ONCE MORE, INSCRIPTION II-AN ART HISTORIAN'S VIEW

Betty Gosling*

I. Introduction

One of the most persistent problems to which Thai scholars have directed their attention in recent years has been the interpretation of Sukhothai's Inscription II. From the citations of Sukhodayan rulers in the text, it has long been recognized that the inscription probably originated sometime in the lengthy reign of King Lœthai, which extended over the better part of the first half of the fourteenth century[1]. In 1966, A.B. Griswold proposed a more precise date[2], subsequently substantiated through the joint efforts of Mr. Griswold and S. Paranavitana of Sri Lanka[3]. Now, thanks to these two noted scholars, it is possible to accept a time in the mid-1340s as the most likely date for the inscription's execution.

But in spite of recent research, there are many problems concerning the interpretation of the text which remain frustratingly unresolved. As early as 1924, George Coedès published a French translation of the inscription with brief suggestions as to intent and meaning[4]. Griswold and Prasert na Nagara's English translation, with copious and complicated footnotes, appeared in 1972[5]. But while Coedès's and Griswold–Prasert's translations differ primarily on minor points, their explications are surprisingly diverse, resulting in a state of affairs further complicated by a third dissenting view provided by Mom Chao Chand Chirayu Rajani in 1976[6]. The review article by Michael Vickery in JSS 66/2, July, 1978,[7] while providing a much needed and greatly appreciated evaluation of both Griswold-Prasert's and M.C. Chand's research, is only perfunctory in its treatment of Inscription II. It nonetheless voices authoritatively a fourth opinion which, like those before it, must be confronted if the contents of Inscription II are to be properly understood.

*History of Art Department, University of Michigan.
1. Coedès, G., "The Origins of the Sukhodaya Dynasty". JSS 14/1, 1921, p. 3.
2. Griswold, A.B., *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*. Bangkok, Fine Arts Department, 1968, p. 17.
3. Griswold, A.B., and Prasert na Nagara, "Addendum to Epigraphic and Historical Studies No. 10". JSS 61/1, 1975, p. 179.
4. Coedès. G., tr. and ed., *Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam, Première Partie : Inscriptions de Sukhodaya* Bangkok, Bangkok Times Press, 1924, pp. 49-75.
5. Griswold and Prasert, "King Lödaiya of Sukhodaya and his Contemporaries, Epigraphic and Historical Studies No. 10". JSS 60/1, 1972, pp. 75-144.
6. Chand Chirayu Rajani, Mom Chao. *Guide Through the Inscriptions of Sukhothai*. Southeast Asian Studies Working Paper No. 9. University of Hawaii, 1976.
7. Vickery, Michael, "A Guide Through Some Recent Sukhothai Historiography". JSS 66/2, 1978, pp. 182-246.

An unavoidable problem is the inscription's vague and incoherent presentation, which led M. C. Chand to dismiss a great deal of the text as the rambling reminiscences of an old man[8]. Vickery, apparently misled not only by Inscription II itself, but also by the complexities of Griswold-Prasert's and M.C. Chand's thought, came to the conclusion that except for a few passages which deal with Sukhothai's protohistorical period (i.e., in the century prior to the writing or the inscription), it is a useless document for the study of Sukhothai's history[9]. It is my contention that the uncertainty which surrounds the inscription stems not only from the obscurities of the text itself, but equally from the confusing contradictions of the studies which have attempted to clarify it.

A large part of Inscription II's text is devoted to the meritorious-works, primarily building and renovation of Buddhist monuments, by the Mahāthera Śī Sathā, a member of one of Sukhothai's noble families, during his life as a devout and celebrated Theravādin monk. What has become a major source of controversy—and a problem of special significance for the student of Thai art history—is the location and identification of Śī Sathā's architectural endeavors. (See chart, p. 15) Place names in both Thailand and Sri Lanka, where Śī Sathā made an extended pilgrimage, are mentioned throughout the text, but attempts to relegate specific passages to one country or the other have resulted in the diverse opinions mentioned above. In the present study, with the specific intent of determining what information can be wrested as valid data for the reconstruction of Sukhothai's architectural past, one more attempt at identification will be made.

II. The architectural passages

It is helpful for the sake of discussion, as well as for consideration of the role organization of material may play in the interpretation of Inscription II, to divide the citations of architectural monuments into several passages, following the order they appear in the text. It should be kept in mind that in this listing, where brevity and coherence is intended, it has been necessary to adhere to certain simplifications: selections between single and plural nouns, tenses, and person of verbs, etc., are mostly arbitrary; differences between my translation and those of Coedès and Griswold-Prasert are noted only where significant; where meaning is uncertain, the Thai has been retained. For reasons which will become apparent further in this study, transliteration has usually been made according to Thai usage rather than the Pali equivalent. The problematical entries which have some bearing on the issues under consideration will be returned to in the discussion which follows.

8. Chand, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
9. Vickery, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

IDENTIFICATION OF INSCRIPTION II'S ARCHITECTURAL PASSAGES

	Coedès	Griswold –Prasert	M.C. Chand	Vickery	Gosling
3.1		Mahāthāt Sukhothai?	non-Thai	non-Thai	Mahāthāt Sukhothai
3.2		Sa Luang	non-Thai	non-Thai	Sa Luang
3.3			non-Thai	non-Thai	Sī Satchanalāi
3.4			non-Thai	non-Thai	Bāng Chalang
3.5	Mahāthāt Sukhothai	Mahāthūpa Sri Lanka	non-Thai	Anuradhapura	Mahāthāt Sukhothai
4.1.1		Mahiyangana Sri Lanka	non-Thai	Mahiyangana Sri Lanka	Mahiyangana Sri Lanka
4.1.2	Mahāthāt Sukhothai	Mahāthāt Sukhothai	non-Thai	Mahiyangana Sri Lanka	Mahiyangana Sri Lanka
4.2	Mahāthāt Sukhothai	Gampola Sri Lanka	Gampola Sri Lanka	Gampola Sri Lanka	Gampola Sri Lanka

The monuments and related place names and events mentioned in Inscription II can be grouped as follows:[10]

Group I, lines I/1–8, introductory passage of text. This section is in fairly ruinous condition, and little sense can be made of its contents at the present time. It appears, however, that something was done to a monument called *Phra.... thātsukhantachēdī* (where?); and in other contexts, several place names appear : one, Māwalika-gangā, "in Langkā", and three, Sa Luang, Sǒng K hwae, and Muang Lamphang, in Thailand. No details about the architecture can be made out .

Group 2, lines I/53–61. This group, appearing in the midst of a long passage documenting the noble character and eventful life of Sī Sathā is, unfortunately, almost as fragmentary as the introductory section. Among the many elipses, one can discern, however, the planting of bo trees, either in, or gathered in Sri Lanka; a Buddha statue... placed in the *Sī Rama wihnān....* of Sukhothai; a *kukdadan*, whatever that may be[11]; something in Sī Satchanālai; etc. The events appear to have occurred primarily, if not totally, in the Sukhothai–Sī Satchanālai area. Relevant details are absent.

Group 3, lines II/7–42. I begin this section with the statement that, "Then he (Sī Sathā) searched for and inspired... Nakhǒn Sukhothai, Bāng Chalang, and Sī Satchanālai, desiring to make them into Buddhist cities." (Coedès's and Griswold-Prasert's reading of ปลูก for ปลุก, with the accompanying suggestion that Sī Sathā set off to look for bo trees to plant, is misleading.) This statement is followed by five entries, each beginning with the phrase *lāng hāeng* to denote a change in location, and which Griswold and Prasert have translated as "at one place"; Coedès, "en tel endroit". At these places:

Sī Sathā, at:

Place 3.1, lines II/8–10.

    a. did something concerning the *Phra Sī Ratna Mahāthāt*, i.e., a Great Relic or a Great Relic temple. It is possible that the single k (ก) in the lacuna preceding the *Mahāthāt*, is part of *katham*, used several times below to denote the building of monuments. This hypothesis results in the interpretation of the *Mahāthāt* as a monument rather than the relic it presumably enshrined. Coedès and Griswold-Prasert have interpreted it as such.

b. built (*plūk*) the *nawaratna* or "nine jewels". Griswold and Prasert have suggested that the "nine jewels" could refer either to a nine-holed reliquary or the nine towers of the Sukhothai *Mahāthāt*, with a preference I believe for the latter[12]. The word *plūk* for build (like *katham*) is used several times in Inscription II to denote the construction of buildings. I do not know of any cases where it is used to denote the enshrinement of relics or other sacred objects.

c. planted a Great (*Mahā-*) Bo Tree.

d. built a *wihān* and *āwāt*, (congregation hall and monastery). Griswold and Prasert have transcribed พิหาร, i.e., วิหาร, and อาวาส according to the Pali, i.e., *āvāsa*: dwelling place or residence for senior monks; and *vihāra*: no translation.

e. (made?) a Great Buddha Image.

f. built *kūtis* (cells for monks).

g. built a hermitage.

Place 3.2, lines II/11–14.

a. built a Great Bridge.

b. planted big trees, including a Great Bo Tree.

c. assigned families as caretakers, presumably for a monastery, and donated rice fields, etc.

d. assigned servants to wash the feet of the monks.

Place 3.3, lines II/14–15.

a. built a Great *Thamnak*[13].

b. built *sālās*.

c. built a *Great Chēdī*.

d. planted a Great Bo Tree.

e. made a Great Buddha Image.

Place 3.4, lines II/15–18.

a. set people, goats, pigs, dogs, ducks, chickens, etc., free.

b. carved a Buddha image from an Indra tree.

c. on Nang Tai Hill made an offering of an elephant (cf. Griswold and Prasert: "went by elephant to worship the statue of the Lord, and set the elephant free").

12. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
13. For Griswold and Prasert's translation : *ibid.*, p. 120.

Place 3.5, lines II/18–42.   In this passage we find a long description of the
restoration of at least two seemingly related monuments: 1) a *thāt* or *čhēdī*, the *Phra
Mahāthāt Luang*, said to have been located "at the center of *Phra Kris's* city," with *Phra
Kris* identified as Sī Sathā; and 2) a large *Mahāwihān*, (มหาพิหาร). Griswold and Prasert
have transcribed มหาพิหาร as *Mahāvihāra*, which calls to mind the ancient monastic
organization of that name in Sri Lanka; Coedès's "sanctuaire" suggests the Thai
wihān or congregation hall.   We are told that the *Mahāthāt* was the place where all
the Great (*Mahā-*) Relics were gathered, and a large, tall *čhēdī*, perhaps the same, was
surrounded by stone engravings of the *Hā Rǫi Chāt* or *Five Hundred Jātakas*. (Gris-
wold and Prasert: the "five hundred *tiradesa Jātakas*," the word "*tiradesa*," immediately
following "*Jātakas*" in the original text).   It appears that the five hundred *Jātakas*–as
opposed to the usual 550 found in the titles of Burmese and Sinhalese collections-was an
established tradition in early times; and two Laotian manuscripts bearing the title *Hā
Rǫi Chāt* have been located in monasteries at Luang Prabang[14]. The *Mahāwihān* had
brick construction, and before it was restored (see below) the *čhēdī* had disappeared
under jungle growth.   To renovate the monument, Sī Sathā:

    a.   made the *čhēdī*, or *thāt*, which was 95 *wā* in height, seven *wā* higher,
       with something on top being two or three *ǭm* in circumference.
    b.   stuccoed and completed the *čhēdī*.
    c.   repaired Buddha images and placed them in rows and niches in the
       Mahāwihān.
    d.   brought a group of laymen from Sīhala to complete the *Phra Gao
       Thān*, the "Sacred Nine", with brick.
    e.   brought two Great Relics from Sīhala to enshrine.
    f.   did something to the *Mahāwihān*; according to Griswold and Prasert,
       paved the floor of the *Mahāvihāra* with brick; Coedès: finished and
       dedicated the sanctuary.

Coedès identified this monastery (a *čhēdī* and *wihān* make up the two essential
components of a Sukhothai monastery) as Wat Mahāthāt Sukhothai's largest and most
important monastery, located at the center of the city[15]. (Fig. 1) Griswold and Prasert
on the other hand have expressed the certainty that the location is Anuradhapura in
Sri Lanka and that the *čhēdī* is the Mahāthūpa the most prominent monument in the
city's Mahāvihāra monastery complex[16]. (Fig. 2) A short passage, lines II/40-42, they

14.   Martini, Ginette, "Les titres des *Jātaka* dans les manuscrit Pali de la Bibliotèque Nationale de
      Paris".   BEFEO, Vol. 51, 1963, p. 93.
15.   Coedès, *Recueil*, p. 51.
16.   EHS No. 10, p. 87.

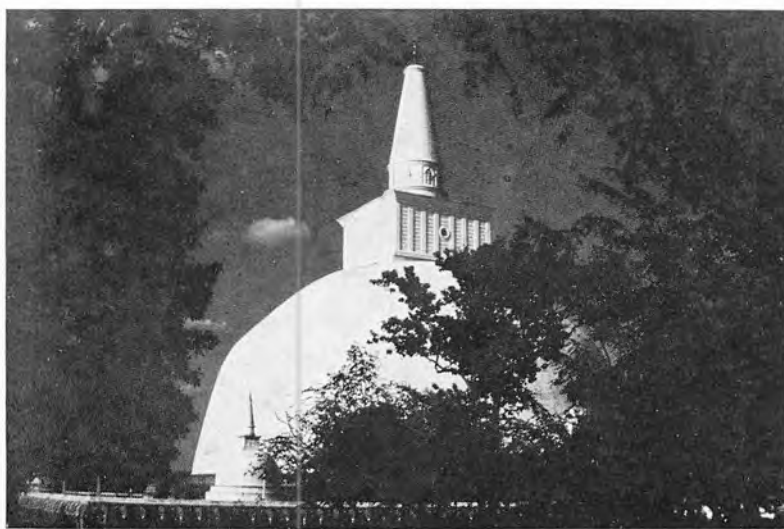*Figure 1.* Main *chēdī*, Wat Mahāthāt, Sukhothai.

Figure 2. Mahāthūpa, Mahāvihāra, Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka.

Figure 3. Mahiyangana stupa. Alutnavara, Sri Lanka. Drawing from a photograph by C. G. Seligmann. Pub. in Parker, H., *Ancient Ceylon.* Luzac and Co., London 1909.

Figure 4. Elephant at the elephant-surrounded stupa at Wat Chāng Rǭp, Sukhothai.

suggest, refers to both Sri Lanka and Sukhothai.   Thus, the nine sacred objects which
we are told that laymen from Sīhala came to complete are both the nine towers of the
Mahāthāt and nine pilgrimage sites scattered throughout the island of Sri Lanka[17].
M.C. Chand and Vickery support a Sinhalese location[18].

Group 4, lines II/42-I/96. In this section we find two entries, each concerning
building projects and each introduced, as in Group 3, with the phrase *lāng hāeng*. But
unlike Group 3, where aside from the initial reference to Nakhǫn Sukhothai, Bāng
Chalang, and Sī Satchanālai, no specific place names are given, each of the two Group
4 locations is specifically identified. There is general agreement that both are Sinha-
lese[19].   The entries in Group 4 are:

Place 4.1.1, lines II/42-45.   Here we are introduced to a *Mahāthāt* or Great
Relics temple which we are told was called *"Mahiyanganamahāchēdī"*, a temple (now
entirely restored) in Alutnavara (formerly Mahiyangana) in Sri Lanka. (Fig. 3) Known
from the *Mahāvamsa* and other Sinhalese sources to have been one of the most
venerated Buddhist sites in Sri Lanka, it was in the early Anuradhapura period known as
Mahiyanganamahāthūpa[20] and later, as in Inscription II, *Mahiyanganamahāchetiya*.[21].
According to Inscription II, it housed the *Kesadhātu* and *Pāripōgadhātu* (relics), and it
can be inferred, as Griswold and Prasert have done, that a third relic, illegible in
Inscription II's mutilated text, is the *Gīvādhatu*, known from Sinhalese sources[22] to
have been enshrined at *Mahiyangana*. It is apparently the Mahiyangana temple which
is referred to in Inscription XI, line II/18[23].

Place 4.1.2, lines II/45-82.   In this section, narrated in the first person, in
contrast to the third person narration of 4.1.1, we are told that the *banlang* (บลลงง) of
the *Mahāthāt* had fallen down for a distance of thirteen *wā* on the eastern side.
Coedès translated *pallañn* as "soubassement," while Griswold and Prasert, also
adhering to the Pali, translated their *pallangka*[24] as "platform." At this point, Sī Sathā:

>   a.   restored the monument with brick and covered it with stucco from
>   the tip of the spire to the ground.

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17. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

18. Chand, *op. cit.*, p. 22, and Vickery, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

19. EHS No. 10, p. 126; Vickery, p. 212.

20. Geiger, Wilhelm, tr., *The Mahāvamsa*.   London, Pali Text Society, 1964, 1 : 24, 1 : 42, etc.

21. Geiger, Wilhelm, tr., *The Culāvamsa*.   London, Pali Text Society, 1973.   91 : 29.   100 : 125,
     etc.

22. *Mahāvamsa*, 1 : 37-39.

23. EHS No. 10, p. 142.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

    b.   stuccoed Buddha images and built *hǫ nang* (Coedès, "pavillions"; Griswold and Prasert, "towers") for the images.

    c.   performed twenty-eight works in one day.

The remainder of this section is devoted to miracles performed by the Great Relics, primarily the *Kesadhātu* and *Gīvādhātu*. The *čhēdī* is several times referred to as the "golden *čhēdī*" (*Sūvanna čhēdī* or *čhēdī thǫng*). There would be no problem with identifying this monument with the *Mahiyangana* temple of the preceeding passage, 4.1.1, except for the abrupt change in person, which has allowed Griswold and Prasert to ignore the absence of the usual *lāng hāeng*, used elsewhere to denote a change in location. Their opinion is that 4.1.2 should be identified with the *Mahāthāt* temple at Sukhothai rather than the temple of the Great Relics at Mahiyangana[25].

Place 4.2, lines II/82-I/96. The conjectural reading of the place name here is *Kāmpalai*, identified by Paranavitana as Gampola, capital of Sri Lanka from 1341 to 1415[26]. This identification is now generally accepted[27]. At an *Aranika* monastery outside the city, which the natives of Sīhala had decorated with banners, flowers, lamps, etc., Sī Sathā:

    a.   attended a festival of the Tooth Relic.

    b.   built a spire.

Group 5, lines I/96-107: *closing section.* Here, as in the introductory passage, the text is in poor condition, and although a number of meritorious acts seem to be mentioned, i.e., the restoration of a *čhēdī*, perhaps the founding of Buddha images, etc., little information of value can be gleaned. It is possible that *Mount S....*, as Griswold and Prasert suggest, is Sri Lanka's Mount Sumanakūta[28], and it seems reasonable to accept, along with Chand Griswold-Prasert's reading of *....radhapura* as Anuradhapura[29].

Inscription XI, Face II.

Before proceeding to analyze the above information, it is necessary to say something about a related Thai inscription, No. XI[30]. Postdating Inscription II, it employs much the same incoherency of style, and Coedès, Griswold-Prasert, Chand,

25. *Ibid.*, p. 129.
26. Addendum to EHS No. 10, p. 180.
27. Chand, Vickery, *op. cit.*
28. Addendum to EHS No. 10, p. 179.
29. Chand, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
30. Translated by Coedès, *Recueil*, pp. 145-49; Griswold and Prasert, EHS No. 10, pp. 139-44.

and Vickery are in agreement that the text refers to Inscription II's Sī Sathā[31]. Inscription XI supplements the information provided in II; ambiguities of geography and chronology are rectified; and several passages, introduced by the phrase *tāe*, "as for", can be related specifically to points in Inscription II in need of clarification. These matters will be returned to at the appropriate time below.

III. Analysis

In this section, Inscription II's significant passages will be discussed and interpreted in terms of the evidence that is available. Group 3, especially 3.1 and 3.5, and Group 4 (4.1 and 4.2) provide valuable, relevant information.

Entry 3.5. First we will return to the section dealing with the monuments in the center of *Phra Kris's* city, for it is this section which provides the greatest amount of architectural detail–as well as scholarly controversy–for consideration. As noted earlier, these monuments were identified by Coedès as Wat Mahāthāt (Fig. 1) in the center of Sukhothai, while Griswold-Prasert, Chand, and Vickery are unequivocal about a Sri Lankan location. It is Griswold and Prasert who provide the most complex reasoning on this subject, demanding a specific identification with Anuradhapura's Mahāthūpa (Fig. 2), and their theories will be returned to shortly. M.C. Chand's arguments, on the other hand, are not explicitly stated–one cannot tell for instance whether he is supportive of the Anuradhapura identification or some other unspecified non-Thai locale–but especially since his views appear to have provided the basis for some of Vickery's arguments, it is necessary to consider them in some detail.

M.C. Chand succinctly states his position that, "The fact of the matter is that the inscription has nothing to do with the Mahāthāt at Sukhothai at all; nor with Sukhothai *after the author left the country* (for Sri Lanka)"[32] (my emphasis); that is, the author's (Sī Sathā's) departure occurs somewhere early in the inscription, thereby relegating the remainder of the text to happenings elsewhere. It is unfortunate and puzzling, however, that given the certainty of M.C. Chand's convictions, he fails to state the point at which he believes the departure to have occurred, for nowhere in the inscription itself is such an event discernable.

One is left to speculate that M.C. Chand has based his departure point on Griswold and Prasert's theory that in entry 3.4, immediately preceding the passage under scrutiny, Sī Sathā is in a place called Chọt on the Burmese border, and that the

31. Coedès, *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*, Walter F. Vella, ed., and Susan Brown Cowing, tr. Honolulu, East-West Center, 1968, p. 220. Chand, *op. cit.*, p. 18. Vickery, *op. cit.*, p. 189; Griswold and Prasert, EHS No. 10, p. 135.

32. Chand, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

journey to Sri Lanka is underway[33]. Griswold and Prasert base their reasoning on a passage in Inscription XI (lines II/15), which as mentioned above provides a valuable source of commentary on the contents of Inscription II. In Inscription XI's listing of places visited by Sī Satha, beginning in the Sukhothai area and ending in Sri Lanka, following a place called *(r)ǫd*–Griswold and Prasert's *Chǫd*–we are told that Sī Satha made an offering of an elephant, and this event has been utilized to identify Inscription II's 3.4 entry, where the offering of an elephant is also reported.

However, there are a number of problems with the identification. Whether or not the two entries should be identified on the basis of the single connecting statements that Sī Satha made an offering of an elephant might be debated, but Griswold and Prasert's suggestion that this bit of information indicates that Sī Satha freed his elephant for the practical purpose of continuing his journey by boat on the River Gyaing in Burma[34] is more than the inscription calls for. The reading of *rǫd* for *Chǫd* also needs substantiation, for its inclusion in a list of places located on the Ping, Yom, and Nan rivers (just prior to Martaban in Burma, however), does not necessarily imply that the journey outside the country is as yet underway. It will be suggested below that the 3.4 entry does in fact belong in the Sukhothai, Bāng Chalang, Sī Satchanālai group, as it appears on face value to do.

As for Griswold and Prasert's position, it seems that their identification of the 3.4 entry with the Mahāthūpa in Anuradhapura is based largely on the introductory identifying phrase (line II/18), which they translate as "the gathering point of all the Lord's relics". According to Griswold and Prasert, this has to refer to the Mahāthūpa in Anuradhapura, where according to a prophecy in Buddhagosa's *Manorathapūranī*, the bodily relics of the Buddha, five thousand years after the *Paranirvāna*, will fly before proceeding to Bodhgayā for their final extinction[35].

The suggestion is interesting. This event, as Griswold and Prasert have noted, is described in Thai Inscription III, dating from 1357[36]. In the latter instance, however, the name of the monument, *Ratanamalikamahāstūpa* (line I/50) is easily recognizable as a combination of the several names by which the Mahāthūpa is known in the Sinhalese chronicles[37], while the 3.5 monument is repeatedly referred to as the *Phra*

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33. EHS No. 10, p. 120.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 120.
36. Griswold and Prasert, "The Epigraphy of Mahādharmarājā I of Sukhodaya, EHS No. 11, part 1." JSS 61/1, 1973, pp. 94-111. Coedès, *Recueil*, pp. 84-90.
37. Geiger, Wilhelm, *Culture of Ceylon in Medieval Times*, Heinz Bechert, ed. Weisbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1960, pp. 280.

Mahāthāt Luang (although not always translated as such by either Coedès or Griswold and Prasert). There is no mention of a *Mahāthūpa* or any of its alternate names, and the Thai honorific, *Luang*, often found in the names of Laotian and Thai monasteries, cannot comfortably be applied to a Sinhalese monument. While Thai generic names are sometimes used in Inscription II to refer to objects in both Thailand and Sri Lanka –as are their Pali equivalents–Griswold and Prasert's transference of a Lao-Thai proper name to Sri Lanka's most historically renowned stupa with a well-established assemblage of names of its own needs some justification.

Substantiation is also needed for Griswold and Prasert's interpretation of the identifying phrase "the gathering-point of all the Lord's relics". While Inscription III qualifies the "all" with "on this earth, as well as" in the Buddhist heavens, to express the universal extent of the relics flying to Bodhgayā, no specific context is suggested for the "all" in Inscription II. Bonita Brereton, who has translated the 3.5 phrase as, "the place where all the Lord's relics are" or "have been gathered together", has noted that the Thai *thāng lāi*–like the English "all"–is applicable to both universal and more limited circumstances[38]. Moreover, the relics in 3.5 are clearly labelled as *Mahā*–or Great Relics (not translated by Griswold and Prasert or Brereton), which suggests a different state of affairs than that required for the hoards of less notable, non-Great relics scattered throughout the universe and described in Inscription III. We will return to this point later, and in the conclusion of this study it will be suggested that the "all" does in fact refer to the assemblage of *Great* Relics on a decidely smaller scale than that envisioned by Griswold and Prasert for the multitude of lesser ones at the Mahāthūpa.

Slightly more suggestive of an Anuradhapura identification is 3.5's *Mahāwihān yai* (line II/29), translated by Griswold and Prasert as "the Great *Mahāvihāra*", which they equate with Sri Lanka's oldest and most notable monastic organization founded at Anuradhapura in the third century B.C.[39] Although by the fourteenth century, when Sī Satha visited the country, the Mahāvihāra was composed of a number of related monasteries located throughout the country, any one of which might have been called by that name,[40] it is possible to suggest, following Griswold and Prasert's train of thought, that the great *Mahāvihāra* in Inscription II referred to the original parent organization at Anuradhapura.

38. Brereton, Bonita, "The Wat Sī Chum Engravings and their Place within the Art of Sukhothai". University of Michigan, M.A. thesis, 1978, p. 25.
39. EHS No. 10, p. 122.
40. Rahula, Walpole, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon.* Colombo, M.D. Gunasena and Co., Ltd. 1956, pp. 303-304.

What is difficult to reconcile with this interpretation is the context in which the word appears, a situation somewhat complicated by the different translations provided by Coedès and Griswold-Prasert at this point.   In my opinion, Coedès's translation, "Lorsque le grand sanctuaire en briques fut achevé et inauguré, etc.", is preferable.   However, this interpretation cannot be applied to the Mahāvihāra, which had been inaugurated many centuries before Sī Sathā's visit, and whose continuous building processes could not be considered to have been finished at any one particular point in time.

Griswold and Prasert's translation, on the other hand, also poses problems. That "(The men) paved the floor of the great *Mahāvihāra* with brick, etc." suggests a single monument rather than the several square miles of structures which compose the Anuradhapura Mahāvihāra.   To circumvent the objection, Griswold and Prasert have suggested that what is really indicated is the "principal temple" in the monastery,[41] presumably, once again, the Mahāthūpa.

A less forced interpretation can be arrived at by replacing the "great *Mahā-vihāra*" with the "large *Mahāwihān*", the *wihān* being the one essential structure in a Sukhothai monastery.   As far as I know, the prefix, *Maha-* is not commonly attached to the word *wihān* today, but an example can be found in a seventeenth-century description of an Ayutthayan monastery[42] and Sī Sathā's special proclivity towards its use in Inscription II (translated as "Great" in the present study) – "*Mahăchēdī*", "*Mahā-tamnak*", "*Mahāsālā*," and even a "*Mahāsaphān*" (bridge!) – indicates that Griswold and Prasert's insistence on a Pali-Sinhalese interpretation is not necessarily required.

A further problem with a mandatory Anuradhapura identification, to which Griswold and Prasert have themselves called attention, is the designation of the city in 3.5 as *Phra Kris's* city.   Although Inscription II informs us (line II/37) that *Phra Kris* is a name by which Sī Sathā of the noble Sukhodayan family sometimes designated himself, Griswold and Prasert have accepted a perplexing explanation of Paranavitana's in which *Phra Kris* (i.e., the Indian God, Krishna) is considered to have been the founder of Anuradhapura.   According to Paranavitana, there is, in an unidentified Sanskrit verse, a reference to the kingdom of Sri Vijaya as the city of Krishna, and by the use of double entendre, a simultaneous description is provided for both Sri Vijaya and Anuradhapura.   According to Paranavitana, this passage, along with a commentary stating that Sri Vijaya (although apprently not Anuradhapura), was believed to have

41. EHS No. 10, p. 122.
42. McGill, Forrest. *The Art and Architecture of the Reign of King Prāsātthŏng of Ayutthayā (1629-1656).* University of Michigan, Ph.D. dissertation, 1977. p. 132.

been founded, or "in some other way connected with," Krishna, was written in ninth-century Sinhalese "in very minute and shallowly incised lines" at a later date.[43]

One would be left to ponder this information indefinitely if it were not for the work of K. Indrapala, R.A.L.H. Gunawardana, and others who have disclosed that a number of Sanskrit inscriptions lightly incised in small letters and utilized by Paranavitana as historical data, were in fact fabrications of the scholar's mind.[44]   It is surprising that Vickery, in his JSS review article, while calling Paranavitana's "inter-linear inscriptions" an "elaborate hoax",[45] did not question whether the Krishna-Sri Vijaya-Anuradhapura verse in question here should not be included among them. According to Pananavitana himself, there is no known reference to Anuradhapura as the city of Krishna[46] anywhere in established Sinhalese literary tradition; and Griswold and Prasert's suggestion that it is likely that Krishna might have been regarded as the founder of the *Mahāthūpa*[47] is contradictory to the wealth of material, both historical and legendary, found in Chapters 28-31 of the *Mahāvamsa*, which provides quite a different story.

In at least one other case, one is led to suspect the use of Paranavitana's "interlinear inscriptions" to circumvent what Griswold-Prasert and Vickery have noted as an obvious problem with their Anuradhapura identification.   In this case, however, we are given no documentation—interlinear or otherwise—and we are simply left to puzzle.

The problem appears at the end of Inscription II's 3.5 section where it is stated that Sī Sathā, " upon leaving Sīhala" brought with him some workmen to repair a temple, and two Great Relics to enshrine.   Since the following entry, 4.1, is explicitly identified as Mahiyangana, also in Sīhala, under the rule of the Sinhalese kings at Gampola, it has been necessary for Griswold-Prasert,[48] and following them, Vickery,[49] to explain how leaving Anuradhapura for Mahiyangana could, in fact, be construed as "leaving Sīhala".

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43. Griswold, *Towards*, p. 61.

44. McLeod, W.H., "Interliner Inscriptions in Sri Lanka". *South Asia* III, Aug. 1973, University of Western Australia Press, pp. 105-6.

45. Vickery, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

46. Griswold, *Towards*, p. 61.

47. EHS No. 10, p. 124.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

49. Vickery, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

Their explanation that Sī Sathā probably did not consider Gampola and Mahiyangana part of Sīhala cannot be accepted. Their reasoning, based on the information supplied by Paranavitana, is that Bhuvanaikabāhu IV, ruling at Gampola at the time of Sī Sathā's visit, was not of the royal Sinhalese line of rulers, but was in fact the son of a retreating Javaka prince from the foreign-controlled northern sector of Sri Lanka. The Javaka is identified as King Vijayabāhu V of Kurunagala (the Sinhalese capital prior to Gampola), an historically known figure documented in the *Cūlavamsa* and other Sinhalese sources, which, however, provide few details about his life or lineage. While it has sometimes been suggested that Vijayabāhu was in fact an "upstart"[50]–that is, not of the royal family previously ruling at Kurunagala, the possibility that he was anything but Sinhalese is contrary to reliable sources with which I am familiar.[51]

In opposition to this questionable bit of evidence, there is, on the other hand, good reason to believe that Gampola and Mahiyangana were in the fourteenth century Sinhalese in every sense of the word. In numerous passages in the *Cūlavamsa*–as well as in Inscription II–the terms Lankā and Sīhala appear repeatedly, Lankā referring to the island of Sri Lanka as a whole, a united kingdom, under one rule. Sīhala, on the other hand, pertains more specifically to the Sinhalese ethnic group, who in the fourteenth century, controlled only the southern part of Sri Lanka.[52] Thus we find Sīhala speech, Sīhala tongue, Sīhala troups, Sīhala kings, etc., frequently expressed in opposition to the Javakas, Cholas, Tamils, etc., who controlled the northern part of the island, presumably including Anuradhapura. There is no ambiguity in the *Cūlavamsa* account that Gampola was in the fourteenth century successor to the Kurunagala, Dambadeniya, Polonnaruwa, and Anuradhapura line of Sinhalese political and cultural capitals stemming from the pre-Christian era; and it is impossible to accept without supporting evidence that Sī Sathā might have believed otherwise.

50. University of Ceylon, *History of Ceylon, Vol. I, From the Earliest Times to 1505*, H.C. Ray, ed. Colombo, Ceylon University Press, 1960, pp. 636-7.

51. Codrington, H.W., "The Gampola Period of Ceylon History". *Journal of the Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch)*, XXXII, No. 86, p. 260. University of Ceylon, *History of Ceylon, loc. cit.*, Mudayanse, Nandasena, *Art and Architecture of the Gampola Period, (1341-1415 A.D.).* Colombo, M.D. Gunasena and Co., Ltd., no date, pp. 1, 3, 6, 12, 17.

52. *Cūlavamsa, passim.* According to H. Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, Luzac and Co., 1909, p. 242, the Vaeddas in the early twentieth century still used "Sīhala" to refer to districts in Sri Lanka occupied by the Sinhalese, while the island itself was known as Lankā or Lankāwa.

There is evidence that Sī Sathā *did* consider this part of the island Sīhala, in Inscription II itself.   In section 4.2, identified by Griswold-Prasert, Chand, and Vickery as Gampola, natives of Sīhala are mentioned twice, as they are in section 4.1, in Griswold and Vickery's Mahiyangana.   Nonetheless, Vickery has endorsed the non-Sīhala identity of the Gampola-Mahiyangana political sector, and it is disconcerting that he has utilized the "natives of Sīhala" to claim a Sri Lanka identification for that area while at the same time rejecting the more obvious case for Sīhala.[53]   Equally confusing is Griswold and Prasert's suggestion of a double meaning for lines II/40-41,[54] where "leaving Sīhala" in one case requires a Sīhala identification for Mahiyangana, while the other necessitates its rejection.

What appears to be the case is that Griswold and Prasert have relied on Paranavitana's interpretation of Sinhalese history to support an Anuradhapura identification for the 3.5 section, which had been arrived at long before their in-depth study of Inscription II was undertaken.   For many years Griswold has argued that Sukhothai art was directly inspired by that of Anuradhapura (in *The Arts of Thailand,* 1960[55]; "Siam and the Sinhalese Stupa", 1964,[56] etc.).   In *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art,* the problems raised by Inscription II, along with Paranavitana's proposed solutions, appeared only in the appendix of the second edition, 1968.[57]   It was not until Griswold and Prasert's "Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 10" appeared in 1972 that the issues were met head on, with the resulting confusion noted above.

While this is not the place to enter into a detailed discussion of the relations between Sinhalese and Thai art, a case can be presented on fairly obvious grounds that it was fourteenth century Gampola architecture, and not that of the older Anuradhapura style, which played a major role in the development of architecture at Sukhothai.   As early as 1956, many years before Paranavitana identified Inscription II's 4.2 locale as Gampola, Quaritch Wales noted in a JSS article the connections between the stucco pediment designs of Gampola's Lankātilaka Temple and those of Sukhothai's Wat Mahāthāt.[58]   The date of the Lankātilaka, 1342, coincides almost exactly with the mid 1340s date now proposed for the reconstruction of Sukhothai's Mahāthāt, and there is little reason to doubt the historical relation between the stucco motifs of the two monuments.   Quaritch Wales, however, ignoring the consequences of his own

53.   Vickery, *op. cit.,* p. 212.

54.   EHS No. 10, p. 128.

55.   Bowie, Theodore, ed., *The Arts of Thailand.*   Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1960.

56.   *Buddhist Annual,* Inauguration Number, 1964, pp. 75-80.

57.   Griswold, *Towards,* p. 61.

58.   Wales, H.G. Quaritch, "The Origins of Sukhodayan Art".   JSS 44/2, 1956, pp. 113-24.

exciting discovery, followed the general opinion of the times, and continued to date the Mahāthāt to the thirteenth century, some hundred years earlier than the evidence suggested.   It was perhaps this line of thought which prompted Griswold—while utilizing Quaritch Wales's study to support Sinhalese influence at Sukhothai—to ignore the obvious Gampola roots in favor of hypothetical ones at Anuradhapura.[59]

Griswold himself, however, has noted that there are difficulties with his proposed Anuradhapura-Sukhothai connections, for instance that the bell shape of Sukhothai stupas is not found among the hemispherical "bubble" shape at Anuradhapura (and vice versa)[60]. The small hemispherical reliquary stupa in the precincts of the Mahāthūpa which he maintains clearly inspired the elephant-surrounded stupas of Sukhothai[61] actually bears only secondary resemblance to them.   Not only is its hemispherical dome at odds with the Sukhothai bell shape, but the projecting heads of recumbent elephants which surround its base contrast distinctly with the rows of standing elephants emerging from niches which are the rule at Sukhothai.   (Fig. 4) Apparently it was in the post-Anuradhapura period that Sri Lanka produced an evolved stupa design in which the set of three large terraces of the Anuradhapura stupas were atrophied to simple ring moldings that elongated the stupa dome and provided the increased volume at the base to suggest a bell[62].   There are two stupas of this type in the environs of Gampola which date roughly from the time of Sī Sathā's visit: one at the Lankātilaka Temple discussed above and a slightly less evolved one at the Gadalādeniya Temple dating from 1344[63].   At both these sites, a conspicuous architectural feature consists of standing elephants in niches[64] (Fig. 5), providing a much closer prototype for the elephant stupas at Sukhothai than anything at Anuradhapura.

But if one can conclude that there is little in Griswold and Prasert analysis to sustain an Anuradhapuran identification for the 3.5 section, it is still necessary to support an alternative.   Coedès, while presenting his theory of a Sukhothai Wat Mahāthat identification with some assurance, did not argue his points in detail, but

59.   Griswold, *Towards*, p. 21.
60.   Griswold, "Siam and the Sinhalese Stupa", p. 75.
61.   Bowie, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
62.   See Gatellier, Marie, "Le Stūpa et son Decor a Ceylan.   Son Influence en Thailande et en Bermaine". *Artibus Asiae*, XL-2, 1978, pp. 177-203.
63.   Mudiyanse, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
64.   Both these stupas are heavily restored, but in both cases, the predominance of projecting ring moldings, unintegrated into an overall bell shape, distinguish them from the sleek, gently contoured forms of modern Sinhalese stupas.   I suspect that much of their original design is still discernible.   A detailed study of the evolution of the Sinhalese stupa has yet to be undertaken.

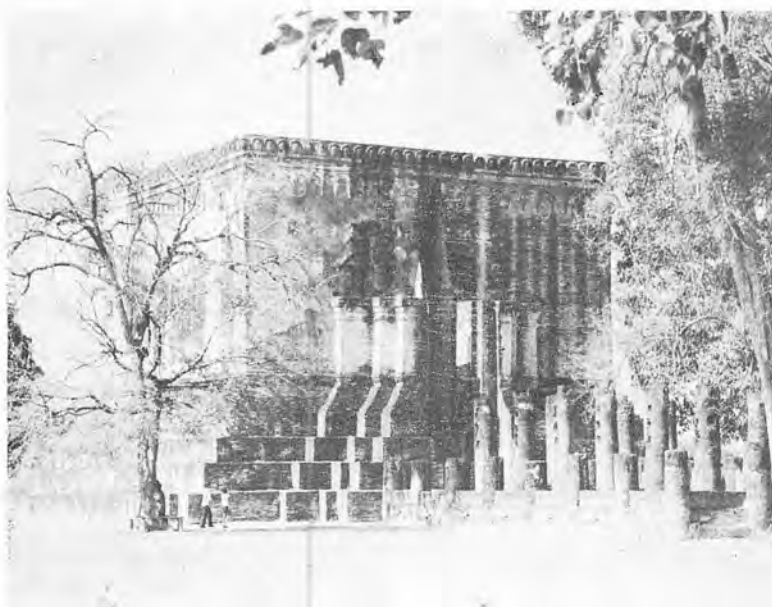*Figure* 5. One of elephants surrounding the stupa at the Gadaladeniya Temple near Gampola, Sri Lanka.

Figure 6. Wat Sī Chum, Sukhothai.

Figure 7. "Phra Atthārat" : an eighteen-cubit Buddha image at Wat Mahāthāt, Sukhothai.

nonetheless went so far as to suggest that Inscription II was in fact the "texte détaillé" mentioned in Inscription III, which according to that source was said to have been "gravé sur la stèle placée à Sukhodaya ... *Brah Mahadhatu* la-bas."[65]   That the buildings in Inscription II could *not* refer to Wat Sī Chum (Fig. 6), where the stele was actually discovered in 1887, was explained by the fact that Sī Chum is located north of the city walls, not in the center of the city, as Inscription II requires; and furthermore, there was no *čhēdī* at Sī Chum where relics might have been enshrined[66].

As mentioned above, several considerations tend to support Coedès's identification: the city's designation as *Phra Kris's*, i.e., Sī Sathā's city, the *Luang* in the name of the monument, the appropriate use of *Mahāwihān* as opposed to *Mahāvihāra*.   To this can be added that Inscription II provides a name for the *Mahāthāt, Phra Tham*, as it was called by the *Khǫm* (line II/23), a Khmer or Khmer-related group with long historical Thai associations.   It seems reasonable to assume that the monument in question was one with which the *Khǫm* were on familiar terms—that is in Thailand, not Sri Lanka.   As one small piece of negative evidence, it can be noted that in the 3.5 section there is no reference to the "natives of Sīhala" or vows to "uphold the religion in Lankādvipa" which characterize the entries in Group 4.

While perhaps none of the above items is in itself totally insistent upon a Sukhothai Mahāthat identification, taken in combination, there appears little reason why the introductory passage of Group 3, stating that Sī Sathā went to Nakhǫn Sukhothai, Bāng Chalang, and Sī Satchanālai to make them into Buddhist cities, should not be accepted as indication that this is the area where the ensuing architectural activities took place.   While the architectural remains at both Sī Satchanalai and Sukhothai should be considered as possible candidates for a 3.5 identification, it is at Sukhothai that a delightful number of details can be found to fit the inscriptional specifications. Not only is the present-day Mahathāt located in the center of the city, but the stucco decor of the main *čhēdī*, unique in Thailand, displays the Gampola characteristics required to link it with the work of Sī Sathā's group of workmen from Sri Lanka. The large, tall *čhēdī*, and large *Mahawihān* with its floor of brick, while not exclusively demanding a Mahāthāt identification, are supportive of the other more precise data. Below it will be suggested, following Griswold and Prasert, that the sacred nine objects that the workers came to perfect and restore do refer to the nine towers of the central *čhēdī*.

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65. Coedès, *Recueil*, p. 49.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 177.

One of the most interesting pieces of evidence which can be presented in favor of a Sukhothai Mahāthāt identification for 3.5 is the presence at Sukhothai of the well known unfinished series of *Jātaka* engravings now located at *Wat* Si Chum which it is possible to suggest are those mentioned in Inscription II (line II/39). Coedès, taking into consideration their inexplicable positioning in the ceiling of the small tunnelled stairway of the Si Chum *mondop*, hypothesized that they had not been originally intended for that location and that they were possibly the stone engravings of the *Hā Rǭi Chāt* which we are told surrounded 3.5's large, tall *chēdī*[67]. It is perhaps significant that among the vast amount of stucco work at Sukhothai and among the several citings of stucco in Inscription II, the *Jātakas* in each instance comprise the sole example of architectural embellishment executed in stone. Griswold and others, on stylistic grounds, have suggested a date of mid-fourteenth century for the plaques,[68] thereby providing the proper time framework for the engravings' association with those in Inscription II.

That the engravings were in fact designed for a location other than the Si Chum stairwell is indicated by their dimensions: about 16-1/2 inches wide[69] and (for those plaques for which rubbings have been photographed and published)[70] roughly seven to twenty-six inches high. Because of their uniform width, Boisselier has claimed that they could have been designed only to fit into the narrow stairwell at *Si Chum*,[71] where they do in fact entirely span the width of the ceiling between inner and outer walls. But when the panels are placed in sequence according to the Fausböll collection[72]–not according to their arrangement at Si Chum–and arranged vertically one below the other, it is also possible to divide them consecutively into groups of two, three, four, or five panels to comprise composite panels with a consistent height of about four feet (about 46 to 48-1/2 inches according to my measurements of the photos). When these composite panels are placed side by side, the result is a four-foot frieze (see diagram, p. 31) which would not be possible if the individual plaques had not been designed accordingly. While this is not the place to discuss the overall design of the Mahātāht and its former states, it is at least possible to suggest at this point, I think, that the four-foot frieze is a possible candidate for the Inscription II *Jātakas* said to have surrounded the large, tall *chēdī*.

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67. *Ibid.*
68. EHS No. 10, p. 77. Boisselier, Jean, *Thai Painting*, Janet Seligman, tr. Tokyo, Kodansha International, 1976, p. 42. Brereton, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
69. Fournereau. Lucien, *Le Siam Ancien*, Annales du Musée Guimet, 1908, p. 43.
70. *Ibid.*, Plates XI-XXXI.
71. Boisselier, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
72. Cowell, E.B., ed., *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*. London, Pali Text Society, 1973. Fournereau, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-7.

Top diagram (grid of numbered cells):

22, 19, 15, **14, 12, 10, 7, 4, *(1)
23, 16, 20, 13, 11, 5, (2)
24, 17, (8), 6, 3
25, 21, 18, 9

Bottom diagram (grid of numbered cells):

60, 56, 51, 48, 44, 40, 36
61, (57), 52, (49), (45), (41), 37
58, 53, 46, 42, 38
59, 54, 50, 47, 43, 39, 35
55

POSSIBLE ARRANGEMENT OF SĪ CHUM JĀTAKA ENGRAVINGS

* no measurements available for numbers in ( ).
** no appropriate space for no. 14 (no available explanation).

In support of an Anuradhapura provenance for the Inscription II *Jātakas*, Griswold and Prasert have hypothesized the existence of a similar, unknown series at the Mahāthūpa after which those at Sī Chum (which, they agree, were designed for the Mahāthāt), may have been copied[73]. Although the theory is interesting, it lacks the economy of explanation to make it stick, and without supporting evidence, it need not, I think, be given undue consideration. Griswold and Prasert's justification, that *Jātaka* scenes are frequently placed around the bases of stupas in Burma,[74] is not indicative, as they suggest, that this was also the case in Sri Lanka. Although the *Mahāvamsa* reports that paintings of the *Jātakas* were placed within the relic chamber of the Mahāthūpa,[75] I do not know of any instances–inscriptional or archaeological–in Sri Lanka where *Jātaka* engravings can be found surrounding the exteriors of buildings.

One more piece of evidence which can be offered in support of a Sukhothai Mahāthāt identification for 3.5 is a possible correlation between the height of the present-day monument and the dimensions provided in Inscription II. The matter is complicated by the problematical length of Inscription II's unit of measure, the *wā*, and to avoid the lengthy digression necessary to cover the subject properly, this material is included in an appendix to the present study. All things considered, the evidence supports Coedès's suggestion that the *Mahāthāt* in 3.5 and the main *čhēdī* of Wat Mahāthāt in the center of Sukhothai are the same.

Entry 3.1, lines II/8-11. According to Griswold and Prasert, it is possible that the *navaratna* or "nine jewels", said, here to have been built by Sī Sathā, refer to the nine towers of the Sukhothai Wat Mahāthāt,[76] and the hypothesis has been supported more recently by Forrest McGill, who has suggested that not only the Sukhothai *Mahāthāt*, but also nine-towered structures in the Ayutthayān and Bangkok periods may have been known as *navaratna*[77]. As suggested above, the Mahāthāt's nine towers with their Gampola style stucco decor are likely candidates for the *Phra gāo thān*, the nine sacred objects in 3.5 which Sī Sathā's Sinhalese workmen are said to have completed.

Another possible indication that the 3.1 *Phra Sī Ratnamahāthāt* and the Sukhothai Mahāthāt are the same is suggested by the presumed presence of a Great Relic (*Mahāthāt*) at both. While, as noted above, the prefix *Mahā-* for structures-*sālās*, *čhēdīs*, *wihāns*, bridges, etc. is somewhat overworked in Inscription II, it is possible to

73. EHS No. 10, pp. 77, 125.
74. EHS No. 10, p. 125.
75. *Mahāvamsa*, 30 : 87.
76. EHS No. 10, p. 119.
77. McGill Forrest, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-41.

suggest that its use in relation to relics in fourteenth-century Thailand was more strictly prescribed. In several Sukhothai inscriptions a distinction appears to have been made. Non-*Mahā*- relics include that of Rām Kamhaeng as cited in both Inscriptions I and II, the relics for the thousand or so unnamed *čhēdīs* said to have been constructed by Sī Sathā in Inscription XI, the multitude of relics appearing miraculously around the *Kesddhātu* and *Gīvādhātu* at Mahiyangana (Inscription II) and "all the relics on earth, etc." flying to the Mahāthūpa for extinction in Inscription III. In contrast, references to *Mahāthāt* or Great Relics which I have been able to locate are more limited: the *Gīvādhātu* and *Kesadhātu* at Mahiyangana and Tooth Relic at Gampola, all known from historical sources to have been among the most venerated of Sinhalese relics[78]; a Great Relic from Sri Lanka (Inscription III) at Nakhọn Chum (designated as "real" [*čing*], as opposed to "ordinary" [*sāmān*]); and the two Inscription II relics brought from Sri Lanka by Sī Sathā. While it might appear that Great Relics were confined to those in, or from, Sri Lanka, it will be suggested below that at least one more Great Relic was located in the Sukhothai area and was deposited along with the two from Sri Lanka in the Sukhothai *Mahāthāt*. However, we must leave this point until the end of our study, when all other material has been considered.

    Entries 4.1.1 and 4.1.2, lines II/42-82. As noted above, there is no problem with the identification of the *Phra Sī Ratna Mahāthāt* called "*Mahiyanganamahāčhēdī*" in 4.1.1 as the temple by that name in Alutnavara, Sri Lanka (Fig. 3), and that the only distinction which can be made between this and the 4.1.2 entry is the change in narration from third to first person. Vickery has argued that the change in person is not indicative of a change in location on the following grounds: 1) that a change in person is not significant in Rām Kamhaeng's Inscription I; 2) that the *Gīvādhātu* and *Kesadhātu* enshrined in the *čhēdī* readily signify the Mahiyangana temple on historical grounds, and 3) that the statements about the "natives of Sīhala" and vows to uphold the religion in Langkādvipa indicate that that is where the action is taking place[79].

    Griswold and Prasert's insistence upon a Sukhothai Mahāthāt identification for 4.1.2 is less well founded. As well as I can understand, their identification rests primarily on the assumption that the *čhēdī thọng* or *sūvana čhēdī*, i.e., golden *čhēdī*, in this section is a generic name for the lotus-bud type *čhēdī* in fourteenth-century Thailand. They note that there is a monastery with lotus-bud *čhēdī* at Pitsanalok called *Wat Čhēdī Thọng*, and that this is indication that all lotus-bud stupas in the fourteenth century were called by that name.[80] Less well founded is their suggestion

78. Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. 212. *Culāvamsa*, 64 : 30, note.

79. Vickery, *op. cit.*, pp. 211-212.

80. Griswold, *Towards*, pp. 19-20 and 33.

that the inscription's *hǫ nang*–literally towers or halls for seating–with beautiful stone Buddha images, can refer to the eight subsidiary towers of the Sukhothai *Mahāthāt*,[81] where one finds niches for *standing* or *walking* Buddha images made from *stucco*.

There is only one point that I would add in support of Vickery's arguments for the Mahiyangana identification. In line II/45, we are told that the part of the monument which had fallen down and was subsequently repaired by Sī Sathā was the *banlang*, translated by Coedès as "soubassement" and by Griswold and Prasert as "platform". According to present-day Thai however, the term *ratna banlang* is used to denote the boxlike structure or *harmika*, which supports the spires of Sinhalese style stupas[82] (Figs. 2, 3), and I find this meaning preferable to the transformation of "throne", "bed", "couch", "palanquin", etc., suggested by Coedès and Griswold-Prasert. What is significant for our argument is the fact that in the lotus-bud stupa design (Fig. 1) of Sukhothai's Wat Mahāthāt, there is no *harmika*, while among Sinhalese stupas it is universally present. Although the Mahiyangana temple has, according to the Sinhalese chronicles, undergone several restorations since Sī Sathā's time, and we can only guess at its appearance at mid-fourteenth century, it would be most peculiar if a *harmika* had not been an integral part of its design.

Entry 4.2, lines II/81-I/96. I have little to add to Paranavitana's identification of this section's *Kāmbalai* as Gampola, other than the above comments about the presence of Gampola art styles at Sukhothai, which support his identification. While there is no historical evidence in Sinhalese sources that the Tooth Relic was brought to Gampola in 1341 as Chand implies,[83] Paranavitana's assumption that this was the case is reasonable and need not be questioned.

My one doubt–a minor one which does not alter the basic problems at hand– concerns Paranavitana's identification of the inscription's *aranyika* monastery with the *Malatīmālasaila*, a forest monastery outside Gampola. The Tooth Relic, according to Paranavitana's theory, when not being displayed at the temple, as described in 4.2, may have been kept in or near the royal palace.[84] There is evidence, however, in an eighteenth-century Sinhalese document, the *Sīnhala daladā vamsaya*, that the Tooth Relic was kept at the *Niyaṁgampāya* Temple,[85] a small monastery located about ten

81. EHS No. 10, p. 129.

82. Joti Kalyanamitra, ed., *Phočhanānukrom sathāpatayakam lae sinlapa kīeo nǖang*, Bangkok, 1975, p. 639; Anuman Rajadhon, Phya, "Phra Chedi", JSS 40/1, 1952, p. 68.

83. Chand, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

84. Griswold and Prasert, Addendum to EHS No. 10, p. 179.

85. Mudayanse, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

minutes' walk from Gampola's railroad station-and that festivals in connection with it were held there in the reigns of Parākramabāhu V and Vikramabāhu III, i.e., between 1344 and 1374.[86] One can only speculate whether it was one of these "Tooth Relic Festivals" which Inscription II describes, but nonetheless a case can be made that it was the Niyaṁgampāya monastery which is referred to. It is interesting to note that a copper plate grant dating from the Kandyan period reports that repairs were made at Niyaṁgampāya during the reign of Bhuvanaikabāhu IV, 1341-c.1351,[87] our proposed time for Sī Sathā's visit, although, unfortunately there is no mention of either Sī Sathā or his pinnacle.

The present site, except for a plinth molding depicting dancers and musicians in the Gampola style, tells us little of its fourteenth century state.

IV. Conclusions

The general conclusion suggested by the above discussion is that it is possible to accept the architectural passages in Inscription II largely at face value and to arrive at their meaning without the necessity of complex extrapolations. What the evidence indicates is that there is a section dealing with architectural works in Thailand followed by a section on Sri Lanka. M.C. Chand, then, is correct in his contention that the text should be divided into two geographical parts, eliminating the necessary alternation between countries required by Griswold and Prasert's interpretation. My argument with M.C. Chand, then, is not with the organization of Inscription II, but the point at which the dividing line between Thai and Sinhalese activities occurs. M.C. Chand's division, although not explicitly stated, occurs somewhere near the beginning of the text (where?), thereby allocating most (all?) of the architectural passages to Sri Lanka. The statement about making Sukhothai, Bāng Chalang, and Sī Satchanālai into Buddhist cities is unaccountably ignored. My own division, based on the foregoing considerations, occurs with the Great Relics having been brought from Sīhala to enshrine at Sukhothai (line II/42). This statement, while ending the activities in Thailand, at the same time changes the subject to matters in Sri Lanka, with which the remainder of the inscription deals.

What is confusing about this geographical approach to organization is that chronological considerations are by necessity provided secondary consideration. It is perhaps important to remember at this point that Inscription II, like other Sukhothai inscriptions, was intended not primarily as a documentation of historical developments (in spite of the demands of twentieth-century scholars who prefer explications more in

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86. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

keeping with their own academic requirements). Instead, what appears to be the case is that Inscription II: 1, required a framework for the documentation of Sī Sathā's meritorious deeds; 2, a geographical approach, prompted by the history-making trip to Sri Lanka, provided an obvious choice; but, 3, since Sī Sathā both left *from*, and returned *to*, Sukhothai, the strictly geographical approach could not accommodate the sequential process as well. Anyone who has written a grade school essay on "How I Spent My Summer Vacation" and tried to relate coherently events at home that occurred both before and after the trip to Pawleys Island cannot help but sympathize with the problem which Inscription II's author had to deal. It may be that Chand has been misled by the unrealistic expectation that chronology and geography must go hand in hand; the division of Inscription II's text between Thai and Sinhalese events has thus resulted in his contention that the text must end before the return to Sukhothai. While I fully agree that the inscription *ends* (with Group 5) before Sī Sathā's return, 3.5, which tells of the bringing of two Great Relics from Sri Lanka, clearly indicates an enterprise undertaken subsequent to the Sri Lankan journey. In Group 3, it can be argued, events in Thailand, both before and after the journey to Sri Lanka, have been lumped together, thereby keeping the geographical grouping, if not the historical sequence, intact.

The dating of these entries is of some importance because of the possible identification of 3.1, as noted above, with the Sukhothai *Mahāthāt*. It can be suggested that while the organization of material in Inscription II supports this identification, as it does the *Mahāthāt* identification for 3.5, different historical periods for the two *Mahāthāt* undertakings is required.

To reconstruct the time sequence, we return once more to Group 3's introductory passage, lines II/5-7, where we are told that Sī Sathā left the world of riches to become a monk, to wander around in search of Great Relics, perform meritorious deeds, etc., at Nakhǫn Sukhothai, Bāng Chalang, Sī Satchnālai. The passage might appear on first reading to refer to the departure for Sri Lanka, and it is possible that this is where Chand places the juncture between the Thai and Sri Lankan sections of the inscription. The passage's placement, however, following a discussion of family affairs, obviously in Thailand, and just prior to the Sukhothai, Bāng Chalang, Sī Satchanālai statement, unless given a Thai location, violates Chand's theory of a clearly demarcated inscriptional division between the two countries.

In Inscription XI, which, as mentioned above, makes an effort to rectify some of Inscription II's chronological confusion, there is evidence that the passage does in fact refer to Thailand, and that at least one specific location, i.e., Sa Luang, can be

inferred. In Inscription XI, lines II/11-14, introduced there by the phrase, *tāe*, "as for" (which we have noted signifies a reference to something in Inscription II), "as for Sa Luang", there was a Great Bridge, the donation of property, and the assignment of persons not only as caretakers, but also to wash the feet of the monks. The similarity of this passage with II's 3.2 entry, as Griswold and Prasert have suggested, calls for a Sa Luang identification for the latter.

What becomes apparent from a careful reading of Inscription XI is that the sequence of place names in the Inscription II, group 3 section, must then be modified. Following XI's Sa Luang entry we are told, that "*Then*" (*cung*, my emphasis), Sī Satha "went to Sukhothai and Satchanālai to accomplish the perfections ... *Phra Mahāthāt*", thus necessitating the removal of Inscription II's Sa Luang entry from the Sukhothai, Bāng Chalang, Sī Satchanālai grouping, and placing it immediately before. As a result, we learn that after Sī Satha left the world of riches to look for Great Relics, etc., Sa Luang was his primary destination before proceeding on to Sukhothai. The implications are of considerable importance.

A result of removing the Sa Luang entry from the Group 3, Sukhothai, Bāng Chalang, Sī Satchanālai section is that the remaining four entries then fall neatly into place. Most significantly, we can suggest that 3.1 tells of architectural undertakings at Sukhothai following the Sa Luang sojourn, while 3.5 indicates Sukhothai, post-Sri Lanka. 3.3, it can be hypothesized, is Sī Satchanālai, where extensive archaeological remains bear witness to the architectural endeavors detailed in the inscription. By the process of elimination, the remaining entry, 3.4, where only non-architectural works are mentioned, becomes Bāng Chalang, a site unidentifiable today because of lack of archaeological evidence. It is interesting that even by the time of Inscription XI, Bāng Chalang apparently was not considered important enough to include with the listing of other place names.

There are several significant conclusions which can now be suggested about the Sukhothai *Mahāthāt*:

1. In our initial encounter, (Inscription II, II/8), following Sī Satha's leaving the world of riches to search for Great Relics in the Sa Luang area, the *Mahāhāt* and its nine towers were built. From the name of the monument, *Phra Sī Ratna Mahāthāt*, it can be hypothesized that at least one Great Relic, presumably from the Sa Luang area, was deposited by this time.

2. From Inscription XI, lines II/15-16, we learn that sometime after Sī Satha's initial *Mahāthāt* operations, the trip to Sri Lanka was begun and that something there in relation to the restoration of the Mahiyangana *Mahāthāt* took ten years, (line II/9). Thus, by subtracting the ten-plus years needed for the Sri Lanka trip from Griswold

and Prasert's 1340s date for the restoration of the Sukhothai *Mahāthāt*, we arrive at a date of around 1330 for the building of the nine towers in II, II/8. During the years when Sī Sathā was away, the *Mahāthāt* was allowed to become covered with brush and ruined (II, II/19).

   3. On Sī Sathā's return to Sukhothai from Sri Lanka in the 1340s, he restored and stuccoed the *čhēdī* of the *Mahāthāt*; the nine towers were completed with brick by the Sinhalese workmen; and two more Great Relics were enshrined (Inscription II, II/11-42). We are thereby provided an explanation for the reference (II/18) to the *Mahāthāt* as the place where *all* the Great Relics–that is, the one from Sa Luang and the two from Sri Lanka–were gathered together. At this point, Sī Sathā also made the monument seven feet taller by adding a spire, an operation in keeping with the *modus operandi* established in Sri Lanka, where the upper extremities of monuments were given special treatment. The basically non-Sinhalese design of today's *Mahāthāt*, with only the stucco decor suggesting Sinhalese influence (Sī Sathā's spire has long since disappeared), corroborates the inscriptional evidence that the monument was essentially completed prior to the Sri Lanka journey.

V. Postscript

   There are still a lot of questions that need to be answered about Inscription II and the *Mahāthāt*. For instance, one cannot help but wonder at the lengthy description of the *Mahāthāt* renovation when so little attention is given to its initial founding. One possible (although not the only) explanation is that there is another inscription for *that*. In that case, its discovery might well cast further doubts about any conclusions concerning Inscription II–and should keep us all happily occupied for a number of years to come!

Appendix : a note on the height of Sukhothai's Mahāthāt *

   Before any decision can be made as to whether or not the *Phra Mahāthāt Luang* in Inscription II is the same as the *Mahāthāt* in the center of Sukhothai (as opposed to the Mahāthūpa in Sri Lanka), it is necessary to compare the height of the present-day monument with the dimensions provided in Inscription II. The problem which immediately presents itself is the length of the *wā*, the unit of measure in which the inscriptional height is reported. Because of the variety of systems of measures which have been used in Southeast Asia in past centuries, to say nothing of the minor

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   *This material in slightly different form was first presented at a conference in honor of Prof. William J. Gedney on the occasion of his retirement, University of Michigan, Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, May 30, 1980.

variations in the lengths of the units within a system, it is not particularly difficult to find a measure which can correlate the inscriptional and archaeological dimensions. To provide the necessary supporting evidence that that particular measure was in fact the one which was actually utilized—and not hypothesized simply to fit our own require-ments—is another matter.

The *wā* or fathom as we know it today is a Thai linear measure of about six feet.[1]   There is also evidence of its length in ancient times : Griswold, by comparing the length of the innermost of Sukhothai's triple rampart with the dimensions given in Inscription I, determined that the length of the *wā* in the thirteenth century was about 73 inches[2]—that is essentially what we have today.

But what happens when we apply this measure to the *chēdī* in Inscription II is that in taking 95 or 102 of these units as the inscription prescribes, we come up with a structure of about six hundred feet, that is, six times or so as high as the Mahāthāt and about twice the height of any monument in Sri Lanka.[3]   Unless one is willing to believe that the figures are a great exaggeration—an alternative I would not want to consider until all other possibilities are dismissed—then we are left to assume one of two things : that there was some mammoth *chēdī* in Thailand or Sri Lanka unlike anything known from either historical or archaeological sources; or, more probably, Inscription II's *wā* refers to a linear measure other than that with which it is associated today.   Coedès, for his Mahāthāt identification, suggested that what was really meant was the *sǫk* or cubit, a Thai measure of about eighteen inches.[4]   This, however, according to more recently published plans of the Mahāthāt, results in a structure still about one and a half times the height of the present monument.

Griswold, for his Mahāthūpa identification, resorts to more complex reasoning. The unit of measure which he suggests is the "architect's cubit," which according to Paranavitana, in the eighteenth century, was about thirty-one inches, and was perhaps used in the third century B.C. to measure the Mahāthūpa.   To make this unit of measure fit the facts, Griswold suggested that the original height of the Mahāthūpa, 120 cubits as documented in the *Mahāvamsa,* had by the fourteenth century fallen to

1. Haas, Mary R, *Thai-English Student's Dictionary.*   Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1964, p. 502. According to McFarland, George Bradley, *Thai-English Dictionary*, Stanford Univer-sity Press, 1944, p. 767, the *wā* equals two meters.

2. *Towards,* p. 8. According to Griswold, 1.86 meters.   In the present study, all measurements have been converted into feet and inches, which unlike the modern meter are relatable to measures used in ancient times.

3. The Jetavana dagoba : about 232 feet in its present ruinous condition.   Paranavitana, S., *Sinhalayo,* Colombo, Lake House Publishers, 1967, p. 20.

4. *Recueil,* p. 69.

a height of ninety-five cubits, and after the restoration, might well have been the 102 *wā* documented in Inscription II–although he acknowledges that this does not correspond with the Mahāthūpa's height either now or in ancient times.[5]

As well as I can make out from the Fine Arts Department plans, the height of the Mahāthāt today is about 92 feet.[6] Taking the inscriptional height as 95 *wa*, (the seven foot pinnacle added during the fourteenth century reconstruction is no longer extant), it is necessary to hypothesize a linear measure of about 12.43 inches to make the epigraphic evidence fit. From a cursory examination of measurements taken of Sukhothai *wihāns, bǫts,* and *chēdīs,* it is easy to find multiples of 9, 18, 36 and 72 inches, conforming to the system of the 18-inch *sǫk* (cubit) and 72-inch *wā* (fathom) in use today and noted by Griswold for the Sukhothai ramparts. There is also inscriptional evidence for a *chēdī* at Sukhothai's Wat Sa Sī whose vertical and horizontal measurements conform to the inscriptional specifications by means of this standard set of measures.[7] Eleanor Morón has noted that a cubit of slightly over seventeen inches was utilized in the plan of Angkor Wat.[8]

So how is one to justify the approximate one-foot measure required for the proposed Wat Mahāthāt-*Phra Mahāthāt Luang* identification? A couple of possibilities present themselves : one, the *pāt* or *pāda,* that is, "foot", whose length I have not been able to determine, mentioned in a fifteenth-century Mon inscription from Burma :[9] the second, the *wadhu vidhatti,* or span (span=one-half a cubit) in a system of measures noted by H. Parker and others[10] to have been utilized from very early times in the construction of Buddhist monuments in Sri Lanka. Whereas in the more common system of lengths, the 18-inch cubit is traditionally based on the length of the forearm (resulting in a span length of nine inches), in the Sinhalese system, the cubit or *wadhu ryana,* is computed as twenty-four "fingers" or "joints" of about one inch, thereby resulting in a span (the *wadhu vidhatti*) about twelve inches long. I have been informed by U Bokay, Curator and Conservator of the Archaeological Department, Pagan, Burma, that a cubit of four-times-six "fingers" is prescribed in a Pali text, the

5. EHS No. 10, p. 121.

6. *Rāingān kān samruat lae khut tāeng būrana bōrānwatthu satthān mūang kao Sukhōthai.* Bangkok, Sinlapakon, 1969.

7. Griswold and Prasert, "EHS No. 11, part II. The Epigraphy of Mahādharmarājā I of Sukhodaya", JSS 61/2, 1973, p. 128.

8. Morón, Eleanor, "Configurations of Time and Space at Angkor Wat" *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture,* Vol. V, 1977, pp. 217-267.

9. Shorto, H.L., *A Dictionary of the Mon Inscriptions from the Sixth to the Sixteenth Centuries,* London Oriental Series, Vol. 24. London, Oxford University Press, 1971, p. 223.

10. Parker, H., *Ancient Ceylon.* London, Luzac and Co., 1909, pp. 338-40.

Lilāvati,[11] although I am not sure if a span is also mentioned. Parker, on the other hand, has reported that in the Pollonaruva in Sri Lanka, bricks of about twelve inches replaced the standard cubit bricks of the Anuradhapura period,[12] perhaps indicating the span's more common use at that time. It is the span, in this case known as the *Sugata vidhatti*, which is cited in the Pali text, the *Pātimokkha*, or Rules for the Bhikkus to specify the measurements for their robes and housing.[13] This span has been calculated by modern Thai Buddhists at 13.3 inches.[14]

An interesting source of confirmation for the length of the ancient cubit (and consequently, the span) can be found in the heights of the *Phra Atthārat*, or eighteen-cubit Buddha images in Thailand and Sri Lanka. According to Chapter 20 of the *Buddhavamsa Attakathā*, the living Buddha was not the size of ordinary men, but eighteen cubits tall, and numerous colossal standing Buddhas in Burma, Sri Lanka and Thailand portray him as such. In Burma, U Bokay informs me, any large Buddha image, no matter what its actual height so long as it is well above human size, is considered to be representative of the eighteen cubits.[15] In Sri Lanka and Thailand, on the other hand, measurements have in some cases proved to be more exact. In the Lankātilaka temple at Pollonaruwa, there is a colossal image, described in the *Cūlavamsa* as the size of the living Buddha,[16] which measures forty-one feet,[17] resulting in a cubit length—i.e., one-eighteenth the total height—of 27 inches; its corresponding span length of 13.5 inches thus closely matches the 13.3 span suggested for the *Pātimokkha Sugata vidhatti*. It is exciting that an almost identical height has been reported for the eighteen-cubit Buddha image mentioned in Rām Kam hāeng's inscription, and located at Wat Saphān Hin.[18]

At Sukhothai's Wat Mahāthāt there are two eighteen-cubit Buddha images (Fig. 7) incorporating a cubit length (one-eighteenth the total height) of about 24.8 inches,[19] the corresponding span length of 12.4 inches matching closely the 12.43 unit

11. Personal communication, 1980.

12. Parker, 346.

13. *The Pātimokkha, 227 Fundamental Rules of a Bhikku*, Ven. Ñanamoli Thera, tr. Bangkok, Social Science Association Press of Thailand, Bangkok, 1966, pp. 22-24 and 68-70.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 114.

15. U Bokay, personal communication, 1980.

16. *Cūlavamsa*, 78 : 54.

17. Bell, H.C.P., *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon* 1910-11, p. 36.

18. M.C. Subhadradis Diskul, *Sukhothai Art*. Cultural Committee of the Thailand National Commission for UNECSO, 1979, p. 87.

19. Measured, February, 1980. Calculated by means of multiplying the distance between viewer and base of image by tangent of angle between viewer and top of image.

we have suggested for the *Mahāthāt čhēdī*. Taking into consideration the possible sources of error-the small scale of the Fine Arts Department plan from which I took my measurements, a possible change in height of the present-day *čhēdī* with its new spire, possible innacuracies in my measurements of the Buddha images, whether the images should be measured to the top of the *ushnīsa* or the *ketu* (the latter was used here)-it seems almost certain that the surprisingly close correlation of the above figures should not be taken too literally.   And while it is not surprising that the monk Sī Sathā, whose ardent efforts to adhere to the Buddhist principles are described in Inscription II, should have used a system of measures in conformity with Buddhist or practice in Sri Lanka, the inscriptional use of *wā* to refer to the *wadhu vidhatti*, or perhaps the *Sugata vidhatti*, is not explained.   However, it is my opinion that the (roughly) 12-inch span of the *Mahāthāt* Buddha images and the (roughly) 92-foot height of the present-day Mahāthāt *čhēdī* are indicative that it was the same span which was used to provide the 95-*wā* height recorded in Inscription II.   This conclusion can be added to those assembled in the body of the present study in support of a Wat Mahāthāt-*Phra Mahāthāt Luang* identification.