

# KING LÖDAIYA OF SUKHODAYA AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

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by

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### 1

On February 2, 1299, according to the *Yüan-shih*, missions arrived at the Mongol Court from Sukhodaya ('Hsien'), Malāyu ('Mo-la-yu') and Lavo ('Lo-hu'). The Emperor bestowed a Tiger-talisman on the Sukhodayan Heir Apparent, who it seems was present in person. In the same year the King of Sukhodaya sent a petition to the Emperor, probably through the Heir Apparent, saying that during his father's reign the Mongol Court used to bestow saddles, bridles, bits, white horses and golden-threaded garments on him, and asking that such gifts be continued in his own reign.<sup>1</sup>

The request shows that a king of Sukhodaya had recently died and been succeeded by his son. The late king can only have been Rāma Gaṃhēñ, and as the mission surely took more than a month to reach Peking we can take it for granted that the year of his death was 1298.<sup>2</sup> The son who succeeded him was almost certainly Lödaiya (*Lö Tai*)<sup>3</sup>.

- 1) Flood, *Sukhothai-Mongol Relations*, JSS LVII/2, p. 225 f., 248 ff. (note that '1348' at line 4 on p. 253 is a mistake for 1347).
- 2) Coedès recognizes the force of this argument, but cites an objection to it raised by Prince Damrong. While the petition appears to have been sent by a new king, says Coedès, the accession of Rāma Gaṃhēñ's successor before 1299 seems difficult to reconcile with the statement in *Rājādhirāja*, the *History of Martaban*, that when Waréru (Fā-Rua) died in 1313 his successor received from King *Pra Ruang* of Sukhodaya the title Rāmapratiṣṭha, 'established by Rāma', which could hardly have been conferred by anyone else than Rāma Gaṃhēñ (Coedès, *Les États hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, Paris, 1964, p. 396; cf. Prince Damrong, *Miscellaneous Articles*, p. 80). But this objection would be groundless if, as is quite possible, Lödaiya also had 'Rāma' as part of his titulary; and the name '*Pra Ruang*', though usually designating Rāma Gaṃhēñ, is sometimes indiscriminately used for other members of the dynasty. Furthermore the date when Waréru's successor came to the throne is uncertain; according to *Rājādhirāja*, it was 1313, but according to Phayre it was 1306, and according to Harvey it was 1296. See Table II.
- 3) The list of ancestors of the Sukhodayan royal family in Inscription 45 (1392 A.D.) contains the following: 'Grandfather Braṇā Rāmarāja' (i.e. Rāma Gaṃhēñ); 'Grandfather Sai Saṅgrāma'; 'Grandfather Braṇā Lödai' (i.e. Lödaiya); which might lead us to believe that Sai Saṅgrāma—of whom nothing is known—reigned after Rāma Gaṃhēñ and before Lödaiya. But it seems unlikely because his name is not preceded by 'braṇā' ('king'), see Griswold and Prasert, JSS LVII/1, pp. 75, 82 and note 20. In the eulogies in Inscription 2, furthermore, Rāmarāja is followed directly by Dharmarāja (see below, Section 7, note 46).

TABLE I

**Dates of the First Six Kings of Sukhodaya**

Name	Acceded	Died
1. Śrī Indrāditya	Before 1250	?
2. Pāl Mōaṅ	?	1279 ?
3. Rāma Gaṃhēṅ	1279 ?	1298
4. Lōdaiya	1298	1346/7
5. Ņvva Nāṃ Thaṃ	1346/7	1347
6. Mahādharmarājā I (Līdaiya)	1347	Between 1368 and 1374

TABLE II

## First Eight Kings of Rāmaññadesa

Rājadhirāja	Phayre (p. 290)	Harvey (p. 368)
1. Makado 1281-1313 ( <i>Jao Fâ-rua</i> )	Warêru 1287*-1306	Wareru 1287*-96
2. Makatā 1313-14 (Rāmapratiṣṭha) brother of 1	Khun-lau 1306-10 (Ranbyakeit), brother of 1	Hkun Law, 1296-1310 brother of 1
3. <i>Jao Âo</i> 1314-19 ( <i>Sên Müang Ming</i> ) nephew of 1 and 2	Dzáu-áu 1310-23 (Theng-mhaing), nephew of 1 and 2	Saw O, 1310-24 nephew of 1 and 2
4. <i>Jao Chîp</i> 1319-27 (Rāmamataiya), brother of 3	Dzáu-dzip 1323-30 (Randa)	Saw Zein, 1324-31 brother of 3
5. <i>Chî Pôn</i> 1327	Dibbân Meng 1330	Zein Pun 1331
6. <i>Âi Gam Gòng</i> , 1327 son of 3	Egânkân 1330	Saw E Gan Gaung, 1331 nephew of 4
7. Bañā <i>Âi Lâo</i> , 1327-45 son of 2	Khunlao 1330-48 (Binyá-é-láu) son of 2	Binnya E Law, 1331-53 son of 2
8. Bañā Ū, 1345-87 son of 4	Binyâ-ú, 1348-85 son of 4	Binnya U, 1353-85 son of 7

\* The discrepancy in these dates is only apparent. Makado became King of Martaban in 1281 and King of Rāmaññadesa in 1287.



## TABLE III

**Proposed Chronology taking both Epigraphic and  
Chronicular Evidence into Account**

[The asterisks indicate dates for which we have direct evidence, the others are estimates.]

- \*Lödaiya's accession : 1298
- Śrīsraddhā's birth : c. 1299
- Sumana's birth : c. 1300
- Sumana's ordination in the community of Mahā Pabbata : c. 1320
- Sumana and Anomadassī study at Ayodhyā : some time in the 1320's
- Śrīsraddhā's ordination : 1330
- \*Udumbara arrives at Martaban : 1331
- Sumana and Anomadassī are ordained in the community of Udumbara's Sihlabhikkhus at Martaban and take up their residence there : 1331/2
- Śrīsraddhā sets out for Martaban and India : c. 1331/2
- Śrīsraddhā's sojourn in Ceylon : from c. 1333 to c. 1343
- Sumana and Anomadassī go back to Sukhodaya : 1336/7
- \*Līdaiya appointed viceroy of Sajjanālaya : 1340
- Lödaiya's request to Udumbara for a qualified monk : c. 1340/41
- Sumana and Anomadassī return to Martaban for three months, become Theras in Udumbara's community, and then go to Sukhodaya and Sajjanālaya respectively : 1341/2
- Sumana discovers the relic : 1342/3
- Śrīsraddhā returns to Sukhodaya : 1344
- Reconstruction of the Mahādhātu at Sukhodaya begins : c. 1344
- The Mahādhātu completed and dedicated : c. 1345
- Lödaiya's death : 1346/7
- \*Līdaiya's accession to the throne : 1347
- \*Death of Śrīsraddhā : after 1376



We have no clue to the identity of the Heir Apparent at that time; Lödaiya's son Līdaiya (*Lü Tai*), whom he later regarded as heir apparent, was not yet born.

Lödaiya bore the title Dharmarāja.<sup>4</sup> Though his reign seems to have lasted almost half a century, we have little definite knowledge of its political history.<sup>5</sup> He lost nearly all the vast territories Rāma Gaṃhēn had added to the kingdom, and by the end of his reign it was on the verge of collapse. In 1340 he appointed his son Līdaiya to the post of Uparāja at Sajjanālaya, where Līdaiya finished composing his work on Buddhist cosmology and ethics, the *Traibhūmikathā*, in 1345.<sup>6</sup> It appears that Lödaiya died suddenly, in 1346 or 1347. Līdaiya was still at Sajjanālaya at the time, and if he had even a day's notice that his father was seriously ill he would certainly have been present at his death-bed. The throne was thereupon seized by a usurper named Nvva Nāṃ Thaṃ (*Ngua Nam Tom*).<sup>7</sup> Hastily mustering his forces, Līdaiya marched on the capital, took it by storm, and mounted the throne. We know from Inscription 4 that Līdaiya acceded in 1347; and the circumstances of his accession, as recounted in that text, suggest that Nvva Nāṃ Thaṃ reigned no more than a few months at the most.<sup>8</sup> Hence our estimated date for Lödaiya's death.

4) For the spelling 'Lödaiya', cf. Coedès, *Documents sur la dynastie de Sukhodaya*, BEFEO XVII/2, pp. 5-7. In Inscription 45 the name is written 'Lödai' at I/10 and (applied to a different person) 'Lödaiya' at I/11; see Griswold and Prasert ṇa Nagara, JSS LVII/1, pp. 75, 82. Lödaiya is called Dharmarājā in Inscription 2, Dharmarāja in *Mūlasāsana*, and Dhammarāja in *Jinakālamāli*. As there is no evidence that he ever bore the title Mahādharmaarājā or Mahādharmaarājādhirāja, we shall follow the usual practice of counting Līdaiya and his successors as Mahādharmaarājā I, II, III and IV, and take it for granted that Lödaiya was simply Dharmarājā.

5) Brief notices in the *Yüan-shih* record missions from Sukhodaya to the Mongol Court in 1300, 1314, 1319 and 1323. See Flood, *op. cit.*, p. 226 f.

6) Coedès in BEFEO XVII/2, pp. 4-9, 45; Coedès, *The Traibhūmikathā, Buddhist Cosmology and Treatise on Ethics, East and West*, VII, 1957, 349 ff.

7) Griswold and Prasert, JSS LVII/1, 68, 82 and note 20.

8) Coedès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, I, 93, 97.

## 2

Though we have little direct information about the political events of Lōdaiya's reign, we have some collateral evidences that may help us to estimate the chronology of his losses. Before reviewing them, let us go back for a moment to define the limits of the little kingdom which Rāma Gaṃhēñ inherited, and the extent to which it expanded during his reign.

The second postscript to Inscription 1 gives a list of the principalities which made their submission to Rāma Gaṃhēñ. The names are given radially, first to the east, then to the south, west and north, in the order of increasing distance from the capital in each of the four directions. To the east, the first place mentioned is Sralvañ, perhaps in the district of Brahmabirāma (*Bân Prompirâm*) between Bijaya (*Pichai*) and Biṣṇuloka; to the south, Gandī (now *บ้านไถ่*, on the Ping about 25 km. downstream from *Gampèng Pet*); to the west, Chōt (now *Mè Sôt*); to the north, Brè (*Prè*).<sup>1</sup> As these are the nearest places whose submission he received, it stands to reason that they were just beyond the frontiers of the kingdom he inherited. The latter must therefore have consisted of little more than the provinces of Sukhodaya, Sajjanālaya, Uttaratittha, *Gampèng Pet* and *Tāk*.

By the end of his reign Rāma Gaṃhēñ was suzerain over the greater part of Siam, the whole of the Malay Peninsula and the kingdom of Rāmaññadesa in Lower Burma, and a considerable part of Laos. The first postscript to Inscription 1 names some of the *Tai* peoples who were tributary to him: all of those listed were located either between Sukhodaya and Laos or else in Laos itself, which suggests that his ancestors had come from there and that he still had bonds of affection with the people along the way, particularly in the Upper Nān Valley.<sup>2</sup> It also suggests that the main concentration of *Tai* in his kingdom was in that direction, whereas farther to the south the *Tai* were probably outnumbered, and many of Rāma Gaṃhēñ's vassals south of Nagara Svarga were Mōn, Khmer or Malay rather than *Tai*.

1) See Griswold and Prasert in JSS LIX/2, p. 218 f.; also Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, Map 4.

2) Griswold and Prasert, *On Kingship and Society at Sukhodaya*, in *Essays Offered to Professor Lauriston Sharp*, Cornell University Press (forthcoming).



Let us now consider some of Rāma Gaṃhèn's dependencies, and try to see what happened to them after his death. We shall also discuss some other places which, though they were not tributary to him, are pertinent to our subject.

#### North

Brè (ᨀ᩵ᩁᩬᨱ) submitted to Rāma Gaṃhèn; so did the principality of Nān and Blua (modern Pua, ᨀ᩵ᩁᩬᨱ, on the River Nān about 50 km. north of the present town of Nān); so did *Luang Pra Bāng* in Laos.<sup>3</sup>

His northern flank was protected by a firm treaty of alliance which he made in 1287 with King Maṃrāya (*Mang Rài*) of Lān Nā and King Nām Mōaṃ (*Ngām Miang*) of Bayāv (*Payào*).<sup>4</sup> This treaty helped Rāma Gaṃhèn to maintain his suzerainty over the Upper Nān Valley and gave him access to his dependencies in Upper Laos. At the same time it enabled Nām Mōaṃ to keep his own independence and Maṃrāya to consolidate his power over Lān Nā.

In Lödaiya's time the treaty became a dead letter. Blua, the old seat of the Princes of Nān, was annexed by Bayāv soon after Lödaiya's accession, but shook loose in 1320 and became an independent kingdom with Brè as one of its dependencies.<sup>5</sup> Some time before 1334 Prince *Kam Fū* of Lān Nā conquered Brè.<sup>6</sup> The Prince of Nān drifted into the orbit of Lān Nā, helped *Kam Fū* to subjugate Bayāv, quarreled with him over the booty, pursued him back and forth, and finally fought him in a battle of which the *Chieng Mai Chronicle* gives a very confused account.<sup>7</sup>

We gather that within a decade or two of Rāma Gaṃhèn's death all of Sukhodaya's dependencies beyond Uttaratittha split up into petty states that were frequently at odds with one another, and with Lān Nā

3) Griswold and Prasert, JSS LIX/2, p. 219 f. and note 132.

4) Coedès in BEFEO XXV/1, p. 88.

5) Griswold and Prasert, JSS LVII/1, pp. 59-61.

6) Coedès, BEFEO XXV/1, p. 94 (in line 3, '1324 A.D.' is a mistake for '1309 A.D.' and 'après douze ans' a mistake for 'après deux ans'). Jinakālamāli, it will be observed, places this campaign before the death of *Sən Pū* in 1334 (ibid., p. 94; cf. p. 93). It can hardly be the same one that the *Chieng Mai Chronicle* places in 1340 (Notton, *Annales du Siam*, III, p. 81), which we are specifically told ended disastrously. The *Yonaka History*, however, considers it to be the same one, and solves the difficulty by giving it a happy ending (see Coedès, ibid., p. 94 note 2).

7) Notton, ibid., p. 82.



and Bayāv as well. Lōdaiya was no longer in a position to assert his suzerainty over them, much less over any part of Upper Laos, from which he was now cut off.<sup>8</sup> What happened to the towns near the present site of Uttaratittha, such as Fhāñ, is uncertain; perhaps they were ruled by princes who were at least friendly toward Sukhodaya.

#### East

Rāma Gaṃhēñ received the submission of Sralvañ, Sòñ Gvè (Biṣṇuloka), Lum Pā Cāy (Old *Lom Sak*, in the upper valley of the Sāk), Sagā (also in the upper valley of the Sāk?), the banks of the Khòn (*Mè Kông*), and Vyañ Cann Vyañ Gām (*Vieng Jan*, usually written Vientiane on Western maps), 'which is the farthest place'<sup>9</sup> There is no reason to believe that his authority extended very far south or east of the principality of Vieng Jan; the *Mè Kông* downstream from Vieng Jan, together with a large amount of territory between the *Mè Kông* and the Sāk, was still in the orbit of Cambodia.<sup>10</sup>

After Rāma Gaṃhēñ's death Vieng Jan probably became independent.<sup>11</sup> We do not know what happened to the upper Sāk valley, but it is hardly likely that Lōdaiya could keep it very long. Perhaps he managed to retain Sòñ Gvè, and he probably retained Sralvañ.

8) It is possible that he sought an alliance with the Vietnamese against his Tai tormentors. In 1335, says H. Maspero on the basis of information in the Vietnamese Annals, when the Emperor of Viet Nam, in a victorious expedition against the Tai kingdom of Ai-lao, advanced to Cūa-rao in the Vietnamese Mountains east of Xieng Khouang, and received delegations there from all the neighboring sovereigns who were coming to pay homage to him, Cambodia and Sukhodaya both sent ambassadors to congratulate him. See H. Maspero in BEFEO XVIII/3, p. 35; Coedès, *Etats hindouisés*, p. 397-8.

9) Griswold and Prasert, JSS LIX/2, p. 218 and note 129.

10) Coedès, *Etats hindouisés*, p. 403.

11) It was apparently independent when Fā Num received its submission in the 1340's (?); cf. Coedès, *Etats hindouisés*, pp. 405-407. We are inclined to believe that Lōdaiya, faced with so many troubles much nearer home, lost control of it long before that. We do not know how to construe the statements in the Vietnamese Annals regarding Siamese attacks on Champa between 1313 and 1330. On the basis of these statements G. Maspero says that bands of Siamese made raids in Champa in 1313 (G. Maspero, *Le royaume de Champa*, Paris, 1928, pp. 196-7), which he interprets as attacks by the armies of the king of Sukhodaya (G. Maspero, *Un empire colonial français, l'Indochine*, Paris, 1928, p. 110; cf. Coedès, *Les Etats hindouisés*, p. 397). Maspero adds that in 1330 the Emperor of Viet Nam, who was kept busy defending his western frontiers where the armies of Phraya Sūa Thai [read: Lōdaiya] were becoming more and more aggressive, planned to conduct a campaign to the shores of the *Mè Kông* to pacify the country, but died before he could do so (G. Maspero, *Un empire colonial français*, p. 110). Whatever the Vietnamese Annals may mean, it is hard for us to believe that Lōdaiya could have undertaken a campaign so far away from home in 1313, much less around 1330.

### South

The principalities of Gandī (on the Ping, 25 km. downstream from *Gampèng Pet*), Braḥ Pāñ (Nagara Svarga), Brèk (Old Jayanāda), Subarṇabhūm (Subarṇapurī), Rājapurī, Bejrapurī and Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja all submitted to Rāma Gaṃhèñ, as well as 'the seacoast, which is the farthest place'.<sup>12</sup>

As *Gampèng Pet* itself is not mentioned, we may assume that it was one of the tributaries Rāma Gaṃhèñ inherited. The same is true of Traitriṅśa, on the right bank of the Ping 15 km. downstream from *Gampèng Pet*.<sup>13</sup>

Prince Paramānujita Jinorasa's **Saṅkhepa History** gives the following account of the origin of Traitriṅśa.<sup>14</sup> At an unstated date a king of Jiañrāy (*Chieng Râi*) named Jayasiri, having been defeated in battle, fled southward with his followers, crossed the River Bo ['Bo', preserved in the toponym Pāk-nām Bo, is the old name of the Ping from its confluence with the Wang down to Nagara Svarga], and discovered a deserted city called Mōañ *Pèp* on the opposite bank of the river from *Gampèng Pet*. Here he built a new capital, which he named Traitriṅśa after Indra's heaven [Skt. trayastriṅśa, Pali tāvatimsa]. He reigned in that city until his death, and his sons and grandsons ruled and carried on the family for four generations. As we shall see, the fourth generation of the dynasty was reigning in the early 14th century, so it may be guessed that Jayasiri established his capital there in the first half of the 13th, perhaps as a sub-vassal of the Khmer.

Gandī and Braḥ Pāñ may have submitted to Rāma Gaṃhèñ fairly early in his reign, and Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja not very long afterward;

12) Griswold and Prasert, JSS LIX/2, p. 218 f. and note 130.

13) A brief account of the ruins of Traitriṅśa will be found in มานิต วัลลิโกดม, เมืองไตรคิงส์, *Śilpākara*, II/2, p. 83.

14) **Saṅkhepa History** (พระราชพงศาวดารสังเขปฉบับสมเด็จพระปรมานุชิต จินอรัส) Bangkok, 1961, p. 281 f.; cf. Prince Damrong, *Miscellaneous Articles*, pp. 69 ff. Professor D.K. Wyatt of Cornell University has kindly given us access to his unpublished translation of the **Saṅkhepa History**, which he entitles *The Shortened Chronicle of Ayudhyā*.



but we are inclined to think he did not receive the submission of Jayanāda, Subarṇapurī, Rājapurī and Bejrapurī until three or four years before his death.<sup>15</sup>

As Professor Boisselier has shown, *Ū Tōng* (อุทง) in Subarṇapurī province was one of the chief cities of Dvāravatī between the 7th and the 10th century, but was abandoned in the 11th<sup>16</sup>. The provinces of Rājapurī and Bejrapurī, as well as Subarṇapurī, were deeply impregnated with the Mōn culture of Dvāravatī. In the 12th century a part of this territory belonged to a kingdom which was known to the Chinese as Chên-li-fu. In 1181 the ruler of Chên-li-fu was a vassal of Jayavarman VII of Cambodia, but apparently became independent a few years later.<sup>17</sup>

We do not know exactly where the ruler of Subarṇapurī had his capital in the late 13th century, though it was presumably not very far from *Ū Tōng* and the present city of Subarṇapurī (which was founded later). Nor do we know the origin of the Subarṇapurī dynasty which submitted to Sukhodaya. While it is possible that they stemmed from a *Tai* conqueror, it seems more likely that they were Mōn princes, or princes of mixed Mōn and Khmer blood, who had ruled for many generations, and who submitted reluctantly to Rāma Gaṃhēñ when the withdrawal of Khmer power left them unprotected. They may well have regarded themselves as defenders of an ancient tradition and been resentful of *Tai* intruders. Their hostility to Sukhodaya in the second half of the 14th century suggests very deep-seated causes of antipathy, perhaps based on a rival outlook toward the world.

Conspicuously absent from the list of countries that submitted to Rāma Gaṃhēñ is Lavo, which had its capital at Labapurī (*Lopburī*). Most likely it is omitted not because he inherited it, but because it never came into his possession at all. As early as the 7th century this state

15) Cf. Coedès, *Etats hindouisés*, p. 373; and Flood in JSS LVII/2, pp. 223, 224, 245, 246, and note 88.

16) J. Boisselier, *Récents recherches archéologiques en Thaïlande, Rapport Préliminaire de Mission (25 Juillet-28 Novembre 1964)*, Arts Asiatiques, Tome XII, 1965; *Recherches archéologiques en Thaïlande. II, Rapport sommaire de la Mission 1965 (26 juillet-28 novembre)*, Arts Asiatiques, Tome XX, 1969.

17) O.W. Wolters, *Chên li-fu*, JSS XLVIII/2, pp. 1-21.



was an important center of Mōn culture. It may or may not have been part of the kingdom of Dvāravatī, but it was in the same cultural orbit. The rulers of Lavo, or at least some of them, bore the Sanskrit title Cakravartī (Pali: Cakkavattī).<sup>18</sup> According to tradition Princess Cammadevī, the first ruler of Haripuñjaya, was a daughter of King Cakkavattī of Lavo and wife of the King of Rāmaññadesa: the date is uncertain but Coedès has plausibly estimated it to be in the 8th century, and there is some reason to believe that the year in which the princess was offered the throne of Haripuñjaya was 768 A.D.<sup>19</sup> Around the year 1000 a Malay prince, Jayavīravarmān, conquered Lavo, and then, apparently using Lavo as a base, seized power at Angkor. He was later expelled by Sūryavarmān I of Cambodia, a Khmer, who next took possession of Lavo.<sup>20</sup> After that, though Lavo at times regained its independence, it was for substantial periods the chief stronghold of Khmer power in central Siam; and its importance to the Khmer may be judged from Jayavarmān VII's appointment of one of his own sons to be its ruler at the end of the 12th century.<sup>21</sup> In the last quarter of the 13th, Lavo was apparently an independent kingdom, for it sent a series of embassies to the Mongol Court, the first probably between 1278 and 1281, and the others in 1289, 1291, 1296 and 1299.<sup>22</sup> Its ruler, though we do not know who he was, must have been friendly to Sukhodaya, for otherwise Rāma

- 18) See Coedès in BEFEO XXV/1, pp. 75, 80, 158. Notton, *Annales du Siam*, II, pp. 16 f., 34 f.
- 19) For the account in Jinakālamālī, see Coedès in BEFEO XXV/1, pp. 75, 76; cf. *ibid.*, p. 76 note 1; for the date proposed by Coedès, see *ibid.*, p. 25. For the account in the *Lampūn Chronicle*, see Notton, *Annales du Siam*, II, pp. 17, 18; cf. p. 18 note 2. The *Lampūn Chronicle* gives the date Cammadevī received the invitation as 690 of the Era, a *piṅk sūn* year, or 1071 of the Buddhist Era; the date given in the Buddhist Era is obviously nonsense, but 690 Mahāsakarāja was indeed a *piṅk sūn* year, equivalent to 768 A.D. (which accords very well with Coedès's estimate).
- 20) Coedès, *Etats hindouisés*, p. 328; Coedès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, II, p. 176; cf. Coedès in BEFEO XXIX, p. 326.
- 21) O.W. Wolters, *A Western Teacher and the History of Early Ayudhyā*, *Social Science Review*, Bangkok, Special Issue, June 1966, p. 93; Coedès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, Vol. VII, Paris, 1964, pp. 164 ff.
- 22) Flood, *JSS LVII/2*, pp. 220-225; Pelliot, BEFEO IV, pp. 241-243.

Gaṃhēn would not have been able to reach Cambodia for the crippling attack which, as we know from Chou Ta-kuan, he made on that country around 1295.<sup>23</sup>

At that time the city of Ayodhyā (now Ayudhyā), some 50 km. south of Labapurī, was doubtless a dependency of Lavo. It too had been in the cultural orbit of Dvāravatī, and later fell under Khmer domination. The old town is thought to have been on the mainland east and south of the present one, which is situated on an island in the *Jao Payâ* River.

What happened to all these territories after Rāma Gaṃhēn's death?

Subarṅapurī, which we have guessed did not submit to him until near the end of his reign, may have broken away soon after Lōdaiya's accession. With Subarṅapurī gone, Lōdaiya could have no hope of holding Rājapurī, Bejrapurī or the Malay Peninsula. Jayanāda, which had presumably been much longer in the orbit of Subarṅapurī than of Sukhodaya, probably broke away about the same time.

Rāmādhīpati I, founder of the kingdom of Ayudhyā, was born in 1315<sup>24</sup>. According to the *Saṅkhepa History*, his mother was a daughter of the ruling prince of Traitriṅśa in the fourth generation after the founding of the city, while the identity of the child's father was a mystery. On consulting the omens, it was discovered that the father was a cultivator named *Nāi Sēn Ṙom* (nāy sēn Ṙam), whose body was covered with carbuncles, and who grew vegetables on the bank of the river. The ruler, overcome with shame, sent his daughter and grandson away from the city with *Nāi Sēn Ṙom*. They left by boat and rowed downstream to Nāi Sēn Ṙom's hut, where the god Indra gave him a magic drum to strike whenever he wanted anything. When he struck it the carbuncles disappeared from his body and he immediately became handsome. When his wife struck it a golden cradle for their son miraculously appeared, so the

23) Pelliot, *Mémoires sur les coutumes du Cambodge de Tchou Ta-kouan*, Paris, 1951, pp. 32, 34; *Notes on the Customs of Cambodia by Chou Ta-kuan*, translated from the French of Paul Pelliot by J.G.D. Paul, Bangkok, 1967, pp. 38, 40.

24) The *Astrologers' Record* gives the date as a year of the tiger, C.S. 676, Monday, the 8th day of the 5th month (p. 2). This accords with the statement of the *Saṅkhepa History* that he was 37 years old when the dedication ceremony of the new capital was held.



boy was given the name *Jao Ū Tōng* (cau ū dòn), 'Prince Golden Cradle.' In 681 of the Era, a year of the goat, first of the decade [A.D. 1319/20], when Nāi Sèn Pom struck the drum again, a great city came instantly into being, complete with a royal palace, ramparts, gates and fortifications. He named it Debanagara, 'City of the Gods,' because the gods had created it. He assumed the name King Sirijaya Jian Sèn (*Chieng Sèn*), and reigned over Debanagara until his death in 706 of the Era, a year of the monkey, sixth of the decade [A.D. 1344/45]. He was succeeded by his son Jao Ū Tōng. The latter, not long after becoming King of Debanagara, decided to move his capital, so he commanded his officers to look for a suitable site where there was an abundance of fish [sc. to feed a large population]. They went southward (โดยทิศใต้), discovered a site in the area of Sano Pond which was replete with all kinds of fish, and returned to Debanagara to report to the King. He then went to inspect the place himself, gave it his approval, and built a temporary dwelling for himself at Vian Hlëk ('the Iron Fort'). Then he began constructing the new city. After it was completed, the dedication ceremony was held, in C.S. 712, on Friday the sixth day of the waxing moon of the fifth month, at nine pādas past the third nāḷikā [i.e. Friday, March 4, 1351 A.D. (Julian), at about 7.40 in the morning].<sup>25</sup> The King, who was then thirty-seven years old, assumed the regnal name of Rāmādhīpati. He named the new capital Kruñ Debamahānagara Pavara Dvāravatī Śrī Ayudhyā Mahātilaka Bhabanabaratna Rājadhānī Purīramya Utamarājaniveśa-mahāsthāna, taking the name Debamahānagara from his former capital Debanagara, the name Dvāravatī because the site was surrounded by water like ancient Dvāravatī, and the name Ayudhyā after the city of Nārāyaṇa's avatāra, King Rāma.<sup>26</sup>

- 25) Both the *Saṅkhepa History* and the *Astrologers' Record* give this date. We are indebted to Mr Roger Billard of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient for calculating the equivalent in the Christian Era for us.
- 26) *Saṅkhepa History*, pp. 282-5. In this context, 'ancient Dvāravatī' means the legendary city of the god Kṛṣṇa, the eighth avatāra of Viṣṇu, though there is doubtless also a paronomastic reference to the old kingdom of Dvāravatī in Siam, whose glories it was hoped the new capital would inherit. The name Ayudhyā [Ayodhyā] was taken from the city of Rāma, the seventh avatāra of Nārāyaṇa [Viṣṇu] and hero of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Rāmākirtī, with whom Rāmādhīpati himself was paronomastically identified. For a discussion of the complete name of the capital, see Prince Dhani Nivat, *The City of Thawaravadi Sri Ayudhyā*, JSS XXXI/2, p. 147 ff.



This story has its weaknesses, but they are of little consequence in comparison with the useful information it gives. We conclude that Rāmādhpati was the son of a Traitriṅśa princess by a man who four or five years later became ruler of a principality called Debanagara.

Prince Damrong has shown that Rāmādhpati married a daughter of the ruler of Subarṅapuri and inherited the principality upon his father-in-law's death<sup>27</sup>. Of course there is no merit in the Saṅkhepa History's explanation of the name Jao Ū Tòng. While it could mean 'Prince Golden Cradle', the alternative interpretation proposed by Prince Damrong is much more plausible: it simply means the Prince of Ū Tòng or Subarṅapurī (as a place-name 'Ū Tòng' means 'source of gold', and is a doublet of Skt. Subarṅabhūmi, the old name of Subarṅapurī)<sup>28</sup>. Rāmādhpati's personal name is not known, but we shall refer to him as 'Rāmādhpati' for convenience, even though it is an anachronism before 1351, just as it is an anachronism to call him 'Jao Ū Tòng' before his father-in-law's death.

As the usual age for a prince to marry was sixteen, we may guess that Rāmādhpati married the Subarṅapurī princess around 1331, when his father was ruling at Debanagara, and that he inherited the principality of Subarṅapurī (Ū Tòng) some time after that, but before his own father's death in 1344/45.

Why did the ruler of Subarṅapurī leave his principality to Rāmādhpati rather than to one of his own sons? Perhaps his sons were children of minor wives, whereas his daughter was the child of his chief consort, a lady of high rank; perhaps he chose Rāmādhpati as his son-in-law because he observed his unusual ability and decided to designate him as his successor; at least that is Prince Damrong's suggestion, and it has much to recommend it.<sup>29</sup>

In addition a comparison with some of Subarṅapurī's neighbors may throw light on this type of succession. In Rāmāññadesa, as Professor Shorto tells us, the Mòn chiefdoms were transmitted through the female

27) Prince Damrong, *Miscellaneous Articles*, p. 87.

28) *ibid.*, p. 71.

29) *ibid.*, p. 87.

line.<sup>30</sup> Madame Porée-Maspero's investigation of Khmer royal genealogies shows that, while the line of succession was sometimes from father to son, it was often from maternal uncle to nephew or from father-in-law to son-in-law. Some of the rulers belonged to families claiming descent from the 'Solar race', others from the 'Lunar race'; and it seems that matrilinear succession was connected with marriages between a man of a Solar family and a woman of a Lunar family, or vice versa. The corollary would be that a prince belonging to a Lunar family by birth could become a Solar king by marrying a Solar princess and uniting his domain to hers, or a Solar prince could become a Lunar king by marrying a Lunar princess. That would explain why history so often shows Cambodia suddenly expanding in size and losing large territories just as quickly.<sup>31</sup> Madame Thierry finds echoes of this practice in Cambodian customs and folklore: traditionally a bridegroom had to build a temporary house for himself and his bride on her parents' property, and work under their authority for a certain number of months or years; when the time was up, the couple would move elsewhere and the husband would be the master.<sup>32</sup> The Môn tradition is rather similar: the bridegroom brings his belongings and settles down in the bride's father's house; he has to help his father-in-law for three years, the father-in-law for his part being bound to provide him with work; and at the end of the period he can, if he chooses, build a house and set up a separate household.<sup>33</sup> In the same way Rāmādhīpati must have served a kind of apprenticeship in statecraft under his father-in-law before inheriting the principality of Subarṇapurī.

Why does the Saṅkhepa History say nothing about Rāmādhīpati's marriage or his reign at Subarṇapurī? Perhaps the manuscript used by the compiler for the part of the history dealing with Rāmādhīpati's life before 1351 was defective, having been copied from an earlier manuscript from which a page or two had dropped out, or been purposely omitted

30) Shorto, *The 32 Myō in the Medieval Mon Kingdom*, Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, XXVI/3, 574 f.

31) E. Porée-Maspero, *Etude sur les rites agraires des Cambodgiens*, Paris, 1962, pp. 161, 175 f.

32) Solange Thierry, *Contribution à une étude de la société cambodgienne*, Revue de la Société d'Ethnographie de Paris, année 1964-65, p. 52 f.

33) Halliday, *The Talaiings*, Rangoon, 1917, p. 58.



in the process of being 'shortened' (for such is the meaning of 'saṅkhepa'), and the fanciful explanation of the name Jao Ū Tōng was interpolated by some later copyist who did not know what it really meant. We can believe this the more easily because a later passage in the Saṅkhepa History says that after Rāmādhipati mounted the throne of Ayudhyā 'he appointed *Kun Luang Pō Nguā*, who was his Queen's elder brother, to rule Subarṇapurī, giving him the title Samtec Paramarājādhirāja,' at the same time appointing his own son Rāmeśvara to rule Labapurī.<sup>34</sup> This passage, which assumes the reader has already been told about Rāmādhipati's earlier relationships with Subarṇapurī, seems inconsistent with the omission.

The omission to tell us where Debanagara was located may be due to similar causes. In its present form the Saṅkhepa History implies that Nāi Sèn Pōm's house—the site on which Debanagara arose—was only a short distance downstream from Traitriṅṅsa; but in reality, as Prince Damrong observed, Debanagara must have been much nearer Subarṇapurī. Prince Damrong tried to solve the difficulty by supposing that Rāmādhipati's maternal grandfather was not reigning at the city near *Gampèng Pet* where the dynasty was first established, but that one of his forebears, at some unknown date, had moved the capital to Nagara Paṭhama, the old name of which was Nagara Jayaśrī. As Skt. śrī and Pali sīrī are the same, Prince Damrong thought there might be a connection between Nagara Jayaśrī and the name of the founding ancestor Jayasiri. The Traitriṅṅsa where Rāmādhipati was born would then be at Nagara Paṭhama, and Debanagara would be a short distance downstream from it on the Nagara Jayaśrī River. This hypothesis implies the loss of one more passage in the manuscript used by the compiler of the Saṅkhepa History, which is fair enough; but there is another difficulty. The History says that when Rāmādhipati, who was reigning at Debanagara, sent his officers to search for a suitable site for his new capital, they went 'south', and the site they chose was in the area of Sano Pond (หนองสน). This is of course the old name of หนองสน, 'Lord Rāma's swamp', on the island in the *Jao Payā* river which is the present site of Ayudhyā. It is clear, then, that Debanagara was north of Ayudhyā, not at Nagara Paṭhama, which is southwest of Ayudhyā.

34) *sub anno* 712; cf. Prince Damrong, *Miscellaneous Articles*, pp. 72, 73.

We can hardly avoid the conclusion that Debanagara was Labapurī (*Lopburī*), 50 km. north of Ayudhayā and 60 km. northeast of Subarṇapurī<sup>35</sup>. We know that Rāmādhipati possessed the province of Labapurī when he founded his new capital, for he gave it to his son Rāmeśvara to rule. It seems likely that the domain Rāmādhipati inherited from Sirijaya Jiañ Sèn was approximately the same territory that belonged to the kingdom of Lavo in Rāma Gaṃhèn's time, which almost certainly included the old city of Ayodhyā. How Sirijaya Jiañ Sèn gained possession of Lavo can only be guessed—for the moment we can suggest no improvement over the story of the magic drum—but the date 1319/20 seems plausible enough.

The 'Luang Prasert' Recension of the Annals of Ayudhyā records nothing before 1351 except the founding of a statue called Bnèh Jōñ in 1324.<sup>36</sup> This is of course the colossal seated Buddha at Văt Bnăñ Jōñ (as the name is now written) on the mainland south of the present city; but we can learn nothing from it, as the original statue is hidden inside a much larger stucco statue of later date. Presumably the original statue was founded by Sirijaya Jiañ Sèn or one of his vassals. We shall see below that two monks from Sukhodaya went to study at Ayodhyā in the 1320's, so that city must have been a religious center of some standing at the time.

In 1349, says the Chinese writer Wang Ta-yüan, 'Hsien submitted to Lo-hu.' As Lo-hu means Lavo, and Hsien (Siam) means Sukhodaya in earlier works, the statement has generally been taken to mean that Sukhodaya submitted to Rāmādhipati in 1349. This view seemed to be confirmed by the list of sixteen states which, according to the Saṅkhepa History and several other versions of the Annals of Ayudhyā (but not the most reliable one, the 'Luang Prasert' Recension), were tributary to Rāmādhipati when he received the abhiṣeka at Ayudhyā in 1351, for the list includes Sukhodaya and Svargaloka (Sajjanālaya). But the list, at least in part, appears to be a later interpolation; and in any case everything that we have learned in recent years about Sukhodayan history

35) Cf. Griswold and Prasert, *On Kingship and Society at Sukhodaya*, where we suggested that Sirijaya Jiañ Sèn's city of Debanagara was Ayodhyā itself or in its immediate neighborhood. We no longer think that probable.

36) AA/LP, *sub anno* 686.



shows that the kingdom of Sukhodaya, despite its losses, remained independent until 1378. Professor Wolters, by demonstrating that in Wang Ta-yüan's statement 'Hsien' means Subarnapurī, has given us an explanation that fits the facts much better: Wang Ta-yüan is simply referring to Rāmādhīpati's consolidation of his two inheritances.<sup>37</sup> Subarnapurī was a larger and richer principality than Lavo, for by this time it included Jayanāda, Rājapurī and Bejrapurī, and also had as tributaries much, if not all, of the Malay Peninsula, as well as Tavoy and Tenasserim, which would explain why 'Hsien' comes first in the combined term 'Hsien-Lo' used by the Chinese for the kingdom of Siam from about that time on. But Ayudhyā was better located strategically and economically, which explains why Rāmādhīpati established the capital of the combined kingdom there.

Rāmādhīpati's appointment of his brother-in-law *Pò Ngua* as vassal ruler of Subarnapurī was doubtless a recognition of the power the House of Subarnapurī already had there, and an attempt to assure himself of *Pò Ngua*'s loyalty. His appointment of his own son Rāmeśvara to rule Lopburi recognized the influence the House of Sirijaya Jiañ Sèn had established at Lavo, which he hoped his son Rāmeśvara would retain as his deputy. In addition the nomenclature offered auspicious perspectives. Rāmādhīpati, namesake of the legendary Rāma, ruled a city of the same name, Ayodhyā. The legendary Rāma had a son called Lava or Laba (*Lop*), whose name reappears, perhaps by a play on words, in that of Labapurī, 'city of Lava', or as it is called in the inscription of Prah Khan of Angkor, Lavodayapura, 'city of the origin of Lava'.<sup>38</sup> While Rāmādhīpati doubtless gave Labapurī to his son for reasons of statecraft, magic would regard it as an apt choice.<sup>39</sup>

37) Wolters, *A Western Teacher and the History of Early Ayudhyā*, *Social Science Review*, June 1966, pp. 88 ff., especially pp. 95 ff. Alternatively we might draw another conclusion from Professor Wolters' demonstration: that after the death of Rāmādhīpati's father-in-law, *Kun Luang Pò Ngua* tried to seize Subarnapurī, and that Rāmādhīpati (ruling at Lavo since his own father's death) brought him to heel in 1349.

38) BEFEO XLI, p. 296. The name is given as Lavodaya in the Phimanakas Inscription; see Coedès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, II, p. 176.

39) It is tempting to think there may also be a reference to Labapurī in the official title of Ayodhyā (see above, p. 33). Labapurī (*Lopburi*) had an alternative name, Nabapurī (*Nopburi*), which survived into the late 19th century, and which was usually taken to mean 'New City' since *naba* = Skt. *nava*, 'new'. But *nava* can equally well mean 'nine', and Navapurī could be an abbreviation of Navaratna-rajadhāni-purīramya' 'royal city of the nine jewels' (given in the *Saṅkhepa History* in the form Bhabanabaratna Rājadhāni Purīramya).

Let us recapitulate the probabilities. Rāmādhpati was born in 1315 at Traitriṅśa, a little principality which had long been tributary to Sukhodaya and probably still was. His father was a man of obscure origin, while his maternal grandfather was the Tai ruler of Traitriṅśa, who may well have been related to the royal family of Sukhodaya. In 1319 Rāmādhpati's father, having gained possession of Lavo in circumstances of which we know nothing, moved to Labapurī, which he re-named Debanagara. Around 1331 Rāmādhpati married the daughter of the ruler of Subarṇapurī, moved to his father-in-law's seat, and helped him expand his domain until it included Jayanāda, Rājapurī, Bejrapurī, Tavoy, Tenasserim, and a good deal of the Malay Peninsula. Upon the ruler's death, presumably in the 1330's, Rāmādhpati inherited his father-in-law's domain and became known as *Jao Ū Tòng*. Upon his father's death in 1344/5, Rāmādhpati inherited the principality of Lavo and moved to Labapurī. He then consolidated his two inheritances into a great kingdom, chose Ayodhyā as the site for a new capital because of its abundant resources, and received the investiture as King in 1351.

In order to seek, in events recorded for a time a little after 1347, evidence for the biography of Rāmādhpati before that date, we have passed beyond the chronological limits proper to the subject matter of the present paper. Now we must go no further, but turn to the territories west of Sukhodaya which were tributary to Rāma Gaṃhèñ, and see what happened to them after his death.

#### West

Tāk, on the right bank of the Ping 25 km. upstream from the present town of that name, seems to have been a tributary of Sukhodaya ever since the establishment of the kingdom. In the reign of Rāma Gaṃhèñ's father Śrī Indrāditya, Tāk was attacked by the ruler of Chòt (Mè Sòt), a state which lay in the mountains on the Burma frontier 75 km. to the southwest. Rāma Gaṃhèñ, who was only nineteen years old at the time, went with his father to the defence of Tāk and drove off the attacker.<sup>40</sup> Evidently Tāk was among the dependencies inherited by Rāma Gaṃhèñ

40) Griswold and Prasert, JSS LIX/2, p. 203 f.



when he came to the throne, as well as the other cities in the Ping valley from there down to Traitriṅśa (see above, pp. 29, 32); but Chòt remained safe in its mountain fastnesses.

We do not know how or when Chòt fell into his hands; but it would be characteristic of him to select his old enemy's stronghold as his first target after his accession. A military expedition to Chòt would require courage and skill; and the success of such an operation might impress some of the neighboring rulers enough to induce them to seek protection as vassals of Sukhodaya.

The postscript to Inscription 1 tells us that Rāma Gaṃhèñ received the submission of Mōaṅ Chòt, Mōaṅ . . . n, Hañsābatī and the territory as far as the seacoast.<sup>41</sup>

The mutilated name between Chòt and Hañsābatī was almost certainly Mōaṅ Bann (𑀓𑀲𑀢𑀺), i.e. Bǎn (𑀓𑀲), which will reappear frequently in the course of this paper. It was the name used at Sukhodaya for Martaban,<sup>42</sup> the capital of Rāmaññadesa for most of the period from 1287 to

41) *ibid.*, p. 219 and note 131.

42) It seems certain that Bǎn means Martaban; if it did not, Martaban would not be mentioned in this passage at all. It would be impossible to account for its omission, because it became tributary to Rāma Gaṃhèñ in the 1280's, and it remained the capital of Rāmaññadesa after the whole country became tributary to him (see below, pp. 42-43). In the portion of *Mūlasāsanā* that deals with the first half of the 14th century the King of Rāmaññadesa seems to be residing at Bǎn (see below, p. 50). For these reasons we conclude that Bǎn was the Siamese name of Martaban in the Sukhodaya period; but we have not been able to discover what Burmese or Mòn name it represents. The similarity between 'Bǎn' and the last syllable of 'Martaban' is probably no more than a coincidence, as 'Martaban' is thought to be a European corruption of one of the variants of the Mòn name (given as *Mūt-ta-man* in Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, London, 1886, p. 428). A Burmese inscription of 1151 gives the name as Muttama (Luce, *Old Burma, Locust Valley*, 1969, Vol. I, p. 84 note 12); the Mòn faces of the Kalyāñī Inscription give it as Mattma, the Pali faces as Muttimanagara (*Epigraphia Birmanica*, III/ii, p. 199 ff.; Taw Sein Ko, *The Kalyāñī Inscriptions Erected by King Dhammaceti at Pegu in 1476 A.D.*, Rangoon, 1892); and the Siamese version of *Rājādhirāja*, translated from Mòn in 1785, gives it as Mauḥṭaḥmaḥ (မာဟုတ်မာ).

1363.<sup>43</sup> Hañsābatī is Haṃsāvātī (Pegu, about 80 km. north-northeast of Rangoon), an old and important city which became the capital of Rāmaññadesa in 1369.

The extension of Rāma Gaṃhèṅ's power westward to Martaban and Haṃsāvātī was due less to his own arms than to the machinations of a man named Makado (*Magatō*) from Lower Burma. One account calls him a Mòn, but others say he was a Tai, which seems much more probable, though he may have been of mixed blood.

The Siamese version of the **Rājādhirāja**, which we shall refer to as R/S, recounts the story of Makado's career at length. He was born in the province of Martaban where his father was a merchant. When he was fourteen or fifteen years old his father died, so he took over the business. He had a younger sister named *Un Rūan* and a younger brother named Makatā.

One day he set out with thirty followers for Sukhodaya on a trading venture. While they were crossing the mountains there was a violent thunderstorm although it was not the rainy season. Makado had a vision of brilliant light to the east, and of a royal palace to the west. He consulted a seer, who told him the visions signified that, as a result of merits accumulated in past lives, he would rise to a high position somewhere to the east and become a king somewhere to the west. He and his companions then went on to Sukhodaya. When they had finished selling their goods he sent his followers home, but he himself decided to stay at Sukhodaya. He took service in the elephant stables of King 'Pra Ruang' [in this context certainly Rāma Gaṃhèṅ] where he soon attracted the King's notice by his energy and diligence. After a time he was appointed governor of the palace. In this post he served the King with such devotion that he was regarded almost as an adopted son, and enjoyed great power and influence.

43) We take these dates from Harvey, *History of Burma*, London, 1925, p. 368, who gives the capital as Martaban, 1287-1363; Donwun, 1363-9; Pegu, 1369-1539. According to Phayre, *History of Burma*, London, 1883, p. 66 ff., it was Martaban from 1287 to some time in the 1320's, then Pegu until soon after 1348, then Martaban again, and finally Pegu.



Not long afterward the King received a letter from one of his vassals asking for help because he was about to be attacked by a large force of 'Khèk Javā' [Javanese or Malays]. The King set out at the head of an army to drive the enemy off, leaving Makado to look after the palace in his absence. While he was away Makado fell in love with one of the King's daughters and took to meeting her in secret. He was discovered by a friend of his, who warned him to stop at once, because if the King learned of it he would surely put Makado to death. Makado then talked with the Princess and asked her to elope with him. She agreed to do so, and gathered a lot of clothing and valuables to take with her which they could sell. They also recruited seventy men of the palace guard and over a hundred ordinary citizens who had faith in him. They left Sukhodaya, with the Princess riding on a she-elephant, and started toward Martaban. But Makado kept thinking of his sovereign; and at one of their halts, turning his face toward Sukhodaya, he prostrated himself as if doing homage to him. He also wrote him a letter, apologizing for his wrongdoing, telling the story of the omens he had seen on the way to Sukhodaya, saying that the prophecy based on the vision to the east had already been fulfilled by His Majesty's kindness, explaining that his present actions were necessary in order to fulfill the rest of it, and begging for mercy. When the King returned to Sukhodaya and heard the news he was naturally furious; but as soon as he read the letter and learned that Makado was destined to be a king in the Mòn country his anger vanished, and he sent Makado his blessings.

In 1281 Makado arrived home with his wife and followers, and was welcomed by all his relatives. Soon afterward his sister *Un Rūan* married the Burmese governor of Martaban. The latter became alarmed at Makado's growing wealth and popularity and plotted to kill him, but *Un Rūan* sent him a warning, and when the attack was about to begin Makado's men killed the governor. With the aid of his supporters Makado then made himself ruler of Martaban.

Later on, Makado, who was about to build a palace for himself, sent a message to the King of Sukhodaya announcing that he had made himself ruler of Martaban and praying for recognition as the country's king under the suzerainty of Sukhodaya. 'Your Majesty's slave named Makado places his head beneath Your Majesty's feet,' he wrote. 'Your

Majesty's slave has done wrong, and fears Your Majesty's punishment for running off with Her Highness the Princess. If Your Majesty will shield us both and exert authority over us we shall be safe from danger. Your Majesty's slave has conquered the land of Martaban but has neither regalia nor title, and he begs that Your Majesty will be pleased to bestow them upon him.' Makado appointed an ambassador to take the letter to Sukhodaya, with more than a hundred attendants to carry offerings to Rāma Gamhèn. When the mission arrived and the letter was presented, Rāma Gamhèn was delighted. He called his counsellors and said: 'Makado, who used to be in our service, fears us because he did wrong by running off with our daughter to the Môn country. Now that he is ruler of Martaban he asks to submit to us and receive a title. Sirs, what is your opinion?' After reviewing the question, the counsellors concluded that Makado must possess a great store of accumulated merits, and said it would be fitting for the King to comply with his request. Rāma Gamhèn said, 'If my counsellors think so, I agree.' He praised Makado's accumulated merits, saying it was as if the sky (*fâ*, 𑄓𑄂) were leaking (*rua*, 𑄓𑄃), showering good fortune upon him. He had the title 'Jao Fâ-rua' inscribed on a golden sheet, and commanded his officers to take it to Makado together with regalia consisting of a white parasol, a crown, a sword, a fan and a pair of golden slippers. The officers then went to Martaban with the members of Makado's mission. When Makado received the title and the regalia, he turned toward the east, prostrating himself with raised hands in homage to the King of Sukhodaya. On an auspicious day calculated by the astrologers Makado started to build his palace. A hole was dug for the main post of the building, a pregnant woman was pushed into the hole, and the post thrust in on top of her.<sup>44</sup>

44) **Rājādhirāja** (Siamese translation), 5-17; cf. Phayre, *History of Burma*, 65; Harvey, *History of Burma*, 110 f.; Coedès, *Etats hindouisés*, 374. There are substantial discrepancies in these accounts in regard to the regnal dates of the kings of Rāmaññadesa (see Table II). Phayre's account is based on a Burmese translation of a history of Pegu written by the Môn monk Hsayadau Athwa; Harvey's is based on the Burmese *Yazadarit Ayedawbon* (for the latter work, cf. D.G.E. Hall, ed., *Historians of South-East Asia*, London, 1961, pp. 57-8.) 'Yazadarit' is the Burmese pronunciation of 'Rājādhirāja'.



In 1287, when the palace was finished, Makado assembled the astrologers, Brahmins and officers, and had them perform the ceremony of investiture, giving him the name *Jao Fâ-rua* which the King of Sukhodaya had bestowed on him. By this time he had conquered Hamsāvati and was ruler of the whole of Rāmaññadesa.<sup>45</sup> In 1293 the King of Sukhodaya sent him a white elephant which became the palladium of Martaban; it was escorted on its journey by five hundred men and accompanied by four Brahmins chanting mantras.<sup>46</sup>

Makado was later assassinated (for the date, see Table II). His brother Makaṭā who succeeded him sent an ambassador to Sukhodaya with presents and a request for a title. The King of Sukhodaya had the name 'Rāmapratiṣṭha' inscribed on a gold sheet and sent it back with the ambassador. When Martaban was attacked by an army from Lān Nā, Rāmapratiṣṭha seemed to do nothing to defend the country. This alarmed his sister *Un Rūan*, who had by now married a second husband, *Smiñ Māñ Laḥ*. They took counsel together, had Rāmapratiṣṭha assassinated, and put their own son *Jao Âo* on the throne in his place.<sup>47</sup>

Jao Âo sent the same request to Sukhodaya as his predecessor had done, and received in return a gold sheet inscribed with the title 'Sèn Müang Ming'.<sup>48</sup> He seized the provinces of Tavoy and Tenasserim, which some historians have taken as an act of disloyalty toward his suzerain, on the theory that these provinces were tributary to Sukhodaya at the time.<sup>49</sup> But were they? Even if we assume they had been tributary to Rāma Gaṃhèñ, which seems probable though we have no specific evidence to that effect, is there any reason to believe they were still tributary to Lödaiya?

According to Phayre, Sèn Müang Ming was married to a daughter of the King of Sukhodaya<sup>50</sup>, but there seems to be some confusion here.

45) R/S, 22-39; cf. Phayre, 65, and Harvey, 110.

46) R/S, 39-42; cf. Phayre, 65.

47) R/S, 45-48; Phayre, 66.

48) R/S, 47 f.; Phayre, 66.

49) Prince Damrong, *Miscellaneous Articles*, 80; Phayre, 66.

50) 'The young king [Sèn Müang Ming] was married to a daughter of the King of Siam'; Phayre, 66. By 'Siam' in this passage, Phayre evidently means Sukhodaya.

The only Sukhodayan princess mentioned in R/S is the lady who eloped with Makado. After Makado's death, according to R/S, she married Sèn Müang Ming's father, Smin Mǎñ Lah, whereas Sèn Müang Ming himself married his cousin Lady Tapī,

Some time before 1321 the principality of Tāk, which had so long been a possession of Sukhodaya, was seized by a prince of *Chieng Mai*, one of Mañrāya's grandsons who were fighting among themselves for the succession.<sup>51</sup> The loss of Tāk would not necessarily cut off Lōdaiya's access to the route to Rāmaññadesa, which led from *Chieng Tòng* (on the Ping, between Tāk and *Gampèng Pet*), via Chòt to Myawadi and Kawkareik in Burma, and then down the river Gyaing to Martaban. But it would shake Lōdaiya's hold on Chieng Tòng and the cities farther down the Ping, which we have reason to believe broke away before the end of his reign.<sup>52</sup> We have no dates; but it is quite possible they were detached from Sukhodaya not long after Tāk, which would make it impossible for Lōdaiya to hold Chòt, much less to exercise any control over Rāmaññadesa by sending a fighting force there even if he had one to send.

Sèn Müang Ming's successor on the throne of Rāmaññadesa was his brother *Jao Chíp*, who took the title Rāmamañaiya.<sup>53</sup> Apparently he did so on his own initiative; at least there is no mention of his having received it from Sukhodaya. Perhaps official missions could no longer travel over the route between Martaban and Sukhodaya; or perhaps the new king of Rāmaññadesa saw no advantage in being tributary to a

- 51) The evidence is the statement in *Jinakālamāli* that Mañrāya's grandson Najjotthara (*Nam Tuam*) used Takkapura (*Tāk*) as a base for his attack on Hari-puñjaya in 1321; see Coedès in BEFEO XXV/1, p. 92; Jayawickrama, p. 114. Tāk presumably remained subject to Lān Nā after the disputes were settled. It was not recovered by Sukhodaya until around 1373; see Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, p. 41.
- 52) It appears that Sukhodaya did not recover these cities until shortly before 1357; see Griswold, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 34.
- 53) R/S, 49; Phayre, 66. For the date, see Table II. 'We learn from the Burmese annals,' says Prince Damrong, 'that after the death of Sèn Müang Ming, Pegu revolted and that King Lōdaiya endeavored unsuccessfully to quell the rebellion' (*Miscellaneous Articles*, 81). We can find no authority for his statement, unless it is Phayre (p. 67), who in reality says something rather different.



suzerain who could offer him no protection. In Rāmamaṭaiya's reign, according to Phayre, Tavoy and Tenasserim 'were retaken by the King of Siam'.<sup>54</sup> This 'King of Siam' can hardly have been Lōdaiya; it was more probably the ruler of Subarṇapurī.<sup>55</sup>

The account of Rāmamaṭaiya's reign given in R/S may be summarized as follows. He had two queens. One of them was a daughter of Rāmapratiṣṭha named Lady Āṃpaḥ, who afterwards received the title Lady Candamaṅgala. The other was Lady Tapī, the widow of his brother and predecessor Sēn Mūang Ming. Lady Tapī had had a son by Sēn Mūang Ming named Āy Gam Gōng, whom Rāmamaṭaiya adopted; but he proved to be mean and deceitful, so Rāmamaṭaiya threw him into prison and confiscated his possessions. One day five hundred *Tai* deserted from Bejrapurī, came to Martaban, and asked Rāmamaṭaiya to let them join his army because they heard it said everywhere that he had much love for his servants and soldiers. Their words gave him pleasure, so he rewarded them, accepted their offer, and appointed one of them, a man named *Chī P̄ḍn*, as their commander. Rāmamaṭaiya attacked and conquered Tenasserim, while one of his generals attacked Tavoy. Later on, Rāmamaṭaiya himself attacked and conquered Tavoy.

What are we to make of the story of the five hundred *Tai*? As Bejrapurī, where they claimed to come from, is on the route from Subarṇapurī to Tenasserim, it is possible they were not really deserters at all, but a fifth column sent by the ruler of Subarṇapurī to interfere with Rāmamaṭaiya's plans for Tenasserim, and eventually to seize Martaban itself for Subarṇapurī.

Some time after Rāmamaṭaiya returned to Martaban, *Chī P̄ḍn*, who had just built a new house, begged him to honor him with a visit. When Rāmamaṭaiya entered the house the five hundred *Tai* fell upon him and killed him. *Chī P̄ḍn* then mounted the throne.<sup>56</sup>

54) Phayre, p. 66.

55) Cf. Prince Damrong, *Miscellaneous Articles*, p. 81. Prince Damrong's statement that these events took place after the founding of Ayudhyā is apparently a slip; the latest possible date would be around 1330.

56) R/S, 49-52; for the date, see Table II. Phayre (p. 66) gives a much shorter account of Rāmamaṭaiya's reign, and says he moved the capital from Martaban to Hamsāvati (not mentioned in R/S).

A week later Chi Pôn was killed by a certain nobleman to whom Lady Candamañgala had offered a large reward. She then released Âi Gam Gông from prison, set him on the throne, and married him. But as he showed neither gratitude nor affection toward her she poisoned him a few months later.<sup>57</sup>

Lady Candamañgala then offered the throne to Âi Lâo, the Lord of Thatôn and Hamsāvati, who was a son of Rāmapratiṣṭha.<sup>58</sup> Âi Lâo went to Martaban, mounted the throne and made Lady Candamañgala his chief queen. From that time on, says R/S, the ties of friendship between Martaban and Sukhodaya were severed.<sup>59</sup>

This statement can hardly mean that Âi Lâo declared his independence from Sukhodaya: why should he renounce an act of vassalage which he had never assumed? It seems to be merely the statement of a fact which had been true since the accession of Rāmamañaiya who, unlike the first three kings of the dynasty, did not receive his title from Sukhodaya.

'The king of Siam,' says Phayre, 'angered at the death of Egânkân [Âi Gam Gông], who was his daughter's son, sent an army to punish his murderer. The Siamese force was defeated, and from this time the subordination of the dynasty of Wareru [*Jao Fâ-rua*] to Siam, ceased.'<sup>60</sup>

Very likely the 'king of Siam' who Phayre says sent an army against Âi Lâo was really the ruler of Subarṇapurī, who, as we have suggested, sent the 500 Tai adventurers to Martaban to act as a fifth column for him. We see no reason why the ruler of Subarṇapurī should be angered at the murder of Âi Gam Gông, but he would have every reason to be chagrined at the murder of Chi Pôn, whom he was no doubt counting on to make Martaban tributary to him. Even if the army he sent against Rāmaññadesa failed to dislodge Martaban from Âi Lâo, it may well have succeeded in seizing Tavoy and Tenasserim.

57) R/S, 51 f.; Phayre, 66.

58) Phayre, 66; R/S, 53. Âi Lâo was apparently a half-brother of Lady Candamañgala (cf. R/S, 49).

59) R/S, 52.

60) Phayre, 66-7.



Unlike the political history of Lōdaiya's reign, for which we have had to fall back largely on hypotheses, we have a good deal of information about its religious history.

Ever since the decline of Buddhism in India the island of Ceylon had been regarded as the fountainhead of the Theravāda, not only as the great storehouse of Buddhist learning, but also as the guardian of the most genuine monastic succession. To religious-minded people this last was as vital a matter as the apostolic succession in the Catholic Church. In order to become a monk a man has to fulfill certain conditions, and to be ordained in accordance with certain specified rites, in a duly consecrated place, by a chapter of monks who have been duly qualified to perform them. If there is any flaw in the qualifications of the ordaining monks, or in the performance of the ceremony, even though the flaw may pass unnoticed, the candidate's ordination will not be really valid; and any ordination which he himself may later perform will in turn be defective. There was always the danger that some flaw which might have occurred centuries ago would invalidate an entire succession without anyone being aware of it; and the only way for a monk to be certain of avoiding it was to be re-ordained, with the most orthodox rites, by a chapter of monks whose own succession was of unassailable validity<sup>1</sup>. The Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura in Ceylon was generally admitted to preserve just such a succession<sup>2</sup>.

The Mahāvihāra had a branch at Udumbaragiri, on a rocky mountain in the wilderness overlooking the Mahāvāluka River several miles south of Polonnāruva. This was an establishment of Araññavāsī or forest-dwelling monks, who were famous for their learning and their austerity. 'Forest-dwelling' is one of the thirteen **dhutaṅgas** or special ascetic practices which a monk may undertake as a means of purification and an aid to deep meditation. The **Visuddhimagga** (II, 53) specifies three

- 1) The Kalyāṇī inscription is an eloquent document concerning this danger; see Taw Sein Ko, *The Kalyāṇī Inscriptions Erected by King Dhammaceti at Pegu in 1476 A.D.*, Rangoon, 1892.
- 2) In the 11th century a long war had disrupted the Saṅgha in Ceylon and broken the succession, but it was restored with the aid of properly ordained monks from Burma; see *Cūlavamsa*, Chapter LX.

grades of this dhutaṅga: in the strict grade, the monk lives permanently in a forest; in the medium, he spends only the cold and hot seasons there, retiring to a town or village monastery in the rainy season; in the mild, he spends only the hot season in a forest<sup>3</sup>. Some Forest-Dwellers, refusing artificial shelter, lived as hermits in sylvan retreats, and took no nourishment except wild fruits and the roots of plants; others lived in 'forest monasteries', such as the Udumbaragiri. According to the rule, a 'forest monastery' had to be a certain minimum distance from the nearest town or village: in the case of an unwalled village, at least twice the distance a woman standing in the doorway of the outermost house would throw water when emptying a basin; in the case of a walled town, at least the distance a vigorous young man could throw a stone from the gate-post, or, according to another formula, 500 bow-lengths (about a kilometre) from the gate-post<sup>4</sup>.

Ordinarily the Forest-Dwellers did not constitute a separate sect; every sect was likely to have its main establishment in the capital city of the kingdom, with some branches in other towns, some in villages, and some in the forest. The Forest-Dwellers were simply monks who adopted special duties and a special mode of life more or less permanently. But as some sects might have very few of them, and others very few Town-Dwellers, it sometimes happened that the two modes of life corresponded to two different sects.

At Pagán in Upper Burma the predominant Theravādin sect was the Ariyārahanta, which had been imported from the Mōn city of Thatōn in the 11th century. Some monks had doubts about the validity of the monastic succession in this brotherhood, and thought it safer to go to be re-ordained in Ceylon. In the reign of Narapati Sītthu (1174-1211) a community of Sīhalabhikkhus ('Ceylon monks') was established at Pagán by five Mahātheras who had been ordained in Ceylon and spent many years of study there. The senior member of the group was a Mōn named Chapaṭa; one of the others was from Tāmralipti in Bengal, one was a son of the King of Kamboja (Jayavarman VII), one was from Kāñcī in South

3) Buddhaghosa, *The Path of Purification (Visuddhimagga)*, translated by Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, Colombo, 1956, 73.

4) *ibid.*, 72.



India, and one was from Ceylon<sup>5</sup>. Chapaṭa, it is said, believed that the Mahāvihāra alone had kept the legitimate succession unbroken from teacher to teacher, and that valid ordination could be conferred only from this source<sup>6</sup>. Probably all five monks belonged to the Mahāvihāra fraternity, but there is no evidence that they had any connection with the Udumbaragiri or that they practiced the dhutaṅga of forest-dwelling permanently, though they doubtless undertook it from time to time. The new sect gained the King's favor, and their following grew in numbers. But the Mahāthera from Ceylon defected in order to marry; Chapaṭa died; and the other three had disputes on points of discipline, which caused the Ceylon order at Pagán to split into three separate sects<sup>7</sup>.

At Martaban at the beginning of the 14th century there were, in addition to the Ariyārahanta, three sects of Sīhalabhikkhus which derived from the three at Pagán<sup>8</sup>.

Two chronicles, *Mūlasāsanā* and *Jinakālamāi*, contain accounts of a new community of Sīhalabhikkhus which was established at Martaban in 1331, and of an offshoot from it established in Sukhodaya ten years later. We shall here summarize the information to be derived from these accounts, supplying estimated dates where we have no exact ones. After that we shall give translations of the two accounts, and the justification for our proposed chronology.

In 1331 twelve Mūṇ monks from Martaban, who had gone to Ceylon to be re-ordained and to study the Dhamma at the Udumbaragiri Monastery, returned home. They were accompanied by a Mahāthera named Anumati—apparently a Sinhalese—who was a disciple of the

5) Taw Sein Ko, p. 51 f. According to the Kalyāṇī Inscription, Chapaṭa before returning to Pagán had spent ten years studying the Tipiṭaka and the Commentaries in Ceylon; and as he had completed his tenth year in the Order he received the designation of Thera (ibid.). The designation Thera ('Elder') is conferred on monks who have spent ten years in the Order, the honorific Mahā ('great') on those who have passed a certain course of study.

6) Bode, *The Pali Literature of Burma*, London, 1901, 17-19.

7) Taw Sein Ko, 57-58.

8) The Kalyāṇī Inscription lists six sects at Martaban at an unspecified date, apparently between 1245 and 1458 (see Taw Sein Ko, pp. 56-58). The first is the Ariyārahanta under a different name; the next three are the Sīhalabhikkhus deriving from the three Ceylon sects at Pagán; and the last two were established by monks who had visited Ceylon and been re-ordained there. In all likelihood the three sects deriving from Pagán were established at Martaban soon after the fall of Pagán in 1287, while the last two were probably established later.

Mahāthera Kassapa, Abbot of the Udumbaragiri Forest Monastery<sup>9</sup>. Anumati and the twelve Mōn monks established a community of Forest-Dwelling Sihalabhikkhus near Martaban, which was apparently the first one there to have ties with the Udumbaragiri, and very likely the first to practice forest-dwelling permanently. The King (Bañā *Ái Lāo*?—cf. Table II) and all the people were so delighted with Anumati's virtues that they decided to confer the honorific title Udumbarapupphā Mahāsāmī on him<sup>10</sup>. His fame attracted disciples to Martaban from afar. Two of these were Siamese Mahātheras from Sukhodaya, Anomadassī and Sumana, who had studied for a time at Ayodhyā. To be ordained in the Mahāsāmī's order they had first to retire from the monkhood and become laymen, which would of course deprive them of their seniority; then Udumbarapupphā re-ordained them as bhikkhus. They studied with him for five years, and then went back to Sukhodaya, where they stayed five years more. Then they returned to Martaban again, probably in 1341 or 1342 and, having spent the required ten years in the Ceylon order, received the grade of Mahāthera (cf. above, p. 50 note 5.)

Shortly before this, Udumbara had received a message from King Lōdaiya requesting him to send a monk to Sukhodaya who was qualified to perform all the acts of the Saṅgha in accordance with the Sinhalese rites. This means that there were not yet any qualified Sihalabhikkhus at Sukhodaya, though some other sect of Forest-Dwellers had been there ever since Rāma Gaṃhēṇ's time. Udumbarapupphā complied by sending Sumana and Anomadassī to him. Lōdaiya installed Sumana in the Mango-Grove Monastery (วัดป่ามะม่วง), a kilometre west of Sukhodaya. In like manner Līdaiya—who, as we have seen (p. 25), was uparāja at Sajjanālaya from 1340 to 1347—installed Anomadassī in the Red Forest Monastery (วัดป่าแดง), at the foot of Mount Siripabbata south of Sajjanālaya.

9) Several monks of this name had been head of the Udumbaragiri Monastery at different times. We have not been able to discover anything about this particular one from Ceylon sources.

10) It is not clear whether or not he already had the title of Mahāsāmī. If he received it in Ceylon, it might imply that he was not Sinhalese, for 'sāmī' was a title regularly conferred by the King of Ceylon on foreign monks who came there to be re-ordained (see Taw Sein Ko, pp. 27, 80-81). But he may equally well have received it in Rāmaññadesa, where it may have been granted to distinguished members of the Ceylon order regardless of their origin.



Not long afterward a remarkable adventure befell Sumana. He was on his way from Sukhodaya to Sajjanālaya to visit Anomadassī, traveling on foot, and stopped for a few days at *Bāng Jâ* (Pāñ Cā) on a tributary of the *Yom* called the *Fâ Gradân* (ရမ်းဦးဘူကံ). He was told there had been an old cetiya there, built by King Asoka of India to enshrine a relic of the Buddha, but the monument had fallen down long ago and the relic was lost. The villagers reported, however, that other relics came and performed miracles there [sc. the relics, shining with light, flew in from elsewhere as if to communicate with the lost relic]. That night the guardian sprites of the cetiya appeared to Sumana in a dream, urging him to rescue the lost relic and help the villagers restore the monument. The next morning when he told the people to dig they discovered a casket with the relic inside it. Sumana lustrated the relic in a golden bowl, and saw it perform numerous miracles.

He then went on to Sajjanālaya, taking the relic with him. As the good news had preceded him, Līdaiya had made everything ready to receive him and the relic with suitable honor. After a few days he received a message from King Lōdaiya saying that he too would like to see the relic, so Sumana took it to Sukhodaya, where further honors were showered on him. These events probably occurred in 1342 or 1343.

The remainder of Sumana's career is beyond the scope of this paper, but we shall recount it briefly, as a preliminary to our discussion of the authorship of *Mūlasāsanā*. King Kilanā (*Gū Nā*) of Lān Nā (r. 1355-85) invited Sumana to settle in Lān Nā and establish an order of Forest-Dwelling Sihalabhikkhus there. After some hesitation Sumana accepted, and in 1369 set out for the northern kingdom. Kilanā installed him at *Wat Pra Yün*, a large monastery he had built for him about a kilometre east of Haripuñjaya. Sumana did not stay there very long. In 1371 he moved to *Chieng Mai*, where Kilanā built the Flower-Garden Monastery (*Wat Suan Dòk-mai*) for him to the west of the city. Sumana became its first Abbot, and remained there until his death around 1389.

As everyone knows, the evidence of inscriptions is to be preferred to that of chronicles. Yet when chronicles deal coherently and plausibly with matters on which epigraphy is silent we believe they should be taken into consideration. We shall therefore give the chronicular evidence and suggest the conclusions to be drawn from it; afterward (p. 71 f.) we shall try to see whether there is anything in the inscriptions to invalidate them.

**Mūlasāsanā**, a history of Buddhism written in the *Tai Yuan* language, was composed at Chieng Mai in the 15th century. This work, which we shall call **M** for short, has been printed twice. The first edition was printed at Bangkok in 1939, the second at Chieng Mai in 1970<sup>1</sup>. The first was based on a very defective manuscript (there may be no better ones extant) and added several mistakes of its own; the second is a reprint of the first. Most of the mistakes are obvious enough, and can be corrected by means of cross-checking. Where passages have dropped out, which is frequently the case, they can often be supplied, in approximate form, from the context. Despite its defects, **M** is a work of outstanding value to us because it gives such a lot of information about the religion at Sukhodaya in Lödaiya's reign.

The main author of **M**, who wrote in the 1420's and almost certainly composed the portion that concerns us, was a monk called Buddhañāṇa. From internal evidence we conclude that he was the fourth Abbot of the Flower-Garden Monastery at Chieng Mai, who held office c. 1418-29<sup>2</sup>.

- 1) ตำนานมูลศาสนา, Bangkok, B.E. 2482; Chieng Mai, B.E. 2513. As the pagination is the same in both editions, our references to pages in **M** are applicable to either. The footnotes in both editions contain numerous mistakes, especially in the interpretation of dates.
- 2) The colophon to **M** (p. 337) gives the names of the two authors as Braḥ Buddhakūma and Braḥ Buddhañāṇa, without any further identification. As one section of **M** (pp. 245-261) is in effect the chronicle of the Flower-Garden Monastery, we may assume that both authors resided there. It appears that they were not collaborators, but that one of them was the main author who carried the narrative up to his own time, and the other continued it from there.

Buddhañāṇa, was almost certainly the fourth Abbot of the Flower-Garden Monastery, who presided over it from 1418 until 1429, when he was removed by the King and sent to the Jetubana Monastery at Haripuñjaya. At p. 252 it is stated that 61 years had elapsed from the *got set* year in which the Flower-Garden Monastery was founded up to the *got set* year when this passage was written ('61 years' means 60 years plus any fraction of a year). The dates of these two *got set* years are wrongly given in **M**; but **Jinakalamāli**, whose dates are generally reliable, says the Flower-Garden Monastery was built in CS 733, which presumably means it was dedicated in that year, i.e. 1371 A.D. The nearest *got set* year was CS 732, and when the author of **M** says the monastery was built in a *got set* year, he must mean that it was begun in CS 732=1370 A.D. The *got set* year '61 years later', in which the passage was written, would therefore be CS 792 or 1430 A.D. We conclude that Buddhañāṇa composed his portion of **M** in the 1420's while he was Abbot of the Flower-Garden Monastery and added the passage under discussion soon after his removal.

The second author, Buddhakūma (the name is obviously misspelt) should probably be identified with the twelfth Abbot, who is called Mahā Kukāmañānasāra at the top of p. 260 and Mahā Nānasārada in the next paragraph, and who held office from 1489 to 1499 (we have corrected the dates at p. 260, which have gone wrong by a few years). Evidently Buddhañāṇa was the main author



Although he does not always express himself very clearly, we have good reason to believe that he knew most of the facts correctly. He took office, presumably at an advanced age, about 30 years after Sumana's death, so it is quite possible that he had known him personally, perhaps even been one of his disciples. In any case it is obvious that he looked back on Sumana with deep veneration, committed the chief events of his career to memory, and had access to any historical records concerning him that were still extant.

of the book, who carried the narrative up to 1429, whereas 'Buddhabukāma' continued it from where Buddhāñā left off.

If we tabulate the information given in M at p. 245 and pp. 250-253, we have the following :

Name	Held office from:	To :	Number of years in office
1. Sumana	733 <i>ruang gai</i>	755 <i>got sai</i>	18
2. Kumārakassapa	755 <i>got sai</i>	<i>gā met</i>	15
3. Nandapaññā	<i>gā met</i>	770 <i>pōk set</i>	15
4. Buddhapanñā	770 <i>pōk set</i>	(not given)	(not given)
5. Buddhagambhīra	(not given)	814 <i>gā klai</i>	15

This information is obviously full of mistakes. 'Buddhapanñā' is a mistake for Buddhāñā, correctly given on p. 255 and p. 260 (probably miscopied here under the influence of the preceding name, Nandapaññā). In several cases the year numbers do not correspond to the cyclical names of the years, nor to the years in office. If we take as our base the year CS 733, the date given by both J and M for Sumana's assumption of office, and make what appear to us to be the most reasonable corrections, we shall have the following :

Name	Held office from:	To :	Number of years in office
1. Sumana	CS 733 <i>ruang gai</i> (AD 1371)	CS 751 <i>gat sai</i> (AD 1389)	18
2. Kumārakassapa	CS 751 <i>gat sai</i> (AD 1389)	CS 765 <i>gā met</i> (AD 1403)	14
3. Nandapaññā	CS 765 <i>gā met</i> (AD 1403)	CS 780 <i>pōk set</i> (AD 1418)	15
4. Buddhāñā	CS 780 <i>pōk set</i> (AD 1418)	CS 791 <i>gat rao</i> (AD 1429)	11
5. Buddhagambhīra	CS 791 <i>gat rao</i> (AD 1429)	CS 805 <i>gā klai</i> (AD 1443)	15

Translation of *Mūlasāsanā*, pp. 225-235

In the *ruang met* year, sakarāja 693<sup>3</sup>, twelve monks returned (to Băn)<sup>4</sup> from Ceylon.

They had requested the consent of King Suttasoma<sup>5</sup> (of Rāmañña-desā) and gone to Ceylon to be re-ordained in the community of the Mahāthera (Kassapa). (While they were there) the King (of Rāmañña-desā) heard of the virtues of the Mahāthera Kassapa from afar. Being much delighted, and desiring to have him nearby, he fitted out a junk and sent men (to Ceylon) to invite him to come. The Mahāthera did not come, but sent instead one of his disciples, a monk named Anumati who resided at Udumbara<sup>6</sup>, together with a sāmaṇera who was his nephew and all the twelve monks who were natives of Băn. After preparing everything for the journey, they made a respectful salutation in farewell to their teacher, embarked on the junk and crossed the sea to Băn in accordance with the King's wish.

(Anumati) practiced the religion there, beginning by establishing a consecrated place with *sīmā* boundary-stones for the acts of uposatha, then performing the acts of uposatha and pavāraṇā in concert with the twelve native monks, and after that he ordained a great number of disciples<sup>7</sup>. Of course they all followed the rules of conduct strictly, and the religion of the Omniscient Lord flourished exceedingly at Băn.

- 3) At p. 225 the first printed edition (as well as the corresponding passage in the two manuscripts we have consulted) gives the date as CS 793 *ruang met*, while the second printed edition gives it as CS 293 *ruang met*; but neither 793 nor 293 was a *ruang met* year. At p. 252, however, M gives the date as CS 693, which is certainly right, for CS 693 is the only *ruang met* year which could possibly correspond to the facts (CS 633, corresponding to 1271 A.D., would be much too early; CS 753 or 1391 A.D. would be much too late). We have therefore corrected the date to CS 693 (1331 A.D.).
- 4) In this translation we have put parentheses around the words we have supplied to clarify the meaning. In many cases it is likely that the author actually included expressions corresponding to those we have supplied, but that they later dropped out of the text through careless copying.
- 5) The name seems to be a fanciful one, taken from the Jātaka tales. Probably Bañā Āi Lāo is meant.
- 6) The Udumbaragiri Forest Monastery in Ceylon.
- 7) In other words he established a consecrated place surrounded by eight boundary-stones (*sīmā*) as required for monastic ceremonies such as the acts of uposatha and pavāraṇā (the recitation of the Pātimokkha or precepts of the monastic discipline twice each lunar month and at the conclusion of Vassa), and the ordination of monks. See Taw Sein Ko, pp. i-vi.



The people and the King were so delighted with Anumati's virtues that they decided to bestow a higher title on him. They conferred together, asking one another, 'What special name shall we give him?' Then the wise men saluted the King and addressed him as follows: 'Your Majesty, a fig-flower is rare in this world, and of course a quantity of fig-flowers is rarer still<sup>8</sup>. A man who has as many virtues as Mahā Anumati is as rare as (a quantity of) fig-flowers. For that reason we ought to give him the special name of Udumbarapupphā Mahāsvāmī<sup>9</sup>.' The King and the people agreed; so all together they bestowed that name on him. From that time on, the Buddha's religion flourished exceedingly in the Mōn kingdom.

At that time there were two Mahātheras, natives of Sukhodaya, one named Anomadassī and the other Sumana, both of whom were disciples of Mahā Parbata, the Saṅgharāja of Sukhodaya. They had gone south to study the Three Piṭakas at Ayodhyā, and then returned to the community of the Saṅgharāja Mahā Parbata as before. Having heard of the virtues of Udumbarapupphā Mahāsvāmī from a lot of merchants who had seen him at Bān and spoke about him when they returned, the two Mahātheras went to Bān to become his disciples. When they arrived they retired from the monkhood and asked to be ordained in the community of Udumbarapupphā Mahāsvāmī. The Mahāsvāmī ordained them, together with his own nephew the sāmaṇera who had come with him from

- 8) To a botanist this is not true at all. A fig itself is largely composed of minute flowers enclosed in a receptacle. 'The fig,' says Holttum, 'is not a fruit in the strict sense of being a developed ovary; it is a whole inflorescence, and the edible part consists of the hollow axis of the inflorescence . . . The individual flowers inside a fig are very small. They can only be examined under a powerful lens after very careful dissection' (R.E. Holttum, *Plant Life in Malaya*, London, 1954, p. 87.) Naturally the 'wise men' did not know this; they were thinking of flowers in the ordinary sense.
- 9) Udumbara is the Pali name of a wild fig, the *figus glomerata*. The Pali noun **puppha**, 'flower', is neuter; but the wise men were evidently construing it as masculine, as the context shows **pupphā** is intended to be the plural. Of course there is also a paranomastic reference to the Udumbaragiri ('Fig Hill') in Ceylon. It is not clear whether they were going to give him the title Mahāsvāmī or whether he already had it (cf. Section 3, note 10). It will be noticed that **M** frequently uses Sanskritic forms rather than Pali ones, even when speaking of monastic matters (e.g. svāmī, instead of sāmi). These may be due to later editing.

Ceylon. The two of them<sup>10</sup> studied the Three Piṭakas and the interpretation for five years, and then took leave of the Mahāsvāmī to return to Sukhodaya. The Mahāsvāmī gave them the title of Nissayamutta, saying: 'From now on you have no need of supports<sup>11</sup>. When you have returned to Sukhodaya and remained there for five years<sup>12</sup>, come back to see me again, and I will make you Nissayamuttas with the title of Mahāthera<sup>13</sup>.' Having listened to the Mahāsvāmī's injunction, the two monks undertook to observe the thirteen dhutaṅgas<sup>14</sup>. Then they went back to stay at Sukhodaya as before.

They stayed there five years; and when they returned to the community of Udumbarapupphā Mahāsvāmī they took eight<sup>15</sup> monks with them, namely the Reverends Ānanda, Buddhasāgara, Sujāta, Khema, Piyadassī, Suvanṇagiri, Vessabhū and Saddhātissa, who when they arrived at the community, asked to be re-ordained. The Mahāsvāmī had the

- 10) พี่น้อง, literally 'the elder and younger brother.' They may or may not have been brothers, for the expression could equally well mean cousins or merely friends.
- 11) Nissayamutta, 'freed from supports,' i.e. able to preach without guidance from elder monks, was a title given monks who had been members of the community for five years, and therefore equivalent to Majjhimbhūmi in the modern Siamese saṅgha (see Wells, *Thai Buddhism, its Rites and Activities*, first edition, p. 146; second ed., p. 181). The word nissayamutta is used in the same sense in Rāma Gaṃhēn's inscription at II/27; see JSS LIX/2, p. 211 f., note 77.
- 12) The text says '1 year'; but as it is clear from what follows that the right meaning is 5 years, we have made the correction.
- 13) Conjectural translation. The syntax is obscure and the text may be corrupt.
- 14) Optional ascetic practices recommended by the Buddha as an aid to cultivating contentedness, renunciation, energy, etc. A monk may take the vow to observe one or more of them for whatever length of time he sees fit. They are as follows: (1) wearing only patched-up robes; (2) wearing only three robes; (3) going for alms; (4) not omitting any house while going for alms; (5) eating at one sitting; (6) eating only from the almsbowl; (7) refusing all further food; (8) living in the forest; (9) living under a tree; (10) living in the open air; (11) living in a cemetery; (12) being satisfied with any dwelling whatever; (13) sleeping in a sitting position and never lying down. See Nyanatiloka, *Buddhist Dictionary*, Colombo, 1950, s.v. *dhutaṅga*. Of course it would be impossible for anyone to observe all thirteen dhutaṅgas at the same time. That is what our text said they undertook to do, but it probably means only that they undertook to observe the dhutaṅga of forest-dwelling and perhaps a few others.
- 15) The text says 7, but then proceeds to enumerate 8.



Rev. Anomadassī act as upajjhāya for three monks, namely the Revs. Khema, Suvannaṅgiri and Piyadassī; and he had the Rev. Sumana, who acted as upatthamba for them, act as upajjhāya for the other five, namely the Revs. Ānanda, Buddhasāgara, Sujāta, Vessabhū and Saddhātissa<sup>16</sup>. Thus all these monks were re-ordained in the monkhood.

They stayed in the community of Udumbarapupphā Mahāsvāmī for about three months. Then the Mahāsvāmī addressed all (ten) monks as follows: 'Take heed, Sirs! The religion which I brought with me from Ceylon is not firmly established in this land of the Mōns, is it<sup>17</sup>? It will be firmly established in your country to last up to 5000 years<sup>18</sup>. Therefore, Sirs, make haste and take the religion back to your own country and establish it there!' Upon hearing his words, the monks prepared for their journey, saluted him, and asked leave to depart.

At that point, as the Rev. Anomadassī was the senior member of the group, Udumbarapupphā Mahāsvāmī intended to take [Anomadassī's] almsbowl and see him off. When he took the Rev. Sumana's almsbowl and came with it slung over his shoulder to see the Rev. Anomadassī off, accompanying him part of the way before returning to his own abode, his disciples asked him: 'Is Your Lordship carrying the Rev. Sumana's almsbowl on your shoulder in order to see him off?' Udumbarapupphā Mahāsvāmī replied: 'No, Sirs, I did not take up the Rev. Sumana's

- 16) In this passage, upatthamba ('support') apparently means the ācāriya ('teacher') who assists the candidate when he is being ordained by the upajjhāya. A candidate for ordination must first present himself to an abbot or an upajjhāya (a monk with power to ordain, which he cannot have until he has become a therā). He must also seek one or two monks to act as ācāriya, instructing him in the Pali responses required, assisting the upajjhāya at the time of ordination, and afterwards giving further instruction to the newly-ordained monk. Not more than three candidates are received by an upajjhāya at any one ordination ceremony. (See Wells, *Thai Buddhism*, 1st ed., pp. 119, 123, 146, 147; 2nd ed., pp. 135-151, 181, 182.)
- 17) မှီငြမ်း, 'is not firmly established'; but the text may be corrupt. In the first place the author has already told us twice that the religion was in a very flourishing condition at Bān. In the second place the negative usually used in this text is not မှီ but မှီ.
- 18) A reference to the old prophecy that the religion will disappear in the year 5000 of the Buddhist Era.

almsbowl in order to see him off, I am carrying on my shoulder the Buddha's almsbowl which I brought from Ceylon, and I am sending it to the *Tai* country to be firmly established and remain illustrious there up to 5000 years<sup>19</sup>. The two Mahātheras brought the eight monks with them to Sukhodaya.

The Rev. Anomadassī went to reside (at the Red Forest Monastery) at Sajjanālaya<sup>20</sup>. The people of the city were so delighted with him that they gave him the special title of Svāmī. As for the Rev. Sumana, he went to reside at the Mango Grove at Sukhodaya. They both practiced the religion, planting sīmā boundary-stones and ordaining people into the monkhood, of course in coöperation with each other. Sometimes the Rev. Sumana brought candidates to be ordained at Sajjanālaya in coöperation with the Rev. Anomadassī; sometimes the Rev. Anomadassī brought them to be ordained at Sukhodaya in coöperation with the Rev. Sumana.

As for the eight (other) monks, Rev. Piyadassī carried the religion to establish it in Ayodhyā, where the people gave him the title of Mahāsvāmī; Rev. Suvanṇagirī carried the religion to establish it in Javā<sup>21</sup>, where the people gave him the title of Mahāsvāmī; Rev. Vessabhū carried the religion to Nān, where the people gave him the title of Mahāsvāmī; Rev. Ānanda practiced the religion at the Mango Grove at Sukhodaya, where he replaced Rev. Sumana when the latter carried the religion to Chieng Mai<sup>22</sup>. The other monks—Revs. Buddhasāgara, Sujāta, Khema and Saddhātissa—went to practice the religion in the middle city, namely Sōn Gvè<sup>23</sup>.

19) The significance of the almsbowl incident is obscure and our translation is conjectural. The text may be corrupt.

20) The text is corrupt. The words โฉมป่าแดง, 'at the Red Forest Monastery', have dropped out, and one of them, แดง, has found its way by mistake to a place two lines below, after โฉมม่วง, 'Mango Grove'. For the Red Forest Monastery, see Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, Map 3, No. 19; for the Mango-Grove Monastery, *ibid.*, Map 2, No. 26.

21) *Luang Pra Bāng*.

22) This Ānanda was one of the eight Siamese monks, mentioned above, whom Sumana and Anomadassī took with them to Bān for ordination. He should therefore not be confused with the Ānanda mentioned by M at p. 235, who was a native of Bān.

23) Sōn Gvè (ສອນ ກວ໌) was at or near Biṣṇuloka. Why it should be called 'the middle city' is not clear.



Now we shall tell how the Mahāthera Sumana carried the religion to establish it in Chieng Mai<sup>24</sup>.

Once when he was on his way to Sajjanālaya, traveling on foot in order to preach<sup>25</sup> tranquillity and kindness to the people, he stopped to preach at a place called *Bāng Jâ*, 2 yojanas from Sukhodaya which lay to the southwest, and 1 yojana from Sajjanālaya which lay to the northwest<sup>26</sup>. Soon after his arrival (the people told him that)<sup>27</sup> a relic of the Lord Buddha, sent by King Asoka<sup>28</sup>, had been enshrined in a cetiya there a very long time ago; but the cetiya had fallen down, no one could find (any trace of) it to worship, and that<sup>29</sup> relic ought to go to a place where people could worship it. Because the Mahāthera had come to practice the religion and make it flourish<sup>30</sup>, many relics of the Buddha were coming and performing miracles both by day and by night<sup>31</sup>, and all the people who saw them told Sumana about them.

- 24) Before actually telling how Sumana carried the religion to Lān Nā, which he did in 1369, the author continues the recital of the events of the 1340's, telling at length the story of Sumana's discovery of the relic which was to become so influential in Lān Nā in the 1370's.
- 25) The text (p. 229) has เจ้าโทเพื่อจักเดินเทศ (etc.) which makes no sense. We take it that the right order is เจ้าโทเดินเพื่อจักเทศ (etc.).
- 26) Sumana was evidently walking along the *Pra Ruang* Highway (shown as a dotted line in Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, Map 4). The Fā Gradān cuts across the route a little over 30 km. north-northwest of Sukhodaya and a little over 20 km. south-southwest of Sajjanālaya (the river is shown somewhat too far north on the map, loc. cit.). *Bāng Jâ* (Pān Cā) must have been located at the ferry. In Pali literature the value of the yojana is about 11 km. (in Siam its present value is 16 km., but it was less in the past). A few pages further on, the distance from Sajjanālaya to Bāng Jâ is given as 2 yojanas, which would be about right if we take the value of the yojana as 11 km. The wrong distances and faulty azimuths here are apparently due to mistakes in copying. If we read '3 yojanas from Sukhodaya' instead of '2', and '2 yojanas from Sajjanālaya' instead of '1', we shall get the distances right; and if we read ตะวันออก instead of ตะวันตก in both places the azimuths will be improved.
- 27) This whole passage is corrupt. A lot of words seem to have dropped out, and we have conjecturally restored them.
- 28) King Asoka of India (third century B.C.), who dug up the Buddha's relics and divided them into 84,000 particles, which he sent to different parts of his realm and elsewhere to be enshrined in cetiyas.
- 29) อัน, for อัน, equivalent to อัน.
- 30) sc. in the kingdom of Sukhodaya.
- 31) These seem to be relics which flew in from other places to celebrate Sumana's arrival at Bāng Jâ and draw attention to the lost relic.

At that time several sprites who were guarding the Buddha's relic disguised themselves as Brahmins and appeared to the Mahāthera in a dream, saying : 'O Mahāthera! this relic of the Buddha will be extremely hard to find, because it came here such a very long time ago to wait for Your Lordship to discover it. You should gather the people together to dig for it.' (Then they told him where to dig)<sup>32</sup>.

(The next morning when the people gathered) he said : 'May the Lord Buddha's relic be found for me!' As soon as he had spoken, all the people purified their hearts. They dug down at that place, and soon they came to soil mixed with brick and many pieces of stone, so they were all delighted. Then they found an earthenware jar, which they brought to the Mahāthera. When the Mahāthera opened it and looked inside he found a silver casket. When he opened this he found a golden casket inside, and when he opened it he found a coral casket inside. At first he was not sure whether it was coral or a relic of the Buddha, but on closer examination he found it to be coral. He wanted to open it to look inside but could find no opening. He thought it was a reliquary, but why was there no relic of the Buddha inside it ? He then worshiped it with various offerings, and made this wish : 'If it is really a reliquary, let there be an opening!'<sup>33</sup> At once he saw the opening, so he opened the reliquary, took out the relic and placed it in a golden bowl to lustrate it. The relic manifested itself to let all living creatures see it. Then it performed a miracle, dividing itself in a moment into 2, 3, and up to 80 relics, floating on the surface of the water in the golden bowl, while the Mahāthera looked on with joyful heart. Then he sent word about it to the Ruler (of Sajjanālaya)<sup>34</sup>.

32) The text is again defective. Some expressions of the sort we have supplied here and in the next line must have dropped out of it.

33) This wish was a *saccakiriya*, an 'act of truth', which always consists of two parts, a premise and a wish. Provided the speaker has earned sufficient merit (e.g. in past lives), and provided the premise is true, he can be certain that the wish will come true too. See Geiger's translation of *Mahāvamsa*, Colombo, 1950, p. 125 note 1.

34) i.e. Līdaiya, who was viceroy at Sajjanālaya from 1340 to 1347. The date of his appointment is given in the colophon to the *Traibhūmikathā* (see Coedès in BEFEO XVII/2, pp. 9, 45). He remained viceroy until his accession to the throne of Sukhodaya in 1347 (*ibid.*, 13, 45).



When the Ruler heard the wonderful news he built a pavilion in the middle of the city of Sajjanālaya. Then he sent a message inviting the Lord Buddha's relic and the Mahāthera to come to the city. The Ruler caused the road from Sajjanālaya to Bāng Jā to be cleared and made smooth everywhere; on each side of the road he set a row of banana trees, sugar-cane, fragrant substances, parched rice and flowers, together with lamps and music of every sort; and he had people wait to salute (the relic as it passed): the distance from Sajjanālaya to Bāng Jā is about 2 yojanas<sup>35</sup>. The Ruler then caused drums to be beaten in proclamation in all the roads and lanes in Sajjanālaya to tell everyone to go to welcome the Lord Buddha's relic. When the people of Sajjanālaya heard the drums of Bāng Jā<sup>36</sup> they all raised their hands in salutation over their heads, facing toward Bāng Jā with joy and delight, in such excitement that they got goose-flesh, and they all went together to welcome the relic.

On his journey to welcome the relic and his return trip to the city, the Ruler of Sajjanālaya was followed by a body of elephantry and cavalry, and accompanied by a retinue of illustrious persons from the city and the countryside wearing the dress of the various communities, carrying parched rice and all sorts of flowers, and speaking politely in a manner befitting the dignity of the Ruler's retinue, while the people followed in pairs or in groups in an endless procession. The Ruler and the townspeople went together to the Lord Buddha's relic, scattering an abundance of flowers and parched rice all the while. The Mahāthera took out the relic to show it to the Ruler, who caused music to be played in homage to it. The relic performed an astonishing miracle, and the Ruler was so thrilled that he got goose-flesh. After watching for a suitable length of time, he invited the relic and the Mahāthera to his city. He did homage to the relic, raised it up, and placed it in a golden shrine on the back of his own elephant. The procession then returned to the city.

35) Taking the value of the yojana as 11 km., the distance is here stated correctly. Cf. above, note 26.

36) The text in either this sentence or the preceding one must be corrupt. Were the drums beaten at Bāng Jā, or in Sajjanālaya, or all along the road?

When it arrived there the Ruler, taking the golden shrine containing the relic into his arms, placed it in the pavilion with his own hands<sup>37</sup>, and caused music to be played and drums beaten ceaselessly. When the relic entered the pavilion it would fill the people with joy and faith by performing very suitable and astonishing miracles. After extending an invitation to the Mahāthera to reside near the foot of Mount Siripabbata<sup>38</sup> together with the relic, the Ruler, desiring to see the miraculous relic (again), presented it with many offerings in homage and, saluting the Mahāthera respectfully, said: 'Your Lordship, I beg to see the relic perform a miracle for the salvation of all creatures.' When he heard the Ruler say he would like to see the relic, the Mahāthera opened the caskets one after another, smeared his hands with sweet-smelling substances, and took the relic out to show the people, beginning with the Ruler. When the Ruler and the assembled multitude saw the relic they were all overjoyed, and paid homage to it with innumerable offerings. The Mahāthera and the Ruler lustrated the relic with perfumed water in a golden bowl. Then the relic sprang up above the surface of the water in the golden bowl like a dancing haṃsa bird, and performed an astonishing miracle by shooting forth rays of 6 colors in order to dispel any doubt among the people that it was a genuine relic of the Buddha. Then it divided itself into 2 relics<sup>39</sup>, and all the people saw this special miracle which they had never seen before. The Mahāthera, together with the people beginning with the Ruler, uttered exclamations of applause, and the people, relieved of their doubts, scattered cloths and scarves in homage a hundred times. The relic, after relieving everyone of doubt, joined itself together again into a single piece. All the people saw this stupendous miracle, which quickly made them rejoice even more than before, and they did homage with a great quantity of rich offerings. When the relic had completely satisfied their hearts by letting them see the miracle, the Mahāthera, taking various fragrant substances, received the relic and replaced it in its caskets as before.

37) We assume that ด้วยตนเอง is a mistake for ด้วยมือแห่งตนเอง; cf. below, note 43.

38) The text has 'Siripāda', which is obviously a mistake; so we have made the correction. The Ruler was inviting the Mahāthera to take up his residence at the Red Forest Monastery. See above, note 20.

39) The text may be defective. We should expect the relic to divide itself into '2, 3 and up to 80 relics' as it did at Bāng Jā.



Now King (Dharmarāja) of Sukhodaya<sup>40</sup>, having heard about the relic, sent officers of the Crown with a message to the Mahāthera, saying: 'We beg Your Lordship, who is full of compassion, to bring the Buddha's relic to Our city to relieve Us of suffering<sup>41</sup>.' Thereupon the Mahāthera, full of compassion, having heard the royal message which the officers of the Crown had brought him, took the relic to Sukhodaya to relieve the King of suffering.

His Majesty King Dharmarāja, knowing in his wisdom that the relic was coming, caused the highway to be decorated with all sorts of things, such as bouquets and banners; he had a pavilion built, roofed with pure white cloth; and he prepared various offerings for the lustration of the relic. King Dharmrāja, the sovereign of the realm, having caused offerings such as flowers to be prepared, came out with all his troops to welcome the Buddha's relic and the Mahāthera when they arrived at his city. When the relic reached the city of Sukhodaya he took the excellent Mahāthera to stay at a monastery befitting an ascetic<sup>42</sup>. That same day His Majesty, full of faith, saluted the relic; then he saluted Mahā Sumana and spoke as follows in order to lustrate the relic: 'We beg Your Lordship, who possesses such beautiful virtues, to let us see the relic perform a miracle for us all.' When the compassionate Mahāthera heard the King make this request, he opened the coral reliquary with his own hands<sup>43</sup> so as to relieve the King of suffering and

40) Lōdaiya.

41) เพื่อปล่อยทุกข์ให้พ้นจากทุกข์ด้วย. The expression is purely conventional: ทุกข์ (Pali **dukkha**) means the general ills which all creatures are subject to. The presence of the miraculous relic might alleviate these by reinforcing people's faith and their desire to make merit. The King may or may not have been ill at the time, and he was certainly in deep trouble from his territorial losses; but the expression here is not intended to refer to anything so specific. A similar expression occurs at p. 235, where it obviously has no topical significance.

42) Presumably the Mango-Grove Monastery, which qualified as an abode of Forest-Dwellers.

43) The phrase ด้วยมือของตน, 'with his own hands', may be mistakenly interpolated here. It reappears, in almost the same form (ด้วยมือแห่งตน), five lines further on, where it seems to be more appropriate. It is much more reasonable to say that the King took the relic up in his own hands than to say that the Mahāthera opened the reliquary with his own hands (we have already heard how the Mahāthera opened the reliquary on two previous occasions, without any special remark about whose hands were used).

bring the joy of heaven to him. King Dharmarāja gazed upon the relic, which was so excellent an object of contemplation for his heart. When he saw it revealed to his eyes, he and all his officers were filled with delight; and he invited it to enter the cloth-covered pavilion to be lustrated. Filled with faith, he took the relic up with his own hands, went to the golden bowl<sup>44</sup>, mixed water with various fragrant substances<sup>45</sup>, and spoke as follows: 'If Our Lord's Relic takes compassion on the company assembled there, then may we be allowed to see a miracle so as to cause the hearts of the townspeople to open like flowers, and make us radiant one and all! May we be allowed to worship it!'

But that time it did not perform a single miracle. It became inert<sup>46</sup> because that city was not the place where the Lord Buddha's relic was to remain<sup>47</sup>.

44) Conjectural translation of a clause that seems to be corrupt. We assume from the context *โศภณ* is a mistake for *สุวรรณ* *ทองคำ*, the expression previously used for 'golden bowl'. Some words seem to have dropped out between *ไป*, 'went to', and '(สุวรรณ) *ทองคำ*'; sc. 'he went into the pavilion and put the relic in the golden bowl'?

45) We assume that the word *น้ำ* is mistakenly omitted after *ประพรม*.

46) *เท่าอยู่ตามปกติ*, literally 'attained remaining according to its regular condition.'

47) Doubtless foreshadowing the translation of the relic to Lān Na.



## 5

**Jinakālamāli**, or **J** as we shall call it for short, is a history of Buddhism composed in Pali by the Monk Ratanapañña at the Red Forest Monastery (Rattavanavihāra) near Chieng Mai in 1516/7, with an addendum by the same author continuing the narrative up to 1527<sup>1</sup>. This Red Forest Monastery (which is of course not to be confused with the monastery of the same name near Sajjanālaya) was a stronghold of the 'New Ceylon Sect', founded by a group of Chieng Mai monks who had been re-ordained in Ceylon in 1424. The founders of the New Ceylon Sect were bitterly hostile to the Ceylon sect established earlier by Sumana, which they regarded as deficient in Pali and lax in discipline; but a *modus vivendi* was eventually reached. Ratanapañña himself writes of Sumana respectfully enough, though without much warmth.

Ratanapañña was a careful historian whose accuracy, at least for the period from the 14th century on, has repeatedly been confirmed by the evidence of inscriptions<sup>2</sup>. The portion of **J** dealing with Southeast Asia was published by Coedès in 1925, with the Pali text, a French translation, and a valuable introduction and footnotes<sup>3</sup>. More recently Professor N.A. Jayawickrama has given us an English translation of the complete Pali text<sup>4</sup>.

1) See Coedès in BEFEO XXV/1, pp. 4-6.

2) See Coedès, BEFEO XXV/1, 11, 12.

3) Coedès, *Documents sur l'histoire politique et religieuse du Laos occidental*, BEFEO XXV/1. We shall refer to this work as **J/C**, with page numbers referring to those in BEFEO XXV/1. For the full Pali text of **J**, see Ratanapañña, **Jinakālamāli**, edited for the Pali Text Society by A.P. Buddhadatta Mahāthera, London, 1962 (reviewed by Prince Dhāni Nivat at JSS L/1, 54 ff.).

4) Jayawickrama, *The Sheaf of Garlands of the Epochs of the Conqueror*, London, 1968 (abbrev. : **J/J**).

Translation of *Jinakālamāli*, pp. 44, 45<sup>5</sup>

A Thera named Sumana, a resident of Sukhodaya, had gone to Ayojjapura<sup>6</sup> to study the Dhamma with the teachers there, and then returned to Sukhodaya. At that time a Mahāsāmī named Udumbara had just come to Rammanadesa<sup>7</sup> from the island of Ceylon<sup>8</sup>. Upon learning this, Sumana and a friend of his went to Rammanadesa to be re-ordained by Udumbara Mahāsāmī and to study the Dhamma with him. Dhammarāja<sup>9</sup>, wishing to have with him a monk who was competent to perform all the acts of the Saṅgha<sup>10</sup>, sent an envoy to the Mahāsāmī asking for a qualified monk. The Mahāsāmī, whose only aim was to advance the religion, sent the Thera Sumana to Dhammarāja so that he might perform all the acts of the Saṅgha at Sukhodaya. The Thera Sumana, accompanied by his friend, took leave of the Mahāsāmī and went to Sukhodaya. Dhammarāja, filled with delight, installed him in the Ambavanārāma<sup>11</sup>, which he had just built, and supported him with the four requisites<sup>12</sup>.

One day Sumana, who was on his way to Sajjanālaya, came to the river named Pā<sup>13</sup> and made a halt there<sup>14</sup>. A relic appeared by night in

- 5) The page numbers are those of the Pali text in BEFEO XXV/1. Cf. the French translation, J/C, 95-96, and the English translation, J/J, 117-8 (in J/J, at p. 117 note 6, read 'west' instead of 'east', and at p. 118 note 1, read '1347' instead of '1339').
- 6) Ayodhyā.
- 7) The name Rammanadesa is a doublet of Rāmaññadesa.
- 8) cf. above, section 3 and note 10.
- 9) 'Dhammarāja' in this passage is of course Lōdaiya, since J gives his son's name a few lines further on as 'Lideyyarāja, ruler of Sajjanālaya', i.e. Līdaiya when he was Uparāja at Sajjanālaya, 1340-47 (see section 4, note 34). In another passage of J, preceding the portion we have translated, 'Dhammarāja' means Mahādhammarājā I (Līdaiya); but this need cause no confusion, as the time referred to is in the reign of Kilanā of Lān Nā (1355-85), whereas the portion we have translated is retrospective.
- 10) The rites of uposatha, pavāraṇā and ordination; see above, section 4, note 7. It must be understood that Lōdaiya was asking for a monk who would be qualified to perform these acts in accordance with the orthodox Sinhalese rites; there were already plenty of monks at Sukhodaya who could perform them in accordance with their own tradition.
- 11) The Mango-Grove Monastery.
- 12) i.e. clothing, almsfood, a dwelling-place and medicine.
- 13) Pānāmaṃ nadim (J/C, p. 44); we follow the translation at J/C, 95, which has 'la rivière nommée Pā' rather than that at J/J, 117, 'the river called Pānām.' The river is the *Fā Gradān* (ආග්‍රදාන); see section 4, note 26. As Pali possesses no equivalent of the letter *đ*, P is used instead; and ආග්‍රදාන is omitted.
- 14) Apparently intending to stay there a few days to preach to the people.



an old monastery, performing a miracle, and the people who saw it reported it to him. That night a tree-sprite, having assumed the likeness of a Brahmin, told him where the relic was deposited. The Thera went there, caused the ground to be dug, and found the relic in a casket. He then went on to Sajjanālaya, taking the relic with him.

At that time Dhammarāja's son Lideyyarāja was ruler of Sajjanālaya. Upon learning that the Thera was approaching, Lideyyarāja went out to receive him, took him to Sajjanālaya, and installed him in the Mahārattavanārāma at the foot of Mount Siripabbata<sup>15</sup>. As Lideyyarāja wished to see the relic, the Thera showed it to him. Lideyyarāja, filled with delight on seeing the wonderful relic, paid homage to it.

King Dhammarāja too heard the news of the relic, and wishing to see it sent an envoy to the Thera. The Thera Sumana went to Sukhodaya and took up his residence at the Ambavanārāma. Desiring to see the relic, King Dhammarāja set out accompanied by bearers carrying a large quantity of offerings, saluted the Thera, and said: 'Sir, I should like to see the relic.' When the Thera showed it to him, he paid homage to it, worshiped it and lustrated it in a beautiful and perfectly clean golden vessel filled with scented water.

[*In verse* :] The relic, in order to show that it did not wish to remain at Sukhodaya, performed a miracle for the King<sup>16</sup>.

15) The Red Forest Monastery (วัดป่าแดง) on the slope of Mount Braḥ Śrī (Pali, Siripabbata); see Griswold, op. cit., Map 3, No. 19. Cf. above, section 4, notes 20 and 38.

16) In the Original Pali, this stanza (J/C, p. 45) reads:

pātiheram nidassesī sā dhātu tassa rājino  
aṭṭhatukāmbhāvena sukhodayapure tahiṇ ti //

While the normal interpretation of this passage is certainly that of J/C and J/J, which we have followed, there is nevertheless much to be said in favor of Mahā Sēṇ Manavidūra's contrary interpretation in his Siamese translation, which, by understanding that the relic did Not perform a miracle, avoids a contradiction with M. In this connection Professor Kamaleswar Bhattacharya of the Centre National de Recherche Scientifique at Paris kindly writes us as follows: 'It might be possible to suppose an aorist **nirassesī**, "threw off", "despised", "neglected", corrupted into **nidassesī**, like **nidassati** for **nirassati** in the Suttanipāta (cf. Pali Text Society's Dictionary, s.v. **nidassati**), provided we suppose an indicative present **nirasseti**, which as far as I know, is not attested (the normal indicative present and aorist being, respectively, **nirassati** and **nirassi**), but which, on the analogy of other forms, is not impossible (cf. Geiger, *Pali Grammar*, English translation, § 139.2). This should be regarded as a very bold conjecture.'

## 6

While **J**'s account of Sumana is generally consistent with **M**'s, the reader will have observed one striking discrepancy. In **J** the relic performs a miracle for Lödaiya to signify that it does not wish to remain at Sukhodaya, whereas in **M** it conveys the same message by declining to perform a miracle when he requests it to do so. On this point **M** seems more likely to be right than **J**<sup>1</sup>.

If so, the relic's behavior must have been a frightful shock to Lödaiya. It had performed brilliantly for his son at Sajjanālaya, where it surely would have been even less willing to remain than at Sukhodaya, so the King was entitled to expect it to do the same for him. He made his request to the relic in the form of an 'act of truth' (*saccakiriya*), a magical device consisting of two parts, a declaration and a wish. If the person making it has earned sufficient merit in his past and present lives, and if the declaration is true, then the wish inevitably comes true too<sup>2</sup>. When it failed to work for Lödaiya the only possible explanation was that his store of accumulated merit was exhausted. Coming on top of his territorial losses, it would confirm what the unlucky monarch must already have suspected, and it might well be calculated to hasten his death.

Fortunately two relics from Ceylon, which arrived at Sukhodaya probably a year or two later, performed a series of miracles in his presence. Before coming to this part of the story, however, we must glance backward and try to establish an approximate chronology.

Both **M** and **J** imply that Sumana and Anomadassī were re-ordained by Udumbara Mahāsāmī soon after his arrival at Martaban. As Udumbara arrived there in 1331, we may assume that Sumana and Anomadassī were re-ordained in 1331 or 1332. They were already Theras in the community of Mahā Pabbata (Skt. Parvata), the Saṅgharāja of Sukhodaya, which means they had been monks for at least ten years. Anomadassī was 'senior' to Sumana, i.e. he had been a monk for a longer time and become a Thera sooner, though perhaps not very much.

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1) cf. the preceding note.

2) cf. section 4, note 33.



Since we have to work by minimum lengths of time, we shall disregard Anomadassī for the moment, and consider only Sumana's case. Supposing that Sumana became a Thera in Mahā Pabbata's community in 1330 at the latest (which would allow a decent interval of time before he retired from that community), he must have been a monk at least since 1320, and it was doubtless in the 1320's that he studied at Ayodhyā. Before 1320 he had probably been a samaṇera, and moved on into the monkhood as soon as he was old enough, that is, at the age of 20, so we can guess he was born around 1300. He would therefore be 31 or 32 when he and Anomadassī retired from Mahā Pabbata's community, losing the grade of Thera, in order to be re-ordained as Sīhalabhikkhus by Udumbara. Five years later, say in 1336 or 1337, they returned to Sukhodaya; but not yet being Theras they were not qualified to perform the acts of the Saṅgha. It was probably around 1340 that Lōdaiya (perhaps prompted by Sumana ?) sent Udumbara the message asking for a monk who was qualified to perform these acts, by which he meant qualified to perform them in accordance with the Sinhalese rites. In order to comply with the request, Udumbara waited until he was able to confer the grade of Thera on Sumana and Anomadassī.

It was probably in 1341 or 1342 that they returned to Martaban for three months and received the grade of Thera. Being now fully qualified, they went back to Sukhodaya and were installed in 'forest monasteries'—one near the capital, the other near Sajjanālaya; and they at once proceeded to perform the acts of the Saṅgha.

Sumana discovered the relic soon after that, say in 1342 or 1343. At that time, as **J** tells us, Lideyyarāja was ruler of Sajjanālaya, i.e. Līdaiya was Uparāja there. This fits in well with the information we have from other sources that Līdaiya was Uparāja at Sajjanālaya from 1340 to 1347. Furthermore the **Traibhūmikathā**, composed by Līdaiya in 1345, lists Anomadassī among the teachers to whom he acknowledges his indebtedness<sup>3</sup>. This proves that Anomadassī was at Sajjanālaya in 1345, so he may well have arrived there in 1341 or 1342.

3) In the preface he is listed as 'Brah̄ Anomadassī', and in the concluding statement as 'Brah̄ Mahāthera Anomadassī'. If the omission of the term Mahāthera in the preface is not simply due to scribal negligence, it may be explained on the ground that the preface was written before Anomadassī became a Mahāthera in the Ceylon order, while the concluding statement was written after he became one.

It may be objected, on the other hand, that Inscription No. 9 says the Red Forest Monastery was founded by Mahādharmarājā I in 1359, while Nos. 4 and 5 seem to say that the Mango Grove Monastery was founded by him in 1361, so that our epigraphic evidence, so far as it goes, suggests that these two monasteries were not in existence in 1341/2. A possible explanation is that they were really founded around 1341, but on a very modest scale, perhaps as mere sylvan hermitages for a few monks, and that improvements were made later by Mahādharmarājā I on a large enough scale to be regarded as new foundations<sup>4</sup>. This would be the more likely if the new structures were not exactly on the old sites but near them.

Inscription 9, however, throws some further doubt on our proposed chronology. This text was composed in 1406 by the Saṅgharāja Tilokatilaka Tiratanasīlagandha, who had been ordained as a Gāmvāsī or 'village-dwelling' monk in 1343, and as an Arañṇavāsī or 'forest-dwelling' monk in 1357. After stating that he became Abbot of the Red Forest Monastery in 1361 upon the death of Mahākalyāṇathera for whom the monastery had been founded two years earlier, the author goes on to say that Mahādharmarājā I sent for Mahāsamaṇathera to come to the Mango Grove—evidently in the same year, 1361—after which Mahāsamaṇathera came to the Red Forest Monastery to salute the author of the inscription and to show him something the name of which is illegible. In a later passage the author says that Mahāsamaṇathera went to the north in 1369, a statement which identifies him as Mahāsumanathera, i.e. the Mahāthera Sumana. The implication might be that both Sumana and Anomadassī had returned from Martaban in the suite of the 'Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja' whose arrival at Sukhodaya in 1361 is recorded in Inscriptions 4 and 5, or perhaps that Sumana arrived in his suite, whereas Anomadassī had come back earlier. But the statements are too fragmentary to be conclusive: perhaps Sumana had first been installed at the Mango Grove around 1341, but went somewhere else later, and was

4) Alternatively these names may be used anachronistically in referring to events in the 1340's. There may have been other monasteries on these sites at that time, with different names. It is natural enough for the compiler of a chronicle to designate places (and persons too, for that matter) by the most recent names they had received.



finally recalled to the Mango Grove by Mahādharmarājā I in 1361. If the author of Inscription 9 became Abbot of the Red Forest Monastery in 1361, there is no reason why Sumana should not make a special trip to salute him and show him the relic he had discovered nearly twenty years earlier.

While epigraphic evidence is certainly preferable to chronicular, is the conjectural interpretation of an inscription preferable to the straightforward testimony of two chronicles whose accounts are plausible in themselves and internally consistent enough?

\* \* \*

Inscription 2, which dates from Lōdaiya's reign, contains the biography of a monk from Sukhodaya, the Mahāthera Śrīśraddhārājā-cūlāmuni, or Śrīśraddha as we shall call him for short. At the age of 26, when he was still a layman, he fought an elephant duel which was witnessed by King Lōdaiya. When he was 31 years old he was ordained in the Sukhodayan monkhood. Some time after that, as we know from Inscriptions 2 and 11, he went via Martaban to India, and then to Ceylon where he spent ten years. Inscription 2, without actually saying so, implies that while he was in Ceylon he was re-ordained in the Mahāvihāra succession, for it tells us that he restored the Mahāthūpa and the Mahāvihāra which were falling into ruin; and the title Mahāsāmī, by which he is designated, was one the King of Ceylon conferred on monks who were re-ordained in the island. We assume that the reason he stayed in Ceylon for ten years was to become a Mahāthera in the Sinhalese order before leaving. Then, as we know from Inscription 11, he returned to Sukhodaya via Tenasserim, Bejrapurī, Rājapurī and Ayodhyā.

While Śrīśraddhā was in Ceylon he obtained two 'precious great relics' of the Buddha, the Kesadhātu (Hair Relic) and the Gīvadhātu (Neck-bone Relic). About this time, it appears, he learned that one side of the platform of the Mahādhātu at Sukhodaya had collapsed; at least Inscription 2 implies that he knew of the collapse before he left Ceylon<sup>5</sup>.

5) In the passage at II/40 f., the 'laymen' whom Śrīśraddhā brings from Ceylon are evidently to help in the reconstruction of the Mahādhātu, which seems to prove he was still in Ceylon when he learned that the platform of the Mahādhātu had collapsed.

As the Mahādhātu was not only a monument of extraordinary sanctity but also the magical center of the kingdom, the damage it sustained would be regarded as yet another bad omen for Lödaiya. After Śrīśraddhā returned to Sukhodaya the monument was rebuilt and the two precious relics were deposited in it, perhaps in the belief that their beneficent influences would dispel the King's ill fortune. Inscription 2, which commemorates the reconstruction of the monument, contains no legible dates; but the work must have taken a year or more, and Lödaiya was still on the throne when it was finished. As Lödaiya died in 1346 or 1347 (p. 1), we conclude that the latest likely date for Śrīśraddhā's return to Sukhodaya would be around 1344.

Taking this date as a base, we can work backward and estimate the *latest* probable dates for the main events of his life which are recorded: allowing a reasonable time for his journey from Ceylon to Sukhodaya, he must have left Ceylon c. 1343; as he spent ten years in Ceylon, he first arrived there c. 1333; allowing time for this itinerary through India, he passed through Martaban c. 1332; supposing that he had been ordained some two years before setting out for Martaban, his ordination took place c. 1330; and as he was thirty-one years old when he was ordained, the date of his birth would be c. 1299.

If this is the latest likely date for his birth, what is the earliest possible one? He was twenty-six years old when he fought the elephant duel which was witnessed by King Lödaiya, so if we are right in placing Lödaiya's accession in 1298, Śrīśraddhā cannot have been born before 1272. This leaves a range of 27 years between the earliest possible date and the latest likely one for his birth, and a similar uncertainty for the other events of his career, not to mention the date of the reconstruction of the Mahādhātu.

We shall see in Section 9 that there is some reason, based on epigraphic evidence, to believe that he was still alive in 1376. If that is right, which is not perfectly certain, he would have been between 77 and 104 years old at the time, an observation which might make us favor a date closer to 1299 than to 1272 for his birth, and to guess that the latest likely dates for the events of his career are not far from the actual ones. This is about as close as we can get if we rely on epigraphic evidence alone.

If on the other hand we take the evidence of the chronicles into account we can refine our estimates considerably. The chronicles, though they have nothing to say about Śrīśraddhā, provide indirect evidence regarding the date of his return to Sukhodaya. On the basis of



information drawn from **J** and **M**, we have concluded (p. 70) that Udumbara sent Sumana and Anomadassī to Sukhodaya and Sajjanālaya respectively in 1341 or 1342, in response to a request made the previous year by Lōdaiya for a qualified Sīhalabhikkhu. The request must have been made before Śrīśraddhā's return to Sukhodaya, for if he were already there it would have been unnecessary. We can conclude, too, that Śrīśraddhā did not return until some time after Sumana discovered the Asokan relic, for the Kesadhātu and the Gīvadhātu counted as 'great precious relics', one of them plucked by the Buddha from his own head during his lifetime, and the other gathered from the pyre after his cremation; whereas the relic Sumana discovered was only one of the 84,000 tiny particles into which Asoka divided the miscellaneous relics collected from the pyre; so if Sumana had not discovered it before Śrīśraddhā's return it would have excited very little notice. From this reasoning we may conclude that the earliest date for Śrīśraddhā's return would be immediately after Sumana's discovery, which according to our estimate was in 1342 or 1343. On the basis of epigraphic evidence, as we have seen, the latest likely date for his return would be around 1344; and the chronicular evidence suggests that this was approximately when he really did return. The corollary is that the 'latest likely dates' which we have proposed for the events of his career are quite close to the real ones.

If we take this evidence into account, we arrive at the chronology proposed in Table III. It places Śrīśraddhā's passage through Martaban in 1331 or 1332, soon after Udumbara's arrival. Udumbara's fame, which attracted Anomadassī and Sumana to Martaban at about the same time, may have also inspired Śrīśraddhā to go to Ceylon; and Śrīśraddhā would certainly wish to consult him about his contemplated journey. Anomadassī and Sumana had to be content with re-ordination and study under Udumbara; Śrīśraddhā was able to go to the fountainhead for re-ordination and study.

This chronology seems to reflect the compelling attraction exercised by Ceylon through Udumbara, who was apparently the first forest-dwelling Sīhalabhikkhu with whom the Sukhodayan monkhood had any direct acquaintance. In the absence of direct epigraphic proof to the contrary, it seems to make more sense than a chronology which would place Śrīśraddhā's departure for Ceylon prior to Udumbara's arrival at Martaban: we may well ask whether Śrīśraddhā would have thought of going to Ceylon at all if it were not for Udumbara.

## 7

The only surviving inscription of Lö daiya's reign, to the best of our knowledge, is No. 2.<sup>1</sup> The date is lost, but as the formal purpose of the text is to commemorate the reconstruction of the Mahādhātu at Sukhodaya it was presumably erected at the time of the dedication ceremony, which we have guessed was around 1345.

The reconstruction of the monument was undertaken by the author of the inscription, who was either Lö daiya or Śrīśraddhā. The latter's full designation is given at I/41 f. as 'Samtec Braḥ Mahāthera Śrīsraddhārājacūlāmūnī Śrīrattanaḷāṅkāḍīpa Mahāsāmi pen Cau.' Elsewhere in the inscription he is called by variants or abbreviations of the same designation, with small variations in the spelling. We have already discussed the significance of the terms Mahāthera and Mahāsāmi; 'Samtec' and 'Cau' are designations of rank; Śrīsraddhārājacūlāmūnī and Śrīrattanaḷāṅkāḍīpa are an oddly spelled mixture of Sanskrit and Pali, which in our discussion we regularize as Śrīśraddhārājacūlāmuni and Śrīrattanaḷāṅkāḍīpa. 'Śrīśraddhārājacūlāmuni' may be a syncretic form of his personal and monastic names.<sup>2</sup> 'Śrīrattanaḷāṅkāḍīpa' was probably an honorific conferred on him by Lö daiya when he came back to Sukhodaya.<sup>3</sup>

The author of the inscription gives a succinct account of the rebuilding operations (II/45-48): 'The platform (pallaṅka) of the Mahādhātu had fallen down for a distance of thirteen fathoms along the east side. Filled with zeal, I exerted myself to [rebuild the monument]

- 1) We have previously designated the Sukhodayan inscriptions by Roman numerals, but from now on we shall designate them by Arabic numerals printed in 'bold-face' type. We shall continue to designate the different faces of an inscription by Roman numerals, and the lines by Arabic (e.g. II/3 means Face II, line 3).
- 2) He is called by a variant of this name, Cau (Prince) Śrīsraddhārājacūlāmūnī, at I/70, etc., before he enters the monkhood. This looks like Skt. śrī, an honorific, and śraddhā, 'faith', plus Pali rājacūlāmuni, 'the royal ascetic Cūlā'; but why should he have been called an ascetic before he became a monk? 'Cūlāmuni' reminds us of Cūlāmaṇi, 'Hair-crest Jewel', which would be a very nice name for a prince. Perhaps it was later changed to Cūlāmuni as his monastic name.
- 3) This mixture of Skt. and Pali is probably intended to mean 'glory of Ceylon, the island of jewels' (taking śrī as a noun, 'glory', with the Pali compound rattanaḷāṅkāḍīpa modifying it as in Siamese syntax).



with well-laid brick and to cover it all over with stucco... I also stuccoed the feet, hands and bodies of the images of the Buddha. At several points I built, in quick succession, towers with extremely beautiful stone Buddha images. Exerting myself to accumulate an abundance of merit, I performed twenty-eight works in a single day.<sup>7</sup>

If the statement seems obscure at first glance, its meaning emerges when we examine the monument. Originally, as the Department of Fine Arts discovered several years ago when making some repairs, it consisted of a quincunx of laterite towers of Khmerizing style standing on a laterite platform, with a laterite buttress or gallery connecting each of the four axial towers to the central tower.<sup>4</sup> After repairing the collapsed platform, the author encased the central tower in a tall pyramidal basement, on top of which he built the 'lotus-bud' reliquary tower we see today. Just as the inscription says, his work was done in brick and stucco (in accordance with the Ceylon tradition, in contrast to the Khmerizing tradition of laterite and stucco which prevailed at Sukhodaya before that time). He allowed the axial towers to remain, but gave them a rich and lively new ornamentation in stucco. He built four new towers entirely of brick and stucco, one at each corner of the platform. The corner towers, being free-standing, each have four niches for Buddha images; but the axial towers, the back of which is blocked by the buttresses connecting them with the central tower, each have three niches only. The reference to 'twenty-eight works' performed in a single day means that the author of the inscription installed images in all twenty-eight of these niches in one day, or at least held all the dedication ceremonies in one day.<sup>5</sup> The passage is not a model of lucidity, and we have been able to extract its meaning only by consulting the monument. As the inscription of course stood beside it, the author doubtless intended his readers to look at the monument if they needed a gloss to his text.

4) The original monument may have been built by Śrī Indrāditya; but that is no more than a guess. See Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, pp. 3, 17.

5) See Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, 17 ff. In that work (p. 17 note 46) Griswold identifies the author of the inscription with Lōdaiya, but he now hesitates between Lōdaiya and Śrīśradhā.

Inscription 2 was no longer *in situ* in 1877, when it was discovered by a government official sent by King Rāma V to search for old inscriptions at Sukhodaya<sup>6</sup>. When he found it it was lying on the floor of a dark tunnel-like stairway corridor, built in the thickness of the walls of the brick maṇḍapa at Vāt Śrī Jum, nearly 2 km. northwest of the Mahādhātu. The maṇḍapa was built at an uncertain date, probably in the last quarter of the 14th century or later, to shelter the colossal stucco image of the seated Buddha which occupies most of the interior<sup>7</sup>. If, as is generally believed, the image goes back at least to the reign of Rāma Gaṃhēn, the brick maṇḍapa doubtless replaces an earlier wooden shrine<sup>8</sup>. The ceiling of the corridor in which the inscription was found is made of stone slabs engraved with elegant drawings of Jātaka tales, a very incomplete set comprising less than a quarter of the original number. Representations of Jātakas, more than any other category of Buddhist art, are intended for the edification of the general public, so it is certain that these were not made to be installed in a dark stairway where they could be seen only with the aid of a candle. They are of Sukhodayan workmanship, probably dating from the middle years of the 14th century. They are not the stone carvings of Jātakas mentioned in our inscription at II/39 f., though they may have been inspired by them. They were very likely engraved for the Mahādhātu and installed there at the time of the reconstruction. Later on, after the majority of them were lost or damaged, the remainder must have been removed to Vāt Śrī Jum and built into the corridor ceiling for safety at the time the maṇḍapa was constructed; and either then or later the inscription was taken to the same place.

Upon being shipped to Bangkok, the inscription was lodged in the *Wang Nā* Museum (now part of the National Museum). It remained there until 1909, when it was removed to the National Library. It is now in the National Library's Manuscript and Inscription Division.

The slab of schist on which it is engraved is 2.75 m. high, 67 cm. wide and 8 cm. thick (Figs. 1, 2), with a rounded top. Face I has 107

6) Coedès, *Recueil*, pp. 6, 177.

7) Fournereau, *Le Siam Ancien*, Vol. II, Paris, 1908, Pls. I-IV.

8) See Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, pp. 27, 49.



lines of writing, Face II has 97; but the text, instead of running continuously from the beginning of Face I to the end of Face II, has to be read as follows: I/1-90, II/1-87, I/91-107, II/88-95.

Very likely the engraver originally expected to be able to write the entire text in 180 lines or less, and decided to put about half on each face. Perhaps after completing Face I and a good deal of Face II according to plan he found he would need about 25 lines more than he had calculated, and so, when he reached the end of I/87, jumped back to Face I to add 17 lines, and finally returned to Face II to add the rest.

This strange arrangement may not be the fault of the engraver at all, but the fault of the author. It seems probable, in fact, that the portion running from I/1 to I/90 and from II/1 to the middle of II/82 is really the whole of the primary text, i.e. the text the engraver received in the first instance from the author; while the last 32 1/2 lines (II/82-87, I/91-107, II/88-95) are a postscript, given the engraver when he had almost finished engraving the primary text, or even after the inscription had been completed and set up. For convenience, without meaning to reach a definite decision, we shall speak of the two portions as the 'primary text' and the 'postscript' respectively.

The primary text begins with a long preface full of historical and biographical information, which all leads up to the formal purpose of the inscription<sup>9</sup>. Then comes the account of the reconstruction of the Mahādhātu (II/45-48), and finally the recital of events that occurred immediately afterward and as a direct consequence of it (II/48-82).

The subject matter of the postscript has no apparent connection with the reconstruction. While the primary text can be regarded as complete in itself, the postscript begins with events that occurred at a different temple, apparently at a later date, and continues with miscellaneous acts of merit performed by Śrīśraddhā. This observation may serve to confirm our hypothesis.

9) Such prefaces are normal enough in inscriptions. For example the preface to No. 1 runs through Faces I and II, and the first 9 1/2 lines of Face III, before arriving at the formal purpose of the text, which is to commemorate the erection of the stone throne.

A photograph of rubbings of the inscription appeared in 1908 in Fournereau's *Le Siam Ancien*, Vol. II, together with a faulty and very incomplete translation of Face II by Père Schmitt<sup>10</sup>. The first person to get the sense of the text was the late Professor George Coedès, who made use of it in an article that appeared in 1920<sup>11</sup>. In 1924 he published the full text in Romanization, together with a French translation, introduction and notes<sup>12</sup>. The Siamese section of the same work gives the text in modern Siamese characters with a Siamese translation of Coedès's introduction and notes, prepared by *Luang Boribal Buribandh* (then Nāy Pvan Induvañśa) under the direction of Prince Damrong Rājanubhāb.<sup>13</sup>

This inscription is unusually difficult to understand because of the author's incoherent and sometimes cryptic style of composition, which is further complicated by the numerous lacunae. Probably that is why Père Schmitt was able to grasp so little of its meaning, and why no Siamese did any serious work on it until Coedès edited and translated it. Coedès, realizing its importance, addressed himself to its problems with his usual good sense and discernment. He produced a remarkably good translation, to which scholarship is lastingly indebted, and without which our task would have been immeasurably more difficult; but he was not able to disentangle its confused topography completely. In the half-century that has passed since he undertook the work, a wider range of Sukhodayan inscriptions has become available for comparison; a certain number of more satisfactory readings have been proposed; the Mahādhātu at Sukhodaya has been cleared of débris and studied; and the meaning of a good many obscure passages in the text has become clearer.

In 1935 the late Braḥyā Nagara Braḥ Rāma raised several pertinent questions regarding the contents of the text; and though he was not able to answer them all correctly, he called attention to the parallels between Inscription 2 and Face II of Inscription 11, which are sufficient to prove

10) Fournereau, *ibid.*, Vol. II, Pl. VIII and p. 36 f.

11) Coedès, *Origines de la dynastie de Sukhodaya*, *Journal Asiatique*, 1920 (1), p. 233 ff.; *The Origins of the Sukhodaya Dynasty*, JSS XIV/1, p. 1 ff.

12) Coedès, *Recueil*, I, pp. 49-75; cf. p. 7 f. and p. 177.

13) *Prajum*, I, B.E. 2467, pp. 61 ff. This seems to be the first time the text was ever printed in Siamese. It was reprinted, together with a version in modernized Siamese and notes by Mahā Chām Dōngāṃvarṇa (but without the introduction) in *Prajum*, I, B.E. 2500, pp. 13-37.



that the person whose acts of merit are recorded in the latter, but whose name is missing, was Śrīśraddhā himself (JSS XXVIII/2, p. 218 f.). This observation has enabled us to use the two texts to supplement each other.

Of our new interpretations, the most important deal with the location of the different places where Śrīśraddhā built or restored cetiyas and monastery buildings. Of the new readings, the only one which need concern us for the moment is the name of the future King Śrī Indrāditya of Sukhodaya, read by Coedès as Pān Klān Dāv (𑀧𑀸𑀢𑀺𑀓𑀲𑀺𑀓𑀲𑀺𑀓), but now read with virtual certainty as Pān Klān Hāv (𑀧𑀸𑀢𑀺𑀓𑀲𑀺𑀓𑀲𑀺𑀓), 'district in the middle of an open space' or 'in the middle of the sky'.

In the light of the information now available, we may summarize the contents of the inscription as follows :

**Primary text :**

1. Introducing Śrīśraddhā. (I/1-8.)
2. History of his grandfather, Brañā Śrīnāv Nām Thaṃ. (I/8-20.)
3. Introducing Brañā Śrīnāv Nām Thaṃ's son, Brañā Phā Moañ. (I/20-21.)
4. History of the campaign conducted by Ba Khun Phā Mōañ (Brañā Phā Mōañ) and Ba Kun Pān Klān Hāv; their victories; their liberation of Sukhodaya from the Khmer; Phā Mōañ invests Pān Klān Hāv as King of Sukhodaya, giving him his own title, Śrī Indrapatindrāditya. (I/21-32.)
5. Digression explaining that Phā Mōañ had received this title, together with the sacred sword Jayaśrī, from the King of Cambodia. (I/32-35.)
6. Phā Mōañ and Śrī Indrapatindrāditya part on very friendly terms, each withdrawing his troops to his own country. (I/35-36.)
7. Eulogy of Śrī Indrāditya's son Ba Khun Rāmarāja (Rāma Gaṃhèn). (I/36-37.) (Note that from here on, Pān Klān Hāv is called by his new title in abbreviated form, Ba Khun Śrī Indrāditya.)
8. Eulogy of Śrī Indrāditya's grandson Dharmarājā (i.e. Rāma Gaṃhèn's son Lōdaiya). (I/36-37.)

9. Retrospective eulogy of Phā Mōaṅ.
10. Eulogy of Phā Mōaṅ's nephew, Śrīśraddhā. (I/41-61.)
11. Account of Śrīśraddhā's youth and manhood before his final entry into the monkhood; account of his elephant duel with Khun Cāṅ; digression regarding his childhood resolve to become an avatāra of the god Viṣṇu; his various elephant duels; his accomplishments; his restless life. (I/61-83.)
12. His grief at the death of his son; his resolve to renounce his princely caste and become a forest-dwelling monk. (I/84-89.)
13. His preparations to do so, imitating the example of Prince Vessantara in generosity; his departure from the lay life. (I/89-90; II/1-8; cf. No. 11, II/5 ff.)
14. Acts of merit performed by him at six places. (II/8-18.)
  - a. At one place he builds a cetiya for a precious great relic, plants a Śrīmahābodhi tree, builds a vihāra and an āvāsa, etc. Cf. Inscr. No. 11, II/9 f.
  - b. At one place he builds a large bridge, plants flowering trees and a Śrīmahābodhi tree, etc., assigning several families to take care of the premises and to wash the monks' feet on the four holy days of each lunar month. This place is evidently Sralvaṅ; cf. No. 11, II/11 f.
  - c. At one place he builds a ṭamnāk, a sālā, and a mahācetiya, plants a Śrīmahābodhi tree, and founds a large statue of the Buddha. Perhaps at Sukhodaya or Śrī Sajjanālaya; cf. No. 11, II/13 f.
  - d. At one place he goes through the market buying up all the living creatures and setting them free, etc. Probably at Fhāṅ (*Fāng* near Uttaratiṭṭha), Brè (*Prè*), Lāmbūn (*Lampūn*), Tāk or Jiaṅ Dòn (*Chieng Tông*); cf. No. 11, II/14.
  - e. At one place, in a forest on Nāṅ Tāy Hill, he goes by elephant to worship an image of the Buddha, and sets the elephant free. Note: he is on his way to Martaban, India and Ceylon, though the text does not say so but begins the next passage with him already in Ceylon. Cf. No. 11, II/14-16, which gives his itinerary.



f. At one place, he restores the Mahādhātu Hlvañ, 'the gathering-point of all the Lord's relics,' i.e. the Mahāthūpa at Anurādhapura in Ceylon, which is falling into ruin and overgrown with forest and brush. He discovers a miraculous shell in the forest, and converts it into an enormous quantity of lime, which he uses to make stucco to coat the monument and repair the statues. Miracles performed by the relics which had been enshrined in the monument. Restoration of the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura and of the broken statues. Digression comparing the beauty of the restored temple to that of a temple (the Mahābodhi?) at Pātaliputta (Patna) in Majjhimadesa (North India). Statement that Śrīśraddhā is an avatāra of Kṛṣṇa, Rāma and Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu). Account of some stone carvings around the Mahāthūpa which have been ruined by treasure-hunters. Cf. No. 2, II/17, where the restoration of the Mahāthūpa is briefly alluded to.

15. Upon leaving Ceylon, Śrīśraddhā takes a group of Sinhalese craftsmen with him, as well as two precious great relics [the Kesadhātu and the Gīvadhātu]. Digression concerning the Mahiyaṅganacetiya in Ceylon, the relics enshrined in it, and the miracles performed by them (apparently to hint where Śrīśraddhā obtained his two relics). (II/40-45.)

16. Reconstruction of the Mahādhātu at Sukhodaya (II/45-48). Evidently the Kesadhātu and the Gīvadhātu are deposited in the monument at this time.

17. Miracles performed by relics at or near the the Mahādhātu. An unspecified group of relics send forth brilliant rays all over the universe (II/49-52). The Kesadhātu, shooting out rays, moves rapidly about in the sky; the Gīvadhātu, springing out of the cetiya, darts upward; together they look like two suns, surpassing the Sun itself in brilliance, and they perform miracles for most of the morning. The Sinhalese living at Sukhodaya invite the relics to return to their cetiya, but without success. (These Sinhalese, who reappear twice later, are doubtless the laymen Śrīśraddhā brought with him from Ceylon.) Then the author of the inscription invites the relics to return, and they re-enter their cetiya. (II/52-65.)

18. Continuation of the miracles. A relic whirls down from the sky and settles on Śrīśraddhā's forehead. A Kesadhātu (apparently not the one that has just re-entered the cetiya, but a miraculous duplicate which it produced before returning) whirls down from above and circles around over his head. The Sinhalese, taking the action of these relics as a sign that Śrīśraddhā is a future Buddha, do homage to him. (II/65-75.)

19. Continuation of the miracles. The next series begins at dawn the following day, when the two great relics (Kesadhātu and Gīvadhātu), shining like stars, rise slowly into the sky, then re-enter their cetiya for one night. At dawn they come out for a moment for everyone to applaud them, then return to their cetiya. The miracles continue for 31 days. The purpose is for the relics to show themselves to all the people and cause them to help uplift the Ceylon form of Buddhism. (II/75-82.)

**Postscript :**

20. Śrīśraddhā presides over the enshrinement of the Dantadhātu (Tooth Relic) at a Forest Monastery outside a city the name of which cannot be read with certainty. The Dantadhātu performs stupendous miracles, in which various other relics participate, for three months. (II/82-87; I/91-96.)

21. Further acts of merit performed by Śrīśraddhā; mostly illegible. (I/97-107; II/88-95.)

\* \* \*

The script devised by Rāma Gaṃhèn in 1283, and used by him in 1292 in Inscription No. 1, has changed considerably in No. 2. True, the form of the consonants for the most part remains much the same, though they are narrower and less boldly written; but several of Rāma Gaṃhèn's innovations have been abandoned or modified. No longer are all the vowels written in the same line with the consonants; such vowels as **i** and **ī**, **u** and **ū**, have resumed their places above and below the consonants in conformity with the practice in Khmer and the other Indian-based scripts of Southeast Asia. The vowel <sup>4</sup> for **ī** and <sup>4</sup> for **ī** has dropped out of



use (except in one doubtful instance), so <sup>˘</sup> and <sup>ˆ</sup> have to serve not only for *i* and *ī* but also for *ī* and *ī̄*; and indeed the distinction between <sup>˘</sup> and <sup>ˆ</sup> is not at all consistently observed, the same word sometimes being spelt with the one and sometimes with the other. The *mai-hän-ākāsa* (˘) is now attested for the first time, but only sporadically, and only in Face I; for the most part its place is taken, as in Rāma Gaṃhèñ's inscription, by a reduplication of the final consonant of the syllable. The diacritical marks ' and +, corresponding to the modern *mai-ek* (') and *mai-do* (+), which nearly always occur in Rāma Gaṃhèñ's inscription where we should expect them, are used in this one in a very haphazard manner, frequently being omitted where we should think them necessary, sometimes being added where they are not needed; and the same word is often written indifferently with or without them. Occasionally something that looks just like the *mai-ek* is used as a separation marker from the preceding syllable (I/85, อํนิคตอํมาค). Certain words that Rāma Gaṃhèñ regularly began with ๖ or ๗ are still sometimes written with those letters, but sometimes with ๘ or ๘ instead.

In contrast to Rāma Gaṃhèñ, whose style of composition was sober, disciplined and orderly, with a well-defined succession of events and a clear topography, the author of Inscription 2 is gushing and hyperbolic, at times long-winded and repetitive, at times hurried and elliptical to the point of obscurity. He jumps about from one subject to another in a very confusing way, so that painstaking study is sometimes required to decide whether we are in Siam or in Ceylon or in India. He makes too much use of intensifiers like *นํกํ* (นํกํ), 'topmost' or 'to a superlative degree'<sup>14</sup>, *นํกํนํกํ* (นํกํนํกํ), 'exceedingly', or even *นํกํนํกํนํกํ*, 'to an exceedingly superlative degree' (which we have felt obliged to tone down in our translation). In Face I (apart from I/1-20, which is too fragmentary to judge) he is reasonably straightforward, though the eulogy of Śrīśraddhā, which is drawn out to tedious length, is rather disorganized. From II/8 to II/17 the topography becomes vague; at II/18 we suddenly find ourselves at Anurādhapura without warning, and we remain there up to II/35; then after jumping to India for a simile, we are in Ceylon

14) That this is the meaning can be gathered from II/46, *นํชยอตนํกํเจิงดิน*, 'from the spire at the topmost, all the way to the ground', i.e. from the tip of the spire down to the ground.

again, with Śrīsraddhā preparing to return to Sukhodaya (II/40 f.); but before he starts we are given a retrospective digression to the Mahiyaṅganacetiya. From II/45 to the end of the primary text (II/82) we are at Sukhodaya, at or near the Mahādhātu. The account of the reconstruction of the Mahādhātu (the formal purpose of the inscription!) is so laconic that it cannot be understood without some knowledge of the monument; but after the miracles begin (II/49) the style becomes pietistic, diffuse and disorderly. The postscript opens factually, but when a new series of miracles begins the style wanders off again.

Despite the oddities of composition, Inscription 2 contains passages of considerable beauty; besides, when we take the trouble to disentangle the succession of events and to straighten out the topography it is one of the most informative we possess.

It is the only known document that gives an account of the liberation of Sukhodaya from Khmer suzerainty and the establishment of the independent kingdom under a *Tai* dynasty. Coedès's analysis of this account is admirable, and requires very little modification today<sup>15</sup>.

The revolt was organized by two *Tai* lords. The higher ranking of the two was Braṇā Phā Mōaṅ (*Pâ Müang*) the ruler of Mōaṅ Rāt, which is generally believed to have been in the valley of the Sāk; but a study of the account in Inscr. 2 has convinced us that it was more likely near Utaratittha<sup>16</sup>. Phā Mōaṅ's father, Braṇā Śrīnāv Nāṃ Tham (*Sîndo Nam*

15) Coedès, *Recueil*, 7 f.; Coedès, *Les origines de la dynastie de Sukhodaya*, *Journal Asiatique*, 1920 (1), 233 ff. and *The Origins of the Dynasty of Sukhodaya*, *JSS* XIV/1, 1 ff. Cf. Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, 2-3.

16) The valley of the Sāk would be too far away for the manoeuvres described at I/23 f. If, as seems probable, the azimuths given in the fragmentary passage at I/13 f. have Rāt as the point of origin, Rāt must have been somewhere northeast of Chôt; and at I/25 f. Phā Mōaṅ's army, which is marching from Rāt to Sukhodaya, passes Sajjanālaya. The location that would best satisfy these conditions would be somewhere near Utaratittha. The ruins of several old towns have been discovered near Utaratittha; see *Porāṇavattthusthāna*, 236 f. It appears that in the reign of Rāma I (1782-1806) there was a town called Mōaṅ Rāt in the district of *Tâ Plâ* (ນົល) on the Nān River 50 km. upstream from Utaratittha; at least a manuscript in the possession of the Abbot of Wat Braṇā Pū at Nān, giving a fragmentary history of the monastery, says that an army on its way from Bangkok to Nān in Rāma I's reign 'stopped at *Bān Jim* in *Tâ Plâ* District, which is equivalent to Mōaṅ Rāt.'



Tom), had ruled—presumably under Khmer suzerainty—a huge territory which included Sukhodaya and Sajjanālaya, and extended southwest all the way to Chòt (Mè Sòt) on the Burma frontier<sup>17</sup>.

Phā Mōaṅ himself had received the title of Kamrateṅ Aṅ Śrī Indrapatindrāditya from the King of Cambodia, together with the sacred sword Jayaśrī (which reappears in Inscriptions 3 and 4 as part of Mahādharmarājā I's regalia), and had married a Khmer princess named Śikharamahādevī. In Khmer epigraphy, 'kamrateṅ aṅ' is a very high title, applied to the sovereign and to major vassal rulers; in the Sukhodayan inscriptions it is equivalent to 'braṇa'. The signal honors Phā Mōaṅ received from his overlord suggest that he ruled a very large territory, perhaps approximately the same as his father had ruled.

Phā Mōaṅ's ally, who seems to have been younger and more active, was Pāṅ Klāṅ Hāv (*Bàng Glâng Hào*). He was perhaps the lord of Mōaṅ Pāṅ Yāṅ (*Bàng Yâng*), but the reading is doubtful, and the location of the place is not known. Pāṅ Klāṅ Hāv, who was apparently a sub-vassal of Phā Mōaṅ, did most of the fighting; he engaged the commander of the Khmer garrison in an elephant duel and defeated his forces utterly. Phā Mōaṅ then gave Pāṅ Klāṅ Hāv the investiture as King of Sukhodaya and Sajjanālaya, at the same time transferring his own title to him.

17) The mutilated passage at I/13 gives the limits of Nām Tham's kingdom. Though the azimuth from the capital to Chòt has helped us to locate the capital (see preceding note), it is hard to make anything out of the distances. The passage seems to mean that Chòt was between 20,000 and 30,000 fathoms (byāma) southwest of the capital, which we have assumed to be Rāt, and that the kingdom stretched between 200,000 and 300,000 fathoms to the south of the capital. If we give the fathom the same value as it has in Rāma Gamhēn's inscription, namely 1.86 m. (see Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, p. 8), Chòt would be between 37 km. and 56 km. southwest of the capital, so the capital would have to be somewhere around Old Tāk, which is clearly impossible. The southern limit of the kingdom would be between 370 and 560 km. south of the capital, and if we take these distances from the latitude of Uttaratiṭṭha, we arrive at the Gulf of Siam, which is not unreasonable. (Would Nām Tham's kingdom then be Chén-li-fu? cf. above, p. 30.) On the other hand if we were to assign a value to the byāma which would give the right distance between Chòt and Uttaratiṭṭha, the southern limit of the kingdom would be impossibly far away. We are inclined to think that the byāma in this passage really is the fathom, but that the distance between Chòt and the capital is either wrongly given or has been wrongly read.

This transfer, which was evidently designed to legitimize Pāñ Klāñ Hāv's succession from an original grant made by the King of Cambodia, may give us a clue to the date of the revolt, which is nowhere stated in the legible portions of the inscription. Phā Mōañ had of course sworn an oath of allegiance to the Cambodian King; but while such an oath would bind him to the monarch to whom he had sworn it, it could hardly, in the nature of things, bind him to that monarch's successors. We do not know whether Phā Mōañ had sworn allegiance to Jayavarman VII of Cambodia, who died around 1220, or to his son and successor Indravarman II, who died in 1243. Writing in 1924, Coedès placed the revolt of Sukhodaya around the mid-13th century, doubtless with the death of Indravarman II in mind; but in a later article he conjectured that it may have been soon after Jayavarman VII's death<sup>18</sup>. On the whole, though there is no proof, we are inclined to prefer Coedès's first hypothesis.

Śrī Indrāditya, to use the abbreviated title by which Pāñ Klāñ Hāv henceforth became known, appears to have received a very small kingdom, perhaps not much more than the provinces in which Sukhodaya and Sajjanālaya were located, though we gather from Inscr. 1 (I/4 f.) that it included the valley of the *Ping* from Tāk to Traitriṅśa (see above, pp. 30-40).

As Coedès observes, Inscription 2 gives us a picture of the manners and customs at Sukhodaya, and an abundance of details on Buddhism, which are a welcome addition to those given in No. 1. Among the manners and customs, not the least interesting is the information about elephant duels; or again that on the cult of Viṣṇu and his avatāras, a cult which acted as a support of royalty in matters of which Buddhism took no cognizance, but at the same time added its lustre to the Buddhist religion. As to Sukhodayan Buddhism in the reign of Lōdaiya, it confirms and supplements the general impressions we have already got from M and J.

One of the most unexpected results of disentangling the confused topography is the certainty that Śrīśraddhā restored the Mahāthūpa at Anurādhapura. If we have estimated the dates of his sojourn in Ceylon

18) *Recueil*, I (1924), p. 7; Coedès, *L'année du lièvre*, 1219 A.D., *India Antiqua*, Leyden, 1947, 83 ff.



correctly, he did this work between 1333 and 1343. At that time, as the former Commissioner of Archaeology for Ceylon, Dr S. Paranavitana, informs us, Anurādhapura had been abandoned by Sinhalese royalty, and the description of the Mahāthūpa as given in the inscription—‘falling into ruin and covered with forest and brush’—would be accurate. Dr Paranavitana adds that he has been unable to discover in Sinhalese literature or tradition any reference to a restoration of the Mahāthūpa by a Siamese monk.

Who was the author of Inscription 2 ?

The majority of Siamese scholars take it for granted that it was Śrīśraddhā, since the whole text is basically an account of his acts of merit. If we take this view, the reconstruction of the Mahādhātu at Sukhodaya would be not only the occasion of the inscription but also the last big work of merit Śrīśraddhā had undertaken at the time of writing; and the text would be his own certification of the stage he had then reached in his progress toward Buddhahood, just as Face II of Inscr. 11 is a certification of a later stage.

If Śrīśraddhā was the author, a western reader might conclude that he was insufferably vain and boastful, recounting his own virtues and accomplishments at tedious length, and causing a record of them to be engraved on a stone tablet which was to be set up in a public place. But such a judgment would be beside the point. In the Indianizing world it was not in bad taste, but quite right and proper, for a royal personage or a future Buddha to praise himself; inscriptions were called **praśasti**, ‘glorification’; and many of them consisted of little more than a eulogy of the author and a reference to his performance of the particular work they are intended to commemorate.

Coedès, after observing that Inscription 2 consists mainly of a eulogy of Śrīśraddhā, remarks: ‘But he himself is not the author of the text; the author is someone else who speaks in the first person<sup>19</sup>.’ If this view is right, the author would have to be Lōdaiya, since he and Śrīśraddhā are the only two living persons eulogized in the text. The eulogy of Lōdaiya (I/37-38) is brief and conventional; it does not specify a single act of merit performed by him, perhaps because the reconstruction of the Mahādhātu, recounted later on, overshadowed anything else

19) *Recueil*, p. 50; our translation.

he may have done. Lödaiya also appears at I/72-74, but only in the role of a witness to Śrīśraddhā's bravery in an elephant duel.

Two arguments may be advanced in favor of the view that Lödaiya is the author. In the first place it is hard to believe that anyone except the King would be allowed to remodel the monument that was the magical center of the kingdom. In the second place, the wording at II/45-65 is difficult to reconcile with the view that Śrīśraddhā was the author. In this passage the author, speaking in the first person singular (ṇ), rebuilds the Mahādhātu; the relics begin their miracles, which last several hours; then the Sinhalese come across the river to see what is going on, uttering shouts of applause; they invite the relics to return to their cetiya, but the relics pay no attention. When the author invites them to return, they come down, fly around the cetiya, and leap up again. 'I had boundless faith,' says the author; 'I threw myself on the ground and offered my life as an irrevocable gift, vowing to uphold the religion of Laṅkāḍīpa, and to obey the Buddha's words in all things. Then the relics came whirling down (etc.) and entered the cetiya like bees hurrying into their hive. Then I rose and performed añjali.' In all this passage the author is the only individual mentioned; the Sinhalese are referred to collectively. As soon as he finishes the account of the honor thus bestowed on him by the relics, the author relates the honor bestowed on Śrīśraddhā by some other relics, apparently miraculous duplicates of those that have just re-entered the cetiya. At II/66 the author, who calls himself ṇ in the preceding sentence (II/64), refers to Śrīśraddhā as ṇṇ (i.e. ṇṇ), 'His Lordship', and at II/67 by the title Braḥ Śrīśraddhārājacūlāmuni Śrīratanalaṅkāḍīpa.

As both the King and Śrīśraddhā must have been present at all these events, Śrīśraddhā must have seen the miracles honoring the author, and the author must have seen those honoring Śrīśraddhā. If one of them is called ṇ, and one is called ṇṇ, it is hard to see how both could be Śrīśraddhā.

Yet it might be possible after all. The author, as we have several times had occasion to remark, is not always very coherent. He may be using the first person as if the passage were a sort of direct quotation; and it would be less surprising for him than for a more rational man to refer to himself as 'I' and a moment later as 'His Lordship'. The statement at II/60 ff., about offering his life as an irrevocable gift, vowing to



uphold the religion of Ceylon, etc., may sound more appropriate to a future Buddha than to a monarch; and if we ask why Śrīśraddhā, who must have made this same vow long before, should repeat it now, the reply is easy: the author never hesitates to repeat himself when he wishes.

On the other hand it can equally well be argued that the vow is more appropriate for a king who has never made it before, especially so fervent a Buddhist as Lōdaiya, at the conclusion of the most conspicuous act of merit of his reign.

What of the author's hyperbolic style of writing, his repetitions and ellipses, his jumping about from one subject to another, his dream-like chronology and topography, and his general absent-mindedness? Are these things the normal characteristics of a high-ranking monk, of great energy and determination, who is confident of achieving Buddhahood and wants everyone to know it? Or are they to be ascribed to a monarch who has reigned (as we think) for more than 45 years, during which he has lost nine-tenths of his inheritance, whose kingdom is on the verge of collapse, and whose mind may have been affected by his reverses? Yet one of the most telling arguments in favor of the first hypothesis is that Inscr. 11, Face II, which was almost certainly composed by Śrīśraddhā, displays very much the same sort of incoherency.

As neither set of arguments is conclusive, we shall leave the question open. Indeed it may be less important than it appears, for obviously even if Lōdaiya is the nominal author who remodels the Mahādhātu, he must have had a lot of help from Śrīśraddhā in remodeling it and in composing the inscription; and a large part of the text, such as the passage dealing with Ceylon, could hardly have been composed by anyone except Śrīśraddhā<sup>20</sup>.

20) Looked at in this way, Inscription 2 might be compared with No. 62, which was set up at *Wat Pra Yiin* at Haripuñjaya in 1370 by King Kilanā of Lān Nā (see *Prajum*, III, p. 136 ff.; there is a French translation by Coedès at BEFEO XXV/1, p. 197). No. 62 opens with a statement naming the King as the author, which may or may not have been true of No. 2 because of the lacunae; No. 62 gives credit for several acts of merit to the King by name, which is not true of No. 2; but a large part of No. 62 is a eulogy of the Mahāthera Sumana, just as most of No. 2 is a eulogy of Śrīśraddhā; and though the King is the nominal author of No. 62 it seems obvious that most of it was actually composed by Sumana.

## INSCRIPTION 2

## Text

## ด้านที่ ๑

- (๑) ..... (ชำระ) .....
- (๒) ..... (ชำระ) .....
- (๓) ..... สเด็จพระส ..... คเปน .....
- (๔) ..... เมือ สเด็จพระ ..... สรี .....
- (๕) ..... มหา ..... สรีสวรรราชจุลามาณีสรีรัตนลงกาที่บมหาสามิ  
เปน
- (๖) (เจ้า) ..... มาวลิกคงคาในลงกา ..... คเมืองลำพงเถิง .. ยิส  
เคจหา
- (๗) ..... ที่นนกว่าพระ (ท) นตธาคุสุคนธเจตมิสาม .....  
นนน
- (๘) ..... กในนครสรลงสองแควปุชีพรญาสรีนาวนำถ์ ....  
เปนพ
- (๙) ..... สรางในนครสองอนนอนนิงขึ้นครสุโขไทอนนิงขึ้นคร  
สรี(ส)
- (๑๐) ชนาไล .. พระส ..... นนน ...
- (๑๑) ..... งเปนขุณยิขุณนางนกก ..
- (๑๒) ..... เมืองชดยง ..... ง ..... พขุนนำถ์ .. ห...
- (๑๓) ..... คา ๐ ... เบืองในหรีเถิงจอกสองเหมิน
- (๑๔) ..... สียยา (ม) ..... ๐ เบืองหวอนอนสองแสนพยา (ม)  
.. ว ๐ เบือ



- (๑๕) งคินนอนถึง ... ก ..... ๐ เมื่อ... ก ..... พขุนนำถึ  
 คายไ . เมืองสุก
- (๑๖) โขไท .. พ .. หย ..... อนนพ ..... งวงรัฐวังข้างเกลวทาน  
 .....
- (๑๗) ..... เขา ..... ห ..... นน ... หววข้างทวยอีแคงพะเลิง  
 .....
- (๑๘) ..... พขุนนำถึไส .... อีแคงพะเลิงใหญ่ปรมาณเทาบาดเว  
 ... เมี
- (๑๙) องเทงเมืองสุกโขไท ๐ พขุนนำถึ ... ก .. กไหเขา .. ันแกทาน  
 แล ๐ . พิ .....
- (๒๐) . ก .. สอง ..... ัง ... นจกก .. กนม .. ลุกพขุนสรีนาวนำผูนี้  
 (งซี) พรญาผาเมืองเปนขุน
- (๒๑) ในเมืองราด ..... ก. ลงแสนช่างหมากรอบบานเมืองอ (อ) ก หลวง  
 หลายแกกั ๐ เมื่อกอนพขุน
- (๒๒) บางกลางหาว (เปนเจา) เมืองบางยางไหเอาก . พลพขุนผาเมืองเจา  
 เมืองราดพาพขุนผาเมืองผตาจ
- (๒๓) (กนน) แลกนน ๐ พขุนบางกลางหาวไคเมืองศรีเสชนาไล .....  
 พขุนผาเมืองเจาเมืองราดเอาพลมา
- (๒๔) ..... บางขลง .. เวนบางขลงแกพขุนผาเมืองแลวพขุนผาเมืองเอา  
 พลเมือเมืองราดเมืองสา
- (๒๕) กอไค ..... ศรีเสชนาไลสุโขไทขอมสมาคโฆลญล้าฟงรบ .....  
 ๐ แลวพขุนบางกลางหาวไป
- (๒๖) .... พลพขุนผาเมืองเจาเมืองราดมา ... ไผซุ้พล ๐ พขุนบาง  
 กลางหาวแลพขุนผาเมืองซี

- (๒๗) ช่าง . . . . . ผสบกนน . . . . . ตินให้ช้ตวยกนนเหนือ  
หาวช่าง ๐ ปรคั่นแลวพ
- (๒๘) ขุนบางกลางหาวแลชอมสมาคโชลญล้าพรงบกนน ๐ พขุนบางกลาง  
หาวให้ไปบอกแกพขุนผาเมืองพขุ
- (๒๙) นผาเมือง . . . . . (ชอม) สมาคโชลญล้าพรง . . . . . พายพง ๐ พขุนผา  
เมืองจิงยังเมืองสุโข
- (๓๐) ไทเขาไต ๐ เวณเมืองแกพขุนบางกลางหาว ๐ พขุนกลางหาวมิสุ  
เขาเพื่อเกรงแกพระสหายพขุนผา
- (๓๑) เมืองจิงเอาพลออกพขุนกลางหาวจิงเขาเมือง ๐ พขุนผาเมืองจิงอภิ  
เสกพขุนบางกลางหาวเจ้าเมือ
- (๓๒) งสุโขไทใหญ่ทั้งช้ตนแกพระสหายรยคช้สรอินทรบคินทราทิตย ๐ นาม  
เคิมกมรแดงอญ ผาเมือง ๐ เมือ
- (๓๓) กอนผีฟ้าเจ้าเมืองศรีโสธรปุระใหญ่ลูกสาวช้นางสขรมหาเทวีกับบขนน  
ไชยสร้ไหนดามกयरแกพขุนผาเมือ
- (๓๔) งหยมพขุนบางกลางหาวไคช้สรอินทรบคินทราทิตยเพื่อพขุนผาเมือง  
เอาช้ตนไทแกพระสหายอิ . .
- (๓๕) เมืองสุโขไทเพือนนน ๐ พขุนสรอินทรบคินทราทิตยแลพขุนผา  
เมืองเอาพลตบกนนพาทาว . . .
- (๓๖) ก . . . . . แตเมือเพรงเตรลาคลาทุกแห่งทุกพายตางคนตางเมือบาน  
เมือเมืองคังเกาลูกพขุนสรอิ
- (๓๗) นทราทิตยผูนิง ช้พขุนรามราชปราวญารูธรรม กอ พระสร้รคคณ ธาตุ  
อนน นิง ในสร้สขนาไลหลานพขุนสร
- (๓๘) อินทราทิตยผูนิงช้ธรรมราชาพ . . . . . รูนุธรรมมีปรีชญาแกกบ่มีกลาวดี  
เลย ๐ พขุนผาเมืองเจ้าเมือง



- (๓๙) ราชันนให้สร้างเจดิมิกุณแกฝูงทาวพรญาเป็นอาจารย์พรนธิบาลแกฝูง  
กสศตราชิราชทั้งหลาย.
- (๔๐) ... ยในสริเสชนาไล .... ทุกแห่งไหเปนบุญ .... ส พายลุนบุญหลัง  
ทั้งหลายญอมไห .. สรร
- (๔๑) เลิกโอยทานพ ..... ครูหนกหนาแกกั ๐ มีหลานพี่ขุนผาเมืองผู  
นิงซี่ส้เศจพระมหาเถรศรีสรธา
- (๔๒) ราชจุลामูนี้สรีรคณลงกาภิมหาสามิเป็นเจ้า พระมหาเถรศรีสรธา  
ราชจุลामูนี้หลานพี่ (ขุน) ผาเมิ
- (๔๓) องน้มนผูเชื่อมกกทำบุญยกทำธรรมมกกโอยทานทุกเมือบ่คิคเคน  
จกกไหแกทาน ....
- (๔๔) งสอาดงามหนกหนาจิงโอยทานบิณฑิบาทโอยทานบมิขาคสกกวนน  
โอย .... คาบแล ....
- (๔๕) กกฉนนทุกวนนคังอนน .. มกกจำสิดภาพนาอยูกกลางปากกลางตงหลง  
อคฉนนไหพ ....
- (๔๖) นลุกหมากรากไมมีวัดคปริบคคคเยืองสิงหลทุกอนนมกกถเมรเทศ  
แสวงหาปริชญา ส ...
- (๔๗) เทส รุกฤทาสามกกทำพชรพยายามกลาง (คำ) บอยีนกลางคีนบ่  
อยุหยมปรารถนาโพธิสัการ ...
- (๔๘) .... จ . ปลุกพระสริมหาโพธิ์กัทำพุทธปรติมาทุกแห่งทุกพายเล็ก  
สาสนาพระมหา .....
- (๔๙) ... อนนครธานบ่ไหฉิบบ่ไหหายสกกแห่ง ๐ พระมหาเถรศรีสรธา  
ราชจุลामูนี้นนผูเชือ ....
- (๕๐) ..... กคิปีมิกยคตออบขสานติไมยตริรูปรานิกน . สศตวทั้งหลาย  
ไปรสสรายบ่ไหล้บ่ไหตา (ย) ..

- (๕๑) .. ตั้งอนันรุบุณรุคุณท่านสงยมมรรยาทอาจสังสอนตนสังสอนคน  
ทรงหลายใหญ่ลอายุรกุลววาบ กล
- (๕๒) ววผิตต์ผู้เฒ่าผู้แก่ พี่แมครอบาทยายมิตรสหายทั้งหลาย พระมหาเถร  
ศรีสรธรราชจุลามาณี นน่นเกล้า
- (๕๓) .... ควยแก่ก็ ◦ แมนซีไมกทิงกักิแมนซีกิงพระสริมหาโพ (ธีกักิ)  
แมนซีอิ .. กักิแมนซี ... สิริ
- (๕๔) .. ส .... ในเมืองสิงหลนหนกักิสักเตจพระมหาเถรเปนเจ้าเอามาป  
(ลูก) เหนือดินจึงอทิสถานผิวา
- (๕๕) ..... ง... พระพุทธจริงจึงวาใสจุงไหเปนญ์โคหนอสกก่อนนคนน  
(อทิส) ถานตั้งอนนซีไบนิงแ (ห)
- (๕๖) (ง) ..... เปนไบขยวงามหนกกหนาแก่ก็ เย็นตนไหเปน  
หลวงสูงงามหนกกห
- (๕๗) นา..... หลายศิรูปพระ... ฉลกกปรติสถาไวในสรีราม .. พินหาร  
เบือง .. เมืองสุโขไท
- (๕๘) ..... ไวลางมหาส... นงไวในกุกคตาดนคยง ... ค...  
นิงไน เมืองสรีสชนาไล
- (๕๙) .. งนาพระมหา .... ยเมือแผ .... อยคายอทิสถาน .. ไสเปน  
ปุรา ในลงกาทวิบ .. เมือ
- (๖๐) ..... กในซัพุทวิบหลวงมีหลายแหงใหม่บง .... สักเตจพระ  
มหาเถร ....
- (๖๑) ..... ฝูง..... เปนครหส ... เมือนนหน ◦ เจ้า .... ภัคเสมอ  
ราชสีห์มีกำลัง



- (๖๒) (ง) . . . . นหนกกหนาแกกัต์หววชางควยซุนจงง ๐ ซุนจงงนหนขี  
ชางสรายเปนสารสูงใหญ่
- (๖๓) (แก) ก้นำมนน . . . ก่าลง (ง) ตกแลขี่มาควยเรวหนกกหนาซุน  
จง (ง) ร. ช. . . ทายพญาคำแหง .
- (๖๔) . . . . นน (พญา) คำแหงพระรามหม . . มจกกแลกหมอนแพรแ  
(ท) น แ . . . .
- (๖๕) . . . . พ . ดงงอนนเจ้าสรี่สรธารา (ชจุลามุ) ณีนหนแจบใจตางพ  
ตนหนกกหนา .
- (๖๖) สเมือ คงงเอาศอันตีทางนาคราชนหน . . . ชาง ซี ท . . . ท . .  
ชั้นนขบบแล . . . น . . . ัน
- (๖๗) แม่ข้างแลชางสรายลงมนนข้าเชิงท . . . นชางสรายเอางวง มนนค  
ลำนาลางใ . . . . .
- (๖๘) อ้นยอ์ถูกหววเจ้าสรี่สรธาราชจุลามุณี . . . . นำไปปกกบีน . กจอบเ  
ิงถูกรู้นำมนน
- (๖๙) ช่างสรายนนเคินแจบหนกกหนาคนหน่นดินกญงงชอยแหงชางสราย  
นหนจิงยกก
- (๗๐) พลยกมุคป่าพงหนี่เจ้าสรี่สรธาราชจุลามุณีจิงขบบแม่ชางไลตามตี  
บ่อย้าต่าน . หานเร้า
- (๗๑) . . . . วานงวงวิงหนี่ตกปาแฆมเจือคกำรบสองค่าบสามค่าบเข้าทง  
ท. ก.
- (๗๒) นนหนิงหนี่เลยชางนหนตามบ่อย้าจิงไคชางสรายนน ไหมาแลส่เคจ  
ธรรมราชา .

- (๗๓) .. เมืองสุโขทัย . นีทาน .. วาดงฤแลแมฆางต๋างสารตักนำมนน  
แลฆางสาร . . . . น
- (๗๔) . . . . . หนีแกแมฆาง . . . ดงงฤแลฆางสารตักนำมนนหนีดงงอนน  
. . . . . แมฆาง . . .
- (๗๕) . . . . . ๐ เมื่อสำเคจเจ้าสรีสรธาราชจุลามุณีตงอาสเมื่อเป่นพระหรีระรา  
. . . . . เทพเมื่อน .
- (๗๖) .. ค . . . . . แต่เมื่อเจ้าสรีสรธาราชจุลามุณีญงนอ้ยแม่ไหกนไนโคสองปี  
ปลายค้ำนิง ไ . . .
- (๗๗) . . . . . หนีนมาถึงสิบเจตปีสิบแปดปีมีจำบงงเป่นขุนผู้หนึ่งชืท้าว . . .  
จำบงงควย
- (๗๘) (อ) กนหนีผู้หนึ่งชืท้าวอีจันมาถึงญีสิบหกปีมีจำบงงหนกทหนา  
คัหวัวฆางควยขุนจงง .
- (๗๙) (ส) เลกสนอ . . . . . บมีกล่าวถึเลยมีตงกล่าวก่อนหนีแล ๐ เจ้าสรีสร  
ธาราชจุลามุณี . . .
- (๘๐) . . . . . คุณมกรยณคุณ . . . . . พี . . . . . สอนนิงรู้คุณฆางอนนิงรู้คุณมา  
อนนิงรู้คุณ . . . . . (อนน)
- (๘๑) (นิงรู้คุณ) . . . . . อนนิงรู้คุณสี่ห . . . . . อนนิงรู้คุณสี่ . . . . . นุสิลป . . . . .  
กฏรู้คุณ . . . . .
- (๘๒) . . . . . เจ้าสรีสรธาราชจุลามุณีหนีบคคเข้าบูนเข้าบาบคคหว  
บคคไอบคคไอบคคเสียบคค
- (๘๓) (โค) ส (ข) บคคโคทุกขวยน ว . . . . . บกลบบไปมาเขนใจในสงสารนี้  
หลายซ้ำแก้บ . . . . . บ . . . . .



- (๘๔) ... มาถึงฉิบสิปเก่าเข้าสามสิปทรงมีกุมารพตรผู้หนึ่งสุ. ร. ค. ทาน. ส  
ตโ. .... น. ำ
- (๘๕) ... หนักกหนาเหนสงสารภพนี้ อนัตยอนำตบมีทง จึงคำนี้.....  
..... รพา
- (๘๖) .. ง... มาถึงสามสิปเอคปี่มีสรธาหนักกหนา ซึผู้โคปรารถนาเอา  
หวอด.....
- (๘๗) โอยทานเมื่อนนจิงชนนิมล่างเครื่องอาวุธทงหลายอนนเปตนวา  
..... เหน ...
- (๘๘) ... สหนาไ. สนุฝนหุงจงหนนในป่า..... งยนเหม.....  
..... งง ...
- (๘๙) ... น... ง... จิงสวาพะนนะย่าวเรือนแดงเรือนผาควยผ้าแดง  
ผ้าเหลือง ผ้าดำ ผ้า (ข) ยว ผ้าซา (ว)
- (๙๐) . เหลือ ... สาเอาห่ปโคจิงไทรกรยาทานลัส ... พาร . อง.....  
น..... ง . นี .

### ๒ ด้านที่ ๒

- (๑) ..... มนรีรคตคนปค .. รากไฟ ... การปรพาสพ ..... แ.....
- (๒) ..... น แต่งเง่ลูกสาวสองคนไสทองปลายแขนแหวน. ย.....
- (๓) ..... หนักกห (นา) โอยทานไหแกทานผู้มาช่ควมมหาสร  
.....
- (๔) ..... แต่งเง่เลงคผู้มีรูปงามแก่ตาโอยทานไหแก่ท่านผู้มาช่  
แลออก...

- (๕) .....ปราถนา (เปน) พระพุทฺธน...อุ...จึงพิเนสกร่มออกจาก  
รคตณภูมีสพายบา (ตร)
- (๖) .....ทงงหลาย..คงจงเตรหาพระสรีรคตนมมหาธาตุ ปราถนา  
เพื่อจกกทำกส... ..
- (๗) .....แก้สรรเพญญเคญญอึงโตตตพระสรีมหาโพธิ  
จึงแสวงหาเพื่อปลุก..
- (๘) ..... นครสุโขไทยางฉลงงสรีสชนาโดยใครใจจกกให้เปน  
ธรรมบูราลางแหง ก
- (๙) ..... พระสรีรคตนมมหาธาตุปลุกเนาจรคตตพระสรีมหาโพธิสาง  
พิหารอวาสอนน .
- (๑๐) พระพุทฺธรูปอนนงามพีจิตรตองจารีตไวในทีนี้ กทำกฐีอาสาธรมบท  
อนนอคคพี .
- (๑๑) ..... ลางแหง.....แลมากทำมหาสพานปลุกคอกไม้ต้นใหญ่  
หลายพรรณแก้ .
- (๑๒) .... พระสรีมหาโพธิไว (คน) แต่งเฟารกกสาล่ายครวมีทง  
สวนหมากสวนพลูไวนากร..
- (๑๓) ... พทุกพรรณทงงหลาย เตือนคบบเตือนเพญวนนอุโบสถปวารณา  
แต่งให้อุบคต..
- (๑๔) ก.... ลางคีนพระมหาเถรานุเถรมิกสุสงฆทงงหลายลางแหงปลุก  
มหาค่านกสาลามหาตร..
- (๑๕) ก่ ทงงมหาเจติปลุกพระสรีมหาโพธิกทำมหาพุทฺธรูป ลางแหง  
เทศลาคชีสคตทงงหลาย ไป (รส)



- (๑๖) ..อนน เป็นต้น (วา) คนอีกแพะแลหมีหมาเปดไก่อ่งทงท่าน  
นกหักปลา เนื้อ ผุงศตวทงหลาย
- (๑๗) ..... ทวาคีมีรูปโถมงามแลวฉลกกสนนทอนงามฉลกกพระพุท  
รูปในต้นไม้อินทรมมา..
- (๑๘) ..ที่คงใน... ในเขานางตายเอาช่างไปบูชาพระเปนเจ้าโปรสทีนหน  
กลางแห่งที่ซุ่นุ้พระมหาธา
- (๑๙) คุณเป็นเจ้าอนน.... ทงหลายครธานเป็นป่าเป็นดงสั้เศจพระมหา  
เถรสรี่สรธราชจุลามุณี เป (น)
- (๒๐) เจ้า... เจ้าเราเลือกให้ กทำพระมหาธาคุหลวงคีนพระมหาธาคุถ้ว  
สูงเก่าสืบหาว่าไม่
- (๒๑) ... เหนือพระธาคุหลวงใสสองอ้อมสามอ้อม (ส) รี่สร (ธา) ราชจุลา  
มุณีเป็นเจ้าพยายามให้... ..
- (๒๒) .. (แ) ลว จิงก... ขินเจตวาสทายปุ่นแล้วบริบวณพระธาคุหลวง  
กัใหม่เก่าถ้วสูงไครอย สอ
- (๒๓) ง วา ขอมรยกพระธันนันแต่ ๐ สดีคเคริงกลางนครพระกรีส ๐  
เมื่อกกสทายปุ่นในกลางป่า
- (๒๔) .... อนนหาปุ่นยากหนกกหนาท่าปุ่นมีไคพระสรี่ราชจุลามุณีเป็นเจ้า  
จิงอริสสถานว่าคองนี้
- (๒๕) .... (กุ) แล่ญงงจกไคตรสสแกสรรเพญุ์เคฎณนเป็นพระพุท  
จริงวาใสจุงให้พบปุ่นค..
- (๒๖) .น.(อริ)สสถานบคดแปรแห่งหนนตายกลายพบสงปุ่นอึงทายาท  
หนกกหนาเอามาสทา

- (๒๗) ยพระธาคูกใหม่เก่าแล้วเอามาที่พระพุทธรูปหินอนนทกอนนพง  
บริวารณแล้วปูนกั
- (๒๘) ญ (งง) เหลือเลย ๐ พระมหาธาคูหลวงนน (ก) ทำปาตีหาร  
อัสสรยหนกกหนาแลมีพระธา
- (๒๙) (ตุ) อนนใหญ่ลอมหลายแกกั ๐ (จ) ลองมหาพีหารใหญ่ด้วยอิตเสจร  
บริวารณแล้วจึงไป
- (๓๐) ส... หาเอาพระพุทธรูปหินเก่าแตกมาบูชาด้วย ไกลชวสองสามคืน  
เอามาปรตีสตาไว
- (๓๑) ในมหาพีหารล่างแห่งใดคใดคั่นกลางแห่งใดคใดคั่นใดคอกกลางแห่ง  
ใดคหวตกไกล
- (๓๒) แลสี่คนหาบเอามาจึงใด ๐ ลางแห่งใดคั่นใดคั่นกลางแห่งใดคมีใดคั่น  
ญ่อมพระหินอนนใหญ่
- (๓๓) ชกมาด้วยล้วยกวยนเขนเข้าในมหาพีหารเอามาตีคตักคด้วย  
ปูนมีรูปโจอมพรรณอนน
- (๓๔) งามพีจัตรงอินทรีมีคเอามาปรกตชิตชนเป็นตนพระพุทธรูป  
อนนใหญ่ อนนถ่าว อนน
- (๓๕) ... งามหนกกหนาเอาไวคตมในมหาพีหารรงหลายกองชองงาม  
หนกกหนาแกกั
- (๓๖) ... ในมิมเทศในบาคตบุดคตนครไกลฝงน้ำอโนมานที่ พระศรี  
รคตนมธาคูเป็นเจ้าชีศรีธาญก
- (๓๗) ตกา ๐ พระกรีสพระ (เจ้าห) ากปรตีสตา ๐ พระกรีสนนคั่น  
พระมหาสามีศรีสรธาราชจุลามูญี่ศรีรคตลง
- (๓๘) กาทีบเป็นเจ้าคิตนพระรามพระนารายเทพจุกุหากทวยในสงสารภพ  
อนนโกลเกอกไปมาแล ๐ เมคไต



- (๓๙) โย... โคตโมคคาถานี้มีแห่งมหานิทานแล ○ พระเจดีย์สูงใหญ่รอบนพน  
ฉลกกหินหารอยชาติศิริเทสงา
- (๔๐) (ม) พิจิ (ตร) หนกก (หนา) แกกั ○ ทุ่งกลม้างเอาทอ. ครธาน ○  
สำแดงพระมหาสามีจากแต่สี่หลมาเอาฝูง
- (๔๑) ค หบติ... แบกอีกแต่ตำขึ้นไปทำพระเก่าทานคีนบริบวรณควย  
สรธาญงเอาพระ
- (๔๒) สรืรคค (นมห) ราชคฺสองลูกแต่สี่หลมาปรคิสถาทินนโสคปมี  
คณณาถึเลย ○ ลางแห่งกริ่ง.
- (๔๓) .... วบไกลฝงนำมาวลิกคองคาคที่พระพุทฺธเปนเจ้าปุจรามชนน  
ปรคิสถาพระเกสธาคุ (พระ)
- (๔๔) .. ธาคฺพระบาริโกธาคุพระสรืรคคนมมหาธาคุรยกชิมหियงคน  
มหาเจติ้แลพระเปนเจ้า
- (๔๕) . นนเสคจปราตีหารอสจรรยแกกั ○ บลลงงพระมหาธาคุพง  
ฝ้ายบูรพที่สตีบสามวากุมิ
- (๔๖) (สร) ธาพยายม . น . อิคปรกัตเข้าจทายปุ่นมีถองถวัน ○ เมือทา  
ปุ่นแต่ญอกแกกัเถิงคินสูง
- (๔๗) ใหญ่ชาววมตงงเขาไกลาสทาทคีนคมีค้ทงงตนพระพุทฺธรูป  
หลายแห่งทำโหนงกัแ
- (๔๘) ลนเปนตนพระพุทฺธรูปหีนงามแกกั ○ กุหากไซตนกุกทำการบุญ  
สภารวนนควยญีสิบแปตการ
- (๔๙) พระมหาธาคุเปนเจ้าจึงเสคจปราตีหารหนกกหนาคงนำมามหาสมุท  
รลอกคองงฝนตกห้า
- (๕๐) ใหญ่รสส (สมิ) ลางอนนคองพนนสจรวคสวายสุภาลุกาบุสขารารส  
สสมิกลางอนนเหลิ (อม)





- (๖๓) (หนา).ล ทงกงกวยนแกวแลวพระคี่วธาคุเจ้าจิงเสตจเขาใน  
โกสทองฝุงพระธาคุ.
- (๖๔) .....จิงเขามาสู่พระเจติพงงเฝิงพา.เขามาสู่ (ร) งงนนแล ๐  
กุจิงลุกขึ้นอญชูลิ
- (๖๕) .ลองมา....น.ยมาพระสรีรคคณมหาธาคุเจ้ากุ ๐ ลุกนิงมีพรณ  
งามคองงทองรสมีเทา
- (๖๖) ลุกหมาก .... เสตจมาแตกกลางหวดลงมาจวคครอบตนทานแลจิง  
เสตจขึ้นอยุเหนือฮ
- (๖๗) ววแลพระรคคณธาคุจิงเสตจมาอยุเกิงหนาผากพระสรีสรธาราชจุลา  
มูณีสรีรคคณลงกาที
- (๖๘) ปจิงญ์สองมีรบบเอาแลไหวพระเกสธาคุเสนนิงเหลียมงามควางมา  
แตปนสพคคเห
- (๖๙) นือหววพระสรีสรธาราชจุลามูณีป็นสรธานำตาองงตกหนกทหนา  
บุชาทงงคนอกเข้าชองท
- (๗๐) งง หลายบมีวดีเลย ๐ ชาวสีหลทงหลายเหนอสสรจรงคองอนน  
เขาจิงชนนทอคคณ
- (๗๑) ไหวสนนทพคคเบญจางคนอนพกชงงตินพระสรีสรธาราชจุลามูณี  
คนทงงหลายไหว.
- (๗๒) นเตมแผนตึนอุบมาคองรงทอนออยไวมากตามคาสเตมทีสถานน  
นนแล ๐ เขาจิง.
- (๗๓) ขึ้นบงค้ำกลางคนว่าเจ้าราชกุมารมหาสามีนีหนอพุททางคจิงแลน ๐  
เขาจิงเออนำมาลา (งตึน)
- (๗๔) พระมหาสามีสู่เออนำกีนชุกเอาตึนทิมมหาสามีสรีสรธาราชจุลามูณีออย  
บทิไคญตึนทึน

- (๗๕) นชุกเอาคินทินนอนนคนนเอาไปไหวบูชา ◦ รุงนหนพระมหาธาคุ  
สองลูกเรื่อง (ค)
- (๗๖) งงคาวคอยเสด็จไปกลางหาวก่อนพระศรีสรรหาราชจุลามณี จึงขาม  
นำคองคาไป.. (ช)
- (๗๗) ววคีนึ่งพระเจ้าเสด็จเขาในโกส . สงแลวเมือรุ่งจึงเสด็จออกออบค  
แมงไทค (นทง)
- (๗๘) งหลายเหนสรธาสาธการแลจึงเสด็จคินเรื่องเทาทงจกรกลิงไปกลาง  
หาวสู... (น)
- (๗๙) เจคิทองทิกการสสมิถุกษานตองพรายเรื่องงามซึ่งแพพระอาทิตย์  
เมือพุงซี (น)
- (๘๐) พระเปนเจาทินนนปราชิตหารไคสามสิบเอควนน ◦ หยมพระเปนเจ้า  
ปราชิต (หารค)
- (๘๑) งงอนนเพือจกกให้ส้แดงแก่คนทงหลายให้ไปชอย ญ ธรรมในลงกา  
ทิ (ป)
- (๘๒) เปนมหากุสลอนนใหญ่ให้ปรากคแก่พุทธสาส ◦ ลางแหงไปถึง  
อารญิกนอ (กเมือ)
- (๘๓) องกัฟไลชาวสีหลจึงปรคบบชชคากทิบรูปคนธมาลาเขาจึง.. (พระ)  
มหา...
- (๘๔) ธาคุควยสบริพารมากมายหลวงหลายอนนไปถคคมหา ..... เถร...
- (๘๕) เถรมีหมุสงงฆเถรอนนทรงธุดงคสีลา พระมหาสามือ.....สี...
- (๘๖) ถคตฟงอมาตยราชเสนาอุบาสกอุบาสีกาบมิอาจคณนาเล (ย) .....  
สาท...
- (๘๗) ทองเอาพระมหาหนตธาคุมีพระ . ก . หนกหนาไส.....สามี่..



ด้านที่ ๑ (ต่อ)

- (๙๑) ศรีสรรราชจุลามณีจิง ญ สองมีบงกัพบไหโฌงคุแทใสงายเส.....
- (๙๒) ..... เปนเจามิสรรชาโอยทานตนทีนหนไวตน . ทีนหน ก . . .  
ท.....
- (๙๓) .มิ . . . รอยทำญอคทีนหนพระเปนเจ้าปราตีหารไตสามเดือนเบ่น  
อัสจรวย.....
- (๙๔) . . . ทงหลายสกลใน . . . ส . . . . . เขาทีนหน . . . . .
- (๙๕) .. (ร) ดคนธา (ค) .. คีวธาคุพระ ท . . . . . พระทนตธาคุ  
พระธาคุ.....
- (๙๖) กลางหาชาวสี่หลเหนแกตามีสรรชาลง . . . . . มา ห . รูป . .  
.....
- (๙๗) จุลามณีไวเหนอจอมเขา ส . . . . . นทำบุญยชาวพระ . . . . . บูชา . . . . .  
..... น . . . . .
- (๙๘) อนนนิง . จลกกควย . . . . . แหงเทนุรา . สาง . . . . . ภิ . . ส . . . . .  
บาท . . ค . . . . .
- (๙๙) กาไปกั . . พระเจ (ค) ไ (น) . . . . . ะคีนมาจ (บบ) พ (นหน) งงสี่  
..... ชิน . . . . .
- (๑๐๐) . งช . . . . . เมือ . . . . .
- (๑๐๑) . กกสา . . . . . ง พระสรี (ราช) จุลามณี . . . . .
- (๑๐๒) . . . . . สึ . . . . . คี . . . . .
- (๑๐๓) . . . . . ทีตย . . . . .
- (๑๐๔) . . . . . (ข้ารค) . . . . .
- (๑๐๕) . . . . . (ข้ารค) . . . . .
- (๑๐๖) . . . . . พระ . . . . .
- (๑๐๗) . . . . . อย . . . . .

ด้านที่ ๒ (ต่อ)

- (๘๘) พระมหาสามีสรีรคณลงกา (ทป) . . . . . ว . . . . . ง ไ  
 ขา . . . .
- (๘๙) ก . ว . ง แพร . . . . . เ . . . . . ทายอด . . . . . (อาร์) ย . . . . . ไ  
 . . . . .
- (๙๐) . . . . . วสมาธิคงตรงโตตน . . . . . สรีรคณ . . . . .
- (๙๑) ราหบุรมหานครแห่ง . . . . . นา
- (๙๒) . . . . . กิ สรีรคณถาคูโต . . . . .
- (๙๓) พุทธรูปมุนียาวพรรณถ . . . . .
- (๙๔) . . . . . แสนหาหมื่น . . . . .
- (๙๕) . . . . . รบมีอาจคณา . . . . .



## Translation

[I/1 and I/2 : illegible.]

[I/3-8.] ..... Saṃtec Braḥ S ..... pen [Cau] .....  
 ..... when Saṃtec Braḥ ..... Srī ..... a Mahāthera named  
 Srīsrādhārājacūlāmūṇī Srīrattanaḷāṅkāḍīpa Mahāsāmi pen [Cau] .....  
 Māvālikagaṅgā in Laṅkā<sup>21</sup> ..... Mōaṅ Lāṃbaṅ,<sup>22</sup> up to ... Saṃtec  
 ..... there he built the Braḥ Daṅṭadhātusūgandhaceti<sup>23</sup> which has  
 three ..... at that [place ⊙] ..... in the towns of Sralvaṅ and  
 Sōṅ Gvè.<sup>24</sup>

[I/8-20.] His grandfather who was named Braṅā Srīnāv Nāṃ  
 Thaṃ ..... was the father of ..... built in two cities, one named

- 21) This passage apparently contained a short list of Śrīśraddhā's acts of merit, some of which are more fully described later on. The one referred to here is his restoration of the Mahiyanaganacetiya on the bank of the Mahāvālukagaṅgā; see II/42 ff., and note 149. The Mahāvālukagaṅgā was the chief river of Ceylon (modern Māhaveligaṅga); see Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, s.v. Mahāvālukagaṅgā. In the 13th century, ordination ceremonies were held on more than one occasion on a raft moored in its waters, as ordinations performed in an 'udakukkhepasīmā' were considered less liable to hidden flaws than if performed on land (see Coedès in BEFEO XXV, p. 105 note 2; *Cūlavamsa*, 87/72, 89/70 f., 94/17, as well as Geiger's footnotes to these passages in his translation of *Cūlavamsa*, Colombo, 1953, p. 82 note 4, p. 199 note 3).
- 22) Perhaps near Sukhodaya, since the Khmer garrison-commander at Sukhodaya is called Khloṅ Lāṃbaṅ (I/25, I/27, I/28). But the reading of the name in all these passages is uncertain.
- 23) This 'fragrant cetiya of the Tooth Relic' is probably the monument at the Monastery of Forest-Dwellers where Śrīśraddhā enshrined a Tooth Relic (II/82-87, I/91 ff.). Unfortunately we do not know where the place was. Could it have something to do with the Temple of the Tooth at Mōaṅ Fhāṅ (Fāṅ), about 15 km. east of Uttaratiṭṭha, which was very famous in the 17th century and perhaps earlier? 'Pour ce qui est de Meūang Fang,' says La Loubère, '..... parce qu'on y garde une Dent, qu'on pretend être une Relique de Sommona Codom, à la memoire duquel les Siamois bâtissent tous leur Temples; il y en a qui appellent cette Ville non pas Meūang-fang mais Meūang-fan, c'est à dire, Ville de la Dent. La superstition de ces Peuples y attire toujours un grand nombre de Pélérins, non seulement Siamois, mais du Pegu, et de Láo. (La Loubère, *Du royaume de Siam*, Paris, 1691, p. 12). For the antiquities at Mōaṅ Fhāṅ (Svāṅgapurī), cf. *Porāṇavatthusthāna*, p. 239.
- 24) For Sralvaṅ, see above, p. 3; Sōṅ Gvè was the old name of Biṣṇuloka.

Nagara Sukkhodai, one named Nagara Srī Sejanālai<sup>25</sup>. Braḥ S .....  
 ..... there ..... noblemen<sup>26</sup> in very great  
 number ..... Mōaṅ Jalyaṅ<sup>27</sup> ..... Ba Khun Nāṃ Thaṃ<sup>28</sup> ....  
 ..... ⊙ ... to the southwest as far as Chòt, twenty  
 thousand and ..... four fathoms ..... ⊙ To the south, two  
 hundred thousand fathoms .... ⊙ To the north, as far as .....  
 ⊙ when ..... Ba Khun Nāṃ Thaṃ ...<sup>29</sup> at Mōaṅ Sukkhodai .....  
 ..... knew how to capture wild elephants, was daring and brave,  
 ..... elephant's head with Ī Tèn Buhlōṅ<sup>30</sup>  
 ..... Ba Khun Nāṃ Thaṃ.....Ī Tèn Buhlōṅ; about as big as  
 an almsbowl ..... Mōaṅ Dèn<sup>31</sup> and Mōaṅ Sukkhodai. ⊙ Ba Khun  
 Nāṃ Thaṃ ..... made him enter .... for him. ⊙ .....  
 two ..... would .....

[I/20-21.] A son of Ba Khun Srīnav Nāṃ Thaṃ named Brañā  
 Phā Mōaṅ, the ruler of Mōaṅ Rāt, ..... [possessed?] a hundred  
 thousand elephants, his country was girt about with areca palms, and  
 countless cities paid him homage<sup>32</sup>. ⊙

25) Sukhodaya and Sajjanālaya.

26) ขุนนาง (I/11) means noblemen in general. The meaning of ขุน (if that is the  
 right reading of the word that precedes ขุนนาง) is unknown; but the context  
 suggests that it means another category of persons who might be mentioned at  
 the same time as noblemen.

27) *Chalieng*, about 2 km. east of Sajjanālaya. Chalieng is thought to have been  
 the seat of the Khmer administration of the province before Sukhodaya became  
 independent.

28) For the title Ba Khun (ขุน, พ่อขุน, *Pò Kun*), see JSS LIX/2, p. 205.

29) The word we have omitted appears to be ตาย, which makes no sense in the  
 context. Perhaps ตาย, 'died'?

30) อีแดง (I/17), apparently the name of a female elephant, 'Miss Fiery Red'  
 (แดง seems to be an expanded form of ไฟ, 'fire').

31) The location of Dèn (ด่น, *Tèng*) is not known.

32) As we have conjectured (p. 60), Rāt was probably in Uttaratiṭṭha province.  
 The word we have translated as 'possessed' is mutilated; whatever it was, it  
 must have meant something of this sort. Our translation 'his country was girt  
 about with areca palms, and countless cities paid him homage' is conjectural;  
 the reading is uncertain. The expression ขุนเมือง (ขุนเมือง) at I/21, though  
 written only once, seems to be used twice: first, referring to Phā Mōaṅ's  
 country, as the object of ๓๓; second, referring to his tributary cities, as the  
 subject of ๓๓.



[I/21-32.] Long ago Ba Khun Pān Klān Hāv, the lord of Mōaṅ Pān Yān,<sup>33</sup> caused . . . . The army of Ba Khun Phā Mōaṅ, the lord of Mōaṅ Rāt, . . . [and] Ba Khun Phā Mōaṅ divided [the troops] between them<sup>34</sup>. ☉ Ba Khun Pān Klān Hāv captured Mōaṅ Srī Sejanālai . . . . Ba Khun Phā Mōaṅ, the lord of Mōaṅ Rāt, brought up his army . . . . . Pān Khlaṅ . . . presented Pān Khlaṅ to Ba Khun Phā Mōaṅ<sup>35</sup>. Then Ba Khun Phā Mōaṅ took his army to Mōaṅ Rāt, Mōaṅ Sākōtai<sup>36</sup> . . . . , Sri Sejanālai, and Sukkhodai. The valiant Khòm, Khloñ Lāmbaṅ, gave battle<sup>37</sup> . . . . . ☉ Then Ba Khun Pān Klān Hāv went . . . . . the army of Ba Khun Phā Mōaṅ, ruler of Mōaṅ Rāt, came . . . . . they combined their forces. ☉ Ba Khun Pān Klān Hāv and Ba Khun Phā

33) The reading ๓๓๓๓๓๓ (I/22) is doubtful, so our translation 'the lord of' is equally so. The location of Pān Yān (๓๓๓๓) is not known. It may have been somewhere between Mōaṅ Rāt and Sajjanālaya, or else perhaps at or near the modern Pān Yān (๓๓๓๓), about 7 km. south of New Sukhodaya (Rājadhānī; see Royal Institute Gazetteer, III, map facing p. 1460); but these are no more than guesses.

34) ๓๓๓๓ (I/22), Khmer phtāc, 'to divide', 'to part'; cf. *Prajum Śīlacārik I*, Bangkok, B.E. 2500, p. 36, note 1. The reading of this passage (I/21-23) is uncertain and our translation very doubtful, but the general sense seems clear enough. Probably Pān Klān Hāv persuaded Phā Mōaṅ to join with him in the campaign which is about to be described; then, as one of the two armies was stronger in one type of military force, say elephantry, while the other was stronger in another, say foot-soldiers, they divided their forces in what they thought would be the most effective manner.

35) Pān Khlaṅ (*Bāng Klōng*) (I/24) has not been identified; the context suggests that it may have been somewhere between Sajjanālaya and Sukhodaya. We might reconstruct the lacunae preceding and following the place-name in either of two ways, giving the sentence two quite different meanings: (1) Phā Mōaṅ brought up his army to Pān Khlaṅ, and the ruler of Pān Khlaṅ surrendered to him; or else (2) Phā Mōaṅ brought up his army to some other place, whereas Pān Klān Hāv captured Pān Khlaṅ and presented it to Phā Mōaṅ.

36) Sākōtai (๓๓๓๓๓, I/24-25), also unidentified, was evidently between Mōaṅ Rāt and Sajjanālaya, perhaps nearer to Mōaṅ Rāt.

37) The valiant Khòm (Khmer) Khloñ Lāmbaṅ was evidently the commander of the Khmer garrison at Sukhodaya. The word 'khloñ', attested in Khmer epigraphy, denoted an official of a particular rank, generally military. See Coedès, JSS XIV/1, p. 6. Note that the reading 'Lāmbaṅ' is uncertain.

Mōaṅ mounted their elephants. .... met each other.<sup>38</sup> [Ba Khun Phā Mōaṅ] asked him to get up on his elephant's head with him. ⊙ When the plan was completed<sup>39</sup>, Ba Khun Pān Klān Hāv and the valiant Khôm Khloñ Lāmbaṅ fought each other. ⊙ Ba Khun Pān Klān Hāv sent word to Ba Khun Phā Mōaṅ. Ba Khun Phā Mōaṅ ..... The valiant Khôm Khloñ Lāmbaṅ . . . was defeated utterly. ⊙ Then Ba Khun Phā Mōaṅ was able to enter the city of Sukkhodai. ⊙ He presented the city to Ba Khun Pān Klān Hāv. ⊙ Ba Khun Pān Klān Hāv, out of deference to his ally, did not enter it. Ba Khun Phā Mōaṅ withdrew his army, and Ba Khun Pān Klān Hāv entered the city. ⊙ Ba Khun Phā Mōaṅ conferred the abhiṣeka on Ba Khun Pān Klān Hāv, as ruler of Mōaṅ Sukhodai, giving his ally his own name Sri Indrapatindrādiṭya, ⊙ which was the former title of Kamraṭṭhēn Añ Phā Mōaṅ<sup>40</sup>. ⊙

[I/32-35.] Formerly the god<sup>41</sup> who was ruler of Sri Sodharapura<sup>42</sup> had given Ba Khun Phā Mōaṅ his daughter named Lady Sikharamahādevī, together with the sword Jayasrī and a title of honor. The reason why Ba Khun Pān Klān Hāv got the name Srī Indrapatindrādiṭya was because Ba Khun Phā Mōaṅ took his own name and gave it to his ally [together with] Mōaṅ Sukhodai, that is why. ⊙

- 38) This passage (I/27) has usually been read as ប្រឡងស្រាប់គ្នា, which Coedès translates as 'les Brañā se rencontrèrent'. But we are very doubtful about the reading 'brañā' (ប្រឡង), a title which is nowhere else applied to Pān Klān Hāv in this inscription. In any case, however, the sense of the passage seems to be that Pān Klān Hāv and Phā Mōaṅ met each other.
- 39) ប្រគេន, cf. ប្រគេន, 'to calculate completely'. Apparently the two leaders, while seated together on the elephant's head, made a plan for concerted action.
- 40) Phā Mōaṅ, who had received the rank of Kamraṭṭhēn Añ (Khmer, 'king', 'viceroy', etc., more or less equivalent to Siamese brañā) and the title Srī Indrapatindrādiṭya from the Khmer king, now gave his title to Pān Klān Hāv, together with Sukhodaya, Sajjanālaya and two or three other provinces, but probably retained the rank of Kamraṭṭhēn Añ and most of his territories. (It is possible that the Khmer king gave the title Srī Indrapatindrādiṭya to whichever of his vassals ruled Sukhodaya; if so, we might guess that Phā Mōaṅ, before succeeding his father as viceroy of the huge territories of Mōaṅ Rāt and receiving the title Kamraṭṭhēn Añ, had been ruler of Sukhodaya.)
- 41) ឥសាន (I/33), the *Tai* equivalent of Skt. *devarāja*.
- 42) The king of Cambodia. 'Sodharapura' is Yaśodharapura, i.e. Angkor Thom.



[I/35-36.] Ba Khun Sri Indrapatindrāditya and Ba Khun Phā Mōaṅ gave back each other's troops<sup>43</sup>, led them everywhere ..... formerly, strolled around saying good-bye, and each one's people went back to their own country as before<sup>44</sup>.

[I/36-37.] A son of Ba Khun Sri Indrāditya named Ba Khun Rāmarāja, wise and well versed in the Dharma, built a [monument named] Braḥ Śrī Rattanadhātu in Śrī Sajanālai<sup>45</sup>.

[I/37-38.] A grandson of Ba Khun Sri Indrāditya named Dharmarāja .., well versed in merit and the Dharma, possesses most excellent and unutterable wisdom<sup>46</sup>. ☉

[I/38-41.] Ba Khun Phā Mōaṅ, ruler of Mōaṅ Rāt, caused cetiyas to be built, he earned the gratitude of many kings, he was the teacher and protector of a whole throng of monarchs<sup>47</sup>. . . . . at Sri Sejanālai . . . . all places to be . . . .<sup>48</sup> for all the . . . in the future.<sup>49</sup> He allowed . . . to choose and select<sup>50</sup>, he bestowed alms . . . . on venerable persons in enormous quantity. ☉

43) ๑๑๗๓๓๓๓ (I/35). The word ๓๓ no longer means 'to give back' in Siamese, but has retained that meaning in Khmer.

44) We have translated this passage (I/35 f.) a little differently from Coedès. As well as we can make out, the two leaders, who had divided their troops between them for the campaign (see note 34), separated them again after the victory. The soldiers then said good-bye to their new friends and went home to be demobilized.

45) From here on, Pāṅ Klāṅ Hav is called by his new title in abbreviated form, Śrī Indrāditya. Rāmarāja is Rāma Gaṃhēṅ, and the 'monument of the Precious Relic' (śrīrattanadhātu) is almost certainly the stupa now called Vāt Jāṅ Lòm (Chông Lòm), which stands in the center of the walled town of Sajjanālaya.

46) Lōdaiya. The absence of a eulogy of anyone between Rāmarāja and Dharmarāja seems to prove that Lōdaiya was Rāma Gaṃhēṅ's immediate successor on the throne of Sukhodaya (cf. JSS LVII/1, p. 82 and note 20); the absence of any eulogy of a king of Sukhodaya following Dharmarāja proves that the inscription dates from Lōdaiya's reign.

47) The expression we translate as 'kings' is dāv braṅā (๓๓๓๓๓); the word we translate as 'monarchs' is ksatrādhirāja, i.e. Skt. kṣatrādhirāja. It is not clear whether the two terms are supposed to mean the same thing. Perhaps the second is intended to indicate rulers of a higher rank than the first.

48) Perhaps, if we reconstruct ๓. . as ๓๓, pūjā, we should understand: 'to be worthy of worship'.

49) ๓๓๓๓๓๓๓ (๓๓๓๓๓๓๓) is a jingle meaning 'in the future'.

50) sc. 'he allowed people to choose whatever they wanted'?

[I/41-61.] There is a nephew<sup>51</sup> of Ba Khun Phā Möāñ named Saṃtec Braḥ Mahāthera Śrīśradharājacūlāmūñī Śrīrattanaḷāñkāḍīpa Mahāsāmi pen Cau. Braḥ Mahāthera Śrīśradhārājacūlamūñī, Ba Khun Phā Möāñ's nephew, who is full of faith, loves to perform works of merit and to act in conformity with the Dharma. He bestowed alms<sup>52</sup> constantly, he never tired<sup>53</sup> of giving . . . . . clean and exceedingly beautiful, he gave food to the monks, and he gave alms<sup>54</sup> without missing a single day<sup>55</sup>, giving . . . times [each day] . . . [Since becoming a monk] he usually takes food<sup>56</sup> [only once ?] . . . . . each day. He likes to observe the precepts and meditate in the depths of woods and forests, absorbed in thought, forgetting to eat. [His usual food is only ?] fruits and the roots of plants. His daily routine is like [that of] Siñhala<sup>57</sup> in every way. He likes to wander about the country in search of wisdom<sup>58</sup> . . . . [He knows all] countries, he knows all languages. He likes to

- 51) វាណ (I/41), which could mean either nephew or grandson. We are inclined to agree with Mr Kachorn Sukhbanij, who takes Śrīśradhā's father Brañā Gāṃhēñ Braḥ Rāma (mentioned at I/63 f.), to be a son of Nāṃ Tham (see JSS XLIV/2, 139 f.), and so a brother or half-brother of Phā Möāñ; and we certainly agree that Brañā Gāṃhēñ Braḥ Rāma is not to be confused with Rāma Gāṃhēñ; Brañā Gāṃhēñ Braḥ Rāma may have ruled Rāt as a vassal of Sukhodaya. But we cannot wholly exclude the alternative, that Śrīśradhā was a grandson of Phā Möāñ, which would make him a great-grandson of Nāṃ Tham; and in that case វុ at I/8 would mean 'great-grandfather' (in Sukhodayan inscriptions វុ can mean a paternal or maternal grandfather or a great-grandfather).
- 52) We use the past tense in this passage, as it seems to refer to Śrīśradhā's activities before becoming a monk.
- 53) បំណែន, 'never reckoned it difficult to'.
- 54) វាណ (I/44, twice) is apparently a mistake for វាណ, 'alms'.
- 55) We follow Coedès's reading 'sakk vann' (សក្កវណ្ណ) at I/44 (see *Recueil*, I, p. 54), in preference to the reading សក្កវណ្ណ given in *Prajum* I (B.E. 2500). If we were to adopt the latter, the translation would run: 'without omitting a single thing.'
- 56) ឈ្នួល (ឆ្នួល), 'to take food', is used only for monks; that is why we add (in brackets, at the beginning of the sentence), 'since becoming a monk'.
- 57) Ceylon.
- 58) According to Mahā Chām Dòṅgāṃvarṇa, វាណា is for **thmōradesa** (Khmer **thmōr**, from **tōr**, to walk). Coedès, however, reads វ in place of វ, and translates: 'Les gens du Kameradesa [le pays khmer] viennent chercher la science (à Sukhodaya).'



practice asceticism. He is not idle by day or by night<sup>59</sup>, because he earnestly desires to accumulate the requisites of Buddhahood<sup>60</sup> . . . . . He plants sacred Srimahābodhi trees and makes images of the Buddha everywhere. He uplifts the religion of the Lord . . . . ., which is disappearing<sup>61</sup>, to prevent it from falling into ruin or being destroyed anywhere whatever. ☉ The Mahāthera Sṛisradhārājacūlamūnī, who is full of faith . . . . . [if someone injures him] he does not get angry in return, but acts with forbearance<sup>62</sup> and benevolence. He shows compassion to human beings . . and all creatures, he sets them free so that they will not die . . . . . in that way. He recognizes peoples's merits and virtues, he is modest and gentle-mannered. He teaches himself and everyone else to be ashamed and afraid of doing evil, to be afraid of doing wrong to old people, parents, teachers, spiritual preceptors, companions or friends. The Mahāthera Sṛisradhārājacūlamūnī speaks . . . . . in the highest degree. ☉ When the Saṃtec Braḥ Mahāthera pen Cau brings a kadiñ tree<sup>63</sup> or a branch of a Srimahābodhi tree, or a . . . . ., or a . . . . . [gathered] in the land of Siṅhala, and plants it in the ground, he utters the wish: 'If [I am] truly [destined to become] a Buddha, then may it live, rise up<sup>64</sup>, and put out at least one shoot,' and as soon as<sup>65</sup> he utters that wish<sup>66</sup>, a dry leaf . . . . . turns green and exceedingly beautiful, and the tree comes to life so as to grow large, tall and exceedingly beautiful. [He has founded] many [statues], namely an image of the Lord [made] of carved . . . . ., placed in the Sṛī Rāma . . .

59) Such is evidently the meaning of the jingle กลาง (วัน) มอฉัน กลางคืนไม่อยู่, literally 'in the middle of the day he does not stand still, in the middle of the night he does not remain (quiet).'

60) bodhisambhāra.

61) A reference to the old prophecy that the Buddhist religion is destined to suffer a sharp decline at the end of each thousand years after the Parinibbāna, and disappear altogether at the end of five thousand years. See Coedès, *Le 2500e anniversaire du Bouddha*, Diogené, Paris, 1956. But prophecies are not totally inexorable, and the making of sufficient merit can postpone their fulfillment.

62) khsānti (I/50), for krasānti.

63) *calophyllum inophyllum*.

64) ฐึ for ฐท, 'to be raised up'. We assume ๓๓ is a mistake for ๓๓.

65) กณน, for กณน.

66) The wish (adisthāna, I/55) was part of a **saccakiriya**, an 'act of truth'. See section 4, note 33.

bihāra . . . . .<sup>67</sup> of Sukhodai, one placed at the foot of the Mahās<sup>68</sup>. . . . ., one placed in the spired building<sup>69</sup> near . . . . ., one in Srī Sajanālai . . . . . in front of the Braḥ Mahā . . . . .<sup>70</sup>. When he is propagating [trees] . . . . . he utters the wish: 'If it is true that there is a city in Laṅkādvīpa<sup>71</sup> . . . . .<sup>72</sup> [or that] there are many places in great Jambūdvīpa<sup>73</sup>, then may there be . . . . .'. Saṃtec Braḥ Mahāthera . . . . . a throng . . . . . laymen . . . . . at that time. ☉

[I/61-74.] Cau [Śrīsradhārājacūlamūṇi]<sup>74</sup> . . . . ., like a king of lions possessing enormous strength, fought an elephant duel with Khun Caiṅ<sup>75</sup>. Khun Caiṅ was riding a huge male war elephant,<sup>76</sup> which was in rut, with the oil . . . dripping down.<sup>77</sup> Riding up at great speed, Khun Caiṅ . . . taunted Brañā Gāṃhēṅ [Braḥ Rāma]<sup>78</sup>, [telling] Brañā Gāṃhēṅ Braḥ Rāma . . . to exchange a silk cushion in place of . . . . . like that. Cau Śrīsradhārā[jacūlamū]ṇi resented it extremely on his father's account, like a Nāgarāja whose tail is hit with a hammer. [Riding a female] elephant named D . . . . ., he drove her . . . . . the female elephant. The male war elephant was dripping oil [so abundantly] that it soaked his feet . . . . . The war elephant, groping with his trunk

67) เมือง (I/57), indicating that the missing word was 'north', 'east', 'south' or 'west'. The Rāmamahāvihāra (if that is how the name at I/57 should be reconstructed) cannot be identified.

68) Conjectural translation. Mahās . . . . . (I/58) was perhaps the name of a mountain. But cf. มหาสมุทร ('great bridge') in Inscription 11, II/12.

69) Assuming that กุศลคณ (I/58) is put for กุฎาคาร, Pali kūḷāgāra.

70) Perhaps Braḥ Mahāratanadhātu; cf. above, note 45.

71) Ceylon. The passage is another 'act of truth'; see note 66.

72) The lacuna at II/59-60 may have contained some expression like 'which was visited by the Lord Buddha'.

73) India.

74) Śrīsraddhā when he was still a layman.

75) จง (I/62), for จัง (Jang).

76) ช้างสงคราม (I/62). We take สงคราม to be the Mōn word *srāy* (*varai*), 'a warrior', etc.; see Halliday, *Mon-English Dictionary*, Bangkok, 1922, p. 448.

77) When a male elephant is in rut (called 'mast' by Indian elephant-drivers) a thick oil drips from two pores in his forehead. Elephants in this condition are regarded as extremely dangerous.

78) As the next sentence shows, Brañā Gāṃhēṅ Braḥ Rāma was Śrīsraddhā's father.



to find his way underneath<sup>79</sup>, . . . . which was hanging down, touched Cau Śrīśradhārājacūlāmūṇī's head . . . . . got pierced by the hairpin<sup>80</sup> . . . . .<sup>81</sup> touched the hole [from which] the oil [was dripping]. The war elephant walked with extreme pain. [Cau Śrīśradhārājacūlāmūṇī's] foot-soldiers went to help him. They stabbed<sup>82</sup> the war elephant, who then retreated,<sup>83</sup> limping<sup>84</sup>, plunged into a thicket, and took flight. Cau Śrīśradhārājacūlāmūṇī then drove the female elephant in pursuit, striking relentlessly<sup>85</sup> . . . . , and boldly urging her forward . . . . . [The male elephant], groping with his trunk<sup>86</sup>, took flight, fell into a thicket of tall grass, hesitated<sup>87</sup> two or three times, entered . . . . ., and ran away altogether. The [female] elephant pursued relentlessly, caught the war elephant, and brought him back. Saṃtec Dharmarājā<sup>88</sup>, [the ruler of] Sukhodai, said . . . . : 'How is it that a female elephant fights a male elephant which is dripping oil and the male elephant . . . . . runs away from the female elephant? . . . . . How is it that the male elephant which is dripping oil runs away like that from the female elephant?' . . . . . ⊙

[I/75-79.] When Saṃtec Cau Śrīśradhārājacūlāmūṇī formed the resolution to become the god Hariḥr . . .<sup>89</sup>, at that time . . . . when Cau

79) น้ําทอง (I/67). Equivalent to ไล่ล่า, a term used in elephant fighting when an elephant pushes under its adversary in order to lift it up and overturn it.

80) Perhaps the male elephant, after failing to overturn the female, jerked his trunk upward, then started to lower it, and got it pierced by Śrīśradhā's hairpin on the way down.

81) The meaning of ทาบ (I/68) in this context is uncertain.

82) We take ตาบ (I/69) to be a mistake for ตาบ, 'to stab'.

83) ถอน, 'to withdraw' (Pallegoix).

84) พลุบ, for พลุก, glossed as โพล (‘limping’) in *Prajum*, I, B.E. 2467, p. 79.

85) มุ่งฆ่า (I/70), ‘relentlessly’; see *Recueil*, p. 66 note 6.

86) Reconstructing -กรูบ (I/71) as กรูบ, ‘to grope’.

87) หยุด (I/71), i.e. หยุด, ‘to stop’ (Pallegoix).

88) Lōdaiya.

89) คงอาสาเมื่อเป็นพระเจ้า . . . เทพ (I/75). We take อาสา as representing Pali āsā, ‘yearning’, ‘resolution’; เมื่อเป็น, ‘to go and be’, i.e. ‘to become’. Hariḥr . . . (read as Hariḥrā . . . in *Prajum* I, B.E. 2467, p. 68) looks like Hariḥrakṣa, i.e. Harīrakṣa, an epithet of Rāma (frequently used in the Siamese *Rāmakirtī*) and of Nārāyaṇa (Royal Institute's Siamese Dictionary). Cf. II/37 f., where Śrīśradhā is identified with Rāma and Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu). Our interpretation of the passage at I/75 is different from the usually accepted one, which separates the words differently (คง-อา-สเมือ) and makes คงอาสา equivalent to แต่งตัว, ‘to dress’ or ทรงเครื่อง, ‘to put on princely attire’ (*Prajum* I, B.E. 2467, p. 79).

Srīsradhārājacūlāmūṇī was a small child a little over two years old, still being nursed by his mother<sup>90</sup>, he thought<sup>91</sup> . . . . . When he reached the age of seventeen or eighteen years he had a fight<sup>92</sup> with a lord called Dāv . . . . a fight with another person, called Dāv Ī Cān. When he reached the age of twenty-six, he had the great battle in which he fought the elephant duel with Khun Cañū . . . . . a little . . . . . we shall not relate it in detail, as it took place as related above. ⊙

[I/79-83.] Cau Srīsradhārājacūlāmūṇī . . . . . qualities, he liked to study the qualities of . . . . . Furthermore he knew the qualities of elephants, he knew the qualities of horses, he knew the qualities of . . . . , he knew the qualities of . . . . , he knew the qualities of lions, he knew the chief and accessory sciences . . . . , he knew the qualities of . . . . . Cau Srīsradhārājacūlāmūṇī now did good, now evil, now laughed, now wept, now won, now lost, now felt happiness, now sorrow, turning about and returning, going and coming with unquiet heart, in this round of rebirths, over and over again.

[I/84-89.] When he was between twenty-nine and thirty years old, he had a son<sup>93</sup> [who died, causing] him [to grieve] . . . . . exceedingly. He saw that this world of rebirths is impermanent, impersonal, without stability<sup>94</sup>; then he thought<sup>95</sup> . . . . . When he was thirty-one years old, he had very great faith; if anyone wished to take his life<sup>96</sup> . . . . . he offered it to him at once. Then . . .<sup>97</sup> he destroyed<sup>98</sup> all his

90) A good mother was supposed to continue nursing her child for as long a period as possible.

91) គំរឹង (I/76), for គំរឹង. Perhaps he had a vision informing him that he was an avatāra of Rāma and Viṣṇu.

92) ជំរុំ (I/77) = Khmer: cāmpāñ, 'a fight', from cpāñ, 'to fight'.

93) kumārabatra, perhaps for kumārabhadrā, 'a beloved son', or kumāravatsa, 'a young son'.

94) cf. the tilakkhaṇa ('three characteristics' of existence) of orthodox Buddhist teaching: anicca (impermanence), dukkha (suffering), and anattā (impersonality). See Nyanatiloka, *Buddhist Dictionary*, Colombo, 1950, s.v. tilakkhaṇa.

95) We reconstruct គំរឹង-(I/85) as គំរឹង (គំរឹង), 'to think', since គំរឹង is normally followed by a verb.

96) Literally 'head'.

97) The meaning of ឃ្លង់ is uncertain.

98) mlāñ (ម្លាំង), cf. Khmer, lān, 'to wash', 'to destroy', and raṃlāñ, 'to make disappear', 'to destroy'.



weapons, such as . . . . . He longed to live<sup>99</sup> in the forest . . . . . Then he [decided to] renounce his [princely] caste<sup>100</sup> and leave his home.

[I/89-90; II/1-8.] He erected a tent of red cloth, yellow cloth, black cloth, green cloth, white cloth and iridescent<sup>101</sup> [cloth] . . . . .<sup>102</sup> Then he presented the three kinds of almsfood [to the monks] . . . . . jewels . . . . . pilgrimages . . . . . he adorned his two daughters splendidly, putting gold [bracelets] on their wrists, and rings . . . . . in profusion, and offered them as a gift to whoever came and asked for them, because of his great [faith?] . . . . . [his wife?], dressing her splendidly, making her lovely for the eye to look at, and offered her as a gift to whoever came and asked for her<sup>103</sup>. Then he departed . . . . . In his eagerness to become a Buddha . . . . . he left<sup>104</sup> the world of riches<sup>105</sup> to become an ascetic, carrying an almsbowl slung over the shoulder . . . . . all . . . . . to wander about in search of precious great relics, resolved to perform acts of merit . . . . . [and finally attain] omniscience<sup>106</sup> while seated under a Sṛimahābodhi tree. Then he set off in search of [seedlings] to plant . . . . . at Nagara Sukhodai, Pāñ Chlāññ<sup>107</sup> and Srī Sajanālaya, wishing in his heart to make them into holy cities.

- 99) i.e. to become a Forest-Dwelling monk. ฝัน (I/88) is for ฝัน 'to keep dreaming of', i.e. 'to long to'. The expression we have translated as 'to live' is ปรุงอาหาร, literally 'to cook food' (used only for monks).
- 100) สละ (I/89) is equivalent to *Tai Yuan* สละ, 'to discard' and to modern Siamese สละ or สละ, 'to renounce', 'to relinquish', 'to abandon'. ปล่อย is for ปล่อย, Skt. varṇa, 'caste'.
- 101) Reconstructing แวววาว (I/90) as แวววาว, modern แวววาว, 'shining', which we take to be equivalent to งาม at II/57.
- 102) In this and the following lacunae there are several legible fragments of words; but the lack of context makes it impossible to get the sense.
- 103) He is undertaking the 'perfection of generosity' in imitation of Prince Vessantara, the penultimate incarnation of the Buddha. Following Vessantara's example he is first giving away his two children and then his wife.
- 104) ปล่อย, bineskram (II/5), i.e. abhīṣkram, 'to leave one's home in order to become an ascetic'. He is imitating Gotama's 'Great Departure' (Skt. mahā-abhīṣkramaṇa, Pali mahā-abhīṣikkhamana).
- 105) ratanabhūmi (II/5), 'the world of jewels', i.e. life in the palace.
- 106) sarvbeṇuteñña (II/7), for sarvajñatājñāna, sabbaññutañña.
- 107) บังคลง (บัง), *Bāṅg Chālāṅg*, presumably between Sukhodaya and Sajjanālaya.

[II/8-11.] At one place<sup>108</sup> he built [a cetiya for] a precious great relic, he established the nine jewels<sup>109</sup>, he planted a Srīmahābodhi tree, he built a vithāra and an āvāsa<sup>110</sup>, . . . . [he founded] a statue of the Buddha there which was beautiful, fine<sup>111</sup>, and in conformity with tradition, he built kuṭīs, and forest hermitages<sup>112</sup> . . . . .

[II/11-14.] At one place . . . . . he built a large bridge, planted big trees with flowers of many colors . . . . . and a Srīmahābodhi tree, assigning several families to take care of [the premises], together with areca groves and betel groves; he donated rice-fields and many . . . . . of every color; and he assigned servants<sup>113</sup> . . . . . to wash the feet of the

- 108) The expression อณึ่ง (อณึ่ง) at II/8, which reappears frequently in the ensuing passage, could mean either 'at one place' or 'at some places'. In each case it serves to introduce an account of some meritorious act, or series of interconnected meritorious acts, performed by Śrīśraddhā, so we translate 'at one place'. If we remember that this is its purpose, our translation 'at one place', which admittedly sounds a little awkward, will be understood to mean something like 'in one instance' or 'as one item in his program'.
- 109) The word ปลูก (II/9), which we translate as 'established', also means 'to plant' and 'to build'. Nauvarattana ('nine jewels') could be a foundation deposit in the form of a square flat stone, with sockets for jewels in the center and at each of the cardinal and sub-cardinal points, to be placed in the relic-chamber of a cetiya. On the other hand the term recalls the 'nine sacred objects' (พระเก้าสิ่ง) mentioned at II/41, which we think are the nine towers of the Mahādhātu at Sukhodaya (see below, note 146). We might therefore be tempted to take the passage at II/8-11, or at least part of it, as referring to operations at the Mahādhātu (with ปลูก meaning to build, or to rebuild); but if building the 'forest hermitages' mentioned at the end of this passage belongs to the same set of operations, the reference cannot be to the Mahādhātu, which is in the middle of the city of Sukhodaya.
- 110) āvāsa, 'a dwelling place,' may here mean a residence for senior monks.
- 111) While Skt. *vicitra* means 'many-colored', 'diverse', 'elaborate', 'charming', etc., Siamese ฝึ้งค็ usually means 'fine', suggesting excellence of detail, e.g. as a result of painstaking and delicate execution (in contrast to งาม, the general word for 'beautiful').
- 112) อารามทอนนอดค็. The first word is Skt. aśramapada, 'hermitage'; we have omitted the second word (อนน) from our translation, as it does not make sense and may be a false reading; the third, attabī, stands for Pali aṭṭavī, 'forest'.
- 113) อุบค . . . , ūpatt . . . (II/13) should perhaps be reconstructed as upaṭṭhaka, 'personal attendant'. Coedès (*Recueil*, I, p. 68) takes it to mean laymen (upāsaka?).



Mahātheras, the Anutheras and all the monks on the days of the new moon, the full moon, the uposatha and the pavāraṇā.

[II/14-15.] At one place he built a large *tāṃnakk*<sup>114</sup>, a *sālā*<sup>115</sup> and a large . . . ; he also built a mahācetiya, planted a *Srīmahābodhi* tree, and founded a large statue of the Buddha.

[II/15-17.] At one place he went through the market buying up all the living creatures and setting them free . . . . ., such as human beings, goats, pigs, dogs, ducks, chickens, geese, birds, fish, deer, and all sorts of creatures . . . of goodly body and handsome form. He carved a beautiful seat-covering<sup>116</sup>, and he carved a statue of the Buddha from [the wood of] an indra-tree<sup>117</sup>.

[II/17-18.] [At one place?] in the forest in . . . on Nān Tāy Hill, he went by elephant to worship [the statue of] the Lord, and set [the elephant] free at that place<sup>118</sup>.

[II/18-40.] At one place, the gathering-point of all the Lord's relics<sup>119</sup> which . . . was falling into ruin<sup>120</sup> and overgrown with forest

- 114) Siamese *tāṃhnāk* and Khmer *tāṃnak* both usually mean a pavillion or an individual house for a prince or princess in the precinct of a palace. In the present passage, which is concerned with buildings in a monastery, we should probably prefer one of the alternative meanings of Khmer *tāṃnāk* such as a rest-house for pilgrims.
- 115) The word *sālā* may or may not be in apposition to *tāṃnakk*; if not, it means an open-sided pavilion in a monastery.
- 116) *ສູນ* (II/17), apparently for Pali *santhata*; the usual meaning is a rug for a monk to sit on, but as it was 'carved' it must have been something more permanent, probably for a statue.
- 117) *ໂມ້ອິນທຣາ* (II/17). According to McFarland (p. 998), *ໂມ້ອິນ* is a species of tree of the red sandalwood group, but with larger fruit.
- 118) He is on his way to Martaban; cf. Inscription 11, II/14-16, which gives his itinerary; see also section 8, notes 20-22, especially note 21 which gives the probable location of the forest where he set his elephant free.
- 119) The Mahāthūpa at Anurādhapura, Ceylon; according to the old prophecy, 5000 years after the Buddha's parinibbāna all his bodily relics will spring out of their monuments wherever they may be and fly to Ceylon, where they will gather at the Mahāthūpa, then fly to the Bodhi tree at Bodhgayā and be consumed in a great holocaust; see Inscription 3, I/48 f., which refers to the Mahāthūpa as Ratanamalīkamahāstūpa; cf. M, p. 262 f.; and Coedès, *Le 2500e anniversaire du Bouddha*, Diogenes, No. 15, juillet 1956.
- 120) *ອາດຫາຍ*, for *antaradhāna*, 'disappearance'.

and brush, Saṃtec Braḥ Mahāthera Srīsradhārājacūlāmūṇi pen Cau . . . . .<sup>121</sup>, saved the [cetiya of the] Braḥ Mahādhātu Hlvaṅ and restored it<sup>122</sup>. The cetiya was ninety-five fathoms in height<sup>123</sup>, not [counting?] . . . . on top of it, two or three fathoms in circumference<sup>124</sup>. Srīsradhārājacūlāmūṇi pen Cau strove to cause . . . . . then built it . . seven fathoms higher. He stuccoed<sup>125</sup> and completed it. The cetiya, [including] the new construction as well as the old, reached a height of a hundred and

- 121) ခေတု (II/20) probably refers to the Buddha. As the context is lost, we cannot guess what the passage meant.
- 122) The word we translate as 'saved' is ခေတု (II/20) which we take to be the same as modern ခေတု, 'to uphold', 'to raise up', in the abstract sense; cf. ဖျံ (ဖုဂ်), which implies doing something to strengthen the Buddhist religion and 'save' it from decline. Coedès, however, evidently takes ခေတု to be equivalent to modern ခေတု, 'to choose', 'to elect', and translates: 'Il décida de restaurer la Grande Relique'. 'Dhātu' or 'Mahādhātu' can mean either the cetiya or the relics enshrined in it; here it is evidently the cetiya. The expression 'Braḥ Mahādhātu Hlvaṅ' or a variant of it ('Braḥ Mahādhātu', 'Braḥ Dhātu Hlvaṅ') recurs several times in the ensuing passage with the same meaning; and in order to avoid wearisome repetition we translate it as 'the cetiya' or 'it'.
- 123) The original height of the Mahāthūpa is said to have been 120 cubits, i.e. 120 Sinhalese 'architect's cubits' one of which was probably equal to 31 English inches, which would make the height about 93 m. This figure may or may not have included the harmikā, but it almost certainly did not include the chattra. If the word ဘ, which we have translated as 'fathom', means the Sukhodayan fathom of about 1.86 m., the height given in the inscription would be around 1.78 m., which is of course impossible. But the author may have used the word in this passage to mean the Sinhalese 'architect's cubit'; and an original height of 120 architect's cubits may well have been reduced to 95 during the period the monument was neglected. See Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, p. 61.
- 124) ခဝေဝေခဝေဝေ. An ခဝေဝေ is the circumference that a man can encircle with both arms, i.e. a circumference of one fathom, say 1.86 m. so the circumference mentioned would be between 3.72 m. and 5.58 m. The object which was so measured would be round, with a diameter between 1.18 m. and 1.77 m. It may have been the remains of a chattra, which the author of the inscription is apparently not counting in the height he gives for the cetiya.
- 125) ခေတု (II/22), 'to stucco', still used in *Tai Yuan*; see Coedès, *Recueil*, p. 69 note 2.



two fathoms<sup>126</sup>. The Khòm call it 'Brah Dham'<sup>127</sup>. ☉ It is built in the middle of Lord Kris's city<sup>128</sup>. When [the men] were ready to stucco it, as [shells] to make lime were extremely hard to find in the midst of the forest, they could not make lime. Then Brah Srīsradhārājacūlāmūnī pen Cau pronounced this wish:<sup>129</sup> 'If it is true that I shall attain omniscience and become a Buddha, then may I find lime . . . .' Having made the wish, at the very moment when he turned around he found a very extraordinary<sup>130</sup> shell for lime. They used it to stucco the cetiya, the new construction as well as the old; then they used it to repair the stone statues of the Buddha which were broken and fallen down; and when the work was finished there was still some lime left over. ☉ The Brah Mahādhātu Hlvañ performed a great many miracles and prodigies, surrounded by innumerable large relics<sup>131</sup>. ☉ [The men] paved the floor of the great Mahāvihāra<sup>132</sup> with brick; when it was finished and

126) cf. Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, p. 61.

127) As Coedès points out (*Recueil*, p. 69 note 4), 'Brah Dham' (I/23) is Khmer for 'the large Buddha'. The term would be suitable for any large object of veneration associated with the Buddha, and particularly for a cetiya such as the Mahāthūpa. In fact 'Brah Dham' would be an acceptable translation of 'Mahāthūpa.'

128) i.e. the city of Lord Kṛṣṇa; for a possible reason why this epithet should have been applied to Anurādhapura, see Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, p. 61. It would be the more suitable in the present context as Śrīsraddhā thought he was a reincarnation of Kṛṣṇa; see below, II/37.

129) adhissthāna (I/24), i.e. Pali adhiṭṭhāna, 'a resolution'; he was making another 'act of truth' (saccakiriya).

130) ពិសេស (I/26), modern ពិសេស, 'hard', 'strong', 'extraordinary'.

131) 'Brah Mahādhātu Hlvañ' here refers to the relics enshrined in the monument; the miracles they performed doubtless consisted of springing out of it, shining brightly, and flying around in the sky, while other large relics, flying in from elsewhere, surrounded them and accompanied them in their journey.

132) The Mahāvihāra, the principal temple in the monastery of the same name at Anurādhapura. (The Mahāthūpa was situated in the precinct of the Mahāvihāra.) Coedès (*Recueil*, p. 70) takes the word (ព)សោ (II/29) in its usual sense, 'to hold a dedication ceremony'; but we think this difficult to reconcile with the words គរុជិត (គរុជិត) following the object, which imply that the men were using brick to do something to the Mahāvihāra. The word សោ can also mean 'support' (cf. the term for 'shoes' in the Royal language, សោសម្រាប់ជើង, literally 'supports for the feet'; the exact equivalent of សោស, 'supports for the feet', in ordinary Siamese). By analogy we translate the expression as 'paved the floor.'

perfected they went . . . to search for old broken stone statues of the Buddha to worship, bringing them from as far away as two or three days' travel<sup>133</sup>, to set them up in the Mahābīhāra. At some places they found a neck or a body, at some places they found the hair or an arm or the breast, at some places they found a head which had fallen far away [from the body], and which it took four men to carry. ☉ At some places they found a shin or a leg, at some places they found a hand or a foot. Naturally they hauled the big stone statues to the Mahābīhāra by cart or by barrow. They brought them there to piece together and repair with mortar, to make them as beautiful and fine in form and appearance as if they had been created by Indra; they brought them there to mend and restore into large, fresh-looking<sup>134</sup>, and . . . exceedingly beautiful statues of the Buddha. They filled the Mahābīhāra with them, placing them in many rows and niches<sup>135</sup>. It was exceedingly beautiful . . . [like?] the reliquary temple called Śrīdhānakatakā [?] in Majhimadesa, in Pātalīputtanagara near the bank of the river Anomānadī [?]<sup>136</sup>. ☉

- 133) หนอพระพุทธรูปหินเก่าแตกมาบูชาด้วย(1)กลชวสองสามคืน (II/30). Coedès translates: 'on alla à la recherche des anciennes statues en pierre du Buddha, on leur rendit hommage pendant deux ou trois nuits,' etc. (*Recueil*, p. 70). In order to take account of the expression ค่ำเฒ่า we have ventured to consider the period of time as indicating distance, and to associate it with the verb หนอ rather than with บูชา; ค่ำ, 'night', can also mean a period of 24 hours; and as we assume that the men would travel by day, we have translated accordingly.
- 134) คำ (I/34), literally 'young', 'adolescent'. An examination of the stone does not justify the conjectural reading งาม, 'durable', as there is no room for the ้.
- 135) We assume that ช่อง at II/35 means 'niches', but it could also mean 'at intervals'. If associated with งาม, apparently งาม means 'rows'; if not, it could mean 'groups'. Coedès translates: 'on les installa en groupes ou on les rangea dans les galeries.'
- 136) If we are right in supposing that 'the temple called Śrīdhānakatakā' is introduced simply for comparison, it must be because it was even more famous than the structure whose restoration has just been described. From the point of view of Ceylon Buddhism, there was only one structure in the world which could fulfill that condition: the Mahābodhi temple at Bodhgayā in Patna District in Bengal. The Mahābodhi temple, which stood on the holiest spot in the Buddhist world, would unquestionably be the object of a pilgrimage by any Buddhist who visited northern India (cf. Griswold, *The Holy Land Transported*, Paranavitana Felicitation Volume, Colombo, 1968), so Śrīśradhā is sure to have visited it (see below, p. 140, n. 23). It was,





this stanza is in the Mahānidāna.<sup>141</sup> ☉ Surrounding the large and lofty cetiya<sup>142</sup> were stone carvings of the five hundred . . . .<sup>143</sup> jātakas, marvelously beautiful and finely executed,<sup>144</sup> which were pried loose by foolish men to get gold, and ruined<sup>145</sup>. ☉

[II/40-45.] The Sāṃtec Braḥ Mahāsāmī, leaving Sihala, brought with him a group of laymen . . . to carry up bricks from below to restore and perfect the nine sacred objects with zeal; and he also brought two

- 141) Coedès comments in a footnote (*Recueil*, p. 71, note 1) that he has searched in vain in the Nidānakathā for a stanza with this beginning, so presumably some other text was intended; in any case, he adds, it is hard to see how such a stanza would be connected with the subject under discussion. We conjecture that Śrīśraddhā intends to go on repeating this stanza to himself in all his future incarnations in order to keep his mind on his quest for Buddhahood, which, as has already been revealed at II/25, he will eventually attain. In the present kappa (aeon), there will be a total of five Buddhas; four of them have already appeared, the fourth of whom was Gotama; Metteyya is still to come. The earliest possible chance for Śrīśraddhā to attain Buddhahood will be in the next kappa; and until that time comes, he will continue to pass through the round of rebirths.
- 142) The 'large and lofty cetiya' must be the Mahāthūpa.
- 143) The word we have omitted from our translation appears to be **tiradesa**, the meaning of which is obscure. Query: 'parables'? from Pali tiro, 'across' or 'oblique', and desanā, 'preaching'?
- 144) Perhaps bas-reliefs placed in rows around the base of a stupa for the edification of the public. At least it was the practice in Burma to display Jātaka scenes in that manner (see Luce, *The 500 Jātakas in Old Burma*, *Artibus Asiae* XIX); and it may have been the same in Ceylon. Coedès has suggested that the Jātaka scenes referred to here are the engraved stones at Vāt Śrī Jum, Sukhodaya, and that they were originally placed at Sukhodaya's Mahādhātu (*Arts asiatiques*, III/4, p. 254; cf. above, p. 77.). It now seems certain that they were located at the Mahāthūpa at Anurādhapura; but it is possible that Śrīśraddhā had small copies of them made, which would later serve as models for the Sukhodayan Jātaka engravings.
- 145) The passage is obscure and the translation conjectural. We guess that ពុទ្ធក is Khmer **truk** or **trak**, both of which mean 'stupid'. For ពុទ្ធក, cf. *Tai Yuan* ពុទ្ធក, 'to pry', and Siamese ពុទ្ធក, 'to scatter'. We reconstruct ពុទ្ធក as ពុទ្ធក. The connection between this passage and the preceding one is far from clear. Perhaps the author, having discussed Śrīśraddhā's previous incarnations, is reminded of Gotama's, which in turn remind him of the Jātaka carvings at the Mahāthūpa.



precious great relics from Sīhala to enshrine at that place<sup>146</sup>. We cannot recount in detail [everything he did]. ☉ At one place, half[way] ..... near the bank of the river Māvalikagaṅgā, where the Lord Buddha stretched out a piece of hide<sup>147</sup>, he restored [the monument of] the precious great relics which is called Mahiyaṅganamahāceti, [in which] the Kesadhātu, the [Gīvā]dhātu and the Pāribhogadhātu [are enshrined], and at that place<sup>148</sup> the [relics of the] Lord Buddha performed very marvelous miracles<sup>149</sup>.

- 146) The statement at II/40-42 must mean that Śrīśraddhā, upon leaving Ceylon, took the two relics and a group of Sinhalese craftsmen to Sukhodaya with him, the craftsmen to help in the reconstruction of the Mahādhātu, and the two relics to be enshrined in its central tower (see Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, pp. 17-23). The 'nine sacred objects' (พระรัตน, sc. พระรัตน, with รัตน used as a classifier equivalent to modern 宝贝) at II/41 must be the nine towers of the Mahādhātu, five of which were already in existence but were to be remodeled, while the other four were to be added; the two relics are the Gīvadhātu and the Kesadhātu which perform the miracles recounted at II/52 ff.; and the craftsmen are the 'natives of Sīhala' (ชาวสีหฬ) who are present at the events recounted at II/58 f., II/72 f., and II/83 f.

One possible objection to this interpretation is the expression รัตน, 'at that place' (II/42). If it refers to the Mahādhātu at Sukhodaya, we should expect the author to say 'at this place', as the inscription was certainly erected beside the monument. But the same anomaly reappears at II/72 and II/80, where รัตน and รัตน certainly refer to the Mahādhātu. We guess that the author composed the text at his own residence, and forgot where the inscription was going to be erected.

There is also another possible objection, which we shall discuss below (note 149).

- 147) จมกขม (II/43), carāmakhaṇṇa, for cammakhaṇḍa, an animal's skin used as a rug; see note 149. The Māvalikagaṅgā (Mahāvālukagaṅgā) has already been mentioned at I/6, doubtless in reference to Śrīśraddhā's meritorious works at the Mahiyaṅganacetiya which are about to be described (II/42 ff.).
- 148) Restoring รัตน (II/45) as รัตน, i.e. รัตน.
- 149) Mahiyaṅgana, on the bank of the Mahāvālukagaṅgā, was the place where the Buddha, on his first visit to Ceylon, hovered in the air in order to frighten the Yakkhas, and then spread out a piece of hide (cammakhaṇḍa) on the ground to sit on (Mahāvamsa, I, 21-32). The Mahiyaṅganacetiya was later built on this spot by Sumana, the god of Mount Sumanakūṭa (Adam's Peak), to enshrine the Kesadhātu or Hair Relic, which he had received from the Buddha who plucked it from his own head during his first visit to Ceylon (Mahāvamsa, I, 33-36). The Thera Sarabhū enlarged the monument and deposited in it the Gīvadhātu or Neck-bone Relic which he had obtained from the Buddha's funeral pyre (Mahāvamsa, I, 37-39; cf. Geiger, *Culture of Ceylon in Medieval Times*, Wiesbaden, 1960, p. 213, note 1). The Kesadhātu and the Gīvadhātu were two of the five most venerated relics in Ceylon in

the 12th century; the other three were the Akkhakadhātu or Collar-bone Relic, the Dāthadhātu or Tooth Relic, and the Pattadhātu or Almsbowl Relic (see Geiger, *Culture of Ceylon in Medieval Times*, pp. 211-214). The Almsbowl was a Pāribhogadhātu or 'relic of personal use' which the Buddha had used during his lifetime; the other four were Sārīrakadhātuyo or 'bodily relics.' In addition there were large quantities of unspecified relics (see Geiger, *Culture of Ceylon in Medieval Times*, p. 213).

Since the first of the three relics referred to in Inscription 2 at II/43-44 in connection with the Mahiyaṅganacetiya is the Kesadhātu, it seems certain that the second, the name of which is mutilated (II/44), was the Gīvadhātu (elsewhere in this inscription written 'Gīvādhātu') so we have restored it accordingly in our translation, just as Coedès does in his transcription (*Recueil*, I, p. 58). We have been unable to learn anything about a Pāribhogadhātu ever having been deposited in the Mahiyaṅganacetiya.

We have translated the passage at II/42-45 rather freely. It begins with the expression *at one place*, which as we have observed is always in this inscription a signal that some act of merit performed by Śrīśraddhā is about to be related: and four of the six instances we have already seen involved building operations. As Śrīśraddhā did not build the Mahiyaṅganacetiya, we are safe in assuming that he restored it. Just as the word 'dhātu' (in Kesadhātu, Gīvadhātu, Pāribhogadhātu and Śrīratanamahādhātu at II/43-44) can mean either the relics or the reliquary monument, so *pratiṣṭhā* (pratiṣṭhā) can mean either 'to enshrine' a relic or else 'to build' or 'to restore' a monument. At II/27 *pratiṣṭhā* means 'to build' or 'to restore'; at II/42 it means 'to enshrine' the relics, but it also implies rebuilding the monument; here it certainly means 'to restore'. We assume that 'Śrīratanamahādhātu' is used as the generic name for monuments such as the Mahiyaṅganacetiya which contain 'precious great relics' (as distinguished from ordinary miscellaneous ones); but it might be in apposition to Kesadhātu, Gīvadhātu and Pāribhogadhātu. It seems too indefinite a word to refer to one more relic in addition to the three that are so specifically designated.

There is no doubt that in this passage the Kesadhātu and the Gīvadhātu are the two chief relics at the Mahiyaṅganacetiya. Yet later on (II/52-82) we find two relics of the same name at Sukhodaya performing spectacular miracles. How did they get there? We do not wish to suggest that Śrīśraddhā stole them from the Mahiyaṅganacetiya; we prefer to think that the Kesadhātu and the Gīvadhātu, while performing miracles at the Mahiyaṅganacetiya, miraculously reduplicated themselves, that duplicates flew down and landed on Śrīśraddhā's head (just as they do at Sukhodaya later; see II/65 ff.), and that their action signified they wished him to take them to Sukhodaya.

In note 146 above, we said there might be a further objection to our view that 'that place' at II/42 means the Mahādhātu at Sukhodaya, and that the 'nine sacred objects' at II/41 are the nine towers of that monument. Here it is. If the author has jumped from Ceylon to Sukhodaya, why does he jump back again to Ceylon before returning to Sukhodaya to take up the account of the reconstruction of the Mahādhātu (II/45 ff.)? One answer



to the objection is that order and continuity are not his strong points; and he seems to be reverting to the miracles at the Mahiyaṅganacetiya to suggest where he got the relics to bring to Sukhodaya. We believe this to be true; but the train of thought may be more complex.

In a recent letter, Dr S. Paranavitana, the former Commissioner of Archaeology in Ceylon, has kindly given us the following information about the two rival kingdoms into which Ceylon was divided. Around 1330 the Jāvaka dynasty of the kingdom of Yāpāpaṭuna (modern Jaffna) was supplanted by the Āryacakravarti dynasty, founded by a scion of a Rājput family from Gujerat. A brother of the last Jāvaka king of Yāpāpaṭuna, after trying unsuccessfully to recover the kingdom from the first Āryacakravarti ruler, retreated southward to Kurunegala, where he was able to oust Parakramabāhu IV, the last king of the Paṇḍya branch of the Sinhalese royal family. He made himself king at Kurunegala, assuming the regnal name Vijayabāhu V. The Āryacakravarti ruler pushed the frontiers of his kingdom southward, so as to include Anurādhapura and Yāpavu within his territories; and Vijayabāhu was forced to retreat to the hills in 1341. In the same year he was succeeded by his son Bhuvanekabāhu IV, who made his capital at Gampola, 12 miles south of Kandy. Vijayabāhu V and his successors at Gampola claimed the overlordship of the whole island, and their claim seems to have been acknowledged by the Āryacakravarti of Yāpāpaṭuna, though he was at this time more powerful than they. Mahiyaṅgana was within the territories of the Kurunegala and Gampola kings. As their kingdom and Yāpāpaṭuna both claimed to be the legitimate successor of the kingdom of Anurādhapura and Polonnāruva, both might claim the epithet of 'Sihala'. In the reign of Vijayabāhu V (1335-41) Anurādhapura was under the rule of the king of Yāpāpaṭuna, so Śrīśraddhā must have received the patronage and assistance of that potentate to carry out works of repair to the Mahāthūpa.

As most of Śrīśraddhā's sojourn in Ceylon was apparently spent at Anurādhapura, it seems possible to us that for him 'Sihala' meant the kingdom of Yāpāpaṭuna, and more particularly the region of Anurādhapura itself. If we take 'Sihala' at II/40 in this sense, then the 'nine sacred objects' could be monuments outside of Anurādhapura. There were altogether sixteen places of the greatest sanctity (soḷasamahāṭhānāni) in Ceylon; see J/J, p. 49 and note 1, also p. 130. Seven of them were in Anurādhapura and nine elsewhere, the foremost of these nine being the Mahiyaṅganacetiya; see Geiger, *The Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times*, p. 207.

Most likely the passage in Inscription 2 at II/40-42 is a kind of religious double-talk, in which the 'nine sacred objects' are not only the nine towers of the Mahādhātu at Sukhodaya, but also at the same time nine cetiyas in Ceylon, as if each of the former were magically identified with one of the latter. The central tower of the Mahādhātu, in which miraculous duplicates of the Kesadhātu and the Gīvadhātu were to be deposited, would then correspond to the Mahiyaṅganacetiya, which contained the famous originals.

[II/45-48.]<sup>150</sup> The platform of the Mahādhātu had fallen down for a distance of thirteen fathoms along the east side. Filled with zeal, I exerted myself to [rebuild the monument] with well-laid brick and to cover it all over with stucco. ☉ When it was coated with stucco from the tip of the spire<sup>151</sup> down to the ground, it was as large and lofty, as white and beautiful, as Mount Kailāsa. I also stuccoed the feet, hands and bodies of the images of the Buddha. At several points I built, in quick succession, towers with extremely beautiful stone Buddha images<sup>152</sup>. ☉ Exerting myself to accumulate an abundance of merit, I performed twenty-eight works in a single day<sup>153</sup>.

[II/49-65.] Then the great relics<sup>154</sup> performed tremendous miracles, [sending forth rays] like ocean waves or great showers of rain. Some rays were like the rain that splashes the mangoes<sup>155</sup>, or a torrent of flowers of brilliant colors; some rays shone like stars at night, or like liquid gold flowing brilliantly everywhere; some rays were white like . . . . . jewels, or like double and single gardenia flowers<sup>156</sup> appearing all over

150) At last the author comes to the point, the reconstruction of the Mahādhātu at Sukhodaya. For a discussion see Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, p. 18 ff.

151) พุทธมณฑล (II/56); cf. above, note 14.

152) The word we translate as 'in quick succession' is แล่น (II/47-48), for แล่น 'to move quickly'. The one we translate as 'towers' is โทณน (II/47), for โทณน, here equivalent to prāsāda.

153) See above, p. 76.

154) The Kesadhātu and the Gīvadhātu, which have evidently just been enshrined in the 'Golden Cetiya', i.e. the central tower of the Mahādhātu (see below, note 158); but they spring out again to perform the miracles. With them are 'a throng of [other] relics' (II/63) which participate in the miracles, perhaps miscellaneous relics that Śrīśraddhā brought from Ceylon to be deposited in the 'Golden Cetiya' at the same time, or else some that had been deposited there before. The recital of the miracles performed by the Kesadhātu and the Gīvadhātu, which begins here, goes on to the end of the primary text (middle of II/82).

155) The 'mango-showers' which occur sporadically in Siam around February, when the countryside is otherwise hot and dusty, and when the mango trees are covered with blossoms. The rain is believed to aid pollination.

156) ดอกชอน ดอกพุด (II/52). Coedès takes ดอกชอน as equivalent to ดอกชอนกลั่น, 'tuberoses', and translates the combination as 'tuberoses and gardenias'; but we doubt if the tuberose was known by that name in Siam in the 14th century. We think it more likely that ดอกชอน means ดอกชอน, 'double flowers', while ดอกพุด would be the gardenia with single flowers. The latter, which is rare in the western world, is cultivated in Siam as well as the double variety.



the universe. The Kesadhātu performed a miracle . . . . like flashes of lightning and streams of water<sup>157</sup>, moving rapidly about in the sky in a marvelous manner. ☉ Moreover, they saw the Sun . . . . come out, blue like the flame [used for] firing earthen pots and jars [in a kiln.] ☉ The Gīvādhātu, coming out of the Golden Cetiya<sup>158</sup>, darted up to the . . . . . [The two relics] appeared like two suns, exceedingly brilliant and beautiful, surpassing the Sun [itself] . . . . The Gīvādhātu appeared . . . . like a large silver drum surrounded by a broad [band of] brilliant rays . . . . it is fitting to say that there were rays of six colors<sup>159</sup>, yellow, red, black, green, white, and iridescent<sup>160</sup>, brightly lighting every part of the universe. The miracles lasted from [the hour of] faint sunshine up to two degrees of shadow before noon. The natives of Sīhala [who were living in] the five villages<sup>161</sup> came across the river Bāy [?]<sup>162</sup>

- 157) Recalling the Yāmakapāṭihāriya, in which the Buddha produced flames and streams of water alternately from different parts of his Person; see Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, II, 683.
- 158) The Golden Cetiya (ceti dōṇ, ဇေတီဝံဒ or Suvāṇṇacetiya) is the central tower of the Mahādhātu at Sukhodaya; the large bulb on top of it, representing a reliquary urn in the form of a lotus-bud, was originally gilded. See Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, pp. 19-20; it now seems more certain than ever that these miracles occurred at Sukhodaya, not Sajjanālaya.
- 159) chappbannaraṅṅsī (II/57), i.e. chabbaṇṇaraṅṅsī, the rays of six colors, which, according to tradition, emanate from the Buddha's head. On evidence from the Paṭṭhamasambodhi, the Royal Institute's Dictionary lists them as: blue, yellow, red, white, orange-red like a cock's comb, and shining like crystal.
- 160) As 'blue' and 'green' were more or less interchangeable, these six 'colors' correspond to those in the list in the preceding note except for one puzzling discrepancy: 'black', rather than 'orange-red like a cock's comb'. The same discrepancy is found in the six colors of the cloths listed at I/89-90. As ဘဝ at II/57 corresponds to ဝါရဝ(ဝ) at I/90, we have translated it as 'iridescent'.
- 161) The 'laymen' (gahapati) mentioned at II/41, whom Śrīśraddhā brought from Ceylon. They had evidently settled down in five villages close to Sukhodaya.
- 162) Conjectural translation, on the supposition that ဘဝ (II/58-59) means 'the river Bāy.' Cf. the river Sambāy, on whose bank Rāma Gamhēn placed an inscription (see Inscription I, III/24). This river is said to be west of Vāt Braḥ Bāy Hlvañ (*Wat Pra Pāi Luang*), north of the old city of Sukhodaya. Coedès takes ဘဝ to mean 'paddle', but we think that in that case it would have to be followed by ဝါရဝ.

uttering shouts of applause, and there was tremendous excitement. They invited the relics<sup>163</sup> [to return], but [the relics] did not come down. They asked me to invite the relics; [the relics] came down, made the pradakṣiṇa of the Golden Cetiya, and then leaped up again. ⊙ I had boundless faith, I threw myself on the ground and offered my life as an irrevocable gift, vowing to uphold the religion of Laṅkāḍīpa<sup>164</sup>, and to obey the Buddha's words in all things. ⊙ Then the relics came whirling down and made the circuit of the Golden Cetiya<sup>165</sup>, shooting out rays which were marvelously beautiful to behold<sup>166</sup> like crystal cart-wheels. Then the Gīvādhātu entered the Golden Urn<sup>167</sup>, and the throng of [other] relics . . . . . entered the cetiya like bees hurrying<sup>168</sup> into their hive. ⊙ Then I rose and performed añjali . . . . . the precious great relics of our Lord. ⊙

[II/65-75.] One relic, beautiful in color like gold, with a halo the size of a . . . fruit<sup>169</sup>, came whirling down from the sky and made the circuit of His Lordship's<sup>170</sup> person, then rose up and settled on his head. The precious relic then came and landed in the middle of his forehead. Braḥ Srisradhārājacūlāmūnī Śrīrattanaḷāṅkāḍīpa raised his two hands to

163) พระ (II/59); the Kesadhātu and the Gīvadhātu.

164) สกั (II/61) is equivalent to กะทำ. The expression สกัในลังกาหัง means 'the religion of Ceylon' rather than 'the religion in Ceylon'; he was simply vowing to uphold the Ceylon form of Buddhism. The statement that he was vowing to make a pilgrimage to Ceylon (Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, p. 20) must therefore be retracted. In Sukhodayan inscriptions there are several instances where ใน means 'of' (as it does in Khmer); further on in Inscription 2, at II/81, we have a clear case (see note 184).

165) Sūvannacetī (II/62), for suvaṇṇacetiya, the Pali equivalent of cetī dōn (เจดีย์ทอง), 'Golden Cetiya'.

166) ครอบ (II/62), i.e. ครอบ, 'to look at' (loan-word from Khmer).

167) โกลทอง (kosa dōn, II/63), perhaps an epithet for the gilded bulb in the form of a lotus-bud on top of the central tower of the Mahādhātu.

168) Conjectural translation, on the supposition that พา-, should be restored as ฟ่าน, now used chiefly as an adverb, 'hither and thither', 'in disorder'.

169) ลูกหมาก (II/66) can mean any sort of fruit; the particular kind was probably specified in the lacuna.

170) ทาน (II/66), i.e. ฟ่าน, the honorific pronoun of the second or third person. As appears from the next sentence, it here means Śrīśradhā.



receive it and do obeisance. A Kesadhātu<sup>171</sup>, shining and beautiful, came whirling down from above and circled around over his head. Braḥ Śrīsradhārājacūlāmūṇī was full of faith, his tears flowed in great abundance and he did obeisance with his breast, his knees and his palms, in a manner which is beyond description. ☉ All the natives of Sihala, seeing the miracle, threw themselves down in a dense cluster<sup>172</sup> doing obeisance with the five members<sup>173</sup>, prostrate on the ground, embracing<sup>174</sup> the legs<sup>175</sup> and feet of Braḥ Śrīsradhārājacūlāmūṇī. All the people doing obeisance covered the ground like rows of scythed sugar-cane scattered<sup>176</sup> in quantity all over that place. ☉ Then they rose to their feet, doing homage. Some of them said, 'This Cau Rājakumāra<sup>177</sup> Mahāsāmī is really a future Buddha, isn't he?' ☉ They brought water to wash the Mahāsāmī's feet, and collected<sup>178</sup> the water to drink. Wherever the Mahāsāmī Śrīsradhārājacūlāmūṇī stepped, they dug up the earth at that place as soon as he raised his foot: they dug it up as being worthy<sup>179</sup> to take home and worship.

[II/75-82.] At dawn the next day the two great relics, shining like stars, first rose slowly into the sky. Then Braḥ Śrīsradhārājacūlāmūṇī went across the river<sup>180</sup> . . . the relics entered the Golden Urn<sup>181</sup> for one

- 171) เกศธาตุเสนหนึ่ง (II/68); the expression implies that this Hair Relic is not one that has already been mentioned. Presumably it is a miraculous duplicate of the Kesadhātu that has been enshrined, and the unspecified relic at II/65 is a similar duplicate of the Gīvadhātu. We have already been told at II/63-64 that the Gīvadhātu and the 'throng of other relics' re-entered the cetiya like bees hurrying into their hives; but the two duplicate relics at II/65-70 must have been laggards, waiting outside to bestow their honors on Śrīśraddhā.
- 172) สนนพพตต (II/71), i.e. sandabatta; cf. Pali saṇḍa, 'a cluster,' 'a multitude,' or sanda, 'thick,' 'close,' and baddha, 'clustered together,' etc.
- 173) The 'five-fold obeisance' consists of prostrating oneself and touching the earth with forehead, forearms and knees.
- 174) พก, 'to hold'.
- 175) ขง, i.e. ข้าง, 'shins'.
- 176) ตานตาส (II/72), 'scattered'.
- 177) rājakumāra means a king's son.
- 178) คู้, i.e. คูน, 'to collect', now mainly used for collecting wood to make a fire.
- 179) อนนคณน (II/75), 'which was suitable'; cf. *Tai Yuan* อัน, equivalent to Siamese ควร, 'ought to', 'befitting'.
- 180) น้ำคงคา (II/76), presumably the River Bāy; see above, note 162.
- 181) We guess that โกษ.สง (II/77) should be read as โกษทอง, 'Golden Urn'.

night . . . At dawn they came out for a moment<sup>182</sup> so that all the people could see, applaud and worship them. Then they returned, shining as brightly as a cakra<sup>183</sup> which rolls through the sky, and re-entered the Golden Cetiya where they were before. Their rays struck it and scattered, surpassing the rising Sun in brilliance and beauty. The relics performed miracles at that place for thirty-one days. ⊙ The reason they performed such miracles was to show themselves to all the people, to cause them to help uplift the Dharma of Lañkā[dīpa]<sup>184</sup> as a great source of merit, and to make the Buddhist religion manifest.

[II/82-87.] At one place<sup>185</sup> he went to [a monastery of] Forest-Dwellers outside the city of Kāmbalai [?]<sup>186</sup>. The natives of Sihala had arrayed it with flags, banners, lamps, incense and sweet-smelling garlands. They then . . . the Mahā . . . dhātu<sup>187</sup> with a very numerous escort of honor following the mahā[theras], the theras and the [anu]theras. There was a troop of theras who observed the dhutaṅgasīlas<sup>188</sup>, the Braḥ Mahāsāmī . . . ; next came the counsellors and royal ministers, ūpāsakas and ūpāsikās<sup>189</sup>, in countless numbers . . . pavilion<sup>190</sup> . . . gold, taking the Mahādantadhātu<sup>191</sup> with very great . . . to put in . . . [The Mahā]-sāmī [Braḥ] [I/91-96] Śrīsradhārājacūlāmūnī then raised both hands together [?] in homage, so that the people might behold truly, clearly and easily. [Braḥ Śrīsradhārājacūlāmūnī Mahāsāmī] pen Cau, filled with faith, offered himself as a gift . . . at that place<sup>192</sup> . . . made

182) บดตบพวง, 'for a quick moment' (II/77). In *Lào* and *Tai Dèng*, the world บด means 'quick'.

183) The discus-weapon of the cakravartin (universal monarch).

184) ญชรรวมในลังกาหิป (II/81); ญ is for ชญ; รวมในลังกาหิป here clearly means the religion of Ceylon; ใน cannot possibly mean 'in', as it would be absurd to expect 'all the people' to go to Ceylon.

185) The postscript begins here. As usual, the expression 'at one place' introduces the recital of yet another meritorious act on the part of Śrīsraddhā.

186) The reading ภูพลา (II/83) is very doubtful, and the place (if that is what it represents) cannot be identified.

187) Doubtless the Mahādantadhātu; see below, II/87.

188) Optional ascetic practices.

189) Male and female lay devotees.

190) Reconstructing . . . ศาล as ศาลา.

191) A Tooth Relic; cf. the Dantadhātusugandhacetiya mentioned at I/7 (see note 23).

192) We omit the second ภูพลา 'at that place' (I/92), as the repetition appears to be a mistake.



a spire<sup>193</sup> there. The relic performed stupendous miracles for three months ..... all of them, the entire ..... went into that place ..... the precious relics, the Gīvādhātu, the D ....., the Daṇṭadhātu, the relics ..... in the sky. The natives of Sīhala, seeing them with their own eyes, were filled with faith .....

[I/96-107.] .....<sup>194</sup> [Śrīsradhārāja]cūlāmūṇī, on top of Mount S .....<sup>195</sup> perform meritorious acts. The people of Braḥ ... worship ..... one ..... carved out of .... of Denurā[ja]<sup>196</sup>, founded ... ..... a Footprint, ..... went to restore .. the cetiya in ..... [The relics ?] came back, rays of six colors ..... went up ..... Braḥ Sri [sradhārāja]cūlāmūṇī ..... [II/-88-95] Braḥ Mahāsāmi Srīrattanalaṅkā[dīpa] ..... At the level of the pinnacle ..... Ārya Maitri<sup>197</sup> ..... meditation, firm and straight under the tree ..... Srīrattana ... the great city of [Anu]rādhapura where ..... the Srīrattanadhātu ..... images of the Buddha ..... a hundred and fifty thousand ..... beyond counting .....

193) ဂူဝေ (I/93), modern ဝေဝေ; probably the finial of a cetiya or a vihāra.

194) This passage may have begun with ဝေဝေဝေ, as it seems to introduce still another meritorious act performed by Śrīsraddhā, perhaps the founding of a Buddhapāda (Footprint of the Buddha) on a mountain (but the text is too fragmentary to be certain).

195) Perhaps Sumanakūṭa (cf. Inscription 8).

196) This name (I/98) is probably intended for Dhenurāja, 'lord of the cows', an epithet of Kṛṣṇa; cf. above, notes 89 and 138.

197) Āriya Metteyya, who will be the last Buddha of the present kappa; cf. above, note 141.

## 8.

Inscription 11 was discovered in 1921 by Prince Damrong Rājanubhāb on top of Frog Hill (เขานก) at Pāk-nāṃ Bo, Nagara Svarga. It was shipped to Bangkok the following year and placed in the Vajirañāṇa Library. It is now in the Manuscript and Inscription Division of the National Library.

The fragmentary slab of schist on which the text is engraved is 30 cm. high, 50 cm. wide and 6 cm. thick. Face I has 19 lines of writing; Face II has 29; and there are a few illegible letters on the narrow edge of the slab. Both the top and bottom of the slab are broken off, carrying away the beginning of the text on both faces, as well as the end of the text on Face II. There is no date in the surviving portions of either face.

The inscription was first published by the late George Coedès in 1924<sup>1</sup>. As he observed, the two faces are unrelated to each other. He ascribed Face I to the reign of Mahādharmarājā III (1419-38), and believed that Face II was later<sup>2</sup>; but he afterwards changed his mind about Face II and accepted Braḥyā Nagara Braḥ Rāma's view that the person whose acts of merit it recounts, though the name is lost, is Śrīśraddhā<sup>3</sup>.

Recent studies have convinced us that Face I was composed by Mahādharmarājā I. Its purpose is to commemorate several acts of merit, including the founding of a monastery by him in the town at the foot of the hill<sup>4</sup>.

We can hardly doubt that Face II was composed by Śrīśraddhā. The nominal purpose of this text is to commemorate the erection of a cetiya by him 'at Ratanakūṭanagara, which the *Tai* call Kamḃañ Gròñ Ò.' Ratanakūṭa, 'Jewel Peak', was probably the old name of Frog Hill, and Ratanakūṭanagara that of the town at the foot of the hill, on the present site of Pāk-nāṃ Bo; the name Kamḃañ Gròñ Ò shows it was on low land (kamḃañ is either the Khmer word for a landing-place or the Malay word for a settlement; gròñ is ព្រំទន្លេ, a canal or waterway; and ò is

1) *Recueil*, I, 145 ff.; Siamese version, *Prajum* I, B.E. 2467, p. 149 ff. (reprinted B.E. 2500, p. 175 f.).

2) *Recueil*, I, 145.

3) *Etats hindouisés*, 398-9.

4) cf. Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, p. 39.



๓๐, reeds). This text seems to certify a later stage in Śrīsraddhā's progress toward Buddhahood than Inscription 2. We shall probably not be far wrong if we ascribe it to the 1350's.

Both faces of Inscription 11 would therefore date from the reign of Mahādharmarājā I, but it is not clear which of the two is earlier. In favor of an earlier date for Face I is the absence of the mai-hān-ākāśa, which occurs four times in Face II. On the other hand the use of the same stone for two unrelated texts could be more easily explained on the hypothesis that Face I is later; if Mahādharmarājā I built his monastery around a cetiya erected some years earlier by Śrīsraddhā, he might very logically put his own inscription on the reverse of the same slab of stone that Śrīsraddhā had placed beside the cetiya<sup>5</sup>. The stone would then be left *in situ* to inform visitors to the monastery of the identity of the donors. Why it was later moved to the top of the hill is not clear.

In the present study we are concerned only with Face II<sup>6</sup>. The orthography is much the same as in Inscription 2. The vowels are similarly used, and the mai-hān-ākāśa occurs sporadically (four times in this short text, which is relatively more than in the much longer text of No. 2). The mai-ek does not appear, though something that looks just like it is used several times as a separation marker (much more often than in No. 2; cf. above, p. 59). The style of composition is much like the more concise and elliptical passages in No. 2, with even worse incoherencies which make parts of it very hard to understand.

5) At the foot of Frog Hill there is a vihāra dating from the Sukhodaya period, with a cetiya of 'Sinhalese' type behind it, which may belong to more or less the same period; see Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, Fig. 40; and ศิลปวัฒนธรรมศึกษา, Bangkok (Department of Fine Arts), B.E. 2505, Fig. 67. We are tempted to identify this cetiya with the one built by Śrīsraddhā, and to take the vihāra as part of the monastery built by Mahādharmarājā I.

6) We hope to study Face I in a later paper which will be devoted to the epigraphy of Mahādharmarājā I.

## INSCRIPTION 11, FACE II

## Text

[Lines 1-3, illegible except for a few letters.]

- (๔) ..... วรรณทว  
 (๕) ..... สาวสองคน  
 (๖) ..... งอันแดงแ (ง)  
 (๗) ..... หาสรธาปราร (ถนา)  
 (๘) ..... ยาทส (บารมี)  
 (๙) ..... ทำพร..  
 (๑๐) ..... ต ปลุกพระสรีมหาโพธิ .....
- (๑๑) ..... อาวาสแตนครสรลงมีพุทธปรคิมา พระสรีม...  
 (๑๒) ..... ส (น)ามหาสำพานไวกนฝูงคิตกกนำลางตีนฝูงสง (ข)  
 (๑๓) ..... รกสวจิงคลายงส์ไซไทเสชนาโลกทำสำภารบารมี..  
 (๑๔) ..... พระมหาราคุคลาตยงฝางแพลร์พุนตากชย (ง)..  
 (๑๕) ..... (ร) อคถึงคกที่โปรสชางนกรพนนกลิงคราสปาตลปิ (ตร)  
 (๑๖) ..... บุรน์ครตรีโจตมนนทลามลตราชรอถึงลงกาท (ป)..  
 (๑๗) .... คว. หาพบพระมหารตันธาคุแถจวคตททำจริยาไทห ....  
 (๑๘) .. ตสางพระมหาราคุเล็กสาสนาธรรมในพระมหานครสิงห (ล) ....  
 (๑๙) .. โสคผลสตีบเขาชามมาละตนาวศรีเพื่อเลือกเอาคนฝูงคี่ .....
- (๒๐) . สิทลทีบรอกพระพุทสรี่อารไมตรีเพชบุรีราชบุรี น ....  
 (๒๑) . สอโยทยาสรี่รามเทพนครทิสอรพี่รูนาสตรงบาคาลพระ ..



- (๒๒) . เจจทานกัทีนหน ผสัแตก่พระเจดีพระสรี (ร) ดนธาคูไคพนน...ร
- (๒๓) (อ) ยหาลิบเจครันกุกานครไทวากัพงครองอกพระเจดี.....
- (๒๔) (ผ) สัแตก่ปลุกพระสรีมหาโพธิไคสามรอยตนกลางตนญอศลา (งตน).
- (๒๕) . งกลางตนคาลางตนพีชปลุกควยทิสถานบารมีจิง....
- (๒๖) . ปลุกพระโพพนันตันแตบุชาคอกไมตางตางสิงไคสอ (ง)....
- (๒๗) สามรอยแปดสิบสิงกวานนบคนณาเลยแตทวลปร (ทีบ) .
- (๒๘) หนือบรไรไคพนนคีนสกลราตริยนตนหลายถาแลจิงเอา... .
- (๒๙) .. สัพนนคีนนำมนนห่ลรตทววหนือหวมหาปรทิบท..

## Translation

[II/1-3. : *illegible except for a few letters.*]

[II/4-14.] ..... caste<sup>7</sup>, everywhere .....  
 ..... two daughters ..... like that<sup>8</sup>,  
 adorning them splendidly<sup>9</sup> ..... in his faith and eager-  
 ness to<sup>10</sup> ..... the ten perfections<sup>11</sup> .....  
 ..... made a holy [image] ..... As for<sup>12</sup> planting  
 Srīmahābodhi trees .....<sup>13</sup> an āvāsa<sup>14</sup>. As for Nagḍr Sralvañ,  
 [he founded]<sup>15</sup> an image of the Buddha, [planted] a Srīm[ahābodhi tree]<sup>16</sup>,  
 ..... [built] a large bridge, and assigned a throng of good people to  
 draw water to wash the monks' feet and ..... take care of [the  
 premises]<sup>17</sup>. Then he went to Sukhodai and Sejanālai to accomplish the  
 perfections<sup>18</sup> ..... holy Mahādhātu<sup>19</sup>.

7) cf. No. 2, I/89, 'renounce his [princely] caste'.

8) Restoring—*वज्रं* (II/6) as *वज्रं*.

9) cf. No. 2, II/2, 'adorned his two daughters splendidly'.

10) cf. No. 2, II/5, 'in his eagerness to become a Buddha.'

11) *dasapāramī* (II/8), i.e. the perfect exercise of the ten principal virtues leading to Buddhahood, namely: generosity (*dāna*), morality (*sīla*), renunciation (*nekkhamma*), wisdom (*paññā*), energy (*viriyā*), forbearance (*khanti*), truthfulness (*sacca*), resolution (*adiṭṭhāna*), all-embracing kindness (*mettā*) and equanimity (*upekkhā*). Cf. the **Dasajāti**, the tales of the Buddha's last ten previous incarnations.

12) We restore—*न* (II/10) as *न*, 'only', 'counting only,' 'as for.' The word *न* occurs repeatedly in this text before an enumeration of a particular group of meritorious deeds performed by Śrīśraddhā, or the name of the place where he performed them.

13) The lacuna doubtless contained the enumeration.

14) cf. No. 2, II/9, 'he planted a Srīmahābodhi tree, he built a vihāra and an āvāsa.'

15) Literally 'there is' (*अस्ति*, II/11), which seems to carry through to the end of the clause. We have substituted a transitive construction for clarity.

16) cf. No. 2, II/15, 'he also built a mahācetiya, planted a Srīmahābodhi tree, and founded a large statue of the Buddha.'

17) cf. No. 2, II/11 ff., 'he built a large bridge, planted big trees (etc.) and a Srīmahābodhi tree, assigning several families to take care of [the premises] (etc.); and he assigned servants to wash the feet of the Mahātheras, the Anutheras and all the monks on the days of the new moon, the full moon, the uposatha and the pavāraṇā.'

18) *sambhāra pāramī* (II/13); *sambhāra* means accumulation or storing up; for *pāramī*, see above, note 11.

19) Either relics or a reliquary tower



[II/14-16.] He went to Fhāñ, Blè, Rabun, Tāk, Jyañ [Dòñ], [Chòt]<sup>20</sup>, and all the way to the forest where he set his elephant free<sup>21</sup>, [then on to] Nagara Bann<sup>22</sup>, the kingdom of Kaliṅga, Pāṭaliputta, . . . . . purana-gara, the Three Cola Kingdoms, the Malala Kingdom, and all the way to Lañkāḍīpa<sup>23</sup>.

- 20) Fhāñ is *Miāng Fāng*, in Bijaya District (อ. ฝ้าง), Uttaratiṭṭha Province, about 40 km. south of the town of Uttaratiṭṭha; Blè is *Prè* (พรือ); Rabun (รับุน) is *Lampūn* (ลำพูน); Tāk is old Tāk (now บ้านตาก), on the right bank of the *Ping* about 25 km. north of the present town of Tāk; Jyañ Dòñ is *Chieng Tòng* (เชียงตุง), which was a riverine port on the *Ping* (perhaps near the present town of Tāk) used by travelers wishing to continue their journey overland, via *Mè Sòt*, to Martaban; the context enables us to restore the lacuna at II/15 as Chòt (ชอต), i.e. *Mè Sòt*. This passage may be compared with No. 2, II/15-17, where Śrīśraddhā goes through the market (doubtless at Fhāñ or one of the other cities enumerated), buying up all the living creatures and setting them free; carves a seat-covering (for the pedestal of an image); and carves a sandalwood statue.
- 21) The forest where he set his elephant free must have been on the west side of the watershed in Burma, near Kawkareik on the north branch of the River Gyaing, where he could take a boat or raft downstream to Martaban. As he had no further use for the elephant, he turned it loose as an act of merit. Cf. No. 2, II/18: 'in the forest in . . . on Nāñ Tāy Hill, he went by elephant to worship [the statue of] the Lord, and set [the elephant] free at that place.'
- 22) Nagara Bann (II/15), the city of Bān, i.e. Martaban. The use of the word *nagara* confirms our view that Bān means the capital of Rāmaññadesa, not some small place nearby. The route taken by Śrīśraddhā from Jyañ Dòñ to Bān is the same as that followed in the opposite direction by the Mahāthera from Bān whom Mahādharmaṛājū I invited to Sukhodaya in 1361; see Inscr. 4, II/11, ff. For an account of this route in the early 20th century, see Lunet de Lajonquière, *Le Siam et les Siamois*, Paris, 1908, pp. 156-239.
- 23) Śrīśraddhā evidently took ship at Martaban, sailed across the Bay of Bengal, and landed in Kaliṅga (modern Orissa), a kingdom which had successfully resisted Muslim encroachments and was still ruled by a Hindu dynasty. The harbor at False Point in Orissa is one of the best in India. Śrīśraddhā may have stopped there, then continued up the coast to the mouths of the Ganges, and sailed up the river to Pāṭaliputta (modern Patna); or else perhaps he went to Kaṭak (Cuttack) on the Mahānadī in Kaliṅga, and continued overland from there to Pāṭaliputta, a distance of some 600 km. In either case his real objective was certainly Bodhgayā, the scene of the Buddha's Enlightenment, which is in Patna District 100 km. south of the town of Patna. All this region had been under Muslim suzerainty since the end of the 12th century, but the local rāja at Bodhgayā was doubtless a Hindu, who would feel no inclination to interfere with Buddhist pilgrims or the profitable business connected with receiving them. If Śrīśraddhā was traveling overland from Kaliṅga, there would be no reason for him to go to the town of Pāṭaliputta at all, for he would reach Bodhgayā first.

Śrīśraddhā's itinerary from there to Lañkāḍīpa (Ceylon) is not perfectly clear. Coedès transcribes the intervening place-names as '. . . pura nagara trī colamandalā mallarāja'; in his translation he omits the unidentifiable

'...pura', and takes the other names to be Nagara Tri, Colamaṇḍala, and the kingdom of the Mallas (*Recueil*, pp. 146, 149); but he evidently had doubts about 'Nagara Tri' as a place-name, because he puts a question-mark after it. In the last name on the list, 𑀕𑀲𑀭𑀸𑀓, he is certainly right in interpreting 𑀕𑀲𑀭𑀸𑀓 as 𑀕𑀲𑀭𑀸𑀓, 'kingdom'; but 𑀕𑀲𑀭𑀸𑀓 could represent either 'malla' or 'malala', and we are inclined to prefer the latter: the Malala Kingdom was approximately equivalent to Keraḷa on the Malabar coast. As we guess that 'colamandalā' is intended to be a plural, we propose to understand the names as '..... puranagara, tricoḷamaṇḍalā, malalarāja,' i.e. '..... puranagara, the Three Coḷa Kingdoms [and] the Malala Kingdom.'

The Coḷa Empire, which once ruled a large part of South India, disappeared in the 13th century, but the name Coḷamaṇḍala survived, and still survives today in the form 'Coromandel' which designates the east coast of South India. On the ruins of the Coḷa and Cālukya Empires four kingdoms arose. The Muslims conquered a great deal of South India by the 1320's, but most of it broke away in the early 1330's, and a number of Hindu chieftains started restoring the old way of life (see Nilakanta Sastri, *History of South India*, Madras, 1955, pp. 202-228). The 'Three Coḷa Kingdoms', though we have been unable to discover any reference to this term in Indian history, must mean three states, either independent or tributary, on the Coromandel Coast. In the unsettled conditions that then prevailed in South India, Śrīśraddhā would surely have found overland travel difficult, so we believe his South Indian itinerary represents a sea-trip with calls at ports along the east coast on the way.

Upon leaving Bodhgayā, Śrīśraddhā probably returned to Kaliṅga. We are tempted to restore '... puranagara' as Dantapuranagara, a city in Kaliṅga known to Buddhists as the place where the Tooth-Relic had been deposited before it was translated to Ceylon. Dantapura is generally identified with Purī, where there is a huge 12th-century temple dedicated to Jagannātha, a form of Kṛṣṇa, as well as many temples dedicated to Viṣṇu, Rāma, Śiva and other Hindu gods (see Walker, *The Hindu World*, London, 1968, p. 490 f.; Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, New York, 1927, p. 115). This complex would certainly attract Śrīśraddhā, who considered himself to be an avatāra of Kṛṣṇa, Rāma, etc.

If we accept Dantapuranagara as a partial restoration of the lacuna, we still have space left for about four letters, which probably gave the name of the port where Śrīśraddhā embarked for Dantapura; perhaps it was Kaṭak.

After leaving Kaliṅga, he stopped, as we have guessed, at three ports on the Coromandel coast; possibly making short trips inland to worship at Viṣṇu temples or some of the surviving Buddhist centers. One of these was probably Nāgapattinam, where there was still a flourishing community of Buddhists (see Ramachandran, *The Nāgapattinam and other Buddhist Bronzes in the Madras Museum*, Madras, 1954, pp. 1-19). Śrīśraddhā's last stop before reaching Ceylon was probably at some port in the eastern part of the Malala Kingdom, not far from the southern tip of India.



[II/17-22.] . . . . . he found some precious great relics<sup>24</sup> which, after beginning to whirl around, [continued] moving<sup>25</sup> for . . . .<sup>26</sup> As for restoring the Mahādhātu to exalt the religion in the great city of Siṅhala<sup>27</sup> . . . . . as well, [it took him] a total of ten years<sup>28</sup>. Then he came across [the sea] to Tanāvśrī<sup>29</sup>, [stopping there] to<sup>30</sup> select a throng of good men

- 24) mahārātanadhātu (II/17), doubtless the Kesadhātu and the Gīvadhātu which he saw performing miracles at the Mahiyaṅganacetiya in Ceylon (cf. p. 126). The miracles proved that the relics were genuine. The implication is that he had been unable to find any in Siam, Burma or India that proved their authenticity in this manner.
- 25) เหตุผลตกทำจวิธา (II/17); เหตุผลวัช, 'beginning with whirling' (the word เหตุผล also occurs in No. 2 at II/66); กระทำจวิธา, 'performed a movement' (จวิธา, Pali *cariyā*, which ordinarily means 'behavior', must be here used in a sense closer to its derivation from *carati*, 'to move').
- 26) ไต่ (II/17), apparently meaning 'for' in the sense of duration of time, is followed by น . . . .; the first word must be either ห้า, 'five', or หก, 'six', and the second either วัน, 'days', or เดือน, 'months'.
- 27) Anurādhapura; cf. section 7, note 149.
- 28) ผลสืบเนา (II/19). The word ผลสืบ (modern ประสม) means 'added together'. The period of 'ten years' must mean the length of time he spent in Ceylon, long enough to become a Thera in the Ceylon Saṅgha.
- 29) Tenasserim, including Mergui and the town of Tenasserim. Mergui had a splendid natural harbor, in which ships were safe in the roughest weather, and by sailing upstream from there on a flood tide they could reach the town of Tenasserim. We have a detailed description of the Trans-Peninsular route in the 17th century (de Bourges, *Relation du Voyage de Monseigneur l'Evêque de Beryte*, seconde édition, Paris, 1668), an account of a trip made over this route in the opposite direction in 1932 (Kerr, *Notes on a Trip from Prachuap (Kaw Lak) to Mergui*, JSS XXVI, 203 ff., with a map), and some valuable comments by Mr Maurice Collis (*Siamese White*, London, 1936, 19 ff., 30 ff., with map facing p. 30). In the 17th century, and perhaps long before, travelers could transfer at Tenasserim to river-boats which were propelled by crews with sweeps or poles, and dragged over the rapids with ropes; the boats would ascend the Little Tenasserim and its tributary the Theinkun as far as a place called Jalinga, where the travelers would disembark and continue the journey by sedan-chair or on foot. It was about 15 miles from there to the *Dèn Nôi* Pass (Burmese: Maw Taung), which is only about 1000 feet above sea-level. From the pass the route led down the slope to the Gulf of Siam, about 12 miles away. Under favorable conditions the trip from Mergui to the Gulf took less than a fortnight. This was certainly the route that Śrīśraddhā took. On reaching the Gulf, he continued, probably by boat, to Bejrapurī, Rājapurī and Ayodhyā.
- 30) เพื่อ (II/19), which usually means 'because' in the Sukhodayan inscriptions, is found in No. 2 at II/6 with a sense closer to its modern meaning, 'in order to', which is evidently what it means here.

..... Sihladīpa until [the coming of] the Buddha Śrī Ār Maitrī<sup>31</sup>. [He went to] Bejapurī, Rājapurī, N... s.,<sup>32</sup> [and] Ayodyā Sri Rāmadebanagara<sup>33</sup>, the place of the pond [?] of the Bīrūnāsa at the Pātāla, the [Sam] tec's palace [?] which His Majesty built there<sup>34</sup>.

- 31) The future Buddha, Āriya Metteyya (Skt. Ārya Maitreya). Though the lacuna at II/19-20 is rather short, the only meaning we can think of is that the throng of good men were to build something which would exalt the religion of Ceylon until the coming of the Buddha Āriya Metteyya. As the sentence stands, it must mean that Śrīśraddhā selected these men at Tenasserim, either to send them back to Ceylon in exchange for the craftsmen he had obtained there to take to Sukhodaya, or else to take them to Sukhodaya together with the Sinhalese craftsmen to help rebuild the Mahādhātu. But a line or two may have been omitted by mistake and added later, perhaps with a punctuation mark equivalent to a caret (no longer visible) to show where they should be read. We suspect that, after reading line 18, we are supposed to read line 20 to the end of ๒๓, then line 19, then the rest of line 20, and go on normally from there. If so, the meaning might be something like this: 'As for restoring the Mahādhātu [i.e. the Mahāthūpa] to exalt the religion in the great city of Sīnhala [and performing other works to exalt it in the whole of] Sihladīpa until [the coming of] the Buddha Āriya Metteyya as well, [it took him] a total of ten years.' This certainly gives a more satisfactory sense.
- 32) Judging from its position on the itinerary, we suspect this name may have been ๓๓๓๓, i.e. Nagara Jayaśrī.
- 33) 'Ayodyā' is Ayodhyā. Rāmadebanagara, 'city of the god Rāma', is used as an epithet of Ayodhyā, in allusion to Rāma's legendary city of Ayodhyā in India, and at the same time in paranomastic reference to Ayodhyā in Siam, whose ruler doubtless had 'Rāma' as part of his titlature; at the same time it recalls Sirijaya Jiañ Sèn's former capital, Debanagara. If, as we suggest in Table III, Śrīśraddhā visited Ayodhyā around 1344, it must have been near the end of Sirijaya Jiañ Sèn's reign or the beginning of Rāmādhīpati's.
- 34) Conjectural translation. The reading ๓๓๓ at II/21 is fairly clear; ๓ is doubtless for ๓, 'place'; and ๓๓ can be identified by a comparison with the Asokārāma Inscription of 1399 A.D., where a name which the Siamese face gives as ๓๓๓๓๓ is written **Samkhasara** ('conch-voiced') on the Pali face (see JSS 57/1, p. 39 line 16, p. 42 line 50, p. 45 and note 21, p. 53 and note 75): ๓๓๓ is therefore a doublet of Pali **sara**, and the context shows it is used here not in the sense of 'voice' but in the sense of a lake or pond, perhaps in allusion to the Sano Pond (หนองสน) on the island of Ayudhyā. Bīrūnāsa is probably put for Bīrūnāsana (which would be pronounced the same way in Siamese), an alternative spelling of Viruṇāsana, 'the throne of Viruna.' In the **Rāmakīrti**, Viruṇa is the Nāga King of Pātāla in whose subterranean palace Queen Sītā takes refuge when her husband Rāma accuses her of infidelity (see มงคลกอนวรมถ์บริ, Bangkok, B.E. 2510, 238-9). We guess that พระ... at the end of II/21 should be restored as พระที่นั่ง, 'palace', and we feel fairly certain that -๓๓ at the beginning of the next line should be restored as ๓๓๓, Samtec, i.e. either Sirijaya Jiañ Sèn or Rāmādhīpati. The next word, ๓๓, doubtless stands for ๓๓, 'His Majesty'. If we accept these conjectures, we should probably understand that Sirijaya Jiañ Sèn or Rāmādhīpati had built, or was building, a palace near the Sano Pond in imitation of the legendary palace of the fabulously wealthy Nāga King (after a hypothetical description in some version of the story of Rāma and Sītā from which the **Rāmakīrti** of the Bangkok period derives).



[II/22-29.] As for the cetiyas he<sup>35</sup> built for precious relics, the total reached a thousand . . . hundred and fifty-seven<sup>36</sup>. At Rātana-kūtānagara, which the *Tai* call Kambañ Gròñ Ò, he built a cetiya . . . As for the Śrīmahābodhi trees<sup>37</sup> he planted, the total reached three hundred, some of them [taken from] the top of the tree<sup>38</sup>, some [from] a branch<sup>39</sup>, and some [from] seeds, [always] planting them with a wish [based on] his perfections<sup>40</sup>, then . . .<sup>41</sup>. [As for] the Bo trees<sup>42</sup> he planted, [the total reached] a thousand. As for the flowering trees of various kinds he [planted] in homage, [the total] reached two . . . three hundred and eighty<sup>43</sup>. [As for the offerings he made] in addition to those [already mentioned], they cannot be counted at all. As for holding a lamp on his head, [he did so] a thousand nights throughout the night, observing<sup>44</sup> himself many times, then taking . . . for a thousand nights<sup>45</sup>, with the oil pouring down all over his head<sup>46</sup>. The great lamp . . .

[The rest of the text is missing.]

- 35) We have supplied the pronoun as the subject of the sentence, which obviously refers to Śrīśraddhā.
- 36) As the illegible word near the end of II/22 seems to have had three letters, the total might be 1257, 1357, 1757 or 1957.
- 37) The text makes a clear distinction between Śrīmahābodhi trees (พระศรีมหาโพธิ์, II/24) and Bo trees (พระโพ, II/26). The Śrīmahābodhi tree is the *ficus religiosa*, preferably grown from a cutting, layering, shoot or seed of the famous Śrīmahābodhi tree at Anurādhapura, which in turn had been grown from a layering of a large branch of the tree at Bodhgayā which marked the site of the Enlightenment.
- 38) sc. from a cutting or layering taken from the top of the Śrīmahābodhi tree at Anurādhapura.
- 39) ๕๓ (II/25), modern ๕๓ or ๕๓๖, 'a large fork of a tree.'
- 40) For the perfections (pāramī), see above, note 11. The wish was an 'act of truth', the terms of which are not stated here. By comparison with No. 2, II/53 f., we can guess that it ran somewhat as follows; 'If I am truly destined to become a Buddha, then may this tree live and flourish,' etc.
- 41) sc. 'the tree came to life', or something of the sort; cf. No. 2, II/65 f.
- 42) Probably *thespesia populnea* (ไผ่ตง), which grows wild along watercourses, and which doubtless gave its name to the River Bo (แม่น้ำโพ), as the lower section of the Ping was formerly called. Hence the name Pāk-nām Bo for the junction of the Ping and the Nān at Nagara Svarga (see F.G. Giles at JSS XXVIII/2, 213 f.).
- 43) If the missing word at the end of II/26 was ๓๓๓, 'thousand,' the total was 2380; but as the lacuna probably contained four letters it seems more likely to have been ๓๓๓๓, 'ten thousand,' which would make the total 20,380.
- 44) ๓๓ (II/28), modern ๓๓.
- 45) Or perhaps four thousand nights; we cannot tell if ๓ following the lacuna at the beginning of II/29 means ๓, 'four', or was the end of some other word.
- 46) It is hard to guess what this sentence means. As Śrīśraddhā's action was obviously supposed to be meritorious, it may have been some sort of ascetic practice to aid meditation by forcing him to stay awake all night.

## 9.

We append here a piece of information which may be pertinent.

In a letter written to His late Royal Highness Prince Nariśārānuvattivaṅśa on August 25, 1941, the late Braḥyā Anumāna Rājadhana, who was at that time Director General of the Department of Fine Arts, said that an inscription on gold leaf had recently been discovered in a cetiya at Sukhodaya, and he enclosed a transcript of the text. The transcript, dated July 31, 1941, was made by the late Mahā Chām Dōngāṃvarṇa, who states that the first three lines of the inscription and part of the fourth, which are in Siamese, are written in the characters of the south (i.e. Sukhodaya or Ayudhyā), both for the words and for the numbers; while the Pali stanza at the end is written in the characters of the north (i.e. Haripuñjaya or *Chieng Mai*). Braḥyā Anumāna's letter and Mahā Chām's transcript are published in *Śilpākara*, XII/1, pp. 28-32.

The exact provenance of the inscription is unknown, as well as its present whereabouts. No copy of it has been found among Mahā Chām's papers, and so far as we have been able to discover there is no photograph or rubbing of it in existence. Because of Mahā Chām's scrupulous scholarship, however, we have no hesitation in accepting the accuracy of the transcript.

The text states, first, that Saṃtec Braḥ Mahāthera Cuḷāmunī built a viḥāra on Friday the first day of the waning moon of the sixth month in C.S. 738, a year of the dragon; then that he enshrined a holy relic (or relics) and a lot of images of the Buddha (presumably votive tablets) on Wednesday the fourth day of the waning moon of the tenth month at the Kṛttikāṛkṣa; and finally that he erected an 18-cubit statue on top.

We are indebted to Mr Roger Billard of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient for calculating the dates for us in terms of the Julian calendar. In a letter of July 23, 1971, he tells us that the date given for the building of the viḥāra corresponds to Friday April 4, 1376 A.D. (Julian), while that for the enshrinement of the relic and images corresponds to Wednesday September 3 of the same year, at a moment when



the true moon was in the Kṛttikāṛkṣa or constellation of Pleiades, i.e. after the local midday; and he adds that the mention of the Kṛttikāṛkṣa makes it possible to confirm the accuracy of the corresponding date.

We think it highly likely that the Saṃtec Braḥ Mahāthera Cuḷāmunī of the gold-leaf inscription is the same person as Saṃtec Śrīśraddhārāja-cūḷāmunī Śrīratanaḷkādīpa Mahāsāmi Pen Cau to whose acts of merit so much of Inscription 2 is devoted. To enshrine the relic (or relics) and the images he evidently built a cetiya beside the vihāra he had just completed; he doubtless placed the gold-leaf inscription in the relic-chamber of the cetiya; and this cetiya would be the one at Sukhodaya, which we unfortunately cannot identify, in whose ruins the inscription was discovered.

By this time Śrīśraddhā must have been nearly eighty years old, perhaps more. If we are right in our identification, the gold-leaf inscription records what must have been one of the last large acts of merit performed by him.

## Text

- (๑) สกราชไต ๗๓๘ โรงเรียนกษัตริ์ เดินหกแรมค้ำนิงสุกรพาร  
 สเด็จพระมหาเถรจุ (พา) มุณีปลุกพิหาร
- (๒) นี้ไตเดินสืบหาวนนบริบูรณ แลวเมือหน้าเดินสืบแรมสี่ค้ำ  
 พุทธพารกรรตการิกสจิงปรัติสธา
- (๓) พระธาตุและพระพุทฺธิมาอนนทานกทำควย เงิน ทอง หยก  
 งา ทั้งหลาย เ (๔) ลวจิงกทำ
- (๔) พระอถารสเหนือนน อิมินาปุณฺณกมฺเมน พุทฺโธ โหมิ  
 อนาคเต สัสสาราโมจนตฺถาย สพฺเพสฺสฺสโต

## Romanized Transcription of the Pali Stanza in Line 4

iminā puññakammena  
 saṃsārā mocanattāya

buddho homi anāgate  
 sabbe satte asesato



[*In Siamese*: 1] In sakarāja 738, a year of the dragon, in the sixth month, on the first day of the waning moon, a Friday, Saṃtec Braḥ Mahāthera Cu(ḷā)munī built this vihāra, [2] which was finished after a month and fifteen days<sup>1</sup>. After that, in the tenth month, on the fourth day of the waning moon, a Wednesday, (when the moon was in the constellation of Kṛttika<sup>2</sup>, he enshrined [3] the holy relic<sup>3</sup>, and many images of the Buddha which he had made of silver, gold, tin<sup>4</sup> and ivory. Then he made [4] an eighteen-cubit image<sup>5</sup> on top<sup>6</sup>. [*In Pali* :] By means of my meritorious action may I become a Buddha in the future for the purpose of releasing all creatures from transmigration completely!

- 
- 1) It is not clear whether the date given is that of the commencement or the completion of the vihāra, i.e. whether the 'month and fifteen days' began or ended at this date.
  - 2) karrikārikṣa, for kṛttikāṛkṣa.
  - 3) or relics.
  - 4) 𑄓𑄣, i.e. 𑄓𑄣, still used in *Tai Yuan* to mean 'tin'.
  - 5) athārasa, for Pali atṭhārasa, 'eighteen', i.e. a Buddha image having a height of 18 cubits (a little less than 9 m.), traditionally believed to have been the actual height of the Buddha Gotama.
  - 6) 𑄓𑄣𑄣; the printed edition has 𑄓𑄣𑄣𑄣 which Mahā Chāṃ glosses as 𑄓𑄣𑄣𑄣, 'on top of it'. As it seems unlikely that the letter 𑄣 had yet come into existence in the 14th century, we venture to substitute 𑄓𑄣𑄣, either for 𑄓𑄣𑄣𑄣 (𑄓𑄣𑄣𑄣) or for 𑄓𑄣𑄣 (𑄓𑄣𑄣𑄣), which both have the same meaning.

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**Addendum**

In this paper, as well as our previous Epigraphic and Historical Studies, we have referred to the Manuscript and Inscription Division of the National Library. This is in the old National Library building, between Vāt Mahādātu and the *Sanâm Luang*, and is now called Vajirañāṇa Hall. The former Vajirañāṇa Library is part of the National Museum.



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- Fig. 7. Inscription **11**, Face II.

**Acknowledgements:** Figs. 1 and 2, photographs by Professor Hans Penth, after Fournereau, *Le Siam Ancien*, II, Pl. VIII; Figs. 3-6, photographs by Department of Fine Arts, Bangkok; Fig. 7, photograph by Professor Hans Penth.





Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.











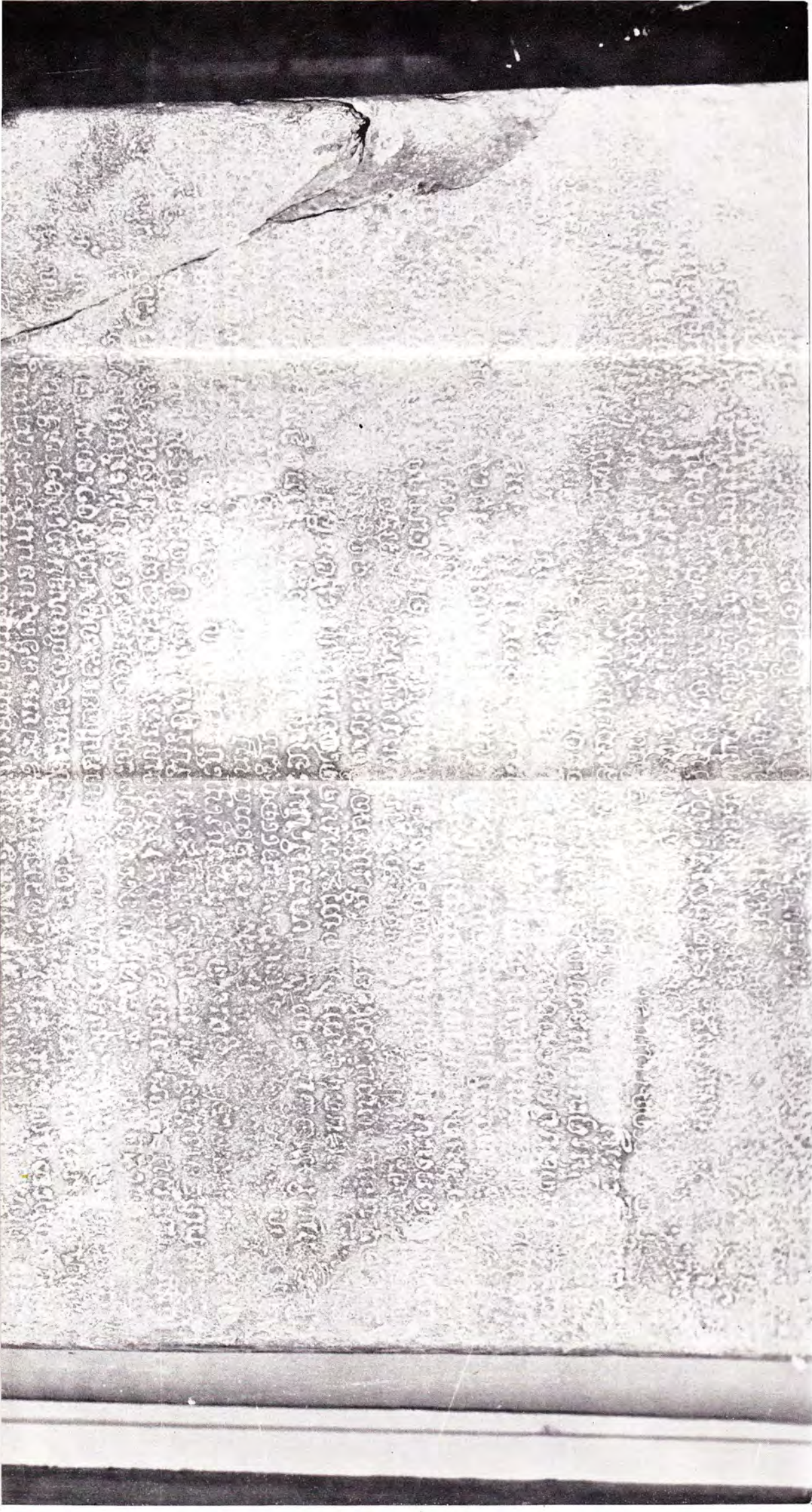


Fig. 3.



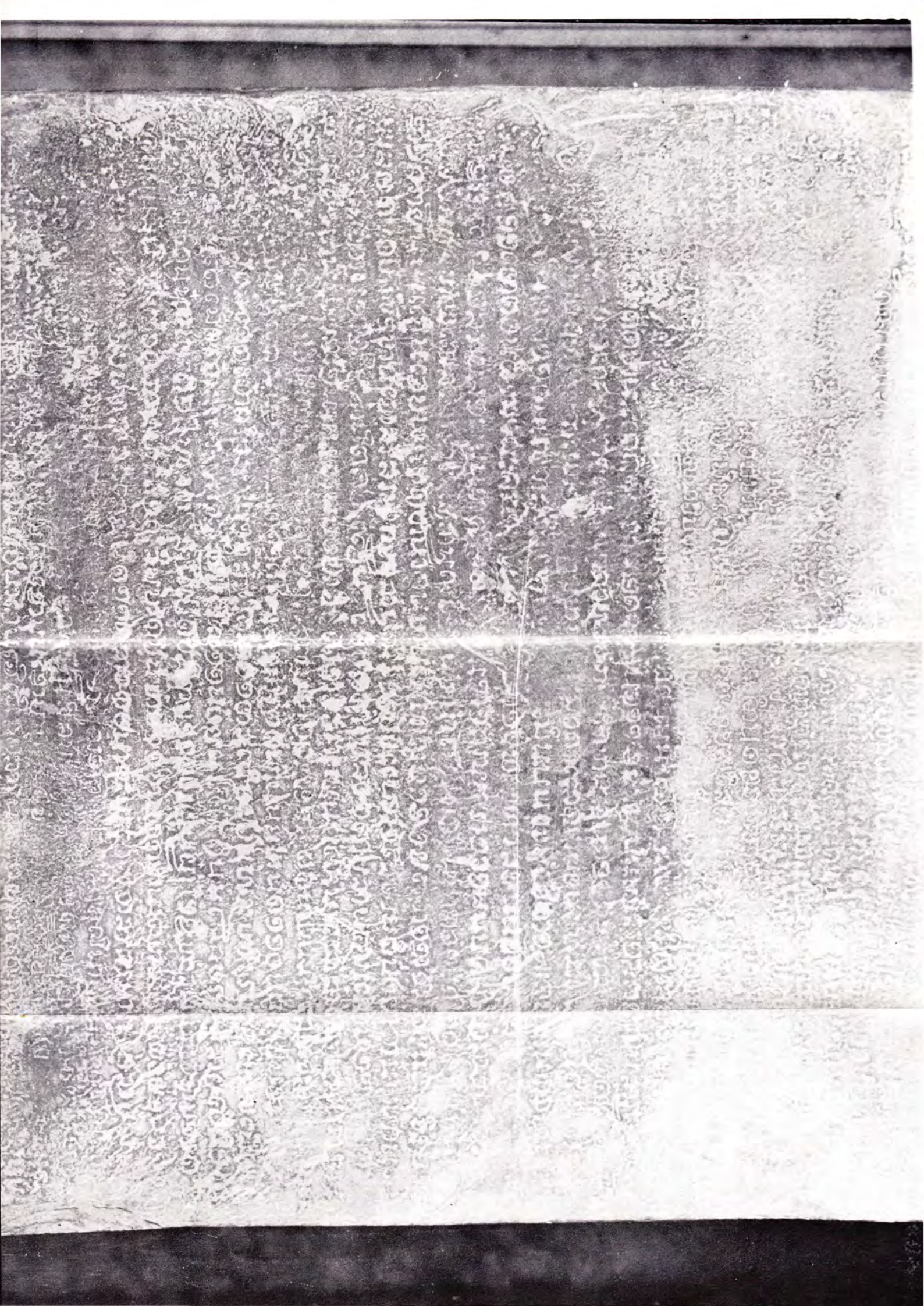






Fig. 4.



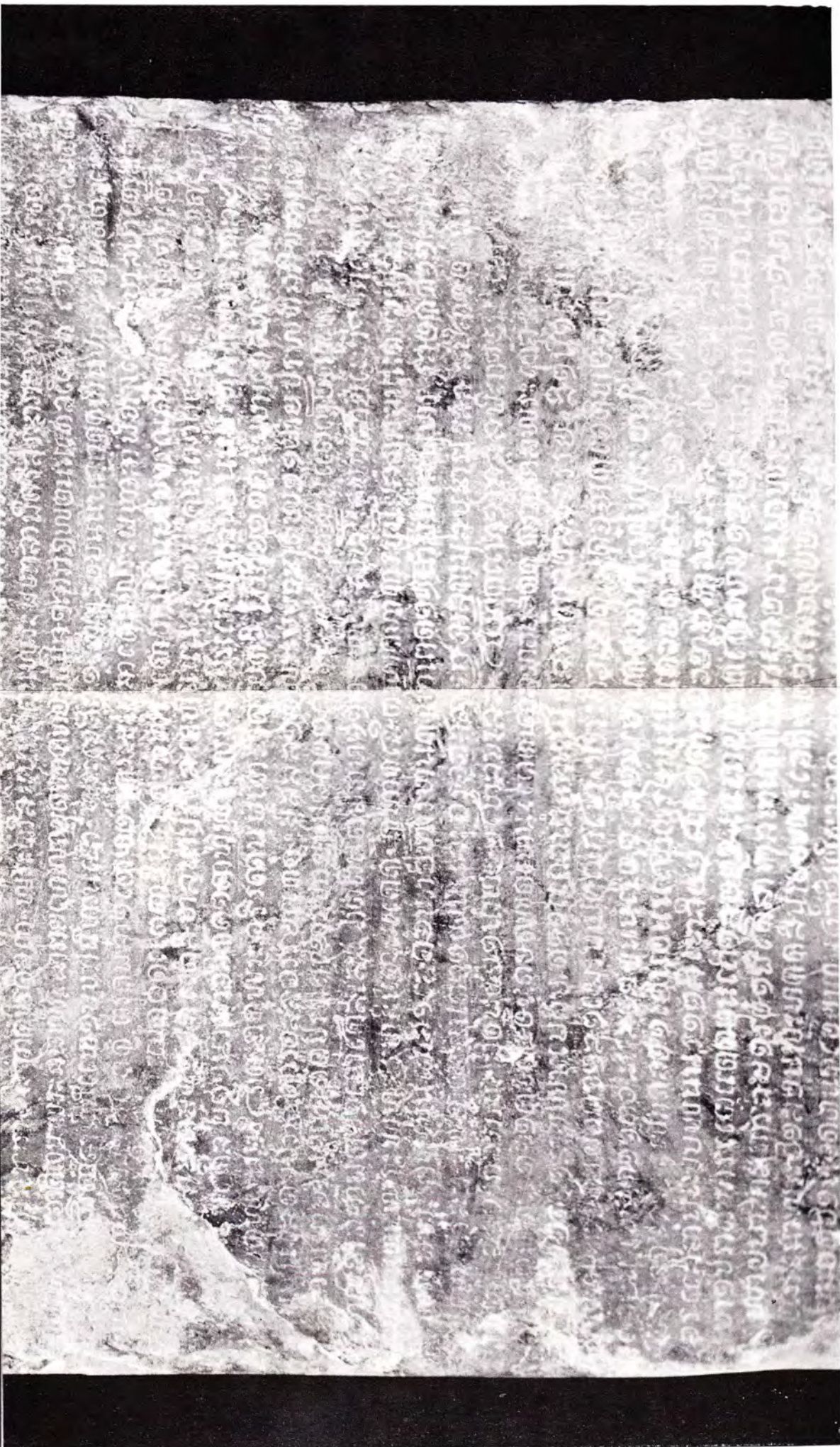


Fig. 5.







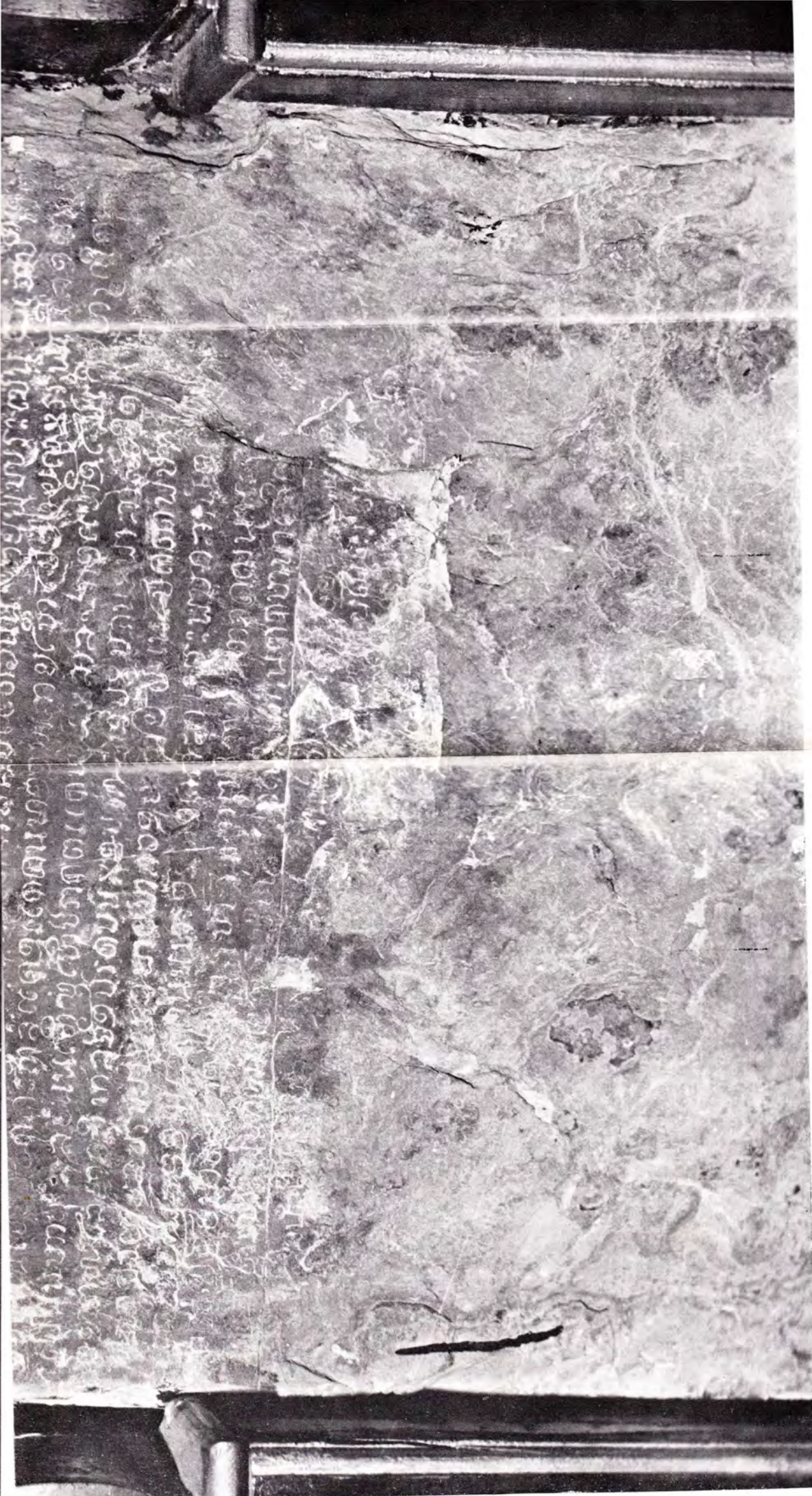


Fig. 6.



Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Burmese, covering the entire page. The text is arranged in approximately 20 horizontal lines. The script is highly stylized and densely packed. The page shows signs of age, with some fading and wear, particularly in the center and bottom sections. The text appears to be a continuous narrative or a list of items, but the specific content is difficult to decipher due to the script's complexity and the image's resolution.



Fig. 7.

