

A TRANSLATION OF
TAMNĀN MŪLASĀSANĀ WAT PĀ DAENG:
The chronicle of the founding of Buddhism
of the Wat Pā Daeng tradition

by
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The Mūlasāsanā of Wat Pā Daeng makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the religious history of Lān Nā or northern Thailand in the fifteenth century A.D. Like many northern tamnān, it also provides an overview of the development of Theravāda Buddhism; however, it concentrates on the school of Sinhalese Buddhism brought to Chiang Mai by Nāṇagambhīra, and taken to Chiang Tung by his disciple, Somacitta. Of particular interest for our understanding of sectarian history is the controversy between the older Suan Dṛk tradition, founded by Sumana Thera during the reign of Kuenā, and the new sect established during the reigns of Sām Fang Kaen and his son, Tikokarāja.

What follows is a translation of the Tamnān Mūlasāsanā Wat Pā Daeng¹. We have chosen not to include a commentary with the text for several reasons. To do so adequately would demand extensive comparisons with other northern Thai chronicles (e.g. Jinakālamalīpakaraṇa), a task which would have doubled an already lengthy article. Furthermore, in an earlier article (cf. Bardwell Smith, ed., Religion and Legitimation of Power in Thailand, Burma and Laos; Anima Books, 1978) we attempted an analysis of at least one aspect of the ground covered in the chronicle,

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1. We are in agreement with Prasert ṇa Nagara and A.B. Griswold that the *Mūlasāsanā* of Wat Pā Daeng comes from Wat Pā Daeng in Chiang Tung rather than Chiang Mai. However, from our point of view the particular *wat* with which the chronicle is identified is less important than the fact that it represents a self-conscious sect of Sinhalese Buddhism which established centers throughout Lān Nā Thai. Wat Pā Daeng of Chiang Mai must certainly have been one of the major sixteenth century (A.D.) *wats* in the city. Of that once-magnificent center, only one sizable, restored *cedī* remains.

namely the relationship between Buddhism and the political order. Finally, perhaps the overriding reason is that Sai Saomong Mengrai, currently at the University of Michigan, is completing a translation of a Chiang Tung manuscript of the same text with extensive notes and commentary, which is to be published by the University of Michigan Press.

I pay homage to the Buddhas Kakusandha, Konāgamana, Kassapa and Gotama, the Fully Enlightened One, and to the Bodhisattva, Āriyamettraiya, who will be fully enlightened in the next age. May this beneficent teaching be spread far and wide by means of this 41-character alphabet [i.e. the Pāli language *Ñāṇagambhīra* brought from *Srī Lankā*]. I will speak about the origin and spread of this most excellent religion which the Mahā Thera *Ñāṇagambhīra* brought from the Red Forest *Ārāma* (*Pā Daeng Ārāma*) in the neighborhood of Rohana, in the splendid kingdom of Anurādhapura on the island of Tambapāṇi [*Srī Lankā*]. May all of you listen wholeheartedly and keep this teaching in your mind².

Gotama Buddha who was born [in this world] released all living beings from the fetter of rebirth, numbering 24 *asangkhiya*, 160 *koṭi*, 100,000 living beings. The Buddha also established his religion for 5,000 *vassā* (years) for those unable to reach Nibbāna in his lifetime. During the 5,000 *vassā* the Buddha's teaching will persist. When the Buddha's teaching has disappeared there will be no wisdom. This teaching consists of the Four Noble Truths and the Four Fruits. The first 1,000 years will be the era of the *arahants*; in the second period the power of the *arahants* will wane; in the third 1,000-year period there will be the *anāgāmī*; in the fourth the *sakidāgāmī*; and in the fifth the *sotāpattiṇṇa*.

2. Our translation follows the text of volume IX of the Transliteration Series, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Chiang Mai University. However, the translation is not a literal one. On occasion we have tried to resolve some of the confusions in the text by consulting two other manuscripts. This does not mean, however, that our work is a critical translation in the proper sense of that word. We have tried to render the meaning of the text in clear and concise English. For example, page 1 of the text, which is nearly equally divided between Pāli and Northern Thai and is very repetitious, has been reduced to a single paragraph.

In this way the Buddha's teaching (*paṭivedhasaddhamma*) will remain for 5,000 years.

Before entering Nibbāna the Lord Buddha resided between two *sal* trees, to the northeast of the city of the Malla kings. He was accompanied by 500 *arahants*, such as Mahā Upālī Thera, Mahā Anuruddha Thera, Mahā Ānanda Thera. Ānanda, who had not yet realized 'arahantship' (*sekkhapuggala*), [nonetheless] had memorized the Buddha's teaching on every occasion. At that time the Buddha sent back the deity (*devaputra*), Sumana, who had come to serve him, to Srī Lankā, in order to protect Prince Vijayabāhu, the son of King Siṅhabāhu of Lankā, from the danger of the *yakkhas*. Prince Vijayabāhu was to establish Buddhism in Srī Lankā in the future. The Buddha then preached the Appamāda-dhamma, meditated, and after that attained Nibbāna. On that day he passed through more than 1 million *koṭi* of *jhāna*.

When the Buddha had passed away, the Malla kings worshipped his body. They cremated him 26 days later [and enshrined his ashes] in the Bandhacedī to the south of their city. The Mahā Theras came from Vesālī to the city of the Mallas. After the Buddha's funeral the Brahman, Doṇa, distributed the relics to the Malla kings who had come from 101 cities. He handed over the relics to them to take back to their cities.

Among the *arahants*, the Bhaddavajjī Bhikkhus, who accompanied Mahā Kassapa Thera, practised such unsuitable acts as trading, curing, cutting hair, planting fruit plants, and selling fruit to the devotees for profit. [One day] he prepared offerings for the *arahants* headed by the Buddha. The Buddha did not accept the offerings [because the Bhaddavajjī Bhikkhus were unworthy]. [On that occasion] after he had preached, the Buddha formulated rules and punishments for the monks.

[One day] Mahā Kassapa and 300 *bhikkhus* including the Bhaddavajjī Bhikkhus were resting under the shade of a tree. They saw a devotee bringing a *maṇḍala* flower which the *devatā* had brought from Tāvatiṃsā Heaven in order to honor this sacred place. The monks, who had not

reached enlightenment (*puṭhujana*), were filled with sorrow and cried because the flower reminded them of the time when the Buddha reached enlightenment, preached the Dhammacakka Sutta, and then passed away. The Bhaddavajjī Bhikkhus criticized the monks saying, "Do not cry. When the Buddha was still alive he set forth many regulations and punishments. Now there is no one to do so. Therefore, stop crying." These words of the Bhaddavajjī monks brought about the deterioration of the Buddha's *dhamma*. That is why the *arahants* proposed a council in order to strengthen the Buddha's *dhamma*, that is, the *pariyattidhamma*, *paṭipattidhamma*, *paṭivedhadhamma*. They consulted together about this and then went to Ajātasatṛū, the king of Rājagaha [to ask him to patronize the meeting]. The council took place four months after the death of the Buddha. It was presided over by Mahā Kassapa. Upālī was made responsible for answering questions about the *vinaya*, and Ānanda Mahā Thera for the *suttanta* and *abhidhamma*. The council was held in a pavilion (*maṇḍapa*) near the Sattapaṇṇa Cave. Upon the completion of the first council, the *arahants* established three kinds of *dhamma*: *pariyattidhamma*, *paṭipattidhamma*, *paṭivedhadhamma*, to remain for 5,000 years.

Seven years after the Buddha's death, 60 *bhikkhus* in the town of Vesālī held the view that it was not wrong to eat the midday meal after noon [literally, two inches after noon on the sundial], and that it was not one of the ten *akappiyavatthu* offenses. Because of these unsuitable practices, Mahā Kassapa Thera called together all the *bhikkhus* in order to hold a second council in the town of Vesālī, with Revata Thera and Sabbagāmara [Sabbagāmi] Thera as presiding officers. After that there was a succession of *arahants* such as Mahā Bhaddavajjī Thera, Sobhita Thera, Kappiya Thera, Jālimba Thera, Piyadassī Thera, Sivalī Thera, Piyaputta Thera, Saṅgavī Thera, until Mogallīputta Thera, the tenth generation of *arahants*. Two hundred and eighteen years after the death of the Buddha, Mahā Mogallīputtissa Thera called the third council in the city of Pāṭalīputta at the invitation of King Asoka. After that Mahinda Thera and his sister Mahā Sanghamittā Therī took the religion of the Buddha to Lankā during the time of Devānampiyatissa. He also gave a planting of the *bodhi* tree and relics to the king.

The religion of the Buddha flourished until the time of the *arahant* Ariṭṭha who called a council [the fourth, but the first to be held in Lankā] to standardize the *tipiṭaka*. The *bhikkhus* of Lankā held fast to the teachings of the Buddha. After that time Ittiya Thera, Ukhatiya Thera, Bhaddanāma Thera, and Mahinda Thera propagated Buddhism in Lankā so that it might prosper there. Then Buddhaghosa who was gifted with great wisdom, went to Lankā [in the fifth century A.D.], translated the Sinhalese Buddhist texts into Pāli, and wrote commentaries and other famous works such as the *Visuddhimagga*. From that time the Pāli language has been the scriptural language of Theravāda Buddhism.

Then Mahā Thera Saddhammālāṅkācariya of Ayōdhiyā went to Lankā, and having studied the *tipiṭaka* in that land returned to Ayōdhiyā. He propagated Buddhism there until it flourished throughout Dvāravatī, the seven Lān Nā cities, and every place and neighborhood. After that Queen Cāmadevī ruled in Haripuñjaya, a city built by a hermit. She came up the Ping river by boat from Lavo [Lop Buri] and, supported by an extensive retinue, established Buddhism in many places in northern Thailand. She died at the age of 89 and was succeeded by her son, Mahantayasa, and many others until Phrayā Ādita [Āditarāja] in 1080 B.E. During the reign of Ādita in Haripuñjaya the Suwanna (golden) Cedī enshrining the Buddha's relic miraculously appeared, rising 12 *ṣṭk* [one *ṣṭk* is approximately 50 centimeters] above the earth. King Ādita had his people dig [a trench around the *cedī* in order to see the relic], but the deeper he dug the deeper the relic sank into the ground. The king was distressed and asked the monks to come and see [what was happening]. The monks said that the relic would disappear. [To prevent this from happening] the king had the earth restored as it was and paid his respects to the relic by having five kinds of music performed. Furthermore, he invited the monks to chant *paritta* [the Maṅgala Sutta] and worshipped there for seven days and nights with incense, candles, flowers, and banners. The relic then reappeared, rising above the earth to a height of three *ṣṭk*. Seeing this [miraculous sight] the king was delighted and again worshipped the relic with gold, silver and jewels.

He built a new *cedī* over the old one to a height of five *wā* [one *wā* is approximately two meters]. Four decorated gates surrounded the *cedī*. The king also built a large *vihāra* and places for circumambulation, and supported the religion of the Buddha until he died at the age of 80. Later King Phāsīni had a Buddha image constructed 18 *sṃk* high and enlarged the temple [Wat Mahādhātu]. He also died at the age of 80.

Phrayā Mañrāya (Mangrai) sends Saen Fā to usurp Haripuñjaya

Thirty kings followed Phāsīni until the reign of Phrayā Bā, who reigned for 12 years. During his reign Phrayā Mangrai sent Saen Fā to try to take Haripuñjaya. Phrayā Bā was forced to flee from the city. The line of Cāmadevī at Haripuñjaya was broken at that time.

Phrayā Mangrai ruled over Haripuñjaya from Kumkām [in Sāraphī District] and went there to pay his respects to the relic. At that time four Theras looked after the *cedī*. One was the *sangharāja* who resided on the east side. Another, Buddhīmā Thera, lived on the south side; Sujāta Thera was on the north; and Buddhapaṅkara Thera lived on the west side. The four Theras went together to King Mangrai and said, "O Mahārāja, the *cedī* attendant has stolen the gold from the *cedī* being 800 in weight. In whatever way is appropriate, you in your wisdom should take care of the relic in the future." Phrayā Mangrai said, "I am the king. I do not have any clear ideas about how to care for the *cedī*, but whatever will keep it secure and safe go ahead and do it." Then the Theras enclosed the gates on the four sides of the *cedī* so that the top could not be seen. Then, at the four corners they constructed towers and placed cannons on them. If someone came with the intent of stealing the gold from the *cedī* he would be shot. Watchmen were also stationed in the four towers.

Phrayā Mangrai lived in Kumkām for three years, and then moved to Wiang Ket for three years. Because of flooding at Wiang Ket, Mangrai moved to Chiang Mai which at that time was a small city. He died in the year *kāb cai*, Culasakkarāja (C.S.) 686 [B.E. 1867], at the age of 80 and was succeeded by his son, Phrayā Phāyū [the text from

Wat Phuak Pia reads "Phrayā Maṅkhrām"]. In the year *ruang met*, C.S. 693 [B.E. 1874], he sent his younger brother, Saen Phū, to rule over Chiang Saen where he supported the religion of the Buddha through the construction of five *wats*.

Buddhism is taken to Chiang Tung

In the year *kat mao*, C.S. 701 [Wat Phuak Pia manuscript: C.S. 700], Phrayā Phāyū had his son Āi Cet Phantū go to rule over Khoen [Chiang Tung] and sent with him five [four?] Mahā Theras, namely Haṅsāwati Thera, Siripuṇṇa Thera, Nanda Thera and Buddhaghosa Thera to be the guiding lights (*devatā*) of the city. He dedicated the city—a total of 755 *vanā*—to the *sangha* in a water-pouring ceremony at Wat Dī Chiang in the center of the city. When Āi Cet Phantū arrived in Khoen he made an offering of a large sum of money for the support of the Three Gems. Buddhism, then, came to Chiang Tung with Cet Phantū, and the first *wats* he built were Wat Phra Kaew and Wat Phra Kāng.

In the year *rawāi set*, C.S. 708 [B.E. 1889], Phrayā Phāyū became seriously ill, and after ordering Cet Phantū who was ruling in Chiang Tung to succeed him, he died. Having performed the funeral ceremony, his officials headed by the Saen Muang went to invite Cet Phantū to come to Chiang Mai. He settled down there and appointed Lao Yom as Phrayālai and appointed other necessary administrative officials [*khun*]. Later he dismissed Lao Yom as Phrayālai because he had gotten drunk at a party. Lao Yom became angry and stabbed the king to death. After the king's death, his officials (*khun muang*) reported what had happened to the Saen Muang. All of the officials headed by the Saen Muang went to invite Kuenā to the throne. Kuenā ordered Cao Āi On, who was 16 years old, to rule Chiang Tung, and Mūn Ngok to administer it. He had all of the monks of Wat Phra Kaew and Wat Phra Kāng look after the *hō kham* (palace). All the officials (*khun*) of Chiang Tung came to participate in Cet Phantū's funeral. Kuenā took the throne when he was 23, and ruled for 25 years.

Monks from Muang Phan (Martaban) go to Lankā

There was a Mahā Thera named Matimā living in Phan [Martaban] who, together with four pupils, went to Lankā. There they went to study with Kassapa Thera, who resided at Udumbara Mountain, in the year *ruang met*, C.S. 693 [B.E. 1874]. They studied the *tipiṭaka* with him for 12 years. Having finished their studies, they took leave of their teacher and embarked on a sailing ship [junk] for Phan. One of the monks died on the way. A lay pupil was ordained [but since there was no longer the requisite number of five monks necessary for the ordination ceremony] with a Buddha image being used to complete the correct number of monks. The ceremony was performed on the high seas.

Mahā Tissa Thera returned, propagated Buddhism in Phan and strictly observed the Dhamma and Vinaya. The ruler of Phan was pleased and consecrated him as Mahā Udumbaraswāmī in the year *muang rao*, C.S. 719 [B.E. 1900]. Many were ordained in every town.

Monks from Sukhōdaya go to Lankā

There was a Thera named Sujāto in Sukhōdaya, who, after studying Dhamma in Khōm [Khmer or Cambodia] for five years, embarked on a sailing ship for Lankā where he lived at Wat Asōkārāma. He studied the *tipiṭaka* for five years, and then asked for permission from his teacher to go to the seaport [in order to return to Sukhōdaya]. There he met a Burmese Mahā Thera from Pagān named Nikkamabāhu who had also come to Jambudvīpa³. Sujāto persuaded Nikkamabāhu to accompany him on a merchant ship. After stopping at *thā sān riang* [along the way] Sujāto went on with Nikkamabāhu to Pagān. The ruler of Pagān was pleased and invited them to preach there for three months. He made one of them [presumably the Burmese monk] the Somdet Rājamunī [or Rājamulī]. Sujāto studied Dhamma in Burmese for five years. Then he took leave of Nikkamabāhu and arrived at Lavo by boat. The king of Ayōdhiyā was delighted with the virtue of the Mahā Thera and consecrated him as Sudhammajāto Rajamunī. As his fame spread many monks came to study under him and be reordained.

3. The toponym "Jambudvīpa" is used very loosely, and probably corresponds to our modern conception of south Asia. Here it refers to Lankā in particular.

Monks from Sukhodaya go to Martaban

There were two monks living in Sukhodaya. One was named Anomadassī, and the other was Sumanaraṇsī. They heard that the Udumbara Mahāswāmī was strict in observance of the Vinaya. They then renounced the precepts they were following and were reordained under the Udumbara Mahāswāmī. They stayed with their preceptor for two years, and then returned to propagate Buddhism in Sukhodaya. One day the two Theras rose in the morning and saw rays of light brightly illuminating a *vihāra* to the east of the city. It was the same the following two days. They told their pupils to look and all of them saw [this miraculous sight]. For six days they saw the same thing; however, when they went to look closely nothing was to be found. They then requested the Phrayā Sra to pray to the *devatā* to help guide a horse hitched to a chariot to the place. The horse pulled the chariot out of the city, where it became stuck in a termite hill where there was a bush of yellow flowers. The Mahā Thera and the Phrayā made offerings there. Then they dug [into the termite hill] and found a brick. Below that they saw a beautiful square stone supported by four posts, and below that they found a golden casket containing the Buddha's relic. The Phrayā and the Mahā Thera took out [the casket] and took it to the city where they constructed a *maṇḍapa* for it. All the people worshipped and made offerings. At that time the relic, which was the size of a lotus bud, arose in the air and performed miracles over the entire city of Sukhodaya making it look [as radiant as though] it was covered with cow's milk. The Phrayā was very happy and said, "What the ruler of Ayōdhiyā said was good. In my city I shall build a golden *cedī* costing 300,000 in gold (*kham sām saen*)." Then he sent a person to invite the Mahā Thera and the relic to return to the city. [However,] when he offered scented water and worshipped it, the relic did not perform any miracles. The Phrayā did not believe that the Mahā Thera had really brought the relic to Sukhodaya. One evening the *devatā* came and said to him, "This relic will go up and stay on the Ussupabbata Mountain west of Chiang Mai, where there are many devotees."

The relic goes to Chiang Mai

The monk awoke in the early morning and after eating spoke to the Sangha, "It is good to send one of the disciples (*sisya*), Ānanda Thera, together with ten monks to Chiang Mai." [Arriving there,] they visited Phrayā Kuenā. He was pleased with what Ānanda Thera said about Sumanaraṅsi and the relic, so he sent a messenger named Vijaya-sakka to Sukhodaya to ask for the relic and Sumanaraṅsi.

Sinhalese Buddhism comes to Lamphun

Sumanaraṅsi took the relic and the three *piṭakas* [to Lamphun]. Kuenā went to meet him and brought him to a *wat* in a great bamboo forest east of Lamphun on the other side of the river. He invited all the local monks who represented the sect of Buddhism established in Lamphun from the time of Cāmadevī to be reordained, because Kuenā did not believe in the old monks who had a different language [i.e. a different style of chanting from the Sumana monks]. He invited Sumanaraṅsi and Ānanda Thera to reordain all of the monks in the middle of the Mae Ping river north of the city of Lamphun and Wat Candabhāṇo. Eight thousand four hundred *bhikkhus* were reordained on a platform in the river. Sumanaraṅsi was elevated to take the position of *swāmi*, and was given the title 'Sumanasakkaratana' in the year *kat rao*.

Sinhalese Buddhism comes to Chiang Mai

In the year *ruang kai*, Culasakarāja 933 [B.E. 1914, or A.D. 1371], King Kuenā made his flower garden into an *ārāma* called Pupphārāma, and dedicated it to the Three Gems and the relic. In the year *tao cai* the local monks as far as Chiang Saen and Chiang Tung were asked to come down to study the language and the method of chanting [of the Sinhalese sect]. All were ordained, and from every city they came to Wat Suan Dōk. Such is the story of Sumana Thera coming to Wat Suan Dōk.

Sinhalese Buddhism spreads to Chiang Tung

I shall relate the noble teaching of the Buddha, which was brought by Somdet Rājamulī Sudhammajāto from Asōkārāma in Srī Lankā, which was established and flourished in Dvāravatī, Srī Ayōdhiyā, and which spread to Chiang Tung. The wise should know the following [facts]. At that time there were two pupils of Mahā Sudhammajāto Rājamulī, named Indamunī and Dhammaraṇṣī. They completed their studies of the *dharmapiṭaka* under him. When they reached the age of 20, they were to be ordained as *bhikkhus* on an elevated platform already prepared in the river. Before mounting the platform, however, it [miraculously] began to float upstream. All the people who saw this told the Somdet Rājamulī, their *upajjhāya*. The Somdet said, "This is good, indeed! After they are ordained these two monks will take Buddhism to the north." Rājamulī then ordained Indamunī and Dhammaraṇṣī and taught them the Khom [Khmer], Sinhalese, and Burmese [Mōn] languages and Pāli. They also mastered the *dhamma* and *vinaya*.

Nine years later Rājamulī saw a man with an elephant hook sleeping in the hall for walking meditation and snoring as loud as an orchestra. Surprised [at the strange sight] he went to look at the palms of his hands and soles of his feet and recognized that this person was remarkable, indeed. He woke him up and asked [who he was]. He replied that he was the mahout of an important person. Rājamulī said, "Don't deceive me. Tell the truth." The man answered that he was telling the truth. "Formerly I was the ruler of Chiang Tung north of Chiang Saen, and I came and fought on the side of the king of Chiang Mai, Phrayā Kuenā, my uncle. Unable to escape him, I became his mahout." Rājamulī asked him his name, and he replied that he was called Phrayā Āi Qn. Somdet Rājamulī said, "What you have said is true. I will get permission from the king to ordain you. I will send you to your native land." The mahout exclaimed, "*Sādhu* (Good)! I am very grateful for your kindness." Somdet Rājamulī, having requested the king's permission, ordained the mahout who spent one rainy season with Rājamulī. He built four Buddha images, two from wood and two from the ashes of offering flowers and then, together with his preceptor, consecrated them.

After the Rains Retreat, Rājamulī asked the king of Ayōdhiyā to help propagate Buddhism by having Mahā Khanān take the *dharmapitaka*, Buddha images and two monks, Indamunī Thera and Dhammaraṇsī Thera, to Chiang Tung. The king was very pleased to help, and sent 500 families with Phra Mahā Khanān and the other two monks as the leaders of a group of 12 monks to Chiang Mai. They continued onward, taking Buddhism to Chiang Tung. The king gave four elephants to carry the Buddha image. Somdet Rājamulī Sudhammajāto had the 12 monks together with the Buddha's image and *dharmapitaka* travel to Chiang Mai with Phra Mahā Srom Cao Āi Qn, in the sixth lunar month of the year *kā'pao*, Culasakkarāja 735 [B.E. 1916]. Cao Kuenā brought them to Wat Rājaguru Huawiang, and sent messengers to Chiang Tung. Phrayā Khaen Lek, the son of Kuenā, sent out 400 people to receive them, and invited Indamunī, Dhammaraṇsī, and Mahā Srom to go to Chiang Tung. It was the ninth lunar month, close to the time of *vassā*. Indamunī and Dhammaraṇsī had Mahā Srom Cao go ahead with the Buddha image. In the year *kā'p yī*, after *vassā* in the fourth lunar month, [the king of Chiang Tung sent] the Khun Khoen to invite the monks [again], but they refused saying that the city was dangerous and that after the next *vassā* they would go. The messengers remained with the monks until the year *dap mao*, in the third lunar month, when they brought the scriptures (*phra-dhamma*) and the monks headed by Cao Āi Qn to Chiang Tung. The son [of Kuenā], Phrayā Khaen Lek, went out to receive them at Ban Doen, and led them to the reception hall of the palace.

In the year *rawāi yī*, Culasakkarāja 738 [B.E. 1919] on the full moon day of the seventh lunar month, the king and his son built Wat Kuam Khuang Chiang Lae and Wat Yāng Kham at the same time. Then he built monks' dwellings similar to those in Ayōdhiyā, a *cedī* 34 *sōk* high, a life-sized Buddha image, a *maṇḍapa* for manuscripts, and dedicated all of them to the Triple Gem. He invited Indamunī Mahā Thera to stay at Wat Chiang Lae and Dhammaraṇsī at Wat Yāng Kham, and announced this fact. As a result many young men were ordained and studied *dhamma* seriously.

In the year *muang sai*, on the full moon day of the fourth lunar month, he consecrated Indamuni Thera as *somdet* and Dhammaraṇṣī as *swāmi*. Buddhism from Ayōdhiyā was taken to Chiang Tung by Cao Āi Qn. Many temples were built, such as Wat Mong Khon, Wat Phra Singha, Wat Ton Maw, Wat Umong Kha Jombon, Wat Saen Muang Mā, Wat Chiang Pin, Wat Pā Phrāo, Wat Bō Miang, Wat Bō Saen Thong, Wat Phra Mai, Wat Phra Klāng Jom Thong, Wat Nam Thuam, Wat Nām Nā, Wat Sua Jom Sāng, Wat Jom Bua, Wat Jom Jaeng. Regarding the four Buddha images, they were put on the backs of elephants which were then freed [to wander at will]. One elephant headed towards a *khi lek* tree and put the Buddha image there. [Thus the place was called] Wat Chiang Ing. Another elephant turned toward Wat Phra Kaew, and stopped there to offer its image. A third elephant went as far as Talād Noi in the town, where it bent to its knees. A temple was built there for the red sandalwood image [it carried]. The fourth elephant went 3,000 *wā* to the north, and stopped. A *wat* was built there for its white sandalwood image, and was given the name Wat Chāng Kiang. After four years 60 wats had been built, and Buddhism (*sāsana*) was spread far and wide.

The abbots of Wat Suan Dḥk, Chiang Mai

Now we shall discuss the establishment of the *sāsana* in the Flower Garden Monastery by Sumanaraṇṣī. At that time Buddhism flourished [in many ways]: doctrinal treatises were written, many Pāli *suttas* were translated in every *wat* in Chiang Mai. Sumanaraṇṣī held the position of *rājamulī* for 18 years before he died in the year *berk sī*. Then Kumārakassapa succeeded him in the year *kat sai*, and lived for 14 years before he died in the year *tao sangā*. Nandapañṇā then became the abbot of Suan Dḥk Mai in the year *kā met*, and lived for 22 years until the year *kāp sī*, Culasakarāja 786 [B.E. 1967]. He was succeeded by Buddhamañṇā in the year *dap sai*, Culasakkarāja 787 [B.E. 1968], who was there for 19 years. Buddhagambīra then followed him as abbot in the year *kāp cai*, Culasakkarāja 806 [B.E. 1987], dying in the year *kat mao*. At the time Nandapañṇā was at Wat Suan Dḥk Mai, Mahā Dhammakitti

headed the entire *sangha* as the Somdet Rājaguru and resided at Wat Nandārāma, south of the city.

The dream of Somdet Rājaguru Mahā Dhammakitti

One night the Somdet dreamed that a white elephant came from the east, entered the *wat*, broke open the *dharmapiṭaka* and ate it all up. Afterwards he prostrated, and lifting up Dhammakitti with his tusks placed him on a rock. Then, taking a lotus flower [in his trunk] and trumpeting loudly in the midst of the people he went off in a northerly direction. In the morning when he awoke the Somdet reflected [on his dream] and kept it in his heart. After eating [his morning meal] he told his disciples about the dream. The Theras [interpreted the dream to mean] that great fortune would follow him.

When it was nearly noon, a lay disciple from Chiang Mai by the name of Phantā Saeng brought his 13 year-old son, Sāmacitta, [to the Somdet, and offering him] a plate of flowers and puffed rice, said "This boy wants to stay with you. May you ordain him as one of your disciples." And so he brought his son to be the disciple of the Cao Khun. Somdet Rājaguru Dhammakitti taught him the *dhamma* and ordained him as *sāmaṇera* Ñāṇagambhīra. After eight years he had mastered the three *piṭakas* and also the *gambhīra-saddā*, *rūpa-saddā*, *bhedanirutti-saddā*, *nayādhā-saddā*, *samudanikhādāna-saddā* along with the Pāli commentaries. When he became 21 he was ordained (*upasampadā*). After one year the Somdet Rājaguru gave Ñāṇagambhīra more recognition, and had him teach the monks all the commentaries and the Abhidhamma. Dhammakitti [in the meantime] went to Wat Phan Lao at the invitation of the lay disciples.

Ñāṇagambhīra taught the doctrine to all the *bhikkhus*, who came from different directions. He taught in the place of his preceptor from the time he was 17 years old up to three years after his ordination. After having reflected for three years on the Dhamma-vinaya [as taught and practised in Chiang Mai], he saw ten errors [one having to do with ordination procedure, and the other nine with proper ways of chanting]. Then he went to Dhammakitti and told him all of this. Dhammakitti

replied, "Our teachers studied in Ayōdhiyā. If you want to know clearly, go and ask Dhammagambhīra in Ayōdhiyā." Nāṇagambhīra had no opportunity to go that year. A lay devotee named Mūn Phing Chai, who had built Wat Bān Lān Kum Kām north of the city, invited the Somdet to stay there, but he had Nāṇagambhīra go in his stead in the year *tao yī*.

In the year *kot cai* there was a Thera named Siddhanta, who with three disciples from Wat Suan Dōk Mai went to worship the Mahādhātu in Lankā, returning home in the eighth lunar month of the year *kā maw*. He reported to the Sangha, "I went to Lankā, and stayed at Wat Thūpārāma for two years with Mahā Surinda Thera. Our *kammavācā* and *pātimōkkha* were criticized by the Sangha of Lankā as being incorrect. I replied that we did as we were taught by our teachers. In Chiang Mai we were taught in this way. The Sangha in Lankā accused us saying, 'Then none of you is a monk. Our language has 41 consonants, but yours has only 32; you make the *am* sound into *ām*. You are not following the method set forth for us by Buddhaghosa in Lankā. Your ordination is not valid, and none of you is a monk. Your ordination is fruitless. If you join together with us it will despoil the *sanghakamma*.' Therefore, we were not allowed to join them, and were expelled."

Siddhanta Thera reported to the Sangha in the *uposatha* hall at Wat Chotikārāma. He reported to Somdet Dhammakitti at the beginning of the Rains Retreat, as requested by the Sinhalese Sangha headed by Surinda Thera. In the year *ka pao* after the Rains Retreat, Somdet Dhammakitti, the *upajjhāya* of Nāṇagambhīra, said to him: "Go and ask the ministers and King Sām Fang Kaen for support to go to Ayōdhiyā. There talk to Dhammagambhīra and get his support to go to Wat Thūpārāma in Lankā to study the *dhamma* in the language they use in Lankā." Nāṇagambhīra accepted his preceptor's advice, saying "Sādhu, very well! I shall do this in your name." He went to the Saen Nam Phoeng, to have him ask Queen Mahādevī to solicit Phrayā Sām Fang Kaen to follow the advice of Somdet Dhammakitti to send Nāṇagambhīra to Wat Thūpārāma, where Siddhanta Thera stayed while

in Lankā. Phrayā Sām Fang Kaen was delighted and said, "Prior to this [time] no Chiang Mai monks have gone to study Buddhism [in Lankā]. Therefore, it is good for you to follow the instructions of your preceptor to study [there] and bring back what you have learned, so that the monks of Lankā will not doubt that the monks of Chiang Mai are properly qualified. When you return I will patronize the religion (*sāsana*) you bring with you". The Phrayā then gave five *kahāpaṇa* to purchase beeswax candles and lamp oil. Mahādevī gave perfume to Ñāṇagambhīra. Somdet Dhammakitti sent along five [six?] monks with Ñāṇagambhīra, namely Medhaṅkara and Ñāṇamaṅgala from Wat Kuṭi Kham, Candaraṇṣī and Ñāṇasiddhi from Wat Cedi Kham, Rattanāga from Wat Nandārāma, and Cittahanu. Saen Nam Phoeng, minister to the Phrayā of *Cet Rin* [located on the outskirts of Chiang Mai], and Mahādevī sent along a lay disciple to care for the monks.

The group of eight, headed by Ñāṇagambhīra, went to Ayūddhiyā and reported everything to Dhammagambhīra, the Rājaguru of the city. The Rājaguru said, "Our teachers have handed down the teaching in this manner. If you have doubts about it, you should go to ask the Mahā Thera who is our teacher at Anurādhapura in Lankā."

Ñāṇagambhīra goes to Lankā

Then Ñāṇagambhīra went to Phrayā Boromarājādhirāja and requested his support. The Phrayā replied that he would be very pleased to do so. "Go to the home of Buddhism and bring back the correct teaching. I shall send an official named Subharati with you." The king sent one official and two attendants along with Ñāṇagambhīra. The Thera then went to Somdet Dhammagambhīra, the Rājaguru, who gladly sent along five of his disciples with Dhammānanda as their leader. The 12 monks and 4 laymen went to Marit Tanaosī [Mergui and Tenasserim] and met the Phrayā of that city. He was pleased that Ñāṇagambhīra was going to study Buddhism in Lankā, and asked the Thera not to forget to stop by [at Marit Tanaosī] on his return trip.

The Phrayā embarked them on a merchant junk in the year *kā mao*, C.S. 785 [B.E. 1966]. After four months they arrived in Lankā. There Ñāṇagambhīra went to meet Surinda Thera of Wat Thūpārāma in Anurādhapura, and told him about the 10 improper practices [of the Chiang Mai monks]. Surinda Thera said, "The Buddhism practised in the 30 cities of Lankā differs [from place to place] because Burmese, Mon [*meng*], and Kulāphāsī monks have mixed in with us. Whatever one wants to say, one says; whatever one wants to do, one does. They do not follow the *dhmma-vinaya* of the Buddha, just like the Chiang Mai monk named Siddhanta who came here earlier and chanted [incorrectly after the manner of the monks in Chiang Mai]. The proper adherence to the *dhmma-vinaya* and the [tradition of] the commentaries is found only in the Rohana region. From the time of its establishment there, Buddhism will continue for 5,000 years in an unbroken tradition, because the Buddha ordered Indra to have the *devatā* safeguard it. Rulers, ministers, and all the people maintain and uphold it. O monk, you are learned [in the commentaries], therefore go to Rohana."

Ñāṇagambhīra together with his followers set out for Rohana. Upon reaching the city gates the people there asked why they had come. Then they took puffed rice, flowers and candles, and worshipped the *devatā* praying, "We have come to take the religion (*sāsanā*), the Three Gems and the *bodhi* tree to establish them in Jumbūdvīpa [i.e. Asia, but apparently here referring to Chiang Mai]. We have not come to do any harm. If we have come to harm the people and the religion, may harm afflict us." They stayed there for one month, but no evil befell them. Then they brought their message to the second gate. The people there asked them the same question and they [in turn] gave the same answer, and so on, until they reached the seventh gate. Finally they were allowed to see the Phrayā and his ministers. They said to [the monks], "*Sadhu*, very good! The religion should be propagated by having Mahā Sudassana Thera, the Sanghānāyaka, invite 10,000 monks to an assembly. Then Ñāṇagambhīra and all his followers will be invited to describe the [true] nature of the *sāsanā* [which they learned about here] upon their return to Thailand."

[In the assembly] Ñāṇagambhīra told of the 10 incorrect practices beginning with the method of ordaining novices and monks, and the *kaṭṭhin* ceremony as practised in Chiang Mai, Suphan [Martaban], Marit [Mergui], and Tanaosi [Tenassarim]. [Hearing this] the assembly of monks said, "O monks, none of you is a monk." After seven days Ñāṇagambhīra, the monk who came with him, and the official named Subharati, were ordained by the assembly. Afterwards they served the Rohana Mahā Theras and studied the *dhamma* for five years, until they mastered all aspects of it. [After having received this training] they were prepared to take the *sāsanā* including the Buddha image, the *bodhi* tree, and the *tipiṭaka* [to Jumbūdvīpa]. Mahā Sudassana Thera, the head of the assembly of 10,000 monks which had been held in Arimatṭhapurī, gave a Buddha image, *tipiṭaka* and a branch of the *bodhi* tree, which Mahinda had brought from India, to Ñāṇagambhīra and his 12 followers. The Sangha then instructed them as follows: "Take the *sāsanā*, the *dhamma-piṭaka* in the Pāli language of Lankā which consists of 41 letters according to the text based on the *Saddasandhi*, *Nikhādanasaddā*, *Cintāmaṇī* and *Vuttisaddā*. This text of Kaccāyana Thera follows the teaching of Buddhaghosa as he propounded it for the monks in Jumbūdvīpa. Your method of chanting will also be improved. Wherever this teaching is firmly established, the *yakkha* and *devatā* will greatly rejoice and gladly follow it. The monks in all of the countries [to which you take this teaching] will then also have the correct [language and] pronunciation [the 41 letters of the Pāli language of Lankā]. If this language and the proper pronunciation are not followed, there will be mistakes in the *dhamma-piṭaka*, and those who make such mistakes will not be considered monks. Therefore, all of you should be ordained according to the original language and its proper pronunciation.

"Wherever the three *piṭakas* are established in the correct language [the Pāli language of Lankā], there will be no errors and all the *devatā* will rejoice and be happy. [If the texts have the correct form] the *devatā* who guard that city will also have the proper order. The ruler of that country will be powerful and free from danger. If in previous lives he was sinful (*vipāka-kamma*), he will not die as a result of that sin and his line will not die out.

"If monks do not follow the correct language, the *dhmma-piṭaka* will be distorted. If the *dhmma-piṭaka* is corrupted, the monastic rules will be also; the monks' behavior will not be in conformity to the *vinaya*; they will serve the laity for their own livelihood, abandoning *piṇḍapāta* without shame. At the same time the *devatā* will be corrupted. In the countries where the rulers, ministers, and officials revere such improper monks as good and well-versed in the *dhmma-piṭaka*, there will be no peace and happiness. Hardships will occur and later greater catastrophes, until the order of the government and the *sangha* is lost. Finally, that country will be destroyed because the religion of the guardians of the four quarters and the *devatā* of the world is ill-founded. As for the monks, those who hope to be free from all suffering and attain to Nibbāna, because they act like lay people [literally, 'carrying food on their heads and shoulders instead of *piṇḍapāta*'], they will go to ruin and cause others to do so as well [literally, 'the food they carry will fall from their head and shoulders'].

"We, the Sangha in the city of Arimatṭhapurī, establish the religion in order to bring it to you and propagate it in countries large and small throughout Jumbūdvīpa [i.e. Asia]. Our religion (*sāsana*) will flourish among monks, Brahmans, rulers and their subjects from henceforth."

Ñāṇagambhīra returns from Lankā

In the year *poek san*, C.S. 790 [B.E. 1971], on the full moon day of the month of *migasira*, Ñāṇagambhīra with his followers received Buddha images, the *dhmma-piṭaka*, and a branch from the *bodhi* tree from the Theras of the [Rohana] Sangha led by Mahā Sudassana, the Sangha-nāyaka. On the second day of the waning moon, Ñāṇagambhīra took leave of the Sangha, King Boromavīsarāja, his ministers, and the people. They went to the harbor and embarked on a merchant junk heading for Marit [Mergui] and Tanaosi [Tenassarim]. There they went to meet the Phrayā, who was delighted with the religion (*sāsana*) they brought with them. He invited all the monks in the city to be reordained and follow the new teaching. The monks who were reordained numbered 12,078. The king built a monastery (*wat*) and called it Ramatīārāma, and offered it to Dhammānanda Thera for his residence.

Mahā Nāṇagambhīra arrives in Ayōdhiyā

In the year *kat lao*, C.S. 791 [B.E. 1972], the religion of the Buddha was 1,971 years old [the Culasakkarāja date does not match the Buddhist Era date]. On the sixth day of the waxing moon of the ninth lunar month, Mahā Nāṇagambhīra with the other monks arrived in Ayōdhiyā. They all went to pay a visit to Phrayā Dhammaboromarājādhirāja. He paid his respects to them and said, "*Sādhū dī*. We welcome you," and he built a monastery [Jayārāma] for the monks. The king then went to tell Somdet Rājaguru Dhammagambhīra all these things. Dhammagambhīra was so pleased that he asked Phrayā Boromarājādhirāja to abandon the old *sāsanā*, and invite all the monks to be reordained and study the teachings and disciplinary rules [brought by Nāṇagambhīra]. Somdet Rājaguru had all the monks reordained in the new order. Phra Mahā Nāṇagambhīra presided over the ordination ceremonies, which were performed by 13 monks. This new group of monks was called the *Sīṅhalapakkha*. Six hundred monasteries joined Mahā Nāṇagambhīra Thera's group.

Phra Mahā Nāṇagambhīra arrives in Muang Sōng Khwae (Phitsanulok)

After *vassā* in the month of *yī*, Mahā Nāṇagambhīra went to Phrayā Boromarājādhirāja and all his ministers in Ayodhiyā to inform them of his intention to return to Chiang Mai. The Phrayā sent his ministers and some other people along with them. Dhammagambhīra, the Rājaguru, also sent 12 monks headed by Dhammarakkhita to accompany them to Chiang Mai.

On Thursday, the first day of the waning moon of the second lunar month [*yī*] Nāṇagambhīra and his followers left Ayōdhiyā and arrived in Sōng Khwae. Phrayā Pān, the ruler of the city, was delighted, and went out to meet Mahā Nāṇagambhīra with his followers. Mahā Nāṇagambhīra reported all things from the beginning to the end to the Phrayā, who invited them to stay saying, "I shall accept this *sāsanā*, and will invite all the monks of every monastery to be reordained and to study [the teachings brought by Nāṇagambhīra]."

There was a Mahā Sāmī named Triloka who came to ask Nāṇagam-bhīra about the *dhmma-vinaya* (*attha-pāli*), and he realized that his own practice (*attha-byanjana*) was incorrect. He then said, "You and your disciples have brought the *sāsanā* from Rohana. What you, the Phrayā and his ministers have brought here from Rohana is like pure gold. The way we practise is like tarnished silver. Therefore, may I receive this teaching immediately." They then abandoned their former ways and were reordained. The next day 3,000 monks headed by Ānanda came to be ordained. The Phrayā built an *ārāma* where these monks stayed throughout the cool season.

Nāṇagam-bhīra arrives in Sukhodaya

On the twelfth day of the seventh lunar month, Mahā Nāṇagam-bhīra took leave of the Phrayā and arrived in Sukhodaya. Rāmarāja, the ruler of Sukhodaya, knew they had come from Ayōdhiyā and brought with them the true religion (*sāsanā*) from Lankā. When they arrived at the city, the king went out to receive them, and invited them to stay at Waddhanārāma. After enquiring about all of their activities he invited the whole Sangha to ask about the *nikhādanaganthi* and the *upasampadaganthi* [doubts concerning taking food and ordination]. The Sangha of Sukhodaya was delighted. Headed by Nandapaññā Thera and Buddhimā Thera, 7,520 monks from both inside and outside the city received new ordination on the eighth day of the waxing moon of the eighth lunar month.

The king had his ministers and the citizens of Sukhodaya, numbering 1,000, ordained into the new order. Mahā Nāṇagam-bhīra with 19 monks spent their Rains Retreat (*vassā*) at Sukhodaya. After the Rains Retreat many monks from other cities such as Pāng Phon, headed by Suriyākara, and Muang Chaliang, headed by Sangharakkhita, came to receive reordination and study the proper teaching and practice (*attha-byanjana*).

Phra Mahā Nāṇagambhīra goes to Lamphun

On the second day of the waxing moon of the fourth lunar month, Mahā Nāṇagambhīra and his followers took leave of Phrayā Rammarāja [Rāmarāja] and his ministers. Departing from Sukhodaya, wherever Nāṇagambhīra stopped many came to be ordained, study under him, and join the Siṅhala order. On the full moon day of the sixth lunar month in the year *luang kai*, C.S. 793 [B.E. 1974], he reached Lamphun. At the end of the seventh lunar month of the same year, the populace assassinated Phrayā Sām Fang Kaen when he went to the town of Yuan [Mae Hong Son] and invited his son, Tilokarāja [Thāolok], to rule over Chiang Mai. On Tuesday morning of the fifth day of the waxing moon of the eighth lunar month, Tilokarāja was consecrated Phrayā and given the title Adittarājatilaka. He was delighted when he heard that Mahā Nāṇagambhīra had brought the *sāsanā* from Lankā. The Phrayā and his queen dismantled their old palace, and had it rebuilt for the Mahā Thera. Then he sent his Phō Liang, Thāo Chiang Rai, the nephew of Mūn Sām Dek, and the Saen Nam Phoeng to invite Mahā Nāṇagambhīra and his followers from Lamphun to stay at his *wat* called Rājamonthian.

Phra Mahā Nāṇagambhīra arrives in Chiang Mai

The Mahā Thera paid his respects to Somdet Dhammakitti, his preceptor, and informed him about his departure. Dhammakitti said, "It is very good for you to go", and called all the monks to a meeting where he instructed them, "From now on all of you are to be reordained and to receive the religious teachings from Nāṇagambhīra, for the future progress of the *sāsanā*." From that time, every day nine or ten, 30, 40, 50 or even 100 monks and laymen came to be ordained under Mahā Nāṇagambhīra. So many were ordained that there were insufficient places for them to live. As a result the queen built Wat Pā Tān to the west of the city. But even that was not enough. The Mahā Thera then went to ask the Phrayā to build another monastery. He complied by building a monastery in the Red Forest (Pā Daeng) to the northwest about 1,500 *wā* from the city. A dedication ceremony was held, and the monastery was called Rattavanārāma. It has been called the Siṅhala Order (*pakkha*) from that time to this.

The king built many more monasteries. Every year he constructed 20 to 50, totalling 500 monasteries, in the city of Chiang Mai. Mahā Nāṇagambhīra requested Ādittatīlokarāja to build a *vihāra*, living quarters for day and night, and a place for circumambulation. Nāṇagambhīra then invited Somdet Dhammakitti to come and stay on the hill to the west, between the city and the *vihāra*, so he could practise *vipassanā-kammaṭṭhāna*. He enshrined the Buddha image he had brought from Lankā at Wat Monthian. The *bodhi* tree and *dhamma-piṭaka* were presented to Wat Pā Daeng in Chiang Mai. Nāṇamaṅgala was assigned to be at Wat Monthian; Methānkara at Wat Pā Tān; Candaraṅsī as the head of Wat Pā Daeng; Rattanāga at Wat Nandārāma with authority over Wat Phan Law, Wat Kuṭi Kham, Wat Cedī Kham and Wat Mūn Sāra.

In the year *poek sangā*, C.S. 800 [B.E. 1981] on the full moon day of the seventh lunar month, the *devatā* came to the Mahā Thera and said, "There is no pleasant place to sit [in Chiang Mai]. Go to Chiang Saen which is inhabited by heretics. It will be a place for the *sāsana* you brought [from Lankā]." A few days later, after breakfast the Thera addressed the whole Sangha and the Sangha replied, "The religion you brought with you is a heavy responsibility for you to shoulder. You should go up to Chiang Saen in order to propagate it." [Before departing] the Mahā Thera visited the Phrayā and his ministers, and handed over the leadership of the Sangha in Chiang Mai to Candaraṅsī. He took Mahā Nāṇasiddhi and Cittahanu along with 54 other learned monks. Taking leave of his preceptor [Dhammakitti] and the Sangha, he set forth for Chiang Saen. He first passed by Payao where he stayed for one *vassā*. There monks and lay people came to be ordained by him in great numbers. Next he went to Chiang Rai where he spent one *vassā*. Here also many monks and lay people sought ordination in his Order. Finally, he arrived in Chiang Saen and stayed in a gum tree forest. Wherever he went monks and lay people were delighted and were ordained under him. The Mūn Sāi and Mūn Khwā (military commanders) together with the Khun (officials) in Chiang Saen believed and became Nāṇagambhīra's followers.

In the year *kot san*, C.S. 802 [B.E. 1983], on Wednesday the full moon day of the eighth month, he had an *ārāma* constructed for the Wat Pā Daeng Order (*pakkha*) called Siṅharatta. There he built a life-sized Buddha image, an ordination hall, and made a gift of the *piṭakas*. In the year *ruang rao* he built [many other *wats* in Chiang Saen including:] Wat Cōmkitti, Wat Jaiārāma, Wat Pā Mai Yāng (Wat Ton Yāng), Wat Wong Koṭ, Wat Mūn Chiang, Wat Ton Kaew, Wat Ton Lān, Wat Thā Nāga Sombhāra. Altogether he built 500 *wats*. Outside the city there were 122 *wats* under the authority of Ñāṇagambhīra's Order.

In the year *kā kai*, C.S. 805 [B.E. 1986] in the early morning of Tuesday, the full moon day of the seventh month, a *devatā* came and said to Mahā Ñāṇagambhīra, "Venerable Sir, the *hō kham* in Chiang Tung had the people dig a moat around a hill inhabited by *preta* to the south of the city, and made a restraining wall of earth and rock. The *preta* became angered and attacked the *hō kham*. They invited monks from Wat Chiang Lom to come and exorcise the *preta*, but they launched an even heavier attack. The holy water became putrefied, and the banana leaves dried up. Then they invited the Wat Chiang Lae monks headed by Indamuni to exorcise the *preta*. [They were more successful, for this time] the *preta* stopped for a while and the holy water did not putrefy. Later, however, the *preta* resumed on even more vicious assault.

"You should send five monks headed by Somacitta to Khoen [Chiang Tung], to stay at Huey Yen southwest of the city. When the people know about this they will come and take them to defeat the *preta*. When all the danger has subsided they will be pleased, and will [encourage them to] propagate the *sāsanā* and establish it in the north."

After hearing the words of the *devatā*, Ñāṇagambhīra got up, prepared his toilet, meditated, and when it was light ate breakfast. At the meeting of the Sangha he told them what had happened. The monks said that only an exceptionally powerful *devatā* would appear in such a manner, and that Ñāṇagambhīra should send someone [to Chiang Tung as the *devatā* requested]. Therefore, he sent Somacitta and four

of his other followers to Khoen [Chiang Tung] where they stayed at Wat Huey Yen as the *devatā* had said. At that time a youth of that area (Suan Døk Kham) who was a devotee of the *wat* had taken some cattle to pasture, and saw the monks. Upon seeing them he asked, "Where have you come from and are you going to stay here?" The monks replied, "We come from the south." When the boy commented on their strange dress, the monks retorted, "It is the dress of the monks here [in Chiang Tung] that is strange."

The boy returned [to his home] and related the incident to his parents: "A group of monks has come and is staying at Wat Huey Yen. When I questioned them [and commented on their dress] they answered that they had come from the south, and claimed that the dress of our monks here in Chiang Tung was strange, not theirs." Afterwards, the villagers from Suan Døk Kham went to the *hə kham* where Phra Indamunī of Chiang Lae was preaching to the Phrayā. The monks from Yang Kham [had earlier] chanted to exorcise the *preta*, but they continued to disturb the place. The Phrayā asked his ministers, "What shall we do when the *preta* come and disturb us like this?" None of them was able to give an answer. The people from Suan Døk Kham then said, "If we are wrong may the Phrayā and his retinue pardon us. There is a group of monks who have come to stay at Wat Huey Yen. One of our young men was going to pasture the cattle [and seeing them] commented on their peculiar dress. They in turn replied that it was our own monks' dress that was out of place. From what has been said it is not clear which side is correct."

[After hearing the testimony of the villagers from Suan Døk Kham] the Phrayā sent the Khun Khaek to find out about these new monks. Having gone and learned something about them, he returned and reported to the Phrayā who had an official (Rōng Luang) approach the monks with puffed rice, flowers and candles to invite the monks at Wat Huey Yen [to exorcise the *preta*]. The monks [from Chiang Mai] headed by Somacitta Thera accepted the invitation. They set up five altars to the *devatā*, a new *kāra phru'k* tree, and made new holy water. They then brought a Buddha image and the scriptures (*phra-dhamma*) in a bullock

cart which they took with them. The wind blew gently in front of the Triple Gem, which was established in the *hō kham*. The *hō kham* shook.

[First] the monks invited [the protection] of the *devatā* of the city and the guardians of the four quarters. [Then they chanted and] Indādhirāja came to listen to the *dharmma*. They chanted the Mettā Sutta for four days; the Ātānā [Ātānātiya] Sutta for three days and three nights; and finally the Maṅgala Sutta. The *kāra phru'k* tree was still fresh and not dry, and the holy water was sweet-smelling and clear. The *preta* did not come and create any disturbance. The king and his ministers were so delighted that they had an *ārāma* constructed in the forest, and forbade the killing of animals. It was called the Great Forest Monastery [Mahā Vanārāma]. Later they invited the monks to stay at Wat Huey Yen. [They performed a ceremony] where they put water in five bowls, and after chanting sprinkled the water over a smoking fire until it was entirely extinguished. After *vassā* the monks took leave of the king and his ministers to go to Chiang Saen. The king urged the monks to stay, but the Thera said, "We have not been given permission to stay here; therefore, we cannot accept your invitation." Then they departed.

In the year *kā kai*, on the thirteenth day of the waning moon of the fourth lunar month, the Cao Saen Muang [of Chiang Tung] performed the coronation of the king, Phrayā Sṛi Dhammacūṇirāja. In the fifth lunar month he sent an emissary [Khaek Muang] to Chiang Saen asking for the Triple Gem. Mahā Nāṇagambhīra again sent Somacitta with nine monks, and had them give the emissary from Chiang Tung a Buddha image and a copy of the *tipiṭaka*. In the year *muang mao*, C.S. 809 [B.E. 1990], Phrayā Muang Kaew built Wat Chiang Khong and invited Nāṇagambhīra Thera to live there. The Thera gave the *wat* over to the Pā Daeng Siṅhala Order, and made Mahā Nāṇasiddhi the head of the Sangha there. Then he took Cittahanu and another 100 monks to Chiang Khong and stayed for one *vassā* at Wat Jotikārāma, which had been built by Phra Muang Kaew. They stayed there until the seventh month of the year *poek sī*, ordaining many monks and laymen.

Phra Mahā Nāṇagambhīra dies at Lampāṅ

In the year *kat sai*, C.S. 811 [B.E. 1992], Phrayā Luang Lakhorn [Lampāṅ] sent Mūn Sām Lān and Saen Muang Mā to invite [Nāṇagambhīra] to come and dispel the danger at Lampāṅ. Mahā Nāṇagambhīra went there together with 22 other monks and stayed at Wat Saen Muang Mā. Then they performed a ceremony to exorcise the *yakkha* and all the evil spirits which had entered the queen and the king's consorts. Many laymen were also ordained, and 217 *wats* joined the order of Nāṇagambhīra. He stayed there for three *vassā*. In the year *tao san*, C.S. 814 [B.E. 1995] in the eighth lunar month, he went to consecrate the *mahādhātu* at Cae Hom and the *dhātu* [*cedī*] at Muang Wang. He stayed at Wat Bodhi for one *vassā*. [In the twelfth lunar month] on Wednesday, the fourth day of the waning moon, he took leave of the lay devotees and departed by boat for Muang Bodhi. Upon reaching Bān Hua Muang he became sick, and after three days he died there. The leaders of the town [Khun Muang], the monks, and the lay people arranged for his funeral on the fourteenth day of the waning moon. They took his ashes and built a *cedī* for them on the top of a mountain east of Bān Tin Doi. Cittahanu arrived in Lampāṅ and stayed for one *vassā*. Then he disrobed and became the son-in-law of Mūn Sām Lān.

The list of kings who supported the Pā Daeng Siṅhala Order

Now we will speak of the dynasty that supported and protected the Siṅhala Order of Chiang Mai. Phrayā Sām Fang Kaen requested Mahā Nāṇagambhīra to go to study Buddhism in Lankā. He did not arrive [in Chiang Mai] before Sām Fang Kaen's death in C.S. 792 [B.E. 1973]. Tilokarāja succeeded him. He and the princess mother received the *sāsanā* [brought by Nāṇagambhīra] and performed many meritorious acts for nine years. He died in the year *kat met*, C.S. 810 [B.E. 1991]. In the year *kot san*, C.S. 802 [B.E. 1983] Phra Kaew Yot Chiang Rai, his nephew, succeeded him. He built the great *uposatha* hall and *cedi* at Wat Pā Daeng, and the *vihāra* topped with gold. It became the leading *wat*. He built many *wats* in and outside of the city. He also presented the *dharmma-piṭaka* to every *wat*. He ruled the city for 12 years, and

died in the year *ruang met* in the third lunar month. In the year *tao san*, C.S. 814 [B.E. 1995], the nephew of Phrayā Kaew Yot Chiang Rai, Thāo Kaew Tā Luang, succeeded him. He sent an emissary to invite Mahā Nāṇagambhīra from the town of Wang. Arriving at Muang Bodhi he died. The king ruled the city for 36 years, and died in the year *kā mao*. His son, Phrayā Āi, succeeded him in the year *kāp si*, C.S. 848 [B.E. 2027]. He continued the tradition of material support of the *sāsanā*, performed many meritorious acts, and gave *dāna* continuously. He ruled the city for 43 years, and died in the year *rawai san*. Here is the story of the kings who supported the Sinhala Order [of Wat Pā Daeng].

Mahā Nāṇagambhīra and the Sinhala Order in Chiang Tung

After living as a layman for 12 years Nāṇagambhīra was ordained a novice. He remained a novice for eight years, and then was a monk at Wat Nandārāma for eleven years; Wat Bān Lān Kumkān north of the city, for two years; in Lankā five years [the Chronicle says two years]; at Ayōdhiyā one year; Sukhodaya one year; Chiang Mai seven years; Payao one year; Chiang Rai one year; Chiang Saen seven years; Chiang Khong one year; Lakhon [Lampāng] one year; and Muang Wang one year. In the year *tao san*, C.S. 814 [B.E. 1995], Phrayā Kaew Tā Luang invited him to leave Muang Wang for Chiang Mai. He died [on the way] at Bān Tīn Doi, north of Muang Bodhi.

Now I will speak of the *sāsanā* of the Buddha which Nāṇagambhīra gave to Somaçitta Thera and his nine fellow monks. They went from Wat Pā Daeng of Chiang Saen, a branch of the Pā Daeng school of Lankā where the son of Sinhābāhuṅgandharāja lived, to Chiang Tung at the invitation of Phrayā Siridhammaculā. He was delighted and wanted to be a supporter of the Sinhala religion. All of you should pay attention. The wise should consider the origin of this school.

In the year *kāp cai*, C.S. 806 [B.E. 1986], on Thursday the sixth day of the waning moon of the seventh lunar month, the emissary and Somaçitta Thera and the other monks arrived in Khoen [Chiang Tung]. Phrayā Siridhammaculā, his ministers and all people welcomed the Triple Gem as did many other towns. They expressed their delight in

these words, "It is is the same as Mahā Brahma come to save us." The ministers built *wats* for the Three Gems at that place, and it has been called Wat Mahā Brahma until now. The king supported the *sāsana*. He had the area surveyed to see where the *sāsana* could best be established. Coming to Chiang Mon east of the city, he declared that this was the best place. The king then had an *ārāma* built there around noon on Thursday, the thirteenth day of the waning moon. He invited the Triple Gem to stay there. The monastery was called the Siṅhalaratta-mahā-vanāramādhīpati after the name of Wat Pā Daeng Luang of Chiang Mai. The king presented it as *dāna* to the Triple Gem. Because the earth quaked when this event took place, the monastery has been called the Lord of the Earth until today.

In the year *kāp cai*, C.S. 806 [B.E. 1987], on the night of the thirteenth day of the seventh lunar month, it rained so hard that the trees fell down and the roofs of the houses were blown off everywhere. At dawn the king ordered the people to see if everything was all right. The roofs of the monk's residence was still intact. No danger had come to the Three Gems. It was as though it were made of iron and brass. Therefore, the residence has been called the Hall of Brass (*hō thong daeng*) until today.

In the year *kāp cai* on Sunday, the full moon day of the eighth month, the disciples of Somdet Indamunī at Wat Luang Chiang Lae, Wat Yāng Kham and so forth all came to be ordained in the Order of Somacitta Thera, Upagutta Thera, Brahmaṇa Thera, Nanda Thera and Upālī Thera in the *uposatha* hall of Wat Pā Daeng. Because of that, the method of chanting and the ordination procedure [of the various *wats* in Lān Nā] is not very different. Also, 1,259 disciples of Dhammagambhīra, Somdet of Ayūdhīyā, were ordained in the Order of Nāṇagambhīra and Somacitta. After that the two Orders were merged into one.

[Later a dispute arose.] The monks of Wat Yāng Kuang [Chiang Tung] insisted that they were disciples of Wat Suan Dōk because they had learned from the teachings of Sumana Thera. "The respected Theras of Wat Suan Dōk, Chiang Mai, of which Buddhīmā Thera and

Buddhagambhīra Thera are foremost, continue to adhere to the teaching of Sumana Thera." They said, "Therefore, we will not be reordained". As a consequence they remained independent.

[Another problem arose which caused] the abandonment of Wat Phra Kaew Phra Kāṅ and Wat Sṛī Muang. During the time of Cao Kuenā [i.e. when Kuenā ruled over Chiang Tung from Chiang Mai] monks [from these *wats*] misbehaved with the queen, Mahā Devī [of Chiang Tung]. The queen had a child, and the father could not be found. The child was a girl and was called Nāṅ Chī. Investigation showed that only the monks from Wat Phra Kaew Phra Kāṅ had entered the queen's quarters (*hō rong*). [As a result] Kuenā ordered them from the city. He had the ministers (*khun*) of Khoen drive all the monks [in those *wats*] from the city. They went to stay on the banks of the Khoen River at Chiang Lom. The monks from Wat Phra Kaew Phra Kāṅ went to Chiang Liu and then to Chiang Mai, and told Kuenā that they had been driven from Khoen. Kuenā agreed [and would not change this decision].

Nāṅ Chī was the younger sister of Cao Āi Ōn. [Kuenā] had her marry the ruler of Muang Saen Wī [north of Chiang Tung]. On the journey there many died including Nāṅ Chī. They cremated her and called her burial place the Resting Place (*pāṅ*) of Ī Sī, or in the Khoen dialect, 'Ī Chī.

When the *sāsanā* of Indamunī reached Chiang Tung, Āi Ōn had all of his disciples follow that tradition. No *wats* were exempted. The monks from the cities to the south of Chiang Tung also followed the same tradition.

Now we shall speak about Phrayā Dhammasirīcuḷa's building of Wat Pā Daeng. In the year *poek sī*, C.S. 810 [B.E. 1991], around noontime on Thursday the eighth day of the waxing moon of the seventh lunar month, construction was begun on the *uposatha* hall of Wat Pā Daeng. All four sides were begun at the same time. [When the construction began] the earth quaked, and the four artisans—who are unknown—being assisted by four *devatā*, were able to complete the task in one day. Then the ground was leveled and the roof constructed. On

Tuesday, the thirteenth day of the lunar month, the pillars were raised and everything was completed by noontime. On Tuesday, the full moon day, the king placed the eastern *sīma* stone in the ground, and Somacitta Thera announced that it was done. The earth then quaked a second time. [The consecration ceremony or the] *sambandha* and *sammutti kammavācā* were performed in accordance with the procedure in the *uposatha kandha* of the *Mahāvagga*. After the ceremony the earth quaked a third time. The *devatā* caused the wind to blow, and taking water from the top of a banana tree they placed it together with a fragrant golden *bodhi* tree in the middle of the *uposatha* hall. This made the whole monastery fragrant. [As a result of all of these miraculous happenings] Phrayā Sirīdhammacūḷamaṇī and his ministers had great faith [in the *sāsanā*].

On the eighth day of the waxing moon, 80 local monks were reordained in the *uposatha* hall. Phrayā Sirīdhammacūḷamaṇī was so inspired that he himself was ordained, and gave the city of Khoen [Chiang Tung] to the Triple Gem. On the day of his ordination he had everyone bring all of their revenue as an offering. On the fourth day of the waxing moon of the ninth lunar month he disrobed. Afterwards he gave 10,000 in silver and 1,000 in gold in exchange for the city. The money was divided into four parts, one to the Sangha and three to the Buddha, as a gift for the kings [of Chiang Tung] to be ordained from that time onwards.

After the *vassā* the king requested the Sangha to bring a branch from the *bodhi* tree which had been brought from Lankā and planted at Wat Pā Daeng, Chiang Mai, to be planted at Wat Pā Daeng, Chiang Tung. Two trunks grew from the single planting. On the full moon day of the sixth lunar month, Somacitta Thera had a dream in which two *devatā* and one *devaputta* came to live in the Mahābodhi tree and protect the *sāsanā*. They were named Samuddajā, Anojā, and Samana. They said, "When the Sangha practised the *sāsanā* incorrectly, the *devatā* caused it to decline; but when the Sangha practised diligently and with perseverance, the *sāsanā* prospered and the *devatā* caused the leaves of the *bodhi* tree to be fragrant."

[The *devatā* went on to say] "If any monk is characterized by one of the following, he is not fit to receive the title of Rājaguru-rathapāla. These are: (1) acting as a go-between, (2) being ordained twice, (3) being deformed, (4) being a country bumpkin and not knowing the Triple Gem, (5) being a *caṇḍāla* [outcaste], (6) being the son of a female slave, (7) being accused of a *pārājika* offense, (8) behaving unsatisfactorily and being asked to leave the Sangha, (9) being ordained in the *uposatha* hall of Wat Pā Daeng, but not acting according to its procedures." [They added] "Because [of its correct procedures] the Siṅhala Order will be more esteemed than the Pupphārāma Order [Wat Suan Dòk]."

Somacitta Thera asked, "Why does the 'Mahā Bodhi Tree' divide into two and grow two *sqk* in two months? Is this because of the power of the *devatā*?" The *devaputta* answered, "It is due to the power of Cao Pathawī [the king] because he wants to be a future Buddha." Somacitta Thera then asked, "How far will the Siṅhala Order spread?" To which the *devaputta* replied, "Wherever these two *bodhi* trees spread, the *sāsanā* will follow. After 200 years it will begin to decline, and will continue to do so for three, four and five hundred years."

When the cock crowed, Somacitta got up and performed his morning toilet. At sunrise when the monks assembled to perform the morning service, Somacitta told everything to the monks that he had seen in his dream. At dusk Phrayā Dhammacūḷamaṇī prayed, "I wish to be a future Buddha. If my wish is to be fulfilled may the *devatā* make this precious stone into a Buddha image and a Buddha footprint, and present it to me." That night near dawn he dreamed about a handsome man who came and stood before him saying, "O King, you wish to have a stone footprint to guard over the *preta* north of the city, and a Buddha image to put in front of the golden hall (*hō kham*) in the city. Put the Buddha image at Wat Pā Daeng and then depart."

Toward dusk that day a resident of Muang Fọng [Khọng ?] went to Muang Khon. When it was dark he arrived by river at Chiang Tung. [Since it was dark he decided] to sleep there. At daybreak he heard the sound of the mountain collapsing and stones falling into the river. The

people got up and went to have a look, and [were amazed] to see the stones floating on the water. They exclaimed, "These stones should not float but they do! What a miracle! We should tell the king!" They ate breakfast and then departed to tell the king. After hearing their story he thought of his dream and was delighted. He rewarded the two people [who had come] with 500 pieces of silver. The king then sent a retinue to take flowers as a supplication to persuade one of the stones to float nonstop to Chiang Fong. [After the stone reached Chiang Fong] they took it out on the sandy riverbank and found a stonecutter. He struck the stone twice, breaking it into two [or three] pieces. One was made into a Buddha's footprint, and the other into a Buddha image. In 15 days the stonecutter had finished both of them. The footprint was placed at *doi pet* north of the city, and the image was at the *hua yāng* in front of the palace in the southern part of the city, and was called *yāng phra hin*. On the full moon day of the seventh month of the year *kat sai*, C.S. 811 [B.E. 1992], the Buddha image was placed at Wat Pā Daeng Luang behind the image called Phra Cao Ton Luang.

All the kings for five generations from Phrayā Cet Phan Tū were not ordained. Phrayā Siridhammacūḷamanī was the first to be ordained. In the year *poëk san*, C.S. 970 [B.E. 2152] on Sunday, the tenth day of the waning moon of the fifth month, Somdet Phra Vara-agga Rājaguru, also called Mahā Varapañño, the head of the Sangha [i.e. all who were ordained at Mahā Rattārāmaṇvāsī or Wat Pā Daeng] set forth regulations for the improvement of the *sāsanā* in the future. All monks were to be learned in the *tipiṭaka* and practise the Buddha's teachings accordingly; they were to have complete faith in the teachings; and [were to follow the proper ordination procedures].

After the *sāsanā* of the Pā Daeng Order in Chiang Mai, together with Buddha images and the *tipiṭaka*, reached Chiang Tung in the year *kāp cai*, C.S. 806 [B.E. 1987], it prospered there for 33 years. In the year *rawai san*, C.S. 838 [B.E. 2019], Phrayā Ādita the son of Phrayā Āi Lao Kham ruled Muang Thaen for two years. At that time monks at Wat Yāng Kuang criticized the monks of Wat Pā Daeng. They claimed that the teacher [of the Pā Daeng group] brought a *preṭa*

called Āi Bhud to the *hə kham*, and that later the Pā Daeng monks performed a secret chant (*mon īvāk*) and made medicine of *preta* oil. Āi Bhud came and put it on the king so he would like (*hum*) the *preta*. This rumor was spread throughout the city, and was debated between the monks of Wat Pā Daeng and the monks of other *wats* such as : Khrū Bā Sāi of Wat Phra Mai and Khrū Chiang Mom, Khrū Wat Saen Thong and Khrū Wat Thāwī, Khrū Wat Pāya and Khrū Hua Yāng. They requested Phrayā Ādita to preside over the debate and for his ministers to listen.

On the twelfth day of the waxing moon of the fourth month, all the monks from the two groups assembled together in the *vihāra* of Wat Mai. Khrū Bā Sang [Sai ?] [of the Pā Daeng tradition] arrived late. The Phra Khrū of Wat Yāng Kuang asked, "Why did you come so late?" The Phra Khrū of Wat Pā Sāi asked, "What is the meaning of late [*lā*]?" The Phra Khrū of Wat Yāng Kuang said, "Sit down first." The Phra Khrū of Wat Pā Sāi said, "Answer. Then I'll sit down." The Phra Khrū of Wat Yāng Kuang could not answer the question. Then the Phra Khrū of Wat Pā Sāi sat down and then asked the abbot [of Wat Yāng Kuang], "What does the word 'sit' mean?" Again, the Phra Khrū of Wat Yāng Kuang could not answer, and got red in the face and perspired. The Khrū of Wat Pā Sāi then explained the meaning of these words in the hearing of the entire gathering, and they all knew that the Phra Khrū of Wat Pā Sāi was able to answer all the questions satisfactorily. Then the court musicians played and the royal company expressed their joy by exclaiming, "*Sādhu! Sādhu! Sādhu!*"

The monks of Wat Yāng Kuang were very angry with the Phra Khrū from their *wat*. They took betel nut from their mouths and threw it at him, and all of them left carrying their scriptures away from the *vihāra*. The monks of Wat Pā Daeng said, "There is still much to consider. Stay." But they did not listen and threw more betel at them.

In the year *muang maw*, C.S. 869 [B.E. 2050], the monks of Wat Yāng Kuang came and preached the Vessantara Jātaka at Wat Chiang Yün. They quarreled with the monks of Wat Yāng Kham of the Pā Daeng Order, and attacked their teacher: "Ñāṇagambhīra went against

his *uppajjhāya*. The king of Chiang Mai expelled him from the city. He went to Lankā and then returned and brought about a schism in the Sangha. You should not be so foolish!!" This accusation continued to spread. The Wat Pā Daeng monks did not like this. They requested Phrayā Ādita to call the Sangha together to consider the matter. In that year the king had ruled for 46 years. He invited all the monks to assemble at Wat Hua Khuang. Monks from both sides came. High-ranking officials such as the Lām Khaek (interpreter) were present [to consider the matter].

[When the meeting opened] the Mūn Khaek said to the Sangha, "What will you bring as evidence?" The Yāng Kuang monks then spoke [bringing the charge against Nāṇagambhīra]. The Mahā Sangharāja of Wat Phra Singh said, "There is a precedent for this sort of case. Once the people of Hong Sāwadi were heretics and threw away the Buddha's image. Nāṅ Subhadrā, who had strong faith, took the image home, and anointing it with water made an offering of cloth and flowers. The king was very angry. He sent his people to take her in front of his residence to have a mad elephant trample and gore her to death. [As the elephant was about to attack] Nāṅ Subhadrā reflected on the Buddha and the Buddha image, so that the elephant did not harm her. Seeing this, the king was so amazed that he had her set free, and asked how she was able to [keep the elephant from attacking her]. She then described the great virtues of the Buddha.

"The king had only heard [from the heretics] that Sañjaya and Puñṇaka were *samaṇas* and *arahantas*. [As a result] he asked her three times to explain about [the virtues of the Buddha]. She insisted that Gotama was the savior of the world. The king then had the name of Gotama written [on one palm leaf] and the names of the heretics [on another]. Both sides prayed, and then the palm leaves were thrown into a fire. The fire did not burn [the palm leaf] on which the Buddha's name was written, but the other palm leaf was destroyed. The king was delighted with the power of the Buddha's image. Later he made Subhadrā his queen."

[The king continued,] "Suppose Ñāṇagambhīra is not righteous because he has held himself superior to his teacher, and brought dissention to the *sāsanā*; then the palm leaf with his name will be burned. But if his own teacher, Somdet Rājamulī Dhammakitti of Chiang Mai, is not as good as his disciple, then his palm leaf will be burned up. Let us decide in this manner. Do you agree?"

The legal authorities [Mün Khaek and the Thāo Khun] agreed, and approached Phrayā Ādita for his assent [to begin the proceedings]. The entire Sangha also agreed, and wrote the names of Khrū Somdet of Chiang Mai and Ñāṇagambhīra on palm leaves. The Lām Khaek and Rāja-Pāṇḍit prayed to the *devatā* of the city and the protectors of the *sāsanā*, and paid respects to Indra and Brahma. They made two fires and then threw [the two palm leaves] into them. The name of the teacher of the Suan Dṛk tradition was destroyed, but the name of Mahā Ñāṇagambhīra, his pupil, was not burned. After it [the palm leaf] was taken out, the king's followers struck up music expressing their joy. The monks of the Pā Daeng Order thus defeated the monks of Wat Yāng Kuang a second time. The monks of the Pā Daeng tradition then asked the Phrayā to create one Order so that the monks of Yāng Kuang could not bring about dissention in the future. Phrayā Ādita ordered the monks of Yāng Kuang to ask forgiveness from the monks of Wat Pā Daeng. Everything was then arranged at Wat Pā Daeng for them to live harmoniously.

In the year *poek sī*, during *vassā*, the monks of Wat Yāng Kuang did not go to pay respects to the senior Thera. After *vassā* Somdet Indavijaya [reported this to the king] and asked him again to make one Order. Phrayā Ādita was angry with the Yāng Kuang monks because they did not follow his instructions. Therefore, he ordered all of them to be reordained. Ñāṇauttara and the other monks of the Yāng Kuang group wanted to be reordained at Wat Pā Daeng, Chiang Mai. The monks of Wat Pā Daeng [Chiang Tung] agreed. Then the abbot of Wat Pā Ya and 72 other monks left Chiang Tung, and arrived in Chae Sak [Phrāo?]. There he became ill and died. After his cremation his followers went back to Chiang Tung.

The monks of Yāng Kuang went to Chiang Mai to observe *vassā* in C.S. 871 [B.E. 2052]. The Pā Daeng monks [of Chiang Tung] also went there. After *vassā* they returned to Chiang Tung and went to pay a visit to Phrayā Ādita who invited them to stay there. In the third lunar month, Phrayā Muang Kaew of Chiang Mai sent a message to Phrayā Ādita: "Chiang Mai supports the monks of both Orders. Don't bring about a deterioration of the *sāsanā* of the Buddha. You should support the two groups. The Pā Daeng monks should forgive and the monks of Yāng Kuang should follow the instructions[laid down earlier]." The Phrayā of Chiang Tung invited the Yāng Kuang group to join Wat Pā Daeng, which they were willing to do.

In the year *kat sai*, C.S. 871 [B.E. 2052], the dispute was settled. From that time on the religion prospered greatly. It spread to seven Hṛ [Chinese Muslim] towns west of the Khong River within 15 [45?] days of Chiang Tung—Muang Laem Hṛ Kham, Muang Ming, Muang King Mā, Muang Maen Nāo, Muang Ting Chiang Tung, Muang Khaeng Khā, Muang Wan. [Men from] Muang Ya, Muang Kā, and Muang Phāng came to be ordained and study the Pāli language. Later they took the *sāsanā*, Buddha images, the *dharmma-piṭaka*, and established the Sangha in every town. As regards heretics, the monks attacked their teachings and the *sāsanā* [of the Wat Pā Daeng tradition] was spread systematically far and wide.

The kings who supported the Wat Pā Daeng tradition in Chiang Tung

Now we will speak about the rulers of Chiang Tung who continuously supported the Siṅhalarattārāma.

In the year *kat met*, C.S. 801 [B.E. 1982], Phrayā Sirīdhammacūḷāmanī began his 13-year reign, dying in the year *ruang met*.

In the year *tao san*, C.S. 814 [B.E. 1995], Phrayā Āi Tao Kham began his 23-year reign, dying in the year *kāp sangā*.

In the year *dap met*, C.S. 837 [B.E. 2018], Phrayā Ādita began his 45-year reign, dying in the year *kat maw*.

In the year *kat mao*, C.S. 881 [B.E. 2062], Phrayā Cōm Sak began his reign and was killed in the year *ruang sai*, C.S. 883 [B.E. 2064].

Phrayā Sōi Kham ruled in the year *tao sangā*. In the year *kā met* he offered *kāthin* robes to the monks of Wat Pā Daeng. The Khun Fūn Hae residing near the city gate of Pā Daeng fled to Bō Roeng, and he was killed there.

Phrayā Toek ruled for one month, and fled to Muang Lāo [Vientiane]. The people went together to invite Phrayā Hin, the son of Phrayā Sōi Kham [to rule the city]. He came in the year *dap rao*.

The Mahānāyaka of the Sīnhalarattārāma were as follows: Somacitta, Khemamaṅgala, Brahmaṇḍa, Indavijā, Nāṇamaṅgala, up to Wai Hō Saen Sayu who was named Dhammamaṅgala. There were 28 altogether. After that from Mahāpuṇṇavāntā to Vāymān there were 29 monks. From that time the [Mahānāyaka have been] Maṇḍānamāṅgala, Ariṭṭho, Suvaṇṇa, Candraṅsi, Khantikalamegha, Mahānāgo, Sirināma, Maṅgalarammati, Indo, Varamāṅgala, Jeyjavajira, Mahānāma, Sīridhamma.

O sages, endowed with virtue and wisdom, who seek the righteous way of knowledge, consider and read carefully, memorize orally and by heart, write down and practise for the continuation [of the tradition] the Mūlasāsanā brought from Rohana by Nāṇagambhīra, so that the religion will not be endangered and deteriorate. Care for it so it will finally remain for 5,000 years. The description of the Mūlasāsanā of Lampāng, Chiang Mai, and Chiang Tung is finished.

This *tamṇān* must be placed in every *wat* so everyone will know the teaching of the Buddha. If monks study this teaching earnestly, they will be gifted with long life and good complexion, respected and worshipped by human beings as well as *devatā*. The monk who is ordained in the *sāsanā* of Nāṇagambhīra, a Sīnhalarattārāma Order, and does not practise seriously, will become indolent and will not prosper. He will deteriorate and will meet with danger at all times. Even if he practises *mettā-bhāvanā* he will not be able to attain *jñānasam-patti* and sublime concentration. Even if he attains concentration, it will be minimal and momentary. Therefore, I who have religious knowledge have spoken these words to the monks of future generations.