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The Inscription of Wat Pra Yün

by

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Introduction

The old city of Haripuñjaya, now known as *Lampûn*, was the capital of the *Môn* kingdom of Haripuñjaya from the 8th century until 1292. In that year it was conquered by the *Tai* under *Mang Râi*, the founder of the kingdom of *Lân Nâ*. Though he established his capital at *Chieng Mai* in 1296, Haripuñjaya remained the cultural capital of *Lân Nâ* for at least 75 years longer.

Wat Pra Yün, the 'Monastery of the Standing Buddhas,' is located about a kilometre east of *Lampûn*. On the basis of some scattered hints in the *Lampûn Chronicle* and *Mūlasāsanā*, Griswold has pieced together the early history of the site.¹ Before 1250 there was a forest monastery there, in which one of the *Môn* kings of Haripuñjaya erected a colossal statue of the standing Buddha; but the monastery was later abandoned, perhaps during the hard times just before or after the *Tai* conquest; and by the 1360's there was little or nothing left of it except the colossal statue.

In 1369 *Mang Râi*'s great-great-great-grandson *Kilanā* (*Gū Nâ*), who reigned over *Lân Nâ* from 1355 to 1385, decided to rebuild the monastery for the *Mahāthera Sumana*, the celebrated monk from *Sukhodaya* whom he had persuaded to settle in the northern kingdom in order to establish a community of Forest-dwelling *Sīhalabbikkhus* there.² *Sumana* arrived at Haripuñjaya in December 1369 (see below, p. 133, n. 26).

The inscription of *Wat Pra Yün* commemorates *Kilanā*'s building operations there, particularly the erection of a huge *cetiya* which he began on Friday, January 11, 1370 A.D. (Julian) at *Sumana*'s instigation, and

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- 1) See Griswold, *Wat Pra Yün Reconsidered*, to appear in the Siam Society's Monograph Series in 1974.
 - 2) For *Sumana*, see above, pp. 93 f., 97 f., 107 f.; and JSS 60/1, pp. 51-72.

completed on Thursday, May 9, 1370 (Julian). The ruins of the cetiya are now completely hidden by the temple built over them in the early years of the 20th century A.D.; Kilanā's other buildings at the monastery disappeared long ago, and have been replaced by newer structures.

The inscription (Figs. 1, 2), which was presumably engraved soon after the cetiya was dedicated, is set up on a low pedestal near the present temple. It was first published in 1925, by the late Professor George Coedès, with a Romanized transcription and a French translation (BEFEO XXV, 195 ff.). The late Mahā Chām Dòṅgāmvarṇa published a transcription in Siamese letters, together with notes and a parallel version in modern Siamese spelling, in *Śilpākara*, I/1 (May, 1957); reprinted, with a few amendments, as No. 62 in *Prajum Śilācārik*, Vol. III (1965). The text we print below follows Mahā Chām's reading in the main, but with some changes based on a more recent re-examination of the rubbings.

The slab of sandstone bearing the inscription is 95 cm. high and 55 cm. wide. Face I has a line of Pali and 40 lines of Siamese; Face II, not counting a few illegible letters at the top, has 41 lines of Siamese; both faces may originally have had a few more lines at the bottom.³ Except where the stone is broken, most of the writing is well-preserved and distinct. The language and script are the same as in the Sukhodayan inscriptions of the reign of Mahādharṃarājā I. The nominal author is King Kilanā, who is introduced at I/2-3 as Cau Dāv Sòn Sèn Nā ann Dharmikarāja. It seems likely, however, that much of the text, if not all, was actually composed by Sumana. Coedès (BEFEO XXV, 195) notes the 'effroyable incorrection' of the Sanskrit and Pali terms scattered through the text, which may give a just measure of Sumana's scholarship.

For the most part the spelling is like that of Inscriptions 2 and 3 (see JSS 60/1 pp. 83-107, and 61/1 pp. 79 ff.). The mai-hăn-ākāśa (~) is completely lacking, though it had been in fairly frequent use at Sukhodaya since 1361; perhaps Sumana, being an old man, refused to depart at all from the old method of expressing the sound of ā by

3) Figs. 1 and 2 were made before the bottom part of the stone was embedded in cement to fix it to the pedestal, which now hides some of the writing.

reduplicating the final consonant. Except for two very doubtful cases (เฎ at I/23, which may really be เฎ, and อี at I/26, which may really be อี), the vowels เฎ and อี do not occur, their place being taken by เฎ and อี. The accent ˊ (for ˊ) occurs in ค้าน at I/36, though elsewhere the same word is written without it. As well as we can make out, the mai-ek (ˊ) occurs seventeen times : พ [= พอ], I/5; บ, I/35, II/23; ก [= ก], I/31, 32; II/16; จ [จอ], II/19; ทาน, II/9; ช [= ชอ], I/23; อัด [= ออด], I/15; ท่าโด [= ท่าโด], I/35; อัญญ [อัญญ], I/11; อรรฆนา [= อรรฆนา], I/8, 11; อัก [= อัก], I/26; อวิยานด [= อวิยานด], I/15; อินทริย [= อินทริย], I/15. In some cases it is a tone-marker, e.g. พ, บ, ทาน; in others, e.g. อัด, it appears to be a separation-marker, as it sometimes is in Sukhodayan and Ayudhyan inscriptions; ท่าโด [ท่าโด] is an alternative form for ท่าโด. Rather unexpectedly, อ stands for ฮา in อรรฆนา, Pali *ārāḍhanā*; it stands for อี in อวิยานด, Pali *iriyāpatha*, and in อินทริย, Pali *indriya*; and it stands for อี in อัก, Siamese อัก. There are several other oddities of spelling, e.g. กรเทญตา, *krateñūtā* (I/16) for Pali *kataññūtā* (cf. Skt. *kṛtajña*), บุณนรพสุ, *pūnnarbasu* (II/14) for Skt. *punarvasu*, and สิลลหรร, *sīlḍhārā* (II/30), presumably for *śrīsindhudhārā*. In our translation we have regularized the spelling of most proper names, and of loanwords from Sanskrit or Pali. The style of composition is straightforward enough, but rather gushing; and the intensifier หมกหมก (หมกหมก) is used no less than ten times (I/6, 12, 14, 34; II/5, 23, 26, 28, 31, 36). This intensifier is common enough in the Sukhodayan inscriptions; but No. 2 is the only one we recall in which it is used with such exaggerated frequency. Sumana may have caught the habit from the author of No. 2.

The chronicle *Mūlasāsanā* (M) gives a lot of information about Wat Pra Yün; and we have accounts, obtained in 1961, from three elderly monks who were well acquainted with the ruins of the old cetiya before they were covered over by the present temple. As this material, which is discussed by Griswold in a paper scheduled to appear later,⁴ will help us to understand the inscription, we shall summarize part of it here.

The colossal statue of the standing Buddha on the site, set up before the Tai conquest, faced eastward; it was made of laterite; and its height

4) See above, note 1. A brief discussion of the subject was given by Griswold at a meeting of the Northern Thai Society, Chiang Mai, on February 21, 1973.

was 18 cubits, say 8.50 m., which was the legendary height of the Buddha Gotama. Sumana, not long after his arrival, conceived a plan for restoring this statue and making it part of a grandiose architectural composition. At his suggestion the King quickly put the plan into effect. He built a huge square cetiya in the form of a maṇḍapa, with a high arched doorway at each face, placed in such a way that the statue would be visible from the outside through the eastern doorway. Then he made three new standing statues of the same height, placed so that one would be similarly visible through each of the other doorways, representing Gotama's immediate predecessors, the Buddhas Kakusandha, Koṇāgama and Kassapa. Finally, doubtless in the middle of the maṇḍapa in the space between the four statues, he built a tabernacle in the form of a prāsāda for the miraculous relic which Sumana had discovered long before.⁵

5) See above, p. 93 f., and JSS 60/1, p. 60 ff.

Text

FACE I

๑. นโมตสสภกวัตโต
๒. อนนวาพระเสลาจาริกเจ้าท้าวสองแสนนายนนธรรมิ
๓. กราชผู้เป็นลูกกรกกแกพรญาผายูเป็นหลานแกพรญา
๔. คำฟูเป็นหลานแกพรญามงกรายหลวงเจ้าท้าวนี้
๕. มือสุคนมาพิธีปีเดือนพืทนตงอนนจิงโตเสวยรา
๖. ชไชสรี่มีสกกมีบุญฤสเทศะตะหนกกหนาเปนพ
๗. รญามหารรรมีกราชอาจบงเกิดศรธาให้สาสนาพ
๘. ระสรี่รัตนตโรยเลจิงให้ไปอรรณานิมนพระม
๙. หาเถรเปนเจ้าผุ่หนึ่งซิมหาสมนเถรอนนอยุในนครสุ
๑๐. กโขไทยคาบนนบมีโคมาแลพอยจิงให้ไปบ่าบ
๑๑. วงสรวงอรรณอเชญพระมหาเถรเปนเจ้าควยเคา
๑๒. รบหนกกหนาคาบนิ่งโศตคาบนนทานเปนเจ้าจิงลีล
๑๓. ามาควยสิสคนตนวนผุ่ติญอมอารียสงฆทรงศีลจา
๑๔. รยอกฤษหนกกหนาพระมหาเถรเปนเจานนนโศตปร
๑๕. กอบควยอริยาคถอนนตีมื้อนทริยอนนสานทานอ่ค
๑๖. ญาณกรเทญตากอปรควยเปรญาแลศีลาจารบุญสภาร
๑๗. รุณลาสนในโวหารอรรถธรรมทงหลายรุสงสงสอนคนเ
๑๘. ขาในไตรสรนาค์แลผุ่โตจกกจ้ไปในจตุรบายนรกไสท
๑๙. นญูกออบอกหนทางสวรคควยอนนวาให้จำศีลกทำ
๒๐. าทิรภาพนาเมือทานเปนเจาแมนนในปีรกาเดือนจยง

๒๑. วณสุกรวณนทานเปนเจ้าจกกเถิงวณนันทนทานพ
๒๒. รมุทธรรมิกราชบริพารควยฝูงราชโยธามหาชนพลดู
๒๓. กเจ้าลูกขุนมนตรีทั้งหลายยายกนให้ถ้ำทงเขาตอกคอก
๒๔. กโมไตยอนตีพาตงงพินคองกลองปี่สรในพิสเนญไชยท
๒๕. ทยคากหลแตรสงฆมารกวงสตาลมรทงคองเคือสสงยเลือส
๒๖. สยงคองอ่กทงคนรองให้อีตาสรรทาทวทงนนครหริป
๒๗. ญไชยแลจึงไปรบพระมหาเถรเปนเจ้าอญเชญเขามา
๒๘. ในพระพิหารโอยทานเวนทงกุฎีสถานอาวาสนี้แกพระ
๒๙. มหาเถรเปนเจ้านนแลจึงบำเรอแกพระมหาเถรเปน
๓๐. เจ้าแลฝูงสงฆทงหลายควยจตุสปรโงยอนนควรตีฝูงคนอ
๓๑. นอยพายกุมกามชยงใหม่พุนก่ตีฝูงคนอนนมีในเมืองหริ
๓๒. ปญุไซนี้ก่ตีเขามีใจสราธแกพระมหาเถรเปนเจ้าบางคนเข
๓๓. บาวสจ้ำสีกทำวีรอนนตีแห่งสำนักพระมหาเถรเปนเจ้าแ
๓๔. ทนนจิงบงเกิดเปนบุญธรรมหนักหนาพระมหาเถรเปน
๓๕. เจมาอยู่มีนันทไคทานจิงรำเพิงไปมาพิจารณา.....
๓๖. สนีกบบพระพุทธรูปยี่นอนนสถิตอยู่ด้านปลา(ย).....
๓๗. กนื่อนนอาจารย์แกแกเทชาวคอนหากทำปร(ติสสา).....
๓๘. มหาเถรเปนเจ้าจิงตรีไคควยกำลังงเปรณาจก.....
๓๙. ฐ.....ชนคนสบบบริสทงหลาย.....
๔๐.พระเปน(เจ้า).....าถึงหา.....
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๔๑.

FACE II

๑. ชล่องรองตีนพายไคไ
๒. ไปกลาวพิจารณาการอนนจกกทำ
๓. พระนนแหงทานพรญามหาธรรมิกราชผู้เปนเจ้าเม
๔. องทานพรญาคนไคญินวพระมหาเถรเปนเจ้าจกกทำพระตง
๕. อนนเขยบงเกิดสธาณินดีหนกหนาจึงให้ฝูงมนตรีมาอยู่จำนำ
๖. แต่งทำการถวายพระมหาเถรเปนเจ้าโสดกตคนนพระมหาเถ
๗. รเปนเจ้าจึงให้บอกแก่ฝูงอุบาสกอุบาสิกาหาชนคนทองหลายท
๘. วนสบบบุริสแลฝูงนันทานนกปรางทองหลายให้หาหินแลงแ
๙. ปลงลยดแลวท่านให้พิทธูริกสพารกาลฉายานาที่ตริยาง
๑๐. นบพาลกคนอนนเปนมหามงคลแลวพระมหาเถรเปนเจ
๑๑. าจิงให้แรกทกบชนบนลงพระยอินเปนเจ้านีในปีรกาเคือ
๑๒. นญีออกสามคำวนนไทวนนคาบเสตวนนเมงวนนสุกรพารเมือ
๑๓. จกกไกลรงมุงคฺสุกรราชไคเจตรอยสามสิบเอค ๗๓๑ ไคริกสเจ
๑๔. คอนนชีบุรนรพสุตคนนทานเปนเจ้าพอยให้แรกทกบช
๑๕. นรากพระพุทธรูปยอินทงสามคนอนนมีหนดานไคคานเหนือ
๑๖. มือนทวนนตกกปีรกาเคือนสามแรมสี่คำวนนไทวนนกด
๑๗. คเรววนนเมงพารสุกรคฺญาเมือทวนนชินสิบหาฝาคินไคจิตริก
๑๘. สสกรราชไคเจตรอยสามสิบเอคโศค ๗๓๑ กทำพระยอินเปน
๑๙. จาไนในปีรกามาแลวในปีพไคสองเขาทานเปนเจ้าให้ฉลองใน
๒๐. สองปีนนสามคาบในกาลเมือฉลองนันทานพรญาธรรมิกราช

[Translation]

[I/1, in *Pali*:] Homage to the Blessed One!

[I/2,-7.] (This is)⁶ the stone inscription of the ruler Sōṇ Sēn Nā Dharmikarāja, who is the beloved son of Brañā Phā Yū, the grandson of Brañā Gāṃ Fū, and great-grandson of Brañā Māñ Rāy the Great.⁷ When the years and months of his father's life came to an end, he himself inherited the kingdom.⁸ He possesses immense⁹ honors, merit, fortune, power and bravery.¹⁰ He is a great and righteous king.¹¹

[I/7-14.] Filled with zeal for the religion of the Three Gems, he sent an invitation to an exalted Mahāthera¹² named Mahā Sumana Thera, who lived at Nagara Sukhodaya. At that time¹³ (the Mahāthera) did not come.¹⁴ Then, however,¹⁵ (the King) sent an invitation once again,¹⁶ praying and making offerings¹⁷ to the exalted Mahāthera, with

6) อนนวา (I/2), i.e. อันว่า, is an old form for the opening of a speech or communication (see McFarland, p. 984). We have omitted it in translating, and supplied the words 'This is' instead.

7) As King Kilanā (*Gū Nā*) was Mang Rāi's great-great-great grandson, the word เทณ, 'great-grandson', is evidently loosely used here. In the Sukhodayan inscriptions, several relationship-terms, which now have a more precise meaning, are used loosely.

8) More literally, 'this ruler, at the end of his father's life-span (จันมาพิถี = jan-māvidhi) in years and months like that, then attained to the enjoyment of royal power' (I/4-6).

9) มหกกมฺหา (I/6).

10) สกฺก (= Skt. śakti, Pali satti), 'honors'; บุญ (= P. puñña), 'merit', i.e. a large store of merits earned in previous lives; ฤๅ (= Skt. ṛddhi), 'fortune', etc.; เตชฺ (P. teja), 'fire,' 'energy', 'supernatural power'; ตบะ (P. tapa), 'austerities,' 'self-control', implying bravery. It would be a mistake to insist on the exact meaning of each word in this list (I/6); it is purely conventional.

11) ราชัน mahādharmikarāja (I/6-7), 'great king who rules in accordance with the dharma'.

12) In order to preserve the flavor of the original, we translate พระมหาเถรเปนเจ้า as 'exalted Mahāthera.'

13) ศาบณณ (I/10), modern คาบณณ.

14) มมีโตมา (I/10), for มมีโตมา.

15) พอย (I/10), 'on the other hand', 'on the contrary', 'in turn', 'however'. Mahā Chāṃ glosses the word as พลอย, เลย. Compare *Lāo* พอย, พลอย, 'if', 'though', 'but', 'consequently' (Reinhorn).

16) คาบณโธต (I/12).

17) บำบวงสรวง (I/10-11) suggests making a sacrifice, accompanied by a prayer, to a god or spirit; Pallegoix glosses both บำบวง and สรวง as 'sacrificare angelis, genis,' McFarland equates บวงสรวง with มณาน, 'to vow, promising a thank-offering if the request is granted.'

immense reverence.¹⁸ That time his lordship set forth, accompanied by a troop of disciples, all of them worthy and learned monks who observe the precepts with immense strictness.¹⁹

[I/14-20.] The exalted Mahāthera, moreover, is characterized by excellent deportment.²⁰ He possesses the faculties of gentleness, restraint, endurance, knowledge, and gratitude.²¹ He is endowed with wisdom, adherence to the precepts, and a great store of merit.²² He is skilful in expounding all the texts. He knows how to teach people to seek the Three Refuges. If anyone (acts in such a way that he) would sink into (one of) the four woeful conditions, (such as) hell,²³ his Lordship lifts him out and shows him the path to heaven by²⁴ getting him to

18) เคารพหนักหนา (I/11-12).

19) ด้วยศิษย์คนล้วนผู้ยอมอารียสงฆทรงสัจจารยอกฤษนกกหนา (I/13-14), which Mahā Chām renders: ด้วยศิษย์คนล้วนผู้ยอมอารียสงฆทรงสัจจารยอกฤษนกกหนา. Coedès translates: 'avec un disciple extrêmement distingué, religieux éminent qui observait les préceptes avec le plus grand soin.' It is not clear from the inscription itself whether the singular or the plural is intended; but the passage in M that describes the same event (M, p. 239) shows that it must be the plural (and indeed there are notable similarities in the wording). We take คน to be equivalent to คนะ, not คน the classifier for persons, as it is immediately followed by the classifier for monks (คน). We therefore understand ศิษย์คน as Pali *sissaggaṇa*, 'a troop of disciples'; we take ผู้ยอม and อารียสงฆ to be in apposition to *sissaggaṇa*; คนล้วน (คนล้วน) must mean 'all of them, without exception'; and ย่อม (ยอม) means 'habitually', 'as a matter of course.'

20) อริยบาท (I/15) is for Pali *iriyapatha*.

21) อินทรีย์ (I/15) is put for Pali *indriya*, 'faculties', a term applicable to 22 different phenomena; see Nyanatiloka, *Buddhist Dictionary*, Colombo, 1950, 57-58. Probably สาน (I/15) is for Skt. *sāntva*, 'conciliation,' 'mild or gentle language,' etc.; ทาน (I/15) may be for Skt. *dānta*, 'restrained,' 'patient'; อด (I/15), mod. อด, which we render as 'endurance', can mean 'to refrain from,' etc., or else may be equivalent to อดทน, 'to endure,' 'to suffer manfully,' 'to be courageous under difficulties'; ญาณ (I/16) is Pali *ñāṇa*, 'knowledge' or 'wisdom'; กรตณฺหา (I/16) is put for Pali *kataññitū*, 'gratitude.'

22) เปรีฎา (I/16) is for Skt. *prajñā* or Pali *paññā*, 'wisdom'; *śīlācāra* (Pali), 'observance of the precepts'; *puṇisaṃbhāra*, Pali *puṇīṇisaṃbhāra*, 'a great store of merit' (sc. earned in previous lives).

23) The 'four woeful conditions' (*caturāpāya*) are rebirth as an animal, a *peta* (ghost), an *asura* (titan), or in hell (*niraya*, *naraka*).

24) In contrast to its meaning at I/2, the expression อนนฺวา (อันว่า) at I/19 means 'namely,' 'that is to say'.

observe the precepts, and to practice right effort and mental development.²⁵

[I/20-27.] The time his exalted lordship arrived was in a year of the cock, in the first month, on a Friday.²⁶ On that day, when his exalted Lordship was about to arrive, King Dharmikarāja in person (went to receive him), escorted by a numerous throng of officers, subjects, soldiers, princes, noblemen, and ministers, drawn up in good order.²⁷ He had them carry banners and flags,²⁸ grilled rice and flowers, torches and candles. They struck xylophones, and sounded stringed instruments,²⁹ gongs, drums, clarinets, cattle-horn trumpets, small double-headed drums, curved trumpets, and conchs, together with³⁰ plate-gongs, hand drums,

- 25) พว (I/20) is for Pali viriya, 'energy'. As it is identical with 'right effort,' the sixth item on the Eightfold Path (Nyanatiloka, *Buddhist Dictionary*, 171), we have translated it so. The Eightfold Path, i.e. the path leading to the extinction of suffering, consists of right understanding, right mindedness, right speech, right bodily action, right livelihood, right effort, right attentiveness, and right concentration (ibid., p. 81). ภาพนา is the Pali word *bhāvanā*, which Nyanatiloka glosses as 'mental development' (lit. 'calling into existence'); he adds that in English it is generally, but incorrectly, called 'meditation'; and that it is of two kinds, *samathabhāvanā* (development of tranquillity, i.e. *samādhi*, concentration); and *vipassanābhāvanā* (development of clear-sight i.e. *paññā*, wisdom); Nyanatiloka, *Buddhist Dictionary*, p. 26.
- 26) เดือนขง (I/20), i.e. เดือนเจียง, like the same expression in Lào (Reinhorn, p. 453), is equivalent to เดือนอ้าย, 'the first month' of the year. In the present context we might expect it to mean the first month according to the Chiang Mai calendar, which corresponds to the 11th month of the Sukhodayan calendar, approximately October. But all the dates in the Inscription of Wat Pra Yün are given in terms of the Sukhodayan calendar, in which the first month corresponds to 1-29 December 1369. The day the Mahāthera arrived was in December, 1369 (Julian).
- 27) ขายกณน (I/23); our rendering is based on Mahā Chām's gloss, เรียงรายกัน.
- 28) ข่ง (I/23), 'banners and flags'; ข่อ = Tai Yuan 幟, 'banners'; พง is for พง 'flags'. Instead of ข่ง, Mahā Chām reads ข่ง, sc. กระพริบ; but an examination of the stone shows the first letter is pretty clearly ข rather than พ.
- 29) ตัพาดตงพิน (I/24), i.e. ตัพาทย์ตังพิน. In colloquial Siamese พาทย์ (Skt. 'musical instrument') often means a xylophone; in pre-modern Siamese พิน (Skt. *vīṇā*, 'the Indian lute') meant a three-stringed fiddle.
- 30) We follow Māha Chām, who glosses มว (I/25) as มาน, equivalent to มี, 'to have,' 'there are,' 'with'; cf. Khmer *mān*, which has the same meaning.

and tabors [?],³¹ with excellent and re-echoing sound,³² (while) the people also cheered³³ loudly,³⁴ almost shaking³⁵ the whole town of Haripuñjaya.

[I/27-30.] Then (the King) went to receive the exalted Mahāthera and invited him to enter the vihāra,³⁶ offering it to him as a gift, and

- 31) The identification of some of the instruments listed at I/24-25 is easy, but not all. Our translations, several of which are conjectural, are based on the following: Mahā Chām's glosses (*Prajam Śīlācārīk*, III, p. 143); Dhanit Yupho, *Thai Musical Instruments*, Bangkok, 1960; McFarland, *Thai-English Dictionary*, Stanford and London, 1944; Guesdon, *Dictionnaire Cambodgien-Français*, Paris, 1930; Reinhorn, *Dictionnaire Laotien-Français*, Paris, 1970; A. Daniélou, *La musique du Cambodge et du Laos*, Pondichéry, 1957; and verbal information kindly supplied by Professor Hans Penth of Chiang Mai.

(1) กลอง, modern ฆ้อง, is a gong of the ordinary type, composed of a circular bronze disk with a raised knob in the center of one side, and a deep flange running around the perimeter of the other side (see Dhanit, 21 ff.; and Daniélou, 23 ff.).

(2) กลอง is a drum (see Dhanit, 31 f.).

(3) ปี่สรโณ, modern ปี่โณ, is a clarinet or oboe, a wooden flute-like instrument of soprano pitch (McFarland; Dhanit, 78 f.). < Persian *sournai*.

(4) In the term พิสนัญไชย, พิสนัญ is probably equivalent to ปี่เสนง or ปี่เขนง, a trumpet made of cattle-horn, while ไชย, 'victory', is merely a suffix (Mahā Chām); the Khmer word snēn means a cattle-horn (Mahā Chām; Guesdon, p. 1868).

(5) ทพต (ทะเตียด, สรเตียด), according to Mahā Chām, is equivalent to Pali *dindima*, 'a small drum' (PTS Dictionary); 'a two-headed drum, one head being beaten with a drum-stick and the other with the hand' (Mahā Chām).

(6) กาฬ is glossed by Mahā Chām as แดงอน, 'curved trumpet'; for the latter, see Dhanit, 83 f. (the word is obviously Skt. *kāḥala*, which Monier-Williams' dictionary glosses as 'a kind of musical instrument', without specifying what kind).

(7) แตรสง, modern แตรสังข์, is a conch-shell trumpet (see Dhanit, 85 f.).

(8) The word กงสตาล is borrowed from Pali *kaṇṣatāla*, 'bronze gong'. As nearly all gongs are made of bronze, and this one is presumably different from the ordinary type of gong (ฆ้อง), which has already been mentioned, we presume it to be the type known as กงสตาล in northern Siam, a flat bronze plate, thicker in relation to its size than a ฆ้อง, usually circular but sometimes of some other shape, and further differing from a ฆ้อง in the absence of a deep flange around the perimeter (the edging, if any, is no more than a shallow rim). See Penth, *Kunst im Lan Na Thai* (I), *Artibus Asiae* XXXII, 4, 307-314, and Figs. 2-6).

(9) มรทงค (Skt. *mṛdaṅga*, Pali *mudīṅga*, 'small drum') is glossed by Mahā Chām as ตะโพน, which, according to Dhanit is a drum placed on a stand, and played on both heads with the palms of the hands and the fingers (see Dhanit, 35, 36).

also presenting him the kuṭis and this dwelling-place.³⁷ Then he provided the exalted Mahāthera and the whole throng of monks with the four requisites,³⁸ of good and suitable quality.

[I/30-34.] The throng of people living yonder at *Gum Gâm*³⁹ and *Chieng Mai*, as well as the people here in Haripuñjaya, were filled with faith in the exalted Mahāthera. Some of them entered the monkhood,

(10) ดงเค็ดส is glossed by Mahā Chām either as 'reverberating loudly' or else as 'a kind of musical instrument'. We conjecture it to be the same word as Láo เค็ดเค็ด, which Reinhorn (p. 904) glosses as 'le tambour à main, le tambourin', i.e. a tabor; perhaps it was something like the Siamese รำรณ (see Dhanit, 41 f.).

- 32) สยงเล็ดสยงกอง (I/25-26), i.e. เสียงเล็ดเสียงกอง, 'excellent sound, reverberating sound.'
- 33) โห (I/26), i.e. โห, 'to give a long undulating shout or cheer, as when marching in a procession or on the occasion of some festival' (McFarland).
- 34) อี (I/26), i.e. อื้อ, 'noisy', 'boisterous', 'loud.'
- 35) คา, 'almost'; cf. แทบล้มประดาตาย, 'almost die.' สรทวน (I/26), i.e. สะท้าน, 'to shake'.
- 36) It is not clear whether พุทธ (vihāra) at I/28 is used in the classic sense of a monastery or an abode for a monk, or whether it means a preaching-hall, as it now usually does in Siam.
- 37) Kuṭis are wooden huts for monks to live in; sthāna-avāsa (I/28) is a dwelling-place, which could mean a somewhat more elaborate residence for a monk of high rank; or else we might take sthāna-āvāsa to be in apposition to kuṭi, and translate 'presenting these kuṭis as dwelling-places to the exalted Mahāthera', sc. as dwelling-places for himself and his monks; as a Forest-Dweller (arañña-vāsī) it may have been deemed more fitting for him to live in a kuṭi like the other monks.
- 38) จตุสปรังษ (I/30), for Pali catupaccaya, the four requisites of a monk, i.e. robes, almsfood, a dwelling-place, and medicine. Of course he had already presented them with a dwelling-place.
- 39) พูน (I/31) is for พูน, 'yonder'; พาย is for ภาย, 'in the direction of'. *Gum Gâm* (กุ่มกาม), a short distance from the old city walls of Chieng Mai, was Mang Rāi's first capital in this area. The site, which is still marked by the monument known as Cetiya Sī Liem (เจดีย์สี่เหลี่ยม) built by Mang Rāi in the 1290's but much altered by a 20th-century 'restoration', is said to have proved unsatisfactory because of recurrent floods, and was superseded in 1296 by Chieng Mai. Its mention here shows that Gum Gâm retained a certain importance even after being abandoned as the capital. Today Chieng Mai has grown so much that it has absorbed the site of Gum Gâm.

observed the precepts, and practiced right effort⁴⁰ in the community⁴¹ of the exalted Mahāthera. From that time on, therefore, an immense amount of merit was earned.⁴²

[I/34-41.] Not long after the exalted Mahāthera arrived here to take up his residence, he debated back and forth in his mind, reflecting that this and the statue of the standing Buddha located at the end⁴³ of this, made and erected long ago by master-craftsmen of old, [was falling into decay?].⁴⁴ The exalted Mahāthera, being able to consider (the matter) with the force of his insight, (decided that he) would⁴⁵ all worthy men the Buddha to attain five [thousand years]⁴⁶ [II/1-4] as supports underneath their feet;⁴⁷ and he sent word to inform King Dharṃikarāja, the lord of the land, of his plan to make the statues.

[II/4-9.] The King, when⁴⁸ he heard that the exalted Mahāthera wanted to make statues like that, was filled⁴⁹ with immense faith and

- 40) วิริ (I/33) is for Pali *virīya*; we translate it as 'right effort' for the reason stated at note 25.
- 41) สำนัก (I/33), modern สำนัก. The word now means 'house,' 'dwelling-place,' 'rest-house,' or 'office;' but in *Mūlasāsanā*, in which it occurs frequently, it obviously means the abode of a religious teacher and, by extension, the whole company of his disciples; cf. JSS 59/1, p. 202, note 14. Here it refers to the order of Forest-dwelling *Sīhalabbhikkhus*, and more particularly to Wat Pra Yūn, which was as yet the order's only establishment in Lān Nā.
- 42) บงเกิด (I/34), modern บังเกิด, 'produced.'
- 43) Restoring ปลา (I/36) as ปลา.
- 44) Conjectural restoration of the lacuna.
- 45) We assume he was planning to ask the King to restore the old statue, make three new ones, and erect the *maṇḍapa*; see above, p. 125-126.
- 46) The restored statue and the three new ones were to last until the year 5000 of the Buddhist era when, according to an old prophecy, the Buddhist religion will come to an end (see JSS 61/1, p. 84 and note 10).
- 47) ขลองรองคันทวยใต้ (II/1). Both ขลอง (here written ขลอง) and รอง mean 'to support'; the first is the royal word, the second the ordinary one. ทวยใต้, modern ทวยใต้, means 'on the under side,' 'underneath.' The feet evidently belong to the statues, and the supports must be pedestals.
- 48) คน (II/4), modern คน.
- 49) In our translation we omit เขย (II/5), modern เขย, used here as an emphatic particle.

delight; so he commanded a throng of officials to come and stay⁵⁰ to supervise the work in coöperation with the exalted Mahāthera. After that the exalted Mahāthera sent word the throng of devout laymen and laywomen, to all worthy people in general, and to all the throng of wise men,⁵¹ for laterite to be fetched and made smooth.⁵²

[II/9-14.] Then his Lordship caused the heavenly bodies to be observed,⁵³ (to determine) the day of the week, the time, the shadow, the *nāḍī*, the *triyāṅśa*, the *navāṅśa*, and the *lagna* that would be most auspicious,⁵⁴ and (at the time thus fixed) he had (the people) begin (making) the arched doorway and putting together the pedestal for this standing statue of the Lord.⁵⁵ (It was) in the year of the cock, in the

50) มายูจํานํ (II/5), i.e. มายูประจำ.

51) Perhaps the 'wise men' are the officials who helped the Mahāthera supervise the operation.

52) แปลงลียต (II/8-9), i.e. แปลงเลียด, is glossed by Mahā Chām as หนาเรียบ, 'smooth-surfaced.' The word แปลง here means 'to make' (as in Tai Yuan); เรียบ, the modern form of เลียด, means 'level for the full length' (McFarland). When laterite is first removed from the quarry it has the consistency of stiff clay, but after being exposed to the air it gradually takes on a stone-like hardness: while it was still soft enough to be easily fashioned, the people were to make it into blocks suitable for building.

53) โหฬรตฤกษ (II/9), for โหฬรตฤกษ (Mahā Chām).

54) The astrological terms at II/9-10 are Sanskrit, several of them misspelt: พาร is for *vāra*, 'day of the week'; กาล is *kāla*, 'time'; ฉายา is *chāya*, 'shadow' (the position and length of the shadow cast by a gnomon or post, used as an indicator of time); นาฬิ is for *nāḍī*, 1/60 of a day; ตริยาง is for *triyāṅśa*, 1/3 of a zodiacal division or 'sign'; นบพาง is for *navāṅśa*, 1/9 of a 'sign'; ลกกดนา (from Skt. *lagna*) here means the exact moment.

55) Conjectural translation. Let us compare the passage at II/11 with the very similar one at II/14-15:

(II/11) ไนแรกทศกษณ บนนลง พระอินเป็นเจ้าน

(II/14-15) ไนแรกทศกษณ วาก พระพุทธรูปอินทงสามคณ

(It was this confrontation that led us to the right reading for the word บชน in the first passage, which was read by Coedès as นอน and by Mahā Chām as บอน, but which was correctly read by both Coedès and Mahā Chām in the second passage.) The first passage obviously refers to preparing a proper setting for the old statue, facing east, which was now being restored; the second refers to preparing settings for the three new statues which were to face the other three cardinal points. A *mandapa* was to be built over them, in such a

second month, on the third day of the waxing moon, a 'kāp set' day in *Tai*, śukravāra⁵⁶ in Mōn, just before dawn, in the year seven hundred thirty-one 731 of the Era,⁵⁷ in the seventh ṛkṣa, Punarvasu by name.⁵⁸

[II/14-18.] After that,⁵⁹ in turn,⁶⁰ his exalted Lordship had them begin (making) the arched doorways and putting together the pedestals⁶¹

way that one of the statues could be seen through each of the doorways. Both passages start with the words ใ้มนรทก. Obviously ใ้มนร means 'had them begin'; as ๓ has to be a verb, we conjecture it is equivalent to ใ้ as in ใ้๓, 'to put up a fence' (McFarland, p. 369); hence 'to make'. The word ทก, which now means 'prison,' is the Khmer word **guk**, 'shrine' or 'vault' (cf. Pali guhā, 'a cave'); and we suppose it refers to the sort of arched doorways we have described. The next word, ๓๓, is of uncertain meaning; the ordinary sense of ๓๓, 'to compete,' will not do; but perhaps we can get a clue from ๓๓๓, 'placed close together,' 'to follow in quick succession', or else from ๓๓, which now means 'to patch', but formerly may have meant 'to piece,' 'to make', plus ๓, 'to collide'. Mahā Chām glosses ๓๓ as ๓๓ or ๓๓๓, 'to solder together,' 'to join together.' We conjecturally translate ๓๓ as 'putting together,' i.e. putting blocks of laterite together. The next word, ๓๓๓๓ (Pali pallaṅka) in the first passage, corresponds to ๓๓ in the second; in this context, both must mean 'pedestal.'

56) สุกรวาร (II/12), for śukravāra, 'Friday.'

57) ๓๓๓ (II/23), i.e. ๓๓๓; this expression, which we have omitted from our translation, means 'to concentrate one's attention on': sc. 'if we concentrate our attention on the Era, it was in the year seven hundred thirty-one,' etc.

58) The name of the ṛkṣa is written pūrnarbasu. The date corresponds to Friday, January 11, 1370 A.D. (Julian). Regarding this date we are indebted to the kindness of Mr Roger Billard, of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, for the following observation: 'Cette date est en toute certitude le vendredi 11 janvier 1370 A.D. julien. Toutes les données, y compris les cycles thaï, s'y vérifient sauf le quantième lunaire. Le texte doit ou devrait porter 14 (ou, à la rigueur, 13) de la lune croissante, et non 3. Même si le texte donne indubitablement 3, la sécurité de toute la vérification est telle, qu'on est en droit de conclure à une erreur matérielle de copie ou de gravure.' Since the number is written out (๓๓, line 12) there is no chance of a misreading; it is obvious the engraver has simply forgotten to put in the word ๓ before ๓๓. The author of *M* made the same mistake, which shows that he was following the inscription.

59) ๓๓๓๓ (II/14), 'at a later time'; as we shall see in a moment, it was five weeks later (note 66).

60) ๓๓ (II/14); cf. above, note 15.

61) See above, note 55.

for standing statues of three (other) Buddhas, at the south side, the north side, and the west side,⁶² in the year of the cock, in the third month, on the fourth day of the waning moon, a 'katt rau' day in Tai, vāraśukra⁶³ in Môn, when the shadow (of the gnomon) cast by the morning sun measured fifteen feet,⁶⁴ in the r̥kṣa of Citra,⁶⁵ in the year seven hundred thirty-one, viz. 731, of the Era.⁶⁶

[II/18-23.] To make these standing images of the Lords, (begun) in the year of the cock and finished in the year of the dog, two years sufficed.⁶⁷ During these two years his exalted Lordship had dedication ceremonies held three times.⁶⁸ On the occasions when those dedication ceremonies were held, King Dharmikarāja, for his part, (having) caused almsfood and all the eight requisites⁶⁹ to be prepared, came and presented them as an offering to the monkhood⁷⁰ at each side.⁷¹ Through the power of the immense merits of the Mahāthera and King Dharmikarāja, not a single misfortune⁷² or accident occurred.⁷³

62) Literally 'standing images of Buddhas all three persons, which are on the south side, the north side, and go on to the west side.' (II/15-16.)

63) bārasukra (II/17) = śukravāra 'Friday.'

64) Literally 'seeing the shadow (of the gnomon) fifteen feet (in length) when the sun was rising.'

65) จิตรกษ (II/17-18) = citraṛkṣa.

66) About 9 a.m. on Friday, February, 15, 1370 (Julian). We are indebted to Mr Roger Billard for calculating this date and hour. It will be observed that work to prepare the settings for the three new statues started just five weeks after that for the old statue.

67) sc. the three new statues, begun in CS 731, were finished in the year of the dog, CS 732. As any part of a year counts as a whole one, the time that elapsed between the beginning of the first of the three new statues and the completion of the last one could be anything between two days and two years; cf. below, note 81.

68) i.e. a ceremony was held at each of the three sides in succession to dedicate the statue on that side when it was finished; ภาสง at II/19 is the same word as ภาสง at II/1, but here it means 'to hold a dedication ceremony.'

69) อสฺสบริสฺสการ (II/21), for Pali aṭṭha parikkhārā (cf. Skt. aṣṭha pariṣkāra); according to the usual list, the eight requisites of a monk are the three robes, the almsbowl, a razor, a needle, the girdle, and a water-strainer.

70) mahādāna (II/22), the classic meaning of which is a special great offering of food and presents made by a layman to the monkhood, usually lasting a week or more; here it may be used in a less specific sense.

71) i.e. at the side of the maṇḍapa where that particular ceremony was being held.

72) ฅงน II/23, modern ฅงน.

73) sc. during the building operations.

[II/23-26.] The day his Lordship placed the finial on that statue,⁷⁴ the holy (relic)⁷⁵ performed a miracle, shooting out a blaze of rays⁷⁶ of six colors,⁷⁷ clear and bright⁷⁸ in appearance in the middle of the sky, beautiful as the rays of a rainbow.⁷⁹ The whole throng of people who saw⁸⁰ it were struck with immense astonishment.

[II/26-36.] When the last standing statue of the Lord was dedicated, on the full moon day of the sixth month, a Thursday,⁸¹ King Dharmikarāja presented a prāsāda, which was built and adorned with (such)

- 74) The word could be either singular or plural; if singular, it doubtless means the last statue. Probably ฐอด (II/24), modern ชอด, means a flame-finial (raśmi) which most Sukhodayan images of the Buddha have on top of the head.
- 75) พระ (at the middle of II/24) is the relic which Sumana had discovered long before (see JSS 60/1, pp. 52, 60-65, 67, 68); cf. below, II/29 f., where the relic is mentioned again, this time specifically designated as พระธาตุเป็นเงา.
- 76) ส่องชาลรังสี (II/24-25); ส่อง means 'to throw out light', and ชาลรังสี, jālarahsī, is presumably for Pali raṁsijāla, which the PTS Dictionary (s.v. raṁsī) glosses as 'a blaze of rays.'
- 77) หกชน (II/25), 'six kinds.' As the relic was identified with the Buddha, the light it emitted would be equivalent to the **buddharasmi** (cf. above, note 74), the 'ray of enlightenment' or halo around a Buddha, consisting of six colors (chabbajāla); see PTS Dictionary, s.v. raṁsī; cf. JSS 60/1, p. 130 and note 159.
- 78) พาว (II/25) is certainly the same word as ภาว (Inscr. 2, II/57), which corresponds to เลือน, 'shining' (ibid., I/90); see JSS 60/1, pp. 98, 103, 118 and note 101, p. 130 and notes 150, 159-160. As a color of cloth we hazarded the translation 'iridescent', and by extension used the same translation for one of the six colors of a relic's rays in the same inscription (ibid.); but in the present context we think the word means nothing more specific than 'shining' or 'brilliant'.
- 79) เลียกรัง (II/25), i.e. เลียกรัง, which Mahā Chām glosses as สีรุ้ง ('colors of a rainbow').
- 80) เห็น (II/26), i.e. เห็น, is equivalent to เห็น, 'to see.'
- 81) The full moon day of the sixth month is the day of the great Buddhist festival of Visākhāpūjā. As we have seen (note 67), the last of the three statues was completed in CS 732. Prasert na Nagara observes that if CS 731 had an intercalary month, the full moon day of the sixth month of CS 732 would fall on a Thursday, namely Thursday, May 9, 1370 (Julian). This is evidently what happened; and only about three months elapsed between the day the first of the three new statues was begun (February 15, 1370) and the day the last one was dedicated (May 9, 1370).

immense beauty and excellence that, if we are to make a comparison, it was surely⁸² like the Mahāvaijayantaprāsāda.⁸³ Then he bathed the relic of the Lord in a stream of perfumed water,⁸⁴ and did homage to the relic with many offerings of immense distinction for three entire days. When King Dharmikarāja bathed the relic in a golden vessel the last day,⁸⁵ the relic performed a miracle, whirling back and forth in the gold bowl and emitting brilliant rays of light⁸⁶ of different colors. The King, filled with faith, invited all the monks to come in and see the miracle, which was so appropriate, so beautiful, and so excellent, that it caused them immense astonishment.

[II/37-41.] erected a great metal image⁸⁷ of the Buddha in the eleventh month, on the first day of the waning moon⁸⁸ the Era in that year

82) ดาษ (II/29); see JSS 61/1, p. 95 note 2.

83) mahāvaijayantaprāsāda (II/29), Skt. mahāvaijayantaprāsāda, Pali mahāvejayantapāsāda, the name of Indra's palace in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven (see Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, London, 1938, reprinted 1960, Vol. II, p. 915).

84) sūgandhasiḍdhārā (II/30), for sugandhaśrīsiṇdhudhārā (Mahā Chām); Coedès's reading is a little different, but results in the same translation.

85) วนหลน (II/32); in Sukhodayan inscriptions the word ลน usually means 'later' or 'afterward'; in the present context it seems to have a related but slightly different meaning, i.e. the last one of a series (of days) which has just been referred to.

86) บนนฏจวงสิ่วรสมออก (II/34), i.e. บนนฏจวงสิ่วรสมออก. In modern Siamese บนนฏจ means 'to roar,' 'to announce loudly,' or 'to spread widely' (usually in connection with a noise or a rumor); here, in connection with rays of light, it means 'to put forth.' รังสี and รัศมี are doublets, both meaning 'rays of light': the first representing the Pali form raṇsi, and the second the Skt. form raśmi.

87) Or images.

88) Without the context, we can extract no satisfactory meaning from the words พะเตตมาลบบ (II/37), พะเตตมาลบบ (?).

[illegible]