

EPIGRAPHIC AND HISTORICAL STUDIES NO. 18
THE INSCRIPTION OF VẮT JYAÑ HMĂN
(Wat Chieng Man)

by

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Introduction

Inscription No. 76 (figs. 1, 2), preserved at Vắt Jyañ Hmăn¹ (*Wat Chieng Man*) in the northeastern quarter of the walled city of *Chieng Mai* (Jyañ Hmăi²), is engraved on both sides of a stone slab 51 centimeters in width at the widest point, and 1.18 meters in height from the top of the stone to the bottom of the last line of writing on face I. The text is in *Tai*; like many Lān Nā stone inscriptions in that language, it is written in the monumental script derived from Sukhodaya, and the form of the letters is elegant. For the most part the writing is in good condition.

The inscription was presumably engraved and erected in Culasakarāja (CS) 943 (1581 A.D.), the date of the last events recorded in it³. Judging from its contents, it was originally set up at Vắt Jyañ Hmăn, though we have no means of knowing whether it has been there ever since, or whether it was at one time removed to some other place and later returned to Vắt Jyañ Hmăn.

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1. The name is written ขยงหมั่น (jyañ hman²) in the inscription; the modern spelling is เชียงมัน (jiañ măn).
2. The name is written ขยงไหม (jyañ hmai) in the inscription; the modern spelling is เชียงใหม่ (jiañ hmăi). By 'the walled city' we mean the area, approximately 1,700 meters square, which is surrounded by a moat and the remains of a brick wall built by Cau Kavila in the late eighteenth century (superseding an earlier wall and moat that enclosed a much larger area).
3. When our sources give a date in Culasakarāja without specifying the month, we transpose it into the Christian era by adding 638, which may in some cases give a result that is wrong by one year.

The main text is preceded by an historical retrospect in two parts.

The first part (I/1-6) tells how the city of *Chieng Mai* and the monastery of *Jyañ Hmăñ* were founded by *Brañā Măñ Rāy* (*Mang Răi*, King of *Lān Nā*), accompanied by *Brañā Nām Mōañ* (*Ngam Müang*, King of *Payao*), and *Brañā Rvañ* (i.e. *Rāma Gāmhên*, King of *Sukhodaya*). They were residing, it seems, in a sleeping pavilion built for them on the *jayabhūmi* that had been chosen for the Royal Palace; *jayabhūmi*, literally 'place of victory', is a technical term meaning a site that has been adjudged favorable by geomancy or by omens. At the auspicious moment, on a day corresponding to Thursday, 12 April 1296 A.D. (Julian calendar), at about 4 a.m.⁴, they started building the moats and the triple walls that were to surround the city, and erecting a *cetiya* (in this context, an architectural monument dedicated to the Buddhist religion) on the exact site of the pavilion; and the land around it was afterwards made into a monastery which was henceforth known as *Văt Jyañ Hmăñ*.

It may be instructive to compare this information with the accounts of the founding of *Chieng Mai*, and of the events that preceded its founding, as given in *Jinakālamālī* and the *Chieng Mai Chronicle*.

According to *Jinakālamālī*, whose dates for events at *Chieng Mai* are usually considered trustworthy, *Măñ Rāy* contracted a firm treaty of alliance with *Brañā Nām Mōañ* and *Brañā Rvañ* in 1287. He was already ruler of the principality of *Jyañ Rāy* (*Chieng Răi*) and a large part of *Lān Nā*; but before he could become suzerain over the whole of northern Siam he would have to overcome *Haripuñjaya* [modern *Lāmbūn* (*Lampūn*), 25 kilometers south of *Chieng Mai*], for the little kingdom of which it was the capital was still independent under a *Mòn* dynasty. In 1288 he began his preparations to conquer *Haripuñjaya*; in 1292 he took the city, putting its ruler to flight; and in 1296 he founded his new capital at *Chieng Mai*⁵.

4. We are indebted to Mr. Roger Billard of the *Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient* for examining the dates in this paper and calculating their equivalents in the Julian calendar.

5. See Coedès's translation, *BEFEO* XXV/1, p. 87 ff. In our summary, for the reader's convenience, we have transposed several proper names (which *Jinakālamālī* gives in Palicized form) into the form used elsewhere in this paper.

The *Chiang Mai Chronicle* tells much the same story, but with a lot more detail and a different chronology. Its account may be summed up as follows. In 1274 Măn Rāy, while still residing at Jyān Rāy, began preparing to conquer Haripuñjaya. In 1276 he started to launch an attack on Payao, but changed his mind and made an alliance with its ruler, Nām Mōaṅ. Braṇā Rvaṅ (Rāma Gāṃhēṅ) was a great friend of Nām Mōaṅ until he had an illicit affair with one of Nām Mōaṅ's wives, after which Nām Mōaṅ caught him and put him in prison. Instead of executing Braṇā Rvaṅ, however, Nām Mōaṅ asked Măn Rāy to arbitrate the case. Măn Rāy persuaded Braṇā Rvaṅ to apologize and pay Nām Mōaṅ damages of 990,000 cowries. The three rulers then made a solemn treaty of alliance (no date is given, but the account of the alliance is inserted between the events of 1276 and 1281). In 1281 Măn Rāy conquered Haripuñjaya, put its ruler to flight, and mounted the throne. In 1283, leaving Haripuñjaya in charge of an official, he went to found a new capital, Jyān Lī, diverting a river to pass through it to supply water; but the river caused serious floods in the rainy season. In 1286 he founded another new capital at Kum Kām (now in the southern outskirts of Chiang Mai). In 1291 he started looking for an auspicious place to build a capital that would prove completely satisfactory. The following year, continuing his search, he saw a series of favorable omens that indicated the exact location of the jayabhūmi he was looking for. He set up a camp in the northeast portion of the jayabhūmi, and went to live there on a day corresponding to Thursday, 27 March 1292 (Julian), at about 4.30 a.m. Having decided to build a large city with the jayabhūmi in its center⁶, he invited his friends Braṇā Nām Mōaṅ and Braṇā Rvaṅ to come and discuss the project with him; and the three of them built a pavilion to serve as a meeting-place near the jayabhūmi. They discussed the size and plan of the city that was about to be founded; they reviewed the geomantic advantages of the site; and they observed further good

6. According to the inscription, Vắt Jyān Hmăn stands on the site of the jayabhūmi. Vắt Jyān Hmăn, however, is not in the center of the present city, whose walls were built in the late eighteenth century, but near the remains of its north wall. The city Măn Rāy built probably extended farther north than the present walled city, but not so far south.

omens. They paced off the four sides of the area for the city, deciding where to locate the moats, walls and gates. They made ritual offerings to the tutelary divinities of the jayabhūmi and the five gates. A quantity of craftsmen and laborers were gathered to build Mǎn Rāy's palace at the jayabhūmi, to dig the city moats, and to build the city walls. Finally on a day corresponding to Thursday, 19 April 1296 (Julian), just before dawn, all the works were undertaken at the same moment. It took four months to complete them⁷.

7. CMC/N, 23-25, 29-45, 54-61; CMC/HC, III/2, 138 ff. and III/3, 75-77, 82-87. While the date given in our inscription for the founding of the city of Chieng Mai corresponds to 12 April 1296 (Julian), the date given in the Chieng Mai Chronicle (CMC/N, p. 60; CMC/HC, III/3, p. 86) and the Yonaka History (p. 166) is exactly one week later, corresponding to 19 April 1296. This was the full-moon day of Visākha, the day of the great Buddhist festival of Visākhā-pūjā. Perhaps the ceremonies connected with founding the city lasted a week; and tradition may later have confused the date of their beginning with that of their conclusion. With one exception (the Mañrāyavinicchaya; see JSS 65/1, p. 147), all the sources we have consulted give the same year, CS 658 (1296 A.D.), for the founding of the city, though Jinakālamālī omits the month and day. In recording the founding of the city, none of our sources except the inscription mentions the founding of Vāt Jyañ Hmǎn: the omission is particularly surprising for Jinakālamālī, the author of which is usually so careful to note all important benefactions to religion at Chieng Mai.

For the most part Jinakālamālī's chronology seems preferable to that of the Chieng Mai Chronicle. If we were to accept the latter's dates, it would be hard to see why Mǎn Rāy, after conquering Haripuñjaya in 1281, should wait 15 years before founding Chieng Mai (cf. Coedès in BEFEO XXV/1, p. 89 note 6, continued from the preceding page). Jinakālamālī, which says nothing about Jyañ Lī or the discovery of the jayabhūmi, says he founded Kumāmanagara in 1303 and built a cetiya there containing 60 statues of the Buddha; Kumāmanagara is generally, and in our opinion rightly, identified with Kum Kām, and the monument with the Cetiya Sī Hliam (which can still be seen at Kum Kām, though much altered by a restoration in the early twentieth century); but as there would certainly be no reason for Mǎn Rāy to build a capital there seven years after founding Chieng Mai, we may conclude that 1303 is the wrong date for the founding of Kum Kām, but very likely the right date for the building, or rebuilding, of the cetiya. The dates when Mǎn Rāy founded Jyañ Lī and Kum Kām, and when he discovered the jayabhūmi on the site of Jyañ Hmǎn village, remain uncertain.

We now return to our inscription. The second part of the historical retrospect, at I/6-8, is a brief statement that King Tilakarāja rebuilt the cetiya in [CS] 833 (1471 A.D.). This monarch, whose title is usually written Tilokarāja, ruled over Lān Nā from 1441 to 1487. The statement means that he 'encased' the old cetiya: the usual practice, when a particularly venerated monument needs major repairs and someone wants to make it larger and more splendid, is to allow it to remain standing (being too sacred to demolish), and to build a new monument encasing it. The new monument, though it hides the old one completely, and though its architecture may be different, is regarded as identical to it.

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Before discussing the main text of the inscription, it will be useful to recall certain events that occurred in the sixteenth century A.D.

In 1533 the apparition of an unusually bright meteor in the sky foreshadowed trouble for Lān Nā. In 1538 a group of nobles deposed King Mōaṅ Kesa and gave the throne to his son. The latter governed the country so badly that a rebellion broke out in 1543, in which he was killed. Mōaṅ Kesa was restored, but his mind had given way. In 1545 an official called Sèn Grāv (in some accounts Sèn Tāv) procured his assassination. With him the male line of Mǎñ Rāy's son Jayasaṅgrāma, which had ruled over Lān Nā since Mǎñ Rāy's death in 1311, became extinct.

Sèn Grāv offered the throne to Prince Mè Ku (Mekuṭi) of the Shan state of Mōaṅ Nāy (Monè), who was descended from another of Mǎñ Rāy's sons. Meanwhile a rival group of nobles met at Jyañ Sèn (*Chieng Sèn*) and sent word to ask the King of Lān Jāñ (Laos) to accept the throne of Lān Nā for his son, Prince Jayajetṭha (Braṇā Upayo), whose mother was a daughter of King Mōaṅ Kesa. When the King of Lān Jāñ agreed, the nobles came down from Jyañ Sèn, took the city of Chieng Mai, and executed Sèn Grāv and his chief adherents. Pending Jayajetṭha's arrival they installed a Chieng Mai princess, Lady Ciraprabhā, as regent.

Soon after her coronation, many of the religious monuments in Chieng Mai were badly damaged by an earthquake, including the Mahācetiya Hlvañ which at that time was regarded as the magical center of the kingdom. Lān Nā was invaded by a Shan army from Möaṅ Nāy, presumably for the purpose of putting Mè Ku on the throne, but they were defeated and withdrew.

In 1546 Jayajettha reached Chieng Mai. After doing homage to the 'Emerald' Buddha and the Mahācetiya Hlvañ, he was crowned King of Lān Nā. The next year, however, he hurried home to fight his younger brother, who had seized the throne of Lān Jāñ on the sudden death of their father. His departure was followed by fighting among rival groups of leaders in Lān Nā. In 1551 he sent word to Chieng Mai that as he had to remain in Lān Jāñ he was returning the throne of Lān Nā to Lady Cirapabhā.

In the same year, at the invitation of the Chieng Mai nobles, Prince Mè Ku of Möaṅ Nāy mounted the throne of Lān Nā. Sporadic fighting, however, continued in the country between rival forces from the Shan States and from Lān Jāñ. One day in 1556 Mè Ku saw an evil omen: a huge cloud in the sky in the form of a dragon moving toward the west, and the planet Jupiter moving northward leaving a trail of fiery smoke.

At this time the Burmese king Bureng Nòng (Bayinnaung, r. 1551-81), who had his capital at Hamsāvati (Pegu), was engaged in a campaign to subdue the Shan States. In 1557 he received the submission of Mè Ku's brother, the ruler of Möaṅ Nāy. The following year he led an army to Chieng Mai and invited Mè Ku 'to come and sit on the same seat as himself to make the people and the country happy'. He then besieged the city; and three days later, on Saturday, 2 April 1558 (Julian) he received its surrender. Instead of deposing Mè Ku, he crowned him as his vassal, referring to him as his younger brother who belonged to the dynasty of King Mǎñ Rāy the Great.

Bureng Nòng, who was much more powerful than any previous king of Burma for several centuries, twice conquered the city of Ayudhyā, first in 1564 and again in 1569. In 1564, hearing that Mè Ku had been plotting to revolt, Bureng Nòng removed him and took him

to Haṃsāvātī, leaving Lady Visuddhadevī (apparently the same person as Lady Ciraprabhā) to rule Lān Nā as his vassal. She died on Tuesday, 11 November 1578 (Julian). Bureng Nòng then appointed one of his own sons, Tharawadi Min (Naradhā Cau) as viceroy of Lān Nā. Bureng Nòng died in 1581. Tharawadi Min continued as viceroy until his death in 1607; for the last nine years of his reign he was a vassal of Ayudhya⁸.

* * *

The main text of our inscription begins at I/8, with the statement that in CS 920 (1558 A.D.), when Chieng Mai had become part of the realm of King Mahādharmikarājādhirāja (i.e. Bureng Nòng), the suzerain sent a valuable present to an official at Chieng Mai, instructing him to rebuild Vắt Jyañ Hmăn. No action was taken until 1571, when the cetiya was 'encased' for the second time⁹; and several other structures were erected, including a vihāra, an uposatha hall, and a library for the scriptures. The delay in complying with Bureng Nòng's wishes may have been caused in part by difficulties connected with Mè Ku's removal and his replacement by Lady Visuddhadevī in 1564.

The final series of benefactions recorded in the inscription took place in 1581, three years after Tharawadi Min had assumed office as viceroy upon the death of Lady Visuddhadevī. A large quantity of gold and silver was donated to the monastery, as well as lands and

8. This account of events in Lān Nā in the sixteenth century is mainly taken from the Chieng Mai Chronicle (CMC/N, 153-173; CMC/HC, IV/1, pp. 86-96), the Yonaka History (pp. 283-309), and Wood, *History of Siam* (Bangkok, 1933; pp. 103-106, 116 [and note 1], 117, 120, 130, 134, 135, 151, 165). There are some discrepancies between these accounts, which need not concern us here. For an inscribed statue of the Buddha cast in 1565, the year after Mè Ku was replaced by Lady Visuddhadevī, see Griswold, *Dated Buddha Images of Northern Siam* (Ascona, 1959; pl. XLVI and pp. 59, 92, 93).

9. We do not know what architectural form the cetiya had originally. The encasements of 1471 and 1571 may have introduced radical alterations; and so may later reconstructions, notably when Chieng Mai was reoccupied by the Tai in the late eighteenth century, after having been deserted for over ten years. The cetiya has been repaired several times since then.

villages; a great many persons were dedicated to it as monastery slaves; and the merit of the donation was transferred to 'His Highness Prince Varorasādhirāja', the viceroy (I/14-21)¹⁰. The remainder of the inscription (I/21-34, II/1-36) gives a list of the persons presented to the monastery as slaves.

* * *

On 30 December 1886, according to the *Mission Pavie*, Auguste Pavie took rubbings of the inscription, which was located in Vāt Jyañ Hmān 'in the precinct of the [royal] palace of Chieng Mai'¹¹. It was published in the *Mission Pavie* in 1898, together with the rubbings, and a Romanized transcription and French translation by Père Schmitt¹². Père Schmitt's transcription and translation, it must be confessed, are not very good; and the historical conclusions he drew from the text must be completely disregarded. A better translation of the passage regarding the foundation of Chieng Mai and the monastery (I/3-6) was published in 1925 by the late Professor George Coedès (BEFEO XXV/1, p. 89, note 1). A transcription of the whole inscription into modern Siamese letters, with glosses and a parallel version in modernized spelling, by the late Mahā Chām Dòṅgāmvarṇa, was also published (*Prajum Śīlācārik*, vol. III).

In preparing the following transcription we have collated the printed version of Mahā Chām's transcription¹³ with the rubbings illustrated in *Mission Pavie*, and with rubbings made in 1973 by the Department of Fine Arts (figs. 1a, b, c, d). Apart from a few false readings, Mahā Chām's work is excellent, but is marred by a large number of misprints (mostly affecting matters of spelling, of no great importance). The rubbings illustrated in *Mission Pavie* (figs. 2a, b, c, d, e, f, g) are on the whole well done; and though a few parts of them were misleadingly retouched with white ink before publication, they can

10. As Bureng Nong died in 1581, we might have expected the merit of the donation to be transferred to him, but he is not mentioned at all in this part of the inscription.

11. *Mission Pavie, Etudes diverses*, II, Paris, 1898, p. 297.

12. *ibid.*, pp. 297-324.

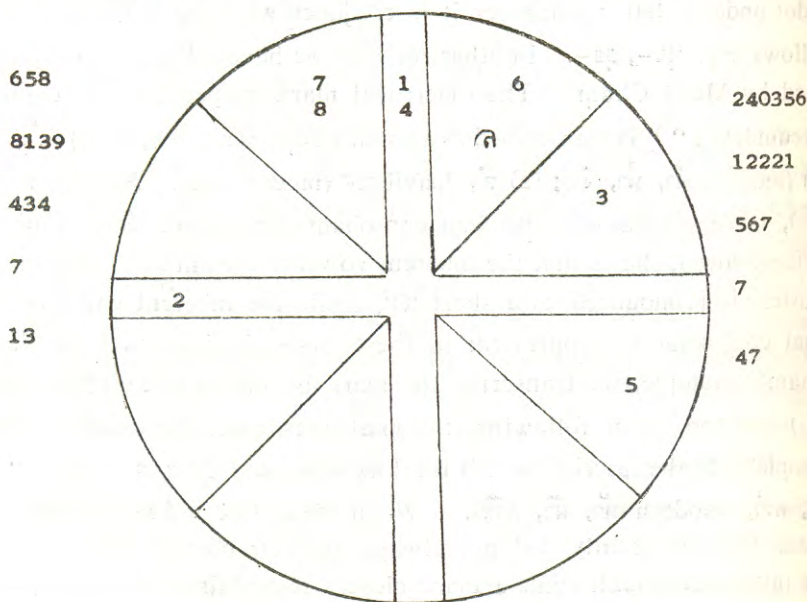
13. See *Prajum Śīlācārik*; vol. III, p. 210 ff.

supply useful clues — if used with care — to the reading in places where the stone has since deteriorated. Wherever possible, our reading is based on the rubbings supplied by the Department of Fine Arts.

In transcribing the text into modern Siamese letters, we have placed a dot under a letter whenever it is conjunct with the consonant that follows, e.g. *หม-*, *ข-*. In other respects we have followed the system used by Mahā Chām. The diacritical mark shaped like a rounded circumflex (^) is transcribed as a small circle, for example (1) *คั*, *นั*, *งั* (modern *คำ*, *น้ำ*, *งา*); (2) *ห*, 'pavilion' (modern *หอ*). Another mark ('), when placed over the final consonant of a syllable containing no written vowel, shows that the inherent vowel of the initial consonant (or cluster) is pronounced as a short 'O', while the inherent vowel of the final consonant is suppressed; in these cases, in imitation of Mahā Chām's example, we transcribe the mark by means of an apostrophe (') on top of, or following, the final consonant, for example *คั*, 'people'. In the inscription this mark is also used in words like *ห*, *ห*, *คร*, (modern *หัว*, *หัว*, *คร*). When the *mai-ek* and *mai-do* accents occur, they are usually, but not always, in their normal position over the initial consonant; while a mark closely resembling the *mai-do*, but in fact corresponding to the modern *mai-hăn-ākāśa*, may be placed over the final consonant of a syllable: we follow Mahā Chām in transcribing these marks as ('), (^), (~), according to their usage. We should add that the diacritical marks in this inscription are often difficult to distinguish from one another; but though in some cases we may have guessed wrong, the sense is not likely to be affected. A mark, written in the inscription as a small superscript circle surmounted by a short vertical line, is usually transcribed by Mahā Chām as [^]; we think, however, it stands for either [^] or [^], we are not sure which; and after some hesitation we have decided to transcribe it as [^], for example *น* (modern *หนัง*).

The diagram preceding the text (figs. 1a, b; 2a) is the horoscope of Vāt Jyaṇ Hmān, showing the position of the heavenly bodies at the

moment when the monastery (as well as the city) was founded¹⁴. According to Mahā Chām, the figures in the column to the left of the diagram represent, respectively, the śakarāja, the māsakeṇḍa, the avamāna, the tithī, and the nādī; while those to the right represent the haraguṇa, the kammacubala, the ucabala, the ṛkṣa, and the nadīṛkṣa.



14. We have assumed (p. 111) that the whole inscription was engraved in 1581. It may be objected that the diagram at the beginning shows the position of the heavenly bodies at the moment in 1296 when Vāt Jyañ Hmān was founded, rather than at the time of the benefactions it received in 1581; so at first glance it might be supposed the inscription was a kind of charter of the monastery, originally consisting of only the horoscope and the first $5\frac{1}{2}$ lines, dealing with its foundation in 1296, with the rest of the stone left blank so that the record of later benefactions might be entered on it from time to time. But on paleographic grounds no portion of the inscription can possibly be assigned a date anywhere near 1296; and we assume the horoscope is copied from an earlier record. The script is reasonably uniform throughout; and while the spelling is rather haphazard, no pattern of variation can be detected that could not better be explained by the habits of different scribes. Though we think it probable that the whole text was engraved in 1581, we do not necessarily mean it was all engraved at a single operation. Three punctuation marks, not counting the one at the beginning, occur in the text (II/12, II/30, II/32). They serve to separate four lists of slaves, all of whom, apparently, were donated in 1581. It is uncertain whether or not all four groups were donated on the same day.

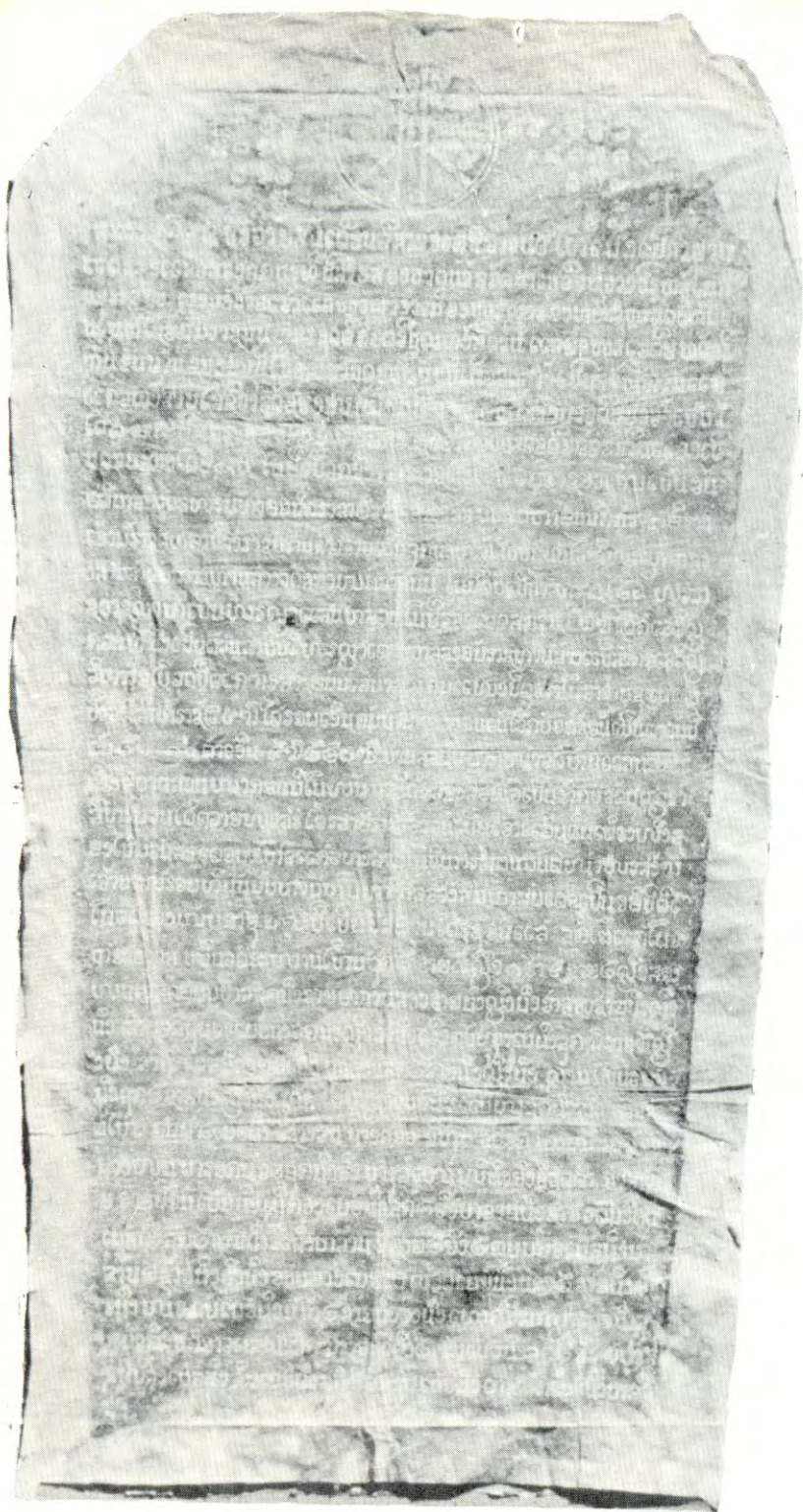


Figure 1a. The inscription of Vät Jyañ Hmăn, face I (photographed from a rubbing supplied by the Department of Fine Arts, Bangkok).

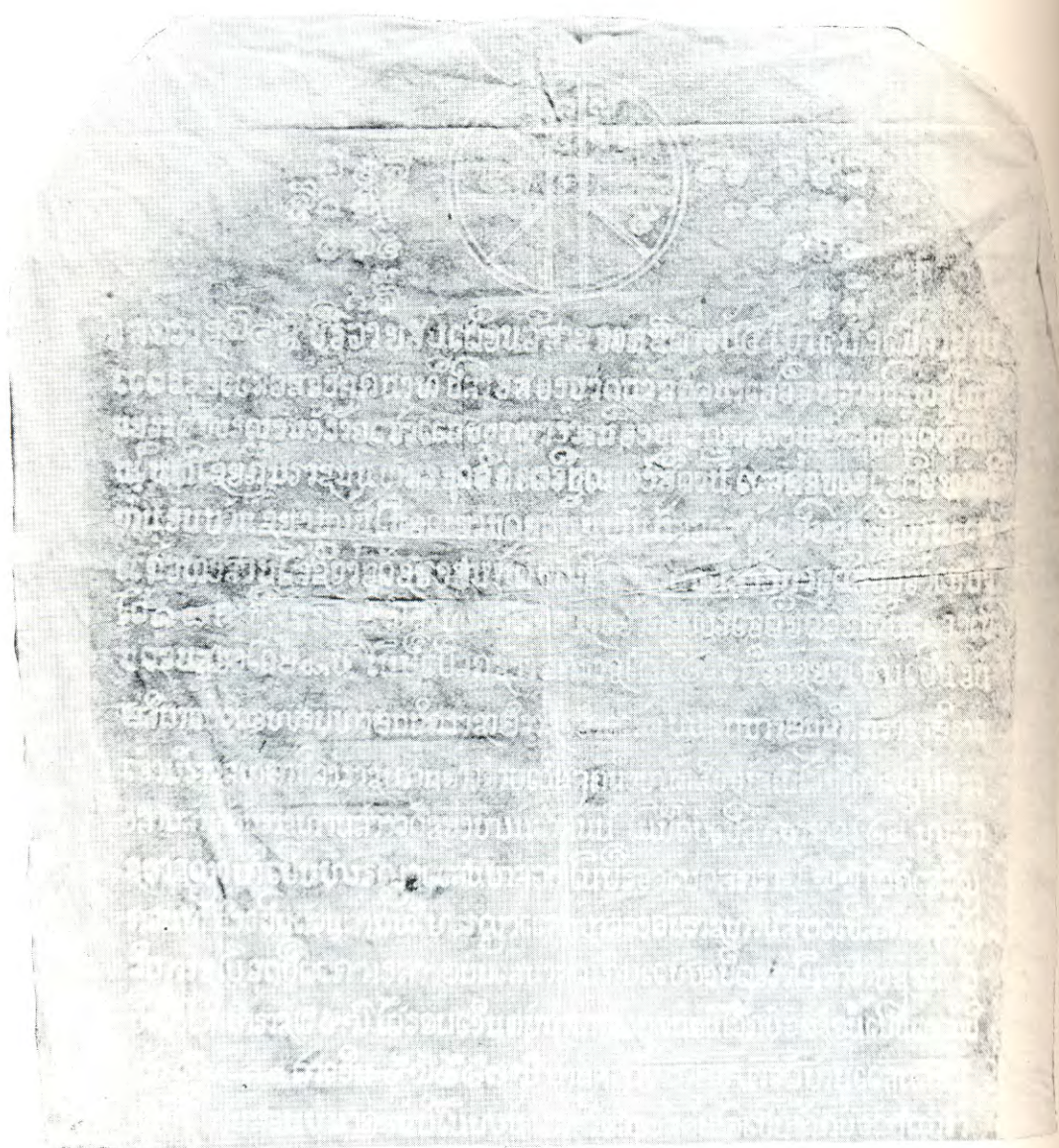


Figure 1b. Same inscription, detail of upper part of face I (photographed from the rubbing).

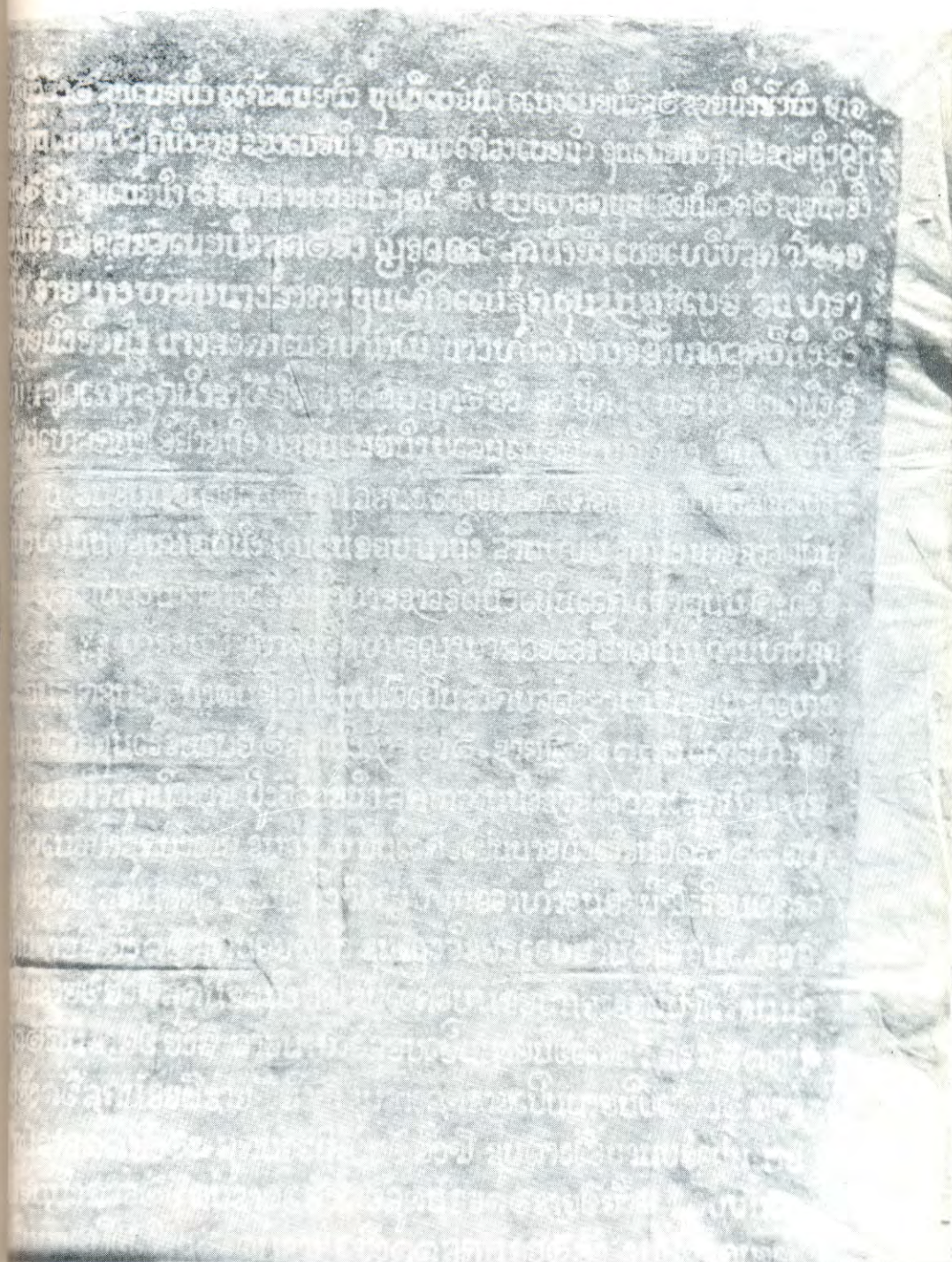


Figure 1c. Same inscription, upper part of face II (photographed from the rubbing).

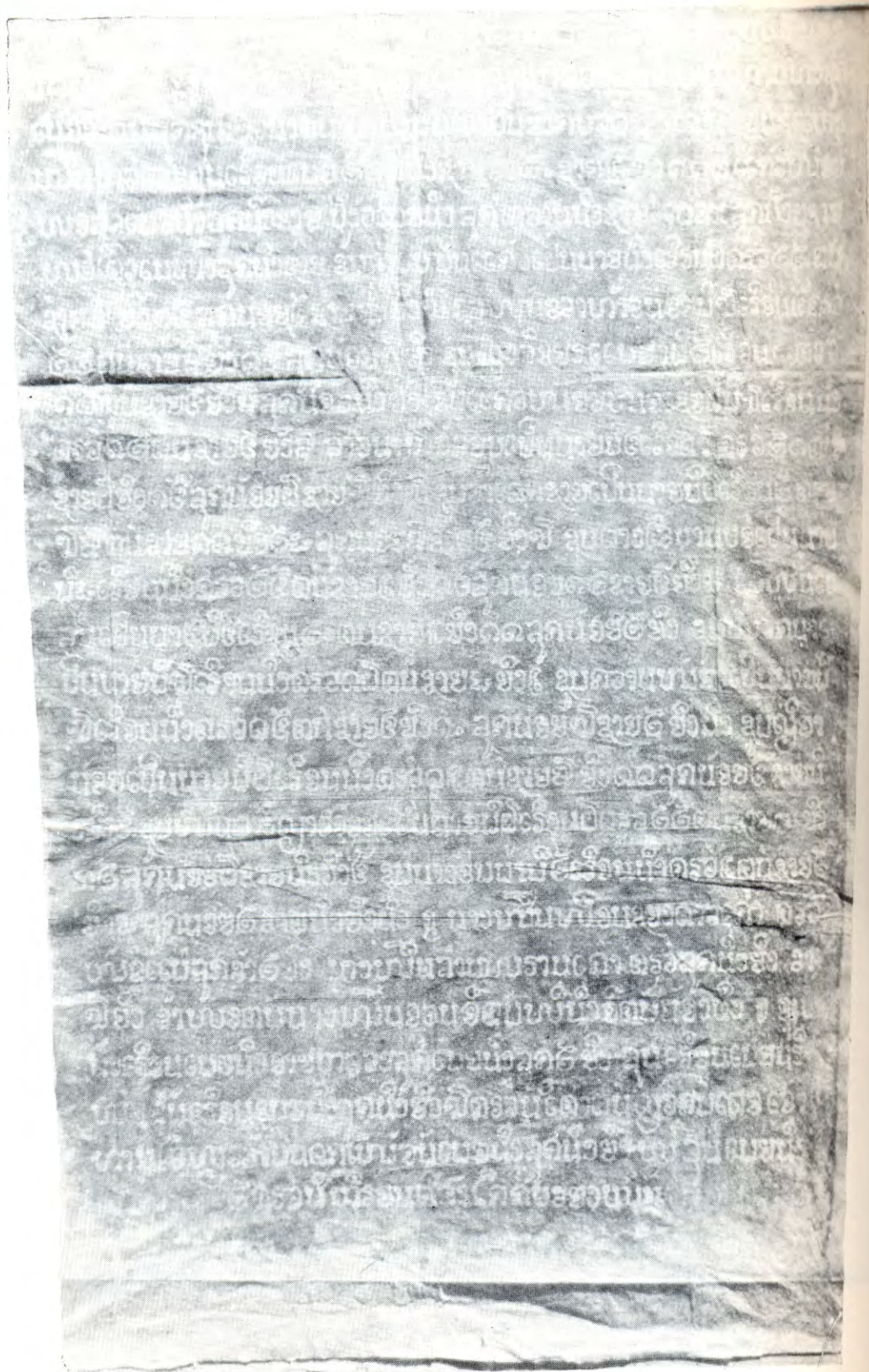


Figure 1d. Same inscription, lower part of face II (photographed from the rubbing).



Figure 2a. Same inscription, top of face I, showing the horoscope (after *Mission Pavie*; note that all the plates in *Mission Pavie* illustrating this inscription should be used with caution, as the rubbings from which they were made were somewhat touched up with white ink before publication).

ລານໄຮຂາຍນ້ຳອຳນ້ຳ ຈອນຍາວເບຍນ້ຳ ສູງອດເບຍນ້ຳນ້ຳໄຮຂາຍນ້ຳ
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ຕູ້ນ້ຳອຳນ້ຳ ບົດອາວເບຍນ້ຳລຸກປີຂາຍນ້ຳອຳນ້ຳ ອຳນ້ຳເບຍນ້ຳລຸກໄຮຂາຍນ້ຳ ບົດ
ເບຍນ້ຳລຸກເບຍນ້ຳ ອຳນ້ຳເບຍນ້ຳລຸກໄຮຂາຍນ້ຳ ອຳນ້ຳເບຍນ້ຳ ດາວດຣຳເບຍນ້ຳຫລ

Figure 2d. Same inscription, face I, lines 31-34 (after *Mission Pavie*).

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Figure 2e. Same inscription, face II, lines 1-14 (after *Mission Pavie*).

TEXT

Face I

๑. || สกราช ๖๕๘ ปี รวายนเดือนวิสาขออก ๘ ค่ำวัน ๕ ไทเมิงเปล้ายาม
๒. แตรรุ่งแล้วสองลูกนาที่ปลายสองบาทนวลักคณาเสวียนวางปรหัสในมี
๓. นยราศีพรณามังรายเจ้าแลพรณามังเมืองพรณาร่วงท่งสามต้นต่งห่อน
๔. นไนทียัยภูมราชมนัษยรชุกก็ก่อตริบุญท่งสี่ตานแลก่อพระเจดีย์ท่งสี่
๕. ห่อนบ้านชงหม่นในชณยามคยวนนัทนัลวตสร้างเปนวัดที่ทานแก่
๖. แก้วท่งสามไสชีว่าวตชงหม่นทับตันต่งแต่อนสร้างมาถึงปีร่วงเหมา
๗. ได้ ๑๗๕ ปีสกราช ๘๓๓ พรติลกราชเจ้าก่อพระเจดีย์ด้วยหินแลงเป
๘. นถ้วนสองได้ ๘๗ ปีในปีเปล็กซังสกราชได้ ๕๒๐ เมืองชงใหม่เปนชน
๙. ฐสีมาสมเด็จพรมหาธมมิกราชาธิราชเจ้าแล้วพรมหาธมมิกราชาธิราช
๑๐. เจ้ามีราชสทธาปลงราชทานอ่างบ่เงินลูกนิงหนักสี่พันนัมไว้ให้พรญา-
หลวง
๑๑. งสามล้านกัมราชทานสร้างวัดชงหม่นว่าฉนนี้ ในปีคัปปะแล้าสกราช ๕๒๗
พรวา
๑๒. ซอชญาที่เป็นพรญาแสนหลวงในปีร่วงเมตสกราช ๕๓๓ ได้ก่อเจดีย์
๑๓. กวมทีนิงเปนถ้วนสามทีพรญาแสนหลวงกัมราชทานสร้างแปลงก่อเจดีย์
๑๔. วิหารอุโบสถปิตตกขรสามมเสนาสนกมแพงปทุมข่งในอารามช่อน
เถิง
๑๕. ปีร่วงไสสกราช ๕๔๓ ได้รอมเงินกับบ้านสวนคู้น ๐๓ไว้กบัตช่อน
เปนตาคมมี

๑๖. คัม ๒๗๐๑๑ คาเงิน ๔๓๒๒๗๓ บานสวนหมากหน้าวัดบ้านแสนสอง

๑๗. บึงอยู่บานสวนหมากอนมีในพินาอีมือสองสวนไว้เป็นข้ากบักบุญญ-
รา

๑๘. สีหังฆวนได้ถวายพรว่าโอโรธาราชเจ้าตนเป็นเจ้าแผ่นดินเมืองพิษ

๑๙. ยงใหม่วันสรเจมาไหว้แก้วทั้งสามในวิหารของหมันค้ำน้ำพรสงฆ

๒๐. เจ้ามาพร้อมทีนนมีหมามหินหาทิจจวัสสมหาสมเด็จเป็นอธิปิ

๒๑. ในวัชของหมันอายุ ๗๓ ปีเป็นปรธานได้รู้ชู้อันแล้งก็ไผ่เกาะใน

๒๒. ห้องข้าวสัหมันวัชทรหานานโชนลูก ๒ ชาย ๑ ญิง ๑ ข้า ๔ ชาย ๒
ญิงสอง

๒๓. พนัโบสธรรมปาตลูกนิงชายหลานสองชายนิงญิงนิงชาสองชายนิงญิง

๒๔. นิง ล่ามวัดบุนวังเมย์นิงลูกนิงญิงข้านิงญิงคัมพาเม้นิงลูก ๓ ชาย ๒ ญิ

๒๕. นิง สากัร เมย์นิงลูก ๒ ญิง บัวตราลูก ๒ ชายนิงญิงนิง ญามักนั เมย์

๒๖. นิงลูก ๒ ชายนิงญิงนิง พลัปรหญาเมย์นิง แม่หมูลูกนิงญิง ช้อยข้า

๒๗. งใหม่ คัมม้าเมย์นิง อีข้างสน นางคยว อีทุม อีปอก นางหมื่นนุ้ย

๒๘. นางพนัรอกน้อยลูกนิงยิงหมูส่เห่นพินึงยิงชีสุตตา อ้ายสัว

๒๙. ย อ้ายป้อมเมย์นิง ญีกองเมย์นิงลูก ๒ ยิงหลานนิงชาย รัตมังกน

๓๐. เมย์นิงลูก ๒ ชายนิงยิงนิงหลาน ๔ ชาย ๒ ยิง ๒ คัมพ่อเมย์นิงห

๓๑. ลาน ๒ ชายนิงยิงนิง จอมผางเมย์นิง ญอตเมย์นิง น้อย ๒ ชายนิงยิ

๓๒. งนิง หุนอคมเมย์นิงน้อย ๒ ชายนิงยิงนิง เพกปรหญาเมย์นิงลู

๓๓. กนิงยิง บักอวเมย์นิงลูก ๓ ชายนิงยิง ๒ อุ่นเมย์นิงลูก ๒ ยิง พ่อ

๓๔. เพลิงเมย์นิง อิมเมย์นิงลูก ๒ ยิง อุ่นเมย์นิงตางครกเมย์นิงหล

Face II

๑. ๓ ๓ ชายหนึ่งยั้ง ๒ ลูกหนึ่ง แก้วหนึ่ง บุนมีหนึ่ง เมวหนึ่ง
ลูก ๒ ชายหนึ่งยั้ง ทอ
๒. นหนึ่ง อินหนึ่งลูกหนึ่งชาย ชงหนึ่ง กวานแก้วหนึ่ง อุ
นหนึ่งลูก ๒ ชายหนึ่ง
๓. หนึ่งหลาน ๒ ยั้ง ลูกหนึ่ง เรือนกลางหนึ่งลูกหนึ่งยั้ง ช่างเหล็กบุน
นหนึ่งลูก ๒ ชายหนึ่ง
๔. หนึ่ง ช่างพรหมคล้ายสหนึ่งลูก ๒ ยั้ง ญอตรังหนึ่งยั้ง เมย์เพิบลูก
๓ ชาย
๕. ๒ ยั้งหนึ่ง อ้ายนางทอม นางสงก้า บุนก้อแม่ลูก บุนช่นผัวเมย์ จันทรา
๖. ลูก ๒ ชายหนึ่งยั้งหนึ่ง นางสงก้าแม่หน้าไม้ นางพวกหม่อ อูบาตลูก
มีหนึ่ง
๗. นางหมื่นนวลเกาลูกหนึ่งซ้า ๔ ยั้ง ยอค์มัลลูก ๒ ยั้ง วังปูกางหนึ่ง
อ็อคมัลหนึ่ง อี
๘. ปานหนึ่ง บ่เหล็กหนึ่ง อีฝ่ายหนึ่ง บ่ชนนเมย์นี้ บ่เลมหนึ่ง บ่กมัลหนึ่ง
อีนางฟีน
๙. ต่ญางมาน ช่มจุมหนึ่งเต้าเมืองหุ่ญหนึ่งเต้าเมืองแก้วหนึ่งนายหุ่ญสี่คัลประ
๑๐. ญานึงพินน่อยหุ่ญคัมหนึ่ง พินน่อยหุ่ญหานึง ล่ามพินน่อยหนึ่ง นายชาว
คัม
๑๑. นนิงนายชาวทนหนึ่งนายชาวเวียงหนึ่งนายชาวรัตหนึ่งเปนแก่เค้าคนมี ๔๐
เรือ

๑๒. น ๑๐๒ ชาย || ห้องหมิ่นหว่เสื่อพรญาหลวงเจ้าอย่าทนมัทนัทนัท
 ๑๓. เมย์ข้าคนลูกขุนชาวาค่น้อยกับชู้หมุไว้เปนข้ากบัตชยงหมิ่นชู้คนชู้
 แห่ง
๑๔. หมิ่นหว่เสื่อขุนเรือนเมย์ ๒ ลูกหนึ่งชายข้า ๒๐ ชาย ๙ ยิง ๑๑ ค่แก้ว
 หนึ่ง
๑๕. พ่อสุตเมย์หนึ่งลูกหนึ่งชาย ปู่วเมย์หนึ่ง ลูกหลานหนึ่งชายแม่ฉางลูกหนึ่ง
 ชาย
๑๖. พ่อโศวเมย์หนึ่งลูกหนึ่งชาย ชุมล่ำหมิ่นแก้วเปนนายหนึ่งเรือน ๖ กรว
 ๒๒ คน
๑๗. ชาย ๘ ยิง ๑๔ ลูกน้อย ๕ ชายหนึ่งยิง ๓ ชุมพนัชาท้าวน้อยมี ๓ เรือน
 ๔ กรว
๑๘. ๒๒ คน ชาย ๘ ยิง ๑๔ ลูกน้อย ๓ ยิงชุมญาวิชัยรแม่สามี ๒ เรือน ๑
 กรว
๑๙. ๑๒ คน ชาย ๔ ยิง ๘ ลูกน้อยหนึ่งยิงชุมแก้วหุ่่น้อยหนองข้อมมี ๓ เรือน
 หนึ่ง
๒๐. กรว ๑๒ คน ชาย ๔ ยิง ๘ ลาวนาห่อลยบเปนนายมี ๔ เรือน ๓ กรว
 ๒๑ คน
๒๑. ชาย ๖ ยิง ๑๕ ลูกน้อย ๖ ชาย ๓ ยิง ๓ ชุมจำเตกชายเปนนายมี ๖
 เรือน ๒ กรว
๒๒. ๓๘ คน ชาย ๑๑ ยิง ๒๗ ลูกน้อย ๘ ชาย ๕ ยิง ๓ ชุมทางใจบานบ่อ
 เปนนาย

๒๓. มี ๗ เรือนหนึ่งครว ๒๔ คน ชาย ๙ ยิง ๑๕ ลูกน้อย ๑๒ ชาย ๕ ยิง ๗
ชุมพวัน
๒๔. สนเปนนายมี ๔ เรือน ๒๐ คน ชาย ๙ ยิง ๑๑ ลูกน้อย ๒ ยิง ชุม
พวกนา
๒๕. ปนนายมี ๓ เรือนหนึ่งครว ๑๖ คนชาย ๗ ยิง ๙ ชุมควานหมัยงเปนนาย
มี
๒๖. ๓ เรือนหนึ่งครว ๑๔ คน ชาย ๔ ยิง ๑๐ ลูกน้อย ๓ ชาย ๒ ยิงหนึ่ง
ชุมญีฬา
๒๗. น้อยเปนนายมี ๖ เรือนหนึ่งครว ๑๙ คน ชาย ๘ ยิง ๑๑ ลูกน้อย ๕
ชายนี้
๒๘. งยิง ๔ ชุมหมื่นทางญางอ้อยเปนนายมี ๖ เรือน ๖ ครว ๒๒ คน ชาย
๑๐ ยิง
๒๙. ๑๒ ลูกน้อย ๖ ชายหนึ่งยิง ๕ ชุมนางข่มม้า มี ๒ เรือนหนึ่งครว ๙ คน
ชาย ๒
๓๐. ยิง ๗ ลูกน้อย ๒ ชายหนึ่งยิงหนึ่ง || นางหมื่นฟอนชยงดาวเก่าครว
๓๑. หมื่อแม่ลูกข้า ๒ ยิง นางหมื่นล่ำมพรานเก่าครวลูกหนึ่งยิง ข้า
๓๒. ๓ ยิง ข้าพรคัมนางหมื่นอวนอีคัมพีหนึ่งอีคัมหนึ่ง || อุน
๓๓. หนึ่งเรือนเมยหนึ่งอายหลวงลูกเมยหนึ่งลูก ๒ ยิง ลุนเรือนเมยหนึ่ง
๓๔. พ่อคัมเรือนเมยหนึ่งลูกหนึ่งยิง ๓ ครวนี้ แก่คนญว่สม่เตจเจ้า
๓๕. ทานไวพรเจ้ามนต์กัให้มันจันเมยหนึ่งลูกหนึ่งยิงพ่อลุนเมยหนึ่ง
๓๖. พรเจ้ามนต์กั ๒ ครวนี้หิรยนติจังโกกับชยงหมัน

Translation

[I/1-6.] || In sakarāja 658, a 'rvāy sǎn' year, in the month of Visākha on the eighth day of the waxing moon, Thursday, in *Tai* a 'mōñ plau' (day), at two nāḍi plus two pāda after the dawn trumpet, when the lagna was in possession of a navāṃśa belonging to Jupiter in the sign of Pisces¹, Brañā Mǎñ Rāy Cau and Brañā Nām Mōañ (and) Brañā Rvañ, all three of them, having built a sleeping pavilion² at the jayabhūmi³

1. Mr. Roger Billard, to whom we are indebted for analyzing the dates in this inscription (see above, p. 112, note 4) equates ขามแตรรุ่ง with the 'watch of the cock', attested in Kerala in south India, for which he refers to H. Gundert, *A Malayalam and English Dictionary* (p. 791): 'yāmakōLi, a cock crowing exactly $7\frac{1}{2}$ nālika before sunrise, i.e. three hours before sunrise, or 3 a.m.' Two nāḍi plus two pāda of the watch of the cock would be one hour from the beginning of the last watch of the night: about $3+1=4$ a.m. We omit from our translation the word นั้ว (?) at I/2, as we do not understand it. As Mr. Billard observes, the lagna ('ascendant'), being in possession of a navāṃśa (one ninth of a 'sign') belonging to Jupiter in the sign of Pisces (which already belongs to Jupiter), means that the lagna took place from $16^{\circ}40'$ to 20° of Pisces. The date and hour correspond to Thursday, 12 April 1296 A.D. (Julian) at about 4 a.m.
2. ตงหินนอน (I/3-4) = ตงนอน. We assume the expression means they had built the (temporary) sleeping pavilion before the day and hour specified for the founding of the city. (Cf. CMC/HC, III/3, p. 84; CMC/N, p. 57.)
3. ในทโษย์ภูมิ (I/4), for ในทชัยภูมิ; see above, p. 112. According to the *Chiang Mai Chronicle*, the jayabhūmi was chosen partly for its geomantic advantages, which are listed, and partly because two white deer and five white rats had come to live there (CMC/N, pp. 57-59; CMC/HC, p. 84 ff.); albino animals were considered highly auspicious. For an omen of another kind, cf. Professor Luce's remarks (*Old Burma*; Locust Valley, N.Y., 1969; p. 233): 'Sites for building were apt to be chosen, by Burmese kings at any rate, for magical reasons: the lakṣaṇa (auspicious marks) must show that the site was a "land of victory" (Old Burm. oñ mliy, Pāli jayabhūmi, later corrupted into cañkhuñ, "Zigōn"). The first Pagán "Zigōn", modern Shwé-zigōn with the prefix "Golden", built by Kyanzittha about 1086 A.D., is still Burma's national pagoda. Cañsū II, the first Burmese king to use Burmese in his inscriptions, "went out towards Turāñ (Tuywindaung) in the east. "That shining thing," he asked, "is it a fire?" "Yes, it is a fire," his followers replied. But the king was aware that it was a ruby shining. He turned back his elephant. "Ah!" he said, "this land is truly excellent", and he trod the site for a royal temple.'"

(for) the Royal Palace, (began) digging a moat⁴, building a triple rampart⁵ on all four sides⁶, and erecting a cetiya exactly on the site⁷ of the pavilion, in the village of Jyañ Hmān, at that moment; and that piece of land was afterwards⁸ made into a monastery as an offering to the Three Gems, and given the name Vāt Jyañ Hmān, (which it still has) up to the present time⁹.

[I/6-8.] In the year 'rvañ hmau', sakarāja 833¹⁰, 175 years after the founding, Bra Tilakarāja Cau rebuilt the cetiya in laterite¹¹.

[I/8-14.] Eighty-seven years later, in the year 'plök jhā', sakarāja 920¹², when Jyañ Hmai had already become part of His Majesty King Mahādharmikarājādhirāja's realm¹³, King Mahādharmikarājādhirāja,

4. คี (I/4) is the word used in *Tai Yuan* for 'moat': see Medha Ratnaprasiddhi's dictionary, พจนานุกรม ไทย-อังกฤษ, Bangkok, 1965, p. 57.
5. ตริปณ (I/4), the same word as ตริบูร in Inscr. 1; see JSS 59/2, p. 209 and note 58.
6. Sc. on all four sides of the city that was being founded.
7. ทัดที่, I/4, for ทัดที่, equivalent to ตรงที่. We should probably understand the term 'site' as meaning the entire jayabhūmi (cf. below, note 9).
8. ลวค (I/5) = เลย, 'afterwards'. According to the CMC, the sleeping pavilion, moats and ramparts were all built at the same time. The CMC does not mention the cetiya, which may have been built afterwards.
9. The jayabhūmi must have been a large enough piece of land to accommodate both the monastery and the Royal Palace. Evidently the monastery fulfilled the same function in relation to the palace as Vāt Mahādhātu at Sukhodaya, Vāt Śrī Sarbejña at Ayudhyā, and the Chapel Royal of the Emerald Buddha at Bangkok.
10. 1471 A.D. (cf. 'Introduction' above, p. 111, note 3).
11. ก่อพระเจดีย์ด้วยหินแลงเป้นถั่วสอง (I/7-8), literally 'built the cetiya of laterite for the second time' (in *Tai Yuan*, ถั่วสอง means ครั้งที่สอง; cf. Medha Ratnaprasiddhi's dictionary, p. 128); i.e. the old cetiya was encased; see above, p. 115.
12. 1558 A.D.
13. The realm of Bureng Nòng (Bayinnaung). After a siege lasting for three days, according to the Chieng Mai Chronicle (Notton, p. 164) and the Yonaka History (p. 303), the city of Chieng Mai surrendered to him on Saturday, 2 April 1558 (Julian), in the morning. This is almost certainly the right date, though Wood (*History of Siam*, p. 117) gives the date of Chieng Mai's surrender as April 1556 (probably a misprint), while Harvey (*History of Burma*; London, 1925; p. 117) gives it as 1557.

being filled with zeal, conveyed¹⁴ a gift of a silver washbasin weighing 4,000¹⁵ to Brañā Hlvañ Sām Lān¹⁶, with instructions¹⁷ to rebuild Vāt Jyañ Hmān: so it is said¹⁸. In the 'tāp plau' year sakarāja 927¹⁹, a royal decree²⁰ promoted him to (the rank of) Brañā Sèn Hlvañ. In the 'rvañ met' year sakarāja 933²¹, the cetiya²² was again encased²³: Brañā Sèn Hlvañ, (in accordance with) His Majesty's instructions²⁴, built the cetiya, (as well as) a vihāra, an uposatha hall, and a library for the scriptures²⁵, made a preaching chair and couches for sleeping and sitting²⁶,

14. ปลูก (I/10); in *Tai Yuan*, ปลูก, which is the same word, means 'to give', 'to transfer', etc.; see Medha Ratnaprasiddhi's dictionary, p. 94, s.v.
15. A little over four kilograms.
16. Title of a high official at Chieng Mai; as we learn from the next sentence, he was promoted to the rank of Brañā Sèn Hlvañ in 1565.
17. กัมมราชทาน (I/11); กัมม may be for Pāli kamma, 'work', 'performance', etc.; and ราชทาน is of course Pāli rājadāna, 'royal gift', 'royal bounty' (a king's instructions are regarded as bountiful gifts). Literally: 'to act (in accordance with) the royal bounty'.
18. ว่าจนวนนี้ (I/11) = ว่าจนวนนี้.
19. 1565 A.D.
20. พระราชอาชญา (I/11-12), modern พระราชอาชญา; อาชญา is the Sanskrit word ājñā, 'a command'.
21. 1571 A.D.
22. At I/12 and I/13, the word 'cetiya' is written เจริญ, 'ceṭiṇa', although it is written เจริญ at I/4.
23. Literally 'built the cetiya the third time (เป็นถ้ำสามที) encasing (ทอม = Tai Yuan ท้อม, Siamese ทรวม) it once (more)' (I/12-13); cf. above, note 11. The operation was the third construction of the cetiya on the same spot, but the second 'encasement'.
24. กัมมราชทาน (I/13); see above, note 17.
25. ปิตตกฐาร (I/14), for Pāli piṭakaghara, 'house for the (Three) Piṭakas'.
26. ธัมมเสนาสน (I/14), dhammasenāsana, apparently a portmanteau word for dhammasana, 'preaching chair' and senāsana, 'sleeping and sitting', 'bed and chair', 'dwelling' (cf. Pali Text Society's dictionary, s.v. senāsana).

(built) a wall with arched²⁷ gates, (and completed) everything in the monastery.

[I/14-21.] In the 'rvañ sai' year sakarāja 943²⁸, he²⁹ collected³⁰ money, villages, plantations and people to present to the monastery, all of them. As for the portion³¹ of gold, there was 27,011 (weight) of gold; and the portion of silver was 432,273 (weight)³². Svan Hmāk village, in front of the monastery, and Sèn Sòñ village, situated in the direction of Svan Hmāk village, two villages which are in the district³³ of Ī Mò, were given (together with the people living there) as slaves to the monastery. The whole mass of merit³⁴ (earned by the donation) was presented to His Highness Vara-orasādhirāja³⁵, who is the ruler of Mòañ Bìn Jyañ Hmai³⁶, on the day (he) came³⁷ to do homage to the *Three Gems in the vibhāra of Jyañ HmǺn in the presence of the monks* gathered there under the leadership of³⁸ the Venerable Samtec Mahāmahindādiccavaṃsa, Lord Abbot of Vāt Jyañ HmǺn, aged 73 years, who is witness to all the details (of the donation).

27. We conjecture that ขร่ง (I/14) is a variant of the Tai Yuan word ไชง, 'arch', or 'archway' (see Medha Ratnaprasiddhi's dictionary, p. 51). Mahā Chām (Prajum Śīlācārīk III, p. 217), however, equates it with the Tai Yuan word ข่วง, 'precinct' (see Medha Ratnaprasiddhi's dictionary, p. 33).
28. 1581 A.D.
29. Sc. Brañā Sèn Hlvañ (cf. above, note 16). This official is mentioned in the Yonaka History, which says that when Queen Visuddhirājadevī [Lady Visuddhadevī] died in 1578 he supervised the construction of the funeral pyre and organized the cremation ceremonies.
30. รอม (I/15) = รวม, 'to collect'.
31. ตา (I/15) is the Tai Yuan word ต່າ, 'portion'.
32. One thousand-weight was a little over one kilogram.
33. พันนา (I/17) = พันนา, literally '1,000 ricefields', a term used in Tai Yuan for 'district'.
34. บุญญราศี (I/17-18), Pāli puññārāsī, 'mass of merit'.
35. The Burmese viceroy, Tharawadi Min.
36. Bìn is the name of the river on which Chiang Mai is located.
37. สรเดจมา (I/19); สรเดจ = modern เสตัจ (from Khmer stac).
38. มี_____เป็นประธาน (I/20-21).

[I/21.] We shall state and explain the arrangement³⁹.

[I/22-34.] Monastery slaves⁴⁰ in the section⁴¹ (under) Hm̄n Vāt⁴².

Khrāhnān⁴³ Dona, with two children, one male, one female; and four slaves, two male, two female;

Bān Posathadhammapāla⁴⁴, with one son; two grandchildren, one male, one female; and two slaves, one male, one female;

Lām Vāt Pun Vān, with one wife, one daughter, and one female slave;

Gām Bā, with one wife, and three children, two male, one female;

Sāgara, with one wife and two daughters;

Pua Trā, with two children, one male, one female;

Nā Maṅgan, with one wife and two children, one male, one female;

Bal Prahñā, with one wife;

Mè Hmū, with one daughter;

Jòy, the silk weaver;

Gām Māv, with one wife;

Ī Jān San;

Nān Tyav;

Ī Dum;

Ī Pòk;

Nān Hm̄n Hnòy;

Nān Bān Hròk Nòy, with one daughter;

39. This is a conjectural translation of จักเปิดเผย (I/21): จัก, 'shall'; ใ้ (=เผย), 'disclose', 'state', etc.; แก้, 'to solve' (as a riddle), here probably used in the sense of 'explain', which is one of its meanings in Lāo (Reinhorn, p. 144); ในย, Pāli naya, 'method', 'plan', 'manner', 'sense', etc.

40. ข้าวดี (I/22) = ข้าวดี.

41. ห้อง (I/22), 'section', 'division', etc.

42. Apparently a former official, then a slave, who was put in charge of these slaves.

43. ขรหฺนฺน (I/22), for khnān or hnān, an honorific prefix to the name of a layman who has spent some time in the monkhood.

44. The name is written Posatdhammapāla (I/23); for Pāli Uposathadhammapāla,

- Hmū Sneha⁴⁵, with one elder sister named Suttā;
 Āy Svay;
 Āy Pòm, with one wife;
 Ñi Kòn, with one wife, two daughters, and one grandson;
 Ratmaṅgan, with one wife; two children, one male, one female;
 and four grandchildren, two male, two female;
 Ġām Bò, with one wife; and two grandchildren, one male, one
 female;
 Còm Phāñ, with one wife;
 Ñòt, with one wife, one younger brother, and one younger sister;
 Hnò Ġām, with one wife, one younger brother, and one younger
 sister;
 Bek Prahñā, with one wife and one daughter;
 Pāk Āv, with one wife; and three children, one male, two female;
 Un, with one wife and two daughters;
 Bò Blön, with one wife;
 Im, with one wife and two daughters;
 Un, with one wife;
 Tāñ Grak, with one wife; and [II/1-12] three grandchildren, one
 male, two female;
 Lun, with one wife;
 Kèv, with one wife;
 Pun Mī, with one wife;
 Mèv, with one wife; and two children, one male, one female;
 Dòn, with one wife;
 In, with one wife and one son;
 Jyañ, with one wife;
 Kvān Kè Vañ, with one wife;
 Un, with one wife; two children, one male, one female; and two
 granddaughters;
 Lun, with one wife;
 Rōan Klāñ, with one wife and one daughter;

45. The name is written สเนห์ (I/28), indicating the same pronunciation as for สเนห์ (Sneha).

The blacksmith Pun, with one wife; and two children, one male, one female;

The image-caster⁴⁶ Māṅgalayasa, with one wife and two daughters;

Nòt Grañ, with one daughter;

The wife of Böp, with three children, two male, one female;

Āy Nāñ Dyam;

Nāñ Sāñkā;

Pun Kōa, mother and child;

Punjana, husband and wife;

Cāndrā, with two children, one male, one female;

Nāñ Sāñkā, wife of the crossbowman;

Nāñ Bvak, the doctor who treats wounds, with one daughter;

Nāñ Hmīn Văt Kau, with one child and four female slaves;

Yòt Gām, with two daughters;

Vāñ Pū Kāñ, with one wife;

Ī Gām, one;

Ī Pāñ, one;

Pa Hlek, one;

Ī Fhāy, one;

Pa Khvāñ, with one wife;

Pa Lem, with one wife;

Pa Kām, one;

Ī Nāñ Bī, one;

Ta Nāñ Māñ Kham Cūm, one;

Thau Möañ Hnòy, one;

Thau Möañ Kèy, one;

Nāy Hnāñsī Galprabhñā, one;

Bāñ Nòy Hnā Gām, one;

Bāñ Nòy Hnā, one;

Lām Bāñ Un, one;

Nāy Jāv Gām Mun, one;

Nāy Jāv Dan, one;

Nāy Jāv Rōañ, one;

Nāy Jāv Răt, one, who is foreman⁴⁷.

46. ข้างพร (II/4), modern ข้างพระ.

47. เปนแก่ (II/11); the foreman of this section of slaves.

[In this section] there are 40 families of slaves⁴⁸, (including) 102 males. ||

[II/12-30.] Section⁴⁹ (under) Hmīn Hua Sōa.

Brañā Hlvañ Cau⁵⁰, pouring water⁵¹, presented (the following), not only the children, wives, and slaves, (but also) the nobles and farmers, and all the people of every category who live with them, to be slaves of Vāt Jyañ Hmān, every one of them, everywhere⁵².

Hmīn Hua Sōa;

48. คำคน (II/11), equivalent to ข้าคน.

49. Cf. above, note 41.

50. Probably Brañā Sèn Hlvañ.

51. In accordance with the Indian custom, widely prevalent in southeast Asia, he poured a little water into the ground to signify he was making an irrevocable gift. The word หยาด (written อุยาด at II/12), usually a noun meaning 'a drop', is here used as a verb.

52. The emphatic statement at II/12-13 suggests that the persons assigned to Hmīn Hua Sōa's section are in a different category from those assigned to Hmīn Vāt's section. All the heads of families listed at II/14-36 are being irrevocably presented as monastery slaves together with all their dependants; it appears that many of these heads of families possessed considerable property; and it may be that their lands and equipment were made over to the monastery at the same time. Many of those assigned to Hmīn Vāt's section seem to have been humbler people, with little or no property; and while in most cases their dependants were presented with them, there is no statement that none was exempted.

If, as seems probable, Brañā Hlvañ Cau (II/12) is the same man as Brañā Sèn Hlvañ, who rebuilt Vāt Jyañ Hmān in 1571 (I/12 f.), and 'collected money, villages, plantations, and people to present to the monastery' in 1581 (I/15 f.), he was presumably acting on behalf of a large number of donors in presenting the persons in the first section to the monastery. The persons in the second section were apparently his own dependants, which would be the reason why he poured water only in connection with them. He transferred the merit of the entire donation to the viceroy, on behalf of the various donors in connection with the first section, and on his own behalf in the second.

Un Rōan, with two wives, one son, and 20 slaves, 9 male, 11 female⁵³;

Ga Kèv Hnòy Bò Sut, with one wife and one son;

Pū Nua, with one wife, one son, and one grandson⁵⁴;

Mè Chāñ, with one son;

Bò Tuvo, with one wife and one son;

Group belonging to Lām Hmīn Kèv⁵⁵, with one house and six families: 22 persons, 8 male, 14 female; four little children, one male, three female;

Bān Khvā Dāv Nòy's group, with three houses and four families: 22 persons, 8 male, 14 female; and three little girls;

Nā Vijar Mè Sā's group, with two houses and one family: 12 persons, 4 male, 8 female; and one little girl;

Kèv Hnòy Hnòn Jòm's group, with three houses and one family: 12 persons, 4 male, 8 female;

(Group) belonging to Lāv Nā Hò Lyap, with four houses and three families: 21 persons, 6 male, 15 female; and six small children, three male, three female;

Group belonging to Cā Tek Jāy, with six houses and two families: 38 persons, 11 male, 27 female; and eight small children, five male, three female;

Group belonging to Tān Cai Pān Pò, with seven houses and one family: 24 persons, 9 male, 15 female; and 12 small children, 5 male, 7 female;

53. Un Rōan (II/14), now usually a name for a woman, was evidently a man's name in the sixteenth century.

54. This translation is conjectural. The expression ลูกหลานหนึ่งชาย at II/15 seems to be defective. Supposing that ลูก is intended to refer to a son, the engraver may have omitted หนึ่งชาย after ลูก by mistake. Or else perhaps he intended to write หลานหนึ่งชาย only, but first wrote the word ลูก instead of หลาน, then crossed out ลูก with a faint mark that can no longer be described; in that case the entry would mean 'Pū Nua, with one wife and one grandson'.

55. ชุมลำนหมื่นแก้วเปนนาย (II/16), 'group (of which) Lām Hmīn Kèv is master'. It would appear from the opening statement of this list (II/12-13) that Lām Hmīn Kèv himself is included in the donation.

Group belonging to Bān Sēn, with four houses: 20 persons, 9 male, 11 female; and two little girls;

Group belonging to Bvak Nā, with three houses and one family: 16 persons, 7 male, 9 female;

Group belonging to Gvān Hmyañ, with three houses and one family: 14 persons, 4 male, 10 female; and three small children, two male, one female;

Group belonging to Ñi Phā Nōy, with six houses and one family: 19 persons, 8 male, 11 female; and five small children, one male, four female;

Group belonging to Hmīn Tāñ Nāñ Òy, with six houses and six families: 22 persons, 10 male, 12 female; and six small children, one male, five female;

Nāñ Kham Mā's group, with two houses and one family: nine persons, two male, seven female; and two small children, one male, one female.⁵⁶ ||

[II/30-32.] Nāñ Hmīn Fōn Jyañ Tāv Kau, with a family of doctors⁵⁷ [consisting of] a mother and children, and two female slaves;

Nāñ Hmīn Lām Brān Kau, with a family of one daughter, and three female slaves;

Slaves of the golden statue of the Buddha: Nāñ Hmīn Uan; Ī Gām Bī, one; Ī Gām Nōn, one. ||

56. The list of persons in Hmīn Hua Sōa's section seems to end with the punctuation mark at this point. The remaining entries may have been added later in the same year.

57. This is a conjectural translation of ครุ ทุม (II/30-31). The rubbing shows an indistinct mark over the conjunct letter ทม, which may be intended for a *mai-do*, and which Père Schmitt's illustration shows as a distinct *mai-do* (see fig. 2g). The reading ทม, 'pots', would not be satisfactory unless we assumed the word to be an abbreviation for ช่างต้ม, 'potters',

[II/32-35.] Un, with one house and one wife, and his son Āy Hlvañ, with one wife and two daughters; Lūn Rōan, with one wife; and Bò Găm Rōan, with one wife and one daughter: these three families of slaves⁵⁸, who serve the Samtec Cau⁵⁹, are presented to the statue of the Buddha in the maṇḍapa⁶⁰.

[II/35-36.] Hmai Căñ⁶¹, with one wife and one daughter; and Ba Lun, with one wife: these two families are presented to [Văt] Jyañ Hmăñ to learn sheetmetal-working.

58. เค้าคน (II/34) = ชักคน; see above, note 48.

59. ญว้สม่เตจเจ้า (II/34): we follow Mahā Chām (*Prajam Śīlācārīk*, III, p. 218, note 34), who glosses ญว้ as วัช. The 'Samtec Cau' seems to be the Abbot of Văt Jyañ Hmăñ mentioned at I/20, and we assume he is dedicating the slaves to the statue.

60. ม่นดัก (II/35) is a variant of มณฑป, Pali 'maṇḍapa', which in Siam usually means a square shrine intended to house a statue or some other object of veneration.

61. ไหม้ (II/35), for ไหม, a title given in Tai Yuan to a layman who was formerly a sāmāṇera (novice monk).

A NOTE ON NAMES AND TITLES IN THE INSCRIPTION

1. *Rulers and officials*

In the first part of the historical retrospect, Brañā (พญา) means 'king'. Mǎn Rāy is called Brañā Mǎn Rāy Cau (I/3), in which Cau (เจ้า) means prince or ruler. His two guests are called Brañā Nām Mōaṅ and Brañā Rvaṅ (I/3).

In the second part of the historical retrospect, King Tilokarāja is called Bra Tilakarāja Cau (I/7). This is rather surprising, as Bra (พร), modern Brah (พระ), is only a very general honorific; whereas the Chieng Mai Chronicle calls him by several different appellations, including Cau Brañā Tilokarāja.

King Bureng Nòng of Burma is called Samtec Bra Mahādhammika-rājādhirāja Cau (I/9); Samtec, here obviously 'His Majesty', is from Khmer Saṃtac, an epithet of kings and the highest princes.

Samtec is also an ecclesiastical title: the Lord Abbot of Vāt Jyañ Hmān is called Mahāmahindādiccavaṃsa Mahāsamtec (I/20).

Bureng Nòng's son the viceroy of Lān Nā is called Bra Varasādhirāja Cau (I/18; Pali: vara, 'eminent', + orasa, 'son', + adhirāja, 'super-king').

By this time the term Brañā is no longer reserved for a king. In the early fifteenth century, according to the Chieng Mai Chronicle (CMC/N, 94; CMC/HC, III/3, 106), a man from Chieng Mai named Bejrayaśa organized four groups of young warriors who fought so bravely that the King called them Těk Jāy (เด็กชาย, 'manly boys'). The Yonaka History (p. 214) adds that the four groups were commanded by officers with the titles of Brañā Sèn Hlvaṅ (แสนหลวง), Brañā Sām Lān (สามล้าน), Brañā Cā Pān (จ่าน่าน), and Brañā Těk Jāy. The Yonaka History is not infallible; and as no source is given for the statement we cannot judge its accuracy. These titles may have originated somewhat later. We see no reason to doubt the Chieng Mai Chronicle when it tells us that Jayajettha promoted several officials in 1546 A.D., raising one of them

from the rank of Sèn to that of Braṇā Sèn Hlvañ, and another from the rank of Hmīn Sām Lān to that of Braṇā Sām Lān (CMC/N, 158; CMC/HC, IV/1, 89).

Evidently the practice continued, for the merit-making recorded in the main text of our inscription is organized by an official at Chieng Mai, who when he is first introduced to us (I/10-11) is called Braṇā Hlvañ Sām Lān (hlvañ, หลวง, 'great' or 'royal'; sām lān: '3 million'), and who is later (I/12) promoted to Braṇā Sèn Hlvañ (sèn: '100,000'). It is not surprising that he should bear, one after the other, almost exactly the same titles that Jayajettha had given two of his officials a generation earlier, but it is a little odd that they should be the same titles the Yonaka History gives the commanders of two of the four groups of young heroes.

The numerals in these titles must refer to quite different kinds of things, otherwise the change from 3 million to 100,000 would not be a promotion. 'Three million' in this context may be a territorial designation: as bān-nā (บ้าน, literally '1,000 ricefields') means a district, '3 million' might mean 3,000 districts. The title Braṇā Sèn Hlvañ might be understood as 'lord of 100,000 (officials who have) the rank of hlvañ': such a figure would of course be more theoretical than real; but he might control a considerable number of such officials, each with a large number of followers. This might help to explain the size and quality of his donation (the second group of slaves). 'Hundred thousand' could also belong to the series Nāy Sip, 'master of 10', Nāy Ròy, 'master of 100', (Khun) Bān, '(lord of) 1,000', (Khun) Hmīn, '(lord of) 10,000', and (Khun) Sèn, '(lord of) 100,000'. In Mān Rāy's time, according to the Mañrāyavinicchaya, these figures represented the number of men under the command of the person whose rank they designated. These ranks applied to the civil administration as well as the military, though with the progress of time the relation between the rank and the number of men administered became largely theoretical.

In the reign of Tilokarāja, as we gather from the Chieng Mai Chronicle and the poem Yvan Bāy, the rulers of cities in Lān Nā, as well as most of the high-ranking officials in the central bureaucracy,

bore the title Hmīn, though a few of the top-ranking bureaucrats bore that of Sèn. During the next reigns there is a gradual increase in the number of provincial governors mentioned in the Chieng Mai Chronicle who have the rank of Sèn; but there are none with the rank of Braṇā before 1546.

Our inscription shows that the importance of certain ranks had depreciated by 1581. An official with the rank of Hmīn was put in charge of each of the two sections of monastery slaves (I/22, II/12 f.), certainly a function far inferior to the rulership of a town.

2. *Men on the slave lists*

Three men donated as monastery slaves have the rank of Băn (บัน, I/23, II/17, 23-24), two have the rank of Băn Nòy or 'deputy Băn' (both at II/10), and three have the rank of Hmīn (หมื่น, I/22, II/12, 28). Another is called Cā Tek Jāy (II/21), probably a rank belonging to the same series as Braṇā Těk Jāy, which the Yonaka History gives one of the commanders of the young warriors: Cā Těk Jāy, however, would be a much lower grade than Braṇā Těk Jāy.

Some titles signify function. The term Lām (ลำ, originally 'to tether', 'to bind') means someone who performs liaison duties, a go-between, an introducer, an emissary, an interpreter, or perhaps now and then an administrator of property on someone else's behalf. It is sometimes followed by a title giving the rank of the person to whom the Lām is attached, such as Băn (II/10) or Hmīn (II/16), or a term specifying the holder's sphere of activity, e.g. Lām Văt (I/24), presumably someone connected with the business affairs of a monastery.

The term Nāy (นาย) prefixed to a man's name was once a high title (in Inscription 9, which dates from 1406, it is borne by several royal councillors at Sukhodaya). In the present inscription it seems to be more a title of function than of rank. For example Nāy Hnānsī Galprahṇā (II/9-10), 'master of the Galprajñā books', was probably the custodian of a certain kind of books whose exact nature is not now known. There are also two men called Nāy Jāv (นายจาว, II/10-11),

'master of the people of . . .', followed by what seem to be personal names — Găm Mun, 'origin of gold'; and Răt, probably for Ratna, 'jewel'. Perhaps before being donated as slaves themselves, they had been overseers in the service of the persons named. The term Nāy Jāv (นายจาว, II/10-11) may be no more than a graphic variant of Nāy Jāv; if not, it could mean 'master of 20', denoting the rank of a man named Dan, 'enduring', and one named Rōaṇ, 'shining'.

Several terms may be prefixed to names to serve as cognizances or mild honorifics. Nā (I/25, II/18) is doubtless the same word that is still used in Lào to mean 'honorable', prefixed to the names of officials (it is said to derive from Skt. ājñā; see Reinhorn, p. 819). Khrāhnān (I/22, a variant of ทนาย) denotes a layman who has been a monk; Hmai (ไหม้, II/35 = modern ไหม้) denotes one who had been a sāmaṇera. Hmū (I/28) may be an abbreviation for Nāy Hmū (นายหมู), something like a squad leader or its civilian equivalent. Terms like Bvak (II/24) and Ga (กะ, II/14), representing groups of persons, may be abbreviations of the same sort. Kvān (II/2) means a 'magistrate' (Reinhorn, p. 199). Tān (I/34, II/22, II/28) means 'deputy' or 'substitute' (Reinhorn, p. 938). Thau (เต้า, II/9, now usually written เต้า) is a person of age or distinction. Pū (ปู่, II/15) means 'grandfather'. In lists of slaves the word Bò (พ่อ, I/33-34, II/15, II/34), sometimes written Ba (พ่อ, II/35), may be applied to any male.

The terms Āy (I/28-29, II/5, 33), Ñī (I/29, II/26) and Ñua (II/15) in a man's name denote respectively the first, second and fifth son of his father (only these three appear in our inscription, out of the full series of ten).

Several men listed have Sanskrit or Pāli names, for example: Posatdhammapāla (I/23), for Uposathadhammapāla, 'guardian of the preaching of the holy day'; Sāgara (I/25), 'ocean'; Maṅgan (I/25), for Maṅgala, 'auspicious'; Bala Prahñā (I/26), for Balaprajñā, 'forceful wisdom'; Sneha (I/28), 'affection'; Ratmaṅgan (I/29), for Ratnamaṅgala, 'jewelled prosperity'; Bek Prahñā (I/32), for Vajraprajñā, 'adamantine

wisdom'; Maṅgalayasa (II/4), 'auspicious rank'; Căn (II/35), for Candra, 'moon', or perhaps Candana, 'sandalwood'. One man is called Pun (Pāli puñña, 'merit'), and the same word appears as a component in several other names: Pun Văn (I/24) for Pāli Puñṇavaṃsa, 'meritorious lineage'; Pun Mī (II/1), 'having merit'; and Punjana (II/5), for Puñña Janah, 'merit gains the victory'. At least one name, Blôn (I/34), 'fire', is borrowed from Khmêr.

Most of the names are Tai, or made up of words effectively naturalized into Tai. A favorite element, used in various combinations, is Găm (= gām), 'gold'; for example Găm Bā (I/24), 'bringing gold'; Găm Māv (I/27), 'golden armlet'; Găm Bò (I/30), 'enough gold'; Hnò Găm (I/32) or Hnă Găm (II/10), 'golden sprout'; Yòt Găm (II/7), 'golden pinnacle'; Găm Rōan (II/34), 'gold of the house'. One man is named Nòt Grañ (II/4), i.e. Yòt Gañ, 'firm pinnacle', and another is named Nòt (I/31), 'pinnacle', without qualification. Besides Mr. Gold, we have a Pa Hlek, 'Mr. Iron', a Pa Khvăn (modern khvăn), 'Mr. Vital Spirit', and a Pa Lem, 'Mr. Treasury' (all at II/8).

Jòy (I/26) means 'youngest child'; Svay (I/28-29), 'tapering'; Pòm (I/29), 'dumpy'; Kòn (I/29), 'in a heap'; Im (I/34), 'satisfied'; Grak (I/34), 'a mortar for pounding food'; Mèv (II/1), 'a cat'; In (II/2) is named for the god Indra. Tāñ Cai, 'equal to the heart', is the name of a man who lives at Pān Pò (II/22), 'village with a well',

Three men are called Kèv (II/1, II/16, II/19), 'jewel', and a fourth is called Mōañ Kèv (II/9), 'jewel country'. One is named Pua Trā (I/25), 'lotus symbol'. Five are named Un, 'pleasantly warm' (I/33, I/34, II/2, II/10, II/32), plus one named Un Rōan (II/14). The word Rōan, 'house', reappears in the name Rōan Klāñ (II/3), 'central house', and Lūn Rōan (II/33), 'youngest of the house'. Used without qualification, Lun (or Lūn) means a younger son (II/1, II/3, II/35). In some cases the word Nòy or Hnòy (the two forms seem to be interchangeable in our inscription) probably started as a child's name, 'little', and then continued as a personal name for the adult. Băn Khvā Dāv Nòy (II/17) means a man with the rank of Băn, belonging to the 'right' (khvā, one of the two

major classes, right and left, into which the population was divided); Dāv (သ်) is a noble or princely title; and Dāv Nòy could be either the man himself or else his superior in the administration. Kèv Nòy Hnòn Jòm (II/19) is 'Kèv Nòy of Lake Jòm'. Ñĩ Phā Nòy (II/26-27) is the second son (Ñĩ) of his father; and Phā means 'rock' or 'cliff'.

Ñā Vijar Mè Sā (II/18) is 'the Honorable Vijar of Mè Sā' (a place on the River Sā in Chiang Mai Province). Hmīn Tān Ñān Òy (II/28) is a man with the rank of Hmīn, whose name means 'equal to sugar-syrup'. Gvān Hmyān (II/25) is an elephant-driver (gvān), named after the wild tea plant (ໄຫມ້, or ເມ້) whose fermented leaves are chewed with salt and other tidbits (Reinhorn, p. 1925; McFarland, p. 657).

3. *Women on the slave lists*

Three different terms are prefixed to the names of women according to their rank. For ordinary women the term is Ī (originally 'the second daughter'), something like 'miss', which can also be used for female animals. For women of middling status the term is Mè, 'woman', (the counterpart of masculine Bò). For women of rank it is Nān, 'lady'. When Nān is followed by a title such as Bān or Hmīn, it denotes the wife or widow of an official of that rank.

Five ladies on the lists are the wives or widows of officials with the rank of Hmīn. Obviously Nān Hmīn Nòy (I/27) is the wife or widow of Hmīn Nòy, and Nān Hmīn Uan (II/32) that of Hmīn Uan, but we have no information about these two officials. Nān Hmīn Vāt Kau (II/7) is very likely the wife or widow of a former Hmīn Vāt, a predecessor of the Hmīn Vāt who was put in charge of the first section of monastery slaves (I/22). Nān Hmīn Fòn Jyān Tāv Kau (II/30) is the wife or widow of Hmīn Fòn, the former governor of Jyān Tāv (*Chiang Dao*, 60 kilometers north of Chiang Mai), and Nān Hmīn Lām Brān Kau (II/31) is the wife or widow of Hmīn Lām, the former governor of Brān (Mōan Bān, i.e.,

Müang Pân in JyaŃ Rāy Province); we take the final term Kau, 'former', as indicating that the husband formerly held the post mentioned. By 1581 the governor of a province would probably have had the rank of Sēn or Braṇā rather than Hmĭn. The corollary may be that these two ladies were much younger than their husbands, and long outlived them.

Nān Bǎn Hròk Nòy (I/28) is the wife or widow of an official with the rank of Bǎn, whose name Hròk (modern Hòk) means 'spear'. Nān Bvak Hmò Yā Pāt (II/6) is probably 'Lady Bvak, the doctor who treats wounds'.

Little can be said about the other women whose names are prefixed with Nān. Two are named Nān Saṅkā (II/5, 6), in which Saṅkā is the Pāli word for 'doubt'. Another is called Nān Kham Mā (นางข่มม้า, II/29), 'Lady Horse-tamer'. Nān Tyav (I/27) means 'Lady Single'; Nān Dyam (II/5) is 'Lady Garlic' or else an abbreviation for Nān Dyam Cai, 'Lady Equal to the Heart'.

Mè Hmū (I/26) means 'Mrs. Pig'. Mè Chān (II/15) means 'Mrs. Granary'.

Ī Jān San (I/27) is 'Miss Needle-Threader', Ī Dum is probably an abbreviation of Ī Padum, 'Miss Lotus', Ī Pòk (I/27) means 'Miss Shorty', Ī Gǎm (II/7) is 'Miss Gold', Ī Pān (II/7-8) is 'Miss Birthmark', Ī Fhāy (II/8) is 'Miss Cotton'; Ī Gǎm Bī and Ī Gǎm Nòh (II/32) are a pair of relatives or friends, 'the Misses Gold, elder and younger'.

Three of the women listed have no prefix to their names. One is called Pun Kōa (II/5), 'merit helps'. Another, the elder sister of Hmū Sneha (I/28), is named Suttā, presumably put for Pāli Sutā, 'daughter'. The third is called Candrā (II/5), a Sanskrit feminine meaning 'shining like the moon'.

One woman, 'the wife of Böp', (II/4) is anonymous.

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