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Inscription 9

by

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Introduction

The surviving portions of Inscription 9 consist of three slabs of stone, each engraved on one face only. In referring to a given line of the inscription, we shall use the Roman numeral before the slant to designate the number of the slab (and not the number of the face, as in our discussions of other inscriptions), while the Arabic numeral after the slant is, as usual, the number of the line.

The text contains a series of dates given in an unspecified era which is obviously the Cūlasakarāja (CS). They run from [CS] 705 = 1343 A.D. to [CS] 768 = 1406 A.D. The inscription was evidently composed in 1406 or very soon after.

The King of Sukhodaya at that time was Mahādharmarāja III (Sai Līdaiya), who reigned from about 1398 to 1419. Sukhodaya, which had been reduced to vassalage by Ayudhyā in 1378, had gradually regained its freedom, and declared its independence in 1400. In 1406 Mahādharmarāja III was still an independent monarch, but a few years later he was forced to become a vassal of Ayudhyā.¹

Though the language of Inscr. 9 is Siamese, it is written in Cambodian script much like the 'Khôm' which Sukhodayan epigraphy regularly uses for Pali texts; the inscription is addressed primarily to the monkhood; and the Khôm script may have been used to emphasize its sacred and inviolable character.

Inscr. 9 uses the mai-hăn-ākāśa often in syllables ending in ṇ, and at least once in a syllable ending in u; as usual in Sukhodayan epigraphy, it is written above the final consonant rather than the initial :

1) See JSS 56/2, pp. 207-242.

ส่ง (I/2, 22, 24; III/11, 12, 28, 29, 32, 36, 37)

ส่งมา (I/30)

ส่งสาร (I/29)

คง (I/3, 22, 25; III/27)

คง (III/27)

ทง (I/24, 26, 33; III/9, 11, 16, 22, 23, 32, 36)

ง (I/25)

วัง (III/7, 13)

วัง (III/19)

อน (III/12, 19)

Elsewhere the mai-hän-ākāśa is regularly replaced by the reduplication of the final consonant:

สกกราช (I/4, 6, 9; II/9; III/1, 24)

นกก (I/23; III/9)

หนกก (III/7)

จกก (I/23; II/4, 5)

นกกสตต (III/24)

วตต (I/14, 17, 21; II/6)

บรตต (III/16, 22)

ถตต (III/32)

วณน (I/5, 7, 27; III/24)

นณน (I/9, 13, 34; II/4; III/23, 26, 32)

กณน (I/22; III/22)

อนน (I/23, 30; III/22, 23, 26, 31, 35, 36, 37)

บนนจ (I/18)

กบบ (III/9, 13, 16, 21)

รงบบ (III/23)

In the same order of ideas we have ทุก (III/35) for ทุก; สวรรคาราม (III/36) for สวรรคาราม; and ธรรม (passim) for ธรรม, whether alone or in a compound. The vowel ^{ai} occurs twice: ใต้ (II/11), ใต้ (III/12); elsewhere its place is taken by ^{ai} or ^{ai}. The vowel ^{ai} is lacking, being generally replaced by ^{ai}. The word ออก is twice written โอก (I/5, 6), and once ออก (III/7); สอง is written โสง (III/23); ขอบ is written โขบ (III/29-30).

The mai-ek accent occurs in the following words: ก (=^{ai}, I/13), บ (III/29), ภา (I/14, 21, II/6, 12), ภา (II/3), ใต้ (III/2, 3, 7, 10); the accent ^{ai} (for the mai-do) occurs in ใต้ (I/18, II/7, III/30), ใต้ (III/1), ใต้ (III/6), ใต้ (III/6) and ใต้ (III/38); but elsewhere in the inscription the same words are written without accents.

There is no recorded provenance or date of discovery for any of the three slabs. Around the 1880's Slabs I and III were at Vāt Pavarānivesa in Bangkok, let into a wall at the entrance of the Lord Abbot's residence, but we do not know how long they had been there. Slab II was deposited in the Vāñ Hnā Museum at Bangkok at an unknown date. In 1924 all three slabs were removed to the Vajirañāṇa Library, and they are now in the Vajirañāṇa Hall of the old National Library building.

All three are 55 cm. in width (Figs. 1-5). I and III are rectangular with rounded tops; II must have been similar, but is now only a fragment in the form of an irregular triangle. The best preserved is III, which is 1 m. in height, with 38 lines of writing; except for a few lacunae, the text appears to be complete. The bottom of I is broken off, leaving it 90 cm. in height, with 34 lines of writing. As for II, which is 80 cm. in height, an unknown number of lines are lost at the top, as well as a considerable portion of the 15 lines that survive.

Slab III was first published by Père Schmitt in 1886.² He published it again, together with Slab I, in Fournereau's *Le Siam Ancien*.³ He was able to decipher only a small part of I, but his transcription of III in *Le Siam Ancien*, though faulty, is complete. As he failed to grasp the sequence of ideas, his translations make very little sense.

The late Professor George Coedès, recognizing that the three slabs are parts of a single text, published them with a transcription in Romanization and a French translation in 1924.⁴ This was the first publication of II, and the first satisfactory edition and translation of the others. The Siamese section of the same volume contains a transcription of the text in modern Siamese letters.⁵

As Coedès observes, Slabs I and III give the beginning and the end of the text respectively. Slab II, in which the first date is [CS] 724, must be a direct continuation of I, in which the last date is 723. But between II, whose last date is 731, and III whose first date is 750, there must have been one or more slabs that are now lost.

In the inscription there are several references to 'this Red Forest Monastery' (วัดป่าแดงนี้, I/17, I/21, II/6, II/9, II/10) between the years 721 and 725; there is a reference, *sub anno* 768, to 'this Kalyāṇa Forest Monastery' (กลาฬวนาวาสนี้, III/37); and nowhere is there a mention of any other monastery with the demonstrative 'this' (although there is a reference at I/33 to 'all these monasteries,' apparently meaning all the forest monasteries in the province of Sajjanālaya). The evidence of the demonstratives suggests that the Kalyāṇa Forest Monastery was the same place as the Red Forest Monastery, and that the inscription was composed and erected there. The name was apparently changed some time between 725 (1363 A.D.) and 768 (1406 A.D.). Slab I gives us some information about the first Abbot of the Red Forest Monastery, a person called Mahākalyāṇathera (Mahāthera Kalyāṇa). He died in 723 (1361 A.D.), and it seems likely that the monastery was re-named in his memory not long afterward.

2) *Excursions et reconnaissances*, Saigon, 1886.

3) Vol. I, Paris, 1895, pp. 273-282, and Pls. LXXIX-LXXX.

4) Coedès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, I, Bangkok, 1924, p. 131 f.

5) *Prajan Śīlācārīk Syām*, I, Bangkok, 1924; second edition, Bangkok, 1957.

Coedès suggested⁶ that 'Red Forest Monastery' in this text might be another name for the Araññika built by Rāma Gamphèn,⁷ or else might refer to a monastery halfway between Sukhodaya and Sajjanālaya whose ruins are mentioned in Prince Vajirāvudh's account of his tour in the Land of *Pra Ruang*,⁸ i.e. the 'Southern Red Forest Monastery' (วัดป่าแดงใต้).⁹ But the one in Inscr. 9, as is clear from I/13, was much closer to Sajjanālaya. Very likely it was at or near the Mahārattavanārāma (Pali: 'Great Red Forest Monastery'), which, according to Jinakālamālī, was 'at the foot of Mount Siripabbata.' Siripabbata is the Pali name for Mount Brah Śrī (เขาพระศรี), less than a kilometre south of the south corner of Sajjanālaya's ramparts.¹⁰ Recent explorations in this area by the Faculty of Archaeology of the University of Fine Arts have revealed the ruins of numerous monasteries, but the one discussed in our inscription has not yet been identified.

Jinakālamālī's reference to the Mahārattavanārāma is connected with the story of a miraculous relic discovered by the Thera Sumana, who had introduced the order of Forest-dwelling Sihalabhikkhus or 'Ceylon monks' at Sukhodaya. This order, which had been established at Martaban in Lower Burma by the Mahāsāmī Udumbara, had a high reputation for holiness and orthodoxy. The story, as Jinakālamālī tells it, may be summarized as follows. No date is given, but the story is placed at a time when 'Dhammarāja' was King of Sukhodaya and his son 'Lideyyarāja' was ruler of Sajjanālaya. Sumana and a friend of his had gone to Lower Burma to be re-ordained by the Mahāsāmī Udumbara and to study with him. When Sumana returned to Sukhodaya, Dhammarāja installed him in the Ambavanārāma (Mango Grove Monastery) which he had just built. One day Sumana, when he was on his way from Sukhodaya to Sajjanālaya, made a halt at the river Pā.¹¹ A relic of the Buddha appeared by night in an old monastery nearby, performing a miracle; and a tree-spirit, disguised as a Brahmin, told Sumana where the relic

6) *Recueil*, p. 131.

7) See JSS 59/2, 210-212 and note 66.

8) เรื่องเที่ยวเมืองพระร่วง, Bangkok, 1909, p. 132.

9) See the sketch-map, *ibid.*, between pp. 36 and 37.

10) See No. 19 on Map 3 in Griswold, *Towards a History Sukhodaya Art*, Bangkok, 1968.

11) i.e. the *Fa Gradān*, ฝากรัดาน, a little over 20 km. southwest of Sajjanālaya; see JSS 60/1, p. 67 note 13; cf. *ibid.*, p. 60 note 26.

was deposited. Sumana went there, caused the ground to be dug, and discovered the relic in a casket. He then went on to Sajjanālaya, taking the relic with him. Upon learning of his approach, Lideyyarāja went out to receive him, took him to Sajjanālaya, and installed him in the Mahārattavanārāma at the foot of Mount Siripabbata. Lideyyarāja, upon seeing the wonderful relic, was filled with delight and paid homage to it. Later on, at the request of King Dhammarāja, Sumana returned to Sukhodaya and showed him the relic.¹²

Mūlasāsanā tells substantially the same story. While the text is corrupt in several places, the needed corrections are generally obvious enough. Udumbara had arrived at Bān (Martaban) in Rāmaññadesa in 1331, and established a community of Forest-dwelling Sīhalabhikkhus there. Not long afterward Sumana and his friend Anomadassī, after retiring from the Sukhodayan order in which they had already received the grade of Mahāthera, went to Bān to be re-ordained in Udumbara's order. After studying with him for five years and receiving the grade of Nissayamutta, they spent the next five in the kingdom of Sukhodaya. Then they returned to Martaban for three months, where, as they had now belonged to Udumbara's order for ten years, he gave them the grade of Mahāthera [cf. Appendix, p. 115]. Sumana went to reside in the Mango Grove at Sukhodaya, Anomadassī in the Red Forest at Sajjanālaya; and they often used to exchange visits.¹³ This explains why Sumana was on his way to Sajjanālaya when he discovered the relic, the story of which is related at length in Mūlasāsanā. And it explains why the author of Jinakālamālī, though he does not mention Anomadassī by name, tells us that Sumana, after discovering the relic, went to stay at the Mahārattavanārāma.

When did these events occur? Two very different answers to the question may be considered. See Appendix, pp. 114-120.

Inscription 9 gives a good deal of information about certain phases of monastic life in the Sukhodaya period. It is chiefly concerned with the affairs of the Forest-dwelling monks (Araññavāsī or Vanavāsī), for the most part apparently the order of Forest-dwelling Sīhalabhikkhus to

12) See JSS 60/1, pp. 67-68; and Coedès in BEFEO XXV, pp. 95-96.

13) See JSS 60/1, 55-65; cf. *ibid.*, 48-54, 69-72.

which Sumana, Anomadassī, and other disciples of Udumbara belonged. This order, because of its connection with Ceylon, and its adoption of the **dhutaṅga** of Forest-dwelling as a permanent way of life, was thought of as a kind of scholarly and ascetic *élite*.¹⁴ Its members were much less numerous than the Gāmaṇḍī or Village-Dwellers, whom the inscription mentions twice (apparently the same order as the Nagaravāṣī or City-Dwellers, who are not mentioned under the latter name in the inscription). It also refers once to a third sect or order, the Braḥ Rūpa, of which we know nothing.

The author of the inscription is a high-ranking monk, Braḥ Paramagrū Tilokatilaka Tiratanasilagandha Vanavāṣī Dharmakitti Saṅgharāja Mahāsvāmī Cau. As Inscr. 9 shows he was on very friendly terms with Sumana between 1361 and 1369, some scholars—being reminded of the chronicular accounts that tell how Sumana and Anomadassī exchanged visits and cooperated in performing ceremonies—propose to identify him with Anomadassī. (See Appendix, p. 120.)

One purpose of Inscription 9 is to record Tilokatilaka's appointment as Saṅghaparināyaka 'with full powers', including the power to take action if any monk of the order of Forest-Dwellers contravenes the Dharma. We do not know how the term Saṅghaparināyaka ('complete master of the monkhood') differed, in the Sukhodaya period, from Saṅgharāja ('ruler of the monkhood'). In the 19th century both terms signified the Supreme Patriarch of the monkhood throughout the kingdom; but Inscr. 9 suggests that in the Sukhodaya period the office of Saṅghaparināyaka was higher than that of Saṅgharāja, and that Tilokatilaka was being promoted. Probably as Saṅgharāja he had been head of the order of Forest-dwelling monks in the province of Sajjanālaya, and as Saṅghaparināyaka he was being made head of the order throughout the kingdom. It seems that each of the three orders had its own Saṅgharāja for a given province, and its own Saṅghaparināyaka for the whole kingdom. We do not know whether there was any Supreme Patriarch for the entire monkhood throughout the kingdom.

14) For this order, see JSS 60/1, pp. 48 ff.; for Sumana's inadequacies, cf. JSS 61/1, 119-120.

A second purpose of the text is to confirm an appointment previously made by Tilokatilaka in his capacity as Saṅgharāja (III/27-35). He had appointed the Mahāthera Maṅgalavilāsa as Abbot of the Kalyāṇa Forest Monastery; and this appointment, or perhaps Maṅgalavilāsa's conduct after receiving it, had been called into question by two Mahātheras, Sāriputta and Buddhavaṃsa, who brought legal action, apparently with the object of having Maṅgalavilāsa removed. In a solemn conclave held in 768 (1406 A.D.) the King, Mahādharṃarājā III, together with the Queen Mother, the royal counsellors and others, as well as representatives of the three monastic orders (Gāmaṃvāsī, Braḥ Rūpa, and Araṇṇaṃvāsī), quashed the complaint made by the two monks, appointed Tilokatilaka to the post of Saṅghaparināyaka, and confirmed Maṅgalavilāsa as Abbot of the Kalyāṇa Forest Monastery.¹⁵

As a prelude (Slabs I and II) to the account of the conclave and its decisions, Tilokatilaka goes back 63 years to review his own career. He does not mention King Lōdaiya (r. 1298 ?-c. 1347), who was reigning in CS 705 (1343 A.D.), the first date in the inscription; nor does he mention Nvva Nāṃ Tham, whose reign probably lasted only a few weeks in 1347. He gives us several glimpses of Mahādharṃarājā I (Līdaiya, r. 1347-c. 1370), whom he calls 'Mahādharṃarājā the grandfather.' The next king, Mahādharṃarājā II (r. c. 1370-c. 1398), is not mentioned in the surviving portions of the text, though there is a reference to an appointment made in his reign (1388). Mahādharṃarājā III (r. c. 1398-1419), who was King at the time the inscription was composed, is designated as 'Mahādharṃarājā the grandson.'

We may sum up the information in the inscription as follows (we transpose the CS dates into the Christian Era by adding 638, without regard to the month; the results may sometimes be wrong by one year):

CS 705 = 1343 A.D. Someone, probably Tilokatilaka, is ordained in the order of Gāmaṃvāsī. (I/3-5.)

15) The presence of the Queen Mother at this conclave might lead us to believe the King was still a minor and that his mother was acting as regent for him (cf. Wood, *History of Siam*, p. 61; and Coedès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, I, p. 9); but it seems pretty certain that he was a full-grown man. See JSS 56/2, p. 226 and note 39.

CS 719 = 1357 A.D. He is ordained in the order of Araññavāsī, and comes to reside at a place whose name is lost (I/5-9; cf. below, p. 104, note 5).

CS 721 = 1359 A.D. Mahādharmarājā I builds a kuṭi for Mahākalyāṇathera to live in, and in the same year builds the Red Forest Monastery for him. Mahādharmarājā conducts a campaign to Brē (ဃုဝှ်), which lasts seven months. At the conclusion of it (probably in CS 722 = 1360) he presents fifteen families of prisoners of war to the Red Forest Monastery. He invites Mahākalyāṇathera to come (and spend the rainy season retreat there?). (I/9-17.)

CS 723 = 1361 A.D.¹⁶ Tilokatilaka goes to Sukhodaya to do homage to someone, apparently Mahākalyāṇathera. When Mahākalyāṇathera is taken ill, he and Tilokatilaka return to the Red Forest Monastery. Knowing his death is near, Mahākalyāṇathera asks the monks and white-clad ascetics to choose his successor. The choice falls on Tilokatilaka. Mahādharmarājā I comes to the Red Forest Monastery, and after Mahākalyāṇathera's cremation he puts Tilokatilaka in charge of 'all these monasteries', apparently meaning all the Araññavāsī monasteries in the province of Sajjanālaya. (I/19-33.)

In the same year Mahādharmarājā I sends for Mahāsamaṇathera to come to the Mango Grove; Mahāsamaṇathera is the Mahāthera Sumana who discovered the relic (see above, p. 93 f.). Mahāsamaṇathera visits the Red Forest Monastery to salute Tilokatilaka and perhaps shows him something (the relic?), though the lacunae in the text prevent us from being certain. Then Mahāsamaṇathera goes into retreat for the rainy season at the Mango Grove Monastery, while Tilokatilaka goes into retreat at the Red Forest Monastery. (II/1-9.)

16) This was the year the 'Mahāthera Saṅgharāja' from Bann (Martaban) arrived at Sukhodaya, and Mahādharmarājā I was ordained as a monk; see JSS 61/1, 119-167. For the identification of the Mahāthera Saṅgharāja, see below, Appendix p. 121. As it seems pretty certain that he was put in charge of all the Forest Monasteries in the kingdom of Sukhodaya, we should expect him to be mentioned in Inscr. 9; but if so, the references to him are lost or unidentifiable.

CS 724 = 1362 and CS 725 = 1363. Tilokatilaka spends the rainy season retreat at the Red Forest Monastery. (II/9-10.)

CS 731 = 1369. Mahāsamañathera goes to the north. (II/14-15.)

A lacuna of 19 years follows. The lost text may have contained a statement that the name of the Red Forest Monastery was changed to Kalyāṇa Forest Monastery (presumably in memory of Mahākalyāṇathera); and it certainly contained a statement that Tilokatilaka appointed Padumuttaramahāthera as Abbot of the monastery. This statement may have been preceded by references to one or more earlier appointments to the post. Very likely Tilokatilaka himself had become Abbot of the monastery in 1361 at the same time he was appointed Saṅgharāja, but later on put the monastery in charge of a series of other Mahātheras, though he seems to have continued to reside there himself as Saṅgharāja.

CS 750 = 1388. Upon the death of Padumuttaramahāthera, Tilokatilaka appoints Taṇhaṃkaramahāthera to the post. (III/1-3)

After that, upon the death of Taṇhaṃkaramahāthera, he appoints Vessabhūmahāthera; and upon the latter's death he appoints Maṅgalavilāsamahāthera. (III/3-6.)

At an unstated date, probably in CS 768 = 1406 A.D., or a little earlier, two monks make a complaint against Maṅgalavilāsamahāthera and bring suit (to have him removed). Mahādharmarājā III, together with his mother and numerous advisors, as well as a large assembly of monks representing the three orders (Gāmaṇvāsī, Brah Rūpa and Araññavāsī), meet together in the uposatha hall on Lake Chāṇ and quash the suit. (III/6-23.)

CS 768 = 1406 A.D. Mahādharmarājā III issues an edict in the same uposatha hall, appointing Tilokatilaka to the post of Saṅghaparināyaka, with full power to discipline any monks of the Araññavāsī as he deems best. At the same time Tilokatilaka and all the monks, together with the King, etc., confirm Maṅgalavilāsamahāthera as Abbot of the Kalyāṇa Forest Monastery.

Text

SLAB I

๑. สารนิพระปรมครุติโลกคิลก
๒. ตีรตนสิดคนธรวาสีธรรมกิตติสังฆมรา
๓. ชมหาสวามีเจามีพุทธฎีกาตังนี้แต่ทานเอาอุปสมบ
๔. ทไณคามวสีสกกกราชไค ๗๐๕ ในปีมแมเดือน
๕. หกโกลสิบเอดคำวนนจนทเมือทานเอาอุปสมบทไ
๖. นอรณวสีสกกกราชไค ๗๑๔ ปีรกาเดือนหกโ
๗. กหกคำวนนองการทานมาอยู่.....
๘.
๙.สกกกราชไค ๗๒๑ ในปีรเมื่อนนมหากลยาณ
๑๐. (เถร).....พระมหาเถร.....
๑๑.มหาธรรมราชาผุ้ไ(อรรธนา).....
๑๒. .สง...กฏีในมหาเถรอยู่เมือทานมานบ.....
๑๓. มหาธาตุในศรีสขชนาโลกในปีคยวนนแล.....
๑๔. ..ไหกท้าวคตป้าแดงไหทานอยู่กในปีคยวน(นนแลม)
๑๕. ทาธรรมราชาผุ้เอาพลไปในเมืองพลอยู่ไคเจกเดือน
๑๖.จากพลแลวไหเอาคนสืบหาเรือน.....
๑๗. ..วคตป้าแดงนี้จึงอรรธนามหากลยาณเถรมา....

๑๘. ...สีโพนกวยฝูงชีผาขาวบนจะพระเจ้าเรามิไค...
๑๙. (สกกกราช)ไค ๗๒๓ ปีฉลุเราจึงไคไปนบทานถึงสุโข(โขไท)
๒๐. กลอยทานมีพยาธิมหากลายณเถรแลเราจึงคิ(น).
๒๑. ในวัดดป่าแดงนี้กลอยทานเป้นพยาธิ.....
๒๒. ภิกษุสงฆ์ตวยฝูงชีผาขาวมาวณกนนแลวคังนี้กุ...
๒๓. ... ใจูกนกกแลเราจกกไวอาวาสธรรมมารมณมี..
๒๔. แกผุไคควรส่งฝูงภิกษุสงฆ์ทั้งหลาย...
๒๕. .งนี้กวาจากุมิไคเลยทานจึงวคังนี้ไหวแก....
๒๖. .นี้... แกผ. สักวาททั้งหลายแล.... นี้ไหว...
๒๗. .แทนกอยู่สัหาหกวนนุกุณนบมิไคจึงไหวไป
๒๘. (บอก)แกมหารมมราชาผุถึงสุโขไททานมหา(รम्म
๒๙. ราชา)เสดจมาตุสพทานเมือสังสการทานมหา(ธรรม
๓๐. ราชา)ผุบั้งเอาผาส่งข้ากือนนมหากลายณเถร....
๓๑. ..ตบาเราจึงไหวพรแกเราณนี้จึงจากุ.....
๓๒. นเยิงเหิงอูกทำศาสนาพระเจ้าเมือหนาจุ(ง....
๓๓. .ธรรมมารมทั้งหลายนี้ไหวแกจากุ.....
๓๔. สิบเอตในปีนนแล.....

SLAB II

๑. ตีใส่ .. อ
๒. อยู่ในเมืองสุโขทัย
๓. .. ธรรมมราชาญ์^๑จึงให้ไปห้ามหาสม(ณ)เณร)
๔. มาสุม่วงนพนมหาสมณเณรจากกไกรมา
๕. .. นนิงจกกไกรมานบมาเหนเราบางเมื่อมาเถ
๖. .. เอามาคในวคตป่าแดงนี้แลเหมือนบไหวย ..
๗. ... แลวให้ไปบูชาพระมหาธาตุเจ้าแลวจิง ..
๘. .. เขาพสสาใน(อา)วาสสุม่วงพุนใสเราใสเขาพสสาใน(วคต
๙. ป่าแดง)นี้ในปีชานสกราชไท ๗๒๔ ในปีโทะส(กราช)ไท
๑๐. (๗๒๕)เขาพสสาในอาวาสป่าแดงนี้
๑๑. ฐา.ว.. สนิงถักอ
๑๒. (เขาพ)สสาในอาวาสป่า(แดงนี้)
๑๓. ในปีโรงส(กราช)ไท ๗๒๖
๑๔. (อ)าวาสสุม่วงในปีมเสง (ไ)นปีรกาส(กราช)ไท ๗๓๑
๑๕. ม)หาสม(ณ)เณรไปเมื่อเหนือ .. สิ้นอายุส

SLAB III

๑. สกกราชไต ๗๕๐ เกียนเก่าเมื่อสินปทุม
๒. ตตรมหาเถรใส่เราไวแกตณห์กรมหาเถรทวย
๓. สุขบริโภคเมื่อสินตณห์กรมหาเถรใส่เราไว
๔. เกเวสสฎุมหาเถรทวยสุขบริโภคเมื่อสินเว
๕. สสฎุมหาเถรใส่เราไวแกมกคลวิลาสมหาเถรทว
๖. ยสุขบริโภคแล้วแล้ || ๐ || กลอยสาริบุตตมหาเถรเ
๗. เลพุทรวงษ์สมหาเถรออกโจทนาใส่อธิกรหนกกหนาเ
๘. เลกลอยเสดจุมหารมมราชาธิราชผูลานแลสรีระมมราชมา
๙. คากบบทวยปฐปะญาแลฝูงนกปราชญ์ทั้งหลายมีตนวานาย
๑๐. สวรปฐญาแลบาธรมมไทรโลกหนราชมาตยใส่ขุนสุค
๑๑. นรสรราชมนตรีนายเพน็พมยราชสาสเบืองสงฆ์ทั้ง
๑๒. หลายหนคามวาสีอนัน มีปธานยคีสังฆราชญาณรุจี
๑๓. มหาเถรกกบบไทรปีตกมหาเถรพุทรวงษ์สเถรมหาอาริพ
๑๔. งสเถรบาญาณคนธิกบาสวรเทพบาราหุลบาญาณวิ
๑๕. ลาสะเบืองพระรูปใสธมรสีมมหาเถรสุโพธา
๑๖. นนทมมหาเถรกกบบภิกษุปรสคตทั้งหลายเบืองอรณญวาสี
๑๗. ใส่สูงมกคตมหาเถรเขมมกคตมหาเถรธรมมโฆสม
๑๘. หาเถรญาณคัมภีรมหาเถรสมนเทพมมหาเถรพุทรวีลา
๑๙. สมมหาเถรสุริยามหาเถรรามรังสีมหาเถรธรมมเสนาบดี

๒๐. มหาเถรปรญาธิกมหาเถรสัพพนธสยามมหาเถรญาณวิลาส
๒๑. มหาเถรอาณนทมหาเถรอรคคญาณมหาเถรธรรมกิตติเถรกกบ
๒๒. ภิกษุบรรดทงหลายชุกนนในกรลาอุโบสถอนนอยในชเล
๒๓. ฉาจึงรงบบอธิกรณอนนทานทงโสงหากโส ننแลแล
๒๔. เมื่อสกราชไค ๗๖๘ จนกสตกเดือนอยแรมสิบคำวนน
๒๕. อาทิตยตราพระรชไอการเสดจมหารมมราชาราชในพระพีหา
๒๖. รสีมารลาอุโบสถอนนมีไนทเลฉางนนวนประณมยา
๒๗. มตงนี้เราตงพระปรมครุติโลกดิลกติริตนสลิคนธ(ว
๒๘. น)วาสีธรรมกิตติสงฆ์ฆาชาวมหาสวามีจาเปนสงฆ์บรินาย
๒๙. กสิทธิแลภิกษุสงฆ์ฆุโศหนอรณวาสีแลกทำบโซ
๓๐. บธรรมมโสบางอเพือปรมครุเปนเจ้าหากสร์เจเองเท.
๓๑. .อเพือปรมครุปรญาปติอนนไคโสเรามือาจลเมือส..
๓๒. ..มิไคเลยถคคณนโสเรแลสงฆ์ทงหลายควม
๓๓. (หา)ธรรมมราชาราชแลสรีราชมาตาแลปุพระญาจึงปร
๓๔. ..นมงกลวิลาสมหาเถรวไนก(ล)ยานวนาวาสควย
๓๕. สุขบริโภกบรรณณเสทธิทุกกอนน || ๐ || ผิสนมกกลวิลาส
๓๖. หาเถรโสไหสงฆ์ทงหลายอนนอยในสวรคการามบพคแล
๓๗. สงฆ์อนนอยไนกยานวนาวาสนิสมุขตาควย . ง..
๓๘. ..ธม . . . บ้างภิกษุฆุโศหนิงกติ

Translation

[I/1-5.] This message of Braḥ Paramagrū Tilokatilaka Tiratana-sīlagandha Vanavāsī Dharmakitti Saṅgharāja Mahāsvāmī Cau is a statement¹ (of events that have occurred) since His Lordship² was ordained as a monk in the Gāmvāsī in sakarāja 705, a year of the goat, on the eleventh day of the waxing moon of the sixth month, a Monday.³

[I/5-9.] When he was ordained as a monk in the Araññavāsī, in sakarāja 719, a year of the cock, on the sixth day of the waxing moon of the sixth month, a Tuesday,⁴ he came to reside at⁵

[I/9-18.] In sakarāja 721, a year of the boar,⁶ Mahākalyāṇa [thera] the Braḥ Mahāthera Mahādharmarājā the grandfather⁷ invited him to (and) built ... a kuṭi for the Mahāthera to live in when he⁸ came to do homage to the

- 1) buddhaṭṭhā (I/3), 'Buddhist sub-commentary'. While an atthakathā is a 'commentary' on a Canonical work, explaining and illustrating various points in it, a ṭṭhā is a 'sub-commentary', i.e. a commentary on an atthakathā. It contains a clarification of points in an atthakathā, or gives supplementary material regarding the discussions in it. (See Malalasekera, *The Pali Literature of Ceylon*, London, 1928, p. 192 ff.) Tilokatilaka's use of the term ṭṭhā, like his use of the 'Khôm' script, was probably intended to enhance the authority of his statement. In Siamese, however, buddha ṭṭhā means simply 'to say' or 'to state' when used of a monk; and Madame S. Lewitz informs us that the same is true in Khmer. We have translated I/3 freely, rendering ឯ (has, 'contains,' etc.) as 'is', and omitting the expression (ឯ្នឹង, 'like this' or 'as follows').
- 2) It is not certain whether 'His Lordship' (ព្រះបាទ) at I/3 refers to Tilokatilaka or to Mahākalyāṇathera; we think the former is more likely, whereas Coedès prefers the latter (*Recueil*, p. 136 note 1). In the 14th century a good many monks were first ordained in the Gāmvāsī but later retired from the monkhood to be re-ordained in the order of Forest-Dwelling Sīhalabhikkhus.
- 3) Monday, April 7, 1343 A.D. (Julian).
- 4) Tuesday, April 25, 1357 A.D. (Julian).
- 5) The place where he took up his residence would have to be one that would qualify as a forest monastery or a hermitage; and the expression ព្រះបាទ at I/7 ('came to reside') implies that it was somewhere near the forest monastery where he composed the inscription.
- 6) 1359 A.D.
- 7) Mahādharmarājā I (Līdaiya).
- 8) ព្រះបាទ (I/12); the lacunae prevent us from being certain whether the reference is to Mahādharmarājā I or to Mahākalyāṇathera.

Mahādhātu at Śrī Sajjanālaya⁹, also in that same year (He)¹⁰ had the Red Forest Monastery built for him to live in, also in that same year. Mahādharmarāja the grandfather took his army to Möaṅ Blè¹¹ and stayed there for seven months¹² [When he returned] from Blè he had fifteen families of persons sent to this Red Forest Monastery.¹³ Then he invited Mahākalyāṇathera to come sī yonder because the throng of white-clad ascetics could not cast (the statue of) our Lord¹⁴ . . .

[I/19-33.] In Sakarājā 723, a year of the ox,¹⁵ I therefore went to Sukhodaya to do homage to His Lordship¹⁶ . . . Then¹⁷ he was taken

9) The Mahādhātu or Temple of the Great Relic at Sajjanālaya was either the monument now called Vāt Jān Lòm (วัดช้างล้อม), which stands in the center of the old walled city (No. 1 on Map 3 in Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, Bangkok, 1968), or else a monument at Jaliaṅ (*Chalieng*), less than 2 km. away, which occupied the present site of Braḥ Prāṇ Jaliaṅ (พระปรางค์ชะเลียง, *ibid.*, No. 15). Braḥ Prāṇ Jaliaṅ was built around 1475 on the ruins of an older temple.

10) Mahādharmarājā I.

11) แพล (I/15); modern ¹Brè (*Prè*, แพร่).

12) The campaign may have started after the rainy season in CS 721, and ended before the rainy season of CS 722. For the probable purpose of the campaign, cf. JSS 61/2, p. 105.

13) Evidently the fifteen families were prisoners of war who were being sent to the monastery as slaves.

14) The word มา (I/17), 'to come,' is at first disconcerting, because in this inscription it usually means to come to Sajjanālaya, particularly to come to the Red Forest Monastery; but there is an exception at II/4, where it specifically means to come to the Mango Grove Monastery near Sukhodaya. It appears from I/14 that Mahākalyāṇathera was living at the Red Forest Monastery when he received the King's invitation; and as we find Mahākalyāṇathera at Sukhodaya at I/19-20, we conclude that the King had invited him 'to come' from the Red Forest Monastery to Sukhodaya. At I/18 โยน, 'yonder', almost certainly means Sukhodaya; and the mutilated word ending in -(จ)ี was very likely araṇṇavāsī. It may therefore be conjectured that the King's invitation was for him to come to a monastery of the Forest-dwellers near Sukhodaya for some particular purpose. Possibly the attempt of the ascetics to cast (บนบวช, I/18, modern บนบวช) a large bronze statue of the Buddha there had failed because of some flaw in the rites, and Mahākalyāṇathera was invited to perform the rites all over again.

15) 1361 A.D. (the year the Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja from Martaban took up his residence at Sukhodaya).

16) ทาน (I/19), modern ทาน. Because of the date, we might be tempted to think the word refers to the Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja from Martaban; but as the same

ill, so Mahākalyāṇāthera and I returned¹⁸ [to stay] in this Red Forest Monastery. Then he became ill (beyond hope of recovery), [so he invited] the monks and the throng of white-clad ascetics to come and meet together, and he said¹⁹ : 'I My heart is uneasy. Who is a suitable person for me to leave in charge of the monasteries which are ?'²⁰ All the throng of monks [answered] : 'No one is more (suitable) than His Lordship.'²¹ So he said : 'Let them be left in his charge [He] is more suitable than all others to succeed me. I shall live four or five or six days, but I cannot live long.' So he sent word to Mahādharmarājā the grandfather at Sukhodaya. Mahādharmarājā came to see His Lordship's remains. After the cremation Mahādharmarājā the

word in the next line (I/20) clearly refers to Mahākalyāṇāthera we should probably assume it refers to him here too.

- 17) กลอย (I/20), which reappears at I/21, III/6 and III/8, seems to be used as an adverb or conjunction of time, but its precise meaning escapes us; we conjecturally translate it as 'then'. Coedès translates it as 'lorsque' ('when') at I/20, I/21 and III/6, but omits it in his translation of III/8, where the meaning 'when' would not fit the context. A footnote in *Prajam Śīlācārīk Syām*, I (1924), p. 140, glosses the words as ปรจวบเวลา; the *Glossarial Index of the Sukhothai Inscriptions* by Ishii, Akagi and Endo (Discussion Paper No. 53, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyōto University, Kyōto, November, 1972), glosses กลอย as 'when' or 'while'.
- 18) We conjecturally restore กลับ—at the end of I/20 as กลับ (กลับ), 'to return'. Coedès, conjecturally restoring the word as คิด, 'to think about', translates: 'nous songeâmes (à lui désigner un successeur) dans ce Vāt Pā Tēh' (*Recueil*, p. 135).
- 19) We omit from our translation the phrase ดังนี้ (I/22), modern ดังนี้, 'like this' or 'as follows', which often introduces a direct quotation. We omit it in some other places also, particularly at I/25, where it occurs in the mutilated form—ดังนี้.
- 20) It is clear from I/33 that อารามณณมณ at I/23 must be understood as a plural, 'monasteries' (āvāsa, 'dwelling-place'; dharmmārama, i.e. dharmārama, may be intended for dharmārambha or dharmāramaṇa, 'support of the dharma,' though it may be simply a mistake for dharmārāma, 'monastery' (in his Romanized transcription, Coedès reads dharmmārāma at I/23 and dharmmārāma at I/33). A more literal translation of the sentence would be : 'I will leave the monasteries which there are to what suitable person?' The mutilated expression may have meant something like 'all the forest monasteries there are in the province of Sajjanālaya'.
- 21) เจ้าน (I/25), 'my lord'—an honorific term for a monk—could mean either 'His Lordship' or 'Your Lordship'. We take it to mean 'His Lordship', i.e. Tilokatilaka; but the statement could also mean: 'No one can (decide) better than Your Lordship,' i.e. Mahākalyāṇāthera (cf. Coedès, *Recueil*, p. 127 and note 1).

grandfather took the saṅghāṭī²² which Mahākalyāṇathera [used to wear], laid²³ it over my shoulder, and gave me his blessing as follows : 'May Your Lordship . . . live long²⁴ to practice the Lord's religion! In the future let . . . all these monasteries²⁵ be in Your Lordship's charge.'

[I/34.] in the eleventh [month] of that year.²⁶²⁷

[II/1-14.]²⁸ live at Sukhodaya So [Mahā] dharmarājā the grandfather sent for Mahāsa[maṇathera]²⁹ to come to the Mango Grove³⁰. Mahāsamaṇathera wished to come

- 22) The saṅghāṭī (shawl) is a large piece of yellow cloth originally worn as a cloak over a monk's uttarāsaṅga (robe). In Siam, for certain ceremonies, it is folded accordion-wise and laid over the monk's left shoulder. In this passage, the King's action in laying Mahākalyāṇathera's saṅghaṭī over Tilokatilaka's shoulder symbolizes his appointment of Tilokatilaka as Mahākalyāṇathera's successor.
- 23) We conjecture that . . . ต (I/31) should be restored as พาด, 'to lay (something) on top of'.
- 24) Probably . . . น (I/31-32) should be restored as ยืน (ยืน). The expression ยืนแข็งเหิงอยู่ is a rhyming jingle meaning 'to live long'.
- 25) Apparently the King was appointing Tilokatilaka to the post of Saṅgharāja in charge of all the Forest-Dwellers in the province of Sajjanālaya.
- 26) Despite the lacunae, it seems pretty certain that 'that year' (I/34) is CS 723, mentioned at I/19, rather than 724 which is the first date in the surviving portion of Slab II (II/19). The eleventh month of CS 723 was the month in which Mahādharmarājā I entered the monkhood. He was ordained as a sāmanera on Wednesday September 22, 1361 A.D. (Julian); and he was ordained as a monk soon afterward, probably the next day (see JSS 61/1, p. 122; cf. *ibid.*, 132-167). It may be conjectured that a good deal of the lost text dealt with these events; and something may have been said about the Mahāsāmi Saṅgharāja from Martaban as well.
- 27) If Slab I originally had as many lines as Slab III (38), four lines are lost at the bottom.
- 28) Only the last 15 lines of Slab II survive, in whole or in part, including part of the last line (the stone below II/15 is blank). If Slab II originally had as many lines as III, 23 lines have disappeared from the top. In addition, II/1 is too fragmentary to offer any meaning. It is not clear how much of the lost text dealt with the events of CS 723, and how much with those of CS 724; cf. below, note 36.
- 29) The Mahāthera Sumana.
- 30) cf. JSS 60/1, 69-72. Instead of translating as we have done, ' to come to the Mango Grove,' Coedès, conjecturally filling the lacuna, translates '(Lorsqu'il fut) arrivé dans le Jardin des Manguiers,' and places the clause with what follows (*Recueil*, p. 137). For มา at II/4, cf. above, note 14.

Nāy Svaraprajñā and Pā Dharmatrailoka⁵¹, as well as Khun Sugandharasārājamantrī and Nāy Benī Bamūy Rajasās on behalf⁵² of the royal counsellors, (met)⁵³ together with representatives⁵⁴ of the entire monkhood : (namely) the order⁵⁵ of Gāmaṇvāsī headed by the Saṅgharājā Ñāṇarucimahāthera, and (including) Traipīṭakamahāthera, Buddhavaṃsathera, Mahāārivaṃsathera, Pā Ñāṇagandhika, Pā Svaradeva, Pā Rāhula, and Pā Ñāṇavilāsa; the order⁵⁶ of Braḥ Rūpa⁵⁷, (represented by) Dhamarasīmahāthera, Subodhānandamahāthera, and a numerous company of monks⁵⁸; and the order⁵⁹ of Araññavāsī, (represented by) Sumaṅgalamahāthera, Khemamaṅgalamahāthera, Dharmaghosamahāthera, Ñāṇagambhiramahāthera, Samanadevamahāthera, Buddhavilāsamahāthera, Suriyamahāthera, Rāmarasīmahāthera, Dharmasenāpatimahā-

- 51) Pā Dharmatrailoka may be the same person as 'the poet and royal paṇḍita named Śrī Dharmatrailoka' who composed the Pali face of the Asokārāma Inscription on behalf of the Queen Mother (see JSS 51/1, 43, 93). A monk with a somewhat similar name, who was the younger brother of the Queen Mother, appears in Inscr. 49 (I/7, etc.; see JSS 56/2, 231 f., 233 f., 236 f.). Cf. Prince Chand Chirayu Rajani, JSS 61/1, p. 262 f. Though Pā Dharmatrailoka seems to be a layman, he is given the same honorific as a lot of the Gāmaṇvāsī monks listed at I/14 ff.; the honorific pā ('teacher', etc.) may have been applied indifferently to monks and laymen.
- 52) The words *นพราชมนตรี* (III/10), which we translate 'on behalf of the royal counselors', come before the names of the persons who are acting on the royal counselors' behalf; both here and below we have shifted the position of such expressions when it would make our translation clearer. At III/10-16 the words *นพ* and *เบื้อง* (*เบื้อง*) occur several times; the general meaning of both is 'side,' 'direction,' or 'on the side of'; both sometimes seem to mean 'representing,' and sometimes 'order' or 'sect'. As well as we can make out, no semantic distinction between *นพ* and *เบื้อง* is intended; the two words seem to be used interchangeably, each of them in more than one sense. We have translated freely, according to the context.
- 53) We have added the verb in order to make for easier reading by breaking up the long sentence that runs from III/8 to III/23.
- 54) *เบื้อง* (III/11).
- 55) *นพ* (III/12).
- 56) *เบื้อง* (III/15).
- 57) Evidently a third sect or order in the Sukhodayan monkhood in addition to the Gāmaṇvāsī and the Araññavāsī. We know of no other references to it.
- 58) *bhikṣuparsatt* (III/16), for Skt. *bhikṣuparśad* (*bhikṣupariśad*).
- 59) *เบื้อง* (III/16).

thera, Prañādhikamahāthera, Suvāṇṇasyāmamahāthera, Nāṇavilāsamahāthera, Ānandamahāthera, Argāñāṇamahāthera, Dharmakittithera, and a numerous company of monks⁶⁰. (They)⁶¹ met together in the uposatha hall⁶² located on Lake Chā(ñ)⁶³, and quashed the suit⁶⁴ brought by the two monks.

[III/24-32.] In sakarāja 768, a year of the dog, in the first month, on the tenth day of the waning moon, a Sunday,⁶⁵ at the beginning of the first watch⁶⁶, an edict of Stec Mahādharmarājādhirāja was issued in the uposatha hall⁶⁷ on Lake Chāñ⁶⁸, saying⁶⁹: 'We are appointing Braḥ Paramagrū Tilokatilaka Tiratanasilagandha Vanavāsī Dharmakitti

- 60) In these lists of names there are a good many irregularities of spelling (preserved by Coedès in his Romanization of the text at *Recueil*, pp. 134-135, but for the most part regularized in his translation, *ibid.*, pp. 138-139). In our translation we have regularized most of them, but without eliminating the Sanskritic forms among the Pali names. In a few cases, where we are uncertain what Pali or Sanskrit name is intended, we have kept the original form.
- 61) We have supplied the pronoun; cf. above, note 53.
- 62) กองลาดโบสถ์ (III/22) could be any place (กองลาด) duly consecrated and surrounded by *simā* boundary stones, used for ordination, uposatha ceremonies, etc. Such a place is commonly, though not necessarily, a building; but a raft is deemed particularly suitable, as its situation on the water exempts it from the risk of certain hidden flaws in the rites with which it was originally consecrated. In this case, as appears below, it was certainly a building, presumably located on an island in the lake. According to the Pali Text Society's Dictionary (s.v. uposatha) there is a special ceremony called *samaggi-uposatha* ('reconciliation uposatha'), which is held when a quarrel in the monkhood has been made up. This was evidently the ceremony that was being held in the uposatha hall on Lake Chāñ.
- 63) The name, written *jale chā* (ชลดา) at III/22-23, reappears at III/26 as *dale chāñ* (พละดา). The words ชลดา and พละดา are doublets, both meaning 'a body of water', in the present context obviously a lake; ดา (written ดา by mistake at III/22-23) means 'granary.'
- 64) *adhikarapa* (III/23), here written in the standard fashion; cf. above, note 47.
- 65) Sunday, December 5, 1406 A.D. (Julian).
- 66) พระระทมยาม (III/26-27); the first watch is from 6 p.m. to 9 p.m.
- 67) พระวิหารสำกรลาดโบสถ์ (III/25-26), a hall or *vihāra* duly consecrated and surrounded by *Simā* boundary stones, and used for uposatha ceremonies, etc. (cf. above, note 62). Probably the uposatha hall was built on an artificial island in the lake, which would give it the same ritual advantages as a raft. The remains of several such uposatha halls can be seen at Sukhodaya.
- 68) See above, note 63.
- 69) ดังนี้ (III/27), literally 'like this', i.e. 'as follows'.

Saṅgharāja MahāsvāmīCau as Saṅghaparināyaka⁷⁰ with exclusive authority.⁷¹ If any monk in the order⁷² of the Araññavāsī contravenes the Dharma⁷³, then some cases⁷⁴ may be settled by the Paramagrū himself⁷⁵ cases in which the Paramagrū has made any regulation⁷⁶ whatever, we can have no right to infringe⁷⁷ it ... at all⁷⁸.

- 70) We gather that Tilokatilaka already had the position of Saṅgharāja, which in this context must mean the head of the order of Forest-Dwellers in a single province (Sajjanālaya), and that he was now being appointed Saṅghaparināyaka, presumably head of the order of Forest-Dwellers throughout the kingdom; cf. above, p. 95.
- 71) สัทธ (III/29). The Skt. and Pali noun *siddhi*, meaning 'accomplishment,' 'success,' etc., takes on the meaning of 'exclusive right' or 'exclusive authority' in Siamese. Coedès says: 'Comme dans tous les mots dérivés de la racine *sidh* actuellement usités en khmèr et en t'ai (*siddhi*, *prasiddhi*, etc.), il s'y ajoute une idée de droit exclusif.' (*Inscriptions du Cambodge*, II, Hanoi, 1942, p. 108 n. 1; cf. Bhattacharya, BEFO LII/1, p. 63). Grammatically we should probably take the whole expression เปนสังฆปารินายกสัทธ together, literally 'to have the exclusive authority of a Saṅghaparināyaka' (cf. expressions like เปนสัทธินกัณฑ์, 'to hold the exclusive authority in one's own hands').
- 72) หน (III/29).
- 73) กทำปโฆบธรรม (III/29-30), 'acts not in accordance with the Dharma' (โฆบ = modern ขอบ).
- 74) อัมโฆ (III/30. III/31) is the Khmer word *ambö*, which Guesdon's *Dictionnaire Cambodgien-Français* (Paris, 1930, p. 84) glosses as 'action, acte, fait, résultat, feinte, maléfice'; and which Mahā Cham glosses as สิ่งที่ทำ (Prajum Śīlācārīk, Bangkok, 1957, p. 152 note 2). Here, as the context shows, it refers to an act in violation of the Dharma.
- 75) In translating we have omitted the word เทว (III/30) which is followed by a lacuna.
- 76) ปญญาปถิ (III/31), for Skt. *prajñāpti*, 'instruction,' 'agreement,' etc.; Pali *paññatti*, 'idea,' 'concept,' 'regulation'.
- 77) ละเมือส (III/31), mod. ละเมือ, 'to disregard,' 'to go against,' etc.
- 78) Our translation of this sentence is conjectural. Perhaps Tilokatilaka is being given full power over the Araññavāsī in disciplinary matters, and the King promises that if an appeal is made direct to him he will decide the case in accordance with any general regulations Tilokatilaka may have made that would be pertinent. Coedès translates the last Part of the sentence: 'quelle que soit la décision rendue par le paramagrū, nous ne nous y opposerons pas' (*Recueil*, p. 139). We are not sure whether this interpretation, which differs a little from ours, is better or not.

[III/32-35.] After that, therefore, I and all the monks, together with Mahādharmarājādhirāja and Śrī Rājamātā and the King's great-uncle⁷⁹, [confirmed⁸⁰] Maṅgalavilāsamahāthera (as Abbot) of the Kalyāṇa Forest Monastery with full privileges⁸¹ and exclusive authority⁸² of every sort⁸³. || o ||

[III/35-38.] If Maṅgalavilāsamahāthera dies, then let all the monks who reside on Mount Svargārāma⁸⁴ and the monks who reside in this Red Forest Monastery, in the presence⁸⁵ of, [choose] any monk whatever (whom they deem suitable, to succeed him).

79) cf. above, note 50.

80) Conjectural restoration of ปฺร..น _____ ไร่ (III/33-34): perhaps ประทาน _____ ไร่ (?)

81) See above, note 43.

82) parapaṇṇasiddhi (III/35), presumably for paripaṇṇasiddhi (Pali, paripaṇṇa, 'full' 'complete'; for siddhi, see above, note 71).

83) ทุกกอนน (III/35), modern ทุกอัน, 'everything.'

84) Perhaps an alternative name for Mount Siripabbata (สิริบพพต, เขาพระศรี).

85) สมุขตา (III/37), for Pali sammukhatā, 'presence,' 'confrontation.'

APPENDIX : DATES AND IDENTIFICATIONS

1.

When did Sumana and Anomadassī return from Martaban and settle in the Mango Grove and the Red Forest Monasteries? Some scholars, relying on the testimony of Jinakālamāli (J) and Mūlasāsanā (M), think it was around 1341 or 1342.

J's account of Sumana opens in the reign of King Kilanā (*Gū Nā*) of Lān Nā (1355-1385). At that time, says J, without giving any precise date, Dhammarāja was reigning at Sukhodaya; and Kilanā wished an order of Forest-dwellers to be established in Lān Nā.

J then skips back an unstated number of years to give us the biographical information about Sumana which we have summarized above (p. 93 f.). Soon after returning from Lower Burma and settling in the Mango Grove, it will be recalled, he discovered the relic; and though we are given no date we are told that 'Dhammarāja' was King of Sukhodaya at the time and his son 'Lideyyarāja' was ruler of Sajjanālaya. Sumana took the relic to Sajjanālaya, where Lideyyarāja installed him in the Red Forest Monastery at the foot of Mount Braḥ Śrī. After showing Lideyyarāja the relic, Sumana received a request from King Dhammarāja, who also wished to see it; so Sumana returned to Sukhodaya and took up his residence again in the Mango Grove Monastery.

Here the retrospective insertion comes to an end, and J reverts to the story of King Kilanā's efforts to establish the order of Forest-dwelling Sīhalabhikkhus in his kingdom. After his first attempts ended in failure, he sent a message to King Dhammarāja of Sukhodaya, asking him to permit Sumana to come and settle in Lān Nā. As we know from other sources (see below, p. 133, n. 26) Sumana started out for the northern kingdom in late 1369.

Who is 'Dhammarāja' in J's account?

All the kings of Sukhodaya, from Lōdaiya to Mahādharmarājā IV (with the possible exception of Nvva Nāṃ Tham), bore the title of Dharmarāja or, as the author of J, writing in Pali, puts it, 'Dhammarāja.' In the opening and closing passages which we have summarized, Dhammarāja is evidently Mahādharmarājā I (Līdaiya); but he is not necessarily the same person as the Dhammarāja in the intervening passage, whose

son Lideyyarāja was ruler of Sajjanālaya when Sumana discovered the relic, for the discovery of the relic belongs to an earlier period of Sumana's life. As 'Lideyya' is the Pali form of Līdaiya (see Inscr. 6, I/7), it would be natural for the author of J to speak of Līdaiya as 'Lideyyarāja.' If this identification is right, the Dhammarāja who was King of Sukhodaya when Sumana discovered the relic has to be Līdaiya's father Lōdaiya (r. 1298?—c. 1347). From 1340 to 1347, Līdaiya was viceroy at Sajjanālaya, where he completed his famous treatise, the Traibhūmikathā (T) in 1345.¹ It would therefore appear that Sumana discovered the relic some time between 1340 and 1347.

According to the usual rule, a monk must spend ten years in the order before he receives the grade of Thera ('Elder'); and when he has passed a certain course of study he receives the title of Mahā ('Venerable'). M tells us that Sumana and Anomadassī, before being re-ordained in Udumbara's order at Martaban, had already become Mahātheras in another order (doubtless the Gāmaṇvāsī), and upon arriving at Martaban they retired from the monkhood. It seems to follow that by doing so they lost their seniority, so that after being ordained as ordinary bhikkhus by Udumbara they would have to spend ten years in his order before regaining the grade of Mahathera.

J does not mention Anomadassī by name, but he is obviously the friend with whom Sumana studied at Martaban. If it took ten years in Udumbara's order to become a Mahāthera, and if Sumana discovered the relic before 1347, he and Anomadassī must have been re-ordained by Udumbara some time before 1337.

According to M, Udumbara had arrived at Martaban in 1331 (see above, p. 94; and JSS 60/1, p. 55 note 3). M implies that Sumana and Anomadassī were re-ordained in his order soon afterward, say in 1331

1) According to Inscriptions 4 (II/10 f.) and 5 (II/18 f.), Līdaiya was in the twenty-second year of his reign in 1361 (JSS 61/1, pp. 133, 139, 150, 156); and according to Inscr. 4 (I/1-12) the date of his accession to the throne of Sukhodaya was 1347 (JSS 61/1, 132, 136). This means that his reign as viceroy of Sajjanālaya began in 1340. See Coedès in BEFEO XVII/2, pp. 8, 9, 45 (note that two misprints need to be corrected: p. 8, last line of text: for 'en l'an 25,' read 'en l'an 23'; and p. 45, line 28, for 'depuis dix ans,' read 'depuis six ans'). The Traibhūmikathā, according to the exordium of that work, was completed in a year of the cock, when the author was in the sixth year of his reign [as viceroy at Sajjanālaya], i.e. 1345.

or 1332. After spending five years with Udumbara at Martaban, and another five years in the kingdom of Sukhodaya, **M** tells us, they returned briefly to Martaban, where they received the grade of Mahāthera from him, which qualified them to perform all the acts of the Saṅgha in his order. Upon their return to Sukhodaya, say in 1341 or 1342, Sumana settled at the Mango Grove Monastery, while Anomadassī settled at the Red Forest Monastery (JSS 60/1, p. 59 and note 2; p. 63 and note 38; p. 64 and note 42; p. 67 and note 11; p. 68 and note 15). **M** says they planted *sīmā* boundary-stones and ordained people into the monkhood, in coöperation with each other. Sometimes Sumana brought candidates to be ordained at Sajjanālaya in coöperation with Anomadassī, and sometimes Anomadassī brought them to be ordained at Sukhodaya in coöperation with Sumana (JSS 60/1, p. 59). The date Sumana discovered the relic, supposing it was fairly soon afterward, might be put in 1342 or 1343, a date that falls comfortably within *Īdaiya*'s term as viceroy at Sajjanālaya.

The preface to **T** lists 'Brah̐ Anomadassī' among the monks who helped *Īdaiya* compose the treatise, and the concluding statement calls him 'Brah̐ Mahāthera Anomadassī' (see JSS 60/1, p. 70 and note 3). It seems likely this is the same Anomadassī we have been discussing. Perhaps *Īdaiya* wrote the preface before Anomadassī received the grade of Mahāthera in Udumbara's order, and the concluding statement in 1345, the year when **T** was completed. This would fit well enough with the estimate that Anomadassī received the grade of Mahāthera in 1341 or 1342.

If we accept the evidence of **J** and **M**, we shall have to agree that the Mango Grove Monastery and the Red Forest Monastery were already in existence in the 1340's, certainly before 1347. But we have no means of knowing whether they were mere sylvan hermitages at that time, or fully developed monasteries with a considerable number of resident monks; nor do we know whether they stood on exactly the same spot as the monasteries of the same name that Inscriptions 4, 5, 7 and 9 speak of.

The chronology of Sumana and Anomadassī given above is the same as we gave at JSS 60/1, pp. 24, 51, 52, 69, 70. At p. 71 of the same article we alluded briefly to some possible objections to it. We shall now try to bring out these objections more clearly.

2.

Some scholars are unwilling to accept the above chronology, on the ground that it relies chiefly on documents of uncertain worth. While we have epigraphic evidence that Līdaiya was viceroy at Sajjanālaya from 1340 to 1347,² the date of the earliest event in Sumana's career recorded in epigraphy is 1361; no known inscription mentions Anomadassī by name or says anything about Sumana's discovery of the relic; and the only certain epigraphic reference to the relic itself is in part of the Inscription of *Wat Pra Yūn* that recounts the miracles it performed at Haripuñjaya in the early 1370's (see below, p. 140 f.). Most of the chronology rests on **M** and **J**. The portion of **M** that concerns us was written at *Chieng Mai* in the 1420's (see JSS 60/1, p. 53 and note 2); and the text, as we now have it, is admittedly corrupt. The account of Sumana in **J**, written at *Chieng Mai* in 1516, seems to be based largely on **M**; if the text of **M** was already corrupt by that time, **J**'s account of Sumana cannot be rated very high as independent evidence; and in any case it is one of the 'inserted' narratives which, because the author had no means of checking them, are not always up to the standard of his main history of events at *Chieng Mai* from the 14th century on. The corroborative value of **T** is questionable, because the text is corrupt in many places. Everyone will agree that inscriptions, when they can be interpreted with certainty, are preferable to such documents.

The inscriptions say nothing about the existence of a monastery in the Red Forest before 1359, or in the Mango Grove before 1361. The chief epigraphic references to the Red Forest and the Mango Grove are as follows.

According to Inscr. 9 (I/9-14) 'Mahādharmarājā the grandfather' (i.e. Mahādharmarājā I) built the Red Forest Monastery (ในท้าวคดบ้านแดง) for Mahākalyāṇathera in 1359. The next year he invited Mahākalyāṇathera to visit Sukhodaya (ibid., I/17-18). We do not know when

2) See preceding note.

Tilokatilaka went to live at the Red Forest Monastery; but it was probably before 1361, because in that year he went to Sukhodaya to do homage to Mahākalyāṇāthera, and when the latter was taken ill they both 'returned' (if we have correctly restored a missing letter) to the Red Forest Monastery (*ibid.*, I/19 f.). In the same year, upon the death of Mahākalyāṇāthera, Tilokatilaka was put in charge of 'all these monasteries' (*ibid.*, I/29 f.), which probably means all the forest monasteries in the province of Sajjanālaya, including the Red Forest Monastery.

The Mango Grove had been planted by King Rāma Gaṃhèn as a pleasure garden (*Inscr.* 5, I/4; JSS 61/1, 148, 154). It was west of the city of Sukhodaya (*Inscr.* 4, II/15 f.; JSS 61/1, 133, 139). In it there was a Brahmin temple, built at an unknown date, in which Mahādharmarājā I (Līdaiya) erected an image of Śiva and an image of Viṣṇu in 1349 (*Inscr.* 4, I/52 f.; JSS 61/1, 132, 137). In 1361 Mahādharmarājā prepared a monastery in the Mango Grove for the Mahāsāmī Saṅgharājā from Bann (Martaban), who had accepted his invitation to settle at Sukhodaya. The building operations are described as follows in *Inscr.* 4 (II/10 ff.; see JSS 61/1, 133, 139); '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 sand; and he made it as beautiful in every part as if it were created by Viṣṇukarma.' There is a similar statement, though mutilated, in No. 5 (II/25 ff.; see JSS 61/1, 150, 157). According to No. 7 (II/1 ff.), he built kuṭis in the Mango Grove, and a vihāra whose interior walls were painted with scenes of the Buddha's parinibbāna and the incidents that followed; and he also founded a statue (of the Buddha) and an uposatha hall with boundary stones (see JSS 61/1, 150, 157).

The building operations in the Red Forest in 1359, and in the Mango Grove in 1361, sound in each case as if Mahādharmarājā were founding a new monastery rather than improving and enlarging an old

one. Of course there is no proof that there had never been any hermitages or small sylvan monasteries in the Red Forest and the Mango Grove before that; and even if they did not occupy exactly the same sites as the monasteries built in 1359 and 1361, they could have been called by the same names. If, however, we disregard this possibility, or consider it irrelevant, we shall conclude that Anomadassī and Sumana cannot have settled in the Red Forest Monastery and the Mango Grove Monastery in Lōdaiya's reign.

In 1361, according to Inscr. 9 (II/1-9), Mahādharmarājā sent for Sumana to come to the Mango Grove Monastery. Soon afterward Sumana went to the Red Forest Monastery to salute Tilokatilaka and perhaps to show him something (the relic?); but at this point the text is mutilated.

The implication might be that both Sumana and Anomadassī returned from Martaban in the suite of the Mahāsāmi Saṅgharāja in 1361, or perhaps that Sumana arrived in his suite, whereas Anomadassī had come back earlier.

If Sumana did not discover the relic until 1361, 'Dhammarāja' throughout J's account of the discovery would have to be Mahādharmarājā I (Līdaiya), and 'Lideyyarāja' would have to be one of his sons who was viceroy at Sajjanālaya, perhaps the 'Father Lōdaiya' who is mentioned in the list of ancestral spirits in Inscr. 45 (I/11), which dates from February 27, 1393 (Julian); see JSS 57/1, pp. 75, 76, 82 and note 20. Several members of the Sukhodayan royal family were named after their grandfathers or other forebears; this one, who was presumably named after his grandfather Lōdaiya, may have been an elder half-brother of Mahādharmarājā II (r.c. 1370—c. 1398), and died before him.

3.

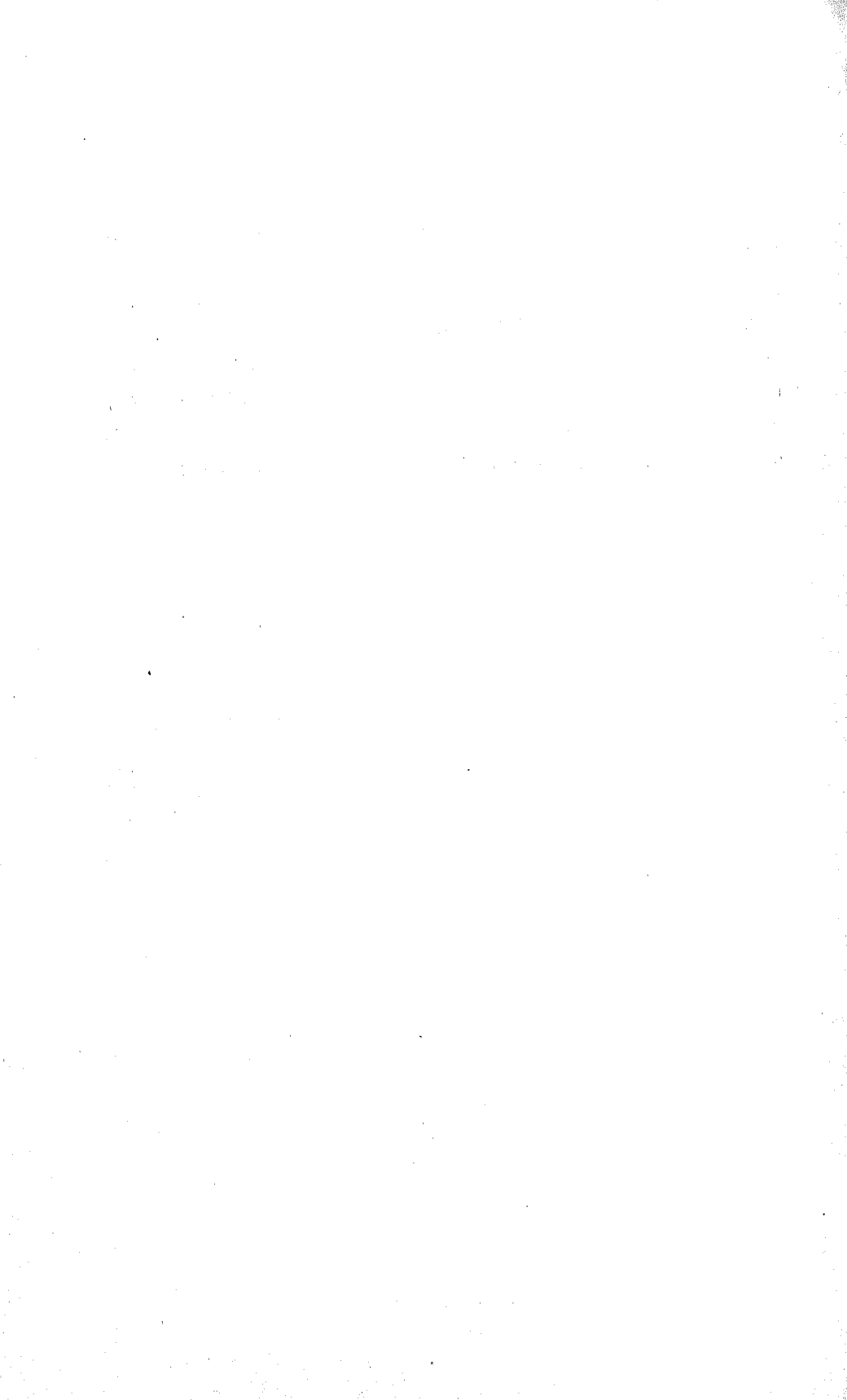
Because of the friendly relations between Tilokatilaka and Sumana which are recounted in Inscr. 9, it is tempting to identify Tilokatilaka with Anomadassī.

If we understand the passage at I/33 f. correctly, Tilokatilaka did not become a monk until 1343 when he was ordained in the Gāmvāsī, which would mean he would not become a Mahāthera until 1353. The concluding statement in T, giving Anomadassī the title of Mahāthera in 1345, might be an obstacle to this identification, though perhaps not a very serious one because the text of T may corrupt.

Whether or not Tilokatilaka is to be identified with Anomadassī, there is a problem concerning Tilokatilaka which is inherent in Inscription 9. He was ordained in the Araññavāsī in 1357, so in the normal course of events he would not become a Mahāthera in that order until 1367; yet he was put in charge of a lot of Araññavāsī monasteries around Sajjanālaya in 1361 (I/9-33). It seems hard to believe that so high an office would be given to a monk who had not yet received the grade of Mahāthera in the Araññavāsī. The only solution that occurs to us is that Tilokatilaka, when he was ordained in the Araññavāsī in 1357, was allowed to retain the grade of Mahāthera which he had previously received in the Gāmvāsī. We do not know enough about the rules of the Sukhodayan monkhood to say whether or not such a privilege would be exceptional.

4.

The Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja who came to Sukhodaya from Martaban in 1361 can be pretty certainly identified with the Mahāthera Medhaṅkara, the author of a Pali work called Lokappadīpasāra, which is still extant in Ceylon (see JSS 61/2, 91-97). Some scholars propose to identify him with Udumbara, though the sequence of events in **J** and **M** implies that Udumbara was still living at Martaban well after 1361 (see JSS 61/2, p. 99). If we disregard the chronicular evidence, the difficulty vanishes (cf. *ibid.*, p. 99 note 14); but the identification is still not a certainty.



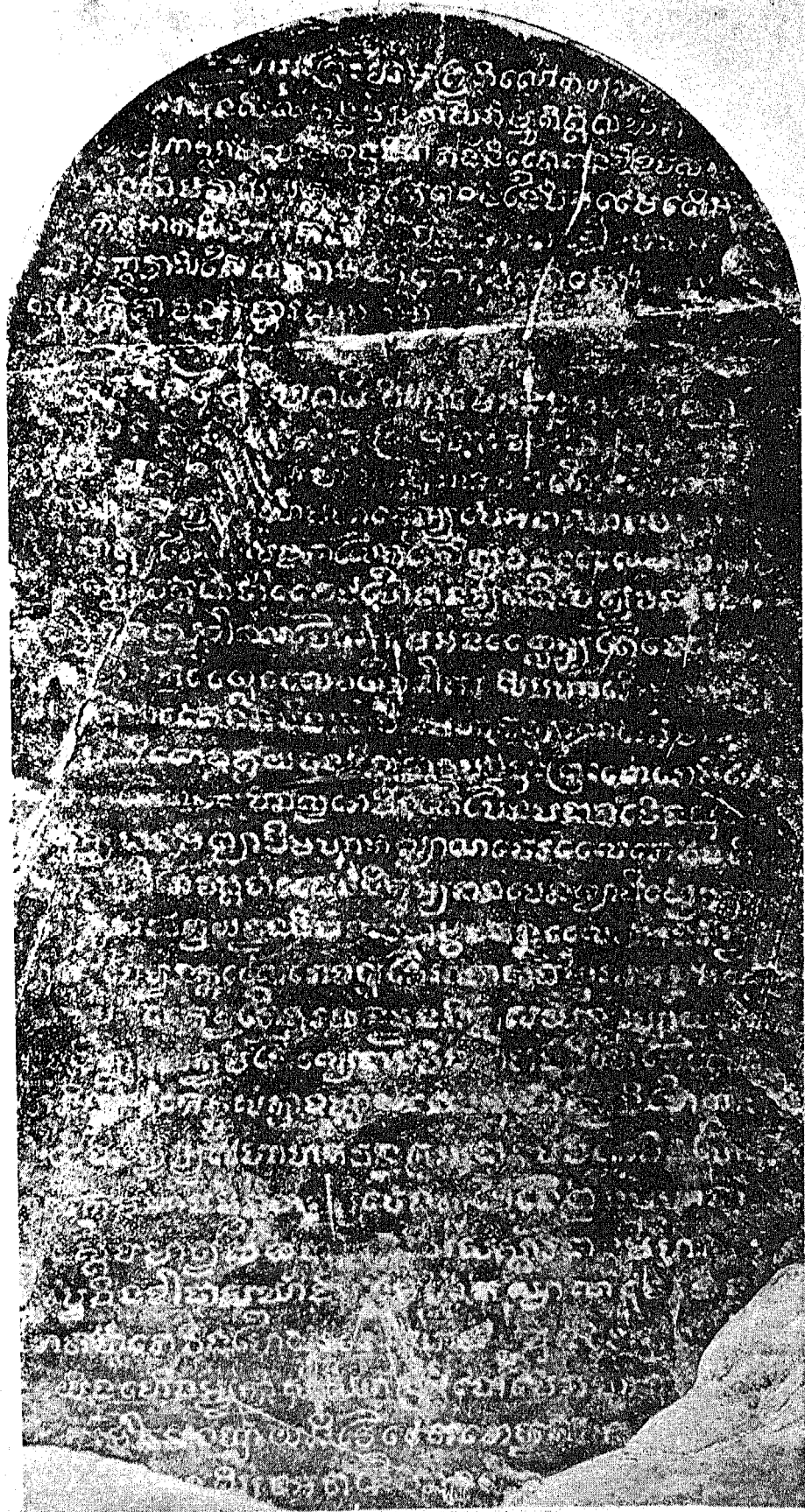


Fig. 1. Inscription 9, Slab I. (After Coedès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam.*)

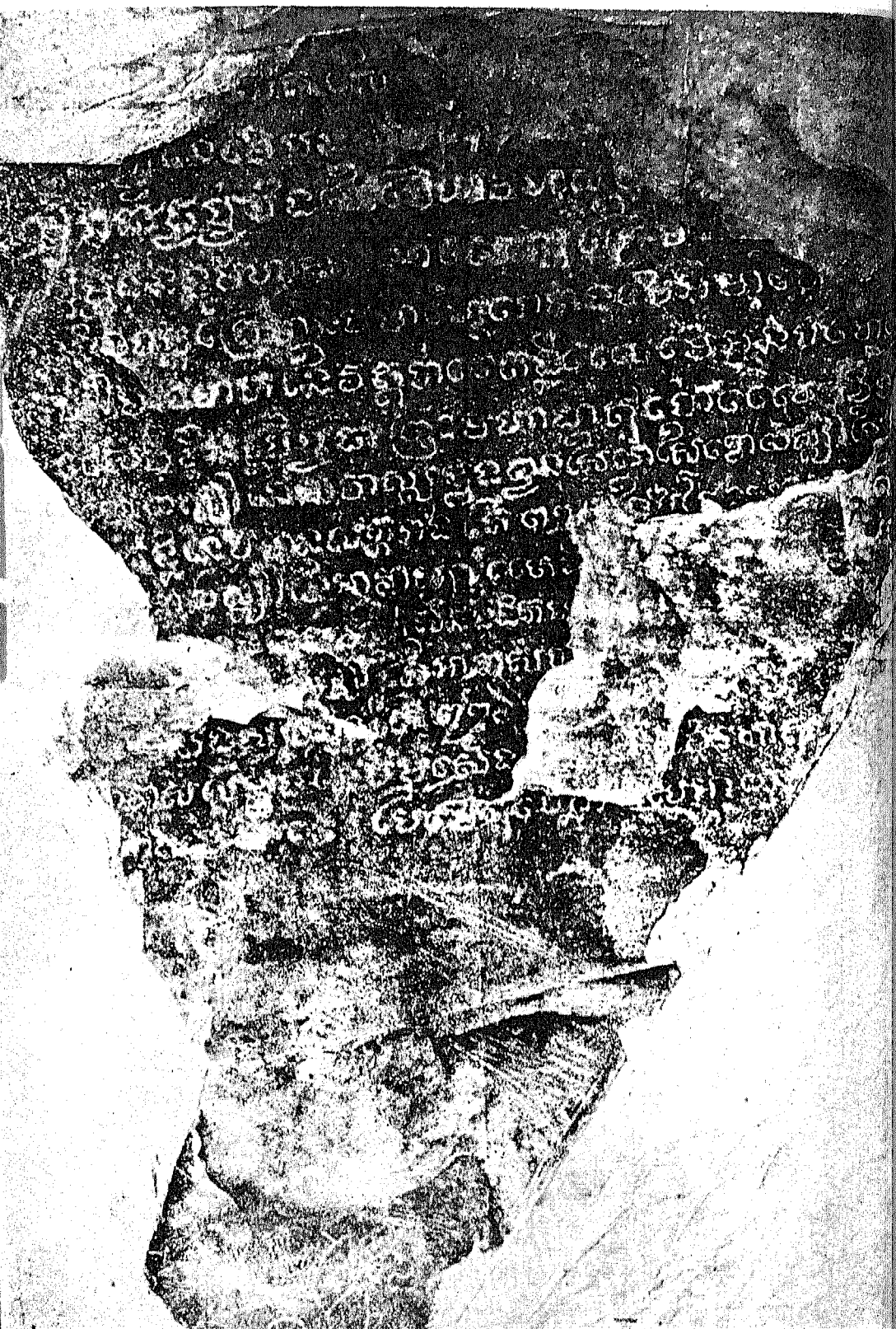


Fig. 2. Inscription 9, Slab II. (After Coedès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam.*)

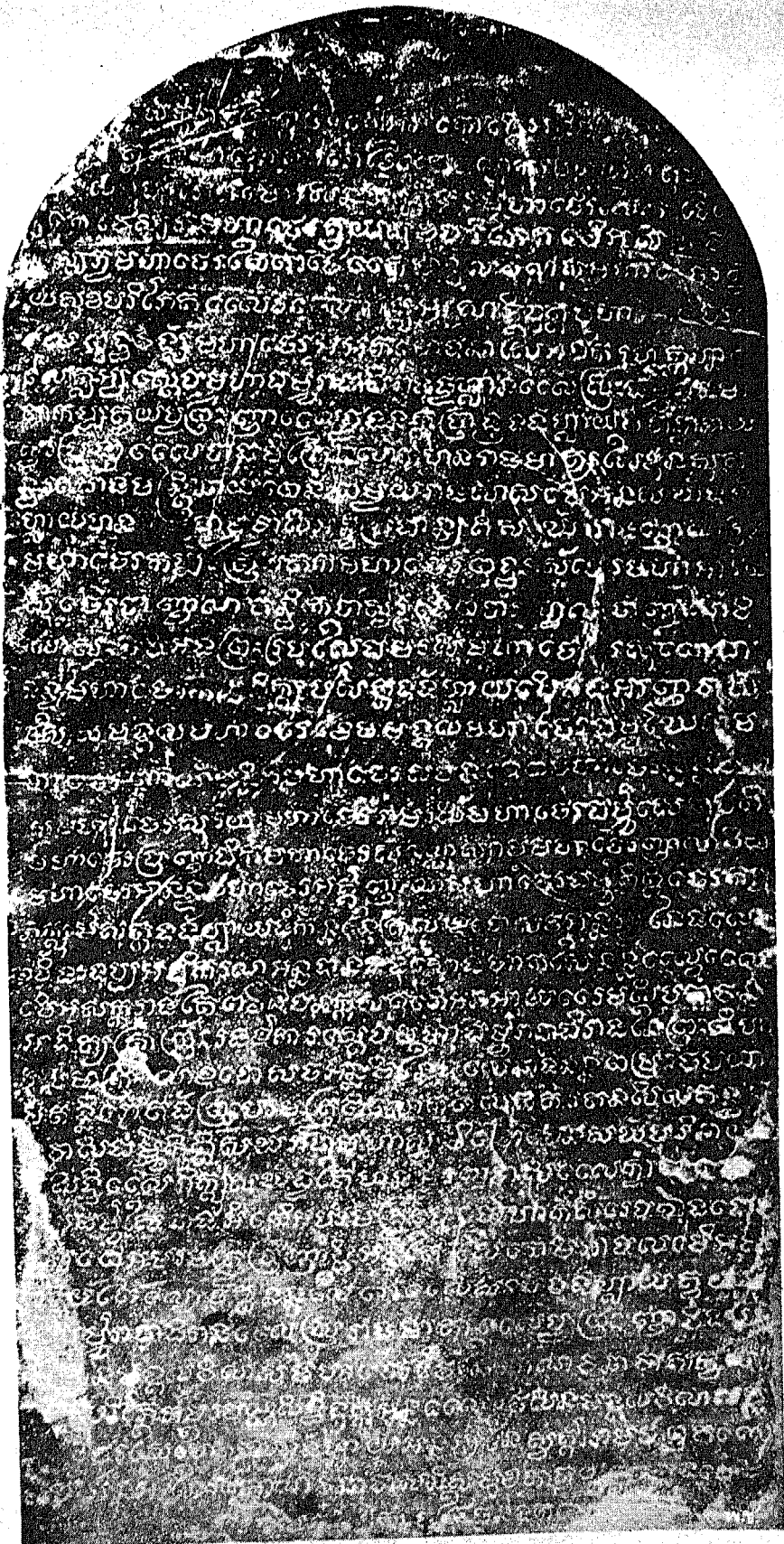


Fig. 3. Inscription 9, Slab III. (After Coedès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam.*)

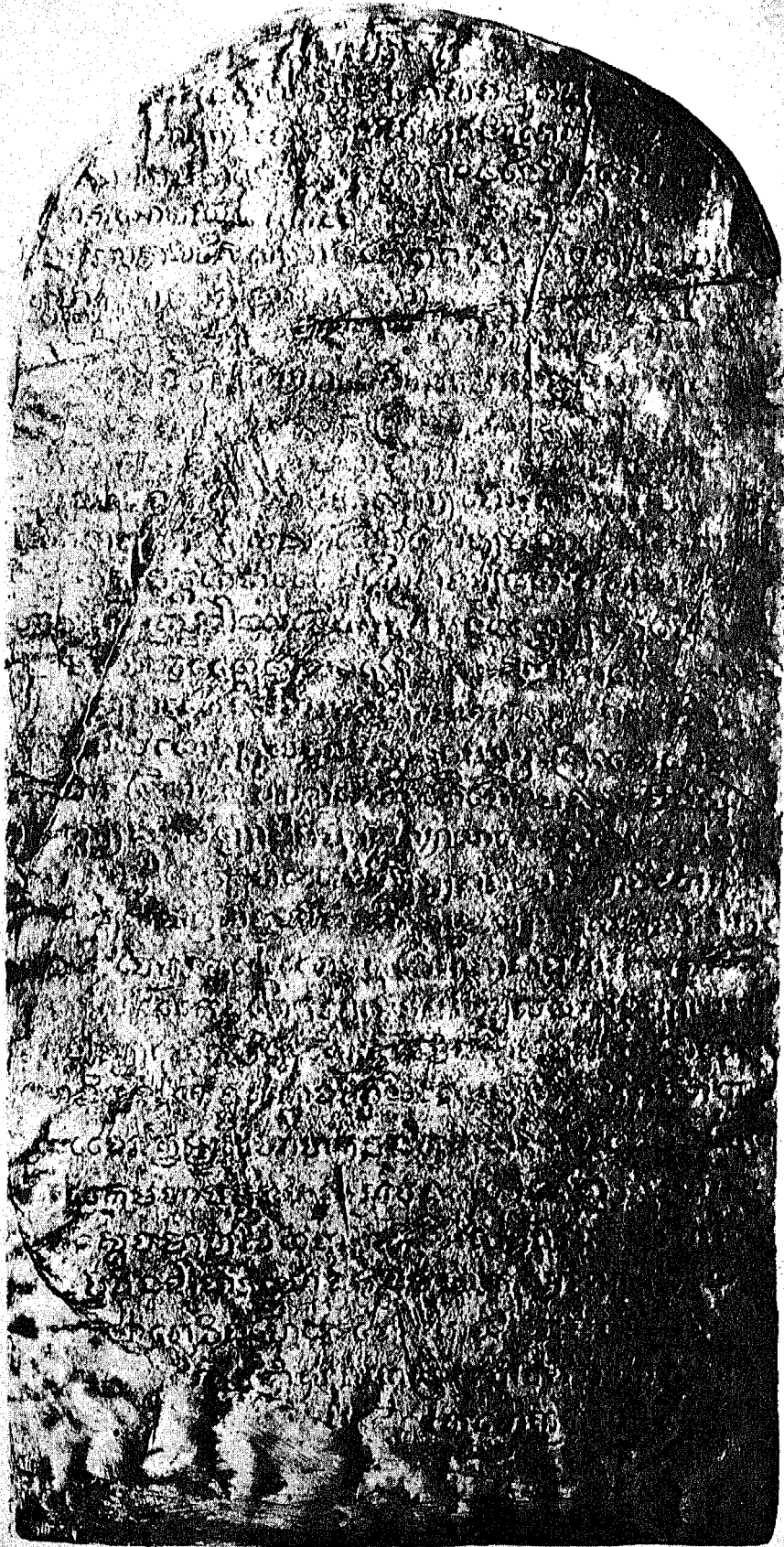


Fig. 4. Inscription 9, Slab I. (After Fournereau, *Le Siam ancien*.)

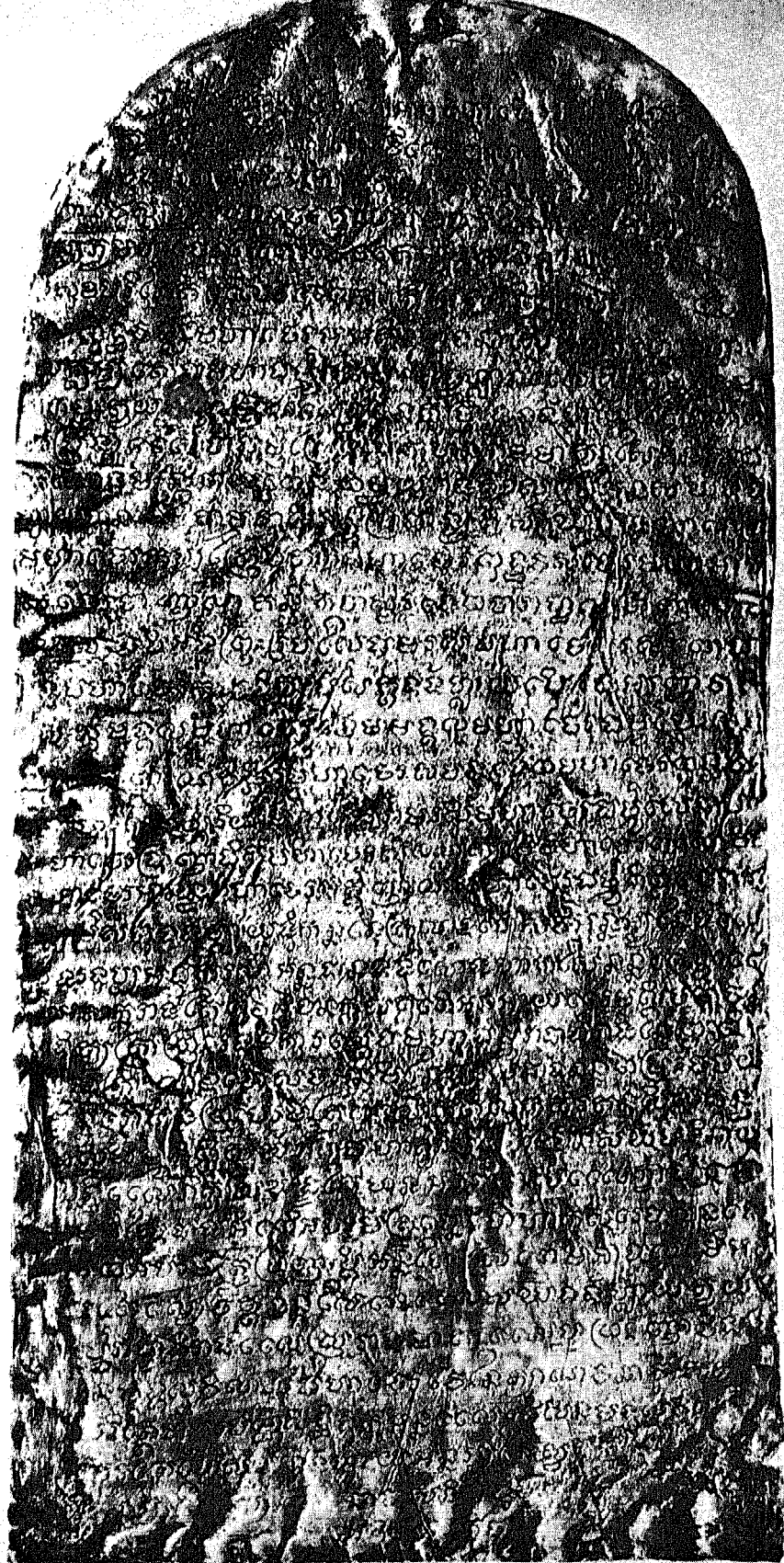


Fig. 5. Inscription 9, Slab III. (After Fournereau, *Le Siam ancien*.)

