

THE EPIGRAPHY OF MAHĀDHARMARĀJĀ I OF SUKHODAYA

Epigraphic and Historical Studies No. 11 Part I

by

A.B. Griswold and Prasert ṇa Nagara

1.

We have six stone inscriptions of Mahādharmarājā I, five of them in Siamese (Nos. 3, 5, 7, 8 and Face I of No. 11) and one in Khmer (No. 4), plus an inscription in Pali composed in his honor by the Patriarch of the Forest-Dwelling monks (No. 6). No. 3 dates from 1357, Nos. 4-7 date from 1361, and the other two are undated.

His personal name was Līdaiya, and his full title was Braṇā Śrī Sūryavaṃśa Rāma Mahādharmarājādhirāja¹. He was a son of King Lōdaiya and grandson of King Rāma Gāmbhēn². In 1340 his father appointed him Uparāja at Sajjanālaya, where he composed a celebrated treatise on Buddhist cosmology, the Tebhūmikathā or, as it is more commonly known, Traibhūmikathā³. This work, based on a wide range

1) In this paper we have regularized the spelling of most personal names, titles, toponyms, and so on. Mahādharmarājā's personal name is written līdaiya (ᩣᩣ᩠᩵ᩣ) in Inscrs. 3 and 5 (3 : I/3; 5 : I/4), līdaiya in the Khmer Inscription (4 : I/1), līdeyya in the Pali inscription composed by the Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja (6 : I/7), and is lacking in Inscrs. 7, 8 and 11. The Khmer inscription gives the title as braṇ pāda kamrateṇ aṇ śrī sūryyabaṇśa rāma mahādharmmarājādhirāja (4 : I/12), while the Siamese inscriptions give it as braṇā śrī sūryyabaṇśa rāma mahādharmmarājādhirāja (5 : I/13 f., III/29 f.) or some abbreviation of the same thing (3 : I/6 f., etc.; 5 : III/38 f.; 7 : II/31 f., etc.; 8 : I/28 f., III/9 f.; 11 : I/3 f.). In the epigraphy of Mahādharmarājā I, the names Sukhodaya and Śrī Sajjanālaya are variously written : sukhodaiya (3 : I/4, II/56), sukhodaya (4 : I/9, II/11, 16, 32) and sukhodai (8 : II/1, III/16); śrīsajjanālaiya (3 : I/4, II/55; 5 : I/6), śrīsajanalaiya (4 : I/3), śrīsajjanālaya (4 : II/11) and śrīsajjanālai (8 : III/4).

2) For these two monarchs see our Epigraphic and Historical Studies Nos. 9 and 10 (JSS 59/2 and 60/1).

3) **Tebhūmikathā** (Pali, 'Discourse on the Three Worlds') is the real title of the work; **Traibhūmikathā** is the Sanskritized form. As it is attributed to Braṇ Rvaṇ (*Pra Ruang*), the somewhat legendary ruler who is a conflation of several kings of Sukhodaya, particularly Rāma Gāmbhēn and Līdaiya, it is popularly known as **Traibhūmi Braṇ Rvaṇ**. For the edition we use, see Bibliography, p. s.v. **Traibhūmikathā**.

of Pali sources, was completed in a year of the cock, sixth year of his reign as Uparāja, i.e. 1345 A.D. The exordium adds that the year was 'śakarāja 23', perhaps meaning the twenty-third year of his life; if that is right, he must have been born in 1323⁴.

Rāma Gāmhēn had expanded the kingdom of Sukhodaya until, at the end of his life in 1298, it included most of central Siam, all of the Malay Peninsula and Lower Burma, and parts of Laos. But after his death it shrank rapidly. Lōdaiya was an incompetent ruler, who lost most of the tributaries; by the 1340's he controlled little more than the provinces of Sukhodaya and Sajjanālaya; and the kingdom was on the verge of collapse⁵.

It appears that Lōdaiya died in 1347; Līdaiya, whom he evidently regarded as his heir-apparent, was still at Sajjanālaya at the time; and the throne was usurped by a man called Nvva Nām Tham, of whom we know practically nothing⁶. Was Lōdaiya assassinated? In any case it

4) Traibhūmikathā, p. 11 of the introductory material; cf. Coedès. BEFEO XVII/2, pp. 8, 9 (in the last line of the text, p. 8, read '23' instead of '25'), also p. 8, note 4 and p. 9 note 1). Of course the text may be corrupt; and in any case the era may not be based on his birth at all (for a discussion of another possibility, see Prasert na Nagara, Social Science Review, Special Issue, June 1966, p. 46); so the suggestion that he was born in 1323 is no more than a conjecture. But there is nothing inherently improbable about it. Sixteen was the age at which a prince was regarded as having achieved manhood; and as Līdaiya was heir-apparent to the throne of Sukhodaya nothing would be more natural than to appoint him Uparāja at Sajjanālaya at the age of sixteen or seventeen. In the traditional arithmetic, any part of a year counts as a whole one.

5) JSS 60/1, pp. 26-47.

6) The only epigraphic reference to him is in the list of ancestral spirits of the Sukhodayan royal family in Inscription 45 (I/10), where he appears between Lōdaiya and Mahādharmarājā. (See JSS LVII/1, pp. 68, 75 and 82.) The name, written ဂဏ်ဏ် (nva nām tham), is apparently equivalent to modern ဂဏ်ဏ် (¹hva ²nām ¹dvam). The first term, ဂ, shows that he was the fifth son of his father; ဏ် means 'submerged in water' or 'flooded'. This reminds us of similar appellations, given in Pali form, in Jinakālamālī (J) and Sihinānidāna (S) as belonging to one of the kings of Sukhodava, in each case in a rather muddled list of the rulers who did homage to the image called Buddha Sihinā, which was the palladium of the kingdom. J which calls this ruler Udakajjhotthata [udaka + ajjhotthata 'covered with water'], describes him as the son and successor of Pālarāja [sc. Pān Möān Bān Müang], and the predecessor of Lideyya [in this context, sc. Lōdaiya]. S. which calls him Dakosita [? daka + ussada, 'overflowing with water' ?], describes him as the son and successor of Lideyya

seems certain that he died very suddenly; otherwise Līdaiya would have been present at his deathbed, for there was an excellent road, the '*Pra Ruang* Highway', between Sajjanālaya and Sukhodaya, by which he could have reached Sukhodaya on horseback in a few hours.

Upon learning the news, Līdaiya mustered his troops as quickly as possible and marched on the capital. On Friday, the fifth day of the waxing moon of jyaiṣṭha, 1269 śaka, a year of the boar, i.e. in May or June of 1347 A.D.⁷, he entered the city by force, dislodged the usurper, and immediately received the investiture as king from his vassals and supporters, together with the title Śrī Sūryavaṃśa Rāma Mahādharmarājādhirāja. As far as we know he was the first king of Sukhodaya to bear the title Mahādharmarājādhirāja, though his father Lōdaiya bore that of Dharmarājā. It will therefore be convenient to retain the usual designation Mahādharmarājā I for Līdaiya.

Because we have more information about his religious activities than his political ones, he has until recently been regarded as a pious but weak monarch. An entry in the Chinese '*Description of the Barbarians of the Southern Islands*' (*Tao-i-chih-lüeh*) by Wang Ta-yüan

[sc. Lōdaiya] and the predecessor of Atthakalideyya [sc. Līdaiya]. See Coedès, BEFEO XVII/2, pp. 38, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45. The author of J has a well-deserved reputation as a careful historian, but his 'inserted narratives', such as the account of the Buddha Sihinga, being taken over from other sources which he was not able to check, are not always up to the standard of his main narrative. In this case we may assume he was betrayed by his source, because we know from Inscr. I that Pān Mūaṇ was succeeded by Rāma Gāmhēn, not Nvva Nām Tham. S, on the other hand, puts Dakosita between Lōdaiya and Līdaiya (Mahādharmarājā I), which is just where Inscr. 45 puts him. We therefore think it possible that in this instance S is right. Nvva Nām Tham may have been an elder half-brother of Līdaiya, perhaps the son of one of Lōdaiya's minor wives, while Līdaiya was doubtless the son of his chief Queen.

- 7) Mr Roger Billard, of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, who has kindly examined this date for us, informs us that the fifth day of the waxing moon of jyaiṣṭha did not fall on a Friday in either 1269 or 1270 śaka, but that it did fall on a Friday in 1271 śaka (May 22, 1349 A.D., Julian). The context of Inscr. 4 (I/1-6), from which we have taken this date, shows clearly that it is really intended to be in 1269 śaka; so we must conclude either that there is a mistake in the day of the month or the week, or a misreading, or — perhaps the most likely — that it is based on the faulty calendar that prevailed at Sukhodaya before Mahādharmarājā reformed it; cf. Coedès, BEFEO XVII/2, p. 14 note 1 (it should be observed that Coedès's calculations are based on the reading 'kattikā' for the name of the month in Inscription 6 at I/2-3, which is no longer tenable).

led to the belief that Mahādharmarājā I lost his independence two years after his accession: in May-June, 1349, according to Wang Ta-yüan, 'Hsien submitted to Lo-hu.' As Hsien (the Chinese rendering of 'Syām') usually means Sukhodaya, and Lo-hu means Lavo (Labapurī, *Lopburī*), the statement seemed to mean that Mahādharmarājā became a vassal of Rāmādhīpati in that year⁸. Rāmādhīpati, who had inherited the principality of Subarnapurī from his father-in-law and that of Lavo from his father, formed the kingdom of Ayudhyā in 1351 by consolidating his two inheritances⁹, and several recensions of the Annals of Ayudhyā list Sukhodaya, Biṣṇuloka, Svargaloka (Sajjanālaya) and *Gampēng Pet* among his tributaries at the time of his abhiṣeka. But the list is obviously a later interpolation, for it includes Malacca which had not yet been founded. AA/LP, the most authoritative recension of the Annals of Ayudhyā, has no such interpolation: it places Sukhodaya's submission to Ayudhyā in 1378. The whole tenor of the inscriptions indicates that Sukhodaya remained independent until about that time; and there is no epigraphic evidence whatever to suggest that Mahādharmarājā I ever submitted. Professor Wolters has given good reasons in favor of another interpretation of Wang Ta-yüan's statement, which fits the facts much better. Wang Ta-yüan was a merchant who, as Mr Wolters says, 'should no more be regarded as an expert in historical geography than in the political happenings in 1349.' Though in Rāma Gaṇhēn's time Hsien certainly meant Sukhodaya, Mr Wolters continues, the term seems to have been used later by the Chinese to describe parts of the Mè Nām basin which were west of the river and not subject to Lavo. Mr Wolters concludes: 'It is difficult to resist the identification of Wang Ta-yüan's "Hsien" with Subarnapurī, though one need not commit oneself on the location of its capital city in the middle of the fourteenth century¹⁰.'

8) Coedès in BEFEO XVII/2. p. 33; for the statement in the *Tao-i-chih-lüeh*, see Huber in BEFEO IX, p. 586; cf. Coedès, *Les Etats hindouïs* (1964), p. 402; cf. also Coedès, *Les peuples de la Péninsule Indochinoise*, p. 140.

9) See JSS 60/1, pp. 29-39.

10) O.W. Wolters, *A Western Teacher and the History of Early Ayudhyā*, Social Science Review (Bangkok), Special Issue, June 1966, p. 95 f. For Wang Ta-yüan, cf. Naojirō Sugimoto, *Tōnan-Ajia-Shi-Kenkyū* ('Southeast Asian Historical Studies'), Tokyo, 2nd ed., 1968, Vol. I, pp. 707-709 (abstract in English).

We conclude that Wang Ta-yüan's statement has nothing to do with Sukhodaya at all, but refers to some change in the relationships between Subarṇapurī and Lavo in 1349¹¹. At that time Rāmādhīpati was reigning at Debanagara, the capital where his father had reigned, which we have proposed to identify with Labapurī¹². When Rāmādhīpati moved there upon his father's death in 1344/45, he presumably left his brother-in-law Paramarājā to rule Subarṇapurī as his vassal, an appointment which he confirmed in 1351 when he received the abhiṣeka as King of Ayudhyā. Wang Ta-yüan's statement may therefore simply refer to Rāmādhīpati's consolidation of his two inheritances, Lavo and Subarṇapurī, to form the kingdom of Ayudhyā.

Another interpretation is also possible. It is hard to believe that Paramarājā, who had doubtless hoped to inherit Subarṇapurī from his father as a sovereign state, would be satisfied with ruling it as a vassal of Rāmādhīpati; so it would not be at all surprising if he revolted. Equating Hsien with Subarṇapurī and Lo-hu with Lavo, we might understand the statement 'Hsien submitted to Lo-hu' in May-June 1349 as meaning that Rāmādhīpati crushed Paramarājā's revolt at that time.

Mahādharmarājā was one of the most learned men of his day. In addition to the Pali literature of Theravāda Buddhism, he was deeply versed in the natural and speculative sciences of the Sanskrit Brahmanical tradition, from astronomy to hydraulic engineering, military strategy and statecraft. The high classic style of Sukhodaya art, chiefly Buddhist, but to some extent Brahmanical, came into full flower in his reign¹³.

He seems to have been a man of great energy, tact and courage. As a statesman and warrior, he was a worthy grandson of Rāma Gāṃhēṇ. His gains were much smaller than Rāma Gāṃhēṇ's but they were nevertheless considerable, and he had greater odds against him. The kingdom was on the verge of extinction before the end of Lōdaiya's reign; and Mahādharmarājā, who first had to fight for his throne, then had to face the complex task of bringing as many vassals back under a suzerainty his father had discredited.

11) For the probable meaning of the reference in *Sihingānidāna* to an oath sworn by Lōdaiya to Rāmādhīpati, which some scholars take for an oath of vassalage, see below, p. 78.

12) JSS 60/1, p. 37 f.

13) See Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, pp. 30-47.

In 1347 when he acceded to the throne the home provinces must have been in chaotic condition; cities within 50 km. of the capital had broken away; and there was not much left of the kingdom beyond the provinces of Sukhodaya and Sajjanālaya, though Fhān (𑀭𑀺𑀭𑀺𑀓, near Uttara-tittha) and Sōṇ Gvē (𑀲𑀺𑀓𑀺𑀭𑀺𑀓) very likely remained friendly if not actually tributary to him. Sukhodaya's alliance with Lān Nā was a thing of the past; Lān Nā had gained at the expense of Sukhodaya by taking the province of Tāk and perhaps other territories. Rāma Gāṃhēṇ's possessions north and east of Uttaratittha were lost, having presumably split up into petty states that were frequently at odds with one another. A similar fate had overtaken the cities along the Ping. Farther west the kingdom of Rāmaññadesa in Lower Burma, which had been tributary to Sukhodaya ever since 1287, had asserted its independence in the 1320's. Most of central Siam south of Braḥ Pāṇ (Nagara Svarga) belonged, either directly or through feudatory princes, to Rāmādhpati¹⁴.

Paramarājā was bitterly hostile to the House of Sukhodaya and eager to destroy it by any possible means. The chronicles contain allusions to a series of intrigues which we suspect were organized by Paramarājā to weaken Sukhodaya and Sukhodaya's friends; and while they say nothing about Ņvva Nām Tham's usurpation of the throne, it seems possible that Paramarājā had a hand in the plot.

The most urgent task facing Mahādharmarājā upon his accession was to reform the administration, for unless he could assure his kingdom of security and just rule there would be little chance of attracting the lost vassals back into the fold. In order to do so he had to restore the lustre of the Hindu cults which were an indispensable support of royalty and strong government. In 1349, as we know from Inscr. 4 (I/52 f.), he founded an image of Maheśvara (Śiva) and one of Viṣṇu, and placed them in the Devālayamahākṣetra (Brahmin temple) in the Mango Grove west of Sukhodaya, where the Brahmins and ascetics were to perform the rituals of the cult in perpetuity. These two great bronzes, about 3 metres in height, are among the chief glories of Sukhodaya art¹⁵.

14) JSS 60/1, pp. 26-47.

15) See Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, Figs. 25, 26.

The magico-religious center of the kingdom was the Buddhist monument of the Mahādhātu at Sukhodaya, facing the Royal Palace. The chief feature of this monument, which had been rebuilt by Lōdaiya near the end of his reign to enshrine two miraculous relics of the Buddha brought from Ceylon, was a tall 'lotus-bud tower', an architectural form otherwise known as เจดีย์ทรงพุ่มข้าวบิณฑ์. Surrounding it, and standing on the same platform at the cardinal and sub-cardinal points, were eight lesser towers, four of them with scenes from the Buddha's life in the tympana, and all of them with images of the Buddha in niches, together with a profusion of architectural ornament designed to shower wealth on the kingdom¹⁶. In the principal cities of his realm Mahādharmarājā built copies of the central 'lotus-bud tower', as if to establish a spiritual link between these cities and the capital, assuring their rulers of his benevolence and protection, and him of their loyalty¹⁷.

By 1357, as we gather from Inscr. 3, Mahādharmarājā had restored peace and prosperity in the home provinces; the cities along the Ping, from Chieng Tòng in the north (probably not far from the present town of Tāk¹⁸) to Braḥ Pān in the south, had submitted to him; he was safely in control of Fhāñ, as well as of Sralvañ (between Sukhodaya and Sòn Gvè); and it seems likely he controled Sòn Gvè too. We do not know how he achieved these gains, but it may be guessed he did so by means of a judicious combination of arms and persuasion, defeating the stubborn in battle, attracting the hesitant by the spectacle of prosperity and good government in his kingdom, and extending his protection to those who sought it. He fought successful campaigns at Brè (ဝံ) in 1359, and in the Nān region and the Sāk valley around 1362. By 1370, if not before, his kingdom stretched from the mountains on the present border between Burma and Siam on the west all the way to Huññ Gāy (Nòng Kâi) on the east. See Inscr. 8, 9.

16) *ibid.*, pp. 18-27 and Figs. 14-21.

17) *ibid.*, 33, 34, and Figs. 22-a, 27, 32.

18) Old Tāk, now called บ้านตาก, is on the right bank of the Ping, about 25 km. upstream from the present town. Old Tak remained under the control of Lan Nā until about 1373, when it seems to have been ceded to Sukhodaya. See Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, p. 41 f.

Though we have no direct evidence, it seems pretty certain that Rāmādhpati and Mahādharmarājā were united by a pact in which each agreed to respect the other's frontiers. That would give Rāmādhpati a chance to organize the far-flung and heterogeneous kingdom he had pieced together, to limit the power of his vassals, and to establish himself in unshakeable authority. At the same time it would give Mahādharmarājā a chance to regain any vassals that had broken away from his father but had not been absorbed by Ayudhyā. The pact may have gone further : it is possible that Rāmādhpati and Mahādharmarāja undertook to come to each other's aid in case Paramarājā should make trouble by revolting against his sovereign or by attacking Sukhodaya.

In this paper we are greatly indebted to Mr Roger Billard of the Ecole Française d' Extrême-Orient for investigating the calendrical information for us and transposing dates into terms of the Western calendar.

2.

Of Mahādharmarājā I's dated inscriptions, the earliest that survives is No. 3, which dates from 1357. It is engraved on both faces of a slab of black schist 1.93 m. high, 47 cm. wide and 6 1/2 cm. thick. Face I has 78 lines, of which all but the last 10 are in good condition. Face II, which has the remains of 58 lines, is badly damaged, most of the right half being flaked off. The language is Siamese. The script is the same as that of Inscription 2, but the letters are more elegantly executed. The mai-hăn-ākāśa (◌◌) does not occur. Neither does the vowel ◌◌; ◌◌ occurs only three or four times; for the most part ◌◌ and ◌◌ serve not only for themselves but also for ◌◌ and ◌◌. The choice between ◌◌ and ◌◌ is not very logical, the short being often put for the long and vice versa, though the little vertical line that distinguishes them is so faintly engraved that it is sometimes uncertain which of the two is intended. The accents ◌ and ◌ (the latter for ◌), are used quite irregularly. In some passages they are found in the words where we should expect them, but the same words in other passages occur without them; and several passages have no discernible accents at all. This distribution makes us suspect that two or more different engravers with different habits worked on the inscription. Here is a list of places where the accents are found:

◌ (= ◌), I/20

◌ (= ◌), I/23, 39

◌, I/23 (twice)

◌, I/21, 76

◌, I/9

◌, I/10, I/50

◌, I/11

◌, I/5

◌, II/6

◌, I/1

ผ⁺, I/42

แล⁺, I/2, 9, 13, 14, 17, 18 (twice), 19, 21, 23, 39 (twice)

แ⁺, I/9, 64

ฝ⁺, I/3

ค⁺, II/9

ฐ⁺, I/36

ไ⁺, I/3, 11, 21

ไ⁺, I/6, 12

เจ⁺, I/10, 15, 46, 59

เก⁺, I/19

ท⁺, I/4, 6

จ⁺, II/54

น⁺, I/2, 8, 16 (twice), 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 27, 30

ต⁺, I/10, 24

ส⁺, I/19

ห⁺, II/51

ถ⁺, II/4

พ⁺, I/9

A transcription of Face I in modern Siamese spelling appeared in the *Vajirañāṇa Magazine* in 1884, and has been several times reprinted¹.

In 1898 the French missionary Père Schmitt published a Romanized transcription of Face I, and a French translation which, though it contains many imperfections, conveys the general purport fairly well: when we remember that the scientific study of Siamese epigraphy was still in

1) วชิราณรายเดือน, Vol. I, No. 2, year [CS] 1246, p. 160. For the bibliography in Siamese, see JSS XIII/3, p. 1 and note 9.

its infancy, his attempt must be awarded honorable mention². This work reappeared in 1908, together with an attempt by the same author to decipher and translate Face II; but the latter was too fragmentary for him to get any coherent sense out of it³. A number of other scholars worked on the inscription later, for better or worse⁴.

A great advance was made in 1919, when the late Professor George Coedès published a long article in JSS XIII/3, containing a much better reading and translation, copious notes on the decipherment and interpretation, and an introduction discussing the work that had appeared on the subject up to that time⁵. His translation reappears, with minor amendments, together with a Romanized transcription and a short introduction, in *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*⁶; while the Siamese section of the same work, prepared by Pvan Induvamṣā (now Luang Boribal Buribandh), gives the text in Siamese characters plus an introduction and notes.

In the present translation it will be obvious how deeply we are indebted to Coedès's work; and if we have ventured to differ from him here and there, it is only because more recent studies in Sukhodayan history and epigraphy have suggested new solutions to certain problems.

The inscription was brought to Bangkok in 1886 at the same time as the famous bronze statue of Śiva from Kāmbèñ Bejra (*Gampèng Pet*), and deposited in the Museum of the Vān Nā. It was later transferred to the Vajirañāṇa Library, and is now in the Vajirañāṇa Hall of the old National Library building. No record of its exact provenance was kept; it was known to have come from somewhere in the Municipal District of Kāmbèñ Bejra, and the text (I/8) shows that it originally stood at Nagara Jum; but the location of Nagara Jum long remained a mystery. This was solved in 1922 by Prince Damrong Rājanubhāb, when he made a visit to Vāt Paramadhātu, across the River Ping from the town of Kāmbèñ Bejra and a little upstream from it. The Abbot of the monastery, who had lived there ever since 1880, showed him the ruins of a

2) *Mission Pavie, II, Etudes diverses*, Paris, 1898, p. 225 f.

3) Fournereau, *Le Siam ancien*, II, pp. 10-34.

4) See JSS XIII/3, p. 1 and notes 2-7.

5) Coedès, *L'inscription de Nagara Jum*, JSS XIII/3, pp. 1-43.

6) Coedès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, Vol. I, Bangkok, 1924, p. 77 ff.

vihāra in which he had often seen the inscription *in situ*; he showed him the laterite pedestal, with a mortise into which the base of the stone had been fitted; and when the measurement was taken it was found to correspond exactly. Nearby, said the Abbot, three old ruined monuments were formerly visible, but they were now covered over by the huge stupa of Burmese style which had been built a few years before the Prince's visit. One of the three, it appears, was of the type we have called a 'lotus-bud tower'⁷ (cf. above, p. 77).

If we read Inscr. 3 with care, we may find a hint in it of the serious difficulties Mahādharṃarājā had in attracting the lost vassals to return. Nagara Jum is less than 75 km. from Sukhodaya, yet it seems to have taken him nearly 10 years to regain it: at least the text suggests that in 1357 he had only recently regained control of the cities along the Ping.

The formal purpose of the text is to commemorate the King's enshrinement of a relic at Nagara Jum. The text opens with the date, which Mr Roger Billard kindly informs us corresponds to Friday, June 23, 1357 A.D. (Julian). Then comes a long periodic sentence (I/2-8), stating that Braṇā Līdaiyarāja brought 'this precious great relic' to enshrine in 'this city of Nagara Jum' in that year; inserted between the subject of the sentence and the verb is a relative clause stating that he is the son of Braṇā Lōdaiya and grandson of Braṇā Rāmarāja (Rāma Gāṃhēṇ), and that upon his accession he received the rājābhiṣeka or consecration as king from a whole assembly of rulers residing at the cardinal points, who conferred the title Śrī Sūryavaṃśa Mahādharṃarājā-jādhirāja upon him. Similar passages recur in Inscriptions 4 (I/9 f.) and 5 (I/12 f.): the rulers at the cardinal points confer the consecration and the title in all three inscriptions. Their presence is a magic formula; like Mount Meru surrounded by its four lesser peaks, and like the Mahādhātu with its lesser towers at the cardinal and sub-cardinal points, Sukhodaya had to be surrounded by a strong system of vassals in every direction, all standing on the same firm base (the cardinal points subsume the sub-cardinal and the infinity of space). In plain fact, however, most of the vassals had broken away, and the rulers who gave him the investiture were perhaps no more than the governors of four cities.

7) Coedès, *Recueil*, I, p. 77.

The term 'precious great relic' (braḥ śrī ratanamahādhātu) apparently designates one of the Buddha's major bodily relics, as distinguished from the 84,000 'miscellaneous' particles into which King Asoka of India divided the relics he disinterred in order to send them to different cities to be enshrined⁸.

The relic that Mahādharmarājā was enshrining at Nagara Juṃ had been brought from Ceylon together with some seeds of the bodhi tree under which the Buddha was sitting when he defeated the army of Māra and attained Enlightenment; and a tree grown from one of these seeds was planted behind the reliquary tower (I/8-12).

It is obvious that this tower was the one described by the Abbot of Vāt Paramadhātu, and that it had been built by Mahādharmarājā to receive the relic. In erecting it he was not only making a handsome donation to religion, but also setting the seal of his authority on the right bank of the Ping; and by depositing a genuine relic of the Buddha in it he was activating its magical potentiality. Anyone who comes to worship the relic and the bodhi tree which is planted behind it, he says at I/12 f., will get the same advantage from his meritorious action as those who worshiped the Buddha in person; and he adds, so that there can be no possible doubt about the matter, 'We are not making this statement on our own authority: indeed the words were spoken by our Lord the Buddha himself' (I/14 f.). We have not been able to discover this precise statement in the Canon, but something very much like it is implied there, and the Commentarial literature is even more specific.

At I/15 he introduces a new subject, to which his reference to the bodhi tree in the previous passage forms a natural transition. The traditional date when Gotama achieved Buddhahood under the bodhi tree at BodhGayā corresponds to 589 B.C. At that time, says Mahādharmarājā, the human life-span was 100 years; but it decreased to 99 years in the year of the hare, 139 years before the reliquary tower at Nagara Juṃ was built, in other words in 1219 A.D. He is speaking of the Hindu doctrine of the gradual reduction in men's life-span, accompanied by a corresponding deterioration in their intellectual and moral qualities, which continues throughout the Kaliyuga, the age in which we live (see p. 96 and note 31). In 'minus 3101 A.D.' (3102 B.C.) when the Kaliyuga

8) cf. JSS 60/1, pp. 126 ff., especially note 149.

began, the human life-span was still a full 100 years. The Kaliyuga will last 432,000 years from that date, during which the life-span decreases imperceptibly but inexorably until finally it is no more than 10 years. At the end of each 1/100 of the Kaliyuga, i.e. at the end of each 4320 years, it will have declined by one full year. In the traditional arithmetic, part of a year counts as a whole one, so that in 589 B.C. the life-span was still '100 years'; but by 1219 A.D., i.e. the year 4320 of the Kaliyuga, it had been reduced to 99 years. In that year, he adds, the aristocracy of caste and learning began to lose their standing. The late Professor Coedès suggested that Mahādharmarājā may be referring to some specific event that occurred in Cambodia in 1219 A.D., perhaps the death of Jayavarman VII⁹. We agree that this is possible; but we are persuaded that such an allusion, if that is what it is, must be secondary; the primary consideration was the theoretical one: that at that time the life-span had decreased by one full year from the figure that prevailed at the beginning of the Kaliyuga, the decrease being accompanied by a corresponding deterioration in man's intellectual and moral qualities, and consequently in the social order.

At I/24-31 Mahādharmarājā gives the exact length of time—calculated first in years, then in months, and finally in days—that have elapsed between the Buddha's Enlightenment (589 B.C.) and 'the present' (1357 A.D.).

At I/31-56 he rehearses the old prophecy according to which the Buddhist religion will suffer a progressive decline until it finally disappears. According to this prophecy the religion will decline in successive stages. It will disappear completely in the year 5000 of the Buddhist Era, when all the Buddha's relics will spring out of the monuments in which they are enshrined, fly through the sky, assemble together in Ceylon at the Mahāthūpa, and then fly to the scene of the Enlightenment at Bodhgayā, where they will be consumed in a holocaust¹⁰. After the present Buddhist religion has disappeared, there will be an immensely long period of hopeless degradation, in which mankind, being unable to distinguish right from wrong, will commit all sorts of evil deeds and inevitably be reborn in hell.

9) Coedès, *L'année du lièvre* 1219 A.D., *India Antiqua*, Leyden, 1947, pp. 83 ff.

10) See Coedès, *Le 2500e anniversaire du Bouddha*, *Diogenes* (Paris), No. 15 (1956), pp. 4-10.

Instead of being discouraged by this bleak prospect, people should accept it as a challenge. This theme is developed in the passage at I/56-63, which should be understood as follows. As the present generation of men have the immense advantage of being born at a time when the Buddha's teachings are still known, they should make haste to perform all sorts of good actions, so as to accumulate enough merit to be reborn in heaven and remain there, relatively safe from temptations, throughout the immense period of ignorance that will begin in the year 5000 of the Buddhist Era. Eventually—far, far in the future—this dreadful period will end; Āriyametteyya, who is now waiting in the Tusita Heaven until the proper time, will descend to earth, be reborn as a human being, become a Buddha, and establish a new dispensation. Those who have made enough merit to be reborn as men at the same time will be able to listen to his preaching and enter the path to nibbāna.

In the last 15 lines of Face I and the first 11 lines of Face II, Mahādharmarājā tells his readers about his own accomplishments and qualities. As everyone knows, eulogy (*praśasti*) is an essential ingredient of epigraphy in the Indianizing world; but here it is given an unusual and interesting turn. Unlike the conventional eulogies in many of the Sanskrit inscriptions of Cambodia which give little or no real information about the ruler who is being eulogized, the accomplishments and virtues claimed by Mahādharmarājā are strictly personal to himself; he could demonstrate that he actually possessed them; and every one of them would be of value for the practical purpose he had in mind, which was to impress his readers with his ability to rule justly, wisely and firmly. He is able to rule justly, because he adheres steadfastly to the Buddhist principles of right conduct (I/68 f.); wisely, because of his knowledge of mathematics (I/63 f.), astrology, geography and science (I/76 f.); firmly, because of his knowledge of military tactics and yantras, his skill in elephantry, his bravery and courage (II/2-5). When he speaks of his competence in hydraulic engineering, it is because it will bring a prosperous agriculture; when he speaks of the protection he assures any prince who becomes his vassal, and of his mercy towards those who have wronged him, he is quite obviously congratulating and reassuring the vassals who have recently returned to the Sukhodayan orbit, and inviting others to do the same (II/7-11).

At II/12 ff. he reminds his readers of the greatness and prosperity of the kingdom in the time of Rāma Gāṃhēṇ. Then he speaks of its decline after Rāma Gāṃhēṇ's death. He says many of the vassals broke

away and formed independent states, so the country was torn into many fragments and pieces. Their perversity, he implies, brought nothing but misery to themselves and others.

At II/23-34 he tells us what has happened since he himself mounted the throne as his father's and grandfather's successor. He rules with justice; the territories along the Ping have returned to him, as far south as Nagara Svarga; he has reclaimed a lot of waste land and (if we may restore the lacuna on the analogy of Inscription 8), built irrigation ditches to feed water to upland and lowland farms, fruit-groves, and fish-ponds, so that the people will be happy and contented everywhere. In short, he has brought back order and prosperity to the kingdom. To show how he has restored the happy conditions of Rāma Gāṃhēṇ's reign, which people during the time of troubles must have looked back on as a kind of legendary Golden Age, he orchestrates his theme by using a good deal of the same phraseology that Rāma Gāṃhēṇ used in Inscription 1.

At II/34-47 he gives the vassal rulers a stiff lecture: they must act in accordance with the Dharma; they must pay homage to stupas and bodhi trees; they must show respect to the monks, affection toward their relatives, and deference to their elders; they must be kind to the common people, and set reasonable limits on the corvée; they must keep ample reserves of rice and salt on hand; and they must pass a decedent's properties on to his heirs. Any ruler who follows these principles, he concludes, will remain in office a long time; any ruler who neglects them will not last long.

If his readers want any further information on the subject, he adds (II/47 ff.), they may consult the inscriptions he has set up elsewhere, which he goes on to list.

It appears that the primary text—the inscription as it was when Mahādharṃarājā erected it in 1357—ended at II/47, and that the passage from the middle of II/47 to the end, listing the other inscriptions, etc., is a postscript which he himself added around 1360. It refers to a stone Footprint on Mount Sumanakūṭa near Sukhodaya, which as appears from Inscr. 8, was not installed until 1359 and not completed until a little later, presumably in 1360. There is no mai-hān-ākāśa in the words which, in the *Tai* inscriptions of 1361 (Nos. 5 and 7) are sometimes written with it. The letters at the beginning of the postscript are a little larger and more deeply engraved than in the primary text, though after two or three lines they become smaller again, probably for want of space on the stone.

- (๑๗) ลมมาถึงคตนิวาไสชนเรากนกลาจากรอยปีแล้บคตนิถอยปีหนึ่ง
- (๑๘) ไปแล้บญงแ (ตเก) ลสิบเกาปีค้ายฉิมิกนถาวานิตะแลรอยปีนั้น
แล้
- (๑๙) ญงคองเตเกาสิบเก้านั้นโตก็ปีแล้สิ้นไหแกวาตงนิเมื่อป้อ
- (๒๐) นนพรมญามหารมมราชกัพระธาตุนิชนคนถอยจากรอยปีนั้นไ
- (๒๑) คัรอยสามสิบเกาปีแล้ป้อนถอยนนวนาไสในปีโทะเตปีนั้นมาแล
- (๒๒) ผุ้งเจ้าขุนพราหมณเสรสติถอยจากเปนมลากเปนคี่ชาแตนนแลญ
- (๒๓) งงผุ้งรูลวกกโหรทายอยายูกถอยแตนนแล้บชอบบ่ออย่าเล
- (๒๔) ยฉิมิกนถาตงนิโสศแตวนนพระเจ้าเราโตเปนพระพุทไนโตคั
- (๒๕) นพระศรีมหาโพธิมาถึงวนนสถาปนาพระศรีรัตนธาตุนิโตเทไ
- (๒๖) คไหแกวาตงนิฉิจกกนบควยปีโตพนนการอยลสิบหกปี ๐ ป้อ
- (๒๗) นนพระโตเปนพระพุทธรนนในปีวอกฉิจกกนบควยเดือนโต
- (๒๘) ญิบเหม็นสิพนนหกลิบเดือน ๐ เดือนอนนพระโตเปนพระพุท
- (๒๙) ธรนนในเดือนหกบุรณมิฉิจกกนบควยวนนโตเจจแสนเห
- (๓๐) มีนสิรอยหกลิบแปดวนนวนนพระโตเปนพระพุทธรนนในวน
- (๓๑) นพุทธรวนนหนไทวนนเตาญ ๐ ฉิมิกนถาสาสนาพระเปนเจ้าญ
- (๓๒) งงเทไจกกสินอนนไหแกวาตงนิเตปีอนนสถาปนาพระมหา
- (๓๓) ธาตุนิเมือหนาโตสามพนนเกาสิบเกาปีจิงจกกสินสาสนาพระเปน
- (๓๔) เจ้า ๐ อนนนิงโสคนบแต่ปีสถาปนาพระมหาธาตุนิไปเมือหนาโต
- (๓๕) เกาสิบเกาปีถึงในปีกุรอนนวาพระปีฎกไตรนิจกกหายเลหาคนจ
- (๓๖) กกรูแทแลมิโตเลยญงมิคนรู้คณนสเลกสนอยไสธรรมมเทส
- (๓๗) นอนนเปนตนาวาพระมหาชาติหาคนสวคแลมิโตเลยธรรมชาคกอน
- (๓๘) นอื่นไสมิตนหาปลายมิโตมิปลายหาตนิโตเลยจัพวพระอภิธรรม

- (๓๙) ไสพระบฏฐานแล้พระยัมก่จกกหายเมื่อนนแล้แตนนเมือ
 (๔๐) หนาไคพนนปีโสคฝงภิกษุสงฆอนนจำสืลคตสิกสabtสือนนญงมิตี
 (๔๑) กสabtทอนนหนกหนามิไคเลยแตนนเมือหนาไคพนนปีโส
 (๔๒) คอนนวาฝงขิกกทรวงฝ่าจิพรหามิไคเลยเทาญงมีผาเหลื่องนอ
 (๔๓) ยนิงเหนบในหุแลรจกกสabtนาพระเปนเจาคายแตนนเมือหนา
 (๔๔) ไคพนนปีโสคอนนวาจกกรจกกผาจิพรจกกรจกกสรณน (อย) นิ
 (๔๕) งหามิไคเลยธาตุพระเปนเจาทินิกคี่แห่งอื่นกตี่ญงนค (ง) เล
 (๔๖) ยเมือบือนนจกกสabtนาพระพุทธรเปนเจ้าทิสักทงหลายอน
 (๔๗) นปี (ช) วคเคือนนหกบฏณมิวนนเสารวนนไทยวนนรายสนนไฟ

สาขญา

- (๔๘) ก (ช) ถึงเมือวนนคองนนนแตพระธาตทงหลายอนนมิในแผน
 (๔๙) (ติ) นนิกคี่ในเทพโลกกตี่ในนาคโลกกตี่โหะไปกลางหาวแลไปผซึก
 (๕๐) นนในลงกาทวิบเขาอยู่ไนกลวงรคนมาลิกมหาศุบแลวจจกก
 (๕๑) โหะไปอยู่ในตนพระศรีมหาโพธิ์ทพระพุ (ท) ธเปนเจาตรสสแก
 (๕๒) สรรเพชญ์เคชญาณเปนพระพุทธรเมือกอนอนนจิงจกกกาล
 (๕๓) ไฟไหมพระธาตทงอนนสั่นแลเปลวพุงขึ้นค้งพรหมโลก
 (๕๔) สabtนาพระพุทธรจกกสabtในวนนคองกลาวอนนแลแตนนเมือ
 (๕๕) หนาฝงคณอนนจกกรบุนยธรรมหามิไคหลายเลยญอมจกก
 (๕๖) ทำบาบกรรมแลจกกเอาตนไปเกิดในนรกสabtนเมือหนาฝู
 (๕๗) งสabtสคบุรุตทงหลายจุงเรงกทำบุนยธรรมในสabtนาพระพุ
 (๕๘) ทรเมือญง (มิ) เทาวนนชวเวาบคณิมิบุนนหนกหนามิจิงจ

- (๕๙) (กกไ) ตมาเกศทนนศาสนาพระเปนเจ้าใส่จูงทองหลายหมื่น
 (๖๐) กทำบูชาพระศกฺขเจดีย์พระศรีมหาโพธิ์อนนเสมียดงตน
 (๖๑) พระเจ้าเราผิไคไคปราร (ถ) นาควยใจสราดงอนนชิจกปรารถ
 (๖๒) นาไปเกศในเมืองฟา... ตรอดพระศรีอารยไมตรีลงมาเปน
 (๖๓) พระพุทธยียมาเกศในเมืองคินนิคาบคยวไกคยผิมคินถา
 (๖๔) มคองนิโสตคองริแลไปรบบบปีเดือนวณคินอนนถอยแท้
 (๖๕) ดงอนนผุไคหารงงพิจารณาสงขยาครุคฺดูแลรแทดงอนนส
 (๖๖) นโหซานวาคงนิผุครสงขยาพิจารณาคูนนคิตนพญาศรีสุ
 (๖๗) รยพงสมหารมมราชธาธิราชแลพญามหารมมราชนน
 (๖๘) ญงมคฺคณอนนรคฺคงฎาบางอนนโหซานวาคงนิพญาธรรม
 (๖๙) ราชนนคองบญจสิลทุกเมื่อนบพ... ส... ร... ในราชมน (ที)
 (๗๐) รบหอนชาตสกกวนนสกกคิน... ง... (เต) อนเพญ.
 (๗๑) ไปนบพระธาคูนนตนท... ทงหลาย (สค)
 (๗๒) บบธรรมเทศนาโอยทานเซ... งอนนอ...
 (๗๓) นอสฎางคิกสิลทุกเมื่อนนนิงโสคพ...
 (๗๔) พระบิฎกไครอยอาจบรณภิกษุสงฆทงหลายโ...
 (๗๕) มคเปนเถรมหาเถรอน... โ... หลายปรการหนกทน (า)..
 (๗๖) ทิคณนาแลมิไครุจกค... ฟาหลายกว่าพนนชีกน..
 (๗๗) นคาวใสจกคเปน... จกคจกคไฟจกค..
 (๗๘) มจกคเปน.. ปากคอง... ชีนจกคค... ต... นผุ... ..

๒
ด้านที่ ๒

- (๑) เมืองอนนโคกรุสินอนนรุสาสตรอ.....
- (๒) อยุกตสกาจกรุงกทายนตรชชา (ง).....
- (๓) คลองช้างเป็นพรทิธิปาสาสต (ร).....
- (๔) คนบบตวงถ้วนไสญงมกกลา.....
- (๕) ทวยเกลวทวยหานหาทิกส.....
- (๖) แพตนแพทำนกรุหมม.....
- (๗) เหมืองแปลงฝายรูปรา.....
- (๘) พาเมืองมาออกญอ (ม).....
- (๙) กุ้ลกกเขาลกกของบห (อน).....
- (๑๐) นโทะระแกตนหมมบา.....
- (๑๑) นคาลไมตริกฤณาเพื่อ.....
- (๑๒) เมือชวพรณารามรา (ช).....
- (๑๓) งกวางขวางรอตทุกแห (ง).....
- (๑๔) ไหวมากนทุกแหง.....
- (๑๕) อทุกแหงเพื่อพลุกพ.....(เป็น)
- (๑๖) เจ้าเป็นขุนอยู่บ้านเมื่องชาก.....
- (๑๗) หลายบนนหลายทอนแซว.....(หลา)
- (๑๘) ยบนนหลายทอนตงเมืองพ.....
- (๑๙) นกเป็นขุนนิงเมืองคทพิร (ะบางหาเป็นขุนนิง).....
- (๒๐) เมืองชยงทองหาเป็นขุนนิง (เมือง).....(หา)

- (๒๑) เปนขุนนึ่งเมืองบางพานหา (ปนขุนนึ่งเมือง) (หาเปนขุน)
- (๒๒) นึ่งเมืองบางฉลงงหาเปนขุนนิ (ง)
- (๒๓) งตางทำเนือทำตนเขาอยุเมือล
- (๒๔) นไคเสวยราชแทนที่ปยุพาแม่
- (๒๕) เปนเจ้าเปนขุนนนควยกลัง (ง)
- (๒๖) ราชชอบควยทสพิทธราชธรรม
- (๒๗) คนทิพระบางกโรมในดินพิงนิ
- (๒๘) ปลุกหมากพราวหมากกลางทุก (เหง)
- (๒๙) เปนปาเปนตงไหแหวไทดาง
- (๓๐) มมิกราชนนบานเมืองอยุเขสมร
- (๓๑) งแตงไหขุนพิขุนนองลูกหลาน
- (๓๒) งไพรฝาชาไทชีเรือไปคาขีมาไป (ขาย)
- (๓๓) งตองใจมิไคเพือควยอ้นาจแก
- (๓๔) ราชนนเมือชาวลุนนิผิขุนผุไค
- (๓๕) ในเมืองนิวาไสจุงไทรบุษนยุธ (รมม) (ส)
- (๓๖) คุบเจดีย์พระศรีมหาโพธิ
- (๓๗) แม่พิงนิญาชาตสกกเมือไหย่าป (ครู)
- (๓๘) นองอัยมูเถาผุแกไทรปรานีไพรฝา
- (๓๙) งานไสไซผิบชอบเมือไซไสญาพาไซ
- (๔๐) นาจุงเขาเหลื่อเกลือกุนในเมืองตนผิ
- (๔๑) นตางบานตางเมืองจกมาเพิงมาอิงตนผ

- (๔๒) วาไสตนไปขเพ็งเมืองทานทานกตุแคนไ.....
- (๔๓) นิสัยตนโสศไพรผ่าขาไทลูกเจ้าลูกขุนผู้โต.....
- (๔๔) ไคข้าเอาอวยาวนาวเอาเรือนเขาพตัยไหไวแ (กลูกพี่ตัยไหไวแ)
- (๔๕) นองขุนผู้โตกทำชอบตวยธรรมตงอนนขุนผู้ (นนน).....
- (๔๖) กินเมืองเหิงนานแกกผู้โตกทำชอบตวยธรรม (มตงอนนขุนผู้)
- (๔๗) นบมียืนเียงเหิงนานเลยค่านิกลาวคนนสเลกส (นอยแลค้อ)
- (๔๘) นนพิสการไสกลาวไวในจาริกอนนมิในเมืองสุโข (ท).....
- (๔๙) นกกพระมหาธาตุพนแลจาริกอนนนิมในเมือง.....
- (๕๐) อนนนิมในเมืองฝางอนนนิมในเมืองสรลว (ง).....
- (๕๑) หมทลาปรัสเซียไวตวยพระบาทลทษณหันน (พระบาทลทษ)
- (๕๒) ณนไนสพรญาธรรมมิกราชไหไปพิมเอารอยตั้น (... พระเป)
- (๕๓) นเจ้าถึงสิงหลอนนอยยบเหนิ (อจ) อมเขาสุ (มกฎบวรพตป)
- (๕๔) รมานเทาโตเอามาพิมไวจูงคนทงงท (ลาย) . แท..... (อ)
- (๕๕) นนนิมปรัสเซียไวในเมืองศรีสชชนาไลยเหนิจ (อมเขา... อน)
- (๕๖) นนิมปรัสเซียไวในเมืองสุโขไทยเหนิจอมเขาสุ (นกฎอนนนิม
ปรัสเซียไว)
- (๕๗) ในเมืองบางพานเหนิจอมเขานางทองอนนนิ (งปรัสเซียไวเหนิ
จอ)
- (๕๘) มเขาทีปากพระบางจาริกกณงไวตวยทุกแ (หง)

Translation

[I/1-2.] Śakarāja 1279, year of the cock, eighth month, fifth day of the waxing moon, Friday, a 'katt rau' day in the *Tai* reckoning, (the moon being in) the nakṣatra of Pūrvaphalgunī. The hour of the enshrinement is on the sixth day¹¹.

[I/2-15.] Braṇā Līdaiyarāja—who is the son of Braṇā Lōdaiya and grandson of Braṇā Rāmarāja¹², and who, when he acceded to supreme power in the land of Śrī Sajjanālaya Sukhodaya, received the rājābhīṣeka¹³ from the throng of rulers¹⁴, his vassals¹⁵ residing at the four cardinal points, who, having provided ritual offerings¹⁶ and gifts of fruit and

- 11) The 5th day of the eighth month of M.S. 1279 (see above, p. 82) corresponds to Friday, June 23, 1357 (Julian), and the 6th obviously means the following day. Coedès suggests that, as such ceremonies normally lasted two days, the 5th day of the month was devoted to the recitation of religious formulas (สวดมนต์), and the relic was actually enshrined (sthāpanā) on the 6th (JSS XIII/3, p. 20, note to line 2). This seems very plausible; but why are none of the other dedicatory inscriptions of Sukhodaya dated in this fashion? Alternatively we might suppose that the relic was enshrined at an hour which was part of the fifth day according to popular reckoning, but part of the sixth lunar day (tithi) as calculated by the astrologers. We are indebted to Mr Roger Billard for the following comment: 'In fact the 6th real tithi began about 1.30 p.m., before the moon left the Pūrvaphalgunīnakṣatra, so it is possible that this reference is intended to give the hour on Friday, June 23, between 1.30 and 3 p.m., when the relic was enshrined. But I should think that in that case Līdaiya would have said "tithi" instead of "gām" (กัม); and furthermore we have no other examples of a detail of this sort.' Recognizing the pertinence of Mr. Billard's comment, we feel obliged to leave the question open.
- 12) Rāma Gāmhēn.
- 13) Consecration as king. For the Hindu ceremony on which this one was presumably based, at least in part, see Walker, *The Hindu World*, London, 1968, Vol. II, p. 358 f. (with references).
- 14) กษัตริย์ (I/4-5), dāv braṇā. Though the same expression at I/6-7 obviously means a sovereign monarch (see note 19), it here refers to Mahādharmarāja's vassals who came to do him homage (ไหว้, I/6) and confer the abhīṣeka on him as a sovereign monarch.
- 15) mitrasahāya (I/5), a Skt. compound which here must mean vassals (mitra, 'companion,' 'associate,' 'friend'; sahāya, 'companion,' 'follower,' 'adherent,' 'ally').
- 16) ถวาย (I/5-6). In Siamese ถวาย means food, provisions, articles or utensils (McFarland), though in Khmer krayā generally means food only. In Khmer tñvāy or tñvāy is a noun, meaning offerings to a god, to the king, or to monks (Guesdon, *Dictionnaire Cambodgien-Français*, Paris, 1930, p. 605). It is an expanded form of the verb thvāy, to adore, salute, offer, or consecrate to (ibid., p. 759); but in Siamese the distinction has been lost, both ถวาย and ทูล being verbs meaning 'to present' (to princes or monks). Cf. Coedès, JSS XIII/3, p. 21 f.

fish, came to do him homage¹⁷ and to confer the abhiṣeka¹⁸ on him as King¹⁹, giving him the title Śrī Sūryavaṃśa Mahādharmarājadhīrāja—brought this precious relic to enshrine in this city of Nagara Juṃ in that year²⁰. This precious relic is not²¹ an ordinary one, but a genuine relic (of the Buddha) brought from far-away Laṅkādvīpa²². Some seeds from the śrīmahābodhi tree under which our Lord the Buddha was sitting when he defeated the army of King Mārādhīrāja and attained the omniscience of Buddhahood have also been brought here and planted behind this reliquary monument²³. If anyone salutes and worships this precious relic and śrīmahābodhi tree²⁴, he will get the same²⁵ advantage (from his

- 17) ไห้ (I/6). Though it is quite possible that some independent monarchs who were friends of Līdaiya were present at the abhiṣeka, they would simply be honored guests who would certainly not do homage to him. For that reason we do not think they are mentioned at all in this passage.
- 18) ขัตติยอุกนิเชก (I/6) stands for the Pali nouns ñatti, 'announcement', yañña, 'a sacrifice', and abhiṣeka, 'anointing', 'consecration (as king)'; but the whole expression is here used as a verb. Cf. Coedès, JSS XIII/3, p. 22 f.
- 19) เปรินทวเณพรญา (I/6-7), literally 'as Dāv and as Brañā'.
- 20) Grammatically the whole passage, from the last word in I/2 to the middle of I/8, is a single sentence, the main clause of which is 'Brañā Līdaiyaraja ... brought this precious relic to enshrine in this city of Nagara Juṃ in that year', i.e. M.S. 1279 = 1357 A.D. His consecration as king, referred to in the dependent clause that intervenes between the subject and the verb of the main clause, occurred ten years earlier, in 1347. Such long periodic sentences as this, articulated with meticulous accuracy, occur fairly often in Mahādharmarājā's prose style, no doubt reflecting his familiarity with inflected languages such as Sanskrit and Pali, contrasting not only with Rāma Gāṃhēn's short simple sentences, but also with the alternation of ellipses and rambling digressions of Inscr. 2.
- 21) The word ไช (ไช) here has its old negative sense ('is not'). Cf. Coedès, JSS XIII/3, p. 25, note to lines 8-9.
- 22) Ceylon. The word ดย (I/9), here used as an asseverative adverb which can best be omitted in translation, means 'surely', 'as much as that', or 'only that'. Cf. *Tai Yuan* แท้ดย, 'certainly'; and ปดย, equivalent to Siamese เปด้า. See Coedès, JSS XIII/3, p. 25, note to line 9.
- 23) The reliquary monument (braḥ mahādhātu, I/12), built by Līdaiya to enshrine the precious relic (braḥ śrīratana mahādhātu). The tree referred to is the ficus religiosa at Bodhgayā under which Gotama attained Enlightenment after putting Māra's armies to flight. Mahādharmarājā must have obtained the seeds from the ficus religiosa at Anurādhapura in Ceylon which had been grown from a layering of the original tree at Bodhgayā.
- 24) ภาส (I/13), = ภาสรั. Here, as often in the Sukhodayan inscriptions, ภาส serves to mark the end of a conditional clause. Elsewhere, as at I/15, ภาส is merely a concluding asseverative particle, 'indeed', 'in fact', 'in truth'. Cf. Coedès, JSS XIII/3, p. 26, note to line 13.
- 25) ปรนเสมอ (I/14-15). In this context ปรน seems to mean 'same' (cf. *Tai Yuan* ปรน, 'corresponding to'); เสมอ means 'equal'.

meritorious action) as if he had also²⁶ worshiped our Lord in person. We are not making this statement on our own authority: indeed²⁷ the words were spoken by our Lord the Buddha himself²⁸.

[I/15-24.] At the time our Lord attained Buddhahood²⁹, our human life-span was still a hundred years. Between that time and this, it has decreased to ninety-nine years³⁰. If anyone asks, 'How many years have elapsed since it decreased from a hundred years to ninety-nine?', let him be told this: 'In the year of the hare, a hundred and thirty-nine years before Braa Mahdharmarja built this reliquary monument, the human life-span decreased from a hundred years³¹. From that year on, the

26)  (I/14), , 'also'.

27)  (I/15), see above, note 24.

28) We understand this sentence as going with what precedes. Coeds, on the other hand, puts it with what follows, and translates: 'L'expos qui va suivre n'a pas t emprunt par nous aux paroles du Buddha, c'est rellement notre oeuvre personnelle' (*Recueil*, I, p. 84); cf. his remarks at JSS XIII/3, p. 26, note to line 15. — For the view that worshipping the Buddha's relics, etc., is equivalent to worshipping the Buddha in person, cf. Coomaraswamy's discussion of srrkadhtu (bodily relics) and prbhogakacetiya (relics by association, such as the Bodhi tree); Coomaraswamy, *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, Cambridge, Mass., 1935, pp. 4-6; Coomaraswamy, *The Nature of Buddhist Art*, in Rowland, *The Wall-Paintings of India, Central Asia, and Ceylon*, Boston, 1938, p. 13.

29) Literally: 'When our Lord attained to being a Buddha, on that day our human life-span (etc.).' For  (I/16), cf. Coeds, JSS XIII/3, p. 26, note to line 16.

30) Literally: 'our life-span has decreased from a hundred years, and now it is one year less, leaving only ninety-nine years.'

31) In order to make for easier reading, we have translated rather freely. A more literal rendering of the passage that begins near the end of I/19 and goes on to near the end of I/21 would be: 'In the year when Braa Mahdharmarja built this reliquary tower, the human life-span had [already] decreased from a hundred years 139 years [earlier], and the year when this decrease occurred was a year of the hare.' For this decrease in the human life-span, cf. above, pp. 83-84. According to the Hindu system, a Mahyuga is a period of 4,320,000 years, divided into four yugas or ages of unequal duration. At the end of the Mahyuga, the world is destroyed and then created all over again. The present Mahyuga began with the Ktayuga or age of perfection, which lasted 1,728,000 years; then came the Tretyuga or first age of decline, which lasted 1,296,000 years; then the Dvparayuga or age of further decline, which lasted 864,000 years; and finally the Kaliyuga or age of vice, which will last 432,000 years. The descending numbers represent a similar physical and moral deterioration of men in each age. The first three yugas have already elapsed; the Kaliyuga, in which we are living, began in 3102 B.C. (see Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. yuga; Walker, *Hindu World*, London,

princes, Brahmins and śreṣṭhins³² gradually³³ lost their high standing³⁴; the men who were learned³⁵ in astrology and medicine³⁶ lost their standing; from that time on, they were no longer favored or respected³⁷.

1968, I, pp. 6-8.). The life-span of man, which was of immense duration at the beginning of the Mahāyuga, declines progressively until it is only 10 years. (See Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, London, 1853, pp. 6-8.) At the beginning of the Kaliyuga it had declined to 100 years; during the first 4320 years or 1/100 of the Kaliyuga, it declined by one year; and during each further 4320 years it will decline by one more year until finally it is only 10 years. In 544 B.C., when the Buddha entered parinibbāna, the human life-span was still '100 years' (since any part of a year counts as a whole one); but by the year of the hare, 1219 A.D., it had declined to 99 years; and it was still '99 years' in 1357 A.D. when the inscription was composed. Cf. Inscription 7 (IV/12 ff.), composed in 1361 A.D. in which Mahādharmarājā refers to something which will occur 427,539 years after the date at which he is writing, i.e. the destruction of the world. In the present inscription, which does not look so far into the future, the reference to a decline in the human life-span from 100 years to 99 in 1219 A.D. (I/19 ff.) is part of the same purely theoretical idea.

- 32) sresthi (I/22), for śreṣṭhin, which usually means a rich merchant, a man of property, but may also mean any person of rank or authority, etc. (Monier-Williams, *Skt.-Eng. Dict.*, p. 1102); in the inscriptions of Cambodia, the word designated a certain rank of officials (see Coedès, JSS XIII/3, p. 29; BEFEO XVIII/9, p. 6; and *L'année du lièvre 1219 A.D.*, India Antiqua, Leyden, 1947, p. 85).
- 33) ហេ (I/22). For ហេ in the sense of 'gradually', 'little by little', see Coedès, JSS XIII/3, p. 30.
- 34) លុបចោលបុណ្យភូមិ, (I/22), 'receded from being the aristocracy'. The obsolete word ភូមិ is compared by Coedès to the expression អ្នកស្រាវជ្រាវ, 'a person of good society', 'a gentleman' (JSS XIII/3, p. 30).
- 35) អ្នកស្រាវជ្រាវ (I/23); វិ, for វិ; for អ្នកស្រាវជ្រាវ, see JSS 59/2, p. 212, note 80.
- 36) វិទ្យាសាស្ត្រ (I/23); វិទ្យា, វិទ្យា, 'astrologer'; វិទ្យា, 'to predict'; វិទ្យា, modern វិទ្យា, 'medicines'. Cf. Coedès, *L'année du lièvre*, loc. cit., p. 85.
- 37) As Coedès remarks, these five categories of persons — princes, Brahmins, śreṣṭhins, astrologers and doctors — correspond to the ruling classes in Cambodia at the end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th century. It seems to us that Mahādharmarājā was thinking of the decline in their standing, whether in Cambodia or elsewhere, in purely theoretical terms as part of the general physical and moral deterioration of mankind that accompanies the decline in human life-span (see above, note 31). Coedès suggested that he may have been referring to a real series of events that began in 1219 (see his *L'année du lièvre*, loc. cit., pp. 85 ff.). An inscription in one of the corner pavilions of Angkor Thom, cited by Coedès (ibid., p. 88) says that in the reign of Jayavarman VII, who 'swept away the evils of the Kaliyuga and brought back the Kṛtayuga on earth', the human life-span was 100 years. Jayavarman VII was born in 1125 or earlier; he was still alive in 1200; but it is not known how long he lived after that. Coedès thought 1219 may have been the approximate date of his death, followed not long afterwards by the establishment of the *Tai* kingdom of Sukhodaya and later on by the decline of

[I/24-31.] If anyone asks, further, 'How long has it been, from the day our Lord attained Buddhahood under the śrīmahābodhi tree, up to the day this precious relic is being enshrined?', let this answer be given him: 'Counting by years, it is one thousand nine hundred and forty-six years³⁸;   the year he reached Buddhahood was a year of the monkey. Counting by months, it is twenty-four thousand and sixty months;   the month he reached Buddhahood was the sixth month, on the day of the full moon. Counting by days, it is seven hundred and ten thousand, four hundred and sixty-eight days; the day he reached Buddhahood was Wednesday, a "tau  i" day in the Tai reckoning.'  

[I/32-34.] If anyone asks, 'How much longer will the Lord's religion survive³⁹?', let this answer be given him: 'Three thousand and ninety-nine years after this relic is enshrined, the Lord's religion will come to an end⁴⁰.'  

Cambodia. We agree that a date shortly before 1219 is plausible for Jayavarman VII's death: if he was over 99 years old when he died, it would serve to confirm Mahādharmarāja's view, based on theoretical considerations, that the decline in the human life-span from 100 to 99 was not completed until the year of the hare, 4320 of the Kaliyuga (1219 A.D.), though we believe that the theoretical considerations were paramount in Mahādharmarāja's mind when he made the statement about the decrease that occurred in that year. We agree, too, that the death of a king of Cambodia would provide the opportunity for the *Tai* to throw off Khmer suzerainty; but we think it more probable that they did so after the death of Jayavarman VII's successor, Indravarman II, in 1243.

- 38) Gotama is supposed to have renounced the princely life at the age of 29, attained Buddhahood at the age of 35, and died in 544 B.C. at the age of 80. That would mean he attained Buddhahood in 589 B.C., which would be 1946 years before the enshrinement of the relic at Nagara J m.
- 39) A more literal translation might be 'The Lord's religion will still (have) how much (time) to come to an end?'
- 40) According to the Sukhodaya reckoning the year the relic was enshrined, 1357 A.D., was the year 1901 of the Buddhist Era. The answer, 3099 years, is 1901 subtracted from 5000. According to an old prophecy, recorded in Buddhaghosa's *Manorathap ra i*, the religion established by the Buddha Gotama will decline progressively in each 1000 years after his parinibb na and disappear altogether in the 5000th year; see Coed s, *Le 2500e anniversaire du Bouddha*, loc. cit., pp. 4 ff.; Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, London, 1850, pp. 427 ff. These successive declines or 'disappearances' are as follows. During the first 1000 years, the power to become an arahant will disappear; during the second, the monks will tend more and more to neglect the rules of the Vinaya, and eventually even the moral precepts; during the third, the sacred scriptures will be lost, beginning with the last book of the Abhidhamma,

[I/34-39.] 'In the year of the boar, ninety-nine years from the year this relic is enshrined⁴¹, the Three Piṭakas will disappear⁴². There will be no one who really knows them, though there will still be some who know a little bit of them⁴³. As for preaching the Dharma, such as the Mahājāti⁴⁴, there will be no one who can recite it; as for the other Dharmajātakas⁴⁵, if the beginning is known the end will not be, or if the end is known the beginning will not be; and as for the Abhidhamma collection, the Paṭṭhāna and the Yamaka⁴⁶ will disappear at that time.

continuing retrogressively with the other six, then the Vinaya, then the Suttas, and finally even the Jātakas will be forgotten; during the fourth, the monks will forget the proper way to carry the almsbowl or wear the yellow robe, until finally they suspend the almsbowl from a carrying-pole and retain only enough yellow cloth to wrap around the neck, the wrist or the ear; during the fifth, the Buddha's bodily relics will be less and less honored, until at last, 5000 years after the parinibbāna, all his relics will spring out of the reliquaries in which they are enshrined; they will fly to Anurādhapura in Ceylon, where they will assemble at the Mahāthūpa; then they will fly from there to Bodhgayā, the scene of the Buddha's Enlightenment, form themselves into a semblance of the Buddha himself, and be consumed in a great holocaust.

- 41) A more literal translation would be: 'One more thing: counting from the year of enshrining this relic, going forward for ninety-nine years up to the year of the boar ...'
- 42) Piṭakatīrai (I/35), Pali Tipiṭaka, the sacred scriptures. In 1357, when the relic was enshrined, the first 'disappearance' — that of the ability to become an arahant — had long since occurred. The second would become complete in the year of the boar (1456 A.D.), 99 years after the relic was enshrined. In rehearsing the prophecy Mahādharmarājā was apparently relying on a text which was analogous to Buddhaghosa's but not identical to it, because he reverses the order of the second and third disappearances (see above, note 40). For Mahādharmarājā, the second disappearance is that of the Tipiṭaka, while the third is that of the monastic rules and the moral precepts.
- 43) ล้วนสละสลวย (I/36). Coedès takes ล้วน (ล้วน) to mean 'very', but if it had that meaning it should come after the expression it modifies. As it comes before, we take it to be equivalent to *Tai Yuan* ล้วน, 'rather'. The expression สละสลวย, 'a little bit,' is a contraction of สักเล็กน้อย.
- 44) The Vessantarajātaka.
- 45) Jātakas; as Coedès observes, the unusual expression Dharmajātaka appears in the introduction to the *Traibhūmikathā*, among the list of Pali texts used by the author for his compilation; see JSS XIII/3, p. 31, note to line 37.
- 46) The Paṭṭhāna and the Yamaka are the last two books of the Abhidhamma.

[I/39-41.] 'A thousand years later there will still be monks who observe the [first] four moral precepts⁴⁷, but there will be none at all [who observe] a great number of monastic rules⁴⁸.

[I/41-43.] 'A thousand years later⁴⁹ there will be no monks at all who wear the cīvara⁵⁰, but⁵¹ there will still be some who have a little bit of yellow cloth to stick behind the ear⁵² so that the Lord's religion may be recognized.

[I/43-45.] 'A thousand years later there will be no cīvara cloth whatever and no monks at all (by which the religion) can be recognized; but our Lord's relics, both here and at other places, will still endure. Last of all, in the year when the Lord Buddha's religion will disappear altogether, a year of the rat, on Saturday the full moon day of the sixth

47) sīla, sikkāpāda (I/40). Sīla means 'moral practice', etc.; sikkāpāda is a partially Sanskritized form of Pali sikkhāpāda, 'precept'. The pañcasīla or five moral practices, which all Buddhists are supposed to follow, are: abstention from taking life, from stealing, from adultery, from lying, and from intoxication. The pañcasikkhāpāda or five precepts are identical to the pañcasīla. The dasasīla or ten moral practices are the same as the first four of the pañcasīla, plus abstention from slander, from harsh speech, from frivolous talk, from covetousness, from malevolence, and from heretical views. The dasasikkhāpāda or ten precepts consist of the first five, plus abstention from eating at the wrong hour, from worldly amusements, from using unguents or ornaments, from sleeping on a high bed, and from accepting gold or silver. See Pali Text Society's *Pali-English Dictionary*, s.v. sīla, sikkhāpāda.

48) In contrast to its meaning at I/40 (see the preceding note), the word sikkāpāda at I/40-41 obviously cannot refer to the five or the ten precepts, for neither five nor ten could be regarded as a 'great number' relative to four. Here it must mean the 227 rules (sikkhāpāda) of the Pāṭimokkha as given in the Suttavibhaṅga in the Vinayapitaka or *Book of Monastic Discipline*. See I.B. Horner, *The Book of the Discipline*, Vol. I, London, 1949, p. viii, and Vol. II, London, 1940, pp. v, XXIX.

49) In translating we have omitted စတုဘ္ဘ (I/42). McFarland defines စတုဘ္ဘ as 'an ancient form for the beginning of an explanation, speech or address'.

50) ခံဘ (I/42) is for cīvara, the monk's upper garment of yellow cloth, or for ticīvara, the monk's three garments of the same material.

51) ဟေ (I/42). One of the meanings of ဟေ, now obsolete, was 'but'; see JSS XIII/3, p. 32, note to line 42.

52) ထည့်ပုဆိုး is an idiom meaning to stick something behind the ear, such as a pencil or a cigar. Coedès, apparently being unaware of the idiom, translates this passage: 'il y aura un tout petit peu d'étoffe jaune, (juste assez) pour se boucher le trou de l'oreille.' which accords less well with the quotations he very pertinently cites at JSS XIII/3, pp. 32-33, note to lines 42-43.

month, a "rāy sann" day⁵³ in the *Tai* reckoning, when the moon is in the ṛkṣa of Baisākha, on that day all the Lord's relics on this earth, as well as in the Devaloka and the Nāgaloka⁵⁴, will fly⁵⁵ through the sky, assemble together in Laṅkādvīpa, enter⁵⁶ the Ratanamālikamahāstūpa⁵⁷, and then fly to the śrīmahābodhi tree⁵⁸ where the Lord Buddha attained the omniscience of Buddhahood long ago⁵⁹. Then a huge fire⁶⁰ will consume all the relics completely, and the flames will leap up to the Brahmaloṇa⁶¹: the Buddha's religion will disappear on that day as declared. From that time on there will be no one at all among mankind who is acquainted with the various (sorts of) meritorious action: people will constantly⁶² commit sins and be reborn in hell⁶³.

53) วนนราชสนน (I/47) = วนนราชสน, 'a "rvāy sñn" day'; cf. JSS XIII/3, p. 33, note to line 47.

54) Devaloka means any of the six 'heavens of desire', particularly the Tāvātimsa; more loosely used, it can include the sixteen Brahmā-heavens, or 'heavens of form' which are higher than the heavens of desire; and legend specifies certain relics of the Buddha which are worshiped in the Tāvātimsa and the Brahmā-heavens. The Nāgaloka is the subterranean realm of the Nāgas or serpent divinities, who also possess a number of relics.

55) โห (I/49), modern หอ, 'to fly by supernatural means.'

56) เข้าอยู่ในถ้ำ (I/50) means 'enter into the hollow interior', presumably the relic-chamber of the stupa. *Prajum* I (1957) has ในถ้ำ (page 40), which is a misprint (cf. *ibid.*, p. 45).

57) The Mahāstūpa at Anurādhapura in Ceylon; see above, note 40.

58) At Bodhgayā; see above, note 40.

59) เมื่อก่อนนั้น (I/52), i.e. เมื่อก่อนนั้น, 'at that time in the past.'

60) กาลไฟ (I/52-53), for Skt. kalāgni, the fire which, according to Hindu belief, will destroy the world (see JSS XIII/3, p. 33, note to line 52); here, transposed into Buddhist terms, the holocaust that will destroy the last remains of the religion.

61) The sixteen heavens of the Brahmās, high above the heavens of desire.

62) ฐม (I/55) 'regularly,' 'normally,' 'as a matter of course,' 'always'; cf. modern ฐม, ฐมนั้น, 'habitually,' 'according to custom'; ฐมว่า, 'it is commonly said or reported'; ฐมเห็น, 'generally seen,' 'usually noticed'.

63) There will be five Buddhas in the present kappa (aeon). Four of them have already passed into parinibbāna; the fifth, Āriyametteyya, is still to come. The religions preached by the first three have long since disappeared; that preached by 'our' Buddha, Gotama, will finally disappear when his relics are destroyed, 5000 years after his parinibbāna. During the immense interval of time which will elapse between that moment and the establishment of Āriyametteyya's dispensation on earth, mankind will have no guide to teach the difference between meritorious and sinful actions, and so will inevitably be doomed to hell.

[I/56-63.] 'From now on, all good people should make haste to perform meritorious actions in (accordance with) the Buddha's religion while it still survives⁶⁴. The present generation⁶⁵ has the immense advantage⁶⁶ of being born in time (to know) the Lord's religion; so everyone should be assiduous in doing homage to stupas, cetiyas and śrīmahābodhi trees⁶⁷, which is the same as (doing homage to) our Lord in person. If anyone (when doing homage to them) makes a wish with perfect faith⁶⁸, it will come true⁶⁹, even if⁷⁰ he makes the wish that he will be reborn in heaven, (that he will stay there) until⁷¹ Śrī Āriyamaitri comes down (to

64) เมื่อถึงนิทาน (I/58), modern เมื่อยังมีเท่านั้น, 'while we still have it, until the day [when it disappears].'. Alternatively we might adopt Coedès's interpretation (JSS XIII/3, p. 34), putting a full stop after เมื่อยังมี, 'while we still have it', 'while it still survives', and beginning a new sentence with แต่, 'but' (see above, note 51).

65) ชาวเวทคณ (I/58), modern ชั่วเวทคณ, 'our generation at the present time'.

66) Literally 'merit'; by extension, the advantage accruing from merit made in past lives. Unless the present generation had made great merit in past lives, they would not have been rewarded by being born as human beings at a time when there is still a chance to make further merit and gain further rewards in future lives.

67) A 'cetiya' is a Reminder of the Buddha in the broadest sense, including bodily relics, relics by association, bodhi trees grown from seeds or layerings of the original bodhi tree at Bodhgayā and its descendants, architectural monuments containing relics or copied from those containing relics, bas-reliefs or paintings of scenes from the Buddha's life, and any sort of image of the Buddha. A stupa is a particular form of cetiya, generally a monument having a solid dome as its main feature. We take สตุปเจติย (I/60) to mean 'stupas and (other) cetiyas', but it could equally well be a compound, stūpacetiya, 'cetiya in the form of stupas'. On the analogy of II/35 f., we construe stupas, cetiyas and śrīmahābodhi trees as plural, though it is possible that 'cetiya' refers more particularly to the reliquary monument built by Mahādharmarājā at Nagara Jumbh, and that the tree is the one planted behind it.

68) Literally 'with faith like that': i.e. faith that by worshiping stupas and bodhi trees he will earn as much merit as if he had been among those who worshiped the Buddha in person; see above, I/13-15. and note 28; also JSS XIII/3, p. 34.

69) ก็ได้ดวย (I/63), i.e. ก็ได้ดวย.

70) จิ (I/61), 'even if' (JSS XIII/3, p. 34).

71) ... ครอบค (I/62); the lacuna doubtless contained some expression meaning 'to remain there'; ครอบค is for ครอบค, 'until'.

earth) to become a Buddha, and that he will be reborn⁷² on this earth at the same time⁷³.'

[I/63-78.] If anyone asks, further, 'How⁷⁴ can anyone know the number⁷⁵ of years, months, days and nights of the decline so exactly? Who made the investigation and the reckoning⁷⁶, who calculated⁷⁷, so as to know it so exactly and so thoroughly?', let this answer be given: 'The person who calculated, reckoned and investigated is⁷⁸ Brañā Śrī Sūryavaṃśa Mahādharmarājādhirāja himself.' 'And what other qualities is Brañā Mahādharmarāja known to possess?', let this answer be given: 'Brañā Dharmarāja observes the five precepts⁷⁹ at all times.

72) ឋិមมาเกิด (I/63), i.e. ឋិមมาเกิด, 'come to be born'. We take ឋិម to be an emphatic auxiliary, which we have omitted from our translation; but cf. Coedès, JSS XIII/3, p. 34, note to line 63.

73) During the long period of ignorance between the end of the present Buddhist religion and the beginning of the new one which will be established by Āriyametteyya (Śrī Āriyamaitri), the person who makes the wish will be waiting in one of the heavens. By being reborn as a man when Āriyametteyya is about to reestablish the Dhamma, he will be among the first to listen to his preaching and be able to earn more merits which will help him along the road to nibbāna. We have translated គាលគេឋ (modern គាលគេឋ) at I/63 as 'at the same time', i.e. that he will be reborn at the same time that Āriyametteyya is living on earth; but cf. Coedès at JSS XIII/3, p. 35, note to line 63. In the *Traibhūmi* (p. 579) គាលគេឋ means 'at the same time'.

74) For the expression គង្ខវិធី (I/64), 'how', which appears in the form គង្ខវិធី in the *Traibhūmikathā*, see Coedès, JSS XIII/3, p. 35.

75) រូបប (I/64), modern រូបប. The present meaning of the word is 'pattern', 'example' or 'model', none of which makes any sense in the context. As Coedès says, the word is of Khmer origin. In modern Khmer it has the same meaning as in Siamese, but there are plenty of examples of Old Khmer words which have passed into Siamese and been given a new meaning, only to be taken back again into Khmer with the same meaning as in Siamese. Considered purely from the morphological point of view, *rpap* is derived by means of the labial infix from the Khmer verb *rap*, 'to count', so it must originally have been a noun meaning 'count' or 'number', which fits very well with the sense of this passage. See Coedès, JSS XIII/3, p. 35, note to line 64.

76) វេទវិចារណសង្ខេប (I/65); i.e. វេទ, 'to make'; *vicāraṇā*, Skt./Pali 'consideration', 'investigation'; *saṅkhyā*, Skt. 'reckoning'.

77) គុរ (I/65), i.e. គុរ, which now means 'to multiply'; cf. Skt. *guṇa*, 'a multiplier', 'a coefficient', and *guṇana*, 'multiplication', 'enumeration'. We take the word to be equivalent to Khmer *gvar*, 'to calculate'; Khmer *gamnvar*, the expanded form of *gvar*, has the same meaning. Siamese គុណ means 'to calculate', 'mathematics', etc. Cf. Coedès, JSS XIII/3, pp. 35-36.

78) គី (I/66), i.e. គី.

79) *pañcasīla*, the five moral practices, identical to the *pañcasikkhāpada* or five precepts; see above, note 47.

He pays homage in the Royal Palace, never⁸⁰ missing a single day or a single night On full-moon days he goes to worship the relics which he himself [has enshrined] all. He listens to the preaching of the Dharma, gives alms [On uposatha days⁸¹] he always [observes] the eight precepts⁸². Moreover [he is well versed in⁸³] the Three Piṭakas, able to teach all the monks so that entirely, as theras and mahātheras all sorts, in great number . . . cannot be counted⁸⁴. He knows the skies, more than a thousand names⁸⁵ [He can predict?] from the stars if there will be if there will be a tempest or a fire . . . if there will be a . . . or if there will be a . . spoken, just as . .⁸⁶ He gets up to look at [II/1-11.] Whatever countries there are, he know them completely; he knows the sāsstras⁸⁷ medicines⁸⁸, he knows how to play skā and caturaṅga⁸⁹, how to

80) ប្រគេន (I/70), i.e. ប្រគេន.

81) The Buddhist holy days (វិហារ), the 8th and 15th days of the waxing moon and the 8th and 15th of the waning moon. We have conjecturally supplied this expression in the lacuna for reasons which appear in the next note.

82) aṣṭhāṅgikasīla (I/73), Pali aṭṭhaṅgikasīla, the popular name for the first 8 of the dasasikkhāpada (see above, note 47); recommended for Buddhist laymen to observe on uposatha days (វិហារ).

83) Conjectural restoration of part of the lacuna.

84) Here the account of the King's moral and religious qualities terminates and the account of his secular accomplishments begins.

85) sc. of heavenly bodies?

86) sc. his predictions, based on his study of the heavenly bodies, will come true.

87) សាស្ត្រ (II/1), for sāsstra, Indian technical manuals on a wide variety of subjects.

88) ឈ្មោះ (II/1-2); see above, note 36.

89) គេត្រង់ (II/2). Apparently គ is for ត្រង់, 'to fight', hence 'to play'. According to McFarland's dictionary, គេត្រង់ is a backgammon-like game. The word skā is borrowed from Khmer; according to Guesdon (*Dictionnaire Cambodgien-Français*) it is equivalent to skār or paskā, which he defines as 'jeu de dames', i.e. draughts or checkers. Caturaṅga is the Skt. term for the four branches of an army — elephantry, chariotry, cavalry and infantry. In ancient India, according to Walker (*Hindu World*, London, 1968, I, p. 366), caturaṅga was a dice-game for two players, played on a board marked with squares, on which were placed pieces representing a king, an elephant, a chariot and four foot-soldiers, whose moves were determined by the throw of the dice; later on, when the use of dice was abandoned, the game passed into chess. It is not clear whether skā and caturaṅga in the present context mean two different kinds of game or only one; perhaps skā, meaning any sort of game played on a board marked with squares, is more precisely defined by caturaṅga. If, as seems likely, the main purpose of the game (or games) Mahādharmaṛājā is referring to was to simulate military strategy, his boast would not be so frivolous as one might think at first glance.

make yantras⁹⁰, how to ride elephants how to lasso elephants ...⁹¹ the Briddhipāśasāstra⁹², reckon up the total⁹³ [of his accomplishments], there is much more he has no [equal] in bravery and courage⁹⁴⁹⁵ He knows how to control⁹⁶ himself and how to control others, he knows how to [how to dig] irrigation ditches and build weirs⁹⁷. He is merciful [*to all his subjects⁹⁸]. [When rulers] come to him to place their cities under his protection, he always⁹⁹. [*When he catches people who cheated or] betrayed him¹⁰⁰, or who stole his goods, he never [*kills them or beats them¹⁰¹]. [*Those

90) Skt. yantra, any mechanical or magical device; an amulet; a mystical diagram supposed to possess occult powers; in Siamese the word may mean a straw robot.

91) As the context is lost, the sense of ญ (II/3) is uncertain.

92) The Vṛddhipāśasāstra (to regularize the spelling) was presumably a treatise on elephant hunting and the Brahmin ceremonies connected with it (Skt. vṛddhi, 'success', etc.; pāśa, 'noose' or 'snare'; śāstra, 'technical treatise'). The family of Brahmins in charge of *gajakarma* or ceremonies connected with the royal elephants in Bangkok is still named Vṛddhipāśa. For the role of the Brahmins in elephant hunting, see Coedès, JSS XIII/3, p. 37.

93) นนบควงล้วน (II/4); ควง is an old word meaning 'up to', 'until'. The sentence means that only a small part of the King's accomplishments are enumerated here; he has many others.

94) ควบคุมควบคุม (II/5). The same expression occurs in Inscription 1, in a passage (IV/14-16) which we have translated as follows: 'Among men who live in the lands of the *Tai*, there is none to equal him in knowledge and wisdom, in bravery and courage, in strength and energy' (JSS 59/2, pp. 202 and 218). That may give a clue to restore the lacuna.

95) The account of the King's personal accomplishments ends at this point. The ensuing passage is more particularly devoted to his qualities as a ruler.

96) ญ (II/6), for ญ, which in Siamese now means 'to be defeated', but in *Tai Yuan* means 'to conquer', 'to overcome', 'to control'.

97) ... เขมืองแปลงฝาย (II/7); เขมือง, a marsh or an irrigation ditch; ฝาย, to build; ฝาย, a weir. Cf. เขมืองฝาย, a coöperatively built irrigation ditch (used in northern Thailand).

98) Several of the ideas in the passage from here to II/11 are expressed in much the same words in Inscription 5 (I/16-35). In our translation, conjectural restorations of lacunae based on these parallels are indicated by brackets beginning with an asterisk. The restoration of the lacuna at II/7 is based on 5: I/16-17.

99) ญอน (II/8), 'always', 'regularly'; sc. when rulers offer to become his vassals, he always grants them protection.

100) คุ (II/8-9); conjectural restoration of the lacuna, based on 5: I/24.

101) Conjectural restoration of II/9 based on 5: I/26 f.

who have] done him harm [he has set free so many times that they cannot be counted¹⁰²]. The reason why [*he shows such forbearance in cases that would make most people angry¹⁰³] and shows¹⁰⁴ kindness and compassion¹⁰⁵ is because [*he has resolved to become a Buddha and to lead all living creatures beyond these miseries of transmigration¹⁰⁶].

[II/12-14.] In the time of Braṇṇā Rāmarāja [the kingdom] was vast, extending (afar) in every direction [and his vassals] came to salute him and do homage to him¹⁰⁷ everywhere.

[II/14-23.]¹⁰⁸ everywhere, because fathers and sons, elder [and younger] brothers¹⁰⁹ as princes and rulers¹¹⁰. The country was torn into many fragments and pieces¹¹¹ into many fragments and pieces, for example the lord of became a ruler¹¹², the lord of Gandī Br[ah] Pāñ became a ruler] , the lord

102) Conjectural restoration of II/9 f. based on 5: I/27 f. The word โทษะ (II/10) = โทษ, 'evil' or 'harm'.

103) Conjectural restoration of II/10 based on 5: I/29 f.

104) Conjectural translation of — นาค at II/11 (บนนาค?); cf. Khmer pantāl, 'to produce', and paṇḍāl, 'proof', 'evidence'.

105) maitrī karuṇā (II/11). Pali mettā, kindness; karuṇā, compassion.

106) Conjectural restoration of II/11, based on 5: I/31 f. (The lacuna, which is hardly long enough for the full statement, may have contained a briefer one to the same effect.)

107) (มา) ไหว้มาคณ (II/13-14), 'came to salute, came to do homage'. The word คณ, modern คัล, is from Khmer gāl (cf. Pali gārava, 'reverence').

108) sc. 'But later on there was dissension everywhere'?

109) The sense of the mutilated passage may have been something like this: 'because fathers and sons, elder and younger brothers, torn apart from one another, established themselves as independent rulers'. We gather that some time after Rāma Gamhēn's death the vassal princes and governors of various provinces broke away from their sovereign and made themselves independent rulers. Most of them were doubtless related to the King of Sukhodaya (the term พี่น้อง, 'elder and younger brothers', can also mean cousins of various degrees, and even unrelated associates). Something of this sort seems to us better than Coedès's interpretation of the passage at II/16-18, which he understood as referring to an administrative delimitation of provinces and districts within the kingdom, enumerated at II/18-22; see JSS XIII/3, note to line 18.

110) (เป็น) เจ้านครน้อย (II/15-16); อยู่ is here used as a secondary verb indicating continuation, i.e. that they remained independent for some time.

111) หลายบนหลายทอนแซว (II/17), i.e. หลายบนหลายทอนแซว, 'different fragments and pieces in great number'; we take แซว in the sense of Lāo แซวแซว, 'in great number'. Or else it might be Siamese แซว, 'dejected', 'destitute'; sc. many of the fragments and pieces became destitute.

112) The word เมือง (เมือง, 'city-state'), followed by the name of the city and the words หน้บ้นบ้น, recurs several times at II/19-22. As it is impossible for a place to 'be' a person, we take เมือง to mean the lord of the place, just as ๙๙๙

of Jyāñ Dòn became a ruler, the lord of. [became a ruler, the lord of] Pāñ Bāñ [became a ruler], the lord of. . . . [became a ruler], the lord of Pāñ Chlāññ became a ruler,¹¹³, each of them acting independently¹¹⁴.

in medieval Siamese could mean either the king or the kingdom (in the 15th-century poem *Yuan Pāi*, ญฺง regularly means 'king'); besides in YP, ญฺง means governor or ruler of the city. The word ฅ is an intensifying particle, apparently used to emphasize the individuality of each of the persons enumerated.

- 113) Several places on this list can easily be identified. See JSS 57/1, pp. 30, 31, Maps 1 and 2. Brah Pāñ is *Pra Bāñ*, which was located at or near Nagara Svarga (*Nakòn Savāñ*), at the junction of the Ping and the Nāñ; Gandī is *Kontī* on the Ping, halfway between Nagara Svarga and Nagara Jum; Jyāñ Dòn is *Chiang Tòng*, which was on the Ping, probably not far from the present town of Tāk; Pāñ Bāñ is *Bāñ Pāñ*, on the *Pra Ruang* Highway between Gampèng Pet and Sukhodaya, less than 50 km. from Sukhodaya. Pāñ Chlāññ, *Bāñ Chālāñg*, is mentioned in Inscr. 2 (II/8) after Sukhodaya and before Sajjanālaya, which may or may not give a clue to its location. Taking into account the length of each lacuna, the list appears to have contained the names of either nine or ten *müangs*, each of which had its own ruler:

1. *Müang*;
2. *Müang*;
3. *Müang Kontī Pra Bāñ*, comprising the lower valley of the Ping;
4. *Müang*;
5. *Müang Chiang Tòng*;
6. *Müang*;
7. *Müang Bāñ Pāñ*;
8. *Müang*;
9. *Müang Bāñ Chālāñg*.
10. (?)

These places are certainly listed in some sort of logical order, but the lacunae prevent us from knowing just what it was. On the whole it seems likely to be the order in which a traveler would reach them if he left Sukhodaya and went down the *Yom* and the Nāñ to Nagara Svarga, then up the Ping to Chiang Tòng, then overland to the *Pra Ruang* Highway, and finally north along that highway.

If that is right, Numbers 1 and 2 would be somewhere on the *Yom* or the Nāñ (No. 1 appears to begin with the letter ฃ, but the reading is uncertain); No. 4 would be on the Ping somewhere near Gampèng Pet and Nagara Jum; No. 6 would be at or near *Prāñ Grāññi* (พฺรณกรณตำบล) or perhaps — though it seems less likely — *Bāñ Jāñ* (บางจันทร์); No. 8 would be between Bāñ Pāñ and Bāñ Chālāñg, but that does not help us much, as we cannot locate Bāñ Chālāñg with any confidence.

- 114) We restore the passage at II/22-23 as (ตางตน) ตางทำเนื่อทำตนเขาอยุ i.e. ตางตน ตางทำเนื่อทำตนเขาอยุ. For the syntax, cf. such an expression as ตางคนตางไป, 'each person going independently.' We take ทำเนื่อทำตน to mean 'acting independently' or 'making himself appear independent' (cf. ทำเนื่อทำตัว, 'to make oneself appear as'). We take เขา, 'their', to be a modifier of เนื่อ and ตน; for อยุ, see above, note 110.

[II/23-34.] Afterwards¹¹⁵ [Brañā Mahādharmarājādhirāja] having mounted the throne as successor to his ancestors¹¹⁶. forced [all] those lords and rulers [to submit]¹¹⁷ [He wields] the royal power in accordance with the Dasabiddharājadharma¹¹⁸ [all the way to?] Gandi Brañ Pāñ downstream¹¹⁹ at the foot of this River Biñ¹²⁰ He plants cocoanuts and jackfruit everywhere [where the land] is overgrown with forest and brush, he causes it to be cleared¹²¹ [In the time of] that Dharmikarāja¹²² the country is tranquil, extending [afar in every

115) We restore ๓ — at II/23 as ๓, an expression which is still used in *Tai Yuan* with the meaning 'afterwards'. The word ๓, lacking in modern Siamese, means 'after' or 'past' in Lāo, Shan and Ahom; cf. Coedès, JSS XIII/3, p. 40, note to line 34.

116) Literally 'acceded to the royal power as successor to his grandfather and grandmother, and his father and mother'. The reference to the ladies, which is unusual in the context, may be intended to draw attention to the royal lineage of Mahādharmarājā's grandmother and his mother, who were presumably Rāma Gāmhēñ's and Lōdaiya's chief queens (possibly in contrast to Nvva Nām Tham, who may have been the son of a minor wife of Lōdaiya).

117) There must have been some word like ๓ at the end of II/24, connecting with the first words at II/25 to form the expression ๓, 'all those lords and rulers,' i.e. the lords and rulers who had been acting independently. As this expression can hardly be the subject of the sentence, the lacuna at II/24 must also have contained a verb which had the King for subject and the lords and rulers for object. The phrase ๓, 'by force' (II/25), suggests the verb was ๓, 'to conquer,' 'to receive the submission of'. Hence our translation. This seems to mean that Mahādharmarājā had to fight to regain the lost vassals, or at least some of them.

118) The ten principles which a monarch is supposed to follow.

119) i.e. downstream on the Ping from Nagara Jum; as Coedès observes, ๓ (II/27) is the Khmer word for 'below' (JSS XIII/3, p. 40, note to line 27).

120) The Ping, which flows past the sites of Nagara Jum and Konti (Gandi); Pra Bāng (Brañ Pāñ) lay 'at the foot of this River Ping', i.e. at its confluence with the Nān. Evidently Konti and Pra Bāng were ruled by the same person, who we should doubtless understand placed his state under Mahādharmarājā's protection shortly before 1357.

121) ๓ (II/28-29). Cf. Inscription 8 (III/16-19), in which Mahādharmarājā builds an irrigation ditch 'in order that water could be fed to upland and lowland farms, areca palms could be planted [after clearing away] the jungle and weeds and rattans, and fish could be caught to eat, [so that people would be] happy and contented everywhere'. This may give a clue to the contents of the lacunae at II/27-30 of the present inscription.

122) Mahādharmarājā I.

[11/34-47.] From now on¹²⁷ if any ruler.
. . . .¹²⁸ in this city¹²⁹ he must do what is right¹³⁰ [he must
do homage to¹³¹] stupas, cetiyas and śrīmahābodhi trees¹³² [along the
banks of¹³³] this River Biṅ without missing a single time¹³⁴; he must
respect the monks, [honor his parents, love his elder and¹³⁵] younger
brothers, and respect the aged. He must be kind to the common people;
[if they are strong enough to perform a certain] task, he may use them
for it, but if they are not strong enough he must not use them, [and those
who are too old should be allowed to do as they please]¹³⁶. He must

136) Conjectural restoration of the lacunae at II/38-39 on the basis of an analogous passage from the Traibhūmikathā, in which an ideal suzerain, in teaching his vassals the rules of good government, sets limits on the corvée; see Coedès, JSS XIII/3, p. 41, note to line 39; and Coedès, Arts asiatiques, I/4, p. 295.

(keep) reserves of rice and an abundance of salt¹³⁷ in his Mōaṅ; if [he does so] [the rulers of] other countries will come to rely and lean upon him; but if [he does not, he himself (may have to) seek help from the countries of other rulers, who will treat him with contempt¹³⁸ and him¹³⁹ besides. When commoners or men of rank [die] he must not seize their estates¹⁴⁰; when a father dies, (the estate) must be left [*to the sons; when an elder brother dies, it must be left to] the younger¹⁴¹. Any ruler who acts in accordance with these principles will rule this Mōaṅ for a very long time¹⁴²; any (ruler) who acts in violation of them will not last¹⁴³ long at all.

[II/47-58.]¹⁴⁴ This statement is rather¹⁴⁵ brief, but there is a detailed statement in an inscription at Sukhodaya at the Mahādhātu¹⁴⁶. There is an inscription at Mōaṅ, there is

137) ๓๓ (II/40), modern ๓๓, 'in abundance', 'overflowing', etc. As Coedès observes, the words ๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓ form a rhyming jingle suggesting the well-being of people for whom rice and salt are the essential minimum for food; JSS XIII/3, p. 42, note to line 40.

138) ๓๓๓๓ (II/42), modern ๓๓๓๓, 'to insult', 'to treat with insolence or contempt' (McFarland, p. 333).

139) sc. refuse him? or impose ruinous conditions on him for the loan?

140) ๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓ (II/44) is a rhyming jingle; ๓๓, 'to get'; ๓๓, equivalent to *Tai Yuan* ๓๓, 'to tyrannize', 'to oppress', 'to mistreat'; ๓๓, 'to take'; ๓๓, 'to bend down or drag down by force'; ๓๓๓๓, 'house' (in this context, sc. the decedent's whole estate; see JSS 59/2, p. 206 note 28); ๓๓, 'their'. We have interpreted this passage differently from Coedès; cf. JSS XIII/3, p. 42, note to line 44.

141) We have restored the lacuna with the aid of Inscr. 5 (I/18-19); cf. also Inscr. 1 (I/21-24).

142) ๓๓๓๓ (II/46) = ๓๓๓๓.

143) ๓๓๓๓ (II/47) = ๓๓๓๓.

144) We believe the postscript to the inscription begins here.

145) ๓๓ (II/47) = *Tai Yuan* ๓๓, 'rather.'

146) Coedès plausibly suggests that ๓๓๓ (๓๓) at the beginning of II/49 may be the last part of a word like ๓๓๓ or ๓๓๓๓, 'residence' (JSS XIII/3, p. 42, note to line 49). He thought this passage might refer to Inscr. 2, which originally must have been erected at the Mahādhātu (see *Recueil*, I, p. 89 note 1). To us, however, it appears that Mahādharmarājā is referring to an inscription in which he himself discusses in detail some of the subjects he has touched on more briefly here; whereas Inscr. 2, which was composed in the reign of Lōdaiya (either by the Mahāthera Śrīraddhā or by Lōdaiya himself) deals with entirely different matters (see JSS 60/1, pp. 75-134). If we are right, the inscription referred to at II/48 has not been recovered.

one at Mōaṅ Fhāṅ¹⁴⁷, there is one at Mōaṅ Sralvaṅ¹⁴⁸ (near) the highway¹⁴⁹, erected beside the sacred Footprint¹⁵⁰. (For) that Footprint, Braṇā Dharmikarāja sent to Siṅhala¹⁵¹ to make impressions of the trace of our Lord's Foot which is stamped¹⁵² on top of Mount Sumanakūṭaparvata¹⁵³, to measure its size, and to bring (the impressions) back to be copied for everyone [to worship]¹⁵⁴ One (of the copies) has been placed at Śrī Sajjanālaya on top of Mount . . . , one has been placed at Sukhodaya on top of Mount Sūma[nakūṭa]¹⁵⁵, one has been placed] at Pāṇ Bān on top of Nāṅ Dōṅ Hill¹⁵⁶, [and one has been placed on top of] the hill at Pāk Braḥ Pāṇ¹⁵⁷. There is an inscription with (the Footprint) at each of those places.

147) Near Uttaratiṭṭha. The inscription has not been recovered.

148) Between Sukhodaya and Bīṣṇuloka (see JSS 59/2, p. 218 note 129, and JSS 60/1, p. 28). The inscription has not been recovered.

149) ហ្លា (II/51) is the Khmer word *hlā*, 'highway', which also appears in Inscr. 13 (line 2; see Coedès, *Recueil*, I, p. 158, and JSS XIII/3, p. 43). As Coedès observes, the reading អ្ន at the beginning of II/51 is not perfectly certain, and អ្ន would make better sense (JSS XIII/3, p. 43); អ្ន, 'way' or 'road', would be in apposition to ហ្លា; cf. the common expression អ្នអ្ន.

150) Braḥ Pādalakṣaṇa (II/51), a copy of the Buddha's Footprint on Adam's Peak in Ceylon, with its 108 auspicious 'marks' (lakṣaṇa). អ្ន (II/51) is a demonstrative, equivalent to modern អ្ន, 'that'.

151) Ceylon.

152) ឆ្ន (II/53), modern ឆ្ន, 'to step', 'to tread', 'to trample'.

153) According to legend the Buddha visited Ceylon three times. During the course of his third visit he pressed his footsole into the rock on top of Mount Sumanakūṭa (Adam's Peak), leaving the famous Footprint which is still the object of intense veneration in Ceylon. It is a depression in the rock, a little less than 2 metres in length (in proportion to the legendary height of the Buddha, which was nearly 9 m.). The 108 auspicious marks, if they were ever visible on the Footprint itself, were obliterated long ago. Later on, it seems, the Footprint was provided with a protective cover, having a stylized outline of a footsole and the 108 marks engraved on it (see Tennent, *Ceylon*, London, 1860, Vol. II, pp. 133-141). It was evidently this cover, rather than the depression in the rock, which Mahādharmarājā was having copied. For the 108 marks, see JSS 59/1, p. 172-188; cf. *ibid.*, Figs. 3-a, 3-b, 4.

154) Perhaps ឆ្ន- (II/54) should be restored as ឆ្ន, 'in place of', i.e. worship the copy in place of the Footprint on Adam's Peak, or in place of the Buddha himself.

155) Mount Sumanakūṭa, southwest of Sukhodaya, is the hill now called Khau Braḥ Pāda Hñāi (ខ្នប្រាជ្ញា); see Map 3, JSS LVII/1, p. 34, no. 38). For this Footprint, see Inscr. 8.

156) This Footprint was sent to the National Museum in Bangkok in 1923. For Pāṇ Bān (ប្រាហ្ម), see note 113, above.

157) This Footprint is still *in situ* on top of Frog Hill (ហ្លា) at Nagara Svarga; see below, p. 113.

3.

Inscription 11, now in Vajirañāṇa Hall in the old National Library building at Bangkok, was discovered in 1921 by Prince Damrong Rājānubhāb on top of Frog Hill (เขียด), about a kilometre north of the Municipal Administration Office at Nagara Svarga, and about the same distance west of the Ping. The stone slab on which it is engraved is 30 cm. high, 50 cm. wide and 6 cm. thick. Both the top and bottom are broken off, carrying away the beginning of the text on both faces, as well as the end of the Text on Face II but not on Face I. There is no legible date on either face.

The inscription was first published by Coedès in 1924¹. The two faces bear unrelated texts or, to be more exact, texts that record benefactions by two different persons at different times, though at the same place. In 1924 Coedès ascribed Face I to the reign of Mahādharmarājā IV (1419-38)², and believed that Face II was later; but he afterwards changed his mind about Face II and accepted Braḥmā Nagara Braḥ Rāma's view that the person whose acts of merit it recounts, though the name is lost, is the Mahāthera Śrīśraddhārājacūlāmuni³.

We have discussed Face II in a previous article⁴, in which we agree that Śrīśraddhā is the subject of the text and consider him its author as well, proposing a date in the 1350's⁵. We now think a date in the 1360's more probable because of the relatively frequent use of the mai-hān-ākāśa, and indeed it may be later still as it seems pretty certain that Śrīśraddhā lived at least to 1376⁶.

We have no hesitation in attributing Face I to Mahādharmarājā I. The writing is similar to that of his other inscriptions, and the style of composition—direct, orderly and vivid—is characteristically his. While

1) *Recueil*, I, 145 ff.; Siamese version, *Prajum* I, B.E. 2467, p. 149 ff. (reprinted B.E. 2500, p. 275 f.).

2) *Recueil* p. 145. NB; at JSS 60/1, p. 135, paragraph 3, please read: Mahādharmarājā IV, instead of: Mahādharmarājā III.

3) *Etats hindouisés*, 398-9; for the Mahāthera Śrīśraddha, see JSS 60/1, p. 75 f., *et passim*.

4) JSS 60/1, pp. 79-82, 136-144. (At p. 82, line 13, please note that 'No. 2, is a misprint for No. 11.)

5) JSS 60/1, p. 136.

6) See JSS 60/1, 145-148.

the surviving text is too short to provide any very revealing statistics regarding orthography, it does contain at least two spellings which are characteristic of Mahādharmarājā I's inscriptions (𑀧𑀺, 'hand', at I/5, vs. 𑀧𑀺 in Inscr. 2 at II/68; and 𑀧𑀺𑀲 at I/7, vs. 𑀧𑀺𑀲𑀺 which is now considered correct); and there are no spellings in it that would raise any doubt that he was its author. The vowel ^a and the accent ^ˆ do not occur. The vowel ^a occurs once (𑀧𑀺, I/5), and the accent ^ˆ occurs four times 𑀧𑀺, I/6, 12; 𑀧𑀺 [=^a𑀺] I/6, 8). The mai-hān-ākāṣa, which occurs in his inscriptions sporadically from 1361 on, is completely lacking, as in Inscr. 3. This suggests a date before 1361, perhaps around 1357 like Inscr. 3. But it could easily be two or three years earlier or later.

When Prince Damrong discovered the inscription on top of Frog Hill, it was lying beside a stone Footprint of the Buddha, which is still *in situ*. The Footprint must have been installed there by Mahādharmarājā himself, as he mentions it in the postscript to Inscr. 3 (see p. 111).

The surviving portion of Face I commemorates Mahādharmarājā's erection of some sort of shelter over the Footprint on the hilltop, and his construction of a monastery 'in the town', which certainly means the town of Braḥ Pāṇ (Nagara Svarga) at the foot of the hill. The place where the inscription was discovered might suggest that the main purpose of Face I was to commemorate the consecration of the Footprint on the hilltop, but there is no reference to that event in any of the legible portions of the text. The surviving text opens with a reference to Braṇā Braḥ Rāma (I/2), to whom the merit of building the monastery in the town is to be dedicated as set forth in the passage at I/8-19. In the intervening passage (I/3-7) Mahādharmarājā is on the hilltop, which is overgrown with shrubbery and strewn with stones and boulders; he has the obstructions cleared away; and then, after taking the necessary measurements with his own hand (who but Mahādharmarājā would have given us this personal detail?), he causes something, doubtless a maṇḍapa, to be built over the Footprint to keep it from getting dirty or tarnished (the 108 supernatural 'marks' engraved on the Footprint were of course originally polychromed). He also builds a cetiya and plants a śrīmahābodhi tree on top of the hill (I/6). But all this seems to be a mere prelude to the main work.

In the middle of the town (i.e. Nagara Svarga, near the foot of Frog Hill) he builds a monastery, giving it the name Rāma-āvāsa, 'Rāma's abode' (I/8 f.). In it he builds a cetiya and a vihāra, which he names the Rāmacetiya and the Rāmavihāra⁷. In the vihāra he erects an image of the Buddha, which is 'extremely beautiful to see'. He plants a śrīma-hābodhi tree; and he digs a pond, filling it with lotuses and water-lilies of many colors as a ceaseless offering. Finally he holds the dedication ceremony, transferring the merit of the donation to his 'younger brother' Braṇā Braḥ Rāma, inviting the guardian divinities everywhere to bear witness to the transaction, and calling on succeeding generations of rulers—sons, grandsons, great-grandsons and all descendants who may be rulers in the future—to follow the example of these two brothers, the elder and the younger, who were so full of affection for each other.

Who was this beloved 'younger brother' (𑀕𑀸𑀲𑀸) of Mahādharmarājā? The term need not be taken literally. It could mean a cousin belonging to a junior branch of his family, or even some unrelated ruler whose accession occurred later than the author's. Whoever he was, the text sounds as if he had recently died, for this sort of merit is most often transferred to recently deceased persons. As the name 'Rāma' is too common among Southeast Asian royalty to give us any help in the identification, we must look for some other clue.

Braḥ Pān (Nagara Svarga) was a place of vital importance to Mahādharmarājā, for it could command the riverine communications between the western and eastern halves of his kingdom. But its position was dangerously exposed, being all too easily accessible by river from Subarnapurī. We gather from Inscr. 3 that Braḥ Pān had broken away from Sukhodaya in Lōdaiya's reign, but returned to the old relationship when the ruler of Gandī and Braḥ Pān sought Mahādharmarājā's protection and became his vassal shortly before 1357.

It may well be that Braṇā Braḥ Rāma was this very ruler, towards whom Mahādharmarājā would have every reason to feel grateful. In his reference to him, and in his plea that all their descendants who may be rulers in the future will remain bound to each other by ties of affection,

7) The cetiya and the vihāra may be the ones illustrated in Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, Fig. 40; cf. JSS 60/1, p. 136 note 5.

we feel a sense of warmth and urgency that is very unusual in dedicatory inscriptions—as if Mahādharmarājā, knowing he could not hold the western half of his kingdom without Braḥ Pān, wanted to make sure it would remain in Sukhodayan hands in the future⁸

In this paper we are not concerned with Face II, but we should perhaps say a word about the possible reason the two texts were engraved on opposite faces of the same stone. Face II, which in our present view is probably later than Face I, commemorates the building of a cetiya by Śrīśraddhā at a place which, as we have tried to show,⁹ was the part of Braḥ Pān at the Foot of Frog Hill. This suggests that Śrīśraddhā may have built his cetiya in the precinct of the Rāma-āvāsa, the monastery founded by Mahādharmarājā. If so, it would be reasonable enough for him to have the text recording the erection of this cetiya engraved on the reverse of Mahādharmarājā's inscription, which would then be left *in situ* to inform visitors to the monastery of the identity of both donoers. Why it should have been moved later on to the top of the hill is not clear.

8) Of course it is possible that Braṇā Braḥ Rāma was one of this ruler's successors; but if so the sense of warmth and urgency would be harder to explain. If Face I dates from 1369 or later, which is doubtful, Braṇā Braḥ Rāma might be Rāmādhīpati as suggested a few years ago by Griswold (*Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, p. 38-40); but this suggestion now seems less plausible, not only because of the probable date, but also because of the titulature (Braṇā Braḥ Rāma seems too modest a title for Rāmādhīpati).

9) JSS 60/1, p. 135.

Text

ด้านที่ ๑

- (๑) เสี.....
- (๒) พระรามณเฑาะพเนนงจุงไห.....
- (๓) นทงหลายพรมมหาธรร (ม).....
- (๔) มาถางไมโคกอนหินกอนผามา.....
- (๕) วดตเองควยมีทานแลวจึงกทำ.....
- (๖) .กษณนี้ปให้หมนหมองก่เจตี.....
- (๗) ..มหาโพธิไวเหนือจอมเขาสมน.....
- (๘) ..กลางวงงไสไหกรามเจดีย์รามพิ (หาร)...
- (๙) (พุท) ธปฐิตามคฺฐามหนกกหนาในพิหา (ร).....
- (๑๐)มหาโพธิอนนเอาหน่วยพร.....
- (๑๑) ..(ปร) ติสธาในรามอาวาสนนชคตพง...
- (๑๒) ...บวหลายพรมเปนบุชาบให้ชาค...
- (๑๓)นฝงนนไหงามจึงฉลองสคบบธรรม...
- (๑๔)นกลบนาบุญไปฝากพรมพระรามค.....
- (๑๕) ...เทพคารกสทงหลายอนนอไสรอยุทิต.....
- (๑๖) ...ลูกหลานเหลนอนนเปนพงสาไคเปนทาวเป
- (๑๗) (นพร) ญาพายลุนปุนหลงไสไหคเยืองคองสอ
- (๑๘) (งค) นพีนองรกกนนี้จึงเปนบุญคุณยสปราก
- (๑๙) (คแ) กโลกทงหลาย.

Translation

[I/1-3.] [Brañā]¹⁰ Brah
Rāma, his younger brother. May all of them!

[I/3-7.] Brañā Mahādhara[marājādhira] undertook to
clear the shrubbery away, to remove the stones and boulders, and to . . .
. He took measurements with his own hand¹¹, and then
built a . . . [over] this Footprint to keep it from getting dirty or tar-
nished¹², [and planted a Śrī]mahābodhi [tree on top of] Mount
Sumana[kūṭaparbata]¹³.

[I/8-19.] In the town¹⁴ he caused a Rāmacetiya to be built, and a
Rāmavi[hāra]¹⁵, [erected] an image of the Buddha, which was extremely
beautiful to see, in the vihāra, . . . [planted a Śrī]mahābodhi [tree] which
[had been grown from] a fruit¹⁶ taken from¹⁷ to
establish in that Rāma-āvāsa. He dug a pond [and filled it with]
lotuses and water-lilies¹⁸ of many colors as a ceaseless offering

10) We have restored the title Brañā on the analogy of I/14.

11) Literally 'he himself took measurements with his hand'.

12) We suspect the mutilated statement at I/5-6 should read something like this :
แล้วจึงทำมณฑปเหนือรอยพระบาทนี้ไว้ให้พระพุทธรูป, 'then he built a maṇḍapa over this Foot-
print to keep it from getting dirty or tarnished'. ศัพท์หลักมณฑป, śrī pādalakṣaṇa,
means both the Footprint and the 108 marks engraved on it. We assume he
built the maṇḍapa over the former to keep the latter from getting dirty or
tarnished.

13) The name 'Sumanakuṭaparbata' seems to have been used at Sukhodaya to refer
to any hill on which a Footprint of the Buddha was installed (cf. the opening
lines of Inscr. 8). Here it evidently refers to Frog Hill.

14) กลางเมือง (I/8), 'in the middle of the town'. Coedès took เมือง to mean the precinct
of the Footprint on the hilltop; but that is impossible as the King could not
have dug a pond there (see I/11). We can hardly doubt that the town at the
foot of the hill is meant.

15) The word vihāra at (I/8), and again at I/9, is spelt bihāra,

16) ผลไม้ (I/10), a classifier for fruits, etc.

17) sc. the Śrīmahābodhi tree at Anuradhāpura in Ceylon.

18) บัว (I/12), modern บัว, can mean either lotuses or water-lilies. As they were
'of many colors', we assume there were both lotuses and water-lilies. Lotuses
in Siam (apart from relatively recent imports) come only in white and various
shades of pink, whereas water-lilies come in pink, red, blue and white. See
JSS 59/1, p. 182.

[planted ?] many [trees ?]¹⁹ to make (the place) beautiful. Then he held the consecration ceremony, listened to (the preaching of) the Dharma, and dedicated the merit to Braṇā Braḥ Rāma. May all the guardian divinities [wherever they] dwell²⁰ May whatever sons, grandsons and great-grandsons in (our) family lines who become rulers in the future²¹ follow the example of these two brothers, the elder and the younger²², who loved each other! May their merits, virtues and renown be made known in all the (three) worlds²³!

19) 'Planted' and 'trees' are conjectural restorations of lacunae.

20) The lacuna must have contained an expression meaning 'wherever', plus an expression meaning to bear witness (sc. to the consecration of the monastery and the transfer of the merit accruing from the donation). If that is right, the expression we have translated as 'all the guardian divinities wherever they dwell' would be, more literally, 'all the guardian divinities who dwell wherever'.

21) พยัญจนพจน (I/17) is a rhyming jingle meaning 'afterwards'.

22) Mahādharmarājā and Braṇā Braḥ Rāma.

23) The 'three worlds' are the kāmaloḥka, the rūpaloka and the arūpaloka; see JSS 57/1, p. 88 note 59.

4.

In 1361 Mahādharmarājā sent a royal paṇḍita to Nagara Bann to invite a certain Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja to come and settle at Sukhodaya. Nagara Bann was the Sukhodayan name for Martaban in Rāmaññadesa, the Mōn country in Lower Burma, where there was a flourishing community of Sīhaḷabhikkhus or 'Ceylon monks' who conformed to the most orthodox Theravādin tradition, and whose leaders were either themselves Sinhalese or else had studied and been re-ordained in Ceylon. Among the Sīhaḷabhikkhus the most esteemed belonged to a group or sect called Arañṇavāsī, the 'Forest-Dwellers', who, disdaining the amenities of city life, took up their abode either as hermits in the forest or else as residents of 'forest monasteries', located according to the usual rule at least 500 bow-lengths (say a kilometre) from the nearest town or village.

According to **M** this brotherhood was established at Bann by a monk named Anumati, on whom the King and people bestowed the 'special name' Mahāsvāmī Udumbarapupphā soon after his arrival. In Ceylon he had resided at the Udumbaragiri Monastery, the forest-dwelling branch of the great citadel of orthodoxy, the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura. Among the pupils he attracted to Bann were two monks from Sukhodaya, Sumana and Anomadassī. They were re-ordained by him, spent several years of study with him, and received the grade of Thera around 1342. Sumana returned to Sukhodaya, where according to **J** and **M** King Lōdaiya installed him in the Mango Grove west of the city, while Anomadassī settled in the Red Forest south of Sajjanālaya.¹ At that time Prince Līdaiya, the future Mahādharmarājā I, was uparāja at Sajjanālaya, and Anomadassī is one of the authorities to whom he acknowledges his indebtedness for help in composing the Traibhūmikathā.

It is not known what became of Anomadassī, but Sumana was apparently still residing at Sukhodaya in 1361. Some of the chronicles hint at certain defects in Sumana's character, such as vanity and greed, and we know from the inscription of *Wat Pra Yūn* at *Lampūn*, which was composed with his help in 1370, that his grasp of Pali was feeble at best.

1) See JSS 60/1, pp. 48-74, for Udumbarapupphā's sect at Bann and the story of Sumana and Anomadassī. For the latter, see especially *ibid.*, p. 79.

Mahādharmarājā, who was a perfectionist, could hardly be expected to overlook such weaknesses, much less to put Sumana in charge of the Forest-dwellers at Sukhodaya, which may be one of the reasons he sent to Bann for the Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja.

We have four inscriptions dealing with the events of 1361. No. 4, in Khmer, was composed by Mahādharmarājā; Nos. 5 and 7, in Siamese, are by the same author; No. 6, in Pali, was composed by the Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja.

The inscriptions do not identify the Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja very clearly: he was probably too well known for it to be necessary. We do not know whether he was a Môn or a Sinhalese, but Nos. 4 and 5 tell us he had resided in Ceylon. No. 4 seems to give his name as 'Traipīṭaka', though the term may be intended only as part of an epithet. He may or may not have been the same person as Udumbarapupphā. When Mahādharmarājā says in Inscr. 4 that the Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja observed the precepts and studied the Three Piṭakas in their entirety, he is probably not exaggerating; he must have investigated his qualifications carefully before inviting him to Sukhodaya; and we can judge his competence in Pali from Inscription 6.

Upon receiving his acceptance, Mahādharmarājā set about preparing a 'forest monastery' for him and the monks who accompanied him. It was located in the Mango Grove, not far from the Brahmin temple (see Griswold, *Towards a History Sukhodaya Art*, Map 2, Nos. 24 and 26). Though its ruins are still visible, we have no means of knowing whether it was an enlargement of the monastery Lōdaiya built for Sumana or an entirely new one. In any case Mahādharmarājā built a vihāra, an uposatha hall, and a number of kuṭīs (wooden huts for the monks to live in).

In putting the Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja in charge of the Forest-dwellers, if not of the entire Sukhodayan monkhood, the King obviously intended to revitalize the religious life of the kingdom. Because of the deep veneration he felt for his grandfather's memory, we might have expected him to install the Saṅgharāja at the 'Araññika' monastery which Rāma Gāmphēn had built for the Forest-dwelling Saṅgharāja from Nagara Śrī

Dharmarāja. But that monastery was located on a steep hill about a mile farther away from the city (Map 2, loc. cit., No. 21), and there may have been practical reasons for choosing the Mango Grove instead.

The King sent a group of officials and members of the royal family to Chôt to meet the Saṅgharāja and his suite at the half-way point in their journey and escort them to Sukhodaya. The Saṅgharāja evidently took the usual route from Martaban, going by boat up the River Gyaing to some place near Kawkareik, then overland across the mountains to Chôt (now Mè Sôt), where he was met by the escort sent by the King. The party would then proceed eastward to the port of Jyañ Dòn (*Chieng Tông*) on the Ping, from where they could go downstream by boat or raft to Pāñ Candra (*Bāng Jan*), the southern terminus of the *Pra Ruang* Highway near the present town of *Gampēng Pet*; and finally they would follow the highway northeast, via Pāñ Bān (*Bāng Pān*, မဟာပျံ), to Sukhodaya². The *Pra Ruang* Highway, though leading to Sukhodaya from the southwest, entered the city by the east gate (its route can still be traced); and the *Rājamārga* or 'Royal Avenue', which was magnificently decorated for the occasion, led from the east gate, past the Royal Palace and the Mahādhātu, to the west gate of the city, where it connected with a road leading to the Mango Grove.

Upon the Saṅgharāja's arrival the King invited him to go into retreat at the Mango Grove 'for the full three months of the rainy season' (Inscr. 4). The rainy season retreat begins the day after the full moon day of āṣāḥa, the Siamese 8th month, and monks may choose to spend either three months or four in retreat. In Siam it is usually three, and the retreat comes to an end on the full moon day of the 11th month. As we are told that the retreat referred to in the inscriptions was for three months, it obviously ended on the full moon day of the Siamese 11th month, assayuja.

At the end of the retreat, as we know from Inscr. 4 and 5, the King performed the Mahādāna, a great offering of gifts to the monkhood usually lasting a week or more³, and consecrated a newly cast statue of the Buddha.

2) Cf. above, p. 107, note 113; for the route, see JSS 60/1, pp. 81, 140.

3) See the Pali Text Society's Dictionary, s.v. mahā- and dāna.

After that, on the 8th day of the waning moon, he temporarily renounced the throne to enter the monkhood. On that day he was ordained as a samaṇera (novice) in a building in the Royal Palace named the 'Golden Pavilion' (hemaprāsāda or subarṇaprāsāda). Then he proceeded on foot to the Mango Grove, where he was ordained as a bhikkhu (monk), presumably the next day.

Inscription 4 places the King's ordination as a samaṇera 'after the end of the retreat, on Wednesday the eighth day of the waning moon, in the 𑖦kṣa of Punarvasu, in 1283 śaka, a year of the ox' (4 : II/11, II/37 f.). No. 5 gives the same information, except that 'Wednesday' is omitted, and the Tai cyclical name for the day, 'rvaṇ plau', is given (5 : II/19 f., III/22 f.). Mr Roger Billard tells us that, even though the name of the month is not given, the calendrical information is sufficient to establish the date with certainty as Wednesday, September 22, 1361 A.D. (Julian).

The same date is given, in different terms, in Inscr. 6 : year of the ox, 1905 of the Buddhist Era, Wednesday the 8th day of the waning moon of a month with a mutilated name ending in '-ttikamāsa'. Coedès restored this name as 'kattikamāsa'⁴. If that were right, the date would be a week after the full moon day of kattikā, the 12th Siamese month, which would be the conclusion of the four months retreat; but as the retreat we are discussing lasted only three months it came to an end on the full moon day of assayuja, the 11th month. The solution to the dilemma lies in reading the mutilated name as 'pubbakattikamāsa', which is an alternative designation of assayuja (when this designation is used, the following month would be called 'pacchimakattikamāsa' instead of plain 'kattikamāsa')⁵.

With that our various data fall into line nicely : the three months retreat ended on Tuesday, the full moon day of assayuja, i.e. Tuesday September 14, 1361 (Julian); the Mahādāna lasted a week; and when it was over the King was ordained as a samaṇera on Wednesday, the eighth day of the waning moon day of assayuja, i.e. Wednesday September 22, 1361 (Julian).

4) BEFEO XVII/2, p. 29; *Recueil*, p. 112.

5) Pali Text Society Dictionary, s.v. kattikā.

Inscr. 4, 5 and 6 are engraved on sandstone pillars shaped much like No. 1, being square in cross-section or nearly so, and having rounded pyramidal tops. No. 7, like No. 3, is engraved on a slab of schist the thickness of which is much less than its breadth. It is not clear why the shapes should be different. In the epigraphy of Sukhodaya only four pillars are known, in contrast to several dozen slabs. For No. 1, Rāma Gaṃhēn may have chosen the pillar shape as a matter of personal preference, or to give an impression of dignity and stability, or simply because he had a lot to say. If Mahādharmarājā chose the same shape for two of his most important inscriptions, and for a third one on which the Saṅgharāja's Pali stanzas were to be inscribed, it was almost certainly in imitation of his grandfather's choice, just as he often repeated statements from his grandfather's inscription verbatim in his own. Why he chose the slab shape for Nos. 3 and 7 (as well as 8 and 11) is uncertain.

The subject-matter of the four inscriptions is closely related. As usual in Sukhodayan epigraphy, the formal purpose of all of them is to record the performance of ceremonies. Nos. 4 and 5 record the performance of the Mahādāna by Mahādharmarājā, the consecration of the bronze statue, and his ordination as a samaṇera at the Royal Palace; nowhere in the surviving portions of either is there any reference to his ordination as a monk at the Mango Grove the next day. No. 6, composed by the Saṅgharāja, celebrates the King's ordination as a samaṇera at the Palace and his ordination as a bhikkhu at the Mango Grove Monastery. No. 7, after listing the buildings the King erected at the Mango Grove for the Saṅgharāja, records his ordination as a bhikkhu there.

No. 4 was discovered in 1833 by Prince Mahāmāṅkuṭa, the future King Rāma IV, at the same time he discovered Rāma Gaṃhēn's stone throne and the inscription (No. 1) which records the erection of the throne⁶. We know he found the throne in the ruins of the Royal Palace at Sukhodaya, at the edge of the huge brick platform called เมืองหลวง,

6) JSS 59/2, 181 f.

which is now all that remains of the palace⁷. While the record does not show exactly where he discovered the two inscriptions, it is obvious that No. 1 was originally set up beside the throne, and there is no reason to believe that it had been moved any appreciable distance before he found it. Coedès concludes, and he is surely right, that No. 4 was discovered at or near the *mūḥamān* too⁸. He adds, however, that the text shows the inscription was originally set up at the Mango Grove⁹. This opinion has been generally accepted, but we have considerable doubt about it. The evidence of the demonstratives is conflicting: while there is a reference at I/53 to 'this Mango Grove' (*brai svāy neh*), two other passages (II/15-16 and IV/15-16) speak of 'the Mango Grove west of this (city of) Sukhodaya', implying that the inscription originally stood inside the city. Inscriptions are normally set up near the work whose dedication they commemorate, or at the site of the ceremony they commemorate, not a couple of kilometres away. There is no reason to believe that No. 4 said anything about the King's ordination as a monk; the date given is that of his ordination as a novice. If its formal purpose was to commemorate this event, it must have stood originally at the Royal Palace, near the place where Prince Mahāmañkuṭa discovered it.

Inscription 5, the text of which covers much the same ground as No. 4, is said to have been discovered in 1907 by the Lord Lieutenant of Ayudhyā, Braḥyā Porāṇarājadhānindra, at Vāt Hmāi (*Wat Mai*) north of the city of Ayudhyā, and placed by him in the Ayudhyā Museum¹⁰. Lunet de Lajonquière reports that he saw it in that museum in 1908, but he says nothing about the place where it was discovered¹¹. As it is hard to think why anyone should have carried it from Sukhodaya to a monastery near Ayudhyā, we suspect the Vāt Hmāi where it was discovered was the one at Sukhodaya, which is just north of the Royal Palace. In

7) *ibid.*

8) *Recueil*, 91.

9) *ibid.*

10) Coedès, *Recueil*, pp. 22 and 103; cf. the Siamese section of the same work, pp. 28 and 209; also BEFEO XVII/2, p. 3.

11) BCAI, 1912, p. 52 (1); for the date, see BCAI, 1909, pp. 164-167.

the reign of Rāma V a number of antiquities were transported from various parts of the country to the Ayudhyā Museum, and the records concerning their origin are sometimes faulty or non-existent. As far as we can make out, the formal purpose of No. 5 is exactly the same as that of No. 4, so we might guess that it was originally erected beside it in the Royal Palace. But as the text opens with the words 'Formerly this place was the royal (garden) of Braṇā Ramaraja' (I/1 f.), and a later passage (II/24 f.) says the King built kuṭis and a vibāra 'in this Mango Grove', it seems pretty certain that the inscription originally stood in the Mango Grove Monastery. It may be a partial copy of a lost Siamese inscription that stood beside No. 4; if so, the copy would have been made for the monastery, while the lost original would have put the references to the Mango Grove differently.

However this may be, it seems likely there were originally two inscriptions of similar purport in the Royal Palace: No. 4 in Khmer, and one bearing a Siamese text much like that of No. 5 but not identical to it. It is hard to believe that so important a text would have been placed in the Palace in Khmer only; it must have had a mate in Siamese, so that the two together would constitute a bilingual document. The message in the text is partly religious and partly political. The political part, after reviewing the story of Mahādharmarājā's accession and abhiṣeka, speaks of the restraint, justice and mercy with which he governs the kingdom. The message must have been intended not only for the aristocracy of Sukhodaya and all the vassals who might come to do homage, but for foreign visitors as well. If, as seems likely, Khmer was the language of diplomacy, putting the message in both Siamese and Khmer would make it comprehensible to most of the persons for whom it was intended. Another possible reason for erecting a Khmer inscription at the Palace might be the importance of the Palace Brahmins, many of whom were very likely of Khmer origin.

Nos. 6 and 7 were sent to Bangkok, in 1907 and 1915 respectively, by the Governor of Sukhodaya, without any indication of their exact provenance¹². But we can hardly doubt that they both originally stood

12) Coedès, *Recueil*, pp. 111, 117.

at the Mango Grove; No. 6, which commemorates not only the King's ordination as a *samaṇera* at the Palace but also his ordination as a *bhikkhu* at the monastery,¹³ is almost certainly the inscription referred to in the closing lines of No. 4; while No. 7, in addition to recording his building operations at the monastery, commemorates his ordination there.

- 13) The word we have translated as 'received his ordination as a *bhikkhu*' is *upasampajji*, the aorist of the verb *upasampajjati*, which the Pali Text Society's Dictionary glosses as 'to attain', 'to enter on', 'to acquire', 'to take upon oneself', and which the พจนานุกรมบาลี-ไทย-อังกฤษ, กรมการศาสนา, Bangkok, B.E. 2505 (Vol. 4, p. 561) glosses as เข้าถึง, ถึงพร้อม, บรรลุ, อุปสมบท, บวชเป็นพระภิกษุ, 'to enter on', 'attain (ordination)', 'become fully ordained.' The word is evidently used in the sense of 'receiving the *upasampadā*', which the P.T.S. Dictionary glosses as 'taking', 'acquiring' 'undertaking', etc., and (in special sense) 'taking up the *bhikkhuship*', 'higher ordination', 'admission to the privileges of recognized *bhikkhus*'. In any case it is clear from 7 : I/31-37 and from the Inscription of Vāt Jāñ Lòm, I/11-15 (JSS 59/1, pp. 196 and 202) that Mahādharmarājā was ordained at the Mango Grove; and as he had already been ordained as a *samaṇera* at the palace his ordination at the Mango Grove was necessarily the full ordination as a monk.

5.

The stone pillar on which Inscription 4 is engraved is 29 cm. square in cross-section and about 2 m. tall including the tenon, while the surface of each face prepared for engraving is 92 cm. in height. Faces I, II and III each have, or had, 56 lines of writing, while Face IV has 16. As Coedès says, the stone is of very bad quality; the surface is gradually breaking down into fine dust; and except for Face II, which is the best preserved, the text will sooner or later be completely illegible. The old rubbings, made when certain parts could be read which have since become impossible, are therefore particularly valuable¹.

Together with No. 1, No. 4 was brought to Bangkok in 1833 and installed at Vāt Samò Rāy (now Vāt Rājādhivāsa), where Prince Mahāmañkuṭa was then residing. Three years later, when he became Abbot of Vāt Pavaranivesa, he took both inscriptions with him, and after his accession to the throne he removed them to the Chapel Royal. They remained there until 1924, when they were placed in the Vajirañāṇa Library². While No. 1 is now in the Bangkok National Museum, No. 4 is in the Vajirañāṇa Hall of the old National Library Building.

In 1833, when they arrived in Bangkok, there was no one in the world who had ever tried to read an inscription in Old Siamese or Old Khmer; and the systematic study of Cambodian inscriptions, largely the work of European scholars, did not begin until 1879. In 1836 the task of decipherment was turned over to a Commission of scholars. The head of the Commission, Prince Pavareśvariyañkaraṇa, who spent his whole adult life in the monkhood, was a distinguished scholar with a remarkable command of languages. His notebook containing scrupulously copied samples of scripts from India, Burma, Siam and Cambodia is now preserved in the National Library, and Lucien Fournereau, who saw it in 1892, reproduces several specimens from it³. So much has been learned about Southeast Asian epigraphy in the last hundred years that it is easy enough to point to the imperfections of the Commission's work; but when we remember the total lack of comparative materials available to them at the time we should be more inclined to praise them.

1) Coedès, *Recueil*, p. 91.

2) *ibid.*; cf. JSS 59/2, p. 181 f.

3) Fournereau, *Le Siam ancien*, I, Paris, 1895, p. 74 ff.

The script of No. 4 gave less trouble than Rāma Gaṃhēñ's, except that three of the consonants were almost impossible to distinguish from one another. There were plenty of scholars in Bangkok who could read modern Khmer; but the language had not remained unchanged over the centuries; and so much of the text was effaced that it was difficult to grasp the sequence of ideas in the rest. Having got as much as they could out of the Khmer text they had it copied in yellow ink on a black wooden pillar made in a form resembling the stone original⁴.

They also made a Siamese version, which was first printed in the *Vajirañāṇa Magazine* in 1884⁵. A scholar today who faced such a task would strain to get the exact meaning of every phrase, put the translations of doubtful readings and conjectural restorations in brackets, indicate lacunae by rows of dots, and shun invention. The Commission, on the other hand, aimed above all to produce a complete text that would read smoothly, much in the spirit of a sculptor restoring a mutilated statue. They filled out the lacunae with surmises, apparently based in part on other sources of information such as the *Traibhūmikathā*. This they did with considerable ingenuity; but they failed to show which parts were translation and which were invention.

In 1884 Auguste Pavie published a short account of the Khmer inscription in Saigon, together with a reproduction of a rather poor rubbing of part of Face II, and a transcription and attempted translation by Père Schmitt. As the last digit of the date 1283 śaka (= 1361 A.D.) had disappeared, and Schmitt believed śaka referred to the Buddhist Era, he thought the date worked out to 416 B.C.; he also thought the language was Siamese, and translated it accordingly⁶. Etienne Aymonier quickly recognized the language as Khmer, and proposed a new translation of

4) Coedès, BEFEO XVII/2, p. 2; Aymonier, *Le Cambodge*, II, Paris, 1901, p. 90 f. It is not clear whether the wooden pillar was supposed to be a facsimile of the Khmer text or whether the Siamese version was painted on it.

5) วรรณคดีโบราณ, Vol. I, p. 239. Reprinted, together with a mediocre transcription, in Siamese characters, of the legible portions of the Khmer text, in *Rōan Mōan Sukhodai* p. 10 f., and *Prajum Bañśavatāra*, I, 1914, p. 148 f. The Commission's Siamese version is also printed in *Prajum Śīlācārīk Syām*, p. 104 ff. (cf. the comments, *ibid.*, p. 91 f.).

6) See Coedès, BEFEO XVII/2, p. 1.

the passage⁷. Ten years later Père Schmitt made a fresh attempt, which appeared in both the *Mission Pavie* and Fournereau's *Le Siam ancien*⁸. His transcription of the legible portions of the Khmer text, apart from a certain number of false readings, is creditable enough; but his French translation was made not from the Khmer text but from the Commission's Siamese version, which he supposed was a faithful rendering of the original made at a time when the stone was in a better state of preservation. Aymonier then re-entered the fray, and produced a new and more complete translation of the original. At the same time he called attention to the discrepancies between the Khmer text and the Siamese version, scornfully denied that they could possibly have been due to any deterioration the stone had suffered since reaching Bangkok, and attributed them instead to the ignorance of the Commission⁹. If Aymonier had realized that the Siamese version was never intended to be an exact translation he might have formed a more just opinion of the Commission's work.

'Even in its well preserved portions,' says Aymonier, 'the reading of the inscription is sometimes difficult and uncertain: the writing is often bad. The virāma, a stroke which the ancient Cambodians regularly placed over the final consonants of words to show that their inherent vowel was silent, is very rarely used, sometimes being omitted, sometimes being replaced by the reduplication of the final consonant. The letters **c**, **p** and **b** everywhere look very much alike. The **v**, so generally used in ancient Khmer inscriptions, is most often replaced by the **b**. This is an evidence, among others, that the letters of the inscription belong to a period of transition, moving appreciably toward modern writing. The language shows the same tendency. Many modern turns of phrase appear in it side by side with very archaic expressions. These peculiarities, as well as the fervent Buddhism based on the same Canon as is in use today, reveal the text as intermediate between the ancient epigraphy of Cambodia and the modern inscriptions, dating from the 16th and 17th centuries, which are found on the pillars of the temple of Angkor Vat¹⁰.'

7) *Excursions et reconnaissances*, Saigon, Vol. VIII.

8) *Mission Pavie, Etudes diverses*, II, Paris, 1898, p. 203 f.; Fournereau, *Le Siam ancien*, p. 161 f.; cf. Coedès, BEFEO XVII/2, p. 1.

9) Aymonier, *Le Cambodge*, II, Paris, 1901, pp. 86-100.

10) *ibid.*, p. 84 f.

The first really satisfactory translation of the inscription was published by Coedès in 1917, together with a Romanized transcription of the text, a Lexicon of the Khmer words appearing in it, and a critical review of the work done by his predecessors¹¹. This transcription and translation, with some amendments, reappeared with a short introduction in 1924 in *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*.

'From the phonetic point of view,' says Coedès, 'this mid-14th-century inscription is at the same stage as those in Old Khmer. The vowels *ō* and *è* are not yet differentiated from *e*: *kōt* is still written *ket*, and *dēl* is still written *tel*. Unaspirated stops are found in consonantal groups which nowadays begin with aspirated ones, for example *kse*, *bnek* for modern *khsè*, *phnèk*. If the language seems more flexible, clearer and easier to understand than in other Khmer inscriptions, it is apparently because this one deals with subjects that are more familiar to us. With only two exceptions (*olārika* at II/2, and *thera*, *passim*) the Indic loanwords are Sanskrit rather than Pali, although the Buddhism with which the whole text is impregnated is Sinhalese Buddhism based on the Pali Canon; even today, in Siam as well as in Cambodia, Buddhist terms [in ordinary usage] are more often Sanskrit than Pali . . . The chief errors in spelling come from a constant confusion between *ś*, *ṣ* and *s*; we may also note the forms *skvarrga* at II/29 for *svarga*, *barddha* at IV/15 for *baddha*, and so on . . . The writing is very similar to that of the large Sanskrit inscription of Angkor Vat. Apart from the frequent difficulty of distinguishing *c* from *p* and *b*, it can be quite easily deciphered¹².'

Coedès's observation about the use of Sanskrit terms in a Theravādin context in Inscr. 4 is well taken. The unwary might suppose they indicated the presence of Mahāyāna Buddhism at Sukhodaya, for which there is not the slightest evidence.

Mahādharṃarājā begins the inscription by telling us briefly how he seized the capital in 1347 and received the abhiṣeka as his father's and grandfather's successor (I/1-12). Then comes the eulogy, which, as in No. 3, has the practical purpose of bringing out his personal qualities as a ruler.

11) BEFEO XVII/2, 1 ff.

12) BEFEO XVII/2, pp. 9-10, and note 1 to p. 10.

The mutilated passage at I/47-55 speaks of some statues of Hindu gods he erected, doubtless as part of his program for restoring the kingdom's ceremonial and administration, in which the Brahmins played a leading role. He installed two of these statues in the Brahmin temple in the Mango Grove in 1349. We know from Inscr. 5 that the Mango Grove had been planted by his grandfather Rāma Gāṃhēṇ. Because of the respect and affection in which he held his grandfather's memory it would be a fitting place in which to renew the intellectual vigor that were the source of a kingdom's political strength and material prosperity. The two statues he placed there, one of Śiva and the other of Viṣṇu, still survive (see Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, p. 32 and Figs 25, 26). They are almost certainly idealized portraits of Mahādharmarājā himself, and are among the greatest masterpieces of Sukhodaya's high classic style.

The eulogy continues through I/55-56 and II/1-10, citing Mahādharmarājā's profound knowledge of Buddhist and Brahmanical lore. This time the emphasis is on astronomy; the Sukhodayan calendar had evidently gone wrong during his father's reign; and Mahādharmarājā himself, after mounting the throne, made the intricate calculations by which he succeeded in setting it right. This was a vital matter. If the calendar was defective, the astrological predictions that depended on it would be defective too; the resulting mistakes may even have been deemed responsible for the disasters of his father's reign; and Mahādharmarājā's success would augur well for the kingdom. Coedès discusses the probable nature of the defects in the calendar, as well as the method adopted by Mahādharmarājā to correct them (*Recueil*, p. 98 note 1). While Coedès's discussion is based in part on the belief that the mutilated name of the month in Inscr. 6 (I/2-3) should be restored as kattikā rather than pubbakattikā (see above, p. 122), his general conclusions may well be right.

From II/10 on, the inscription deals with the events of 1361, which we have already discussed in the preceding section.

For help in interpreting the text of Inscr. 4, we are much indebted to Professor Judith Jacob of the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London and to Madame S. Lewitz of the Centre National d'Etude Scientifique. Madame Lewitz, who is preparing a new translation of this inscription for the BEFEO, and a study of it from the linguistic point of view for the *Journal Asiatique*, has generously discussed with us a number of ideas she now has under consideration.

Text

I

(1) 1269 śaka kur braḥ pāda kamrateṇ añ ḷdaiya(2)rāja ta jā braḥ
cau ta braḥ pāda kamrateṇ añ śrīrāma(3)rāja nām senā bala byūha
phon amvi śrīsajanālaiya mau(4)k prat phgat phgañ fūñ bala carat krau
. braḥ visaiya nau (5) pañcamī ket jeṣṭha śukrabāra nu kāla stac pandval
ta se(6)nā bala phon . . cval com cap kap dvāra tiñ prahāra sa(7)tru
phon hoñ ☉ toñ noḥ dep stac li(8)lā cval svey braḥ rāja . daya
aiśvaryyādhipatya ta śruk (9) sukhodaya neḥ snoñ braḥ janaka braḥ jī
viñ rvat . . . kṣa(10)tra phon māt ta caturdiśa syaṇ māt (11)
nām . . makuta . . khan jayaśrīy svetachatra . . (12) abhiṣeka oy nāma
braḥ pāda kamrateṇ añ śrīśūryya(13)baṇśa rāma mahādharmmarājā-
dhirāja svey (14) . . . (15) bvaṃ cañ yok syaṇ thve saukhya
. kūn . (16) phaūn barn (17)
neḥ (18) syaṇ (19) (20) . . .
. samtec pavitra (21) oy dāna jivittra noḥ viñ syaṇ
cren (22) hoñ prāni (23) nām (24)
. phon chloñ . . saṅsāradukha (25) (26) . . nām fūñ . .
. pros . . (27) (28) stac
(29-32) (33) . . . (braḥ pāda) kamrateṇ añ śrīśūryyabaṇśa
rāma (ma)(34)hādharmmarājādhirāja (35)
. (36) svey (37-39) (40)
. phon (41) dep stac (42)
śramaṇa brāhmaṇa tapasvi yati (43) (44)
. . braḥ cetiya (45) (46) braḥ buddha
. (47) (braḥ) (48) pāda kamrateṇ añ śrī-
śūryyabaṇśa rāma mahādharmmarājā(dhirāja) (49) neḥ ta nu
antardhānta (50) rūpa braḥ īśvara . . braḥ aṅga pi
paripūrṇa hoñ (51) śaka chlu . dantap ket āśādha śukrabāra purvā-
śādha ṛkṣa nā . . (52) . . śrīśūryonnati kāla stac pratiṣṭhā braḥ mahesvara-
rūpa viṣṇurūpa (53) . s . nu devālayamahākṣetra brai svāy neḥ
(54) . . tapasvi brāhmaṇa phon pūjā nitya . . dharmma (55) an-
tardhānta ley ☉ braḥ pāda kamrateṇ añ śrī (56) śūryyabaṇśa rāma
mahādharmmarājādhirāja drañ braḥ piṭakatraya āc ryyaṇ (ca)

II

(1) p ryyaṇ braḥ vinaya braḥ abhidharma toy lokācāryyakṛtyā d(am)(2)nep ra toy brāhmaṇa tapasvi saṃtec pavitra ṇāpta beda sā(3)-strāgama dharmma nyāya phoṇ damnep ra jyotisāstra ta gi tārā dam . . (4) ti barṣa māsa śūryyagrāsa candragrāsa stec āc tya(ñ) nu sesa (5) braḥ prajñā ta olārika ri phālguṇānta ti gvar mok a . . kroy nu śa(6)-karāja ta adhika stec phdik viñ śrāl gvar pi bai thnas ā(c) t(ya)ñ barṣa (7) ūṇādhikamāsa dina bāra nakṣatra nu saṅksepa guḥ toy nu karmmasi-(ddhi) (8) saṃtec pavitra āc tak āc lap āc lek nām (9) toy nu siddhi śakti braḥ karma sap mātṛā prākat śrīyasakīrtti byat (10) leḥh nu barṇanā pi sāvārtha ley stac gaṇ taṃraṇ svey rājavibhaba ta (11) śrī sajjanālaya sukhodaya nau chnām 22 lvaḥ ta 1283 śaka chlū saṃtec (12) pavitra pre rājapaṇḍita dau aṇjeṇ mahāsāmi saṅgharāja ta mān śil (13) ryyaṇ cap braḥ piṭakatraya ta siṇ nau laṅkādvipa ta mān silācāryya (14) rū kṣiṇāśraba phoṇ breṇ aṃvi nagara bann mok lvaḥ ta mārggāntara dep (15) pre silpi laṃtap saṇ braḥ kuṭi vihāra kamlūṇ brai svāy ta mān to(16)y diṣa paścima sukhodaya neḥ prāp rāp cak ksec sanme thve udaya (17) prabai sap diṣa rū braḥ viṣṇukarma git nirmmāna kāla nā . . nu nā saṃtec (18) braḥ mahāthera nu bhikṣu saṅgha phoṇ mok braḥ pāda kamrateṇ aṇ pre (19) laṃtap slā lāja dyan dhūpa pusa kalpabrksa saṇ . . thve pūjā trā(20)p mārgga pre amātya mantri rājakula phoṇ dau daldval pūjā sa(21)kkāra aṃvi sruk chaut mok lvaḥ jyaṇ doṇ tal sruk pāṇ canra (22) pāṇ bār rvvac lvaḥ sukhodaya neḥ mvay rvvat dep pre pos krā(23)ś jaṃraḥ braḥ rājamārgga aṃvi dvāra ti pūrvva dau lvaḥ dvāra ti paścima tal ta (24) brai svāy nā saṇ kuṭi vihāra sthāna syaṇ tass nu vitāna ta vicitra (25) bvaṃ leṇ rvvac raśmiyāditya mvat panlāy panlvaṇ javanikā raṃyval vñi(26)y trā paṃgap antarāla krāl nu bastra pañcaraṅga bvaṃ leṇ ti ta bu(27)ddhapāda cuḥ ta dharaṇi sap anle thve braḥ pūjā kriyā phoṇ cren (28) beg bvaṃ āc ti gaṇanā thā pī iss ley doḥ nu pryap mel braḥ (29) rājamārgga noḥ prabai yvar skvarggarūhāna phlū svargga dep ārādhana ma(30)hāsāmi saṅgharāja cval braḥ barṣa iss traimāsa kāl nu cuṇ braḥ (31) barṣā thve mahādāna chloṇ braḥ saṃrit ti śit pralvaṇ braḥ aṅga braḥ bu(32)ddha kamrateṇ aṇ pratiṣṭhā duk kantāl sruk sukhodaya neḥ (33) toy pūrvvasthāna braḥ mahādhātu noḥ stap dharmma sap thṇai aṃvi mvay (34) ket lvaḥ pūrṇami ta gi rā-

jadrābya ta jā braḥ dāna mās jyañ 10 prā(35)k jyañ 10 khvad lār 10 slā lār 2 cibara kse 4 pāt cacuh khney khnal kande(36)l rūv noḥ jākk
 ◎ ri kriyā dāna parabara phon ta dai ti sot ayat (37) gaṇanā anekapra-
 kāra ◎ kāla cuñ braḥ barsā lvaḥ astamī ro(38)c buddhabāra punar-
 vasū ṛksa nā lhāc thñai noḥ braḥ pāda kamrate(39)ñ añ śrīśūryyabañśa
 rāma mahādharmmarājādhirāja ksamādāna śila (40) jā tāpasabesa ai
 bnek braḥ subarṇapratimā ti pratisthā le (41) rājamandira nā stac
 namaskāra pūjā sap thñai lhey dep aṇje(42)ñ mahāsāmi saṅgharāja
 therānuthera bhikṣ(u)saṅgha phon thle(43)ñ le hemaprāsāda rājamandira
 dep pvas jā sāmanera ◎ (44) kāla nā nu pvas svam śila noḥ braḥ pāda
 kamrateñ añ śrī (45) śūryyabañśa rāma mahādharmmarājādhirāja stac
 jhar thleñ (46) lek aṇjuli namaskāra braḥ subarṇapratimā nu braḥ piṭa-
 katra(47)ya ti pratap duk le braḥ rājamandira nu mahāsāmi saṅgharāja
 (48) adhisthāna roḥh neḥ nu phala punya ti añ pvas ta sāsana braḥ (49)
 buddha kamrateñ añ ruv neḥ añ bvaṃ ṛṣṇā cakrabarttisampatti (50)
 indrasampatti brahmasampatti añ ṛṣṇā svam leñ añ ampān jā (51) braḥ
 buddha pi nām satva phon chloñ traibhaba neḥ guḥ adhisthāna roḥ (52)
 noḥ lhey dep yok traisaraṇāgama ◎ ksaṇa noḥ phdai ka(53)rom neḥ
 kakrek sap diṣa adhisthāna pvas lhey dep dra(54)ñ braḥ carat cuḥ amvi
 subarṇaprāsāda pādacāra dau lvaḥ ta braḥ (55) brai svāy ◎ nā stec
 pratisthā braḥ pāda cuḥ ta dharanitala pra(56)thavi neḥ prakamp(i)ta
 viñ sap disa sot ta ṛṇoc noḥ

III

- (1) . . . calaca . thñai . . . c cuñ (2)
 . . r ley kāla (3) . y tā . . kṣa . .
 . . y (4) . . noḥ dep stac
 (5) māt nāgarāja
 (6) (7) y (8) . .
 ro (9) śavi (10) . .
 ri janagaṇa (11) mahāścaryya
 (12) noḥ pi māt (13-45) (46)
 mā ta jā vṛddhi . . (47)
 braḥ janaka oy nāma braḥ . . (48)

..... y . . rāja . . abhiṣeka . . (49) rājasampatti . . vala
 nu (50) dau . rak sruk mvay
 jmoḥ śrī . dā (51–56)

IV

(1) duk ter jeñ thleñ le thnal dau tal (2) moḥ
 ta jā andal ley man stac thve (3) kāla noḥ pi mñ mān mahā-
 ścaryya rūv noḥ gi (4) (pra)tisthā śilācarika neḥ leñ ta janagaṇa
 (5) pre prabai punya pāpa rvvat thve punya (6) mān
 pramāda sap anak ley ☉ nā phdai karom (7) ruv neḥ ilū khmi ru
 ta mñ ambe punya dharmma pho(8)ñ mun bvaṃ tel yeñ yal ruv neḥ
 . . . r yeñ stap ana(9)k bol kaṃlūñ dharma guḥ neḥ ilū pi yal phala
 punya (10) ta byat gvar pi janagaṇa phoñ byāyām . . śa (11) . .
 . . . sap anak ri pāpa phoñ bvaṃ gap pi thve ley ☉ (ma)(12)(hā)thera
 traipitaka ta mok amvi laṅkādvipa siñ nau (13) sidol toy daksīṇa
 brai svāy duk braḥ gā(14)(thā sa)rser braḥ yasakirtti phoñ nā stac thve
 braḥ phnva(15)(s) srac cār śilā duk kaṃlūñ barddhasimā nā brai
 svā(16)(y to)y (di)sa paścima sukhodaya neḥ.

Translation

(Passages in brackets beginning with an asterisk are conjectural restorations of lacunae based on apparently similar passages in Inscription 5.)

[I/1-12.] In 1269 śaka, a year of the boar, Braḥ Pāda Kamraten Añ Līdaiyarāja, who is the grandson of Braḥ Pāda Kamraten Añ Rāmarāja,¹³ having led his army out of Śrī Sajjanālaya, came up rapidly, with all his troops prepared, (to a point) outside the capital¹⁴. On Friday the fifth day of the waxing moon of jyaiṣṭha¹⁵ he commanded his troops . . . to approach, to surround, to seize, to break open the gates, to attack¹⁶, and to strike down all his enemies. Then . . . he entered [the capital] to reign supreme in this land of Sukhodaya, as successor to his father and his grandfather. Quickly . . . all the kings living in the four directions, [*filled with affection towards him,] brought . . . the crown, the [sacred] sword Jayaśrī and the white parasol¹⁷, conferred the abhiṣeka on him, and gave him the name Braḥ Pāda Kamraten Añ Śrī Sūryavaṃśa Mahādharmarājādhirāja.

13) Rāma Gāṃbhēn.

14) braḥ visaiya (I/4), is obviously equivalent to พระนคร, braḥ nagara, 'the capital'.

15) This date, pañcamī ket jeṣṭha śukrabāra (1/5), gives difficulty. Mr Roger Billard, to whom we are indebted for investigating it, tells us that the fifth day of the waxing moon of jyaiṣṭha did not fall on a Friday in either 1269 śaka or 1270 śaka, but it did so in 1271 śaka, on a date which corresponds to Friday May 22, 1349 A.D. (Julian). He adds, however, that the information given in the text provides no internal means of cross-checking, and that a mistake in any one of the elements given could throw the whole calculation into disorder. Now it is impossible to read the date at I/1 as 1271 śaka, which in any case was not a year of the boar, and the tenor of the text surely indicates that only a very short time elapsed between Līdaiya's departure from Sajjanālaya and his attack on Sukhodaya, much less than a year. We suspect the date is given in terms of the calendar in use at Sukhodaya in 1347, i.e. before Mahādharmarāja's calendrical reforms, which would account for the discrepancy. We conclude that he made his assault on Sukhodaya around the 5th of jyaiṣṭha, 1269 śaka, i.e. in May, 1347 A.D. (Julian).

16) Instead of following Coedès, who takes *tiñ* at I/6 to be the word for 'axe', we have adopted a suggestion kindly given us by Madame S. Lewitz, who takes it as meaning 'to resist,' 'to attack'; cf. Siamese ตบดง, ดงตบ, 'to resist stubbornly', etc. (McFarland's Dictionary, p. 331).

17) The crown, the sword Jayaśrī and the white parasol constituted the regalia. The sword Jayaśrī seems to have been the one presented to Phā Moañ by the King of Cambodia; see 2 : I/33.

[I/12-33.] He reigns [*in conformity with the Ten Royal Precepts]
 [*If he sees someone else's
 goods] he does not desire to take them. He makes [his subjects] happy
 [*When a father dies, his property passes] to the son; [*when
 an elder brother dies, his property passes] to the younger
 His Majesty has many times spared the lives [*of those who tried to kill
 him] He takes compassion [*on all his subjects]. [*The
 reason he restrains his wrath is that he earnestly desires to become a
 Buddha] to lead all [beings] and let them pass beyond the sufferings of
 saṃsāra lead the throng ..
 set free
 the King [over four lines illegible]

[I/33-47.] Braḥ Pāda Kamraten Śrī Sūryavaṃśa Rāma Mahādharmarājādhirāja [six lines illegible except for a few words]
 then the King śramaṇas, brahmins, ascetics and
 anchorites holy cetiyas
 holy [images of the ?] Buddha

[I/47-55.] Braḥ Pāda Kamraten Añ Śrī Sūryavaṃśa Rāma Mahādharmarājādhirāja here, which was destroyed
 an image of Īśvara¹⁸ to bring it to completion
 In śaka, a year of the ox, on Friday the ...¹⁹ of the waxing
 moon of āṣāḍha²⁰, in the ṛkṣa of pūrvāṣāḍha, at sunrise, the King erected
 an image of Maheśvara²¹ and an image of Viṣṇu in the Devālayamahā-
 kṣetra²² of this Mango Grove for all the ascetics and
 brahmins to worship forever the Dharma destruction.

[I/55-56.] Braḥ Pāda Kamraten Añ Śrī Sūryavaṃśa Rāma Mahādharmarājādhirāja has studied the Three Piṭakas completely, [II/1-10] he
 has studied the Vinaya and the Abhidharma. From the traditional

18) Śiva; braḥ aṅga (I/50), which Coedès translates as 'le saint corps', appears to be used here as a classifier for images.

19) As Coedès points out, the mutilated word -**dantap** at I/51 could be read either **madantap**, 'eleventh', or **pidantap**, 'thirteenth'; see *Recueil*, p. 98 note 1. (NB: the reference to the month of kṛtika in that note is based on a conjectural restoration of a mutilated word in Inscr. 6, I/3, which has since proved untenable; see above, p. 122.)

20) Probably June-July 1349.

21) Śiva.

22) The Brahmin temple.

teachers of Kṛtya²³, beginning with the Brahmins and ascetics, the King has learned the Vedas, the Śāstras and the Āgamas²⁴, the universal law and its applications²⁵, beginning with the treatises on astronomy . . . the years, the months, the eclipses of the sun and moon, the King knows them and all the rest. His knowledge is immense. As the Phālgunānta²⁶ ought to come . . . after, and the length of the year was being overestimated²⁷, the King shortened it so as to set it right again²⁸. Knowing clearly the deficient years and the years with an intercalary month, the days of the week and the lunar mansions, the King, to put it briefly, was able to take away, erase and remove (the excess) by means of his authority, completing the work in all its details with entire success redounding to his glory. Whatever he has to explain, he always does so according to the texts²⁹.

23) In this context, non-Buddhist lore.

24) The Śāstras are treatises embodying the whole body of Hindu science and religion; the Āgamas are the scriptures and theological manuals of the principal Hindu sects, including the worshipers of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Śakti.

25) dharmma nyāya (II/3). The word Dharma here seems to be used in the sense of Universal Law, i.e. the laws of nature, the great principles that govern the operation of the universe. The word nyāya has a great number of meanings, including the following: method, rule, model, plan, system, justice, policy, axiom, aphorism, logic, syllogism. As it occurs in this passage between 'the universal law' and the phrase 'beginning with the treatises on astronomy', we conjecture that it means 'applications' of the universal law, such as the science of astronomy. Or else dharmanyāya might be a compound, meaning 'the system of the universal law'.

26) According to Aymonier, the Phālgunānta was the Spring Festival (Aymonier, *Le Cambodge*, II, 87). This was presumably the Hindu spring festival called Holi or Holākā, celebrated during the ten days preceding the full moon of the month of phālguna (February-March). In some parts of India it corresponds to or immediately precedes the Dolayatrā or Swinging Festival. See Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, pp. 498 and 1306.

27) Literally 'the śakarāja was in excess.'

28) See the glosses given by Coedès in the 'Lexique', BEFEO XVII/2, pp. 17 ff. As Coedès observes (*Recueil*, p. 98 note 3) the word **phdik** no longer exists in Cambodian, but survives in Siamese in the expanded form **nnhdk**, 'to condense,' 'to shorten'.

29) **lehh nu barnanā pi sāvārtha ley**. We are indebted to Madame S. Lewitz for this translation, which seems to yield better sense than Coedès's. Recent studies have enabled her to identify the word **lehh** (sometimes written **leha**) as an indefinite pronoun, meaning 'whatever' when it occurs as the subject of a sentence. She takes **sāvārtha** as a Skt. compound (**sa-anu-artha**), which is apparently what Coedès did when he translated it as 'conforme au sens d'un texte'. She tells us that in this context **ley** means 'always'.

[II/10-30.] The King had resided, ruled and reigned at Śrī Sajjanālaya Sukhodaya for 22 years when, in 1283 śaka, a year of the ox, he sent a royal paṇḍita to invite the Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja to come from Nagara Bann³⁰, who observes the precepts, who has studied the Three Piṭakas in their entirety, and who has resided in Laṅkādvīpa where there are teachers of the precepts like the saints of old³¹. [When the Mahāsāmī] was on his way³² the King sent craftsmen to prepare and erect kuṭis and a vihāra in the Mango Grove west of this (city of) Sukhodaya; he had it leveled, smoothed and covered with sand³³; and he made it as beautiful in every part as if it were created by Viṣṇukarma³⁴. When the Saṃtec Mahāthera (Mahāsāmī) was coming with his suite of monks, His Majesty caused areca fruits, grilled rice, candles, incense, flowers and kalpavṛkṣas to be prepared³⁵; he erected . . . in his honor all along the road; and he sent ministers, counsellors and members of the royal family to receive him with homage (and escort him) from Chaut to Jyaṇ Doṇ, to Pāṇ Candra, Pāṇ Bār, and finally to this (city of) Sukhodaya³⁶. Then he sent (men) to sweep the Royal Avenue clean from the east gate to the west gate and all the way to the Mango Grove, where the kuṭis and the vihāra had been built. He had awnings of many colors stretched (above the

- 30) For the sake of clarity, we have placed the expression 'to come from Nagara Bann' earlier in the sentence than it occurs in the original (II/14). In 1361 the King had been reigning at Sajjanālaya since 1340, when he was appointed uparāja there: hence 'for 22 years' (because any part of a year counts as a whole year); though he had been reigning as King of Sukhodaya only since 1347. See Coedès, BEFEO XVII/2, pp. 8-9.
- 31) Laṅkādvīpa is the island of Ceylon; kṣiṇāśraba (II/14), Buddhist Skt. kṣiṇāśrava, Pali khīṇāsava, 'one whose cravings have been destroyed', an epithet of the arahants or saints (see Pali Text Society Dict., s.v. āsava).
- 32) If the King did not really start building operations at the Mango Grove until the Mahāsāmī was 'on his way', it is hard to see how he could have completed them by the time the Mahāsāmī reached Sukhodaya. Presumably the expression is not to be taken literally.
- 33) cak ksec (II/16), which Coedès translates ('remblayer avec du sable'. To us, 'covered with sand' seems to correspond more closely with the literal meaning of the expression, and to accord better with the usual practice in preparing or maintaining a monastery.
- 34) Viśvakarman, the craftsman of the gods.
- 35) In Skt. literature the kalpavṛkṣa is a fabulous tree in Indra's heaven that grants all desires. It is represented in Siamese ceremonies by real or artificial trees hung with fruits containing coins, gifts, etc.
- 36) For the route, see above, p. 121. As Madame Lewitz informs us, mvay rvvat at II/22, literally 'one time', marks the end of the sentence. (Coedès, putting it at the beginning of the following sentence, translates it 'aussitôt'.)

Avenue) so as to stop the rays of the sun from penetrating, he took the trouble³⁷ to set up screens and garlands of flowers (on either side), and he caused cloths of five colors to be spread out between so that the Mahāsāmī's feet³⁸ would not touch the ground anywhere. He made so many preparations in his honor that they cannot be counted; if a comparison is needed, that Royal Avenue looked as beautiful as the road to heaven³⁹. Then he invited the Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja to go into retreat for the full three months of the rainy season.

[II/30-37.] When (the Mahāsāmī) came out of retreat, [the King] made a great offering of gifts (to the monkhood), and consecrated a bronze (statue of the) Lord cast to the same size⁴⁰ as (the statue of?) Our Lord the Buddha, which is installed in the middle of this city of Sukhodaya to the east of the Mahādhātu⁴¹. He listened to the (preaching of) the Dharma

- 37) Coedès took the word *mvat* at II/25 as an adjective ('hot' or 'scorching') modifying 'rays of the sun'. We have followed Madame Lewitz, who prefers to consider it a verb meaning 'exerted himself to', and going with what follows; we therefore translate 'took the trouble to'.
- 38) *buddhapāda* (II/26-27), literally 'the Buddha's foot'. The Mahāsāmī was regarded as a saint, or a future Buddha, or both.
- 39) *skvarggarūhāna phlū svargga* (II/29): *skvarggarūhāna* appears to be a compound in which *skvargga* represents Skt. *svarga*, 'heaven' (see Coedès, BEFEO XVII/2, p. 19 note 1), and *rūhāna* may be for Skt. *rohana*, 'ascending to'. In that case the expression *phlū svargga* would be in apposition to the compound and serve as a gloss to it. Alternatively *rūhāna* might be the Khmer word for 'splendid'.
- 40) *pralvañ* (II/31), glossed by Coedès as *pralañ*, 'étendre' (BEFEO XVII/2, p. 22); Guesdon (Dictionnaire Cambodgien-Français, Paris, 1930, p. 1098) glosses *pralañ* as 'essayer', 'mesurer'; cf. *praluñ*, 'étendue' (Guesdon, p. 1100). Coedès (*Recueil*, p. 100) translates the passage as 'fondue sur le modèle de la statue de Notre Seigneur le Buddha', but we are inclined to prefer a more specific rendering, 'cast to the same size', which takes account of a practice intended to transmit the miraculous qualities of the original to the copy.
- 41) For the Mahādhātu, the monument of the Great Relic, which was the magico-religious center of the kingdom, see JSS 60/1, pp. 72-76 and note 4, p. 76. Coedès understood that the bronze statue was copied from a statue that stood east of the Mahādhātu, but the passage could also mean that the King cast the bronze statue the same size as the Lord Buddha himself (which, according to tradition, was 18 cubits when standing), and placed it east of the Mahādhātu.

every day from the first day of the waxing moon to the full moon day⁴². The gifts the King distributed were⁴³: 10 *jyañ*⁴⁴ of gold, 10 *jyañ* of silver, 10 million *khvad*⁴⁵, 2 million areca nuts, 4 bundles of *cīvaras*, almsbowls,

- 42) As we have seen (p. 122), the first day of the waxing moon and the full moon day referred to here are those of the month of *assayuja* (and not, as Coedès believed, those of the following month, *kattika*; cf. BEFEO XVII/2, p. 15 note 6). The fortnight during which, according to Inscr. 4, the King listened daily to the Dharma was therefore the last fortnight of the three months' retreat; and the statue was consecrated soon afterward, some time during the week between the first and the 8th days of the waning moon. The apparent discrepancy with Inscr. 5 (III/12-13), which says the King listened to the Dharma daily for 'a hundred days', puzzled Coedès (BEFEO XVII/2, p. 15 note 6). It can be explained if we assume that the hundred days began a few days before the retreat and continued until the end of it, the preaching during the first 85 days of the period being of a routine character, while that of the last fortnight must have had some special features that caused it to be singled out for mention in Inscr. 4.
- 43) *ta gi rājadrābya ta jā brah dāna* (II/34); see Coedès, 'Lexique', p. 20 ff.).
- 44) '10 *jyañ*' (II/34) corresponds to 'ten thousand' (weight) in Inscr. 5 (II/14-15). Presumably the unit referred to is the *tical*, about a half-ounce. At present-day prices, say \$70 ounce, the value of the gold he presented would therefore be about \$350,000. Of course its real value was many times that, as the purchasing power of gold was much greater in those days.
- 45) *khvad lār* 10 (II/35). The expression *lār* 10 and the following word, *slā*, are added above the line. As *lār* corresponds to 𑀭𑀸𑀓 in No. 5 (III/15, III/16) it certainly means 'million'. The meaning of *khvad* is obscure. The word that corresponds to it in No. 5 (III/15) is 𑀭𑀸𑀓 (modern 𑀭𑀸𑀓), which usually means 'cowries'. But 𑀭𑀸𑀓 and 𑀭𑀸𑀓 in No. 5 (III/15) evidently mean the same thing as 𑀭𑀸𑀓 and 𑀭𑀸𑀓 in No. 1 (II/14); and as *slā* (4: II/35) specifically means 'areca' we can be sure that 𑀭𑀸𑀓, which corresponds to it in No. 5, means areca fruits rather than fruits in general. It therefore seems likely that 𑀭𑀸𑀓 and its Khmer counterpart *khvad* refer to something used in conjunction with areca nuts in preparing a quid. The first thing that springs to mind in this connection is of course betel leaves; but betel at that time was called 𑀭𑀸𑀓, just as it is today; see Inscr. 1, II/2 𑀭𑀸𑀓 𑀭𑀸𑀓 𑀭𑀸𑀓 𑀭𑀸𑀓. We take these observations from Coedès (BEFEO XVII/2, p. 18 f.), who leaves the meaning of *khvad* undecided. We might perhaps guess, because of its similarity to Siamese 𑀭𑀸𑀓, 'bottle', that it refers to containers of some sort, for example containers for the lime which is chewed with areca and betel. Or else it might perhaps be *dischidia rafflesiana* (𑀭𑀸𑀓), an epiphyte whose roots were folded into the betel quid and chewed to cure coughs (see Burkill, *Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula*, London, 1935, Vol. I, p. 847; cf. McFarland, *Thai-English Dictionary*, p. 593). Another mystery is why Inscr. 4 has 10 million *khvad* and 2 million areca nuts, whereas Inscr. 5 has ten million 𑀭𑀸𑀓 and ten million areca nuts.

cacuḥ⁴⁶, pillows, cushions, mattresses, in exactly that quantity⁴⁷. ☉ As for the different accessory offerings⁴⁸, they were innumerable and of great variety. ☉

[II/37-56.] After the end of the retreat, on Wednesday the eighth day of the waning moon⁴⁹, in the 𑀘kṣa of Punarvasu, towards evening, Braḥ Pāda Kamrateṇ Añ Śrī Sūryavaṃśa Rāma Mahādharmarājādhirāja undertook to observe the precepts in the garb of an ascetic in the presence of the Golden Statue⁵⁰ which was installed in the Royal Palace where he worshiped every day. Then he invited the Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja, the theeras, the anutheras and all the monks to enter⁵¹ the Golden Pavilion in the Royal Palace, and was ordained as a samaṇera. ☉ When he was being ordained and undertaking to observe the precepts, Braḥ Pāda Kamrateṇ Añ Śrī Sūryavaṃśa Rāma Mahādharmarājādhirāja, standing up with his hands raised in homage to the Golden Statue, to the Three Piṭakas which were kept in the Royal Palace, and to the Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja⁵², made this resolve: 'As the fruit of the merit which I (am earning) by being thus ordained in the religion of Our Lord, I do not thirst for the advantages of a cakravartin or of an Indra or of a Brahmā⁵³: I

46) The meaning of **cacuḥ** is unknown, and there seems to be nothing to correspond to this word in the list in Inscr. 5. Could it be used to qualify **pāt** ('alms-bowls'), denoting the material of which they were made?

47) i.e. enough for 400 monks, as Inscr. 5 (III/16 f.) has 'four hundred [sets of] civaras, four hundred almsbowls, four hundred cushions, four hundred pillows, [sc. four hundred] mattresses.' Each bundle (**kse**, II/35) consisted of 100 sets of robes; see Coedès, BEFEO XVII/2, p. 16 note 3.

48) **kriyā dāna**, 'offering'; **parabara**, for Skt. **parivāra**; 'accessory'.

49) The date corresponds to Wednesday, September 22, 1361 (Julian).

50) **ksamādāna śīla jā tāpasabesa ai bnek braḥ subarnapratimā** (II/39-40). We follow Coedès in taking **ksamādāna śīla** as standing for Pali **samādāna śīla**, 'taking it upon oneself (to observe) the precepts' (see BEFEO XVII/2, p. 16 note 5); **jā**, 'to be', 'as'; **tāpasabesa**, for Pali **tāpasavesa** (**tapasa**, 'ascetic'; **vesa**, 'costume'); **ai bnek**, 'under the eyes of', 'in the presence of' (ibid., p. 16 note 6); the **Subarnapratimā** or Golden Statue was evidently an image of the Buddha kept in the Golden Pavilion in the precinct of the Royal Palace. The 'garb of an ascetic' here means the white robes worn by a candidate for ordination as a samaṇera (cf. Coedès, ibid., p. 16, note 7).

51) The word **le** (II/40) is the usual word for 'into' in going 'into' a house. The statue was installed in the 'Golden Pavilion' (**hemaprāsāda**, II/43). It would naturally be placed in the upper storey so as to prevent anyone from committing the sacrilege of walking above the Buddha's head.

52) The statue, the scriptures and the Mahāsāmī represent the Triple Gem: the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha.

53) A cakravartin or 'wheel-turner' is a monarch who rules over all the territories his chariot-wheels traverse; the Indras are the gods of the Tāvatiṃsa heaven; the Brahmās are the gods of the sixteen higher heavens.

am fully resolved to become a Buddha so as to lead all creatures across the three conditions of existence⁵⁴. After pronouncing this resolve he took the Triple Refuge⁵⁵. ☉ At that moment the earth quaked in every direction⁵⁶. When he had taken the resolve he was ordained. Then he went down from the Golden Pavilion⁵⁷, to proceed on foot all the way to the Mango Grove. ☉ The earth quaked again in every direction when his foot touched it. During this fortnight of the waning moon, [III/1-4.] day went out at the moment

[III/4-56.] Then the King there was a Nagārāja [4 lines illegible] crowd of people a great prodigy in order that there might be [32 lines illegible] which is the increase the father, giving the name Braḥ king . . . abhiṣeka royal power a country named Śrī . dā [6 lines illegible]

[IV/1-12.] the boat [?]⁵⁸, and walked up on the embankment all the way to ☉ The King made At that moment there was a great prodigy such that He erected this stone inscription⁵⁹ so that everyone [should recognize ?] merit and demerit, and hasten to perform meritorious acts⁶⁰. Let everyone take heed!⁶¹ ☉ On this earth Right now there are the

54) For these three conditions, see Coedès, BEFEO XVII/2, p. 17 note 1.

55) i.e. he pronounced the formula of taking refuge in the Triple Gem. See Nyānatiloka, *Buddhist Dictionary*, Colombo, 1950, *sub verbo* ti-sarana (p. 156).

56) The earth was quaking in acknowledgment of his 'great resolve' to become a Buddha in some future existence.

57) *draṇ braḥ carat cuḥ amvi subarṇaprāsāda* (II/53-54). The 'Golden Pavilion', here called Subarṇaprāsāda, is of course the same building called Hemaprāsāda at II/43. In our translation we follow Coedès, who takes *carat* as Skt. *carati*, 'to go', 'to walk' (see BEFEO XVII/2, p. 17 note 2). As Coedès observes, Aymonier translates *draṇ braḥ carat* as 'tenant une canne à la main,' identifying *carat* with modern Khmer *črāt*, 'walking-stick'.

58) *duk* (IV/1); as the context is lost, the meaning of the word is hypothetical; see Coedès, BEFEO XVII/2, p. 21.

59) sc. the present inscription.

60) cf. Inscr. 3, I/56 f.

61) *mān pramāda sap anak ley* (IV/6). Assuming the lacuna contained particles signifying the negative optative, a literal translation would be: 'Let everyone not have heedlessness!' which we paraphrase as: 'Let everyone take heed!' Coedès supplies the negative, translating as 'ne mépriser personne', but we think 'heedlessness' comes closer to the sense of *pramāda*.

(evident) results of meritorious actions such as we have never seen before We have heard the Dharma and we now see the good results of meritorious actions⁶³ . . . clearly. Everyone should strive to and avoid doing evil.

[IV/12-16.] The Mahāthera (versed in the?) Traipitaka⁶⁴, who came from Lankādvīpa⁶⁵ and resides at . . . sidol⁶⁶ in the southern part of the Mango Grove, has composed a poem to celebrate the glory and renown of the King at the place where he was ordained, and has had it engraved on a stone⁶⁷ which has been placed in the sacred enclosure⁶⁸ of the Mango Grove west of this (city of) Sukhodaya.

62) It is possible that 'the (evident) results of meritorious action' are the earthquake and other prodigies that resulted from Mahādharmaṛājā's ordination; but it also seems possible that they have a more general significance, as at 3 : I/58 f., particularly as the passage follows so closely on the one which we compare with 3 : I/56 f. (see above, note 60).

63) The 'good results' (*phala*, lit. 'fruits') are rewards that will automatically accrue, in this life or future ones, as a consequence of doing acts of merit.

64) As Coedès observes, this Mahāthera is obviously the Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja. The text has : (*mahā*)*thera traipitaka* (IV/11-12), which Coedès renders as 'Le mahāthera, (versé dans) les Saintes Ecritures.' In supplying the words in parentheses he is apparently basing himself on the example of Inscr. 5 (II/20-22) : มหาสามสงฆราชมีศีลาจารแลรูปพระปฏิมา. Though the latter appears in a different context, we think Coedès is probably justified in making the insertion and we have followed him in our translation. But as there is no lacuna at this point in the text we should have to assume that an expression meaning 'versed in' was omitted by mistake. If, on the other hand, the insertion is not justified, then *traipitaka* must be in apposition to *mahāthera*, and *traipitaka* (or rather the Pali form of the word, *Tipitaka*) must be the Saṅgharāja's monastic name, which is otherwise unknown to us. For the use of Sanskrit in a Theravādin context in Siam and Cambodia, see above, p. 129-130. Another Theravādin monk mentioned in Sukhodayan epigraphy is called by a mixed Sanskrit and Pali name. He composed the Pali face of the Asokārāma inscription of 1399 A.D., in which his name is given as Sridhammatrailoka (see JSS LVII/1, p. 38 and p. 43, last line); and he also appears in Inscr. 49, composed around 1417, in which his name is given as Mahāthera Dharmatrailoka (followed by several other syllables, the reading of which is doubtful; see JSS 56/2, p. 233, I/7-8). He was a younger brother of Mahādharmaṛājā II's queen, and in all probability a son of Mahādharmaṛājā I.

65) This passage, without actually saying so, seems to imply that the Mahāsāmī was a Sinhalese; whereas the passage at II/13 seems to imply that he was not, though he had resided in Ceylon.

66) As the name is mutilated, we cannot guess what it represents; cf. Skt. Dola, a festival held on the 14th of phālguna at which images of the boy Kṛṣṇa are swung back and forth in a high swing. As there was a Brahmin temple in the Mango Grove as well as a Buddhist monastery, it is possible that such a swing could have given its name to the locality.

67) Inscr. 6.

68) *kaṃlūṇ baddhasimā* (IV/15), i.e. at the uposathāgāra or ordination hall, which is enclosed in *simā* boundary stones (*baddhasimā* is put for *baddhasīmā*).

6.

The pillar on which Inscription 5 is engraved is much like that of No. 4, but the tenon is shorter and the total height is only 1.15 m. The pillar is 28 cm. square in cross-section, and a surface 78 cm. in height was prepared on each face for the writing. Faces I and III are in a fair state of preservation, and though a break in the stone has carried off the last two or three letters of I/1-11 most of them can be restored from the context. In Face II the same break has carried off a lot more of the text, and the remainder is badly damaged. Face IV is a total ruin, having been used by peasants to sharpen their knives (a widespread belief holds that old inscriptions are particularly good for this purpose). Face I has 35 lines of writing, Face II has 38, and Face III has 42.

After remaining for some time in the Ayudhyā Museum, the stone was brought to Bangkok and placed in the Chapel Royal. In 1924 it was removed to the Vajirañāṇa Library. It is now in the Vajirañāṇa Hall of the old National Library.

Prince Damrong Rājanubhāb was the first person to notice that the purport of No. 5, as well as the form of the stone, is much like that of No. 4, and he proposed in 1914 to consider them mates¹.

The first person to publish No. 5 was Coedès. In 1917 his Romanized transcription and French translation appeared in the BEFEO (XVII/2). In 1924 his transcription reappeared with several better readings and a revised translation².

The script of No. 5 is much like that of No. 3, though written in a more slanting hand. The orthography too is much the same. The vowel *ā* is not found, but *ā* occurs in the following places :

𑀓𑀲, I/13

𑀓𑀲, I/19, 21, 23, 29, 34, II/14, III/3

1) AA/RA, Bangkok, 1914, p. 2; Prajum Baṅśāvatāra, I, Bangkok, 1914, preface p. 8.

2) *Recueil*, 103 ff. The Siamese text appears at p. 108 ff. of the Siamese section of the same work, and was reprinted in Prajum Śilācārīk, Bangkok, B.E. 2500.

มี, III/39

มีน, I/5, 13, III/36

มีน, III/39

While the sound of ๓ in a closed syllable is usually indicated by reduplicating the final consonant, the mai-hăn-ākāsa does occur eight times (II/26, III/17, 18, 33, 38, 40, 41, 42) : like the virāma from which it appears to have developed, it is written over the final consonant of the syllable rather than in the position it occupies today. The accents ˊ and ˋ are found in the following words, though several of the same words also occur without them :

ก (= ก), I/20, 22, 26, 29, III/22

ก (= กอ), II/15-16

ป, I/17, 18, 20, 22, 23, 26, II/36, III/2

แก, I/19, 30, II/10

แต่, II/24

ก่อน, I/1

หอน, I/27

อจ, I/30 (twice)

ทาน, I/17, 18

เท่า, I/20

ใคร, I/10, 17, 18

ฟง, I/22

ชา, I/20, 22, 27

ข้าม, I/33

ผา, III/2

เจ้า, III/10

แล้, III/20, 22

ถ้อง, I/3

ควาย, I/15

แล้ว, III/8

ร้อย (= ร้อย), III/16 (twice)

นน (= นน), III/34, 37, 41

The text opens with the words 'Formerly this place was the royal garden of Braṇṇā Rāmarāja the grandfather, who planted this grove of mango-trees...' — a statement which seems to show that Mahādharmarāja composed the text while he was a monk in the Mango Grove Monastery in 1361 (cf. above, p. 122, 126). Nothing is said about his seizure of the capital in 1347, perhaps because a battle would not be a fitting subject to dwell on in a monastery. The account of his accession and abhiṣeka follows immediately (I/1-14). Then comes the eulogy, with particular emphasis on his forbearance, and certain verbal reminiscences of Rāma Gaṃhēn's inscription which, like his reference to the origin of the Mango Grove in the opening lines, serve to link his own reign to his grandfather's. When he speaks of his mercy toward people who cheated or betrayed him, or people who tried to poison him, it is hard to resist the feeling that he has some specific persons in mind such as officials who cheated him, vassals who threw in their lot with his enemies, and perhaps the usurper Nvva Nām Thaṃ.

At II/8-18 there is a brief reference to his reform of the calendar, and to his numerous works of merit in building monasteries and stupas, planting bodhi trees, and so on.

The rest of the inscription, insofar as it survives, is devoted to the events of 1361, in much the same terms as No. 4.

Text

ด้านที่ ๑

- (๑) (เม) ออก่อนที่หนีเป็นราช..
- (๒) .. พรณารามราชผุเป็นปุ่น..
- (๓) (ปลู) กไมมวงฝ่งนี้เป็นถ้องกู
- (๔) .. แกกเมือลุนนี้พรณาภา (ไทย)
- (๕) .. รูพระปฏิกไทรยไคชิน เ (สว)
- (๖) ราชในเมืองศรีสขนาไลย (สุโข)
- (๗) (ไ) ทยแทนบูแทนพ ฝ่ง เป (นทา)
- (๘) วเป็นพรณาเบืองทวนนอก (กตว)
- (๙) นนตทหวนอนตึนนอนตา (งคน)
- (๑๐) ทางมีใจไครไจรกกเอามกฏ..
- (๑๑) . ยศรีเสวตรจตรมายคยญ (อภิ)
- (๑๒) เสกให้เป็นทาวเป็นพรณาทง (ง)
- (๑๓) หลายจึงสนมคชินชีศรีสุรยพ
- (๑๔) งศรามมหาธรมราชธาธาเสว (ย)
- (๑๕) ราชชอบด้วยทสพิทธราชธรมม
- (๑๖) รูปรานี้แกไฟรฝาชาไททองห
- (๑๗) ลายเหนเขาท่านบไคร์พินเหน
- (๑๘) สีนท่านบไคร์เคิดพตายไวแกล
- (๑๙) (ก) พิตายไวแก่นองชีผุไคผิตวาง
- (๒๐) . งรามเท่าไคกคืบหอนข้าพนน
- (๒๑) .. สกกคาบชีไคชาเล็กชาเล็ห

- (๒๒) (ว) พง์หวรรบกตีบข้าบตีญอมเอา
 (๒๓) (มา) ลยงมาขุนบ่ไหเถงทีจบทีหายซี
 (๒๔) (ไค) ฝูงยียกตียียคุแกตนไคฝูงใส
 (๒๕) .. นในปลาอย่าในเขาไกกินแลจก
 (๒๖) (ไ) หเถงทีลัที่ตายตงอนนกกตีบห
 (๒๗) (อน) ข้าห่อนตีสกกคาบญอมโปรส
 (๒๘) (ฝูง) ไทระแกตนตงอนนหลายธา
 (๒๙) (เ) เกกซีจกกนบกแกมมีถวนหย
 (๓๐) (ม) อัดเนืออัดใจแก่อนนเพิงคยท
 (๓๑) (แลบ) อาจคยตงอนนเพือจก
 (๓๒) .. (จุ) งเปนพระพุทธรจจกเจ้าผู้
 (๓๓) (งสศตว) ทงงหลายข้ามตงสารททุกขนี้จุ
 (๓๔) ... นญาวาจกกาฬุชาคนเลยซี
 (๓๕) ... ขาอนนไคอนนญงเปน ...

ด้านที่ ๒

- (๑ ถึง ๕).....(ข้ารท).....
 (๖)มหาส
 (๗)ของ...ค.....
 (๘)ควย...พรวณศรีสุ
 (๙) (รยพงศรम्म) หาธรรมราชา (ธีราช)

- (๑๐) น..... แก่ . สत्व
 (๑๑) นน . คต าทา
 (๑๒) นบวณนแต
 (๑๓) พวไคปลนหนปีสน
 (๑๔) (มา) กกวาซินนบบแลมีถวนซี
 (๑๕) แตอนนททำบุณยธรรมกพี
 (๑๖) (หาร).... ตกสตุบเจตียปลุกพระศรีมหา
 (๑๗) (โพธิ)... ตี..... รมากแกกัณบ
 (๑๘) (ก่แลมีถวน).. อยู่ (สว) ราชในเมืองศรีสช
 (๑๙) (นาไลย) ศุโข (ไทยโค) ญิสบสองเขาศกรา
 (๒๐) ช ๑๒๘๓ ปีณจุจิงไหไปอญเซญมหาสา
 (๒๑) (มี) สงฆราชมีสีลาจารแลรพระปฎกต
 (๒๒) (รย)..... นกกฝูงมหาสามีอนน
 (๒๓) อยู่ใน... ลงกาทิบอนนมีสีลาจารตง
 (๒๔) (ฝูงกษินาศ) รพชววกอนแต่นครพนน
 (๒๕) กุฎีพีหารในปามวงนัตุส
 (๒๖) สัตังพระพิศณุกรรม
 (๒๗) พระม
 (๒๘) สงฆทงหลายมา
 (๒๙) คอกไม้ไต่หอม
 (๓๐) ป.... งกทำบุชาสองช

- (๓๑)งเตงลุก (เจาลุก) ชุนไปรบ
 (๓๒) (ป).....เมืองจอกมา
 (๓๓)พ.ป.
 (๓๔)บ...วเตเมือง
 (๓๕) ศุโขไทย.....นีญอมกา (ง) พิดา
 (๓๖) (น).....บ่นบให้ทวนน..
 (๓๗)งยอ.....อง...นี...
 (๓๘)(รียว)

ด้านที่ ๓

- (๑) วลคอกไม.อ.....
 (๒) เอาผ้าบุญจริงคอนนงามบให้.....
 (๓) นสกกแห่งซี้จกนบบเตเครี (อง)...
 (๔) นนนวนยมากกว่าชินกลาวถึ...(เ)
 (๕) ลยผิจกกปรยบไปคูนทางนนวนม
 (๖) ถังหนทางในเมืองฟ้างใหอา
 (๗) รารนามหาสามีสงพราชเขาพรชาสิน
 (๘) ไตรมาสเมื่อแล้วออกพรชาจึงกทำม
 (๙) หาทานฉลองพระสรีคอนนหล..
 (๑๐) ตนพระพุทเจ้าเราอนนปติสธาก
 (๑๑) ลางเมืองศุโขไทยซึ่งลงทวนนออ

- (๑๒) กพระศรีรัตนมหาธาตุคณนถลอ (งส)
- (๑๓) กบธรรมมทกวนนถวนรยวนน
- (๑๔) แลวกรยาทานคาบนนทองเหมิน
- (๑๕) นึ่งเงินเหมินนึ่งบียสิปลานหมา (กส)
- (๑๖) บลานผาจีพรสือร่อยบาศสือร่อย (หมอน)
- (๑๗) นึ่งสือร่อยหมอนนอนสือร่อยพุก
- (๑๘) เครื่องกรยาบูชาทั้งหลายจกน (บบกแ)
- (๑๙) ลมี้ถวนแตอนนผุ่ลูกทานลูก . .
- (๒๐) มาชอยจกนบบแลมีไคแล่อนน (เก)
- (๒๑) ร้องกทำบูชามหาสงฆราชจกนบ (บ)
- (๒๒) กแล่มี่ถวนเมือออกพรชาแลว . .
- (๒๓) วนนพุทธพารหนไทรวงเปลาญ (นร)
- (๒๔) พพสนกษตรเมือตวนนเอยนแ (ตพ)
- (๒๕) ระพุทธเจ้าเราเขานีรพานมาเถิ (งวน)
- (๒๖) นบวสนนไนพนนเการอยหาปี . .
- (๒๗) นบบควยวนนแตพระนัรพาน (มาถึง)
- (๒๘) วนนบวสนนไนทกแสนเกาเห (มิน)
- (๒๙) หาพนนทรอยวนนิงพรญา (ศรีสุ)
- (๓๐) รยพงศรามมหาธรมราชธาธา . .
- (๓๑) หากสมาทานทศศีลเปนตาปส . .
- (๓๒) นาพระพุทธรูปทองอนน ป (รคิส)

- (๓๓) ถาไวนิหาราชมณที่รอันตนเตง...
- (๓๔) วณนนั้นแลแล้วจึงอญฺชญมหา (สามีส)
- (๓๕) งมราชควยเถรานุเถริก (สุ) สงฆ ทง (งหลา)
- (๓๖) ยขึ้นเมื่อถึงราชมนที่ร... องจึง..
- (๓๗) บวสเปนสามเณรที่นนั้นเมื่อจก..
- (๓๘) สิ้นนัพรญาศรีสุรพงศรามธรมม (ราชา)
- (๓๙) ธิราชจึงจกกอยินญมีนบพระพุท (ธ)
- (๔๐) ทองนบทั้งพระปฎกตรย....
- (๔๑) บไวกินนบทั้งมหาสามี (สงฆรา)
- (๔๒) ช จึงจกกอธิสถานวาทังนี้ควย.

ด้านที่ ๔
(ชำรุด)

Translation

[I/1-4.] Formerly this place was the royal [garden] of Braṇṇā Rāmarāja the grandfather, . . . [who] planted this grove of mango-trees in rows³, exceedingly [beautiful]⁴ to look at.

[I/1-14.] Later on when Braṇṇā Lī[daiyarāja], who is well versed in the Scriptures, acceded to the throne of Śrī Sajjanālaya Sukhodaya⁵ as successor to his grandfather and his father, a throng of kings⁶ at the east, west, south and north, each one of them filled with affection [toward him], brought the crown, [the sacred sword Ja]yaśrī, and the white parasol, and conferred the abhiṣeka⁷ on him as King⁸, and all of them in concert⁹ bestowed the title Śrī Sūryavaṃśa Rāma Mahādharmarājādhira¹⁰ upon him¹¹.

[I/14-35.] He rules in conformity with the Dasabiddharājadharmā¹². He is merciful¹³ to all his subjects¹⁴. When he sees someone's rice he does not covet it, when he sees someone's wealth he does not get angry¹⁵. When a father dies [his estate] is left to the son¹⁶, when an elder brother dies it is left to the younger. When anyone quarrels with him about large matters or small, [the King] does not put him to death

3) ถ้อง (I/3); modern ถ้อง, 'lines'.

4) Reconstructing the lacuna at I/4 as งาม.

5) Written śrī sajjanālaya sukhodaya; we regularize the spelling.

6) ฝูงเป็นท้าวเป็นพรญา (I/7-8).

7) ขดคชญอภิสก (I/11-12). See Section 2 note 18, and Coedès at JSS XIII/3, p. 22 f.

8) ไทเป็นท้าวเป็นพรญา (I/12); cf. No. 3, I/6.

9) สมต (I/13) appears to be put for Pali sammata, past participle of sammannati, 'to assent', 'to agree to', 'to authorize', 'to honor'.

10) Written śrī sūryavaṃśa rāma mahādharmmarājādhira.

11) cf. No. 3, I/2-7 and No. 4, I/7-12.

12) 'dharma' is written dharmma throughout the inscription. For the Dasabiddharājadharmā, cf. Inscr. 3, II/26.

13) ปราน (I/16), 'compassion', from Skt. prāṇi, 'a living creature'.

14) cf. Inscr. 3, II/7.

15) เห็นเขท้านบ่ใครพินเห็นสันท้านบ่ใครเดิด (I/17-18); the expression is repeated verbatim from Rāma Gaṃhēñ (Inscr. 1, I/27; cf. JSS 59/2, p. 207, note 38).

16) cf. Inscr. 1, I/22 f., and Inscr. 3, II/44 f.

- (๓๓) ถาไวนิหาราชนทีรอันตนเตง...
- (๓๔) วนนันแลแลวจิอญูมหา (สามีส)
- (๓๕) งฆราชควยเถรานุเถรภิก (สุ) สงฆ ทง (งหลา)
- (๓๖) ยขึ้นเมือเถิงราชมนทีร... องจิง..
- (๓๗) บวสเปนสามเณรทีนนเมือจาก..
- (๓๘) สีสันนพรญาศรีสุรพงศรามธรรม (ราชา)
- (๓๙) ธิราชจิงจกอยีนญมีนบพระพุท (ธ)
- (๔๐) ทองนบทั้งพระปิฎกตรัย....
- (๔๑) บไวทีนนบทั้งมหาสามี (สงฆรา)
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ด้านที่ ๔
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Translation

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6) ฝูงเป็นท้าวเป็นพญา (I/7-8).

7) ขัตติยอนุอภิเสก (I/11-12). See Section 2 note 18, and Coedès at JSS XIII/3, p. 22 f.

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16) cf. Inscr. 1, I/22 f., and Inscr. 3, II/44 f.

or injure him¹⁷. When he captures enemy warriors, he does not kill them or beat them¹⁸, but looks after them well¹⁹ so that they may not die. When he catches people who cheated or betrayed him²⁰, or people who tried to poison him²¹, he does not kill them or beat them. Those who have done him harm he has set free²² so many times that they cannot be counted²³. The reason why he shows such forbearance in cases that

- 17) ขุนใดคิดวาง . . งามเท่าใดก็ดับหอนข้าพิน . . สกตกบ (I/19-21). We have translated freely. A more literal translation would be: 'If anyone quarrels with him, no matter how [great or ?] middle-sized (the matter may be), he never kills him or wounds him . . a single time.' For ผิดวาง, cf. Inscr. 1, I/25, and JSS 59/2, p. 207, note 34. For งาม, cf. Inscr. 1, II/26, and Coedès in JSS XVII/3, p. 117. We take -งาม to be equivalent to มากน้อย, 'large or small'. ข้า is forฆ่า, 'to kill'; พิน is 'to chop', 'to slash', as with a sword.
- 18) ได้ขานเสกขาสือหาวพ่งหาวรบกับข้าบตี (I/21 f.), repeated verbatim from Rāma Gamhēṅ; see Inscr 1, I/31, and JSS 59/2, p. 208, note 47.
- 19) ญอมเธา (มา) ลงมาชน (I/22 f.); ช่ม, 'habitually'; เธมาเลี้ยงมาชน, 'brings them under his protection and feeds them.'
- 20) ขยัคชยัค (I/24); เชี่ย, 'to act', especially to act in a mocking or deceitful manner; คด, 'crooked', 'dishonest', 'perfidious' (cf. คัดคด, 'to plot against', 'to be treacherous'); คู้, 'to bend', 'to bow'.
- 21) ได้ผูกใส่(ง่วน)นในปลาชยาในเขาโกลินแลจกใหญ่ถึงหลัที่ตายดงอนนกับหอนข้าพิน สกตกบ (I/24-27). The mutilated word after ใส่ was very likely ง่วน, 'poison' (in *Tai Yuan*, a common expression for poison is ง่วนพิษ, and in the *Mañrāya-sūtra* ง่วน alone means 'poison'). A more literal translation would be: 'When he captures the throng who put poison in his fish or drugs in his rice for him to eat so as to make him die like that, he never kills and never beats them a single time.'
- 22) I/27-29 : ญอม, 'always', 'habitually'; โปรสผุงโหรณกตตงจอนน, 'he has liberated the throng of persons who did harm to him like that'.
- 23) หลายถ่านก่ ชักกนบมกแลมถวน (I/28) : หลายท่าแถม 'extremely many times'; ช็อกนับ, 'if we wish to count'; กแลมถวน 'then it is not complete.' Cf. the similar expressions further on :
 - 1) มากกวาชนนบมกแลมถวน (II/14) : มาก 'much'; กว่าสน, 'altogether'; นับแลมถวน, 'the count is not complete'.
 - 2) มากก่นบมกแลมถวน (II/17-18).
 - 3) ชักกนบมกแตเคื่อง . . นนดวยมากกวาชนนกลาวดี . . เลย (III/3 f.) : ช็อกนับแต่เคื่อง . . นั้น, 'if we wish to count only those preparations made in his honor'; ด้วยมาก, '(they were) in great quantity; กว่าสน, 'altogether'; กล่าวดี 'to mention precisely'; เลย, 'at all' (the lacuna must have contained a negative).

would make most people angry²⁴ is because he has resolved . . to become a Buddha and to take all living creatures beyond these miseries of transmigration not only²⁵ not to kill any person at all, but not even . . to kill anything whatever that has life . . [II/1-7 and the first two-thirds of II/8 : *illegible except for a few disconnected words; this passage corresponds in part to Inscr. 4, I/27-55, but is much shorter.*]

[II/8-18.] Brañā Śrī Sū[ryavaṃśa Rāma Ma]hādharmarāja[dhirāja] counted the days since took the years that were too long and changed them back²⁶ to short years so much that it cannot be counted to the end. As for his meritorious works in building vi[hāras], building stupas²⁷, and planting śrīmahābodhi trees they cannot be counted.

[II/18-38.] He had been ruling the kingdom of Śrī Sajja[nālaya] Sukho[daya] for twenty-two years when, in sakarāja 1283, a year of the ox, he sent [*a royal paṇḍita] to invite a Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja from Nagara Bann²⁸, distinguished for his moral conduct and his knowledge of the Scriptures²⁹ many Mahāsāmīs living in . . Laṅkādi-

4) เครื่องกรรขาทรงหลายจากกนกบถแก้วมณี (III/18 f.).

5) แดคอนนุ่งลูกทอนลูก . . มาชอยชกนกบถแก้วมณีใดแล (III/19-20).

6) เครื่องทูปุขามหาสงฆราชกนกบถแก้วมณี (III/20-22).

24) หยมอดเนออดใจแก่อนนเพิงคยคณบถอจคยคตงอนน (I/29-31), 'The reason he restrains himself towards things that ought to cause anger and does not get angry like that.'

25) ญาวา (I/34)=อย่าว่า, 'not only'.

26) ลน (II/13), modern ล้น, 'overflowing', hence 'too long'; หนี, still used in *Tai Yuan* to mean 'change back', 'retreat', 'go back'. The reference seems to be to Līdaiya's reform of the calendar; cf. Inscr. 4, II/5 ff.

27) We take stupacetiya (II/16) as a compound, and translate the whole expression as 'stupas'.

28) For the sake of clarity we have transferred the expression 'from Nagara Bann' แดนครพนน, II/24) to this position in the sentence.

29) literally 'who has moral conduct and knows the Three Piṭakas'. ,

pa whose moral conduct is like that of the saints of old³⁰
 [*When the Mahāsāmī was on his way, the King built] kuṭīs and a vihāra
 in this Mango Grove, [making it as beautiful] to see as if
 the Lord Bisṇukarmma [*had created it]. When
 the Ma[hāsāmī Saṅgharāja and] all his monks were coming, [the King
 prepared] flowers and fragrant torches
 to do honor to him, [placing them] on both [sides of the road], appointed
 officials³¹ to go to receive him [and escort him from] Mōaṅ Chōt to [*Jyaṅ
 Dōṅ, Pāṅ Cannḍra, Pāṅ Bān and all the way to this] city of Sukhodaya³².
 [*He had the road swept ?] and³³ stretched awnings [*of many colors]
 above, to prevent the sun [*from penetrating; he set up screens and
 garlands] [III/1-8 :] of flowers; he caused beautiful
 cloths of five colors [to be spread out³⁴] so as to prevent [*the Mahāsā-
 mī's feet from touching the ground] anywhere. As for the preparations

- 30) We suspect that . . . นก (II/22) should be restored as สำนก 'abode' or 'commu-
 nity of monks' (the word สำนก occurs frequently in Mūlasāsanā to refer to a
 group of monks studying under one particular teacher for a considerable period
 of time. As we know from Inscr. 4 (II/13) that the Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja had
 resided in Ceylon we think it likely that the passage meant something like
 the following : 'who has studied in the communities of many Mahāsāmīs living
 in Laṅkāḍīpa whose moral conduct is like that of the saints of old.' For kṣi-
 ṇāsra (II/24) as an epithet of arahants or saints, see section 5, note 31. This
 passage suggests that the King of Ceylon was in the habit of bestowing the
 title Mahāsāmī on distinguished Sinhalese monks (and not exclusively on
 monks from foreign countries who were re-ordained in Ceylon; cf. JSS 60/1,
 p. 51, note 10).
- 31) ลูกเจาลูกขุน (II/31); cf. the corresponding passage in Inscr. 4 (II/20 f.) where
 he sends 'ministers, councillors and members of the royal family.' It is not
 clear which of these terms, if any, is to be precisely equated with ลูกเจ้า and
 which with ลูกขุน.
- 32) To a western reader the statement is confusing, because it seems to say that
 the King prepared flowers, etc., and, at the same time or a little later, sent
 officials to Chōt to meet the Mahāsāmī. As the round-trip between Sukhoda-
 ya and Chōt would require something like two weeks, it is obvious that the
 officials set out from Sukhodaya well before the flowers were prepared.
- 33) We have omitted from our translation the word ญอม (II/35), 'of course', 'na-
 turally', etc.
- 34) The word meaning 'to be spread out' seems to have been omitted; at least there
 is no lacuna where we should expect it to come, at III/2 before บัฏ.

made in his honor³⁵, they cannot be counted³⁶. If we wished to make a comparison, that road was as beautiful to look at as a road in the city of heaven. Then [the King] invited the Mahāsāmi Saṅgharāja to go into retreat for the full³⁷ three months of the rainy season.

[III/8-22.] At the end of the retreat, [the King] made a great presentation of alms (to the monkhood) and consecrated a bronze statue cast [the same size as]³⁸ (the statue of?) our Lord the Buddha, erected in the middle of the city of Sukhodaya to the east³⁹ of the Śrīra-tanamahādhātu⁴⁰. [For the] consecration he listened to the [preaching of the] Dharma every day for a full hundred days, and at that time⁴¹ he distributed offerings of ten thousand⁴² of gold, ten thousand of silver, ten million cowries, ten million areca nuts, four hundred [sets of] robes⁴³, four hundred almsbowls, four hundred cushions, four hundred pillows, [four hundred] mattresses⁴⁴, and countless gifts of all sorts⁴⁵. As for the accessory [offerings] brought by members of the royal family

35) We reconstruct เกร (อง) . . . (III/3) as เกรองบชา, which usually means 'offerings'; but we translate it in accordance with the corresponding passage in Inscr. 4 (II/27-28), which has a more general meaning.

36) cf. note 23, above.

37) สิ้น (III/7) must mean สิ้น, 'end', while ชิน at III/4 means 'all'. In modern Siamese both words are written สิ้น.

38) อนนท . . . คนพระพุทธรเจ้าเรา (III/9-10), modern อันท . . . คนพระพุทธรเจ้าเรา. We conjecture that the lacuna contained some word with the same meaning as *pralvañ* in the corresponding passage in Inscr. 4 (II/31); see above, page 140, note 40.

39) ลงตวนนอก (III/11 f.); the word ลง in this passage means 'in the direction of'. It still has the same meaning in Tai Yuan.

40) The Mahādhātu, situated near the geographical center of the city, facing the Royal Palace which lay just east of it. Cf. p. 140 note 41.

41) กายนเน (III/14), i.e. when the statue was inaugurated.

42) cf. No. 4, II/34 f. and page 141 note 44.

43) As the gifts of almsbowls, cushions, etc., show that he was making provision for 400 monks, we assume that each one received the *ticivara* or 'three garments' (*antaravāsaka*, *uttarāsāṅga* and *saṅghāṭī*).

44) พก (III/17) is a Khmer word meaning 'mattress' (=Siamese ฟูก). We restore the preceding lacuna as สร้อย; cf. the preceding note.

45) เกรกริษาบชาทั้งหลายจกคน(บมกน)ลิมถวน (III/18-19). Coedès translates 'les aliments offerts ne sauraient être dénombrés'; cf. p. 94, note 16. For the expression meaning 'countless', cf. p. 155, note 23.

and nobility⁴⁶, they cannot be counted⁴⁷. And the gifts presented to the Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja cannot be counted [either].

[III/22-42.] After the end of the retreat. . . , on Wednesday, a 'rvañ plau' day in the Dai [*Tai*] reckoning, in the nakṣatra of Punarvasu, towards evening⁴⁸, one thousand nine hundred and five years . . . after our Lord the Buddha entered Nirvāṇa, [the King] was ordained⁴⁹. Counting by days from the Nirvāṇa up to the day of his ordination, six hundred ninety-five thousand, six hundred and one days had elapsed. Brañā Śrī Sūryavaṃśa Rāma Mahādharmarājādhirāja . . . made the resolve to observe the Ten Precepts as an ascetic . . . in the presence of the golden statue of the Buddha which was installed in the Royal Palace, and which he himself had caused to be . . . on that day. Then he invited the Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja, together with the theras, the anutheras and the assembly of monks, to enter⁵⁰ the Royal Palace and he received the ordination as a samaṇera there. When he was about to [receive] the Precepts, Brañā Śrī Sūryavaṃśa Rāma Mahādharmarājādhirāja, standing with raised hands⁵¹, did homage to the golden [statue of the] Buddha, homage to the Scriptures which were kept there, and homage to the Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja. Then he made this wish: 'By means of . . . ' [Face IV: *illegible*].

46) แต่อันผู้ลูกหลานลูก . . . มาขอ (III/19-20), modern แต่อันผู้ลูกหลานลูก . . . มาช่วย. If, as we suspect, ลูกหลาน means members of the royal family, the mutilated expression that follows very likely meant 'nobility'. Note, however, that the lacuna is rather short to contain the necessary expression, plus เถ, which the sense seems to require.

47) cf. above, note 23.

48) เมื่อตะวันเย็น (III/24). The expression means, literally, 'when the sun is cool.'

49) We have taken some liberties with the syntax of this sentence for the sake of clarity. Coedès translates, more literally: 'depuis le moment où Notre Seigneur le Buddha entra dans le nirvāṇa jusqu' au jour (où le roi) reçut l'ordination, il s'est écoulé 1905 années . . . '

50) ขึ้นเมื่อเถิง (III/36), 'to go up to'.

51) อธิษฐาน (III/39)=ขึ้นขมมือ.

52) adhithāna (III/42), a wish in the form of an 'act of truth'; see JSS 60/1, p. 61 note 33.

7.

Inscription No. 6, containing the Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja's verses referred to at the close of No. 4, is engraved on a stone pillar shaped much like those of 4 and 5 except that it is not quite square. It is 27 cm. by 33 cm. in cross-section, the surfaces prepared for engraving are 78 cm. in height, and the total height of the stone is 1.30 m. Faces I and III, which are in good condition, each have 24 lines of Pali, in Cambodian characters; Face I is in verse, Face III in prose. Face II is almost wholly illegible, and Face IV completely obliterated.

Upon its arrival in Bangkok in 1909, the stone was deposited in the Vajirañāṇa Library. It is now in the Vajirañāṇa Hall of the old National Library building.

The inscription was first published by Coedès, who gave a Romanized transcription and French translation of it in 1917 (BEFEO XVII/2, p. 39 f.). These reappeared, with a few amendments, in 1924 (*Recueil*, p. 111 f.). The Siamese section of the same work gives the Pali text in Siamese characters, together with a Siamese translation of Face I and paraphrase of Face II; both are reprinted in *Prajum Śīlācarīk*, B.E. 2500.

The writing, says Coedès (BEFEO XVII/2, p. 29), is almost the same as that of the Pali inscriptions on the double Footprint of the Buddha at Vāt Pavaranivesa from Sukhodaya [No. XII]. 'It hardly differs,' he adds, 'from the "Khôm" script in use today for Pali manuscripts in Siam and Cambodia. As both the name and the characteristics of the Khôm script prove it to be of Cambodian origin, it is interesting from the paleographic point of view to find, at the same date, . . . a Khmer inscription [No. 4] written in characters which are still closely related to the ancient epigraphic characters, and a Pali inscription [No. 6] written in fully developed Khôm characters.'

The formal object of the inscription, as we have seen, is to commemorate Mahādharmarājā's ordination as a samaṇera on September 22, 1361 (Julian), and his ordination as a bhikkhu the next day. Unlike those composed by the King himself, it gives us very little real information about him: it is a purely conventional panegyric composed in high-flown terms.

We wish to express our gratitude to Mr Kamaleswar Bhattacharya, of the Centre National de Recherche Scientifique at Paris, who has proposed certain interpretations that appear to be more satisfactory than Coedès's, and given us much help in analyzing the text,

Text

Face I

[1] || parinibbāna(to) vassasatūnadvisahassato
 uddham [2] pañca u(sabha)
 ttika [3] māsassa kālapakkhassa aṭṭham(e)
 buddhavāre (su)nakkhattamu[4]huttakaraṇādi(ke)
 ntarād iva dāne vessanta[5]ro yathā
 . . . āva paññāya sile silavarād i[6]va
 pasamsitabbo viññūhi dakkho byākaraṇādike
 ti[7]piṭakasabhāvaññū rājā lideyyanāmako
 sāsanassa [8] hitaṃ sabbalokassa ca hitaṃ caraṃ
 rajje t̥hito pi rā[9]jattanibbindanto guṇākaro ||

nikkhammaninno janako va [10] rājā
 rājūhi' maccehi ca nāgarehi
 devaṅgaṇābhā[11]hi ca sundarīhi
 mittehi nātīhi nivārīto pi ||
 sa[12]mbodhisattehi janehi ciṇṇaṃ
 sadā sadācāraṃ apekkha[13]māno
 kāsāvavattaṃ rudattaṃ va tesaṃ
 acchādayi chaḍḍiya [14] rājabhāraṃ ||

taṃ khaṇaṇṇ eva saṃkappi dhāretuṃ dharanī ta[15]dā
 asakkontīva tass'eva guṇabhāraṃ samantato ||
 [16] pāṭihāriyam aññaṇ ca āsi 'nekavidhan tadā
 esa [17] dhammaniyāmo hi bodhisattāna kammani ||
 pabbajitvā[18]na so rājā oruyha sakamandirā
 saṭṭhivasso mahāthe[19]ro yathā santindriyo tathā
 yugamattaṃ va pekkhanto [20] 'nekapūjāhi pūjito
 rudammukhajanoghehi vara[21]m ambavanaṃ gato
 nānādiagaṇākiṇṇe ramme nanda[22]nasannibhe
 muttārajatavaṇṇābhavālukārāsisa[24]uthate
 pavitte ti vivittatthijanānam āsayārahe
 [24] upasampajji so tattha vasā ambavane vare
 laddhā

Face II

[illegible, except for the name 'Lideyya' at line 12, and a few letters which yield no connected sense]

Face III

[I-24] . . . dam iva pasasanyam khe pidam . . [2] . . tam pati-
takatham iva kuapa kua . . [3]m iva catuddhka anapek-
khitacittena nand(i)[4]yamno sakalasujannhi tesam nama.
[5] maggdhigamasekhajano viya ssane . . [6]lasaddho pkas-
sano viya muni . . [7]sam na htam raddho samraddhakusala
.. [8]mmathasakalasujanatarugaana pallava.. [9]t pallavarj
ti pasiddho pasiddhaguana(m )[10]dhro dhraajavanagam-
bhratikkhahsapann[11]ya sampanno sampannapramiguanam
ariya[12]metteyydna dasannam bodhisattnam . [13]ngadho
lidayyanmakko dhammarj sudh()[14]rasam iva sudhsinam
aparimigaanapathavira [15] hitasakalabuddhnubuddhapacceka-
buddhasva[16]kabuddhna paribhograhama atisayayatisu[17]-
kham amatsyanarasa(m) paribhujanto pi surana[18]radanuta-
nayakamalaagaruddhbhujagaatipa[19]tidinamahitacaraara-
vindayugaddhamunivara [20] . varassanabnisahitkhilasujana . i
[21].samparidpanycanavacanasavanena[22]girisikharasadisaso-
kaggialparida(yha)[23]mno viya vinahacakkarattano viya
(ca)[24]kkavattirj domanassappatto hutv

Translation

[I/1-9, in *vatta* metre:] In the year of the ox, nineteen hundred and five years after the Parinibbāna on Wednesday the eighth day of the dark half of the month of, at an auspicious time¹, King Līdeyya²³—(who is) like Vessantara in liberality, like in wisdom, and like King Silava in morality⁴, who deserves the praise of the learned, who is skilled in (sciences) such as grammar⁵ and deeply versed in the Tipiṭaka, (and who is) a mine of virtues⁶ — seeking to benefit the Doctrine and the whole universe, abdicated the kingship in which he was firmly established⁷.

[I/9-11, in *indavajirā* metre:] Being bent upon renouncing the world like Janaka⁸, though urged to refrain by his vassals⁹, his councilors, his subjects, his ladies as beautiful as celestial beings¹⁰, his friends and

- 1) More literally, 'at the favorable nakkhatta, muhutta, karaṇa, etc.'. The nakkhatta (Skt. nakṣatra) is a conjunction of the moon with different constellations, and hence a lunar mansion or the constellations of the lunar zodiac; the muhutta (muhūrta) is the 'moment' or 'hour', one-thirtieth of a day; karaṇa is half a lunar day.
- 2) rājā līdeyyanāmako (I/7), 'the king named Līdeyya', i.e. Mahādharmarājā. This being the subject of the sentence, we have transferred its position for the sake of clarity.
- 3) rād (I/4, I/6) is for rād, a sandhi form of rāṭ. The latter is an old nominative singular of rāja used at the end of a compound.
- 4) Vessantara, the paragon of liberality, was the penultimate incarnation of Gotama and hero of the Vessantarajātaka (No. 547 of the Jātaka collection); King Silava was an earlier incarnation of Gotama and hero of the Mahāsīlavajātaka (No. 51 of the Jātaka collection).
- 5) vyākaraṇa, either 'grammar' or 'prediction.'
- 6) guṇākaro (I/9), in apposition to the subject of the sentence.
- 7) More literally 'even while established in the kingship, turned away from the kingship.'
- 8) We take nikkhammaninno as a compound (ninna, 'bent upon'; nikkhamma, ger. of nikkhamati, 'renounce the world'). Janaka was another of Gotama's previous incarnations; see Mahājanakajātaka (No. 539).
- 9) rājūhi (I/10), 'by the rulers', doubtless refers to Mahādharmarājā's vassals. The term nivārīto, which we have translated as 'urged to refrain', is literally 'obstructed', 'hindered'.
- 10) devaṅgaṇābhāhi sundarīhi (I/10-11), instrumental feminine plurals of devaṅga-nābhā, 'having the splendor (ābhā) of the celestial women', and sundara, 'beautiful' (here used as a substantive).

his relatives, the King — [I/11-14, in *upajti* metre:] having constantly in view the habitual behavior of the Bodhisattas¹¹ — laid down the burden of kingship and put on the yellow robe while everyone wept¹².

[I/14-24, *vatta* metre:] At that moment the earth quaked¹³, unable to bear at all places the weight of his virtues¹⁴. Then there were all sorts of other miracles: such is the usual course of things in the career of Bodhisattas. After receiving his ordination as a novice, the King went down from his palace as tranquil in mind as a mahthera of sixty seasons. Looking ahead of him no more than the distance of a yuga¹⁵, venerated with innumerable honors by the throng of weeping people, he proceeded to the excellent Mango Grove. In that charming place filled with all sorts of birds like Indra's garden¹⁶, strewn with sand the color of pearls and silver, in that excellent Mango Grove, (which) because of its purity¹⁷

- 11) In a Pali context, the Bodhisattas are either the previous incarnations of Gotama (such as Vessantara, Slava, Janaka, already referred to) or, in a more general way, anyone who takes the 'great resolve' to become a Buddha in some future life. Though Bodhisatta is the Pali form of Skt. Bodhisattva, there is no reason to believe that the reference is to one of the great mythical Bodhisattvas of the Mahyna, such as Avalokitevara, who have attained Enlightenment but renounced entering Parinrva in order to keep on being reborn until they have succeeded in leading all sentient beings to Buddhahood.
- 12) Their grief, like their efforts to dissuade the king from entering the monkhood, is of course not to be interpreted as anti-religious. It was a formality to express their feeling of helplessness when such a good king abdicated, even though they must have been pretty certain that he would return to the throne a few months later.
- 13) *sakappi*, for *sakampi*.
- 14) The earth quaked, etc., in order to acknowledge his taking the 'great resolve' to become a Buddha in some future existence; see Inscr. 4.
- 15) A distance equivalent to the length of a yoke or plough, a little less than 2 m. This is the distance beyond which a monk is not supposed to look when walking: i.e. sufficient to find his way, but not far enough to distract his mind.
- 16) *nandanasannibhe* (I/21-22), 'like the Nandana'. The Nandanavana is the god Indra's principal park in the Tvatimsa heaven.
- 17) *pavatte ti* (I/23); *pavitta* is not found in the *Pali Text Society Dictionary* or in Buddhadata's *Concise Pali-English Dictionary*; but cf. Skt. *pavitra*, 'pure' (adj.) or 'a means of purification' (nt.).

is worthy to be the abode of solitary mendicants¹⁸, he received his ordination as a monk¹⁹. Having received it, [Face II] [illegible].

[III/1-24, in prose:] like deserving to be praised, in the sky²⁰ like a corpse with the throat cut, like in four ways. Rejoicing²¹ in a heart without desire like a man who perfects himself in the attainment of the path²², like Indra²³ in his faith striving for good, skillful in what he has undertaken known²⁴ as Pallavarāja because he is a scion (pallava) of the entire multitude of trees (to which) good men (are comparable), he is a receptacle of notable virtues, endowed with a retentive, swift, deep, sharp and happy intellect²⁵²⁶ of the ten Bodhisattas such as Ariyametteyya who have attained the perfections²⁷. Even while drinking²⁸ the essence

18) vivittatthijanānam (I/23), gen. pl. of vivittatthijana: vivitta, 'solitary'; atthi = Skt. arthin, 'mendicant'; jana, 'people' (here used in a collective sense).

19) upasampajji, aorist of upasampajjati, to become fully ordained; Buddhadatta Mahāthera, *Concise Pali-English Dictionary*, Colombo, 1949, p. 58.

20) The sense of the word piṇḍa (III/1) in this context escapes us. It usually means a lump, especially a lump of almsfood; it can also mean a conglomeration, compressed form, or a heap.

21) Whereas the preceding passage is too fragmentary to tell what it is about, the text from here on is obviously about King Līdeyya. For the sake of clarity we have therefore begun a new sentence at this point.

22) sc. the path to Nibbāna.

23) pākāsāna (III/6), an epithet of the god Indra (see Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, II, 176).

24) pasiddho (III/9); cf. Skt. prasiddha, 'accomplished', 'celebrated'.

25) dhāraṇajavanagambhīratikkhahāsapaññāya (III 10-11): dhāraṇa, 'retentive'; javana, 'swift'; gambhīra, 'deep'; tikkha, 'sharp'; hāsa, 'happy'; paññāya, instr. of paññā, 'intellect', etc. For these epithets cf. *Pali Text Society Dictionary*, s.v. pañña, paññā, hāsa, hasu; and Buddhadatta Mahāthera, *Concise Pali-English Dictionary*, s.v. javana, tikkha.

26) We can make nothing of -nāgadho (III 12-13).

27) This passage would certainly read better if we could make 'ten' modify 'perfections' rather than 'Bodhisattas', for the 'ten perfections leading to Buddhahood' are a well-known list (see Nyanatiloka, *Buddhist Dictionary*, Colombo, 1950, p. 110 s.v. pāramī). As that seems grammatically impossible, we are left wondering who the 'ten Bodhisattas' are. In a Pali context we should expect them to be the ten previous incarnations of Gotama who are the subject of the last ten Jātakas; but Ariyametteyya was not one of them. He is the Buddha still to come, the last of the five to appear in the present kappa. Alternatively we might suppose that 'ten' is loosely used here for 'a great number'.

28) paribhuñjanto pi (III 17).

of beginning the ascent to Nibbāna²⁹ — an essence like divine ambrosia³⁰, worthy to be drunk by the innumerable throng of all the Buddhānubuddhas, the Paccekabuddhas and Sāvakabuddhas³¹, and which is the supreme happiness of monks³² — King Līdayya Dhammarāja³³ is as if burned by the mountain of flame of his sorrow at hearing the entreaties of all virtuous people who suffer from the decline of the excellent Doctrine (preached by) the Buddha whose lotus-like feet are worshiped daily by Devas, men, Brahmās, Dānavas, Garuḍa and Vāsuki, and who

- 29) amatāsāyanarasam (III 17). Mr Bhattacharya analyzes this term as amata-āsā-āyana-rasa. The word amata, 'deathlessness' or 'ambrosia' can also mean Nibbāna (*Pali Text Society Dictionary*, p. 73, s.v. amata); āsā, 'aspiration', 'longing'; āyana, 'entering', 'road'; rasa, 'savor', 'essence', 'juice'. Coedès translates: 'le suc ayant le goût de l'ambrosie' (as if amata-āsāyana-rasam).
- 30) sudhārasam iva sudhāsīnam (III 13-14): sudhārasa, 'essence of ambrosia', 'savor of ambrosia'; iva, 'like'; sudhāsīnam, 'of the gods' (sudhāsīn, sudhā-āsīn=Skt. sudhā-āśīn, 'drinker of ambrosia', hence a god).
- 31) aparīmigapaṇapathavirahitasakalabuddhānubuddhapaccekabuddhasāvakabuddhānam paribhogāraham (III/14-16): aparīmi-gaṇana-patha-virahita is a poetic expression meaning 'countless', literally 'unmeasured (aparīmi, a peculiar form for aparīmita) and exempt (virahita) from the path (patha) of counting (gaṇana)'; sakala, 'all'; buddhānubuddha in the present context means a Sambuddha or Fully-Enlightened One, i.e. one who in previous incarnations received the Doctrine from the Buddhas of the Past, and who possesses the faculty of preaching it (see *Pali Text Society's Dictionary*, s.v. **anubuddha**, p. 40, definition 1 under the sub-heading **buddhānubuddha**); paccekabuddha, an 'individual or silent Buddha', one who has attained Enlightenment without ever having heard the Buddhist Doctrine from anyone else, and who does not possess the faculty of preaching it; sāvakabuddha, a disciple who has attained Enlightenment as an Arahant (saint); -ānam, the suffix of the genitive plural, applying to the whole compound; paribhogāraham, 'worthy of being enjoyed'.
- 32) atisayayatisukham (III/16-17): atisaya 'excellence', 'abundance'; yati, 'monk'; sukha, 'happiness'.
- 33) līdayyanāmako dhammarāja (III/13), 'the righteous king named Līdayya'. For the sake of clarity we have transferred the position of this expression, which is the subject of the sentence.

beg for a complete exposition (of the Doctrine)³⁴. (He is as) sad as a cakravartin who has lost the jewel that is his cakra³⁵

- 34) In the analysis of these interminable compounds Mr Bhattacharya has again come to our rescue :

suranaradanutana yakamalajagaruddhabhujagapati patidinamahitacaranāravindayugaddhamunivara (III/17-19) : sura, an epithet of the deva-gods; nara, 'human being'; danutanaya, 'offspring of Danu', i.e. the Dānavas (giants who made war against the gods); kamalaja, 'lotus-born', i.e. the Brahmās; garuddha, i.e. Garuḍa, the lord of birds; bhujagapati, 'the lord of serpents', i.e. Vāsuki or Śeṣa; patidina, 'daily'; mahita, 'worshiped' (past passive participle of mahati, 'worships'); carana, 'foot'; aravinda, 'lotus'; yuga, 'pair'; munivara, 'the best of ascetics', i.e. the Buddha.

varasāsana hānisahitākhillasujana (III/20-21) : varasāsana, 'excellent Doctrine'; hāni, 'decadence'; sahita, 'accompanied by', i.e. suffering from; akhila-sujana, 'open-hearted good people'.

samparidīpanāyācanavacanasavanena (III 21) : samparidīpanā, 'complete exposition', 'illustration' (samparidīpayati is found in Buddhist Sanskrit); yācana, 'begging', 'entreaty'; vacana, 'utterance', 'word'; savanena, 'because of hearing'.

girisikharasadisasokaggijālāparidayhamāno (III 22-23) : girisikhara, 'mountain-top'; sadisa, 'similar to'; soka, 'sorrow'; aggi, 'flame'; jālā, 'fire'; paridayhamāno, for parīdayhamāno, present participle of parīdayhati, 'to be burned'.

- 35) The cakra (Pali cakka), 'wheel' or 'discus', is the chief of the seven 'jewels' in which the power of the cakravartin (Pali cakkavattirāja) or universal monarch resides.

8.

Inscription 7 is engraved on a slab of schist 28 cm. wide, 12 1/2 cm. thick and 1.07 m. tall (plus a rough-cut tenon, 25 cm.). The stone, shipped to Bangkok in 1915, was installed in the Vajirañāṇa Library and is now in the Vajirañāṇa Hall of the old National Library building.

The first publication of the inscription was in 1924, when it was edited by Coedès in a Romanized transcription, accompanied by a French translation (*Recueil*, 117 f.). It was first published in Siamese in the Siamese section of the same work (p. 123 f.); and reprinted in Prajum Śīlācārīk, B.E. 2500, together with a version in modern Siamese spelling.

The writing is completely ruined on the two main faces, but is in fairly good condition on the two narrow ones. We have followed Coedès's numbering: obverse, Face I; first narrow face, II; reverse, III; second narrow face, IV. The text almost certainly began on Face I and ended on Face IV.

The script is the same as in Nos. 3 and 5. The orthography too is much the same. The mai-hǎn-ākāśa appears three times: ๙ at II/7, and ๙ at II/14 and II/16, though the latter word is more often written ๙๙; the reduplication of the final consonant is frequent throughout. Except for one doubtful case (๙ at IV/24), the vowels ๙ and ๙ do not occur; the word ๙ is written ๙ at IV/45; and ๙ is often found where we should expect ๙. The mai-ek occurs three times; ๙ (for ๙) at IV/32 and IV/39; ๙ at IV/1. The accent ๙ does not occur at all.

Though there is no record of the place where the inscription was discovered, the expression ๙๙๙ at II/35-36, 'this Mango Grove', shows where it originally stood. At II/1-19 there is a fairly detailed account of some building operations at the Mango Grove Monastery. These were evidently part of the same program, more briefly referred to in Inscrs. 4 and 5, which was undertaken by Mahādharmarājā in preparation for the Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja's arrival in 1361. At II/31-36 there is a reference to Mahādharmarājā's ordination as a monk at the Mango Grove, which doubtless took place on Thursday September 23, 1361 (Julian), the day after his ordination as a samaṇera at the Royal Palace. As we know

from IV/10, the text was composed in the same year. Because of the lacunae it is not clear whether its formal purpose was to commemorate the King's ordination or the dedication of the buildings.

Face IV opens with what appears to be a general admonition against evil-doing, though it might possibly be something more specific, such as a curse on anyone in the future who fails to respect the author's foundations in the Mango Grove.

The passage beginning at IV/9 is a prophecy regarding the Kaliyuga, the age of vice in which we are living. As we have seen (p. 83 f.) it began in 'minus 3101 A.D.' (3102 B.C.) and will last 432,000 years, during which there will be a progressive deterioration in the physical and moral stature of mankind, and the human life-span will gradually decline from 100 years to 10. Finally in the year 432,000 of the Kaliyuga, i.e. 428,899 A.D., the world will be destroyed by fire.

At IV/12 the author refers to a disaster that will occur 427,539 years from the time of writing. Obviously, as 4461 years had elapsed between the beginning of the Kaliyuga and the time of writing, and as $4461 + 427,539 = 432,000$, he is talking about the fire that will destroy the world at the end of the Kaliyuga. This reference should be compared with the discussion of the Kaliyuga in Inscr. 3 (I/19 ff.; see Section 2, note 31).

Text

(ค่านที่ ๑ ชำรุด)

ค่านที่ ๒

- (๑) นน นี ในกลางตุ้
- (๒) มวงไหปรตีสถา
- (๓) ฎฎพิหารแก
- (๔) ลงเมือพระนัร
- (๕) พานพางกุสีนา
- (๖) รนครแกลงฝ่ง
- (๗) ชสีนาสรพนงั
- (๘) บริพารแกลง
- (๙) ทงพระอารย
- (๑๐) กสสบมาทลผา
- (๑๑) ตินพระเปนเจ้า
- (๑๒) อนนข้แรกออก
- (๑๓) จากโลงทองแก
- (๑๔) ลงทงชั้นมลลรา
- (๑๕) ชสีคนมากทำบุ
- (๑๖) ชาปรตีสถาทงปี
- (๑๗) (คิ) มากรลาอุโบส
- (๑๘) (ถ) แลสิมานนโน
- (๑๙) (สค) ทยนญอมฝู
- (๒๐) (งศ) งฆอนนกงป

- (๒๑)ปรีชญา
 (๒๒) ...รอนนมี
 (๒๓) ..สงฆราชา
 (๒๔) ...พระปฎิ
 (๒๕) (ก) ทรอนนไค
 (๒๖) ..(ป) วสแต่ไ
 (๒๗) ...ฝูงมหา
 (๒๘) (รม) นลงกาทวิ
 (๒๙) (ป).น.....
 (๓๐) มานน...
 (๓๑) นนทวิพรญา
 (๓๒) ศรีสรยพงศ
 (๓๓) ธรรมราชาธิรา
 (๓๔) ชออบวสแล
 (๓๕) แผนดินปา (ม) ว
 (๓๖) งนิไหว...
 (๓๗) ..มหาสมณ
 (๓๘) ทงอนน...
 (๓๙) .เล็ก.....
 (๔๐) .นปลายพ..
 (๔๑) .ปลาย....
 (๔๒)
 (๔๓) นน้ำไฝูง..
 (๔๔) ทงงหลายเหน

(ค้ำที่ ๓ ขำรต)

๖
ด้านที่ ๔

- (๑) อนนท่าน จ. ป.
- (๒) คยนวารายไน (ช)
- (๓) (ว) ว นิไน ช (ววห)
- (๔) นาไสจากโตไป
- (๕) ในนรกนนสก
- (๖) กอนนแตนิมิ
- (๗) อหนาวาไสญอ (ม)
- (๘) จกกถึงแก..
- (๙) อนนรายแลแ (ต)
- (๑๐) ศกราชปีจุฬน
- (๑๑) ไทปีรวงเปลา
- (๑๒) นิเมือหนาไค (สี)
- (๑๓) แสนญิบเหมิน
- (๑๔) เจตพนนหารอ (ย)
- (๑๕) สามสิบเกาปีไน
- (๑๖) ปีโทะปีหนไท
- (๑๗) กคคเหมาจากก
- (๑๘) อริคคสญญี^๑ เม
- (๑๙) อนนนแลพลู
- (๒๐) กพินอง....

๑) ที่ถูก อริฏฐสัจญา คือ มรณสัจญา

- (๒๑) นนกง
- (๒๒) (ตา)
- (๒๓) งคนทางจกก .
- (๒๔) ...^๕
- (๒๕) . น . ก
- (๒๖) . อนนนิทวยสูง
- (๒๗) แตสอกคยว
- (๒๘) . ทวยยนิไสผิ .
- (๒๙) (แก) หนกกท
- (๓๐) นาญอมกลานไป
- (๓๑) ไส . . . แ . .
- (๓๒) ญอมคยท . สิ
- (๓๓) บบิ^๖แลตาย
- (๓๔) ทง
- (๓๕) เทไวทงนิไค
- (๓๖) เพือพรญามหา
- (๓๗) ธรรมราชาธิราช
- (๓๘) นนรูลวงธรรม
- (๓๙) พระพุททก^๗แท
- (๔๐) รูลวงปราช
- (๔๑) . ไค
- (๔๒) แลว . . . ก . . .

- (๔๓) ... นี แท...
- (๔๔) นน. ใส.....
- (๔๕) พรญาฐุฉินาพ
- (๔๖) คาลแลหม..
- (๔๗) เหนเฑารง..
- (๔๘) ไ.... มากพ..
- (๔๙) นี.. ทงงหลาย
- (๕๐) อนุโมทนา...
- (๕๑ ถึง ๕๕) (ชำรุด)

Translation

[Face I : *completely ruined*]

[II/1-19.] this In the Mango Grove, he caused kuṭṭis to be built, and a vihāra [with scenes] depicting¹ the Lord entering nirvāṇa near² Kusināranagara, depicting the throng of saints³ seated in attendance, depicting Braḥmārya Kassapa as well, coming to worship the Lord's foot-soles which emerged⁴ from the golden coffin⁵, and depicting also four Malla princes coming to do homage⁶. He also founded a statue (of the Buddha) and an uposatha hall⁷ with boundary stones⁸.

[II/19-44.] The whole assembly⁹ of monks who are steadfast wisdom . . who have . . , (and) the Saṅgharāja, [well versed in ?] the Three Piṭakas, who was . . ordained in the assembly of Ceylon monks came there . . to that place where Braṇṇā Śrī Sūryavaṃsa Dharmarājadhīraja was ordained, and the earth of this Mango Grove quaked. . . . The monks, both those who uplift the

1) แดง (II/3-4), 'recounting'; sc. the King had the interior walls of the vihāra painted with scenes of the Buddha's death in the grove of sāla trees near Kusinārā, and the incidents that followed; see Dīghanikāya, ii, 156-164; Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part II, London, 1910, pp. 173-185.

2) พาง (II 5), for พ้าง or ป้าง, 'close upon' (cf. *Tai Yuan*, พ้าง, 'in the direction of').

3) ขันธาสรว (III 7), for Skt. kṣipāśrava, Pali khīpāsava, an epithet of the arahants.

4) ขันทร (II 12). Cf. ขันทร, แทรก, to force a passage through something.

5) Mahākassapa, who was not present at the Buddha's death, came soon afterward to do homage to his remains and to light the funeral pyre. After circumambulating the pyre three times, he stopped at the foot of the coffin and made a wish that he might once more see the Buddha's feet; whereupon, though they were wrapped in many folds of cloth, they miraculously emerged for him to worship. See Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, London, 1853, p. 348; Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Buddhist Proper Names*, London, 1960, Vol. II, p. 479; cf. Dīghanikāya, ii, 163, and Rhys Davids, op. cit., p. 185.

6) The Malla princes who ruled Kusinārā came to do homage to the Buddha's remains the day after his death, and prepared the cremation (Dīghanikāya, ii, 159 ff.; Rhys Davids, op. cit., p. 180 ff.).

7) กรลาอุโบสถ (II 17), 'a place (กรลา) for uposatha ceremonies.'

8) The sīmā boundary stones which always surround an uposatha hall.

9) Such appears to be the meaning of ขนฺมณฺเณ (II 19-20). The expression ขนฺมณฺเณ can mean 'great', 'very' or 'all', modifying the term that follows (see Coedès, JSS XVII 2, p. 117), or else 'constantly', 'regularly', 'normally', 'of course', etc. (cf. Griswold and Prasert, JSS 59/2, p. 211 note 72).

end, ... the end ... led them, in order that the whole assembly of ... might see [II/1 ff.] ...¹⁰

[Face III: *completely ruined*] ...

[IV/1-9.] [Evil-doers], who are ...¹¹ blamed in this life for their wickedness, will go to at least one of the hells in future lives, and henceforth will constantly meet with ... misfortune.

[IV/9-40.] From this year of the ox, 'rvañ plau' in the Dai reckoning, counting forward four hundred twenty-seven thousand five hundred thirty-nine years to the year of the hare, 'katt mau' in the Dai reckoning: at that time signs of approaching disaster will be perceived¹². Fathers and children, brothers and sisters¹³ ... just as ... everyone will ... independently ... this. (People's) height will be only one cubit when they are standing up¹⁴; if they are very old they will naturally (have to) crawl about on all fours¹⁵; and their life-span will naturally [diminish] little by little [until finally they will live only] ten years and then die ... [Statements] like this can be accepted as true because Brañā Mahādharmarājādhirāja really has a thorough knowledge of the Lord Buddha's Dharma and a thorough knowledge of science¹⁶....

[IV/40-51.] ... if ... this is true ... , then ... the king named ...¹⁷ ... much ... all of them, rejoicing together.

10) Perhaps this passage meant that the King's ordination at the Mango Grove was witnessed by monks of both the Town-Dwelling and Forest-Dwelling orders.

11) ทั่ว at IV/1 means people in general. We have substituted the passive voice in translating.

12) amrittasaññā (IV 18), for Skt. ariṣṭasaṃjñā, Pali ariṭṭhasaññā, 'perception (saṃjñā, saññā) of signs of approaching disaster' (Skt. ariṣṭa, 'boding misfortune', e.g. like birds of ill-omen).

13) พี่น้อง (IV 20), 'elder and younger brothers (and sisters)'.

14) We take ยืน IV 28 to be the word for 'standing up' (ยืน) rather than the word for 'hearing' (ยิน).

15) A recent re-examination of the stone showed that the correct reading of the word after ญอน (IV 30) is คลาน, 'to creep on all fours' (the old reading, คลม, offered no intelligible meaning).

16) ปราชญ์ (IV 40), for Skt. prajñā. In the fragmentary passage from here to the end of Face IV, we have omitted several of the words which can be read but which give no connected sense.

17) The name appears to be นพตล (IV 45-46), Nābatāla, but the reading is doubtful and no such name is known to us.

Abbreviations and Bibliography

AA/LP. Annals of Ayudhyā, 'Luang Prasert' Recension. พระราชพงศาวดารฉบับหลวงประเสริฐ, พระชุมพงศาภิรตฉบับหอสมุดแห่งชาติ เล่ม ๑, Bangkok, B.E. 2506; translation by Frankfurter, *Events in Ayuddhya*, JSS VI/3.

AA/RA. Annals of Ayudhyā, Royal Autograph Recension. พระราชพงศาวดารฉบับพระราชหัตถเลขา, Bangkok (Odeon), B.E. 2508

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S. Sihingānidāna. For the Pali text and French translation of the portions of this work dealing with Sukhodaya, see Coedès in BEFEO XVII/2.

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Tebhūmikathā, Traibhūmikathā, Traibhūmi Braḥ Rvaṇ. ไตรภูมิพระร่วง in เรื่องพระร่วง, etc., ฉบับหอสมุดแห่งชาติ, Bangkok, no date.

YP. Yuan Pâi, ขุนพ่าย, ฉบับหอสมุดแห่งชาติ, Bangkok, B.E. 2509.

ERRATA

- P. 71, note 1. The last word of line 6 should read: mahādharm-marājādhirāja.
- P. 72, line 12. For Līdaiya read: Līdaiya.
- P. 77, last line of text. For Inscr., read: Inscr.
- P. 95, note 20, line 2. For Līdaiyaraḥ, read: Līdaiyarāja.
- P. 96, line 9. For Mahādharmarāja, read: Mahādharmarājā.
- P. 101, note 60, line 1. For kalāgni, read: kālāgni.
- P. 107, line 3. For Chlāññ, read: Chlāññ.
- P. 107, note 113, line 6. For *Pān* read *Pān*.
- P. 110, line 3. For [he does not, read: [he does not],
- P. 112, line 8. For text, read: text.
- P. 115, line 25. For donoers, read: donors.
- P. 117, note 13. For Sumanakuṭaparbata, read: Sumanakūṭaparbata.
- Pp. 122, 123, 126, 142, 159, 160, 168. For samaṇera, read: sāmanera.
- P. 125, line 7. For Ramaraja, read: Rāmarāja.
- P. 133, 9th line from bottom. For vñi(26)y, read: vñi(26)y.
- P. 135, line 5. Insert the punctuation mark © after ley.
- P. 135, line 6. For śilācarika, read: śilācārika.
- P. 136, note 17, next to last line. For Moañ, read: Mōañ.
- P. 155, note 22, line 1. For ॥३, read: ॥३.
- P. 156, note 27. For stupacetiya, read: stūpacetiya.
- P. 160, 8th line from the bottom. For Unlkie, read: Unlike.
- P. 180, last paragraph, line 2. For neme, read: name.
- P. 180, last paragraph, line 7. For pronunciation, read: pronunciation.

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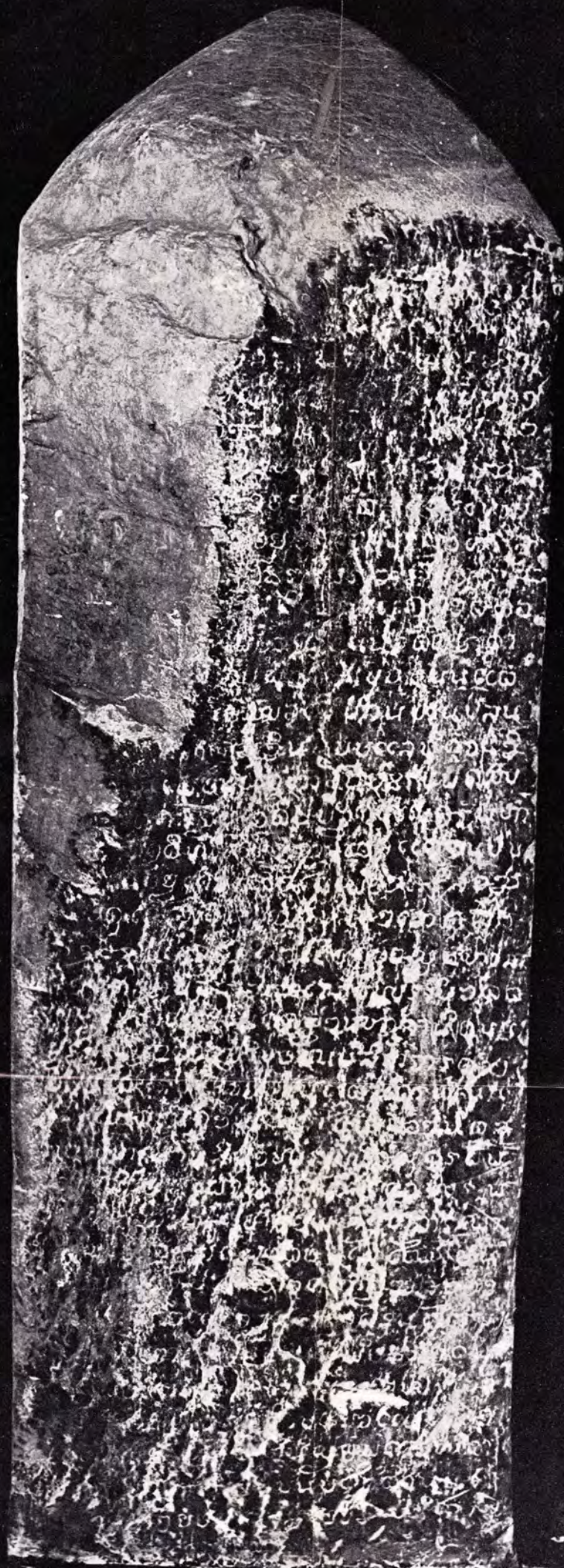


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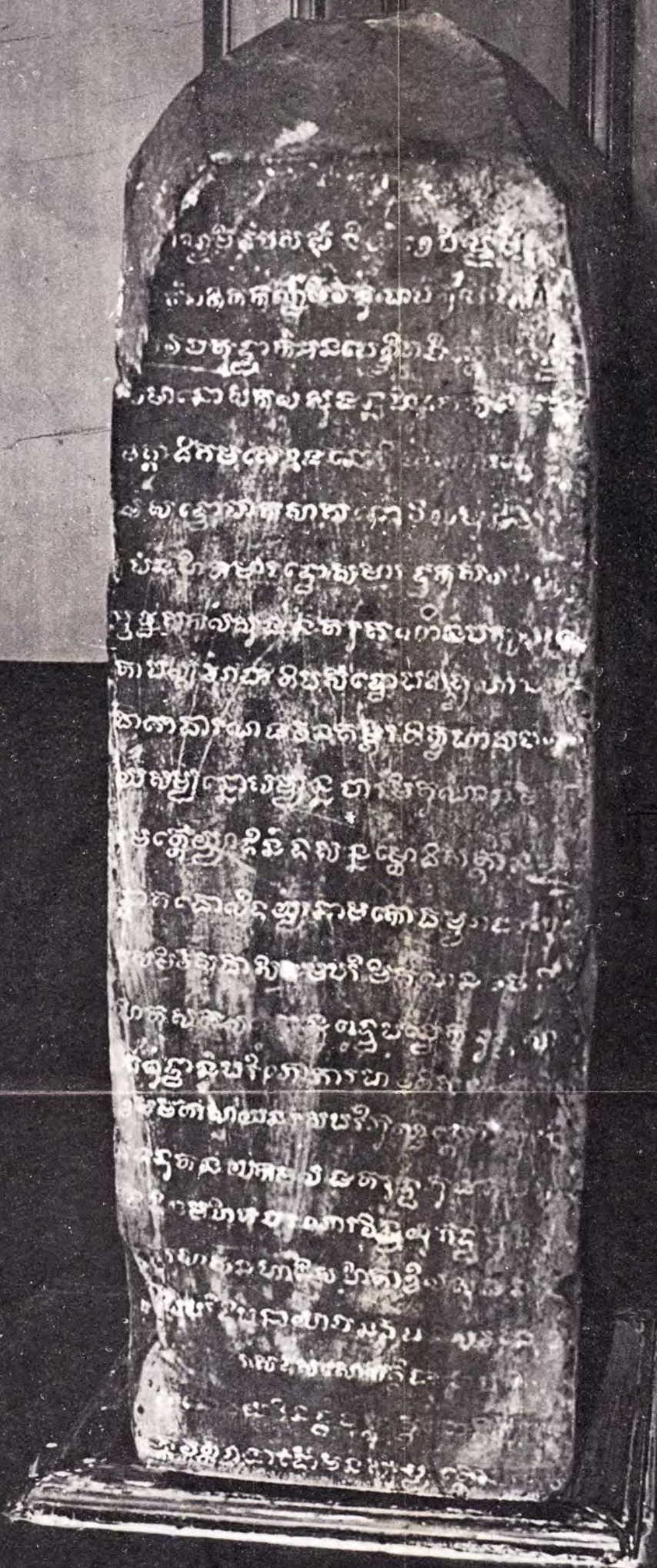
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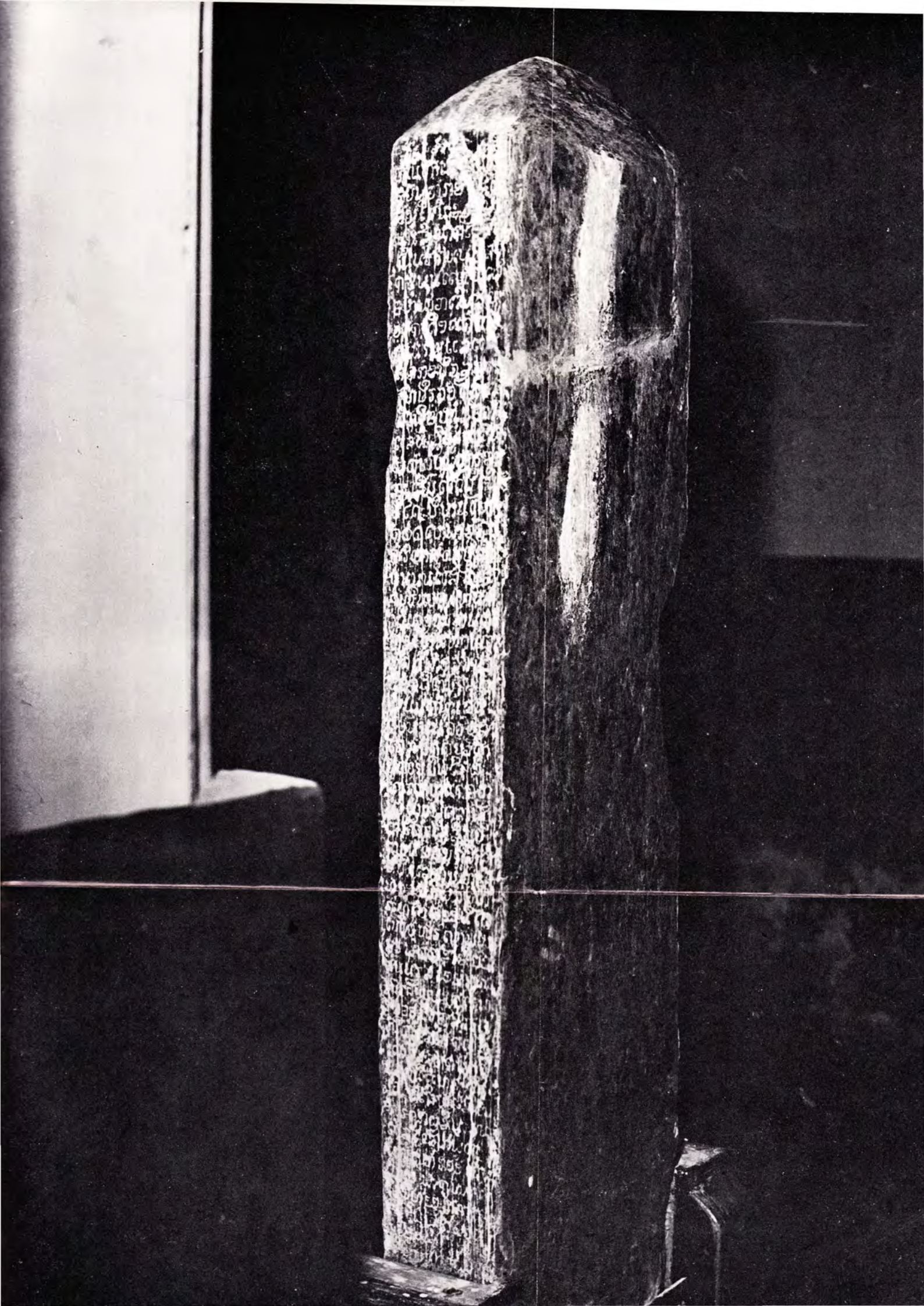
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**ADDENDUM TO EPIGRAPHIC AND
HISTORICAL STUDIES NO. 10**

by A.B. Griswold and Prasert 𑀭 Nagara

We have received a letter, dated March 14, 1972, from Dr S. Paranavitana, the former Commissioner of Archaeology of Ceylon, who is an authority on the epigraphy and history of the island. His letter, for which we wish to express our appreciation, throws new light on the postscript to Inscription 2. The festival described in this postscript, or at least in the first part of it, occurs at a place whose name appears to be 'Kāmbalai'; but we were uncertain whether or not the name was correctly read, and we were unable to identify any such place; see JSS 60/1, p. 105 f. and p. 133 f.

We learn from Dr Paranavitana's letter that the reading is acceptable and the name corresponds to Gaṃpala, the town that became the seat of Sinhalese royalty in 1341. Dr Paranavitana has also been able to identify the monastery of Forest-Dwellers mentioned at II/82.

It is now evident that the Tooth Relic in whose honor the festival was held was Ceylon's most famous relic, which is still revered in the Temple of the Tooth at Kandy. According to our proposed chronology, Śrīśraddhā lived in Ceylon from about 1333 to about 1343 (see JSS 60/1, p. 24). If he visited Gaṃpala in 1341, which is quite possible, the festival may have been that in which the Tooth Relic was being enshrined at the new location after being translated from the former capital. If he visited it a year or two later, which would be equally possible, the festival would be, as Dr Paranavitana suggests, on the occasion of a public exposition of the relic. Not unexpectedly, the Gīvadhātu and another relic fly in from elsewhere to participate in the miracles performed by the Tooth Relic. The account of the festival and the miracles that follow ends at II/87.

It seems likely that the events recounted at I/96-107 and II/88-95 also occur in Ceylon. If so, 'Mount S....' would very likely be 'Sumanakūṭa', i.e. Adam's Peak; the Footprint would be the one on its summit; and the suggestion made at Note 194 would not be valid. The passage is too fragmentary to give us any clear idea of what is going on there or at Anurādhapura.

We are inclined to think that the purpose of the postscript is to repair an omission at the middle of II/45. At least that seems to be the most logical place for it to be inserted; but in view of the author's eccentricities it is no more than a guess.

The pertinent portions of Dr Parānavitana's letter follow :

14-A Pietersz Place
Nugegoda, Ceylon
21st March, 1972

Dear Mr Griswold:

I am very grateful to you for the offprints of 'Epigraphic and Historical Studies', contributed to the *Journal of the Siam Society* by you in collaboration with Professor Prasert 𑀭 Nagara The paper on the inscription containing an account of the life and activities of Śrīśraddhā-rājacūlāmuni is of particular interest to students of Ceylon history, and it is gratifying to know that no pains have been spared by yourself and your colleague to extract from this fragmentary and most difficult document all the information that it can yield. Your edition is a great improvement on the previous one, and you have correctly interpreted its historical significance

I have not yet had the time to study this document in detail, but on a cursory reading of it I came across the name *Kāmbalai* as that of a place visited by the royal monk from Thailand (see page 133.) This place can be easily recognised as Gaṃpala, which became the seat of Sinhalese royalty with the accession of Bhuvanaikabāhu in 1341. The form that the name has assumed in the Siamese document is very close to its pronunciation when written in Tamil characters. Perhaps the same changes are to be noticed in Siamese phonology too when writing Sinhalese words. Gaṃpala is still a place of considerable importance, and is twelve miles to the south of Kandy. In going to Mahiyaṅgaṇa from Colombo, one has to pass through Gaṃpala. Being the royal seat at the time of the Siamese monk's stay in Ceylon, the Tooth Relic must have been kept in the royal palace there or in the immediate vicinity. The festival witnessed by the royal Siamese monk was probably on the occasion of the public exposition of the Relic. The monastery of Forest-dwellers outside Gaṃpala was named Malatīmālaśaila, where the Saṅgharāja Dharmmakīrti resided before the building of the Gadalādenī vihāra. That the name can be satisfactorily identified as it has been read, is an indication that the reading is acceptable.

Yours very sincerely,
S. Parānavitana

CORRIGENDA TO EPIGRAPHIC AND HISTORICAL STUDIES

NO. 10, JSS 60/1

Page 82, line 13. For 'No. 11', read 'No. 2'.

Page 135, paragraph 3. For 'Mahādharmarājā III', read
'Mahādharmarājā IV'. (The dates in parentheses are correct.)

