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AN INSCRIPTION FROM KENG TUNG (1451 A.D.)

by

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INTRODUCTION

1.

From the late thirteenth to the mid-sixteenth century, at least intermittently, the kingdom of Lān Nā Dai (*Lān Nā Tai*) in northern Siam was suzerain over a good many Shan and other *Tai* states in territories that are now parts of Burma, China or Laos. Among the most important of these was Keng Tung, about 300 kilometers north of *Chieng Mai* (Jyañ Hmāi). The population of Keng Tung was, and still is, largely composed of a branch of the *Tai* called Khün, whose language is closely allied to the *Tai Yuan* (Dai Yvan) of Lān Nā. The kings of Keng Tung were related to the kings of Lān Nā, as both lines were descended from King Mǎn Rāy who founded Chieng Mai in 1296 A.D.; and their relationship was doubtless reinforced by frequent intermarriage.

At Keng Tung, as at Chieng Mai, there were at least three orders of Theravāda Buddhist monks.

The first, consisting mainly of Nagaravāsī or Gāmvāsī ('Town' or 'Village Dwellers'), was probably an offshoot of the one that had prevailed at Haripuñjaya before the *Tai* conquest. This order occupied the most conspicuous place in Lān Nā until 1370, and remained the most numerous for centuries.

Another order, consisting of Araññavāsī ('Forest Dwellers') who professed to follow the monastic discipline as interpreted by the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura in Ceylon, and more particularly its forest-dwelling branch at the Udumbaragiri in the province of Polonnāruva, was established at Martaban in Lower Burma in the fourteenth century. It was favored by royalty at Sukhodaya; and in 1370 it was introduced by the Mahāthera Sumana into Lān Nā, where the kings held it in high esteem for more than 50 years<sup>1</sup>. This order, which we shall call the 'Old Ceylon Sect' for convenience, was later introduced into Keng Tung.

The 'New Ceylon Sect' of Forest Dwellers originated as follows. Around 1420, several monks at Chieng Mai began to suspect that they, and a great many other members of the Saṅgha, had not been properly ordained: an ordination, if it was to be valid, had to be per-

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<sup>1</sup> See JSS 60/1, pp. 48-72; JSS 62/1, pp. 114-141; and Griswold, *Wat Pra Yün Reconsidered*, Bangkok, 1975, *passim*.



formed without a flaw in the required ritual, in a duly consecrated place, by a chapter of five monks who themselves had been validly ordained, through an unbroken succession of monks extending backward in time to those ordained by the Buddha in person. In 1423, in order to satisfy their doubts, 25 Mahātheras from Chieng Mai, led by the Mahātheras Dhammagambhīra and Medhaṅkara, and accompanied by eight Mahātheras from Ayudhyā, traveled to the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura, the validity of whose monastic succession was generally acknowledged to be unassailable. Upon discovering that their own ordinations were invalidated by irreparable flaws, they retired from the monkhood, and were then ordained in the Ceylon order with the ritual specified by the *Vinaya*, as interpreted at the Mahāvihāra. After returning to southeast Asia, they spent some years at Ayudhyā, Sajjanālaya, Sukhodaya and other places.

In 1430 the group headed by Dhammagambhīra and Medhaṅkara returned to Chieng Mai, and established the New Ceylon Sect there. The members of this order prided themselves on their knowledge of the Pali language, their strict adherence to 'forest dwelling', their observance of all the monastic rules, and their meticulous performance of the rites they had learned in Ceylon. Their principles attracted a good deal of support among laymen, and persuaded a good many monks of the old established sects at Chieng Mai to retire from the monkhood and request ordination in the new one.

The New Ceylon monks, whose headquarters were at the Red Forest Monastery (วัดป่าแดง) several kilometers from Chieng Mai, were inclined to be stiff-necked and arrogant, openly denouncing the ways of the Old Ceylon Sect. The latter had its headquarters at the Flower Garden Monastery (วัดสวนดอกไม้), about half a kilometer from the city wall of Chieng Mai. The orthodox rule in Ceylon, however, specified that a monastery could not qualify as a residence of Forest Dwellers unless it was located at least 500 bow-lengths (about one kilometer) from the nearest town or village, so their 'forest dwelling' was asserted by the New Ceylon monks to be no more than a sham.

It must be confessed that many of the Old Ceylon monks took a relaxed view of monastic discipline; they were not above trying to enrich themselves; their knowledge of Pali was weak; and they performed the rites carelessly. But it was the custom for one of their number to be appointed as the royal chaplain (*rājagrū*), and the reigning king, Sām Phān Kèn, favored them. Fearing an open schism in the Saṅgha, he expelled the New Ceylon monks from the capital, though permitting them to continue their activities in other parts of the kingdom. In 1441 he was deposed by his son Tilokarāja, who thereupon mounted the throne. Tilokarāja favored the New Ceylon Sect and showered it with honors<sup>2</sup>.

According to Jinakālamālī<sup>3</sup>, 'the Thera Somacitta introduced the religion of Sīhaḷa [sc. the New Ceylon Sect] into Khemaratt̐ha [Keng Tung] in CS 810'. That year corresponds for the most part to 1448 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> See Coedès's translation of the pertinent portion of Jinakālamālī, BEFEO (XXV/1, pp. 104 ff.), which gives the story from the point of view of the New Ceylon Sect. The story from the point of view of the Old Ceylon Sect will be found in ตำนานมูลศาสนา (Bangkok, Department of Fine Arts: B.E. 2582; second edition, Chieng Mai, B.E. 2513).

<sup>3</sup> Coedès, *loc. cit.*, p. 109.



## 2.

The formal purpose of the inscription we are about to discuss is to record a series of benefactions made in 1451 A.D. to the Jayamantārāma, a monastery of the New Ceylon Sect near the town of Keng Tung. The account of the benefactions is preceded by a short history of the monastery, beginning at a time when it belonged to an older sect.

We have worked chiefly from photographs of a set of rubbings (figs. 1-3). The rubbings were made by Professor Gordon H. Luce's driver, Maung Sein, around 1938. The location of the inscription is given, in English, on one of the rubbings: 'behind the Hall and Thein at Wat Ba Lyan, beyond the East Gate on the way to Lwai Mwe'. Mr Luce sent the rubbings to Professor George Coedès, who then forwarded them to the Department of Fine Arts in Bangkok. We have consulted these rubbings, as well as new rubbings (of two faces only) sent from Keng Tung to the Historical Commission in Bangkok in 1973, and a set of photographs kindly furnished us by Professor Søren Egerod of the University of Copenhagen.

For the following information about the names pencilled on the photograph we are indebted to the former Chief Education Officer of the Shan State, Sao Sâi Mōng (in Siamese transcription, เจ้าสายเมือง), a son of the late ruler of Keng Tung. 'Wat Ba Lyan' represents the Khün name Văt Pā Dên, 'Red Forest Monastery' (equivalent to Siamese วัดป่าแดง), as it would be pronounced by a partially 'Burmanized' Shan or by a Burman. Shans usually make no distinction between the sounds of ɲ and ɲ̃. In the Khün script, the letter 'D' (= Siamese ด), stands for the same sound as Siamese ด, approximately that of English 'D'. But no symbol for this sound exists in the Shan script; Shans who have never learned Burmese or English cannot pronounce it; and they regularly replace it with the sound of 'L' (လ or หล). A Shan would say หลแดง instead of แดง (แดง); and a Burman might say หลดง, as the insertion of the ɲ̃ sound is characteristic of the Burmese pronunciation of certain Shan words. 'Lwai Mwe', the name of the place where the road leads to, means 'Foggy Mountain' (lwai in Shan = Tai Yuan ดอย, 'mountain', while mwe = Tai Yuan หมอ, 'mist' or 'fog'). When Sao Sâi Mōng visited Văt Pā Dên in 1971, he saw the inscription outside the vihāra, and urged the abbot to put it inside the building for protection. We do not know whether this was done.

The two new rubbings received by the Historical Commission in 1973 were sent by the Siamese Consul General at Keng Tung, together with a statement in Siamese that they were made from the inscription at วัดป่าแดง, 'about half a kilometre from the Consulate General' (see *Bulletin of the Historical Commission* [abbrev. BHC], แถลงงานประวัติศาสตร์ เอกสาร โบราณคดี vol. VII no. 2, Bangkok, B.E. 2516, p. 1 ff.) These rubbings, as well as the old photographs, were used as the basis of a preliminary transcription of the text into modern Siamese letters by Messrs Kôn-kên Vīrapracakṣa and Prasāra Puṇprakôn, published in BHC VII/2. Because face I is almost completely illegible, these authors count faces II, III and IV as I, II and III respectively; and the only photograph included in their article is of the rubbing of one of the faces, not identified by number, which corresponds to the one we designate as face III.



In the present paper we have arrived at a good many readings that seem to give a more satisfactory sense than those of Messrs Kôn-kêv and Prasāra, and we have tried to provide a better chronology than they proposed.

The New Ceylon Sect, wherever it was introduced, favored the name 'Red Forest Monastery'; and the Keng Tung monastery of that name, where the inscription is located, served as its local headquarters. Its earlier name was Jayamantārāma; and this name continued to be used for an unknown period of time after it was officially changed to Vāt Pā Dēñ. The stone has evidently been preserved there ever since 1451 when it was erected.

The height of the inscribed portion of the stone is about 90 centimeters; its width, on the obverse and reverse, is about 50 centimeters, and on the narrow edges, about 27 centimeters. Face I, engraved on one of the narrow edges, has the remnants of a horoscope and about 19 lines of writing which are almost wholly illegible; face II, the obverse, has 34 lines of writing; face III, on the other narrow edge, has 27; and face IV, the reverse, has 38. Much of the writing is in very poor condition, and our reading is often doubtful.

The language of the inscription is practically the same as *Tai Yuan*, which is not surprising for a place where the upper classes were so closely associated with Chiang Mai, and where a dialect so similar to *Tai Yuan* is still generally spoken. The text is written in the monumental script which was used in Lān Nā for recording donations and other important matters. This script, introduced into Lān Nā from Sukhodaya by the Mahāthera Sumana in 1370, underwent a few modifications to adapt it to the needs of the *Yuan* language<sup>4</sup>. The text is composed in a kind of rhyming free verse which the Siamese call *ร่าย*. In several places where it would otherwise be uncertain where one clause ends and a new one starts, the rhyming supplies the answer.

The toponyms used in the inscription require a word of explanation. The name 'Khemarāja', which we have regularized to Khemaraṭṭha, means Keng Tung. In one passage, however, Keng Tung is called Jyañ Hmāi (*Chiang Mai*), a name reserved at present for the former capital of Lān Nā, but in the past sometimes used as an appellation of Keng Tung and perhaps some other cities too. In this inscription the capital is called Nabapurī or Navapurīnagara (?), both of which, like the name Chiang Mai itself, mean 'new city'.

The inscription contains nine legible dates. Two of them give the month and day as well as the year; the others give the year only. The year is designated by its *Tai* name in the 60-year cycle, or by its Siamese name in the 12-year cycle, or both; no dates in the Culasakarāja (CS) or any other era appear. As every year in the CS has its equivalent in the system of the 60-year cycle, the former can be transposed into the latter with certainty by consulting the tables of correspondences; but transposing in the opposite direction is done at the theoretical risk of going wrong by precisely 60 years, or a multiple of 60 years. Internal evidence in the inscription, however, as well as its historical context, reduces this risk practically to zero.

The two chief benefactions the inscription commemorates were both made in a 'rvañ met' year which must be CS 813. These dates are as follows:

<sup>4</sup> In transliterating the text of the inscription into modern Siamese letters, we place a dot under a consonant which in the original is conjunct with another.



(1) Year of the Goat (*mamè*), 'rvañ met' year, eighth day of the waning moon of the seventh month, Sunday;

(2) 'Rvañ met' year, tenth day of the waxing moon of the ninth month, Friday, a 'kat set' (กตเสต) day in the Tai reckoning, when the moon was in the nakkhatta of Visākhā.

Mr Roger Billard of the Ecole Française d' Extrême-Orient, to whom we are indebted for examining these dates for us, wrote us as follows on 18 July 1976 (our translation from the French):

'In answer to your letter of 12 July, I begin with your second date, which gives the larger amount of information, and ought to be decisive. In 813 CS, which was a *rvañ met* and *mamè* year, the only day which could be both Friday and *kat set* (กตเสต) is Friday, 11 June 1451 A.D. (Julian). At the beginning of that day, the real moon was indeed in the nakṣatra of Viśākhā, and this "ninth month" gives no difficulty in view of the difference of two months [which is usual between the calendar of Lān Nā and that of central Siam] which you mention (it was preceded by an "eighth month" followed by an *adhikamāsa* or intercalary "eighth month"). But "tenth day of the waxing moon" won't do; it should be the twelfth or thirteenth of the waxing moon . . . .

'In your first date, if the year is really 813 CS, there is the same discrepancy of two days. Sunday, 25 April 1451 A.D. (Julian), was the tenth, and not the eighth, day of the waning moon of the "seventh month" in that year. . . .

In the inscriptions of Siam we have sometimes encountered this sort of apparent discrepancy, amounting to one or two days, which may be due to our uncertainty about the use of intercalary months or days at particular places. In general we have found that they can be safely disregarded when the other elements of the date are right. There are similar uncertainties in the Keng Tung calendar; and in this case the second date is confirmed by the presence of the moon in the nakṣatra of Viśākhā.

Having warned the reader of these difficulties, we shall trouble him no further with them, but take it for granted that the 'rvañ met' year is CS 813, and transpose the dates as 25 April 1451 (Julian calendar) and 11 June 1451 (Julian).

The other seven legible dates, giving the year only, precede these two dates, and run towards them in chronological order (though no dates at all are given for several of the intervening entries). All the dates fall within the lifetime of the author of the inscription. We shall therefore transpose them into CS within the same 60-year cycle. We shall then transpose them into the Christian Era by adding 638, which in a few cases may give a result that is wrong by one year (the CS year did not change on 1 January, but a few months later).

The purpose of the inscription is to commemorate the rebuilding of the 'cetiya in the form of a stūpa' in the Jayamantārāma in 1451, the deposit of three relics of the Buddha in it in the same year, and certain other benefactions made to the monastery at the same time.

The author of the text is the Mahāthera Khemamaṅgala, Abbot of the Jayamantārāma, who was ordained in the New Ceylon Sect by the Mahāthera Dhammagambhīra in 1434.



The legible portion of the inscription opens earlier in Khemamaṅgala's career, in the Year of the Hare [CS 785, 1423 A.D.], when he is a Mahāthera in some other sect, and already Abbot of the Jayamantārāma (the New Ceylon Sect was still unknown at Keng Tung at that time). He causes a bronze image of the Buddha to be made, and deposits it in the 'cetiya in the form of a stūpa' in the Jayamantārāma. He is supported by the Queen of Keng Tung, Lady Siridighā, who makes a series of benefactions to the monastery from the 'kā hmau' year [the same as the 'Year of the Hare' already mentioned, [CS 785, 1423 A.D.] up to the 'kāp ñi' year [CS 796, 1434 A.D.]. (II/1-8.)

Then, evidently in the year just mentioned, Khemamaṅgala goes to be ordained in the community of Cau Dhammagambhīra, who had 'brought the religion from Lānkā to the Tai country' (II/8-10), i.e. to establish the New Ceylon Sect among the Tai.

In an unspecified year, probably CS 804 or 805 (1442 or 1443), Dhammagambhīra gives Khemamaṅgala authority to perform the Acts of the Saṅgha, and sends him back to live at Keng Tung. There, as Abbot of the Jayamantārāma in the New Ceylon Sect, he asks Queen Siridighā where she would like him to establish a consecrated place for the Acts of the Saṅgha. The Queen has *simā* boundary stones brought, and Khemamaṅgala installs them with the orthodox ritual of the New Ceylon Sect. (II/10-15.)

In the 'kā gai' year [CS 805, i.e. 1443 or 1444 A.D.], Cau Braṇṇā Śrī Saddhammarājacuḷāmaṇi accedes as King of Keng Tung and receives the investiture as a vassal of the King of Lān Nā (Tilokarāja, r. 1441-87). At an unstated date, probably in CS 806 or 807 (1444 or 1445), Saddhammarājacuḷāmaṇi retires temporarily from the throne, and is ordained as a monk in the community of the Mahāthera Khemamaṅgala at Keng Tung. (II/16-19.) In CS 808 (1446) he leaves the monkhood and resumes the throne.

At some time between CS 808 and CS 811 (1449) he dies<sup>5</sup>. He is succeeded by his son, who has the same name, and is introduced to us at IV/6-7 as 'Braṇṇā Śrī Saddhammarājacuḷāmaṇi Śrī Yauvarāja'; this person takes a relatively small part in the activities recorded in the inscription. From II/23 on, the lead is taken by the late King's widow, who at IV/15-16 is called 'Cau Braṇṇā Śrī Saddhammarājacuḷāmaṇi, the Mahādevī who is the mother named Śrī Saddhammarājini Śrī Svastimātā', but elsewhere (II/22-23, and frequently thereafter) is called 'Cau Braṇṇā Śrī Saddhammarājacuḷāmaṇi', without further qualification. In order to avoid confusing her with her deceased husband, whom the inscription calls by the same name, we shall—by extending the practice we have already adopted for Queen Siridighā—translate the title Braṇṇā or Cau Braṇṇā as 'Queen' whenever the context shows it refers to the widow of King Śrī Saddhammarājacuḷāmaṇi.

In CS 811 King Tilokarāja of Lān Nā sends word to ask Khemamaṅgala to build a cetiya for the relics of the ruler who was his friend and who was the husband of Queen Śrī Saddham-

<sup>5</sup> It is clear from the passage at II/21-25 that he is dead in CS 811. The chronicle of Vāt Pā Dēn, Keng Tung, in which the dates for this period are mostly wrong by a few years, places his death in the 'rvañ met' year, i.e. CS 813, at least two years later than that implied in our inscription (see ตำนานมูลศาสนา ฉบับวัดบ้านแดง, Chiang Mai University, January 1976).

marājacuḷāmaṇi; presumably Tilokarāja means he will defray the cost of the monument as an act of merit. The Queen then deposits her husband's relics in it. (II/21-25.)

In CS 812 (1450) Khemamaṅgala talks with Queen Śrī Saddhammarājacuḷāmaṇi about rebuilding the 'cetiya in the form of a stūpa' in the Jayamantārāma, and depositing three relics of the Buddha in it. (II/25-29.) This cetiya, which has already been mentioned at II/1-8, is evidently not the one referred to at II/21-25.

On Sunday, 25 April 1451, the Queen builds a relic chamber in the cetiya; she prepares a series of caskets of progressively larger size to enclose one another, with the Buddha's relics in the innermost; and she places the caskets in a stone box which is painted with scenes from the Buddha's life. (II/29-34; III/1-21.)

Then comes a description of the relics, and their enshrinement in the cetiya on 11 June 1451 (Julian). (III/21-27; IV/1-10.)

The text concludes with a description of the rebuilt cetiya, together with a wish that it will endure and be properly maintained as long as the Buddhist religion lasts (IV/10-15); a statement of lands and slaves presented to the monastery by the royal family of Keng Tung (IV/15-19); a wish that whoever sees this inscription will rejoice with the king, and another wish that is partly illegible (IV/19-20); a further statement, partly illegible, of properties presented by the royal family, and an admonition to future kings and officials not to seize them (IV/21-25); a statement of the advantages that Khemamaṅgala hopes to obtain in future lives as a result of the merits he earns, which will enable him to obtain Nirvāṇa in the time of the Buddha Metteyya (IV/26-34); and a statement of Queen Śrī Saddhammarājacuḷāmaṇi's wish to become a Bodhisattva in some future life in order to accumulate the requisites of Buddhahood (IV/34-38).





Figure 1. The inscription of Wat Pā Lyān, Keng Tung, face II.





Figure 2. The same, face III.



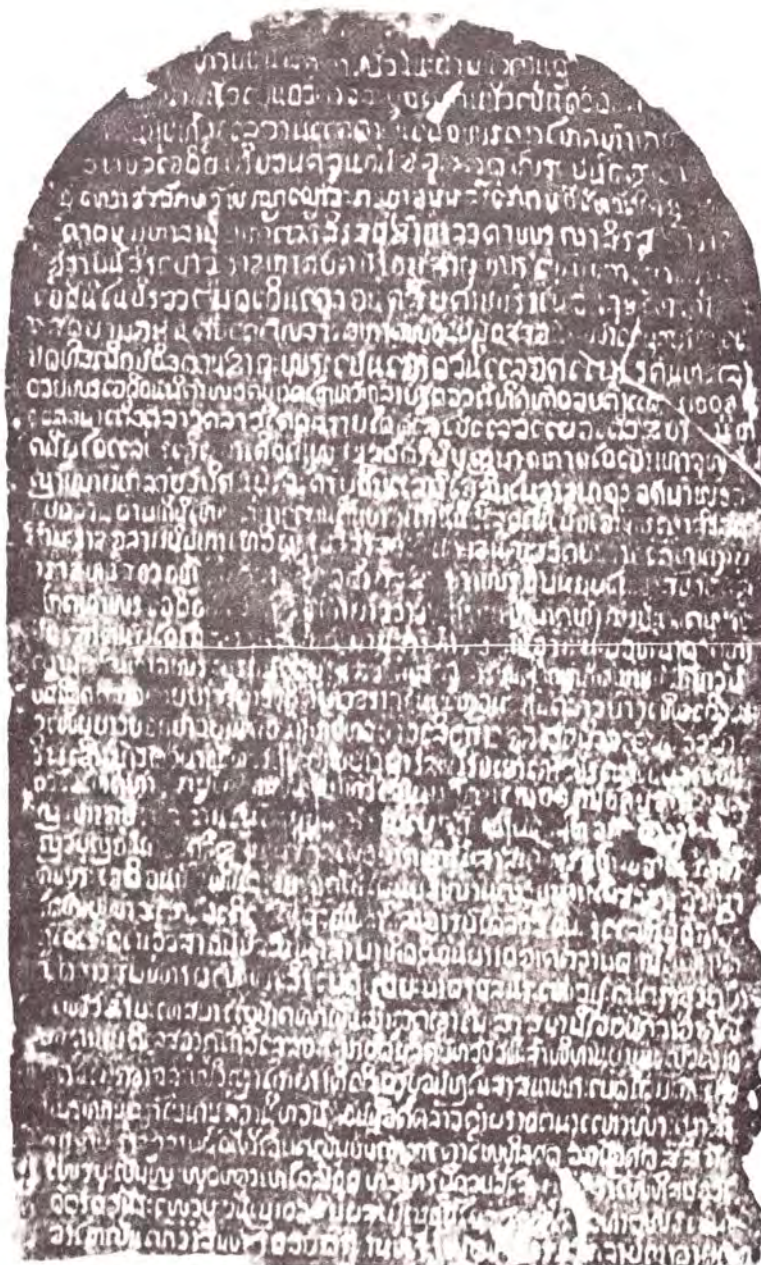


Figure 3. The same, face IV.







## TEXT

Face I (*illegible*)

## Face II

๑. .... ตำนานสารในใจ
๒. (ริต) อนันในปี่โทะ...เดินแลวนอนประกอบชอบ
๓. ควขรึกดปี่ (โทะ) ..... อุบาสิกาพรญาสิริที่คามี่
๔. ใจ (ใสสรทา) ..... (ขส) ตัตรีนี้มีมหาเถรเขมมง
๕. กลเจ้าจึงหักทำ (พระ) ทองเอาใส่ไววิเลปณในสญูรูปเจดีย์มีในไชย
๖. มนตารามเมื่อพญาผู้มีนามปรากฏเป็นศรีเกษมราช  
นางผุฉลาส
๗. (สิริที่คา.) ราชมาดามีสทาหากอนุญาตที่เป็นโกฏาสนบุญ  
แต่ปกาเหมาตร
๘. (าบ) เทากาบผู้มีมหาเถรเขมมงกลเจ้าจึงเขาไปบวส  
ในสำนักเจ้าธำมคำ
๙. (ภยร็อก) โสคอยู่ใต้ (สตัฏวิญญ) แล || ญาหาก  
เอาศาสนาแดลงกามาแพ
๑๐. น(ดิน) เมิงไทควยวิในขตถาคตหากสับทกำมสิทิ  
ให้แก่เจ้าเขมมงค
๑๑. ถใครดัดตนมาเป็นสัจจให้กินมาสถิใน  
เขมราชอยู่ในอาวาสไชยมนตา
๑๒. ราม(ม)หาเถรจึงจถามพรญาสิริที่คาที่นี้ให้เสมา  
ใดสุดกำมวจากาฬผู้มีสทา
๑๓. จิงจให้ดูกดหมายทั้งหลายจิงจเอาหรินมา  
เป็นนิมิตในทิสทังแปดแหง
๑๔. แต่งตั้ง. .... (หุณัก) หุณาเมื่อนันผู้ (ครุกำมะการี)  
กนัมถึงที่แผ่นดินคลา
๑๕. ไกลไหวหวนเป็นอสังันในวนันผู้เสมาที่นี้  
มีดงันแลดงัแตนนมา

๑๖. วนวาทปี่นึ่งมาเถิงในปีกาไคเจ้าพรญาศรี  
สขัมราชจุลามาเนไดเสวีย
๑๗. ราชสับดีเป็นพรญาแทนพริ่อนมี  
ไ(จ)ไสสรทาเป็นขสดีพิงดีศรี
๑๘. สขัมราชจุลามาเนเป็นเจ้าจึงเขามาบวส  
ในตำ(นั) มหาเถรเขมมมงคล
๑๙. เจ้าทีในชยงใหม่แลรอดสองปีในปี (ราไวยญ์)  
มหาเถรเจ้าจึง(ตง)มหา
๒๐. พรหมจารี (สขัมราชจุลามาเน) เจ้าเป็นอาจารย์  
แกวสมุดควยอนันบริสุทสี่ลาจาร
๒๑. หุนานพุทธาสหุณาสรสขัมราชจุลามาเนคิน  
ไพสุร (า) ขสมบัตติด้วยสวสดีในปี
๒๒. กติไสโดย (เชอ) ไสคำเราเจามหาราชผู้เป็นพรญาใหญ่  
(ใน) ชยงนพรีทาว
๒๓. (ลาวด) หีมักทำไสพุดเจดีแกทาวผู้ (เปนมิดไมตรี)  
กบ (สามี่) เจ้าพรญาศรีส
๒๔. สขัมราชจุลามาเนมื่อสาหบขาดในสาสนาจึง  
.....
๒๕. .... ไส ชาติ(พ) สามี่ในปีกตสงำเมื่อนี  
มหาเถร .....
๒๖. .... ยิงจึงจกักลาวแก (พรญา) สิริสดีทำมะ  
ราชจุลามาเนิดว
๒๗. (ย) ..... จุระธาตุพระเจอนันตนเขาไฟเอา  
แต (ณ) วบุรีนคอร
๒๘. .... ไกลมากยากกบหุนกัหุนาเจ้าพรญา  
ผู้ปรเส็ดอนเกิดพงขส
๒๙. (ดตีร์) .... ใหญ่. กิจจกัไหกทำสญบรูบเจดี  
อนันในปีมแมแปรกลาว



๓๐. . . . . รวงเบตเดินเจดแรมแปดคำทำได้  
วันอาทิตย์สถิตด้วยรี
๓๑. กตบรวพัตถ์รบดกรีกตบรว(ผ)ดส์บด เจ้าพรญามักไกร  
ไหเป็นคณบุ
๓๒. ญอิงจิงจกั (ไห) . . . (ใน) หองทองพุดเจด (ที่)  
จกัไสธาตุพระเปนเจ้านี้
๓๓. . . . . ลำดับด้วยชนันน้อออกมามีตุน  
วาโกดแก (ว) ป
๓๔. บัฟาล . . . . . แลคำโกดขาวดูทำ  
แลวโกดแกว

## Face III

๑. ผลักรตนะถันนัชนโกดคำแลวก
๒. ทำโกดเงิน (อังก้าน) ดบัถดโกดจัน
๓. แดงแลจิงแปลงโกดงามาถดโกด
๔. ทองแดงแปลงปรอบสัลาเรจนาด้วย
๕. . . . . แกวแลวกทำให้คำลำดับ
๖. (อนันเหนืออนันไต) มีแผนหรินสัลาเปน . . .
๗. . (ปรดิด) ด้วยคำกทำนียาอนันพิจิตู (พิ)
๘. . . . . (ดง) เมื่อ พระเจ้าเขาไพสุธรมหาโ
๙. พธิแลปรจนมารดานิงมี (คุรว) ดงมี
๑๐. อเทศนาข้ามจกัขัธรูปบวัพนดีแลพริ
๑๑. (ปลาก) นิงมีมอดังเมื่อพุดเขาเทศนา
๑๒. แกพุดญาสุธสุโท(ท)นราชนปฺราสาทะ
๑๓. (มีสัร) ยโสทรามีทงสาร์บูตโมกลานท
๑๔. (งเจ้า) ราหุลกุมมามีรูปนางทงหลา
๑๕. ยเปนปริทานจัญสนทระกบปวิวารดา
๑๖. นิงมี . . . การเมื่อพระเจ้าไพเทศนาอะ
๑๗. พิชามะสตะปะกรนำแกสรมหามาญา

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## Face IV



๑๑. ด้วยพรเจตอันมีคำพอกยอดไหวงหลายรูตวงถึ  
ทักทำด้วยคำแต่ยอดจ
๑๒. อดลงมาถึงถลางกลางโกดตราบไคแลไปแลว  
แสวเลิงชอรรนี้หา
๑๓. กมีผู้ใดแลประเลิดมาเกิดในพงษัตตี่มีบุญมาก  
หากไคเป็นทาวพร
๑๔. ญาพายหลังยังมีคนผู้ใดใครผู้อื่นแลมีใจขึ้น  
ในศาสนาจงจก้นำพรก
๑๕. เขตงามตามทั้นไคเตทาแผ่นดินทวน  
อนันิงโสดในเมื่อเจ้าพรญาสรัส
๑๖. ชำมะราชจุลามาหนีมหาเทวีผู้(แม่ชี) สรัสชำนะ  
ราชินีศรีสวัสดิ์มาดาแลพรญา
๑๗. วราชทังสองอนันอยู่เ็นคลองขสตัตรมีสธา  
พรำพรอมนอมในศาสนาหาก
๑๘. ไกททำพรเจตอันมีทังไรนาปายางวาง  
ทังคนใหม่มากทำอุบปะถากพร
๑๙. ปนเจ้าคนผู้ใดไคเขาเหนดำนานสาร(จาริต)  
อนันิงจะอะนะมวทนาควยพร
๒๐. ญามีสธาทาวพรญาอนันเกิดในวง  
..... ทวน
๒๑. อนันิงจักกล่าวควย .....
๒๒. ....
๒๓. .... รอยเขาเจ้าพรญาแม่ลูกพิน
๒๔. องไวไกททำบูชาผู้ใดเป็นพรญาทังเสนาบดี  
ญาเอาออกนอกบูชาอนันพร
๒๕. ญาหากปรดิสถานในไชยมนตารามเย  
ควยคำมีดังนี้ทวน ||
๒๖. ญับัญอนันไดอนันกุชี่เขมมะมกเกิดมา  
กทำในศาสนาพระเป็นเจ้าเตามา

๒๓. กพระเจดีย์มีในที่นี้ตราใบโคไปได  
นรพานัญญ์อยู่นานในสงสารจัญญา
๒๔. ไคพบพละญาไคเกิดในกรกูลอนหา  
สัลาจารบไควงสอนไรแลถึมิตมาจุง
๒๕. กุไคเกิดในวงสาอนมีสัลาจารสำมาทิต  
ถือนัผราดจากความตฺรหุนี้ในทานกุ
๓๐. จไคสาธสัมพารตเทพาพระสิริเมตไคยะ  
มาตรดัสัณระเพงยะตณัญาจุงกุพริ
๓๑. ไคฟ้งรัมมะเทศนาแดปากพรเปนเจ้า  
จุงกุเขาในสาสนามีไจอนักลาจากเบ
๓๒. งจากามมกิเลสจุงกุไควี่เสสอะระหัดต  
ผลกบัท้งปัดติสำพิทานยานนัญญ์ญานั
๓๓. อัก(อุเบ)กขจจะพริญาไหผรากิตติจัง  
บุญันทรในสาสนาพระเมตไคยเจ้าไพเถิง
๓๔. นรพานัญญาไคนานกวานี่ทวนอนี่จักกล่าวคำ  
ผราดถนาแหงพริญาสิริ
๓๕. สดัรัมมะราชจุลามนี่อนี่มีไจมกัเปนหนั  
เหงาเคาโพทิสตตะวะอนัจกัตฺรสัณระ
๓๖. เพงยะเปนพระพุตทจุงไหไคสำยุดทสบาร์มี  
ควยวี่ไส... พระโพทิสตจุงไ
๓๗. คตฺรดัสัณระเพงยะตณัญาควยผลบุญอนี่ไค  
(กเจตัส) ทาตุพรเปน
๓๘. จาไหเปนเหงาสัพารควยต่านาน (พระพุตท)...  
ท้งหลายญาขาดไค



## TRANSLATION

[Face I, which is almost completely illegible, has the remains of a horoscopic diagram at the top, presumably the horoscope at the time the relics were deposited in the cetiya; see II/25-IV/10.]

[II/1-2.] ..... the history summed up in this inscription<sup>1</sup>.

[II/2-9.] In the Year of the Hare<sup>2</sup> .... at a month and day when the rkṣa<sup>3</sup> was suitable. In the Year of the [Hare] ..... the upāsikā, Queen Siridīghā<sup>4</sup>, with her heart full of [faith] ..... royal lineage<sup>5</sup>. The Mahāthera Khemamaṅgala Cau then caused a bronze [image of the Buddha] to be made, and deposited (it with) sweet-smelling ointments in the cetiya which has the form of a stūpa<sup>6</sup>, in the Jayamantārāma<sup>7</sup>. The queen whose name is widely known as the good fortune of Khemaraṭṭha<sup>8</sup>, the capable lady who<sup>9</sup> is named [Siridīghā. .] Rājamātā<sup>10</sup>, filled with faith, presented<sup>11</sup> lands (to the monastery, so as to earn) shares<sup>12</sup> of merit, from the 'kā hmau' year up to the 'kāp nī' (year)<sup>13</sup>. Then also the Mahāthera

<sup>1</sup> จารึก (II/1-2), put for จารึก, 'inscription'. In Keng Tung, as we are informed by Sao Sâi Möng, the word for 'inscription' is constantly spelt จารึก. For Siamese examples of this spelling with the same meaning, see Inscr. 67, I/12 and I/16 (*Prajam Silācārīk*, III, p. 161), and Inscr. 68, II/2 (*ibid.*, p. 168).

<sup>2</sup> The Year of the Hare (ปีเถาะ, II/2), as will appear from subsequent dates given in other terms, is CS 785. It corresponds for the most part to 1423 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> รักษ (II/3), used in Tai Yuan for ฤกษ์.

<sup>4</sup> Upāsikā (II/3) means a female lay-devotee (Pali: feminine of upāsaka, 'male lay-devotee'). The term shows that brañā (พระญา, II/3), which usually means a king or prince in the inscriptions of this period, here means a queen or princess. Judging from the context, she was the Queen of Keng Tung, who was either a ruler in her own right or acting as regent. She was probably the mother of Cau Brañā Śrī Saddhammarājacūḷāmaṇi who became King of Keng Tung in 1443. At II/12 her name is written clearly, Siridīghā, which we assume to be put for Pali Siridīghā (siri, 'good fortune', etc., + dīghā, 'long', 'long-lasting'). We have regularized the spelling of her name to Siridīghā.

<sup>5</sup> (ขส) ดัฒน (II/4), modern กษัตริ. The word มี, 'there was', etc., which follows this expression, appears to be used here and in a few other passages as a kind of introductory particle, which is best omitted in translation.

<sup>6</sup> สทุบรูปเจติ (II/5), for stūparūpacetiya (a mixed Sanskrit and Pali compound).

<sup>7</sup> Written jaiyamantārāma at II/5-6, etc.; we have regularized the spelling (Pali; jaya, 'victory' or 'success' + manta, 'charm' or 'spell', here probably referring to holy water, + ārāma, 'pleasure-ground', 'park' or 'garden', or [in the Buddhist sense] 'monastery').

<sup>8</sup> Khemaraṭṭha, the Pali name for Keng Tung, is written Khemarāja in this inscription; we have regularized the spelling. The queen's name, Siridīghā, was widely known as the good fortune (สิริ, Pali: siri, or Sanskrit: śrī) of Keng Tung because it means 'long-lasting good fortune'.

<sup>9</sup> นางผู้ฉลาด (II/6) = นางผู้ฉลาด

<sup>10</sup> Rājamātā means 'royal mother'.

<sup>11</sup> อนุญาต (II/7), modern, อนุญาต, 'to grant', etc., from Pali: anujānāti, or its past participle anuññā.

<sup>12</sup> โกฐาส (II/7), for Pali koṭṭhāsa, 'share', 'portion'.

<sup>13</sup> I.e. from CS 785 to CS 796, say from 1423 to 1434 A.D.



Khemamaṅgala Cau went to be ordained in the community of Cau Dhammagambhīra<sup>14</sup>, and lived under (the rules of) the master of clear understanding<sup>15</sup>. ||

[II/9-10.] His lordship himself had brought the religion from Laṅkā to the Dai (*Tai*) country, together with the Buddha's Vinaya<sup>16</sup>.

[II/10-15.] He himself gave Cau Khemamaṅgala religious instruction, and the authority (to perform) the acts (of the Saṅgha)<sup>17</sup>. (Cau Khemamaṅgala) received the (Three)

<sup>14</sup> See 'Introduction' above, p. 70; at II/8 the name is written Dhāṃmagāmbhīra: we regularize the spelling. The word จິง (= จິง 'then') at II/8 implies that Khemamaṅgala's ordination in Dhammagambhīra's community took place very soon after the conclusion of the queen's series of benefactions, hence in the 'kāp ñi' year (CS 796, say 1434 A.D.). According to Jinakālamālī, Dhammagambhīra and his group of monks were active at *Chiang Sèn* and *Chiang Rāi* between 1433 and 1441 (see Coedès, BEFEO XXV/1, p. 107). It was probably somewhere in this area that Khemamaṅgala was ordained in the New Ceylon Sect. In the expression จเขาไปบวช (II/8), i.e. จเขาไปบวช, the word จ must mean something like 'proceeded to'; we have omitted it from our translation. A similar use of จ (จะ), or its equivalent จัก (จัก), occurs at II/12, 13, 26, 29, etc.

<sup>15</sup> The doubtful reading สัตถวิปญฺจ at II/9 probably represents Pali *satthu vipaṇcita* (*satthu*, 'master'; and *vipaṇcita*, 'of unillusioned understanding', 'clear-minded', 'unprejudiced', etc.); see Pali Text Society's Dictionary, s.v. *satthu* and *vipaṇcita*; the expression probably refers to Dhammagambhīra.

<sup>16</sup> ญา (II/9) is a respectful pronoun, something like 'his lordship', here referring to Dhammagambhīra. The next word, ทาก, is an intensifier, 'he himself', 'he, for his part', etc. 'The Buddha's Vinaya' (วินยตถาคต, II/10) is the Pali book of monastic discipline, which was believed to have been preserved in a purer form in Ceylon. 'Tathāgata' is an epithet of the Buddha.

<sup>17</sup> สัมปทกัมมสิทฺธิ (II/10) for Pali *sampada kammāsiddhi*. The word *sampada* means 'attainment', 'accomplishment', etc., particularly a monk's attainment of progressively higher stages of religious development during the course of his career, e.g. in discipline, meditation, learning, wisdom, etc. (see the Pali Text Society's Dictionary, s.v.). This probably refers to several years of training Khemamaṅgala received in the New Ceylon Sect under Dhammagambhīra, preparing him to be given authority to perform the Acts of the Saṅgha (กัมม, an abbreviation of *saṅghakamma*, 'acts of the Saṅgha'; and สิทฺธิ, *siddhi*, 'authority').

The Acts of the Saṅgha are certain monastic rites, such as the establishment of a consecrated place surrounded by boundary stones (*sīmā*), the acts of *uposatha* and *pavāraṇā* (the recitation of the *Pātimokkha* or precepts of the monastic discipline twice each lunar month and at the conclusion of Vassa), and the ordination of monks. Authority to perform these acts is given only to a *Mahāthera*, i.e. a man who has become a *Thera* ('elder') by having spent ten years as a monk, and has received the title *Mahā* ('great') by passing a certain course of studies. When Khemamaṅgala, who was already a *Mahāthera* in the old Keng Tung sect, decided to join the New Ceylon Sect headed by Dhammagambhīra, he first had to retire from the monkhood and become a layman. Ordinarily we should expect a monk who did so would lose his seniority, and have to spend 10 years in the new sect before becoming a *Thera*; *Mūlasāsanā* cites examples of this very thing. But there were some exceptions.

The group led by Dhammagambhīra and Medhaṅkara seem to have retained their seniority as *Theras* after being reordained in Ceylon in CS 786 (1424 A.D.). It appears, however, that they did not immediately receive authorization to perform the Acts of the Saṅgha in the sect they had joined; for, according to Jinakālamālī, when they returned to Siam in 1424/5, they brought with them two *Theras* to act as *upajjhāyas*, *Mahāvikkamabāhu* and *Mahā-uttamapaṇṇā*, who had been ordained in Ceylon 15 and 10 years earlier, respectively (the mention of '10 years' in this context seems significant). For several years after the group reached Siam, one or the other of these two monks must have acted as *upajjhāya* at ordinations, with other members of the group participating as part of the required chapter of five monks. Jinakālamālī, without actually saying so, implies that this was true of the ordinations by which new members were admitted to the group at Ayudhyā, Sajanālaya, Sukhodaya, etc., between 1425 and 1430 (see Coedès, BEFEO XXV/1, pp. 105, 106).

The group led by Dhammagambhīra and Medhaṅkara then went to Chiang Mai, where they spent the seventh and eighth rainy seasons (*Vassā*) since their reordination; but during this period no ordinations are mentioned by Jinakālamālī, from which it should perhaps be inferred that they themselves had not yet received



Gems<sup>18</sup> to govern his conduct. (Cau Dhammagambhīra) then sent him back to reside<sup>19</sup> at Khemaraṭṭha in the āvāsa<sup>20</sup> of the Jayamantārāma. The Mahāthera (Khemamaṅgala) then asked Queen Siridighā which place here should be given as a semā for reciting the kammavācā<sup>21</sup>. The zealous queen caused all the rules to be examined, and had stones<sup>22</sup> brought (to serve) as markers in all the eight directions, exceedingly [well]<sup>23</sup> set up. At the moment when the throng of monks and workmen touched the ground<sup>24</sup>, the earth quaked<sup>25</sup> miraculously; on the day the semā stones were planted here, there was such (a miracle).

[II/15-16.] After that, an uneventful year passed.

authorization to perform the Acts of the Saṅgha, and that Mahāvikkamabāhu and Mahā-uttamapaṇṇā were no longer with them. It was in CS 794 (1423 A.D.), according to Jinakālamālī, that the group performed their first four ordinations—apparently meaning the first four they conducted without Mahāvikkamabāhu and Mahā-uttamapaṇṇā. The rites were performed not at Chiang Mai, but on rafts at *Lampāng*, *Lampūn*, and two other places. In the same year, at the beginning of the rainy season, they established a consecrated ground surrounded by sīmā boundary-stones, in the Upariārāma (see Coedès, BEFEO XXV/1, pp. 106, 107). Jinakālamālī does not tell us who authorized them to perform these acts; but they were certainly performing them less than 10 years after their own ordination in Ceylon.

We cannot be sure when Dhammagambhīra authorized Khemamaṅgala to perform the Acts. If he followed the precedent he himself had set, it may have been as early as CS 804 (1442). Otherwise it must have been in CS 805 (1443); see below, note 26. In either case, we assume that Khemamaṅgala returned to Keng Tung within a very short time after being given authority to perform the Saṅghakamma.

<sup>18</sup> The Buddha, the Dhamma (Buddhist doctrine), and the Saṅgha: the reference is to administering the traditional Pali formula of refuge in the Buddha, the Doctrine and the Monkhood.

<sup>19</sup> สถิต (II/11) = สถิต.

<sup>20</sup> In this context, a residence for a monk.

<sup>21</sup> ที่นี้ให้เสมาใดสุดกำวจา (II/12); ที่นี้ is for ที่นี่, 'here'; ให้ = ให้; เสมา, Siamese *semā*, Pali *sīmā*, means 'boundary', etc.; ไต which; สุด = สุด 'to recite'; กำวจา = Pali *kammavācā*. The sīmā boundary-stones are erected, with due ritual, to delimit a consecrated area as required for the Saṅghakamma; see above, note 17; also Taw Sein Ko, *The Kalyāṇī Inscriptions Erected by King Dhammaceti at Pegu in 1476 A.D.* (Rangoon, 1892; pp. i-vi). *Kammavācā* means the words or text of an official Act of of the Saṅgha; these texts are embodied in the Vinaya: see the Pali Text Society's Dictionary (part III: p. 18).

<sup>22</sup> หรีน (II/13) = Siamese หิน

<sup>23</sup> Eight sīmā boundary stones are planted around an uposathāgāra or other consecrated area, one at each of the cardinal and subcardinal points (with a ninth usually buried in the center). Our restoration of the lacuna at II/14 as 'well' is a conjecture based on the context: it must have contained an expression meaning something like 'well' or 'beautifully', which was modified by the intensifying adverb หนักหนา, 'exceedingly'.

<sup>24</sup> เมื่อนั้นฝูง (ครูกำมะการี) คนมีเถิงที่แผ่นดิน (II/14) = เมื่อนั้นฝูงครูกรรมการี ครั้นเมื่อถึงที่แผ่นดิน literally: 'At that time the throng of monks and workmen, when their hands reached to the earth', etc. Note that the word แผ่นดิน must be understood twice, first at the end of this clause, and again as the subject of the following sentence.

<sup>25</sup> คลาไคลไหวหวั่น (II/14-15); คลาไคล 'to move'; ไหวหวั่น, 'to tremble', 'to quiver'. An earthquake of this kind was regarded not as a disaster, but as a spectacular act on the part of the goddess of the earth to celebrate an important event in the history of religion. For another example, see JSS 61/1; p. 143 and note 56.



[II/16-21.] In the 'kā gai' year<sup>26</sup>, Cau Brañā Śrī Saddhammarājacūlāmaṇi<sup>27</sup> became king by the authority of Nabapuri<sup>28</sup>. Full of faith, and (born) of a splendid royal line, Śrī Saddhammarājacūlāmaṇi pen Cau came to be a monk in the community of the Mahāthera Khemamaṅgala Cau at Jyañ Hmāi for two years<sup>29</sup>. In the 'rvāy ñi' year<sup>30</sup>, the Mahāthera (Khemamaṅgala) conferred on Mahābrahmacārī [dhammarājacūlāmaṇi] (the title) of Ācariyadhara Kēv-Smut<sup>31</sup> endowed with pure moral conduct. The former monk<sup>32</sup> of the holy religion, Śrī Saddhammarājacūlāmaṇi, resumed the throne in prosperity.

[II/21-25.] In the 'kāt sāi' year<sup>33</sup>, having faith in my words<sup>34</sup>, the Lord Mahārāja who is Sovereign Monarch [of] Jyañ Nabapuri<sup>35</sup>, asked (me to build) a cetiya to deposit (the relics) of the ruler<sup>36</sup> who [was his friend] and [who was the husband] of Queen Śrī Saddhammarājacū-

<sup>26</sup> CS 805, say 1443 A.D. In note 17, we have suggested that Khemamaṅgala may have received the authority to perform the Saṅghakamma and returned to Keng Tung in CS 804. It seems more likely, however, that this did not occur until he had spent '10 years' in the New Ceylon Sect; and the inscription can be so interpreted without violating its chronological framework. The method of calculating a monk's seniority was based on the number of rainy seasons he had spent in the Order. The rainy season retreat (Vassā) began in June or July, depending on the lunar calendar, and usually lasted three months (see JSS 61/1, p. 122). Khemamaṅgala was ordained in the New Ceylon Sect in CS 796 (see above, note 14); and if his ordination took place before the rainy season of that year, he would have spent '10 years' in it by the end of the rainy season of CS 805. That would still leave him time to receive authorization to perform the Saṅghakamma, and to return to Keng Tung towards the end of 1443 A.D. or in early 1444, at any rate before the close of CS 805. In the traditional arithmetic any part of a year counts as a full one; and the 'uneventful year' that passed after the simā was established (II/15-16) might in fact have been only a few months.

<sup>27</sup> The name is written Śrī Sadhāmmarājacūlāmaṇi at II/16, and in various ways in other parts of the inscription. We regularize the spelling, but without reconciling Pali and Sanskrit forms.

<sup>28</sup> แตนพบุรี (II/17). We conjecture that แตน (แตน, usually 'from') here means 'by the authority of'. Nabapuri ('new city') is Chiang Mai, the capital of Lān Nā. It is not clear whether Saddhammarājacūlāmaṇi was at Chiang Mai or at Keng Tung when he received the investiture as King of Keng Tung. If at Chiang Mai, he presumably received it directly at the hands of his suzerain, the Mahārāja Tilokarāja (King of Lān Nā, 1441-1487).

<sup>29</sup> Jyañ Hmāi (II/19) = Chiang Mai; it is clear from the context that the name here refers to Keng Tung rather than the capital of Lān Nā.

<sup>30</sup> ปีระไวยฎี (II/19), for ปีระวายฎี, i.e. CS 808, say 1446 A.D. In referring to a monk, 'two years' means any period that includes two rainy seasons. We infer that Śrī Saddhammarājacūlāmaṇi was ordained some time before the rainy season of CS 807 and retired from the monkhood some time after the rainy season of CS 808.

<sup>31</sup> Mahābrahmacārī dhammarājacūlāmaṇi was evidently the name given to Cau Śrī Saddhammarājacūlāmaṇi during his sojourn as a monk (the Pali word Brahmacārī means 'leading a chaste life'). The title Ācariyadhara Kēv Smut (II/20), if that is the right reading, is something of a puzzle. We conjecture that Kēv-Smut (literally 'gem books') refers to the Piṭaka, and that the title represents a partial Tai translation of a Pali title Ācariya Piṭakadhara, 'teacher who knows the Piṭakas by heart'. From the context of II/21, we gather that Śrī Saddhammarājacūlāmaṇi received this title when he was about to retire from the monkhood.

<sup>32</sup> หนาน (II/21), an honorific for one who has retired from the monkhood. Apparently Śrī Saddhammarājacūlāmaṇi retired from the monkhood in CS 808 (say 1446) and resumed the throne of Keng Tung. According to Jinakālamālī, the Thera Somacitta established the religion at Keng Tung in CS 810 (say, 1448; see 'Introduction', p. 67). It is possible that 'Somacitta' and 'Khemamaṅgala' are two different appellations for the same monk; but if that is right, why should Jinakālamālī tell us that Somacitta established the religion at Keng Tung in CS 810 (a date which is not mentioned at all in our inscription), whereas the inscription shows that Khemamaṅgala established the simā at Keng Tung several years earlier?

<sup>33</sup> CS 811, 1449 A.D.

<sup>34</sup> Khemamaṅgala here refers to himself in the first person (เรา), (II/22).

<sup>35</sup> เจมหาราชผู้เป็นพระญาใหญ่ (ใน) ชยงนพบุรี (II/22). The reference is to the Mahārāja Tilokarāja, King of Lān Nā, who was Śrī Saddhammarājacūlāmaṇi's suzerain. The kings of Lān Nā bore the title Mahārāja.

<sup>36</sup> King Śrī Saddhammarājacūlāmaṇi had recently died; see 'Introduction', p. 71.



lāmaṇi. (The queen,) who possesses unfailing energy<sup>37</sup> in the religion, then .....  
... caused her husband's relics to be deposited (in the cetiya).

[II/25-29.] In the 'kat sñā' year<sup>38</sup>, the Mahāthera (Khemamaṅgala) .....  
..... addressed Queen Śrī Saddhammarājacūlāmaṇi with ..... to enshrine<sup>39</sup>  
the Lord's relics which he had brought from Navapurīnagara<sup>40</sup> ..... very far away (by a  
road that is) exceedingly difficult and troublesome. The excellent queen, born of a great royal  
line .... then caused this cetiya in the form of a stūpa to be rebuilt<sup>41</sup>.

[II/29-34.] In the Year of the Goat, in other words<sup>42</sup> ..... the 'rvaṇ met' [year], on  
the eighth day of the waning moon of the seventh month, a Sunday<sup>43</sup>, at the ṛkṣa of Pūrvabhā-  
drapada, that is, .....<sup>44</sup>, the queen, desiring (to perform a work of) much benefit and  
merit, [caused] ... in the golden chamber of the holy cetiya as a place to deposit these relics  
of the Lord ..... (She prepared) a graduated series<sup>45</sup> (of caskets)<sup>46</sup>, beginning  
with a casket<sup>47</sup> of coral<sup>48</sup> ..... and gold; (then) a casket of white appearance through-  
out<sup>49</sup>; then a casket [III/1-21.] of gem crystal; next in the series<sup>50</sup> a gold casket; then she made  
a silver casket [with a gold cover]; next in the series, a red sandalwood casket; then she made<sup>51</sup>

<sup>37</sup> มีอุสาห์ขาด (II/24); อุสาห์ = Pali *ussāha*, 'energy'; ขขาด = ขขาด.

<sup>38</sup> CS 812, 1450 A.D.

<sup>39</sup> จุระ (II/27) = บรรจุ.

<sup>40</sup> Apparently written *navapurīnagōra* (II/27); but the reading is doubtful. If correct, it presumably means Chieng Mai, the capital of Lān Nā.

<sup>41</sup> The 'cetiya in the form of a stūpa' at the Jayamantārāma is the one already mentioned at II/5 in reference to the deposit of a bronze image in it in 1423. The word กุทำ (II/29), modern กระทำ, can mean either to build or to rebuild. As the 'cetiya in the form of a stūpa' was presumably still standing in 1450, we think the operation would consist of repairs and beautification, or perhaps encasing it in a larger and more splendid monument. We therefore translate กุทำ as 'rebuilt'.

<sup>42</sup> แปรกลาว (II/29); แปร = เปลี่ยน, 'to change'; กล่าว, 'to say'. The author first designates the year by the name used in central Siam, then by that used in Lān Nā.

<sup>43</sup> Sunday, 25 April, 1451 (Julian). The expression พ้าไตวันอาทิตย์ (II/30) = Tai Yuan พ้าไตวันอาทิตย์, 'corresponding to Sunday'.

<sup>44</sup> บวรพัตร์บริวาร (ผ) ตัลลิต (II/31). We have regularized the spelling of the first expression, but omitted the second, the reading of which is doubtful and which seems to represent something like *rikata pūravaphātsipada*. The word *bhādra* is sometimes written, in Old Mon, as *phatsa* (for *phatsi*?).

<sup>45</sup> ลำดับด้วยชั้นออกมา (II/33) = ลำดับด้วยชั้นออกมา.

<sup>46</sup> Relics to be deposited in a stūpa were generally enclosed in a series of caskets fitted inside one another; the innermost, containing the relics, was made of the most precious material, and the others of material of progressively less value.

<sup>47</sup> โทด (II/33, etc.), for Pali *kosa*.

<sup>48</sup> แก้วปัทมา (II/33-34): แก้ว, 'gem'; ปัทมา, for Pali *pavāla* or *pavāḷa*, 'coral'.

<sup>49</sup> พ้า (II/34), Siamese พ้า; the word is here used in the sense it has in the *Īsāna* dialect, 'complete', 'altogether', 'throughout'. See มหาวิวงศ์, พจนานุกรมภาคอีสาน — ภาคกลาง (Bangkok, B.E. 2515: p. 284).

<sup>50</sup> ถัดนั้น (III/1) and ถัดถัด (III/2) both mean 'next in the series'.

<sup>51</sup> แปลง (III/3); see มหาวิวงศ์, *op.cit.*, p. 269.



an ivory casket; and (finally) a copper casket. She made a stone box<sup>52</sup> painted<sup>53</sup> with (scenes from) the glorious [stories]<sup>54</sup>, and then she had words (of explanation inscribed) in sequence; [above and below], there were stone slabs . . . . . [set up] with words relating the stories in detail: . . . . . the scene when<sup>55</sup> the Lord went to the Śrīmahābodhi tree and encountered Māra<sup>56</sup>; on one side, enclosed in pictures of lotuses of fine color<sup>57</sup>, there was the scene of the time when he preached the Wheel of the Doctrine<sup>58</sup>; and in one place there was the scene when the Lord went to preach to Brañā Śrī Suddhodanarāja in the palace, with (figures of) Śrī Yasodharā, as well as Sāriputta and Moggallāna, and also [Prince] Rāhulakumāra, with pictures of many ladies dancing around, giving praise<sup>59</sup>, and conversing with the retainers<sup>60</sup>; (and) on one side was . . . . . the scene when the Lord went to preach the seven Pakaraṇas of the Abhidhamma to Śrī Mahāmāyā<sup>61</sup> under the Pārijāta tree, (while sitting) on the Silāpādha<sup>62</sup> throne . . . . . (with figures of) Indra and the Devatās above and below. There were many beautiful stories, all complete<sup>63</sup>, and also pictures of the sun and moon in color . . .

<sup>52</sup> ปรอบลิลลา (III/4), 'stone box'. The word ปรอบ or ฆอบ in modern Siamese means 'a vessel mounted on a low base and fitted with a cover which is decorated with a fancy tapering tip' (McFarland, p. 506) or 'a chrismatory cup with base and tapering lip, sometimes used as an urn' (McFarland, p. 543). Neither of these meanings will do in the context; but in Middle Khmer, as we learn from Madame Saveros Pou, *pra-ap* meant any kind of box. In this case it was obviously a stone box large enough to contain the succession of caskets encasing one another.

<sup>53</sup> เรจนา (III/4), for Pali: racanā, 'arrangement' or 'composition', or else for Pali: rajana, 'coloring'.

<sup>54</sup> แก้ว (III/5) = แก้ว, probably used as a qualifier in the sense of 'glorious'. The word in the preceding lacuna must have meant something like 'stories'. As we shall see in a moment, the compositions were scenes from the Buddha's life.

<sup>55</sup> We use the term 'scene when' to translate the expression ดั่งเมื่อ (III/8, 9-10, and 11) = ดั่งเมื่อ, literally 'just as when'.

<sup>56</sup> The incident just preceding the Enlightenment.

<sup>57</sup> ขัตรีบบัวพันต์ (III/10); ขัตรีบ, 'enclosed in pictures'; บัวพรรณดี, 'lotuses of fine color'.

<sup>58</sup> ฐามจัก (III/10), Pali: dhammacakka; here referring to the Buddha's First Sermon, which 'set in motion the Wheel of the Doctrine'.

<sup>59</sup> Conjectural translation of ญ (III-15), which perhaps = modern ญอ.

<sup>60</sup> The description of the scenes continues with the Buddha's visit to Kapilavatthu to preach to his father King Suddhodana. During the course of this visit he saw his former wife Yasodharā and their son Rāhula (kumāra means a young boy). Sāriputta and Moggallāna were the Buddha's two chief disciples. At the Buddha's request, Sāriputta ordained Rāhula as a sāmaṇera. The 'many ladies' are presumably King Suddhodana's attendants, 'dancing around' (ปริทานจา, III/15, for Pali: paridā-naccā; but the reading is doubtful).

<sup>61</sup> The Buddha's mother, who had died a week after giving him birth, and been reborn in the Tusita Heaven. The Buddha went to preach the Abhidhamma to her in the Tāvātimsa Heaven, which she visited in order to hear him. The Abhidhamma (the analytic doctrine of the Buddhist Canon) consists of seven books designated as Pakaraṇas. At the invitation of Indra (Sakka), King of the Tāvātimsa Heaven, the Buddha preached while sitting on the Paṇḍukambala-silāsana, the throne which was ordinarily occupied by Indra himself. The throne is situated at the foot of the huge coral tree (*Erythrina indica*) named Pārijāta or Pāricchat-taka, which is one of the most conspicuous features of the Tāvātimsa Heaven; see Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* (London, 1960; I, p. 1002). In the passage III/12-18 we have regularized the spelling of proper names. In the text, Suddhodana's name is written Brañā Śrī Suddodanarāja (III/12); Sāriputta is written Sāriput (III/13); Moggallāna is written Mogalān (III/13); Śrī Mahāmāyā is written Śrī Mahāmānā (III/17); Pārijāta (III/18) is written Pārikajātī.

<sup>62</sup> This oddly spelt word, which is preceded by the word แพน (III/18), 'slab', is certainly intended to represent the name of Indra's throne; see the preceding note. Perhaps put for Pali silāpaṭṭa or Sanskrit śilāpaṭṭa, 'a stone slab used as a seat', etc., equivalent to silāsana in the name of Indra's throne. Cf. Manaññ-silāpatra, the name of Rāma Gāṇḍhī's famous stone throne (JSS 59/2, p. 216 and note 112).

<sup>63</sup> พริ้ว (III/20), 'complete'; see above, note 49.



[III/21-27.] Now we shall speak of the relics<sup>64</sup> of the Lord which were deposited in this cetiya. (There are) three of them, full of color and exceedingly beautiful. One of them, about the size of a single pea<sup>65</sup>, is of a golden color. One of them is of two colors<sup>66</sup>, with one side like mother-of-pearl, and one side like gold. One of them, about [IV/1-10] the size of a mustard seed<sup>67</sup>, is partly a color like mother-of-pearl and partly like gold emitting rays<sup>68</sup>, with one side like the flower of a bikula<sup>69</sup>, lovely in appearance<sup>70</sup> and beautiful to the eyes. When the queen had finished<sup>71</sup> preparing the golden chamber of the cetiya befittingly to enshrine the Lord's relics, she who is the scion of kings, together with the Brañā Yauvarāja<sup>72</sup>, and the able counsellors and high officers, as well as the monks (beginning with) the Mahāsāmī Mahāthera Śrī Saddhammālaṅkā (and) Brañā Śrī Saddhammarājacūḷāmaṇi Śrī Yauvarāja<sup>73</sup>, lifted the box (containing) the Lord's relics, and deposited it in this cetiya in the 'rvaṇ met' year, on the tenth day of the waxing moon of the ninth month, corresponding to Friday, a 'kat set' day (in the) Dai (reckoning), at the time the moon (was in) the nakkhatta of Visākhā<sup>74</sup>. Just at that moment<sup>75</sup> there was a miracle: lightning<sup>76</sup> (flashed) around in the eight directions when the Lord's relics were thus enshrined.

<sup>64</sup> พาก (III/22), for, ภาค, Pali: *bhāga*, 'share' or 'portion'.

<sup>65</sup> ถั่วแตก (III/25), *Phaseolus mungo* or *Phaseolus radiatus* (Reinhorn, *Dictionnaire laotien-français*, Paris, 1970, p. 1023; Burkill, *Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula*, London, 1935, p. 1710). Equivalent to Siamese ถั่วเขียว (McFarland, p. 384) and Pali *māsa* (Pali Text Society's Dictionary, part VI, p. 155). According to Jinakālamāli, the 'disintegrated' or miscellaneous relics of the Buddha, as distinguished from the seven major relics (the four eye-teeth, the two collar bones, and the frontal bone, all of which were preserved intact), are of three sorts, according to size and color. The largest, about the size of split peas, resemble nuggets of gold. The next, the size of grains of rice broken in two in the middle, are like cleansed pearl. The smallest, the size of mustard seeds, resemble jasmine buds. See Jayawickrama's translation, *The Sheaf of Garlands of the Epochs of the Conqueror* (London, 1968; pp. 52-53). The description of the three relics at III/22-27 and IV/1-3 seems to be based on a variant of this tradition.

<sup>66</sup> มีวณะสองพัก (III/26) = มีวรรณะสองภาค.

<sup>67</sup> พันธ์ักกาด (IV/1) พันธุ์ผักกาด. The mustard seed (Pali *sāsapa*) is often mentioned in Buddhist texts. Cf. above, note 65.

<sup>68</sup> คำฉลุออก (IV/2). For ฉลุ, see Guesdon, *Dictionnaire cambodgien-français* (Paris, 1930; p. 499), s.v. *chhlōh*, 'briller, éclairer, refléter, rejaillir'.

<sup>69</sup> *Mimusops elengi*.

<sup>70</sup> Free translation of ปิ่นทิดู (IV/3), a Tai Yuan expression meaning 'worthy to be looked at'.

<sup>71</sup> บริบวน (IV/4) = บริบูรณ์.

<sup>72</sup> Two persons in the inscription have the title Brañā Yauvarāja, the first without further designation (IV/5), and the other called Brañā Śrī Saddhammarājacūḷāmaṇi Śrī Yauvarāja (IV/6-7). Both are sons of the queen and the late king. The first is listed immediately after his mother, and before the counsellors and high officers; he is probably the younger of the two. The other is presumably the reigning king, who has inherited the kingdom and his name from his late father. As he is listed among the monks, we assume that he has temporarily retired from the throne and been ordained as an act of merit in connection with his father's death.

<sup>73</sup> See the preceding note.

<sup>74</sup> Friday, 11 June, 1451 (Julian). We have regularized the spelling of the nakkhatta, which is written Baisākkha at IV/9.

<sup>75</sup> พอนดี (IV/9) = พอนันตี.

<sup>76</sup> ฟาแลบ (IV/9) = ฟาแลบ.



[IV/10-15.] (Now) we shall go back and tell<sup>77</sup> about the holy cetiya with a gilded spire, so that every one may know about it in detail. It is gilded from the spire down to (the place in the) middle (containing the) relic chamber, wherever one looks, then going on down to the earth<sup>78</sup>. If there are any eminent persons, born of royal lineage and having much merit, who become kings in the future, or any other willing persons whatever whose hearts rejoice in the religion, let them lead in benefactions to maintain its beauty<sup>79</sup> from now on as long as the earth (endures), until the day<sup>80</sup>!

[IV/15-19.] Furthermore when Queen Brañā Śrī Saddhammarājaculāmaṇi, the Mahādevī who [is the mother named] Śrī Saddhammarājini Śrī Svastimātā<sup>81</sup>, and both (of her sons who have the title of) Brañā Yauvarāja<sup>82</sup>, who (all three) abide in the royal traditions<sup>83</sup> and together have complete faith and reverence for the religion—caused this cetiya to be rebuilt, there were also upland and lowland ricefields<sup>84</sup> and dipterocarpus groves (given to it), and people were assigned<sup>85</sup> to look after the cetiya<sup>86</sup>.

[IV/19-20.] Whoever comes and sees the history summed up in this inscription<sup>87</sup>, let him

<sup>77</sup> แพร = แปร, 'to change'; คิน = คิ่น, 'back'; ทิน = ผิน, 'to turn the face towards' (or perhaps Láo หื่น [หื่น], 'joyful'; Reinhorn, p. 1864); เล่า = เล้า, 'to tell', 'to relate'.

<sup>78</sup> ที่ทำด้วยคำแต่ยอดจอดลงมาถึงกลางกลางโกศตราบใดแลไปแล้วแล้วมาถึงธรณี (IV/11-12). We have translated freely. Assuming the reading is right, which is not certain, we may analyze this passage as follows:

ที่กระทำด้วยคำแต่ยอดจอดลงมาถึงกลางกลางโกศ 'which is trimmed with gold starting at the spire, arriving, as it comes down, at the middle (containing the) relic-chamber.' The word กลาง, lacking in the Siamese dictionaries, is here used as a synonym of กลาง, a meaning it still has in White Tai. The Pali word kosa (written โกศ in the inscription), which we have translated as 'casket' at II-33, etc., means 'any cavity or enclosure containing anything', e.g. a reliquary casket, a storehouse, or a relic chamber. (2) ตราบใด, 'whenever'; แลไป, 'to look further'; แล้ว, 'then'; แล้ว, a Tai Yuan word meaning 'to reach'; ถึงธรณี, 'to the earth'.

<sup>79</sup> นำพรกเขตงาม (IV/14-15); the reading นำพร is fairly clear; but the rhyme scheme shows that the intention was to write นำพา, 'to take an interest in', 'to help maintain', etc. ก = ก่อ, 'to build'; เย็ด = เยีย, 'to do', 'to make'; งาม, 'beautiful'.

<sup>80</sup> Sc. until the day when the Buddhist religion disappears. According to an old prophecy it will disappear 5,000 years after the Buddha entered parinibbāna.

<sup>81</sup> Written Sri Sātdhammarājini Śrī Svastimātā at IV-16; we have regularized the spelling. In the Shan States, a chief queen had the title of Mahādevī ('great goddess'): rājini means 'queen'; Svastimātā is equivalent to rājamātā, 'queen mother', showing that she is the mother of the reigning king, Brañā Śrī Saddhammarājaculāmaṇi Śrī Yauvarāja. See note 73.

<sup>82</sup> The title is here written Yūvarāja; we have conformed it to the earlier spelling in the inscription.

<sup>83</sup> อน้อยในคลองขลัดดี (IV/17); the word คลอง, which now means a watercourse, once had the more general meaning of 'way'. This meaning is still preserved in certain figurative expressions, such as *Tai Yuan* ขัดคลอง, for (จา) วัตรคลอง, 'following the right way, ritual or custom'; and modern Siamese ถูกต้องทำนองคลองธรรม, 'in accordance with the manner and custom of the Dharma'.

<sup>84</sup> ไรนา (IV/18).

<sup>85</sup> วาง (IV/18), 'to lay down', 'to deposit', etc.

<sup>86</sup> พรเปนเจ้า (IV/18-19), พระเป็นเจ้า, 'the Lord', here referring to the cetiya. The family set aside certain lands from which the revenue was to be used to support the monastery, and assigned slaves to look after the cetiya.

<sup>87</sup> ตำนานสาร (จาริต) อนัน (IV/19); the same expression as at II/1-2; see note 1.



rejoice<sup>88</sup> with the queen who is full of faith! Kings born of [royal] lineage [*half a line illegible*] until the day<sup>89</sup>!

[IV/21-25.] Now we shall tell of the ... [*two and a half lines largely illegible*] ... which the queen and her children presented in homage. Whoever becomes king (in the future), or a high officer, let him not<sup>90</sup> take away the offerings of homage which have been assigned irrevocably to the Jayamantārāma<sup>91</sup>. ||

[IV/26-34.] As for any merit which (may be earned by) me, who am named Khemamaṅgala, born to practise the religion of the Lord up to the rebuilding<sup>92</sup> of the cetiya at this place—so long as I have not yet attained nirvāṇa<sup>93</sup> but still remain such a long time in saṃsāra<sup>94</sup>—let me not encounter men of evil disposition<sup>95</sup>! Let me not be born in a family<sup>96</sup> that does not practise morality<sup>97</sup>, or a lineage that is destitute<sup>98</sup> or holds wrong views<sup>99</sup>! Let me be born in a lineage that practises morality, holds the right beliefs<sup>100</sup>, and gives alms without stint<sup>101</sup>, (so that) I may store up the requisites (for Enlightenment)<sup>102</sup> until the Lord Siri Metteyya<sup>103</sup> comes to attain omniscience<sup>104</sup>! (Then) let me (be born on earth) in time to listen to the preaching of the Dhamma from the Lord's own mouth<sup>105</sup>! Let me enter the

<sup>88</sup> อณะมวทนา (IV/19), for Pali anumodanā, 'thanksgiving', 'rejoicing', 'appreciation', etc.

<sup>89</sup> The lacuna may have contained an admonition to future kings to respect the monastery and help maintain it. 'Until the day' means until the day when the religion will disappear, in the year 5000 of the Buddhist Era (see above, note 80).

<sup>90</sup> ญา (IV/24), modern อย่า, the negative imperative.

<sup>91</sup> More literally: 'vested in the Jayamantārāma, by means of words like this, until the day' (IV-25). The expression เย = แล used as a final particle.

<sup>92</sup> ก (IV/27) = ก่อ.

<sup>93</sup> ตราบใดที่ไปได้นิรพพาน (IV/27); ไป is to be understood as ไป่, 'not yet'; 'nirvāṇa' is written นิรพพาน (nyarabāna). Khemamaṅgala is speaking in the first person (กู)

<sup>94</sup> สงสาร (IV/27), the round of rebirths.

<sup>95</sup> พาละ (IV/28), Pali bāla, 'ignorant', 'evil', 'mischievous'.

<sup>96</sup> กุฎิล (IV/28), = กระฎิล (ตระกูล).

<sup>97</sup> สีลาจาร (IV/28), Pali sīlācāra.

<sup>98</sup> ไร (IV/28), for ไร้

<sup>99</sup> มิตถา (IV/28), for Pali micchādiṭṭhi.

<sup>100</sup> สัมมาทิติ (IV/29), for Pali sammādiṭṭhi.

<sup>101</sup> อันปราศจากความตระหนี่ในทาน (IV/29): อันปราศจากความตระหนี่, 'which is free from stinginess'; ในทาน, 'in almsgiving'.

<sup>102</sup> สัมพาร (IV/30) is put for Pali (bodhi)sambhāra, 'the requisites for attaining Enlightenment', i.e. the making of enough merit and the acquisition of enough wisdom during countless reincarnations.

<sup>103</sup> สิริเมตเตยยะ (IV/30), for Pali Siri Metteyya. After the present Buddhist religion disappears (see above, note 80), there will be an immensely long period in which there will be no Buddha to teach the Dhamma, no way for mankind to be aware of the need to make merit, and no means to avoid a progressive increase in ignorance, evil, and suffering from one rebirth to another. Finally the Bodhisatta Metteyya, who is now waiting in the Tusita Heaven until the appointed time, will be reborn as a man and become the fifth Buddha of the present kalpa.

<sup>104</sup> สันระเพงยุะตัญญา (IV/30), sānraḥḥenyaṭṭaṇṇā, for Pali sabbaññutaṇṇā, 'omniscience'; cf. Siamese สรรเพชญ, 'omniscient', and Sanskrit sarvajña, 'omniscient' and sarvajñā, 'omniscience'.

<sup>105</sup> Khemamaṅgala is asking, as a reward for the merit he will have accumulated in his various existences, to be reborn on earth at a time when he can grow up in the dispensation of the Buddha Metteyya, so that he can become his disciple.



religion<sup>106</sup> with my heart free from desire for the pleasures of the five senses<sup>107</sup>! Let me attain<sup>108</sup> the condition of an Arahant<sup>109</sup>, together with the knowledge of analytical insight and its methods<sup>110</sup>, as well as equanimity<sup>111</sup>! I will leave my wife<sup>112</sup>, and proclaim<sup>113</sup> it (clearly) like the full moon, in the dispensation<sup>114</sup> of the Lord Siri Metteyya. (Let me) go to attain nirvāṇa without further delay than this<sup>115</sup>!

[IV/34-38.] Here we shall tell the aspirations<sup>116</sup> of Queen Śrī Saddhammarājacūlāmaṇi who in her heart yearns to be a Bodhisattva<sup>117</sup> who will attain omniscience<sup>118</sup> as a Buddha. May she possess<sup>119</sup> the ten perfections<sup>120</sup> in the characteristic manner<sup>121</sup> of a Bodhisattva<sup>122</sup>! May she obtain omniscience<sup>123</sup> (in a future life) as a result of the merit she has earned [by rebuilding the cetiya to deposit] the Lord's relics! (May it be) a source of obtaining the requisites (for Buddhahood)<sup>124</sup> in accordance with the history of all [Buddhas] without exception<sup>125</sup>!

<sup>106</sup> I.e., be ordained by Metteyya himself.

<sup>107</sup> มีใจอันคลายจากเบงจกามมกิลเลส (IV/31-32), for มีใจอันคลายจากปัญจกามกิลเลส; for the expression pañcākāma (guṇā) kilesa, see the Pali Text Society's Dictionary, s.v. kilesa, 'stain', 'impurity', 'lust', and s.v. pañca, pañcākāmaguṇa, 'pleasures of the five senses'.

<sup>108</sup> ได้วิเสส (IV/32), ได้ = ได้, 'get' + Pali viśesa, 'attainment'.

<sup>109</sup> อระหัตตผล (IV/32), for Pali arahattaphala (arahatta, 'the state or condition of an arahant, i.e. perfection in the Buddhist sense = nibbāna, final and absolute emancipation; arahantship, the attainment of the last and highest stage of the Path'; phala, 'fruit', 'fruition', 'result'.

<sup>110</sup> ปัตติสัพพาทนยานนัญญญาณ (IV/32), for Pali paṭisambhidā, 'analytical insight' (see Pali Text Society's Dictionary), + yānañca, 'and the vehicle', + ñāṇa, 'wisdom'.

<sup>111</sup> อุเบกขา (IV/33), Pali upekkhā, 'equanimity', 'indifference to worldly matters'.

<sup>112</sup> ภริยา (IV/33), Siamese ภรรยา, Pali bhariyā. Khemamaṅgala means that, in imitation of Gotama, he will forsake his wife in order to become a celibate ascetic. This statement is oddly placed, as it comes after the wish to attain the condition of an Arahant, which already implies celibacy.

<sup>113</sup> ปรากิตติ (IV/33), for ประกิตติ.

<sup>114</sup> สาสนา (IV/33), i.e. at the time when Metteyya reestablishes the Buddhist religion on earth.

<sup>115</sup> We omit from our translation the expression ทวน (IV/34), i.e. เทววัน, in this context, 'exactly the day'.

<sup>116</sup> ปรารถนา (IV/34), for Sanskrit prārthanā, or Pali patthanā.

<sup>117</sup> หน้เหงาเคาโพทิสตตะวะ (IV/35), 'as a scion (หน่อ), sprout (ง่า) and stem (เค้า) of a Bodhisattva'. Despite the spelling, which reflects the Sanskrit form 'Bodhisattva', there is no reason to suspect any Mahāyānist tendency. The word is intended to convey exactly the same concept as the Pali form Bodhisatta, as used for Gotama before his Enlightenment and during his previous lives. The religion of this inscription is the orthodox Theravāda; but, as in Siam, many of the terms used are given a Sanskrit or partially Sanskrit form.

<sup>118</sup> สันระเพงยุะ (IV/35-36), for Pali sabbaññu or Sanskrit sarvajña, 'omniscient': cf. above, note 104.

<sup>119</sup> Free translation of สำยุต (IV/36), Pali saṃyuta, 'connected', 'combined', 'bound together'.

<sup>120</sup> ทสภารม (IV/36), daśa pāramī, the ten perfections leading to Buddhahood: perfection in alms-giving and liberality (dāna-), morality (sīla-), renunciation (nekkhamma-), wisdom (paññā), energy (viriya-), forbearance (khanti-), truthfulness (sacca-), resolution (adhiṭṭhāna-), all-embracing kindness (mettā-), and equanimity (upekkhā). See Nyanatiloka, *Buddhist Dictionary* (Colombo, 1950; p. 110), s.v. pāramī.

<sup>121</sup> ดวยวิไล (IV/36); วิไล = Siamese วิไลย, Pali: visaya, used in the sense of 'usual manner', 'manner characteristic of a particular kind of person', or 'manner proper to such a person'.

<sup>122</sup> โพทิสต (IV/36), bodisat: closer to the Pali form; cf. above, note 117.

<sup>123</sup> สันระเพงยุะตัญญา (IV/37); cf. above, notes 104 and 118.

<sup>124</sup> สัพพาร (IV/38); see above, note 102.

<sup>125</sup> Free translation of ญาชาติได (IV/38) = อย่างชาติได้.