

THE INSCRIPTION OF KING RĀMA GAMHĒŅ 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 Gamhēñ's inscription¹ 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 Gamhēñ's text, we have ventured to undertake a new translation, with copious explanatory notes.

The first reasonably satisfactory translation of Rāma Gamhēñ'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

1) Coedès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, Bangkok, 1924, p. 37 ff., with text in Romanized transcription, French translation, introduction, and notes; แผนกโบราณคดี, พระพุทธเจ้าโลกสยาม ภาคที่ ๑, Bangkok, same date, p. 51 ff., text in modern Siamese characters, with translations of Coedès's introduction and notes, prepared by Luang Boribol Buribandh under the direction of Prince Damrong Rājanubhāb; reprinted in พระพุทธเจ้าโลกสยาม 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 Gamhēñ 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 Gamhēn'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 Gamhēn. 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 Gaṁhēṇ'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 Mahādharmarāja I's Khmer inscription, was discovered at Sukhodaya in 1833 by Prince Mahāmaṅkuṭa, 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 Gaṁhēṇ. The memory of its potency had survived for more than 540 years, though Rāma Gaṁhēṇ'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 Mahāmaṅkuṭa's discovery, as related in the *History of Four Reigns*²:

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 พระชุมศิลาจารึกสยาม ภาคที่ 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 Gaṃhēn'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 (วัดเนินปราสาทเก่าหักพังอยู่; note that the term เนินปราสาท, '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 Gaṃhēn'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 Mahāmañkuṭa 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-nān 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 Gaṃhēn'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 Mahāmañkuṭa can justly be called the founder of Siamese epigraphy. When he set about deciphering Rāma Gaṃhēn's text, there was no one in the world who had ever tried to read an inscription in Old Siamese.³

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-hăn-ākāśa (˘) is completely lacking, the sound of ă 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 Pavareśvariyaṇakaraṇa. 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 Gamphèu's father's namē, Śrī Indrāditya, is written 'ส' 'อินทรา' 'นคต' in the inscription, though in order to be consistent with the principles of the script it ought to have been 'ส' 'อินทรา' 'นคต'. 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 's' was a mistake for 'r'.

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.'⁴ 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.⁵ 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.⁶

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 Gamphèn'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.'⁷

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.'⁸ Bastian, however, brings out most of the points on Faces I and IV that would be of interest to historians, e.g. that Rāma Gamhên helped his father defeat the Chief of Chôt 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.⁹ On the other hand he makes very little sense out of Rāma Gamhên'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 1885.¹⁰ 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.¹¹ 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).¹² '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.'¹³

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 Mahādharmarāja 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.¹⁴ 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.¹⁵

The first publication of any part of the inscription prepared by the Siamese editors was in the *Vajirañāṇa 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.'¹⁶

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.¹⁷ 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.¹⁸ That of all four faces of Rāma Gaṃhèn'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.'¹⁹

14) At I/1, for instance, Schmitt takes the name Pān Mōaṇ (*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) สมเด็จพระโอรสาธิราชเจ้าพี่ยมราชวชิรากรมกุฎราชกุมาร, เรื่องเที่ยวเมืองพระร่วง, วัดมโกสินทร์ศก 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 Gaṃhèn's), III and IV (for III and IV, see *Recueil*, pp. 77 ff., 91 ff.). This pamphlet was reprinted in ประชุมพงศาวดาร ภาคที่ ๑, Bangkok, 1914; second edition, Bangkok, 1963.

19) JSS VI/1, p. 4.

Bradley's own article on the inscription, which appeared the following year, marks what we might call several large strides forward, but with a surprising step backward here and there. He possessed formidable qualifications for the task: he had a kind of dogged pertinacity, rare in Siam at that time, in searching out the exact meaning of every word and phrase, including those that might not seem very important; and few Westerners of his day could match his knowledge of Siamese syntax. The passage at I/6 f., พระโอรสทั้งสี่ฯ นํ้าหนี, for instance, had generally been understood to mean that Rāma Gaṃhèn's father took flight; Bradley realized it was the father's followers who took flight, not the father himself. In many other places, where Bastian and Schmitt had been all at sea, Bradley got the sense right, or nearly so (cf. Appendix); but in one passage (III/10-27), the general sense of which Schmitt had gotten well enough, Bradley went seriously wrong. Schmitt knew that 'Maṇaũñṣilāpātra' (though he did not read the word quite right) was the name of a throne; but Bradley thought it was the name of the inscription itself (cf. Appendix, pp. 225-7). As a result he completely overlooked the formal purpose of the text to which his paper is devoted.

Purpose of the inscription.—Southeast Asian inscriptions are never mere lyrical effusion, eulogy, or narrative. They may contain plenty of all these things, and others besides; but no matter how much supplementary information they may give, every one of them has a definite formal purpose. 'Not a single one of them was engraved except in connection with some particular event,' writes Coedès, who has probably studied more of them than anyone else in our time. 'In all the ancient epigraphy of Southeast Asia I do not think it possible to cite a single **praśasti** (eulogy) composed solely to perpetuate in stone the virtues or the high accomplishments of a monarch; and in fact all the known inscriptions in Thai commemorate some religious foundation or some particular ceremony.'²⁰

The inscriptions of Sukhodaya, whatever their formal object, often give a lot of information on both political and religious affairs, the state of the kingdom at the time they were composed, the ancestry and biography of the ruler, and historical events. Sometimes, indeed, there is so much incidental matter that it takes a little searching to find the formal purpose;

20) JSS XII/1, p. 21 (our translation).

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 Gaṃhèn's inscription was to record the administrative and religious Constitution of the kingdom. Rāma Gaṃhèn, 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.'²¹ 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 . . .'²² Bradley's own view of Rāma Gaṃhèn'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.'²³

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 มหาวิทยาลัยบูรมา auprès duquel... elle se trouvait placée (สถูปที่วัด).'²⁴

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

the King and a statement of the limits of his kingdom. It can hardly be doubted that the author of the inscription, that is the person at whose command it was composed and engraved, is Rāma Gaṃhēñ himself, and that its object is to commemorate the installation of the stone throne, "Maññasilāpātra", in the Palm-Grove of the Royal Palace in that same year, 1292 A.D., which seems to have been a date of prime importance in Rāma Gaṃhēñ's reign, for it was then that he established relations with the Court of China.²⁵

The sequence of these dates, as well as the designation of one of them, for a long time gave editors trouble; but all the problems concerning them were satisfactorily solved by Coedès in 1918. The reader will find the references to his solutions in our footnotes.

Each of the four faces of the stone has about the same amount of surface prepared for writing, i.e. enough to accommodate 35 lines comfortably. Faces I and II actually have 35 lines each, but Faces III and IV have only 27 lines each. Very likely Rāma Gaṃhēñ, when he first began planning the inscription, gave instructions to prepare a good deal more space than would be necessary for the main body of the text because he intended to add one or more epilogues in the years following 1292.

The latter part of Face IV, beginning near the middle of line 11, has long been recognized as an epilogue. In fact it appears to us to be the second of two epilogues, the first of which runs from the beginning of Face IV to the beginning of the second epilogue. At the beginning of Face IV, before the words พระ(๑)มกุฎราช, in a space wide enough for a letter or two, there are traces of some kind of mark which is now largely obliterated, but which appears to have been a punctuation mark indicating the beginning of a new sentence; if not a whole new train of thought. None of the editors mentions this mark, though Schmitt translates as if one sentence ended at the end of Face III and a new one started at the beginning of Face IV. Bastian, Bradley and Coedès all take the sentence as running on to Face IV without a break. As it happens, this passage

25) Coedès, *Recueil*, pp. 37-38 (our translation); regarding the establishment of relations with China, Coedès adds a footnote referring to BEFEO IV, p. 242 [Pelliot, *Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde*, quoting an extract from the Yüan-shih; for a recent translation and comment, see Flood, *Sukhothai-Mongol Relations*, JSS LVII/2, p. 223].

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 ^{๒๓} at III/26, and ending with ^{๒๓๓} at IV/3-4, as one long complex sentence.²⁶ But we can argue, in favor of splitting it into two, that Rāma Gamhēn'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 Gamhēn'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).²⁷ The engraving was obviously done by a different hand. The word ^{๒๓๓}, which occurs constantly throughout the inscription, is written ^{๒๓๓} in Epilogue II, but elsewhere always ^{๒๓๓}. We find ^{๒๓๓} and ^{๒๓๓} in Epilogue II, but ^{๒๓๓} and ^{๒๓๓} elsewhere. When there is a choice to be made between ๒ and ๓, Epilogue II regularly prefers ๒, e.g. ^{๒๓๓}, ^{๒๓๓}, ^{๒๓๓}, ^{๒๓๓}, whereas Faces I, II and III usually prefer ๓, e.g. ^{๒๓๓} (I/2), ^{๒๓๓} (II/7), ^{๒๓๓} (II/13, 33; III/13), and ^{๒๓๓} (II/15). But Face III also has ^{๒๓๓} (III/25) and ^{๒๓๓} (III/1, 4), the latter occurring before the last appearance of ^{๒๓๓} (III/13). Epilogue I also has ^{๒๓๓} (IV/3) and ^{๒๓๓} (IV/3-4). 'Śrī' is written ^{๒๓๓} in Faces I and II, ^{๒๓๓} in Face III, ^{๒๓๓} in Epilogue I, and ^{๒๓๓} again in Epilogue II. 'Sukhodaya' is written ^{๒๓๓} in Face I, ^{๒๓๓} in the first half of Face II, and ^{๒๓๓} thereafter. We have ^{๒๓๓} in Face I but ^{๒๓๓} in Face III; ^{๒๓๓} in Faces I and II, but ^{๒๓๓} 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.²⁸ 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 Gaṃhèn 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 Gamphēñ. 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 Gamphēñ 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 Gamphēñ'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 Gamphēñ dug up the holy relics, **brah 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 **Brah 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 Gaṃhēn's death. This time, it seems, both the scribe and the engraver were new. The scribe wrote ᐃᐃᐃᐃ and ᐃᐃᐃᐃ instead of ᐃᐃᐃᐃ and ᐃᐃᐃᐃ, ᐃᐃᐃ and ᐃᐃᐃ instead of ᐃᐃᐃ and ᐃᐃᐃ. 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^๑ ช^๒ ส^๓ น^๔ ท^๕ ร^๖ ท^๗ ย^๘ แม่^๙ ก^{๑๐} ช^{๑๑} นาง^{๑๒} เส^{๑๓} อ^{๑๔} พ^{๑๕} ก^{๑๖} ช^{๑๗} บ^{๑๘} น^{๑๙} เม^{๒๐} อ^{๒๑}
- (๒) ต^{๒๒}ี^{๒๓} พ^{๒๔} น^{๒๕} อ^{๒๖} ง^{๒๗} ท^{๒๘} อ^{๒๙} ง^{๓๐} ค^{๓๑} ย^{๓๒} ว^{๓๓} ห^{๓๔} า^{๓๕} ค^{๓๖} น^{๓๗} ผู้^{๓๘} ช^{๓๙} า^{๔๐} ย^{๔๑} ส^{๔๒} าม^{๔๓} ผู้^{๔๔} ญ^{๔๕} ง^{๔๖} โส^{๔๗} ใ^{๔๘} พ^{๔๙}ี^{๕๐} เ^{๕๑} อ^{๕๒}
- (๓) อ^{๕๓} ผู้^{๕๔} อ^{๕๕} ย^{๕๖} ต^{๕๗} า^{๕๘} ย^{๕๙} จ^{๖๐} า^{๖๑} ก^{๖๒} เ^{๖๓} อ^{๖๔} ค^{๖๕} ย^{๖๖} ม^{๖๗} แ^{๖๘} ญ^{๖๙} ง^{๗๐} ง^{๗๑} เล^{๗๒} ก^{๗๓} เ^{๗๔} ื่อ^{๗๕} อ^{๗๖} ก^{๗๗} ช^{๗๘} น^{๗๙} ไ^{๘๐} ญ^{๘๑} ไ^{๘๒} ้
- (๔) ส^{๘๓} ี^{๘๔} บ^{๘๕} เก^{๘๖} ้า^{๘๗} ข^{๘๘} น^{๘๙} ส^{๙๐} าม^{๙๑} ช^{๙๒} น^{๙๓} เจ^{๙๔} ้า^{๙๕} เ^{๙๖} อ^{๙๗} ง^{๙๘} จ^{๙๙} อ^{๑๐๐} ต^{๑๐๑} มา^{๑๐๒} ท^{๑๐๓} ี่^{๑๐๔} เ^{๑๐๕} ม^{๑๐๖} อ^{๑๐๗} ง^{๑๐๘} ต^{๑๐๙} า^{๑๑๐} ก^{๑๑๑} พ^{๑๑๒} ก^{๑๑๓} ไ^{๑๑๔} ปร^{๑๑๕} อ^{๑๑๖} บ^{๑๑๗}
- (๕) ข^{๑๑๘} น^{๑๑๙} ส^{๑๒๐} าม^{๑๒๑} ช^{๑๒๒} น^{๑๒๓} ห^{๑๒๔} ว^{๑๒๕} ช^{๑๒๖} ้าย^{๑๒๗} ข^{๑๒๘} น^{๑๒๙} ส^{๑๓๐} าม^{๑๓๑} ช^{๑๓๒} น^{๑๓๓} ข^{๑๓๔} บ^{๑๓๕} บ^{๑๓๖} มา^{๑๓๗} ห^{๑๓๘} ว^{๑๓๙} ข^{๑๔๐} ว^{๑๔๑} ข^{๑๔๒} น^{๑๔๓} ส^{๑๔๔} าม^{๑๔๕}
- (๖) ช^{๑๔๖} น^{๑๔๗} เ^{๑๔๘} ื่อ^{๑๔๙} ล^{๑๕๐} อ^{๑๕๑} น^{๑๕๒} เ^{๑๕๓} ้า^{๑๕๔} ไ^{๑๕๕} ปร^{๑๕๖} ี่^{๑๕๗} ฝ^{๑๕๘} ำ^{๑๕๙} ห^{๑๖๐} น^{๑๖๑} ำ^{๑๖๒} ไ^{๑๖๓} ส^{๑๖๔} พ^{๑๖๕} ก^{๑๖๖} ี่^{๑๖๗} ห^{๑๖๘} น^{๑๖๙} ญ^{๑๗๐} ญ^{๑๗๑} าย^{๑๗๒} จ^{๑๗๓} เ^{๑๗๔} เจ^{๑๗๕}
- (๗) (น^{๑๗๖} ก^{๑๗๗}) บ^{๑๗๘} ี่^{๑๗๙} ห^{๑๘๐} น^{๑๘๑} ก^{๑๘๒} ช^{๑๘๓} ้าง^{๑๘๔} เ^{๑๘๕} บ^{๑๘๖} ก^{๑๘๗} พ^{๑๘๘} ล^{๑๘๙} ก^{๑๙๐} ข^{๑๙๑} บ^{๑๙๒} เ^{๑๙๓} ้า^{๑๙๔} ก^{๑๙๕} อ^{๑๙๖} น^{๑๙๗} พ^{๑๙๘} ก^{๑๙๙} ก^{๒๐๐} ญ^{๒๐๑}
- (๘) (ช^{๒๐๒} ้าง^{๒๐๓}) ค^{๒๐๔} ้วย^{๒๐๕} ข^{๒๐๖} น^{๒๐๗} ส^{๒๐๘} าม^{๒๐๙} ช^{๒๑๐} น^{๒๑๑} ต^{๒๑๒} น^{๒๑๓} ก^{๒๑๔} พ^{๒๑๕} ้าง^{๒๑๖} ข^{๒๑๗} น^{๒๑๘} ส^{๒๑๙} าม^{๒๒๐} ช^{๒๒๑} น^{๒๒๒} ท^{๒๒๓} ว^{๒๒๔} ี่^{๒๒๕} ช^{๒๒๖}
- (๙) มา^{๒๒๗} ส^{๒๒๘} เ^{๒๒๙} ม^{๒๓๐} อ^{๒๓๑} ง^{๒๓๒} แ^{๒๓๓} ญ^{๒๓๔} ข^{๒๓๕} น^{๒๓๖} ส^{๒๓๗} าม^{๒๓๘} ช^{๒๓๙} น^{๒๔๐} พ^{๒๔๑} ้าย^{๒๔๒} ห^{๒๔๓} น^{๒๔๔} พ^{๒๔๕} ก^{๒๔๖} จ^{๒๔๗} ึง^{๒๔๘} ช^{๒๔๙} น^{๒๕๐} ี่^{๒๕๑} ช^{๒๕๒} ู^{๒๕๓} ก^{๒๕๔}
- (๑๐) ช^{๒๕๕} ี^{๒๕๖} พ^{๒๕๗} ระ^{๒๕๘} ร^{๒๕๙} าม^{๒๖๐} ค^{๒๖๑} แ^{๒๖๒} ห^{๒๖๓} ึ่ง^{๒๖๔} เ^{๒๖๕} ื่อ^{๒๖๖} อ^{๒๖๗} ก^{๒๖๘} พ^{๒๖๙} ้าง^{๒๗๐} ข^{๒๗๑} น^{๒๗๒} ส^{๒๗๓} าม^{๒๗๔} ช^{๒๗๕} น^{๒๗๖} เ^{๒๗๗} ื่อ^{๒๗๘} อ^{๒๗๙}
- (๑๑) อ^{๒๘๐} ช^{๒๘๑} ัว^{๒๘๒} พ^{๒๘๓} ก^{๒๘๔} ก^{๒๘๕} บ^{๒๘๖} ี่^{๒๘๗} เ^{๒๘๘} ร^{๒๘๙} อ^{๒๙๐} แ^{๒๙๑} ก^{๒๙๒} ี่^{๒๙๓} พ^{๒๙๔} ก^{๒๙๕} บ^{๒๙๖} ี่^{๒๙๗} เ^{๒๙๘} ร^{๒๙๙} อ^{๓๐๐} แ^{๓๐๑} ก^{๓๐๒} ี่^{๓๐๓} แม่^{๓๐๔} ก^{๓๐๕} ก^{๓๐๖} ไ^{๓๐๗} ้^{๓๐๘} ต^{๓๐๙} ว^{๓๑๐}
- (๑๒) เ^{๓๑๑} ื่อ^{๓๑๒} อ^{๓๑๓} ต^{๓๑๔} ว^{๓๑๕} าว^{๓๑๖} ปร^{๓๑๗} ล^{๓๑๘} ก^{๓๑๙} เ^{๓๒๐} อ^{๓๒๑} มา^{๓๒๒} แ^{๓๒๓} ก^{๓๒๔} ี่^{๓๒๕} พ^{๓๒๖} ก^{๓๒๗} ไ^{๓๒๘} ้^{๓๒๙} ห^{๓๓๐} มา^{๓๓๑} ก^{๓๓๒} ส^{๓๓๓} ี่^{๓๓๔} ห^{๓๓๕} มา^{๓๓๖} ก^{๓๓๗} ห^{๓๓๘} ว^{๓๓๙}
- (๑๓) น^{๓๔๐} อ^{๓๔๑} น^{๓๔๒} ไ^{๓๔๓} ้^{๓๔๔} ก^{๓๔๕} น^{๓๔๖} อ^{๓๔๗} ร^{๓๔๘} อย^{๓๔๙} ี่^{๓๕๐} ก^{๓๕๑} น^{๓๕๒} ี่^{๓๕๓} ต^{๓๕๔} ก^{๓๕๕} เ^{๓๕๖} อ^{๓๕๗} มา^{๓๕๘} แ^{๓๕๙} ก^{๓๖๐} ี่^{๓๖๑} พ^{๓๖๒} ก^{๓๖๓} ไ^{๓๖๔} ้^{๓๖๕} ต^{๓๖๖}
- (๑๔) ห^{๓๖๗} น^{๓๖๘} ง^{๓๖๙} ว^{๓๗๐} ง^{๓๗๑} ้าง^{๓๗๒} ไ^{๓๗๓} ้^{๓๗๔} ก^{๓๗๕} เ^{๓๗๖} อ^{๓๗๗} มา^{๓๗๘} แ^{๓๗๙} ก^{๓๘๐} ี่^{๓๘๑} พ^{๓๘๒} ก^{๓๘๓} ไ^{๓๘๔} ้^{๓๘๕} พ^{๓๘๖} ำ^{๓๘๗} บ^{๓๘๘} ำ^{๓๘๙} น^{๓๙๐} ำ^{๓๙๑} ี่^{๓๙๒} เ^{๓๙๓} ื่อ^{๓๙๔}
- (๑๕) อ^{๓๙๕} ง^{๓๙๖} ไ^{๓๙๗} ้^{๓๙๘} ้าง^{๓๙๙} ไ^{๔๐๐} ึ่ง^{๔๐๑} ว^{๔๐๒} ง^{๔๐๓} ไ^{๔๐๔} ึ่ง^{๔๐๕} ว^{๔๐๖} ง^{๔๐๗} ไ^{๔๐๘} ึ่ง^{๔๐๙} ไ^{๔๑๐} ึ่ง^{๔๑๑} ไ^{๔๑๒} ึ่ง^{๔๑๓} ไ^{๔๑๔} ึ่ง^{๔๑๕} ไ^{๔๑๖} ึ่ง^{๔๑๗} ไ^{๔๑๘} ึ่ง^{๔๑๙} ไ^{๔๒๐} ึ่ง^{๔๒๑} ไ^{๔๒๒} ึ่ง^{๔๒๓} ไ^{๔๒๔} ึ่ง^{๔๒๕} ไ^{๔๒๖} ึ่ง^{๔๒๗} ไ^{๔๒๘} ึ่ง^{๔๒๙} ไ^{๔๓๐} ึ่ง^{๔๓๑} ไ^{๔๓๒} ึ่ง^{๔๓๓} ไ^{๔๓๔} ึ่ง^{๔๓๕} ไ^{๔๓๖} ึ่ง^{๔๓๗} ไ^{๔๓๘} ึ่ง^{๔๓๙} ไ^{๔๔๐} ึ่ง^{๔๔๑} ไ^{๔๔๒} ึ่ง^{๔๔๓} ไ^{๔๔๔} ึ่ง^{๔๔๕} ไ^{๔๔๖} ึ่ง^{๔๔๗} ไ^{๔๔๘} ึ่ง^{๔๔๙} ไ^{๔๕๐} ึ่ง^{๔๕๑} ไ^{๔๕๒} ึ่ง^{๔๕๓} ไ^{๔๕๔} ึ่ง^{๔๕๕} ไ^{๔๕๖} ึ่ง^{๔๕๗} ไ^{๔๕๘} ึ่ง^{๔๕๙} ไ^{๔๖๐} ึ่ง^{๔๖๑} ไ^{๔๖๒} ึ่ง^{๔๖๓} ไ^{๔๖๔} ึ่ง^{๔๖๕} ไ^{๔๖๖} ึ่ง^{๔๖๗} ไ^{๔๖๘} ึ่ง^{๔๖๙} ไ^{๔๗๐} ึ่ง^{๔๗๑} ไ^{๔๗๒} ึ่ง^{๔๗๓} ไ^{๔๗๔} ึ่ง^{๔๗๕} ไ^{๔๗๖} ึ่ง^{๔๗๗} ไ^{๔๗๘} ึ่ง^{๔๗๙} ไ^{๔๘๐} ึ่ง^{๔๘๑} ไ^{๔๘๒} ึ่ง^{๔๘๓} ไ^{๔๘๔} ึ่ง^{๔๘๕} ไ^{๔๘๖} ึ่ง^{๔๘๗} ไ^{๔๘๘} ึ่ง^{๔๘๙} ไ^{๔๙๐} ึ่ง^{๔๙๑} ไ^{๔๙๒} ึ่ง^{๔๙๓} ไ^{๔๙๔} ึ่ง^{๔๙๕} ไ^{๔๙๖} ึ่ง^{๔๙๗} ไ^{๔๙๘} ึ่ง^{๔๙๙} ไ^{๕๐๐} ึ่ง^{๕๐๑} ไ^{๕๐๒} ึ่ง^{๕๐๓} ไ^{๕๐๔} ึ่ง^{๕๐๕} ไ^{๕๐๖} ึ่ง^{๕๐๗} ไ^{๕๐๘} ึ่ง^{๕๐๙} ไ^{๕๑๐} ึ่ง^{๕๑๑} ไ^{๕๑๒} ึ่ง^{๕๑๓} ไ^{๕๑๔} ึ่ง^{๕๑๕} ไ^{๕๑๖} ึ่ง^{๕๑๗} ไ^{๕๑๘} ึ่ง^{๕๑๙} ไ^{๕๒๐} ึ่ง^{๕๒๑} ไ^{๕๒๒} ึ่ง^{๕๒๓} ไ^{๕๒๔} ึ่ง^{๕๒๕} ไ^{๕๒๖} ึ่ง^{๕๒๗} ไ^{๕๒๘} ึ่ง^{๕๒๙} ไ^{๕๓๐} ึ่ง^{๕๓๑} ไ^{๕๓๒} ึ่ง^{๕๓๓} ไ^{๕๓๔} ึ่ง^{๕๓๕} ไ^{๕๓๖} ึ่ง^{๕๓๗} ไ^{๕๓๘} ึ่ง^{๕๓๙} ไ^{๕๔๐} ึ่ง^{๕๔๑} ไ^{๕๔๒} ึ่ง^{๕๔๓} ไ^{๕๔๔} ึ่ง^{๕๔๕} ไ^{๕๔๖} ึ่ง^{๕๔๗} ไ^{๕๔๘} ึ่ง^{๕๔๙} ไ^{๕๕๐} ึ่ง^{๕๕๑} ไ^{๕๕๒} ึ่ง^{๕๕๓} ไ^{๕๕๔} ึ่ง^{๕๕๕} ไ^{๕๕๖} ึ่ง^{๕๕๗} ไ^{๕๕๘} ึ่ง^{๕๕๙} ไ^{๕๖๐} ึ่ง^{๕๖๑} ไ^{๕๖๒} ึ่ง^{๕๖๓} ไ^{๕๖๔} ึ่ง^{๕๖๕} ไ^{๕๖๖} ึ่ง^{๕๖๗} ไ^{๕๖๘} ึ่ง^{๕๖๙} ไ^{๕๗๐} ึ่ง^{๕๗๑} ไ^{๕๗๒} ึ่ง^{๕๗๓} ไ^{๕๗๔} ึ่ง^{๕๗๕} ไ^{๕๗๖} ึ่ง^{๕๗๗} ไ^{๕๗๘} ึ่ง^{๕๗๙} ไ^{๕๘๐} ึ่ง^{๕๘๑} ไ^{๕๘๒} ึ่ง^{๕๘๓} ไ^{๕๘๔} ึ่ง^{๕๘๕} ไ^{๕๘๖} ึ่ง^{๕๘๗} ไ^{๕๘๘} ึ่ง^{๕๘๙} ไ^{๕๙๐} ึ่ง^{๕๙๑} ไ^{๕๙๒} ึ่ง^{๕๙๓} ไ^{๕๙๔} ึ่ง^{๕๙๕} ไ^{๕๙๖} ึ่ง^{๕๙๗} ไ^{๕๙๘} ึ่ง^{๕๙๙} ไ^{๖๐๐} ึ่ง^{๖๐๑} ไ^{๖๐๒} ึ่ง^{๖๐๓} ไ^{๖๐๔} ึ่ง^{๖๐๕} ไ^{๖๐๖} ึ่ง^{๖๐๗} ไ^{๖๐๘} ึ่ง^{๖๐๙} ไ^{๖๑๐} ึ่ง^{๖๑๑} ไ^{๖๑๒} ึ่ง^{๖๑๓} ไ^{๖๑๔} ึ่ง^{๖๑๕} ไ^{๖๑๖} ึ่ง^{๖๑๗} ไ^{๖๑๘} ึ่ง^{๖๑๙} ไ^{๖๒๐} ึ่ง^{๖๒๑} ไ^{๖๒๒} ึ่ง^{๖๒๓} ไ^{๖๒๔} ึ่ง^{๖๒๕} ไ^{๖๒๖} ึ่ง^{๖๒๗} ไ^{๖๒๘} ึ่ง^{๖๒๙} ไ^{๖๓๐} ึ่ง^{๖๓๑} ไ^{๖๓๒} ึ่ง^{๖๓๓} ไ^{๖๓๔} ึ่ง^{๖๓๕} ไ^{๖๓๖} ึ่ง^{๖๓๗} ไ^{๖๓๘} ึ่ง^{๖๓๙} ไ^{๖๔๐} ึ่ง^{๖๔๑} ไ^{๖๔๒} ึ่ง^{๖๔๓} ไ^{๖๔๔} ึ่ง^{๖๔๕} ไ^{๖๔๖} ึ่ง^{๖๔๗} ไ^{๖๔๘} ึ่ง^{๖๔๙} ไ^{๖๕๐} ึ่ง^{๖๕๑} ไ^{๖๕๒} ึ่ง^{๖๕๓} ไ^{๖๕๔} ึ่ง^{๖๕๕} ไ^{๖๕๖} ึ่ง^{๖๕๗} ไ^{๖๕๘} ึ่ง^{๖๕๙} ไ^{๖๖๐} ึ่ง^{๖๖๑} ไ^{๖๖๒} ึ่ง^{๖๖๓} ไ^{๖๖๔} ึ่ง^{๖๖๕} ไ^{๖๖๖} ึ่ง^{๖๖๗} ไ^{๖๖๘} ึ่ง^{๖๖๙} ไ^{๖๗๐} ึ่ง^{๖๗๑} ไ^{๖๗๒} ึ่ง^{๖๗๓} ไ^{๖๗๔} ึ่ง^{๖๗๕} ไ^{๖๗๖} ึ่ง^{๖๗๗} ไ^{๖๗๘} ึ่ง^{๖๗๙} ไ^{๖๘๐} ึ่ง^{๖๘๑} ไ^{๖๘๒} ึ่ง^{๖๘๓} ไ^{๖๘๔} ึ่ง^{๖๘๕} ไ^{๖๘๖} ึ่ง^{๖๘๗} ไ^{๖๘๘} ึ่ง^{๖๘๙} ไ^{๖๙๐} ึ่ง^{๖๙๑} ไ^{๖๙๒} ึ่ง^{๖๙๓} ไ^{๖๙๔} ึ่ง^{๖๙๕} ไ^{๖๙๖} ึ่ง^{๖๙๗} ไ^{๖๙๘} ึ่ง^{๖๙๙} ไ^{๗๐๐} ึ่ง^{๗๐๑} ไ^{๗๐๒} ึ่ง^{๗๐๓} ไ^{๗๐๔} ึ่ง^{๗๐๕} ไ^{๗๐๖} ึ่ง^{๗๐๗} ไ^{๗๐๘} ึ่ง^{๗๐๙} ไ^{๗๑๐} ึ่ง^{๗๑๑} ไ^{๗๑๒} ึ่ง^{๗๑๓} ไ^{๗๑๔} ึ่ง^{๗๑๕} ไ^{๗๑๖} ึ่ง^{๗๑๗} ไ^{๗๑๘} ึ่ง^{๗๑๙} ไ^{๗๒๐} ึ่ง^{๗๒๑} ไ^{๗๒๒} ึ่ง^{๗๒๓} ไ^{๗๒๔} ึ่ง^{๗๒๕} ไ^{๗๒๖} ึ่ง^{๗๒๗} ไ^{๗๒๘} ึ่ง^{๗๒๙} ไ^{๗๓๐} ึ่ง^{๗๓๑} ไ^{๗๓๒} ึ่ง^{๗๓๓} ไ^{๗๓๔} ึ่ง^{๗๓๕} ไ^{๗๓๖} ึ่ง^{๗๓๗} ไ^{๗๓๘} ึ่ง^{๗๓๙} ไ^{๗๔๐} ึ่ง^{๗๔๑} ไ^{๗๔๒} ึ่ง^{๗๔๓} ไ^{๗๔๔} ึ่ง^{๗๔๕} ไ^{๗๔๖} ึ่ง^{๗๔๗} ไ^{๗๔๘} ึ่ง^{๗๔๙} ไ^{๗๕๐} ึ่ง^{๗๕๑} ไ^{๗๕๒} ึ่ง^{๗๕๓} ไ^{๗๕๔} ึ่ง^{๗๕๕} ไ^{๗๕๖} ึ่ง^{๗๕๗} ไ^{๗๕๘} ึ่ง^{๗๕๙} ไ^{๗๖๐} ึ่ง^{๗๖๑} ไ^{๗๖๒} ึ่ง^{๗๖๓} ไ^{๗๖๔} ึ่ง^{๗๖๕} ไ^{๗๖๖} ึ่ง^{๗๖๗} ไ^{๗๖๘} ึ่ง^{๗๖๙} ไ^{๗๗๐} ึ่ง^{๗๗๑} ไ^{๗๗๒} ึ่ง^{๗๗๓} ไ^{๗๗๔} ึ่ง^{๗๗๕} ไ^{๗๗๖} ึ่ง^{๗๗๗} ไ^{๗๗๘} ึ่ง^{๗๗๙} ไ^{๗๘๐} ึ่ง^{๗๘๑} ไ^{๗๘๒} ึ่ง^{๗๘๓} ไ^{๗๘๔} ึ่ง^{๗๘๕} ไ^{๗๘๖} ึ่ง^{๗๘๗} ไ^{๗๘๘} ึ่ง^{๗๘๙} ไ^{๗๙๐} ึ่ง^{๗๙๑} ไ^{๗๙๒} ึ่ง^{๗๙๓} ไ^{๗๙๔} ึ่ง^{๗๙๕} ไ^{๗๙๖} ึ่ง^{๗๙๗} ไ^{๗๙๘} ึ่ง^{๗๙๙} ไ^{๘๐๐} ึ่ง^{๘๐๑} ไ^{๘๐๒} ึ่ง^{๘๐๓} ไ^{๘๐๔} ึ่ง^{๘๐๕} ไ^{๘๐๖} ึ่ง^{๘๐๗} ไ^{๘๐๘} ึ่ง^{๘๐๙} ไ^{๘๑๐} ึ่ง^{๘๑๑} ไ^{๘๑๒} ึ่ง^{๘๑๓} ไ^{๘๑๔} ึ่ง^{๘๑๕} ไ^{๘๑๖} ึ่ง^{๘๑๗} ไ^{๘๑๘} ึ่ง^{๘๑๙} ไ^{๘๒๐} ึ่ง^{๘๒๑} ไ^{๘๒๒} ึ่ง^{๘๒๓} ไ^{๘๒๔} ึ่ง^{๘๒๕} ไ^{๘๒๖} ึ่ง^{๘๒๗} ไ^{๘๒๘} ึ่ง^{๘๒๙} ไ^{๘๓๐} ึ่ง^{๘๓๑} ไ^{๘๓๒} ึ่ง^{๘๓๓} ไ^{๘๓๔} ึ่ง^{๘๓๕} ไ^{๘๓๖} ึ่ง^{๘๓๗} ไ^{๘๓๘} ึ่ง^{๘๓๙} ไ^{๘๔๐} ึ่ง^{๘๔๑} ไ^{๘๔๒} ึ่ง^{๘๔๓} ไ^{๘๔๔} ึ่ง^{๘๔๕} ไ^{๘๔๖} ึ่ง^{๘๔๗} ไ^{๘๔๘} ึ่ง^{๘๔๙} ไ^{๘๕๐} ึ่ง^{๘๕๑} ไ^{๘๕๒} ึ่ง^{๘๕๓} ไ^{๘๕๔} ึ่ง^{๘๕๕} ไ^{๘๕๖} ึ่ง^{๘๕๗} ไ^{๘๕๘} ึ่ง^{๘๕๙} ไ^{๘๖๐} ึ่ง^{๘๖๑} ไ^{๘๖๒} ึ่ง^{๘๖๓} ไ^{๘๖๔} ึ่ง^{๘๖๕} ไ^{๘๖๖} ึ่ง^{๘๖๗} ไ^{๘๖๘} ึ่ง^{๘๖๙} ไ^{๘๗๐} ึ่ง^{๘๗๑} ไ^{๘๗๒} ึ่ง^{๘๗๓} ไ^{๘๗๔} ึ่ง^{๘๗๕} ไ^{๘๗๖} ึ่ง^{๘๗๗} ไ^{๘๗๘} ึ่ง^{๘๗๙} ไ^{๘๘๐} ึ่ง^{๘๘๑} ไ^{๘๘๒} ึ่ง^{๘๘๓} ไ^{๘๘๔} ึ่ง^{๘๘๕} ไ^{๘๘๖} ึ่ง^{๘๘๗} ไ^{๘๘๘} ึ่ง^{๘๘๙} ไ^{๘๙๐} ึ่ง^{๘๙๑} ไ^{๘๙๒} ึ่ง^{๘๙๓} ไ^{๘๙๔} ึ่ง^{๘๙๕} ไ^{๘๙๖} ึ่ง^{๘๙๗} ไ^{๘๙๘} ึ่ง^{๘๙๙} ไ^{๙๐๐} ึ่ง^{๙๐๑} ไ^{๙๐๒} ึ่ง^{๙๐๓} ไ^{๙๐๔} ึ่ง^{๙๐๕} ไ^{๙๐๖} ึ่ง^{๙๐๗} ไ^{๙๐๘} ึ่ง^{๙๐๙} ไ^{๙๑๐} ึ่ง^{๙๑๑} ไ^{๙๑๒} ึ่ง^{๙๑๓} ไ^{๙๑๔} ึ่ง^{๙๑๕} ไ^{๙๑๖} ึ่ง^{๙๑๗} ไ^{๙๑๘} ึ่ง^{๙๑๙} ไ

- (๒๑) จกกไกรคำมำคำไกรจกกไกรคำ เอนคำทองคำไพร่ผ้าหน้าใส
 (๒๒) ลูกเจ้าลูกขุน ผู้ใดแล้ต่ายหายกว่าอ้ายว (เรอ) นพ เชื้ออ
 (๒๓) เสืออคำม่นข้างขลุ่ย มย ยยเข้าไพร่ผ้าขาวไพบ
 (๒๔) หมาก ป่าพลพ เชื้ออม่นไวแก่ ลกม่น ส่นไพร่ผ้า
 (๒๕) ลูกเจ้าลูกขุน ผู้ใด ผดแผกแผกกว้างก่นสวนดู
 (๒๖) แท้แล้ จ่งแล้งความ (แ) ก่ชาด้วย ชับเข้า ผู้ลกมก
 (๒๗) ผู้ช่อนเห่นเข้าท่านบไกร พนเห่น ส่นท่านบไกร เดอ
 (๒๘) ตคนใด ชีข้างมาหาพา เมืองมา ช้อย เหนอ เพื่อ
 (๒๙) อุกม่นบ มีข้างบ มีมาบ มีววบ มีนางบ มี ง(อ)
 (๓๐) นบ มีทองให้แก่ม่นช้อยม่นตวงเพนบ้านเพน เมอ
 (๓๑) งได้เข้า (ส) ออกเข้า เสืออหวว พงหววรบ ก่ ตบเข้า ตใน
 (๓๒) ปากู ปด มีก่ ตง ออน ฌ่งแขวนไว้ท่นไพร่ผ้าหน้า
 (๓๓) ปกกลางบ้านกลาง เมือง มีถ้อย มีความเจบท่อง
 (๓๔) (ข) องใจม่น จกกกล่าว เถงเจ้า เถง ขนบไว้ไปลน ก
 (๓๕) ตงอ(น) ท่านแขวนไว้พ ขนรามค้เหงเจ้า เมืองได้

ด้านที่ ๒

- (๑) ญนรย(ก) เมือถามสวนความแก่ม่นด้วย ชีไพร่ใน
 (๒) (เม) องสุโขไท นี จ่งข้าสร้างป่าหมากป่าพลท้าว เมอ
 (๓) ง นี ทกแห่งป่าพร้าวท่หลายใน เมือง นีป่าลาง
 (๔) ท่หลายใน เมือง นีหมากม่วงท่หลายใน เมือง นี
 (๕) ห(มา) กขามท่หลายใน เมือง นีใครสร้างได้ไว้แก่ม่น
 (๖) กลาง เมืองสุโขไท นี มีน้ำตรพงงโพย สใส่กิน นี

- (๗) ... (ง) งัก ก็น้ำโขง เมื่อแล้งรอบ เมือง สุกโขทัย นี่
- (๘) บุ (ร) ได้สามพัน ครัวเรือนใน เมือง สุกโขทัย นี่
- (๙) มก (ก) ทาน มกทรวง สลอมกโอยทาน พุ่ชนรามคัแหง
- (๑๐) เจ้า เมือง สุกโขทัย นี่ทงขาวแม่ชาวเจ้าท่วยบัวท่วยนา
- (๑๑) งูล (ก) เจ้า ลุก ชนทง ช่นทงหลายทง ผ้ช่าย ผ้ญ
- (๑๒) ฝูง (ท) วัย มีสธาในพระ พุทธสาสนทง สล เมื่อพรน
- (๑๓) ษากุทคน เมื่ออโอกพรนษากรานกัถน เตอนนี้ ฅง จั
- (๑๔) งแล้ว เมื่ออรานกั ถน มีพนี้ บัย มีพนี้หมาก มี
- (๑๕) พนดอกไม้ มีหมอนฅงหมอนโนนบ ีรพารกั ถนโอ
- (๑๖) ยทานแล ปแล ญบล่านไป สตญตกั ถน เถงอ
- (๑๗) ไร ญกั พน เมื่อจกเข้ามายงรยงกนแถื่อไร
- (๑๘) ญก (พ) นเท้าหวลานคับคักลอยคัวยสยงพาดสยง พ
- (๑๙) นสยง เลื่อนสยงขบปไกรจกมกกเท่ลนเท่ลนไกรจ
- (๒๐) กมก (ก) หวหวไกรจกมก เลื่อน เลื่อน เมือง ส
- (๒๑) กโขทัย นี่ มี ศัปาก (ป) ทหลวงท่นญมคนสยตกน
- (๒๒) เข้า ทานเผาทย (น) ทานเท่ลนไฟ เมือง สุกโขทัย นี่
- (๒๓) มี ฅงจกแตกกล (ง) เมือง สุกโขทัย นี่ มี พหาร มี
- (๒๔) พระ พุทธรูปทง มีพระอฐฐารศ มีพระ พุทธ รูป
- (๒๕) มีพระ พุทธ รูปอนนให้ญ มีพระ พุทธ รูปอนน
- (๒๖) ราม มี พหารอนนให้ญ มี พหารอนนราม มี ป
- (๒๗) ครันสไ... ต มี (ถร) มมหาเถร เบ้องตวนนตก
- (๒๘) เมือง ส (โขทัย) นี่ มี (ไร) ญญก พุ่ชนรามคัแหงกทำ
- (๒๙) โอยทานแก่มหาเถรศ (งม) ราชปราชญรยนจบ บิณฑกไทร

Translation

[I/1-3.] My father was named *Srī Īndrāditya*¹, my mother was named Lady *Sōaṇ*, my elder brother was named *Pān Mōaṇ*². There were five of us³ born from the same womb: three boys and two girls. My⁴ eldest brother died⁵ when he was still⁶ a child.

[I/3-10.] When I was nineteen years old, Lord *Sām Jan*, the ruler of *Mōaṇ Chòt*, came to attack⁷ *Mōaṇ Tāk*.⁸ My father went to fight Lord

1) สร อินทราดิศย, modern ศรีอินทราดิศย, *Srī Īndrāditya*. For the spelling, cf. Bradley, JSS VI, p. 37 f.

2) บาน โมอง, modern บาลเมือง, 'guardian of the kingdom'.

3) ชู 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) ชือ, says Bradley (JSS VI, p. 39), 'is the well-known sentimental first personal pronoun of the romances.'

5) Literally 'died from me'.

6) ตบมณฺเฏ (I/3), for เคบมณฺเฏ, equivalent to ตั้งแต่นั้น, 'since', 'when'. *Prajam I* glosses ตบมณฺเฏ as ตั้งแต่นั้น.

7) ทั (I/4), i.e. ทั, 'to hit', 'to strike'.

8) *Mōaṇ* (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 '*Mōaṇ*' untranslated, for example when it has two different meanings in the same sentence. At I/4 *Mōaṇ Chòt* is the principality of *Chòt*, whose capital was at or near *Mè Sôt*, in the present province of *Tāk*, near the Siam-Burma border; while *Mōaṇ 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 *Mōaṇ* was ruled by a เจ้า. The word เจ้า, which we shall translate as 'prince' or 'ruler', is often followed directly by the word *Mōaṇ*, with or without the addition of a toponym. For example Lord *Sām Jan* is called เจ้าเมืองจก (I/4), 'ruler of *Mōaṇ Chòt*', 'ruler of the principality of *Chòt*'; *Rāma Gaṁhēṇ* is called เจ้าเมืองสุโขทัย (II/10), 'ruler of this kingdom of *Sukhodai*', or เจ้าเมืองศรี-สาขานนไถสุโขทัย (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 ชู, 'lord', prefixed to his name, though we have only one instance in this inscription: ชูสามจก (I/4): 'Lord *Sām Jan*', the ruler of *Chòt*. The word ชู is sometimes used absolutely; for example ชูผู้ใดก็เมืองสุโขทัย (III/7-8): 'whatever lord may rule this kingdom of *Sukhodai*'; and, in reference to *Rāma Gaṁhēṇ*, เปนชูละเมืองวิสาขนา (IV/1-2), 'who is lord of the kingdom of *Srī Sajjannālai Sukhodai*'. Note that ชู, unlike เจ้า, is not followed directly by the word *Mōaṇ*, but is separated from it by ใน, which in this case means 'of'. The usual pattern seems to have been 'Lord X (ชู . . .)', the ruler of Y (เจ้าเมือง)'. At I/34, เจ้า and ชู, coupled together, are used

Sām Jan on the left; Lord Sām Jan drove forward on the right. Lord Sām Jan attacked in force⁹; my father's men¹⁰ fled in confusion¹¹. I did not flee. I mounted my elephant, opened [a way through] the soldiers¹², and pushed him ahead in front of my father. I fought an elephant duel¹³ with Lord Sām Jan. I fought¹⁴ Lord Sām Jan's elephant, Mās Mōah¹⁵ by name, and beat him. Lord Sām Jan fled. Then my father named me Braḥ Rāma Gaṃhèn¹⁶ 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,¹⁷ I brought them to my father. When I raided a town or village and captured elephants¹⁸,

in an absolute sense : ทำว⁴เฒ่าเจ้า⁴เฒ่าขุน, 'make known to this ruler and lord' (i.e. Rāma Gaṃhèn). In most cases, perhaps all, a ขุน was also a เจ้าเมือง; but we have no proof that a เจ้า was always a ruler; at II/10, for instance, เจ้า seems to mean 'princes', perhaps members of the royal family, whether or not they had apanages to rule.

9) เฒ่า, literally, 'very many.'

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

11) หนีญญ่าพวยจน(น) (I/6-7), i.e. หนีญญ่าพวยจนจันจัน. The expression can be dissected as หนี, 'to flee'; ญ่า 'broken' (Pallegoix); พวย 'to disappear' (Khmer: *bây*, 'to disappear'); จัน, 'quickly' (cf. modern วิ่งจัน, 'to run away fast').

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

13) ญี่ช้าง (I/7-8), i.e. ต่อช้าง

14) สู้; equivalent to รบสู้ 'to fight'.

15) 'The country's gold.'

16) คันทะ; modern คันทะ, gāmhèn, 'bold'.

17) คุหนงวงช้าง (I/13-14); as Bradley explains, คุหนง is to lay up the rawhide ropes for lassoes; วงช้าง 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 rank¹⁹, 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 King²⁰ Rāma Gamhēn 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 Gamhēn; 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 ผู้คน, '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 Gamhēn'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 d'ioi-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 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀸 (I/18 et passim, seven times in all), 'King Rāma Gamhēn'; 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀸 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".'

The lord of the realm does not levy toll²¹ on his subjects²² for traveling the roads; they²³ lead²⁴ their cattle to trade or ride their horses to sell; whoever wants to trade in elephants, does so; whoever wants to trade in horses, does so; whoever wants to trade in silver or gold, does so²⁵. When any commoner or man of rank²⁶ dies²⁷, his estate²⁸ — his²⁹

21) จกอบ (I/19), 'taxes', from Old Khmer *ckap*, 'to bind'. See Coedès, JSS XIV/2, p. 36 n. 1, and JSS XII/3, p. 114.

22) ไพร่ (I/19).

23) เพื่อน (I/19, 20), 'friends', here used as a pronoun of the third person plural. In *Tai Yuan*, เพื่อน is still used as a pronoun of the first and third person.

24) จูง (I/20), for ชูง, 'to lead'.

25) The meaning seems to be that there were no road-tolls, and that there were no royal monopolies or taxes on trade in cattle, horses, elephants, silver or gold. Contrast the accepted practice in medieval India, summarized from pertinent passages in the *Sukraniti*: 'Without the permission of the king the following things are not to be done by the subjects: gambling, drinking, hunting, use of arms, sales and purchases of cows, elephants, horses, camels, buffaloes, men, immovable property, silver, gold . . .'; see D. Mackenzie Brown, *The White Umbrella, Indian Political Thought from Manu to Gandhi*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964, p. 71). Cf. B. Walker, *The Hindu World, An Encyclopedic Survey of Hinduism*, London, 1968, s.v. *Taxation*.

26) ลูกเจ้า, ลูกขุน (I/22). The expression ลูกเจ้าลูกขุน probably means officials, who, according to the custom of the time, would usually be princes. It may be, however, that there is a distinction between ลูกเจ้า and ลูกขุน. If so, ลูกขุน would be the rulers of cities or provinces and their relatives, while ลูกเจ้า, occurring between พ่อพี่หลานพี่ 'commoners', and ลูกขุน, would be a rank intermediate between the two.

27) ตายหายตัว (I/22); the whole expression means 'to die'. ต้ม is for ต้ม, which now usually means to fall down or to fall sick; but cf. ช้างต้ม, 'the elephant is dead'. As Coedès observes (JSS XII, p. 4), คำ is here equivalent to เสีย, a sense in which it is now obsolete in Siamese, but still current in Dìoi (*té kwa lew*, 'he is dead'). In Shan the meaning of คำ is 'to go'. Cf. modern สัมหายตายจาก, 'to die'.

28) อัยยเรือนพ่อเชื้อเสือกคามณ (I/22-23), for เข้านเรือนพ่อเชื้อเสือกคามณ. In this context เข้านเรือน seems to mean house and property, i.e. the decedent's whole estate. We take the expression พ่อเชื้อเสือกคามณ as a possessive; พ่อเชื้อ, 'the father of the family'; เสือกคาม, 'the deceased' (เสือก, 'a deceased person', cf. ผู้เสือก; คำ, perhaps a euphonic filler, or else for คำ, 'support', 'mainstay'); มณ, 'himself', in apposition to 'the deceased father of the family'. In English this whole expression is redundant, since 'the deceased father of the family' is the same person who has just been mentioned, namely any commoner or man of rank who dies; so, instead of 'the estate of the deceased father of himself', we translate simply: 'his estate'. On the other hand Coedès may be right in interpreting เข้านเรือนพ่อเชื้อ (I/22-23) as 'la maison de ses ancêtres', and บ้านหมากบัวพ่อเชื้อมณ (I/23-24) as 'les plantations d'arec et de bétel de ses ancêtres' (*Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, I, pp. 44, 45; cf. discussion at JSS XII, pp. 5, 6). Instead of 'เสือกคาม' Coedès reads 'เสือกคาม', i.e. 'เสือกคาม', which he translates as 'vêtements' (explained at JSS XII, p. 5).

29) พ่อเชื้อมณ (I/24), literally '(of) the father himself'; we translate it as 'his' (cf. above, note 28) and, as it seems to modify all the items on the list, we put it before the first one.

elephants³⁰, wives, children, granaries³¹, rice, retainers³² and groves of areca and betel — is left in its entirety³³ to his son. When commoners or men of rank differ and disagree³⁴, [the King] examines the case to get at the truth³⁵ and then settles³⁶ it justly for them³⁷. He does not connive with thieves or favor concealers [of stolen goods]. When he sees someone's rice he does not covet³⁸ 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 protection³⁹, he helps⁴⁰ him, treats him generously⁴¹, and takes care of him⁴²; if [someone comes to him] with no elephants⁴³, no horses, no young men or women of rank⁴⁴, no silver or

- 30) ช้าง (I/23), i.e. ช้างขอ, literally 'elephants and elephant-goads', appears to be a ready-made expression signifying domesticated elephants.
- 31) ไซ (I/23), i.e. ไซ, 'granary'; obsolete in Siamese, but still current in *Tai Yuan*.
- 32) โพรพิงโท; for โพรพิง, 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 โพรพิงโท and โพรพิงโนโล. We may add that the present passage suggests that the condition of the โพรพิงโท was inferior to that of the โพรพิงโนโล, since the former seem to figure among the dependents that the latter can bequeath to his son.
- 33) สิ้น (I/24), cf. หิ้น, '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) ผลิตแตกสกลังกัน (I/25); ผลิต, 'to differ', 'to err'; แตก, 'to differ', 'to be separated'; สก 'to part'; ัง 'wide', 'widely', or else equivalent to ึง, 'to tear'; กัน, 'from each other'.
- 35) สวนตม (I/25-26); สวน, 'to examine'; ตม, 'to look', 'to consider'; แท้, 'truly'.
- 36) แดง (I/26), literally 'to split', 'to divide'.
- 37) เขา (I/26) is here used as a pronoun of the third person plural.
- 38) โกรพิง (I/27); โกร, 'to desire', 'to covet'; พิน, cf. the modern vulgarism พินเสีย, 'to be very angry'.
- 39) พาเมืองมา (I/28); พา—มา 'to bring'; เมือง, '(his own) country'; ัง 'to stay with', i.e. to become Rāma Gamhēn's vassal.
- 40) ช่วย regularly used in the Sukhodayan inscriptions for ช่วย, 'to help'.
- 41) ใจเฟ้อ (I/28-29) is an archaic or dialectical form of ใจเฟ้อ 'to support', 'to be generous to', 'to be hospitable to', 'to be solicitous of' (see Coedès at JSS XII, p. 7).
- 42) ูก (I/28), ูก 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 ูก and ูก (I/29), see above, note 19,

gold, he gives him some, and helps him until⁴⁵ he can establish a state [of his own]⁴⁶. When he captures enemy warriors⁴⁷, he does not kill them or beat them. He has hung a bell in the opening of the gate over there⁴⁸: if any commoner⁴⁹ in the land has a grievance⁵⁰ which sickens his belly and gripes his heart, and which he wants to make known to his ruler and lord, it is easy⁵¹; 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 him⁵². So the people of this Mōaṃ of Sukkhodai praise him. They plant areca groves and betel groves all over this Mōaṃ; cocoanut groves and jackfruit⁵³ groves are planted in abundance in this Mōaṃ, mango groves and tamarind groves are planted in abundance in this Mōaṃ. Anyone who plants them gets them for himself and keeps them⁵⁴. Inside this city there is a marvelous⁵⁵ pond⁵⁶ of water which

45) ทั่ว, 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) ข้าศึกข้าโฮอหวู่ฟ่งหววน (I/31). ข้าศึก, 'enemy'; ข้าโฮอ, as Bradley says (JSS VI/1, p. 50), is only an alliterative pendant; หวู่ฟ่งหววน, 'fighters'. The whole expression probably means no more than 'enemy warriors', though those designated as หวู่ 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) โพธิ์หน้าปก (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) ไม้ต้อยไม้ความ; cf. modern Siamese ไม้ความ, 'lawsuit'.

51) ไม้รู้ (I/34), equivalent to ไม้ยากรู้, 'it is not difficult'.

52) Note the parallel with the passage at I/25 f.: สวนตุ (I/25), ตามสวน (II/1); แต่งความแก่ข้าด้วย ฟ้า (I/26); (แต่ง) ความแก่กันนด้วย ฟ้า (II/1).

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

54) ใต้ไม้กันหน้ (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) โพธิ์ (II/6), 'marvelous' (glossed as อัจฉริยะ, etc., at ประชุมพงสาวดาร, 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 หนองพังกอง, หนองเงิน, หนองกระกวน, and หนองสอ 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 Khoñ⁵⁷ in the dry season. The triple rampart⁵⁸ surrounding this city of Sukhodai measures three thousand four hundred fathoms.⁵⁹

[II/8-23.] The people of this city of Sukhodai like to observe the precepts and bestow alms⁶⁰. King Rāma Gaṁhēñ, the ruler of this city of Sukhodai, as well as the princes and princesses, the young men and women of rank⁶¹, and all the noblefolk⁶² without exception, both male and female, all have faith in the religion of the Buddha, and all observe the precepts during the rainy season.⁶³ At the close of the rainy season they celebrate the Kaṭhina ceremonies⁶⁴, 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 million⁶⁵ each year. Everyone goes to the

57) The Mě Khoñ (*Mě Kóng*).

58) *ค.บ. (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 (*wā*) 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 คนในเมืองสุโขทัยนั้นมักทานมกทวง' สมนกโลกทาน '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 คนในเมืองสุโขทัยนั้นมักทวง' สมนกโลกโดยทาน, but the engraver first inadvertently wrote ทาน instead of ทวง, and then, having discovered his mistake, wrote the passage correctly.

61) *ค.บ. (II/10-11); cf. above, notes 19 and 44.

62) *ค.บ. (II/11); cf. above, note 26.

63) *ค.บ. (II/16-17), modern วรสา (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 *ค.บ. (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 Gaṁhēñ'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 Gaṁhēñ's time,

Araññika⁶⁶ over there for the recitation of the Kathina⁶⁷. 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.⁶⁸ They repeatedly do homage together⁶⁹, accompanied by the music of instruments⁷⁰ and singing⁷¹. 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 Gaṃhēn'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 (あらんญก) at II/16-17 and again at II/17-18 (though it is correctly written, อารันญก araññika, at II/31 and III/21). For the irregular spelling, see Bradley, JSS VI, pp. 52-53.

67) สุตญตตกถา (II/16). สุต is for สวด, 'to recite', 'to chant'; ญตต, Pali ñatti, 'announcement', 'declaration'; กถา, 'kāṭhina'. (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) หวาลาน (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 at 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 na Nagara, JSS LVI/2, p. 238.

69) ต้มกัถกถา (II/18); ต้ม is equivalent to กระทบ, 'repeatedly'; กัถก is probably for บังคม, 'to do homage'; กถา, 'together'. Instead of กถา, Mr. Prasāra Puñpradān reads กถา; and takes บังคม to be equivalent to ปะระโคม. If that is right, we should translate: 'repeatedly beat drums in unison.' Note that the word กถา is inserted below the line.

70) เสียงพาดสายพัน (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) เสียงเลื่อนสายขมม (II/19). As Bradley observes (JSS VI, p. 53 f.), the word เลื่อน 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 เลื่อน (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 always⁷² crowd together⁷³ to come in and watch the King lighting candles and setting off fireworks, the city is filled to the bursting point.⁷⁴

[II/23-27] Inside this city of Sukhodai, there are vihāras, there are golden statues of the Buddha, there are statues eighteen cubits in height⁷⁵; there are big statues of the Buddha⁷⁶ and medium-sized ones, there are big vihāras and medium-sized ones; there are monks, Nissayamuttas, Theras and Mahātheras.⁷⁷

72) ทัชนฺญอน (II/21); probably ทัชนฺ in the sense of 'just like', 'according to', and ชน 'normally', 'usually'. Hence the meaning should be 'according to custom', 'as a rule', 'often', 'always', 'constantly', 'naturally', etc. In the Sukhodayan inscriptions ญอน 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), ทัชนฺญอน is an expression indicating a superlative, and is always placed before the expression to which it applies.

73) สยคกน (II/21); เสียดกัน or เนียดกัน means tightly packed or squeezed together.

74) ฦงจกนคค (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 ฦพระพุทฺธ and then, discovering his error, repeated ฦพระพุทฺธ correctly at the beginning of the next line.

77) ฦปฐุฦนสํ . . . คฦถฦนมหาฦ (II/26-27). The term Pū Garū (ปฐุ), 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 ฦนสํ . . . ค (I/27) as ฦนสํนยมุต (Pali: nissayamutta), see Mahā Chām at *Prajum* I, 1957, p.

[II/27-33.] West of this city of Sukhodai is the Araññika, built by King Rāma Gamhēn as a gift to the Mahāthera Saṅgharāja⁷⁸, the sage who has studied the scriptures⁷⁹ from beginning to end, who is wiser⁸⁰ than any other monk⁸¹ in the kingdom, and who has come⁸² here from Mōaṅ Srī Dharmmarāja⁸³. Inside the Araññika there is a large rectangular⁸⁴ vihāra, tall and exceedingly beautiful, and an eighteen-cubit statue of the Buddha standing up.⁸⁵

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 ภาณุภุมมคัมภีระพระธรรมบท, Bangkok, 1927, is certainly wrong in glossing the term ปุ่คฺจ as a rank in the Sukhodayan monkhood lower than saṅgharāja but higher than therā and mahātherā, a gloss which appears to be based on a false reading of the very passage we have been discussing, restored by early editors as ปุ่คฺจมีสงฆราชผู้มีเดนมหาเถร. No matter how ปุ่คฺจ is to be defined, this reading would put the other three terms in an incoherent order of seniority (saṅgharāja—therā—mahātherā), which is quite out of key with Rāma Gamhēn's orderly method of expressing himself. If pū garū meant a monk who was senior to mahātherā but junior to saṅgharāja, the proposed order 'pū garū—saṅgharāja—therā—mahātherā' 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, pītakaṭṭai (II/29), i.e. Traipitaka (Pali: Tipitaka).

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

81) Pū Garū (see note 77).

82) For ภา 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 ฆ (II/31). At present ฆ means 'round', which is of course impossible in this context. Pallegoix, however, glosses ฆ 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 ฆ to be a mistake for ฆฆ, 'it' (the engraver, he says, 'had not room for the second ฆ 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 ฆ means 'big'.

85) หล้ายืน (II/32-33), i.e. หล้ายืน (modern: ยืน).

[II/33-35.] East of this city of Sukhodai there are vihāras and monks⁸⁶, 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.⁸⁷

[III/1-3.] North⁸⁸ of this city of Sukhodai there is the bazaar⁸⁹, there is the Acan statue⁹⁰, there are the prāsādas⁹¹, there are groves of cocoanut and jackfruit, upland and lowland farms, homesteads, large and small villages.⁹²

[III/3-10.] South⁹³ of this city of Sukhodai there are kuṭīs with vihāras and resident monks, there is the dam⁹⁴, there are groves of

86) ปุณฺณ (II/33); see note 77.

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

88) ปุณฺณ, '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) ตลาด (II/1-2). ตลาด means a market; ปุณฺณ 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* (อาน) 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. MahāChāṃḍōṅgāmyarṇa proposes an alternative explanation, that it represents Pali *acanā*, 'honor', 'veneration' (*Prajum Śīlācārik.*, I, BE 2500, p. 4 note 3).

91) The triad of towers at the temple of Braḥ Bāy Hivāṇ (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) ปุณฺณ (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.

pavilions, one named *Ṣālā Brah Māsa*, one named *Buddhaṣālā*.¹¹¹ This slab of stone is named *Manañsilāpātra*.¹¹² It is installed here for everyone to see.

[IV/1-4.]¹¹³ All the *Mā*, the *Kāv*, the *Lāv*, the *Dai* of the lands under the vault of heaven and the *Dai* who live along the *Ū* and the *Khôn* come¹¹⁴ to do obeisance to King *Śrī Īndrāditya*'s son King *Rāma Gaṃhēṇ*, who is lord of the kingdom of *Śrī Sajjanālai* and *Sukhodai*.¹¹⁵

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 Coedès, 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 *Rāma Gaṃhēṇ*'s lifetime.

115) Coedès 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 *Rāma Gaṃhēṇ* (etc.) together with the *Mā*, the *Kāv*, the *Lāv*, 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. Coedès adds: 'Le trône de pierre était 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 donnée aux peuplades tributaires. On comprend mieux ainsi pourquoi la construction de ce trône eut les honneurs d'une inscription commémorative.' Cf. above, note 113; the punctuation mark seems to make Coedès'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 *Mā* have not been identified, but it may be guessed they were located somewhere between Sukhodaya and *Nān*, perhaps around *Prē*; the *Kāv* (*Gào*) were the people of the Upper *Nān* Valley; the *Lāv* were the *Lāo* of *Luang Pra Bang* and elsewhere in Laos; the 'Dai of the lands under the vault of heaven' would be the non-*Lāo Tai* of Laos; the 'Dai who live along the *Ū*' were the *Tai* of the *Ū* Valley north of *Luang Pra Bang*; and the 'Dai who live along the *Khôn*' were the *Tai* who lived along the *Mē Kông*,

[IV/4-8.] In 1207 saka, a year of the boar¹¹⁶, he caused the holy relics¹¹⁷ to be dug up so that everyone could see them. They were worshiped for a month and six days¹¹⁸, then they were buried in the middle of Śrī Sajjanālai, and a cetiya was built on top of them which was finished in six years¹¹⁹. A wall of rock enclosing the Braḥ Dhātu¹²⁰ was built which was finished in three years¹²¹.

[IV/8-11.] Formerly these Dai [Tai] letters did not exist. In 1205 saka, a year of the goat¹²², King Rāma Gamphēñ set his mind and his heart¹²³ on devising¹²⁴ these Dai letters. So these Dai letters exist because that lord devised them¹²⁵.

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 Gamphēñ's script the numbers 7 and 9 are very different, while ໗ (cock) could easily be mistaken for ໘ (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 Jāñ Lom (*Chāng Lôm*, ช้างล้อม), which is in the geographical center of the city of Sajjanālaya. See Griswold, *ibid*.

120) The 'wall of rock' (ကျောက်, IV/7) is probably the laterite wall surrounding the Braḥ Prāñ Jaliān. 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) ໄກ້ໄກ້ (IV/9-10); ໄກ້, 'to have one's heart set on something'; ໄກ້, 'in one's mind'.

124) ໄກ້ (IV/10), modern ໄກ້. 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 Gamphēñ's invention of the Siamese alphabet, see Bradley, JSS VI, p. 9 ff.

[IV/11-27.] King Rāma Gamphèñ was¹²⁶ sovereign¹²⁷ 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 include¹²⁸ Sralvañ, Sòñ Gvè, Lum Pā Cāy, Sagā, the banks of the Khòñ, and Vyañ Cann Vyañ Gām which is the farthest place¹²⁹; 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 រក 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) រាជវង្ស (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) រក្សា លំដាប់ព្រះបាទ (IV/17-18): literally 'He subdued, on the east, as far as'. Of course the word រក្សា 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 Gamphèñ's military prowess and the good treatment he provided his vassals, sought his protection and submitted voluntarily. The word រក្សា at IV/18, 20, 22 and 24, 'up to', 'as far as', has an inclusive sense: 'up to and including'; so have រក្សា at IV/18 and រក្សា 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 Bisṇuloka. Sralvañ (ស្រាវ៉ា), according to the general opinion, stands for Srah Hlvañ (ស្រាហ្លាវ៉ា), 'Great Lake'; but it is hard to see how that can be right because the word hlvañ (ស្រាហ្លាវ៉ា) is never spelt without the initial រ in the inscriptions of Sukhodaya. The real meaning of the name Sralvañ is obscure, but it looks like an expanded form of *srvañ* (ស្រាវ៉ា), 'heaven', 'high', or 'to sacrifice to the spirits', perhaps *srarvañ* (ស្រាវ៉ារាវ៉ា), which has the same meanings (the Sukhodaya inscriptions provide several examples of *la* replacing *ra*). Alternatively the name might stand for Srah Luñ (ស្រាហ្លួន), 'artificial lake' (cf. Khmer *luñ*, 'to dig', 'to excavate'). There is no justification for the generally accepted view which locates Sralvañ near Bicitra (ប៊ីត្រា), which is well to the south of Bisṇuloka. As Sralvañ is listed just before Sòñ Gvè, it must have been somewhere between Sukhodaya and Bisṇuloka.
- Lum-Pā Cāy, or Lam Pā Cāy, must have been at or near Hlam Kau (អ្នកកៅ), on the Pā Sāk River north of Hlam Sāk (អ្នកសាក់) in Bejrapūṇa Province.

Sūbarṇṇabhūm, Rājapurī, Bejapurī, Śrī Dharmarāja, and the seacoast, which is the farthest place¹³⁰; on the west, [they include] Mōaṅ Chòt, Mōaṅ . . n, and Haṅsābati, the seas being their limit;¹³¹ on the north, they include Mōaṅ Blè, Mōaṅ Mān, Mōaṅ N . . Mōaṅ Blvva and, beyond the

Sagā (สกา), 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 Uttaratittha ?) and Laṃ Pā Cāy : the combination suggests that it was in the Pā Sāk Valley north of Luṃ Pā Cāy. เข้าฝั่งของ (IV/18-19) means 'up to and including the bank of the Khòṅ' (modern Mē Khoṅ, แม่โขง, *Mē Kóng*).

ไกลจนถึงแนวหน้า (IV/19) means 'up to and including Vyaṅ Cann Vyaṅ Gām' (the old name of *Vient Jan* or *Vientiane*); in other words the principality of *Vient 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 *Gampēng Pet* (Kāmbēṅ Bejra).

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

Brèk is Old *Jayanāda*, at Pāk Glòṅ Brèk Śrīrājā (ปากคลองพระศรีราชา) in the Sargapurī District (อ. สรรพยา) 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 *Ū Tòng* had been abandoned in the 11th.

Rājapurī, Bejapurī and *Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja* were at or near the present towns of the same name (ราชบุรี, เพชรบุรี, นครศรีธรรมราช). 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.

Haṅsābati 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.¹³² All the people who live in these lands have been reared by him in accordance with the Dharma, every one of them.

132) Mōaṅ Blē is Brē (Prē, ဟူဝ်).

'Mōaṅ N . . Mōaṅ Blvva' should almost certainly be restored as 'Mōaṅ Nān Mōaṅ Blvva', 'the kingdom of Nān and Blua'; Blua (modern (ဟူ)), 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 (မာ်) is found in old writings for ဟူ (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 Bang*; 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 où 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 Sukhodaya 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 Sukhodaya est immense, c'est à s'y perdre: au milieu de la ville de Sukhodaya il y a des vihâras; 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 ^{เมืองสุโขทัยนี้ มีคน} ^{จกนอก} (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 Sukhodaya 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'an 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 çaka 1214, année cyclique du grand dragon, le prince Rāma-Khomhēng roi de Çri Sajjanālaya-Sukhodaya 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-Sukhodaya, 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 Mũäng Chǎ-liǎng, built into the (pagoda) Phrǎ Sri Rǎtǎnǎthat. One inscription is in a cave called the cave of [Phra r]am, situate on the bank of the stream Sǎmphai. One inscription is in the cave [Rǎtǎnǎ] than (Sparkling Brook). In the midst of this palm grove are two Salas; one called Sala Phrǎ Mat (of the Golden Buddha), one called Phuttha B. . . This stone slab [is] named Mǎnǎng Sīla Batrǎ (Thought lodged in stone).

Coedès: En 1214, année du dragon, le Prince Rāma Gaṃhēñ, 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 Gaṃhēñ, 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 Araññikas, 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 Manāñsīlāpātra.

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', ๓๓๑๖ (III/12, III/15, III/17, III/26), is the Manāñsīlāpātra 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 Khāmhaeng 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]: ขดารหินนี้ — 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 Gamhēn sometimes, sit on them; so instead of translating นั่ง เหนือขดารหิน (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 Francaise d'Extreme-Orient.

JSS. Journal of the Siam Society.

Porāṇavatthusthāna. ไบรอนเวตตุสถานที่วพระราชนัดเจ้าจักร, ชิน อยู่ดี เวียงเวียง, Bangkok, 1957.

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

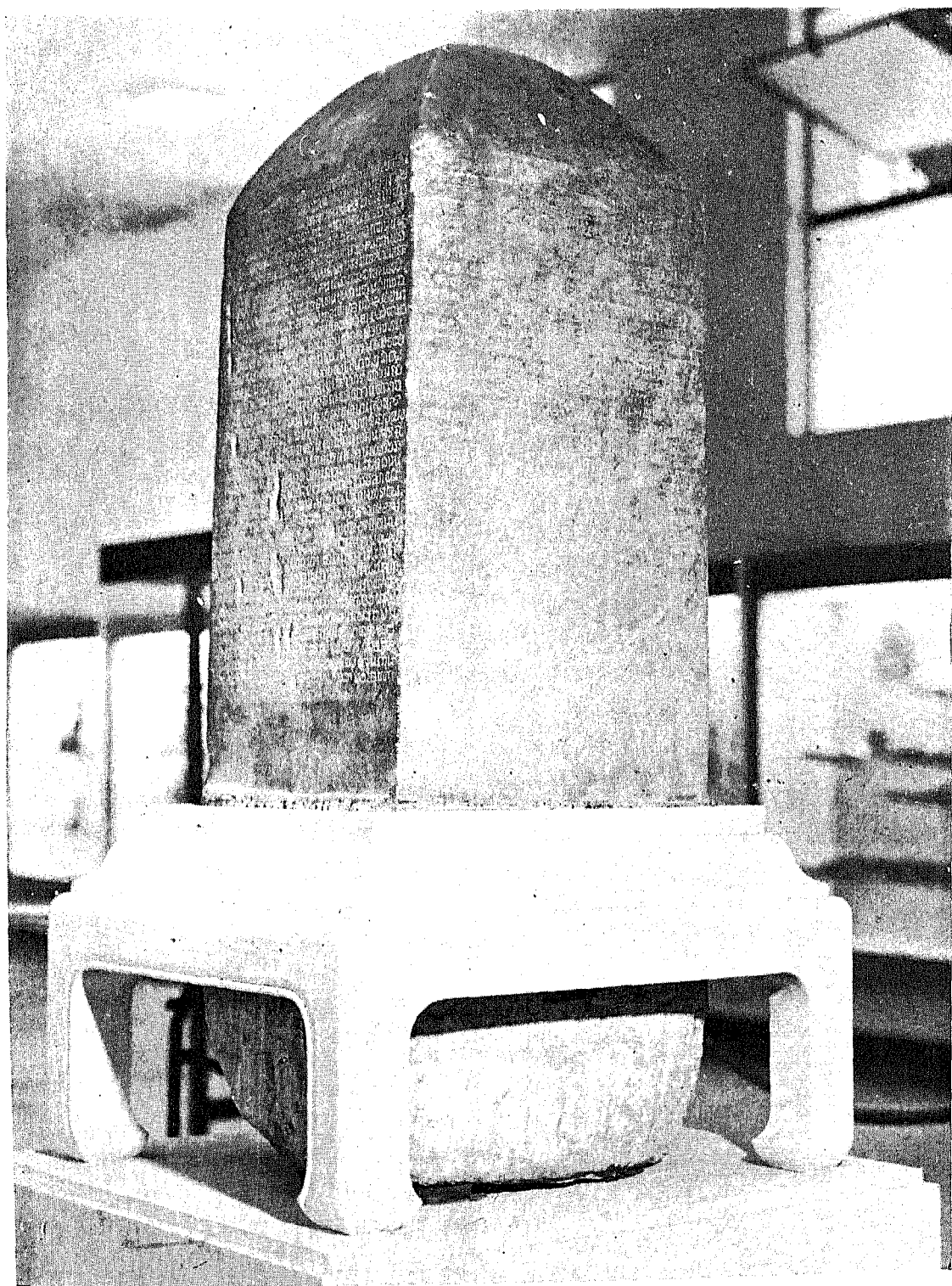


Fig. 1. The stone pillar bearing Rāma Gaṃheṇ's inscription. Manuscript and Inscription Division, National Library, Bangkok.

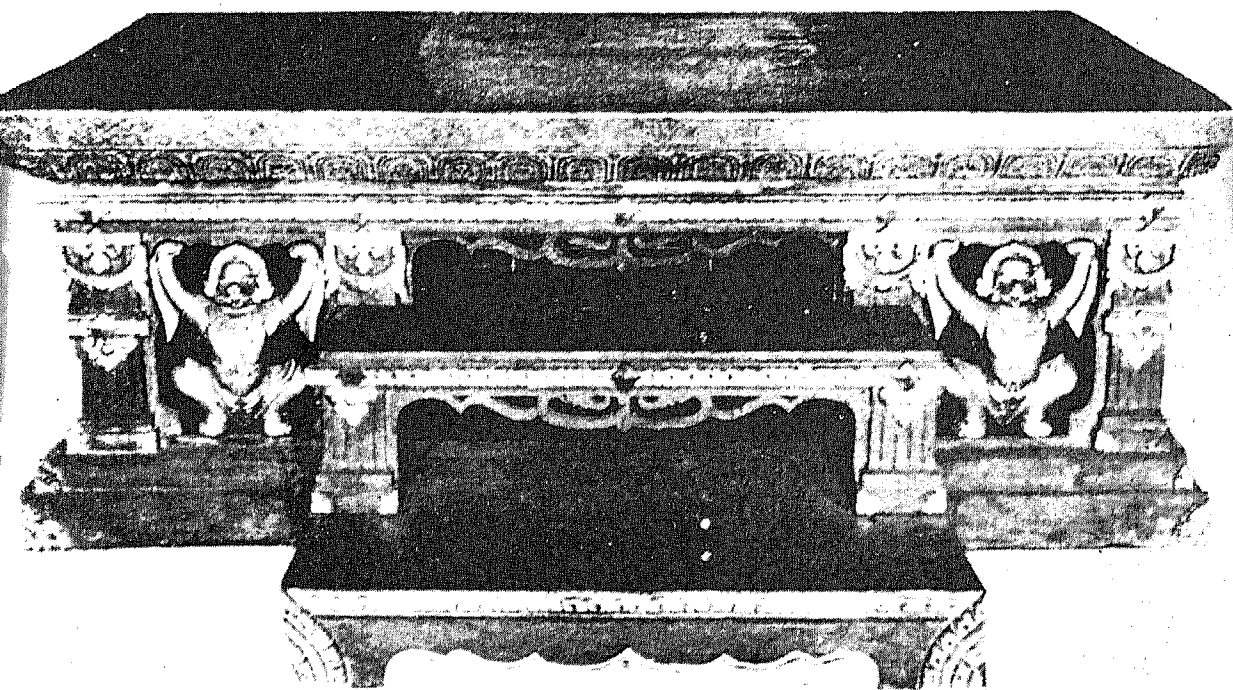
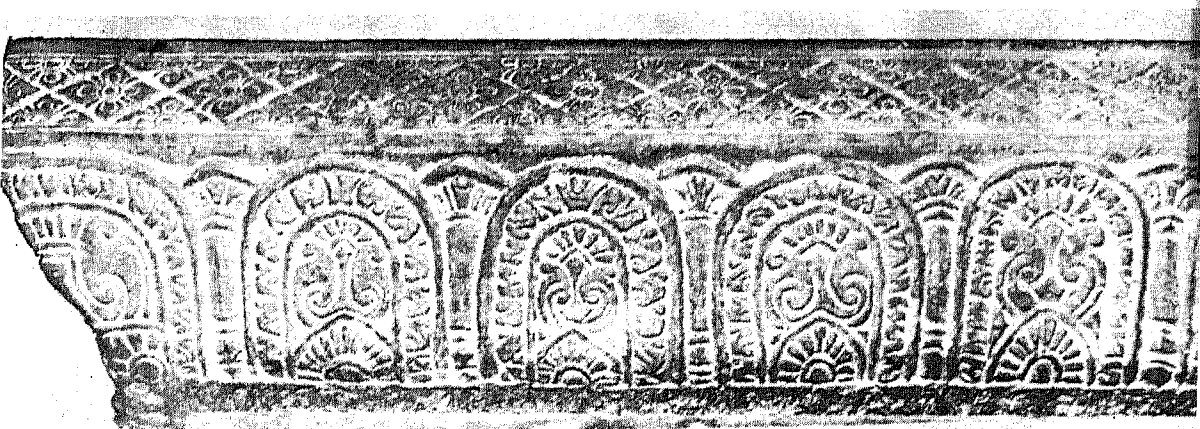


Fig. 2. The Manāṁsilāpātra Throne. Royal Place, Bangkok.
2 a. With modern fittings.



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

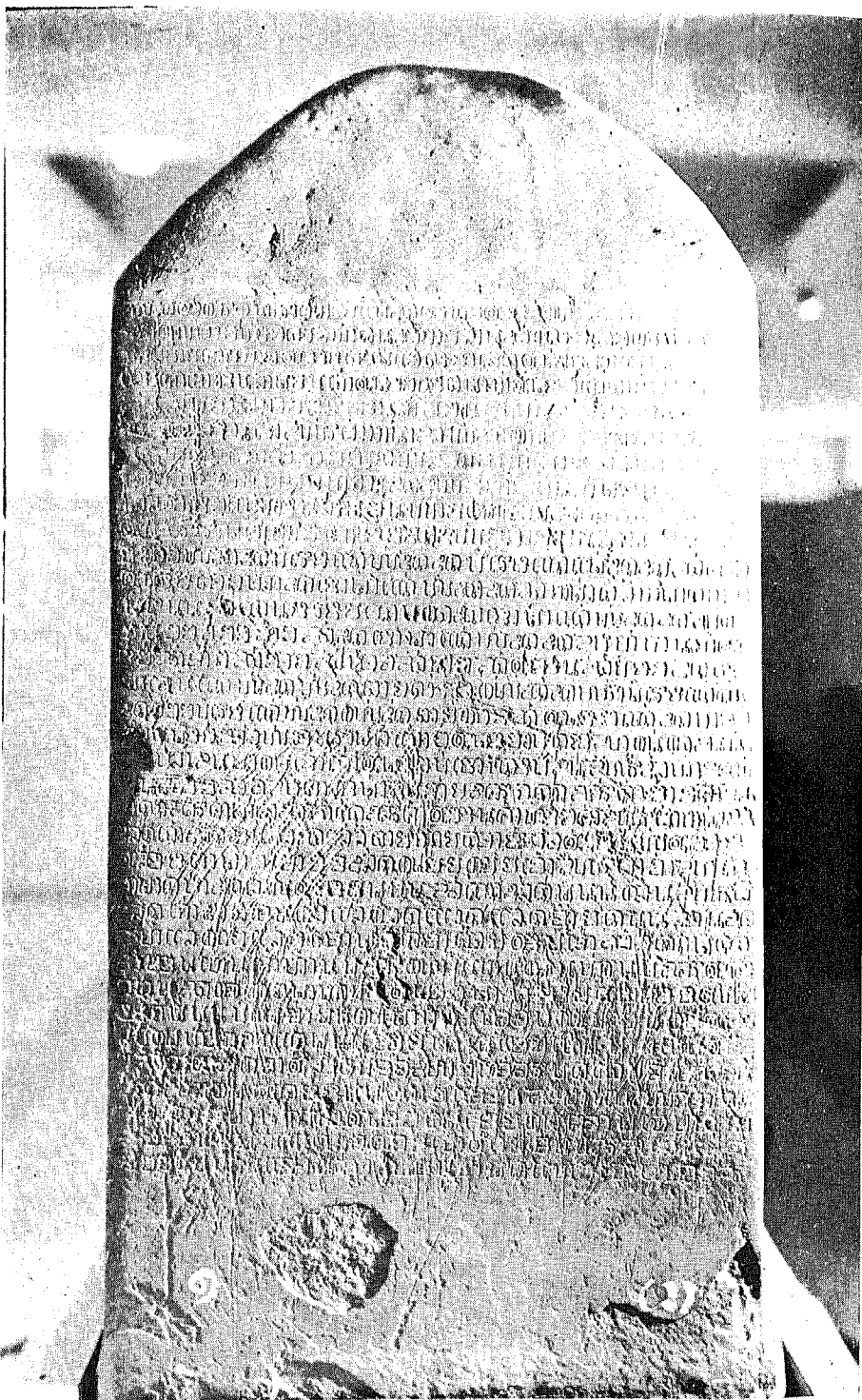
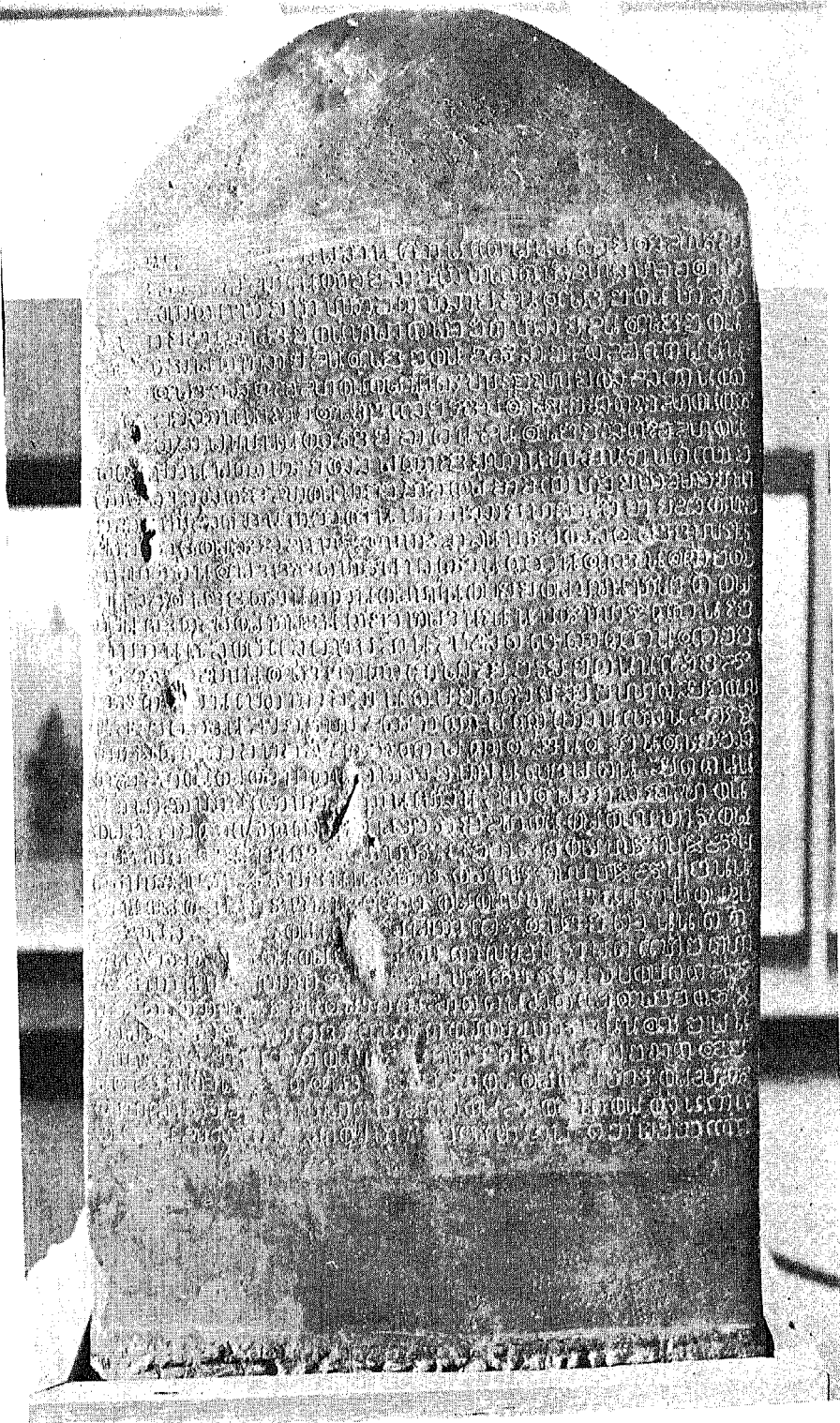
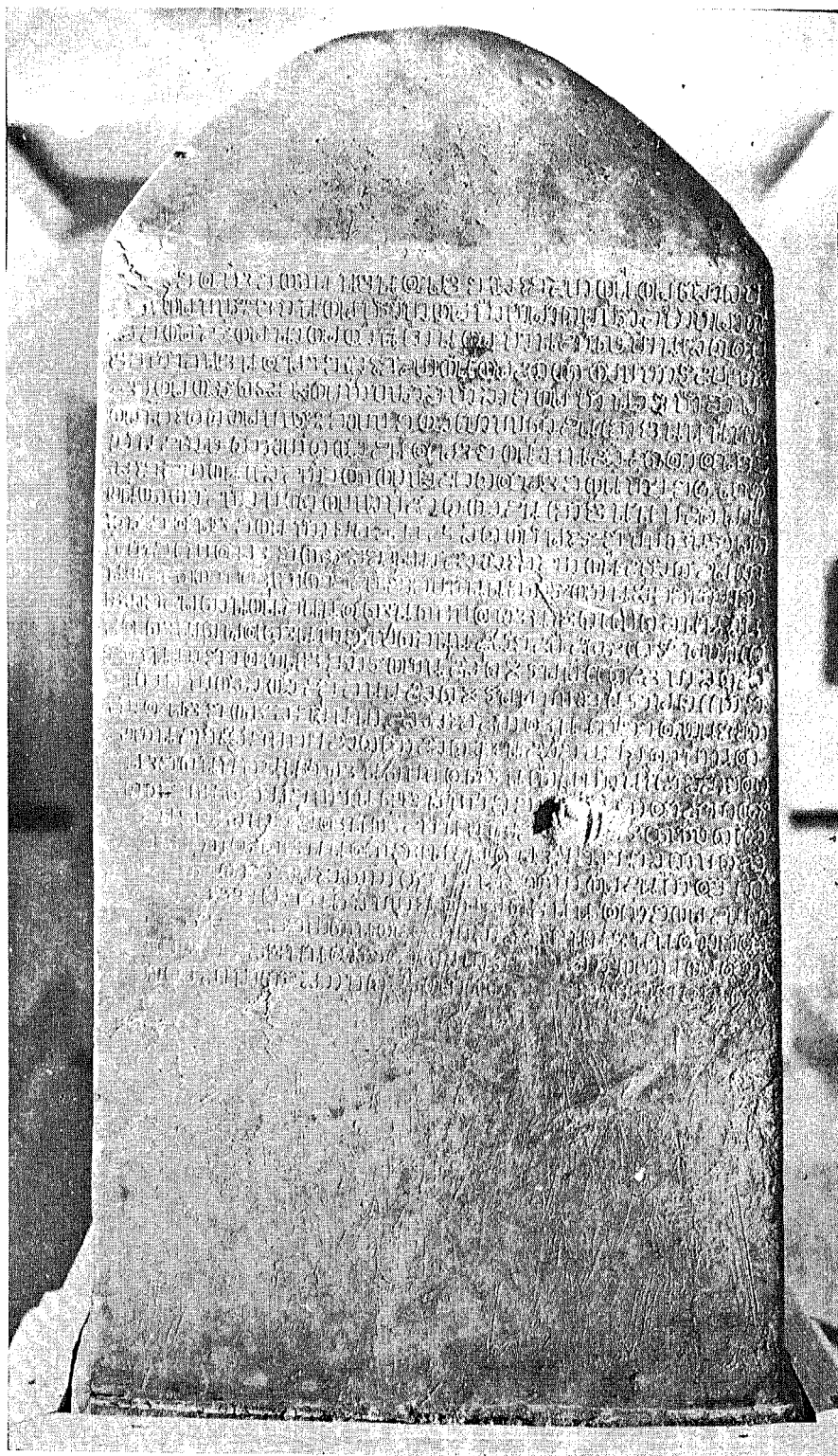


Fig. 3. Rāma Gamhēñ's inscription :

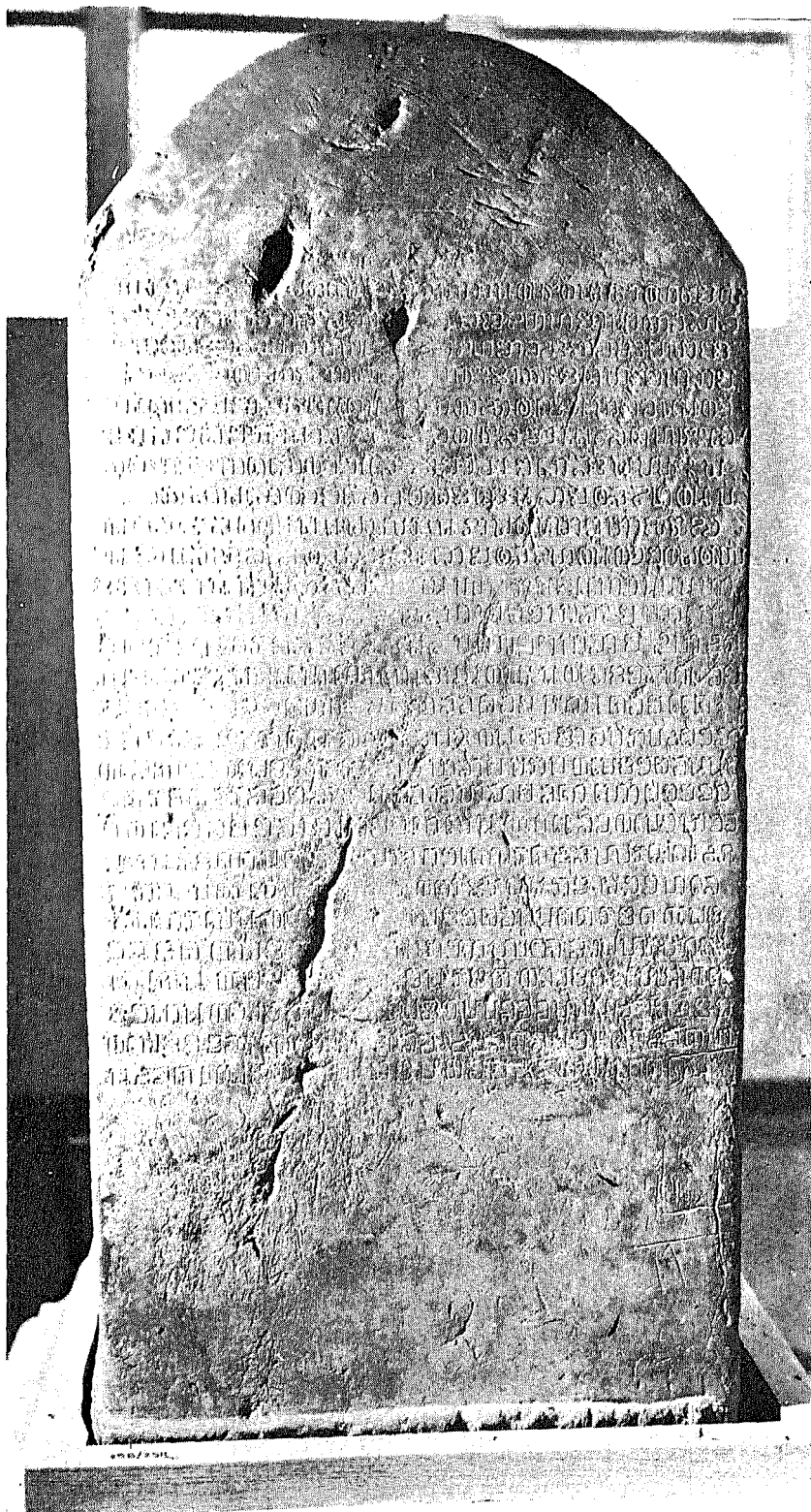
3 a. Face I.



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
"Durandodity"

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

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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.)

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.

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(4)

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