THE ASOKĀRĀMA INSCRIPTION OF 1399 A.D.

Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 2*

by

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In 1958 some treasure-hunters, while digging into a cetiya in the ruins of the Asokārāma, south of the southeast corner of the walled city of Sukhodaya, discovered an inscribed stone, which they threw aside. Upon learning of it from the villagers, the representatives of the Fine Arts Department removed it to the Sukhodaya Museum, where it has been ever since.

The stone is a slab of greenish schist, measuring 1.34 m. x 54 cm. x 15 cm., with slightly slanted edges and an ogee-shaped top. (Figs. 1 & 2). Both faces are devoid of decoration except for an engraved border of flame motifs. Face I bears 47 lines of Siamese, written in Sukhodayan characters; Face II bears 54 lines of Pali, written in Khmer characters, making 85 hemistichs or half-verses (170 pādas) of anuttubha plus a 'signature'. Both faces have been read and transcribed into modern Siamese characters by Mr Prasara Puṇpragōn. Face I, with annotations by Dr Prasert ṇa Nagarā, is published in Śilpākara, VIII/2; Face II, with a Siamese translation and annotations by Mahā Sēn Manavidūra, is published in Śilpākara, IX/3. In our references to Face I (as in our previous article in this series), the Arabic numeral after the slant corresponds to the number of the line (e.g. I/3 means Face I, line 3). Our Romanization of Face II is based on Mr Prasara’s Siamese transcription; we follow him in splitting the text into hemistichs and pādas; in addition we have

* For the two systems of transcription used in our Epigraphic and Historical Studies, see the first article of the series, JSS LVI/2, pp. 245 ff. Words transcribed according to the Graphic System are printed in ordinary type or bold-face. Those transcribed phonetically are printed in italics when they first occur. See infra, Abbreviations and Bibliography.

1) The old name of the monastery, Asokārāma, had been forgotten until the discovery of the inscription made it known. Before that the ruins had been nicknamed Wat Salat-dai because they were overgrown with euphorbia antiquorum (สั้นไหม้). For their location, see Map 3 (site No. 36).
MAP 1

Siam.
Fig. 1. Asokārāma Inscription, Face I.
Fig. 2. Asokārāma Inscription, Face II.
numbered the hemistichs in square brackets, while giving in parentheses the number of the line as engraved. In our references to Face II, the Arabic numeral corresponds to the hemistich rather than the line (e.g. II/17 means the 17th hemistich of Face II).

The object of the inscription is to record the founding of the Asokarama by the Queen Mother Samtec Brahma Devi Sri Culalaksana Agrarajamahesi Devadharanii Tilakaratana (or Lokaratana ?) in 1399.2 She was a daughter of Mahadharmaraja I (Li daiya, Li Tai), who was King of Sukhodaya from 1347 until his death, which occurred some time between 1368 and 1374.3 She was married to her own half-brother Mahadharmaraja II, who was forced to capitulate to Ayudhya in 1378, and who died probably around 1398 (all we can say for certain is that he was still alive in 1390 and was dead when the inscription was written in 1399). By him she had two sons, Mahadharmaraja III (Sai Lidaiya, Sai Li Tai), who occupied the throne at the time of writing,4 and a prince called Asoka of whom we know nothing.

Why did she name the monastery 'Asokarama'? It would be odd for her to name it for her younger son if he was still alive at the time; yet he seems to have been, for she does not mention him in the distribution of the merit for the foundation, which she transfers to various deceased persons, including her father and mother, her husband, and her mother-in-law (see below, p. 48). On the whole it seems most likely that her principal motive in building the monastery was to transfer the merit to her husband; his personal name is unknown, but it too may have been Asoka, and the Queen Mother's younger son

2) For further information about this lady, see JSS LVI/2, pp. 220 ff.
3) The spelling Li Tai (or Li Tai) represents the probable pronunciation of the name; in his own inscriptions in Siamese and Khmer it is written Lidaiya (Hai) (No.III, 1/3 and No. V, 1/4, in Siamese; No. IV, 1/1, in Khmer), and in Pali Lideyya or Lidaya (No. VI, 1/7 and III/3). His title is given in Siamese as Brahma Sri Suryabana Rama Mahadharmarajadhira, or some variant thereof (the same in Khmer, but with Brahma replaced by Brahma Pada Kamrata Atn).
4) For further information about this monarch, who threw off the ties of vassalage to Ayudhya in 1400, see our article A Declaration of Independence.
may have been named for him just as her elder son Sai Ṭidaiya was named for his grandfather Ṭidaiya⁵; the Sukhdayan royal family had a tendency to re-use honored names. On the other hand it is possible that both Prince Asoka and the Asokārāma were named for some other ancestor, or for the Indian emperor. Still another possibility is that the monastery stood in a grove of Asoka trees (saraca indica); these are not listed among the trees the donor planted at the monastery (II/45 f.), but that might be because they were already there in quantity.

The Pali verses were composed on behalf of the donor by her younger brother the Kavīrajapaṇḍita Śri Dharmatrailoka, who writes of her in the third person to II/65, but from II/66 on makes her speak in the first person. Face I, which speaks of her entirely in the third person, seems to have been composed by the donor herself, probably with her brother’s help.

The two faces cover much the same ground, so that the general sense of most of the illegible passages in each can usually be discovered by reference to the other. But they are not identical in content; in discussing the donor’s operations at the Asokārāma they emphasize different details; and Face I gives a list of benefactions performed by the same donor at other places (not mentioned in Face II), while Face II gives some biographical information about Mahādharmanarāja II and specifies the limits of his kingdom (not given in Face I).

The historical information that can be extracted from this inscription is considerable. We have already commented on it in our article *A Declaration of Independence and its Consequences* (JSS LVI/2 pp. 213 ff.); further comments will be found below.

⁵) Sai means that he was the fourth son of his father, who doubtless had the first three by other wives.
THE ASOKĀRĀMA INSCRIPTION OF 1399 A.D.

TEXT
Face I

1. มณฑลวิหารกินเนสตุมงคลโดยอภิเษกพระครู(...)
2. ย ทักษะย์วิราวัชรภทศกุณมาตรอกเจ้าติโยกุยมหุริภัณ
3. เคสินธารคณ์ภณโยกลิ่นเจ้าพระราชเทวทรรพเจ้าหลักธรรา
4. ช (มาหี) เทพธอร (ณ) ... ภรรยา.......................... มหา

ประกาศเป

5. นักรายณสิ่งกรมรำชพาวาราชภายุคปฏิบัติโดยย่าน
6. (มณฑ)............. กะใจหม่นในพระที่สันเทาที่เจริญ

7. พระสุคุนไว้โรงก่อสร้างท่านอาพระกรมพระราชเจริญ
8. ผ่านการเล่าของปีกันเริ่มเท่าเมฆชำสาสนาเกียร

9. พระวัลลักิทรักษาคุณ..............................

10. ณกรพฤกษ์ท่านประค (สถูตรบอพรหม)

11. ท่าจีกในเกยเหยออภิคารทูป..............

12. นกภูพระธรรมหาโอวิวภูมลย่า......................ป

13. รายการพะสนาแผนยาแยสุทธิ (ไม่ได) ทรงหลักค่านิป

14. ทานจึงล้มบัญคณ์ทะวงสารผักบ้านธรรมบัติ

15. องกงคณ์ขนิชเชิญผนังราวด้านท้องกินซึ่งเจา

16. สิ่งสิ่งสิ่งสรรค์มิตรพิทักษ์เที่ยงเสียงชัย แล้วทานกู้ยอย

17. ปริศนาหลักคณ์แผนบงการพยาบารทรงหลักทับสิ่ง

18. อินมีปรารถนาคืนขึ้ยชรรจันทร์เก้ากัน (นาสรองรอดร).........

19. ย่ำ เขาปฏิบัติวานนิทิกรับานขันขาวหน้าหยา

20. ร เป็นสุภพณชขาการไตรภุฒิปรมณเดวานังเดวทีป

21. ตร พวกในสันบัติเกี่ยวกษัตริยานาหาทพล

22. ลัวทานจึงแสงพระทานสมบัติการกลางทางหล้า

23. อินหน้าลัยสิ้นสารแล้วเสจนานจึงองค์เชิญพ
40 A.B. Griswold & Prasert ณ Nagara

24. ระดมท่า เจรจา ทันท่วงที แปลงเสียง เพื่อประชัน

25. พลตรีทหารม้า ผู้ร้อยหงส์ นำม้า

26. ควรยึดสิทธิ์ทางคู่คี่ คุมแบบแผนการประชัน ในโอกาส

27. รวมทั้ง ใช้เก้าล้อขี่พระราชา เวลาสังโยการบนท้อง

28. หนังท้ายขี่สามารถ เลือกประเภทที่จะส่งให้กับท่าน

29. ค้นพบท่ำ ท่านประกาศ ณ ที่มาของท่าน

30. (น) พระสมรภูมิ แห่งพระราชา ณ ท้องที่ไทย

31. เลือก ท่านบังคับบรรทุก ทรงสิทธิ์ ได้แสดงวิทยุ ทรงสิทธิ์

32. ชาวเสือที่อยู่ เลือกเสียพระชนะแบบทำ

33. ช่วยในการใช้ เลือกเสียพระชนะแบบทำ

34. กรณีที่ไนท์อาเธอร์ ทำพระชนะแบบที่

35. การสังเกตที่พระราชา บนสามารถ ล้านกัน

36. การสังเกตที่พระราชา บนสามารถ ล้านกัน

37. แสดงที่พระราชา เทวานที่แสดงแบบกลับไปเป็น

38. ได้รับทรัพย์ได้ ไปแทนเดิม พยายามอย่างหนึ่ง

39. อย่างที่ค่อนข้าง ทำที่ไนท์อาเธอร์ พระชนะแบบที่

40. ราชบุตร ได้รับทรัพย์ดี ทางที่หนึ่ง

41. พวกที่ไปร่วมโดยมาก ทำให้ได้รับสิทธิ์ที่หนึ่งที่

42. (น) นั้น ๆ ที่นายกอง ข้าราชการ ตาม

43. ท่านภูมิกล่าวนอนที่ ไร่ ที่

44. ผู้ที่จะต้องที่จะไป ที่

45. ต่อมาพระยา ตาม

46. เลียง

47. ไป
THE ASOKĀRA MA INSCRIPTION OF 1399 A.D.

Face II

[1.] (1) vatthuttayarām namitvāna
vakkhāmi puṇṇasambhāraṃ
sunātha puṇṇām caritum
silādīgu(3)ṇabhūsāya

asokāramamavhayē
rāja(2)saddhāyimāṃ kataṃ
sādhūnam rativadhanam
buddhabhāvāya saṅcitām//
kathām//

[5.] tīrīṃsādhike sattasate
kapisāṃvacchare y'eva
(5)dhammarājādhirājāti
lidayarājino nāma

(4) sakarāje sulikhkīte
āśādhe subhavārake
mahā ........
narinda(6)ssa mahesiyā

[9.] sridhammarājamātā-
sotthi(7)nā mātyā ā gabbhā
solasavassiko sippa-

.............
(mahāpuṇṇābhinikkhāmi)
nippha(8)ttim pāpuṇāti ca

.............

[13.] ațṭhatimāsīyuvā(9)yasā
............. sattasate
(10)rațṭhamandalaṃ viṭṭhāraṃ
tass'eva puṇṇāvantassa

.............
sakarāje suddhipite
khemaṇca ...........
rațṭhasimā (11)vijāniyā

[17.] pubbe nagaradeyyāti
purimānudisābhāge
bingāya nadiyā tīre
dakkhiṇasmiṃ (13)disābhāge

etām rațṭhasimām akā
(12)vajjaraṇuranti tamakā
uyyapabbatanāmakā
etām rațṭhasimām akā

[21.] dakkhiṇāyanudisāya
(14)pachchime tākapūraṇca
yamunāsākhanadiyā
lakhipūranti nagaram

hemapūranti tamakā
etām rațṭhasimām akā
esā (khuddam) (15)nadi'vhayā
(tīṭṭham) tassā sumāpitaṃ
e(16)tam rațṭhasimāṃ akā
(iṭṭhappatānavhādharām?)
(17)sattānam sukhadāyako

[25.] pachchimānudisābhāge
uttarekā va rațṭhaṇca
rațṭhasimāṃ ṭhapetvāna
devehi (ca manussehi)

etām rațṭhasimām akā
esā (khuddam) (15)nadi'vhayā
(tīṭṭham) tassā sumāpitaṃ
e(16)tam rațṭhasimāṃ akā
(iṭṭhappatānavhādharām?)
(17)sattānam sukhadāyako

[29.] tass'eva dhammarāṇṇo
mahesi sundārkāntā
(paṇcaviti mahāpaṃmā
buddhe dham(20)me ca saṅghe ca

.............
sabbe' (19)laṅkārabhūsitā
mahāmoli mahāyasā
pasannā rattanattaye
[33.] dhammārājādhīrājātī-
asokānāma kaniṃṭhham
ekasatthissattasate
sasasaṃvacchare y'eva

[37.] sattame subha(23)vārasmiṃ
paṇḍipūrabhatā dve va
pha(24)likā khuddaka tv eva
nidadhītvāna yaṃ thūpo
dhātubhābhamhi dhātuyo
mājhimā bhīṃnataṇḍalā
sāsapo bakulā tathā
sabbakam(25)mena māpito

[41.] vihāram (ca maṇḍa)paṇca
niṃṭhāpetvāna ropetvā
abhbhantarānaṃ parikkhaṇaṃ
dhātuvittena ratiṭhakāṃ

[45.] surabhīnāgaṃ punnāgaṃ
dve va
sobha(27)mānuccapāṇā

[49.] śrīvīraṃ(30)sapāṇītāṇic'eva
saṃkhārānica nāmekaṃ
tam ārā)mikāṃ kūlaṃ
śrīcandavha(32)pamukkhaṇaṃ

[53.] tālādikānaṃ hi paṇcāngaṃ-
mahābhēriṃ mahātālaṃ
khettaṅ catusatabyā(34)maṃ
byāmasatadvayantassa

[57.] āyāmārāmikāṇaṇaṃ
dve va

[61.] koṭisatadva(38)yenaṃ
thūpaḍikcece niṃṭhitā
dhanacāgēna sā śoka
sangarāsissekaṃ
silādigunasampannaṃ
THE ASOKAŇABA INSCRIPTION OF 1399 A.D.

[65.] āramikaṁ ṭhapetvāna
iminā puññā(41)kammena
sāmiko me mahādhamma-
sridhammarājamatā ca
paccayehi upaṭṭhahi/
 mama mātāpitā ubho
 rājādhirājanāma(42)ko
 ye ca ṅāti aṅātiṅkā

[69.] sabbeva sukkhitā ho(43)ntu
 mama puññānubhāvena
 chasu sag(44)gesu sampattiṁ
 mama puññānubhāvena
niddukkhā nirupaddavā
 sabbe te tīdivaṅgata
 anubhuṅjantu kāmato
 puriso hom(45)yaṅgagate

[73.] metteyyasseva buddhassa
 tissāpi puññā(46)sambhāraṁ
 parisāgaṇamajjhamhi
 (47)dānādinā samo añño
 aggdhhammarām sunāmahāṁ
 muddhāram pacināmahāṁ
 so maru buddho pasarinsatu
 rūpenāpi yasena vā

[77.] āyunā dhanarāsihi
 mesarūndātukāmassa
 (49)apīca mama santasanī
 gambhīrāpāradāṇādi-
mā(48)me hotu bhave bhave
 koci sakkotu gaṅhītum
 daliddānaṁ payojanam
 sāgare(50)hi susitale

[81.] nimujjitvā muninda va
 imasmiṁ (51) nagare rajjāṁ
 khattiya c'eva uggā ca
 sabbe te anumodantu
 sambodhiṁ pāpuṇāmahāṁ
 kāressanti anāgate
dhammikā (52) ye mahāyasā
 puññakamme mayā kate

[85.] (53)pūjavatthūni vaṭḍhantu
 puññakammaṭatta idhāti/
sridhammatrailoka(54)nāmena kavinā rājapāṇḍitena racitamitum/
[I-1.] Hail! Good Fortune! Honor to the supremely auspicious Triple Gem!

[I/1-13.] In Sakarāja seven hundred sixty-one, year of the hare, in the month of Phagguna, on the seventh day of the waxing moon, at the auspicious moment, hour and day and the favorable conjunction of the planets, Samtec Braḥ Rājadebi Śrī Cuḷālakṣaṇa Arrgarajamahesi Debadhōraṇi .... karatana .......... mādapraparā, consort of Samtec Mahādharmarājajadhirāja, endowed with the five kinds of beauty, ......... staunch in the religion of the Conqueror, founded a stupa in the Asokārama monastery; and taking two holy relics that came from Ceylon—one middle-sized, as large as a rice-grain broken in half, in color like crystal, one [small, the size of a mustard-seed and in color] like [the dried flower of] a bikula she enshrined them.

6) 'nama śrī triratna namasatu maṅgalotarāpāramāna,' apparently for 'namas śrī triratna namassatu ma.ṛagalottarāparamāna.'

7) i.e. 1399 A.D.

8) mūḥra, a period of 48 minutes; tihi, a lunar day; nāḍī, 24 minutes.

9) i.e. Samtec Braḥ Rājadevi Śrī Cuḷālakṣaṇa Agrarajamahesi Devadharani .... karatana .......... mādapraparā. The editor of the inscription, Mr Prasēra Punpragon, restores karatana as Lokaratana (Silpakara, VIII/2, p. 61); but the name appears in Inscription XLVI (I/3) as Tilalkaratana, where her full style is given as Śamtec Braḥ Rājajananī Śrī Dharmarājajamāla Mahāti-lakaratana Rājanītha. See JSS LVI/2, p. 226.

10) sc. widow.

11) peñcābhidhakalyāṇī, i.e. beautiful hair, flesh, teeth, skin and good health; cf. II/31.

12) īñevū; though the name looks as if it meant something like 'upper land', it must mean Ceylon, as it corresponds to [Tamba] īpanippūra at I/38.

13) We reconstruct the lacuna at I/9 on the basis of the corresponding passage at II/38 f.; the last three akṣara of I/9, now illegible, must have been mā, to be read with mā at the beginning of I/10, as mā, 'color'. In neither face does the reference to the bikula (minususops elengi) specify whether the fruit or the flower is meant; we follow Mahā Śēh Manavidūra in taking it to mean the dried flower (see Silpākara, IX/3, 77).
in the relic-chamber [of the stupa] ................. this great object of worship.\textsuperscript{14} Four months later also an image of the Buddha ................. a \textit{kuṭi} for Braḥ Śrī Mahābodhivāṇkarmalāyāna\textsuperscript{15} ................., a wall, a bridge, and a road, beautiful with trees of all sorts.\textsuperscript{17}

[I/13-23.] Sacred texts she then assembled,\textsuperscript{18} a full set of the Three Piṭakas, in the charge of two expounders of the Dharma, one named \textsuperscript{2}Cau Niṇāvānśa Rājapañḍita, and one named \textsuperscript{2}Cau Śrī Vañ.\textsuperscript{19} There is also a reciter of the Dharma, to whom she gave the name \textsuperscript{2}Cau Saṅkhastṭā.\textsuperscript{21} Then she helped by placing fifty families of people, assigning them all as monastery servants, with Nāy Jyaṅ Śrī Caṇḍa as overseer.\textsuperscript{22} She also gave land [worth] two hundred million\textsuperscript{23} [cowries] as an endowment ................. twenty-five cartloads of rice at

\textsuperscript{14}) \textit{cetiya} (I/11). Though the word is often used interchangeably with stupa, it more likely refers here to the bodhi tree she planted (II/41); we should probably understand that a new sentence began in the lacuna in I/10 telling us she planted the tree.

\textsuperscript{15}) Mahābodhivāṇaśa Kamalaṇḍa? There is no reference in the legible portions of Face II to this person, or to the kuṭi or the Buddha image.

\textsuperscript{16}) Reference to II/41-49 will help fill the lacuna.

\textsuperscript{17}) \textit{ālau} appears to mean \textit{ālau}, ‘trees in general’; the trees are listed at II/45-46.

\textsuperscript{18}) \textit{ātaw}, ‘put in order’, must mean she obtained existing copies of some books of the Tipiṭaka and caused new copies of the rest to be made.

\textsuperscript{19}) These two persons are also mentioned at II/48-49, where they are called Niṇāvānśa Pañḍita and Śrīvaṇśa Pañḍita.

\textsuperscript{20}) \textit{svamat} (\textit{svamat}) corresponds to \textit{pālītāṃ}, ‘reciter of Pali’ at II/50. Mr Coedes kindly informs us that \textit{svamat} is apparently a Khmer word \textit{svamat}, an agentive noun (derived by the usual means of an infixed -m-) from the verb \textit{svat}, to recite or chant (=Siamese \textit{smmat}).

\textsuperscript{21}) For Pali \textit{saṅkhastṭa}, ‘having a voice like a conch’. Cf. II/50.

\textsuperscript{22}) i.e. \textsuperscript{3}Nāi Chieng Śī Jan. The same person is referred to at II/52 as Śrī Caṇḍa.

\textsuperscript{23}) Cf. II/61 and note 81. While the reading \textit{saṅkhastṭa} at I/18 is conjectural, it is clear enough at I/23.

\textsuperscript{24}) The word \textit{nu} (\textit{nu}) in this passage probably means to give as an endowment (is it an abbreviation of \textit{nu}?) It is used in this sense in Inscription XLIX at least eight times (lines 20, 24, 27, 29, 32, etc.).
the beginning of each year\textsuperscript{25}; she bought garden-land of all sorts for five million [cowries] to provide curry as estimated for fifty almsbowls daily; and [she gave] a full set of musical instruments, with trumpets and conchs, together with persons to play them, for all sorts of pūjā. Thus she made gifts amounting to two hundred million for every kind of routine and all sorts of festivals.\textsuperscript{26} [All this she] brought to completion.

[I/23-27.] Then she invited a Mahāthera, a disciple of Braḥ Mahābuddhasāgōṛ, named Sdrabhaŋgathera, distinguished for his righteousness, his deportment, and his performance of religious duties, to come to this Asokārāma as its abbot.\textsuperscript{27}

[I/27-36.] Not only did Sāntec Braḥ Rājadevi build this Asokārāma, but also the Dakṣaṁrāma\textsuperscript{28} which the Queen\textsuperscript{29} built for the Mahāthera Vanaratana, presenting one hundred [ra] of land yielding ten cartloads of rice [per year?], and assigning ten families as servants for that monastery; the Lāṅkārāma\textsuperscript{30} is also to be counted, as well as the Pūrbārāma,\textsuperscript{31} and the completion of the Silavisuddhāvāsa at the place where the King\textsuperscript{32}, while serving as a monk, went to

\textsuperscript{25} The lacuna can be repaired from II/56 f.: 'she caused a grant of twenty-five cartloads of rice per year to be given to the people in the monastery.'

\textsuperscript{26} Apparently the endowment was intended to be sufficient to take care of future expenses of all sorts. Cf. below, note 84.

\textsuperscript{27} The Thera Sarabhāṅga, a disciple of Buddhāsaṅgar (II/63 f.).

\textsuperscript{28} 'The Southern Monastery', which has not been identified.

\textsuperscript{29} सद्यप्रधानमृत्र (II/28); evidently referring to the same lady but at an earlier stage in her career when her husband was still alive; she was already Queen, but (if the reading नात्र is right) had not yet received the title Sāntec which was borne by Līdaiya's widow Sāntec Braḥ Śrī Dharmarājāmātā.

\textsuperscript{30} 'The Ceylon Monastery', also unidentified.

\textsuperscript{31} 'The Eastern Monastery', which must have been somewhere east of the city of Sukhodaya, though its exact location is not known. Perhaps it should be identified with the monument now called Cetiya Sūh (छोटे सिंह, 'small cetiya'), which stands to the east of Sukhodaya (Map 3, site number 32). See Griswold, Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art, second edition, Bangkok, 1968, pp. 67, 68. The Pūrbārāma is mentioned in two inscriptions on the bases of Buddha images; see ibid., pp. 55, 59, 68 and Figs. 57-b, 68-a.

\textsuperscript{32} पश्चिम, i.e. Mahādhammarājā III.
practice asceticism in the Field of Victory; at the Senan she finished a residence for the Stec Braḥ Mahāsvāmī āt the cremation-place of the father; she also finished the Braḥ Dharmarāja at the cremation-

33) (kām karma). As we are informed by Mr Noom Yoonaidharma, Secretary of the Department of Fine Arts in Bangkok, this was a practice, alternatively called Desakāra, which survived up to a generation ago, but is now obsolete. After the rice-harvest, the monks who wished to perform it would go to a field some distance from town, near a charnel-ground, and live in improvised straw huts for several days, practising vipassanā all night, and sleeping part of the day. Query: was this not a variant of the 11th dhūtaṅga (ascetic practice), that of the 'charnel-ground-dweller' who meditates upon decaying corpses? See The Path of Purification by Buddhaghosa, translated by Bhikkhu Nāgamoli, Colombo, 1956, p. 76.

34) The meaning of Senan (I/33) is not clear; does it stand for Senāna, 'the four branches of an army'? Perhaps we ought to have punctuated differently, putting a semicolon after 'asceticism' and then continuing: 'in the Field of Victory she finished a residence for the Stec Braḥ Mahāsvāmī āt the Senan.' The answers to such questions would be obvious to readers acquainted with the local toponymy; but since these places can no longer be identified our translation is conjectural.

35) Śrī Lakṣmī (I/35), i.e. Mahādharmarājā II, father of the reigning monarch and husband of the donor. It might perhaps be supposed that she is referring here to her own father Ātida; but she refers to the latter more specifically at I/38 as 'her father Sāntec Braṅgā the Grandfather' and in general the inscriptions of Mahādharmarājā III's reign refer to Ātida as 'Mahādharmarājā the Grandfather' or something similar. The Śrīcūla was evidently a building called after the donor herself, part of whose name was Śrī Cūla. It seems likely that royal cremations were performed in front of the Royal Palace, in or near the precinct of the Mahādhātu. When Fournereau visited Sukhodaya in 1892, he counted the remains of 189 buildings in that precinct, many of which were apparently funerary monuments. See Griswold, Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art, second edition, p. 22 and p. 66.
place of Sāmteca Braḥ Rājamātā; [all these things] she accomplished.37

[I/36-42.] The merit resulting from all her good works such as those mentioned, Sāmteca Braḥ Rājadevī dedicates38 to her father Sāmteca Braṇā the Grandfather39, to her mother40, to Sāmteca Mahādharmarājādhirāja41, to Braḥ SriDharmarājāmātā42, to her relatives,

36) i.e. Mahādharmarājā II's mother (Lidaiya's widow), whose title is given in fuller form at I/39 (Braḥ Sri Dharmarājāmātā), and at II/9 and II/68 (Sri Dhammarājāmātā).

37) Assuming the list is in chronological order, we may conjecture the succession of events was something like the following. The donor built the Dakṣiṇārāma, the Laṅkārāma and the Purbārāma during the lifetime of her husband Mahādharmarājā II. After his death (in 1397 or 1398?), their son Mahādharmarājā III entered the monkhood for a time so as to earn merit to transfer to the deceased, presumably in one of the great city monasteries such as the Mahādhātu, and during that time he went outside the city to practice asceticism for several days near a charnel-ground (in the Field of Victory?); after his return to lay life his mother built a monastery there, the Silāvisuddhāvāsa, 'the Pure Abode of Righteousness', where the Braḥ Mahāsvāmī was invited to reside. Meanwhile preparations for her husband's cremation had been going on; and when it was over she erected the Srīcāja:vasa on the site. Her next work was to complete the 'Dharmarājapūraṇ', i.e. Dharmarājāpūrapa, which perhaps here means 'founded by Dhammarājā' rather than 'completed' or 'restored' by him (the more usual meaning); it was presumably a funerary monument begun by Mahādharmarājā II in memory of his mother, but still under construction when he himself died, whereupon his widow completed it. Finally in 1399 she built the Asokārāma, dedicating the merit of the work to her husband and other deceased members of the family. It will be noticed that there is no mention of her building funerary monuments for her own father or mother; presumably they had been built by someone else (her father Lidaiya had died between 1368 and 1374; we do not know when her mother died).

38) นับถือเหลหวามานิให้เป็นใจให้บรมราษฎร์ (I/37 f.) means something like ‘aiming it to be given as distributed merit impelled towards’; we have translated the whole expression as ‘dedicates’.

39) Lidaiya.

40) The donor's mother, of whom we know nothing except that she was one of Lidaiya's consorts.

41) The donor's husband, Mahādharmarājā II.

42) The latter's mother, who was probably a princess of Nān. (See JSS LVII/ 2, p. 218.) Mahādharmarājā II's father is not mentioned as such, as the donor has already distributed a share of the merit to him as her own father.
THE ASOKĀRĀMA INSCRIPTION OF 1399 A.D.

and to all creatures\(^{43}\). May it make them escape suffering and danger, may it make every one of them attain happiness! \(\ldots\) the power of this royal merit-making\(^{44}\).

\[I/42-47.\] An[other] article\(^{45}\). Sāmtec B[rah Rājadevi] \(\ldots\) has caused to be stated for the future in the inscription \(\ldots\) if there are any kings\(^{46}\) \(\ldots\) full of devotion\(^{47}\) \(\ldots\).

Face II\(^{48}\)

\[II/1-4.\] Having bowed down before the Triple Gem, let me speak of this amassment of merit wrought by the royal zeal at the monastery called Asokārāma. You shall hear of the character of [that lady who is an] ornament of good qualities such as righteousness, enhancing the affection of virtuous people, and of the merit earned [by her] for the sake of enlightenment.

How [did she do it]?

\[II/5-12.\] In the year seven hundred thirty of the well-recorded\(^{49}\) Sakarāja, a year of the monkey\(^{50}\), on an auspicious day in the month of Āsādhā\(^{51}\), Dhammarājādhirāja\(^{52}\), great \(\ldots\).

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43) หนานพบารัม (I/40), ‘to reach every creature, all of them’.
44) The Pali passage corresponding to this paragraph is at II/66-71.
45) Very little survives of the last five lines of Face I, but their contents can be guessed by reference to II/72-85.
46) cf. II/82 f.
47) cf. II/85.
48) For help in the interpretation of the Pali face, we are indebted to Professor S.W. Karunatillake of Cornell University and to Professor Visuddhi Puṣya-kula of Cūḷānākaraṇa University. The reader will note that there are many abnormalities of spelling in the text, including several Sanskritisms or semi-Sanskritisms (for example the form sri, constantly used in place of Pali siri).
49) sulikkhite, for sulikhite.
50) 1368 A.D.
51) āśādhā, for Pali āśādhā (Skt. āśādhā), corresponding to June-July.
52) Mahādharma-rāja II, the donor’s husband.
the son of King Lidayarāja's Chief Queen Sridhammarājamātā, being sixteen years of age, attained excellence in the branches of knowledge. 

[II/13-28.] When he was thirty-eight in the year seven hundred and of the well-established... 

53) We might translate more literally: 'Dhammarājādhirāja, [who] because of the great merit he had accumulated in past lives was born safely from the womb of his mother Sridhammarājamātā, the Chief Queen of Lidayarāja King of men.' Rājino (I/8), a genitive sometimes used in place of the more usual rañño, is evidently used here for metrical reasons. Sridhammarājamātā- (I/9), though it looks like a nominative, is doubtless part of a compound whose genitive case-ending occurred in the lacuna. Lidayā's Chief Queen Śri Dhammarājamātā was probably a princess of Nān (see supra, note 42).

54) i.e. completed his education. The lacunae make the text ambiguous; as it stands, it could be interpreted to mean either that Mahādharmerājā II was born in CS 730 (AD 1368) or that he completed his education in that year. For reasons which will be stated below (note 55), it seems to us certain that it was the year in which he completed his education. If it is asked why that event should take so prominent a place in the inscription, the question is easily answered. In accordance with Indian tradition, sixteen was the age at which a prince completed his education and took a wife. Cf. the account in Paṭhamasambodhi of Gotama's demonstration of his attainments as a preliminary to his marriage at the age of sixteen (see Alabaster, The Wheel of the Law, London, 1871, 120 f.). An example nearer in time and place to the events of our inscription is the marriage of King Ph. Ngum of Lān Chiang at the age of sixteen in 1332 (see Finot, Recherches sur la littérature laotienne, BEFEO XVII/5, p. 165). It seems likely that in our inscription the actual reference to Mahādharmerājā II's marriage came at I/12, which is now illegible; in any case, in his widow's allusions to her husband's biography the event which would naturally be uppermost in her mind would be his marriage to her.

55) How should the lacuna at II/14 be restored? Mahā Śen Manavidūra, taking the statement at II/5-11 to mean that Mahādharmerājā II was born in CS 730, conjecturally restores the missing word at II/14 as atthasatthi, 'sixty-eight' (Silpākara, IX/3, p. 76). He arrives at the conjecture by adding 38 to 730; and atthasatthi is metrically satisfactory, though there is admittedly nothing visible in the stone that looks like that word. But as Mahādharmerājā II was already dead in CS 761 when the inscription was composed, we do not see how the date at II/14 can possibly be 768. If, on the other hand, the King was 16 in 730, as we believe, the date when he was
lished, his kingdom was broad and free from danger. The boundaries of that meritorious man were known to be: in the east, he made his boundary Nagaradeyya; in the southeastern part, he made it Vajjarapūra; he made his boundary in the southern part a place called Uyyapabbata on the bank of the River Bingā; in the southwest he made it Hemapūra; and in the west he made his boundary Tākapūra; the well-built town of Lakkhipāra standing on the branch of the Yamunā which is called the Rivulet he made his boundary in the northwest; and in the north the district bearing the name Iṭṭhipatṭana.

38 would be 22 years later, i.e. 752, plus or minus one to allow for unknown fractions of a year. Yet it is hard to see how the illegible word can be equivalent to 51, 52 or 53; and in any case the limits of possibility would be between 51 and 61. Judging from the rubbings, Dr Prasert thinks that part of the word may be -uttar-. To read pannāsuttare (taking -uttare as a Sanskritism equivalent to -ādihe at II/5) would give a date of 750, which would improve the arithmetic without entirely correcting it, but at the same time do violence to the metre (unless -ttare could be counted as a single syllable). On the other hand saṭṭhuttare would accord better with the metre; but while a date of 760 (AD 1398, one year before the inscription was composed) is not impossible in itself, it is difficult to see how the King could have been 38 in that year, as it cannot be reconciled with any interpretation so far proposed for the statement at II/5-11. We therefore leave the question of the reading undecided and tentatively accept a date around 752 (1390) as that when the King was 38.

56) suddhipite, for suddāhipite?
57) vitthāranā, for vitthāram.
58) The names on the list are all attempts to render real place-names in Pali, either by translation or by approximation. Nagaradeyya is Nagarai Daiy, Nakon Tai, probably somewhere not very far away from the district which now bears that name, in Biṣṇuloka province, northeast of Biṣṇuloka itself. Vajjarapūra is Bejrapiirpa Petchabun, on the Sak. Uyyapabbata on the Bingā must be Dai Ut on the Ping; its exact location is uncertain, but it was probably between Campeng Pet and Nagarai Svarga. Hemapūra is Chiang Tông, a riverine port on the Ping, a little below the present town of Tāk (Đak, vn). Tākapūra is Old Tāk, on the Ping about 20 km. upstream from the present town. Lakkhipāra on the lesser branch of the Yamunā must be something like Muang Sen on the lesser branch (Kođe Ndz) of the Yom, but the location is not known. Iṭṭhapaṭṭana must be Tā It (mīy), probably at or near the place of that name at Uttarattitha. As we have remarked in our article A Declaration of Independence and its Consequences, the list shows Mahādhamarāja II in possession of all the territory that was subject to his father Liđaiya at the height of his career except Nagarai Svarga; cf. JSS LVI/2, pp. 213-215. None of Liđaiya’s known inscriptions lay claim to Tāk, which he seems to have recovered under curious circumstances at the very end of his life; see Griswold, Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art, p. 41.
kingdom, he who gave joy to [all] creatures ............. [was honored?] both by gods and by men.

[II/29-34.] The Chief Queen of that Dhammarājā ............. ....... beautiful and beloved, adorned with all embellishments, possessing the five-fold happiness\(^59\), great intelligence, great authority and great renown, rejoicing in the Three Gems, the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha, had two sons, Dhammarājādhirājā\(^60\) of great renown the elder son, and a younger son named Asoka.\(^61\)

[II/35-42.] In the year of the hare, seven hundred sixty-one of the well-recorded Sakarāja\(^62\), on the seventh day of the waxing\(^63\) half of the month of Phagguna\(^64\), an auspicious day, the stupa was entirely completed in which she had deposited in the relic-chamber two relics brought from [Tambapāṇīpūra\(^65\), [one of them] middle-sized like a broken rice-grain\(^66\) [and in color] like crystal, [the other] small as a mustard-seed [and in color] like [the dried flower of] a bikula\(^67\); and having erected a vihāra and a maṇḍapa, and planted a bodhi tree as an object of worship,\(^68\) she dedicated the monastery in its entirety.\(^69\)

59) cf. above, note 11.
60) Mahādhammarājā III, the reigning monarch.
61) Of whom we know nothing.
62) 1399 A.D.
63) -sukkha-, for -sukka-.
64) February-March.
66) bhilātālañčāla, for bhilātālañčalī.
67) cf. above, p. 44 and note 13.
68) cetiyam; cf. above, note 14; as the stupa was mentioned earlier (thūpo... māpito, II/40) it seems best to take cetiyam as being in apposition to bhodipādapa, and to give it the more general meaning of ‘object of worship’.
69) Such must be the sense of the conjectural reading sammabbakari (II/42, > sammā + avakaroti ?); or perhaps we should read sammabbakiri (>sammap + avakirati), ‘poured out [the water of dedication] entirely.’ In neither the passage II/35-42, nor the corresponding passage in Siamese, I/1-11, is it perfectly clear which of the various actions occurred on the 7th day of Phagguna 761, and which ones had been done beforehand. Since it is named as an auspicious day, we are probably to understand that it was the day when the finishing touches were put on the stupa, the bodhi tree was planted, and the monastery was dedicated.
[II/43-47.] [She dug] a moat\textsuperscript{70} [around the precinct] on the inner side, and [built] on the outer side this long high wall of splendid appearance ............ \textsuperscript{71} By planting surabhināga, punnāga, bikula and mango, jackfruit, elephant-apple and cocoanut ................. and double jasmine\textsuperscript{72}, she made the monastery called Asokārāma lovely.\textsuperscript{73}

[II/48-50.] ........... in this place\textsuperscript{74} she appointed a pañḍita named Nāṇavaṃsa and a pañḍita named Srivaṃsa .............—— I speak here of the meaning —— and a person named Sāmkhasara as reciter of Pali.\textsuperscript{75}

[II/51-57.] She gave monastery slaves, comprising fifty families, under the supervision of a man named Sri Canda\textsuperscript{76}, .............

\textsuperscript{70} parikkhaṇḍa, for parikkaṇḍa.

\textsuperscript{71} We have omitted the second half of II/44, as the lacuna makes it unintelligible.

\textsuperscript{72} There is a little ambiguity in some of the plant-names at II/45-46. If we take the words in the sense given in the Pali dictionaries, we should understand surabhināga as 'fragrant nāga' (mesua ferrea), punnāga as calophyllum inophyllum (or possibly areca catechu?), bakula as minusops elengi (ānba as mango (mangifera indica), panasaka as jackfruit (artocarpus integrifolia), kapittha as elephant-apple (feronia elephantum), nālikera as cocoanut, and mālikā as double jasmine (jasminum auriculatum?). But if the author had in mind plants with similar names in Siamese the meaning would be a little different: punnāga would be mesua ferrea; surabhināga would be a compound in which surabhī would be equivalent to sārabhī, ochrocarpus siamensis, and nāga would probably be calophyllum inophyllum (unless it stands for nāgalatā, betel-vine, piper betle). There is no such ambiguity regarding the other names.

\textsuperscript{73} The wall and 'trees of all sorts' are mentioned at I/13, and the moat may have been mentioned in the lacuna at I/12. There does not seem to be enough room in the lacuna at II/44 to list the other things mentioned at I/11-13 (Buddha image, kuṭi, bridge and road) as having been made four months after the events of the 7th day of Phaggula.

\textsuperscript{74} Literally 'in which place' (yamhi, I/48), i.e. the Asokārāma.

\textsuperscript{75} Apparently the author injects the parenthetical remark 'I speak here of the meaning' in order to emphasize the contrast between the two expounders of the Dharma, who explain the meaning of the texts, and the conch-voiced reciter, who chants them in the original Pali; cf. I/14-16.

\textsuperscript{76} cf. I/17 f.
and players\textsuperscript{77}, together with persons who perform the five kinds of music, for example percussion instruments, the conch, the flute, the big drum and the big gong.\textsuperscript{78} She gave a field four hundred fathoms in length and two hundred fathoms in width\textsuperscript{79}, she caused a grant of twenty-five cartloads of rice per year to be given to the people in the monastery\textsuperscript{80}, she bought garden-land and property in the amount of five crores\textsuperscript{81} and caused it to be given to the people here to provide suitable curries\textsuperscript{82}, and she caused almsfood to be given regularly to the fifty monks who live here\textsuperscript{83}, her munificence at this place amounting to two hundred crores.\textsuperscript{84}

\textsuperscript{77) natthumadāsī sā, for naṭamadāsīsā, 'she gave (adāsi) players.'

\textsuperscript{78) cf. I/21.}

\textsuperscript{79) viṭṭhārato (II/55), for viṭṭhārato. The Sukhodayan fathom (vā), at least in the late 13th century, seems to have been about 1.86 m. (see Griswold, \textit{Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art}, p. 8), which would make the field about 744 m. by 372 m.}

\textsuperscript{80) cf. I/19.}

\textsuperscript{81) cf. I/19. f., where sīru corresponds to āramavatthum at II/58. The word koṭi (II/58) properly means a crore, i.e. 10 million, which would make the sum named here equal to 50 million; but it is obviously the same sum named at I/19 as 5 million. We think the Siamese face gives the right amount; and as koṭi is often used in a loose sense to mean 'a large sum' we believe that koṭi (or crore) must here be understood as one million.}

\textsuperscript{82) kappiyabājjanatthāya, in which atthāya (dative) means 'for the sake of', i.e. 'to provide'. Cf. I/20.}

\textsuperscript{83) cf. I/20 f.}

\textsuperscript{84) cf. above, note 81; properly 2000 million, but here corresponding to 200 million at I/18 (conjectural reading) and at I/23. The financial arrangements as given in the Pali face tally reasonably well with those in the Siamese. The field 400 fathoms long and 200 fathoms wide at II/55 seems to correspond to the endowment of land at I/18 (worth 200 million, if the conjectural reading is right). The 25 cartloads of rice per year (I/19, II/56) presumably came from the harvest of this land. Other food would come from the garden land mentioned at I/19 and II/58. Together these sources would supply food for the 50 monks who were expected to reside at the monastery regularly, and for their servants, etc. Probably the income from the endowment would be sufficient to provide for any other sort of 'routine' expenses, and for festivals as well.
When everything was completed, including the construction of the stupa, she held the dedication ceremony for the Asokārāma. Having appointed as chief of the monastery a disciple of Buddhhasagara, the Thera named Sarabhaṅga, abounding in righteousness and other good qualities, she supports him and his retinue of followers with the [four] requisites. 85

By the action of this meritorious work of mine 86, may my father and mother both, my husband Mahādhamaṃmarājādhirāja, and his mother Sridhammarājāmatā, as well as everyone else whether kinsmen or not, be made happy, free from misery, and free from affliction! 87 By the power of my merit, may all those who have died 88 enjoy bliss in the six heavens 89 according to their desires! By the power of my merit, may I be reborn as a male in the future, may I listen to the excellent Dhamma of the Buddha Metteyya, may I retain this woman's accumulated merit ....... 90, and may that Buddha commend me in the midst of his assembly! May no other be my equal in any existence, in almsgiving for instance, or in beauty, renown, longevity or riches! May no one be able to deprive me of those things which I wish to give away, and may my possessions 91 be useful to the poor! Having plunged into the cool ocean of almsgiving,

85) cf. I/23 ff.
86) The concluding passage of the Pali face, I/66-85, in which the donor is made to speak in the first person, corresponds to the concluding passage of the Siamese face (I/36-47), in which she speaks in the third person.
87) cf. I/36-40.
88) tidivaṅgata (II/70), lit. 'those who have gone to the Tidiva heaven', i.e. the Tāvatimśa (see Malalasekera, Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, sub verbo Tidiva); cf. Siamese divaṅgata (หัตถ), 'to die' (used for a certain rank of royalty).
89) The six deva-worlds (kāmaloka, 'worlds where desire exists', in contrast to the higher heavens in which it has been extinguished).
90) We have not attempted to translate muddhrām, the meaning of which is uncertain. 'This woman' is of course the donor herself in her present existence, referred to in the deictive form instead of the first person because she is here speaking as if she had already been reborn as a male and were viewing the present events in retrospect.
91) As santasaṅ (I/79) is apparently meaningless in the context, we conjecture that santakaṃ ('property') was intended.
which is deep and limitless, may I attain perfect Enlightenment like the lord of ascetics!

[I/82-85.] Whatever kings and great men, righteous and of much renown, may rule this land in the future, may they all rejoice in the meritorious work done by me! May the places of worship prosper here, as well as the persons who take delight in merit!

[I/86.] Composed by the poet and royal paññita named Sridhammatrailoka.

92) cf. I/42 f. The wish the donor expresses here may indicate her concern for the future of the dynasty. In 1378 her husband had been forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of Ayudhyā: during the second reign of Rāmeśvara of Ayudhyā (1388-93) the suzerainty seems to have been allowed to lapse; but in 1397—two years before the present inscription was composed—King Rāmarāja of Ayudhyā (r. 1395-1409) visited Sukhodaya and reasserted his suzerainty. At the time of writing, Mahādharmarāja III and the Queen Mother were no doubt planning the campaign against Ayudhyā which they undertook the next year, and the Declaration of Independence that followed it. Some time between 1409 and 1412 the dynasty was again reduced to vassalage. See our article A Declaration of Independence, JSS LVI/2, p. 230.

93) cf. above, p. 38.