

## THE EPIGRAPHY OF MAHĀDHARMARĀJĀ I OF SUKHODAYA

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by

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### 9.

In an earlier part of this paper (JSS 61/1, pp. 119-176) we had a good deal to say about the 'Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja' from Bann (Martaban) who took up his residence at the Mango Grove Monastery west of Sukhodaya in 1361 at the invitation of Mahādharmarājā I. We shall now see if we can identify him a little more precisely.

The inscriptions call him only by his titles, without giving his name (with the doubtful exception of 'Traipīṭaka', which is more likely part of an honorific epithet than a name; see JSS 61/1, p. 144 note 64). The residence chosen for him shows that he was a Forest-Dweller. It is clear that he was a Sīhaḷabhikkhu, for Inscription 4 tells us he had 'studied the Three Piṭakas in their entirety' and 'had resided in Laṅkādvīpa [Ceylon] where there are teachers of the precepts like the saints of old' (JSS 61/1, 133, 139); a mutilated passage in Inscr. 5 evidently said the same thing (ibid., 150, 156, 157); and the concluding passage of Inscr. 4 calls him 'the Mahāthera who came from Laṅkādvīpa' (ibid., 135, 144). But they do not explicitly say he was a Sinhalese; he might have been a Mōn, born in Martaban, who had gone to Ceylon for re-ordination and study. It is hard to say whether he is the same person as the Mahāsāmī Udumbara (Udumbarapupphā).

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\* For Part I, see JSS 61/1.

Udumbara is discussed at some length in the chronicles *Mūlasāsanā* (M) and *Jinakālamāli* (J), but is not mentioned by name in the inscriptions. According to M, he founded the brotherhood of forest-dwelling *Sīhaḷabhikkhus* at Bann in 1331. M, which implies he was a Sinhalese without actually saying so, tells us he had resided at the Udumbaragiri Monastery in Ceylon, which we know from Sinhalese history was the forest-dwelling branch of the great citadel of orthodoxy, the *Mahāvihāra* at Anurādhapura. (See JSS 60/1, p. 48-68.)

Some light is shed on these matters by a communication for which we are indebted to the late Professor S. Paranavitana, the distinguished Sinhalese historian and philologist who was for many years Archaeological Commissioner of Ceylon. He writes us as follows:<sup>1</sup>

#### Nugegoda, Ceylon

It appears from the Colophon to the Pali work *Lokappadīpasāra*, that the Sinhalese Saṅgharāja who was invited to Sukhodaya by King Lidaya or Śrī Sūryavamaśa Rāma Mahādharmaṛājādhirāja as recorded in a Khmer inscription found at Sukhodaya<sup>2</sup>, was none other than Medhamkara-saṅgharāja, the author of that work, and that this hierarch resided at Muttima-nagara [Martaban], honoured by royalty there, before he went to Sukhodaya. The Colophon of the *Lokappadīpasāra*, given below, has been settled by a collation<sup>3</sup> of the text as appearing in (A) the printed book, edited by Hambarugala Piyaṛatana-thera and printed at Alutgama in 1928, (B) the *Catalogue of Palm-leaf Manuscripts in the Colombo Museum* by A.W. de Silva, Colombo, 1938, and (C) *Pali Sāhitya* (Pali Literature), Part II, by Polwatte Buddhaddatta-thera:—

1) The words in square brackets have been added by us. The notes signed 'S.P.' are Dr Paranavitana's; those without signature are our own.

2) Coedès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam; première partie, Inscriptions de Sukhodaya*, p. 91 ff. (S.P.). The inscription referred to is No. 4; see JSS 61/1, p. 119-144.

3) The Collation has been kindly done by Dr. C.E. Godakumbure. (S.P.)



## [Text]

Siri-Ratanapurābhīdhāne Muttima<sup>4</sup>-nagare Setakuñjarādhīpati-  
 bhūtassa mahārañño mātubhūtāya Susaddhāya mahādeviya kārīte  
 tipupaṭalacchādita<sup>5</sup> Soṇṇamayamahāvihāre vasantena Silācārādi-  
 sampannena Tipiṭakapariyattidharena saddhābuddhiviriyaapaṭi-  
 maṇḍitena<sup>6</sup> Sīhaladīpe araññavāsīnaṃ pasattha<sup>7</sup>-mahātherānaṃ  
 vaṃsālaṅkārabhūtena Medhaṅkaramahātherabbyappaṭiṇena Saṃ-  
 gharaññakato' yaṃ Lokappadīpasāro ti  
 Anena puññena susambhatena  
 Sayambhutaṃ yāva ca pāpuṇe varaṃ  
 Nirantaraṃ lokahitassa kārako  
 Bhava bhaveyyaṃ saraṇehi pūrito  
 Anantarāyaṃ vināsāro yathā niṭṭham upāgato  
 Tathādise susaṃkappaṃ sattānaṃ dhammanissitaṃ

Lokappadīpakasārappakaraṇaṃ mahāsaṅgharājena Lidayarājassa<sup>8</sup> guru-  
 nā<sup>9</sup> racitaṃ samattaṃ.

## [Translation]

This *Lokappadīpasāra* has been composed by the Saṅgharāja known by the name of Medhaṅkara-mahāthera, who is residing in the great golden monastery, covered with tiles of lead, which was caused to be built by Susaddhamahādevī, mother of the great king who is the Lord of the White Elephant of Muttimanagara, also called Siri-Ratanapura, (the Saṅgharāja) who is endowed with character, conduct and (other good qualities), who is versed in the scriptures of the Three Piṭakas, who is adorned with faith, intellect and courage, and who is the ornament of the lineage of the eminent great Elders who are forest-dwellers in Sīhaladīpa [Ceylon].

4) A, B: Uttama. (S.P.)

5) B: kārītehi puna. (S.P.)

6) B: Saddhābuddhiya; A: Saddhāviriya. (S.P.)

7) B: pasatṭha. (S.P.)

8) A: Dayarājassa. (S.P.)

9) A: garuṇā. (S.P.)

By this merit that has been well stored, may I, until the attainment of the excellent Buddhahood in the process of becoming, be always one who causes the welfare of the world and full of refuge (to others) !

Just as this work has come to its end without any obstruction and devoid of non-essential matters, may the well-intentioned and righteous efforts of beings be accomplished in the same manner !

Completed is the *Lokappadīpasārappakarāṇa* composed by the great Saṅgharāja, the preceptor of King Lidaya.

[ Comment by Dr Parānavitana ]

This Colophon, as it was originally written when the book was completed in Muttimanagara, obviously ended with the second benedictory verse. The prose passage which follows must have been added when the book was copied after the Saṅgharāja had gone to Sukhodaya and become the spiritual guide of King Lidaya.

The following reference to the author of the *Lokappadīpasāra* is found in the *Sāsanavaṃsa* :—

[ Text ]

Tato pacchā ca Muttimanagare Setibhindassa rañño mātuyā ācariyo Medhaṅkaro nāma thero Sihaladīpaṃ gantvā Sihaladīpe araṇṇa-vāsinaṃ mahātherānaṃ santike puna sikkhaṃ gahetvā pariyattim pariyāpunitvā suvaṇṇarajataṃ tipusīsachanne Setibhindassa rañño mātuyā kārāpīte vihāre nisīditvā sāsaṇaṃ anuggahesi Lokappadīpakasāraṇ ca nāma gandhamakāsi.<sup>10</sup>

[ Translation ]

After that also,<sup>11</sup> the Elder named Medhaṅkara, the preceptor of the mother of King Setibhinda of Muttimanagara [Martaban], went to Sihaladīpa [Ceylon], took vows again with the great elders who were the forest-dwellers in Sihaladīpa, studied the scriptures, resided in the monastery of gold and silver, covered with lead tiles, which was caused to be built by the mother of King Setibhinda, and served the religion. He also composed a book named *Lokappadīpakasāra*.

10) *Sāsanavaṃsa*, edited by Mabel Bode, P.T.S., London, 1897, p. 42 (S.P.)

11) That is after the establishment of the Sāsana for the fifth time in Rāmañña-desā. (S.P.)



## [ Comment by Dr Paranavitana ]

There is also another brief reference in the *Sāsanavaṃsa* to the *Lokappadīpasāra* (*Lokadīpakasāra*) and its author Medhaṅkarathera, who is referred to as a resident of Muttimanagara.<sup>12</sup>

The *Sāsanavaṃsa* refers to Medhaṅkarathera as a monk of Burma who came to Ceylon and was admitted to the Order of Forest-dwelling monks there and returned to his own country. But the description *Sīhaladīpe araṇṇavāsīnaṃ pasattha-Mahātherānaṃ vaṃsālaṃkārahūtena* occurring in the Colophon of the *Lokappadīpasāra* referring to Medhaṅkara Saṅgharāja does not suit a monk from Burma who was re-admitted to the Vanavāsī [Araṇṇavāsī] Order of the Mahāvihāra in Ceylon. The Colophon of the *Lokappadīpasāra* was most probably written by the Saṅgharāja himself. At any rate, it was written in his time and is more authoritative than the *Sāsanavaṃsa*, written about four centuries later. The tradition could have been modified during this interval of time.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the chief centre of the Araṇṇavāsī fraternity in Ceylon was Udumbaragiri, to the east of Polonnaruwa. As the Saṅgharāja Medhaṅkara is described as the ornament of the lineage of Forest-dwelling theras, it appears that he is the same as Udumbara-mahāsāmi who, according to the *Jinakālamālī*, came to Rammaṇadesa [Rāmaṇṇadesa] from Ceylon, and whose disciple Sumanathera was instrumental in establishing the Araṇṇavāsī fraternity in *Syāmadesa*.<sup>13</sup>

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12) Tāya ca theraparamparāya Muttimanagara vāsī Medhaṅkarathero Lokadīpakasāraṃ nāma gandham akāsi. *Sāsanavaṃsa*, op. cit., p. 48. (S.P.)

13) *Jinakālamālī*, edited by A.P. Buddhadatta-mahāthera, P.T.S., London, pp. 84 ff. (S.P.). Cf. JSS 60/1, p. 48-68.

Dr Parānavitana is certainly right in identifying the Mahāthera Medha kara, the author of the Lokappad pas ra, with the Mah s m  Sa ghar ja who came to Sukhodaya at the invitation of Mah dharmar ja I (  daiya) in 1361. Inscr. 4 and 5 both show that the Mah s m  Sa ghar ja was residing at Nagara Bann (Martaban) when he received the invitation from Mah dharmar ja; and both imply that he became Mah dharmar ja's preceptor. The identification seems virtually certain.

Nor can we doubt that Dr Parānavitana is right in assuming that he belonged to the Udumbaragiri Forest Monastery in Ceylon before settling at Martaban. As M tells us that Udumbara had studied at the Udumbaragiri, it is tempting to identify him with Medha kara, as Dr Parānavitana proposes to do; but there are certain difficulties (see below, p. 98 f.); and there may have been more than one Mah s m  from the Udumbaragiri living at Martaban in the 14th century.

The Order of S ha abhikkhus had been introduced at Pag n in Upper Burma in the early 13th century by five monks, who as far as we know were not committed to forest-dwelling as a permanent way of life. After one of them left the monkhood and another one died, the remaining three split apart, founding three separate sects (see Taw Sein Ko, ed., *The Kaly n  Inscriptions erected by King Dhammaceti at Pegu in 1476 A.D.*, Rangoon, 1892, p. 55 f.; JSS 60/1, p. 49-50).

In a short account of Buddhism at Martaban, the Kaly n  Inscription, composed in 1476, gives a list of six different sects that were represented there at an unspecified date, evidently some time between 1245 and 1468 (see Taw Sein Ko, op. cit., p. 56-58; cf. JSS 60/1, p. 50 note 8). The first on the list is the Order that claimed spiritual succession from the monks So a and Uttara, who had introduced Buddhism into Lower Burma in the reign of King Asoka of India. The second, third and fourth are S ha abhikkhus deriving from the three Ceylon sects at Pag n; presumably they were established at Martaban in the 13th century. The last two on the list, which were probably



established later, were founded by monks who had themselves visited Ceylon and been re-ordained there : one was a sect 'whose members were the spiritual successors of Buddhavaṃsa Mahāthera, the Preceptor of the Queen, who went to Sihaḷadīpa and received his upasampadā ordination there, and who, on his return, performed his ecclesiastical ceremonies separately in Muttimanagara'; the other was a sect 'whose members were the spiritual successors of Mahāsāmī Mahāthera, otherwise called Mahā-Nāga-Mahāthera, who visited Sihaḷadīpa and received his upasampadā ordination there, and who, on his return to Muttimanagara, performed his ecclesiastical ceremonies separately' (Taw Sein Ko, *op. cit.*, p. 58).

Supposing the Kalyāṇī Inscription's list is complete, a process of elimination shows that we should try to fit Udumbara and Medhaṅkara, whether they were two men or only one, into one or the other of the last two sects on the list. This is by no means easy.

As **M** implies that Udumbara was a Sinhalese, and Dr Parānavitana thinks Medhaṅkara was too, we might hesitate to identify either of them with Buddhavaṃsa Mahāthera or the Mahāsāmī Mahā-Nāga-Mahāthera, both of whom, according to the Kalyāṇī Inscription, went to Ceylon to receive the ordination and later 'returned' to Martaban.

On the other hand, as Sāsanavaṃsa tells us that Medhaṅkara was preceptor to the mother of the King of Martaban, and as the Colophon of the Lokappadīpasāra shows that she supported him handsomely, it would be natural to identify him with Buddhavaṃsa Mahāthera, who according to the Kalyāṇī Inscription was Preceptor to the Queen of Martaban; though if the identification is right we might expect the inscription to give Buddhavaṃsa the title of Saṅgharāja which the Colophon gives Medhaṅkara.

Udumbara in **M** and **J**, the 'Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja' in *Inscrs.* 4 and 5, and Mahā-Nāga-Mahāthera in the Kalyāṇī Inscription, all bear the title Mahāsāmī. This does not help us very much, as a great many monks must have borne it.

The chief obstacle to identifying Medhañkara with Udumbara is that Udumbara was apparently still residing at Martaban after 1361, when 'Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja', whose identification with Medhañkara seems certain, left Martaban and settled at Sukhodaya.

According to J, King Kilanā (*Gū Nā*) of Chieng Mai (r. 1355-85) wanted to have a monk at Chieng Mai who was qualified to perform all the 'acts of the Saṅgha', in other words one who was qualified to perform monastic rites in accordance with the rules of the Sihaḷabhikkhus, including the consecration of an uposatha hall, the planting of sīmā boundary stones, and the ordination of monks. He therefore sent a messenger to Udumbara Mahāsāmī in Rammañadesa. Udumbara suggested his disciple Ānanda, so the messenger took Ānanda back to Chieng Mai with him. Kilanā was delighted with Ānanda's preaching, but for some reason Udumbara had not authorized Ānanda to perform the acts of the Saṅgha. This was a vital matter: if no new Sihaḷabhikkhus could be ordained in Kilanā's kingdom the Order there could not expand. Ānanda therefore suggested that Kilanā invite Sumana, who was fully authorized to perform them, to come from Sukhodaya. Kilanā accordingly sent the invitation to Sumana, but Sumana declined, and sent another monk, Saddhātissa, instead. But as Saddhātissa had not been authorized to perform the acts of the Saṅgha either, Kilanā sent a lot of presents to the King of Sukhodaya (sc. Līdaiya), asking him to persuade Sumana to accept. This he did, and Sumana thereupon set out for the northern kingdom.

M tells very much the same story; the details are different, but they need not concern us. The important thing is that the negotiations began with sending a message to Udumbara at Bann (Martaban), and ended with Sumana's acceptance.

The inscription of *Wat Pra Yūn* at Haripuñjaya (*Lampūn*) says he arrived there in a year of the cock, in the first month. *Wat Pra Yūn* is the monastery Kilanā built for him; on the site there was a colossal statue of the standing Buddha facing east, which was already old; and soon after Sumana's arrival Kilanā began restoring the statue. According to the inscription, he started restoring it on the third day of the waxing



moon of the second month, a day called 'kāp sēt' in Tai and sukrabāra (Friday) in Môn, in the year of the cock, 731 of the Era. As this date corresponds to Friday, January 11, 1370 (Julian), it appears that Sumana had arrived at Haripuñjaya around December, 1369.<sup>14</sup>

We do not know the date when Kilanā had begun the negotiations by sending his message to Udumbara at Martaban, but it is hard for us to believe it was as far back as 1361. The sequence of events in **J** and **M** therefore implies that Udumbara was still residing at Martaban *after* 1361 when the Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja (= Medhaṅkara) settled at Sukhodaya. If that is right, we should probably understand that Medhaṅkara and Udumbara belonged to different sects. Supposing that each had founded his own sect at Martaban, we should perhaps identify Medhaṅkara with the Buddhavaṃsa of the Kalyāṇī Inscription, and Udumbara with the Mahāsāmī Mahā-Nāga-Mahāthera.

But the reasoning is not entirely conclusive. In referring to the Mahāsāmī Udumbara(pupphā) at Martaban in passages that evidently describe events occurring after 1361, both **J** and **M** may really mean his successor as head of the sect he founded.

14) **M** adds that soon after Sumana took up his residence at Wat Pra Yün (presumably in 1370), Kilanā requested him and Ānanda to perform the Ceylon rites, including the planting of sīmā boundary-stones, and they willingly complied. When the ceremonies were finished, Ānanda took his leave in order to return to the monastery of his teacher Udumbarapupphā at Bann [Martaban]. But upon reaching the town of Jēm [on the route between Haripuñjaya and Martaban] he was taken ill and died; and the people sent his almsbowl and robe to Udumbara. If this story is true, we must conclude that Udumbara was still living at Martaban around 1370.

Inscription 8 is engraved on a slab of schist 90 cm. high, 31 cm. wide and 15 cm. thick (Figs. 1-4). The obverse and reverse (Faces I and III) are in poor condition, but the writing on the narrow sides (Faces II and IV) is pretty well preserved. Face I has 31 lines, Face II has 29 (there may have originally been more), Face III has 26, and Face IV has 21. The language is Siamese; the style is typical of Mahādharmarāja I (Līdaiya).

A stone Footprint discovered on Khau Braḥ Pāda Hñāi is preserved at Vāt Trabān Dòn (วัดตระพังทอง)<sup>3</sup> in the old city of Sukhodaya near the Rāma Gāmhēn National Museum. Engraved on the stone is the diagram of a footsole, on which the remains of the 108 supernatural signs can be descried, while nearer the edge of the stone are figures of a monk and a king or deva worshipping the Footprint (Figs. 5-7). There is no reason to doubt that this is the Footprint which Inscr. 8 commemorates.

2) In the inscription, Sumanakūṭapārvata is written sūmanakūṭapārbata. For the Footprint on Mount Sumanakūṭapārvata (Adam's Peak) in Ceylon, see JSS 61/1, p. 111 and note 153. At Sukhodaya, any hill with a Footprint on its summit seems to have been given the name Sumanakūṭapārvata. We have regularized the spelling of most proper names of Sanskrit or Pali origin, for example Sukhodaya (written sukhodai), Śrī Sajjanālaya (śrī sajjanālai), Śrīśūryavaṃśa (śrīśūryabaṃśa), Dharmarājādhirāja (dharmarājādhirāja).

3) No. 8 on Map 3, JSS 57/1, p. 33.



The inscription was first published in 1924, by the late Professor George Coedès.<sup>4</sup> The king called Śrīśūryavaṃśa Dharmarājādhirāja who, according to the text (I/25-31), installed the Footprint on the hill in M.S. 1281 (1359 A.D.), was identified by Coedès as Līdaiya, which is unquestionably right. He believed, however, that the author of the inscription, who is called Braṇā Śrīśūryavaṃśa Mahādharmarājādhirāja at III/9-10, was Līdaiya's son. His reason for thinking so, he tells us, was because at the end of the inscription the author says 'he came up to worship the Footprint which *his father had placed* on top of the hill.'<sup>5</sup>

Coedès's view was based on the mutilated expression ต.น.ก at IV/16-17, which he read as ต.น.ก and conjecturally restored as ต.น.ช.น.ก, '(his) father'. On examining the stone in 1966, Prasert na Nagara observed that the expression could equally well be read as ต.น.ท.ก, and would give better sense if restored as ต.น.ท.ก, 'he himself'. Prasert then wrote Coedès, who immediately accepted the new reading as more satisfactory.<sup>6</sup> With this correction it becomes clear that the founder of the Footprint and the author of the inscription are one and the same person, Mahādharmarājā I.

At IV/19-21, after saying he climbed the hill to worship the Footprint which he himself had formerly placed there, Mahādharmarājā says: 'Then he engraved this additional inscription.' The statement must

4) *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, I, Bangkok, p. 123 ff. (p. 129 ff. of the Siamese section). The Siamese text was reprinted in *Prajum śīlācārīk bhāga dī 1*, Bangkok, B.E. 2500. Note that in the photograph of Face I in *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam* (facing p. 130 of the Siamese section), a fragment of the stone has been placed in the wrong position, with the result that the letters printed at the beginning of lines 13 to 18 are out of place (p. 131 of the Siamese section, and in the Romanized transcription at p. 125 of the French section). In any case these letters give no connected sense, and the reading is for the most part doubtful; so we have omitted them from the text we print here (p. 112 f.).

5) *Recueil*, p. 123. Coedès designates Līdaiya as Dharmarāja I and his son as Dharmarāja II; but as Līdaiya's father Lōdaiya also bore the title Dharmarāja we prefer to call Līdaiya and his successors Mahādharmarājā I (or Mahādharmarājādhirāja I), II, III and IV respectively. Coedès later accepted the late Brayā Nagara Braṇ Rāma's proposal to identify the founder of the Footprint with Lōdaiya (*Les Etats hindouïses d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, Paris, 1964, p. 398 note 4). Though several of the proposals made by Brayā Nagara Braṇ Rāma (JSS XXVIII/2, pp. 214-220) are entirely valid, this particular one (*ibid.*, p. 218) is no longer tenable.

6) See *Social Science Review*, Bangkok, Special Number, June 1966, p. 52 f.

mean that No. 8 consists of a primary text and a postscript. Judging from the context, the postscript begins at the middle of III/8; and the relative frequency of the mai-hăn-ākāśa after that point confirms our impression.

The writing is much the same as in Mahādharmarājā's other inscriptions. The mai-hăn-ākāśa occurs 6 times in Face III, and twice in Face IV (ทง, III/7, 11, IV/1-2, 6; อยง, III/10, 11, 12; พงง, III/16). Elsewhere words that are now spelt with the mai-hăn-ākāśa have the reduplicated final consonant instead, e.g. พงง, I/6, 9, 18, 24, and III/2. The accent <sup>\*</sup> occurs 5 times in Face III, and once in Face IV: ฝ, III/22; ไร, III/16; ไร, III/21; ไร, III/23; ไร, III/22; สไร, IV/12-13. The mai-ek occurs 5 times: ไร, I/21, 25, IV/3; ไร (= ไร), I/20; ไร (= ไร), IV/2. Some of the words that have these accents are written without them in other parts of the inscription. Neither <sup>\*</sup> nor <sup>\*</sup> occurs, their places being taken by <sup>\*</sup> and <sup>\*</sup>, e.g. ไร, I/21, II/26; ไร, I/2. The letters ไร and ไร occur just about where we should expect them. There are two orthographical oddities, doubtless inadvertent: ไรไรไร at I/4-5, and ไรไร (= ไรไร) at I/9 (though the same word is written ไร at III/2).

The frequent occurrence of the mai-hăn-ākāśa and the accent <sup>\*</sup> in the postscript, in contrast to their rarity in the primary text, is probably to be explained by the changing fashion of the 1360's.

In Face I Mahādharmarājā says that the Footprint was placed on the hilltop so that everyone could see it with its 108 signs in bright color (I/5-8); he exhorts all divinities and men to worship it; and he reviews the advantages that will accrue to them for doing so (I/8-25). At I/25-31 he says that in śakarāja 1281, in the eleventh month [i.e. around October, 1359], he did something, which is for the most part obliterated though we can still read the words ไร, 'did,' ไร, 'stone,' ไร, 'sacred,' and ไร, 'hill.' He then goes on to describe the festival which marked that occasion (II/1-23). The next passage (II/24-29), dated in the same year as the preceding one, refers to some calculations the King made, the nature of which is not clear, after the Footprint had been installed. At III/5-8, in a year whose designation is mutilated, the King and Queen caused the Footprint to be engraved.



We assume this means that the carving of the Footprint was still unfinished when it was brought up to the hilltop around October 1359, and the festival was held in celebration of its installation: hauling a heavy stone up a steep hill offered enough difficulties without adding to them the danger of damaging a lot of delicate carving. As the carving was almost certainly finished very soon after the stone was installed, we assume that the mutilated date when the King and Queen 'caused the Footprint to be engraved' was M.S. 1282, most of which would correspond to 1360 A.D. That would then also be the date of the primary text of Inscr. 8.<sup>7</sup>

The postscript was probably added in 1368, 1369, or 1370. Our reasons for thinking so are as follows.

The postscript opens with an illegible date, followed by the statement that Mahādharmarājā 'advanced with his army to Nān . . . . and pacified the whole territory, as well as that of . . . . to the east, and the whole (valley of the) Braḥ Sakk, completely' (III/8-12). Then he went to reside at Sōñ Gvè (Biṣṇuloka) (III/12 f.). After staying there for seven years, we are told in a later passage (IV/4 f.), he returned with his army to Sukhodaya.

The last legible date in the primary text is M.S. 1281 (1359 A.D.). The events recounted in the postscript, which of course occurred afterward, seem to succeed one another without any long break, beginning with the King's military campaign, continuing with his seven-year sojourn at Sōñ Gvè, and concluding with his return to Sukhodaya and his journey to the top of Mount Sumanakūṭa to worship the Footprint. We know he was ordained as a sāmaṇera at Sukhodaya on Wednesday September 22, 1361 (Julian), and as a bhikkhu immediately afterward, probably the next day (JSS 61/1, p. 122). If he stayed in the monkhood at least three months, as seems likely, he cannot have resumed his throne before December 20; and if we allow time for preparations the campaign cannot have begun before January 1362. If the campaign lasted only a

7) The apparent sequence of events is a little puzzling, because the statement at I/5-8 sounds as if the Footprint were already installed, completed and in worship before the stone was installed on the hill. The probable explanation is that the passage at I/5-15 refers to the state of affairs at the time the primary text was composed, whereas the rest of the primary text is retrospective.

few months, he may have gone to reside at Sòn Gvè in the same year, 1362; if it lasted longer, he probably went there in 1363. To obtain the date of his return to Sukhodaya, we must add 6 in order to account, by the traditional arithmetic, for the 'seven years' he spent at Sòn Gvè, which would mean he stayed there at least until 1368, or perhaps until 1369. By using the tightest possible schedule, we arrive at a date of 1368 for his return to Sukhodaya; if we allow a little more leeway it would be 1369. Whichever of these years we choose for his return to Sukhodaya would then presumably be the year he climbed Mount Sumanakūṭa to worship the Footprint and added the postscript; but if he did not do so until some months after his return, a date of 1370 would be possible.

In order to glimpse the significance of Mahādharmarājā's campaign to Nān, we may refer briefly to the history of Nān's relations with Sukhodaya, which we have discussed elsewhere in more detail.<sup>8</sup> The principality of Nān and Blua (modern Pua) was the seat of the Kāv (*Gāo*) branch of the *Tai* people. In the late 13th century, when it was tributary to Sukhodaya, its capital was still located at Blua in the upper reaches of the Nān Valley, some 50 km. upstream from the present site of Nān. In Lödaiya's reign the principality was detached from Sukhodaya, perhaps unwillingly, and for a time maintained a precarious independence. In Mahādharmarājā's reign it re-entered the orbit of Sukhodaya, not as a tributary but as an ally. Judging from the Nān Chronicle (NC), Mahādharmarājā was on very friendly terms with Kār Mōaṅ, who was ruler of Nān and Blua from 1351 to 1361, and who claimed suzerainty over Brè (บเร).<sup>9</sup> We have some evidence that

8) Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 3, JSS 57/1, pp. 57-107. Several corrections are now necessary in that article. At p. 59, line 13, Rāma Gamhèn's probable regnal dates are c. 1279-c. 1298. At p. 63, line 1, 'November 1361' should be changed to 'September 1361.'

9) NC (*Nān Chronicle*), พงษาวดารเมืองนาน, ประชุมพงษาวดารภาคที่ ๑๐, Bangkok, B.E. 2461, pp. 82-85; NC (tr.), *The Nan Chronicle*, translated by Prasert Churatana, ed. by D.K. Wyatt, Ithaca, 1966. 9-11; cf. JSS 57/1, p. 61 f. Note that in the dates in this section of the chronicle there is a discrepancy of 2 years between the numeral in Cūlasakarāja and the designation in terms of the ten and twelve year cycles. Supposing that the cyclical names of the years correspond to the years of the same name elsewhere, the CS dates in the NC have to be reduced by 2 years in order to correspond to those in use elsewhere, and the same adjustment has to be made when transposing them into the Christian Era. In the English translation of NC, Professor Wyatt has transposed them accordingly, and in the present article we shall follow him. See JSS 57/1, p. 57 note 1; cf. *ibid.*, p. 105 note 90.



Mahādharmarājā I's Chief Queen, who gave birth to the future Mahādharmarājā II in 1356, was a granddaughter of Kār Mōaṅ<sup>10</sup> (she is very likely the same lady who is mentioned in Inscr. 8 at III/5-8). In 1357 Kār Mōaṅ moved his capital from Blua to Jè Hèn, across the river from the present site of Nān.<sup>11</sup> It may be guessed that one of the reasons for the move was to be nearer Sukhodaya, and within easier range of Mahādharmarājā's assistance. Not very long afterward there was some sort of trouble at Brè, perhaps a revolt against Kār Mōaṅ's authority. Kār Mōaṅ may have requested Mahādharmarājā's help to restore order in the vassal state: at least, as we gather from Inscr. 9 (I/15 f), Mahādharmarājā took an army to Brè in 1359 or 1360 and stayed there seven months.

The trouble at Brè, whatever it was, may have been stirred up or encouraged by Prince Paramarājā of Subarṇapurī.

In 1361, probably while Mahādharmarājā was in the monkhood, an alarming event occurred. According to NC, a person 'from the south' named Khun Indā (ขุนอินตา) arrived at Nān with a valuable piece of cloth to present to the ruler. Kār Mōaṅ, not knowing the cloth was poisoned, accepted it; and as soon as he touched it he fell dead.<sup>12</sup> NC does not say who Khun Indā was, but the statement that he was from the south may mean he came from Subarṇapurī.

Very likely the purpose of Mahādharmarājā's campaign to Nān around 1362 was to restore order there and set the murdered ruler's son on the throne. At any rate, according to NC, Kār Mōaṅ was succeeded by his son Phā Kōh.<sup>13</sup> This might not have been possible without Mahādharmarājā's intervention.

Why did he go to reside at Sòn Gvè for 'seven years'? Perhaps we can find a clue to the answer in two of the Pali chronicles composed by monks at *Chiang Mai*.

10) See JSS 56/2, p. 218; JSS 57/1, p. 48 and note 42 pp. 48-51 and notes 42, 54, 55; *ibid.*, pp. 64, 67.

11) See above, note 9.

12) NC, 84 f.; NC (tr.), 11; cf. JSS 57/1, 63.

13) NC, 85; NC (tr.), 11; JSS 57/1, 63.

The first is the *Sihingabuddhanidāna* (S), which is thought to date from the early 15th century.<sup>14</sup> It gives the history of a statue called *Sihingabuddharūpa* or *Buddha Sihinga*, 'the Ceylon Buddha', which was evidently regarded as the palladium of Sukhodaya in the 14th century: according to popular belief, it appears, anyone who had it in his possession should be able to gain control of the kingdom. S tells how the statue was made long ago in Ceylon in miraculous circumstances, how it was brought to Sukhodaya by way of Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja many centuries later, how the successive kings of Sukhodaya worshiped it, and how 'King Aṭṭhakalideyya surnamed Dhammarāja' [i.e. Mahādharmarājā I] served it constantly, took pleasure in studying the Scriptures, and devoted himself entirely to protecting his kingdom and his people. The text continues as follows:

'Then the King of Ayodaya [Ayodhyā, — Ayudhyā] named Rāmādhīpati, seeing his zeal, went to Dvisākhanagara, seized the city and placed it under the rule of his own son Teja. Aṭṭhakalideyya begged him for mercy; and when he had sworn a solemn oath to him, Rāmādhīpati gave him Dvisākha. Aṭṭhakalideyya, taking the Sihinga image with him, went to Dvisākha, where he continued to worship it constantly. Throughout his life this king reigned with justice; and when he died Dvisākhanagara fell into Rāmādhīpati's hands again.'

The name Dvisākha, 'confluence', is of course the Pali translation of *Sòn Gvè* (ສອນກວ໌)<sup>15</sup>; and as we have seen that Mahādharmarājā resided at *Sòn Gvè* in the 1360's we have an approximate date for the incident, for what it may be worth. 'Teja' is Paramarājā, who was Rāmādhīpati's brother-in-law, not his son. The 'solemn oath' that Mahādharmarājā swore to Rāmādhīpati has usually been interpreted as an act of vassalage; but as it cannot have been that, it may have something to do with

14) The Pali text of the pertinent passage, together with a French translation, is given by Coedès at BEFEO XVII/2, pp. 41-43. For the approximate date that S was composed, see Coedès at BEFEO XV/3, p. 6.

15) Coedès (BEFEO XVII/2, p. 43), following Prince Damrong, identifies Dvisākha with Sargapuri in Jayanāda province (cf. below, note 19); but it seems impossible that any part of that province could ever have belonged to Mahādharmarājā I; and there is no reason to doubt that the names Dvisākha and *Sòn Gvè* are doublets, both referring to *Biṣṇuloka*.



the pact of friendship we have assumed existed between Mahādharmarājā and Rāmādhpati.<sup>16</sup>

Jinakālamālī (J), composed in 1516, is the work of a much more careful historian than S. The accuracy of J's account of events at Chieng Mai has been repeatedly confirmed by the evidence of inscriptions.<sup>17</sup> J's account of the 'Sihala statue' (i.e. the Buddha Sihinga) belongs to one of the 'inserted narratives', some of which have weaknesses the author had no means of checking, but it nevertheless contains useful information. After relating the earlier history of the statue, J tells us what happened to it in the reign of 'King Lideyya who was called Dhammarāja because he studied the Tipiṭaka' [i.e. Mahādharmarājā I]. Here is what it tells us:

'At that time, it is said, there was a famine at Jayanādapura. Rāmādhpati, the King of Ayojjhā, came from Kamboja and seized the city on the pretext of going there to sell rice. After appointing one of his high officials named Vattiteja, who was ruler of Suvanṇabhūmi, to rule Jayanādapura, he returned to Ayojjhapura. Dhammarāja, sending many presents to Rāmādhpati, asked him for Jayanādapura; Rāmādhpati gave it to him; and Vattiteja went back to Suvanṇabhūmi. Then Dhammarāja, after appointing his younger sister Mahādevī to rule Sukhodaya and his minister Tipaṇṇa to rule Vajirapākāra, went to Jayanādapura with the Sihala statue and continued to worship it. Upon the death of King Rāmādhpati, ruler of Kamboja and Ayojjhapura, Vattiteja left Suvanṇabhūmi and seized the kingdom of Kamboja. Then after Dhammarāja of Jayanādapura died, Vattiteja left Ayojjhapura, took Jayanādapura, and removed the Sihala statue to Ayojjhapura, where he continued to worship it.'<sup>18</sup>

16) See JSS 61/1, p. 78.

17) Coedès, BEFEO XXV/1, p. 11 f.

18) For the Pali text and French translation, see Coedès, BEFEO XVII/2, pp. 37-41, and BEFEO XXV/1, pp. 46, 47, 98-101; for Professor Jayawickrama's English translation, see *The Sheaf of Garlands of the Epochs of the Conqueror*, London, 1968, p. 120-126.

In this passage 'Jayanāda' is Sòn Gvè (Biṣṇuloka), just as it is in the 15th-century poem *Yuan Pāi*;<sup>19</sup> Ayojjhā is Ayudhyā; Kamboja is Labapurī<sup>20</sup>; Suvannabhūmi is the old name of Subarnapurī; Tipañña looks like a Pali metamorphosis of the Siamese title สามพระญา; and Vajirapākāra is the Pali translation of the toponym Kāmbèñ Bejra (*Gampèng Pet*).

In both S and J, Rāmādhpati seizes Sòn Gvè and turns it over to Paramarājā to rule. But it would be out of keeping with everything we know about Rāmādhpati's policy toward Sukhodaya for him to lay hold of the city. It is much more likely that the chroniclers have mistakenly attributed the vassal's action to the sovereign; and that Paramarājā, taking advantage of Rāmādhpati's absence from the capital on a campaign elsewhere, and of Mahādharmarājā's temporary renunciation of the throne to enter the monkhood, seized Sòn Gvè on his own initiative.

If, as we have suggested, the purpose of Mahādharmarājā's campaign in the Nān Valley around 1362 was to undo the mischief Paramarājā had done at Nān, the continuation of the campaign to the Sāk Valley may have been intended not only to regain lost territory but also to outflank Paramarājā at Sòn Gvè and show him that his position was untenable. That, plus a reminder to Rāmādhpati that his agreement with Mahādharmarājā was being violated by his vassal's greed, may be the reason for Paramarājā's withdrawal, which enabled Mahādharmarājā to take up his residence at Sòn Gvè.

Both S and J, without precisely saying so, seem to imply that Mahādharmarājā died at Sòn Gvè. In fact it is much more likely that he did not: in Inscr. 8 (IV/4 f.) he has come back to Sukhodaya after seven years at Sòn Gvè, and there is no reason to believe he ever went to reside there again.

S's statement that Rāmādhpati retook Sòn Gvè after Mahādharmarājā's death is probably wrong too. J's sequence of events, which is more plausible, is as follows:

19) See Griswold and Prasert ๑a Nagara, *A Fifteenth-Century Siamese Historical Poem*, to appear in the Felicitation Volume for Professor D.G.E. Hall's eightieth birthday. As Prince Damrong did not realize 'Jayanāda' was one of the old names of Sòn Gvè, it was natural enough for him to connect it with the modern place-name Jayanāda (จันทนา), and to suppose that it referred to the former site of Jayanāda, which was at Sargapurī. This in turn led him to the false identification of Dvisākha.

20) cf. JSS 59/1, p. 207 note 49.



- (1) Rāmādhīpati dies;
- (2) Paramarājā conquers Labapurī;
- (3) Mahādharmarājā dies;
- (4) Paramarājā seizes Sōñ Gvè.

We know from **AA/LP** (the 'Luang Prasert' Recension of the Annals of Ayudhyā) that Rāmādhīpati died in 1369, leaving the throne to his son Rāmeśvara, the ruler of Labapurī; in 1370 Paramarājā seized the throne of Ayudhyā and sent Rāmeśvara back to Labapurī to rule as his vassal; and in 1375, after making several attacks on Sukhodaya's outlying cities, Paramarājā took Biṣṇuloka (Sōñ Gvè). **AA/LP** does not mention Mahādharmarājā's death at all; but the sequence of events given by **J** corresponds pretty well to the information in **AA/LP** so far as it goes. To the extent that we may depend on a generally trustworthy chronicle, when there is no epigraphic evidence to contradict it, we are therefore inclined to agree that Mahādharmarājā died between 1370, when Paramarājā seized the throne of Ayudhyā, and 1375, when Paramarājā took Sōñ Gvè.<sup>21</sup>

We now return to our discussion of Inscr. 8. In the absence of a legible date, we have calculated that Mahādharmarājā went to Sōñ Gvè around 1362, and remained there until 1368 or 1369. At III/12-19 he tells us in brief what he did while he was there. He repaired the Mahādhātu,<sup>22</sup> planted a śrīmahābodhi tree, and (built a wall?) of laterite around (the precinct). He built an irrigation canal from Sōñ Gvè to Sukhodaya to feed (water to) upland and lowland farms, so that areca palms and other trees could be planted, fish could be caught for food, and the people made happy and contented everywhere. Though he does not say so, the earth removed to make the canal would naturally be built into an embankment alongside and a road placed on top, which would be

21) cf. JSS 59/1, p. 160 and note 4.

22) This Mahādhātu at Biṣṇuloka was certainly not the monument now known by that name, which is a typical Ayudhyan prāṅg built by Paramatrailokanātha (r. 1448-88); according to the 'Luang Prasert' Recension of the Annals of Ayudhyā (*sub anno* 844) he built it in 1482. The Mahādhātu referred to in our inscription could be an earlier monument that stood on the same site. Or else it might be the Cetiya Dōñ (เจดีย์ทอง) at Biṣṇuloka (see Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, Bangkok, 1968, p. 33 and Fig. 27).

useful not only for commerce but also for defence. The rest of the passage shows, once again, Mahādharmarājā's constant concern for the material well-being of his people, and his wish (like Rāma Gaṃhēn's) to encourage the planting of fruit trees to increase their income.<sup>23</sup>

At III/19-26 Mahādharmarājā gives the limits of his kingdom at the time he added the postscript (c. 1368-70). North of the River Nān it touches the land of Cau Brañā Phā Kōñ, the ruler of Nān and Blua. South of the River Nān it touches the territory of a Cau Brañā whom he describes as his 'younger brother', but whose name is illegible. To the east it reaches all the way to the Khoñ, i.e. the Mè Khoñ, and the land of Brañā Dāv Fā Nòm. The statement about the western limit is mutilated, and only a few words can be read: *เจ้าเมือง*, 'prince who is the son' then, after a lacuna, *ถึงเมือง*, 'up to Mōañ . . .'

According to NC, Phā Kōñ was ruler of Nān and Blua from 1361 to 1386.<sup>24</sup> Presumably the portion of the River Nān that formed the boundary was the stretch where, after flowing more or less southward from the town of Nān, it turns southwest toward Utaratittha.

Fā Nòm, or Fā Nòm as the name is usually written, was King of Lān Jān (Laos) from 1353 to 1374. Probably Mahādharmarājā's kingdom extended eastward to the right bank of the Mè Khoñ opposite Vian Candra (*Vieng Jān*, Vientiane), and presumably included all or part of the present province of Hnòn Gāy.

The most tantalizing lacuna is in the statement regarding Mahādharmarājā's neighbor to the south, 'Cau Brañā . . . . . who is his younger brother'. As no mere princeling would bear the august title of Cau Brañā, which in those days was reserved for independent monarchs, this neighbor is necessarily a king of Ayudhyā. Mahādharmarājā may well have regarded Rāmādhpati as his 'younger brother', i.e. a cousin belonging to a junior branch of his family, or even an unrelated ruler who acceded later than he himself. If he means Rāmādhpati, the latest possible date for the postscript to Inscr. 8 would be 1369, the year in which Rāmādhpati died. He could hardly mean Rāmeśvara, who was

23) cf. Inscr. 1: II/2 ff., II/34, III/2 f. and III/5 f.; see JSS 59/2, pp. 198, 200, 298, 213, 214.

24) See JSS 57/1, pp. 63-65.



so much younger than himself that he would be more likely to refer to him as his 'nephew' than as his younger brother. It is possible that he means Paramarājā; and if 'younger brother' sounds like too friendly a term to be applied to so hostile a person, it could be justified as a formality based on Rāmādhīpati's marriage to Paramarājā's sister. If Paramarājā is meant, the earliest possible date for the postscript is 1370.

Though we cannot suggest any plausible reconstruction of the lacuna regarding Mahādharmarājā's neighbor to the west, we can identify him with virtual certainty as Bañā Ū, who acceded to the throne of Rāmāññadesa some time between 1345 and 1353, and died between 1385 and 1387.<sup>25</sup> Very likely the dividing line between Mahādharmarājā's kingdom and Rāmāññadesa was somewhat vaguely defined, running north and south through the mountains that form the boundary between Siam and Burma today.

At IV/4-16 Mahādharmarājā tells us of his return from Sōñ Gvē to Sukhodaya with his army, escorted by a retinue of persons from thirteen different places, which he then lists. These persons are presumably his vassals who furnished contingents for his army. Here is the list of places, spelt as in the inscription, together with our proposed identifications:

1. Sralvañ [between Sukhodaya and Sōñ Gvē]
2. Sōñ Gvē [Biṣṇuloka]
3. Pāk Yam [at or near the confluence of the Yam (*Yom*) with the Nān, in the present province of Bicitra]
4. Braḥ Pāñ [*Pra Bāng*, i.e. Nagara Svarga]
5. Jākanrāy [on the left bank of the Ping, at or near *Gampèng Pet*]
6. Subarrñabhāva [*Chieng Tòng*, on the left bank of the Ping, near the present town of Tāk]
7. Nagara Braḥ Jum [Nagara Jum, *Nakòn Chum*, on the right bank of the Ping diagonally across from *Gampèng Pet*; see Inscr. 3]
8. Mōañ . . āi [?]
9. Mōañ Bān [Pāñ Bān, *Bàng Pàn*, on the *Pra Ruaug* Highway about one-third of the way from *Gampèng Pet* to Sukhodaya; see JSS 61/1, p. 107 note 113]

25) See JSS 60/1, p. 23, Table II.

10. Möaṅ .. [?]
11. Möaṅ Rāt [in the present province of Utaratittha; see JSS 60/1, p. 85 and note 16]
12. Möaṅ Sagā [perhaps in the upper valley of the Sāk, north of Lam Pā Cāy; see JSS 59/2, p. 219 and note 129]
13. Lam Pā Cāy [at or near Hlam Kau (*Lom Gao*, หล่มเกา), on the Sāk River north of Hlam Sāk (*Lom Sak*, หล่มสัก) in Bejrapūrṇa Province; see JSS 59/2, p. 218, note 129].

The inscription contains political implications which we could interpret better if we knew the date of the postscript more precisely. We think it most likely to have been added in 1368 or 1369, but it could have been in 1370. We have guessed that Paramarājā seized Sōṅ Gvē in 1361, while Mahādharmarājā was in the monkhood; even if our guess is wrong, it requires no imagination to believe that Paramarājā was eager to pounce on Sōṅ Gvē whenever he might get the chance. We suppose that Mahādharmarājā's purpose in going to Sōṅ Gvē around 1362 to reside was to thwart any such attempt. But if that was his purpose, why did he withdraw his army and return with it to Sukhodaya 'seven years' later?

Two very different explanations may be considered.

The first is that Paramarājā forced him to demilitarize Sōṅ Gvē in exchange for some kind of guarantee, either near the end of Rāmādhīpati's reign when Rāmādhīpati was fully occupied elsewhere (say in 1368 or 1369), or soon after Paramarājā seized the throne of Ayudhyā in 1370. If that is the right explanation, Mahādharmarājā must have known that Sōṅ Gvē was doomed; whatever guarantee he may have received in return was a bad bargain; but he may have had no alternative.

The other possibility is that Mahādharmarājā may have thought Sōṅ Gvē was now secure, at least for the time being. If the postscript was written soon after Paramarājā seized the throne of Ayudhyā, Mahādharmarājā might well expect the usurper to be too much occupied for several years consolidating his own power in the kingdom of Ayudhyā to think seriously of attacking. The entry in AA/LP for CS 733 (=1371) stating that Paramarājā went to the north country and conquered it entirely (or: went to the northern cities and conquered them all) would be mystifying if, as some people think, it meant he conquered the Sukhodayan country at this early date; a more plausible interpretation is that it refers to his consolidation of power in the kingdom of Ayudhyā north of the capital.



## Text

## ด้านที่ ๑

- (๑) เขาอนนทิสันนุกฏบรรพต....
- (๒) . รยกชิ่งงอนนเพื่อไปพิมเอารอย
- (๓) ตีนพระพุทธรเจ้าเราอนนอยยบเหน
- (๔) อจอมเขาสมนุกฏบรรพ(ต).. ในลงกา
- (๕) ธิวปุมมาปรคิส(ถา)วเหนือจอมเขาอนนทิส(แ)
- (๖) ลวไคคนทงหง(ลาย)ไคเหนรอยฝา
- (๗) ตีนพ(ระพุ)ทธรเปนเจ้าเรานี้มีลายอนน
- (๘) ไครอยแปดสี่สองไหฝูงเทพคาแล
- (๙) .. ทงหงลายไคไหววนบทำบูชา.. ไห
- (๑๐) .. กศรีพุทธรสัคคิ.. คนดงริแล
- (๑๑) ..... สัคคินนอนนหนึ่งผิวกะเกดเป
- (๑๒) (น)..... ญอมไคเสวยสัคคิ
- (๑๓) ..... (จ)กรพรรคิราชไคเปน
- (๑๔) ..... (แ)ลบมีไคเซนหม..
- (๑๕) ..... (ผิ)วากิต
- (๑๖) ..... สัคคิอนน
- (๑๗) ..... รคคิ
- (๑๘) ..... ทงง... เปนพระ....
- (๑๙) .. เสริยั้งพระ.....
- (๒๐) ... งเมื่อที่แลวกักกไก.... เปน

- (๒๑) สัมผัสคินนแลบ่อย่าเลยผู้ใดไคชิน  
 (๒๒) (นบ)รอยฝาศี(น)พระ(พุทธ)เจ้าเราถึงเห็น  
 (๒๓) (อจอม)เขาสุมนัญญบรรพคณี่ควยใจอนนส(ร)  
 (๒๔) (ธา)อนนวาสัมปคิตกตังสามอนนนี่...  
 (๒๕) ... จกกไคแลบ่อย่าเลยศกราช ๑๒๘๑  
 (๒๖) ... เดือนสิบ(เอ)คไคไ(พ)ศรา(ชฤกษ)...  
 (๒๗) ....เจ้าผู้ไคราชาภิเศกทรงพระนาม  
 (๒๘) (ศรีสุรย)พงศกรรมราชาธิราชหารง  
 (๒๙) ..... หิน . นน... พระ..  
 (๓๐) ..... เขา . น .....  
 (๓๑) ..... ส ..... (ลั)

ด้านที่ ๒

- (๑) คบบหนทางแต่  
 (๒) เมืองสุโขไคมา  
 (๓) ถึงจอมเขานี้เงา  
 (๔) มหนกกหนาแ  
 (๕) กกำสองชอกหน  
 (๖) ทางญอมตง  
 (๗) กลลบบพฤกษไค  
 (๘) รยวลคอกไมตา  
 (๙) มไคทยนปรัทบ  
 (๑๐) เผาฐบหอมตรล



- (๑๑) บทกแห่งปลุก
- (๑๒) ทงบตากทงงส
- (๑๓) องปลากหนทา
- (๑๔) งญอมรงชนน
- (๑๕) หมากชนนพลบ
- (๑๖) ชาพิลร์บำเตน
- (๑๗) เหลนทกชนน
- (๑๘) ..ทวยสยงอนน
- (๑๙) สารการบุชาอี
- (๒๐) (ก)ครยาพาทพิ
- (๒๑) (น)คองกลองสยง
- (๒๒) (ค)งสัพทงกน
- (๒๓) (จ)กทล้อนนใส
- (๒๔) (ศก)ราช ๑๒๘๑ ปี
- (๒๕) (ร)มือพระศรีบา
- (๒๖) (ทล)กทษณชินปร
- (๒๗) (ติส)ตาไวในเชาสุ
- (๒๘) (มน)กุฎบรรพท
- (๒๙) .....

ด้านที่ ๓

- (๑) ..สือนน.ินไ...เกา...แปทว(นน)
- (๒) คา.ออกไทคนทงงห(ลา)ยไหวลก(ก)
- (๓) สนนี.....ไทผ...น...

- (๔) เมืองศรีสขชนาไสสุโขไทหา...
- (๕) คุณสงขยาหัตราไวไส ๑๒....(พร)
- (๖) ญาแลนาง...แลหารงงจลกกพ(ระ)
- (๗) บาทลกกสนแลไทหง์หลายอนุ
- (๘) โมทนาควยบาง ๑.....
- (๙) .....ไพรญาศรีสุรยพงศมหา
- (๑๐) (ธ)รรมราชาธิราชเอาพลไปปราบอัยง์น่าน
- (๑๑) ... (บุรี)ไคสินไคทงอัยง์จ้วนนอก(ก)เขต...
- (๑๒) ... อัยง์พระสกรอกคินจิงไปอยู่(ใน)
- (๑๓) (เมื)องสอ(ง)แควบุพระมหาธาคุปลูกพ
- (๑๔) ระศรีมหาโพธิศรีชา..หา.อ.อา...
- (๑๕) ก.ญอมหินแลงลอม.ชบ..ท.ย
- (๑๖) กพนง์แตสองแ(ค)วมาเท่าสุโขไท..
- (๑๗) งไรนาปลูกหมากปลูก.....
- (๑๘) ....ทปลาหากินเอยนเน(อ).....(ทุ)
- (๑๙) กแห่งเบืองเหนื่อน่านนถี้(คนเจ้าพร)
- (๒๐) ญาผากองเจ้าเมืองน่านเมืองพลว(ว)...
- (๒๑) เบืองไคน่านนถี้แคนเจ้าพรญา(บ)....
- (๒๒) (หาส)...ผู้้อง ๐ เบืองทวนนอก...
- (๒๓) .เถิงของพรญาท้าวฟางอม....
- (๒๔) .....ช...เจ้าเปนลูก....
- (๒๕) .....เถิงเมือง....
- (๒๖) .....ผา.....



๔  
ด้านที่ ๔

- (๑) นนญอมนำคนท
- (๒) จัหลายก่ทำบุญ
- (๓) ธรรมบ่ขาดสกกเม
- (๔) อ ๐ อยู่ในสองแคว
- (๕) วไคเจคเขาจึงนำ
- (๖) พลมามีทงข้าวส
- (๗) รลวงสองแควปา
- (๘) กยัพระบางซากน
- (๙) รวสัพรรณภาวน
- (๑๐) ครพระซู้เมืองไ..
- (๑๑) เมืองพานเมือง..
- (๑๒) เมืองรอกเมือง(ส)
- (๑๓) คำเมืองลับาจา(ย)
- (๑๔) เปนปริพารจ(งข)
- (๑๕) นมานบพระบา(ท)
- (๑๖) ลกกสอนนตนห(า)
- (๑๗) กปรคิสถาเต(ก)
- (๑๘) อนเหนือจอม
- (๑๙) (เขา)สมนกฎนี้จึง
- (๒๐) จารจาริกอนนนี้ไว
- (๒๑) อิกโสศ

## Translation

[I/1-10.] This hill is called Sumanakūṭaparvata . . . . It is so named because (an emissary) went to make impressions of the Footprint of our Lord the Buddha which is stamped on top of Mount Sumanakūṭaparvata in distant Laṅkādvīpa, and brought them to establish on top of this hill<sup>26</sup> so that everyone might get a sight of this imprint of our Lord Buddha's Footsole with the full hundred and eight signs in bright color<sup>27</sup> and that all divinities [and men] might salute it, honor it and do homage to it. May they [attain] the happy condition of Buddhahood!<sup>28</sup>

[I/10-25.] How can a person [attain] the happy conditions? For one thing, if he is born as a [human being<sup>29</sup>], and in the natural course of events<sup>30</sup> obtains the enjoyment of happiness as a . . . . . as a

26) cf. JSS 61/1, page 111; Inscr. 3, II/52 ff., uses some of the same phraseology in regard to obtaining the impressions of the Footprint on Adam's peak, e.g. ให้อัปพิมเอารอยคั่น . . . . พระเป็นเจ้าถึงสิ่งกลอนนอยขบเหนื่อจอมเขาสุมนกภูบรรพต ปริมาณเท่าใดเอามาพิมไว้.

27) มีลายขนนไครอยแปด (I/7-8), 'having designs which total 108': สีสอง, 'in bright colors' (sc. polychromed).

28) śrībuddhasampatti (I/10). There are three 'happy conditions' (sampatti) which may be attained by those who have earned enough merit, as opposed to the 'woeful conditions' which await evil-doers (e.g. rebirth as animals, petas or prisoners in hell). The three 'happy conditions' are manussasampatti, devasampatti and nibbānasampatti, referring respectively to human happiness, the happiness of the gods and the happiness of nibbāna. Despite the lacunae it is pretty certain that the sentence at I/11-14 refers to manussasampatti, that at I/15-16 to devasampatti, and that at I/16-21 to nibbānasampatti. 'Buddhasampatti' at I/10 is of course the happiness of nibbāna, which can be reached only by a man who has perfected himself in merit and understanding through countless past lives and fulfilled certain other requirements. In his final mastery over evil and ignorance he attains Enlightenment, which is nibbāna in this life, becoming a Buddha, a Paccekabuddha or an Arahant. When he dies he remains permanently in nibbāna and is never reborn again.

29) Conjecturally restoring the lacuna at I/12 as มนุสสสัตว์ (manussasampatti).

30) ญอม (I/12), 'regularly,' 'in the natural course of events.'



cakravartin king,<sup>31</sup> becomes ..... and does not get any misfortune<sup>32</sup> ..... (Secondly) if he is born ..... that happy condition.<sup>33</sup> (Thirdly) ..... all ... and becomes a monk ..... very [many?] rich men, monks<sup>34</sup> ..... go<sup>35</sup> ... then he will attain .... in that happy condition without fail.<sup>36</sup> If anyone climbs up to the top of this Mount Sumanakūṭaparvata and worships the imprint of our Lord Buddha's Footsole with firm faith that these three happy conditions ..... (can be attained), he will attain them without fail.<sup>37</sup>

[I/25-31.] In śakarāja 1281 ... in the eleventh month<sup>38</sup>, at the ṛkṣa of Vaiśākha<sup>39</sup>, .....<sup>40</sup> Cau, who had received the rājābhiseka and

- 31) cakrabarttirāja (I/13), for cakravartirāja, a 'wheel-turning king', i.e. one whose power extends as far as his chariot-wheels can roll. A man who has accumulated enough merit and understanding in past lives has the choice of becoming a cakravartin king or a Buddha. If he chooses the first, it is a form of manussasampatti; if the second, it is nibbānasampatti. Few persons have qualified themselves in past lives sufficiently to be given such a splendid choice in this life; but of course everyone alive today has made enough merit in past lives to have been reborn in this one as a human being. Even the most wretched human being is considered to be far better off than the happiest of the sub-human creatures. Whether he is rich or poor, robust or sickly, and so on, depends on his accumulated merits.
- 32) គេង (I/14), for គេង, Khmer *kheñ*, 'trouble', 'adversity', 'want', 'misfortune'. Cf. the expression ពុទ្ធគេង, 'suffering and misfortune'.
- 33) This sentence seems to refer to devasampatti.
- 34) Our translation of ព្រះ (I/19) as 'monks' is conjectural as the context is lost.
- 35) Conjectural translation of ធូលី (I/20).
- 36) This sentence evidently refers to nibbānasampatti, but because of the lacunae it is impossible to know just what it said. To attain nibbānasampatti, one has to be a human male and become a monk. The 'rich men' (srethī, I/19, Pali *setṭhi*, Skt. *śreṣṭhin*) may be lay supporters of the monkhood. As the word is a noun, it cannot be modified by the adverb ធូលី (I/19), mod. ធូលី, 'very'. We therefore conjecture that the lacuna preceding srethī contained some expression meaning 'many' or the like. The expression that we translate as 'without fail' is ធូលី (I/21), for ធូលី; it reappears at I/25.
- 37) sc. the merit he obtains from worshipping the Footprint will earn him whichever of the three happy conditions he chooses; cf. Inscr. 3, I/12 ff. (JSS 61/1, pp. 87, 95-96).
- 38) Around October, 1359.
- 39) (b)aiśrā(kharkṣa).
- 40) sc. Līdaiya, cf. 3: I/3-7 (see JSS 61/1, pp. 87, 94).

been given the name Śrīsūryavaṃśa Dharmarājādhirāja, did<sup>41</sup> . . . . stone  
 . . . . . sacred . . . . . hill . . . . .  
 [II/1-23.] The road from the city of Sukhodaya to this hilltop was mag-  
 nificently decorated.<sup>42</sup> On both sides<sup>43</sup> of the road, kalpavṛkṣas<sup>44</sup> were  
 set up, garlands<sup>45</sup> of flowers were hung; torches, candles and lamps were  
 lighted, incense was burned whose fragrance was wafted everywhere,  
 flags and banners were erected; on both sides<sup>46</sup> of the road trays of areca  
 fruits and betel leaves were lined up<sup>47</sup>. (Everyone) did homage,  
 rejoiced<sup>48</sup> and danced<sup>49</sup>, making merry in every way<sup>50</sup>. They . . with

- 41) หาวง (I/28). The whole expression can be used as an intensifying auxiliary preceding a main verb, as is the case at III/6 and at 3: I/65. But either หว or วัง can be used as an emphatic particle. Apart from that, วัง can also be used as a main verb, meaning 'to do', 'to make', 'to adorn', etc.
- 42) ถัดบน (I/31-II/1), Khmer lamtap, 'prepared' (cf. 4: II/19, JSS 61/1, pp. 133, 139); งามทนกกหนานกก (II/3-5), 'in an extremely beautiful manner'.
- 43) ขอบ (II/5), a word that is not at present used in Siamese in this sense; but cf. ขอบ, 'edge', 'margin'. ขอบ now means 'place' (McFarland).
- 44) For the kalpavṛkṣa (here written kallpabṛkṣa, II/7) see JSS 61/1, p. 139, n. 35 (Inscr. 4, II/19).
- 45) ร้อยกล (II/8), Khmer ramyval (cf. 4: II/25, JSS 61/1, pp. 133, 139).
- 46) Though ปลาย (II/13) now usually means a place or district, the only possible meaning in the context of this passage is 'sides'. The word is probably related to ฝาย, which now means a river-bank or the shore of a waterway.
- 47) This passage should be compared with 4: II/18-20: braḥ pāda kamrateñ añ pre lamtap slā lāja dyan dhūpa puspa kalpabṛkṣa sañ . . thve pūjā trāp mārgga, 'His Majesty caused areca fruits, grilled rice, candles, incense, flowers and kalpavṛkṣas to be prepared'; 4: II/25-26: mvaṭ panlāy panlvañ javanikā ramyval vñiy, 'he took the trouble to set up screens and garlands of flowers'; and 5: II/29-30: ดอกไม้นไ้หอม . . . . . ทำบูชาสองข(อบ), 'flowers and fragrant torches . . . . . to do honor to him, on both sides (of the road).'
- 48) ภิ (II/16) = Khmer biram, to rejoice.
- 49) รำาเต้น (II/16); รำา is the expanded form of รำ, 'to dance'; เต้น means 'to caper.' We take the whole expression to be equivalent to เต้นรำ, 'to dance' (McFarland, p. 373).
- 50) For the expression ทุกถนน (II/17), cf. ฉะนั้น, 'thus', 'in that way', 'therefore'.



sounds of praise and worship, and also with orchestral music<sup>51</sup>, gongs and drums, making a loud enough noise to start a landslide.<sup>52</sup>

[II/24-29.] In śakarāja 1281, the year of the boar<sup>53</sup>, when the Footprint<sup>54</sup> was brought up and installed on Mount Sumanakūṭaparvata .....<sup>55</sup> [III/1-5] ..... nine[ty-]eight days ..... so that everyone might do homage to this Footprint . . . [Brañā Lī]dai, who [is the ruler of] Śrī Sajjanālaya Sukhodaya, himself made the calculations and himself noted them down.<sup>56</sup>

[III/5-8.] (In the year) 12xx, . . the Brañā and Lady . . .<sup>57</sup> caused the Footprint to be engraved, and invited everyone to rejoice also with them.

[III/8-19.] (In the year) 1xxx, . . . Brañā Śrīsūryavamśa Mahādharmarājādhirāja advanced with his army to Nān . . . and pacified the whole territory, as well as that of . . . to the east, and the whole (valley of the) Brah Sakk<sup>58</sup>, completely. So he went to reside at Mōaṇi

51) ดุรยาพาหพิน (II/20-21): ดุรยา, Skt. tūrya, 'a musical instrument'; for พาหพิน, see JSS 59/2, p. 210 note 70. For this whole passage, cf. Inscr. 1, II/18-20; JSS 59/2, pp. 199 and 210-211: ดับงคักกลอยด้วยสขงพาดสขง พนสขง เลื่อนสขง ขยับใครจกมกกลั่นเหล่นใครจกมกกลั่นเหล่นใครจกมกกลั่นเหล่นใครจกมกกลั่นเหล่น, 'They repeatedly do homage together, accompanied by the music of instruments and singing. Whoever wants to make merry, does so; whoever wants to laugh, does so; whoever wants to sing, does so.'

52) สขงตงสัพตงตงดินจกกลั่นเหล่น (II/22), i.e. ตัง, 'loud'; ส (?); พอ, 'enough'; ดิน, 'earth'; จัก, 'would'; หล่ม, 'to fall'; อัน, 'that'; ไซ้, final particle.

53) The year of the boar, M.S. 1281, is the same year mentioned at I/25. See note 38.

54) Probably the stone on which the Footprint was about to be engraved.

55) The lacuna at the end of Face II is of unknown length.

56) หา . . . คุณสงขยาหาตราไวโส (III/4-5). The word หา is the emphatic particle; the lacuna following it may have contained the word รง: คุณ, modern คุณ, is equivalent to คำนวณ, 'to calculate', 'to compute'; สงขยา, modern สงขยา, means 'a high numeral', 'a calculation', etc. It is hard to say what these calculations were; they may have had something to do with the calendar or astrology; cf. Inscr. 3: I/65: ผู้ใดหาทรงพิจารณาสงขยาครุคณและทงจอนนสัน 'Who made the investigation and the reckoning, who calculated, so as to know it so exactly and so thoroughly?' (See JSS 61/1, pp. 90, 103.)

57) Mahādharmarājā and his Chief Queen; cf. above, p. 101, 102.

58) The River Sāk; for the campaign, cf. above, p. 107.

Sòh Gvè, repaired<sup>59</sup> the Mahādhātu, planted a śrīmahābodhi tree . . . . .  
 . . . . . [and built a wall] of laterite around (the precinct). . . . . He  
 built an irrigation canal<sup>60</sup> from Sòh Gvè all the way to Sukhodaya to  
 feed<sup>61</sup> (water to) upland and lowland farms, (so that people) could plant  
 areca palms and . . . . .<sup>62</sup>, catch fish to eat, and be made happy and  
 [contented]<sup>63</sup> everywhere.

[III/19-26.] North of the River Nān (his kingdom) touches<sup>64</sup> the  
 land of Cau Brañā Phā Kòh, the ruler of Mōaṅ Nān Mōaṅ Blvva<sup>65</sup> . . .  
 South of the River Nān (his kingdom) touches the land of Cau Brañā . .  
 . . . . .<sup>66</sup> who is his younger brother. ☉ To the east, it reaches all the  
 way to the Khòh<sup>67</sup> (and the land of) Brañā Dāv Fā Nòm. [To the  
 west<sup>68</sup>] . . . . . Cau who is the son . . . . . to Mōaṅ . . . . .

59) ๓ (III/13); equivalent to ๓, 'to repair' (Pallegoix).

60) ขกพนัง (III/15-16). Coedès, evidently taking พนัง as a doublet of พนัง, translates 'éleva une muraille', and adds a footnote: 'Il s'agit sans doute d'une simple levée de terre, faite dans un but d'irrigation ou de défense' (*Recueil*, p. 128). In *Tai Yuan*, however, the word พนัง still means an irrigation ditch. The earth removed when digging the ditch is naturally piled up into an embankment along the side (hence the expression ขกพนัง).

61) We assume that . . . ง (III/16-17) should be reconstructed as ฅง, modern ฅง, 'to feed.'

62) ปลูกหมากปลูก . . . (III/17), 'plant areca palms and plant . . .'; the lacuna must have contained the name of some other sort of fruit trees. The rest of III/17 and the beginning of III/18, which are now totally illegible, were read by Coedès as ๓พรยาหาบ, which he translated as '(débrousser) la jungle d'herbes et de rotins', '(clear) the jungle of weeds and rattans'. But in his reading there is room for only two or three letters between ปลูก and ๓พร, so it is hard to see how this space could have contained the name of the second sort of fruit trees plus a verb meaning 'to clear'.

63) In accordance with Coedès's suggestion (*Recueil*, p. 132 note 2) we reconstruct ๓เย็นน๓ (๓). . . . . (III/18) as ๓เย็นน๓๓เย็นน๓, modern ๓เย็นน๓๓เย็นน๓, lit. 'cool in body, cool in mind', hence comfortable, happy, contented. The same expression occurs in the Traibhūmikathā (p. 613).

64) ๓ (III/19), mod. ๓ (??), is here evidently used in the sense of Lāo thī or thīk, 'to touch'.

65) Blua, mod. Pua (๓ or ๓). For this and the place-names that follow, see above, p. 110 f.

66) The lacuna presumably contained this ruler's name. The reading ๓....๓.... is very doubtful.

67) The Mè Khoṅ.

68) Restoration based on the context.



.....<sup>69</sup> [IV/1-4.] constantly leading everyone to perform meritorious deeds without missing a single time.<sup>70</sup>

[IV/4-21.] After staying at Sòñ Gvè for seven years, he brought his army (back to Sukhodaya), with a retinue<sup>71</sup> of persons from Sralvañ, Sòñ Gvè, Pāk Yaṃ, Braḥ Pāñ, Jākanrāv, Subarṇabhāva, Nagara Braḥ Juṃ, Mōaṃ . . āi, Mōaṃ Bān, Mōaṃ . . , Mōaṃ Rāt, Mōaṃ Sagā and Mōaṃ Laṃ Pā Cāy. He then came up to worship the Footprint which he himself had formerly placed on top of this Mount Sumanakūṭa. Then he engraved<sup>72</sup> this additional inscription.

69) The lacuna may be longer, as it is uncertain how much more of the stone is lost.

70) This conclusion to the statement regarding the limits of Mahādharmarājā's kingdom recalls the conclusion to the analogous statement in the second postscript to Rāma Gaṃhèñ's inscription. See JSS 59/2, p. 202, lines 26-27, and page 220.

71) Literally 'having the inhabitants of (the places named) as a retinue' (แปลปฐิพาร, IV/14). For the places, see p. 110 f.

72) ๗๓ (IV/20), 'to write with an iron stylus'.

## 11.

Fifteen or twenty years ago an inscribed gold leaf, simulating a page of a palm-leaf manuscript, was submitted to Mahā Chām Dōngām-varṇa for decipherment. It belonged to Mrs Hlin Prijāṭi, a resident of Old Sukhodaya, and was said to have been discovered by treasure-hunters at Vāt Srah Śrī.<sup>1</sup> The writing was in Siamese in Sukhodaya letters. Mahā Chām did not publish it, but he retained his transcription and notes.

In 1964, upon the occasion of the opening of the Rāma Gāmhèn National Museum at Sukhodaya, the owner presented the gold leaf to His Majesty the King.<sup>2</sup> It was later shown to Mr. Prasāra Puṇṇagrōṇ of the National Library, who made a new transcript, compared it with Mahā Chām's old one, from which it differed very little, and published it in Śilpākara VII/5, together with a version in modernized spelling (p. 88), and a photograph (facing p. 75). These are reprinted, without the photograph, as No. 94 in *Prajum Śilācārīk bhāga dī 4* (Bangkok, B.E. 2513).

The inscription records the erection of a cetiya in 1385 for the relics of Mahādharmarājā, i.e. Mahādharmarājā I. The date of his death is not known. If we are right in our estimate of the earliest date when he could have added the postscript to Inscr. 8, he was certainly still alive in 1368 (see p. 103 ff.). It is clear from the inscription of Vāt Jān Lōm that he died several years before that monastery was founded, which was apparently in 1377, though it was not dedicated until 1384 (see JSS 59/1, 189-195). If we can rely on the sequence of events given in Jina-kālamālī, and the dates given in AA/LP for two of these events, he was still alive when Paramarājā seized the throne of Ayudhyā in 1370, but died before Paramarājā took Biṣṇuloka in 1375 (see above, p. 108). Furthermore an old reading of a part of the Vāt Jān Phōak inscription (the portion of stone bearing this passage is now lost) suggests that Mahādharmarājā died before January 1375 (see JSS 59/1, p. 158-169). We shall probably be safe in placing his death between 1368 and 1374, most likely between 1370 and 1374.

1) No. 9 on Map 3, JSS 57/1, p. 33.

2) See Śilpākara, VII/5, p. 76 f.



That would mean that in 1385 he had been dead for at least 11 years, and perhaps a good deal longer. It might seem odd for his relics to have been kept so long without being deposited in a *cetiya*. Perhaps the delay could be explained by the acute danger in which his son Mahādharmarājā II found himself when Paramarājā began a series of attacks on Sukhodayan territory in the early 1370's and captured Biṣṇuloka in 1375. Mahādharmarājā II may have preferred to keep his father's relics hidden in some place where he could pick them up quickly and take them with him in case he was forced to flee. (Rāma I, the founder of the present dynasty, took the same precaution with *his* father's relics.) After Mahādharmarājā II's surrender to Paramarājā in 1378, the relics may have remained in hiding until 1385, when Sukhodaya began to regain some semblance of independence.

On the other hand we have no assurance that all Mahādharmarājā's relics were deposited in the *cetiya* in 1385. They may have been divided among a number of persons, the largest share going to the eldest son, the rest to other members of the family and close associates. Sooner or later a *cetiya* would be built for the major share at Vāt Mahādhātu at Sukhodaya, which, like Vāt Śrī Sarbejñā at Ayudhyā, was the normal place for the relics of deceased members of the royal family to be enshrined. In Inscription 40, which bears no legible date but can hardly be earlier than 1390, the King of Sukhodaya promises to give his nephew, the King of Ayudhyā, free access to the Mahādhātu whenever he may wish to go there to worship Mahādharmarājā's relics (see JSS 58/1, p. 108).

The *cetiya* referred to in the gold leaf inscription was evidently built for a different share of the relics, the share belonging to the founder of the monument, who is described as 'the Braḥ Mahāsaṅgharāja Cau, the virtuous man who had been Mahādharmarājā's teacher' (lines 1-2). This is certainly the same person as the Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja from Bann (Martaban in Lower Burma), whose installation at Sukhodaya in 1361 is recounted at length in Inscriptions 4 and 5 (see JSS 61/1, pp. 133 f., 139 f., 150 f., 156 f.), and whose identification with

Medhaṅkara, author of the Lokappadīpasāra, we think practically certain (see above, p. 95). As he was still at Sukhodaya in 1385, he would probably be the person referred to as 'the Braḥ Mahātherasaṅgharāja' around 1379 in the Inscription of Vāt Trabān Jān Phōak (1/18 ff.; see JSS 59/1, pp. 165, 168).

The founder would naturally deposit the gold-leaf inscription in the relic chamber of the cetiya. If it was really discovered at Vāt Sraḥ Śrī we should know for certain that the stupa there was the monument built by the Saṅgharāja in 1385; but the stated provenance of any object discovered by treasure-hunters is always open to doubt. In this case, however, we have some confirmatory evidence. The dimensions of the cetiya, as given in the inscription, show that it was extremely large. Apart from the Mahādhātu itself, which had been built long before, there are only two monuments at Sukhodaya which are large enough to correspond to the dimensions given. One is Vāt Janaḥsaṅgrāma, the other is Vāt Sraḥ Śrī.<sup>3</sup> Both are bell-shaped stupas of 'Sinhalese' type, with square bases. The base of the stupa of Vāt Janaḥsaṅgrāma is 18 m. square, and stands on a platform 37 m. square. The base of the stupa of Vāt Sraḥ Śrī is 17.50 m. square, and stands on a stepped platform which measures 22.50 m. square at the top step. The monument described in the gold-leaf inscription was 'a square cetiya' (sc. a cetiya with a square base), 'twelve fathoms and two cubits in width'. If we take the Sukhodayan fathom at its value in the late 13th century (which is the only time for which we have any definite evidence), and adjust the other measures accordingly, we get about 23 m., which corresponds very closely to that of the top step of the platform at Vāt Sraḥ Śrī, but is quite different from that of either the base or the platform at Vāt Janaḥsaṅgrāma. These measurements, plus the presumed provenance of the inscription, make the identification with Vāt Sraḥ Śrī a virtual certainty.

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3) Respectively Nos. 6 and 9 on Map 3, JSS 57/1, p. 33.



## Text

- (๑) สกราช ไค ๗๔๖ ปีชุนกัศัตร์เดือนสี่แรมหกค่ำวันศุกร์ไทกาท  
สนนพระมหาสงครามเจ้าผู้คมีบุญนายนันเป็นครูแก้มหา
- (๒) ธรรมราชาเห็นผลกรรมอนันเป็นแก่นปราธนาโพธิ์สารแล้งกัมม์เลือก  
สัต์ตัวออกจากสงสารไ้จึงให้บรรสคตวาท
- (๓) ลายไปเอาหินผามากทำเป็นพระเจดีย์สี่ถ่านพระธาตุแห่งมหาธรรม  
ราชาค้วยกว้างไคสิบสองวาแลสองสอกควยสูงไค
- (๔) สิบเจดวาค่าแขนเมือแล้วฉลองพระธาตุนี้ปราธนาด้วยคำว่าพุทฺโธ  
ภวิสุสามือนาคเทภเว ฯ เถ้ ฯ

## Translation

Sakarāja 746, year of the rat, in the fourth month, on the sixth day of the waning moon, a Friday, in *Tai* a 'kāp sann' day,<sup>4</sup> the Brah Mahā-saṅgharāja Cau, the virtuous man who had been Mahādharmarājā's teacher, knowing that our lives are conditioned by **karma**, desiring to achieve the conditions necessary to attain Buddhahood,<sup>5</sup> and wishing to lift sentient beings out of the round of transmigrations,<sup>6</sup> got a large crowd of people<sup>7</sup> to go and fetch stone<sup>8</sup> to make a square cetiya for the relics of Mahādharmarājā, twelve fathoms and two cubits in width, and in height seventeen fathoms plus an arm.<sup>9</sup> When it was finished he held the dedication ceremony for this reliquary, using the words 'Buddho bhavissāmi anāgate bhavē.'<sup>10</sup>

4) This date corresponds to Friday, March 3, 1385 A.D. (Julian). We are indebted to Mr Roger Billard of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient for calculating it for us.

5) Literally 'saw the fruit of karma' (i.e. the result of our actions in past lives or the present life), 'which is the heartwood' (i.e. the most vital influence), 'and desired bodhisambhāra' (i.e. to prepare himself by performing works of merit so that in some future life, when he has accumulated enough merit and wisdom, he may become a Buddha). The Saṅgharāja has taken the 'great resolve' to become a Buddha in some future life, and wishes to add to his store of merits for that purpose.

6) In this instance, he wishes to persuade people to earn merit by helping to build the cetiya, which will advance them in their progress toward nibbāna.

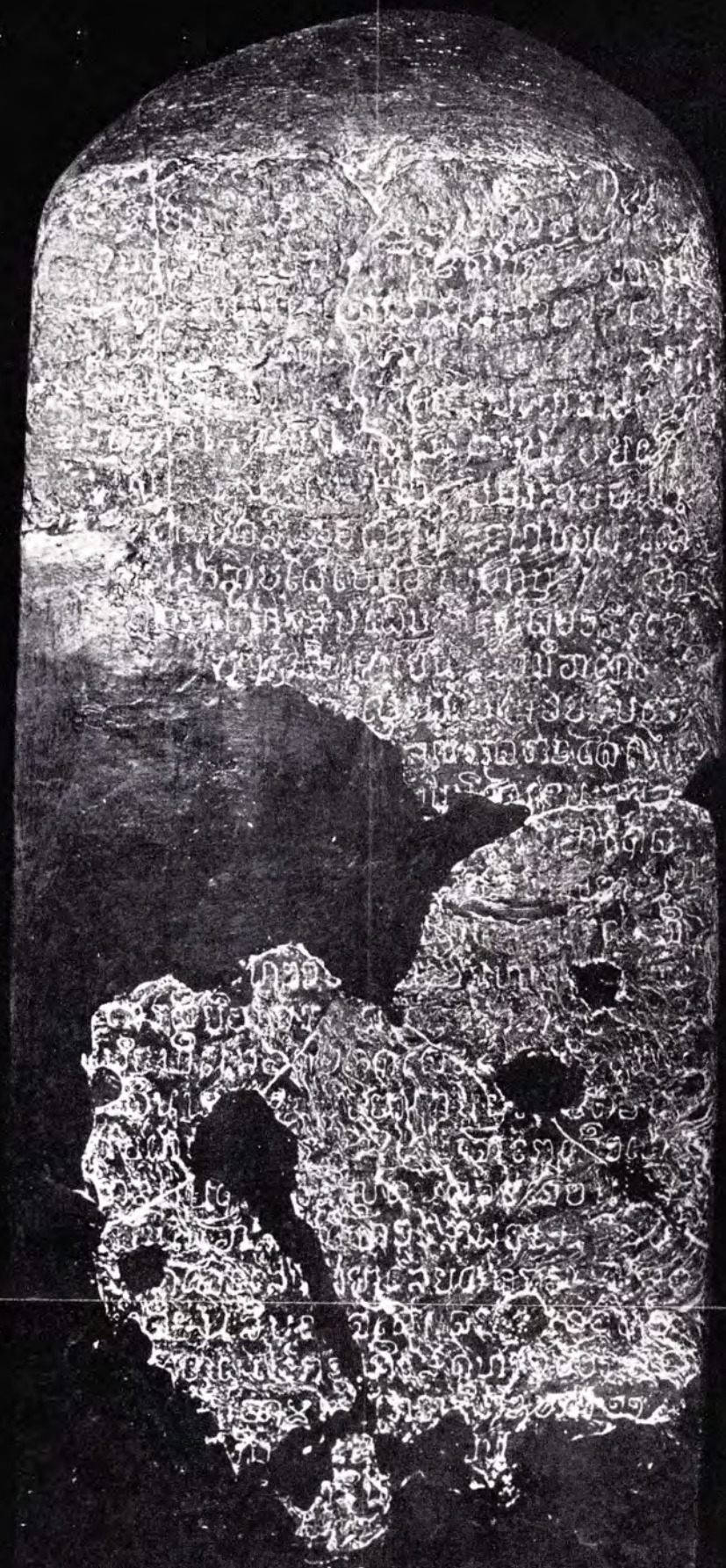
7) บรรรสดคทพหัลลย (I/2-3), 'a whole company' (บรรรสดคท, for pariṣada).

8) หินผา; the expression suggests colossal blocks of stone. At Sukhodaya the only sort of 'stone' which would be likely to be used in colossal blocks was laterite.

9) สิบเจดวาคำแขน (I/4); คำ, which ordinarily means 'value', here means 'plus'; แขน, 'arm', is either the same as a cubit or else a cubit and a span. The Sukhodayan fathom was about 1.86 m. (see Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, p. 8). The cubit is 1/4 of a fathom, and the span 1/2 of a cubit. The base of the cetiya, or rather (if we have guessed right) the top of the platform which supported the base proper, would therefore be about 23 m. square, and the height of the monument would be somewhat over 32 m.

10) Pali: 'May I become a Buddha in a future existence!'

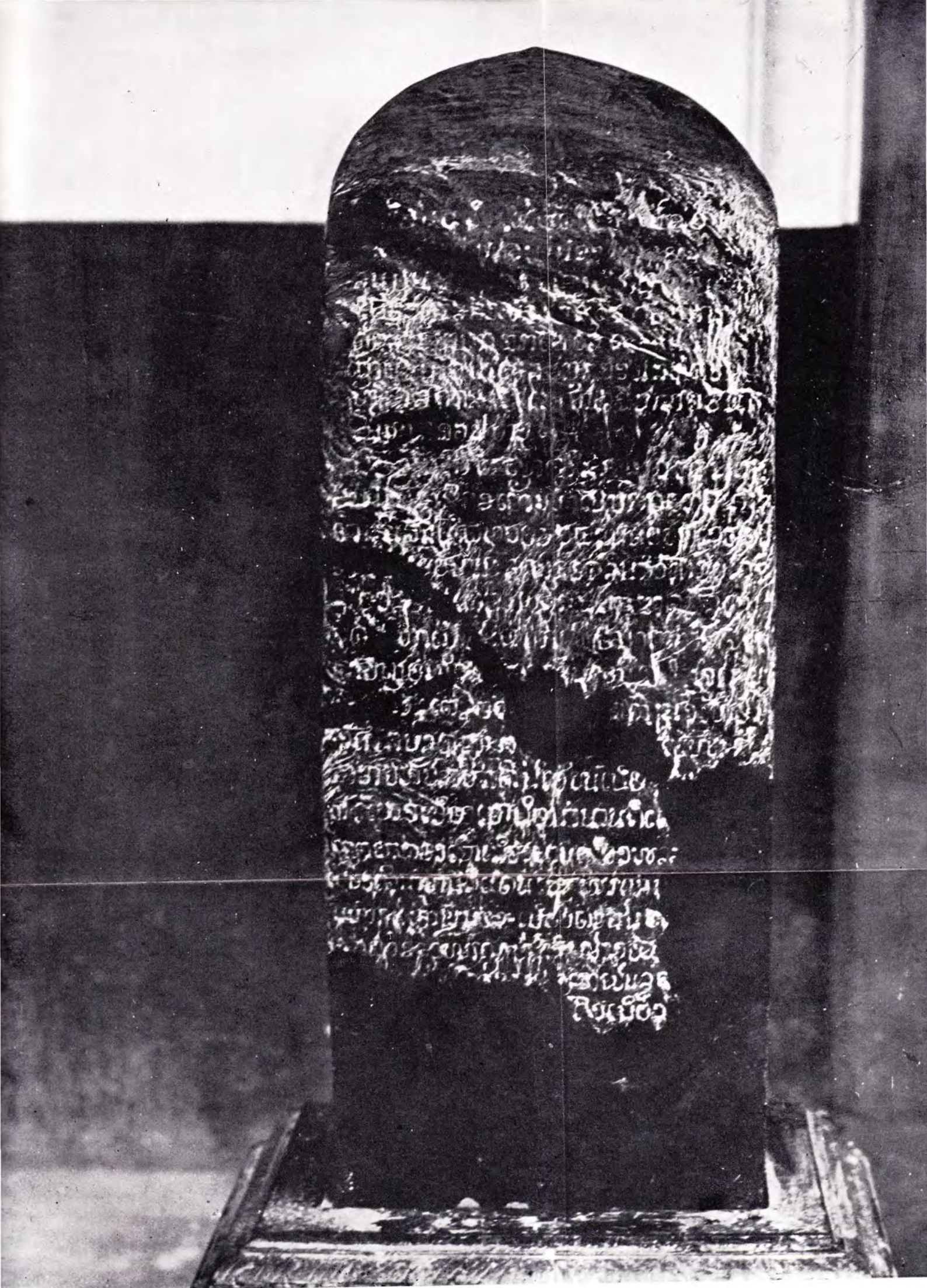














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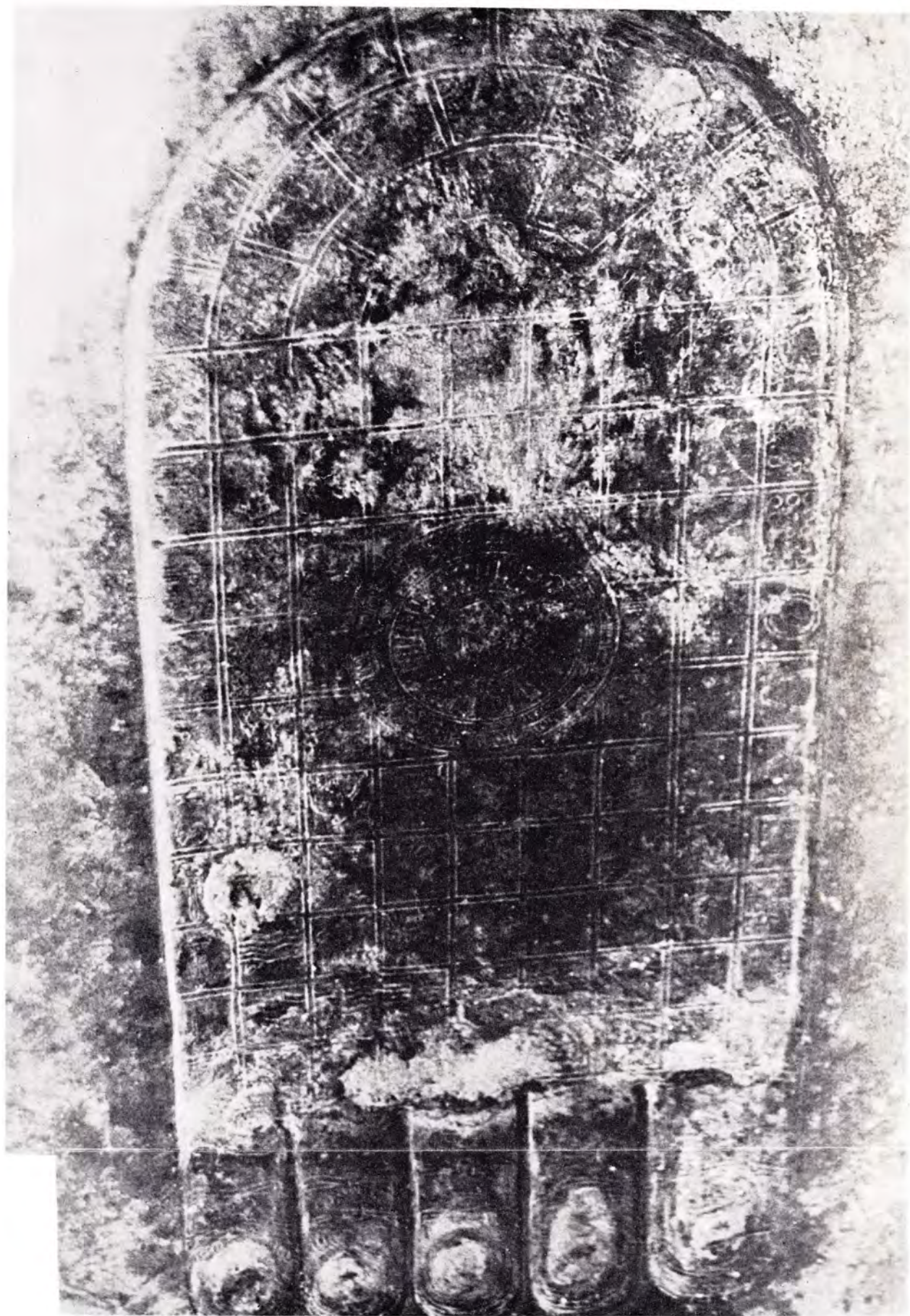


Fig. 5.



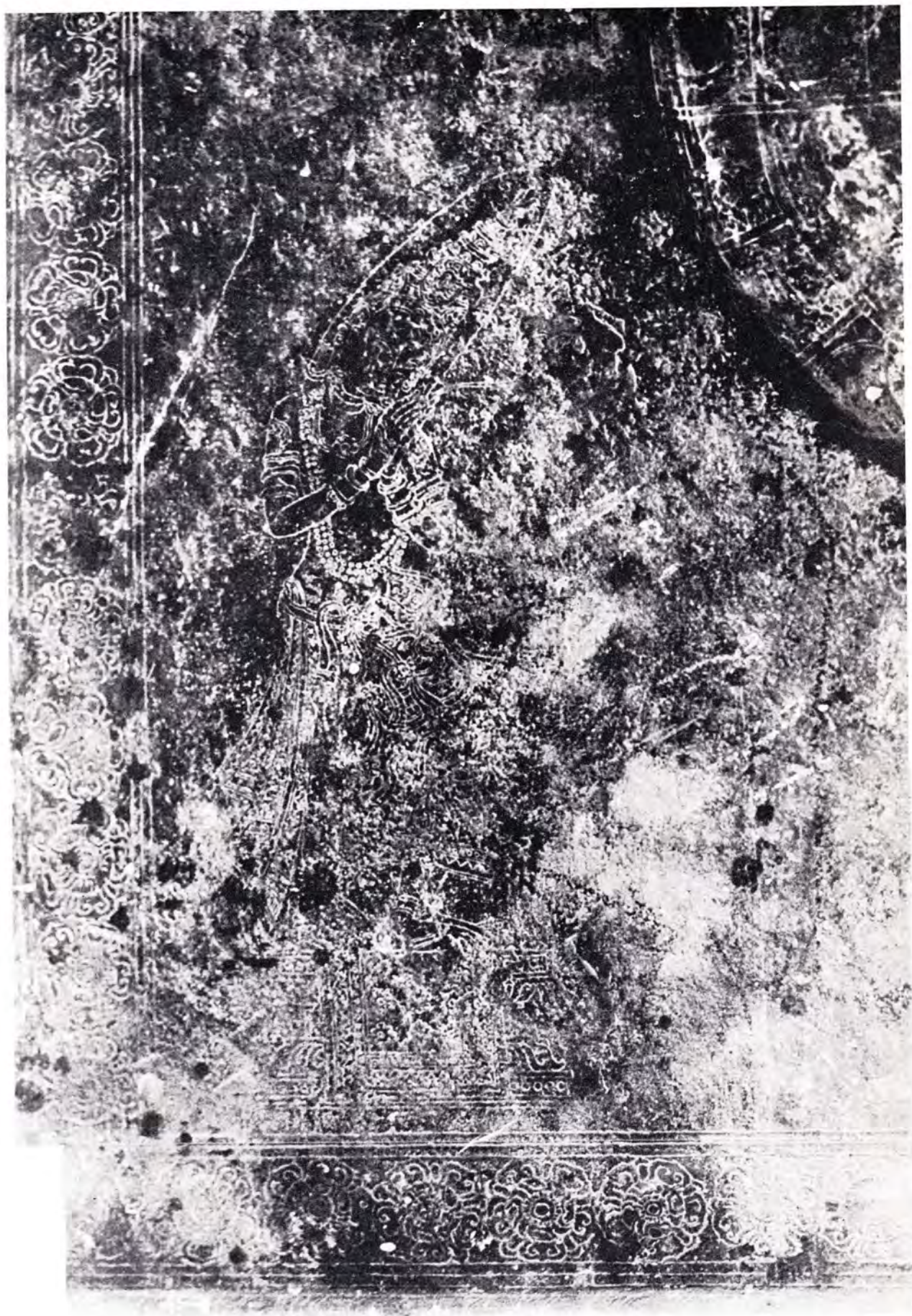


Fig. 6



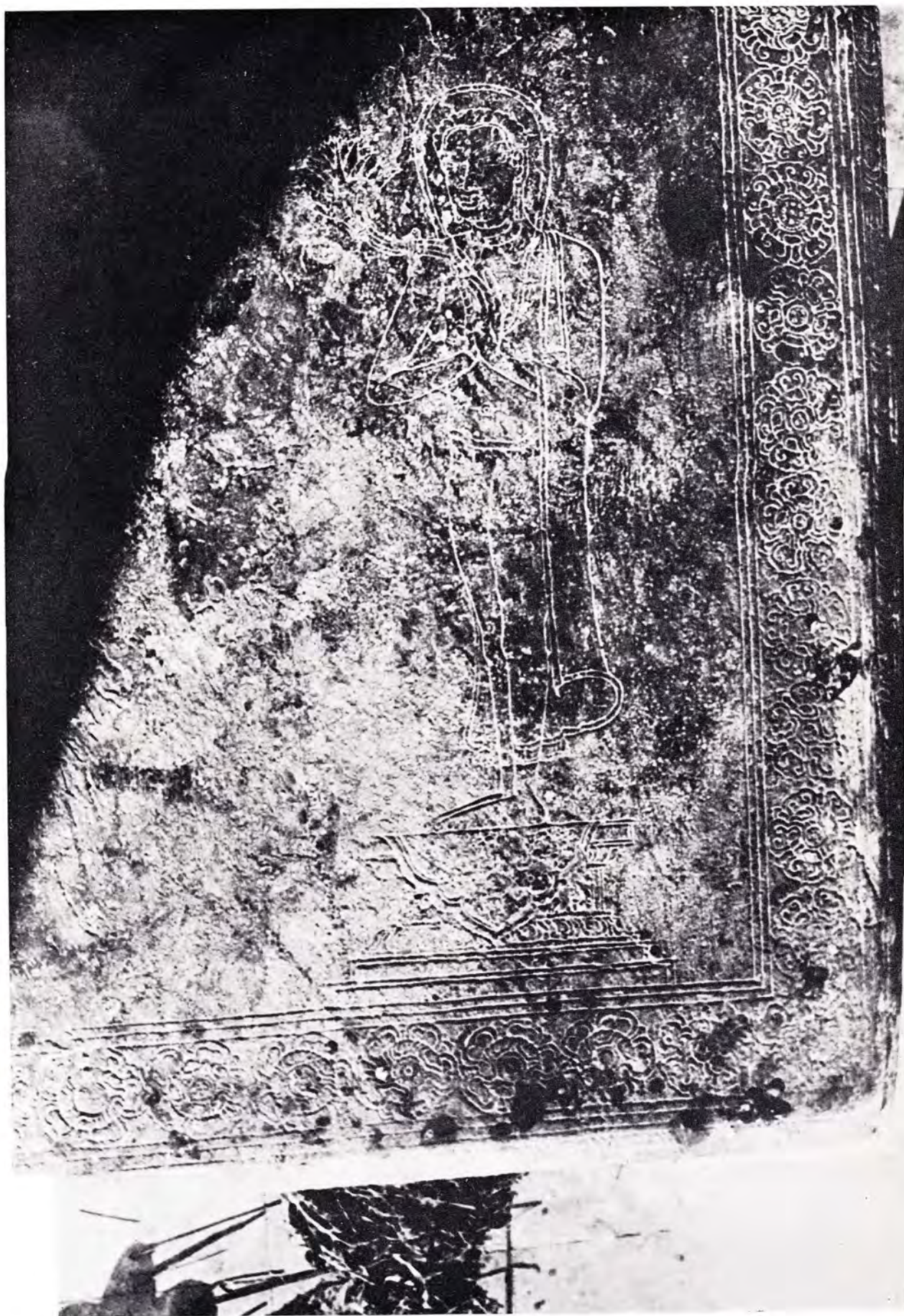


Fig. 7