

The Date of the Wat Bāng Sanuk Inscription

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Abstract

Over twenty-five years ago the Wat Bāng Sanuk inscription from Wang Chin, Phrä, was dated to 1339. Today, the arguments that led to this date appear less convincing. The present paper describes a renewed dating effort which resulted in the year 1219. This early date is not credible without corroboration. The true date of the inscription, therefore, remains doubtful. Its determination will depend on future arguments that may have to include calendrical, paleographical and population-historical considerations. These deliberations will also be useful for dating other inscriptions.

I

The stone inscription of Wat Bāng Sanuk, from Amphö Wang Chin south of Phrä,¹ records the construction of a *jedī* (stūpa) and the donations made to it. Only the upper part of the stone slab has survived in a damaged form. The inscribed text is therefore partly mutilated and incomplete.

What is left of the original stone measures 46/28/7 cm; the stone breaks off after line 29. The beginning of the inscription is in Pāli, the rest is in Thai language. The square Thai letters are similar to those of other old inscriptions, of a type to which the Rām Khamhāng inscription also belongs (which, however, places *i* and *u* on the line and not, as usual, above and below the line). The

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Line	Text
1	၁၁၅ပယေသန
2	မဟန်မစ်ဘုရား၏အတွက်
3	စေဆာနိပါဘဏ်များ
4	ခြင်းများမှာ များ
5	ရှာမှုပါများ
6	ပေါ်လောင်းများ
7	ပေါ်ဖော်
8	အမြောက်များ
9	လျှပ်စီးများ
10	၁၁၆ချေမှုများ
11	ဘာသုများ
12	ပယ်မှုများ
13	လလ္လာများ
14	၁၁၇မှာ ဘာသုများ
15	ဘာသုများ
16	ပယ်မှုများ
17	များ
18	၁၁၈ပယ်မှုများ
19	များ
20	၁၁၉ပယ်မှုများ
21	၁၂၀ပယ်မှုများ
22	၁၂၁ပယ်မှုများ
23	၁၂၂ပယ်မှုများ
24	၁၂၃ပယ်မှုများ
25	၁၂၄ပယ်မှုများ
26	၁၂၅ပယ်မှုများ
27	၁၂၆ပယ်မှုများ
28	၁၂၇ပယ်မှုများ
29	၁၂၈ပယ်မှုများ

The stone inscription
from Wat Bāng Sanuk.
Photograph by H. Penth, 1985.

relatively high age of the inscription is indirectly confirmed by the absence of a horoscope, *duang chatā*, which is usually present in later inscriptions.

The author does not seem to have been a very skilled writer because he sometimes omits key words such as a verb, a noun, a pronoun or name, or a connecting particle, which the reader has to supply for himself and which increases our difficulties with the text. But that may also be part of the author's style, or the style of time and place, because brevity is typical for old Lān Nā texts. The letters appear to be fluid and not at all clumsy.

The surviving text, after an introductory salutation in Pāli, says that the ruler or governor (*jao müang*) of Tròk Salòp and Sä Ngun เจ้าเมือง ตระก ล孰(บ) แລ แซ รุน² had nobles and commoners stamp 11,108 Buddha images made of tin หຍກ (hiak, a tin/zinc/lead alloy) and clay. He and/or his people also gave a relic ພຣະ ອາດ, two ivory Buddha images ພຣະ ລາ, silver and bronze ຖອງ³ trays for areca nuts, and surrounded these items with umbrella(s) and flag(s); the whole formed a procession or gathering and was accompanied with the sounds of music and drums; and there were also bowls of roasted rice, flowers, torches, candles, incense, sandalwood, and fragrant oil. The ruler then knelt down in solemn salute and donated the offerings in homage to the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha. He placed them down in the crypt (?) of a jedī at an auspicious moment. The jedī was then built of laterite, covered with white stucco, and finished within a month. He also had a *sālā* built. Then further donations were prepared: a family of slaves to look after the "phra" ພຣະ (Buddha images or the relic?), an elephant, a horse(?), a cow/ox, a buffalo, etc. As for the governor of Salòp, he donated monastic robes,⁴ (rice fields with an annual tax income of) some 860,000 cowries (as an endowment for the upkeep of the place), fifty pillows, (annual taxes from an) areca nut (plantation) ... (here the stone breaks off).

The auspicious moment when the items were placed in the jedī, is dated in the inscription but the date is mutilated. Griswold and Prasert (1979) thought that the date was equivalent to A.D. 1339, that the inscription dates from that year, and that it therefore is the second oldest known Thai written document, less than fifty years younger than the Rām Khamhäng inscription of 1292.

The mutilated date of the event begins in line 20 and carries on to line 21. Here the left part of the stone is chipped so that at the onset of each line a few letters are missing. For the date the missing letters at the beginning of line 20 are not important because the date begins further on in that line. But the missing letters at the start of line 21 are crucial because they are part of the date and cannot easily be reconstituted. Also, it is difficult to decide how many letters are missing at the beginning of line 21; probably three or four letters of average width. Presumably four letters are missing if the beginning of the line followed the contour of the stone as the upper lines do. But only three letters would be missing if the stone here had a flaw at the time of engraving, as is suggested by line 19 whose first word, ດຣມ, begins one or two letter positions removed to the right, as if the stone surface in front of the word could not be used.

The date on the stone reads as follows. The missing letters are represented by dots (see also note 2 above):

(20) ————— วนน เมิง เปลา เดือน เจด ออก สี
 (21) [.] ... ๙ ปี กดต หมาย แล ໂຮ

That translates as "day Möng Pao, month 7, day 'si [...]...ām' of the waxing moon, year Kat Mao and Thò." The number of the day, "si [...]...ām", is no longer complete. The number of the year evidently was not recorded at all, only its names: Kat Mao and Thò.

The year was understood by Griswold and Prasert to be C.S. 701 which indeed was a year Kat Mao according to the Thai system of naming years, and also a year Thò according to the Khmer/Mon (Khòm) system.

A year Kat Mao occurs every sixty years, for instance C.S. 581, 641, 701, 761, etc. Explaining their choice of C.S. 701 = A.D. 1339, Griswold and Prasert wrote (1979, 63):

Obviously C.S. 641 (1279 A.D.) will not do, because the Tai script did not come into existence until 1283 A.D. ...⁵ ... C.S. 761 (1399 A.D.) is very improbable because of the total absence of the mai-han-ākāśa. We therefore take the year to be C.S. 701 = 1339 A.D. which the archaic appearance of the script serves to confirm.

The reading of the month presents no formal difficulties. But it is not apparent whether this "month 7" was counted in the so-called styles of Sukhōthai, Chiang Tung, or Chiang Mai, i.e. whether the month Jetṭha (Jyestha; Sukhōthai), Visākha (Vaisākha; Chiang Tung) or Citta (Caitra; Chiang Mai) was meant.⁶

The day fell in the phase of the waxing fortnight of the moon but the day-number is uncertain. The mutilated text says: day Möng Pao, day "si [...]...ām" of the waxing moon. Theoretically, the day might have read สี ຕໍາ (= สี ค่า), *sī kham* "waxing 4." But it is not probable for two reasons: the reading seems to be clearly สี *si*, and not สี *sī* (the difference, here and elsewhere on the stone, is a little tail attached to the right part of the vowel "i"); and it is unlikely that the stone surface, prepared for receiving the inscription, had a big, unusable spot which extended over several lines and was large enough for up to three or four letters. Besides, that would not have been a day Möng Pao (see note 7 below).

The day, therefore, probably had two digits because of the long space it needed on the stone. The first digit presumably was 1 (of *sip* สิบ "ten") and the second digit is lost. However, the day-number must have been between 10 and 15 because there are only 15 days to the waxing moon.

It is possible to guess at two of the missing letters and to narrow somewhat the choice between the six days, 10–15. Line 20 ends with สี, *si*; line 21 at the beginning is destroyed but has enough free space for three or four letters. The first of these letters must be (ບ), i.e. the end of the word สิบ, *sip* "ten." The last of the missing letters must be (ຕ) of ຕໍາ *kham* "night" (= ດ້າ):

- (20) —————— วน เมือง เปลา เดือน เจต อาก สิ
 (21) (บ) [.]. (ค) ๙ ปี กดด เมษา แล ໂຄ————

Thus, the number 10 is excluded because of excessive free space. There is enough space for one or two letters between สิบ and คำ, and these letters should be the end of the numbers 11, 12, 13, 14 or 15, i.e. either เอต *et* (of สิบเอต), สอง *sòng*, สาม *sām*, สี *sī*, or ห้า *hā*. The last one, 15, may be somewhat less probable than the others because it could, perhaps more commonly, also be expressed as "full moon day" เดิน เจต เพง (ເພຸງ)

But Griswold and Prasert thought that the two missing letters might be *hā* ห้า (= ห້າ) "5" because they estimated that there was enough space for two letters between (บ) and (ค). Therefore, the day would be "waxing 15."

That, however, was not a day Möng Pao, and was not even close to a day Möng Pao.⁷ The two authors foresaw this objection and countered it with the argument that the Sukhōthai calendar at the time was not exact⁸ which is why it had to be corrected later by Phayā Lü Thai (Mahādharmarājā I) in the years around 1350, as is told in the Khmer-language inscription from Wat Pā Mamuang, Sukhōthai (c. 1361; inscr. no.4).⁹

II

Griswold and Prasert's reasoning that the inscription should be dated to 1339 thus reposes on four arguments: there was no Thai script before 1283; the diacritical marker *mai han ākāt* is absent (which makes the inscription, in the eyes of the authors, earlier than c. 1361);¹⁰ the internal day-month-year inconsistency of their proposed date 1339 is immaterial because the calendar at the time was defective; the archaic script features confirm an early date.

With the exception of the last argument, viz. that the letters are archaic and the inscription therefore "old," the other three arguments at present seem weaker than they did when the authors wrote their article over twenty-five years ago. That there was Thai script long before 1283, i.e. before Rām Khamhäng of Sukhōthai devised his own type of Thai letters, was already assumed by Cœdès and others before him; the existence of such early Thai script ("proto-Thai script") has been a scholarly conjecture since, even though no written specimen dating from that time may have survived. The *mai han ākāt* is no precise indicator of the age of an inscription (Penth 1992, 21–22, 44–47 and Penth 1985, 177 n.5, referring *inter alia* to Cœdès 1925, 10–15; Burney and Cœdès 1927, 87ff, 101; and Cœdès 1964, 360). Lastly, the argument of a calendar disorder may not be applicable to this inscription.

The calendar disorder referred to by Griswold and Prasert would only have affected the correctness of the officially calculated lunar day, the beginning of a month, the intercalation of a month or of a day, etc. It would not have affected the name of the day or the name of the year because here no calculations are necessary. Day follows upon day, whether in the "Thai" style (Möng Pao,

etc.) or in the "Mon" style (Sunday, Monday, etc.). Their order is permanently fixed and independent of calculated values for the moon, the sun or the planets. Therefore the name of the day and the year as mentioned in the inscription cannot easily be dismissed.

Besides, if in about 1350 something was wrong with the calendar at the Sukhōthai Court, there was not necessarily also something wrong with the calendar at Wat Bāng Sanuk which was a hundred kilometers from Sukhōthai. Lān Nā inscriptions have many examples of local short-time calendar aberrations.

III

Since the arguments that led to the date 1339 appear less solid than previously thought, a question arises immediately: what if the date in the Wat Bāng Sanuk inscription were correct and that the year Kat Mao were not C.S. 701?

The three nearest possibilities before and after C.S. 701 are two dates in C.S. 581 and one in C.S. 881. Both of these years had a month 7 with a day Möng Pao, where "month 7" could have been in the Chiang Mai or in the Sukhōthai style, viz. "month 7" could mean month Citta or month Jetṭha. During that period there was no such combination in Chiang Tung style, i.e. month 7 meaning Visākha. The three possible dates are:

- Day Möng Pao, 11/07 (Ch. Mai style)/C.S. 581 = Thursday 28 March 1219
- Day Möng Pao, 12/07 (Sukh. style)/C.S. 581 = Monday 27 May 1219
- Day Möng Pao, 14/07 (Sukh. style)/C.S. 881 = Thursday 12 May 1519

The year 1519 is too late for the archaic appearance of the letters. The two remaining dates both fall in the year 1219. The date 27 May 1219 may have a space problem: *sip-sòng kham*, สิบ ส่อง คำ "waxing 12" would require three letter positions for *sòng* ส่อง while presumably only two positions are available, as has been explained above; the word would be too long.

That leaves 28 March 1219 as a possible date for the Wat Bāng Sanuk inscription, and although *sip-et kham*, สิบ เอດ คำ "waxing 11" theoretically also requires three letter positions for *et*, เอດ, space may be no problem in this case because the slender letter "ት" could easily be accommodated in addition to the two letters ອດ to form the word ເສດ. Therefore, the day could indeed have read "Möng Pao, waxing 11."

The basis for the date 1219 thus is: there was a day Möng Pao in a month 7, and the stone has precisely the space required for writing the date.

Such a surprisingly early date is not acceptable without further corroboration. Here are three observations that might begin to make the date more credible.

The inscription does not mention personal names, only titles based on toponyms which in part are not Thai. It speaks of a Jao Müang ("ruler, governor

of") Tròk Salòp and Sä Ngun, เจ้าเมือง ตระก ลลอบแล แซ ญ (line 9) and also names a Jao of Salòp เจ้าพาย สลอบ (line 26) who may or may not be the same person.¹¹ The word *salòp* recurs in the former name of Wat Bāng Sanuk, viz. Wat Pāk (Mä) Salòp, วัดปาก (แม่) สลอบ¹² The word *sä* might be Thai (?) and could be the same as modern *chä*, *jä* (as in Jä Hom, Chä Phän, etc.), meaning a shallow seasonal pond. But the words *tròk* and *salòp* do not sound Thai. The inscription thus conveys the impression that its author, a Thai speaker, lived in an area with non-Thai place-names, perhaps even among a non-Thai people; as if the local Thais had arrived here only recently, had settled down, but had not yet really Thai-ized the country. That would have been the case if the inscription had been composed before or not long after the Thais took over the Sachanälai-Sukhōthai region, which they are supposed to have done in about 1220 (Cœdès 1964, 357). The year 1219 for the Wat Bāng Sanuk inscription would fit such a scenario. Of course one could also argue that even today, though the region has been under Thai administration for seven hundred years, the brook is still called Salok.

The square characters of the inscription could be Thai letters of the type that were used by Rām Khamhäng when he formed his own script variant. Here one would like to know more about where these particular square characters stand in the general chain of development of square letters, and where square letters stand in the overall chain of development of Thai letters.

The day on which the ruler of Tròk Salòp made merit by enshrining the items in the stūpa was close to New Year and therefore was not just an ordinary day.¹³ To be precise, it was the day after New Year, C.S. 581, which fell on 27 March 1219. Indeed, the period of the first days of a new year traditionally was, and still is, regarded as a very proper occasion to make merit. That increases the credibility of the calculated date for the Wat Bāng Sanuk inscription because it falls well within a time appropriate for making merit.

Here are three similar instances from the past. (1) The Buddha relics believed to be enshrined on Dòi Tung (north of Chiang Rāi), together with other neighboring holy sites, traditionally were venerated at the beginning of each year; the custom has changed now, but the Caves' Chronicle, *Tamnān Tham Pum, Tham Plā, Tham Pleo Plòng Fā* from nearby, which also covers part of the Dòi Tung history, still conserves the memory of it: "[All the kings down to Phayā Phā Yū, r. 1337–1355] regularly went to perform acts of merit at the great relics on Dòi Tung, also on Dòi Chāng Müp and at the caves Tham Pum, Tham Plā and Tham Pleo Plòng Fā, from the time of New Year, when the sun had entered Aries."¹⁴ (2) On New Year's day C.S. 865 (30 March 1503) the construction of the wihān of Wat Sī Suphan, Chiang Mai, was begun.¹⁵ (3) On the day after New Year C.S. 885 (31 March 1523) a great merit-making festivity took place at Wat Yāng Num, Chiang Mai. The king, Phayā Kāo, donated rice fields to the principal Buddha image and three families (for its service?). Another important donation (name or nature of the gift are lost) was made with substantial monetary contributions from the princess grandmother and other faithfuls.¹⁶

IV

I am aware of the vulnerability and fragility of the reasoning "pro 1219" and shall not insist. The above attempt at dating the inscription did not bring a definite result. The true date of the inscription is still uncertain. However, it has become evident that the question of the date of the inscription is more complex than hitherto thought. Since there is a possibility that the actual date of the Wat Bāng Sanuk inscription could be 1219, or may not be 1339, or indeed was 1339, it would certainly be fruitful or at least informative to collect more arguments, for or against either date, or for a third date. Without reliably dated pieces of Thai writing from such an early time, a renewed consideration of the cultural history of the area may be one option, in particular the population and settlement history with its ethnic, philological (and particularly paleographical), calendrical and religious elements. Also, a re-examination of the stone itself seems indicated. Such multiple assessments will almost certainly turn up new insights, and not just in aid only of solving the riddle of the date of this particular inscription.

The personal and place names mentioned in the inscription make it possible to theorize that the region of Wat Bāng Sanuk then had an austro-asiatic substratum, perhaps closer to Mon than to Khmer or Lawa. One wonders why in 1219, when from Wang Chin the road to Sī Sachanālai and Sukhōthai was so much easier than that to Lampāng–Lamphūn, the author of the inscription would count months in "Chiang Mai" style and not in "Sukhōthai" style. When and where was the origin of the "Chiang Mai month" reckoning? Did Old Mon (Lamphūn) or, subsequently, Lān Nā cultural influence extend across mountains so far south?

Notes

1. Wat Bāng Sanuk วัดบางสนุก is located at the mouth of the brook Huai Salok ห้วยสลอก, on the west bank of the Yom River, in Amphö Wang Chin, Phrä province, about 63 km southwest of Phrä in a straight line, c. 31 km southwest of Amphö Lòng, c. 45 km south of Lampāng, c. 55 km northwest of Old Sī Sachanālai and c. 100 km north of Old Sukhōthai. (Map 1:50,000, series L 708, sheet 4964.4; series L 7017, sheet 4944.4; GC 642787. The map of the L 708 series wrongly calls the brook "Huai Pan Jen" which in fact is a tributary of the Huai Salok further upstream.)

Until 1920 the site was a monastery ruin called Wat Pāk (Mä) Salòp วัดปาก(แม่)สลوب (or: สลอก Salok) "Monastery at the Mouth of the (Mä) Salòp" which had extensive premises that stretched for perhaps 200 m along the Yom River. The southern end of the premises touched the brook Huai Salok which comes down from the hills in the northwest and is about 10 km long. The old monastery ruins consisted chiefly of the remains of a jedī (stūpa) and small mounds of bricks and

laterite, presumably the remains of buildings. The northern part of the premises became the Wat Bāng Sanuk school, the amphō office, and the police station. The new monastery was rebuilt from 1920 on, around the remains of the old jedī, and the former name was changed to Wat Bāng Sanuk.

The inscribed stone slab was excavated in 1954 about five meters north of the northern wall of Wat Bāng Sanuk, on the premises of the school. It presumably was found in or at a mound of bricks and laterite blocks among the two Bodhi trees, now built up as a platform. In 1955 it was brought to the National Museum, Bangkok, and in 1985 it was in the Hò Phra Samut Wachirayān, National Library, where I took the photograph that accompanies this paper.

The inscription is known as พระ. 1; Inscr. No. 107; or 1.8.1.1 Wat Bāng Sanuk 1339(?). It has repeatedly been published, in, among others, Prasān and Prasert 1966; Prasān and Prasert 1970; Griswold and Prasert 1979; Kannikā et al. 1991a.

Among other items found on the land was an inscribed stone fragment, measuring 10x9x3.5 cm, with five lines of writing and with a lettering and orthography similar to the big stone, possibly a part of it; reddish and black *phra phim* (clay Buddha votive images cast from moulds) both round and sīmā-shaped, with one or several images of the Buddha; and pottery shards. A few pieces were for some time kept in Wat Bāng Sanuk but were no longer there in 1996.

2. I have separated the words; they are written without spaces in the inscription.
3. *Thòng* in Lān Nā texts means "bronze," not "gold" (which is called *kham* คำ). Besides, in an enumeration of metals, the more precious metal is mentioned first. If *thòng* here were to mean "gold," one would expect the sequence "gold and silver," not "silver and gold."
4. Griswold and Prasert (1979) understood "monastic robes for Jao Phāi Salòp" whom they considered the abbot of the monastery. The difference in translation stems from the word *phāi* พ้าย which they take as part of the name, while I favor the translation "concerning, on the part of." It is possible that, at the time, there was not yet a monastery, only the newly-built jedī and sālā, and that from this beginning, as a place of worship, the monastery developed later when monks came to live permanently near the jedī. The monastic robes could have been for monks invited to the ceremony from elsewhere, and the pillows for visiting worshipers resting in the sālā.
5. Here Griswold and Prasert insert a reference to their 1971 article, *The Inscription of King Rāma Gamhèñ of Sukhodaya* (1292 A.D.). This inscription, usually thought to date from 1292, says that the king devised "these Thai letters" in 1283. For a discussion of the date 1292, see Chamberlain (1991).
6. The so-called Chiang Mai style of numbering months is one unit higher than the so-called Chiang Tung style and two units more than the so-called Sukhōthai style; for instance, the Chiang Mai month 7 (Citta) would be called month 5 in central Thailand.
7. A date calculation by computer shows that 15/07/C.S. 701 in Chiang Mai style was a day Kat Kai, thirty-eight days past and twenty-two days before a day Möng Pao; in Chiang Tung style it was a day Kā Rao, four and fifty-six days removed from a day Möng Pao; and in Sukhōthai style it was a day Kā Mao, thirty-four or twenty-six days distant from a day Möng Pao. These differences seem to exclude the possibility of an erratically intercalated day or month.

For the sake of completeness, the other possibilities are given in the following table.

			49/11	days distant from a day	Möng Pao
Waxing 4:	(Chiang Mai)	Pök Jai	"	"	"
	(Chiang Tung)	Tao Set	15/45	"	"
	(Sukhōthai)	Tao Sī	45/15	"	"
Waxing 10:	(Chiang Mai)	Kāp Sangā	43/17	"	"
	(Chiang Tung)	Pök Sī	9/51	"	"
	(Sukhōthai)	Pök Set	39/21	"	"
Waxing 11:	(Chiang Mai)	Dap Met	42/18	"	"
	(Chiang Tung)	Kat Sai	8/52	"	"
	(Sukhōthai)	Kat Kai	38/22	"	"
Waxing 12:	(Chiang Mai)	Rawāi San	41/19	"	"
	(Chiang Tung)	Kot Sangā	7/53	"	"
	(Sukhōthai)	Kot Jai	37/23	"	"
Waxing 13:	(Chiang Mai)	Möng Rao	40/20	"	"
	(Chiang Tung)	Ruang Met	6/54	"	"
	(Sukhōthai)	Ruang Pao	36/24	"	"
Waxing 14:	(Chiang Mai)	Pök Set	39/21	"	"
	(Chiang Tung)	Tao San	5/55	"	"
	(Sukhōthai)	Tao Yī	35/25	"	"

(I am very grateful to Dr. J. C. Eade, Canberra, who some years ago let me have his computer program "Faraut 3" for calculating dates and, more recently, his advanced program "SEAC".)

8. It seems that it may have been in advance by an unknown number of days. For details of what supposedly was wrong with the calendar of the Sukhōthai Court and what corrective measures were taken, see face 2, lines 1–10 of the Wat Pā Mamuang inscription (in Cœdès 1924, 91–102; Griswold and Prasert 1973, 1: 127–144) and Cœdès's 1924 comments, 98–99 n. 3.
9. "The day of the month, สิบ .., is mutilated. As the lacuna is wide enough for just two letters, the obvious reconstruction is ๑๕, 'fifteen'; but in any case the complete number has to be something between ten and fifteen, as the waning moon begins the day after the fifteenth of the waxing. Not one of these dates in the seventh month of C.S. 701 (1339) would be a 'mōñ plau' day in the Tai cycle; but the discrepancy, rather than invalidating our view that the year was really C.S. 701 (1339), must be considered as an example of the disarray of the calendar in the Sukhodaya area before it was reformed by Mahādharmarājā I between 1347 and 1357." (Griswold and Prasert 1979, 63)
- "... the Sukhodayan calendar had evidently gone wrong during his father's reign, and Mahādharmarājā himself, after mounting the throne [in 1347] made the intricate calculations by which he succeeded in setting it right." (Griswold and Prasert 1973, 131)
10. Because, in their view, the mai han ākāt made its first appearance in about 1361 (Griswold and Prasert 1973, 113); cf. Penth 1985, 176 n. 1.

11. This last name has been understood to mean a monk by name of Jao Phāi Salòp; cf. above, note 4.
 12. Cf. above, note 1. It has been stated that this place was in, or that this individual was from, the area of the province of Nān: "ตรอกสลوب, เมือง (np. in the province of Nan)", where "np." stands for "name of a person, name of a king" (Ishii et al. 1989, 62, where the authors are referring to the present inscription which they call Inscription No. 107). Unless "Nān" here is an error for its neighboring province Phrä, that statement would need elaboration.
 13. Professor David Wyatt, Cornell University, made this pertinent point during the discussion after the paper had been read at the Conference in Chiang Mai.
 14. "...เที่ยงไปกราทั่งคลบุญกรรม ในมหาธาตุเจ้า ธงปพด ดอยตุง และช้างมูน ถ้ำปูม ถ้ำปลา ถ้ำเบลวปล่องฟ้า ตึงแต่กุดเดือนอันตกปีใหม่ อาทิตย์ขึ้นสู่เมฆาราศี" (Penth et al. 1993, 54, 128).
 15. "And then, in the year Kā Kai, month Visākha, the Thais say month 6, the horas (say) night 4 of the waxing moon, Thursday, the Thais say day Kot Sangā, on the day of New Year, at the hour Tūt Chao (06.00–07.30h), they (began to) build the great wihān" / ถัดนั้น ในปีก้าได้ เดือนวิเศษ ไห้ว่า เดือน 6 ใหร ออก 4 คำ วนปรีหส ไหกดซังจะ ศกราชขึ้นเป็นปีใหม่ ยามตุตเมื่อเช้า ปลูกมหาวิหาร และ/ (1.2.1.1 Sī Suphan Ārām 1509, 1.20–23).
- This inscription still awaits a modern text edition and translation; so far its first and only publication is in Schmitt (1898, 268, 275). Faces 1 and 2 are reversed there; also Schmitt mistakenly thought that the wihān construction ended on that day.
16. "In the year Kā Met, month 7, night 14 of the waxing moon, the Thais (say) day Rawāi Sī, the Mon (say) day 3 (Tuesday), (Cula)sakkarāja 884 (an obvious error for 885, as corroborated by the position of the heavenly bodies in the accompanying horoscope, or duang chatā), His Majesty was pleased to donate rice fields of 60,000 cowries annual tax income as food for the Buddha image, and 3 families of slaves (to serve the image ?) " ... "(donation of an unidentified object) the (total) cost was 6,000 weight of silver; the princess grandmother gave 400, other faithfuls gave 5,600" /ปิกาเมด เดือน 7 ออก 14 คำ ไทรaruยสีเมง 3 สักราชา ได 884 ตัวเมื่อพระเป็นเจ๒แม่ใน ยินตีไวน เป็น เช้าพระเจ้า 60000 เมี้ ขาดามครว /; สินเงิน 6000 พัน พระมหาเทวีเจ้าต๘นยา 400 เงิน นักบุญ 5600 เงิน / (1.2.1.1 Wat Yāng Num 1523: 1.1–5, 2.1–3).

The location of Wat Yāng Num in Chiang Mai is unknown. The inscribed stone at some time broke into several pieces, the last surviving piece (?) I found in Wat Phan Tao, Chiang Mai. This upper left fragment of only the front face is published in Penth 1975a and 1975b. At the time of these publications, the existence of old rubbings showing approximately the complete upper half of the stone, front and back, was still unknown. These additional parts of the inscription have not yet been published; the text quoted above is partly taken from those rubbings. The lower part of the stone seems lost, and with it the name of the object that cost 6,000 weight units in silver (presumably c. 6.6 kg).

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