could.

44) U Mya, loc. cit., pp. 320-331.

45) Both will be found in พระพุทธบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมโกศ, Bangkok, 1958, printed for Vāt Carōṇ Sukhārāmaṇavaravihāra, Pāh Gaṇḍī, Samudrasaṅgrāma; on sale at the National Library in Bangkok.

SV omits four of JT's terms, but he manages to keep the total at 108 by splitting three others, and adding a new one of his own.<sup>46</sup> He usually follows JT's terminology, but in a few cases prefers AVA. The majority of his glosses are the same in meaning as those given by U Mya, or nearly so, but there are a few notable exceptions.<sup>47</sup>

Most of the terms in PJ's list are identifiable as translations of those in JT, but there are several discrepancies, and not all the interpretations agree with those in U Mya or SV. In spite of a number of additions and omissions, the total remains at 108 if certain 'composite' marks are counted as single ones.<sup>48</sup>

While the list in JT was evidently considered the most authoritative, at least in learned circles, it was certainly not the only one used as a guide in designing Footprints. JT's terminology is too ornamental and complex to be easily committed to memory; and a simplified paraphrase in mnemonic verse might serve more readily.

46) We base this calculation on the printed edition, which admittedly contains some imperfections (the most glaring one may be corrected by eliminating the words คือพระขรรค์สุกัณณาราช ๑ สุนันนาราช from the fourth line of p. 5). SV omits the following: aṅkusa (No. 8 on U Mya's list), patta (No. 17), maṇi, (No. 18), nakkhattā (No. 33); but he apparently counts 'the four great continents surrounded by small islands' (U Mya, 34-37) as five marks (SV 31-35) by separating the 'small islands' from the four continents, and counts dhajapaṭṭaka (U Mya, 65) as two marks (SV 63, 64); he splits catumukha-suvaṇṇanāvā ('golden boat with four figureheads', U Mya 78) into two marks, catumukhamahābrahma, 'Brahmā with four faces' (SV 77) and suvaṇṇanāvā, 'golden boat' (SV 78); and he adds, after punnaghaṭṭa and punṇapāṭhi (SV 22, 23), suvaṇṇakalālasampunṇapattam (SV 24), which he glosses as บาตรอันเต็มไปด้วยเปลือกทอง, 'a bowl full of golden husks'. Some of the other divergencies are foreshadowed by U Mya (loc. cit., pp. 328-330).

47) See below, note

48) PJ omits one of JT's marks (maṇi, no. 18); adds a chair (PJ 63), a tortoise (78) and a water-cock (86); makes the elephant Uposathachaddantahatthi-rājā (U Mya no. 72) into two marks, the elephant Uposatha (PJ 73) and the elephant Chaddanta (PJ 74); and (like SV) splits catumukha-suvaṇṇanāvā (U Mya 78) into two (PJ 76, 77; cf. SV 77, 78). (For the last two interpretations, cf. U Mya, loc. cit., pp. 329-330.) In order to keep the total down to 108, the four continents with their surrounding islands must be counted as a single mark; and the sun and moon must also be counted as only one, as if 'sun-and-moon.'

Such a paraphrase seems to have guided the designer of the Buddhapāda at the Araññaka monastery, and to have been embodied in Face II of our inscription. The person who supervised the engraving of the inscription which was set up beside the Buddhapāda (either Face II itself, or the inscription of which Face II is a copy) was probably not the author of the text. While he was not a very good Pali scholar, we cannot say whether the author was any better, because we have not seen this particular text anywhere else. But it was doubtless well known in the 14th century, and may have guided the designers of Footprints in Rāmaññadesa and elsewhere over a long period of time.

In trying to interpret the names of the marks in Face II we are hampered by the disappearance of the Buddhapāda it describes. That is why, in our translation (p. 174), we have left them in the same form the inscription gives, preferring to comment on them below. Disregarding small variations in spelling, most of the terms on our list—whatever the author may have intended them to mean—are the same as those on U Mya's list or synonymous with them, but there are several exceptions. Some of those on U Mya's list are lacking in ours, and vice versa. Those which are similar are given in a different order, though not completely different, as several groups of names follow the same sequence as in JT.

In the list that follows, we have numbered the terms on Face II for convenience, in the order in which they occur; but without any conviction that we have divided them properly; the scribe's use of case-endings, or disregard of them, seems to be no criterion for determining when a given combination of words is to be construed as compound and when it should be split up.

It is hard to say which set of interpretations—the Burmese or the Siamese—corresponds more closely to the intentions of the person who composed the text embodied in Face II. In the absence of the Buddhapāda which it describes, the best we can do is to compare the terms on Face II with U Mya's results, and with the meanings given in SV and PJ when they differ substantially from U Mya, adding in

some cases the glosses given by Mahā Sēṇ Manavidūra (abbrev.: SM) in his Siamese translation of Face II (Śilpākara, XII/3, p. 102).

Here are the names of the marks in Face II, with English equivalents;<sup>49</sup> comparisons with the names in JT and AVA as interpreted by U Mya; references to SV and PJ; and comparisons with several to glosses given by Mahā Sēṇ Manavidūra (abbrev.: SM) in his Siamese translation of the Pali text (Śilpākara, XII/3, p. 102).

[1] sirivaccho. Equivalent to Skt. śrīvatsa, an auspicious mark or curl of hair on the breast, etc.; represented in various forms. U Mya, no. 2, sirivaccha; see his discussion in *A Note on the Buddha's Foot-prints in Burma*, loc. cit., p. 327. — SV no. 2, sirivaccho, glossed as 'a mirror'; PJ no. 2, 'a mirror'; SM glosses the term as นางฟ้า, i.e. 'a goddess', but adds that, according to some, it means a mirror, while according to others it means a goddess looking into a mirror.

[2] sovatti. An auspicious mark. U Mya, no. 4, sovattika. Discussion by U Mya, *ibid.*; glossed in the Burmese nissayas as 'three folds in the neck' or 'three whorls [of a spiral?]', and shown in the Burma Footprints cited by him as 'a spirally shaped object in three whorls tapering to the top', or else 'three crescent-shaped objects'. U Mya is tempted to take the word sovattika as the Pali equivalent of Skt. svastika, but hesitates because of the Burmese nissayas and the form of the mark on the Burma Footprints. Despite his hesitation, however, it seems necessary to equate sovattika with Skt. svastika, any kind of lucky object or mark, more particularly the svastikā which has the form of a Greek cross with the arms bent (usually to the right); for the etymology, see *Pali Text Society Dictionary*, s.v. sovattika. Another form of sovattika is mentioned in Buddhaddatta Mahāthera's *Concise Pali-English Dictionary* (p. 291), where the word is glossed as: 'a svastika; a mark like an S on a cobra's hood.' — SV no. 4, sovatti-kam, glossed as สร้อย, i.e. a necklace, bracelet or sash; PJ no. 4, สร้อย. SM combines sovatti with the following term, making them into a single mark, sovatti-nandivatta, which he glosses as สวัติกะนันทิวนา, i.e. a svastika with arms turning to the right.

49) We are indebted to Professor Kamaleswar Bhattacharya, of the Centre National de Recherche Scientifique of Paris, for much help in analyzing these terms.

[3] *nandivāṭṭa*. For *nandiyāvatta*, 'turning auspiciously' (i.e. to the right; see *P.T.S. Dict.*, s.v. *nandi*). U Mya, no. 3, *nandiyāvatta*; discussion, loc. cit., p. 327; an auspicious object made in the form of a flower (a periwinkle?) with petals turning to the right, or in the form of a crow's foot; a rosette. — SV no. 3, ดอกพุด, PJ no. 3, ดอกพุดซ้อน, a gardenia. For SM's construction, see the preceding.

[4] *vatamsakam*. The *PTS Dictionary* glosses this word as a kind of head ornament, perhaps an ear-ring, or a garland worn around the forehead; Buddhadatta's *Concise Pali-English Dictionary* glosses it as a wreath for the head. U Mya, no. 5: *vatamsaka*, an ear-ornament. — SV no. 5: *vatamsakam*, an ear-ring; PJ no. 5, สร้อย, i.e. an ornament of gold or silver chains worn from both shoulders across the breast; SM, a wreath for the head.

[5] *aṅkuso*. An elephant-goad. U Mya, no. 8. — PJ, no. 10 lacking in SV.

[6] *pāsādo*. A palace (= Skt. *prāsāda*). U Mya no. 9. — SV no. 8; PJ no. 9.

[7] .... (illegible). The editor of the inscription (*Śilpākara*, XII/3, p. 99) restores the lacuna as จีว and reads: *jīvañca* (= *jīvam+ca*); but the term seems out of place here, as it is given in more complete form at II/15-16, *jīvañjīvaka* (no. 85). SM, accepting the editor's reconstruction *jīvañca* at II/5, glosses *jīvam* as นกพริก, i.e. a water cock (*gallicrex cinereus*) or a pheasant-tailed jacana (*hydrophasianus chirurgus*); cf. PJ no. 86. For the moment, we prefer to leave the lacuna unsolved; but see below (p. 188).

[8] *vuddhamānakam*. For *vaḍḍhānakam*, from *vaḍḍhati*, to prosper; cf. Skt. *vardhamāna*, which has numerous meanings, including a dish or platter, a mystical figure or diagram, a palace or temple built in the form of such a diagram, the castor-oil plant, and the sweet citron. U Mya no. 6, *vaḍḍhamānaka*, generally understood as a receptacle or cup for food, though at least one Burma authority considers that *vaḍḍhamāna* means a kind of headdress for a man. — SV no. 6, *vaddhamānam*, glossed as ดอกไม้เป็นเครื่องประดับ, flower (s) used as



an ornament; PJ no. 6, a golden dish; SM, vuddhamānakam, ดอกพุดซ้อน gardenia (s).

[9] setachattam. A white honorific parasol. U Mya no. 11, setacchatta, a white umbrella. — SV no. 10; PJ no. 12.

[10] khaggo. A sword. U Mya no. 10, khagga, a sword. — SV no. 11; PJ no. 13.

[11] tālavaṇṭam. The *Concise P.-E. Dict.* defines the word as a fan, literally the stem of a palm-leaf, the word being a corruption of tālavatta, a circle made of palm-leaf; tāla is the palmyra tree, *borassus flabelliformis* (*P.T.S. Dict.*, p. 299). U Mya no. 13, a talipot fan. — SV no. 12; PJ no. 14; SM tālavaṇṭam, a cupboard for sugar-palm fruits, or a cupboard with sugar-palm fruits.

[12] vijinī. For vijanī, a fan. Corresponds to JT no. 15, cāmara (lacking in AVA). Cāmara, from camara, the yak or *bos grunniens*, is a yak's tail used as a fly whisk. U Mya no. 15. As U Mya says (loc. cit., p. 328), the MASA uses the term vālibijanī, for it, which according to the *ṭikā*, means cāmarivāla, yak's tail. U Mya adds that vālabijanī, or a term nearly equivalent to it, occurs twice in JT (no. 15, and again at no. 67), but only once in the lists supplied by MASA and AVA. — SV no. 14, cāmaram, fan made of yak's hair; PJ no. 16; SM, vijanī, a fan.

[13] morahatthakam. A fan made of a peacock's tail-feathers. U Mya no. 14 (JT, mayūrahattha; AVA, morapattam). — SV no. 13, mayurahattham, glossed as a sheaf of peacock feathers; PJ no. 15, a fan made of a peacock's tail; SM, morahatthakam, a handful of peacock's tail-feathers.

[14] uṇhisam. For uṇhīsam, a turban (=Skt. uṣṇīṣa). U Mya no. 16, a headdress. — SV no. 15, uṇhissam, glossed as มงกุฎ, a crown; PJ no. 17, a crown; SM, a turban or crown.

[15] patto. A bowl (=Skt. pātra). U Mya no. 17. — Lacking in SV; PJ no. 18, pātra.

[16] *dāma*. A garland. U Mya no. 19, *sumanadāma*, a garland. — SV no. 16, *sumanadāma*, a garland of jasmine; PJ no. 19, a bunch of jasmine; for SM, see the following entry.

[17] *maṇi*. A jewel. U Mya no. 18; U Mya observes that *maṇi* comes before *patta* in MASA, and the designers of some Burma Footprints, evidently taking *maṇipatta* as a compound signifying a single mark, a 'jewel-cup' or 'jewel-bowl', have represented it so. — Lacking in SV and PJ. SM takes *maṇi* as the second element in a compound with the preceding, reads 'dāmamaṇi', and glosses as *เชือกแก้ว*, a string of jewels.

[18-20] *uppalaṃ nilarattañca padumampi*. 'A blue and a red water-lily, and also a lotus.' We can see no way to make this expression into more than three sorts of plant, though we might guess, by analogy with all the other lists, that five were intended; U Mya, nos. 20-24, *nīluppala*, *rattuppala*, *rattapaduma*, *setapaduma*, *puṇḍhārika* (JT); *rattuppala*, *setuppala*, *nīluppala*, *rattapuṇḍharika*, *setapuṇḍharika* (AVA). Though both these lists confuse the lotus with the water-lily, the intent is clear enough. It is more coherently expressed in MASA: *nīluppala*, *rattuppala*, *setuppala*, *paduma*, *puṇḍarika* (see U Mya, loc. cit., p. 323), a blue, a red and a white water-lily; a (pink) lotus and a white lotus. — SV, nos. 17-21, gives *nīluppalaṃ*, *setuppalaṃ*, *rattuppalaṃ*, *rattapadumaṃ*, *setapadumaṃ*, which he glosses as: a green (i.e. blue) water-lily, a white water-lily, a red water-lily, a red (i.e. pink) lotus, and a white lotus. PJ, nos. 20-24, follows SV.

[21] *samuddo*. An ocean. U Mya, no. 27. — SV no. 25; PJ, no. 27 (despite the singular, *samuddo*, PJ translates: มหาสมุทรทั้งสี่, 'the four great oceans').

[22] *puṇṇapāti*. A full bowl or dish. U Mya, no. 26, *puṇṇapatta* (JT), *puṇṇapāti*, (AVA), which U Mya glosses as a full cup. — SV no. 23: *puṇṇapāṭhi*, glossed as a dish full of water; PJ no. 26, a dish full of water.

[23] punṇaghaṭo. A full pot, a vase of plenty. U Mya, no. 25, punṇakalasa (JT), punṇaghaṭa (AVA), a full vase. — SV no. 22: punṇaghaṭo, glossed as a pot full of water; PJ no. 25. *Note.* SV no. 24 (following SV 22, punṇaghaṭo, and SV 23, punṇapāṭhi, is suvaṇṇakalalasampunṇapattam, glossed as บาตรอันเต็มไปด้วยเปลือกทอง, 'a bowl (pātra) full of golden husks'. This unexpected intrusion, which is lacking in PJ and all other lists known to us, is hard to explain unless we suppose it is a repetition, in garbled form, of the two preceding marks, for which SV follows AVA's terminology in reverse (SV 22 punṇapāṭhi = AVA punṇapāti, U Mya no. 26; SV 23, punṇaghaṭo = AVA punṇaghaṭa, U Mya 25). SV may then have decided that it was necessary to insert another, suvaṇṇakalalasampunṇapattam (SV 24), based on his (partly false) reading of JT's punṇakalasaṃ (U Mya 25), punṇapattam (U Mya 26), and to add a gloss to explain it. (Pali kalala, 'mud', 'residue' etc., whence Siamese กลล, 'semen', interpreted as เปลือก rind, husk, bark, shell, peelings).

[24] himavā. The Buddhist fairyland, supposed to be located in the Himālayas. U Mya, no. 29, himavantapabbata (JT), himavā (AVA). — SV no. 27: himavantapabbato, the Himavanta mountain. PJ no. 29 has หิมพานต์, the Himavanta forest.

[25] cakkavālā. The circle of rocks surrounding the earth; a world-circle; a universe. U Mya no. 28, cakkavālapabbata (JT), cakkavāla (AVA). — SV no. 26: cakkavālapabbato; PJ no. 28, the Cakravāla mountain range.

[26] nakhattā. Constellations. U Mya, no. 33. — Lacking in SV; but given in PJ (no. 32).

[27] meru. Mount Meru, the highest mountain in the world. U Mya, no. 30: merupabbata (JT), meru (AVA). — SV no. 28: merupabbato; PJ no. 30, Mount Sineru.


[28, 29] suriyacandimā. The sun and moon. U Mya, nos. 31, 32, sūriyamaṇḍala, candamaṇḍala (JT), sūriya, candimā (AVA). — SV nos. 29, 30; PJ no. 31.

[30-34] *caturō mahādīpā dvisahassaparittakā*. The four great continents, surrounded by 2000 small islands. U Mya, nos. 34-37, *saparivāra-catumahādīpā* (JT); U Mya, loc. cit., p. 329, says that it is clear from JT and AVA, as well as MASA, that these marks should be counted as four, each consisting of one continent with its neighboring islands, but in the Footprints they often count as five. — SV nos. 31-35, *saparivārā-catumahādīpā*; PJ no. 33.

[35] *dakkhiṇāvattasaṅkha*. A conch shell whose volutes turn to the right (i.e. clockwise, the auspicious direction). U Mya no. 39, *dakkhiṇāvattasetasaṅkha*. — SV no. 37; PJ no. 35.

[36] *saparisocakkavatti*. A *cakravartin* (world monarch) with his suite. U Mya, no. 38, *saparivāro sattaratanasamaṅgi cakkavatti* (JT), a *cakravartin* surrounded by his seven treasures; *saparisocakkavatti* (AVA). — SV no. 36, *saparisō sattaratanasamaṅgi cakkavatti*; PJ no. 34.

[37] *yamakam hemamaccham*. A pair of golden fishes. U Mya, no. 40, *suvaṇṇamacchayugalaṃ* (JT, AVA), a pair of golden fishes. — SV no. 38, *suvaṇṇamacchayugalaṃ*; PJ (twice), nos. 8 and 36 (presumably based on the order given in MASA and JT respectively).

[38] *cakka*. A wheel or discus (one of the principal treasures of the *cakravartin*). U Mya, no. 41, *cakkāvudham* (JT), a discus used as a weapon; *cakka* (AVA). — SV no. 39, *cakkāvudham*; PJ no. 37 , a pair of *cakras*.

[39] *dhajja*. A flag. Cf. below, no. 62, *paṭāko*, a flag. U Mya, no. 65, *dhajapaṭāka* (JT, AVA). U Mya (loc. cit., p. 329) says that *dhajapaṭāka* is represented in the Footprints as two flags in one compartment. In the illustrations accompanying U Mya's article (loc. cit., pl. CLIII a, b) one of the flags is a banner, attached to the side of its staff; the other is a pennant, floating downward from the curved upper end of its staff. It is not clear which is *dhaja* and which is *paṭāka*; the dictionaries do not help, but say that the two words are often put together into a compound. — SV nos. 63, 64; *dhaja-*

paṭākam, glossed as two separate things, ပာတီက and ပာတီက; PJ no. 61: ပာတီကမ္ဘာတီကမ္ဘာ

[40] kumbhilo. A crocodile. U Mya, no. 64: sumsumāra, literally 'child-killing', i.e. a crocodile (see *P.T.S. Dict.*, p. 715.) — SV no. 62: sumsumārarājā; PJ no. 60.

[41-47] sattagaṅgā. The seven rivers. U Mya, nos. 42-48, sattamahāgaṅgā, the seven great rivers. — SV nos. 40-46, sattamahāgaṅgā; PJ, nos. 38-44.

[48-54] mahāselā. The (seven) great mountains, i.e. the seven concentric mountain ranges, separated by seven seas, surrounding Mount Meru. U Mya, nos. 49-55, sattakulapabbatā (Jṭ), sattamahāselā (AVA). — SV nos. 47-53, sattakulapabbatā; PJ nos. 52-58.

[55-61] sattamahāsarā. The seven great lakes, i.e. the seas separating the seven great mountain ranges, or else perhaps the seven great lakes of the Himavā. U Mya, nos. 56-62, sattasīdantasāgarā (Jṭ), sattamahāsarā (AVA). — SV nos. 54-60, sattasīdantasāgarā; PJ 45-51.

[62] paṭāko. For paṭākam, a flag. See our remarks at No. 39, supra.

[63] sumsu? The reading is doubtful, and we cannot equate this term with any on the other lists. SM glosses it as သမ္မု, a shark, but we cannot find it in the dictionaries. The *P.T.S. Dict.* (p. 715, s.v. sumsumāra) equates sumsu with Skt. śīśu, a child. In the present context the word, whatever it may be, should perhaps be construed as part of a compound with the following.

[64] pāṭaṅki. A sedan-chair or litter (for the meaning, cf. *P.T.S. Dict.*, p. 450, s.v. pāṭaṅki, and I.B. Horner, *Book of the Discipline*, IV, London, 1951, p. 256 and note 3). U Mya, no. 66, suvaṇṇasivikā (Jṭ), ratanapāṭaṅki (AVA), a golden litter or a jeweled litter. — SV no. 65, suvaṇṇasivikā; PJ no. 62, ratanapallaṅka.

[65] suvaṇṇavālabijānī. A golden fly-whisk made of yak's tail. U Mya, no. 67 (see his remarks, loc. cit., pp. 328-9). Cf. our

No. 12, *supra*. — SV no. 66, *suvanṇabālaviḍḍanī*; lacking in PJ? (but cf. his no 16).

[66-69] *suvanṇasīhabyaggho ca valaho-ass'uposathovāraṇopica sabbe te rājasaddena avhayā*. 'The golden lion and tiger, the horse Valāha, and the elephant Uposatha, all called by the name of King'. U Mya, nos. 69-72: *sīharājā*, lion king; *byaggharājā*, tiger king; *valāhaka assarājā* (JT) or *valāhoassarājā* (AVA), Valāha or Valāhaka king of horses; *uposathachaddantahatthirājā* (JT) or *uposathavāranarājā* (AVA), Uposathachaddanta or Uposatha king of elephants (for the last, cf. U Mya's remarks, loc. cit., p. 329,) — SV 68-71: *sīharājā*, *byaggarājā*, *balāhako-assarājā*, *uposathahatthirājā*; PJ 65 *sīharājā*, 70 *byaggharājā*, 68 *Balāhaka* king of horses; 73 *Uposatha* king of elephants; 74 *Chaddanta* king of elephants (cf. note 48).

[70] *kelāsapabbato*. Mount Kailāsa (the paradise of Śiva). U Mya, no. 68, *kelāsapabbata*. — SV no. 67, *kelasapabbato*; PJ, no. 64.

[71] *haṇso*. A hamsa or wild goose. U Mya, no. 74, *haṃsarājā* (JT, AVA); cf. U Mya no. 63, where JT gives the redundant '*suvanṇahaṃsarājā*' while AVA gives, rightly, *supaṇṇarājā*. — SV no. 61, *suvanṇahaṇsarājā*; PJ no. 70.

[72] *cākavāko*. For *cakkavāka*, the ruddy goose (*anas casarca*). U Mya, no. 85, *cakkavākarājā*, ruddy goose king. — SV no. 86, *cakāvākarājā*; PJ no. 85, *คากวากาก*.

[73] *vāsukī*. *Vāsukī* (the *nāga* king). U Mya, no. 73: *vāsukīnāgarājā* (JT) or *Bāsukī-uragarājā* (AVA), *Vāsukī* king of serpents. — SV no. 72, *bāsukīnāgarājā*; PJ no. 69.

[74] *erāvaṇo*. Indra's three-headed elephant. U Mya, no 76, *erāvaṇahatthirājā* (JT) or *erāvaṇonāgarājā* (AVA), *Erāvaṇa*, the elephant king. — SV no. 75, *erāvaṇahatthirājā*, *Erāvaṇa* king of elephants; PJ no. 67, the elephant *Erāvaṇa*.

[75] *karaviko*. The Indian cuckoo. U Mya, no. 82 — SV no. 82, *karaviko*, glossed as 'the *kāraveka* bird'; PJ 82, translates accordingly.

[76] *suvaṇṇabhamaro*. A golden bee. Not found in JT, AVA or SV, this term seems to be either a false reading, or a substitute, for *suvaṇṇamakaro*, golden makara (JT, no. 77), which does not appear elsewhere on our list. See U mya, no. 77, *suvaṇṇamakara*; SV 76, *suvaṇṇamaṅkaro*; PJ 79, *มังกรทอง*, golden makara. Of uncertain relevance is PJ 78, *เต่าทอง*, a golden tortoise, apparently a translation of some such term as *suvaṇṇakacchapo*, of which no equivalent is found in JT, AVA or SV. SM accepts the reading *suvaṇṇabhamaro*, and glosses the term as *แมลงภู่ทอง*, golden carpenter-bee.

[77] . . . . . (lacuna). The editor of the inscription proposes no reconstruction. SV 73, *supaṇṇaraja*.

[78] . . . . . (lacuna). The editor of the inscription proposes no reconstruction. SV 74, *usabharaja*.

[79] *kukkusūro*. A (bird with a) spotted breast? (*kukkus'uro*, from *kukkusa*, spotted, and *uro*, breast). SM glosses *kukkusuro* as *ไก่ต้อย*, jungle-fowl, wild cock. No obvious equivalent found in JT, AVA, or SV; but PJ also has *ไก่ต้อย* (no. 71). Perhaps a false reading? cf. *mayūro* (U Mya 83, *mayūrarājā*, peacock king; SV 83, *mayūrarājā*, PJ 84 *นกยูง*, a peacock), not found elsewhere in Face II of our inscription.

[80] *koñco*. A heron. U Mya, no. 84, *koñcarājā* (JT, AVA), a heron king. — SV 84, *koñcarājā*; PJ 83, *นกกระเรียน*, i.e. a sarus crane, *grus antigone*; SM glosses *koñco* as *นกกระเรียน*.

[81] *harināvā*. A golden boat. For JT and AVA *suvaṇṇanāvā*, cf. the next entry. — SV 78, *suvaṇṇanāvā*, a golden boat; PJ 77. SM glosses *harināvā* as *เรือทอง*, a golden boat.

[82] *catummukhā*. (Brahmā with) four faces. Glossed by SM as *มหาเทพ ๔ หน้า*, 'Mahābrahma with four faces.' SV 77, *catumukha-mahābrahma*, Mahābrahmā with four faces; PJ 76. *Note*. U Mya, no. 78, combines this term with the preceding, and gives: *cutumukha suvaṇṇanāvā* (JT), *catumukhāni sovaṇṇanāvā* (AVA), a golden boat with four bows. We take it that JT and AVA mean a gilded barge with a quadruple figurehead, possibly a figurehead in the form of

Brahmā with four faces. In any case, according to U Mya (loc. cit., p. 330) this should be only one mark, and that is how it was shown in the Footprints carved at Pagán in the 11th-12th century. In some later Footprints, U Mya says, this mark is treated as two: a boat in one compartment, and four heads in another; and he adds that one author considers, erroneously, that catumukha or catumukhāni should be represented by a figure of Brahmā with four heads (sc. four faces). We observe that this 'erroneous' interpretation was evidently accepted by the author of our text; and the tradition found its way into SV and PJ.

[83,84] kiṇṇaro-kiṇṇari-pakkhi. The birds kinnara and kinnarī (the male and female, respectively, of the mythical creature which is part bird and part human in form). U Mya 80, kiṃpurisa (JT) or kinnaro (AVA); 81, kinnarī. — SV 80-81, kiṃpuriso; kinnarī; PJ 80, 81.

[85] jīvañjīvakanaṃmakā. (The bird) named jīvañjīvaka. Glossed by SM as นกกระดังงา, i.e. ferruginous wood partridge, *caloperdix oculatea*, or red-crested hill-partridge, *rollulus rouloul*. The *P.T.S. Dict.* glosses jīvañjīvaka as the name of a bird, a sort of pheasant (or partridge?) which utters a not sounding like 'jīvañ jīva,' not found in the *Concise P.-E. Dict.* — U Mya, no. 86, jīvañjīvakarājā (JT), jīvañjīvakarājā (AVA), a pheasant king. — SV 85, jīvañjīvakarājā, glossed as นกกระดังงา, cf. PJ 86, นกเป็ด, the water-cock, *gallicrex cinereus*.

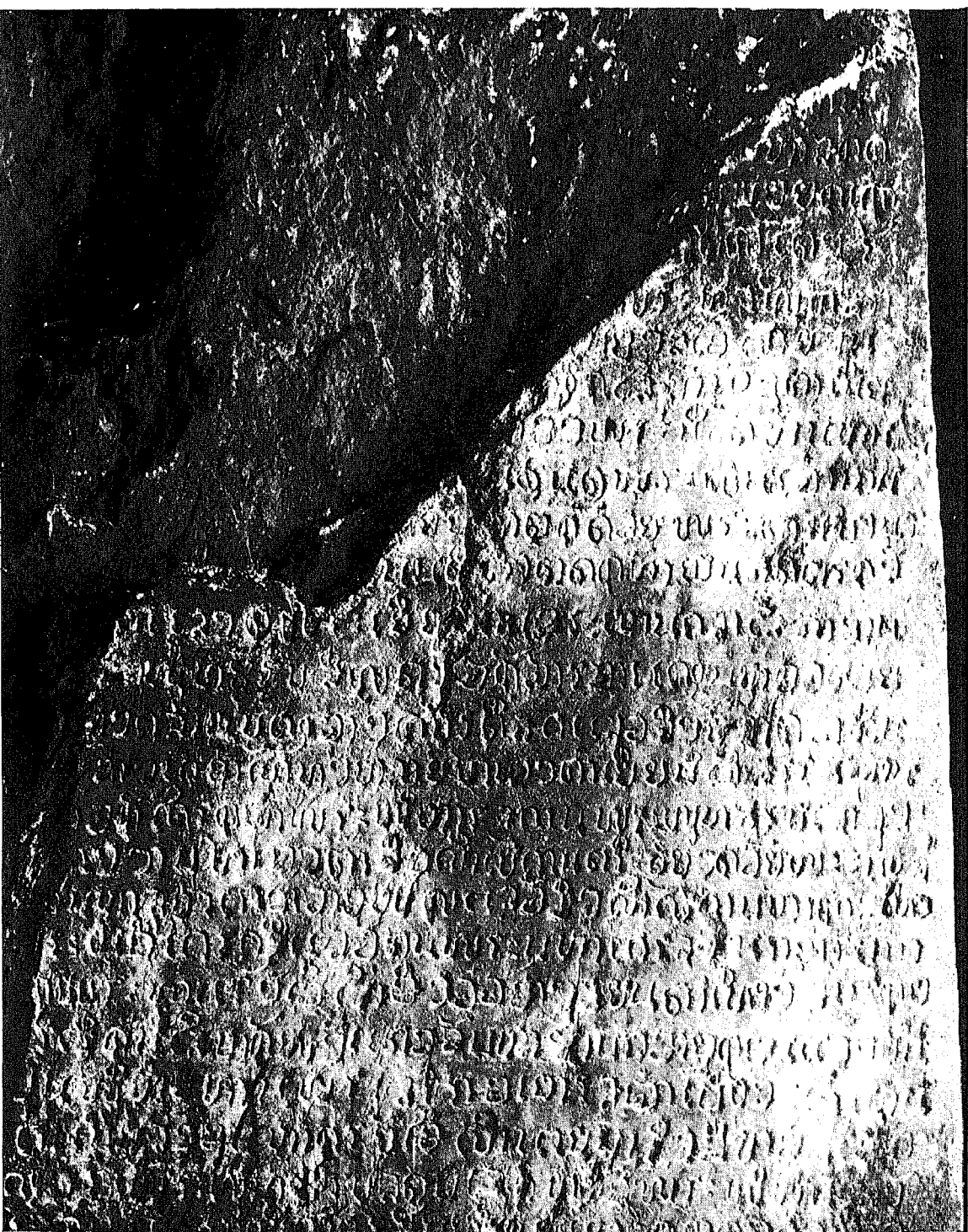
[86-91] chakāmāvacarālokā. The six realms (avacarālokā) of desire (kāma), i.e. the six deva heavens. U Mya, nos. 87-92, chadevalokā (JT) or chakāmavacaradevalokā (AVA), six deva lokas or heavens. — SV 87-92, chadevalokā; PJ 87-92, chakāmāvacaradevalokā.

[92-107] brahmalokā soḷasa. The sixteen Brahmā heavens. U Mya, nos. 93-108, soḷasabrahmalokā. — SV 93-108, soḷasabrahmalokā; PJ 93-108.





Fig. 1. The Inscription of Văt Trăbăh Jăh Phöak, Face I.  
1 a. Face I.



1 b. Face I, upper portion.



1 c. Face I, lower portion.



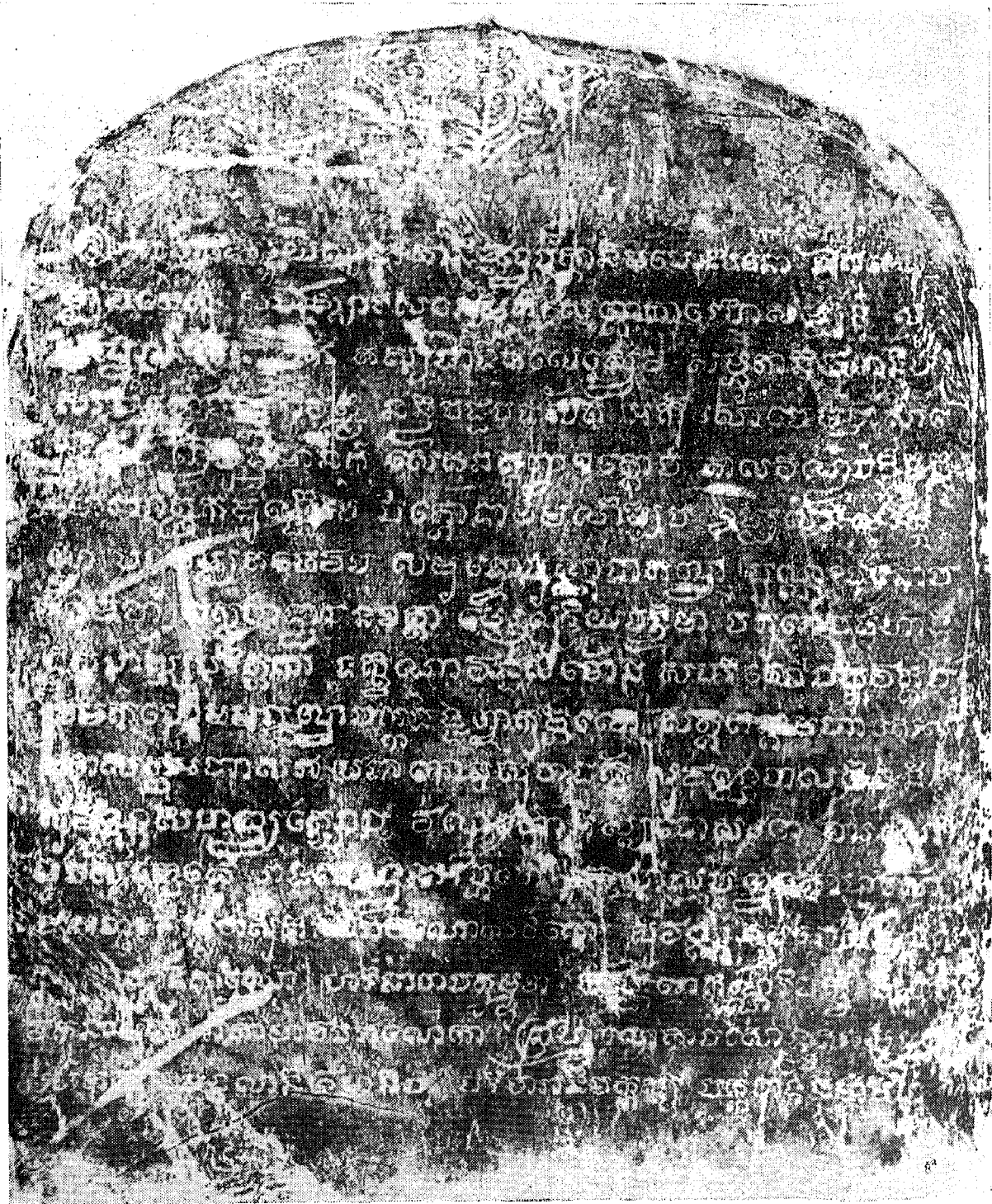


Fig. 2. The Inscription of Văṭ Trăbăṅ Jăṅ Phôak, Face II.

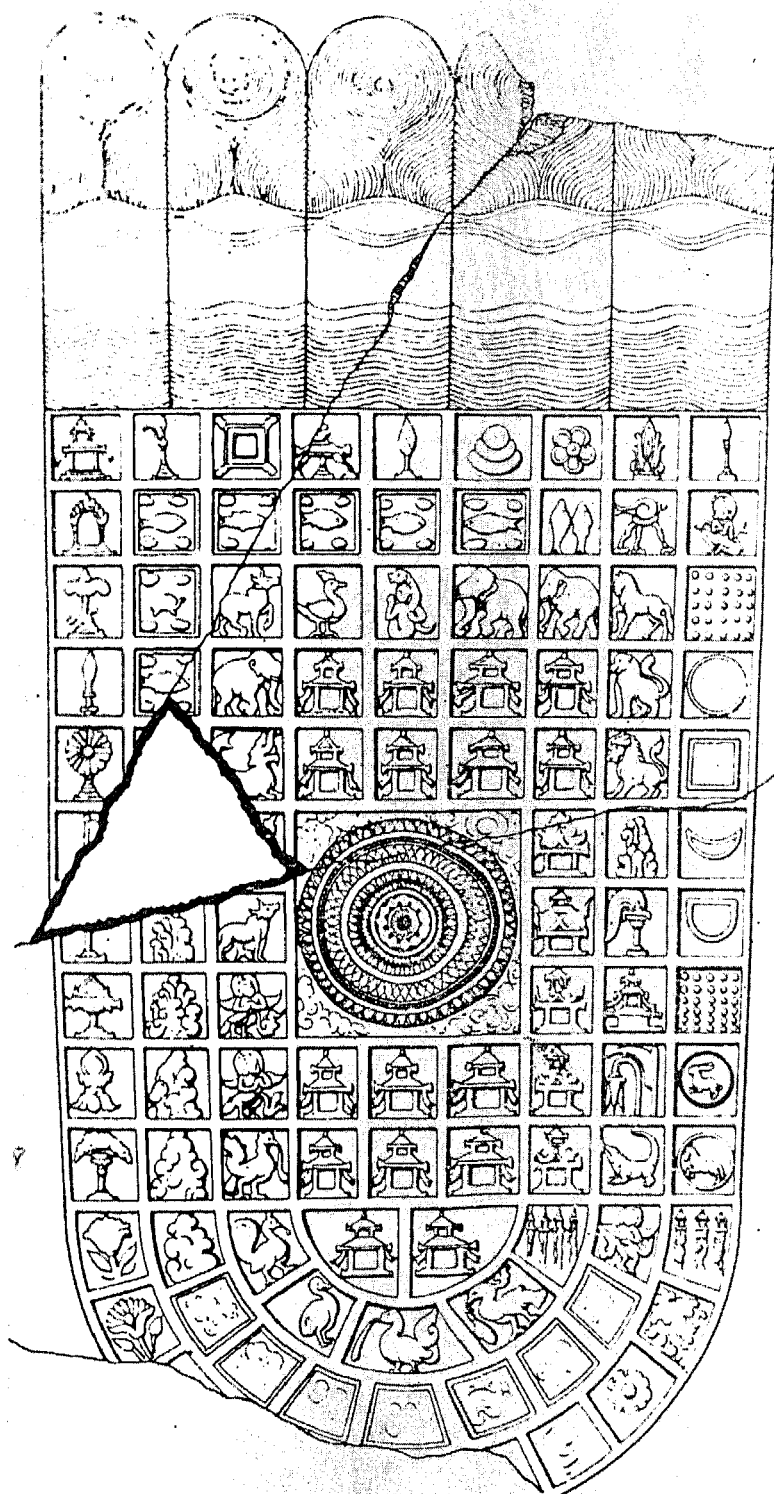
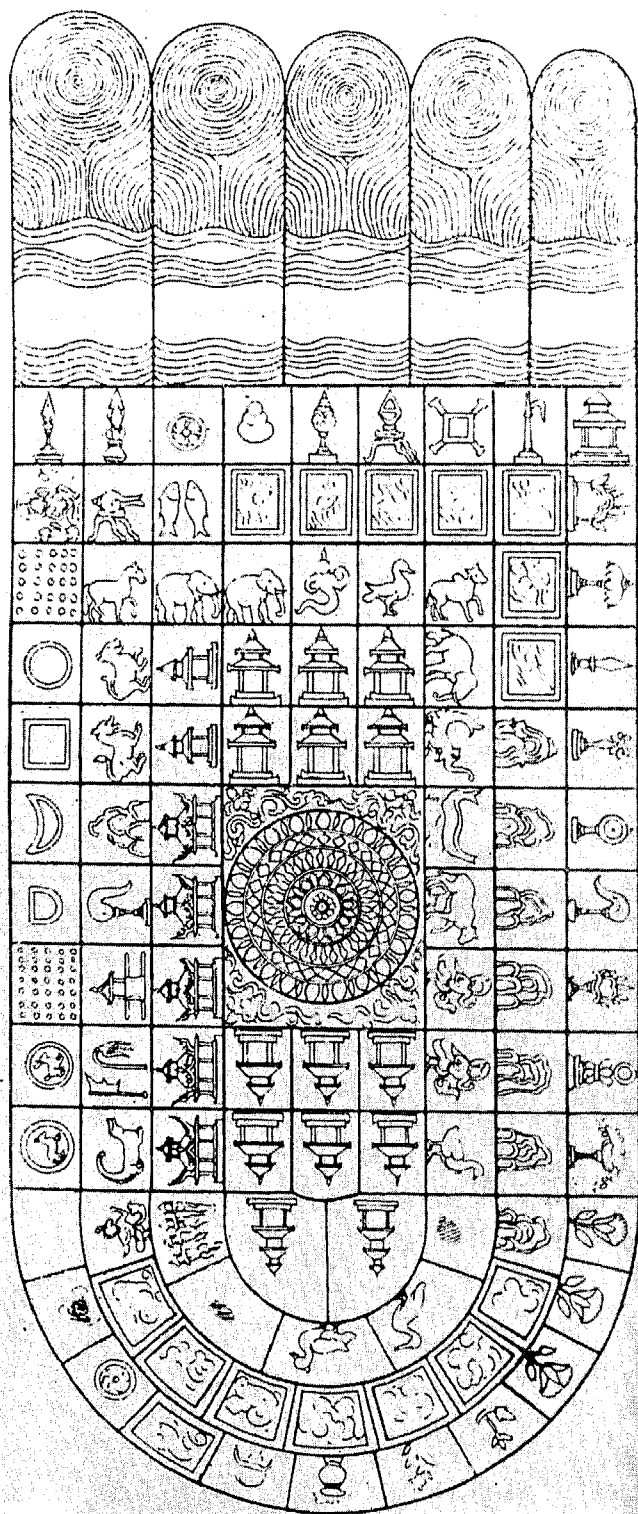


Fig. 3. Drawings of two stone Footprints from Pagán. After U Mya,  
 ASIAR 1930-34, Pl. CLIII.  
 3 a. From the Lokananda.



3 b. From the Shwézigôn.

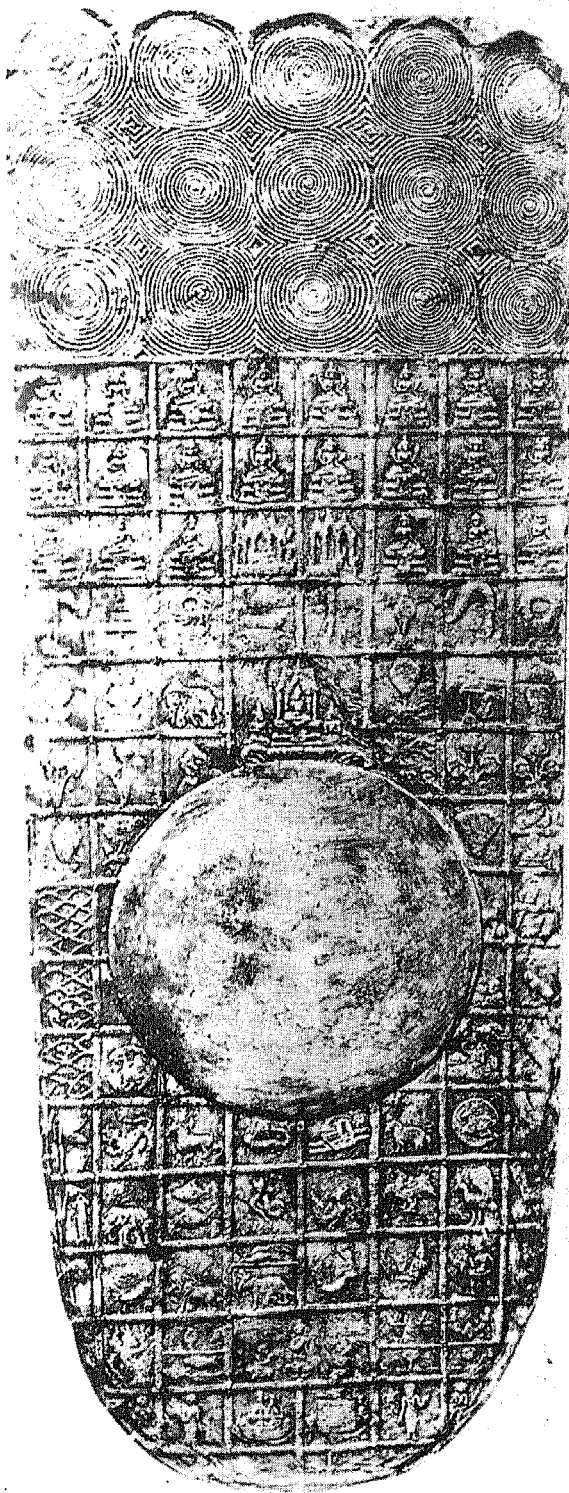


Fig. 4. Footprint, formerly in the Văñ Nā Museum, Bangkok. Length, 1.54 m.; width, 58 cm. After Fournereau, *Le Siam Ancien*, Paris, 1895, Pl. XXI.

