

EPIGRAPHIC AND HISTORICAL STUDIES NO. 14, INSCRIPTION OF THE ŚIVA OF KĀMBÈÑ BEJRA

by

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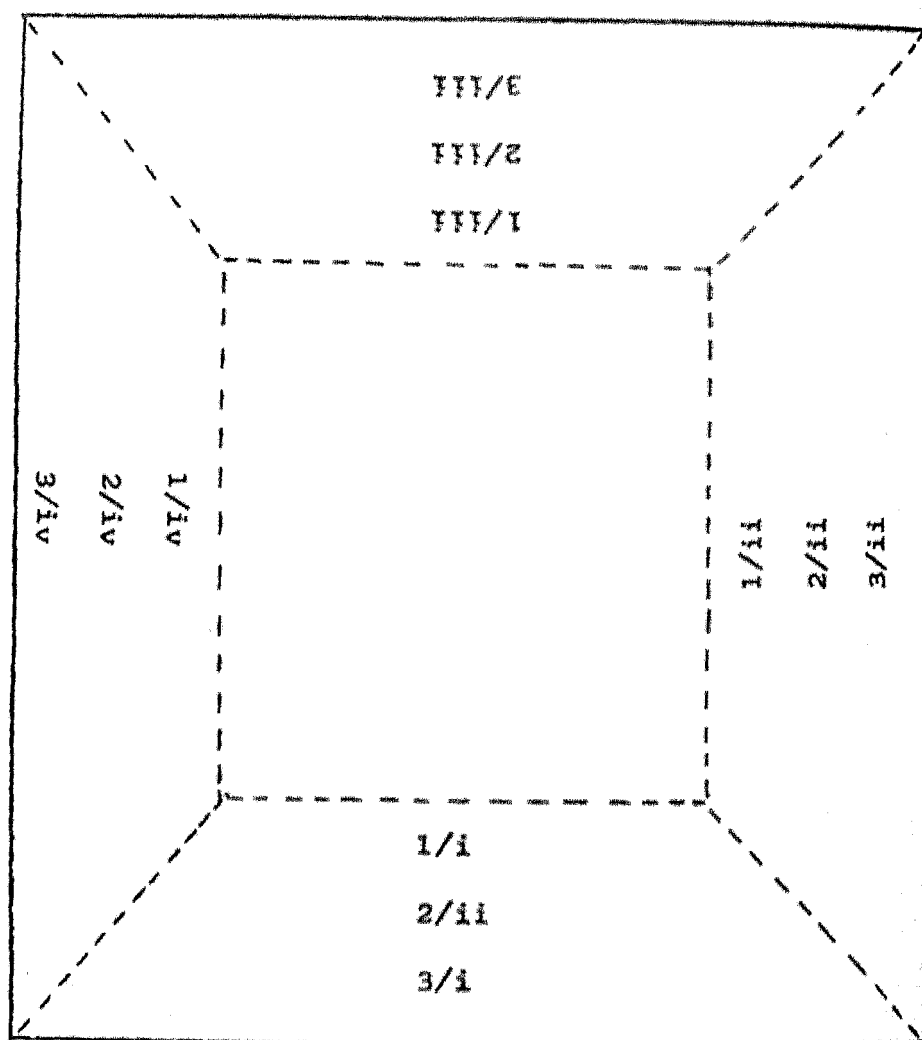
Introduction

The majestic bronze statue of Śiva in Fig. 1, which was cast in 1510, was the subject of a scandal in 1886. A German merchant named Rastmann had noticed it a year or two earlier in the ruins of the Brahmin temple in the old town of Kāmbèñ Bejra (*Gampèng Pet*), where it was held in great esteem by the inhabitants; and wishing to acquire it for the Berlin Ethnographic Museum, he cut off its head and hands; then, upon his return to Bangkok, he made an official request to the Siamese authorities for the rest of the statue. Instead of granting the request, the authorities confiscated the head and hands; but in order to avoid offending the German Government King Rāma V caused a bronze replica of the statue to be cast, which he sent as a present to the German Crown Prince.¹

The original statue, with its head and hands restored to it, was placed in the Vāñ Hnā Museum, which became part of the Bangkok National Museum in 1924. The statue remained there until a few years ago, when it was transferred to the newly opened museum at Kāmbèñ Bejra.

Engraved on the upper surface of the bronze base of the statue is an inscription of three lines, running counterclockwise around the god's feet. Each line, because it makes a 90-degree turn at each corner, is split into four sections. The arrangement is shown in the following diagram, in which the Arabic numeral represents the number of the line, while the lower-case Roman numeral after the slant represents the section: 1/i is the portion of line 1 in front of the god's toes; 1/ii is the portion alongside the god's left foot (i.e. at the spectators's right); 1/iii is the portion behind the god's heels; 1/iv is the portion alongside his right foot; and so on.

1) Fournereau, *Le Siam ancien*, p. 180 ff.

Diagram

The inscription is dated in Śakarāja 1432, in the sixth month, i.e. around April 1510 A.D. The writing is just about what we should expect for the period. The engraving is very shallow, and obliterated in places, so the following remarks must be accepted with due reservations. The mai-hān-ākāśa, which occurs frequently, is placed over the final consonant of syllables rather than the initial: สत्व (= สัตว์), 1/iii; ธน (= ธน), 2/i (twice), 2/ii, 2/iii, 3/iii; วจ (= วัจ), 2/i; วว (= วัว), 2/iii; นน (= นน), 2/iii, 2/iv; ตจ (= ตจ), 2/iv; ทว (= ทว), 3/iv. The mai-hān-ākāśa, however, does not entirely supersede the older method of expressing the same sound by reduplicating the final consonant: นน (= นน), 3/i, ii; ทง (= ทง), 2/iv, 3/iii, 3/iv. The mai-ek accent occurs in นก, 2/iii; ลว, 2/iii; กอน (= กอน), 2/iii; ก (= ก), 2/iii; ญอม, 3/ii; and perhaps รง, 3/i. The mai-do (̣) has superseded the accent ^ˆ, which was formerly used for the same purpose, and it is usually, but not always, placed over the last letter of the syllable; it occurs in the following words: จิน (= จิน), 1/i; แลว (= แลว), 1/ii; เจว, 1/ii, 1/iii; สอม (= สอม), 2/i; พรอ, 2/ii; ลว, 2/iii; ไร, 2/iii, 3/iii; พย (= พย), 2/iv; เจว (= จว), 2/iv; ทง (= ทง), 2/iv, 3/iii, 3/iv; นน (= นน), 3/i, 3/ii; พว (= พว), 3/ii, 3/iii; but elsewhere in the inscription some of these words are written without an accent. It is often difficult to distinguish the vowel ^ˆ from ^ˆ. The vowels ^ˆ and ^ˆ do not occur.

The inscription was published in 1885 in the Saigon periodical *Excursions et reconnaissances*, with an eye-copy and transcription by the missionary Père Schmitt, and a French translation by A. Lorgeou.² Their work reappeared in 1895 in Fournereau's *Le Siam ancien*.³ A new Romanized transcription and French translation were published by the late George Coedès in 1924.⁴ The Siamese text was published at the same time in *Prajum śīlācārīk Syām*.⁵ A version in modernized spelling,

2) *ibid.*, p. 186 note 1.

3) *ibid.*, p. 185-188.

4) Coedès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, I, Bangkok, 1924, pp. 157-159 (XIII: *Inscription du Çiva de Kāmbhēn Bejra*).

5) *Prajum śīlācārīk Syām*, I, Bangkok, BE 2467, p. 157 f. (No. 13); second edition, Bangkok, BE 2500.

together with the photograph we reproduce in Fig. 2, is printed in Prajum cat-hmay hetu samāya Ayudhyā.⁶

So far as we have been able to discover, no rubbing of the inscription has ever been published, and no complete photograph. The engraving of the letters in the bronze is so shallow that a clear rubbing is almost impossible. We have used a pencil rubbing kindly supplied by the Department of Fine Arts; and though most of it is legible enough in itself, it would yield nothing more than a blur if photographed for reproduction. Instead we publish a reproduction of Père Schmitt's eye-copy (Fig. 3).⁷ This might normally be considered a very risky procedure, as most of Schmitt's work, done at a time when the study of Siamese epigraphy was still in its infancy, falls far short of perfection, and his Romanized transcription of the present text is full of faults; but the eye-copy (Fig. 3) is surprisingly good, as we discovered when we compared it with the partial photograph in Fig. 2 and with our rubbing. In Coedès's Romanized transcription⁸ and the Siamese text published in Prajum śīlācārik Syām,⁹ most of the indicators of accents and the mai-hǎn-ākāśa are given their normal modern position in relation to the akṣaras, whereas the eye-copy in Fig. 3 shows them in the same relative position as in the bronze; and in several places the eye-copy permits a better reading than appears in any of the transcriptions published up to now. True, there are inaccuracies in the eye-copy, but as far as possible we have called attention to them in the Appendix (p. 236-237) and corrected them in our transcription (p. 232). Some small errors, chiefly involving the presence or absence of a mai-hǎn-ākāśa or an accent, may have escaped us in passages where our rubbing is indistinct; but these, we hope, will not cause any substantial misinterpretation of the text.

The eye-copy in Fig. 3 follows a different arrangement from our transcription: the portions of all three-lines in front of the god's toes are shown in section I, those alongside his left foot in section II, and so on. In order to read them in the proper sequence one must read the four

6) Prajum cat-hmāy hetu samāya Ayudhyā, p. 29 (with photograph between pp. 28 and 29).

7) Fournereau, p. 185.

8) *Recueil*, p. 158.

9) Prajum śīlācārik Syām, BE 2467, p. 39.

sections of the first line one after another, then those of the second line, and finally those of the third.¹⁰ In Fig. 4, with the aid of scissors and paste, we have transposed the four sections of the eye-copy to conform to the arrangement on the base of the statue.

The purpose of the inscription is to commemorate a number of works of merit performed by Cau Brañā Dharmāsokarāja, the ruler of Kāmbēñ Bejra, and in particular the founding of the statue at whose feet it is engraved: the date, equivalent to 1510 A.D., is that when the statue was erected and dedicated, evidently soon after its completion.¹¹ The text refers to Brañā Rvañ (ဘုရားရှင်) as Dharmāsokarāja's ancestor; and as this name unquestionably means one of the kings of Sukhodaya during the period of its independence it is clear that Dharmāsokarāja was descended from Sukhodayan royalty. Kāmbēñ Bejra and the rest of the Sukhodayan territories had been incorporated into the kingdom of Ayudhyā in 1438, so Dharmāsokarāja was ruling as a subject of the Ayudhyan king, Rāmādhīpati II (r. 1491-1529). He dedicates the merit accruing from his works to 'the two kings': presumably Rāmādhīpati II, who was reigning at Ayudhyā, and one of the latter's relatives who was reigning as uparāja at Biṣṇuloka.¹²

- 10) In Fig. 3 the first line of section I corresponds to our I/i, and the first lines of sections II, III and IV correspond to our 1/ii, 1/iii, and 1/iv; the second line in each section corresponds to our 2/i, 2/ii, 2/iii, and 2/iv respectively, and the third to our 3/i, 3/ii, 3/iii and 3/iv (cf. our Diagram, p. 224).
- 11) Fournereau (pp. 183, 184, and 187 note 3), following Schmitt, suggests that Dharmāsokarāja's action in connection with the statue did not consist in founding it, but simply in 'erecting' it, i.e. that he discovered an old statue lying neglected in the forest, rescued it, and replaced it on its pedestal. They proposed to identify it with the statue of Maheśvara mentioned in Inscription 4 (II/52 f.; see JSS 61/1, pp. 132, 137). This proposal is pure fancy.
- 12) Coedès (*Recueil*, p. 157) gives the probable identification of the two kings as 'Paramarājā, roi à Ayudhyā, et Rāmādhīpati II, alors nommé Brah Jettha, Uparāja à Biṣṇuloka.' There is some confusion here, as may be seen from the following summary account of the three kings of Ayudhyā who reigned between 1448 and 1529.

Paramatrailokanātha (r. 1448-88) was succeeded in turn by two of his sons, Paramarājā III (r. 1488-91) and Rāmādhīpati II (r. 1491-1529). Rāmādhīpati II was known as Prince Jettha before his accession. His mother is thought to have been a princess of the royal family of Sukhodaya, which would mean that Dharmāsokarāja was related to him.

Dharmāśokarāja's works of merit, as recorded in the inscription, deserve a few words of comment. They are not listed in chronological order: the most important, founding the statue of Śiva in 1510, comes first; the others were probably performed at various times before that. We shall discuss them in the order in which they are listed.

1) Founding the statue of Śiva. Though Dharmāśokarāja was of course a Buddhist, it is not at all surprising that he should found a statue of a Hindu god.¹³ Siamese rulers, according to tradition, were protectors of all religions, not only their own. Furthermore, almost every ruler of an Indianizing state in Southeast Asia, whether Buddhist or Hindu by

In 1463 Paramatrilokanātha transferred the capital from Ayudhyā to Biṣṇuloka for the purpose of consolidating his hold on the Sukhodayan provinces, appointing his son Paramarājā as Regent at Ayudhyā; and in 1485 he appointed Prince Jeṭṭha to the post of Mahā-uparāja at Biṣṇuloka.

Upon Paramatrilokanātha's death in 1488, the throne went to his son Paramarājā, who transferred the capital back to Ayudhyā, leaving Prince Jeṭṭha to rule at Biṣṇuloka. Three years later, on the death of Paramarājā, Prince Jeṭṭha succeeded to the throne, taking the regnal name Rāmādhīpati (II) and reigning at Ayudhyā.

In 1510, when our inscription was composed, the King of Ayudhyā was Rāmādhīpati II and the viceroy at Biṣṇuloka must have been one of his brothers or sons, though we do not know which one (his son Buddhānkura was not appointed to the position until 1526). We may consider three possible identifications of 'the two kings' to whom Dharmāśokarāja transfers the merit of his benefactions in 1510:

(a) Paramatrilokanātha and Paramarājā III, both of whom were deceased when the inscription was composed;

(b) Paramarājā III, who was deceased, and Rāmādhīpati II who was reigning at Ayudhyā;

(c) Rāmādhīpati II, reigning at Ayudhyā, and one of his brothers or sons reigning at Biṣṇuloka. We are inclined to prefer this identification; but we cannot reject either of the first two conclusively.

- 13) An uninscribed bronze statue of the god Viṣṇu, found in the ruins of the same Brahmin temple (Fournereau, Pl. L), was very likely cast at the same time; and two statues of Hindu goddesses, fragments of which were also found there (Fournereau, p. 181), may have belonged to the same series. In casting images of Hindu gods, Dharmāśokarāja was following the example of his ancestors the Buddhist kings of Sukhodaya; see Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, pp. 13, 27, 28, 32; also Prince Subhadradis Diskul, เทวรูปสมัยสุโขทัย, Bangkok, 1966.

faith, would have a body of Brahmins attached to his Court, to advise on statecraft, law and technical matters; to regulate the calendar and cast horoscopes; to manage the Swinging Festival, the First Ploughing, and rites for the control of wind and rain; to perform ceremonies; and to discharge a host of other tasks. Theravāda Buddhism takes no cognizance of such things; they are not in conflict with it, but simply irrelevant to it, and no more anti-Buddhist than consulting a doctor or a lawyer today; and they were essential to the proper governance of a state. The god Śiva, according to the inscription, was to protect the four-footed and two-footed creatures in the state of Kāmbēñ Bejra, and to help exalt the three religions (Buddhism, Hinduism, and the cult of ancestral and tutelary divinities): the founder expresses the wish that all three will function harmoniously together.

(2) Restoration of the Buddhist temple of the Great Relic (Mahā-dhātu) and other temples in and around the town (chiefly Buddhist monasteries, but probably also a few shrines dedicated to Hindu gods or tutelary divinities).

(3) Restoration of the boundary markers of landed property. Perhaps chiefly to put an end to boundary disputes which might interfere with the orderly course of agriculture, and to demarcate lands allotted to officials and private persons.

(4) Restoration of the highway to Pāñ Bāñ, which had fallen into ruin. This must have been a section of the 'Brah Rvañ Highway,' which led from Kāmbēñ Bejra to Sukhodaya, and continued northward to Saj-janālaya. Tradition attributes the construction of the highway to Brah Rvañ or Brañā Rvañ (*Pra Ruang, Prayā Ruang*), i.e. Rāma Gāmhēñ or some other king of Sukhodaya. Although it had probably been in existence for a long time before Rāma Gāmhēñ, it seems likely that Rāma Gāmhēñ was the first to turn it into an all-season road, raising it above the flood-level by means of an embankment with ditches running along one side or both for drainage, irrigation, and navigation by small boats. Besides providing internal communications for the kingdom of Sukhodaya, and serving for military transport, it was part of the regular route for travelers proceeding to Sukhodaya from Martaban in Lower Burma: they would go by boat up the River

Gyaing to some place near Kawkareik, then overland to Chôt (now Mè Sôt), then continue eastward to the riverine port of Jyañ Dôn (*Chiang Tông*) on the Ping, from where they could go downstream by boat or raft to the southern terminus of the Brah Rvañ Highway at or near Kāmbèñ Bejra; and finally they would follow the highway northeast, via Pāñ Bān to Sukhodaya.¹⁴ Pāñ Bān (*Bāng Pān*, บำรุงปาน), located on the Brah Rvañ Highway about 14 km. northeast of Kāmbèñ Bejra,¹⁵ must have been an important stopping-place on the highway, achieving considerable prosperity during the Sukhodaya period by offering hospitality to merchants and other travelers; and it is mentioned in three of Mahādharmarāja I's inscriptions.¹⁶ It was probably repaired and maintained by Mahādharmarāja I and other kings of Sukhodaya, but abandoned in the 15th century. As Dharmāsokarāja repaired the Brah Rvañ Highway only as far as Pāñ Bān, we should probably assume that the border between his territory and that of the vassal ruler of Sukhodaya passed through this town.

5) Dredging the river Trai (at ?) Pāñ Brò. Doubtless to aid navigation and the irrigation of fields.

(6) Putting a stop to the custom of selling cattle to the Lavā. The term Lavā is generally used loosely to include various 'aboriginal' peoples, whose ancestors controlled large parts of Siam before the *Tai* conquest. Very likely the Lavā mentioned in our inscription acted as butchers, violating the Buddhist precept against taking life. The implication is that Dharmāsokarāja, out of respect for this precept, and perhaps out of

14) For the Brah Rvañ Highway, see *Rāy-nān Sukhodaya*, Bangkok, 2512, map between pp. 92 and 93; also Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, Map 4. For the route between Sukhodaya and Martaban, cf. JSS 60/1, pp. 140 and notes 20-22.

15) See the maps cited in the previous note.

16) Inscr. 3, II/57 (JSS 61/1, pp. 93, 111); Inscr. 4 II/22 (where the name is written Pāñ Bār, *ibid.*, pp. 133, 139); Inscr. 8, IV/11 (under the name Mōāñ Bān, JSS 61/1, pp. 111, 117, 123). Nāñ Dôn Hill, on the summit of which Mahādharmarāja I placed a Buddhapāda, is 2 km. northwest of Pāñ Bān (it is shown on the map in *Rāy-nān Sukhodaya*, cited in note 13).

respect for the Hindu veneration of cows, prohibited the slaughter of cattle. This prohibition is part of the program to protect 'four-footed creatures'; see above, Item 1.

(7) Setting a good example to farmers: whenever he plants a rice-field he always plants it with seed taken from the same field, rather than taking rice from a granary to broadcast or to make a seed-bed from which to transplant (i.e. he uses seed adapted to the conditions of the field in question, rather than resorting to a granary containing rice from miscellaneous fields).

(8) Restoration of the irrigation canal dug by his ancestor Brañā Rvañ to lead water to Pāñ Bān. This canal, which had got filled up so completely that its course was no longer easy to discover, must have originally paralleled that part of the Brah Rvañ Highway that led from Kāmbēñ Bejra to Pāñ Bān. As the elevation of Kāmbēñ Bejra is almost 70 m. higher than that of Sukhodaya, and the canal between these two cities ran a distance of less than 70 km.,¹⁷ the downward gradient must have been something like 1:1000 on average, which would make maintenance difficult. The portion from Kāmbēñ Bejra to Pāñ Bān had evidently been neglected for a considerable time, during which the farmers along the way lost their main means of irrigation and had to depend on rain for their crops. Restoring this canal for irrigation purposes would greatly increase production. Dharmāsokarāja presumably restored it concomitantly with the highway (see above, Item 4), using the earth dug from the canal to repair the embankment of the road.

17) Lunet de Lajonquière, *Essai d'inventaire archéologique du Siam*, Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de l'Indochine, Année 1912, Paris, 1912, p. 83.

Text

- [1/i] || ศกราช ๑๔๓๒ มเมียนกัษัตราภิกษยพารเกือนหกซันสิบศำไ
ทษกฤ
- [1/ii] กษเพลารุงแล้ว สองนาถิกาจึงเจ้าพรญาศรีธรรมมาโคกราชปรกัศ-
ภาณพระอิศวร
- [1/iii] เปนเจ้านิไว ไทครองสทัวตตันสองตัน ในเมืองกัแพงเพชรแลชวย
เลอก
- [1/iv] สายณาวุทสาชนแลไสยสาชนแลพระเทพกรรมมิ ไทหมน ไท
หมองไท
- [2/i] เปนอนันิงอนักยวแลสอมันแปลงพระมหาธาตุแลวักบริหารในเมือง
นอกเมืองแล
- [2/ii] ที่แคนอยาวเรือนถนนกลตาอนันเป็นครทาน ไปถึงบางพานชุกแม
ไทรบางพรอ์อ์นิง
- [2/iii] แทกอนญอมชายวัว ไปแก้ลัว์ อนันจิ ไทชายคูก่อนนนักหามมิให้
ชายอนิงเมือทำ
- [2/iv] นาไสญอมเขาพิช้เข้า ในนานนัปลุกเองมิไคเอาเข้า ในยุ่งไปหวาน
ไปคำดงทั้งง์หลาย
- [3/i] อนิงทอปปุพรญาว์วงทำเอานำไปถึงบางพานนนักถ้ายสิ้นแลเขา
- [3/ii] ญ่อมวานาทางพัวแลหาทอนน้นพบกทำทอเอานำเขาไปเลี้ยงนา
- [3/iii] ให้เป็นนาเหมืองนาฝายมิไคเป็นท้างพัว อนันทำทางง์นิถวยพระ
- [3/iv] ราชกุศลแลคำเกจบพิตรพระเจ้า อยู่หวัทั้งง์สองพระองค์

[Translation]

[1] In sakarāja 1432, a year of the horse, on Sunday the fourteenth day of the waxing moon of the sixth month, (when the moon had) attained the ṛkṣa of hasta, at two nālikā¹ after dawn, Cau Brañā Śrī Dharmāśo-karāja founded² this (statue of the) Lord Īśvara³ to protect the four-footed and two-footed creatures in Mōaṅ Kāmbēṅ Bejra,⁴ and to help exalt⁵ the religions—the Buddha's religion, the Brahmanical religion,⁶ and the Devakarma⁷—so that they will not lose their lustre.⁸ May [2] they function harmoniously together!⁹

He restored¹⁰ the Mahādhātu,¹¹ and the lesser temples 'both inside and outside the city, as well as the boundaries of household properties, and the highway¹² which had fallen into ruin¹³ all the way to Pāṅ Bān,¹⁴ and he dredged the River Trai (at ?) Pāṅ Brò.¹⁵

Moreover he put a stop to the custom of selling cattle to the Lavā.¹⁶

Moreover when he plants a rice-field he always plants it with seed taken from that field itself;¹⁷ he does not take rice from a granary¹⁸ to broadcast¹⁹ or (to make a seedbed from which) to transplant,²⁰ as most people do.

[3] Moreover, as the irrigation canal²¹ made by his ancestor²² Brañā Rvaṅ to lead water to Pāṅ Bān had got filled up²³ and altogether lost, so that it was commonly believed the rice-fields were dependent on rain,²⁴ he searched for that canal, and when he found it he restored it so as to lead water into the fields and irrigate them instead of depending on rain.²⁵

The merit (accruing from) all these things that he has done, he presents to Their Majesties the two Kings.

Footnotes to Translation

- 1) The *nālikā* or *nāḍī* was an Indian measure of time, equal to 24 minutes by modern reckoning.
- 2) The word ឋានៈ (written ឋានៈ at 1/ii), which we translate as 'founded,' is from the Skt. noun *pratiṣṭhāna*, 'a firm standing-place,' 'foundation,' 'pedestal,' etc. In Siamese, in connection with a statue, it is used as a verb meaning 'to found,' 'to erect,' or 'to dedicate.' Often, as in the present instance, it has all three meanings at once.
- 3) *Īśvara* (written *Īśvara* at 1/ii) is the god Śiva.
- 4) We have regularized the spelling; at 1/iii the name is written *Kāmbēn Bejra* (កំបង់បៀរ).
- 5) ឈ្មោះ (1/iii) = modern *lān*.
- 6) As Coedès remarks in a footnote (*Recueil*, p. 159), *saiyasāsana* (1/iv) is put for *seyyasāsana*, literally 'the excellent religion,' a common designation of the Brahmanical religion.
- 7) ព្រះពុទ្ធបរិវារ (1/iv), *devakarma*, Skt. *devakarma*, 'religious act or rite,' 'worship of the gods,' here means the cult of ancestral and tutelary divinities; cf. ព្រះពុទ្ធបរិវារ, *Inscr.* 1, III/6 (JSS 59/1, pp. 200, 214); ព្រះពុទ្ធបរិវារ, *Inscr.* 11, I/15 (JSS 61/1, pp. 116, 117); and the long lists of divinities in *Inscr.* 45, Face I (JSS 57/1, pp. 75 f., 80 f.).
- 8) ឱ្យរក្សាទុក (1/iv), literally 'to keep them from getting dull or tarnished.' A very similar expression, ឱ្យរក្សាទុក, occurs in *Inscr.* 11, 1/6 (see JSS 61/1, pp. 116, 117).
- 9) ឱ្យដឹងគ្នា (1/iv-2/i), literally 'May they be one and the same thing!' Coedès, taking the preceding negative *ñ* to carry through this expression, combines it with the preceding clause into a single sentence, which he translates: 'afin qu'elles ne soient pas obscurcies et ne soient pas confondues en une seule.' (*Recueil*, p. 159 and note 2.)
- 10) ឱ្យស្រួល (II/1), modern ឱ្យស្រួល, 'to restore to good condition after decay or injury,' etc. (McFarland)
- 11) The primary meaning of *mahādḥātu* is 'great relic,' i.e. a major bodily relic of the Buddha (as distinguished from the 80,000 particles into which King Asoka divided the miscellaneous relics); the secondary meaning is 'great reliquary,' i.e. a temple or monument built to contain such a relic. Such a Temple of the Great Relic was normally the central feature of a capital city. The one at *Kāmbēn Bejra* has left extensive remains.
- 12) The term ឆ្នេរ (2/ii), 'highway,' is composed of two words of Khmer origin. The first, ឆ្នេរ (= modern Siamese *nuu*, 'road'), which in modern Khmer means a dyke, an embankment, or a road raised on an embankment (Guesdon), is found in Old Khmer in the form *tnal* or *thnal* ('road'); it is derived, by means of the infix, from Old Khmer *tal*, 'to reach,' 'to arrive.' The second, រា, found in Old Khmer in the form *dīā*, 'that which is stretched out,' is derived, by means of the prefix *d-*, from Old Khmer *lā*, 'to unroll,' 'to unfold.' We are indebted to Madame S. Lewitz, of the Centre National de Recherche Scientifique, for this information.

- 13) ปรนตรทาน (2/ii); ปรนตรทาน is from Pali antaradhāna, 'disappearance.'
- 14) See Introduction, p. 229-231 above.
- 15) The name of the River Trai recalls the town of Traitrīṇsa, about 15 km. downstream from Kāmbhē Bejra (see Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, Map 4); but that may be no more than a coincidence. We cannot identify Pān Brò (*Bāng Prò*, บางพรือ).
- 16) A more literal translation of the passage at 2/ii-2/iii would be: 'moreover it was formerly the custom to sell cattle to the Lavā, and those which would have been sold as in the past he therefore forbade to be sold.' Cf. Introduction, p. 230-231, above.
- 17) In modern spelling this passage, occupying parts of 2/iii and 2/iv, would read : อนึ่งเมื่อทำนาไร่ชื้อมเอาพืชข้าวในนาปลูกเอง, literally: 'moreover when he cultivates a rice-field, he regularly takes seed-rice from that field to plant itself.' Note that the word เอา in this passage is given in the eye-copy (Fig. 3) as เอา, which is confirmed by our rubbing. As we cannot see how เอา could make sense in the context, we assume that the intention was to write เอา.
- 18) ชุง (2/iv), modern ชุง.
- 19) หวาน (2/iv), modern หวาน.
- 20) ปลูก, to transplant seedling rice in a flooded field that has been ploughed. Madame S. Lewitz informs us that this word, *lām*, occurs in Old Khmer, meaning 'to plant' or 'to transplant'; cf. Old Môn *tnam*, *tnam*, 'a plant or tree'; and Malay *tanam*, 'to plant.'
- 21) ทอ (3/i), modern ทอ.
- 22) ปู่ (3/i), modern ปู่, which now means 'paternal grandfather'. The term is used more loosely in Sukhodayan inscriptions, and sometimes means no more than 'ancestor'; cf. Inscr. 45, I/3-12, JSS 57/1, pp. 75 and 80 ff.
- 23) ถิ่น (3/i), modern ถิ่น.
- 24) พว (3/ii, 3/iii) is apparently a dialectical form for พว, 'sky,' here used in the sense of 'rain'; and we understand พว (3/ii, written พว at 3/iii) in the sense of 'by means of,' hence 'depending on'. The *Mañrāyasātra*, in the section entitled เขียวฟ้าฝน, contains the expression เขียวนาทางฟ้าทางฝน (เขียวนาทางฟ้าทางฝน), 'to farm rice-fields which depend on rain', in contrast to นาเหมือง, 'irrigated rice-fields' (นา, 'rice-fields,' + เหมือง, 'marsh,' 'water-course,' 'irrigation ditch,' 'land that is subject to flooding'). Coedès, on the other hand, takes พว to mean 'roads', and translates: 'le canal d'irrigation que son aïeul Brañā Rvañ avait fait pour conduire l'eau à Pān Bān, se trouvant comblé et ayant disparu au point que l'on prenait les rizières pour des chemins...' (*Recueil*, p. 159).
- 25) Literally 'he made the irrigation canal to lead water into the fields and feed them, causing them to be irrigated fields (นาเหมือง) and dyked fields (นาฝาย) instead of depending on rain.' Coedès translates: 'il l'a refait pour amener l'eau devant arroser les rizières, afin qu'elles deviennent des rizières inondées et qu'elles ne servent plus de piste.'

Appendix

A fairly generous sampling of variant readings is given below. The first column contains our choice; the second is based on Père Schmitt's eye-copy (Fig. 3), the third on *Prajum śīlācārīk Syam*, BE 2467, p. 158, the fourth on Coedès's Romanized transcription in *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, 1924, p. 158, and the last on the pencil rubbing supplied us by the Department of Fine Arts.

| | | Eye-copy | Prajum | Coedès | Rubbing |
|-------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|
| 1/i | ศกราช | ศกราช | ศักราช | çakarāja | ศกราช |
| | นักษัตร | นักษัตร | นักษัตร | nākṣātra | นักษัตร ? |
| | อาทิตยพาร | อาทิตยพาร | อาทิตยพาร | ādityabāra | อาทิตยพาร |
| | หษต | หษัต | หษต | hṣṭa | หษต |
| 1/ii | ปรตีสถาน | ปรตีสถาน | ปรตีสถน | pratisthān | ปรตีสถาน |
| 1/iii | สตั | สตั | สตั | sātva | สตั |
| | กัมแพง | กัมแพง | กัมแพง | kāmbhēn | กัมแพง |
| 1/iv | พุทสาชน | พุทสาชน | พุทสาชน | buddhasāṣana | พุทสาชน |
| | หมอง | หนอง | หมอง | hmōn | หมอง |
| 2/i | คยว | คยว | คยว | tyav | คยว |
| | วตั | วต | วตั | vāt | วตั |
| 2/iii | ววั | ววั | ววั | vvā | ววั |
| | ล่ววั | ล่ววั | ล่ววั | lāvā | ล่ววั |
| | คฺจ | คฺจ | คฺจ | tuc | คฺจ |
| | กอนนัน | กอนนัน | กอนนัน | kōn nān | กอนนัน |
| 2/iv | เขาพิช | เข้าพิช | เขาพิช | au bija | เขาพิช |
| 3/i | ปุ | ปุ | ปุ | pū | ? |
| | รวง | รวง | รวง | rvañ | ? |
| | ถ | ถ | ถ | tham | ถ |
| 3/ii | ญ่อม | ญอม | ญ่อม | ñōm | ญ่อม |
| | เลียง | เลียง | เลียง | lian | เลียง |
| 3/iii | ฝาย | ฝ้าย | ฝาย | fāy | ฝาย |
| | อน | อน | กัน | kān | อน |
| 3/iv | อยุหาว | อยุหาว | อยุหาว | ayū hvā | อยุหาว |

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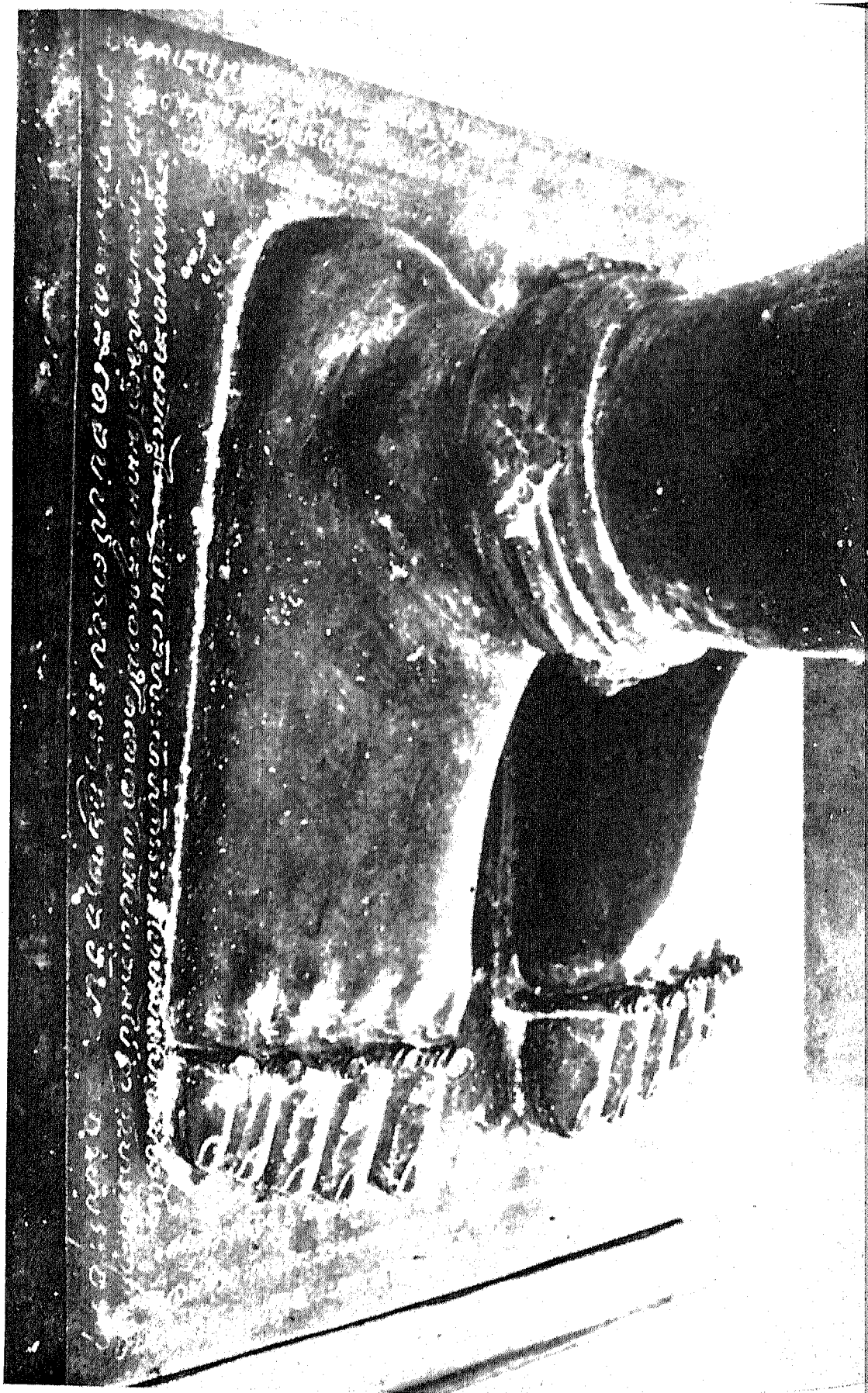
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Rāy-nān kār sāmrvac lèh khut tñn pūraṇaḥ porāṇavātthusthāna mōaṇ kau Sukhodaya, รายงานการสำรวจและขุดค้นพบพระโบราณวัตถุสถานเมืองเก่าสุโขทัย, Bangkok, BE 2512. (Abbreviated: Rāy-nān Sukhodaya.)



FIG. 1 The Śiva of Kāmbēn Bejra.

Fig. 2. Inscription on the base of the statue. (After Prilam cat-bmāy heln samāya A vudhāṅ)



[illegible]

II

၈၃၂ နေရာ၌ အဝဏ္ဏသာဓက နိဗ္ဗာန်သုတ္တံ၌ အဓိကဓာတ်သီလဝါဒသမ္ဘာဒိယ
 ဘိဝေသနာတို့၌ အဓိကဓာတ်သီလဝါဒသမ္ဘာဒိယသီလဝါဒသမ္ဘာဒိယသီလဝါဒသမ္ဘာဒိယ
 သီလဝါဒသမ္ဘာဒိယသီလဝါဒသမ္ဘာဒိယသီလဝါဒသမ္ဘာဒိယသီလဝါဒသမ္ဘာဒိယ

III

เบื้องหน้าพระที่นั่งของสมเด็จพระที่นั่งสุทไธสวรรย์
 เสด็จออกทรงพระกรุณาโปรดเกล้าฯ ให้
 พระราชทานสัญญาบัตรให้พระยาสุรสีห์
 พระยาสุรสีห์ พระยาสุรสีห์ พระยาสุรสีห์

សាមណេយ្យសាមគ្គីនៃបុគ្គលនីមួយៗ តាមការស្ម័គ្រចិត្ត ដោយសេរី ដោយស្មោះត្រង់
ហើយដោយសេចក្តីស្មោះត្រង់ ដោយសេចក្តីស្មោះត្រង់ ដោយសេចក្តីស្មោះត្រង់ ដោយសេចក្តីស្មោះត្រង់
១២ ពុទ្ធសាសនា ពុទ្ធសាសនា ពុទ្ធសាសនា ពុទ្ធសាសនា ពុទ្ធសាសនា ពុទ្ធសាសនា ពុទ្ធសាសនា ពុទ្ធសាសនា ពុទ្ធសាសនា ពុទ្ធសាសនា

Fig. 3. Eye-copy of the inscription. (After Fournereau, *Le Siam ancien*.)

