

# THE INSCRIPTION OF KING RĀMA GAṂHĒŃ OF SUKHODAYA (1292 A.D.)

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by

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### Introduction

The late Professor George Coedès's edition and translation of Rāma Gaṃhēñ's inscription<sup>1</sup> are so authoritative that any attempt to improve on them may seem futile, if not downright impertinent. But almost half a century has passed since they appeared. In the meantime a new generation of scholars, both Siamese and Western, have been able to study the inscription, either from the stone itself or from Coedès's photographs of rubbings; a number of Sukhodayan inscriptions which were unknown to Coedès have been discovered and edited, furnishing comparative material for the interpretation of obscure words and phrases; and much new information on Southeast Asian history and archeology has been gathered. As it is therefore possible to propose a few new readings or interpretations of difficult passages in Rāma Gaṃhēñ's text, we have ventured to undertake a new translation, with copious explanatory notes.

The first reasonably satisfactory translation of Rāma Gaṃhēñ's inscription into a western language is that of Cornelius Beach Bradley, Professor of Rhetoric at the University of California, which appeared in 1909. Professor Bradley's father, the American medical

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1) Coedès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, Bangkok, 1924, p. 37 ff., with text in Romanized transcription, French translation, introduction, and notes; แผนกโบราณคดี, พระบรมเสด็จจารึกสยาม ภาคที่ ๑, Bangkok, same date, p. 51 ff., text in modern Siamese characters, with translations of Coedès's introduction and notes, prepared by Luang Boribal Buribandh under the direction of Prince Damrong Rājanubhāb; reprinted in พระบรมเสด็จจารึกสยาม ภาคที่ ๑, for distribution at the cremation of Lady Sin Bhaktinaraśreṣṭha, Bangkok, B.E. 2500, pp. 1 ff. Coedès's translation has been reprinted by the Siam Society, together with an English version by H.R.H. Prince Wan Waithyakon, in a pamphlet entitled *L'inscription du roi Rāma Gaṃhēñ de Sukhodaya*, Bangkok, 1965.

missionary Dr Dan Beach Bradley, who lived in Siam from 1835 until his death in 1873, had edited and printed the *Bangkok Calendar* as well as numerous Siamese legal and historical texts, and written an authoritative Siamese Dictionary. Professor C.B. Bradley was born in Bangkok, spent his youth in Siam, went to Europe and America in the 1860's, later served as a missionary in Bangkok but retired because of ill health, and finally settled in California in the early 1870's. He was an authority on the Siamese language, and wrote several papers on Siamese grammar and phonology. In the course of a later visit to Bangkok he devoted long and painstaking study to Rāma Gamhēñ's inscription, working directly from the stone.

Bradley begins his paper with an expression of thanks to Prince Damrong Rājanubhāb and several other scholars for their generous help in the decipherment and interpretation. Then he gives a bibliography, with some scornful remarks on the work of previous editors and translators. In a long and illuminating introduction, he discusses the stone and its history; the script and vocabulary of the text; the literary style, with its recurrent patterns, balanced and rhythmic phrasing, stereotyped expressions and rhyming jingles; and finally the author of the text, Rāma Gamhēñ. Then come the translation itself, the text transliterated into modern Siamese characters, and twenty-fours pages of notes.

His translation is much better than any of the earlier attempts, but it is far from irreproachable. Quite apart from his style, which is rather incoherent in places, and in general too archaistic and Biblical to suit modern tastes, it is obvious that he mistook the sense of several passages.

Coedès, before undertaking his definitive edition of the inscription, wrote two preparatory studies, one of which he published in 1918 (JSS XII/1, pp. 1 ff.), the other in 1923 (JSS XVII/3, pp. 113 ff.). In the introduction to the first he writes:

'L'inscription de Rāma Khamheng est un document d'une si grande importance qu'on ne saurait négliger aucun détail susceptible de résoudre les nombreux problèmes qu'il pose. Le dernier éditeur de ce text difficile, Prof. C. B. Bradley, a corrigé la plupart des erreurs de ses devanciers, et est parvenu à élucider complètement le sens de quelques passages obscurs: il n'a laissé qu'à glaner après lui.'

In his preparatory studies, nevertheless, Coedès proposed a large number of amendments, either in reading or in interpretation, most of which he later incorporated in the definitive edition of 1924. His translation, no matter how much it owes to Bradley's, is a far better piece of work. Written in a clear and unpretentious style, it makes perfectly good sense throughout.

**The stone and its discovery.**—Rāma Gaṁhēñ's inscription is engraved on a stout pillar of fine-grained stone with a rounded pyramidal top (Fig. 1). The pillar is 35 cm. square, and has a total height of 1.11 m. including the tenon. Faces I and II each have 35 lines of writing; Faces III and IV each 27 (Fig. 3 a, b, c, d).

This pillar, together with the one bearing Mahādharmarājā I's Khmer inscription, was discovered at Sukhodaya in 1833 by Prince Mahāmañkuṭa, the future King Rāma IV, when he was still a monk. His attention was first attracted not by the inscriptions themselves, but by a flat slab of stone with designs carved in bas-relief on its edges (Fig. 2 b). As we now know, this slab was the seat of the throne set up in 1292 by Rāma Gaṁhēñ. The memory of its potency had survived for more than 540 years, though Rāma Gaṁhēñ's name had long been forgotten, and though Sukhodaya had ceased to be a capital in the 1420's and the site of the city, abandoned during the wars of the 18th century, was now occupied only by a few scattered villages.

Here is the story of Prince Mahāmañkuṭa's discovery, as related in the *History of Four Reigns*<sup>2</sup>:

In the year of the serpent Culaśakarāja 1195 [1833 A.D.] he made a pilgrimage in the north country [i.e. the Sukhodaya region], stopping to worship at various cetiyas, and at last he came to the city of Sukhodaya. Here, as he wandered about, he found a stone throne-seat set in place beside the ruins of the old palace. It was an object of reverence and fear to all the villagers, for anyone who passed close to it without doing obeisance was sure to fall ill with fever. When the Prince saw it he walked straight up to the stone

2) Our translation of the extract from Prince Vajirañiṭṭa's พระราชประวัติสมเด็จพระเจ้าแผ่นดิน ๔ รัชกาล given in พระบรมศิวาจารย์กษัตริย์ภาคที่ ๑, 1924. Cf. Bradley's translation at JSS VI/1, p. 7.

and sat on it; but because of the power of his accumulated merits he suffered no harm whatever. On his return, he had the stone throne brought down [to Bangkok] and set up as a preaching-bench at Vāt Rājādhivāsa. When he became King [in 1851 A.D.] he removed it to the Chapel Royal of the Emerald Buddha. In addition he obtained [Mahādharmarājā I's] stone inscription in Khmer and [Rāma Gaṃhèñ's] inscription in Old Siamese, which he also placed in the Chapel Royal.

Without actually saying so, this account clearly implies that the Prince discovered the two inscriptions at the same time as the throne beside the ruins of the old palace (វិហារនៃព្រះបាទស្រីសុរាយ័យ; note that the term វិហារ, 'palace mound', is the name still used for the huge brick platform, cleared a few years ago, which is all that now remains of the Royal Palace at Sukhodaya). In any case it stands to reason that Rāma Gaṃhèñ's inscription was originally set up beside the stone throne, the erection and dedication of which it commemorates; and it was evidently still *in situ* when the Prince discovered it.

When the two inscriptions and the throne reached Bangkok, they were first installed at Vāt Samō Rāy (now Vāt Rājādhivāsa), where Prince Mahāmaṅkuṭa was then residing. Three years later when he became Abbot of Vāt Pavarānivesa he took the inscriptions with him, but left the throne behind. In 1911 his grandson Rāma VI had the throne removed to the throne-room named Braḥ Dī-nāñ Tuṣita Mahā-prāsāda in the Royal Palace and fitted with lacquered and gilt supports of carved wood (Fig. 2 a). In 1924 the two inscriptions were placed in the Vajirañāṇa Library. Rāma Gaṃhèñ's is now in the Bangkok National Museum, while Mahādharmarājā I's is in the Manuscript and Inscription Division of the National Library.

**Early attempts to decipher and translate the inscription.**—Prince Mahāmaṅkuṭa can justly be called the founder of Siamese epigraphy. When he set about deciphering Rāma Gaṃhèñ's text, there was no one in the world who had ever tried to read an inscription in Old Siamese.<sup>3</sup>

3) Or, for that matter, in Old Khmer, such as Mahādharmarājā I's, with which we shall not be concerned in this paper. The systematic study of Cambodian inscriptions, largely the work of European scholars, did not begin until 1879.

The first problem that had to be solved was the script. The consonants, based on a Khmer cursive, offered relatively little difficulty, as the Khmer alphabet which was in use at that time for Pali texts was of course well known to the monks; but the vowels gave trouble. In contrast to Khmer and to modern Siamese, such vowels as *i* and *ī*, instead of being superscript, and *u* and *ū* instead of being subscript, are written before the initial consonant of the syllable, and enlarged to the same size as the consonants. The mai-hän-ākāśa (◌̣) is completely lacking, the sound of ä in a closed syllable being represented instead by reduplicating the final consonant—a usage that continued sporadically throughout the Sukhodaya period, though the mai-han-ākāśa came into occasional use before 1350. ‘To the eye acquainted only with modern Siamese,’ says Bradley (p. 10), ‘this inscription seems at first quite as foreign as the Khmer inscription [of Mahādharṃarājā I] which stands beside it . . . . . Closer scrutiny detects here and there a letter barely recognizable in its grotesque aldermanic breadth. And after the characters are all learned, their sequence is still a source of perplexity, being often quite different from that of modern Siamese.’

In 1836 the task of decipherment was turned over to a Commission of scholars under the direction of Prince R̥kṣa, the learned monk who is best known by his later title Kram Braḥyā Pavareśvariyaṅka-raṇa. He had perhaps already grasped the principles of the script; and after that it was possible to get the gist of the text, but not yet a full understanding of it.

The first published work to mention this inscription is *The Kingdom and people of Siam*, by Sir John Bowring (London, 1857), who visited Bangkok in 1855 as the British envoy to King Rāma IV. The King gave him two lithographic copies of the inscription, evidently reproduced from a pen-sketch or eye-copy prepared by the Commission, imitating the form of the letters in the inscription as closely as possible, but dividing the lines differently. A facsimile of the first page, containing fourteen lines of writing, appears in Bowring’s book (see our Fig. 4). On it the King had added, in his own hand, the English equivalents of a few of the words. These additions, as far as they go, show that Rāma IV understood the principles of the script and the meaning of the opening

lines, but there is one unexpected difficulty. Rāma Gamphèū's father's namē, Śrī Indrāditya, is written <sup>๔</sup>ศร <sup>๕</sup>อินทรา <sup>๖</sup>นทศ in the inscription, though in order to be consistent with the principles of the script it ought to have been <sup>๕</sup>ศร <sup>๖</sup>อินทรา <sup>๖</sup>นทศ. Observing that something was wrong, Rāma IV seems to have tried to find a plausible name that could be made out with the least possible amendment to what he could see on the stone, and hit upon 'Surindrady', i.e. Surendrāditya, which would be a suitable name for a member of the Solar Dynasty. The guess, though not right, was logical enough, and the reading could be explained on the assumption that the first <sup>๕</sup> was a mistake for .

In the accompanying letter, which Bowring prints, Rāma IV says that he is sending him 'two copies of the ancient Siamese letters first invented in the year of the Christian era 1282 [probably a misprint for 1283, for misprints abound in the book], which letters were copied out from a stone pillar on which they were transcribed.' He adds: 'I have commenced their translation in English for your Excellency, but I cannot fulfill it or do it complete on this occasion. I will send it to your Excellency on another occasion, when it is completely done.'<sup>4</sup> While the King understood the statement at IV/9, his letter hints at unsolved difficulties elsewhere.

While Bowring gives only the first page of the lithographic copy, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris possesses a full set, containing six pages of text (Fig. 5 a, b, c, d, e, f), presented in 1856 to de Montigny, the French envoy, by Bishop Pallegoix's pro-vicar, Clémenceau.<sup>5</sup> Inside the cover-page is the following note, written by hand in English: 'A copy of an Ancient Siamese inscription. The original is dated about the year 1193 of the Christian Era, and was discovered on a stone pillar in the city of Sukhodaya, the capital of Siam at that period. Printed at the Royal printing office, in the lithographic press. Bangkok.' The date, 'about

4) Bowring, *The Kingdom and People of Siam*, Vol. II, p. 444.

5) Written by hand on the cover is the following note: 'Offert par M. l'Abbé Clémenceau, Missionnaire Apostolique à Bangkok,' followed by the signature, 'C. de Montigny.' Cf. de Croizier, *Notices des manuscrits siamois de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1887, pp. 34, 61, 79; Coedès, *Recueil*, I, p. 37.

1193 of the Christian Era,' is evidently a slip for 1293; the right date is 1214 saka, equivalent to 1292 A.D.<sup>6</sup>

This document may be taken as a measure of the progress made by the Commission in deciphering the text by the beginning of Rāma IV's reign. It contains several dozen false readings which later scholars have been able to rectify—mostly mistakes resulting from making the wrong choice between two letters that look much alike in Rāma Gaṁhēn's script. When we remember the lack of comparative materials that would help to establish the context, we shall feel less inclined to blame the Commission for their mistakes than to praise them for their skill in accomplishing as much as they did at this early period. It is uncertain how much progress they had made in understanding the text, for deciphering it was only part of the problem. There were lots of other difficulties—archaic spelling, obsolete words, obscure turns of phrase, and ambiguous syntax—which could cause misunderstandings that would not show up in a transcript but would be all too evident in a translation into a Western language.

The first person to attempt such a translation was the German, Adolf Bastian, who visited Bangkok in 1863. 'The inscription,' he says, 'is written in an ancient kind of character, differing from the present one. The vowels are written in one line with the consonants, and the diacritical marks of the modern alphabet are mostly dispensed with [by 'diacritical marks, Bastian seems to mean, at least in part, the superscript and subscript vowels]. . . . I was enabled by the help of some learned friends in Bangkok to extract the antiquated alphabet of the inscription, but have not brought it yet to the state of perfection which would be desirable for publication.' Bastian gives no facsimile of the text but, in order to furnish the reader a sample, cites the illustration in Bowring's book (our Fig. 4). 'Even the present translation which I offer here,' he

6) In the old Khmer and Siamese calendars, the year of course did not change on January 1 of the western calendar, but spread over parts of two successive years of the Christian Era; so when a year is given in śaka (mahāśakarājā) without the month being stated, it is never possible to know exactly which year of the Christian era it corresponds to. In such circumstances Coedès adds 78 to the year in śaka (e.g. *Recueil*, I, p. 38), which gives a better chance of making the right conversion. Bradley on the other hand adds 79 (see JSS VI/1, p. 57), and arrives at 1293 A.D. for the date of the inscription (JSS VI/1, p. 7).

adds, 'is still a very imperfect one, but whenever I was at a fault to make out a satisfactory explanation, I was sure to find the best informed Siamese in the same predicament.'<sup>7</sup>

Just as we should expect, Bastian's translation contains quantities of small mistakes and several big ones (cf. Appendix). Bradley says it is 'really no translation, but a first sketch, in which the writer reports such impressions of the drift and import of the writing as he was able to get from Siamese sources.'<sup>8</sup> Bastian, however, brings out most of the points on Faces I and IV that would be of interest to historians, e.g. that Rāma Gaṃhèṅ helped his father defeat the Chief of Chòt at Tāk; that after serving his father loyally, and then serving his elder brother in the same way, he became king upon the latter's death; and that he devised the letters of the *Tai* alphabet. Bastian seems to have understood the limits of the kingdom more or less correctly, though there are bad misprints in some of the names; and he not only read the dates 1205 and 1214 correctly, but also recognized the era as the mahāśakarāja.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand he makes very little sense out of Rāma Gaṃhèṅ's moving account of the freedom, justice and prosperity that prevailed in the kingdom, his eloquent description of the capital city, or his statements about Buddhism; and the translation of the passage regarding 'the flat stone called Manang-sila' is a nightmare.

The next European to essay a translation was the French missionary Père Schmitt, who had lived in Siam for many years. He published it, together with a transcript of the text, in 1884 and again in 1885.<sup>10</sup> This transcript, says Bradley, 'is neither a facsimile nor a tracing, nor a rendering of it by any method of accurate reproduction. What the author supposed to be found on the stone, and what he supplied from conjecture, are both set down alike in coarse black letters apparently drawn with a brush. Words still plainly to be read on the stone reappear strangely, or

7) Bastian, *On some Siamese Inscriptions*, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, XXXIV/1, p. 29 f.

8) JSS VI/1, p. 3.

9) Bastian, op. cit., p. 36; cf. Garnier, *Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine*, Paris, 1873, I, p. 136 f. Note that Bastian's transcriptions of names (where the printer has not mangled them) are mostly based on Pallegoix's system.

10) *Excursions et reconnaissances* (Saigon), VIII, No. 19, 1884; *Deux anciennes inscriptions siamoises transcrites et traduites par M. Schmitt*, Saigon, 1885.



even absurdly, transformed. The translation, naturally, repeats the errors of this transcript, with, of course, others of its own.<sup>11</sup> Revised versions of Schmitt's work were published in *Le Siam ancien* in 1895, and in *Mission Pavie* in 1898, with photographic representations of the text (Fig. 6).<sup>12</sup> 'For the scholar,' says Bradley, 'the value of this text is very seriously diminished by the fact that it has everywhere been retouched, and that too, it would seem, without reference to the original, but to some inaccurate transcript—apparently the one twice published before. Similar changes of the text appear, and nearly all the lacunae are written in so as to appear as text. Transliteration and translation are, of course, no more authentic than the text on which they are based—if it be not rather sometimes the case that the interpretation has determined the text.'<sup>13</sup>

Yet Schmitt's translation, faulty as it is, marks a great advance over Bastian's in most respects, though occasionally he misunderstands a

11) JSS VI/1, p. 3.

12) Fournereau, *Le Siam ancien*, Vol. I, Paris, 1895, pp. 216-241; *Mission Pavie, Indo-Chine 1879-1895*, Vol. II, Paris, 1898, pp. 175 ff.

13) JSS VI/1, p. 4.—Schmitt's plates (Fig. 6) are certainly not made from photographs either of the inscription itself or of rubbings. The most conspicuous retouching appears to have been done by smearing white ink over certain groups of letters to indicate lacunae due to the flaking of the stone. If the photographs had been made from the stone or from rubbings, most of these letters would never have appeared at all. The actual damage to the stone is widespread and irregular, whereas the smears on the photographs would lead us to believe there were only three lacunae in the whole inscription, all of them surprisingly neat in shape. Apart from them, the photographs show a clear and unbroken text such as we might expect from a painted replica of the stone on which the lacunae had been conjecturally restored.

Aymonier tells us he saw just such a copy of it in 1884, when he was making rubbings of the inscription in the Chapel Royal: 'Les Siamois,' he writes, 'avaient essayé de reproduire exactement cette stèle sur une pièce de bois passée en couleur et placée sous un hangar à proximité' (Aymonier, *Le Cambodge*, II, Paris, 1901, p. 71). This copy has disappeared; but if, as seems likely, it was similar in format to the Commission's facsimile of Mahādharmarājā I's Khmer inscription, it was a black wooden pillar with the letters painted on it in yellow ink (see Coedès in BEFEO XVII/1, p. 2). Whether or not it is the source of Schmitt's plates can only be guessed.

passage that Bastian understood correctly.<sup>14</sup> Schmitt may be said to have taken two large steps forward, and a small step backward. The steps forward almost certainly reflect progress made by the Siamese editors between the 1850's and the 1890's toward a better understanding of the text. It is hard to account for the step backward, which certainly cannot be blamed on Schmitt's Siamese informants.<sup>15</sup>

The first publication of any part of the inscription prepared by the Siamese editors was in the *Vajiraṇāṇa Magazine*, Vol. VI, pp. 3574-3577, Bangkok, 1898. Bradley calls this work 'a short article embodying in a freely modernized version nearly the whole of the fourth face of the inscription, including the dates, the story of the origination of Siamese writing, and the boundaries of the realm.'<sup>16</sup>

In 1908 the Crown Prince Vajirāvudh, the future King Rāma VI, made a tour of the cities of the old kingdom of Sukhodaya, of which he has left us a valuable account.<sup>17</sup> In the same year a pamphlet of 22 pages was prepared and printed for him, entitled เรื่องเมืองสุโขทัย (Bangkok, 1908), containing the texts of three Sukhodayan inscriptions.<sup>18</sup> That of all four faces of Rāma Gaṃhèṇ's inscription is given, 'in modern Siamese characters and spelling, with occasional substitution of modern words,' says Bradley. 'Here also there is no indication of what portions are conjectural,' he remarks; 'but upon the whole, I find it the least inaccurate text so far produced.'<sup>19</sup>

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- 14) At I/1, for instance, Schmitt takes the name Pān Mōān (*Bān Mūang*) as representing two separate persons, though Bastian realized that only one was meant. Again at II/24 he takes braḥ aṭṭhāraśa to mean 'statuettes et bas-reliefs' (*Le Siam ancien*, p. 236, note 4); but Bastian had got it right: 'a statue of Buddha, 18 cubits high'.
- 15) Every educated Siamese knew the Pali word aṭṭhāraśa, 'eighteen', denoting a statue of the Buddha 18 cubits in height (about 9 m.).
- 16) JSS VI/1, p. 4.
- 17) สมเด็จพระโอรสาธิราชเจ้าพี่ยมหาราชวรมงคลราชกุมาร, เรื่องเที่ยวเมืองพระร่วง, วัดมโกสถ์ศรีศก ๑๒๖. During the course of this trip he collected at least two Sukhodayan inscriptions. One of them is Inscription No. VIII (*Recueil*, p. 123; cf. *ibid.*, p. 6); for the other, see Griswold and Prasert in JSS LIX/1, pp. 157 ff.
- 18) Inscriptions 1 (Rāma Gaṃhèṇ's), III and IV (for III and IV, see *Recueil*, pp. 77 ff., 91 ff.). This pamphlet was reprinted in พระชุมพงศาภินทร กาศที่ ๑, Bangkok, 1914; second edition, Bangkok, 1963.
- 19) JSS VI/1, p. 4.



but, unless the statement has been broken off or obliterated, it is always there somewhere; and most often it is intimately connected with the exact place where the inscription stood. When the inscription commemorated a donation to religion, such as the consecration of a monastery, a monument or a statue, it was usually set up beside the building or engraved on the base of the image; when it recorded the consecration of a throne it would naturally be set up beside the throne itself.

Schmitt thought the purpose of Rāma Gaṃhèñ's inscription was to record the administrative and religious Constitution of the kingdom. Rāma Gaṃhèñ, he says, 'a fait graver sur cette pierre la loi qui régit son royaume, pour que le peuple en prit connaissance. Les usages civils et religieux indiqués sur cette inscription sont encore aujourd'hui mis en pratique, dans le pays de Siam, sans changement notable. Cette inscription est restée la base fondamentale de leur vie civile et religieuse.'<sup>21</sup> In fact Schmitt was not wholly wrong; certainly a part of its purpose was more or less what he says; and while he failed to identify its formal purpose, he at least had the good sense to see that it had one.

Bradley will have none of this. 'The inscription,' he writes, 'has repeatedly been published, with transliterations, translations, and essays upon it . . . In spite of all these editors have done,—I am not sure but I should have said, in consequence of what they have done,—the real nature and intent of this perfectly direct and simple-hearted utterance seems at many points misapprehended. One editor finds in it—apparently for no other reason than that it is now the thing to do—a complete code of civil law. Another finds in it a complete ritual or religious observance and ceremony . . .'<sup>22</sup> Bradley's own view of Rāma Gaṃhèñ's purpose seems to be as follows: 'The inscription commemorates his reign . . . the things he deems most memorable in all his reign:—the invention of writing; the solemn reverence paid by him and his people to the sacred relics . . .; and the consecration and setting up of the inscribed stones which were to record in Siamese words the achievement of a united Siam.'<sup>23</sup>

21) *Mission Pavie*, II, p. 177.

22) JSS VI/1, pp. 5-6.

23) Abridged from JSS VI/1, pp. 22-24.

Coedès was the first Western scholar to bring out clearly the formal purpose of the inscription. 'Il est à peu près certain,' he wrote in 1918, after adducing a mass of supporting evidence, 'qu'elle a pour objet de commémorer l'inauguration du Trône de pierre เมรุวิชัยนาคร auprès duquel... elle se trouvait placée (สถูปเมรุวิชัย).'<sup>24</sup>

**Style; contents; dates.**—Not all monarchs composed their own inscriptions; those who preferred a high-flown literary style would be likely to have them drafted by experts. But the style of Rāma Gaṁhēṇ's text is so completely personal that we cannot doubt he composed it himself with little or no help from anyone else; and if he did not write it out with his own hand, he almost certainly dictated it to his scribes to make a manuscript 'fair copy' for the stone engraver to follow.

His manner of expressing himself is justly famed for its simplicity and dignity, aptness of diction, and orderly succession of ideas: the qualities of the text mark it as the work of an alert and disciplined mind. The orderly succession of his ideas, however, is by no means apparent in Bastian's or Schmitt's translation; and even in Bradley's there are passages where it has to be taken on faith. Now that the meaning of almost the whole text is clear, we can be certain of Rāma Gaṁhēṇ's coherency; and if we still fail to see the connection of ideas in a few places, it may be because the engraver misplaced certain statements, or else because associations which were obvious to everyone in Rāma Gaṁhēṇ's time are much less obvious to us.

'The inscription,' says Coedès, 'is made up of three distinct parts. In the first part [I/1-18] the King, speaking in the first person, gives a brief biography of himself up to the time of his accession. The second part [I/18-IV/11] was executed by the same engraver, but speaks of the King in the third person: it sums up the customs of the country and gives a description of the city of Sukhodaya, ending with an account of the founding of the stone throne in M.S. 1214 (1292 A.D.), the installation of the relics at Śrī Sajjanālaya in M.S. 1207 (1285 A.D.), and the invention of the writing in M.S. 1205 (1283 A.D.). The third part [IV/11-27] is written in a different hand, with finer strokes, and the spelling has certain features that indicate a later date; it is composed of a eulogy of

24) JSS XII/1, p. 21.



makes equally good sense if read as one sentence or two. Coedès gives some persuasive arguments in favor of taking the whole passage, beginning with 𑀘𑀓𑀡𑀓𑀢𑀓 at III/26, and ending with 𑀘𑀓𑀡𑀓𑀢𑀓 at IV/3-4, as one long complex sentence.<sup>26</sup> But we can argue, in favor of splitting it into two, that Rāma Gamhēṇ's style avoids complex sentences; and the punctuation mark (for what else can it have been?) seems to be conclusive. For convenience (and without intending to prejudice the decision) we shall call the passage at IV/1-11 'Epilogue I', and that at IV/11-27 'Epilogue II.'

In several respects Epilogue II stands in marked contrast to all the rest of the inscription. It lists Rāma Gamhēṇ's territorial acquisitions first to the east, then to the south, then to the west, then to the north (IV/17-26), whereas he himself uses a different order in describing the countryside around his capital—west, east, north, south (II/27-III/10).<sup>27</sup> The engraving was obviously done by a different hand. The word *mōaṅ*, which occurs constantly throughout the inscription, is written 𑀘𑀓𑀡𑀓𑀢𑀓 in Epilogue II, but elsewhere always 𑀘𑀓𑀡𑀓𑀢𑀓. We find 𑀘𑀓𑀡𑀓𑀢𑀓 and 𑀘𑀓𑀡𑀓𑀢𑀓 in Epilogue II, but 𑀘𑀓𑀡𑀓𑀢𑀓 and 𑀘𑀓𑀡𑀓𑀢𑀓 elsewhere. When there is a choice to be made between 𑀓 and 𑀓, Epilogue II regularly prefers 𑀓, e.g. 𑀓𑀓𑀓, 𑀓𑀓𑀓, 𑀓𑀓𑀓, 𑀓𑀓𑀓, whereas Faces I, II and III usually prefer 𑀓, e.g. 𑀓𑀓𑀓 (I/2), 𑀓𑀓𑀓 (II/7), 𑀓𑀓𑀓 (II/13, 33; III/13), and 𑀓𑀓𑀓 (II/15). But Face III also has 𑀓𑀓𑀓 (III/25) and 𑀓𑀓𑀓 (III/1, 4), the latter occurring before the last appearance of 𑀓𑀓𑀓 (III/13). Epilogue I also has 𑀓𑀓𑀓 (IV/3) and 𑀓𑀓𑀓 (IV/3-4). 'Śrī' is written 𑀘𑀓𑀓 in Faces I and II, 𑀘𑀓𑀓 in Face III, 𑀘𑀓𑀓 in Epilogue I, and 𑀘𑀓𑀓 again in Epilogue II. 'Sukhodaya' is written 𑀘𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓 in Face I, 𑀘𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓 in the first half of Face II, and 𑀘𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓 thereafter. We have 𑀘𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓 in Face I but 𑀘𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓 in Face III; 𑀘𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓 in Faces I and II, but 𑀘𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓 in Face IV; and so on. A punctuation mark in the form of a small circle appears twice in Epilogue II (IV/24, 26), but it also appears at least once in the body of the inscription (III/22).

26) See JSS XII/1, p. 22 ff.; JSS XVII/3, p. 118 f.

27) In Inscription VIII, Mahādharṃarājā I gives his frontiers first to the north, then to the south, then to the east, then (presumably, but there is a lacuna) to the west; see *Recueil*, p. 123 f. In the Asokārāma Inscription, Mahādharṃarājā II's widow gives her husband's frontiers in the following order: east, southeast, south, southwest, west, northwest, north (northeast seems to have been omitted); see JSS LVII/1, pp. 41 f., 51.

The main body of the inscription, if we agree that it ends at the close of Face III, contains only one date, 1214 saka (1292 A.D.), the year the throne was installed. It seems certain that the whole of the first three faces was engraved in that year, in a single operation, probably requiring no more than a few days, soon after the inauguration ceremonies for the throne were concluded.<sup>28</sup> Whatever we may think of the Epilogues, therefore, the differences in spelling found in Faces I-III cannot be due to any 'evolution' in the art of writing. An 'evolution' in the ordinary sense would require a good many years, and we decline to believe the King would have had the engraver start work on the inscription before he himself decided what its formal purpose was to be.

Of course no one can guess which parts of it he actually composed first. He may have been turning certain statements over in his mind for years, filling them out with proverbial expressions which came naturally to him in daily life, then perfecting and memorizing them. But he cannot have composed the passage at III/10-27 or organized the earlier portions as a whole until around 1292, and only then would he dictate the final draft to the scribes. We assume that Siamese scribes, then as now, were allowed to use any spelling they liked, and the engraver would have to try his best to follow their instructions. Some scribes in 1292 may have been more progressive in their spelling than others, or they may have pronounced certain words differently and based their spelling on their own pronunciation. The variations in spelling in the first three faces, as well as the similarity in handwriting, would be accounted for if the King dictated different parts of the text to different scribes, but had all the engraving done by one person. The work of the engraver, incidentally, is not above reproach: he made several mistakes, to which we shall call attention in our footnotes.

We are inclined to think that Epilogue I was added soon after 1292 by Rāma Gamhèn himself, perhaps within a year or so, using a new scribe but the same old engraver. It contains two dates, 1207 saka

28) We might suppose that an inscription was usually prepared before the ceremonies it was intended to commemorate, and the finishing touches put on at the time of the ceremony. In this case, however, the passage at III/13 ff. seems to describe the throne already consecrated and in use.



(1285 A.D.) and 1205 saka (1283 A.D.), both of which are retrospective. The counter-chronological order in which they are given seems less strange in an epilogue than it would have been in the main body of the inscription a few dozen lines after the date 1214 saka.

Epilogue I consists of three short sections, each dealing with a separate subject.

The first (IV/14) gives a list of vassal peoples who come to do homage to Rāma Gamhēñ. This passage, while we do not take it to be part of the last sentence on Face III, seems to us to follow it by a natural sequence of ideas, as Rāma Gamhēñ sat on the stone throne when receiving the homage of his vassals. The vassal peoples named here were all evidently of *Tai* race, some of them located between Sukhodaya and *Luang Pra Bāng*, some around *Luang Pra Bāng* and north of it along the *Ū*, and some along the *Mè Kóng*. This is a very short list in comparison to that of the tributary states given in Epilogue II, which cover most of Siam as well as large parts of Lower Burma and Laos. If it is intended to be exhaustive, which may or may not be the case, Rāma Gamhēñ's realm was still of modest size when Epilogue I was added, but later expanded enormously.

The second section of Epilogue I (IV/4-8) seems to be a sort of footnote to explain the reference at III/22 to an inscription erected beside the Śrī Ratanadhātu, or Temple of the Precious Relics, at Jalyañ. In 1207 saka, as we learn at IV/5, Rāma Gamhēñ dug up the holy relics, **braḥ dhātu**, evidently from this temple (see below, note 117), buried them in the middle of Śrī Sajjanālaya, and built a cetiya over them which was finished in six years; then, around the **Braḥ Dhātu**, which in this context must mean the temple at Jalyañ, he built a 'wall of rock' which was finished in three years. In the traditional arithmetic, any part of a year counts as a whole one; so we must understand that the cetiya was finished in 1212 saka (1290 A.D.), and the wall of rock in 1214 saka (1292 A.D.). We conclude that the purpose of the inscription at Jalyañ was to commemorate the inauguration of the wall.

The third section (IV/8-11) seems to be a commentary on the references to all three inscriptions at III/22-24. By giving an account of the invention of *Tai* writing, it explains how it was possible for these inscriptions to come into being.

Epilogue II was added at an unknown date, probably after Rāma Gaṃhēṅ's death. This time, it seems, both the scribe and the engraver were new. The scribe wrote <sup>ṅ</sup> 𑀓𑀭𑀢𑀺 and <sup>ṅ</sup> 𑀓𑀭𑀢𑀺 instead of <sup>ṅ</sup> 𑀓𑀭𑀢𑀺 and <sup>ṅ</sup> 𑀓𑀭𑀢𑀺, 𑀓𑀢 and 𑀓𑀢 instead of 𑀓𑀢 and 𑀓𑀢. But he still wrote the vowels in the same line with the consonants, whereas in the next oldest Sukhodayan inscription we have (No. II, probably dating from about 1345) the vowels *i* and *ī* are superscript, *u* and *ū* subscript.

Text

ตำนานที่ ๑

- (๑) พุก ชี สร นทรา ทตย แมก ชี นาง เสอง พุก ชี บาน เมอง
- (๒) ตี ฟันอง ทอง คยว ทำ คนผู้ ชาย สามผู้ ญง โสงี พี เผอ
- (๓) อผู้ อายตายจาก เผอ คยม แฉ่ ญงงเลก เมื่ออุก ชันให้ญได้
- (๔) สิบ เก้า เข้า ขนสามชนเจ้า เมืองจอกมาที่ เมืองตากพุกไปรบ
- (๕) ขนสามชนหวช่าย ขนสามชนขบบมาหวชว ขนสาม
- (๖) ชน เกลลอน เข้าไฟรฝ่าหน้าใส่พุก หนญญายพายจเจ
- (๗) (นุก) บิ หนุก ชีข้างเบกพลุกขบบเข้าก่อนพุกกฏ
- (๘) (ข้าง) ค่าย ขนสามชนตง ก ฟ่งข้าง ขนสามชนทว ชี
- (๙) มาส เมืองแพ ขนสามชนพาย หนพุก จิง ชันชุก
- (๑๐) ชีพระรามค้แหง เพื่ออุก ฟ่งข้าง ขนสามชนนี้ เมอ
- (๑๑) อชวพุก กบิเรอแก่พุก กบิเรอแก่แม่ กุกได้ทว
- (๑๒) เนื้ออทวปลุก เอามาแก่พุก กุกได้ทวมกส้หมากหวา
- (๑๓) นอนนโต กนอร้อย กิน ดุกเอามาแก่พุก กุกไปตี
- (๑๔) หนง วงข้างได้ กเอามาแก่พุก กุกไปที่บ้านที่ เม
- (๑๕) องได้ข้างโต้งวงได้บิวได้นางได้ เงอนได้ทองกเอ
- (๑๖) มาเวนแก่พุก พุก ตายญงง พุก กพรำบิเรอแก่ พี
- (๑๗) กฏงบิเรอแก่พุก พุก ตาย จิงได้ เมืองแก่กทง
- (๑๘) (ก) ลี เมอชวพุก ขนรามค้แหง เมืองชุกโขไท นี ตในน้ำ
- (๑๙) (ม) ปลาในน้ำ มีเข้าเจ้า เมืองบิเอาจกอบในไฟรูลทาง เพ
- (๒๐) (อ) นุ จองววไปค้า ชีมาไปขายใครจกใครค้าข้างค้าโค (ร)

- (๒๑) จกกไคร่ค้ำมาค้ำไครจกกไคร่ค้ำ เองนค้ำทองคำไพร์ผ่าหน้าใส่  
 (๒๒) ญุกเจ้าญุกชุน ผู้ใดแล้ล้ต่ายหายกว่าอ้อยาว (เรอ)นพีเชอ  
 (๒๓) ี่เสอค้ำมนนช่างชุก ลก ี่มย ี่ยเข้าไพร์ผ่าข้าไทป่า  
 (๒๔) หมาก ป่าพลพี ี่เชอมนนไว้แก ี่ลกมนน ี่สนไพร์ผ่า  
 (๒๕) ญุกเจ้าญุกชุน ี่ล้ล้ ี่ผลแผกเสกกว้างกนสนนชุน  
 (๒๖) ี่แทล้ ี่งแล้งควม(แ)ก้ำชาต้วย ี่ชบเข้าผู้ลกมก  
 (๒๗) ี่ช่อนเหนเข้าท่านบไคร ี่พนเหน ี่สนท่านบไคร ี่เดอ  
 (๒๘) ี่คนใด ี่ช่างมหาพา ี่เมองมา ี่ช้อย ี่เหนอ ี่เพื่อ  
 (๒๙) ี่อูกมนนบ ี่มช่างบ ี่มมาบ ี่มบัวบ ี่มนางบ ี่ม ี่ง(อ)  
 (๓๐) ี่นบ ี่มทองให้แก่มนช้อยมนนตวงเป็นบ้านเป็น ี่เมอ  
 (๓๑) ี่งได้เข้า ี่(ส)อกเข้า ี่เสอหว ี่พ่งหวรบ ี่คบเข้า ี่ตใน  
 (๓๒) ี่ปาก ี่ปด ี่มก ี่ตง ี่อน ี่ถ่งแขวนไว้ท่นไพร์ผ่าหน้า  
 (๓๓) ี่ปกกลางบ้านกลาง ี่เมอง ี่มถ้อย ี่มควมเจบทอง  
 (๓๔) ี่(ช)องใจมนน จกกกลาว ี่เถงเจ้า ี่เถง ี่ชุนบไว้ไปสนน ก  
 (๓๕) ี่ตงอ(น)นท่านแขวนไว้พ ี่ชุนรามค้แห่งเจ้า ี่เมองได้

### ด้านที่ ๒

- (๑) ี่ญนรย(ก ี่)มออกถามสนควมแก่มนนต้วย ี่ชไฟร์ใน  
 (๒) ี่(เม)อง ี่สกไซไท ี่นี้ ี่งข้าสร้างป่าหมากป่าพลท่าว ี่เมอ  
 (๓) ี่ง ี่นี้ ี่ทกแห่งป่าพร้าวท่หลายใน ี่เมอง ี่นี้ป่าลาง  
 (๔) ี่ท่หลายใน ี่เมอง ี่นี้หมากม่วงท่หลายใน ี่เมอง ี่นี้  
 (๕) ี่ห(มา)กขามท่หลายใน ี่เมอง ี่นี้ ี่ใครสร้างได้ไว้แก่มนน  
 (๖) ี่กลาง ี่เมอง ี่สกไซไท ี่นี้ ี่มน้ำตรพงงโพย ี่สไสกน ี่ค





- (๑๖) งท่วยจำสลีผู้ชวนนุสตรมมพู่ชนรามคัมแหง  
 (๑๗) เจ้าเมืองศรีสรชชนนาโลสุโขไท่ชนน่งงเหนอกชดา  
 (๑๘) รีนให้ฝงท่วยลกเจ้าลกุชนฝงท่วยถบ้านถ  
 (๑๙) เมืองกนวนนเคอนคบบเคอนเทมท่านแวงข้างเ  
 (๒๐) (อ)กกรพคตลยงท้ยญ่อมทองงา...ชวาชูรจาศร  
 (๒๑) (พ)ุชนรามคัมแหงชนชไปนบพระ(ะ)...อรญญกแล  
 (๒๒) (ว)เข้ามาจารกอนนถ่มในเมองชดยงสถาบกไว้  
 (๒๓) (ท)วยพระศรรตนาจากรกอนนถ่มในถ้ำชถ้ำ  
 (๒๔) (พ)ระรามุ่ยฝงน้ำสัพายจากรกอนนถ่มในถ้ำ  
 (๒๕) (ร)ต)นธารในกลวงป่าตานนี้มีชลาสองอนนอนนถ่มช  
 (๒๖) (ช)า)ลาพระมาสอนนถ่มชัพทชลา(ช)ดาร์หนนช่ม  
 (๒๗) นงชลาบาตรสถาบกไว้หน(จ)งทงงหลายเหน

#### คำนี้ ๔

- (๑) พู่ชนพระ(รา)มคัมแหงลกพู่ชนชร็นทราททยเป  
 (๒) (น)ุชน(ไ)นเมืองชรสชชน(นา)โลสุโขไท่ทงงมากาวลาว  
 (๓) (แ)ลไท่เมืองไท่หล่าฟ้าฏ...ไท่ชาวอชาวของมาออ  
 (๔) ก๑๒๐๗สกปุกกรให้ชต(เอา)พระธาตออกทงงหลาย  
 (๕) เหนกทำบชาบเรอแก่พระธาตไต่เคอนทกวนนจ  
 (๖) งเอาลงฝงงในกลาง(เมอ)งชรสชชนาโลกพระเจ  
 (๗) คีเหนอกชเข้าจิงแล้วตั้งงวยงผลอัมพระม  
 (๘) ทาธาตสามเข้าจิงแล้วเมื่อก่อนลายสไท่นบ  
 (๙) มี๑๒๐๕สกปมแม่พู่ชนรามคัมแหงหาใครใจ

- (๑๐) ในใจแต่ไต่ลาย สไ้ไท่ นั้ลาย สไ้ไท่ นั้ จั้ งมี สไ้เพ่
- (๑๑) อูชนุ่ ผั้ นั้ นไ้ ไ้ วั้ ฟู่ ชนพระรามคั้ เหน้ นั้ นหา
- (๑๒) เป้นท้าวเป้นพรวณาแกั้ ไ้ ทงงหลายหาเป้น
- (๑๓) ุครอจายสงสงสอนไ้ ทงงหลายให้ ูรู้
- (๑๔) ุบน ูรั้ ธรรมเมแก่แต่คนอนนั้ มี ใน ูเมืองไ้ ทควั้
- (๑๕) ูรู้ควั้ หลวกกควั้ แก่ ลวควั้ หานควั้ แคะ
- (๑๖) ควั้ แร้งหาคนจกกเสมอ ูมี ไ้ ่อจายปราบ ูฝงข้า
- (๑๗) ูเสก ูมี ูเมืองกวั้ ่างหลายปราบ ูเบ้องตวนนอ
- (๑๘) อกรอกสรลงสองแคว ลั้ บายสกาทำ ูฝงขอ
- (๑๙) ง ูเถงวงจนวนยงค้ำ เป้น ูทแล้ว ูเบ้องหวา
- (๒๐) นอนรอกคน ูทพระบางแพร ูสพรวณ ูภ
- (๒๑) มราช ูบ ูร เพช ู(บ ู) ูรั้ ธรรมมราชฝงทเล
- (๒๒) ส ูมทรเป้น ูท(แล้ว ู) ูเบ้องตวนนตกรอก ูเมอ
- (๒๓) งจอก ูเมือง . . . นหงศาพิ ูตส ูมทรหาเป
- (๒๔) นแกน ูเบ้อง ( ูต) ูนอนรอก ูเมืองแพล ูเม
- (๒๕) องม่าน ูเมืองน . . . ูเมืองพลววพันฝงของ
- (๒๖) ูเมืองชาวเป ( ูท) ูแล้ว ูปลกถย ูฝง ูลกบ้า
- (๒๗) น ูลก ูเมือง ( ูน) ูนชอบควั้ ธรรม ูทุกคน



## Translation

[I/1-3.] My father was named Srī Īndrāditya<sup>1</sup>, my mother was named Lady Sōaṅ, my elder brother was named Pān Mōaṅ<sup>2</sup>. There were five of us<sup>3</sup> born from the same womb: three boys and two girls. My<sup>4</sup> eldest brother died<sup>5</sup> when he was still<sup>6</sup> a child.

[I/3-10.] When I was nineteen years old, Lord Sām Jan, the ruler of Mōaṅ Chòt, came to attack<sup>7</sup> Mōaṅ Tāk.<sup>8</sup> My father went to fight Lord

- 1) สรī นทท<sup>๑</sup>ทศ, modern ศรีอินททิตย<sup>๑</sup>, Srī Īndrāditya. For the spelling, cf. Bradley, JSS VI, p. 37 f.
- 2) บาน เมือง, modern บานเมือง, 'guardian of the kingdom'.
- 3) ทู is an obsolete pronoun of the first person plural, referring to the speaker and others, but excluding those whom he is addressing. See Coedès, JSS XVII/3, p. 113.
- 4) เสด็จ, says Bradley (JSS VI, p. 39), 'is the well-known sentimental first personal pronoun of the romances.'
- 5) Literally 'died from me'.
- 6) ตมมณ<sup>๖</sup> (I/3), for เค็มมณ<sup>๖</sup>, equivalent to ตั้งแต่, 'since', 'when'. Prajum I glosses ตมมณ<sup>๖</sup> as ตั้งแต่.
- 7) ทั (I/4), i.e. ทั, 'to hit', 'to strike'.
- 8) Mōaṅ (เมือง), originally 'a community', means either a town or else a province, principality, realm or kingdom; when followed by a proper name, it can mean either the town of that name or the larger territorial unit of which it is the capital. In general we shall translate it according to the context, but sometimes when it precedes a place-name we may omit it. Sometimes however we shall use the word 'Mōaṅ' untranslated, for example when it has two different meanings in the same sentence. At I/4 Mōaṅ Chòt is the principality of Chòt, whose capital was at or near Mè Sòt, in the present province of Tāk, near the Siam-Burma border; while Mōaṅ Tāk is the old town of Tāk, now Pān Tāk (บ้านตาก), on the right bank of the Ping some 25 km. upstream from the present town of Tāk. Each Mōaṅ was ruled by a เจ้า. The word เจ้า, which we shall translate as 'prince' or 'ruler', is often followed directly by the word Mōaṅ, with or without the addition of a toponym. For example Lord Sām Jan is called เจ้าเมืองทศ (I/4), 'ruler of Mōaṅ Chòt', 'ruler of the principality of Chòt'; Rāma Gaṁhēṅ is called เจ้าเมืองสุโขทัย (II/10), 'ruler of this kingdom of Sukhodai', or เจ้าเมืองศรี-สาขานนทบุรีสุโขทัย (III/11, III/16), 'ruler of this kingdom of Srī Sajjannālai Sukhodai', or simply เจ้าเมือง (I/19, I/35): 'ruler of the kingdom'. Ordinarily the ruler of a principality seems to have had the title ขุน, 'lord', prefixed to his name, though we have only one instance in this inscription: ขุนสามจัน (I/4): 'Lord Sām Jan', the ruler of Chòt. The word ขุน is sometimes used absolutely; for example ขุนผู้ใดก็เมืองสุโขทัย (III/7-8): 'whatever lord may rule this kingdom of Sukhodai'; and, in reference to Rāma Gaṁhēṅ, เป็นขุนในเมืองศรีสาขานนทบุรีสุโขทัย (IV/1-2), 'who is lord of the kingdom of Srī Sajjannālai Sukhodai'. Note that ขุน, unlike เจ้า, is not followed directly by the word Mōaṅ, but is separated from it by ใน, which in this case means 'of'. The usual pattern seems to have been 'Lord X (ขุน . . .)', the ruler of Y (เจ้าเมือง . . . . .)'. At I/34, เจ้า and ขุน, coupled together, are used

Sām Jan on the left; Lord Sām Jan drove forward on the right. Lord Sām Jan attacked in force<sup>9</sup>; my father's men<sup>10</sup> fled in confusion<sup>11</sup>. I did not flee. I mounted my elephant, opened [a way through] the soldiers<sup>12</sup>, and pushed him ahead in front of my father. I fought an elephant duel<sup>13</sup> with Lord Sām Jan. I fought<sup>14</sup> Lord Sām Jan's elephant, Mās Mōah<sup>15</sup> by name, and beat him. Lord Sām Jan fled. Then my father named me Braḥ Rāma Gaḥhèn<sup>16</sup> because I fought Sām Jan's elephant.

[I/10-18.] In my father's lifetime I served my father and I served my mother. When I caught any game or fish I brought them to my father. When I picked any acid or sweet fruits that were delicious and good to eat, I brought them to my father. When I went hunting elephants, either by lasso or by [driving them into] a corral,<sup>17</sup> I brought them to my father. When I raided a town or village and captured elephants<sup>18</sup>,

in an absolute sense : តំព្រះ ព្រះ ចៅ ព្រះ ខុម, 'make known to this ruler and lord' (i.e. Rāma Gaḥhèn). In most cases, perhaps all, a ខុម was also a ចៅ ម្តង; but we have no proof that a ចៅ was always a ruler; at II/10, for instance, ចៅ seems to mean 'princes', perhaps members of the royal family, whether or not they had apanages to rule.

9) ពេញ, literally, 'very many.'

10) ប្រើ ប្រើ ប្រើ (I/6) is a conventional expression meaning commoners of a certain category. ប្រើ means a commoner who owed a certain amount of service (corvée) to his lord or his king, but who was not a slave; ប្រើ means 'sky'; ប្រើ ប្រើ means 'bright face'. Probably ប្រើ is an abbreviation of ចៅ ប្រើ, the ruler. Cf. ប្រើ ប្រើ ប្រើ ប្រើ ប្រើ, 'the inhabitants of the kingdom'. In this inscription ប្រើ ប្រើ ប្រើ ប្រើ seems to mean commoners who owe service to the Crown only. Cf. below, note 32.

11) រត់ រត់ រត់ រត់ រត់ (I/6-7), i.e. រត់ រត់ រត់ រត់ រត់ រត់. The expression can be dissected as រត់, 'to flee'; រត់ 'broken' (Pallegoix); រត់ 'to disappear' (Khmer: *bāy*, 'to disappear'); រត់, 'quickly' (cf. modern រត់ រត់, 'to run away fast').

12) ប្រើ ប្រើ (I/7); ប្រើ for ប្រើ 'to open'; ប្រើ 'soldiers', 'army'. Coedès reads ប្រើ ប្រើ, Nekabala, which he takes to be the name of the elephant (for Skt. Anekabala, 'much power'). But the reading ប្រើ ប្រើ seems more satisfactory.

13) ប្រើ ប្រើ (I/7-8), i.e. ប្រើ ប្រើ

14) ប្រើ; equivalent to ប្រើ ប្រើ 'to fight'.

15) 'The country's gold.'

16) តំព្រះ; modern តំព្រះ, *gāḥhèn*, 'bold'.

17) តំព្រះ ប្រើ ប្រើ (I/13-14); as Bradley explains, តំព្រះ is to lay up the rawhide ropes for lassoes; ប្រើ ប្រើ is the place where the elephant herd was assembled (JSS VI, p. 45). Lassoing wild elephants requires much more dexterity and courage than rounding them up in a corral.

18) Literally 'elephants and trunks', a conventional expression for elephants.

young men or women of rank<sup>19</sup>, silver or gold, I turned them over to my father. When my father died, my elder brother was still alive, and I served him steadfastly as I had served my father. When my elder brother died, I got the whole kingdom for myself.

[I/18-35; II/1-8.] In the time of King<sup>20</sup> Rāma Gamhēñ this land of Sukhodai is thriving. There is fish in the water and rice in the fields.

19) Conjectural translation. The word 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀸 occurs three times in this inscription, each time coupled with 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀸: in the present passage (I/15); at I/29, when a person who has neither 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀸 nor 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀸, and no wealth of any sort, seeks refuge with Rāma Gamhēñ; and at II/10, where 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀸 and 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀸 are included among the various categories of persons at Sukhodaya who profess the Buddhist religion. The Royal Institute's Dictionary (พจนานุกรมราชบัณฑิตยสถาน พ.ศ. ๒๔๘๓) glosses 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀸 as พลเมือง, 'population', or ผู้ชาย, 'man'; but in this inscription the word may have a more specific meaning. Bradley translates it twice as 'slaves' (JSS VI, pp. 25, 26), and once as 'servants' (ibid.; 27). At JSS XII, p. 6, Coedès says that in this inscription 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀸 seems to be the word for slaves; but later he must have changed his mind, at least to some extent, for in *Recueil* (pp. 44, 45) he translates it as 'garçons' at I/15, 'serviteurs' at I/29, and 'hommes' at II/10. The question is worth pursuing further. As 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀸 is coupled with 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀸, 'woman' or 'lady' in all three of these passages, we are entitled to take it as the masculine counterpart of 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀸. At I/1 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀸 certainly means 'Lady', not merely 'woman', for it is the title of Rāma Gamhēñ's own mother. Guignard's *Dictionnaire laotien-français* (Hongkong, 1912) glosses *Nang* as 'dame', 'demoiselle', and adds that the word is a 'titre des femmes ou des filles nobles'. Esquirol and Williatte's dictionary of Dìoi, the language of the *Tai* peoples of Kwangsi and Kweichow (*Essai de dictionnaire dioi-français*, Hongkong, 1908), glosses *Nang* as 'demoiselle', calls the word an 'appellation donnée aux filles des seigneurs' and refers the reader to the word *Kouang* for further information: *Kouang*, says the same dictionary, is an 'appellation honorifique donnée aux fils des seigneurs, de 15 à 30 ans.' Because of these various equivalences, there seems a good chance that 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀸 and 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀸 in our inscription mean the same thing as *Kouang* and *Nang* in the Dìoi language. On the other hand Professor Gedney, in his article *A Comparative Sketch of White, Black and Red Tai* (Social Science Review, Special Issue, December 1964, p. 47) suggests that 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀸 and 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀸 at I/29 mean 'king' and 'queen', i.e. the petitioner 'has no king, has no queen (to depend on)'. His suggestion is plausible enough for the passage he cites; but as it cannot be made to fit the context of I/15 or II/10 we prefer an interpretation that would be reasonably applicable to all three occurrences.

20) 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀸 (I/18), i.e. 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀸, 'father lord', corresponds to 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀸 ('King') at IV/12 and in the later inscriptions. In the present inscription 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀸 does not occur absolutely, but is always followed by a proper name, e.g. 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀸 (I/18 et passim, seven times in all), 'King Rāma Gamhēñ'; 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀸 (IV/1), 'King Śrī Indrāditya'. Cf. Coedès, *Les peuples de la Peninsule indochinoise*, Paris, 1962, p. 137: 'De même qu'au sommet de l'édifice social des Mongols se trouve la "famille d'or", dont le chef est le grand Khan, et dont les princes sont les fils du grand Khan, de même Rāma K'amhēng se donne dans son inscription le titre de *p'o khun*, "père khun", tandis que les princes et hauts dignitaires sont les *luk khun*, "fils khun".'



elephants<sup>30</sup>, wives, children, granaries<sup>31</sup>, rice, retainers<sup>32</sup> and groves of areca and betel — is left in its entirety<sup>33</sup> to his son. When commoners or men of rank differ and disagree<sup>34</sup>, [the King] examines the case to get at the truth<sup>35</sup> and then settles<sup>36</sup> it justly for them<sup>37</sup>. He does not connive with thieves or favor concealers [of stolen goods]. When he sees someone's rice he does not covet<sup>38</sup> it, when he sees someone's wealth he does not get angry. If anyone riding an elephant comes to see him to put his own country under his protection<sup>39</sup>, he helps<sup>40</sup> him, treats him generously<sup>41</sup>, and takes care of him<sup>42</sup>; if [someone comes to him] with no elephants<sup>43</sup>, no horses, no young men or women of rank<sup>44</sup>, no silver or

- 30) ช้าง (I/23), i.e. ช้างขอ, literally 'elephants and elephant-goats', appears to be a ready-made expression signifying domesticated elephants.
- 31) ๓ข (I/23), i.e. ๓ข, 'granary'; obsolete in Siamese, but still current in *Tai Yuan*.
- 32) ๓ข๓ข๓ข; for ๓ข๓ข, see above, note 10. As Coedès says (JSS XII, pp. 5, 6), if we knew more about the social organization of the *Tai* of Sukhodaya, we should doubtless be able to make a clear distinction between ๓ข๓ข๓ข and ๓ข๓ข๓ข๓ข. We may add that the present passage suggests that the condition of the ๓ข๓ข๓ข was inferior to that of the ๓ข๓ข๓ข๓ข, since the former seem to figure among the dependents that the latter can bequeath to his son.
- 33) ๓ข (I/24), cf. ๓ข๓ข, 'all', 'entire', 'whole'. The statement seems to mean that there is no inheritance tax, and perhaps also that the King will protect rightful heirs from being dispossessed by more powerful neighbors.
- 34) ๓ข๓ข๓ข๓ข๓ข (I/25); ๓ข, 'to differ', 'to err'; ๓ข๓ข, 'to differ', 'to be separated'; ๓ข๓ข 'to part'; ๓ข 'wide', 'widely', or else equivalent to ๓ข๓ข, 'to tear'; ๓ข, 'from each other'.
- 35) ๓ข๓ข๓ข (I/25-26); ๓ข๓ข, 'to examine'; ๓ข, 'to look', 'to consider'; ๓ข, 'truly'.
- 36) ๓ข๓ข (I/26), literally 'to split', 'to divide'.
- 37) ๓ข (I/26) is here used as a pronoun of the third person plural.
- 38) ๓ข๓ข๓ข (I/27); ๓ข๓ข, 'to desire', 'to covet'; ๓ข๓ข, cf. the modern vulgarism ๓ข๓ข๓ข, 'to be very angry'.
- 39) ๓ข๓ข๓ข๓ข (I/28); ๓ข—๓ข 'to bring'; ๓ข๓ข, '(his own) country'; ๓ข 'to stay with', i.e. to become Rāma Gaṁhēn's vassal.
- 40) ๓ข๓ข regularly used in the Sukhodayan inscriptions for ๓ข๓ข, 'to help'.
- 41) ๓ข๓ข๓ข๓ข (I/28-29) is an archaic or dialectical form of ๓ข๓ข๓ข 'to support', 'to be generous to', 'to be hospitable to', 'to be solicitous of' (see Coedès at JSS XII, p. 7).
- 42) ๓ข (I/28), ๓ข means 'to raise up', 'to restore' in modern Siamese; but in Dioi the same word means 'to take care of' (Coedès, *ibid.*; Esquirol and Williatte, s.v. *Kou*).
- 43) In contrast to the wealthy ruler who came riding an elephant in order to become the King's vassal, this petitioner is a dispossessed ruler who asks to take refuge with him.
- 44) i.e. the dispossessed prince escaped without being able to bring any of his family or followers with him; for the meaning of ๓ข๓ข and ๓ข (I/29), see above, note 19,

gold, he gives him some, and helps him until<sup>45</sup> he can establish a state [of his own]<sup>46</sup>. When he captures enemy warriors<sup>47</sup>, he does not kill them or beat them. He has hung a bell in the opening of the gate over there<sup>48</sup>: if any commoner<sup>49</sup> in the land has a grievance<sup>50</sup> which sickens his belly and gripes his heart, and which he wants to make known to his ruler and lord, it is easy<sup>51</sup>; he goes and strikes the bell which the King has hung there; King Rāma Gaṃhèn, the ruler of the kingdom, hears the call; he goes and questions the man, examines the case, and decides it justly for him<sup>52</sup>. So the people of this Mōaṅ of Sukkhodai praise him. They plant areca groves and betel groves all over this Mōaṅ; coconut groves and jackfruit<sup>53</sup> groves are planted in abundance in this Mōaṅ, mango groves and tamarind groves are planted in abundance in this Mōaṅ. Anyone who plants them gets them for himself and keeps them<sup>54</sup>. Inside this city there is a marvelous<sup>55</sup> pond<sup>56</sup> of water which

45) ทาง, an obsolete word meaning 'until'. Cf. JSS LVII/1, p. 123 (II/4) and p. 139.

46) Conjectural translation, based on the assumption that the normal way for the King to help a refugee ruler would be to give him an apanage. Coedès translates this passage differently. At JSS XII, p. 8: 'il l'aide et le considère comme du pays'. At *Recueil*, I, p. 45: 'l'aide à se considérer comme dans son propre pays'.

47) ข้าศึกข้าเสอฮว้พ้งทววน (I/31). ข้าศึก, 'enemy'; ข้าเสอ, as Bradley says (JSS VI/1, p. 50), is only an alliterative pendant; ทวพ้งทววน, 'fighters'. The whole expression probably means no more than 'enemy warriors', though those designated as ทว are of higher rank than those designated as ข้า.

48) หน้ (I/32). หน้ is still used in *T'ai Yuan* to mean 'over there'. As the inscription was set up in the palace grounds, 'the gate over there' is the palace gate.

49) โพ้งฝ้างหน้าปก (I/32-33), 'a commoner with face covered'. It is uncertain whether the expression refers to a different category of persons from the 'commoners with bright faces', or whether this particular person, whose face would normally be 'bright', now has his face 'covered' (overcast?) because of his distress.

50) หน้ต้อย หน้ทววน; cf. modern Siamese ถ้อยความ, 'lawsuit'.

51) ง่าย (I/34), equivalent to ง่ายไม่, 'it is not difficult'.

52) Note the parallel with the passage at I/25 f.: สวนตุ (II/25), ทมสวน (II/1); แต่งความแก่ข้าด้วย หน้ (I/26); (แต่ง) ความแก่มนนด้วย หน้ (II/1).

53) For ทาง, 'jackfruit' or 'breadfruit'; see Coedès at JSS XVII, p. 115.

54) ไร่ในท่มน (II/5). The King was presumably the owner of all the land in the kingdom, but he might grant unused land to persons who wished to grow fruit, with the understanding that it would not be taken away from them as long as they cultivated it properly.

55) โขย (II/6), 'marvelous' (glossed as อัจฉริยะ, etc., at ประชุมพงศาวดาร, Vol. X, p. 205). See Coedès, JSS XVII, p. 115.

56) Or perhaps the plural is intended. Inside the walled city of Sukhodaya there are the remains of at least four large ponds (now known as สระพังทอง, สระพังเงิน, สระพังพระกวาน, and สระพังสอ respectively). Of course we do not know which of them were in existence in Rāma Gaṃhèn's time,

is as clear and as good to drink as the water of the Khoi<sup>57</sup> in the dry season. The triple rampart<sup>58</sup> surrounding this city of Sukhodai measures three thousand four hundred fathoms.<sup>59</sup>

[II/8-23.] The people of this city of Sukhodai like to observe the precepts and bestow alms<sup>60</sup>. King Rāma Gamhēñ, the ruler of this city of Sukhodai, as well as the princes and princesses, the young men and women of rank<sup>61</sup>, and all the noblefolk<sup>62</sup> without exception, both male and female, all have faith in the religion of the Buddha, and all observe the precepts during the rainy season.<sup>63</sup> At the close of the rainy season they celebrate the Kaṭhina ceremonies<sup>64</sup>, which last a month, with heaps of cowries, with heaps of areca nuts, with heaps of flowers, with cushions and pillows: the gifts they present [to the monks] as accessories to the Kaṭhina [amount to] two million<sup>65</sup> each year. Everyone goes to the

57) The Mè Khoi (*Mè Kông*).

58) <sup>†</sup>ท.บ.ร (II/7-8), 'triple rampart'; see Coedès, JSS XVII, p. 115.

59) The three earthen ramparts can still be seen. At the north and south the innermost of the three (the principal rampart) measures 1800 m., at the east and west, 1360 m., making the length of its perimeter 6320 m.; so the value of the fathom (*wâ*) must have been about 1.86 m. at the time. See Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, p. 8.

60) As it stands, the sentence at II/8-9 reads คนในเมืองสุโขทัยนั้นมักทานมัททวง<sup>†</sup> สมนกไลทาน 'The people of this city of Sukhodai like almsgiving, they like to observe the precepts, they like to bestow alms.' As there seems to be no good reason for the double reference to alms (ทาน-Pali *dāna*), we assume that the sentence was intended to read คนในเมืองสุโขทัยนั้นมักทาน<sup>†</sup> สมนกไลโดยทาน, but the engraver first inadvertently wrote ทาน instead of ทวง, and then, having discovered his mistake, wrote the passage correctly.

61) <sup>†</sup>คนชั้นวรรณะ (II/10-11); cf. above, notes 19 and 44.

62) <sup>†</sup>ลูกเจ้าลูกขุน (II/11); cf. above, note 26.

63) <sup>†</sup>บวช (II/16-17), modern บวช (Skt. *varṣā*, Pali *vassā*). The monks go into retreat during the rainy season.

64) The annual presentation of robes to the monks in October or November. For descriptions of the ceremony, see Kenneth Wells, *Thai Buddhism, its Rites and Activities*, Bangkok, 1939, pp. 99-104; Quaritch Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies*, London, 1931, pp. 200-210.

65) For <sup>†</sup>สองล้าน (II/16), 'two million', see Coedès at JSS XII, p. 9 f. Probably two million cowries, representing the total value of the accessory gifts. The sum is small in comparison to the distribution made by Rāma Gamhēñ's grandson in a single great ceremony in 1361, which included large quantities of gold and silver, ten million cowries, ten million areca nuts, four hundred sets of robes, four hundred almsbowls, four hundred cushions and four hundred pillows (see Inscription V, III/14 ff.); but the Kaṭhina was performed every year. Besides the value of the cowrie may have been greater in Rāma Gamhēñ's time,

Araññika<sup>66</sup> over there for the recitation of the Kathina<sup>67</sup>. When they are ready to return to the city they walk together, forming a line all the way from the Araññika to the parade-ground.<sup>68</sup> They repeatedly do homage together<sup>69</sup>, accompanied by the music of instruments<sup>70</sup> and singing<sup>71</sup>. Whoever wants to make merry, does so; whoever wants to

- 66) i.e. the place now called วัดสะพานหิน, 'Monastery of the Stone Causeway', about two kilometers west of the walled city; see Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, p. 9. In Rāma Gamhèn's time it was the monastery of the Araññikas or Forest-Dwelling Monks. In our translation we have regularized the spelling of the name, which is written araññika (อรัญญิก) at II/16-17 and again at II/17-18 (though it is correctly written, อรัญญิก araññika, at II/31 and III/21). For the irregular spelling, see Bradley, JSS VI, pp. 52-53.
- 67) สุตญัตตกถา (II/16). สุต is for สวด, 'to recite', 'to chant'; ญัตต, Pali ñatti, 'announcement', 'declaration'; กถา, 'kathina'. (For ñatti, see Bradley at JSS VI, p. 52, and Coedès at JSS XIII/3, p. 22.) The expression of course refers to the whole ceremony, though the 'declaration' was only part of it (cf. Wells, *Thai Buddhism*, p. 102).
- 68) ทิวลา (II/18), for หัวลาน, modern สนามหลวง, the chief parade-ground or esplanade of a city; cf. ลานพระบรมรูปทรงม้า, 'royal plaza', 'esplanade for royalty to ride horses'. Probably, like the สนามหลวง in Bangkok, it was also used for various public purposes. We take it to be equivalent to the 'Maidān' of Indian towns (the word 'maidān' is Indo-Persian; see Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, being a Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases*, London, 1888, p. 464, s.v. Mydan, Meidaun). Perhaps the หัวลาน a II/18 should be identified with 'the old esplanade' (สนามเก่า = สนามเก่า), west of Vāt Saraṣakti, mentioned in Inscription XLIX (II/19-20) in 1417; see Griswold and Prasert ṇa Nagara, JSS LVI/2, p. 238.
- 69) ต้มกัถอย (II/18); ต้ม is equivalent to ะคม, 'repeatedly'; บงกั is probably for บังคม, 'to do homage'; กถอย, 'together'. Instead of กถอย, Mr. Prasāra Puṇpradh reads กถอง; and takes บงกั to be equivalent to ประโคม. If that is right, we should translate: 'repeatedly beat drums in unison.' Note that the word กถอย is inserted below the line.
- 70) เสียงพาดสาย<sup>4</sup>พม (II/18-19), 'the sounds of vādyā [xylophone] and vīṇa [Indian lute]', a conventional expression for musical instruments of various sorts, perhaps more particularly percussion instruments and plucked string instruments. Cf. Dhanit Yupho, *Thai Musical Instruments*, Bangkok, 1960, Chapters I, III.
- 71) เสียง<sup>4</sup>เลื้อนผสมขมม (II/19). As Bradley observes (JSS VI, p. 53 f.), the word เลื้อน is unknown in any sense that could be applicable here; but as ขมม means 'to sing', or perhaps to sing some particular kind of song, the parallel with the preceding phrase, with its two sorts of musical instruments, shows that เลื้อน (which reappears twice at I/20), is also some sort of singing.



laugh, does so; whoever wants to sing, does so. As this city of Sukkhodai has four very big gates, and as the people always<sup>72</sup> crowd together<sup>73</sup> to come in and watch the King lighting candles and setting off fireworks, the city is filled to the bursting point.<sup>74</sup>

[II/23-27] Inside this city of Sukhodai, there are vihāras, there are golden statues of the Buddha, there are statues eighteen cubits in height<sup>75</sup>; there are big statues of the Buddha<sup>76</sup> and medium-sized ones, there are big vihāras and medium-sized ones; there are monks, Nissayamuttas, Theras and Mahātheras.<sup>77</sup>

72) หนักเหมือน (II/21); probably หนัก in the sense of 'just like', 'according to', and เหมือน 'normally', 'usually'. Hence the meaning should be 'according to custom', 'as a rule', 'often', 'always', 'constantly', 'naturally', etc. In the Sukhodayan inscriptions หนัก alone seems to be used with the same sense. (In translating, it often seems best to omit it.) According to Coedès (JSS XVII/1, p. 117), หนักเหมือน is an expression indicating a superlative, and is always placed before the expression to which it applies.

73) สยดกัน (II/21); หนักกัน or หนักกัน means tightly packed or squeezed together.

74) หนักจนจะแตก (II/23), 'has [so many people in it] that it is about to burst'. Cf. Bradley, JSS VI, p. 54.

75) Perhaps the singular is intended: 'there is a big vihāra, there is a golden statue of the Buddha, there is a statue eighteen cubits in height'. 'Golden' need not be taken literally; the statues were more likely made of gilded bronze. Statues eighteen cubits in height (a little less than 9 m.) were esteemed because that is supposed to have been the Buddha Gotama's actual height. While it is of course possible that the passage at II/23-37 is supposed to be a description of the city in general, Coedès gives good reasons to believe it is more particularly a description of Vāt Mahādhātu, which stands near the geographical center of the city (Coedès, *Les premières capitales du Siam aux XIIIe-XIVe siècles*, Arts asiatiques, III/4, p. 247 f.; discussion in Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, p. 8 f.). The precinct contains the ruins of a huge vihāra (over 50 m. in length) and several smaller ones, as well as two eighteen-cubit statues made of stucco. At one time it must have contained a large quantity of Buddha images of various sizes and materials.

76) At the end of II/24, the scribe first wrote หนักพระพุทธรูป and then, discovering his error, repeated หนักพระพุทธรูป correctly at the beginning of the next line.

77) หนักปู่ครู หนักสนี . . . หนักเถร หนักมหาเถร (II/26-27). The term Pū Garū (ปู่ครู), literally 'senior teacher', is apparently an honorific which was applied to all monks. It reappears at II/30, II/33, III/4, and III/14). For the restoration of หนักสนี . . . หนัก (I/27) as หนักนัยมุตตา (Pali: nissayamutta), see Mahā Chām at Prajñā I, 1957, p.

[II/27-33.] West of this city of Sukhodai is the Araññika, built by King Rāma Gaṃhēṅ as a gift to the Mahāthera Saṅgharāja<sup>78</sup>, the sage who has studied the scriptures<sup>79</sup> from beginning to end, who is wiser<sup>80</sup> than any other monk<sup>81</sup> in the kingdom, and who has come<sup>82</sup> here from Mōaṅ Srī Dharmmarāja<sup>83</sup>. Inside the Araññika there is a large rectangular<sup>84</sup> vihāra, tall and exceedingly beautiful, and an eighteen-cubit statue of the Buddha standing up.<sup>85</sup>

4 n. 1. According to Mahā Chām (ibid.), a Nissayamutta ('one who is set free from reliance on supports') is a monk who has been ordained for at least five years. In the Sukhodayan Saṅgha, as we gather from *Mūlasāsanā*, a monk had to have been ordained for ten years to receive the rank of Thera, and to attain a certain level of learning to receive the title of Mahā. In the present passage the four grades are given in the order of increasing seniority, beginning with ordinary monks. (The อนุกรมลำดับชั้นพระภิกษุสามเณร, Bangkok, 1927, is certainly wrong in glossing the term ปุ่คฺจ as a rank in the Sukhodayan monkhood lower than saṅgharāja but higher than thera and mahāthera, a gloss which appears to be based on a false reading of the very passage we have been discussing, restored by early editors as ปุ่คฺจมีสงฆราชผู้มีเถระมีมหาเถระ. No matter how ปุ่คฺจ is to be defined, this reading would put the other three terms in an incoherent order of seniority (saṅgharaja—thera—mahāthera), which is quite out of key with Rāma Gaṃhēṅ's orderly method of expressing himself. If pū garū meant a monk who was senior to mahāthera but junior to saṅgharāja, the proposed order 'pū garū—saṅgharāja—thera—mahāthera' would be even more incoherent.)

78) It is not clear whether this Saṅgharāja was the head of the whole Sukhodayan monkhood or only of the sect of Forest-Dwellers.

79) ปิตกัฏ, pītakaṅṅrai (II/29), i.e. Traipiṭaka (Pali: Tipiṭaka).

80) For ทวณ (II/30), 'wise', 'learned', see Coedès at JSS XII, pp. 10-11; cf. *Tai Yuan* ทวณ, 'clever', 'brilliant', also Siamese ทักษณ, 'skilful', 'intelligent', 'expert', 'wise'.

81) Pū Garū (see note 77).

82) For ๓ . . . . . มา (II/30-31), 'to come from' (still current in *Tai Yuan*), see Bradley, JSS VI, p. 55.

83) Nagara Srī Dharmmarāja.

84) Conjectural translation of ๓๓ (II/31). At present ๓๓ means 'round', which is of course impossible in this context. Pallegoix, however, glosses ๓๓ as 'angulatus, non rotundus'. 'Rectangular' is an accurate description of the vihāra, the ruins of which are still visible, but since all vihāras in Siam are rectangular we may well ask the reason for the redundancy. Bradley takes ๓๓ to be a mistake for ๓๓๓, 'it' (the engraver, he says, 'had not room for the second ๓ at the end of the line, and forgot to put it in when he began the next one'; JSS VI/1, p. 55). Alternatively we might perhaps guess that ๓๓ means 'big'.

85) ทศ ๓๓ (II/32-33), i.e. ทศ๓๓ (modern: ๓๓).

[II/33-35.] East of this city of Sukhodai there are vihāras and monks<sup>86</sup>, there is the large lake, there are groves of areca and betel, upland and lowland farms, homesteads, large and small villages, groves of mango and tamarind. [They] are as beautiful to look at as if they were made for that purpose.<sup>87</sup>

[III/1-3.] North<sup>88</sup> of this city of Sukhodai there is the bazaar<sup>89</sup>, there is the Acan statue<sup>90</sup>, there are the prāsādas<sup>91</sup>, there are groves of cocoanut and jackfruit, upland and lowland farms, homesteads, large and small villages.<sup>92</sup>

[III/3-10.] South<sup>93</sup> of this city of Sukhodai there are kuṭīs with vihāras and resident monks, there is the dam<sup>94</sup>, there are groves of

86) ไม้คอง (II/33); see note 77.

87) ไม้คอง (II/35-III/1); ไม้คอง, 'deliberately', 'on purpose' (Pallegoix); cf. Bradley, JSS VI, p. 56.

88) ไม้คองหันนอน, 'in the direction of a man's feet when he is sleeping'. According to tradition a man should sleep on his right side, facing the east. Cf. Bradley JSS VI, p. 56.

89) ตลาดบ้าน (II/1-2). ตลาด means a market; บ้าน is a phonetic spelling of the Siamese pronunciation of the Persian word *bāzār*, a covered market. This word was widely used at an early date in the Far East to designate a permanent market with shops, in contrast to temporary open-air markets (see Coedès, *Arts asiatiques*, III/4, p. 252). A lot of roof-tiles, which may have belonged to this bazaar, have been discovered near the *Pra Ruang Highway* a little north of the north gate of the city; see Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, p. 9.

90) Generally identified with the colossal statue of the Buddha in the maṇḍapa of Vāt Śrī Jum. See Coedès, *ibid.*, 252-3; Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, p. 9. The name **acan** (อแกน) probably represents the Sukhodayan pronunciation of Pali **acala**, 'steadfast', 'immovable' (*Pali Text Society Dict.*, p. 94; see Coedès, *loc. cit.*, p. 252), which seems a very appropriate name for this enormous statue. Mahā Chāṃḍōṅgāṃvarṇa proposes an alternative explanation, that it represents Pali **acanā**, 'honor', 'veneration' (*Prajum Śilacārik*, I, BE 2500, p. 4 note 3).

91) The triad of towers at the temple of Braḥ Bāy Hivān̄ (พระบาทหลวง, *Pra Pāi Luang*). See Coedès, *op. cit.*, 254 f.; Griswold, *op. cit.* pp. 2 and 9.

92) Near the end of the 13th century a group of potters were settled in this area; see Griswold, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

93) ไม้คองหัวนอน (III/3-4), 'in the direction of a man's head when he is sleeping'; cf. above, note 88).

94) See Griswold, *op. cit.*, p. 9 and note 28.

cocoanut and jackfruit, groves of mango and tamarind, there are mountain streams and there is Braḥ Khabuñ<sup>95</sup>. The divine sprite of that mountain is more powerful than any other sprite in this kingdom. Whatever lord may rule this kingdom of Sukhodai, if he makes obeisance to him properly, with the right offerings, this kingdom will endure<sup>96</sup>, this kingdom will thrive; but if obeisance is not made properly or the offerings are not right, the sprite of the hill will no longer protect it<sup>97</sup> and the kingdom will be lost.

[III/10-27.] In 1214 saka, a year of the dragon<sup>98</sup>, King Rāma Gaṃhèñ, lord of this kingdom of Śrī Sajjannālai and Sukhodai, who had planted these sugar-palm trees fourteen years before<sup>99</sup>, commanded his craftsmen to carve a slab of stone<sup>100</sup> and place it in the midst of these sugar-palm trees. On the day of the new moon, the eighth day of the waxing moon, the day of the full moon, and the eighth day of the waning moon<sup>101</sup>, [one of] the monks, theras or mahātheras goes up and sits on the stone slab to preach the Dharma to the throng of lay-people who observe the precepts. When it is not<sup>102</sup> a day for preaching the Dharma, King Rāma Gaṃhèñ, lord of the kingdom of Śrī Sajjannālai and Sukhodai, goes up, sits on the stone slab, and lets the officials, lords and princes discuss affairs of state with him. On the day of the new moon and the day of the full moon, when the white elephant named Rūcaśrī<sup>103</sup> has been decked out with

95) The name is apparently a variant of Khmer **braḥ khbañ**, 'holy and exalted'. Braḥ Khbañ is generally taken to be the name of the sprite, but the syntax here shows that it is the name of the mountain. In an inscription of 1514 A.D. **Śilpākara**, VIII/5, p. 59) it is again used as the name of a mountain, ព្រះបាទសុរាយ័យវរ្ម័ន (line 34). However it is the name of the sprite in Inscription XLV, I/50; see JSS LVII/1, p. 75 and p. 83. For a discussion of this sprite, see Coedès, *Arts asiatiques*, III/4, p. 264 f.

96) ថង់ (III/8); cf. ថេងង៉េ, 'permanent'.

97) ប៉ុក្កុំឃប់ពេទ្យ (III/9-10); the verb កុំពេទ្យ means 'to protect'.

98) 1292 A.D.

99) It has been suggested that he planted them at the time of his accession, the date of which is otherwise unknown.

100) The stone throne whose installation the inscription commemorates.

101) i.e. the four uposatha-days in each lunar month; see Coedès in JSS XII, pp. 11-12.

102) វៃ (III/16); in the Sukhodayan inscriptions this word usually has a negative sense, equivalent to modern វៃវៃ.

103) Skt. *rucāśī*, 'radiant fortune'.

howdah and tasseled head cloth<sup>104</sup>, and always<sup>105</sup> with gold on both tusks,<sup>106</sup> King Rāma Gamhēñ mounts him, rides away to the Araññika to pay homage to the Saṅgharāja<sup>107</sup>, and then returns. There is an inscription in the city of Jalyañ, erected beside the Śrī Ratanadhātu<sup>108</sup>; there is an inscription in the cave called Braḥ Rāma's Cave, which is located on the bank of the River Saṃbāy; and there is an inscription in the Ratanadhāra Cave.<sup>109</sup> In<sup>110</sup> this Sugar-palm Grove there are two

- 104) กวพดคคขาง (III/20). The word กวพด now means 'howdah fastenings', but here certainly means the howdah as well; คคขาง is for ขาง, 'tasseled headcloth' (Bradley, JSS VI/1, p. 58), or for Khmer *layam*, 'fringes', 'tassels'.
- 105) For กัษนญูอม, 'always' or 'according to custom', see above, note 72; cf. the same expression in the *Traibhūmikathā*, มีเครื่องประดับนี้ด้วย เทียรข้อมแล้วไปด้วยเงินแลทองของแก้ว, '[The preta] also has ornaments which are always made entirely of silver and gold and jewels'.
- 106) We follow the Siamese editors in taking ทองงา to mean gold tusk ornaments (Bradley and Coedès understand ทองงา as meaning 'gold and ivory'). Obviously the partly illegible expression that follows must have been ซ้ายขวา, 'left and right', i.e. both tusks.
- 107) Or else the eighteen-cubit statue (the word พระ could refer to either). Bradley conjecturally restores the lacuna at III/21 as ใพบ but the missing word must have been longer (very likely เถิง).
- 108) Prince Damrong identified this monument with the temple now known as Vāt Braḥ Prāṅg Jaliañ (*Wat Pra Brāng Chalieng*, วัดพระปรางค์ชะเลียง), which stands on the point of land formed by the elbow-turn of the river about 2 km. east of the walled city of Sajjanālaya; see Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, Map III, No. 15. The present temple there was built in the last quarter of the 15th century, probably encasing a stupa built by Rāma Gamhēñ which in turn was built on the ruins of a Khmer temple; *ibid.*, pp. 11 (and note 31), 57. The inscription at Jaliañ probably commemorated the dedication of the 'wall of rock' (ขวงผา) which was completed in 1292, the same year as the present inscription was engraved; see below, note 120.
- 109) For these two caves, see Prince Vajiravudh, *เมืองเทียรเมืองพระร่วง* Ch. X, p. 115. As Coedès says (JSS XII, p. 16) the mention of the three inscriptions at this particular point in the text is rather puzzling, and he adds: 'Peut-être avaient-elles avec le banc de pierre un rapport qui nous échappe aujourd'hui mais qui était suffisamment clair pour le rédacteur de l'inscription de Rāma Khamheng. Elles avaient pu par exemple être burinées à l'occasion de l'inauguration du siège royal et pour annoncer cet évènement, tout de même qu'en 889 A.D. le roi Khmer Yaçovarman proclamait à grand renfort d'inscriptions digraphiques la fondation du Çivāçrama. Ou bien encore donnaient-elles sur ces assemblées quotidiennes, auxquelles présidait le roi, des détails que notre texte n'a pas le loisir de donner et pour lesquels il renvoie à ces autres stèles'. But if either of these explanations is right, why should Rāma Gamhēñ put two of the inscriptions in caves? We have already suggested another explanation for the one at Jaliañ (*supra*, note 108); and it seems more likely that the two inscriptions in caves commemorated the founding of Buddha images or other objects of worship. In any case they were not necessarily engraved in the same year as the present one (1292); they could have been made any time after 1283, when Rāma Gamhēñ invented the Siamese script (see below, IV/4 f.), and before the present inscription.
- 110) กลวง (II/25), according to Coedès (JSS XII/1, p. 12), is equivalent to Lao กลวง, 'inside of'. Cf. Khmer *kumluñ*, *kaḷluñ*, which have the same meaning.

pavilions, one named al Brah Masa, one named Buddhasal.<sup>111</sup> This slab of stone is named Manansilpatra.<sup>112</sup> It is installed here for everyone to see.

[IV/1-4.]<sup>113</sup> All the Ma, the Kav, the Lav, the Dai of the lands under the vault of heaven and the Dai who live along the  and the Khon come<sup>114</sup> to do obeisance to King r Indraditya's son King Rama Gamhn, who is lord of the kingdom of r Sajjanalai and Sukhodai.<sup>115</sup>

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- 111) If each of these buildings was named for the principal statue it contained, which seems likely, the names should be translated as 'Pavilion of the Golden Image' and 'Pavilion of the Buddha Image'. It is not clear why they should be mentioned at this juncture. Perhaps the stone throne was located between them; or perhaps, though the text does not say so, they contained inscriptions.
- 112) For two alternative explanations of the name of the stone throne, see Coeds, JSS XII, pp. 17-18 and JSS XVII, p. 118.
- 113) The opening words of IV/1 seem to have been preceded by a punctuation mark, now largely obliterated, which indicated the beginning of a new sentence. See above, p. 15.
- 114) We use the present tense on the assumption that Epilogue I was added during Rama Gamhn's lifetime.
- 115) Coeds takes this passage to be part of the preceding sentence (see JSS XVII, p. 119 f.). In his view the skeleton of the sentence should be understood as follows: 'This slab of stone (etc.) has been placed here so that everyone may see King Rama Gamhn (etc.) together with the Ma, the Kav, the Lav, the Dai (etc.) coming to do obeisance', i.e. it has been placed here so that everyone may see the King sitting upon it to receive his vassals when they come to do obeisance. Coeds adds: 'Le trone de pierre tait bien fait pour que les gens vissent le roi, mais au lieu d'une sortie ou d'une audience banale, il s'agissait d'une audience solennelle donne aux peuplades tributaires. On comprend mieux ainsi pourquoi la construction de ce trone eut les honneurs d'une inscription commorative.' Cf. above, note 113; the punctuation mark seems to make Coeds's interpretation impossible. The vassal peoples listed, here, unlike the vassal cities listed in the second epilogue, all seem to be of *Tai* race. The Ma have not been identified, but it may be guessed they were located somewhere between Sukhodaya and Nan, perhaps around *Pre*; the Kav (*Gao*) were the people of the Upper Nan Valley; the Lav were the *Lao* of *Luang Pra Bang* and elsewhere in Laos; the 'Dai of the lands under the vault of heaven' would be the non-Lao *Tai* of Laos; the 'Dai who live along the ' were the *Tai* of the  Valley north of *Luang Pra Bang*; and the 'Dai who live along the Khon' were the *Tai* who lived along the *Me Kong*,

[IV/4-8.] In 1207 saka, a year of the boar<sup>116</sup>, he caused the holy relics<sup>117</sup> to be dug up so that everyone could see them. They were worshiped for a month and six days<sup>118</sup>, then they were buried in the middle of Śrī Sajjanālai, and a cetiya was built on top of them which was finished in six years<sup>119</sup>. A wall of rock enclosing the Braḥ Dhātu<sup>120</sup> was built which was finished in three years<sup>121</sup>.

[IV/8-11.] Formerly these Dai [Tai] letters did not exist. In 1205 saka, a year of the goat<sup>122</sup>, King Rāma GamhĒŦ set his mind and his heart<sup>123</sup> on devising<sup>124</sup> these Dai letters. So these Dai letters exist because that lord devised them<sup>125</sup>.

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- 116) Mahāsakarāja 1207 was a year of the cock, not a year of the boar. The discrepancy was almost certainly caused by the engraver misreading the text he had been given. Usually such a mistake is more likely to occur in the numeral than in the name of the animal; but in Rāma GamhĒŦ's script the numbers 7 and 9 are very different, while 𑄎𑄓 (cock) could easily be mistaken for 𑄎𑄔 (boar). See Coedès in JSS XII, p. 19 f. We follow Coedès in assuming that M.S. 1207 (=1285 A.D.) is intended.
- 117) Braḥ dhātu (IV/2); probably from the foundation deposit of the principal Khmer temple at Jalyañ (*Chalieng*). See Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, p. 10.
- 118) Perhaps the interval of time elapsing between the auspicious day calculated by the astrologers for digging up the relics and that for enshrining them.
- 119) Almost certainly the stupa now called Jān Lom (*Chàng Lôm*, ช้างล้อม), which is in the geographical center of the city of Sajjanālaya. See Griswold, *ibid*.
- 120) The 'wall of rock' (𑄎𑄓𑄔, IV/7) is probably the laterite wall surrounding the Braḥ Prāṅ Jaliani. For further details about these works, and their importance, see Griswold, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 11, 65, 66.
- 121) In the traditional arithmetic part of a year counts as a whole one, so 1207 saka plus 'six' years would be 1212 saka, and 1212 plus 'three' years would be 1214 saka. The cetiya must have been completed in 1212 saka (1290 A.D.), and the 'wall of rock' in 1214 saka (1292 A.D.), the same year the throne was installed and the present inscription engraved. See Coedès, JSS XII, p. 20 f.
- 122) 1283 A.D.
- 123) 𑄎𑄔𑄓𑄔𑄓 (IV/9-10); 𑄎𑄔𑄓, 'to have one's heart set on something'; 𑄎𑄔, 'in one's mind'.
- 124) 𑄎𑄔 (IV/10), modern 𑄎𑄔. We assume from the context that the word here means 'to devise', though we can cite no authority for its use in that sense.
- 125) For Rāma GamhĒŦ's invention of the Siamese alphabet, see Bradley, JSS VI, p. 9 ff.

[IV/11-27.] King Rāma Gamhèñ was<sup>126</sup> sovereign<sup>127</sup> over all the Dai. He was the teacher who taught all the Dai to understand merit and the Dharma rightly. Among men who live in the lands of the Dai, there is no one to equal him in knowledge and wisdom, in bravery and courage, in strength and energy. He was able to subdue a throng of enemies who possessed broad kingdoms and many elephants. The places whose submission he received on the east include<sup>128</sup> Sralvañ, Sòñ Gvè, Lum Pā Cāy, Sagā, the banks of the Khòñ, and Vyañ Cann Vyañ Gām which is the farthest place<sup>129</sup>; on the south [they include] Gandī, Braḥ Pāñ, Brèk,

- 126) We use the past tense on the assumption that the second Epilogue was added after his death; it is possible, however, that it was added near the end of his reign, and if so, the present tense should be substituted. The word ๓ at IV/11, and again at IV/12, IV/16 and IV/23, does not mean 'to seek'; it is merely an affirmative particle, which can best be omitted in translation.
- 127) ๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓ (IV/12). This expression, which reappears frequently in later Sukhodayan inscriptions, does not occur in the main text of this one, but only in the second Epilogue.
- 128) ๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓ (IV/17-18): literally 'He subdued, on the east, as far as'. Of course the word ๓๓๓ at IV/17 means 'subdued', just as it does at IV/16 where we translated it literally. Here we have preferred a paraphrase, for we need not conclude that all the places on the list that follows were subjugated by force of arms. Though we have no details, it seems likely that, while many of them were forced to submit as a result of defeat in battle, the rulers of others, aware of Rāma Gamhèñ's military prowess and the good treatment he provided his vassals, sought his protection and submitted voluntarily. The word ๓๓๓ at IV/18, 20, 22 and 24, 'up to', 'as far as', has an inclusive sense: 'up to and including'; so have ๓ at IV/18 and ๓๓ at IV/19. While the geographical order in which the places are given is based on the location of the capitals, we should not forget that in each case the whole principality is included.
- 129) Sòñ Gvè, which means a confluence of two rivers, is the old name of Biṣṇuloka. Sralvañ (๓๓๓๓), according to the general opinion, stands for Sraḥ Hlvañ (๓๓๓๓), 'Great Lake'; but it is hard to see how that can be right because the word hlvañ (๓๓๓) is never spelt without the initial ๓ in the inscriptions of Sukhodaya. The real meaning of the name Sralvañ is obscure, but it looks like an expanded form of *srvañ* (๓๓๓), 'heaven', 'high', or 'to sacrifice to the spirits', perhaps *srarvañ* (๓๓๓๓), which has the same meanings (the Sukhodaya inscriptions provide several examples of *la* replacing *ra*). Alternatively the name might stand for Sraḥ Luñ (๓๓๓๓), 'artificial lake' (cf. Khmer *luñ*, 'to dig', 'to excavate'). There is no justification for the generally accepted view which locates Sralvañ near Bicitra (๓๓๓๓), which is well to the south of Biṣṇuloka. As Sralvañ is listed just before Sòñ Gvè, it must have been somewhere between Sukhodaya and Biṣṇuloka.
- Lum-Pā Cāy, or Lam Pā Cāy, must have been at or near Hlam Kau (๓๓๓๓), on the Pā Sāk River north of Hlam Sāk (๓๓๓๓) in Bejrapūṇa Province.



Sūbarṇṇabhūm, Rājapurī, Bejapurī, Śrī Dharmarāja, and the seacoast, which is the farthest place<sup>130</sup>; on the west, [they include] Mōaṅ Chòt, Mōaṅ . . n, and Haṅśābati, the seas being their limit;<sup>131</sup> on the north, they include Mōaṅ Blè, Mōaṅ Mān, Mōaṅ N . . Mōaṅ Blvva and, beyond the

Sagā (ສາກ), mentioned between Luṃ Pā Cāy and the banks of the Mē Khoṅ, also appears in a list in Inscription VIII (IV/12-13), where it is mentioned between Mōaṅ Rāt (near Uttarattittha ?) and Luṃ Pā Cāy : the combination suggests that it was in the Pā Sāk Valley north of Luṃ Pā Cāy. *ເທົ່າຝັ່ງຂອງ* (IV/18-19) means 'up to and including the bank of the Khòṅ' (modern Mē Khoṅ, *แม่น้ำโขง, Mē Kóng*).

*ເດີງຂຽນຈາກພຽງເທົ່າ* (IV/19) means 'up to and including Vyaṅ Cann Vyaṅ Gāṃ' (the old name of *Vieng Jan* or Vientiane); in other words the principality of *Vieng Jan* was the most distant of Rāma GaṃhĒṅ's tributaries to the east.

- 130) Gandī was on the river *Ping* about 25 km. southeast of the present town of *Gampèng Pet* (Kāmbĕṅ Bejra).

Brah Pān (*Pra Bang*) is the old name of Nagara Svarga.

Brèk is Old Jayanāda, at Pāk Glòṅ Brèk Śrīrājā (ເທດສະດອນພຽງສຽງຮາກ) in the Sargapurī District (ອ. ສາງກຸງ) of the province of Jayanāda (*Chaināt*); see *Porāṇavattthusthāna*, p. 25.

Sūbarṇṇabhūm is Subarṇapurī (*Supānburī*), whose exact location in the late 13th century is not known, though it was probably not very far away from the present city of Subarṇapurī, founded in the 15th. The place now called *Ô Tông* had been abandoned in the 11th.

Rājapurī, Bejapurī and Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja were at or near the present towns of the same name (ກາງບຸນ, ເພງບຸນ, ພຽງສຽງຮາກ). The passage implies that the whole Malay Peninsula was subject to Rāma GaṃhĒṅ, including the principalities mentioned and several smaller ones.

- 131) Mōaṅ Chòt is Mē Sòt, in Tāk Province in the mountains along the Burma border.

'Mōaṅ . . n' is surely Bann (*Pān*), i.e. Martaban, the capital of the kingdom of Rāmaññadesa in Lower Burma. Rāmaññadesa was ruled from 1287 to 1306 by Cau Fā-Rua (*Wareru*), a son-in-law and vassal of Rāma GaṃhĒṅ; see Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, pp. 6, 15 f., 35, 36.

Haṅśābati is Pegu, N.-N.E. of Rangoon; part of the kingdom of Rāmaññadesa, and later its capital.

The seas referred to would be the Andaman Sea on the south and the Bay of Bengal on the west.

banks of the Khôn, Mōaṅ Javā, which is the farthest place.<sup>132</sup> All the people who live in these lands have been reared by him in accordance with the Dharma, every one of them.

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132) Mōaṅ Blē is Brē (*Prē*, 𑌛𑌆).

'Mōaṅ N . . Mōaṅ Blvva' should almost certainly be restored as 'Mōaṅ Nān Mōaṅ Blvva', 'the kingdom of Nān and Blua'; Blua (modern 𑌛𑌆), at the upper reaches of the Nān River, near the watershed which separates it from the Mē Khoṅ, was the first capital of the kings of Nān.

Bradley (JSS VI, p. 60) says he was assured that Mān (𑌛𑌆) is found in old writings for 𑌛𑌆 (Nān); but if we are right in restoring the next place-name as Nān, Mān must be something else. Should it be coupled with Mōaṅ Blē, in the same way as Mōaṅ Nān is coupled with Mōaṅ Blvva? And has the name Mān anything to do with the Mā whom we have discussed in note 115?

Mōaṅ Javā is the old name of *Luang Pra Bàng*; cf. above, note 115.

APPENDIX

**Samples of Four Translations Compared**

Here are a few passages from the inscription, chosen more or less at random, as translated by Bastian, Schmitt, Bradley and Coedès. It will be observed that our own translation generally follows that of Coedès, though in a few places we have ventured to depart from it.

I/10 ff.

**Bastian:** I set out against the savages, the tribes provided with elephants, to obtain slaves for my father. I fall on their villages, on their towns. I get elephants, get tusks; I get males and females; I get silver; I get gold; I bring it all up with me and deliver it over to my father. Then my father dies. There is still an elder brother. I give support to my elder brother, in the way, as I had supported my father. My elder brother dies. Now the towns come to me, all the four towns.

**Schmitt:** Quand, battant les marais, je rapportais des trompes d'éléphants, je les présentais à mon père. Faisant la guerre aux villes et aux villages, quand j'enlevais des éléphants, des trompes d'éléphants, des garçons, des filles, de l'or, j'en faisais une part pour mon père. Mon père mort, il me resta mon frère plus âgé. Pleurant mon père, je continuai à mon frère la sollicitude que j'avais témoignée à mon père.

**Bradley:** If I went to hunt elephants and got them, I brought them to my father. If I went to hamlets or towns, and got elephants, got elephants' trunks, got slaves, got damsels, got silver, got gold, I brought and left them with my father. My father died. I continued to be support and stay unto my brother just as I had been unto my father. My brother died. So I got the realm entire to myself.

**Coedès:** Si j'allais à la chasse aux éléphants et que j'en prisse, je les apportais à mon père. Si j'allais attaquer un village ou une ville et que j'en ramenasse des éléphants, des garçons, des filles, de l'argent, de l'or, je les confiais à mon père. Mon père mort, il me resta mon frère aîné. Je continuai à servir mon frère, comme j'avais servi mon père. Mon frère aîné mort, le royaume m'échut tout entier.

## I/28 ff.

**Bastian:** Whenever traders to buy or sell come in companies to visit the town, let them come. Such as wait for me at the northern frontier, requiring my assistance, shall have it. If they are in want of horses, or of elephants, or of slaves, or of money, it will be given to them. After the goods have been stapled up in the town and stored, there will be made an election of slaves and a rejection of slaves. Such as are clever in spearing, clever in fighting, shall not be killed, neither shall they be beaten.

**Schmitt** [in *Le Siam ancien*]: Si, sous prétexte de faire le commerce, quelque étranger arrive dans mon royaume, et que, contre mon gré, il devienne mon gendre; s'il n'a ni éléphants, ni chevaux, ni esclaves hommes ou femmes, ni argent ni or à donner, qu'il s'établisse à part et indépendant. Dans les condamnations à mort, qu'on fasse choix des chefs de bande, qui sont de vrais tigres; ne pas les tuer serait un mal.

**Schmitt** [in *Mission Pavie*]: Dans le cas ou des marchands étrangers, passant la frontière, opprimeraient mes sujets à mon insu et qu'ils n'auraient ni éléphants ni chevaux, ni esclaves hommes ou femmes, ni or ni argent, on les déclarera, eux et leurs marchandises, bien du royaume. Dans les condamnations à mort, qu'on fasse choix des chefs de bande, qui sont de vrais tigres; ne pas les tuer serait un mal.

**Bradley:** Whoever comes riding his elephant to visit the city, comes to the moat and waits beside it for me. Has he no elephants, no horses, no slaves, no damsels, no silver, no gold, I give it to him. Has he wealth to found towns and cities to be foes and enemies, to be strongholds for war and fighting, I smite not nor kill him.

**Coedès:** A quiconque vient à éléphant pour le trouver et mettre son propre pays sous sa protection, il accorde aide et assistance; si (le visiteur) n' a ni éléphants, ni chevaux, ni serviteurs, ni femmes, ni argent, ni or, il lui en donne et l' aide à se considérer comme dans son propre pays. S' il capture des guerriers ou des combattants ennemis, il ne les tue ni ne les frappe.

## II/20 ff.

**Bastian :** In this town of Sukhotay there are excellent singers with melodious voices. At the height of the festival the people use to come in crowds, jostling each other and eager to look on, how they light up the fireworks and let them off. This town of Sukhotay contains a gong, split in halves. This town of Sukhotay possesses a temple; possesses a statue of Buddha, 18 cubits high; possesses a large image of Buddha . . .

**Schmitt :** La ville de Sukhōdaya est munie de quatre portes mouvantes et très grandes par lesquelles le peuple se presse pour venir assister à la fête des illuminations et s'amuser (à courir à travers le feu). La ville de Sukhōdaya est immense, c'est à s'y perdre: au milieu de la ville de Sukhōdaya il y a des vihāras; il y a des statues du Buddha, des statues en relief; il y a des statues du Buddha qui sont grandes et fort belles . . .

**Bradley :** This city of Sukhothai has four gates exceeding great. The people throng and press each other fearfully there, when they come in to see him (the Prince) burn candles, to see him play with fire within this city of Sukhothai. In the midst of this city of Sukhothai there are temple-buildings, there are bronze images of Buddha; there is one eighteen cubits high. There are images of Buddha that are great, there are images that are beautiful . . .

**Comment :** Bradley had trouble with the passage <sup>1</sup>เมืองสุโขทัย มี เมือง  
จกนตท (II/20-21), so he omitted the second half from his translation and tacked the first half on to the preceding sentence. Bastian's translation, 'This town of Sukhotai contains a gong, split in halves,' is of course nonsense; but Schmitt's translation, 'La ville de Sukhōdaya est immense, c'est à s'y perdre'—though not accurate, gives approximately the right sense. Bradley calls Schmitt's rendering 'wild'. He adds, in the same footnote: 'Our Siamese scholars are quite as much at a loss. A solution seemed as hopeless as ever, when a Lao friend recognized in it a slangy colloquialism still current in the North, used in speaking of great numbers, amounts, and the like—comparable perhaps to such western slang as "fit to bust", "till you can't rest", etc.'

**Coedès :** Ce Mo'ān Sukhodai possède quatre portes: une foule immense s'y presse pour entrer et voir le roi allumer les cierges et jouer

avec le feu, et ce Mo'añ Sukhodai est plein de peuple à en éclater. Au milieu de ce Mo'añ Sukhodai, il y a des sanctuaires, il y a des statues en or du Buddha, il y a une statue du Buddha qui mesure dix-huit coudées, il y a des statue du Buddha qui sont grandes et il y en a de moyennes...

### III/10 ff.

**Bastian :** When the era was dated 1214, in the year of the dragon, the father-benefactor Ramkhambeng, the sovereign of this country (town) of Sisatxanalai-Sukhotay planted a palm tree, and after nineteen rice crops had gone by, he ordered the workmen to prepare the smooth surface of a stone, which was fastened and secured in the middle of the trunk of the palm tree. In the days of the dark moon, at the beginning and at the end, for eight days, and on the days of the full moon and the quarters, the assembly of the aged teachers and the priests ascend the surface of the stone to rest; and the whole circle of pious laymen accomplish the holy law in remembering and observing the victorious precepts. The father-benefactor Ramkhamhaeng, the sovereign of the country of Sisatxanalai-Sukhotay, ascending to the surface of the stone, sat down; and the host of the lords and the sons of the nobles, the whole multitude, paid homage to him for their villages, paid homage for their towns. On the first and the last day of the dark moon, on the extinguished moon, and at the full moon, the white elephant was adorned in its trappings of costly gold, as it has always been the custom to do. Its name is Ruchasi. The father-benefactor Ramkhambeng, having mounted on its back, proceeds to worship the image of Phra-Phuth in the jungle. He has brought forth the engravings from the town of Xolajong, to place them in the foundation, together with the glorious relics, the jewels holy and splendid from the cave on the source of the waters, the cave on the river's bank, from the precious fountain in the middle of the palm forest. Of the two halls, the one is called the golden, the other the strength of the protecting Buddha. The flat stone, called Manang-sila, in the form of an alms-bowl, is placed (as Dagob) above the relics, to close the foundation formed by the stone.

**Schmitt :** En ƚaka 1214, année cyclique du grand dragon, le prince Rāma-Khomhëng roi de Ƈri Sajjanālaya-Sukhōdaya fit placer par son architecte un trône en pierre, à l'ombre d'un groupe de palmiers que

Ša Majesté avait elle-même plantés, il y a quatorze ans passés. Le huit de la lune décroissante, le huit de la lune croissante, le jour de la pleine lune, le jour de la nouvelle lune, en foule, les gurus, les theras, les mahā theras, montent s'asseoir sur ce trône de pierre et récitent le dharma aux laïques; tous observent les préceptes. Cette lecture du dharma ne se fait pas le jour ou le prince Rāma-Khomhēng, roi de Ćrī Sajjanālaya-Sukhōdaya, assis sur ce trône de pierre, réunit le peuple, les mandarins et les juges pour leur faire jurer fidélité au gouvernement. Le dernier jour de la lune décroissante, puis le jour de la pleine lune sont des jours de mérites pour l'éléphant blanc appelé Rupa Ćrī; on lui met un panier doré richement orné et entouré de rideaux. Le roi Rāma-khomhēng y monte, va faire ses dévotions au vihāra des Aryyikas, puis s'en revient. Il y a une inscription dans la ville de Jalieng-Sagābok qui indique des reliques précieuses. Une autre inscription se trouve dans la caverne, dite caverne de Phra: Rāma, située sur la rive de la rivière Somphāi. Une autre inscription est conservée dans la caverne dite Ratana-Dhār. Il y a ici, dans le parc des palmiers, deux sālās dont l'un est appelé Phra: Māsa, l'autre Buddha-bāla. La pierre qui sert ici de trône est appelée Manaṅga-Ćilā mātra.

**Bradley:** In 1214 of the era, year of the Great Dragon, Prince Khūn Ram Khāmhaeng, lord of this realm of Si Sāchānalāi-Sūkhotthāi, [having] planted this grove of palm trees fourteen rice-harvests [before], caused workmen to hew slabs of stone and to set them up in the open space in the center of this palm grove. From the day when the moon was quenched and reappeared, for eight days, and from the day when the moon filled out her orb, for eight days [more], the Arch-priest went up and sat above the slabs of stone, intoning the Law unto the laity and to the multitude of people who were observing the precepts. If it were not a day for reciting the Law, Prince Khūn Ram Khāmhaeng, lord of this realm of Si Sāchānalāi-Sūkhotthāi, went up and sat above the slabs of stone, and had the mass of lords, of nobles and of soldiers pledge themselves together unto home and realm. On the days of new and of full moon, he had the white elephant named Ruchasi arrayed with trappings and housings all of gold and ivory . . . . right . . . . . and Prince Khūn Ram Khāmhaeng mounted and rode forth to worship the Buddha [in the

forest-] monastery, and came again. One inscription is in Mŭäng Chă-liăng, built into the (pagoda) Phră Sri Rătănăthat. One inscription is in a cave called the cave of [Phra r]am, situate on the bank of the stream Sămphai. One inscription is in the cave [Rătănă] than (Sparkling Brook). In the midst of this palm grove are two Salas; one called Sala Phră Mat (of the Golden Buddha), one called Phuttha B. . . This stone slab [is] named Mănăng Sĭla Batră (Thought lodged in stone).

**Coedès:** En 1214, année du dragon, le Prince Rāma Gamhēi, souverain de ce Mo'añ Sukhodai, qui avait fait planter ces palmiers à sucre depuis quatorze ans déjà, ordonna à des ouvriers de tailler cette dalle de pierre et de la placer au centre de cette palmeraie. Le jour de la nouvelle lune, le huitième jour de la lune croissante, le jour de la pleine lune, le huitième jour de la lune décroissante, le chapitre des moines, des theras et des mahātheras monte s'asseoir sur cette dalle de pierre et y récite la Loi aux laïcs et à l'assemblée des fidèles observant les préceptes. En dehors des jours de récitation de la Loi, le Prince Rāma Gamhēi, souverain des Mo'añ Ćrī Sajjanālai et Sukhodai, monte s'asseoir sur cette dalle de pierre, et, présidant l'assemblée des nobles et des dignitaires, traite avec eux des affaires du pays. Les jours de la nouvelle lune et de la pleine lune, le roi fait caparaçonner l'éléphant blanc nommé Rucāĉrī, avec la selle tout ornée d'or et d'ivoire à droite (et à gauche): le roi y monte et va faire ses dévotions au vénérable chef des Arañnikas, puis s'en revient. Il y a une inscription dans le Mo'añ Jalyañ, érigée et placée près de la relique Ćrī Ratanadhātu. Il y a une inscription dans la grotte appelée Grotte de Braḥ Rāma et située au bord de la rivière Sambāy. Il y a une inscription dans la Grotte Ratanadhāra. Dans une clairière de cette palmeraie, se trouvent deux pavillons: l'un s'appelle le Pavillon du Buddha d'or, l'autre le Pavillon du Buddha. Cette dalle de pierre se nomme Manănsĭlāpātra.

**Comment.** Apart from minor errors, Schmitt gets this important passage very nearly right, while Bradley misses the meaning altogether. Schmitt recognized that the 'stone slab', 𑄓𑄡𑄢𑄣𑄤𑄥 (III/12, III/15, III/17, III/26), is the Manansilāpātra throne. Bradley takes a very different view: 'Having sketched his early life, his prosperous reign, the splendor of his capital and its surroundings, Prince Khūn Ram Khămhaeng turns



to note . . . the preparation, consecration, and installation of four inscribed monuments of stone, of which we understand that our own was one' (JSS VI/1, p. 57, note to line 80). 'The reader will notice,' he continues (ibid., p. 58), 'that the text nowhere distinctly says that the four inscriptions so abruptly spoken of here [i.e. the three mentioned at III/-22 f., plus the one now being studied] were engraved on the "stone slabs" mentioned in line 82 [i.e. III/12]. Yet unless we connect the writing with the slabs, there seems to be not the slightest reason for saying anything about either. But absolutely convincing on this point seem to be words in line 96 [III/26]: *๗๓๑๓๓* — which can mean nothing else than the very stone and the very inscription we are now studying . . . Schmitt for a moment had a glimpse of the truth, and wrote [in 1884]: "Cette pierre-ci (la pierre de cette inscription même), nous appelons Manga (*sic*) -sila." But later, when he came to edit [the inscription for **Mission Pavie**], he renounced it all; for he had committed himself to the theory that there was but one stone, and it was "un trône en pierre". So he says here "la pierre qui ici sert de trône est appelée Mananga-Çila mâtra". This stone with its pyramid top would make a "trône" less comfortable even than some we hear of now-a-days' (JSS VI/1, p. 58, note to line 92). Since Bradley took all these slabs to be inscriptions, it would hardly do to have the venerable teachers sometimes, and Rāma Gamhèn sometimes, sit on them; so instead of translating *นั่ง เหนือจารึก* (III/85, III/87) as 'sat on the stone slab(s)' he translated it as 'sat above the slabs of stone'. In 1918 Coedès produced irrefutable arguments showing that Bradley was wrong in his interpretation of this passage, and Schmitt very nearly right (JSS XII/1, pp. 16-25).

#### IV/26 f.

**Bastian:** There are eatables cultivated in this territory, that the multitude of villagers and citizens may be provided with food, as it is right and just, according to the laws of line men.

**Schmitt:** Après (la conquête) il se sont livrés à l'agriculture pour nourrir les nombreux habitants des villages et des villes: tout le monde observe le dharma.

**Bradley:** He planted and nurtured a host of sons of this city and realm to be in accord with righteousness every one.

**Coedès:** Il a placé et nourri tous les habitants de ces pays dans l'observance de la Loi, sans exception.

### Abbreviations

BEFEO. Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extreme-Orient.

JSS. Journal of the Siam Society.

**Porānavatthusthāna.** โบราณวัตถุสถานที่วัดพระราชนัดดาเจ้าแก้ว, จีน อยุธยา เวียงเวียง, Bangkok, 1957.

**Prajum I.** แฉกโบราณคดี, ประชุมศิลาจารึกสยาม ภาคที่ ๑, Bangkok, 1924; second edition, ประชุมศิลาจารึก ภาคที่ ๑ Bangkok, 1957.

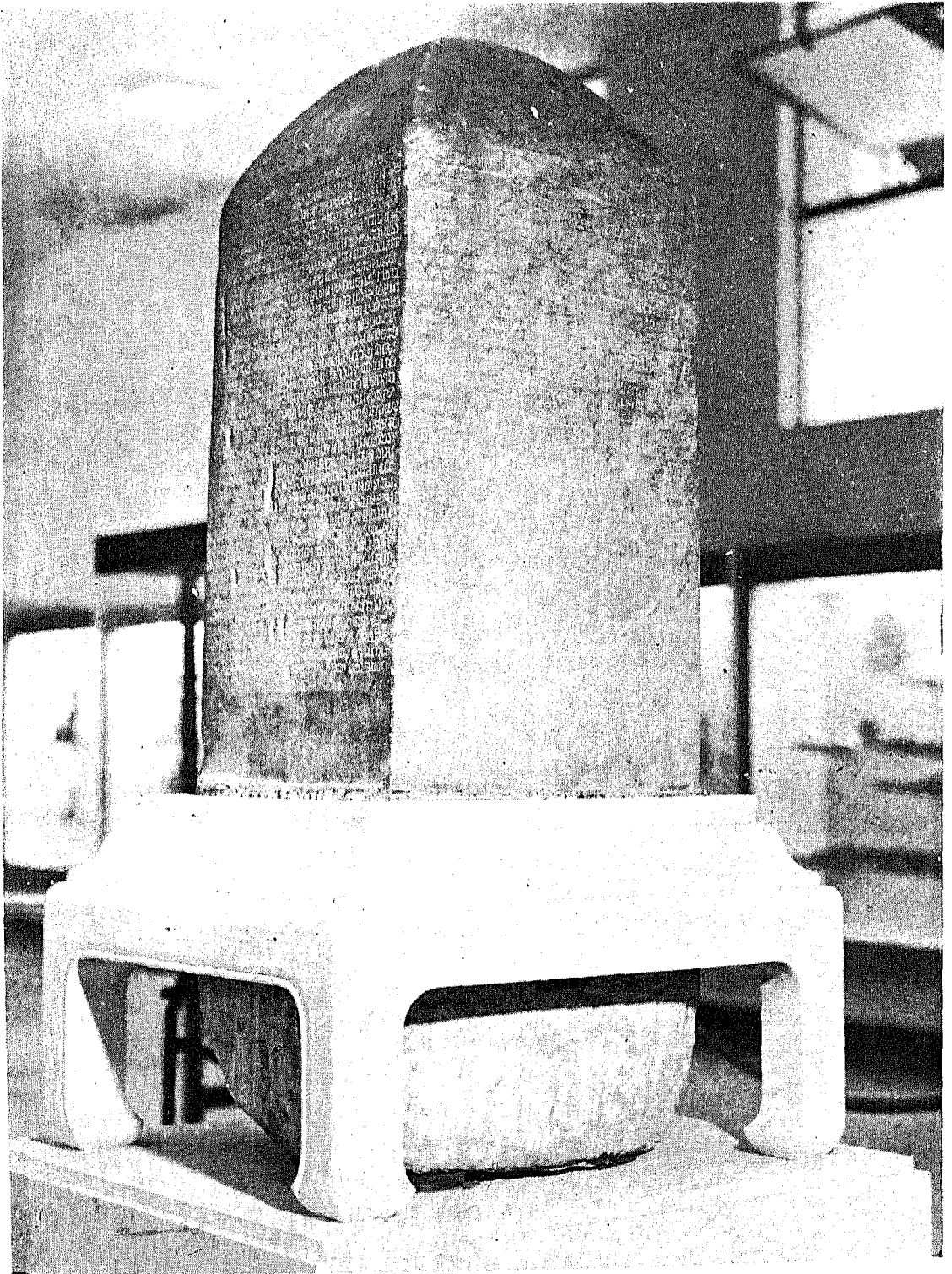


Fig. 1. The stone pillar bearing Rāma Gaṃheā's inscription. Manuscript and Inscription Division, National Library, Bangkok.

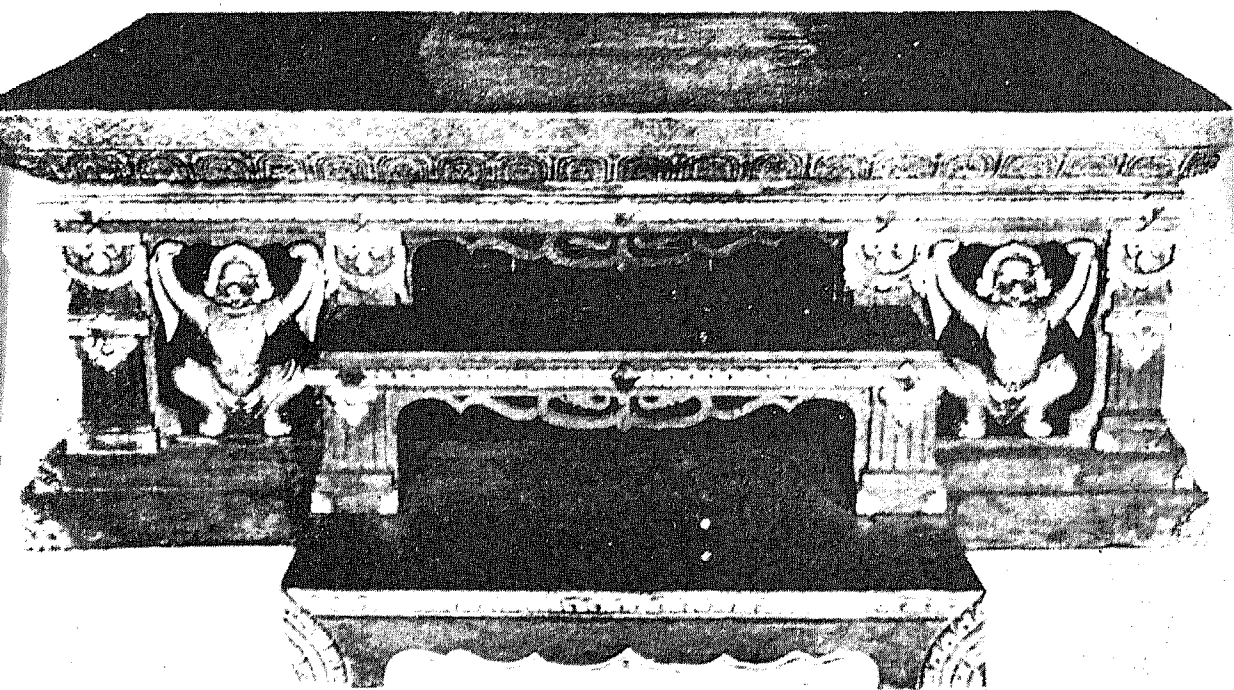
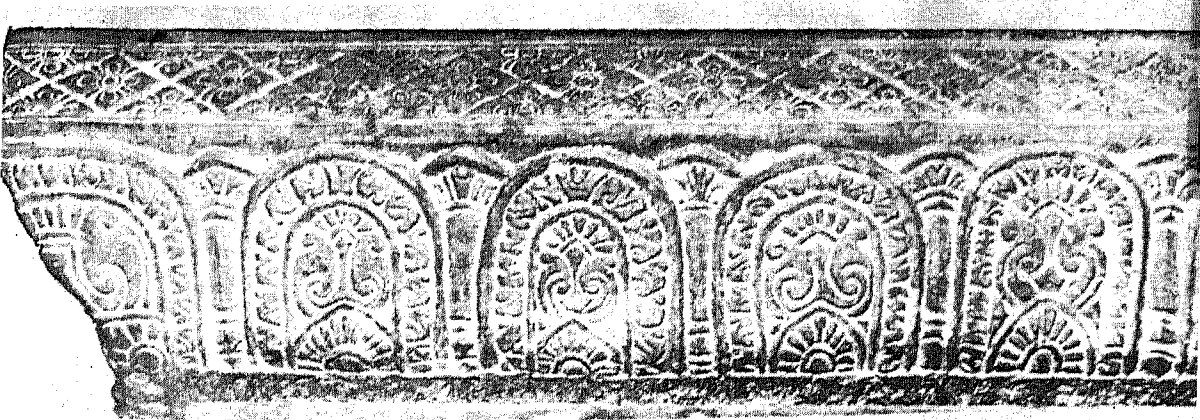


Fig. 2. The Manāṅsilāpātra Throne. Royal Place, Bangkok.  
2 a. With modern fittings.



2 b. Detail of the stone seat. (Length, 2 m.; width, 1.45 m.; thickness,  $13\frac{1}{2}$  cm.)

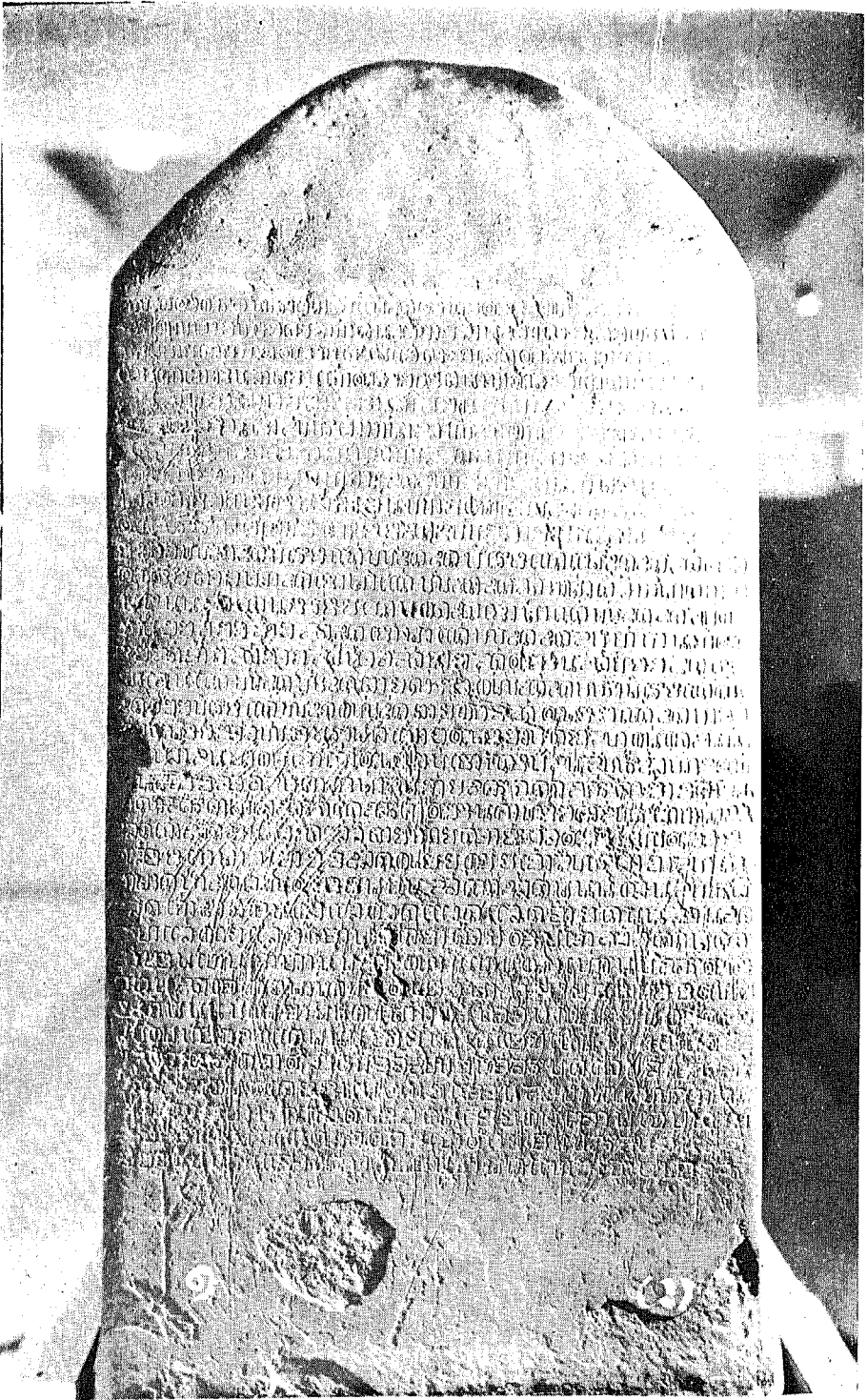
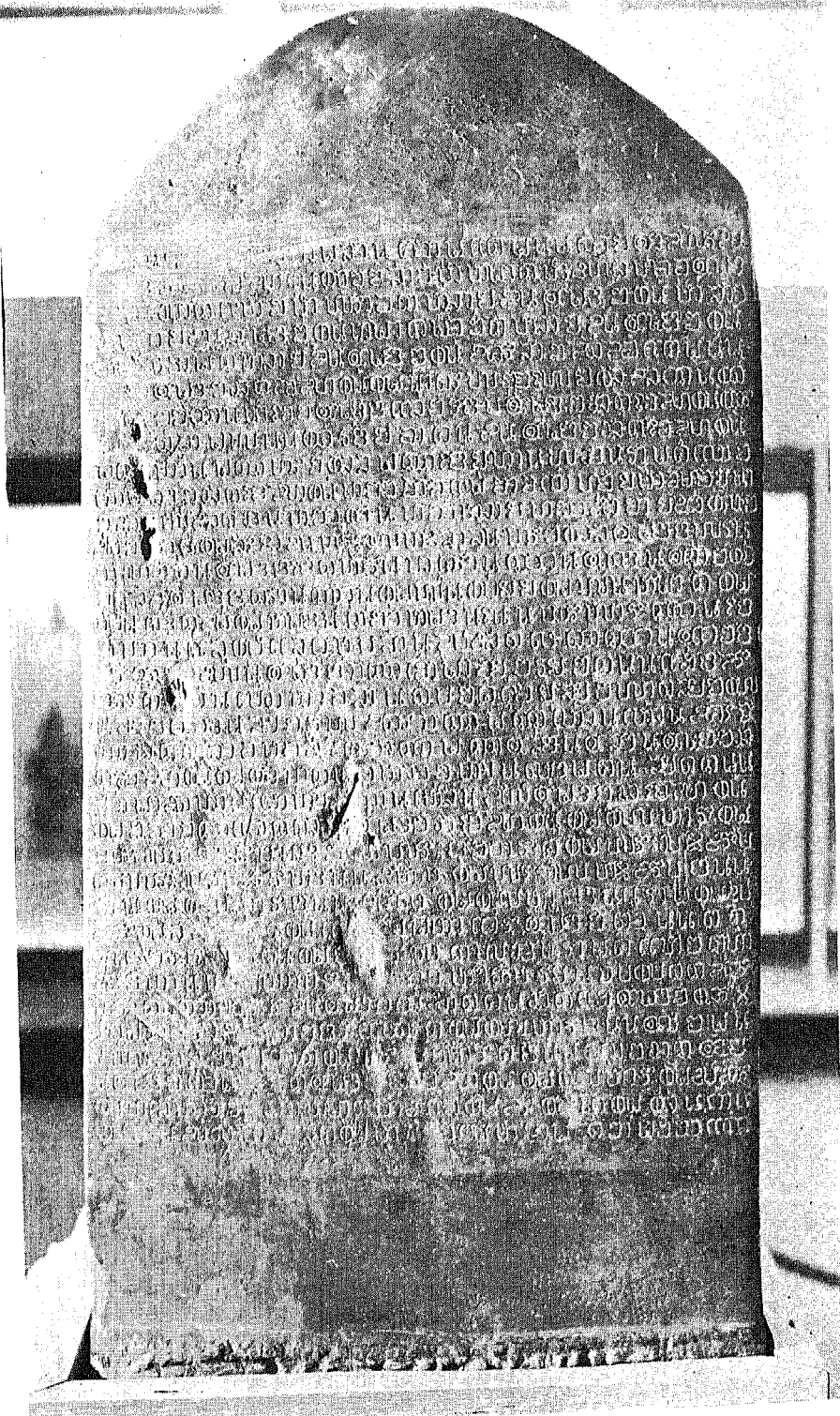
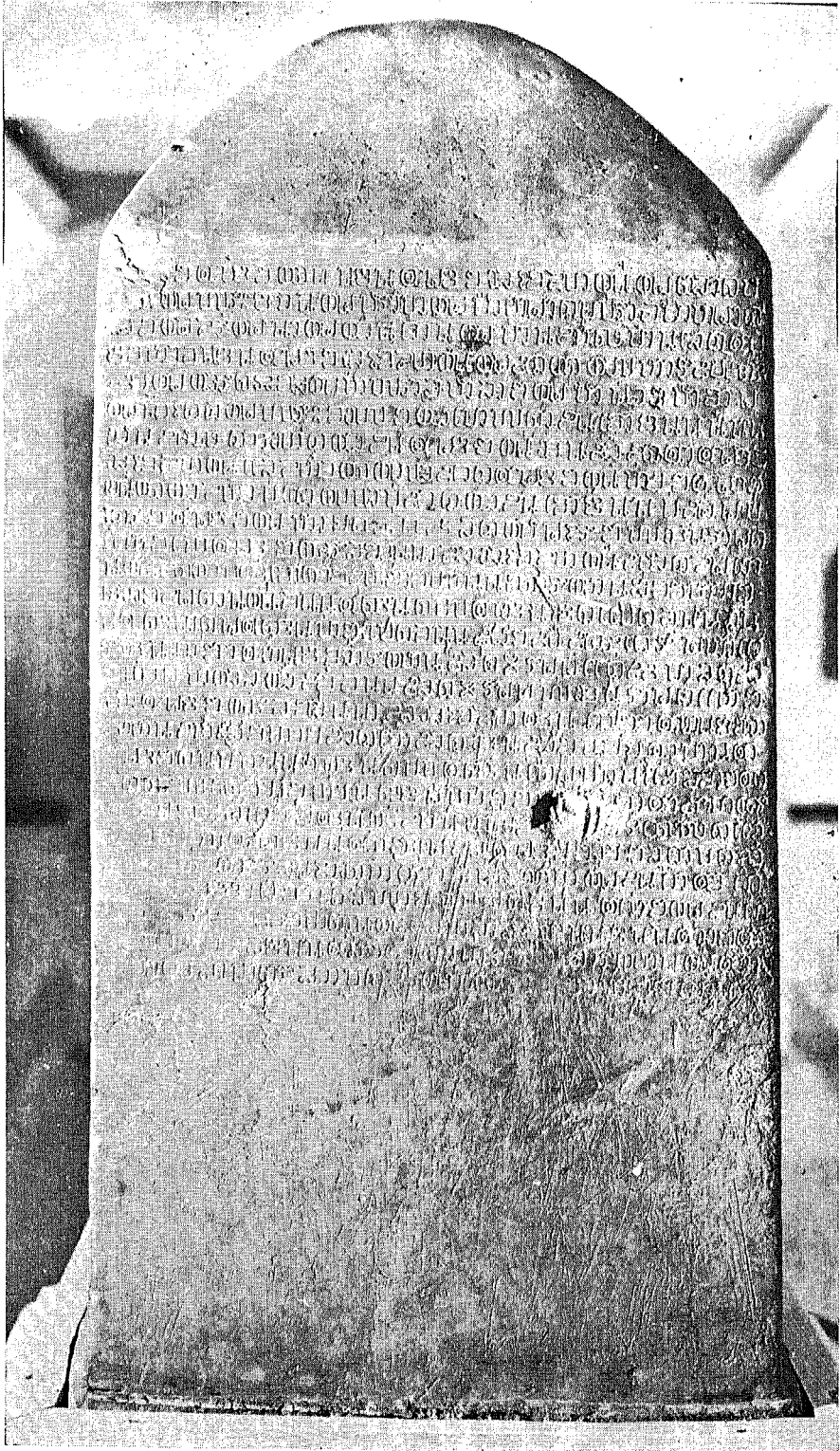


Fig. 3. Rāma Gambhēn's inscription :  
3 a. Face I.

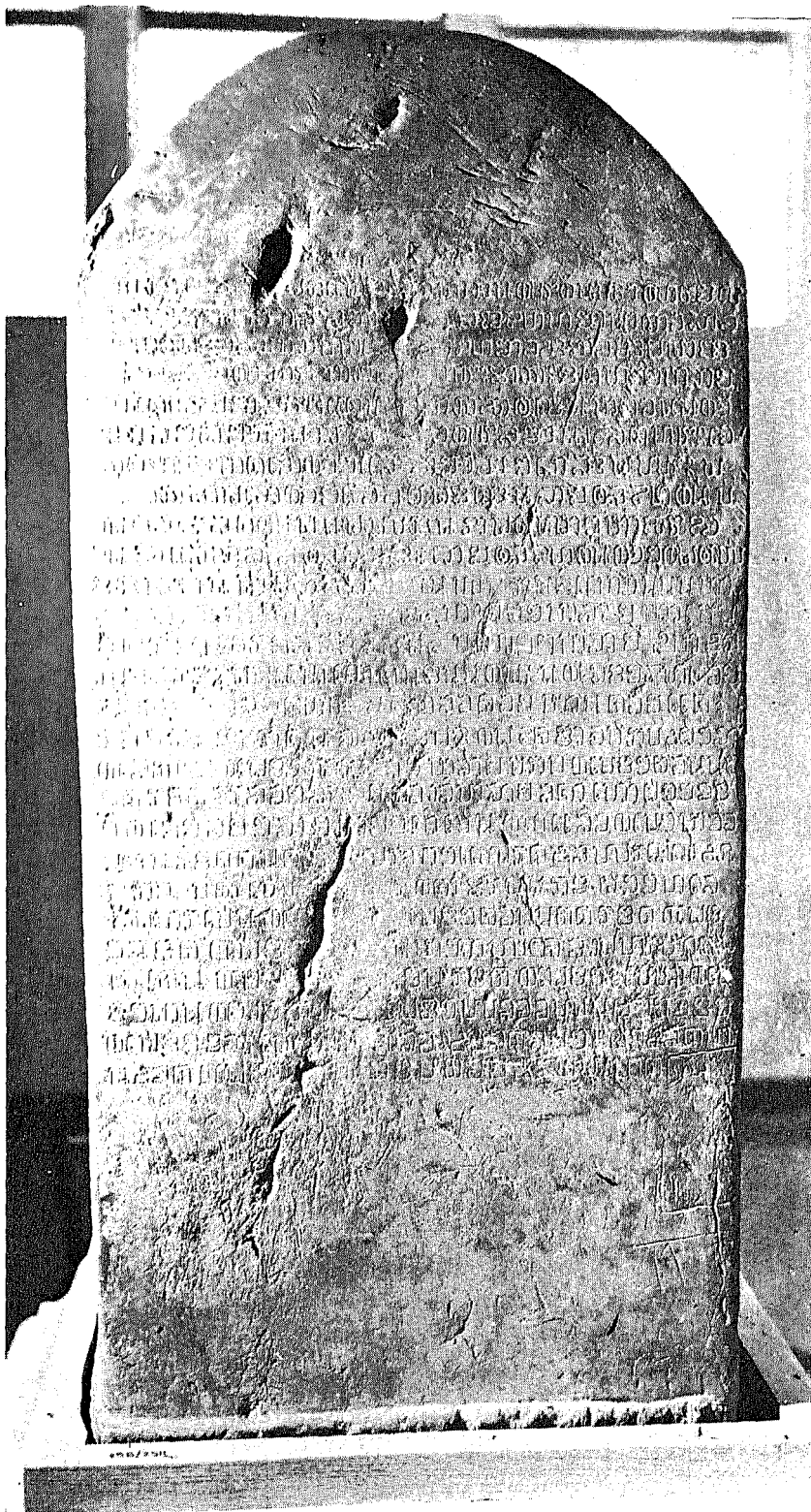


3 b. Face II.



3 c. Face III.





3 d. Face IV.

*elder brother* ) i.e. my elder brother  
*mine*  
*father* ) i.e. my father  
*mine*  
*named*  
*"Surasudity"*

*mother* ) i.e. my mother  
*mine*  
*named*  
*Lady*  
*"Suwong"*

๑ ๒ ๓ ๔ ๕ ๖ ๗ ๘ ๙ ๑๐ ๑๑ ๑๒ ๑๓ ๑๔ ๑๕ ๑๖ ๑๗ ๑๘ ๑๙ ๒๐ ๒๑ ๒๒ ๒๓ ๒๔ ๒๕ ๒๖ ๒๗ ๒๘ ๒๙ ๓๐ ๓๑ ๓๒ ๓๓ ๓๔ ๓๕ ๓๖ ๓๗ ๓๘ ๓๙ ๔๐ ๔๑ ๔๒ ๔๓ ๔๔ ๔๕ ๔๖ ๔๗ ๔๘ ๔๙ ๕๐ ๕๑ ๕๒ ๕๓ ๕๔ ๕๕ ๕๖ ๕๗ ๕๘ ๕๙ ๖๐ ๖๑ ๖๒ ๖๓ ๖๔ ๖๕ ๖๖ ๖๗ ๖๘ ๖๙ ๗๐ ๗๑ ๗๒ ๗๓ ๗๔ ๗๕ ๗๖ ๗๗ ๗๘ ๗๙ ๘๐ ๘๑ ๘๒ ๘๓ ๘๔ ๘๕ ๘๖ ๘๗ ๘๘ ๘๙ ๙๐ ๙๑ ๙๒ ๙๓ ๙๔ ๙๕ ๙๖ ๙๗ ๙๘ ๙๙ ๑๐๐

Fig. 4. First page of lithographed copy of transcript prepared by the Commission, with glosses in King Rāma IV's hand, presented to Sir John Bowring in 1855. (After Bowring, *The Kingdom and People of Siam*, I, facing p. 278.)

๑ ๒ ๓ ๔ ๕ ๖ ๗ ๘ ๙ ๑๐ ๑๑ ๑๒ ๑๓ ๑๔ ๑๕ ๑๖ ๑๗ ๑๘ ๑๙ ๒๐ ๒๑ ๒๒ ๒๓ ๒๔ ๒๕ ๒๖ ๒๗ ๒๘ ๒๙ ๓๐ ๓๑ ๓๒ ๓๓ ๓๔ ๓๕ ๓๖ ๓๗ ๓๘ ๓๙ ๔๐ ๔๑ ๔๒ ๔๓ ๔๔ ๔๕ ๔๖ ๔๗ ๔๘ ๔๙ ๕๐ ๕๑ ๕๒ ๕๓ ๕๔ ๕๕ ๕๖ ๕๗ ๕๘ ๕๙ ๖๐ ๖๑ ๖๒ ๖๓ ๖๔ ๖๕ ๖๖ ๖๗ ๖๘ ๖๙ ๗๐ ๗๑ ๗๒ ๗๓ ๗๔ ๗๕ ๗๖ ๗๗ ๗๘ ๗๙ ๘๐ ๘๑ ๘๒ ๘๓ ๘๔ ๘๕ ๘๖ ๘๗ ๘๘ ๘๙ ๙๐ ๙๑ ๙๒ ๙๓ ๙๔ ๙๕ ๙๖ ๙๗ ๙๘ ๙๙ ๑๐๐

Fig. 5. (a, b, c, d, e, f). Lithographed copy of the transcript prepared by the Commission, presented to the French envoy in 1856. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris.













1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

Fig. 6. (a, b, c, d). Père Schmitt's plates of the inscription. (After *Le Siam Ancien*, I, Pls. LXIV-LXVII.)





